JLSLS

ISSN 3078-3755(Print)
ISSN 3104-5065(Online)

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

语言生活与语言服务学刊

Volume 2, Number 1, June 2026

Information Education Publishing Company Limited
Hong Kong

语言生活与语言服务学刊 Journal of Language Situation and Language Service Volume 2, Number 1, June 2026

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

语言生活与语言服务学刊

Volume 2, Number 1, June 2026

Editorial Board

Honorary Editor-in-Chief

Qu Shaobing, Guangzhou University, China

Editor-in-Chief

Xuan Jiancong, Guangzhou University, China

Associate Editor-in-Chief

Wang Hailan, Guangzhou University, China

English Language Editor

Fang Xiaobing, Nanjing University, China

Editorial Assistants

Xiang Chengru, Qinghai Minzu University, China

Tan Jing, Guangxi University of Finance and Economics, China

Jiang Peiyun, Hunan City University, China

Information Education Publishing Company Limited

Hong Kong

About: *Journal of Language Situation and Language Service* (*JLSLS*) (Print ISSN 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065) is a peer-reviewed academic journal published by Hong Kong Information Education Publishing Company Limited. *JLSLS* publishes two issues each year in both Chinese and English. There are no Article Processing Charges (APC) for submissions, and all content is fully open access under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY 4.0). Please note: the journal does not work with any third parties for manuscript solicitation.

Scope and Topics: *JLSLS* focuses on a wide range of topics related to language situation and language service, including: language situation and language service, language planning, language governance, language survey, language translation, language teaching, language competence, language function, language resources and protection, language industry, language consumption, language and culture inheritance. *JLSLS* encourages interdisciplinary research, particularly on emerging topics such as the integration of artificial intelligence in language situation and language service.

Submission Guidelines: *JLSLS* follows a corresponding author system. If the manuscript contains multiple authors, the corresponding author is considered to be the research leader and contact person. Please confirm the author's name, author order (including corresponding author designation), author affiliation, author position/title, E-mail address, funding project(s), etc. before submitting the manuscript. It is recommended that no more than five authors be listed on a submission. The paper must include the title, author name(s), abstract, and keywords in both Chinese and English. References are sorted alphabetically by last name. All manuscripts must follow APA format. Articles (including references) should be between 5,000 and 16,000 words, with English manuscripts not exceeding 8,000 words and Chinese manuscripts not exceeding 16,000 words. Book reviews should be at least 3,000 words in either Chinese or English. Manuscripts can be submitted via E-mail to **lsls2025@163.com**. To facilitate the review process, please include "Author Name(s) + Article Title" in the subject line of your submission E-mail.

Originality and Copyright: Submissions to *JLSLS* must be original works that have not been previously published or submitted for consideration elsewhere. Authors are responsible for any potential copyright issues. By submitting a manuscript, authors retain copyright and grant the journal a publishing license. All published articles are made immediately available worldwide under the CC BY 4.0 license, which permits unrestricted sharing, adaptation and redistribution with appropriate attribution.

Disclaimer: The opinions expressed in the articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the journal or its publisher.

Publishing Office: Tung Wai Commercial Building, No. 109-111 Gloucester Road, Wanchai, Hong Kong SAR, China; Phone: +852 24070405; E-mail: lsls2025@163.com. Website: www.lslsjournal.com.

Members of the Editorial Board

Nguyen Anh-Dan, University of Education, Hue University, Vietnam
Bianca Basciano, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Italy
Preechya Choongern, Huachiew Chalermprakiet University, Thailand
Wang Chunhui, Capital Normal University, China
Li Fei, Lingnan University, Hong Kong, China
Herman, Universitas Universal, Batam, Indonesia
Dong Hongjie, Xi' an University, China
Wang Hui, Zhejiang Normal University, China
Zhang Huiyu, Zhejiang University, China
Wei Huiping, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macao, China
Li Jia, Yunnan University, China
Zhang Jie, Zhongnan University of Economics and Law, China
Cho Jinhyun, Macquarie University, Australia
Lee Kang-Jae, Seoul National University, South Korea
Paul Kerswill, University of York, United Kingdom
Liu Lening, Columbia University, United States
Bao Lianqun, Oita University, Japan
Wang Lifei, Beijing Language and Culture University, China
Cheng Long, Alexander College, Canada
Shen Qi, Tongji University, China
Lau Su Kia, Universiti Malaya, Malaysia
Zhang Tianwei, Beijing Foreign Studies University, China
Zhang Weiguo, Shandong University, China
Agnieszka Wójcicka, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland
Fang Xiaobing, Nanjing University, China
Wang Xiaomei, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
Wang Xuan, Cardiff University, United Kingdom
George Xinsheng Zhang, Richmond, The American International University in London, United Kingdom
Gao Xuesong, University of New South Wales, Australia
Luo Yongxian, University of Melbourne, Australia
Yang Zhaole, Leiden University, Netherlands

Contents

1-17 Unlocking the Economic Value of Language to Support High-Quality Economic Development
Wang Hailan，Zhang Xuetong

18-30 Language Data Factors Empowering the High-Quality Development of China's Language Industry in the Digital Era: Theoretical Mechanisms, Realistic Bottlenecks and Leapfrog Paths
Chen Baifu, Zhong Lijie

31-44 Discourse Analysis in International and Intercultural Communication: Applications and Prospects Based on the Current Studies in China
Chen Diqi，Shan Yunming

45-56 Corpus-Based Analysis of Linguistic Features and Identification-Prevention Strategies in Telecom Fraud
Guo Jie, Ma Fengru, Cen Hao

57-70 Quantitative Study on Diachronic Changes of Words in Work Reports of Guangzhou Municipal Government
Hou Renkui, Zhang Jincheng

71-82 Research on the Stylistic Practice of News Headlines in Mainstream Digital Media
Wang Xuan

83-105 Interpreting as Linguistic Entrepreneurship: Migrant Interpreters at a Chinese Border Hospital
Mengyi Luo, Jia Li, Michelle Mingyue Gu

106-115 A New Milestone for the Green Book After Two Decades: The Multidimensional Value of Language Situation in China (2025)
Yin Zhiping, Yang Zhimiao

116-123 Contributing to the Construction of an Independent Knowledge System for Language Planning in China
—A Review of Study of Language Policies in China: 2025
Sijing Liu

124-131 A New Paradigm for the Research on the Mutual Construction of Language and Society
—A Review of Hu Fanzhu's *Societal Development Linguistics*
Fu Yi, Li Xinye, Wu Yushan

132-139 Late Development in Language Service
—A Review of *Value and Policy of Language Services*
Yin Xiaorong, Han Xueyao

140-148 An Ecological Perspective on Huayu in Southeast Asia through the Lens of Linguistic Landscape
—A Review of Studies on t*he Linguistic Landscape of Chinese Communities in Southeast Asia*
Zhao Min

149-154 Review of *Core Ideas and Research Approaches of Comparative Rhetoric*
Wei Yuzhu, Wu Pengfei

目　　录

1-17　释放语言经济价值 服务经济高质量发展
——访北京语言大学李宇明教授
王海兰，张雪彤

18-30　语言数据要素化与我国语言产业高质量发展
——理论机制、现实瓶颈与跃迁路径
陈柏福，钟丽洁

31-44　话语分析法在国际传播和跨文化传播中的应用与展望：基于中国国内的研究现状
陈棣棋，单韵鸣

45-56　基于语料分析的电信诈骗语言特征与识别防范研究
郭杰，马凤茹，岑浩

57-70　广州市政府工作报告词语发展变化的计量研究
侯仁魁，张锦程

71-82　数字媒体新闻标题风格实践研究
汪璇

83-105　口译即语言创业：中国边境国门医院的跨境口译员
罗梦怡，李佳，谷明月

106-115　廿载绿皮书的新跨越：《中国语言生活状况报告（2025）》的多维价值
殷志平，杨之淼

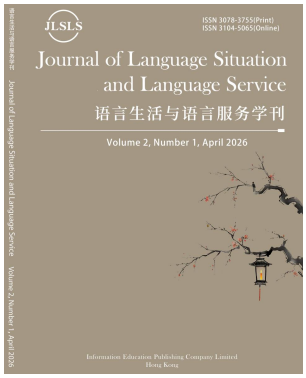
116-123　助力中国语言规划自主知识体系构建
——评《中国语言政策研究报告（2025）》
刘思静

124-131　语言与社会互构研究新范式
——胡范铸《社会发展语言学》评介
付伊，李昕烨，吴雨珊

132-139 语言服务研究的新探索
——《语言服务的价值与战略研究》评介
尹小荣，韩雪瑶

140-148 语言景观视窗中的南洋华语生态透视
——评《东南亚华人社会语言景观研究》
赵敏

149-154 《比较修辞学的核心思想与研究路径》评介
魏雨竹，吴鹏飞



JLSLS

HIEP Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.1-17**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260101uevlb

Unlocking the Economic Value of Language to Boost High-Quality Economic Development

——An Interview with Professor Li Yuming[1] of Beijing Language and Culture University

Wang Hailan, Zhang Xuetong

Abstract: This paper presents an interview with Professor Li Yuming of Beijing Language and Culture University, focusing on the economic value of language and its role in the contemporary era. As argued by Professor Li, language is not only a cultural "soft power" but also a "hard power" with significant economic attributes. The language industry encompasses diverse sectors such as language training, translation and interpretation, information processing, language arts, and language rehabilitation. Characterized by green industry （or eco-friendly

[1] Li Yuming: Winner of the National May Day Labor Medal (1997), Professor at Beijing Language and Culture University, expert receiving special allowance from the State Council, Distinguished Professor of Beijing. He currently serves as a Consultant of the National Language Commission and President of the Chinese Lexicography Society. He has previously served as Deputy Director of the National Language Commission, Director of the Department of Language Information Management of the Ministry of Education, and Party Secretary of Beijing Language and Culture University. His main research areas include grammar, child language acquisition, and language planning. He has published over 40 academic works, including *The Development of Child Language*, *Studies on the Category of Quantity in Chinese*, *Essays on China's Language Planning*, and *The Early Years of Life*, and has served as Editor-in-Chief of *The Great Dictionary of Global Chinese*. He has also published more than 700 journal articles. His academic achievements have received multiple awards for outstanding research achievements in humanities and social sciences from Chinese universities. He has long been dedicated to national language planning and practice, leading major national research projects such as the development of the *General Mandarin Character Table* and the National Social Science Fund major project "Research on Issues of Language Standardization in the New Era." He has made outstanding contributions to the field of language policy research.

Received: 17 Apr 2026 / Revised: 04 May 2026 / Accepted: 16 May 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

production ）and high added value, it makes a remarkable contribution to employment and economic growth. In the digital economy era, language data, as a key factor of production, serve as a core resource for artificial intelligence training and the development of language models. Furthermore, language proficiency is closely linked to poverty reduction. The promotion of Putonghua helps enhance human capital, facilitate information flow, and eventually contribute to economic development. In regional coordinated development, language planning should provide foundational support for economic layout, emergency preparedness and response, and cultural shaping. Looking ahead, efforts should be made to strengthen the discipline development of language economics, promote the integration of linguistics and the other disciplines, cultivate versatile interdisciplinary talents, and promote the development of the language industry and language-related professions, so as to fully leverage the strategic role of language in the digital economy.

Keywords: Li Yuming; Language Economy; Language industry; Language Data; Language-based Poverty Alleviation; Regional Language Planning

Author Biographies: Wang Hailan, Corresponding author, Associate Professor at the School of Humanities, Guangzhou University; Research Fellow at the National Center for Language Services and Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area Language Research, China National Language and Script Research Institution. Research interests: language service, language economy, and language communication. E-mail: hlwang0916@126.com. **Zhang Xuetong**, Grade-Level Deputy Director, No.32 Middle School of Handan. Research interest: language service. E-mail: zhangori@126.com.

标题：释放语言经济价值 服务经济高质量发展——访北京语言大学李宇明教授

摘要：本文围绕语言的经济价值与时代角色，对北京语言大学李宇明教授进行专访。语言不仅是文化“软实力”，更是具有显著经济属性的“硬实力”。语言产业涵盖培训、翻译、信息处理、艺术、康复等多元业态，具有绿色、高附加值的特点，对就业与经济增长贡献显著。在数字经济时代，语言数据作为关键生产要素，是人工智能训练与语言模型开发的核心资源。此外，语言能力与减贫密切相关，推广普通话有助于增强人力资本、促进信息流通与经济发展。在区域协同发展中，语言规划应作为基础支撑，服务于经济布局、应急保障与文化塑造。面对未来，应加强语言经济学学科建设，推动语言学与多学科交叉融合，培养复合型人才，关注语言产业和语言职业的发展，充分发挥语言在数字经济中的战略作用。

关键词：李宇明；语言经济；语言产业；语言数据；语言扶贫；区域语言规划

作者简介：王海兰，通讯作者，广州大学人文学院副教授，国家语言文字科研机构国家语言服务与粤港澳大湾区语言研究中心研究员，研究方向：语言服务、语言经济和语言传播。电邮：hlwang0916@126.com。**张雪彤**，邯郸市第三十二中学年级副主任，研究方向：语言服务。电邮：zhangori@126.com。

Today, we are greatly honored to interview Professor Li Yuming on the topic "Unlocking the Economic Value of Language to Serve High-Quality Economic Development." He is a Professor at Beijing Language and Culture University and Director of the Research Center for Chinese Language and Character Norms and Standards. Professor Li has long been dedicated to research in the fields of language economics, language planning, and language resources. He is among the first to propose cutting-edge academic perspectives, including "language as a form of hard power" and "language data as a key factor of production in the information age." These perspectives have opened new horizons for understanding the role and function of language in economic development. Against the backdrop of the current booming digital economy, language is not only a tool for communication and cognition but also a crucial resource that drives industrial upgrading, empowers regional development, and fosters technological innovation. In this interview, Professor Li systematically elaborates, from theory to practice and industry to policy, on the economic attributes of language, its contributions to various business formats, the value of language data, and its practical significance in poverty alleviation and regional development. The discussion provides profound insights into how language is deeply integrated into the economic cycle and supports high-quality development.

1. The Economic Attributes of Language and Their Theoretical Foundations

[Wang Hailan, Zhang Xuetong] (hereinafter referred to as "Prof. Wang and Zhang"):

Thank you, Professor Li, for taking time out of your busy schedule for this interview. As one of the earliest scholars in China to advocate for the recognition of the economic attributes of language, you have put forward important propositions such as "language is also a hard power." Could you please elaborate on how your understanding of language evolved from viewing it as "soft power" to recognizing it as "hard power"? And in what ways do the economic attributes of language manifest themselves?

[Prof. Li Yuming] (hereinafter referred to as "Prof. Li"):

Language has long been understood primarily as a medium of cultural communication, value identification, and civilizational continuity – in a word, as a form of "soft power." This view is certainly not incorrect, but it is incomplete. Language and the economy are intimately connected, yet traditional awareness has not fully grasped language's economic dimension. Driven by the dual forces of population mobility and informatization, the economic contribution of language has grown so pronounced that it can no longer be overlooked. In Switzerland, language contributes as much as 10% to the national economy. It is precisely this increasingly visible economic importance that has prompted the national language authority and the academic community to begin exploring the economic value of language. The "National Language Commission's 12th Five-Year Research Plan 2011 Annual Project Guideline," for instance, for the first time

listed "Research on Language Economy and Language industry Development Strategy" as a key research priority. In 2011 and 2012, I published articles such as "Language is Also 'Hard Power'" and "Recognizing the Economic Attributes of Language" to elaborate these points. Over the past two decades, research on the language economy and language industry in China has advanced rapidly, shedding light on the economic functions of language in the following four aspects.

First, language proficiency is a vital component of the labor force. In the era of informatization and globalization, particularly in service industries and other non-manual labor sectors, the share of language proficiency in overall labor capacity has increased steadily. Competence in one's native language, command of foreign languages, and the ability to process linguistic information by computer have all become key variables in employment competitiveness and career development. Research in language economics demonstrates that language proficiency often determines job opportunities and income levels.

Second, language participates in and coordinates economic activities. It plays a major role in the dissemination of technological and economic information, in the flow of factors of production, and in the formation of a unified market. As the most important carrier of information, language is the medium through which human economic activities are organized. The "Fishman-Pool hypothesis" points to an inverse correlation between linguistic diversity and economic development, while linguistic unity is positively correlated with economic development. Language fragmentation increases communication costs and hinders the flow of information, technology, and production factors. In contrast, linguistic unity and effective coordination help reduce transaction costs, facilitate the formation of a unified market, and promote regional economic development. Language not only serves the economy but also, in a certain sense, affects the efficiency of economic operation and helps shape the order within which economic activities take place.

Third, the language industry constitutes an important part of the national economy. It encompasses a variety of business formats and nurtures a wide range of language-related professions, producing both tangible and intangible language products to meet societal needs. Language-related professions and the language industry are primarily based on language (and script), language knowledge, language technology, and language art as the means of labor or objects of production. The language industry is green and knowledge-intensive– it is environmental friendly, low in energy consumption, and high in added value. It makes modest demands on natural resources and is deeply integrated with the cultural industry and digital technology. With immense development prospects and significant economic benefits, it can provide substantial employment opportunities and therefore warrants substantial attention.

Fourth, language data is a key factor of production in the digital economy, empowering new quality productive forces and the development of future industries. The digital economy endows language with the nature of a productive force. In October 2019, the Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee of

the Communist Party of China proposed to "improve the mechanism whereby production factors such as labor, capital, land, knowledge, technology, management, and data are evaluated by the market and compensated according to their contribution." Thereby, language data is incorporated into the category of production factors alongside labor, capital, land, knowledge, technology, and management. Language data is the most abundantly created and most frequently used type of data by humans, and it is also the most heavily utilized and produced by large language models. Language data has become a key factor of production in the digital economy – indeed, this is the most important and far-reaching economic attribute of language in the digital age.[1]

2. Business Segments and Economic Contributions of the Language Industry

[Prof. Wang/Zhang]: You have categorized the language industry into multiple sectors, such as language training, language translation, language information processing, speech–language rehabilitation, language creativity, and language arts. Could you describe how these formats are currently developing in China? What are their main contributions to the national economy? Are there any statistics on the economic contribution of the language industry?

[Prof. Li]: The language industry primarily consists of sectors that produce and provide language-based products. The book *Introduction to the Language industry* by He Hongzhi and Chen Peng is the earliest work on the language industry in China. In this book, the language industry is divided into nine sectors: (1) language training, (2) language publishing, (3) language translation, (4) language information processing, (5) language arts, (6) speech–language rehabilitation, (7) language exhibitions and conferences, (8) language creativity, and (9) language proficiency assessment. This classification, which draws on European and American research on the language industry while incorporating practical experience from China, essentially captures the overall landscape of China's language industry.

At present, these sectors are no longer operating in isolation. Instead, they are shifting from fragmentation to consolidation, from traditional forms to digital forms, and from ancillary services to independent industries. Sectors such as language training, language translation, and language proficiency assessment started relatively early, have sustained strong market demand, and have developed into relatively mature service systems. Sectors such as language publishing, language arts, and language creativity are closely linked to the cultural industry and continue to generate value in content production, brand communication, and aesthetic consumption. The language information processing sector is developing the fastest—development in input methods, font libraries, speech recognition, machine translation, intelligent customer service, and human-computer dialogue now constitute the most technology-intensive and economically prominent part of the language industry. Fields such as speech–language rehabilitation and language exhibitions and conferences have considerable social demand but still offer plenty of room for

[1] A detailed exposition of the views concerning the 'economic attributes of language' can be found in the articles by LI Yuming "On Individual Language Ability and National Language Capacity" (*Applied Linguistics*, 2021No.03) "Reflections on the Relationship Between Language and Economy (*Language Industry Research*,2018)" "Understanding the Economic Attributes of Language (*Applied Linguistics*, 2012 No.03)" "On the Construction of Foreign Language Education Capacity (*Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, 2025No.03)" and others.

expansion.

Today, the development of the language industry has entered the "data era". With data being recognized as a factor of production, the importance of language data has rapidly come to the forefront. Both in terms of quantity and quality, language data stands out as one of the most critical types of data. Emerging sectors such as machine translation, intelligent writing, voice interaction, corpus annotation, knowledge base construction, multimodal database development, data filtering, and data trading are all based on language data and can essentially be seen as new growth points where the language industry extends into the digital economy. The language data industry and the language intelligence industry, as emerging forms of the language industry, are accelerating their development. Traditional language industry sectors are also either transforming into these two industries or deeply integrating with them. At present, these sectors have already reached a considerable scale in China.

Regarding the economic contribution of language, research by the Swiss economist F. Grin indicates that language generates annual revenues of 50 billion Swiss francs, accounting for approximately 10% of Switzerland's GDP. This is a highly compelling figure. In China, however, the contribution of language to the economy remains unknown—no one has yet calculated it. The economic contribution of language can be either direct or indirect. Direct economic contribution of language may be relatively small and not immediately apparent, as language is characterized by its diffusiveness—its economic benefits permeate a wide range of industries and sectors. In China's national GDP statistics, the contribution of language has not been separately accounted for. Nevertheless, it is indeed necessary to establish a unified statistical framework to quantify language's economic contribution.

In recent years, the China Language Industry Research Institute has been conducting surveys on the language industry by sector and region, and has obtained some useful data. Preliminary research by the Institute suggests that China's language industry accounts for about 1% of the national economy. In 2019, the total output value of the language industry across all sectors exceeded one trillion yuan. In 2020, the output value of Beijing's language industry reached 200 billion yuan, contributing 5.55% to the region's GDP — a highly significant share.[1]

3. The Contemporary Significance of Language Data as a Factor of Production

[Prof. Wang/Zhang]: In recent years, you have repeatedly pointed out that "language data is a key factor of production in the information age" and have regarded the study of language data as an important new mission for linguistics in the age of digital intelligence. Could you please elaborate on how we should understand the connotation of language data? What are the core issues that current research on language data should focus on? And how can we fully realize the value of language data as a factor of production?

[Prof. Li]: Incorporating data into the category of production factors represents a major development of Marx's theory of productive forces, and serves as a new manifestation of the idea that "science and

[1] For a detailed elaboration of the views on the 'language industry' can be found in the articles by LI Yuming, "Data Age and Language industry (*Journal of Shandong Normal University* (Social Sciences), 2020 No.05)" "Language Services and the Language industry (*East Journal of Translatio*n, 2016 No.04)" "Some problems in the study of language industry (*Journal of Jiangsu Normal University* (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition),2019 No.02)" "The Language Rehabilitation Industry in China: Current Development and Strategic Outlook (*Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*, 2026 No.01)".

technology are the primary productive forces" in the digital economy era. Data is a key factor of production in the digital age, and language data, as the most important type of data, should likewise be treated as a factor of production. This status as a production factor is the most fundamental attribute of language in the digital era.

Language data refers to all types of data constructed on the basis of linguistic symbol systems. In terms of its forms of manifestation, it can be further divided into several categories, including linguistic discipline data, discourse data, language-derived data, artificial language data, and language code data. From the perspective of supporting the development of artificial intelligence, there are both general-purpose language data that support the development of large language models and specialized language data tailored to specific industries, populations, or domains to boost the development of specialized large language models. Language data plays a crucial role in areas such as language preservation, language teaching, linguistic research, language product development, language information processing, and, in particular, in driving the advancement of artificial intelligence and digital technology innovation.

Research on the progression from "data" to "language data" and further to the productive factor attributes of "language data" is still in its early stages, but some promising studies and policy initiatives have already emerged. For example, *Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning* published a special issue on "Language Data and the Digital Economy" in its 4th issue of 2022. In 2024, the *Journal of Tianjin Normal University (Social Science Edition)* published a symposium titled "The Connotation, Modalities, and Development Pathways of New Language Productive Forces." In January 2025, the Ministry of Education, the State Language Commission, and the Cyberspace Administration of China jointly issued the *Opinions on Strengthening the Construction of Digital Chinese and Advancing the Informationization of Language and Script*, which proposes five action initiatives: using Digital Chinese to serve educational development, to boost scientific and technological innovation, to empower cultural heritage, to drive industrial upgrading, and to promote social progress. This represents an important institutional arrangement for unlocking the value of Digital Chinese as a factor of production.

To fully leverage the role of language data as a factor of production, a "two-way endeavor" is required. On the one hand, linguistics must keep pace with the times and study language data issues in the digital economy era, such as the construction of language databases, language data trading, the composition and operational mechanisms of the language data industry chain, the cultivation of language data professionals, and related regulatory and ethical issues. On the other hand, other academic fields and social organizations also need to develop "language awareness"—recognizing the important academic value of linguistics in the digital economy era, proactively drawing scientific insights from linguistics, and providing necessary support to linguistics in terms of discipline development and talent cultivation.

The Chinese government attaches great importance to data infrastructure and emphasizes the need to activate the potential of data as a production factor. In the 15th Five-Year Plan (2026–2030) for National Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the 15th Five-Year Plan), released in March of this year, the term "data" appears 59 times. The plan calls for enhancing the efficient supply of computing power, algorithms, and data; deepening the development and

utilization of data resources; building high-quality datasets for various fields; and carrying out the "Data Element X" initiative. As the most important type of data, language data constitutes a vital component of data in other critical domains. Research on language data can thus play a foundational role in advancing national data infrastructure.[1]

4. Language-based Poverty Alleviation and Language-Assisted Rural Revitalization

[Prof. Wang/Zhang]: You have previously pointed out that "language and poverty are correlated, and language can help alleviate poverty," referring to the promotion of Putonghua as a "linguistic pathway" to poverty alleviation. Theoretically, how can language ability be transformed into a force for poverty reduction and societal development? What representative experiences has China gained in the research and practice of language-based poverty alleviation? And now that nationwide poverty has been essentially eradicated, how can the achievements of language-based poverty alleviation be effectively linked to rural revitalization, so that the "power of language" continues to be converted into an endogenous driver of rural development?

[Prof. Li]: Language-based poverty alleviation is a foundational measure for reducing and eradicating poverty. The main reason that language can help alleviate poverty lies in its close relationships with education, information, and internet access, and with people's capabilities and opportunities.

First, language ability is an important form of human capital. By "language ability" I mean not only proficiency in spoken language but also literacy, the ability to use written language including the ability to command a standard national language which has a high knowledge content and economic value, as well as the ability to employ necessary language technologies. Research in the economics of language has shown that language ability often determines employment opportunities and income levels. For impoverished populations, mastering Putonghua and improving language ability effectively enhances their employability, expands their scope of activities, and increases their opportunities for development.

Second, language ability is a key condition for accessing educational resources, and it helps break the intergenerational transmission of poverty. In China, Putonghua is an important medium of instruction in formal education. If children acquire a good command of the standard national language before school age, they can more easily enter the modern education system and acquire the capacity for sustained development. Educational resources, mediated through learners' language ability, are transformed into resources both for personal and regional development. This is of great significance for breaking the chains of poverty and preventing its transmission across generations.

Third, language is an important channel for communicating information, transmitting knowledge, and connecting with modern society. The basic function of language is to exchange information and transfer knowledge. Mastering a widely used language opens up a high-speed channel for information exchange,

---

[1] Detailed discussions regarding language data as a production factor are available in Li Yuming's papers:"On the Function as a Production Factor and Property Rights Systems Construction of Language Data (*Language Teaching and Linguistic Studies*, 2024 No.02)""Language Data is the Key Data in the Era of Big Data (*Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*, 2025 No.06)""Introduction: From Data to Language Data (*Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning,* 2022 No.04)".

which facilitates the inflow of production factors including capital, talent, and technology, and enables the dissemination of economic and trade information, thereby promoting local economic development. Recognizing the poverty-alleviating function of language allows us to build a linguistic pathway out of poverty for impoverished populations and regions, contributing the "power of language" to overcoming economic and developmental disadvantages and advancing local social progress and civilization.

Poverty is a major social challenge that humanity—and certainly China—has been addressing over the long term. On China's journey toward poverty alleviation and eradication, the academic community has actively participated, harnessing the benefits of language for poverty reduction. This has included developing targeted multimedia Putonghua textbooks for impoverished areas, building multiple online learning platforms, designing appropriate Putonghua testing standards and software, and mobilizing large numbers of volunteers to carry out language-based poverty alleviation work in impoverished regions. At the same time, a series of academic studies have been conducted, examining the principles of language-based poverty alleviation from perspectives such as language ability and human capital, language education and interruption of intergenerational poverty, language and technology dissemination, and language and the flow of production factors. These efforts have helped to summarize experiences and provide guidance for carrying out language-based poverty alleviation in a targeted manner. "Language-based poverty alleviation" marks a significant chapter in the history of the People's Republic of China, and even more so a masterstroke in the history of Chinese linguistics.

On the basis of consolidating the achievements of poverty alleviation, China has now embarked on the major endeavor of rural revitalization. Linking the accomplishments of language-based poverty alleviation with rural revitalization has thus become a new topic in the study of language life (Yuyan Shenghuo)—one that explores the collection, preservation, development, and utilization of rural language resources, and devises language planning for rural areas in the context of revitalization.[1]

5. Regional Language Planning and Coordinated Development of Regional Economies

[Prof. Wang/Zhang]: In recent years, you have repeatedly emphasized the importance of regional language research and proposed academic concepts such as "regional language planning" and "regional linguistics". Could you please explain how language can support regional development in the context of coordinated regional development and opening-up layouts, such as the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, and free trade zones (ports)?

[Prof. Li]: The development of cross-administrative regions such as the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, the Yangtze River Economic Belt, the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, and various free trade zones (ports) has given rise to new dynamics and new layouts for China's economic development, and has also raised new demands for the advancement of regional language research.

---

[1] Detailed discussions on language-assisted poverty alleviation can be found in Li Yuming's works: "Building the Language Highway for Poverty Alleviation and Eradication (*Yuyan Wenzi Zhoubao*,2018-08-01)""The Theory and Practice of Language Poverty Alleviation (*Zhongguo Xiuci* 2018)""The Relationship between Poverty Relief, Willpower, and Language Proficiency (*CPPCC Daily*, 2020-09-07)".

Formulating regional language plans involves two main tasks. The first task is to properly manage regional language relations. In a given region, multiple languages and language varieties coexist, cooperating with and influencing each other, while sometimes also giving rise to contradictions or conflicts. It is necessary to protect language resources, manage language relations, resolve language conflicts, and leverage the role of language effectively. Managing regional language relations requires establishing two major perspectives on language.

(1) The perspective of language as resource. Every language and every dialect is a non-renewable resource—a linguistic resource, a cultural resource, and even a resource for economic development. All deserve respect and scientific protection, as well as rational development and utilization. The languages and dialects of a region are public goods bestowed by history; they constitute elements of the region's language capacity. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen regional language surveys and regional language protection.

(2) The perspective of harmonious language life. Constructing a harmonious language life is a modern concept. Harmonious language life is not only a marker of community harmony and social harmony, but also an important force in promoting such harmony. The foundation of harmonious language life lies in properly managing language relations. Against the background of national language planning and the international language landscape, the goal is to enable languages and language varieties within a region to coexist amicably, each occupying its proper niche, each leveraging its comparative advantages and achieving synergy. The positive aim is to form a synergy of languages that jointly supports regional development. From a more defensive perspective, it can also mitigate language tensions and avert language conflicts.

The second task is to use language to boost regional development. No region can develop without language. While it cannot be said that all regions are formed on the basis of language, it can be said that most regions have a language story—or will have one. The development of any region depends on the support of language, which helps shape a shared way of life, shared cognition, and shared values. How language supports regional development remains a new academic topic and practical challenge, making it difficult to present a comprehensive picture all at once. Nevertheless, at least the following three aspects are worth considering.

(1) Language communication issues. Regional language communication concerns spoken and written language, as well as various media and linguistic landscapes. From the perspective of communication types, it mainly encompasses four aspects: internal communication, public communication, domain-specific communication, and external communication. The primary principle of regional language

communication is to ensure the instrumental function of unimpeded information flow. However, equal attention should be paid to its symbolic value—the "identity awareness" and "national consciousness" in language use—so that language use aligns with the context and the user's identity, thereby achieving effective outcomes.

(2) Language service issues. The objectives of language services are: to meet the language needs of regional work and production and contribute the benefits of language to regional development; to meet the language needs of regional life and leisure and contribute the benefits of language to a harmonious and better life for regional residents; to meet the language needs of special populations in the region and harness language resources to build an information-accessible society; and to meet the language needs of regional emergency response, leveraging the unique function of language for regional safety and crisis management. Language services require strong language capacity, diverse language talents, and a wide range of language products. Talents need long-term cultivation and aggregation, while products require continuous research, development and renewal.

(3) Language industry issues. For the development of any region, especially regional economic development, it is essential to consider the language industry and recognize the position and role of the language economy within the broader industrial economy. This involves not only acknowleding the role of language education products and language art products in social and cultural life, and the role of language service products for special populations and of emergency language service products to social equity and emergency response, but also—and more importantly—recognizing the role of language information products and language intelligence products in driving economic development and advancing social progress. The future era will be one in which human society prioritizes equipping special domains, specialized industries, and special populations with artificial intelligence assistants (AI assistants). These AI assistants need to communicate with humans through language and therefore must possess linguistic intelligence for human interaction, especially the "native language intelligence" to interact with the people they assist. Linguistics should play a major role in research and the development of AI assistants and native-language robots. This is an issue of great scientific and social significance, and it will become a leading force in the intelligent economy. Therefore, it must also be taken into account in regional language economic planning.

Coordinated regional development is an inherent requirement of Chinese-style modernization. China's 15th Five-Year Plan proposes optimizing the regional economic layout, promoting coordinated regional development, and leveraging the synergistic effects of the regional coordinated development strategy, major regional strategies, the major functional zone strategy, and the new urbanization strategy. It calls for the integrated advancement of intra-regional strategic implementation and inter-regional coordinated development. This demands not only strengthening urban and regional language planning, but also

enhancing coordination among regional language plans, so as to contribute the power of language to coordinated regional development.[1]

6. The Social Significance of Language Consumption and Language Welfare

[Prof. Wang/Zhang]: You have introduced two important concepts: "language consumption" and "language welfare". What is the relationship between these two concepts and language services? Do you think contemporary Chinese society has an adequate awareness of language consumption? What research could be undertaken from the perspective of language welfare?

[Prof. Li]: Language services refer to the use of language (including script), linguistic knowledge, language arts, language technologies, language standards, language data, language products, and all other language derivatives to meet the needs of governments, society, families, and individuals. The recipients of language services are "language consumers." It is because language consumers have various language needs that they seek language services to satisfy those needs.

In my article "Language Services and Language Consumption," I argued that the introduction of the concept of language consumption endows language services with the nature of products. Free language services are non-market goods; free language services supplied by the government can be regarded as "language welfare", while free language services offered by society constitute language-related public welfare undertakings. Paid language services are commodities, and the relationship between service providers and consumers is a commercial one. Language trade forms the language service market, gives rise to various language industries, and naturally generates language dividends.

At present, language consumption awareness in China is moving away from an unconscious stage, and there is a need to awaken, encourage, and guide such awareness in people. In the current context of rapid digitalization, language has transcended its traditional role as a communication tool and has become a core capital for shaping identity, participating in the public domain, and accessing development opportunities. Language should not be simply regarded as an "innate gift" or a "free resource", but rather as a form of "human capital" that can be enhanced through investment. The comprehensive digitalization of lifestyles has given rise to new language needs—such as the precise creation of short video scripts, foreign-language livestreaming sales in cross-border e-commerce, and the creation of atmosphere and identity in online virtual communities. It is therefore necessary to awaken language consumption awareness and guide society to recognize and accept the value-exchange attribute of language.

---

[1] Detailed studies on language and coordinated regional development are available in Li Yuming's papers: "Regional Language Planning and Regional Development (*Journal of Guangzhou University*(Social Science Edition), 2023 No.05)""A Brief Discussion on Language Planning Studies(*Lexicographical Studies*, 2022 No.01)""A Dialogue on Language Life and Language Services in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area (*Journal of Guangzhou University* (Social Science Edition), 2023 No.01)""A Preliminary Analysis of Language industry and Service at Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area (*Language Industry Research*, 2019)""On Urban Language Planning (*Journal of Tongji University* (Social Science Edition), 2021 No.01)".

The level of language consumption is an important indicator of the quality of language life and reflects the degree of social modernization. Studying language consumption in society and promoting it is therefore of great significance. The vigorous development of language consumption is an inevitable trend in the explicit realization of language value in the digital economy era. At the economic level, language consumption is gradually shifting from the periphery to the center, giving rise to a vast industrial chain that integrates education, technology, and culture, and becoming the foundation of "soft infrastructure." Language consumption not only directly drives economic development but also, by empowering international trade ("Made in China" and "Intelligent Manufacturing in China") and the digital transformation of traditional industries, participates in the development of emerging industries and future industries, deeply engaging in the construction of a new industrial landscape. At the socio-cultural level, the diversified choices of language consumption offer more possibilities for personal skill enhancement and the satisfaction of spiritual needs. Expanding the scale of language consumption helps narrow the "language ability gap," compensates for the shortcomings of public language welfare through market-oriented services, and opens up market-based survival pathways for the preservation of cultural heritage such as dialects and minority languages. For example, cultural and creative products based on the Dongba script of the Naxi ethnic group have reached the general public through e-commerce platforms, enhancing societ's overall cultural inclusiveness and innovative vitality. From a national strategic perspective, a strong language consumption market supports independent innovation in language technologies. Efforts should be made to steer language consumption toward a more inclusive, balanced, and sustainable trajectory.

As for language welfare, I have pointed out in relevant articles that language consumption is largely realized through purchase under market economy conditions. Due to differences in purchasing power and other factors, the state or society provides language products free of charge to specific populations, thereby constituting language welfare. This language welfare permeates various aspects of society. For example, in promoting educational equity, the national common language and script are taught free of charge in minority and rural areas. In public information services, many government websites and public service hotlines offer multilingual and accessible services. In safeguarding basic rights, courts provide free translation services, and hospitals offer language assistance for dialect speakers and foreign patients. In building an accessible society, the application of speech technology and sign language interpretation in television programs is an example. These everyday forms of language welfare can significantly reduce language barriers, enhance society's overall language capacity, and promote social equity and harmonious development. Stimulating language consumption and providing language welfare have significant economic and social value.

From the perspective of language welfare, the following issues require research:

(1) What language welfare provisions currently exist in China?

(2) Which groups of people are entitled to language welfare? Through what procedures can they access such welfare? What rights and obligations should holders of language welfare have?

(3) What is the relationship between language welfare and other forms of social welfare?

(4) How should appropriate language welfare policies be formulated?

Language welfare constitutes an integral part of social welfare, and research on language welfare should be strengthened from a social welfare perspective. In advancing Chinese-style modernization, a substantial amount of language welfare will be required. For instance, as proposed in the 15th Five-Year Plan, efforts will be made to accelerate the development of a Healthy China and build a high-quality and efficient medical service system, which includes expanding the supply of rehabilitation care and hospice care services. This requires improving the language service capabilities and proficiency of rehabilitation and hospice care workers, and such capacity-building services fall under the category of language welfare. Likewise, expanding high-standard opening up and optimizing the domestic international business environment necessitates enhancing language welfare provisions for international visitors, among other areas.[1]

7. Future-Oriented Discipline Development in the Economics of Language

[Prof. Wang/Zhang]: You have always attached great importance to and actively promoted the development of the discipline of the economics of language in China. Could you please outline what achievements have been made in this area in China, and what the future directions are?

[Prof. Li]: Although the economics of language in China began relatively late, it has developed rapidly. Professor Huang Shao'an at Shandong University (regrettably, he has passed away, and is deeply missed) was the pioneer of language economics research in China. In 2006, he took the lead in establishing a doctoral program in "Language Economics", recruiting and training doctoral students in the field. His team initiated the China Language Economics Forum, which has now been held 16 times, and also established the Center for the Economics of Language at Shandong University. In 2010, the Beijing Municipal Language Commission in collaboration with Capital Normal University, established the "Beijing Language Industry Research Center", later renamed the "China Language Industry Research Institute", and launched the "China Language Industry Forum", which has now been held 10 times. In 2019, Capital Normal University was approved to establish a doctoral program in "Language Industry Studies". In 2022, Beijing Language and Culture University was approved to establish a doctoral program in "Language Resources Studies", and in the same year, Beijing Language and Culture University and several other universities were approved to

[1] Elaborated discussions on language consumption and language welfare are presented in Li Yuming's publications: "The new mission of linguistics: Delivering language dividends for the society (*Studies of the Chinese Language*, 2026 No.01)""Language Life and Study of Language Life (*Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning,*2016 No.03)""The Role of Language in an Accessible Society (*Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*, 2022 No.05)""Research on Language Policies for People With Language Disorders in China (*Applied Linguistic*s, 2025 No.01)".

establish doctoral programs in "International Language Services." Guangzhou University initiated the "Advanced Forum on Language Services" in 2012, which has now been held 10 times. These four second-level doctoral programs are all cultivating high-level specialized talent related to language and economics, and the three specialized academic forums provide platforms for exchange in language economics research. In 2024, the 8th Discipline Evaluation Group of the Academic Degrees Committee of the State Council and the National Steering Committee for Professional Degree Graduate Education issued the "Introduction to Graduate Education Disciplines and Basic Requirements for Degrees (Trial Version)," which split the former "Linguistics and Applied Linguistics" into two independent second-level disciplines: "Theoretical Linguistics" and "Applied Linguistics." In the disciplinary areas of applied linguistics, language services, language industries, and language economy are mentioned, thereby institutionally guiding and supporting interdisciplinary talent cultivation between linguistics and economics. In terms of academic research, significant progress has also been made in the study of language economics in China, yielding a series of research results in areas such as language ability and income, language poverty alleviation, language industries, and the productive factor value of language data.

As society enters the age of digital intelligence, language life is undergoing dramatic changes, and linguistics is taking on new academic and social missions. Contributions should be made in areas such as language data research, the testing and interpretation of machine language intelligence, the application of language intelligent products, new structural changes in language professions, and the discourse of language life in the digital intelligence era. There is an urgent need to optimize the development of linguistics as a discipline and to encourage the establishment of socially oriented branch disciplines and interdisciplinary fields with new academic foci. The economics of language should receive greater attention and be developed more rapidly. Research in language economics should accomplish several basic tasks:

First, research on the operational patterns of China's language economy should trace the development trajectory of China's language economy and construct a logical and theoretical framework for its development.

Second, research on the economic contribution of language to society should be strengthened. At present, organizations such as the China Language Industry Research Institute, the Translators Association of China has conducted survey-based estimates of the output value and scale of China's language industry and language service industry. It can be seen that China's language industry has made outstanding contributions to economic development. However, there remain some non-independent language industries and language-related economic sectors that cannot yet be statistically accounted for. Currently, the language economy and language industry are not yet included in the national economic statistical system.

Third, greater attention should be paid to the costs of language policies and the economic benefits they generate, and to identifying policy environments and measures conductive to fostering a thriving language economy. In the past, the evaluation of language policies focused mainly on social benefits. Now, there is a need to strengthen the economic evaluation of language policies. Examples include the cost-benefit analyses of promoting and popularizing the national common language and script in China, the economic evaluation

of foreign language education, and the input-output assessment of international Chinese language education. Additionally, China has implemented a series of policies to promote economic development. These policies should be examined from the perspective of language economics to assess whether they are conducive to fostering the development of the language economy.

Fourth, economic research on language data warrants further development. As the most important type of data, language data is a key factor of production in the digital age. However, economic research on language data is still in its infancy. Understanding how language data becomes a factor of production and how to unlock its value as a factor of production require exploring the value realization mechanisms of language data as a new type of production factor.[1]

[Prof. Wang/Zhang]: Thank you again, Professor Li, for your valuable insights. This interview has deepened our systematic understanding of language's economic attributes and value. We believe it will popularize awareness of the language economy among academics and the public. As you mentioned, language research should contribute language dividends to society—and in this regard, the economics of language has an crucial responsibility. Thank you again!

[Prof. Li]: My pleasure.

Funding: This article is one of the interim outcomes of the National Social Science Fund of China Later-stage Funding Project "The Economic Power of Language: Theory and Practice" (Project No. 23FYYB09), and the 2023 Research Project under the National Language Commission's "14th Five-Year Plan" for Scientific Research, "Research on the Construction of an Evaluation System for Public Language Services" (Project No. ZDI145-73).

Conflicts of Interest: the authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Wang Hailand ID https://orcid.org/0009-0003-4270-3185

Zhang Xuetong ID https://orcid.org/0009-0003-3058-959X

Reference

LI Yuming (2026).The new Mission of Linguistics: Delivering Language Dividends for the Society. *Studies of the Chinese Language*, 430 (1):1-16+139.

LI Yuming (2023).On the Issues of Language Data in the Era of Human-Machine Symbiosis. *Journal of Central Chi*

[1] A detailed elaboration of the views on 'the disciplinary construction of linguistic economics', can be found in the articles by LI Yuming, "Special Study: The Construction and Development of the Discipline of Chinese Linguistics (Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning, 2018 No.01)""The Conglomerate Nature of Linguistic Studies (Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning, 2018 No.01)""Three Questions on the Disciplinary Construction of Chinese Linguistics (China Language Strategies, 2024 No.01)""Problem Awareness, Discourse Turn and Discipline Issues of Linguistics (Journal of Guangzhou University (Social Science Edition), 2019 No.05)""Interdisciplinary Development of Linguistics in the Context of the New Liberal Arts (Foreign Language World, 2020 No.04)".

na Normal University (Humanities and Social Sciences), 62(05):135-143. DOI：https://doi.org/10.19992/j.cnki.1000-2456.2023.05.011.

LI Yuming (2021).Understanding the Economic Attributes of Language: Supporting Regional Economies and Free Trade Zones (Ports). *Applied Linguistics*, 3(00):15-19.

LI Yuming (2012).Understanding the Economic Attributes of Language.*Applied Linguistics*, (03):2-8. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16499/j.cnki.1003-5397.2012.03.008.

LI Yuming (2020).Data Age and Language Industry. *Journal of Shandong Normal University (Social Sciences)*, 65(05):87-98. DOI：https://doi.org/10.16456/j.cnki.1001-5973.2020.05.008.

LI Yuming (2016).Language Services and the Language Industry.*East Journal of Translation*, (04):4-8.

LI Yuming (2014).Language Services and Language Consumption. *Journal of Educational Development*, (07):93-94. DOI：https://doi.org/10.16215/j.cnki.cn44-1371/g4.2014.07.001.

LI Yuming (2025).Language Data is the Key Data in the Era of big Data.*Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*, 10(06):1.

LI Yuming (2024),LIANG Jingtao.On the Function as a Factor of Production and Property Rights System Construction of Language Date. *Language Teaching and Linguistic Studies*, (02):1-11.

LI Yuming (2018).Reflections on the Relationship Between Language and Economy. *Language Industry Research*, (00):1-7.

LI Yuming (2023).Regional Language Planning and Regional Development. *Journal of Guangzhou University(Social Science Edition)*, 22(05):99-111.

LI Yuming.Building the Language Highway for Poverty Alleviation and Eradication. *Chinese Language Weekly*,2018-08-01(001).

LI Yuming, HUANG Xing, WANG Hui, et al (2018).Scholars Discuss 'Poverty Alleviation through Mandarin Popularization'. *Linguistic Sciences*, 2018, 17(04):356-367.

LI Yuming.The Theory and Practice of Language Poverty Alleviation[C]//ZHONGGUO XIUCI 2018.National Research Center for Language Norms and Standards,Beijing Language and Culture University; 2019:8-9. DOI：https://doi.org/10.26914/c.cnkihy.2019.026519.

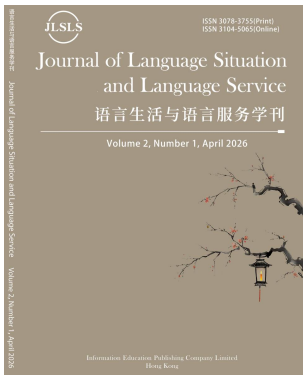
LI Yuming (2018).Special Study: The Construction and Development of the Discipline of Chinese Linguistics. *Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*, 3(01):14.

LI Yuming (2018).The Conglomerate Nature of Linguistic Studies. *Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*, 3(01):15-24.

LI Yuming,QU Shaobing (2023).A Dialogue on Language Life and Language Services in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area.*Journal of Guangzhou University(Social Science Edition)*, 22(01):29-39.

WANG Hailan, LI Yuming (2021).Emergency Language Service Needs in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area.*Language Policy and Planning*, (02):4-16+121.

LI Yuming,WANG Hailan (2020).Four fundamental language constructions for the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area.*Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*, 5(01):11-21. DOI：https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20200101.



JLSLS

HIEP
Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.18-30**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260102ldfeh

语言数据要素化与我国语言产业高质量发展

——理论机制、现实瓶颈与跃迁路径

陈柏福（Chen Baifu），钟丽洁（Zhong Lijie）

摘要：数字经济时代，语言数据正从一般性资源转化为可流通、可复用、可增值的新型生产要素，深刻影响语言产业的组织方式与服务模式。本文基于“企业—产业—制度”的三层分析框架，探讨语言数据要素赋能我国语言产业高质量发展的理论机制、现实瓶颈与跃迁路径。研究认为，语言数据要素在微观层面重塑企业决策、生产与组织能力；在中观层面促进产业链、数据链、创新链、人才链与资金链的协同；在宏观层面支撑国家语言能力、数字治理能力与文化传播能力。当前，我国语言数据赋能语言产业仍面临数据产权不清、流通机制不畅、质量标准不足、平台垄断风险与复合型人才短缺等现实瓶颈。未来应从企业数据能力建设、语言数据市场规范化、标准体系完善、安全伦理治理和国际化语言服务体系建设等方面推进语言产业高质量发展。

关键词：数字经济；语言产业；语言数据要素；高质量发展

作者简介：陈柏福，湖南衡东人，博士（后），广东金融学院经济贸易学院教授、文化经济研究中心主任，南方科技大学全球城市文明典范研究院特聘研究员，研究方向：语言经济与文化产业、数字经济与文化出海、产业经济学与组织。邮箱：47-175@gduf.edu.cn。**钟丽洁，**通讯作者，广东河源人，广东金融学院经济贸易学院国际商务专业硕士研究生，研究方向：国际文化贸易、国际商务。邮箱：3465986513@qq.com。

Received: 03 May 2026 / Revised: 10 May 2026 / Accepted: 20 May 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

Title: Language Data Factors Empowering the High-Quality Development of China's Language Industry in the Digital Era: Theoretical Mechanisms, Realistic Bottlenecks and Leapfrog Paths

Abstract: In the digital economy era, language data is evolving from a general resource into a new production factor characterized by circulation, reusability, and value appreciation, which profoundly reshapes the organizational modes and service paradigms of the language industry. Grounded in a three-tier analytical framework of "enterprise-industry-institution", this paper examines the theoretical mechanisms, realistic bottlenecks and leapfrog paths, through which language data elements enable the high-quality development of China's language industry. The study argues that at the micro level, language data elements reconstruct enterprises' capabilities in decision-making, production, and organizational management; at the meso level, they facilitate the synergy among industrial chains, data chains, innovation chains, talent chains, and capital chains; at the macro level, they underpin national language capacity, enhance digital governance, and strengthen cultural communication. Currently, the empowerment of the language industry by language data in China is still constrained by practical bottlenecks, including ambiguous data property rights, inefficient circulation mechanisms, inadequate quality standards, risks of platform monopoly, and a shortage of interdisciplinary talents. Moving forward, efforts should be directed toward advancing the high-quality development of the language industry through such measures as enhancing enterprises' data capabilities, standardizing the language data market, improving the standard system, strengthening security and ethical governance, and constructing an international language service system.

Keywords: Digital Economy; Language Industry; Language Data Factors; High-Quality Development

Author Biographies: Chen Baifu, from Hengdong, Hunan Province, holds a post-doctoral degree. He is a professor at the School of Economics and Trade, Guangdong University of Finance, and the director of the Cultural Economy Research Center. He is also a specially-appointed researcher at the Institute of Global Urban Civilization Model of Southern University of Science and Technology. His research interests include language economy and cultural industry, digital economy and cultural export, industrial economics and organization. E-mail: 47-175@gduf.edu.cn. **Zhong Lijie,** Corresponding author, from Heyuan, Guangdong Province, is a master's student in International Business at the School of Economics and Trade, Guangdong University of Finance. Her research interests include international cultural trade and international business. E-mail: 3465986513@qq.com.

一、引 言

习近平（2022）深刻指出："数字技术作为世界科技革命和产业变革的先导力量，日益融入经济社会发展各领域全过程"，并强调"要构建以数据为关键要素的数字经济"[1]。当前，数据要素已成为驱动新质生产力发展的基础性力量。根据 IDCA 研究显示，数字经济占世界名义 GDP 的 17.3%，相当于 2025 年约 119 万亿美元名义全球 GDP 中略超过 20 万亿美元[2]。语言数据是数字经济中具有基础支撑意义的重要数据类型之一，能有效提升全要素生产率，在经济高质量发展中起到了乘数效应（王海兰、陈柏福，2024）。在数字经济中，相当大比例的数据是以自然语言、文本、语音等形式存在的。在人工智能训练、智能交互、内容生成等核心环节，语言数据发挥着不可替代的支撑作用。数字经济时代，语言数据的重要性不言而喻：人类观察世界所形成的数据，可供计算机处理的数据，80%都是语言数据，故而语言数据是最为重要的数据（李宇明，2020）。因此，语言数据的要素化进程，构成了语言产业高质量发展的核心命题。

语言产业的研究脉络，已从早期的文化符号价值探讨，逐步拓展至经济价值与产业形态的系统性审视。在经济价值维度，学者们聚焦于产业融合效应。李宇明（2023）在回顾人类语言技术发展历程的基础上，重点探讨了语言数据管理、数据伦理学、语言大模型数据等问题。王海兰（2022）从人力资本、制度、产业、数据要素等维度阐释了语言数据的经济属性，认为语言数据既是数字技术发展的"物质基础"，又是生成用于决策的信息和知识的"原始材料"，也是新语言职业和语言产业形成和发展的"助推器"。在机制与实践上，谢孟军（2025）将语言数据嵌入内生增长模型，揭示其可通过直接参与生产或间接嵌入传统要素的方式驱动数字经济增长，且该效应存在区域与行业异质性。王建冬和童楠楠（2020）构建的"五链协同"机制为产业融合分析提供了理论框架；谢娟娟和肖姝帆（2024）从数据流动视角论证了其促进服务贸易出口的路径。张燕、黄俊杰和陈臻（2024）提出的"技术—经济范式"理论，为理解数字技术重塑产业的阶段性过程提供了分析工具。

然而，既有研究仍存在明显的理论缺口。一方面，数字经济研究多聚焦技术应用与市场效应，对语言数据作为基础性生产要素的独特作用关注不足，对其赋能全要素生产率的具体机制探讨不够深入；另一方面，语言产业研究虽关注业态转型，但未能充分整合要素化、市场化等前沿视角，与数字经济核心理论的耦合度有待提升。此外，对数据产权界定、市场流通等现实瓶颈的回应尚不够系统，导致政策设计缺乏针对性支撑。

本文立足于数字经济时代语言产业战略升级的现实诉求，旨在构建一个整合"数据要素—产业重构—高质量发展"的分析框架，重点阐释语言数据要素如何通过资源配置优化、技术融合创新、治理机制完善等路径，推动语言产业高质量发展。本文构建"企业—产业—制度"的三层分析框架，从微观、中观、宏观三个层面揭示语言数据赋能的理论机制，在审视语言数据要素助推语言产业高质量发展的现实瓶颈的基础上，提出针对性的跃迁路径与政策建议。

---

1 习近平.不断做强做优做大我国数字经济[J].求是, 2022(2):4-8.
2 International Data Center Authority. Global Digital Economy Report 2026[R]. New York: International Data Center Authority, 2026.

二、语言数据要素赋能语言产业高质量发展的理论逻辑

语言数据要素化的核心是从被动信息载体到主动生产要素的价值跃迁。其核心价值不在于数据本身的存储，而在于通过技术加工实现语义提取、需求匹配与价值衍生。这一跃迁的最终指向，是推动语言产业从边缘性服务产业向数字经济基础性支撑产业转型。语言产业高质量发展，本质上是从资源依赖型增长向创新驱动型增长的范式转变。这一转变的核心驱动力，并非是传统的资本积累或劳动力扩张，而是在数字经济中被确立为关键生产要素的语言数据。那么，语言数据要素究竟通过何种理论机制，实现其从微观到宏观的全面赋能呢？本文从微观企业能力重塑、中观产业生态协同、宏观国家战略支撑三个层面，系统揭示其内在逻辑。

（一）微观层面：企业能力重塑

数据要素对语言产业的驱动，最终要在微观企业层面得到体现和检验。语言数据要素并非静态地存在于数据库中等待被使用，而是作为一种能动的变革性力量，来重塑语言企业的决策范式、生产函数与组织形态。

1.决策范式：从抽样推断到全景洞察

传统语言企业的决策依据，多依赖于有限样本的市场调研和滞后信号的需求反馈，本质上是一种抽样推断。数据要素的首要价值，就在于它重构了企业的决策基础。通过对全域、实时数据流的处理与分析，企业获得了对市场需求和用户行为进行持续、精细测绘的能力。

具体而言，语言服务企业能够运用自然语言处理、情感分析、主题建模等技术，对用户生成内容、交互日志、服务反馈等大规模非结构化数据进行深度挖掘和分析。这些数据中蕴含的潜在需求信号，往往比显性的问卷调查结果更为真实和及时。例如，翻译平台可以通过持续监测用户的搜索查询日志和翻译请求特征，动态识别专业领域机器翻译后编辑、跨文化场景化语言培训等新兴需求的增长态势，从而在竞争对手尚未察觉之前，提前进行服务布局与资源储备。这不仅是决策效率的提升，更是决策逻辑的根本性转变。

更为关键的是，数据要素催生了前瞻性服务这一全新的价值创造模式。通过分析用户的实时行为序列与历史数据轨迹，系统能够构建用户能力模型和需求预测模型，预测其在语言学习或跨语言沟通中可能遇到的困难与障碍。例如，商务英语学习平台可基于学习者的行业背景、职位层级和学习行为数据，智能推送与其职业发展路径高度相关的个性化学习内容。在此过程中，语言企业的角色从均质化服务的提供者，升华为支持用户个体化语言能力发展的长期战略性伙伴。企业从一次性交易的关系模式，转向价值共生模式。

2.生产模式：基于人机协同的效率倍增

在语言产业的生产领域，数据要素与人工智能技术的深度融合，催生了人机协同的新型生产模式。其核心要义在于，通过将人类专家的领域知识与机器的计算能力进行深度耦合，实现生产效率和质量的跃升。

在这一模式下，机器依托于经过大规模、高质量、领域专属语料训练的算法模型，高效处理翻译记忆匹配、文本初稿生成、基础质量校验等标准化、重复性任务。这些任务是传统语言服务生产中大量耗费人力的工作。而人类专家则得以从繁琐的流程性工作中解放出来，将核心智力资源聚焦

于机器难以替代的环节。例如，处理语言的模糊性（如一词多义的语境消歧）、复杂性（如逻辑关系复杂的法律条文翻译）与创造性（如品牌文案的文化调适、市场营销内容的创意写作），以及对术语准确性、语境适配性、风格一致性、文化敏感性进行高阶审校和最终把关。这种分工并非机器替代人，而是机器处理规模，人类来驾驭复杂的增效闭环——两者在价值链上实现了优势互补。

这种生产模式的重构，深刻地改变了语言企业的核心竞争力构成。企业的关键资产，不再是传统意义上掌握语言技能的译员个体，而是企业所积累的、具有强不可复制的和持续增值属性的高质量领域专属语料库，以及基于这些专属数据精调、优化出的专属智能生产系统。这个“语料库+专属模型”的组合，构成了企业的核心知识库和竞争力。竞争对手可以招募译员、采购通用翻译引擎，但无法在短时间内复刻一个企业在垂直领域深耕数十年所积累的、经过精细标注和结构化处理的高质量语料资产。

3.组织形态：面向柔性化与治理内嵌的调适

数据要素的流动性推动企业组织架构向更敏捷的方向演进。为快速响应数据驱动下瞬息万变的市场信号与创新机遇，传统的刚性组织边界走向模糊化，取而代之的是以任务为中心、能够动态整合内外部资源的柔性协作网络。

在组织内部，横跨各部门的数据中台或项目制团队成为打破数据孤岛的关键机制。数据中台负责全企业的数据资产管理和共享服务，使数据一处采集、多处使用成为可能。在组织外部，企业通过与高校研究机构、云计算和 AI 技术伙伴、以及律师事务所、医疗机构、跨境电商平台等垂直行业客户，建立深度耦合的数据合作生态，构建起超越自身组织边界的开放式创新共同体。

组织柔性化也凸显了内部数据治理的重要性。当数据成为企业的核心资产，其权属如何界定、安全如何保障、质量如何控制、伦理合规如何确保，便直接关系到企业的稳健运营与合法生存，甚至构成企业的核心风险敞口。因此，建立系统化、体系化的企业内部数据治理框架——明确数据在采集、存储、使用、共享、归档、销毁全生命周期内的管理规范、责任主体和审计流程——已从可有可无的合规建设，演变为企业维系其核心竞争优势、防范系统性风险的内生性制度保障。一个缺乏有效数据治理的语言企业，犹如一个没有财务制度的金融机构，蕴含着巨大风险。

（二）中观层面：产业生态协同

数据要素对语言产业的驱动并非一蹴而就，而是需要依托中观层面的生态协同机制来传导和放大。要素融合、市场配置与治理平衡，三者层层递进，共同构成价值创造—价值实现—价值保障的产业闭环。

1.基于“五链协同”的要素融合与价值创造

数据要素赋能语言产业高质量发展的核心起点，在于其与资本、劳动、技术等传统生产要素的深度融合，这一融合过程需依托系统性机制实现价值共创。从要素配置的理论逻辑来看，数据要素参与生产分配具有重要性与必要性，且需遵循马克思主义政治经济学原理，以及以按劳分配为主体、多种分配方式并存的制度原则（李政、周希禛，2020），其赋能效应的发挥并非孤立存在，而是依赖于多链条的协同联动。王建冬与童楠楠（2020）提出的“五链协同”机制，为这一融合过程分析提供了清晰的实操框架。

具体而言，围绕语言产业链的实际需求——涵盖翻译服务、本地化工程、语言教育、语言技术研发、语言数据服务等核心环节——需要整合来自多元场景和不同主体的多源异构语言数据链，包括通用语料、行业专属语料、用户交互行为数据等。这些高质量的数据链资源，为创新链提供核心的训练素材，驱动自然语言处理算法优化、多模态大模型精调、以及新型智能语言产品的创新孵化。同时，数据链所蕴含的巨大潜在价值通过市场的价格信号和竞争机制进行传导，吸引和引导风险投资、产业基金等资金链，向关键技术领域和高潜力应用赛道倾斜和集聚。而人才链——涵盖基础研究人才、技术开发人才、产品运营人才和产业管理人才——则为整个系统的持续创新和高效运转提供了根本的智力保障。

在这一协同框架中，语言数据要素既扮演着贯通全局的要素连接器角色，又发挥着价值放大器的关键功能。作为连接器，它通过自身的高流动性穿梭于各链之间，打破了传统分工下的信息壁垒，使得孤立的要素得以跨环节优化重组。作为放大器，它通过赋能某单一传统要素，产生巨大的乘数效应。例如，资深译员的经验与高质量语料库结合后，其产出效率可能数倍于仅依靠个人记忆和搜索引擎的同行。从经济学本质来看，“五链协同”的核心价值在于，通过政府、企业、用户等多元主体的复杂互动与信息共享，系统性地降低了要素配置过程中的信息不对称与交易成本，从而突破了传统生产要素的边际收益递减规律，为语言产业的价值创造注入持续而强劲的动力。

2.突破产权、定价与流通壁垒的市场化配置

通过协同机制创造出的价值，需要经由高效规范的市场体系来完成分配和实现循环增值。这是驱动产业高质量发展的关键制度环节。当前，我国语言数据要素市场面临着两大核心制度性壁垒，直接制约了其价值转化效率。

第一大壁垒是产权界定模糊。在语言数据这一客体之上，往往附着着极为复杂的权益结构，涉及用户（数据的原始生产者，享有人格性的隐私权和财产性的数据收益权）、企业（数据的加工控制者，享有经营性的数据财产权）、社会（作为公共利益的代表，享有公共数据知情权和普惠使用权）等多元主体。数据要素的非竞争性（一人使用不影响他人使用）与产权制度有效运行所要求的排他性之间存在内在的理论张力（黄少安等，2022），而语言数据所涉多元权益边界又高度交叉重叠，实践中难以清晰切割。这种产权界定的制度性模糊，直接导致两个并存的负面后果：一是“数据孤岛”——企业因担心权益受损、丧失竞争优势，宁愿将宝贵的数据资源锁在自己的服务器里也不愿对外共享；二是“数据沉睡”——企业因无法可靠评估合规的风险，即使拥有海量数据也不敢进行深度开发和产品化。二者共同构成了语言数据市场化流通的核心制度阻碍。

第二大壁垒是价值定价困难。语言数据的价值增值具有极强的场景依赖性，一组医疗领域的专业平行语料对于开发医学 AI 的价值，远高于同等规模的一般日常对话语料。同时，语言数据产品的生产具有典型的高固定成本、低边际成本特征，初期的采集、清洗、标注投入巨大，而一旦形成标准化产品，其复制和分发的边际成本趋近于零。传统的基于生产成本的加成定价法和基于供需关系的均衡定价法，均难以直接适配和反映其真实价值。定价标准的缺失，使得交易双方难以形成公允的价格预期，严重阻碍了其交易的规模化和常规化。

值得关注的是，我国在语言数据要素市场的特色化实践上已取得关键突破。深圳数据交易所于

2023 年成功落地了全国首单语言语料数据的场内实质闭环交易，它通过设立专门的“人工智能产品专区”，并联合产业各方发布大规模高质量训练数据集，为语料数据的标准化、规模化流通探索出了一条可信的平台化解决路径。[1]这一前沿实践深刻地表明，依托权威、专业的交易枢纽，并配套以清晰的准入规则、技术标准、合规框架和安全保障方案，能够有效降低交易双方的信任成本和信息搜寻成本，激活并牵引高质量语言数据要素进入规范的交易市场。

3.平衡创新与垄断的可持续生态治理

市场化配置机制在有效激活语言数据巨大潜在价值的同时，也因其另一面的强规模经济效应，催生了一种数字经济时代特有的新型垄断风险，对健康的市场生态构成了严峻威胁。

这种新型垄断的形成遵循着数据飞轮的逻辑：少数掌握先发优势的头部企业，凭借庞大的用户基数持续、海量地积累多模态语言交互数据；这些数据反过来又用于训练和迭代出性能更优的算法模型，提供更精准、更流畅的语言服务；更优的服务体验吸引更多用户，产生更多数据，如此形成一个自我强化的“数据－算法”正反馈循环。这种循环在构筑企业核心的同时，也树起了极高的行业准入门槛，使后来者和中小企业难以进入，最终拥有支配市场的地位。

这种市场支配地位的负面影响是多重的。它可能挤压中小企业的生存空间、抑制全行业的源头创新活力；可能使占据了数据垄断地位的企业获得操控语言服务价格、固化服务质量的能力；甚至可能引发大范围数据泄露、系统性信息不对称等社会安全隐患。传统反垄断理论以“有形产品”为核心设计，难以完全适配数据要素驱动下的新型垄断形态（杨东、臧俊恒，2020）。如何在保护数据创新激励的同时，构建科学有效的市场规制体系，是当前语言产业生态治理的关键命题。

（三）宏观层面：国家战略支撑

从宏观层面看，语言数据要素通过优化资源配置与重构生产流程，系统性地提升全要素生产率，并推动语言产业从边缘性服务产业向战略性“基础设施”演进。

1.全要素生产率的系统性提升

数据要素之所以能够成为推动长期经济增长的关键引擎，其经济学依据在于它所具有的非竞争性特征。Jones & Tonetti（2020）指出，数据的核心经济属性在于非竞争性，即其使用不具有排他性，且边际复制成本趋近于零。语言数据不仅具备一般数据的共性特征，更因其特有的文化承载、认知基础与场景嵌入属性，在产业赋能过程中除带来效率提升外，还能促进文化传播、知识积累与信任形成，从而对全要素生产率（TFP）的影响机制更为复杂与深入。该特性使数据能够以较低成本在不同生产单元和环节中重复使用，进而通过优化资源配置、促进知识溢出、激励组合创新等途径，缓解传统有形要素的边际收益递减趋势，成为推动长期经济增长与 TFP 提升的关键因素。语言数据作为数据要素的重要组成，其要素化进程正是上述机制在产业实践中的具体体现。

数据要素对生产率的促进效应，在与通用目的技术（GPTs）的融合过程中进一步凸显。Brynjolfsson et al.（2021）提出的“生产率 J 曲线”理论表明，以数据为核心的无形资产（如专用软件、数字平台）与人工智能等 GPTs 之间存在显著的互补关系。二者在融合初期因需大量协同投

[1] 数据来源：证券时报网，https://stcn.com/article/detail/1046428.html

资，可能导致生产率增长暂时减缓，但一旦跨越拐点，便会引发明显的效率跃升。这一理论有助于解释语言产业当前的发展阶段：企业对语言智能技术（GPTs）与专用语料库（无形资产）的协同投入，正处于构建新型生产函数、推动 TFP 结构性提升的关键时期。

来自中国语境的实证研究为数据要素促进 TFP 提升带来了经验证据。蔡跃洲、马文君（2021）实证分析表明，数据要素的积累与有效配置能够显著推动经济高质量发展，其主要路径之一即为提升全要素生产率。该研究进一步指出，数据要素的产出弹性和赋能效应在高技术产业与知识密集型服务业中表现得尤为突出。这为本文的核心论点提供了宝贵的宏观结构层面的统计支撑：以语言数据处理、智能语言服务为核心业务的语言产业，恰是数据要素赋能效应最为显著和典型的领域之一，其高质量发展不仅体现为自身全要素生产率的跃升，更能通过深度的技术渗透与广泛的产业协同，对其他行业产生积极的正向外部溢出效应。

2.产业属性的战略升维

在数据与智能技术的双重驱动之下，语言产业的价值逻辑和产业定位发生了演变，其功能与属性开始深度嵌合国家整体战略体系。这一过程最集中地体现在两个具有标杆意义的领域。

一是应急语言服务体系的战略化建设。进入风险社会以来，在自然灾害、公共卫生危机、地缘冲突等各类突发公共事件中，快速生成、精准翻译和广泛传播的多语种预警信息，面向特定人群的方言应急服务和特殊群体的无障碍通信服务，已构成国家应急管理体系和公共安全基础设施不可或缺的关键模块。语言产业在此过程中展现出的价值，已超越纯粹的经济交易范畴，凸显了其作为社会信任媒介与关键信息基础设施的公共品属性。

二是国家文化数字化战略中的核心支撑作用。在推动中华优秀传统文化创造性转化、创新性发展的国家战略实施进程中，大规模、高质量、多维度的中华文化语料库及其配套的智能标注、检索、分析、生成平台，构成了国家文化大数据体系的底层基座，是实现中华文化资源全景呈现、脉络系统梳理、知识深度挖掘和全球活化利用的核心技术前提。无论是古籍的数字化整理与智能标引，还是中国当代学术成果的多语种精准翻译与全球传播，无不依赖语言数据要素和语言智能技术的强力支撑。

与此同时，宏观层面的机制还体现为产业业态的整体进化方向。在语言数据要素的持续赋能下，语言产业的业态结构正加速向智能化、集群化方向演进。以可被调用的应用程序接口（API）形式输出底层自然语言处理能力的大语言模型产业，以及面向特定行业实现深度定制和优化部署的垂直领域语言智能产业，正在形成新的集群化发展态势。这些新兴业态，构成了数字经济时代新的语言基础设施。至此，语言产业的价值最终完成了根本性升华：从纯粹的市场交易和商业收益，升维至关乎总体国家安全的战略保障。

三、我国语言数据要素赋能语言产业高质量发展的现实瓶颈

在语言数据要素驱动语言产业重构的过程中，也衍生出涉及制度设计、市场治理、人才供给与国际竞争的多重矛盾，共同制约着语言产业向高质量发展阶段演进。

（一）数据产权不清与流通机制不畅

数据孤岛与数据沉睡是语言数据市场化流通和价值转化的根本障碍。这一障碍首先表现为各种类型的数据壁垒难以打破。在政企之间，政府部门和公共机构掌握着海量且高质量的公共语言数据资源，但受制于数据安全、开放规则不明和部门利益固化，这些数据的开放共享程度与产业界的迫切需求之间存在巨大落差。在企业与企业之间，出于对核心数据资产流失、竞争优势丧失的深切担忧，各市场主体普遍选择紧闭数据大门，以邻为壑，缺乏可信、有效的共享激励机制和技术方案。

更为深层的梗阻来自产权制度层面。语言数据的产权谱系极为复杂：一名用户在语言学习 APP 上发出的练习发音、留下的交互日志，其数据权益究竟应如何在用户（原始生产者，享有人格权和财产利益）、平台企业（数据控制者和加工者，享有经营权益）、以及社会公众三者之间进行合理界定和平衡？这些复杂权益的边界在现行法律和政策框架内仍属模糊地带。部分企业虽然坐拥海量数据资源，但受限于自身的技术能力不足、应用场景有限，或因担心触及合规红线而不敢进行商业化开发，造成“数据沉睡”。这种孤岛与沉睡的畸形共存，严重降低了社会中极为宝贵的语言数据要素的配置效率，使其难以在本可发挥巨大作用的领域释放应有价值。

（二）数据质量标准与治理体系不足

语言数据要实现高效的要素化流通，需以统一的质量标准和健全的治理体系为前提。然而，当前，语料采集、标注、评价的全流程缺乏公认的行业标准。在质量标准维度，语料数据的采集格式、标注精深度、内容质量评价等全流程环节，都缺乏全行业公认的、具有权威约束力的统一标准。这导致来自不同来源、不同类型的语言数据呈现出碎片化、孤岛化的技术异构状态：数据格式互不兼容，标注深度从浅层的简单文本分类到深层的复杂语义角色标注参差不齐，数据质量更是缺乏统一的合格率基准、抽样方法和验收流程。

在治理体系上，语言数据安全风险与算法伦理监管的顶层设计仍存在明显滞后问题。语言数据本身可能携带大量个人隐私和敏感信息，一旦泄露或滥用，将造成无可挽回的损害。同时，若训练所用的语料库本身即存在种族、性别、地域、文化等方面的偏见，那么在这种数据上训练出的语言模型和服务，可能会系统性地复制甚至放大这些偏见，对特定群体造成歧视和伤害。然而，针对语言数据全生命周期的分类分级安全指南、算法公平性审查规范、伦理影响评估制度等制度建设，仍处于零散起步和概念探索阶段，还未形成完整闭环。

（三）平台垄断风险与市场规制滞后

语言数据的强规模经济效应催生了产业的新型垄断风险。头部企业凭借先发优势积累海量语言数据，结合算法与算力构建技术壁垒与市场支配地位，不仅挤压中小企业生存空间、抑制行业创新活力，还可能通过数据垄断操控服务价格、固化服务质量，引发数据泄露、信息不对称等安全隐患。

这种市场力量的过度集中，可能产生一系列竞争损害。它挤压了广大中小创新主体的生存空间，抑制了颠覆性技术和差异化产品在全行业范围内的萌发。占据数据垄断地位的巨头企业，有可能获得操控细分领域服务价格、固化服务质量标准、乃至通过算法排序影响信息传播与商业话语权的能力。另外，海量语言交互数据（尤其是语音和文本）的高度集中，本身就构成极为严重的系统性用户隐私泄漏风险和国家安全信息隐患。

现有反垄断理论与规制工具以“有形产品”为核心设计，难以完全适配数据要素驱动下的新型垄断形态。如何在保护数据创新激励的同时，构建科学有效的市场规制体系，已成为当前语言产业生态治理的难题。

（四）复合型人才供给结构性短缺

产业从“语言工具服务”向“数据智能赋能”转型，亟需兼具语言学素养、数据科学能力与产业实践经验的复合型人才。但现行教育体系仍沿袭传统学科分类，语言学与数据科学、信息技术等学科融合不足，课程设置滞后于产业实际需求，缺乏针对性的跨学科实践训练。例如，语言学专业的学生普遍缺乏扎实的数学、统计学和编程能力训练，而计算机科学专业的学生则往往对语言学的核心理论和分析方法缺乏基本认知。同时，高校与产业界之间缺乏有效的产学研协同育人平台和长效机制，学生在校期间难以接触到产业一线的真实大规模数据处理任务和智能技术应用场景，导致实践能力不足。这种供需结构性错配，使企业难以有效承接数据要素赋能带来的技术转化与场景应用任务，构成制约产业向全球价值链高端攀升的短板。

（五）国际化能力与全球竞争力不足

尽管我国语言产业已形成万亿级市场体量，但在全球市场上的整体竞争力仍有待提升。一方面，语言企业随同基建、经贸项目出海的能力尚不成熟，面向“一带一路”沿线国家和地区的多语种语言服务支撑体系有待完善。另一方面，我国在 AI 训练数据版权、多语种内容生成伦理等国际数字语言治理议题上的参与度和规则制定权仍相对有限，产业实践优势尚未有效转化为制度性话语权。国际化能力的不足，制约了语言产业在全球数字经济格局中的战略地位。

四、实践路径与政策建议

围绕前述瓶颈，我们提出系统性的解决路径，力图实现理论逻辑与政策实践的有机衔接。

（一）破解数据产权与流通障碍

释放语言数据要素的巨大潜在价值，突破口在于建设一套既尊重数据特性又高效规范运行的市场化配置体系。在此，建议采用“分级、分类、分步”的确权思路。应当依据数据来源（个人、企业、公共）和加工程度（原始数据、衍生数据、数据产品），差异化地界定各方权益，形成个人享有隐私权和基础数据收益权，企业享有经加工后的数据财产权和经营权，社会享有公共数据的开放获取权的多层次，复合型产权架构。在此基础之上，应加快培育和建设兼具权威性、专业性和技术先进性的国家级和区域性数据交易枢纽，借鉴深圳数据交易所在探索语言语料数据场内实质闭环交易方面的宝贵先行先试经验，尽快形成一套可复制、可推广的交易规则、定价参考、交付流程和安全保障体系，为语言数据要素安全、有序、大规模地进场流通和交易，营造良好的制度环境和市场生态。

（二）构建质量标准与治理体系

为根本解决语料市场良莠不齐和“劣币驱逐良币”的乱象，应强力推进语言数据全流程标准化体系建设。可由相关标准化主管部门联合行业协会及龙头企业，先行启动语料采集格式规范、基础标注层级指南、通用质量评价指标等基础性、通用性国家或行业标准的紧急研制。积极落实《关于

加强数字中文建设推进语言文字信息化发展的意见》中关于建设国家语言文字大数据中心和国家关键语料库的重大战略部署，以此为国家级基础设施和中立平台，率先推出一批高质量、可信赖的国家级标杆语料数据集，形成示范效应。同时，应前瞻性地研究制定语言数据分类分级安全保护指南和算法伦理审查规范，鼓励企业积极采用隐私计算（如联邦学习、多方安全计算）、数据水印、差分隐私等前沿技术手段，为语言数据市场构筑坚实的信任根基。

（三）规制平台垄断与促进融通发展

应对数据驱动的新型垄断风险，需在法律制度和市场治理层面进行工具革新。一方面，建议在《中华人民共和国反垄断法》的修订与执法实践中，积极探索将数据资产集中度、算法透明度、数据迁移成本、以及平台互操作性等新型指标，纳入数字经济领域市场支配地位认定和竞争损害评估的考量框架。可考虑引入守门人制度，对达到特定规模、掌握关键语言数据入口的超级平台，施加更加严格的数据开放、公平接入和互操作性义务。另一方面，应采取更加积极有为的产业组织政策，主动塑造大中小企业融通共生的健康发展生态。通过设立产业引导基金、税收优惠、联合研发补贴等方式，大力支持和鼓励头部企业向中小企业开放其基础算法、算力平台和一定规模的通用语料数据。引导广大中小企业聚焦特定语种、专业垂直领域或特定文化场景，走“专精特新”的差异化发展道路，最终形成大企业建共享平台、小企业强专业应用的协同分工格局。

（四）培育复合型语言数据人才

破解人才结构性短缺，需从教育体系与产教融合两端发力。顶层设计上，应依据国务院办公厅《关于全面加强新时代语言文字工作的意见》中关于加强语言产业规划研究、发展语言智能的明确战略导向，设立专项资金，优先支持有条件的高校打破现有院系壁垒，先行先试设立“语言学+数据科学”“翻译+人工智能”等深度融合的交叉学科专业或实验班。培养过程上，建立强制性的产学研协同育人机制。可借鉴德国双元制职业教育和专业硕士双导师制的经验，将企业真实的语言数据处理项目、算法开发任务和产品运营场景，作为学生课程实训、考核和毕业论文的核心内容，确保人才培养从知识本位转向能力本位。

（五）建设国际化语言服务体系

针对国际化能力不足的问题，应系统提升语言产业的全球服务能力。鼓励语言企业随同基建、经贸项目出海，为“一带一路”高质量发展提供覆盖项目全周期的语言服务。国家层面，应以“一带一路”倡议为战略牵引，通过政策性金融、信息服务、国别风险指引等方式，大力支持国内语言服务龙头企业通过设立海外分支机构、实施跨国并购、建立国际战略联盟等多种方式，在全球主要节点城市和目标市场国家构建起完善的属地化交付网络和本地化服务能力。在行业层面，应鼓励和支持我国相关研究机构、企业和标准化组织，更加主动、更加自信地登上国际舞台，积极参与到联合国教科文组织、国际标准化组织（ISO）等国际平台关于 AI 训练数据版权、多语种内容生成伦理规范等前沿议题的讨论和标准制定中去。力争将在中国大规模、多场景市场实践中验证过的成功模式和技术方案，升华为可供全球参考和采用的“中国方案”，在构建更加公平、包容、普惠的全球数字语言治理新秩序的历史进程中，贡献更多中国智慧，赢得更多制度性话语权。

五、结 语

本文立足于数字经济时代语言产业深刻转型的现实背景，聚焦语言数据从“资源”向“要素”的价值跃迁，构建了“企业—产业—制度”的三层分析框架，系统揭示了语言数据赋能语言产业高质量发展的内在逻辑。主要结论如下：

第一，语言数据要素是语言产业高质量发展的核心引擎。语言数据作为新型生产要素，通过与资本、劳动、技术等传统要素深度融合，系统性提升了全要素生产率，为产业向创新驱动转型奠定了效率基础。

第二，语言产业形态实现从工具服务向战略基础的重塑。在数据与智能技术驱动下，语言产业超越传统中介服务角色，演进为支撑数字经济、赋能文化数字化与国家治理的战略性基础设施。

第三，语言产业高质量发展是多重机制协同的系统工程。微观上，数据要素重塑企业决策、生产与组织模式；中观上，要素协同、市场配置与治理平衡构成产业生态基石；宏观上，需构建统筹数据流动与安全、衔接国内国际规则的制度体系。

本文的理论贡献在于提出了整合微观、中观、宏观三层视角的系统性分析框架，在阐释语言数据要素赋能语言产业高质量发展的理论机制的同时，系统梳理了当前的现实瓶颈，并形成了问题到路径的对应政策建议。未来研究可在以下方面进一步深化：一是构建语言产业高质量发展的可量化评价指标体系，开展系统而深入的实证研究；二是对语言数据交易、应急语言服务等新兴细分领域进行深入的案例跟踪与比较研究；三是关注国际语言数据治理规则的演化动态，为我国参与全球数字语言治理提供更具时效性的政策参考。

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Chen Baifu ID https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8265-5638

Zhong Lijie ID https://orcid.org/0009-0005-0606-5846

References

习近平（2022）：“不断做强做优做大我国数字经济”，《求是》（02）：4-8。

[Xi Jinping (2022). Continuously Strengthen, Optimize and Expand China’s Digital Economy. *Qiushi* ,(02): 4-8. Brynjolfsson, E., Rock, D., & Syverson, C. (2021). The productivity J-curve: How intangibles complement general purpose technologies. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 13(1): 333-372.]

蔡跃洲、马文君（2021）：数据要素对高质量发展影响与数据流动制约，《数量经济技术经济研究》，38 (03)：64-83。

[Cai Yuezhou, Ma Wenjun (2021). The impact of data factors on high-quality development and constraints on data flow. *The Journal of Quantitative & Technical Economics*, 38(03): 64-83. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13653/j.cnki.jqte.2021.03.002.]

黄少安、汪张龙、宋晖等（2022）：“语言数据与数字经济”多人谈，《语言战略研究》，（4）：61-65。

[Huang Shaoan, Wang Zhanglong, Song Hui, et al. (2022). Multi-person discussion on “language data and digital economy”. *Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*, (4): 61-65.]

Jones, I. C., & Tonetti, C. (2020). Nonrivalry and the economics of data. *American Economic Review*, 110(9): 2819-2858.

李宇明（2020）：数据时代与语言产业，《山东师范大学学报 （社会科学版）》，65 (05)：87-98.

[Li Yuming (2020). Language industry in the era of data. *Journal of Shandong Normal University (Social Science Edition)*, 65(05): 87-98. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16456/j.cnki.1001-5973.2020.05.008.]

李宇明（2023）：人机共生时代的语言数据问题，《华中师范大学学报 （人文社会科学版）》，62 (05)：135-143。

[Li Yuming (2023). Language data issues in the era of human-machine symbiosis. *Journal of Central China Normal University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, 62(05): 135-143. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19992/j.cnki.1000-2456.2023.05.011.]

李政、周希禛（2020）：数据作为生产要素参与分配的政治经济学分析，《学习与探索》，（1）：109-115。

[Li Zheng, Zhou Xizhen (2020). Political economic analysis of data participating in distribution as a production factor. *Study & Exploration*, (1): 109-115. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-462X.2020.01.016.]

王海兰（2022）：试论语言数据的经济属性，《语言战略研究》，（4）：26-34。

[Wang Hailan (2022). On the economic attributes of language data. *Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*, (4): 26-34. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20220402.]

王海兰、陈柏福（2024）：释放语言数据要素价值 推动新质生产力发展，《天津师范大学学报（社会科学版）》，（6）：55-59。

[Wang Hailan, Chen Baifu (2024). Unleashing the value of language data factors to promote the development of new quality productive forces. *Journal of Tianjin Normal University (Social Science Edition)*, (6): 55-59. DOI: https://doi.org/10.20247/j.issn1671-1106.2024.06.015.]

王建冬、童楠楠（2020）：数字经济背景下数据与其他生产要素的协同联动机制研究，《电子政务》，（3）：22-31。

[Wang Jiandong, Tong Nannan (2020). Research on the collaborative linkage mechanism between data and other production factors under the background of digital economy. *E-Government*, (3): 22-31. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16582/j.cnki.dzzw.2020.03.003.]

谢娟娟、肖姝帆（2024）：数据流动与服务贸易出口——基于数据要素视角的理论与实证分析，《南开经济研究》，（11）：46-65。

[Xie Juanjuan, Xiao Shufan (2024). Data flow and service trade export: Theoretical and empirical analysis from the perspective of data factors. *Nankai Economic Studies*, (11): 46-65. DOI: https://doi.org/10.14116/j.nkes.2024.11.003.]

谢孟军（2025）：语言数据要素驱动数字经济增长研究——基于拓展内生增长模型的分析，《上海经济研究》，（08）：15-28。

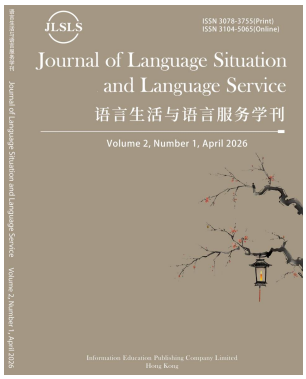
[Xie Mengjun (2025). Research on digital economic growth driven by language data factors: Analysis based on expanded endogenous growth model. *Shanghai Journal of Economics*, (08): 15-28. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19626/j.cnki.cn31-1163/f.2025.08.010.]

杨东、臧俊恒（2020）：数据生产要素的竞争规制困境与突破，《国家检察官学院学报》，（6）：143-159。

[Yang Dong, Zang Junheng (2020). Dilemma and breakthrough of competition regulation of data production factors. *Journal of National Prosecutors College*, (6): 143-159. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1004-9428.2020.06.011.]

张燕、黄俊杰、陈臻（2024）：数字经济赋能制造业转型升级：逻辑、案例与路径 —— 基于“技术—经济范式”演化的视角，《技术经济》，43（11）：49-59。

[Zhang Yan, Huang Junjie, Chen Zhen (2024). Digital economy empowering the transformation and upgrading of manufacturing industry: Logic, cases and paths. *Technology Economics*, 43(11): 49-59. DOI: https://doi.org/10.12404/j.issn.1002-980X.J24031112.]



JLSLS

HIEP
Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.31-44**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260103daiic

话语分析法在国际传播和跨文化传播中的应用与展望：基于中国国内的研究现状

陈棣棋（Chen Diqi），单韵鸣（Shan Yunming）

摘要：话语分析作为一个术语自提出以来已有七十余年历史，是国际传播和跨文化传播研究领域的重要方法论工具。本文系统梳理中国国内相关文献，先概述话语分析法在国际传播和跨文化传播研究领域的应用现状，再基于对现有文献的反思，从提升对多模态语料的关注、注重理论应用框架搭建与优化、增加受众视角融入、加强对积极话语的挖掘四个维度提出方法应用路径的优化方向与未来研究展望，为该领域后续研究提供方法论层面的参考与启示。

关键词：话语分析；批评话语分析；国际传播；跨文化传播

作者介绍：陈棣棋，华南理工大学新闻与传播学院研究生，研究方向为跨文化传播，电邮：jccdq@mail.scut.edu.cn。**单韵鸣**，通讯作者，华南理工大学国际教育学院教授、博士生导师、博士后合作导师，粤港澳大湾区语言文化协同创新研究基地主任。研究方向：语言学与应用语言学、国际传播。电邮：ymshan@scut.edu.cn。

Title: Discourse Analysis in International and Intercultural Communication: Applications and Prospects Based on the Current Studies in China

Abstract: Discourse analysis, as a term with a history of more than 70 years since its inception, serves as an important methodological tool in international and intercultural communication research. Based on a systematic review of relevant literature in mainland China, this paper

Received: 26 Dec 2025 / Revised: 16 Mar 2026 / Accepted: 20 Apr 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

summarizes the current application of discourse analysis in the field. Furthermore, based on a critical reflection of current literature, it explores the prospects for future research from four aspects: increasing attention to multi-modal data, strengthening the framework construction and optimization of theoretical application, incorporating audience perspectives, and enhancing the exploration of the positive aspects of the discourse.

Keywords: discourse analysis; critical discourse analysis; international communication; intercultural communication

Author Biographies: Chen Diqi, School of Journalism and Communication, South China University of Technology. Research interests: intercultural communication, E-mail: jccdq@mail.scut.edu.cn. **Shan Yunming**, Corresponding author, Professor, School of International Education, South China University of Technology. Research interests: Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, international communication, E-mail: ymshan@scut.edu.cn.

二十世纪以来，“语言学转向”使得语言成为社会现象中的一个中心角色，围绕语言进行的文本分析逐渐成为社会科学研究的一种重要方法。二十世纪下半叶，符号学、言语行为学等学科理论的发展打破了传统文本研究中语言学和修辞学的界限，产生了一种跨多学科领域的聚焦于交际语言使用状况的研究，话语分析学应运而生（丁和根，2004）。

作为一种研究方法，话语分析实现了语言使用和社会研究相结合，已被广泛应用于多个学科领域，如哲学、政治学、传播学等（魏江楠，2018）。作为一个跨学科的研究领域，不同学者基于各自的学科背景，形成了各具特色的问题意识与理论关注，极大地丰富和拓展了话语分析学的理论内涵。在全球化语境下，话语分析也发展为国际传播和跨文化传播研究的重要方法论工具。在话语分析和该领域的结合中，产生了媒介帝国主义、全球化传播等理论视野（胡春阳，2007）。

自话语分析作为一个术语被提出以来，至今已有七十余年历史，其方法论体系和理论内涵也在和各学科的融合应用中不断完善扩充。因此，对其在国际传播和跨文化传播领域中的应用现状，以及方法应用中存在的问题进行总结反思，对更好地在未来研究中把握话语分析法的运用具有重要意义。

一、话语分析的流派分支

“话语分析”(Discourse Analysis)这一概念最早于 1952 年由美国语言学家 Harris 在《话语分析》一文中提出。他在文中指出这是一种“连贯的言语（或文句）的分析方法”，并对一则广告进行分析，探讨句子与句子间的关系、文本与文化间的关系等问题(Harris, 1952)。

在跨学科的发展中，话语分析逐渐形成了多种不同的流派分支。Cook 关于话语分析流派分类的观点颇具影响力，他将话语分析分为英美学派、以 Foucault 的理论为基础的学派，以及批评话语学派。

英美学派是最早开展话语分析研究的流派，其起源可以追溯到 19 世纪 30 年代英国语言学家 Firth 对语境中言语意义的探讨。该学派的研究主要集中在应用语言学和语言教学领域，内容涵盖语篇结构、会话分析等（黄国文、徐珺，2006）。

以 Foucault 的理论为基础的学派关注话语的社会构建作用，将研究重点放在话语所反映的社会实践相关的问题上，探讨话语秩序、意识形态和社会关系等话题（杨絮，2018）。

批评话语学派综合了上述流派的部分观点，以社会、文化实践为出发点，以语言为焦点，通过分析语言使用来反映传播双方的“权势关系”，重视挖掘话语中隐含的意识形态与权力关系，从而揭露并抵制社会中的不平等和不合理的现象，在新闻传播领域中得到广泛应用（黄国文、徐珺，2006）。

另外，一些学者指出“侧重政治的”批评话语分析仅对语料进行解构而没有提出积极的改进方案，忽视了话语在推动社会变革中的积极作用，不利于社会的发展(Kress, 1996)。鉴于此，Martin 提出了“积极话语分析”方法，主张对话语分析采取更加积极、正面的态度，通过话语分析增强理解沟通，从而建构和谐的人类社会，这一观点被视作对批评话语分析的一种补充（朱永生，2006）。

二、话语分析在国内国际传播和跨文化传播研究中的应用现状

国际传播作为一个研究概念于 20 世纪 50 年代在美国首次提出，并在 60 年代发展为一个独立学科(Fortner, 2000)。广义上，国际传播包括跨越国界的大众传播和人际传播；狭义上，国际传播特指跨国的大众传播（关世杰，2004）。

跨文化传播(Intercultural Communication)的概念由美国学者 Edward Hall 于 1955 年在《无声的语言》中提出。20 世纪 70 年代，跨文化传播逐渐发展为传播学中的独立分支，并于 20 世纪 80 年代初传入我国，受到了外语界、传播学界等学科的关注（关世杰，2006）。目前，国内外语界、传播学界通常将“Intercultural Communication”分别译为“跨文化交际”与“跨文化传播”（陆国亮，2021）。尽管两个学科的研究侧重点不同，但在全球化背景下，它们在文化交流、信息传播、跨文化研究等方面存在交集。

随着经济全球化的加速和以大众人际传播为特征的互联网的兴起，国际传播逐渐由宏观层面向微观层面延伸，跨文化传播也从微观层面拓展到宏观层面，二者的研究领域日益交叉融合（关世杰，2004）。在国内，国际传播和跨文化传播领域的研究内容亦存在重叠。从中国知网(CNKI)的统计数据可看出，跨文化传播研究中涉及“国际传播”主题，而国际传播和跨文化传播研究领域均较为关注“一带一路”“国家形象”“文化传播”等议题。

表 1 主要主题分布情况

(Table 1 Distribution of Primary Themes)

类型	主要主题分布
国际传播	国际传播能力、国际传播能力建设、传播研究、“一带一路”、对外传播、传播策略、国家形象、主流媒体、文化传播、中国故事
跨文化传播	文化传播、文化传播研究、文化传播策略、传播策略、跨文化、传播视域、国际传播、电视节目创新研究、“一带一路”、国家形象
跨文化交际	文化交际、跨文化交际能力、文化交际能力、交际能力培养、跨文化交际及其人才培养策略、交际能力的培养、跨文化、大学英语教学、外语教学、文化差异

（数据来自 CNKI，以“国际传播”“跨文化传播”和“跨文化交际”为主题关键词进行检索后筛选出来源为“CSSCI”和“北大核心”的结果，各主题下的“主要主题分布”前 10 位，已删除各主题关键词。）

为探析国内国际传播和跨文化传播研究领域中话语分析法的应用情况，本研究利用 CNKI 的高级检索功能，结合该领域的主要主题分布情况，采用多个相关主题关键词，包括“国际传播”“跨文化传播”“跨文化交际”“跨文化”“对外传播”“全球传播”“海外传播”“文化传播”“文化差异”“国家形象”“中国形象”“国际形象”“中国故事”“一带一路”“国际话语权”“主流媒体”，结合“话语分析”为篇关摘、关键词分别进行组合检索。通过广泛的关键词组合检索，可以更好地覆盖该领域中的多个相关研究方向和视角，从而识别出更广泛的相关文献。随后，以发表期刊的学术权威性以及与研究领域的相关性为筛选标准，筛选出“CSSCI”和“北大核心”来源期刊下国际传播和跨文化传播领域中使用了话语分析法作为研究方法的文章，共计 139 篇。CNKI 统计结果显示，这些论文主要来源于新闻传播与语言学科。

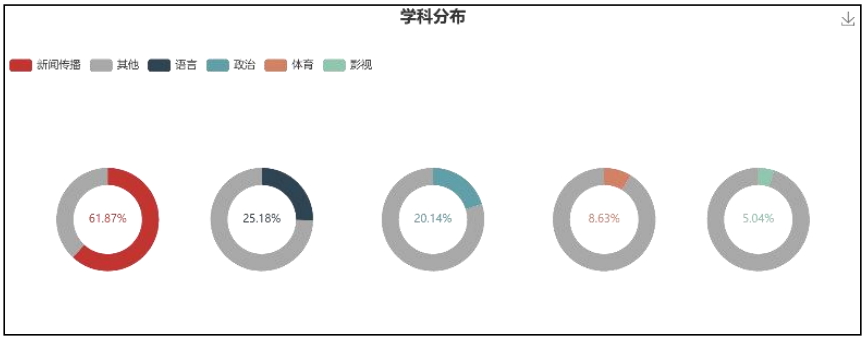


图 1 研究论文学科分布

(Figure 1: Distribution of Research Disciplines)

经过梳理，研究发现论文中话语分析法的应用呈现如下特点：

（一）研究对象集中于新闻语篇

从研究对象上来说，学者们主要选择新闻报道作为分析对象展开话语分析研究。在上述 139 篇相关论文中，学者们选取的话语分析研究对象包括新闻语篇、演讲语篇、广告语篇等，其中选取新闻语篇作为研究对象的共 91 篇，占比约 65.47%，显著高于其他类型的语篇。话语分析起源于语言学，最初被用于探讨句子间关系的规则，以及语言与文化、文本与社会情景之间的相互作用等问题。新闻报道中出现的大量话语文本可以为话语分析提供丰富的研究语料，因而常常成为研究者们所青睐的研究对象。例如，宁海林和常誉维（2024）对《中国日报》和《纽约时报》关于“中国式现代化”的报道进行话语分析研究，发现由于社会文化背景、政治制度的差异等因素，中美主流媒体在报道中国式现代化时表现出明显不同。曾庆香（2016）对《人民日报》和《纽约时报》关于“2015 年中美首脑会晤”的报道进行话语分析，归纳了两国媒体跨文化传播中的话语建构异同。

（二）内容视角分布广泛

从研究内容视角来看，运用话语分析法的文章内容视角分布较为广泛。在国际传播和跨文化传播的信息交流过程中，一般存在“自我”与“他者”的话语特征区分（刘燕南等，2022）。由于话语主体性的差异，形成了以自我塑造为核心的“自塑”视角，以及集中反映他者对于主体整体想象的“他塑”视角（鄂冠男、侯光明，2022）。在本研究中，基于对文献中研究对象的话语主体性划分，研究内容视角被概括为三个主要类别，分别为自塑视角、他塑视角以及对比视角下的话语分析：

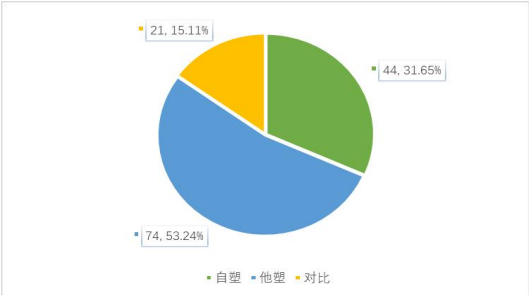


图 2 自塑、他塑、对比视角下的研究论文分布

(Figure 2 Distribution of Research from Self-Cconstruction, Other-Construction, and Comparative Perspectives)

1.自塑视角下的话语分析

自塑视角下的话语分析研究主要指以中国媒体、官方机构等本土主体所生产的话语材料为研究对象的研究。构建中国话语和中国叙事体系是当前中国国际传播能力建设的重要一环，也是讲好中国故事、让世界了解真实、立体、全面的中国的重要方式（沈悦、金圣钧，2023）。在上述 139 篇文献中，在自塑视角下进行话语分析的论文共 44 篇，占比约 31.65%。在国际传播和跨文化传播研究中，自塑视角下的话语分析主要以中国主流媒体国际新闻报道、对外传播政治文本等为研究对象，在研究中探析自塑话语的表征及影响因素，为推动中国国际传播话语建设、提升国际传播效能等提供思路。例如，基于中国日报网关于“全过程人民民主”的国际新闻报道的话语分析，李旺传和陈先红（2023）发现报道话语具有权威性、真实性、客观性，但报道内容受到西方国家对中国的污名化、中西方文化语境差异的影响，并提出要正视差异、寻求共识、加强精准传播和共情传播的策略。田绪军和李晓倩（2020）对中国外交话语展开历时性话语分析，总结了不同发展时期中国外交话语的语言表征特点，归纳出中国外交战略、内容、目的的演变。

2.他塑视角下的话语分析

他塑视角下的话语分析研究是指以外国媒体、国际组织等“他者”主体所生产的话语材料为研究对象的研究。在中国国际传播话语体系尚未完善的背景下，中国话语的国际传播既有自我构建的“自塑”，也有外部塑造的“他塑”，其中“他塑”视角很大程度上占据着主导地位（程浩等，2023）。分析“他塑”话语对于突破西方文化霸权话语构建、创造融通中外文化的中国话语和中国叙事体系具有重要意义。在已梳理的文献中，基于他塑视角进行话语分析研究的文章数量最多，共 74 篇，占比约 53.24%。他塑视角下的话语分析研究中，内容主要围绕外国主流媒体、组织机构等对中国国家形象的塑造、意识形态构建等问题而展开。例如，张麟等（2023）以《纽约时报》北京冬奥会报道为例，运用批评话语分析探讨西方媒介的话语建构，发现中西意识形态和国家利益争夺、国际话语权争夺等是促使报道话语形成的重要社会文化因素。钟馨（2018）基于 12 份英国全国性报纸关于“一带一路”的新闻报道进行批评话语分析，探讨了英国媒体对“一带一路”的意义建构，为国际传播中进行“一带一路”新闻报道提供话语借鉴，从而促进提升对外传播效果。

3.对比视角下的话语分析

对比视角下的话语分析研究是指同时选取中外媒体、机构或组织的话语材料，从而形成不同文化主体话语建构异同对比的研究。对比自塑和他塑话语的差异，明晰“自我”与“他者”话语的不同特征，有助于在国际传播和跨文化传播中建立精准传播和差异化传播的话语框架。在进行话语分析的对比研究时，保证研究语料的对等性是重要基础（胡美馨、黄银菊，2014）。在语料收集时，要确保目标语料规模相当、话语风格相近，从而保证其可比性，因而对语料数据采集和筛选提出了更高要求，提高了筛选和整理所需的资源和成本。在已梳理的文献中，基于对比视角进行话语研究分析研究的文章数量最少，仅 21 篇。对比视角下的话语分析研究中，往往基于中外主流媒体的新闻报道进行话语分析比较，并分析导致中外话语呈现差异的原因，以厘清报道中的“他者化”现象，并探讨“去他者化”的路径。例如，宁薇和郭宇（2020）通过对《中国日报》和《纽约时报》关于“香港修例风波”事件的报道进行话语分析比较，发现《纽约时报》更倾向于使用情境性话语来传递意识形态，从而加强对读者的影响，并提出中国媒体需要灵活运用情感话语策略，以进一步提升“自述”叙事能力。郭继荣和王馨苑（2021）对《纽约时报》与《中国日报》关于民族问题的报道进行对比分析，发现两家媒体报道内容和态度差异显著，西方媒体塑造了一个较为负面的中国形象，并提出中国应提高话语建构自主性和传播有效性，以改善中国国际形象。

（三）理论框架使用多样

从具体的理论框架运用看，研究者们在应用话语分析法时，因为学术背景、研究对象、研究目标的差异，所使用的具体研究理论框架具有多样性。学者们在研究中普遍使用的理论框架包括 Fairclough 的三维话语分析理论、Halliday 的系统功能语法、Van Dijk 的新闻话语分析理论等。其中，Fairclough 的三维话语分析理论被使用的频率最高，该理论将系统功能语言学和社会学理论相结合，被认为是批评话语分析领域中一个系统、成熟的分析方法（王泽霞、杨忠，2008）。黄彩梅、李旺传和陈先红、彭修彬等学者都在各自的研究中使用了 Fairclough 的三维话语分析理论。

表 2 理论框架使用情况
(Table 2: The Use of Theoretical Frameworks)

梳理文献中出现的理论框架前 10 位	**数量**
Fairclough 的三维话语分析理论	33
Halliday 的系统功能语法	10
Van Dijk 的新闻话语分析理论	6
框架理论	6
评价理论	6
Kress & Leeuwen 的视觉语法理论	5
Charteris Black 的批评隐喻分析法	3
Wodak 的话语—历史分析法	2
社会—认知话语分析法	1
符际互补理论	1

三、话语分析法在国际传播和跨文化传播研究中的反思与展望

根据已有文献的情况，本节尝试反思相关研究还可完善之处，并提出未来研究的展望。

（一）关注更多的多模态语料，结合定量方法研究

从研究对象的形式来说，研究者大多选取包括新闻报道、演讲发言等在内的文本内容为研究对象。话语的意义中有部分是由声音、动作等非语言因素体现的（张德禄，2009），随着媒介技术的不断进步，特别是新媒体技术的发展，话语的内容形态愈加丰富，除了传统的文本外，图文表情包、音频、视频等逐渐发展成为新的话语实践（肖珺，2017）。在国际传播和跨文化传播中，涌现出越来越多涵盖语言、声音、色彩等多种符号的多模态语料，这些语料也应当被纳入为话语分析的重要研究对象。国外 Kress 和 Leeuwen（1996）首先提出了多模态话语分析的概念以及视觉语法理论，指出图像具有再现意义、互动意义和构图意义的三种语法特征，并将其用于对图像的话语分析。

国内学者也已开始关注这一趋势。如表 3 所示，被 CSSCI 收录或入选北大核心的 139 篇文献中，涉及多模态语料分析的研究有 23 篇，在全部文献中占比约 16.55%。这些论文大多基于 Halliday 的系统功能语法、Kress 和 Leeuwen 的视觉语法等理论对图像、视频等多模态语料进行定性研究，分析归纳多模态话语本体的特征。但多数研究主要聚焦于对多模态话语特征的描述层面，较少与定量方法的结合，其中结合定量研究方法的篇目数量在全部文献中占比为 5.75%。总体来说，目前已梳理的文献中研究对象仍主要集中于文本语篇类型，涉及多模态语料分析的高质量文献占比相对较少。未来的研究应更多地关注多模态语料，将包括视觉、听觉符号在内的多种语料纳入研究视野，探究多模态话语表征体系、话语建构策略等。同时，可结合定量方法的优势，利用语料库分析工具、计算机多模态技术等方法技术，对多模态话语进行系统的梳理和数据标注，对其中蕴含的社会情境、文化和历史内涵等进行深入分析。

表 3 多模态语料研究情况

(Table 3 Research on Multimodal Corpora)

是否结合定量研究方法	是否对多模态语料进行研究		多模态语料研究篇目数量在全部文献中的占比情况
	非多模态语料研究	多模态语料研究	
结合定量研究方法（在全部文献中的占比情况）	91(65.47%)	8(5.75%)	23(16.55%)
未结合定量研究方法（在全部文献中的占比情况）	25(17.99%)	15(10.79%)	

（二）进一步加强理论应用的框架搭建和优化

话语分析法缺乏统一的方法应用步骤，在应用过程中往往涉及多种理论的整合，研究者们在方法应用过程中通常根据各自的研究对象和研究目标选择具体的理论框架。由于缺乏一个连贯的分析模式，批评话语分析往往存在碎片化、示例化的问题(Fowler, 1996)。针对这一问题，有学者认为话语中包含着多种单元、特征、结构等，实现完全的话语分析是不可能的(Van Dijk, 2001)。也有学者指出，研究者在开始研究时会聚焦于特定研究问题，因此会倾向于关注文本的某些特定领域而非全部内容(Fairclough, 2003)。为了增强话语分析研究的可靠性，目前越来越多的研究者使用了语料库辅

助话语分析的方法或者结合内容分析方法，为话语分析提供词频、词汇搭配强度、索引表征等方面的量化数据，以识别出重要的话语模式与特征，减少研究者的个人主观判断失误（王宏俐等，2024）。

部分研究在方法应用框架搭建方面做出了有益尝试，如对应用的理论概念和分析层次分别进行阐述（如黄蔷，2021；熊涛、周小兵，2023；刘苹、董格格，2024）、结合理论列出分析矩阵（如李冰、王刚，2022；袁小陆、瑞华，2022；朱红强等，2024）等等。这些尝试围绕理论框架与特定研究问题的内在关联展开详细论证，构建起涵盖理论内容、研究问题、分析维度的应用框架，既在一定程度上提升了分析过程的整体透明性，也有助于明晰研究分析的边界，为增强话语分析的系统性与规范性积累了有益经验。遗憾的是，此类尝试尚未形成被学界广泛认可的研究范式。未来研究应进一步强化话语分析法理论应用框架的搭建，提升理论内涵与分析过程的对接精度；结合国际传播和跨文化传播领域的研究特点，对现有理论框架进行改进优化，不断完善话语分析法的理论应用体系，确保其在研究中的适用性与有效性，进而推动形成具备业界参考价值的成熟研究范式。

（三）强化受众视角的融入

传统的话语分析往往聚焦于话语生产者及文本，关注话语如何建构、传递意义，而相对的忽略了受众在内容接受端的解读。在主流的大众传播理论中，受众不仅是传播信息流通的目的地，也是积极的参与者和反馈者，具有很强的能动性（郭庆光，1999）。国际传播和跨文化传播过程会涉及不同文化背景下人群的信息交流过程，在进行分析时往往需要综合考量政治、经济、文化背景等因素对受众信息解读的影响。如果仅用研究者的视角代替受众的解读，拘泥于话语生产端的话语结构分析、隐喻识别等，往往会忽略话语在不同文化背景下的解读多样性。

近年来，研究者们开始意识到需要引入受众视角。在 139 篇文献中，有 4 篇论文涉及到了受众视角，运用内容分析、计算机辅助文本挖掘等方法对研究语篇的对应评论区内容进行主题归纳、点赞和追评等数据的分析（罗志伟、王敏，2022；刘徐州、郝文，2022；姬拓，2023；史安斌等，2024）。这些研究揭示出受众的能动性，为话语意义的解码分析过程提供了更多元的视角。然而，融入受众视角的研究仍是少数，大多数研究还是聚焦于对话语本身的解读。未来的研究除了剖析传播话语本身，还应加强对受众解读的关注，探析话语在跨文化传播中的意义解码异同，从多个维度探索受众解读多样性的深层原因，从而增强研究的深度和广度。

（四）从批判性立场转向更多地挖掘积极话语

在本文检索的 139 篇文献中，有 75 篇文献使用了批评话语分析法，占比约 53.96%。批评话语分析法致力于揭露话语背后潜藏的霸权和不平等关系。值得注意的是，纯粹的批判立场可能会使研究聚焦于对话语作为权利和意识形态载体的“解构”分析，而相对忽略了话语在促进理解、建构共识方面的积极作用。20 世纪 90 年代末，批评话语研究者过于鲜明的政治批评立场在西方学界内部也受到关注和反思，澳大利亚语言学家 Martin 提出了“积极话语分析”的命题，倡导以积极友好的态度审视话语，关注话语如何通过协商、合作、共情推动社会和谐发展(Martin 2006)。

在已梳理的文献中，研究者们选择的研究对象以政治新闻、社会新闻、政治演讲文本等与意识形态关联性较强的语篇为主，往往采取批评的态度对语篇中的曲解、误读、污名化话语进行解构。只有极个别研究选取其他领域，如来自文学、艺术等的话语语篇，从互动性、语言情感态度等角度探讨中国话语的国际传播，挖掘其中的积极语义、亲和力元素（如熊涛、周小兵，2023）。

事实上，在国际传播与跨文化传播领域，话语对公众情感的诉诸日益凸显（李战子，2022）。共通的情感能够跨越文化隔阂、引发公众共鸣，借助情感共通性将中国文化、价值观与发展实践融入全球传播，可更有效地推动不同文化间的相互尊重与和平共处（姜飞，2021）。相较于聚焦政治议题、社会时政等宏大主题的语篇，影视艺术、文学戏曲、美食民俗等文化类叙事，往往能通过共通的情感元素更易引发受众共鸣。未来研究的对象除政治、社会新闻等宏大叙事外，还可选取侧重认知对接与情感共鸣的生活类、文化艺术类叙事语篇；从“积极话语分析”视角切入，以更为积极正面的态度挖掘话语中与国际受众在价值、情感层面的连接点，从而构建融汇东西文化特质、契合全球受众情感需求、获得广泛认同的跨文化传播话语体系。

四、结语

话语分析法关注语言本身及其使用，为国际传播和跨文化传播研究中探析传播意图，挖掘传播规律策略等提供了重要方法论工具。同时，话语研究是一个动态变化的过程，其发展进程与历史、文化、社会变迁紧密相连，并在此过程中不断展现出新特征。本文梳理了话语分析各流派分支的特点，归纳了该方法在国内外传播及跨文化传播研究中的应用情况，结合学科特点反思其应用并提出展望，为未来提升话语分析法的方法论自觉与研究解释力提供参照。由于精力和资源所限，本文仅对中国国内 CSSCI 收录和入选北大核心期刊中的相关文献进行了分析，无法涵盖所有中国国内的期刊文献，以及国外文献。期望未来的研究可以扩大文献样本范围，以提高研究结论的全面性和普适性。

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Chen Diqi ID https://orcid.org/0009-0005-5121-7124

Shan Yunming ID https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3228-6950

References

程浩、张云笛、黄瑚（2023）：超越差异与区隔：“‘人类命运共同体’话语的他塑性建构研究”，《当代传播》（03）：14-20。

[Cheng Hao, Zhang Yundi & Huang Hu (2023). “Beyond Difference and Compartmentalization: A Study on the Other-Shaped Construction of the Discourse of ‘Community with a Shared Future for Mankind’.” *Contemporary Communications* (03): 14-20.]

丁和根（2004）：“大众传媒话语分析的理论、对象与方法”，《新闻与传播研究》（01）：37-42+95。

[Ding Hegen (2004). “The Theory, Content and Methods of Discourse Analysis about Mass Communication Media.”

Journalism & Communication (01): 37-42+95.]

鄂冠男、侯光明（2022）：“基于语料库的中国武侠电影在英文主流媒体中的话语考察——以《纽约时报》（1982-2021）的报道为例”，《当代电影》（08）：91-99。

[E Guannan & Hou Guangming (2022). “A Corpus-Based Examination of the Discourse of Chinese Martial Arts Films in English Mainstream Media - Taking the Reports of the New York Times (1982-2021) as an Example.” *Contemporary Cinema* (08): 91-99. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-4646.2022.08.013.]

关世杰（2004）：《国际传播学——传播学论丛》。北京大学出版社。

[Guan Shijie (2004). *International Communication*. Peking University Press.]

关世杰（2006）：“中国跨文化传播研究十年回顾与反思”，《对外大传播》（12）：32-36。

[Guan Shijie (2006). “A Ten-Year Review and Reflection on Intercultural Communication Research in China.” *International Communications* (12): 32-36. DOI: https://doi.org/10.26948/j.cnki.dwcb.2006.12.012.]

Gunther, Kress (1996). “Representational Resources and the Production of Subjectivity: Questions for the Theoretical Development of Critical Discourse Analysis in a Multicultural Society.” In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard & M. Coulthard (Eds.). *Texts and Practice: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Routledge: 15-31.

Gunther, Kress & Theo, van Leeuwen (1996). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. Routledge.

郭继荣、王馨苑（2021）：“中西方主流媒体对中国民族问题的话语建构——以《纽约时报》和《中国日报》为例”，《情报杂志》（12）：120-126。

[Guo Jirong & Wang Xinyuan (2021). “Chinese and Western Mainstream Media Discourse on Chinese Ethnic Issues: A Case Study of the New York Times and China Daily.” *Journal of Intelligence* (12): 120-126. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-1965.2021.12.017.]

郭庆光（1999）：《传播学教程》。中国人民大学出版社。

[Guo Qingguang (1999). *Journalism & Communication*. China Renmin University Press Ltd.]

胡春阳（2007）：“传播研究的话语分析理论述评”，《西南民族大学学报（人文社科版）》（05）：152-155.

[Hu Chunyang (2007). “A Review of Discourse Analysis Theories in Communication Research.” *Journal of Southwest University for Nationalities (Social Sciences)* (05): 152-155. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1004-3926.2007.05.035.]

胡美馨、黄银菊（2014）：“《中国日报》和《纽约时报》态度资源运用对比研究——以美军在利比亚军事行动报道为例”，《外语研究》（04）：24-30。

[Hu Meixin & Huang Yinju (2014). “A Comparative Study of the Use of Attitudinal Resources in China Daily and the New York Times: An Example of Coverage of the US Military Operations in Libya.” *Foreign Languages Research* (04): 24-30. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1005-7242.2014.04.005.]

黄国文、徐珺（2006）：“语篇分析与话语分析”，《外语与外语教学》（10）：1-6。

[Huang Guowen & Xu Jun (2006). “Discourse Analysis.” *Foreign Languages and Their Teaching* (10): 1-6. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1004-6038.2006.10.001.]

黄蔷（2021）：“美国主流媒体对中国形象的话语偏见——以‘新冠疫情报道为例”，《外国语文》（04）：85-96。

[Huang Qiang (2021). “Discourse Prejudice of American Mainstream Media on China’s National Image: Illustrated by the China-Related Reports During the Outbreak of COVID-19.” *Foreign Languages and Literature* (04): 85-96. DOI:

https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1674-6414.2021.04.011.]

马丁（2006）：“Positive Discourse Analysis: Solidarity and Change”，《英语研究》（04）：21-35。

[James, Martin (2006). “Positive Discourse Analysis: Solidarity and Change.” *English Studies* (04): 21-35.]

姬拓（2023）：“全球南方议题的话语表达与传播效果提升研究”，《青年记者》（22）：41-43。

[Ji Tuo (2023). “Study on Discourse Expression and Communication Effectiveness Enhancement of Global South Issues.” *Youth Journalist* (22): 41-43. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15997/j.cnki.qnjz.2023.22.003.]

姜飞（2021）：“国际传播百年未有之大变‘局’——利益、边界和秩序的接力”，《新闻与写作》（10）：5-13

[Jiang Fei (2021). “The Unprecedented Change in International Communication: The Relay of Interests, Borders and Order.” *News and Writing* (10): 5-13. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1002-2295.2021.10.003.]

李冰、王刚（2022）：“博弈与想象：新闻反转中的国际话语权研究——基于‘英国货车案’的分析与思考”，《现代传播（中国传媒大学学报）》（06）：57-66。

[Li Bing & Wang Gang (2022). “Game and Imagination: International Discourse in News Reversal--Analysis and Reflection Based on the ‘Essex Lorry Case’.” *Modern Communication* (06): 57-66. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1007-8770.2022.06.008.]

李旺传、陈先红（2023）：“作为政治话语的‘全过程人民民主’国际传播考察——基于中国日报网的话语分析”，《华中科技大学学报（社会科学版）》（05）：120-133。

[Li Wangchuan & Chen Xianhong (2023). “An Investigation of the International Communication of ‘the Whole-Process People’s Democracy’ as a Political Discourse—Discourse Analysis Based on ‘China Daily’.” *Journal of Huazhong University of Science and Technology (Social Science Edition)* (05): 120-133. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19648/j.cnki.jhustss1980.2023.05.12.]

李战子（2022）：“评价理论在国际传播语境中的应用与拓展”，《外语研究》（02）：1-6+112。

[Li Zhanzi (2022). “The Renewed Application of Appraisal Theory in the Context of International Communications.” *Foreign Languages Research* (02): 1-6+112. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13978/j.cnki.wyyj.20220406.001.]

刘苹、董格格（2024）：“中美外交部门新闻发布会的中国形象建构比较研究——基于语料库的批评话语分析”，《新闻与传播评论》（02）：106-118。

[Liu Ping & Dong Gege (2024). “A Comparative Study of China Image Construction in Chinese and American Diplomatic Press Conferences: A Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis.” *Journalism & Communication Review* (02): 106-118. DOI: https://doi.org/10.14086/j.cnki.xwycbpl.2024.02.009.]

刘徐州、郝文（2022）：“跨文化传播中的身份审视与重塑：在华外国人短视频传播的‘双重他者’境遇”，《中国新闻传播研究》（06）：179-195。

[Liu Xuzhou & Hao Wen (2022). “Identity Reviewing and Reshaping in Intercultural Communication: The Situation of the ‘Double Otherness’ in the Short Video Communication of Foreigners in China.” *China Journalism and Communication Journal* (06): 179-195.]

刘燕南、潘紫菱、王雪颖（2022）：“中国国际传播研究的议题变迁、知识生态和共同体建构”，《中国新闻传播研究》（05）：69-89。

[Liu Yannan, Pan, Ziling & Wang, Xueying (2022). “Issue Changes, Knowledge Ecology and Academic Community Construction of China’s International Communication Research.” *China Journalism and Communication Journal* (05):

69-89.]

陆国亮（2021）：“交际与传播之争：‘Intercultural Communication’的在华理论旅行”，《新闻界》（10）：77-87。

[Lu Guoliang (2021). “The Conflict Between ‘Jiaoji’ and ‘Chuanbo’: The Theoretical Travel of Intercultural Communication in China. *Press Circles* (10): 77-87. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15897/j.cnki.cn51-1046/g2.20210818.001.]

罗志伟、王敏（2022）：“批判地缘政治视角下的国家品牌实践——以海南自由贸易港为例”，《热带地理》（07）：1169-1179。

[Luo Zhiwei & Wang Min (2022). “Nation Branding Practices from the Perspective of Critical Geopolitics: A Case Study of the Hainan Free Trade Port.” *Tropical Geography* (07): 1169-1179. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13284/j.cnki.rddl.003505.]

宁海林、常誉维（2024）：“中美主流媒体的‘中国式现代化’国际传播话语分析——基于《中国日报》《纽约时报》的报道”，《现代传播（中国传媒大学学报）》（05）：51-60。

[Ning Hailin & Chang Yuwei (2024). “Discourse Analysis of ‘Chinese Modernization’ in the Mainstream Media of China and USA Based on the Reports of China Daily and the New York Times.” *Modern Communication* (05): 51-60. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19997/j.cnki.xdcb.2024.05.009.]

宁薇、郭宇（2020）：“中美新闻报道中的情感话语比较”，《青年记者》（35）：10-11。

[Ning Wei & Guo Yu (2020). “A Comparison of Emotional Discourse in Chinese and American News Reporting.” *Youth Journalist* (35): 10-11. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15997/j.cnki.qnjz.2020.35.005.]

Norman, Fairclough (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. Routledge.

罗伯特·福特纳（2000）：《国际传播： 全球都市的历史、冲突与控制》，刘利群译。华夏出版社。

[Robert, Fortner (2000). *International Communication: History, Conflict, and Control of the Global Metropolis*, trans. Liu Liqun. Huaxia Publishing House.]

Roger, Fowler (1996). “On Critical Linguistics.” In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard & M. Coulthard (Eds.). *Texts and Practice: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Routledge: 3-14.

沈悦、金圣钧（2023）：“中国特色国际传播叙事的多维转向与进路优化”，《云南社会科学》（06）：173-185。

[Shen Yue & Jin Shengjun (2023). “The Multidimensional Turn and Route of International Communication Narrative with Chinese Characteristics.” *Social Sciences in Yunan* (06): 173-185. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1000-8691.2023.06.019.]

史安斌、童桐（2022）：“理念升维与实践创新：党的十九大以来国际传播与跨文化传播研究十大前沿议题”，《编辑之友》（04）：55-62。

[Shi Anbin & Tong Tong (2022). “Conceptual Upgrading and Practical Innovation: Ten Frontier Topics Concerning International Communication and Intercultural Communication Studies Since the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.” *Editorial Friend* (04): 55-62. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13786/j.cnki.cn14-1066/g2.2022.4.007.]

史安斌、张自中、朱泓宇（2024）：“数字华流视域下国际传播的增效赋能——以《原神》为例”，《当代传播》（03 期）：88-94。

[Shi Anbin, Zhang, Zizhong & Zhu Hongyu (2024). “The Enhancement and Empowerment of International Communication in the Perspective of Digital Chinese Culture: The Case of ‘Genshin Impact’.” *Contemporary Communications* (03): 88-94.]

Teun van Dijk (2001). “Multidisciplinary CDA: A Plea for Diversity.” *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (1): 95-120.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020.n5.

田绪军、李晓倩（2020）：“基于语料库的中国外交话语主题词演变研究”，《中国外语》（02）：16-25。

[Tian Xujun & Li Xiaoqian (2020). “Corpus-based Study on The Evolution of the Keywords of the Chinese Diplomatic Discourse.” *Foreign Languages in China* (02): 16-25. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13564/j.cnki.issn.1672-9382.2020.02.003.]

王宏俐、闫开伦、张寅（2024）：“基于语料库与机器学习的推特涉华生态话语研究”，《外语电化教学》（03）：48-55+115。

[Wang Hongli, Yan Kailun & Zhang Yin (2024). “Study of China-related Ecological Discourse on Twitter Based on Corpus Analysis and Machine Learning.” *Computer-Assisted Foreign Language Education in China* (03): 48-55+115. DOI: https://doi.org/10.20139/j.issn.1001-5795.20240307.]

王泽霞、杨忠（2008）：“费尔克劳话语三维模式解读与思考”，《外语研究》（03）：9-13。

[Wang Zexia & Yang Zhong (2008). “Interpreting and Reflecting on Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model of Discourse.” *Foreign Languages Research* (03): 9-13. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1005-7242.2008.03.002.]

魏江楠（2018）：“话语分析理论及方法概述”，《新闻研究导刊》（02）：162-163。

[Wei Jiangnan (2018). “An Overview of the Theory and Methods Discourse Analysis.” *Journal of News Research* (02): 162-163. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1674-8883.2018.02.108.]

肖珺（2017）：“多模态话语分析：理论模型及其对新媒体跨文化传播研究的方法论意义”，《武汉大学学报（人文科学版）》（06）：126-134。

[Xiao Jun (2017). “Multimodal Discourse Analysis: Theoretical Models and Their Methodological Significance for New Media Intercultural Communication Studies.” *Wuhan University Journal (Arts & Humanity)* (06): 126-134. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/10.14086/j.cnki.wujhs.2017.06.015.]

熊涛、周小兵（2023）：“国际传播视域下中国文化读本的话语亲和力建构”，《现代外语》（01）：97-109。

[Xiong Tao & Zhou Xiaobing (2023), “Discursive Construction of Affinity in Chinese Culture Books: An International Communication Perspective.” *Modern Foreign Languages* (01):97-109. DOI: https://doi.org/10.20071/j.cnki.xdwy.2023.01.005.]

杨絮（2018）：“话语分析方法综述：开辟 LIS 研究新视野”，《数字图书馆论坛》（03）：59-67。

[Yang Xu (2018). “Discourse Analysis: Broadening New Vision for LIS Research.” *Digital Library Forum* (03): 59-67. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3772/j.issn.1673-2286.2018.03.011.]

袁小陆、乃瑞华（2022）：“‘文化中国’国际传播多模态话语意义建构研究”，《外语教学》（05）：23-29。

[Yuan Xiaolu & Nai Ruihua (2022). “Research on Multimodal Discourse Meaning Construction in International Communication of ‘Cultural China’”. *Foreign Language Education* (05): 23-29. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16362/j.cnki.cn61-1023/h.2022.05.011.]

曾庆香（2016）：“中美媒介建构‘2015 年中美首脑会晤’框架的符号分析——一种跨文化传播个案的框架分析路径”，《西北师大学报（社会科学版）》（04）：16-23。

[Zeng Qingxiang (2016). “A Semiotic Study of Media Framework of China and USA Construction of ‘Sino-US Summit of 2015’: A Path Analysis on the Case of Cross-Cultural Communication.” *Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Sciences)* (04): 16-23. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16783/j.cnki.nwnus.2016.04.002.]

Zellig Harris (1952). “Discourse analysis.” *Language* (01): 1-30.

张德禄（2009）：“多模态话语分析综合理论框架探索”，《中国外语》（01）：24-30。

[Zhang Delu (2009). “On A Synthetic Theoretical Framework for Multimodal Discourse Analysis.” *Foreign Languages in China* (01): 24-30. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1672-9382.2009.01.006.]

张麟、薛文婷、孟潇庆（2023）：“我国国际体育赛事的西方媒介话语建构及其应对策略——以《纽约时报》北京冬奥会报道为例”，《北京体育大学学报》（02）：117-128。

[Zhang Lin, Xue Wenting & Meng Xiaoqing (2023). “The Construction of Western Media Discourse in China’s International Sports Events and the Coping Strategies: A Case Study of *The New York Times* Coverage of the Beijing Winter Olympics.” *Journal of Beijing Sport University* (02): 117-128. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19582/j.cnki.11-3785/g8.2023.02.012.]

钟馨（2018）：“英国全国性报纸中‘一带一路’话语的意义建构研究——基于语料库批评话语分析法”，《现代传播（中国传媒大学学报）》（07）：61-69。

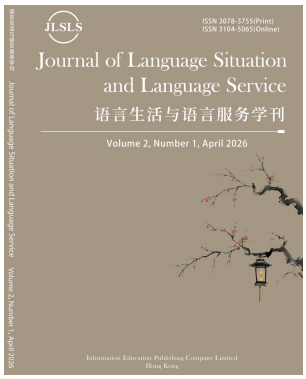
[Zhong Xin (2018). “A Study on the Meaning Construction of ‘One Belt, One Road’ Discourse in British National Newspapers: A Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis.” *Modern Communication* (07): 61-69. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1007-8770.2018.07.011.]

朱红强、刘心雨、许静雯（2024）：“外宣新闻中的中国乡村形象建构——一项语料库辅助的话语研究”，《中国外语》（04）：50-57。

[Zhu Hongqiang, Liu Xinyu & Xu Jingwen (2024). “A Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study Of The Construction of Chi nese Rural Image in International News Discourse.” *Foreign Languages in China* (04): 50-57. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13564/j.cnki.issn.1672-9382.2024.04.006.]

朱永生（2006）：“积极话语分析：对批评话语分析的反拨与补充”，《英语研究》（04）：36-42。

[Zhu Yongsheng (2006). “Positive Discourse Analysis: A Reversal and Complement to Critical Discourse Analysis.” *The Journal of English Studies* (04): 36-42.]



JLSLS

HIEP Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.45-56**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260104calfi

基于语料分析的电信诈骗语言特征与识别防范研究

郭　杰（Guo Jie），马凤茹（Ma Fengru），岑　浩（Cen Hao）

摘要：以 310 起电信诈骗案件及五万余字的真实语料为基础，系统分析了电信诈骗在语言层面的表现特征、语义范畴的分类，并提出了相应的识别方法与防范策略。在语言层面，诈骗话语呈现出显著的“客服体”标准化特征，高频使用“您”“给”“有”“要”等词语，并常嵌入金融、互联网等领域的专业术语以增强欺骗性；在语义层面，诈骗行为可归纳为利益引诱型、财产保护型、紧急救助型、威胁恫吓型与博取同情型五类；在识别层面，公众可重点关注关键词分布、语音语调及行业用语等语言线索；在防范层面，建议通过理性判别预设、掌握对话主动权、抵御言语恐吓等策略，构建主动防御意识，从而系统提升社会公众的反诈骗能力。

关键词：电信诈骗；语言特征；语义类型；防范策略

作者介绍：郭杰，通讯作者，广州大学人文学院、广州大学荔湾研究院讲师，国家语言服务与粤港澳大湾区语言研究中心研究员，研究方向：理论语言学、现代汉语语法和语言服务，电邮：guangzhouguojie@163.com。**马凤茹**，云南大学文学院硕士研究生，研究方向：汉藏语，电邮：ma08252019@163.com。**岑浩**，广州大学人文学院硕士研究生，研究方向：现代汉语、语言服务，电邮：2407582138@qq.com。

Title: Corpus-Based Analysis of Linguistic Features and Identification-Prevention Strategies in Telecom Fraud

Abstract: Based on a corpus of 310 telecom fraud cases comprising over 50,000 words, this

Received: 22 Dec 2025 / Revised: 20 Mar 2026 / Accepted: 22 Apr 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

study conducts a systematic analysis of the linguistic features, semantic categories, and corresponding identification and prevention strategies associated with such fraud. At the linguistic level, fraudulent discourse exhibits a marked "customer-service style" characterized by standardized delivery, frequent use of terms such as "you"（您）, "give"（给）, "have"（有）, and "need"（要）, and the strategic incorporation of financial and internet-related jargon to enhance credibility. Semantically, fraudulent activities are categorized into five primary types: benefit inducement, asset protection, emergency assistance, intimidation and threat, and sympathy solicitation. For identification, the public is advised to focus on linguistic cues including keyword patterns, vocal tone, and industry-specific terminology. For prevention, strategies such as rational assessment of presuppositions, seizing conversational initiative, and resisting verbal intimidation are recommended to foster proactive defense awareness and systematically improve societal resilience against telecom fraud.

Keywords: telecom fraud; linguistic features; semantic types; prevention strategies

Author Biographies: Guo Jie, Corresponding Author, Lecturer, School of Humanities, Guangzhou University & Liwan Institute, Guangzhou University; Researcher, National Centre for Language Services and Language Studies in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area. Research Interests: Theoretical Linguistics, Modern Chinese Grammar, Language Services. E-mail: guangzhouguojie@163.com. **Ma Fengru**, Master's Candidate, School of Literature, Yunnan University. Research Interest: Sino-Tibetan Languages. E-mail: ma08252019@163.com. **Cen Hao**, Master's Candidate, School of Humanities, Guangzhou University. Research Interests: Modern Chinese, Language Services. E-mail: 2407582138@qq.com.

一、引言

电信诈骗是指犯罪分子利用手机、固定电话、网络等现代通讯工具，通过编造虚假信息，骗取受害人信任，进而诱导其进行支付或转账的犯罪行为。近年来，此类犯罪活动在我国呈现高发态势。根据国务院新闻办公室新闻发布会披露的数据，在"十四五"规划期间（2021—2025 年），全国公安机关累计破获电信网络诈骗案件 173.9 万起，抓获犯罪嫌疑人 36.6 万名。同一时期，国家反诈中心共下发资金预警指令 2036.8 万条，各地公安机关成功进行见面劝阻 2821.5 万人次，有效维护了人民群众的合法权益。[1]

尽管治理成效显著，但电信诈骗的威胁依然严峻。诈骗手段持续迭代翻新，涉案金额巨大，且被骗资金往往难以全额追回，防范与打击工作面临复杂挑战。从行为模式看，此类犯罪的核心在于对"欺诈性语言"的操控，呈现出不同于传统诈骗的鲜明特征。诈骗分子不仅技术手段不断升级，其话术更具迷惑性，表现为熟练掌控对话进程、预设虚假情境、精准使用行业术语，从而使骗局极具伪装性和欺骗性。

近年来，学界从语用学、犯罪隐语分析、虚假身份建构及计算语言学等不同维度对电信诈骗话

[1] 光明网（2025 年 7 月）："'十四五'期间公安机关破获电诈案件 173.9 万起"，检索日期：2025 年 12 月 12 日，取自：https://m.gmw.cn/2025-07/23/content_1304091210.htm.

语展开研究，形成了各有侧重又相互补充的研究路径。

语用学视角聚焦于诈骗话语的话语模式与言语策略。袁瑛（2019）运用语用预设理论分析了电信诈骗案件中的话语模式，归纳出团伙型、设计型、菜单型和钓鱼型四种模式。钱永红（2019）从语言顺应论视角出发，分析了诈骗者建构的虚假身份类型及话语建构策略，揭示了诈骗者通过顺应受话人的社会心理倾向进行心理操控的机制。陈新仁（2013）提出的“语用身份”理论为理解诈骗身份操控提供了新视角，苏琪媛（2020）据此揭示诈骗人建构了“问题解决者”“威胁者”等五种语用身份，并通过话语特征实现身份转换。

犯罪隐语分析视角关注诈骗团伙内部的语言伪装。崔蒙（2021）系统搜集并分析了电信诈骗犯罪隐语，发现其在传统诈骗隐语基础上形成并不断发展，对应于诈骗犯罪的每一个环节，且受到方言和区域犯罪特点的显著影响；隐语的形成主要借助比喻、借代、谐音等修辞手法以及“饲养/诱捕—成长—宰杀”等隐喻模式。

计算语言学视角致力于涉诈文本的自动识别。周顶等（2025）引入大语言模型进行涉诈文本识别，通过形式还原与内容还原去除诈骗分子的伪装，综合运用反诈场景引导、涉诈样本启发和防诈知识支撑三种方式增强大模型的识别能力，在测试数据集上取得了 98.47%的召回率和 98.33%的精确率。

现有研究仍存在以下不足：一是各研究路径相对独立，缺乏对诈骗话语从词汇、句子、语义到结构的系统整合分析；二是话语结构研究多为定性描述或计算建模，基于大规模真实语料对诈骗话术的典型结构模式进行归纳的研究较少；三是理论分析向公众防范策略的转化不够充分，识别指标的可操作性有待加强。

鉴于此，本研究系统收集了由公安部网络安全保卫局、广州反诈服务号等权威平台发布的 2015-2025 年间的 310 起典型电信诈骗案件，整理出五万余字有效语料。在此基础之上，通过词频统计、句子分析、语义分类与话语结构模式的整合分析，揭示诈骗话语的语言特征，并据此提炼出可操作的语言识别指标与防范策略。

二、电信诈骗的语言特征

（一）语言载体与风格特征

1.以标准普通话为通用载体

语料分析显示，标准普通话是电信诈骗最主要的交流工具。无论是语音通话还是文字信息，诈骗分子均普遍采用，以最大限度覆盖潜在受害群体并消除沟通障碍。语料中仅发现 2 例（占比 0.6%）使用粤方言，且均为针对老年人的线下作案，这进一步印证了使用无地域差异的通用语是诈骗活动的普遍策略。

2.“客服体”的标准化伪装与心理操控

在语言风格上，“客服体”特征显著。在 310 条语料中，有 76 条（占比 24.5%）呈现出此类特征，具体表现为：语气刻意亲和、姿态主动迎合、发音异常标准、高频使用“您”“亲”“哦”等敬语或语气词。这种高度标准化、职业化的表达方式，旨在快速构建“专业”“可靠”的虚假形象，进而通过预设的语言逻辑，诱导受害人逐步陷入心理圈套，精准激发其不安、焦急或贪婪等目标情绪。

3.语言规范性的分化

从语言规范性来看，不同诈骗分子的表现存在明显差异，这直接反映了其组织化与专业化的程度。部分非专业团伙的诈骗材料会出现语法错误或错别字，手法相对粗糙，依赖“广撒网”式试探。而专业诈骗团伙的语料则通常语法规范、逻辑严密、用词准确，其成员往往经过系统训练，能够娴熟运用发音标准、口齿清晰且语气沉稳又不失亲切感的“客服式”语言，以此有效降低受害者的心理防备。

鉴于近四分之一（24.5%）的案件呈现出鲜明的“客服体”特征，公众在接到使用此类标准化、职业化话术的来电或信息时，应首先将其视为高风险信号，并立即对其身份真实性保持高度警惕，通过独立渠道进行主动核实，从源头上加强甄别，以有效规避诈骗风险。

（二）词汇特征

基于 310 条诈骗语料，本研究对出现频次≥3 的词汇进行了统计与分析，在剔除无实际意义的虚词（如“的”“了”）、专有名词（如人名）、无明显诈骗倾向的词汇后，最终得到有效词汇 1180 个。

1.超高频词

如表 1 所示，共有 19 个超高频词（频次≥100），占比 1.6%，累计出现 4630 次。

表 1 超高频词汇统计表（频次≥100）

Table 1 Statistics of high-frequency vocabulary (with frequency ≥ 100)

序号	词汇	词性	出现次数（次）
1	你	人称代词	851
2	我	人称代词	799
3	您	人称代词	558
4	是	动词	287
5	给	动词	205
6	好	形容词	198
7	吗	语气词	198
8	就	副词	172
9	在	副词	153
10	我们	人称代词	151
11	有	动词	140
12	钱	名词	136
13	可以	动词	128
14	现在	副词	120
15	要	动词	116
16	啊	语气词	110
17	需要	动词	105
18	会	动词	103
19	请	动词	100

首先，从词性来看，超高频词涵盖多种词类，其中人称代词（4 个）和动词（9 个）合计占比过半，是构成诈骗话语的核心词类。值得注意的是，人称代词“你”“我”“您”占据了频率前三，其中敬词“您”的高频使用显著印证了前文所述“客服体”所刻意营造的恭敬姿态，这是诈骗话术用以降低受害者防备的关键语言策略。在动词中，“是”“给”“有”“可以”“要”位列前五，共同构成一个完整的诈骗话术逻辑链：“是”（用以判断或冒充特定身份）→“有”（预设存现情境，如“有异常”或“有优惠”）→“可以”（探问虚实，提供所谓解决方案或权限）→“要”（基于情境提出具体要求）→“给”（发出最终指令，要求转账或提供验证码）。这一链条从建立身份到完成索求，环环相扣，高效驱动诈骗流程。

其次，从词汇构成看，基本词（990 个，占比 83.9%）占绝对主导，古语词、外来词及方言词极少。这表明诈骗分子刻意使用最通用、最易理解的词汇，旨在最大化潜在受害群体并最小化沟通障碍，从而提升诈骗效率。需要注意的是，行业词（186 个，占比 15.8%）的作用不容忽视。这些词汇高度集中于金融（51 个，如“流水”“冻结”）与互联网（48 个，如“网址”“下载”）两大领域。诈骗分子通过娴熟运用此类专业术语，伪造权威身份，有效增强了话语的欺骗性与威慑力。

综上分析，当通信中对方同时表现出使用敬语“您”的恭敬口吻与提及金融或互联网专业术语时，其性质高度可疑，公众应予以最高级别的警惕。

2.隐语（黑话）

语料分析显示，诈骗分子为规避网络平台审核与监管，常使用经过伪装的隐语。根据其构成原理与隐蔽性，可分为以下两类：

（1）谐音替代型隐语

此类隐语通常采用同音或近音汉字，对目标平台或服务名称进行替代性书写，以达到规避网络关键词屏蔽的目的。例如，以“收狗”指代“搜狗”“蚪音”指代“抖音”“姘多多”指代“拼多多”“竟东”指代“京东”。这类隐语基于公众熟知的日常词汇与平台名称，常伪装为“有偿收购账号”等广告，利用部分人群贪图小利的心理，诱骗其在虚假交易平台进行操作，继而以“提现失败”“需缴纳手续费”等为由实施诈骗。尽管其词汇形式具有隐蔽性，但所指含义相对直白，主要依托社会共有的认知基础（如知名应用或平台名称），公众稍加留意与辨识便可破解。

（2）意义转指型隐语

此类隐语的字面意思与实际含义完全剥离，通过建立隐秘的、约定俗成的内部代号来指代非法活动，具有极强的封闭性和欺骗性。比如“新茶已到，喝茶不？”“茶叶几百一斤？”“有五百的，有八百的，还有一千的极品哦！看您需要！”在此类诈骗话语中，“新茶”“茶叶”“喝茶”等词汇已脱离其本意，成为非法性服务的暗语。由于这类黑话的指代关系具有任意性和团伙专属性，局外人极难从字面推导其真实含义，隐蔽性极高，往往只有在深入接触或上当受骗后，才能意识到其诈骗本质。

综上所述，诈骗隐语是诈骗分子为适应网络监管而衍生的语言变体，谐音型隐语旨在绕过技术过滤，而转指型隐语则致力于构建隐秘的交流屏障，两者均增加了诈骗活动的识别与防范难度。

（三）句子特征

1.语气类型

从语气类型看，诈骗语料以祈使句和疑问句为主导。在 310 条语料中，含祈使句的语料有 143

条（占比 46.1%），含疑问句的语料有 158 条（占比 51.0%）。

（1）诈骗分子对祈使句的运用

诈骗分子大量使用祈使句，以建立权威、制造紧迫感，其典型句式结构可归纳为："请+某人+快/赶紧/马上+V+某事"（如：请你马上点击链接进行验证；请各位家长尽快点击群收款交费）。此类句式语气强硬、直接，旨在短时间内对受害者形成心理威慑或诱导，使其在压力下丧失质疑能力，被动遵循指令。在冒充公检法或假冒老师收费等诈骗行为中，此类句式尤为常见。

（2）受害人对疑问句的使用

受害人的语言则主要由疑问句构成，其提问模式高度一致，通常遵循以下三步递进逻辑，这也反向揭示了诈骗的话术展开路径：

①认知启动（"是什么？"）：对诈骗分子抛出的新信息（如"刷单兼职""账户异常"）产生疑问，标志着骗局介入的开始。

②操作探究（"怎么做？"）：在利益驱动或恐慌心理下，试图了解具体操作步骤，表明已产生初步信任。

③障碍求解（"怎么不行？"）：在操作遇阻（如"提现失败""账户冻结"）时寻求帮助，此时已深陷圈套，当受害人意识到骗局时已经为时过晚。

2.句子长度

在不同类型的诈骗交互中，句式呈现显著的系统性差异。这种差异并非偶然，而是紧密对应并有效实现诈骗不同阶段的心理操控目标。

（1）诈骗分子单方主导：长句与书面语

在由诈骗分子单向发起、旨在建立权威的骗局（如冒充官方机构）中，语料普遍采用结构复杂的长句和正式的书面语体（占 50.96%）。长句的修辞功能在于承载密集信息，营造严肃、庄重的官方语境，从而提升欺骗性。例如，在假冒"最高检"或银行客服的骗局中，诈骗分子会使用包含大量修饰成分、逻辑关联词及专业术语的长句，以伪造公文效果，增强话语可信度。比如诈骗分子冒充金融客服时说："尊敬的客户，根据国家金融监管政策与反洗钱相关规定，您尾号为 XXXX 的账户交易存在异常，为保障您的资金安全，现需您登录以下安全链接（……）完成身份核验与账户授权，否则将于 24 小时后实施临时管控。"

（2）双方交互主导：短句、否定句与口语

在诈骗分子与受害人存在多轮对话的骗局（如刷单返利、投资诈骗）中，诈骗分子的回应倾向于使用结构简短的散句、否定句，口语特征显著。这种句式选择旨在快速响应、降低理解门槛，同时通过频繁否定受害人的提议或质疑，牢牢掌控对话走向，打消其疑虑。比如下面对话：

诈骗分子："小周，速转 97 万到 62XXXXXXXXX 这个账户。"
受害人："胡总，是哪个项目的款？需要走审批吗？"
诈骗分子："特急，投标保证金。先办，手续后补。"
受害人："金额有点大，系统可能需要人脸识别……"
诈骗分子："想办法克服。事关重大，下午必须到账。"

可见，电信诈骗在句子层面具有鲜明的策略性：诈骗分子通过具有威慑与指令功能的祈使句及书面化长句建立权威、制造心理压力；受害者则被动地以模式化的疑问句作出回应。当交互深入时，诈骗分子会策略性地转换为短促的否定句与口语化表达，以维持对话控制并消除对方疑虑。这种对不同句子类型的动态选择与转换，精准对应诈骗不同阶段的心理操控需要，是其语言操控的核心机制之一。

三、电信诈骗的语义类型和话语结构

电信诈骗种类繁多，下面结合实例，着重论述几种较为常见的、危害较大的诈骗类型。值得注意的是，各类诈骗在话语展开方式上均呈现出相对稳定的结构模式，这些模式化的“话术脚本”是识别电信诈骗的重要标记。

（一）利益引诱型

此类诈骗以提供实际或虚拟利益为诱饵，如退税、中奖、高薪兼职、投资分红等，诱使受害人上钩后，再以缴纳“保证金”“手续费”或“账户异常需资金验证”等借口骗取钱财。此类语料共59条，占比19.0%。

案例1（诈骗分子冒充医护人员发放生育补贴）

诈骗人：李XX女士，您好！我是XX医院财务科的工作人员，您在我们医院刚办理完出院手续，现在有2000元生育补贴要返还给您。

受害人：啊，真的吗？这么好！为什么有补贴？

诈骗人：肯定是真的，医院不会造假。是这样的，现在国家实施二孩政策，您刚生下的是二孩，国家鼓励生育，所以有补贴。

受害人：哦，这样啊，那怎么给我呢？

诈骗人：需要您提供个人身份证编号和银行卡号。

受害人：好的，我马上给你说，你记一下。

……

诈骗人：李女士，刚才我按照您提供的工商银行账号给您转账，可是系统提示转账不成功，可能您这个账户有问题。

受害人：啊，不会吧，我一直在用这个号啊！

……

诈骗人：那这样吧，我帮您查证一下账户是否有问题吧，您这个账户的余额是多少？

受害人：记不清了，可能有3000元左右吧。

诈骗人：好，我把医院财务的账号发给您，您把余额先转到这个账户，如果能转账成功就说明账户没问题，我再把2000元补贴和您的余额一起返还给您。如果也无法转账，就说明账户有问题，我再想其他办法。

受害人：好的，你稍等。

诈骗分子通过精准的个人信息（如姓名、就医记录）与权威的身份伪装（医院财务人员）建立初步信任，再利用受害者对“政策红利”的期待心理，以“账户验证”等看似合理的借口诱导其操作。此类诈骗在话语结构上遵循“利益告知—身份确认—操作引导—障碍制造—资金骗取”的五步模式：诈骗分子首先以“您有一笔补贴/奖金待领取”等话术告知利益，随后通过核对个人信息强化

可信度，引导受害人进入“领取流程”，在操作环节人为制造“账户异常”“系统故障”等障碍，最终以“解冻费”“验证费”等名义完成资金骗取。此类话术高频词包括“退款”“退税”“中奖”“保证金”“账户”“验证”等。

（二）财产保护型

此类诈骗利用人们对财产安全的天然焦虑，虚构一个财产已遭受或即将遭受损失的紧急事件（如“信用卡境外盗刷”“涉嫌洗钱”），引发受害人恐慌。随后，诈骗分子伪装成银行、警察、检察院等权威机构，以“帮助保护资金”“配合调查以证清白”为名，诱导受害人将存款转入所谓“安全账户”或进行“资金核查”，从而完成诈骗。此类语料共 67 条，占比 21.6%，是发案率较高的类型之一。

案例 2（冒充“公检法”连环诈骗）

受害人：喂，你好，我刚刚收到短信说我的信用卡在境外消费了，这卡在我身上，没有在境外消费过。

诈骗人：小姐您别急，我们这里是广东肇庆邮政银行的工作人员，系统里确实能看到您的消费记录，而且我们也看到相关的短信提示。如果这笔钱不是您本人消费，那可能确实是您个人信息被盗用或者信用卡被盗刷。

受害人：啊，那我怎么办呢？

诈骗人：这样，你赶紧报警，为了节省时间，我直接把电话给您转到公安局。

受害人：您好，是警察吗，我信用卡被盗刷了。

诈骗人：银行已经把你的卡号和信息转过来了，这个问题挺严重的，我们看到这个银行卡涉嫌一起境外洗钱案件，我们已经通过电话定位了你的位置，马上将对你展开调查。

受害人：啊？我是被冤枉的，难道我的个人信息被盗用了？

诈骗人：不排除这个情况，我们也不会冤枉好人。这样吧，如果你想证明清白的话，现在把你银行卡内的剩余资金立刻转到公安的安全账户，接受我们的资金核查。现在你记一下安全账户的卡号，赶紧进行资金核查。

受害人：好的，我这就办。

此类骗局环环相扣，精准打击心理弱点。在话语结构上，遵循“危机预警—权威介入—恐慌强化—资金转移—消失收网”的五步模式：诈骗分子首先通过伪造的消费记录和“账户异常”“涉嫌犯罪”等话术制造危机感，随即以“银行客服”“办案民警”等权威身份介入，通过严厉的法律措辞在极短时间内制造出强烈的恐惧感与孤立感，反复强调“后果严重”“时间紧迫”以强化受害人恐慌心理，使受害人为求“自证清白”或“避免损失”而丧失理性判断，继而以“安全账户”“资金核查”为由诱导转账，待得手后迅速失联。整个过程通常由团伙分工扮演不同角色完成，仿真度极高。话术中充斥着“涉嫌犯罪”“安全账户”“资金核查”“加密保护”等具有威慑性与误导性的关键词。

（三）紧急救助型

此类诈骗精准利用人际信任与情感联结，通过冒充受害人的亲属、朋友、老师等亲密或权威关系人，虚构其遭遇疾病、车祸、被绑架等突发事件，制造紧张氛围。诈骗分子利用受害人急于救助亲人的慌乱心理，以“急需手术费”“支付赔偿金”“缴纳赎金”等借口，在极短时间内诱导其转

账。此类语料共 20 条，占比 6.5%。

案例 3（冒充学校老师谎称子女急病）

诈骗人：彭 XX 家长，您好！我是 XX 中学徐老师，您的女儿彭 XX 突然得了甲型 H1N1 流感，已经送到医院被隔离了，现在急需 1 万元治疗费用。

受害人：啊，真的吗？在哪个医院？

诈骗人：就在学校斜对面的 XX 医院。

受害人：那我马上过去，等我半个小时。

诈骗人：您可以马上过来，但现在赶紧给我治疗费，医院已经多次催促，只有先交治疗费才能抢救，我手头没那么多钱。

受害人：好，好，我让孩子妈妈打给你，账号给我。

诈骗分子通过预先获取的部分真实个人信息（如姓名、学校），迅速建立起可信的虚假身份，在话语结构上遵循“关系冒充—紧急求助—阻断核实—指令转账”的四步模式。他们首先冒充特定关系人直接切入，使用“突发”“隔离”“抢救”“马上”等词语制造不容置疑的紧迫感；当受害人产生核实时，立即以“手续后补”“救人要紧”“来不及了”等话术压制其核实念头或阻断联系渠道，最后直接提供账户指令转账，迫使受害人在情绪支配下做出非理性汇款决定。常见高频词包括“急救”“住院”“汇款”“账号”等。

（四）威胁恫吓型

此类诈骗直接利用人性中对人身安全与法律风险的深层恐惧。诈骗分子或冒充黑社会人员，以“绑架”亲属为由索要赎金；或伪装成警察、检察官等执法者，指控受害人“涉嫌重大刑事案件”（如洗钱、贩毒），并以“接受调查”“资产冻结”“逮捕”等话术相威胁，最终要求其将资金转入所谓“安全账户”以“证明清白”或“破财消灾”。此类语料共 20 条，占比 6.5%。

案例 4（冒充绑匪索要赎金）

诈骗人：妈妈，妈妈，我被三个叔叔抓走了，他们打我，我流血了……

受害人：怎么啦，儿子，谁打你？你说清楚。

诈骗人：你的孩子在我这里。

受害人：你是谁？为什么抓我儿子？

诈骗人：我是道上的，兄弟几个最近缺钱花了，你拿 2 万赎金，包你儿子没事。

受害人：你们胆子真大，光天化日敢绑架？

诈骗人：老子刚出狱，怕个鸟！最迟四点钟，不拿钱或者报警，你就等着撕票。

受害人：好好好，你别激动，千万不要伤害我孩子，你告诉我怎么给你钱。

骗术核心在于通过极具冲击力的声音效果（如模拟哭喊、殴打声）和极度暴力化的威胁语言，在最短时间内击溃受害人的心理防线。在话语结构上，此类诈骗呈现“恐吓切入—身份坐实—后果威胁—隔离受害—指令转账”的五步模式：诈骗分子以“你得罪人了”“你涉嫌洗钱”等恐吓话术开场，随即通过伪造证件、警号等手段坐实权威身份，接着以“撕票”“收尸”“抓捕”“判刑”等极端后果相威胁，同时警告“不许挂断”“不能告诉任何人”以隔离受害人与外界联系，使其陷

入巨大的情绪震荡与思维停滞，丧失核实真伪的基本能力，最终诱导其转账“消灾”。此类话术高频词包括“绑架”“撕票”“赎金”“涉嫌”“通缉”“安全账户”等。

（五）博取同情型

此类诈骗以长期情感经营为前提，诈骗分子在社交媒体上伪装成学生、打工者等弱势角色，通过日常聊天与受害人建立信任甚至情感依赖。在关系稳固后，再虚构自己或亲友遭遇重病、车祸等变故，以“急需用钱”为由唤起对方的同情心与保护欲，进而诱使其“借款”或“捐助”。此类语料共 8 条，占比 2.6%，虽数量较少，但因其基于信任关系，欺骗性极强。

案例 5（冒充贫困学生求助）

诈骗人：哥，我同学得了阑尾炎，急需住院，她没有那么多钱，我把自己的生活费借给她了。

受害人：真是好孩子！

诈骗人：可是我爸爸一个月就给我一次钱，今天才 6 号，我这一个月吃饭都成问题了！呜呜……

受害人：啊，这么惨啊，问你爸爸要啊！

诈骗人：我爸刚去美国了，我现在联系不上他，前面跟你说过，他经常出差。我还是自己想办法吧。

受害人：你能有什么办法啊？难不成抢银行啊！哈哈！

诈骗人：呜呜……

受害人：你一个月生活费多少钱？

诈骗人：我很节省的，一个月才 800 块。

……

受害人：好的，我微信转账给你吧。

诈骗人：哥真好，算你借我的，下个月我一定还给你，你放心！

此类骗局的核心在于“信任培育”与“时机选择”。在话语结构上，遵循“人设塑造—情感培育—危机虚构—求助触发—持续收割”的五步模式：诈骗分子首先通过长期、无经济目的的联系精心塑造“善良但不幸”的虚拟人设，逐步降低对方戒备并建立情感联结；待时机成熟后虚构突发危机（如生病、被盗），所述理由往往金额不大、合乎情理（如生活费、医药费），且以“借”“周转”“一定还”等温和话术触发小额求助，使受害人感到是在进行“低风险、高道德”的帮助，从而放松警惕；得手后可能编造新理由持续骗取。高频词包括“生病”“急救”“借款”“暂时周转”“一定还”等。

四、电信诈骗的语言识别和防范策略

（一）语言识别

基于前文对诈骗语料的分析，公众可通过以下语言特征进行快速识别与预警。

1.关键词/高频词识别

警惕包含“是”“给”“有”“可以”“要”动词的指令。这些词常构成一个完整的诈骗逻辑链条，紧随其后则常出现“转账”“下载”“点击链接”“提供验证码”等具体行为动词。识别此类词汇组合，可有效阻断诈骗情景的初始构建。

2.语音/语调识别

警惕过分标准的“客服体”语音。无论是冒充客服的“亲切版”，还是冒充公检法的“威严版”，其共同特征均为发音异常标准、语调刻意规范、用词极端礼貌。这种经过训练的“职业化”腔调，旨在快速建立虚假权威形象。

3.行业用语识别

警惕非官方场景中出现的金融、互联网行业术语。如“账户冻结”“征信修复”“平台清退”“激活额度”等。诈骗分子利用这些术语制造专业假象和紧迫情境，任何要求你进行“资金操作”来配合处理此类“业务”的，均应视为高风险信号。

4.人称与敬语识别

警惕高频、刻意的敬语使用，尤其是“您”字。在非亲密或非正式服务关系中，对方表现出超乎寻常的恭敬与耐心，往往是博取信任的话术策略，目的在于降低戒备、诱导服从。

5.固定句式识别

警惕高危开场句式，比如：“请+某人+立即/马上+V+某事”（“请你立即转账至安全账户”）、“某人/某物+已/被+动词”（“你的账户已被冻结”）。这些句式旨在用最简结构传递最强烈的权威断言或紧急指令，以压缩受害者的反应与核实时间。在通信伊始即出现此类句式，应立即中止交流并进行核实。

（二）防范策略

1.心态建设：树立理性屏障

防范诈骗的第一道防线是稳固的心理状态。面对诱惑（如“高薪”“退税”），需警惕非分之利，克制贪念；面对恐吓（如“涉案”“绑架”），必须克服恐惧，保持镇定。在任何涉及钱财的要求面前，坚持不轻信、不慌乱、不盲从。给自己预留冷静期与核实时间，避免在情绪支配下做出决定。

2.预设拆解：审视叙事起点

所有诈骗都始于一个虚构的叙事预设（如“您有一笔补贴待领取”“您的账户涉嫌洗钱”）。识破骗局的关键，在于主动质疑这个预设的真实性。无论对方如何用个人信息、伪造身份或紧急话术进行包装，都要牢记：权威机构绝不会通过电话、社交软件处理涉密案件或要求转账。遇到任何无法立刻证实的“好事”或“祸事”，务必通过官方渠道（如拨打 110、联系银行客服、直接询问亲友）进行多源头、交叉验证。

3.话轮掌控：夺回对话主导权

在交流中，避免被动应答，应主动提问并验证。例如，当对方自称“老同学”时，可反问具体姓名、共同经历细节；当对方自称“警察”时，可询问其警号、单位，并告知将主动拨打 110 核实。通过夺回提问权和话题控制权，能有效打乱诈骗分子的既定脚本，暴露其逻辑漏洞，从而化被动为主动。

4.情绪隔离：抵御恐吓话术

诈骗分子擅长使用“涉案”“抓捕”“绑架”“撕票”等极端词汇制造恐慌，目的是用情绪冲击替代理性思考。当接到此类信息时，要有意识地建立“情绪隔离”，认识到这只是一种话术，切勿在恐惧中做出任何转账或提供密码的决定。正确的做法是：立即挂断电话，与家人、朋友沟通，或直接拨打 110 报警，将专业问题交由专业机构处理。

基金项目：本文系广东省社科规划 2022 年度学科共建项目“粤港澳大湾区语言资源库建设研究”（项目编号：GD22XZY03）的成果之一。

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Guo Jie ID https://orcid.org/0009-0002-2933-2386

Ma Fengru ID https://orcid.org/0009-0007-4763-0906

Cen Hao ID https://orcid.org/0009-0007-8422-7462

References

陈新仁（2013）：《语用学视角下的身份与交际研究》。高等教育出版社。

[Chen Xinren (2013). *Studies on Identity and Communication from a Pragmatic Perspective*. Higher Education Press.]

崔蒙（2021）：“电信诈骗犯罪隐语分析”，《北京警察学院学报》（03）:102-105。

[Cui Meng (2021). “Analysis of Latent Language in Telecommunication Fraud Crimes.” *Journal of Beijing Police College* (03):102-105. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16478/j.cnki.jbjpc.20210510.002.]

钱永红（2019）：“网络电信诈骗话语中虚假身份建构的顺应性阐释”，《浙江外国语学院学报》(05):68-76+93。

[Qian Yonghong (2019). “An Adaptive Interpretation of False Identity Construction in the Discourse of Online Telecommunication Fraud.” *Journal of Zhejiang International Studies University* (05):68-76+93. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.2095-2074.2019.05.010.]

苏琪媛（2020）：《顺应论视角下电信诈骗者语用身份的话语建构研究》，广东外语外贸大学，学位论文。

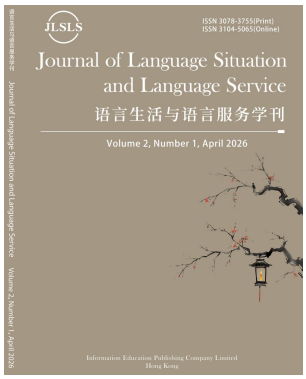
[Su Qiyuan (2020). *Discursive Construction of Telecom Fraudsters' Pragmatic Identity: From the Perspective of Adaptation Theory*. Guangdong University of Foreign Studies. Dissertation.]

袁瑛（2019）：“电信诈骗案件中的话语模式与言语策略研究”，《贵州警官职业学院学报》31(04):64-68。

[Yuan Ying (2019). “Research on Discourse Patterns and Speech Strategies in Telecommunication Fraud Cases.” *Journal of Guizhou Police College* 31(04):64-68. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13310/j.cnki.gzjy.2019.04.010.]

周顶、陈哲、叶蕴芳、李岩（2025）：“基于大语言模型的涉诈文本识别研究”，《电信工程技术与标准化》(8):7-13。

[Zhou Ding, Chen Zhe, Ye Yunfang, Li Yan (2025). “Fraudulent Text Identification Research Based on Large Language Models.” *Telecommunications Engineering Technology and Standardization* (8):7-13. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13992/j.cnki.tetas.2025.08.008.]



JLSLS

HIEP
Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.57-70**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260105qsdcw

广州市政府工作报告词语发展变化的计量研究

侯仁魁(Hou Renkui)，张锦程(Zhang Jincheng)

摘要：本文收集 1993-2024 年广州市政府工作报告建立语料库,选择表示主题的实词，包括名词和动词，基于向量空间模型建立文本向量，以文本聚类和对应分析为手段，考察报告中三十年来表示社会主题的名词和动词的发展变化。文本聚类结果显示，政府工作报告大致分为五个阶段，分别是 1993-2000，2001-2008，2009-2012，2013-2019 和 2020-2024。从对应分析结果图中能够看出有些词语在某个阶段的报告中出现频率较高。接着以前一阶段报告为参照语料库（Reference Corpus），计算当前阶段关键词，关键词或者是在当前阶段报告中第一次出现，或者出现频率大幅提高，更能明确地观察到词语的变化，从而了解报告专注点的变化。最后，采用计量语言学方法抽取每个阶段报告文本的主题词（thematic word），计算它们的交集，从而发现所有阶段恒定不变的关注点，如“发展”、“经济”、“教育”、“改革”和“文化”等。

关键词：广州市政府工作报告，文本挖掘，主题，历时演变

作者简介：侯仁魁，通讯作者,副教授，广州大学人文学院、国家语言服务与粤港澳大湾区语言研究中心，应用语言学，电邮:hourk0917@163.com；**张锦程：**研究生，广州大学人文学院，语言学及应用语言学，电邮：2112412080@e.gzhu.edu.cn。

Title： Quantitative Study on Diachronic Changes of Words in Work Reports of Guangzhou Municipal Government

Abstract: This paper collected 32 Work Reports of Guangzhou Municipal Government from 1993 to 2024, to establish the corpus. The themes of the report were represented by the nouns

Received: 01 Feb 2026 / Revised: 11 Mar 2026 / Accepted: 13 May 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026

and verbs which represent the concrete and abstract objects and taken actions. Text clustering and correspondence analysis were used to explore the diachronic changes of themes represented by nouns and verbs. The results showed that Work Reports were divided into five phases which are 1993-2000, 2001-2008, 2009-2012, 2013-2019 and 2020-2024 respectively. The result of correspondence analysis demonstrated that some content words occur more frequently in some reports than in others. The keywords of Work Reports at each phase showed the changes of its focus. Lastly, we extract the thematic words of Work Report at each phase from the perspective of quantitative linguistics. The intersection of thematic words at each phases reveals the consistent and stable focuses of report over years, such as "发展(development and develop)", "经济(economy)", "教育(education)", "改革(reform)" and "文化(culture)". This paper explored the development and stability of focused themes of Work Reports of Guangzhou Municipal Government over 32 years.

Keywords: Work Report of Guangzhou Municipal Government, Text Mining, Thematic words, Diachronic change

Author Biographies: Renkui Hou, corresponding author, Associate Professor, School of Humanities, Guangzhou University; National Research Center for Language Service and Languages of the GuangDong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, Guangzhou, China; Applied Linguistics, E-mail: hourk0917@163.com. **Jincheng Zhang**, Master, School of Humanities, Guangzhou University, Guangzhou, China, Linguistics and applied linguistics, E-mail: 2112412080@e.gzhu.edu.cn.

一、引言

语言随着社会的发展、文化的变迁而发展变化。语言系统的各个子系统与社会发展联系有很大不同，词汇与社会的联系最为紧密，一般认为其发展变化速度最快（叶蜚声、徐通锵，2010）。随着社会新事物的产生、旧事物的消失，新词语出现频率不断增加，旧词语出现频率不断降低，直至消失。

作为一种典型的、每年更新的政治话语，各级《政府工作报告》中词语和词语属性的历时演变是一种什么状况呢？这值得我们从社会发展、语言演变的角度去进行分析。

（一）文献综述

多个世纪以来，语言的历时演变一直被世界各地的语言学家所关注，同时也是传统语言学研究的一个重点。早些年，人们更多的关注语言中某个特定语言单位，如某个语音或者某个词语，以及某个特定语言结构的历时演变。Lieberman 等（2007）考察了过去 1200 年来的英语动词的规则化过程，以及词语使用频率对规则化过程的影响。Baker (2011)在研究 20 世纪英国英语变化时，考察了词语使用频率和意义的历时变化。Campos 等（2020）建立了一个基于语料库的方法来自动计算语言的历时距离，分别计算了英语、西班牙语和葡萄牙语在不同时期的距离。

人们对政治话语中的语言运用特点研究也由来已久（Van Dijk 1997）。如 Savoy（2018）考察了2016 年美国总统初选候选人的言语风格和修辞特点，Yu（2013）考察了政治话语中语言使用和性别之间的相互关系，结果发现，相对于男性政治人物，女性政治人物较多使用情感词语和人称代词。

同时，也有一些研究使用计量方法来考察政治话语中语言的历时演变。Jiang 等（2020）以词汇丰富度和词汇复杂度为计量指标，研究结果发现，英国女王的话语在过去的 200 年发生了很大的变化，慢慢的变得越来越平民化。Savoy(2015)分析了从 1790 年到 2014 年来的词汇增长特点，据此对社会的发展变化进行了分析。Savoy（2017）考察了政治话语的语言风格和修辞的历时演变，结果发现随着时间的发展句子变短，词语的复杂度降低等，都是为了便于听众的理解。

近年来，对我国政治话语中语言运用特点的研究也引起学者的兴趣。胡开宝和田绪军（2018a）采用语料库方法，从高频词、关键词的应用等角度，分析了中国外交话语英译本所塑造的中国外交形象。胡开宝和田绪军（2018b）分析了 2000-2016 年《政府工作报告》英译本的语言特征及其文本效果。澎湃新闻借助国产大模型分析能力，使用文本向量化的数据分析方法，抽取了 2026 年国务院《政府工作报告》的关键词——“发展”、“建设”和“推进”，分析了 2026 年国家关注的重点。同时，进一步回顾了 1978-2026 年《政府工作报告》中的关键词，“发展”、“建设”和“经济”等词语一直是历年报告中的高频词，提出了“常青词”的概念，分析了历年报告中稳定不变的关注点[1]。

刘熠和王晓红（2025）分析了国内政治话语的研究现状，指出政治话语研究 学科交融多元化、宏观与微观并行的特点。宏观研究主要集中于政治学、新闻传播学等领域，微观研究主要集中于语言学领域，从认知语言学、批评话语分析及语用学等视角入手，挖掘语言背后的政治、权力因素。

Hou et al.(2020)基于分句和词语之间的关系考察了政府工作报告中语言的历时演变，结果发现拟合两者之间关系的函数参数可以区分不同时期的政治话语。Hou et al. (2022)基于 Menzerath-Altmann 定律不仅考察了汉语政治话语的历时演变，同时也对同一时期政治话语在不同地域的变体进行了对比，同时考察了政治话语的历时演变与共时差异。

国外对政治话语的共时研究主要分析了不同政治人物话语风格的不同，而历时研究主要集中于语言运用特点的差异，如词汇丰富度、词汇复杂度等，并未考察历年来政治话语中展示社会关注点的具体词语的变化。而国内关于政治话语研究或者较少从语言学角度进行分析，或者从语言学角度进行的分析多为共时研究，分析政治话语中的高频词、关键词等，较少见的历时研究考察了历年国务院《政府工作报告》中的“常青词”，没有关注具体词语的发展变化，或者是基于计量语言学定律考察了政治话语中拟合参数的发展变化。另外较多 分析了《政府工作报告》外语译本语言特点的分析，并为关注汉语《政府工作报告》本身的语言分析。

与上述研究不同，本文以 30 年的《广州市政府工作报告》为研究对象，聚焦于反映政府和社会关注点的词语的演变，从而观察社会的发展变化。

（二）研究问题和研究方法

[1] https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_32652126，2026 年 6 月 10 日访问。

基于已有研究较少从历时角度考察地方政治话语具体词语出现频率的变化，本文采用计量方法，基于语料库和文本挖掘技术，考察 30 多年来的《广州市政府工作报告》反映社会发展变化的词语的历时演变。

从广州市人民政府网站收集 1993-2024 年政府工作报告建立语料库，以名词和动词表示文本，通过文本聚类和对应分析观察历年来词语是否具有变化，根据变化的幅度，是否可以将报告分为不同的阶段。

将前一个阶段的报告为参照语料，提取当前阶段报告的关键词，从而考察和验证词语的变化、政府和社会关注点的变化。另一方面，基于计量语言学方法，抽取每个阶段报告的主题词，通过对比，提取各阶段共同的主题词，观察变化中的“不变”。

以日本同志社大学开发文本挖掘软件 MTMineR 为工具建立文本向量，文本聚类、对应分析以及主题词的提取都在 *R* 语言中实现，关键词使用日本早稻田大学开发的索引和文本分析工具 Antconc（A freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis）进行抽取。

二、语料库建立

广州市政府工作报告由市长代表广州市人民政府向广州市人民代表大会（及其常务委员会）汇报，并同步提交给政协委员和列席人员审议，完成宪法规定的“政府向人大述职、接受监督”的法定环节。我们可以通过语言分析考察报告关注的重点，从中观察社会的发展变化。

从广州市人民政府网站人工收集 1993 年至 2024 年共 32 年的广州市政府工作报告[1]，删除其中空白行、注释和名词解释等信息，仅保留报告文本。每一个报告对应一个文本文件，建立语料库。

使用日本早稻田大学开发的多语言词法分析系统 TagAnt（Multi-language segmenter and Part-of-Speech tagger, Anthony 2024）对报告文本进行分词和词类标注。该系统基于 SpaCy 自然语言处理框架[2]，具有工业级的可靠性，对中文文本进行分词和词性标注时，加载预训练中文模型 zh_core_web_sm-3.4.0。Spacy 的中文模型采用了先进的神经网络算法，在标准中文语料库上进行了大规模训练，具有较高的分词和词性标注准确率。

对语料规模进行统计，最长为 1998 年报告，文本长度为 12739 个词语，最短为 2015 年报告文本，文本长度为 7925 个词语，报告文本平均长度为 10515 个词语，所有报告文本总长度为 336486 个词语。

三、报告词语历时变化

政府工作报告谈论的是政府、社会和人们关注的事物，具有明确的主题，集中在信息的核心。一般情况下，文本的主题使用语言中的名词、动词和形容词来表示，名词代表报告文本中具体和抽象的事物，形容词代表事物的属性，动词代表对名词表示的事物施加的动作（Popescu et al.

---

[1] https://www.gz.gov.cn/zwgk/zjgb/zfgzbg/index.html，最后访问时间为 2025 年 2 月 23 日。

[2] https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/tagant/releases/TagAnt211/help.pdf，最后访问时间为 2026 年 6 月 11 日。

2009）。我们选择在所有报告中出现的名词和动词表示文本[1]，计算每个词语的相对出现频率来建立文本向量。

（一）文本聚类

聚类分析是研究物以类聚的一种有效方法，可以用来初步探测文本之间的关系，是一种探索性数据分析技术。事先不知道类别的个数与结构，仅根据在数据中发现的对象本身的信息和对象之间关系的信息，将对象进行分类，使得同一类簇（cluster）中数据点之间的相似性高于不同类簇之间数据点的相似性。一般来说，一个理想的聚类结果可以这样定义，同一类簇中的数据具有最大的相似性，不同类簇之间的数据具有最大的差异性（Manning & Schutze 1999）。

我们事先并不清楚不同年份的政府工作报告所用的表示主题的名词和动词之间的相同和不同之处，因此，为了探索历年报告之间的关系，聚类分析符合我们的需要。本文选择凝聚层次聚类（Agglomerative Hierarchical Clustering）来对报告进行分析，该方法首先将单个文本作为个体簇，然后每一步合并两个最接近的类簇，直到只剩下一个类簇。该聚类方法的关键是计算文本之间的距离，以及类簇之间的距离。我们选择相对熵（Kullback-Leibler Divergence）计算文本之间的距离，选择离差平方和计算类簇之间的距离。已有实验结果表明，采用这两种方法计算两类距离，可以取得较好的聚类结果（Dhillon et al. 2003）。

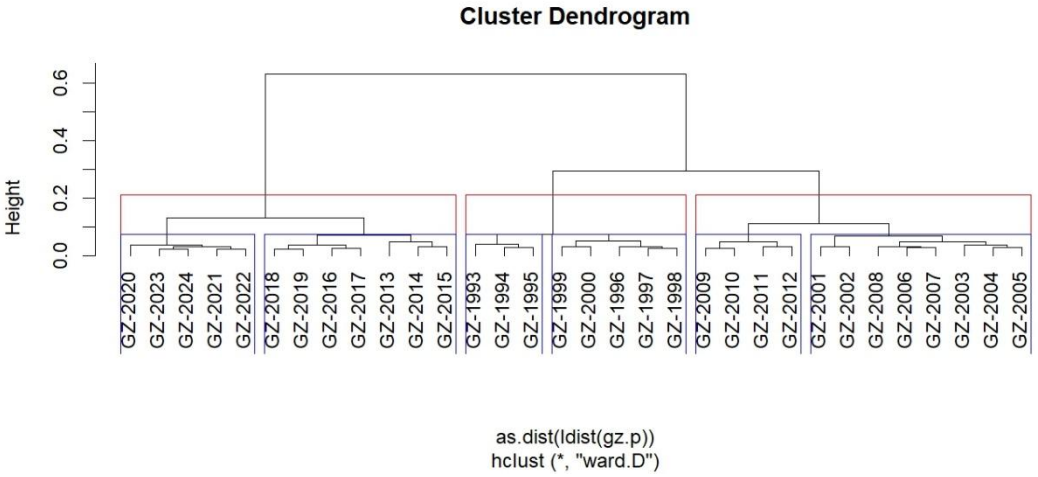


图 1 以名词和动词表示广州市政府工作报告的聚类结果

（Figure 1: Clustering Results of the Guangzhou Municipal Government Work Report Represented by Nouns and Verbs）

以名词和动词表示文本，聚类结果以树状图（Cluster Dendrogram）表示，如图 1。树状图为一个倒立的树，树中叶子节点表示文本，内部节点表示文本形成的类簇，两个文本或类簇的祖先节点的高度表示两个文本或者类簇之间的距离，高度越高表示两个类簇或者两个文本之间的距离越大，相似度越小。

[1] 经过了 TagAnt 词法分析之后，词类标记为 NN（一般名词），NR（人名、地名、机构名），VV（动词）的词语。

从图 1 可以看出，32 年的广州市政府工作报告按照时间顺序大致可以分为三个大的阶段，第一个阶段为 1993 年至 2000 年，共 8 年，其可以分为两个小的阶段，分别为 1993-1995 以及 1996-2000，这两个类簇之间距离较小；第二个阶段为 2001 年至 2012 年，同样可以分为两个小的阶段，分别为 2001-2008 和 2009-2012；第三个阶段为 2013 年至 2024 年，其同样分为 2013-2019 和 2020-2024 两个小的阶段。

每个阶段报告的关注点应该具有系统的相似性，而不同阶段的报告之间具有系统的差异性。每个大的阶段下的两个小阶段报告之间的差异要小一些，相似度更大些。第一阶段和第二阶段报告之间的距离远小于两者与第三阶段报告之间的距离，这说明，第一阶段与第二阶段之间关注的主题虽有变化，但没有那么大，而这两个阶段到第三个阶段则有了非常大的变化，这说明从 2013 年开始广州市政府工作报告关注的主题和社会热点等发生了较大的变化，这与社会的发展具有一致性。

（二）对应分析

图 1 所示的聚类结果只能说明报告之间存在差异，却无法显示差异体现在哪里。我们使用对应分析来初步观察报告和表示主题的名词与动词之间的相互关系，即某些名词或动词在某些报告中出现频率相对较高，而在另外一些报告中出现频率则相对较低。

对应分析提供了一种使用低维图形探索变量和文本之间关系的直观方法（Baayen 2008）。两个报告所关注主题的差别越大，则两个文本之间的距离越大，两个文本在图形中的距离就越远。同样，差别较大的变量，在图形上的距离较远。对应分析能够确保低维图形中文本和词语之间的位置关系尽可能地反映文本和词语之间的相互关系，如果某个词语在某个阶段的报告文本中相对较多出现，而在其它阶段的文本中相对较少出现，则它和前者在图形中距离就很近，甚至重合，与后者之间的距离则较远。

我们可以通过对应分析的结果观察不同阶段报告文本之间的距离、不同实词之间的距离以及报告文本和词语之间的相互关系。

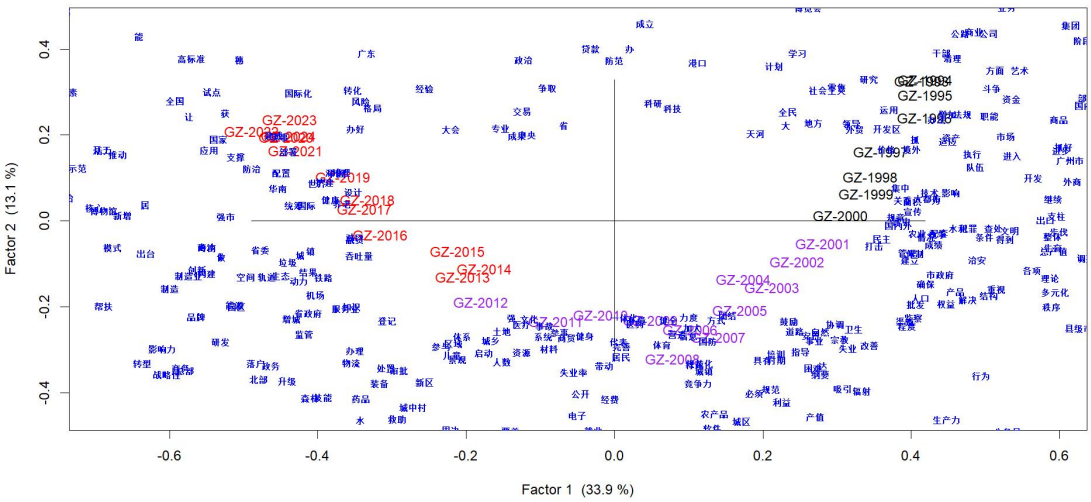


图 2 以名词和动词表示广州市政府工作报告的对应分析结果

（Figure 2: Correspondence Analysis Results of the Guangzhou Municipal Government Work Report Based on Nouns and Verbs）

我们使用 R 语言中 *LanguageR* 包中的函数 *corres.fnc* 对以名词和动词表示的报告文本进行对应分析，对应分析结果如图 2 所示[1]。从图 2 中可以看出，报告文本之间的距离与图 1 基本一致，都是可以分为三个大的阶段。对应分析和聚类分析所得结果一致，两者相互验证，展示了所得结果的可靠性。这说明以动词和名词来表示文本，观察报告关注的社会热点在 32 年的变化，是可行的。

更重要的是，图 2 也展示了报告文本和实词（名词与动词）之间的相互关系，如“外贸、市场、商品、进步、适应”等词语在第一阶段报告文本中出现频率相对较高，“电子、竞争力、资源、完善、商贸、鼓励”等词语在第二阶段报告文本中出现频率相对较高，而“推动、试点、国际、高标准、健康、养老、生态、创新”等词语在第三个阶段报告文本中出现频率相对较高。

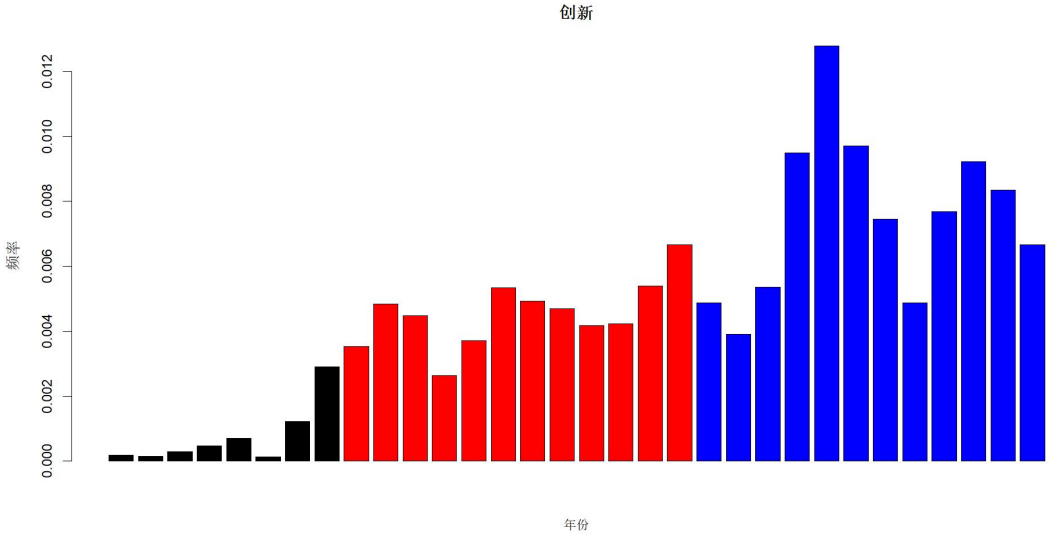


图 3 “创新”在历年报告中出现频率的分布图

（Figure 3 Distribution of the Frequency of the Word "Innovation" in Annual Work Reports）

我们以“创新”为例，使用柱状图展示其在报告中的出现频率分布，如图 3 所示。从中我们可以看到“创新”在第一阶段（1993-2000）政府工作报告中的出现频率要远远低于其在第二和第三阶段报告中的出现频率，而整体上看在第二阶段的出现频率也小于在第三阶段的出现频率。这说明随着时间的发展，政府工作报告更加注重包括“科技、技术”等各领域的“创新”。

（三）关键词分析

为了考察政府工作报告中表示关注点的名词和动词的变化，我们使用日本早稻田大学开发的软件 AntConc 来计算每一阶段相对前面一个阶段的关键词（Anthony 2024），从中更直观地观察这种变化。关键词是指在当前语料库中出现频率较高，而在参照（Reference）语料库中出现频率较低的词语，因此它可以反映不同阶段报告中关注点的差异。而主题词是在当前语料库中出现频率较高的名词和动词，只能反映词语在当前语料库中的出现情况，不与其它语料库对比。

使用 AntConc 计算关键词时，Log-Likelihood Measure 设置为“Log-Likelihood （4-term）”，

[1] 为了方便观察报告和主题词之间的关系，图 2 中仅显示小部分的名词和动词。

阈值设置为“p<0.05 (3.84 with Bonfeerroni”, Effect Size Measure 设置为“Dice”。

我们首先将第一阶段，即 1993-2000 年广州市政府工作报告，作为参照语料库（Reference Corpus）来计算第二阶段，即 2001-2008，的关键词，依据 Keyness (Likelihood) 值对关键词进行排序。从中可以看到，相对于第一个阶段，第二个阶段更加注重“创新、体系、社区、公共、提升、推进、中心镇、就业、信息化、农村、完善、会展、物流、研发、建设” 等[1]，其中，“中心镇、会展、研发”以及“品牌、应急、城中村、亚运会、平台”等在第一个阶段报告中都没有出现。从图 3 中也可以看到“创新”这个词语的出现频率在当前阶段有了大幅提升。

然后以第二阶段的报告为参照语料，计算第三个阶段，即 2009 到 2012 年广州市政府工作报告的关键词，同样依据 Keyness (Likelihood) 来进行排序。我们可以看到，相对于第二阶段报告，第三阶段的 4 年广州市政府工作报告更加注重“低碳、幸福、民生、提升、预计、保障性、服务、转型、危机、世界、城乡”等，其中“低碳、幸福、保障性、危机”等在第二阶段 8 年的报告中都没有出现，仅在当前阶段提出。

接着将第三阶段（2009-2012）的广州市政府工作报告作为参照语料库，计算第四阶段，即 2013-2019 年报告的关键词，同样按照 Keyness (Likelihood)值对关键词进行排序。相对于第三阶段，第四阶段广州市政府工作报告更加注重“枢纽，推进，治理，稳，创新，美丽，推动，互联网，试点，自贸，清单，试验区，大学，科技”等，其中“稳、自贸，清单”在第三阶段报告中都没有出现，而“枢纽、治理、创新、推动、美丽”出现频率和分布年份都是大大增加，“推动”交通和“创新”“枢纽”建设，关注“科技”“创新”，“创新”人才的培养，各领域“试验区、试点”建设的“推进”，“美丽”乡村、“美丽”广州建设等。

最后，以第四阶段七年报告（2013-2019）为参照语料库，计算最后一个阶段（2020-2024）的关键词。关键词包括“大湾区，高，疫情，全球，推动，大学，智能，数字，枢纽，打造，政治，防控，试点，融合，国家，实验室”等，其中“大湾区，实验室，提质”等都是在这一阶段的报告中首次出现。从中可以看出，全球疫情时期，关注“疫情”防控，并同时从“国家”视角关注“大湾区”建设，推动“人工”“智能”和“数字”经济的“高”质量发展，老城区和新领域的“出新、出彩”，各领域的广深“双城”“联动”，“打造”“活力”“湾区”等。

从各阶段的关键词，我们能够更加清晰的看到各个阶段报告关注点和所采取的举措的发展变化，从中可以观察到社会的发展变化。

四、主题词抽取与分析

文本的主题使用名词、动词和形容词来表示，但并不是每一个名词、动词和形容词都可以代表文本的主题，只有一些特定的名词、动词、形容词能够体现文本的主题。Popescu 等（2009）认为一个文本的词频表中 h 点之前的动词、名词、形容词可以表示文本的主题，它们能够反应文本的主题内容。

h 点是文献计量学中的一个概念，用来表示一个学者的学术影响力，后来被 Popescu（2006）引入语言学，并获得进一步发展。将一个文本中所有词语按照出现频次（frequency）来进行排序

[1] 我们仅列出其中的少数关键词，来说明报告关注点和主题的变化。

（rank），出现频次最高的排在第一位（rank=1），其出现频率为 f（1），出现频次第二高的排在第二位（rank=2），出现次数为 f(2)。依此类推，随着 r 的增大，f（r）不断减小，就会出现一个点 r=f（r），这个点就被称为 h 点。h 点之前的动词、名词和形容词被称为主题词（thematic words）。考虑到政府工作报告的特点，我们选择 h 点之前名词和动词作为主题词。

f（r）随着 r 的增加而降低，是一个离散函数，可能在这些点上不存在一个点使得 r=f（r）。在这种情况下，使用下面的公式（1）计算 h 的值。

$$h = \frac{f(r1)\times r2 - f(r2)\times r1}{r2 - r1 + f(r1) - f(r2)}$$

公式（1）

其中 r_1 和 r_2 是两个相邻的词序（rank），$r_2-r_1=1$，而 $r_1<f(r_1)$，$r_2>f(r_2)$，$f(r_2)<f(r_1)$。

接下来我们以 1993 年广州市政府工作报告为例，来展示如何计算文本的 h 点，并抽取其主题词。首先统计每个词语出现频次，建立 1993 年广州市政府工作报告中的词频表，按照词语的出现次数进行排序，如表 1 所示。

表 1 1993 年政府工作报告词频表[1]

(Table 1 Word Frequency List of the 1993 Government Work Report)

Rank	词语	Frequency	Rank	词语	Frequency
1	的/DEG	215	16	在/P	45
2	和/CC	209	17	教育/NN	44
3	的/DEC	124	18	社会/NN	43
4	经济/NN	97	19	市/NN	43
5	了/AS	92	20	有/VE	41
6	建设/NN	77	21	城市/NN	39
7	要/VV	63	22	等/ETC	36
8	企业/NN	62	23	管理/NN	36
9	发展/NN	60	24	广州/NR	35
10	增长/VV	59	25	对/P	34
11	市场/NN	56	26	科技/NN	34
12	改革/NN	54	27	年/M	32
13	发展/VV	48	28	加快/VV	31
14	加强/VV	47	29	提高/VV	29
15	工作/NN	46	30	技术/NN	28

从表 1 中，我们可以看出 h 值为 29，因为当 r 为 29 的时候，r=f（r）。h 点前共有 14 个名词（词类标记为 NN 和 NR），6 个动词（词类标记为 VV），它们分别是：

[1] 仅显示出现频次最高的前 40 个词语，词语后面的英文字母表示该词语的词类

经济，建设,企业，发展（名词），市场，改革，工作，教育，社会，市，城市，管理，广州，科技

要，增长，发展（动词），加强，加快，提高

从中可以看到该年度工作报告关注的重点，推动“经济”的“增长”，“加强”“加快”“改革”的步伐， “市场”的“建设”，“科技”和“企业”的“发展”等。

这个抽取主题词的计量语言学方法（h 点方法），计算复杂度较低，具有较高的可解释性，比较适合语言的历时研究。可以通过各阶段主题词的对比，来确定各阶段共同的主题词，以观察报告所关注主题的稳定性。

从第 3 部分文本聚类、对应分析和关键词，我们观察到了广州市政府工作报告关注点的历年变化，那么 32 年来的有没有哪些关注点是不变的呢？接下来采用以上方法来分别抽取这 5 个阶段的主题词，观察恒定不变的关注点。

每个阶段主题词见附录中表 1,5 个阶段的主题词共有 108 个。有些词语在某个阶段的报告中是主题词，而在其它某些阶段的报告中可能不是主题词。那么，这些词语就不是每个阶段都被关注的。如果某词语在每个阶段都是主题词，那么就可以认为它是被 5 个阶段共同关注，可以认为是稳定的。我们通过计算 5 个阶段主题词集合的交集来确定这些词语，结果显示共有 32 个词语在 5 个阶段中都是主题词（如下），因此可以认为它们是 5 个阶段报告中不变的关注点。

“工作/NN”，“建设/NN”，“企业/NN”，“经济/NN”，“管理/NN”，“加强/VV”，“发展/NN”，“市/NN”，“社会/NN”，“城市/NN”，“改革/NN”，“发展/VV”，“广州/NR”，“教育/NN”，“加快/VV”，“增长/VV”，“推进/VV”，“工程/NN”，“产业/NN”，“开展/VV”，“水平/NN”，“项目/NN”，“环境/NN”，“政府/NN”，“完善/VV”，“服务/NN”，“促进/VV”，“文化/NN”，“中心/NN”，“机制/NN”，“国际/NN”，“实施/VV”

我们选择“发展”、“改革”和“文化”作为例子，使用柱状图，如图 4，展示它们在历年广州市政府工作报告中的出现频率，直观地观察它们的出现频率有没有随着时间的推移发生较大的变化，是否具有稳定性。

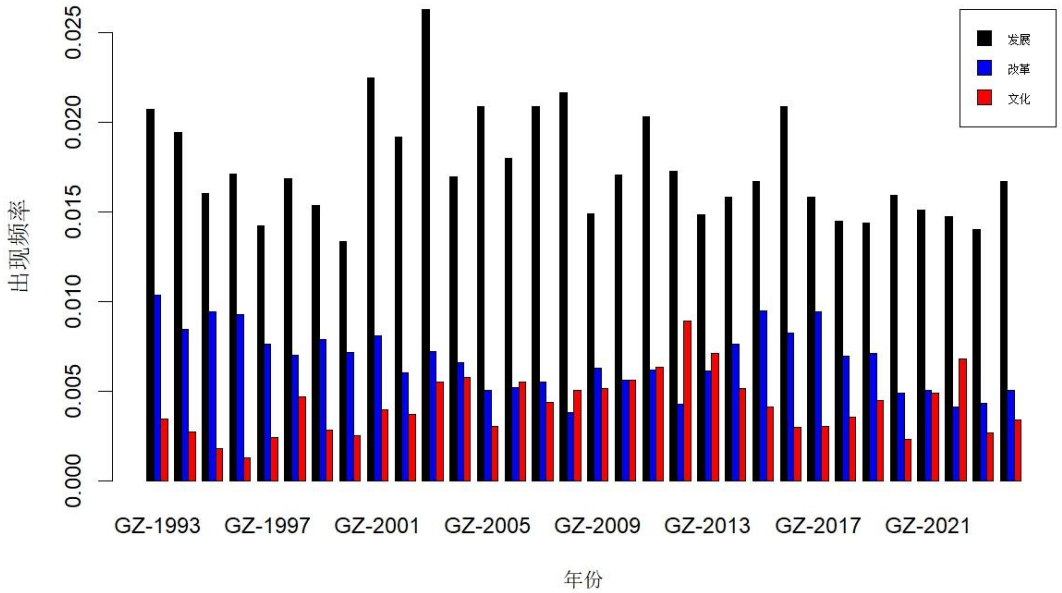


图 4 5 个阶段稳定不变的主题词出现频率柱状图（在词性标注时，“发展”为兼类词，这里没有考虑词类的差异）

（Figure 4 Bar Chart of the Frequency of Stable Subject Terms across Five Stages (Note: In part-of-speech tagging, "development" is a multi-category word; differences in word categories are not considered here)）

从图 4 中我们可以看到，虽然三个主题词在某年报告中出现频率存在差别，可是某个特定主题词，如“发展”，在历年报告中的出现频率是基本稳定的，或者是关注某些事物的发展，如“民营经济发展”、“开放型经济发展”、“经济贸易发展”、“农村经济发展”“边远地区发展”等，或者是发展某事物，如“发展经济”、“大力发展新一代信息技术”、“大力发展社区卫生服务”、“大力发展跨境电子商务”、“大力发展海洋经济”、“大力发展应用型专科教育”等。

再如“改革”，历年关注多个领域的改革，如最早 1993 年报告的“科技体制改革进一步深化”，到 2024 年的“国家出台支持南沙放宽市场准入与加强监管体制改革、开展土地管理综合改革试点意见”，以及历年来的“继续深化城市管理体制改革”、“深化行政管理体制改革”、“深化卫生管理体制改革”、“积极推进农村经济体制改革”、“深化投资体制改革”等。总之，“改革”作为历年政府工作报告的关注点一直稳定不变。

再看“文化”，虽然其在每年报告中的出现频率要低于“发展”和“改革”，可是在每年报告中也都得到了体现，如最早 1993 年的“改造和新建了一批文化娱乐设施和场所，加强了对社会文化市场的管理。对外文化活动蓬勃发展”、“要继续深化文化艺术体制改革”，到 1994 年的“推进了文化体制改革”，到 2024 年的“推进文化强市建设，增强城市文化综合实力”，“坚定文化自信自强”，“提升历史文化名城影响力”，再如其它年份的“推进农村和社区文化建设，丰富群众文化生活”，“推动文化繁荣发展”，“推动文化创新，培育文化产业”等等，无不显示出报告对与

“文化”相关领域事业的重视。

上面抽取的是 5 个阶段报告的共同主题词进行的分析，接下来，我们抽取每年报告的主题词，发现其交集只有四个词，即这四个词语在所有的年份中都是被关注的重点。

“建设/NN”“发展/NN”“广州/NR”“加快/VV”

同样使用柱状图展示这些词语在每年政府工作报告中的出现频率，如图 5 所示。从中能够观察到它们在历年报告中出现频率的稳定性，可以看出它们每年都是报告的关注点。每年的政府工作报告都关注“广州”各方面，如环境、廉政、法治的“建设”和“发展”等，同时也在“加快”推进这种建设和发展。

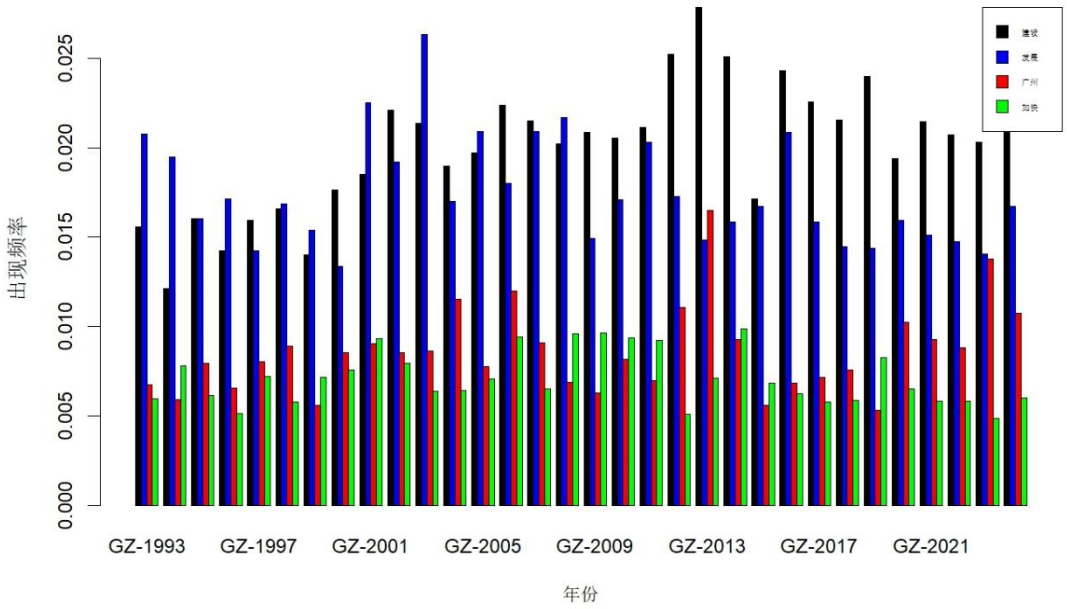


图 5 每年恒定不变的主题词的出现频率

（Figure 5 Occurrence Frequency of Invariable Subject Terms in Each Year）

五、结论

本文以文本挖掘为手段考察了广州市政府工作报告中词语的发展。首先以名词和动词来表示报告文本，对其进行聚类分析，发现 32 年的广州市政府工作报告大致可以分为三个大的阶段和五个小的阶段，第一个阶段为 1993 年到 2000 年的 8 年，第二个阶段为 2001-2008 年，第三个阶段为 2009 年到 2012 年的 4 年，第四个阶段为 2013 年到 2019 年的 7 年，最后一个阶段为 2020 年到 2024 年。不同阶段出现的表示报告主题的名词和动词的出现存在着差别。

对以名词和动词表示的报告文本进行对应分析，对应分析结果显示出报告文本和主题词之间的相互关系。从该相互关系中，能够看出每个阶段报告所关注的主题词是不同的。如第一阶段关注“市场”、“商品”、“外商”等，而第五阶段则关注“健康”、“生态”等。

关键词的分析，更能直观反映出特定阶段报告，相对于前一阶段报告，所关注的社会事物、以

及政府采取的措施等所发生的变化。这里建立的以聚类分析、对应分析、关键词计算观察报告主题变化的方法具有普适性。

最后采用计量语言学方法，计算了每个阶段报告的 *h* 点，抽取了每个阶段报告的主题词，词频表中位于 *h* 点之间名词和动词，对每个阶段的主题词集合进行了对比，找出了它们的交集。我们认为，交集中的主题词是每个阶段报告共同关注的主题，如“发展、建设、改革、教育、文化”等，是稳定不变的。时间的变化，社会的发展，报告中表示主题的词语在发生变化，但也有一些表示主题的词语是稳定的，即每个阶段中主题词的交际。

基金项目：本文系广东省社科项目“粤港两地政治话语历时演变与共时差异的计量研究”（项目编号：GD24CZY03），“粤港澳大湾区语言资源库建设研究”（项目编号：GD22XZY03）成果。

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

侯仁魁 ID https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2510-6277

张锦程 ID https://orcid.org/0009-0001-9048-0583

References

胡开宝，田绪军.(2018a).中国外交话语英译中的中国外交形象研究——一项基于语料库的研究.中国外语.15(6): 79-88.

［Hu Kaibao, Tian Xujun. (2018a) “A Corpus-based Study of the Image of Chinese Diplomacy in the English Translations of Chinese Discourse on Diplomacy”, Foreign Language in China, 15(6): 79-88. DOI：http://doi.org/10.13564/j.cnki.issn.1672-9382.2018.06.012.］

胡开宝, 田绪军.（2018b）《政府工作报告》英译文本的语言特征与文本效果研究——一项基于语料库的研究. 外国语文. 34(5): 1-11.

［Hu Kaibao, Tian Xujun. (2018b) “A Corpus-based Study of the Linguistic Features and Textual Effects of the English Translation of the Government Work Report”. Foreign Languages and Literature. 34(5): 1-11. ］

刘熠，王晓红.（2025）. 基于文献可视化分析的国内政治话语研究现状与启示. 辽宁大学学报（哲学社会科学版）. 53（3）: 119-126.

［Liu Yi, Wang Xiaohong (2025) “A Visual Analysis of Bibliometrics of the Research on Political Discourse in China and its Implications”, Journal of Liaoning University (Philosophy and Social Science). 53（3）: 119-126. DOI：http://doi.org/10.16197/j.cnki.lnupse.2025.03.006.]

叶蜚声，徐通锵（著），王洪君，李娟（修订）. (2010) 语言学纲要（修订版）. 北京：北京大学出版社.

［Ye Feisheng, Xu Tongqiang (2010) “Outline of Linguistics (Revision Version, by Wang Hongjun and Lijuan)” Beijing University Press, Beijing, China］

Anthony, L. (2024). TagAnt (Version 2.1.1) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University.

https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/TagAnt

Anthony, L. (2024). AntConc (Version 4.3.1) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/AntConc

Baker, P. (2011). Times may change, but we will always have money: diachronic variation in recent British English. Journal of English Linguistics, 39(1), 65–88. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0075424210368368.

Baayen R, H. (2008). Analyzing Linguistic Data: A Practical Introduction to Statistics Using R. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cacoullos, R. T. (1999). Construction frequency and reductive change: Diachronic and register variation in Spanish clitic climbing. Language variation and change, 11(2), 143-170. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S095439459911202X.

Campos, J., Otero, P., & Loinaz, I. (2020). Measuring diachronic language distance using perplexity: Application to English, Portuguese, and Spanish. Natural Language Engineering, 26(4), 433-454. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S1351324919000378.

Dhillon, I. S., Mallela, S., & Kumar, R. (2003). Enhanced word clustering for hierarchical text classification. Proceedings of the ninth ACM SIGKDD international conference on Knowledge discovery and data mining, 191-200. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1145/775047.775076.

Hou, R., C.-R. Huang & K. Ahrens. (2020). Language change in Report on the Work of the Government by Premiers of the People's Republic of China. In Proceedings of the 34th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation. Pp.100-111. DOI: https://aclanthology.org/2020.paclic-1.12.pdf.

Hou, R., C.-R. Huang & K. Ahrens. (2022). Regional varieties and diachronic changes in Chinese political discourse. Humanity & Social Science Communication. 9: 466. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-022-01488-8.

Jiang X, Jiang Y & Hoi C K W (2020) Is Queen's English Drifting Towards Common People's English. –Quantifying Diachronic changes of Queens's Christmas Messages (1952-2018) with Reference to BNC. Journal of Quantitative Linguistics. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/09296174.2020.1737483.

Popescu, I.-I., Altmann, G., Grzybek, P., Jayaram,B.D., Köhler,R., Krupa,V.,Maˇcutek, J., Pustet, R., Uhlíˇrová, L., Vidya, M.N. (2009). Word frequency studies. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

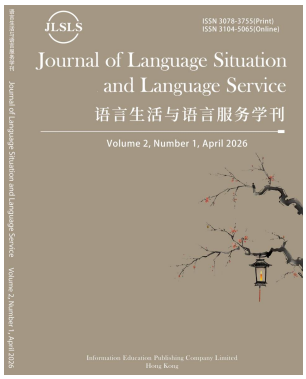
Savoy, J. (2015). Vocabulary Growth Study: An Example with the State of the Union Addresses. Journal of Quantitative Linguistics. 22(4): 289-310. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/09296174.2015.1106270.

Savoy, J. (2017). Analysis of the Style and the Rhetoric of the American Presidents Over Two Centuries. Glottometrics. 38:55-76.

Savoy, J. (2018). Analysis of the style and the rhetoric of the 2016 US presidential primaries. Digital Scholarship in the Humanities. 33(1): 143-159. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqx007.

Yu, B. (2013). Language and gender in congressional speech. Literary and Linguistic Computing. 29(1) :118-132. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqs073.

Van Dijk TA. (1997). What is political discourse analysis? Belgian Journal of Linguistics 11: 11–52.



JLSLS

HIEP
Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.71-82**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260106rspnh

数字媒体新闻标题风格实践研究

汪　璇（Wang Xuan）

摘要：当前大量传统媒体入驻数字平台，新媒体新闻在内容、语言风格等方面均表现出独特性，这些改变来源于新闻生产主体与受众关系的变革。研究分别构建了《人民日报》数字新闻标题语料库和传统纸媒新闻标题语料库两个平行语料库，将数字媒体新闻标题中不同于纸媒的风格实践定义为有标记变异。经过语料标注和统计分析发现，数字媒体新闻标题表现出简洁性、互动性和标题内容互构性三大主要风格特点。研究认为，数字媒体新闻标题的风格呈现受到算法规则、用户阅读心理和数字空间中媒体角色转型三大因素的影响。

关键词：新闻标题；风格实践；元话语；数字语言生活

作者简介：汪璇，北京外国语大学中国语言文学学院在读博士研究生。研究方向：社会语言学、语言政策，数字语言生活。电邮：17398370631@163.com。

Title: Research on the Stylistic Practice of News Headlines in Mainstream Digital Media

Abstract: Recently, a large number of traditional media outlets are entering digital platforms, and news in new media exhibits distinctiveness in content, language style and other aspects. These changes arise from the changed interaction between news producers and audiences. This study compiles two parallel corpora of *People's Daily* headlines (digital edition vs. print edition), and defines stylistic deviations in digital headlines from print ones as marked variations. The stylistic practices in digital media headlines that differ from those in print

Received: 10 Dec 2025 / Revised: 12 Mar 2026 / Accepted: 15 Apr 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

media are defined as marked variations in this research. Through corpus annotation and statistical analysis, it is found that digital media news headlines exhibit three main stylistic features: conciseness, interactivity, and intertextuality between headlines and content. The study suggests that the stylistic presentation of digital media news headlines is influenced by three major factors: algorithmic rules, user reading psychology, and the transformation of media roles in digital spaces.

Keywords: News Headlines; Stylistic Practice; Interactional Metadiscourse; Digital Language Life

Author Biography: Wang Xuan, Doctoral student in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, School of Chinese Language and Literature, Beijing Foreign Studies University. Research interests: sociolinguistics, language policy, digital language life. E-mail: 17398370631@163.com.

一、引言

新闻采编是语言服务的一种，根据赵世举（2012, p.5）的定义：“语言服务本质上是一种帮助性行为或活动，旨在满足一定对象对语言文字及相关方面的需求，服务对象是任何有语言文字方面需求的个体、群体或社会”。新闻媒体能够满足读者信息获取的需求，其服务对象是有此需求的个体、群体，且新闻媒体传播范围广泛，具有很强的社会影响力。数字新闻是数字语言生活的重要组成部分，是数字语言服务的重要载体。当前，大量传统媒体广泛借助数字技术进驻“两微一端”。数字新闻的标题在呈现方式上与传统媒体新闻标题存在较大区别：第一，数字空间新闻以标题列表的方式呈现，标题与内容不处于同一空间当中，标题对内容的约束力降低；第二，数字新闻标题作为读者没有点进内容时唯一可以看到的部分，需要吸引读者点击进入全文。本研究旨在探究数字空间主流媒体新闻标题的风格特征及其呈现策略，并尝试进一步讨论数字空间中主流媒体风格实践的生成逻辑。

二、研究设计

（一）分析框架

“风格”是社会语言学领域一个重要的研究课题，其本身是一个非常宽泛、模糊的概念，如果将“风格”具体为“语言风格”，则指的是语言运用所形成的整体格调和言语气氛，反映的是语言在运用过程中由语言内化制约因素系统形成的各种风格形态、风格表征，风格结构类型及风格语义的历史演变规律等（田海龙，2022）。“风格实践”这一概念的出现标志着学界意识到风格不再是与内容分离的表达方式，而是与内容融为一体，语言风格可以从言说者的内容中体现出来，既与言说者的身份合一，又与言说者的立场同步（祝克懿，2021）。因此，可以认为风格不是语言行为的被动产物，而是言说者为构建个人身份的一种主动实践。随着人类社会加速进入丰富多元的数字时

代，群体化的特点更加显著，人们在数字语言生活中因共同的交际目的、相近的兴趣爱好汇聚成数字语言社群，各语言社群通常有其独特的言语风格。对个体网民而言，风格实践是他们在数字空间中构建个人数字身份，实现数字社会化的重要手段，对于机构、组织、媒体而言，特定的风格实践是他们在数字空间中吸引更多网民关注，提高影响力的策略，因此主流媒体在进入数字空间之后通常会经历风格的转型，形成不同于传统纸媒的风格。

数字空间中主流媒体通过主动的有标记变异来实现风格实践，因此借用标记理论识别标题中的有标记变异。标记理论是结构主义语言学派的一个重要理论，用于描述和解释语言中一对乃至一组互相关联又互相区别的分析对象。在社会语言学的研究中，应用标记理论首先需要解决的问题是区分哪些语言现象是无标记的，哪些语言现象是有标记的，徐欣路（2020, p.75）指出可以从三个方面落实社会语言学中的标记理论："（1）无标记项是更少张扬社会学意义的，人们更难通过无标记项彰显自己的年龄、性别、阶层、职业等社会身份信息；（2）无标记项是适用性更强的，在绝大多数场景下，使用无标记项都可以传达好基本的信息，完成基本的交际任务；（3）无标记项是更低敏的，不容易引发争议，也更加稳定。有标记项则比较容易引发争议，其使用也比较容易在争议的影响下发生改变。"

"从当前语言生活现状看，人类进入数字化时代后不会抛弃依然有实际价值的现实（传统）语言生活或交流方式"（戴曼纯，2024）。实际上，数字语言生活与非数字语言生活正在互相影响，一方面数字语言生活吸收了大量来自非数字语言生活的内容，另一方面数字语言生活产生的新现象、新风格深刻影响非数字语言生活，这个过程是渐进、持续的。因此，本研究在运用"标记模式"分析新闻标题时，没有将"无标记"风格与"有标记"风格视为非此即彼的对立状态，而是将"无标记"和"有标记"置于新闻规约驱动的连续体中进行考察。

（二）研究问题

1.数字空间中主流媒体新闻标题呈现出怎样的风格？

2.数字空间主流媒体新闻标题有哪些异化现象？

3.数字新闻标题为何出现不同于传统媒体新闻标题的风格实践？

（三）研究对象与方法

本研究的研究对象为国家级媒体《人民日报》的数字端新闻标题，为突出数字新闻标题的风格特点，还选取了同时间段内该媒体的纸媒端新闻标题作为对照组。需要说明的是，《人民日报》在新闻采编上采用"中央厨房"系统，是整个报社新闻策、采、编、发的指挥中枢，传统媒体和新兴媒体的工作人员在这里协同作业，实现全媒体产品的策划、制作与发布（叶蓁蓁，2017）。由此可知，《人民日报》的数字端新闻和纸媒端在采编资源上部分共享，但在实际运营中，纸媒端和数字端的内容二次加工通常是独立的。本研究关注的不是数字新闻和纸媒新闻在风格上的绝对差异，而是在风格呈现策略上的差异。数字端编辑团队的年轻化不是需要排除的干扰变量，编辑团队的调整本身也是媒体为了适配数字平台受众预期、算法逻辑而做出的策略性选择，应被视作"数字平台效应"的内在组成部分。

本研究是语料库驱动的研究，运用网络爬虫技术爬取《人民日报》从 2023 年 9 月 1 日至 2024 年 2 月 4 日发布的所有数字新闻标题，去除固定栏目的标题，总共获得 1611 条有效数字新闻标题语料，包括社会新闻、时政新闻、财经科技新闻、军事新闻、科普新闻、人物通讯和文化旅游新闻等七种类型，基于此建立数字空间新闻标题小型语料库。另运用网络爬虫技术爬取该主流媒体从 2023 年 9 月 1 日至 2024 年 2 月 4 日发布的所有纸媒新闻标题语料，去除其中的固定栏目，总共获得 2056 条有效语料，包括时政新闻、社会新闻、财经科技新闻、文化旅游新闻、教育新闻等多种类型，基于纸媒语料构建了一个纸媒新闻标题语料库。之后，对两个语料库中的语料进行对比和统计，并基于统计结果分析数字媒体新闻标题的风格。为排除新闻数量本身对统计结果的影响，在统计过程中进行标准化处理，即统计每 100 条语料中出现变异的数量。

三、数字媒体新闻标题风格特征与策略

（一）追求效率：简洁化与关键词策略

标题简洁性指的是在有限的空间与时间内，以最少的注意力成本传递信息的特点。为实现数字媒体新闻标题与纸媒新闻标题简洁性的量化比较，本研究将简洁性这一抽象概念具象化为标题字符数这一可以观测的指标。

研究统计了数字媒体新闻标题和纸媒新闻标题的字符数（包括汉字、标点、数字和字母），并通过独立样本 t 检验分析数字媒体新闻标题与传统媒体新闻标题在字符数上是否存在显著差异。统计结果显示，数字媒体新闻标题的字符数均值为 16.51，纸媒新闻标题的平均字符数为 17.48，$p<0.001$，即数字媒体新闻标题的字符数显著低于纸媒新闻标题。

表 1 数字媒体新闻标题与纸媒新闻标题字符数

（Table1 A comparison of headline length (in characters) between digital and print media. Headline length: Digital vs. Print Media）

类型	均值	标准差	F	显著性
数字媒体	16.51	6.80	13.903	P<0.001
纸媒	17.48	7.75		

数字新闻标题呈现出简洁性的风格并非偶然，而是由技术和认知共同驱动的必然结果。第一，在技术层面上，小屏幕限制了数字媒体新闻标题的字数，绝大多数网民会在手机、平板电脑等移动设备上读取新闻，过长的标题会被截断而以“……”显示，严重影响点击意愿。第二，在认知层面上，数字空间是一个信息爆炸的空间，信息传播的关键之一就是争夺读者有限的注意力，很多网民获得信息的方式是“扫描式”而非“精读式”，简短而明确的标题意味着读者需要花费的注意力成本更少，从而降低了点击的决策门槛，提升点击率。

（二）符号征用：网络语言与表情符号的运用

数字空间催生出大量网络语言，这些网络流行词汇是社会存在的产物，符合网络用户的心理需求和使用习惯（崔勃，2020）。网络语言包括网络词语以及表情符号，网络词语的使用如例 1、例 2 所示。例 1 中的“燃”来源于日本动漫作品，指的是激情四射、鼓舞人心，此处用于形容中国军事震撼人心的场面。例 2 中的“顶流”是“顶级流量”的简称，指的是极有名的人、事物或内容，此处用来指吉祥物“龙墩墩”广为人们欢迎。对于某些新闻，直接论述可能显得生硬或有距离感，而使用网络语言可以起到“软化”作用。例如，用“超燃”来介绍宏大的军事场面，更容易让读者以轻松的心态接受信息。

例 1 超燃！2023 中国军事大场面

例 2 “龙墩墩”再成顶流！“这在奥林匹克历史上是从来没有过的”

在新闻标题中使用表情符号是数字新闻所特有的一种策略。例 3 中，使用了网络用语“尔滨”，表情符号“🤨”表示惊讶的感情；例 4 中的表情符号“🤣”是被逗乐的含义，通过这一表情符号读者可以得知这一新闻基本的感情基调，即这是一则轻松幽默的新闻；例 5 中表情符号“🤔”指代的是一个疑惑的年轻人，表情符号“🤯”则指代前句提到的大叔，表情符号起到的作用是替代标题中的部分文字。可以发现，表情符号的使用主要有两个作用：一为展现编者对于新闻内容的感情态度，二为代替新闻标题中的部分文字。在传递感情方面，在新闻标题中使用表情符号，能有效消除传统新闻文本的距离感，建立起一种共同的身份认同。年轻受众不仅通过新闻获取信息，更接受新闻传递的情绪和态度。

例 3 “尔滨，你让我感到陌生🤨”

例 4 “谭棉花”组合，怎么越看越像🤣

例 5 🤔：叔，能做个反光伞吗？🤯：安排！

网络语言（包括流行语和表情符号）是草根文化的一种存在方式，适应了草根阶层的表达需求。网络语言的很多特征都来源于其游戏功能，体现出一种娱乐色彩（施春宏，2010）。网络语言具有明显的圈层特征，在新闻标题中使用网络语言能够提升标题的娱乐性，塑造出一个“自己人”的虚拟形象，在读者和作者之间建立共同的身份认同，从而提升新闻的点击率。

（三）召唤参与：互动性的话语设计

数字媒体新闻标题常通过构建对话性的话语场域营造一种主动与读者互动的语境，增强读者的参与度。Hyland（2005, p.52-53）提出元话语（Interactional Metadiscourse）的人际模式，将元话语分为引导式和互动式两类，其中互动式元话语指的是表明作者对命题内容的态度和评价，将读者纳入语篇构建过程并与之形成互动的一种语言手段，包括模糊语、增强语、态度标记语和介入语等。本研究以互动式元话语的使用作为衡量数字媒体新闻标题和纸媒新闻标题互动性的指标。

1.模糊语

模糊语（Hedges）的作用是减弱作者对命题的确定性，从而削弱自己的言说者身份，主动构建一种与读者交流互动的语境。传统纸媒的新闻标题承担重要的信息宣告任务，通常呈现权威和确定的语言风格，而数字媒体新闻标题通过使用模糊语瓦解了这种单向宣告的模式，通过与读者共建一个不确定性的空间建构起一个强大的“互动场”。例 6 中的“你可能正在用”创造了一种“如果你刚好在用，那就要小心了”的条件性对话场景，这种不确定性（“可能”）赋予了读者自主判断的空间，拉近了媒体与读者的心理距离。例 7 中的“或引起肾衰竭”没有使用明确的因果陈述，而是通过风险提示的方式将读者纳入言语互动场，呈现出文本的互动性。统计发现，数字媒体新闻标题中出现模糊语 13 次，而纸质媒体新闻标题没有出现使用模糊语的情况，可以认为使用模糊语是数字媒体新闻标题实践互动性的一种独特策略。

例 6 这些洗发乳、润肤霜等化妆品不合规！你可能正在用

例 7 不能喝！不能喝！长期饮用或引起肾衰竭……

2.增强语

增强语（Booster）的核心作用在于强调作者对命题的确定性，增强语并非源于新闻事实本身的客观性，而是作者的一种主观介入，通过凸显个人确信度，来增强文本与读者的互动。本研究通过分析具体语料，发现增强语的使用可以进一步分为几种类型：其一，强调事实和个人确信的词语，如“无疑”“就是”“毫无疑问”等，具体例证见 8。例 8 中增强语“就是”在“下跪”这个动作和“一条命”这个结果之间建立了强关联，描述了事件的重要性、紧迫性和结果的严重性，成功地将作者震撼的情绪传递给读者，召唤读者产生同等强烈的情感反应。其二，使用强调程度的词语，如“第一”“太 X”“绝 X”等。具体例证见例 9 和例 10，增强语“太”的使用使得这条标题并非简单的陈述，而是一个极高且积极的情感评判，并让读者产生一种将在文章中读到非常有趣内容的心理预设，增强了文本的互动性。例 10 中的增强语“太太太太太惊艳”将表示极高程度的“太”字连续重复，向读者传递了极具感染力的情绪。

例 8 这一跪，就是一条命！

例 9 高校给大学生寄“奖状”！家长朋友圈太精彩

例 10 细节控福利！这也太太太太太惊艳了

统计发现，数字媒体新闻标题中增强语的使用有 73 例，传统纸媒中增强语的使用有 5 例，卡方检验结果显示 $p<0.001$，即可以认为数字媒体新闻标题中增强语的出现频数显著高于传统纸媒新闻标题。

表 2 增强语频数

(Table2 The Frequency of Booster)

类型	有增强语	无增强语	卡方检验显著性
数字媒体	73	1903	$p<0.001$
纸媒	5	2051	

3.态度标记语

态度标记语（Attitude Markers）是表达作者自身对命题观点和态度的词语，具体例证见例 11、例 12 及例 13。例 6 的“提气”，例 7 的“痛心”和例 8 的“浪漫又励志”，均为作者从个人角度对新闻内容的感情倾向做出总结。另外，数字媒体新闻标题在使用态度标记语时，多将态度标记语提到句首位置，如例 6 和例 7 所示，读者在阅读时首先会关注到态度标记语，然后才会注意到客观信息。观察到以上现象后，本研究对数字媒体新闻标题和纸媒新闻标题中出现的态度标记语使用进行统计，结果见表 3。数字媒体新闻标题中出现态度标记语 44 例，纸媒新闻标题中出现态度标记语 4 例，卡方检验结果显示 $p<0.001$，即数字媒体新闻标题中态度标记语的出现频数显著高于纸媒新闻标题中态度标记语的出现频数。

例 11 提气！国乒男团逆转晋级决赛！

例 12 痛心！她走了，年仅 3 岁

例 13 女博士与武教头的爱情，浪漫又励志！

表 3 态度标记语频数

(Table3 The Frequency of Attitude Markers)

类型	有态度标记语	无态度标记语	卡方检验显著性
数字媒体	44	1932	$p<0.001$
纸媒	4	2052	

态度标记语的使用是数字新闻标题与纸媒新闻标题的一个明显不同。传统纸媒会尽可能避免在标题和正文中出现作者的主观感情倾向，通常由读者在读完新闻之后自行产生对其的感情态度，过于主观的感情流露往往被视为不够专业的表现。而数字媒体的新闻标题则打破了这一限制，通过使用态度标记语主动为新闻事件赋予情感基调，旨在第一时间唤醒读者的情感共鸣，为其后续的阅读行为预设解读路径与期待视野，从而在信息过载的生态中高效完成读者的情感动员。

4.介入语

介入语（Engagement Markers）指的是明确提及读者或主动构建与读者之间关系的标志词，如“你”“你们”等。虽然新闻标题是数字空间公开域中的表达，但是介入语的使用可以打破原有的作者与读者之间的边界，构建一个假想的私密交流空间，形成一种“同盟”关系，从而提升文本的互动性。具体例证见例 14 和例 15。例 14 的标题如果是“这些新规将影响公民生活”，则是一个与读者无关的普遍陈述。而介入与“你”直接指向屏幕前的每一个具体个体，将宏大的政策议题瞬间转化为与个人利益切身相关的事件。例 15 使用第一人称“我们”抹去了媒体与读者、读者与读者之间的界限，在作者和读者之间构建共同的身份认同。统计结果显示，在数字媒体新闻标题中出现了 38 例介入语的使用，而纸媒新闻标题中没有出现此种现象，介入语的使用是数字媒体新闻标题风格呈现的一种特有策略。

例 14 明天起，这些新规将影响你的生活

例 15 86 年了，为什么我们不能忘记？

需要特别说明的是，本研究在识别“有标记风格”时，采用的操作性指标是显著性与分布密度双重指标。例如，虽然数据反映出在纸媒新闻标题中也出现了少量增强语（如太、绝）和态度标记语（如惊艳），但是表现为偶发性渗透变异，而数字媒体新闻标题则呈现出系统性的高频分布[1]，且常伴随特定的情感标记语（如感叹号）的叠加。本研究认为，从偶发例证到系统性实践的质变反映出数字媒体新闻标题正在发生显著的风格转变。

（四）风格适配：标题风格与新闻题材的互构

数字媒体新闻标题风格的演变不是孤立的语言现象，标题的语言风格与新闻题材之间存在明显的互构性。在本研究调查的 1611 条数字媒体新闻标题语料中，社会新闻标题出现 55.54 次变异[2]、时政新闻标题出现 6.89 次变异、财经新闻标题出现 107.63 次变异、军事新闻标题出现 38.46 次变异、科普新闻标题出现 65.85 次变异、人物通讯出现 67.32 次变异、文化旅游新闻出现 51.74 次变异。对 7 种新闻类型出现的变异频次进行卡方检验，统计结果如表 4 所示，7 种新闻类型的变异频次存在显著的统计学差异（$p<0.005$）。

表 4 不同新闻类型变异频次卡方检验

(Table4 Chi-square Test for Frequency Variation by News Type)

类型	实测个案数（个）	期望个案数（个）	残差
社会新闻	56	56.3	-0.3
时政	7	56.3	-49.3
财经科技	108	56.3	51.7
军事	38	56.3	-18.3
科普	66	56.3	9.7
人物通讯	67	56.3	10.7
文化旅游	52	56.3	-4.3
卡方	100．66		
显著性	<0.005		

[1] 卡方检验结果反映出纸媒新闻标题中出现增强语与态度标记语的频次显著低于数字媒体新闻标题，因此认为纸媒新闻标题中增强语、态度标记语为偶发渗透，而数字媒体新闻标题中为系统性高频分布。

[2] 每百条新闻标题出现的变异数量，下同。

表 5 数字媒体和纸媒的新闻标题共时比较

(Table5 A Synchronic Comparison between Digital Media and Print Media News Headlines)

新闻题材	数字媒体	纸媒
时政新闻	中共中央政治局召开会议 习近平主持会议	赵乐际主持十四届全国人大常委会第五次会议闭幕会并作讲话强调
	殷美根被提起公诉！	全国人民代表大会常务委员会关于修改《中华人民共和国民事诉讼法》的决定
军事新闻	山东舰最新动态！	以昂扬姿态，跑出奋斗强军“加速度”
	南部战区宣布！	聚焦主责主业 砥砺胜战精兵
文化旅游新闻	秀甲天下！《新千里江山图·壮美广西》畅游八桂	山西吕梁建立非遗展馆，推进文化传承发展
	故宫雪景上新了！	湖南长沙芙蓉区挖掘文化艺术资源，增加城市人文魅力
社会新闻	这样果断转身的背影，就叫安全感吧！	1 至 8 月份全国餐饮收入同比增长 19.4%——餐饮业聚焦新需求提升适配性
	70 岁！30 秒！一条命！	安徽黄山市供销社深化综合改革，构建新型为农服务体系
科普新闻	这种保温杯会让热水变“毒水”，你可能正在用！	数字技术助力中华优秀传统文化传承发展
	劝你多吃点秋葵，好处都在这里了！	为人与自然和谐共生的现代化提供有力科技支撑
人物通讯	又双姦出手了！朱晓明，为你点赞！	南京大学计算机科学与技术系主任周志华——与人工智能共成长
	军官十警官，彼此成就的爱情真甜！	龚全珍——一生奉献，实现为乡亲服务的愿望
财经科技新闻	推翻传统认识！中国科学家最新发现	“十四五”以来，主营业务收入年均增长 9.3%
	“突破性发现”！	秦山核电：勇做新时代核电领跑者

数字媒体新闻标题和纸媒新闻标题的对比见表 5，可以发现纸媒中不同题材新闻标题的风格没有明显差异，而数字媒体中不同题材的新闻标题却有明显的内部差异。数字新闻标题的风格实践本身是一种前置框架，编辑通过对不同题材施以差异化的风格框架，主动为新闻进行语境定调：严肃政经新闻通过无标记风格维系其“权威发布”框架，读者被预设为需要接受信息的公民。而文娱财经新闻则通过呈现高互动性风格构建出一个“社群分享”框架，将读者预设为可以寻求共鸣和有共

同身份认同的伙伴。这种差异化的框架与发布不同题材新闻时的媒体立场有关，这一点将在下文中进一步论述。

四、风格实践的生成逻辑

新闻标题风格的转变并非偶然现象，而是主流媒体在技术影响的新语境下，主流媒体主动适应算法规则、读者阅读心理和新的媒体立场的语言实践。

（一）适应算法规则

数字技术的飞速发展对于语言和语言生活的冲击是难以估量的，不少学者都意识到技术正成为未来语言实践的真正主体。Blommaert（2017）认为“在研究网络行为时需要意识到所观察到的结果并非都来自人为选择和个人主体性，而是算法选择的结果”。赵双阁、岳梦怡（2018）梳理了当前数字新闻推荐算法的三种主要机制：第一是用户画像算法，根据用户的浏览历史和社交记录分析用户的社会属性、兴趣爱好图谱等，推测出用户的信息全貌，将其最有可能感兴趣的信息推荐给用户；第二是协同过滤推荐，通过计算两个用户的信息兴趣相似度，找到与目标用户相似兴趣的用户集群，并向目标用户推荐集群中用户关注的新闻；第三是类似于传统排行榜式的推荐，即以新闻的点击率、阅读量、转发量作为依据，自动推荐当前热度高的新闻（Blom & Hansen, 2015）。主流媒体的新闻没有明确的兴趣取向，因此它主要依赖的是第三种算法机制，即通过高点击率、高阅读量成为热门新闻，从而形成“滚雪球”效应，即越热门的新闻能够被越多的人看到。在这样的现实背景下，数字媒体的新闻标题产生风格实践的转向是必然结果，它需要通过简洁、有趣、有互动性的新闻标题形成初步的点击量和阅读量以保证新闻的传播效果，这实际上是数字技术冲击下人的主体性向算法主体性的“妥协”。

（二）迎合用户阅读心理

数字时代的读者有两个特性：其一，阅读长文本的能力下降；其二，相比于客观的信息，读者更容易关注到新闻中的情绪和态度，并且也更加关注新闻中的情绪和态度。首先，信息过载与碎片化消费习惯共同导致了公众对于复杂长文本的理解能力持续下降，并形成了以“扫描”与“筛选”为特征的浅层阅读模式，网民的注意力是数字空间中的稀缺资源。新闻标题不再仅仅是文章的概括，更是争夺稀缺注意力的工具。因此数字媒体新闻标题会呈现简洁直接的风格，将复杂事件提炼为单一而明确的命题，最大限度地降低读者的认知负荷，从而促使读者在短时间内做出进一步阅读的决策。第二，数字空间是一个信息爆炸的空间，网民每天都需要接受大量的信息“轰炸”，这导致读者对情绪性信息的敏感度远高于客观信息，因此数字媒体新闻标题的叙事逻辑发生了根本性转变，这是数字媒体新闻标题表现出高互动性的动因。此种风格实践在于运用有限的文字在读者和作者之间策略性地构建出一个“我们”的想象共同体，激发读者的情感共鸣，制造出了一种关乎自身群体的信息饥渴，从而将阅读行为从单纯的信息获取转化为一种在数字空间中寻求群体认同感的过程，最终高效地激发读者点击阅读的欲望。

（三）媒体角色转型下的立场表达

主流媒体新闻标题在数字空间中的风格实践转变实则与其“立场”密切相关，这里的“立场”指的是“言说者对自我身份、话语内容以及与受众之间关系的自觉定位”（田海龙，2022）。在传统媒体中，权威信息从一个广受认可、尊重且资源丰富的中心传递给大众，而在数字媒体中，所有用户都享有创造和发布内容的自由（海伦·凯丽-霍姆斯、何山华，2023）。数字空间中的去中心化趋势不可避免地冲击了主流媒体的权威地位，一个重要转变是人们获取信息已经不完全依靠主流媒体发布，数量众多的自媒体已经在很大比例上占据了人们的信息来源渠道，若主流媒体在数字空间中仍坚守既往权威、中立、客观的语言风格则需要以降低传播覆盖和效力代价。前文提到，数字媒体新闻标题的风格呈现表现出与内容和题材的互构性，这反映出主流媒体正在一些题材（如文化、娱乐、旅游等）上尝试淡化其传统的高位言说者角色，寻求与广大受众建立更为平等的关系。主流媒体立场的调整，实则是数字空间扁平化传播结构的深刻体现。作为一个由算法逻辑和流量机制驱动的场域，数字空间迫使所有传播行为适应其开放、去中心化的互动规则。主流媒体同样需要回应这一结构性趋势，通过风格上的“下沉”主动适应数字空间扁平化、多主体化的传播特点，适应其在数字语言生活中新的立场。

五、结语

本研究以《人民日报》为例，将数字媒体新闻标题对传统媒体新闻标题风格上的偏离和差异视为“变异”，总结出了简洁性、互动性和标题与内容题材的互构性三个主要特点。数字媒体新闻标题的风格呈现受到技术、受众和数字语境的共同影响，是媒体在主流空间中寻求更广泛传播而主动做出的调整。然而，我们需要意识到主流媒体的此种风格实践也会进一步强化主流媒体在数字空间中的立场，不断消解其言说者高位，可能会在一定程度上削弱媒体的公共话语角色，加剧信息传播中严肃性与娱乐性之间界限的模糊。新媒体时代下，通过微信公众号进行转载和发布的新闻标题有着自身的特点，这些特点几乎全部是互联网时代的交流和表达方式所赋予的，我们要认清新媒体时代信息传递的两面性，在微信公众号新闻标题的编写上少一些网络色彩，增加严谨性特征，保持传统新闻媒体在新媒体时代的权威性和专业性（崔勃, 2020）。在当前技术迭代加速的客观环境中，主流媒体如何在拓展传播力与影响力的同时，保持其在公共话语建构中的主体自觉，并对其可能引发的数字语言生态演变保持觉察和省思，是亟待语言学界、传播学界继续深入探讨的重要议题。

基金项目：本文系国家语委“十四五”科研规划 2022 年度重大项目“数字化时代的语言生活与语言治理研究”（ZDA145-8）阶段性研究成果。

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Wang Xuan [ID] https://orcid.org/0009-0003-6986-3701

References

Blom, J. N., & Hansen, K. R. (2015). “Click Bait: Forward-Reference as Lure in Online News Headlines”. *Journal of Pragmatics* (76): 87-100. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.11.010.

Blommaert, J. (2017). “*Durkheim and the Internet: On sociolinguistics and the sociological imagination*”. Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies: 136.

崔勃（2020-08-27）：“新媒体时代微信公众号新闻标题研究”，《民主与法制时报》，第 2 版。

[Cui Bo(2020-08-27).“ Research on News Headlines in WeChat Official Accounts in the New Media Era.”*The Democracy and Law Times*,27,August.002.]

海伦·凯丽-霍姆斯、何山华（2023）：“语言政策 4.0：自动化未来中的主体性”，《语言战略研究》（01）：14-25。

[Helen Kelly-Holmes, He Shanhua(2023).“Language Policy 4.0: Agency in an Increasingly Automated Future.”*Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*(01): 14-25. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20230101.]

施春宏（2010）：“网络语言的语言价值和语言学价值”，《语言文字应用》(03): 70-80。

[Shi Chunhong(2010).“The Study of Style in Variationist Sociolinguistics and Mutual Learning with Rhetoric. ”*Applied Linguistics*(03): 70-80. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16499/j.cnki.1003-5397.2010.03.004.]

田海龙（2022）：“变异社会语言学的风格研究——兼谈与修辞学风格研究的互鉴”，《当代修辞学》（04）：11-21。

[Tian Hailong(2022).“The Study of Style in Variationist Sociolinguistics and Mutual Learning with Rhetoric.”*Contemporary Rhetoric*(04):17-25. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16027/j.cnki.cn31-2043/h.2022.04.010.]

叶蓁蓁（2017）：“人民日报‘中央厨房’有什么不一样”，《新闻战线》（03）：14-16。

[Ye Zhenzhen(2017).“What makes the People’s Daily ‘Central Kitchen’ different?” *The Press*(03):14-16.]

徐欣路（2020）：“语言景观标记论——以北京 798 艺术区为例”，《语言战略研究》（04）：74-82+12。

[Xu Xinlu(2020).“The Markedness Theory for Linguistic Landscape Research: A Case Study of Beijing 798 Art. Zone. ”*Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning*(04):74-82+12. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20200406.]

祝克懿（2021）：“语言风格研究的理论渊源与功能衍化路径”，《当代修辞学》（01）：59-71。

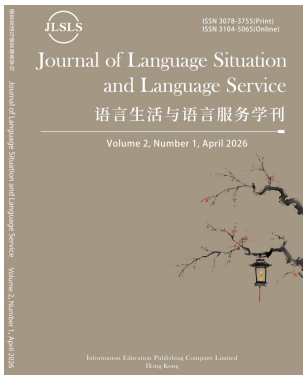
[Zhu Keyi(2021). “Theoretical Origin and Functional Evolution Path of Language Style Research.”*Contemporary Rhetoric*(01):59-71. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16027/j.cnki.cn31-2043/h.2021.01.006.]

赵双阁、岳梦怡（2018）：“新闻的‘量化转型’：算法推荐对媒介伦理的挑战与应对”，《当代传播》（04）：52-56。

[Zhao Shuangge, Yue Mengyi(2018).“ The ‘Quantitative Transformation’ of News: Challenges and Responses of Algorithmic Recommendation to Media Ethics.”*Contemporary Communication*(04):52-56.]

赵世举（2012）：“从服务内容看语言服务的界定和类型”，《北华大学学报（社会科学版）》（03）：4-6。

[Zhao Shiju(2012). “Definition and Types of Language Service from the Angle of Its Contents .”*Journal of Beihua University(Social Sciences)*(03):4-6.]



JLSLS

HIEP
Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp. 83-105**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI: https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260107ilemi

Interpreting as Linguistic Entrepreneurship: Migrant Interpreters at a Chinese Border Hospital

Mengyi Luo, Jia Li, Michelle Mingyue Gu

Abstract: In the context of China's regional integration, China's border provinces become a key site for initiating different forms of multilingual communication. Chinese border hospitals serve an increasing number of foreign migrants crossing the border for medical services, making interpreters essential to healthcare delivery. Based on the ethnographic fieldwork conducted periodically between July 2023 and July 2024 at a Chinese hospital in the China-Vietnam borderland, this study examines how interpreters mobilize their language resources to display their entrepreneurial personhood, how their interpreting skills are appropriated and enacted into the neoliberal logic of human capital development. Drawing on the concept of linguistic entrepreneurship, the study finds that interpreters' multilingual skills in Chinese and Vietnamese help them secure a profitable job, expand their transnational networks and increase Chinese hospital revenue. Findings also reveal that interpreters actively seek to enhance their interpreting skills to adapt to various demanding jobs by strategically investing on the medical terminology, displaying their basic understanding of medical knowledge and managing their emotional labor. Despite their self-investment and self-regulating strategies, their transnational aspirations and entrepreneurial identities are largely structured by their lack of symbolic capital, gendered trajectories and asymmetries in healthcare communication. This study contributes to

Received: 15 May 2026 / Revised: 23 May 2026 / Accepted: 27 May 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

the existing scholarship by adding how gendered language practices and emotional labor constrain grassroots interpreters' entrepreneurial agency, thus extending linguistic entrepreneurship theory beyond educational settings into an under-explored but geographically important borderland healthcare labor market.

Keywords: Interpreters; Multilingual healthcare communication; Linguistic entrepreneurship; Chinese border hospital

Authors Biographies:Mengyi Luo is a graduate of the English Department, School of Foreign Languages, Yunnan University. In September 2026, she will begin her doctoral studies at The Education University of Hong Kong. Her research interests include sociolinguistics and multilingual studies. E-mail: 17721852206@163.com. Corresponding author: **Jia Li** is a full professor of applied sociolinguistics. She is a center director for Foreign Linguistics and Applied Linguistics at Yunnan University. Her research interests include multilingualism and social inclusion of linguistically diverse populations. E-mail: jia_li_yunnan@qq.com. **Michelle Mingyue Gu** is a Professor of Sociolinguistics at the Education University of Hong Kong. Her major research areas include: identity and language, multilingualism and mobility, digital literacies, youth development and social media, and family language policy. E-mail: mygu@eduhk.hk.

标题：口译即语言创业：中国边境国门医院的跨境口译员

摘要：中国区域一体化进程中，边境省份已成为多种跨语言交流的关键场域。中国边境地区的国门医院正为越来越多跨境就医的流动人口提供服务，这使得口译员成为医疗服务中不可或缺的角色。基于 2023 年 7 月至 2024 年 7 月期间在中越边境某国门医院进行的周期性民族志田野调查，本研究考察了口译员如何调动自身的语言资源来展现其企业家特质，以及他们的口译技能如何被纳入市场驱动的人力资本发展逻辑。借助语言创业这一概念，研究发现，口译员掌握的中越双语能力帮助其获得了高收益工作机会、拓展了跨国人脉网络，并提升了该医院的收入。研究还发现，口译员通过策略性地学习医学术语、展现出对医学知识的基本理解以及对情感劳动的管理，主动提升口译技能，以适应高要求的工作。尽管他们采取了自我投资与自我调节的策略，但其跨国职业抱负与创业者身份在很大程度上受制于象征资本的匮乏、性别化的职业发展轨迹以及医疗沟通中的权力不对称。本研究将语言创业理论从教育领域拓展至一个尚未被充分探索但具有重要地理意义的边境医疗劳动力市场，不仅丰富了现有学术案例，更通过揭示性别化的语言实践与情感劳动如何限制基层口译员的创业能动性，为语言创业理论提供了新的批判性视角与理论贡献。

关键词：口译者；医疗健康；语言创业；中国国门医院

作者简介：罗梦怡，云南大学外国语学院英语系毕业生。2026 年 9 月将于香港教育大学攻读博士学位。研究兴趣包括社会语言学和多语研究。邮箱：17721852206@163.com。通讯作者：**李佳，**教授，应用社会语言学教授，担任云南大学外国语言学及应用语言学研究中心主任。研究兴趣包括多语现象与语言多样化人群的社会融入。邮箱：jia_li_yunnan@qq.com。**谷明月，**教授，香港教育大学社会语言学教授。主要研究领域包括：身份认同与语言、多语现象与流动性、数字素养、青少年发展与社交媒体，以及家庭语言政策。邮箱：mygu@eduhk.hk。

1.Introduction

In the context of China's global development and regional integration, China's border provinces have witnessed an increasing number of foreign migrants seeking healthcare services. This is particularly true in Yunnan, China's Southwest province bordering Vietnam, Laos and Myanmar. In 2024, more than 20 Chinese border hospitals have been established in Yunnan to serve cross-border patients (Beijing Daily News, 2024). The border hospitals function as crucial public healthcare institutions facilitating the joint prevention and control of infectious diseases, promoting traditional Chinese medicine, and enhancing regional medical cooperation (Yunnan Net, 2024). Given the multilingual phenomenon of China's border regions, Chinese border hospitals are emerging as a key site for investigating how interpreting becomes a key site for catering to local and transnational people in their access to healthcare resources.

With the increasing presence of China's global status, more and Chinese scholars have started to focus on language-related studies (Wang et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2020; Teng & Wang, 2025). Most studies tend to focus on the experimental pathology or discourse analysis (Ma & Jin, 2021; Yao et al., 2017; Wang, 2024). While delving into the language used in the doctor-patient communication, the existing studies seem to overlook the broader social-linguistic contexts. Geographically, the existing research predominantly centers on developed cities in China (Li & Gong, 2015), yet research on cross-cultural and cross-border language services in these areas is scarce. This gap means that research has failed to capture the complexity of multilingual healthcare communication in the under-explored regions including borderlands. This scarcity stands in stark contrast to the fact that hundreds of thousands of foreign migrants cross the border (Hekou Immigration Inspection, 2025) and seek medical help at China's border hospitals. In addition to geographical context, this study aims to contribute to the existing scholarship by adding how foreign migrants' language practices are mediated by multiple forces that shape their entrepreneurial agency and upward mobility.

To address the research gap, the present study explores the experiences of a cohort of interpreters in a Chinese border hospital, focusing on how they employ their linguistic repertoire to convert various forms of capital and what tensions emerge in their practice. The study was guided by the following three research questions:

(1) How do interpreters draw on language-related resources to maximize their values and showcase their

entrepreneurial personhood in the China-Vietnam borderland?

(2) How are their language capacities appropriated into the neoliberal logic of healthcare development?

(3) What are the tensions embedded in the process of their interpreting practices?

Answers to these questions can advance healthcare equity for cross-border populations and inform policymakers, healthcare practitioners, and language service providers working toward inclusive healthcare communication along China's borders.

2. Literature Review

Traveling abroad for medical treatment has become a distinct manifestation of the international commodification of health (Hopkins et al., 2010; Whittaker & Chee, 2015). Existing sociolinguistic research has explored medical tourism across various national contexts, featuring a global pattern where northern countries cater to wealthy international patients while southern destinations offer value-for-money propositions (Connell, 2011, 2013; Muth, 2015; Smith & Puczkó, 2014). In recent years, the role of language within the medical settings has gained increasing attention in contemporary health systems (Blumczynski & Wilson, 2022; Declercq & Federici, 2020; Liu & Cheung, 2022). In the globalized healthcare market, language has moved beyond its role as a neutral communication medium. Heller (2003) argues that language has undergone the "commodification" process, transforming into a quantifiable economic asset. Paradoxically, the commodification of multilingualism, marketing language as a service, is inherently double-edged. Although it is framed as a tool for inclusivity and market expansion (Connell, 2013), it can simultaneously reinforce and exacerbate structural inequalities. Scholars like Cho (2023) has highlighted the disparities in interpreter availability between the urban and rural hospitals in Australia, where under-resourced regions suffer from a lack of adequate language support. Moreover, Cho (2022) noted that power asymmetries in medical settings further limit interpreters' agency, describing how interpreters working between English and Swahili often defer to doctors' authority, thus reinforcing institutional hierarchies. Unlike the urban–rural divides or interpreter–doctor hierarchies in other contexts, the institutional context of Chinese border hospitals can generate unique dynamics which existing models of medical interpreting inequality do not fully capture.

What makes these dynamics unique becomes clearer when we distinguish cross-border medical service from conventional medical tourism. Compared to transnational migration for medical treatment, cross-border medical mobility is more substantial due to geographic proximity. Along the US-Mexico border, proximity and cost-effectiveness are the main reasons to drive cross-border medical travel (Clement et al., 2024; Horton & Cole, 2011). A similar phenomenon is observed along China's borders, where an increasing number of foreign migrants cross into China to seek medical treatment at its border hospitals. For instance, along the China–Laos border, Mengla County in Xishuangbanna has seen a rising cross-border medical appeal, with the number of Laotian patients treated in local medical institutions reaching almost 13000 in

2025 (Xinhua News, 2026). A similar trend is seen along the China–Myanmar border, at Ruili City People's Hospital, Myanmar patients account for approximately 20% of annual outpatient volume and 15% of annual inpatient volume, predominantly from northern Myanmar and serving a catchment population of over one million (People's Daily Online, 2020). It is important to note that cross-border medical care at China's border hospitals differs from conventional medical tourism in many ways. Unlike the wealthy patients traveling to Switzerland for high-end medical treatment (Muth, 2018), the majority of patients at Chinese border hospitals are ordinary residents from neighboring countries seeking affordable and accessible treatment for chronic or acute conditions, not for luxury medical services (Li et al., 2025; Zhang et al., 2016). These differences in terms of travelling convenience and daily necessity has important implications for how language services should be designed and assessed in these healthcare settings.

Thus, it requires a closer look at the institutional context in which such services are embedded. Chinese border hospitals refer to the county/city hospitals or township health centers located in China's border regions (Beijing Daily News, 2024). As of 2024, 25 Chinese border hospitals in Yunnan Province have participated in the "Guomen Hospital Alliance," enabling collaboration on infectious disease control and healthcare delivery (Beijing Daily News, 2024). These institutions not only serve as essential providers of medical services for local residents but also shoulder responsibilities for cross-border medical care, joint prevention and control of infectious diseases, and public health emergency response (Yunnan Honghe News, 2024). Furthermore, these hospitals are tasked with engaging in foreign-related medical services for neighboring populations, promoting traditional Chinese medicine culture, and establishing cross-border medical care and joint disease-control mechanisms (Yunnan Net, 2024). Positioned at the forefront of international medical exchanges, such hospitals also play a role in regional diplomacy and international cooperation. Similar cross-border medical mechanisms have also been established along other parts of China's borders (Xinhua News, 2024). Across these facilities, linguistic diversity is an everyday reality—yet how it is managed remains underexplored.

This is particularly evident in China's border province, Yunnan, where Chinese border hospital hospitals serve both indigenous minorities and foreign patients from neighboring countries such as Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam (Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture People's Government, 2023). Effective communication thus relies on mobilizing multilingual resources, including bilingual staff and local interpreters (Li et al., 2024). Despite the growing number of foreign migrants seeking medical treatment in this border province, little is known about how language services might facilitate foreign patients' access to healthcare resources. To address this gap, this study examines interpreting practices at a Chinese hospital in the China-Vietnam borderland where six interpreters have been recruited as full-time workers and where interpreters have made use of multilingual resources to enhance their interpreting skills while facilitating foreign patients' understanding of Chinese healthcare system.

3.Linguistic Entrepreneurship as a Theoretical Concept

The concept of linguistic entrepreneurship was proposed by De Costa et al (2016, 2019, 2021). It is defined as "an act of aligning with the moral imperative to strategically exploit language-related resources for enhancing one's worth in the world." (De Costa et al., 2016, p. 696). It focuses on how language learning is increasingly constructed as a form of entrepreneurship (De Costa et al., 2016). It explores the significance of economic, social, and cultural capital in language learning and use, as well as how individuals can acquire these forms of capital through linguistic entrepreneurship (Wee, 2018). What's more, linguistic entrepreneurship, as the linguistic manifestation of neoliberalism, fosters a particular kind of affective regime, one where individuals are pressed as a moral imperative to adopt attributes of "entrepreneurship, self-reliance, and sturdy individualism" (Evans & Sewell 2013, p. 37). To make it clear, individuals who embark on language learning as a means of entrepreneurial self-development are impelled by the neoliberal imperative of responsibly managing their own market value. Linguistic entrepreneurship describes how an individual's language learning is conceptualized as an external manifestation of an emotional state for "ethical imperative" (De Costa et al., 2016, p. 696). As De Costa et al. point out (2019, p. 388), in the framework of neoliberal ideology, learners feel a sense of obligation to enhance their worth in the market through language learning, treating it as a strategic project for self-advancement. This perceived duty for developing their skills and knowledge in language reflects the neoliberal doctrine that individuals must actively optimize their value within the economic marketplace. This "ethical imperative" embodies the responsibility that an exemplary citizen should have: to manage one's human capital rationally and contribute to society through a conscientious and responsible management approach (De Costa et al., 2019, p. 388).

Research regarding foreign language learning have covered a wide range of languages, critical sociolinguistic scholars have argued that language skills functions as a form of capital which has the potential to be transformed into resources for generating profits (Cameron, 2008; Duchêne & Heller, 2012). Notably, English, given its dominant status in this globalized world, has received particular scholarly attention. As noted by Warriner (2016), the acquisition of English is discursively framed as a ticket of admission for migrants gaining access to the job markets. In South Korea, English is regarded as a necessary skill with substantial economic and social importance with the underlying thought that English proficiency serves as a crucial instrument for invigorating the national economy, improving individual job prospects, and bolstering global competitiveness (Park & Wee, 2012). Apart from English learning, an increasing number of sociolinguistic studies have employed linguistic entrepreneurship as a theoretical concept in various contexts. One of the pioneering projects was conducted by Li & Zheng (2023) who argue that learning Chinese as an international language can generate multilingual entrepreneurship. Other scholars (Yu & Xu, 2024) turn to African students to reveal how learning Chinese might constitute inter-Asia mobility.

In sum, the concept of linguistic entrepreneurship has been increasingly employed in a variety of

national settings. This concept has offered us a useful tool to reveal how language learners/speakers mobilize different resources to enhance their language learning outcome/performance. However, our inquiry seems to confine to university students whereas other language learners' learning trajectories remain largely unknown. This has formed a big contrast with a huge number of language learners/speakers who cross the border and seek their aspirations in a neighboring country. Aligned with the concept of linguistic entrepreneurship, this study selects a cohort of interpreters who have never been to university but who have enhanced their bilingual skills in one way or another to fulfill their cross-border aspirations.

4 Methodology

4.1 Selection of participants

This study selected six interpreters at a border hospital located in Yunnan province—three Chinese (P2, P3, P4), three Vietnamese (P1, P5, P6) with anonymized names (see Table 1). To gain a comprehensive understanding of hospital interpreting practices, the research also includes a nurse manager and reception desk nurses. The nurse manager provides insights into institutional regulations shaping interpreters' work conditions, while reception nurses, who collaborate closely with interpreters in daily operations, offer valuable perspectives on language use and the interpreters' role in facilitating patient communication and supporting medical services.

Table 1 Background information of participants

Anonymity	**Gender**	**Age**	**Nationality**	**Education**	**Years of interpreting experience**
P1	Female	39	Vietnamese	High school	3 Yrs
P2	Female	43	Chinese	High school	2 Yrs
P3	Female	36	Chinese	Associate degree	5 Yrs
P4	Male	26	Chinese	Associate degree	2 Yrs
P5	Female	32	Vietnamese	Associate degree	2 Yrs
P6	Female	33	Vietnamese	High school	3 Yrs

4.2 Data Collection and Data Analysis

This study is based on a large ethnographic project conducted in the China-Vietnam borderland. The authors conducted fieldwork at a Chinese border hospital for two phases. The first visit in July 2023 involved preliminary data collection and built a good relationship with hospital staff. In the more in-depth second phase, the first author obtained the formal permission and worked as a volunteer at the reception desk, thus enabling close engagement with the interpreters and nurses. During the process, multiple forms of ethnographic data were collected, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, field notes,

informal conversations, multilingual landscapes, and hospital documents. As a volunteer, the first author observed the daily operations and the interpreter-patient interactions. Interviews with interpreters and the head nurse provided detailed insights into their roles and practices. Informal conversations and field notes enriched contextual understanding, while multilingual signage and internal documents illuminated the hospital's approach to translation and cross-border communication, offering a comprehensive view of its linguistic and operational strategies.

To examine how interpreters navigate their multilingual repertoires, this study adopts content analysis, a method well-established in multilingual healthcare research (Li & Zhang, 2024; Li et al., 2026). The analysis was conducted in three steps to extract themes from the raw data. First, an initial review of the entire dataset was performed to identify recurring themes related to the interpreters' experiences. Building on this foundation, a second-round coding was carried out, linking these emergent themes to key theoretical concepts such as "language skills" "entrepreneurial traits" and "social constraints". Finally, in order to provide a structured answer to the research questions, these related codes were synthesized into three overarching themes: (1) "languages and cross-border aspirations" (2) "investments in healthcare communication skills" and (3) "contradictions of linguistic entrepreneurship".

5. Findings

5.1 Languages and Cross-border Aspirations

5.1.1 Speaking Vietnamese for Employment Opportunities

In this study, both types of interpreters, Chinese interpreters and Vietnamese interpreters, believe that it is useful to transform their bilingual abilities into various forms of capital. For Chinese interpreters, speaking Vietnamese at China's border hospital means job opportunities as the hospital's recruitment announcement for Vietnamese language interpreters explicitly required "fluent Chinese-Vietnamese bilingual oral interpretation skills with preference for candidates who can write Vietnamese" (Hekou County People's Hospital, 2023). Their Vietnamese proficiency thus serves as a valuable form of capital, enabling them to secure hospital positions and facilitating the conversion of linguistic capital into economic capital (Tan & Rubdy, 2008).

However, the aspirations for the interpreters to seek the job are different. P2 and P3 value Vietnamese proficiency for job stability, P2 for balancing work with family responsibilities, P3 for obtaining "bianzhi" (permanent employment). Conversely, P4, who was formerly a nurse, regards language as an investment to establish cross-border networks and future business opportunities, reflecting his linguistic entrepreneurial spirit (De Costa et al., 2016). He reported:

> I had been working as a nurse in the hospital's Traditional Chinese Medicine department until March 2024, after that I transitioned to be an interpreter. In the Traditional Chinese Medicine department, I interacted with many Vietnamese patients and frequently communicated with them in Vietnamese. I realized this was an opportunity for

me, so I decided to become an interpreter. I see this position as a stepping stone—it helps me practice Vietnamese and allows me to meet more Vietnamese people and build a network. My future plan is to develop my career in Vietnam, so this job is valuable to me both in terms of language skills and career development. (Interview with P4, 25/07/2024)

P4's perception clearly contradicts the views of his Chinese colleagues, who prioritize job security or family concerns. He believes himself as a more aspirational investor, driven by his confidence in the potential of his Vietnamese language ability. These aspirations indicate that how linguistic capital is oriented toward different temporalities of value: immediate security versus potential future benefits.

5.1.2 Speaking Chinese for Transnational Opportunities

For Vietnamese interpreters, Chinese proficiency offers access to transnational mobility. P6 has been familiar with Hekou since childhood. She started a business in Chinese, got married there and changed her career to work as a medical interpreter. Her story illustrates how language can both secure livelihood and facilitate settlement.

I have been coming to Hekou since I was a child because my grandmother ran a business here, selling Vietnamese spring rolls and other food. Every summer and winter holiday, I would come to help her, and it was during these visits that I gradually learned to speak Chinese. After graduating from high school, since I already knew Chinese, I came to Hekou to start a business. I sold things on the street and also opened a small restaurant. My husband is from Hekou, and at the time, he worked as a hotel receptionist. We met when he came to buy food from my stall. Later, P2 learned that I spoke Chinese well, so she introduced me to the hospital to work as an interpreter. I've been living in Hekou for over ten years now, and I have two children. (Interview with P6, 25/07/2024)

Her life trajectory shows that proficiency in Chinese has changed her personal life and professional situation, including her marriage, career and social network.

Another case is P5, who works and organizes cross-border medical tourism activities. As shown in figure 1, She guides groups of Vietnamese patients to China for treatment every day. Her role as the language broker reflects how Chinese fluency enables financial and cross-border opportunities, highlighting language as a bridge to both professional success and cultural integration.

Figure 1 P5 and Vietnamese patients arriving at the hospital[1]

[1] Figures 1 and Figure 2 were photo-taken by the first author during the fieldwork.

Collectively, these cases demonstrate that for Vietnamese interpreters, speaking Chinese facilitates not only employment but also deeper transnational integration and enables cross-border marriage, settlement, entrepreneurship, and economic agency.

5.1.3 Branding Vietnamese Skills as Institutional Credit

Beyond individual gain, Vietnamese language proficiency is branded by the Chinese border hospital as an institutional asset. The hospital attracts patients, enhances service quality, and boosts its reputation in a highly competitive medical environment by setting up Vietnamese language signs (Figure 2) and related promotional materials.

Figure 2 The Vietnamese landscape at the hospital

In addition, all the staff are encouraged to learn basic Vietnamese. A head nurse recounts a patient's surprise at being greeted in Vietnamese, she reported:

> One day, I was in the elevator with a very young Vietnamese guy who had probably come here to see the doctor from Vietnam. He saw me greeting a Vietnamese patient in Vietnamese. Then, he asked me how to get to the fourth floor, but he couldn't find it on the third floor. I explained to him in Vietnamese, and he was surprised. He asked, "Why do the doctors here speak Vietnamese?" I replied, "No, I just know a little," and he smiled and said, "How amazing! The doctors at hospital can speak Vietnamese!" I was really happy to hear that. (Interview with the nurse leader, 28/07/2024)

Her experience with the patient proved the hospital's inclusive image. Such interactions help shape the institution's branding image and convert language skills into a marketable trait.

From a more strategic perspective, interpreter like P1 organizes Vietnamese language training for all the medical staff every month, further institutionalizing language learning (see Figures 3 and 4). These measures enable the hospital to have the corresponding capabilities in language and culture which is a useful way to attract cross-border patients.

Figure 3 & Figure 4 P1 is training medical staff for learning medical Vietnamese[1]

In addition, this hospital has developed a "one-stop" service model for Vietnamese patients, covering translation, medical navigation, and administrative support. The interpreter leader, P2, is responsible for coordinating interpretation work and guaranteeing patients to legally stay in China, she needs to handle patients' personal documents and communicates with relevant departments to obtain the official permissions such as "sleep tickets (local term for overnight stay permits for cross-border patients)". These services enhance patient satisfaction to a great extent and strengthen the hospital's institutional image as an international medical center.

> My main work is actually divided into three parts: the first part is Vietnamese interpreting work like everyone else; the second part involves leadership, consultation, and communication with doctors across departments, especially ensuring Vietnamese patients in the inpatient department complete their examinations; the third part is collecting and keeping Vietnamese patients' documents, helping them apply for sleeping tickets, verifying expiration dates, and registering with the Public Security Bureau. (Interview with P2, 25/07/2024)

Therefore, the hospital strategically views Vietnamese language proficiency as an important asset in the highly competitive medical market (De Costa et al., 2019).

To sum up, interpreters in a Chinese border hospital achieve upward mobility by strategically mobilizing their linguistic repertoires to secure stable and full-time positions. Their constant self-investment strategies resonate with the scholarship on linguistic entrepreneurship (De Costa et al., 2016; Li & Zhang, 2020; Yu & Xu, 2024). However, previous studies seem to focus on educational settings, from the perspective of students or lecturers, leaving multilingual migrants' workspace experiences largely unexplored. Our study enriches the understanding of linguistic entrepreneurship by revealing a dual reality for these grassroots migrant interpreters: while they benefit from higher wages and recognition from local healthcare professionals, they are simultaneously regarded as branding capital by the institutions that employ them. This recognition has, in turn, stimulated the local economy by increasing the demand for Vietnamese language services, creating new economic opportunities for local healthcare institutions and for interpreters who leverage their language skills to pursue entrepreneurial ventures. Thus, the demand for language

[1] Figures 3 and Figure 4 were photo-taken by the first author during the fieldwork.

services in this region not only reflects the growing importance of cross-border healthcare but also underscores the broader economic interconnections among healthcare, labor, and entrepreneurship in borderlands.

5.2 Investments in Healthcare Communication Skills

5.2.1 Enhancing Vietnamese and Chinese Skills

While language proficiency provides opportunities to employment and financial interest, it is not sufficient on its own in the stratified labor market.

Interpreters at the border hospital continuously improve their language skills to ensure effective communication. For Chinese interpreters, proficiency in Vietnamese, especially medical terminology, is an essential skill. P4, a Chinese interpreter with a background in nursing, is often consulted by colleagues like P3 to explain medical terms.

> P3 will come to me for help if there is anything for medical terminology that she can't translate, because I am a nurse and know more about medical knowledge, and if I know I will explain to P3. (Interview with P4, 25/07/2024)

Similarly, P2, the interpreter team leader, often consults doctors about complex concepts before translating them into Vietnamese.

> When I accompany a Vietnamese patient to the doctor, I can't ask for help, so I usually ask the doctor to explain to me with the medical vocabulary that I can translate, such as what the symptoms are, and which organ about, in this way to explain to the patient (Interview with P2, 27/07/2024)

Chinese language proficiency also cannot be ignored. P6, for instance, independently studies Vietnamese medical terms, creates personal vocabulary lists, and studies in her spare time (Figure 5).

Figure 5 P6 is learning medical Vietnamese words in her leisure time[1]

In addition, P1, a Vietnamese interpreter at the hospital, has worked diligently to distinguish between terms that may be easily confused, such as "rashes"("疹子" in Chinese) and "kidney disease" ("肾病" in Chinese).

[1] Figure 5 was photo-taken by the first author with the permission of P1.

She once mistook “疹” (rash) for “真” (truth) and confused “肾病” (nephropathy) with “生病” (being ill) (Field notes, 01/08/2024).

Beyond formal medical terminology, conversational Chinese is also valuable and useful. P4’s relaxed communication style, like joking with acupuncturists or praising doctors in front of patients, have made him popular across departments.

P4 joked with acupuncturists “Boss, I’m here to inspect the work” and complimented doctors in front of patients (Field notes, 26/07/2024).

This proficient mastery in informal communication helps build good relationships with medical staff and patients, making P4 a “model Vietnamese language interpreter” , frequently mentioned in official reports (Figure 6).

Figure 6 P4’s online report as a role model of interpreter[1]

Interpreters at border hospital continuously enhance both medical terminology and informal fluency, thereby increasing their personal value while advancing institutional service quality and public recognition.

5.2.2 Displaying Basic Understanding of Medical Knowledge

For healthcare interpretation, possessing a basic grasp of medical knowledge is the foundational requirement for the interpreters. This rudimentary knowledge enables interpreters to assist patients effectively and collaborate with medical professionals of high quality, this also ensures that the communication exchange is accurate and efficient for contributing to better healthcare outcomes.

A key aspect of medical knowledge is the ability to perform a form of informal triage during initial patient interactions. Interpreters often engage in informal conversations with patients before patients get the medical treatment, this action identifies potential symptoms and determines the appropriate medical department to which the patient should be referred with care and concern expressed. To realize such effect, it requires interpreters to have a basic understanding of various medical conditions and different symptoms, as they help guide the patient through the healthcare process. For instance, when Vietnamese patients arrive,

[1] Figure 6 was retrieved from https://honghe.yunnan.cn/system/2024/06/27/033119135.shtml.

interpreters are to assess their basic symptoms, ask their previous medical history, and identify whether further medical attention such as allergy or high blood pressure is needed. These actions ensure patients to receive the appropriate treatment and care promptly.

> The preparatory work before accompanying patients to seek medical treatment is also crucial. Interpreters often need to ask patients basic questions in advance, such as where they feel uncomfortable and whether they have had any previous examinations. Sometimes, basic diagnostic skills are even required. For example, during an interaction with a patient suffering from a contagious skin disease, P6, a Vietnamese interpreter, cautioned me to protect myself from potential infection. (Field notes, 02/08/2024)

This example highlights the interpreters' understanding of medical knowledge and their basic grasp of the potential risk they have to take by contacting contagious patients.

In addition to their medical knowledge, interpreters also alleviate patients' anxieties by laying stress on the hospital's capabilities. This includes highlighting the hospital's successful treatments and the expertise of medical staff as such practices are part of an institutional branding strategy, where interpreters help build trust between patients and healthcare providers whether for the doctor or the hospital. P3 often reassures Vietnamese patients by emphasizing the hospital's successful record of patients and the qualifications of its medical staff.

> Sometimes, in order to put patients at ease and make them have more trust in the hospital, we need to encourage them. We can tell them about the successful cases in our hospital or mention how authoritative our doctors are. This can make patients feel more reassured. (Interview with P3 27/07/2024)

Thus, effective medical interpreting at the border hospital requires medical knowledge which enables triage, risk awareness, and patient reassurance and transforms interpreters from passive translators into active contributors to clinical outcomes and institutional trust.

5.2.3 Interpreting as Emotional Capital

Beyond enhancing their language skills and medical knowledge, interpreters also need to invest a great deal of emotional labor.

> They build trust by greeting patients warmly, using familial terms like "sister"（姐）or "brother"（哥），thus offering emotional support (Field notes, 02/08/2024).

This approach shows the interpreters' warmth and closeness in professional services. Moreover, interpreters also make deeper emotional investments.

> Even outside official hours, they help patients find food, arrange accommodation, and serve as ongoing contacts after discharge, creating long-term patient relationships (Field notes, 02/08/2024).

P4 keeps the patients' contact information to help future communication and expand his personal network. Although the hospital does not offer economic compensation for these actions, this increases patients' satisfaction and loyalty.

> We always keep our phones on us and have to be ready to answer patients'calls at any time. This is mainly for the

convenience of the patients. Some people might find this constant pressure stressful, but I see it as a way to build my network. (Interview with P4, 27/07/2024)

From the hospital's perspective, this personalized care can cultivate patients' loyalty and increase patient retention rates, ultimately benefiting the hospital's economic interests. This emotional investment aligns with China's global medical diplomacy narrative "Love without Boundaries" and showcases the care and inclusiveness of Chinese medical services.

Figure 7 China's national discourse: Dedication without hesitation, love without boundaries[1]

The work of interpreters contributes to the implementation of this soft power strategy. The "linguistic entrepreneurs" who combine care and communication ultimately benefit patients and related institutions.

Taken together, our study aligns with the previous scholarship of linguistic entrepreneurship when it comes to self-investment strategies to enhance one's language skills (De Costa et al., 2016; Li & Zheng, 2023). In our study, interpreters actively engage in mobilizing their borderland repertoires to enhance their medical interpreting skills and construct their desirable identities by working hard and acting friendly and cooperative. Interpreters possess unique resources including the command of both formal and informal language skills, daily-built trust, and basic medical knowledge that enables informal triage and risk awareness for enabling entrepreneurial agency, but their most labor-intensive investments, especially surplus emotional labor, remain directly uncompensated. Instead, these efforts are subsumed within China's "Love without Boundaries" discourse, positioning interpreters as grassroots diplomatic ambassadors. In sum, this study thus shows that interpreters' entrepreneurship operates at the intersection of market-driven healthcare and state-led diplomacy, revealing upward mobility as conditional: interpreters advance by absorbing the costs of emotional labor that the institution recognizes symbolically but does not remunerate directly.

5.3 Tensions Between Individual Empowerment and Social Constraints

Neoliberal discourse promotes the view that language skills can be easily commodified, but this view neglects structural factors such as immigration status and institutional exclusion, which prevent people from converting their linguistic capital into economic mobility (Li & Zheng, 2023). In border areas like Hekou,

[1] Figures 7 was photo-taken by the first author during the fieldwork.

many Chinese people can speak Vietnamese fluently, but they lack formal recognition of their skills. Someone like P4, who was once a nurse and later became an interpreter, stated that due to not having received professional Vietnamese language training, he could not obtain certification, which limited his ability to seek higher-paying jobs in big cities like Guangzhou.

> Vietnamese seems to be very useful in Hekou, this border area. Many Chinese people here can speak Vietnamese very fluently, but there is no certification to prove their ability. I switch to working with Vietnamese interpreters from being a nurse. You know, I'm not a Vietnamese major, I can't take the Vietnamese language certification exams. I also know that there are opportunities related to Vietnamese in big cities like Guangzhou. I've thought about going there before, but they all require certificates. I can speak and write in Vietnamese, but I have no way to prove it. (Interview with P4, 27/7/2024)

P4's situation particularly illustrates the point: this language professional, who was also confident in envisioning a future career in Vietnam, was unable to obtain relevant opportunities in the surrounding areas due to China's certification system, which refused to recognize the skills he acquired through informal means.

Similarly, the medical staff also feel career instability due to limited English proficiency, although this has no direct relation to their job roles. For example, P3 attributed the stagnation of her career to her poor performance in the English exam, reflecting the symbolic significance of English in the professional field.

> I only got about 40, If I scored more than 20 or 30 in English on my college entrance exam, I would not be working here in Hekou. (Interview with P3, 27/07/2024)

Even within the healthcare system, interpreters face limited career trajectories. For P4, the head nurse position is the ceiling of her advancement. Despite having language expertise, interpreters still cannot hold leadership positions in the hospital, and their potential has not been recognized. The interpreters mainly view this role as a stepping stone to other careers, reflecting the disconnect between the prospects of linguistic entrepreneurship and institutional limitations.

> The highest position I can reach in this job is the head nurse, and there's no further room for promotion. Plus, the salary is just so-so. That's why I only see this job as a stepping-stone. I can get to know more Vietnamese people through it, and later I plan to do business in Vietnam. (Interview with P4, 29/7/2024)

Gender factors further affect an individual's opportunities for career advancement. For P2, as a mother and caregiver, she was unable to continue pursuing a further degree or relocate for better job opportunities. Her case shows that traditional gender roles limit women's ability to utilize their linguistic capital.

> My husband is often away from home, mostly working in the countryside. Both of our children are still young and they need my care. If I'm not at home, there will be no one to help them with their homework. Besides, my mother has problems with her legs, and I also need to take care of her. I did consider pursuing a further degree so that I can have better opportunities, but there's no way I can do it now. Being a mother means having these responsibilities. (Interview with P2, 24/7/2024)

Similarly, P6, a Vietnamese interpreter (who married a Chinese man), despite having a stable legal status, still faces the problem of unstable employment. Due to her limited education level, she can only rely on self-study to engage in medical interpreting work. Even during her pregnancy, she continued to work in order to secure this job that many others were competing for. This gender-based restriction highlights how structural expectations limit women's possibilities in language entrepreneurship, especially in caregiving roles

> I'll keep working even when I'm pregnant. I plan to work until a week before my due date. This job is really good for me. In Hekou, other jobs usually pay at most 2,500 yuan, but I can earn around 4,000 yuan. What's more, I can take care of my children. My eldest child is already in primary school. This job allows me to earn a decent salary and take care of my family at the same time. It's really great, so I must do my best to keep this job. Many people, especially Vietnamese, want to do this job. (Interview with P6, 29/7/2024)

Cultural stigma also affects interpreters. the three Vietnamese interpreters, are judged whether for their appearance or dressing outside work, being labeled with the derogatory term "越南妹" (Vietnamese sister), which reflects sexist and xenophobic stereotypes. Despite their professional competence, their identity as the Vietnamese women subjects them to discrimination and diminishes her symbolic capital.

> P6 faces criticism from hospital staff, particularly regarding her choice of clothing. After work, she opts for a youthful and fashionable appearance, wearing short skirts and tight-fitting clothes. However, this choice of attire has subjected her to judgment, with some staff referring to her as "Vietnamese sister" ("越南妹" in Chinese), a derogatory term associated with young Vietnamese women working in lower-end massage parlors or the sex industry. This label is also used for other Vietnamese interpreters sometimes. (Field notes, 03/08/2024)

To sum up, the aftermentioned cases reveal that language skills alone cannot overcome the structural barriers including the institutional exclusion, gender norms, and cultural stigma, which systematically hinders interpreters' capacity to convert linguistic capital into upward mobility. Our findings align with those of Li & Zheng (2023), who similarly demonstrate that structural factors restrict the free mobility of linguistic repertoires. Different from Li and Zheng's study which does not foreground gender and labor exploitation as central constraints, our study identifies these two dimensions as equally critical. Specifically, gendered care obligations limit women interpreters' availability for entrepreneurial pursuits, while labor exploitation, manifested in unpaid emotional labor and precarious working conditions, further undermines their long-term professional sustainability. Importantly, these two constraints have remained largely invisible in previous linguistic entrepreneurship studies. Furthermore, applying a linguistic entrepreneurship lens to such specific demographic, grassroots migrant interpreters, one of the most vulnerable groups within the borderland labor hierarchy, reveals a broader and more severe spectrum of structural constraints than those documented in studies focusing on more privileged language workers (Alonso & Villa, 2020; Duchêne, 2009; Muth, 2017). These grassroots migrants are particularly susceptible to exploitation and gendered divisions of labor. Their experiences reflect a fundamental tension between the neoliberal discourse of individual

empowerment and the persistent barriers embedded in formal labor markets. These constraints not only shape their daily work but also impede their entrepreneurial endeavors.

6. Conclusion

This study has explored the life trajectories of migrant interpreters who function as linguistic entrepreneurs within the cross-border medical market. Drawing on critical ethnography, three principal conclusions contribute to a nuanced understanding of how grassroots interpreters convert their linguistic capital, how they strategically exercise agency to adapt to the healthcare market, and what tensions are embedded in their professional trajectories. First, our findings indicate that multilingual skills empower interpreters not only to secure employment and pursue transnational aspirations but also to be recognized as a form of institutional capital. Second, our analysis highlights the interpreters' entrepreneurial spirit, as they actively enhance their multilingual abilities, expand their medical knowledge, and mobilize consistent emotional labor to their advantage. Nevertheless, despite this agency, the study reveals that interpreters continue to experience structural constraints, whether stemming from gender dynamics, family burdens, certification systems, or cultural stigma.

Based on these research results, future studies can further explore how to better support interpreters in the medical system of border areas which may include exploring professional training programs, ensuring fair compensation and benefits, and formally defining the role of interpreters to enhance their sense of integration and recognition. It is suggested that a Vietnamese language proficiency certification system be established to enhance the professional recognition of interpreters. In order to promote professional development, specific measures should be taken, such as the creation of formal positions and structured career promotion opportunities for interpreters. In addition, addressing the issue of gender disparity trajectories in the language service sector requires the formulation of policies aimed at mitigating the impact of gender bias on career development and ensuring a fairer professional environment for interpreters. These measures not only help improve service efficiency but also promote the fairness of medical services in the medical environment. This, in turn, can meet the growing demand of foreign groups in the border areas for effective medical services that meet their language and cultural needs.

This study has also contributed to enriching the research inquiry of linguistic entrepreneurship theory by focusing on a cohort of grassroots interpreters' employment trajectories in a multilingual healthcare setting. Given the increasing prominence of language services in China's borderlands, future research could be expanded to other workplaces including cross-border trade markets, wholesale stores, border tourism service sectors, cross-border brokerage service centers, etc. It would be desirable if more language studies could be conducted in China's borderlands for facilitating foreign migrants' social mobility and enhancing cross-border and regional development.

Funding: This study was supported by the National Social Science Foundation of China (project number: 22BYY064).

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Mengyi Luo ID https://orcid.org/0009-0008-7792-083X

Jia Li ID https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3391-5720

Michelle Mingyue Gu ID https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6547-2178

References

Arum, N. E. (2024). "Adult migrants' Norwegian language learning investment strategies in the workplace". *AILA Review*, 37(2): 290-308. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1075/aila.24032.

Bae, S. H. (2013). "The pursuit of multilingualism in transnational educational migration: Strategies of linguistic investment among Korean jogi yuhak families in Singapore". *Language and Education*, 27(5): 415-431. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2012.709863.

Blumczynski, P., & Wilson, S. (Eds.). (2022). *The languages of COVID-19: Translational and multilingual perspectives on global healthcare*. Routledge.

Cameron, D. (2008). "Communication and commodification: Global economic change in sociolinguistic perspective". In G. Erreygers & G. Jacobs (Eds.), *Language, communication and the economy* (pp. 9-23). John Benjamins.

Cho, J. (2022). "To act or not to act: Interpreters' dilemmas and choices in aged care assessments of elderly migrants". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 43(10): 2412-2426. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2050916.

Cho, J. (2023). "A critical review of literature on English as a global language published in Korea". *The SNU Journal of Education Research*, 32(4): 25-58. DOI：https://doi.org/10.54346/sjer.2023.32.4.25.

Clement, V., Lemus, S., & Newman, E. (2024). "In search of health: Medical tourism at the US-Mexico border/lands". *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 22(1): 118-136. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2023.2248088.

Connell, J. (2011). "A new inequality? Privatization, urban bias, migration, and medical tourism". *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 52(3): 260-271. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8373.2011.01454.

Connell, J. (2013). "Contemporary medical tourism: Conceptualization, culture, and commodification". *Tourism Management*, 34: 1-13. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2012.05.009.

De Costa, P., Park, J., & Wee, L. (2016). "Language learning as linguistic entrepreneurship: Implications for language education". *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, 25:695-702. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-016-0302-5.

De Costa, P., Park, J., & Wee, L. (2019). "Linguistic entrepreneurship as affective regime: Organizations, audit culture, and second/foreign language education policy". *Language Policy*, 18: 387-406. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-018-

9492-4.

De Costa, P., Park, J., & Wee, L. (2021). "Why linguistic entrepreneurship?" *Multilingua*, 40(2): 139-153. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2020-0037.

Declercq, C., & Federici, F. M. (2020). "Words of empathy, access and relief". In F. M. Federici (Ed.), *Intercultural crisis communication: Translation, interpreting and languages in local crises* (pp. 1-18). Bloomsbury.

Duchêne, A. (2009). "Marketing, management and performance: Multilingualism as commodity in a tourism call centre". *Language Policy*, 8(1):27-50. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-008-9115-6.

Duchêne, A., & Heller, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit*. Routledge.

Evans, P. B., & Sewell, W. H. (2013). "Neoliberalism". In P. A. Hall & M. Lamont (Eds.), *Social resilience in the neo-liberal era* (pp. 35-68). Cambridge University Press.

Hajar, A. (2017). "Identity, investment and language learning strategies of two Syrian students in Syria and Britain". *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 30(3):250-264. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2017.1317266.

Hechavarría, D. M., & Ingram, A. (2018). "Entrepreneurial language through a linguistic lens: Emerging opportunities". In *A research agenda for entrepreneurial cognition and intention* (pp. 204-214). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Heller, M. (2003). "Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity". *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4):473-492. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2003.00238.

Hopkins, L., Labonté, R., Runnels, V., & Packer, C. (2010). "Medical tourism today: What is the state of existing knowledge?" *Journal of Public Health Policy*, 31: 185-198. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1057/jphp.2010.10.

Horton, S., & Cole, S. (2011). "Medical returns: Seeking health care in Mexico". *Social Science & Medicine*, 72(11), 1846-1852. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.03.035.

Li, J., Lu, Z., Luo, M., & Zou, Z. (2024). "Zhuang-speaking village doctors as language and cultural brokers in times of crisis". In J. Li & J. Zhang (Eds.), *Multilingual crisis communication: Insights from China* (pp. 78-95). Routledge.

Li, J., Luo, M., Cho, J., & Zhang, J. (2026). "The double-edged sword of language: empowerment and precarity for interpreters in a Chinese border hospital". *Multilingua*, 45(2): 147-173. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2025-0168.

Li, J., & Zhang, J. (Eds.). (2024). *Multilingual crisis communication: Insights from China*. Routledge.

Li, J., & Zheng, Y. (2023). "Enacting multilingual entrepreneurship out of class: An ethnography of language learning of Myanmar university students". *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 20(3): 1234-1249. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2021.1976785.

Li, W., & De Costa, P. (2021). "Problematizing enterprise culture in global academic publishing: Linguistic entrepreneurship through the lens of two Chinese visiting scholars in a U.S. university". *Multilingua*, 40(2): 225-250. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2020-0036.

Liu, K., & Cheung, A. K. (Eds.). (2022). *Translation and interpreting in the age of COVID-19*. Springer.

Muth, S. (2015). "Language removal, commodification and the negotiation of cultural identity in Nagorno-Karabakh". In R. Rubdy & S. Ben Said (Eds.), *Conflict, exclusion and dissent in the linguistic landscape* (pp. 77-100). Palgrave Macmillan.

Muth, S. (2017). "Russian as a commodity: Medical tourism and the healthcare industry in post-Soviet Lithuania".

International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 20(4): 404-416. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2015.1115002.

Muth, S. (2018). "The ideal Russian speaker is no Russian: Language commodification and its limits in medical tourism to Switzerland". *Language Policy*, 17(2): 217-237. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-017-9434-6.

Park, J. S., & Wee, L. (2012). *Markets of English: Linguistic capital and language policy in a globalizing world*. Routledge.

Sabaté Dalmau, M. (2020). "Neoliberal language policies and linguistic entrepreneurship in higher education: Lecturers' perspectives". *Language, Culture and Society*, 2(2): 174-196. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1075/lcs.19018.dal.

Smith, M., & Puczkó, L. (2014). *Health, tourism and hospitality: Spas, wellness and medical travel* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Tan, P., & Rubdy, R. (Eds.). (2008). *Language as commodity: Global structures, local marketplaces*. Continuum.

Wang, H., Cheng, Z., & Smyth, R. (2016). "Language, health outcomes and health inequality" (Discussion Paper No. 43/16). *Monash University Economics*.

Warriner, D. S. (2016). "The politics of English language teaching". In S. May (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (3rd ed., Vol. 1, pp. 1-14). Springer.

Wee, L. (2018). "Language policy and management". In E. L. Low & A. Pakir (Eds.), *World Englishes: Rethinking paradigms* (pp. 183-199). Routledge.

Whittaker, A., & Chee, H. L. (2015). "Perceptions of an 'international hospital' in Thailand by medical travel patients: Cross-cultural tensions in a transnational space". *Social Science & Medicine*, 124: 290-297. DOI：https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.10.002.

Winata, N. T., Damaianti, V. S., & Mulyati, Y. (2024). "Indonesian language learning as linguistic entrepreneurship: Implications on digital marketing". *Jurnal Sosioteknologi*, 23(3): 387-399. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5614/sostek.itbj.2024.23.3.7.

Xu, W. (2024). "International students' linguistic entrepreneurship: motivation, 'Chinese fever'and the neoliberal burden". *Research Papers in Education*, 39(6): 918-935. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/02671522.2023.2248613.

Yu, W., & Xu, W. (2024). "Language ideologies and linguistic entrepreneurship in inter-Asian mobility: Voices from international students at Chinese universities". *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 25(2):193-211. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2023.2240483.

李佳、张洁（2020）："云南瑞丽缅甸籍流动人口的语言能力与职业发展"，《语言战略研究》5（6）：69-77.

[Li Jia & Zhang Jie (2020). "Language Proficiency and Career Development of Myanmar Migrant Workers in Ruili, Yunnan". Language Strategy Research 5(6): 69-77. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20200607.]

李佳、王蒙娜、张洁、洪宇、邓睿（2025）："中老边境国门医院语言服务的实践与思考"，《语言战略研究》10（4）：25-33.

[Li Jia, Wang Mengna, Zhang Jie, Hong Yu & Deng Rui (2025). "Practice and Reflection on Language Services in Border Hospitals at China-Laos Border". Language Strategy Research 10(4): 25-33. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20250403.]

李现乐、龚余娟（2015）："医疗行业语言服务调查研究"，《中国语言战略》2（2）：97-109.

[Li Xianle & Gong Yujuan (2015). "A Survey of Language Services in the Medical Industry". China Language Strategy 2(2): 97-109.]

马文、金丽日（2021）："癫痫鉴别诊断中的会话特征分析"，《语言战略研究》6（6）：59-66.

[Ma Wen & Jin Liri (2021). "Conversation Analysis in the Differential Diagnosis of Epilepsy". Language Strategy Research 6(6): 59-66. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20210605.]

滕延江、王立非（2025）："论语言健康服务规划"，《北京第二外国语学院学报》47（3）：124-138.

[Teng Yanjiang & Wang Lifei (2025). "On Language Health Service Planning". Journal of Beijing International Studies University 47(3): 124-138. DOI: https://doi.org/10.12002/j.bisu.591.]

姚远、马文、卢强（2017）："会话分析在鉴别诊断痫性发作与心因性非痫性发作中的作用"，《中华神经科杂志》50（4）：266-270.

[Yao Yuan, Ma Wen & Lu Qiang (2017). "The Role of Conversation Analysis in Differentiating Epileptic Seizures from Psychogenic Non-Epileptic Seizures". Chinese Journal of Neurology 50(4): 266-270.]

北京日报（2024 年 11 月）："肩负特殊使命！我国已在多个边境地区建设国门医院"，检索日期：2026 年 5 月 15 日，取自：https://xinwen.bjd.com.cn/content/s671f30bde4b0f72813bd46f9.html.

[Beijing Daily (2024, November). "Shouldering Special Mission: China Has Built Border Gateway Hospitals in Multiple Border Areas". Retrieved May 15, 2026, from https://xinwen.bjd.com.cn/content/s671f30bde4b0f72813bd46f9.html.]

大理白族自治州人民政府（2023年4月）："大理大学与25家'国门医院'签订合作协议"，检索日期：2026年5月15日，取自：http://www.heqing.gov.cn/dlrmzf/c101532/202304/fc31ef9f8d2242b6b055321eb5a762b0.shtml.

[Dali Bai Autonomous Prefectural Government (2023, April). "Dali University Signed Cooperation Agreements with 25 'Border Gateway Hospitals'". Retrieved May 15, 2026, from http://www.heqing.gov.cn/dlrmzf/c101532/202304/fc31ef9f8d2242b6b055321eb5a762b0.shtml.]

河口边检（2025年1月）："2024年河口边检站查验出入境人员569.42万人次，居云南省首位"，检索日期：2026年5月15日，取自：https://www.yn.chinanews.com.cn/news/2025/0109/78919.html.

[Hekou Border Inspection (2025, January). "In 2024, Hekou Border Inspection Station Processed 5.6942 Million Cross-Border Travelers, Ranking First in Yunnan Province".Retrieved May 15, 2026, from https://www.yn.chinanews.com.cn/news/2025/0109/78919.html.]

河口县人民医院（2023 年 12 月）："河口县人民医院公开招聘越南语翻译编外工作人员的启事"，检索日期：2026年5月15日，取自：https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/zGZnoq70Z8FW4jn6LbKaWw.

[Hekou County People's Hospital (2023, December). "Announcement of Open Recruitment for Vietnamese Translator (Non-Staff) by Hekou County People's Hospital". Retrieved May 15, 2026, from https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/zGZnoq70Z8FW4jn6LbKaWw.]

人民网（2020年8月）："'一带一路'上的中缅跨境医疗"，检索日期：2026年5月15日，取自：https://yn.people.com.cn/n2/2020/0812/c378439-34220587.html.

[People's Daily Online (2020, August). "Cross-Border Medical Services Between China and Myanmar Along the Belt and Road". Retrieved May 15, 2026, from https://yn.people.com.cn/n2/2020/0812/c378439-34220587.html.]

新华社（2024 年 8 月）："中越跨境医疗服务 跨越国界的爱"，检索日期：2026 年 5 月 15 日，取自：http://www.bbrmedia.com/2024/0820/958249.html.

[Xinhua News Agency (2024, August). "China-Vietnam Cross-Border Medical Services: Love Across Borders". Retrieved May 15, 2026, from http://www.bbrmedia.com/2024/0820/958249.html (Note: URL currently returns 404).]

新华社（2026年4月）："新华视点丨云南勐腊：'国门医院'搭建中老医疗'连心桥'"，检索日期：2026年 5月15日，取自：https://www.news.cn/politics/20260401/e1f5daf762004fe3956183f1e295e8a2/c.html.

[Xinhua News Agency (2026, April). "Xinhua Insights: Mengla, Yunnan – 'Border Gateway Hospital' Builds a 'Bridge of Hearts' for China-Laos Medical Services". Retrieved May 15, 2026, from https://www.news.cn/politics/20260401/e1f5daf762004fe3956183f1e295e8a2/c.html.]

云南红河（2025 年 1 月）："关于依托国门医院优势打造口岸医养产业的建议"，检索日期：2026 年 5 月 15 日，取自：https://honghe.yunnan.cn/system/2025/01/06/033357497.shtml.

[Yunnan Honghe (2025, January). "Proposal on Leveraging the Advantages of Border Gateway Hospitals to Develop Port Medical and Elderly Care Industry". Retrieved May 15, 2026, from https://honghe.yunnan.cn/system/2025/01/06/033357497.shtml.]

云南网（2024年10月）："'国门医院联盟'成立！"，检索日期：2026年5月15日，取自：https://wsjkw.km.gov.cn/c/2024-10-28/4910496.

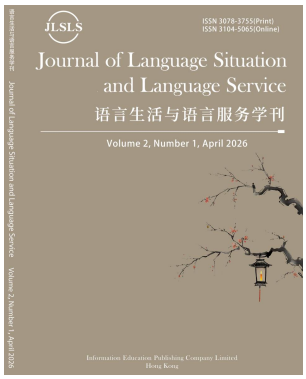
[Yunnan.cn (2024, October). "'Border Gateway Hospital Alliance' Established!". Retrieved May 15, 2026, from https://wsjkw.km.gov.cn/c/2024-10-28/4910496.]

李滔、王秀峰（2016）："健康中国的内涵与实现路径"，《卫生经济研究》（1）：4-10.

[Li Tao & Wang Xiufeng (2016). "The Connotation and Realization Path of Healthy China". Health Economics Research (1): 4-10.]

王玲（2024）："城市老年人语言服务问题调查研究"，《语言战略研究》9（4）：12-22。

[Wang Ling (2024). "A Survey on Language Services for Urban Elderly". Language Strategy Research 9(4): 12-22. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20240401.]



JLSLS

HIEP
Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.106-115**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260108anmgb

The "language situation Green/ Blue/ Yellow and White Reports"(also called "language situation Report Series") are important academic achievements continuously advanced by relevant Chinese national institutions, academic experts and scholars. Guided by the mission of implementing the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language, promoting the concept of "language service," and serving national development needs, these report series have, over more than two decades of development, gradually formed a publishing framework in which the "White, Green, Blue, and Yellow" series complement and support one another. Specifically, the Green Report, *Language Situation in China*, is grounded in the realities of Chinese language life, recording annual major events, hot topics, and empirical data; the Blue Report, *Study of Language Policies in China*, focuses on language policy and language planning research, sorting out disciplinary progress and theoretical contexts; the Yellow Report, *Language Situation in Foreign Countries*, looks broadly at global language life, providing referential insights for China's language governance and international communication practice. In parallel, the regional practice-oriented *Report on Language Situation in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area*, *Report on Language Service Development in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area*, and the thematic volume *Language Service Development in China* have continually expanded the observational scope and applied boundaries of language life research.

In December 2025, *Language Situation in China* (2025), *Study of Language Policies in China* (2025), *Language Situation in Foreign Countries* (2025), and *Report on Language Service Development in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area* (2025) were

released in Guangzhou. This journal plans to publish report reviews of these four reports across two issues.

Issue No. 1 of 2026 features reviews of *Language Situation in China* (2025) and *Language Policies in China* (2025). The former highlights the Green Report's new milestone over two decades of development, elucidating its panoramic documentation of Chinese language life in 2024, its people-centered value stance, and its pursuit of a harmonious language life; the latter, adopting a meta-research perspective, discusses how the Blue Report, grounded in Chinese practice, systematically synthesizes annual achievements in language planning research and contributes to the construction of an indigenous knowledge system for Chinese language planning studies. Issue No. 2 will carry reviews of *Language Situation in Foreign Countries* (2025) and *Report on Language Service Development in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area* (2025). The former focuses on global language life from 2023 to 2024, outlining the world language landscape across trends, policies, dynamics, and special topics, and revealing the multifaceted dimensions of language governance, language education, language technology, and social psychology; the latter examines the diverse forms of language service across different domains within the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area — one of the world's four largest bay areas — in the context of regional integration and digital transformation.

This collection of report reviews is both a focused appraisal of the academic value and practical significance of these four newly published volumes, and a comprehensive overview of the contemporary research landscape of language life in China and the world. They extend from Chinese realities to global observations, connect policy research with regional services, and move from annual documentation toward theoretical refinement and practical application. We hope that through these review articles, readers may better appreciate the multidimensional value of the language situation report series in documenting realities, responding to the times, serving governance, and guiding research.

——Editor's Note

A New Milestone for the Green Book After Two Decades: The Multidimensional Value of Language Situation in China (2025)

Yin Zhiping, Yang Zhimiao

Abstract: As the twentieth volume in the series on China's language situation, the *Report on language situation in China (2025)* presents a wide range of surveys and empirical data on language use, offering a panoramic account of the development of language life in China in 2024. Adhering to a people-centered approach to language research, the report focuses on the fundamental mission of language-related initiatives in fostering moral education and cultivating individuals. It reveals positive and harmonious language relations and introduces several innovative academic concepts. The report not only provides important references for the formulation and implementation of national language policies, but also offers valuable insights for future research on language life.

Keywords: language situation report; panoramic documentation; harmonious language life; language-based education; linguistic foundations for national strength

Author Biographies: **Yin Zhiping**, Corresponding author, Ph.D, China Center for Language Planning and Policy Studies, Shanghai International Studies University; Shanghai Yin & Yin Commercial Consulting Co. Ltd. E-mail: yin-zhiping@hotmail.com. **Yang Zhimiao,** Ph.D, Lecturer at School of Foreign Studies, Guangzhou University

标题：廿载绿皮书的新跨越：《中国语言生活状况报告（2025）》的多维价值

摘要：作为第 20 部中国语言生活状况报告，《中国语言生活状况报告（2025）》呈现多项语言生活调查报告和实态数据，全景记录 2024 年度我国语言生活发展面貌。报告坚持以人为本的语言研究价值追求，聚焦语言文字事业服务立德树人根本任务，揭示积极和谐的语言关系，提出若干创新性学术概念，为国家语言文字政策的制定和实施提供了重要参考，也为语言生活研究以有益启发。

关键词：语言生活报告；全景记录；和谐语言生活；语言育人；强国语言基石

Received: 15 May 2026 / Revised: 20 May 2026 / Accepted: 27 May 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

作者简介：殷志平，通讯作者，博士，上海外国语大学中国外语战略研究中心客座研究员，上海殷殷商务咨询有限公司首席咨询师。电邮：yin-zhiping@hotmail.com。**杨之淼**，博士，广州大学外国语学院教师。

Language Situation in China (2025) (hereinafter referred to as the "*Green Report 2025*") is an annual report organized by the National Language Commission of China and edited by Professor Qu Shaobing of Guangzhou University and The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (Guangzhou). As the twentieth volume in the series of reports on China's language situation, the *Green Report 2025* highlights a people-centered approach to language research and presents a panoramic depiction of the realities of language life in contemporary China. It provides important references for the formulation and implementation of national language policies (Fang Xiaobing 2026) and offers valuable insights for research on language and language life.

I. Overview of the Contents

In addition to the introduction, the volume consists of eight sections: Special Report, Work Summaries, Relevant Domains, Hot Topics, Words and Expressions, Hong Kong – Macao – Taiwan, International Experience and Appendices. Together, these sections provide a panoramic record of the state of language life in China. The preface was written by the renowned linguist and leading scholar of language life studies, Li Yuming, who offers forward-looking discussions on language life and research on language life in the age of artificial intelligence. He points out that artificial intelligence represents another major peak in the history of human language technology development and will reshape every aspect of language life. According to Li, the ability to engage in human–machine dialogue has already become a new form of language competence in the intelligent era. His preface not only indicates the future direction for the compilation of the *Report on language situation in China* series in the coming years, but also provides profound insights for future research on language and language life.

Special Report section encompasses two major themes. The first consists of three articles presenting the work plans of officials from the Ministry of Education concerning language and script initiatives. These articles emphasize the crucial role of language-related work in advancing the development of a strong educational system and outline policy arrangements regarding language standardization, the promotion of Putonghua, language research, and language services. They provide important guidance for the governance of language life and the construction of a harmonious linguistic environment. The second theme is a retrospective review of the twenty-year development of the Green Book project prepared by the editorial team of the Green Book, with Wang Lei serving as the principal author.

The Practical Developments section contains three articles reflecting various dimensions of language life at the national level, including language policy, language management, and language services[1]. The topics covered include language-related provisions in documents issued in 2024 by China's highest state authority and twenty-two ministries and commissions, the major progress achieved in language and script work during 2024, and a series of policy measures aimed at advancing the development of Digital Chinese.

Relevant Domains section is the most substantial part of the volume, consisting of seventeen articles that document the state of language life across a wide range of fields. Serving as the overarching article of this section is a study that discusses the development strategies and measures for language and script initiatives within the broader context of building a strong educational nation. From the perspective of language and culture, six articles examine language situation in educational settings and everyday social life, demonstrating the cultural functions of language and highlighting the prosperity and development of language and cultural undertakings. From the perspective of language relations, six articles mainly report on language life arising from the mobility and interaction of people both within and outside China. From the perspective of language economy, two articles explore the value of language use in economic activities such as naming practices and product descriptions. The language services dimension includes case studies on emergency language services during extreme weather events as well as reports on the progress of Braille-related services.

Hot Topics section offers in-depth examinations of widely influential "cases" in contemporary language life and consists of five articles. This section documents such phenomena as the widespread circulation of memorable remarks and humorous expressions made by Chinese athletes during the Paris Olympics; the sensation caused by the Shanghai Dialect Version of the Film Blossoms; the global popularity of the video game Black Myth: Wukong and the viral spread of its transliterated name "Wukong" on the internet; the online popularity of the phrase "city bu city," coined by foreign bloggers traveling in China; and the widespread emergence of terms related to "new quality productive forces," among other notable linguistic phenomena.

Words and Expressions section presents reports on language life from the perspective of language development and consists of five articles. For nineteen consecutive years, the National Language Resources Monitoring and Research Center, The Commercial Press, and Xinhua Net, among other institutions, have jointly organized the annual "Chinese Language Review" campaign. Through the selection of annual Chinese characters and words, as well as the release of the "Top Ten Buzzwords," "Top Ten Internet Expressions," and "Top Ten New Expressions," the campaign documents social transformations, public concerns, and collective social sentiments. The first four articles in this section provide a summary and analysis of the 2024 review activities.

---

[1] For the concepts of the dimensions, layers, and hierarchical levels of language life discussed in this article, please refer to Yin Zhiping (2026).

Hong Kong–Macao–Taiwan section contains three articles that report on the actual use of the national common language and script in the language life of the Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions. These studies enable readers to observe the vibrant linguistic landscape of Hong Kong and Macao within the framework of "One Country, Two Systems." By contrast, the state of language life in Taiwan gives rise to considerable concern.

International Experience section provides information on changing global demand for international Chinese language learning over the past decade, as well as introductions to books, journals, and international conferences related to foreign language policy and planning. Reflecting the international perspective of both the contributors and editors, this section offers valuable references for domestic scholars engaged in the investigation and study of language life. The Appendices section includes a chronology of major language-related events in 2024, a general list of characters used in the media, lists of high-frequency media expressions and idioms, and a compilation of newly emerging media expressions. From the perspectives of language events and language use, these materials document contemporary language life while also providing practical resources for future research on language and language life.

II. Features and Achievements

The *Green Report 2025* has successfully fulfilled its mission of documenting the linguistic ecology, serving national strategies, and promoting academic innovation. Distinguished by its clear characteristics and remarkable accomplishments, the volume represents a significant contribution to the study of language life in contemporary China.

(I) A Panoramic Record of Contemporary Chinese language situation

The *Green Report 2025* provides a comprehensive portrayal of contemporary Chinese language situation from both horizontal and vertical perspectives. From the horizontal perspective, the report covers the inner layer of language life associated with language use itself, the middle layer involving routine language activities, and the outer layer concerning special language activities. Examples of inner-layer language life include language use in the Maritime Field, the "Foreign Jingpiao" Group in Jingdezhen, and "Boorder Gateway Schools" in the Sino-Viietnamese Border Area of Guangxi. Examples of middle-layer language life include international Chinese language education, revisions of Chinese language textbooks, and study-tour programs related to language and culture. Outer-layer language life includes discussions by officials of the Ministry of Education on the promotion of Putonghua and the enhancement of national language capacity. From the vertical perspective, the *Green Repor 2025* reports on language situation across multiple levels, including the international, national, regional, sectoral organizational, and individual levels. International language life is reflected in analyses of global trends and patterns in online searches related to Chinese language learning. National language life includes language-related provisions in normative legal documents and official government texts, as well as reports on national language and script initiatives.

Regional language life encompasses, for example, the use of Putonghua in Hong Kong's linguistic environment and the state of language life in Taiwan. Language life at the level of grassroots organizations is illustrated through studies of language practices in the "Border Gateway Schools" in the Sino-Vietnamese Border Area of Guangxi and in the China-Kazakhstan Horgos International Border Cooperation Center. At the individual level, the report documents cases such as the language use of vegetable vendors from Shandong working in Zhenjiang and the language experiences of short-term foreign travelers in China. By drawing upon a vast amount of data to present a panoramic account of China's language situation, the *Green Repor 2025* demonstrates the editors' strong capacity for comprehensive coordination and systematic thinking. It provides readers with a condensed yet vivid picture of contemporary Chinese language life.

(II) Highlighting a People-Centered Value Orientation in Language Research

language situation refers to the language use and language activities of human beings as social subjects. As a field of study, language situation studies advocates a people-centered academic value orientation (Yin Zhiping, 2026), and the *Green Repor 2025* vividly embodies this pursuit. First, in its discussion of language planning and policy, the report regards fostering virtue and cultivating people as the fundamental mission of language and script initiatives. The first three articles in the Special report section, together with the opening article of Relevant Domains section section, all emphasize the moral and educational functions of language and script work. The expression "fostering virtue and cultivating people" appears twelve times throughout the volume. The report also introduces the new concept of "language-based education" and advances propositions such as "language and script, especially the national common language and script, are inherently connected with fostering virtue and cultivating people" and "the Chinese language plays a foundational role in moral education." In this way, moral cultivation is positioned as the core mission of language and script undertakings. Second, the documentation of language use becomes simultaneously a process of human-centered observation and care. For example, by examining how social emotions give rise to internet expressions, the report demonstrates concern for people's lived experiences: the expression "fireworks atmosphere" (*yanhuoqi*) captures ordinary people's most simple and grounded sense of happiness; "work smell" (*banweier*) portrays the mixed joys and hardships of workplace life; and "sense of relaxation" (*songchigan*) reflects a positive mentality characterized by emotional resilience and freedom from excessive internal pressure. Similarly, through an investigation of orally transmitted family precepts in rural Hunan, the report reveals how vivid and concrete forms of expression in family instruction can exert subtle yet deeply internalized educational influence, much like salt dissolving into water. Third, while documenting language activities, the report also offers practical recommendations for language services. The article "New Progress in Braille Services" proposes enhancing the precision of Braille services, improving their digital and intelligent dimensions, and fostering a more inclusive social environment. Meanwhile, "Case Study on Emergency Language Services for Extreme Weather" recommends establishing region-specific emergency language service systems, strengthening the communicative effectiveness of emergency language services,

and further developing their functions in emotional support and public discourse monitoring. These proposals effectively implement the academic proposition of "comprehensively advancing language services" advanced by Li Yuming in 2025.

(III) Serving the Development of a Strong Educational Nation

The *Green Repor 2025* proposes that "language and script, especially the national common language and script, constitute the most fundamental form of ideology." On this basis, the report analyzes and discusses the tasks of language and script initiatives in supporting the development of a strong educational nation. A total of four articles in Special Report and Relevant Domains sections examine how language and script work can contribute to educational development from different perspectives, including promotion and popularization, capacity building, research and public services, and systematic planning. These discussions highlight the mission and responsibility of language and script initiatives in responding to and serving national strategies.

(IV) Revealing Positive Language Relations

In Western academia, studies on language relations within immigrant communities often focus on the interaction among racism, nationalism, colonialism, and language, paying particular attention to issues such as power inequality, discrimination, exclusion, and identity anxiety. As a result, such research frequently carries a negative orientation. By contrast, the multilingual relations documented in the *Green Repor 2025* display a more positive and constructive character. For example, when short-term foreign travelers in China encounter local residents in tourist attractions or on ordinary streets, many Chinese people proactively communicate with them in English. Such interactions present harmonious and positive language relations and help shape an image of local residents as hospitable and willing to assist foreigners, reflecting the sense of courtesy and responsibility associated with China's tradition as "a nation of propriety." Similarly, among the "Foreign Jingpiao" Group in Jingdezhen, English is the language most commonly used in their professional activities, and many are unable to communicate fluently in Chinese. Nevertheless, this rarely affects their ability to live and work comfortably in the local community. This phenomenon reflects the inclusiveness, equality, and friendliness demonstrated by their Chinese colleagues and local residents alike.

(V) Theoretical Innovation

Based on a precise understanding of the mission of language and script initiatives and profound insights into language situation, the *Green Repor 2025* introduces new concepts such as "the linguistic foundation of a strong nation" and "language-based education." "The linguistic foundation of a strong nation" refers to the foundational and overarching role that language and script initiatives should play in strengthening the sense of community of the Chinese nation, supporting the implementation of the fundamental educational task of fostering virtue and cultivating people, safeguarding and improving people's well-being, and promoting high-quality economic and social development. "Language-based education" refers to the educational process through which the unique value of the national common language and script, as well as China's

outstanding linguistic and cultural traditions, is fully utilized to provide students with moral guidance, cultivate cultural confidence, and foster comprehensive personal development through such means as promotion and popularization, standardized language use, cultural transmission, and literacy enhancement. The introduction of the concepts of "the linguistic foundation of a strong nation" and "language-based education" establishes the fundamental mission and functional orientation of language and script initiatives. These concepts also provide important guidance and intellectual direction for future research on language life.

Yin Zhiping (2026) proposes that the interaction between social psychology and language can give rise to a psychological dimension of social life within language life studies. Building upon this perspective, theGreen Repor *2025* argues that internet expressions not only reflect social trendy topics but also serve the function of recording "social emotions." Social psychology refers to a relatively stable and structural psychological dimension, whereas social emotions are shared emotional experiences generated among large groups of people through cognitive evaluations of the relationships among individual needs, social environments, events, and the behaviors of others. Such emotions are characterized by temporality, fluidity, and collectivity. The recognition that internet expressions possess the function of recording social emotions indicates that language life research is concerned not only with stable social psychology, but also with shifting social mentalities and emotional changes. This perspective expands the dimensions through which language and society interact and further endows language life studies with functions of social monitoring and early warning. In doing so, it provides more sensitive indicators for language governance.

III. Limitations

Despite its many achievements, the *Green Repor 2025* still exhibits certain shortcomings. First, a small number of articles do not sufficiently reflect the social phenomena and social issues underlying particular language phenomena and language-related problems. Zhou Qingsheng (2025) points out that a genuine language-life phenomenon must simultaneously reflect both linguistic phenomena and social life; merely presenting social phenomena without language phenomena, or vice versa, cannot truly constitute a language-life phenomenon. For example, one article in Relevant Domains section describing the discourse characteristics of domestic stand-up comedy provides a detailed account of five major features of stand-up comedy discourse, yet offers insufficient discussion of the causes, formation processes, and social functions underlying these features. Second, some of the recommendations proposed in a few articles lack sufficient specificity and practical feasibility. One article documents the language life of vegetable vendors from Shandong working in Zhenjiang. The study finds that these vendors exhibit a clear sense of unfamiliarity with the Zhenjiang dialect, assign it relatively low practical value, and possess limited motivation to learn it. Nevertheless, the article recommends that local communities vigorously promote cross-dialect cultural exchange activities in order to enhance the vendors' acceptance and recognition of the local dialect and encourage them to learn and use it. Such recommendations appear to lack practical feasibility. These

shortcomings, however, do not diminish the overall value of the volume. It is hoped that future annual reports will continue to engage deeply with the field of language life studies and further enhance both the academic depth and practical value of language life reporting.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID：

Yin Zhiping ID https://orcid.org/0009-0001-9380-1661

Yang Zhimiao ID https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2303-9293

References

方小兵（2026）：“《中国语言生活状况报告》的海外输出与影响”，《昆明学院学报》（02）:28-35.

Fang Xiaobin(2026). A Study of the Overseas Export and Impact of the Report on the Language Situation in China, Journal of Kunming University(02): 28-35, DOI: https://doi.org/10.14091/j.cnki.kmxyxb.2026.02.004.

李宇明（2025）:“二十年来的中国语言生活研究”，《语言战略研究》（01）:12–25.

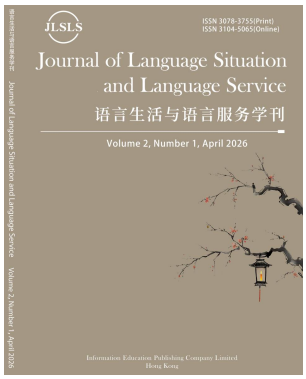
Li Yuming(2025).A Review of the Twenty-Year Study of Language Life in China, *Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning,* (01): 12–25. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20250101.

殷志平(2026):“试说语言生活和语言生活学”，《语言战略研究》：(02): 28–38.

Yin Zhiping(2026). Exploring “Language Life” and the Emergence of Language-life Studies, *Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning,* (02): 28–38. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20260202.

周庆生（2025）：“语言生活问题的捕捉、发掘与提炼”，《语言战略研究》，（01）： 6–7.

Zhou Qinsheng(2025). The Identification, Exploration, and Refinement of Issues in Language Life, *Chinese Journal of Language Policy and Planning,*(01): 6–7.



JLSLS

HIEP
Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.116-123**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260109cciks

Contributing to the Construction of an Independent Knowledge System for Language Planning in China:

——A Review of *Study of Language Policies in China: 2025*

Sijing Liu

Abstract: *Study of Language Policies in China: 2025* takes as its object of inquiry the academic achievements of China's language planning research in 2024. Comprising four major parts—"General Overview," "Hot Topics," "Thematic Fields," and "Keywords"—the Report systematically reviews the overall status of language planning research in China, identifies hot research topics, summarizes progress across core research fields, and distills keywords reflecting the development of China's spoken and written language work and the achievements in language planning scholarship. As a significant meta-research outcome in China's language planning field, the Report not only offers a comprehensive and systematic summary of academic research in 2024 but also makes valuable explorations toward constructing an independent knowledge system for language planning in China. It contributes to the construction of such a system in multiple dimensions: upholding a China-centered standpoint, exploring a research framework grounded in Chinese practice, and refining Chinese terminology to strengthen the conceptual foundation.

Keywords: language planning; independent knowledge system; blue book research; meta-research

Received: 16 May 2026 / Revised: 24 May 2026 / Accepted: 26 May 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

Author Biography: Liu Sijing, doctoral student at the School of Chinese Language and Literature, Beijing Foreign Studies University, assistant research professor at the Shanghai Academy of Educational Sciences.E-mail: sijliu@126.com.

标题：助力中国语言规划自主知识体系构建——评《中国语言政策研究报告（2025）》

摘要：《中国语言政策研究报告（2025）》以2024年度中国的语言规划学术成果为考察对象，分为总述篇、热点篇、领域篇与语词篇四大板块，系统梳理该年度中国的语言规划研究整体态势、前沿热点议题及各核心领域研究进展，并提炼了语言文字事业发展关键词和研究关键词。作为中国语言规划领域重要的元研究成果，《报告》既对2024年度学术研究情况进行全面总结与系统反思，也为中国语言规划自主知识体系建构作出有益探索。《报告》立足本土学术传统与语言生活实际、坚守中国立场，紧扣中国语言规划实践、建构特色研究框架，凝练具有本土特色的专业术语、夯实概念根基，多维度助力中国语言规划自主知识体系的构建与完善。

关键词：语言规划；中国自主知识体系构建；皮书研究；元研究

作者简介：刘思静，北京外国语大学中国语言文学学院在读博士，上海市教育科学研究院助理研究员；**研究方向：**语言政策与语言规划。电邮：sijliu@126.com。

1. Introduction

China has witnessed a long, rich, and institutionally significant history of language planning practice. From the use of *yayan*—a refined or standard speech during the pre-Qin period—through the standardization of the written language in the Qin Dynasty to the Vernacular Chinese Movement in the early twentieth century, language planning has consistently been intertwined with state governance, cultural integration, social modernization, and educational reform (Cheng Zhangtai, 2015; Fang Xiaobing, 2025). Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the country's spoken and written language work has received extensive attention and yielded remarkable achievements, such as the popularization of the national common spoken and written language. On the basis of China's national conditions and concrete practices in language planning, research in this field has gradually developed a series of research topics, theoretical concepts, and methodological approaches with distinct Chinese characteristics.

Since China entered the new era, the sustained and deepening advancement of its spoken and written language work, together with the growing demand of national governance modernization for the allocation of language resources, the governance of language life, and the study of language policy, has driven the rapid development of China's language planning studies. Against the background of accelerating the construction of philosophy and social sciences with Chinese characteristics, the construction of an independent knowledge system for language planning in China is not only an intrinsic requirement for the high-quality development of the discipline, but also an inevitable path for scholars to better interpret China's linguistic phenomena, address China's language-related problems, and support the advancement of Chinese modernization.

The construction of such an independent knowledge system cannot proceed without scientific and

systematic reflection on the current state of language planning research in China. It requires meta-research: that is, research on research itself. Through meta-research, a discipline is able to examine its own knowledge production, evaluate its conceptual tools, identify its methodological tendencies, summarize its achievements, and diagnose its limitations. *Study of Language Policies in China: 2025* is precisely such a meta-research outcome. Since the publication of its first volume in 2016, the series has been published annually for ten consecutive years and has been praised as a "blue book" of Chinese language situation. Each volume introduces the state of language planning research in China in the preceding year.

This review introduces the framework and contents of *Study of Language Policies in China: 2025* (hereinafter referred to as the "Report") and examines its contribution to the construction of an independent knowledge system for language planning in China. The discussion proceeds in two main steps. First, it analyzes the internal structure of the Report, showing how its four sections form a coherent progression from macro-level overview to thematic focus, from disciplinary mapping to conceptual refinement. Second, it evaluates the academic significance of the Report, especially its contribution to the consolidation of a Chinese standpoint, the exploration of a China-based research framework, and the refinement of indigenous terminology for the field.

2. Content Framework: An Editorial Logic Moving from the Broad Landscape to Core Concepts

The Report is divided into four parts: "General Overview," "Hot Topics," "Thematic Fields," and "Keywords." Its editorial arrangement embodies a clear and progressive logic. The Report begins with a broad survey of the field, then turns to hot topics of the year, proceeds to a structured presentation of research progress across thematic fields, and finally condenses the year's academic developments into a set of keywords. In this sense, the Report moves from macro to micro, and from the overall "landscape" of research to the conceptual nodes that organize disciplinary knowledge.

2.1 General Overview: A Comprehensive Mapping of the Overall Research Situation of the Year

The part entitled "General Overview" contains four articles. These articles outline the overall profile of China's language planning research in 2024 from four perspectives: an overview of language planning research during the year, a survey of approved linguistics research projects funded by major research foundations, the scientific work of the State Language Commission, and the application of scientific research achievements by the State Language Commission.

The article *Overview of China's Language Policy Research in 2024* functions as the programmatic component of the entire Report. It reviews and analyzes the published papers on language planning research in China in 2024 according to eight research directions proposed in the 14th Five-Year Scientific Research Plan of the State Language Commission. It introduces the main themes and contents within each direction and summarizes the general characteristics of the field in China for the year: the deepening influence of technological drivers, the increasing integration of interdisciplinary approaches, and the growing orientation toward serving national strategies. This overview helps readers grasp not only the quantity and distribution of the literature, but also the underlying developmental tendencies of the field.

The Report also analyzes the status of linguistics projects approved by China's three major research foundations: the National Social Science Fund of China, the Humanities and Social Sciences Research

Program of the Ministry of Education, and the Scientific Research Projects of the State Language Commission. By examining the data of approved projects, the Report reveals changes in key research directions and patterns of academic resource allocation. It thus provides scholars with a relatively objective basis for understanding research hot spots and policy tendencies. The Report finds that the three major research foundations show a stronger preference for applied research, with the proportion of applied research projects having already exceeded 70 percent. This finding indicates a clear application-oriented tendency in the current funding structure.

In addition, the Report introduces the scientific work of the State Language Commission, the core administrative body for China's spoken and written language work, by reviewing its research work in 2024 and outstanding cases of scientific achievement application in recent years. This further connects academic research with the concrete practice of the country's spoken and written language work, showing the close relationship between Chinese language planning research and the development of language work.

Thus, the "General Overview" part is more than a survey of annual research outputs. It also reveals the resource allocation, institutional environment, organizational mechanisms, and practical pathways of language planning research in China. By establishing this broader context, it lays the foundation for the subsequent discussion in Hot Topics and Thematic Fields.

2.2 Hot Topics: Identifying Focal Issues and Frontier Questions in the Context of the Times

Part II "Hot Topics" adopts the form of excerpting important scholarly viewpoints. It brings together major issues that attracted wide attention in language planning research in 2024. In selecting these topics, the Report balances three dimensions: national strategic needs, frontier changes brought about by new technologies, and foundational questions within the discipline.

First, it closely follows national strategies and the practical needs of social development. It reviews scholarly discussions on such themes as the role of language in supporting the construction of a powerful country, the creation of a strong sense of community for the Chinese nation, and the development of new quality productivity. Second, it actively responds to new issues of language governance generated by technological change, including frontier topics such as language services empowered by artificial intelligence and the governance of large language models. Third, it also attends to foundational research questions within linguistics and language-related studies, like China's language policies, the disciplinary positioning of international Chinese language education, and the attributes and objectives of foreign language education.

Overall, the hot topics in China's language planning research in 2024 focus on policy practice while continuing to engage with foundational theoretical questions in key research areas. The "Hot Topics" part is marked by a clear problem orientation and a strong sense of the times. It not only offers an inventory of the year's most discussed research issues but also, to some extent, sketches the close relationship between China's language policy research and national needs, technological development, language education, and international communication. In doing so, it demonstrates the strong problem consciousness and forward-looking perspective of China's language planning research.

2.3 Thematic Fields: Presenting Developments through a Structured Disciplinary Maps

While the "Hot Topics" part centers on focal issues, the "Thematic Fields" part lays more stress on

systematic and comprehensive presentation of the discipline's major domains. This part is organized around thirteen research fields of concern to China's language policy research. These fields include: promotion and popularization of the standard spoken and written Chinese; standardization and normalization of language and characters; informatization, digitalization, and AI-powered development of language; inheritance and development of language and culture; scientific protection of language resources; language services and language industry; surveys on language use; Chinese language education; foreign language discipline development; international Chinese language education; construction of discourse system for international communication; theories and methodologies of language policy; regional and country-specific language policies.

Each article in the respective fields offers an overview of research progress in that field and provides several excerpts from representative papers, with each excerpt consisting of the bibliographic information, a paper summary, and core viewpoints of the paper. Thus, the Report displays representative research achievements and important progress in a clear and accessible manner.

This part has a distinctive value as a disciplinary map. It situates China's language planning research within a relatively stable framework of disciplinary fields, breaking away from fragmented discussions. By categorizing literature by research fields, the report enables readers to grasp the discipline's internal structure. It is worth noting that the "Thematic Fields" part covers not only traditional and foundational areas such as standardization and normalization of language and characters, but also emerging and frontier areas including AI-powered development of language, language industry, construction of discourse system for international communication. It suggests that language planning research in China now addresses not only questions of language norms and language education, but also issues related to digital governance, industrial development, international communication. This clearly reflects the widening scope and increasing complexity of China's language planning research.

2.4 Keywords: Refining Core Concepts through Key Terms

The "Keywords" part consists of two sections: *Keywords of China's Spoken and Written Language Work in 2024* and *Keywords in Language Policy Research in China (Series I)*. The former section lists seven keywords related to China's spoken and written language work, sorting out important events in the field in 2024 and interpreting their practical implications. In contrast, the latter presents ten additional keywords distilled from China's language planning research. For each keyword in the latter section, the Report also outlines relevant research status in 2024, defines the term, and recommends some literature to track its origin and evolution.

Although this section is relatively concise in length, it fulfills a distinctive function of knowledge organization and integration in the Report. Keywords are not merely isolated terms compiled for convenience. Rather, they represent a concentrated condensation of a discipline's knowledge accumulation and problem awareness at a given stage of development. China's language planning research is currently in a period of rapid growth and increasing maturity. Conceptual refinement and terminological standardization are thus fundamentally important. They can not only enhance the precision and concision of academic expression but also lay the groundwork for constructing the conceptual system of this discipline.

The "Keywords" part is grounded precisely in this value orientation. By refining concepts and

highlighting terminology that emerges from China's language life, language governance, and local scholarly traditions, it promotes the systematization and independence of knowledge expression in the field and provides important support for the construction of a discourse system for language planning research that embodies a Chinese standpoint, reflects Chinese experience, and possesses Chinese explanatory power.

3. Academic Value: Contributing to the Construction of an Independent Knowledge System for Language Planning in China

As an annual research report, the academic value of *Study of Language Policies in China: 2025* lies not only in its compilation of materials or integration of information. More importantly, it lies in its active exploration in the construction of an independent knowledge system for language planning in China. Its contribution may be understood in three interrelated respects.

3.1 Consolidating a China-centered Value Standpoint

The Report takes China's language planning research as its object of investigation. Throughout the Report, it remains grounded in China's linguistic conditions, national strategic needs, and local academic traditions, thereby upholding a distinctly Chinese standpoint in academic research.

In the "General Overview", the Report systematically reviews the annual research situation, the allocation of national-level research resources, and the practical development of research work led by the State Language Commission. In doing so, it is firmly rooted in the realities of the development of China's spoken and written language work and linguistic research. In particular, the article titled "*Overview of China's Language Policy Research in 2024*" takes the eight major research directions proposed in the 14th Five-Year Scientific Research Plan of the State Language Commission as its research scope. This reflects the Report's concern with "language planning research driven by the development needs of national spoken and written language works."

The "Hot Topics" part places language planning research within the context of national modernization. It examines the role of language in major national strategies, including the development of new quality productivity, the construction of a powerful country, and the creation of a strong sense of community for the Chinese nation. At the same time, it selects topics with roots in the Chinese linguistic and educational tradition, such as the ideas on Chinese language education of Ye Shengtao, a famous Chinese educationist. In its choice of hot topics, therefore, the Report demonstrates a clear orientation toward Chinese characteristics.

The Report adheres to the principle of attending to the actual conditions of China's language life and solving problems arising in it. It refines research questions from local practice and academic tradition, strengthens the subjectivity and the sense of nativeness of language planning research, and thereby consolidates the value standpoint needed for the construction of an independent knowledge system for language planning in China.

3.2 Exploring a Research Framework Grounded in China's Practice

The Report is closely connected with the realities of language life in China and with the developmental needs of national language work. It seeks to construct a research framework for language planning that reflects Chinese characteristics. The thirteen research fields presented in the "Thematic Fields" are

especially important in this regard. These fields include not only traditional core areas that have long been central to China's language work but also rapidly developing frontier areas. This part presents, in a relatively systematic manner, the knowledge map of China's language planning research. Grounded in local language planning practices, it systematically categorizes and orderly reviews the main research domains of the discipline. It clearly reveals the comprehensive research pattern currently taking shape in China's language planning studies: from domestic governance to international communication; from traditional language norms to digital and intelligent governance; from language resources to the development of the language industry; and from language education policy to the inheritance and development of language culture.

By identifying and organizing the main domains of the field, the Report participates in the building of the discipline's internal structure. This reflects an active exploration by the Chinese language planning scholarly community in clarifying the disciplinary genealogy, improving the framework of the field, and expanding its frontier boundaries. In this sense, the Report provides a research framework for the construction of an independent knowledge system for language planning in China.

3.3 Refining Chinese Terminology to Construct the Conceptual Foundation

The formation of an independent knowledge system hinges on concept creation and terminology refinement. As a key indicator of the construction of a new knowledge system, a "terminology revolution" leads to the formation of a series of original and iconic concepts (Sun Zhengyu, 2024). Therefore, refining Chinese terminology to lay the conceptual foundation is essential.

The Report recognizes this point by devoting a special part to key terms. It reviews and publishes keywords related to China's language work and to language planning research. These keywords are derived from China's language life, language governance, and academic tradition. They function as core terms and knowledge nodes through which the field can organize its intellectual resources.

The keywords selected in the Report condense theoretical concepts, points of research consensus, and professional expressions distinctive of language planning in China. They transform dispersed academic achievements into a terminological spectrum that can be transmitted, discussed, accumulated, and further developed. This work is especially important because it helps reduce excessive dependence on Western conceptual systems. The point is not to reject international scholarship, but to ensure that China's language planning research possesses the conceptual resources necessary to explain China's realities and contribute to global academic dialogue from its own standpoint. By systematically refining China-grounded terminology and core concepts, the Report contributes to the gradual formation of an academic discourse for China's language planning. It strengthens the conceptual foundations needed for theoretical interpretation, academic innovation, and academic communication. From this perspective, the "Keywords" part represents an important attempt to promote the formation of an autonomous conceptual system in Chinese language policy and planning research.

4.Conclusion

Through annual overviews of the field, reviews and excerpts of literature in hot topics and thematic fields, and the refinement of keywords, *Study of Language Policies in China: 2025* offers a relatively comprehensive presentation of the representative achievements, core issues, and developmental trends of

China's language planning research in 2024.

Of course, the Report also has certain limitations. For example, it focuses mainly on presenting the current state of research, while offering relatively limited critical reflection on the quality, problems, and methodological assumptions of existing studies. It also concentrates primarily on research that has already been conducted, and provides comparatively little prediction, guidance, or forward-looking assessment of future research trends.

Nevertheless, the overall contribution of the Report is substantial. Through its establishment of a local standpoint, its exploration of a research framework, and its refinement of core concepts, the Report actively contributes to the formation and deepening of an independent knowledge system for language planning in China. It demonstrates the academic consciousness of China's language planning scholarly community in interpreting language phenomena and solving language problems from the standpoint of China's realities. At the same time, it reveals their scholarly aspiration and practical effort to elevate Chinese experience into Chinese theory and Chinese discourse.

In this sense, the series of *Study of Language Policies in China* is more than annual reviews of scholarly production. It is also a reflective document of disciplinary self-construction. It records the development of China's language planning research in a specific year, while also participating in the longer-term project of building a knowledge system that is rooted in Chinese practice, informed by Chinese academic traditions, and capable of contributing to international discussions on language policy and planning.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Liu Sijing [ID] https://orcid.org/0009-0002-0382-5086

References

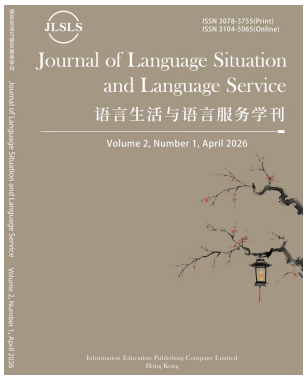
Editorial Board of *Study of Language Policies in China* (2025). *Study of Language Policies in China:2025*.The Commercial Press.

Chen Zhangtai (2015). *An Introduction to Language Planning*. The Commercial Press.

Fang Xiaobing (2025, July 3). "China's Independent Knowledge System for Language Planning: Cornerstone, Engine and Path."*Social Sciences Weekly*, p. 005.

Sun Zhengyu (2024). "Original Concepts and Iconic Concepts—Conceptual Foundations for Constructing China's Independent Knowledge System." *Social Science in China* (07):38-51+204-205.

Wang Yalan (2025). "An Introduction to the Language Planning in China over the Past Century and the Chinese School of Language Planning." *Journal of Jiangsu University (Social Science Edition)*(06): 58-68. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13317/j.cnki.jdskxb.2025.56.



JLSLS

HIEP Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.124-131**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260110anprm

语言与社会互构研究新范式

——胡范铸《社会发展语言学》评介

付　伊（Fu Yi），李昕烨（Li Xinye），吴雨珊（Wu Yushan）

摘要：胡范铸教授新著《社会发展语言学》包含了著者近年来对于中国社会语言学研究目标、问题、方法的一系列反思和探索。该书构建以目标为导向的社会语言学研究范式，即以语言研究为路径，以有效推进个体的发展、群体的发展、国家的发展、全球的发展为目标。作者从“何为语言学”的讨论开始，基于语言学知识体系的重新认识，提出何为“语言制度”，作为人权组成部分的语言权利如何在社会制度中获得恰当的安排？何为“语言能力”，不同主体语言能力如何获得、发展及保持？何为“语言治理”，语言治理的基本原则是什么？何为“社会称谓”，社会称谓如何被社会建构并同时建构出怎样的中国社会？何为“语言景观”，作为当代语言景观典型样本的“流行语”如何认识？……一系列问题。该书论述了社会语言学内在联系的重要表现是不同的假定会形成不同的社会语言学研究命题、目标和方法，明确了以“目标—问题—方法”三者统一为社会发展语言学基本研究方法。

关键词：社会发展语言学；“目标—问题—方法”统一的方法论；目标导向；社会发展

作者简介：付伊，浙江财经大学人文与传播学院副教授，研究方向：语言运用。电邮：fuyi1218@zufe.edu.cn。**李昕烨**，通讯作者，浙江财经大学人文与传播学院硕士研究生，研究方向：语言运用。电邮：xinyelii@163.com。**吴雨珊**，浙江财经大学人文与传播学院硕士研究生，研究方向：语言运用。电邮：wuyushan2022@126.com。

Received: 14 Apr 2026 / Revised: 28 Apr 2026 / Accepted: 20 May 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

Title: A New Paradigm for the Research on the Mutual Construction of Language and Societ ——A Review of Hu Fanzhu's *Societal Development Linguistics*

Abstract: Professor Hu Fanzhu's new book *Social Developmental Linguistics* summarizes his reflections and academic explorations on the research objectives, research issues and research methods of sociolinguistics in China in recent years. The book constructs a goal-oriented sociolinguistic research paradigm, which takes linguistic research as the path and aims to effectively promote the development of individuals, groups, the nation and the global community.Starting with the proposition of "what is linguistics", the author renews the understanding of linguistics as a knowledge system and raises a series of fundamental academic questions: What is language institution? How should language rights, as an essential component of human rights, be properly arranged within the social institutional system? What is language competence? How can different subjects acquire, develop and sustain their language competence? What is language governance? What are the basic principles of language governance? What are social appellations? How are social appellations socially constructed, and what form of Chinese society do they reconstruct in return? What is linguistic landscape? How should buzzwords, as a typical representation of contemporary linguistic landscape, be interpreted? This paper elaborates that the internal logical correlation of sociolinguistics is prominently reflected in the fact that different theoretical assumptions generate different research propositions, objectives and methods. It further defines the integration of goal-problem-method as the fundamental research methodology of social developmental linguistics.

Keywords: Societal Development Linguistics; Goal-Problem-Method Integrated Methodology; Goal-oriented; Societal Development

Author Biographies: Fu Yi, Associate Professor at the School of Humanities and Communication, Zhejiang University of Finance and Economics, research interest: language application. E-mail: fuyi1218@zufe.edu.cn. **Li Xinye,** Corresponding author, Master's graduate student at the School of Humanities and Communication, Zhejiang University of Finance and Economics, research interest: language service. E-mail: xinyelii@163.com. **Wu Yushan,** Master's graduate student at the School of Humanities and Communication, Zhejiang University of Finance and Economics, research interest: language service. E-mail: wuyushan2022@126.com.

一、社会责任：社会语言学研究价值的重新认识

社会语言学是以语言与社会互构研究为己任的语言学，但究竟如何将语言研究与社会发展进行有机结合，始终是一个具有挑战的命题。胡范铸教授的新著《社会发展语言学》（上海社会科学院出版社，2025 年 10 月）正是回应这一命题的集大成之作。该书汇集了作者四十余年来在语言与社会交叉研究领域的重要成果，首次提出"社会发展语言学"这一新范畴。全书以语言研究为路径，

以有效推进个体的发展、群体的发展、国家的发展、全球的发展为目标，明确了以“目标－问题－方法”三者统一为社会发展语言学基本研究方法。该书围绕语言政策、语言治理、社会称谓、语言景观、领域语言、语言教育六大领域，提出了“语言政策决策树”“规制性身份体系”“接引语”等一系列原创性概念，构建了“场景—风景—愿景”统一的原创性分析模型等，是中国原创性知识体系构建的积极实践者。该书不局限于传统社会语言学，没有停留在对语言变体与社会阶层关系的静态描写，而是将语言置于社会发展的动态进程中开展研究，在理论层面突破了传统本体与应用的对立，在方法层面实现了理论建构与实证分析的统一，在立意层面以回应中国社会发展的重大现实问题为己任。

作为华东师范大学国家话语生态研究中心主任，胡范铸教授长期致力于语言学的理论创新与社会应用研究。该书作为当代中国语言学研究具有里程碑意义的著作，为语言研究如何介入社会发展、回应时代命题提供了理论范式与实践典范。

二、形散神聚：《社会发展语言学》的语篇结构

《社会发展语言学》全书由绪论和六编构成，结构清晰，逻辑严谨。绪论提出社会发展语言学的核心范畴，后六编内容包括语言政策与能力建设、语言治理与社会治理、社会称谓与社会结构、语言景观与流行、领域语言与话语、语言教育与全球发展，形成了一个由制度到实践、由本土到全球的论述体系。

绪论提出社会发展语言学的核心范畴与研究框架。作者指出，社会发展语言学不同于传统的社会语言学，不是简单研究语言与社会阶层、性别、年龄等静态变量之间的关系，而是聚焦于语言如何参与并推动社会结构的变迁，以及社会发展如何重塑语言生态。这一界定为全书奠定了理论基调。

第一编“语言政策与语言能力研究”关注语言政策制定的驱动机制与国家语言能力建设问题。本编从语言政策、国家语言能力、中国话语体系建设、“英语”何为及“汉字危机”等话题展开深入思考。该书提出语言政策不应是简单的保护或管制，而是一个由“利益/情感+认同/承认+权利/义务”驱动、遵循平衡原则的决策过程，语言政策行为应该是“目标/语境/问题/方法”的统一。同时，作者基于“国家语言能力”研究的目标和问题的思考，提出了设计相应的解决方法是当务之急。提出语种能力是国家语言能力的基础、语言制度治理能力是国家语言行政机构的重心、语言行为交流能力是国家践行政治意图的关键、语言生产能力是人类种群延续与发展的根本。该编基于目标驱动对“中国话语体系建设”亦进行了深刻思考。

第二编“语言治理与社会治理研究”讨论从宏观政策设计转向语言在社会治理中的具体应用，关注语言在公共危机管理、政治传播等场域中的功能与作用。本编以新冠疫情为背景，提出了基于文化治理视域的信息治理分析框架，指出危机中的信息治理不仅是政策制定过程，更是文化治理过程，需要对流言、谣言、信息责任、正能量等核心概念进行重新认识。作者对“谣言”与“流言”进行辨析，强调“谣言”的举证责任在于指认者，而“流言”则可能是社会的潜望镜，不应简单封堵。在此基础上，本编构建了政治传播语言学的理论范式。

第三编“社会称谓与社会结构研究”从语言符号切入社会结构的分析，通过称谓系统的演变透视中国社会结构的变迁。本编对“称谓”与“称呼”进行了严格区分，指出称谓的本质是社会身份指称，称呼的本质是情景角色磋商，并构建了包含“规制性身份系统”和“自发性身份系统”的称谓分析框架。以关羽身份嬗变的历史个案为切入点，本编揭示了封建王朝社会中皇权集团与非皇权集团的对立统一结构。以流行语“万元户”为切口，本编深入分析了改革开放如何解构敌我对立与城乡对立的“十字架身份体系”，推动中国社会从“阶级斗争为纲”向“经济建设为纲”的转型。

第四编“语言景观与流行语研究”集中探讨语言符号如何构建社会景观，将语言与社会结构的关系从静态的身份指称拓展到动态的景观生产。本编系统阐述了景观范畴的理论内涵，提出景观是“主体在表演性的游戏活动中生产出的、被询唤出生命积极性情感和情动意义的、由特征与框架构成的形象”，并进而提出“场景—风景—愿景”统一的分析模型。通过对流行语“躺平”展开分析，本编揭示了“躺平”并非简单地放弃奋斗，而是一面坚持奋斗、一面以“可以放弃”来自我安慰的社会焦虑表达。

第五编“领域语言与话语研究”转向更具体的应用层面，将语言学分析拓展到医疗、法律、学术等具体领域，展示了社会发展语言学研究现实问题的实践能力。本编以日常家用药品为样本，从信息结构、语篇形式、符号模态三个角度考察药品标签的信息无障碍问题，提出了“信息结构的要素分布+语篇结构的排列方式+符号模态的形貌修辞”的分析框架。本编还对语言学知识体系的规训路径，包括教育制度、图书分类、项目管理、概论教材、学术期刊等进行了反思，提出应以“目标—问题—方法”为框架，构建多种研究范式，打破了传统本体与应用的对立。

第六编“语言教育与全球发展研究”将全书的理论视野从国内的社会语言生活拓展至全球的治理层面，关注国际中文教育的理念演变与发展战略。本编梳理了国际中文教育命名的演变历程，指出从“对外汉语教学”到“汉语国际教育”再到“国际中文教育”，不仅是术语的变化，更是理念的发展，从教外国人汉语到以汉语促进国际理解，从语言教学到全球发展。作者明确提出国际中文教育应以中文为媒介、以全球治理为理念开展国际理解教育，并提出“中文全球发展”的概念。针对后疫情时代的挑战，本编提出了在战略上坚守构建人类命运共同体构想、在理念上坚持以全球语言教育促进国际理解、在措施上多元并举的应对策略，主张构建“汉语+N”的教师知识结构。

三、全新范式：《社会发展语言学》的学术贡献

胡范铸教授的《社会发展语言学》在语言学研究领域作出了多方面的突破性贡献，首创社会发展语言学的研究范式，拓展了社会语言学学科研究边界和研究视野，具体概括为以下几点。

（一）构建社会发展语言学的新框架

其一，构建了“目标－问题－方法”统一的全新研究方法论，实现了社会语言学研究范式的创新。该书不是以单一研究分析为方法论，而是以“目标－问题－方法”这一研究范式为方法论。不同的假设决定不同的语言学范式，从目标出发，不同的目标会产生不同的问题，不同的问题需要设计不同的方法。传统社会语言学以研究方法为核心，研究多聚焦于语言变体与社会阶层、性别、年龄等静态变量的关系。该书创造性地提出了“目标－问题－方法”方法论，以社会发展为核心目

标，将目标作为研究的起点，通过目标界定研究问题、设计研究方法，打破了传统研究范式的局限，为社会语言学研究提供了全新的研究路径。“目标—问题—方法”的引入，使言语行为不再是孤立的表达行为，而是嵌入具体行动逻辑中的实践过程，从而为语言分析与公共政策研究之间的连接提供了可能路径。以国家利益认知为例，狭隘的国别立场为目标与全人类和谐发展的价值立场为目标，会产生不同的研究问题和研究方法，从而印证目标导向对学术研究的重要价值。基于假设的“目标-问题-方法”而展开的研究过程，意味着不同的假设各有自己的目标-问题-方法，更意味着一系列新的假设的出现，以适应语言生活的发展。不同范式之间并非“本体”与“应用”的关系，而是彼此渗透、彼此支持又彼此竞争。

其二，首创社会发展语言学研究范式，创立以目标为导向的全新研究体系。传统社会语言学多以描写、阐释、批判作为独立的研究方法，形成以方法为中心的研究范式。该书首次明确提出一种以目标为导向的社会语言学研究。该书明确提出社会发展语言学的最根本目标是：以对语言运用过程的分析入手，有效地推进人的个体的社会化、群体的互动性、全人类生活的和谐发展。研究目标决定研究问题的生成，研究问题又驱使设计不同的研究方法，目标决定了问题认知与研究路径的根本差异。以国家语言能力研究为例，“国家语言能力”研究的根本目标就是以语言和语言学研究助力国家的内部治理，助力国家参与全球治理，从而推动全社会的和谐发展，助力人类命运共同体的构建。在国家语言制度治理能力上，可以讨论的问题如“如何参与全球语言治理，提升国家在国际上的语言功能制度设计、维护、调整的参与能力？”“如何提升中文在世界各国的地位？”“如何保护全球华侨华人的祖语权利？”等。该书创立的目标导向的社会发展语言学研究范式，确立的以个体、群体、国家乃至全人类发展为目标的价值取向，建构了社会发展语言学的研究范式和研究逻辑。

（二）关键概念和分析模型的原创表达

该书提出了一系列具有解释力的原创性概念。

其一，语言政策决策树模型。作者将语言政策驱动因素概括为“利益/情感+认同/承认+权利/义务”，强调政策设计的核心原则是平衡。这一模型超越了既有研究的描写性取向，具有明确的规范性价值，为语言政策的制定与评估提供了系统的分析框架。该模型的重要意义在于，将原本隐性的政策考量因素加以结构化呈现，使语言政策分析从经验总结走向逻辑建构。同时，通过“平衡”原则的提出，作者将语言政策置于多重价值张力之中进行考察，从而避免了单一目标导向可能带来的偏差。语言政策决策树概念立足语言规划与国家治理的交叉视角，在语言制度顶层设计研究领域形成独家学术创见，具有重要的理论开创性价值。

其二，接引语。作为与“中介语”对应的二语教师语言范畴，“接引语”揭示二语教学的本质是接取与引导的统一，包含迁就、提升两个维度。接引语对于二语学习者意味着媒介性资源、对象性资源和情感性资源，对于教学者则意味着模态性迁就、语码性迁就、视听性迁就、结构性迁就、文化性迁就，以及样板性提升、拓展性提升、动机性提升。从理论功能来看，“接引语”概念突破了传统以学习者为中心的中介语研究路径，而将教学互动中的教师语言纳入核心分析对象，从而揭示了教学过程中“引导性语言实践”的复杂结构。这一概念不仅具有描述功能，还具有方法论意

义，为分析课堂互动中的语言调适机制提供了细致的分析维度，更为国际中文教育研究提供了新的理论工具。

其三，“场景—风景—愿景”统一的原创分析模型，为语言景观的解读、阐释和价值判断提供了系统的分析工具，为景观研究提供了新的学科范式，实现了经验层面与价值层面的整合。其中场景对应经验现实，风景体现符号认同，愿景指向规范目标。三者之间的动态转化关系，使语言分析能够同时处理“是什么”与“应当是什么”的问题，从而避免了经验主义与规范分析之间的割裂。这一模型也为理解语言如何在不同层级上参与社会发展提供了可操作的分析路径，将对语言生活的考察从脚下延伸到远方，从当下延伸到未来，为语言参与社会治理、国家治理与全球治理提供了系统的分析框架，丰富了语言景观研究的理论方法。

此外，该书还重新界定了“谣言”“称谓”“景观”等关键概念。作者对“谣言”“流言”“谎言”进行了辨析，强调指认“谣言”的举证责任在于指认者，对危机管理中的信息治理具有重要的实践指导意义。对“称谓”与“称呼”的区分，以及规制性身份系统与自发性身份系统的二分，将称谓研究从传统的社会语言学拓展到政治社会学层面。对“景观”范畴的系统重构，超越了居伊·德波景观社会理论的批判性取向，赋予了“景观”以建设性的理论潜能。这些概念重构的共同特点在于，通过精细化界定增强概念的区分，使其能够更准确地对应不同类型的社会现象。同时，这些概念并非停留在抽象层面，而是在具体案例分析中不断被激活，从而体现出较强的解释力与适用性。

（三）“语言—社会互构”的研究视角突破

该书的研究视角超越了传统语言研究中的语言中心倾向，强调语言与社会其他要素的互动关系。作者明确指出语言政策决策需要考虑“利益/情感”双重驱动，而非仅仅关注语言本身，需要考虑“认同/承认”的平衡，而非仅仅强调本群体的认同。作者将国家语言能力界定为“国家借助语言保障自身发展的能力”，包括对语言进行治理的能力和依据语言进行治理的能力，将语言能力与国家的整体治理能力有机结合。“语言—社会互构”的研究视角使语言研究真正走向跨学科融合，与政治学、社会学、公共管理学等学科进行有效对话。这一视角打破了“语言决定论”与“社会决定论”的二元对立，将语言理解作为嵌入社会结构的动态要素。在具体分析中，语言既受到制度安排、权力结构与文化传统的制约，同时又通过话语实践反作用于这些结构，从而形成一种循环互动的关系。这种处理方式，使语言研究能够更好地解释复杂社会现象中的多重因果机制。

由此亦可见该书的跨学科意识。作者不仅借鉴了语言学内部各分支的理论资源，还广泛吸纳了政治学、传播学、社会学、哲学、文化研究等领域的成果。通过对政治传播语言学、文化治理、事件哲学、情动理论等概念的引入，使语言研究能与更广泛的人文社会科学对话。这种跨学科视野，既拓展了语言学的边界，也提升了语言研究回应社会问题的能力。值得注意的是，这种跨学科整合并非简单的概念拼接，而是围绕具体问题展开的功能性整合。例如，在政治传播分析中，语言不仅是传播内容，还构成权力运作的方式；在情动理论的引入中，语言被视为情感动员的重要机制。这种以问题为导向的整合路径，让不同学科资源能够在统一分析框架中发挥作用。

（四）理论建构与实证分析的统一

在方法论方面，该书呈现出理论建构与实证分析相统一的鲜明特点。一方面，作者善于从概念史入手考察观念变迁，如通过对“万元户”兴衰的追踪，揭示改革开放以来中国身份系统的根本转型。另一方面，作者将话语分析与政策分析相结合，既关注政策的文本形态，更关注政策的驱动机制和实施效果。理论结合个案展开分析避免了理论建构与经验研究之间的割裂。通过概念史分析揭示语言形式背后的历史结构，又通过现实案例检验理论框架的解释力，从而形成理论与经验之间的循环互动。

（五）以语言研究回应社会重大议题

该书始终以回应社会重大议题为己任。从“躺平”舆情分析到“学伴”事件解读，从“万元户”身份嬗变到“药品标签”无障碍化研究，从“国家语言能力”建设到“国际中文教育”战略思考，作者的研究始终紧扣当代中国社会发展中的重大现实问题。这种问题导向的研究路径，不仅使语言学研究获得了强大的社会生命力，也为相关政策制定提供了学理支撑。正如作者所强调的，中国学术话语体系建设的目标应是向全人类文明体系贡献中国知识、中国思想、中国智慧，这既是一种学术自觉，更是一种社会担当。从学科发展角度看，这种问题导向意味着语言学研究正在从“知识积累型”走向“问题回应型”。语言不再只是分析对象，而成为理解社会问题与提出解决方案的重要工具。这种转向不仅拓展了语言学的现实功能，也在一定程度上重塑了其学科定位，使其更具公共性与实践意义。

四、结语

《社会发展语言学》是胡范铸教授四十余年学术生涯的集大成之作，它既是对中国社会语言生活的深刻洞察，也是对全球语言学理论的重要贡献。该书以“社会发展语言学”这一新范畴，将语言研究从静态的社会变量描写提升到动态的社会发展互构层面，构建了贯通微观与宏观、本土与全球、理论与实践的分析框架。

该书的突出贡献体现在理论层面，第一，创建了从目标出发研究社会语言学，从而形成了“社会发展语言学”的基本框架。它不是以单一研究分析为方法论，任何研究范式都应该是包括目标、问题、方法的统一：不同的目标设定，决定了不同的问题发现，不同的问题发现决定了不同的方法设计；第二，明确以“目标－问题－方法”作为第一基本方法论。同时，提出“语言是社会发展的镜像与动力”这一命题，构建了“场景—风景—愿景”分析模型。概念层面，提出“语言政策决策树”“接引语”等原创概念，并重新界定了“谣言”“称谓”“景观”等关键概念。方法层面，实现了概念史分析、话语分析与政策分析、理论模型与个案研究的有机结合。立意层面，始终以回应中国社会发展的重大现实问题为己任，彰显了语言学研究的时代担当。

作为一部力图构建宏观理论框架的著作，该书在某些方面仍有进一步拓展的空间。例如，在数字技术与语言发展的关系上，虽然书中已有初步探讨如数字孤独，但随着人工智能和大语言模型的快速发展，数字时代的语言变异与语言治理问题值得更深入的系统研究。此外，该书的理论框架主要基于中国社会语言生活的经验，如何将这一框架拓展到跨文化比较研究中，也是未来值得探索的方向。

总之，《社会发展语言学》不仅为语言学研究提供了新的理论范式，更为语言学如何结合社会发展、回应时代命题提供了典范。它启示我们语言学的根本使命，不是固守学科边界，而是以开放的姿态、以目标为导向，为社会发展作出贡献。

基金项目：本文系浙江财经大学教改课题“基于科教融汇协同育人模式的创新拔尖人才培养探索——以专业基础课《现代汉语》教学实践为例”的阶段性成果。

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Fu Yi ID https://orcid.org/0009-0007-8930-5781

Li Xinye ID https://orcid.org/0009-0009-0325-1159

Wu Yushan ID https://orcid.org/0009-0001-2772-1145

References

胡范铸（2025）：《社会发展语言学》。上海社会科学院出版社。ISBN 号：978-7-5520-4861-2。

[Hu Fanzhu (2025). Social Development Linguistics. Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press.]

胡范铸（2025）：“元规则：新言语行为分析的一个重要范畴”，华东师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版）57(05):90-104。

[Hu Fanzhu (2025). Meta-Rules:An Important Category in the New Speech Act Analysis. Journal of East China Normal University (Humanities and Social Sciences) 57(05), 90-104. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16382/j.cnki.1000-5579.2025.05.008.]

张虹倩、胡范铸（2025）：“话语框架的‘元框架’：基于‘新言语行为分析’的思考”，外语教学理论与实践（04）：1-11。

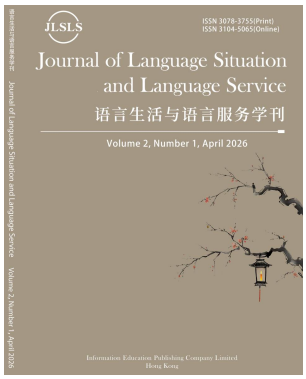
[Zhang Hongqian, Hu Fanzhu (2025). The “meta-frame” of discourse frames: Reflections based on “New Speech Act Analysis”. Foreign Language Teaching Theory and Practice (04), 1–11.DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1674-1234.2025.04.001.]

胡范铸（2024）：“元主体、社会身份、情景角色：言语主体范畴的重新分析”，复旦学报（社会科学版）66(03):90-103。

[Hu Fanzhu (2024). Meta-subject, Social Identity and Situational Role:A Re-analysis of the Category of Speech Subject. Fudan Journal (Social Sciences) 66(03), 90–103. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.0257-0289.2024.03.012.]

胡范铸、郭晔丹（2025）：“全球发展视域下的‘国际中文教育专业学位’建设”，华文教学与研究(03):1-7。

[Hu Fanzhu, Guo Yedan (2025). A global development perspective on the construction of professional degrees in International Chinese Language Education. Journal of Chinese Language Teaching and Studies (03), 1–7. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16131/j.cnki.cn44-1669/g4.2025.03.001.]



JLSLS

HIEP Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.132-139**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260111lplsr

语言服务研究的新探索

——《语言服务的价值与战略研究》评介

尹小荣(Yin Xiaorong)，韩雪瑶（Han Xueyao）

摘要：本文评述的新时代语言服务研究成果是由江苏扬州大学李现乐副教授撰写，由中国社会科学出版社 2022 年出版的近 30 万字学术专著。该书运用语言规划学、语言经济学、语言资源学、语言生态学和语言服务的创新理论，构建了语言服务提供者、语言服务接受者、语言服务内容和语言服务方式的宏观体系，并建构了定量和文本的实证分析范式。该书的创新性体现在深化了行业语言服务研究，促进了语言服务研究的时代性，提升了应用语言研究的经济价值，增加了文化传承传播的有效路径，增强了社会和谐和均衡发展。该专著多领域、多视角、深层次地介绍了新时代的语言服务与社会经济发展，并提出了相应的战略和规划建议。

关键词：行业语言服务；经济价值；文化价值；语言战略

作者简介：尹小荣，通讯作者，教授，新疆师范大学外国语学院，南京大学中国语言战略研究中心兼职研究员，研究方向：社会语言学、语言政策与规划、教师教育与发展。电邮：helenyin2002@sina.cn。**韩雪瑶，**新疆师范大学国际文化交流学院研究生，研究方向为语言服务。电邮：everyday.yao124@foxmail.com。

Title: Late Development in Language Service——A Review of *Value and Policy of Language Services*

Received: 01 Feb 2026 / Revised: 28 Mar 2026 / Accepted: 16 Apr 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

Abstract: This book review introduces the recent 300,000-word research on professional language services in the new era written by Associate Professor Li Xianle from Yangzhou University, Jiangsu Province of China. The book originally construct a macro-level system encompassing language service providers, language service recipients, language service content and language service methods by integrating theories of language planning, language economics, language resources, language ecology with that of language services. It also establishes empirical analysis paradigms combining quantitative and textual approaches. It deepens and advances the insight of professional language services, also intensifies the economic and cultural value of applied linguistic research.

Keywords: professional language services; economic value; cultural value; language strategy

Author Biographies: Yin Xiaorong, Corresponding author, professor in College of Foreign Languages of Xinjiang Normal University and invited Researcher of China Language Strategy Research Center, Nanjing University, China. Mainly researches in sociolinguistics, language policy and planning, teacher education and professional development. E-mail: helenyin2002@sina.cn.**Han Xueyao**, graduate candidate of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, International Cultural College of Xinjiang Normal University, China.E-mail:everyday.yao124@foxmail.com.

《语言服务的价值与战略研究》（李现乐 2022.7《语言服务的价值与战略研究：经济与文化视角》，北京：中国社会科学出版社，Ⅷ+253 页。）体现了新时代语言服务的最新研究成果（李现乐，2022）。全书近 30 万字，运用语言规划学、语言经济学、语言资源学、语言生态学和语言服务的创新理论，构建了语言服务提供者、语言服务接受者、语言服务内容和语言服务方式的宏观体系，并建构了定量和文本的实证分析范式。该专著多领域、多视角、深层次地介绍了新时代的语言服务与社会经济发展，并提出了相应的战略和规划建议，其扎实的理论基础、实证参考及前沿指导使该书具有了较强的学术价值和实际应用价值。下面笔者从研究背景、内容介绍和研究不足与展望对该专著加以评述。

一、研究背景

语言服务实践自古有之，但是“语言服务”作为一个学术概念提出仅有十余年。长期以来，国内学界与公众对“语言服务”的认知多局限于翻译、解释等狭义的语言转换活动，未能充分重视语言服务作为国家发展体系重要组成部分的多元功能与深层结构（蒋佩云，2025）。在国际上，这一概念的内涵从“翻译公司”逐步演变为本地化服务及语言技术支持的“语言服务提供商”（Language Service Provider），其内涵已拓展至市场与业态层面。李现乐副教授的优秀博士论文《语言服务与服务语言》（2011）是国内第一篇研究语言服务的博士论文，对于拓宽研究范围具有重要的推进意义。之后他又发表相关成果数篇，在语言服务领域扎下了自己的学术根据地（李现

乐，2012a，2012b，2014，2016，2018，2020; 邢欣、张全生，2016）。在 2016 年和 2020 年商务印书馆出版的第一本教材《语言服务引论》和第一本语言服务绿皮书《中国语言服务发展报告》以及其他数本《中国语言生活状况》绿皮书中，都有李现乐博士的贡献（屈哨兵，2016，2020）。虽然他在该领域已体现了较深厚的学术积淀，但此次出版的《语言服务的价值与战略研究》依然体现了勤于探索，乐于创新的精神。

语言服务有狭义和广义之分。狭义而言，是指以语言文字为内容或手段为他人或社会提供帮助，或者提供有助于转换语言信息的技术、工具、知识、技能等，协助人们完成语言信息的转换处理（李现乐，2010；赵世举，2012）。广义的语言服务指以语言为内容或产品的行为活动，具备政治、经济、文化价值。语言服务由语言服务购买方、语言服务提供方、语言技术提供方、语言服务行业协会、语言服务人才教育方、语言服务咨询和研究方构成（王立非，2016）。国内语言服务大致有三个研究视角：第一，基于语言经济、价值效益、语言消费等视角展开的语言服务产业探讨（黄乐平等，2022；李现乐，2011；李艳，2022）。学者们论证了语言服务作为第三产业对区域经济发展提供的支撑，满足区域协同发展需求的软实力，以及助力乡村振兴的经济属性与社会价值等（曹进、常皓，2022；崔启亮、郑丽萌，2022）。第二，以语言翻译专业服务为核心的学科体系、人才培养和产学研融合等研究（刘和平、韩林涛，2022；王立非，2021；王立非、刘和平，2022）。除了理论探讨之外，学者们关注大型国际赛事、会议的语言服务、公共领域的多语服务和应急语言服务等。第三，依附于各行业特别是服务行业的语言服务研究。行业语言服务的属性、功能、角色和价值表现都有一定的依附性和领域性特征，其质量评价也有一定特殊性，例如军事、医疗、金融、旅游、教育和出租车等行业的语言服务等（李现乐，2011，2012a；李艳、齐晓帆，2016；夏历、董杉，2014；杨晓青、梁晓波，2023）。专业语言服务固然能够挖掘语言资源的显性经济价值，提升语言的交际工具性能、领域使用功能和应用效益等，但行业语言服务的社会价值、文化价值和战略价值等隐性价值是长期被忽视的问题。因此，《语言服务的价值与战略研究》有益补充了这一部分的不足。

二、内容介绍

该书大体分为四个部分：第一部分的第一章介绍行业语言服务的属性、特点以及语言服务价值的相关理论。并在此基础上建构了实证研究的理论框架与思路。第二部分的第二、三章是语言服务的实证研究，作者调查医疗、金融、美容、旅游等领域的行业语言服务，分析各领域行业语言服务的基本特点、存在问题以及相应的解决办法，并从中总结语言服务在各领域行业中的价值功能。由第四、五章构成的第三部分新时代语言服务研究分析了在当代社会经济发展中语言服务的地位和价值，并以实证数据证明了语言服务在乡村振兴与网络空间中的功能和作用。最后一章的结束篇从语言规划和语言管理的视角分析如何完善行业语言服务规划，提升语言服务的价值功能。下文详细介绍该书的具体内容。

第一章介绍了行业语言服务的基本问题，特别是行业语言服务的隐性非经济价值。专业语言服务固然具有较高的市场化程度，其显性经济价值显而易见，但行业语言服务的文化价值、社会价值

和军事价值也不容忽视，因为在文化传承和文化创新中，在消解语言矛盾构建和谐语言生活中，在维护国家军事安全以及非传统安全中，行业语言服务都有重要的理论和实践意义。行业语言服务虽然并非行业核心服务，具有服务性和依附性的特征，但语言服务可以完成信息传递和情感感染的功能。对行业语言服务质量的评价可以从对语言服务的认知、服务语言的规范使用、消费者反馈和语言管理几个方面展开。同时考虑服务单位的语言意识、服务人员的语言服务意识和语言能力等影响因素。

第二章呈现了医疗和金融行业语言服务的调查结果。行业语言服务需要遵守一定的语用原则，话语双方的语言行为需要契合语境、顺应语境，言语交际过程中应当遵循质、量、关系和方式的准则。从医务人员和医院管理中的语言服务以及患者的语言需求三个角度来看，医患双方对口语交际过程中的礼貌用语和不良语言行为都有较高的意识，但患者对语言的情感抚慰和关怀并不满意。患者认为医生除了陈述医疗信息和医疗效果，还应当关注语言的心理辅助治疗以及言语表达的态度和准确性。虽然当前电子病历的广泛使用减轻了天书病历、处方不清的信息不对称问题，但医院的导医指示和宣传类书面语服务仍存在不同程度的错误、不规范以及外文翻译不恰当等问题。作者建议应当加强医务人员的语言服务意识和沟通能力，营造良好的医院语言环境，增加医患之间的相互理解与宽容。相较而言，金融行业的语言服务意识和文明用语都更好。但是由于金融系统和银行服务的专业性较强，口语服务出现话语内容不真实、信息量不足、沟通障碍多以及话语生硬等问题。书面语存在专业信息量过大、关键信息不突出和内容生涩难懂等问题。金融行业的特殊语言（如盲文）服务能力不足，条件设施不完善。作者建议金融行业语言服务员工应当进一步增强语言服务意识，提升银行专业信息服务的质量和效率，关注特殊人群、提供必要的特殊语言服务。

第三章是对美容和金融行业展开的语言服务个案研究。作者以语言资源和语言经济为理论视角，从语言要素资源（语音、词汇、语义）、语种资源（母语、外语及语言变体）和类型资源（语音、文字、语体、语用和风格）三个方面描述了语言的信息沟通和情感交流价值。语言服务个体会选择信息沟通价值较高的汉语普通话资源，在特定情境下也会重视具有情感交流价值的方言资源；服务人员在口头语言服务上意识较强，对书面语服务意识和能力投入都不足。从语言服务单位的服务意识、行为和效益分析，单位重视口头语言服务而忽视书面语言服务；虽然有较强的语言服务意识，但缺乏系统的语言学理论指导，会导致一定程度盲目、重复和琐碎的语言服务规范、行为培训以及效果评价等。

第四章创新性地提出了新时代语言服务的重要研究议题和未来发展趋势。作者明确了语言服务的交叉学科属性，建议吸收生态学、社会语言学、语言规划学、语言经济学、信息技术科学和语言资源学的相关理念，特别要以语言本体研究作为重要的理论支撑。广泛研究通用语、方言、少数民族语言等各种类型的语言服务，在新时代更加凸显语言的经济价值、文化价值和军事价值。作者建议，除却语种服务之外，应更多关注不同表现形态的语言服务（如书面语、口语及体势语、特殊语言服务）；在语言服务提供者的视角之外，也应从语言消费视角考察服务的效果和效益，分析语言消费的内容和形态；为促进新时代背景下城市语言环境建设、乡村振兴和区域经济发展以及“互联网+”时代的网络语言管理，应当充分发展产业语言服务、行业语言服务以及国家语言服务事业。

第五章继续拓展了乡村振兴和虚拟空间中的语言服务研究。作者描述了江苏中部乡村语言行为、语言能力和语言态度的语言生态基本面貌。发现乡村公共领域的普通话使用率更高，学习需求也较为强烈；非正式场合方言使用占优势，同时情感依赖也强；乡村居民对外语能力有一定程度的期望。但是，乡村语言生态也存在不和谐的现象：公共场合语言文字不和谐、不规范，拼音外文译写不规范、不统一，家庭语言暴力，不健康、不成型的语言内容等问题亟需解决。因此作者建议为促进乡村经济发展、文化建设和社会和谐，应提供乡村语言政策引导服务、语言教育培训服务、语言文化服务和语言经济服务等。网络空间的语言服务主要涉及网站语言管理者和网络文字编辑师的语言服务问题。宏观上国家需要完善网络语言标准法律法规，提升语言政策服务和语言技术标准服务；需要对网络文字编辑师行业加以规范管理，提供语言专业技能培训服务。微观上就编辑师个体而言，需要提升他们的语言规范意识和工作认真程度；加强他们语言理论修养，提升甄别语言文字问题、编辑校对语言文字形式内容的能力水平。而就电子商务这一领域的语言服务而言，客服人员需要得体、高效地使用语言与顾客沟通，完成网上交际活动，以便电子商务交易以及后续服务活动的顺利进行。

第六章从语言规划与政策视角分析了语言服务的现实价值和长远战略意义。作者再次强调了行业语言服务能够给消费者、客户带来不同的体验感受，对于以盈利为目的的核心服务项目有重要的增益功能；对文化传承与创新，文化品位和艺术鉴赏力的提升有重要意义；能更好地保障不同社会成员（如病人、老年人、特殊残障人士以及少数民族）的语言权利及语言需求，构建和谐的语言生活。作者提出语言服务规划应当在语言问题观和语言资源观的双重指导下，从语言服务的提供方和消费方两个方面开展规划。提供方的语言服务规划可从不同层次展开：国家/政府加强对语言资源的管理，对语言经济行为和语言经济活动的规划；社会单位在语言资源选择、语言行为规范、语言实践评价、语言技能培训、语言环境建设等方面完善语言服务制度、加强引导；个人层面根据发展目标需求和现实环境，选择、管理自己的语言资源，丰富个人语言知识，更新语言服务理念，提升语言技能水平，最终达到利用语言资源获得经济回报和个人利益最大化。语言消费和服务是相对的，规划者需要合理引导消费者的主动、理性和自觉，并做好规范管理工作。语言消费规划需要关注消费者的个体特征，从具体领域行业和外部环境来维护良好的消费秩序。

三、创新与展望

该专著创见性地将语言视为资源，认为良好的专业语言服务可以增加显性的经济价值，具有依附性和服务性的行业语言服务也能体现较高的文化价值、社会价值、军事价值等非经济价值。作者以不同领域、不同社会发展空间为例，论述了不同层次语言服务规划的不足，并提出了相关建议。该书的创新性体现在：第一，深化了行业语言服务研究。以语言服务理论为统领，展开了行业语言服务的价值分析、属性功能、地位角色以及质量评价等方面的研究。第二，促进了语言服务研究的时代性。从行业、产业和事业三个方面描述了新时代语言服务的基本面貌和发展趋势，并提出了新时代语言服务研究的重要议题和研究维度。第三，提升了应用语言研究的经济价值。理论上说语言资源具有经济价值这一点学界已经普遍共识，但深入挖掘语言服务通过信息传递和情感表达带来的

附加经济价值，实属创新。第四，增加了文化传承传播的有效路径。将历史文化街区建设或乡村传统文化的传承创新都融入语言服务当中，同时研究语言服务助力中华文化走出去，推进国家传播能力的建设。第五，增强了社会和谐和均衡发展。语言意识和语言服务意识的增强有利于减少多语社区的矛盾冲突，合理调整社会语言服务的供需关系，建设良好的语言生态环境。

但是，笔者认为该专著的观点在以下方面还可以继续深化和拓展，增加理论和实证研究的贡献度：首先，继续从学理上建立行业语言和服务语言的规范标准。该书指出行业语言服务对行业核心业务的增益作用，也发现从业人员核心业务语言和服务语言的结合不甚紧密，导致信息传递和情感表达的功能实现不佳。但作者并未以语言学理论为根基，提出可操作性的服务方式。建议未来可以在突出行业特征的基础上，建立各领域业务语言规范和服务语言规范标准，并提出两者配合协调的原则，为从业者提出更切实有效的工作建议。其次，深化语言消费规划的相关研究。作者描述了语言消费的类型及特征，提倡引导与管理语言消费意识和行为。但在需求角度分析消费行为，或概括语言消费的共性特征方面，不免让人意犹未尽。建议作者日后继续深化相关研究，为语言服务战略提供切实的决策参考。最后，继续拓展新时代语言服务研究的领域和议题。需要语言服务辅助的行业形形色色，如批发零售业、交通运输业、邮政业、酒店业、科研和技术服务业、文体娱乐业以及国际组织，等等。新时代语言服务社会经济发展的议题也还有国家和城市形象和文化产业发展等。建议日后相关研究者继续延伸语言服务的研究领域，进一步增加语言服务研究的社会服务宽度。

基金项目：本研究受到教育部人文社科基金（23YJA740050）、教育部中外语言交流合作中心中外合作项目（22YH41ZW）、自治区社科基金（2023VZJ017）、新疆文化名家项目（2024WHMJ026）以及自治区社科联新时代党的治疆方略理论与实践研究课题（2025ZJFLY36）的资助。

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

ORCID

Yin Xiaorong ID https://orcid.org/0009-0007-2249-1145

Han Xueyao ID https://orcid.org/0009-0006-4474-1259

References

曹进、常皓（2022）：“语言符号的经济属性与社会价值研究”，《丝绸之路》 (1): 53-59。

[Cao Jin, Chang Hao (2022). “Research on the Economic Attributes and Social Value of Linguistic Symbols.” *The Silk Road* (1): 53-59. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1005-3115.2022.01.010.]

崔启亮、郑丽萌（2022）：“京津冀协同发展的语言服务企业调查分析及启示”，《语言服务研究》2(00): 94-109。

[Cui Qiliang, Zheng Limeng (2022).“Survey and Analysis of Language Service Enterprises in the Coordinated Development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region and Its Implications.” *Language Service Research* 2(00): 94-109.]

黄乐平、刘洋、朱英夫（2022）：“语言服务产业与区域经济耦合机制构建研究”，《天津商业大学学报》42(5): 59-65+ 73.

[Huang Leping, Liu Yang, Zhu Yingfu (2022). "Research on the Construction of Coupling Mechanism between Language Service Industry and Regional Economy." *Journal of Tianjin University of Commerce* 42(5): 59-65+73. DOI: https://doi.org/10.15963/j.cnki.cn12-1401/f.2022.05.009.]

蒋佩云（2025）："赋能中国式现代化：语言服务的战略价值与实践路径——评《中国语言服务发展报告（2024）》"，《语言生活与语言服务学刊》（02）：374。

[Jiang Peiyun (2025)."Empowering Chinese-Style Modernization: The Strategic Value and Practical Paths of Language Services ——A Review of the China Language Service Development Report (2024)" *Journal of Language Situation and Language Service* (02):374 DOI: https://doi.org/10.64058/JLSLS.25.2.17.]

李现乐（2010）："语言资源和语言问题视角下的语言服务研究"，《云南师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版） 》（05): 16-21。

[Li Xianle (2010). "Research on Language Services from the Perspective of Language Resources and Language Issues." *Journal of Yunnan Normal University(Humanities and Social Sciences Edition)* (05): 16-21. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1000-5110.2010.05.003.]

李现乐（2011）："语言服务与服务语言"，南京大学。

[Li Xianle (2011). *Language Service and Service Language.* Nanjing University.]

李现乐（2012a）："南京服务行业语言服务调查"，《中国社会语言学》（01): 93-106。

[Li Xianle (2012a). "Survey on Language Services in Nanjing's Service Industry." *The Journal of Chinese Socialinguistics* (01): 93-106.]

李现乐（2012b）："语言服务的价值与效益——以南京语言服务调查为例"，《制度经济学研究》(02): 172-186。

[Li Xianle (2012b). "The Value and Benefits of Language Services: A Case Study of Nanjing Language Service Survey." *Research of Institutional Economics* (02): 172-186.]

李现乐（2014）："语言消费的个体差异——基于南京服务行业的语言调查"，《语言政策与规划研究》（02): 32-44。

[Li Xianle (2014). "Individual Differences in Language Consumption: A Language Survey Based on the Service Industry in Nanjing." *Language Policy and Planning* (02): 32-44.]

李现乐（2020）："乡村振兴背景下的语言生态建设与语言服务研究：基于苏中三市的乡村语言调查"，《语言文字应用》（1）。

[Li Xianle (2020). "Language Ecology Construction and Language ServiceAgainst the Backdrop of Rural Vitalization——Based on the Survey of Rural Languagesin the Three Cities of Central Jiangsu." *Applied Linguistics*(1). DOI: https://doi.org/10.16499/j.cnki.1003-5397.2020.01.003.]

李现乐（2022）：《语言服务的价值与战略研究：经济与文化视角》。北京： 中国社会科学出版社。

[Li Xianle (2022). *Research on the Value and Strategy of Language Services: Economic and Cultural Perspectives.* Beijing: China Social Sciences Press.]

李现乐（2016）："语言服务的显性价值与隐性价值——兼及语言经济贡献度研究的思考"，《语言文字应用》(3): 114-123。

[Li Xianle (2016). "Explicit and Implicit Values of Language Service—And Discussions on the Economic Contribution of Language." *Applied Linguistics* (3): 114-123. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16499/j.cnki.1003-5397.2016.03.013.]

李现乐（2018）："语言服务研究的若干问题思考"，《云南师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》50(2): 51-57。

[Li Xianle (2018). "Thoughts on Several Issues in Language Service Research." *Journal of Yunnan Normal University(Humanities and Social Sciences Edition)* 50(2): 51-57. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1000-5110.2018.02.007.]

李艳（2022）："语言产业与语言生活"，《昭通学院学报》44(3): 76-83。

[Li Yan (2022)."Language Industry and Language Life."*Journal of Zhaotong University* 44(3): 76-83. DOI:

https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1008-9322.2022.03.012.]

李艳、齐晓帆（2016）：“城市人文形象构建下的行业语言服务能力研究——以旅游行业中导游语言服务为例”，《文化产业研究》（01): 192-204。

[Li Yan, Qi Xiaofan (2016).“Research on Industry Language Service Capability under the Construction of Urban Humanistic Image: Taking Tour Guide Language Service in the Tourism Industry as an Example.” *Cultural Industry Research* (01): 192-204.]

刘和平、韩林涛（2022）：“新文科背景下融合型语言服务人才培养模式”，《外语教育研究前沿》5(04): 27-33。

[Li Heping, Han Lintao (2022).“Integrated Language Service Talent Training Model under the Background of New Liberal Arts.” *Foreign Language Education in China* 5(04): 27-33. DOI: https://doi.org/10.20083/j.cnki.fleic.2022.04.004.]

屈哨兵（2016）：《语言服务引论》。北京：商务印书馆。

[Qu Shaobing (2016). *Introduction to Language Services*. Beijing: Commercial Press.]

屈哨兵（2020）：《中国语言服务发展报告》。北京：商务印书馆。

[Qu Shaobing (2020). *Report on the Development of Language Services in China.* Beijing: Commercial Press.]

王立非（2021）：“从语言服务大国迈向语言服务强国：再论语言服务、语言服务学科、语言服务人才”，《北京第二外国语学院学报》（1）。

[Wang Lifei (2021).“Moving from a language service powerhouse to a language service powerhouse: further discussion on language services, language service disciplines, and language service talents.” *Journal of Beijing International Studies University*(1).]

王立非、刘和平（2022）：“‘新文科’国际语言服务学科内涵与培养模式”，《中国 Esp 研究》(03): 1-9。

[Wang Lifei, Liu Heping (2022).“The connotation and training mode of the New Humanities international language service discipline.” *Languages for Specific Purposes* (03): 1-9.]

王立非主编（2016）：《中国企业“走出去”语言服务蓝皮书》。北京：对外经济贸易大学出版社。

[Wang Lifei (Ed.) (2016). *Blue book of language service for Chinese enterprise globalization.* Beijing: University of International Business and Economics Press.]

夏历、董杉（2014）：“沈阳市出租车行业语言服务现状调查”，《沈阳师范大学学报（社会科学版）》（02）:117-120。

[Xia Li, Dong Shan (2014).“Survey on the Current Status of Language Services in the Taxi Industry in Shenyang City.” *Journal of Shenyang Normal University(Social Science Edition)* (02): 117-120. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19496/j.cnki.ssxb.2014.02.036.]

邢欣、张全生（2016）：“‘一带一路’倡议下的语言需求与语言服务”，《中国语文》(06): 761-765。

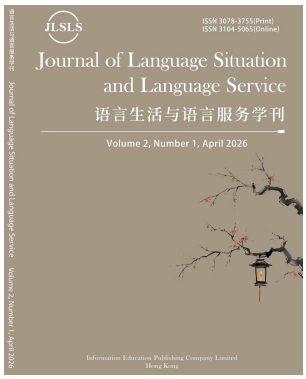
[Xing Xin, Zhang Quansheng (2016).“Language needs and services under the the Belt and Road Initiative.” *Studies of the Chinese Language* (06): 761-765.]

杨晓青、梁晓波（2023）：“海外非战争军事行动中的军队应急语言能力建设”，《国防科技》44(01): 62-71。

[Yang Xiaoqing, Liang Xiaobo (2023).“The Construction of Military Emergency Language Capability in Non War Military Operations Overseas.” *National Defense Technology* 44(01): 62-71. DOI: https://doi.org/10.13943/j.issn1671-4547.2023.01.10.]

赵世举（2012）：“从服务内容看语言服务的界定和类型”，《北华大学学报（社会科学版）》(03): 4-6。

[Zhao Shiju (2012).“Definition and Types of Language Services from the Perspective of Service Content.” *Journal of Beihua University(Social Sciences)* (03): 4-6. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1009-5101.2012.03.002.]



JLSLS

HIEP Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.140-148**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260112aephs

语言景观视窗中的南洋华语生态透视

——评《东南亚华人社会语言景观研究》

赵　敏（Zhao Min）

摘要：近年来，随着“一带一路”倡议推进与中华文化海外传播的深入，东南亚华语资源的保护与传承进入国家语言规划的视野。祝晓宏《东南亚华人社会语言景观研究》正是在这一宏观背景下应运而生。该书以语言景观为切入点，对新加坡、马来西亚、泰国、印度尼西亚、菲律宾五国华人社会的语言使用状况展开了系统考察。该书突破了传统海外华语研究偏重本体描写的局限，将微观语言变异与宏观语言生态有机结合，在研究视角、方法论和理论建构等方面均有所创新。全书贯穿着对东南亚华人社会历史命运的深切关怀，对街巷招牌背后无数普通华人的生活图景饱含温情。综合来看，该书不仅为海外华语研究提供了新的范式，也为语言景观研究的本土化发展做出了重要贡献。

关键词：语言景观；东南亚华人社会；华语生态；语言传承

作者简介：赵敏，暨南大学华文学院海外华语及华文教学专业硕士研究生，研究方向：华语研究。电邮：zm210666@163. com。

Title: An Ecological Perspective on Huayu in Southeast Asia through the Lens of Linguistic Landscape——A Review of Studies on t*he Linguistic Landscape of Chinese Communities in Southeast Asia*

Received: 24 Mar 2026 / Revised: 17 Apr 2026 / Accepted: 25 Apr 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

Abstract: Professor Zhu Xiaohong's Studies on t*he Linguistic Landscape of Chinese Communities in Southeast Asia* takes the linguistic landscape as an entry point to systematically investigate language use within Chinese communities across five Southeast Asian countries: Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines. This work transcends the limitations of traditional overseas Huayu studies, which have tended to emphasize ontological description, by effectively integrating micro-level linguistic variation with macro-level language ecology, thereby achieving innovations in research perspective, methodology, and theoretical development. Throughout the book, a profound concern for the historical circumstances of Chinese societies in Southeast Asia is evident, alongside a compassionate portrayal of the life situations of countless ordinary Chinese individuals behind the shop signs. In summary, this book not only offers a new paradigm for the study of Huayu overseas, but also makes a significant contribution to the localized development of linguistic landscape research.

Keywords: linguistic landscape; Chinese communities in Southeast Asia; Huayu ecology; Heritage Language Maintenance

Author Biography: Zhao Min, Master's student in Overseas Huayu and Chinese Language Education, College of Chinese Language and Culture, Jinan University. Research Focus: Huayu studies.E-mail: zm210666@163.com.

在城市的街道上，文字从来不只是招揽生意的工具。那些或悬于门楣或贴于橱窗或镌于石碑的汉字，凝聚着几代人的迁徙记忆与生存选择。祝晓宏先生的《东南亚华人社会语言景观研究》（中国社会科学出版社，2024），正是从这种微观日常的视角出发，走进新加坡、马来西亚、泰国、印度尼西亚、菲律宾五国华人社区，细读那些沉默的视觉符号，从可见的笔画中，读出不可见的历史命运与语言生态格局。

这部著作并非单纯的语言学田野报告，而是兼具学术严谨与人文关怀的研究成果。作者在田野调查中积累了 5000 余张华语标识照片，以此为基础，系统呈现东南亚华人社会语言实践的真实图景。本文将就该书的问题意识、研究对象、主要发现、方法特色及理论意义加以梳理与评介，探析其中所蕴含的价值关怀，并对若干议题的延伸可能略作展望。

一、问题意识：语言景观为何值得认真对待

语言景观（Linguistic Landscape）研究兴起于 20 世纪末，其核心关切是公共空间中语言的可见性——哪些语言出现在街道、商店、政府机构的标识上，又以何种方式出现。这个看似简单的问题背后，牵连着语言政策的执行效果、社区认同的维系方式，乃至一个族群在所在国政治秩序中的真实处境。

相当长一段时间内，海外华语研究主要在两个层面展开：一是本体研究，关注词汇、语法等结构层面的变异；二是使用研究，通过问卷调查考察华语的社会功能与使用现状。两种路径各有所长，但也存在共同的局限——本体研究难以反映活生生的语言生活图景，使用研究又无法深入语言结构的细部。更重要的是，两者之间缺乏有效的沟通机制，很难让微观的语言变异分析与宏观的社会语言学观察彼此印证。

祝晓宏先生这部著作的学术贡献之一，便是找到了连接两个层面的有效路径。语言景观兼具文本性与社会性：其是可以进行本体分析的真实语言材料，也是折射社会关系、权力结构和历史记忆的符号场域。正如作者在书中所指出的，语言景观“不仅反映语言生态，也能重构新的语言生态”。不仅表明语言景观作为研究对象具有独特价值，也为全书的理论展开奠定了基调。

与此同时，该书的问题意识并不仅仅停留在学术层面，更深植于其对东南亚华人社会语言现实的深切关怀。印度尼西亚的华文曾遭受长达三十年的全面压制，一代人在没有华文教育的环境中成长；马来西亚的华人在政策压力下顽强维系着华语教育体系；新加坡华人则在推广普通话与强化英语之间经历了复杂的语言身份重构；泰国华语的传播虽呈扩张之势，却变异丛生，与祖籍地的华语渐行渐远……这些并非抽象的语言政治问题，而是几百万普通华人家庭的真实生活概况。

作者则对这种现实关怀进行回应，其将语言景观研究从描写提升到规划的层面，使之具有更明确的实践指向——不只是记录正在发生的事情，而是思考应当如何应对。这种问题意识的自觉，使得该书具有更深层的社会价值。

二、研究对象：东南亚五国语言景观的典型与异质

海外华社语言“矿藏”无限，而东南亚是中国之外全球华人最多最集中的地区，该书选取新加坡、马来西亚、泰国、印度尼西亚、菲律宾五国作为研究对象，其在学术上有合理性，在现实上也有鲜明的针对性。

华人社会是语言资源的载体，是文化记忆的见证。该研究的落脚点是促进海外华语资源的科学保护和开发利用，只有深入华人社会，才能提出更加贴合实际的语言规划建议。

在具体的研究设计上，作者体现出对典型性的追求。以马来西亚为例，作者同时选取了吉隆坡唐人街、槟城历史街区以及东马沙巴、砂拉越等不同性质的调查点，兼顾政治中心与文化重镇，兼顾西马与东马，兼顾商业区与历史保护区。这种多点取样的设计有效避免了以偏概全，使研究结论更具代表性。

从华人人口规模看，五国之间差异显著：印度尼西亚的华人人口绝对数量最多，约达 1000 万，但占全国人口比例仅约 3%；新加坡华人占本国人口比例最高，超过七成，却面临华语日趋式微的困境；马来西亚华人约占全国人口的 25%，是东南亚地区华文教育体系最为完整的国家；泰国和菲律宾则处于中间状态。人口结构的差异，为族群规模与语言活力关系提供了可供对照的样本。

从语言政策看，新加坡实行双语政策，但英语地位独大；马来西亚强调马来语至上，同时为多元语言保留了一定空间；泰国的语言政策相对宽松；印度尼西亚经历了从全面禁绝到逐步开放的历史转变；菲律宾对华语的态度则相对包容。这种政策差异使得跨国比较研究具有意义，既能看出政

策对语言景观的直接影响，也能发现华人社会在不同处境下的能动应对。

从华语变异类型看，五国各有特点。新加坡华语深受英语影响，造词方式和句法结构均有明显的英语底层；马来西亚华语保留了较多方言成分，词汇层面的创造性变异尤为突出；泰国华语多表现为习得性变异，反映的是作为外语学习的现实局限；印度尼西亚华语则呈现出断层后重建的特殊形态；菲律宾华语则与闽南话深度融合，形成了独特的语言混合形态。这种类型学差异为变异研究积累了丰富且多元的素材。

三、主要内容与重要发现

该书在材料上颇具创新，基于五国十余城实地考察，采集 5441 例一手语言标识，辅以荷兰国家档案馆历史影像，覆盖街巷招牌、华文报刊、宗祠碑刻等多类场景，以详实数据说话，史料珍稀，远超以往个案研究。同时，该书最具说服力的，是其扎实而细密的实证发现。作者通过对五国 5000 余张华语标识的系统分析，从认同、记忆、传承、变异等多个维度，描绘出东南亚华语景观生态的立体图景。

（一）公共空间里的认同边界

刘慧（2016）指出，“判断少数族群的言语社区是否形成，该社区公共空间的语言景观应该成为重要的参照指标”。这一观点在祝晓宏先生著作中吉隆坡茨厂街的个案得到了生动的经验印证。作者发现，从茨厂街核心区向外延伸，华语标识的数量与类型呈递减趋势，马来语标识则相应递增。这种空间梯度分布构成了一道无形的“认同边界”，表明中文景观的多寡与类型丰俭，确可作为确定华人言语社区边界的重要参数。这一发现既呼应了 Landry 和 Bourhis（1997）关于语言景观象征功能的经典论断，也为理解华人社会空间认同提供了可操作的观测视角。

更值得关注的是，作者揭示了华语景观背后的多重认同结构。在马来西亚的商业招牌上，华语标识体现族群认同，马来语标识体现国家认同，英语标识折射出全球化背景下的文化取向。三种语言在同一标牌上并置共存，不是简单的堆砌，而是华人社会在民族国家框架下进行身份协商的直观写照。这种协商并不平静，其中有权衡，有妥协，也有坚守。语言景观因此成为观察这一协商过程最直白、最日常也最耐读的窗口。

（二）历史语言景观的记忆与传承

该书另一项引人深思的贡献，是对历史语言景观的系统梳理。作者借助档案照片与实地拍摄，以详实的材料呈现了印尼的雅加达、泗水、万隆、棉兰等地唐人街从 20 世纪初至今的语言景观变迁。这些历史图像不只是过往语言生活的折射，更是华人集体记忆的物质载体——它们证明着曾经的繁盛，也铭刻着断裂的疼痛。

了解印尼那段浸透华人血泪的过往，才真正明白在异国他乡书写的每一个华语标牌，都承载着重量。从 1920 年华文招牌林立，到 1960 年在特殊政治环境下全面消失，再到 21 世纪初随着政策松动的缓慢恢复，华语在印度尼西亚公共空间中的命运，折射出数十年间那段特殊历史给华人社会带来的深重影响。

菲律宾的案例则从传承这一维度展开。在马尼拉唐人街及周边区域，招牌上的方言不仅是交流

工具，更是一种亟待守护的稀缺资源。同时作者指出，拼音是现代汉语的有机组成部分，拼音是更为隐秘而巧妙的策略，可以帮助华语走得更久更远。马尼拉唐人街那些斑驳的老字号招牌，闽南语等方言交织其间，早已超越商业功能，成为一代又一代海外华人迁徙史的无声见证。华语社区的语言生态并非凭空生长，而是经由数代人的书写与口耳相传，才得以延续至今。

对历史语言景观的记录与保护，本质上是对华人社会集体记忆的抢救——它使年轻一代在日益同质化的都市空间中，仍能触摸到华语传承的历史脉络与文化根柢。

（三）从传承到习得的变异类型

在语言变异研究方面，该书展现出扎实的语言学功底。作者系统整理了马来西亚和泰国华语景观中的用字、词汇、语法变异，并提出了“文化传承型变异”与“语言习得型变异”的二分框架，为华语变异类型学的发展贡献了有益思路（祝晓宏，2018）。

在马来西亚，作者发现了大量富有创造性的词语变异，如“陶豪”“康多”“粿条”“嚒哆”等，这些词语源于方言底层、外语借词或本土文化融合，体现了马来西亚华语的生命力。作者对这类变异持宽容乃至欣赏的态度，认为它们不应被简单视为“错误”，而应被理解为一种语言的“创造”——“不会创造的语言是没有活力的语言”。这一观点突破了语言规范的束缚，也对相关语文政策的制定有一定启示。

在泰国，作者则发现了更多习得性变异，如语序错误、标点误用、翻译不当等，这些变异主要见于菜单、商品广告等私人标识中，反映出泰国华语作为外语习得的现实状况。作者对此类变异持同样宽容的态度，指出“对于泰国华语使用中的一些错误不必锱铢必较”——过于苛责，反而会压抑人们使用华语的意愿和信心。这种实用主义的语言规划观，对华语的推广传播有着重要参考价值。

四、多维的研究方法

方法论的创新是该书另一项重要的学术贡献。该书以“结构、分布、功能”这一研究方法论贯穿始终，作者综合运用了定量统计与定性分析、共时观察与历时追溯等多种研究方法，形成了一套较为成熟的语言景观调查范式。

（一）定量与定性的互补

在定量研究方面，作者采用了较为严格的取样和编码程序。以新加坡为例，作者在 8 个不同功能区域收集了 1614 块语言标识，按照地点、设立者、标识内容、标识类型、语种数、语言类型、主体语言、语言关系、字体、材质、风格等 12 个字段进行编码，在此基础上进行统计分析。这种标准化的操作程序保证了数据的可比性与可靠性，也为后续研究提供了可供参照和复制的方法模板。

在定性研究方面，作者注重对具体标识的深度解读。例如在分析马来西亚“陞发洋货行”“碹器行”等历史招牌时，作者不仅考察字形本身，还结合了社会文化史的背景知识，揭示出这些异体字的文化内涵与时代特征。这种“深描”式的解读，使研究超越了单纯的数字统计，而具有了文化阐释的厚度与温度。

该书方法论的真正优势，在于两者的有机结合，而不是简单并列。在讨论新加坡华语生态时，

作者首先用定量数据呈现华语在不同功能层次、不同空间的分布状况，继而以南洋理工大学食堂禁用中文这一具体事件来解释数据背后的社会机制。宏观数据与微观案例的交织使用，既保证了研究结论的概括性，又不失细节的鲜活与说服力。

（二）共时与历时的贯通

该书以共时调查为主，但作者始终保持着历时的眼光，这是这部著作区别于一般田野报告的重要特征之一。在印度尼西亚章节，作者通过对比 20 世纪不同时期的唐人街历史照片，清晰勾勒出华语景观从繁盛到消失再到复苏的曲折轨迹。这种历时性考察不仅增加了研究的时间深度，也使我们能够在更广阔的历史语境中理解当下的语言现实。

本书的另一亮点，是将历时分析嵌入共时研究。以马来西亚华语景观的字体类型为例：简体与繁体并存共用，表面是共时现象，背后却关联着不同时期的移民潮、两岸关系演变与语文政策调整。这种“共时中的历时”分析，揭示了语言景观的特质——每一个字体选择，都铭刻着时代的痕迹。

（三）多层次比较的运用

除上述核心方法外，作者还系统运用了多层次的比较策略。书中的比较不只发生在五国之间，也发生在国家内部，此外书中还进行了与中国大陆语言景观的对照。

书中重点呈现了国别间的宏观差异。作者通过具体数据揭示不同国家的华语生态位：在新加坡，华语景观多呈现为“华—英”双语伴随状态，且英语占据绝对优势，华语单语标识仅占 3%；而在马来西亚，特别是槟城，华语作为主体语言的标识占比高达 68%，繁体字与方言拼音仍为主流。这种对比直观印证了各国语言政策松紧度对景观形态的重要影响。在国家内部的比较层面，以马来西亚为例，作者对比了西马吉隆坡茨厂街与东马沙巴、砂拉越的景观差异，揭示了地方自治权限与族群话语权对华语景观存续的内在逻辑。此外，书中还纳入了与中国大陆的对照视角。在分析招牌称谓时，作者敏锐发现马来西亚普遍存在的“单音节姓+双音节词”结构，如“郑牙科”“邱公司”等，与国内习惯的“双音节+双音节”韵律配置形成鲜明反差，凸显了马来西亚华语传承中的保守性与变异性。

这种多层次、多角度的比较，增强了研究的解释力，也使读者对不同语言景观形态的成因有了更为立体的认识。

五、理论意义

该书不仅是一部实证研究著作，也蕴含着理论的创新，对社会语言学和语言景观研究的发展具有推动意义。

（一）拓展了海外华语研究的范式

该书最显著的理论贡献，在于为海外华语研究开辟了新的研究路径。传统海外华语研究中本体研究与社会调查之间长期存在的沟通困难，在此得到了一定程度的弥合。语言景观既是真实的语言使用，可以进行本体分析；又是社会的语言实践，可以进行社会语言学考察（王晓梅，2020）。通过引入语言景观这一中介概念，作者找到了沟通两个层面的有效方式，这对海外华语研究未来的发

展具有重要的方法论启示。

华语研究是汉语研究的拓展，是标准语研究，其对于汉语资源的开发有着积极的推动作用（郭熙，2006）。作者提出的“华语景观资源观”尤其值得关注。在这一视角下，华语景观不仅是语言本体，也是文化资源、教育资源、经济资源和政治资源。这种资源观超越了传统的“语言工具论”和“语言权利论”，将华语景观纳入更广阔的资源治理框架，使华语研究获得了新的理论维度和政策实践指向。

（二）丰富了语言景观研究的理论框架

该书对语言景观研究的理论贡献体现在多个层面。作者梳理了语言景观研究的多元理论渊源，包括空间转向、视觉文化转向、话语转向等，使我们对这一研究领域的跨学科性质有了更清晰的认识。

在此基础上，作者提出了“语言景观的多重功能”理论，将语言景观的功能从传统的信息功能与象征功能扩展为交际、服务、认同、文化、教育、审美、记忆、经济、政治等多个维度。这种功能扩展不仅更全面地揭示了语言景观的社会角色，也为语言景观规划提供了多维度的评估框架，具有较强的实践指导意义。

作者还提出了“语言景观与语言具有同构性”的命题，认为语言的功能层次可以映射到语言景观的功能层次。这一洞见为语言景观研究提供了新的理论基础。如果说 Spolsky（Spolsky, Bernard.2009）将语言景观纳入“语言实践”范畴主要是从语言政策角度出发，那么该书的“同构性”命题则在更根本的层面上论证了语言景观研究的语言学合法性，值得后续研究者进一步拓展和检验。

（三）推动了语言生态研究的深化

全书贯穿着鲜明的生态语言学视野。作者将华语景观置于复杂的多语生态系统中加以考察，关注华语与英语、马来语、泰语等语言的互动关系，也关注国家、社区及个体等不同层次的语言规划对华语景观的形塑作用。

作者对“生态位”概念的创造性运用尤为值得肯定。在新加坡章节，作者提出“华语的生态位”概念，指出华语处于“英语之下、其他语言之上的次要位置”，且“华语的生态位缺乏独特性，有被替代之可能”。这种生态位分析既精准描述了华语的相对位置，也揭示了华语面临的现实危机，为相关的语言生态规划提供了清晰的理论依据。

六、此著作的价值关怀

作者在后记中以一字谜追忆自己与南洋的缘分：“一点一横长，一撇到南洋。两个小木匠，坐在石头上”——该谜底是“磨”字。华语在东南亚的百年历程，正是经过了岁月打磨与文化磨合。东南亚的华社语言景观，是历史磨砺而出；深入其间的田野调查，需一番磨炼；而研究者自身，贵在耐磨之心。

在同类学术著作中，《东南亚华人社会语言景观研究》有一种令人印象深刻的质地——它是有温度的。作者在书中记录的不只是语言景观的数据，也是普通华人在历史风雨中的生存状态。最能

体现这种温度的，是作者对印度尼西亚华人社会的描述。饱受创伤的老唐人街，华文标牌几近于无，仅可在杂乱电线后寻得字迹斑驳的“班芝兰街 33 号”。当作者记录那些 21 世纪初重新出现在街头的华文招牌时，那种历经劫难之后的韧性与回归，透过文字依然清晰可感。

诚如作者在结语中所言，“在东南亚语言生态圈中，华语生态位的获得不是天然的，它不是国家语言规划的自然产物，而是华人社会长期以来自下而上、反复协商、不断拼争的结果，其中凝结着华人多少的艰辛与血泪！”学术语言之下是作者对这段历史的真实理解与感同身受。

这种人文关怀还体现在全书的实践指向上。作者在每一章结尾都提出了具有现实针对性的规划建议，包括对所在国政府的语言政策建言、对华人社团的传承倡议、对国际中文教育机构的启示等。“语言规划或者语言政策制定都是建立在语言生活调查的基础上”（郭熙、祝晓宏，2016）。这些建议并不只是学术文章的“讨论”部分，而是作者基于深厚田野积累与切身体察所形成的真实判断。从这个意义上说，这部著作的写作动机，始终指向一个朴素而厚重的问题：华语在东南亚，还能怎样好好活着？

七、简评与展望

综合以上各方面，《东南亚华人社会语言景观研究》是近年来海外华语研究领域的重要成果之一。作者以语言景观为切入点，将实证积累与理论思考、学术严谨与人文关怀相结合，系统呈现了东南亚五国华人社区语言实践的丰富图景。该书在研究范式、方法整合与理论建构方面均有所突破，丰富了海外华语研究的经验基础，也为语言景观研究的本土化发展提供了有益示范。

基于该书已有的研究积累，以下几个方向或可作为未来延伸研究的参考。其一，数字语言景观的纳入。社交媒体、电商平台、新闻网站等数字空间中的华语实践，已成为当代语言景观不可忽视的组成部分（叶军、朱晓睿、蔺鹏飞，2025）。考察数字语言景观与物理语言景观的互动关系，将使研究视野更加完整。其二，受众研究的开展。语言景观的意义不仅取决于生产者的意图，也在很大程度上依赖于接受者的解读。可以辅以访谈、问卷调查和观察法等方式，来了解读者的对于该语言景观等态度和感受（尚国文、赵守辉，2014）。不同年龄、教育背景和语言能力的群体对华语景观的感知与态度，是理解语言景观社会功能的重要维度。

在全球化与数字化的双重压力之下，海外华人社区的语言文化传承面临着比以往任何时候都更为复杂的挑战。祝晓宏先生这部著作，为理解这种挑战提供了一个有深度、有温度也有方法论自觉的学术参照。对关注海外华语、语言景观或社会语言学的研究者而言，这无疑是一部值得认真阅读的著作。

基金项目：本文系教育部人文社科重点研究基地重大项目“南洋华语语法描写与区域比较研究”（22JJD740025）阶段性成果之一。

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

ORCID:

Zhao Min [ID] https: //orcid.org/0009-0004-9607-4975

References

郭熙（2006）：“论华语研究”，《语言文字应用》（02）：22－28。

[Guo Xi (2006). On Chinese Language Studies. Applied Linguistics, (02), 22 – 28. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16499/j.cnki.1003-5397.2006.02.004.]

郭熙、祝晓宏（2016）：“语言生活研究十年”，《语言战略研究》（03）：24－33。

[Guo Xi & Zhu Xiaohong (2016). Ten Years of Language Life Studies. Journal of Language Strategy, (03), 24 – 33. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.2016.03.004.]

Rodrigue Landry, & Richard Y. Bourhis (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study. Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 16(1), 23 – 49. DOI: https://doi. org/10. 1177/0261927X970161002.

刘慧（2016）：“印尼华族集聚区语言景观与族群认同——以峇淡、坤甸、北干巴鲁三地为例”，《语言战略研究》，1（01）：42－49。

[Liu Hui (2016). Linguistic Landscape and Ethnic Identity in Chinese Ethnic Gathering Areas of Indonesia: A Case Study of Batam, Pontianak, and Pekanbaru. Journal of Language Strategy, 1(01), 42 – 49. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.2016.01.006.]

尚国文、赵守辉（2014）：“语言景观研究的视角、理论与方法”，《外语教学与研究》（02）：214－223+320。

[Shang Guowen & Zhao Shouhui (2014). Perspectives, Theories and Methods of Linguistic Landscape Research. Foreign Language Teaching and Research, (02), 214 – 223+320.]

Spolsky, B. (2009). Language Management. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

王晓梅（2020）：“语言景观视角下的海外华语研究”，《云南师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》，52（02）：65－72。

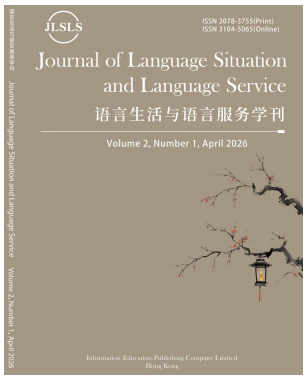
[Wang Xiaomei (2020). Overseas Huayu Research from the Perspective of Linguistic Landscape. Journal of Yunnan Normal University (Humanities and Social Sciences Edition), 52(02), 65 – 72.]

叶军、朱晓睿、蔺鹏飞（2025）：“全球数字空间中文活力与影响力考察”，《语言战略研究》（06）：20－35。

[Ye Jun, Zhu Xiaorui & Lin Pengfei (2025). An Investigation of Chinese Language Vitality and Influence in Global Digital Space. Journal of Language Strategy, (06), 20 – 35. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19689/j.cnki.cn10-1361/h.20250602.]

祝晓宏（2018）：“语言景观视角下泰国华语使用及其变异”，《中国语言战略》（02）：19－29。

[Zhu Xiaohong (2018). Chinese Language Use and Variation in Thailand from the Perspective of Linguistic Landscape. China Language Strategies, (02), 19 – 29.]



JLSLS

HIEP
Academic Publishing

Journal of Language Situation and Language Service

***JLSLS*, Vol. 1, No.1, 2026, pp.149-154**

Print ISSN: 3078-3755; Online ISSN: 3104-5065

Journal homepage: https://www.lslsjournal.com

DOI：https://doi.org/10.64058/jlsls260113rcrci

《比较修辞学的核心思想与研究路径》评介

魏雨竹（Wei Yuzhu），**吴鹏飞**（Wu Pengfei）

摘要：比较修辞学是国际修辞学界的新兴流派，致力于在超越文化二元对立与西方中心视角的前提下探究人类交流的内容与方式。刘东虹的专著《比较修辞学的核心思想与研究路径》系统梳理了该学科自传统对比修辞学、跨文化修辞学发展而来的理论脉络，阐释其“既是研究对象又是研究方法”的共生属性与“语境重构/三元法”的核心方法论，并归纳出三种研究路径，辅以酒店语篇、汉语论证性文体、中缅英语学习者论辩文及中英新闻评论等多项实证研究加以示范。该书厘清了比较修辞学的学科身份，推动方法论由理念走向实践，并在图尔敏模式与语用一辩证模式的改良上体现出理论创新性，对比较修辞学在中国学界的发展具有一定的奠基意义。

关键词：比较修辞学；语境重构；研究路径；劝说性语篇

作者简介：魏雨竹，东南大学外国语学院博士研究生，研究方向：修辞与二语写作。电邮：yuzhuweii@163.com。**吴鹏飞，**通讯作者，东南大学外国语学院博士研究生，研究方向：修辞与二语写作。电邮：230250094@seu.edu.cn。

Title: Review of *Comparative Rhetoric: Core Ideas and Research Approaches*

Abstract: Comparative rhetoric is an emerging school within international rhetorical studies, devoted to examining the content and modes of human communication while moving beyond cultural binarism and a Western-centric perspective. Liu Donghong’s monograph *Comparative Rhetoric: Core Ideas and Research Approaches* systematically traces the discipline’s intellectual lineage as it developed out of traditional contrastive rhetoric and intercultural

Received: 17 May 2026 / Revised: 21 May 2026 / Accepted: 25 May 2026 / Published online: 30 May 2026 / Print published: 30 Jun 2026.

rhetoric. It elucidates the discipline's symbiotic nature as "both an object of study and a method of study," together with its core methodology of "recontextualization/tertium quid," and distills three research approaches, illustrated through a series of empirical studies on hotel discourse, Chinese argumentative texts, the argumentative writing of Chinese and Burmese learners of English, and Chinese and English news commentaries. The book clarifies the disciplinary identity of comparative rhetoric, advances its methodology from concept to practice, and demonstrates theoretical innovation in its refinements of the Toulmin model and the pragma-dialectical model, thereby laying an important foundation for the development of comparative rhetoric in Chinese academia.

Keywords: comparative rhetoric; recontextualization; research approaches; persuasive discourse

Author Biographies:Wei Yuzhu, PhD student at School of Foreign Languages, Southeast University. Research Focus: rhetoric and second language writing. E-mail: yuzhuweii@163.com. **Wu Pengfei,** Corresponding author, PhD student at School of Foreign Languages, Southeast University. Research Focus: rhetoric and second language writing. E-mail: 230250094@seu.edu.cn.

一、引言

比较修辞学（comparative rhetoric）是国际修辞学界的新兴流派。陈望道所著的《修辞学的发凡》（2012）创立了中国第一个修辞学体系，由其引领的现当代汉语修辞学研究，将“修辞”理解为修辞格、修辞手法及其在字、词、句层面所产生的表达效果。然而，这种理解在一定程度上限制了修辞概念的内涵。比较修辞学将“修辞”界定为人类社会环境中的交流内容与交流方式（Lloyd，2021），而“修辞学”则是对上述交流内容及其方式进行系统探究的学科。人类社会中的交流内容和交流方式深受不同文化及其修辞传统的影响。过去几十年来，修辞学者及相关领域研究者持续探索如何论述他者文化及其修辞传统，但始终面临一个核心难题，即“如何为他人代言”（刘东虹、毛履明，2023）。这一问题之所以令人困扰，在于代言者往往难以摆脱自己思想的影响，亦难以避免对既有知识的重复。一旦处理不当，此类“代言”不仅难以发挥建设性作用，反而可能导致对他者文化与修辞传统的异化、混同乃至割裂。在此背景下，刘东虹出版专著《比较修辞学的核心思想与研究路径》。该书以“比较修辞学”为核心议题，系统梳理其理论渊源、深入阐释其核心思想与研究路径，并结合实证研究探索其应用空间，为当代修辞学研究拓展了新的学术视野。

二、内容简介

围绕上述问题意识，该书从理论建构、方法阐释与实证分析三个层面展开系统论述。全书共九章。前三章是理论阐释与综述，第四至第七章每章分别呈现一项实证研究，且均以不同类型的劝说性语篇为对象，系统分析其修辞策略；第八章与第九章则对比较修辞学的研究方法与路径、全书的

核心观点及主要研究发现进行综合讨论，并对未来研究方向加以展望。

第一章是概论，首先对书中涉及的关键修辞学概念进行了界定与辨析，包括传统对比修辞学、跨文化修辞学以及劝说性语篇等。在此基础上，作者概述了比较修辞学的产生背景与发展脉络，并对中西文化语境中的劝说性修辞策略进行了初步梳理。

第二章聚焦比较修辞学的研究基础。该学科是在传统对比修辞学与跨文化修辞学的基础上发展而来：前者作为参照对象，因其将文化视为整体性、同质性且相对静态的实体而受到反思与批判；后者则在其基础上进行修正与拓展，认为所有文化和行为都不可避免地渗透着其他文化（Connor，2008）。正是在这一理论转向的推动下，比较修辞学吸取了跨文化修辞学的思想精华，形成了其基本研究理念。

第三章集中论述比较修辞学的核心思想与研究方法。首先指出特定政治文化背景以及若干认识误区（如以古希腊修辞范式衡量他者文化、过度强调“他者”的异域性，以及“为他人代言”所引发的问题）构成了该学科兴起的重要动因。其次，系统阐释其理论主张：比较修辞学既是一种研究方法，也是一种研究对象，二者在方法论与本体论层面呈现出共生关系；其研究旨趣并非停留于共性或差异的简单对立，而是超越二者，强调修辞实践的独特性(singularity)、多样性(multiplicity)与易变性(fluidity)。同时，研究者需在“主位”(emic)与“客位”(etic) 视角之间保持动态平衡，并通过“去语境化”与“语境重构”的分析路径实现对语篇的解读。最后，提出三种主要研究路径：其一，以古典修辞学或新修辞学为参照，探讨不同文化中修辞现象的相似性；其二，借助西方理论分析非西方语境中的语篇，以揭示其修辞特殊性；其三，引入相关学科的理论与方法，拓展研究视野。至此，作者完成了对比较修辞学发展脉络、学科属性与研究路径的系统阐释。

第四至第七章是全书的实证主体，各以一类劝说性语篇为分析对象，分别示范前述三种研究路径。第四章采用第一种研究路径，从古典修辞学视角出发，对中外酒店语篇中的修辞实践进行比较分析，重点考察理性诉诸、情感诉诸与人格诉诸三个维度的策略运用。该研究从“主位”视角切入，发现中外酒店语篇在修辞策略与文化价值观方面既存在一定程度的相似性，也呈现出显著差异。作者指出，这种相似性一方面源于中国文化的包容性，另一方面与酒店语篇的商业属性密切相关。然而，本土传统的深层文化仍对语篇建构产生持续影响，从而导致修辞策略上的差异化表现。

第五章采用第二种研究路径，着力发掘非西方修辞的特殊性。针对汉语特有的修辞特征在既有研究中被掩盖的现象，作者对汉语话题议论语篇和新闻评论语篇两类论证性文体进行分析，并讨论了比较修辞学的议题之一“为他人代言”的恰当性问题。作者从段落展开策略和论据策略、段落类型和主题句策略三方面进行研究，发现当今汉语论证性文体并未趋同于典型的西方修辞模式，而是呈现出自身独特的修辞机制，正是这些独特的修辞策略使得汉语论证性文体得以建构。

第六章采用第三种研究路径，以作者改良的图尔敏论证模式为框架，对中国与缅甸英语学习者的论辩性语篇进行比较分析，重点探究不同文化语境中论证结构与修辞策略的运用。研究发现两组学生在论证结构和策略选择上既有共性也有差异。基于此，作者对将亚洲思维方式视为一个整体的观念提出质疑，指出中缅语篇虽同处亚洲文化语境，均体现一定程度的间接性，但其实现方式与程度存在显著差异。这些差异不仅体现在表层结构上，更深层地根植于各自文化中的修辞传统与交际

观念。同时，作者强调，中缅语篇在各自文化语境中均具有充分的劝说性，因而不应简单以英语修辞标准评判非西方语篇的有效性。

第七章同样采用第三种路径，以改良的语用－辩证模式为理论框架，探讨中西新闻评论语篇中的修辞策略。作者先指出该模式在修辞学属性和语用学属性上的不足，如过于依赖直接言语行为、忽视隐含表达与文化语境中的含蓄性，进而借鉴 Burke 的“同一”思想和 Mey 的“语用行为”概念，提出改良模式。将修辞策略重构为“论辩质策略”与“语用行为策略”，且四阶段的推进不再是直线型而是迂回循环的。在此基础上，作者开展实证研究，选取中英新闻评论语篇作为语料，对两种语篇中的论辩策略进行对比分析。研究发现，中西语篇在论证展开方式、表达的直接性与间接性以及策略选择上存在显著差异，而这些差异与各自文化中的修辞传统和交际方式密切相关。这些实证研究章节清晰示范了比较修辞学的研究路径，为后续研究提供了有力参考。

第八章作者对比较修辞学的整体研究方法进行理论反思。作者先回到“比较”概念本身，区分其“发现异同”与“联想/剥离”两重含义，并回顾梁启超、胡适等早期中西比较研究的局限。随后从心理学基础、社会学根基和人文属性三个维度论证研究方法的学理基础。心理学上，借保罗和埃尔德关于“自我中心思维”与“社会中心思维”的分析，说明比较研究易产生两极化风险，而“语境重构”恰能降低此风险。社会科学上，将比较修辞学定位为广义的、解释性的比较研究法。人文属性上，借鉴历史学和比较文学的宏观比较思路，强调开放性思维与跨文化反思。作者进一步梳理三种路径与“异中求同”“同中求异”的对应关系，并指出三者常常并用而非孤立。章末综述了比较修辞学在亚裔美国人修辞、全球修辞传统、法律修辞及英语教学等领域的广泛影响。

第九章对全书进行总结并展望未来。作者首先回顾比较修辞学从传统对比修辞学和跨文化修辞学发展而来的学术脉络，重申其核心方法论。随后作者总结了三项实证研究的核心结论——修辞差异不应简单归因于文化两极化，而是根植于文化深处。展望部分借 Lu（2015）提出的四项任务，指出非西方修辞尤其是中国修辞的研究仍严重不足，并预见未来将延伸至“为他人代言”理论深化、冲突化解应用、教学体系重构，以及三维修辞、新媒体与 AI 语篇等新领域，呈现开阔的学术前景。

三、简要评论

基于对全书内容的系统梳理我们认为，该书是一部兼具国际与本土视野、系统阐发比较修辞学核心思想与研究路径的专题研究。从理论梳理到实证研究示例再到方法论反思，作者不仅清晰呈现了比较修辞学的学术脉络，还通过多种路径的案例分析展示了不同文化语境中修辞策略的复杂性与多样性。因此，该书不仅在理论层面推进了比较修辞学的体系化建构，也在方法与实践层面为相关研究提供了可操作的范式，对比较修辞学在中国学界的发展与深化具有重要的奠基意义。以下从四个方面梳理其特色及价值。

第一，作者厘清了“比较修辞学”的发展脉络，介绍了“比较修辞学”作为独立研究范式的理论身份。作者系统梳理了“传统对比修辞学”“跨文化修辞学”与“比较修辞学”三者之间的承继、改良与反叛关系。传统对比修辞学为其基础和参照，跨文化修辞学在此之上规避缺陷并提出新理念，而比较修辞学则是对前者的“反叛与升华”。作者进一步将“比较修辞学”定位为研究对象

与研究方法的共生关系（Mao, 2021），而非单纯的方法论或单纯的研究领域，这一定位回应了学界长期存在的“方法论/本体论”之争。这一界定突破了国内相关研究长期将比较修辞学视为“跨文化文本比较工具”的狭义理解，从而为其建立独立学科身份提供了理论依据。在此基础上，作者将“语境重构/三元法”确立为贯穿全书的方法论主轴，包括主位与客位、为他人代言、自我反思等核心议题，主张研究者以“三元”立场批判性地考察本土（一元）与他者（二元），既不以西方修辞为尺度评判他文化，也不止步于差异性与相似性的表层罗列。这一建构既回应了国际学界对传统对比修辞学“本质化”“二元论”倾向的批评，也为国内学界提供了相对完整的学科框架。

第二，相较于国内既有研究多停留于理论引介层面，该书更重要的贡献在于将比较修辞学的方法意识转化为可复制、可操作的研究流程，从而增强了比较修辞学理论的实证适用性。前文所述的三条路径在书中并非停留于抽象主张，而是经由第四至第七章的实证研究逐一落实为可示范、可复制的分析方法，这也正是该书区别于一般理论介绍之处。此外，作者在第八章也强调，三种路径并非孤立排他，实际研究中常需协同并用，这一立场避免了研究路径被僵化理解，也为后续研究探索路径组合、路径互补以及在不同语种与体裁中检验该方法论的适用性，提供了方法论参照。

第三，方法上兼取质化与量化之长，以实证为理论反思提供支撑。该书第四章和第六章采用混合研究设计，一方面以文本分析与频数统计处理较大规模样本，另一方面辅以深度访谈挖掘文化局内人的修辞判断。这种“大样本客观描述”与“主位视角阐释”的结合，既克服了纯文本分析只见表层相似与差异、难以触及文化深层结构的局限，又避免了纯访谈研究因样本过小而削弱代表性的问题。更重要的是，量化发现并未被作者当作终点，而是作为触发文化反思的起点。例如第四章由统计结果出发，追溯至费孝通“差序格局”、儒家“修辞立其诚”等深层文化。这种由数据到文化、再由文化返观方法论的循环，正是“语境重构”理念在具体研究中的体现。

第四，该书展现出较为突出的理论创新性。针对传统图尔敏模式结构过简、难以处理多层级论证与长篇推理的局限，第六章在保留其基本成分的前提下引入“宽度与深度”层级结构与反方论证，并将 warrant 由单一逻辑规则扩展为“解释与引导推理的过程”，使之能解释汉语议论文中常见的含蓄性与情感化推理。针对语用-辩证模式过于理想化的缺陷，第七章在修辞与语用两个层面分别以“认同”“论辩质”取代狭窄的“出发点”、以“语用行为”替代单一“言语行为”，将间接表达、沉默、表情等真实交际现象纳入分析。两项改良均在其核心框架上增补扩展，并落实于实证分析，从而在维持简洁性的同时增强了对非西方论证语篇的解释力。

该书充分展示了比较修辞学研究的系统性成果与方法创新，但仍存在若干值得进一步讨论的问题。首先，尽管作者已有意识地依据汉语语篇特征对源自西方的分析框架进行了改良，但分析仍以西方修辞理论框架为基础，这在实践中也不可避免地延续了西方分析工具的主导地位。如何将中国古典修辞资源真正转化为可操作的本土分析工具、适用于分析比较相邻文化的修辞实践，并获得国际学术界认可，将成为比较修辞学研究的重要议题。其次，尽管该书在语料选取上已涉及多种具体文本类型，但总体上仍聚焦于劝说性语篇，对叙事性、展示性及仪式性等其他重要修辞体裁关注相对不足。这些体裁的修辞机制与劝说性语篇存在着显著差异，恰是检验该方法论能否推广至劝说性语篇之外的关键场域。比较修辞学将“修辞”界定为人类交流的全部内容与方式，研究局限于劝说

性语篇，便难以完全实现这一学科自身的理论抱负。后续研究若能将三元法拓展至非论证性体裁，既可探明其解释边界，也将使比较修辞学的跨文化视野更趋完整。此外，在跨文化维度上，比较对象亦主要集中于汉英之间，缅甸语料多以英语学习者习作为中介，尚未充分进入其原生修辞语境。这一现象在一定程度上反映出“三元法”在实际应用中面临的挑战。尽管该方法强调对自我与他者的批判性考察及反思性比较，研究者仍受限于自身文化视角与主观判断，较难实现“真实代言”（Mao & Wang，2015）。从比较修辞学所追求的更广阔跨文化视野来看，该研究视阈仍相对有限，后续研究仍需进一步拓展相关维度。

总体而言，我们认为该书的价值不仅在于对比较修辞学核心概念的系统梳理，更在于推动该领域由理论辨析转向方法实践。其意义尤其体现在为中国学界提供了一套有望连接本土修辞资源与国际比较研究的话语框架。尽管其研究对象与语种覆盖范围仍有进一步拓展空间，但该书已在比较修辞学的中国化与本土化方面迈出了实质性的一步。而本篇评介的用意，并不止于引介这部新著，在肯定其奠基性贡献的同时，我们更着意辨明它留待解决的问题，从而为相关研究勾画可以接续的方向，这或许正是本文希望提供的一点增量。

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

ORCID:

Wei Yuzhu ID https: //orcid.org/0009-0008-3580-7724

Wu Pengfei ID https: //orcid.org/0009-0000-0898-4495

References

Connor, U. (2008). “Mapping multidimensional aspects of research: Contrastive rhetoric: Reaching to intercultural rhetoric.” In U. Connor, E. Nagelhout, & W. Rozycki (Eds.), *Contrastive rhetoric: Reaching to intercultural rhetoric* (pp. 299-315). John Benjamins Publishing Company. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.169.

刘东虹、毛履鸣（2023）：“比较修辞学识解：动因、核心思想与研究方法”，《当代修辞学》*（06）：61-69*。

Liu, Donghong, Mao, Luming. (2023). “Understanding comparative rhetoric: Motivations, core ideas, and research methods.” *Contemporary Rhetoric*, (06), 61-69. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16027/j.cnki.cn31-2043/h.2023.06.008.

Lloyd, K. (2021). *The Routledge handbook of comparative world rhetorics*. Routledge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367809768.

Lu, X. (2015). “Comparative rhetoric: Contemplating on tasks and methodologies in the twenty-first century.” *Rhetoric Review*, *34*(03), 266-269. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/07350198.2015.1040105.

Mao, L. (2021). “Redefining comparative rhetoric: Essence, facts, events.” In K. Lloyd (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of comparative world rhetorics* (pp. 15-33). Routledge. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367809768-3.

Mao, L., & Wang, B. (2015). “Introduction: Bring the Game On.” *Rhetoric Review*, *34*(03), 239-243. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/07350198.2015.1040105.

JLSLS

Information Education Publishing Company Limited
Hong Kong

ISSN 3078-3755
01
9 773078 375264