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## 语言生活与语言服务学刊

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**Journal of Language Situation and Language Service**

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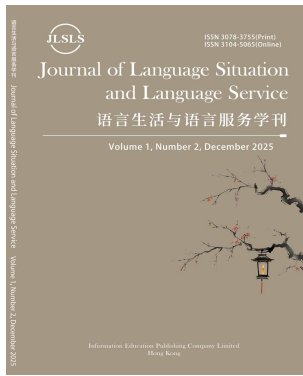
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## 语言规划研究的范式演进与流派分野

——基于《剑桥》《牛津》《劳特利奇》三本权威手册的比较研究

方小兵 (Fang Xiaobing)

**摘要：**语言规划作为应用语言学与公共政策交叉领域的核心议题，其研究范式在近十余年间经历了从“技术导向”到“批判反思”再到“政策落地”的显著转型。本文以2012年《剑桥语言政策手册》(Bernard Spolsky 主编)、2018年《牛津语言政策与规划手册》(James W. Tollefson & Miguel Pérez-Milans 主编)、2024年《劳特利奇语言政策与规划手册》(Michele Gazzola 等主编)三本权威著作的目录体系与核心内容为分析对象，通过“核心主题—研究方法—话语体系”三维分析框架，系统梳理经典语言规划学派、批评语言政策学派与公共政策导向学派的理论分野与演进逻辑。研究发现：经典学派以“领域规划”为核心，构建“实践—信念—管理”的静态分析模型；批评学派以“权利与意识形态”为锚点，揭露语言政策背后的权力不平等；公共政策学派则聚焦“政策过程与效果评估”，推动语言规划向实证化、精细化的政策科学转型。三者共同构成语言规划研究“问题识别—批判解构—解决方案”的完整逻辑链，其演进轨迹反映了全球化背景下语言问题从“技术调节”到“社会公平”再到“治理效能”的关注焦点迁移。

**关键词：**语言政策与规划；学术手册；研究范式；流派演进

**作者简介：**方小兵，南京大学文学院教授，博士，中国语言战略研究中心副主任，研究方向：语言政策，国际中文教育，术语学。电邮：[fangxb@nju.edu.cn](mailto:fangxb@nju.edu.cn)。

**Title:** The Paradigm Evolution and School Differentiation in Language Planning Research: A Comparative Study based on Three Authoritative Handbooks

**Abstract:** The research paradigm of language planning has undergone a significant transformation over the past decade or so, shifting from “technology-oriented” to “critical reflection” and further to “policy implementation”. This paper takes the catalog systems and core contents of three authoritative works as the research objects: *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy* (edited by Bernard Spolsky, 2012), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* (edited by James W. Tollefson & Miguel Pérez-Milans, 2018), and *The Routledge Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* (edited by Michele Gazzola et al., 2024). By adopting a three-dimensional analytical framework of “core themes—research methods—discourse systems”, it systematically sorts out the theoretical differences and evolutionary logic of the classical language planning school, the critical language policy school, and the public policy-oriented school. The study finds that: the classical school centers on “domain planning” and constructs a static analytical model of “practice—belief—management”; the critical school takes “power and ideology” as its anchor to expose the power inequality behind language policies; the public policy school focuses on “policy processes and effect evaluation” and promotes the transformation of language planning towards an empirical and refined policy science. The three schools form a complete logical chain of “problem identification—critical deconstruction—solution proposal”. Their evolutionary trajectory reflects the shift in the focus of attention on language issues from “technological adjustment” to “social equity” and further to “governance effectiveness” against the backdrop of globalization.

**Keywords:** LPP; academic handbook; research paradigm; school evolution

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## 一、引言

语言规划作为一门系统性研究语言与社会互动关系的学科，自 20 世纪 60 年代形成以来，始终围绕“如何通过有计划地干预调节语言行为以适配社会需求”这一核心命题展开（Spolsky, 2004）。随着全球化深入、族群权利意识觉醒与公共政策科学化浪潮的冲击，语言规划研究的理论基础、研究对象与方法体系均发生显著变化，逐渐形成多元并存的学派格局。剑桥大学出版社、牛津大学出版社、劳特利奇出版社作为人文社科领域的权威出版机构，分别于 2012 年、2018 年、2024 年推出由领域内领军学者主编的语言规划手册，恰好构成观察这一学科范式演进的“时间切片”。

Bernard Spolsky 主编的《剑桥语言政策手册》（以下简称《剑桥手册》）（*The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*, 2012），以其“经典语言规划”理论为核心，构建了涵盖语言实践、

信念与管理的系统性分析框架，代表了语言规划研究“领域导向”的传统范式；James W. Tollefson 与 Miguel Pérez-Milans 主编的《牛津语言政策与规划手册》（以下简称《牛津手册》）（*The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning*, 2018），受批判社会学与后结构主义思潮影响，将语言政策视为“权力与意识形态的载体”，形成聚焦权利平等与社会正义的批评学派；Michele Gazzola、François Grin 等主编的《劳特利奇语言政策与规划手册》（以下简称《劳特利奇手册》）（*The Routledge Handbook of Language Policy and Planning*, 2024），则吸收公共政策研究的“过程—效果”逻辑，强调语言政策的制定、执行与评估全链条分析，标志着语言规划向“公共政策科学”的转型。

现有研究多聚焦单一手册的内容解读（如 Hornberger, 2013 对《剑桥手册》的评析；Ricento, 2019 对《牛津手册》的讨论），缺乏对三本手册的系统性对比，尤其忽略了目录体系背后反映的研究范式差异。本文通过梳理三本手册的目录结构与核心章节，从“核心主题”“研究方法”“话语体系”三个维度展开对比，旨在揭示语言规划研究的流派分野与演进趋势，为后续研究提供理论参照与方法启示。

## 二、三本权威手册的目录体系与结构对比

目录作为学术著作的“骨架”，直接反映编者的理论立场与内容取舍。本节通过梳理三本手册的章节设置、主题分布与逻辑架构，构建“宏观结构—中观主题—微观议题”的三级对比体系，为后续流派分析奠定基础。

### （一）《剑桥语言政策手册》（2012）：经典学派的“领域全覆盖”结构

Spolsky 主编的《剑桥手册》共分为 5 个部分、30 章，总字数约 80 万字，涵盖语言政策的定义与原则、宏观层面政策、非政府领域政策、全球化与现代化影响、区域与主题议题五大板块，其目录结构呈现“从理论到实践、从宏观到微观”的逻辑递进（见表 1）。

表 1 《剑桥语言政策手册》（2012）目录核心结构

（Table 1 Core Structure of the Contents in *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy* (2012)）

部分	主题	核心章节	主题占比
Part I	Definition and principles (定义与原则)	语言政策的定义、历史、哲学基础、民族主义与语言政策、族群认同与语言政策、濒危语言政策、工具主义语言观	23.33% (7/30)
Part II	Language policy at the macrolevel (宏观层面语言政策)	超国家层面政策、领土主义与区域自治、帝国主义与殖民主义、城市层面政策、服务领域政策、美国语言政策、教育媒介语言政策	26.66% (8/30)
Part III	Non-governmental domains (非政府领域)	职场语言政策、宗教语言政策、家庭语言政策、聋人群体语言政策	13.33% (4/30)
Part IV	Globalization and modernization (全球化与现代化)	跨国主义与移民、语言管理机构、读写与书写改革、语言行动主义、英语的全球角色	16.67% (5/30)
Part V	Regional and thematic issues (区域与主题议题)	国家语言复兴运动、非洲殖民与后殖民政策、美洲原住民语言规划、欧盟语言政策、前苏联地区政策、亚太地区政策	20% (6/30)

从目录可见,《剑桥手册》的核心特征是“领域全覆盖”:在空间维度上,涵盖超国家(如欧盟)、国家(如印度、以色列)、区域(如加泰罗尼亚)、城市(如东京、渥太华)、家庭(如移民家庭语言选择)等多个层级;在社会领域上,涉及教育、职场、宗教、医疗、法律等关键场景;在区域范围上,覆盖欧洲、非洲、美洲、亚太、前苏联地区等主要语言政策热点区域。这种结构反映了经典语言规划学派“以问题为导向,全面梳理语言规划实践”的研究思路,其理论核心是 Spolsky 提出的“语言政策三成分模型”(语言实践、语言信念、语言管理),并将这一模型应用于不同空间与领域的语言现象分析。

(二)《牛津语言政策与规划手册》(2018):批评学派的“权利—意识形态”结构

Tollefson 与 Pérez-Milans 主编的《牛津手册》共分为 5 个部分、35 章,总字数约 100 万字,以“语言政策与权力不平等”为核心线索,构建“理论基础—社会维度—区域案例—政策干预”的批判分析框架(见表 2)。

表 2 《牛津语言政策与规划手册》(2018)目录核心结构

(Table 2 Core Structure of the Contents in *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* (2018))

部分	主题	核心章节	主题占比
	引言	研究综述:语言政策与规划的理论与实践	3% (1/35)
Part I	概念基础	语言政策与规划研究的历史谱系;研究方法;批判性民族志转向;批判话语—民族志视角;语言政策民族志中的元语用学;语言伦理与跨学科挑战	17% (6/35)
Part II (1)	国家与社 区维度	民族主义与国家语言;西方政治理论中的语言与国家;语言标准化的意识形态;全球化与英语的角色;语言权利与语言压制	43% (15/35)
Part II (2)		教学媒介语政策;语言测试与公民身份;语言政策与大众传媒;国际危机媒体报道中的隐性语言政策;语言政策与规划及语言景观	
Part II (3)		濒危语言复兴与维系;社会经济变迁与原住民语言政策;批判性社区语言教育政策;家庭语言政策;手语语言政策	
Part III (1)	后现代 视角	新自由主义;后民族主义与语言的商品化;语言融合;跨国公司语言政策;新自由主义与语言治理术;语言政策与规划中的不平等与阶级问题	34% (12/35)
Part III (2)		流动性、多样性与新媒体;安全议题与语言政策;语言政策与新媒体	
Part III (3)		语言意识形态;语言教育政策与社会语言学	
Part IV	结语	未来研究展望	3% (1/35)

与《剑桥手册》的“领域全覆盖”不同，《牛津手册》的目录结构呈现强烈的“批判导向”：在理论基础部分，专门设置“批判性语言政策研究”“语言意识形态”等章节，明确将语言政策视为“社会权力结构的投射”；在社会维度部分，聚焦阶级、种族、性别等社会不平等议题，分析语言政策如何加剧或缓解这些不平等（如“语言政策与移民融入”章节揭露主流语言政策对移民群体的排斥）；在争议与未来部分，直接将“社会正义”“伦理争议”作为核心议题，呼吁语言政策研究关注弱势群体权利。这种结构反映了批评学派“以权力为核心，解构语言政策背后不平等机制”的研究思路，其理论基础是 Bourdieu 的“语言资本”理论与 Foucault 的“话语权力”理论，强调语言政策并非中性的技术干预，而是“优势群体维护自身利益的工具”。

（三）《劳特利奇语言政策与规划手册》（2024）：公共政策派的“过程—效果”结构

Gazzola、Grin 等主编的《劳特利奇手册》共分为 7 个部分、45 章，总字数约 120 万字，吸收公共政策研究的“输入—过程—输出—反馈”逻辑，构建“理论框架—政策过程—评估方法—区域案例—跨领域议题”的实证分析体系（见表 3）。

表 3 《劳特利奇语言政策与规划手册》（2024）目录核心结构  
 (Table 3 Core Structure of the Contents in *The Routledge Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* (2024))

部分	主题	核心章节	主题占比
Part	引言	语言政策与规划：从理论到实践	2.56% (1/39)
Part I	基础概念	语言政策与规划的历史发展；语言政策与规划关键概念和术语；语言竞争模型	7.69% (3/39)
Part II (1)	语言政策 周期	语言规划的国家维度；语言和公民身份；语言规划与社会动员；语言与领土；语言、劳动力市场与贸易；语言政策经济学；认知视角对语言政策的影响	51.29% (20/39)
Part II (2)		语言的政治与议程设置；权力与语言政治；公共领域语言政策与话语；作为政策对象的语言；群体关系与语言态度对语言政策的影响	
Part II (3)		政策制定与采纳；语言政策设计；语言政策措施；语言政策的成本与收益；治理、复杂性与多层次语言政策；语言权利与国际法律工具	
Part II (4)		语言政策实施的原则；语言政策与规划中的指标	
Part II (5)		语言政策评估；语言规划中的统计测量与因果模式识别；语言政策民族志监测	
Part III	语言政策 语境	官方多语制；少数语言的保护与推广；原住民语言复兴；国际组织与超国家组织；多语言城市；《欧洲语言共同参考框架》的语言教育政策功能；语言政策、读写能力与多语言；高等教育中的语言政策；公共服务与翻译政策；新旧媒体中的语言政策与规范；语言景观；手语；世界语；跨国机构语言政策；劳动市场和社会融合的语言政策	38.46% (15/39)

《劳特利奇手册》的目录结构最显著特征是“实证导向”与“政策科学化”：在政策过程部分，首次将“议程设置”“执行困境”“公众参与”等公共政策核心概念引入语言规划研究，分析语言政策从“想法”到“落地”的转化机制；在评估方法部分，系统介绍成本—收益分析、长期影响追踪等量化方法，填补了传统语言规划研究“重制定、轻评估”的空白；在跨领域议题部分，关注人工智能、气候变化等新兴议题与语言政策的互动，体现了语言规划研究的“现实关怀”。这种结构反映了公共政策学派“以效能为核心，推动语言政策科学化”的研究思路，其理论基础是公共政策的“过程模型”与经济学的“理性选择理论”，强调语言规划需兼顾“公平”与“效率”，通过实证方法优化政策设计。

#### （四）目录结构的整体对比

通过对三本手册目录的横向对比，可提炼出以下核心差异：

1.逻辑主线不同：《剑桥手册》以“空间—领域”为逻辑主线，追求语言规划场景的全覆盖；《牛津手册》以“权力—权利”为逻辑主线，聚焦语言政策的社会不平等维度；《劳特利奇手册》以“过程—效果”为逻辑主线，强调语言政策的科学化与实证化。

2.理论定位不同：《剑桥手册》是“理论应用型”，将“三成分模型”应用于不同场景；《牛津手册》是“理论批判型”，通过解构现有政策推动理论反思；《劳特利奇手册》是“理论整合型”，吸收公共政策、经济学等学科理论拓展语言规划研究边界。

3.实践导向不同：《剑桥手册》侧重“描述性实践”，梳理不同场景的语言规划案例；《牛津手册》侧重“批判性实践”，呼吁通过政策改革实现社会正义；《劳特利奇手册》侧重“操作性实践”，提供语言政策制定、执行与评估的工具方法。

### 三、三本手册的核心主题与流派分野

基于目录结构分析，本节进一步从“核心主题”“研究方法”“话语体系”三个维度，深入剖析经典学派、批评学派与公共政策学派的理论差异，揭示语言规划研究的流派分野。

#### （一）经典学派（《剑桥手册》）：以“领域规划”为核心的静态分析

Spolsky 主编的《剑桥手册》代表经典语言规划学派的巅峰，其核心主题围绕“语言政策的构成要素与领域应用”展开，形成“定义—分类—应用”的理论逻辑。

##### 1.核心主题：语言政策的“三成分模型”与领域适配

经典学派的理论核心是 Spolsky 提出的“语言政策三成分模型”，即语言政策由“语言实践”（社群成员实际的语言使用行为）、“语言信念”（社群成员对语言的价值判断）、“语言管理”（权威机构对语言实践的干预）三部分构成（Spolsky, 2012: 3）。这一模型将语言政策视为“静态的系统构成”，强调三者的相互作用：语言实践是政策的基础，语言信念是政策的动力，语言管理是政策的手段。

在领域应用层面，《剑桥手册》将这一模型应用于教育、家庭、职场、宗教等多个场景，形成“场景差异化分析”思路：在教育领域，关注“教学媒介语言选择”（如 Walter & Benson, 2012），分析母语教学与第二语言教学的平衡；在家庭领域，聚焦“代际语言传递”（如 Caldas,

2012), 探讨移民家庭如何维持祖传语; 在职场领域, 研究“语言能力与职业发展”(如 Duchêne & Heller, 2012), 分析多语言职场中的语言歧视。这种“领域全覆盖”的研究思路, 反映了经典学派“解决具体语言问题”的务实导向。

### 2. 研究方法: 定性主导的描述性分析

经典学派的研究方法以“定性描述”为主, 强调通过案例研究、田野调查、文献分析等方法梳理语言政策的实际运作: 在案例选择上, 注重“典型性”, 如选择以色列希伯来语复兴、印度国家语言规划等经典案例 (Lo Bianco, 2012); 在数据收集上, 依赖“二手资料”与“深度访谈”, 如分析国际电联的决议文本 (de Varennes, 2012)、访谈移民家庭的语言选择 (Caldas, 2012); 在分析框架上, 采用“归纳法”, 通过多个案例的对比提炼语言政策的共性规律。

这种方法的优点是“情境敏感性”, 能够捕捉不同文化、不同区域语言政策的特殊性; 局限性则是“缺乏普适性”, 难以形成可推广的理论模型, 且较少涉及量化分析, 政策建议的“可操作性”不足。

### 3. 话语体系: 技术导向的“中性干预”

经典学派的话语体系呈现“技术导向”特征, 将语言政策视为“中性的技术干预”, 核心话语包括: “问题解决”: 将语言多样性、语言濒危等视为“需要解决的问题”, 语言规划是“解决方案” (Sallabank, 2012); “系统平衡”: 强调语言政策需平衡“合法性”“效率”“成本”三者关系, 如国际组织语言政策需兼顾成员国平等与运营效率 (de Varennes, 2012); “权威主导”: 默认语言管理的主体是政府、学术机构等权威组织, 较少关注公众参与 (Spolsky, 2012)。

这种话语体系的优点是“目标清晰”, 能够快速聚焦语言问题的核心; 缺点是“忽视权力不平等”, 将语言政策视为“技术问题”而非“社会问题”, 难以解释为何某些语言政策会加剧社会排斥。

## (二) 批评学派 (《牛津手册》): 以“权利与意识形态”为核心的批判解构

Tollefson 与 Pérez-Milans 主编的《牛津手册》代表批评语言政策学派的成熟, 其核心主题围绕“语言政策与权力不平等”展开, 形成“解构—批判—变革”的理论逻辑。

### 1. 核心主题: 语言政策的“权力投射”与社会正义

批评学派的理论核心是“语言政策即权力”, 认为语言政策并非中性的技术干预, 而是“优势群体维护自身利益的工具” (Tollefson, 2018: 15)。这一观点源于 Bourdieu 的“语言资本”理论: 语言不仅是交流工具, 更是“象征资本”, 掌握主流语言的群体可通过政策将自身语言优势转化为社会优势。

在具体议题上, 《牛津手册》聚焦三大核心: 语言权利: 批判“单语主义”政策对少数群体语言权利的剥夺, 如美国“英语唯一”运动对西班牙语使用者的排斥 (Ricento, 2018); 意识形态: 揭露语言政策背后的“隐性意识形态”, 如欧盟语言政策表面“多元包容”, 实则强化英语的霸权地位 (Heller, 2018); 社会不平等: 分析语言政策如何加剧阶级、种族、性别不平等, 如职场中“标准语言”要求对工人阶级、移民群体的歧视 (Pérez-Milans, 2018)。

这种“以权利为核心”的研究思路, 反映了批评学派“推动社会正义”的价值导向, 弥补了经

典学派“忽视权力维度”的缺陷。

## 2.研究方法：定性主导的批判性分析

批评学派的研究方法以“批判性定性研究”为主，强调通过话语分析、民族志、个案研究等方法揭露语言政策的“权力本质”：在话语分析上，聚焦政策文本的“隐性含义”，如分析政府文件中“语言统一”表述背后的“同化主义”意识形态（Wright, 2018）；在民族志研究上，通过长期田野调查捕捉语言政策的“实践偏差”，如观察学校中“双语教育政策”如何被教师转化为“单语教学”（García, 2018）；在个案研究上，选择“边缘群体案例”，如难民、原住民、少数族裔，分析语言政策对其生活的影响（May, 2018）。

这种方法的优点是“深度解构”，能够揭示语言政策的“表象与本质”差异；局限性则是“缺乏建设性”，多聚焦“问题批判”，较少提出可操作的政策改进方案，且量化分析不足，难以验证批判观点的普适性。

## 3.话语体系：正义导向的“权力批判”

批评学派的话语体系呈现“正义导向”特征，核心话语包括：“语言霸权”：指主流语言通过政策获得的“不正当优势”，如英语在全球的传播并非“自然选择”，而是“帝国主义遗产”（Phillipson, 2018）；“语言权利剥夺”：指少数群体因语言政策无法使用自身语言，如原住民儿童被迫接受主流语言教育（Skutnabb-Kangas, 2018）；“社会正义”：主张语言政策需保障所有群体的语言权利，实现“语言平等”（Tollefson & Pérez-Milans, 2018）。

这种话语体系的优点是“价值鲜明”，能够唤起社会对语言不平等的关注；缺点是“理想主义”，部分政策建议（如“完全语言平等”）忽视现实条件限制，难以落地。

### （三）公共政策学派（《劳特利奇手册》）：基于“政策过程与效果评估”的实证研究

Gazzola 等主编的《劳特利奇手册》代表公共政策导向学派的兴起，其核心主题围绕“语言政策的科学化与效能优化”展开，形成“过程—评估—改进”的理论逻辑。

#### 1.核心主题：语言政策的“全链条管理”与效能优化

公共政策学派的理论核心是“语言政策即公共政策”，将语言规划纳入公共政策的框架下分析，强调语言政策需遵循“议程设置—制定—执行—评估”的全链条逻辑（Gazzola et al., 2024: 23）。这一观点吸收了公共政策研究的“过程模型”（Lasswell, 1951），认为语言政策的成功不仅取决于“目标合理”，更取决于“过程科学”。

在具体议题上，《劳特利奇手册》聚焦三大核心：政策过程：分析语言政策的“转化机制”，如为何某些语言政策“制定易、执行难”（Grin, 2024），探讨公众参与对政策合法性的影响（Cardinal, 2024）；效果评估：建立语言政策的“评估体系”，包括短期效果（如语言使用率变化）、长期影响（如对社会融合的作用）、成本—收益（如双语教育的投入与产出）（Heugh, 2024）；新兴议题：探索语言政策与人工智能、气候变化等新兴领域的互动，如 AI 翻译对语言政策的冲击、气候变化导致的语言濒危与政策应对（Gazzola, 2024）。

这种“以效能为核心”的研究思路，反映了公共政策学派“解决现实问题”的务实导向，弥补了经典学派“轻评估”与批评学派“轻建设”的缺陷。

## 2.研究方法：定量与定性结合的实证分析

公共政策学派的研究方法以“实证主义”为主，强调通过定量与定性结合的方法实现语言政策的“科学化”：在定量分析上，引入成本—收益分析（Grin, 2024）、面板数据模型（用于长期影响追踪）、实验设计（如对比不同双语教育模式的效果）；在定性分析上，采用政策工具分析（梳理语言政策的具体手段）、执行过程追踪（通过访谈、观察记录政策落地过程）；在混合方法上，结合定量数据与定性案例，如通过问卷调查量化公众对语言政策的态度，再通过深度访谈解释态度形成原因（Cardinal, 2024）。

这种方法的优点是“科学性与操作性”，能够为政策制定者提供具体的工具与数据支持；局限性则是“数据依赖”，部分语言政策议题（如语言意识形态）难以量化，且对研究资源要求较高，在数据匮乏的发展中国家应用受限。

## 3.话语体系：效能导向的“政策科学”

公共政策学派的话语体系呈现“效能导向”特征，核心话语包括：“政策过程”：指语言政策从“想法”到“落地”的全流程，强调“执行”与“制定”同等重要（Gazzola, 2024）；“效果评估”：指通过实证方法衡量语言政策的目标实现程度，拒绝“凭感觉判断政策成败”（Heugh, 2024）；“成本—收益”：指语言政策需平衡投入与产出，避免“高成本、低效果”的政策（Grin, 2024）。

这种话语体系的优点是“务实性”，能够推动语言政策从“理念”走向“实践”；缺点是“技术主义倾向”，部分忽视语言政策的价值维度（如文化传承），难以仅通过“成本—收益”衡量政策价值。

### （四）流派分野的核心维度对比

为清晰呈现三大学派的差异，本文构建“核心维度对比表”（见表4）：

表4 三大学派核心维度对比表

(Table 4 Comparative Analysis of the Core Dimensions of the Three Major Schools)

维度	经典学派（《剑桥手册》）	批评学派（《牛津手册》）	公共政策学派（《劳特利奇手册》）
核心问题	如何通过干预调节语言行为以适配社会需求？	语言政策如何维护或挑战社会权力结构？	如何通过科学的政策过程与评估优化语言治理效能？
理论基础	Spolsky“三成分模型”、Haugen“状态—语料规划”	Bourdieu“语言资本”、Foucault“话语权力”	公共政策“过程模型”、经济学“理性选择理论”
研究对象	不同空间、领域的语言规划实践	语言政策与社会不平等（阶级、种族、性别）	语言政策的制定、执行、评估全链条
研究方法	定性描述（案例研究、田野调查）	批判性定性研究（话语分析、民族志）	定量与定性结合（成本—收益分析、过程追踪）
价值导向	技术中性、系统平衡	社会正义、权利平等	治理效能、政策科学
政策建议	适配场景的差异化干预	改革权力结构、保障少数群体权利	优化政策过程、建立评估体系
局限性	忽视权力不平等、轻评估	缺乏建设性、理想主义	数据依赖、技术主义倾向

#### 四、三本手册的学术价值与局限点评

作为语言规划领域的权威著作，三本手册各有其学术贡献与局限性，本节从“理论价值”“方法价值”“实践价值”三个维度对其进行点评，为后续研究提供参考。

##### （一）《剑桥语言政策手册》（2012）：经典理论的“集大成者”

###### 1. 学术价值

一是理论整合价值。经典语言规划理论首次得到整合，Spolsky的“三成分模型”、Haugen的“地位—本体规划”、Fishman的“语言转用理论”等核心概念纳入同一框架，形成“定义—分类—应用”的完整理论体系，为后续研究提供“理论地图”。

二是案例积累价值。涵盖全球五大洲、多个社会领域的语言规划案例，如以色列希伯来语复兴、欧盟多语言政策、美洲原住民语言保护等，这些案例成为后续研究的“经典参照”，尤其为区域语言政策研究提供丰富素材。

三是学科奠基价值。明确语言政策研究的“跨学科属性”，融合社会学、人类学、语言学等学科视角，推动语言规划从“语言学分支”发展为“独立交叉学科”，其目录结构成为后续语言政策手册的“范本”。

###### 2. 局限性

首先是理论呈现静态性。将语言政策视为“实践—信念—管理”的静态系统，忽视语言政策的动态演进与权力维度，难以解释全球化背景下语言政策的“意识形态冲突”，如英语全球化与本土语言保护的矛盾。

方法上的单一性是另一突出问题。以定性描述为主，缺乏量化分析与实证评估，政策建议多基于“经验判断”而非“数据支持”，如主张“濒危语言保护”，但未提出具体的保护成本与效果衡量标准。

同时，时代局限性也较为明显。未关注2010年后的新兴议题，如数字时代的语言政策（社交媒体语言管理）、人工智能对语言规划的影响，其案例多集中于2000年前的语言规划实践，对近年来的语言政策新现象（如“英语作为通用语”）覆盖不足。

##### （二）《牛津语言政策与规划手册》（2018）：批判视角的“开拓者”

###### 1. 学术价值

一是理论创新价值。手册将批判社会学、后结构主义引入语言规划研究，提出“语言政策即权力”的核心观点，打破经典学派“技术中性”的迷思，推动语言政策研究从“问题解决”转向“社会批判”，拓展了学科的理论边界。

二是价值重构价值。手册将“社会正义”“语言权利”纳入语言政策研究的核心议程，关注难民、原住民、少数族裔等边缘群体的语言困境，推动语言规划研究从“技术导向”转向“价值导向”，提升了学科的社会关怀。

三是方法拓展价值。手册发展“批判性话语分析”“民族志研究”等定性方法，用于解构语言政策的“隐性意识形态”，如分析政府文件中“语言统一”表述背后的同化主义，为后续批判语言政策研究提供方法参照。

###### 2. 局限性

首要问题是建设性不足。它过度聚焦“问题批判”，如揭露语言政策的权力不平等、社会排

斥，却较少提出可操作的政策改进方案，导致部分研究“只有批判，没有建设”，难以指导实际语言政策实践。

理想主义倾向是另一明显缺陷。主张“完全语言平等”“废除语言霸权”，忽视现实条件限制（如成本、效率、社会接受度），如建议“所有少数语言均应获得官方地位”，但未考虑小语种地区的经济承载力。

区域失衡也影响了手册的全球适用性。案例多集中于欧美发达国家（如美国“英语唯一”运动、欧盟语言政策），对发展中国家的语言政策批判不足，如非洲、亚洲的后殖民语言政策问题覆盖较少，难以反映全球语言政策的多样性。

### （三）《劳特利奇语言政策与规划手册》（2024）：公共政策视角的“整合者”

#### 1. 学术价值

首先是理论整合价值。手册首次将公共政策、经济学、社会学等学科的理论与方法系统引入语言规划研究，构建“政策过程—效果评估”的实证分析框架，推动语言规划从“人文社科分支”向“政策科学”转型，填补了经典学派与批评学派的“实践空白”。

方法创新是手册的另一重要贡献。手册系统介绍语言政策的成本—收益分析、长期影响追踪、混合方法研究等实证方法，提供具体的评估工具与操作步骤（如语言政策评估的指标体系），为政策制定者提供“可操作的方法工具”，推动语言政策研究的“科学化”。

时代前沿性是手册区别于前两部著作的显著特征。手册关注人工智能、气候变化、公共卫生等新兴议题与语言政策的互动，如分析 AI 翻译对语言政策的冲击、疫情期间的多语言公共卫生信息传播，覆盖了近年来的语言政策新现象，其案例多为 2010 年后的实践，时代针对性强。

#### 2. 局限性

首先是对数据的过度依赖，它以定量数据与实证方法为核心研究手段，却对难以量化的语言政策议题关注不足，如语言意识形态的演变、语言背后的文化传承价值等，均未得到充分探讨。此外，实证方法对数据质量要求较高，在数据收集难度大、数据质量难以保障的发展中国家，如部分非洲国家，其方法的应用受到极大限制。

其次是技术主义倾向明显。手册将语言政策视为“可优化的技术系统”，部分忽视语言政策的价值维度与文化意义，如通过“成本—收益”衡量濒危语言保护政策，可能低估语言的文化遗产价值。

最后是理论深度有待提升。对公共政策理论的吸收多停留在“应用层面”，如引入“政策过程”概念，但未深入探讨其与语言政策特殊性的结合，如语言政策的“文化属性”如何影响政策执行，理论整合的深度有待提升。

## 五、本研究的价值与未来研究展望

本文将《剑桥语言政策手册》《牛津语言政策与规划手册》《劳特利奇语言政策与规划手册》置于同一研究视野，通过对它们细致入微地对比分析，梳理出语言规划研究的发展脉络。从经典学派到批评学派，再到公共政策学派，每个学派都有其独特的理论内核、研究路径与话语体系，这些内容共同勾勒出一幅完整的“语言规划研究流派图谱”，为后续研究搭建起理论基石，帮助学界明晰研究定位与发展方向。

以往研究多局限于对手册的单独解读，而本研究另辟蹊径，将这三本手册当作不同时期语言规划研究范式的生动缩影。通过比对目录、剖析内容，我挖掘出学科内的流派分化与演进规律，摒弃孤立评判手册价值的做法，以动态视角展现学科发展全貌。同时，文章构建的“核心主题—研究方法—话语体系”三维对比框架，不仅关注手册内容差异，更深入探究各学派理论根源与话语特色，避免了流于表面的对比。

此外，本文还提出“语言规划研究逻辑链”这一观点。经典学派聚焦问题识别，批评学派侧重批判解构，公共政策学派致力于寻找解决方案，三者共同构成一个完整闭环。这一演进过程映射出全球化浪潮下，语言问题关注点从技术层面调节，逐步转向社会公平，再到治理效能的转变。经典学派围绕“领域规划”，构建静态分析模型；批评学派以“权利与意识形态”为切入点，推动研究价值转向；公共政策学派引入科学评估方法，促进研究实证化。它们并非相互取代，而是相辅相成，共同推动语言规划研究不断向前发展。

从未来发展趋势看，语言规划研究将呈现三大方向：

第一，理论整合化。经典学派的“领域分析”、批评学派的“权力视角”、公共政策学派的“实证方法”将进一步整合，形成“兼顾技术、价值与效能”的综合理论框架，如将“语言权利”纳入公共政策的“公平—效率”分析中，实现“价值导向”与“科学导向”的平衡。

第二，方法混合化。定量与定性方法将进一步结合，如通过定量数据衡量语言政策的效果，再通过定性研究解释效果形成的原因，避免“单一方法”的局限，推动语言政策研究的“方法多元化”。

第三，议题前沿化。人工智能、气候变化、数字全球化等新兴议题将成为语言规划研究的核心，如AI翻译对语言政策的冲击、数字平台的语言管理、气候变化导致的语言濒危与政策应对，这些议题将推动语言规划研究与现实社会的深度互动，提升学科的现实价值。

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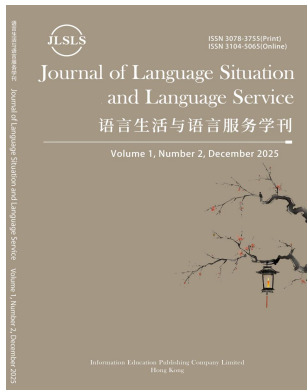
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## 语言服务赋能文旅产业高质量发展的五元多维模式探究

林青 (Lin Qing), 李小曼 (Li Xiaoman)

**摘要:** 高质量发展是中国式现代化的核心要义, 涵盖全民族全行业的提质增效进程。新疆依托“一带一路”倡议纵深推进与自贸试验区建设机遇, 文旅产业实现跨越式发展, 其语言需求呈现“多语种、高精度、场景化”的进阶特征, 精准回应需求、构建适配服务体系成为产业升级的关键命题。本文以喀什古城 5A 级景区为例, 通过对景区从业人员的语言面貌和语言服务现状进行调查, 考察语言能力现状和语言供给短板。通过梳理语言服务与文旅体验提升、产业跨越发展的内在关联, 提出政府、社区、商铺经营者、居住家庭和高校层面五元多维融合的模式, 破解文旅服务中的沟通壁垒, 助力文旅产业从“资源驱动”向“服务驱动”转型。同时, 基于以上研究探索高质量发展格局下对语言服务赋能经济发展的认识, 以此为新疆自贸试验区建设、文旅产业集群升级及构建高质量发展格局提供理论参考与实践路径。

**关键词:** 语言服务; 新疆文旅产业; 高质量发展; 五元多维模式

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**Title:** Exploration on the Five-dimensional Mode of High-quality Development of Cultural Tourism Industry Supported by Language Services

**Abstract:** As one of the essential requirements of Chinese-style modernization, high-quality development emphasizes the high-quality development of the whole nation and the whole industry. As a typical ethnic region, with the comprehensive advancement of the “Belt and Road” initiative and the economic and social development of the new era, the language demand presents the characteristics of “diversification and high quality”, and it is urgent to respond to the language demand and propose a language service path. Taking the ancient city of Kashgar, a 5A-level tourist attraction, as an example, this paper investigates the language outlook and the current situation of language services of various employees, examines the status of language use and the demand for language services, and explores the path of high-quality economic development of language services, aiming to promote the high-quality development of tourism and provide reference for the economic development and construction of high-quality development patterns in ethnic areas.

**Keywords:** Language Services; Xinjiang Cultural and Tourism Industry; High-quality Development; Five-element and Multi-dimensional Model

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高质量发展是中国式现代化的核心要义。新时代近 10 年来，以习近平同志为核心的党中央做出我国经济发展特征由高速增长转向高质量发展的重大判断，围绕“实现什么样的高质量发展、怎样实现高质量发展”这一任务提出“时代之问”，尤其是对民族地区如何立足地区优势和特色资源、加快高质量发展提出明确要求。当前，新疆正处于发展的关键时期，自治区政府从现实需要出发、结合新时代党的治疆方略制定《关于深入学习贯彻习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想推动新疆经济社会高质量发展行动方案（2023—2025 年）》，这一方案为高质量发展奠定良好基础，也为高质量发展奋力推进中国式现代化谱写新疆实践篇章、贡献民族发展之力。

近年来，随着社会发展水平的提高，语言服务行业得到了进一步发展，语言服务的经济价值逐渐凸显，对国家经济发展做出巨大贡献。研究者们一致认为语言服务是产业发展的新动力。语言服务能力建设（屈哨兵、王海兰，2023；孙佳莹、王海兰，2025）、优化语言服务产业布局（刘爱彬、姚铃、张耀军，2023）、语言服务对区域经济高质量发展的影响（肖俊敏、邓超，2024）以及语言服务发挥语言文化红利发展文化产业（石琳，2019）等都是研究文献中的热门话题。语言服务

如何推动产业高质量发展在新时代发展中备受关注，其涵盖内容也较广泛，如针对西部地区语言服务发展现状，战略性提出发展高质量语言服务（王立非、周芷伊、颜文瑾，2025）、利用固定效应与工具变量模型，对语言服务促进区域经济高质量发展的效应和机制进行实证研究（肖俊敏、邓超，2024）等。有了明确的语言服务发展路径，产业的高质量发展能达到更好的效果，从而助力中国经济的全面发展。基于以上研究基础，提出语言服务路径是语言学助力中国经济高质量发展的必由之路。

作为我国向西开放重要门户，新疆南疆正借“一带一路”纵深推进与自贸试验区建设的双重机遇，步入产业提质升级关键期。这片多民族聚居地的区位优势与资源禀赋持续凸显，以文旅产业为代表的现代服务业，已成为推动经济增长、落实“产业兴疆”“文化润疆”战略的重要引擎。而自贸试验区建设与南疆经济蓬勃发展，催生了“多语种、高精度、场景化”的语言需求，构建适配的语言服务体系，成为破解文旅沟通壁垒、推动产业升级的紧迫命题。

作为南疆经济建设与对外开放格局中的代表性城市，古丝绸之路要塞喀什既是新疆自贸试验区三大片区之一，又承载厚重历史底蕴，文旅开发价值在南疆尤为突出。坐落于喀什的喀什古城，作为南疆最具代表性的5A级景区，是当地文旅产业融合发展的核心载体，正为喀什市实现2025年接待游客2800万人次、旅游收入225亿元的目标提供关键支撑。近年来，古城遵循“以文塑旅、以旅彰文”要求，通过完善设施、提升服务优化发展环境，从业人员规模随文旅繁荣不断扩大，形成“多民族聚居、多语言流动”的鲜明特征。古城景区从业人员作为文旅服务直接提供者，其语言能力直接关乎游客体验与产业发展质量。当前喀什古城从业人员的语言面貌与服务现状，既反映南疆文旅产业语言服务的普遍特征，也暴露亟待解决的短板。语言服务的高质量发展，已成为推动古城文旅从“资源驱动”向“服务驱动”转型的核心支撑，更是强化喀什对外开放门户枢纽作用的重要保障。

基于此，本研究以喀什古城景区从业人员为核心调研对象，系统梳理其语言面貌与服务现状，精准识别能力瓶颈与供给短板。从高质量发展要求出发，探究语言服务与文旅体验提升、产业跨越发展的内在关联，进而构建适配南疆文旅产业的语言服务路径，为新疆自贸试验区建设、文旅产业升级及区域高质量发展提供理论与实践支撑。

## 一、喀什古城从业人员的语言面貌现状

### （一）调研对象

喀什古城占地1.57平方公里，有居民2万余户，共计4万余人，各类业态2023个，其中特色餐饮店397家、民宿98家、旅拍133家、手工艺品店239家、画廊31户、药茶34家、古董店117家、文创店8家，其他各类摊位966家，带动就业1.4万人<sup>1</sup>。综合考虑古城的街区布局、现状业态和从业人员的职业类型，调研组选择了390位古城从业人员作为本研究的调研对象<sup>2</sup>。具体到各个行

1 数据来源于喀什古城管理者提供的一手数据。

2 本研究所指的喀什古城从业人员为在古城景区工作并获取劳动报酬的人员，包括行政管理职工、文艺表演职工、个体流动摊贩以及在各固定摊位中工作的全职人员、兼职人员等。

业：景区管理及服务行业人员 55 人、餐饮业从业人员 120 人、住宿业从业人员 60 人、文创业从业人员 75 人，手工业从业人员 80 人，其中固定摊位从业人员 326 人，流动摊位从业人员 64 人。

## （二）调研方法

根据喀什市人民政府工作报告（2024 年）公示数据，古城 2024 年接待游客 2349.36 万人次，增长 25.96%，实现旅游收入 180.05 亿元。作为典型的民族地区旅游景区，古城分东西两个区，主要游览线路 5 条，行业主要集中在 5 条街区，从业人员整体呈现出“多民族聚居”和“多语言流动”的特点，对研究民族地区从业人员的语言能力现状和语言供给短板具有一定的典型性。

研究采用访谈法，主要有两部分内容：一为古城从业人员受访者的基本信息；二为受访者的语言面貌现状。本次研究有 409 人参与访谈，其中有 390 人访谈内容较完整，访谈环境真实，数据可信度较高。

## （三）调研分析

### 1. 受访者的基本情况

受访者女性居多，其中汉族和维吾尔族占多数，年龄主要集中在 25-34 岁，以餐饮业和手工业从业人员为主。

表 1 受访者基本信息  
(Table 1 Basic Information of Respondents)

	统计项目	人数	占比/%
性别	男	170	43.59
	女	220	56.41
年龄	12-24 岁	40	10.26
	25-34 岁	210	53.85
	35-44 岁	70	17.95
	45-54 岁	40	10.25
	55 岁及以上	30	7.69
职业	景区管理及服务行业从业人员	55	14.10
	餐饮业从业人员	120	30.77
	住宿业从业人员	60	15.39
	文创业从业人员	75	19.23
	手工业从业人员	80	20.51
受教育程度	小学及以下	36	9.23
	初中	105	26.92
	高中	169	43.33
	大专及以上	80	20.51

## 2. 受访者的语言面貌现状

语言面貌是景区服务能力与文化包容度的直观体现，更是支撑新疆文旅产业从“资源驱动”向“服务驱动”转型的基础要素。结合喀什古城“半商业半自住”的独特属性，本次调研聚焦商业服务主导的公共领域，从语言使用、语言能力、语言需求三个核心维度，系统剖析从业人员的语言面貌特征，为构建适配“多语种、高精度、场景化”需求的语言服务体系提供数据支撑。

### (1) 受访者的语言使用

语言使用指同一社群在不同场合面对不同话语对象的语言选择（韩林涛、刘和平，2020）。在古城文旅服务场景中呈现出“功能导向、场景分化”的显著特征。本部分从语码选择与语言文明两个维度展开，精准捕捉从业人员在服务实践中的语言使用规律。

#### ① 语码选择

语码指言语交际过程中使用的任意符号，主要指某一种语言、方言或语体。语码选择是指在不同场合下说话人使用不同语言或不同语体（刘莎，2012），本次调研从“语言类型选择”与“语体形式选择”双重视角切入，全面覆盖口语交际与书面语景观两大场景，完整呈现景区从业者语言使用实况。从使用不同语言入手，我们发现受访者在公共区域使用国家通用语言文字与本族语<sup>1</sup>的情况，如表 2 所示。

表 2 公共区域语码选择情况  
(Table 2 Code Selection Situation in Public Areas)

语码	场合：在商铺、 摊位营业	场合：和家人、邻居闲 聊天	场合：给游客指路
使用国家通用语言文字为主	32.40%	18.20%	29.20%
全部使用国家通用语言文字	22.50%	13.40%	21.60%
使用本族语为主	31.80%	46.30%	25.80%
全部使用本族语	13.30%	22.10%	23.40%

在语言类型选择上，场景正式程度直接决定语码偏好，形成清晰的使用规律。如表 2 所示，在“商铺营业”这类直接面向游客的正式服务场景中，从业人员优先选择国家通用语言文字，以保障服务的普适性与沟通效率；而在“家人邻居闲聊”等非正式私人场景中，则以本族语为主要交流载体；在“给游客指路”这类半正式服务场景中，国家通用语言文字的使用比例仍略高于本族语。这一特征与古城文旅产业面向全国乃至国际游客的服务属性高度契合，也印证了国家通用语言文字在公共服务中的核心地位。

在语体形式选择上，景区公共语言景观的多语化特征尤为突出。本次收集的 145 张指示标牌、标识图片中，三语标牌占比达 57.93%（84 张），双语与四语标牌合计占 42.07%（61 张），直观呈

<sup>1</sup> 本族语指语言习得者自己的民族所使用的语言，调查中本族语指除汉语外的其他语言，如维吾尔语言、柯尔克孜语等。

现了古城“多语共生”的语言生态。从语言构成来看，国家通用语言文字始终占据主导地位，维吾尔语作为本地民族语言、英语作为国际通用语言形成有效补充，既保障了服务覆盖的全面性，又彰显了多民族文化交融的地域特色。但调研同时发现规范短板：部分标牌存在英文翻译错误、汉语拼音拼写不规范等问题，部分商业广告中还出现国家通用语言文字语病，这些细节问题不仅影响服务专业性，更与“以文塑旅、以旅彰文”的文旅融合要求存在差距，需纳入景区语言管理重点。

## ② 语言文明

语言文明是景区文明程度的重要标尺，其表现与交际场景的正式性呈现明显关联。如表 3 所示，礼貌用语使用频率与场景正式程度正相关：在“商铺营业”“给游客指路”等直接服务游客的正式场景中，礼貌用语使用最为普遍；而在“家人邻居闲聊”等非正式私人场景、“网络交流”等半虚拟场景中，不使用礼貌用语的现象更为突出。值得关注的是，公共服务场景中偶发的礼貌缺失问题，虽看似细微却直接影响游客体验感知，已成为制约景区服务升级的迫切问题。

表 3 公共场合使用礼貌用语和不使用礼貌用语情况均值表<sup>1</sup>

(Table 3 Mean Table of the Situation of the Use and Non-Use of Polite Language in Public Occasions)

场合	使用礼貌用语				不使用礼貌用语			
	在商铺、摊位营业	和家人、邻居闲聊	给游客指路	网络交流	在商铺、摊位营业	和家人、邻居闲聊	给游客指路	网络交流
均值	4.18	3.34	4.47	3.08	2.06	3.82	2.13	3.37
标准差	0.976	0.944	0.977	1.013	1.134	1.123	1.023	1.178

## (2) 受访者的语言能力

语言表达能力是指以语言为基础媒介，在使用口头语及书面语过程中运用字词和句段的能力，它分为语言技能水平与语言学习水平（语言表达能力，2023）。本次调研从“语言技能水平”与“语言学习水平”双维度切入，精准识别不同群体的能力差异与提升瓶颈。

### ① 语言技能水平

语言技能水平以“很不熟练、不太熟练、一般、比较熟练、很熟练”为分级标准，重点考察听说、读写及网络语用等核心能力。调研显示，从业人员的语言技能水平呈现鲜明的行业分化特征。如表 4 所示，就语言和技能的熟练程度来看，受访者除本族语的听说、书写能力外，在使用国家通用语言文字的过程中出现听说、阅读能力等方面不同程度的不熟练问题。

<sup>1</sup> 表 3 中的均值代表使用礼貌用语或不使用礼貌用语的频率高低，最低为 1(几乎遇不到)，最高为 5(经常遇到)。

表4 从业人员语言技能水平 (%)  
(Table 4 Language Skill Level of Practitioners (%))

语码和技能 熟练程度		很不熟练	不太熟练	一般	比较熟练	很熟练
国家通用 语言文字	口语听说能力	5.10	41.60	19.10	8.40	25.80
	书面阅读能力	4.80	40.70	32.90	7.50	14.10
	基本书写能力	2.40	9.30	39.40	25.50	23.40
	网络语用能力	8.90	10.10	40.10	27.40	13.50
本族语	口语听说能力	1.10	3.40	11.20	25.50	58.80
	书面阅读能力	1.30	13.00	23.00	26.90	35.80
	基本书写能力	3.10	4.20	14.10	22.80	55.80
	网络语用能力	6.20	7.30	29.40	32.20	24.90

其中, 景区管理及核心服务岗位人员的国家通用语言文字听说流畅、读写规范, 技能水平普遍达到“比较熟练”及以上; 而作为古城文旅特色名片的餐饮业、手工业从业者, 因多为本地技艺传承者, 国家通用语言文字技能水平参差不齐, 部分人员存在“听说吃力、读写困难”等问题, 成为语言服务体系中的突出薄弱环节。

### ② 语言学习水平

语言学习水平的调研聚焦“学习途径”与“学习难点”两大核心, 结果显示其与从业人员受教育程度高度相关。在学历构成上, 受访者以高中学历(43.33%)、初中学历(26.92%)为主, 大专及以上学历仅占20.51%, 小学及以下学历占9.23%, 整体呈中下水平。这一学历特征直接导致学习途径分化: 小学及初中学历者多依赖单一的学校教育基础; 高中及以上学历者则能通过学校教育、网课培训等多元方式学习。总体而言, 从业人员的国家通用语言文字学习途径普遍较窄, 与旺盛的提升需求形成反差。

在学习难点上, 问题集中于基础能力层面, 其中“发音不准”等声调问题占比最高(58.5%), “找不到对应词汇”的表达障碍次之(28.6%), “听不懂他人表达”的理解问题占12.9%。这些集中性难点为后续开展精准化培训提供了明确方向, 也印证了从业人员巨大的提升潜力。

### (3) 受访者的语言需求

语言需求是基于现有语言使用与能力基础, 对语言功能与价值的主动期待(李宇明, 2021), 其特征直接反映文旅产业高质量发展对语言服务的核心要求。本次调研通过分析能力与需求失衡现状, 显示服务供给短板, 精准定位从业人员的需求导向。

#### ① 能力与需求失衡

以“发音标准度”为核心评价指标, 调研发现从业人员的语言能力与服务需求存在明显失衡: 95.38%的游客认可景区管理及服务人员的国家通用语言文字水平, 住宿业、文创业人员表现次之,

这得益于其行业内定期的语言培训与明确的服务标准，也成为喀什对外展示的重要语言形象；而餐饮业、手工业从业人员的语言能力呈现“标准与带口音对半”的分化状态，核心原因在于景区管理对这类特色行业缺乏明确的语言能力要求与系统性培训支持，导致其服务能力与游客期待存在差距。

## ② 语言需求分析

语言需求是语言使用者受生存和发展需要驱使，基于时间与经历的变化，对语言知识、语言技能等方面产生的要求（李宇明，2021）。在南疆多语交际环境与文旅产业扩张的双重驱动下，从业人员面临语言使用范围窄、能力储备不足的核心矛盾，其语言需求已呈现基础强化、多元拓展的进阶特征。如图1所示，从业时长与语言需求呈显著正相关，即从业时间越长，对语言沟通价值的认知越深刻，需求也越强烈，这与长期服务实践中积累的问题感知直接相关。

从需求维度细分来看，呈现出清晰的结构特征：在语言种类需求上，国家通用语言文字的学习需求占比最高，同时对维吾尔语提升、英语基础等多语种能力抱有积极期待；在语言技能需求上，口语听说能力是核心诉求，这与文旅服务“即时沟通”的场景属性高度契合；在语言知识需求上，语言实用运用能力与行业服务话术知识的需求最为突出。值得关注的是，当前“低覆盖、低水平”的语言培训服务，与这种多元进阶的需求严重错位，尤其是针对餐饮、手工业等特色行业的定制化培训缺失，既无法满足从业人员的发展需求，也制约了景区整体语言服务质量的提升。

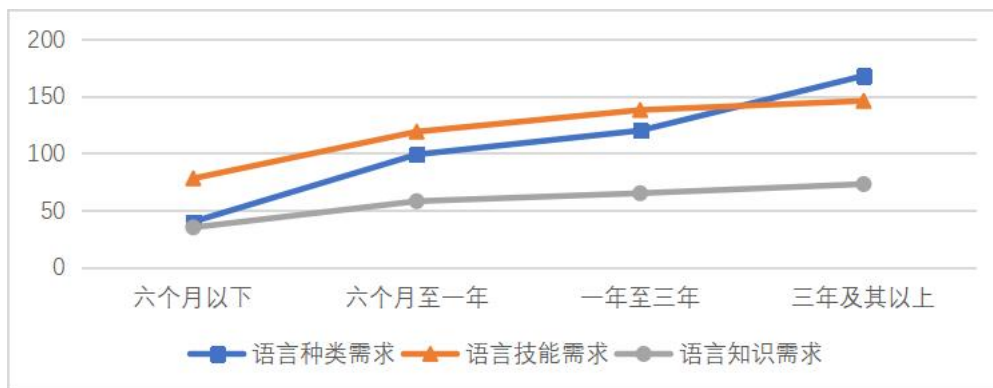


图1 访者从业时长与语言需求关系图

(Figure 1 Relationship between Respondents' Employment Duration and Language Needs)

## (四) 调研结论

### 1. 语言使用

(1) 从业人员语言使用呈现“场景决定语码”的鲜明特征，在“商铺营业”“游客指路”等正式及半正式服务场景中，国家通用语言文字使用占比明显高于本族语，这一选择与古城文旅产业面向全国乃至国际游客的服务属性高度契合；而在“家人闲聊”等私人场景中则以本族语为主，形成功能清晰的语言使用格局。

(2) 语言文明建设成为景区服务升级的迫切需求。调研发现，礼貌用语使用频率与场景正式性

直接相关，虽在核心服务场景中使用普遍，但公共服务场景中偶发的礼貌缺失问题，既影响游客体验感知，也与“以文塑旅、以旅彰文”的文旅融合要求存在差距，需纳入语言服务体系重点建设内容。

(3) 公共领域语言景观呈现多语化发展趋势，双语标识、双语服务已成为景区常态，国家通用语言文字的主体地位得到充分体现，维吾尔语、英语形成有效补充，既保障了服务的普适性，也彰显了多民族文化交融的特色。但部分标牌存在英文翻译错误、国家通用语言文字语病等规范问题，亟待针对性修正。

## 2. 语言能力

(1) 国家通用语言已成为从业人员与游客沟通的主流载体，但能力水平呈现明显的行业分化。景区管理及核心服务岗位人员普通话语音标准、表达流畅，而作为古城文旅特色名片的餐饮业、手工业从业者，因多为本地技艺传承者，普通话水平参差不齐，成为语言服务的薄弱环节。

(2) 从业人员总体受教育程度以大专及以上学历为主，国家通用语言学习面临“途径窄、难点多”的困境，学习途径以学校教育为主，多元学习渠道缺失；旺盛的培训需求与巨大的提升潜力形成鲜明对照，为精准培训提供了明确方向。

## 3. 语言需求

(1) 从业人员的语言需求呈现基础强化、多元拓展的进阶特征，且与从业经验深度关联。不仅对国家通用语言学习需求强烈，对多语种能力提升也抱有积极期望。且从业时间越长，对语言沟通价值的认知越深刻，语言需求与从业经验呈正相关关系。

(2) 当前语言服务供给存在“三低一不匹配”问题：培训覆盖低、服务水平低、翻译响应不及时，与文旅产业高质量发展所需的“多语种、高精度、场景化”语言服务需求严重脱节，也无法适应古城文旅经济扩张与文明建设的现实要求，亟待通过系统性语言治理加以破解。

(3) 服务供给与行业需求的错位在特色行业中尤为明显。餐饮业、手工业等核心从业群体对现有培训满意度偏低，现有培训缺乏行业定制化内容，无法满足其技艺讲解、营销推广等高层次语言需求，强化这类重点行业的精准培训成为提升景区整体服务水平的关键抓手。

本次调研系统勾勒了喀什古城景区的语言服务全貌，结合南疆文旅产业从“资源驱动”向“服务驱动”转型的核心目标，以下四类突出问题需重点关注：其一，喀什作为“一带一路”沿线新兴文旅枢纽，游客规模激增推动语言面貌快速变化，但现有语言培训内容更新滞后，难以匹配动态需求；其二，游客地域与文化背景的多样性，对语言服务的综合性提出更高要求，而当前培训仍局限于“听说读写”基础能力，缺乏跨文化交际素养培养；其三，服务意识与非语言沟通能力被严重忽视，肢体语言规范、文明服务用语等内容在培训中缺位，制约服务品质升级；其四，培训内容缺乏行业针对性，无法满足餐饮、手作等特色行业的营销推广、技艺讲解等高层次需求。总体而言，南疆地区国家通用语言推广成效显著，其在喀什古城文旅行业中已成为服务与沟通的核心载体。但语言服务在精准性、专业性、综合性上仍有巨大提升空间，为后续构建政府、社区、商铺、家庭、高校“五元多维融合”的语言服务模式提供了现实依据，也为新疆自贸试验区文旅产业集群升级提供了实践支撑。

## 二、语言服务赋能文旅产业高质量发展的路径——五元多维模式

高质量发展背景下，语言服务已成为破解文旅产业沟通壁垒、推动产业升级的核心支撑。新疆依托“一带一路”与自贸试验区建设机遇，文旅产业的语言需求已呈现“多语种、高精度、场景化”的进阶特征。喀什古城作为南疆文旅产业的核心载体，其从业人员“多民族聚居、多语言流动”的特点，以及语言使用不规范、能力行业分化、供需错位等问题，迫切需要构建系统性语言服务体系。基于此，本文提出以政府、社区、商铺经营者、居住家庭、高校为核心主体，以观念革新、方法创新、体系构建为实施维度的“五元多维”语言服务可持续模式，精准回应产业需求，助力文旅产业从“资源驱动”向“服务驱动”转型，为新疆自贸试验区建设与文旅集群升级提供实践路径。

### （一）政府主导统筹，构建标准化语言服务体系

政府作为语言服务的主导者，需立足喀什古城“半商用半自住”的特殊格局，将语言服务纳入文旅高质量发展总体规划，针对调研中凸显的规范缺失、培训不足等问题，构建“需求导向、分级分类”的标准化体系。

#### 1. 观念引领，锚定语言文明与通用语主体地位

以社会主义精神文明建设为引领，强化语言文明在景区发展中的核心价值。针对公共服务场景中礼貌用语缺失的问题，将“文旅服务规范用语”纳入景区文明创建考核指标，编制《喀什古城文旅服务语言手册》，明确“商铺营业”“游客指引”等核心场景的礼貌用语标准。通过政策宣讲、案例示范等方式，让从业人员认识到规范使用国家通用语言不仅是减少沟通障碍的关键，更是塑造喀什对外文旅形象、落实“文化润疆”战略的重要举措，夯实“以旅兴疆”的语言基础。

#### 2. 体系构建，建立分级激励与精准服务机制

针对不同行业能力分化的现状，建立“行业差异化”语言能力标准体系。将景区管理岗、餐饮手工业岗等进行分类，明确国家通用语言“听说读写”的分级要求，即对管理岗要求“熟练运用”，对餐饮手工业岗要求“基础流畅”。同时，建立“语言能力与利益挂钩”机制，将国家通用语言等级、服务话术水平与从业人员薪酬、评优直接关联，激发提升动力。聚焦营销需求短板，联合专业机构开发“特色行业营销话术课程”，针对手工艺品讲解、特色美食推荐等场景设计实战内容，提升从业人员的消费引导能力。

#### 3. 资源整合，拓宽培训渠道与翻译服务供给

针对从业人员学历偏低、学习途径窄的问题，构建线上与线下结合的多元化培训网络。线下依托社区活动中心设立语言培训点，邀请高校教师、语言专家开展定期授课；线上开发古城语言学习小程序，上传发音纠正、词汇积累等微课程，解决从业员工工学矛盾。同时，针对多语种需求与翻译响应不及时问题，建立应急翻译服务平台，整合高校外语专业学生、本地双语人才资源，为景区提供即时性维汉、英汉翻译服务，匹配国际化文旅枢纽的发展定位。

### （二）社区基层联动，营造沉浸式语言学习氛围

社区作为从业人员日常活动的核心场景，需发挥“贴近基层、精准触达”的优势，针对年龄偏大、学历偏低等重点群体，打造场景化、互动式的语言学习环境，弥补政府服务的基层空白。

### 1.意识强化,以“评优激励”激活学习主动性

树立“从业人员为景区建设主体”的理念,定期开展“古城语言服务之星”评选活动,围绕国家通用语言流畅度、服务礼貌用语使用等维度设置奖项,给予物质与荣誉双重激励。通过表彰先进典型,让从业人员直观感受到语言能力提升带来的职业价值,尤其让餐饮、手工业从业者认识到,良好的语言表达能更好传递古城文化内涵,增强从业自豪感与学习动力。

### 2.精准培训,实施“分层分类”实战教学

结合调研中发音不准、词汇匮乏的核心难点,开展针对性培训。对年龄大、学历低的从业者,聚焦游客接待、价格沟通等基础场景进行反复演练;对年轻从业者,讲解不同地域游客的沟通习惯,弥补现有培训中综合素养培养的缺失。同时,将肢体语言规范、服务礼仪等内容纳入培训,全面提升服务品质。

## (三) 商铺主体落实,推动语言能力与经营融合

商铺作为文旅服务的直接载体,其从业人员语言能力直接影响经营效益。商铺经营者需将语言服务作为核心竞争力,落实政府与社区的培训要求,构建“内部互助、学用结合”的提升机制。

### 1.观念革新,确立“语言赋能经营”的发展思路

主动对接政府、社区的培训资源,将国家通用语言培训纳入商铺日常管理。通过调整排班时间、提供培训补贴等方式,鼓励从业人员参与各类学习活动,打破“重技艺轻语言”的传统认知。让经营者与员工明确精准的手工艺品讲解、生动的美食文化介绍,能有效提升游客消费意愿,实现“语言能力”向“经营效益”的转化。

### 2.内部联动,建立“传帮带”互助机制

针对商铺内从业人员能力差异,建立“一对一”帮扶制度,由国家通用语言水平高的员工带动基础薄弱者,利用班前班后时间开展“实战练习”。同时,设立“每日语言小课堂”,聚焦当日接待中出现的沟通问题进行即时复盘,如“如何用简洁语言解释手工地毯工艺”“如何清晰说明美食成分”等,让语言学习与经营实践紧密结合。

### 3.技能升级,分层提升营业语言服务水平

将营业技能与语言服务分为“基础层”与“提升层”。基础层聚焦问候、咨询等规范用语,确保服务礼貌性;提升层针对营销推广、纠纷处理等场景,开展专项训练。例如,为手工业商铺设计技艺传承、产品价值的讲解话术,为餐饮商铺开发食材特色、文化寓意的推荐用语,满足高层次经营需求,让语言成为商铺增收的软实力。

## (四) 家庭基础支撑,培育多语融合的语言生态

家庭作为语言学习的初级场所,需立足古城“半自住”的居住特点,构建“代际传承、多语共生”的语言环境,为文旅语言服务储备后备力量,夯实长期发展基础。

### 1.观念转变,树立“语言是发展资源”的认知

家长需转变传统观念,认识到国家通用语言不仅是沟通工具,更是子女未来参与文旅产业、融入社会发展的核心资源。在家庭交流中,既尊重本族语的文化价值,又主动营造国家通用语言使用场景,如用国家通用语言讲述古城历史、讨论游客接待案例,让子女从小树立多语能力等发展优势

的认知。

## 2. 规划引导，助力下一代语言能力全面发展

结合孩子的兴趣与成长规律，制定国家通用语言与特色语种结合的学习规划。充分利用社区图书馆、景区文化驿站等资源，鼓励孩子参与“古城小导游”“语言故事汇”等主题活动，在实践中提升国家通用语言表达能力。同时，引导孩子学习基础英语、常用旅游外语，匹配喀什“一带一路”文旅枢纽的定位，为未来从事文旅服务奠定基础。

### （五）高校智力赋能，激活语言服务升级新引擎

高校作为语言服务人才与资源的核心供给方，需立足南疆区位优势，将学术研究与一线需求结合，为古城提供“专业化、一站式”的语言服务支持，破解培训针对性不足的难题。

#### 1. 精准培训，聚焦特色行业痛点开展定制服务

发挥南疆语言服务团队优势，深入餐饮、手工业商铺开展需求调研，开发“行业定制化”培训课程。针对手工业从业者技艺讲解困难的问题，设计非遗术语与故事化表达结合的课程；针对餐饮从业者营销能力弱的问题，开发美食文化与消费心理学融合的课程。采用一对一辅导与集中实训结合的方式，重点纠正发音不准等基础问题，同时融入跨文化沟通技巧，提升培训专业性与实用性。

#### 2. 平台搭建，构建线上与线下结合的全方位服务体系

线下在古城核心区域设立“高校语言服务驿站”，组织大学生志愿服务团队，提供游客指引、多语翻译、纠纷调解等即时服务；线上开发“喀什古城语言服务”综合平台，整合三大核心资源，即面向从业人员的培训服务话术、发音方法的课程、面向游客的多语导览系统、面向经营者的营销素材库。同时，开通留言反馈模块，根据从业人员与游客的建议实时更新资源，实现语言服务的动态优化。

### （六）五元协同，构建多维联动的语言服务生态

“五元多维”模式的核心在于打破主体壁垒，形成“政府统筹规划、社区精准落地、商铺实践转化、家庭基础培育、高校智力支撑”的联动机制。政府通过政策与资源整合搭建框架，社区与高校聚焦“精准培训”解决一线痛点，商铺将语言能力转化为经营效益，家庭为产业发展储备人才，各主体围绕“语言服务赋能文旅高质量发展”的核心目标，从观念、方法、体系三个维度协同发力，破解当前语言供给短板。这一模式既精准回应了喀什古城“多语种、高精度、场景化”的语言需求，又将语言服务与“产业兴疆”“文化润疆”战略深度融合，通过提升从业人员语言能力，改善游客体验、激活消费潜力，推动文旅产业实现质的提升，为新疆自贸试验区建设与区域高质量发展提供有力支撑。

## 三、高质量发展格局下语言服务赋能经济发展的思考

高质量发展本质是全民族全行业的提质增效，而语言服务作为破解沟通壁垒、激活要素流动的关键支撑，正成为驱动经济高质量发展的重要“软实力”。新疆依托“一带一路”倡议纵深推进与自贸试验区建设的双重机遇，文旅产业实现跨越式发展，语言需求已呈现“多语种、高精度、场景化”的进阶特征。基于喀什古城5A级景区从业人员语言面貌的调研实证，我们得以更清晰地认知

语言服务与经济内在关联，为高质量发展格局下发挥语言经济功能、探索服务路径提供现实遵循。

#### （一）高质量发展需以顺畅语言交际筑牢要素流通根基

信息高效传递是经济活动的核心前提。语言能力差异已成为要素流通的重要影响因素。部分从业者因通用语不熟练制约服务质量与交易达成，构成经济发展的隐性阻滞。需将语言交际优化纳入区域规划：一方面以推广规范通用语为核心，按行业、学历实施分级培育，让通用语成为要素流通的通用接口；另一方面尊重多语特质，构建通用语、民族语与外语结合的服务体系，将语言资源转化为区域发展的凝聚力与竞争力。

#### （二）高质量发展需以特色语言产业激活经济新动能

语言服务与语言产业互为支撑，是丝路经济带建设的重要保障。需以需求导向发展语言产业，即培训领域依托高校开发定制课程，构建政府购买、高校输出、市场转化的闭环产业链；翻译领域整合资源，搭建线下驿站与线上平台结合的即时服务体系；技术领域开发多语特色产品，推动语言产业与文旅、外贸融合，释放“语言红利”助力自贸试验区建设。

#### （三）高质量发展需以和谐语言环境夯实经济保障

和谐语言环境是经济发展的隐性基础设施，核心是确立通用语主体地位并包容多元文化。构建和谐环境需精准施策，即政府将语言规范纳入考核，统一标识标准；基层以评优激励营造文明氛围；在网络上依托平台引导规范用网，避免文化误解。规范与包容并存的环境既能保障经济效率，又能彰显民族交融特色，为“文化润疆”“产业兴疆”护航。

#### （四）高质量发展需以语言服务塑造区域经济文化品牌

区域经济竞争力的核心是文化独特性，语言服务则是传递文化价值的关键。各民族文化遗产与特色产业的经济价值转化，离不开精准的语言阐释。语言与文化传递能力的提升，可有效增强产品附加值，实现文化向经济价值的高效转化。以语言服务塑品牌，需聚焦文化传递与产业赋能，一方面挖掘民族语言文化资源，将民间故事、技艺内涵融入服务与传播；另一方面在标识、包装中构建通用语为主、多语补充的体系，兼顾普适性与文化辨识度。通过精准赋能，推动区域IP从“资源型”向“品牌型”升级，提升经济文化附加值。

#### （五）高质量发展需以语言技术创新提升服务效能

丝路经济带推动人员与信息高频流通，对语言服务的专业性、即时性提出更高要求，技术创新是破局核心。语言服务中工学矛盾突出、响应低效等问题，凸显了技术赋能的迫切性。推动语言技术创新需深化技术与服务融合，即依托大数据精准开发培训资源，借助5G与云计算搭建线上与线下结合的服务平台，攻关多语语音识别、智能翻译等技术，降低经营主体服务成本。通过技术赋能，让语言服务匹配“多语种、高精度、场景化”需求，支撑文旅产业向“服务驱动”转型。

综上，语言服务是融入经济高质量发展的核心要素，价值贯穿要素流通、产业升级等全过程。“五元多维”模式通过政府、社区等主体协同，构建了适配新疆的语言服务体系。新疆自贸试验区建设中，唯有强化语言服务的精准性与创新性，才能充分释放其经济功能，为高质量发展提供坚实支撑。

#### 四、结语

高质量发展是中国式现代化的核心任务，更是推动民族地区进步的关键遵循。推动民族地区高质量发展，需立足区域特色资源与产业需求，精准锚定发展短板。本次以南疆 5A 级景区喀什古城为核心的调研，通过剖析从业人员语言面貌与服务需求，为破解文旅产业转型瓶颈提供了实证样本。作为南疆文旅产业核心载体与新疆多民族语言生态缩影，喀什古城呈现的语言能力行业分化、服务供给与场景需求错位等问题，本质是民族地区文旅产业从资源驱动向服务驱动转型中语言支撑不足的集中体现。语言服务与经济发展深度绑定、相辅相成，既通过语言扶贫、语言扶智理念改善各族群众语言面貌与发展能力，又以多语种、高精度、场景化的服务供给激活文旅产业价值。本次研究提出的政府统筹、社区落地、商铺转化、家庭培育、高校赋能五元多维融合模式，针对喀什古城服务短板构建，以提升国家通用语言文字应用能力为根基，兼顾民族语言文化传承与外语服务需求，既解决从业人员听说吃力、培训缺位的现实难题，又为特色产业搭建文化传递与经营增效的语言桥梁，充分释放文旅经济的带动效应。

新疆自贸试验区作为党中央的战略举措，对语言服务现代化提出更高要求。喀什古城的语言服务实践，正是自贸试验区语言需求的生动缩影，其供给短板亦是产业转型必须破解的关键命题。高质量语言服务以精准赋能拉动区域经济增长，在要素流通层面破除沟通壁垒，在产业升级层面激活语言红利，在品牌塑造层面传递民族文化，推动文旅产业实现经济形态与质态双重转型。从喀什古城的“小场景”到自贸试验区的“大格局”，语言服务正成为构建高质量发展格局的重要支撑。它不仅为新疆文旅产业集群升级提供实践路径，更助力自贸试验区从“试验田”升级为“高产田”，为其打造高水平对外开放门户枢纽城市、形成核心竞争优势注入“语言动能”。在文化润疆、产业兴疆战略指引下，深化五元多维模式实践，必将让语言服务释放经济与社会双重价值，为民族地区高质量发展与高水平对外开放筑牢根基。

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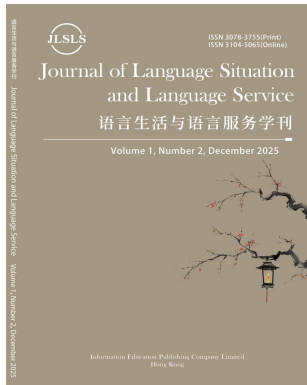
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## 城市更新视域下大湾区多模态语言景观与空间认同的互动研究 ——以广州市永庆坊为例

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梁然然(Liang Ranran)

**摘要:** 以粤港澳大湾区的广州市永庆坊为研究范围, 调查研究城市更新视域下多模态语言景观与空间认同的互动关系。综合运用社会语言学、城市社会学理论, 以及量性与质性相结合的研究方法, 对 2020—2024 年实地调研所采集的 1421 条多模态语言景观、1328 份调查问卷进行多维度分析。研究发现, 永庆坊多模态语言景观包含 9 种组合类型, 以图文景观为主, 覆盖餐饮、文化教育等 8 类产业, 兼具商业标识、文化宣传等 6 大功能, 核心功能为信息联动与凸显、场景塑造与语境驱动、超语实践与表达。受访者对多模态景观态度积极, 空间认同整体均值高, 多模态语言景观态度与空间认同呈显著正相关, 与文化认同维度相关性最强。受访者性别、学历、年龄等变量对多模态景观与空间认同互动具有调节作用。在实证研究的基础上, 对大湾区城市更新中的语言景观治理提出意见和建议。

**关键词:** 粤港澳大湾区; 城市更新; 多模态语言景观; 空间认同; 永庆坊

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**Title:** A Study on the Interaction between Multimodal Linguistic Landscape and Spatial Identities in the Greater Bay Area from the Perspective of Urban Renewal: A Case Study of Yongqing Fang, Guangzhou

**Abstract:** Taking Yongqing Fang in Guangzhou, Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area (GBA) as the research scope, this study investigates the interactive relationship between multimodal linguistic landscapes and spatial identities from the perspective of urban renewal. By comprehensively applying theories of sociolinguistics and urban sociology, as well as combining quantitative and qualitative research methods, it conducts multidimensional analysis on 1,421 pieces of multimodal linguistic landscape data collected through field surveys from 2020 to 2024 and 1,328 questionnaires. The results show that the multimodal linguistic landscapes in Yongqing Fang include 9 combination types, with text-image landscapes as the main form. These landscapes cover 8 industrial categories such as catering and cultural education, and undertake 6 major functions including commercial identification and cultural promotion. Their core functions are information linkage and highlighting, scene construction and context-driven, as well as translanguaging practice and expression. Respondents hold a positive attitude towards multimodal landscapes, and the overall average score of spatial identities is high. There is a significant positive correlation between the attitude towards multimodal linguistic landscapes and spatial identities, with the strongest correlation observed in the dimension of cultural identity. Variables such as respondents' gender, education level, and age have a moderating effect on the interaction between multimodal landscapes and spatial identities. On the basis of empirical research, we put forward suggestions on the governance of linguistic landscape in urban renewal in the GBA.

**Keywords:** Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area; urban renewal; multimodal linguistic landscapes; spatial identities; Yongqing Fang

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## 一、引言

实施城市更新行动，就是要推进城市结构优化、功能完善、文脉赅续、品质提升，推动城市高质量发展<sup>1</sup>。党中央、国务院高度重视城市更新工作。习近平总书记强调要积极实施城市更新行动，推动城市业态、功能、品质不断提升。党的二十大提出实施城市更新行动，打造宜居、韧性、智慧城市。由此可见，城市更新逐渐从单一的物质空间更新，转向综合性的社会、经济、文化更新，注重社区参与、历史文化遗产保护和城市功能的优化提升。

粤港澳大湾区（下文简称“大湾区”）涵盖珠三角九市及港澳，总面积 5.6 万平方公里，2023 年常住人口超 8600 万，经济总量超 14 万亿元。大湾区是我国开放程度最高、经济活力最强的区域之一，在国家发展大局中具有重要战略地位。2019 年中共中央、国务院印发《粤港澳大湾区发展规划纲要》，《纲要》指出，要把大湾区建设成为充满活力的世界级城市群、具有全球影响力的国际科技创新中心、内地与港澳深度合作示范区、宜居宜业宜游的优质生活圈。提出建设人文湾区、休闲湾区等，完善大湾区内公共文化服务体系和文化创意产业体系，丰富居民文化生活。

语言景观是指在社会公共空间出现的带有语言文字的载体。大湾区作为典型的城市空间集群体，包含岭南历史文化空间、自由贸易区空间、特别行政区空间、高新技术开发区空间、医疗服务空间、教育培训空间等类型多样、功能各异的空间。空间并非静止空洞的物质实体，而是人们通过生产实践、语言治理、文化传播、社会服务等多种行为创造出来的。城市空间认同是民众的社会情感和心理认同在特定城市社会及地理空间中的投射（苏贾，2007），是人们身处城市空间而产生的经济认同、语言认同、文化认同、情感认同等集合形式（吴细玲，2017）。

永庆坊始建于 1931 年，位于广州城市老中轴线上的荔湾区西关恩宁路骑楼街。永庆坊作为广州城市中的历史文化街区，是岭南风韵与广府文化特色的聚集地，蕴含着丰富的中华优秀传统文化资源。20 世纪 90 年代，随着城市新中轴线的形成，城市发展中心东移，永庆坊街区基础设施陈旧老化，历史文化资源的传承与保护工作迫在眉睫。

2018 年 10 月，习近平总书记视察永庆坊并指出，城市规划和建设要高度重视历史文化保护，要突出地方特色，更多采用微改造这种“绣花”功夫，注重文明传承、文化延续，让城市留下记忆，让人们记住乡愁。随后永庆坊城市更新微改造项目逐步启动。如今永庆坊历史文化街区经过 1 期和 2 期改造工程后，在保留原有传统文化肌理的基础上，积极融入时代活力，成为广州历史文化保护传承的示范区，岭南文化艺术的新窗口，新时代多元文化的融合地。

随着城市更新行动的深入推进，以及现代信息技术的发展，城市空间持续出现多种模态如文

1 详见“国新办就《关于持续推进城市更新行动的意见》有关情况举行新闻发布会”，中国网，2025 年 5 月 20 日，[https://www.mohurd.gov.cn/xinwen/jisyw/art/2025/art\\_1cfb5540249447f1bb0a4f604be26649.html](https://www.mohurd.gov.cn/xinwen/jisyw/art/2025/art_1cfb5540249447f1bb0a4f604be26649.html)。

本、图像、声音、动画、立体 IP 等相结合的语言景观。多模态语言景观既是城市更新行动的产物之一，也是现代化都市的象征（李盈慧，2011）。本文作者于 2020—2024 年对永庆坊的语言生态和语言景观进行多次田野调查，发现微改造后的永庆坊语言景观较之改造前，增加了大量多模态语言景观。本文综合运用社会语言学、城市社会学等领域的理论，采用量性与质性相结合的方法，考察永庆坊多模态语言景观与空间认同之间的互动关系，对大湾区语言景观治理提出意见和建议。此项研究有助于提升大湾区语言服务的精细化和智慧化水平，增强民众对大湾区城市空间的认同感，也为语言景观与空间认同的互动研究提供实证依据和理论参考。

## 二、以往相关研究回顾

### （一）大湾区语言生活研究

大湾区语言生活及相关研究已展开并取得一批标志性成果。设立于广州大学的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团队近年来编撰《粤港澳大湾区语言生活状况报告（2021）（2023）》《粤港澳大湾区语言服务发展报告（2022）》《广州语言生活状况报告（2018）》等系列绿皮书。皮书聚焦粤港澳大湾区语言生活与服务，内容涵盖区域语言政策、大湾区多领域语言状况（科技产业、交通、生活服务、行政司法等），关注三大自贸区语言环境建设、港澳地区语文课程与教学语言、特殊人群语言服务等议题。调研语言服务在教育、政务、旅游等领域的作用。期刊论文成果方面，《云南师范大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》2019 年第 6 期刊发专题为“粤港澳大湾区的语言服务”的 3 篇论文，探讨了大湾区语言生态、语言教育和语言科技、语言环境建设等问题（屈哨兵，2019；殷俊、徐艺芳，2019；郭杰，2019）。《语言战略研究》2020 年第 1 期刊发专题为“粤港澳大湾区的语言生活”的 5 篇论文，阐述了大湾区四大基本语言建设问题，考察了港澳特别行政区的语言生活，从空间格局和领域格局对大湾区语言建设提出了意见和建议（李宇明、王海兰，2020；屈哨兵，2020；胡明晓、张振，2020；李楚成、梁慧敏，2020；张璟玮，2020）。此外，王海兰（2025）分析了粤港澳大湾区应急语言服务体系建设的优势、劣势、机遇与挑战，并提出优化治理对策。王海兰、何文晓（2019）对大湾区电视节目的语言使用情况进行了较大规模的调查，对如何制定大湾区电视语言规划提出了意见和建议。刘加鑫、闫雯萱（2019）探讨了“一带一路”视角下粤港澳大湾区的语言消费问题。

上述研究成果广视角、多维度反映近年来大湾区语言生活发展的新动向，为大湾区互联互通与融合发展提供语言学领域的实证数据和理论支撑。在语言景观研究方面，《粤港澳大湾区语言生活状况报告（2023）》对广佛同城示范区、广州北京路商圈餐饮店、天河路商圈购物中心、西关老街的语言景观，以及广州地名专用用字进行了专题调研。但尚未见到对大湾区城市空间多模态语言景观的专题研究。

### （二）多模态语言景观研究

我们运用 CiteSpace V.6.2.R4 数据分析工具，结合中国知网文献，以知识图谱的形式呈现国内多模态语言景观研究的研究现状与发展趋势。CiteSpace 相关参数如下：时间范围为 2011 年 1 月至 2023 年 12 月，时间切片为 1 年，其余参数均为系统默认值。

运用 CiteSpace 的 keyword 提取功能，我们归纳出多模态语言景观研究的主题分布情况。根据频次，阈值设定为 1，关键词音节数设定为 4，绘制关键词共现图谱（图 1）和关键词网络聚类图谱（图 2）。

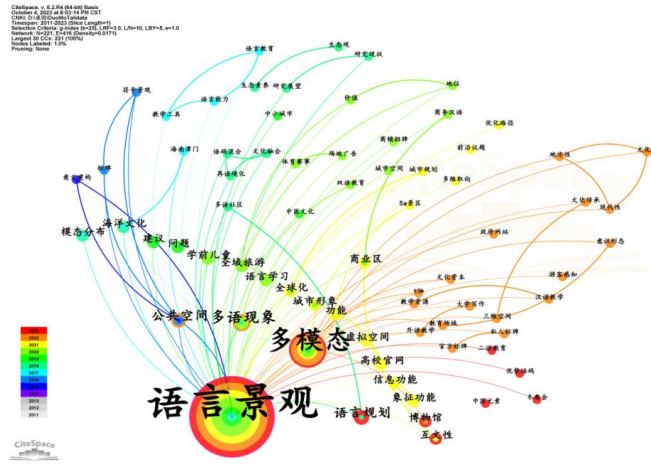


图 1 国内多模态语言景观研究关键词共现图谱

(Figure 1 Keyword Co-occurrence Network of Domestic Multimodal Linguistic Landscape Research)

图 1 显示关键词共现网络节点有 221 个，连线有 416 条，密度值为 0.0171，这体现了国内多模态语言景观研究网络分布广、联系密的特点。

我们还对关键词进行了网络聚类分析，共检索出 28 个聚类，图 2 显示两大聚类。图中的 MQ 和 MS 值分别是 0.7968 和 0.9612， $Q > 0.5$ ， $S > 0.7$ ，说明该知识图谱有意义。MQ 值较为接近最大值 1，表明多模态语言景观研究的关键词共词网络聚类结构较好。



图 2 国内多模态语言景观研究关键词网络聚类图谱

(Figure 2 Clustered Network of Domestic Multimodal Linguistic Landscape Research)

多模态语言景观研究的关键词聚类情况如表 1 所示。

表 1 国内多模态语言景观研究关键词聚类列表  
(Table 1 List of Keyword Clusters in Domestic Multimodal Linguistic Landscape Research)

聚类编号	聚类名称	成员数量	平均轮廓值	关键词
0	语言景观	70	0.956	语言景观; 多语现象; 符号学; 公共空间; 商业区
2	多模态	17	0.941	多模态; 功能; 文化性; 非典型性语言景观; 博物馆
10	语言教育	4	0.989	语言教育; 教学工具; 语言能力; 资源; 语言景观

表 1 列举了“语言景观、多模态、语言教育”等 3 个关键词共现聚类的情况，这些聚类反映了多模态语言景观的研究热点。

在关键词共现和关键词网络聚类的基础上，我们还对多模态语言景观的文献关键词进行了突现词检测，将 $\gamma$ 值设定为 0.2，共检索到 9 个突现词，结果如图 3 所示。

### Top 9 Keywords with the Strongest Citation Bursts



图 3 国内多模态语言景观研究的关键词突现 (Top9)

(Figure 3 Top 9 Keywords with the Strongest Citation Bursts in Domestic Multimodal Linguistic Landscape Research)

图 3 列出了国内多模态语言景观研究排名前九的关键词。排列前 9 名的关键词分别是：公共空间、模态分布、海洋文化、bilingual education、义乌、affective regime、商业区、城市形象、全球化。突现强度排名第一的是模态分布和海洋文化，表明 2017—2018 年间学界对多模态语言景观的模态分布，以及多模态语言景观与海洋文化传承发展的关系研究的关注度较高。

整体而言，当前多模态语言景观研究具有两个主要特点。首先，在主题分布方面，多模态语言景观研究主要呈现以下 3 方面的热点内容：①多模态语言景观的模态类型分布研究，这也是热度最高的研究内容。②多模态语言景观的作用特点研究，主要聚焦于图文模态的研究。③多模态语言景观作为教学资源的研究。出现了 28 个聚类，较为明显的聚类是语言景观、多模态、语言教育。

其次，在研究进展方面，初期研究聚焦多模态语言景观与公共空间、模态分布、海洋文化的相关研究。近期研究关注商业区、城市形象与全球化视角下的多模态语言景观研究。

综上所述，多模态语言景观研究正持续深入，具有较为广阔的研究前景。但目前尚未见到多模态语言景观与空间认同互动的专题研究，本文将在这一领域进行探索。

### （三）城市空间认同研究

空间是一切生产和人类活动所需要的要素（马克思、恩格斯，1995），是人类生命的容器和存在的依据（胡范铸、胡亦名，2024）。随着全球化的发展，空间成为影响人类活动、认知的重要因素（杨文建、邓李君，2021），空间与社会的互动型构，是研究认同建构、社会秩序等的重要视角，受到建筑学、地理学、社会学等多领域的关注（魏欣桐等，2023；洪见兰等，2022；陈占江，2010）。

城市空间认同是个体社会身份确证、心理情感归属以及观念与行为互动的过程（吴细玲，2017）。空间认同体现为城市发展过程中文化认同、社会认同、身份认同、情感认同以及价值认同等多种形式（李妍，2024）。从研究对象来看，城市空间认同主体主要包括3大类：一类是城乡流动群体，包括城市农民工（蔡禾、曹志刚，2009）、两栖商贩（张菡容，2025），上述人群横跨城乡空间，因制度限制或生计需求，其空间认同呈现断裂性、失序性等特点，是研究城市空间认同与社会制度、秩序互动的典型对象之一。另一类是城市特定公共空间使用者，如图书馆用户（杨文建、邓李君，2021）、城市市民（吴细玲，2017），其空间认同与空间功能如知识服务、地方特质如地域文化等因素相关。还有一类是数字空间主体，即数字化生存中的个体，其面临“数字孤独”并引发认同缺失，是技术时代空间认同研究的新方向（胡范铸、胡亦名，2024）。

从研究理论与方法来看，城市空间认同的理论来源于城市社会学、空间社会学、环境行为学、建筑学等领域。齐美尔（2002）作为首位系统提出空间概念的社会学家，将空间划分为地理意义和心灵及互动视角下的空间两大类。芝加哥学派学者帕克（2012）指出，城市不仅是一种社会现象，更是一种心理状态。它由各种礼俗与传统构成，这些传统所承载的统一思想和情感共同构成了城市的整体。法国哲学家列斐伏尔（1979；1991）提出了颇具影响力的“空间生产”理论和“三位一体”的空间辩证法，即看不见的空间实践、可见的空间表象和想象的表征性空间复杂的在场关系。此外还有福柯的权力空间化理论、布迪厄的“场域—惯习”理论等。

国内研究在借鉴上述理论的基础上，结合中国城乡二元结构、城市更新实践等，运用文本分析、半结构化访谈、多元回归分析、3D建模与GIS技术解析等质性与量化相结合的研究方法，对各类城市空间、人群及多元认同进行实证研究，形成本土化理论与实践成果。如“空间认同维度划分”理论（陈占江，2010；张菡容，2025）对西方理论进行本土化革新，更真实地反映了中国城乡转型中弱势群体的认同建构需求。

整体来看，现有城市空间认同研究已经展开。但尚未出现“多模态语言景观”这一城市新兴符号与城市空间认同互动的专题研究。多模态语言景观作为城市更新中空间意义传递的重要载体之一，其与城市空间认同的互动关系和机制值得深入探讨。

### 三、研究设计

本文作者于 2020 年 10 月至 2024 年 10 月期间，对永庆坊语言景观进行了为期 4 年的民族志调查。田野调查范围为图 4 中蓝色虚线所标示区域（图 4）。期间共开展 10 次集中式田野调查。



图 4 永庆坊多模态语言景观采集范围

(Figure 4 Data Collection Area for the Multimodal Linguistic Landscape of Yongqing Fang)

首先，利用数码相机和录音笔对永庆坊 1 期和 2 期街区的语言景观进行系统性采集，共采集语言景观 2145 条，其中单模态景观共 724 条（33.75%），多模态景观共 1421 条（66.25%），可见微改造后的永庆坊语言景观呈现明显的多模态化特征。

其次，对永庆坊的居民和游客进行大规模问卷调查。问卷内容包括 5 部分，与本论文相关的部分为：受众对永庆坊多模态语言景观的态度和受众的空间认同。经检验，问卷的 Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  系数与 KMO 值均达到统计学要求。问卷采用滚雪球的方式进行发放，共回收问卷 1457 份，其中有效问卷 1328 份，有效回收率为 91.15%。受访者的背景信息如下表 2 所示。

表 2 问卷填写对象基本信息 (N=1328)

(Table 2 Demographic Profile of the Survey Respondents) (N=1328)

基本信息		数量 (人)	占比 (%)	基本信息		数量 (人)	占比 (%)
性别	男	588	44.28	年龄	20 岁及以下	135	10.17
	女	740	55.72		21-30 岁	703	52.94
现居地	广东	858	64.61		31-40 岁	400	30.12
	非广东	470	35.39		41-50 岁	73	5.5
受教育程度	小学及以下	13	0.98		51 岁及以上	17	1.28
	初中	25	1.88	籍贯	广东	639	48.12
	高中/职高/中专	153	11.52		非广东	689	51.88
	本科/大专	945	71.16	职业	学生	458	34.49
硕士研究生及以上	192	14.46	企事业单位及政府机关工作人员		546	41.11	
来穗时长	少于一周	78	5.87		个体经营者、自由职业者、其他	324	24.40
	一周到一年	276	20.78	第一语言 (方言)	普通话	654	49.25
	1-5 年	505	38.03		粤方言	355	26.73
	5-10 年	169	12.73		其他	319	24.02
	10 年以上	300	22.59				

由表 2 可见，受访者在性别比例基本平衡。他们在年龄、现居地、受教育程度、职业、来穗时长和第一语言等特征上呈现多样性的特点，有助于我们从较广的范围了解受众对永庆坊的多模态语言景观态度及空间认同。

在对永庆坊受众的调查中，我们运用 STATA 18.0 及 SPSS24.0 统计分析软件对受访者对永庆坊多模态语言景观的态度和空间认同进行描述性统计分析和相关性分析，在此基础上以多模态语言景观态度为自变量，空间认同为因变量，引入性别、职业、年龄、学历与游览频率作为调节变量，检验多模态语言景观态度与空间认同的互动机制及其在不同群体中的异质性。

本文研究的具体问题如下：

1. 永庆坊多模态语言景观在模态组合类型、功能、产业分布等方面的特点如何？
2. 受访者对永庆坊的多模态语言景观的态度如何？
3. 受访者对永庆坊的空间认同如何？
4. 受访者对永庆坊多模态语言景观的态度和对永庆坊的空间认同之间的互动关系如何，受到哪些因素影响？

#### 四、调查结果分析

##### （一）永庆坊多模态语言景观的特点

##### 1. 多模态语言景观的组合类型

多模态语言景观的具体类型包括以文本、图像、视频等为代表的视觉模态，以声音为表现形式的听觉模态，以及嗅觉、味觉、触觉等多个模态。永庆坊多模态语言景观以视觉模态和听觉模态为主。其组合类型、数量、占比如下表 3 所示。

表 3 永庆坊多模态语言景观的模态组合类型情况 (N=1421)  
(Table 3 Typology of Modal Configurations in the Multimodal Linguistic Landscape of Yongqing Fang)  
(N=1421)

多模态组合类型	数量 (条)	占比 (%)
文+图	1125	79.17
文+实物	102	7.18
文+图+实物	102	7.18
文+立体 IP	48	3.38
文+图+画 <sup>1</sup> +音	18	1.27
文+图+音	10	0.70
文+立体 IP+实物	8	0.56
文+图+立体 IP	5	0.35
文+音	3	0.21
合计	1421	100

1 这里的“图”指的是静态的图片，“画”指的是动态的视频或者动画。图 5-图 10 均为通讯作者陈倩怡所拍摄。

数量繁多、类型多元的多模态语言景观，既展现了永庆坊传统文化和潮流文化交融的特点，也符合广州“老城市新活力”的城市更新的治理理念。由表 3 可见，永庆坊多模态语言景观包括 9 种模态组合类型，占比由高到低依次为：文+图（79.17%）、文+实物（7.18%）、文+图+实物（7.18%）、文+立体 IP（3.38%）、文+图+画+音（1.27%）、文+图+音（0.70%）、文+立体 IP+实物（0.56%）、文+图+立体 IP（0.35%）、文+音（0.21%）。“文+图”组合是永庆坊出现频率最高的多模态语言景观，其余模态组合的占比虽不算太高，但类型丰富。

表 3 中部分永庆坊多模态组合的语言景观如下图 5—图 10 所示。



图 5 “文+图”类“日咖夜酒”广告  
(Figure 5 Text-Image Category: Exemplified by the “Day Cafe, Night Bar” Advertisement)



图 6 “文+图”华辉拉肠广告类  
(Figure 6 Text-Image Category: Exemplified by the Huahui Changfen)



图 7 “文+实物”类广宁非遗玉雕鸡  
(Figure 7 Text-Object Category: Exemplified by Guangning Intangible Cultural Heritage Jade-Carved Chicken)



图 8 “文+图+音”类粤语童谣“叻叻转”灯盏  
(Figure 8 Text-Image-Audio Category: Exemplified by the “Dang Dang Zhuan” Cantonese Nursery Rhyme Lantern)



图9 “文+立体 IP”类  
市花“广州阿棉”立体 IP

(Figure 9 Text-3D IP Category: Exemplified  
by the “A Mian” Guangzhou City Flower IP)



图10 “文+实物+立体 IP”类  
“顺德杨廷记”盐焗鸡广告

(Figure 10 Text-Object-3D IP Category:  
Exemplified by the “Yangting Ji” Shunde Salt-  
Baked)

由图5—图10可见，永庆坊多模态语言景观体现了城市更新微改造之后，永庆坊作为大湾区特色文旅街区的新活力。图5是“时萃咖啡”店门口的“文+图”类景观，既传承了广州传统的早茶文化即“得闲饮茶，一盅两件”，也在此基础上进行革新，加入年轻人喜爱的社交文化“日咖夜酒”，体现了永庆坊作为“第三空间”的社交功能。早茶茶点、咖啡和酒的图片，也展现出中西文化在永庆坊的交融。图6的华辉拉肠是广州老字号餐饮品牌。景观中的文字“粤来粤好食（笔者注：意为“越来越好吃”）”，将谐音的修辞手法、广府方言“食（笔者注：吃的意思）”，与动画IP形象和拉肠图片相结合，在传承广府方言和饮食文化的同时，也使外地游客了解大湾区本土语言文化。图7以文字解说与非遗文创实物组合的形式，生动直观地展示了广东肇庆广宁的特色玉雕，助力广东非遗玉雕文化的传承。图8将粤语童谣《叻叻转》的音频、文字与图片相结合，既唤醒了本地游客的方言文化记忆，也增强了外地游客对大湾区粤方言的感知度。

图9和图10都包含立体IP模态，深受年轻人的喜爱。IP（Intellectual Property）是对文化资源进行挖掘后得到的具有独特内涵的文化符号（彭凯等，2023）。图9是以广州市花木棉花为原型设计的立体IP“广州阿棉”，形象活泼醒目，兼具空间标识、文化传播、拍照打卡等功能，增强了年轻游客的参与感，有助于提升其空间认同。图10将憨态可掬的顺德名厨“红鼻显”IP形象、传统竖排书法“古法盐焗鸡”、柴火灶实物等实物模型组合成为顺德美食盐焗鸡的场景，既展现了传统古法厨艺，传承品牌记忆，又借IP形象吸引年轻人的关注。

上述多模态语言景观的共同点是，综合运用视觉、听觉模态，将粤方言的俚语俗语、形象直观的图片、实物，与现代流行文化如平面或立体IP等相结合。既保留传统文化也与时俱进，创造“粤潮”“国潮”式的多模态语言景观，让游客感受人文湾区、休闲湾区的语言文化魅力，建构空间认同。

## 2.多模态语言景观的产业类型

从所属行业及所占比例的视角来看，永庆坊多模态语言景观大致可以分为8大类。如下表4所示。

表4 永庆坊多模态语言景观的产业类型分布 (N=1421)  
(Table 4 Industrial Composition of the Multimodal Linguistic Landscape in Yongqing Fang)  
(N=1421)

模态组合类别	餐饮类	公共服务类	零售(非文创)	零售(文创)	社交活动类	文化教育类	休闲娱乐类	住宿类
A	423 (37.60)	241 (21.42)	267 (23.73)	61 (5.42)	17 (1.51)	91 (8.09)	12 (1.07)	13 (1.16)
B	1 (33.33)	-	-	-	-	2 (66.67)	-	-
C	5 (4.90)	-	41 (40.20)	-	-	56 (54.90)	-	-
D	32 (66.67)	-	7 (14.58)	3 (6.25)	3 (6.25)	3 (6.25)	-	-
E	6 (60.00)	-	-	-	-	4 (40.00)	-	-
F	28 (27.45)	-	64 (62.75)	10 (9.8)	-	-	-	-
G	5 (62.50)	-	3 (37.50)	-	-	-	-	-
H	3 (60.00)	-	2 (40.00)	-	-	-	-	-
I	15 (83.33)	-	-	-	-	3 (16.67)	-	-

(注: A-I 分别代表多模态语言景观的模态组合类型。A: 文+图; B: 文+音; C: 文+实物; D: 文+立体 IP ; E: 文+图+音; F: 文+图+实物; G: 文+立体 IP+实物; H: 文+图+立体 IP ; I: 文+图+画+音)

由表4可见，多模态语言景观在永庆坊的8类产业如商业（餐饮、零售等）、公共服务、文化教育、休闲娱乐等均有分布。其中“文+图”模态类语言景观（后文简称“文图景观”）作为实用高效的信息表达方式，出现频率最高，其用文字传达核心信息，用图像辅助理解。餐饮业的文图景观可用文字介绍菜名、价格、优惠活动等信息，用图像吸引客群。零售业中的文图景观通过“文字标注商品属性+图像展示商品外观”的方式，满足游客及时消费的需求。公共服务业中的文图景观通过“文字标注地名或服务类型+图像标注地标或路线等”的方式，保证游客游览过程的顺畅。

在文化教育产业中，“文+实物”模态景观占比仅次于文图模态。作为大湾区知名度较高的历史文化街区，永庆坊的文化场馆较多，如汇聚广彩、广绣、珐琅、醒狮、玉雕等10项非遗项目的大师工作室、粤剧艺术博物馆、李小龙故居、八和会馆、活字印刷体验馆等，可以让游客直观感受、亲身体验非遗文化，而“文字+实物”模态景观能很好地满足游客的需求。其中“实物”多为非遗展品或文物，如非遗工作室陈列的广绣、广彩、醒狮等、活字印刷体验馆的铅活字、粤剧艺术博物馆的

戏服、头饰、妆造等，文字则用于介绍制作工艺、历史沿革等背景知识，实物与文字的结合，有助于帮助游客实现沉浸式的文化体验，传承传播广府文化和中华优秀传统文化。

在文化教育类产业中，还有“文+音”及“文+图+音”模态的语言景观，如位于永庆坊的全球首家肠粉博物馆，播放粤语童谣“落雨大”“氹氹转”等，配以童谣的文字版和插图。粤剧文化博物馆也有收听红线女等粤剧名家唱腔的耳机，配以对唱腔的图片文字介绍，通过图文音及实物并茂的多模态景观，唤醒本地游客的集体文化记忆，吸引外地游客体验大湾区独特的方言文化。但由于声音模态播放时需要安静的环境，且制作和维护成本较高，因此占比较低。

永庆坊商业类景观中还有包含立体 IP 的多模态语言景观，如前文所言，华辉肠粉的卡通 IP、顺德杨廷记的“红鼻显”IP 雕塑能为商户打造“记忆点”，提升商户的辨识度。也可作为青年游客拍照打卡的地标，并通过小红书等社交媒体发布，间接为商户宣传并吸引客流。此外，立体 IP 景观还可作为商品周边进行销售。如肯德基永庆坊店的“广州城市杯”IP 周边等，体现出较强的商业价值。

### 3.多模态语言景观的功能类型

我们将永庆坊语言景观的功能类型分为六大类：导视标识类、公共设施类、商业标识类、说明介绍类、提醒警示类、文化宣传类。多模态语言景观在六类功能类型标牌中的分布情况如下表 5 所示。

表 5 永庆坊多模态语言景观功能类型分布 (N=1421)

(Table 5 Functional Composition of the Multimodal Linguistic Landscape in Yongqing Fang) (N=1421)

模态组合类型 功能类型	商业 标识类 (%)	文化 宣传类 (%)	导视 标识类 (%)	说明 介绍类 (%)	提醒 警示类 (%)	公共 设施类 (%)
文+图	554 (49.24)	170 (15.11)	161 (14.31)	138 (12.27)	87 (7.73)	15 (1.33)
文+音	-	3 (100)	-	-	-	-
文+实物	36 (35.29)	66 (64.71)	-	-	-	-
文+立体 IP	42(87.5)	6(12.50)	-	-	-	-
文+图+音	-	10 (100)	-	-	-	-
文+图+实物	69 (67.65)	10 (9.80)	-	23 (22.55)	-	-
文+立体 IP +实物	5 (62.50)	3 (37.50)	-	-	-	-
文+图 +立体 IP	5 (100)	-	-	-	-	-
文+图+画+音	-	8 (44.44)	-	10(55.56)	-	-

综合永庆坊多模态语言景观的 9 种模态组合（表 3）、8 类产业分布（表 4）、6 种功能类型（表 5）分析可见，多模态语言景观的模态组合多元、产业分布广泛、功能类型丰富，三者之间具有密切的对应关系。表 5 所示，9 类模态组合的景观，大部分具备“商业标识”或“文化宣传”功能，这两大功能也是永庆坊作为 4A 级旅游景区和大湾区历史文化街区的核心功能，多模态语言景观在其中起到营造本土语言氛围、传承传播本土优秀传统文化的作用。文图景观作为使用频率最高的模态组合，在 8 类产业中均有分布，具备 6 种功能，产业应用范围广，场景适应性强，既可以为游客提供便捷高效的服务，也能满足其文化体验的需求，对永庆坊空间认同的建构具有积极作用。

概而言之，表 5 所示 6 种具体功能类型可归纳为信息联动与凸显、场景塑造与语境驱动、超语实践与表达三大功能。首先来看信息联动与凸显功能，永庆坊在运用文字、图片、墙绘、涂鸦、立体 IP、粤方言童谣等多模态景观的表达时，不同模态的表意功能充分联动，促进了模态间的融合与互补，联合完成信息编码，使语言景观较好地发挥语言交际功能和文化传播传播功能。

其次是多模态语言景观的语境驱动与场景塑造功能。信息的输出与输入需要借助语境的驱动，而非仅依靠语言内涵本身（周冰，2021）。多模态语言景观通过视觉、听觉、触觉等模态，构建各类文化场景，实现语境驱动，通过符号、情绪、情境多维度传达意义，使外地游客在面对较为陌生的粤方言和文化时，也能较好地进行信息理解和文化交际。

再次是多模态语言景观的超语实践与表达的功能。超语实践（*translanguaging*）是一种认知、社会文化活动和语言产出的过程，前缀 *trans-*与后缀 *-ing* 的整合意义表明语言是一个动态的意义建构过程（Li W, 2018）。永庆坊作为广州城市漫步（*City walk*）<sup>1</sup>的一大热门打卡点，语言文化的本土性表达是该街区的主要特色。永庆坊内诸多商铺运用多模态的粤方言词句来表现其本土文化特色，既满足多媒体时代人们的阅读、交际与审美需求，也为大湾区文化的本土性建构提供了多元的表达形式和全面的感知路径，使得景观的设计者和阅读者可以在特定情境中有意识地建构与调整自我的社会文化身份和价值观（Li W, 2011），构建包括文化认同、身份认同、社会认同等要素在内的空间认同。

## （二）多模态语言景观态度与空间认同互动的调查分析

### 1. 多模态语言景观态度的调查分析

本次调研受访者对永庆坊多模态语言景观的态度主要分为两方面，一方面是受访者对多模态语言景观的评价及评价的形成动因，另一方面是受访者对多模态语言景观呈现效果的评价。

首先来分析受访者对多模态语言景观的评价及评价的形成动因。在回答“更喜欢多模态景观还是单模态景观”时，69.43%的受访者选择更喜欢多模态景观。在回答“喜欢哪些模态组合的景观”时，喜欢“文字+图像”模态比例最高（38.93%），此外依次为：“图像+音视频”（30.19%）、

1 *City walk* 是城市行走或城市漫游，是青年群体以步行为主要方式的城市微旅游。指青年通过具身感知与城市空间互动的实践方式，可以重建人与城市、人与自我之间的联结（刘俊，2023），也是其对抗异化、重构地方感的亚文化表达（张爱红、吴元浩，2024）。小红书《2022 年十大生活趋势》中，“城市漫游（*City walk*）”位列第五位。

“文字+图像+音视频+立体 IP”（11.90%）、“图像+立体 IP”（8.51%）、“文字+音视频”（6.70%）、“文+图像+立体 IP”（3.77%）。由此可见，喜欢文图景观的受访者占比最高，前文表 3 所示文图景观在永庆坊语言景观的占比也最高（79.17%），说明永庆坊多模态语言景观的设置与游客的喜好是一致的。

受访者喜爱多模态语言景观的动因可归纳为信息获取、互动体验、情感共鸣三大类。其中信息获取的效果和效率是影响受访者喜好度的首要原因，即多模态语言景观“信息更直观”（62.88%）、“信息更丰富”（60.17%）。对于受访者而言，获取信息是首要目的，他们通过观看文字、图像、声音等组合而成的多模态语言景观，可显著提升信息获取的效率。其次，受访者对于信息的获取并不是被动的，他们希望通过互动体验获取信息，多模态语言景观“有创新性和现代感”（58.51%）、“有互动感和参与感”（51.51%），他们更乐于接受。再次，部分受访者认为多模态语言景观可以“让品牌形象更生动”（42.24%）甚至“引起情感共鸣”（23.49%），可见多模态语言景观可以通过前文所言的信息联动与凸显、场景塑造与语境驱动、超语实践与表达等功能，达到品牌形象塑造、人地情感交流等效果。

其次是分析受访者对永庆坊多模态语言景观整体效果的评价。采用 5 级李克特量表（1=非常不好，5=非常好）进行调查，结果显示，评价均值为 4.4 分，标准差为 0.721。选择 4 分（比较好）和 5 分（非常好）的受访者分别占比 50.90%和 41.04%，合计占比达 91.94%。可见受访者的评价积极，这有助于促进受访者对永庆坊空间认同的建构，推动大湾区特色语言文化的传承传播。

综上所述，受访者对永庆坊多模态语言景观的喜爱度高，对多模态景观整体效果的评价积极，这说明永庆坊多模态语言景观具有较高的接受度和认同度，这为其作为大湾区城市更新的重要基础设施，提供了较为坚实的社会基础。

## 2. 受访者空间认同的调查分析

根据前文所述城市社会学中关于空间认同的概念及内涵，本次问卷调查从受访者的经济认同、情感认同、文化认同、身份认同和社会认同 5 个维度考察其对永庆坊的空间认同。其中，经济认同是社会成员对特定空间中经济体制、经济结构和发展模式的接受、认可与肯定（权麟春，2015；张弘，2014）。情感认同指的是主体在社会交往中，自身需求被满足并对客体产生喜悦、喜爱、幸福、认可等积极肯定的情绪体验和价值判断（林钧昌、张宏溧、赵民，2021）。文化认同是个体通过对所属文化和文化群体的内化，获得、保持与创新自身文化的社会心理过程（陈世联，2006）。身份认同是指个体成员对其所属群体、阶层、地域、民族、国家等多重社会身份的感知，以及对不同类型身份的接受与认可（刘慧，2020）。社会认同指的是个体认识到自身属于特定的社会群体，同时也认识到作为群体的一员带来的价值和意义（Tajfel，1978），由此产生对群体的忠诚、信任和归属感（王春光，2001）。

问卷中关于空间认同 5 个维度的题项如下表 6 所示。

表 6 调研永庆坊空间认同的题项及分值统计表  
(Table 6 Survey Items and Score Statistics for Assessing Spatial Identity in Yongqing Fang)

空间认同类型及题项（五度量表，每项满分为 5 分）	均值	标准差
情感认同		
1.在永庆坊，我感到亲切愉快。	4.16	0.62
2.永庆坊是个可以放松的地方。		
3.永庆坊的氛围唤起了我对过去经历的记忆。		
4.在永庆坊，会让我联想到曾经看过的图片或视频里老西关的场景。		
5.到永庆坊是一次很有意义的游览。		
经济认同		
1.永庆坊游客很多，店铺业务繁忙。	4.16	0.59
2.永庆坊有餐饮、购物、文化休闲的地方，能够吸引我多次游览。		
3.永庆坊的经济发展有助于提升当地社区的生活质量。		
4.永庆坊的更新能够带动恩宁路的转型发展。		
5.永庆坊的经济发展模式值得推广。		
文化认同		
1.这里举办的文化活动，让我对广府文化有了更多的理解。	4.18	0.59
2.我很乐意参与这里的打卡集章、非遗文化体验等活动。		
3.永庆坊这样的文化空间可以促进不同文化背景人群之间的理解和尊重。		
4.我会在社交媒体上分享在永庆坊的文化体验。		
5.我会向家人或朋友推荐永庆坊作为文化体验的目的地。		
身份认同		
1.游览时，我能较好地融入永庆坊街区中。	4.00	0.76
2.我在永庆坊认识了志趣相投的朋友。		
3.游览中，我感觉自己成为了永庆坊社群的一员。		
4.游览永庆坊后，我认为自己成为了广州文化的参与者。		
5.游览永庆坊后，我与广州有了更多联系。		
社会认同		
1.在永庆坊，人们都十分热情好客。	4.15	0.63
2.永庆坊是一个热闹的历史文化街区。		
3.永庆坊的微改造对当地社区有积极影响。		
4.在永庆坊能体验到我所喜欢的生活方式。		
5.我很乐意参与永庆坊的社区活动。		
空间认同（整体）	4.13	0.58

如表 6 所示，受访者对永庆坊的空间认同的整体均值和各维度空间认同的均值均处于较高水平，且内部一致性较高。受访者对永庆坊空间整体认同的平均值为 4.13（满分 5 分），标准差为 0.58。各维度空间认同的平均值从高到低依次为：文化认同（4.18）>情感认同（4.16）=经济认同（4.16）>社会认同（4.15）>身份认同（4.00）。可见受访者对永庆坊空间的文化认同感最高，且文化认同维度的标准差仅为 0.59。近年来随着城市更新行动的开展，永庆坊实现由“空间更新”向“需求更新”、由“推倒重建”向“绣花功夫”微改造的转变，其更新改造不仅是对传统建筑的保

护，更是对广府文化的现代诠释（朱崇新等，2022）。我们的调查结果也证实了上述转变具有较为明显且积极的效果，1328名受访者对永庆坊所营造的以广府文化为代表的大湾区本土文化认可度高、一致性强。

### 3. 多模态语言景观态度与空间认同的互动

在分析受访者对多模态语言景观的态度和空间认同的互动关系方面，我们分为两步，第一步是分析受访者多模态语言景观态度与空间认同之间的互动关系。如下表7所示。第二步是引入调节变量，考察影响上述互动关系的社会群体变量特征，检验多模态景观态度对空间认同的影响机制及其在不同受访者群体中的异质性。如后文表8与表9所示。

表7 景观态度和空间认同度的相关性检验结果

(Table 7 Results of the Correlation Analysis between Landscape Attitudes and Spatial Identity)

变量	多模态语言景观态度	情感认同	经济认同	文化认同	身份认同	社会认同
多模态语言景观态度	1					
空间认同	.339**					
情感认同	.310**	1				
经济认同	.309**	.827**	1			
文化认同	.322**	.842**	.852**	1		
身份认同	.292**	.725**	.703**	.739**	1	
社会认同	.314**	.800**	.813**	.848**	.769**	1

\*\* 在 0.01 水平（双侧）上显著相关。

#### (1) 多模态语言景观态度与空间认同的相关性分析

由表7可见，受访者对永庆坊多模态语言景观的态度与对永庆坊的空间认同之间（ $r = 0.339$ ,  $P < 0.01$ ）永庆坊5个子维度的空间认同之间（ $r = 0.703-0.852$ ,  $P < 0.01$ ），均在0.01水平上显著正相关。这表明多模态语言景观态度与空间认同之间、5个子维度的空间认同之间都有正向相关关系。受访者对多模态语言景观的态度越积极，则空间认同感越强，反之亦然。刘慧（2016）对印尼华族集聚区华语景观与华族认同的实证研究也发现，二者之间具有互动性的同构关系。即景观中华语语码能见性和凸显性不断增强，有助于华人族群认同的建构；而华人族群认同的强化，也有利于华语景观的大量出现和华语地位的提升。永庆坊在城市更新微改造之后，设置了大量多模态语言景观，功能包括公共服务、商业导购、文化传承、城市宣传等，也有效提升了受访者对永庆坊各个维度的空间认同。

表7所示，多模态语言景观态度与文化认同的相关性最强（ $r = 0.322$ ）。这一强相关性印证了多模态语言景观在城市更新语境中作为文化载体的功能，也表明创设文化类语言景观符号是构建城市空间认同的有效途径之一。文化认同感的提升，也会带动其他维度如情感认同、社会认同、经济认同、身份认同的提升，进而形成“积极的多模态语言景观态度→5个子维度的空间认同→整体空

间认同→更为积极的多模态景观态度”的循环互动机制。

(2) 多模态语言景观态度与空间认同的回归分析及调节效应检验

由多模态语言景观态度与空间认同的相关性系数(0.339)可见(表7),空间认同作为动态复杂的社会心理建构,受多重因素影响。多模态语言景观态度并非唯一或决定性因素,空间认同的形成可能还受群体特征等多重变量的影响。为此,我们以多模态语言景观态度为自变量,空间认同为因变量,引入受访者性别、年龄、学历、职业、游览频率等5个调节变量(图11),分析不同群体在多模态语言景观态度与空间认同互动过程中呈现出的差异,这些差异也是影响景观态度与认同互动机制的因素。上述变量的具体情况如表8所示,调节变量参数检验结果如表9所示。

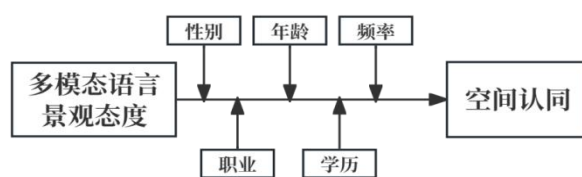


图 11 多模态语言景观态度与空间认同互动关系假设模型图

(Figure 11 Hypothetical Model of the Interrelationship between Multimodal Linguistic Landscape Attitudes and Spatial Identity)

表 8 图 11 所示相关变量及测量情况

(Table 8 Related Variables Referenced in Figure 11 and Their Operationalization)

变量类型	变量名	变量描述与解释
因变量	空间认同	情感认同、经济认同、文化认同、身份认同、社会认同
自变量	多模态语言景观态度	非常不好、不好、一般、比较好、非常好
调节变量	性别	男、女
	职业	个体经营者、自由职业者、其他; 学生; 企事业单位及政府机关工作人员
	年龄	20岁及以下、21-30岁、31-40岁、41-50岁、51岁及以上
	学历	小学及以下; 初中; 高中/职高/中专; 本科/大专; 硕士研究生及以上
	游览频率	从未、很少、每月一次及以上、每周一次及以上、每天一次及以上

表 9 图 11 调节变量参数检验结果

(Table 9 Results of the Moderator Variable Parameter Test in Figure 11)

调节变量	性别	职业	年龄	学历	游览频率
自变量系数	0.0725	0.2369	0.2379	0.2515	0.2352
自变量 P 值	0.2613	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
调节变量系数	-0.0102	0.0641	0.0465	-0.0195	0.0493
调节变量 P 值	0.7352	0.0011	0.0144	0.4155	0.0019

调节变量	性别	职业	年龄	学历	游览频率
交互项系数	0.1143	0.021	0.0496	0.0545	0.0022
交互项 P 值	0.006	0.4398	0.0585	0.0232	0.9261
模型 R <sup>2</sup>	0.0971	0.0993	0.0983	0.0968	0.0985
模型 F 值	47.4455	48.6358	48.1219	47.3227	48.1954
模型 P 值	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

由表 9 可见，主效应分析方面，在控制受访者性别、职业、年龄、学历、游览频率等变量后，景观态度对空间认同的主效应在除性别外的所有模型中均显著 ( $\beta > 0.23, p < 0.001$ )，说明多模态语言景观态度对空间认同具有稳定的正向预测作用，即受访者对永庆坊多模态语言景观态度越积极，其对永庆坊的空间认同感越强。此外，受访者年龄和游览频率调节变量的 $\beta$ 值均为正向，且  $p < 0.05$ ，主效应显著，表明受访者年龄越长、游览频率越高，其空间认同感越强。

调节效应反映了主效应在不同社会群体中的作用强度与方式存在的具体差异。表 9 所示，首先，受访者性别的调节作用显著（交互项  $P=0.006$ ），表明多模态景观态度对空间认同的影响在男女群体中存在差异。男性和女性受访者在感知、审美、情感表达等方面存在差异，其对多模态语言景观的反应不尽相同，也影响其空间认同的形成机制。Ortiz（2004）等指出社区公共空间、基础设施和邻里关系等是影响女性居民地方认同的主要影响因素。本文的调研也证实了这一点。多模态语言景观作为社区重要的基础设施，女性通常对其更为敏感和关注，且更倾向于将情感反应与认知评价进行整合并建构空间认同。

其次，学历的调节作用显著（交互项  $P=0.023$ ），表明受访者的学历越高，其多模态语言景观的态度对其空间认同的预测作用越强。本次调研的大多数受访者为高学历群体，具有本科或大专学历（71.16%）或硕士研究生及以上学历（14.46%）。高学历群体的多语能力、符号解读能力与文化传承传播能力相对较强，能更深入地理解语言景观所表达的语言文化内涵与社会价值，因此其对多模态语言景观的积极态度对空间认同的促进作用更明显。

再次，年龄的调节作用呈边缘显著（交互项  $P=0.059$ ），表明年龄增长可能强化景观态度对认同的正向影响。本次调研的年长者多为大湾区居民，熟悉粤方言，其认知框架深受历史记忆与地方感的塑造，他们对大湾区本土文化与城市历史变迁有更深的体会。当他们看到永庆坊中对骑楼、粤剧、广绣等传统文化的图文景观介绍时，更易引发其“乡愁记忆”，其对多模态景观的认可度越高，其空间认同尤其是文化认同也越高。相对而言，年轻受访者更关注多模态景观的“潮流属性”（如立体 IP 等），对传统文化内涵的关注度较低，因此调节效应也相对较弱。

职业与游览频率的调节作用不显著 ( $P > 0.05$ )，反映了在永庆坊多模态语言景观与空间认同的互动过程中，形成了超越特定职业与体验深度的机制。一方面，永庆坊的多模态语言景观设计具有语境驱动与场景塑造的功能，降低了各类职业的阅读者解读符号的门槛。另一方面，更新后的永庆坊作为兼具休闲、消费、教育、文化、社交等复合功能的场所，无论是热衷社交打卡的学生，

注重环境品质的企事业单位职员，还是关注商业氛围的经营者，都能从中找到各自的空间认同点。游览频率调节作用不显著，从侧面表明永庆坊多模态语言景观对空间认同的影响机制具有稳定性。表 9 主效应的数据显示，高频游览者的空间认同更高，但调节效应显示，无论初访者还是常客，其多模态景观态度对空间认同的影响度是稳定的。这表明多模态语言景观能够让游览者通过单次或数次参观，均可能留下较为深刻的印象。

此外，回归分析结果显示（表 9）， $R^2$ 均在 10%左右，即该模型能解释空间认同约 10%的变异。F 值均达显著水平（ $P < 0.001$ ），表明模型设定合理，具有统计学意义。虽然仅约 10%的空间认同变异由“多模态语言景观态度+5 个调节变量”解释，剩余约 90%的变异源于“未纳入的关键变量”，这并非模型无效，而是由空间认同的多源性导致。在后续的研究中，我们将继续结合永庆坊场景，补充未纳入的变量，如空间感知、空间认知、语言景观治理意愿及实践、语言服务需求与评价等变量，对语言景观与空间认同之间的互动关系进行考察分析。

## 五、结论及启示

本文以永庆坊为实证案例，探究城市更新视域下大湾区多模态语言景观与空间认同的互动关系。研究结论包括如下 3 方面。

首先，城市更新微改造后的永庆坊，多模态语言景观数量达 1421 条，在永庆坊语言景观中占比为 66.25%，整体呈现“模态组合丰富、产业分布广泛、功能类型多样”的特点。具体来看，永庆坊多模态语言景观包括 9 种模态组合，其中文图景观占 79.17%。多模态语言景观分布于餐饮、公共服务、文化教育等 8 类产业，具备信息联动与凸显、场景塑造与语境驱动、超语实践与本土表达三大核心功能。整体来看，永庆坊多模态语言景观既保留以广府文化为核心的大湾区传统文化元素（如粤方言、广绣广彩等非遗文化），又融入立体 IP 等潮流符号，响应了 2018 年 10 月习近平总书记考察永庆坊所做出的指示，即更多采用微改造的“绣花”功夫进行城市规划与建设，注重文明传承、文化延续，让城市留下记忆，让人们记住乡愁。体现“老城市新活力”的城市更新理念。

第二，受访者对多模态景观的态度积极，对永庆坊的空间认同感强。在 1328 份有效问卷中，91.94%的受访者对多模态景观给予“较好”及以上评价，整体空间认同均值为 4.13 分（满分 5 分），其中文化认同均值最高（4.18 分）。城市更新微改造后永庆坊的文化遗产传播与空间赋能的成效显著。

第三，多模态语言景观态度与空间认同互动具备显著正相关关系。二者呈 0.01 水平显著正相关（ $r=0.339$ ），且与文化认同相关性最强（ $r=0.322$ ）。体现出“积极的多模态语言景观态度→5 个子维度的空间认同→整体空间认同→更为积极的多模态语言景观态度”的循环互动机制。性别、学历、年龄变量对该互动机制具有调节作用。除了多模态语言景观之外，空间认同还受空间感知与认知、语言景观治理意愿及实践、语言服务需求与评价等因素影响，由此可见，多模态语言景观是城市更新过程中空间认同建构的关键载体而非唯一要素。

根据前文的调研数据，从城市更新和多模态语言景观视角出发，我们以永庆坊为样例，提出以下意见和建议，以推动人文湾区、休闲湾区的建设。

首先, 应根据不同产业属性与功能需求优化景观的多模态组合, 确保信息传递高效性, 避免过度追求模态多样化而降低实用性。本次调研显示, 文图景观实用性强, 广泛适用各类产业及场域。此外, 文化教育产业可多使用文字、图片、实物、视频、声音等多元模态景观, 为游客营造沉浸式文化体验。商业景观可使用立体 IP 模态, 满足青年“打卡社交”的需求。

其次, 优化文化传承传播为导向的景观设计, 凸显大湾区地域特色, 提升湾区城市群语言服务品质。语言服务作为城市软性基础设施, 深度参与并推动国家现代化进程, 在更高水平上助力国家发展(孙佳莹、王海兰, 2025)。在语言服务优化建设中, 可借鉴永庆坊多模态语言景观的设计经验, 保留粤方言(如俚语、童谣)、非遗技艺(广绣、广彩)等模态要素, 融入港澳多语及多元文化特色, 形成传统与现代兼具的大湾区多模态语言景观标识体系, 以鲜明的地域景观提升湾区城市活力, 吸引国际人才与资源集聚, 为区域现代化发展注入持续动力。

最后, 采用自上而下与自下而上相结合的语言景观治理思路。由政府相关部门制定政策规划, 规范语言景观语码使用, 鼓励创设特色景观, 如广州创设广府文化景观、深圳创设科创文化景观、香港及澳门特别行政区创设中外文化交融类景观等。定期开展群众调研, 根据群众反馈优化语言景观的内容与形式, 保证城市更新与景观设置能满足群众的物质文化需求。通过语言景观推进城市更新建设, 提高城市空间的语言文化品位。提升民众对大湾区的多元空间认同, 打造大湾区宜居宜业宜游的优质生活圈。

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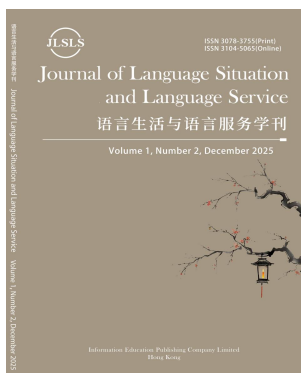
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## 数字技术激发会展语言服务活力

### ——兼论大型国际会展语言服务效能评估体系的建设

王 苗 (Wang Miao)

**摘要:** 在数字化与智能化深度融合的时代背景下, 会展语言服务正成为推动语言服务业转型升级与培育新质生产力的重要领域。从语言产业与语言生态的双重视角来看, 数字技术正全面赋能会展语言服务体系, 推动语言服务业从“人工支撑”向“智能协同”转型, 促进语言数据、智能翻译与虚拟会展平台的深度融合, 显著提升了行业运行效率与国际竞争力。与此同时, 数字化进程也重构了语言服务的生态结构, 形成了政府、企业、科研机构与用户多主体协同发展的新型生态格局。为促进产业与生态的协调发展, 构建会展数字化语言服务效能评估体系具有重要意义。完善的评估体系不仅有助于推动语言服务产业的高质量发展, 也为新质生产力的形成提供了实践路径, 对提升国家语言服务能力与国际传播力具有深远影响。该评估体系可从数字化战略、基础设施建设、应用能力、数字化效益与国际化水平五个维度出发, 建立科学、系统的评价框架, 以实现评估、治理与创新的良性互动。

**关键词:** 会展; 语言服务; 数字技术; 新质生产力; 效能评估

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**Title:** Digital Technology Energizes Convention and Exhibition Language Services: On the Construction of an Effectiveness Evaluation System for Language Services in Large-Scale Convention and Exhibition

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**Abstract:** In the era of deep integration between digitalization and intelligent technologies, convention and exhibition language services have become a key area for promoting the transformation and upgrading of the language service industry and cultivating new quality productive forces. From the dual perspective of the language industry and language ecology, digital technologies comprehensively empower the convention and exhibition language service system, driving the transformation of the industry from “manual support” to “intelligent collaboration.” This process facilitates the deep integration of language data, intelligent translation, and virtual convention platforms, significantly enhancing operational efficiency and international competitiveness. At the same time, digitalization reshapes the structure of the language service ecology, forming a new pattern of multi-agent collaboration among government, enterprises, research institutions, and users. To promote the coordinated development of industry and ecology, it is necessary to establish an effectiveness evaluation system for digitalized convention and exhibition language services. A well-designed evaluation system not only supports the high-quality development of the language service industry but also provides a practical path for the formation of new quality productive forces, contributing to the enhancement of national language service capacity and international communication power. This evaluation system can be constructed from five dimensions—digital strategy, infrastructure development, application capacity, effectiveness, and internationalization—to form a scientific and systematic framework that fosters positive interaction among evaluation, governance, and innovation.

**Keywords:** Exhibition; Language Services; Digital Technology; New Quality Productive Forces; Effectiveness Evaluation

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## 一、引言

2023年国务院办公厅《关于发布推动外贸稳规模优结构的意见》，首条措施即聚焦会展业，明确提出要办好广交会等重点展会，加强我国会展活动的组织协调和服务保障工作。语言服务是会展保障体系的核心组成部分，也是推动企业“走出去”的基础设施（崔启亮、刘佳鑫，2016）。针对会展等大型国际活动的语言服务是指以满足国际会展多语种交流需求为目的，运用专业语言能力与语言技术手段，为活动的组织、传播与实施提供系统化、标准化语言支持的专业服务体系。与普通的语言服务主要面向企业机构或个人不同，大型国际活动的语言

服务呈现出系统化、集成化的特征。更重要的是，在文化竞争加剧的背景下，高水平的会展语言服务已经成为国家形象展示、文化传播与国际话语塑造的重要途径。因此，提升针对会展等大型活动语言服务能力、推动相关语言服务产业的现代化发展，具有重要的经济及文化意义，是建设语言强国与文化强国的重要路径之一。

国务院发布的《“十四五”数字经济发展规划的通知》提出，“要以数字技术与实体经济深度融合为主线，赋能传统产业转型升级，培育新产业新业态新模式。”在数字技术与实体经济深度融合的趋势下，生成式人工智能（GAI，如 ChatGPT、DeepSeek）、大语言模型（LLM）、神经机翻译（NMT）、元宇宙（Metaverse）、自然语言处理（NLP）、虚拟现实（VR）等数字技术在会展语言服务领域的使用愈加频繁，不仅重塑了会展语言服务的业态，也提升了我国语言产业的附加经济价值，激发了语言产业发展新动能。会展语言服务正引领语言产业从传统的人力服务向智能化、体系化和国际化方向转型。本文聚焦数字技术对会展语言服务产业的影响，探讨新质生产力与语言服务生态构建的关系，并以此为基础探讨在人工智能及其他数字技术迅猛发展的时代背景下如何提升大型活动语言服务的效能。

## 二、数字技术为会展语言服务业注入新动能

### （一）上游：语言数据提升虚拟会展服务适配性

会展语言服务的上游产业涵盖语言资源提供商、语言产品研发机构以及相关技术公司等。语言数据是数字办展的技术基石，在提升虚拟会展语言服务的适配性方面发挥着不可替代的作用。语言数据不仅是简单更新了语言服务的手段，而是通过对海量原始语言数据的智能化处理，使得创造性生成技术适配于越来越多的语言服务应用场景，让“智能语言服务成为了一种新质生产力”（王立非，2024）。

首先，语言数据为虚拟会展多模态互动提供关键信息。综合语音、文字、图像等多模态交互方式已成为会展发展的主流趋势。基于海量语言数据训练的 GAI（如 DeepSeek），具备多语言处理能力，可为多场景对话生成实时字幕，助力无障碍交流，同时生成视觉信息，全方位呈现展品。在 2024 年北京国际车展中，参展商依托虚拟展厅展示了基于“第三空间”概念的智能电动车型。该平台采用生成式人工智能（GAI）技术，结合多模态算法，使用户可通过自然语言指令实时检索云端数据，并自动生成可视化图像及同步语音字幕。例如，当用户查询汽车引擎参数时，系统可动态调用数据库，通过 3D 渲染引擎生成高保真动态模型，并辅以语音解说，从而增强交互沉浸感。GAI 的应用显著提升了虚拟会展的语言数据处理效率，并优化了多模态信息的融合能力，为智能化会展体验提供了关键技术支撑。

其次，语言数据为会展平台满足跨行业语言需求提供了关键支持。前几年疫情的影响为线上虚拟展会的发展提供了契机，加速了数字办展从理念到应用实践的进程。全球展览协会（The Global Association of the Exhibition Industry, UFI）的一项调查显示，61%的受访者认为会展活动应注入更多的智能数字元素，推动“线上+线下”新模式（UFI, 2022）。近年来，广交会、进博会等大型展会都开始逐渐采取增设虚拟展会形式，使全球参与者能够通过线上平台参与、观看和洽谈，显著提升了用户参展体验。由于虚拟会展对信息传递的准确性要求较高，

智能服务终端通常预置多领域术语库，以增强语言服务的专业适配性。以第 89 届中国国际医疗器械博览会（上海）为例，其虚拟平台“iCMEF”整合了医学期刊、手术记录及专业词典等结构化语言数据，支持产品展示、直播营销及实时交互等功能。该平台不仅实现了医学术语的多语种标准化翻译，还通过动态信息推送提升医疗产品认知效率，显著优化了参展者的信息获取体验。当前，语言数据作为语言服务的核心生产要素，已深度嵌入会展服务的全产业链条，不仅显著提升了会展服务产品的研发效率与信息传递精准度，同时还优化了多语种资源的配置效率。可以预见，语言数据将在会展领域持续释放其要素价值，为各类新兴语言服务业态提供数字保障。

### （二）中游：语言科技推动会展语言服务升级

会展语言服务的中游产业主要由各类语言服务提供商、技术集成商和专业语言人才构成，它们是连接上游与下游的基础环节。全球化的发展加速了语言服务需求的多样化发展，这从客观上促使了会展语言服务中游产业与数字技术的结合，也使语言服务的中游产业的运作效率、服务质量和响应速度均得到大幅提升。其中智能翻译是中游产业的核心，其与数字技术的深度融合显著提升了行业的整体竞争力。

数字技术促进会展翻译高质量运行。面对大型会展高强度、即时性的多语种需求，传统机器翻译在准确性与流畅度方面存在局限。基于深度学习的神经机器翻译通过自然语言处理模型，有效提升了专业术语的翻译精度，保障了展品信息的跨语言传播效率。神经机器翻译具备跨语言媒介、跨平台、跨场景的特点，可快速识别文本、图像、视频等多种介质，并在 PC 网页、软件及智能终端 APP、网页间无缝切换。结合分专业、分领域的定制数据，它能帮助会展团队在短时间内生成高质量初稿，大幅减少会展翻译团队工作量。如今，神经机器翻译成为大型会展专业翻译团队的主流选择，优化了传统翻译流程，显著提升了语言服务的效率与质量（王苗，2025）。

数字技术减少语言服务的时空限制。大型会展活动跨境洽谈频繁，推动了远程口译（RSI）的普及。RSI 利用 5G 或其他远程通信技术实现实时口译，是传统口译的迭代形式。随着 5G 网络和云计算技术的升级，语言数据传输的质量和稳定性显著提升。2018 年起，RSI 在语言数据传输质量和稳定性方面取得显著改善，被广泛应用于视频会议、在线研讨及产品推介等场景。以 KUDO、Interactio 为代表的专业服务商通过技术创新不断优化翻译质量，成功将延时控制在毫秒级，使译员无需现场驻守即可通过 5G 网络实现近乎零延迟的语言服务。RSI 不仅降低了人力成本，还突破了传统语言服务的时空限制，有效满足了国际会展的翻译需求。

### （三）下游：智能创新拓宽定制化、自动化会展语言服务边界

会展语言服务的下游产业对接各行业和领域的终端用户。他们对语言服务有多样化需求，语言服务附加值高。智能数字技术正在使会展语言服务从传统的文字和口头翻译向全场景、多模式的语言支持方向演变，与智能数字技术的深度耦合正在助推我国会展语言服务行业数字化发展。下面从定制化人工智能客服和泛内容管理两方面，简要探讨新兴技术如何拓宽语言服务下游产业的边界。

定制化虚拟客服渐成会展行业标配。以 DeepSeek、Chat-GPT 等为代表的 AI 企业，通过

大语言模型技术，为会展场景打造了高度定制化的智能客服解决方案。用户只需通过自然语音交互，即可在大型展馆内获得实时导航、路线规划、产品介绍等智能化服务。智能虚拟客服不仅具备多轮对话能力，还能通过深度场景化训练掌握特定行业的专业知识。在 2024 年 7 月举办的“博鳌亚洲论坛全球健康论坛大会”上，AI 企业与多家医疗健康平台合作，展示了其在互联网医疗和数字健康服务领域的最新突破。其中，虚拟智能问诊客服系统表现尤为突出，不仅能够准确回答常见医疗问题，还实现了高质量的多语种实时翻译功能。当用户咨询需要专业医学解释的问题时，系统可无缝转接至远程医学专家，实现医患双方的无障碍沟通。医疗会展“AI 客服+专家”的协同模式，既保证了服务的专业性，又提升了咨询效率，充分展现了定制化 AI 语言服务的优势。

会展泛语言服务自动化水平显著提升。智能技术正在助力会展语言服务向内容管理等多元化领域扩展。未来面向用户的泛语言服务或将成为下游产业核心业务板块。展商语言内容管理服务已形成完整的全周期运营体系，涵盖从内容创作、智能编辑、多语种翻译到多渠道发布、实时反馈和动态更新的全流程服务。在品牌形象塑造和目标客群吸引的双重驱动下，展商对智能化语言服务的需求持续攀升。AI 技术的深度赋能显著提升了泛语言服务的自动化水平，推动会展语言服务向更高价值领域迈进。例如，136 届广交会会方就与淘宝 AI 技术团队合作，面向所有参展企业开放了共享直播间。展商通过阿里国际站的“AI 极简发品”平台就可快速实现直播带货。只需上传图片或者输入关键词，平台即可智能匹配行业术语、热点词汇和新品关键词，自动生成适配海外市场的多语种商品标题、产品描述和场景化视觉内容，并在全球主流电商平台和社交媒体实现智能分发。泛语言内容管理服务不仅简化了会展中跨语际沟通的流程，也有效提高了会展产品的支付转化率，凸显出 AI 技术在会展语言服务领域的商业价值。

### 三、数字技术推动语言服务生态系统协调创新

2023 年 12 月召开的中央经济工作会议强调，要以科技创新推动产业创新，发展新质生产力。在数字中国建设的战略背景下，语言文字与人工智能、大数据、云计算等新一代信息技术深度融合，正推动语言产业向信息化、数字化、智能化方向加速转型，为优化我国语言服务生态系统注入强劲动力。屈哨兵（2024）认为，数字技术所孕育的新质生产力不仅拓展了语言的边界，也为构建新质语言生活、做好新质语言服务提供了新动能。王立非（2024）进一步指出，在未来的智能语言服务生态中，服务提供者、接受者及服务内容不再是孤立的存在，而是通过技术赋能形成“一种新质生产力”。新质生产力在语言服务领域的变革性作用日益凸显，其以数据要素为基础、智能技术为驱动的发展范式正在重构语言服务价值链，推动语言服务生态向高阶化、多元化方向演进。

#### （一）数字技术是提升语言服务经济价值的加速器

邓祯、梁晓波（2023）提出经济功能是语言服务生态系统的基本功能。党的二十大报告强调，“协同推进数字产业化和产业数字化，赋能传统产业转型升级，培育新产业新业态新模式，不断做强做优做大我国数字经济，为构建数字中国提供有力支撑。”语言服务与数字技术在会展领域的深度融合可以视作我国服务业数字化转型的排头兵。经济高质量发展需协同推进

数字产业化和产业数字化。人工智能、大数据等智能技术创新性强、覆盖面广，已成为提升整个语言服务生态的关键驱动力。数字技术在语言服务领域的广泛应用，不仅显著提升了服务效率，还催生了新的经济价值增长点。比如，智能语言服务推动虚拟会展平台从传统的展览门票收益，向广告投放、数据分析和增值语言服务订阅等多元化盈利模式转型。基于数据驱动的定制化、个性化会展语言服务有望实现规模发展，并很可能成为未来行业的主流趋势。数字技术与会展语言服务全方位、全周期、全阶段的融合，不仅延长了语言产业的经济价值链条，也为我国语言服务生态的健康发展注入了新的动力。可以预见，未来以智能语言服务为代表的新质生产力将进入发展快车道，驱动语言服务的主体、工具、方式自动化；引导服务的供给、分配、消费集约化；推动语言服务经济价值多元化。

### （二）数字技术是传播中华优秀语言文化的助推器

国家之魂，文以化之，语言文字是文化传播的载体。在新时代，推动中华优秀语言文化走向世界，提升我国文化软实力，亟需提升中华语言文化的国际传播力。在 2023 年全国宣传思想文化工作会议上，习近平总书记提出“七个着力”的要求，其中之一就是“着力加强国际传播能力建设、促进文明交流互鉴”（求是网，2024-3-8）。现代会展业已经完全摆脱了单一化陈列营销商品的传统模式，逐渐转向集商务展览、会议洽谈、文化娱乐、旅游观光于一体的生态链（邓祯、梁晓波，2023）。数字技术突破了文化交流的时空限制，催生了新的文化传播形式，为我国语言文化的国际传播注入了新活力。

“数据+算力+算法”赋能会展生态链的集成创新。将会展数字平台打造成了聚合语言数据和跨文化资源的多功能中心，形成了中外用户广泛参与的跨文化传播生态圈。利用智能技术，会展数字平台可对我国文化要素进行多模态呈现，拓宽了海内外观众接触我国优秀语言文化的渠道，提升了我国文化软实力。近年举办的大型会展有个显著特点，即会展数字平台被打造成为聚合语言数据和跨文化资源的多功能中心，构建了中外用户广泛参与的跨文化传播圈。例如，2024 年北京服贸会文化服务专题展区就以“科技赋能文化，文化赋能城市”为主题，在虚拟平台展现了数字技术与地方语言文化深度融合的最新成果。观众不仅可以通过 VR 体验北京的历史文化魅力，还能通过 AIGC 生成的创意视频体验京剧艺术。丰富直观的数字文化体验活动受到海内外观众好评。未来，通过会展数字平台建设中国的语言数据和文化资源将得到更加系统地整合和推广。

### （三）数字技术是维持语言服务生态的稳定器

数字技术是现代会展语言生态链可持续发展的关键。这主要表现在以下三个方面：首先，数字技术确保了会展语言服务体系的平稳运行。在会展语言服务过程中数字技术承担了越来越多的管理和协调工作。比如，DeepSeek 等大型 AI 工具不仅能辅助会方搜集海量语言数据，以提前预测会展中的语言需求高峰，自动优化资源配置，还能在多语言、高需求场景下，智能分配翻译人员或语音识别资源，确保服务供给的高效性和连续性。其次，数字技术保护了会展语言生态的多样性。会展活动中使用的数字技术涵盖人工智能、云计算、虚拟现实、增强现实、计算机视觉、语音识别等多个领域。它们赋予语言服务生态系统强大的适应性。多元技术的融合与协作也为将来语言服务生态系统的演化提供了巨大潜力。最后，数字技术加强了语言要素

与外部要素的关联。作为语言服务生态系统的核心要素，智能技术不仅有助于实现语言内部要素间的深度整合，也在多个层面上加强了语言服务与科技、文化、金融等领域的协同合作。多要素参与的数字网络使语言服务生态系统兼具创新性和柔韧性，形成了推动整个语言服务生态系统可持续发展的综合力量。

#### 四、数字化会展语言服务效能评估体系的建立

##### （一）数字化会展语言服务效能评估体系亟待完善

数字技术正深刻地重塑全球产业格局。随着会展业国际化步伐的不断加快，我国会展语言服务也正在经历从传统人工支撑向数智化服务体系的业态转型。但有关会展语言服务领域的效能评估仍处于起步阶段，尚缺乏一套科学、系统且具有可操作性的数字化评估框架，难以全面反映会展语言服务的综合效能及其对语言生态的影响。

首先，会展语言服务产业缺乏顶层设计与统一标准。目前，国内语言服务行业虽已形成若干地方性或企业级评估体系，但尚未针对“会展场景+数字化特征”建立系统化的评估规范。多数会展项目仍以传统的质量控制指标为核心（如翻译准确率、同传流畅度等），未能纳入数据安全、智能平台稳定性、算法性能、用户体验等数字化关键维度。评估标准的滞后，使企业难以科学衡量数字化投资的效益与创新成果。

第二，现有评估内容与会展语言服务产业的数字化转型进程存在脱节。会展语言服务的数字化不仅是一种技术变革，更是一场涉及服务模式、管理体系与语言生态的系统性重构。然而，现有评估多重结果、轻过程，缺乏对数字化战略布局、技术基础设施建设、智能化应用能力以及国际传播成效等方面的系统考察。指标体系仍停留在传统语言服务绩效层面，无法全面反映数字化创新对语言产业链条的深层影响。

最后，从语言产业生态的视角来看，既有效能评估体系不利于会展语言服务产业链上下游的协同创新能力，影响语言生态系统的健康与协调发展。会展语言服务已成为语言服务业与数字经济融合发展的关键领域。构建系统化、数字化的会展语言服务效能评估框架，有助于推动语言服务资源的科学配置与生态共生，促使产业形成以数据驱动、协同创新和价值共创为特征的新型生态格局，从而提升我国会展语言服务在全球语言服务体系中的竞争力与影响力。

综上所述，在人工智能与数字经济深度融合的时代背景下，建立科学、系统的会展数字化语言服务效能评估体系，已成为实现语言服务产业高质量发展、促进语言生态良性循环的必然选择。

##### （二）构建会展语言服务数字化效能评估体系的思路与路径

会展数字化语言服务效能评估体系的构建，应以系统化思维为指导，统筹技术、管理、产业与生态等多重因素，形成结构完整、功能协调的整体框架。体系设计既要体现战略规划、资源配置、技术支撑、服务质量与社会影响等环节的全流程覆盖，又需在指标设置上注重科学性与可操作性，确保评估结果的客观、公正与可比。与此同时，评估体系还应具备明确的数字化导向功能，在科学衡量服务效能的基础上，为行业政策制定和数字资源优化配置提供依据，引导会展语言服务向规范化、智能化与国际化方向稳步发展，真正实现以评促建、以评促优、以

评促稳。具体而言,该效能评估体系的构建可从数字化战略、数字基础设施建设水平、数字化语言服务应用能力、数字化语言服务效益以及语言服务文化传播能力五个维度展开:

首先,数字化战略维度重点评估组织在数字化转型中的顶层设计与战略布局,包括数字化发展规划的前瞻性、政策落实的系统性、创新机制的完善程度以及数字化与会展业务的融合深度。该维度反映了语言服务机构能否在宏观层面上形成可持续、可扩展的数字化发展路径。

其次,数字基础设施建设水平是评估数字化能力的关键支撑,主要涉及数据资源的整合与安全管理、智能平台的构建与运行稳定性、技术接口的兼容性以及云计算、大数据、人工智能等核心技术的应用程度。基础设施建设的完善程度,直接决定了数字化服务体系的运行效率与安全可靠性。

第三,数字化语言服务应用能力维度侧重考察语言服务在数字化场景中的实际应用表现,包括自动化翻译、智能同传、语料资源管理、虚拟展会语言支持等功能的智能化水平与协同能力。该维度不仅关注技术应用的覆盖面和成熟度,还应评价服务的个性化、响应速度及用户体验,从而反映企业数字化转型的实效性。

第四,数字化语言服务效益维度旨在衡量数字化投入与产出的平衡关系,重点分析数字化改进对服务质量、运营成本、经济收益、社会影响及文化传播力的综合效应。该维度通过经济效益与社会效益的双重评价,揭示数字化语言服务在产业可持续发展中的现实价值。

最后,语言服务文化传播能力维度强调数字化背景下语言服务的全球适配性与文化传播能力。其核心在于评估语言服务在多语环境中的互通性、国际标准的采纳程度、跨文化传播效果及参与国际交流的能力。通过这一维度,可以反映数字化语言服务在全球语言服务体系中的竞争力与话语影响力。

以上五个维度共同构成了会展数字化语言服务效能评估的核心结构,可进一步细化为若干一级与二级指标,形成结构清晰、功能互补的评价框架,既关注技术与产业层面的可量化成果,也重视语言文化传播与生态协调的长期价值。

此外,会展语言服务的有效运行有赖于科学的数据采集与动态分析机制。应通过建立行业级语言服务数据平台,整合语料资源、服务记录、用户反馈与绩效数据,实现多源信息的集中管理与可视化分析。在评估过程中,可结合定量与定性方法,如问卷调查、专家评估、绩效指标测算等,确保结果的客观性与可比性。同时,应引入动态评估机制,定期更新指标参数,反映会展语言服务技术进步与市场变化,实现从静态评价向持续监测与优化的转变。

## 五、结论

在数字化和智能化深度融合的时代,会展语言服务正成为推动语言服务业转型升级和培育新质生产力的重要方向。数字技术的应用不仅改变了语言服务的生产方式和服务形态,也重塑了语言产业生态的运作机制和价值体系。产业与生态的相互促进,正逐渐成为推动会展语言服务高质量发展的关键力量。

从产业层面看,会展语言服务的数字化孕育新质生产力。数字技术推动传统语言服务从“人工支撑”向“智能协同”转变,促使语言服务的上中下游环节实现了更加紧密的联动。这

一转型不仅提升了语言服务业的经济效益和国际竞争力，也为会展业的国际传播和文化交流提供了更坚实的支撑。

会展语言服务的数字化不仅是产业层面的技术革新，更是语言生态层面的结构重塑。从生态层面看，数字化的会展语言服务不再只是技术与服务的结合体，而是一个涵盖政府、企业、科研机构、从业者与用户的复杂网络。数字化进程不仅对提升会展语言服务的经济价值、文化价值至关重要，对维持我国语言服务的生态格局也产生了深远影响。随着新质生产力的形成，应以系统化的思维构建语言服务生态治理框架，加强数据安全与资源共享机制，继续推进语言服务生态系统的协调创新。

建立科学完善的会展数字化语言服务效能评估体系是实现语言产业数字转型与语言服务生态治理协同的关键环节。该体系以数字化战略、数字基础设施建设、数字化应用能力、数字化效益以及国际化能力五个维度为核心。五个维度相互支撑、动态联动，共同构成推动会展语言服务数字化升级与生态优化的系统机制。未来，随着评估体系的不断完善与实施，会展语言服务将在全球语言服务体系中发挥更为突出的战略支撑作用，成为数字经济时代推动语言产业高质量发展的重要引擎。

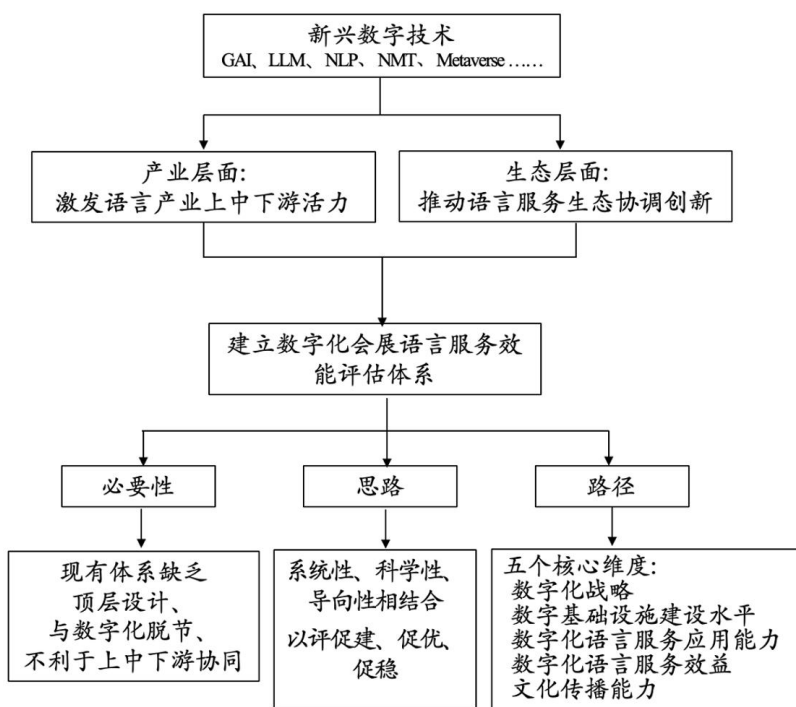


图 1 数字化会展语言服务及其效能评估体系建设  
(Figure 1 Digital Exhibition Language Services and Their Effectiveness Evaluation Framework)

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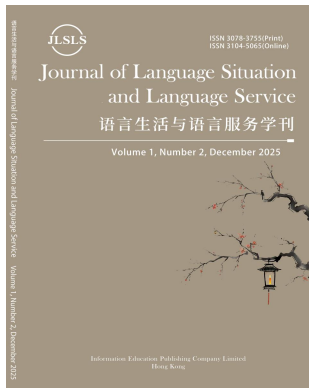
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## 数字素养在家庭教育的挑战：数字母职的困境与突围

吴展芬（Wu Zhanfen），蔡燕玲（Cai Yanling）

**摘要：**在数字化教育不断深化的时代背景下，家庭作为儿童教育的关键场域，正日益成为教育数字化转型的重要承载空间。母亲作为家庭教育中的核心角色，在数字技术融入日常教养的过程中，承担了愈发复杂的数字责任，同时也面临一系列新型挑战。本研究聚焦母亲在家庭教育中的数字素养实践，旨在系统揭示其在数字教育环境中所面临的多重困境，构建相应的理论分析框架，以回应国际数字素养研究对“包容性”与“教育公平”的持续关注，进而探索培育未来数字公民的可能路径。通过对八位母亲进行半结构化访谈，研究发现母亲在数字教育实践中普遍面临技术接入、能力适配、情感支持及资源协调等多维挑战。基于实证分析，本文提出“数字母职”这一核心概念，将其界定为母亲在数字教育情境中所承担的多重责任集合，具体包括操作支持、成本投入、教育规划、情感劳动与资源协调等方面。在理论层面，研究整合数字素养模型（DigComp）、性别角色理论与照料理论，提出“能力—转化—结构”ACS理论分析框架，为理解家庭教育在数字化进程中的角色演变提供了新的视角。在实践层面，本文提出通过提升母亲的数字技术能力、优化数字平台的使用体验、加强社会与学校的协同支持机制等途径，对数字素养教育的政策讨论与实践推进具有前瞻性意义。

**关键词：**数字素养；数字母职；数字公民；家庭教育；人工智能

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**Title:** Challenges of Digital Literacy in Family Education: The Dilemmas and Breakthroughs of Digital Motherhood

**Abstract:** Against the backdrop of the digital transformation of education, families have become key sites for technology integration, with mothers facing complex digital responsibilities and challenges. This study examines mothers' dilemmas in digital parenting and proposes a "digital motherhood" framework, addressing inclusion and equity in digital literacy research. Based on interviews with eight mothers, the study identifies challenges in technology access, competency, emotional support, and resource coordination. "Digital motherhood" encompasses operational support, cost investment, educational planning, emotional labor, and resource coordination. Theoretically, the study integrates DigComp, gender role theory, and care theory, proposing Ability–Conversion–Structure (ACS) analytical framework offers a new perspective for understanding how the role of family education evolves. Practically, it suggests enhancing mothers' digital skills, improving platform usability, and strengthening school-society collaboration to promote digital citizenship and educational equity.

**Keywords:** digital literacy; digital motherhood; digital citizenship; family education; artificial intelligence

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## 一、研究背景

随着数字技术深度融入社会生活，国家在政策层面不断推动全民数字素养的提升，《全民数字素养与技能提升行动纲要》提出构建“家庭—学校—社会”协同育人的数字能力培养体系，首次将“家庭教育”纳入国家数字素养提升的系统工程。这一系列顶层设计标志着：家庭已不再是传统意义上的教育“补充空间”，而是成为数字时代赋能学生的关键场域。

在数字社会语境下，母亲在家庭中被期待承担培养孩子成为未来数字公民的责任，这不仅在学业辅导、数字平台使用等具体实践中显现，也体现在家长对数字社会责任与规范意识的提升之中（Erdreich, L., 2025）。在学术研究层面，关于母亲与数字环境的讨论并非空白。国外有学者提出“digital motherhood”的概念，用以分析母亲如何在社交媒体、母婴健康应用软件、网络互助社群中的身份与应对情感压力（Johnson, 2021）。国内学界则在“媒介母职”等研究中探讨了母亲在数字文化空间中角色的再造（张宁，2019；王建华，李春玲，2020）。然而，这些研究主要关注母亲在媒体表达、身份建构的变化，而较少聚焦于母亲在教育场域中承担的责任和面临的挑战。尤其在“双减”政策背景下，学科类培训被压缩，更多的学习支持与课业监督被回拨到父母身上，而母亲在家庭教育中的角色被进一步放大，她们在数字素养教育浪潮下不得不面临多重困境。

本文提出“数字母职”这一概念，指母亲在数字教育倾斜下额外增加的技术要求、在线劳动及情绪心理负荷等多维母亲职责。在已有“digital motherhood”概念的基础上（Danica Facca & Jodi Hall, 2023），将被用来描述母亲与数字媒体应用之间的交互体验概念，延伸至家庭教育情境，揭示技术介入家庭教育过程中的隐性问题，进一步讨论推动培育未来数字公民的路径，为构建更具实践性和包容性的家庭数字素养支持体系提供建议。

## 二、研究问题的提出

尽管“数字素养”在公共话语中已被多次讨论，在网络学习环境中，学生的数字素养也显著影响其学习参与度（Getenet, S. & Cantle, 2024）。现有研究较少关注家庭层面的数字素养建构条件，尤其缺乏对“母亲”这一性别角色在数字教育践行中的困境观察。这种困境有三重表现：其一，许多母亲属于“文科”选手出身，本身缺乏对AI工具的基本操作能力或评估能力，难以判断数字工具的教育价值与风险；其二，母亲的个人时间被家务、工作与照看子女等任务所分割，较难为数字新技术投入学习，难以支持孩子的深度技术学习；其三，社会文化与性别期待往往将孩子的教育责任默认归给母亲，形成了“母职独担”的养育负担，使得母亲承受更大心理压力和数字焦虑。鉴于以上观察，本研究将聚焦以下四个问题：

- （一）母亲在陪伴孩子使用学校/课外数字平台、开展数字学习时面临哪些困难？
- （二）母亲在规划孩子数字技术教育路径上是否有自主选择权？
- （三）母亲采取了哪些措施来缓解这些困难？这些措施是否有效？
- （四）母亲对家庭成员和外部社会支持的期待是什么？

## 三、相关研究与理论框架

### （一）数字素养的定义

数字素养在国际研究中有较为成熟的框架。以欧盟的DigComp为代表，它将数字素养定义为“在学习、工作和社会参与中，对数字技术的自信、批判性与负责使用”（Council Recommendation, 2018；European Commission, 2018）。DigComp结构包括五大领域：信息与数据素养、沟通与协

作、内容创建、信息安全、问题解决，它是当前许多国家与地区制定数字能力评估、教育策略的参考框架。然而，DigComp 具有明显的“去语境化”及“普适性”的特征，旨在描述个体在数字社会中应具备的核心能力，但无法对家长作为数字素养教育主要支持者的功能进行界定，尤其缺乏聚焦母亲在孩子数字教育中的操作难度、情绪负荷与教育选择困难等现状。在人工智能时代背景下，母亲在家庭教育中面对的种种困难和挑战，在现有文献中未系统性命名与理论建构。

## （二）母亲在家庭教育中的重要性

理解“母职”的形成与特征，可以从性别角色理论、家庭教育理论与照护理论等多重视角阐释母亲在家庭教育中的重要性。首先，性别角色理论强调，社会对于母亲与父亲的角色分工具有长期的规范化，母亲通常被期待承担更多照顾、养育与情感支持的责任（Parsons, 1955）。这种性别化分工不仅存在于日常家庭生活中，也在教育实践中通过社会文化不断被再生产（Chodorow, 1978）。其次，家庭教育理论指出，家庭是教育的重要场域，父母的教育理念、资源分配与日常实践直接影响子女的发展（Bronfenbrenner, 1979）。在中国情境下，母亲在家庭教育中的付出往往超过父亲，尤其在学习辅导与教育决策中承担主导角色，这种母职责任被普遍视为对子女学业成功的关键（陈会昌，朱智贤，2005）。与此同时，照护理论进一步揭示，母亲的教育与照顾劳动往往是隐性、无偿的，并未在社会制度中得到充分认可（Tronto, 1993）。这种“隐形劳动”在数字化背景下被进一步放大：母亲不仅要提供传统的照顾，还要学习并操作与时俱进的数字工具和平台，充当子女教育的“技术接口”。

## （三）“数字母职”概念的演化

在国外，“digital motherhood / digital mothering”等术语已有一定使用，它特指新生儿母亲使用哺乳记录应用软件、浏览在线早期育儿信息获取等行为，或被用来描述母亲与数字媒体应用之间的交互体验（Danica Facca & Jodi Hall, 2023）。在中国，也有“互联网妈妈”、“赛博妈妈”的母职身份表达，赵如与鞠高飞（2022）指出，疫情期间中国城市母亲借助网络、自媒体分享和交流育儿信息，在数字实践中调整了育儿心理与母职身份。关于数字环境中的家庭教育研究已在国内逐步展开，但整体聚焦于家长在子女成长过程中使用数字技术的互动关系，此类研究大多以“家长”作为分析单元，较少从母亲的角色进行细化。在家庭教育实践中，母亲不仅要承担孩子线上学习辅导、平台操作等工作，还需在新兴 AI 教育选择中作出规划决策，但母亲们的数字技术能力未被明确定义。本研究在 DigComp 个体能力基线之上，引入“照护性转化机制”（Tronto, 1993; Chodorow, 1978），以刻画数字母职如何形塑“能力—实践”的转换，将“数字母职”作为能力到实践“转换层”的关键中介机制，对个人能力模型做出扩展，也为后续提出更加结构化的理论模型提供新视角。通过引入这一视角，数字素养不再只是对个体应掌握技能的描述，而成为一项需要纳入性别结构、家庭照护实践与社会资源获得等因素共同考察的复杂社会议题，共同探寻数字时代下母亲教育角色的结构性问题和解决路径。

#### （四）数字母职在数字素养研究中的理论定位

DigComp 数字素养框架在国际范围内已形成较为稳固的能力结构标准，但该框架具有“去语境化”特征，即它们将数字素养理解为一种相对中性的、可被任何个体习得与应用的个人能力（Council Recommendation, 2018）。这种能力导向的路径有助于厘清数字社会所需的核心技能，但在家庭教育等高度情境化的实践领域时，其解释力显得有限。特别是在家庭内部数字学习支持的过程中，父母的实际应用能力往往不完全取决于个体本身，而是受到性别分工、照护劳动结构以及家庭资源配置等社会因素的持续影响（Lou et al., 2024）。近年来的家庭研究强调，数字技术在家庭情境中的使用并非一种纯粹的“能力行为”，而是一种深受社会关系形塑的实践过程（Danica Facca & Jodi Hall, 2023）。母亲在家庭教育中的数字实践往往承载了技术操作、时间组织、教育选择与情感照护等多重任务，本质上属于一种由长期社会性别分工塑造而成的照护劳动模式。因此，“数字母职”更适合被理解为一种情境化的数字照护实践模式（赵如、鞠高飞，2022）。

从理论功能上看，“数字母职”并非扩展能力清单，而是揭示能力被使用的社会条件与关系性代价（Bahr et al., 2024）。这启示我们，需要从能力框架的“个体主义逻辑”转向“实践转化逻辑”去思考和分析数字教育在不同家庭的呈现效果。综上，为了更好地理解现象背后的逻辑关系，本研究提出“能力—转化—结构（Ability–Conversion–Structure）”ACS三层分析框架：

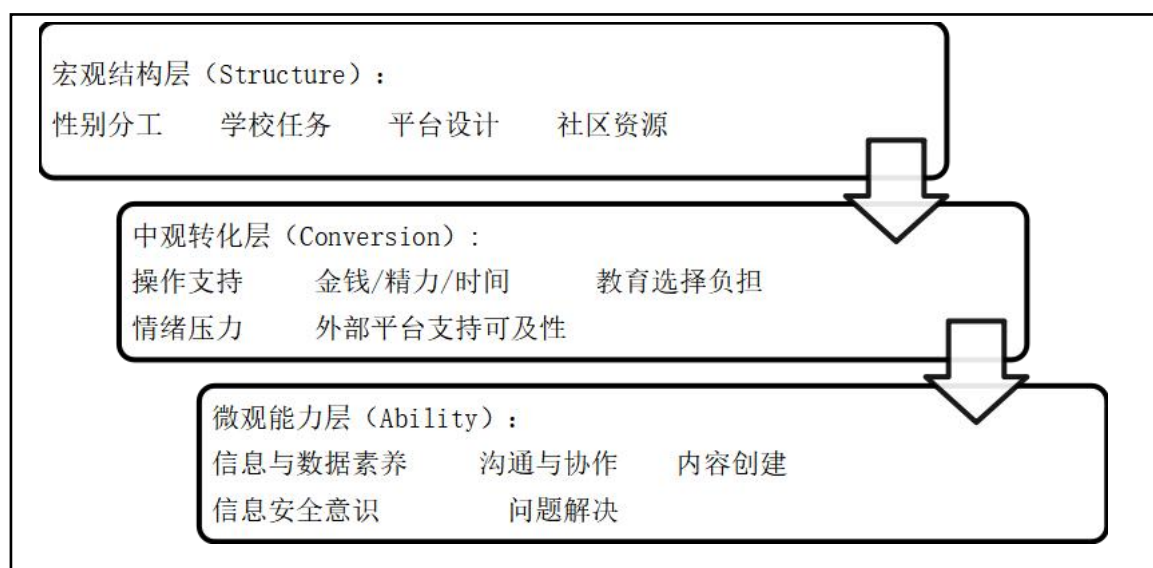


图 1 \*能力—转化—结构（Ability–Conversion–Structure）ACS 分析框架  
 (Figure 1 The Ability–Conversion–Structure (ACS) Analytical Framework)

首先，第一层—微观能力层（Ability）：数字素养作为个体能力基线，采用 DigComp 的五维结构，将信息与数据素养、沟通与协作、内容创建、信息安全、问题解决等能力纳入其中。其次，第二层—中观转化层（Conversion）：数字母职作为“能力—实践转化”的中介机制，包括操作支持、时间/精力/金钱投入、教育选择负担、情绪与心理压力、家庭/学校/平台支持可及性等；最后，

第三层—宏观结构层（Structure）：性别角色规范、学校任务布置、平台设计逻辑、社区支持资源等结构力量，决定了照护性转化机制的分布。在 ACS 分析框架中，数字母职是一个具有解释力的“转换层”，它揭示了即便家长拥有相同或相近的数字素养能力，在家庭育儿责任被性别化分配的前提下，这些能力的实际应用程度与成本代价并不相同。Daniel Talbot（2025）特别关注能力方法（Capability Approach）在教育领域的应用，他指出，一个人是否能够有效发挥其能力，不仅取决于其拥有多少技能，还取决于这些技能是否能在具体情境中被转化为实际的行动结果。

胡艳和钱艳（2024）指出，个人的数字素养能力如何在具体情境中被激活，以及付出多少情感与时间成本，都深受其所处的社会关系、性别分工以及照护劳动关系影响。在家庭教育中，这种能力转化过程受到照护分工、家庭支持结构、学校任务与平台设计等因素的显著制约，“数字母职”恰是观察这些转化条件的关键入口。数字母职指的是，母亲在家庭教育中承担的一系列数字教育职责，包括但不限于：数字平台/设备操作支持、时间/精力投入、教育选择与规划、情感/心理负荷、家庭/学校/平台支持可及性等，具体包含内容如下：

表 1 数字母职“能力—实践”的转化机制  
(Table 1 The Transformation Mechanism from Competency to Practice in Digital Motherhood)

指标	包含内容
操作支持能力	协助孩子使用学校平台、AI/编程工具；处理设备/网络或平台故障；理解平台或 AI 功能；辅助孩子完成线上教辅等；自学与适应新数字/AI 平台工具
时间/精力/金钱投入	在辅导、监督、纠错、协调课程冲突方面投入时间/精力/金钱；应对平台与学校布置不一致的额外工作内容；额外增加学生校外补偿性数字教育投入
教育选择与规划	是否让孩子参加 AI/编程/机器人课程；决定设备升级或资源投入；平衡学业与兴趣课程；在未来教育与应试教育之间的战略规划
母亲情感/心理负荷	对自身辅导效率、自我效能的怀疑；对孩子因操作失败、耽误时间、进度落后的焦虑；社会/家庭角色期待带来的内在压力
家庭/学校/平台/政策支持	家庭内部支持（父亲、祖辈、保姆、其他照护者）；学校或平台是否提供友好技术支持；政策或社区提供的设备/网络/培训资源

本研究通过揭示母亲在数字教育中的劳动模式，补足现有能力框架对“能力—实践转化机制”关注不足的结构空缺。在本文研究设计中，首先将母亲在访谈中的感受与行为进行编码，根据 ASC 框架的“中观转化层”中的“操作支持、时间精力、教育选择、情感负荷、外部支持”等指标加以归类。其次，在分析困境深层原因过程中，沿用理论结构框架进行解释性阐述。最后，在突围

路径与政策建议环节，着重讨论“宏观结构层”的可行性措施，通过理论与实证的结合，既揭示数字母职困境的多维成因，也为教育实践提供可操作的思路。

#### 四、研究设计与数据呈现

##### （一）研究设计方案

##### 1. 研究样本与研究设计

本研究采用质性研究，通过半结构化访谈的方式收集母亲在家庭教育数字化实践中的经验与困境。样本共包括八位母亲，其子女在读年级分布于小学三年级至高中一年级，以确保涵盖不同教育阶段的家庭。在样本选择过程中，有意识地考虑了家庭结构与带养主体的多样性，选择了母亲独立带养、父母共同带养、隔代带养、家庭雇佣保姆等不同样本家庭；同时兼顾母亲教育背景的差异（专科—研究生学历），以反映不同教育背景家庭条件下的数字教育实践。每位母亲的访谈时间约30–45分钟，访谈问题围绕母亲在数字教育中的高频问题展开，包括：（1）设备与学习平台的使用（含学校平台与AI工具）；（2）在AI教育背景下的教育选择与未来教育判断；（3）父亲角色与参与频次、参与内容；（4）隔代照护（如有）对数字学习的影响；（5）母亲的情绪与心理体验；（6）与学校/平台互动中的困难与策略，以及希望被支持的内容。全部被试访谈采用同一提纲，并允许在叙事过程中展开进行追问，以捕捉“数字母职”相关情境。

##### 2. 数据分析与编码策略

本研究采用主题分析法对访谈资料进行系统处理。研究遵循“由感知到概念、由案例到主题”的处理逻辑，同时结合ACS理论框架进行演绎分析。具体步骤包括：首先，研究者通读所有访谈记录，记录初步印象与分析备忘录，以熟悉资料内容。其次，在开放式编码阶段，研究者对母亲的叙述进行逐段标注，识别出与家庭数字教育相关的关键词汇和经验片段，例如“操作困难”“浪费时间”“焦虑”“难以选择与决策”等。随后，将这些初始代码进行归类和比较，形成若干具有概念意义的主题单元，对应前文“能力—实践”中观转化层的指标概念。具体操作如下：第一轮：开放式初始编码，以语义单元为基础进行开放编码，对母亲述说的行为、情绪、事例、行动等片段进行逐段标注，尽量贴近受访者原本语义。第二轮：演绎向度对齐，将初始代码与ACS框架中“转化层/结构层”概念进行对照，形成演绎向度（如：操作支持、时间/精力/情绪负荷、教育选择与决策压力、与学校/平台的协调、支持资源可及性；以及结构条件如性别分工、平台设计、校内任务要求等）。第三轮：轴心编码与主题提升，将概念相近、因果关联的代码聚合为范畴/子主题，厘清概念的相关性，最终上升为核心主题。研究从母亲的实际经验中提炼出五个关键领域：操作支持能力、时间与情绪负荷、教育决策压力、与学校及平台的协调、外部支持与社会结构。通过不断对比、修订和聚合，最终形成稳定的主题体系。

为保证分析的客观性与可靠性，研究采用双研究者交叉编码的方式。两位研究者分别对部分样本独立编码，并在讨论中对分歧进行修正，确保代码含义一致。研究过程中使用 NVivo 软件对数据进行整理与可视化分析，形成“原始文本—代码—主题—理论”四级链条，以保证研究结果具有可追溯性和逻辑一致性。

### 3. 研究信度与效度说明

为确保质性研究的科学性与可信度，本研究从可信度、可转移性和可确证性三个方面进行了控制。首先，在可信度方面，研究者通过反复比对不同母亲的访谈资料、进行多轮主题校验，将分析结果反馈给部分受访者以确认解释的准确性，提高结论的真实度。其次，在可转移性方面，研究通过呈现样本背景与典型案例，使读者能够理解研究结论在不同家庭教育情境中的适用性。最后，在可确证性方面，研究者保持反思性态度，持续记录自身立场，以减少主观偏见对结果的影响。研究成员之间持续交流并审视分析过程，以进一步验证数据解释的一致性，保证质性研究结果的解释性与可信度，使该研究的发现与结论能够较为真实地反映母亲在数字教育实践中的经验与心理过程。

### 4. 研究伦理

本研究严格遵循学术研究的伦理规范，向所有被试者说明了研究目的、使用方式以及可能的学术价值，在资料保存与使用过程中遵循保密原则，并明确告知其参与的自愿性与可退出权利。访谈过程中涉及的个人均匿名化处理，仅以编号 M1—M8 代替，以避免可能的身份暴露和社会风险，被试者均经书面知情同意并允许录音转录访谈内容。

#### (二) 访谈数据呈现

##### 1. 数据呈现

八位母亲的叙述集中反映了数字化浪潮下家庭教育的现实图景，可以看到母亲们在多个层面上的交叠困境：

表 2 访谈参与者基本信息

(Table 2 Basic Information of Interview Participants)

被试者编号	学生在读年级	带养人	母亲学历	家庭数字实践	当下面临困境
M1	小学三年级	母亲	本科	孩子在线作业需使用学校 App，操作复杂耽误时间，还经常忘记提交，希望能回到以前教师批改作业在群内反馈，现在觉得烦躁。	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 线上作业时间与精力负荷大；</li> <li>● 家长缺乏数字素养，不熟悉在线操作；</li> <li>● 母亲有情绪压力</li> </ul>

被试者编号	学生在读年级	带养人	母亲学历	家庭数字实践	当下面临困境
M2	小学五年级	母亲与父亲	大专	母亲对人工智能设备不熟悉，专门购买了某款智能陪伴学习机辅助学习，但孩子仍需在家长辅导下完成练习，感觉效率并不高。	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 设备添置增加家庭开销；</li> <li>● 父母不熟悉技术设备；</li> <li>● 学生无法独立完成在线作业</li> </ul>
M3	初中一年级	母亲与保姆	本科	初中后孩子学科压力大，课后作业与兴趣课程冲突明显，考虑放弃编程课；爸爸经常出差较少参与校内辅导，周末才回来。	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 学业与兴趣课难平衡；</li> <li>● 父亲教育角色缺位导致母亲无助</li> <li>● 教育选择与规划；</li> </ul>
M4	初中二年级	爷爷奶奶	大专	孩子在小学已经报过编程课，校内在线作业自己完成，熟悉使用电子设备。但爷爷奶奶不熟悉电子设备和平台功能，无法协助监督孩子，有时候无法确认学生拿着平板是在学习还是在玩游戏。	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 祖辈数字素养不足导致陪伴效率低；</li> <li>● 隔代带养存在监督缺位现象</li> <li>● 电子设备让母亲有顾虑</li> </ul>
M5	高中一年级	母亲与祖辈	硕士	孩子的高中学业压力大，已放弃编程课程；由于高考还是纸质手写，所以目前校内以纸质作业为主，App 只能是辅助部分学科。	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 学业优先于兴趣班，教育决策动摇；</li> <li>● 质疑数字素养技术是否能真正帮到高考</li> </ul>
M6	小学四年级	母亲	博士	孩子除了使用 App 完成作业，学校还会增加大量纸质作业和背诵作业；我们家还可以应付作业，但	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 在线平台与学校教学不同步；</li> <li>● 不同家庭的父母存</li> </ul>

被试者编号	学生在读年级	带养人	母亲学历	家庭数字实践	当下面临困境
				班群里很多家长天天在家长群求助和抱怨，他们不太清楚如何使用平台要求完成作业。	在数字素养差异
M7	初中三年级	母亲与父亲	硕士	孩子同时参加线上编程兴趣班和学科辅导，周末都是泡在培训班上各种课。父亲认为初三应该以校内为主，考虑暂停编程课，妈妈不同意。	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 数字素养焦虑给家庭增加了金钱、时间、精力上的压力；</li> <li>● 家庭在应试教育和数字素养教育上有分歧</li> </ul>
M8	高一	父母与祖辈	本科	孩子自主使用在线平台自学部分科目，爸爸妈妈都会自学知识来偶尔辅助孩子，学习主要还是靠孩子；高中后倾向找班主任一对一沟通学生在校情况，不依靠平台和数据决策。	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 父母共同带养和辅导的家庭，母亲满意度较高；</li> <li>● 学生在校情况仍需线下沟通</li> </ul>

## 2.数据解读

首先，技术操作支持困难是母亲们最直接的压力来源。母亲 1、2、6 普遍反映学校数字平台操作复杂、使用不友好，效率较低。母亲不仅需要掌握数字工具的基本技能，还要承担“数字接口”的角色，为子女完成教育监督工作。母亲的数字素养不足与平台制度设计之间的错位，形成了突出的结构性矛盾。

其次，时间、精力、金钱的投入构成了母亲日常生活的核心困境。母亲 1、2、3、7 均描述了在学业辅导、兴趣课程之间的高强度切换，导致生活难以平衡。这种困境不只因为学校课业任务繁重，也反映了家庭内部性别化分工的延续，母亲在教育劳动中承担了主要责任，而父亲或其他家庭成员的参与度有限。

再次，教育选择的纠结揭示了宏观教育制度与微观家庭决策之间的张力。母亲 3、5、7 在应试与素养教育之间反复摇摆：编程、AI 等数字技能被赋予“面向未来”的战略教育投资价值，但考虑到中考、高考依然是绝大多数学生的核心升学路径，校内学科教育的优先级无法撼动，迫使母亲在有限资源与巨大不确定性中做出艰难选择。

与此同时，心理负荷与焦虑成为母亲叙述中最具普遍性的情感体验。她们一方面担忧因自身技术不足而延误孩子发展，另一方面又因无法平衡学业与素养培养而产生深深的无力感。这种焦虑并非单纯的个体情绪，而是源于社会文化长期将教育责任投射于母亲的心理期待。

最后，资源支持不足凸显了家庭结构与社会环境对母亲处境的影响。母亲 2 的案例显示，设备更新的经济负担未能转化为教育支持；母亲 4 的案例揭示了隔代带养的数字鸿沟问题；母亲 6 则反映学校在作业制度与数字化推进之间缺乏协调。相对而言，母亲 8 的案例显示，当资源分工较为合理、家庭成员共担教育责任时，母亲的压力得到显著缓冲，“外部支持”在数字母职困境中有关键意义。

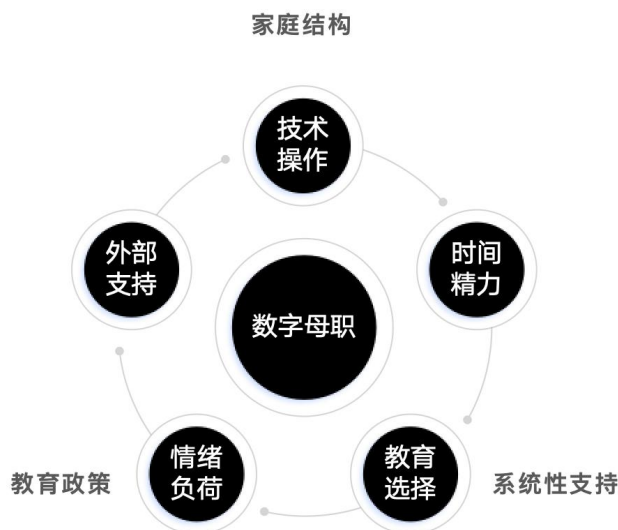


图 3 数字母职的情境功能及结构性影响因素示意图

(Figure 3 Contextual Functions of Digital Motherhood and Its Structural Influencing Factors)

### (三) 研究发现

#### 1. 家庭教育场景下，对母亲的数字素养要求：

在家庭教育的日常实践中，母亲通常是主要承担者，尤其在小学和初中阶段，母亲不仅负责孩子的生活照顾，还深度介入作业辅导与学习规划。在社会经济条件较好的家庭中母亲比较熟悉电子化办公，具备较强的数字意识和操作能力，她们往往更早地接触并使用数字平台，通过 ChatGPT、DeepSeek、智能作业批改软件来帮助孩子完成语文作文、英语阅读跟读、数学运算等作业。但她们也表现出矛盾心理：一方面期待技术减轻自身的教育负担，另一方面又担心孩子过度依赖 AI 工具而削弱独立思考与自主学习能力（陈丽君，2020；张静，2023）。

在农村或弱势家庭中，AI 教育应用普及程度较低，家长们不仅缺乏必要的硬件设备和网络环境，缺乏学习机会和培训渠道。孩子的学习仍然依赖纸笔作业和学校课堂，与城市孩子相比明显落后（李红，2020）。这种“数字壁垒”更深层地折射出教育资源配置不均的现状。正如 Selwyn（2020）指出的，教育数字化在不同社会群体中可能加速放大既有的差距，形成不可逾越的数字鸿沟。即便是社会经济条件较好的家庭，也未能躲避数字鸿沟的现实，母亲的技术参与度不足现象普遍存在。因此，数字母职的困境不仅发生在农村或弱势家庭，也体现在城市中产群体中。区别在于，中产母亲的困境更多源于数字素养与教育期待之间的落差，这种落差往往会转化为焦虑情绪，推动中产母亲们进一步依赖市场化的教育服务，寻求外部支持和补偿（张丽，2020）。

## 2. 家校互动场景下，母亲数字素养重要性：

教育数字化不仅更新迭代了学习工具，也改变了学校与家庭的互动模式。在中小学教育中，教师越来越依赖学校采购的智能平台布置作业和追踪学习进度。例如，语文背诵让家长上传音频文件打卡，作文批改由 AI 来评分，数学速算通过在线打卡批改，学生英语跟读由 AI 给予 Pass/No Pass 的结果等。这些任务实际上要求家长，尤其是母亲，具备较强的数字技术操作能力（张华，2020；韩璐，2022）。Bravo-Adasme 等（2023）发现在多数家庭中，学校推送的“数字任务”常常超出了母亲的技能边界，技术迭代并未减轻家庭负担，反而放大了母亲的教育压力。更为复杂的是，隔代抚养在中国家庭中普遍存在，祖辈往往承担起部分家庭教育监督任务。正如 Livingstone & Sefton-Green（2016）观察到的，数字教育往往默认家长有能力配合，却忽视了代际差异与家庭内部的教育分工。

值得注意的是，数字技术教育的差距在学生的更高教育阶段依然存在，它贯穿于学生成长过程的每个时段。有研究发现，部分大学新生在进入高校后才首次接触电脑，缺乏基本的信息检索与文档处理能力（Selwyn, 2020）。即便许多大学生选择了热门的理工科专业，他们在进入大学之前也只接触过简单的电脑操作，并不熟悉基础的软件系统、算法语言等数字素养，这说明家庭教育与高等教育在数字素养培养中的衔接上有明显断层。倘若母亲在家庭数字教育中的困境无法得到有效支持，将对孩子的教育成长轨迹产生不容忽视的影响。

## 五、数字母职困境的原因分析

### （一）技术发展快于教育观念更新

从宏观层面看，国家战略与教育政策正在以前所未有的速度推动教育数字化与人工智能的深度嵌入。《教育强国建设规划纲要（2024—2035 年）》和教育部等九个部门于 2025 年联合印发的《加快推进教育数字化的意见》，提出要依托国家智慧教育平台、人工智能教育大模型和教育大数据中心，加快构建泛在可及、智能精准的教育体系。这一系列政策举措凸显了国家通过技术手段推动教育公平与质量提升的战略意图，也在客观上要求家庭教育理念同步转型——家长不再仅仅是

“监督者”，而应成为孩子学习与发展的“协同者”和“引导者”。然而，现实中家庭教育观念的转变远滞后于政策推进的速度，许多家长与政策所倡导的“全面发展”之间形成认知断层，使得政策推动与家庭实践之间产生张力。

从中观层面看，学校层面的技术实践和家庭教育观念之间也存在明显的错位。近年来，各地学校积极探索 AI 赋能的教学场景。例如，北京市提出要打造“AI+教育”体系，并探索“新型家长学校”，通过人工智能扩展家校互动。然而，从学校到家庭的延伸并不顺畅，教师对 AI 工具的应用主要集中在校内教学与作业管理，学校形成了一套以数据驱动推荐为核心的教育逻辑；而在家长这一边，家长并没有接受任何技术培训和支持的基础上，就要自动熟练掌握各类平台系统，家长显然存在认知滞后和实践脱钩的现象。

从微观层面看，家庭作为教育的最基本单元，随着智能家校协同平台的广泛普及，母亲们被动卷入了一场“数字教育的再分工”（Owens M et al., 2023）。她们需要时刻关注手机上实时推送的在线作业、学习报告及其他任务，承担起“数据解读者”和“学习监督者”的双重角色。在这种被推着走的时代浪潮下，母亲们不仅要确保孩子完成学习任务，还要理解和消化技术生成的数据，在双重压力下产生焦虑和无力感。

## （二）母亲独职现象普遍存在

母亲在家庭教育中单独带养孩子的现象在社会中十分常见，这不仅源于性别分工的历史沿革，也受到社会文化与数字技术发展多重因素的叠加影响（Peng Y, 2022）。总体来看，母职独担的根源可归纳为三个方面：

第一，性别角色社会化的文化惯性。在中国的家庭教育实践中，母亲往往被期待成为主要的照护者与教育责任承担者。这种期待不仅源于传统的“男主外、女主内”的社会分工观念，也与代际传承的母职文化相关。社会对母亲的期待更为全面和苛刻：她们既要承担子女学业成绩的责任，也被赋予情感陪伴与性格塑造的角色（周兢，2018）。

第二，教育政策与制度的隐性导向。尽管“双减”政策强调缓解学生学业压力，但在执行过程中，教育责任却被进一步“下沉”到家庭（张晓燕，2022）。学校减少布置课后作业，学生的学习任务自然回拨到学生本人和家长身上。家长在监督学习和保障教育质量方面承担了更多隐性任务，而这一责任往往再次落在母亲身上，母亲成为政策执行下的行动承接者。

第三，数字教育下的资源与能力差异。当前家庭教育愈发依赖数字素养情况下，母亲往往在数字教育技能上处于弱势地位，这种“弱势”并非完全出于能力不足，而是因其精力和时间有限，导致“学习新技术”的机会被压缩。父亲在家庭教育中的缺位使家庭教育缺乏必要的技术支持，不利于子女全面素质的发展。

## （三）社会支持不足与公共资源匮乏

家庭教育中的数字素养建设不仅是个体责任，更是社会结构性因素塑造的结果。首先，社会资本理论揭示了公共资源缺乏与家庭教育之间的联系。科尔曼（Coleman, 1988）的“社会资本”强调家庭、学校与社区之间的互动关系对教育成果的重要性。学校作为“正式教育”场域，资源主要投向学生群体，而家庭作为“非正式教育”场域，缺乏与社会机构的有效联结，无法通过学校获得相应培训，导致教育支持网络的断裂。其次，数字鸿沟理论可以进一步解释资源不均衡所带来的结构性不平等。传统意义上的数字鸿沟主要聚焦于“接入层面”，即城乡差距、硬件设备获取不均等（Van Dijk, 2006）。然而，近年来学者提出“第二层次数字鸿沟”，指的是在同等接入条件下，不同社会群体在使用能力、应用深度与成果转化上存在差异（张新全、吴玲玲，2020）。从教育公平与公共服务缺位的视角来看，数字素养在社会支持的系统性缺乏，实质上是公共教育资源配置不均的体现。

#### （四）教育资源阶层化

从布迪厄的资本理论出发，教育资源阶层化体现了资本在代际间的传递与再生产。Bourdieu（1986）提出，经济资本决定了家庭在硬件设施、学习资源上的可支配能力；文化资本则体现在父母的教育背景、认知水平与价值观导向；社会资本则意味着家庭能否接触到优质教育信息与社会网络。施小寒等人（2024）指出，在数字素养建设中，高社会经济地位家庭往往能够同时动用这三类资本：他们不仅能为子女购买高性能设备与付费课程，还能凭借自身教育水平理解并引导孩子使用AI工具，同时利用人际网络获得最新的教育资讯。这种综合资本优势，使得他们更快、更好地吸收教育技术创新。另一方面，社会经济地位低的家庭往往在教育资源获取中处于不利位置（李培林，2019），他们缺乏经济资本购买额外课程与设备，也缺乏文化资本去理解复杂的教育技术，导致他们面临“技术使用与转化”的困难。教育政策在强调“普及数字素养”的同时，往往将资源主要投向学校教育，而家庭层面的素质教育问题，留给家庭自主解决。这种现象自然扩大了不同家庭之间的“教育投资”差距：富裕家庭可以通过购买市场化产品弥补公共资源的不足，而弱势家庭则只能依赖有限的学校资源。教育资源的阶层化趋势不仅是家庭条件差异的结果，更是教育制度与市场化推进在进行资源分层和人才筛选。

## 六、探寻数字母职的突围之路

### （一）政策层面：制度保障与阶段目标

在摆脱数字母职困境的路径中，政策层面的顶层设计是关键的支持力量，有必要从短期、中期和长期三个阶段分目标构建系统化的制度设计，以实现家庭数字教育支持的常态化与可持续化：

1. 短期举措（1-3年）：聚焦普惠与试点探索。短期内的重点在于快速回应母亲群体的迫切需求，缓解因数字工具带来的焦虑与不适。政府可依托社区教育中心、妇联组织和家长学校，设立普惠性“数字素养提升工作坊”，通过线下小班培训与线上公益课程结合，帮助母亲掌握AI学习工具

的基本操作与应用。同时，在部分省市推行“家长 AI 素养提升试点工程”，探索学校与家庭协同开展数字教育的模式。

2.中期举措（3-5年）：制度化与跨部门协作。进入中期，关键在于将家长数字素养的提升引入教育治理体系，实现制度化推进。一方面，可以在教育现代化评价体系中设置“家庭教育数字支持度”指标，把母亲群体的学习情况归入地方教育行政部门的考核内容，推动学校、相关利益者主动为家长提供培训与资源支持。另一方面，建立跨部门协作机制，联合教育、妇联、科技与社区治理部门，搭建数据驱动的“家庭数字教育支持平台”。此外，鼓励科技企业和公益组织，开发更加便捷友好、亲民化的家庭教育工具，使数字教育更具可及性与普惠性。

3.长期举措（5-10年）：法治化与体系建设。长期而言，推动在《中华人民共和国家庭教育促进法》及相关法规中明确政府在“家庭数字教育支持”方面的责任，确立母亲在数字教育中的学习权利与社会保障机制。同时，将家庭数字素养提升纳入教育公平与社会公平的长期目标体系，防止因经济与文化资本差异而产生代际性数字鸿沟（李珂涵、孙涛，2022）。更为根本的，是将家长学习纳入全民终身学习体系（周晓芸、陈颖娇，2024），使母亲群体能够持续更新知识与技能，从被动适应者逐步转向主动的数字社会建设者。

## （二）学校层面：教育共同体的开放与支持

学校不仅是学生学习的主阵地，也是家校协同的重要纽带。在人工智能与教育深度融合的背景下，学校必须突破传统的“单向度教育”逻辑，要将母亲群体视为教育共同体的必要成员，推动“平台—教师—家长—学生”的闭环建构：

1.平台端的建设是形成闭环的基础。长期以来，学校在数字化转型中往往注重教学管理系统（如作业布置、成绩反馈）的功能，却忽视了面向家长的支持模块。为此，学校应与教育技术企业合作，开发或优化校本数字平台，特别是嵌入“家长模式”，提供简洁直观的操作界面，内含学习工具指南、常见问题自动回复等功能，降低母亲的学习门槛，使其在教育过程中获得即时、可视化的反馈。

2.教师的责任已不仅限于传授知识，还需承担“数字家校沟通力”的建构任务。这要求教师能够根据不同家长的数字素养水平，设计分层化的沟通方式，如录制操作视频、提供分步骤的图文指南、设置常见问题自动回复等，帮助母亲获得适度而精准的支持，避免因信息不对称产生的挫败感。同时，教师应向家长解释教育工具的教学逻辑，帮助母亲从“执行者”转变为“教育理解者”（张晓，2021）。

3.在家长端，学校定期举办面向家长的 AI 教育讲座与体验课程，邀请专家和教师为其讲解人工智能在学习过程中的应用价值，提高学生家长的在线应用能力。通过这种方式，母亲不仅能掌握基本的操作技能，还能获得教育理念上的提升，进而在家庭教育中形成与教师、学校相互呼应的合作者身份（Epstein, 2018）。

4.学生端在闭环中扮演着桥梁角色。学生不仅是 AI 学习工具的直接使用者，也能通过“反向支持”帮助母亲克服数字焦虑。例如，学校可以设计“学生反串角色教家长”的活动，让孩子演示平台或 AI 工具的操作方法。这种亲子共学的互动形式，不仅能够促进母亲的学习效果，还能帮助母亲从“单向输出”转变为“家庭共同成长”。在这一过程中，学生的学习动机也会得到强化，他们意识到自己不仅是学习的受益者，也是家庭数字教育的重要贡献者（陈丽，2020）。

通过“平台—教师—家长—学生”四位一体的闭环模式，母亲从“被动者”走向“参与者”，教师从“知识传授者”走向“沟通协调者”，学生从“学习主体”走向“亲子共学者”。这种闭环结构既回应了本文所阐述的教育理念滞后与责任分担不均的问题，又为数字母职的转型提供了可操作路径。

### （三）家庭与社会协同：内外兼修，共育未来

一方面，家庭内部责任分配的不均衡使母亲背负了额外的教育与技术学习压力；另一方面，社会公共资源和外部支持的缺失，使母亲在学习过程中缺乏持续的外部赋能。若仅依赖个体努力，母亲难以摆脱“数字母职”的结构性困境。因此，必须将家庭责任共担与社会支持网络的搭建结合起来，从内部动力与外部资源的双重维度，推动母亲群体在数字教育转型中实现真正的突围：

#### 1.家庭内部：责任共担与共同学习

首先，推动“父母共育”，实现责任共担。研究表明，父亲的积极参与不仅能减轻母亲的情绪压力，还能提升家庭整体的教育效能（叶敬忠，2019）。在数字化教育情境下，父亲可以在技术工具的理解和操作中发挥优势，与母亲形成互补。其次，家庭内部应倡导“共同学习”模式。在 AI 工具的应用过程中，孩子由于天然的数字亲和力，掌握速度更快。若母亲与孩子能够建立“共同学习”的关系，不仅能减少代际冲突，还能在学习互动中重塑母亲的话语权。已有研究指出，亲子共学能够增强母亲的教育主体性，同时促进孩子形成合作意识和家庭责任感（Epstein, 2018）。最后，家庭内部应推动跨代支持，激活家庭教育资源，关注祖辈数字教育学习体系，不仅能拓展家庭支持力量，也能在代际间形成互补。家庭内部通过“父母共育—亲子共学—跨代支持”的责任分担机制，可以在内部消解母亲的孤立感与焦虑，为数字素养的建构奠定坚实基础。

#### 2.社会外部：多维支持与平台搭建

依托社会各方力量，从制度、市场、社区与文化等维度，为母亲群体提供系统性、持续性的支持。首先，在制度与公共资源层面，有关部门应明确家庭数字素养提升的公共属性，将家长尤其是母亲群体纳入教育数字化战略规划。例如，可以建立“家庭数字素养提升计划”，通过社区学习中心开设面向母亲的 AI 工具应用课程，或者通过“政府购买服务”的方式引入教育机构和公益组织来提供培训（贾积有，2022）。其次，在市场与企业层面，科技公司和教育平台应根据家庭教育的实际需求，开发简易化、亲民化的 AI 教育工具，设计“傻瓜模式”的功能界面，提供学习进度自动生成报告、一键答疑功能以及语音操作系统，帮助母亲在有限的时间与技术条件下快速上手。进而，

在社区与社群层面，教育培训机构和社区组织可以通过组建“母亲学习社群”，开展线上线下结合的互助式学习活动。最后，在社会舆论层面，社会应推动对“数字母职”的正向认知转型。长期以来，社会舆论往往将教育与母职责任直接挂钩（Shi Z et al., 2023）。媒体和社会话语需要通过宣传“父母共育”的教育理念，逐渐打破这种性别化期待，减轻母亲在身份认同上的压力，帮助其在数字教育中被视为“合作者”。

综上，本研究既揭示了数字母职困境的多维成因，也为教育实践提供了可操作的思路。探寻“数字母职”的突围路径，首先沿用“能力—转化—结构”ACS分析框架中的宏观结构层逻辑，从性别分工、学校配合、平台设计、社区支持资源等内容去展开政策建议。其次，通过ACS分析框架中的中观结构层，重视“能力—实践转化”的中介机制，即通过提升妈妈们操作技能、提供决策支持、减轻心理负担等方式缓解母亲的数字教育压力。最后，数字素养作为个体能力基线，沿用DigComp的五维结构，将信息素养、沟通与协作、内容创建、信息安全、问题解决等赋能于母亲们的数字教育技能范畴。实践上，通过政策、社会、学校、家庭、个人等各方力量的结合，形成一个支持型教育生态，使母亲既有内部资源可依赖，又有外部资源可借力，帮助母亲们逐渐摆脱“数字焦虑”，探寻培育未来数字公民的可行路径。

## 七、总结与未来展望

本文以“数字母职困境”为核心问题，探讨了在人工智能与教育数字化迅速发展的背景下，母亲群体在家庭教育中所面临的多重压力与挑战。本文通过数据呈现和原因分析，提出了多层面的突围路径。在政策层面，建议国家建立“家庭数字素养提升计划”，并将AI教育公平整合入教育考核指标；在学校层面，主张构建面向师生与家长的开放性教育共同体，降低母亲学习与参与的门槛；在社会层面，强调教育培训机构、公益组织与科技企业共同搭建支持平台，开发亲民化工具；在家庭层面，倡导“父母共育”的模式，以缓解母亲的教育压力。这些路径不仅回应了现实中的困境，也为未来的制度设计和教育实践提供了启示。

展望未来，数字母职的突围不仅仅是母亲个体的责任，而是政策、学校、社会与家庭多方协同的结果。只有在制度保障、资源供给与文化观念三位一体的推动下，才能真正实现数字赋能与教育公平的深化，积极推动培育下一代成为未来数字公民的可行路径。

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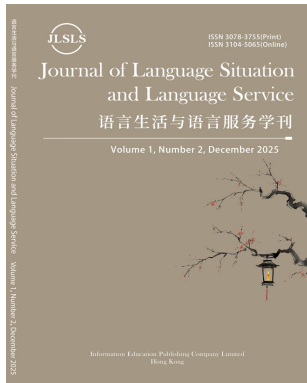
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## 话语与实践的共构：英国中文教育语言政策的能动性研究

陈纪宁 (Chen Jining)，王璇(Wang Xuan)

**摘要：**能动性是语言政策与规划研究的重要理论视角。英国中文教育语言政策在宏观、中观与微观三个层面存在能动性转化机制。通过语言政策民族志方法，本研究揭示了英国中文教育语言政策在多层级互动中的动态协商过程。在宏观层面，考试大纲、地区语言教育政策、欧洲语言标准与中国标准共同构成了中文教育的宏观话语环境，确立了中文教育在英国外语教育体系中的课程地位与发展方向。在中观层面，大学、中学、小学与华文学校等机构在课程设置、师资配置和教材选择等方面发挥语言教育政策的中介性调节作用。在微观层面，中文教师通过课堂设计、教材改编和数字资源等灵活的教学实践，将抽象的外语教育政策和教学规范转化为具体的中文学习体验，从而创造事实上的语言政策。在英国多语与多元文化交融的社会中，中文教育语言政策呈现出适应性、动态性和涌现性特征。未来，国际中文教育应当在保持标准化参照的同时，倡导统一的核心理念，即多语共存与跨文化理解的培养，以此作为不同场域中文教育实践的共同价值支点，并提升教育管理者和教师在语言教育政策中的参与度。

**关键词：**国际中文教育；英国；语言政策；能动性；多语主义

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**Title:** Co-constructing Discourse and Practice: An Agency-Oriented Study of Chinese Language Education Policy in Britain

**Abstract:** Agency provides an important theoretical lens for researching language policy and planning. The Chinese language education policy in Britain provides a case in point, showing how language policy is simultaneously shaped and diversified by agentive mechanisms through relevant educational discourses and practices across the macro, meso, and micro levels. Drawing on an ethnographic approach, this study reveals the dynamic processes of negotiation and adaptation in the multi-level implementation of Chinese language education policy. At the macro level, examination syllabi, regional education policies, European language standards, and standards set by China collectively construct the discursive environment, establishing the curricular status and developmental trajectory of Chinese within the British context of modern foreign language education. At the meso level, educational institutions such as universities, secondary schools, primary schools, and community Chinese schools act as mediators, adjusting policy through curriculum design, teacher deployment, and textbook selection. At the micro level, Chinese language teachers exercise agency by adapting curricula, modifying teaching materials, and integrating digital resources, thereby translating abstract policy frameworks into concrete classroom practices and lived learning experiences. Within the multilingual and multicultural context of Britain, Chinese language education policy exhibits features of adaptability, dynamism, and emergence. Looking ahead, the future of global Chinese education lies in balancing standardization with the advocacy of shared core principles, particularly multilingual coexistence and the cultivation of intercultural understanding, while enhancing the active participation of educational administrators and teachers in policy processes.

**Keywords:** International Chinese Education; Britain; Language Policy; Agency; Multilingualism

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## 一、引言

从 20 世纪末零星的中文教学尝试，到 21 世纪初正式纳入国民教育体系，中文已从边缘语言逐渐转变为英国外语教育版图中的战略性语种。2016 年，英国政府在英格兰推动的“中文培优项目”

(Mandarin Excellence Programme) 极大促进了中文在公立中学的普及和提升, 2022 年该项目获得了英国政府的第二期资助, 体现了英国教育部对中文教育的重视和中文教育成果的肯定。<sup>1</sup>与此同时, 截止 2017 年, 全英 85% 以上的大学设有中文课程, “中文+” 跨学科专业不断出现 (Zhang & Li, 2019)。社区华文学校数量已超过 300 所, 成为维系族裔文化和培养新一代中文学习者的重要平台 (张新生、李明芳, 2024)。孔子学院在英国同样发展迅速, 目前已达 30 所, 覆盖全国 19 万余名学习者。<sup>2</sup>这些多层次的中文教育实践共同推动了中文在英国教育体系中的可见度与影响力。

英国多元且复杂的语言教育政策为中文教育嵌入外语教育系统提供了独特语境。一方面, 英国是一个多语社会, 无指定官方语言, 英格兰、苏格兰、威尔士和北爱尔兰四个地区语言教育政策差异显著。例如, 英格兰在 2002 年推出《全民外语生活战略》, 推动了外语低龄化学习, 但随后取消外语作为中学必修科目, 导致外语学习人数锐减。2011 年起, 随着英格兰中学文凭重新纳入外语科目<sup>3</sup>, 外语教育迎来复苏。2014 年英格兰《国家课程大纲 (The National Curriculum)》进一步明确小学和初中必须开设外语课程。苏格兰则推行“1+2”政策, 要求学生在掌握英语基础上再学会两门外语。威尔士的语言政策强调威尔士语的复兴, 并在 2015 年启动的“新外语政策 (Global Futures Plan: Improve and Promote Modern Foreign Languages in Wales)”中将国际语言作为学生核心素养之一。北爱尔兰没有明确且统一的外语课程制度, 但其教育体系也将现代外语视为学校课程的一部分, 比如设立了“现代语言课程委员会 (Modern Languages Programme Board)”等外语教育项目。<sup>4</sup>可见, 英国多元化的语言教育政策框架, 促使中文教育必须在英语的主导地位、少数族裔语言的复兴诉求, 以及外语教育现代化目标之间寻找定位。

在英国独特的语言政策背景下, 中文教育的发展受到宏观层面政策话语的影响, 同时也依赖于中观层面机构的制度安排与微观层面教师的教学实践。然而, 现有研究多聚焦于英国中文教育的发展规模 (张新生、李明芳, 2022)、政策支持 (王传玲、洪明, 2010; 张新生、李明芳, 2024; 于泓珊等, 2024, 2025) 和教师发展 (王添淼、杨灿, 2016; 胡唯哲、吴桐, 2022) 等方面, 对政策与实践之间的动态转化机制探讨不足。换言之, 宏观语言政策如何在中观机构与微观课堂中被理解、调适和再语境化, 仍有待深入分析。语言政策与规划领域能动性视角的引入正为这一问题提供了新的研究路径。语言政策的能动性理论强调语言政策并非自上而下的单向度过程, 而是在国家、机构与个体之间不断协商与重构的结果 (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2021)。通过这一视角, 可以揭示英国中文教育如何在语言政策文本与具体教学场景之间实现话语与实践的双向转化, 以及教师和机构如何在具体情境中行使调节与创造事实语言政策 (defacto language policy) 的权力 (Shohamy, 2006; Johnson, 2013)。

1 中文培优项目官网 <https://ci.ioe.ac.uk/mandarin-excellence-programme/>.

2 数据来源参考孔子学院全球门户网站 <https://ci.cn/qqw/?labelId=C-Europe>.

驻英国大使刘晓明夫人胡平华在英托尔盖特小学孔子课堂揭牌仪式上的致辞 [https://gb.china-embassy.gov.cn/dshd/2019dashihuodong/201911/t20191113\\_3378278.htm](https://gb.china-embassy.gov.cn/dshd/2019dashihuodong/201911/t20191113_3378278.htm).

3 英格兰中学文凭 (English Baccalaureate, EBacc) 是英国教育体系中的一项中学毕业阶段的学术成绩衡量标准。它不是一个独立的文凭, 而是一种统计指标。学生如果在这几个核心科目里都达到 C/4 级或以上, 即通过标准, 就被认为达成 EBacc。如果学生在中考的中文考试中取得合格成绩, 可以计入 EBacc。

4 参考 <https://www.britishcouncil.org/research-policy-insight/research-reports/language-trends-NI-2023>.

因此,本研究尝试通过能动性理论视角,系统审视英国中文教育语言政策在不同层级的转化机制,从而填补现有研究对政策与实践之间缺乏关联性分析的不足,提供对英国中文教育生态的更全面理解。本文基于实证研究透视英国中文教育语言政策的特征、表现与效果,有助于拓展国际中文教育语言政策研究的理论视野,回应全球外语教育中普遍存在的政策与实践的协商与共构问题。

## 二、语言政策与规划研究的能动性视角

语言政策能动性研究的兴起标志着语言政策研究从单向度的文本视角转向了动态的社会实践视角。它不再将语言政策理解为由政府发布的静态决策,而是强调政策在实践中不断被重构的过程。能动性研究揭示了宏观结构与个体实践之间的互动关系,以及行动者在这一过程中所发挥的创造性作用(张天伟,2023)。

语言政策的能动性理论深受社会学关于结构与能动关系的影响。Giddens(1984)的结构双重性理论强调,社会结构既是个体行动的制约因素,又为其行动提供资源。Archer(2000)在批判实在论框架中强调个体拥有独立的反思能力,能够在结构限制中创造新的实践。Emirbayer与Mische(1998)提出的能动性三维模型,则从时间性出发,揭示行动者如何通过重复性(iteration)、计划性(projectivity)和实用评估(practical evaluation)在既有实践与未来取向之间进行调节。这些理论为语言政策研究提供了分析个体与制度互动的有力工具。值得一提的是,能动性理论引入语言政策研究领域推动了研究重心的转变。Ricento和Hornberger(1996)提出的“洋葱模型”首次明确了宏观国家、中观机构、微观个体三个层级的互动关系,突显地方行动者在政策执行与转化中的作用。Shohamy(2006)进一步提出隐性语言政策机制,如考试制度、教材使用和语言景观等,认为语言政策是通过多重机制在社会中被实施和再造的合理化结果。Bonacina-Pugh(2020)的“语言政策即实践”视角则区分了已声明的政策、被感知的政策与实际操作的政策,并强调课堂语言选择在政策研究中的重要性。这些研究表明,语言政策本质上是不同层级、不同主体之间的动态协商过程。在外语教育领域,Ball等(2011)提出了“政策叙述者”“批判者”“接收者”“翻译者”等角色,揭示了教师、校长与学生在政策实践中的多样身份。Zhao与Baldauf(2012)从权力、专业知识、影响力与动机四个维度细化了语言政策参与者的类型。相关实证研究也表明,在缺乏官方保障的社区语言教育中,政策空间会通过校长、教师与学生的互动被创设出来(Li & Shen, 2024)。Liang等人(2022)提出教师在面对政策不明确或政策空白的情境下,会基于本地需求、文化预期与自身经验进行微观规划,主动生成替代性政策实践。这种研究路径进一步强调了教育机构与个体的能动性在政策落地过程中的接受与改造。

在国际中文教育领域,能动性视角有助于揭示不同层级主体如何参与中文教育的本地化与情境化。政策文本中的制度性话语需要通过机构调节与教师实践才能在课堂中实现。然而,目前关于中文教育的语言政策研究多聚焦于政策文本分析(刘英林,2021;姜丽萍等,2024),对宏观—中观—微观多层互动机制的系统考察仍显不足。特别是机构层面的能动性研究较为薄弱,而这一层级正是宏观政策与微观实践之间的桥梁。刘立勇和熊文新(2024)从理论层面梳理了语言政策与规划中的能动性研究,包含发展历程、理论视角、研究方法和主要议题,并提出未来研究要以解决现实

问题和满足社会需求为导向，对具体的案例进行解读。此外，他们还从能动性和客观世界视角关注了国际中文教育语言政策的演进历程，指出政治格局和教育体制等客观世界因素与多元主体的能动性共同推进政策演进。沈骑和李蔚文（2024）运用语言管理理论框架探究了三位国际中文教育志愿者在语言教育规划中的能动性表现形式，是国内少有的关于语言政策能动性的实证研究。可见，国内中文教育领域的语言政策能动性研究集中于理论思辨，仍然需要更多的实证研究。

综合国际和国内研究来看，现有语言政策能动性在教育场域的实证研究主要关注个体层面的微观语言规划，忽视了国家—机构—个体三个层次主体在中文教育规划中的协同关系，尤其是中观机构的能动性及其辐射能力，以及物质媒介在语言政策与规划中的作用。鉴于此，本研究将能动性视角引入英国中文教育的语境，通过链接宏观政策话语、中观机构和微观教师，并关注教学媒介使用，探讨语言政策如何在不同层级被转化和再语境化。本文的具体研究问题为：（1）英国宏观层面的语言教育政策文本如何影响中文教育？（2）在中观层面，不同语言教育机构如何调适政策与实践？（3）在微观层面，教师如何通过教学实践体现语言政策的能动性？

### 三、研究设计

英国中文教育体系涵盖多种教育场景，在不同场域呈现差异化的制度与实践特征。大学的中文课程主要通过公共选修课与学位课程开展。中学的中文教育通常紧密关联 GCSE 与 A-level 考试体系<sup>1</sup>，受到考试政策的直接影响。小学层面的中文教育以兴趣课程为主，课程的实验性与文化体验色彩浓厚。华文学校则依托社区自办，政策依赖性相对较弱，公益性质较强。为了覆盖上述多样化语境，本研究聚焦英格兰和威尔士，选取了四类具有区域和教学代表性的机构作为田野点，具体的研究对象背景信息如表 1 所示。

表 1 研究对象背景信息

(Table 1 Background Information of the Study Subjects)

教育机构	所属地区	代表教师	教师年龄	教师类别	教授课程
大学 K	威尔士	刘老师	37	本土教师	中文选修课
中学 S	英格兰	徐老师	52	本土教师	GCSE 中文课
小学 D	威尔士	陈老师	23	中国公派教师	兴趣课
华文学校 B	英格兰	李老师	51	本土教师	初级综合课

本研究以民族志作为主要研究方法（余华，2021；Johnson, 2013），主要依托四类数据，分别是（1）与英国中文教育相关的语言教育政策文本；（2）针对中文教师的访谈资料；（3）针对不同教学机构的课堂观察录像和田野笔记；（4）教师提供的实际教学中使用的教学材料。通过多源数据的三角互证法（triangulation），本研究尝试在理论与实证之间建立起深入互动，增强分析的深度与信度。本研究所有参与者均知晓研究目的，自愿参加访谈并提供相关资料。语言教育政策文本涵盖

1 GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education), 指的是普通中等教育证书考试, 是英国 14-16 岁学生在完成义务教育后参加的全国性考试, 相当于中国的“中考”。A-level (General Certificate of Education Advanced Level), 指的是普通教育高级水平证书考试, 是英国 16-18 岁学生在中学后阶段学习并参加的全国性课程与考试, 其成绩是大学录取的重要依据, 相当于中国的“高考”。

英国中文考试大纲、地区语言教育政策、欧洲语言标准与中国标准等。此外，研究者在四所机构中开展了半结构化访谈，采访了四位代表教师，并在课程实施过程中在四位老师的课堂上进行参与式观察和田野笔记记录。访谈主要围绕课程目标、教学实践、教材使用与政策理解等展开，平均时长约 1 小时。随后将访谈录音逐字转写成文本便于后续分析。教师提供的教学材料主要包括课堂使用的教材、自编讲义、PPT 幻灯片、反思日志、课堂作业和在线平台资源等。这些材料作为政策话语在课堂层面的再语境化实例，补充访谈与观察的资料。

在数据分析方面，本研究采用文本分析与主题分析（*thematic analysis*）相结合的策略（*Braun & Clarke, 2006*），主要包括政策文本分析和政策能动性实践分析两个维度。针对宏观的政策文本分析，研究者通过内容归类法与关键词分析法，对语言政策文本及其相关媒体和档案材料中的表述等进行归纳，重点识别其背后的政策意图和价值导向。在语言政策能动性实践分析方面，笔者借助 NVivo12.0 进行编码，将访谈转写文本与田野笔记进行主题归纳。结合 *Ricento* 和 *Hornberger*（1996）的“洋葱模型”构建初始主题框架，并在分析过程中不断调整与拓展。数据处理包括三个主要步骤。第一，识别并标注数据中初步出现的随机主题，如教材、课程、教学语言等。第二，将数据文件中反复出现的主题进行归类，并组织成有意义的类别，将所有与类似主题相关的访谈或田野笔记片段整理归档。第三，发展理论导向的主题类别，如课程设置、数字资源的使用等，并将相关的访谈与田野笔记片段归入这些类别。最终将语言政策文本分析结果与能动性实践分析结果进行对照，揭示中文教育语言政策在不同教学语境中被重构的动态过程。

#### 四、英国中文教育政策的能动性转化机制

##### （一）宏观层面：语言政策文本的话语框架

在宏观的国家层面，英国是一个以英语为主体性语言的多语言多民族国家，但并没有统一的语言政策文本。但是，考试大纲、地区语言教育政策、欧洲语言标准与中国中文教育标准共同构成了英国中文教育的宏观语境。这些语言政策文本通过制度规范建立起话语框架，从而建构中文教育的本地化意义与合法性，同时设定了中文教育实践的边界和目标。

GCSE 与 A-level 大纲构成了考试导向的话语框架。这两份考试大纲规定了语言科目的课程目标、考试形式和评估标准，同时确立了现代外语学习在英国教育体系中的重要地位。中文自 2008 年起正式纳入 GCSE 和 A-level “现代外语”（*modern foreign languages*）科目，与法语、西班牙语和德语等传统外语并列，从而在制度层面获得了与欧洲主要语言相对平等的位置。以 GCSE 中文大纲为例，它在目标描述中强调通过听、说、读、写四项技能对学生的中文能力进行综合考查。例如，GCSE 8 级口语部分的描述为“能主动并持续进行较为详细的对话，基本准确地运用语言，表达思想并阐述理由，同时能够有效应对不可预期的问题；发音和语调大体准确”。<sup>1</sup>其话语框架突出的是中文的功能性与交际性，即中文学习被表述为一种工具技能，服务于日常生活和跨文化交流。与此同时，文本也强调考试的公平性与可测性，该大纲通过明确的 1-9 级的分级体系来实现中文能力的标

<sup>1</sup> 参考 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/grade-descriptors-for-gcses-graded-9-to-1/grade-descriptors-for-gcses-graded-9-to-1-modern-foreign-languages>.

准化评估。可见，中文在 GCSE 体系中被建构为一种可量化的能力，其价值主要体现在能否被测量与认证。与之相比，A-level 中文大纲则更加强调整学术性和语言运用的高阶能力。在课程目标中，中文学习被定位为“提高语言技能，并在掌握所学语言、文化和社会的知识和理解基础上，培养和发展批判性思维能力”“批判性地研读原语言中的富有思想性的文本、电影及其他材料，欣赏语言的复杂性与创造性，并在文化与社会语境中加以理解”。<sup>1</sup>A-level 中文考试中涉及社会、政治、历史和文化等议题，如家庭与教育、媒体与科技、当代社会问题、中国文化与历史等模块。在话语框架层面，A-level 中文大纲通过学术化与跨文化素养的叙事，将中文教育嵌入英国大学入学选拔机制中，强调通过中文学习发展独立研究、批判性思维以及知识运用的综合能力和可迁移技能，使中文学习成为通往高等教育和全球流动的资本。但与此同时，A-level 考试仍然强调语言的准确性和语法掌握，这表明即便在高阶阶段，中文教育价值依旧需要通过中文语言规则准确度的量化来界定。

各地区语言教育政策构成了培养多语公民的话语框架。以本研究所关注的英格兰和威尔士地区为例，英格兰 2013 年修订的《国家课程大纲》明确规定，公立学校小学阶段（Key Stage 2，7-11 岁）必须开设外语课程，并自 2014 年起成为法定必设课程；在中学阶段（Key Stage 3，11-14 岁）则继续延伸。这一政策在文本层面表达了英国外语学习的普及化与主流化（Mainstreaming）（Curruthers, 2025），将外语学习与数学、科学并列为义务教育的重要学科。同时，该政策文本强调“高质量语言学习能够培养学生的跨文化理解力和全球交流能力”，体现了全球胜任力的教育叙事。<sup>2</sup>中文在这一框架中被定位为现代外语科目的一员，且文本强调了中文教育的价值主要体现在公民多语与多元文化素养的培养。威尔士政府自 2015 年启动“新外语政策”，并经历三个阶段（2015-2020，2020-2022，2022-2025），在政策话语上更为明确地将外语学习与威尔士社会经济发展和身份建构紧密相连。政策文本反复强调外语能力对于“提升威尔士青年就业竞争力”和“增强威尔士在全球舞台上的地位”的重要性，这种话语蕴含着语言工具主义与国际化身份的双重意蕴。<sup>3</sup>该政策文本也注意到外语学习人数逐年下滑的问题，因此提出通过教师培训、学校合作、数字资源开发等多维度支持来重振外语教育。中文被视为战略性语言（strategic languages）之一，显示出威尔士政府对中文教育战略意义的认同。威尔士 2022 年正式实施的 Curriculum for Wales 进一步强调语言交际素养（Languages, Literacy and Communication）是中小学生的核心学习领域，将威尔士语、英语与国际语言并置。<sup>4</sup>可见，威尔士政府重视本土身份认同与多元文化共存，既保护威尔士语的本土地位，又倡导学生学习一门或多门国际语言，以培养多语公民。在这一体系中，中文教育的价值在于支撑学生的全球公民身份与全球胜任力。

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1 参考 [https://qualifications.pearson.com/content/dam/pdf/A%20Level/Chinese/2017/specification-and-sample-assessments/Specification\\_GCE\\_A\\_level\\_L3\\_in\\_Chinese.pdf](https://qualifications.pearson.com/content/dam/pdf/A%20Level/Chinese/2017/specification-and-sample-assessments/Specification_GCE_A_level_L3_in_Chinese.pdf)

2 参考 <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7388/CBP-7388.pdf>

3 参考 <https://www.gov.wales/global-futures-plan-improve-and-promote-international-languages-wales-2022-2025-html>

4 参考 <https://hwb.gov.wales/curriculum-for-wales/languages-literacy-and-communication/>

《欧洲语言共同参考框架》(CEFR)建构了语言标准化的话语框架。<sup>1</sup>虽然英国已脱欧,但长期以来仍将 CEFR 作为语言课程与考试的参考标准。根据欧框进行的欧洲中文教育等级标准的制定工作正作为欧洲汉语教学协会的一项重要工作开展(张新生, 2021)。CEFR 自 2001 年问世以来,就以“能做”(can do statements)的方式统一了语言能力的描述,2020 年的增补版(Companion Volume)延续了这一模式,新增了“在线互动”“多语与多文化能力”等新项目。<sup>2</sup>这些扩展体现出语言教育政策对数字化与跨语交流的回音,强调语言能力是跨媒介、多语际的动态实践。CEFR 在 2020 年的文本中突出了多语主义与跨文化理解。与早期版本偏重欧洲本土语言不同,增补版明确强调“多语和多元文化胜任力”(plurilingual and pluricultural competence),试图将语言学习放入全球多元社会语境。这一转向是在全球化、移民流动和跨文化交流日益频繁的背景下,赋予外语教育全球公民身份建构的功能。但是,CEFR 的诞生本质上是欧盟一体化政策的产物,主要基于欧洲语言的使用语境而构建。因此在中文等非欧洲语言的教学中,直接套用这一标准往往会忽视汉语特有的文字系统和学习路径。因此,这也引发了欧洲“汉语能力基准项目”(EBCL)的尝试,<sup>3</sup>试图在遵循 CEFR 框架的同时,增补汉字识读、拼音等汉语特征指标。总之,CEFR 对中文教育提出了对齐欧洲标准的隐性要求。这种话语一方面赋权于中文教育的标准制定,另一方面促使中文教育在语言独特性与全球标准化之间进行协商。

中国制定的国际中文教育政策建构了国际中文教育专业化的话语框架。这一话语框架首先体现在强调中文教育的能力导向与等级化。以《国际中文教育中文水平等级标准》(2021)为例,它在借鉴欧洲 CEFR 体系的基础上,确立了覆盖从初学者到母语水平的九个等级,强调语言交际能力的量化描述,并对听、说、读、写及跨文化交际能力提出具体指标。这种标准化的话语将中文学习定义为一种可测量的能力体系,并与 HSK 考试、标准教程等工具性资源直接挂钩。其次,中国的相关政策文本突出了课程体系与教学规范化。例如,《国际中文教学通用课程大纲》对中文教学的目标和内容进行了系统划分,意在形成全球范围内可通用的教学基准。《国际中文教师专业能力标准》将教师塑造为具备专业知识、跨文化素养与信息化教学能力的专业人才。《国际中文教材评价标准》则从价值取向、教学适用、内容编排、外观配置等角度建立起教材评估框架,强化了中文教材的标准化与可控性。这些话语体现出中文教育自上而下的专业化建构,通过统一标准来塑造国际中文教育的专业性。在英国的教学语境下,中国的语言政策话语虽然没有直接进入中文教育决策体系,却通过教材、考试与教师教育间接影响了中文教育的实践走向。例如,英国中小学和大学中文课程在设计时会以中国出版的《HSK 标准教程》为参照,教师的课程设计不可避免地受到中国官方框架的影响。此外,英国中文教师培训和教学资源多依赖中国资助项目与标准体系(张新生、李明芳, 2022),促使中国的中文教育语言政策话语在英国语境下实现重构。

1 《欧洲共同语言参考框架》(Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, 简称 CEFR),由欧洲委员会于 2001 年首次发布,旨在为语言学习、教学与评估提供统一标准。框架将语言能力分为 A1 至 C2 六个等级,并强调交际能力、跨文化理解与学习自主性。

2 参考 <https://rm.coe.int/common-european-framework-of-reference-for-languages-learning-teaching/16809ea0d4>。

3 “欧洲汉语能力基准项目”(European Benchmarking Chinese Language, EBCL)是由欧盟支持、欧洲多所大学和教育机构共同参与的一个国际合作项目,主要时间在 2008-2011 年。它的核心目标是建立汉语能力参照体系、制定学习者“能做”陈述,并推动汉语课程与考试的对接。

总之，英国宏观层面的语言政策文本通过考试导向、多语主义、标准化与专业化等多重话语框架，共同为中文教育实践赋予了合法性、价值定位以及发展方向。然而，这些宏观话语在进入机构和课堂时，必然经过主体的政策调适。因此，它们为英国的中文教育提供了话语资源，成为后续不同主体能动性实践的规范化基础。

## （二）中观层面：机构的中介性调节

在英国中文教育的发展过程中，不同的教育机构扮演了宏观政策与微观实践之间的中介角色。在本研究中，大学、中学、小学和华文学校通过不同形式的主体性发挥，调节政策话语在特定教学情境下的中文教育实践，并与教师的教学行为形成互动。具体而言，机构能动性主要体现在课程设置、师资配置和教材选择三个维度上。

机构的能动性首先体现在课程设置。机构可以灵活安排中文教学的课程目标、课程形式、课程内容以及课时数量等。大学 K 的（非专业）中文课程被纳入“Languages for All”的公共选修课程体系，这门课程开设时间已经超过了十年，采取九周短学期、二十人以内的小班授课模式，课程难度定位于初学者水平。全校不同专业、不同学段的学生都可以选修这门外语。值得一提的是，中文选修课的课程目标并非单纯提升学生的中文学习兴趣，还同时兼顾了中文的标准化考试体系。课程内容会与 HSK 考试或赴华交流等项目相联系，这体现了一门选修课的多功能性。课程负责人刘老师已经在大学 K 教授中文公共选修课程十年，当谈到课程设置的目標与内容，她说：

像我们这个 LFA，如果说他们考过了 HSK……大学 K 跟中国的大学 X 有合作协议，他们每年都有夏令营……如果学生考过了 HSK，就可以去中国 trip，只要付一个机票，他就可以去。学生们很喜欢这个项目，这个项目在我们这里也延续了很多年。（刘老师，访谈资料，2025.3.3）

在英国宏观中文教育政策倡导多语公民培养的话语框架下，中观机构在增加学生的国际流动机会上表现出很大的自主权。主要表现为通过中观层面的合作项目，与中国的大学合作，开办赴华夏夏令营活动。这种机制增强了学生的学习兴趣与动力，也说明大学在中文学习激励政策上做出的努力。

师资配置是机构能动性的重要表现。中学 S 依赖有限的中文教师团队来维持课程运转。由于中文在英国中学体系中仍属小语种，这使得教师需要跨越多个年级和班型承担教学任务。这所中学采取了本土教师和孔子学院公派教师的合作教学模式。本土教师主导课程内容，公派教师协助准备教学材料，并且负责语音和汉字教学。

学校只有一个中文老师是正式的中文本土老师，加上一个孔院公派老师，所以只有两个人，负责从 7 年级到 12 年级的内容。孔院教师主要是帮助本土教师制作授课材料，在课堂上帮忙纠音，尤其是语音和词汇方面。孔院教师是不能上课的，因为没有 PGCE 教师资格证，只能做助教。本土教师大部分来自中国台湾或者香港……有时拼音不准确，写繁体字，需要孔院教师帮忙写简体字和纠正拼音。（田野笔记，2025.3.15）

本土中文教师拥有正式身份和课程主导权，但其对 GCSE 考试要求的标准普通话发音和汉字的教學能力有限。孔子學院派駐教師缺乏英國 PGCE 本地教師資質，但在課堂上承擔了大量輔助工作，如協助製作教材、帶領小組活動、輔導學生寫字和拼音。在課堂觀察中可以發現，不同師資體系之間的教育理念和文化理解存在著一定差異。英國本土中文教師培養模式強調課堂互動和學生自主性，中國高校中文教育專業的畢業生通常具備扎實的语言與文化知識，但在如何將其轉化為符合英國課堂環境的教學活動上需要更多適應。機構層面的關鍵在於如何調和這種差異。一方面，中方教師帶來了豐富且專業的语言與文化教學資源；另一方面，英方中文教育體系對教學規範和課堂管控有嚴格要求。中學 S 通過中外教師的搭配，在一定程度上實現了資源互補，形成一種師資的跨國合作模式。此外，中觀機構對教師的專業性十分關注，通過針對教師的定期培訓實現中文教學質量保障。

教材選用也是機構能動性實踐的表現形式。針對小學 D 的漢語興趣課，孔子學院不僅派駐師資，還會贈送教材和教學資源包，但該校還會同時結合圖畫書、手工材料等本地的教學資源激發學生學習中文的興趣。

《快樂漢語》<sup>1</sup>是按主題進行分類的，《快樂漢語》是教學參考……但是小學就只是興趣課沒有辦法完全跟上《快樂漢語》的節奏……因此教師會挑選一些其他的教材，編成 PPT 呈現給小朋友。（田野筆記，2025.2.13）

在小學，機構把教材把關的權力直接讓渡給微觀層面的教師個體。教師並未嚴格按照《快樂漢語》的系統順序授課，而是將其作為資源庫，結合學生興趣與學校定位進行挑選和重組，轉化為 PPT 或課堂活動。

華文學校 B 的教材選擇同樣非常靈活，不拘泥於單一教材體系，既使用暨南大學出版社的《中文》，又融入豐富的自編材料以滿足學生中文學習興趣和中華文化認同需求。

我們現在用的是暨南大學的《中文》，為什麼用它最主要的是它便宜。一套教材是五本……但其實《中文》不適合海外……第一冊‘紅燈停、綠燈行’這類內容非常教條式。它假定孩子已會說、已懂很多東西……不少文化情境在英國不存在，小小年紀很難解釋。YCT 教材會稍微好一些，<sup>2</sup>我們考慮小班換到 YCT。我們老師自做課件，把 YouTube 視頻等共享在 Google Drive，老師們定期交流怎么用互動平台提高趣味性。（李老師，訪談資料，2025.4.1）

李老師是這所華文學校的校長同時承擔教學工作。她明確指出使用暨南大學的《中文》主要原因是價格便宜，在經費緊張的社區學校，成本約束成為教材選用的重要前提。這種經濟驅動的選擇顯示出機構的務實取舍，即便教材存在適配性問題，仍不得不優先使用可負擔的版本。但教材內容

1 《快樂漢語》（*Happy Chinese*）是由原孔子學院總部組織編寫、北京大學出版社出版的一套面向海外中學生的對外漢語教材，深受青少年漢語學習者喜愛。近期該教材的亞美尼亞語本土化版本出版。

2 YCT 教材指的是配合 YCT 考試（Youth Chinese Test，青少年漢語考試）編寫的系列教學用書。

被认为“非常教条式”“假定孩子已会说、已懂很多东西”，与英国儿童的真实语境脱节。这种不适配促使学校展现出能动性，在低年级弱化教材中心性，通过活动、游戏来弥补文化情境缺位。华文学校还在班级分层时引入 YCT 教材，作为对《中文》的替代或补充，以提升与本地低龄学习者的匹配度。学校鼓励教师通过自编课件，整合 YouTube 视频，并通过 Google Drive 共享资源。这种做法形成了华文学校内部的教材共创模式，在机构层面通过教师协作来重构教材体系，使中文教学实践更具趣味性和适应性。

可以看出，英国不同类型的教育机构通过课程设置、师资配置和教材选择，在宏观政策与微观实践之间发挥了中介性调节作用。其能动性既保障了英国中文教育政策在多元语境中的落地，通过灵活的资源整合与在地化实践重构了政策话语，为教师的微观能动性实践创造了可能。

### （三）微观层面：教师的能动性实践

中文教师在援用政策时具有高度的自主性，能够根据教学对象的语言背景和学习需求灵活调整教学策略。在本研究中，教师的能动性实践主要体现在课堂设计、教材改编和数字资源的使用上。

教师的课堂设计是能动性的最重要表现。课堂设计中隐含着教师对教学方法的灵活使用。在中学 S 的课堂里，GCSE 大纲强调听、说、读、写的综合训练，突出交际性与可测性。然而，徐老师并未将课堂完全锁定在考试训练上，而是通过情境化任务、角色扮演与小组讨论等方式，使学生在模拟真实语境中使用中文。这种设计弱化了考试框架的僵化色彩，把考试导向转化为兴趣导向。她的策略既确保了课程与 GCSE 标准保持对接，又避免学生因考试压力而削弱学习积极性。徐老师擅长运用游戏化教学在应试课程中提升学生的参与度，把考试训练当成一种参与式的操练，防止学生学习动机的流失。她在访谈中说：

我特别爱用‘拍苍蝇’还有‘一人写一笔’练笔顺、‘扔色子’抄写，两人一组比谁先完成，……学生很喜欢，期待每堂课有固定的游戏环节，有时我会通过贴纸或者盖章激励。（徐老师，访谈资料，2025.3.14）

小学的陈老师更突出趣味性和体验性，她说“我会通过节日活动来教语言，比如春节的时候我们做灯笼、写福字。”这种活动符合威尔士课程大纲强调的跨文化体验，也符合孔子学院文化交流的工作安排。教师在课堂活动设计上的能动性是实现多语公民培养目标的关键。

如图 1 所示，在陈老师第 11 个主题“天气”的教案中，可以看到多语公民培养话语框架的生动转化。陈老师在复习环节特意加入“英国”“威尔士”的表达，让孩子在学习中文时能把母语国家和目标语言关联起来。这是一种文化身份的链接，让学生在不割裂本地文化的同时，通过中文打开全球语言视野。Curriculum for Wales 倡导跨学科学习与探究式学习。陈老师的课堂设计将画天气的艺术活动、颜色词汇、天气表达结合在一起，让课堂符合政策倡导的探究与创造的教育理念。英国语言教育政策文件中的抽象条款在陈老师的教学实践中具体化为可感知、可体验的课堂任务。此外，陈老师在小学教学中采用“英文解释+中文带读”的方式，帮助低龄学生逐步适应中文发音习惯，体现了中文启蒙化教育的跨语（translanguaging）包容性（李崑、沈骑，2021）。



图 1 天气主题教学幻灯片 (田野资料 2025.2.13)  
 (Figure 1 Weather-Themed Teaching Slide (Field Data, February 13, 2025))

此外，教师还通过改编和调整教材资源来增强教学适应性。刘老师虽然使用机构规定的《HSK 标准教程》，但常常删减难度过高的内容，并加入实用性的文化元素，以增强学生兴趣。例如，她会教学生如何在中餐厅点餐，同时介绍中国的传统美食和菜系。



图 2 点餐场景教学幻灯片 (田野资料 2025.3.3)  
 (Figure 2 Teaching Slide for Ordering Scene (Field Data, March 3, 2025))

食物是学生普遍感兴趣的话题。教材资源服务于课堂。刘老师使用图文多模态的中文教学资源（陶艳、曾立英，2025），在课堂中介绍了麻婆豆腐这一道中国美食，借助高清图片与色彩实现了视觉吸引，提升课堂参与度。此时刘老师还把课堂场景化，引导学生想象餐厅点餐的语境，从而把语言政策中的交际性落地为实际课堂活动。

在华文学校，李老师将《中文》系列课本与自制讲义结合使用，使教材成为一种开放资源。她在访谈中还提到：“如果学生有参加中考或高考中文考试的需求，我还会在课程中加入考纲要求的语言点”。可见，教师对教材的自主掌控直接决定了学生的中文学习内容和知识结构。

数字资源为教师开辟了新的能动实践空间。在 K 大学，刘老师通过线上测试与在线网课拓展了中文课堂的时空边界（Wang, 2023），使学生超越课堂获得更多学习机会。她说：“有很多学生因为各种原因无法到教室来，我会鼓励他们通过网课学习本节课的内容，这样下节课再来就不会跟不上全班的进度。”

D 小学陈老师利用短视频和动画片丰富课堂内容，让孩子们在课堂上能够通过多模态的资源增强对中文的具身体验，形成学习兴趣。例如，陈老师在教授数字时，使用了数字歌的短视频，如图 3 所示。在课堂教学中，通过领唱、合唱等方式，让学生的听觉、视觉协调联动，并通过肢体动作和声音表达学会枯燥的数字表达。Curriculum for Wales 强调的跨学科、跨模态与愉快学习的政策话语具体化为课堂实践。



图 3 《数字歌》教学幻灯片 (田野资料 2025.2.13)  
(Figure 3 Teaching Slide for "The Number Song" (Field Data, February 13, 2025))

总之，在微观层面，教师的能动性实践展现了政策文本、机构规范向课堂实践的转化。他们通过灵活的课堂设计、对教材的二次加工以及数字资源的创造性整合，使政策话语适应具体教学情境。因此，教师是语言政策的调适者与创新者（Shohamy, 2006），他们的实践直接决定了学生的学习体验，推动了英国中文教育语言政策在具体语境中自下而上的动态生成。

## 五、讨论

本研究以英国为例，考察了中文教育语言政策在宏观文本、中观机构与微观教师之间的能动性互动机制。研究发现，英国中文教育的发展嵌入在多重话语框架中，包括考试话语、多语公民话语、中文教育标准化与专业化话语等。在此宏观语境下，中观层面的大学、中学、小学与华文学校发挥了中介性调节作用，通过课程设置、师资配置和教材选择等环节对政策文本进行援用和调整，使政策话语充分回应情境化教学需求。教师在微观层面展现了高度的能动性，他们在制度框架下通过灵活的课堂设计、教材加工和数字资源整合，将政策话语和机构规范转化为具体的中文教学实践，从而生成中文教育事实上的语言政策。总体而言，本研究揭示了英国中文教育语言政策并非自上而下的单向推动，而是根据教育本地化和情境化需求由多元主体共同参与协商的动态过程。

语言教育政策文本蕴含的宏观话语框架呈现出结构性限制与制度性赋权的双重效应。一方面，考试导向、标准化和专业化的话语框架强调中文教育的量化评估模式，要求机构和教师必须将课程内容和考试标准或语言标准紧密对接，从而在一定程度上压缩了机构和教师在教学目标设定上的自主空间。此外，虽然中文已进入英国国民教育体系，被正式纳入中考和高考会考的现代外语考试科目，但是与法语、西班牙语和德语等传统欧洲语言相比，中文仍处于小语种的边缘位置（张新生、李明芳，2024）。疫情后学习人数下滑与经费紧缩进一步加剧了这一处境。例如，中学 S 的有限教师资源需要覆盖多个班级与学段，体现出社会经济与制度结构对机构能动性的约束。另一方面，政策话语同时也发挥着制度性赋权的作用。英格兰国家课程大纲与威尔士新外语政策均强调公民多语能力与跨文化素养的培养，为中文教育提供了积极的话语支持。这种赋权效应使中观机构能够在资源有限的条件下探索发展路径。例如，威尔士小学通过与孔子学院合作，将中文作为兴趣课程引入课堂，显示了宏观政策如何通过地方化实践得以落地。教师的能动性实践成为政策赋权的重要转化机制。教师通过自主调用多模态的跨文化教学资源，着力激发学生中文学习兴趣，并在课堂中塑造出一种文化主导的语言教育模式（MacDonald, 2019）。教师突破语言标准的规范性要求，转而鼓励学生成为文化调解者（cultural mediator）而非语言知识的接收者（Kramsch, 2014），展现了微观层面教师创造出新的语言教育意义。

英国中文教育政策话语的开放性与框架性，为中观机构的中介性调节提供了空间。机构既要回应宏观政策的硬性要求，又必须结合自身资源、师资条件与学生需求进行调整。在这一过程中，教育管理者实际上掌握了事实上的语言政策规划权力（Shepherd & McEntee-Atalianis, 2021），其个人的知识背景、教育经历与职业取向直接影响机构能动性的实施。例如，小学校长能够决定学校外语课程的语种选择，并主导与外部资源的合作方式，这使得个体决策直接影响机构的中文教育发展路径。由此可见，中观机构的教育管理者，无论是中小学与华文学校的校长，还是大学中文项目的负责人，在宏观政策话语与微观教学实践之间发挥着不可或缺的桥梁作用。

教师的能动性在中文教育语言政策的多层级运行机制中发挥核心作用。Shohamy (2006, P.160) 认为：“教师是传播各种语言意图的最重要行动主体”。从个人因素来看，教师的教育背景、教学经验与职业身份认同直接影响其在政策实践中的行动策略。本研究中拥有国际教育经验或跨文化背景的年轻教师，更倾向于将中文教学与学生的生活情境结合起来，从而突破单一考试导向的框架。教学经验丰富的教师也更善于改编教材、调整教学方法，使政策规定的目标与学生的实际需求相契合。教师的职业身份认同则决定了他们在课堂上的价值取向，是将自己视为政策执行者，还是作为政策制定者或文化中介者，这一差异直接影响语言教育政策在中文课堂的在地化呈现。

因此，英国中文教育语言政策呈现出适应性、动态性和涌现性的特征，自下而上的隐性语言政策在政策文本的话语框架下通过教师和机构的实践不断生成、更新与转化（方愈，2025）。这种隐性的、事实上的语言政策机制蕴含着语言教育标准化与差异性之间的互动关系。一方面，宏观层面的政策文本使中文在英国教育体系中获得作为现代外语科目的地位，并且在语法、词汇、汉字和语用等层面进行了提供了规范性参照。另一方面，中文教育在英国不同教学场域又呈现出高度差异性。不同地区、不同机构，不同课堂的教学场景，都因学生背景、资源条件和教师实践而表现出显著的多样化。而所谓标准化与差异性之间并非对立关系，而是在主体的调控与互动中共同塑造英国中文教育的复杂生态。标准化确保了中文教育能够作为全球化外语教育的一部分稳定地内嵌于英国的语言教育体系，而差异性则保证了中文教育能够回应具体教学语境与学习者需求，真正实现学习者导向的语言教育。

英国中文教育语言政策的能动性特征为国际中文教育事业提供了启示。第一，英国的案例说明，在多语社会里，即使没有强制性的顶层设计，外语教育依然能够通过话语框架和主体能动性实现发展。第二，语言政策并非由单一权力中心主导，而是由政策文本、机构、教师与学习者等要素共同塑造。英国中文教育的案例体现了语言教育政策的跨层级、多中心特征。这一复杂性启示语言教育从业者需要跳出国家语言政策意志等同于政策效果的假设。第三，在英国的中文教学中，教师通过课堂设计、教材改编和数字资源运用引导学生理解、比较中英文化差异，并在身份认同与全球视角中找到位置，塑造了一种独特的隐性语言政策。可以看出，英国的现代语言教育正与多元文化教育深度交融，尝试打破语言教学规范化，倡导文化比较、批判与反思（于泓珊等，2024）。因而，未来的中文教育政策应当在保持标准化参照的同时，倡导一种统一的核心理念，即多语共存与跨文化理解的培养，以此作为不同层级、不同场域中文教育实践的共同价值支点。

## 六、结语

英国是一个多民族、多语言共存的国家，没有统一的语言政策，但各地区的语言政策呈现出对多元文化认同的倡导，这为中文教育深度融入英国国民教育体系创造了可能。本研究以能动性为理论视角，系统考察了英国中文教育在宏观、中观与微观三个层面的政策生成与转化机制。研究发

现，英国中文教育的发展内嵌于多重宏观话语框架之中。不同主体制定的语言教育政策文本明确了中文教育的合法性与发展方向，而大学、中学、小学和华文学校等中观机构则通过课程设置、师资配置与教材选择等手段发挥政策中介作用。教师在微观层面展现出高度能动性，通过课堂设计、教材改编与数字资源等具体实践将语言教育政策框架转化为可感知的中文教学活动。可见，英国中文教育的可持续发展有赖于政策框架的开放性与地方实践的灵活性之间的良性互动。本文以英国为例，从语言政策的能动性视角有效揭示了在多元文化的复杂教育语境中事实语言政策的生成过程。未来研究除了关注机构和教师外，还需要进一步探究政策制定者、学生、家长与教育管理者的多尺度多层级能动性角色，以更全面地揭示语言政策在多层结构层级中的动态性。

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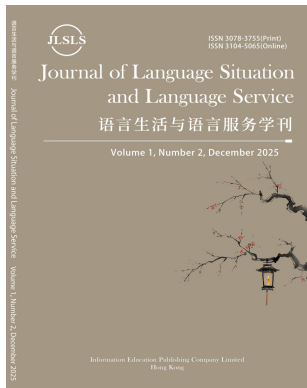
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## 重复抑或重构：元表征视角下客服投诉对话中的回声

李玉坤(Li Yukun), 王和玉(Wang Heyu)

**摘要：**客服投诉对话中的回声话语可从元表征视角（Sperber & Wilson 1995）区分为引述式回声与重构式回声。引述式回声依赖元语言相似性。在投诉互动中，处于权力弱势的客户常借助此类回声实施框架内抵抗；客服则可能通过引述式回声回避问题与责任。另一方面，基于阐释相似性的重构式回声，作为一种深层话语干预手段，能够在维持核心命题内容相关性的同时，促成认知框架的系统性转换，从而推动日常话语与机构话语之间的框架整合。在机构语境中，客服往往运用重构式回声将客户的主观叙述转化为客观事实陈述，以启动制度性应对机制；而客户则可能通过重构式回声强调机构应承担的道义责任，以争取诉求实现。由此可见，元表征视角下投诉对话中的回声现象，并非单纯话轮重复，更彰显其作为机构环境中权力协商与话语重构的关键语言机制。这一视角为深入探索机构互动中的话语策略与权力动态提供了重要路径。

**关键词：**客服投诉对话；回声话语；元表征；机构话语

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**Title:** Repeat or Reconstruction: A Study of Echo Utterance in Customer Service Encounters from the Perspective of Meta-Representation

**Abstract:** Under Sperber & Wilson's (1995) meta-representation framework, echoic utterances in service complaints divide into quotative and reconstructive echoes. Quotative echoes use

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metalinguistic resemblance to position speakers within the original discourse frame. Customers often employ them for resistance, while agents use them to deflect responsibility. Reconstructive echoes, by contrast, rely on interpretive resemblance and enable deeper discursive intervention. They preserve propositional content while shifting cognitive frames, bridging everyday and institutional discourse. Agents reframe subjective complaints as objective cases to trigger procedures; customers instead stress institutional deontic responsibilities to advance claims. Thus, echoic utterances act not as repetition, but as core mechanisms of power negotiation and reframing in institutional talks.

**Key words:** customer service encounters; echo utterance; meta-representation; institutional talks

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## 一、导语

典型的客服投诉对话包含很多话语重复现象，如例(1)所示：

(1)

1 客服：但是就是说您可能关于这一块还是有一些**疑问**，就是说我

2 投诉人：不是**疑问**，**疑问**，我有什么**疑问**？

第2行中的“疑问”部分重复第1行“您关于这有块还是有一些疑问”中的内容。这种“对前述内容的全部或部分重复”(Quirk *et al.*, 1985, p.853)，被称为回声话语(echo utterance)<sup>1</sup>。在投诉、调解等协商性质的机构话语中，交际者需要在有限的话语空间对关键事宜反复确认、磋商，具有重复核心特征的回声话语很常见。客服对话是以任务和结果为导向的临时互动，交际的核心目标是解决问题而非建立长期关系，具有显著的非个人化倾向。在这一特殊的短暂机构话语环境下，回声话语对于话语目标的达成具有何种功能？客服与投诉人使用回声话语的策略有何差异？这些差异如何体现机构话语中交际双方的权力互动？这些问题是本研究的核心关切。基于客服投诉对话的真实语料，本研究从元表征视角考察其中的回声话语现象，旨在总结客服与投诉人回声话语的具体语法表现形式，分析不同类型的回声话语在功能方面的异同，洞悉回声话语模式背后交际者的认知机制与权力互动。

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1 为方便阅读，语料中的先述语以及回声话语以加粗标识。

## 二、文献综述

客服投诉话语的基本特征是理解其回声话语现象的关键。本节首先简要介绍客服投诉话语的基本特征，接着回顾和评论机构话语环境下的重复现象，最后梳理有关回声话语的概念界定和互动功能的相关研究。

### (一) 客服投诉对话的特征

客服投诉对话关涉商品和服务问题，客服与机构代表之间的交际目标不是个人联结，而是解决问题，有如下特点：

首先，投诉是投诉源(*complainable*)(Sacks *et al.*, 1974)显化过程。“抱怨并非预先存在，而是通过语言选择和序列组织在互动中建构……其效力取决于序列位置、听者回应及文化共享程度”(Drew & Holt, 1988, p.399-400)。日常对话中言者讲述了不满经历后若未得到听者充分的共情，通常用习语或比喻外显投诉。语言显化后的投诉源具有终止序列的功能(Drew & Holt, 1988, p.399-400)。客服投诉对话中，客服与客户在问答序列中共同将客户的个人体验再加工成机构话语，形成明确的投诉(Kevoe-Feldman, 2018; Marian *et al.*, 2023)。

其次，投诉源的显化会引发投诉双方的防御性，对交际进行干预(*pre-emptiveness*)(Kevoe-Feldman, 2018, p.105)。客服在辨识投诉源后，会主动提供解决方案以预防投诉升级，或快速关闭对话以结束投诉流程。客户通过预道歉序列为外显投诉源做铺垫，以期客服能更好地接纳并处理其诉求。

最后，客服投诉对话具有两重张力：一是交际双方的交际目标具有冲突性。客户的交际目标是获得补偿或解决方案，客服的交际目标是避免担责(Reiter, 2013)。二是客服的机构角色要求维持组织规则与客户情感需求之间的平衡。客服投诉对话中的话语策略是对这两重张力的适配。

### (二) 回声话语的概念与功能

回声话语的概念界定涉及三个定义性特征。第一，回声话语是对前轮话语的重复(Quirk *et al.*, 1985, p.853)。包括狭义的“同形重复”，即完整复制或截取复制先述语(罗桂花、廖美珍 2012; 董菁等 2021)，也包括广义的“独立重复”，即在前述语的基础上编辑和修改(方梅, 2021; 朱军, 2020)。序列位置上，回声话语作为话轮构建单位(Turn Construction Unit, 本文简称TCU)的核心因素，是应答位置对前述语的重复(张文贤、李先银, 2023; 方梅, 2021)，可更好地衔接话轮(王长武, 2014)。

第二，回声话语的真值条件具有相对独立性。回声话语属元话语范畴，其元话语功能通过引号、言说动词、规约化的语言构式或语法标识外显，表达语篇连贯关系和言者情感态度，不与重复的句子命题产生真值条件上的关联(李光华、朴奎陈, 2025; 王长武, 2014)。以“所谓”为例，后面的重复内容出自他人，属于回声用法，不影响重复部分命题的真值(李光华、朴奎陈, 2025)。

第三，回声话语表达言者的主观性。回声话语可表达从“认同-趋同-求证-质疑-不认同”等不同立场的连续统(朱军, 2020)。其序列位置区分不同的立场表达，处在话轮开端位置以及序列第三、四位置的回声话语表达认同(朱军, 2020)。回声话语所表达的负面立场尤其受到关注(方梅, 2021; 马国彦, 2016)。其浮现条件是言者与被引者观点之间的差异。二者的差异程度构成回声话语

主观性的连续统。二者差距越大，评论主观性越强（杨刚、匡鹏飞，2022）。但回声话语的负面立场并不针对前述语的真值条件，属于元语言否定<sup>1</sup>（马国彦，2024）。从互动序列的角度看，回声话语的主观性是双方达到主体间性的手段（李光华、朴奎陈，2025），即交际双方在互动中持续校准彼此理解，对潜在误解达到共识(Schegloff, 1992)。

综上，回声话语具有三个定义性特征：形式的可还原性、意义的独立性以及言者主观性。这些特征也决定了其隔离于客观世界的元语言功能。换言之，回声话语主要涉及言者对话语或思想的二次加工与表征，体现的是言者的元认知与元语言能力。本研究将回声话语置于元表征策略的理论框架下，旨在更系统地解释言者如何基于权力关系选择性重复他人话语、实现认知监控和立场协商，从认知互动的层面揭示投诉对话中的回声话语及其运作机制。

### 三、理论框架：元语言表征与回声话语

元语言表征是相对于初级语言表征的概念。初级表征是用语言直接描述外部世界或内部心理状态；元表征是更高层级的语言表征，通过概念和解释“表征另一个表征的命题和思想” (Sperber & Wilson, 1995)，包括引述、回声等元语言行为，反映交际者认知加工层级以及互动层级的叠加。与此相应，Sperber & Wilson(1995)区分了语言的描述性使用(descriptive use)与阐释性使用(interpretative use)。若说话人用陈述或者断言表达对于现实或可能世界状态的看法，话语的真值取决于是否匹配客观事实，这属于语言的描述性使用。若说话人复述、转述或解释其他话语或思想，是转换原始表征语言形式后的再表征，即元表征，属于语言的阐释性使用，目的是让听者更好地理解原始表征的意图或内容。阐释性使用附加言者的主观评价，一般有外显的元语言标记。而描述性使用因为直接指涉世界，没有对语言或思想的二次加工，所以一般没有元语言标记手段。

语言阐释性使用的前提是表征相似性(Wilson, 2012, p.243)，即元表征与原始表征存在部分或整体的匹配关系，既可以体现为结构、发音等形式层面的匹配，即元语言相似性(metalinguistic resemblance)，也可体现为命题、态度等内容层面的匹配，即阐释性相似性(interpretive resemblance)。元语言相似性能“增强形式或语言特性的显著性”，如直接引语；阐释性相似性能“增强语义或逻辑特性的显著性”，如间接引语 (Wilson, 2012, p. 244)。两种相似性并不互斥，可同时存在同一话语中。阐释性相似性是命题之间的逻辑特征，体现为隐含意义的共享，不要求两个表征在语言形式层面相似。

在汉语回声话语中，除直接引语以外，元语言相似性重复还包括语音、语调的模仿以及对对方标志性的句法结构的重复和模仿（王长武，2014），比如在“X就X”（王灿龙，2002）、“别X”（马国彦，2016）、“所谓X”（李光华、朴奎陈，2025）等语言构式对话语的引用和重复。阐释性相似性重复除了间接引语以外，包括命题的复述与释义，态度与情感的共鸣以及逻辑含义显化。

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1 元语言否定是一种否定形式，它不是对命题真值的否定（即不是真值函数性的否定），而是对某一话语（或话语的某个方面）的回声性使用，表达说话者对该话语在语言形式、发音、预设、隐含意义、风格等方面的反对或修正 (Carston 1996)。

Sperber & Wilson 的元表征理论如图 1 所示，客服投诉语料中的回声话语属于对原始表征的二次加工，是语言的阐释性使用，如图 1 虚线框所示，此范围也是本研究的聚焦所在。我们依据元表征理论，以表征相似性为原则进行分类：具备元语言相似性，即形式匹配的归为引述式回声；仅具备阐释性相似性，即逻辑或意义匹配的归为重述式回声。此分类标准明确，元语言相似性是首要判别依据。因此，当两类相似性共存时，案例均划归引述式回声。

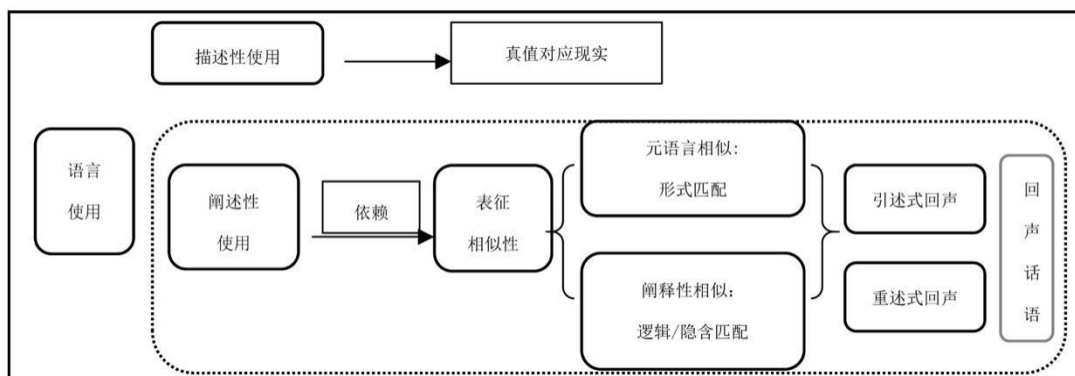


图 1 元表征理论下的回声话语分类

Figure 1 Categorization of Echo Utterances Informed by Meta-representation Theory

#### 四、语料界定与分类与统计

本研究的语料来自 10 段由投诉方上传到社交平台个人账户的真实投诉录音，涉及金融机构、通讯、游戏、购物平台以及作品审查等多个领域的纠纷，共计时 152 分钟 06 秒，转录 22141 字。

##### (一) 类别辨析

根据是否复现原始话语的语言形式，回声话语可分为两类：引述式回声以及重构式回声。前者通过直接复现或使用特定句式来复现核心词句；后者则不依赖原词，而是对其语义进行转述与映射。在引述式回声内部，可进一步根据句式划分为引述回声陈述句与引述回声问句。二者都包含原词复现，也都可能使用句式。引述陈述句可能使用“还 X”、“你说 X”等非疑问句式，引述回声问句则使用“是不是 X”、“什么 X”等疑问句式。

例(2)第 2 行客户使用俗语阐述第 1 行的行为结果，与第 1 行形成逻辑相关，但因缺乏基本的形式可复原性，不属于回声话语。

##### (2)

1 客服：投诉部门是没有电话，但是我们可以帮您记录您的投诉。

2 客户：那就是叫天天不信，叫地地不灵哦。

例(3)第 2 行的“取款密码”有关句子命题的真值判断，也不属于回声话语 (王长武 2014)。

##### (3)

1 客服：查询密码，您看是否有印象设置过，没有印象的话可以换您取款密码代替登录的。

2 客户：取款密码我知道。

例(4)第2行第一个“不方便”与前述语第1行“不方便”保持了形式匹配的元语言相似，只是加上了疑问语调处理，且处于TCU位置，无关所在话语的真值判断，后面的附加解释与反诘疑问句都明显标记了客户质疑的主观性态度。因此例(4)具备回声话语的所有要件，是在形式上全复现前述语的元语言形式，可归为引述式回声。

(4)

1 客服：先生他系统监测会有一些的规则，但是这个规则的话我们是**不方便**对外公布的

2 客户：**不方便**？我那张卡就一个月就是一些小额支出，然后，一个月就几笔转账进去，然后你就是说不方便，那意思就不要用了，是不是

值得注意的是，元语言相似和阐释性相似性可叠加。例(5)第2行客户的话轮中“你还正常”借用语言构式“还X”，不仅在形式上复现了前述语，同时通过讲述自身经历，强调事件的荒谬性，通过凸显语境失协与逻辑对立，在认知层面重新赋予了前述语新义。因该例完整引述前述语的语言形式，并使用语言构式凸显前述语，可归类为引述式回声。

(5)

1 客服：如果没有异常状态，系统**正常**会在三天内帮您解除一个留滞的一个情况

2 客户：那我1号把这个钱准备好，放进那个账户，你把那笔钱冻结了，没有任何提示，等到我3号要用的时候才发现这个问题，你**还正常**，是不是？

回声问句是集中体现元语言相似与阐释性相似叠加使用的案例。回声问句一方面复现前述语的词汇、句法结构、内容或观点，另一方面以问句形式附加语义确认或挑战前述语。例(6)中有四个回声问句(第2行)，以“高级专业依据什么凭证”“你们依据的什么凭证”为例，与前述语(第1行)“处理依据就是根据你买卖双方提供凭证”在结构上形成元语言相似，但语义逻辑上形成对立。因回声问句更偏重元语言相似，我们将之归类为引述式回声。

(6)

1 客服：先生这样的维权的处理依据就是**根据**你买卖双方**提供凭证**，那如果说针对这个问题您不认可的情况下的话，小影前万名高级专员了，还希望您后续的话保持在一个手机畅通的

2 客户：**凭证什么凭证？高级专员依据的什么凭证？有什么事实依据？**我的凭证都是有事实依据的，国家发票，国家税务发票。自拍视频这么久，卖家一直在胡搅蛮缠，**你们依据的什么凭证？**

与前面几例不同，例(7)第2行客户话轮虽没有完整复现前述语，但存在逻辑映射：“有办法一没问题”“网点受理一柜台解锁”，偏重阐释性相似，可归类为重构式回声。

(7)

1 客服：但其实您这个资金留滞的管控也是**有办法的**，因为您是我在我们广州分行开的

卡，所以就是您这张储蓄卡是在广州这边任何一个线下网点柜台，其实只要有营业的网点都是可以受理的。

2 客户：就几笔的转账，转账进来你就冻结了，然后你现在还认为没有问题，你是不是还认为，哎，你，我们没有问题，都是你的问题，你自己可以去柜台解锁，你不刚才表达的不就是这个意思吗？

## (二) 类别统计

依据上述分类标准，本研究共识别 88 例回声话语案例。依据回声话语发起人以及回声话语的不同类别，分类统计得到以下列联表：

表 1 发起人与回声话语类别统计  
(Table 1 Frequency of Echo Utterances by Initiator and Category)

	客户	客服	行总计
引述式回声	42	7	49
引述回声问句	33	3	36
引述回声陈述句	9	4	13
重构式回声	23	16	39
列 总 计	65	23	88

卡方检验结果显示回声话语发起人和回声类型之间存在显著相关性 $\chi^2(1, n=88)=8.03$ ， $p=0.0046<0.05$ ；效应量 $V=0.30$ 属于中等效应，表明关联性较强，但不极端。客户倾向于引述式回声，客服偏好重构式回声。客户使用回声话语的频率(73.9%)远高于客服(36.1%)。

## 五、 分析

本节讨论两种不同的回声话语，从元语言角度分析话语发起人选择不同回声话语的认知机制。

### (一) 引述式回声：原框架内的立场表达

引述式回声指在回声直接复现或通过语言构式再现先述语的语言形式。表面上看，引述式回声最大限度地保持了元语言相似性，顺承着前述语的认知框架。但实际上，通过选择复现的语言成分和二次表征，引述式回声携带着言者的主观立场，表达了对前述语认知框架的评价和质疑。语料中共出现 88 例回声话语，引述式回声占 49 例(占比 55.7%)。其中 42 例由客户发出，主要功能就是对抗机构话语。

例(8)中客户通过元语言相似性，构建了一个多层次的语义反抗网络。前述语的原始表征(第 1 行)“系统正常会在三天内解除留滞”是代表机构的客服职业化表述，体现了权力高位。客户的引述式回声(第 2 行)使用反诘性构式“还 X”对前述语词汇进行加工，重构“正常”一词，引起语义异化，以此质疑客服话语的原有认知框架。具体而言，客服话轮中的“正常”承载着技术性的肯定意义；投诉人话语将资金冻结遭遇与银行的“正常”程序表述并置，将程序性“正常”转变为情理性“正常”，元语言相似性背后是“形合神离”的语义落差。重构的反诘性问句“还 X”也体现了机构话语与客户日常体验的认知断层，强化了处于权力低位的客户对于客服的强烈质疑。

同样是例(8)中，第 2 行客户应答话轮中的“还满不满意”，在复现前述语核心词汇“满意”的

同时，添加了情态标记“还”和重叠构式“X不X”，将原本封闭的是非问句转化为开放的讽刺性问句，融合了元语言相似性和阐释性相似性，体现了客户对机构话语在认知框架和权利关系层面的积极反抗。

(8)

1 客服：然后第二个问题是您提到这个资金被留滞未有消息提醒的问题，目前非常抱歉，我们暂时没有短信提示，按照业务流程的话，我行系统会自动侦测。就存在风险的资金会进行一个留置核查，一般是三天内完成的，就是如果没有异常状态，系统**正常**会在三天内帮您解除一个留滞的一个情况。朱先生，不知道您对解释是否**满意**，您看还有问题吗？

2 客户：还有 1 万多块钱，你就没有冻结，你就冻结了这 3 万块钱，而且没有任何提示，你提示我一下也好，我可以提前一天做准备。你们现在你还觉得很，这个很正常，你们招商银行是吗？你是不是脑子进水了？你解释了一下，**你还正常，还满不满意**

综合上述分析，例（8）中客户的引述式回通过元语言相似，让投诉话语大抵维持在机构话语的原认知框架中，但同时通过特定的语言标记与构式重构前述语的语义，附加言者的主观性。“正常”和“满意”本是客服话语中的制度性表达，但客户的回声话语将其转变为制度失效的表征。

总之，引述式回声侧重基于元语言相似的二次加工，在原话语框架内表达言者的主观性。对处于权力低位的客户而言，维持前述语的框架让投诉更有方向性。但对于代表机构身份的客服而言，引述式回声无法达成话语框架的转换，会消解其权威高位。诚然，客服同样可通过引述式回声表达主观情感和立场，但这与其机构角色的中立性存在冲突。因为客服任何带有偏向的话语重构都可能被理解为机构立场，引发不必要的风险。上述两难处境有效解释了语料中客服引述式回声的规避倾向(仅 7 例)。

(二) 引述回声问句：原框架内的显性抵抗

回声问句是引述式回声占比最大的类别，49 例引述式回声里回声问句有 36 例(73.5%)，因此本小节专门分析有关回声问句的案例。回声问句不仅通过形式复现确立批判对象，还通过疑问算子“怎么”“为什么”“什么”聚焦批判目标、解构命题基础，所以在投诉对话中更具有主观性和指向性，也更有效表达显性对抗。如客户发出的回声问句例(9)-(10)都同时使用了形式复现和疑问算子，在认知层面表达了对于客服前述语的强烈质疑。

具体而言，例(9)前述语的原始表征(第 1 行)中，稿件被判断为“广告销售”，客户的回声话语同时启动元语言相似和疑问算子锁定批判目标“广告推销”，一方面复现前述语的词汇，沿用其认知框架，同时使用“怎么就 X”的疑问构式，将客服的技术判定焦点化，质疑其判定标准，将客服的指责重构为荒谬指控。

(9)

1 客服：就是说您这边稿件内容的话，是稿件内容是含有广告的一个情况的话，**广告推销**的一个情况，所以说不支持为你开放的

2 客户：不是这个，我我我，**这怎么就广告推销呢？怎么就广告推销？**

同样,例(10)前述语的原始表征(第1行)“我觉得”在客户的回声问句(第2行)中被复现。与此同时,客户通过标识主观感受的认知动词“觉得”和质问构式“为什么X”,焦点化客服的主体性。机构话语环境中,客服主体性应该隐藏在其机构身份下。但例(10)中客户通过回声问句焦点化客服主体性,凸显了客服语言行为与机构角色的不匹配。客户的引述式回声叠加了疑问算子,将质疑对象推向信息前景,不仅解构客服前述语的命题内容,也解构了客服的判断主体性。

(10)

1 客服: **我觉得**和解商家如果说能够愿意给到您赔偿的金额,这个和解的方案**我觉得**是没有问题的.那

2 客户: **为什么要你觉得?为什么要你觉得?**你是谁?你是谁?为什么要你觉得

回声问句中的疑问算子是一种特殊的元语言否定形式,其否定的对象不是命题内容,而是语言表达本身的适切性。这种“元语言否定”的特性赋予了回声问句重构认知框架的话语功能(Carston 1996)。例(9)中客户的回声问句“怎么就广告推销”否定的不是“广告推销”的词汇意义;例(10)中客户回声问句否定的也不是客服话语的命题真假,而是客服表达“我觉得”在这一具体语境中的适宜性。除了元语言否定功能,回声问句中的疑问算子还有延续话语序列的作用。例(9)-(10)中的客服均有意回绝、否定投诉并试图关闭话轮。但客户通过回声问句重启了“问-答毗邻对”,延续了话语序列,赢得了更多话语空间,也让其主观表达更有方向性。

回声问句基于元表征相似性显示了言者主观性,同时通过疑问算子强化了情感表达。但作为引述性回声,回声问句并未脱离前述语的话语框架。对于客服而言,这种强烈的主观性以及对于原话语框架的不处置态度,有悖于其机构身份和话语角色。因此语料中客服发起的回声问句较少,仅有的3例无一例外都引发了剧烈冲突。例(11)展示了客服的回声问句。客服的引述式回声(第2行)复现了前述语(第1行)中“公家”一词,同时通过疑问算子聚焦该词。因为延续了前述语的认知框架,未及时落实话语框架的转换,是一种回避责任的懈怠表现,自然导致后续话语的强烈冲突。

(11)

1 客户:我要的是赔偿,不是和解,我要的是赔偿以及处理,我要的是**公家**的相应的赔偿以及处理。

2 客服: **公家?什么是公家?**

### (三) 重构式回声:重置框架

重构式回声在保留前述语原始表征的语义核心的基础上,通过重构句式重置认知框架。对于客服而言,重构式回声有助于提炼客户叙述的元语言要素,将其置入机构话语的框架内,实现用户需求的专业化转译。此时,重构式回声就是一个主动的认知校准机制。每个回声话轮都推动着客户视角到客服视角的转换,试图对齐客户要求 and 机构程序。在这一过程中,元表征相似保证了对话的连贯性,让客服在不否定客户体验的前提下,将问题置于机构框架下,促成双方认知共识,解决问题。

例(12)展示了客服通过重构式回声实现用户需求的框架重置过程。客户提及“主线任务和活动

冲突”(第1行)。客服的回声话语(第2行)间接转述了客户的要求,通过元语言相似重构内容的同时,启用尊称“您”标识了机构话语的专业性。客户解释 NPC 占用问题后,客服利用重构式回声(第4行)复现了客户表述的关键元素,同时引入“带领”这个游戏术语实现了从玩家体验到游戏机制的视角转换。这种元语言层面的重构既维持了话论的连贯性,又在阐释层面完成了从玩家叙述到客服理解的认知迁移。当客户解释时间机制冲突时,客服再次启动重构式回声“就是说时间冲突了”(第8行),既概括了客户表述的元语言要素,又利用机构身份和权利高位重述了问题,将客户的主观体验描述转化为机构参数。换言之,客服的重构式回声为客户的个人体验叙述重设语境,通过元语言表征将其重述为清晰的技术问题,对齐双方认知,促成问题的解决。

(12)

- 1 客户: 其实是这样的, 这个我有一个原神的这个**主线任务和这个活动冲突了**, 然后导致我这个两, 我这个没有办法就正常把主游戏进行下去。
- 2 客服: 嗯, 好的, 您稍等, 这边客服查询一下, 您这边是说您是在您的**主线任务和活动有冲突吗?**
- 3 客户: 我看是一个叫做这个暗夜英雄的不在场证明这个任务它的一个 NPC 被其他任务占用, 这个占用它的任务叫金苹果假日乐园, 也就是当前的活动。然后就是当前的这个在金苹果假日这个活动, 它需要我占用的这个 NPC **在游戏内的白天出现**。
- 4 客服: 您的意思说需要您在**白天带领这个 NPC 在白天出现**
- 5 客户: 是两个任务互相冲突了, 一个任务把时间又锁死, 另外一个任务又要求这个被占用的 NPC 在白天才能出现, 等于是这么回事。
- 6 客服: 噢, 我明白您的意思, 就是说您说的那个暗夜英雄的那个主线的任务是在晚上进行的
- 7 客户: **他会把游戏时间锁定在晚上, 不能调整**。嗯, 对, 然后他活动的任务他要求这个 NPC 在白天出现, 所以我就没有办法再继续进行游戏, 也没有办法进行活动
- 8 客服: 就是说**这个时间冲突了**

对于客户而言, 重构式同样重置认知框架, 但与客服的重构方向恰恰相反。客户的重构式回声是为了突破机构话语的限制、解构客服的职业化表述, 达成解决问题、责任追索、金额索赔的交际目标。例(13)中包含三例客户的重构式回声。客服承诺“尽可能的帮您重新申请”(第1行), 客户回声话语的前半句“不是你尽可能要帮助我”(第2行), 首先通过否定句子叠加引述式回声否定了客服的表达。接着在后半句“是你要帮我解决这个问题”(第2行)与客服承诺形成句法和词汇上的映射。值得注意的是, 客户将认知情态词“尽可能”置换成道义情态词“要”, 重构了语境框架, 也改变了话语的施为力。

客户第二次启用重构式回声(第4行)“你是账户的主管”回应第3行客服中的身份宣称要素“由我们这边来做负责”, 随后客户补充“你也解决不了”触发预设开关, 即“负责人、主管应解决处理问题”的预设, 该预设推动对话的认知框架转向道义层面, 此时客服的专业身份陈述被重构为失职。客户第三次启用重构式回声(第6行)是在要求被拒后, 将客服的表达“处理不了”(第5行)

重构为“那你找能处理的人对接”，再次将话语框架转向道义层面，后续“吃黑”一词，更显性地将技术性限制重构为道德缺陷。

从序列结构上看，例(13)中客服的回绝本质是试图利用权力高位关闭会话序列，但客户的每一次重构都是对原来命题的拓展。重构式回声不仅延续了序列轨迹，也帮助客户突破了权力低位的限制，控制了序列发展的方向，获得了更多的谈判空间。

(13)

- 1 客服：嗯，我理解您的意思，所以**我们已经尽可能地帮您重新再申请**
- 2 客户：不是你**尽可能要帮助我，是你要帮我解决这个问题**
- 3 客服：跟您说，礼品卡的部分也是**归账户**，是同一个，都是**由我们这边来负责的**。那您的这个卡片它跟账户
- 4 客户：那你的意思就是你是礼品卡，**你是账户的主管，你也解决不了这个问题**，是吗
- 5 客服：确实**处理不了的**，真的很抱歉
- 6 客户：那你**找个能处理的人**来跟我对接啊，你不能，就是你的意思就是你这就是要**吃黑**我账户的钱了，就是

综合本小节的分析，客服通过重构式回声将个人体验转换成机构表述，寻找解决方案。客户则通过重构式回声解构机构表述，重置语境和认知框架，强调客服代表机构需要解决问题的道义责任。相较于引述式回声，客服的重构式回声显示出更为积极的处理态度，而客户启用重构式回声倾向于道德层面的介入。

## 六、结论

回声话语中的重复蕴含着“原始表征-元表征”的双层结构：原始表征承载命题内容，元表征层通过复现或阐释表达主观情感和立场。本研究基于投诉对话的真实语料，识别了引述式回声和重构式回声两类回声话语，总结了客服和客户使用回声话语的倾向，从元表征角度分析了言者基于权力关系选择不同回声话语的认知机制。

基于元语言相似性的引述式回声表达了框架内的温和反抗，其核心机制在于对话语形式的直接或构式化复现。回声问句是引述式回声最重要的子类，因叠加了疑问算子这一元语言否定手段，表达更加主观，也更具有指向性。基于阐释相似性的重构式回声则能重置语境，是一种深度的话语干预策略。交际者通过元表征对前述语进行二次加工，在保持核心命题内容关联性的同时，系统性重构认知框架和权力关系，实现日常话语与机构话语的框架转化。

元表征的研究视角显化了回声话语所蕴含的权力协商和重构。机构话语环境下的权力不平衡，是决定交际者启用不同回声话语策略的关键。投诉对话中，客户处于机构权力低位，故多依赖引述式回声进行框架内抵抗，也常通过重构式回声摆脱机构话语的认知束缚，将机构话语框架重构为道德框架，以达成诉求。客服在投诉话语环境下属于权力高位，其角色和身份要求维持话语的机构性，因此多使用重构式回声将客户个体化叙事转译为机构客观化陈述，在框架内提供解决方案，这本质上是一种将权力关系“自然化”的话语程序(Bourdieu, 1991)。

元表征视角聚焦于日常话语框架与机构话语框架之间的动态迁移和重构，超越了投诉话语研究

的语言表征描述，衔接了语言、认知以及制度三个层面，形成更立体的意义解读网络，为投诉纠纷乃至更广泛的制度互动与冲突话语提供了新的分析路径。本研究的现实意义在于促使参与者对机构话语进行反思。对于投诉者而言，能否将其基于个体经验的日常话语有效地转化为机构话语表达，是达成诉求的关键。对于客服而言，在话语层面维护“程序正义”的同时，不能忽略客户的“日常诉求”。双方通过话语所展示的个体诉求与机构权威之间的权力和认知博弈，正是语言修辞研究对于完善相关机构服务和体制运作的社会学价值与意义(朱虹宇、孙继成；2025)。

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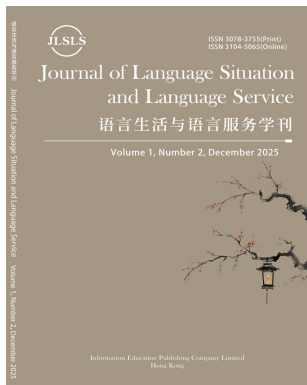
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## 《云南师范大学学报（对外汉语教学与研究版）》与《中国语教育》对比研究

——基于 KH Coder 的计量分析

李亦非 (Li Yifei), 寇振锋 (Kou Zhenfeng)

**摘要:** 以中日两国汉语教学领域的代表性期刊《云南师范大学学报（对外汉语教学与研究版）》和日本《中国语教育》二十年来（2003-2023）刊载的全部文献标题为研究对象，运用日本研发的 KH Coder 文本计量软件，从发文量、发文作者、发文机构、研究热点及发展趋势五个方面进行对比分析。研究发现，两个期刊论文研究均涉及汉语教学、学习者、教材、二语习得、偏误分析等方面，其中《云南师范大学学报（对外汉语教学与研究版）》的研究范围更广泛，研究主题涵盖汉语国际推广、孔子学院、人才培养、资源建设、发展路径及跨文化交际等方面，而《中国语教育》研究主题则始终围绕汉语教学与实践研究，更具专一性。

**关键词:** 计量分析；KH Coder；《云南师范大学学报（对外汉语教学与研究版）》；《中国语教育》；对比

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**Title:** A Comparative Study of *Journal of Yunnan Normal University (Teaching and Research Edition of Chinese as a Foreign Language)* and *Journal of the Japan Association of Chinese Language Education: A Quantitative Analysis based on KH Coder*

**Abstract:** Taking all the literature titles published in the representative journals of Chinese language teaching in China and Japan, *Journal of Yunnan Normal University (Teaching and Research Edition of Chinese as a Foreign Language)* and *Journal of the Japan Association of Chinese Language Education*, over the past 20 years (2003-2023), as the research object, using the KH Coder text measurement software developed in Japan, a comparative analysis was conducted from five aspects: publication volume, authors, publishing institutions, research hotspots, and development trends. Research has found that both journal articles cover aspects such as Chinese language teaching, learners, textbooks, second language acquisition, and error analysis. Among them, the research scope of *Journal of Yunnan Normal University (Teaching and Research Edition of Chinese as a Foreign Language)* is broader, covering topics such as international promotion of Chinese language, Confucius Institutes, talent cultivation, resource construction, development paths, and cross-cultural communication. The research topic of *Chinese Language Education* always revolves around Chinese language teaching and practical research, making it more specific.

**Keywords:** Quantitative analysis; KH Coder, *Journal of Yunnan Normal University (Teaching and Research Edition of Chinese as a Foreign Language)*, *Journal of the Japan Association of Chinese Language Education*, Contrast

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## 一、引言

《云南师范大学学报（对外汉语教学与研究版）》（以下简称《云师大（对外版）》）与日本的《中国语教育》均为创刊于 2003 年的汉语教学领域的专业性核心期刊，两个期刊的创刊历史、发展规模和学术影响力情况在汉语教学领域都具有公认的权威性和代表性。《云师大（对外版）》是国际中文教育专业教学与科研的必备参考刊物，以“资政惠学，为汉语国际教育发展提供智力支持”为办刊宗旨（云师大（对外版），2019），是中国人文社会科学期刊 A 刊扩展期刊、国家哲学社会科学文献中心推荐期刊。同样创刊于 2003 年的《中国语教育》是日本汉语教育和研究领域发挥最重要作用的期刊，由日本中国语教育学会编辑出版，每年春季发行一次，主要刊登年会及会员的学术论文，截至目前共出版 23 期。中国语教育学会于 2002 年 4 月正式成立，宗旨是“为日本从事

中国语教育和研究人员提供钻研和交流，推动中国语教育在日本的普及和发展”（中国语教育学会，2002）。

两个期刊自创刊以来，中日两国汉语教学领域知名学者纷纷投稿，陆俭明、李泉等重要学者在《云师大（对外版）》发文；荒川清秀、古川裕等日本学者在《中国语教育》上均有发文，而且古川裕还在《云师大（对外版）》上发文。可见，作为汉语教学领域代表性和权威性的重要期刊，深受中日两国学者的青睐。

近年来，国际中文教育研究现状、焦点与趋势的学术研究主要分为两种类型：其一是宏观探讨“国际中文教育”整体发展情况，其二是分析总结各下位研究分支的发展演变。目前已有不少学者从不同角度对该领域进行了研究。例如，李宝贵等（2019）从发文情况、文献作者、研究现状三个方面评价了2008—2018年我国汉语国际教育的研究现状和进展。郭元兵、蔡昌卓（2022）回顾了近20年汉语国际教育研究热点主题，分析研究趋势是跨学科和文化、顺应时代发展等。郭晶、廖许莹（2024）基于文献计量可视化软件对国际中文教育研究现状、热点与趋势进行分析。相关学位论文，如阮刘恩泽（2023）基于CiteSpace梳理了改革开放以来我国国际中文教育学术发展的研究成果。王素萍（2024）总结了近30年国际中文教育文化教学现状。

目前已有学者从不同角度对两个期刊分别进行了相关探讨。例如，梁文静（2015）基于文献计量对《云师大（对外版）》2003—2014年对外汉语阅读教学研究文献作者、引文、基金论文等方面进行分析。许挺傑（2021）对《中国语教育》论文标题展开文本数据挖掘，阐明了日本汉语教育研究的现状与问题。郎雪彤（2023）运用CiteSpace对《云师大（对外版）》近二十年研究热点与发展趋势进行可视化分析和总结。王睿昕（2024）从学术期刊助力国际中文教育学科发展的角度对《云师大（对外版）》进行了可视化分析。

虽然上述学者对两个期刊分别进行了较为系统的研究，但不见针对两个期刊的对比研究。诚然，从客观上讲，一个在中国，一个在日本；《云师大（对外版）》为双月刊，《中国语教育》为年刊，发文量有明显差异。然而，作为两国同年创刊的汉语教学领域最具代表性学术期刊，仍具有较大的可比性。因此，本文以两个期刊二十年来（2003-2023）刊载的全部文献为研究对象，从多个维度剖析两个期刊在中日两国汉语教学领域研究内容的异同，采用日本研发的KH Coder文本数据挖掘软件 and 对比分析法进行系统文献回顾，旨在解决以下研究问题：自两个期刊创刊以来，发文量变化有何不同？主要发文作者、发文机构合作情况如何？两个期刊的研究内容？哪些主题是研究热点？中日两国汉语教学研究相比存在哪些差异？造成差异的动因和机制？各自呈现何种发展趋势？

通过精准对比同一时期两个期刊研究文献的热点内容与发展趋势，有助于中日办刊优势互鉴。不仅能反映两国汉语教学研究的途径与走向，更能为双方刊物的发展提供清晰的“他者”视角，从他人的办刊思路、论题演变中汲取经验、取长补短，获得更具实践性的启示。

## 二、研究方法 with 文献来源

### （一）研究方法

KH Coder 是由日本立命馆大学樋口耕一团队于2001年研发的一款用于定量内容分析与文本数

据挖掘 (Text Mining) 的软件<sup>1</sup>。该软件最大优势在于, 汉语及日语文献均可识别, 在一定程度上弥补了国内主流引文分析软件不足。本文运用 KH Coder 最新免费版本 Starting 3.Beta.08a, 具备词频统计、词类分析、上下文关键词检索、相似度计算和可视化 (共现网络、多维缩放、对应分析) 等功能, 采用词频分析法、共现分析法及对应分析法对样本文献进行分析。从发文量、发文作者、发文机构、高频关键词及发展趋势等角度, 结合中日两国研究实际及汉语教学发展规律, 分析两个期刊二十年来学术研究热点问题及研究趋势, 以了解目前中日汉语教学领域研究发展方向和演变特征。

## (二) 数据来源

国内数据来源于中国知网 (CNKI) 收录的《云师大 (对外版)》期刊论文, 日方数据来源于日本最大学术论文数据库 CiNii 收录的《中国语教育》期刊论文。为保证高质量可视化结果, 排除会议通知、人物介绍、版权公告、活动记录等非学术性文章。两个期刊研究数据的检索与处理结果见表 1。

表 1 两个期刊研究文献检索过程及结果  
(Table 1 Literature Search Process and Results for Two Journals)

分析类型	国内研究文献	日本研究文献
数据来源	中国知网 (CNKI) 《云师大 (对外版)》	日本学术论文数据库 CiNii 《中国語教育》
检索条件	(高级检索) 文献来源=云南师范大学学报 (对外汉语教学与研究版)	(详细检索) 刊行物名=中国語教育
检索时间	2003/01/01—2023/12/31	2003/01/01—2023/12/31
数据类型	学术期刊	学术期刊
软件工具	KH Coder、NoteExpress	KH Coder、NoteExpress
检索结果	1939	266
结果处理	NoteExpress 去重+人工处理	NoteExpress 去重+人工处理
最终结果	1746 <sup>2</sup>	234

在选取比较对象时, 国内期刊选择了以《云师大 (对外版)》作为数据来源, 主要基于以下两方面的考量, 旨在确保研究的对等性、可比性与独特价值。

其一, 创刊时间相同具有高度对等性与可比性。《云师大 (对外版)》与《中国语教育》均创刊于 2003 年, 作为同年创刊的国际中文教育领域代表性学术期刊, 二者诞生于同一历史时期, 共同经历了新世纪以来汉语教育走向世界、汉语教学深入发展、学科建设日趋成熟的整个阶段。可以说, 两个期刊在办刊过程中面临着相似的时代机遇与挑战, 如全球“汉语热”、三教的本土化、数字化信息技术的冲击等。这为本研究提供了独一无二的平行对比视角。

其二, 有助于揭示期刊发展的国别化路径。在相同的创刊背景下, 对比两个期刊, 可以有效地

<sup>1</sup> KH Coder 的官方下载网站为 <https://kncoder.net/en/>。

<sup>2</sup> 本文依据日本 KH Coder 分析软件所统计的论文数量为 1746 篇, 与王睿昕所统计的数量 1745 篇, 略有出入, 特此说明。

剥离以往学术传统、历史因素与时间因素的影响,更精准地捕捉由国家政策、教育形势、教学目标等因素所造成的研究热点与发展趋势的差异。这种对比的独特价值,相较于创刊更早、定位更高的权威期刊,如《世界汉语教学》《语言教学与研究》《汉语学习》等 CSSCI 国际中文教育期刊,更具优势。

### 三、发文状况对比

#### (一) 发文量对比

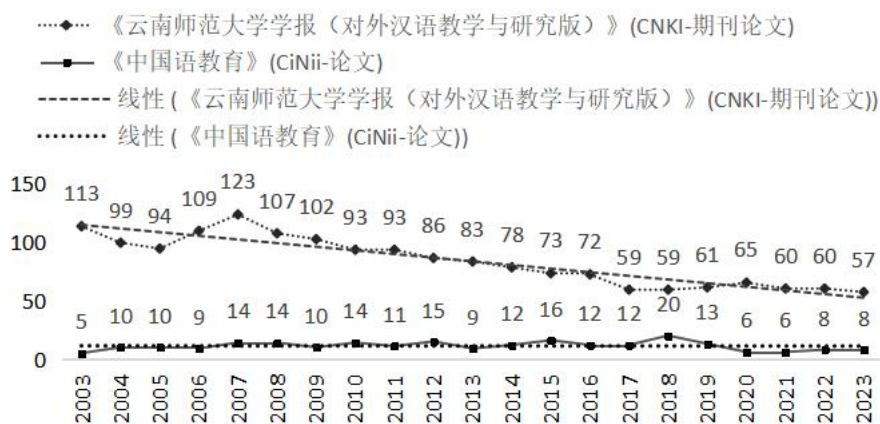


图 1 2003 年 1 月 1 日至 2023 年 12 月 31 日

《云师大(对外版)》与《中国語教育》研究论文发文量

(Figure 1 Publication Volume of Research Papers in *Yunnan Normal University Journal (Chinese Language Teaching and Research Edition)* and *Chinese Language Education* from 1 January 2003 to 31 December 2023)

通过对比《云师大(对外版)》和《中国語教育》历年发文量,据图 1 可知:(1)自创刊起,《云师大(对外版)》发文量总体呈下降趋势,《中国語教育》发文量略有波动,变化不大。(2)研究可分为两个阶段:第一阶段是 2003-2013 年,两个期刊均处于创刊后的成长发展期,《中国語教育》发文量缓步上升,《云师大(对外版)》发文量先增后降;第二阶段是 2014-2023 年,两个期刊处于新兴发展后的拓展深化期。

#### (二) 发文作者对比

我们运用 KH Coder 对两个期刊发文作者进行统计发现:《云师大(对外版)》全部样本 1746 篇文献,共涉及作者 947 人。从 2003 年到 2023 年,发文数量最高的作者是冯丽萍,发文 19 篇;其次是吴应辉,发文 11 篇;李宝贵,发文 10 篇。发文数量 5 篇及以上的作者 45 人,累计占 4.75%。与之相比,《中国語教育》全部样本文献 234 篇中涉及作者 140 人。其中,发文量最多的 3 位学者是植村麻纪子、中西千香、张轶欧,各 8 篇。发文数量 5 篇及以上的作者 9 人,累计占 6.42%。

#### (三) 发文机构对比

经笔者统计发现,(1)《云师大(对外版)》全部研究文献涉及发文机构 343 个,《中国語教育》全部研究文献涉及发文机构 88 个。(2)《云师大(对外版)》第一责任机构发文量前 5 名为

云南师范大学、北京语言大学、北京师范大学、北京大学、华东师范大学；《中国语教育》第一责任机构发文量前 5 名为大阪大学、关西大学、爱知大学、北九州市立大学、名古屋大学。

#### 四、研究热点对比

##### (一) 高频词对比

将高频词中同义词合并，频次排序较后的并入频次排序较前的，如“比较”替换为“对比”等。对指向不明的单音节词语予以剔除，如“语”“基”等。运用 KH Coder 执行预处理后，经高频词统计功能筛选出两个期刊前 10 位高频词，对比发现其研究论文高频词存在异同。

表 2 《云师大（对外版）》与《中国语教育》高频词分布（前 10 位）  
(Table 2 Top 10 High-Frequency Word Distributions in *Yunnan Normal University (International Edition)* and *Chinese Language Education*)

序号	《云师大（对外版）》	频次	《中国语教育》（括号内为日语原文）	频次
1	汉语	1064	汉语（中国語）	133
2	教学	507	教育（教育）	69
3	学习者	257	授课（授業）	29
4	对外	207	学习者（学習者）	27
5	国际	179	大学（大学）	19
6	教育	170	发音（発音）	16
7	语言	151	实践（実践）	14
8	对比	110	日本人（日本人）	14
9	教师	107	语法（文法）	14
10	教材	106	初级（初級）	13

如表 2 所示，相同之处为两个期刊前 4 位均出现汉语（中国語）、教学（授業）、学习者（學習者）。由此可见，两个期刊研究论文均重视汉语教学、课堂教学和汉语学习者方面。差异体现为，从词汇的集群上看，《云师大（对外版）》高频出现对外、国际、教育、语言、对比、教师、教材等，因而可知，中国的对外汉语教学着眼于世界范围，注重汉语国际推广；《中国语教育》高频出现发音（発音）、实践（実践）、日本人（日本人）、语法（文法）、初级（初級）等，由上可知，日本汉语教育关注本国汉语教学和学习者的情况，注重教学与实践相结合。

##### (二) 共现网络对比

词语共现网络将高频关键词以可视化手段呈现，能够直观地显示研究文本中高频词之间的关联度，关联度高的关键词组成热点子网络，能够清晰地反映出研究的热点主题和整体特征。考虑到两个期刊样本数量差异较大，为保证可视化结果的直观性，最低词频分别设置 25 和 5，选择坚定共现关系用暗线表示。圆圈大小反映词汇出现频率，连线粗细反映词汇之间的关联度。

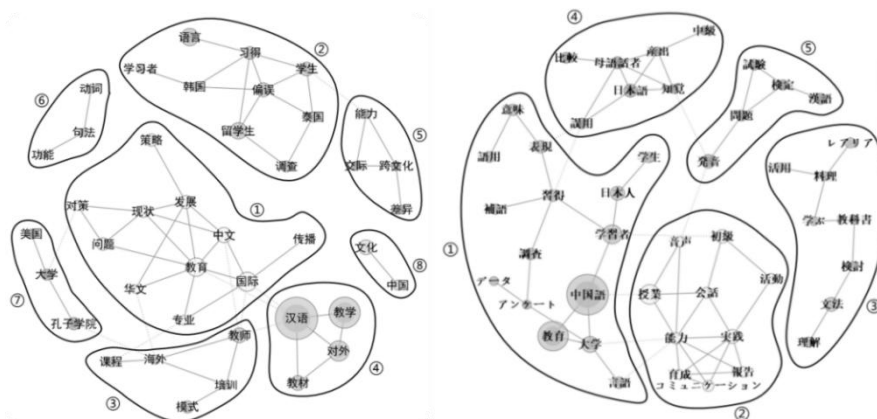


图2 《云师大（对外版）》与《中国语教育》关键词共现网络分析  
 (Figure 2 Keyword Co-occurrence Network Analysis in Yunnan Normal University (International Edition) and Chinese Language Education)

从图2可以发现，两个期刊研究论文高频关键词分别聚类为若干个热点子网络，《云师大（对外版）》高频关键词聚类为八个热点子网络，《中国语教育》高频关键词聚类为五个热点子网络。按聚类大小排列，《云师大（对外版）》的八个热点子网络分别是：（1）国际中文教育学科理论体系建设与汉语国际传播的研究；（2）汉语学习者与汉语作为第二语言习得的研究；（3）汉语教师研究；（4）汉语教学与教材研究；（5）关于跨文化交际的研究；（6）汉语语法与汉外语言对比的研究；（7）关于孔子学院的研究；（8）中国文化研究。《中国语教育》的五个热点子网络分别是：（1）汉语教学研究；（2）教学实践研究；（3）汉语语法与汉语教材的研究；（4）汉语学习者研究；（5）教学测试与评估研究。

表3 两个期刊热点子网络和研究论文高频关键词表  
 (Table 3 Two Journal Hotspot Networks and High-Frequency Keyword Lists for Research Papers)

《云师大（对外版）》		《中国语教育》		
热点子网络	高频关键词	热点子网络	高频关键词对应中文	高频关键词
01 中文	中文、国际、教育、专业、发展、华文、传播、策略、现状、问题、对策	01 中国語	中文、教育、学习者、学生、日本人、大学、语言、习得、误用、表现、语用、语义、补语、调查、问卷、数据	中国語、教育、学习者、学生、日本人、大学、言語、習得、誤用、表現、語用、意味、補語、調査、アンケート、データ
02 学习者	学习者、学生、留学生、偏误、习得、语言、韩国、泰国、调查	02 授業	授课、会话、语音、能力、培养、交流、实践、报告、初级、活动	授業、会話、音声、能力、育成、コミュニケーション、実践、報告、初級、活動
03 教师	教师、海外、培训、课程、模式	03 文法	语法、理解、探讨、教科书、学习、烹饪、咏叹调、活用	文法、理解、検討、教科書、学ぶ、料理、レアリア、活用

《云师大（对外版）》		《中国语教育》		
热点 子网络	高频关键词	热点 子网络	高频关键词 对应中文	高频关键词
04 教材	教材、汉语、教学、对外	04 母語話 者	日語、母語者、感 知、产出、中级、误 用、比较	日本語、母語話者、 知覚、産出、中级、 誤用、比較
05 跨文化	跨文化、交际、能力、差 异	05 試験	考试、鉴定、汉语、 问题、发音	試験、検定、漢語、 問題、発音
06 句法	句法、功能、动词			
07 孔子学 院	孔子学院、大学、美国			
08 文化	文化、中国			

表3列出了两个期刊研究论文热点子网络和高频关键词，对比发现研究热点主题存在相似性和差异性。需指明的是，由于《中国语教育》对国际中文教育学科体系建设与汉语国际传播、孔子学院、中国文化的研究涉猎较少，不占主流，故未形成以上三类研究的热点子网络。

相似性体现在：（1）两个期刊论文都以汉语教学研究为中心，主要涉及汉语本体研究、讲授汉语知识和训练学生听、说、读、写技能，关键词包括中文（中国語）、授课（授業）、句法、功能等；（2）重视汉语学习者研究，主要涉及学习者认知风格、学习动机、习得情况、产出情况、偏误分析等，关键词包括感知（知覚）、产出（産出）、习得（習得）、误用（誤用）等；（3）重视“三教”问题研究，关键词包括教师、课程、模式、教科书（教科書）等。

差异性体现在：（1）《云师大（对外版）》研究范围较广泛，涉及汉语国际推广、孔子学院、人才培养、跨文化交际、中国文化、国际中文教育学科理论体系建设和专业发展等方面；《中国语教育》研究范围相对较窄，基于日本汉语教学界需求，注重研究针对日本人的汉语教学，涉及初级汉语语法、语音知识教学、日中语言差异对比，注重课堂教学的实践与活用，注重教育资源与数字通讯结合，关键词涉及调查（調査）、问卷（アンケート）、数据（データ）等。（2）在语法教学研究上，《云师大（对外版）》重点关注不同国别汉语学习者在动词、短语、句型、句法功能、语用功能、语法意义的辨析与汉外语言对比（关键词涉及泰国、韩国、动词、句法、功能）；《中国语教育》注重对某一种词汇、句型或语法现象进行专一和深入地研究，例如“了”字、“得”字补语等，注重补语、语义、语用的考察，关键词涉及语义（意味）、语用（語用）。

### （三）对应分析对比

为了进一步对比分析两个期刊高频关键词在时间序列上的演变特征，我们在KH Coder中将2003-2013、2014-2023两个时期设为外部变量进行对应分析，最低词频分别设置为15和4。在变量方向上越接近原点的词越具有普遍性，越远离原点的词越具有该时期特征。从图3可以看出这两个时期位于不同的象限，可见随着时间变化，两个时期在研究内容上存在显著差异。

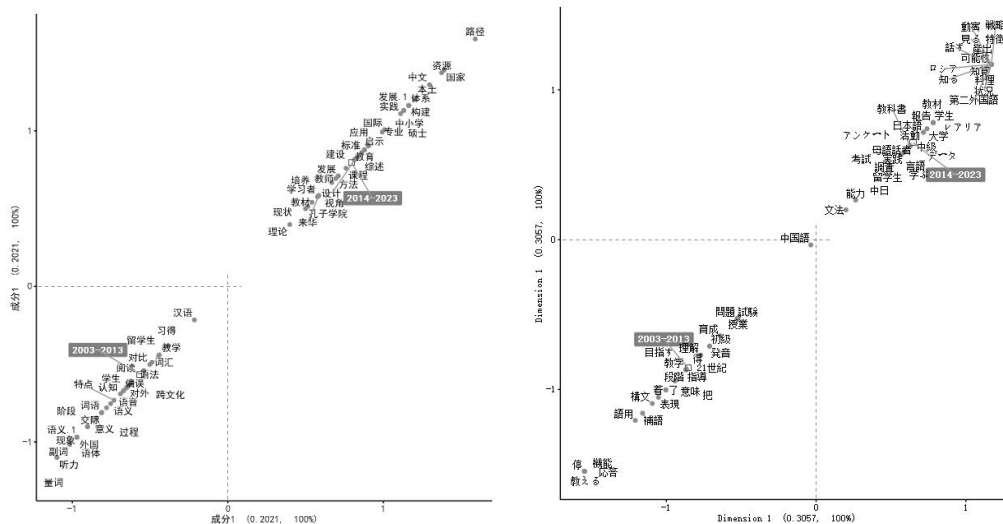


图3 《云师大（对外版）》与《中国語教育》关键词对应分析

(Figure 3 Keyword Correspondence Analysis between *Yunnan Normal University (International Edition)* and *Chinese Language Education*)

《云师大（对外版）》2003-2013 研究论文以对外汉语知识和技能教学为中心，关键词明显突出量词、听力、副词、现象等；注重汉外语言对比、外国留学生和跨文化交际；2014-2023 年关于宏观问题、学科发展与体系建设的研究不断深化，关键词涉及路径、资源、国家、中文、本土、构建等，汉语教学向中小学、本土化、中文+的探索成为新的研究领域。

《中国語教育》2003-2013 以研究汉语知识和技能教学为主，语法教学的相关论文大量发表（了、着、得等），还包括对句法、语用功能进行考察，关键词涉及应答（応答）、语用（語用）、发音（発音）等；2014-2023 汉语教学实践研究逐渐成为热点，关键词变化为产出（産出）、知觉（知覚）、活动（活動）；注重中文应用、课堂实践、实证调查，关键词涉及言语（言語）、实践（実践）、调查（調査）。

#### （四）研究热点差异的动因与机制分析

经上述两个期刊高频词、共现网络、对应分析的对比，可以发现近二十年来中日研究文献的热点主题存在显著差异性。造成这种差异的动因与机制，主要有四个方面值得关注。

第一，两国汉语教学形势不同。21 世纪初，“汉语热”在全球范围内不断升温。为应对汉语国际化新形势，2005 年 7 月，首届世界汉语大会举办，会中强调了“中国政府将汉语国际推广列为国家战略”，标志着中国对外汉语教学向汉语国际推广的转变（李泉，2019）。作为创刊初期的刊物，《云师大（对外版）》响应号召，所刊文章内容不局限于国内，也广泛涉及汉语国际推广。如海外汉语教育历史、现状和发展研究，汉外语言对比研究，国别化、本土化教学研究，孔子学院研究等。日本方面，20 世纪末，中文成为高考外语科目之一；新世纪以来，社会上学习汉语的人数呈现稳步增长。2005 年 10 月，日本第一所孔子学院成立。随后，各地正规教育机构、民间办学机构等纷纷涌现。在大规模汉语学习热潮下，汉语教学的课程设置、教学内容、教材建设、教师培养等等大量问题亟待解决。该形势下，中国語教育学会的成立与《中国語教育》的创刊，为日本中国語

教育学界提供了一个正面解决问题的机会。

第二，两国汉语教学目标不同。由国家汉办编制的最新版《国际汉语教学通用课程大纲》（2024）规定了国际汉语教学课程总目标是使学习者具备语言技能、语言知识、策略、文化四个方面的综合运用能力。日本方面，由于文部省未曾发布过统一标准的中国语教学课程大纲，以2007年3月，中国语教育学会研制的《中国语初级阶段学习指导大纲》为标准，其中编制了语法项目表、学习词汇表，对学习者在语法、词汇两个项目的学习上提出了基本要求。此外，日本文化财团发行了《高中汉语和韩语学习指南》（2013），指出高中汉语教育的具体目标为“3领域×3能力+3联系”，即在语言、文化、社会三个领域，培养语言知识、语言技能、语言运用三种能力，并使汉语课和学习兴趣、其他学科、课堂内外的学习三个方面建立起联系。因此，在不同教学目标的导向下，两国教学重点不同，研究热点必然有所不同。

第三，学习者的语言环境不同。来华汉语学习者处于目的语语言环境，不仅能在封闭的课堂环境中学习汉语，还能在开放的社会环境中习得汉语。他们既能在汉语文化背景下增强语言知识和技能，也能在与本地人的交流中提升跨文化交际能力。而在日汉语学习者接触目的语环境有限，仅能从课堂语言环境中学习汉语。缺少目的语国家的社会语言环境，导致日本汉语学习者无法及时有效地运用汉语进行交际，因此水平大多处于初级阶段。

第四，学习者的需求和动机不同。学习者学习外语是出于某种目的，其目的的重要性与学习汉语的努力程度联系紧密。来华汉语学习者出于社会交际的需要，其动机上升至社会范畴，以综合型学习动机为主，能够积极地学习和使用汉语交流。而日本汉语学习者大多出于学业、工作等个人需求，以工具型动机为主，因此日本汉语教学研究中更多涉及对教学法、教学模式的探讨，注重激发学习者的学习兴趣。

## 五、热点主题回顾与发展趋势对比

### （一）热点主题回顾

本节以上一章两个期刊研究论文标题的高频词、共现网络对比和对应分析对比的结果为参照，结合研究文献摘要、关键词与内容，对两个期刊热点主题进行综述。以十年为跨度，能够较为清晰地看出研究选取的时间范围内，论文热点主题的嬗变规律与趋势，因此，我们将二十年来两个期刊论文研究划分为成长期（2003-2013）与深化期（2014-2023）进行回顾。

#### 1. 成长期（2003-2013）

从2003年到2013年的十年，《云师大（对外版）》研究论文的热点主题主要聚焦于汉语教学、认知与习得、偏误与对比、文化与跨文化交际四大部分。

（1）汉语教学研究：从应对世界“汉语热”的实际出发，既重视汉语本体研究，也重视国内外的汉语教学研究。例如，丁崇明（2003）考察了四种语法、词汇与功能结合的教学模式。吴门吉、周小兵（2004）分析了“被”字句与“叫、让”被动句在表义上的特点。赵金铭（2007）提出了在汉语国际推广形式下要加快建立汉语作为外语教学的语言能力标准。另外，国别化的汉语教学研究也是这一时期的显著特征。相关研究围绕国别化汉语教学、教材编写、教学现状、推广情况等展开。

例如,周小兵(2007)考察了越南人对汉语复杂句式及词语的习得情况。刘红娟(2012)研究了比利时汉语教育的推广情况及现存问题。此外,这一时期,日本学者古川裕也发表文章《日本“中国语”教学的新面貌》(2008),探讨了中国语教学在日本中学与大学的衔接问题。这些研究成果均有其实用意义,展现出汉语国际推广新形势下,汉语教学正走出中国、走向世界的广阔前景。

(2) 认知与习得研究:主要涉及对外国汉语学习者的学习态度、学习动机、认知风格,对特殊句式、语法点习得情况等。例如,高立群等(2005)考察了不同母语外国留学生的汉语语音意识发展情况。刘明男(2009)采用问卷调查法考察了在华留学生汉语学习态度。肖青、冯丽萍(2012)结合语料分析法分析了美国学生对领属“有”字句的使用情况。重要文献还有冯丽萍、盛双霞《外国学生中文三价动词的习得规律研究》(2004)、朱勇《留学生“请求”言语行为的语用水平调查》(2005)、吴门吉《对欧美韩日学生阅读猜词策略的问卷调查研究》(2008)等。

(3) 偏误与对比研究:主要涉及偏误分析、汉外语言对比。对外国人学习汉语常见偏误进行分析与考察十分必要。赵春利指出“偏误分析是研究汉语作为第二语言习得规律的重要突破口”,并先后发表了《对外汉语偏误分析二十年研究回顾》(2005)《初级阶段留学生偏误的规律性及成因分析》(2006)等重要文献。此外,主要成果还有:周小兵《非母语者汉语语法偏误研究程序》(2009)、丁崇明《外国学生“了”习得考察及相关问题研究》(2012)等。21世纪初,汉外语言对比研究体现为汉英对比研究文献大量刊布。既有从理论层面探讨汉英动词“时”和“体”上的差异(周慧先,2005),也有从实践视角对比汉英介词及教学策略(王鸿滨,2013)。另外,汉语与其他语言对比研究也有涉及,如汉俄对比(王媚、张艳荣,2007)、汉日对比(李冰,2008)、汉泰对比(齐春红、王冬梅,2009;杨丽周,2012)、汉韩对比(于鹏、焦毓梅,2006;林娟廷,2010)等等。

(4) 中华文化与跨文化交际:主要涉及文化差异对比、文化教学,来华留学生或海外汉语教师的跨文化适应、某一语言现象对跨文化交际的影响等。例如,沈家贤(2003)分析了中西文化差异与对外汉语教学的关系,指出学习者应有意识地使用汉语的思维模式。刘继红(2004)探讨了国内外汉语文化课程设置的异同,提出我国对外汉语文化教学应制定文化教学等级大纲、加强师资队伍的培训、发挥现代化教学技术的辅助等。吕俞辉等(2012)调查了对外汉语教师海外工作跨文化适应状况。朱雯静、王建勤(2012)比较了海外汉语学习者跨文化族群的认同情况,提出了具有针对性的汉语传播策略。

《中国语教育》成长期(2003-2013)研究热点为汉语教学、教学法和第二语言习得三大部分。

(1) 汉语教学研究:汉语教学研究,自《中国语教育》创刊以来就备受研究者关注。历届年会,有关汉语教学研究从语法教学开始,逐渐深入到语音、语义、语用、功能等。例如,第一届年会,森宏子《时间副词“刚”的意思和功能》(2003)。第三届年会,西畅子《日语母语者的第二声上升率》(2005)、宅间彻志《处理表达与形式动词“加以”》(2005)等等。另外,中国语教育学会每一年围绕一个特定主题进行研讨。如第七届年会研讨主题为:汉语虚词“了”的词性和用法,并在《中国语教育》第8号出版“了”字研究专辑。

(2) 教学法研究:《中国语教育》发表了大量关于汉语教学法研究的论文,涉及对汉语语音、

语法、词汇等知识教学及听说读写的技能教学。例如，丸尾誠（2003）提出了一种以系统理解语法事项为目标的汉语教学法。竹中佐英子（2005）探讨了对日汉语词汇教学法，建议对学习高频率使用的词汇编写教材并开展教学。楊光俊等（2007）建议尝试采用直接法进行汉语教学。

（3）第二语言习得研究：关键词涉及（应答）应答等，姚艷玲（2009）研究了日本汉语学习者习得“补语”，发现可能补语的习得最困难。另外，这时《中国语教育》也涉及日中对比、偏误分析，例如表拒绝义句法结构中日对照研究（文鐘蓮，2004）、日本汉语学习者数量词误用调查建议（樋口幸子，2017）等。

## 2. 深化期（2014-2023）

该时期《云师大（对外版）》研究文献热点主题为三教问题、孔子学院、国际中文教育体系建设三大部分。

（1）三教问题研究：主要包括教师、教学资源和教学法。汉语教师研究主要涉及研究现状、专业素养、职业发展等方面。例如，黄启庆等（2017）回顾了近三十年国际汉语教师研究，发现了两大趋势：一是研究视野更趋宽阔、研究内容更渐深入，二是教师个体发展正逐渐受到学者关注。李泉、丁安琪（2020）提出了汉语教师专业素养应采取“素养>能力>知识”的评估模式。吴勇毅（2022）指明了国际中文教师应在理论上加强概念为本的教学认知、实践上形成教学合作共同体。教学资源研究上，吴应辉（2022）对全球教学资源进行了全面系统的筛查，提出了八点展望。教材研究主要分为两种，一是对现有教材的分析与思考，二是对未来教材建设方向的探索。例如，周小兵（2014）基于全球汉语教材库探讨了新加坡华文教材的总体特点。耿直（2018）指出了未来教材建设需加强教学理论创新、教材编写和国别研究。在教学法研究上，田晓萌（2020）从教学内容和课型上回顾总结了近三十年语篇教学法研究情况。另外，“本土化”也是该时期研讨重点。赵金铭（2014）辨析了“国际化”“本土化”等概念，提出了应大力培养本土化汉语教师、开发国别化汉语教材。王建军（2015）认为师资本土化包含本土师资及外来师资两类，并探讨了培养模式与未来走向。高莉（2022）阐明了培养专门用途中文本土教师队伍的价值。

（2）孔子学院研究：主要涉及孔子学院的发展现状、问题分析、课程设置等。代表文献有：沈毅、刘灏《孔子学院可持续发展的新思路》（2015）、李宝贵等《意大利孔子学院当地化课程建设研究》（2020）、袁法森《海外中文语言景观构建中孔子学院的功能发挥》（2023）等。另外，孔子学院与汉语国际推广密切相关。《云师大（对外版）》于2013年开设“孔子学院研究”专栏，2014年开设“汉语国际传播研究”专栏，刊发文章有：王彦伟《孔子学院的利益相关方及其互动关系》（2013）；朱勇、孙岩《意大利汉语教育的现状、问题与对策》（2014）等等。

（3）国际中文教育体系建设与人才培养：主要涉及学科建设、专业发展、人才培养等。例如，李泉（2015）例示了汉语国际教育硕士应具备的教学信念和专业发展信念。李宝贵、吴晓文（2022）探讨了中文纳入海外各国国民教育体系的价值、演进与表征。“数字化”一词首次出现在2023年，国际中文教育数字化发展成为研究者关注的热点话题。例如，王春辉（2023）分析了国际中文教育数字化发展趋势。此外，随着汉语教学领域研究成果渐丰，有关现状综述类论文也已成为研究者关注的重点。

从 2014 年到 2023 年,《中国语教育》研究论文内容更渐深入,涉及汉语教学与实践、教学测试与评估、教材研究、学习者研究四大部分。

(1) 汉语教学与实践研究: 主要涉及的研究内容包括汉语教学与数据通讯、教学资源与信息技术、课堂协作学习等。早在创刊之初,已有学者关注到信息技术在汉语教学的辅助作用,如中西千香(2005)探讨了运用计算机与互联网进行中国语教学。到了这一时期,学者们开展了更加多元化的实践,例如,清原文代(2014)提出了用数字技术丰富课堂教学,建议采取循环练习、TIS 中文语音输入、单词卡片 Quizlet 等。明木茂夫(2018)论及了以中国版日本漫画及动画作为真实语料应用于汉语教学。島村典子等(2023)做出了日台学生课题探究型协作学习实践的 COIL 型外语教育尝试。

(2) 教学测试与评估: 主要涉及的研究内容为中文测试及评估。“(試験)测试”一词最早出现于 2011 年,侯仁锋(2011)分析了日本汉语检定考试 3 级语音测试,此后还涉及汉语笔试试题、试题选择项分析、评分标准和测试的稳定性评估等方面。主要文献有:侯仁锋《日本中国語検定試験 3 級聴力試験問題を分析する》(2011)小川典子《中国語大学入試の内容妥当性分析》(2017)、楊彩虹《中国語会話テスト評価の实践研究》(2020)等等。教学测试与评估是检验教学效果的重要环节,毫无疑问,对这类研究考察是十分重要和必要的。

(3) 教材研究: 主要涉及教材对比、教材建设以及对语音、语法、词汇等各类教材内容的考察。2014 年 6 月 7 日、8 日,中国语教育学会第十二届年会举办了“中文教材的走向——从过去到未来”专题会议报告。日本知名学者中嶋幹起、荒川清秀、清原文代分别对过去、现在、未来的中国语教材进行了探讨。其中,清原文代(2015)指出了 21 世纪汉语教材应与 ICT(信息通信技术)、翻转课堂相适应。另外,这类研究还涉及到教材与文化、教材与习得的关联。例如,村上公一(2016)研究了汉语教材中的文化与沟通。路浩宇、韩涛(2022)以日本本土汉语教材调查为例,探讨了“有”字习得误区与教材编写的关联性。

(4) 学习者研究: 主要涉及日语母语者学习汉语的认知过程、学习动机和中日学生协作学习等方面。例如,王松、古川裕、砂岡和子(2016)基于全国六语种问卷调查,定量分析了日本大学生学习汉语的动机。安藤好惠(2017)调查了日本汉语学习者参加 HSK 考试的学习动机。这类研究从学习者认知、动机、需求出发,对提高日本中国语教学的效率和质量具有十分重要的价值。

## (二) 发展特征与趋势对比

通过回顾近二十年两个期刊汉语教学领域研究文献的热点主题,可以清晰地显示该领域研究发展路径与特征。将上一节内容表格化,即形成表 4,对比发现两国研究热点主题的发展特征存在明显差异。

表4 两个期刊研究热点主题发展特征对比

(Table 4 Comparative Analysis of Research Hotspot Development Characteristics Across Two Journals)

历史时期	《云师大（对外版）》		《中国语教育》	
	主要特征	研究热点	主要特征	研究热点
成长期 (2003-2013)	理论&应用	汉语教学	理论&应用	汉语教学
	指向广泛	外国汉语学习者	方法多元	教学法
	理论&应用	偏误与对比	理论&应用	二语习得
	文化交流	文化与跨文化交际	资源建设	汉语教材
深化期 (2014-2023)	本土化	三教问题	理论&应用	教学与实践
	国际推广	孔子学院	重视反馈	教学测试与评估
	学科建设	国际中文教育体系建设	指向单一	日本汉语学习者

研究热点主题发展特征的差异体现为：（1）同一时期《云师大（对外版）》汉语教学研究内容比《中国语教育》更加丰富；（2）《云师大（对外版）》研究范围主要从汉语教学研究、汉语本体研究拓展到国际中文教育事业发展与学科体系建设等各个方面；《中国语教育》研究范围主要从汉语知识、技能教学过渡到教学实践、中文应用的研究；（3）两个期刊论文研究均涉及汉语教学、学习者、教材、二语习得、偏误分析等方面，但《云师大（对外版）》研究范围更广泛，研究主题涵盖汉语国际推广、孔子学院、人才培养、资源建设、文化与跨文化交际等方面，《中国语教育》研究主题则始终围绕汉语教学与实践研究，更具专一性。

结合上文两个期刊研究热点主题回顾及发展特征，我们可以得到如下结论。

《云师大（对外版）》论文研究呈现出四大发展趋势。一是研究内容更趋广泛全面，涉及汉语教学研究、汉语本体研究、三教问题研究、二语习得、偏误与对比等等；二是对学科理论体系构建和专业发展研究的探索更趋丰富；三是汉语国际推广、孔子学院研究、国别化、本土化研究受到研究者持续关注；四是跨文化交际与文化教学研究相对较多。

《中国语教育》论文研究呈现出三大发展趋势。一是汉语教学研究内容更趋细致深入，从语法研究逐渐扩大到语音、语义、语用等，汉语本体研究为汉语教学研究服务；二是汉语教学理论与实践结合更趋完善；三是汉语教育资源与信息技术连接更趋紧密。

## 六、研究结论

近二十年来，国际中文教育研究取得了持续且显著的进展，对中日学界具有代表性的期刊研究论文的热点主题与发展趋势进行对比，有助于中日办刊的优势互鉴，取长补短。本文对中日两个期刊创刊二十年来（2003-2023）的论文进行计量和对比分析，得出如下结论。

第一，在发文情况方面。发文量上，《云师大（对外版）》总体呈下降趋势，且降幅明显；《中国语教育》呈小幅度波动态势，总体变化不大。在发文作者上。《云师大（对外版）》涉及发文作者 947 人；《中国语教育》涉及作者 140 人；中国作者个人发文量更多，日本合作作者之间联系相对紧密。发文机构上。《云师大（对外版）》涉及发文机构 343 个；《中国语教育》涉及发文

机构 88 个；大学是两个期刊发文机构最主要阵地。

第二，在研究热点方面。两个期刊研究热点均以汉语教学为中心，涉及汉语本体、三教、偏误分析等。研究差异主要体现在，《云师大（对外版）》研究范围较广泛，《中国语教育》研究范围相对较窄；前者研究主题涵盖对外汉语教学、汉语国际推广、国际中文教育体系建设等方方面面；后者研究主题则始终围绕汉语教学与实践研究，更具专一性。

第三，关于研究热点回顾与发展趋势方面。2003-2013 成长期《云师大（对外版）》研究热点主题主要聚焦于汉语教学、认知与习得、偏误与对比、文化与跨文化交际四大部分；《中国语教育》主要涉及汉语教学、教学法、教材研究和第二语言习得四大部分。2014-2023 深化期《云师大（对外版）》研究热点主题涉及三教问题、孔子学院、国际中文教育学科建设三大部分；《中国语教育》涉及汉语教学与实践、教学测试与评估、学习者研究三大部分。两个期刊发展趋势差异体现为《云师大（对外版）》研究内容更趋广泛全面，《中国语教育》研究内容更渐细致深入。

总之，二十年来，两个期刊论文研究成果各有特色。这既是出于中日两国汉语教育形势下推进汉语教学的“内需”，也符合国际中文教育高质量创新发展背景下，汉语面向海外、服务世界的“外需”。毫无疑问，中日两国的汉语教育事业的前景将更加广阔。

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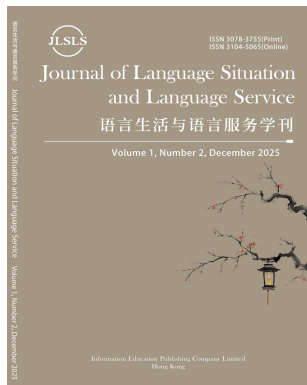
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## **A Study on the Intergenerational Evolution Mechanism of Ningbo Dialect from the Perspective of Translanguaging**

**Wang Huanjie**

**Abstract:** This study focuses on the intergenerational mechanisms of Ningbo dialect in a translanguaging perspective. Ningbo dialect is located in the socio-linguistic context of rapid urbanization and Mandarin diffusion in Yangtze River Delta. It is confronted with the complex process of decline, survival and reconstruction across generations. Based on qualitative data collected from three-generation Ningbo families, it explores how dialect use, language attitude and identity negotiation happen in family and community contexts. It finds out the co-existence of weakening and creative use of linguistic resources in Ningbo dialect process. Younger speakers strategically deploy cross-linguistic resources in Ningbo-Mandarin-dominant communicative context, positioning dialect use in the process of cultural identity negotiation. This study advances the understanding of dialect vitality. It challenges the binary view of language maintenance or loss, and sheds light on the translanguaging practices in family and community contexts. Implications for language education, policy and community-based dialect revitalization programs are discussed.

**Keywords:** Ningbo dialect; translanguaging; intergenerational language evolution; language identity; dialect revitalization; sociolinguistics; language shift

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**标题：**超语视角下宁波方言的代际演变机制研究

**摘要：**本研究以超语实践为视角，聚焦宁波方言的代际传承机制。在长三角地区快速城市化与普通话普及的社会语言学背景下，宁波方言正经历着衰退、存续与重构的复杂代际进程。基于对宁波三代家庭的质性访谈数据，本研究探讨了方言使用、语言态度与身份协商在家庭和社区场域中的具体呈现。研究发现，宁波方言的传承过程中同时存在语言能力弱化与创造性运用语言资源的现象。年轻一代在宁波话与普通话主导的双语交际语境中策略性地调用跨语言资源，并将方言使用置于文化身份协商的过程之中。本研究深化了对方言活力的理解，挑战了语言维持与流失的二元对立观点，揭示了家庭与社区场域中的超语实践。研究结论对语言教育、语言政策及基于社区的方言振兴项目具有启示意义。

**关键词：**宁波方言；超语；代际语言演变；语言认同；方言振兴；社会语言学；语言转用

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Research Background

With globalization and modernization, regional dialects in China face severe challenges. The promotion of Putonghua as the national lingua franca has unified communication but reduced the space for local dialects (Ye & Xu, 2017). In the prosperous Yangtze River Delta, including Ningbo in Zhejiang Province, population mobility, standardized language education, and changes in family communication have further limited the survival of Ningbo dialect. Although an important branch of Wu Chinese with stable linguistic and cultural features (Zhang, 2016), its functional use among younger generations has declined. Intergenerational transmission is crucial not only for language maintenance but also for social identity construction and cultural reproduction.

Language change is never isolated; social variables interact under multiple socio-cultural forces. Traditional sociolinguistic studies focus on age, gender, and class to explain language use. However, contemporary practices show fluid, hybrid, and boundary-crossing features, especially as education, media, and the internet remain dominated by Putonghua. Young people may use a multilingual ecology including Putonghua, local dialect, internet slang, and even English in daily communication. Thus, understanding the intergenerational evolution of Ningbo dialect requires going beyond the simple binary of “preservation or loss” and exploring the processes of language and identity reconstruction. Ningbo dialect, part of the Taihu Wu dialect group, has clear regional characteristics and rich cultural connotations. Traditionally, it served as the mother tongue in family communication, commerce, religious activities, and schools. With Putonghua-based education and urbanization, younger generations’ language acquisition has shifted significantly. In many families, parents consciously or unconsciously speak Putonghua to children, reducing early exposure

to Ningbo dialect (Ye & Xu, 2017). Schooling, work, and media further marginalize the dialect, accelerating its functional erosion (Zhang, 2016).

Yet the dialect is not entirely abandoned. Young people occasionally use it in speech or social contexts as a marker of identity, a process termed “dialectal re-creation.” This reflects symbolic and performative language use, representing “linguistic coolness” or localized resistance within language ideology negotiations. Contemporary Ningbo dialect is thus not simply fading but undergoing code-switching, functional reorganization, and identity negotiation across generations. Translanguaging, first proposed by Williams (1994) and later elaborated by García and Wei (2014), offers a useful theoretical lens. Contrary to viewing languages as discrete systems, translanguaging emphasizes that language users integrate multiple linguistic resources dynamically to make meaning. Users are not merely multi-language speakers but active agents making choices across all available resources.

Applying a translanguaging lens to intergenerational Ningbo dialect transmission allows understanding of both surface linguistic changes and deeper processes of identity construction, language ideology, and social resource allocation. In contemporary Ningbo, translanguaging shows how young people construct social identity, cultural belonging, and intergenerational relationships through creative use of Mandarin, dialect, and internet language. This perspective transcends a deficit view of language loss and highlights mechanisms sustaining dialect vitality in shifting sociocultural contexts. This study systematically investigates intergenerational Ningbo dialect evolution in family and community contexts using a translanguaging perspective. It examines how everyday language practices contribute to reconstructing linguistic identity and reproducing cultural heritage. Specifically, it explores the linguistic choices, code-switching patterns, and translanguaging features of different generations, and analyzes their role in shaping language identity, cultural belonging, and dialectal variation. Social factors driving dialectal change are also examined, with practical strategies suggested to maintain Ningbo dialect alongside other languages.

Theoretically, this research extends translanguaging theory to a Chinese dialect context, enhancing its sociolinguistic explanatory power. Practically, it provides empirical evidence for language preservation, educational policy-making, and cultural heritage practices in urban areas with endangered dialects. The study is guided by three research questions: 1) What translanguaging features appear in language use across age groups in Ningbo? 2) How do these practices contribute to identity construction and negotiation? 3) What social forces characterize the intergenerational evolution of Ningbo dialect? By linking micro-level family interactions with macro-level sociolinguistic processes, this study seeks a holistic understanding of dialect change. It examines both linguistic behaviors and social forces shaping them, showing how individual interactions influence dialect maintenance, identity construction, and cultural continuity. The findings aim to contribute to academic studies on translanguaging and dialect change while informing policies that support multilingual and dialectal communities in modern China.

## **2. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review**

### **2.1. Overview of Translanguaging Theory**

Translanguaging was originally proposed by Williams (1994) in response to the bilingual education context of Wales. Since then, translanguaging has become an indispensable theoretical tool in bilingual and multilingual studies. García and Wei (2014) extended the concept of translanguaging and proposed that translanguaging is the process in which multilingual speakers use all of their linguistic repertoire seamlessly and flexibly to make meaning, communicate and learn. In contrast to the traditional view that treats languages as clearly demarcated systems, translanguaging highlights the indivisibility and interdependency of all linguistic resources in actual language use (García & Wei, 2014).

In recent years, the translanguaging framework has been widely applied to Chinese sociolinguistic contexts, including dialect studies, as it provides a dynamic lens to understand how multilingual and multidialectal speakers manage linguistic resources. Qian Nairong's research on Wu dialect phonological evolution shows that dialect users constantly adapt phonetic and lexical systems in response to social change, echoing translanguaging's emphasis on flexible linguistic repertoires (Pulleyblank, 1991; Pan et al., 1991).

First, translanguaging recognizes that language users are active agents who selectively and strategically draw on all available linguistic resources to cope with complex communicative contexts. This theory challenges the deficit view of language mixing or dialect use as errors that result from language loss. Instead, it advocates a strengths perspective that appreciates linguistic creativity and hybridity as adaptive responses to sociocultural realities (Li, 2018).

Recent studies (Yang, 2024; Zhengzhang & Zheng, 2015) further emphasize that translanguaging reflects a socio-cognitive process where speakers draw on different semiotic systems—including dialect, standard language, and global English—to construct layered identities. This approach supports a more nuanced view of Chinese multilingualism that moves beyond a binary between Mandarin and dialects.

In educational settings, García and Blackledge (2007) found that translanguaging facilitates cognitive development and inclusion while empowering minority language speakers. In the Chinese context, such findings align with Li and Zhu (2021), who integrate translanguaging into the study of Wu dialects and demonstrate its potential for dialect revitalization in urban digital spaces.

### **2.2 Language Identity and Sociolinguistic Perspectives in Dialect Studies**

Language identity is one of the essential aspects of sociolinguistic identity which refers to social and cultural self-conception (Norton, 2013). Language is not simply a tool for communication, but also a symbolic resource for individuals and groups to construct and express their identities (Coupland, 2007). It is particularly important in dialect studies because speakers of dialects generally identify themselves with certain regional, ethnic, or class identities (Coupland, 2007).

Drawing on Butler's (1997) performative theory, language use—especially dialect use—can be viewed as performative acts of identity. Pan Wuyun (1991) and Zhengzhang (2015) have shown that Wu dialect speakers strategically use specific phonological or lexical variants to signal regional identity, a phenomenon that resonates with Butler's performativity and translanguaging's fluidity.

In addition, the identity in dialect contexts is flexible and multi-layered, influenced by other factors such as age, gender, class, and mobility (Rampton, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to adopt approaches that recognize the context-dependent nature of identity. This integrated sociolinguistic-translanguaging perspective helps us understand how speakers navigate between dialect and standard language in constructing hybrid social identities in modern China.

### **2.3 Existing Research on Intergenerational Dialect Transmission at Home and Abroad**

In view of the worldwide crisis of language endangerment and cultural diversity, the transmission of dialect from parents to children has attracted more and more attention. Most of the existing studies in Chinese contexts have reported the rapid extinction of regional dialects due to urbanization, language policy, and changes in social values (Ye & Xu, 2017). The popularization of regional dialects as a standard language in education and the public sphere have been identified as the main reasons for the decline of regional dialects (Ye & Xu, 2017). However, recent research inspired by translanguaging (Li & Zhu, 2021; Huang & Li, 2023) challenges the “loss of dialect” narrative by showing that youth creatively mix dialectal elements within digital discourse, thereby preserving dialect vitality in new symbolic forms. In Wu-speaking areas, including Ningbo, this phenomenon has been linked with what Qian Nairong (Pulleyblank, 1991) described as “evolutionary continuity”—a process where dialect transformation reflects both linguistic resilience and socio-cultural adaptation.

Not surprisingly, in an international perspective similar patterns can be found for minority language speakers. For instance, Creese and Blackledge (2010) show that translanguaging is employed by bilingual youth in the UK to maintain heritage languages in addition to dominant English. Researchers have also highlighted the importance of family and community for language continuity. Intergenerational communication is seen as one of the most important arenas for language socialization (Fishman, 1991). In Gaelic households, for example, language transmission depends largely on informal practices and parental effort (Smith-Christmas, 2016). Still, in supportive home environments, children’s access to digital media in the dominant language weakens heritage language use (King & Fogle, 2017). Moreover, peer pressure and institutional practices can create conflict between home language practices and public language use, thus impeding the intergenerational transmission of minority languages (De Houwer, 2020).

In studies focusing on specific dialects, scholars increasingly call for more nuanced frameworks to do justice to the complex dynamics of language use and transmission. Li and Zhu (2021) call for the combination of translanguaging theory and sociolinguistic perspectives in order to gain deeper insights into how dialects are maintained, transformed and hybridized in contemporary multilingual settings. Such an integrated perspective is particularly useful for the study of fast-changing urban dialects. Recent research on Shanghai dialect, for example, shows how translanguaging practices in social media can contribute to dialect revitalization through digital storytelling and grassroots media (Huang and Li, 2023). In their study on Ningbo dialect, Luo (2021) also shows how young speakers recontextualize dialect in culturally meaningful ways, for instance by using humour or as branding for local products and services. These studies suggest that the survival of a specific dialect increasingly depends on symbolic value for identity performance rather

than its utility in everyday communication.

## **2.4 The Linguistic Ecology and Evolutionary Background of Ningbo Dialect**

Ningbo dialect, a Taihu Wu variety, is markedly different from Standard Mandarin in phonology, vocabulary, and syntax (Zhang, 2016). Building on classical Wu dialectology (Pan et al., 1991; Zhengzhang & Zheng, 2015), the dialect shows systematic sound correspondences with Middle Chinese while developing new tonal and segmental features under Mandarin influence.

However, the sociolinguistic ecology of Ningbo has undergone significant changes in recent decades due to urbanization and Mandarin promotion policies (Spolsky, 2009). The interplay between traditional Wu phonological systems (Qian Nairong) and translanguaging practices (Li, 2018) creates a dynamic linguistic ecology, in which the dialect persists not only through everyday communication but also as a symbolic marker in digital and cultural expressions.

Empirical investigations show phonetic simplification, lexical borrowing, and syntactic restructuring driven by contact with Mandarin (Zhang, 2016). Yet, following Pan Wuyun et al. (1991), these features can be interpreted as part of Wu's natural phonological evolution rather than dialect decline. Translanguaging research thus reveals how speakers' flexible use of dialect embodies cultural resilience rather than loss.

## **3. Research Design and Methods**

### **3.1 Research Participants and Sample Selection**

This study explores the intergenerational transmission of Ningbo dialect in families by examining translanguaging practices across three generations. Multi-generational families are essential to capture diachronic language change and identity construction over time (Fishman, 1991; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Participants were recruited from fifteen Ningbo native families in urban and suburban areas, representing varied dialect use and language ideologies. In total, the study involved 45 participants (15 families each including 3 generations), recruited through community centers and schools using snowball sampling, with all participants providing informed consent (Norton, 2013).

To enhance methodological transparency, this study explicitly adopts an empirical qualitative design supplemented by descriptive quantitative data. All participating families met three criteria: (1) all three generations currently live in or maintain regular contact with the Ningbo region; (2) at least one grandparent is an active Ningbo dialect speaker; and (3) the youngest generation (aged 8–18) has received Mandarin-medium schooling. Across families, grandparents ranged from 58–82 years old, parents from 32–50, and the youngest generation from 8–18; most parents were employed in service, education, or manufacturing sectors, whereas grandparents were largely retired. Age distribution and occupational background were recorded to ensure sample comparability.

The family serves as a site where language and identity are transmitted simultaneously, combining continuity and innovation (Skehan, 2006). Grandparents typically use traditional Ningbo dialect, parents act as a bridge between dialect and Mandarin, and the youngest generation shows reduced dialect competence due to education, peers, and digital media (Zhang, 2016). Studying these three generations allows analysis of

translanguaging patterns in everyday interactions and identification of socio-affective factors driving contemporary dialect evolution.

### **3.2 Data Collection Methods**

In order to explore the participants' translanguaging practices and mechanisms underlying Ningbo dialect evolution, a mixed qualitative data collection method was employed in this study, including in-depth interviews, language use questionnaire and naturalistic observation of spoken language. This triangulated data collection method aimed to gain deeper insights into participants' subjective language ideologies and observable language behaviors in intergenerational family context.

The overall research design followed a three-stage data collection procedure: (1) preliminary language background profiling through questionnaires; (2) semi-structured interviews; and (3) naturalistic audio recordings of family talk collected through short-term ethnographic observation. This sequential design increased the transparency of how emic (self-reported) and etic (observed) data were integrated.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants from three generations. To ensure alignment with research questions, the interview guide explicitly included: (a) prompts on specific translanguaging behaviours (switching, mixing, modality shifts), (b) questions targeting participants' identity negotiation in intergenerational communication, and (c) items on perceived dialect vitality and intergenerational expectations. A standardised guide ensured consistency across generations. Interviews elicited participants' attitudes towards Ningbo dialect, language use preference and language identity. Participants were given opportunities to reflect on their own language histories, intergenerational communication experiences and their attitudes towards the vitality and social relevance of Ningbo dialect (Norton, 2013). Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim for further thematic analysis. Each interview lasted 45–70 minutes and followed a standardised interview guide to ensure comparability across generations.

Structured questionnaires collected information on the frequency and contexts of dialect versus Mandarin use in each of the social domains examined, namely home, school/workplace, peer interaction and family. The questionnaires complemented the information collected from interviews by showing trends across generations and patterns of translanguaging. Questionnaire responses were collected from all 45 participants, ensuring full coverage of the sample.

Simultaneously, naturalistic audio recordings of family members' conversations during daily meals and other informal family occasions were collected. These recordings documented participants' spontaneous translanguaging practices such as switching, mixing, or layering dialect and Mandarin in different contexts, and revealed the pragmatic and relational purposes of such practices (García & Wei, 2014). Approximately 18 hours of family interaction data (1–1.5 hours per family) were recorded. Field notes were taken to document contextual information such as participant roles, setting, and conversational routines, further enhancing data transparency.

These combined methods ensured that both the micro-level linguistic features of translanguaging and the macro-level ideological orientations behind language choice could be systematically observed and

analysed.

### **3.3 Analysis Strategies**

The data collected in the study were predominantly analysed using qualitative approaches, with descriptive quantitative analysis carried out as well. Such a design enabled methodological triangulation (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017) to enhance validity and interpretive richness in the findings. By using multiple analytical perspectives, the study provided an overall picture of patterns of translinguaging and changes in Ningbo dialect transmission across generations in families.

Interview transcripts and naturalistic family conversation data were analysed using thematic content analysis to identify themes related to translinguaging strategies, language attitudes, identity construction and dialect transmission. Thematic coding was carried out using an iterative process involving both deductive coding of units based on translinguaging theory (such as resource mobilisation, identity negotiation) and inductive themes identified from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Findings were particularly attentive to language alternation involving the use of Ningbo dialect, Mandarin and other varieties in terms of linguistic features of code-switching, code-mixing and alternation, as well as discourse analytical techniques to examine how everyday language practices reflect social identities of the speakers and the familial power relations exerted over language practices, reflecting a sociolinguistic view of language as socially meaningful practices used by speakers (Coupland, 2007; Norton, 2013). Conversation-analytic techniques (turn-taking, repair, alignment) were additionally applied to selected interactional episodes to trace how translinguaging emerges sequentially in family talk.

Quantitative data collected from the language use questionnaires were analysed using descriptive statistical techniques, including percentages, means and cross-tabulations to visualise the frequency, domain-specific usage and intergenerational patterns of dialect and Mandarin. The statistical results obtained provided a macro picture that supported findings from interviews and observations conducted. These quantitative patterns served primarily as supportive evidence to contextualise qualitative findings rather than as inferential statistical claims.

## **4. Analysis of Intergenerational Evolution Characteristics of Ningbo Dialect**

In this paper, we analyse language use by different generations in different social domains in Ningbo. The intergenerational pattern of language switch shows a strong tendency from non-Mandarin (i.e. Ningbo dialect) to Mandarin. Among the older generation, Ningbo dialect is widely used in family members and friends, while most of the younger speakers use Mandarin in all kinds of social situations except family members and friends, and especially in formal institutions like schools and work places, almost all age groups use Mandarin. Ningbo dialect is left to only familiar situations among middle-aged and old people but is fading among young people. These findings reveal the complicated situation for Ningbo dialect: it is both maintaining its strength and resisting to outside pressures in use.

**Table 1 Qualitative Overview of Intergenerational Language Use Patterns and Domain Distribution in Ningbo Dialect and Mandarin**

(表 1 宁波方言与普通话代际语言使用模式及领域分布定性概述)

Generation Group	Domain	Ningbo Dialect Usage Frequency	Mandarin Usage Frequency	Main Language Use Characteristics (Qualitative Description)	Notes / Trend Description
Elderly (60+)	Family	High (Mean 4.5)	Low (Mean 1.2)	Ningbo dialect is the main language used within the family; Mandarin use is limited.	Dialect is the foundation of transmission; language purity is high.
	School/Education	Medium-low (Mean 2.0)	High (Mean 4.8)	Mainly Mandarin is used in educational settings, with limited dialect use and code-switching.	Traditional dialect environment is restricted due to Mandarin teaching.
	Workplace	Medium-low (Mean 2.5)	High (Mean 4.5)	Mandarin dominates workplace communication; dialect occasionally used to enhance closeness.	Mandarin is mainstream; dialect serves as an auxiliary language.
	Peer Interaction	High (Mean 4.0)	Medium (Mean 3.0)	Peers often use dialect; Mandarin is used in formal or non-local communication.	Strong dialect community identity; peer influence is significant.
Middle-aged (31-60)	Family	Medium-high (Mean 3.5)	Medium (Mean 3.0)	Both Ningbo dialect and Mandarin are mixed at home; dialect remains dominant but is weakening.	Transitional generation with obvious language mixing.
	School/Education	Low (Mean 1.5)	High (Mean 4.7)	Education environments mostly use Mandarin; dialect use is very limited.	Mandarin is dominant; dialect marginalized.
	Workplace	Low (Mean 2.0)	High (Mean 4.8)	Workplace almost exclusively uses Mandarin; dialect is limited to informal settings.	Dialect use restricted; Mandarin is the work language.
	Peer Interaction	Medium (Mean 3.0)	Medium (Mean 3.5)	Both dialect and Mandarin coexist among peers; dialect still valued in certain groups.	Social circles influence language choice.
Youth (18-30)	Family	Medium-low (Mean 2.0)	High (Mean 4.5)	Mandarin dominates family communication; dialect use decreases, mostly passive comprehension.	Dialect gradually weakens; Mandarin dominates.
	School/Education	Very low (Mean 1.0)	Very high (Mean 5.0)	Education fully in Mandarin; dialect is almost never used.	Standardized education; dialect decline pronounced.
	Workplace	Very low (Mean 1.0)	Very high (Mean 5.0)	Workplace language is fully Mandarin; dialect usage minimal.	Mandarin fully popularized; dialect as cultural symbol only.
	Peer Interaction	Low (Mean 1.5)	High (Mean 4.8)	Peers mostly use Mandarin; dialect occasionally used in close relationships.	Weak cultural identity; language choice influenced externally.

Descriptive statistics (see table 1 above) show a clear generational divide in the use of Ningbo dialect and Mandarin. Among the elderly (over 60), Ningbo dialect is still widely used in communication with family members and peers, with means of 4.5 and 4.0 respectively on a 1–5 scale; while the use of Mandarin remains low (1.2 and 3.0). This indicates that the elderly generation is still the strongest bastion for preserving the Ningbo dialect, using it for daily communication.

Compared with other generations, the youngest generation (18–30) shows a clear preference for using Mandarin in any: with family (4.5), at school (5.0), at work (5.0), and among peers (4.8), with the use of Ningbo dialect dropping to averages of only 1.0 for the two formal contexts and 1.5 even among peers. This is clearly a situation of language shift, where the speakers of Ningbo dialect have largely switched to using Mandarin, rendering the dialect passive in communication.

Table statistics also show that there are different language choices depending on social context. In formal settings such as at school and at work, Mandarin usage is overwhelmingly high across all age groups (means above 4.5); while the usage of Ningbo dialect remains very low, especially among the middle-aged and the youth (below 2.0). This situation shows that mastering the lingua franca of Mandarin is still the primary requirement for social integration in formal education and employment, and the pressure to do so is clearly exerted by institutions. In comparison, there is more balanced language use among family members in informal settings such as at home and with peers, where the Ningbo dialect still enjoys moderate usage (3.5 at home, 3.0 with peers), indicating that the family remains a bilingual environment for the Ningbo dialect; however, the low usage of the Ningbo dialect among the youth in informal settings also shows that the use of Mandarin is already weak.

The above quantitative analyses indicate that the Ningbo dialect is being lost, especially among younger people. They have come to associate the Mandarin language with success in education, social mobility, and networks of social relations and communication resources outside the community. Although its vitality is waning, the Ningbo dialect is still very important for identifying with the community and for emotional bonding, for the elderly generation and for families. The fact that there is still dialect maintenance in some contexts while there is pervasive loss of the mother tongue in others shows that the sociolinguistic ecology of Ningbo is complex. In turn, this suggests that efforts to maintain the Ningbo dialect should target specific language maintenance policies for intergenerational transmission within the family and for informal social relations, so that preservation strategies fit the actual situation of language use and social reality.

#### **4.1 Dialect Maintenance and Language Consciousness among the Elder Generation**

The elder generation in Ningbo, typically represented by grandparents aged 65 and above, displays a strong attachment to the Ningbo dialect as a key marker of cultural identity and social belonging. Their language consciousness is characterized by a high level of dialect proficiency and a normative belief in the dialect's role in family and community cohesion. As evidenced in Transcript 1, the grandmother firmly insists on observing the traditional Qingming festival customs and using the Ningbo dialect in family interactions, asserting, “规矩总要守咯! 上坟么要正日, 调日子祖宗要动气” (“Rules must be followed! Tomb sweeping must happen on the correct day; changing the date would anger the ancestors”) (Excerpt from Transcript 1).

To strengthen the empirical support for Ningbo-specific usage, the following dialect example from the corpus illustrates elders' normative stance: Grandmother said to her grandson, with a reprimand tone): “侬小囡家里话都讲勿灵清! 宁波话要讲清爽点, 勿要‘麻麻糊糊’。” (“You youngsters don't speak the home language clearly! Speak Ningbo properly, don't make it mushy”). This metalinguistic comment—

particularly “*灵清(lín-qīng)*” and “*麻麻糊糊(mā-mā-hú-hú)*” —is distinctive to Ningbo dialect and indexes the elder generation’s ideological authority.

This insistence reflects a deeply embedded cultural value and language ideology that associates the dialect with respect for tradition and ancestral heritage. The grandmother’s critique of the grandson’s “*硬邦邦*” (stiff) Ningbo accent highlights her perception of language erosion in younger generations, a common concern among older speakers (Zhang, 2016). This generational language anxiety aligns with Fishman’s (1991) observation that language maintenance is tightly linked to intergenerational transmission and the elder generation’s role as custodians of linguistic heritage.

Furthermore, the older generation’s language use in Ningbo dialect is not merely a matter of communicative preference, but also one of identity performance and community engagement (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). When they use the dialect frequently for everyday communication, the dialect is performed as a living symbol of place attachment, one that resists being absorbed into a homogenizing mainstream of Mandarin (cf. Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). This pattern can be understood through symbolic indexing: elders use dialect to index moral authority, authenticity, and family hierarchy. Their corrections function as stance-taking acts that reinforce their ideological position and regulate language norms within the family. However, when their use of dialect is rigidly maintained as a norm, it can also result in communicative gaps with young people as the latter are often disinclined or insufficiently motivated to use the dialect.

Clearly, the transcripts show how the elder generation is committed to the maintenance of Ningbo dialect as part of cultural identity and cultural heritage. Elders frequently remind their young children and other young relatives to speak Ningbo dialect to their young children, and they relate language use directly to cultural preservation and continuity. Their language consciousness is reflected in their repeated reminders and gentle admonitions whenever they feel that their young relatives are not willing or unwilling to speak Ningbo dialect or have responded to them primarily in Mandarin. Despite their pragmatic preference for speaking Mandarin due to school, exams, and convenience associated with modern life, the elder generation still believes that it is important for their young relatives to use the local dialect so as to feel a sense of belonging and cultural rootedness. This intergenerational engagement provides us with clear evidence of the conscious effort on the part of the elder generation to maintain the local dialect amidst other linguistic and social forces.

Such practices illustrate a mechanism of intergenerational transmission enforcement, whereby elders actively police linguistic boundaries to preserve dialect vitality under conditions of language shift.

#### **4.2 Bilingual Resource Management and Strategic Language Use among the Middle Generation**

Parents, the middle generation, aged between 40 and 55 years old, hold a position of linguistic liminality: using dialect on the one hand and having to command knowledge of Mandarin on the other, in service of the increasing social and institutional prestige of the latter. As can be seen in Transcript 1 and Transcript 2 below, mothers in particular engage in careful management of bilingual language resources, using Ningbo and Mandarin flexibly depending on the context and interlocutor. The position of the middle generation is often that of gatekeeper, mediating the expectations of grandparents and the reality of a child’s Mandarin-based

schooling.

For example, in Transcript 1 the mother speaks to her son in Mandarin with regard to school, but firmly reprimands him in turn for speaking only in Ningbo dialect to his grandmother: “依自家用宁波话搭外婆讲!” (“You should only speak Ningbo to grandma!”), “读书用普通话, 搭外婆讲要讲宁波话, 依懂伐? 两个都要会。” (“Use Mandarin for school, but speak Ningbo to your grandma, okay? You need both”). This example of translanguaging highlights how the mother negotiates the legitimacy of Mandarin in institutions and the value of the dialect within the family sphere (García & Wei, 2014). This metapragmatic instruction, especially “依懂伐(nóng dǒng-vā)”, is a Wu-area feature and shows strategic resource allocation embedded in local linguistic norms. The middle generation thus functions as cultural and linguistic mediators. Such bilingual negotiation is an attempt to maintain family traditions while navigating the expected language norms of school and public life.

In this way, the language switching can also reflect changes in the speaker’s affective stance or relational position towards the interlocutor: dialect is generally used for expressing intimacy, belonging, cultural grounding, or gentle reproof, while Mandarin tends to be used for more formal or academic purposes, or when speaking to outsiders (Li, 2019). A father in Transcript 2 speaks in Ningbo dialect to encourage his daughter to play with her grandfather, while adding in Mandarin to acknowledge the reality of her schooling in Mandarin. These choices reflect the position of the middle generation as speakers and managers of bilingual language resources, attempting to hold a knowledge of dialect despite structural pressures, and at the same time preparing their children to succeed in a Mandarin-speaking world (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

The mothers and father in the two transcripts above show a pragmatic and strategic management of bilingual language resources, switching flexibly between Ningbo and Mandarin to serve different communicative or cultural purposes. As educators and professionals, they stress the importance of the local dialect for cultural identity and heritage, and encourage their children to learn and use Ningbo, while also acknowledging the reality of Mandarin’s centrality in formal education and in wider society. Again, these choices reflect the position of the middle generation as gatekeepers of language, attempting to hold a knowledge of dialect despite structural pressures, and at the same time preparing their children to succeed in a Mandarin-speaking world (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

Such patterned switching aligns with interactional accommodation mechanisms: middle-generation speakers adjust code choice to satisfy competing relational expectations—upward to elders (solidarity), downward to children (pedagogical guidance), and outward to society (mobility pressure). This strategic code distribution shows how the middle generation operationalizes domain-specific functional allocation as a mechanism to maintain the dialect while conforming to dominant linguistic hierarchies.

#### **4.3 Dialect Weakening, Mixing, and Re-Creation among the Youth Generation**

Among the four generations, the smallest and most likely to be comprised of teenagers and adolescents, are evident signs of dialect weakening accompanied by creative language mixing and re-creation. Their linguistic behaviour shows not only reduced fluency but also differentiated forms of dialect innovation,

which emerge across semantic, pragmatic and media-based dimensions. As shown in Transcripts 1, 2 and 3, this group generally uses Mandarin in most communicative practices except for parent–child communication and family gatherings, but uses dialect selectively and with less fluency in certain circumstances. This generation tends to display affective ambivalence towards the dialect, which is both distanced from and occasionally longed for.

Transcript 1 shows grandson speaking to his grandmother in Mandarin about his school exam, saying “我们高三要模考，老师说不能请假” (“We have mock exams in senior year, the teacher said no leave allowed”) in most cases, this generation uses Mandarin in most communicative practices, especially in institutional settings and in relation to education, but uses dialect selectively and with less fluency in certain circumstances. His performance is accompanied by a sense of affective ambivalence, suggesting he is distanced not only from traditional language practices, but also from the values ascribed to them. His speech is described as “生硬” (stiff), indicating incomplete acquisition and lack of comfort with the dialect. His whispered aside, “反正去了也是玩手机” (“Anyway, if I go, I’ll just play with my phone”) shows disengagement not only from traditional language practices, but also from the cultural values ascribed to them. In Transcript 3, an adolescent girl replies to her grandfather’s dialect explanation of a math concept with “反正考试又不考宁波话……” (“Anyway, the exam doesn’t test Ningbo dialect...”) showing that the dialect is marginalized in formal teaching, and the overall trend is a shift in perceived language utility (Fishman, 1991; Zhang, 2016). These instances show that the youth neither fully reject nor fully master the dialect; instead, they selectively mobilize dialect items as stylistic markers, reflecting contemporary hybrid repertoires.

Although there is a decline in fluency and domain relevance, this does not mean that the dialect is simply abandoned. This generation uses dialect creatively by mixing dialect features with Mandarin and digital slang to create new linguistic repertoires. Three observable types of innovation emerge: (a) Semantic innovation, such as weakening the traditional dialect word “戆大” (silly) into a light, teasing expression used among peers; (b) Pragmatic innovation, where dialect items are used as “discourse fillers” on social media to create humor or intimacy—for example, the frequent comment “侬宁波伢懂的” (“Only Ningbo kids get it”) in short-video platforms; (c) Media-based innovation, such as embedding Ningbo dialect memes in stickers, short videos, and bullet comments, where expressions like “阿拉来哉” (“We’re coming”) are transformed into viral online templates. This become flexible identity markers that allow youth to simultaneously signal local roots and a modern, tech-savvy image (García & Wei, 2014; Li & Zhu, 2021). Such media-embedded innovations provide concrete evidence that dialect is being refunctionalized rather than passively eroded. The dialect is thus positioned as “authentically local” or “irrelevant” depending on the social setting.

From the above transcripts, we can find some clear signs of dialect weakening and mixing. The youth are trying to negotiate their local identity with the demands of a globalized society. Faced with school and exam pressures, as well as Mandarin used by their peers, they reply in Mandarin. However, there are occasions when they would like to use the Ningbo dialect, although it is limited and hesitant. This one-

dimensional use of the dialect shows that it is a process of re-creation for the youth: they pick some Ningbo dialect and Mandarin to re-create the use of Ningbo dialect. With these two components, the re-created Ningbo dialect shows different kinds of language practices. Facing the pragmatic use of Ningbo dialect as a tool for education and social advancement, against a strong insistence of elders to maintain the use of dialect, the language repertoire of the youth is a result of pragmatism and tension.

This selective usage reveals a mechanism of symbolic refunctionalization: the dialect shifts from a communicative code to a stylistic or affective resource, repurposed for peer-group performance rather than daily communication. By specifying the semantic, pragmatic and media-based dimensions of this refunctionalization, the analysis highlights that dialect “innovation” among youth is patterned, observable, and grounded in concrete linguistic and media practices rather than a vague notion of creativity.

#### **4.4 Transitioning Functions and Affective Attachments of the Ningbo Dialect across Three Generations.**

The above analyses show that the shifts in the three generations’ use of the Ningbo dialect correspond to changing social functions and affective meanings attached to the dialect. For the elder generation, the Ningbo dialect is still a primary medium of everyday communication and cultural transmission as well as a moral authority. Being embedded in their personal and family histories, people’s emotional attachments to the dialect are tied to local identity, family traditions, and regional belonging (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011).

For the middle generation, they use the Ningbo dialect in a more instrumental and strategic way. Although some of them also exhibit strong emotional attachments to the dialect, their use of the dialect is closely tied to the need to speak Standard Chinese for their children’s Mandarin education and future social mobility. Their translanguaging practices of using the dialect and Standard Chinese according to social contexts help them to maintain ties with their families while gradually conforming to dominant linguistic norms. This makes them an ambivalent but active user of the dialect in limited spaces.

For the youth, the use of the Ningbo dialect becomes more episodic, symbolic, and performative. Different from a functional tool of communication, the Ningbo dialect is more likely to be used for stylistic effect, humour, or as a local identity token in specific peer or digital contexts. The emotional attachment to the dialect has been shaped by contemporary youth culture and new media practices. These contemporary forms of consumption and circulation of affect are reinterpreted and reshaped by young people (Li & Zhu, 2021). We can clearly see the above phenomena in the interactions of the grandmother and her grandson or the grandfather and his granddaughter in the video clips: the grandson does not care about the standard use of the Ningbo dialect; the granddaughter is annoyed by her grandfather’s nostalgic phraseology. Therefore, language shift is not only linguistic, but also intertwined with values, identity negotiations, and social power (Fishman, 1991).

Across generations, the changing vitality of Ningbo dialect can thus be explained through layered mechanisms: (a) symbolic indexing among elders, (b) resource reallocation among parents, and (c) hybrid repertoire construction among youth. These mechanisms jointly reveal how social forces reshape the dialect’s functions, meanings, and survival trajectory.

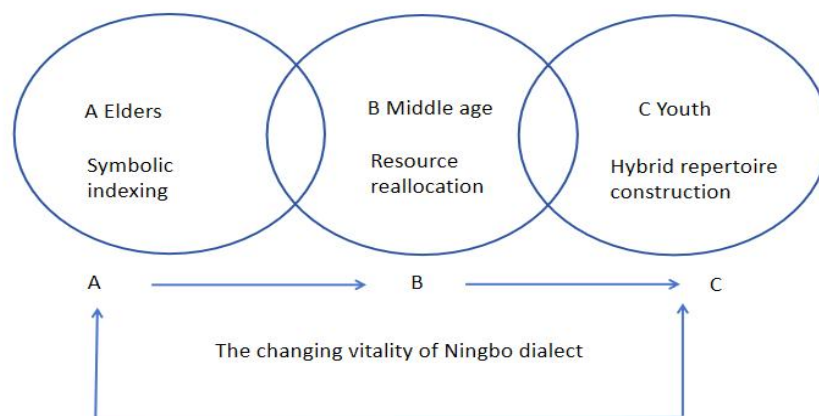


Figure 1 The Intergenerational Evolution Mechanism of Ningbo Dialect  
(图1 宁波方言的代际演化机制)

## 5. Language Identity Reconstruction from the Perspective of Translanguaging

### 5.1 Translanguaging Phenomena in Family Language Domains

The use of translanguaging, i.e., the ad-hoc and purposeful use of multiple language varieties in interaction, is particularly salient in the family domain of Ningbo dialect speakers. In close kin relationships, family members serve as an ideal context to examine how cross-linguistic mediation affects language ideologies and personal identities. Translanguaging is best understood as a normalized mode of linguistic practice that reveals underlying sociolinguistic realities in multilingual families.

Ningbo dialect family transcripts exhibit regular language switching between Ningbo dialect and Mandarin. Translanguaging serves to negotiate both multiple languages and interpersonal relationships. This bilingual coordination seems to be an intentional strategy to accommodate for differential language proficiencies while positioning dialect as a marker of family solidarity and cultural identity (García & Wei, 2014). What makes these translanguaging practices distinctive is their intergenerational mediating function—they not only reflect linguistic accommodation but also perform ideological negotiation between tradition and modernity. In other words, translanguaging in Ningbo families is not random code-switching but a patterned and culturally embedded strategy for maintaining dialectal presence within Mandarin-dominant interactions.

In addition to code-switching, translanguaging can also be viewed as a relational tool to bridge gaps between family members as well as broader linguistic and social contexts. The mother's language switch does double identity work: on the one hand, it tries to anchor her son in family traditions; on the other, it also subtly conveys to the son that grandma's school is a formal institution that speaks standard Mandarin. Across generations, this dialogic language use reveals the following ideological stance: first, the grandma's use of Ningbo dialect is to assert cultural transmission; second, the mother's bilingualism is to negotiate between tradition and modernity; third, the son's preference for speaking Mandarin is a reflection of external societal forces (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). All these patterns reveal how translanguaging is used as an adaptive mechanism to address the changing sociolinguistic ecology of multilingual families.

## **5.2 Embedding Dialectal Elements by Ningbo Youth**

Although Mandarin remains the official language of education and government, Ningbo youth find ways to resist total dialect loss by embedding dialectal elements into their mostly Mandarin speech, thus reconstructing Ningbo identity. As shown in the transcripts, even the youngest generation of speakers might have “weak” dialect competence, but they will judiciously select some dialect words or phrases or prosodic features and use them in their informal conversations with family members in their home setting.

The above selective and strategic embedding of dialectal features supports the translanguaging perspective that language is no longer a fixed repertoire but a flexible resource pool that speakers use to construct identity in situated contexts (García & Wei, 2014). Speakers often construct a hybrid repertoire with dialectal, Mandarin, and digital/Internet slang resources to create a type of “third space” that reflects tradition and modernity (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). This flexible and creative language practice is distinctive because it demonstrates how youth reconstruct the dialect symbolically even without full fluency, transforming potential language decline into innovative hybridization.

Therefore, these translanguaging behaviors suggest that Ningbo dialect is not disappearing from everyday use, but rather evolving into a new linguistic form—one that coexists dynamically with Mandarin through selective appropriation and stylistic creativity.

## **5.3 Dialect as a Cultural Resource and Expression of Identity**

Using Ningbo dialect is not only for expressing respect to tradition but also for serving as a cultural resource of belonging to Ningbo as home. This demonstrates how language acts as a vessel carrying the social and moral codes of a community across generations. Moreover, the dialect reinforces intergenerational bonds, allowing elders to transmit local wisdom and life experiences in a way that Mandarin often cannot convey. By choosing to speak in Ningbo dialect, individuals actively situate themselves within a historical and cultural continuum, asserting both personal and collective identity.

Distinctively, such practices show that dialect use in Ningbo families functions as cultural retention through everyday translanguaging rather than through formal preservation efforts. The dialect remains embedded in interactional routines, proverbs, and humor, sustaining its vitality as an identity resource.

Beyond the symbolic use, Ningbo dialect carries cultural embedded lexicon and pragmatic expressions which are hard to be expressed in Mandarin. For instance, the grandfather uses “三尺四股” to explain the Pythagorean theorem to his grandson (Transcript 3). This study shows how the dialect carries localized knowledge and context-specific meanings (Zhang, 2016). Such expressions often encode historical practices, folklore, and practical knowledge that are intimately tied to the Ningbo environment and lifestyle. These embodied and context-bound uses demonstrate that dialect vitality persists through situated knowledge transfer, even as broader societal forces promote Mandarinization.

## **5.4 Impact of “De-Purification” Language Ideology on Intergenerational Language Identity**

The concept of “de-purification” or “destandardization” of language (i.e. the idea of language as not fixed, bounded and monolithic), increasingly shapes Ningbo speakers’ particularly youth’s language identity (García & Wei, 2014). That is, language is perceived as fluid and hybrid rather than “pure” dialect language

or “standard” Mandarin. This “de-purified” language ideology frees youth from clinging to an “exclusivist” linguistic identity of “pure” dialect or “standard” language use and facilitates them to accept mixed repertoires as authentic identities (Li & Zhu, 2021).

These pragmatic uses of dialect in the face of academic dilemma and peers’ relationship show the dynamic negotiation process of language attitude. That is, younger speakers acknowledge the need to show respect for “tradition” in their language use but they also face communicative challenges in modern life. Their pragmatic choices reflect the sociocultural contexts. This ‘post-pure’ stance is distinctive in that it positions translanguaging as a sustainable model of dialect survival rather than decay. Instead of viewing dialect loss as inevitable, Ningbo youth reinterpret hybridity as authenticity. Dynamic views accommodate the hybrid and creative uses of language varieties and ongoing sociocultural context (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

Consequently, Ningbo dialect persists not as an isolated linguistic system but as a living, adaptive resource within multilingual repertoires. Its survival lies in transformation, not preservation—a finding that distinguishes this study’s translanguaging perspective from traditional language maintenance frameworks.

The impact on intergenerational language identity is significant: while elders see dialect erosion as cultural loss, youth can construct their identity that is simultaneously local and cosmopolitan. It is mediated through translanguaging. It reflects the societal differences in terms of language, modernity and cultural identity in contemporary China.

## **6. Social Mechanisms and Challenges in the Intergenerational Evolution of Ningbo Dialect**

### **6.1 The impact of educational policy and language ideology**

Among speakers from Ningbo, school is clearly the strongest force that promotes the use of Standard Chinese. Consequently, students gradually prioritize Mandarin for academic and social purposes, which can lead to a weakening of their everyday dialect skills over time. Parents living under such sociolinguistic circumstances might be consciously or implicitly discouraging the transmission of their dialect and encouraging their children to acquire Standard Chinese, which is also shown in the observed bilingual parental mediation patterns. However, despite the structural disadvantages of dialect, it remains an important symbol of cultural identity for older generations. This intergenerational tension likely plays a major role in facilitating dialect change among urban Chinese populations (Li & Zhu, 2021; Zhang, 2016).

What is distinctive about the translanguaging practices in educationally constrained Ningbo families is that they embody a form of “resilient bilingualism.” Even within a Mandarin-dominant school environment, parents and students continuously shuttle between dialect and Mandarin in family talk, using Ningbo expressions for emotional closeness and Mandarin for institutional alignment. This coexistence demonstrates that rather than being replaced, the dialect is being repositioned as a complementary linguistic resource. Thus, these practices suggest that the Ningbo dialect is not vanishing but transforming — surviving through functional diversification rather than total displacement.

## **6.2 Media Contexts and Digital Communication Reshaping Dialect Use**

The proliferation of digital media and new communication technologies have created new battlefields where language use practices are renegotiated and Ningbo dialect use is newly influenced for better and worse.

When Ningbo youth group for using Ningbo dialect, they would rather play to the digital crowd, showing how online behavior can influence real world language use. At the same time, such online exchanges also preserve the dialect in an informal, playful context, showing that the dialect does live on in hybrid use among pervasive Mandarin. Distinctively, translanguaging in digital contexts demonstrates “networked dialect vitality.” Ningbo youth embed dialectal expressions, emojis, and sound memes in their Mandarin-based chats or short videos, performing an online identity that is simultaneously local and modern. These creative recombinations show that the dialect has shifted from an exclusive communicative code to a symbolic and aesthetic resource. In this sense, digital translanguaging not only resists dialect extinction but redefines how Ningbo identity is enacted in virtual communities.

Therefore, while digitalization challenges traditional dialect use, it also provides novel affordances for its semiotic survival and symbolic capital in youth discourse. Ningbo dialect, instead of disappearing, is being remixed, stylized, and circulated across media ecologies.

## **6.3 Social Class, Gender, and Migration Background: What Structural Variability in Language Choice?**

Transcripts show that language use and dialect transmission in Ningbo are not only influenced by top-down official policies and digital media but also by sociocultural structural forces at the macro level, including social class, gender, and migration background. These factors generate differentiated linguistic behaviors of individuals across social classes and communities. Social class exerts a decisive influence on language attitudes and linguistic resources. Generally, middle-class families are more geographically mobile with higher educational levels, and thus they emphasize Mandarin proficiency for educational and employment opportunities (Li & Zhu, 2021).

Compared to social class, gender exerts a more direct influence on dialect vitality because women are the main caregivers and socialization agents. That is, mothers and grandmothers play a significant role in language transmission. Mothers, however, face a dilemma when they see the cultural value of the dialect on one hand and that of Mandarin as a cultural capital and practical tool for communicating with middle-class people on the other. As a result, they might exhibit different attitudes and behaviors in the same family.

Migration also exerts a substantial influence on language use. With urbanization and economic development, a large population of internal migrants resides in Ningbo and uses Mandarin, which decreases the public visibility of the dialect. Conversely, Mandarin-dominant schools and peers in Ningbo native speakers who move out for education or work decrease their dialect competence over time. Overall, these structural forces generate stratified translanguaging behaviors. That is, elders construct dialect-rich repertoires because they are less exposed to Mandarin. The middle generation strategically uses both languages because they are exposed to both the dialect and Mandarin. Finally, youth build their repertoires based on school and peer influence and are also exposed to digital media. What is distinctive here is that

translanguaging reveals class- and gender-based differentiation in dialect vitality: working-class and female caregivers often serve as “dialect anchors,” while middle-class bilinguals engage in strategic hybridity to balance identity and capital. These adaptive strategies across social groups constitute a dynamic ecology where Ningbo dialect continues to circulate, albeit in modified forms.

## 7. Conclusion and Implications

This research has examined intergenerational transmission of the Ningbo dialect through a translanguaging lens, revealing a more complex interplay of weakening and reconstruction processes. Given its evident decline in daily use (especially among young people), the Ningbo dialect is clearly being weakened by institutional language policies promoting Mandarin and changes in family language practices. However, this does not mean that the dialect is being lost altogether. Instead, it is being selectively used, adapted, and symbolically maintained in familial and communal use, rendering a nuanced picture of weakened language use. Family conversations reveal that grandparents have high dialect competence and consider it an integral part of being local and remembering home. The middle generation is caught between the utilitarian value of Mandarin and affection for the dialect, often employing strategic bilingualism to cater to both. In contrast, the youngest generation has low dialect fluency but engages in code-mixing and creative adaptation, reflecting a weakened rather than dead dialect use. These translanguaging practices are distinctive because they reveal how Ningbo speakers negotiate fluid identities across generations, treating language not as a static code but as an evolving resource that bridges emotional intimacy, cultural continuity, and modern communicative needs. Such dynamic hybridity demonstrates that the dialect is not on the verge of disappearing but transforming into a flexible identity marker sustained through daily bilingual interactions. Overall, these findings challenge the black-and-white picture of Ningbo dialect weakening and show that this is a complex, multidimensional language evolution process shaped by ongoing identity positioning and resourceful language use (García & Wei, 2014). Such complexity arises from sociocultural changes that are unfolding in modern urban China (Zhang, 2016).

This research has applied translanguaging theory to Chinese dialect studies, demonstrating its analytical value in describing nuanced language practices observed in multilingual and multidialectal use. Translanguaging weakens fixed language boundaries by positioning speakers as active agents who access their full linguistic repertoire to make meaning, position identity and function in social hierarchies (García & Wei, 2014; Li & Zhu, 2021). The distinctiveness of the Ningbo case lies in how speakers creatively embed dialectal forms within Mandarin discourse, using selective code-mixing as a deliberate identity performance rather than a sign of loss. By analysing Ningbo dialect use through a translanguaging lens, we can describe how speakers make use of dialect, Mandarin and other communication resources in their daily use, complicating the traditional binary of “dialect versus standard language”. The strength of translanguaging also lies in positioning language ideologies, sociocultural environments and individual choices as forces that shape language practices and intergenerational transmission. Such everyday hybrid practices indicate that Ningbo dialect maintains vitality through transformation—its survival is ensured not by purity but by

flexibility, which distinguishes this case from dialects truly facing extinction. More importantly, this research has tried to localise translanguaging theory by placing it in the historical, social and policy context of Ningbo and the Yangtze River Delta. This has enabled a more culturally sensitive and nuanced description of language evolution in contemporary China and calls for more empirical research that bridges global theoretical perspectives with local language use.

Based on the above nuanced mechanisms of Ningbo dialect evolution, several applied implications can be drawn for language education, community transmission, and identity strengthening. Schools in Ningbo should include dialect awareness in language curricula and consider dialects as valuable cultural resources instead of linguistic barriers. By integrating local dialect history, literature, and oral traditions into language teaching programs along with Mandarin, educators can help students develop positive language attitudes and promote balanced bilingual abilities (Spolsky, 2009).

At the community level, intergenerational communication plays an important role. Dialect storytelling events, cultural festivals, and localized media productions can provide contextualized practice opportunities for using local dialects, which in turn can strengthen family and community bonds (Zhang, 2016). Furthermore, digital tools also provide effective means for revitalizing local dialects. Youth-oriented content such as social media challenges, short-form videos, podcasts, and dialect-based mobile apps can make learning local dialects more accessible and appealing to younger people (García & Wei, 2014). These digital translanguaging practices further illustrate that Ningbo dialect lives on as a hybrid communicative mode—expressed playfully, emotionally, and symbolically—ensuring its ongoing relevance in modern life. Such digital strategies should be accompanied by public campaigns to challenge dominant language ideologies that associate local dialects with negative social evaluations. By promoting local dialect use as a form of identity pride and cultural wealth, public campaigns and educational initiatives can help empower speakers of all ages to value and maintain their linguistic heritage.

Despite the insights provided by this study, there are still several limitations worth noting and exploring in future research. First, this research was conducted with a relatively small sample within Ningbo. The results may not be generalizable to other Wu dialect regions or the entire Chinese dialect area. Future studies should consider expanding the sample to include multiple regions for comparative analysis. Second, this study adopts a qualitative approach, which provides rich context-embedded information. However, future research should also collect larger-scale quantitative data to map more representative patterns of local dialect use and related sociolinguistic variables. Third, this study explores local dialect evolution primarily within the family context and local communities. Future research should also investigate local dialect evolution in institutional contexts such as schools, workplaces, and public spaces to provide a more comprehensive understanding. Finally, this study only tracks local dialect use practices within the same families or communities over time. Future research should adopt a longitudinal design to study local dialect evolution and identity reconstruction within the same families or communities over time. By capturing these evolving translanguaging patterns longitudinally, future research can more clearly reveal how Ningbo dialect persists through adaptive transformation rather than decline.

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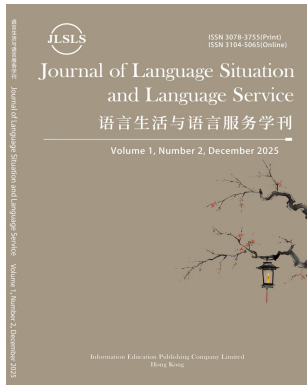
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## 香港推普先行者的历史记录

——评《细说香港民间推普七十年》

王文豪 (Wang Wenhao), 孙英 (Sun Ying), 彭滢晴 (Peng Yanqing)

**摘要:** 《细说香港民间推普七十年》系统回顾了自二战后至2017年，香港民间推广普通话的七十年历程，详细介绍了以刘秋生、张家城、许耀赐等为代表的推普先行者，通过成立各类民间组织如香港普通话研习社、香港普通话教师协会、香港普通话教育中心，编写教材、举办课程与活动等方式，积极推动普通话在香港的普及。该书不仅梳理了香港推普的重要事件与人物，也反映出推普工作从兴趣驱动到功利需求转变的社会背景。也启发我们在了解历史的基础上，结合语言生活调查、新科技手段，进一步推动普通话在香港的普及，助力香港融入国家发展大局。

**关键词:** 香港；推普；历史

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**Title:** A Historical Record of the Pioneers in Mandarin Popularization in Hong Kong  
—A Review of *A Detailed Account of Seventy Years of Civil Society-Led Mandarin Popularization in Hong Kong*

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**Abstract:** A Detailed Account of Seventy Years of Civil Society-Led Mandarin Popularization in Hong Kong systematically reviews the seventy-year journey of civil society-led Putonghua promotion in Hong Kong from the post-World War II period until 2017. It details the efforts of pioneers such as Liu Qiusheng, Zhang Jiacheng, and Xu Yaoci, who actively promoted the popularization of Mandarin in Hong Kong by establishing various non-governmental organizations (e.g., the Hong Kong Putonghua Study Society, the Hong Kong Mandarin Teachers Association, and the Hong Kong Putonghua Education Centre), compiling textbooks, and organizing courses and activities. The book not only documents key events and figures in the Mandarin Popularization in Hong Kong but also reflects the shift in motivation from interest-driven to utilitarian purposes. Furthermore, it inspires further efforts to promote Mandarin in Hong Kong by leveraging historical insights, language life surveys, and new technological means, thereby facilitating Hong Kong's integration into the national development framework.

**Keywords:** Hong Kong; Mandarin Popularization; history

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## 一、引言

“一国两制”实践不断深化发展，粤港澳大湾区国家战略积极推进，国家重视和强调香港与祖国内地的融通交流。香港回归祖国后，依据基本法，施行多语多文政策，主要使用粤方言、英语和普通话，文字方面使用繁体汉字、英文，形成了“多语多文”的语言生活格局。新时代助力香港与内地融合发展，在香港地区进一步推广普通话，有助于夯实铸牢中华民族共同体意识的物质、社会、文化、思想基础。

香港特区政府统计处 2022 年 11 月发布的一份统计报告显示，全港 6 岁至 65 岁年龄段人数中有 540 多万人，按在家中最常使用的语言分析，92.3%为粤语，2.1%为普通话，2.1%为英语。在从事经济活动人群中，认为自己英语口语能力完全足够或足够应付日常生活的百分比为 45.9%，认为自己普通话能力完全足够或足够应付日常生活的百分比为 41.7%（刘亮，2023）。香港未来要更好地融入到国家发展大局，分享内地发展红利，香港特区政府需要在普通话推广工作中加把劲，加紧提高

普通话普及率。

任何事物的发展都有一个历史过程，香港普通话的推广工作亦是如此，香港普及普通话的成果离不开政府和民间团体的努力。2023年，张家城先生撰写了《细说香港民间推普七十年》（以下简称《细说》）一书，详尽描绘了香港民间推普的70年历史。张先生是澳门东亚大学文学士，是香港资深推普工作者，是香港普通话研习社、香港普通话教育中心、香港普通话教师协会的创办人之一，参与编写了面向香港发行的普通话教材，他还曾作为香港代表受邀参加1979年全国普通话教学成绩观摩会。

他所著《细说香港民间推普七十年》，以二战后香港民间国语教育萌芽为始，2017年香港普通话教育中心停办普通话培训课程为止，详细书写了香港民间推普的重要历史事件和关键人物，是了解香港推普历史的重要资料。本文现将该书介绍给内地学界，以飨读者。

## 二、内容简介

《细说》除了序言之外，全书共分为10章，主要记叙了香港民间推普先行者为了在香港推广普通话，先后成立青年会大专国语研究学会、香港普通话研习社、香港普通话教师协会和香港普通话教育中心等机构、出版普通话教材、举办普通话课程以及开展普通话推广活动等工作历程。

第1章主要介绍了香港民间国语推广的萌芽（本文同著作一样，一般述说用“普通话”，记述历史情况则用“国语”）。为了方便读者了解近代中国国语运动发展历程，作者简明扼要地记述了一百多年来国语运动的历史，并且加入了香港参与国语运动的重要历史事件。1960年以前是香港民间国语推广的萌芽阶段，二战后经济百废待兴，来港避难人数激增，香港中华基督教青年会大专学生公社产生，是为来港避难的人提供社会服务的主要团体之一。同时因为许多内地学术界、文艺界人士的移居，国语歌曲和电影影视兴盛，推动了香港民间开始学习国语。1960年，刘秋生在香港首开大专国语班，作者把这一事件作为香港民间国语推广正式开始的标志。刘秋生先生还积极为三家广播电台撰写文教节目并创办香港诗歌朗诵团。这些活动都让香港人民有更多机会接触国语。书中还详细交代了二十世纪五六十年代香港的语言生活概况，具有重要的学术价值。

第2章介绍了香港民间推普教育奠基者——刘秋生先生。1969年，刘秋生先生将大专国语班改派青年会大专学生部接办，将上课时间周期缩短。并且他还把国语班教学常规化，开设了初班、中班、高班和研究班四个级别的课程，对不同级别的课程时间、内容和目标都进行了相应的要求设计。他还强调在普通话教材使用上要与时俱进。本章作者赞扬了刘秋生先生推广文化教育和普通话教学的功劳，盛赞他是一名人生导师、伟大杰出的长者。书中还记录了20世纪70年代，香港年轻人学习普通话的主要动机是兴趣，较少“功利思想”，学员学习都非常努力、乐意投入时间精力。

第3章主要讲述了成立大专国语研究学会的历史。1971年,为了让在读的、特别是已结业的学生有继续砥砺普通话的动力和机会,刘秋生等人在大专国语班的基础上,倡导成立了大专国语研究学会。学会学习普通话自成一片天地。学会定期举办聚会和晚会,通过唱歌、朗诵、演唱、语言游戏等多样的形式锻炼国语。此外还组织了多场专题学术讲座、演讲比赛、兴趣班等活动。以学术讲座为例,学会邀请李辉英、许耀赐等,围绕普通话的轻声、汉语拼音方案的热点话题进行了研讨。学会还创办了会刊《国语天地》,会刊是联络会员的重要媒介,并借此提高成员的写作水平。

第4-7章主要记录了香港普通话研习社的发展历史,作者作为参与者、见证者,详细地描绘了普通话研习社成立、重组、扬帆再起航至辉煌的历程。

第4章讲述了许耀赐、谭兆璋、梁瑞堂、张家城和马玉君等于1975年成立香港国语研习社。研习社的宗旨是推广普通话。草创时期的主要成员分别担任研习社的教学任务。研习社是当时全港唯一的推普社团,也是全港第一家推广汉语拼音教学的机构。他们集思广益,编写出版了许多推普刊物,如《基础国语》《进修国语》《深造国语》等,他们还推出了带录音带的《普通话课本》。研习社为香港培育了大量普通话人才,多数学生也都成为香港民间推普工作的积极参与者。研习社以“学习普通话,感性认识祖国”为理念,以爱国新诗、普通话歌曲为教学内容,深刻影响了香港普通话学习者的身份认同。研习社还与香港教协教研部开展合作推普。作者还细心地发现,在校任教的英语老师大多有强烈的兴趣学习普通话,并且学习成绩都很好,作者认为英语老师学过国际音标,有利于他们把握普通话的音准。书中还记录了70年代末,研习社学员人数倍增,仅1980年研习社就办了185个普通话学习班,学习人次达到5000以上。研习社趁势举办了影响全港的国语营、普通话朗诵比赛等推普活动。国家文字改革委员会还专门邀请研习社派代表参加了“第五次全国普通话教学成绩观摩会”。

第5章叙述了普通话研习社因内部人事、外部政策变化等原因进行重组的历史。1980年研习社在香港注册为非营利的民间社团,选举了第一届理事会,理事会则负责统筹及管理日常社务开班以及推普活动。理事以原研习社成员为主,一些香港中国语文学会和教协的人也参与其中。研习社重整旗鼓,首先把教材工作作为重点,将过去的课堂讲义出版成书,此举得到了内地语音学专家徐世荣教授、香港大学中文系马蒙教授、香港中国语文学会姚德怀先生的大力支持。徐世荣先生为《普通话课本》题写书名并作序言,徐先生强调,香港的普通话教学,“教人”要比“教知识”更应作为前提。1982年,《普通话课本》再版时,研习社邀请了北京大学王力先生作序,王力先生认为以粤方言为母方言的香港学习普通话要下很大的力气,香港普通话研习社为此做了大贡献。到1981年,研习社的任教老师有47个,辅导员达96位,共开办了257个普通话班。研习社还面向8家学校、13个社团、43个社区青年中心,开设普通话课程。研习社抓住机遇,吸引大量改革开放后赴港

定居的内地北方人来推广普通话，并且开办了香港首个“普通话老师培训班”，为普通话教师和辅导员教学能力提升、促进香港民间推普工作，做出了重要贡献。

第6章重点记叙了重组后的研习社不断进行调整改革，促进推普工作的大事件。1982年，研习社第二届理事会改革内部机构完善了各项管理制度。首先，理事会高瞻远瞩地成立了“研习社发展研究小组”，专门为研习社的发展提供建议。研究小组根据研习社发展的现状和未来需要，提出了要成立全资附属教学普通话机构的重要建议。研习社还设置了总干事统筹推普工作。而后研习社与香港中国语文学会、香港教协国语组合作出版双月刊《普通话通讯》，报道推普活动、交流推普经验、推广汉语拼音方案和普通话知识，每期印刷近万份。

第7章记录了香港普通话研习社最“辉煌”的年份。作者用“如日中天”修饰1983年研习社如日中天的发展，研习社开班量及社会推普活动再创高峰。开班数达到近400个，学员达万人。研习社还成立了全资附属的香港普通话教学中心，教学中心的成立是研习社普通话教学专业化发展的里程碑。研习社还出版了专门用途普通话教材，如《贸易会话》《旅游会话》等。面向全港，研习社首次举办“普通话推广周”活动，主动推出了免费电话录音课程。此外，研习社频繁受到香港媒体的访问报道，作者认为这是研习社推普工作得到香港社会广泛关注的有力证明。

第8章讲述了香港普通话教师协会的故事。1986年，香港普通话教师协会注册成立。协会由一群关心普通话教学的热心人士组成，目的是通过交流研讨促进香港的普通话教学。恰逢香港特区政府将普通话科纳入小学4-6年级的课程，协会在理事会主席许耀赐等理事的带领下，做了大量推普工作，例如：与中国人民大学合办北京普通话进修班，出版《普通话教学法》，向香港当局提交《普通话公开测试意见书》，向媒体发布《大众传媒应积极推广普通话建议书》，邀请吕叔湘、田小琳、程祥徽等语言专家开展专题讲座等。后因条件所限，协会于1991年解散。

第9章重点记录了香港普通话教育中心的历史。1984年，《中英联合声明》签署后，香港政商学各界学习普通话的需求变得强烈，掀起了学习普通话的热潮。张家城等人依托普通话研习社，成立了专门教学机构——香港普通话教育中心。中心致力于中学普通话教科书的编写及出版，开办了各类普通话课程、普通话教学法课程。中心还为香港特区政府机构、企业提供普通话培训课程。这一时期，香港人多数是因为工作目的学习普通话，学员数量众多，但有别于兴趣驱动的学习者，大多数人以“够用”为学习目标。教育中心参与了香港中文大学等高校举办的首届“国语（普通话）教学测试研讨会”，吸引了来自全球各地的200多位学者参会，著名的语言学专家吕叔湘、张志公、倪海曙、张拱贵、陈章太、陈建民、田小琳等到会发表高论。这次研讨会受到香港媒体广泛关注，作者认为正是这次会议，香港社会开始接受并广泛使用“普通话”一词。香港普通话教育中心，1995—2005年十年间，由盛转衰。学习普通话的途径也由民间机构转向学校，民间推普工作整

体由盛转衰。2017年，香港普通话教育中心停开普通话课程。作者认为香港回归后由于种种社会原因，民间学习普通话的热潮稍有减退了，民间推普教学工作者该退位让贤了。

第10章类似整本书的延伸阅读部分，主要记叙了作者作为香港普通话研习社的代表受国家文字改革委员会邀请，参加1979年第五次全国普通话教学成绩观摩会的情况。作者如日记一般地记录，也让读者再次体会到，改革开放后，百废待兴之际，国家对语言文字工作的重视。

### 三、重点评析

《细说》这本书呈现了作者与一大批香港“仁人志士”推普教学的历史。该书搜集了详实的材料，章节分明，将七十年的历史梳理得十分全面清晰。

书中每一章都有丰富的图片资料，还有延伸阅读内容对主体文章进行补充。读者不仅可以从书中看到20世纪香港普通话推广工作的发展，更能以延伸阅读内容为第三视角，体会香港民间对于推普的热忱。对于未能搜集到的数据或资料，作者也采取了实事求是的态度，不加妄谈。整本书通俗易懂，具有较强的叙述性。该书对于想要研究香港普通话推广的学者，亦或是关心相关历史的人都非常适合，对于想要进一步探究香港语言生活百年变迁发展也具有重要参考价值。

《细说》展示了20世纪的一群有远见的香港年轻人努力学习和推广普通话的历史，还深刻总结香港民间推普的精神——“自强不息，厚德载物”。田小琳老师在序言中提到香港民间推普精神是香港精神的体现。笔者团队2023年6月深度访谈了张家城、许耀赐等香港民间推普先行者，他们身上充满了对国家的热爱，对民族复兴的自豪，他们仍然在为香港推普贡献力量。该书总结的香港民间推普精神与经验，值得好好反思总结，对未来普通话推广具有参考意义。

书中还存在一些不足，诚如该书作者自序中所述“没有完整记叙香港研习社四十多年的历史”、对于“推动香港中文和普通话工作的香港中国语文学会”以及“大专学生公社年代开办的大专国语班用什么教材，有什么班别，办了多少个班，有多少学生”等等，囿于篇幅和可查看资料的缺乏以及重要人物的离去，本书未能对每一推普机构、为推普工作立下汗马功劳的其他人物以及个别具体信息一一作出详细的记录，留下了些许空白。这也提示我们，香港推普的亲历者年岁渐长，调查香港推普的历史，需要抓紧，全面地梳理和研究香港普通话推广的历史，至关重要。书中前后文字叙述还有一些重复的情况。

《细说》重点描述了香港民间推普70年的历程，作者作为香港民间推普的资深参与者、创办人，未来香港推普的路如何走，作者应以史为鉴，适当提出自己的见解。其实近年来对于香港地区国家通用语言文字推广问题，学者也多有关注，比如杨若薇（2012）分析了普通话水平测试在香港的应试群体的变化及发展趋势。田小琳等（2017）总结了自1996到2016年，普通话测试近20年在

香港的运行情况。梁慧敏（2017）利用实证研究的方法研究了香港普通话的使用情况。当然学者也在积极为香港地区的国家通用语言文字的推广工作建言献策，田小琳等（2020）希望未来政府推出更有力的举措突破“普教中”的困局。文旭等（2024）建议重视国家历史文化国情教育融入香港的普通话教学、多手段提高普通话水平、促进地区间教育合作等。有关部门也十分重视，国家语委近年资助“港澳地区国家通用语言文字学习资源平台建设”课题，以期建设适用于港澳同胞学习国家通用语言文字的资源平台。相信未来，在各界的努力下，普通话会在香港社会的重要流通语言。近年来，以国家语委国家语言服务与粤港澳大湾区语言研究中心（广州大学）为代表的相关机构和学者关注港澳地区的语言生活，对香港的语言生态、市民语言态度、学校语言使用等话题进行了深入研究，帮助内地学者进一步了解多彩的香港语言世界。

助力港澳与内地融合发展，在港澳地区进一步推广国家通用语言文字十分重要，《细说》让我们结合历史，再次思考这一重要话题。首先，需要结合对香港语言生活的调查，深入了解香港地区国家通用语言文字学习的主要群体的学习动机与需求。其次，有关科研机构要加强与香港民间团体的合作，如香港普通话研习社、香港中国语文学会。共同研究在香港推普的有效路径，并借助香港民间团体进一步开展推普工作。再者，要利用好新的科技手段，改进推普的方法和内容，实现随时随地可学，有趣地学，比如全球中文学习平台开设港澳推普专门版块。学习资源还要充分考虑不同学习对象、不同学习目的等。最后，要把新的语言资源、语言规划、语言生活、语言服务等应用语言学新理念融入到推广工作的具体实践中去，提高对港澳地区推广国家通用语言文字工作的认识和定位。

总的来说，《细说香港民间推普七十年》作为香港民间推普先行者的记录，填补了香港民间推普历史的研究，提升了学界对香港推普重要性的认识，启迪了香港未来的推普工作。

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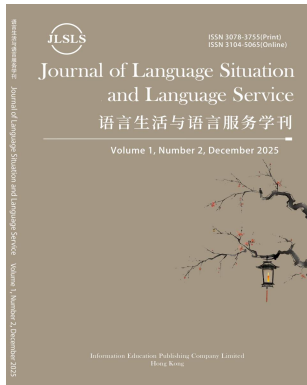
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## 语言的经济密码

——评《帕尔格雷夫经济学与语言手册》

张欣业 (Zhang Xinye)

**摘要:** 在全球化浪潮与文化多样性碰撞的当下，语言早已不只是沟通工具，更成为影响经济流动、政策制定与社会融合的关键变量。由维克托·金斯伯格与什洛莫·韦伯主编的《帕尔格雷夫经济学与语言手册》，以跨学科视角搭建起“语言-经济”的分析框架，将语言学、神经科学、政治学与经济学熔于一炉。这部著作收录 23 章专题研究，涵盖从语言理论基础到实证应用的完整链条，其中大量具体案例与数据测算，为理解语言的经济价值提供了扎实支撑。

**关键词:** 语言与经济；跨学科视角；语言多样性

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**Title:** The Economic Code of Language: A Review of *The Palgrave Handbook of Economics and Language*

**Abstract:** In an era defined by globalization and cultural diversity, language has transcended its role as a mere communication tool to become a critical variable influencing economic flows, policy-making, and social integration. Edited by Victor Ginsburgh and Shlomo Weber, *The Palgrave Handbook of Economics and Language* construct an interdisciplinary “language-

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economy” analytical framework, integrating perspectives from linguistics, neuroscience, political science, and economics. Comprising 23 thematic studies, the volume covers a comprehensive spectrum from theoretical foundations to empirical applications, with extensive case studies and quantitative analyses providing robust evidence for understanding the economic value of language.

**Keywords:** economics of language; interdisciplinary perspective; linguistic diversity

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## 一、引言

《帕尔格雷夫经济学与语言手册》是语言经济学领域极具权威性的学术著作，由比利时布鲁塞尔大学荣誉经济学教授维克托·金斯伯格与美国南卫理公会大学罗伯特·H·和南希·戴德曼受托经济学教授什洛莫·韦伯联合主编，2016年由帕尔格雷夫·麦克米伦出版社首次出版。两位主编在语言经济学领域均有深厚积累与丰硕成果：金斯伯格长期深耕艺术经济学与语言多样性研究；韦伯则聚焦异质社会中社会多样性与社会互动的测量及影响研究，二人共同搭建了“语言经济学”与“跨学科研究”的桥梁，为手册的学术深度与广度奠定了坚实基础。作为整合性的学术手册，本书以“语言多样性”为核心框架，系统收录了33位全球学者的研究成果，涵盖四大核心板块：第一部分“语言多样性：起源与测量”，从语言学与经济学双重视角构建语言演化的动态模型，同时引入神经语言学、语言距离测算等理论工具，解析语言多样性的生成逻辑与量化方法；第二部分“语言与市场”，聚焦语言在国际贸易、移民流动、跨国企业运营、专利国际传播等市场场景中的作用机制，揭示语言对经济互动的实际影响；第三部分“语言政策与经济发展”，以欧洲、南亚、撒哈拉以南非洲、俄罗斯等区域为案例，分析语言政策与国家构建、区域冲突、经济增长之间的关联；第四部分“全球化与少数民族语言”，探讨英语全球化背景下少数民族语言的生存挑战，从福利经济学、博弈论等视角提出语言权利保护与政策优化路径。

全书兼具理论创新性与实证参考价值，既梳理了语言经济学的发展脉络，又针对“语言与思维的因果关系”“语言政策的成本收益”“全球化下语言标准化与多样性平衡”等关键议题展开深度探讨，为经济学、语言学、社会学等领域的研究者提供了系统性的学术参考，也为政策制定者优化语言相关公共政策提供了重要理论支撑。

## 二、语言多样性经济的理论根基：从“语言结构”到“经济行为”的微观传导

手册第一部分“语言多样性：起源与衡量”的核心价值，在于打破“语言决定论”的简单逻辑，通过具体语言案例，建立“语言结构—认知模式—经济选择”的精细关联。奈杰尔·法布在《语言理论、语言多样性与沃尔夫经济学》中，以英语与东非马迪语（Ma'di）的对比为核心案例，揭示了语言抽象规则对认知的影响。马迪语作为尼罗-撒哈拉语系的分支，其语法存在独特的“时态—语

序联动”规则：描述过去事件时，句子采用 SVO 语序；描述现在/未来事件时，语序则变为 SOV，且动词需添加“非过去时前缀”。这种规则使得马迪语使用者在区分“过去/未来”时，必须同时调整语序与动词形态——法布通过实验发现，马迪语使用者对“时间边界”的感知比英语使用者更敏锐，在涉及“跨期决策”的经济实验中（如选择“当下获得 100 元”或“一年后获得 150 元”），马迪语使用者选择“延迟获益”的比例比英语使用者高 18%。但法布同时强调，这种倾向并非绝对：当实验对象接受过正规教育（尤其是数学教育）后，两种语言使用者的决策差异会缩小至 5% 以下，说明语言的影响会被其他认知因素中和。这一案例精准反驳了“语言决定经济行为”的极端观点，为后续实证研究提供了“理论校准器”。安德鲁·D·M·史密斯的《语言演化的动态模型：语言学视角》，则以克里奥尔语的形成成为典型案例，展现语言多样性的经济逻辑。书中详细分析了加勒比海地区“帕皮阿门托语”的演化：17 世纪荷兰殖民时期，非洲黑奴与荷兰殖民者无法直接沟通，逐渐形成以荷兰语词汇为基础、以非洲语言语法为框架的“混合语”，其语法简化（如取消名词变格、动词时态通过助词表达）、词汇融合（如“kas”来自荷兰语“huis”（房子），“waka”来自非洲语言“walk”（走）），最终成为荷属安的列斯群岛的通用语。史密斯通过历史贸易数据发现，19 世纪帕皮阿门托语的普及，使该地区跨种族贸易成本降低了 27%——原本需要通过荷兰语—非洲语双语译者的贸易活动，可直接通过帕皮阿门托语完成，交易时间从平均 3 小时缩短至 1.5 小时。更关键的是，这种语言并未随殖民结束而消失，反而因“低沟通成本+文化认同”的双重优势，成为当代该地区旅游业、渔业贸易的“通用语言”。这一案例证明：语言演化并非单向的“同化”，而是“需求驱动”的适应过程，合理的语言多样性可成为跨文化经济活动的“润滑剂”。马克·莱金的《神经语言学能告诉我们什么？》则从微观层面，通过双语者的脑科学实验提供证据。书中引用一项针对德语-英语双语者的 fMRI（功能性磁共振成像）研究：当双语者用德语（母语）处理“风险决策”任务（如判断一项投资的收益概率）时，大脑边缘系统（负责情感处理）的激活强度比用英语（第二语言）时高 32%；而用英语处理时，前额叶皮层（负责理性计算）的激活强度更高。这解释了一个关键经济现象：在跨国企业的核心合同谈判中，德裔高管更倾向于用德语讨论“长期合作信任条款”，用英语讨论“财务数据细节”——母语激活的情感关联，能提升谈判中的信任感知，而第二语言的“情感距离”则有助于理性分析。莱金还补充了一个反例：对“沉浸式双语者”（如幼年移民美国的德裔）而言，两种语言的神经激活区域重叠度更高，情感差异仅为 11%，说明语言的神经机制会随使用场景动态调整。这些细节为“双语优势论”提供了可量化的神经科学支撑，也为企业跨国沟通策略提供了具体指导。

### 三、语言距离的测量方法：给“语言差异”一把可操作的标尺

要量化语言对经济的影响，就必须解决“如何衡量语言距离”的难题。手册第一部分的核心贡献，就在于系统梳理了语言距离的测算模型，并通过具体案例验证其有效性。维克托·金斯伯格与什洛莫·韦伯在《语言距离与族群语言分化及权利剥夺指数》中，以印欧语系语言为样本，对比了四种主流测算方法的差异：

（一）莱文斯坦语音距离：通过计算单词发音的差异程度衡量亲缘性，其核心逻辑是：将两种

语言中对应基础词汇的语音/拼写视为“字符序列”，计算将一个序列转换为另一个序列所需的“最小操作次数”（插入、删除、替换字符），再除以序列长度（取较长词汇的字符数），得到 0-1 区间的距离值。例如，英语“mother”与德语“Mutter”的发音差异仅为 0.2（数值 0-1，越小越相近），而与法语“mère”的差异为 0.6。这种方法的优势在于可直接量化，但缺点是忽略语法差异；

（二）词汇统计距离：核心是通过“基础词汇表”中的同源词比例测算差异。斯瓦迪士筛选出 100 个或 200 个“跨文化通用的基础意义”（如“水”“火”“母亲”“一至五的数字”等），这些词汇在历史演化中不易被借用、替换率低，能稳定反映语言的亲缘性。书中数据显示，英语与德语的同源词比例为 68%（距离 0.32），英语与俄语的同源词比例为 42%（距离 0.58）。因基础词汇的演化相对稳定，这种方法常常被广泛应用于贸易、移民研究，该方法的优势在于兼顾“历史亲缘性”与“实际词汇相似度”，适用于分析“语言习得难度”“翻译成本”等场景，但依赖专业 linguists 的同源词判断，对小语种或未充分研究的语言适用性有限；

（三）分支距离：根据语言演化树的分支节点数量来判断、比较语言间的亲缘关系。例如，英语与德语在“印欧语系-日耳曼语族-西日耳曼语支”层面交汇（分支距离 2），而英语与印度语在“印欧语系”层面才交汇（分支距离 4）；

（四）交际距离：《手册》指出，在经济分析中，“实际沟通效率”往往比语言形式差异更重要，因此需引入“交际距离”——即两种语言使用者的“互懂程度”或“沟通成本”。交际距离的测算通常基于“调查数据”或“实验数据”。书中调查显示，荷兰语使用者能听懂 75% 的德语对话（交际距离 0.25），而英语使用者仅能听懂 30% 的德语对话（交际距离 0.7）。这种方法更贴近现实，但数据收集成本高。为验证这些方法的实用性，作者以“欧盟贸易成本”为实证案例：将四种语言距离纳入贸易引力模型后发现，“词汇统计距离”对贸易成本的解释力最强——语言距离每增加 0.1，双边贸易额降低 8.3%。书中特别指出一个细节：对“双语率高”的国家（如卢森堡，90% 公民会三种语言），剥夺率的实际影响会减半，说明语言政策需结合当地双语基础调整。这些具体数据为欧盟语言政策提供了精准依据——既避免了“单一语言”的公平性缺失，也避免了“23 种官方语言”的效率浪费（欧盟每年翻译成本高达 12 亿欧元）。安德鲁·约翰的《语言演化的动态模型：经济学视角》则进一步细化“语言选择”的微观决策，他以非洲尼日利亚（520 种语言）为案例，构建“学习成本-收益”模型：在拉各斯（尼日利亚最大城市，贸易频繁），学习英语的“收益”（薪资提升 25%）远高于“成本”（每年 300 美元学习费用），因此双语率达 68%；而在偏远农村，学习英语的收益仅为 8%，双语率仅 12%。模型还预测：若尼日利亚政府在农村推广“英语+本地语言”双语教育，10 年内农村双语率可提升至 35%，劳动力流动率提升 20%。这一案例将语言行为从“文化习惯”转化为“理性选择”，为发展中国家语言教育政策提供了可量化的预测工具。

《手册》并未将上述方法视为“替代关系”，而是强调“根据研究目标选择适配工具”：若研究“长期历史演化对语言差异的影响”，优先选择“分支距离”；若分析“词汇层面的沟通成本”，“词汇统计距离”或“莱文斯坦距离”更适用；若聚焦“个体层面的语言互动”，则“交际距离”更能反映实际需求。这种“多方法互补”的测量体系，本质上是为“抽象的语言差异”赋予

了可操作的量化维度，使语言变量能够像“地理距离”“关税税率”一样，被纳入实证分析中，成为连接语言学与经济学的关键桥梁。

#### 四、语言经济理论的现实应用：从贸易、移民到少数语言保护的具体启示

手册的价值不仅在于理论，更在于对现实问题的回应。书中第二、三、四部分通过大量本土化案例，揭示语言在贸易、移民、政策中的具体作用机制。

##### （一）贸易：语言亲缘性如何降低交易成本

彼得·H·埃格与法里德·图巴尔在《通用口语与国际贸易》中，以195个国家的双边贸易数据为样本，得出三个关键结论：

1. 共用官方语言的“直接红利”：两国若共用一种官方语言（如美国与加拿大），双边贸易额比无共用语言的国家高23%。书中特别提到一个细节：对“殖民语言”（如法语在非洲），这种红利会随时间减弱——1960年法语国家的贸易溢价为28%，2000年降至17%，因本地语言的经济价值提升；

2. 语言距离的“梯度效应”：语言距离每降低0.1（即亲缘性提升），贸易成本降低5.2%。例如，西班牙与葡萄牙（语言距离0.15）的贸易成本比西班牙与德国（语言距离0.5）低17.5%，这解释了为何伊比利亚半岛内部贸易密度远高于欧洲平均水平；

3. “通用习得语言”的补充作用：若两国均有30%以上的人口会英语（如瑞典与荷兰），即便无通用官方语言，贸易额也能提升12%。书中数据显示，英语作为“通用习得语言”的贸易效应，在高科技产品贸易中更显著（提升18%），因技术文档多以英语撰写。

作者还补充了一个反例：中国与日本的语言距离为0.85（汉语为汉藏语系，日语系属未定），但因中日企业普遍使用英语作为“贸易中介语”，实际贸易成本仅比语言距离0.6的中国与韩国高4%。这一细节说明，“通用语使用频率”可部分抵消语言距离的负面影响，为“一带一路”语言合作提供了参考——加强汉语与东南亚国家的“中介语培训”，比单纯推广汉语更能快速降低贸易成本。

##### （二）移民：语言熟练度如何影响融入效果

阿莉西亚·阿德塞拉与马里奥·皮特利科娃在《语言与移民》中，以美国、加拿大、德国的移民数据为样本，揭示了语言熟练度的“阶梯效应”：

1. 就业市场：在美国，能“流利使用英语”的墨西哥移民就业率为72%，而“基础英语水平”的移民就业率仅45%，差距达27%。书中特别指出，这种差距在“专业岗位”中更显著（流利者58%，基础者19%），因专业沟通对语言精度要求更高；

2. 薪资水平：在加拿大，双语移民（英语+法语）的时薪比单语移民高15%，且这种溢价随工作年限增长——工作5年时溢价12%，工作10年时溢价18%，因双语能力随经验积累产生更多协作价值；

3. 社会融合：在德国，能使用德语的土耳其移民，参与社区活动的频率比不使用德语的移民高40%，且第二代移民的“身份认同冲突”发生率降低28%。

书中还分析了一个特殊案例：以色列政府通过“沉浸式希伯来语教育”，使埃塞俄比亚移民的希伯来语熟练度在1年内达标率达65%，就业率在2年内提升至60%，远高于其他国家同类移民的融入速度。这一案例证明，有针对性的语言政策可显著缩短移民融入周期，为各国移民政策提供了可复制的模板。

### （三）少数语言保护：如何平衡“文化存续”与“经济效率”

弗朗索瓦·格林在《少数民族语言面临的挑战》中，以冰岛语、巴斯克语为案例，提出“保护—开发”并重的路径：

1. 公共服务场景的保留：冰岛将冰岛语纳入政府、医疗、教育的强制使用语言，要求公务员冰岛语熟练度达标率100%。书中数据显示，这一政策使冰岛语的“日常使用频率”维持在95%以上，且因公共服务语言统一，行政效率仅比使用英语低3%（远低于预期的15%）；

2. 文化经济的开发：巴斯克地区通过“语言旅游”（如巴斯克语民俗村、语言学习营地），使巴斯克语相关旅游收入占地区旅游总收入的18%，同时带动年轻一代学习巴斯克语的比例从2000年的35%提升至2020年的62%；

3. 技术工具的辅助：冰岛开发了“冰岛语AI翻译系统”，覆盖法律、科技等专业领域，既降低了冰岛语与英语的翻译成本（从每千字200欧元降至50欧元），又避免了冰岛语因“使用场景狭窄”而衰退。

书中特别警示了一个误区：爱尔兰语的保护曾过度依赖“财政补贴”（每年投入1.2亿欧元），但因未创造足够使用场景（如公共服务中爱尔兰语使用率仅12%），年轻一代学习意愿仍低（仅28%）。这一对比案例说明，少数语言保护的关键在于“提升经济价值”，而非单纯的文化补贴。

## 五、局限与未尽的探索

尽管手册中的研究内容覆盖广泛，但仍有两处细节值得后续研究补充：

（一）数字时代的语言经济：书中对“机器翻译”的影响分析不足。例如，2020年后，DeepL等AI翻译工具使英语—德语的商务沟通成本降低40%，这种技术冲击是否会削弱“双语优势”？此外，网络语言（如“表情包语言”“缩写语”）正在重塑沟通模式——中国“Z世代”在跨境电商沟通中，常用“YYDS”“绝绝子”等网络词+翻译软件组合，这种“混合沟通”的经济效果尚未被量化；

（二）非洲本土化案例的缺失：书中对非洲语言的分析多停留在宏观层面，缺乏微观案例。例如，尼日利亚的“皮钦语”（Nigerian Pidgin）作为跨族群通用语，其对国内贸易的促进作用（如降低北部豪萨族与南部约鲁巴族的沟通成本）、对区域一体化的影响，尚未有系统测算。

但这些内容上的“留白”与“局限”却无损该手册的价值，因为其最大的贡献，在于通过具体案例与数据，将“语言”从抽象的文化概念，转化为可分析、可量化、可政策干预的经济变量。对中国读者而言，书中的细节启示尤为珍贵，例如如何通过“国家通用语言+少数民族语言”的语言助力乡村振兴、如何利用语言服务助力“一带一路”贸易等，都能从书中找到相应的语言个案参考。

综上，《帕尔格雷夫经济学与语言手册》不仅是一部学术著作，更是一本“语言经济操作指南”。它用大量细节告诉我们：——语言的价值，不仅在于其“经济属性”带来的效率提升，更在于其“文化属性”承载的身份认同。在全球化与本土化交织的今天，这部著作提供的不只是理论框架，更是平衡“效率与公平”的实践智慧。

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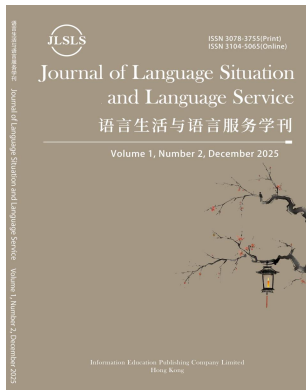
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## Janus at the Threshold of Language and Society

—A Review of *James Walker's Language in Its Social Context: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*

**Dong Hongjie, Luo Chenbai**

**Abstract:** This article reviews James Walker's *Language in Its Social Context: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* as a coherent and pedagogically oriented introduction to the field. We argue that the book largely fulfils its aim of serving as a single, self-contained textbook for readers with no prior training in linguistics, without sacrificing theoretical and methodological rigour. The review first outlines the structure of the volume, tracing how it moves from language ideologies, multilingualism and interpersonal interaction to regional and social variation, style, social categories, language change, language contact and mode and media. It then highlights five main strengths: the easy-to-follow and modular chapter design; the steady integration of quantitative and qualitative methods, including basic statistical reasoning; the truly global range of linguistic and social settings combined with English-based examples; the clear and insightful discussion of language ideologies; and the engaging prose style that presents different theoretical traditions in a balanced and historically informed way. Finally, we note that the concluding chapter on mode and media, though timely and welcome, would benefit from a fuller engagement with recent research on digital communication, multimodal practices, and emerging forms of variation and identity work in online and signed-language contexts. Overall, we conclude that Walker's book offers a rigorous, up-to-date and

unusually integrated picture of sociolinguistics, making it a strong core text for both introductory and more advanced courses.

**Keywords:** sociolinguistics; language ideologies; style and variation; media and modality; methodology

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**标题:** “雅努斯”，语言与社会的交界——评詹姆斯·沃克的《社会语境下的语言：社会语言学导论》

**摘要:** 本文评介了詹姆斯·沃克的《社会语境下的语言：社会语言学导论》一书。该书框架严谨、教学导向明确，是“一本通”式的社会语言学教材，既考虑了非语言学背景的读者的需求，又保持了理论诠释与方法论呈现的严谨。全书以语言意识形态、多语现象及人际互动为起点，继而扩展至地域与社会变异、语言风格、社会范畴、语言演变、语言接触以及模态与媒介等议题，形成由微观互动到宏观结构的递进式论述。本文概况了该书的五大亮点：一是章节设计清晰易懂且自成模块；二是有机融合了定量与定性的研究方法，其中对数据统计方法的呈现尤为突出；三是案例选取兼具全球视野与易读性，以英语研究案例为主要例证，同时涵盖多种语言和社会情境。四是语言意识形态相关讨论条例清晰、论述深入；五是能在梳理历史脉络的基础上，对社会语言学领域不同理论传统作出兼容并蓄的整合性介绍。与此同时，书中第14章所设的“模态与媒介”内容十分切合当下议题，但在与数字传播、多模态实践，以及线上和手语情境下的变异与身份建构等前沿研究的结合方面仍有深化空间。总体而言，该书为读者提供了一副完整而前沿的社会语言学知识图谱，适合作为本科及研究生阶段的核心教材。

**关键词:** 社会语言学；语言意识形态；风格与变异；媒介与模态；方法论

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## 1. Introduction

James A. Walker's *Language in Its Social Context: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* offers a comprehensive and well-organised introduction to the field for readers with no prior training in linguistics. Framing sociolinguistics as a Janus-faced discipline that looks simultaneously toward language structure and social life, Walker aims to show how quantitative variationist work, qualitative and ethnographic approaches, and anthropological perspectives can be integrated in a single, coherent textbook, in line with well-established traditions in the sociology of language, the ethnography of communication and variationist sociolinguistics (Fishman, 1968; Hymes, 1974; Labov, 1972). The book aims to provide a broad, self-

contained introduction that can be used with undergraduates, beginning graduate students and interested readers from adjacent disciplines, and that integrates methodological discussion with hands-on activities.

In our view, this aim is largely achieved. The book succeeds in offering a highly integrated portrait of the field: it moves from language ideology and multilingualism through interpersonal pragmatics, culture and ethnography, quantitative variationist methods and statistical reasoning, and then to social class, gender, ethnicity, language change, contact and media. At the same time, it is explicit about its pedagogical ambitions, with exercises, small-scale research projects and accessible explanations of concepts that are often treated as background knowledge. The Janus metaphor introduced at the outset is used effectively: throughout the text, linguistic structure and social meaning are repeatedly shown in relation to each other, giving readers a clear sense of how sociolinguistics operates at both levels at once.

Having sketched this overall verdict, we turn next to the book's declared aims, intended readership and pedagogical design.

## **2. Aims, Audience, and the Book's Organizing Logic**

Walker is very explicit about what he wants this book to be: a single, self-contained introduction to sociolinguistics for readers who may never have taken a linguistics course, but who need a serious, up-to-date guide to the field. The Preface stresses that the volume is designed to work as the sole textbook in a course, without the constant supplementation that many of us have found necessary with existing introductions. It assumes no prior knowledge of linguistics or statistics, and is aimed at a level suitable for undergraduates, beginning graduate students and interested readers beyond linguistics. At the same time, it seeks to avoid the superficiality and topical "grab bag" structure that Walker identifies in some earlier texts, building instead a cumulative argument about what it means to study "language in its social context."

Chapter 1 provides the conceptual backbone for the book in the form of a three-part framework: the sociology of language (macro, quantitative), the ethnography of communication (micro, qualitative), and variationist sociolinguistics (micro, quantitative). This triad is not presented as three isolated subfields, but as complementary perspectives organised around scale and method, reflecting the main historical themes of the field (Fishman, 1968; Hymes, 1974; Labov, 1972). Walker repeatedly returns to it when introducing later chapters, reminding readers how each topic, for example, language planning, politeness or language change, can be read through more than one of these lenses.

The book's pedagogical design also flows directly from these aims. Key terms are highlighted and briefly explained in margins and in a glossary; each chapter ends with carefully scoped "small-scale projects" and further reading; and a companion website offers quizzes and multimedia links. The overall teaching philosophy is to let students do sociolinguistics from the outset, while gradually increasing conceptual complexity and methodological demands. These aims are visible not only in the micro-design of chapters, but also in the macro-structure of the volume as a whole.

### 3. Architecture of the Volume

The book's structure is more systematic than just a simple overview of 'topics', and much of its coherence as a textbook depends on this framework. After the opening methodological and conceptual chapter, Chapters 2-5 make up an initial section on ideology, multilingualism, and interpersonal interaction. Chapter 2 ("Beliefs about Language") covers language ideologies, prestige, norms and standards, and prescriptivism versus descriptivism, offering a critical view on how linguistic forms gain moral and political significance. Chapter 3 discusses societal multilingualism and language planning, including diglossia, conflict, and policy, while Chapter 4 explores interpersonal relationships, address, politeness, and power/solidarity. Finally, Chapter 5 expands again to language and culture, metaphor, linguistic relativity, and Hymes's SPEAKING model.

Chapters 6-9 constitute a second block that introduces what might be called the variationist toolkit. Chapter 6 covers regional variation and dialectology, including dialect maps and dialectometry. Chapter 7 is the core methods chapter on the sociolinguistic variable, quantitative analysis, sampling and regression, providing the statistical underpinnings for later chapters and echoing the classic development of variable-rule analysis and quantitative practice in sociolinguistics (Cedergren & Sankoff, 1974; Guy, 1993; Labov, 1972). Chapter 8 ("Language Variation and Style") traces the evolution from Labov's "attention to speech" through Bell's audience design to more agentive, third-wave approaches emphasising persona and indexicality (Bell, 1984; Eckert, 2012; Eckert, 2025). Chapter 9 extends the analysis to social status, social class, networks and communities of practice, linking large-scale stratification with local group organisation in ways that recall classic work on social-class patterning in New York City English (Labov, 1966).

A third block (Chapters 10-12) develops the social dimensions of variation: sex/gender (broadly construed, including sexuality and gender identity), ethnicity (from race-based categories and African American English to multiethnolects and emic "ethnic orientation"), and time. The chapter on time and change, in particular, makes effective use of apparent and real time, classic studies such as Martha's Vineyard (Labov, 1963) and more recent work on urban vowel shifts to show how change is embedded in community structure. Finally, a fourth block (Chapters 13-14) turns to language contact, mixed languages, Pidgins and Creoles, and then to mode and media: signed languages, writing and historical data, broadcast media and digital communication. This progression: ideology → multilingualism → interaction → methodological tools → social factors → contact and media, which gives the book a clear overall flow while still allowing individual chapters to be used as independent readings.

Within this overarching structure, several features stand out as particularly distinctive.

### 4. Five Distinctive Features

#### Feature 1: Accessibility, Modularity and Pedagogical Design

One of the most attractive features of the book is the way it welcomes readers who have no prior training in linguistics or statistics, without talking down to them. Walker covers a remarkably wide range of approaches, quantitative and qualitative, macro and micro, yet the exposition remains approachable. Core concepts such

as language ideology, the sociolinguistic variable, speech accommodation, diglossia or indexicality are introduced with clear definitions, well-chosen examples and regular summaries that help readers consolidate terminology and ideas.

The modularity of the chapters is another strength: the material clearly builds in complexity, but each chapter stands on its own. This makes the volume highly adaptable for different course designs; instructors can assign, for instance, the chapters on style, language change or language planning as discrete units without assuming that students have read the entire book. The end-of-chapter exercises, small-scale projects and further reading lists are carefully aligned with the main text rather than feeling like afterthoughts. They encourage students to move from passive comprehension to active investigation, while simultaneously offering graduate students or independent readers a clear route into the wider literature.

### **Feature 2: Fresh Angles, Methodological Depth and Statistical Literacy**

One ongoing challenge for any new sociolinguistics textbook is to avoid recycling the familiar set of canonical examples. Walker certainly includes the expected cases that an introductory text must cover, but he adds less familiar studies, recent data and a broader range of language situations. The book remains firmly based on its title-related concern with social context: discussions of prestige, power, ideology and inequality run through chapters, and abstract theoretical points are regularly linked to concrete issues of education, discrimination, language policy or social justice.

Methodologically, the book's distinctive contribution lies in weaving methods throughout the text rather than confining them to a single chapter. Survey design, attitude research and fieldwork techniques emerge repeatedly; the chapters on the sociolinguistic variable and on style in particular offer a gentle introduction to descriptive and inferential statistics, including frequency, contingency tables, regression and the notion of statistical significance. These explanations are conceptually clear and closely tied to real case studies, variables such as (ING), /r/-lessness or discourse markers, rather than in abstract formulae, and they connect directly to the tradition of variable-rule analysis and multivariate modelling in variationist sociolinguistics (Cedergren & Sankoff, 1974; Guy, 1993; Labov, 1972). For students encountering quantitative sociolinguistics for the first time, this combination of support for ideas, concrete examples and realistic project suggestions is a big advantage.

### **Feature 3: Global Coverage with Accessible, English-based Illustration**

Another notable feature of the book is its global scope. The languages, regions, cultures and populations featured in the examples span the world. Chapters draw on material from Canada, the United States and the UK, as well as from places such as Paraguay, India, China, Norway, Singapore, Tanzania and various Indigenous communities. This diversity is especially evident in the chapters on multilingualism, language planning, language contact, and language change, where Walker demonstrates how similar sociolinguistic processes unfold differently in postcolonial, European, and Indigenous settings, echoing long-standing discussions of "outer circle" Englishes and sociolinguistic realism (Kachru, 1985).

At the same time, many of the worked examples are in English, and this is a pedagogically sensible choice. For readers whose main (or only) linguistic resource is English, having examples in a familiar

language lowers the barrier to engaging with complex ideas about variation, style, social status, sex/gender and ethnicity. Where non-English data are presented, they are generally glossed clearly and embedded in rich sociocultural explanation, so that the focus stays on the sociolinguistic point rather than on decoding the data.

#### **Feature 4: A Lucid and Insightful Account of Language Ideologies**

A further distinctive strength of the book is its sustained and remarkably clear discussion of language ideologies, most fully developed in the chapter on “Beliefs about Language”. Walker begins by explaining “ideology” as the shared frameworks used to interpret behaviour, drawing on Geertz’s view of ideologies as culturally grounded “road maps” for social action (Geertz, 1973). He then links ideology to social identity and social categories, showing how labels and stereotypes about groups become attached to particular ways of speaking, with concrete consequences for discrimination and exclusion.

Building on classic work in linguistic anthropology and political economy, the chapter offers a detailed overview of language ideologies as beliefs about language that are inseparable from moral and political interests: non-standard forms are not merely heard as “different” but are routinely evaluated as signs of ignorance, laziness or even threat (Irvine, 1989; Silverstein, 1979). Walker’s extended discussion of prescriptivism and descriptivism is especially effective. He not only contrasts these orientations but traces how prescriptive norms are naturalised and enforced through institutions such as schools, dictionaries, grammars and academies (for example, the Académie Française), and how they shape access to education, employment and even legal rights. The subsequent distinction between norms and standards further deepens the analysis, clarifying how implicit, socially shared expectations about “appropriate” usage become codified as explicit, sanctioned rules. Throughout, the exposition combines theoretical clarity with vivid, accessible examples, from attitudes to *ain’t* and swearing to debates over “substandard” versus “nonstandard” varieties, inviting readers to see language as a site where power, morality and inequality are continually negotiated rather than as a neutral unbiased pathway for information.

In this way, the chapter provides not only a comprehensive introduction to language ideologies but also a set of conceptual tools that underpins the rest of the book’s engagement with language attitudes, multilingualism and language policy.

#### **Feature 5: Engaging Prose and Balanced Theoretical Synthesis**

Finally, the book’s writing style and handling of theoretical debates are well-suited to its intended audience. The tone is that of a knowledgeable but approachable lecturer, addressing students directly, anticipating likely questions, and occasionally drawing on teaching and fieldwork experiences. Nowhere is this more evident than in the chapter on style, where Walker guides the reader through the trajectory from first-wave models of “attention to speech”, through audience design, to third-wave, persona-based approaches (Bell, 1984; Eckert, 2012). He uses concrete, memorable case studies, such as politicians’ style-shifting or Podesva’s analysis of the “bitchy diva” persona, to show how abstract notions like indexicality and the layering of social meaning operate in practice (Podesva, 2007; Silverstein, 2003).

Rather than simply juxtaposing schools of thought, he highlights both their connections and their limitations, helping readers to see why particular models emerged, what problems they addressed and how later work has revised or extended them. This pattern recurs across the book: classic frameworks are presented respectfully, but not uncritically, and newer developments are introduced as elaborations or correctives rather than as wholesale replacements. The result is that students are not only brought up to date with current debates, but are also given a sense of the field's intellectual history and of how sociolinguistic theory develops through ongoing dialogue with empirical findings (Eckert, 2012; Labov, 1966; Silverstein, 2003).

Precisely because the volume does so much so well, it is worth noting one area where, in our view, its coverage could be further strengthened.

### **5. Critical Reflections and Possible Limitations**

Given the breadth and ambition of the volume, it is not surprising that there are areas where readers might wish for fuller treatment. For us, the most obvious such point is the final chapter on mode and media. Its inclusion is in itself greatly appreciated: issues of modality, signed language, writing, broadcast media and digital communication remain oddly underrepresented in many "classic" sociolinguistics textbooks, despite the centrality of mediated interaction in contemporary life. Walker's treatment of signed languages in this chapter is particularly valuable, signalling that "language in its social context" must encompass signed as well as spoken modalities, and aligning with sociolinguistic work on variation and change in Deaf communities (Lucas, Bayley, & Valli, 2001).

At the same time, the discussion of both signed languages and contemporary social media feels somewhat brief relative to the conceptual and empirical richness of these domains. Recent sociolinguistic work on digital communication, ranging from the study of platform-specific linguistic norms to the emergence of hybrid, visually oriented "digital dialects", has shown how online environments give rise to new forms of linguistic creativity and variation, shaped by the affordances and speed of digital media (McCulloch, 2019). Research on multimodal practices has likewise demonstrated how emojis, memes, GIFs and other visual-symbolic resources function as linguistic choices, contributing to identity construction, affective expression and expressing position in ways that parallel (but are not reducible to) spoken or written forms. At the same time, work on language, ideology and identity in new media contexts highlights how online platforms can become sites of ideological negotiation and sociopolitical positioning, revealing that media practices are inseparable from broader struggles over meaning, identity and power (Wong, 2005). Such developments are directly relevant to the book's emphasis on language as a socially embedded practice. Integrating these themes, digital interaction, multimodal repertoires and contemporary variation in signed languages, would, in our view, have further strengthened the final chapter's argument about the diversity of communicative modes that sociolinguistics must now account for. Even so, this remains a relatively modest requirement when set against the strengths of the volume as a whole.

## 6. Conclusion: Returning to Janus

Taken as a whole, *Language in its Social Context* comes remarkably close to realising the ambitious brief set out in its opening pages: to provide a single, up-to-date, globally oriented and methodologically serious introduction to sociolinguistics for readers who may have no prior training in linguistics. It offers a coherent framework for thinking about macro and micro, qualitative and quantitative approaches; it demonstrates in concrete detail how to design and interpret sociolinguistic studies; and it keeps questions of ideology, power and inequality in clear view throughout. The integration of exercises, project suggestions and further readings means that the book functions not only as a reference text but also as a course in how to think and work as a sociolinguist.

Returning to Walker's adoption of Guy's Janus metaphor, we can ask whether the book truly looks both "inside" to linguistic structure and "outside" to social life at the same time. The answer, in our view, is that it does so more consistently than most existing textbooks. The three core propositions articulated in Chapter 1, that language is social, ideological and inherently variable, are not left as slogans; they are developed, illustrated and revisited across chapters on ideology, multilingualism, interaction, variation, social factors, contact and media, in ways that resonate strongly with broader developments in sociolinguistic theory (Eckert, 2012; Labov, 1972; Silverstein, 2003). By the end, readers who have worked through the text will have not only a stock of concepts and case studies, but also a way of seeing language where structural patterns and social meanings are mutually revealing.

For teachers looking for a single core text that can support both introductory and more advanced courses, and for students seeking an entry point into the field that neither oversimplifies nor overwhelms, Walker's book is, in our judgment, an excellent choice.

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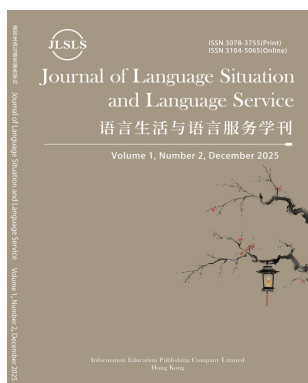
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## **Building Theory Through Learning, Empowering with Strategy: *Decoding China's Path in Cultural Trade under the Belt and Road Initiative***

—A Review of *Research on China's Foreign Cultural Trade under the Belt and Road Initiative*

**Wang Zhen, Yang Hui**

**Abstract:** In recent years, the Belt and Road Initiative has steadily advanced and achieved remarkable results. As a vital component of smooth trade flows, cultural trade holds unique significance for the development of the Belt and Road Initiative. This paper, set against the backdrop of the Belt and Road era, provides a detailed analysis—both qualitative and quantitative—of Professor Chen Baifu's book, *Research on China's Foreign Cultural Trade under the Belt and Road Initiative*. Grounded in trade theory and supported by comprehensive macro- and micro-level empirical research, the study focuses on examining the state of cultural trade among countries jointly building the Belt and Road. Furthermore, it systematically traces the evolution of China's foreign cultural trade policies over the past 40 years of reform and Opening-up. Drawing insights from these policy shifts, the paper delves into the challenges confronting China's expanding

cultural trade under the Belt and Road framework, offering practical and actionable recommendations. In particular, it presents a systematic exploration of viable pathways for advancing China's foreign cultural trade in the future.

**Keywords:** Cultural Trade; The Belt and Road Initiative; Cultural Economy; Foreign Cultural Trade Policy

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**标题:** 以学理建构, 以战略赋能: 解读“一带一路”倡议下的中国文化贸易路径——评《“一带一路”背景下我国对外文化贸易研究》

**摘要:** 近年来, “一带一路”倡议扎实推进、成效显著。作为贸易畅通的重要组成部分, 文化贸易对于“一带一路”建设具有独特意义。本文立足“一带一路”的时代背景, 对陈柏福教授所著《“一带一路”背景下我国对外文化贸易研究》一书进行了质性与量化相结合的细致剖析。该研究以贸易理论为基础, 通过宏观与微观层面的综合实证研究, 聚焦于剖析“一带一路”共建国家文化贸易的发展现状, 并系统梳理了改革开放四十年来我国对外文化贸易政策的演变轨迹。基于政策变迁的启示, 本文深入探讨了在“一带一路”框架下我国文化贸易拓展面临的现实挑战, 提出了切实可行的对策建议, 尤其对未来推动我国对外文化贸易的发展路径进行了系统探索。

**关键词:** 文化贸易; “一带一路”; 文化经济; 对外文化贸易政策

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## I. Research Background and Significance

In September 2013, during his visit to Kazakhstan, Chinese President Xi Jinping called for the establishment of a new regional cooperation model, by jointly building the “Silk Road Economic

Belt”. One month later, in Indonesia, President Xi again called for creation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and construction of the “21st Century Maritime Silk Road”. These proposals are officially termed as the “One Belt & One Road Initiative” (OBOR) or the “Belt & Road Initiative” (BRI)<sup>1</sup>. At a critical juncture in the development of the Belt and Road Initiative, cultural trade acts as a bridge connecting civilizations and fostering mutual understanding and consensus. As important link, the quality of its development directly determines the depth and breadth of “people-to-people connectivity”. Professor Chen Baifu’s book, *Research on China’s Foreign Cultural Trade under the Belt and Road Initiative* (hereafter referred to as “this book”), builds upon the outcomes of a National Social Science Fund project. It combines theoretical insights with real-world analysis, grounding practical recommendations in empirical evidence, thus offering a scholarly yet highly valuable work that sheds light on both the current state and future directions of China’s cultural trade initiatives abroad. This article dissects the work in question, dividing it into three distinct parts and providing a thorough analysis of each. In the first part, after systematically reviewing relevant theories and literature on cultural trade, the study applies institutional change theory to delineate the developmental stages of China’s foreign cultural trade policies over the past 40 years of reform and opening-up. These stages include the Reform Window Period, the Phase of Active Promotion, and the Strategic Development Era. Additionally, the paper employs multi-stream theory to examine the driving forces and stage-specific characteristics underlying the evolution of China’s foreign cultural trade policies. Beyond this, the analysis incorporates systematic descriptive statistics and competitiveness assessments to shed further light on the current state of cultural trade between China and the countries participating in the Belt and Road Initiative, including their product structures and competitive strengths. It also delves into the persistent challenge of China’s cultural trade being “large but not strong”.

In the second part, the study conducts empirical analyses based on multi-dimensional data and diverse modeling approaches. Specifically, the Constant Market Share (CMS) model is used to quantify the factors influencing fluctuations in the growth of cultural product exports, while an enhanced gravity model helps uncover the overarching mechanisms shaping global cultural trade flows. Meanwhile, a dual-difference model is employed to explore how internet platforms impact the export performance of new media products. Complementing these analyses, complex network theory combined with QAP analysis reveals the structural evolution patterns and key drivers of the cultural trade network.

Finally, building on the insights gained from the preceding sections, the third part proposes a comprehensive set of optimization strategies across multiple dimensions. These include refining trade structures, fostering high-quality development, establishing national cultural export hubs, expanding targeted markets to mitigate the “cultural discount”, promoting coordinated dual-circulation strategies, implementing robust branding initiatives, enhancing trade facilitation, creating collaborative platforms, cultivating specialized talent, and strengthening the overall policy framework. Overall, the book’s three parts are structured in a progressive, logically coherent manner, focusing intensively on core

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1 Yiping Huang (2016). Understanding China’s Belt & Road Initiative: Motivation, Framework and Assessment, *China Economic Review*, Volume 40: 314-321.

issues such as the evolution of cultural trade policies, current market dynamics, underlying influence mechanisms, and actionable pathways for improvement.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, we have consistently prioritized cultural development as a central component of national governance and governance strategies, implementing a series of significant initiatives. These efforts have given rise to the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era in the cultural sphere, driving historic achievements in cultural development through both upholding core values and fostering innovative approaches<sup>1</sup>. Today, as culture serves as the cornerstone of international exchanges among nations, cultural trade has been entrusted with the mission of “cultivating people through culture”, becoming a vital platform for promoting mutual learning between civilizations and fostering deeper people-to-people connections<sup>2</sup>. Against the backdrop of the ongoing advancement of the Belt and Road Initiative, cultural trade not only fulfills the economic role of supporting industrial growth but also shoulders the critical responsibility of spreading Chinese culture and enhancing global recognition of China’s unique cultural identity.

Professor Chen Baifu’s research is firmly grounded in national strategic needs, addressing pressing real-world challenges while systematically outlining the evolution of China’s foreign cultural trade—from policy-driven initiatives to a more dynamic, market-oriented approach. The transformation path—from market leadership and shifting from scale expansion to quality enhancement—provides both theoretical support and practical guidance for building a new, high-quality, culturally open framework.

## **II. Precise Understanding of China’s Contemporary Context and Foreign Cultural Trade Policies**

At the outset of this book, we highlight how, in the context of the Belt and Road Initiative, the process of economic globalization continues to deepen. As a product of culture and economic development reaching a certain stage, the cultural industry is increasingly becoming a vital force driving the further advancement of global economic integration. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of this book lies in its creation of a comprehensive research loop—spanning “theoretical tracing, empirical deconstruction, and practical policy implementation”—which breaks free from the conventional limitations of past studies on cultural trade, where qualitative descriptions often overshadowed quantitative analyses.

On a theoretical level, the author employs institutional change theory as a guiding framework to systematically examine the “evolutionary trajectory” of China’s foreign cultural trade policies over the past 40-plus years since reform and opening-up—ranging from the early phase of “exploratory openness”, through the “policy-driven” approach of the new century, to the “strategic upgrade” spurred by the Belt and Road Initiative. This analysis clearly outlines the stage-specific characteristics and underlying motivations behind these policy shifts, laying a robust theoretical foundation for the subsequent empirical investigation. By situating policy analysis within the broader context of macro-level institutional change, the book not only helps readers understand *what* the policies are but also

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1 Xi Jinping (2025). “Accelerating the Construction of a Cultural Power.” *Qiuzhi* (05): 4-6.

2 Wang, Feiyan (2020). “A Study on Pathways to Strengthening Cultural Confidence from the Perspective of the Belt and Road Initiative.” *Ningxia University*.

provides deep insights into *why* they have evolved in such specific ways, showcasing the author's profound theoretical expertise.

Professor Chen Baifu takes us back to the late 20th and early 21st centuries, focusing on a comprehensive review of international scholars' research into the current state and challenges of cultural trade development—from various perspectives. First, he summarizes foreign scholars' studies on the cultural and creative industries in specific countries, highlighting the positive impacts of cultural elements from regions such as Latin America, Canada, South Korea, and the United States. Following this, he shifts to a domestic perspective, noting that early Chinese academic research on cultural trade primarily centered on copyright trading, with a particular emphasis on book copyright transactions. In recent years, as China has become increasingly integrated into global economic dynamics, domestic scholars have gradually expanded their focus to China's outward cultural trade<sup>1</sup>—conducting in-depth analyses of the issues hindering its growth. Through this exploration, they aim to identify the key factors constraining China's overseas cultural trade development, ultimately proposing practical strategies and recommendations to foster further progress in this vital area. Professor Chen Baifu explores the factors influencing cultural trade development in this book from two perspectives: first, a qualitative analysis based on logical reasoning; and second, an empirical analysis grounded in econometric models. Notably, empirical research has become the dominant approach in studying the determinants of cultural trade. Many international scholars have primarily adopted an empirical lens, employing methodologies such as Transaction Cost Economics (TCE) theory and the Generalized Estimating Equations (GEE) method.

Meanwhile, as the Belt and Road Initiative continues to gain global attention and influence, domestic academic discourse on this topic remains largely dominated by qualitative analyses—though these still predominantly focus on two key aspects: one centered on the cultural trade dynamics spurred by the Belt and Road Initiative itself. First, it examines patterns and path selection; second, it conducts an empirical study on the factors influencing cultural trade among co-built nations. The research reveals that, in the evolution and optimization of trade development patterns, national policies play a critical “commanding role”—acting as the guiding “baton”. Building on this insight, the study further explores the evolution of China's foreign cultural trade policies over the past 40 years of reform and opening-up. This book is distinguished by its comprehensive data, precise quantitative analysis, and clear stage-by-stage breakdown, offering a systematic overview of the development of China's international cultural trade. Looking back at the journey of China's overseas cultural trade, it is evident that this progress has been inseparable from the nation's strong emphasis and unwavering support. In this book, Professor Chen Baifu employs institutional change theory as a framework to systematically examine the cultural trade policies issued by the Chinese government between 2014 and 2022. Complementing this analysis with empirical studies focused on countries along the Belt and Road Initiative route, he proposes actionable pathways for policy optimization. This approach not only deepens the exploration of trends and strategies in China's international cultural trade under the Belt and Road Initiative but also holds significant practical and theoretical

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1 Zhao Zhiwei (2015). “A Study on the Development of China's Foreign Cultural Trade.” *Hebei University*.

value<sup>1</sup>. Based on the general patterns of development sought within historical contexts, Professor Chen Baifu divides the evolution of China's foreign cultural policy into three distinct phases—"Reform Window Period", "Active Promotion Period", and "Strategic Development Period"—each characterized by unique features. This categorization excels in that it closely aligns with the "critical junctures" and "distinctive differences" in the policy's evolution, making the complex process more logical and easier to analyze. Moreover, the division is grounded in a dual framework that considers both "changes in the external environment" and "the inherent developmental logic of the policy itself", lending it strong persuasive power.

Additionally, when examining the driving forces behind the shifts in China's foreign cultural trade policies, each of these three phases reveals distinct dynamics: the Reform Window Period was primarily propelled by political factors; the Active Promotion Period was driven mainly by both policy-related and problem-related influences; and the Strategic Development Period again saw its momentum shaped largely by policy considerations and emerging challenges<sup>2</sup>. This approach, which integrates the "Multi-Stream Framework"—encompassing political, policy, and problem streams—with a phase-specific analysis of underlying drivers, has the key advantage of transforming the often vague description of policy change mechanisms into something "precisely locatable, readily comparable, and fully traceable". By doing so, it not only remains firmly rooted in theoretical logic but also stays closely aligned with the realities of each stage, effectively sidestepping the pitfalls of overly generalized or homogenized explanations. Ultimately, this phased approach addresses the critical challenge of analyzing policies as fragmented narratives, offering three significant benefits:

First, it features distinct characteristics: each period is clearly labeled with a unique identifier that precisely captures the core essence of the policy at that stage. For instance, the "window period" emphasizes exploration, while the "strategic phase" highlights top-level design. This allows readers to swiftly grasp the distinct attributes of each phase, making the policy priorities instantly clear at a glance.

Second, it demonstrates logical coherence, reflecting how the evolution of policy divisions strictly follows the logical sequence of "initiation—advancement—upgrade", clearly illustrating the evolving trends in China's foreign cultural policies: shaped by shifts in the external environment, from initial reactive adaptation to external environmental changes toward proactive leadership in later stages—rendering the evolutionary process more systematic, coherent, and patterned.

Thirdly, it facilitates research by reinforcing the practical applicability of academic studies or policy analyses. This approach enables researchers to quickly pinpoint "policy priorities during specific periods"—for instance, studying the systematic development of the cultural "going global" framework could focus on the years 2002 to 2011, while examining how cultural strategies align with national initiatives would be best suited to the period from 2012 to 2018. Such clarity provides a well-defined research framework for future analysis.

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1 Qin Zhipeng (2016). "A Study on the Development and Architectural Practice of Deconstructivist Architecture in China." *Hunan University*.

2 Chen Baifu, Deng Zixuan, Yang Jianqing (2018). "A Study on the Evolution of China's Foreign Cultural Trade Policies since the 40 Years of Reform and Opening-up." *China Soft Science*, (10): 39-51.

This analysis, through “source-flow decomposition”, further identifies the “fundamental triggers” behind policy changes at each stage, enabling a deep understanding that moves from “what happened” to “why it happened”. The first two chapters, by clearly outlining the “combination of driving forces” at different stages, allow for a reverse-engineering approach—revealing “which source flows played a critical role in which phase”—and ultimately provide valuable insights for guiding future adjustments to foreign cultural trade policies.

### **III. Trade-Theoretical Analysis and Macro-Micro Empirical Expansion**

Relying solely on theory is not enough to strengthen the persuasiveness of an article—it must also be supported by detailed and precise data, as well as empirical research that tests the theoretical assumptions. The second part, which forms the core of this book, spans Chapters 3 through 8 and focuses primarily on conducting multi-faceted quantitative and empirical analyses of countries jointly participating in the Belt and Road Initiative. Given the nature of this section, analysis and evaluation can be conducted from three distinct dimensions. First, in the empirical research section, the book demonstrates rigorous academic standards and innovative research methods—features that make it particularly compelling and persuasive. The author does not merely present cultural trade data in a straightforward manner but instead employs multiple sophisticated quantitative tools to deeply dissect the underlying issues: By calculating competitiveness metrics, the author clearly maps out the “strengths and weaknesses” of China’s cultural trade with co-building countries; meanwhile, an improved gravity model combined with a difference-in-differences approach precisely identifies the key factors driving fluctuations in export growth. Additionally, leveraging complex network theory and QAP analysis, the research unveils the “structural characteristics” and “evolutionary dynamics” of the cultural trade network.

In the context of economic globalization, the share of cultural goods imports and exports within the overall service trade continues to rise steadily. Meanwhile, cultural trade and service flows between China and the Belt and Road Initiative partner countries have become a vital component of global cultural trade. Analyzing the global movement of cultural products and services, this study systematically gathers data on the proportion of creative services from developing versus developed economies in the global market from 2010 to 2020. A comparative analysis reveals a notable gap in market shares between developing and developed economies—though this gap is narrowing, the two regions remain in an imbalanced state. With the rise of the digital economy and the ongoing integration of culture and technology, the factors influencing the global flow of cultural products and services are evolving into a more diversified and complex landscape. To empirically analyze these cultural trade dynamics, Professor Chen has developed two models. First, he introduces two key variables—economic size and geographic distance—to construct a gravity model. After testing the model’s results, he concludes that overall economic scale, total population size, economic institutional distance, shared language, and, Trade agreements and other factors are positively correlated with

cultural trade, while geographic distance shows a negative correlation with cultural trade<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, given the increasingly prominent trend of digital cultural trade, digital technologies such as new media are playing an ever-more critical role in shaping cultural commerce. To illustrate this point, Professor Chen Baifu used the launch of WeChat as an example, examining its impact on exports of new-media products. Drawing on panel data from 184 countries spanning the period 2007 to 2020, he constructed a difference-in-differences model, analyzed the results, and rigorously tested their validity. The findings revealed that, compared to low-growth countries, the introduction of WeChat has had a significantly stronger positive effect on China's exports of new-media products to high-growth nations. This research design—featuring “cross-validation across multiple methodologies”—ensures that conclusions are no longer vague or subjective but instead grounded in robust, quantifiable data. For instance, the empirical analysis of the radiating effects of “National Cultural Export Bases” provides direct, evidence-based insights that can inform future policy adjustments, truly enabling decision-making driven by “data-driven insights”.

Second, the book consistently adopts a “problem-oriented” and “solution-focused” approach, grounding its academic research in the practical question of “how to drive real-world implementation”. The article examines the current status and competitiveness of cultural trade across 11 countries participating in the Belt and Road Initiative, analyzing key factors influencing fluctuations in cultural product exports. It calculates and assesses the international market share, Trade Competitiveness Index (TC), Revealed Comparative Advantage (RCA), and Strategic Revealed Comparative Advantage (SRCA) indices for China's core cultural products, while also exploring the underlying reasons behind these trends. The findings reveal that although China holds a significant share of global exports for its core cultural products, there is an uneven internal development within these products, resulting in relatively weaker competitive advantages<sup>2</sup>—and that China's exports are still heavily concentrated on high-energy-consuming, low-value-added goods. Building on these insights, the study further proposes targeted policy recommendations aimed at optimizing the structure of cultural trade, strengthening cultural brand-building efforts, enhancing cultural copyright protection, and providing strategic support for culturally oriented trade policies. Each section of the analysis follows a consistent framework: first outlining the context, then identifying key characteristics, pinpointing existing challenges, and finally offering practical suggestions to address them.

Based on the theoretical review and empirical analysis outlined above, Professor Chen's proposed optimization recommendations are not generic “empty suggestions”—instead, they represent targeted “action plans”: ranging from restructuring foreign trade to address the issue of a single cultural trade structure and imbalanced development, to promoting high-quality cultural growth by enhancing the added value and cultural appeal of cultural products, and finally to guiding the establishment of national cultural export bases, thereby fostering regionally coordinated development

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1 Deng Zixuan (2019). “A Study on the Determinants of Cultural Trade between China and Belt and Road Countries in the Context of the Belt and Road Initiative.” *Hunan Normal University*.

2 Chen Baifu, Liu Ying (2021). “An Analysis of the Competitiveness of China's Foreign Cultural Trade: A Comparative Study Based on Core Cultural Product Trade with Belt and Road Countries.” *Huxiang Forum*, (1): 115-128.

as “growth poles”. Each of these strategies directly addresses the specific pain points and challenges identified in the empirical research, creating a comprehensive logical framework that seamlessly links “identifying problems, analyzing issues, and devising solutions”. This framework provides valuable directional guidance for government policymakers formulating policies and for cultural enterprises seeking to expand into new markets. Particularly in the context of the rapid growth of the digital economy, where cultural products are increasingly converging with digital technologies to drive innovation, the digital transformation of cultural trade has become an inevitable trend. Accelerating the development of a culture dissemination system centered around digital platforms—and leveraging emerging channels such as cross-border e-commerce and social networks—will effectively facilitate the precise export of Chinese cultural products. A key initiative to promote “culture going global”. These recommendations not only address the structural contradictions identified in empirical research but also provide a practical, actionable roadmap for the sustainable development of China's cultural trade.

Building on this, Professor Chen further emphasized that policy implementation should focus on coordination and dynamic adjustments, while avoiding a one-size-fits-all approach. Notably, Professor Chen employed social network analysis to examine the structural characteristics of the network between China and countries along the Belt and Road Initiative, systematically outlining the depth and evolving patterns of cultural trade relationships between these nations. The study reveals that the cultural trade network among the co-building countries of the Belt and Road remains relatively stable, with each nation actively engaging in cultural exchanges. Building on this insight, Professor Chen further explored the key factors influencing China's cultural trade network with these countries—focusing on economic, institutional, cultural, and geographic dimensions—using the QAP analysis method. Specifically, regarding economic factors, the greater the disparity in economic size between two countries, the more likely they are to engage in trade of cultural products. As for social factors, residents' education expenditures showed only a weak and unstable link to cultural trade. Similarly, Professor Chen drew relevant conclusions about cultural and geographic factors based on his analytical model. Combined with the emerging global landscape of cultural trade by 2025, these findings offer crucial guidance for China's strategic decision-making in selecting regions for its “cultural outreach” initiatives.

Third, viewed from a broader perspective, the value of this book lies not only in its specialized research on cultural trade but also in providing an “economic dimension” to the concept of “mutual learning among civilizations”, as part of the Belt and Road Initiative. Cultural trade serves as both a vehicle for economic cooperation and a bridge for cultural exchange. The book's analysis of cultural trade competitiveness and network structures essentially explores the question of “how to better promote Chinese culture outwardly while fostering deeper collaboration in building shared national cultures”. This integrated approach—combining “economic logic” with “cultural logic”—transforms cultural trade from a mere “exchange of goods” into a powerful force that facilitates human-to-human connections and paves the way toward a future global community, underscoring the contemporary relevance and societal responsibility of academic inquiry. Building on this foundation, the book further uncovers the dynamic interplay between cultural identity and economic cooperation,

highlighting that cultural dissemination must be embedded within the restructuring of regional value chains to enable meaningful, deep-level dialogue among diverse civilizations. By quantifying the marginal impact of “cultural affinity” on trade flows, the study empirically demonstrates how emotional and value-based resonance can act as a crucial buffer, mitigating institutional friction and fostering smoother cross-border exchanges. Currently, the dual trends of accelerating global digitalization and reshaping geopolitical and cultural landscapes are intensifying. By establishing multilateral cooperation mechanisms centered on rule alignment, standard harmonization, and platform interconnectivity, we can foster the development of an open, fair, and inclusive digital cultural ecosystem—providing a strategic foundation for deepening China's cultural integration into the global community.

#### **IV. Proposing Strategic Recommendations to Optimize China’s Development of Foreign Cultural Trade**

Building on the analysis from the first two sections, Professor Chen Baifu, in the third part of the article, offers a systematic set of optimization recommendations addressing the core challenge of structural contradictions in China’s development of international cultural trade—specifically, how to continuously refine the structure of cultural trade with foreign countries. This approach aims to further enhance global competitiveness while actively promoting high-quality growth in China’s overseas cultural trade activities. Promote development<sup>1</sup> by thoughtfully guiding the establishment of national cultural export hubs, while also striving to expand markets in countries jointly building the Belt and Road Initiative and continuously reducing the “cultural discount”. We must coordinate domestic and international dual circulation strategies to strengthen trade competitiveness and further enhance the facilitation of cultural trade with these partner nations. Meanwhile, cultivating specialized talent in cultural trade will help solidify our human resource base. Finally, by refining the policy framework for overseas cultural trade, we can create a more supportive institutional environment—addressing challenges in cultural trade development through multi-faceted, comprehensive efforts. On the path to implementation, we should focus on the dual-driven approach of digital technology and content innovation, strengthening the added value of cultural products while enhancing their suitability for international audiences. Leveraging big data analytics, we can precisely identify the cultural needs of co-building countries, enabling the delivery of differentiated content.

Additionally, we must accelerate the practical application of new infrastructure technologies like 5G and artificial intelligence in cultural export scenarios, boosting communication efficiency and enriching interactive experiences. At the same time, it is recommended to refine cross-border protection mechanisms for cultural intellectual property rights, fostering greater mutual trust in international cooperation. By adopting a pilot-first strategy combined with institutional integration and innovation, we can create a collaborative framework driven by government guidance, led by enterprises, and supported by societal participation—ultimately bolstering China’s cultural soft power

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1 Luo, Jingjing (2022). “Digitalization Driving High-Quality Development in Agriculture.” *China State Farms*, (1) : 65-66.

and global influence. Professor Chen suggests that, Strategic interactions over cultural trade rules within the WTO framework., China should actively participate in shaping international cultural trade regulations. While safeguarding national cultural sovereignty, China should flexibly apply the “cultural exception” principle to embrace globalization. For instance, on December 13, 2005, Viviane Reding, Member of the European Commission for Information Society and Media, highlighted in an open letter advocating the revision of the “Television Without Frontiers Directive” that the EU Commission proposed fully replacing it with the “Audiovisual Media Services Directive”<sup>1</sup>—a move aimed at curbing imports of U.S. film and television products. Drawing from this experience, China could incorporate a “cultural diversity clause” into its Belt and Road cultural trade agreements, providing moderate protection for sectors such as digital content and performing arts services. At the same time, China must remain deeply engaged in international rule-making processes, pushing for the establishment of a new framework anchored in the “cultural exception” while also addressing the interests of developing nations. By promoting regional cultural trade agreements that include “cultural exception” provisions, China can not only underscore its commitment to respecting cultural diversity but also strengthen the voice of developing countries in global cultural governance. Moreover, countries should leverage the Belt and Road Initiative as a platform to establish intergovernmental mechanisms for coordinating cultural policies, fostering mutual recognition of standards and collaborative regulatory approaches, ultimately paving the way toward a fairer and more balanced new order in cultural trade.

Currently, cultural trade under the Belt and Road Initiative continues to thrive, with new forms of trade and innovative collaboration models constantly emerging. Looking ahead, more scholars will need to remain engaged and delve deeper into this evolving field. Professor Chen Baifu’s groundbreaking work undoubtedly establishes a robust framework for research in this area, offering invaluable insights and references. It not only builds upon and elevates previous studies but also points the way forward for future research. For scholars involved in cultural trade studies as well as those contributing to the broader discourse on Belt and Road Initiative development, this book strikes the perfect balance—combining theoretical depth with rigorous empirical analysis. This work—both a seminal text on sexuality and a practical guide—is undoubtedly a masterpiece worth revisiting time and again. It not only unveils the deep-seated logic of cultural trade within global value chains but also highlights the intrinsic unity between cross-cultural learning and economic collaboration. In the age of digital civilization, cultural globalization is no longer a one-way export; instead, it has evolved into a dynamic, two-way process rooted in empathy, dialogue, and co-creation. Only by upholding the dialectical balance between cultural identity and openness can we truly unlock the potential for a transformative leap in soft power within our increasingly diverse and interconnected global landscape.

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

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1 Viviane Reding: Why Europe needs to modernise its TV without Frontiers Directive.

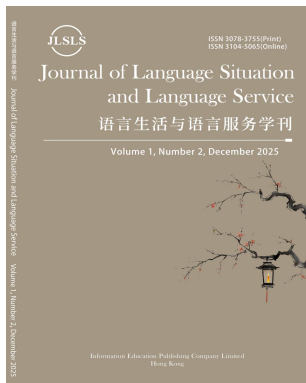
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## ***A Review of “A Study on the Status of HUAYU Life in Southeast Asian Chinese Communities”***

**Fu Zheng**

**Abstract:** The Study on the Status of *HUAYU Life in Southeast Asian Chinese Communities* focuses on Southeast Asian Chinese communities as its core research subjects. It systematically investigates the acquisition, usage, attitudes, Chinese-language media consumption, and HUAYU education within Chinese communities across five countries: Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Laos. Building upon this foundation, the study zeroes in on Indonesia, using its five major cities as representative examples to provide a detailed account of the HUAYU landscape in Indonesia. Finally, it addresses current topics by analyzing the familiarity of international students from Belt and Road countries with trending Chinese words and phrases, alongside examining the usage of Southeast Asian Chinese-language buzzwords in Chinese-language media. Through substantial empirical research and a multidimensional analytical framework, this book not only reveals the diverse ecosystem of HUAYU life in Southeast Asia but also makes significant contributions to overseas Chinese studies, international HUAYU dissemination, and HUAYU education in terms of theoretical construction, methodological innovation, and practical guidance. It stands as an outstanding work combining academic depth and practical value.

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**Keywords:** Southeast Asian Chinese communities; HUAYU life; international dissemination of Chinese; HUAYU education;

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**标题:** 《东南亚华人社区华语生活状况研究》评介

**摘要:** 《东南亚华人社区华语生活状况研究》以东南亚华人社区作为核心研究对象，系统调查马来西亚、新加坡、菲律宾、印度尼西亚、老挝五国华人社区在华语习得、运用、态度、华文媒体使用以及华文教育方面的情况。在此基础上，聚焦印度尼西亚，以其五大城市为代表，详细描述印度尼西亚的华语生活状况。最后结合热点议题，研究分析“一带一路”沿线国家的留学生对汉语热词热语的知晓度和东南亚汉语热词热语在华文媒体的使用情况。该书凭借翔实的实证研究与多维的分析框架，既呈现出东南亚华语生活的多元生态，更在理论建构、方法创新与实践指导层面，为海外华语研究、中文国际传播以及华文教育领域作出重要贡献，是一部兼具学术深度与现实价值的佳作。

**关键词:** 东南亚华人社区；华语生活；中文国际传播；华文教育

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## I. Introduction

Language life encompasses all activities involving the use, learning, and study of language, linguistic knowledge, and linguistic techniques (Li Yuming, 2016). Mandarin Chinese serves as the common language among Chinese communities, grounded in Standard Mandarin (Guo Xi, 2010). Southeast Asia holds significant importance as a region for China's political, economic, and cultural exchanges, playing a vital role in the implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative. "The Belt and Road Initiative is paved by language" (Li Yuming, 2015). Chinese serves as the bond and bridge connecting China with overseas Chinese communities worldwide. The state of HUAYU life offers a comprehensive, multi-faceted, and vividly authentic reflection of the dynamic linguistic realities of overseas Chinese communities. Concurrently, China's rising global influence elevates research on "HUAYU life" beyond an academic topic to a practical concern for language policy and cultural dissemination.

Published in 2021 by Jinan University Press, *Research on the HUAYU Life in Southeast Asian Chinese Communities*, edited by Professor Liu Hua of Jinan University and others, belongs to the "Language Service Series: Language Life Research" collection. Employing sociolinguistic and cross-cultural communication perspectives, the book utilizes systematic surveys and corpus analysis to depict the unique characteristics of Mandarin usage within Southeast Asian Chinese communities. This work not only provides a systematic overview of HUAYU life among Southeast Asian Chinese but also represents an

innovation in both theory and methodology within overseas HUAYU studies.

This review examines the book from three aspects: content overview, academic innovation, and thought-provoking insights, thereby exploring its academic value and significance in the fields of global HUAYU studies and international HUAYU dissemination.

## **II. Content Overview**

Centered on the core theme of “HUAYU Life”, the book systematically presents a multidimensional ecological portrait of Southeast Asian Chinese communities across language use, education, media, and cultural identity through four main sections: “General Discussion”, “Comprehensive Overview”, “Case Studies” and “Hot Topics”. Its structure progresses logically from macro-level patterns to micro-level cases and cutting-edge explorations, demonstrating strong systematic coherence and academic rigor.

### **1. General Discussion**

The General Discussion section begins with the research rationale, content, and methodology. It clearly summarizes the main findings of the investigation and proposes several key insights: the impact of HUAYU resource development and assessment on the HUAYU planning for the Belt and Road Initiative; the hierarchical nature of attitudes toward the HUAYU among Southeast Asian Chinese; the importance of recognizing the focal role of Chinese-language new media in HUAYU planning; and the significance of paying attention to the overseas dissemination of popular Chinese words and phrases and the unique status of Chinese-language media.

### **2. Comprehensive Overview**

The Overview Chapter employs a unified analytical framework to conduct a comparative study across five countries: Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Laos. It examines six dimensions: basic demographics of respondents, Mandarin acquisition, Mandarin usage, attitudes toward Mandarin, media consumption, and the state of HUAYU education. The survey reveals significant variations in Mandarin education policies across Southeast Asian nations, with distinct national differences emerging in Chinese learners’ approaches to Mandarin acquisition, usage patterns, and attitudes toward the language. The extent of Chinese-language media usage correlates closely with the Mandarin proficiency levels of ethnic Chinese communities.

### **3. Case Studies**

The Case Studies section focuses on Indonesia as a representative region, conducting micro-level research in five cities: Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Pontianak, and Batam. Through recorded interviews, corpus analysis, and field observations, the book meticulously documents Indonesian Chinese oral language usage (personal and familial Mandarin speech), records of Mandarin activities within Chinese communities (festive celebrations, religious ceremonies, wedding rituals and banquets, exchange events, and competitions), and the landscape of HUAYU carriers. The research reveals distinctive linguistic phenomena in the pronunciation, expressions, and organizational structures of Mandarin used by Indonesian Chinese. It highlights the relative autonomy of Chinese communities in Indonesia, which have preserved largely intact traditional cultural customs while incorporating only limited local cultural elements. The study analyzes characteristics in the use of Chinese characters, vocabulary, linguistic

symbols, and their combinations on road signs, advertisements, and house numbers in Indonesian cities. Frequency and lexical diversity analysis of Indonesian Chinese media vocabulary, coverage statistics, high-frequency character usage analysis, and distribution of idioms across all terms and high-frequency terms were conducted. Comparisons with the Chinese National Language Resource Monitoring Corpus were performed using automated segmentation and manual intervention to extract terms characteristic of Indonesian Chinese, followed by descriptive and classificatory investigations.

#### **4. Hot Topics**

Trending words and phrases represent the rapid development and vibrant landscape of China's linguistic life, indirectly reflecting China's social progress. Their usage in overseas Chinese communities promotes understanding of the motherland among overseas Chinese and fosters deeper identification with HUAYU and culture. This section explores the overseas discourse dissemination of trending Chinese words and phrases through two dimensions. First, research on overseas students' cognition of Chinese hot words and phrases. This study targets students from 29 countries along the Belt and Road Initiative to obtain the most objective cognitive responses in terms of second language acquisition. By reviewing existing research on hot words and phrases, it clarifies their conceptual definitions and analyzes the distinctions between buzzwords, neologisms, and keywords. It investigates students' acquisition pathways and learning attitudes toward hot words, proposing teaching principles and recommendations. Second is the study of the dissemination of Chinese buzzwords and slang in overseas Chinese-language media, primarily targeting major Southeast Asian countries. The propagation of Chinese buzzwords and slang within overseas Chinese communities relies heavily on overseas Chinese-language media, which constitutes a vital component of the linguistic life of overseas Chinese. Based on statistical analysis of buzzwords' usage patterns (overall and categorized) in overseas Chinese media, this book summarizes their general and specific usage characteristics. It describes both high-frequency and low-frequency typical instances according to statistical findings and explores underlying reasons. Finally, it examines the driving forces and characteristics of Chinese buzzwords' dissemination in overseas Chinese communities, offering guiding recommendations ranging from macro-level suggestions to concrete measures.

### **III. Academic Evaluation and Research Significance**

Research on the HUAYU Life in Southeast Asian Chinese Communities is an academic work that combines macro-level vision with empirical depth. It demonstrates significant innovation in its research subjects, theoretical perspectives, and methodological approaches. Not only does it expand the research dimensions of international HUAYU dissemination and sociolinguistics, but it also provides a new paradigm for understanding the global HUAYU ecosystem.

#### **1. Broader Research Perspective**

Centering on Southeast Asia as its primary research arena, the book spans five nations, presenting a cross-cultural and cross-contextual research framework. Centered on the core concept of "HUAYU life", the authors comprehensively demonstrate the interactive relationship between language and society, culture, and identity—spanning HUAYU acquisition, usage, and attitudes, as well as HUAYU education and media

consumption. This “language-as-life” research perspective powerfully breaks through the limitations of traditional linguistic structural analysis, grounding language studies more firmly in real-life contexts.

## **2. Empirical and Systematic Research Methodology**

The book employs diverse methodologies including questionnaires, audio-visual recordings, and corpus analysis, establishing a robust investigative foundation and a highly comparable data system. Particularly in the Overview and Case Studies sections, the author designs a unified research framework and analytical dimensions, enabling cross-national comparisons of Mandarin usage across different countries and regions to reveal regional variations. This multi-method research approach demonstrates the rigor of sociolinguistic and applied linguistics studies while providing methodological references for future cross-regional comparative research.

## **3. Positive Implications for HUAYU Planning in the Belt and Road Initiative**

Language planning refers to deliberate attempts within a linguistic community to regulate the functions, structures, and acquisition of a language and its variants. Guo Xi (2009) notes that actively pursuing HUAYU planning while fully considering its typology holds positive significance both theoretically and practically. Li Yuming (2015) notes that language planning encompasses the social status and applicable contexts of languages and their variants, reforms, standardization, and refinement of language and script, as well as the value and role of linguistic phenomena across functional levels. Guo Xi (2009) emphasizes that achieving a shift from viewing language as a “problem” to recognizing it as a “resource”, transitioning from management to service provision, expanding from single-nation or regional contexts to transnational or cross-border frameworks, and moving from mandatory enforcement to market-driven regulation holds significant theoretical and practical value for the preservation, development, and dissemination of Chinese in its host countries. This book examines Mandarin usage within Southeast Asian Chinese communities, conducting a comprehensive survey of basic conditions through aspects such as personal profiles, Mandarin application, Chinese-language media, and HUAYU education. It provides objective foundations for overseas HUAYU planning. As stated in the book: “Only by understanding the attitudes of Southeast Asian Chinese toward Mandarin can Mandarin planning tailor services to market demands and implement country-specific strategies”.

## **4. Opening avenues for subsequent scholarly research**

While groundbreaking, this book leaves room for further exploration. First, certain countries (e.g., Cambodia, Myanmar, Vietnam) were excluded from the survey, leaving gaps in the comprehensive map of Mandarin usage across Southeast Asia. Second, the survey period focused on specific recent years, limiting dynamic tracking of linguistic evolution. These areas present new research directions for future scholars.

## **IV. Insights and Reflections**

Through its research, this book arrives at several key insights: First, the development and monitoring of HUAYU resources influence language planning for the Belt and Road Initiative. Second, Southeast Asian Chinese exhibit hierarchical attitudes toward the HUAYU, with its usage demonstrating diversity. Third, attention should be paid to the dialogues within Chinese-language new media and the focal role of

language planning. Fourth, the overseas dissemination of popular Chinese words and phrases, along with the unique status of Chinese-language media, warrants emphasis. These findings offer the following insights:

First, language resources form not only the foundation of cultural dissemination but also a crucial pillar of national discourse power and cultural soft power. Systematic, data-driven monitoring of HUAYU resources provides objective grounds for formulating language policies and facilitates dynamic assessments of overseas HUAYU usage, enabling targeted interventions and sustainable development.

Second, language dissemination must fully consider audience factors such as linguistic proficiency, social identity, educational background, and cultural affiliation. Significant variations in Mandarin acceptance and usage frequency exist across countries, regions, and generations. This necessitates abandoning a one-size-fits-all approach in language promotion. Instead, a tiered, multi-pathway system should be developed, tailored to local education systems, community cultures, and economic levels.

Third, Chinese-language new media serves as a new engine for language dissemination in the digital age. New media has become a primary platform for transnational communication and cultural identity building, with its interactivity and immediacy reshaping language dissemination patterns. Future Chinese promotion should actively integrate into the social media ecosystem, leveraging content creation, algorithmic recommendations, and cross-language interactions to form a more influential “digital language community”.

Finally, language dissemination transcends mere information transfer; it embodies the export of cultural significance. Trending words and phrases reflect the evolution and landscape of China’s linguistic life, while their dissemination pathways and reception abroad mirror the international influence of Chinese culture. The propagation of Chinese linguistic trends within overseas Chinese communities relies heavily on overseas Chinese-language media, which itself constitutes a vital component of the linguistic life of overseas Chinese.

## **V. Conclusion**

The Study of HUAYU Practices in Southeast Asian Chinese Communities is an outstanding work that combines academic rigor with practical relevance. Centered on HUAYU practices within Southeast Asian Chinese communities, the book comprehensively depicts the survival and development of Mandarin in a multicultural context, spanning from macro-level linguistic ecosystems to micro-level social practices. The book not only traces the historical evolution and cultural context of the HUAYU in Southeast Asia but also delves into the challenges and opportunities facing contemporary HUAYU dissemination. It demonstrates solid investigative capabilities and profound theoretical insights. This work provides valuable academic references for overseas Chinese studies, HUAYU planning, international HUAYU dissemination, and HUAYU education, while also offering new perspectives for understanding linguistic identity and cultural inheritance within Southeast Asian Chinese communities.

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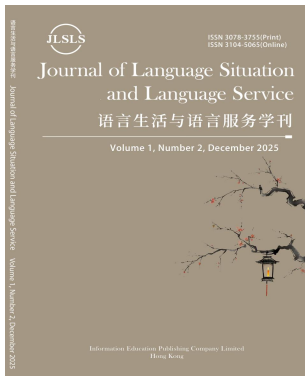
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## Global Perspectives on the Development of China's Language Economy

—A Review of *Language Economics Research*

**Tan Jing**

**Abstract:** *Language Economic Research* anchors its exploration in two pivotal domains: the joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative and the utilization and evolution of language resources. It delves deeply into the economic value of language as a productive factor in serving industrial development, economic and trade exchanges, and cultural dissemination, while explicating the multifaceted advantages of language economic benefits across sectors such as language content industries, language processing industries, and language competency industries. Employing a methodology that integrates factual analysis with model-based forecasting, the work analyzes the global landscape of language industries, projects future trends in their development, and examines symbiotic cases of linguistic advancement and economic system construction. Grounded in multi-industry data and informed by China's experience and outcomes in language-based poverty alleviation, it discusses the role and effectiveness of language economics in facilitating regional cooperation and economic development, including under frameworks such as the Belt and Road Initiative. By bridging China's linguistic realities with worldwide trends in language industries, the book enhances the service capacity and application contexts of the Chinese language in global exchanges. It thereby provides a solid theoretical foundation and a "Chinese approach" for optimizing regional services, promoting linguistic and cultural integration between China and Belt and Road partner countries, and fostering deeper convergence between language culture and

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international cooperation.

**Keywords:** Language Economy; Language Industry; Language Practice; China's Language-Based Poverty Alleviation Experience

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**标题:** 面向世界的中国语言经济发展——评《语言经济研究》

**摘要:** 《语言经济研究》一书立足于“一带一路”共建和语言资源使用发展两大方面，深入探讨了以语言作为经济要素，在服务产业发展、经贸往来、文化传播等方面的经济价值，诠释了语言经济效益在发展语言内容产业、语言处理产业和语言能力产业等方面的多重优势。该书采取事实分析和模型预测相结合的办法，通过对全球视野下语言产业的分析、语言产业发展趋势预测、语言发展与经济体系建设的共生案例，以多行业发展数据为依据，结合中国语言扶贫经验成效论述了语言经济在服务“一带一路”等区域性合作与经济发展中的作用成效，把中国语言发展的现实和全球视野语言产业的发展相结合，提高中文在世界交流往来的服务和应用场景。为优化区域服务、促进我国与“一带一路”沿线国家的语言文化融通、推动语言文化与国际合作的深度融合，提供了坚实的学理基础和“中国方案”。

**关键词:** 语言经济；语言产业；语言实践；中国语言扶贫经验

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## I. Introduction

With the deepening of economic globalization and social informatization, the economic value of language—as a tool for communication, a carrier of culture, and an information resource—has become increasingly prominent. In particular, the demand for multidisciplinary language talent, the development of the language information industry, and the nurturing and integrating of an economic discourse system, all built upon the bridge of language, align with the demands of contemporary development. Li Yuming (2012) argued that language is not only a nation's “soft power” but also its “hard power”, exerting a significant influence on the advancement of both socio-cultural and economic activities.

The development of China's language economy constitutes a significant chapter in the global narrative of language economics. Particularly amid deepening economic globalization and social informatization, economic forces have further driven the dynamic evolution and advancement of language. This is primarily reflected in two aspects: first, the progress of the Belt and Road Initiative and the strengthening of regional cooperation have demonstrated the new driving force of language in serving such collaborations; second, the successful practices in China's language economic development and language-based poverty alleviation

fully illustrate the positive interaction between language and economic development. Against this backdrop, the new work *Language Economic Research* by Liang Haoguang, Jiao Siying, and others, grounded in detailed data and practical cases of language serving regional economic development, provides a systematic summary and deepening of current research in language economics. First, it integrates language theory with developments in various disciplines, expanding the research scope of language economics and closely linking it with key contemporary topics such as the Belt and Road Initiative, global governance, and national discourse power. Second, through a comprehensive analysis of the language industry's development, it further outlines a future blueprint for multiple language-related sectors, revealing several emerging industrial directions in light of regional economic trends. Third, it explores case studies alongside empirical development. By focusing on the development of China's language industry and the outcomes of poverty alleviation efforts, it highlights the mutual reinforcement between language and economic growth, arguing for the practical logic of their relationship based on the effectiveness of Chinese language services. Fourth, it offers theoretical support for language planning and economic globalization governance, further contributing to global language practices and economic development, and provides a theoretical basis for enhancing China's discourse power in international and regional economics. The presentation of these research contents and achievements not only enriches the scope of language studies but also offers new insights for regional cooperation, language industry development, and brand building.

## **II. Content Overview**

The book is divided into six chapters. It discusses the coupling relationship between language and the economy from six perspectives: theoretical foundations, analysis of the language industry, trends in language industry development, language and economic development, language and the construction of international economic discourse power, and language strategic planning and economic globalization governance. Building on the support of economic and linguistic theories as well as industrial development insights, and integrating the context of Belt and Road construction, the study constructs a value system for the language economy, language industry development, and language planning. This is achieved by following two main threads: China's language resources and the development of its language industry. Furthermore, by incorporating the practical experiences and exploratory achievements of China's language industry, the work aims to better grasp the trends in the development of the language economy both domestically and internationally. It represents an active exploration that deeply integrates classical theory with China's development practices.

**Chapter One:** Theoretical Foundations of the Language Economy. This chapter establishes the theoretical groundwork of the book. Beginning with the economic phenomena and attributes of language, it traces the genesis and evolution of the language economy. By referencing Rubinstein's explanation of the two questions revealing the hidden connection between language and the economy, it addresses their intrinsic attributes. The chapter proposes three fundamental attributes underpinning the emergence of language economics: the economic resource attribute of language, the institutional attribute of language, and

the public good attribute of language. It outlines the developmental trajectory of the concepts and phenomena within language economics, thereby laying a solid foundation for the book's overall discussion on language services in regional economic development. Centered on the concept of language economics, it posits that language economics is not only a new growth driver for economic and social development but also a core pillar supporting the Belt and Road Initiative, facilitating cultural dissemination, and enhancing participation in global governance. This enriches the disciplinary framework of language economics while further expanding the research scope of language application, establishing the theoretical underpinnings for subsequent practical discussions.

**Chapter Two:** Analysis of the Language Industry from a Global Perspective. This chapter analyzes the development of the language industry from a globalized viewpoint. The authors posit that the language industry is the product of integrating the theory and practice of the language economy, serving as both the starting point and ultimate goal of language economics research, as well as its primary subject of study. Accordingly, the authors outline the developmental trajectory of the language industry by clarifying its concept, discussing its industrial forms and classifications, and examining its types of services and technologies. Using the global language industry as the entry point, the chapter explores its general landscape and current status from an economic perspective, and further forecasts its future development trends. By employing the PEST macro-environmental analysis framework (P- Politics, E- Economics, S- Society, T- Technology) from industrial economics as a key analytical tool, the chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the opportunities and challenges the language industry is likely to face in the future.

**Chapter Three:** Trends in Language Industry Development. This chapter explores the direction of China's language industry development from a globalized perspective on the language industry. It primarily focuses on language market analysis, systematically examining the development trends of three key language industry sectors—the language translation market, the artificial intelligence market, and the language training market—based on the foundational aspects and regional distribution of the language industry. By concentrating on the specific distributions in regions such as the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, the Beijing Winter Olympics host region, and Guangxi, the chapter analyzes the developmental advantages and stages of the language industry in these areas. Synthesizing these analyses, it proposes six characteristic types of language industry structures and clearly indicates that the future cultivation of language professionals will trend toward interdisciplinary talent development models such as “language + technology,” “language + law,” and “language + management.” Furthermore, it reveals that the diversified development of the language industry is a key factor in aligning the supply of language talent with market demands. By examining the alignment between language and market development, the chapter uncovers the underlying economic principles involved.

**Chapter Four:** Language and Economic Development. This chapter constitutes the core of the book. By examining the relationship between the development of the language economy and that of the language industry, it divides the language industry into multiple sectors. Starting from fields such as the language translation industry and the language and character information processing industry, it discusses the

relationship between language development and economic development, affirming the crucial role of language in promoting national economic growth and the construction of economic systems. From the perspective of China's language economy development, it reveals the role of language in driving economic development by presenting data including the output value of language services, comparative data on China's outward investment over the years, changes in market share proportions, import and export trade values, and the outcomes of China's language-based poverty alleviation. Simultaneously, with a particular focus on extending from China's poverty alleviation experience and achievements, and based on China's realities, the chapter puts forward the core viewpoint that the language economy is an important component of the national economy. It highlights that the synergistic development mechanism of language, the language industry, and the language economy forms a key part of enhancing the international competitiveness of a modern economic system. Furthermore, it serves as a vital cornerstone for ensuring that the fruits of development are shared more fully and equitably among all citizens.

**Chapter Five:** Language and the Construction of International Economic Discourse Power. This chapter highlights that the economic value of a language in international interactions depends not only on the size of its speaker population but also on the economic strength, cultural appeal, and institutional influence it carries. It examines how the value of language within economic discourse is realized, thereby contributing to the study of constructing China's international economic discourse system. By reviewing the historical development of international economic discourse power and comparing the pathways and linguistic characteristics through which the world's major powers have acquired such power, it identifies key influencing factors, including comprehensive national strength, discourse quality, international communication capacity, national image, international economic relations, and global economic governance. Integrating the dual attributes of the economic efficacy and political efficacy of language, the chapter analyzes the current state of China's international economic discourse power. It proposes a multi-dimensional framework for constructing this discourse power from a language perspective, focusing on discourse content, discourse platforms, discourse agents, and discourse objects, thereby expanding new spaces for international discourse.

**Chapter Six:** Language Strategic Planning and Economic Globalization Governance. This chapter, from the perspective of global economic integration development, integrates language practice, language resources, and language planning into the entire process of economic globalization governance. It evaluates the cost-benefit and resource allocation efficiency of various language policies from an economic standpoint. By analyzing the three developmental stages of international language planning and drawing on extensive empirical discussions, it illustrates the evolution of language planning and policy evaluation systems. Utilizing the practical paradigms of effective language policy implementation and the management and development of language resources in countries such as Tajikistan and Singapore, the chapter proposes new directions for language planning and global economic governance. It discusses the spillover effects of international language economy development in the digital age. Consequently, it summarizes and presents three possibilities for China to leverage global language policies to create new opportunities for future Belt

and Road economic development: disseminating cultural values, defining development issues, and formulating language planning, thereby providing substantial material for deep reflection.

### **III. Academic Contributions**

Language Economic Research takes the development of China's language economy as a case study, systematically discussing the relationship between language and economic development at the theoretical, methodological, and practical levels. Through theoretical research and empirical discussion, it proposes a model for the integrated development of language and the economy. From an interdisciplinary research perspective, the book explores future development directions, offering significant reference value for China's deeper participation in global governance and for sharing the achievements of its language economy.

#### **1. It examines the value system of the language economy through an interdisciplinary integration.**

Research on the language economy has seldom been explored within domestic academic circles, particularly studies investigating its trans-epochal economic value, which embodies the theoretical accumulation over its developmental trajectory. Integrating the theoretical foundations and practical scopes of multiple disciplines such as linguistics, industrial economics, and cultural communication, this work anchors itself firmly around two central themes: the Belt and Road Initiative and language resources. It constructs a comprehensive value system encompassing the language economy, relevant policies, and strategic planning. By examining the economic phenomena of language, it pioneers and articulates the novel concept of the "language economy", meticulously tracing its evolution from the nascent stages of "language economics" research through to the era of economic globalization. Through a multidisciplinary and cross-temporal narrative, the book establishes systematic connections between perspectives on language resource development, language industry growth, and the integration of language within economic system construction. It highlights the economic outcomes of serving the Belt and Road Initiative's development, thereby demonstrating the contemporary relevance and inherently multidisciplinary nature of the "language economy".

#### **2. Contribution of the Language Economy to Social Development Analyzed from Multiple Perspectives.**

Rooted in an interdisciplinary perspective, this book begins with the integration of language and the economy, exploring the subject through the lens of cultural communication. By analyzing the multiple industrial sectors encompassed by the language economy, it proposes that translating theory into practice requires aligning with advancements across different fields and responding to the demands of the times. Significantly, the work engages with both traditional language translation and the development of the modern artificial intelligence industry. Proceeding from the needs of the contemporary language industry, it charts new directions for the evolution of technology-intensive sectors and AI-powered language services. Oriented toward meeting the demands of regional development within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative, it affirms the developmental outcomes of the language economy while further demonstrating viable models and forms for language resources and industries within this new paradigm. By advancing the

cause of the language economy in serving societal development from multiple angles, the book serves as an essential reference for guiding the application of theory to practice.

### **3. Based in China, Drawing on Multiple Sources to Propose Practical Pathways for the Development of the Chinese Language.**

The most distinctive feature of this book is its grounding in the actual development of China's language industry and its integration with the current state of China's language and economic development. It proposes recommendations for the integrated development of language and the economy based on both theoretical foundations and practical exploration. This not only demonstrates that the development of China's language economy serves as a model for high-quality support of the Belt and Road Initiative's development but also provides valuable insights for the global development of the language economy. This series of achievements offers a powerful paradigm for how the language economy can serve both Chinese and global regional development. On one hand, by examining various aspects such as industrial development, language translation, language teaching, and intelligent text information processing, it illustrates the economic value of the Chinese language and the construction of China's discourse system. It puts forward many targeted "practical pathways" and "strategic routes", particularly highlighting the effectiveness of the language economy in conjunction with China's poverty alleviation achievements. This provides solid theoretical and practical guidance for both national and local governments in formulating relevant industrial policies and cultural strategies. On the other hand, by addressing the language planning needs of the Belt and Road Initiative's joint development, it effectively outlines language strategies, deepens international Chinese language education, and proposes new ideas from a strategic height and with a view to future development directions.

### **4. With an international outlook, deepening the practice of international economic discourse power across multiple domains.**

This work, grounded in the practical context of China while observing the evolving landscape of the global language economy, integrates new trends in the development of language and economic cooperation, thereby achieving an innovation in research paradigm through its discourse. Whereas most existing studies are confined to the disciplinary boundaries of a single field or analyses pertaining to specific industries, this book transcends this traditional path. Departing from multiple dimensions—including the construction of the Belt and Road Initiative, the global governance system, the building of national discourse power, and the development of cross-cultural exchange—it systematically integrates extensive empirical materials and case studies. It not only provides a robust argument for the driving role of language services as critical infrastructure in international economic development but also accomplishes a "dimensional elevation" in its examination of language economy research at the macro-strategic level. This perspective elevates language from an instrumental element to a strategic resource, pointing the way toward a concrete, systematic deepening of international economic discourse power across multiple fields of practice.

#### IV. Conclusion

Language Economic Research is a work that closely connects language with economic development. Centered on China's practical experience and its service to the regional development of the Belt and Road Initiative, it not only systematically integrates and expands the research paradigm of the language economy but also provides rich case studies from a multidisciplinary perspective. The work repeatedly emphasizes the perspective of "China's language economy" development, using the "Chinese approach" as an example to highlight the effectiveness of language economy development. This discourse not only reflects a strong awareness of local issues but also lays a foundational and leading groundwork for constructing China's autonomous knowledge system and the diversified application of language. Furthermore, by integrating the needs of regional development and international Chinese language education in serving regional cooperation, it offers an excellent model for consideration and serves as a practical developmental paradigm for the global language economy.

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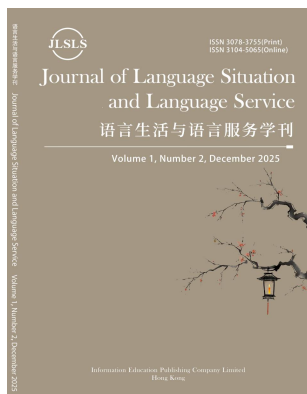
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## **New Paradigms in Internet Language Research for the Digital Age**

—A Review of *Interactive Research between New Media and Internet Language*

**Xiang Chengru**

**Abstract:** *Research on the Interaction between New Media and Internet Language* is grounded in the theoretical perspective of “language-media interaction”, breaking through the limitations of traditional linguistic research by constructing a methodological system that dialectically unifies “detachment” and “immersion”. Through case studies, the book conducts a multidimensional investigation into the synchronic representation and diachronic evolution of new words and expressions, the conceptual meaning construction and multimodal collaboration of online emojis, as well as the development trends and governance systems of language life, systematically revealing the mechanisms and motivations through which new media influence internet language. On this basis, it integrates multidisciplinary perspectives to explore issues in language life in the mobile internet era, examines youth social mentality through the lens of online buzzwords, and establishes “community” as a key unit in internet language governance, thereby constructing a three-level governance framework and a language security system. Finally, by analyzing the development of the internet language industry, it reveals the interactive relationship between new media and internet language, offering new paradigms and perspectives for research in this field.

**Keywords:** *Interactive Research between New Media and Internet Language*; internet language research; language-media interaction; online language life

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**标题:** 数字时代的网络语言研究新范式——评《新媒体与网络语言的互动研究》

**摘要:**《新媒体与网络语言的互动研究》立足于“语言媒介互动”的理论视角，突破传统语言学研究的局限，构建了“抽离性”与“浸入性”辩证统一的方法论体系。书中通过案例研究，从新词新语的共时表征与历时演化、网络表情符号的概念义建构与多模态协作，以及语言生活的发展态势与治理体系等方面展开多维考察，系统揭示新媒体影响网络语言的机制与动因。在此基础上，融合多学科视角，探讨移动互联网时代的语言生活问题，借助网络流行语关注青年社会心态，并将“社群”确立为网络语言治理的关键单元，进而构建三级治理框架与语言安全体系。最后，通过分析网络语言产业发展，揭示新媒体与网络语言之间的互动关系，为该领域研究提供了新的范式与视角。

**关键词:**《新媒体与网络语言的互动研究》；网络语言研究；语言媒介互动；网络语言生活

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## Introduction

According to the *56th Statistical Report on China's Internet Development Status (2025)* released by the China Internet Network Information Center (CNNIC), as of June 2025, the number of internet users in China reached 1.123 billion, with an internet penetration rate of 79.7%. This large number deeply reflects how the internet has become deeply integrated into people's lives. New media, as an important product of the internet era, is developing rapidly. From early email and BBS to current social media platforms like Weibo, WeChat, Douyin and various live streaming and short video applications, the forms and functions of new media continue to expand and innovate.

Language, as a basic tool of social interaction, is taking on a new look driven by new media. New words, expressions, and new forms of expression are emerging constantly, such as the internet buzzwords “dacall”, “Buddha-like” (fó xī), “lie flat” (tǎng píng), and the development of new symbolic representations like emoticons. Furthermore, with the emergence of digital media and multimodal media, the forms of internet language are no longer limited to traditional speech flow and written language, but also include multimodal language forms such as images, videos and memes. Although new media has made communication behavior more free and personalized, and language attitudes more open and inclusive, people's language concepts are also changing. Standardization awareness is constantly weakening. Some internet language contains vulgar and crude content, such as offensive and insulting words like “nima” and “TMD”, which seriously pollute the online language ecological environment.

Faced with these language phenomena and problems, previous academic research on internet language has formed multi-layered exploratory paths. Ontological language research analyzes from multiple dimensions such as vocabulary, grammar, semantics, and pragmatics, while applied research focuses on the standardized governance and industrial development of internet language. Research perspectives continue to expand, proposing many constructive opinions on the new progress and directions of internet language research from an interdisciplinary perspective. In summary, the current research results are considerable in number, but many existing studies focus on scattered typical cases, lack sufficient attention to the holistic development of internet language, and seldom study internet language phenomena and language life from the perspective of the interaction between new media and internet language.

In this context, the publication of *Research on the Interaction between New Media and Internet Language* completed by Professor Xie Xiaoming and Dr. Cheng Runfeng, is particularly significant. Grounded in the theoretical perspective of “language-media” collaborative construction, it provides a new and systematic research framework for understanding linguistic phenomena in the digital age. The book not only delves into the generation mechanisms, evolutionary paths, and social effects of internet language but also proposes effective solutions for its governance from a multidisciplinary perspective. It offers highly valuable insights and methods for addressing current challenges related to internet language, playing an important role in promoting the healthy development of linguistic life in the digital era.

### **Content Overview**

The book is divided into six chapters, with the logic of each chapter progressing step by step to form a complete research system. Chapter 1 is the introduction, systematically sorting out the academic context of new media and internet language research, clarifying the theoretical value and practical significance of language-media interaction research, and further expanding methodological reflections on this field based on a review of domestic and international internet language research methods. Chapters 2 to 5 focus on empirical research, providing a large number of analysis cases from practical applications, such as ontological studies of new words and expressions, research on internet grammaticalization, pragmatic variation, and research on internet emoticons. Chapter 6 focuses on the application level, discussing the social governance paths and industrial development directions of internet language. It is both an extension of the previous theoretical and case studies and provides practical guidance for the standardized development and value transformation of internet language.

### **1. Theoretical Foundation: The Interactive Perspective of “Language-Media” and Paradigm Innovation (Chapter 1)**

The axiological and methodological reflections conducted by the authors in the introduction lay a solid academic foundation for the entire book. The book argues from the perspective of human communication history the inevitability of “language relying on media”, from sound waves in the oral age, to light waves and writing carriers in the written age, to mass media in the electronic age, and up to the internet and new media in the digital age. Every major change in media form has profoundly changed the way language exists,

spreads, and evolves. On this basis, the book clearly proposes that there is a “collaborative mutual construction” relationship between new media and internet language. New media give rise to new language representations and speech means, construct new forms of communication, and shape new language concepts, while internet language, as content and data, in turn promotes the innovation of new media.

Regarding the methodology of internet language research, the authors believe the key lies in whether the methods used can reflect the nature of internet language and the characteristics of online language life. Therefore, the authors define internet language as having two media characteristics: “visual determinacy” and “mobile connectivity”. Drawing on theories and methods from other disciplines, they then propose a research path that dialectically unifies “detachment” and “immersion”. The former uses complex systems theory, phenomenology, etc., for theoretical construction; the latter uses methods like network archaeology and ethnography to delve into the digital scene, such as showing the solidification process of language components through the evolution of the modal particle “wei”. This methodological system emphasizes the synergy of multiple methods, achieving a connection between macro theory and micro practice.

## **2. Empirical Exploration: A Multidimensional Map of the Language Ecology (Chapters 2–5)**

Through systematic empirical research, the book reveals the core characteristics and evolution mechanisms of internet language as a functional variant from multiple dimensions. In the study of new words and expressions, a multidimensional analysis of the emerging modal particle “re” reveals how visually dominant online communication gives rise to a compensatory mechanism for modal particles, and the innovation mechanism driven by netizens’ playful psychology and identity needs. Through a “network archaeology” of “wei”, tracing its evolution from a call word to an interrogative modal particle, and then to expressing complex modalities like shock and dissatisfaction, it clearly outlines a trajectory of how meaning is constantly “assigned value” and “transformed” in a specific media environment. The analysis of the popular “VVV” structure reveals the influence of new media on its emergence.

Regarding the study of internet language evolution, the analysis of the mechanism and motivation behind the adverbialization of “shiming” (real name) is conducted from the perspective of language-media interaction, confirming that the emergence and popularity of language phenomena are closely related to new media platforms. “The main feature of internet language grammaticalization is the prominence of ‘synchronic intensity’, which complements the prominence of ‘diachronic depth’ in real-world language grammaticalization.” (Chu Zexiang, 2014) Looking at the development trajectory, the adverbial usage of “shiming” initially appeared only as sporadic individual instances, while new media platforms provided the necessary pragmatic context and dissemination conditions, enabling its high-frequency use among netizens and ultimately completing the functional evolution of adverbialization. In the study of internet emoticons, the authors use the conceptual blending theory of cognitive linguistics to reveal the deep reason why the “facepalm and cry” emoticon presents a negative tone. Furthermore, the authors introduce the Natural Semantic Metalanguage theory and, through a cross-cultural comparison of the “folded hands” emoticon, explain the differences in understanding between China and the US, indicating that differences in social variables such as gender, region, and age also affect the interpretation of internet emoticons. Through a

diachronic analysis of the “N1 might have V-ed a fake N2” construction, it points out that the generation of contemporary buzzwords is no longer solely guided by internal language rules, but is deeply integrated with external factors such as visual communication and platform characteristics.

These empirical studies collectively show that the characteristics and evolution of internet language are the result of the complex interaction between the language system, media characteristics, and socio-cultural factors, providing a multi-dimensional analytical perspective for understanding language innovation in the digital age.

### **3. Application and Countermeasures: Internet Language Life and Governance (Chapter 6)**

The book’s final focus is on language life and governance filled with practical concern. Chapter 6 systematically integrates the previous research findings and, starting from the practical problems of language life, proposes forward-looking governance solutions.

First, through the analysis of buzzwords like “guanxuan” (official announcement), it reveals the profound impact of mobile internet characteristics on language life, summarizes eight dimensions of change, and innovatively proposes a comprehensive governance path integrating regulatory supervision, technological governance, and language education innovation. Second, based on diachronic corpora from 2008-2018, it constructs an analysis framework for youth social mentality from three dimensions: grammar, semantics, and pragmatics, revealing the dual attributes of internet language as both a “barometer” and a “construction site” of social mentality, and proposes a cultivation plan centered on the “positive” education concept. Third, it precisely defines the phenomenon of internet language communitization, establishes a four-dimensional classification system of “interest, relationship, fantasy, transaction”, and deeply explains its internal logic of formation and dissemination through three mechanisms: symbol, media, and relationship. Based on deep insight into the trend of internet language communitization, the book proposes a highly operable three-level governance framework: using “community self-governance” to activate netizens’ agency, relying on “cross-community co-governance” to build weak connection bridges, and ensuring the bottom line of national language security through “super-community governance”. Language life in the mobile internet era presents many new trends, and communitization is one of the evolutionary trends shown by internet language. This research not only establishes the “community” itself as a key unit for internet language governance, but the analytical framework and research methods it constructs also have significant paradigmatic meaning and theoretical value for understanding other language evolution trends in the digital age.

Fourth, by analyzing the conceptual changes and connotation expansion of language security itself, the book elaborates in detail on a three-level language security system and accurately applies it to the analysis of internet language security. It points out three major security challenges faced by modern society: the erosion of ontological security by internet language pollution, the damage to communicative security by language violence, and the threat to strategic security by information warfare. Based on this, the book proposes corresponding layered governance paths. Finally, this research breaks through the disciplinary boundaries of traditional linguistics, incorporating language governance into the overall framework of national governance

modernization. By systematically explaining the triple economic attributes of language and the four forms of production factors, it innovatively divides language into seven product types and two industrial formats, providing a new perspective for understanding the economic value of language in the digital age.

## **Main Contributions**

### **1. Theoretical Paradigm Innovation**

The most significant contribution of this book lies in establishing and consistently applying the “language-media” collaborative co-construction research perspective. Grounded in complex adaptive systems theory, this perspective breaks away from the traditional view of media’s influence on language as a unidirectional process. Instead, it regards media and language as two interdependent, mutually influential, and balancing elements within a social complex system. Based on this understanding of their interactive relationship, the book positions new media as a crucial window for observing and managing contemporary language practices. When studying online linguistic phenomena, it does not confine itself to the scope of traditional linguistics or focus solely on language itself. Rather, it involves media, society, and technology, examining the interactive realization between media changes and online language.

### **2. Research Method Reconstruction**

Based on a systematic review of domestic and international internet language research methods, this book proposes a methodological system that dialectically unifies “detachment” and “immersion”. The former uses complex adaptive systems, phenomenology, etc., for theoretical refinement; the latter uses methods like network knowledge archaeology and network ethnography to delve into the digital scene. The entire book conducts empirical research based on this methodology. For example, the diachronic archaeological study of the modal particle “wei”, by tracking its evolution trajectory on platforms like Baidu Tieba, vividly shows the complete process of internet language components from formal integration to functional solidification. This kind of micro-examination based on digital traces forms a sharp contrast with the “documentary research” of traditional historical linguistics, highlighting the unique methodological advantages of internet language research, while also providing replicable and expandable methodological paths for internet language research in the Chinese context.

### **3. Expansion of Disciplinary Boundaries**

It breaks through the limitations of the single discipline of linguistics, integrating perspectives from sociology (analysis of youth social mentality), communication studies (media communication mechanisms), public administration (language governance), economics (language industry), and other fields. For example, by constructing a social mentality observation paradigm through a three-dimensional (grammar-semantics-pragmatics) analysis of internet buzzwords, the research possesses both linguistic depth and social science breadth; by outlining the three-dimensional landscape of the internet language industry, innovatively dividing product forms and industrial formats, and analyzing its five development characteristics, it organically integrates the linguistic perspective into the context of digital economic development, vividly interpreting the contemporary connotation of “language as a resource”, and demonstrating the practical

significance of serving the national digital economy strategy.

#### **4. Practical Application and Transformation**

This book demonstrates deep academic responsibility and humanistic concern, consciously integrating academic research into the process of national governance modernization. It focuses on practical issues such as youth social mentality, the communitization of internet language, language security, and the development of the internet language industry, closely linking multidisciplinary theory with governance practice, and providing systematic solutions with both theoretical height and practical value for building a healthy and clear cyberspace.

#### **Conclusion**

The book *Interactive Research between New Media and Internet Language* provides us with a practical methodological system for studying internet language. The book mainly uses a large number of practical paper cases to show us the specific application of the “language-media interaction” research path, providing research ideas and paradigms for future internet language research. In addition, the authors point out that internet language has shifted from mass communication to communal survival. In response to the opportunities and risks brought by communitization (such as circle barriers, language violence, information security), the book constructs a governance plan that combines top-down and bottom-up approaches, addressing both internal and external aspects. The work goes beyond the technical and regulatory levels, emphasizing the cultivation of people. It advocates promoting language education to return to the tradition of “speech first, writing second”, integrating positive concepts and language ethics, and consolidating teenagers’ language ability and normative awareness, thereby building the foundation for a healthy language ecology. In short, this is an excellent work that integrates theoretical innovation and practical concern, worthy of attention from both academia and industry.

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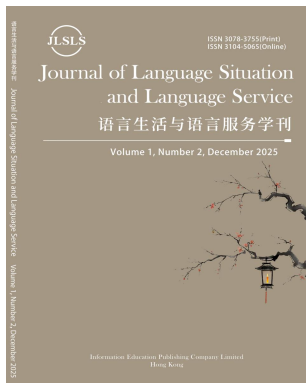
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## **Empowering Chinese-Style Modernization: The Strategic Value and Practical Paths of Language Services**

——A Review of the *China Language Service Development Report (2024)*

**Jiang Peiyun**

**Abstract:** The *China Language Service Development Report (2024)* presents the development trend of China's language service system through a systematic structure and abundant empirical materials. It focuses on discussing the functions of language services in regional coordination, industrial upgrading, national governance, cultural communication, and their correlation with Chinese-style modernization. At the macro level, the Report constructs an analytical framework of "Four Major Relationships"; at the micro level, it proposes several paths for integrating language services into the modernization process through surveys on grassroots communities, industry scenarios, and special groups. Based on sorting out the main contents of the Report, this paper evaluates its theoretical contributions, methodological characteristics, and governance implications from the perspectives of strategic value and practical paths, while pointing out its room for expansion in theoretical deepening, international comparison, and data acquisition. This book review aims to demonstrate the Report's role in promoting the research on the modernization of China's language services and provide a foundation for further discussions on constructing a language service theoretical

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system with Chinese characteristics.

**Keywords:** Language Services; Chinese-Style Modernization; National Language Capacity; Language Governance; Blue Book Research

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**标题:** 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）》

**摘要:** 《中国语言服务发展报告（2024）》（以下简称《报告》）以系统性的结构与大量实证材料呈现了我国语言服务体系的发展态势，重点论述了语言服务在区域协同、产业升级、国家治理、文化传播等方面的功能及其与中国式现代化之间的关联关系。《报告》在宏观层面构建了“四大关系”分析框架，在微观层面通过针对基层社区、行业场景与特殊群体的调查提出了语言服务嵌入现代化进程的若干路径。本文在梳理《报告》主要内容的基础上，从战略价值与实践路径两方面对其理论贡献、方法特色及治理启示进行评述，同时指出其在理论深化、国际比较及数据获取等方面仍有拓展空间。该书评旨在展示《报告》对我国语言服务现代化研究的推动作用，并为构建中国特色语言服务理论体系提供进一步讨论的基础。

**关键词:** 语言服务；中国式现代化；国家语言能力；语言治理；皮书研究

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## 1. Introduction

With the in-depth advancement of Chinese-style modernization, “language”, as a basic resource connecting national governance, economic construction, cultural inheritance, and social life, has become increasingly prominent in its strategic position. However, for a long time, the general public and even some academic studies have mainly understood “language services” as narrow-sense activities such as translation and interpretation, making it difficult to fully recognize the functional structure of language services in the national development system. As Li Yuming (2016) proposed, generalized language services should cover a comprehensive service system including language knowledge, language technology, and their derived capabilities. Their role goes far beyond specific industry applications and is closely related to national cultural security, social governance capacity, and the international communication pattern.

Against this background, *China Language Service Development Report (2024)* (hereinafter referred to as the “Report”) edited by Professor Qu Shaobin, provides an analytical framework oriented to national needs and based on empirical investigations. It systematically demonstrates the mechanism of language services in the process of Chinese-style modernization from macro strategies to grassroots practices. The

Report not only summarizes the current situation but also raises problems and attempts to put forward operable governance suggestions. It is one of the most structurally complete and solidly investigated systematic achievements in the field of language services in recent years.

On the basis of comprehensively sorting out the main contents of the Report, this paper will start from the “Four Major Relationships” framework proposed by it and relevant chapters, focusing on discussing the strategic value and practical paths of language services in Chinese-style modernization.

## **2. Content Framework: Constructing the Overall Structure of Integrating Language Services into Chinese-Style Modernization**

The “Four Major Relationships” framework proposed in the preface of the Report (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p. 002-006) constitutes the theoretical cornerstone of the entire book and stands as one of its most original contributions. Guided by the strategic needs of Chinese-style modernization, this framework closely links the development path of language services with regional coordination, industrial upgrading, the development of language undertakings, and the construction of disciplinary systems, forming an integrated analytical system of “national development goals—language service functions—governance paths”. In contrast to previous studies that mostly focused on descriptions of the language service industry or technical applications, the Report achieves a more macro and systematic theoretical advancement through the “Four Major Relationships”, providing a structured academic tool for understanding the role of language services in the national modernization process. This research approach echoes the theory of “national language capacity building in the new era” proposed by Guo Xi (2020), as both emphasize that language capacity building must maintain a high degree of alignment with the strategic needs of national development. However, the framework has not fully elaborated on the international comparative perspective, and there is still room for further deepening its discussion on the extension of language resource governance in the digital age.

### **2.1 Empowering Regional Coordination: Demonstrating the Balanced Logic of Modernization Development**

Chinese-style modernization emphasizes coordinated regional development and common prosperity. The comparative research on core economic regions such as the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macau Greater Bay Area in the Report (see Part 2, 5, and 7) clearly reveals how language services, as a key fulcrum in the regional coordination mechanism, realize the smooth flow of cross-regional resource factors through standardization, institutionalization, and professionalization. The Report not only pays attention to the coordination effect among developed regions but also extends field investigations to ethnic minority areas and resettlement communities, presenting a modernization pattern of “strong regional linkage” and “weak regional compensation” in terms of spatial scale.

Especially in the case of the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macau Greater Bay Area, the Report’s analysis of cross-regional elderly care service language standards shows that language services have become an important part of institutional interconnection. Overall, the Report balances macro policies and micro

samples in regional language service research and has high methodological integrity, but there is still room for further expansion in the international comparison of cross-regional language resource sharing mechanisms.

## **2.2 Empowering Field Penetration: The Key Mechanism Supporting High-Quality Development**

Part 3, 4, and 6 of the Report conduct investigations around key fields such as education, government affairs, cultural tourism, medical care, and exhibitions, demonstrating the extensive penetration of language services as an embedded production factor in modernization drive. For example, in the field of education, the Report reveals the new trend of integration of language and professional skills through sorting out the “Chinese + Vocational Skills” resource system; in the field of government affairs, its evaluation of the standardization of local government language services highlights the institutional demand for language governance; in cultural tourism and medical scenarios, language services are directly related to service experience and public safety.

From a theoretical perspective, the discussion on the cross-field penetration of language services in the Report is mutually confirmed with the four-capacity framework of “language resource capacity, language technology capacity, language governance capacity, and language data capacity” proposed by Qu Shaobin and Wang Hailan (2023). It shows that language services in the modernization process must rely on a comprehensive capacity system rather than a single technology. However, the Report focuses more on description when analyzing the differentiated needs of different fields. In the future, it is necessary to further strengthen the discussion on cross-field comparison and governance mechanism integration.

## **2.3 Empowering Undertaking Foundation: Constructing the Language Infrastructure for Modern Governance**

The special article and appendix in Part 1 of the Report elevate the cause of language and characters to the height of “national strategic infrastructure”, which is the most strategically forward-looking part of the whole book. From the construction of the National Emergency Language Service Corps, the operation mechanism of the National Language Resource Service Platform, to the improvement of the Catalogue of China’s Digital Language Resource Services, the Report proposes that language resources, language technology, and language governance together form the “soft infrastructure” of modern governance. This proposition has important expansion significance in domestic language policy research. The Catalogue of China’s Digital Language Resource Services in the appendix deserves special attention. Based on a systematic survey of over a thousand domestic institutions, this Catalogue innovatively classifies more than 300 types of digital language resources into ten categories, including “Services for Discourse Resources with Chinese Characteristics”. The editor-in-chief vividly refers to it as a “strategic base” for building a powerful country in language services—a metaphor that accurately reflects its academic value and represents a concrete manifestation of the fundamental theory of the “language resource perspective” advocated by the language life school (Su Xinchun, 2025).

In particular, the discussion on the emergency language service system echoes Wang Hailan’s (2025) SWOT analysis of the emergency language service in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macau Greater Bay Area, highlighting the strategic importance of language in public safety governance in the digital age. It should be

pointed out that the discussion on the construction path of “soft infrastructure” in the Report is mainly based on case presentation. In the future, it is necessary to further deepen its theoretical foundation, especially the mechanism research on how language infrastructure is embedded in the national governance system.

#### **2.4 Empowering Discipline Innovation: Providing Theoretical and Methodological Support for Chinese-Style Modernization**

By systematically sorting out the language service practices in different fields, the Report demonstrates the possible paths for the disciplinary and systematic construction of language services. As a knowledge production practice based on national needs, the Report adheres to “problem-driven” as the core methodology and conducts research around major issues such as rural revitalization, digital governance, elderly care services, and international communication, providing important case materials for building a language service discipline system with Chinese characteristics.

This research paradigm is highly consistent with the concept of “serving national development with language” long advocated by Li Yuming. However, from the perspective of disciplinary development, the Report is currently more of a compilation of cross-field research, and its disciplinary structure, core concepts, theoretical system, etc., still need to be further clarified. Future research can systematically construct the disciplinary framework of language services on the basis of integrating cross-field experience and strengthen dialogue with international language service research.

### **3. The Strategic Value of Language Services in Empowering Chinese-Style Modernization**

#### **3.1 Connecting National Strategies: Enhancing the Coordination of Regional and International Governance**

Through the comparative study of elderly care language services in three core economic zones, namely the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macau Greater Bay Area (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.26-42), the Report shows how language services play a role in institutional connection in regional governance. Taking the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macau Greater Bay Area as an example, the three places have jointly formulated and issued a number of elderly care service standards, forming a unified norm for cross-regional language services, and providing institutional support for people’s livelihood needs such as “Hong Kong and Macao residents moving north for elderly care”. This observation echoes Wang Hailan’s (2025) analysis of the “cross-regional and cross-institutional coordination path” of the Greater Bay Area’s emergency language service system, indicating that language services in regional governance not only meet the needs of information communication but also have the function of promoting standard mutual recognition and institutional integration.

In the external field, Part 7 of the Report conducts a comprehensive investigation on the language policies, education systems, and market language needs of countries along the “Belt and Road” such as Thailand and Vietnam (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.346-378), and points out that enterprises and institutions must understand the language environment of the target countries to carry out effective international cooperation. This makes language services present a function similar to a “strategic information interface”, providing

knowledge preparation for enterprises' overseas layout, cultural communication, and cross-regional governance. However, from the perspective of book review, the international comparison part of the Report still focuses on description. If we can strengthen the comparison of language governance models in different countries in the future, it will further enhance its international policy reference value.

### **3.2 Consolidating Grassroots Governance: Enhancing the Inclusiveness of Modernization Development**

Through long-term follow-up surveys on resettlement communities in Liangshan, Sichuan, and Kashgar, Xinjiang (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.206-221), the Report reveals a significant correlation between language ability and economic income. Among them, the survey data of Tilesuzak Village in Kashgar shows that among villagers with “average or below” national common language ability, more than 78% have an annual income of less than 10,000 yuan, while this proportion drops to about 50% among groups with “proficient” level (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.218). This set of data provides important evidence for understanding the “language capital—economic capital” conversion mechanism and also confirms the key role of language ability in promoting social mobility and expanding the opportunity structure from the perspective of developmental linguistics.

It is worth noting that the Report does not elaborate on the sample size, sampling method, etc., when presenting the data, so its representativeness needs further explanation. Nevertheless, this empirical result still provides strong support for the policy of “promoting Putonghua to assist rural revitalization”, which is consistent with Li Yuming's (2016) view that “national language ability is an important part of national development capacity”.

In terms of services for the elderly group, the Report systematically evaluates the age-appropriate language services of more than 1,200 government websites (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.148-155), pointing out that although most websites have completed basic adaptation, there are still insufficient experiences in aspects such as voice broadcasting and natural tone. This evaluation reflects the Report's attention to the quality of grassroots governance and provides an empirical basis for the transformation of public language services in the digital age from “meeting minimum standards” to “improving user experience”.

### **3.3 Strengthening Cultural Soft Power: Promoting the Modern Transformation of Cultural Communication Methods**

Through the analysis of multilingual services of mini-programs in national first-class museums (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.262-272) and the new communication form of calligraphy teaching on short video platforms (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.273-282), the Report reveals the innovative role of language services in cultural communication in the digital age. Compared with the traditional text translation model, these practices show the ability of reorganizing and retransmitting cultural resources driven by technology through intelligent push, multilingual voice explanation, immersive interactive experience, etc.

In addition, the Report's sorting out of “Chinese + Vocational Skills” teaching resources (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.93-102) shows that international Chinese education is shifting towards the cultivation of compound skilled talents. This trend helps to enhance the practical value and professional orientation of Chinese

learning. It marks that international Chinese education is moving from traditional language and cultural teaching to a model that deeply integrates language learning with professional skills such as e-commerce and high-speed rail technology. This not only greatly enhances the practical value and international attractiveness of Chinese but also means that language services are jumping from simple cultural output to a higher level of serving the global industrial chain and cultivating forces that “understand China, be friendly to China, and use China”. This fully shows that language services are the core means to build a modern civilization of the Chinese nation and enhance the country’s cultural appeal.

### **3.4 Supporting Industrial Upgrading: Constructing the Language Foundation for Innovation-Driven Development**

The special survey on the language service needs of the automobile industry in the Report (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.327-334) reveals the functional transformation of language services in the layout of the global industrial chain. With the international expansion of China’s new energy automobile industry, enterprises’ demand for language service positions presents a compound trend, among which more than 57% of the positions involve multiple functions such as translation, technical support, project management, and market communication. This indicates that language services have extended from traditional text processing work to links such as technical understanding, cross-cultural communication, and international compliance consulting.

More importantly, through “The Development of Language Intelligence and Its Application in Assisting Intelligent Education” (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.16-22) and “Catalogue of China’s Digital Language Resource Services” (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.381-392), the Report emphasizes the basic role of language data and language intelligence in national scientific and technological competition. This is consistent with the four-capacity system of “language resources, language technology, language governance, and language data capacity” proposed by Qu Shaobin and Wang Hailan (2023), indicating that the construction of high-quality corpora, large model training, and digital language resource governance have become key infrastructure in the era of artificial intelligence.

Nevertheless, the Report still has certain limitations in the coverage of language services in the industrial chain, such as insufficient attention to highly internationalized industries such as pharmaceuticals and engineering consulting. If more industrial dimensions can be expanded in the future, it will help build a more comprehensive industrial language ecology map.

## **4. Practical Paths: Implementation Plans for Language Services to Empower Chinese-Style Modernization**

On the basis of explaining the strategic value of language services, the Report further puts forward practical paths oriented to common prosperity, social inclusion, and public welfare, reflecting a complete logical chain from strategic analysis to policy suggestions. These paths take the coordination of capacity building, application scenarios, and governance mechanisms as the main line, demonstrating the mechanism of language services in solving practical grassroots problems. Although the Report provides a large number of

operable suggestions for practice, there is still room for further refinement in the differentiated governance strategies between different regions and groups.

#### **4.1 Promoting Common Prosperity: Realizing a “Capacity-Based” Income Increase Path Through Language Improvement**

Through empirical investigations on resettlement communities in Liangshan, Sichuan, and Kashgar, Xinjiang, the Report reveals the “capacity-based” mechanism of language services in promoting common prosperity. Firstly, strengthening human capital by improving national common language ability, thereby affecting employment opportunities and income levels. This mechanism has been clearly presented in the aforementioned surveys (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.206-221). This conclusion not only has important policy significance but also is consistent with the theoretical judgment that “language capital can be converted into economic capital”, providing experience support for the long-term promotion of common language education in underdeveloped areas.

Secondly, the Report’s analysis of language services in rural e-commerce live broadcasts (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p. 236-242) points out that strategies such as “focus repetition”, “scene construction” and “empathy narrative” used by anchors in the process of live streaming have significant communication effects. This study reflects the coupling relationship between language ability and digital economic opportunities, confirming the practical value of language services in rural revitalization. However, from a methodological perspective, the selection and representativeness of live broadcast discourse samples still need further discussion. In addition, the Report’s discussion on “whether language ability improvement has long-term economic effects” needs more follow-up research support. Overall, this part provides a relatively convincing empirical basis for the “language—ability—income” chain.

#### **4.2 Bridging Social Divides: Promoting the Inclusive Improvement of Public Services**

The Report systematically analyzes the role of language services in promoting social inclusion around three dimensions: digital divide, age-appropriateness, and barrier-free services. The survey on the age-appropriateness of provincial government mini-programs and government portals (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.148-164) shows that although most platforms have completed basic adaptation, there are still certain deficiencies in experiential details such as the naturalness of voice broadcasting and interactive design (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.153-154). This finding suggests that public digital services need to transform from “technical compliance” to “experience-friendly”, reflecting the key role of language services in improving the accessibility of digital public products.

In terms of barrier-free services, the surveys on barrier-free reading services and museum sign language interpretation (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.269-290) reveal the use barriers of cultural services among special groups and provide corresponding optimization suggestions. This part is consistent with Wang Hailan’s (2025) requirement for “refinement and systematization” of emergency language service governance, reflecting that language service governance is moving towards the direction of multi-group coverage and precise supply.

It should be pointed out that the target groups in the current barrier-free research of the Report are

mainly the elderly and the hearing-impaired, with limited attention to other vulnerable groups such as the visually impaired and people with language disorders. If more extensive group types can be included in the future, it will help build a more inclusive language service system.

#### **4.3 Optimizing Public Welfare: Promoting the Refinement and Modernization of Urban Governance**

In the field of public safety, the Report's survey on emergency language services in urban public spaces (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.228-235) points out that emergency signs have problems such as unreasonable location, insufficient visibility at night, and inaccurate information. These findings reveal the importance of language elements in the urban emergency management system, which is consistent with Wang Hailan's (2025) view that "emergency language services need to be incorporated into the urban comprehensive governance system". The suggestions put forward in the Report, such as "scientific site selection" and "optimizing the night recognition system", have clear operability, but their implementation costs and cross-departmental coordination mechanisms still need further demonstration in future governance plans.

In terms of foreign-related public services, both the survey on medical treatment of foreigners in Guangzhou (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.291-298) and the survey on language services at the Canton Fair (Qu Shaobin, 2024, p.316-326) reflect the deficiencies of internationalized cities in links such as small language translation, mobile payment guidance, and multilingual service processes. These problems indicate that language services are not only related to the service quality of the city but also have a key impact on the level of opening up to the outside world. Overall, the Report puts forward a relatively clear governance direction in the part of public welfare, but the analysis of differentiated needs between different cities can be further refined. This is precisely the key to improving the level of social language life, for the quality of language services—including those in emergency situations and those provided to special groups—determines the level of a society's language life (Li Yuming, 2025).

## **5. Conclusion**

*China Language Service Development Report (2024)* provides an important reference for understanding the role of language services in Chinese-style modernization with its systematic structure, sufficient materials, and distinct problem awareness. With the development of digital technology and the changes in the global governance pattern, language services will play a more important role in fields such as education, industry, urban governance, and international communication. It is expected that future research will make new breakthroughs in theoretical deepening, institutional design, and cross-regional cooperation, so that language services can be better integrated into the governance system of Chinese-style modernization and make greater contributions to promoting national development and improving social welfare.

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