



农民工的语篇建构

唐斌 著

江西人民出版社



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Discursive Construction of Migrant Workers

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Tang Bin
East China Jiaotong University
December 2010

序

《农民工的语篇建构》的作者唐斌教授从事高校英语教学和科研工作已有 20 余年,具有良好的学术素养和研究能力,尤其是对话语分析、认知语言学领域的研究课题怀有浓厚的兴趣,近年来就相关课题开展了深入的调查研究,并取得了令人称颂的成果。

唐斌是我指导的一名博士生,在攻读博士学位期间,她勤奋好学、严谨治学。在确立了自己的研究课题之后,潜心钻研,坚持不懈,并利用赴英国兰开斯特大学语言学与英语系访学的机会,聆听了 Geoffrey Leech、Norman Fairclough、Mick Short、Ruth Wodak、Paul Chilton、van Leeuwen 等著名语言学领域的专家和学者所开设的课程和讲座,广泛研读了批评话语分析、认知语言学和基于语料库的话语分析等方面的经典论著和最新研究成果,进而开阔了学术视野,为她从跨学科的角度进行语篇分析研究、完成博士学位论文奠定了坚实的基础。她的博士论文以及论文答辩受到校内外评审专家和答辩委员会成员的一致好评。今闻其论文即将付梓,作为她的导师,我为她有机会将自己的研究成果系统地呈现给读者,甚感欣喜,也借此向她表示祝贺。

《农民工的语篇建构》是在唐斌的博士论文基础上修改而成的,选题新颖,视角独特,是一部具有前沿性和开创性的专著。唐斌选取伴随我国改革开放产生的农民工这一社会

群体为研究对象,运用批评话语分析、语料库语言学、认知语言学的成果,从语言学的角度研究农民工在中国主流媒体中的话语再现和潜在的意识形态,是国内目前第一部从语言学角度来研究农民工这一社会群体的专著,研究成果对政府和媒体工作者有一定的参考作用,对今后同类研究具有参考价值。我认为该研究具有以下三方面的独特和创新之处。第一,农民工大量涌入城市求职务工是我国自 20 世纪 80 年代以来出现的一个独特的社会现象,政府和社会越来越关注农民工的生存状态,学者们分别从社会学、人口学、经济学、法律、大众传媒等不同角度对农民工这一现象进行了许多理论和实践方面的研究和探讨,但从语言学的视角对这一现象进行研究的极为鲜见,作者在这方面进行了大胆有益的尝试。第二,唐斌以自建的语料库为文本依据,采用定性研究和定量研究相结合的方法,对过去 20 年间(1987—2007)《人民日报》中的 2076 篇与农民工主题相关的报道进行了跨时期的分析和比较,通过宏观和微观两个层次对语料进行了较为系统全面的分析,揭示了农民工目前的生存状态,语料翔实,分析严谨,论证充分,结论可靠,研究结果对话语分析研究和农民工问题研究都具有重要的理论指导意义。第三,唐斌的研究突破了以往单一学科角度研究的局限性,创新性地建立了一个基于话语、社会认知和社会三方面相关理论,融批评话语分析、语料库语言学和认知语言学为一体的多维互补型分析框架来分析中国话语中的社会主体的话语再现和潜在意识形态,丰富了现有的话语分析研究以及对农民工进行的理论与实践研究,该研究具有一定的理论创新意义和社会意义。

简而言之,我认为《农民工的语篇建构》是一部融创新性、学术性、理论性和应用性为一体的优秀学术专著,具有较高的理论价值和实践指导意义,值得推荐。作为她的导师,我为唐斌在学术研究上的成长和成熟感到高兴和骄傲,同时也希望她能够以这部著作的出版为新的起点,保持勤奋执著、勇于创新、严谨治学的学术态度,在科学研究的道路上不断攀登新的高峰。我期待着唐斌在今后的学术研究中有新的发现和建树。

梅德明

2010 年 12 月

于上海外国语大学

Abstract

Since the Chinese economic reform, farmers have started to leave the countryside and hunt for jobs in the city. Migrant workers, as a special product of Chinese social change, have become the indispensable part of the city. However, due to the Chinese dualistic (urban and rural) social structure and household registration system, this special group of people has encountered many problems. In recent years, many theoretical and empirical studies on migrant workers have been done from various perspectives, such as sociology, demography, economics, politics, law, management, journalism, mass communication, education, etc. (刘芳, 2005; 周大鸣、秦红增, 2004), but little work has been done within the field of linguistics. This dissertation, from linguistics perspective, attempts to explore how “migrant workers” are constructed and represented diachronically in Chinese mainstream press, namely the *People's Daily*, as well as what motivates such representations. More precisely, we mainly address the following interrelated questions in this research:

(1) What are the most frequent topics of the news coverage for migrant workers in the *People's Daily* (1987 – 2007)? Are

there any diachronic variations along with social change?

(2) How are migrant workers represented and constructed discursively in the *People's Daily* (1987 – 2007)? Are there any differences along with social change?

(3) What are the underlying ideologies constructed and transparentised in the *People's Daily* (1987 – 2007)?

The methodology of this study is embedded in a multidisciplinary theoretical framework pertaining to discourse, social cognition, and society. Due to the lack of existent systematic and workable analytical framework for probing into the above mentioned research questions, it is hoped that, by integrating (critical) discourse analysis, corpus linguistics and cognitive linguistics, the present study may establish a feasible framework for analyzing the representation of social actors and the embedded ideologies in Chinese discourse. More specifically, the analytical framework is mainly drawn from van Dijk's (1988a, 1988b, 1991, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2006a, 2006c) socio-cognitive discourse analysis approach, Johnson and Lakoff (1980, 1999) and Lakoff's (1987, 1993) cognitive metaphor theory, Fauconnier (1985, 1997) and Fauconnier and Turner's (1998a, 1998b, 2002) conceptual blending theory and van Leeuwen's (1993b, 1995, 1996) toolkits for the analysis of discursive representations of social actors and social action in discourse.

The corpus of the study is based on the news texts surrounding the subject of migrant workers. The data are retrieved through a keyword search from the online electronic database of the *People's Daily* from January 1, 1987 to December 31, 2007, spanning 20 years, consisting of 2076 news texts, which have been divided into two periods: 1987 – 2002 and 2003 – 2007. This study combines qualitative approach with quantitative approach, hoping to provide a complete description of the representation of migrant workers in Chinese mainstream news media as well as some implications for the Chinese government and media producers.

The result of the study demonstrates that the variation of genres and topics of the news coverage, to some extent, reflects the evolvement of so-

ciety and politics, especially the change of mainstream political ideologies. Compared with the 1987 – 2002 period, more variety of genres can be found in the 2003 – 2007 period. Though the majority of the reports are about the living and working status of migrant workers and social aids during these two periods, the negative reports about migrant workers have greatly decreased during the period of 2003 to 2007; instead, the reports show more concerns about their social security, insurance, medicare, and the life and education of their children. The genres and topics of the reports reveal the historical transformation the Chinese society and social cognition have experienced during the past 20 years.

The referential strategies and concordance analysis have shown that during the 20-year period, the migrant workers have changed from “blind flow”, “chuff”, “hick” and “burden” into “friend” and “brother”. They have changed from “nuisance” or “trouble” of the city into the “indispensable main force” of the city. Many changes have brought about to “migrant workers” along with the social change. The diachronic analysis of the corpus reveals the different attitudes, that is, from negative to positive, of the news producers, the government and the society towards the migrant workers. However, though their living and working conditions have been greatly improved, their former identity have not been changed. They are still labeled and represented as “aliens” or “outlanders” of the city and belong to “their” group instead of completely merging into “our” group. “Delayed payment” has been one of the worst problems harassing the migrant workers in the past 20 years. “They” are represented and constructed as nameless, voiceless, marginalized, rootless and wandering people who need “our” care, help and protection.

There are five most salient conceptual metaphors in the corpus: (1) MIGRANT WORKERS AS WATER; (2) MIGRATION AS BUSINESS; (3) CITY AS CONTAINER; (4) CITY AS HOUSE and (5) CITY AS BATTLEFIELD, which reflect the living and working status of migrant workers and the attitude of the text producers towards migrant workers. People’s attitudes towards migrant workers have been changing with the

advancement of the society. Migrant workers have changed from “the disorderly blind flow” which brought about a lot of troubles to the city and the society in the past into “the useful hydraulic power” or “the main force” which is indispensable to the city and the society at present. However, due to the Chinese dualistic household registration system, they are merely “transient guests” with temporary residence permits. Though they live and work in the city, their farmer identity can not be changed. There is still a long way for them to gain the absolutely equal rights with the local urban residents and to fully merge into the local urban residents and city life both physically and mentally.

The analysis of the representation of migrant workers and their social action in the sample headlines and sample texts shows that the majority of migrant workers are represented as groups rather than identifiable individuals and most of the actions they are involved in are represented as passive and non-transactive. They are represented as powerless, lower status social actors who are in bad need of care and help of the government and the society.

The results of the study may have the implications for both the government and the media producers. For one thing, more concerted efforts should be made and more effective measures should be taken by the government and the society to radically solve all the problems encountered by the migrant workers. For another, the media should not show any bias over the migrant workers and give them more rights to speak in the public media.

This study is an attempt to make corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics and (critical) discourse analysis into an integrated whole, hoping to carry out a complementary methodology so as to fully exploit their respective strengths and eliminate the weaknesses. Furthermore, it makes an attempt to adapt the theories and approaches of discourse analysis in Western countries to apply it to the analysis of Chinese discourse in Chinese social context. In future research, more theoretical and empirical explorations will be made in this aspect. Besides, more research can be done from the

linguistic perspective about other vulnerable groups.

Keywords: migrant workers; the *People's Daily*; discursive representation; ideology

摘要

农民工是指具有农业户口身份却在城镇从事非农生产活动的群体,农民工既是我国传统户籍制度安排下的一种身份标识,也是中国社会变迁时期的一种特殊的社会现象,已经逐渐成为城市不可或缺的一分子,然而,中国城乡二元社会结构和户籍制度却使得这一特殊群体遭遇到了许多尴尬和麻烦,问题日渐凸现。近年来,农民工的工作和生活状况引起了政府和社会的关注,学者们也分别从社会学、人口学、经济学、政治、法律、管理、新闻、大众传媒、教育等各个不同角度对农民工进行了理论和实践方面的研究和探讨(刘芳,2005;周大鸣、秦红增,2004),尽管有许多有关农民工问题的跨学科的研究,但却极少从语言学角度来对他们进行研究。因此,本文尝试结合(批评)话语分析、语料库语言学和认知语言学从语言学的角度来探讨20年中(1987—2007)农民工在中国主流媒体《人民日报》中的话语再现及潜在的意识形态。具体地说,本研究旨在回答以下三个相互关联的研究问题:

(1)《人民日报》中(1987—2007)有关农民工报道的哪方面主题是最频繁的?报道主题是否随着社会变迁而发生变化?

(2)《人民日报》中(1987—2007)农民工是如何通过话

语被构建和再现的?是否随着社会变迁而有所不同?

(3) 探讨《人民日报》中(1987—2007)这些报道表现的潜在意识形态是什么?

本研究方法是基于与话语、社会认知和社会三方面相关的多学科理论框架。由于目前尚未有现成的可用于探讨上述研究问题的系统的和适用的分析框架,本研究目的之一便是尝试建立一个适用于分析中国话语中的社会主体的话语再现和潜在意识形态的理论框架,该框架结合了(批评)话语分析、语料库语言学和认知语言学。具体地说,该研究框架是基于 van Dijk 的社会认知话语分析模式(1988a, 1988b, 1991, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2006a, 2006c), Johnson 和 Lakoff(1980, 1999)以及 Lakoff(1987, 1993)的认知隐喻理论, Fauconnier(1985, 1997)以及 Fauconnier 和 Turner 的概念合成理论(1998a, 1998b, 2002)以及 van Leeuwen 的社会主体和社会行为的话语再现方式的分析工具(1993b, 1995, 1996)。

本研究是基于自建的语料库,通过关键词在《人民日报》网上数据库和图文数据库中搜索 1987 年 1 月 1 日到 2007 年 12 月 31 日之间历时 20 年、与农民工主题相关的报道共 2076 篇,本研究将定性与定量分析相结合,对语料进行了跨时期(1987—2002; 2003—2007)的分析和比较,旨在较全面地描述农民工在中国主流媒体中的话语再现,并为政府和媒体工作者提供一些参考和启示。

研究表明,新闻报道体裁和主题的变化在一定程度上反映了社会和政治的变化,尤其是主流政治意识形态的变化。一方面,2003—2007 年期间的新闻报道的体裁比 1987—2002 年期间的更加多样;另一方面,虽然绝大部分报道都是有关农民工生活和工作状态的,但是前一时期有更多有关农民工犯罪、生产安全问题的负面报道,而后一时期这类报道大大减少,有关农民工社会保障、保险、医疗、子女生活和教育等方面的报道增多。新闻报道的体裁和主题折射了中国社会和社会认知在 20 年中所经历的历史变革过程。

语料中的指称和索引分析结果显示,在 20 年中,农民工从“盲流”、“乡下人”、“乡巴佬”、“包袱”变为“朋友”和“兄弟”,从城市的“麻烦”转变为了城市“不可或缺的主力军”,社会的变化为农民工带来了许多变化,对语料进行的历时分析结果表明了新闻工作者、政府

部门和社会对待农民工的态度从负面态度向积极态度的转变。然而, 尽管他们的生活和工作状况得到了明显的改善, 他们的身份依旧, 他们仍然被标记和再现为不同于当地城市居民的“外来人”、“异乡人”, 他们仍然属于地位卑微的“他们”而不能完全融入“我们”之中, “欠薪”是过去 20 年来一直困扰农民工的最严重的问题之一。他们被构建和再现为无名的、无声的、边缘化的、无根的、飘忽不定的、需要帮助、关爱和保护弱势群体。

分析显示了语料库中五组较突出的概念隐喻, 即(1) 水的隐喻; (2) 商业的隐喻; (3) 容器的隐喻; (4) 房屋的隐喻; (5) 战场的隐喻。这些隐喻反映了农民工的生存状态以及作者对待农民工的态度。人们对待农民工的态度和立场随着社会的进步而发生改变, 在他们眼中, 农民工从过去给社会和城市带来许多麻烦的“无序的盲流”转变为现在推动城市和社会发展的“有用的水力资源”或“不可或缺的主力军”。但是, 由于中国特殊的城乡二元户籍体制的阻碍, 他们只能是手握暂住证的城市“过客”, 农民的身份一时还无法改变, 还不能获得与城市居民完全同等的待遇, 还无法在身体和心理上完全融入城市生活。

对新闻标题的抽样对比分析和抽样新闻报道分析结果显示, 尽管这 20 年中农民工受到很多关注, 然而他们通常被再现为归类的群组而非独立的个体, 他们的行为则大都再现为被动和不对他者产生影响的非及物性行为。由此可见, 农民工被再现为没有权力、社会地位较低、急需政府和社会关爱和帮助的社会主体。

本研究结果具有较高的理论和实际应用价值, 可以为政府和媒体工作者提供一定的参考和启示, 政府和社会应该齐心协力采取更加有效的措施从根本上解决农民工遇到的问题, 同时媒体也应该给予他们更多的话语权。本研究只是抛砖引玉, 尝试建立一个融(批评) 话语分析、语料库语言学和认知语言学为一体的互补型研究方法, 还有很多不够完善的方面需要改进, 期待今后会有更多相关的理论和实践探讨, 今后还可以从语言学的角度开展对其他社会弱势群体的研究。

关键词: 农民工; 《人民日报》; 话语再现; 意识形态

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