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(专业学证)

论文题目 《华尔街日报》中国企业家形象批判话语研究

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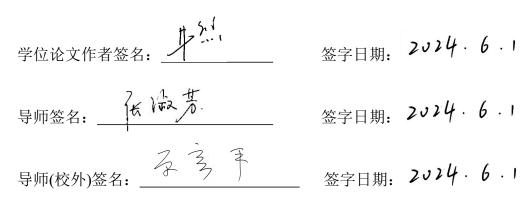
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Critical discourse analysis of the image of Chinese entrepreneurs in the Wall Street Journal

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摘要

在全球化传播背景下,中国企业家形象在国际主流媒体中的塑造和传播,对中国国家形象和地位具有重要影响。《华尔街日报》作为全球最大的商业日报,对中国企业家的报道无疑深刻影响着全球读者的认知。

借鉴费尔克拉夫及梵·迪克批判话语分析法优势,从新闻文本、话语实践、 社会实践三个向度分析自中国改革开放以来,《华尔街日报》新闻话语建构的中 国企业家主体形象、话语策略以及所反映的权力关系与意识形态。

研究发现,在新闻文本向度,《华尔街日报》利用词汇、语法及连贯性、文本结构等方法,从个人特征、经营情况、营商环境等方面,建构中国企业家盲目追逐利益、欠缺创新能力、发展前景暗淡的负面形象。在话语实践向度,通过文本生产中明确的互文性,灵活运用直接、间接引语,聚焦非典型的的中国企业家,借助第三方专家、知情人士话语勾连普遍意义;通过文本分配过程的互文性链条,使用故事化叙述,释放西方经营主体、投资者、消费者疏离中国企业家的隐秘话语力量。在社会实践向度,美国延续冷战思维,通过代表统治阶级意志的主流媒体,将中国企业家置于极权统治、缺乏民主思维、不尊重人权的视角下。伴随中国国家实力不断提升,美国文化霸权在扩张中受到挑战,报道从居高临下姿态,逐渐转变为富有敌意诟病,以此来确保本国文化安全。

研究认为,中国媒体建构中国企业家形象,首先要认识西方主流媒体对中国企业家形象的建构特征,有针对性的进行话语塑造。其次,话语建构要在故事化的叙述中推陈出新。再次,运用人类命运共同体,拓展长期以来以东西方分隔的想象的共同体。通过共情传播,以共同或相似的情绪、情感为基础,建立一种与他者共在的理念,发展共情的关爱,让全球传播的新闻话语更具包容性。

关键词: 费尔克拉夫 批判话语分析 华尔街日报 中国企业家

Abstract

In the context of global communication, the shaping and communication of the image of Chinese entrepreneurs in the international mainstream media has an important impact on China's national image and status. As the world's largest business journal, the report of the Wall Street Journal on Chinese entrepreneurs undoubtedly has a profound impact on the cognition of readers around the world.

Drawing on the advantages of Fairclough and van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, this paper analyzes the main image of Chinese entrepreneurs, discourse strategies, power relations and ideology reflected in the news discourse of the Wall Street Journal since China's reform and opening up from the perspectives of news text, discourse practice and social practice.

The study found that in the news text dimension, the Wall Street Journal used vocabulary, grammar and coherence, text structure and other methods to construct the negative image of Chinese entrepreneurs who blindly pursue interests, lack innovation ability, and have dim development prospects from the aspects of personal characteristics, business conditions, and business environment. In the dimension of discourse practice, through the clear intertextuality in text production, flexible use of direct and indirect quotations, focus on atypical Chinese entrepreneurs, and connect the universal meaning with the discourse of

third-party experts and insiders; Through the intertextual chain of the text distribution process and the use of storytelling, the secret discourse power of Western business entities, investors and consumers alienating Chinese entrepreneurs is released. In the dimension of social practice, the United States continues the cold war thinking, and puts Chinese entrepreneurs under the perspective of totalitarian rule, lack of democratic thinking, and lack of respect for human rights through the mainstream media representing the will of the ruling class. With the continuous improvement of China's national strength, the U.S. cultural hegemony has been challenged in the expansion. The report has gradually changed from a condescending attitude to hostile criticism, so as to ensure the cultural security of the country.

The research suggests that the Chinese media should first understand the characteristics of the western mainstream media's construction of the Chinese entrepreneur image, and then conduct targeted discourse shaping. Secondly, the discourse construction should innovate in the storytelling. Thirdly, it uses the community of human destiny to expand the imaginary community separated from the East and the West for a long time. Through empathy communication, based on common or similar emotions and emotions, establish a concept of being with others, develop empathy and care, and make the news discourse of global communication more inclusive.

Key words: Faircroft Critical Discourse Analysis Wall Street Journal Chinese Entrepreneurs

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1 绪论

1.1 研究背景与意义

党的十八大以来,中国特色社会主义进入新时代,我国日益步入世界舞台中心。在两个大局相互交织、相互激荡的背景下,如何加强国际传播能力建设,形成与我国综合国力和国际地位相匹配的国际话语权,具有重要意义。

在全球化的大背景下,中国企业家的形象在国际社会中的塑造和传播,对于中国的国际形象和地位具有重要的影响。但是,由于西方话语长期主导着全球传播的基本格局,对中国的报道往往服务于特定的意识形态,导致西方媒体建构出了与真实情况并不相符的中国企业家形象,从而影响了中国企业的海外发展、中国产品的国际流通。发端于语言学的批判话语分析能够从新闻文本出发,探讨媒体的话语策略和话语实践,阐释话语形成基于的宏大经济、政治、社会背景。然而,对于西方主流媒体的中国企业家形象的批判话语研究,目前仍存不足,缺乏系统性的理论研究和实证分析。

作为全球最大的商业日报,《华尔街日报》对中国企业家的报道无疑深刻的 影响着全球读者的认知。因此,本研究以它对中国企业家的报道为研究样本,以 期对中国企业家的国际形象塑造提供理论参考和实践指导。通过对《华尔街日报》 中国企业家形象的批判话语研究,首先,有助于丰富和深化新闻话语研究的理论 体系。研究可以揭示报道背后的意识形态和话语权力,为新闻话语研究提供新的 视角。其次,有助于提高中国企业家的国际形象管理能力。通过揭示报道中建构 企业家形象的策略和实践,为中国企业家提供有效的形象管理策略,提高其在国 际社会中的影响力。最后,有助于为中国媒体开展对外传播提供新思路、新方法。 通过剖析《华尔街日报》中国企业家形象的话语策略,中国媒体能够深入理解国 外媒体如何利用看似客观的话语建构特定的权力关系散播意识形态,进而更有针 对地进行议程设置、创新传播内容,在国际传播中争夺话语权,建构中国企业家 的正面形象。

1.2 文献综述

1.2.1 话语分析视角下新闻文本研究

发轫于西方的话语分析理论,在二十一世纪初进入中国新闻传播的研究视野, 并于近 20 年快速发展,涌现了大量的学术成果。

就理论探讨而言,中国话语分析研究大致经历了引入、辨析和创新三个阶段。 2004年,黄敏以两篇报道为例,通过研究话语结构,揭示话语是"如何建构和 再现权力关系[©]"。随后,李建利分析了"用话语分析这种方法分析新闻报导的 优势²"。胡春阳则是基于话语分析与传播研究对语言及其意义问题的共同关注, 首次将二者结合起来,旨在提供"传播的话语分析[®]"的理论框架。由此,新闻 理论研究从外部研究转向了新闻话语的内部研究,但鉴于传统的对新闻话语的分 析仅注重静态的新闻话语结构的探索,有学者认为应把注意力放到"新闻话语形 成的动态过程中[®]"。同时,如何突破"话语分析与新闻传播学之间的隔膜[®]"以 及话语分析的语言学制约问题,也备受学界关注,并提出了"新闻语篇批评性话 语分析应注意的问题[®]",王国凤、邵培仁则强调新闻话语要从跨学科研究走向 紧紧围绕现实问题、摈弃学科界限的"超学科研究"。在进入二十一世纪的第 二个十年之际, 孙静怡、王和平对"中国新闻话语研究的现状[®]"进行了梳理, 指出新闻话语必然会愈加受到重视。在这一过程中,除了通过将话语分析和其他 研究方法进行比较,厘清合理运用的前提和基础[®]。郭建斌通过对"独龙新闻[®]" 的分析,得到了一些与禁•迪克等西方学者的研究结论存在较大差别的结果,在 理解具有中国特色的"民族新闻"基础上,对相关的西方理论做出相应的回应,

① 黄敏. "新闻作为话语"——新闻报道话语分析的一个实例[J].新闻大学,2004(01):27-34.

② 李建利.话语分析与新闻语言[J].西北大学学报(哲学社会科学版),2005(06):154-156.

③ 胡春阳.传播的话语分析理论[D].复旦大学,2005.

④ 邹建达.多维视野下的新闻话语分析——兼论话语分析在中国新闻理论研究中的运用与拓展[J].云南民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版),2008(03):133-137.

⑤ 赵为学.新闻传播学研究中话语分析的应用:现状、局限与前景[J].上海大学学报(社会科学版),2008(04):90-99.

⑥ 单胜江.新闻语篇的批评性话语分析[J].外语学刊,2011(06):78-81.

② 王国凤,邵培仁.新闻话语研究的超学科转向——以英国《卫报》中国反腐新闻的话语分析为例[J].现代传播(中国传媒大学学报),2015,37(08):38-42.

[®] 中国新闻话语:现状与趋势[J].编辑之友,2012(11):66-69.

⑨ 丁和根.新闻传播研究中话语分析与框架分析之比较[J].当代传播,2019(06):4-9.

^⑩ 郭建斌,王笑一,张馨月. "好消息":中国大陆"民族新闻"的话语分析——基于中文报纸"独龙新闻"的讨论[J].新闻记者,2018(11):48-65.

不失为一种创新。

在具体的案例分析层面,以费尔克拉夫、梵·迪克为代表的批判话语分析成为研究的主流。这其中既包括关于"中国反腐""中国南海"等海外媒体涉华报道的研究,还涉及对"抗日报道""幼儿园教师形象""龙卷风 Sandy 新闻报道""新闻发布会话语"等研究,它们对于揭示语言背后隐藏的权力、意识形态和话语的关系具有重要意义。与此同时,鉴于长期以来,用消极视角看待问题的批判话语分析视角过于密集,对强调和谐、对话与协商的"积极话语分析"开始崭露头角。如对中美关系"经济报道"的话语分析,研究发现各国更希望通过交流、协商、对话来解决问题。此外,为"揭露破坏性话语的影响",合理利用语言资源保护社会和自然生态的和谐的生态话语分析也逐渐受到欢迎。例如,使用"生态话语分析模式",从及物性、语气、情态、评价等系统对英国BBC 关于中国雾霾报道的新闻标题进行生态视角的细化分析,发掘话语的生态意义,揭示媒体报道的生态取向。

总之,话语分析在中国新闻传播领域的应用已经走向成熟。因此,面对数量可观的研究成果,博采众长的基础上,需要对理论创新、案例探讨的深度和广度提出全新甚至更高的要求。

1.2.2 中国企业家媒介形象研究

中国企业家的媒介形象研究普遍以中国主流媒体的报道为研究样本,研究维度聚焦在传统媒体新闻生产中的企业家形象建构、新媒体语境下的参与式企业家

① 李庆明,吴华.费氏三维分析模型视角下英语新闻语篇的批评性话语分析——以《纽约时报》官方网站关于中国反腐报道为例[J].重庆交通大学学报(社会科学版),2019,19(03):126-132.

② 韦忠生.英语新闻语篇的解读与翻译策略——基于中国南海冲突新闻报道的批评性话语分析[J].重庆理工大学学报(社会科学),2014,28(12):127-133.

③ 肖燕雄,卢晓.《新华日报》《大公报》《中央日报》同题新闻抗日话语分析[J].新闻与传播研究,2017,24(09):103-125+128.

④ 张丽敏,叶平枝,李观丽.公共话语中的幼儿园教师形象——基于网络媒体新闻的内容分析与话语分析[J]. 学前教育研究,2020(03):16-30.

⑤ 丁建新,秦勇.社会认知批评话语分析中的非政治化和突生结构——以龙卷风 Sandy 新闻报道为例[J].外语研究,2013(02):8-13.

⑥ 许静.中美外交新闻发布会话语中模糊限制语的对比研究一批评性话语分析路径[D].南京师范大学,2018.

⑦ 钱建伟,Rob Law.基于评价理论介入系统的积极话语分析——以关于中国游客的评论性新闻报道为例[J]. 广西社会科学,2016(06):167-171.

[®] 林国丽,唐伟晶.对经济新闻语篇的积极话语分析[J].黑龙江社会科学,2011(04):103-106.

⑨ 曹进,刘贵阳.网络体育新闻标题中暴力语言的生态话语分析——以 NBA 战报类新闻为例[J].现代传播(中国传媒大学学报),2021,43(10):146-151.

⑩ 袁颖.媒体报道的生态取向:BBC 中国雾霾新闻标题的生态话语分析[J].北京科技大学学报(社会科学版),2018,34(04):33-41.

形象建构、权力视角下的企业家形象建构路径三个维度。

首先是传统媒体新闻生产中的企业家形象建构。就地域而言,当代浙商是中国经济发展的中坚力量之一,媒介形象中呈现着"创新"和"当代儒商"的内涵,媒体致力于发现典型、塑造典型以及培养典型的全过程^①,也助力浙商承担更多的社会责任^②。事实上,"企业家"一词是在中西方文化融合的产物。中国经济改革的步伐、体制改革的推进以及社会心理的变化是影响企业家媒介形象呈现的原因^③。目前,大众媒介呈现出来的中国第三代企业家的媒介形象一扫昔日企业家留给公众的"暴发户"印象,给社会带来了令人振奋的新气象^④。近年来,由"社会性别"引发的社会事件引起了人们的关注。主流媒体在不同阶段塑造的女企业家形象与特定的时代背景息息相关,国家话语塑造了女企业家形象,女性的主体意识增强,但自我话语被遮蔽^⑤。

其次,新媒体语境下的参与式企业家形象建构。企业家公众形象是企业家、媒体与公众在互动中建构的,借助社交媒体这一全新平台[®],企业家可以通过印象管理手段塑造公众形象,为其获取认知合法性[®]。其中,通过媒体关注的中介作用,慈善投入会对企业家声誉产生显著正向影响[®]。在话语分析路径下,受社会、媒介层面影响,身份多元、交际活跃、明星化、励志化演绎出企业家的媒介形象建构过程[®]。在计算社会科学研究范式下,有研究对精英民营企业家的国家形象承载力进行了相关智能判别[®]。但企业家不当的行为也可能导致危机事件,从而影响企业的发展[®]。

再次,权力视角下的企业家形象建构路径。报刊媒体对于企业家形象再现的 充分性和真实性有待提高是由来已久的问题[®]。企业家掌握的财富向媒介的渗透、

① 周明露.改革开放以来浙江民营业者的媒体形象研究[D].浙江大学,2009.

② 李文冰.从《浙商》《中国企业家》杂志封面人物看当代浙商形象的媒介框架[J].中国出版,2018,433 (08):39-42.

③ 周莹.企业家形象媒介呈现的流变[D].安徽大学,2013.

^④ 张琪.第三代企业家媒介形象分析[J].青年记者,2013,428 (24):105-106.

⑤ 王璐璐. 社会性别理论视角下的女企业家媒介形象研究[D].山东大学,2022.

⑥ 孟冉.社交媒体语境下品牌营销传播中企业家形象策略研究[D].西北大学,2018.

② 葛建华,冯云霞.企业家公众形象、媒体呈现与认知合法性——基于中国民营企业的探索性实证分析[J].经济管理,2011,33(03):101-107.

[®] 马占杰.慈善投入、媒体呈现与企业家声誉——基于闽商的探索性实证研究[J].华东经济管理,2017,31 (03):28-31.

⑨ 刘景景.新媒体语境下内地知名企业家的形象建构研究[D].华中师范大学,2017.

⑩ 郑晨予,韦龙.中国精英民营企业家的国家形象承载力实证研究——基于 2017 微信自媒体 10w+文本的智能数据挖掘[J].新闻大学,2018,151(05):135-144+153.

⑩ 窦逸君.当代企业家媒介形象建构[D].陕西师范大学.2014.

^⑫ 刘根勤.大众媒体对企业家群体的形象构图——以南方都市报相关报道为例[J].社会科学论坛,2012,251

媒介管理制度变革导致的媒介商业化运作、受众在媒介诱导下形成的对商业精英的崇拜迷思、政府对媒介的管理和干预等因素,都对企业家媒介形象建构产生了影响^①。因此,新闻专业主义的坚守和平视视角的回归及立体维度的观察与再现在媒介建构企业家形象时显得尤为重要^②,应当力求新闻来源多元化,注重报道对象的广泛性,倡导真实、全面、负责任与专业化的报道^③。

结合以上三个方面,中国媒体视域下,中国企业家媒介形象的研究视角较为 全面。但伴随中国企业全球化战略的不断推进,国外主流媒体的中国企业家媒介 形象研究显得不足。

1.2.3《华尔街日报》话语研究

作为美国付费发行量最大的财经报纸,《华尔街日报》的内容足以影响每日的国际经济活动,是媒介话语研究不可忽视的文本。中国对《华尔街日报》的话语研究,可以从对华报道的失衡与偏见、中国如何建构强大的国际话语体系两个方面进行梳理。

首先是对华报道的失衡与偏见。2007年以后,转而侧重报道中国经济崛起的负面效应"威胁和担忧"框架取代"进步"框架,成为《华尔街日报》涉华经济报道的主导框架。受到诸多因素制约[®],在中国产品[®]、"中美撞机事件"[©]、恐怖事件[®]、中国"一带一路"倡议^{®®}、5G 议题、"中美贸易战"、中国新冠肺炎疫情[®]报道中,《华尔街日报》呈现出政治化、失衡化和污名化的媒介偏向,

^{(11) :224-228.}

① 陈虹虹.企业家形象的报刊媒体再现[D].西北大学,2006.

② 肖凡胜.企业家史玉柱媒介形象分析[D].苏州大学,2010.

③ 张婷.我国民营企业家媒介形象研究(1978-2013)[D].暨南大学,2014.

④ 陈悦.《华尔街日报》涉华经济报道研究[D].中国青年政治学院,2011.

⑤ 李梦悦. 美国主流媒体 2011 年涉华报道框架研究[D].西南政法大学,2012.

⑥ 闫隽,石静远."中国制造"的西方媒介形象——对 2007 年、2008 年《华尔街日报》的内容分析[J].河南社会科学,2010,18(01):183-186.

② 陈寒溪.美国媒体如何"塑造"中国形象——以"中美撞机事件"为例[J].国际新闻界,2001 (03):5-12.

[®] 陈红梅.恐怖事件的报道特征和报道建构——美国报纸对我国三起恐怖事件报道的研究[J].新闻记者,2015,392(10):70-79.

⑨韦宗友.美国媒体对"一带一路"倡议的认知——基于美国三大主流媒体的文本分析[J].国际观察,2018,151 (01):112-126.

^⑩ 周萃,康健.美国主流媒体如何为"一带一路"构建媒介框架[J].现代传播(中国传媒大学学报),2016,38 (06):163-165.

⑩ 连少英,米若玉.《华尔街日报》对我国应对新冠肺炎疫情的报道研究——基于语料库的批评性话语分析[J]. 新闻春秋,2021 (01):40-52.

可以窥见中美国家意识形态、国家利益和民族特点的对抗。同时,以华为^①、腾讯为代表的中国民营跨国企业走向海外遭遇着英美媒体思维定势下的固定成见,中国民营企业的传播战略、中国媒体对外传播策略^②均面临着考验。

在"西强东弱"的传播格局下,中国需要建构一个强大的国际话语体系。但国际话语体系的建立初衷并非只是为了对抗,而是寻求共同利益,形成两国的"共有观念"。在此基础上,重视社交媒体力量,加强多元主体参与,通过讲故事展现新闻的道德力量,推动"想象的共同体"的建构与维系,是新闻业回应现代社会整合难题的重要实践方式。除了借鉴"华尔街日报体"外,《华尔街日报》微内容建设与个性化服务的成功经验对于中国传统媒介数字化有一定的借鉴意义。中国媒体媒体应该在读者当中广泛树立起数据新闻的概念,积极培养专业的从业人员,在现有基础上进行突破创新。同时,基于我国英语对外财经报道的特殊性,英语财经报道人才的培养也较为重要。。

正因如此,面向《华尔街日报》丰富的新闻报道样本,针对具体研究对象的系统性研究尤为重要,可以由微观至宏观的考察媒介话语,进而分析背后的诸多影响因素,为我国媒介话语策略提供一定的借鉴。

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① 李亚飞.建构华为:美国精英报纸媒体对华为报道的框架分析(2005—2015)[J].重庆工商大学学报(社会科学版),2018,35(06):90-96.

② 康健.美国主流媒体如何调整对华报道框架——以《华尔街日报》为例[J].传媒,2016,241(20):45-47.

③ 王莉丽,张文骁.美国媒体报道与中国形象建构——以《华尔街日报》为例[J].现代国际关系,2021,382 (08):18-24.

④ 孙藜.讲故事、受众想像与新闻的道德力量——以《华尔街日报》如何讲故事为例[J].现代传播(中国传媒大学学报),2012,34(03):48-53.

⑤ 郭水香,蒋志高.浅析"华尔街日报体"的采写技巧[J].新闻界,2003(04):19-20.

⑤ 王亿本. "二八"拥抱"长尾"——解读《华尔街日报》数字化时代的微内容建构策略[J].传媒,2008,107 (03):63-64.

② 王忻甜.数据新闻在《华尔街日报》的应用[D].浙江大学,2014.

[®] 李经.英语财经新闻报道[D].上海外国语大学,2006.

2 理论视角: 批判话语分析

2.1 批判话语分析的发展脉络

"作为人们赖以生存的表征方式和符号系统,话语贯穿在政治、经济、文化、历史各领域中"。"广义而言,它是一种交际行为或交际事件,即包含语言形式、意义和行为的复杂系统。话语分析(discourse analysis)的源学科是语言学,自1952年美国结构主义语言学家哈里斯(Z.Harris)在美国《language》杂志上发表"话语分析"一文并首次使用"discourse analysis"这个术语开始,至今已有70余年历史。

上个世纪 90 年代以来,人们愈来愈清楚地认识到语言使用中的变化形式是与广泛的社会文化过程联系在一起的,话语分析超出原来的应用领域,越来越多的学科将该理论应用于社会、文化乃至制度过程等领域。这种"话语转向"也得到传播研究较为积极的响应,在过去不到 20 年的时间里,一些运用话语分析进行的传播研究成果陆续出现。从研究向度上看,话语研究可以分为批判与建构性研究。作为话语分析的一个重要分支,批判话语研究既是话语分析发展的必然逻辑结果,又指引了话语分析的未来发展方向。

批判话语研究把话语的文本分析与话语的社会政治理论进行结合,既能研究话语运用与话语实践变化,又能研究社会、文化和政治变化。具体而言,批判话语分析是综合话语的宏观分析与微观分析的产物,在话语的文本分析中补充了话语的社会、文化、政治批判理论,揭示了话语运作程序、规则和形式中隐藏的权力关系,使话语的文本分析更有社会观察力和解释力;又在宏观的话语社会批判理论中增加了文本分析和话语实践分析,发现了意识形态和权力运作的细微机制,使话语的权力批判理论更具有说服力。因此,批判话语研究是将话语从文本中解放出来,将其带到社会现实的崭新层次上,揭示话语如何由权力和意识形态的关系所构成,以及话语对社会身份、社会关系、知识和信仰体系产生的作用^②。

20世纪80年代,媒介话语研究开始受到学界的关注,并逐渐发展出以费尔克拉夫(Norman Fairclough)的文本、话语实践、社会实践三维话语分析和梵·迪

① 梵·迪克,曾庆香译.作为话语的新闻[M].北京:华夏出版社,2003:26-27.

② 王雪晔.媒介话语动员:建构民族团结的一种策略——基于西北多民族新闻报道的框架分析[J].新闻界,2017(03):2-7.

克(Teun van Dijk)的社会认知分析为代表的多种研究路径。在费尔克拉夫看来,考察媒介话语变迁与社会变化的关系,既要关照文本描述现实、制定社会关系和建构社会身份的多重功能,又要揭示隐藏的联系和原因^①。梵·迪克认为,新闻话语可以借助语言工具表达新闻媒介主体的社会和政治态度,再现新闻领域内一定的权力关系^②。

2.2 批判话语分析的关键概念

2.2.1 话语和文本

文本(text)和话语(discourse)是两个经常被混淆的概念,并且在不同的 学科领域中,这两个词又各有不同的含义,"话语"一词还因法国哲学家福柯的 反复论述而更加名声显赫。在这里,将仅从批判话语分析的角度对这两个词语的 用法和含义加以解释。

在批判话语分析理论家看来,二者最大的区别在于文本是指以具体形态呈现 出来的口语或书写内容,话语则是指结构化的知识和社会实践。通俗的讲,文本 是承载话语的实体,例如一篇新闻报道,或者一则广告;话语则是相对稳定的、 用以构建社会关系的语言实践。在批判话语分析研究中,文本是摆在研究者面前 的语料,话语则是需要研究者通过分析语料来描述、阐释和解释的语言关系。因 此可以说,文本分析是话语分析的一个部分,话语分析的意识形态分析要建立在 文本分析的基础之上。

在费尔克拉夫的批判话语分析中,话语被看作是社会实践的一种形式。话语事件(discursive events)同情境、制度、社会结构等制约话语的诸多条件之间存在着辩证关系。这些因素制造了话语,同时被话语所塑造。话语一方面有助于维持和再生产社会现状,另一方面又致力于改变现状。

① 贺建平,王永芬,马灵燕.受难与国耻建构:"重庆大轰炸"集体记忆的媒介话语策略[J].国际新闻界,2015,37 (12):89-104.

^② TeunA.VanDijk,News Analysis:Cse Studies of International and National News in the Press,Hillsdale,New Jersey:LawrenceErlbaum Associates,1988,p.8.

2.2.2 权力

正是因为看到了话语与社会构成之间存在如此重要的关系,批判话语分析理论家阐释了由话语而生的所谓"权力"的概念。

一切不平等的社会关系都是权力关系,话语对社会关系的塑造本质上是对社会权力结构的塑造。权力包含两方面意义:行为的能力和支配控制他人的能力。话语权力同时包括这两种含义。话语权力是十分隐蔽的,语言本身没有权力,只有当它被拥有权力的人使用后才获得了权力,因此话语之所以生产权力是因为它继承、传播并且再现了社会结构中的权力关系。正是因为话语的这种生产和再生产不平等权力关系的作用,它被认为具有意识形态的属性。可见,话语、权力和意识形态是三个密不可分的概念。

但是,尽管话语的存在必然意味着不平等权力关系的延续,但话语同时也具有反抗的力量。因为权力关系、尤其是存在于话语结构中的社会权力关系,它的实现依赖于权力双方对这种不平等关系的认可和一致的行动,因此任何一方的退出都会打破这种统治。当语言被用来反抗统治、弥合差异的时候,便成了具有批判意义的话语形式。

2.2.3 批判

批判话语分析的批判立场深受法兰克福学派和哈贝马斯理论的影响,致力于 批评和改造社会。批判理论不是简单的讨论社会规范如何作用于个体,它重点在 于分析社会是如何同压迫、剥削和统治关系建立起联系的,或者说,社会结构是 如何被拥有权力的一方占据并利用来实施统治的。批判话语分析正是谋求从语言 学角度回答这个问题。所谓"批评"或"批判",它们关注的是语言背后的统治、 差异与抵抗,讨论不平等的社会关系是如何以话语的形式得以维持并传播的。批 判研究从回答问题出发,目的是解决问题,最终追求一种"解放的目的"。批判 话语分析同批判理论一样,目的都是为了启蒙和解放,通过生产和传播批判的知 识使人们有能力实现"自我解放",从统治和压迫关系中脱身。

2.3 批判话语分析的主要理论成果

2.3.1 诺曼·费尔克拉夫的三维分析模式

诺曼•费尔克拉夫是批评性话语分析的领军人物,他在早期就将自己所从事的语言学研究称为批判语言研究,马克思的辩证唯物主义和批判哲学对费尔克拉夫影响颇大。因此,费尔克拉夫在从事批判话语分析时采取了一种宏大理论取向的研究姿态,他将语言看作是社会冲突的表现形式,试图通过分析话语来解释深植于社会结构中的统治、差异、抵抗和权力关系。他将语言学分析作为分析社会关系和实践活动的工具,将语言作为符号化的社会实践加以认知和研究,因此他的研究强调从文本分析入手,直达最切入社会肌理的权利关系的研究。

费尔克拉夫对批判话语分析做出的最大贡献是提出的三维分析框架(图 2.1)。

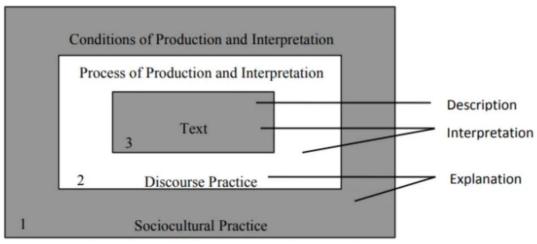


图 2.1 费尔克拉夫的三维分析框架

如图所示,该分析模式包含三层分析单位:文本、话语实践和社会实践。这三层次的分析实际上对应了话语实践(discourse practice)从文本(text)生成(production)到传播(distribution)消费(consumption)的过程,而这一过程从始至终都受社会实践(social practice)条件的影响和制约。

所谓文本是指要分析的语料,常见的包括新闻语篇、政府报告、广告、演说词等。此分析主要是语言学取向的分析,既包括词汇、语法、语义学、声韵等"意义层面"的分析,也包括文本组织构架等"形式层面"的分析。文本分析主要关

注的是作者使用了哪些特殊的语言策略来完成语篇意义的建构,因而这一层次的分析属于微观层面的"描述性"(descriptive)分析,是运用语言学理论描述文本特征。

话语实践分析关注的是文本生产、传播、消费的过程。费尔克拉夫认为这一维度要重点把握两个方面:文本传播的制度性过程(institutional processes)和话语过程(discourse processes)。制度性过程是指媒介文本生产过程中要遵循的惯例流程,即从采访、报道、编辑到报刊或广播电视节目发行、播出等的一系列过程;话语过程则是指文本在生产和消费过程中对其他话语的吸收和借鉴,简单说就是互文性。在费尔克拉夫看来,互文性分析要解释的是文本的相互嵌入和融合,如何将特定语篇同其他文本相互联系,从而使其具有特殊的社会意义。

话语实践分析是连接微观文本分析和第三维度宏观社会实践分析的桥梁。如果说文本分析是一种描述性分析,那么话语实践分析就是阐述性(interpretive)分析,它关注文本生产传播过程中的权力关系。

社会实践分析维度重在"解释"(explain)文本制作和话语实践所处的社会文化语境,分析可以从经济、政治(权力与意识形态)、文化(价值与身份)三方面展开。由于这一维度的宏观性,费尔克拉夫也强调分析不必面面俱到,需要根据不同的研究对象来决定重点的角度。

2.3.2 梵·迪克的话语分析法

荷兰学者梵·迪克是批判话语分析领域著述最多、被引用次数最多、最为活跃的一位学者。他是《话语与社会》《话语与传播》以及《话语分析》三本话语分析领域重要学术期刊的主编,也是较早将话语分析引入媒介研究领域的语言学家。早在上世纪80年代,梵·迪克就在《新闻分析》一书中运用话语分析理论研究了数百篇国际和地方新闻报道。

梵·迪克提出了分析意识形态与话语的三个层面: 社会分析(social analysis)、认知分析(cognitive analysis)和话语分析(discourse analysis)。社会分析的对象是整体社会结构,也就是话语所处的社会语境(context),话语分析是基于文本(text based)的语言学分析,这与费尔克拉夫的三维度模式具有相似之处,区别在于费氏从微观到宏观层层扩展的分析思路,梵·迪克强调从宏观的社会分析

到微观话语分析的步步深入。

梵•迪克对批判话语分析最主要的贡献是提出了认知分析模式 (Socio-cognitive model),这使得他的理论具有了社会心理学的意味,借助认知 分析(cognitive analysis)来连接话语和社会分析。在梵·迪克看来,话语分析 其实就是意识形态分析,因为在任何一种话语的传播过程中,意识形态都会以一 种"典型"的方式被生产和表达出来,话语是一种具有意识形态属性的传播活动。 按照梵•迪克的观点,意识形态是一种人类认知,既可以是个体性认知,也可以 是社会性认知。正是这种社会认知(包含个体性认知和社会性认知)在话语和社 会之间起到了连接作用,赋予了文本以意识形态性,从而形成话语,话语经过广 泛传播,宣传了它承载的意识形态,进而影响了参与传播的社会个体和社会本身, 而社会关系、社会结构又影响了新话语的不断再生产,如此循环,始终贯穿不变 的就是社会认知(social cognition)。社会认知是社会成员思维表达与处理的系 统。为阐释这种认知系统如何传递意识形态,梵·迪克提出了"模式"(Model) 这一概念。这个被他称为"自我服务的认知模式"是指,人们在讲话时倾向于将 自己置于一个"自我与他者"的对立维度中,讲话者往往用积极的词汇描述"我 们",而用消极的词汇描述"他们"。梵·迪克认为,这种"我们 vs.他们"的对 立认知模式普遍存在于一切话语形式中,它控制了人们的行为、演说和写作,也 影响着人们如何理解他们的社会行为。在这个对立模式的影响下,无论是个体还 是组织都自然会遵从自己所属群体(group)的集体认知,这种集体认知经过抽 象便是所谓的"意识形态"。

对梵·迪克而言,找出话语关系中对立的认知对批判话语分析至关重要,因 为认知的对立归根到底是意识形态的对立,而意识形态的对立反映到社会关系上, 便是权力的差异、统治与抵抗等批判话语分析所最为关注的根本问题。

2.4 研究方法及问题

事实上,作为一种旨在分析和揭露公共话语中隐藏的权力和意识形态关系的 "工具语言学",批判话语分析并没有一套固定的理论体系和方法论,它的跨学 科性决定了批判话语分析的研究是从不同学科中吸取不同的理论方法,按需使用。 但是为了方便研究,不少学者还是总结出了一些具有普遍适用性的方法,例如从 系统功能语言学中继承的及物性、情态、分类和转换的分析方法等。

就新闻语篇而言,本研究认为费尔克拉夫的三维分析模式是最适用的,同时 梵·迪克结构化的分析单个文本的结构及组织方式,以及关照文本的生成及消费 过程也值得借鉴。因此,本研究将结合二者优势,沿着费尔克拉夫的研究路径进 行分析,在必要时穿插梵·迪克的话语分析方法。首先,结合系统功能语言学和 新闻话语结构分析的方法,分析语篇的话语策略、生成技巧;然后从新闻报道生 产和传播、消费的角度探讨运用这些话语策略和技巧的原因,即可能存在的倾向 性是什么、想要达到的传播目的又是什么;最后从媒体的政治经济属性、媒体所 处的社会文化语境等更宏观的角度分析这些话语过程背后更深层次的意识形态 和权力结构。

基于此,研究将探讨的问题界定为,中国改革开放以来,《华尔街日报》的 新闻话语建构了怎样的中国企业家主体形象?从话语策略而言,上述主体形象的 建构是怎样实现的?深入社会实践层面,这些话语实践可用什么样的社会现实进 行解释?由此反映了怎样的权力关系与意识形态?

2.5 研究样本

为确保研究的准确性和深度,样本选取方面,首先,本研究选择了 ProQuest databases 中的《华尔街日报》数据库作为研究的数据源,该数据库收录的文献具有一定的权威性和广泛性。基于研究议题和目的,确定了"Chinese Entrepreneur"和"Chinese Entrepreneurs"作为关键词进行搜索,这两个关键词能够较为精准地捕捉到《华尔街日报》中关于中国企业家的报道,确保样本的针对性和相关性。在确定了搜索关键词后,对 1978 年至 2022 年间的《华尔街日报》进行了全文搜索。这一时间跨度覆盖了改革开放以来的重要历史时期,提供了研究中国企业家媒介形象的丰富素材。然而,初步搜索获得的 1998 篇报道中包含了许多与研究主题不直接相关的内容。因此,笔者进行了严格的样本筛选工作。首先,逐一排除重复的样本,以确保研究的唯一性。其次,仔细辨别存在歧义的样本,以避免对研究结果产生错误影响。最后,剔除弱相关的样本,如读者来信、书评等,以确保研究的聚焦性和深度。经过上述筛选过程,最终获得了 201 篇有效样本(见 附录)。这些样本不仅具有代表性,而且涵盖了不同年份、不同主题的报道,为研

究提供了有力的数据支持。

2.6 研究创新点

2.6.1 理论创新

费尔克拉夫和梵·迪克话语分析方法的结合。费尔克拉夫的分析较为细致,"互文性"的研究能够更好地将单独的文本与文本群或社会语境相连,建立起微观到宏观的广泛联系;梵·迪克的分析方法较为结构化,易于分析单个文本的结构及组织方式,同时梵·迪克更加注重文本的生成过程及消费过程。因此,本研究结合二者优势,沿着费尔克拉夫的研究路径进行分析,在必要时穿插梵·迪克的话语分析方法。

2.6.1 研究对象创新

批判话语分析视角与国外主流财经媒体中国企业家媒介形象研究的结合。首 先,在媒介分析中,批判话语研究多面向具体的国际新闻事件,针对不同国家的 媒体报道展开分析。其次,对中国企业家媒介形象的话语研究,多以中国主流财 经媒体的新闻报道为研究对象。本研究引入批判话语分析理论的同时,以美国主 流财经媒体《华尔街日报》的中国企业家媒介形象为研究对象,在这一理论与研 究对象的结合中实现创新。

3 文本向度分析: 负面形象建构与定位

在费尔克拉夫的三维分析模型中,文本向度分析包括词汇、语法、连贯性、文本结构分析。词汇包括语词意义、语词表达以及隐喻等,其中隐喻普遍存在于所有种类的语言中和所有种类的话语中,不仅是话语的表面文体装饰,还通过一种普遍的和根本的途径,构建起大众的思维方式和行为方式,以及知识体系和信仰体系;语法包括及物性、名词化、陈述句、现在时态、被动语态、情态化表达等;连贯性指的是分句之间连接成句子的方式,包括重复语词、使用近义或同义词、使用代词、使用定冠词、使用指示词、省略重复词以及使用连接词等;文本结构涉及文本"建筑学",特别是不同类型文本的高层次的设计属性,即什么样的要素或插曲以何种方式、何种顺序得以连接。

《华尔街日报》在报道中国企业家时,利用词汇、语法、连贯性、文本结构等方法,通过"个人特征""经营特点""营商环境"等方面,隐秘地预设了中国企业家的负面形象。

3.1 盲目追逐利益的个人特征

在新闻文本中,中国企业家的个人特征被定义成盲目逐利的负面形象,他们擅长投机,极力谋取个人利益,为达到目的刚愎自用,从而使他们愈加显得缺乏思考力、决断力。这种负面形象不能真实的反映中国企业家,从而误导了受众的认知。

3.1.1 负面形容与直白描述的词汇

《华尔街日报》除了在少篇幅的报道中应用了杰出的(prominent)等正面词汇,多数报道仍以负面词汇直接凸显中国企业家的形象(表 3.1)。

表 3.1 个人特征词汇分析(1)

具体的修饰词汇、	词组	来源
光冲的影响响化、	内组	/ 1/3

① 诺曼·费尔克拉夫, 殷晓蓉译. 话语与社会变迁[M].北京:华夏出版社, 2003:72.

ridiculous, paranoid (荒唐的、固执的)	1984-004
complain (抱怨)	2014-004
Chinese men accustomed to carrying around large sums of cash.(喜爱随身携带大量现金)	2004-010
make life miserable(让生活很痛苦)	2009-003
boasted (吹嘘)	2022-005
little-known(不知名的)	2022-001
touted itself(吹嘘自己)	2020-013
boasting of (吹嘘)	2018-005
tight control of(严格控制)	2018-005
tight control of his company(对公司的高度控制)	2018-008
Rather than being a shining star of visionary entrepreneurship(不是一个有远见的创业明星)	2017-006
the country's privileged few(国家的特权阶层)	1992-002
brash, boastful, volatile(傲慢,自吹自擂,不稳定)	1998-002
long-frustrated(长期沮丧的)	1997-001
sentimentalist (悲观主义者)	1996-004
illegal fundraising (非法筹款)	2012-002
waning entrepreneurial zeal(创业热情削减)	2013-001

从词性来看,偏离客观公正的原则,片面的对中国企业家的行动进行消极定义,试图建构缺乏思考力、决断力的形象。在描述中国企业家爱吹嘘(boasted,touted)、抱怨(complain)时多使用动词,突出他们的负面情绪,以此反映企

1986-002

业家的傲慢和不满。在形容词方面,多是对企业家行事结果的评断,如他们在思考问题时是固执的(paranoid)、荒谬的(ridiculous),为了获取更大经济利益让自己陷入痛苦(make life miserable)。

在隐喻方面,通过一些简单的词汇,尝试勾勒出中国企业家卑微、投机等负面特征(表 3.2)。如在描述企业家的身材、外貌时,矮小(short)、秃头的(bald)细节,对于以专业报道闻名的《华尔街日报》来说实则是多余之笔,其目的不言而喻,也存在着某种意义上的歧视。在描述企业家的成长历程时,对农民(farmer)、初中辍学(unior-high-school dropout)、硅谷崇拜者(admirer of Silicon Valley)等角色属性的强调,无异于是以居高临下的姿态,表现中国企业家缺乏知识和抱负。同时,一个多彩的角色(A colorful figure)、聪明的市场营销人员和活跃的博客作者(brilliant marketer and active blogger)、暴发户(the nouveaux riches)等隐喻,暗示着中国企业家难以专注于自己的事业,缺乏长期耕耘的精神。

具体的修饰词汇、词组 来源 A colorful figure(一个多彩的角色),brilliant marketer and active blogger(聪明 2009-007 的市场营销人员和活跃的博客作者) short, bald, junior-high-school dropout(低矮、秃头、初中辍学) 1989-001 farmer-turned-entrepreneur(农民转变为企业家)、 the nouveaux riches(暴发户) 2004-008 a 37-year-old admirer of Silicon Valley(一位 37 岁的硅谷崇拜者) 2020-012 a cautionary tale of the hype (一个关于炒作的警示性故事) 2017-006 grown up poor amid the mud-brick farmhouses and rice fields (在泥砖的农舍和稻田 2004-015 中长大)

表 2 个人特征词汇分析(3.2)

3.1.2 突显主导地位与刻意重构语境的语法及连贯性

peasant entrepreneurs(农民企业家)

在新闻报道的段落中, 句子多以中国企业家为主语进行引导, 表明动作发起

者的主导地位,紧跟在后的动词发挥细节刻画作用,加之副词的强调,实现对话语偏向性的加强。在句子的连结方面,对连接词的使用似乎并不频繁,而是通过前句对企业家主导的一件行为的陈述,后句对另一件消极事实的陈述,建立两句话的因果或其他逻辑关联,实现对企业家负面形象的建构(表 3)。

表 3.3 个人特征语法及连贯性分析

=_1/\chi_+\dot*/.		7年上江经出八	चे अ ट
动作者	过程	目标与环境成分	来源
pharmaceutical billionaire Zhao Tao(中国制药亿万 富翁)	cultivated (已经培养了), seeking to and securing (正在寻找和获得)	close ties with Beijing,move in influential circles abroad and a top-flight foreign education for his child. (中国富人培植关系,为孩子寻求优质海外教育)	2019-007
Some entrepreneurs (一些企业家)	are unwilling to (不愿意)	grapple with the uncertainty and are shifting out of China. (中国企业家不愿意面对不确定性)	2022-007
Mr. Lei(雷军)	frequently compared (反复比 较), boasting of (吹嘘)	the phone to Apple's iPhone X, better photography, longer battery life and a lower price tag. (中国企业家自不量力)	2018-005
Xiaomi (小米)	disclosed(已经揭露)	it rewarded Mr. Lei in April with 64 million shares for contributions to our company. (中国企业家从企业中分得了丰厚的利润)	2018-005
Chinese entrepreneurs(中国 企业家)	account for (占据)	three-quarters of the EB-5 U.S. visas green cards for foreigners willing to put \$1 million down. (占据了绿卡的四分之 三)	2014-003
That swagger(这种 傲慢)	served(已经帮助)	Mr. Jia in building an empire that sprawled across seven industries, from online video content to smartphones to electric cars. (中国企业家傲慢,毫无约束的扩张)	2017-006
Wang Shi(王石)	used (已经使用), violated (已经违 反)	his position to get huge remuneration, hurting the company and shareholders' interests, and the legal regulations on corporate directors' duties. (中国企业家 攫取公司利益, 伤害投资者以及违反管理职责)	2016-003
a weak, corrupt legal system(一个 脆弱、腐败的司法 系统)	may sometimes work in favor of (可能有时会支 持)	entrepreneurs while they're clawing their way up. (脆弱、腐败的法律体系有利于中国企业家)	2014-011

Memento-button entrepreneur Mr. Li (一位中国企业 家)	resorts to(诉诸)	closing deals the old-fashioned way: by mail and fax. (中国企业家用老式的方式完成交易)	2004-013
primarily entrepreneurs(小企 业家)	are starting to buy (正在开始买)	smaller items in stores.(中国小企业家 热衷于买奢侈品)	2004-016
the very rich and successful businessmen(非常成功和富有的商人)	are now joining (正在加入)	the long queues of applicants for emigration. (中国企业家热衷移民)	1986-003
the women(女企业 家)	turn into (变成)	Armed with this borrowed cash, entrepreneurs. (女企业家需要资金支持)	1996-002

以下选取几个典型段落进行分析:

Like many affluent Chinese, pharmaceutical billionaire Zhao Tao cultivated close ties with Beijing, while seeking to move in influential circles abroad and securing a top-flight foreign education for his child. (2019-007)

这段文字的主语是一位中国医疗产业的企业家赵先生,但开头的修饰语表明他与许多中国的富人一样,即赋予了该个案普遍性。主语后接了第一个动词和宾语,北京在这里指代政府,表明赵与之建立的紧密联系,暗示着可能存在的官商勾结等行为。随后 while 的连结发挥了解释作用,验证了上述猜想,赵先生所代表的企业家们借助官方力量,进入海外有影响力的圈子,并为子女谋求顶级教育资源。通过聚焦具体的人,报道较为详细的描写了一位企业家运用经济资本攫取政治资本和社会资本的过程,并通过补充将之表现为中国企业家的普遍现象。虽然报道并未明确消息来源,但细节化的呈现增添了可信度,某种程度上勾勒出了中国企业家热衷于谋取个人利益的负面形象。

At the launch event at a stadium in Shanghai, Mr. Lei frequently compared the phone to Apple's iPhone X, boasting of better photography, longer battery life and a lower price tag. (2018-005)

这段文字开头是一个地点状语,具体说明事件发生的空间,精确的描述能够

提升报道的可信度。短语后出现主语雷军——中国知名企业家。副词频繁的(frequently)发挥强调作用,形容后面的动词比较(compared),表明该行为并非偶然发生,具有普遍性。动词后接的宾语指出比较的是苹果手机 10,它象征着较为高端的手机制造水平。紧跟着的从句是对上一句的补充,即解释比较了什么,吹嘘(boasting of)这一明显带有否定意味的词汇体现出了态度——此次的比较是不自量力的。由此,建构出中国企业家炫耀浮夸的形象。

Xiaomi's filing also laid out Mr. Lei's tight control of the company: Any meeting of the board of directors must include him. Xiaomi also disclosed that it rewarded Mr. Lei in April with 64 million shares for "contributions to our company."Xiaomi reported a loss of 43.89 billion yuan (\$6.9 billion) last year. Excluding one-time charges, it had a profit of 5.36 billion yuan. (2018-005)

第一句是宾语从句,小米的文件(Xiaomi's filing)是主语,阐述(laid out)是宾语,后面指出阐述的内容是雷先生对公司实施了严格的控制。可以看出,阐述出的内容并非客观描述,而是具备主观色彩的负面形容,意味着公司缺乏民主或者合理的管理制度,完全体现创始人意志,难以长久发展。冒号后面的内容是对主观形容的客观补充,即任何董事会会议都必须包括雷先生。显然,这句话可以进行多重解释,如雷先生重视公司董事会会议的举措,必须参与讨论和决策,这种解释则和前述给出的主观判断截然不同。因此,报道正是利用对文本解释的话语权,试图对公众输出中国企业家推崇"一言堂"、刚愎自用的负面形象。

Xiaomi also disclosed that it rewarded Mr. Lei in April with 64 million shares for "contributions to our company."Xiaomi reported a loss of 43.89 billion yuan (\$6.9 billion) last year. Excluding one-time charges, it had a profit of 5.36 billion yuan. (2018-005)

本段落的第二句、第三句和第四句是一个整体,力求建构中国企业家追求个人利益且不顾及公司发展的自私形象。"也(also)"表明这句话与上一句表达的中心思想是不矛盾的,进一步深化企业家的负面形象。小米(Xiaomi)做主语,后面是动词透露(disclosed)引导的宾语从句,补充说明今年4月,公司给雷军

6400 万股,以奖励他对公司的贡献。前一句提到的是雷军对公司实施了严格的控制,因此报道想要说明,正是在雷军的控制下,公司才会做出发行大额股份奖励他本人的行为,实现个人利益的最大化。随即,引出了小米去年披露(reported)的利润水平,结果是亏损(loss)数十亿美元,但除去一次性费用(one-time charges),则可实现盈利(profit)。这两句话未用连接词,似乎彼此无法构成联系。但通过前后的精准数据,突出业绩反差,试图表明企业家的个人行为影响到了公司的盈利水平。

3.1.3 市场背景承压嫁接新闻事件报道的文本结构

《华尔街日报》在报道中国企业家的过程中,文本结构的搭建有惯常使用的 技巧,如开篇软导语介入,叙述消极的宏大背景,再引出新闻事件的主人公并为 新闻事件进行主观定性。在描述中国企业家个人特征时,报道又具有独特性,以 将要展开分析的一篇关于李彦宏的报道为例,为突出李的负面形象,报道进行了 大量的关于百度经营业绩、市场影响力下降的铺垫,再通过对李的个人管理风格 的描述,将他与前者建立因果联系,实现负面形象的建构。

报道原文:

China Circuit: Baidu Acts to Regain Influence, Make AI Inroads (2017-001)

Whether successful entrepreneurs make good managers is a topic of much debate. Steve Jobs stumbled in Apple Inc.'s early days, being ousted by the CEO he hired before making a comeback 12 years later. Google's founders, Sergey Brin and Larry Page, listened to their investors and brought in Eric Schmidt as CEO in 2001.

Robin Li, chief executive of Baidu Inc., is starting to address this issue 17 years after he co-founded what became China's dominant search engine and 12 years after its initial public offering on Nasdaq. Mr. Li said this week that he would hand day-to-day management to Qi Lu, a well-regarded former Microsoft Corp. executive hired as group president. Though he retains the chief-executive title, Mr. Li says the change frees him to focus on strategy and investments.

The decision was greeted with quiet relief in some executive offices at Baidu and by applause from industry insiders. "This is about the only positive news for Baidu in a long time," said Feng Dahui, founder of an online search startup, of Mr. Lu's appointment. It comes as Baidu has been slipping in market valuation and influence, and Mr. Li's effectiveness as a manager has been called into question by online users and his own executives.

Last year, the death of a young cancer patient, after he tried an alternative treatment advertised on a Baidu link, battered the company's image and prompted the government to overhaul online advertising regulations. A Baidu spokeswoman said at the time that the company regretted the man's death and was committed to providing "a safe and trustworthy search experience for our users." Baidu also scaled back on a money-burning foray into mealdelivery and group shopping.

For years, Baidu has squandered its once-towering position in the Chinese internet world. Baidu dominates search with what effectively became a state-gifted internet monopoly after China blocked Alphabet Inc.'s Google. Baidu rose to become one of China's biggest internet companies by market capitalization.

Now Baidu lags behind, having about a quarter of the market valuations of its two biggest competitors, e-commerce titan Alibaba Group Holding Ltd. and Tencent Holdings Ltd., which dominates mobile messaging.

The reason? Baidu became too comfortable in its monopoly position. The company was slow to ride China's jump from desktop internet to mobile internet -- a move that started gathering momentum in 2010 when Google's search engine became completely blocked in China. In the third quarter of 2016, Baidu generated 80% of total search revenue in China, according to Analysys International.

Mr. Li, at a news conference Wednesday, defended his leadership, saying he isn't retiring and is confident that Baidu is destined for global influence. Baidu declined to answer questions for this column.

Baidu isn't out of ideas or big initiatives. Since last year, Mr. Li has been repositioning the company as a leader in artificial intelligence -- an area in which Baidu has advantages over its rivals in talent and technology, given AI's critical role in the search algorithm. Baidu is also making an aggressive push into the driverless-car and related technologies.

In the management change, all senior executives who used to report to Mr. Li now report to Mr. Lu, who oversaw Microsoft's Office business until resigning in September. Mr. Li still retains the chief-executive title, and it isn't clear if and when he would hand that to Mr. Lu.

Current and former Baidu executives point to Mr. Li's alternately aloof and controlling styles for some of the company's problems.

Mr. Li is known for holing up in his office much of the time. He doesn't communicate frequently, even with his direct reports, the former and current Baidu executives say.

Sometimes executives go to Mr. Li's wife, Ma Dongmin, to promote their ideas, finding her a conduit to get feedback from her husband. Ms. Ma rejoined Baidu officially this month to be Mr. Li's special assistant, according to a Baidu executive.

A Baidu spokeswoman declined to comment on Mr. Li's management style and Ms. Ma's role. Mr. Li said at the news conference that his management style is to let subordinates with whom he disagrees do things their way until they are proven wrong.

One Baidu executive says that he sympathizes with Mr. Li because both are programmers-turned-managers. "I think we have the same management problems: we don't like communicating and want to stay out of politics," he says. "He made the right decision by stepping aside."

以下是具体分析:

题目:《中国赛道:百度重拾影响力,打造 AI 赛道》(2017-001)

题目是陈述句,主语百度(Baidu)是报道主体,重拾(Regain)有两重意义,既说明百度会重新建立影响力,后面的状语补充为打造 AI 赛道(Make AI Inroads),但另一方面则暗示百度目前处于低谷,能否有明显的增长尚待时间考验,由此试图定位企业的消极发展态势。

导语由两个段落组成,第一段是从专业的角度,强调成功的企业家成为优秀管理者的争议性(a topic of much debate),援引了两家美国著名企业苹果和谷歌的案例,目的是解释为何该问题是充满争议的。第二段则回到具体的新闻事件中,李彦宏(Robin Li)作主语,开始(is starting to)是谓语,this issue 指代上一段

提到的问题,纳斯达克上市(on Nasdaq)则体现新闻事件的接近性。随后间接引用李的公开发言,进一步指出将由谁担任管理者(day-to-day management),以及李之后的去向(retains the chief-executive title)。Though 引导了一个转折,表明李此次的权力交接并不是彻底的,尽管他有所解释(focus on strategy and investments),但仍容易让受众产生质疑。某种程度上,报道试图渲染中国企业家对企业控制权的过度把控。

第一部分论证:百度的经营发展滞缓

第一段的第一句通过百度内部的回应承接上文的新闻事件,平静的回应(quiet relief)和业内人士也报以掌声(applause from industry insiders)表明积极正面的反响。随后的直接引语,则更鲜明的表示这是利好消息(positive news)。但这样的反响也从侧面表明,市场不认可李彦宏的经营管理能力,only 也将百度欠佳的经营情况与李的能力挂钩,试图烘托李的负面形象。It comes as 表并列,具体说明百度目前的市场估值和影响力的下滑(has been slipping),过去现在时表明下行的趋势并未终结,有继续的可能。来自网络用户和百度高管(online users and his own executives)的质疑(has been called into question)在末尾起到强调作用,说明这一问题早已被广泛关注,但这句话并未进行论证,存在观点偏向。

第二段并没有报道百度的业绩和股价表现,而是引入了一个去年发生的与百度相关的社会事件。首先,叙述了事件发生的过程和结果,年轻的癌症患者因百度的链接选择了代替疗法而死亡(death),动词 advertised 则加强了百度在这一悲剧中的作用。年轻、癌症、死亡等词汇使读者共情,进一步凸显百度极其不负责任的的负面形象。损害(battered)、促进(prompted)引导的从句作补充,说明事件的结果,company's image 所表现出的程度过轻,容易让读者产生对百度惩罚不够严厉的不满,在线广告法规全面改革(overhaul online advertising regulations)则体现了百度自律意识的不足。随后用百度发言人的间接引语,突出权威性,遗憾(regretted)显示出的程度仍然较轻。之后,报道以 also 提示百度同时进行的工作,即缩减(scaled back)与主业不相关的送餐和团购领域业务(mealdelivery and group shopping),暗示百度的经营方向存在问题。

与上段的社会层面不同,第三段是从市场层面分析百度的下降。开头便用多年来(For years)表示百度下降时间之长,浪费(has squandered)反映出它的下

降是可以避免的,因为百度原本占据了中国互联网市场的崇高地位(once-towering position)。后面的一句话补充了百度的垄断地位(internet monopoly)是政策的支持,暗示其并非具备领先的技术,去对抗国外互联网企业(Alphabet Inc.'s Google)。随后的市值最大(biggest internet companies by market capitalization)试图与现状形成对比,突出百度的退步。

第四段开头再次强调百度落后了(lags behind),市值是阿里巴巴(Alibaba Group Holding Ltd.)、腾讯(Tencent Holdings Ltd.)的四分之一(a quarter of),通过数字进行直观论证。

第五段用问句开头,展开对上述现象原因(reason)的分析。变得安逸(became too comfortable)是一个并不严谨的表达,未对具体的原因进行说明。随后一句话进一步表明,百度的增长缓慢与国外企业禁止进入中国的举措密切相关。尾句通过引语第三方机构的数据,表现客观性,通过具体的比例(80% of total search revenue in China),表明百度在政策支持下的优势地位之明显。

第二部分论证: 李彦宏的经营管理能力存疑

第一段引入了百度创始人李彦宏近期的公开发言,与前述百度落后的状况形成对比,试图说明李对自我能力存在认知偏差。李认可自己的领导能力(leadership),通过间接引语,表示百度会产生全球影响力(global influence)。

第二段对百度的创新能力进行补充,开头便通过不缺乏创意或重大举措(isn't out of ideas or big initiatives)说明它是有实力的。从"去年以来(Since last year)"的具体时间表述,加强论证的时效性和真实性,重新定位(repositioning)表示李对公司战略的调整,并表明百度在人工智能(artificial intelligence)领域打造出了竞争优势(advantages)。同时,also 也展示了百度在无人驾驶(driverless-car)技术领域的发展。这一部分突出了李的战略眼光,反映了作为创始人,他对公司长远发展的规划能力,但也回应了开头的问题——创始人是否能够成为合格的管理人,而百度的下降也暗示着公司经营管理是存在问题的。

第三段承接上文,直入此次新闻事件百度管理层的变动(management change),指出过去向李汇报工作的高管现在都向陆汇报工作(report to),表现着李应对自己管理问题的处理方案。报道反复强调陆在微软的履历(Microsoft's Office),能够反映出他的能力出众,但更深层次也表现了美国企业具备着先进

的管理理念。尾句留下悬念,描述李目前保留着首席执行官的头衔(the chief-executive title),仍然存在不确定性,引发市场对李行为的猜测和质疑。

第四段继续围绕李彦宏,使用间接引语,通过百度现任和前任高管(Current and former Baidu executives)的话,说明李的性情难以捉摸(alternately aloof and controlling styles)。一般来讲,稳定的管理方式能够让员工形成稳定的预期,过多不确定性会增加运营风险。从这个角度,这一段借助公司内部人士的话试图构建李不善经营的形象。

第五段以众所周知(is known for)开头,表明李行为的普遍性,即他大部分时间都待在办公室(holing up in his office),即便与直接下属(direct reports)也不经常沟通(doesn't communicate frequently),甚至(even)加强语气,话语具有明显偏向性,表明李缺乏对一线员工的关注,缺乏协调能力。同时,百度前任和现任高管(the former and current Baidu executives say)的话语引用,力求加强论证的可信度。

第五段承接上段的沟通话题,通过陈述句增强话语气势,描述李与公司高管是如何进行沟通的,即让他的妻子马女士(Ma Dongmin)发挥中间人的作用,建立反馈渠道(feedback from her husband),Sometimes 表示这一情况的经常性。随后又间接引用百度高管的话(according to a Baidu executive),表示这一沟通机制将成为常态。对大多数企业和公众而言,这一做法是缺乏合理性的,因为上下级的直接沟通能够尽量减少信息传递时的偏差,报道对李与高管们的沟通方式的描述,试图再次强调其缺乏沟通能力。

第六段开头先陈述百度发言人拒绝(declined to)评论李的管理风格和马的角色(Mr. Li's management style and Ms. Ma's role),承接上述内容,也易引起外界质疑。随后李的公开发言,试图进一步验证他在管理中的强势以及拒绝妥协(until they are proven wrong)。

第七段使用直接引语,似乎是在为李缺乏管理能力提供反例,但实际上,仍然加强了之前的论证。所谓的同情(sympathizes with),仅是在表明这位接受采访的百度高管(One Baidu executive)存在同样的问题(have the same management problems)——不喜欢沟通和参与政治(don't like communicating and want to stay out of politics)。通过"我们(we)"的叙述,强调问题存在的普遍性,试图建

构出中国企业家广泛的存在经营能力问题。随后辞职(stepping aside)的表述,则对这一问题提出了解决途径。

3.2 欠缺创新能力的经营情况

中国企业家在经营情况方面被有偏差的定义为欠缺创新能力的负面形象,导致他们不擅经营、急躁冒进,并且缺乏法治意识,压榨劳动者,以及长期游走在灰色地带。

3.2.1 多角度倾向性描述的词汇

在报道中国企业家的经营情况时,《华尔街日报》选取的案例以企业家失败的经营成绩为主,对取得突出经营成果的企业家着墨甚少。从选取报道对象来看,缺乏普遍意义的中国企业家数量偏多。若报道如马云、雷军等知名企业家,也多以经营中遇到的困难为新闻点(表 3.4)。

表 3.4 经营情况词汇分析(1)

具体的修饰词汇、词组	来源
lack of transparency in those deals(这些交易缺乏透明性)	2014-006
cash out to foreign(境外套现)	2009-001
rabble-rousing speeches(煽动民心的演讲),virtually no oversight(几乎没有监管)	2009-007
quality suffered(质量受到影响)	2022-004
too aggressive(太激进)	2022-004
goofy dancing and lip-syncing videos(愚蠢的舞蹈和假唱视频)	2020-012
a stunning comedown(一个令人震惊的没落)	2020-013

notorious marketplaces(臭名昭著的市场)	2018-001
pillage(掠夺)	2009-008
illegal fundraising(非法融资)	2021-014
The massive piracy of products and software(大量的盗版产品和软件)	1995-001
theft of intellectual property(窃取知识产权)	2017-008
illegally(非法的)	1992-006
corrupt (腐败的)	2007-001
desperate(绝望的)	2005-002
absconded entrepreneurs and some suicides(潜逃的企业家和一些自杀者)	2011-001
gift-giving (送礼的)	2011-002

在从经营决策到执行方面,中国企业家的战略一般被描述为过于激进(too aggressive),投身于发展前景并不明朗的市场(notorious marketplaces),导致产品质量受到影响(quality suffered),如描述抖音推出的产品为愚蠢的舞蹈和假唱视频(goofy dancing and lip-syncing videos),相关手机制造业被隐喻为廉价工厂和山寨(Known for cheap factories and fake iPhones),最终则是经营受阻(a stunning comedown)、股价下行等消极结果。通过具有明显偏向性的描述词汇,建构出中国企业家不擅经营、急躁冒进的负面形象。

同时,报道倾向于表现中国企业家在经营过程中的灰色行为,试图建构缺乏法治意识、投机取巧的形象(表 3.5)。比如,中国企业家会利用监管的空白地带(virtually no oversight),以缺乏透明性的交易(lack of transparency in those deals),暗箱操作,掠夺式(pillage)的获取财富。更有甚者,通过各种手段,如煽动民心的演讲(rabble-rousing speeches)、保住面子的解决方式(settled with face-saving),寻找利益最大化的机会,如境外套现(cash out to foreign)。报道也使用了带有负面色彩的短语,对上述行为进行了隐喻式的评价,如描述中国企业家为现代军阀(modern warlord)、一个类似黑手党的组织(the boss of a mafia-like organization),以此强调企业家处事的非法性。

表 3.5 经营情况词汇分析(2)

具体的修饰词汇、词组	来源
modern warlord(现代军阀)	1989-001
the boss of a mafia-like organization(一个类似黑手党的组织)	2014-010
gray areas of government policy(政府政策的灰色地带)	2009-004
settled with face-saving(保住面子的解决方式)	2009-007
Known for cheap factories and fake iPhones(以廉价工厂和假手机文明)	2014-007
end up in jail(被关进监狱)	2014-011
gangster (黑帮)	2014-013
scandal (丑闻)	1992-005
stop borrowing is like telling a wave not to break(停止借贷就像是在告诉一股浪潮不要崩溃)	1993-002
"underworld-style" crime(黑社会式犯罪)	2021-015
foreign patents and copyrights(外国专栏和版权)	1995-002
a far cry from the heady optimism(与令人兴奋的乐观主义相去甚远)	1995-004
tightening of wallets(钱包紧缩)	2015-002

3.2.2 强化从句铺垫作用的语法及连贯性

在描述经营情况的段落中,除了与"个人特征"相同的以中国企业家为主语,

选取并不具有典型意义的企业家进行描述成为了《华尔街日报》的惯用技巧,为使个别案例上升至普遍意义,从句中的背景铺垫、解释等成为了二者建立联系的主要方式(表 3.6)。

表 3.6 经营情况语法及连贯性分析

动作者	过程	目标与环境成分	来源
Chinese entrepreneur (中国 企业家)	threatened (已经威 胁了)	takeover(被收购)	1984-001
some new entrepreneurs(一 些新企业家)	treat(威胁)	company property technically government-owned as their own. (将公司财产 视为自己的)	1994-005
Microsoft's billionaire founder Bill Gates (微软创 始人比尔•盖茨)	spurred (鼓动)	no official effort to curb the piracy undermining Microsoft's plans.(没有官方努力打击破坏微软计划的盗版)	1994-008
Mr. Ni(一名中国 企业家)	chides(责 备)	U.S. workers as being overly coddled. (美国工人被过度保障)	2004-004
local governments joined with state banks and entrepreneurs(政 府和国、民营企业 家)	seize(夺 取)	farmers' land and make way for big developments and factories.(企业家参与夺取农民土地)	2004-007
Chinese entrepreneurs (中 国企业家)	operate (运作)	in gray areas of government policy, and that has provoked investigations of those who have gotten rich. (企业家游走在政策的灰色地带)	2009-004
Chinese entrepreneurs and private citizens (中 国企业家和普通 公民)	trying to (正在尝 试)	address concerns over global warming, a nascent trend that could have significant long-term impact on the ability of the world's largest greenhouse-gas emitter to curb its effects on the climate. (中国企业对环境破坏大)	2009-008
two entrepreneurs in Shanghai(两位 在上海的企业家)	drew(已 经遭到)	criticism for mimicking features of Musical.ly, an app founded. (中国企业家开发的应用被批评)	2019-001
China's economic slowdown (中国经济下行)	is making (正在导 致)	Ms. Zhou known for something else: her billions of dollars in debt. (这位企业家因数十亿美元的债务闻名)	2019-003
Mr. Zhang(一位中 国企业家)	tried to (已经尝 试)	bring in customers by buying items such as toilet paper in bulk and bargaining for a good price. (通过讨价还价手法吸引顾客)	2019-005

a little-known entrepreneur then in his 30s(一位不 知名的 30 岁的企 业家)	led(已经 领导)	Two foundry projects, help show why China has yet to succeed.(年轻且不知名的中国企业家导致了芯片创业项目的失败)	2022-001
Chinese founders (中国企业创始 人)	unwilling to reduce (不愿减 少)	are often rich on paper but short on cash, and their ownership by selling share. (中国企业创始人富有但缺乏现金)	2019-009
Chinese companies (中国公司)	copying, stealing, using (复 制,盗取, 使用)	other countries' technology, an educated, motivated and lower-paid workforce to make the resulting products more cheaply. (中国企业缺乏自主创新能力)	2022-002
Zhang Yong(一家 中国火锅企业的 创始人)	stepped down (已 经卸任)	as chief executive, as the Chinese chain of hot-pot restaurants tries to move past an ill-timed expansion. (中国企业家经营不善)	2022-004
A former soldier (退役军人)	founded (已经成 立), grew (已经扩 张)	Dawu Group in the 1980s as a pig and chicken-farming business in his home province of Hebei, and its operations to include fertilizers, tourism and other interests. (中国企业家盲目的多元化经营)	2021-014
NIO(一家中国电 动车企业)	has yet to turn(还没 有实现)	a profit. (中国企业家经营不善)	2018-007
Mr. Li's effectiveness as a manager(李彦宏 作为经理的有效 性)	has been called into (已经受 到了)	by online users and his own executives. (中国企业家的经营能力被公众质疑)	2017-001
the nation's entrepreneurs (中国企业家)	emerged (已经成 为)	No legal exchange of bitcoin has been permitted for years in China, as the dominant source of its output. (中国企业家非法经营)	2021-017
He (马云)	appeared (已经出 现过)	once in a video presentation to a group of Chinese teachers in January, providing a temporary boost to Alibaba's share price.(阿里巴巴股价表现欠佳)	2021-023
Rising debt(上升 的债务)	threatens to (威胁)	crowd out innovators and entrepreneurs that China is counting on to reboot growth. (中国企业因债务难以继续增长)	2016-004
Yin Sang(一位著 名中国企业家)	sent(已经 发布)	an email to all 600 employees at his karaoke booking startup: His firm was running out of money after failing to raise funds and wouldn't be able to pay staff salaries. (中国企业家无力支付	2016-006

		员工工资)	
private entrepreneurs(私 营企业家)	have moved in (已经变 成)	as middlemen.(中国私营企业家在黑市进行交易)	1986-001
private entrepreneurs(私 营企业家)	made(已 经完成)	an illegal profit selling it on the free market.(中国私营企业家谋取暴利)	1988-001
Sichuan's pork hawkers(四川的猪 肉贩)	will divert (将转 移)	goods away from areas that retain price restrictions, exacerbating shortages and inflation. (私营企业家加剧了商品短缺和通货膨胀)	1988-001
they (国有企业)	involved (包括)	Typically, the sale of tiny, ailing companies to Chinese entrepreneurs. (私营企业的资产质量较差)	1992-004
Wuhan(武汉)	is setting aside(正 在资助)	some of the sales proceeds to help laid-off workers become entrepreneur.(企业家需要政府 资助)	1993-001
the country's growing ranks of entrepreneurs (这个国家不断壮大的企业家队伍)	have cleverly brought (巧妙地 带来)	wagering back to life.(中国企业家让官方禁止的赌博复活)	1996-002
he (一位中国企业 家)	has (有)	a hard time separating personal from company affairs. (他很难区分个人事务和公司事务)	2008-001

以下选取几个典型段落进行分析:

Leveraging her empire of baubles, China's "fashion-accessory queen" added hotels, offices and malls. The magnate took a seat in China's national parliament, accepted business accolades, including Ernst &Young's "Entrepreneur of the Year," and erected the tallest skyscraper in Yiwu, a trading city south of Shanghai. Now, China's economic slowdown is making Ms. Zhou known for something else: her billions of dollars in debt. (2019-003)

开头的从句做状语,表明主语中国"时尚配饰女王"(China's "fashion-accessory queen")是利用哪些资源进行业务扩张,并突出她所取得的成就。实际上,这句话也更深层次的引发思考——向酒店、办公室和商场等非主业扩张是否是理性行为,利用主业进行杠杆扩张的风险如何评价。随后,主语用大

亨(The magnate)指代这位企业家,隐喻她的成就非同一般,并用三个分句细数了她在海内外取得的重要成绩,对她进行形象拔高。但紧接着的一句话,通过现在的(Now)经营状态,对前一句烘托的形象做出否定,实现欲抑先扬。具体来看,句子的主语是中国经济下行(China's economic slowdown),企业家因数十亿美元的债务闻名(known for)做宾语,首先是有意将企业家的危机归结为中国整体的经济运行情况,其次通过前后对比,突出中国企业家难以实现基业长青,经营策略不当的形象。

China has spent billions of dollars in recent years trying to catch up to the world's most advanced semiconductor makers. Two foundry projects, led in part by a little-known entrepreneur then in his 30s, help show why China has yet to succeed. (2022-001)

第一句主语为中国(China),谓语为已经花费了(has spent),宾语是数十亿美元(billions of dollars),状语部分是对中国这一行为的解释——试图赶上世界上最先进的半导体制造商(trying to catch up to the world's most advanced semiconductor makers),表现出中国在近几年对芯片产业的投入是巨大的,这其中既有政府行为,也包括企业自身努力。但随即,报道通过个例,否定中国对芯片产业大量投入的举措。第二句是被动句,主语为两个铸造项目(Two foundry projects),谓语是领导(led),宾语指向一位 30 多岁的企业家(entrepreneur then in his 30s),通过鲜为人知的(a little-known)表明他们缺乏知名度,紧接着的这有助于说明为什么中国尚未取得成功(help show why China has yet to succeed),直接将矛头对准了这位年轻企业家。同时,从句的主语是中国(China),试图用一个并不典型的个案,首先去评判中国的投入是失败的,其次是将失败的原因归结为企业家的经验和成就不足。很显然,这一论证是不合逻辑的,充斥着主观判断,并希望凸显中国企业家缺乏创新精神和管理经营能力的形象。

In competing with China, the U.S. suffers not from a scarcity of innovation but of manufacturing capacity, know-how and related talent. Chinese companies owe their success to copying (and in some cases, stealing) other countries' technology, then using an educated, motivated and lower-paid workforce to make the resulting

products more cheaply. (2022-002)

该段开头的分句具有限制作用,将中国(China)定为竞争(competing with)的对手,后面的主句以美国(the U.S.)为主语,面临为谓语(suffers from),通过一组不是(not)...而是(but)的关联词,既表明美国的优势为创新能力(innovation),也表明它缺乏制造能力(manufacturing capacity)、专业知识(know-how)和相关人才(related talent)。实际上,在以推崇科技创新助力经济发展的今天,强调美国的创新能力具备优势,无异于释放了美国必将赢得竞争的信号。在随后的句子中,以中国公司(Chinese companies)为主语,分析它取得成功(owe their success)的原因是复制(copying)乃至窃取(stealing)其他国家的技术,使用的词汇富有偏见色彩。同时,从通过劳动力(workforce)成本低进而形成产品优势的表述中,也可见对中国发展模式的质疑,以及试图建构中国企业家缺乏创新能力、压榨劳动者的形象。

3.2.3 固定模式实现主体归因的文本结构

中国企业海外上市是实现全球化战略的重要体现,媒体的报道对外国投资者 认识中国企业发挥较大作用。但在《华尔街日报》的文本建构过程中,对中国企 业家责任感缺失、经营策略僵硬等框架的搭建,成为了解构中国企业估值的重要 一环。以将要展开分析的一篇针对马云的报道为例,为突出马的负面形象,报道 先陈述马云对股东利益的损害,再分析造成该现象不可抗的因素,最后引用市场 多主体言论对他进行批判,从而实现企业家负面形象的建构。

报道原文:

Alibaba Founder's Deals Raise Flags (2014-006)

A series of deals involving Alibaba Group Holding Ltd. founder Jack Ma is raising red flags with corporategovernance experts and investors, as the Chinese Internet giant seeks to woo global money to a public offering that could be one of the largest in history.

In at least one case, Mr. Ma and a group of his allies have invested in a company on behalf of Alibaba through private vehicles. In other deals, a private-equity fund co-founded by Mr. Ma invested alongside Alibaba. Alibaba has addressed the arrangements in its filings with U.S. securities regulators, last amended June 26, saying that Mr. Ma sometimes invests on behalf of the company, and will take steps in some cases to limit his personal gains from the transactions -- either by transferring profits back to Alibaba, or giving the money to charity.

But governance experts warn that such investments are a recipe for trouble, because they blur personal and business interests, involving both Mr. Ma and Alibaba in transactions that could benefit him and a group of influential allies, and over which most Alibaba shareholders have little control or oversight.

"These situations create conflicts of interest that leave [Alibaba's] minority shareholders more vulnerable to being shortchanged," says Simon Wong, a corporate-governance adviser affiliated with Northwestern University in Chicago and the London School of Economics.

Alibaba declined to comment, citing its pending IPO. Alibaba, which runs popular shopping sites Taobao and Tmall in China, is preparing to go public on the New York Stock Exchange as early as August. Analysts say its offering could raise over \$20 billion and value Alibaba at more than \$200 billion.

People familiar with Alibaba's thinking say one reason it turns to Mr. Ma to make investments is because it can't do the deals on its own.

Like many other Chinese Internet companies, Alibaba has incorporated itself offshore -- in the Cayman Islands -- so it can attract foreign investors without running afoul of restrictions on non-Chinese ownership of sensitive companies. Key licenses to operate Alibaba's Internet businesses in China are held by domestic entities that are tied to the offshore entity through contracts. But that makes Alibaba technically a foreign entity itself, meaning it can't take direct stakes in many Chinese companies.

One example in April was a 6.54 billion yuan (\$1.05 billion) investment by a vehicle controlled by Mr. Ma and two partners in Chinese cable and Internet TV operator Wasu Media Holding Co.

Alibaba couldn't invest itself, but it lent company executive Simon Xie -- one of Mr. Ma's partners in the vehicle that purchased the Wasu stake -- most of the money

for the investment, according to a Wasu filing. Alibaba also announced it would work with Wasu's parent on Internet TV offerings.

Alibaba hasn't explained the involvement of the third partner, Jack Ma friend Shi Yuzhu, chairman of Chinese online game company Giant Interactive Group.

Corporate-governance experts point out that Mr. Ma's stakes in both Alibaba and Wasu create a potential conflict of interest, and that since Alibaba doesn't own the stake itself, shareholders would have little recourse if Mr. Ma or the other partners were to prioritize Wasu's bottom line at Alibaba's expense.

Some investors are also critical about the loan to Mr. Xie. "Alibaba's balance sheet is being used to finance an acquisition by Jack Ma and others," said Michael Reynal, portfolio manager at San Francisco-based RS Investments. Mr. Reynal's emerging-market fund is still deciding whether to buy Alibaba shares in the IPO.

Alibaba declined to make Mr. Ma or Mr. Xie available for comment. A spokeswoman for Giant Interactive declined to make Mr. Shi available for comment.

In another deal, a vehicle owned by Messrs. Ma and Xie in April spent 3.3 billion yuan on a stake of more than 20% in Hundsun Technologies Inc., a Chinese financial-software developer. Mr. Xie didn't get a loan from Alibaba for that transaction.

Alibaba declined to say whether it or its affiliates will do business with Hundsun. But industry watchers say Hundsun could work with Alibaba payments affiliate Alipay, which has been expanding into financial services.

Representatives of Hundsun Technologies didn't reply to repeated requests for comment. Alipay declined to comment.

In the absence of a clear denial, RS Investments' Mr. Reynal says he assumes such investments by Mr. Ma are tied in some way to Alibaba.

"The lack of transparency in those deals creates confusion for investors," says Forrester Research analyst Bryan Wang.

In another set of deals, Alibaba has invested in companies alongside Yunfeng Capital, a Shanghai-based private equity fund that Mr. Ma helped establish in 2010 and in which he has an undisclosed stake. Yunfeng's founding members include Mr.

Shi, one of Mr. Ma's partners in the Wasu deal.

In its IPO filings, Alibaba said Mr. Ma has an indirect interest in several funds set up by Yunfeng, while Alibaba has invested in one Yunfeng fund.

In April, a vehicle set up by Alibaba and Yunfeng took an 18.5% stake in online video company Youku Tudou Inc.

In January, Alibaba and Yunfeng teamed up to buy a majority stake in Citic 21CN Co., a Chinese pharmaceutical data-management company, through an Alibaba-owned vehicle.

In its IPO filings, Alibaba said that Mr. Ma would give away any gains from his interest in Yunfeng funds to Alibaba's charitable foundation.

Yunfeng Capital didn't reply to requests for comment.

Plenty of investors are undeterred by the potential conflicts of interest, citing Alibaba's growth potential and Mr. Ma's record of success. Some say such conflicts are common with Chinese companies.

"Investors should not overlook the potential conflicts of interest, but at the end of the day, Alibaba is largely a bet on Jack Ma and the entrepreneur's vision to build a global online empire," said Tony Hsu, Shanghai-based portfolio manager at Dalton Investments, which has \$2.7 billion in assets under management. Mr. Hsu says he doesn't plan to participate in the IPO because current stock-price estimates are too high.

But some investors say Mr. Ma's past actions haven't always been shareholder-friendly. In 2010, he seized control of Alipay and spun the assets into a separate company, sparking objections from major investors, including Yahoo Inc. Alibaba said the separation ensured China's central bank would allow Alipay to continue its payment business; the company and shareholders eventually reached an agreement over the transfer of assets.

James Sanford, portfolio manager of Sag Harbor Advisors, said Chinese companies generally aren't transparent enough for him to be comfortable investing. "Just because a large number of U.S. investors accept this doesn't mean there is no problem," he said.

以下是具体分析:

标题:《阿里巴巴创始人的交易正在降温》(2014-006)

报道的背景为阿里巴巴正在谋求美股上市。标题中的 Raise Flags 具有一定的隐喻色彩,暗示创始人交易暗藏玄机,那么可以推测报道的结构将围绕什么交易,会产生怎样的影响等方面展开。

导语部分有两个段落组成,第一个段落引出主人公马云,发出危险信号(raising red flags)点题,暗示相关投资者存在交易风险,通过指出历史上最大的公开募股之一(one of the largest in history),说明报道的重要性。第二个段落是对 raising red flags 的进一步阐述,指出马云及其合作伙伴与阿里巴巴存在共同投资的行为,且不止一次(at least one case)。

第一部分论证: 马云的行为将损害部分股东的权益

这一部分的第一段通过呈现阿里巴巴向美国证券监管机构提交的文件(filings),说明马云确实存在代表公司投资的行为。公开文件具有说服性,陈述句加强了论证力度。同时,文件中也表明,阿里巴巴采取了限制马云个人收益的措施,即降低公司受到损失的可能性。

第二段由 But 引导,构成对阿里巴巴文件内容的反驳,而且引入相关治理专家的警告(warn),实现对问题的强调。随后,由 because 引导的内容对专家的观点进行因果关系的论证,blur 做动词更为具体的陈述了问题的本质,influential allies、most shareholders、little control or oversight 则将大股东与小股东形成对立,呈现出大多数投资者的无能为力。

第三段再次引入一位专家的话语,试图进一步加强论证权威性。直接引用更加生动,少数股东(minority shareholders)更容易被骗(more vulnerable to being shortchanged)的表述形成明显的倾向性,暗示马云等企业家存在违背投资者利益的可能性极大。

第四段首先以阿里巴巴未回复报社为开头,同时表述公司的理由是正在筹备 IPO。既对上文起到承接,也再次强调公司目前处于重要上市节点,从而更好的引出后面与 IPO 相关的内容。由 Analysts 引导的间接引语则指出更为投资者关注的话题,即公司筹资规模可能超过 200 亿美元,估值将超过 2000 亿美元,raise over 和 more than 均呈现出市场的良好预期。但由于该部分叙述的是阿里巴巴存

在的投资风险,这一段落的话语就被赋予了相反的内涵——市场对阿里巴巴的估值应更加理性。

第二部分论证: 马云要进行这些交易的原因

这一部分的第一段以 People familiar with 开头,直接点明马云进行上述交易的原因是公司不能进行类似交易。段落内容简练,为详细阐述留以足够空间。

第二段 Like many other Chinese Internet companies 既将论述上升到更具普遍性的维度,也暗示中国的环境或许不利于互联网企业注册。破折号起到解释作用,说明该注册行为的意义,同时也进一步强调了中国企业的经营压力。之后的两句话用 but 隔开,专业性加强了论证的准确性和可信度。

第三段的 One example 对上述论述进行补充说明,in April 即事情发生不久,突出了报道的时效性。其中,具体的交易金额(6.54 billion yuan investment)不仅反映了真实性,还意在体现交易规模之大,势必会威胁到其他投资者的利益。

第四段 couldn't invest itself 以及主语阿里巴巴是对上述分析的证实,具有承接作用,but 引出了公司对该问题的处理方法,即通过个人交易实现相关投资。

第五段紧接上一段的例子,hasn't explained 在陈述事实的过程中,也暗含着对公司缺少公开解释的质疑。这两段内容由原因过渡到阿里巴巴和马云的具体做法,从理论指向了实践,是对前述内容的总结,也为后文的评价进行铺垫。

第三部分论证: 马云进行交易的案例及引发的市场批评

承接上一部分的事实陈述,该部分的第一段先用专家观点定性。通过间接引语的专业视角,先表明上述交易行为使马云造成了潜在的利益冲突,通过 if 引导的虚拟语气增强气势,预测马云有可能导致股东利益受损且丧失追索权。

紧接着第二段,引出部分投资者的看法,在一致的意见中(also critical about),证实上述专业观点的合理性。同时,普通投资者的话语更加通俗,通过被动语态(is being used to),让马云等人成为行动主导者,阿里巴巴的资产负债表沦为前者的融资工具,试图建构企业家恶意牟利的形象。此外,最后一句话,以 Mr. Reynal's emerging-market fund 为主语,is still deciding 的现在进行时为谓语,后跟 whether to buy,表现出部分投资者的犹豫,隐藏着话语实践的力量,目的是下调投资者对阿里巴巴的上市预期。

第三段引入交易当事人拒绝接受采访的话语,放弃解释的权利,则给了报道

留出了更多控制话语的空间。

第四段又引入同样发生在 4 月的案例,运用时间上的重复凸显该类交易的频繁, 3.3 billion yuan 也更加精准的反映交易行为的影响程度之大。

第五段开头与第四段结尾类似,均是阿里巴巴拒绝透露相关信息,发挥的作用相似。不同的是,通过 but 引导的行业观察人士的话语,引出阿里巴巴与其他公司合作开展业务的可能。但间接引语的消息源并未具名,模糊化的处理虽然能够输出观点,但真实性存疑。随后的第六段同样是拒绝采访的话语,表现了相关企业似乎在刻意回避该话题,容易引起读者怀疑。

第七段以 In the absence of a clear denial 为前提,运用间接引语,叙述投资公司人士的推测,增强论证强度,对前部分内容进行了一定的总结。in some way 将二者的联系表现的较为模糊,试图表现马云的投资与阿里巴巴的联系,具有一定的倾向性。第八段加入分析师的直接引语,The lack of transparency 作主语,confusion for investors 为谓语,表明马云的交易对投资者造成的负面影响。

第九段又引入一个案例,进一步体现马云类似交易行为的次数之多。 undisclosed stake 加强了前述的一些负面推测。

第十段引入阿里巴巴的 IPO 公开文件对上一段进行补充,通过公司与马云控制的基金权益差异对比,表现马云主导着公司的投资权利,进一步暗示该情形对投资者是不利的。

第十一段再度提及四月,在时间上与前文继续形成呼应,同时与第十二段共同呈现阿里巴巴与马云控制的基金进行交易的行为。通过细数近期的交易,让读者更具体的认识到投资该公司的风险。

第十三段至十五段,先引用 IPO 公开文件,说明马云的交易行为并不存在风险,而云峰资本不予以回复的话语则蕴含着质疑力量。随后,报道将对马云的交易不以为意的投资者的观点进行呈现,以及陈述该行为在中国企业中的普遍性,给予马云及阿里巴巴正面的话语空间。

但随即在第十六至十八段,报道集中呈现了对上述观点的反对意见,仅从篇幅就可见偏向性。第十六段直接引用了投资经理的观点,清晰的表明投资者不应忽视潜在的利益冲突(conflicts of interest)。同时,通过这位管理着 27 亿美元资产的人士的观点——因估值过高不打算参与 IPO,试图发挥话语力量,打击市

场对阿里巴巴的预期。

第十七段继续加强论证力度,对马云之前剥离阿里巴巴核心资产支付宝的内容进行呈现,体现出其对股东的不友好(shareholder-friendly)。随后,引用阿里巴巴的官方话语,用中国央行的出现,暗示投资者中国存在的监管不确定性,以及最终股东的被迫妥协。

第十八段为报道的最后一段,直接引用基金经理的话语进行自然收尾。这一段落虽然表示在透明度不够高的情况下该名经理愿意投资,但随即话锋一转,指出愿意(accept)投资并不代表着没有问题(problem),以此将"问题"这一观念进行了再次强调。

对比来看,2014年3月20日《21世纪经济报道》(中国全国性财经媒体)基于相同主体对马云及阿里巴巴也进行了报道。报道题目为《亚马逊+谷歌:马云的估值逻辑》^①,主要讲述了阿里集团自香港上市后的转型升级,以及在美国上市前面临的问题,并引入了腾讯、百度两家国内龙头企业的经营特点。报道以客观陈述为主,讲述阿里巴巴为何由技术驱动转向商务驱动,运用马云的采访内容、阿里巴巴及亚马逊等财务数据进行串联。如"淘宝全年营业额 2012年1万亿,2013年1.7万亿"、"天猫去年完成交易额 4000亿元"、"2013年中国B2B市场实现交易 7.1万亿"等,解释阿里巴巴的估值逻辑。全篇报道并没有倾向性的词汇,结构也较为清晰。

3.3 发展前景暗淡的营商环境

良好的营商环境,是建设现代化经济体系、促进高质量发展的重要基础。世界银行将营商环境界定为:企业活动从开办到结束的各环节中所面临的外部环境状况^②。在营商环境的内涵上,它包括公平竞争的市场环境、高效廉洁的政务环境、公正透明的法律政策环境、以及开放包容的人文环境^③。在营商环境方面,中国企业家被描述为依赖政府,需要强有力的扶持,被刻意的建构为发展前景暗淡的负面形象。

① 亚马逊+谷歌: 马云的估值逻辑[N]. 21 世纪经济报道.2014-03-20(020).

② World Bank Group. Doing Business 2020[R]. The World Bank, 2019.

③ 张三保,康璧成,张志学.中国省份营商环境评价:指标体系与量化分析[J].经济管理,2020,42(04):5-19.

3.3.1 引导消极情绪的词汇

中国有着严格的监管环境是《华尔街日报》反复强调的话题,并通过强监管来反映出企业家是饱受压力的(underi greater and extraordinary pressure)。同时,对于民营企业家而言,除了监管政策,他们还需要面对国有企业的围攻(under siege)。在重视经济成绩的中国(prizes financial success),伴随着经济增速减缓,部分产业快速下行,如房地产行业陷入销售瓶颈和债务危机(plagued by slumping apartment sales and rock-bottom bond prices),通过产业链的连锁反映(terrible news for China's entrepreneurs),发展空间进一步压缩(dry up),加重企业家们的失望(greatly dismayed)、沮丧(frustrated)等消极情绪,甚至报道一度将他们隐喻成难民(refugee)。总之,通过对中国企业成长环境逐步恶化的偏向性叙述,试图建构中国企业家左右受困、前景惨淡的消极形象(表 3.7)。

表 3.7 营商环境词汇分析

具体的修饰词汇、词组	来源
plagued by slumping apartment sales and rock-bottom bond prices(受到公寓销售下滑和债券价格触底困扰的房地产行业)	2022-005
terrible news for China's entrepreneurs(对中国企业家来说糟糕的消息)	2009-010
extraordinary pressure(非凡的压力)	2022-006
greatly dismayed(巨大的失望)	2022-007
dry up(枯竭)	2022-007
frustrated(沮丧的)	2022-010
under siege(受围攻)	1989-002

under greater stress(承担太多压力)	2014-004
prizes financial success(重视经济成功)	2009-003
travails (痛苦)	2018-006
sense of insecurity(不安全感)	2021-015
need a confidence boost(需要提振信心)	2018-010
an embattled technology entrepreneur(一个陷入困境的科技企业家)	2017-007
radical(极端的),a tiny band of(一小群)	1998-001
virtual arms of the government.(政府的虚拟武器)	1995-003
bleak funding prospects(暗淡的融资环境)	1996-003
once scorned(曾经被蔑视的)	1997-002
emotionally drained(情绪低落的)	2012-001
refugee(难民)	2022-012
the stinking tails of capitalism(资本主义的尾巴)	1988-002
Scapegoat (替罪羊)	2012-002

3.3.2 事实与观点模糊化处理的语法及连贯性

在描述营商环境的段落中,《华尔街日报》通过模糊化处理的方式,输出具有偏向性的观点,在连结句子时,运用 if 引导的虚拟语气、but 转折词等,建构出中国企业家的负面形象(表 3.8)。

表 3.8 营商环境语法及连贯性分析

动作者	过程	目标与环境成分	来源
authorities(权威 者)	permit(允 许)	state-owned companies control food distribution, though private entrepreneurs to sell fresh produce in open markets (即使允许企业卖新鲜农产品,但大多数主要城市由国有企业控制食品分销)	1994-001
China's new businesspeople(中 国的新商人)	tend to be (趋向于)	former government officials and their friends, with access to powerful decision-makers(是前政府官员和他们的朋友,有机会接触到强大的决策者)	1994-005
the government(政 府)	is now trying to give(正在 尽力给)	a boost by setting up a \$640 million Innovation and Technology fund to support new business. It's also making available grants or loans totaling \$400 million to assist smaller companies or entrepreneurs.(给予企业资金支持)	1999-002
80 businessmen (80 位商人)	committed (已经做 出)	suicide in a six-month period in the city of Wenzhou alone(自杀)	2014-004
private entrepreneurs	enjoy(享 有)	fewer legal protections and less respect among older Chinese than their counterparts in the state sector. (私营企业享有的保障和尊重少于国有企业)	2004-005
he(一名民营企业 家)	couldn't get (获得)	When his business was small and struggling and needed bank support. (无法获得银行贷款支持)	2004-006
The country's huge, heavily protected internal market(中 国巨大的受到保护 的内部市场)	can incubate(可以孵化), coddle(可以纵容)	big companies, but it can encourage wasteparticularly without an efficient financial system to ensure the best entrepreneurs have a fair shot. (中国纵容企业家浪费)	2019-004
China (中国)	is loath to give up(不 愿放弃)	the hacking and espionage that help its entrepreneurs pillage America's intellectual property and technological crown jewels. (中国帮助中国企业家掠夺美国科技)	2019-006

the private sector (私营部门)	is suffering from (正在 遭受)	the trade war and, more important, a three-year action against shadow banking that has punished private borrowers. (中国改革对企业家的影响超过贸易战)	2019-010
rising U.SChina tensions(正在升级 的美中紧张关系)	have generated (已经造 成了)	mistrust of Chinese entrepreneurs. (美国市场对中国企业家不信任)	2022-007
Tighter controls (更加严格的控制)	are squeezing (正在挤 压)	private entrepreneurship, innovation and capital mobility. (严格的监管正在挤压中国企业的私人创新和资本流动性)	2022-008
This(对游戏行业 的监管)	wiped out and prompted (已经摧 毁并促使)	more than \$1 trillion of market value and many high-profile entrepreneurs to apologize or retire. (政府监管给中国企业家带来了较大的压力)	2022-002
entrepreneurs (两位 中国企业家)	are confronting (正在面 对)	as opportunities dry up, the stance of regulators hardens and the economic gloom deepens.(中国企业家的机会正在枯竭)	2022-007
Entrepreneurs(企业 家们)	had hoped to fill (已经 希望填补)	a gap in the Chinese financial system ignored by state-backed banks.(中国企业家希望填补国有金融体系空白)	2020-001
official attitudes(官 方的态度)	has made (已经让)	But a reversal in Darwin Tu's life much harder for peer-lending entrepreneurs such as .(监管让企业家生活更艰难)	2020-011
Zhang Yiming's TikTok	soared, then got caught up(飙升, 然后被抓 住了)	in geopolitics(地缘政治里)	2020-012
Chinese entrepreneur (中国 企业家)	was started (被成立)	The disclosure marks a stunning comedown for Luckin(一个惊人的下降)	2020-013
China's leaders(中 国领导人)	face (面对)	a tough balancing act, trying to keep entrepreneurs like him in check without hurting the innovative spirit that has helped power the country's technological and economic rise. (中国监管需要平衡保护创新和控制风险)	2020-014

the private sector (私营部门)	is seen to be losing (被认为 输给)	ground to state-owned firms. (私营企业输给国有企业)	2020-014
Small, private entrepreneurs (小型 私营企业)	struggling with(正在 面临)	higher costs of funding compared with bigger state-owned enterprises, are bearing a large share of the manufacturing slowdown(企业融资成本高)	2019-011
Ant Financial Services Group's (蚂蚁金服集团)	failed bid to acquire(收 购失败)	Dallas-based MoneyGram International Inc. was the latest in several setbacks for the Chinese billionaire.(中国企业海外扩张屡次受 挫)	2018-004
The state-centric nature of China's financial system and its weak intellectual-property protection(中国金融体系以国家为中心的本质,以及其薄弱的知识产权保护)	represents (代表)	a double whammy for prospective entrepreneurs. (金融体系和知识产权保护给中国企业家带来打击)	2018-004
local Chinese governments(当地 政府)	began backing(已 经开始支 持)	local solar entrepreneurs with inexpensive financing and other support, competing to cash in on a growing industry. (中国企业家依赖政府支持)	2018-005
Regulator (监管者)	would deal a blow to (将会导 致打击)	a lucrative business model pioneered most successfully by Ant Group Co., the financial-services giant controlled by billionaire entrepreneur Jack Ma.(监管政策将打击中国企业的商业模式)	2021-021
the government (政府)	responded to (已经回 应)	the speech by halting Ant's IPO, expected to be the largest in history, and launching an antitrust investigation. (中国政府加强监管)	2021-024
More than 300 legislators, including some who are also entrepreneurs and top corporate executives	have supported	revising the law they say "neglects business rights and interests."(中国企业家集体反对忽视企业权益的法律)	2016-001

China (中国)	set up	its stock market in 1990 to provide capital for state-owned companies rather than entrepreneurs, and it quickly became a casino where the politically well-connected fleeced small investors. (中国企业家难以获得融资支持)	
the officials' own career promotions(员们自己的职业晋升)	can depend on (可能取 决于)	economic growth that the entrepreneurs can help foster. (官可中国企业家通过帮助促进经济的增长获取政治地位)	2004-014
others (其他一些影 子银行)	影 lend to (借款) highly productive private entrepreneurs who are otherwise shut out of the capital markets. (实位企业难以获得融资支持)		2014-014
They(政府)	invent(编 造)	success by spinning fictions about rich peasants, wealthy entrepreneurs and villages brimming with refrigerators and television sets. (中国政府 刻意美化企业家形象)	1985-002
an individual entrepreneur (一个 个体企业家)	make (制 定)	decisions guided by the profit motive rather than state plans. (企业家个人利益与国家利益冲突)	
This opening-up(这一开放举措)	has included (包括)	unleashing private companies and entrepreneurs inside China.(中国企业家需要更开放的环境)	2005-001
Small businesses and entrepreneurs in China(中国企业 家)	have been underserved (没有得 到充分的 服务)	by traditional lenders. (中国的小企业和企业家一直没有得到传统贷款机构的充分服务)	2015-003
state-owned enterprises(国有企 业)	devour (吞 噬了)	credit better used by entrepreneurs.(国有企业吞噬了企业家更容易利用的信贷)	2005-003

以下选取几个典型段落进行分析:

Whereas earlier Hong Kong entrepreneurs famously built up their business from scratch, the government is now trying to give them a boost by setting up a \$640 million Innovation and Technology fund to support new business. It's also making available grants or loans totaling \$400 million to assist smaller companies or entrepreneurs. (1999-002)

首句的第一个分句做状语从句,与主语关联起到转折作用,主要是描述香港 企业家(Hong Kong entrepreneurs)过去白手起家(built up their business from scratch)并以此著名(famously),副词表示强调,隐喻着他们之前具备一定的创新活力和经营能力。但在主句中,主语为政府(the government),谓语为正在尝试(is now trying),宾语为设立基金来支持企业家的新业务(a boost),前后截然不同的成长路径形成鲜明对比,表明中国企业家失去了往日引以为豪的创业能力,逐步受到政府的控制。随后的一句话是动词不定式,it 是形式主语,真正的主语为帮助较小的公司或企业家(to assist smaller companies or entrepreneurs),赠款或贷款(grants or loans)为宾语,对上一句补充说明,运用具体数字,进一步建构中国企业家需要被扶持、缺乏自主创新能力的形象。

First, cyber intrusions into U.S. business networks have helped Chinese companies gain advantages in key hightech areas, including artificial intelligence, electrical vehicles, jet engines and nuclear reactors. America can't maintain its technological supremacy if this continues, but China is loath to give up the hacking and espionage that help its entrepreneurs pillage America's intellectual property and technological crown jewels. (2019-006)

首句网络入侵做(cyber intrusions)主语,谓语为已经帮助(have helped),现在完成时表明动作已经发生且对现在产生了作用,后面的谓语为中国企业在关键的高科技领域获得了优势,与时态相结合表明中国的发展离不开对美国科技成果的窃取,"包括(including)"连接了一系列的科技成果,将中国的行为更加具体化。第二句话是 if 引导的状语从句,表示假设,指向事件的演化对未来的长远意义,属于推测而并非真实发生的,偏离了新闻客观性原则。从句为过去的情况继续(continues)发生,主句为美国将不会维持科技霸主(supremacy)地位,直接表明中国对美国的威胁。"但是(but)"转折补充中国(China)不愿放弃黑客和间谍活动(the hacking and espionage),并用定语从句对该行动进行说明,指出中国政府的行为意在帮助企业家掠夺(pillage)美国知识产权和技术,具有明显的负面色彩,表现出中国企业家缺乏创新能力、依赖政府的形象。

Mr. Wang, just 39 years old, is one of the richest men in Wenzhou, China's most irrepressibly capitalist city with 80% of the economy in private hands. In many ways his story is typical. When his business was small and struggling and needed bank

报道原文:

support, he couldn't get it. (2004-006)

第一句话主语为 39 岁的中国企业家王先生,one of 加最高级表明他的代表性,用最不可抑制的资本主义城市(irrepressibly capitalist city)来介绍温州,具有明显的倾向性,不符合实际客观情况,强行挑起意识形态的对立,试图体现中国对私营经济(economy in private hands)的打压。第二句的典型的(typical)再次呼应前述内容,而在很多方面(In many ways)则是模糊化处理,不具体阐述,仅以输出观点为目的,违背新闻要以事实为基础的原则。随后的一句话未有明确的消息来源,when 引导的时间状语从句,从句主语是王先生的生意(his business),was 表明是过去式,企业规模小、举步维艰(small and struggling)渲染了过去企业的状态,主句的 it 指代从句中的银行帮助(bank support),意在表明他在困难时得不到银行的支持,凸显企业家创业时的融资艰难,建构缺乏有利环境支持的形象。

3.3.3 多重混合确立事件合法性的文本结构

伴随中美贸易战的不断升级,中美两国的博弈成为双方企业发展的主要背景。在美国政府不断加强对华企业审查过程中,《华尔街日报》试图建构出中国企业家压力大、进退维谷的形象,但在结构的安排上,同时对他们进行不尊重用户隐私、攫取利益缺乏道德底线、与中国政府关系密切等形象建构,为美国的审查和禁令建立合法性。以将要展开分析的一篇针对张一鸣的报道为例,在结构的安排上,先陈述张的 TikTok 遭遇美国政府的禁令,随后指出 TikTok 平台上劣质的内容和不合理的搜集用户数据,之后简介张的个人经历,但却特别点明他对中国政府态度的转变,以此让读者产生怀疑,最后描述他不断向内外部寻求支持,试图表明美国的做法仅是出于合理的安全考量,中国企业家的巨大压力源于公司内部。

App's Founder at Crossroads --- Zhang Yiming's TikTok soared, then got caught up in geopolitics (2020-012)

Zhang Yiming was having breakfast at home in Beijing in July when a message popped on his computer screen. A friend sent a link featuring President Trump, in which he said the coronavirus came from China and, as part of a U.S. response, he might ban TikTok, the hit video app Mr. Zhang founded.

Mr. Zhang was astonished. "China virus?" he told people around him later. What did the coronavirus have to do with TikTok?

From that initial shock, things quickly got worse.

First, Mr. Trump upped the stakes by ordering that TikTok's parent company sell the app's American operation or face a U.S. ban, on grounds it threatens national security through the data it gathers.

Next, as Chinese nationalists lashed out at Mr. Zhang on social media for not fighting the Trump order, Mr. Zhang's heavy-hitting Western investors were applying pressure on him to do the opposite -- heed the order and sell.

Mr. Zhang fired back at Mr. Trump on Monday with a lawsuit filed in federal court in California to stop the White House order. Then, he suddenly lost the high-profile lieutenant he had hired to extend TikTok's globalization. Kevin Mayer, brought in barely three months ago from Walt Disney Co., said Thursday he was quitting as TikTok chief executive because the political circumstances had changed the role so much.

Thus has the Chinese founder of an app for teens, filled with goofy dancing and lip-syncing videos, been dragged into the tense U.S.-China geopolitical relationship. Mr. Zhang, a 37-year-old admirer of Silicon Valley, always wanted the company he created to be seen as global. But not this way.

Thanks to the specter of a ban on TikTok's U.S. business unless it's sold, the app's lucrative American operation is in play, with Microsoft Corp., Twitter Inc. and Oracle Corp. all negotiating to buy it or exploring a bid. Walmart Inc. said Thursday it joined in as a potential partner of Microsoft.

An ultimatum from the White House was decidedly not the future Mr. Zhang imagined as a young, entrepreneurialminded software engineer in China.

He is different from an earlier generation of Chinese tech-company founders who sought favor from China's ruling Communist Party establishment. Mr. Zhang skews more California than Great Hall of the People. He wears T-shirts and jeans, eats at the company cafeteria and cites tech mottos such as Amazon.com founder Jeff

Bezos' "Always Day 1" rule that a company should never stop acting like a startup.

Employees of the TikTok parent company, ByteDance Ltd., which Mr. Zhang founded, refer to him by his given name, Yiming. He isn't a Communist Party member.

Born in the southeastern province of Fujian in 1983, a period when China was starting to open up, Mr. Zhang studied software engineering at a university in the northern city of Tianjin, where he met his wife and gained a reputation as a guy who could fix computers. He worked at various startups and had a brief stint in corporate life, joining Microsoft's Beijing office as an engineer in 2008.

He stayed less than a year at Microsoft, telling Chinese media he found the work so unchallenging that he spent half his time reading books.

China in those years was fortifying its control of the internet, and after riots in the restive far-western region of Xinjiang in 2009, authorities blocked several websites on grounds the unrest had been organized online. Mr. Zhang, by then working for a Chinese Twitter clone called Fanfou, rallied against the restrictions.

"Go out and wear a T-shirt supporting Google," he wrote in a blog post. "If you block the internet, I'll write what I want to say on my clothes."

The blog is no longer accessible online. Google pulled its search-engine operations from mainland China a year later.

Mr. Zhang started ByteDance, TikTok's parent, in a Beijing apartment in 2012. One of its first products was a newsaggregation app called Jinri Toutiao, or "Today's Headlines." Mr. Zhang, who is ByteDance's CEO as well as founder, didn't have a media background, but he could code. The app used artificial intelligence to feed people news based on their reading habits: What did they tend to click on? How long did they linger? Did they finish it?

It also received more than 100 lawsuits and complaints from other online news portals and from newspapers, some accusing it of swiping their content. In some cases, ByteDance had to compensate content creators for using their work without permission.

ByteDance said the company, like other platforms in the industry, "faced some

confusion" about copyright laws in China in its early years and has since formed partnerships with many media sites.

A trip to California in 2014 solidified Mr. Zhang's resolve to build a global company. With a group of other young Chinese business founders, he toured Facebook Inc. and Tesla Inc. and met figures such as Yahoo Inc. co-founder Jerry Yang. He left convinced that Chinese entrepreneurs could compete in the big leagues.

TikTok proved him right. Powered by algorithms that can make its video feed addictive, it became a global sensation. TikTok has been downloaded more than two billion times world-wide, according to market research firm

Sensor Tower. Its still-private parent ByteDance has a \$100 billion valuation.

Besides being the first consumer app from China to make it big in the West, TikTok, unlike many of China's past successes, can't be accused of copying Western technology rather than innovating. TikTok now is the primary social-media platform for millions of teenagers around the world.

Although technology was once seen as a sector where the U.S and China could work together -- American venture capitalists fueled China's startups and Chinese engineers moved into Silicon Valley -- it is instead emerging as a front line in the superpowers' standoff. TikTok has landed at the center of the tussle, along with Huawei Technologies Co. and Tencent Holdings' WeChat messaging and payment app, which also faces an impending ban in the U.S. imposed by the Trump administration.

TikTok will increasingly be seen by Chinese authorities as a strategically important company, said Ian Bremmer, president of political risk consultancy Eurasia Group. He said its importance lies in the vast amount of user data it gathers, which drives "deep learning" and AI. "China suddenly realizes they need these tech capabilities internally, and they need them fast," he said.

ByteDance launched TikTok in 2017, then acquired a Shanghai-based rival, Musical.ly, that was gaining traction among U.S. teens, and folded it into TikTok. Mr. Zhang told a forum at Beijing's Tsinghua University in March 2018 he expected TikTok to have more users outside of China than inside it within three years.

A few weeks after that forum, the Chinese government shut down a ByteDance

joke-sharing app for publishing "vulgar" content. This time, rather than denounce censorship, Mr. Zhang responded with a lengthy social-media post

apologizing and promising to nearly double the number of censors at the company.

Asked about that this week, a ByteDance spokesman said the apology was an explanation to users upset that Mr. Zhang hadn't protected the platform from content that didn't match their values.

As TikTok expanded abroad, its young workforce struggled to navigate regulatory minefields. Authorities in the U.S., the Netherlands and France scrutinized its practices surrounding the protection of user data. In June, TikTok was among Chinese apps banned in India, TikTok's biggest market by downloads, on cybersecurity grounds. South Korea's telecom regulator fined TikTok in July for mishandling the data of users under 14.

A Wall Street Journal analysis found this month that for more than a year, the app tracked users using a tactic banned by Google, which enabled it to collect unique identifiers from millions of mobile devices without letting users opt out.

TikTok says it no longer does this and has promised to create a firewall between China and overseas users.

The Trump administration worries about potential Chinese government access to TikTok's user data. China's national-security law obliges Chinese companies to assist in investigations related to national security. This means ByteDance would be likely to have some trouble pushing back against certain data requests from authorities in

Beijing, said Fergus Ryan, an analyst at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute.

ByteDance says it doesn't share data with the Chinese government and wouldn't do so if asked.

Late last year, as the U.S. Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States began a review of ByteDance and TikTok practices to be sure they don't pose a national-security risk, Mr. Zhang reached out to Microsoft President Brad Smith and CEO Satya Nadella for advice on how to address data-security concerns and earn the trust of regulators, according to people privy to Mr. Zhang's thinking.

The people said this resulted in plans by TikTok to open a center in Los Angeles aimed at providing more transparency about the app's operations. The talks eventually evolved into discussions of a sale, the people said.

Mr. Zhang read a book by Mr. Smith on tech-company governance, "Tools and Weapons," and had it translated into Chinese. He ordered his ByteDance management team to read it, said a person familiar with the matter.

In one corporate chat conversation, Mr. Zhang highlighted an excerpt from the book about the 2019 mosque massacre in Christchurch, New Zealand, which the shooter live-streamed on the internet, leading to criticism of social-media companies. He urged his staff to test ByteDance's ability to respond to such a situation, according to a screenshot of the chat seen by the Journal.

Mr. Zhang, who last year spent much of his time jet-setting, is now stuck in China because of the coronavirus. He is keeping U.S. hours, often in meetings with investors across the Pacific about the fate of his company.

As he faces pressure from investors to agree to a sale of TikTok's U.S. business to satisfy Mr. Trump -- the president has said the U.S. Treasury should get part of the sale price -- Mr. Zhang has held out hope for a different solution. He is growing increasingly isolated in the talks, one person said.

Lately, he has come around to the idea that a sale is inevitable, people familiar with the matter say. ByteDance declined to comment on the status of the talks.

In a letter to employees earlier this month, Mr. Zhang advised forbearance. "There has been a rise in anti-Chinese sentiment in many countries," he wrote. "Don't mind any short-term praise or loss, and patiently do the right thing."

以下是具体分析:

标题:《App 创始人在十字路口——张一鸣的抖音飙升,然后陷入地缘政治》(2020-012)

标题点明报道的主人公为中国企业家张一鸣,十字路口(Crossroads)隐喻 他需要做出选择,背景则为中美关系的紧张和抖音的快速增长。显然,then 后面 连接的地缘政治(geopolitics)为报道想要突出的内容,暗示着美国对中国企业 家战略选择的重要意义。

导语是张一鸣吃早餐时收到信息的场景式引入,突然跳出(popped on)描绘出事情发生的不可预料性,禁止(ban)TikTok 的间接引语呼应了标题,随即的吃惊(astonished)也生动的反应了张的不解。开篇的软导语属于《华尔街日报》讲故事的典型手法,能够较好的渲染氛围,提升趣味性。同时,也从侧面表现出了中国企业家海外扩张存在诸多不稳定因素。

第一部分论证:美国加紧对 TikTok 的制裁

第一段承接上述的惊讶(shock),以比较级 got worse 较为自然的引出了之后发生的新闻事件,也突出了张一鸣的处境更加艰难。首先(First)既有阅读的指向性,也暗含着事件的复杂性。加大赌注(upped the stakes)隐喻了此次美国政府与中国企业博弈的不确定性,by 后紧跟的命令(ordering)则又凸显了美方的不可违抗,卖(sell)和禁止(ban)构成的短语更是体现了何为"十字路口"。on grounds 引导上述美国行为的解释,威胁到国家安全(threatens national security)将 TikTok 的问题上升到一个全新的高度,也反映出张一鸣面对的是一个十分严重的指控。

第二段的 Next 与上一段形成递进关系。as 意味着逗号隔开的两件事情在同时进行,即一方面是中国民族主义者在社交媒体上抨击(lashed out)张一鸣,另一方面是西方投资者对他施加压力(were applying pressure),opposite 简明扼要的凸显出张进退维谷的艰难处境。这一段能够较好的引发共情,但也试图建构出中国企业家与中国民族主义者的紧张关系。

第三段回到了主人公张一鸣,fired back at Mr. Trump 点明他的选择,作为对上述叙述的困境的回应。Then 和 suddenly 组成了转折,lost 引导出张的损失,知名度高的(high-profile)突出他损失的严重程度,globalization 则暗示 TikTok 的全球扩张之路或将存在负面情况。随后的间接引语是辞职者的言论,形成对上句内容的补充,政治环境已经改变(political circumstances had changed)强调张一鸣所面对的问题的性质。同时,不到三个月(in barely three months)进一步突出事件发生的出乎意料。

第四段用 Thus 承接上文内容,表明 TikTok 进入艰难的处境,但将青少年(teens)与傻乎乎的舞蹈和假唱视频(goofy dancing and lip-syncing videos)相结

合,试图建构 TikTok 的负面形象。第二句是对张一鸣的简单介绍,硅谷的仰慕者(admirer of Silicon Valley)是对他美国跟随者的定位,强调美国创业精神的巨大影响力。随后的 but 表转折,意味着张的公司国际化发展的事与愿违。

第五段的 Thanks to 引导前文论述的结果——TikTok 的美国业务可能会被禁止,unless 具有转折功能,表明产品的出路所在——被出售(it's sold)。随即的各大知名企业(Microsoft Corp.,witter Inc. and Oracle Corp,Walmart Inc.)的竞购则凸显了该产品的受欢迎程度。市场购买意愿强烈的另一面,反应出它们对产品的认可,以及张一鸣此时需要面临的艰难抉择。

第二部分论证: 张一鸣是一名独特的中国企业家

第一段先承接上文论述的白宫通牒(An ultimatum),再通过一名年轻的、有创业精神的中国软件工程师(a young, entrepreneurial minded software engineer)的表述,再次建构张的形象,并利于后续对人物的展开描述。

第二段从政治层面对张一鸣进行定义,different from 强调他的不同之处,即倾向于加州(skews more California)、不寻求政府支持(sought favor),试图消解张与中国政府的关系。后一句通过具体的人物刻画——张一鸣穿 T 恤牛仔裤(wears T-shirts and jeans)、食堂吃饭(eats at the company cafeteria)、引用美国著名企业家杰夫·贝佐斯的名言,运用隐喻手法,并从员工对张一鸣使用的称呼,试图呈现出他贴近美国企业家的形象,以此表现其与中国意识形态的对立。

第四段描述的事情与第三段处于同一时间,力求表现出中国政府对互联网的控制加强(fortifying its control of the internet)。描述张一鸣站在了政府的对立面(rallied against),试图建构出他对政策环境的不满。随后将摘自张博客话语进行直接引用,进一步体现出他对政策较为激进的态度,以此反衬出政策环境对企业家的压力。但该博客目前已无法访问(no longer accessible online),报道的真实性有待检验。段尾的谷歌退出也同样反映了政策环境的压力。

第六段继续(also)描述张推出的今日头条,由于存在未经许可便发布的行为(swiping their content),需要对其他市场主体进行补偿(compensate content creators)。但这段的内容并没有将重心放在张一鸣"窃取"内容方面,而是把矛头对准了中国的版权法(copyright laws)保护欠缺。在随后的一句话中,报道对字节跳动公开发言进行间接引用,通过与业内其他平台一样(like)体现这一

问题的普遍性。同时,与许多媒体网站建立关系(formed partnerships with many media sites),试图反映张一鸣虽然受困不健全的法律环境,但乐于开展合作。

第七段首句将张一鸣的加州之行(A trip to California)作为影响张推动公司全球化(a global company)的主要原因,强行建立因果联系显然有失考证,并且还试图通过具体的时间(in 2014)、其他中国企业家(other young Chinese business founders)的反映加强这一论证。尾句的坚信(convinced)中国企业家可以在大联盟中竞争,突出了张的执着坚定,与前述的困境形成鲜明对比。

第八段承接上段所述的全球化内容,表明张的战略获得了成果(proved him right, a global sensation)。但上瘾(addictive)一词具备负面色彩,一定程度上突出了产品的消极效应,对张一鸣的形象建构起着负面作用。

第九段首句的除了(Besides)起到过渡作用,引出该段落所要表述的 TikTok 与中国其他成功应用的不同(unlike)。不能被指责抄袭西方技术(can't be accused of copying) 试图建构之前大多数中国企业家的缺乏创新能力(rather than innovating)的负面形象。

第三部分论证: TikTok 等科技企业成为中美博弈的中心

第一段从中美关系的宏大背景出发,Although 引导后面的转折句,强调科技(technology)已经由合作(work together)转为了(instead emerging)两个超级大国对峙(standoff)的前线。但美国风险资本家推动中国初创企业发展(American venture capitalists fueled China's startups)、中国工程师进入硅谷(Chinese engineers moved into Silicon Valley)的表述,暗示着中国企业家长期以来跟随者的地位。随后引出 TikTok、华为、腾讯,描述它们均为这场争斗的中心(the center of the tussle),并且后者已经面临禁令(an impending ban),突出中国企业家需要面临的复杂国际局势。

第二段继续聚焦 TikTok 的发展环境,通过直接、间接引用专业的分析(president of political risk consultancy Eurasia Group),表明由于它具备重要战略意义(a strategically important company),未来将持续(will increasingly be seen)受到特别关注,突出中国企业家需要长期面对外部的艰难环境。

第三段通过具体案例描述随着 TikTok 的海外用户规模不断扩大(more users outside of China than inside),中国政府逐渐加强对它的监管(shut down a

ByteDance joke-sharing app)。张一鸣对此次监管的态度与之前形成鲜明对比——发长文道歉(a lengthy social-media post apologizing)和增加审查人员(promising to nearly double the number of censors),试图暗示中国企业家对现实环境的妥协。

第四段从全球视野出发(As TikTok expanded abroad),表明张一鸣遭遇着各国的监管(regulatory minefields),承受着(struggled to)较大压力。通过典型国家(India, South Korea)案例列举,直观的呈现出 TikTok 海外发展的困难。

第五段引入《华尔街日报》的一项分析结果(A Wall Street Journal analysis),发现(found)引导谓语从句,描述 TikTok 长期使用谷歌禁止(banned by Google)的一种跟踪用户的策略(a tactic),随后的定语从句对这项策略进行了介绍,意在表明该应用存在泄露用户隐私的风险。虽然谷歌禁止的策略并不能作为衡量 TikTok 的标准,但通过偏向性的解释,使得后者的行为较易受到公众质疑。尾句间接引语 TikTok 的公开发言,不再使用(no longer)该策略及建立防火墙(create a firewall)也加强了前句的论证观点,建构出中国企业家不尊重用户隐私的形象。

第六段紧跟上段的数据隐私问题,以特朗普政府(The Trump administration)为主语,担心(worries about)为谓语,中国政府(Chinese government)为宾语,直接表达美国对中国可能获取用户数据(user data)的担心。随后间接引用第三方机构专家(an analyst at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute)的话语,表示中国有企业有义务(obliges)协助与国家安全(national security)有关的调查(investigations)。同时,该名专家表示此举将影响中国政府的数据请求(data requests)。间接引用话语中,以北京当局(authorities in Beijing)为主语,意在表明中国政府对企业的控制。字节跳动(ByteDance)的话语引用,则在一定程度上形成与中国政府的对抗(doesn't share data,wouldn't do),试图建构中国企业家与本国政府的紧张关系。

第七段开始回顾(Late last year)美国对张一鸣的企业审查(a review of ByteDance and TikTok)的初始时间,以及张为寻求美国政府信任的个人努力。 消息来源为知情人士透露(people privy to Mr. Zhang's thinking),内容真实性有待考证。张一鸣做主语,通过谓语(reached out to)引出他的活动内容(for advice),表现他一直积极寻求外部力量的支持。在洛杉矶开设中心以提高运营透明度(providing more transparency)是多方努力的结果,但随后的谈判最终(eventually)

演变为出售事宜讨论(discussions of a sale),则揭露了美国政府对张一鸣的企业始终是不信任的,其仍将遭受出售部分业务的困境。

第九段叙述的是张一鸣如何应对投资者。整个段落的主语多为张,主句中的困在中国(stuck in China)、按美国时间工作(is keeping U.S. hours)、愈加被孤立(is growing increasingly isolated)均突出其困难处境。从句中的大部分时间都在坐飞机(last year spent much of his time jet-setting)、面对压力(faces pressure)则详细的描述了他的日常工作,进一步巩固论证。最后,引出张最近(Lately)的态度,直接点明出售似乎不可避免(a sale is inevitable),反映出张的无奈。

第十段直接引用近期(earlier this month)张一鸣对内部员工的信件(a letter)作为收尾,他建议大家不要在意任何短期的表扬或损失,耐心地做正确的事情,从他话语中强调忍让(forbearance)不难看出,公司整体士气的低落,再次印证国际环境对中国企业家的不友好。

4 话语实践向度分析: 互文性链条以规训为指向

在费尔克拉夫的三维框架中,文本维度的分析切入点主要是在文本生产环节描述文本的结构、形式特点。话语实践维度分析强调的则是连接文本生产、分配与传播的整个过程,是将文本与社会实践维度连结起来的中间维度。从功能而言,话语实践是一个阐释的过程,既研究文本的生产过程,也剖析文本的解读过程,并强调整个阐释过程必须置于话语所处的社会语境、结合认知过程来进行。

在话语实践分析维度中,费尔克拉夫特别强调互文性(Intextuality)分析,将其作为主要的分析向度。互文性分析能揭示话语的建构与重组,源文本中的话语如何被选取、整合及分配,这都体现了权力关系的建构,透露着话语生产者的意识形态。

互文性本是文学批评研究中的核心概念,简言之,它强调文本互相交汇、互相生成,这种属性广泛存在于文本内部、话语之间以及话语与社会之间,是文本的本质属性。该概念最早由文学批评学者朱丽亚•克里斯蒂娃(Julia Kristeva)提出,在她看来,所有的语篇实际上都是对另一语篇的吸收和改造。互文性的理论可追溯至索绪尔的结构主义语言学。索绪尔认为,语言作为符号本身并不具有特定的意义,其意义只有在与其它语言符号形成语言结构时才能得以实现。

广义的互文性包括明确的互文性、互为话语性、互文性链条以及连贯性等,既体现在文本之中,也体现在文本的生产、分配、消费过程之中。明确的互文性和互为话语性属于话语文本生产过程,比如传统语法概念中的直接引语、间接引语体现的就是明确的互文性,而不同文本之间围绕同一主题形成的的主题互文性则为典型的互为话语性;互文性链条属于分配过程,指的是文本从一种话语类型转变成另一种类型的过程;连贯性属于消费过程,用以探讨受众如何解释文本。研究从广义的互文性出发,将重点围绕文本生产中明确的互文性、文本分配过程的互文性链条,对《华尔街日报》的话语实践进行探讨。

4.1 灵活引语勾连个案普遍性的文本生产

在《华尔街日报》新闻文本中,与中国企业家相关的报道多以负面居多。就 报道风格而言,为保证阅读的流畅性抑或本就缺乏消息源,《华尔街日报》会进 行大量的观点输出,省去直接或间接引语,从而模糊新闻与评论的界限。某种意 义上,这是对话语权的强行垄断,是对新闻客观性的背离。但仍可以在一些文本中,搜集到报道的互文性片段,展开具体分析(表 4.1、4.2)。

表 4.1 互文性分析 (直接引语)

描述话语的来源	描述话语的主要内容	语篇中的倾向性	样本来源
a Chinese contractor(中 国承包商)	We don't touch any job for less than \$1 million Brunei dollars (equivalent to \$500,000), We want our Malay competitors to do those jobs. We want them to be happy so they won't make trouble for us.	中国企业家因避 免麻烦而提供工 作机会	1984-004
Mr. Zhang(一名中国企业家)	He can't compete with the big guys in the U.S.	中国首富无法与美国巨头们竞争	1989-001
Ma Shaogang(一名中国零售商)	Our members could have a real dialogue with the government. We can let them know when their policies are unacceptable.	中国企业家无法 与政府进行真正 的对话	1994-006
Mr. Yuan(一名外籍经济研究专家)	though the country's entrepreneurs weren't about to scoot abroad, they were concerned that their land would be confiscated one day.	中国企业家担心个人财产被没收	1999-001
MR.Ma(马云)	got inspirations from Silicon Valley and saw people working hard. So I go back to China and build up Alibaba.	中国企业家从硅谷获得灵感	2014-001
Industry analysts(产业分析师)	China still struggles to nurture its entrepreneurs.	企业家缺乏创新	2014-005
Wallen Mphepo(一名外 籍企业家)	It's a great market, but how is the execution going to work?	企业家缺少创意 和税收保障	2014-005

governance experts(治理 专家)	such investments are a recipe for trouble, because they blur personal and business interests.	企业家使少数股 东利益受损	2014-006
a transcript of his comments (一份评论文字记录)	Mr. Liu described a lifestyle that included luxury living and aggressive business tactics.	企业家的生活奢 侈、商业策略激 进	2014-010
Mr. Evans(美国商务部 长)	I advised China to lift its capital controls so that its entrepreneurs could experience greater financial freedom.	企业家缺乏资金 自由	2004-001
Mr. Zhang(搜狐网负责人)	the company didn't knowingly violate any rules.	国有企业对民营 企业的指控不合 理	2004-002
Werner Schuppisser(雀 巢公司中国水务业务的 经理)	The local entrepreneur doesn't have any of that. But he probably works 24 hours.	企业家工作条件 较差、无休止工 作	2004-009
Danone (一家法国企业)	cut it out of the 51% in earnings from anything carrying the Wahaha name that it was entitled to under contracts signed in 1996.its losses from Mr. Zong's ventures at \$100 million.	中国企业家经营不善	2009-007
he (一位民营企业家)	Do not stop production. Do not let your workers go home. Finance yourselves locally.	中国企业家不保 障工人权益	2019-002
Joseph P.H. Fan(一位香港中文大学教授)	Many Chinese entrepreneurs tend to borrow as much as possible, even if the core business doesn't need it.	许多中国企业家 不善于经营管理	2019-003
Vince Lu, Zhenmeat's founder (一位中国食品公司创始人)	We are short on money, we are short on [a research-and-development] team, and we are short on time, because we just entered this market this year.	中国企业缺乏技术和资金	2019-008
the Tianyancha database (一个第三方数据库)	Tens of thousands of Chinese companies registered their businesses as related to semiconductors, including some whose main activities involved restaurants and cement-making.	中国企业家实际 经营的产业并非 与注册的半导体 产业相关	2022-001

he(一位芯片企业创始 人)	When asked about domestic media reports that suggested his conduct wasn't always aboveboard, he said: Do you think local governments are that easily fooled?	中国企业家欺骗政府	2022-001
Ruben Enikolopov(俄罗斯经济学家)	In China, Chinese companies will always get preferential treatment.	中国企业在国内 被给予了优待	2022-003
The company(一家业绩 受挫的房地产企业)	the cooling down of the property market and a tougher financing environment has posed big challenges to all industry participants.	房地产市场的降 温和更严峻的融 资环境给企业家 带来了巨大挑战	2022-005
Shao Danping(一名工程 师型企业家)	We didn't feel anything even during the 2008 global financial crisis. Now machines in the three-story facility are largely sitting idle, and half of the factory's first floor has been rented out to another company.	贸易站对中国企业家的影响超过2008年金融危机	2019-011
Si Weijiang(律师)	I believe that this verdict deals a bitter blow to domestic private entrepreneurs' confidence in the law.	中国私营企业家信心被沉重打击	2021-015
Huang Xiaohu(一位 35 岁的深圳科技企业家)	"I don't want to talk about stocks anymore. My heart is broken."	中国企业家的股票跌幅过大	2021-022
Mr. Tu(中国投资公司总裁)	the "overly strict scrutiny and opaque investment-review process" U.S. authorities have applied to Chinese investors.	美国对中国企业 的监管过于严格	2017-002
Howard Zhang(一位律 师事务所合伙人)	"One thing that's concerned the regulators, these rich entrepreneurs were leveraged to the hilt, using investors' money, using [People's Republic of China] banks' money, and leaving all the risk to the PRC investors and PRC banks,"	部分中国企业家 运用杠杆转嫁风 险	2017-005
he	When quit a steady job with the My family was so upset they didn't speak to me for a year."	中国企业家创业缺乏社会认可	2004-012
he(一位民营企业家)	If you give a little bribe to the wholesalers, they might let you buy only good brands.	民营企业家需要 贿赂国企企业	1987-001

he(一位美籍华人企业 家)	Think of your relatives in Asia. If they invest \$1 million in you, they get a green card and you get a new business.	民营企业家热衷 于移民	1991-001
Yuan Jiangfeng (一位 30 岁的前记者)	People who make money quickly don't know how to spend it, so they go to karaoke bars and act like big shots.	暴发户式的中国 企业家不懂得如 何使用财富	1993-003
a former Morgan Stanley economist(前摩根士丹 利经济学家)	"Many entrepreneurs have given up on gaining wealth from normal business activities," "Instead they rely on cultivating special relationships with government agencies or state owned enterprises to gain special advantages."	许多企业家已经 放弃了从正常的 商业活动中获取 财富	2012-006

表 4.2 互文性分析 (间接引语)

描述话语的来源	描述话语的主要内容	语篇中的倾向性	样本来源
investors and bankers(投资者和银行家)	is prompting entrepreneurs to tighten spending and consider merging with competitors	中国企业家的融资环境更加严峻	2016-002
Entrepreneurs (企业 家们)	complain that making a fortune paints a bull's-eye on your back.	企业家抱怨变得富有	2014-004
two-thirds of the polled youths (三分之二的受访年轻人)	it would be better to work for myself than be employed by a company.	为企业家工作不好	2004-005
Mr. Lee(李开复)	Chinese tech entrepreneurs have much to learn and should be less focused on financial results and on going public.	中国企业家应该多 去学习而不是过度 关注经济效益	2018-003
Ms. Rithmire(哈弗商学院副教授)	Entrepreneurs in China have long operated in a loose legal environment that encouraged rapacious practices and pushed them to seek protection from political risks, such as by colluding with officials.	中国企业家在宽松的 法律环境中运作,行为贪婪,寻求政治保护	2021-015

foreign economists (外国经济学家)	have said is confusing local officials and discouraging private entrepreneurs.	官方信息挫败了中 国私营企业家	2018-009
Simon Hu(蚂蚁金服 CEO)	he would step down, amid heightened scrutiny by regulators, and barely a week later, Colin Huang, the 41-year-old founder of Pinduoduo, one of China's largest online shopping platforms, announced he would vacate his position as chairman to pursue personal interests.	中国互联网企业家 因监管压力退居二 线	2021-019
Private businesses (私营企业家们)	fear they will have to give way to the influx of state firms, usually the first to benefit in major Beijing undertakings, and often at the expense of entrepreneurs.	私营企业担心国企 涌入市场	2017-003
Cao 曹德旺	Inputs such as land, electricity and transportation are all much cheaper in the U.S., Mr. Cao said.	中国的非人力成本 高于美国	2017-004
many entrepreneurs and investors (企业 家和投资者)	they fear that the welcome mat has been rolled back up.	中国企业家担心监管收紧	2016-007
economist John Greenwood (一位经 济学家)	Greenwood (一位经 Chinese entrepreneurs are nothing if not creative		2004-011
researchers in the U.S. and China(美国 和中国的调查中)	engineering students at Stanford were seven times as likely as those at the most elite Chinese universities to join startups.	中国企业家未能获得社会广泛认可	2014-012
Customs officials (其他国家海关)	some Chinese officials aided the suspected frauds by "issuing spurious (textile shipment) visas to entrepreneurs operating in Hong Kong and Macao."	中国政府被指控向企业输送特权	1985-001
some economists (一 些经济学家)	they don't offer enough funding for small and medium-size businesses.	中国政府没有为中 小企业提供足够的 资金	2012-005

首先,经营着规模中等偏下企业的民营企业家成为了话语引用的主要人群。

如在上海经营一家餐馆的曲女士:

"Look at my competitors in big restaurants," she scoffs. "They use every minute to make money. But why make your life miserable? If you're easily contented, you'll be happy for a long time." (2009-003)

一名深圳的高科技公司的首席执行官:

"We take it jokingly, because we are so small, but it is true that a lot of Intel's partners have become successful brands." (2014-007)

一位来自北京的教育技术企业家:

Still, the ByteDance smart lamps and remote tutoring service "is the first time we're seeing a mass market, education-related surveillance product making it into the homes and bedrooms of Chinese children." (2021-018)

上述话语分别包括了中国企业家因运营公司让自己生活的很痛苦、中国企业需要依靠外国企业打造品牌竞争力、企业家为逐利不惜推出侵犯用户隐私权的产品等内容,试图建构出中国企业家缺乏道德和法律底线、创新能力不足、不能平衡工作与生活的负面形象。作为一家具有全球影响力的财经媒体,《华尔街日报》在采访对象的选取方面让人颇感困惑。如在上海经营餐馆的曲女士的例子中,整篇报道仅有曲女士和餐馆厨师两个采访对象,他们既不具有典型性,也不具备普遍意义,但在话语引用的其他部分,出现着"致富光荣(to get rich is glorious)"、"以经济建设为中心的国家(in a country that prizes financial success)"等具有宏大意义的政治话语。由此可以推断,报道期望以一个生动的、正面的个体故事,去对中国彼时的政策、其他中国企业家等进行批判。

其次,非中、美籍企业家或专家的话语颇受报道重视。如一位外国银行家:

Not everyone agrees that the Chinese here are being treated unfairly. "This is ridiculous," says one foreign banker. "I don't understand why the Chinese here are so paranoid. As far as I know, they are being treated better than the Chinese in some other Southeast Asian countries." (1984-004)

一名国外高校的公司治理专家:

Simon Wong, a corporate-governance expert at the London School of Economics, said buying a stake in a soccer club may raise red flags to prospective investors. "You should focus on what you're good at and this seems so ancillary to what they're doing

today," he said. (2014-009)

一位新加坡企业家:

So far none have managed to reach the scale and clout of their Western counterparts. Often, Chinese executives assume smaller markets will be a snap, only to learn otherwise, said James Chan, a Singaporean entrepreneur and investor who has worked with Chinese businesses in Southeast Asia. (2019-005)

上述三段话中,第一段的背景是随着文莱脱离英国实现独立,大量企业家担心日益高涨的民族主义可能导致企业利益受损。但报道引用的一位国外企业家的话语则表示,并非所有人都同意中国人会受到不公平的对待,以此形成对立的观点。第二段内容基于的事件是阿里巴巴准备以12亿元的价格收购广州恒大足球俱乐部50%的股份,进军体育市场。伦敦高校的一位公司治理专家则对之提出质疑,表示这会给潜在投资者发出危险信号,因为体育产业并非阿里巴巴的核心业务。第三段的事件是在中国科技公司海外交易规模增长明显的背景下,一位新加坡企业家认为,中国企业还不具有规模和影响力,对小市场的开拓明显不足。《华尔街日报》引用了非中国、美国籍的专业人士观点,本意是借不受意识形态影响的第三方言论,展现报道的客观中立,增强说服力。但形式并不能掩盖实质,报道引用的话语具有明显的偏向性,这三段内容分别试图建构中国企业家偏执、不专注主业、缺乏创新能力的负面形象。

此外,通过"知情人士"实现偏向性意见输出。如接近公司的人士:

Initially, Lazada's executives -- mostly Europeans brought in by the company's founder, Rocket Internet of Germany-- were delighted by the Alibaba purchase, according to people close to the company. They admired the Chinese giant's Silicon Valley-like campus in Hangzhou, where employees zoom around on bikes and workers typically toil from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., six days a week -- the infamous "996" schedule of Chinese internet businesses. (2019-005)

一名在阿里巴巴晚宴现场的人士:

If he was feeling desperate, Mr. Xu didn't show it, according to one of the people present at the meal at one of Mr. Ma's houses in Hangzhou, where Mr. Ma's Alibaba Group Holding Ltd. is based. (2021-020)

事件的知情人十:

Billionaire Jack Ma plans to relinquish control of Ant Group Co., people familiar with the matter said, part of the fintech giant's effort to move away from affiliate Alibaba Group Holding Ltd. after more than a year of extraordinary pressure from Chinese regulators. (2022-006)

第一段的背景是阿里巴巴拓展东南亚电子商务业务时,收购了新加坡最大的电子商务公司 Lazada,据接近 Lazada 的人士透露,虽然标的公司的高管对收购感到兴奋,但认为中国互联网企业有着臭名昭著的"996"时间表。第二段是许家印的债务危机曝光前,在阿里巴巴晚宴上表示要进军与房地产业并不相关的新能源车业务,据现场人士透露,许先生没有任何沮丧神情的流露。第三段是知情人士表示,马云在承受了巨大监管压力后,计划放弃对蚂蚁集团有限公司的控制权。对"知情人士"话语的引用在 2015 年之后明显增加,就第三段内容所在的全篇报道而言,出现"a person/people familiar with the matter said"的次数就达到5次之多。"知情人士"的话语多以间接引用为主,虽然对报道真实性产生了负面影响,但它输出了具有明显指向性的观点。仅就以上三段内容的引用话语来分析,分别试图建构中国企业家压榨劳动者、盲目扩张、备受监管压力等形象。

总之,灵活的直接、间接话语引用是《华尔街日报》明确互文性的特点。为建构中国企业家的负面形象,中小企业家的直接话语呈现,能够较为容易的实现目标。同时,为勾连不典型个案和普遍意义,第三方专业人士的话语提供了重要支持,观点输出的同时也能在形式上彰显报道的客观性,但这部分专家本身就立足于西方视角,服务于该意识形态下的霸权。值得注意的是,近年来,对知情人士话语的引用逐渐上升,他们的言论难以为外界考证,却在连结报道文本的过程中发挥了较大作用,成为了建构中国企业家负面形象的关键。

4.2 隐藏话语力量故事化叙事的文本分配

基于多年来打造的影响力,《华尔街日报》对每日国际经济活动会产生不可忽略的影响。就读者群体而言,主要为政治、经济、教育和医学界的人士,金融大亨和经营管理人员以及股票市场的投资者,美国 500 家最大企业的经理人员绝大部分订阅此报。因此,报道文本分配的目的在于影响上述人士的经营、投资和

消费活动。

在文本分配和消费中,虽然不同受众由于所处社会背景、社会环境以及知识结构的不同,对文本具有不同的消费模式,但生产者却能以预测受众反应的方式制造文本,并使各种各样的受众接受甚至认同文本。这种文本能够将意识形态建构到规范和习俗之中,使其自然而然被受众接受。

故事化叙述一直是《华尔街日报》的话语特点之一,试图降低读者的阅读门槛,更有力的传播话语中隐藏的认知。首先,软导语是惯用手法,将新闻事件与更易让读者感知的宏观背景结合,赋予新闻贴近性、重要性。其次,在报道的主体部分,选取不典型性的企业家进行刻画、点评,故事化的叙述也模糊了事实与观点的界限,让特定企业家的形象既生动又具有普遍性。此外,由于媒体难以与中国政府、中国企业建立联系,"拒绝回复"等类似话语经常出现在文本中,成为了形式上凸显报道中立性的一种方式,为偏向性观点的输出打开了更多空间。

在建构中国企业家负面形象过程中,话语隐藏的力量是让西方经营主体、投资者、消费者对这一群体进行疏离。分析话语的实践维度,对经营主体而言,报道强调由于中国政府监管压力大,中国企业家法律意识单薄,与中国企业开展合作要慎重,关注风险隐患,如合作过程中需要时刻关注政府监管动向、产业政策等。鉴于中国企业家缺乏创新能力,试图短时间内扩张企业规模,且热衷于多元化的发展战略,美国企业可以将并不前沿的科技成果进行售卖,快速抢占中国市场,并将部分落后业务向中国企业伸出橄榄枝,以实现收购等资产运作的推进。基于此,投资者则要谨慎对待中国企业发行的股票。此外,对于消费者而言,中国的产品固然具备性价比优势,但产品质量仍然需要全面考量。

5 社会实践向度分析: 树立权威与维持秩序

社会实践是费尔克拉夫的三维框架中最为宏观的维度,也是区别于一般话语分析的重要维度,对应着话语的解释过程。这一维度强调社会性分析,即深入联系话语所处的社会文化环境,揭露话语潜藏的权力关系与意识形态,解释这些权力关系与意识形态是基于何种社会现实被建构于话语实践,以及这些话语实践反过来会对社会实践施以何种影响。研究将围绕"意识形态"和"霸权"两个部分,对《华尔街日报》中国企业家形象建构的深层原因进行分析。

5.1 延续冷战思维的意识形态

"意识形态"是文化分析中一个非常核心的概念,也是最容易引起误读的概念。尤其在我国现有的语境里,总是将"意识形态"自然的归结为马克思主义理论中的概念——意识形态是统治阶级用来服务自身统治的工具,是对统治本身的掩盖和对被统治者的麻痹——仅以这个概念理解"意识形态"有一叶障目的弊端。英国学者约翰·斯道雷(John Storey)在其著作《文化理论与通俗文化导论》中详细的归纳了"意识形态"的各种概念:它可以指与某一特定人的群体相结合的思想体系,也可以指马克思主义中带有剥削和统治意味的上层建筑,还可以指与政治相关的"含义政治学",即引导读者以特定方式理解世界,同时意识形态可以被进一步看做是一种政治实践而非仅仅是思想,罗兰·巴特则将意识形态看做是将本是文化的东西自然化的过程。在批判话语分析中,"意识形态"是指涉政治的,是建构性的、实践性的,分析"意识形态"的过程就是去自然化的过程。

事实上,有如 20 世纪的美苏对抗,美国对中国的态度是冷战思维的延续。 在美国看来,中国企业家受制于极权统治,缺乏民主思维,不尊重人权。任何新 闻媒介都是掌握着经济政治权力者的代言人,《华尔街日报》也不例外。根本上, 它是为美国利益服务的,体现的是美国的意识形态。从以上对文本各个方面的分 析来看,《华尔街日报》对于中国企业家的态度非常鲜明,在报道中国企业家时 进行了两分法——中国和美国,极权和民主,传统和创新。从认知的角度来说, 报道将中国企业家视为处境困难、不擅经营、缺乏创新能力的主体,中国企业若 想实现发展,需要虔诚学习西方的优秀经营理念、创新精神、制度文化等,然而 这一切是基于中国监管是"合理的"前提下,隐含的意义就是西方站在正确且合 理的一方。但伴随中国的日益崛起,美国在亚洲的控制力量减弱,美国企图通过提高贸易壁垒、加强禁令审查等方式,给中国企业制造困难,施加压力。《华尔街日报》并没有直接引用美国政府或官方机构的话语,其目的恰恰是要掩盖报道背后真实的话语发出者和权力者。

5.2 确保国家文化安全的霸权

费尔克拉夫较为认可葛兰西的霸权理论对社会实践分析的解释力。"霸权"概念一直以来被认为是一种详细考察文化和权力之间关系的方法。葛兰西的霸权概念是一个具有总体性意蕴的概念。它不仅指伦理——道德意义上的文化领导权,而且指经济与政治意义上的霸权。作为下层阶级,要获得霸权,除了经济与政治上的努力,更重要的是获得文化领导权,这需要将大众的共通感提升到一种自觉的理性。在这个过程中,受政党领导的知识分子起着十分重要的作用。

"媒介霸权[®]"作为文化霸权的子概念,用以考量媒介对霸权的维系,也用来在媒介权力场域的相对自主性中发现媒介的霸权特质。随着文化与经济和政治相互交融,在国际竞争中的地位和作用越来越突出,文化安全已经是国家安全的重要组成部分。《华尔街日报》是美国国家文化输出的主阵地,聚焦着美国精英和知识分子的目光,在不同文化交流和冲突中,它有意识的推行着美国的文化霸权,威胁着他国的文化安全。在中国改革开放早期,由于美国在全球的文化主导权并未受到威胁,因此在涉及中国企业家的报道时,《华尔街日报》对中国制度的落后、企业家缺乏经验技术等话语的输出,是以居高临下的姿态,建构企业家的负面形象,并输出美国的理念、制度。但伴随中国国家实力的不断提升,中国文化软实力不断强大,美国开始以一种敌对的态度处理对华报道。虽然这一时期,美国因将中国视为对手而放低姿态,但与之同步到来的是对中国政府、中国企业家的更多诟病,以此来确保本国的文化安全,为政治安全、经济安全和军事安全等提供保障。

① 金苗.媒介霸权论:理论溯源、权力构成与现实向度[J].当代传播,2010(05):21-24+28.

6 结论与启示

6.1 解构"会讲故事的《华尔街日报》"

中国改革开放以来,《华尔街日报》在新闻文本向度,利用词汇、语法、连贯性、文本结构等方法,从个人特征、经营情况、营商环境三个方面,建构了中国企业家盲目追逐利益、欠缺创新能力、发展前景暗淡的负面形象。在话语实践向度,通过文本生产中明确的互文性,灵活运用直接、间接引语,聚焦非典型的经营规模偏小的中国企业家,运用第三方专业人士话语勾连普遍性,并加强知情人士话语引用频率,实现对中国企业家负面形象的建构;通过文本分配过程的互文性链条,运用故事化叙述消弭读者阅读门槛,在建构中国企业家形象过程中,释放西方经营主体、投资者、消费者对这一群体需要疏离的隐秘话语力量。在社会实践向度,美国对中国继续延续冷战思维,为维护其意识形态合法性,将中国企业家置于极权统治、缺乏民主思维、不尊重人权的视角下,并通过代表美国统治阶级意志的《华尔街日报》,对中国企业家形象进行消极建构。同时,伴随中国国家实力不断提升,美国的文化霸权在扩张中受到威胁,西方主流媒体从居高临下的姿态,逐渐转变为富有敌意的诟病,以此来确保本国的文化安全,为政治安全、经济安全和军事安全等提供保障。

众所周知,"会讲故事"让《华尔街日报》享誉全球,但在对中国企业家的报道中,研究发现,这一特征一方面能够将新闻整合进更通俗易懂的叙事之中,降低阅读门槛,较好的拓宽传播的范围,使读者共情,实现舆论引导。另一方面,故事的话语扎根于西方社会的意识形态之中,它把中国企业与企业家排斥于西方想象的共同体之外,这不仅符合长期以来对华报道的传统,还将在中美关系的博弈中存续。

6.2 中国媒体的中国企业家形象建构

对于中国媒体塑造中国企业家形象而言,首先要认识西方主流媒体对中国企业家形象的建构特征,从而有针对性的进行话语塑造。中国企业家的长远战略规划、头部企业的稳健成长等典型报道应当进行深度挖掘,这是解构"盲目追逐利

益"不可或缺的话语;中国企业家带领企业攻克先进技术、在全球市场取得竞争优势等重要事迹应予以高度重视,它能实现对"欠缺创新能力"话语的对抗;中国对民营企业出台的优惠政策、对本土企业出海的支持等,是粉碎"发展前景暗淡"话语的关键要素。

其次,话语建构要在故事化的叙述中推陈出新。选取并不具有代表性的人物 在报道中发挥作用,已然成为《华尔街日报》的重要手段。这其中的客观性、真 实性往往经不起理性的推敲,却是传播中实现共情的关键。中国媒体的走向国际, 需要与更多海外读者和报道对象接触,了解他们对中国企业和企业家的认知与态 度,并发现有利于报道的部分,再以一个人或群体的形式呈现,让报道更贴近读 者的思想观念,讲好中国故事。

再次,拓展想象的共同体,让新闻话语更具包容性。人类命运共同体的理念与思想是站在全人类的高度,是对全球每一个国家、每一个人的关切。显然,相比于热衷对抗东方的"想象的共同体[®]",人类命运共同体更加兼容并蓄,这理应成为中国企业和企业家报道的出发点。中国媒体在建构新闻话语过程中,可以将关注的重点更多的涉及中国企业对各国经济、日常生活做出的贡献,让民族企业家、爱国企业家的形象更加立体,建构出具有国际担当的中国企业家形象。但鉴于人类命运共同体实现之路,遭遇"人的自私本性、强者对弱者的剥夺以及强者之间的争夺[®]"等现实阻碍。共情传播或许能够成为互相理解、达成共识的重要途径,即以"共同或相似的情绪、情感[®]"为基础,建立一种与他者共在的理念,并努力发展共情的关爱,开展全球传播,解决"对空言说[®]"的传播困境。

总之,话语不仅是信息的载体,它本身就散发着大量信息,它的结构、用词都泄露着言语者的认知框架和意识形态。对于国际传播来说,不断进行新闻语篇的话语分析尤为重要,它能更加全面、深刻的挖掘文本中潜藏的蛛丝马迹,寻找到话语背后值得反思的东西。

最后需要说明的是,虽然研究是基于上述理念的尝试,但总体来说在案例分析方面还存在很多缺陷和不足。首先,由于专业的局限,一些语言学的工具可能

① 本尼迪克特·安德森,吴叡人译.想象的共同体——民族主义的起源与散布[M].上海:上海人民出版社.2003:234-235.

② 吴飞.共情传播的理论基础与实践路径探索[J].新闻与传播研究,2019,26(05):59-76+127.

③ 赵建国.论共情传播[J].现代传播(中国传媒大学学报),2021,43(06):47-52.

④ 约翰·杜翰姆·彼得斯,对空言说:传播的观念史[M].上海:上海译文出版社,2017:388.

运用的不够准确,可能会对研究结果造成一定影响。其次,由于笔者在政治学、历史学等方面的欠缺,在进行意识形态分析时存在分析不透彻的问题,无法驾驭 更加深层次的定性研究。此外,批判话语分析本身并非是一个完善的方法,研究 只是采用了比较有代表性的方法,其他学者还有很多不同的分析工具值得借鉴。

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2004-015	Rice to Riches Behind a \$550 Million Bad Bet: A Mystical Man With Ambition; As China Grew Fast, Mr. Chen Revved Up CAO Singapore; Then Oil Gamble Backfired;
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2017-006	China Circuit: Highflying Entrepreneur Falls Back to Earth
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	Finance &Markets: Alibaba's Ma Takes Strike 3 in U.S Entrepreneur's Ant
2018-002	Financial hoped to build payments titan out of MoneyGram
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	Xiaomi Is on Track for Year's Biggest IPO Chinese smartphone maker seeks to
2018-005	raise \$10 billion as it shifts to software and services
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2018-008	Under Cloud, JD.com Chief Still Controls All the Levers
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2018-010	Don't Bet on More China Stimulus
	Popular Liquor Is Hard to Buy, Tough to SwallowMoutai, a status symbol, tastes
2019-001	'very much like ethanol' to some
2019-002	Without Reforms, Chinese Society Will Get More Unequal
2010.002	Debt Humbles China's Business Champions Slowdown exposes the 'jewelry queen'
2019-003	and the 'soybean king'
2019-004	China Contends With Tech Dilemma Domestic worries loom as large as trade fight
2010 005	For Many China Tech Giants, Success Stops at the Border Alibaba's forays
2019-005	overseas have been stymied by nimbler local rivals
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2019-007	U.S. News: Stanford Payment Offers Window to China's Elite
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2020-001	Ant Group's Ma Made Offer in Bid To Placate Beijing
2020-002	China EV Startup Takes on Large Rivals NIO is now the world's fourth most
2020-003	valuable auto maker, surpassing GM and Daimler
2020 004	China's President Personally Scuttled Record Ant IPO Government was furious
2020-004	about entrepreneur Jack Ma's criticisms of regulators
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2020-006	Beijing Sharpens Focus on Domestic Economy Amid global downturn, frayed ties
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EXCHANGE — A Chinese Tech Giant Strikes Back — Facing a U.S. campaign to push back his company's swift global advance, Huawei founder Ren Zhengfei crafted a counterattack. The victor in this fight may control the future of communication. It's far from clear who will win. 2020-009 Nasdaq Trading Resumes in Shares of Luckin 2020-010 Business News: Rival to Starbucks in China Says Staff Fabricated Sales 2020-011 Peer-Lending Business in China Withers 2020-012 Zhang Yiming's TikTok soared, then got caught up in geopolitics 2020-013 Business News: Rival to Starbucks in China Says Staff Fabricated Sales 2020-014 To Curb Ma's Empire, China Weighs Taking a Bigger Stake EXCHANGE — Elon Musk Needs China. China Needs Him. The Relationship Is Complicated. — To attract Tesla, the Chinese government rewrote its rules for foreign auto businesses and offered tax incentives and cheap land. Now, the auto giant is entering bumpier terrain. 2021-002 China's Social Mobility Stalls, Prompting Economic Revamp — More opportunities go to wealthy, posing a challenge to President Xi 2021-003 After Lying Low, Jack Ma Ventures Out of China 2021-004 China and the U.S. Sabotage Their Own Tech Companies 2021-005 Exam Draws Jump-Rope Tutors — Chinese students need skipping skills to pass 2021-006 Blackstone Drops \$3 Billion China Realty Deal 2021-007 Blackstone Drops \$3 Billion China Realty Deal 2021-008 Political Economics: Why Beijing Wants BlackRock but Not Capitalism EXCHANGE — Collaring China's Tech Star — Billionaire entrepreneur Jack Ma matched the heights of Jeff Bezos and Bill Gates in his home country. He failed to heed warnings that Chinese leader Xi Jinping still called the shots. 2021-010 EXCHANGE — Business News: China's Meituan Faces Antitrust Fine of \$1 Billion China's Corporate Crackdown Raises Investor Anxiety — Beijing is just getting started in regulatory push, executives say 2021-016 World News: Chinese Industrialist Gets Prison World News: Beijing's Crime Fight Casts Pall Over Businesses — Private secto		
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2021-022 Tech Stocks in China Were Hit Harder Than U.S. Counterparts	2021-021	Chinese Tech Giants Told To Curb Financial Services
	2021-022	Tech Stocks in China Were Hit Harder Than U.S. Counterparts

2021-023	Jack Ma No Longer Richest In China
2021 023	REVIEW China Played Its Hand Well In 2020. Will It Keep Winning? While
2021-024	American democracy struggled to cope with the pandemic, economic crisis and
	political unrest, Chinese authoritarianism could point to notable successes and
	rising international clout.
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2022-001	Ant Group's Founder Ma Plans to Give Up Control
2022-002	World News: Two Chinese Tech Innovators' Paths Split
2022-003	The Middle Kingdom Is About to Fall Into the Middle Income Trap
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2022-005	EXCHANGE Venture Capitalist Touts His Turning From China
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2022-007	Main Street: The Innocence of Jimmy Lai
2022 000	Hong Kong Revamp Will Likely Founder The city has achieved stability at a steep
2022-008	cost and the prospects for improvement look weak
2022-009	Business News: Chinese Startups Seek Global Access
	Year in Review (A Special Report): The U.SChina Relationship A Dangerous
2022-010	Downward Spiral: For six years, neither the U.S. nor China has shown a serious
	interest in resolving differences through diplomacy
2022-011	World News: Growth Takes Priority After Pivot on Lockdowns
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