

Corrective Feedback in Oral Communication

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Abstract: *Since there is a dearth of research in oral corrective feedback in the Philippines together with the implementation of the K-12 curriculum, the researcher deemed it necessary to shed light to the significance of corrective feedback in oral communication classes. The study aimed to determine the different types of oral corrective feedback used by oral communication teachers and preferred by students, level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students, and the difference in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students. Specifically, the results showed the following: first, ignoring was the type of oral corrective feedback mostly used by oral communication teachers in improving oral communication skills; second, recast, explicit correction, and questioning (self-correction) were the types of oral corrective feedback most preferred by students in improving oral communication skills. However, ignoring was the type of oral corrective feedback that was never preferred by the students in improving oral communications skills; third, teachers and students perceived recast, questioning (peer correction), and questioning (self-correction) as highly effective. On the other hand, ignoring was perceived as never effective in improving oral communication skills; finally, there was a significant difference in the level of effectiveness in clarification request as perceived by teachers and students. More importantly, there was a high significant difference in the level of effectiveness in explicit correction, denial, and ignoring as perceived by teachers and students.*

Keywords: *communicative competence, oral communication, oral corrective feedback, senior high school*

I. INTRODUCTION

Errors in oral communication are seen as windows for students to learn English better. They are parts and parcels of the teaching learning process transpiring in the classroom. If these errors are left untreated, it could be detrimental in the learning process and language acquisition of the students. There have been plenty of research studies along this domain especially in the Middle East like Turkey, Jordan, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and UAE. Some countries in East Asia like Japan, China, and Korea as well as other Southeast Asian countries and some non - native English speaking countries in Europe have also delved into this kind of study. On the contrary, a dearth of research studies in line with oral corrective feedback could be found in the Philippines.

Globalization has promoted English to a world-leading-medium of communication. Many scholars have accentuated the importance of communicating in English effectively and appropriately, particularly with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Alyan, 2013). The rise in popularity of the communicative approach in language teaching since the late 1970s primarily focusing on language for meaningful interaction and for accomplishing tasks rather than on learning rules has intensified debate among teachers and researchers on corrective feedback (CF) or error correction (EC) in second language (L2) learning. The concept of CF has, therefore, been under analysis for long especially since

Hendrickson's study in 1978 in which he questioned if errors should be corrected and if so which ones, when, and how the errors should be corrected (Smith, 2010 as cited in Abaya, 2014).

Coskun (2010) explained that the issue of oral error correction should be approached from a historical perspective to see the progress made so far. Traditionally, when the audio-lingual approach to teaching foreign languages was popular among English teaching professionals, errors were seen as something to be avoided. However, today, the contemporary research seems to agree on the fact that rather than expecting students to produce error-free sentences, students are encouraged to communicate in the target language, and making errors is a natural part of second language acquisition. One of the recent issues in teaching speaking skills around the world has been the role of CF in learner uptake, defined as learners' reaction to the teacher's feedback. The research on CF has centered on its necessity and frequency, timing, methods, types of errors, and correctors (Alhaysony, 2016).

The research on corrective feedback has centered on the types of corrective feedback, the effect of corrective feedback on learner uptake and the role of individual differences in this effect (DeKeyser, 1993; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Panova & Lyster, 2002; Schulz, 1996; Tsang, 2004; Yoshida, 2008 as cited in Park, 2010). Regardless of many studies on corrective feedback, only a dearth of published studies has investigated the corrective feedback perceived by teachers and students and by high achievement students and low achievement students (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Schulz, 1996, 2001; Yoshida, 2008 as cited in Park, 2010). There has been a lot of discussion on errors and their correction in the foreign language classroom because of the fact that the attitudes towards errors of both teachers and students differ, as well as error correction diverges depending on the approaches that are applied (Tomczyk, 2013).

It has long been assumed within traditional pedagogical practice that error feedback is necessary for learners to progress in their acquisition and use of second language (L2) in more target-like ways. Providing feedback in class is not a simple or clear-cut process as there are many different types of feedback and each type can have a specific effect on learners' errors (Gitsaki & Althobaiti, 2010). Broadly speaking, errors are natural part of language learning. Hence, as far as EFL (English as a Foreign Language)/ESL (English as a Second Language) classrooms are concerned, speaking attracts the attention of almost all students.

Corrective feedback (CF) which refers to the implicit or explicit information learners receive indicating a gap between their current situation and compared to the desired performance has been an area of interest for EFL researchers during the last few decades (Asassfeh, 2013). Moreover, Long (1996 as cited in Rassaei, 2010) said it is among the techniques which are believed to facilitate L2 development by providing learners with both positive and negative evidence. When it comes to oral corrective feedback, what errors are corrected are influenced by the pedagogical approach of the teacher and the recent advent of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) which emphasizes the process of communication rather than mastery of language forms (Richards & Rodgers, 2001 as cited in Kim, 2015).

The core intention of this study was to determine and analyze the different types of oral corrective feedback in oral communication classes. Specifically, it sought to answer the following research queries:

1. What type of oral corrective feedback is used by oral communication teachers in improving oral communication skills?
2. What type of oral corrective feedback is the most preferred by students in improving oral communication skills?
3. What is the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by:
 - a. teachers; and

b. students?

4. What is the difference in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students?

HYPOTHESIS: There is a significant difference in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students.

II. RELATED LITERATURE

Alhaysony (2016) also added that research on CF has gained prominence in the domain of L2 acquisition because it plays a crucial role in developing L2 acquisition theories as well as teaching second languages. Huang et al. (2016) posited that the most common errors committed by students in oral communication are pronunciation errors and grammatical errors. An example is an observation on a study of Japanese Senior High School English classes which "revealed that even though students are more fluent in their communication, they are less accurate in their grammar usage" (Phettongkam, 2013, p. 97). There has been a lot of discussion on errors and their correction in the foreign language classroom because of the fact that the attitudes towards errors of both teachers and students differ, as well as error correction diverges depending on the approaches that are applied (Tomczyk, 2013). Calsiyao (2015) supported that the expectations of the teachers and the students toward error correction found to be contradictory. This is because the nature of error correction is dependent on the teaching styles of the educator and the learning styles of the students. On another note, Palangyos (2009) conveyed that there have been controversies concerning corrective feedback; one is whether or not teachers correct all errors committed by students; another is which types of corrective feedback are effective and which ones are not.

Saville - Troike (2006) stated Second Language Acquisition (SLA) refers both to the study of individuals and groups who are learning a language subsequent to learning their first one as young children, and to the process of learning that language. Second language acquisition – naturalistic, instructed, or both – has long been a common activity for a majority of the human species and is becoming ever more vital as second languages themselves increase in importance (Doughty & Long, 2005). Second Language Acquisition as a part of Applied Linguistics is the driving force of this research mainly because the process of acquiring a second language with near - native competence is the goal of any English language classroom. Another interesting part of second language acquisition is the different hypotheses proposed by many.

The Interactional Hypothesis states that conversational interaction "facilitates language acquisition because it connects input (what learners hear and read); internal learner capacities, particularly selective attention; and output (what learners produce) in productive ways" (Long, 1996, as cited in Muho & Kurani, n.d.). This particular hypothesis advances two major claims about the role of interaction in L2 acquisition: comprehensible input is necessary for L2 acquisition and modifications to the interactional structure of conversations which take place in the process of negotiating a communication problem help to make input comprehensible to an L2 learner (Long, 1980 as cited in Ellis, 1991). As Ellis (1991) observed, comprehensible input by Stephen Krashen has a major causative factor in SLA.

The Input Hypothesis, on another hand, states that acquisition takes place as a result of the learner having understood input that is a little beyond the current level of his competence (i.e. the $i + 1$ level). Input that is comprehensible to the learner will automatically be at the right level. Additionally, more comprehensible input results in more language acquisition, that language teaching methods containing more comprehensible input are more effective, and that language development occurs more effectively (Lightbrown, 1985). A review by Long (1988), for example, found that formal instruction does have positive effects on SLA

processes. Formal target language instruction has been found to speed up the rate at which learners acquire the language forms and also to result in a higher ultimate level of attainment (Ellis, 1989). Long now clearly acknowledges that interaction promotes L2 acquisition not only by supplying comprehensible input but also by providing the learner with opportunities for production, drawing on the comprehensible output hypothesis by Merrill Swain.

Swain's (1985) output hypothesis was formulated as a reaction to Krashen's (1985) input hypothesis and as a reaction against what Swain saw as the inefficacy of the use of comprehensible input alone in the development of learners' linguistic competence in the immersion schools in Canada. Swain recognizes that interlanguage development can take place when learners are 'pushed' to improve their output. In this respect, certain interactional modifications may be more helpful than others. For instance, requests for clarification (e.g. 'Pardon') could improve the learner by making her clarify what she has said, whereas confirmation checks may not because they solve the communication problem for the learner. Comprehensible output production is usually inseparably linked with feedback, which is a kind of interaction providing learners with error correction and with metalinguistic information, facilitating improvement of the accuracy of L2 production (Donesch-Jezo, 21).

When it comes to oral corrective feedback, what errors are corrected are influenced by the pedagogical approach of the teacher, and the recent advent of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) which emphasizes the process of communication, rather than mastery of language forms (Richards & Rodgers, 2001 as cited in Kim, 2015). Nevertheless, what constitutes a communicative error has not been categorized with distinction, and the research undertaken in the field primarily focuses on accuracy errors. One of these is a study conducted by Gass and Mackey (2017) who classified errors into four categories and they are as follows:

Phonological error means problem with pronunciation. An example of a phonological error is the lack of distinction between the phoneme /p/ and the phoneme /b/ among Arab ESL learners, so others hear them saying pird and brison instead of bird and prison. Another example is presented below.

NNS: The rear, rear [rleks].

NS: The rear what? Legs?

NNS: [regs] Yeah.

Morphosyntactic error means problem with grammar. An example of a morphological error is the production of such errors as womans, sheeps, and furnitures. Another example is presented below.

NNS: There is a three bird my picture.

NS: Three birds in your picture?

NNS: Three birds yeah.

Lexical error means problem with word choice. A lexical error involves inappropriate direct translation from the learner's native language or the use of wrong lexical items in the second language. Examples of lexical errors are: This is the home that my father built, and the clock is now ten. Another example is presented below.

NNS: There is a green, uh...

NS: A green?

NNS: A, no, I don't know the letter for this.

NS: Yes, yes, yes, a plant.

Semantic error means problem with meanings. Examples of semantic errors are errors in word order, subject-verb agreement, and the use of the resumptive pronoun in English relative clauses produced by Arab ESL learners as illustrated in: The boy that I saw him is called Ali. Another example is presented below.

NNS: He is on the tree.

NS: He is standing on the tree.

NNS: Yeah, standing on the tree.

When it comes to oral corrective feedback, the different types are worth noting. There are different types of oral corrective feedback based on Lyster and Ranta's model and had been added with some other types as found in the research of Alfaki, (2013). They are as follows:

Recast - the teacher repeats what the learner has said replacing the error. An example is presented below.

S: Were you *suprising* by anything in the article?

T: Were you surprised by anything in the article?

Explicit correction - the teacher explicitly provides the learner with the correct form. An example is presented below.

T: "That is not right. You should say...."

Repetition of error - the teacher repeats the learner's error in isolation. In most cases, the teacher adjusts his/her intonation so as to highlight the error. An example is presented below.

S: "I going to visit my parents next week."

T: I going to...(emphasis)

S: I'm going to...

Elicitation - the teacher provides a sentence and strategically pauses to allow the learner to 'fill in the blank'. An example is presented below.

S: Mario and the carabao become good friends.

T: Mario and the carabao...

S: became

Metalinguistic feedback - the teacher provides information or questions related to an error the student has made without explicitly providing the correct form. An example is presented below.

S: "When Mario saw the carabao, he was...."

T: "surprise,
surprised,
surprising?"

S: "surprised"

Clarification request - the teacher asks for repetition or reformation of what the learner has said. An example is presented below.

T: "What's your surname?"

S: "Lucy"

T: "pardon me"

S: "Lopez"

T: "Excellent!"

Denial - the teacher tells the learner that his or her response was incorrect and asks him or her to say the sentence without the error. An example is presented below.

"That's not correct. Could you try again?"

Questioning (peer correction) - learners correct each other in face-to-face interaction in a safe environment. For example, learners work in pairs and read to each other a tongue twister. A student reads the line: A flea and a fly flew. She mispronounces the word flew. Her partner corrects her: A flea and a fly (flu:).

Questioning (self-correction) - the learner is aware of the error he/she makes and repairs them. An example is presented below.

A student answering the question,

What did you do yesterday?

S: "I go to the movies."

S: "I went to the movies."

Ignoring - the teacher does nothing when the student makes an error.

III. METHODOLOGY

Research Method

This study on oral corrective feedback in oral communication had been based on the concept of descriptive survey method which concerns itself with the present phenomena in terms of conditions, practices, beliefs, processes, relationships or trends invariably (Salaria, 2012). In order to collect data, triangulation was used because a single method cannot explain the phenomenon at hand

Population and Locale

The respondents were divided into two namely; student - respondents and teacher - respondents. The student - respondents were Grade 11 students using stratified sampling technique. There were 406 randomly selected Grade 11 students taking oral communication classes from different strands in University of the Cordilleras Senior High School; 118 students from STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics), 94 students from HUMSS (Humanities and Social Sciences), 20 students from Housekeeping, 20 students from GAS (General Academic Strand), 20 students from TG (Tour Guiding), 49 students from ICT (Information and Communications Technology), and 85 students from ABM (Accountancy, Business and Management). All 23 English teachers teaching oral communication classes were selected in the first trimester, S.Y. 2017 – 2018 in University of the Cordilleras – Senior High School.

Data Gathering Instrument

The data gathering tools used in this research were a class observation checklist for oral communication teachers, questionnaires for students and teachers, and an interview guide for teachers for the focus group discussion. A close-ended questionnaire about oral corrective feedback types and the level of effectiveness of the oral corrective feedback types were reformulated to fit specifically for this study. These questionnaires were based on the techniques used in correcting students' oral errors by Al-Faki (2013).

The oral corrective feedback types' questionnaire for students has a reliability coefficient of 0.75 (Cronbach's Alpha) interpreted as adequate, 0.78 (Split-Half Correlation) interpreted as adequate, and 0.87 (Split Half with Spearman-Brown Adjustment) interpreted as good. The effectiveness of oral corrective feedback types in improving students' oral communication skills' questionnaire has a reliability coefficient of 0.81 (Cronbach's Alpha) interpreted as good, 0.84 (Split-Half Correlation) interpreted as good, and 0.91 (Split Half with Spearman-Brown Adjustment) interpreted as excellent.

Data Gathering Procedure

The researcher needed to ask permission from Mr. Ronaldo L. Pontanosa, the Academic Director of University of the Cordilleras - Senior High School, English teachers who taught oral communication, and grade 11 students by providing request letters for class observation of teachers and focus group discussion, and the distribution of the questionnaires to teachers and students. Before distributing the questionnaires, the researcher clearly explained the instructions on how to properly address each item. The questionnaires were distributed to the teachers and the students during their free time to be retrieved the day after as per school policy. After the retrieval, the researcher fervently tallied the scores, used appropriate statistical tools, presented the data through tables, and analyzed and interpreted the data gathered to answer the problems in this study. To complement the results of the survey, the

researcher sourced out materials available in the library such as books, journals, and theses. Other sources were online articles, online research journals, and online theses.

Data Analysis

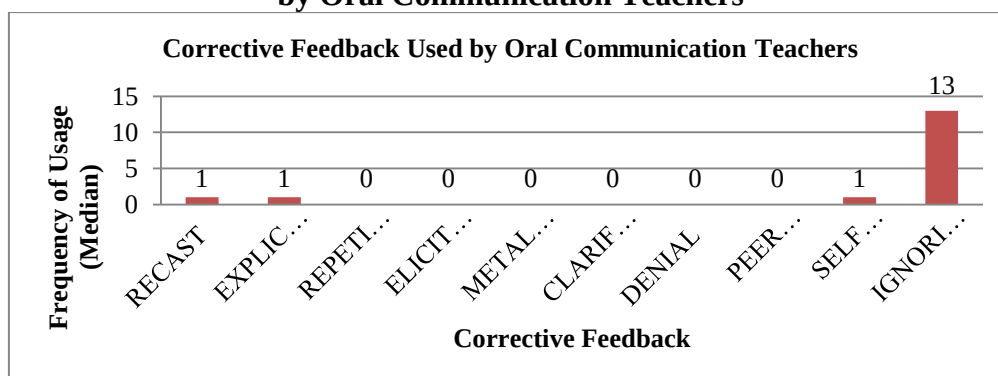
This research on corrective feedback in oral communication used different statistical tools to treat its data. Firstly, to determine the type of oral corrective feedback used by oral communication teachers in improving oral communication skills, frequency (Median) was used to represent the frequency of usage of the types of oral corrective feedback due to the presence of extreme values in the data. Secondly, to determine the type of oral corrective feedback preferred by students in improving oral communication skills, mean was used. Additionally, the non-parametric counterpart of ANOVA which is the Kruskal Wallis Test was used to test the differences in the preferences of the types of oral corrective when grouped according to strands. Non-parametric test was used because the data is in ordinal level. The arbitrary scale used was: 3.26 - 4.00 Highly Effective, 2.51 - 3.25 Moderately Effective, 1.76 - 2.50 Slightly Effective, and 1.00 - 1.75 Never Effective.

Thirdly, to determine the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students, mean was used. The arbitrary scale used was: 3.26 - 4.00 Highly Effective, 2.51 - 3.25 Moderately Effective, 1.76 - 2.50 Slightly Effective, and 1.00 - 1.75 Never Effective. Lastly, to determine the difference in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students, non-parametric equivalence for T-test which is the Man Whitney U Test was used because the data is in ordinal level. This was used in order to assess whether the means of the two groups were statistically different from each other.

IV. RESULTS

The first problem dealt with is the type of oral corrective feedback used by oral communication teachers in improving oral communication skills. The types of oral corrective feedback used by oral communication teachers are shown in table 1. It includes the average of 23 teachers in using oral corrective feedback in the two-hour observation per class. It also shows that among the ten types of oral corrective feedback, ignoring had been used thirteen times in two hours, self-correction had been used once in two hours, explicit correction had been used once in two hours, and recast had been used once in two hours.

Table 1
Types of Corrective Feedback
by Oral Communication Teachers



However, the other types of oral corrective feedback namely repetition of error, elicitation, metalinguistic feedback, clarification request, peer correction had not been used in the two -

hour period. On average, the results showed that 4 out of 10 types of oral corrective feedback had been used in 2 hours. This implies that oral communication teachers had a high preference in the use of ignoring as a type of oral corrective feedback in their oral communication classes.

The second problem dealt with is the type of oral corrective feedback preferred by students in improving oral communication skills. The mean scores and the descriptive equivalence are shown in table 2.

Table 2
Types of Oral Corrective Feedback Preferred
by Students in Improving Oral Communication Skills

Corrective Feedback	N	Mean	Descriptive Equivalence
Recast	406	3.4778	Highly Preferred
Questioning (Self - Correction)	406	3.3374	Highly Preferred
Explicit Correction	406	3.2709	Highly Preferred
Questioning (Peer Correction)	406	3.2512	Moderately Preferred
Metalinguistic Feedback	406	3.1749	Moderately Preferred
Repetition of Error	406	3.1478	Moderately Preferred
Elicitation	406	3.1478	Moderately Preferred
Clarification Request	406	3.1256	Moderately Preferred
Denial	406	3.0222	Moderately Preferred
Ignoring	406	1.4483	Never Preferred

Chi-square = 913.532

**p-value = 0.000 (highly significant)

The table shows that grade 11 students had a preference on recast as a type of oral corrective feedback with a mean score of 3.4778, explicit correction with a mean score of 3.2709, questioning (self - correction) with a mean score of 3.3374 were all interpreted as highly preferred, while ignoring garnered a mean score of 1.4483 interpreted as never preferred in improving oral communication skills. Other types of oral corrective feedback such as repetition of error with a mean score of 3.1478, elicitation with a mean score of 3.1478, metalinguistic feedback with a mean score of 3.1749, clarification request with a mean score of 3.1256, denial with a mean score of 3.0222, and questioning (peer correction) with a mean score of 3.2512 were moderately preferred in improving oral communication skills. The p-value implies that there exists a significant difference in the type of oral corrective feedback as perceived by students.

The third problem dealt with is the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students. The mean scores and descriptive equivalence of the level of effectiveness as perceived by teachers are shown in table 3. It shows that recast with a mean score of 3.4348, elicitation with a mean score of 3.3913, clarification request with a mean score of 3.6087, denial with a mean score of 2.3478, questioning (peer correction) with a mean score of 3.4783, and questioning (self - correction) with a mean score of 3.5652 were perceived as highly effective by the teachers in improving oral communication skills.

Table 3
Level of Effectiveness of Oral Corrective Feedback
as Perceived by Teachers

Corrective Feedback	Mean	Descriptive Equivalence
Clarification request	3.6087	Highly Effective
Questioning (Self Correction)	3.5652	Highly Effective
Questioning (Peer Correction)	3.4783	Highly Effective
Recast	3.4348	Highly Effective
Elicitation	3.3913	Highly Effective
Denial	3.3478	Highly Effective
Metalinguistic feedback	3.1304	Moderately Effective
Repetition of error	3.0435	Moderately Effective
Explicit correction	2.5652	Moderately Effective
Ignoring	1.0000	Never Effective

N=23

To determine the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by students, refer to table 4. The table shows that recast with a mean score of 3.5493, explicit correction with a mean score of 3.2734, questioning (peer correction) with a mean score of 3.2734, and questioning (self - correction) with a mean score of 3.3547 were perceived as highly effective by students in improving oral communication skills.

Table 4
Level of Effectiveness of Oral Corrective Feedback as Perceived by Students

Corrective Feedback	Mean	Descriptive Equivalence
Recast	3.5493	Highly Effective
Questioning (Self Correction)	3.3547	Highly Effective
Explicit correction	3.2734	Highly Effective
Questioning (Peer Correction)	3.2734	Highly Effective
Metalinguistic feedback	3.2512	Moderately Effective
Repetition of error	3.2266	Moderately Effective
Elicitation	3.2241	Moderately Effective
Clarification request	3.2143	Moderately Effective
Denial	3.1404	Moderately Effective
Ignoring	1.4877	Never Effective

N = 406

The fourth problem dealt with is the difference in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students. Mann - Whitney U Results, Z Results, and p-value are shown in table 5. It shows that there is a significant difference in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students in improving oral communication skills.

Table 5
The Difference in the Level of Effectiveness of Oral Corrective Feedback
as Perceived by Teachers and Students

Corrective Feedback	Mann-Whitney U	Z	p-value
Recast	4198.500	-.950	0.34
Explicit Correction	2706.500	-3.672	0.00**
Repetition of Error	3914.500	-1.406	0.16
Elicitation	4133.000	-1.009	0.31
Metalinguistic Feedback	4562.000	-.200	0.84
Clarification Request	3389.500	-2.397	0.02*
Denial	2622.500	-3.778	0.00**
Questioning (Peer Correction)	4018.500	-1.226	0.22
Questioning (Self Correction)	3842.000	-1.578	.12
Ignoring	3381.000	-2.889	.00**

*Significant at $p \leq 0.05$

**Highly Significant at $p \leq 0.01$

The p-value revealed that there is no significant difference in the types of oral corrective feedback namely recast (0.34), repetition of error (0.16), elicitation (0.31), metalinguistic feedback (0.84), questioning (peer correction, 0.22), and questioning (self - correction, 0.11). There is a significant difference, though, in the use of clarification request (0.02), while there exists a high significant difference in the use of explicit correction (0.00), denial (0.00), and ignoring (0.00) in improving oral communication skills. This implies that there are differences in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students.

V. DISCUSSION

1. Ignoring was the type of oral corrective feedback mostly used by oral communication teachers in improving oral communication skills.

Ignoring

The result is in contrast with what teachers mentioned in the focus group discussion when asked “Does your corrective feedback method change depending on the orientation of the speaking activity? (i.e. communicative, pronunciation, grammar, etc.)” because all of them said they change their corrective feedback method depending on the orientation of the speaking activity.

To quote some of their responses, some teachers said, “Yeah, different activities call for different kinds of feedback. So, we really have to change the way we really give out feedback to our students especially if it’s changing the topics. So, we really cannot do anything about it. But, of course, we need to adjust to it,” “I think each oral communication activity needs a different type of feedback. For example, if you do impromptu speeches, you can do corrective feedback immediately after each person. It’s actually good because you can do it individually. When it comes to group tasks, usually, what I do is after all the groups have performed their tasks, then I give feedback because from the point of view of the students after each group and I give a feedback then the next group will take the feedback and perform better, so they feel like it’s kind of unfair. So, depending on one to one, or one to many, or small group discussions, it all varies,” “Feedback is very important coming from the teacher

and also from their peer, so usually we ask their classmates or their peer to give their evaluation especially if it's a group activity," "Yes, very much. The first consideration there is your objective. What is your objective for the speaking activity. And then, is your feedback method appropriate to your activity? Does it correspond to what your objectives are? If it does, you should choose a feedback method that would fulfill your objectives," and "It also depends on the activity. If it is a discussion, it's easier to correct the students. However, if it is for example a performance task, and they're delivering a performance. Of course, we cannot interrupt. I do not interrupt my students. I just write their mistakes on the comment part in the rubrics and then after that we'll have like a post-conference."

To further analyze the types of oral corrective feedback used by oral communication teachers, the frequency of usage of corrective feedback is. It shows that oral communication teachers used four types of oral corrective feedback namely ignoring defined as the teacher doing nothing when the student makes an error, explicit correction defined as the teacher explicitly providing the learner with the correct form, questioning (peer correction) defined as learners correcting each other in a face-to-face interaction in a safe environment, and questioning (self - correction) defined as the learner being aware of the error he/she makes and repairs them.

2. Recast, explicit correction, and questioning (self - correction) were the types of oral corrective feedback most preferred by students in improving oral communication skills. However, ignoring was the type of oral corrective feedback that was never preferred by the students in improving oral communications skills.

Recast

The preference of students in the use of recast employed by the teacher through a repetition of what the learner has said replacing the error is in line with the research conducted by Park (2010) stating that the students' groups reported that recast helps the conversation to go smoothly, does not make students shy away from class participation, and helps students to be more confident in developing conversation skills. For instance, one of the Low Performing Students reported that "If the teacher corrects my errors naturally through recast, I feel comfortable when I speak in English." Another research in the effectiveness of recast supports this perception of students. Sato (2009) stated that the results in the study imply that recasts can facilitate learning, considering the high success rate. This means that there was a learner uptake which is defined as the learners' reaction to the teacher's feedback. Statistically, a successful move was more frequent than a failed move. Compared with explicit correction, recast corrects students' errors in a more indirect way, which can provide corrections and at the same time protect their self-esteem (Ran & Danli, 2016).

Questioning (self - correction)

The preference of students in the use of questioning (self - correction) as a highly preferred type of oral corrective feedback is in conjunction with the research conducted by Yoshida (2008) stating that all the learners mentioned that finding out correct answers was more effective for their learning than being provided the answers by the teachers. Moreover, self - corrections may also give the learners a sense of achievement and confidence. Self-correction seems to be preferred to correction by others because it is face-saving and allows the learner to play an active role in the corrective event. Self-correction plays a central role in the promotion of autonomous learning nowadays (Mendez & Cruz, 2012). Learner autonomy is a new realm of learning. It is defined as learners understanding teaching objectives and teaching methods, setting their own learning target, choosing suitable learning strategies, monitoring their own learning strategies, and establishing their own learning outcome (Wang,

2014). This implies that students prefer being responsible of their actions and responsible of correcting themselves in improving their oral communication skills.

Explicit Correction

The preference of students in the use of explicit correction as a highly preferred type of oral corrective feedback is in line with the research of Park (2010) stating that both the High Performing Students and the Low Performing Students chose explicit correction because they wanted the teacher to correct their errors explicitly and clearly so that they would not make the same errors in the future. Also, Fidan (2015) said in his research that the majority of student - participants prefer the method of error correction where the teacher gives the correct form immediately. This implies that students wanted their errors to be corrected in an explicit manner.

Ignoring

Ignoring, on the other hand, is a type of oral corrective feedback interpreted as never preferred by the students. The only small but relevant advantage for this method is that the students avoid the embarrassment of having their utterance corrected in front of their peers (Trang, 2012). This is in opposition with Long (1996 as cited in Rassaei, 2010) who said That corrective feedback is among the techniques which are believed to facilitate L2 development by providing learners with both positive and negative evidence. Providing feedback and correcting errors to learners on their performance is an important aspect of teaching (Akhter, 2007).

In conclusion, grade 11 students preferred recast, explicit correction, and questioning (self - correction) as the types of oral corrective feedback in their oral communication classes. This means that they wanted their errors to be corrected both by the teacher and by themselves. All in all, the students never preferred their errors to be left untreated.

Teachers and students perceived recast, questioning (peer correction), and questioning (self - correction) as highly effective. On the other hand, ignoring was perceived as never effective in improving oral communication skills.

Recast

Teachers perceiving recast as highly effective in improving oral communication skills is consistent with one teacher during the focus group discussion saying "As for me, if ever there would be a mispronounced word for example they would say 'receiver', you will not say 'no, that's wrong' but you say 'ah, you mean receiver' so that they would not feel ashamed in class."

On the part of the students, they perceived recast as highly effective in improving oral communication skills. This is in line with the research of Tsai and Sung (2014) stating that with regard to correcting grammar errors, Interviewee 6 in their study explained why he preferred recasts. He said, "I like that the teacher uses recasts, so I can hear the correct sentence. If I still don't understand, then she can explain why." With respect to correcting lexical errors, several interviewees expressed that if the teacher just used recasts, they think they would get it.

Questioning (peer correction)

Questioning (peer correction) perceived as highly effective in improving oral communication skills is supported by the response of one teacher during the focus group discussion saying "When, for example, a student commits an error, I ask him to call a friend so that he will not be embarrassed that's because as we know students at this age are very sensitive. So, if ever that he calls a friend and that friend stands together with him he will not

be as embarrassed. So, at least, there is an assistance or there is help from a friend.” Another teacher mentioned “I correct their errors at the same time I also encourage peer feedback. In that way, it’ll feel a little more comfortable that it’s correction from the class instead of just the teacher.” In addition, Mendez and Cruz (2012) explained that peer correction occurs when one learner corrects another one. Its most important advantages are that both learners are involved in face-to-face interaction; the teacher obtains information about learners’ current abilities; learners co-operate in language learning and become less teacher-dependent; peer correction does not make errors a public affair, which protects the learners’ egos and increases their self-confidence.

Questioning (peer correction) perceived by students as highly effective in improving oral communication skills is supported by Smith (2000) which reveals that while the teacher, of course, may seem like the most intuitive answer in correcting students, peer correction has received a share of attention. Pair and group communication activities, in which peers are likely to correct each other, are common in most modern ESL classrooms. Moreover, when a student is unable to self - correct, **peer correction** might be appropriate. If a student raises his hand while the teacher is waiting for a student to self - correct, the teacher may want to call on that student for the correct answer, or after waiting for a short time for a student to self - correct, the teacher could ask the whole class the same question and encourage a choral response (Arntsen, n.d.). Group oral feedback – for example, speaking to a whole class about a common misconception – can also be helpful (Brookhart, 2008).

Questioning (self-correction)

Questioning (self - correction) perceived as highly effective in improving oral communication skills is consistent with the research conducted by Rana and Perveen (2013) stating that self - correction is believed to instill in the learner feelings of self-sufficiency and success and provide them with the opportunity to take a more active role in their own learning. In fact, self - correction helps weak students away from dependency on the teachers for oral error correction.

Questioning (self - correction) perceived by students as highly effective in improving oral communication skills is similar with the study conducted by Tedick and Gortari (n.d.) who mentioned that this active engagement occurs when there is negotiation of form, or when the students have to think about and respond to the teacher’s feedback in some way. And this negotiation of form occurs when the teacher does not provide the correct form but instead provides cues to help the student consider how to reformulate his or her incorrect language.

Ignoring

Overall, teachers with a mean score of 1.0000 and students with mean score of 1.4877 perceived ignoring as never effective in improving oral communication skills. This means that teachers and students have their own preferences in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback.

Every oral communication teacher (23 out of 23) perceived ignoring as never effective in improving oral communication skills in their oral communication classes. The result supports the research of Mendez and Cruz (2012 as cited in Ananda, Febriyanti, Yamin, & Mu’in, 2017) which states that teachers have a positive view about oral corrective feedback, and they strongly feel they need to correct students’ errors in order for them to become fluent and accurate. They also see corrective feedback having a positive effect on language learning. But then again, the result reveals that there is a gap between what teachers perceived and what they actually practiced in their oral communication classes. All teachers answered that ignoring was never effective in improving oral communication skills, but among the ten types of oral corrective feedback ignoring got the highest frequency on average. Plus, 87 percent

(20 out of 23 teachers) used ignoring as their oral corrective feedback in their oral communication classes during the observation phase. This means that there really exists a mismatch between what oral communication teachers employed in the oral communication classes and what they perceived as never effective in improving oral communication skills.

Students, in the same way, view ignoring as never effective in improving oral communication skills. This is corroborated by the research conducted by Oladejo (1993) which shows that a general agreement by learners with the view that "It is necessary to correct their errors in English in order to enhance their fluency and accuracy in the language." It is also interesting to note that the majority of the learners disagree with the view that "Constant error correction could frustrate the learner and inhibit his willingness to perform in the language."

In conclusion, teachers and students alike perceived some types of oral corrective feedback to be highly effective and moderately effective. However, teachers and students agreed that ignoring as a type of oral corrective feedback was never effective in improving oral communication skills.

4. There was a significant difference in the level of effectiveness in clarification request as perceived by teachers and students. More importantly, there was a high significant difference in the level of effectiveness in explicit correction, denial, and ignoring as perceived by teachers and students.

Clarification Request

Clarification request as a type of oral corrective feedback is perceived as highly effective by teachers, while students perceived it as moderately effective in improving oral communication skills. This suggests that the teachers asking for repetition or reformation of what the learner has said is thought to be highly effective by teachers. The significant difference could be explained by Al-Faki (2013) when the teachers in his study elaborated that "Clarification request is used because in these stages students need to give longer answers. In case the students are not competent enough, teachers sometimes ask for clarification." Despite the fact that when students reform their sentences after a clarification request, the sentence tends to improve (Grassi & Barker, 2009), students in the study still thought that it is moderately effective.

Explicit Correction

Teachers perceived explicit correction as moderately effective while students perceived it as highly effective in improving oral communication skills. This means that students' perception is geared towards being explicitly provided with the correct form. The high significant difference is in favor of the research conducted by Russell (2009) stating that the current research in this area, albeit scant, indicates that there is a mismatch in students' and teachers' belief systems about error correction, with students generally in favor of more corrections, especially corrections that are more explicit, and teachers generally in favor of less oral error correction in order not to impede students' communication in the target language.

Denial

Teachers perceived denial as highly effective while students perceived it as moderately effective in improving oral communication skills. This means that teachers think that telling the learner that his or her response is incorrect and asking him or her to say the sentence without the error is highly effective. The high significant difference was explained by one

teacher, during an interview in the study of Al-Faki (2013), who said “Teachers believe that students have the readiness to discover or search for their own errors and that denial will stimulate students to find answers which result in good knowledge obtained by such strategy.” On one hand, students thought that it is moderately effective especially when they are not aware of their errors and they don’t exactly know what to correct.

Ignoring

It is also interesting to note that even though both teachers and students think ignoring is never effective in improving oral communication skills the study proves that some students think otherwise. The high significant difference and the factors why some students want ignoring as a type of oral corrective feedback could be justified by Wörde (2003) who has provided a plausible explanation for this. During his interview, the participants cited numerous and various sources for their anxiety, such as speaking activities, inability to comprehend, negative classroom experiences, fear of negative evaluation, native speakers, methodology, pedagogical practices, and the teachers themselves.

The mismatch in the significant difference in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students in the use of clarification request, and the gap in the high significant difference in the level of effectiveness of oral corrective feedback as perceived by teachers and students in the use of explicit correction, denial, and ignoring could also be brought out by some of the teachers’ responses during the focus group discussion. When teachers were asked whether their way of correcting students matches with what the students want, majority answered yes and the minority said that they were not sure. One teacher said “I could say that my strategy or my correction matches with what students want because I base it on them.” Another teacher responded “For me, I believe so because I’m an open-minded person. I always tell them that if they are not comfortable in my strategies they can suggest, give their opinions, or just give their feedback because they are the ones learning.”

In conclusion, there lies no significant difference in 6 types of oral corrective feedback. However, there exists a mismatch between teachers’ perceptions and students’ perceptions on other types of oral corrective feedback. Then, some types of oral corrective feedback are more appealing to teachers and students than others.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the findings of this study, the researcher arrived at the following conclusions:

1. Teachers were more concerned with not interrupting the flow of communication in the class and their focus was more on fluency, not accuracy, in the English language.
2. There has to be a combination of implicit, explicit, and self-correction in the oral communication classes. However, ignoring is the type that was never preferred which means that students wanted their errors like phonological errors, morphosyntactic errors, semantic errors, and lexical errors to be corrected.
3. Teachers and students thought that implicit correction, classmates correcting each other in a safe environment, and self-generated feedback were ways that could improve oral communication skills. On the other hand, ignoring was perceived as never effective which means that the participants both thought that not correcting students’ errors in the English language and leaving them untreated could not improve their oral communication skills.
4. Teachers and students’ perceptions on oral corrective feedback in improving oral communication skills were at odds.

In relation to the findings and conclusions of this research, the following are recommended:

1. An experimental study is recommended since this research was focused on the perceptions of teachers and students only.
2. A measurement and comparison of student uptake in the use of the types of oral corrective feedback could be made. Such a study will inform researchers more about how students respond to their teachers' oral corrective feedback and will uncover the types of oral corrective feedback which are more effective in helping students improve their communication skills.
3. Other researchers are encouraged to conduct a comparative study regarding this topic. They might come up with results that will enhance the findings of this study.
4. A module on the types of oral corrective feedback and how they are employed in oral communication classes could be provided to English teachers and pre-service English teachers.

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Acknowledgements

The researcher is fully indebted to the following: his adviser, Dr. Corazon D. Ciriaco, and to his formidable panel members, Dr. Manilyn R. Cacanindin, Ms. Alma L. Biscocho, and Dr. Rosemary C. Basbas, who painstakingly checked, rechecked, and helped him through the process; secondly, big thanks to Dr. Dante L. Caseldo for the great head start and to Ms. Benelisa Dio-as for being his statistician and critic, as well as, Ms. Asia Ayochok and Mr. Mark Sanchi Kiray for the manpower; finally, gratitude to all Oral Communication in Context teachers for the unwavering cooperation and for always heeding his calls without complaints.

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A Study of Charles Dickens' Great Expectations from the Perspective of Space Narrative

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Abstract: *The extremely high artistic value of Dickens' novels, attracted an endless stream of scholars to study both the writer and his novels with various approaches. Based on the principles of narratology, this paper takes Dickens' later-stage representative work Great Expectations as the research object, refines and summarizes its typical space narrative and divides it into such three categories as confusing mysterious space, indifferent social space and self-pitying psychological space. Starting from the composition of each narrative space, this thesis analyses how the three categories of narrative space are developed, and expounds the role of different categories of space in the text by analyzing their different ways of expression and different narrative techniques, and then explores the relationships among and implications of the three typical categories of narrative space.*

Keywords: Dickens, confusing mysterious space, indifferent social space, self-pitying psychological space, space narrative

Introduction

Charles Dickens is a great realistic writer in Victorian England. His position in the history of English literature is beyond all doubt. Austrian writer Zweig (1998) comments on Dickens, saying that he is "the only great writer of the 19th century, whose novels are the highest expression of British tradition in literature" (45-46). Together with Thackeray, Bronte and Mrs. Gaskell, Dickens is ranked among "a group of outstanding novelists in modern Britain" (296) by Marx. Dickens left 15 full-length novels, more than 20 novellas, one informal essay, two long travelogues, hundreds of pieces of prose and short stories for the world.

Throughout the past two centuries, experts and scholars have explored various aspects of Dickens' novels. Nevertheless, there are still some aspects remaining to be studied. For example, few papers have approached Dickens' novels by applying the principles of narratology (Frank, 1945). "Narratology is a literary theory that has emerged in Western Europe since the 1960s. Adopting the principles of structuralist linguistics, it appears to be very unique and is endowed with abundant new ideas" (Yang, 1997, p.424). Fiction is mainly an art of narrative. With people's increasing attention, theory of narrative has gradually become a tool for the study of fictions. "Without the theory of narratology, we can hardly analyze novels or make comments" (Jin, 2001). But the fact is that most of the papers concerning Dickens' novels already published mainly study the narrator, characters in the novel, narrative language and other aspects, and few of them focus on the unique space narrative showed in his novel, which leaves much space for deep research on this aspect.

Any narrative work develops and connects spatial scenes in chronological order. For example, the activities of characters in the novel, the symbolic description of scenes, and the development of story plots, etc., all happen in certain spatial scenes. As the French scholar

Jean-Yves Tadié (1992) said, “Novel is of both a spatial structure and a temporal structure. It is a spatial structure because of a certain organization and system in a static form; it is a temporal structure because there is no instantaneous reading, for life experiences are always unfolded in time” (224). Bakhtin (1998) also believes that “In the artistic chronotope of literature, symbols of space and time are integrated into a concrete whole which has been recognized. Time concentrates, condenses and becomes artistically visible here; space tends to be tense and is involved in the movement of time, plot and history. Symbols of time are displayed in space, and space is understood and measured through time” (274-275). Therefore, the narrative space and narrative time in the narrative text are both important components of the novel that cannot be ignored.

A typical space narrative structure exists in *Great Expectations*, Dickens’ (2003) later representative work, among his 15 full-length novels. In terms of the external space background for the creation of *Great Expectations* and its internal space structure, the narrative space in this novel is rational and inevitable, which reflects Dickens’ exquisite artistic techniques and profound creative intentions. On the basis of a close reading of the text, this paper refines and summarizes the typical narrative space in *Great Expectations*, with an aim to provide a new method and perspective for interpreting Dickens’ works.

Space Narrative

Space narrative, “according to semantics, constitutes the clue and arrangement of a story” (Zhang, 1994, p.5). In other words, space narrative displays many spatial pictures in words in literary works. The organic arrangement, organization and structure of these spatial pictures help form a certain spatial structure and express main ideas. Narrative space according to Chatman (1978) refers to the space of activity or existence of things in the story or event created and processed by the writer. There are two categories of narrative space. One is the objective space, for the characters’ to carry out activities and the events to develop in a novel. Generally, the plots are set to show characters’ personality; the space is set to promote the plot development, and is changed with the change of the characters’ activities and the evolution of the plot. This kind of space needs to display its region, scenery, social and cultural environment completely. The other is psychological space, which provides the space for the characters’ psychological consciousness activities in the novel...Psychological space, as is described in *The Mark on the Wall*, may have no integrity or clarity of narrative space in a strict sense, or may have a holistic space, as is expressed in Joyce’s *Ulysses*. However, it is a place where conscious activity “cuts off several different behaviors that occur simultaneously again and again” (Wu, 2009, p.63); and where the chronological order is removed; and all kinds of images and implications, symbols and associations that dissociate from the narrative process are juxtaposed are integrated, to form a whole. Readers need to read the novel repeatedly to remember images and implications through reflections, and combine each segment to reconstruct the narrative space.

From the perspective of the external space background of Dickens’ creation of *Great Expectations*, the novel reflects the life of the townspeople in Victorian England in the 19th century. Since Britain is an island country geographically, it is different from the mainland countries, especially in the layout and style of space. In Britain, different classes hold different views on space buildings. Rural people prefer the Arcadian architecture, while people living in urban areas like the Baroque architecture better. Different architectural styles reflect people’s different views on things, which provide the narrative space in *Great Expectations* with a broad social background and significance.

From the perspective of its internal space background, *Great Expectations* tells the story that Pip tried to maintain his inner purity and kindness, but could hardly resist the hypocrisy and cunning in the pursuit of money and beauty. He was caught in a dilemma. People tend to take the false appearances of daily life to be true and thus believe in the spatial relationship between things fixed by tradition. They not only distort the real essential relationship between things, but also make things far away from each other, unable to contact each other directly, and unable to come together across huge space. Dickens really makes it possible in *Great Expectations* that, Pip, the protagonist, was able to shuttle freely between the real world and the impossible world in reality, and the two spaces were interwoven indivisibly. In order to truly understand the writer's creative intention, readers must understand the relationship between relationships and functions of different narrative spaces in the text on the basis of mastering the narrative time in the text.

Three categories of narrative space in *Great Expectations* are defined, i.e. in confusing mysterious space, different social space and self-pitying psychological space. Starting with the composition of each narrative space, this paper aims to analyze how these three narrative spaces are fully developed one by one through narration and how they are freely transformed, as well as different ways of expression and different narrative techniques to create the three different narrative spaces, and their respective roles in the text. Especially, this paper neither negates nor neglects the role of narrative time in *Great Expectations* while focusing on discussing the narrative space in the text.

Space Narrative in *Great Expectations*

1. Confusing Mysterious Space

The confusing mysterious space in *Great Expectations* is shown in Satis House where Miss Havisham lives and Wemmick's Walworth Castle. Their signifier meanings exceed their signified meanings: they both exist in the real world of Pip's life, but a door, and a suspension bridge cut off any connection between them and the real world. In this way, Dickens create an "impossible worlds in the possible world" which is elusive. In this space, Dickens used a lot of weird techniques and narrative signs with strong implications to vividly show the strange people and the strange environment in these two mysterious spaces to the readers. They exist in the society in which Pip lives, but also dissociate from the society, which seems confusing. These two mysterious spaces are the embodiment of extreme good and evil in real society. When Pip entered Satis House, he would become "evil", and when he returned to reality, he would become snobby and hypocritical. When he walked into Walworth Castle, he would become kind, and when he came back to reality, he would become sincere and always be ready to help others. Pip was always struggling and wandering on the edge of good and evil. These two mysterious spaces with different styles influenced Pip's growth invisibly. Their existence not only makes the narrative space in the text diversified, but also guides readers to understand Dickens' real intention.

Satis House (Foucalt, 1975) was believed to be a mysterious place by young Pip and the people around him: "I had heard of Miss Havisham up to town – everybody for miles round, had heard of Miss Havisham up town – as an immensely rich and grim lady who lived in a large and dismal house barricaded against robbers, and who led a life of seclusion" (*Great Expectations*, 89). From the impression it left on the people around, we could see its inaccessibility and mystery. When young Pip first saw the house, he was surprised to see that the bricks and tiles were old and gloomy:

“Within a quarter of an hour we came to Miss Havisham’s house, which was of old brick, and dismal, and had a great many iron bars to it. Some of the windows had been walled up; of those that remained, all the lower were rustily barred. There was a court-yard in front, and that was barred” (*Great Expectations*, 95).

Dickens showed the true face of such a space isolated from the outside world through a child’s eyes, the desolation and terror there. It is in this space that the evil thought came to young Pip. He wanted to be a “superior man”, and thus begun his pursuit of the “great expectations” he dreamed of.

Walworth Castle was a mysterious place located in Woolwood District, London:

“It appeared to be a collection of back lanes, ditches, and little gardens, and to present the aspect of a rather dull retirement. Wemmick’s house was a little wooden cottage in the midst of plots of garden, and the top of it was cut out and painted like a battery mounted with guns ...

I highly commended it, I think it was the smallest house I ever saw; with the queerest gothic windows (by far the greater part of them sham), and a gothic door, almost too small to get in at.

‘That’s a real flagstaff, you see,’ said Wemmick, ‘and on Sundays I run up a real flag. Then look here. After I have crossed this bridge, I hoist it up – so – and cut off the communication’” (*Great Expectations*, 365).

In this narrow but warm space, Pip realized the true meaning of kindness and beauty in the world. He temporarily got rid of the idea of being a superior man and many distracting thoughts, and began to experience affection between family members. Meanwhile, he doubted some of his unrealistic ideas.

“Space elements have important narrative functions. Novelists not only regard space as the place where the story happens and the scenes necessary for narration, but also use space to express time, arrange the structure of the novel, and even to promote the whole narrative process.” Situated in a small town, Satis House is a pastoral mansion that has grown from prosperity to ruin. While Walworth Castle is located in a dark corner of London, which becomes warm and beautiful from being dark and humid. Dickens intentionally put these two spaces with similar essence but opposite growing trends together, and used grotesque techniques and typical narrative signs to form an “impossible world” in the “possible world” which is incompatible with the real society.

Aristotle’s (2000) *Poetics* gave the earliest account of the “possible world” and the “impossible world”: “An impossible thing that can be believed (Note: an impossible thing, if handled well, may become a credible one) is more desirable than a possible thing that cannot be believed; but the plot should not consist of unreasonable things . . . Even an absurd thing can be adopted” (p.21). Here Aristotle’s distinction between the possible world and the impossible world is out of logical judgment. In modern society, with the gradual development and maturation of literature, the distinction between the possible world and the impossible world has also changed. The “possible world” today actually refers to the known world, the world we describe according to what we know, or the world in which sequences can be realized within the limits of knowledge. While the “impossible world” is an imagined world, and the object of fantasy can never be realized in real life. Therefore, from the perspective of the judgment of the possible world and the impossible world by the modern people, the author of this paper believes that the confusing mysterious space in *Great Expectations* can

be established as the “impossible world” in the possible world (the real society Pip lives in). Such an “impossible world” full of grotesque color exists both in reality and out of reality. At the same time, it is indispensable in the text, and plays a guiding role for readers to understand Dickens’ real intention.

The reason why the confusing mysterious space exists and forms the “impossible world” in the possible world is that it is impossible for such a gloomy and terrible world of Satis House and such an extremely beautiful world of Walworth Castle to exist in real society. Bachelard (1994) believes that the house, attic, cellar, drawer, box, cabinet, nest, corner, etc. are all prototype images in space narratives, and have a certain sense of privacy, vastness, hugeness, internal and external sense, and round sense. There are similar modes of human perception or acceptance of these spatial intentions, but there are also spiritual reflections of individual differences. This kind of spiritual reflection is attributed to the “real sense of the function of living space”, while the need for the use of real housing, furniture and space could only show the source of its practical significance in these key links of spiritual reflection through Bachelard’s so-called “place analysis”. In Satis House, Miss Havisham has changed from a girl who is infatuated with love to a woman who is moody and resentful, and Pip has become snobby and hypocritical from a simple and kind boy. In Walworth Castle, Wemmick has become to a good man who shows filial piety to his father, helps his friends and cares about his wife, and Pip has turned from snobbery and hypocrisy to kindness and sincerity. This leads readers to hold dialectical attitude towards the people and things in the text. That is, there is no absolute good or evil in the world. Good people, driven by evil, and vice versa. Dickens’ attitude towards the person who has corrected his evil is affirmative and sympathetic. In the confusing mysterious space, a gate and a suspension bridge form dividing line between it and the social space, and also become a “door” for the narrator to move from one space to another. However, the two spaces are not isolated and irrelevant, but are interrelated, on the contrary, they are interrelated and inseparable in the text.

2. Indifferent Social Space

In *Great Expectations*, the indifferent social space (Lefebvre, 1991) is composed of a series of places in the real society where Pip lives in. Different living places have different influences on Pip’s growth. On the one hand, the indifferent social space shows the complexity and variability of society. On the other hand, it not only enriches Pip’s life experience, but also shapes Pip’s complex personality. All in all, it plays an irreplaceable role in the process of Pip’s maturity from childishness.

“Social space is neither one of many affairs nor one of many products...It is the result of a series of consecutive operations and consequently cannot be reduced to some simple object...It is the result of past actions. It permits certain actions to occur, implies some actions, but prohibits other actions at the same time.” Within the indifferent social space, in Joe’s family, Joe’s such virtues as sincerity, diligence and generosity have always influenced Pip:

“Joe’s forge adjoined our house, which was a wooden house, as many of the dwellings in our country were – most of them, at that time. When I ran home from the churchyard, the forge was shut up, and Joe was sitting alone in the kitchen. Joe and I being fellow-sufferers, and having confidences as such” (*Great Expectations*, 12).

In Pip’s pursuit of money and women, when he was corrupted by some desire for enjoyment and unenterprising ideas and became depraved, there was always a deep sense of guilt in his heart, which laid a foreshadowing for his correction of errors later and functioned as an answer. In Pocket’s family, Dickens narrated Mr. and Mrs. Pocket’s fantastic and

unrealistic behavior through means of Satire. The author's real intention is to criticize the unrealistic "great expectations" imagined by Pip profoundly which could never be realized by means of hypocrisy and cunning. In Jaggers' law office, Pip really realized the harshness and cruelty of the law to the lower class:

"Mr. Jaggers' room was lighted by a skylight only, and was a most dismal place; the skylight, eccentrically pitched like a broken head, and the distorted adjoining houses looking as if they had twisted themselves to peep down at me through it" (*Great Expectations*, 289).

But in this indifferent environment, he also saw a glimmer of hope. It is the help from Wemmick, who has a dual personality. In his own apartment in London, Pip has undergone a complex transformation, suffering from the struggle between the only remaining good ideas such as hypocrisy and cunning. In the end, Pip truly understood the distinctions between the true, good and beautiful and the false, evil, and ugly, thus determined to turn over a new leaf, and come down to earth to pursue his real great expectations. In this way, Pip has also completed the transition from childishness to maturity.

What is wonderful is that in the indifferent social space, Dickens deliberately depicted introduced the "mirror figure" Herbert and Wemmick with a "dual personality", to show the complexity and diversity of real life (Zoran, 1984). This suggests that people like Pip, who are simple, fantastic and lack of social experience, must experience setbacks in order to keep a foothold and grow up in a complex society. "Space is not just a static 'container' or 'platform' for the evolution of social relations. On the contrary, many social spaces today are often full of contradictions and overlap and penetrate into each other. We are not facing one but many social spaces." In addition to displaying the complexity of the real world, the social space in this text, with its suspense, further explains the reason why the confusing mysterious space is isolated from the world. It shows that mysterious space originates from social space and is the epitome of the two worlds of extreme good and evil in social space. However, these two spaces do not directly contact and exchange with each other, but through the self-pitying psychological space, the bridge between them.

3. Self-pitying Psychological Space

In the beginning, *Great Expectations* is narrated by the narrating self (Soja, 1996), but in narrating his self-experience, it is cut off by the experiential self-back and forth, and the chronological order is removed, and then the narrating self's behavior is appraised, expounded, and repented, thus forming an atmosphere of dialogue between the young Pip ignorant of worldly affairs and the experienced old Pip, including the narrating self's psychological activities and states in the process of growing to the experiential self-step by step. In the text, the author abstractly summarizes it as the self-pitying psychological space.

The role of the self-pitying psychological space in the text cannot be ignored. In the self-pitying psychological space, both the narrating self's narration and psychological activities and the experiential self's explanation, self-blame, and psychological contradictions have great influences on the narrative effect of the story and the readers' acceptance. Some scholars believe that "a strong sense of space is an important aesthetic feature of the narrative space of the novel. It not only enables the reader to be present on the scene and get rich aesthetic enjoyment, but also promotes the reader to understand the fate and psychological activities of the characters more truly, and to grasp the objective basis for the development of the plot more accurately."

In *Great Expectations*, the self-pitying psychological space is the link between the confusing mysterious space and the indifferent social space. Whenever the narrator comes out

of one space and enters the other space, he always say something to describe his psychological changes and state of mind at that time, or there may be the experiential self's explanation and mockery of the narrating self, which arouses the readers' curiosity and makes them look forward to the following story. For example, when Pip stepped out of Satis' House for the first time, he thought he was living a miserable life:

“So, leaving word with the shopman on what day I was wanted at Miss Havisham's again, I set off on the four-mile walk to our forge; pondering, as I went along, on all I had seen, and deeply revolving that I was a common laboring-boy; that my hands were coarse; that my boots were thick; that I had fallen into a despicable habit of calling knaves Jacks; that I was much more ignorant than I had considered myself last night, and generally that I was in a low-lived bad way” (*Great Expectations*, 113).

This is a psychological depiction of the narrating self-coming out of the mysterious space, showing the inner contradictions of young Pip. Immediately after that the experiential self-explained the narrating self's such psychological activity,

“If a dread of not being understood be hidden in the breasts of other young people to anything like the extent to which it used to be hidden in mine – which I consider probable, as I have no particular reason to suspect myself of having been a monstrosity – it is the key to many reservations” (*Great Expectations*, 114).

These two passages are the narrating self's communication with the experiential self for the first time on coming back to the social space from the mysterious space. In this way, the plot of the previous section can be maintained relatively independent, and at the same time, it can be closely linked with the plot of the following section.

What's more, when the confusing mysterious space and the indifferent social space perform narrative transformation, they need to resort to a medium, that's why the self-pitying psychological space introduced. For the scenes in two spaces that could not be narrated simultaneously, the self-pitying psychological space acts as a liaison, and then the narrator could narrate the scenes “one after another”. In this way, spatial scenes are transformed under the help of psychological space. For example, when Pip visited Wemmick's castle for the first time, at the time of departure, the writer skillfully accomplished the transformation of narrative space through narrating self and experiential self. Dickens first let the narrating self-describe Wemmick seen inside and outside the castle, and then let the experiential self-make explanations, so that the narrative perspective is transformed from the mysterious space to the social space of Wemmick's life, and then the narration of social space starts. In this way, the narration of synchronic events in the two spaces is completed through the self-pitying psychological space.

Conclusion

Edgar H. Johnson (1969) believes that of all Dickens' full-length novels, *Great Expectations* “has the most perfect structure and the richest expressions.” In recent years, the study of *Great Expectations* has covered a wide range of fields, but there is few mention of the typical space narrative structure in the text. As a new research method, space narrative is still in the searching and exploring stage, and the theory of space narrative is being further improved. On the basis of close reading of the text, this paper divides *Great Expectations* into such three categories as confusing mysterious space, indifferent social space and self-pitying psychological space. By analyzing how each narrative space is fully developed one by one,

this paper explains the role of different spaces in the text, reveals the true connotation of the work, and reflects Dickens' outlook on life and keynote of literary creation.

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Therapeutic Discourse of Nurses and Folks to Patients in Selected Hospitals in Iloilo City, Philippines

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Abstract: *This qualitative study described the therapeutic communication techniques employed by nurses and folks from selected health centers in Iloilo City, Philippines. Specifically, this study aimed to (1) uncover the most dominant therapeutic communication techniques by nurses and folks in interacting with the patients, (2) show how these therapeutic communication techniques manifest the distinct characteristics of nurse –patient and folk-patient interaction and (3) find out therapeutic communication model revealed by the nurse-patient and folk-patient interaction. The framework of this study is based upon Peplau’s Interpersonal Relation’s Theory on concepts in conversation analysis, on theory of context, and contextualization cues. There are twenty-eight (28) Transcribed Audio-Recorded Conversations (TARC) and thirteen (13) of these transcribed audio-recorded conversations served as data for analysis using the Conversation Analysis (CA) Orientation by Sacks and Schegloff and Discourse Analysis linked to Interactional Sociolinguistics of John J. Gumperz to offer substantial evidence showing therapeutic communication techniques in the way nurses and folks interact with patients. The findings revealed that presenting reality, restating, verbalizing the implied and making observations are the dominant therapeutic communication techniques employed by the nurses and folks.*

Keywords: folks, nurses, patients, therapeutic discourse, selected hospitals

I. INTRODUCTION

Human beings are fundamentally linguistic beings: action happens in language, in a world constituted through language. Language is a tool to recreate the reality and to bridge understanding between human beings. Action is coordinated when people capture a similar meaning from a sequence of words. People can make decisions, work together, and pursue common goals because they have a common language to talk about those goals and to coordinate actions to reach them. Language is, therefore, not only a set of distinctions to represent the world but also a set of distinctions to re-create the word around.

The world of nursing uses language - to work with other health practitioners, with people from all walks of life, and more importantly with patients and their attending folks. The language nurses use in dealing with patients may spell a “make or break” experience among patients who need quality medical care and whose well-being is a primary concern among nurses.

Nursing is an art and science. This means that a professional nurse must learn to deliver care artfully with compassion and respect to each patient’s dignity and personhood. As a science, nursing is based upon a body of knowledge that is always changing with new discoveries and innovations. When nurses integrate the science and art of nursing into their

practice the quality of care provided to patients is at the level of excellence that benefits clients in innumerable ways (Potter, Perry, Stockert, and Hall, 2016).

Therapeutic Communication is a term that is used widely in nursing and in related fields. The sole purpose of therapeutic communication in this context is to encourage and facilitate the development of communication skills and the aim of it for nurses including folks in using therapeutic communication skills is not to treat or cure a disease or disorder, rather, to provide a sense of well-being for patients by making them feel relax and secure. This helps to establish rapport and trust between the nurse and the patient or between the folk and the patient.

Therapeutic communication is an interpersonal interaction between the nurse and client during which the nurse focuses in the clients' specific needs to promote an effective exchange of information. Skilled use of therapeutic communication techniques helps the nurse understand and empathize with the client's experience. All nurses need skills in therapeutic communication to effectively apply the nursing process and to meet standards of care for their clients

Do nurses really practice therapeutic communication in dealing with their patients? If so, what kind of communication therapeutic discourses do they often employ? These questions need answers, hence this study.

Statement of the Problem

This study aimed to analyze the therapeutic discourse employed by nurses and folks to patients in selected health centers in the City of Iloilo.

Specifically, this study aims to find out:

1. The therapeutic communication techniques employed by nurses and folks to the patients in selected health centers in Iloilo City.
2. How these techniques manifest the distinct characteristics of nurse-patient interaction.
3. The therapeutic communication model revealed by the nurse-patient and folk- interaction that promotes health and wellness of the patients.

II. RELATED LITERATURE

Nursing is viewed by Travelbee (1971) as a process, an experience, or a happening between nurses, an individual, or group of individuals in need of assistance the nurse can offer. Establishment of human-to-human relationship is preceded by four phases of experience. The initial phase, the original encounter, occurs when the nurse meets the ill person for the first time. The task of the nurse in this phase is to recognize the uniqueness of the patient. When this is done, the second phase, emerging identities, is initialed. A bond between the client and nurse is established during this phase. The identities of each are seen as distinctly separate, and each appreciated the uniqueness of the other. The nursing task of this phase includes becoming aware of one's perception of the other person and distinguishing the similarities and differences between oneself and the client. Then, empathy, the third phase can occur. One's perception of the other person's thoughts and feeling are accurate when empathy is present. Empathy is followed by the fourth phase, sympathy. Sympathy is characterized by an urgent desire to respond through action to alleviate the distress perceived in the other person. The task of the nurse in this phase is to provide helpful nursing action. The outcome of these four phases is experienced as rapport and the establishment of human-to-human relationship.

Understanding the Meaning of Communication

Few messages in social and therapeutic communication have only one level of meaning; messages often contain more meaning than just the spoken words (de Vito et al., 2002). The nurse must try to discover all the meaning in the client's communication. For example, the client with depression might say, "I'm so tired that I just can't go on". If the nurse considers only the literal meaning of words, he or she might assume the client is experiencing the fatigue that often accompanies depression. However, statements such as the previous example often mean the client wishes to die. The nurse would need to further assess the client's statement to determine whether or not the client is suicidal.

It is sometimes easier for clients to act out their emotions than to recognize their thoughts and feelings into words to describe feelings and needs. For example, people who outwardly appear dominating and strong and often manipulate and criticize others in reality may have low self-esteems and feel insecure. They do not verbalize their true feelings but act them out in a behavior toward others. Insecurity and low self-esteem often translate into jealousy and mistrust of others and attempts to feel more important and strong by dominating or criticizing them.

Beginning Therapeutic Communication

Often the nurse will be able to plan the time and setting for therapeutic communication such as having in depth, one-on-one interaction with an assigned client/patient. The nurse has time to think about where to meet and what to say and will have a general idea of the topic such as finding out what the client sees as his or her major concern or following up on interaction from a previous encounter. At times, however, a client might approach the nurse saying, "Can I talk to you right now?" "Or the nurse may see a client sitting alone, crying, and decide to approach the client for an interaction. In these situations, the nurse may know that he or she will be trying to find out what is happening with the client at the moment in time.

Guiding the Client in Problem Solving and Empowering the Client to Change

Many therapeutic situations involve problem-solving. The nurse is not expected to be an expert or to tell the client what to do to fix his or her problem. Rather the nurse should help the explore possibilities and find solutions to his or her problem. Often just helping the client to discuss and explore his or her perceptions of a problem stimulates potential solutions in the client's mind. The nurse should introduce the concept of problem-solving and after himself or herself in this process.

Virginia Satir (1967) explained how important the client's participation is to finding effective and meaningful solutions to problem. If someone else tell the client how to solve his or her problems and does not allow the client to participate and develop problem-solving skills and paths for change, the client may fear growth and change. The nurse who gives advice or directions about the way to fix a problem does not allow the client to play the role in the process and implies that the client is less than competent. This process makes the client feel helpless and not in control and lowers self-esteem. The client may even resist the directives in an attempt to regain a sense of control.

When a client is more involved in the problem-solving process, he or she is more likely to follow through on the situations. The nurse who guides the client to solve his or her own problems helps the client to develop new coping strategies, maintain or increases the client's self-esteem, and demonstrates the belief that the client is capable of change. These goals encourage the client to comfortable state for any client.

Therapeutic Communication for Nurses

A large part of a nursing career involves both verbal and non-verbal transmission of information to the patient and to the medical team and vice versa. When considering this idea of nursing and communicating there is also what is called therapeutic communication in nursing. This involves the human element of appropriate emotions in the nursing arena.

Therapeutic communication in nursing reinforces the nurse-patient relationship. It makes the nurse appear more humane to a patient. Therapeutic communication in Nursing can help out through barriers of culture and gender, establish a connection if there was a breakdown in communication and help deal in a situation where empathy is needed with the patient. With therapeutic communication in nursing, the patient's emotional state is considered as well as their feelings. Being sensitive to the needs of a patient and their turmoil is very important. A lot of nurses do not understand this and do not know how to deal with a patient as a result.

For example a patient is angry because they just found out they have cancer. The nurse has to understand the person's world may have just been shattered. If the person is angry and the nurse says "don't take it out on me" and flies out of the room, why can't she say she I understand, I would be upset too. What is unprofessional in that statement? In reality nothing and it may get the patient focused to think about how he is going to help.

Therapeutic communication in Nursing allows for the patient and family to feel like someone actually cares for him or her in their time of need. This can be fundamental in the recovery of death process of a patient.

In empathetic therapeutic communication in nursing, four things have to be considered. One, the nurse needs to look out what the patient is seeing, hearing, feeling and even smelling in the facility he is in. How is all that a stimulus affecting that patient is the second consideration? The third is the patient's needs being met or not? The last is what does the patient require to have his needs met? And finally, is there anything you can do to help this patient get his needs met?

Kindness does not overstep the boundaries of professionalism. To treat someone with sensitivity that may have just lost a love one does not detract from one's personal decorum. The trick is to do it in such a way that leaves both parties intact to do what needs to be done.

Getting to Grips with Language in Nursing

Despite nursing as one of the most intensive 'people contact' jobs in existence, until recently the role of language in nursing has been curiously ignored by scholars and nurses themselves. Indeed, nurses may underestimate the role their language has in comparison to the technical aspects of their work. As Van Cott (1993) notes: Several studies have found that many nurses perceive talking with patients as less important and less effective than the technical aspects of nursing care delivery. However, the decade has seen some rapid changes in this area as nurses has begun to define their work in greater detail and have come under increasing pressure resulting from the newly restructured health service provider. On the one hand, there have been attempts to build up meticulously itemized classification of nursing while on the other hand we see nurses grappling with the languages of management, accounting and economics which are rapidly colonizing health care environments. The consideration of language issues is a vital part of ethical, reflective practice. This will safeguard patient's interest and strengthen nursing's position in an increasingly competitive political environment.

Patient-centered Approach

Since patient-centeredness was coined by Balint (1969) to express the belief that each patient "has to be understood as a unique human-being". Subsequent studies have since

provided explanations and descriptions of how “nurse and folks communicates with patients” (Saha et al., 2008).

Lipkin et al. (1984) described the patient-centered interview as one which “approaches the patient as a unique human being with his own story to tell, promotes trust and confidence, clarifies and characterizes the patient’s symptoms and concerns, generates and tests many hypotheses that may include biological and psychosocial dimensions of illness, and creates the basis for an ongoing relationship”. Subsequently, Levinson et al. (1987) described the patient-centered clinical method as one which aims to understand the patient and the disease through addressing both the nurse’s and the patient’s agendas.

According to Stewart et al. (1995), “to be patient-centered, the practitioner(the nurses and folks) must be able to empower the patient, share the power in the relationship”; that is, the nurses and folks responds to patients in such a way so to allow him/her to express all of the patient’s reason for coming, including symptoms, feelings, thoughts, and expectations; and, more importantly participate in the decision-making regarding his/her own care (Henbest and Stewart, 1990). To meet such, Stewart et al. (1995) outlined six (6) dimensions of patient-centered care: (1) exploring the illness, (2) understanding the whole person, (3) finding common ground regarding management, (4) incorporating prevention and health promotion, (5) enhancing the doctor-patient relationship, and (6) being realistic about personal limitations. The first component assesses the disease including history and physical examination by exploring the patient’s feelings and ideas towards his/her experience of the disease. The second one integrates the concepts of the disease and understanding the patient as a whole person with through awareness of various aspects of patient’s life (personality, developmental history, etc.). Finding common ground is the third component which focuses on three key areas: defining the problem, establishing the goals of treatment and/or management, and identifying the roles assume by the nurse and patient. The fourth component emphasizes the importance of the encounter to prevent and promote health. The fifth component highlights the enhancement of nurse-patient and folk-patient relationship through comparison, trust and a sharing of power and healing. Being realistic about time is the sixth component wherein nurses and folks act as stewards in providing resources for the patient and participate in teambuilding and teamwork activities.

Mead and Bower (2000) also proposed a similar framework, however, lacks the disease prevention or health promotion component. Thus, it only focused patient centeredness as “a style of interaction and communication with patients”.

Meanwhile, Saha et al. (2008) considers McWhinney’s (1998) description of the patient-centered approach as “perhaps the most concise” where the “physician tries to enter the patient’s world, to see the illness through the patient’s eyes. “It became clear that there is far more beyond the nurse-patient and folk-patient interaction style that must be given attention to in the healthcare system.

“Patient-centered” medicine or care or patient-centeredness is somewhat a vague concept because it means differently to different people and disciplines (Wagner et al., 2005). According to the Institute of Medicine (2001), patient-centeredness is one of the six core component of high-quality health care. The report defined the patient-centered care as an approach that “establishes a partnership among practitioners, patients and their families (when appropriate) to ensure that decisions respect patients’ wants, needs, and preferences and that the patients have the education and support they need to make decisions and participate in their own care.”

Fundamental component of this approach to care are communication skills that have positive impact on patient satisfaction which is by far the most recognized outcome measure of medical consultations. This is evidenced by improved patient health and healthcare (Stewart et al., 2000; Anderson, 2002; Little et al., 2001).

Other studies have also investigated the relationship between nurses' patient-centered behaviors and patient satisfaction (Stewart et al, 1995; Henbest and Stewart, 1990). The results in both studies show that consultations with patient-centered scores in the highest quartile had the greatest percentage of patients who are highly satisfied (Henbest and Stewart, 1990).

Patient (or clients as they are increasingly referred to in patient-centered approaches) (Woods, 2008) attain better medical outcomes if they are offered the opportunity to collaborate with their nurses in constructing a dialogue. Patients who are encouraged to voice out their own ideas and concerns in consultations are more likely to be satisfied with their medical care than patients who are treated by more traditional nurse-directed methods.

Plawecki and Armhein (2010) discussed in their article, depression and suicide are two major problems among older patients. Hence, nurses must be well educated on how to assess older patients for signs and symptoms of depression and suicidal tendencies. These conditions are very difficult to detect. Therapeutic communication is a very helpful tool in determining the conditions. Moreover, open discussion of the nurses with other members of the medical team may help also.

In their case study, Stenner, Courtenay, and Carey (2009) claim that communication skills, consultation time information and follow up are central to the treatment and management of patients with dermatologic conditions. Nurses believed that Holistic Approach to assessment, combined with their prescribing knowledge, improved prescribing decisions, listening and explanation of treatments were aspects of nurse communication that were rated highly by patients. Listening and dealing sensitively with emotions were also rated well by assessors on video-taped consultations.

Pulmridge, Goodyear-Smith, and Ross (2009) report that there is a significant role of nurse and parent collaboration during the immunization of children. If nurses and parents altogether speak to the child rather than to each other help ease the child from anxieties and worries. It helps the readers that communication is indeed a tool to comfort a child during immunization. It also suggests that small talk cues both mother and child about how immunization should be conducted.

A research conducted by Kellet, Moyle, McAllister, King, and Gallagher (2010) says that the number one stressor among patients with dementia is the conflict between nurses or staff and their family members. To avoid such conflict and stressor, the research suggests that nurses or staff must have adequate biographical knowledge on the family of their patients. This facilitates good communication and empowers staff or nurses to confidently relate and collaborate with the patients' family members.

The Communication Processing Nursing

Communication is an integral part of nursing and therefore, needs to be considered carefully and on a personal and professional basis by all nurses and nursing students. In order to use communication skills, they also need to have certain professional characteristics. These include genuineness, warmth and the ability to be empathetic. These characteristics come naturally to some people but others have to develop these characteristics by being non-judgemental towards patients including patients' watchers, accepting them as unique individuals and developing awareness of their own communication ability. Communication skills such as listening, questioning, touch, paraphrasing, and body language are used specifically by nurses in developing a trusting relationship or what is often referred to as rapport with patients. This is the foundation stone of a positive nurse – patient relationship and is worth spending time or when you meet a patient for the first time. First impressions count so it is important to introduce yourself, smile, lean towards the patient, look directly at

them and begin the interaction with an open ended question such as, “How are you today?” (Williams, 2001).

Appearances also matter. Patients observe the physical appearance of the nurse, for example how she wears her uniform and the expression of her face, and based on their own personal values and beliefs, they will decide if the nurse looks like a good person and therefore, trustworthy. This only takes a few seconds and influences the patients initial response; therefore; the nurse needs to be aware of the message that her appearance is sending to patients. If a nurse looks untidy she may be perceived as disinterested, lazy and even incompetent even if this is not the case. Awareness of the non – verbal messages we send to others is essential, as it will often provide an explanation as to why people response to us the way we do.

Listening is one of the most important of the non – verbal communication skills but its value is often underestimated. Hearing what another person is saying to us is just a small part of listening, remember non – verbal communication makes up most of an interaction. Furthermore, we may hear what somebody is saying to us but that doesn’t mean that we are actively listening. When you actively listen to another person it means that you are demonstrating your commitment to them, as unique individual you want to help or comfort them, you want to understand them and you want to learn something or you may just want to enjoy their company. Active listening requires that you give the other person your complete attention. This is conveyed primarily through the use of body language with a minimal verbal interaction. “You must be silent if you wish to listen to another, to listen with openness. This involves silencing not only your mouth but also your mind”

Conversation Analysis: A Brief Overview

Conversation analysis combines a concern with the contextual sensitivity of language use with a focus on talk as vehicle for social action. With its grounding in the study of ordinary talk between persons in a wide variety of social relations and contexts, conversation analysis has been in a particularly strong position to develop analytic tools for the study of talk-in-context. Indeed, as Schegloff (2007) notes, conversation analysis represent a consistent effort to develop an empirical analysis of the nature of context. The decisive feature that distinguishes the conversation analysis of interaction and language use from others that are current in the field is what may be termed its activity focus. In contrast to perspectives that begin, at one pole of the analytic enterprise, with a treatment of culture or social identity or, at the other pole, with linguistic variables such as phonological variation, word selection, syntax, etc., CA begins from a consideration of the intentional accomplishment of particular social activities. These activities are embodied in specific social actions and sequences of social actions. Thus the initial and overriding CA focus is on the particular actions that occurs in some context, their underlying social organization, and the alternative means by which these actions and the activities they compose can be realized.

CA research has, in part, been inspired by the realization that ordinary conversation is the predominant medium of interaction in the social world. It is also the primary form of interaction to which, with whatever simplifications, the child is initially exposed and through which socializations proceeds. Thus the basic forms of more formal or institutional types of interaction are recognized and experienced. Explicit within this perspective is the view that other institutional forms of interaction will show systematic variations and restrictions on activities and their design relative to ordinary conversation (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974). The study of ordinary conversation, preferably casual conversation between peers, may thus offer a principled approach to determining what is distinctive about interactions involving, for example, the status, gender, ethnicity, etc. A clear implication is that comparative analysis that treats institutional interaction in contrast to normal and/or

normative procedures of interaction in ordinary conversation will present at least one important avenue of theoretical and empirical advance.

III. METHODOLOGY

Research Method

This is a qualitative study since it basically describes, narrates, explains and analyzes the discourse of nurses and folks to patients whether they employed therapeutic communication techniques. Since Qualitative Research is defined as the “naturalistic method of inquiry of research which deals with the issue on human complexity by exploring it directly.” (Polit and Beck, 2008) Moreover, it requires non-numerical data rather it uses words to express the results of the inquiry or investigation. This study however, seems to come short for a specific type of qualitative inquiry which is discourse analysis. Based on the findings, it may generate theories, proposals, recommendations as well as activities and programs.

Research Environment

The researcher conducted the study in three randomly selected health centers in the City of Iloilo. Each health center can accommodate in as much twenty (20) to twenty-five (25) patients per day. Most of the health centers are equipped with laboratory rooms, immunization & family planning rooms, medical health officers' clinic, conference rooms and rest rooms. The services are free in all health centers including medications for immediate relief of community acquired illnesses such flu, common colds, diarrhea, fever and other viral communicable diseases.

Research Participants

The participants of this study were the nurses on duty, the patients who sought medical assistance and their respective folks who assisted them in going to the health center. (Describe further the participants- refer to the respondents' profile).

Research Instrument

The researcher employed Conversational Analysis (CA) where the actual oral conversation of the nurses and folks to patients will be recorded, transcribed and analyzed whether they employed the therapeutic communication techniques in order to promote health and wellness of the patients. The Informed Consent Form distributed to the participants (nurses, folks and patients) contained the personal data sheet as support in analyzing the data at the same time Therapeutic Communication Techniques by Hays & Larson as cited by Townsend 2000.

Research Procedure

The primary concern of this study is the ethical considerations since it involves human participants in the clinical setting. As such, researching human communication means interacting with people, and there is no escaping the fact that this has ethical implications. In this regard, the researcher meticulously focused on some of the ethical issues on human communication research so the initial step is to seek permission of the city health officer and entered into a Memorandum of Agreement ((MOA) where it stipulates the assurance that there is no mention of the district health center nor the names of the participants instead codes were used to protect their identity and after giving the approval, the selected district health centers where the medical health officers were informed and a letter was furnished including the informed consent form for the participants with the Hiligaynon translation to make them fully understand their involvement in the study.

Data Gathering Procedure

The researcher employed unstructured observation of the nurses, folks and patients in the selected health centers in Iloilo City, Philippines.

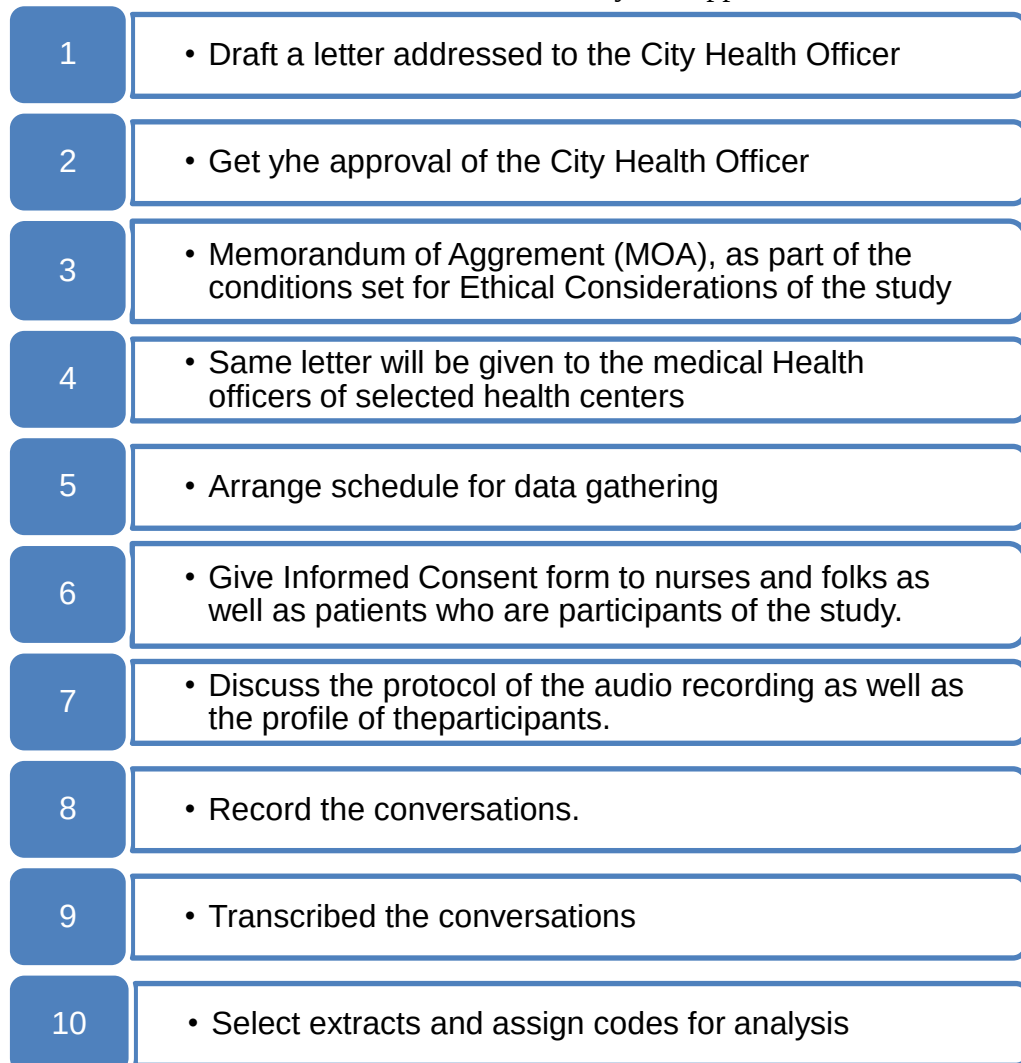


Figure 2. The data gathering procedure of the study.

Figure 2 shows the data gathering procedures of the present study. First, the researcher sent a letter a letter addressed to the City health officer together with the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) as an assurance that the data gathered will be held with utmost confidentiality. The same letter was given to the Medical Health Officers of selected health centers in Iloilo City. After seeking the approval of the Medical Health Officers, the researcher will arrange the schedule for data gathering. Based on the schedules, the researcher will distribute the Informed Consent Form to the nurses, folks including patients who are participants of the study. The recording of the actual oral conversations of the participants would follow and eventually transcribed it for interpretation and analysis. Finally, the researcher would select extracts for analysis.

Data Analysis Procedure

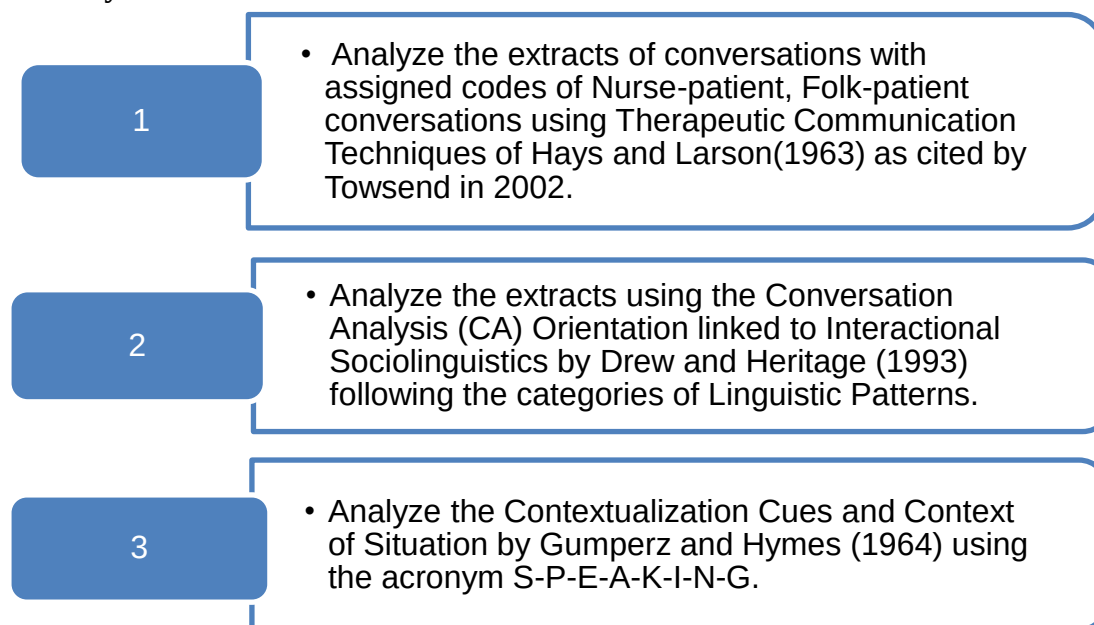


Figure 3. The data analysis procedures of the study.

Figure 3 show the data analysis procedure of the study. The first set of extracts was analyzed to determine the therapeutic communication techniques employed by nurses and folks to the patients. To simplify the data gathered, the researcher will grouped the most dominant themes and label it using the Therapeutic Communication Techniques by Hays and Larsonas cited by Townsend in 2002.

Next, would be to analyze the extracts using the Conversation Analysis (CA) Orientation linked on Interactional Sociolinguistics by Drew and Heritage (1993) following the categories of Linguistic Patterns.

The final stage is to analyze the Contextualization Cues and Context of situation Gumperz and Hymes (1964) using the acronym S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G.

Ethical Consideration

To protect the individuals who may be giving their personal information, it is customary to assure them of confidentiality. This means that the researcher will not release any information that identifies the participants. However, as a researcher, she should know what information each participant provided. To fully protect and reassure participants, the researcher needs to offer anonymity. Anonymity goes a step further in protecting people and the data collected from them absolutely do not identify them. Typically, the researcher ensures anonymity by instructing respondents not to put their name on any information they provide. Any consent forms that that they sign are turned in separately so that there is no link that between those documents that identify them and any other document.

Since this study involves human interaction and touched sensitive issues regarding therapeutic communication and patient-centered communication in nursing practice, the researcher provided the nurses, folks and patients with an Informed Consent form that discusses their rights and claims as participants of the study.

This Informed Consent stipulates the extent of their participation in the study and the researcher's assurance of their anonymity; that their identities will be held with utmost confidentiality, the name of the health centers including the district will remain unknown except the researcher and that the information contained in their audio-recorded conversations will not be distributed or used in other research studies without their permission only for the completion of the study.

IV. PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Using interactional sociolinguistics as an approach to analyzing therapeutic discourse of nurses and folks to patients in selected hospitals in Iloilo City, this chapter presents the prevalent therapeutic communication techniques and how they show distinct characteristics of interactions; that these patterns of interactions may eventually reveal a therapeutic communication model.

Analyzing sixteen (16) extracts from twenty-eight (28) transcribed interactions, this study explores the techniques by describing them through linguistic patterns of interaction and highlighting relevant facets of context orienting to the interactions.

The table below shows the therapeutic communication techniques employed by nurses and folks to the patients in selected health centers in Iloilo City, Philippines.

Table 1
Examples of Therapeutic Communication Techniques Its Explanation and Examples

Techniques	Explanation	Example
1. Focusing	Taking notice of a single idea or even a single word; works especially well with a client who is moving rapidly from one thought to another. This technique is not therapeutic with the client who is very anxious. Focusing should not be pursued until the anxiety level has subsided.	You feel angry when she doesn't help. This point seems worth looking at more closely. Perhaps you and I can discuss it together.
2. Exploring	Delving further into a subject, idea, experience, or relationship; especially helpful with clients who tend to remain on a superficial level of communication. However, if the client chooses not to disclose further information, the nurse should refrain from pushing or probing in an area that obviously creates discomfort.	Please explain that situation in more detail Tell more about that situation.
3. Seeking clarification and validation	Striving to explain that which is vague or incomprehensible and searching for mutual understanding; clarifying the meaning of what has been said facilitates and increases understanding for both client and nurse.	I'm not sure that I understand. Could you explain? Tell me if my understanding agrees with yours. Do I understand correctly that you said . . .
4. Presenting reality	When a client has a misperception of the environment, the nurse defines reality or indicates his or her perception of the situation for the client.	I understand that the voices seem real to you, but I do not hear any voices. There is no one else in the room but you and me.
5. Voicing doubt	Expressing uncertainty as to the reality of the client's perceptions; often used with clients experiencing delusional thinking.	I find that hard to believe. That seems rather doubtful to me.
6. Verbalizing the implied	Putting into words what the client has only implied or said	Are you feeling . . .

	indirectly; can also be used with the client who is mute or otherwise experiencing impaired verbal communication. This clarifies that which is implicit rather than explicit.	It must have been very difficult...
7. Attempting to translate words into feelings	When feelings are expressed indirectly, the nurse tries to “desymbolize” what has been said and to find clues to the underlying true feelings	Client: I’m way out in the ocean Nurse: you must be feeling very lonely now.
8. Formulating a plan of action	When a client has a plan in mind for dealing with what is considered to be a stressful situation, it may serve to prevent anger or anxiety from escalating to an unmanageable level	What could you do to let your anger out harmless? Next this comes up, what might you do to handle it more appropriately?
9. Using silence	Gives the client the opportunity to collect and organize thoughts, to think through a point, or to consider introducing a topic of greater concern than the one being discussed.	
10. Accepting	Conveys an attitude of receptivity and regard	Yes, I understand what you said
11. Giving recognition	Acknowledging; indicating awareness; better than complimenting, which reflects the nurse’s judging	I notice that you...
12. Offering self	Making oneself available on an unconditional basis, increasing client’s feelings of self-worth	I’ll stay with you a while I’m interested in you
13. Giving broad opening	Allows the client to take the initiative in introducing the topic; emphasizes the importance of the client’s role in the interaction	What would you like to talk about today? Tell me what you are thinking
14. Offering general lead	Offers the client encouragement to continue	Yes, I see Go on. . .
15. Placing the event in time or sequence	Clarifies the relationship of events in time so that the nurse and client can view them in perspective	And after that? What seemed to lead up to . . . Was this before or after . . . When did this happen?
16. Making observations	Verbalizing what is observed or perceived. This encourages the clients to recognize specific behaviors and compare perceptions with the nurse.	You seem tense I notice you are pacing a lot You seem uncomfortable when you
17. Encouraging description of perceptions	Asking the client to verbalize what is being perceived; often used with clients experiencing hallucinations	Tell me what is happening now Are you hearing the voices again What do the voices seem to be saying
18. Encouraging comparison	Asking the client to compare similarities and differences in ideas, experiences, or interpersonal relationship. This helps the client recognize life experiences that tend to recur as well as those aspects of life that are changeable	Was this something like . . . How does this compare with the time when... What was your response the last time this occurred?

19. Restating	The main idea of what the client has said is repeated; lets the client know whether or not an expressed statement has been understood and gives him or her the chance to continue, or to clarify if necessary	Client: I can't study. My mind keeps wandering. Nurse: You have difficulty concentrating. Client: I can't that new job. What if I can't do it? Nurse: You're afraid of you will fail in this new position
20. Reflecting	Questions and feelings are referred back to the client so that they may be recognized and accepted, and so that the client may recognize that his or her point of view has value- a good technique to use when the client asks the nurse for advice	Client: What do you think I should do about my wife's drinking problem? Nurse: What do <i>you</i> think you should do? Client: My sister won't help a bit toward my mother's care. I have to do it all! Nurse: You feel angry when she doesn't help.

To facilitate better understanding of the extracts included for the analysis, certain codes are used. The use of these codes will avoid lengthy mention of full terms, and when used with numbers, they signify the source of the extracts or parts of the extracts.

TARC 1 means the first Transcribed-Audio Recorded Conversation from among the twenty-eight recorded conversations.

In all instances of interactions, there is only one nurse (N), one patient (P), and one folk (F), so corresponding and respective letters of the alphabets are used to represent the participants in the interactions.

Prevalent Therapeutic Communication Techniques

The following are prevalent therapeutic communication techniques that nurses - patient and folk- patient employed in health centers in Iloilo City.

Presenting Reality

Extract 1:

- F: Dugay ka na gin ga-an request wala mu man gin hikutar.
You were given request before yet you did not work on it.
- P: The wala mu man ko gin taga-an kwarta....Anhun ko.
You did not give me money anyway, what will I do.
- N: Nakakuha ka na gali request di para laboratory mu.
So you were already given request for laboratory.
- P: La pa guid abi inug palaboratory ma'am.
I don't money for the laboratory tests ma'am. (TARC5)

Extract 2:

- F: Tapos di malakat ta sa pharmacy. Bakal ta bulong. Importante nga makainom ka dayun.
After this, we'll go to the pharmacy to buy medicine. It's important that you have to take it immediately.
- P: Sige a. Sa diin nga pharmacy?
Oh sure. Which pharmacy?
- F: Sa Grace lapit lang di.

At Grace just near here. (TARC7)

TARC No. 5 and TARC No. 7, the therapeutic communication technique employed both by the nurses and folks are presenting reality (*TCTno. 4*). This technique was evident in the conversations such that in TARC No. 5 and TARC No. 7 the folks emphasized the importance of taking the medicines.

In the conversation, the linguistic form evident here is still preference organization but categorized as dealing with no responses by changing one's position. As discussed earlier, if a recipient is hesitant or displays a difficulty in responding to an assertion, a speaker reviews his or her assertion to find the source of the trouble. In the first conversation (TARC No. 5) when the folk said, "You were given request for laboratory, yet you did not work on it " the patient had a difficulty responding to her (Folk #5) whether to tell the truth or just think of possible reason so as not to offend the folk. He replied anyway by saying, "You did not give me money anyway, so what will I do?" When the nurse interrupted and said "So you already were given request for laboratory" (N #2 to P #5), his only choice is to respond by saying, "I don't have money for laboratory ma'am" (P #5 to N#2 – TARC No. 5).

Restating

Extract 3:

- N: Kaagi ka na di pakonsulta?
Have you come here for consultation before?
- P: Wala pa ma'am.
Not yet ma'am
- N: Teh pakilo anay.
So let's get your weight first.
- P: Teh pila ma'am?
So, what's my kilo ma'am?
- N: 170 lbs.
- P: Baw grabe bug at ko ba.
Wow, so heavy. (TARC16)

Restating (TCT no. 19). Here the exchange of conversation is repeated thus, it allows the patient to easily answer continuously and spontaneously the questions being asked and definitely gives him the chance to classify things as necessary. The linguistic pattern evident here is adjacency pair which of course under the "question – answer" category. The conversation flow of the nurse and patient is organized that the sequence of the interaction is smooth and spontaneous thus generating interactionally and mutually on topic – talk.

Extract 4:

- N: Teh natagaan ka na request haw? Teh bwat lang ma'am eh. Dapat aga pa.
So were you given request before? So tomorrow ma'am, you should come here early.
- F: Teh dapat aga pa. Teh bwat na lang eh. Kauyaya!
So you should be here early. It's because you're not working on it.
- P: Syempre lain matyag ko.
It's just that I don't feel well (TARC20).

Restating (TCT no. 19). In this talk – interaction, the same words in the conversations are repeated like; N #2 to P #5 "so you were given request before, Okay, so tomorrow you should come here early in the morning; F #5 to P #5 "So you should be here early in the morning". Here the idea allows the patient to make clarifications since it is restated. The common

ground of the conversation of the nurse-patient and folk-patient interaction reached a mutual understanding and mutual agreement as indicated by repeating the utterance as a way confirm information. N #2 to P #5 “teb nataga-an ka na request haw? Teh bwas lang ma’am eh. Aga pa dapat (*So you were given request before. So tomorrow ma’am you should come here early in the morning*). Those extracts of the communications indicate clear instructions and understanding of the speakers involved.

Extract 5:

- N: Bwas ma’am kadto kamu di alas 8:00 sang aga. Indi magkadto alas 10:00 ha.
Tomorrow you should come here at eight in the morning. Don’t come here at 10:00am.
- P: Sige ma’am a. Thank guid.
Okay ma’am. Thank you. (TARC27)

The therapeutic communication technique employed here is the same as that in TARC No. 16 and TARC No. 20 which is restating (**TCTno. 19**). In the same manner, the exchange of conversations is repeated such as the time indicated to come for consultation. In this conversation it is noted that the nurse is the authority figure here when she said, “Bwas ma’am kadto kamu di alas 8:00 sang aga. Indi magkadto alas 10:00 ha” (*Tomorrow you should come here at 8:00 in the morning. Don’t come here 10:00 a.m.*). She seemed to be in control of the flow of the conversation. When the patient answered, “Sige ma’am. Thank you guid”, the idea of such response showed obedience that the nurse is really in control of the conversation. The evident linguistic feature in this talk – interaction is under “preference organization, a command or an offer is expected to be an acceptance (Seedhouse, 2004).

Making Observations

Extract 6:

- N: Tatay dal a na sa ospital kay kinanlan gd na sang Ortho.
Tatay, you have to bring him to the hospital. He needs an Ortho.
- P: Indyeksyunan mo ya ko?
You will inject me?
- F: Wala gapahimuyong mu.
You’re not behaving well. (TARC13)

Making Observations (**TCT no. 16**). When the nurse observed the patient being restless and she suggested to the grandfather to bring his grandson to the hospital. This clearly shows the nurse was very much concerned on the condition of the patient. Moreover, the linguistic pattern evident here is adjacency pair that is question-answer category.

Extract 7

- N: Kaagi ka na di pacheck up haw?
Have you had your consultation here before?
- F: Nugay hibi. Kay man uyaya ka. Hambalan kana guid nga mafollow-up ka sang 27 wala ka nagkadto.
Don’t cry. It is because you’re not doing it. I’ve told you to do it yet you don’t come here for follow up last 27. (TARC 14)

Placing the event in time or sequence (**TCT no. 15**). Here the folk specified that the time his patient would supposed to come for a follow up. In this context, the folk employed the importance of time. More so he was given ample time to come back for a follow up.

Extract 8:

N: *Dali di. Pungko di.*
Come here. Sit here.

(Patient approaches the nurse for BP check since he is from an adjacent room and sits down.)

N: *100/60 ah.*
100/60 (TARC 15)

Encouraging comparison (**TCTno. 18**). The nurse- patient interaction here expressed the importance of following the prescribed activities and of course taking medications which is very necessary in order to promote health and wellness of the patient. When the nurse cited the difference of the decreased in the patients BP at the same time the affirmation from the patient that indeed there is a difference especially in his BP at present and the previous consultation.

Offering General Lead

Extract 9:

N: Na indi naman paglipatan ang inug tumar mu nga bulong ha.
Don't you ever forget to take the medicine, okay?

P: ok ma'am a, nagmulumayo man pamatyag ko.
Okay ma'am, I feel good now (TARC22)

This particular conversation seemed to employ offering general lead (**TCT no. 14**) since it offers encouragement to the patient to really take his medicines. N #1 to P #7 “Na indi naman paglipatan ang nug tumar mu nga bulong ha. (*Don't you ever forget to take your medicine, okay?*) P #7 to N #1 “okay ma'am a, nagmulumayo man pamatyag ko” (*Okay ma'am, I feel good now*). These exchange of conversations carried out a successful interaction practically because the health care provider (the nurse) offered encouragement and kept on reminding the patient to really take his medicines. The use of “okay” by the nurse as well as by the patient in both their responses in the “turn – taking” is very evident. Suggesting their active participation in the interaction, signifying that the patient really put by heart the reminder.

Verbalizing the Implied

Extract 10:

N: Sin o pa da wala ka pa BP?
Who among you have not taken their BP yet?

P: Maravilla, pa BP anay.O, dali lang pa kilo pa.
Maravilla please let me check your BP first and wait we'll get your weight too.

F: Daw sa nabudlayan ka...anu matyag mu haw?
It seems like you find it difficult. What do you feel now?

P: Daw lain lang guid matyag ko.
I'm not feeling well. (TARC 1)

Verbalizing the implied (**therapeutic communication technique no. 6**) Extract No. 1 which is between the nurse and the patient as well as the folk and the patient. Falls into sequential organization which is turn within sequence when nurse said to the patient to take his BP first and as the patients turn he had his BP taken when the folk said to the patient that he seems to find difficulty and how he felt then he answered that he just felt he's not feeling well. In this conversation, it is evident that the speakers (the nurse, folk and patient) understood the utterance by reference to its turn – within – sequence. This generally, is a

turn's – talk as directed to a prior turn – talk (Sachs, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974.) When the nurse said, BP first then automatically the patient had his BP taken.

The extract showed “patient centeredness” considering that both the nurse and folk showed concern to the patient by telling him to have his BP taken first, maybe because the nurse observed how the patients' looked that's why he had the initial greeting of “let's have your BP taken first” and when the folk said “It seems like you find difficulty, What do you feel right now?”. Here, both the nurse and the folk showed concern to the patient by verbalizing that he was not feeling well and that he seemed to have difficulty. (Gumperz, 1982) Contextualization cues states it is any verbal sign which then processed in “co-occurrence” with symbolic signs which serves to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation.

Distinctive Characteristics of Nurse-Patient Communication

Asymmetry in interaction

The one in interaction is in control of the conversation. In this study, the nurse is in control of the conversation and considered as an authority figure as dictated by his or her “institutional role” who is a government paid professional.

Patient-centered communication- this is defined as ‘communication that invites and encourages the patient to participate and negotiate in decision- making regarding their own care’ (Langewitz, Eich, Kiss, and Wossmer, 1998). While participation and negotiation are regarded as key elements in patient centered communication, it could be argued that the term implies that the balance of power and control in this relationship lies with the nurse. However, for communication to be patient –centered, power and control need to be shared equally between the nurse and the patient.

Extract 16:

- N: Na indi naman paglipatan ang inug tumar mu nga bulong ha!
Don't you ever forget to take the medicine, okay?
 P: Ok ma'am a, nagmulumayo man pamatyag ko.
Okay ma'am, I feel good now. (TARC22)

In this extract, when the nurse told the patient not to forget to take his medicines and the patient responded by saying okay ma'am, this out rightly goes to show that the nurse is the person in control of the conversation and authority figure. However, since this study calls for therapeutic communication technique that should be employed by the nurse and therefore should be patient-centered, then the key element in this conversation should be a mutual relationship between the nurse and the patient.

Warmth, genuineness, and empathy

These characteristics are prerequisites for communication to be patient- centered. This implies that it is not enough to invite or encourage a patient to participate and negotiate in planning their own care, as this will only be successful if it is done within the context of warmth, genuineness and empathy.

Warmth

Extract 11:

- N: Kaagi ka na di pacheck up haw?
Have you had your consultation here before?

- F: Nugay hibi. Kay man uyaya ka. Hambalan kana guid nga mafollow-up ka sang 27 wala ka nagkadto.
Don't cry. It is because you're not doing it. I've told you to do it yet you don't come here for follow up last 27. (TARC14)

Extract 12:

- N: Dali di. Pungko di.
Come here. Sit here.
 N: 100/60 ah.
100/60 (TARC15)

Genuineness

Extract 13:

- F: Imnun mu ang bulong mu dayun kay para dasig mag ayo.
You have to take your medicine immediately so you will get well soon.
 P: Nainum ko man.
Yes. I'm taking it.
 N: Ay teh. Wala mu man dayun giniainum haw/ Paanu ka na dasig mag ayu?
Then so, why are you not taking it? How will you recover fast? (TARC 10)

Extract 14:

- F: Naligo ka pa kagina? Bal an mu lain matyag mu naligo ka pa imu ya.
You know that you were not feeling well yet still you took a bath.
 P: Laba-ab man ang tubig.
The water is lukewarm.
 F: Bisan pa
Even then. (TARC11)

Empathy

Extract 15:

- N: Teh okay na? Baklon mu na dayun ang bulong ha kay dapat makainomka dayun para ndi kana magbalik...bawal magkasakit.
Is it okay now? You have to buy your medicines immediately so you can take it and won't come back anymore. Getting sick is not allowed.
 P: Sige ma'am a. Salamat guid.
Okay ma'am. Thank you. (TARC12)

Extract 16:

- N: Na indi naman paglipatan ang inug tumar mu nga bulong ha!
Don't you ever forget to take the medicine, okay?
 P: Ok ma'am a, nagmulumayo man pamatyag ko.
Okay ma'am, I feel good now. (TARC22)

Communication is a universal of man that is not tied to any particular place, time or context. However, this particular model introduces a notion that communication requires certain skills especially by health care professionals and or health care givers that include in this study nurses, folks including individuals who are the health care givers concerned with individuals who are in taking care of sick and unwell members of the family or anybody seeking medical attention. In this study therefore, the researcher identified the therapeutic communication model which will eventually serve as a framework in order to promote health

and wellness of individuals seeking medical attention, I would say, that these underprivileged should be given more concerned by health care professionals and or health care givers simply because they can't afford to go to barangay or district health centers for medical assistance considering that these health centers provide free services. Meanwhile, patients as the center in this therapeutic communication model should therefore be mindful of their share in the process like seeking clarification and validation that will facilitate mutual understanding.

Finally, the findings of the study revealed that in order to promote health and wellness especially of financially – challenge individuals seeking medical attention, health care professionals including folks or family members should be properly – oriented as to the proper and therapeutic communication skills.

V. SUMMARY of FINDINGS, CONCLUSION and RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Findings

In the analysis of the study, the findings showed that the dominant Therapeutic Communication Techniques employed both by the nurses and folks to the patients: These are: (1) Presenting reality where out of the sixteen(16) extracts analyzed five (5) of these were dominant; offering general lead three (3) Restating and Encouraging description of perception. However, the rest of the other therapeutic communication techniques got at least one or others were not even employed.

These dominant therapeutic communication techniques employed both by the nurse and folk is patient-centered communication where it is considered as an integral aspect of nursing practice although it could be argued that it is not exclusive to nurses alone because even folks would also manifest the techniques as part of how they would communicate to the patients. The only unique function of the nurse therefore considering that they are considered health care professionals is that they are well trained in this context while folks practically manifest it by their affiliation to the patients.

Conclusions

With the most dominant therapeutic communication techniques employed both by the nurses and folks which is presenting reality the researcher therefore arrived at a conclusion that this technique surfaced among the other techniques simply because we always make sure that as much as possible “we should not get sick” or in our local parlance we make it a point to say “Bawal magkasakit”. Indeed, above the other basic needs of man; medicine, consultations, check-ups, laboratory tests, especially hospitalization is the most expensive at hand and with this technique employed, nurses as well as folks really make it a point that they should define reality or indicate the situation of the patient so as to avoid getting sick or at least give precautionary measures. In grounding patient-centered communication, the role of language and the therapeutic communication techniques employed both by the nurses and folks is of immense importance because it is a crucial component in understanding the anxiety of the patients especially when they go for check-up or consultation. Restating on the other hand is the next therapeutic communication technique employed by the nurses and folks when interacting with the patients (TCT No. 19). This clearly shows that they both (nurses and folks) want the patient to understand, clarify and confirm everything that is being said so that the specific needs will be addressed.

The researcher, therefore conclude that “patient-centeredness” is at work considering these dominant therapeutic communication techniques. Repeating the instructions as well as prescriptions at the same time presenting reality, verbalizing the implied and making observations are the most common therapeutic communication techniques employed by the nurses and folks and this clearly shows that these techniques and the emphasis on the crucial

role of language use play an important part in medical consultations. It is vital that both the nurses and folks should learn how to use the language and employ appropriate therapeutic communication skills to be able to promote health and wellness of the patients.

Recommendations

The future researchers can analyze similar data using other linguistic, pragmatic, psycholinguistic or sociolinguistic approaches that may uncover other therapeutic communication techniques evident in the nurse-patient, health care givers or even folk-patient interactions in a wider scope or setting such as hospitals or other medical institutions.

For school administrators or health care giving institutions that through this study, as revealed by the findings they will create a program or come up with a curriculum that will serve as a basis in strengthening or enhancing the communication skills including individuals who are in-charged of looking after the health and wellness of persons seeking medical attention.

To students nurses, health care providers and others involved in giving care especially in the rural health centers, community or district health centers especially in the remote areas of the region that through this study, it will in a way serve as a basis in order to strengthen their programs especially the proper orientation of community, community or even professional care givers that employing therapeutic communication techniques in the way we communicate with individuals seeking medical attention helps promote health and wellness.

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A Perspective on the Global Unemployment

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Introduction

The challenge of the global unemployment has been a crucial concern for the modern world. Very unfortunately, the situation is aggravated by the coronavirus pandemic. According to Al Jazeera English TV and observation based on the information from OECD and International Monetary Fund, the number of unemployment is surging possibly up to two billion across the world. Some of the possible elements associated in the issue are – general perception towards employment, condescending to the certain jobs and the excessive usage of machine. As a result, we are witnessing the ascending number of unemployment by surfacing the ultimate adverse result in the form of homelessness. However, a reviewed and retrospective form of education can be one principal force to help this principal challenge transform.

In and Around the Employment

In order to earn money, if an adult is not able to get a job in a sector of goods and services, the person is counted as unemployed. Here, the prejudiced social setting, economic condition, and in fact, mental attitude are the key contributions to the existing unemployment scenario.

The industrial revolutions and market economy have structured contemporary social system, governments, more importantly education accordingly. Then, the power of money and the role banking have created a coercion for the world to be part of the consumerism and labor force. The coercion makes us all work behind the bar of goods and services. In such environment, employee should work under a fixed format prescribed by employer wherein freedom and dignity are usually compromised with pay.

Pressure and tension become routine as the employer's desires and objectives are materialized under their hierarchical power. Thus, employment paradigm has become mere a paid slavery system. The independent and autonomous taste of life has vanished all over. The so-called salaried people are not able to afford creativity. Their time for relaxation, family and friends are getting way far off the reach.

We may look at a different situation of employment and unemployment. In a perspective; some people eke out their livelihood independently running small family businesses and farming. In the so-called developing countries, many people are independently working with the least tension. Even though they undergo some amount of economic challenges, and even they cannot afford modern-luxurious items, they live without knowing homelessness and unemployment.

A Narrowing Farming Avenue

Somewhere in the course of the industrial revolutions, we are conditioned to condescend the inevitability of farming and cultivation. The government, corporates and society combined have enforced the peasants and agricultural-workers to get the least out of their essential contribution. Although, we tend to forget these people are on the frontline of productions, whether like it or not, during the coronavirus pandemic it reminds us of the fact.

The collective response affects the prospect and motivation of this fundamental occupation for human. Our modern thinking and attitude continue to limit the essential avenue of farming and laborers especially to the educated youths. It results in the expansion of unemployment among young people.

A crucial reality is the ever-growing force of the globalization. This force storms out farmers and peasants' feet pushing them into the domain of modern slavery. In the absence of the governments' supports, they are diminished when their products fail to get into the market. Because, the market is controlled and designed by the corporate powers. Thus, the millions of farmers fail to survive the cruel monopoly of agro-based production and market. In the agrarian countries like India, hundreds of thousands of farmers have committed suicide. According to my independent assessment based on the multiple Indian media reports over the years, about 31 farmers in India commit suicide every day owing to the blow of poverty over the last ten years (The Wire, 2019). They die before the dishonor of being tiny loan defaulters of about \$100. The tragedy is highlighting the very dangerous reality in the green economy sector.

Taken Over by Machine:

Another relevant element is the connection between the unemployment and the ever-increasing utility of machines. Of course, labor force can be helped with the machines. Usually, the manual workers face harsh physical involvements and handle the health hazardous conditions. For example, machines can help workers minimize the uncomfortable cleaning activities, providing a safer convenience reducing the hazardous effects and disturbing working conditions.

In regard with the objectives of machines and technologies – they do not take vacations, sick leaves and smoke breaks. It is an interesting aspect! Maybe this aspect is one of the reasons for multiplying the artificial intelligence, robots, auto-drive vehicles and hands-free machines ever more. They are taking on the color-collar jobs leaving out humans towards the unemployment hiccups that getting frequented to choke.

Most of the people who have commonsense will opine that machines should not replace human jobs. To make happen artificial intelligence to work in place of human cognition is to belittle human mental ability, and to extend manufacturing more machines is simply to shun our manual skills. Above all, it is rising of less jobs for human fellows which is always a worse eventuality. An Oxford University study has warned that machines are to take away 47 percent of the US jobs (Frey, 2013). More or less, this similar situation can come up everywhere across the globe.

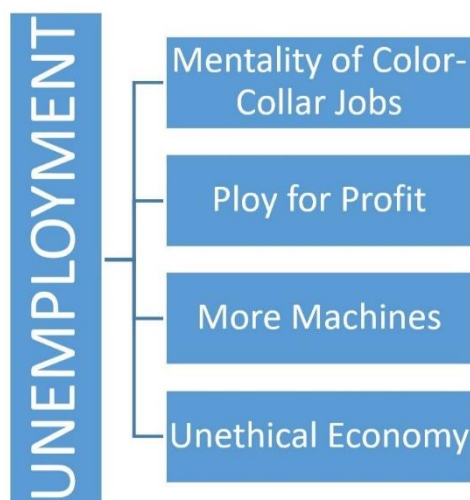


Figure 1: Parts of Unemployment

Perhaps, given the job creation in the sector of AI and machine industry, it may serve some careers as primary employment. Also, maybe there are to open alternative avenues as secondary sector for jobs. For instance, all engage in stock exchange trading and investment businesses in AI and machine makings. Trading at stock exchange will be a situation again back to the gambling reality of possible loss is higher than winning chance or sometimes luckily 50-50. There is no guarantee of a good livelihood security in stock trading.

In addition to the job-taken-over issue, whenever, new machines are made, they are also made out of the natural resources. It means materials are extracted from Mother Earth. Not only this, in the manufacturing process, they consume energy, give out carbon and other pollutants. And, the beauty of engaging human intelligence in various domains of our living is far important for a creative and meaningful continuation. The artificial intelligence will have a hard time to replicate the natural emotions and original feelings.

Seriously, as machines and AI are concerned, human psychology cannot be manipulated 100 percent. Hence, the boredom will remain a big deal, and the value and taste of life cannot be compromised so readily. The plastic flowers, sex dolls and robotic pets maybe work but are of much limited short moments. Every next moment we will need real stuff since humans are made for the same.

Color-collar jobs

As the industrial revolution advances, the emergence of categorization of work to make money is seen. Based on various classes of work, it has referred colors to the jobs – from white-collar which is a salaried professional, typically referring to general office workers and management to gold-collar which refers to skilled knowledge people like chartered accountants, lawyers, doctors, research scientists, etc.

By wanting to leave behind cultivation and manual labors, people began landing on other less manual types. The modern education, capitalist market, globalization and (commercial) advertisement propaganda have stimulated human mind towards grabbing the least physically involved economic activities. The expansion of market, trade and commerce created more new category of jobs available to the people. It has projected as more dignified, a superior class, and more intelligence by setting a hierarchical structure.

In doing so, education especially right from the higher school level has started absorbing all the conceptual aspects, know-how, and picturizing a good prospect of career from the market and profit-oriented trade and commerce. Every aspect of human livelihood, activities, and lifestyle affiliated too much to the features of commercialization. Nothing left on the spectrum, from child care supposed to be parents'/guardians' job, to the education which is always a fundamental undertaking for everyone. Everything has been packaged in the form of saleable and buyable goods and services creating all sorts of jobs in the process. Thus, each adopted a certain color-collar assignment designation now.

A Result: Homelessness

During my younger years, I got that very kind of shocking impression to see the beggars and homeless people in and around Indian railway stations. It is because we do not have such destitution in my native land, Manipur, eastern India. Also, because I have not seen that hardship with my real eyes, though I have heard lot about. However, the unwanted scenes were gradually taken for granted to some extent. May be with an unfair excuse that things happen routine like this in India. Then, in 2009, I came across a handful of homeless people including women in the streets of New York City. I was totally stunned. Because I had not heard of such reality in America, because the USA is not Indian sub-continent. We, living in

a third world country never expected that ugly reality. We feel usually much pity for the developed-westerners who are suddenly suffering from such hardship for we learnt that the westerners have lived a very easy lifestyle amidst the much comforts and conveniences. They have not engaged in the hard type of manual works, yet, they have earned good money. They do not walk long distance to fetch water and firewood, only they know to buy things, say bottle water, open it, and use it.

But today, suddenly, the nightmare has been looming so heavy upon those city-people who never imagined such before. Even before the coronavirus pandemic, about 8 million people in the USA and UK were struggling homelessness. According to my assessment based on the information from the UN Human Right Commission, American Institutes for Research and National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, over 6 million Americans including more than 2.5 million children were homeless in the USA landscape. More than 1.5 million Brits are living in destitution in which 365,000 of them are children (Mirror, 2018). About 125,000 people in Australia, 150,000 in France and 5 million in Russia encounter homelessness. The great fear is that ever more multiplied millions of homeless people will be surfaced due to job loss during the corona pandemic.

It has spread like another pandemic over the plenty places of the new world order. Cannot even imagine the world of hunger and hard time in the freezing air, the tough life struggling today, so hard not enabling to think for tomorrow, only waiting to pass the day.

The reality is of the very tearful condition for the innocent kids, continuous sexual violence upon the women, unhygienic amenities – no proper place for defecation and urination, very smelly and abhorring surroundings. In order to manage the pain and rough time, many of the homeless people abuse drugs and substances. And, in order to survive, crimes are to be committed, what else; just be a part of the rattling vicious cycle.

Independent Way of Living: A Solution

A question comes in my mind – Why there is no crisis of homelessness in such a poor place of third world country where I come from? The growing homelessness and destitution have been happening in the urban and suburban landscape. Although, people are economically poor and not able to afford the present trend of consumerism, and they are undergoing displacement and eviction due to government's anti-people so-called developmental projects, in the rural areas, they still stick around the traditional land-owning system and indigenous culture of sovereign local economy.

In general, the village economy is somewhat independent of the globalized network and manageable with the individual micro-level-debt and community support as well. Whereas urban lifestyle is more or less sealed by macro-grid-structure. Once someone undergoes job loss from multinational companies or from their smaller offshoots, their lives are exposed to the sudden rough sleep as there is no roof over their heads.

The challenge of unemployment can be seen connecting to a more psychological dimension. This is attached to the dependent lifestyle. In the case of an independent lifestyle – the minds of villagers are usually managed with minimal requirements of simple material possessions. In the minds of people living in the urban and suburban setting, a physical nature is involved so strongly because they are much compelled to the more material possessions.

The accelerating speed of urbanization affecting the rural areas of the less developed countries is an alarming apprehension as their independent small economy is hijacked by the forceful global market economy spree. Why not, we let the rural economy grow with the optimum status quo. It could be the best policy.

Having said that the quality and quantity of current structure and style of the village community is not that perfect. There are rooms for improvement in terms of supports and

renovation towards strengthening and building it a wholesome one. But always the adjective, 'sovereign and independent' should be a fundamental concern for the case.

Likewise, how the unemployment and job loss in the urban crowd be rescued is much connected to the independent structure of micro-economy organizations in suburban and rural landscapes. Since, the miseries and the crisis are caused by culture, economy and psychology, given this basis, advocacy and project execution need to be realigned.

Education

As far as unemployment is concerned, the role of education in the issue is very crucial. Perhaps, other than pick up literate ability of reading and writing, education is a learning process through which the modification of our thinking and its consequent behavior is intended. It is related to the cognitive aspect of thinking and awareness. Also, from a critical perspective, the rat race crowd considers education empowering people to be successful in attaining high pay jobs; it appears a good lever for survival strategy to the general population to enable go shopping, pay bills, and die then.

After considering the unfavorable reality, to me, 'education', in addition to the learning process, is a refreshing energy to identify the good, then, to separate the bad in and around human beings, and to apply the good over the bad. Eventually, it is all about rationality towards exercising wisdom and justice to enable a good journey of human life.

Education will be a matter of great benefits if it empowers the students to find the purpose in their life, and enabling them freedom of life choices. But there have been dead ends; students are not entitled to move along the way they like, the fields they are gifted with are out of the avenues. The flow of their creativity is bottlenecked, and their original interests are seized in the industrial mainstream. No option, but they have to ride a career, the one has the potential to be drawn with money, good perks and profit. Everyone follows the herd failing to break the useless line of the same bitter examination which has been applied to the students of variant abilities. There, education ends up in the project of examinations – finally, all different animals; monkey, bird, horse, cow, fish have to climb the same tree.

Also, a wish is, if the education that should be able to encourage the society, community to extend the same respect equally to the farmers, scavengers, cleaners and dishwashers, peasants, laborers as we do to the IT professionals, engineers, doctors, professors, etc.

If the schools, colleges and universities have infused the value-loaded knowledge adequately to the world, there will be a less challenge of unemployment. Logically human beings would lead a happy life leaving tensions and injustice behind. The existing reality is otherwise. There are more courses to promote marketing, profit-making and pushing growth. Instead, there could have more applied courses related to identifying real challenges faced by the blue planet, and connected to initiating actions in order to transform and resolve the active problems.

However, education has become a device to disconnect us all from the real problems in this era of highly connected globalization. What we see now is the scarcity of problem-based learning to exercise solution-based education.

We do believe in consumerism well tempted by the commercial advertisements and market controlled by a few super-rich families of the bankers and corporates. We want to have money and go shopping as much as we can. Is it an ever-growing phenomenon that we are getting uneducated in many ways?

Conclusion

Family, friends and community altogether hold a sort of social normative acceptance that not living in urban zone, and job assigned with farming, cleaning and other physical involved are categorically inferior to. We look down upon non-urban residents and laborers less

dignified kind, and thus, active condescending is shown unnecessarily. This has been a culture in the most part of the global society. In return, this culture cause a factor to unemployment leading to a miserable life missing the consciousness about the true meaning of life and happiness. Again, housing and food pose a real big deal in the unemployment domain. They occupy the largest chunk in the average family expenditure pie that is about 70 percent of the annual income in the OECD nations. When we do not buy buildings in the crowded city, and live in grandparents' homestead by renovating their houses, cultivate own food in and around the houses, the tension of unemployment will be minimized, and can open up a fresh new lifestyle.

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Critical Review on Rent-Seeking Theory

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Abstract: *The purpose of this paper is to review rent-seeking theory which has been developed for over 50 years. Three aspects of rent-seeking are focused on in this paper. As for the types of rents, Public Choice economists focus on monopoly rents and rent-like transfers, recent scholars especially Khan extend the scope and range. As for the actors in Rent-seeking Process, Public Choice economists mainly discuss rent-seekers and partly mentioned rent allocators based on methodological individualism, while recent scholars especially Boyd and Ngo pay more attention to rent-creators and rent allocators from the perspective of historical institutionalism. As for the results of rent seeking, Public Choice economists argue that rent seeking results in social loss and is ultimately growth-retarding, while recent researchers argue that political as well as economic consequences of rent production should be also emphasized.*

Keywords: rent seeking, types of rents, actors in rent-seeking process, results of rent-seeking

Introduction

It is Tullock who first discussed the topic of rent seeking in 1967. In his seminal paper, Tullock (1967) took tariffs and theft as examples to argue the actual welfare loss of monopoly includes not only the Harberger Triangle but also the Tullock Rectangle because individuals or enterprises who intend to obtain the monopoly rents would use the resources that would otherwise have been used in the productive activities. Tullock did not use the concept rent seeking and failed to provide a strict definition in that paper. Krueger (1967) created the expression and developed a simple model of competitive rent-seeking. Buchanan (1980) further distinguishes rent seeking from profit seeking, and defines three levels of rent seeking activity. Tollison (1982) argues that rent seeking theory explores how people compete for artificially contrived transfers, and it involves normative and positive elements. The former focuses on the specification and estimation of the costs of rent-seeking activities to the economy while the latter focuses on explanation of the sources of contrived rents in a society. These conventional economists of rent seeking theory, namely Tullock, Buchanan, Tollison among many others, are usually referred to as the public choice school. The most comprehensive literature of rent-seeking from Public Choice School comes from Buchanan, J., Tollison, R., and Tullock, G. (1980), Lockard, A. and Tullock, G. (2001), Tullock, G. (2005), Congleton, R., Hillman, A. and Konrad, K. (2008), and Congleton, R. and Hillman, A. (2015).

From the studies on rent seeking, three questions should be discussed to articulate a clear definition of it. Put it simply, it involves who seeks what kind of rent and what it results in. The first question discusses the types of rents. It focuses on whether rent seeking is closely connected to government activities. Second, it involves who seeks rents. It discusses the actors who participate in the process of rent seeking. Third, it involves what rent-seeking activities result in. It focuses on whether rent seeking is inevitably inefficient and resource-wasteful.

Types of Rents

As a basic concept, rent is used in Economics for a long time. According to the New Palgrave (Eatwell, J., Newman, P., and Milgate, M. 1987:141), six terms are listed under the heading “rents”, i.e. rents in general, economic rents, quasi-rents (and composite quasi-rents), Ricardian rents, differential rents and monopoly rents. All kinds of these rents except monopoly rent have in common that they are not created by restrictions. They may relate to specific skills or they may arise from natural conditions. All in all, they arise naturally in the price system by shifts in demand and supply curves and such rents are viewed as dissipated quickly because competition will drive them to normal levels. The pursuit of these kinds of rents is equivalent to profit seeking, a normal benefit-pursuing activity. But this is not the case with the type of monopoly rents. Broadly defined, monopoly rents arise from any kind of artificial restriction on potential competitors that allows an increase of the protected company’s wealth. In contrast to rents that attend profit-seeking, monopoly rents usually undermine the efficiency-increasing impact of market forces and may even make price incentives irrelevant in the allocation of resources.

Buchanan (1980) defines rent seeking based on Krueger’s (1967) definition emphasizing that rent seeking is intimately connected to the government activities. He states as follows,

“If supply is arbitrarily restricted and price is allowed to rise to market-clearing levels, rents accrue to those who secure the ‘rights’ to engage in the activity. Governmental licenses, quotas, permits, authorizations, approvals, franchise assignments—each of these closely related terms implies arbitrary and/or artificial scarcity created by government... such scarcity implies the potential emergency of rents, which, in turn, implies rent seeking activity.” (Buchanan, 1980)

In Buchanan’s (1980) definition, rents are used in the narrow sense in which only monopoly rents are included, but in fact he intended to emphasize the relationship to government activity. Just as he put it, “rent seeking activity is directly related to the scope and range of governmental activity in the economy, to the relative size of the public sector.” Actually from the outset, Tullock developed rent seeking theory from a more general view of capturing a transfer, to put it differently in Pius Fischer’s (2006:25) term, i.e. “income without being productive”. In fact, we should add “relate to government activity” after it. In his original paper, although he analyzed theft except tariff and monopoly, theft is just an example to illustrate his idea, and later focused on transfer (Tullock, 1971), and then on aid (Tullock, 1975). As it is stated typically in the first volume of readings on rent-seeking Edited by Buchanan, Tullock and Tullock (1980), “It (rent seeking) is meant to describe the resource-wasting activities of individuals seeking transfers of wealth through the aegis of the state.” A more well-known definition comes from Tullock. “It is this activity of wasting resources in competing for artificially contrived transfers that is called rent seeking” (Tullock, 1982), and rent seeking is described as “the pursuit of profits via the use of government coercion”(Rowley and Tullock, 1988).

Obviously, the public choice economists defined rent seeking with rent in a broader sense emphasizing the relation between rent seeking and government activities. In their definitions, rents include not only monopoly rents but also rent-like transfers if we use the term that Khan has suggested in his study on rent seeking. On the other hand, the political implication of rents and rent seeking on state-market relations is obvious. When state engages in market regulation through limiting entry, creating tariff and so on, conflicts among rent seekers occur and fierce political contentions are involved.

Khan (Khan and Jomo, 2000:21-68) extends the types of rents. Except monopoly rents and rent-like transfer (or rent based on transfer), natural resource rent, Schumpeterian rent, rent for learning, and rent for monitoring (or monitoring and management rent) are included.

Table 1
Relevant growth and efficiency implications of different rents

Type	Efficiency Implications (static NSB)	Growth Implications (NSB over time)	Observations
Monopoly rent	Inefficient	Likely to be growth-reducing	Sometimes difficult to distinguish from Schumpeterian or learning rent
Natural Resource Rent	Efficient	Likely to be growth-enhancing	
Rent-like transfer	Neutral, with possible incentive inefficiencies	Indeterminate: may be growth-enhancing	May be essential for primitive accumulation and to maintain political stability, but may also become inefficient very rapidly
Schumpeterian rent	May be Efficient	Likely to be growth-enhancing	May become monopoly rent if it persists for too long
Rent for learning	Inefficient	May be growth-enhancing	Efficiency may depend on monitoring and enforcement ability of the state
Rent for monitoring	May be efficient	May be growth-enhancing	Efficiency may depend on monitoring and enforcement ability of monitors

Source: Khan and Jomo (2000:68)

It seems that the category of rents by Khan is problematic because its standard is overlapped. Roughly, the first four ones in the table are based on the source of rents but the last two ones are based on the purpose of rents. According to Khan (Khan and Jomo, 2000) subsidy basically is one kind of rents based on transfer, but if it is subsidized to an enterprise to enhance the technology and the enterprise achieves the aim, then it turns out to be a rent for learning.

The point of Khan's theory of course is not the category of rent but the relationship between rent seeking and economic growth. He links rent seeking to right and institution change. In his theory, rent seeking is defined as "the expenditure of resources and effort in creating, maintaining, or transferring rents" (Khan and Jomo, 2000:10). By broadly interpreting rent-seeking as processes which seek to create, maintain or change the rights and institutions on which particular rents are based, he emphasizes the special political and institutional context. As he puts it,

"A more general approach to rent-seeking can incorporate political and institutional variables to explain first, how much effort is actually expended in rent-seeking, and secondly, the types of rights and rents which are created as a result." (Khan and Jomo, 2000:71)

By comparing the input and outcome of rent seeking, he examines the relationship between rent seeking and economic growth, trying to find out the right political and institutional setting that can create and maintain "good" rents. In essence, Khan's approach shares the same of underlying assumption with developmental state theory: economic growth as predicated upon getting the price wrong but the institution right. (Ngo and Wu, 2009:4)

Of course, not all the scholars view rent-seeking as activities related to government activities. Pius Fischer (2006:26) views that "rent-seeking settings cover a continuum from government-related to strictly private settings where the government plays at the most a very passive role." At one end is protection effectuated by government policy, which is the most evident case of government involvement in rent creation; at the other end, rent seeking takes place in private social life depending on the society's subjective definition of property rights and duties. According to Pius Fischer, it even makes sense to define people begging on the

street and knocking on doors as rent seekers, in particular if they have opportunities to work. (Pius Fischer, 2006:26-27)

On the whole, however, most of the theorists have seen rent seeking as activities related to government activities focusing on monopoly rent and rent-like transfers, such as tariff, tax, subsidy, and the like.

Actors in Rent-seeking Process

The second question that who seeks rents is related to actors involving in the rent-seeking process in a much broader sense. The Public Choice Economists analyze different actors based on methodological individualism. Tollock (1993:25-61) in his book named *Rent Seeking* has reviewed the principal actors in the political market for rents, the voters, the media, the interest groups and politicians including legislators and bureaucrats. In this aspect, it is closely connected to interest group theory of government considering a pluralist democratic politics as a theoretical prototype.

In their theory the concept “politics” is understood as an exchange mechanism like a market and rent seeking is viewed as a demand-side as well as a supply-side activity. In a political market, politicians are modeled as providing a brokering function for wealth transfers. Special interest groups capable of effective organization “demand” such transfers. Other more general groups, including many individual voters, incapable of such effective economic organization, “supply” such transfers. In the process, interest groups that both demand and supply transfers, as the principal rent seekers, try to influence government for economic gains while politicians and bureaucrats, as the rent allocators, mediate the competition for rent to maximize their own self-defined interest.

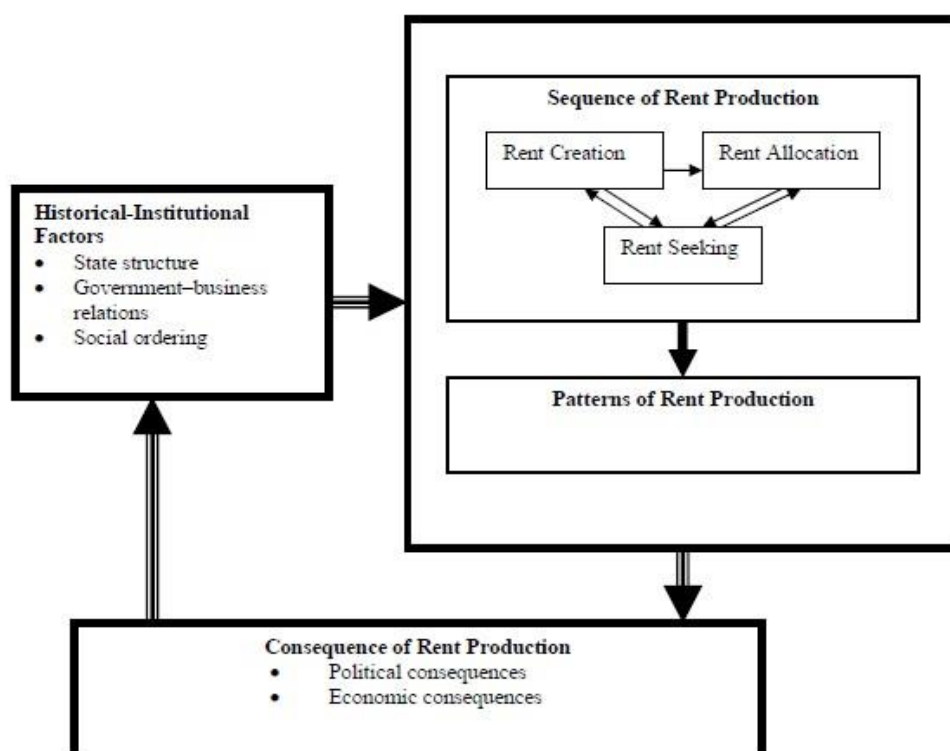
Mchesney (1987) holds a different view about the role that the politicians play. In the model of “rent extraction”, he identifies politicians not as mere brokers but as independent actors getting private actor to respond to their own demands. In this model, politicians are not rent allocators who redistribute wealth in response to competing private demands, but rent seekers who pursue their own self-defined interest.

In a word, in their model of “competitive rent seeking”, Public Choice Economists focus on the rent seekers and rent allocators but only confine them on individuals, say, the voters, the politicians, and the interest groups. The traditional conceptions in politics are never seen, such as state, government, power and authority. From this respective, the rent-seeking theory of the conventional public choice economists is termed by Boyd “the liberal market mode of rent utilization” with a characteristic of political market rent seeking nexus that reflects the particular circumstances of the USA. Boyd also criticizes that in their model the state is absent, replaced by the political market and the political brokers. He argues that it may not matter in respect of the United States which is said to be a typical instance of a stateless-society, but problems arise in the other political economy especially in the so-called state-society (Boyd, 2009).

In the empirical study on rents and rent seeking in the East Asian countries, Boyd has found out that non-market price-setting and non-market resource allocation prevail in these countries. In those processes, rents and rent seeking embedded in the polity every bit as much as the economy of the same political economy. When viewed from the political end of the political economy of rent seeking, the creation of rents, the allocation of rents and rent seeking itself are part of the normal business of politics. It serves political ends, such as the pursuit of power and the rewarding of supporters, as well as ostensible economic ends. Since the politics is generally settled and highly institutionalized, rent seeking is also institutionalized with enduring characteristics and persistent pattern. Boyd term the institutionalization of rent seeking “a mode(s) of rent utilization”. Generally speaking, in the development of a developing country, rents are created and allocated systematically by

political system, related actors try every effort to seek rents, and thus the economy evolves and the social order is maintained through a relatively settled mode of rent utilization under the special political economy of the country. Due to the different formal and informal institutional settings in different political economy, the modes of rent utilization are different in different countries, and furthermore the modes of rent utilization are significant to economic outcomes. Also he discusses the determinants of modes of rent utilization from formal and informal institutional factors. The principal determinants are hypothesized to be the architecture of the state, the mode of social ordering and the government-business relations. (Boyd, 2006, 2008, 2009)

Based on the study of his fellows including Boyd (2009), Ngo and Wu (2009:1-21) suggests a comprehensive framework to analyze the phenomena of rent seeking with emphasis on the institutional supply side of rents. After pointing out that the existing study of rent seeking focuses mainly on the demand side, he proposes an embracing concept of “rent production”, by which he refers to “the whole range of activities connected to the fabrication of economic rent, including its creation, allocation, extraction, redistribution and pursuit” (Ngo and Wu, 2009:10). He conceptualizes the sequence of rent production into three interrelated but separable processes, namely rent creation, rent allocation, and rent seeking. (See Figure 1) He believes that it is possible to trace the sequence of rent production in a specific commodity, industry, policy area, or economic sector by locating the sources of rent creation, the means of rent allocation, and the methods of rent seeking, and so on. Patterns of rent production are differentiated by the combination of different actors, type of rents, means of exchange, and terms of exchange in the whole sequence of rent production. At last the principal determinants of patterns of rent production are three kinds of different historical-institutional factors, namely state structure, government-business relations and social ordering, which obviously are the terms from Boyd’s works.



Source: Ngo and Wu, (2009:17)

Figure 1. Regime of Rent Production

Multiple state and market actors including rent creators, allocators, recipients, and seekers involve in the rent production. In each category, institutional as well as individual actors are included. The government is the main rent creator by virtue of its control over regulatory power and property rights with the power of rent creation and allocation dispersing among competing bureaucratic units. Rent seekers are not only confined to individual actors, say, typically the private entrepreneurs, but also institutional actors, such as state sectors/governmental establishments, industrial sectors, business enterprises and so on. It is worth noting that individual government units can seek rents created by central policies or by other bureaucratic establishments while creating their own rents to be allocated to their hand-picked beneficiaries in the case of China (Ngo and Wu, 2009:10-12).

Ngo and his fellows declare that they try to build “the politics of rent production” (the title of his essay) with an emphasis on “supply side” moving from methodological individualism to a historical-institutional approach examining the historical legacies and political institutions which shape rent production (Ngo and Wu, 2009:4). They argue that the political as well as the economic consequence of rent production should be taken into account. As Boyd (2009) comments, “they signal the shift in emphasis by a new coinage and speak of rent production rather than of rent seeking and which they analyze as a political process with political effects.” In essence, Ngo’s model is not dramatically different from Boyd’s “modes of rent utilization”, because both of them try to advance the analysis of rent seeking activities by integrating rent creation and rent allocation into the conventional model of rent seeking.

Results of Rent Seeking

The third question is what the rent seeking results in. It is a question related to whether rent seeking is inevitably inefficient and resource-wasteful. In order to distinguish rent-seeking with profit-seeking, Buchanan (1980) emphasizes that “the term rent seeking is designed to describe behavior in institutional settings where individual efforts to maximize value generate social waste rather than social surplus.” Tollison (1982) follows the same logic, arguing that “it is this activity of wasting resources in competing for artificially contrived transfers that is called rent seeking”. Most of the economists of public choice school argue that competition for rents generates social waste from society’s point of view because resources that could otherwise be devoted to value-producing activities are engaged in competition for distributive results. Obviously, they take perfectly competitive market as their benchmark, and draw the conclusion from the perspective of opportunity cost. Put it simply, in their analysis, rent seeking activities are basically bad because they are inefficient and harmful to social welfare, and hence growth-retarding to economy. Based on this, they develop some models (Posner, 1975) to calculate the rent seeking cost, i.e. the extent of social waste that rent seeking result in. Furthermore, a lot of empirical studies to calculate the actual rent-seeking cost in different countries come out.

Table 2
Estimates of the Welfare Losses from Rent-seeking

Study	Economy	Year	Welfare loss
Krueger (1974)	India	1964	7% GNP
Krueger (1974)	Turkey	1968	15% GNP (trade sector)
Posner (1975)	United States	various years	3% GNP (regulation)
Cowling and Mueller (1978)	United States	1963–6	13% GCP ^a (private monopoly)
Cowling and Mueller (1978)	United Kingdom	1968–9	7% GCP ^a (private monopoly)
Ross (1984)	Kenya	1980	38% GDP (trade sector)
Mohammad and Whalley (1984)	India	1980–1	25–40% GNP
Laband and Sophocleus (1988)	United States	1985	50% GNP
Lopez and Pagoulatos (1994)	United States	1987	12.5% of domestic consumption

^a GCP = gross corporate product.

Source: Adapted from Tollison (1997, Table 1, P. 514)

However, Buchanan's definition is criticized by Pius, F. (2006) who states as follows in his book.

“Albeit accurate for many rent-seeking situations, the definition is problematic if taken literally, as it classifies any individual maximizing behavior that bears social costs as rent-seeking and labels rent-seeking as always socially wasteful. The crucial point is that even if rent-seeking should be contrasted with profit-seeking, it is more than a negative counterpart.” (Pius, 2006:25)

In fact, Bhagwati (1982) has proposed another expression “Directly Unproductive, Profit-Seeking Activities (DUP)” based on the theory of second best. He classifies DUP activities into four types and rent seeking is only viewed as a subset of DUP. The concept has two different kinds of implications to rent seeking theory. First, what's important here is that it shows some different results that rent-seeking would generate. In the particular situation of initially distorted (type 1) and finally distorted and the one of initially distorted and finally distortion-free (type 2), the social beneficial outcomes would possibly come out, i.e. rent seeking sometimes efficient and welfare-enhancing. This view is much different from the public choice school economists. Second, rent seeking is either exogenous or endogenous to distortion. Distortion-seeking DPUs result in distortion thus generally generates welfare-reducing outcome, but Distortion-triggering DPUs result from distortion and may result in second best situation thus probably generate welfare enhancing outcome.

Khan (Khan and Jomo, 2000:70-144) also discuss outcomes of rent seeking. In their model of rent seeking as process, they examine the net effect of rent seeking by comparing the “output” (net social benefit associated with the rent-outcome) and the “input” (the rent-seeking cost). They argue that outcomes of rent seeking are not always inefficient and growth-reducing, and rent-seeking would generate positive outcome under particular political and institutional context. When he and the others do some empirical studies on rent seeking in several Eastern Asian countries during the period of rapid economic development in the last century, they find that corruption, clientelism and other forms of rent-seeking prevailed in Philippine, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, and point out a great many of other types of rents except monopoly rents existed in these countries on the one hand; on the other hand, the implications of seeking for these rents are complicated. Their studies show that the outcomes of rent-seeking heavily depend on the political and institutional variables and the effects of

rent-seeking on economy are much more complicated than what public choice economists have exhibited. This improves the explanatory ability of rent-seeking theory especially to the reality in developing countries.

However, although Khan has drawn a conclusion different from public choice school theory, Khan's approach still suffers from a serious limitation. As Ngo (Ngo and Wu, 2009:4) criticizes, Khan's approach is still exclusively interested in the economic consequences of rent seeking the same as economists of public choice school do.

Instead, Ngo (Ngo and Wu, 2009) points out that the exclusive concern about the welfare of rent seeking should be changed and the political as well as economic consequences of rent production should be also emphasized. North et al. also view the consequences of rent in a much broader sense. They view rents as well as competition as features of human behavior present in all types of societies. Rents are ubiquitous, and it is the way in which rents are created as well as the nature of competition that differs across the different societies. In their theory, rents come to resemble incentives and rent creation is viewed as the major means for the political system to manipulate to order the political system.

Conclusion

It has been roughly five decades since the term "rent-seeking" became an established expression in economic and political literature. Looking back at the large body of literature, it is not difficult to find out that there exists no single valid definition for rent-seeking that covers the entire domain of activities it refers to. It is so complicated that Pius Fischer (2006:25) has argued that "the choice of any particular rent-seeking definition that outlines its domain and distinguishes itself from other concepts is a matter of preference and opinion". But from what we discussed above, we can see that the domain and focus of rent seeking that different theorists are interested in are relatively obvious.

In general, the Public Choice economists from the outset view rent seeking as a critical pathology of government failure. Individuals or interest groups invest resources to get the government to intervene in market process. It is argued the dynamic costs due to the wasteful investment of resources are much more substantial in addition to statistic deadweight losses. In their point of view, rent seeking is closely relative to the government activities. Monopoly rents and/or rent-like transfers are created as a result of state intervention in the economy. Rent seeking thus constitutes a type of unproductive activity which results in social loss and is ultimately growth-retarding. Therefore, for the public choice economists, to eliminate rent seeking activities is their utmost matter of concern.

Khan link rent seeking to right and institutional change which are intimately connected to the political system. They view rent seeking in a much broader sense as a process to which seek to create, maintain or change the rights and institutions on which particular rents are based. They extend rents into natural resource rent, Schumpeterian rent, rent for learning, and rent for monitoring in addition to monopoly rent and rent-like transfer. Except monopoly rent, the rest kinds of rents do not necessarily result in inefficiency, and may be growth-enhancing (See Table 1.1). What is important in their eyes is the political and institutional context in which the rent seeking occurs. So they put more attention to finding out the "right" political and institutional setting to produce "good" rents.

Like Khan, Boyd (2008) also emphasizes the political and institutional factors concerning rent seeking activities, but advances them in a different way. He uses a new term "modes of rent utilization" to emphasize the institutionalized pattern with enduring characteristics in different political economies focusing their determinants from formal and informal institutional factors. Ngo make a further advance about this approach by putting forward a similar term "rent production" to further integrate rent creation and rent allocation into the conventional theory of rent seeking. They try to embrace "the whole range of activities

connected to the fabrication of economic rent, including its creation, allocation, extraction, redistribution and pursuit” (Ngo and Wu,2009:10) from a historical-institutional approach in order to answer this question “how does a certain set of political institutions shape a specific pattern of rent-creation and rent-seeking practices” (Ngo and Wu,2009:5).

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CHINESE

A Study on the Character "臙" of Eastern Han Dynasty Bamboo Slips in Shangde Street, Changsha 長沙尚德街東漢簡牘“臙”字考

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Abstract: The collation of Eastern Han Dynasty bamboo slips in Shangdejie (尚德街) of Changsha has errors in the explanation of "La Zi (臘字)". On the one hand, the word "臘" in the wooden slips has been wrongly written into the shape of "臙"; and the word "字" is more like ink marks. On the basis of revising the previous viewpoints, this paper made reinterpretation of the relevant wooden slips. In addition, this paper also discussed the words of "zirou (茲肉)" in Silk manuscripts in Mawangdui (馬王堆).

Keywords: bamboo slips, document slips, Eastern Han Dynasty, erroneous characters, Shangdejie, unearthed documents

I. 漢簡“臙”字的形近訛變

在中國湖南省長沙市尚德街考古發掘出土的東漢簡牘當中，有被整理者隸定“臙字”的文例²。其所在木牘右側殘裂。正面分兩欄書寫，上、下欄各存文三行，右行皆殘。背面分兩欄書寫，上欄存文兩行，下欄存文三行。內容性質屬於雜賬。其釋文作：

(1) [正面]

(出) □

出錢八市梅子。

出錢十市粟。

出錢廿一市鮫魚。

出錢廿與卒。

[背面]

取六百。

本文屬於中國國家社科基金重大項目“先秦兩漢訛字綜合整理與研究”（項目編號：15ZDB095）、國家語委重點項目“漢字發展的歷史文化動因研究（項目編號：ZDI135-40）”系列成果之一。

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五月廿五日。

取錢二千一百市臘字口卅斤。

出錢二百五十市肉一百廿六口。

出錢四百市連漢繩錢。（《尚德街東漢簡牘》2011CSCJ482②：2-3，牘088）

整理者釋為“臘”的字，其字形作，應隸定為“臙”，是“臙”乃至“臘”字的異體字。《集韻》：“臘或作臙。”值得注意的是，此處的臙字是上下結構，可以補充漢代文字“臘”字字頭下新的異體。漢代通行的“臘”字呈左右結構作“臙”形，例如馬王堆帛書的作形³、居延漢簡作形⁴，張遷碑作形等⁵。其形變情況詳見如下：

隸定	字形及其出處		
臘字	 王臘 漢印文字徵	 說文小篆	 古璽彙編 2588
臘字省寫 （例如下部从月乃至從夕）	 享臘 秦印文字彙編	 馬王堆帛書 老子乙 226	 居延新簡 EPT44-4A
臙字	 額濟納漢簡 2000ES7SF1:24A-11	 居延舊簡 圖 581 265-37B	 張遷碑 隸辨 5-69
臙字省寫 （例如上部从艸簡化為从屮）	 尹灣漢簡 YM6D10	 尹灣漢簡 YM6167（上部）	 肩水金關漢簡（叁） 73EJT28 : 113
臙字 （左右結構轉寫為上下結構）	 《尚德街東漢簡牘》2011CSCJ482②：2-3		

歸納可知，“臘”字寫為“臙”字主要是因為形近訛變。具體而言，偏旁“𦰩”的上部由“𦰩”訛變為“𦰩”再訛變為“𦰩”乃至“十”，中部由“囟”訛變為“田”再訛變為“日”乃至“口”，下部由“𦰩”訛變為“月”或“夕”而後類化為“𦰩”。

II. 對所謂“臘字”的改釋

³ 陳松長編著：《馬王堆簡帛文字編》，（北京：文物出版社，2001），168 頁。

⁴ （日）佐野光一：《木簡字典》，（東京：雄山閣，1985），602 頁。

⁵ 漢語大字典字形組：《秦漢魏晉篆隸字形表》，（成都：四川辭書出版社，1985），270 頁。

原文“取錢二千一百市臘字口卅斤”的“市”是“購買”之義，如《國語·齊語》：“以其所有，易其所無，市賤鬻貴。”《戰國策·齊策》：“責畢收，以何市而反？”《戰國策·齊策》：“先生所為文市義者，乃今日見之。”《爾雅·釋詁》：“貿賈，市也。”《疏》謂市買賣物也。《論語》：“沽酒市脯。”

雖然辭例其後有缺損，但由辭例上下文可以推斷，此處“市（購買）”的是食物，例如“市梅子”、“市粟”、“市鮫魚”、“市肉”等。至於購買的物品，之前的研究者對此處“臘”字的構形乃至取義並無解說。而之前跟劉樂賢先生商討本文相關問題時，他提醒要注意“臘”字和“腊”字的微妙區別。“臘”字和“腊”字在簡體字已被合併，但在文言文仍然區別明顯。

“腊”字的原意為乾肉。出土文獻用例如《睡虎地秦簡·日書甲種》簡 113 正-1：“大祠，以大生(牲)大凶，以小生(牲)小凶，以腊古(腊)吉。”⁶其中祭禱所用的“腊”與現殺的“大牲”、“小牲”相對，可知並非鮮肉。傳世文獻如漢代應劭的《風俗通·祀典·司命》：“汝南餘郡亦多有，皆祠以腊，率以春秋之月。”“腊”字也有動詞義“製成腊肉”的用法，例如《莊子·外物》：“任公子得若魚，離而腊之。”《韓非子·難言》：“翼侯炙，鬼侯腊，比干剖心，梅伯醢。”

而“臘”字原先用作祭名。《說文》：“臘，冬至後三戌，臘祭百神。从肉𩚑聲。”先秦時期稱祭祀百神為“𩚑”，祭祖先為“臘”，可能與“獵”有關；秦漢以後統稱“臘”。《禮記·月令》：“（孟冬之月）天子乃祈來年于天宗，大割祠于公社及門閭，臘先祖五祀，勞農以休息之。”孔穎達疏：“臘，獵也。謂獵取禽獸以祭先祖五祀也。”《左傳·僖公五年》：“宮之奇以其族行，曰：‘虞不臘矣。’”杜預注：“臘，歲終祭眾神之名。”漢代蔡邕《獨斷》卷上：“四代臘之別名：夏曰嘉平，殷曰清祀，周曰大蠟，漢曰臘。”

後來“臘”字由祭名延伸指代農曆十二月（臘月）或泛指冬月乃至歲末，常與“伏”相對。例如漢代楊惲的《報孫會宗書》：“田家作苦，歲時伏臘，烹羊炮羔，斗酒自勞。”而在冬季醃制的肉類也被冠以“臘”，如“臘腸”、“臘雞”、“臘肉”等。“腊”字聲旁從昔在上古音是心紐鐸部⁷，而“臘”字聲旁從𩚑在上古音是來紐葉

⁶ 陳偉主編：彭浩，劉樂賢撰著：《秦簡牘合集（貳）》釋文注釋修訂本，（武漢：武漢大學出版社，2016），頁 378。

⁷ 唐作藩編著：《上古音手冊》，（北京：中華書局，2013），頁 89、167。

部，兩者的發音原本相去甚遠，但因為都有表示加工後的肉類的義項，所以後來就有人將“腊”字當成“臘”字的簡體。

而文本里提到的購買時間“五月廿五日”離“臘月（十二月）”尚遠。另外，從“雜賬”類文本性質而言，這些食品由下層官吏購買並記錄在公文之中，更有可能是其自己食用而非祭祀所用。所以，本文認為“臘字口”的“臘”用為“腊”，指乾肉。

至於原釋文“臘字”的“字”乃至其後闕文的具體所指，學者們意見不一。李洪財先生指出此處應該是誤衍⁸。其後整理者缺釋的一處，雷海龍先生將其改隸定為“肉”字⁹，為此還將後文的“肉”字改釋為“用”字；而李洪財先生將其改隸定為“一”字¹⁰，認為“一”當指的是“臘”的數量，後面的“卅斤”指的是其重量。而李洪財先生所作“一口卅斤”的釋文也有待商榷。核對圖版可知，前引釋文猶有可商，在“臘”字之後為形，彩版作形，與其說是文字更像是塗抹的墨釘。

III. 相關木牘的綴合

陳笑笑先生發現尚德街東漢簡牘的牘 088 和牘 098 正面可綴合¹¹，但其忽略了背面的情況。牘 098 的釋文如下：

(2) [正面]

出錢廿市口口斤。出錢卅市口五斤。

[背面]

取錢二千口 （《尚德街東漢簡牘》2011CSCJ482②：4-2，牘098）¹²

現根據整理者公佈的圖版而將牘 088 和牘 098 背面綴合，清理茬口之後可以發現二者形制大體相同¹³，茬口相符，文字書寫風格和字間距以及字體大小基本一致；而

⁸ 李洪財：《〈長沙尚德街東漢簡牘〉補釋》，武漢大學簡帛研究中心簡帛網 http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=2737, 2017-02-23.

⁹ 雷海龍：《〈長沙尚德街東漢簡牘〉釋文商補》，武漢大學簡帛研究中心簡帛網 http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=2748, 2017-03-03.

¹⁰ 李洪財：《〈長沙尚德街東漢簡牘〉校注》，武漢大學簡帛研究中心簡帛網 http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=2737, 2019-07-21.

¹¹ 陳笑笑：《長沙尚德街東漢簡牘綴合二則》，武漢大學簡帛研究中心簡帛網 http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=2943, 2017-12-01。

¹² 長沙市文物考古研究所編著，《長沙尚德街東漢簡牘》（長沙：嶽麓書社，2016），頁 229。

¹³ 長沙市文物考古研究所編著，《長沙尚德街東漢簡牘》（長沙：嶽麓書社，2016），頁 124、177。

且，綴合後“取”、“錢”、“二”、“出”等字形可完整呈現。整理者認為牘 098 的未釋字，其實是牘 088 左邊第一行“生”字的一部分。綴合後最左邊一行文字的字形基本可以恢復完整（見圖 4），綴合後可相連而辨識的新字形見下表：

例字 字形	取	錢	二	出
				

在綴合與補釋牘 088 和牘 098 後，重新整理其背面釋文如下：

取六百

五月廿五日

取錢二千

取錢二千一百，市藹（臘-腊）■卅斤。

出錢二百五十，市用一百廿六口。

出錢四百，市連漢繩錢。（2011CSCJ482②：4-2B+2011CSCJ482②：2-3B）

而綴合前後的圖版對照如下：



尚德街東漢簡牘 2011CSCJ482②：4-2B 和 2011CSCJ482②：2-3B 綴合前的彩色圖版



尚德街東漢簡牘 2011CSCJ482②: 4-2B+2011CSCJ482②: 2-3B
綴合後的彩色圖版

綴合後的紅外線圖版

《馬王堆帛書·養生方》102/103

IV. 附論：《馬王堆帛書·養生方》的“茲肉”

《馬王堆帛書·養生方》“除中益氣方”的釋文有出現“茲肉”，其例如下：

(3) □□茲肉肥□□□膏者，皆陰乾，冶，以三指最（撮）一□。（《馬王堆帛書·養生方》102/103）¹⁴

原注讀“茲”為“牝”¹⁵，意為“母牛”，學者多從之¹⁶。但是，馬王堆帛書的“茲”字語例或徑直用為本字，例如帛書本《易經·復卦》的“尚六：迷復，咎，有茲省，用行師”和帛書本《易經·少（小）過卦》的“尚六：弗愚過之，翦烏羅之，凶，是謂茲省”。“茲”字語例又或通假為從茲諸字，例如讀為“滋”在《戰國縱橫家書·秦客卿造謂穰侯章》的“樹德者莫如茲（滋），除怨者莫如盡”、讀為“慈”在帛書甲本《老子》的“絕仁棄義，民復畜（孝）茲（慈）”等等。所以，到目前在馬王堆

¹⁴ 裘錫圭主編：湖南省博物館，復旦大學出土文獻與古文字研究中心編纂：《長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成（貳）》，（北京：中華書局，2016），頁115。

¹⁵ 裘錫圭主編：湖南省博物館，復旦大學出土文獻與古文字研究中心編纂：《長沙馬王堆漢墓簡帛集成（陸）》，（北京：中華書局，2016），頁50。

¹⁶ 白于藍編著：《簡帛古書通假字大系》（福州：福建人民出版社，2017），頁34。

帛書仍尚未有發現有“茲”字有通假為從字或從子諸字的情況，加上原物上下文殘損較為嚴重，所以整理者將此處“茲”讀為“特”的觀點仍有商榷空間。

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2. 論文

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Research on the Formation of Late 'Shang' Political System

晚商政體形成研究

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Abstract: Shang was an early state in China following the Xia. It was also the earliest political entity which left behind written records. According to Zhang Guangzhi, one of the factors in the development of early Chinese civilization was the centralization of resources – claims which have been widely recognized by scholars. However, there are still questions worth considering: “How did the Shang dynasty expand?” and “How did it control resources in a centralized fashion?” This article discussed the process of expansion of the Shang dynasty and how its hierarchy was formed; examined the political model and the feudal system under the Shang Dynasty; investigated the management and methods of maintaining the balance of power between the Shang Dynasty and surrounding states; and summarized the methods and the process of resource centralization under the Shang Dynasty.

Keywords: early China, early states, history of Shang, oracle bones

I. 研究動機

商朝是夏朝之後的第一個中國早期國家，也是目前有文字資料記載的最早國家。超過十萬片甲骨出土，讓商朝成為探討中國早期文明發展的最重要階段。筆者認同張光直的主張，即中國早期文明的發展要素之一是財富的集中，而本文欲探討的是，商文明是透過什麼樣的政體進行財富集中，商朝政體是怎麼形成，透過什麼樣的方式管理。

商朝透過戰爭建國，早期經營地大致在河南偃師商城和鄭州商城為核心的伊洛—鄭州一線，盤庚遷殷以後才逐漸穩定，武丁時達到全盛，不斷對四周方國發動戰爭。達到詩經所謂：「商邑翼翼，四方之極。」國家發展的過程中，由於人口的增加、交通的進步及對自然資源的需求，逐漸建立向外地發展進而管理資源的方式，又經過時間的累積才發展成政體。商代政體大體可分三個層次即內服、外服、方國，內服為王畿，屬於商王政體的核心，不在本文討論範圍。本文主要討論的是商王朝如何向外擴張形成外服？再進一步檢視商代政體形式及分封制度的本質。接著討論商王朝與各方國之間，是透過什麼方式管理、制衡，最後綜述商王朝的財富集中方式及歷程。

II. 研究回顧

從《尚書·酒誥》：「越在外服，侯甸男衛邦伯，越在內服，百僚庶尹惟亞惟服宗工越百姓里居，罔敢湏于酒。」的記載中，可以看出商代政體包含有內服、外服。¹由地域上來區分，內服指的是王畿，外服指的是王畿以外。從職官上看，內服即是百官，外服則是侯甸男衛邦伯等爵稱，商代的基本整體架構就是由內外服所組成。然而，文獻上的記載乃是以西周時期的觀點去理解商王朝，僅略指出商代畿服制度的框架，帶給後世諸多有關商王朝的想像，例如陳夢家以方格中的方格去理解晚商政體的形態，認為晚商政體核心為商邑，商邑外為四土，最外則是四方。²卜辭中有卜問東土、西土、南土、北土受年，商王關心四土收成，可見四土仍在商王朝管理能力可直接影響的範圍之內。卜辭亦有卜問四方受年，意同四土，而方又可指純粹的方向，如甲骨文四方風名中的東方、南方、西方、北方，四方所指應可延伸至四土之外。

1980 年代林沄提出商代方國聯盟說，認為商代並非一強大專制的集權國家，他考訂卜辭中的「比」為聯合之意，如：「貞：王惟侯告比征尸」（《合集》06460），意為王和侯告征伐夷方，認為商王稱王，而其他方國首領稱「侯」、「伯」、「任」，商王以「呼」、「令」等動詞命令其他方國首領，表示商王為聯盟盟主。³關於方國聯盟的說法，現今研究已論證「侯」、「伯」、「任」為商王朝職官名，「呼」、「令」動詞的使用，則表示是商王與外服職官上下層關係的證明，並非聯盟關係。⁴



¹ 郭建勳，《尚書讀本》（台北：三民書局，2011），頁196。

² 陳夢家，《殷墟卜辭綜述》（北京：中華書局，2008），頁325。

³ 林沄，〈甲骨文中的商代方國聯盟〉，收於氏著，《林沄學術文集》（北京：中國大百科，1998），頁73。

⁴ 裘錫圭，〈甲骨卜辭中所見的田、牧、衛等職官的研究〉，收於氏著，《裘錫圭學術文集·第五冊》（上海：復旦大學，2012），頁167。

商王朝屬於早期國家，在統治架構及制度尚未完善時期，其疆域仍在發展，並不是統領整片完整地域。因此越來越多研究者，傾向使用「犬牙交錯」來理解商代政體。前面提及，商代是透過戰爭，逐漸建立政體的國家，在王畿以外領土，初期只會有一些武力據點，不是整個面的概念。據點與據點之間，常有夾雜其他方國勢力。⁵筆者認為用「犬牙交錯」來描述商代政體，應是比較貼切且符合時空發展背景的說法。

商代史在歷史研究中是屬於較新的一部分，由於資料的限制，對於商王朝政體架構及地理空間的了解仍較為模糊。上述商代政體的代表性研究，將商代政體的論述從較理想化的方格型態，漸漸發展到較為符合歷史實際的「犬牙交錯」說。屬於早期國家的商王朝，制度未穩且統治勢力尚在發展中，國與國間界線未明，過程中具有相當大的變動性。當前學界對於商代政體形成性論述較為缺乏，觸發筆者的研究動機，故在前人的研究成果上，藉本文對晚商政體的形成做一嘗試性的論述。

III. 晚商政體的形成

（一）晚商政體發展的模式

崛起自夏朝東方的商人，從上甲微到湯的七代中，逐漸形成國家型態。商族自上甲後文明發展基本與夏王朝同步，且有軍隊的建立。上甲並以部族首領的身份，統領河伯部族方國的軍隊，打敗有易氏。甲骨文的研究成果，為商人自上甲起進入方國制的觀點提供了佐證。其一，上甲是商先公先王名號的分水嶺，上甲以前先祖名號不是以天干排列，但自上甲微起直到帝乙、帝辛都是以日為名。其二，周代周祭第一句起自上甲，上甲之前的先公高祖並未入祀，可見其與上甲之後的先王地位上是不同的。其三，殷先王祭祀中的「元示」、「一示」，皆以上甲為直系、旁系合祭的初祖，可見上甲的重要地位。⁶商人在先公上甲後，又經過一段時間的經營，終於代夏朝而立，建立商王朝。

商建國後，初期活動範圍在河南鄆師至鄭州一帶，期間多次遷都，勢力範圍向東擴張。盤庚遷殷後，始穩定發展，武丁時期國力強盛，再逐步向外擴張，漸而形成晚商時期的政體型態。《戰國策·魏策》：「殷紂之國，左孟門而右漳、釜，前帶河，

⁵ 孫亞冰、林歡，《商代地理與方國》（北京：中國社會科學，2012），頁44。

⁶ 王宇信、徐義華，《商代國家與社會》（北京：中國社會科學，2012），頁36-37。

後被山。有此險也，然為政不善，而武王伐之。」講述商人周圍的地形優勢，西面太行山、北面漳水、東面和南面黃河，形成了有利的防守地形。⁷吳起所言，乃是指商王畿附近的地理形勢，根據鄭杰祥的考察，晚商王畿大抵西自太行山、東達河南濮陽市區、北起漳河流域、南至今黃河。⁸此後宋鎮豪以甲骨文中羈舍為資料，考察商王畿約有方圓直徑二三百里。⁹商代政體分內外服，內服為王畿設百官處理政務，外服則設有諸侯。諸侯的產生，可能是透過武力征服，也有可能是遠地殖民的方式發展而成，亦有方國發展而成者。¹⁰

對於被武力征服的部族或方國，甲骨文中「奠」，奠原為置祭的意思，當動詞，其意義的對象為祭品或其他東西，引申為對人的安置。例：「貞：危人率奠于[]」（《合集》7881）、「其奠危方，其祝至于大乙，于之若。」（《屯南》3001）、「[]奠危方[]」（《屯南》3289）。奠危方，即是指對危方的安置，奠某方或某族之人，則是對某方國或族人的安置。接受安置的危人，有義務替接受商王徵召，替商王朝征戰。¹¹

⁷ 高誘注，《戰國策·卷下》（台南：大孚書局，1986），頁28。

⁸ 鄭杰祥，《商代地理概論》（鄭州：中州古籍，1994），頁1-79。

⁹ 孫亞冰、林歡，《商代地理與方國》，頁34。

¹⁰ 林沄，〈關於中國早期國家形式的幾個問題〉，收錄於氏著，《林沄學術文集》（北京：中國大百科，1998），頁96-97。

¹¹ 裘錫圭，〈說殷墟卜辭的奠〉，收錄於氏著，《裘錫圭學術文集·第五冊》（上海：復旦大學，2012），頁170。



7881



8492

《合集》7881

《合集》8492

貞：今   下危人  呼盡伐  受有祐。（《合集》7311）

己酉卜，殼，貞：危方其有 。（《合集》8492）

商王「呼」下危人，商王調集下危人為商出征，可見下危人在接受奠置之後，是為商王所用的。此外，商王也關心危方的安危，卜問其是否有「憂」，危方此時是臣屬於商。

商人透過武力，逐漸擴張，在新征服的地方會先建立武裝據點「侯」、「衛」。侯，本是偵查、探測，位於王朝邊緣，屬於軍事單位。任職侯者，不一定是商人貴族，也可能是生活在商王朝邊緣的氏族，臣服於商，為王朝戍守邊地。¹²衛，《殷墟卜辭綜述》列衛為職官，卜辭「在某衛」表示被商王派駐在外地負責保衛的武官，後來逐漸發展成諸侯。¹³

¹² 韋心滢，《殷代商王國政治地理結構研究》（上海：上海世紀，2013），頁302。

¹³ 裘錫圭，《甲骨卜辭中所見的田、牧、衛等職官的研究》，收錄於氏著，《裘錫圭學術文集·第五冊》（上海：復旦大學，2012），頁164。

武力征服一個地區之後，由於物質需求，必然進行經濟開發，即設置「甸」、「男」這類型職官。侯的權責是負責武裝安全，甸由於本身武裝力量不夠強大，就設在靠近侯的地區，為王治田取得資源。丁山指出男即是任，卜辭中有多任、侯任，而任的本字亦不像田、衛般明確，性質不容易確定。¹⁴任，為王任事，任的權責受限於資料，目前無法探究的清楚，而後世文獻侯、甸、男、衛並稱，大概男（任）其中也有部分演變為諸侯。¹⁵上述之外，在商王朝邊緣，還有一種職官稱為「牧」，牧由於管理牲畜、芻人與對抗遊牧民族的需求，會向商王室提出增援要求。牧有自己的武力，是負責商王朝畜牧業的重要崗位，負責供給大量的祭祀肉品，有時也需入貢龜版、人牲供商王室使用。¹⁶

商王征服一地，設立侯、衛，地區穩定之後設甸、男進行開發。由於當時存在世官制，即一種職務長期由一個族的人先後繼任，例如在一個地點連續幾代人擔任甸的職務。在這類的情況下，擁有族人和武裝的據點，就容易發展成類似諸侯性質領地。¹⁷

（二）晚商政體擴張的過程

商人政治勢力的擴張，除了上述建立據點的發展情形之外，還有靠武力征服鄰近方國的方式。商滅夏以前，早已與東夷各方國結成聯盟。自大戊開始向東開拓，至河亶甲時期東夷的勢力被壓迫到彌河以東的半島地區。東方平定後，祖乙又向西方開拓。甲骨文，保留有大量戰爭相關的卜辭，其中以武丁時代為最多。《甲骨文合集》收錄甲骨 41965 片，屬於武丁時代分類有 22970 片，軍隊戰爭類就佔了同期約十分之一。武丁時期，商人經濟人口發展，奠定征伐四方的基礎。武丁早期重要的戰爭有伐基方，基為基方的一支宗族，位於安陽以西，其地大約在山西永濟縣。¹⁸卜辭「基獲用」（《合集》3061），記載武丁征戰基方，成功捕獲基，也說明武丁初期商人勢力跨越

¹⁴ 丁山，《甲骨文所見氏族及其制度》（北京：中華書局，1988），頁 44。

¹⁵ 裘錫圭，〈甲骨卜辭中所見的田、牧、衛等職官的研究〉，頁 164。

¹⁶ 蔡哲茂，〈晚商畜牧業的經營〉，收錄於李宗焜主編，《古文字與古代史·第二輯》（台北：中央研究院，2009），頁 144-152。

¹⁷ 裘錫圭，〈甲骨卜辭中所見的田、牧、衛等職官的研究〉，頁 160。

¹⁸ 羅琨，《商代戰爭與軍制》（北京：中國社會科學，2012），頁 128。

太行山了到達山西地區。¹⁹武丁時期也對東境小國進行征伐，其中較大的戰事是伐「豸覃」，地點可能在山東歷城附近。²⁰《合集》6942，「貞豸覃伐東東」，「東東」是曹的初文，指的是今濟陽定陶縣，此時商朝武力已達山東省東部。《合集》6943，伐「豸覃」卜辭同版，刻有卜問「亘」是否攻打商。亘方位於商王畿西南方向，考古工作者曾在山西垣曲縣古城鎮南發掘一座商城，併有出土青銅禮器，鄒衡認為商代之亘方，當位於此。²¹武丁時期屢次用兵亘方，平定後「亘」受到武丁重用，亘成為武丁時代重要的貞人。上述之外，武丁時期向西方的軍事行動對象，還有周。卜辭中有「癸戈」周，如：「王其令.....癸戈周，不.....四月。」（《合集》6823），可見武丁時期對西方的軍事力量可達岐山一帶。武丁時期還對西方的巴方用兵，學者推測巴方可能是鄂西地區夏商時期的文化，位於殷之西南。還有龍方也在殷之西，武丁時期有「甲辰卜，惠婦女井伐龍。」《合集》6476 同版上出現對下危、巴方、夷方、龍方的征伐，龍方、巴方位於西及西南，夷方、下危位於殷之東及東南，推測當時殷王同時向東西用兵，國力強大。

¹⁹ 羅琨以《合集》36525 刻有箕侯，認為箕侯立於基方，實則不然，筆者參考李雪山於《商代分封制度研究》以出土青銅器銘文為依據，認為箕侯應位於商王畿北部偏東，與基方位於商王畿以西不合。參見：羅琨，《商代戰爭與軍制》，頁 135；李雪山，《商代分封制度研究》（北京：中國社會科學，2004），頁 129。

²⁰ 羅琨，《商代戰爭與軍制》，頁 140。

²¹ 李雪山，《商代分封制度研究》，頁 221。



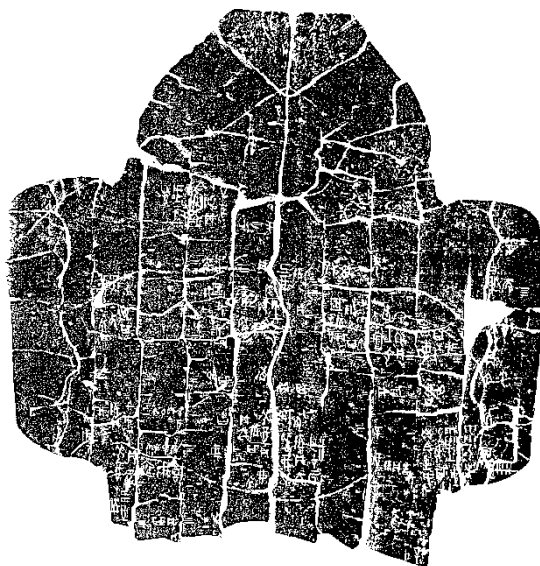
3061 正

《合集》3061



6942

《合集》6942



6943

《合集》6943



6823

《合集》6823



《合集》6476

對於南方的軍事行動，武丁時代留有伐及蜀鄂交界一帶的「歸」及鄰近的「彳用」的記錄，掌握鄂西交通要衝，並間接對三星堆文化產生影響。此時，漢水流域是中原通向成都平原的重要通道。²²同期發生戰爭的還有虎方、雒方，周初金文載虎方位於鄂北地區，而卜辭「己未卜，隹雒方其克貝弔，在南。」（《合集》20576）記錄雒方位於殷以南。殷商時期對南方方國用兵征伐，搶占交通要道，推測是與對銅的需求，及對龜骨、牛肩胛骨的需求成倍增加有關。²³在商的西北方及北方，另有兩個時常侵擾殷邊境的方國，即武丁時期兩主要敵對方國土方、𠂔方。卜辭：「登人三千乎伐土方」（《合集》6407）、「登人五千征土方受有又」（《合集》6409），說明商伐土方所需往往三千甚至五千人，規模甚大。𠂔方是殷西北方主要威脅，也時常徵集三千至五千人對其征伐，武丁對於北方草原民族的戰爭，鞏固了邊防，經考古證明，加強了殷文化與北方草原文化之間的聯繫，富有特色的北方草原青銅器在殷墟也有發現。²⁴

²² 羅琨，《商代戰爭與軍制》，頁 197。

²³ 羅琨，《商代戰爭與軍制》，頁 203。

²⁴ 羅琨，《商代戰爭與軍制》，頁 249。



《合集》20576



6407

《合集》6407



6409

《合集》6409



41075

《合集》41075

武丁以後，祖庚祖甲時期來自西方的威脅較少，廩辛時西北遊牧民族的一些方國開始強大，並且經常侵擾商王朝，尤其是羌方，另有「糸羊」方、總方、「盧又」方等方國亦崛起共同對抗商王朝。廩辛、康丁時，在東南的危方也曾與商發生大規模戰爭，危最後被商所征服，《合集》41075 即商王到危地田獵的記錄。²⁵另外北方還有來

²⁵ 《合集》41075：「戊辰卜，尹貞，王其田無災？在正月，在危卜。」

晚商征伐方位示意圖²⁸

IV. 晚商的政體與分封制

（一）晚商的政體型態

商王朝政治架構與官制，大體上可依地理觀念分內服、外服，王畿以內為內服，以外為外服。內服可分為負責王朝政務事務的外廷官，還有負責商王生活的內廷官。政務官負責日常政務，除了決策機關還包括各級官吏。事務官則是負責執行的官吏，主要是從事經濟活動的人員，如牧、犬、芻正、司工、小籍臣、多馬、以小臣、多寧等，屬於技術性職官。另外還有宗教類職官及武官，宗教性的如貞人、巫等，武官指的是師長、亞、馬、射、戍。²⁹

討論晚商政體的形成，重點在外服職官的設置與發展。商朝是中國歷史上第一個建立外服職官系統的王朝，外服職官的建立是透過戰爭取得疆土逐步發展，主要可分為兩類，一是由王朝委派的人員建立據點，二則是歸服方國。第一類型外服職官本是內服官員，在得到封地或是在外建立據點後，在外地成為諸侯。出任外服後即改以外服職官相稱，如子奠稱侯奠、子效稱侯效、子兒稱侯兒、子商稱伯商。第二類型為歸服方國，如虎方、危方、沚方、大方，歸服後納入商版圖。卜辭中又有同時稱方又稱侯者，如犬方、犬侯、鬼方、鬼侯、周方、周侯、盧方、盧伯、盧方等，則是在被征服後經過冊封形成封國。³⁰商代政體就在逐步的向外擴張建立據點與征服中形成，由於是據點的概念，不是整個面的概念。據點與據點之間，還有其他方國，據點與商王朝的關係也可能是變動的，敵對國族也不時侵擾商，所以用「犬牙交錯」來形容晚商政體是較合適。

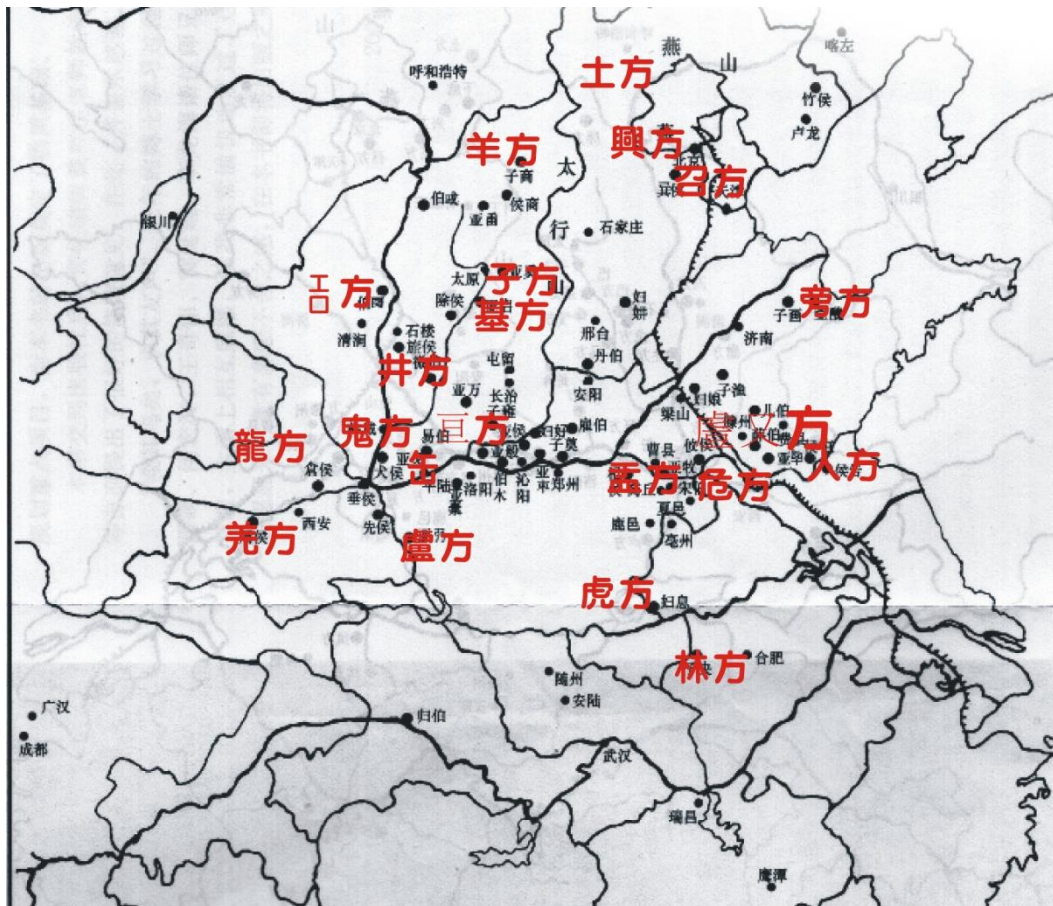
參照筆者據李雪山〈晚商封國位置示意圖〉修改之外服、方國位置示意圖，紅色標記文字為方國，黑點為外服封國及現代地名參考位置。³¹可見外服主要分布東西兩方，侯、伯等外服封國間，仍錯雜許多敵對方國，即呈現所謂「犬牙交錯」的政體形式。

²⁸ 藍色代表武丁時期、黃色代表祖庚祖甲到武乙文丁、綠色代表帝乙帝辛時期。

²⁹ 王宇信、徐義華，《商代國家與社會》，頁440。

³⁰ 李雪山，《商代分封制度研究》，頁262。

³¹ 李雪山，〈晚商封國位置示意圖〉，《商代分封制度研究》，頁322。



（二）再論商周分封制

《殷周制度論》述及中國政治與文化之變革莫劇於殷周之際，而封建子弟之制、君天子臣諸侯之制皆起於周。³²然文化制度應自演化而來，胡厚宣認為至少在殷高宗武丁時已有封國。而王暉則提出殷周封建有本質上的不同，認為殷代子弟分封不過是方國部族內部的自然分化。³³筆者認為商人分封雖不若西周有制度，但仍有特定程序與形成方式，應不僅是方國部族內部分化而已，關於商周分封制的特點有必要再重新考察。

晚商政體形成的背景已如前述，它是透過武力向外征服逐漸形成的一種王朝管理模式。而西周封建的背景及其作用與商朝迥然，《左傳·僖公二十四年》：「昔周公弔二叔之不咸，故封建親戚以藩屏周。」意謂封建親戚是為了作周王室的藩籬屏障。³⁴西周分封主要有兩次，發生在武王克商之時及周公東征後。周初文王始在王畿內用分封制擴展周人勢力，武王克商後在原來商的王畿分封邶、鄘、衛設置三監，至周公平定

³² 王國維，〈殷周制度論〉，收錄氏著，《觀堂集林》（北京：中華書局，2010），頁453。

³³ 王暉，《商周文化比較研究》（北京：人民出版社，2000），頁323。

³⁴ 郁賢皓、周福昌、姚曼波注譯，《新譯左傳讀本》（台北：三民書局，2002），頁418。

三監，進一步大規模分封親屬，營建洛邑，將大量殷頑民遷移。此時的封建，是一種人口的再分組，即是所謂授土、授民。屬於成康時代青銅器的宜侯矢簋及大盂鼎，記載著西周時期授民授土的情形。

宜侯矢簋：「易：卅川三百口，卅口百又廿，卅宅邑卅又五，卅口百又四十，易才宜王人口又七生，易奠七白，卅盧口又五十夫，易宜庶人六百又口六夫。」意思是賜給土地，山谷的肥地三百口，口地百二十，居地三十五邑，口地百四十。賜予在宜的王室奴隸七個種姓，賜予在鄭的奴隸頭領七名，和他們所管理的身分為盧的奴隸百數又五十夫。賜予宜地的農業奴隸六百又口六夫。³⁵

大盂鼎：「我其適省先王受民受疆土。易女鬯一卣、冂衣、市、舄、車馬。易乃且南公旂，用狩。易女邦司四白，人鬲自馭至于庶人六百又五十又九夫，易夷司王臣十又三白，人鬲千又五十夫，彳亟口口自卅土。」記錄孟遵循善德領受先王賜自上帝的人民和疆土，賜予一卣、冕、蔽膝、履。賜予南公之旂用於狩獵，賜予管理奴隸之人四伯，及賜予駕馬車的奴隸及管理夷族的奴隸等庶人多位至孟地服役。³⁶



宜侯矢簋



大盂鼎

³⁵ 馬承源主編，《商周青銅器銘文選》（北京：文物出版，1988），頁 34。

³⁶ 馬承源主編，《商周青銅器銘文選》，頁 37。

青銅器所載與《左傳·定公四年》描述的情形相似，《左傳·定公四年》所述分殷民六族給魯、殷民七族給衛、懷姓九宗給唐，這樣重新編組人口的分封制重新分配，消除了殷和方國貴族在地方的反抗勢力，同時也擴大加強西周的統治。

周人封建主要特點是作為周王室藩籬屏障，還有授民、授土，而殷商時期的封建，由於國土還在發展中，變動性高，先是設官職後才逐漸發展成有自己軍隊、有獨立經濟收入的封國，與西周的分封是完全屬於不同歷史階段的。然而或許是殷商時期漸漸向外發展，逐步向外地設官管理，而有諸婦之封、諸子之封、功臣之封這樣的封國形式。西周時期繼承商人疆域，周人有前朝制度的基礎，又有一次性大規模分封的物質條件，才發展出封建親戚、功臣的國家管理型態，可以說周人封建制度的成熟是商人外服制度的一種延續。

V. 商朝王朝的財富集中

1980 年代，張光直曾提出，財富的積累是文明發展的基礎，而財富是透過什麼手段集中到少數人手裡？就是該追問的問題。現今古代史的研究已深入很多，對商文明的理解也更清晰，商王朝的財富如何集中，除了連續性宗族制度的延續以外，應再綜合更多研究成果進行說明。王震中認為除了宗族組織延續，戰爭所產生的臣服與貢納關係，也是財富集中的關鍵手段。³⁷本節延續前述政體的形成，論述維繫政體及文明的三個重要原因，土地的所有權、外服的管理及諸侯對商王的義務。

（一）土地的所有權

甲骨文中「哀田」即有開墾之意，哀田大約分三階段，需要三年完成，殷人哀田不能即時作畝，靠火耕漫種取得收成且皆在王命下進行，土地所有權屬於王。³⁸商王是土地的最高所有者，在哀田卜辭中，商王令某職官到他們指定的地點進行墾荒，其收穫歸王室所有。商王除了擁有土地開墾權，還有土地支配權，卜辭中有「取邑」，即商王可取走居民據居的「邑」以歸王。³⁹商王室土地的所有者，有權開墾，有權「取

³⁷ 王震中，《中國文明起源的比較研究》（西安：新華書店，1994），頁 246。

³⁸ 張政烺，〈卜辭哀田〉，收錄氏著，《甲骨金文與商周史研究》（北京：中華書局，2012），頁 172。

³⁹ 王宇信、徐義華，《商代國家與社會》，頁 111。

邑」，保持最高的權力。商王如此對於土地權力的控制，也許也是商代未有發展成足以與中央抗衡地方勢力的原因之一。

（二）外服的管理策略

晚商外服主要分為外服諸侯與歸服方國兩類，外服諸侯前期以豫西伊、洛地區和晉南汾、涑一帶為多，中後期則大量出現在山東中西部地區。這與商人敵對勢力主要位於東西兩側有關。外服諸侯以外的其他地區則主要是歸服方國，歸服方國受軍事壓迫而臣屬於商又時而反抗，情況複雜。因此商王朝必須透過多種管理手段維持統治，主要可歸納為強制性手段及抗柔性手段兩種。

強制性手段主要包含有武力威脅、各族混居、利用歸服方國打敗歸服商國三種。

己卯卜，行貞，王其田，亡災。在杞卜。（《合集》24473）



24473

《合集》24473



32107

《合集》32107

這類型的卜辭稱為田獵卜辭，田獵是商人訓練軍隊威懾邊疆諸侯的重要方式。由於商諸侯是隨著征服逐漸建立，外服地區是諸侯與方國犬牙交錯的局面，對於被征服者商人會將其安置到異族地區，實現各族混居的管理方式。卜辭有：「辛丑，貞王令吳以子方奠於并。」（《合集》32107）

商人對付敵對方國，不單純依靠本族力量，有時也會聯合部分方國抵制其他方國。這類卜辭有：癸巳卜，南貞呼雀伐望戍。（《合集》6983）表示商王呼雀，與他一同征伐望戍，望戍應是望族的分支或首領名。「呼」是用於上對下的動詞，甲骨文中有多次商王「呼」諸侯與其同征。

除透過軍事及以外族制外族的策略外，商王也出兵支援歸服者。如：《合集》36518「己巳，王，貞啟乎已曰：孟方共人，其出伐毛師高，其令東...于高，弗每，不曹，王占曰：吉。」意即某向商王報告孟方集結軍隊，希望商王支援。軍事性的幫助之外，商人與其他部族的聯姻，也是一種與他族勢力促進合作的抗柔性手段。

甲戌，余卜，取后。

甲戌，余卜，取后。（《合集》21796+21797）

辛未卜，王婦。

辛未卜，王勿婦。（《合集》4923）

以上皆卜辭中，商與他族聯姻的辭例，甲骨文中還有大量的婦名與地名或國族名重合的例子，如婦好、婦井、婦見等，與子方、井方、見方重合，據陳絜統計此類共有四十八例，可見聯姻策略影響之廣。⁴⁰



6983

《合集》6983



36518

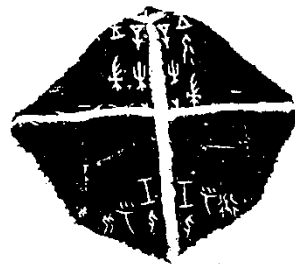
《合集》36158

⁴⁰ 陳絜，《商周姓氏制度研究》（北京：商務印書館，2007），頁116。



21796

《合集》21796



4923

《合集》4923

（三）諸侯對商王的義務

諸侯對商王的義務，可分經濟方面及勞務方面。經濟方面主要為進貢，即為王貢納各種物品，勞務方面包括為王朝服役、戍邊、及隨王進行軍事征伐等。卜辭關於貢納的用語有「致」、「供」、「入」、「見」、「登」、「取」、「來」等，「致」，于省吾釋作致，乃是諸侯、王臣向王室送貢品的動詞。「供」，像雙手奉獻之狀。

「入」，有貢入之意，言入的卜辭往往刻在腹甲上，如《合集》9272「虎入百」，記虎方向王室貢入百隻占卜用的龜。⁴¹「見」，同獻，有進獻、入貢的意思。「登」，是登進，也有進獻的意思。「取」，是上對下的用詞，甲骨文中「貞呼取馬」、「貞呼取羊」。「來」，是王室記諸侯送到的貢品，《合集》9613「鄭來二十」，即記載來自鄭的供品二十之意。

⁴¹ 楊升南，〈卜辭中所見諸侯對商王室的臣屬關係〉，收錄宋鎮豪、段志洪主編，《甲骨文獻集成·第二十五冊》（北京：中華書局，2001），頁511。



9272

《合集》9272



9613 反

《合集》9613

王貴民整理諸侯方國的貢納品有八種，奴隸、牲畜、農產品、野獸、貝類玉類、手工業品、邑、卜龜卜骨等。其中邑指田邑，包括邑中居民及所耕種的土地，王貴民舉《合集》39987「貞呼取邑」，認為是屬於田邑類的貢納。關於此辭例的解釋，筆者持不同意見，由於取邑應是商王展現其對諸侯方國土地所有權的佔有，與貢納意義不同，應不可列入。⁴²

貢納主要來自方國、諸侯及王室貴族，在對商也有經濟上的幫助，如《合集》1027「缶其嗇我旅，缶不嗇我旅。」是卜問方國缶是否供給穀物給商王軍隊。此外，貢納更重要的還有政治上的意義，代表著外服、方國與商王之間的友好。乙卯尊記載著商代貢納時王與諸侯互動的情形，乙卯尊：「乙卯，子見才大室，白□一、緹琅九，山百牢，王商子黃鬲一、貝百朋。子娑商姒貝，用乍己寶□。𠄎。」銘文記載一子爵諸侯於乙卯這天，在大室朝見商王，獻上貢物後，商王回賜「黃鬲一、貝百朋」。回賜制度對諸侯來說，是一種獎賞與禮遇，貢納制度的延續，回賜起到重要作用。⁴³

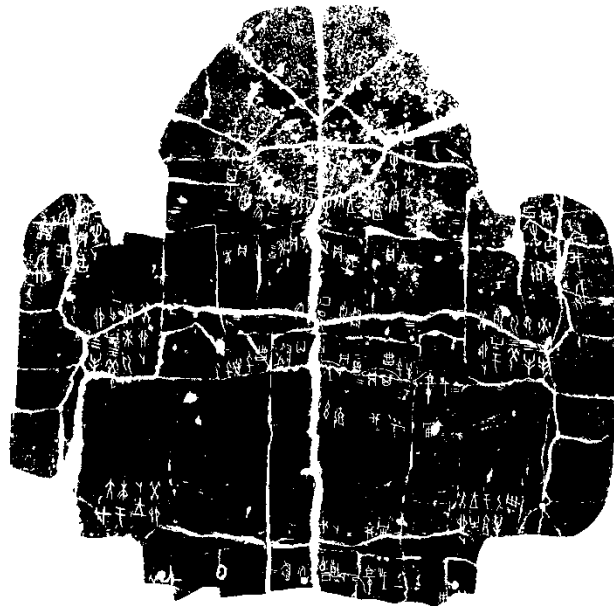
⁴² 王貴民，〈試論貢、賦、稅的早期歷程——先秦時期貢、賦、稅源流考〉，收錄宋鎮豪、段志洪主編，《甲骨文獻集成·第二十五冊》（北京：中華書局，2001），頁424。

⁴³ 劉桓，〈關於商代貢納的幾個問題〉，收錄氏著，《甲骨集史》（北京：中華書局，2008），頁44。



39987

《合集》39987



1027

《合集》1027

經濟義務之外，外服諸侯對商王的勞務方面義務有為王，服役、戍邊、及隨王進行軍事征伐，例如貞人亘，就是來自武丁時期的方國亘方，在被商征服後，到商為王室服務。諸侯除了擔任貞人，也向商提供人才，卜辭：「貞周以巫。」（《合集》5654）、「貞異致巫。異弗其以巫」（《合集》5769），乃是地方諸侯向商王朝提供人才的紀錄。位於商王國邊陲的諸侯，還有防守邊防的義務，合集 6099，「沚 貳告曰，供方出，王自征。𠄎方出兵攻擊」，沚 貳向商王朝提出警告，卜問由商王親自征伐。戰爭卜辭中，也可見諸侯隨王出征，為商王提供武裝力量。例：貞王比沚 貳伐巴方，意即商王與沚 貳一同伐巴方。

透過本節論述可知，商王朝擁有全國的土地開發權，且有效的策略性管理諸侯。在商王朝掌控內外服政體的前提下，諸侯需對商王盡義務，需貢納財務，必要時也須配合軍事支援。



《合集》5654



《合集》5769



《合集》6099

VI. 結語

商人自上甲微逐漸形成國家型態，建國後多次遷都，盤庚以後始穩定於殷。武丁時國力強盛，向外擴張設立據點。征服一地後初設侯、衛等軍事性職官，後設甸、男進行開發，據點穩定發展後漸成諸侯。終商諸侯以東西兩方為多，軍事活動初由四方用兵，後著重西方，西方情勢穩定後再轉向東方。商人的政體擴張伴隨著戰爭進行，沒有周人一次性大規模分封的條件。方國、封國皆透過軍事據點發展，分封本質與周大不相同，而商朝漸形成的外服設官管理模式，可說是周人分封制的基礎。

文明的發展要素即財富的集中，商人勢力透過軍事擴張，取得土地資源後發展出管理制度，使用族群混居、利用方國打方國及聯姻等手段維持政體勢力。在晚商的世界裡，商王是土地的主人，有權開發或者取回諸侯土地。諸侯也須對商王付出經濟、勞務方面的義務，貢納財富、軍事協助、穀物補給等等，輔助商王朝維持軍事政治勢力。晚商文明就在這樣的條件下，得以穩定兩百多年，發展並維持政體。

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A Narrative Study of "Skull and Resurrection" Novels - Focus on "Tan Sheng" and "Nie Xiaoqian"

“骷髏與複生”類型小說的敘事研究

——以《談生》、《聶小倩》為中心

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Abstract: There is a resurrection type with the motif of "resurrection from death" in Chinese classical novels. Skeletons (or dead bones) often appear in such novels, and they are often closely related to resurrection. The "skeleton and resurrection" type of novels basically exist in ghost novels and legendary novels. Their narrative theme has roughly undergone a process of transformation from narration to romance. This article focuses on "Tan Sheng" and "Nie Xiaoqian" and analyzes the theme of "skeleton and rebirth" based on narrative related theories. The ancient Chinese philosophical thinking about the ultimate question of "life and death", the fear of death, and the hope of resurrection after death are the ideological prerequisites for the appearance of "skeleton and rebirth" novels. The knowledge of "bone" and the relevance of "skeleton" and rebirth are the direct reasons for the emergence of such novels. The author investigated the two novels "Tan Sheng" and "Nie Xiaoqian" using narrative theory. Since these two novels are works of different eras, there are certain differences in narrative theme, narrative structure and narrative time and space characteristics. It is believed that the difference in characteristics between the two shows the development of "skeleton and rebirth" novels.

Keywords: narrative research, Nie Xiaoqian, skeleton and resurrection, Tan Sheng

I. 緒論

在中國古典小說中存在著一類以“死而復生”為母題的小說，筆者稱之為為複生類型的小說。在一些複生類型的小說中常常會出現一個重要的意象就是骷髏（或枯骨），並且，骷髏常常與複生緊密聯繫。從魏文帝《列異傳》中的《談生》，《後搜神記》中的《李仲文女》等到一千多年後蒲松齡《聊齋志異》中的《聶小倩》、《公孫九娘》等，以及在一些民間文學中都可以看到這種情節。那麼，這種“骷髏與複生”類型小說的敘事特點是什麼？骷髏是如何與複生聯繫在一起的？這些都是值得我們研究的問題。梳理先行研究，可以發現研究《聊齋志異》或單獨研究《談生》、《聶小倩》的論文

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不少，但從骷髏與複生角度分析的相關論文幾乎沒有。石育良的《死亡與鬼魂形象的文化學闡釋——〈聊齋志異〉散論》，主要從文化學角度對《聊齋志異》中的鬼魂形象進行了闡釋，却并未涉及文本敘事分析；易永姣《論古代文學作品中骷髏意象之嬗變》一文大致梳理分析了骷髏意象的發展與變化，但骷髏意象的文學史闡釋并不深入系統，缺少對志怪類小說和《聊齋志異》相關篇章的分析；另外，董克濱的《試論“莊子嘆骷髏”古詩之嬗變》以古詩為研究對象分析了“莊子嘆骷髏”這一母題的發展及嬗變，并不涉及小說。還有一些其他主題的論文偶有涉及到骷髏或複生，但缺少深入系統性因此不做論述。因此，筆者以《談生》、《聶小倩》兩篇為研究對象，以敘事學的相關理論對其中的“骷髏與複生”主題進行分析。

II. “骷髏與複生”類型小說的敘事主旨與敘述者

“骷髏與複生”類型的小說基本存在于志怪小說和傳奇小說中，其敘事主旨大致經歷了由述異到言情的一個轉變的過程。述異即記述怪异之事，言情即敘述愛情故事。那麼，這類小說的敘事主旨為何會經歷這樣一個轉變過程？這與中國古典小說的發展過程分不開，在“骷髏與複生”類型小說出現之初也是中國古典小說發展之初，此時的小說作為單獨的文學體裁還不完善，明顯受到史傳文學的影響，存在著鮮明的史傳手法、注重實錄，因此，魏晉六朝的這類小說主要是為了發明神道之不誣。例如是魏文帝《列異傳》中的《談生》可以說是魏晉南北朝的志怪小說中比較早的記述“骷髏與複生”情節的小說，敘事者在開篇就一一交代了談生的年齡，身份，性格等等，並在結尾也附加“表其兒以為侍中”這一類似史實的記錄來強化其實錄性；相比之下，《李仲文女》的實錄意識就更為明顯，也是在開篇就交代事件背景是晉代，女主角是武都太守李仲文之女，年十八，男主角是後任郡守張世之子子長，年二十……時間，地點，人物一一完備以明確這一怪异事件的真實性。而到唐以後的志怪以及傳奇類小說的中，“骷髏與複生”類型的小說就不只是為了述異了，通常又是以記敘奇異或浪漫的愛情為敘事主旨的。愛情是個永恒的話題，鑒于中國古代的倫理道德觀念，人們在真實生活中往往很難經歷到浪漫而完美的愛情，于是便有文人們將這種理想寄托在小說之中，再而加上志怪的因素便產生了人鬼之戀、死而復生等各種類型的愛情小說。唐以後的“骷髏與複生”正是這愛情小說中的一種另類的敘事，文本中出現的常常是骷髏不得安葬的女鬼遇到善良的書生而展開的愛情故事，雖然愛情故事的結局不盡相同，但它表現的主旨就是對美好愛情或婚姻的追求。在這一點上古人認為鬼與人是沒

有區別的，同樣這種愛情的力量也可以使人死而復生。如《聊齋志異》中的《聶小倩》就是一篇蒙著骷髏與復生的奇异面紗下的完美而驚險的愛情故事。

另外，關於魏晉南北朝時期“骷髏與復生”類型小說的敘述者，按照王平在《中國古代小說敘事研究》一書中對敘述者的分類，筆者認為可以歸為“史官式”敘述者。這與上述的敘事主旨一脈相承，正因為魏晉南北朝時期的志怪小說大多數是史傳式的敘事方式，所以此時的“骷髏與復生”類的小說也沒能脫離這個方向，表現為“史官式”的敘述者。其特徵大致如下：首先，‘史官式’的敘述者是作者與敘述者的統一，因此，敘述時不需要借助任何中介，完全由敘述者獨自完成。²如《談生》開篇敘述者便直接交代出談生是怎樣的人，以及怎樣在夜晚與一女子相遇並成為夫妻。這些內容作為敘述者來說是可以直敘的，但當女子和談生約定“三年之內勿以火照”以及之後二人之間的對話應是角色的限知視角，而敘述者仍然是以全知全能的視角敘述出來。其次，“敘述者在進行敘述時，心目中並沒有確定的讀者群。因而，敘述者幾乎不向讀者提問，不與讀者交談，他只是真實客觀地把某人某事講述出來，有時偶爾對某些問題做極為簡潔的解釋。”³在《談生》一文中敘述者不僅沒有和讀者做任何形式的交流，甚至也沒有對任何問題做出解釋。最後，“史官式”敘述者在敘述過程中不直接對所敘述的人或事做出評價。⁴這一點也與符合《談生》的敘事方式，敘述者在整個文本中沒有任何評價，完全不帶有個人的感情色彩，這也是秉承了古代史傳的客觀冷靜的記實傳統。而在唐以後的這類小說中，由於敘事方式逐漸完善，敘述者的形式也多種多樣，筆者在此不做考察。

III. 《談生》與《聶小倩》的敘事結構

以下筆者以《談生》及《聶小倩》兩篇小說為例，對其進行雙層敘事結構的分析，以管窺“骷髏與復生”類小說的敘事結構特點。

1) 《談生》一文的表層結構為： 善良勤奮的談生夜遇美麗女子結成夫婦→為夫妻兩年生一兒→夜半相照見枯骨→夫妻分離及贈珠袍→真相大白賜衣納婿。這一表層結構也是文本的基本情節發展過程。

² 王平，《中國古代小說敘事研究》，河北人民出版社，2001年，第11頁，參考。

³ 王平，《中國古代小說敘事研究》，第14頁。

⁴ 王平，《中國古代小說敘事研究》，第18頁。

法國敘事學家格雷瑪斯曾將民間故事的結構模式概括為三種類型，即契約型組合、完成型組合與離合型組合。⁵ 筆者認為《談生》文本的深層結構正是契約型敘事模式，即立約→守約→毀約→懲罰的模式，這也是骷髏與複生類型中比較典型的一種模式：

立約——“我與人不同，勿以火照我也。三年之後，方可照。”這“勿以火照”是契約達成的條件，但用正常的思維方式來看，這樣的美貌女子為什麼見不得“光”？也正是由于這一契約條件的不同尋常，就成了談生心中的一個謎，牽引著他的好奇心，預示了某種結局。

守約——“為夫妻，生一兒，已兩歲。”在這為夫妻的兩年期間，談生是一直守約的，他克制著自己的好奇堅持了兩年的時間，但問題是他終於堅持不住了，轉折點就出現在此，談生“不能忍”，于是就出現了下面的毀約。

毀約——“夜伺其寢後，盜照視之。”好奇心終於驅使談生拿起火把照向他的妻子，結果却讓人大吃一驚，原來妻子竟然不是活人，而是一具骷髏，而且腰部以上都長出了肉。同時，妻子也被這一照驚醒，並且實言相告，若是三年期滿就可複生，但由于談生的毀約而功敗垂成。雖然敘述者沒交代此時談生的心理狀況，但可以想見必定是驚異、害怕、還有後悔。而毀約的結果必然帶來懲罰，這也是契約的遊戲規則。

懲罰——“與君大義永離”。這一懲罰是對談生也是對妻子的。一方面談生由于毀約而失去妻子，另一方面，妻子也因其毀約不得複生，並且不能在人間繼續生活下去。大多數的文本到“懲罰”這一環節也就結束了，但《談生》中却多了一些敘事因素，即“兒子”這一角色的出現，以及其功能在懲罰之後便表現出來了。因為不想讓其“兒子”跟著談生艱難的生活，其妻留給談生一件珠袍，也正是這關鍵的線索——珠袍，最後使得談生被睢陽王發現並最終以冥婚的形式完成了這段不算圓滿的姻緣。

雖然在各種複生類型的小說中大部分都是複生成功的，但在魏晉南北朝時期，敘述由骷髏而複生成功的文本却很少，多數都是以毀約和懲罰為結局。例如《後搜神記》中的《李仲文女》的敘事結構也可是與《談生》類似的契約結構。

2) 《聶小倩》一文的表層敘事結構大致可分為：寧采臣遇女鬼聶小倩→聶小倩作惡不成求解救→成功施救歸寧宅→三年復活結連理→斬妖除根幸福生活五個程序。參照前述格雷瑪斯的結構模式的三種類型劃分，本文引用王平在《〈聶小倩〉敘事語法分

⁵ 羅鋼《敘事學導論》，雲南人民出版社，1994年版，第111-112頁，參考。

析》中的觀點，認為《聶小倩》一文的深層結構則更傾向于一種完成型的敘事模式，即：改惡從善→生命復活→婚姻幸福→鞏固完善⁶。

改惡從善——即聶小倩感于寧采臣“君誠聖賢，妾不敢欺”到向其求助“倘肯囊妾朽骨，歸葬安宅，不啻再造”。這一環節中便出現了“骨”的意象，這也是聶小倩改惡從善和復活的基礎條件。

生命復活——由于感恩于寧采臣，聶小倩追隨其歸家，代母尸饗，來寧宅半年漸飲稀醪，開始復活。這一程序的內容是得益于上一程序的改惡從善，正是由于聶小倩還沒泯滅人性，從而得到了寧采臣的幫助，將其枯骨移出并安葬在寧宅的附近，使聶小倩的尸骨得以安穩，并最終實現復活。

婚姻幸福——三年後，寧妻亡，與寧才臣終成眷屬。這一程序則是在復活的基礎上延伸出的情節，也是聶小倩由鬼到人過程中不斷的自我完善而修成正果，得到了自己想要的幸福婚姻。

鞏固完善——徹底除去妖物，安然過幸福生活。這一程序正好與第一個程序首尾對應，第一個程序中聶小倩的做惡也是出于妖物的逼迫，妖物不除難得平靜，文本最終一定要以除妖為寧聶二人幸福生活的必要條件，因此，這一鞏固完善是這一敘事結構的結尾也是寧聶真正幸福生活的開始。

從上述程序來看，聶小倩由女鬼到復活，再到追求幸福的這一過程正是其命運的轉變過程。這種敘事相比魏晉南北朝時期的“骷髏與複生”類型小說來說要複雜一些，但這不僅寄托了敘述者的個人理想，也是唐以後“骷髏與複生”類型小說敘事模式發展成熟的一種標志。

IV. 《談生》、《聶小倩》的時空敘事特點

中國古典小說中的“骷髏與複生”類型小說基本被歸為鬼事一類。那麼，在中國古人的觀念之中，鬼是怎麼樣的呢？《禮記·祭法》曰：“人死曰鬼。”又說：“衆生必死，死必歸土，此之謂鬼。”⁷ 後來，人們從天與地的二元結物引伸出神與形的

⁶ 王平，《〈聶小倩〉敘事語法分析》，《聊齋志異研究》，第 63 頁。

⁷ 石育良，《死亡與鬼魂形象的文化學闡釋——〈聊齋志異〉散論》，《中山大學學報》，1995 年 2 期，第 103 頁，再引用。

二元結構，認識到形與神分離之後，“精神升天，骸骨歸土，故謂之鬼。”⁸因此，鬼是骸骨歸土的，是與人世分隔開的，也就是鬼有鬼界。那麼在“骷髏與複生”類型的小說中鬼又是怎樣以骷髏之形穿越人鬼之界的呢？我們仍以《談生》和《聶小倩》兩篇為例進行解析。

《談生》的內容不多，因此其中的時空轉換也比較少，但還是可以看出其特點。首先，與骷髏或鬼有關的重要事件大都發生在夜晚，如：①“夜半有女子……來就生為夫婦”②“夜伺其寢後，盜照視之，其腰上已生肉如人，腰下但有枯骨”。①是故事的發生部分，②是故事的轉折部分，這兩個關鍵情節都發生的夜裏，看似巧合實則必然，按照古人的觀念夜間是鬼的世界，也就是鬼的活動時間，所以女鬼的出現只能在夜裏，另外，女鬼設定的條件是“三年之內勿以火照”，可見其白天是看不出差異，只在晚上的火光下才會顯出原形，因此，故事的轉折也必然發生在夜裏。

《談生》一文的主要情節都是發生在人間這一空間環境中，只有在女子在分別之際要“遺君物”時，出現了敘事空間的轉換，即“生隨之去，入華堂，室宇器物不凡。”這華堂就是女子的墳墓，因為她是睢陽王得女兒，必然得到厚葬，所以敘述者稱之為華堂，其中的房屋和器物都是漂亮而貴重的。由於這篇小說處於鬼怪小說發展之初，述異性較強虛構不足，因而在敘事空間中除了人世就只短暫出現了華堂這一敘事空間，但它仍然是複生小說中第一次出現空間轉換的敘事特點的，很具有代表性和示範性，以至于之後的鬼怪小說大都具有類似的空間敘事特點。

《聶小倩》敘事空間轉換比較明確，即：蘭若寺→寧宅。蘭若寺的空間特徵可以視為鬼境，在鬼境之中所發生的事件幾乎都是夜晚，如寧采臣夜半聽到的鬼怪對話，寧采臣與聶小倩最初的兩次相遇以及寧采臣與燕生同寢見其捉鬼之事等。同時，在鬼境中的聶小倩也不折不扣是個惡鬼，她為妖物服務，專門勾引男性為妖物攝人血，食人心肝，這些都是隱含在蘭若寺這一鬼境之中的鬼事。那麼，從蘭若寺到寧宅的空間轉換的關鍵點在於聶小倩的改惡從善。因此，這一空間的轉變也是她開始了由鬼復活為人的過程。

寧宅是人境，因此，聶小倩也就過起了人間的生活，並慢慢變得和人無異，甚至與寧采臣成婚時到了眾人“不疑其鬼，疑為仙”的程度。這種鮮明的晝夜對立，人鬼對立的雙重時空敘事，要比《談生》中的敘事方式複雜，情節也更加豐富完善。因此，

⁸ 王充《論衡·論死》，石育良，《死亡與鬼魂形象的文化學闡釋——〈聊齋志異〉散論》，第104頁，再引用。

“骷髏與複生”類小說的題材特點決定了其敘事的時空特點往往是穿插于人間鬼境、白晝與黑夜之間。而從《談生》到《聶小倩》，敘事空間的由簡到繁也是這類小說不斷發展的結果。

V. 複生的基礎: 骷髏

1) 骷髏的內涵

“骷髏”義為死人之枯骨。要想瞭解中國古代呢小說中“骷髏”意象的內涵首先要瞭解中國古人對“骨”的認識。對“骨”的認識，中國最早可以追溯到原始時期，在河姆渡遺址中就發現了很多的骨器。同時，不只在中國，在世界各地的古代文明中都有“骨”的影子，如用的用“骨”祭祀，有的以“骨”為圖騰，以及崇尚“骨”的裝飾物等等，這些都是最早人類對“骨”的認識。可見，在人類鴻蒙之初便對骨有了一定的重視，但此時的人們是否將“骨”與死亡相聯繫還不得而知。之後，由于中國文化的快速發展，人們開始對生死進行哲學層面的思考，便出現了古代的生死觀，魏晉以前的中國古人認為人死之後神不滅，這神或為靈魂，或為鬼，但此時還沒出現複生的觀念。⁹ 同時，在古人的生死觀中，骨是重要的一環。中國古代的人們大都采用土葬，人死後只有骨不滅，這也是“骨”被視為人之精髓的原因。如古人稱死亡為骨化形銷；稱死亡不久為尸骨未寒；形容仇恨極深用銼骨揚灰，意為極恨一個人要在此人死後將其骨頭挫成灰撒掉……那麼這些與死人相關的“骨”也就是“骷髏”此時已經是死亡的代名詞。因此，這些文學作品中的“骷髏”不僅僅是指死後的枯骨之形，也蘊含了中國人的生死觀。

“骷髏”最早出現在文學作品中是在《莊子·至樂》中的“莊子嘆骷髏”之說，但其中並沒有涉及複生的情節，而且從骷髏到複生情節的完成也不是一蹴而就的。綜觀魏晉之前的文學作品中涉及骷髏與複生情節的幾乎沒有，從《莊子·至樂》開始出現骷髏意象之後，直到魏晉才實現了從骷髏到複生的完成。那麼為什麼由骷髏到複生會在魏晉時期才開始出現？不得不說這與佛教在魏晉南北朝時期對中國人的思想產生了廣泛的影響有著重大聯繫。佛教中有一則印度神魂自摩其故骨的故事：“昔有人死已後，魂神還自摩娑其故骨。邊人問之，汝已死何為用摩娑枯骨？神言此是我故骨，身不殺生不盜竊，不他淫舌惡罵妄言綺語，不嫉妒不瞋恚不痴，死後得天上，所願自

⁹ 石育良：《死亡與鬼魂形象的文化學闡釋——〈聊齋志異〉散論》，第104頁，參考。

然快樂無極，是故愛重之也。”¹⁰ 這是佛教中重視“骨”的例子。同時，佛教的生死觀，六道輪回、因果報應之說與中國本土的生死觀相結合，這些都漸漸使人們開始相信死後可以複生，并衍生出了骷髏複生的故事。

可見，要想複生，“骷髏”不僅是必備之物，也是最佳之選。如《談生》、《李仲文女》中的女子是借助于枯骨之形來重生肉身得以複生；《聶小倩》則稍有不同，不是直接在骷髏上重生肉體，而是借助骷髏的安葬使得鬼魂能夠久居人間并實現慢慢複生；《公孫九娘》也是請求萊陽生將其遺骨“歸葬墓側”，就是爲了“使百世得所依栖，死而不朽”。這些文本中都突出了骷髏對於完成複生的重要性。

2) 從骷髏到複生的必要條件

如果說在“骷髏與複生”類小說中，骷髏是複生的基礎，那麼只具備骷髏還不能完成複生，因此，就需要另外一些必要條件。如《談生》中的必要條件是：三年之內不能用火照之，也正是這個必要條件的存在才形成了契約，使得這一條件變成了文本敘事的重要一環。《聶小倩》中的必要條件則變成了“發掘女骨，安葬歸宅”，也就是重新將小倩的骨骸安葬。這些必要條件的出現也突出了骷髏對於複生的重要性。

可以看出，“骷髏與複生”類小說中是由骷髏與複生構建了文本的基礎框架，而上述的各種必要條件則是使敘事文本血肉豐滿，與骷髏這一基礎條件一起構成完整的故事。因此，這些必要條件是依附于骷髏與複生這一大框架的，同時也是本文中必須存在的。

VI. 結語

中國古人關於生死這一終極問題的哲學思考、對死亡的敬畏、對死後複生的希望是“骷髏與複生”類型的小說出現的思想前提；對“骨”的認識以及對“骷髏”與複生做關聯性的認識是這類小說出現的直接原因。筆者以敘事學理論考察了《談生》與《聶小倩》兩篇小說，由于這兩篇小說是不同時代的作品，因而在敘事主旨、敘事結構和敘事時空特點上存在一定差異。但它們有一個共同的敘事基礎就是骷髏與複生，因此，筆者認為上述兩篇小說的差異正表明了“骷髏與複生”類型小說是不斷發展的，并且這種差異也就是其發展的軌迹，發展的結果。“骷髏與複生”類型的小說有著很

¹⁰ 大正藏四冊，no206，舊雜譬喻經，卷 2，五十一條，吳康僧會譯，劉楚華，《小說、述夢與時間》，《文藝理論研究》，2007 年 2 期，第 23 頁，再引用。

廣闊的研究領域，但由於筆者研究角度尚不夠廣泛和深入，文中僅以敘事學的相關理論進行粗淺考察，還有些不足之處有待補充與改善，以期日後能以多重角度更深入地探究“骷髏與複生”類型的小說。

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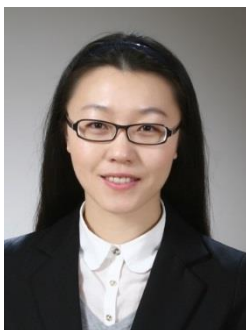
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A Study on the Lexical Meaning and Syntactic Function of "Tàolù"

流行語“套路”的詞匯意義和句法功能考察

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Abstract: "Tàolù" is not a new word but in contemporary Chinese, due to the popularity of a network game, the new meaning makes it widely used and become a catchword. At the same time, it cannot only be used as a noun, but it also has the trend of verbalization, showing a variety of syntactic functions and more in many fields show strong 'cross-border' ability.

Keywords : routine, lexical meaning, syntactic function, verbalization

I. 前言

當代漢語中，“套路”被廣泛使用，其功能由名詞擴展為動詞，既可以作主語、賓語，也可以作謂語，帶賓語，甚至用于被動句。不僅如此，意義色彩也發生了變化。先來看一組例句：

- (1) 培訓機構玩各種套路包裝老師。
- (2) 但是自古沒有攻不破的盾，唯有套路深淺而已。
- (3) 無視規章制度，盲目投資被套路。

“套路”一詞被《咬文嚼字》²編輯部選為 2016 年十大流行語之一，同時也是教育部、國家語委在北京發布的《中國語言生活狀況報告（2017）》選定的網路用語之一。時隔三年，“套路”依然以極強的生命力出現在我們的生活中，不僅經常被人們挂在嘴上，說著“都是套路”，而且還有同名歌曲和電影、電視劇，更被《人民日報》等諸多主流媒體頻繁使用。那麼這個本來是名詞的“套路”在當代漢語中究竟被賦予

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² 《咬文嚼字》是郝銘鑒任主編的咬文嚼字雜誌社出版發行的期刊類雜誌，創刊於 1995 年 1 月，“宣傳語文規範，傳播語文知識，引導語文生活，推動語文學習”是其辦刊宗旨；編輯、記者、校對、廣告從業人員、文祕、節目主持人和教師、學生為其主要閱讀對象，《咬文嚼字》已成為中國境內漢語文化品質“捍衛者”角色。

了什麼樣的意義？在形態句法上和語用表達上有著怎樣的功能？它的使用反映出社會生活的何種現象？本文試圖討論以上問題。

本文語料選自北京大學現代漢語語料庫和人民網。

II. “套路”的詞匯意義

2.1 傳統意義

“套路”並不是當代漢語中出現的新詞，在各類辭典中它的意義分別為：

《集韻》“套”	凡物重沓者爲套			
《王力古漢語字典》 “套”	❶地曲	❷罩在外面的東西	❸俗套	❹照樣模仿
《漢語大詞典》 “套”	❷已固定格式的 辦法或語言	❸因襲、模仿 現成的格式	❹以固定模式去衡 量、要求別的事 物	
《現代漢語詞典》 第7版“套路”	❶指繪製成套 的武術動作	❷指成系統的技 術、方式、方法等		

(表一)

從以上詞典的釋義中可以看出，“套路”是一個典型的中性色彩濃重的詞語。例如：

(4) 2015年全國大學生武術套路錦標賽。

(5) 在這次比賽中，套路和招式都不是最難的。

(6) 工作一定要理清目標要求、方法套路、努力提高工作效率。

2.2 新產生的意義

“套路”的意義發生變化，最早來自網絡遊戲《英雄聯盟》的流行，即用來形容精心策劃的一套計畫，善于算計人，也即騙局，圈套。爲了更準確地描寫“套路”的語義變化，本文從北京大學現代漢語語料庫和人民網隨機抽取語料進行了分析。考察發現，北大語料庫“套路”句明顯少于人民網。前者共出現語料 781 條，而截止 2020 年 10 月 1 日，人民網的“套路”句共有 32081 條。本文從中抽取 500 條語料對句中“套路”義做了統計。

出處/意義	1 義： 成套的武術動作	2 義： 成系統的技巧方法	3 新義： 精心策劃的欺騙人的計畫	總計
北大語料庫	446	54	0	500
人民網	24	217	259	500

(表二)

從上表中可以看到，由於兩個語料庫的語料偏重點不同，且時代感不同，“套路”義表現出極為不同的傾向。前者的語料中，1 義佔優勢，新義為零。人民網則是 2 義與新義各占 43.4%、51.8%，新義的使用明顯增多。此外，正如前文所說，“套路”是一個中性詞語，沒有特別的感情色彩，但在 2016 年以後，在使用中由於出現了語義偏移，產生了非常鮮明的貶義色彩。例如：

(7) 一些消費者打來電話向記者抱怨自己在家裝過程中遇到的各種問題和花樣百出的“套路”。

(8) “炫、曬、買”是商家精心編織的行銷套路。

(9) 於是人們不得不感歎這些騙子的套路之深淺。

(10) 但是這種“甩鍋”的套路並不能說服網民。

可以看到，上面例句中的“套路”都是指“精心策劃的圈套”義。這一語義在共現的詞語中也能反映出來。根據調查，“老、舊、傳統、固定、紅顏、詐騙、狗血”等形容詞、動詞常用來修飾“套路”，“深、多、滿滿”等常用作“套路”的謂語。

定語+套路		套路+謂語	
Adj./AP+ 套路	老套路、舊套路、新套路、熟套路、傳統套路 不良套路、類似套路、重複的套路、流行的套路、固定的套路、史詩級的套路	套 路 +Adj.	套路多、套路深、套路滿滿 套路明顯、套路層出不窮
V/VP+套路	反套路、常用套路、行銷套路、施工套路、募資套路、圈粉套路、銷售套路、造假套路、貪腐套路、炒房套路、斂財套路、壓價套路、騙人套路、詐騙套路、營銷套路、慣用套路、迎檢套路、圈錢套路、打假的套路、做題的套	套 路 +V.	套路貸、套路翻新 套路直播

	路、預埋的套路、割韭菜的套路、圍獵式套路、常見的套路		
N. /NP+套路	攻略套路、騙術套路、商業套路、公文套路 媒介套路、紅顏的套路、可行性套路、花樣百出的套路		
其他	哪些套路		

(表三)

而在“套路”作賓語的句子中，與它共現的謂語部分也極有特色，動詞主要以“進入、擺脫、經營”義為主，而形容詞只有“少”，“少一些套路，多一些真誠。”

謂語部分	
V+套路	Adj. /AP+套路
進入義： 陷入、掉入、遵循、存在、設置、中、成、有 經營義： 經營、玩轉、搬出、玩弄、倚重 擺脫義： 去、逃脫、走出、告別、突破、超越、擺脫、 排查、放棄、打破、拋棄、扔掉、厭倦 發現義： 改變、避免、謹防、識破、揭露、揭秘、看穿	少一點套路 少一些套路

(表四)

通過考察與“套路”共現的詞語，本文發現它的意義由“成套的武術動作”演變為“精心設計的騙人計劃”，是由于“套”義發生了變化。在“成套的武術動作”或“成系統的技巧、方法”中，“套”側重于“固定格式的辦法、動作”，是一整套已經得到認可的技術，而在網絡遊戲的流行之後，套路成為“一整套設計好的騙局”，“套”似乎有了“圈套”義。既然是圈套、騙局，與它一起搭配使用的名詞、動詞或形容詞就有了選擇，“詐騙套路、營銷套路、迎檢套路”等等既然都是“騙人的計劃”，那麼就有人“經營、玩弄”這些套路，消費者必須“謹防、識破、看穿、揭露”套路，如果不小心“陷入、掉入”其中，必須“擺脫”才好。“套路”在這些詞語的影響下，句子表現出來的色彩自然便帶有了貶義。

III. “套路”的句法功能

“套路”不僅在詞匯意義上發生變化，其句法功能亦是多種多樣。

“套路”是名詞，從上文的例句中可以看到，它有著名詞的典型特徵，能作主語、賓語，也能夠跟在介詞之後構成介賓結構。同時，動詞化是它的新用法。

3.1 “套路”的名詞用法：介詞+“套路”

“套路”與介詞“按/按照”結合，組成“按套路出牌”的構式，其中否定式的使用頻率多高於肯定式。例如：

- (11) 王嘉爾活潑、耿直、不按套路出牌。
- (12) 戴爾不按套路出牌。
- (13) 戰場上哪有套路，你按套路打仗！
- (14) 有人責怪他不按套路出牌。
- (15) 究其原因，是訓練脫離實戰，官兵僅僅按套路出牌。

“（不）按套路出牌、按套路打仗”是指（不）根據已經成為系統的一套方法辦事或打仗。在人們的認知中，無論做什麼，都有一整套已被證實的、切實可行的技巧方法，這就是“套路”，如果你在這個框架內，按照人們預想的路線做事，即是“按套路……”，否則就是“不按套路……”。

3.2 “套路”的動詞用法：

名詞和動詞之間是可以互相轉化的，古代漢語中已有不少例證。如果說“動詞和形容詞向名詞的轉化是一種普遍現象，那名詞向其他兩類詞的轉化則是非常有限的。”³不過在有限的條件下，當代漢語中“套路”的種種用法卻表現出它動詞化的積極傾向。

a 用於被字句中

一般來講“被”字句是在核心動詞前，用介詞“被”引出施事或單用“被”的表示被動的主謂句。⁴但在這裏“套路”名詞動用，也進入被動句中，形成“被套路”或者“被+N+套路”的構式。例如：

- (16) 你被謠言套路了。
- (17) 最後，才發現自己被套路了。
- (18) 粉絲成為被套路的消費者。
- (19) 辦寬帶却被套路，成為網貸。
- (20) 這就尷尬了，完全是被假記者套路多次後變成這樣的。

³ 石毓智《漢語語法》（2010：260），商務印書館

⁴ 《現代漢語》（增訂五版）黃伯榮 廖序東主編 下冊（2014：92），高等教育出版社

這一用法，與之前流行的“被離婚、被高薪、被小康”的“被 XX”構式及其相似。但後者是表達“被他人莫名冠上的一種并不存在的情況，”而“被套路”是“進入一種提前設計的圈套後才發現自己受騙”，是一種被動的遭遇義，帶著深深的無奈和憤怒。

b 作謂語

(21) “套路貸”為何能屢屢成功套路？

(22) 2016年啓動原創事業，爲不注水、不套路、不跟風的網絡文學作品開闢出一塊實驗田。

例(21)中的“套路”作謂語；例(22)打破“名詞不受否定詞‘不’修飾的”限制，構成“不套路”，來指文學作品不會進入一個“套路”的創作模式。這裏的“套路”已經成爲動詞用法。

c 與後綴“化”結合，構成動詞，表示轉變成套路的狀態，例如：

(23) 在模式化、套路化、劇本化愈演愈烈的綜藝界。。。

(24) 儘管這個獲獎橋段設計有些刻意、過分戲劇化、套路化...

(25) 電影希望擺脫套路化的創新。

(26) 電視新聞節目要一改傳統新聞報道臉譜化、套路化的文風和語態.....

d “套路”之後也可帶指稱人的賓語，構成“套路+賓語”的述謂結構。表示“使某人進入精心設計的計劃或圈套中。”例如：

(27) 知名主播套路水友抽獎1萬。

(28) 韓雪、撒貝寧現場趣味互動，韓雪套路小撒。

(29) 近年來，三大運營商變戲法似地“套路”消費者。

(30) 經調查，楊某等人在“套路”小明之後.....

透過以上的例句，可以看到“套路”的動詞化趨勢是非常鮮明的。名詞之所以可以轉用作動詞，根據徐盛桓（2001）的觀點，“是因為名詞的語義內容中含有表動作的語義成份；同樣，動詞的語義內容也含有表事物的語義成份。”名詞表示靜態的人和事物，動詞強調的則是動態的過程。“動作裏可以感知事物，事物裏也隱含動作過

程。”名詞“套路”指稱“精心設計的一套騙人的計劃”，這裏實際隱含著動作“引誘人進入騙人的計劃或圈套中”或者“轉變成已有的一種方法狀態”等動詞義。這一語義內容，為名轉動提供了語義基礎，而當在一定的語境中，動詞義突顯出來時它便能完成動詞化的過程。如，d 組例句，這裏的“套路”都鏈接了兩個論元角色，“主播套路水友、韓雪套路小撒、運營商套路消費者、楊某等人套路小明”，從形式上看，是典型的主謂賓，傳遞出施事者設計圈套、并引誘受事者一步步進入圈套或陷阱的語義信息。這裏，“套路”不僅保留了原有的名詞義“精心設計的騙局”，而且因為它新產生的動詞義又使得本來的意義增值了。

IV. 結語

由于一款遊戲而使“套路”有了新義，并被廣泛使用。由原來指成套的武術動作，擴大泛化到社會各領域，如商業領域的“套路貸”，影視劇領域的“觀眾喜歡的套路編劇”，寫作領域的“套路”，培訓機構的“套路”，旅游公司的“套路”，保健品買賣的“套路”等，可以說“套路”這一武術專業用語已經跨界使用。而跨界的原因正是由于它有一定的感染力和特殊的表達效果，能夠給人們帶來幽默與喜感。不說破，不說透，却又非常瞭解的一定程式的辦事方法，被人們用“套路”二字輕鬆代替，也體現出語言的經濟性原則。

“套路”的釋義在原有的基礎上應該做出以下補充：

①成套的武術動作（使用語境固定）

②成系統的應對問題的方法、技巧（應對者的經驗或傳承的經驗，看到類似問題，會條件反射般用這些方法來解決）（使用語境受限）

③精心策劃的用來算計人的方法技巧、圈套、騙局、陷阱（已經公式化了的，帶有明顯的貶義，也有幽默感，可跨界使用）

“套路”在新義產生後帶有了極強的貶義，不需要特別出現語用標記，它的這一用法即詞義專化。套路的廣泛使用，正說明社會出現了一些問題，需要引起人們的注意。

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Research on the Types and Causes of Chinese Network Words 试论汉语网络词语的类型及成因

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Abstract: In the information age, the application of network technology has entered the various industries and people's life at all levels. In addition to the traditional way, the language application in the network has produced a lot of new types and methods of use. These emerging network languages in the communication process of internet users enhance the language of interest and expression effect but also because of the network attributes, has its own distinctive characteristics. Network language is a kind of special language because network language usually appears at the same time with a new event and quickly becomes popular among network people and at the same time shows the characteristics of strong short-term vitality but short life cycle. From the perspective of linguistics, the expression of network words can usually be based on the form, pronunciation and meaning of words. It can be roughly divided into various types such as homophonic, consonant, characterization, abbreviation, mixing and semantic variation. This paper intends to sort out the hot words among the more typical network words in recent years, summarize their types, and explain the reason and mechanism. This paper tried to further grasp the types of network words from the perspective of linguistics.

Keywords: Chinese language, Glyph, network language, new words

I. 前言

在信息化时代，网络技术的应用已经进入到各行业以及人们生活的各个层面。网络中的语言应用在传统的方式外，产生了大量新的类型以及使用方法。这些新兴的网络语言在网民的交流过程中，增强了语言的趣味性与表达效果，同时还因具有网络属性，有着自身鲜明的特点。

《中国语言生活状况报告2020》²指出：

“网络生活已成为一种生活方式、生存方式。2019年是网络语言生活20年，是网络语言由远及近、深刻影响语言生活的20年。网络语言经历了从“舶来品”到“本土化”的发展路径；它呈现给公众的样态，从起初的“多语码化”发展为当下的“多模

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² 国家语言文字工作委员会组编，〈中国语言生活状况报告2020〉，北京：商务印书馆，2020. 06。

态化”；它不再是当初网络达人、大虾们“小众”的专利，而成为网络内外的“大众”共用、共有、共享的语言产品，求新求异的网络原住民们又在不断创造属于他们自己的“分众”化的交际符号和语言游戏。虚拟世界与现实世界的边界正在消解，网络语言正全面走进现实语言生活。”

网络语言是一种较为特殊的语言，由于网络语言通常伴随某一新闻事件同时出现并迅速流行于网络人群，同时表现出短期生命力强大但生命周期³短暂的特性。因此网络语言具有如反映事件热度、俗语化、创新性、形象性(图像性)、隐喻性等特征，是大众文化的体现。从传播学的角度来看，网络语言还具有自由随意、娱乐性及快捷性等特点。David Crystal (2006)认为网络语言是在互联网的环境中，实现网友之间信息交流、信息传递的工具，能够体现出其特殊面貌的一种媒介，网络词语与非网络词语相比有一定的全球性、交互性、电子性的特点。网络词语是能够体现网络具有的特点的词语类型。

从语言学的角度来看，网络词语的表现通常可以从词语的形态(字形)、读音、词义等角度出发，大致分为谐音、合音、字符化、缩写、混合、语义变化等各种类型。本文拟就近年来较为典型的网络词语中的热词进行整理，对其类型进行归纳，并对其原因及机制进行解释，尝试对网络词语的类型从语言学的角度进一步进行整体把握。

II. 汉语网络词语的类型

目前网络词语从形音义各方面都呈现出多样的特点,对其进行整理归纳并无统一标准。但我们认为大多数的网络词语以词汇形式呈现，均可从形音义三个角度进行考察。本文考察用例均来源于网络检索，代表性词汇则参考《中国语言生活状况报告》及年度热词。

1. 语音层面

网络语言很多的词汇具有显著的语音特性，大致可分为以下几种：

1.1 缩写

1) 汉语拼音缩写

MM - 妹妹

GG - 哥哥

³ 网络信息普遍存在老化现象,具有明显的生命周期特征。马费成(2009)从用户体验的角度，将普遍意义上的网络信息生命周期定义为：网络信息从产生到失去效用价值所经历各个阶段和整个过程。

BS - 鄙视 BT - 变态
TMD - 他妈的 TNND - 他奶奶的 YP-硬盘

该类缩写以某特定词汇汉语拼音首字母缩写组合而成，具有易操作易懂的特点。同时某些用例属于詈骂，使用拼音缩写在不影响理解的同时还具有回避担忧使用詈骂的心理作用，被网友认可。YP属地域歧视⁴中较具有代表性的用例。其不仅仅是语音层面的缩写，还包括本身语义在网络中的新变化，由于某群体的共同认知与使用已令该词语具备了特定的词义（贬义）。⁵

2) 外来语(英语)缩写

BF: 男朋友 (Boy Friend) GF: 女朋友 (Girl Friend)
Diss: Disrespect/Disparage⁶ BTW: By the way (顺便说一下)

该类缩写一般以英语词组的首字母结合而成，也有取某单词部分的情况，总体上以英语词汇首字母组合为主。

本节论述的汉语缩写类型并未以某以词语的首字进行缩写，主要以声母的拼音符号代替，我们仍将其视为语音层面的用例。

1.2 谐音

1) 同音

杯具 - 悲剧 蛋定-淡定
叫兽 - 教授 砖家-专家

该类词汇主要以谐音，特别是发音几乎相同为主。同音不同字，所表达的意思却相同。但由于用字不同，往往在表达本义的基础上，产生新的理解，类似双关。该类型主要以戏谑为主。比如“教授”与“叫兽”发音相同用字不同，并不影响网民理解其本意，但由于使用“叫兽”代替“教授”具有明显反差，符合当时因某大学教授个人问题引发热搜的娱乐性。

⁴ 地域歧视与种族歧视不同，是一种“区别对待”且与人种无关。地域歧视基于地域差异而形成的一种“区别对待”，是由地域文化差异、经济发展不平衡、人类心理活动等因素引发的，是从众心理和集体无意识的结果。

⁵ 硬盘，指上海本地人对外地人的蔑称。源自上海本地论坛宽带山论坛。因涉及地域歧视，经常被该类网民群体使用的“外地”“WD”“VVD”等词汇相继被管理员封禁，故该人群寻求新词汇来躲避封禁。知名硬盘制造企业 Western Digit(西部数据)缩写为WD，与“外地”拼音缩写相同，故被使用为称非上海本地人的外来人口为“硬盘”，常缩写为YP。

⁶ Disrespect或Disparage的缩写。嘻哈文化中指以歌曲发泄不满，谩骂对手的现象。Diss因综艺选秀节目《中国有嘻哈》中大量出现而迅速成为华人网络的热词。

舅服你 - 就服你 我喂自己袋盐 - 我为自己代言

“舅”与“就”同音不同形义。并扩展为“谁都不服舅服你”，“墙都不扶(服)舅服你”等。使用者选用“舅”代替“就”以亲属关系中高辈“舅”自称，与人对话时自觉有趣味性，成为热词。“我喂自己袋盐”源自广告语“我为自己代言”⁷的变形，网友以“喂……袋盐”戏谑“为……代言”，改变了整句的意义，因具有反差，一时成为流行语。

2) 不同音

该类型与同音类型不同，声韵母上呈现出不同，用字也不同。

(1) n、l变体

蓝瘦香菇 - 难受想哭 辣么 - 那么 镁铝 - 美女。

内牛满面 - 泪流满面 脑斧 - 老虎

n、l不分在很多方言区普遍存在，相对于普通话，n/l之间的自由变体有时会体现出极强的娱乐性，被网友追捧。如“蓝瘦香菇”成为2016年的热词⁸。另还有“腐乳-俘虏”这类属于“r、l”变体。

(2) 平翘音变体

纸 - 子 (如: 妹子 - 妹纸, 孩子 - 孩纸)

骚年 - 少年 姿势 - 知识 撒锁 - 厕所 肿么了-怎么了

普通话中平翘有别，同样在方言区有很多不分平翘的现象，网友也因此刻意在平翘应该使用的地方进行替换，如上例中“纸/子”，“骚/少”，“姿/知”，“肿/怎”，达到娱乐效果。

(3) f、h变体

脑斧 - 老虎 福蓝 - 湖南 湖建 - 福建

稀饭 - 喜欢 灰常 - 非常

闽方言、粤方言区f、h的发音各有不同。普通话中的f，闽方言中常发成h，粤语相反。该语音特点被网友替换，产生热度，如“虎-斧”，“湖-福/福-湖”，“饭-欢”。

⁷网站聚美优品2012年广告词，当时引发网友共鸣成为热点。

⁸起因为广西南宁一位青年因失恋录制一段视频，视频中的口音n/l不分令人捧腹，导致网友热追，成为热门话题排名前三，同时引发了诸多明星的模仿和分享。目前已有公司注册该热词。

(4) 开合口

帅锅 - 帅哥 捉急 - 着急 偶 - 我

阔以 - 可以 冰阔落 - 冰可乐

与平翘类似，方言区话者会出现开合口不分的现象。网友也对该现象进行放大满足娱乐需求。如，“可乐kělè”读为“阔落kuòluò”，“哥”读为“锅”，“e”统一发为“uo”。

(5) 顎化

小公举 - 小公主 大鸡居 - 大蜘蛛

小松许 - 小松鼠 大西几 - 大狮子

原为翘舌，但发生顎化，如“主-举”，“蜘蛛-鸡居”，“鼠-许”等。平舌的“子”也顎化读为“几”。该类顎化溯源也来自方言区话者所使用普通话出现不标准现象的影响。

(6) 不同调

深井冰 - 神经病 鱼唇 - 愚蠢 耗子尾汁 - 好自为之

歪果仁 - 外国人 泥垢了 - 你够了 鸭梨山大-压力山大

上述例子主要以声调不同采用不同字组词，达到娱乐效果。“歪果仁”的发音模仿欧美人说汉语“外国人”的声调，因为符合大众对外国人学汉语发音的认知，成为热词，很多博主和视频号均采用该词汇代表“外国人”，有固化的倾向。该类声调主要还是从某特定人群或方言声调为基础，进行重构，达到交流并娱乐的效果。如，耗子尾汁。

(7) 减损发音

雨女无瓜 - 与你无关 亚子 - 样子 盆友 - 朋友

上述发音来看，“关guan”减损“a”，成为“瓜gua”，“样yang”减损“ng”成为“亚ya”，如“你怎么这个亚子？（你怎么这个样子？）”，“朋peng”减损为前鼻音“en”的“盆pen”。该类型通过减损某部分发音，获得新读音，并使用与之相符的新词汇，以获取新的词义。

(8) 方言音译

虾米 - 什么 嗨森 - 开心 猴赛雷 - 好犀利

“虾米”为闽南语“啥物(síánnmih)”的音译，表示什么，“神马”出现后，使用逐渐变少。“嗨森”为粤语“开心”发音的音译，“猴赛雷”为“好犀利”的音译。这种模仿的词汇往往对被模仿方言词汇的认知度有较高要求，“啥物”、“开心”、“好犀利”这些方言词汇通过网络的扩散，网民耳熟能详，被音译具有基础。

在方言音译中，有些方言词汇并无本字，网友音译后，直接使用拼音来标记，如：hin-很，jio-脚，等。

(9) 外语音译

①英语

北鼻 - Baby 伐木累 - family 狗带 - go die

一颗赛艇 - exciting 因吹斯停 - interesting

“北鼻”为“Baby”的谐音，爱称。“伐木累”为“family”音译，成为热词始于娱乐综艺节目某艺人，其英语发音不佳意外取得娱乐效果，成为热词。与此类似还有“狗带/go die”。“一颗赛艇”为“exciting”音译，“因吹斯停”为“interesting”音译，均为汉语对音翻译，因音近但字面义不同，引发网友热捧，成为热词。

②日语

纳尼 - 何(なに)，欧尼酱 - お兄ちゃん，米那桑 - 皆さん

以上几例均为日语词汇音译。

③韩语

思密达 - 습니다 欧巴 - 오빠

阿加西 - 아저씨 阿嘎西 - 아가씨

以上几例均为韩语词汇音译，并未附加新义。

(10) 数字谐音

1314 - 一生一世 520 - 我爱你 88 - 拜拜 94 - 就是

数字谐音最早可追溯到移动式电话短信时期，当时流行以各种数字谐音代替汉字，并在网络社会中保留下来。比如“88/8/886”在网络使用频度目前仍保持着较高频度。

(11) 混合谐音

此外还有英文字母与数字，或汉字相互结合的谐音现象。如：

B4 - 鄙视 V5 - 威武

小P孩 - 小屁孩 V587 - 威武霸气

1.3 合音

网络语言中，出现了一种较为流行的双音节合音为单音节字的新颖流行词语。如：

表 - 不要 酱紫-这样子 酱婶儿-这样式儿

造 - 知道 票 - 朋友 宣 - 喜欢

以“造(知道)”、“票(朋友)”、“表(不要)”、“酱(这样)”为例。它们都以特定句式或固定词组的形式使用。如“造(知道)”出现在“你家里人造吗?”这一特定句式中，形成“……，你家里人造吗?”的反问句，经常出现在评论某人行为时，偶尔也出现在表否定的“不造”句中。如：

① 《秘密》腹黑三人组，你们这么坏家里人造吗？（搜狐娱乐）⁹

② 开车有年龄限制，熊孩子你家里人造吗？（学车动态）¹⁰

③ 我宣你，你造吗？（看资讯）¹¹

网络时代年轻人的社交中，新事物会引发大量关注。网络带来了大量资讯，其中电视剧集、综艺节目等热播往往是网络词汇诞生的温床。“知道”的合音受到了台湾综艺节目中台湾腔的影响，由于快速读出“知道”，听感上有单音节感受，网友遂以“造”来代替，同理还有“酱-这样”。

2. 字形层面

2.1 旧字

1) 旧字新用

旧字新用是指这些字过去已经存在，但是网络中的意义和用法与原来不同，网民赋

⁹ <https://yule.sohu.com/20140328/n397372558.shtml>, 2014年03月28日11:09

¹⁰ <https://www.maiche.com/news/detail/767616.html>, 2015年01月20日16:18

¹¹ <http://www.265g.com/news/gamenews/534559.html>, 2014-05-20

予了这些字新的含义和用法。

囧, jiǒng, 本义为光明貌。但由于字形人脸哭丧, 被网友拿来表达郁闷的表情。电影也产生“囧”系列, 更加扩大其熟知程度。

呆, méi, 本义同“梅”。但因其左右结构, 由两个“呆”字组成, 被网友发现并赋予“呆”程度加深, 形容极为呆傻。

旧字新用往往只某些被网友热捧的汉字过去便已存在, 只是其网络背景下的使用义与其本义不同, 网友赋予其新的网络意义。

2) 旧字再用

𪗇, jiào, 《说文》“高声也。一曰大呼也。从𪗇 丩聲。《春秋公羊传》曰‘鲁昭公叫然而哭’古弔切”。《正字通》“𪗇, 古文叫字。”《尔雅·释乐》“大埙谓之𪗇。”“𪗇”字形有四口, 因此被网友表示“喊叫”程度极高, 易理解其比“叫”更大。如: 如“全场尖𪗇”, 表示叫喊声远大于“叫”。

𪗇, nì, 《正字通》“同休”。为“溺”异体字。字形上来看, 上下结构的“水+人”形象直观移动, 即人在水下, 即溺水。因此在网络得到传播使用。

旧字再用与旧字新用不同在于该类汉字在网络中被使用的语义仍与本义保持一致。往往由于字形具有某种显而易见的特性而被网友追捧, 进而被使用。通常旧字均为生僻字, 在网络背景下重新展现出了生命力。

2.2 新造字

顾名思义, 新造字并非固有汉字, 而是网友为赋予其新的字义而新创制的一类文字。如:

𪗇, duang。该字为上下结构, 上成下龙。“Duang”这个音节在现代标准汉语中并不存在, 但由于该发音源自艺人成龙代言的一则广告中的拟声词, 被网友恶搞, 后进一步发展出代表该拟声的汉字, 即成龙。

𪗇, 草根义。指的是在社会阶层中的一般平民百姓、群众, 象征着社会低层。该字被网友以“草字头+根”的结构新造, 易于理解。

新造字通常以拆字与合字两种类型实现。

1) 拆字

这类用例属于网络语境下的“析字”现象，其主要特点为将某字按上下、左右等方式解析离合。如：

弓虽 - 强 马叉虫 - 骚 木仓-枪 火乍药 - 炸药

口区 - 呕 彳亍 - 行 番羽土墙 - 翻墙

离合拆字用例从字义上看，并无区别，只是从字形的视觉性上着手，具有一定娱乐性。如：

天上月圆，人间月半。

此时“胖”被离析为“月半”，由于宽度增加令人联想到身体肥胖，造成娱乐效果。¹²

2) 合字

合字与拆字相反，将几个构件或单字合并为一个单字，来表达原义。如：

壕-土豪 奕-功夫

土豪原指地主阶层及暴发户，网络义指暴发户或花钱豪爽的人。功夫也被合为上下结构的单字。前文的“duang”与“粮”也属于合字的一种。

3. 词汇层面

网络语言的词汇中，出现了大量的缩句词和新造成语，使用方法多数以缩写为主。缩句词和新成语网络中为达到戏谑幽默的效果，由一个句子或多个词语缩减而成的，或者由原有成语中字面引申、改造等成为带有新意义的词语。该类词语以四字词居多，二三字词兼有，形式上接近传统意义上的成语。如：

(1) 十动然拒

本意为“十分感动，然后拒绝了他”，选其中单字组成四字词。引申为形容以激进的方式求爱遭到拒绝，或嘲讽他人或自嘲。

(2) 累觉不爱

本意为“很累，感觉自己不会再爱了”，引申为当事情无法改变，又无力改变时的自嘲。

¹²这种离合单字发端大致为一则有关散光的笑话：“女口果人尔能看日月白这段言舌，那言兑日月人尔白勺目艮目青有严重白勺散光”，之后拆字为网友熟悉。

(3) 人艰不拆

本意为“人生已经如此艰难了，有些事情就不要拆穿”，一般指对方说出了让人难以承受的真相，多为戏谑性的回复。引申为“难以承受的真相”。

(4) 不明觉厉

本意为“虽然不明白是什么，但是感觉很厉害”。通常对于某技术高超者发表的见解表示赞叹。

(5) 爷青结

本意为“爷的青春结束了”，引申为自己青春不再。多出现于青少年时期开始连载多年的动漫/剧集完结、喜欢的运动员退役，艺人结婚生子后的感慨。“爷青回”与“爷青结”相对，表达网友关注的经典事物或艺人明星重新回来的一种感慨。

(6) 请允悲

本意为“请允许我做一个悲伤的表情”，表示对事件的发生感到悲哀，也可以表示幸灾乐祸的态度。

缩句词往往以三四字词来代表整个句子的意思，具有快捷，信息含量大的特点。

III. 汉语网络词语的特点及成因

1. 语音层面的特点及成因

汉语网络词语中经常出现谐音现象。谐音是利用词语的音同或音近关系, 出发人联想的修辞方式, 是一种常见的语言现象, 谐音也是汉语语音的特征之一。根据本文调查, 网络词语在语音层面大致可分为三大类, 即缩写、谐音、合音。

缩写主要是以语音拼写符号的缩写组合来实现, 细分为汉语拼音缩写, 如MM(妹妹), GG(哥哥)。外来语(英语)缩写, 如BF(男朋友Boy Friend), GF(女朋友Girl Friend)等。

缩写中的外来语缩写通常取英文单词首字母, 但汉语拼音的缩写除了提取单字发音首字母外, 还带有一定谐音的原理。如GG(哥哥), 在汉语拼音中的“g”发音往往加元音“e”读为“哥”。网友在使用该类缩写时大部分除了新奇感外, 便捷性也是其得到传播的原因。

谐音主要以相似或相同发音(不同字)的方式,在表达词语本义的基础上,取得产生新词义效果的类型。细分为同音不同音两大类。同音,如杯具(悲剧),蛋定(淡定)。不同音则还可以细分为n、l变体,如蓝瘦香菇(难受想哭);平翘音变体,如纸(子);f、h变体,如脑斧(老虎);开合口,如帅锅(帅哥);顎化,如小公举(小公主);不同调,如,深井冰(神经病);减损发音,如亚子(样子);方言音译,如虾米(什么);外语音译,如①英语,北鼻(Baby),②日语,纳尼(何なに),③韩语,思密达(습니다);数字谐音,如1314(一生一世);混合谐音,如,V5(威武)。

通过谐音方式产生的网络词语中同音不同形类的词语,以不同字重构新词,以本体的语音关涉谐体的意义,从而达到趣味性效果的修辞的一种。就本文调查来看,不同音的谐音更为主流。其中主要还是以外来词语的音译、方言的音译最多。就该类词语记音汉字与被记录词语意义之间并无关联,只是突出原有音节中发音较为特别的声韵调部分。网民来自各地,使用方言各不相同,更有别于现代汉语普通话的读音。某些强势的方言或者极为有特点方言给使用标准语言的网民留下深刻印象,因此选择音同或音近的字来代替这类方言,形成娱乐效果。

合音主要是合二字之音为一字的现象。该现象古已有之,但在网络语境之下,也有一些热词的形成采用了这一方法。如最具代表性的表(不要),酱(这样),造(知道)。值得注意的是用字的选择上往往不具科学约定性,任意性较强。如“知道”合音字用“造”,为选定其他汉字并无特别理由,大概是输入法中该字较靠前,出于方便。并且相对于其他同音字,当更为常见常用。任意性也是网络词语较为明显的特征。

究其出现原因,年轻化的网民面对信息丰富的网络接受文化呈开放式。加上网络可随时观看各种类型的剧集及综艺节目,尤其是港台文化特征明显的综艺节目。这些资源中台湾综艺的影响较大,而且这类综艺节目特点明显,即轻松搞笑的同时,口语性极强,极易被模仿并传播,其直接结果便是造成了大量网络热词的涌现,如“造”等。另外,就汉语韵律来看,现代汉语主要以双音节韵律为主。网络新合音字的语言环境一般都有双音节的现象出现,如“造”出现在“你造吗?”时,“造吗”相对于“知道吗”形成双音节韵律,更为符合现代韵律习惯。同理,“不知道”简化成“不造”也广为流行。相关例子还有“男票(男朋友)”、“女票(女朋友)”、“酱紫(这样子)”等。

除语言学角度剖析外,网络社交心理因素也需要考虑。网络中的社交相对于现实社会中的社交更为直接,具体表现为对正面或负面情绪的宣泄,通常会通过社交手段直接表露。前文提到的“你家里人造吗”句式暗合了一心理,即可直接调侃或称赞,更为直白。

2. 字形层面的特点及成因

汉语网络词语从字形角度来看,大致分为旧字及新造字两大类。旧字则有新用和再用两类。新造字则分为拆字和合字两类。旧字新用是指这些字过去已经存在,但是网络中的意义和用法与原来不同,网民赋予了这些字新的含义和用法,如“囧”。旧字再用往往由于字形具有某种显而易见的特性而被网友追捧,进而被使用。通常旧字均为生僻字,在网络背景下重新展现出了生命力,如“囧”。新造字是网民利用某热点创新创造新的汉字,通常是不存在的汉字,如“龘”,“𪚩”。拆字是新造字的一种常见方法,主要将某字按上下、左右等方式解析,视觉性上具有娱乐性。如“月半(胖)”。合字相对于拆字也是常用方法,通常将构件或单字合并为单字,如“壕”。这种将汉字构件拆合构成新字表达意义,类似传统“析字”法,是网络语境常见新造字产生所使用的方法。值得注意的是网络中的新造字较之以往,图像化的特点更为突出。

于鹏(2020)指出网络“析字”新造字的几个特点分别为(1)游戏功能被无限放大;(2)隐言暗语功能被缩小到回避敏感词;(3)视觉化正在成为追求目标。而这几类特点也可看做是网络新造词产生的原因。网络交流的语言往往暗合了娱乐性这一心理,网民随意使用“析字”方法,追求网络语言中“新文字”的新与异,形式上的独特性,这都催生了大量新奇有趣网络特征明显的新造字不断出现。很多词义表意的用法往往是创新并且巧妙的,成为一种新的网络环境下的文字游戏,这也反映了网络中的游戏娱乐心理。

文字是记录语言的书写符号,而符号的最重要的性质就是内容和形式的约定俗成性,即用何种符号形体记录语言是经过社会成员共同约定及俗成的。汉字在造字之初基本遵循见“形”知“义”的原则,经过几千年的发展演变,已逐渐渗透、内化进思

想,进而演变为中国人的思维方式之一¹³,这其实就是网络新造字多姿多彩形态下的思维基础和根本动力。

3. 词汇层面的特点

网络语言的词汇中,出现了大量的缩句词和新造成语,使用方法多数以缩写为主。这种形式就是把长的词、短语和句子缩短省略而成的语词,从句中按一定规律抽取部分汉字再排列而成。如,“十动然拒、累觉不爱、爷青结”等。此外还有谐音类网络新词,成因是拼写输入错误,意外取得娱乐效果,由于符合网络求新求奇的心理而被广为使用而成型。有时谐音而成的新成语因使用频率较高,甚至出现取代原有词汇成为广为使用的新词汇。

对于网络词语尤其是网络新成语的特点,大部分可以概括为:语义新奇,富有创造性;构造新颖,高度概括;风格幽默,讽刺调侃三大类。并且在语音、语法和语用三方面都得到发展。就其产生过程来看,通常第一个被创制的词汇都拥有与某网民群体周知的某事件相关的特殊性。正因为其特殊性突然显现,加上关联事件的联想,才被大家所认知。很多新造词汇都以内含词语及词义激活为基础,借助创造和结合共同作用而形成。总体来看,新词的出现和使用需要激活凸显,加上创造与结合,其形式与意义共同推进词语内在体系的改变,被网络群体重新认识。

IV. 结语

网络社交的不断成熟,伴随着的是网络语言也在发生着巨大的变化,而汉语网络词语也成为了极具特点的词语。语音层面上,借助缩写、谐音、合音等方式创造出的新词汇越来越多地出现在网络社交中。字形层面上,旧字新用、离析构件方式产生的新造字也越来越多地出现在屏幕上。如叠加构件表程度加深,减损构件表程度差异,借字形视觉效果表意,取字形符号意义等。新造字本质也是表达并记录语言的一种符号,其“形”通过“音”来表“义”,很多新造字的产生其实也是汉字思维的一种表现,在网络中产生了约定俗成性,逐渐在某特定范围内具有了使用的合法性。词汇层面上,网络新词语多为偶然事件中得到凸显,并迅速被传播。尤其是缩写新造词语,往往吸取

¹³ “汉字的阅读、书写和通过汉字思维”是中国文化典型的五个特点之一。《什么才是中国的文化?》,葛兆光在上海图书馆“上海市文史研究馆大家讲坛”的演讲,2015.6.6

句子中个别汉字进行组合，分离语素，并排列以最小的单位来表达最大的信息量。

网络的全球化和即时互动性是的网络语言得到发展，网络中的每一个体都可选择自己的方式表达自己的观点和看法。网络词汇的使用与传播是网民进行交流时选择的结果，在构建发展过程中也在不断创新和变化，体现出强烈的网络特点，反映出网民的心理诉求。但我们也应该关注网络词汇带来的负面影响，如低俗化、破坏汉语规范、过度娱乐化、不易理解等问题。对待网络词汇应该合理且适当地进行规范，取其活力，去其糟粕，使其更好地为语言交际服务。

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Research on the Design of Flipped Chinese General Course 翻转中文教养课设计研究

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Abstract: *This research aimed to ascertain if the Chinese language course can cultivate students' core skills to improve learning satisfaction and activate the classroom atmosphere. The full text is elaborated in the order of course nature, student needs, and classroom design.*

The general courses studied in this article specifically refer to the general Chinese elective courses. Through one or two semesters of study, learners are expected to master the rules of Chinese Pinyin, be familiar with simple everyday language, and have a preliminary understanding of Chinese culture. Learners apply for courses based on credits and interests. This is different from compulsory Chinese courses or specialized Chinese courses in terms of teaching objectives, teaching tasks, and teaching principles. From the perspective of the difficulty of second language acquisition, the curriculum is affected by the nature of the curriculum, and it is unable to fully explain the pronunciation, characters, vocabulary and grammar and the breadth and depth of teaching cannot be carried out in depth. The traditional classroom format is more suitable for imparting classroom knowledge but by changing the mindset and designing new courses with students as the focus of learning the old-fashioned courses will be full of new vitality and the classroom effect will be greatly improved. Learners will learn better in terms of comprehensive skills and will be more helpful to the close relationship between teachers and students.

Keywords: *Chinese General Course, flipped classroom, learner-centered*

I. 教养课实际与类型

本文研究的教养课，具体指的是教养类型的中文选修课程。学生通过一两个学期掌握汉语拼音规则，熟悉简单日常用语，初步了解中国文化。学习者以学分，兴趣为基础申请课程，这点与中文必修课或专业课在教学目的，教学任务，教学原则制定上略有差异。从二语习得的难度上看，教养课受课程性质影响，不能对音、字、词汇和语法进行面面俱到

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的讲解,教学广度和深度方面都带有“浅尝辄止”的意味。传统课堂形式在传授课堂知识方面很适用,但转换思路,以学生为中心进行课程设计,原本呆板的课程将会焕发活力,整体课堂效果会有很大改善。学习者将会在综合技能方面得到良好训练,且对亲近师生关系多有助益。

吕必松(2007)提及教学类型时根据教学内容可划分为专业班、专修班、普通班。中文专业或职业性质明显的课程属于前两者,而教养课属于普通班。普通班不针对特殊目的学习者,与学习者受教育目的有关,重点在于打下语言基础。教养课正属于这一教学类型。另外,教养课从课程类型上又可纳入语言知识课、背景知识课的范畴。

1.1 以学生为中心教学与翻转教学

部分教师认为中文学习要“以教师为主导、以学生为中心”,笔者也赞同。教材选用、划分知识点、重点与难点,学习都要教师主导才能确保课程进度。而所有环节都要以学生为中心。了解学生学习动机、年龄特点,倾听学生需求,才能做到有的放矢,事半功倍,不至于教师很努力,教学评价却很平平。

以学生为中心的教学形式多样,理论间相互影响,有一种方兴未艾的教学形式名为翻转课堂(Flipped classroom)、翻转教室或反转课堂。这种教学形式注重学生的主观能动性,学生课前通过视频提前学习,有效提高了课堂时间利用率。起初只是“教学流程”上的创新,之后的讨论逐渐对教育理念产生影响。许多教育工作者对翻转教学进行了广泛深入的尝试。

以学生为中心的教学与翻转教学有相通之处。柯慧俐(2019)认为翻转教学有利于提高学生学习兴趣、学习能力、提高教学评价合理性。实践证明以学生为中心的教学同样具有翻转教学的优点,同时,内容和形式更加多样化。

1.2 以学生为中心的教学形式

笔者借鉴翻转教学形式,在课堂流程上进行了一次探索。例如,将课前视频录制环节取消。课程开始,导入阶段过后,利用10分钟左右的时间讲授完当日内容,之后进行小组讨论练习。此法对较难语法教学效果显著。过程将在下面详述。

II. 学生需求分析

本节将结合学生需求与范例进行说明。

每个学习者都是特殊的个体，以学生为中心就要先弄清学习者个体属性，课程开始前问卷调查必不可少。通过问卷可对学习者情况整体把控，做到在教学方法、教学路子、教学技巧上及时调整。无论是刚从事教育事业的工作者，还是经验颇丰的教师都无法做到初次面对学习者时先知先觉。

笔者针对本科 110 名教养课的学生做了问卷调查，有效问卷为 101 份，为计算方便选 100 份进行分析。内容大致分为课前、课上、课后，及中文影响力等。

单位/名	1 年级	2 年级	3 年级	4 年级	共计
问卷数	2	83	13	12	110

下面我们逐个分析每个选项。首先是学生选择教养课的目的。随着中国在国际舞台上的影响力日益增强，学生开始重视中文学习。对于为什么选择中文 52%学生表示因为喜欢所以选择，另有 36%表现为喜欢程度一般。如果喜欢中文，选课的目的就会相对明确，结果有 22%的人目的非常明确，38%的人很明确，32%表现一般。总体上，学生对中文的认知度不断提高，且大部分学生意识到学习中文的必要性。据悉首尔地区中文比较受欢迎，釜山庆南地区则是日语。但近年来中文的热度在稳步提升。问及平常是否很关注中文，表示非常关注和很关注的学生分别占 21%和 53%，这一数据便是力证。

徐子亮、吴仁甫（2005）强调舍弃文化内容而光学语言形式是绝难学好外语的。文化导入可对理解课文、理解思维，理解民俗起到作用。作为基础课程是否应该在起始阶段学习中国文化，仁者见仁智者见智。问卷结果显示 25%的学生认为非常有必要学习，有 44%认为很有必要，总体 68%的学生对文化教学表示支持，某种程度上说明了文化课的重要性。值得一提的是，文化导入并不是简单活跃课堂气氛生搬硬套。笔者曾在某年国庆直播时，给学生们播放了国庆阅兵画面。在没有任何背景铺垫下，只是略微介绍了一下就看了直播，结果教师激情满满，学生反应平平。徐子亮、吴仁甫（2005）提到文化导入原则（1）文化导入必须与课文内容密切相关。（2）摆正主次位置。（3）文化导入应该是有机的，而不是外加的。（4）文化导入的内容比较丰富，不宜过于集中，可以分散进行。

教养课的目的是培养学生对中文的兴趣，教学中一定要以学生为中心进行课堂设计，调节难易度。学生们在问卷中对汉字、拼音、语法的难度认知如下。认为汉字学习难度大的 68%，拼音 61%，语法 53%。为了不打击学习积极性，循序渐进培养学习兴趣，笔者尝试在教养课上采取（1）优先学习拼音。即使拼音学完，在进入新课时也要先讲生词的拼音，以拼音带动内容。韩国学生有英语基础对拼音没有距离感。（2）语法学习不讲太深，太广。例如：“你几岁了？”，“你多大了？”，“您多大年纪了？”三个问题，我们只选“你多大了？”，其它问句提及就行。练习时围绕“你多大了？”进行。（3）汉字学习以培养兴趣为主。教养课²汉字学习绝非首要任务。教汉字时可以按照造字法规则讲解，也可以让学生利用发散性思维，天马行空想象。例如：教“吃”这个字，可以给学生展示张图片（如图 1）。



图 1

教师先讲解“嘴”可表示为“口”，右边的“面”可表示为“乙”，而上面的两根筷子可表为“撇横”。学生很容易记住。接下来让学生看图想一个记住“吃”字的方法。有学生提出“吃”字和韩国语草书“말”字很像，记忆效果也不错。此法借鉴了别红樱等（2015）中提及的发散识记法。发散识记法是所有汉字识记方法的汇总。在众多方法中此法有利于调动学习积极性，改善课堂环境。

又比如“宿舍”这个词。教师可先将“宀”的意义告之学生。然后讲单人旁和“百”，即“一百个人在一个屋子里”，暗示学生这里是集体宿舍。“舍”字可这样讲：“一百个人在集体宿舍干什么呢？他们‘二’‘人’一组，在用叉子吃年糕。”顺便给学生看图 2，代表“竖”和“口”字。

² 本文的教养课是选修性质、学习两个学期。学期之间虽具连续性，但时间紧任务重。故将拼音作为首选，教学上口语先于书面语。“教养课汉字学习绝非首要任务”是基于所处环境而言，限于笔者判断，而非共识。



图 2

“口”字为什么用“年糕”表示，因为“年糕”是韩国人日常熟悉的文化元素，便于记忆。以上几种方法均便于学习者接近汉字，趣味性会打消畏惧心理。讲解过程不一定非要使用造字法原理，原理到了中高级阶段再详细讲授亦无不可。李先银等（2015）在词语的展示与讲解部分提到了“讲”字四字诀，为别为精准易度。

精：就是精讲、少讲。

准：词语意译和用法可以精讲，但要说得对。

易：考虑学生水平，化繁为简。

度：考虑学生水平，注意讲解广度和深度。

学生们既然很想学习中文，那课前、课上、课后会有怎样的表现呢？接下来看一下预习情况。因为是教养课大部分学生并没有预习的习惯。63%表示完全不预习，32%表示一般。可以看出如果采用翻转教学，提前看视频的方法会遇到许多阻力。课后复习方面 37%表示不复习，41%态度一般。如果将上课内容放到网上，让缺勤的学生学习时，50%表示欢迎，29%态度平平。21%表示拒绝。由此可见，教养课上翻转教学的理念可以借鉴，但设计一个以学生为中心的课堂时，细节上还需调整。

综上所述，教养课原则归纳如下。

（1）趣味引导为主。旨在拉近距离，让学生没有畏惧感。为今后持续学习打下良好基础。

（2）了解学生需求。设计满足需求，提升学生综合能力的课堂。另外，问卷调查每学期开始前进行一次，或期中考试阶段进行。

（3）课堂上，教师是“谏言者”。引导学生，提高学生学习能动性，培养分析问题，解决问题的能力尤为重要。有句谚语说“老年人什么都相信，中年人什么都怀疑，年轻人什么都知道”。在传授知识点后，学生需要更多的是启发。

下面通过具体举例，讲解以学生为中心的教养课流程。笔者愚见，还望各位老师予以斧正。

III. 以学生为中心的课堂设计

本节以助动词“能”、“要”为例，设计了一堂以学生为中心的教养课。课程时长 50 分钟。教师在导入和讲解部分主导课堂之后，接下来的环节将学习主动权交给学生。此时，教师并非局外人，而是走动协调，随时回答学生提问。同时，将事先准备好的学习资料和练习题发下去。

表一

环节	教学目标	所需时间	教具
	助动词“能”、“要”	50 分钟	
导入	1. 复习 2. 词汇发音练习 3. 短语练习 4. 课文（引出助动词）	6 分钟	PPT 图片 视频
讲解	1. 解释助动词 2. 助动词“能”（例句、语法讲解） 3. 助动词“要”（例句、语法讲解）	9 分钟	打印 资料

环节	教学目标	所需时间	教具
确认	学生分组 每组学生互相为组内其他成员讲解助动词“能”和“要”。 发放打印资料。（意义、否定形、造句2个） 直到小组所有队员都掌握。选出组长。	10 分钟（±5 分钟）	打印资料
深化	每组组长到其它组讲解。 （意义、用法、活用例句2个） 其它组成员对来的组长进行评价。（记录下其它组例句、看看用法是否和自己小组学习内容一样） 给其他组组长打分，并写明评分原因。组长拿到分数是其他组员的成绩。	10 分钟（±5 分钟）	视频资料
活用	以小组为单位 1. 听，找出视频中顾客能买什么、要什么。 2. 说，说出听到所有带助动词的句子。 3. 读，造句念给老师听，跟老师读。 4. 写，根据场景，利用语法写出自己的述求。（可使用电子词典）	10 分钟	PPT 视频资料
总结	1. 指出学生病句。 2. 让学生写出这节印象深的部分，学到的东西。 3. 给自己组，每个成员打态度分，10 分为满分。	5 分钟	PPT

以学生为中心的课堂上，教师和学生都是学习者。在教授完大纲要求的知识点后，教师和学生通过沟通讨论，巩固知识点。采用表一所示的教学活动有以下目的：

（1）调动学习积极性，活跃课堂气氛。让紧张的学习变得愉悦，和身边的人沟通是不错的方法。

（2）培养沟通协作能力。许多学生叫不出同学名字，更有甚者连教师姓名都搞错，这会间接影响学习效果。此外，语言课沟通很重要，即使不学中文，沟通也是基本技能。

（3）培养学生责任感。组长或组员都有一定的责任在肩，学习会比以往认真。

以上是本课的设计初衷，在教学现场效果究竟如何，将学生写的总结整理如下（学生写的韩文翻译后归纳为表二）。

优点	不足
1. 不拘谨，能在放松的状态下学习。 2. 上课氛围明显改善。 3. 和同学沟通少，有点慌，后来渐入佳境，感	1. 相互评价分数不能相同，有高低之分，要选最高分，使人看脸色。

觉很有趣。 4. 虽然小组活动很少参加，但感觉也不错。 5. 能以有趣的方式接触中文，虽然有难度，但熟悉后更好的了解了中国文化。 6. 中文很难，用这种方法能够让人集中精神，时间过得很快，很有意思。内容稍加努力也能背下来，无压力。评分公正。 7. 增进友谊，可以和别的组进行沟通，很有趣。难易度适中。 8. 贴近生活，难易度适中。 9. 印象深刻，希望去中国也能用到学习的句子。 10. 感受到了团队的力量。 11. 活动很好，和不熟悉的人一起学习当天的内容，学习速度变快了。希望经常有这样的活动。 12. 和组员一起学习新知识感到没有压力，氛围很好，学习过程愉快。	2. 不太容易给别人打分，评价。 3. 小组活动有点难，沟通之后还能接受。 4. 小组活动中的评分占比过大时会有心理压力。 5. 任务评分标准不清晰，学习好的学生没有得到应有高分。
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表二

通过表二可以看出以学生为中心，课堂主动权让位于学生的课堂会提升学生满意度。存在的问题是打分环节没有向学生们交代清楚。分数不加到期末总成绩中，只是考察学生课堂参与度，算作学习态度分比较合适。此外课堂参考资料可以丰富，但练习资料不能过多。别红樱等（2015）提及先语后文，非常适合教养课的现状。另外，我们认为字词教学紧密集合效果会更好，教学路子灵活多样才能满足不同需求的学生。怎样才算以学生为中心，我们可以通过 PJ·开普希等（2016）的对比表格（教师中心 VS 学生中心，表三）部分了解到。教师或学生为中心的教学模式并列，并没有哪种方法具有 100%的优势，教学过程中根据学生情况，教学环境定夺。笔者之所以选择以学生为中心，是考虑到培养综合技能的同时使之正确理解中国文化，进而喜欢上中文。教师在其中较之帮忙打基础，更倾向于“向导、启蒙”的角色。

以教师为中心	以学生为中心
由教师向学生传输知识	学生通过收集和整合信息习得知识，并将这种方法用于钻研、交流、批判思维和解决问题等。
学生被动学习知识	学生主动参与
不强调在具体情境中运用知识	强调在真实生活场景中有效运用所学知识解决实际问题
教师的职责是信息的传播者和评判者	教师的职责是引导和激励，与学生共同评价学习效果

教学与评估体系分开	教学与评估体系是一体的
测试是为了监督学习	测试是为了促进学习，诊断问题出现在哪
强调得出正确的答案	强调提出更好的问题以及在错误中学习
通过打分测验间接评估是否达到学习目标	通过论文、学习项目、学习表现等直接评估是否达到学习目标
只关注某一学科	教学方法适合跨学科学习
学习氛围以竞争和个人发展为主	学习氛围是互助合作
只有学生被当做学习者	教师和学生一起学习

表三

IV. 结语

本文针对以学生为中心的教养课进行了课堂设计方面的尝试。篇幅受限很多部分未能展开。以学生为中心的课堂上，教师需要付出更多时间和精力去设计，去完善。但结果会是教学相长，从某种角度上来看也是素质教育，对今后就业也多有助益。以学生为中心的教学设计内容很庞杂，本文为笔者愚见有许多不足之处还需今后不断改进完善。

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Thoughts on the Necessity of Developing Inter-school Remote Collective Lesson Preparation in Universities

關於高校開展跨校遠程集體備課的必要性思考

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Abstract: Collective lesson preparation is currently one of the curriculum preparations that is generally carried out and widely recognized in the primary and secondary education industry. A relatively mature mechanism has been formed on the basis of years of operating experience. There is a relatively complete research and practice on the content, operation methods and methods of collective lesson preparation, as well as organizational principles and assessment. In colleges and universities, although collective lesson preparation activities play a positive role in promoting the growth of teachers, mastering the curriculum system, and improving teaching effect, it is only limited to the professional content and curriculum characteristics of higher education, thus, collective lesson preparation has not fully played its role. Using the rapid development of internet technology and the advantages of the country's higher education system to carry out remote cross-school collective lesson preparation may be the most effective way to break through the current difficulties. This article analyzes the problems existing in the current collective lesson preparation activities in colleges and universities, points out the lack of pertinence of professional courses in the current collective lesson preparation activities and the limited effect of improving the quality of education and teaching, and further analyzes the reasons for this problem. This paper further discussed the necessity of using internet technology to carry out cross-school remote collective lesson preparation for the same course and possible new problems and gave relevant suggestions.

Keywords: collective lesson preparation, colleges and universities, distance education, educational research, inter-school

I. 前言

集體備課是當前中小學教育行業普遍開展并得到廣泛認可的課程準備工作之一，在多年的運行經驗的基礎上已經形成了相對成熟的機制，對於集體備課的內容、運作方式和方法以及組織原則與考核都有相對完善的研究和實踐。在高等院校中，雖然集體備課活動對

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于促進教師成長、把握課程體系、提高教學效果有著積極的作用，但是限于高等教育的專業內容以及課程設置特點，集體備課並沒有充分地發揮出應有的效果。利用高速發展的互聯網技術以及中國高等教育體制優勢，開展遠程跨校集體備課或許是突破當前瓶頸的一種可行方法。

II. 高等院校集體備課活動存在的問題

中國高等院校普遍鼓勵教師開展集體備課活動，在一些高校也建立了相關的制度。從當前研究成果來看，集體備課活動的推行對提高教學質量的確起到了一定的作用，特別是對年輕教師而言，可以幫助其儘快地掌握高校的教育教學模式，提高教學技能。同時，我們也會發現，目前仍存在著一些問題，影響著備課效果，刨除與中小學集體備課活動可能面臨的共性問題（如思想認識可能不足、準備可能不充分、討論可能不積極，評價體系可能不完善等等）以外，高等院校還面臨著以下三方面問題：

1. 關於課程內容的討論很難深入

在高等院校集體備課活動中，除了公共基礎課程外，一般是以專業為單位進行組織的。一般專業主任為中心發言人，有時也指定其他人員為中心發言人。由于每一位教師教授的課程不同，因此其談論其它課程時，只能從教學理念和教學大綱方面進行論述，探討一下教學進度以及下一步教學計劃。很難深入到具體課程的重點、難點和教學方式方法，最終會使集體備課活動不那麼名副其實。

這是由于高等院校的教學特點所決定的，一門相同的專業課程在一個學期可能只有二至四個班級在學習，教授此課程的教師可能只一到兩名。因此想請不教授此課程的教師來一起認真備此門課，是不現實的。

2. 有效的學習資源不足

在常規備課中，教師能夠從備課組其他成員身上學習到一些寶貴的經驗。但對於高等院校教師來講，這些經驗資源存在一定的局限性。這是由于備課組成員往往工作環境和工作範圍有很大程度的重疊，這影響著對教學問題分析的全面性和準確性。而高校的課程教授又要求幫助學生開拓視野，開發更多的思維可能性。如何通過備課來深度的挖掘潛能，獲取更多和更有效的資源並提高教育教學水平，也是當前存在的主要問題之一。

3. 組織和安排課程討論較為困難

一些高校也認識到高等院校與中小學集體備課內容和效果存在著一些差異，因此也試圖以課程討論會的方式邀請其它院校相同課程的教師對某一門課程進行集體備課，討論課程的教學方式方法、重點難點以及相關的課程內容討論。但由於高校開設的課程種類繁雜、跨校協調、時間安排、會議準備等各方面的因素限制，導致實施起來非常不易，定期開展此類會議顯得不現實。

III. 開展遠程集體備課的意義

近些年中國的互聯網技術以及互聯網應用高速發展，國家也提出“互聯網+”戰略，社會中出現了眾多的以“互聯網+教育”為方式的教育教學解決方案，培養了一大批網聯網教育企業，傳統的遠程高等教育也迎來的新的發展機會。教育教學的前置工作，即：課程準備工作，亦可以考慮應用“互聯網+”的遠程技術來解決當前遇到的困境。集體備課是課程準備的重要一環，主要通過溝通和交流來實現，遠程集體備課亦可作為將來大力推廣的新方法。其意義主要體現在以下方面：

1. 備課針對性更強

破解集體備課活動中同課程教課人員過少的困境，發揮集體的智慧，對所教授的課程進行深入的分析，挖掘出真正的重點、難點，並討論出適合的解決對策。提升課程教學質量，提高學生的學習效果。

2. 打破集體備課時間和空間的限制

遠程連接最大的優勢即在於打破了時間和空間的限制，最大程度的節約了時間成本和管理成本。當出現一些特殊情況時，比如非典、新冠時期，以及身體、工作等方面出現時間衝突的狀況，也能够參加集體遠程備課的工作。最大限度的保障工作的開展。

3. 有利于引入更多有效資源

在備課的過程中，常常需要將一些材料與所有人員共享。但在進行傳統備課工作時，資料的共享通常不太容易。而遠程備課在這方面就顯得特別的便捷了，能够第一時間與所有參加人員共享並同步講解資源內容，大大提高備課效率。

IV. 傳統集體備課與遠程集體備課的關係

1. 傳統集體備課為主

高校傳統集體備課是以所有院校的人才培養方案、教學目標、教學計劃為出發點來進行的，備課內容範圍更廣，備課內容更貼近現實需求。同時傳統集體備課能夠面對面的高效傳遞語言信息，接收效果也比遠程備課要好的多。在避開深入討論課程內容的前提下，傳統集體備課的優勢地位和備課效果仍不是遠程備課能夠達到的。因此在大力發展遠程備課的同時，我們仍然要以傳統的集體備課工作為主。

2. 遠程集體備課為重要補充

高校遠程集體備課應該是以提高同一門課程的教育效果為出發點，召集多所院校同一門課程的教師帶著問題來進行的備課。是針對課程進行更深入的探討，而非進行廣泛而理論化的交流。這即有利于此門課程教學思維的擴展，也能夠提高備課的效率。

3. 優勢互補，提高效果

高校傳統集體備課是教師能夠正確依據所在院校的人才培養目標開展教育教學的基礎，是指導教師依據教學計劃順利進行課程安排的重要途徑，也是專業信息交流的重要平臺。遠程集體備課是針對課程的進一步深入討論。兩者缺一不可，互為補充。

V. 開展和推動遠程集體備課的難點及對策

1. 遠程集體備課平臺的創建或選擇

當前已有多個論文討論過遠程集體備課的軟件開發問題，從技術角度上講已經相當成熟，建立功能完善的平臺對長遠發展是非常重要的。但是對於先期試點，可先利用現有的釘釘、CISCO JABBER等遠程多媒體會議系統進行。甚至可以利用微信等大眾通訊軟件。

2. 組織和管理方式的確定

依據當前實際情況，組織和管理方式主要有以下二種可供選擇執行

(1) 中國高校是以公立高校為主的體系，因此應充分利用中國公立高校歸口主管單位的協調能力，將多個專業設置相近高校單位組成一個大群，並以課程名稱為單位，分成

幾十至上百個小群。人員可按學期調整，定期開放平臺開展遠程集體備課。這種方式協調和管理難度大，體系建立較為困難。

(2) 發揮各高校專業辦公室的主觀能動性，聯繫和協調其它開展相同專業課程的高校，建立起長期穩定的遠程備課平臺。院校數量不能太少，也不宜過多。應以三至五所高校為佳。并選出各個課程的備課組長。

綜上，第(2)種方案是當前最為適合執行的組織方式。但由于備課組的成員是跨院校組成的，因此對成員的管理有一定難度，這就要求所有參與的高校在進行績效考核和相關評優時應加入遠程備課的參與度項目，以保證此項工作的有序開展。

3. 備課內容的創新

遠程集體備課與傳統集體備課相比，更應突出課程的特點，備課的內容應以課程為主。因此備課組長應在每次備課前安排一人主備，其他人員要進行初備。

在集體備課前，所有人員應再次認真學習教材、參考資料、準備備課材料。主備人還應準備好發言材料。發言內容應包含教材分析、教學目標，重點驗證點，教學設計等內容。

在集體備課過程中，主備人應先完整發表備課內容，備課組長組織其他人員依據自身的經驗以及對教材的理解發表意見，進行全員討論。

主備人應對發言內容認真記錄，將普遍認可的內容修改到備課材料中，形成最終的集體備課材料。所有人員應參照集體備課材料修改和完善自己的教案并應用的教學實踐中，提升教學效果。

4. 信息回饋系統的建立

在下一次遠程集體備課活動開展前，應先討論上次集體備課內容的有效性，提出存在的問題及改善建議，得到全員認可後，再次修改上一次的備課材料，以供今後參考。

VI. 結語

跨校遠程集體備課工作是對當前傳統集體備課工作必要的和有益的補充。能够在一定程度上破解傳統集體備課面臨的問題，同時開展這項工作的基礎性條件已經具備并且在不斷地成熟。因此儘快推動跨校遠程集體備課的實施或者試點實施是有非常必要的。

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