TRADITIONAL RHETORIC IN A MODERN CHINESE TALK SHOW:
METAPHORICAL DEVICES IN CHINESE MEDIA, TALK SHOW AND IDIOM

A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

The context of a modern Chinese talk show, *Tell It Like It Is* 《实话实说》, provides an arena through which to analyze rhetorical devices used in natural discourse. This thesis brings to the surface the high degree in which traditional rhetoric is used in the Chinese social context for expression, ways it is formed and, points out some of its functions as a rhetorical tool. Traditional rhetoric is especially beneficial in discussion of abstract concepts such as values, ideas, or opinions. The expression of these is mediated through commonly known stories and metaphors. Personal experience, interviews and discourse analysis combine to corroborate traditional rhetoric plays a key role in both the design of and participation in this talk show as well as everyday exchange of information. This study spans disciplines by drawing bridges between concrete studies such as pedagogy or linguistics and abstract studies such as philosophy or culture.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapters:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 The Story Anthology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Metaphorical devices and conceptual systems</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Domain or Culture’s influence on Conceptual Systems</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Domain and Metaphorical Devices</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Economizing Intelligence</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Philosophic and Metaphysical Discussion</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7 Chinese Metaphorical Devices</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. New Genres and Metaphorical Symbols in Chinese Media</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 得寸进尺- Get an inch take a foot</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Autonomous and Diverse – within limits</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 河殇 He Shang River Elegy</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 可望 Ke Wang Yearnings</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Chen Jiangong, a writer</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6 China Culture Gazette</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7 Journalism and Advertising</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8 The Three Gorges Dam and the 1998 Flooding</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Talk Show 实话实说 – <em>Tell It Like It Is.</em></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 浅入深出 qianrushenchu The simple and profound – Stories and</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Idioms as Traditional Metaphorical Devices

4.1 Kinds of idiomatic phrases (Tell It Like It Is)................................. 59
4.2 Introducing a Saying........................................................................... 62
4.3 Idiomatic Phrases used in 话实实说 Tell It Like It Is...................... 63

4.3.1 实话实说 Tell it like it is, calling a spade a spade.................. 63
4.3.2 眼子蓝而胜于蓝，染使然也 Student surpasses the teacher or a late comer surpasses predecessor......................... 64
4.3.3 黔驴技穷 To be at the end of ones rode, to exhaust all avenues................................................................. 65
4.3.4 同舟共济 People in the same boat will cooperate to get across the river and prevent drowning........................................... 67
4.3.5 磐竹难书 All the bamboo could not record (the crimes)...... 68
4.3.6 一寸光阴一寸金，寸金难买寸光阴 Time is money or time can’t be bought.................................................. 70
4.3.7 天下本无是，庸人自扰之 Making something out of nothing................................................................. 72
4.3.8 一个唱白脸，一个唱红脸 Bad Cop, Good Cop................... 73
4.3.9 种豆得豆，种瓜得瓜 What you sow is what you reap......... 74
4.3.10 己所不欲，勿施于人 What one does not like done to oneself, one must not do to others................................. 75
4.3.11 他山之石，可以攻玉 The stone produced on another mountain can be used to polish jade....... 76

5. The Living Tradition........................................................................ 78

6. Conclusion........................................................................................ 97

Appendix A.......................................................................................... 100

Appendix B.......................................................................................... 103

Appendix C.......................................................................................... 106

List of References.................................................................................. 118
LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Mediation through artifacts</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Categories of knowing</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Topics</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I first became interested in studying Chinese language because of my desire to learn more about Eastern philosophy as a way to expand my own abilities for reason and expression. Despite increasing ease in learning the mechanics of language, such as vocabulary, grammar, characters, and the like, I felt my efforts began to meet with diminishing returns. Often, in discussions with friends or in class there were references to names, places, and events that required some previous knowledge. In many cases they were used in support or rebuttal of an idea. Without this previous knowledge communication became inefficient and arduous under a series of digressive tangents to provide explanation, often insufficient in explaining underlying meaning. As my level increased, so did the importance of a certain degree of common knowledge that language itself wouldn’t provide. It seemed the concepts that originally spurred me to learn Chinese were embedded much deeper than a superficial study of the language would reveal.

I found these references carried with them a great deal of implied, metaphorical meaning. And I came to the conclusion it is knowledge of this implied meaning and the manipulation of these representatives that make and remake meaning. From this I
realized the importance of knowing background and its key role in being able to participate and communicate effectively.

This chapter proposes to explore the function of traditional rhetoric in intelligent expression, language economy and meaning as they relate to the Chinese cultures. In doing so I will also demonstrate that the key factor in East-West non-understanding is a different anthology of stories underpinning their respective traditions of philosophical reasoning. The Chinese media offers a window for further study into these devices used as mediators of abstract concepts.¹ What artifacts are used in the mediation process? How has tradition used them in understanding the world? How are these artifacts and the performance of there mediation manipulated? These are just a few questions I hope to touch on in later chapters. Furthermore, participating effectively in a talk show depends on the ability to voice your view in a persuasive, credible way. Language, as a mediator of idea, contains built in devices to facilitate this endeavor. These traditional rhetorical devices are often endowed with much more meaning than available through literal interpretation. It is the tradition established through repeated manipulation of cultural resources that impose this meaning onto these phrases allowing them to be a credible, authoritative form of evidence.

One important traditional rhetorical device in Chinese is the idiom or saying. These set phrases are often quotes from great philosophers or thinkers from the Chinese tradition that exhibit some aspect of Chinese grass-root values. Used as a rhetorical device, these phrases borrow from the authority of traditional principle. These phrases, however, demand a mastery of their use. While attending a banquet in China, a friend stood to give a toast, as is often the custom at such occasions. Unable to remember the
exact quote, 一日為師，終生為父 yi ri wei shi, zhong sheng wei fu “A teacher for a day, father for life,” he used a rough equivalent that sounded more like, “My life long dad” cheapening this quote. Though intending to be respectful and honor the recipient his toast came across as comical, albeit sincere. Nevertheless, the recipients of this eloquent toast chuckled with amusement. This blunder also reveals such phrases are tied closely to intelligent expression, or perceptions of intelligence. Proper use of the phrase or saying demonstrates mental agility and erudition.

As the key factor in East-West non-understanding, this lays special importance on the metaphorical lexicon of a culture, traditional stories and storytelling as paramount components to language learners. Expressing meaning -ideas, values, opinions, qualities etc.- is difficult and requires skill and practice. At its most basic level these are tied to thought. Thought, though, is tangible only through some form of representation.

1.1 Story Anthology

There is an expression in English, “When in Rome, do as the Romans.” There are corresponding terms in Chinese, 入境随俗 ru jing sui su “follow the customs of the environment”, and 到什么山，唱什么歌 dao shenme shan, chang shenme ge “sing the song of whatever mountain you’re on.” That rules of interaction change with the domain and anyone desiring to be effective in that domain needs to adjust themselves is a simple statement generally accepted. But, the explanation of why and how is quite complicated and much less understood. This is especially true when communicating abstractions such as thought, ideas, qualities or values. A peasant who has never left his small village in China would have difficulty understanding any reference to a computer such as is often
used in popular psychology to explain cognitive processing. However, the growing process of crops or the seasons are all much more accessible. Why are statements like “do as the Romans” so important? What is behind these statements? What is the skill of doing “as the Romans?” And, how is this skill developed?

These statements are important because they portend the existence of shared common knowledge or a conceptual system. What is behind this conceptual system is a tradition of economizing meaning through metaphorical device. When desiring to gain admittance and participate in a philosophic discussion of a given domain, it is that domain’s “story anthology” which is the key factor in mediating ideas. It makes up the inhabitant’s conceptual system so it defines meaning as well as the performance of expressing that meaning (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). The skill of entering a domain effectively means manipulating the established metaphorical devices of that domain. It is using the old or known to define the new (Bruner 1996). This skill is developed through knowledge of the implicit meaning of the existing metaphorical devices in that system and using them at the right time (Shank 1995). Simply put, we use the tools within our culture and the qualities they embody to create meaning. Effectiveness of our communication is in proportion to our mastery of that domain’s mediating devises.
1.2 Metaphorical devices and conceptual systems

In *Philosophy in the Flesh*, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson point out three major findings of cognitive science:

- The mind is inherently embodied.
- Thought is mostly unconscious.
- Abstract concepts are largely metaphorical (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 3)

It was previously thought that metaphor was a matter of language. It was merely ornamental and had no necessity. In recent years metaphors have been recognized not as just poetic but as paramount to the communication process. Concepts need mediation. Through the association of things we are able to communicate our thoughts and ideas (Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Yu 1998).

That “mind is inherently embodied” means the reasoning process is the process of interchanging concepts and their representatives. The “cognitive mechanisms that allow us to perceive and move around also create our conceptual systems and modes of reason” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 4). In other words, our conceptual systems are directly tied to what we use to mediate them.

This view deviates from the long-standing view that reason is transcendent. It is “universal” though not in the transcendent sense but rather “in that it is a capacity shared universally by all human beings. What allows it to be shared are the commonalities that exist in the way our minds are embodied” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 4).
1.3 Domain or Culture’s Influence on Conceptual Systems

In his book, *Cultural Psychology: a once and future discipline*, Michael Cole’s explanation of culture corroborates the need for thought and reason to be mediated. According to his book, culture is “a system of artifacts and mind as the process of mediating behavior through artifacts” (Cole 1996, 108). As illustrated by Figure 1.1.

![Diagram of mediation through artifacts](image)

Figure 1.1: Mediation through artifacts

He further elaborates by separating artifacts into three categories: 1) *primary artifacts*, “those directly used in production” (Cole 1996, 121). These are the actual physical objects of the culture. Each society or person comes in contact with different artifacts. For example, to the degree the insertion of computers changed our physical surroundings, it also changed our cultural tools and provided more and different metaphorical options. 2) *Secondary artifacts*, “representations of primary artifacts and modes of action using primary artifacts” (Cole 1996, 121). Primary artifacts are taken as having meaning. They become symbols. In this category abstractions are made concrete through the association of qualities of primary artifacts and concepts. 3) *Tertiary artifacts* “an autonomous ‘world,’ in which the rules, conventions and outcomes no longer appear directly practical, or which, indeed, seem to constitute an arena of non-practical, or ‘free’
play or game activity.” Furthermore, tertiary artifacts “can transfer beyond the immediate contexts of their use” (Cole 1996, 121-22). At this level we unconsciously use metaphorical devices. The secondary artifacts that were used symbolically take on the meaning. We discard the need to explain and understand the basis of the mediation.

Erving Goffman and Jerome Bruner’s metaphorical definitions of social life and culture testify to the use of artifacts in defining abstract concepts. Goffman describes, “social life is but a stage... that deeply incorporated into the nature of talk are the fundamental requirements of theatricality” (Goffman 1981, 4). In doing so he also reveals the rules for interaction are built into the performance. Bruner’s definition of culture takes much more of a blue collar approach saying “…culture... provides the tools for organizing and understanding our worlds” (Bruner 1996, 3). He also points to the use of the “tools” around us as assisting in our philosophical endeavors to “understand the world.”

These two ideas are what the story anthology is all about. It is a teacher of how to perform in recognizable and intelligent ways. At the same time it provides malleable tools for continued interaction. To Jerome Bruner, “it is culture that provides the tools for organizing and understanding our worlds in communicable ways. Without those tools, whether symbolic or material, man is not a ‘naked ape’ but an empty abstraction” (1996, 3). One significant component to our cultural toolbox is our batches of shared metaphors. Without the assistance of metaphorical tools, expression is limited to unmediated or literal meaning.
1.4 Domain and Metaphorical Devices

Though we all have the shared capacity to apply metaphor, we do not share the same metaphors and as a result we foster individual conceptual systems. Metaphors basically involve three things: the body (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), events, and physical objects. The body links all people but events and physical objects deviate greatly from domain to domain.

In the West, China’s face is unclear. Just as Plato and Aristotle gave life to western philosophy and thought, Confucius, and a long tradition of thinkers grew the roots of eastern thought of today. This view of China as an enigma, as unknown, or paradoxical might be attributed to an ignorance of a cultural nuances, which stems from an all-together different anthology of stories.

Despite the common bodies, the embodiment of thought is put into different containers. Primary artifacts influence the secondary and tertiary by setting limits on what can be used as a mediator (Cole 1996). What is known describes the unknown. Through the old we understand the new.

1.5 Economizing Intelligence

In the quest to create and transmit meaning, language is the quintessential tool of cultures (Cole 1996). The importance of stories and metaphors as the larger components of language cannot be overstated (Yu 1998). Cultures use language to share experiences and form a labyrinth of stories used metaphorically through which multiple levels of meaning and abstractions are understood. We share common experiences and our listeners filter our stories through theirs. Though over time we accumulate many shared
experiences, because no two people have the same experience, this is a never-ending process of adding to that pool of shared knowledge by the telling of stories and negotiating meaning of those stories (Shank 1990).

Stories and metaphors are artifacts that belong to the second and tertiary categories. We use primary artifacts in our daily lives. These are then used in daily reasoning through association of qualities in the second level. As these are internalized through repeated use, the original need to explain is dropped. This process is further illustrated by the following categories of knowing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Don’t know what you don’t know</th>
<th>2. Know what you don’t know</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Know what you know</td>
<td>4. Don’t know what you know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.2: Categories of knowing

In the first category of the acquisition of knowledge, the learner is completely ignorant of even ignorance. In the second, the learner realizes there are things he doesn’t know. In the third, the learner learns what he doesn’t know. And in the fourth the learner digests knowledge to the point of using it naturally, without effort. Layer upon layer are added then forgotten. Daily functioning becomes a process of walking on a floor supported by pillars unseen and unaware of by those walking on it.

This is the process of how traditional story anthologies are formed. In The Singer of Tales in Performance, John Miles Foley approaches mediating communication from what he calls “word-power” and its close relationship to tradition. He finds tradition to be a “dynamic, multivalent body of meaning that preserves much that a group has invented and transmitted but which also includes as necessary, defining features both an
inherent indeterminacy and a predisposition to various kinds of changes of modifications” (Foley 1995, xii). Similarly, I define tradition as the repeated use of cultural resources in the meaning making process.

The processes above dovetail with the economics of language, which is in essence the economics of conceptual systems. Stories and metaphors are not entirely the same though they often serve the same function, they are both mediating or metaphorical devices. This then establishes stories and their derivatives as principal artifacts in the abstract traditions of a culture. By abstract traditions I mean the tradition of establishing concepts values. As Lakoff and Johnson put it, “metaphorical thought is the principal tool that makes philosophical insight possible and that constrains the forms that philosophy can take” (1999, 7).

Stories are narratives about events, told for a purpose. It is this purpose, not the event, the story is designed around. Stories though, need to be told in varying degrees of fullness and economy. Though they may be rich in meaning they often require a great deal of elaboration. Metaphors have stories behind them or have emerged from previous stories but still contain the implicit meaning from the story from which it came. As a result, they achieve greater meaning with less elaboration (Foley 1995).

All stories are metaphorical but not all metaphors are stories. Rather, metaphors are derived from stories. They are economized remnants of previous stories or events. Often, they have lost their need for the original story or logic. This is key when considering the scope of the story anthology. Many words or phrases no longer require the original referent.

Each...integer functions as an index-point or node in a grand untextualizable network of traditional associations. Activation of any single node brings into play
an enormous wellspring of meaning that can be tapped in no other way, no matter how talented or assiduous the reformer may be; everything depends on engaging the cognitive fields linked by institutionalized association to the phrase, scene, paralinguistic gesture, archaism or whatever signal the performer deploys to key audience reception. (Foley 1995)

As a "integer" the metaphorical utterance becomes independent. Just as single "word" utterances directly reference a thing or concept without needing explanation or commentary. At the same time "institutionalized" metaphorical or idiomatic phrases have deep but specific meaning independent of original referents. As such they can be functionally equated to words.

Knowledge necessary for cultural literacy is metaphoric language that admits access to conceptual systems. In other words, mastery of a language (including behavior or performance) requires knowledge of a large network of both explicit and implicit meaning. Foley expresses this in the premise: "word-power derives from the enabling event of performance and the enabling referent tradition" (Foley 1995, 208). Here "word" is meant to include complete ideas or language integers. Their strength is in proportion the degree they are performed in the tradition.

The more you know and are able to express, the more intelligent you are. (Shank 1990) Conceptual systems are carved out of the stories with which one comes in contact. So if we talk about conceptual systems of a general Chinese order, we're talking about the stories of that people as designing their every way of thinking.

These artifacts are then used in the process of applying the known in novel ways to meet salient problems. Given cultural context, short statements or references contain great meaning and background. Commonly known, these referents economize the transference of idea. The stockpiling of well-known traditional stories allows people to
reference these stories using them metaphorically in constantly changing worlds. New problems are met and understood in reference to the context of the past and expectations of the future (Yu 1998; Bruner 1996; Shank 1990). Goffman calls this the “framing” (1981) and Bruner calls it being “situated” (1996). I will refer to it as a “standard” or the process of standardization. I use standard here because of its multiple meanings. It signifies both something established for use as a rule or basis for comparison as well as a flag or banner used as a symbol.

The story anthology is the sum of a culture’s stories and their derivatives. Put another way, story anthology is a lexicon of metaphorical devices that standardize and economize the transference of abstract concepts, i.e. meaning. This story is the “universal framework in which all else is understood and evaluated” (Augros and Stanciu 1984, ix). The stories of a culture are in a way written in the minds of the people of that culture. They are much more ideas or concepts, rather than literary pieces or narrative, though that is how they are manifest. Repeated familiarity with this tradition economizes language and serves as a basis for understanding the world. “Metaphysics in philosophy is, of course, supposed to characterize what is real – literally real. The irony is that such a conception of the real depends upon unconscious metaphors” (Lakoff 1999, 14).

1.6 Philosophic and Metaphysical Discussion

Lakoff and Johnson contend “metaphorical thought is the principle that makes philosophical insight possible” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 7). Furthermore, “the fact that abstract thought is mostly metaphorical means that answers to philosophical questions
have always been, and will always be, mostly metaphorical” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999,7). The metaphorical devices we use then have direct influence not only on how we reason but also what we reason with. “Reason includes not only capacity for logical inference, but also our ability to conduct inquiry, to solve problems, to evaluate, to criticize, to deliberate about how we should act, and to reach understanding of ourselves, other people and the world” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 4). The story anthology germinates a conceptual system.

Vygotskian cognitive psychology posits it is through repeatedly talking and exchanging information we are able to “internalize” concepts (Bruner 1996). It is through stories we are taught and we teach. Bruner also recognizes discursive skill as tantamount to education when he says, “knowledge is only helpful when it descends on habits” (Bruner 1996, 152).

Accumulation of stories serves to facilitate communication with others and adds to personal understanding and knowledge of the world. In Tell Me A Story, Roger Shank says, knowledge is “equivalent to the set of experiences we have had, but our communication [intelligence] is limited to the number of stories we know to tell” (Shank 1990, 12). Being able to function in a culture then, means functioning using skills and knowledge gained from that culture. Our outward expression must be in accord with the larger cultural framework. It must compliment the story anthology.

As established above, the most basic concepts that define our reality are manifest and discussed through the stories we tell. The self and identity, for example, are games of connect the dots. Each story connects two dots drawing a picture in the “other’s” mind. The self then is the sum of the stories one tells. Of the self, Lakoff and Johnson
say “the nature of self might seem to be the ultimate in esoteric metaphysical speculation” (1999, 10).

This is the nature of philosophical inquiry but is not limited to academic circles. Though mostly unaware of it, it is the same process used everyday by ordinary people. We are all philosophers and metaphysicians though, “not in some ivory-tower sense but as part of our everyday capacity to make sense of our experience. It is through our conceptual systems that we are able to make sense of everyday life, and an everyday metaphysics is embodied in those conceptual systems” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 14). It is “prosaic intelligence, the ordinary problem solving ability we repeatedly demonstrate in hazily defined situations” (Shank 1990, xi). It is our “common sense,” (Bruner 1996) all that we assume to be true in the reason process.

The ability to express oneself is a skill as is the ability to understand reference to requisite tools in the communication process. Traditional stories are defined terms. They are often not told in complete form, rather, they are referred to. It is the assumption of the speaker that the audience knows and understands references sited in speech. A problem arises, however, when the metaphorical anthology changes. Knowing the stories of a culture that give seed to metaphor means having what is needed to function within that culture. Not knowing causes “many people who have an excellent command of a language [to] feel quite helpless in certain spheres of communication precisely because they do not have a practical command of the generic forms used in a given sphere” (Bakhtin 1986, 80). Metaphysical or philosophical discussions of everyday become difficult under these conditions.
This process of extracting and transmitting concepts is a skill developed through an understanding of the symbolic markers of a given culture. It is the successful manipulation of shared knowledge that transmits meaning and allows people to move freely in that culture. Manipulation means the conscious and unconscious choice of information given in narrative based on purpose or intention. What we want to say controls how we say something and what we say.

According to Shank, stories in our minds are not stored in complete form (1990). When telling a story of any kind, it is structured around the gist, or skeleton of the story. When we tell a story, “we take the gist of the story as it exists in memory and then transform that gist into a verbal expression of the story that perhaps leaves out one point or embellishes another” (Shank 1990, 25). The flesh of the story is then determined by the context in which it is told. An emaciated story would be unconvincing and boring. An obese story is too wordy and tiresome. Telling the right story at the right time communicates healthy understanding of the situation, your stand and helps others to understand.

When told for a particular purpose the story changes form to capture the essence of what is intended. One story may also be told many times for different ends. In other words, “stories may differ in intention but be identical in content” (Shank 1995, 175). The gist, therefore, is a “conception about events, not a conception about the communication of those events” (Shank 1995, 175).

Just as gists inflate into full stories, full stories may have multiple gists contained within them. One story may be interpreted in a certain way. A gist is extracted, highlighting certain aspects of that story for specific means.
In her book *Occidentalism* (1995), Xiaomei Chen discusses the manipulation of stories for different purposes. She defines occidentalism as “a discursive practice that, by constructing its Western Other, has allowed the Orient to participate actively and with indigenous creativity in the process of self-appropriation, even after being appropriated and constructed by Western Others” (Chen 1995, 4). This discursive practice is “primarily a discourse that has been evoked by various competing groups within Chinese society for a variety of different ends, largely, though not exclusively within domestic Chinese politics” (Chen 1995, 5). The appropriation of self and other such metaphysical and philosophical endeavors happen throughout the world. Though different in cultural context, they are the same in that they are the exchange, interpretation and construction of traditional intelligence.

1.7 Chinese Metaphorical Devices

Ning Yu’s, *Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from Chinese*, applies Lakoff and Johnson’s theory that “metaphor, in its broad sense, is pervasive and essential in language and thought,” (Yu 1998, 2) to Chinese framework. He concludes that his study reinforces metaphorical device is “the main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract meaning” (Yu 1998, 237).

He also supports previous claims of the relativity of culture resources used as metaphorical device. “When a particular metaphor is said to be universal, it is likely that it is universal conceptually rather than linguistically. Particular instantiation of that conceptual metaphor may still vary because specific cultural models in different languages may dictate different choices of linguistic realization” (Yu 1998, 238).
It is from the manipulation of stories and their rules for narration that the next chapter begins. As outlined above, stories are often "constructed" or manipulated for personal agendas. Part of that manipulation is the manipulation of viable performance arenas. Chapter two gives an overview of traditional rhetoric in the Chinese media of today set against the backdrop of the 20th century developments. Since the opening of China in the late 70's and 80's a floodtide of dialogue, metaphysical in nature and steeped in story, has saturated the country. With the ebb and flow of the Communist Party's hold under booming economic growth, people of China are talking. More and more venues are opening up to allow for the participation of more and more people in the appropriation of self. Chapter two sets the stage for the next chapter by focusing on the changes in Chinese media with special emphasis on cultural icons and metaphorical devices. Chapter three is about the emergence of a new genre, the talk show. The only nationally broadcast talk show in China, Tell It Like It Is 实话实说, provides a window to common Chinese people discussing salient societal problems. The process and design of this show as well as the dialogue of its participant's further reveals the role of traditional rhetoric and its role in the mediation processes. The talk show captures the people in active process of philosophical and metaphysical debate. Chapter four pulls out a specific rhetorical device, idiomatic phrases, used by Chinese. Accumulated over thousands of years, these short phrases both perpetuate the old and define the new. They are unique to the Chinese culture and serve as examples of the highest most economical forms of expression. Chapter five builds on chapters three and four with a translation and commentary on one of the shows from Tell It Like It Is. Through this translation, the dynamics of traditional rhetoric may be better understood.
Much of the research in this thesis was collected while participating in China Links. This program provided me with a six-month opportunity, two in Qing Dao and four in Beijing, to collect data and develop ideas. The four months in Beijing were especially helpful. At that time I was placed into China’s Central Television station.

2 Professor Galal Walker’s lectures winter 1998
3 Professor Galal Walker’s lectures winter 1998
CHAPTER 2

CHINESE MEDIA AND TRADITIONAL RHETORIC

Each culture carves out for itself traditional rhetorical devices as well as acceptable ways of using them in accord with political and social norms (Chen 1995). Is the Chinese media a political tool for propaganda? Is it an art form? Or, does it belong to commerce as an advertising tool to further economics? The answer is probably all of the above. The media is for the exchange of information. In the last twenty years since the reopening of China to the West and the emergence out of the Cultural Revolution, the genres of media as well as the quality and quantity of media have increased dramatically.

A mixture of official and non-official discourse seems to be slowly replacing the monolithic thought and official rhetoric of the Mao era. The fact that the "Chinese media are becoming more autonomous and diverse," says that a greater "range of information and points of view" are being expressed (Hazelbarth 1997, vii). These mediums are an ongoing metaphysical debate. The news, film, television, newspapers, magazines, radio or any printed or broadcast materials are all in the business of creating meaning and exchanging ideas. All this is done through metaphoric representation.
2.1 得寸进尺 *de cun jin chi* - Get an inch take a foot

In recent years, it seems the voices the government's propaganda is slowly subordinating to discussions of the common people. Over the last twenty years the development of Chinese media can be likened to a game of opening and closing a dam. That is, it has been a series of periods of relaxing and tightening control over media content.\(^1\) After the opening of China in the late 1970's, print media was the first to develop. Newspapers went from single to multiple pages. Content began to include bad news such as accidents or mishaps. News continued to be more and more boisterous even to the point of publishing heavy criticism of government affairs (Lee 1990). In 1986 this was put to an end. The Government cracked down on abuse of liberties. Reporters targeted by this were either put on a probationary period in which all published material was first censored or, they were transferred to another department were they couldn't publish materials harmful to the Government.

For the next three years the dam was closed to the point of allowing only a slow trickle. In 1989 the Tiananmen incident brought a complete halt to any publication even remotely controversial. A dead calm lasted until early spring 1992 when overnight the floodgates were opened as a result of Deng Xiaoping's travels to the south of China where he gave a famous speech calling for more reforms (Cheng n.d.).\(^2\)

In the years since, the media has boomed. Though not to the degree of earlier periods, the restrictions continue to be tightened and relaxed. Media programs are designed accordingly. When restrictions are relaxed, the producers take all liberties available. It is as if there is a constantly shifting imaginary line that cannot be crossed. No matter where it is the producers want to push it farther while the government tries to
maintain control of what information is circulated. Knowing where the line is and pushing it but not crossing it is the art of self-censorship

2.2 Autonomous and Diverse – within limits

A study published in September 1997, titled *The Chinese Media: More Autonomous and Diverse – Within Limits*, shows a controlled emergence of a diverse media content. The media then is playing an increasingly important role in the minds and directions of the Chinese people. Whether giving or receiving a great deal more ideas are being exchanged between people. Carried on the backs of the stories is the meaning that shapes the conceptual systems of the Chinese.

Given this, television, for example, plays an increasingly significant role. In 1978, televisions numbered less than one per one hundred people, (1:100). Today, numbers have increased to over twenty-five per one hundred and increasing. In China today over one billion people have access to television of some kind (Hazelbarth 1997). National television in China is monopolized by Chinese Central Television (CCTV). This is the only national network in China. It falls under the Ministry of Propaganda and most of the directors are appointed by the State. Being the only national network, it provides for a large section of the domestic news market and virtually all of the international news. An internal report estimated nearly 500 million people regularly watch its news broadcasts (Hazelbarth 1997). Local stations have been decentralized but still carry a great deal of CCTV broadcasts. With so many for the propaganda bureaus to oversee, the local stations enjoy a slight advantage in decreased censorship.

21
Printed material has also increased. As the economy has risen so has the literacy rate. In 1968, there were 42 papers, virtually all Communist Party papers. In 1980, that increased to 382 and 2200 today, all from different sources. In addition to newspapers, China registers in over 7000 magazines and journals (Hazelbarth 1997).

There are many factors at work increasing the media. Economic reform, ideological and political trends, contact with the West, market competition, technology have all played some part and sometimes the same part in the increase of story exchange (Hazelbarth 1997).

Despite the increasing numbers the content is still highly influenced by the Bureau of Propaganda. Discourse is not unrestrained. These boundaries, however, are obscure and are prone to sudden change. One report suggested that during the Great Leap Forward the fact that nearly 30 million people starved to death was kept from public knowledge (Hazelbath 1997). Even today there are suggestions of tension between the people and the government over the circulation of information. After the Tiananmen Square incident many journalists and staffers were arrested and forced to write self-criticisms. The facing of public ridicule is often a preferred form of deterrence.

In Shanghai, recently, passengers on a plane became irate when forced to wait for some government officials. When the officials arrived over an hour and a half late, the passengers refused to let them board. The officials argued it was a government plane and they were justified in delaying it. The passengers sited “Serve the people" 为人民服务 wei ren min fuwu in rebuttal. After another couple hours, the plane took off, without the officials (Stratfort April 1999).
The people of China are talking but what are they saying? The rest of this chapter is devoted to short stories about various forms of media in China and the reality that surrounds them. Both official and non-official forms of media, including art and commerce, will help get an idea of what the people are saying, what is being used to say it and how the media is changing.

2.3 河殇 He Shang - River Elegy

河殇 He Shang - River Elegy is a 1988 six part television series that manipulated traditional symbols of Chineseness to send a clear anti-official message. By eulogizing the Western world and at the same time vilifying long standing Chinese icons, the creators of this show sent a strong message of disapproval. Moreover, He Shang "offers a prime example of how superficially similar sign systems can be manipulated for very different ideological ends" (Chen 1995, 29). This was so well received by the public that thousands of viewers wrote in to request transcripts so they may further study the hidden meaning. The title precludes its meaning. 河 He means river. 殇 Shang means "dying before reaching maturity" or "one who sacrifices themselves for the nation."

One deviation was the depiction of the Yellow River. This river has long been considered the cradle of Chinese civilization. Here though it is portrayed as handing out poverty and disaster. The life giver becomes the life taker. "The river is personified as an old man" (Chen 1995, 29). He is "alone and desolate, stubbornly waiting to die in his devastated homeland" (Chen 1995, 29).

In previous films, such as "The Yellow River Chorus" and documentary programs, the Yellow River stood for all that was good about Chinese society. "Idealized
for its ‘beauty,’ ‘grandeur,’ and its personification of the ‘resourcefulness’ of the
motherland,” (Chen 1995, 29) the Yellow River’s relentlessness embodied the will of the
Chinese people. Manipulation of symbolism continues with the remodeling of the
dragon, yellow earth, even the Great Wall. These represented “cynicism, parochialism,
conservatism, confinement, and land and ancestry worship in Chinese culture” (Chen
1995, 30). Instead of being a symbol of pride and strength, The Great Wall was
emblematic, rather of the shutting in of the Chinese and shutting out of the rest of the
world, leaving China secluded and stagnant.

These symbols can be traced back to in the Chinese tradition, thus, dealing its
chief blow at the traditional monolithic social system and advocating a new system
necessary for the 21st Century. At the same time further manipulation may be seen in the
depiction of the western other. Youthful, energetic, adventurous and modern, the success
of the west is owed mainly to having right relations with the ocean, calling it a “blue
ocean society” (Chen 1995, 31).

Using these symbols was not merely ornamental but practical under the strictures
of modern media. “To the inhabitants of the PRC, who are necessarily accustomed to
reading between the lines in a strictly censored media” (Chen 1995, 31) this is an
effective, but relatively safe, way of protest. That is to say, in a society where anti-
official discourse is sometimes considered treasonous, the manipulation of symbols may
be the only effective or permitted way to speak out. Using the symbols creates layers of
meaning and interpretation, which act as a shield from censorship. To those accustomed
to this style of communication, the meaning is clear. To others who are culturally
illiterate, it may not be. Therefore, this should be “understood neither as an example of

24
Chinese naivete nor of Western imperialism, but as a potent anti-official discourse employed by the Chinese intelligentsia to express what otherwise politically impossible and ideologically inconceivable” (Chen 1995, 28).

2.4 涼望 Kewang - Yearnings

涼望 Kewang - Yearnings is another mini-series or what the Chinese call “indoor drama.” First aired in 1990 but set during the Cultural Revolution and the reforms of the 1980’s, this show enlists various kinds of desire as its central theme. Through the characters the show focuses on personal relationships rather than social issues and stirs the emotions of the people. The main character, Huifang, is patient, kind and giving. Yet, by the end of the series she is divorced, hit by a car, and paralyzed. She thus becomes symbolic of a virtuous victim. Her husband, on the other hand, is a blend of evils the viewers love to hate. Audience members became so enthralled in these characters, the actor who played this role even received threats of violence (Zha 1995).

The addition of this program to the cultural story anthology made it vulnerable to rhetorical exploitation. Li Ruihuan, Politburo member and overseer of national ideology, recognized its usefulness as a tool in designing a “new type of human relations” (Zha 1995, 32). Yearnings, to him, encapsulated honesty, tolerance, harmony, and mutual help among the people. Like Li Ruihuan, various party officials, struggling for approval, ran to attach themselves to the show so loved by the public claiming they too shared the same values of this show.

Both the show itself and the ensuing references to it demonstrate how traditional rhetoric is used. Qualities of the characters were observed not told. Through their events
and actions, the characters demonstrated who they were, whether virtuous or villainous. Politician then reused, recycled and reinforced these characters for personal benefit. They vicariously attached themselves so as to appear virtuous and benevolent.

2.5 Chen Jiangong

Chen Jiangong is a writer, born in 1949, who gives recognition to the traditions that preceded him. Every event and tool used in that event contains a story. While cooking lamb hot-pot he said, “everything has a story behind it, some historical reference going back to a distant past to another way of life – so much so that you are not just cooking some lamb in a pot of scalding water, you are practicing important rituals, reliving a different sensibility. You travel in time as you eat” (Zha 1995, 55).

2.6 China Culture Gazette

The China Culture Gazette, for a long time, personified the hard-line propaganda. On January 1, 1993, the paper changed overnight when a four-page spread featured nude photographs of mostly western women. Suddenly the whole image of the paper changed. The paper went from being in the red to circulating more than 260,000 copies (Zha 1995, 107-108).

Under the old system government subsidies kept the paper going. Recently though inflation climbed steadily, the subsidies continue to remain the same. Out of necessity, the paper ceased from printing the drab political jargon and became the tabloid everyone hated to love.
2.7 Journalism and Advertising

Advertising, in many ways, has been a financial savior to the media and a closer look at it shows a shift in base away from ideologically driven toward economically driven campaigns. Decentralization means two things for all sorts of media: no money and a new boss or bosses. As the financial flow coming from the central government trickled dry, journalism became more and more like a business than a reporting entity. Instead of looking to the central government for approval they now looked toward two separate but equally influential sources. First, businesses provided necessary funds in the forms of advertising and the "red envelope" phenomenon. The red bag phenomenon came in many forms but was basically a bribe. The following encapsulates new reporting style:

The first-rate reporter plays with the stocks.
The second-rate reporter gets advertisements.
The third-rate reporter takes bribes.
The fourth-rate reporter writes for other papers.
The fifth-rate reporter writes for his own paper. (Zha 1995, 118)

But, businesses only provided for papers that where popular, well subscribed to and got the job done.

As a result, the second boss became the public. It was obvious that gossip about movie stars and celebrities or any kind of pop culture (soft news) sold better than official print media (hard news) (Zha 1995, 107). Pop culture rose to be the venue of choice for many forms of promotion.

One interesting article might cover a transformation in music. In 1992, one of the best selling cassettes was called Red Sun. The artists, I use the term loosely, took Maoist hymns and applied them to new melodies and beats complete with electronic synthesizers
and various other instruments. One person described it as Mao meets Muzak on MTV (Zha 1995, 130).

Trends such as these quickly became popular. The old was given a new sound, a new look and a new attitude. One Beijing movie director described it as, “watching a bunch of monkeys throwing somersaults. It’s energetic, fun, agile, but oh the dust! So much dust is kicked up” (Zha 1995, 109).

2.8 The Three Gorges Dam and 1998 Flooding

The Three Gorges Dam was begun in 1992 and boasts it will be the largest hydroelectric project in the world. Nevertheless, the government has had to deal with objections to this project because of the likely possibility of environmental damage. In addition, an estimated 1.1 million people will be displaced. A ban on any adverse domestic media reporting was how they remedied the problem.

Some people didn’t listen. In 1989, a journalist named Dai Qing compiled articles on the dam that were either rejected or banned from publication and put them into a book. The book was called Yangtze! Yangtze!. Going against specific orders, a dozen newspapers published reports on the book. Only a few months later the Tiananmen square crackdown halted any further such reports (Hazelbarth 1997).

1998 was an especially severe year for flooding. Thousands of people were killed and hundreds of thousands were displaced. In late August, when I arrived in Beijing to participate in an internship at the Central Television Station, the coverage of this event was at its peak. Everyday there was fund-raisers on television. Celebrities came on to
ask for donations of any kind. The evening news top story and special reports were always on flood updates.

In these reports the floods played a minor role in reporting. That is to say, the water level, casualties, and suffering of families were present but only as tools to compare with the heroism of the Chinese people, more specifically the Chinese army. The Chinese people as a whole united to support their comrades. The military was sent to the danger areas to build sandbag walls. More often than not, images of the soldiers running to and from were the popular choice to evoke a sense of patriotism, pride and hope. Thus the image of the military also received a needed face-lift. To me, this was an artistic use of the opportunity. Whether it’s PR for public relations or PR for PRopaganda machine, it seemed to be a successful campaign. The country was united under one cause.

I can’t however, fail to mention two other happenings. As a result of my stay at Oriental Horizons I was able to view raw footage of flood areas. In one shot I observed the staging of soldiers. They were lined up on a wide levy, two rows of single file. Each had a sandbag on their shoulder. When given the signal they all ran as fast as they could, screaming loudly the whole time. They threw down their sandbags and ran as fast as they could back to get another. Another report suggested a general, normally not hands-on in the rescue process, took the opportunity to carry an elderly woman across a river so that he might be filmed. The other issue also has an element of irony. Reports, only available on the Internet, claimed the flooding was so severe because of government projects around the rivers - one being The Three Gorges Dam. That report suggested the government of China was slaying a dragon it had essentially conceived.
At times and in certain circumstances the government keeps a tight rein on what is published or broadcast. At other times it seems reports are permitted to take liberties. The permissibility of a report depends greatly on its mediator. The societal norms greatly influence the technique of communication. Sometimes popular culture is a relatively safe, permissible avenue through which to discuss sensitive topic. These are all factors that influence the do’s and don’ts of information exchange.

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1 The tightening and relaxing of restrictions can also be seen in recent conflicts between the Chinese Government and practitioners of Fa Lun Gong.
2 Much of the information herein was obtained through discussions and interviews with friends and acquaintances at China’s Central television station. Cheng Xiao Hong is an editor for Oriental Horizons. She provided me with a great deal of historical perspective.
CHAPTER 3

THE TALK SHOW 实话实说 shihua shishuo - TELL IT LIKE IT IS

In January 1993 the television news show 东方时空 dongfangshikong

Oriental Horizons was created to answer two questions: How can we respect the will of the majority? And, how can we strive for more participation by the people? Under the umbrella heading of Oriental Horizons were some other shows with the same purpose in mind, 东方之子 dongfangzhizi Great People of the Orient, 东方空间 dongfangkongjian, 焦点访谈 jiaodianfangtan (Viewpoint). The introduction of these genres, new to China, meant an introduction of new thought and behavior. They wanted to “solve a thinking problem” 解决思想问题 jiejue sixiang wenti by “smashing leftist ideas, eliminating the remnants” 打破左的观念 dao zuo de guannian (Shi 1999, 9). These shows are to “achieve liberation of thought and thus bring about its liberation of thought on television.” 做到思想解放，并由此带来 电视观念的解放 zuodao sixiang jiefang, bingyouci dailai dianshi guannian de jiefang (Shi 1999, 9).

Each of these shows excelled in different areas. The first program, Oriental Horizons is a news show established for telling the truth about news. It airs three times a day and focuses on current affairs. Dongfangzhizi, Great People of the Orient is a show
that interviews people outstanding in their field. Through telling their story they provide viewers with some lesson and moral to achieving greatness or success. "Bringing together life’s finest" — 浓缩人生精华 nongsuo rensheng jinghua is the slogan of the show. Focusing solely on those with great achievements and airing only eight minutes, the show still wasn’t completely given to the majority of the people. Jiaodian Fangtan, Viewpoint, reviews the development of peasant life and reforms over the last twenty years. Dongfangkongjian reveals the daily life and standard of living of various people.

Still looking for a way to get more people involved and talking, in May 1995, Oriental Horizons aired a show inspired by foreign talk shows. At the time it was still under Oriental Horizons but this episode would later be the model from which a permanent talk show would be established.

In the spring of 1996, China aired its first nationally broadcast talk show, Tell It Like It Is, adding to its genres. The first show aired the 16th of March, titled “Who protects the consumer?” (谁来保护消费者). Later this would be followed by “Birds and Us” (鸟与我们) and “Smoking is harmful, so why smoke?”

Its name, Tell It Like It Is, reveals its intentions. It was created to directly combat one directional communication. To get away from idle politeness (guanhua 官话, taohua 套话), and the condescending talking down often used on television.

At its conception the show had two goals: the first was to follow societies need as it develops and the second to enrich television and the ability of expression. Letting people talk about issues facing them would do this. Through the “discussion and debate
of the guests and the audience obtain widespread resonance and participation” and thus give the people the power of participation. One producer explains, “We are striving for the realness and vigor of the discussion process, not advocating any position, but rather hide our own subjective tendencies and hand the power and judgement over to the people” 我們追求是談話過程的真實和生動，不主張給人結論，而是隱藏我們的主觀傾向 (Shi 1999, 11).

A common saying, gao peng man zuo 高朋滿座 (a great gathering of distinguished guests), often said during the show, illustrates the flattening of the communication structure in the minds of its creators. Those that have come to talk are distinguished guests.

This is especially significant when you consider television as a medium accessible to all. Historically, illiteracy has been a large problem in China. I often saw slogans on the side of building walls that read, “Sweep away illiteracy” 掃盲 saomang. Given such problems, television provides a venue for all those that can’t read to think and take active participation in debates that shape the nation. Previously only the educated could publish articles or get on television. No matter what their station in life, they could now have a voice.

Actually, the ability to discuss and deliberate over salient issues is much more important than the ability to express oneself in written form. It is a symbol of societal liberation. Yang Dongping, the shows chief designer explains this as an essential tool, “...learning to talk, learning to listen, learning to care, and learning to interact, are not only completely new learning processes to Tell It Like It Is but to everyone.”
学会说话，学会倾听，学会交流，不仅对于《实话实说》，而且对于我们都是一次全新的学习过程 (Shi 1999, 15). The ability to talk and discuss openly is a need for a “liberated” society. It’s an “important symbol of whether or not a society is liberated.” ...是一个社会是否开放的重要标志 (Shi 1999, 22).

The emergence of this new genre has offered the Chinese people a venue through which to discuss issues facing society. The show’s purpose is to give individuals a voice and increase interaction and understanding between participants through narrative, discussion or debate. M. M. Bakhtin says genre is much more than just a type of communication. In his view, genre is a way of seeing the world (Shank 1990). To the Chinese people the talk show provides an arena in which to actively participate in the appropriation of national as well as individual self. For us it provides an opportunity to observe the meaning making process, as used by the Chinese people. What stories do they tell from their own experience? What stories from their long history are still being told today? How are these stories being interpreted and under what rubric?

3.1 Topics and Stories 浅入深出

Working at Tell It Like It Is is a constant quest for the perfect union of a story and topic. One that embodies a controversial issue or one that is symbolic or representative of some larger other. This concept is reflected by the phrase 浅入深出 (shallow entry deep emergence). Within the confines of a story, great meaning may be extracted. Stories are just reflective of something larger, some principle or moral.
The majority of efforts are put towards searching newspapers, magazines, letters from viewers, watching television, answering hotlines or searching out any other place a story might hide. They consider themselves the eyes and ears of the country, raising issues in society that are hazily defined and inviting people from all walks of life to come and participate in the discussions.

Below is a list of some examples of topics and short explanations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese title</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haorenxiaoshi</td>
<td>A good person’s small matter</td>
<td>After being laid off, a mother begins to read ancient texts. The lessons she learns inspire her to pay for a 30 mao (a few cents) bus ticket she neglected to pay for more than ten years back. Main points were moral responsibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiaoshi buxiao</td>
<td>Small matters aren’t small</td>
<td>The response to A Good Person’s Small Matter was so intense that a sequel was recorded with expanded topics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shengmingzhong de 34 tian</td>
<td>34 Days in Life</td>
<td>The story of a miner trapped in a mineshaft by floodwater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengzhang de fannao</td>
<td>Growing pains</td>
<td>Focuses on generation gaps between parents and children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuo Fengyang, Dao Fengyang</td>
<td>Speaking of Fengyang, learning the way of Fengyang</td>
<td>A look at China’s development in the last twenty years through Fengyang county folklore.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1: Topics

Metaphorical devices come in many forms. By using events of the culture and society *Tell It Like It Is* can discuss virtually any topic. Those on the set and those in their homes make their own conclusions and both the audience and the viewer gain
lessons from these discussions. These stories are already part of the culture’s story anthology but become more well known and widespread as a result of being aired on the show. It is possible and even likely that these stories will later be referred to while meeting a new problem.

Generally, there are two kinds of topics. The first is controversial. That is, there is some kind of debatable element. The second is what they call “story” topics. These are metaphorical because they reflect something much larger.

Some topics are forbidden. For example, they can’t discuss politics or economics on the show. Likewise, though there is a certain degree of religious freedom in China, religion can’t be openly discussed. Nevertheless, there are loopholes. Many of these topics are discussed though in a much more subtle and indirect way. The show “How should we feel about children earning money?” (explained further in the next section) incorporates attitudes towards money as a sub-topic.

At the same time the topics discussed can’t harm society. I had the idea to do a show on the Internet. They refused for two reasons. First, the Internet is not yet reaching the majority of the Chinese communities. As a result, some viewer’s “relate-ability” may be low. At the same time, the show didn’t want to be responsible for hindering the growth of the Internet in any way. If they do a show on adverse effects the Internet has on children, the government might take it as an excuse to police it, or limit access. To them, the Internet is a great benefit. It provides information not normally available or permitted within China.
3.2 Point of Entry 切 入 口, 切 入 点

Even after a topic or story is found the most difficult thing is still finding, designing or creating a “point of entry,” 切 入 口 jierukou or 切 入 点 jierudian, as they call it. A topic itself is unframed or abstract. Discussing it in such a way would leave the conversation disjointed and random. Some recognizable device must mediate the topic or there would be no common thread with which to guide the conversation. Likewise a story, without a topic, may be discussed and analyzed from many different disciplines. They need to pinpoint how one particular story relates to one particular topic. Then a discussion may ensue. This point of entry must be small for clarity. It should keep the viewers interest. And, it must be something the majority of people watching can relate to.

To further illustrate I’ll use two examples from the show’s topic plans. These plans are made up for every show. They provide those designing the show with needed information about the topic, stories, guest and their background as well as an outline of discussion topics. The first is titled “How should we feel about children earning money?” This topic would fall under the rubric of a controversial topic. The opening paragraph of the Topic Plan introduces the topic: (Chinese original may be found in the Appendix A)

This topic opens with discussing two ways children earn money: 1) from renting books or toys to classmates; 2) from being rewarded monetarily by doing household chores. While considering this behavior, one question naturally comes up - Why do children think of earning money? Here we need to listen carefully to children to see how the concept of money got into their heads. Thus our topic opens from the side of discussing the pros and cons of children’s “mind for money.” Everyone will see the advantages and disadvantages differently but we all agree that adults need to lead children, help children foster healthy attitudes
towards money and know where the line is between benefiting from relations with others and taking advantage of them. Finally, we discover this is a topic about teaching children how to be a good person.

Within this topic are many problems and gives a general idea of how this would be discussed but the last line reveals the topic, how to be a good person. This deals directly with values and sense of right and wrong. Without a context to put it in the conversation would be unintelligible. Such a topic is inexhaustible. In almost any situation the question of proper behavior may be raised. And each person’s analysis of behavior may be completely different. Therefore, this is a topic that influences society at every level.

Also on the Topic Plans are opening words for the host. Here we find the problem introduced through a story creating concreteness and specificity: (see Appendix A for Chinese text)

A few days ago I stopped in to see a friend. I arrived just as they were eating. As soon as their son saw me he quickly put down his bowl and chopsticks and came running out with a Garfield toy.

“Take it! take it home and give it to little sister1 to play with,” he said.

That was really generous but this boy wasn’t always like this. Once I came to his house and his mother poured me something to drink. He started to whine because he wanted some too.

His mother said, “Then I’ll pour you a glass.” “I’ll just pour half out of uncle’s glass,” he replied.

Later I discussed this with my friend. She said she used to be very worried about this child being selfish so she worked on adjusting his attitude but apparently she adjusted it too much. Now he’s giving everything in the house away. That is even worse for a parent.

It seems educating children has its subtleties. Generally principles are easy to discuss but giving specifics is difficult. Today’s topic also has to do with the education of children but it also includes money, which is even more complicated.
In this case a story or narrative is used to illustrate the problem clearly. To provide a context for discussing how a good person feels about money, personal relations, the difficulty of teaching children politeness and more. In addition, this is an especially effective story because it's culturally recognizable. The propriety of being a host and being a guest in China is well known to all.

Sometimes stories can be interesting or entertaining but more importantly they give clear examples of what the problem is. To further detail the topic of discussion the host then interviews a young boy who has a “mind for money.” He had often rented out his toys or been paid to do homework for his classmates. Through what looks and feels like normal everyday conversation, the host asks a young boy about the first time he knew about this thing called money, where his knowledge of money came from, how has his concept of money changed since he began doing this, as well as questions about the relation between money and education.

His real and specific experiences provide the “point of entry” the show looks for. Guests and audience members may add their own or others stories and experiences, but all the stories that follow will be taken in relation to this boys experiences, his story as revealed through the on set interview. If other stories are told, the teller must in some way make a bridge between the “point of entry” and their own story, thus creating a common thread throughout the discussion. The first story plays the important role of grounding all other stories or experiences. How one interprets that story or how ones own experience is similar or different will demarcate values and ultimately the determine distances between people.
Just as the opening words have a funneling effect for the purpose of discussion the closing words have a broadening effect for the purpose of discussion. Below are the closing words of this show also on the Topic Plan: (see Appendix A for Chinese text)

Actually, renting out books to classmates is ok, getting allowance for doing chores is ok. To kids it may be just a kind of interesting game. Parents don’t need to talk about the seductions of money. As our market develops, it’s understandable how the awareness of money gets into children’s heads. But how to give children specific guidance just isn’t all that easy. Actually, even we adults often swing back and forth between personal relations and benefiting from them, so how can we put such difficult demand on children? At the same time parents can’t take this lightly because from children’s games we discover what they’re thinking and what they put importance on.

The closing words don’t necessarily provide a solution to the problem. Though there are some summaries made, the closing words open up the topic again to be discussed over and over by the audience and viewer. It again presents the problem as reoccurring, understandable and difficult in the hope that viewers will think and talk about the topic and relate it to different situations. *Tell It Like It Is* doesn’t just want to raise understanding and interaction between those that are able to attend the shows. They hope others will be encouraged to enter regularly into dialogue with colleagues, classmates, friends, family or anyone.

The second example is one of a story that represents or symbolizes something much larger. Recently, *Tell It Like It Is* was asked to do a show on the development and changes China has undergone since opening up twenty years ago. Since China has changed and developed in so many ways, they struggled with how to summarize this in just a couple hours? Again, they searched for a story or a common thread that could parallel the larger China.
FengYang county has historically been one of the poorest counties in China. At the same time it is also known for playing a monumental role in the opening up twenty years ago. The introduction of the topic explains: (see Appendix B for Chinese)

Fengyang’s Flower-Drum Girls are one of “Fengyang’s three flowers.” Originating in Fengyang county’s Ran Ding village, this is a tool Fengyang ladies used to use to panhandle for food. “Flower-Drum Girls” gradually became synonymous with Fengyang. After China was established, the leaders of the country looked favorably on the Fengyang Flower-Drum Girls and naming them representative of our county’s folk art. Through 50 years of development they have gradually become an art of gorgeous dancing as well as an economic and political cultural shell. When we hear the “folk” way of singing, what kind of review will we give the “modern” Fengyang Flower-Drum Girls.

In 1978, the Fengyang Xiao Gang village pioneered the start of village reforms. Twenty years later Xiao Gang has solved problems of basic needs, achieved high political position but still isn’t really on the road to self-sufficiency. Many Xiao Gang peasants haven’t left the Feng Yang county cities. They don’t know what the world is like. Now they have the first direct democratic election of the village major. How will we surmise how they’ve passed the last 20 years? Can they realize the future they have designed for themselves?

This episode will clue into this topic through a record of historical photographs, Flower-Drum folk art changes and the life of three generations of Flower-Drum Girls. It will reflect the great changes in village government, economy and culture, since 1978, as well as the complete change of life the women in village have undergone. At the same time, this art’s present state will make us ponder the progress of village reform.

By tracing the development of the folk art of Feng Yang county, the show is drawing a picture that is to be representative of China’s development. The pictures, each generation and each guest on the show has a story to tell. Put them together, connect the dots and a larger picture of progress and development materializes. Usually there is no more than four guests on a show and about one hundred audience members. In this show there were about seventeen guests, including dancers and performers, and over a hundred audience members.

Because it is the telling of one large story to reflect something even larger, the topic, in this case 20 years of development, is introduced in the opening words and the
culmination of all the stories told reflects that topic as a larger story. When comparing the two kinds of shows, controversial and narrative we see the function of stories is very similar. In order to discuss how to be a good person, they had to describe clearly what the behavior of a good person looked like and give examples. In order to summarize the development and change of something as large as China, they employed specific stories of one thing. This happens on all levels of storytelling, not just on talk shows. In order to better understand and explain feelings, opinions, ideas, values, etc. we need to use stories or metaphors as a form of illumination. Each story sheds light one the topic. Gradually, the topic takes shape and is clear. The more stories told the clearer the image.

3.3 The Host 主持人 zhuchiren

“If there weren’t Cui Yongyuan there wouldn’t be Tell It Like It Is. (producer)

“One Chinese facing the public and talking about personal feelings shows our society’s progress.” (Cui Yong yuan)

The host of Tell It Like It Is, Cui Yongyuan (Cui) is a testimonial to the relationship between knowledge and intelligence. Previously a journalist for more than ten years, he had the opportunity to discuss a myriad of topics with intelligent people all over China. In addition to the informational knowledge, he gained an understanding of interviewing and interpersonal behavior. In essence he learned how to express his knowledge in intelligent ways. What he learned from these experiences directly influences how he conducts himself as a host. In a personal interview Cui outlines his interviewing and hosting style:
Often, as soon as I enter the studio I find many people whispering, “there’s Cui Yongyuan!! Cui Yongyuan is here!! They point with their eyes shining with admiration. This isn’t equality. I’ve applied make-up, put on nice cloths, so they feel there is a big gap between us. So, every time I go into the studio, I just start talking with them. I feel my work of adjusting their state of mind begins at that point. I’d say, “After everyone gets here, please follow the rules of CCTV. CCTV has strict rule – after everyone sits down, talk freely! Say anything you want. You can discuss your neighbor, talk about your officials, or think of a your first love.” Joke around and after a while everyone begins to relax and bring up all kinds of questions. Before every show I need to spend 20 minute to a half-hour changing this kind of unequal thinking. .... I think hosts can all do this: first adjust the other people’s attitudes. But they may not be willing to do this. Why? Because they haven’t “adjusted” themselves. They care too much about themselves so there is naturally a distance between them and the audience.

Before the show even begins, the host is mingling with the crowd. By joking and talking openly he sets the tone for the audience. Right away he puts himself in the middle of them and at the same level. He closes the distance between himself and his audience by telling stories. These stories could be told verbally but they could also be told behaviorally. Through his actions he assures those around him he is friendly and open.

He prepares by having endless meetings with the rest of the cast to discuss the impending topic as well as recording day show logistics. I once heard lawyers don’t ask questions to which they don’t know the answer. Though Cui is not arguing any standpoint, as host of the show he knows the position the guests take on the topic. Through the research and reporting of the Planning Group, Cui knows the viewpoints of the guests prior to stepping on the set. Knowing this he is able to bring in new information at relevant times as he sees fit.

Despite all his preparation going on the set is an improvisational, creative process. Like teaching or storytelling, no two classes or performances are alike. “Tell It Like It Is,
this kind of new program, isn’t a make up performance, its improvisation given full rein. It’s not artificial, it’s ‘wild.’ It directly reflects the changes in society and its language. Its emotions are sincere, its humor is honest. Its diverse understanding almost gives perspective on all of society" (Shi 1999, 22). Once on the set Cui works within the same boundaries as the guests and audience. The topic, as designed by the cast and culture, sets parameters for a coherent conversation. As both participant and host, Cui tries to guide the topic but the topic is still prone to the unpredictable variables of conversational discourse.

Knowing this, Cui’s experience has taught him to go into interviews or shows with one question, then go with the flow. The opening monologue is usually the presentation of the problem. Once into the conversation it is no holds barred. Once during a show, “34 Days in Life,” one of the cast members gave him a piece of paper with a suggestion on it. This show was about a miner who was trapped by floodwater in a mineshaft for 34 days. He was from Inner Mongolia and had received little to no education so he didn’t really know how to express himself on the set. Nevertheless, he showed great ingenuity by surviving in total darkness for such a long time. There was a mule with him that he killed for food by twisting a rope around its neck. He broke his glasses and used the sharp glass as a knife to cut meat. Other than a day or two of light provided by a headlamp, he spent most of the time in darkness. *Tell It Like It Is* wanted to know what went through his head at that time.

The paper that was given to Cui was from one of the planning group members suggesting he talk more about thoughts of suicide. After the show Cui was adamant about never interrupting him on the set. He said it breaks his concentration and inserting
things like that sends the conversation off in unnatural directions. This shows he is a participant as well as a moderator of the show. All the knowledge and experience is built up in the weeks previous the show so he has an advantage over the guest and audience members but he is still inside the conversation just as much as the others on the set.

3.4 Warming up to them and warming them up 热场 rechang

Having done over 200 episodes Cui is very knowledgeable about the communication process in general and communicating on the set. For the guests this may be the first and only time to visit the television station and be on national television. The “warming of the set,” or 热场 rechang, is to warm up the guests and audience by giving them the knowledge needed to participate in this environment. It is to give them the practical knowledge of what will happen on the set and set the mood for the coming topic.

Once filming begins, Cui comes out in front of the audience sitting in a relatively small four tiered half circle and picks one or two people in the front to strike up a casual conversation with. Then before long he has the attention of the whole set listening in on what he is saying.

Having seen the taping of about 30 odd shows, I must admit there was a big change in my first impressions and final impression. Before arriving in Beijing, everyone told me how witty and what a quick thinker Cui was. The first time or two I saw him I wasn’t disappointed. He talked constantly but no one ever got tired of him talking, he told jokes and generally everyone listened to him. On the set and during the warm up his
delivery of jokes, summation of ideas and probing of others was truly skillful. I still believe it is skillful though I understand now he draws on a wealth of experience when doing this.

As I got more exposure to recording days I realized a high occurrence of recycled jokes and anecdotes. His deliveries were so refined because he had done it many times before. He had a grab bag of jokes and stories that helped the audience relax and made them laugh. He never used all of them but rather would pick and choose at his discretion which to tell. They were ingredients mixed differently every time. I began to wonder if this was still improvisation.

The following is an example of a Warm-up monologue:

From everyone at Tell It Like It Is, I’d like to extend a warm welcome. Recently, we’ve received many letters from audience members with some suggestions. I’d like to share some of them with you. One said attending the show is tiring, everyone needs to talk and sometimes travels from a long way to attend the show, nevertheless, the show shows now appreciation or gives no expression of thanks. It’s just talk and leave.

We thing we should give some kind of Tell It Like It Is souvenir. So we decided to start from this episode!
(clapping and cheering)
I brought this up with the station, though, and they didn’t agree.
(laughing and sighing)
So we can’t start this episode but I think we’ll start soon.....

Some other viewers felt they don’t like my clothes - said they aren’t good looking. What do you all think? ..... (clapping, commenting)
The point is that anyone can say anything they want. We’re all together freely saying what we really mean – what is really in our hearts. So I think what we wear or how we’ve grown up really takes a backseat.

Talking is key. This show’s specialty is that it depends greatly on the audience. For example, we record a show. In order to complete this task we need you all to talk. But, if those we’ve invited today have no desire to talk or discuss, this would be bad - terrible. So I hope everyone can speak out.
There are also some misunderstandings about the show. Some have said those
that speak on the show are coached ahead of time and possibly even paid off.
(laughing) Today you can see for yourselves whether or not that is true. If you’d
like to say something just raise your hand. Raising your hand means you have
something to say. When I see this I’ll immediately go over to you and hear your
inner thoughts. If you raise your hand and I don’t go over to you, it means I just
didn’t see you. If this happens just call my name. My name is Cui Yongyuan – a
difficult name to say. If you feel it’s too awkward of a name then just call out
“Little Cui” or “Old Cui,” either is ok. You say, ‘Cui, I’d like to say a few
words.’ And I’ll run right over.

I hope when everyone will stand when you speak – when you stand you look big
and tall. One child wrote to us. He said he’s discovered the people on Tell It
Like It Is have two things in common – each person can really talk and express
themselves really well. They also have something else in common, that is they
are all really short. Sitting while you speak will make you seem especially small.
Stand and talk - You’ll look like Wu Song. Sit and you’ll look like his brother.
(laughter)

When you speak don’t steal the mic. This is a station rule. It’s worth a lot of
money so from beginning to end I can’t let it out of my hands. I’ll hold it for you
so don’t take it from me. If you do we may drop it in our exchange and break it.
So don’t steal the microphone.

Some have said if I don’t let them hold the microphone, they don’t have anywhere
to put their hands. They don’t know what to do with their hands. But I tell you, if
I give up the microphone, then I don’t have anything to do with my hands.
(laughter)

So I’ll just hold the microphone. If you feel you don’t have anywhere to put your
hands, I suggest you add some hand gestures to what you have to say.

I hope everyone can completely relax when on the set. I always have the feeling,
that is to say, every time I leave home to record a show, it never hits me that I’m
going to do a show that will be nationally broadcast. It has no sense of newness.
When I leave, I’m very relaxed. I feel as if I’m sitting down and talking with
some old friends, or some new ones. It’s relaxed and open – that’s how this feels.
I’d be even better if we were allowed to bring in some tea, or even something
stronger. Every time I come into the set I never feel as if I’m entering a studio for
a nationally broadcast television station. I feel like this is “Old Cui’s” place – a
400 square meter living room. It’s a one room two bath place.... outside there are
two bathrooms. (laughter) I hope you feel coming here is just as relaxing as being
a guest at a friend’s house. There is no distance between us – you want to say
something just say it. In this place no one will get on you for what you say, what
I say goes and I say anything goes. Even anti-Party or anti-society talk, here you
can say anything.

I’ve said all I want to. If you have any questions I’ll answer then free of charge....
Do you feel nervous? Is your heart thumping? Mine is heating a little quickly, too. Now let’s listen to the band and get lost relaxing in the music.

There is nothing quite like going home after being away for a long time. Though this is the first time for the guests and audience to be on the set, Cui used the old and familiar to help those visiting the set for the first time to understand and climatize. He made them feel right at home.

Chinese society is a collective society. There is great importance laid on togetherness and the group. By presenting the set as his living room, Cui helps the audience to feel welcome and relaxed. The behavior of the host and guest are clear because this new situation has been related to an old, well known event understood by all. When instructing the audience on proper use of the microphone and speaking he employs an anecdote. Within that anecdote he refers to speaking like Wu Song, a historical Chinese hero. He didn’t say speak loudly, confidently and clearly but it was clear to the audience.

Through the manipulation of cultural markers Cui instructs while at the same time breaks down any emotional barriers. Show attempt to capture essence of the communication process.

3.5 Music 音乐 yinyue

Another tool employed in setting the mood is music. As above, the music is intended to sooth and relax the audience, guests and host for the upcoming conversation. This didn’t seem odd to me. As the show opens music is a nice addition.
Music during the middle of the show did seem a bit out of place though. After the Warm Up, after the presentation of the topic and well into the conversation the band would often chime in. I thought this a little odd. I even thought it was a mistake at times. Later I learned it was functional as well as beautiful. The music was like comic relief in a tense situation but instead it could be called “emotional relief.” Often conversations are difficult and require a great deal of concentration. Music allows everyone to take a break for just a few seconds. If needed it allow the host to regain control of the conversation or change its direction as needed.

A special meeting is held a day or two before the recording of the show to discuss music appropriate to the topic.

3.6 Editing and Censorship 编辑和审查 bianji he shenchanga

The editing process is a multilevel process of combining gists into a coherent picture. It again is connecting the dots. The recording time of a show is generally between 1½ - 2 hours long. The broadcast show is 35 minute plus the opening introductions and credits stretches it to about 40 minutes. The editors are mainly concerned with being sure all sides of the conversation are represented. Individuals different opinions need to be present as well as the larger trends and biases of the topic.

The producer oversees and sets the standard. The technique, lighting, and equipment all factor in to final product. One director, Cheng Xiaohong, described the picture as language. Frame by frame they are telling a story. Fluency means being able to piece together all the pictures in a coherent way.
Xiaohong described one memorable show, called 早 恋 zaolian (early love). This is a show about love in high school. Chinese society forbids two people to fall in love while still in school. It is a time to study, not fall in love.

One day, the show received a letter about a fifteen-year-old girl and a sixteen-year-old boy who had fallen in love. Though they were not looking to do such a show, this had fallen into their lap and as they say, 何乐而不为 heleerbuwei Why not do it. The letter was articulate and most important they were willing to discuss this matter on the show. Most people would be too embarrassed or ashamed to do so.

The parents, according to Xiaohong were typical. The father objected furiously while the mother also objected she was much more tactful. One concern she had was the girl might somehow manipulate or take advantage of her son. They ended up moving to another city to keep them apart.

Tell It Like It Is feels this is something all teenagers might run into or at least know someone with a similar experience. Their hope was to create awareness of the problem for both students and parents. Also, to directly question the popular trend that success for boys or men only came in one way, professional achievement.

There are some things, however reasonable, people aren’t ready to accept. While editing this show, Xiaohong chose utterances that she thought would benefit the audience. Many of these, she knew, were controversial but she took the chance they would pass censorship. After being viewed by the censors, they referred it to the Department of Education for further approval. These two offices sent the show back and forth, sending it to gradually higher offices. By the end the tape had been censored four
times at various levels, including a major. The tape finally passed but all the valuable
discussion was edited out at their request.

Final approval of the show comes from the Ministry of Propaganda. Every topic
needs to be passed by the Ministry before recording and after editing. Some shows are
recorded and never aired.

1 Here “little sister” is referring to the host’s daughter. Calling others sisters or brothers is an endearing
way of addressing someone, even if not related by blood.
CHAPTER 4

IDIOMS AS TRADITIONAL RHETORICAL DEVICES

In Chinese, no single cultural resource demonstrates better the relationship between traditional conceptual systems, their economization and intelligence than Chinese idiomatic phrases. Metaphorical devices are needed tools in any language that allow communication to reach below the surface of thought, to metaphysical and philosophic discourse. These devices reference the indexes of the culture. Idiomatic phrases serve as a “thumb-tab” that allow both speaker and listener to reference cultural meaning (Foley 1994). Like a book, culture is packed with dense meaning. These sayings, being based in traditional conceptual systems, extricate this meaning. They “carry with them value-added, idiomatic meanings that allow the [speaker] and his audience to engage in a highly economical communication. ...because the ‘words’ in which they negotiate... are so focused and laden with extra-situational signification, relatively few of them go a long way toward enabling a richly nuanced experience” (Foley 1994, 89).

A short phrase may reference an incredible amount of information in an indirect or implied way. Proverbs “serve as cues to an implied signification, as indexical of what the text cannot itself convey but tradition makes immanent to the verbal transaction”
(Foley 1994, 78). At the same time, the use of these cues is an explicit devise in communication. Common understanding and shared experiences channel meaning and allows greater as well as more efficient understanding than originally possible. These “words” may be independent or stand relative to another happening (Foley 1994).

Being historically based learning, these phrases perpetuates the culture and tradition, because they, in essence, are the culture and tradition. In addition to the proverb, valuable lessons in history are learned. Given this, learning these phrases also provides an effective, even essential, rhetorical device. These adages, “enrich the narrative process...not simply by ornamenting or emphasizing the skeletal action but by engaging dedicated fields of traditional reference and thereby helping to deepen the context in which the individual event occurs” (Foley 1994, 88). The part stands for or embodies the whole. A succinct expression stands in the midst of a great deal of meaning that is inseparable from it and therefore implies much more than is explicitly communicated.

Idiomatic phrases, in China, are the result of a long history of condensing the essence of Chinese thought into short phrases, by extracting the sayings that embody that thought from text. Proverbial sayings, as sayings, belong to the rubric of oral performance at the same time they are strongly tied to written canon of the culture. Many sayings began in ancient philosophical texts. Books such as The Four Books (四书 si shu), The Five Classics (五经 wujing), and many more too numerous to list, embody the Chinese thought and provide phrases commonly used in conversation. Throughout history these phrases were reused in other works reinforcing their position as cultural and conceptual pillars.
As more stories were added to the Chinese anthology more sayings emerged.

During the Tang period the tradition of poetry was greatly influential. With the discovery of the novel came more literature from which to draw. There are four famous books that most people in China are familiar with (四大名著 sidamingzhu): *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (红楼梦Hongloumeng), *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三国演义sanguoyanyi), *Journey to the West* (西游记xiyouji), and *Heroes of the Marches* (水浒传shuihuazhuan). Out of each came stories, principles and characters that transformed the Chinese thought. These now serve as cultural resources with which meaning is made.

Wolfram Eberhard’s 1985 article explores proverbs that originated in classical works and appear in selected novels. The above were among some of the novels researched. He cited the following as example of proverbs that had multiple appearances:

伸手不打笑脸 (from 金瓶梅jin ping mei)

*shen shou bu da xiao lian*

伸=stretch; 手=hand; 不=no; 打=hit, strike; 笑=laugh, smile; 脸=face.

TRANSLATION: A soft answer will turn away wrath or A stretched-out hand will not hit a smiling person.
成者为王，败者为寇

cheng zhe wei wang, bai zhe wei zai

成者 = victor; 为 = serves or becomes; 王 = king; 败者 = failure, one defeated; 为 = as before; 寇 = bandit, enemy, invader.

TRANSLATION: Conquerors become kings and the defeated are traitors. The implicit meaning is the winner is right because he wins, regardless of truth, and the loser is seen as wrong.

妻不如妾，妾不如偷，偷得着不如偷不着 (from 红楼梦 hong lou meng)

qi bu ru qie, qie bu ru tou, tou de zhe bu ru tou bu zhe.

妻 = wife; 不如 = not as good as; 妾 = concubine; 妾 = as before; 不如 = as before; 偷 = swipe, steal; 偷 = as before; 得 = gotten, obtained; 着 = particle; 不如 = as before; 偷 = as before;
不 = no, not; 着 = particle.

TRANSLATION: A concubine is better than one’s wife, a secret lover is better than the concubine, and a lover one cannot get is better than one obtained or obtainable.

知人知面不知心 (from 金瓶梅 jin ping mei and 红楼梦 hong lou meng)

zhi ren zhi mian bu zhi ren

知 = know; 人 = person; 知 = know; 面 = face; 不 = no, not; 知 = know; 心 = heart.

TRANSLATION: If one knows a man, one know his face not his heart.
酒逢知己千杯少，话不投机半句多

_jiu feng zhi ji qian bei shao, hua bu tou ji ban ju duo_

TRANSLATION: When one meets a close acquaintance, thousand cups are still too few.

When words do not fit the occasion, half a sentence is too much.

好事不出门，坏事传千里 (from 金瓶梅 _jin ping mei_ and 水浒传 _shui hu zhuang_)

_hao shi bu chu men, huai shi zhuan qian li_

TRANSLATION: Good deeds do not leave the house, but bad acts spread over a thousand miles.

In more recent years, slogans and sayings were very popular during the Cultural Revolution. They were short, easy to remember and embodied a wealth of information. These phrases were a useful tool in disseminating doctrine and “reeducation.”

三要三不要 – _san yao san bu yao_ The three do’s and three don’t’s (practice Marxism and not revisionism, unite and don’t split, be open and aboveboard and don’t intrigue and conspire.)

三大革命运动 – _san da ge ming yun dong_ The three great revolutionary movements (class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment). This was normally used to educate young people sent to the country to be reeducated.
三支两军 – san zhi liang bu Three supports and two militaries (support industry, support agriculture, and support the broad mass of the Left; military control in all units and military training of all students at high schools and universities). An executive order of military intervention to support the Cultural Revolution at its early phase.

As a result, the sayings have a practical as well as an artistic quality. Learning and using these promotes clarity and understanding, adds artistic qualities to language, deepens meaning, inserts humorous element, and makes the speaker appear more intelligent. Furthermore, because they are implicit, idiomatic phrases require the audience to participate in the meaning making process. The phrase triggers memories or knowledge in the listener’s mind causing a high degree of activity in what is normally quite a passive process. Interest is peeked by new combinations of old utensils. “A proverb is an ossified distilled story, but it has lost so much of its original detail that it needs the hearer to supply some detail. Thus a proverb can be seen to carry with it great wisdom because the hearer has supplied the specific referents to the general frame which is the proverb” (Shank 1990, 38). It is an indirect metaphoric communication device but at the same time communicates clarity and intelligence. Given that intelligence is knowing and telling stories recognizable in a register, the speaker of these phrases appears very intelligent. The usage of these is in accord with cultural conceptual systems on which reason is based. They are metaphorical devices commonly used and recycled.

The Chinese idiom is a gist of another story. It captures the essence of the original story and summarizes its meaning. A full context around this phrase is provided. When these short phrases are applied to a new situation or event, that event suddenly takes shape or is shaped by the context of the phrase. As stated earlier, the gist is a
skeleton of a story that may be applied to many events for many purposes. A proverb as a gist congeals the event in which it is used. Because the listener and speaker both are familiar with the phrase and its context, its use serves to economize language and meaning.

Thus, the transformation in the minds of the participants of one event into meaning is a chemicalization of the two events. The gist of the former event is applied to the latter event. Certain aspects of a story or event are maximized or minimized according to the meaning the participants make out of it. The new is seen in relation to the old then added to the larger lexicon of meaning and metaphor.

Many gists may also be extracted from one story according to its purpose. “Adages are a function of genre. They can be inserted into written or oral styles of communication as such are common features serving very specific roles in discourse” (Eberhard 1985, 50) For example, the story of “Mao Sui Offers His Services” conceived multiple sayings. For instance, 脱颖而出 tuo ying er chu (talent showing itself), 两败俱伤 liang bai ju shang (both sides suffer; neither side gains), 一举两得 yi ju liang de (raise one, get two; two birds with one stone), 坐山观虎斗 zuo shan guan hu dou (watch others fight from a safe distance), 坐观成败 zuo guan cheng bai (sit and wait to see who is the victor and who is the loser).

For anyone wishing to move freely in Chinese culture, understanding these sayings and their implications is a required tool to fluency. “Fluent composition means the ability to speak in this dedicated register, to shift the axis of discourse from other speech-acts to the particular confines of the performance area designated...” (Foley 1994, 89).
4.1 Kinds of Idiomatic Phrases

There are many kinds of Chinese phrases and they come from many sources; mythology, legend, history and poetry. They range from 4 to 8 characters long. Generally, these sayings have some things in common.

- They are short.
- They are usually understood metaphorically or figuratively rather than literally.
- They are rich in implication and the meaning is outside the words.
- They contain some greater moral or meaning.

The most common are four character phrases called, 成语 (chengyu), or idioms. Many of these phrases come from historical events and are attached to some story or allegory (Eberhard 1985). For example:

班门弄斧
*ban men nong fu*
To wield an axe in front of Ban’s door

Lu Ban, also known as Kongshu Ban, was considered to be one of the foremost carpenters in the history of China and the discovery of the saw, the ink line, and other instruments used by carpenters is credited to him. Taking an axe then and wielding it at Lu Ban’s door would be showing off in front of someone with much greater knowledge and skill than yourself.

Sentence: I heard a story about some foreigners who came to China a number of years ago trying to teach Chinese cooks how to cook. That was really showing off how to use an axe in front of the door of Lu Ban. (Sun 1981)
And,

熟能生巧
*Shu neng sheng qiao*
Practice makes perfect

Chen Yaozi was a very young archer during the Song dynasty. One day, when he was practising archery in his vegetable garden, an old man, a cooking-oil pedlar, who happened to pass by, stopped and watched him hitting the bull’s-eye again and again. After watching a while, the old man slightly nodded his head to show his approval. Chen felt affronted and challenged to old man, saying: “Do you understand archery? Am I not a superb marksman?” “That’s nothing,” replied the old man, “it’s only due to practice.” Chen was even more furious on hearing this and demanded to know how the old man could make such a contemptuous remark about his marksmanship. “I came to know archery,” said the old man, “from my own experience of pouring oil.” While saying so, he took out a calabash and put it on the ground; and then put a coin [a Chinese coin in the old days had a hole in the middle, measuring about a few millimeters] on top of the opening of the calabash. After this was done he took out a ladle filled to the rim with oil and started to pour the oil into the calabash through the hole of the coin, to the last drop. Thereupon, he picked up the coin, on which not a trace of oil could be seen, and showed it to Chen, saying: “There is nothing to it. Practice makes perfect.” Chen smiled and let the old man go away. (Sun 1981)

歇后语(*xie hou yu*), or Chinese wit are “set phrases of which only the Protasis in uttered, the apodosis is understood by the listener” (Sun 1981, 2). They are understood in one of two ways: a) meaning is achieved by the apodosis understood through rather unexpected angle or b) the apodosis is understood through a punning sense. *Xie hou yu* are generally colloquial. A “main emphasis in *Xie hou yu* lies in its humorous double extendre; thus may truly be called wit of the Chinese language” (Sun 1981). For example:

孔夫子放屁：一股文气
*kong fu zi fang pi: yi gu wen qi*

Confucius is considered to be a most learned man and even when he passes a flatus, it will be a most literary air. “A whiff of literary air” means that a person behaves in a very scholarly manner, and thus “has too much of a scholarly air.”

Example:
Ou: “Have you met our new lecturer? What do you think of him?”
Ouyang: “I met him yesterday. I think he is a little like Confucius breaking wind.” (Sun 1981)
俗话 Su yu are popular sayings that are short and figurative. They are often created by the working class and reflect everyday life experiences and desires. 熟语 Shu yu are set phrases that must be used in full and can’t be changed randomly. The meaning of the phrase is seldom, if ever, understandable through the words themselves. 谚语 Yan yu is a simple phrase handed down through generations that reflects deep principle or reason.

Many sayings have changed over time. Some sayings have even taken on the opposite meaning they originally had. For instance, 李代桃僵 lidaitaogjiang now means to substitute and has lost the meaning of brotherly affection or self sacrifice; 买卖还珠 maimaihaizhu’s meaning of satirizing the seller of pearls, is now used to mock a person who values superficial beauty rather than actual worth; 尔虞我诈 eryuwoza is no longer used in the original sense of “neither side trying to cheat the other but the opposite of “mutual distrust with both parties playing tricks.”

The meaning change further points to their importance and utility in the Chinese culture as essential to meeting, solving and describing salient problems in society. A change in problems may also bring change in need. As metaphorical devices commonly used in this culture they have played a key role in the education of the people and the shaping of the Chinese conceptual system. They are the lasting fruit of thousands of years of philosophical and metaphysical debate.
4.2 Introducing a Saying

Proverbs are introduced in a myriad of ways. Sometimes they don’t require an introduction and sometimes they do. If introduce it is often done in common ways. Generally, these introductions contain words such as 古 gu meaning old or ancient, 俗 su meaning common or commonly, 说 shuo meaning say, speak, talk, 言 yan meaning word, 真 zhen or 诚 cheng meaning real or true. For example, 古语 guyu – ancient words or language, 古言 gu yan – said from old time, 古人 guren – ancient people or people of old, 俗语 suyu – common saying, 俗语说 suyu shuo – it is commonly said, or simply 说 shuo – say, talk, speak, 诚 is chengshi – it really is, 真是 zhenshi – it truly is, 真所谓 zhen suo wei – truly what one says, 常言 chang yan – standard words, 俗言 suyan – common word (Eberhard 1985).

In general, proverbs should be introduced in these ways or no introduction should be used. At the end of a show, “A good person’s small matter,” Cui Yongyuan used a proverb to summarize the show. He said something like. “Mencius once said, 不因 ‘善小而不为, 恶小而为之’ buyin 'shanxiaoerhuwei, extiaoerweizhi (though the good may be small don’t neglect doing it just because it’s small, though the evil may be small don’t do it just because it’s small). In the weeks that followed, Cui received letters from all over China explaining Mencius was not the first who said that phrase though he may have said something similar. He researched the origin and presented his findings on the next show, along with an apology to the audience. By saying something like, 有人说 yourenshuo someone once said, 中国人有一句话 zhongguoyouyi juhua the Chinese have
a saying, the speaker is not in danger of making a mistake. Even when sure of the source, it is sometimes good to remain general so the emphasis falls on the words, not the person.

Likewise, a part of the beauty of a proverb is in knowing its meaning. Therefore, sayings need not and should not be explained. On a popular television show a foreign student used the proverb, 一日为师，终生为父 yiriweishi, zhongshengweifu A father for a day, teacher for life. He then proceeded to say, “That means...” as if the audience didn’t understand or had never heard that phrase before. Upon hearing this, the audience burst out in laughter.

4.3 Idiomatic Phrases used in *Tell It Like It Is*, 实话实说

The following are exempys taken from *Tell It Like It Is* that use some kind of traditional rhetoric and their cultural and traditional meaning.

4.3.1 实话实说

主持人：各位观众朋友，大家好，欢迎大家收看我们的《实话实说》节目！我是主持人崔永元，在祖国的心脏。．．．北京。

Host: Hello everyone and welcome to another episode of *Tell It Like It Is*. I’m Cui Yong Yuan, your host, in the heart of this country...Beijing.

The title of the show, 实话实说, shihuashishuo lays emphasis on telling the truth.

有一句说一句 youyi, shuoyi stresses telling the whole truth. While yet another similar phrase 丁是丁卯是卯 dingshiding, luanshiluan conveys telling nothing but the truth.
4.3.2 青出于蓝而胜于蓝，染使然也

The first show broadcast was “Who protects the consumer?” about a consumer who makes his living suing stores that sell fake products. In this show a teacher and one of his former pupils both sat together as guests. As students are considered rude and unruly if they disagree with their teacher, this has the potential to create a bit of a conflict. Cui confronted this possibility by asking the student what he would do if he had to disagree with his teacher. He responded:

高明：有这么的一句话：吾爱吾师，吾更爱真理。

Gao Ming: There is a saying: I love my teacher, I love truth even more.

主持人：好!希望你青出于蓝而胜于蓝。。。。

Host: Good! I hope the ray outshines the light it came from....

青出于蓝而胜于蓝

qing chu yu lan er sheng yu lan

青 = blue; 出 = to produce; 于 = of, for, to, at; 蓝 = blue; 而 = and; 胜 = to outshine or surpass; 于 as before; 蓝 as before

TRANSLATION: Student surpasses the teacher or latecomer surpasses predecessor.

A story also illustrates its meaning. After studying for a few years under his teacher Kong Pan, Li Mi of the Southern and Northern Dynasties excelled his teacher in his learning. Kong Pan was very pleased with it. Sometimes when he had a problem, he even asked Li Mi for advice. But Li Mi felt embarrassed.

64
Kong Pan said to him with all sincerity, “Don’t be embarrassed. Anyone who
knows more than I do in any field can be my teacher, let alone you.”

This story of Kong Pan asking his student for advice soon spread far and
wide and people were deeply moved. Someone composed a short verse in praise
of Kong Pan who did not feel shamed to ask advice from his student:

Indigo is turned into blue,
And blue is grateful for the indigo.
There is no eternal teacher,
The teacher is the one who knows more.

(From the History of the Northern Dynasty – 北史)

The phrase 青出于蓝而胜于蓝 qing chu yu lan er sheng yu lan means to outshine
one’s teacher. The original metaphor was taken from a dying process in which
the dye that was extracted from a kind of grass was actually a brighter blue than
the original plant. It has thus come to mean a student surpassing a teacher or
someone who surpasses the skill and knowledge of a predecessor.

Also seen in 《崇学》 -- 北齐，刘 青出于蓝而胜于蓝,染使然也。

4.3.3 父子之爱

子女眼中的父母 zinu yanzhongde fumu Parents in the eyes of children is a show
that discusses the relationship between parents and children, children’s love for parents,
parents for children as well as problems created by generation gaps. One guest was asked
if his relation with his sixteen-year-old son in any way repeated his relationship with his own parents.

Gao Shiyu: My son is a lot like me. Since very young he’s had a strong personality and been good-natured. I remember when I was sixteen I had a tendency not to listen to my parents. It’s like a cycle, the past is coming back to haunt me, he (the son) follows suit and doesn’t listen to me. I now feel like the donkey from Qian.

qian lu ji chong

黔驢技窮

是 a province in ancient Gui Zhou; 驢 is a donkey; 技 is skill or ability; 穷 means destitute, poor, at the end.

TRANSLATION: to be at the end of ones rope, to exhaust all avenues.

Guizhou was a place where donkeys were not bred. A man full of fancy ideas shipped one there, but when it arrived he found it was not of much use. Therefore, he took it to the mountain area and left it there.

One day a tiger saw it and, impressed by its size, took it to be a mysterious creature. So, he hid himself in the woods to steal a good look at it. By and by he came out to approach it with great caution, though still not sure what it was.
One day, the donkey brayed. Shocked, the tiger fled far away in fear, thinking it was going to bite him. While keeping a distance, he paced to and fro and watched, only to find it had no special powers. Gradually used to its bray, the tiger got nearer and walked around the donkey. Nevertheless, he still dared not attack it. Then, going still nearer, he tried flirtation with it. The donkey could not withhold its anger and gave the tiger a kick. At this the tiger rejoiced because he calculated that this measly kick was all it could do. The he leaped on it, roaring. Having eaten the donkey, the tiger went off contented. It is now used to describe someone who has exhausted all their abilities and resources.

4.3.4 同舟共济

As a summary, guests are often asked to give one phrase to express their personal viewpoint. At the end of the above 子女眼中的父母 Parents in the Eyes of Children one parent said this:

黄集伟：父母与子女之间应该相互降低标，同舟共济。

Huang Jiwei: Parents and children shouldn’t be so hard on each other, after all we’re all in the same boat.
同舟共济

_tong zhou gong ji_

同 = together; alike; 舟 = boat; 共 = to share, common; 济 = be of help or assistance.

TRANSLATION: people in the same boat will cooperate to get across the river and prevent drowning.

During the Spring Autumn period a famous militarist named Sun Wu 孙武 wrote _The Art of War 孙子兵法 sunzi bingfa_. There is a story in illustrating 同舟共济 tong zhou gong ji.

When discussing how to prevent being defeated by an enemy he told about a kind of snake in the Heng Mountains. This snake was especially dangerous. If you attach its tail, it attacks with its head. If you attach its head it rescues with its tail. And, if you hit its torso it attacks with both head and tail. So, he instructed, superior leaders should train themselves to work together like this snake. He further illustrated the principle saying the country of Wu and the country of Yue have long been enemies. But, if a boat carrying men from both countries across a river suddenly meets high winds, the men will work together to keep from drowning. Its implicit meaning is those that have the same fate work together for a common purpose.

4.3.5 雒竹难书

In 广告知多少 Guanggaozhiduobuduo _The Awareness of Commercials_

discussions of commercials and advertisements evoked talk about aesthetics (advertising
as an art and as eye sore), business ethics (suggesting advertisement is like killing
someone for money), and the best use of time (advertisements steal away precious time).
After one guest complained at length about commercials, a few opponents had the
following dialogue with the host:

主持人：李先生的诉苦大会如果我要不及时打断，今天大家就要在这里久坐了。(
笑声)
李盾：这是因为广告给我们带来的苦处太多了，恐怕再加上多长时间也没办法说完
。(掌声)
主持人：陈先生，你也有这样的感觉吗？
陈村：我跟李先生的看法非常一致。广告的坏处真是罄竹难书。(笑声，掌声)
Host: If I don’t cut off Mr. Li from his complain-fest we’ll have to be here a long time.
Li Dun: That’s because there are too many vices that accompany advertising. I’m afraid
even if we extend the show we still won’t say all we want to say.
Host: Mr. Chen, do you feel the same?
Chen Cun: I’m right with Mr. Li. All the bamboo couldn’t record the harmful aspects of
advertising.

罄竹难书 (from 旧唐书 jiutangshu Old History of the Tang Dynasty)
qing zhu nan shu
罄 = exhaust, use up; 竹 = bamboo; 难 = difficult, hard or hardly possible; 书 = book, write.
TRANSLATION: Before paper was invented, all records were put down on bamboo slips. That even all the bamboo cannot record means that there are too many crimes to be recorded.

At the end of the Sui Dynasty, Li Mi and Zhai Rang organized the Wagang Army to fight against Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty. They occupied Luokou (near today’s Luoyang) and many places in Henan and Hebei. Li Mi once wrote a call to arms in which he listed the major atrocities of Emperor Yang, saying, “Even all the bamboo on the South mountain cannot record his crimes; all the water of the East Sea cannot wash away his evils.” 磐南山之竹，书罪无穷；决东海之波，流恶难尽！

4.3.6 一寸光阴一寸金，寸金难买寸光阴

In the same show another guest further specified on advertising offenses:

陈村：我想问一下，我们要讨论的广告也包括美国的广告马？是不是说美国广告好了呢？我觉得他刚才说的非常有意思。那么多的人，花那么长时间，看那么滥的广告，浪费了多少生命啊。我们本来说什么谋财害命，说什么一寸光阴，一寸金。。。 (被打断)

Chen Cun: I’d like to ask, does our discussion include America’s commercials? I feel what he just said was interesting. So many people, spend so much time to watch such terrible commercials. What a waste of life! As I said before, this is like killing someone for money, and an inch of light – an inch of gold...(cut off)
一寸光阴，一寸金

yi cun guang yin, yi cun jin

一 = one; 寸 = inch; 光 = light; 阴 = shadow; compound of 光阴 means “time” as it indicates the movement of sunlight; 一 = one; 寸 = inch; 金 = gold.

TRANSLATION: An inch of light and shadow is worth an inch of gold. (time is money, or time can’t be bought)

The full phrase is 一寸光阴一寸金，寸金难买寸光阴。yi cun guang yin yi cun ji, cun jin nan mai cun guang yin.

The expression 一寸光阴 yi cun guang yin, or its abridged form 寸光 guang yin, has been mentioned constantly by well-known people in Chinese history and one such person was Tao Kan of the Jin dynasty. Tao was a famous general during his time and performed outstanding services for his sovereign. Most important of all, he set some commendable examples for future generations. When he was the governor of Canton, he kept a huge pile of bricks outside his study which he carried – one by one – into his study before retiring at night, and which he then carried outside again the next morning. When his friends asked him for an explanation of this unusual behavior he replied that it was to keep him fit so that he could serve his country and people better. Another well known story about him was that he hated to waste anything and would not throw away what might be considered rubbish or junk to other people. Once he ordered the ends of the sawn-off bamboo ends wood to be collected and kept in the store-house. Everybody wondered what they could be used for, until some time later the imperial court ordered the governor to build ships for transporting troops to quell an uprising. The bamboo and

71
wood-ends were fully utilized as pegs needed in ship building, which saved a great deal of labor and enabled the assignment to be accomplished in record time. Apart from these stories he is better remembered as having high regard for time, and he would not allow himself or his subordinates to waste it in what he considered to be improper pursuits of pleasure, such as gambling and so forth.

4.3.7 天下本无事，庸人自扰之

In 该不该减肥 gai bu gai jian fei - Should we diet? standards of physical beauty, self respect, indulgence were topics of discussion and their effect on a person self. When given a few seconds to summarize, one guest said this:

张越：风也没动，幡也没动，是你的心在动；胖也好，瘦也好，你心里觉得好就好
，千万不要“天下本无事，庸人自扰之”。(掌声)

Zhang Yue: The wind hasn’t blown, the steamers haven’t move, it’s your heart that is moved. Whether fat or skinny, it is that you feel good about yourself that is important. At all costs, avoid making something out of nothing. (applause)

天下本无事，庸人自扰之

tian xia ben wu shi, yong ren zi rao zhi

天下 = world; 本 = one’s own, originally; 无 = no, nothing; 事 =matter, thing;

庸人=mediocre person; 自 =self;扰 = agitate, stir up

72
TRANSLATION: people who make something (trouble) out of nothing – stir up trouble for oneself.

From 心唐书 xiao tang shu.

4.3.8 一个唱白脸，一个唱红脸

Dealing with 面对孩子的谎言 miandui haizi de huangyan - Children Telling Lies is a discussion of how to best teach children to be responsible for their actions, how to work well with others and value education. This requires parents and adults to closely analyze and reflect on their own actions including societal structures that may contribute to child delinquency. One audience member contributed the following comments about dealing with children who tell lies:

观众三：。。。应该采取夫妻双方结合起来，一个是打，一个是打了以后采取另一个方式，让孩子明白，妈妈或爸爸为什么要打你。

主持人：这在戏剧艺术上叫作一个唱白脸，一个唱红脸。

Audience member 3:...[Parents] should adopt a cooperative approach in order to make the child understand. One hits the child and one explains afterwards why mommy or daddy hit them.

Hosts: In the opera this is called one white face one red face.
一个唱白脸，一个唱红脸

*yige chang bai lian, yige chang hong lian*

脸=face.

**TRANSLATION:** one sings the white face and one sings the red or, one plays good cop

one plays bad cop.

In the Chinese opera, characters are known by their face. A white faced role is for

villains and a red faced role for heroes.

**4.3.9 种豆得豆，种瓜得瓜**

In the editor’s notes of *xuehui guanxin - Learning to Care* it says,

“孔夫子说：仁者，爱人也。” *kongfuzi shuo: renzhe, ai ren ya* (Confucius said: The

benevolent love.) That is, love begins with two people being equal and mutually caring.

Each though has their own responsibility. He went on to say:

当声誉，地位，财富和谋生的需要像一把把利剑高悬在头顶，逼迫他们在模拟的社会

竞赛场上狼奔逐突时，那么，种豆得豆，种瓜得瓜。

When the needs for reputation, status, wealth and making a living hang over head like

swords and force us to enter into disgusting practices, then as the sowing, the reaping.
种豆得豆，种瓜得瓜

zhong dou de dou, zhong gua de gua

种= plant;豆= king of bean;得= get, reap;豆= as before;种= as before;瓜= melon;得= as before;瓜= as before.

TRANSLATION: What you sow is what you reap.

Also 种李得李, 种麦得麦 zhong li de li, zhong mai de mai any combination. 李= plums;麦= wheat.

And 作福得福，作罪得罪。zuo fu de fu, zuo zui de zui Virtuous deeds will bring fortune and wicked deeds will bring punishment.

4.3.10 己所不欲，勿施于人

As the population grows, cities and villages get more and more crowded and personal space in China becomes a valuable commodity. So, it is very important to have a good relationship with your neighbor and to respect each other. A show titled 远亲不如近邻 yuan qin bu ru jin ling – Far Away Relatives Can’t Compare to Close Neighbors, discusses these issues. When given the chance to say a few last words one guest quoted The Confucian Analects.

李丁：己所不欲，勿施于人！

Li Ding: What one does not like oneself, one must not do to others!
己所不欲，勿施于人

ji suō bu yù, wú shì yú rén

己= self; 所= what, that which; 不= no, not; 欲= like, desire; 勿= do not; 施= apply; 于= to;
人= person; and here it means other people.

TRANSLATION: What one does not like oneself, one must not do to others.

Also 己欲立而立人己欲达而达人。ji yu li er li ren ji yu da er da ren Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.

4.3.11 他山之石，可以攻玉

When discussing individual rights in a show called 夫妻是否需要一米钱 fuqishifou xuyao yi mi qian – Whether or not Husband and Wives Need Their Own Money the host called on some foreign guests for their opinion.

主持人：他山之石，可以攻玉，今天我们现场来了好几个外国朋友，我们听听他们的高见。

Host: The stone produced in the others mountain can be used to polish jade. Today we have invited quite a few foreign friends to the set. Lets listen to their respected opinions.

他山之石，可以攻玉

ta shan zhi shi, ke yi gong yu

他= other; 山= mountain; 之= of; 石= stone; 可= may, can; 以= with; 攻= attack; 玉= jade.
TRANSLATION: The stone produced in the others mountain can be used to polish jade.  
(The implicit meaning is that a man can be improved by others.)

From The Book of Poetry 诗经 shijing.

Conclusion

It is the matrix created by these stories and proverbs in which the people of China live and move. These “words” are a vital constructive elements used in everyday language. Because they are built on tradition and the Chinese Story Anthology they economize utterance while at the same time increase meaning. Thus, making a direct connection between folk repertoire, folk wisdom and their function as words in a register.
CHAPTER 5

THE LIVING TRADITION

Arguably the most successful episode of *Tell It Like It Is*, the first episode, "Who Protects the Consumer?," exhibits the life of traditional rhetoric. To the Chinese, gardens are among the most poetic and creative forms of art because, unlike paintings or sculptures, they are never finished. Their creativity lies in a constant newness and life, placing man as a participant in that expression rather than a creator. So it is with tradition. Producing a show requires weeks of preparation planting and cultivating ideas culminating in a short two-hour performance. The improvisation of the show, in which traditional rhetoric plays a key role, is a mixture of the participant’s experiences that seem to bring the discussion to life. The translations and explanations below shed a bit of light on the role traditional rhetoric plays in one episode of *Tell It Like It Is* (Chinese text provided in Appendix C).

The left box below provides the English translation or close equivalent of the conversation. The right box provides intermittent comments on traditional rhetoric. The show itself is designed around a story that most, if not all of the participants are familiar with. Knowledge of consumer law, social norms, buying and selling and politics are also helpful to participating and speaking intelligently in this conversation.
The host sometimes asked those on the set to explain some of their experiences. Through these experiences the listeners get a better feel for what the speaker is saying. Throughout the discussion there were also references to places and events. These needed little explanation.

All in all, this show, like the others, demonstrates the life of tradition and how traditional rhetoric is used to argue and rebut ideas. Some references to cultural resources are obvious and some are subtle.

Editor’s note: Counterfeit, low-quality products have long been a thorn in the side of consumers! Who protects the rights and benefits of these consumers? As a result of Wang Hai fighting these counterfeiting activities emerged the Wang Hai Phenomenon. What do we think of this? What are the proper ways of using Consumer Law to protect your privileges? The multiple views on this issue lend themselves to heated discussion and enthusiastic debate. As a central character in this play, Wang Hai is not void of his own unique opinions. What do you think?

Guests: Wang Li Gong (People’s Daily reporter)
Fan Gang (Researcher of economics department of Social Science Institute)
Xiao Zhuo Ji (Beijing University College of Economics Management professor)
Gao Ming (Beijing Jing Tian Law Firm)
Host: Cui Yong Yuan
Time: March 16, 1996

**Host:** Hello everyone and welcome to *Tell It Like It Is.* I’m your host, Cui Yongyuan in the heart of our nation – Beijing, sending out to you sincere greetings. There’s a Chinese saying, it’s “Hearing a wise person speak a few words from the heart predominates ten years of studying the classics.” If you often watch our show you’ll know that telling it like it

- Here two sayings serve multiple functions. According to natives, these phrases are high compliments. Those that are on the show, including
is our show’s cornerstone and house full of guests is our specialty. (to Wang Ligong) You’re not only People’s Daily reporter but also China Quality magazine assistant editor. With these two titles can you be sure you’re not buying fake goods?

Wang Ligong: Not necessarily. Being a consumer requires a wealth of knowledge that can only be gotten step by step.

Host: (to Gao Ming) Being here today I feel a bit nervous for you because I know you studied under Xiao Zhuo Ji while at Beijing University. What if there is some kind of conflict between the two of you, how can you go against your teacher?

Gao Ming: There is a saying, “I love my teacher but I love the truth more.”

Host: Good! I hope your fruits put you one up on the tree you came from. Everyone is a consumer. We all go shopping. But our attitudes often suffer the effects of episodes with imitation goods. Everyone handles this differently. Some swallow their tongue to avoid conflict and some sit for nothing. Among those who have stood up is a name we are all familiar with, Wang Hai. This youth from Shan Dong province came to Beijing hunting counterfeiters and sued for compensation. He’s attracted the attention of the news world which now seethes over this phenomenon, dubbing it “The Wang Hai Phenomenon.” His supporters call him a hero and his opponents a “rogue.”

(Television caption appears: Wang Hai, 23 years of age, from Shan Dong. Sued for profit in Beijing since March 1995. To present has accumulated 110 thousand yuan in claims, .... ,

the guests, feel honored to be associated with such phrases. It also opens the show with specificity of what the show’s purpose is while at the same time the archaic language evokes a feeling of tradition.

- Gao Ming uses an archaic phrase to explain any possible lack of respect for his teacher.
- The host responds by using a metaphorical phrase explained in the previous chapter.
- Here, two phrases 忍气吞聲 renqi tun sheng and 息事宁人 xi shi ning ren are used to describe kinds of passive people. In each one metaphors are used in which air is somehow blocked or stifled. A third phrase, 挺身而出 ting shen er chu, is used to describe the opposite kind of person, one who stands up and says what is one their mind. The first character means straight or erect and also carries implied meaning of facing hardship.
- The Wang Hai Phenomenon is an example of a phrase in its early stages of evolution. As this episode shows, a great deal of negotiation goes into defining the Wang Hai Phenomenon.
Currently eight suits worth in excess of 50 thousand RMB pending.)

Audience 1: Wu Song was a hero for fighting the tiger, Wang Hai is also a hero for fighting fakes.

Audience 2: I don’t think Wang Hai is a consumer.

Audience 3: Wang Hai shouldn’t take advantage of Consumer Law for personal gain making it into some kind of profession.

Audience 4: He is a consumer.

Audience 5: An economic consumer and a legal consumer shouldn’t be the same.

Audience 6: How do you know he isn’t buying these products for his personal use?

Audience 7: I feel in as much as it’s a phenomenon, its existence presupposes a rationality.

Wu Gao Han: A slogan best expresses the point of view of the Consumer Organization, That is we hope a thousand Wang Hai’s will stand up and manage the markets, thus promote healthy development of our socialist commercial economics.

Xiao Yueji: If you want people like Wang Hai to stand up and protect the consumer’s rights then what is your responsibility? It could be said that the emergence of the “Wang Hai Phenomenon” says you’re not doing your job.

Wang Ligong: I’d like to say a few words about this. I feel a need of market economics is the maturity its consumers. That this twenty-something, Wang Hai, can have such an awareness of consumer law, including commercial knowledge is a precious commodity.

Gao Ming: Wang Hai isn’t a hero nor is he a “rogue,” but he is definitely smart. From the first time he reaped the

At the same it is being added into the pool of traditional rhetorical devices.

- Wu Song is a literary hero known for fighting and killing a tiger with his bare hands.

- Wu Gao Han is a representative from the Consumer Organization. It is common whenever doing a show that involves some government office for an official from that office to be invited. This prevents problems with offending offices.
benefits of staking claims he realized it could be a job.
Host: You feel this is smart?
Gao Ming: Yes, but Wang Hai himself, I don’t feel he is fighting against counterfeitters.
Host: The lawyer’s colors are obvious, he doesn’t feel Wang Hai is fighting fakes. What about Mr. Fan.
Fan Gang: He is fighting counterfeitters. Motivation for fighting fake products doesn’t necessarily need to come out of personal use of the product, but rather he can take his contributions to society as motivation. Even if he entraps those counterfeitters I wouldn’t think much of it.
Host: Opinions over the Wang Hai dispute are widely divided. We have already said so much but what does Wang Hai think? Let’s invite Wang Hai to the set. (Wang Hai appears, clapping. Host says to Wang Hai) You’ve startled everyone, including me. They just said Wang Hai is a twenty-something youth, Uh.... How is it you have such a beard?
Wang Hai: It’s fake.
Host: Fake? Why?
Wang Hai: Out of consideration for my safety. Yesterday Chang Jiang Daily put out news that a Wang Hai in Wu Han was bum rushed by a group of people when he came out of the store. He only bought one or two thousand yuan worth of .... (cut off)
Host: Could you translate bum rushed into laymans terms? What does that mean?
Wang Hai: Gang beaten.
Host: Have you ever met up with this kind of danger?
Wang Hai: I have. But my methods of self-preservation are a bit better.
Host: Do you wear a beard every time you go out?

As outlined in previous chapters, the host knows the opinions of the guests before stepping on the set. Though he hasn’t talked to them himself, others have and reported back. A good portion of the opening is devoted to getting out these points of view, including their logic.
Wang Hai: Not necessarily but I do change my appearance a little.
Host: You being here, I can see this opera is better sung. Everyone is waiting to ask you all kinds of questions but, since I’m the host, I go first. Some people say traveling all over fighting counterfeiting is highly expensive. You went to Shang Hai, Gaung Zhou, and Beijjing, as far as I know your home is in Qing Dao, why not start there?
Wang Hai: I’m not too familiar with Qing Dao because I’ve always been away working.
Host: Oh, though your home is in Qing Dao you’ve always floated around. So you chose Beijjing to begin your fight. Could you tell us a little bit about your first experience with fighting fakes?
Wang Hai: The first time was at Beijjing’s Fortune Department Store. After I bought two pair of earphones, I determined they were not authentic. After that I felt my expenses already surpassed the price of the earphones. I immediately thought of buying more, so I bought 10 more pair. After that I demanded recompense, and went to the Commerce Department and put in a claim. The Commerce Department told me they are an administrative office and have no jurisdiction over this kind of thing. Monetary claims belong to civil action. After being dragged out for eight months, Fortune Department Store finally compensated me.
Host: Then you should go to the Consumer Organization again.
Wang Hai: I looked for a long time but I couldn’t find it, I think the Dong Cheng area Commerce Organization may have moved and I didn’t know where.

- A lot of emphasis is put on processes and changes. Often a guest will be asked to tell about a first time then later asked about how they’ve changed since that first time and what future plans they have.

- A real comprehension of such a discussion requires a minimal knowledge of the government offices and laws of China.
Host: But if you’d known where they were would you have gone to see them?
Wang Hai: Yes.
Host: Since then have you asked for there help?
Wang Hai: No need. I just go to the store and the Consumer Organization member responsible for that store is there or The Commerce Department personnel are sitting right there.
Host: Will they support you?
Wang Hai: Not necessarily, generally I don’t sue but I think they were often one set ahead of me.
Host: I think everyone’s a little confused, tell it like it is.
Wang Hai: ok, for example I go buy a pair of fake leather shoes from a store. I go four times and the store just gives me the run around. Usually saying they are still investigating. The fifth time the store will have a manager standing there. At this time the store says it was me who made them take these shoes in.
Host: What does the manager say?
Wang Hai: He says they can’t do anything about that.
Host: Were you able to hear he debate going on earlier?
Wang Hai: I heard a bit.
Host: Some said you aren’t a consumer, what do you think?
Wang Hai: Consumer law isn’t just for the protection of the final consumer. Purchasing is also consumer behavior. There are three kinds of consumers those that purchase for resale, those that actually use the product and those that purchase a service. If I buy something just to satisfy the desire to buy I’m still a consumer. If after I buy it, I throw it out or just put it in the corner or give it to some as a gift it doesn’t matter, it’s up to me. It’s my personal right.

- Wang Hai doesn’t seem to be an eloquent speaker. Contrast him with the host and they exhibit the influence good story telling has on perceptions of intelligence.
personal freedom to do what I want.

Host: Then the question of whether or not you are a consumer is related to the legality. For a legal perspective we turn to Mr. Gao the attorney.

Gao Ming: He probably doesn’t qualify as a legitimate consumer but drawing from what he just said, there is no legal way to be sure he is or isn’t a consumer.

Host: It wouldn’t be because he’s here on the stage that you’ve changed your story?

Gao Ming: No, no, I’ve always seen it this way.

Host: Mr. Xiao what do you think?

Xiao Zhuoji: If he isn’t doing something illegal the it’s legal. It seems he hasn’t gone against the law so he’s legal.

Host: We just heard from store representatives and those in law. Now we’d like to hear what the common consumers have to say. (to audience) Please introduce yourself so that we may be sure you’re a normal consumer.

Audience 8: I’m a lawyer. If I go to the store and buy something shouldn’t I be considered a consumer? I’d first like to point something out. I feel the motive of those that are debating whether or not Wang Hai is a consumer is wrong. They just want to stir things up. (clapping, laughing)

Host: You mean I want to stir things up?

Audience 8: Because stores selling false products is a requisite for Wang Hai to buy them, you sell fake I buy fake. Wang Hai hasn’t stole counterfeit goods nor has he robbed or cheated. He is buying counterfeit products.

Stores are knowingly, not unknowingly, buying and selling counterfeit products. Stores have a responsibility. If they are selling

- Roughly, the last half hour is spent getting audience opinion and reaction to previous comments.

- Here an interesting metaphor is used．把水搅渾 ba shui jiao hun 拌= indicates action, 水= water, 搅渾=
counterfeits and don’t know it then
they’re not qualified to do business
and their license should be revoked.
If you want knowingly sell
counterfeit goods then you should be
punished according to article 49 of
consumer law.

Host: You’ve cleared up what we’ve stirred
up, we’re very happy. As far as I
know this is the first time Wang Hai
has come to our studio. It could be
said such an opportunities are few
and far between, and I know store
owners and consumers alike have a
lot of questions they want to ask him.
Now, I’m giving you all the chance.

Gao Ming: Telling it like it is could you, in
plain terms, tell us will your future
endeavors will after all be for the sake
of buying or will they be for some
other purpose? (clapping)

Wang Hai: Most for the purpose of making
claims.

Gao Ming: Ok, that is all the questions I
have for now.

Host: You must have some thoughts on what
he said.

Gao Ming: I think there are some basic
principles of law, those are honesty,
fairness and fair prices. These
principles are for the benefit of the
public not their restriction. Now,
under the pretext of law, Wang Hai is
purely buying products for the
purpose of being compensated. He
has deviated from normal track of
exercising consumer behavior. But,
at present this is a difficult problem
to handle. In many ways the law’s
hands are tied.

Host: So you’re saying Wang Hai is
exploiting loopholes in the law.

Gao Ming: Calling a spade a spade, that is
what he’s doing.

Fan Gang: I feel the social awareness,
honesty, trustworthiness and

stir and confuse. He uses this to
describe creating chaos or stirring
things up. Metaphors are also
considered traditional rhetoric
because they originate in cultural
resources which may or may not vary
between cultures.

- Continuing references to the above
metaphor seem to show wit and quick
thinking.

- Throughout the show participants
refer to the phrase “tell it like it is.” It
seems to be a tool to remind others
they should tell the truth, or it’s used
by the speaker to say “I’m telling the
truth.”

- A good example of value judgements
made concrete through the story.
righteousness counsel spoke of are requirements of courts, judges and prosecutors. Right now consumers are facing fake products with low quality, how can you demand we’re all saints? (clapping) From the perspective of fighting these fakes, right now we need to use the people economic rights to fight it. It seems law also says this. You can’t expect people to fight these fraudulent activities just for the sake of fighting with no personal economic benefit. It is difficult to maintain sound market economics. So, we’re using people’s authority. This authority is not necessarily pure but good. It maintains moral standards of power to fight these fraudulent activities. At this point, in this period, we should admit it’s positive functions are greater than it’s consumer function. (clapping)

Host: Wang Hai, which of these sound reasonable to you?

Wang Hai: Everyone has their own rational.

Gao Ming: Mr. Fan was just speaking of the Wang Hai problem. I’d like to know if we compare Wang Hai’s activities and the government’s business bureau, which one is better.

Fan Gang: Of course the government’s bureau is better, no one has denied the government should be the major component, the consumer organization should play the leading role. But the present situation is that the government offices have fought for a long time and there is still so much left to be done. Increasing societies strength and supplementing the fight.... (cut off)

Host: Mr. Fan, I have some data for you. From 1993 to 1995, our country’s the known counterfeit good added up to 10.4 billion yuan. The cases

- The English and Chinese metaphors used here seem similar, loopholes and 孔子 kongzi meaning space, hole, hollow. 漏洞 lou dong can also be use in the same way.
involving counterfeits exceeded 370 thousand. According to expert’s estimates, these numbers represent 1/20 of counterfeit goods.

Fan Gang: And then look at the government department’s and consumer organization’s limitations in handling those cases. Shouldn’t more people be taking part in fighting this. Even if they need to use some unsavory or dirty methods, I think this is needed.

Gao Ming: But why is there so much counterfeiting and falsifying, but compensatory cases only stand at 5%. Does this depend on the activities of people like Wang Hai?

Wang Hai: I’d like to clarify something. These cases could be a kind of supplement. Generally speaking they’re helpful.

Gao Ming: Another problem is whether or not activities, such as Wang Hai endorses, have any side effects. One would be a disruption in commercial economic order, another is the effect it will have on the establishment of the laws. If everyone were like Wang Hai and individually demanded compensation for buying counterfeit goods then the roots of the problem still haven’t been weeded out.

Fan Gang: This is putting too much on Wang Hai. He shouldn’t be expected to catch the stores and the factories too. So I feel the problem that has been revealed by the consumers should be picked up by the proper government department. They should police the factories. Wang Hai’s contributions help the government offices. As far as the establishment of a system, there is no advantage to it. Who is causing the problems? First and foremost it’s the thousands of producers of those counterfeit products. Next it is the inefficiency

- Data used as evidence.

- Use of a grass or weed metaphor, 根源, genyuan means roots, parent, germ
of our system in solving the above. Now a group has emerged that is focus on profits under the banner of social benefit. This reveals the system is not structurally sound, it has a bunch of holes in it. It also shows we need to perfect this system through the process. This is itself a conflict between the sellers and the buyer. This is a good opportunity for the government to step in and mediate, perfecting the legislative system in the process. Any system is refined under such a conflict. I’m not saying that prosecution will solve all our problems. It is only through the impact of the people and their conflicts that the system may be improved. We are having this discussion today because of the existence of this conflict. The influence and improvement of discussions such as these on our legislative process shouldn’t be allowed to be ignored. (applause)

Host: Wang Hai, I heard you’ve sought compensation in Guang Zhou recently.

Wang Hai: That’s right, I went to Guang Zhou once.

Host: Is this another one of those high expense claims?

Wang Hai: I think I’m only 10,000 yuan in the hole for this trip. (laughing)

Host: Really, it’s already cost you that much. You’ll also have a lot of difficult verifying the logo is fake. How do you have the motivation to keep going?

Wang Hai: I’d like to correct a misconception. Everyone thinks I’m out for money but actually I’m out for the lawsuit. Though these lawsuits contribute a bit to society while at the same time keeping myself from harm. If you want to talk pure profit I could

- Guang Zhou is highly developed area in southern China.
sell counterfeit products and earn a lot of money.

Host: What kind of work did you do before?

Wang Hai: I did marketing, sales.

Host: According to your research, you feel selling counterfeit products is very profitable.

Wang Hai: Take some of the calculators I’ve bought. In Guang Zhou they’re 20 yuan wholesale. In Beijing they wholesale for about 150 yuan. If you wholesale to the stores, earning 50 yuan shouldn’t be a problem which makes about 200% profit. I think it was Marx that said if he had 100% profit he could skirt the law all together. This is probably possible.

Host: Then buying counterfeit product for resale is dangerous because it going directly contrary to law.

Wang Hai: But from estimates, resale of fake products isn’t dangerous at all. We’ve already said that confiscated goods are estimated at 1/20 of what is out there. I estimate only 1% is a bit more accurate.

Xiao Zhuoqi: I’d like to make a correction. It wasn’t Marx that said that but rather he quoted it from and English person. (laughing and applauding)

Host: Mr. Xiao has begun his second class.

(laughing)

Wang Hai: I’ve also heard for example that many of those that sell imitation products have relatives in the Commerce Departments. If there is going to be a check the relatives will notify them and they’ll pack the fake stuff up. But if they run into a customer like me, and in a year there would only be a few, they don’t care. They just pay and in the bigger picture it’s nothing. If out of 365 days the Commerce Department checks maybe two or three days then

• One dollar is roughly equal to eight yuan.

• Through narrating an example, Wang Hai clarifies how profitable selling counterfeit products could be.

• As Marx is an important figure in Chinese history, saying he said something adds credibility to his above evidence.

• The effectiveness of the use of Marx name is undermined a bit by Mr. Xiao saying Marx was actually quoting someone else.
they just close down for a few days. There's not reason for them to be nervous. Even if they pay out two claims a year, they don't care. They make 10 yuan a day and, according to the management, it's still profit.

Host: You've made your point. You mean if they are going to buy imitation products for resell, they're not going to worry about a "rogue" like you.

Wang Hai: That's right, if I sue them what do they care. (applause)

Host: I've been noticing this young lady was been shaking her head as Wang Hai spoke. Do you disagree?

Audience 9: Is suing the stores, after all, for his own personal benefit or for society? You just said it was for the progress of society but I don't understand what aspect of society you're trying to improve.

Wang Hai: At least people are getting to know their consumer rights a little better.

Audience 9: But what are you doing for society? I feel you're just messing things up.

Wang Hai: No I'm not. Is it those that are selling the fake products that are disturbing social order or those that are fighting them? (applause) It's like those that are trying to catch the crooks are m messing up our society just as much as the crooks.

(applause)

Audience 10: I'd like to ask Wang Hai, Why haven't you gone to places like farmer markets or Bai Gou which are full of imitations.

Wang Hai: While in Guang Zhou I bought a pirated calculator. It retails in the stores for 30 yuan but it was market up to 150 in larger department stores. Who do you think I should go after. Generally speaking, those who go to a privately own enterprise are looking
for cheaper products. They understand that 30 yuan doesn’t buy a real calculator so it’s not a serious lie. On the other hand take a 30 yuan calculator and sell it for 150, it’s a serious deception.

Host: This gentleman’s question was, why have you only gone after the well government owner shopping centers when there are places infamous for selling imitation goods.

Wang Hai: Going after one government department store is like going after several privately owned stores. There are quicker results with higher impact.

Fan Gang: I think we need to be clear on something. If a certain product is sold for only 20 or 30 yuan everyone knows it’s fake. In a place like Bai Gou, everyone knows there are a lot of fakes. No one claims they are authentic. The truth is they are low quality products, they’re not fakes. The quality is substandard, they don’t have any brand name. Everyone knows they are bad quality. Take the same product and put it in a store, big or small, and claim it’s authentic, that makes it counterfeit. This we need to be clear on.

Wu Gao Han: I’d like to elaborate on this one. I think it’s Beijing’s and the department store’s pleasure to have the Wang Hai phenomenon. Because only in places like Beijing where law enforcement and public environment are more advanced can such a thing happen. It won’t happen in places like Bai Gou small stores where reputation isn’t a concern.

Xiao Zhuo Ji: Our comrade from the Consumer Organization brought out a very strange logic. He said that it’s Beijing’s and the department stores honor to be hit with the Wang Hai
Phenomenon. If true then – first, these department stores can keep on selling counterfeits and keep on being caught because the more honor the better, (laughing) second, other stores can do the same thing because all the stores want honor. They can feel proud they are selling counterfeits and being caught. Third, other cities will want to imitate Beijing because Beijing has the great honor of being caught selling counterfeit goods, (laughing applauding) What would happen if it goes on like this?

Gao Ming: I’d like to add one more point. If everyone says they hope there would be more and more people like Wang Hai, since it benefits the fight against imitations, then which of Wang Hai’s attributes are we talking about? Is it that he knows a counterfeit and buys it or that after buying it he seeks claims? I don’t think it is any of these. If we see this problem in the right light, what we should be learning is his fighting spirit. This spirit isn’t that of recognizing counterfeits and buying them nor is it the claim afterwards. It’s recognizing fakes and after buying them relying on the power of law to exterminate it. This is the point most important to us. Imitating the way he is now contributes nothing to the impossible task of breaking up counterfeiting. (applause)

Host: Gao Ming has given rise to a movement to learning from Wang Hai’s vigor.

Gao Ming: But only one thing.

Host: As a common consumer, I’d like to ask Wang Hai what he’ll do after this and what his long term plans are.

Wang Hai: I’m already facing a great deal of difficulty. For example, authenticating, prosecuting as well as

- Hear is an interesting argument. Mr. Wu tries to promote the Wang Hai Phenomenon as a positive thing, something to be proud of.

- At the same time Mr. Xiao holds the opposite view of the same Wang Hai Phenomenon.
various other difficulties. I need to think now about how to solve some problems with making claims. The only way is to negotiate with stores or through the courts. If all my future suits need to go through the courts, which could take anywhere from a few months to a few years, then I won’t be able to continue this work.

Host: So you won’t keep trying to go against the grain?

Wang Hai: That’s possible. I’m just an ordinary person. I need to survive, I can’t not eat.

Host: What kind of work will you do then?

Wang Hai: If there’s no way to keep doing this, I’ll most likely choose to sell imitation products. (applause) But I’ll sell imitations at imitation prices, I won’t sell them high. (applause)

Host: I’d like to ask the *Peoples Daily* reporter, what are some good ways fighting counterfeits is done abroad?

Wang Li Gong: Outside campaigns against counterfeiting rely mainly on enforcement divisions and government. At present the level of counterfeits traded stands at 5% of world trade. Therefore, to those countries that have a lot of name brands it’s an important issue. In 1993, France passed a law setting a strict precedence. Counterfeit-substandard goods would be considered smuggled goods – drug trafficking. Fines went from 2000 franc to 500,000 franc. As for sentencing, those producing the counterfeits were fined even more, some reaching 2.5 million franc, some many times that.

Host: Are you saying we should fine them until they give us the shirt off their back?

Wang Li Gong: Right.

Audience 11: Then who protects the
consumer? We don’t rely on divine intervention, we need to create our own fortune and rely wholly on ourselves. (laughing, applause)

Host: (to the band’s keyboard player) What do you have to say about enforcing-fighting counterfeits? (keyboard player played a few bars) Drummer, what do you have to say? (sound of drumming) They’re saying that if a store is found to have a problem with selling or producing counterfeits, they’ll set up right in front of their storefront to tell everyone, “Hey, this place sells counterfeits.” (laughing)

Is that what it means?

Band members: Pretty much.

Host: Our discussion for today is coming to an end. I’d like to give our guest one last opportunity to say some closing words that sum up their view.

Gao Ming: Who protects the consumer?
The law. (applause)

Xiao Zhuo Ji: Who protects the consumer is first a reform system with the protection of law and the support of the people. (applause)

Wang Hai: Depending on others can’t compare to depending on yourself.

Fan Gang: This fight requires reliance on the whole system, at the same time reliance on all those within the system.

Host: As the people so the system. (applause)

Wang Li Gong: Consumers, grow up.

Host: At this time I’d like to ask Wang Hai to excuse himself. (applause as he leaves) Wang Hai said he put on that disguise out of consideration for his safety. We to would like to respect this kind of consideration. We hope one day Wang Hai will be able to be like all the other consumers and take off his mask and freely walk down the street, choose products and be a

- An example of the participation of the band. See Chapter 3

- At the end of each show the host gives the guests one last chance to say a few words that sum up their view.
normal consumer. I think that day will be a holiday for all consumers. Thank you everyone! See you at our next show. Goodbye!
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Moving about in our own culture, we are often unaware of just how much we depend on traditional rhetoric for expression. Put into another culture, however, we are often taken aback by this inattention when a lack of necessary apparatus hinders expressing even simple concepts. No matter how knowledgeable one is about language itself, ignorance of the tradition behind communicating reveals itself as the Achilles heel of effective, efficient expression and understanding.

This thesis has brought to the surface the high degree of traditional rhetoric used in expression, provided some ways it is formed and pointed out some of its functions as a rhetorical tool. The surrounding culture provides the resources for metaphorical association of qualities. Qualities, thoughts, ideas, opinion and other abstractions need these mediators to be expressed. Given relative cultures, people in different cultures use different resources to mediate with. As these metaphorical devices are accumulated, a common knowledge of these devices facilitates in the economics of communication.

Traditional rhetoric is underwritten by a story anthology which merges approaches to thought, culture and intelligent expression under the following premise:

*Story Anthologies, the sum of a culture’s metaphorical devices used in the meaning*
making process, are at the core of both conceptual and rhetorical systems or structures. Interpretation and association of qualities, derived from both events and physical artifacts, builds metaphorical frameworks that standardize our world.

Our concepts are based in this standard. In order to be intelligible, economical and logical, discourse must employ the standard of that given domain. It is the internalization of these metaphors through discourse that both propitiate the conceptual system as well as teach the performance of intelligent expression.

The people of each culture work out their own devices for mediating meaning. In China old, familiar symbols, such as The Great Wall and the Yellow River, are recycled in new genres. At the same time new symbols are constantly emerging, such as television series and songs.

In many ways the story anthology legislates the design and practice of media. Specific historical or modern stories equip Tell It Like It Is with a point of entry into a discussion and arms the participants with persuasive, credible arguments. Through narration the host opens the topic and makes sure everyone is on the same channel. Participants try an utterance for its ability to arbitrate grass roots values. Together, the show serves as an arena to both express personal views and distill the national issues, choices and concerns. Mastery of a culture’s euphisms connotes mental agility, whereas ignorance of them denotes mental deficiency.

Specific examples in the text show a wide range of traditional rhetorical devices. Idioms are particularly useful examples in showing the relationship between traditional rhetoric and expression. Sponsored by stories or metaphors, idioms are unique devices
because they simultaneously possess specificity and malleability. While they reference a specific tradition the principle they reflect allows them to conform to multiple situations.

The introduction of traditional rhetoric opens itself up to further research. As each culture has only a finite amount of cultural resources, it sheds light on why respective cultures and people seem to have different realities. Traditional rhetoric offers hard data for studies in education, culture, history, and politics while at the same time can be a barometer for abstract studies in philosophy, morality, values and the like. It is valuable to both commercial and academic fields alike. It could be applied to advertising, public relations or marketing professions as well as linguistics and cognitive science studies.
APPENDIX A

怎样看待孩子挣钱？

本话题主要就孩子的两类挣钱行为展开讨论：①勤工或玩具给同学；②家长要报酬。在这些挣钱行为做出判断的时候，我们会自然地提出一个问题：为什么孩子会想到挣钱呢？在这里，我们不仅要听孩子的声音，看一看钱的概念是怎样进入孩子头脑的。我们将从讨论此事件的事件的层面展开，讨论孩子的“经济头脑”对他们的成长的利与弊。对利弊的判断不存在，但大家有一点共识：成人有必要引导孩子，帮助孩子树立健康的经济意识，正确理解与对待“情”与“利”的关系。最后，我们发现这是一个教孩子做人的故事。

嘉宾
1. 尚经纬，男，44 岁，徐悲鸿美术馆中学二年级学生，徐挺的儿子。
2. 翟坤，女，42 岁，首都经贸大学副教授。
3. 苏鸿兴，男，52 岁，上海社科院青少年研究所长。
4. 王铭三，男，58 岁，中国铁道建设协会高级工程师。

开场语：有些日子我去一个朋友家串门，正赶上他们家吃饭，他们家孩子看见我来了，赶紧放下碗筷，从里屋抱出一只蛋糕，说：“拿去吧，回家给你小妹妹玩”。真大方啊。孩子以前可不这样，有一次他妈妈在我倒了一杯饮料，他磨磨唧唧地也要喝，他妈妈说：“我给你倒一杯”，孩子说：“我就从叔叔这儿倒半杯吧”。后来跟朋友聊这件事，他说以前他家里听孩子小气，使劲抢，结果被大打了，现在恨不得把家里的东西都送出去，当父母的更苦恼了。看起来教育孩子真是一件很微妙的事情，大道理好说，具体操作经常处在两难之中。咱们今天聊的话题也和孩子教育有关，还涉及到钱，恐怕更复杂。

对话层次
一、尚经纬挣钱
1. 8 岁出摊要给同学玩；2. 尚经纬为什么想挣钱？3. 尚经纬对钱的认识来自哪里？4. 徐挺“教育”儿子“爱钱”。

二、小学生该不该挣钱？小学生有“经济头脑”对他们的成长利大于弊还是弊大于利？
[大屏幕]孩子挣钱的调查结果
1. 王铭三反对：认为少儿不宜，不利于培养孩子的责任心，可能养成孩子一切向钱看的习惯；
2. 苏鸿兴具体分析，区别对待，喜是贬非；
3. 徐挺理智上的忧虑；
4. 尚经纬的辩解，学会吃饭的本领，适应市场经济。

三、提供具体行为指导，帮助孩子树立健全的经济意识
结束语：其实，把书本教给同学也好，做家务要报酬也好，对孩子来讲，可能只是一种有趣的游戏。家长不必谈钱色变，市场经济在发展，经济意识进入孩子的头脑是可以理解的，但怎样为孩子提供具体的行为指导就不那么容易了。其实，我们大人也经常徘徊在情与利之间，又怎么能苛求孩子呢？但家长也不能掉以轻心，因为从游戏中可以发现孩子在想什么，关注什么。
尚经纬

1. 小学三年级暑假，搬家到一个大院，爸爸妈妈给我买一个滑板，我有了板子玩，慢慢和小朋友混熟了，他们要滑板玩，我就开开玩笑地对他们说： “嗨，哥们儿，不能白玩，一块钱！” 有人给钱，有人说赚朋友钱不应当。

2. 有一天挣了两块钱，很高兴地对爸爸讲： “我挣钱了，我去买水枪，不用你掏钱了。” 本来以为我会表扬我，结果爸爸一反手就准备揍我。我很害怕，后来爸爸我打我。爸爸这个人啊，自以为是高人。（据徐婷讲，当时孩子爸爸很感慨，打是因为他太过份，太小就要去挣钱，太不觉得孩子比自己强，他有生存本能，所以没有打）

3. 尚经纬还有放高利贷，让同学抄作业收钱，等等挣钱行为。据尚经纬讲，他班在初一有4—5人（全班30人）有挣钱行为。初二开始后有增加。

4. 尚经纬认为他的做法不影响同学关系，他有人缘因为他总是乐哈哈的，还说：“我能装孙子，跟我妈学的”，他还认为有些同学很穷，收他一点钱他也不在乎。5. 针对反对意见，尚经纬说：“市场不经济了嘛。老奶奶、老奶奶的胳膊太老了。我相信一句话，‘小孩不会花钱，长大一定不会挣钱’。会挣钱很好，长大饿不死。”

徐坤

1. 反对干家务要报酬。家长的本意是想让孩子劳动挣钱，结果孩子干什么都想要钱，这种抚养方式不好，结果会造成孩子与家长斤斤计较，亲情被利益取代，孝道不存在了。

2. 出租图书，一类行为有好的一面，培养孩子的经营意识，充分利用图书；也有不好的一面，把亲情关系变成了利害关系。

3. 孩子想挣钱有三个方面：①家长自食其果，我儿子有个外号“实在爱钱”，是他爸爸起的。我爸爸常对儿子说：“我实在，你妈妈多爱钱，你是‘实在爱钱’。②我经常在家里流露出很强的经营意识，孩子置身其中，他模仿大人，自然会有挣钱的意识。③同学之间的交易。同学之间的交易一直存在，开始可能是非正式的交换，现在孩子交换意识很强，慢慢都变成了有形的交换。④社会影响，孩子经常说：“市场不经济了嘛。成人言利，让孩子言利，自己当做伪君子，让孩子做君子，难为孩子了，但孩子终究会倒过来对付父母，父母无可奈何，痛心。

4. “义”与“利”矛盾不好调和。也许现在就是一个转型期吧，讲“利”在总体上对社会发展有利，但对具体个人的情感有伤害，但这是发展的趋势，所以，让孩子有“经济头脑”是一件利大于弊的事。

5. 我和我爸爸都是没有中间色的人，他讲“义”，我讲“利”，两人弄不到一块儿。我儿子好像找到了一种综合，他说“关系好的同学就可以不收钱了，关系一般的同学就应该收钱。”

王铭三

1. 坚决反对，挣钱少于不叮。

2. 小孩没有分辨能力，不知道对错，容易养成动机要钱的习惯，将来没有责任感，不讲义务，如此一来家家不家，社会不社会，市场经济并非不存在。

3. 即便是做并不由孩子的生存本领也过早。挣钱和搞对象，洗澡一样，到时候就会了，挣钱应该工作以后，再者说了，市场经济是法制经济，要教孩子依法经商，经商要应商业局许可，要教孩子依法纳税。这些不太，只教他赚钱，那只能培养出偷税漏税的奸商。

4. 人不能斤斤计较，过分计较钱人就不宽容。

5. 告诉小孩做一定的家务是他的任务，每个家庭成员都要分担责任。

6. 制止租书，班级里可以搞一个小图书馆，大家都把自己的书拿出来。

7. 家长要注意，很多时候不宜在孩子面前讲，不要为钱的事发牢骚，别说“有钱能使鬼推磨”。

8. 我儿子大一的时候考足球队，我对他讲了三句话：①倒卖违信；②除非你是学法律的，学法律的③学法律的倒卖罪加一等。第二年他倒卖被警察逮捕，罚500块钱。我对他讲两句成语：①赔本赚吆喝；②法网
<p>9. 误导与误导，干家务给报酬这事儿，本来父母想让孩子爱劳动，明白他的责任，结果可能是孩子把“责任”变成了“权利”，“今儿我不挣这钱了”，父母完全没达到目的，这说明手段有问题。</p>

苏颂兴

1. 具体分析，区别对待，是甚是非。

2. 应该让孩子具备中国特色的经济意识。人际关系不是一切靠金钱维系。互利互惠不等于挣钱。

3. 做事应区分以下不同情形：
   ①孩子打型挣钱，解决零用钱；
   ②教学实践；
   ③家务劳动；
   ④游戏规则，例如：“强手”游戏；儿童跳蚤市场；
   ⑤“非法经营”，例如：作业，值日卖钱；批发市场加价出售给同学，出租书、玩具等物品给同学。

4. 同一个现象，不能简单化，许多父母自己在是非上就搞不清楚。比如干家务有报酬这件事，我就可以分出三种不同情形：①父母先给钱，“给你5块钱，你把碗刷了”，这就是雇佣关系，不主张，不支持，无助于培养孩子的经济意识和劳动观念，也不尊重孩子。②父母后给钱。以示鼓励，告诉孩子劳动有值得，基本支持。但要谨慎；③事前讲清楚，父母对孩子讲，“你到一定年龄了，应该承担一部分家务，这是你的责任，你的劳动可以得到相应的报酬”。这是契约性质的做法，有助于培养孩子对市场经济的认识。

5. 树立经济意识有必要，应该让孩子对市场经济的基本概念有真实的了解。根据不同年龄阶段，可分别采取如下方式：①小学3—4年级，以游戏为主，可以玩“强手”游戏，可以“过家家”，让孩子在一个“微型经济世界”里通过游戏来学习；②小学5—6年级，可以有实践，比如在学校里搞跳蚤市场，同学们把各自余的物品拿来交换，既培养了孩子，又不浪费资源，让孩子懂得节约，上海有小学在搞这种活动；③初中1—2年级，可以参加社会实践，比如教学实践，可以给学生一定报酬，又比如在假期，可以让学生分小组去做分发广告，超市推销，公园里卖纪念品等活动，既锻炼了孩子，孩子又可以买一些自己喜欢的物品，何乐而不为呢？

102
APPENDIX B

说凤阳，道凤阳

凤阳花鼓小调(双条鼓)是“凤阳三花”之一，起源于凤阳县燃灯乡，过去与小锣配合，是凤阳女子讨饭的工具。“花鼓女”也逐渐变成对凤阳女子的通称。建国后，凤阳花鼓受到国家领导人的喜爱，成为我国民间艺术的代表之一。经过50年的演变，凤阳花鼓逐渐成为华丽的舞台艺术，成为经济、政治服务的文化外壳。当我们听到“民间”的唱法之后，我们会如何评价“现代的”凤阳花鼓？

1978年，凤阳小岗村的大包干创举开始了农村改革的序幕，20年之后，小岗村解决了温饱，获得了极高的政治地位，但是并没有真正走上小康之路。许多小岗村民并没有走出过凤阳县城，不知道外面的世界究竟如何。现在他们有了第一位民主直接选举的村长，我们会如何猜测这20年他们是如何度过，他们自己的设计的未来又能否实现？

本期节目以历史照片的记录，花鼓民间艺术的变迁和三代花鼓女的人生命运为线索，反映出1978年改革以来农村政治、经济和文化发生的巨大变化，以及农村妇女的人生境遇的彻底改变。与此同时，花鼓和花鼓女的现象也会让我们对农村进一步的改革有所思考。

主要嘉宾

70年代以来的见证人

汪 强 男 38岁，滁洲日报摄影记者

第一代花鼓女

彭文彩 女 78岁，凤阳县燃烧乡镇村民

第二代花鼓女、第一代改革者

严宏昌 男 52岁，凤阳县小溪河乡小岗村村民，第一任民选村长

段永霞 女 50岁，凤阳县小溪河乡小岗村村民，严宏昌妻子

第三代花鼓女

苏学会 女 36岁，凤阳县燃灯乡镇村民，现任经营服装等小买卖

梅学丽 女 36岁，凤阳县燃灯乡镇村民，现任服装乡民办教师

刘乃凤 女 34岁，凤阳县大溪河乡村民，金庄村委会主任，经营小百货

邱美玲 女 34岁，原凤阳县剧团演员，现任个体服装培训班经营者

第一代改革者的后代

严丛山 男 25岁，凤阳县小溪河乡小岗村村民，严宏昌三子，现在东莞打工

张 静 女 21岁，凤阳县小溪河乡村民，严丛山未婚妻，现在上海打工
开场语：

距离十一届三中全会的召开已经 20 年了，从那时开始，中国走上了改革开放的道路，20年来中国有了巨大的变化。这一阵各方面和各媒体都在纪念这个具有重要意义的日子，我们也请到了一位特殊的客人，一位宣传部长，和我们一起回顾这 20 年的历史。

谈话过程：

一、汪强

你是什么级别的宣传部长？为什么选择这些题材记录？是有意识的吗？为什么要记录？是为获奖吗？花鼓女如何成为凤阳女子的通称？

二、彭文彩

汪强：为什么选择彭文彩？

彭文彩：什么时候学的花鼓？跟谁学的？唱“门头词”有什么讲究？要饭有什么“原则”？（米拿出来，就不能让它拿回去）怕不怕？（怕被抢），新词是谁编的？什么时候编？要饭时什么话最难听？要饭时遇到过什么危险的事？什么时候“退休”不要饭了？

照片：彭文彩照片

三、段永霞、严宏昌

汪强：为什么选择段永霞？是因为“红手印”吗？

段永霞：当时结婚是什么样的？什么时候开始要饭？遇到过什么危险的事？听到过什么话最伤心？夫妻是一起要饭吗？严宏昌如何要饭？为什么那个时候穷？当时上级替你们想办法了吗？严宏昌他们怎么想出来搞大包干？和你商量了吗？严宏昌被叫到县里开会那天是什么情况？那时你为什么担心，现在是否还有这个担心？

严宏昌：这 20 年中小岗的发展没有好于全国平均水平的原因是什么？作为刚当选的村长有什么计划？

照片：段永霞系列
四、花鼓表演和花鼓介绍

汪强：凤阳花鼓的名气怎么来的？谁在发展花鼓的过程中有了贡献？

陆中和、孙风成：老花鼓有什么特点，新花鼓有什么发展？现在民间花鼓都在什么时候表演？

花鼓表演：第三代花鼓女表演。

五、第三代花鼓女

汪强：为什么选择她们？她们和上一代有什么不同？

孙风成、津学英：自己打的花鼓和专业的比有什么不同？

陆中和：小时候大包干前后有什么不同？为什么仅仅种植不行？

邱美玲：当演员和做老板有什么不同？如何为培训班搞“外交”（与电视讲价）？

照片：第三代花鼓女系列

六、走出小岗

庞玉亭：当工人和当农民有什么不同？

严余山：你和父亲有什么不同？小岗村这 20 年没有发展好因为什么？

照片：庞玉亭系列

七、观众参与讨论

凤阳花鼓是俗一点好还是雅一点好？如何才能让小岗村尽快富裕起来？

结束语：

今天我们看到了 20 年来凤阳花鼓女的变化，变化的起因和结果用一句话就可以概括，就是要改变落后的环境，掌握自己的命运。正是凤阳花鼓女的不断开拓、不畏逆境的积极精神，才有了他们今天充满希望的生活。这就是他们给我们的启示。

花鼓表演

第三代和第四代联合表演：凤阳歌

赠送花鼓，教授打花鼓

(1998年11月30日)
APPENDIX C

話題之一：誰來保護消費者

『編者按』假冒偽劣商品為消費者所深惡痛絕！消費者的正當權益由誰來保護？以王海打假索賠開始出現的王海現象“究竟應該怎麼看？消費者怎樣正確運用《消費者權益保護法》來保護自己的正當權益？

圍繞著這些話題，人們站在不同的角度，帶著各自不同的觀點，展開了一場熱烈的討論，甚至激烈的爭論。做為中心人物的王海，也不乏自己鮮明獨到的見解，參與其中。

當你讀完該話題後，你持什麼觀點呢？

現場嘉賓：王利公（人民日報記者）
樊剛（中國社科院經濟所研究員）
肖灼基（北京大學經濟管理學院教授）
高明（北京眾大律師事務所律師）

主持人：崔永元
時間：1996年3月16日
主持人：各位觀眾朋友，大家好，歡迎大家收看我們的《實話實說》節目！我是主持人崔永元，在祖國的心臓——北京，向您致以誠摯的問候！我們中國有這麼一句老話，叫“聽君一席真心話，勝讀十年聖賢書”。如果經常收看我們的這個節目，你就會，實話實說是我們這個節目的宗旨，高朋滿座就是我們這個節目的特色。（對王利公）您既是人民日報的記者，又是《中國
質量萬里行》雜誌的副主編，這個雙重的身份是不是可以保證您永遠不買到假貨？

王利公：那不一定。作為一個消費者也要認真的學習，逐漸的成熟才行。

主持人：（對高明）你今天坐在這裡我稍微有點替你擔心，因為我知道你在北京大學讀書的時候，聽肖灼基先生的課，如果我們的話題發生爭論的話，你怎麼能跟老師爭呢？

高明：有這麼一句話：吾愛吾師，吾更愛真理。

主持人：好！希望你青出於藍而勝於藍。大家都是消費者，經常去購物，很好的購物心情因為遇到了假冒的偽劣商品，於是心情就變糟了。對假冒偽劣，每個消費者都有不同的態度，有的忍氣吞聲、息事寧人，有的就挺身而出，而在挺身而出的人裡面，有一個人的名字大家都很熟悉，他就是王海——山東青年王海，在在北京買假索賠，引起了新聞界的關注，在新聞界的沸沸揚揚的炒作下，出現了一個王海現象”。支持王海的稱他為打假英雄；反對王海的說他是”刁民"。

（電視字幕出現：王海，23歲，山東青島人，從1995年3月起在北京各大百貨商場購假索賠，到目前為止，累計購假金額近11萬元，獲得加倍賠償5萬多元，目前還有八宗官司在身，涉及5萬多元人民幣。）

觀眾一：武松打虎是英雄，王海打假也是英雄。

觀眾二：我以為王海不是消費者。

觀眾三：王海不應該運用《消費者權益保護法》來進行獲利的這種職業化行為。

觀眾四：他是一個商人。

觀眾五：經濟學上的消費者跟法律上的消費者不應該是不一樣的。

觀眾六：你怎麼知道他不適為了生活消費的目的？

觀眾七：我覺得它既然是一種現象，它的存在是有它一定的合理性的。

伍高漢：以消費者協會的角度來說，應該提出一個口號，這就是希望千百萬個王海站起來，對市場經濟進行監督，促進我們社會主義商品經濟健康發展。

肖灼基：要王海他們這樣的人來保護消費者權益，那你們的責任在哪裡呢？出現王
海這種現象，以某種意義上來說，也說明你們的工作作的不夠。（掌聲）
王利公：關於這一點我想說點意見。我覺得市場經濟的完善必須基於消費者的成熟。
王海作為一個20多歲的年輕人，他能有這樣的意識學習“消法”的有關條款，包括學習有關的商品知識，這一點是難能可貴的。
高明：王海既不是打假英雄，也不是“刁民”，但他確實是一個聰明人，他從第一次獲利以後，發現這個可以作為一項工作，可以去嘗試，去幹一幹。
主持人：你覺得這是他的聰明之處？
高明：對。但對王海本人來講，我個人認為王海不是在打假。
主持人：律師旗幟鮮明，他認為王海不是在打假。樊先生呢？
樊剛：王海就是在打假。他打假的目的不一定是出於為了自己買了東西去索賠的目的，但他可以作為一種盈利的目的去打假，面對社會上那麼多可以盈利為目的，甚至坑害別人的假冒偽劣者，出現幾個打假者我認為不為過。
主持人：關於王海的是是非非眾說紛紜，我們已經說了這麼多，可王海是怎麼想的呢？下面有請王海上場。（王海上場，掌聲。主持人對王海）你簡直另所有的人大吃一驚，我也感到大吃一驚，剛才他們說王海作為一個20多歲的小青年，咦.......你怎麼這麼多鬍子呢？
王海：假的。
主持人：假的？為什麼要這樣呢？
王海：事出於安全上的考慮。昨天武漢『長江日報』登了一個消息，說武漢有一個王海從商店裡買了東西出來以後，在街上遭到一幫人的胖揍，他只買了一兩千元錢的東西......（被打斷）
主持人：你可不可以給我們翻一成為更通俗的語言？“胖揍”是什麼意思？（笑聲）
王海：狠揍。
主持人：那麼在你打假的過程中遇到這樣的危險嗎？
王海：也有，但是我自我保護的措施比較好。
主持人：每次都黏著鬍子出去？
王海：也不一定，但要改變一下形象。
主持人：你一上場，我看這台戲就比較好唱了，有各種各樣的問題大家丟在等著問你。因為我是主持人，我可以先問問題。有人說你到各處打假，費用很高，到上海，到廣州，又到北京。據我瞭解，你家是在山東的青島，為什麼不從青島打起呢？
王海：對青島我還不是很熟悉，因為我一直在外地工作。
主持人：哦，你家裡在青島，但一直是在四處漂泊？你選擇了北京開始打？你能不能給我們講一講你第一次打假的經歷？
王海：第一次是在北京的隆福大廈，我買了兩副耳機以後，去鑑定發現是假的。當時做完鑑定以後，我感覺我的費用已經超過了這兩副耳機的價值了，我馬上想到在去買，於是我就又去買了10副，後來我就要求索賠，而且是到工商局去投訴的，工商局告訴我他們作為一個行政部門，管不了這樣的事情。索賠的問題屬於民事行為，這樣，拖了八個月以後，隆福大廈才給賠了
主持人：那你應該再去找消費者協會。
王海：當時東城區的消協可能搬家，我找了半天沒有找到，也不知道在什麼地方....
主持人：你要知道的話你會去找嗎？
王海：會的。
主持人：那麼在你以後的打假過程中，你是不是找過工商局和消費者協會，依靠過組織？
王海：不用去找了，我到了商店人家消協或工商局的人就坐在那裡了。
主持人：他們全力支持你？
王海：這倒不一定的，一般的我沒有去投訴，但是人家的工作可能做得超前一些。
主持人：現在大家有點聽不懂了，請你實話實說。
王海：好的，比如有一家商店，我去買了一雙假的皮鞋，我去了四趟以後，這家商店都說要調查要研究，當我去第五趟時就有一個有關部門的人站在裡邊。
這時這個商店就提出一個說法，說這些鞋是我讓他們進的貨，還說他們店是不賣這個貨的，是受我委託給我進的貨。
主持人：那個在場有關部門的人是怎麼說的？
王 海：他說那他們就管不了。
主持人：刚才大家在爭論，你是不是也聽到了？
王 海：聽到一些。
主持人：其中的一個說法是王海不是消費者，你怎麼認為？
王海："消法"所要保護的消費者不僅是保護最終的消費者，作為購買來說，購買也是一種消費行為，消費分三種方式，也就是購買、使用和接受服務，三種方式都是消費方式，所以購買本身也是消費，如果我為了滿足我的購買慾，買了後我再扔掉，這是我個人擁有的財產權，是個人自由。
主持人：那麼本人是不是消費者的問題，實際上是關係到你是不是違法的問題，這個問題我們請高律師給一個說法。
高明：正確的消費者可能他算不上，但是要從法律的角度去套他的話，沒有辦法認定他不是消費者，也就是從法律的意義上說他是個消費者。
主持人：你不是因為他上場才改變了說法的吧？
高明：不會的，不會的，我本來就是這樣看。
主持人：肖先生怎麼看？
肖灼基：他不違法就是合法。現在看他沒有違反哪一條法律，所以他是合法的。
主持人：我們刚才聽了商家代表的發言，聽了搞法律專業人士的發言，現在我們非常想聽聽最普通的消費者的發言。（對觀眾八）你是不事先自報家門，證明你是一個普通消費者？
觀眾八：我是一個教師。我到商店去買東西，應該算是消費者吧？我首先發表一個觀點，我認為辯論王海是不是消費者這些人的目的不對，他們想把水攪渾。（掌聲，笑聲）
主持人：你的意思不是說我想把水攪渾吧？（笑聲）
觀眾八：因為王海知假買假的一個必要條件是商店在賣假，你賣假我買假，因為王海既沒有搶假也沒有偷假再又沒有騙假，他是在買假，那麼商家是知假賣假還是不知假賣假，商家都有責任，你不知假賣了假，那你就沒有資格開商店，該當撤銷你的資格，你要知假賣假當人就應該按"消法"第49條得到
慟罰。（掌聲）

主持人：攪渾的水又被你澄清了，我們非常高興。據我所知，王海是第一次來到我們中央電視台的演播室裡，應該說這是個難得的機會，商家還有消費者都有一些問題要問他，我們願意提供這個機會。

高明：今天是實話實說，請問王海，你能不能坦率的說，在你後來去商店買商品的時候，究竟是為了消費還是為了別的目的？（掌聲）

王海：基本上是為了索賠。（掌聲）

高明：好了，我的問題暫緩到這裡，大家請問。

主持人：你應該有個結論呀！

高明：我想法律上有一個最基本的原则，就是誠實信用。公平交易、等價有償，在這種原則下，也就是鼓勵全體公民的一種善意的不給他人帶來侵害性的，或者說在法律秩序之下的一種行為，那麼王海純粹是以索賠為目的去商店買商品，已經偏離了作為一個公民、一個正常的行使自己消費者權利的軌道，只不過目前法律對此事束手無策或無可奈何罷了.......（被打斷）

主持人：聽去你是在說王海是在站法律的空子？

高明：實話實說，是這個意思。（掌聲）

樊剛：我覺得高明律師說的要做到大公無私、誠實信用、公正等，是對你們法庭、法官、執法部門的要求，現在消費者面對的是不講實話的假冒偽劣商品，你為什麼要求消費者每個人都是聖人？（掌聲）以打假的角鬥來講，現在我們要利用人們的經濟動機來打假，好像在法律上也講這個，你不可能完全要求人們沒有個人的利益動機去純粹打假，像做好事一樣去打假的話，我們的市場經濟就很難維持，就難難健全市場經濟，所以我們現在利用人們的經濟動機，這些經濟動機不見得純粹是很善長的，是維持道德準則的動機去打假，至少在我們目前的這個階段，應該承認它的積極作用大於它的消極作用。（掌聲）

主持人：請問王海，哪種說法更有道理呢？

王海：各人有各人的道理。
高明：刚才樊先生谈到的王海打假问题，我们是否可以拿王海打假与政府职能部门的打假做一个比较，究竟是哪一种打假的效果更好。

樊刚：当然是政府职能部门的打假效果更好，谁也没有否定政府应该起主要的作用，消协应该是起主要的作用，但现在的情况是，政府职能部门和消协打了半天，现在还有很多假冒的伪劣商品，要不要再增加一些社会力量和扩充力量参与打假......(被打断)

主持人：樊先生，我这里有一些数据可以提供给你，我国1993年到1995年查获的假冒伪劣商品，共计标值总额是104亿元，查出制假售假的按键有37万起，据专家们估计，这些数字上不及假货实际存在的1/20。

樊刚：然后再看一看政府部门和消协部门有限的力量处理了几件，是不是应该有更多的人来做打假这件事情，更多的利用一些不那么高尚、不那么纯洁的动机来打假，我認為這應該是我們現在需要做的。

高明：但为什么現在假冒偽劣商品這麼多，而投訴案件只佔5%,這個原因是同類似王海的打假活動能解決的嗎？

王海：我想做一个补充，这种作法可以作為一種補充，總而言之它是有種積極作用的。

高明：另一个問題，王海的这种打假会不会有什么负面的效應，一是对社会的商业经济秩序的负面效應，另一個是對法律建設的負面效應。如果人人都去王海这样去打假，買了东西不是找到職能部門去把這種假貨一刀切的杜绝掉，而是以個人一對一的單就某個商品去要求索赔，那麼假貨的根源也斷不了。

樊刚：這就等於要求王海做更多的事情，他不但要抓住商家，還要他跑到廠家去，所以我覺得消費者揭露出来的問題恰恰是我們政府職能部門和消協應該接著做下去的事情，要去追究廠家，類似王海這種行為是對我們政府職能部門和消協的一個補充。至於說到制度建设，對建设制度有什麼好處的問題，現在是誰在擾亂社會經濟秩序呢？首先是那些千百萬的假冒偽劣，然後才是我們的制度有不完善的問題，現在出现了一些以盈利為目的，有些人
說是打擦邊球的辦法去打假，這正揭示出了我們的制度還很不完善，不健全，存在著一些可以打擦邊球的空子，存在著一些漏洞，這種打假的方式也說明了我們制度的完善要有一個過程，這本身也是利益雙方的一種衝突，是賣假的人和反假的人的一種利益衝突，政府恰巧正好可以利用這個機會，在這種衝突中去做仲裁人，去完善法律完善制度，任何一個制度都是在這種衝突當中逐步完善的，並不是說我今天要好好執法就可以完善起來的，一定要在當事人的衝突當中制度才能逐步完善，我想我們的制度一定也是在這種過程中完善。我們今天在這裡討論，就是因為有了這種衝突，有了這樣的事發，這隊於我們今後的法律制度所產生的推動作用和積極作用不容忽視的。（掌聲）

主持人：王海，聽說你最進到廣州也去打了假？

王海：對，去了一趟廣州。

主持人：這也是一次成本很高的打假？

王海：去廣州到現在為止總共耗損不到1萬元錢吧。（笑聲）

主持人：是到廣州打九已經帶了耗損？而且商標鑑定也會遇到很多困難，還有很多我們想像不到的困難，你是不是可以跟大家說，你還有勇氣把這個工作做下去嗎？

王海：我先給大家糾正一個誤會，大家都以為我是以盈利為目的，實際上我是為了索賠，想通過索賠這個辦法，在不損害在自己利益的情況下，為社會做一點點事情，如果說單純是為了利益的話，我賣假貨絕對可以賺很多錢。（掌聲）

主持人：你以前做什麼工作呢？

王海：我以前是做市場推廣的，是做銷售的。

主持人：經過你的調查，你覺得銷售假貨很賺錢？

王海：就那我常買的一些計算器來說，在廣東批發是每個不到20元錢，我在北京零售每個可以賣到150元左右，如果批發給商店可能是120或110元錢，批零差價刨去運費一個賺50元錢應該沒有問題，這種利潤都200%了，好像馬
克斯說過有百分之百的利潤就可以踐踏法律了，這個事情應該可以做。（掌聲）

主持人：那麼說販假也應該是一種很危險的事情，因為它直接觸犯了法律。

王海：但從概率上來講，販假沒有什麼危險，比如說現在查獲的僅佔1/20,實際上
據我所估計的也就是1%左右。

肖灼基：我想糾正一下，刚才你說的不是馬克思說的，而是馬克思引用英國的英靈
格的話。（掌聲，笑聲）

主持人：肖先生適時地開闢了第二課堂。（笑聲）

王海：那也是聽說，比如說我要去賣假貨，正好我有個親戚在工商局工作，我在一
個地方賣假貨，如果工商局檢查的話，我的親戚會通知我，那我頂多收起
來完了，就不賣了。但是碰上像我這樣的顧客，我估計他們一年也碰不上
幾個，賠了也就賠了，無所謂，總的來看，一年365天，如果工商局查兩
三天，他們就關門兩三天，那不要緊，但如果有一兩個顧客來索賠，他們
就賠了算了，但是總營業額看，比如說一天賺10元錢，他們這一年都是賺
錢的，基本上有300天是可以賺錢的。

主持人：你說的這套生意經我們已經明白了，也就是說你要去販假的話，你並不怕
王海這樣的"刁民"？

王海：不怕，我賠了就完了。（掌聲）

主持人：我刚才注意到這位女士在聽王海發言的時候不停的搖頭，是不同意他的那
個觀點呢？

觀眾九：去商店索賠到底是為了他個人的利益，還是為社會做了什麼？你剛才說是
為了推動某些東西的進步，我不知道你推動了社會哪方面的進步？

王海：最起碼人家對"消法"都有了一定的認識。

觀眾九：但是你為社會做了些什麼呢？你只是擾亂了社會秩序，我覺得。

王海：沒有，沒有。到底是販假擾亂社會秩序，還是打假擾亂社會秩序？（掌聲）
就像做賊擾亂社會秩序還是抓賊擾亂社會秩序一樣。（掌聲）

觀眾十：我想問一下王海，在很多衣貿市場或像白鷺那樣的地方假貨要多的多，你
為什麼不去那些地方打假？（掌聲）

王海：我在廣州買一個假冒計算器，在個人戶商店零售價是30元錢，在大商場賣是150元錢，消費者先去打誰？30元錢買的一個假計算器，一般來說，消費者去個人戶商店東西是便宜，一般的人都會明白30元錢怎麼能買一個真的計算器呢？是可以理解的，因為它的欺騙性不是很強，但反過來講，你拿一個價格30元錢的東西賣150元欺騙性是非常強的。

主持人：刚才這位先生的問題是向那些小商場、小集貿市場，假冒偽劣是非常多的，比如白溝，售假是出了名的，那你為什麼專去打國有的大商場？

王海：打一個國有的大商場等於打了好幾萬個個人戶，這種效益是比較快的，是比較可觀的。（掌聲）

樊剛：這裡有一個問題應該說一下，同樣一個東西它不聲稱是真的，賣二三十元錢，大家都知道是假的，像白溝那些地方，大家都知道那裡的假貨很多，誰也不聲稱它是真貨。但是它們是劣質品，而不是假貨，它質量是次的，沒有名牌，大家都明明知道它是劣質品，而不是假貨，如果放到一個不管大小的商場裡，如果它聲稱是真的，它才成為假貨，這些是需要搞清楚的。（掌聲）

伍高漢：就刚才這個觀點說一下。我覺得“王海現象”發生在北京是北京的榮幸，發生在各大百貨商場是各大百貨商場的榮幸，或者說是光榮的，因為在這裡，法治環境跟民主環境相對的好，因此這種現象只能在這樣的地方發生，它不會發生在白溝，也不會發生在不講信譽的小商店裡。

肖灼基：消協的這位同志提出一個非常奇怪的邏輯，說“王海”現象出現在北京是北京的榮幸，出現在各大百貨商場是各大百貨商場的榮幸，不是抹黑，如果這樣的話，那麼，第一，這些大商場還可以繼續賣假貨，繼續被人抓，榮幸不只一次，多次榮幸更好嘛！（笑聲）第二，其他的商店也要學，因為榮幸大家都要得到，也可以賣假貨，被人家抓到還可以洋洋得意；第三，其他的城市要學北京，因為北京有一個很大的榮幸，就是賣假貨被人家抓住了。（笑聲，掌聲）如果這樣的話，會出現什麼後果呢？

115
高明：我還有一點要補充，如果說大家希望像王海這樣的人要越來越多，會對打假有個好處，那我們應該取法王海這樣的人哪一點長處呢？是學他知假買假還是買假後再去索賠呢？我覺得都不是。如果我們要把這個問題引到正路上來的話，我們要學習王海的是敢於對假貨作鬥爭的精神，這個精神並不是像他那樣去知假買假，或故意去買，或買了後再去索賠，而是知道了假貨以後就要去依靠國家法律的力量，把假貨趕盡殺絕，這才是我們最終要學習的目的，而不是一味地追求模仿像他現在的這樣，像他現在這樣，對假貨來說，是斷絕不了的。（掌聲）

主持人：不管怎麼樣，高明律師在現場發起了一個向王海學習一點精神的運動。

高明：僅僅是一點。

主持人：我想作為一個普通的消費者，問問王海今後的打算和下一步長遠的打算。

王海：現在已經面臨著很多的困難，比如鑑定、投訴以及各種方面的困難。現在要想解決賠償的問題，唯一的辦法是和商店協商，或者通過法院。如果今後我每索賠一樁都要經過法院，短則幾個月，長則好幾年的時間，那我的索賠工作是沒有辦法進行的下去的。

主持人：那你會不會知難而退呢？

王海：很有可能，因為我也是一個普通人，我要生存，我不能不吃飯。

主持人：那時候你會選擇一個什麼樣的工作？

王海：如果打甲這種工作沒有辦法進行的話，我很有可能就選擇賣假。（掌聲）但是假貨我就賣假貨的價錢，不會賣的很高。（掌聲）

主持人：我想問一下『人民日報』的王記者，國外的打假有一些什麼好辦法呢？

王利公：國外打假首先也是依靠執法部門、政府，主要是靠他們。現在全世界假貨的貿易量已經佔全世界貿易量的5%，因此對名牌較多的國家就是一個很重要的任務，法國在1993年就修訂了很嚴格的法律，就是在原有的基礎上，比如說把假冒偽劣就看做是走私，並且有判刑一說，對於生產假冒偽劣商品的廠主罰款的可能就更多，可以達到250萬法郎，甚至情節嚴重的還要加倍。
主持人：這是不是就是我們常說的罰它個傾家蕩產？

王利公：對。

觀眾十一：那麼誰來保護消費者？凡是唱過『國歌』的人都知道，從來就沒有救
世主，也不靠神仙皇帝，要創造人類幸福全靠我們自己！（笑聲，掌聲）
主持人：（對音樂伴奏的電子琴演奏員）關於製假、販假，你有什麼高招嗎？（電
子琴演奏員演奏音樂）鼓手有什麼高招嗎？（鼓手擊鼓）他們的意思是如
果發現有一個商家有販假的情況，或有生產廠家製假的情況，他們就把樂
隊搬到他們的門口，敲著鑼告訴大家：「啊，這裡是賣假的地方！」
（笑聲）是這個意思嗎？

樂手們：有點意思。

主持人：在今天討論就要結束的時候，我們請到場的嘉賓，每個人用簡短的語言，
最好是一句話，來闡述一些自己的觀點。

高 明：誰來保護消費者？還是法律。（掌聲）
肖灼基：誰來保護消費者，首先是體制改革，加上法律的保護和群眾的把持。（掌
聲）
王 海：靠人不如靠自己。（掌聲）
樊 剛：打假要靠整個制度，同時要靠在這個制度當中活動的每一個人。
主持人：既要靠制度，又要靠每個人。（掌聲）
王利公：消費者盡快成熟起來。（掌聲）
主持人：在我們今天的討論就要結束的時候，我們先請王海退場。（掌聲歡送）王
海談到他是出於安全的考慮，才化裝成一個老人的樣子，我們也尊重他
的這種考慮。我們希望有一天，王海可以像所有的消費者一樣，揭掉自己
的面具，邁步在大街上，他可以舒心的選擇商品，可以做一個合格的消費
者，我想那一天將是所有消費者的節日。謝謝大家！歡迎大家繼續收看我
們下一期的『實話實說』節目。再見！

本輯策劃：鄭也夫、楊東平、鄭陽
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