

摘要

互联网的普及为语言生活提供了非常大的便利，但与此同时，网络语言暴力已经成为网络空间中一个十分显著的问题，近年来因为网暴导致的恶性事件层出不穷，对于广大网民，尤其是青少年网民的身心健康，会有很大的影响。随着“清朗网络空间”系列政策的推出，治理这些负面信息的任务刻不容缓，在此背景下，探讨网络语言暴力治理的相关问题，具有重要的实践意义。

本研究以知乎为例，提出以下三个研究问题：（1）知乎社区产生了哪些语言暴力话语？为什么会产生这些话语？（2）知乎社区是如何治理语言暴力的？各主体在其中都承担了哪些职责？（3）知乎的语言暴力治理有何成败？受到了哪些因素的影响？

本研究采用网络民族志和参与式观察的方法，进行了三个阶段的调查：第一阶段是作为普通用户参与社区治理，并提高等级成为众裁官；第二阶段是作为众裁官参与治理，坚持做每日的众裁，并参与众裁相关议题的讨论；第三阶段是作为知乎社区治理团队的实习生参与治理，从行动者的视角来参与进整个过程。

在调查中，本研究搜集了多种类型的数据，包括网信办政策文件、社区治理规范、站务简报、访谈文本、“众裁议事厅”相关语料、社区内问答语料、参与式观察的田野笔记等。在分析时，本文采用了语料库辅助话语分析的手段，在语言治理和实践共同体理论的基础上，结合两起语言暴力事件的案例，对知乎的语言暴力治理进行剖析，以此窥视网络空间的语言暴力治理。

研究有三点发现：第一，在知乎的语言暴力话语中，直接使用粗鄙语言的内容较少，更多是通过一些手段进行脱敏，同时，偏见与歧视类的内容十分突显，这与实践共同体的身份认同有紧密的关系。第二，知乎则在治理实践中构建起了一个语言暴力治理机制，包括用户保护、小管家反馈和众裁议事厅三个部分，这个机制与信息内容生态治理体系紧密关联，在这个治理体系中，各级网信部门负责监管，行业组织负责监督、自律和宣传，企业负责履行治理职责、用户负责监督和自律。第三，知乎的治理机制维持了社区的正常运转，但在大规模的语言暴力事件中，这一机制会暂时失灵，这反映出两个核心问题：如何满足用户的多样需求，以及如何让用户真正参与治理。

关键词：语言治理；网络空间；语言暴力；知乎

Abstract

The popularity of the Internet has provided great convenience for language life, but at the same time, online verbal abuse has become an incredibly significant problem in cyberspace, and in recent years there have been numerous vicious incidents caused by online violence, which can have a great impact on the physical and mental health of Internet users, especially young Internet users. With the launch of the “clear cyberspace” policy, the task of managing these negative messages is urgent. In this context, it is of great practical significance to explore the issues related to the governance of online verbal abuse.

This study takes Zhihu as an example and asks the following three research questions: (1) What discourses of verbal abuse are produced by the Zhihu community? Why are they produced? (2) How does the Zhihu community manage verbal abuse? What are the responsibilities of each subject in it? (3) What are the successes and failures of Zhihu’s governance in verbal abuse? What factors affected them?

This study conducts the methodology of online ethnography and participant observation. The fieldwork has followed three stages: In the first stage, the researcher participated in community governance as an ordinary user and raised my rank to become a judge; in the second stage, the researcher participated in governance as a judge, insisted on judging daily cases and participated in discussions on Zhihu court; and in the third stage, the researcher participated in governance as an intern in Zhihu’s community governance team and participated in the whole process from the perspective of an actor.

This study collected various types of data, including policy documents from the Cyberspace Administration of China, community governance norms, station newsletters, interviews, the corpus related to the Zhihu court, the question-and-answer corpus within the community, and field notes from participant observation. This paper uses corpus-assisted discourse analysis to analyze the governance of linguistic violence in Zhihu based on the theory of language governance and community of practice.

Combining the analysis of two verbal abuse cases, this paper tends to get a glimpse of the governance of verbal abuse in cyberspace.

The study found three things: First, in the verbal abuse discourse in Zhihu, there is less direct use of vulgar language and more desensitization through some means, while prejudice and discrimination are very prominent, which is closely related to the identity of community of practice. Second, Zhihu has built a governance mechanism for verbal abuse in its governance practice, including user protection, feedback from administrator, and Zhihu court. The mechanism is closely linked to the governance system for information content ecology in China. In this governance system, Internet information departments at all levels are responsible for supervision, industry organizations are responsible for monitoring, self-regulation and propaganda, enterprises are responsible for performing governance duties, and users are responsible for supervision and self-discipline. Third, Zhihu's governance mechanism maintains the orders of its community, but in cases of large-scale verbal abuse, the mechanism may temporarily fail. This phenomenon encountered two core issues that require careful consideration: how to meet the diverse needs of users and how to truly engage users in governance.

Keywords: language governance; cyberspace; verbal abuse; Zhihu