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LINGUISTICS

汉语句首受事话题的句法与语篇研究

Syntactic and Discoursal Dimensions of Clause-initial Patient Topics in
Mandarin Chinese

童剑平 著



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内 容 提 要

本书对汉语自然口语中句首受事话题进行实证性研究。全书由七章组成。第一章为导言,简要介绍本书的研究范围、研究问题以及研究意义和本书结构。第二章是文献综述,对以往关于汉语话题的句法特征、话题分类、话题结构以及话题语篇功能的理论加以评介。第三章描述本书的研究方法。第四章研究充当句首受事话题的语类。第五章研究句首受事话题句句式类型和英译。第六章研究句首受事话题的语篇关联。第七章为结论。本书系统地将句首受事话题的研究从句法层面扩展到语篇层面,将这类话题的形式与功能研究有机地结合起来,对已有的相关研究具有补充作用,对汉语中其他类型话题的研究可提供借鉴。

本书适合对汉英对比研究感兴趣的读者以及高等院校语言文学学科的教师和学生阅读。

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前言

国外学者 Li and Thompson(1976)从功能主义出发,以话题突出与否和主语突出与否作为语言分类标准提出,汉语属于话题突出型(topic-prominent)语言,英语属于主语突出型(subject-prominent)语言。这一观点已被广泛接受。随着国内外研究者们不断地对汉语话题进行多视角的探索,汉语话题已经成为国际语言学界共同探讨的课题之一,其性质也越来越为人们所认识。汉语里多种语类可以充当话题,即话题化。Xu and Langendoen(1985)认为,可以充当话题的主要语类有名词短语(包括量词短语)、分句、话题化分句、动词短语、前置词短语以及后置词短语。从话题与述题或述题中某一成分语义关系出发,徐烈炯、刘丹青(1998)把汉语话题分为论元及准论元共指性、语域式、拷贝式以及分句式话题四大类。这些关于话题分类的思想在理论上具有开创性意义,但在汉语话题的深入、细化研究方面,它们的解释力存在较大局限性。在充当句首受事话题的语类成分中,哪些语类成分是无标记、典型的?哪些语类成分是有标记、非典型的?受事话题结构都有哪些句式类型?哪些是无标记的?哪些有标记的?此外,一个句式的选择与语境因素密切相关。话题具有语篇特征,这已是研究者们的一致。然而句首受事话题是如何实现语篇功能的?现有的研究对这些问题尚不能提供有效的解答。

本书以句首受事话题为切入点,试图对上述问题做出回答。句首受事话题是论元共指性话题的一种,就句法表现而言,与充当次话题的受事话题不同(后者位于句子主语和谓语动词之间)。在本书中,句首受事话题的可操作性定义是,位于句首或接近句首、与述题中主要动词或相关动词后的空位共指、并通过空位成为支配性动词内部论元的话题化成分。这类话题广义上是动作行为的承受者、目标、对象、处所、工具、产物和心理活动涉及的事件、状态等,其前或后可以有话题标记,其后可以有停顿。句首受事话题句指包含句首受事话题的结构。句首受事话题语

篇截段指含有句首受事话题句的语段。每个语篇截段中包含9个小句——1个受事话题句,8个语境句。受事话题句处于8个语境句的中间位置,即受事话题句的左、右侧分别排列有4个连续的语境句。话题或话题中的成分与某一语境句中相关成分具有语义连接,借此建立与该语境句的关联,这种关联在本书中称为句首受事话题的语篇关联。

本书从33个(时间总长度约为1,052分钟,平均长度约为32分钟)访谈、叙述、讲座、对话等形式的自然口语类电视节目的录音或录像文件中收集语料,获取217个句首受事话题句和含有这些话题句的217个语篇截段(共计1,953个小句),转写后输入计算机,分别建立小型封闭式单语语料库和子库。

本书的研究发现主要有以下三个方面:

(1) 可以充当句首受事话题的语类有名词短语、指示词、内嵌小句、同位结构、量词短语和动词短语。这些语类在语料中的分布是不均匀的,按出现的频率,呈名词短语>指示词>内嵌小句>同位结构>量词短语>动词短语的等级排列顺序。名词短语在语料中的出现频率最高,是无标记、典型语类。量词短语和动词短语在语料中的出现极少,是有标记、非典型语类。在话题化的名词短语中,简单名词短语的出现频数远远大于复杂名词短语的出现频数,是无标记、典型的次语类,复杂名词短语是有标记、非典型的次语类。无标记语类/次语类与有标记语类/次语类话题在指称属性、参与者角色或认知特征方面存在着差异。

(2) 句首受事话题句共有三大类、27种句式。其中TSV和TV的出现频率远远超过其他句式,是典型句首受事话题句句式。以Gregory and Michaelis(2001)对英语口语中话题化的研究为参照进行汉英对比显示,汉语中TSV句式的出现频率与英语中OSV句式的出现频率相比,按每分钟实例出现频数计算,前者约是后者的1.63倍。对两部汉语话剧文本《茶馆》和《狗儿爷涅槃》进行穷尽性调查,结果显示,其中受事话题句句式分布情况与自然口语中不尽相同。在115例话题句中,仅有7种句式,句式类型远不及自然口语中丰富。语料中出现频率最高的句式是TV,远超TSV,成为使用最多的、典型的句首受事话题句句式。TSV降级为非典型句首受事话题句句式。进一步研究115例受事话题句的英译发现,SVO为句首受事话题句的主要译文形式,OSV的使用为

4 例。将原文中 TSV 的频率与译文中 OSV 的频率相比较,前者是后者的 8.25 倍,大于汉语句首受事话题句的频率与英语话题化的频率在口语中的差别。这表明,OSV 转换形式在上述话剧本英译中的使用处于偏离自然状态的过低程度。从功能角度出发,本书揭示了这样一个悖论,即受事话题的语篇关联特征及其非焦点信息状态并不能在 SVO 这一普遍使用的译文形式中得到同等程度的再现。

(3) 本书在词汇衔接(Halliday and Hasan 1976)、词汇重复(Hoey 1991)和统称词的指同意义(廖秋忠 1986)等理论框架下,对句首受事话题的语篇关联方式进行调查,并建立模型。结果显示,双侧关联是这类话题的典型语篇关联方式,而单纯左侧或右侧关联则是非典型语篇关联方式。双侧均无关联的话题在语料库中极少。此外,与受事话题关联的语境句出现在话题结构左侧的频率大于出现在其右侧的频率。受事话题的语篇关联程度与所关联的小句的位置密切相关。统计结果显示,在语篇截段中,关联语境句的出现频率在靠近话题结构的位置上较高,在远离话题结构的位置上则相对较低。受事话题的语篇关联模式与信息处理的快速、省力认知特征相符合。

本书从小处着眼,透过句首受事话题这一微观现象,对其形式和功能特征进行深入、细化的探索,旨在为汉语话题的总体研究开辟一条新途径,为其他类别话题的研究提供有效的参考。

英汉缩略语对照表

AP	apposition	同位语
CIP topic	clause-initial patient topic	句首受事话题
cit	citation	引用语
CP/cp	classifier phrase	量词短语
CIPT clause	clause-initial patient topic clause	句首受事话题句
DEM	demonstrative	指示词
det	determiner	限定词
EC/ec	embedded clause	内嵌句/嵌套句
ex-q	existential quantifier	存在量词
g-q	generic quantifier	类指数量词
ind	indefinite pronoun	不定代词
L/l	leftward	左向的
MC	matrix clause	母句
mod	modifier	修饰语
NP/np	noun phrase	名词短语
OSV	object-subject-verb	宾语-主语-动词
pos	possessive	领属词
prop	proper noun	专有名词
R/r	rightward	右向的
SL	source language	源语
T	topic	话题
TL	target language	目的语
TOP	topicalisation	话题化
TSV	topic-subject-verb	话题-主语-动词
TV	topic-verb	话题-动词
uni-q	universal quantifier	全称量词
VP	verb phrase	动词短语

英汉符号对照表

$\vee$	intra-utterance pause	话语内停顿
$\in$	belong to	属于
$\notin$	not belong to	不属于
$\subset$	be included in	真包含于
$\cap$	intersection	交
$\cup$	union	并
$\longleftrightarrow$	equivalence	对应
$\vee$	or	或
$\wedge$	and	和
$>>$	presuppose	预设
$\preceq$	poset/partially ordered set	偏序集

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Ample research has been conducted on clause topics in Chinese ever since Chao (1968/1979:45) proposed that it is more appropriate to treat subject and predicate in Chinese as topic and comment in that subject-predicate clauses, if the subject is an actor, account for at most about half of all clauses. Li and Thompson's (1976) widely accepted view that Chinese is a topic-prominent language while English is a subject-prominent language has further added impetus into investigation in this area. Clause topic as a syntactic phenomenon has attracted broad attention from different stances and its properties gradually come to light with plentiful studies being published. Nonetheless, the features of clause topic are on no account understood adequately or thoroughly. Different types of clause topics have been identified in Chinese. Yet, not much in-depth research has been carried out on a specific type or extended to explore its discourse functions from an empirical perspective though the idea has been proposed repeatedly that clause topics possess discourse properties. This is where the current study is set out. Drawing on previous studies, this book is intended to be a unique probe of its type, for the author of the book is convinced that concentrating on one particular type of topics is essential and worthwhile, if we expect in real earnest to gain a full and insightful picture of the features of those topics, rather than tackling all types of topics en masse without giving them separate treatment and thus leaving type-specific features still veiled.

1.1 Scope of the study

From the angle of syntax, Xu and Langendon (1985) identify clause topics as coming under six major categories, namely, NP (including quantifier phrases as a special case), S, S', VP, PrepP (prepositional phrase) and PostP (postpositional phrase). More than a decade later, taking semantic factors into consideration, Xu and Liu (1998) reclassify clause topics into four types as argument and quasi-

argument co-reference topics, domain topics, copy topics and clause topics^①. Each of the four types can be subdivided in one way or another. In Xu and Liu's classification, semantic relation is taken into account that holds between the topic and comment or an item contained in the comment within a topic structure. In this book, the author follows Xu and Liu's classification and focuses on one sub-type of argument and quasi-argument co-reference topics: clause-initial patient topics, shortened as CIP topics. The study is not limited to the topics, though. The syntactic types of clauses that contain a CIP topic, i. e. clause-initial patient topic clauses, shortened as CIPT clauses, are also probed into. Moreover, it will extend to cover discoursal associations of the topics in question.

Based on the definition of CIP topics given by Xu and Liu (1998:250), an operational definition of CIP topics adopted in this study is:

- (1) A CIP topic is a topicalized constituent within a clause that occupies the initial or near-initial position. It is coreferential with a gap behind a verb in the comment no matter whether the verb is a matrix one or not and thus forms the internal argument of that verb through the gap.

The instance below from the author's corpus data is an illustration of the definition.

- (2) 这个债你得还/^{②, ③}

Example (2) is a typical CIPT clause in which the demonstrative noun phrase “这个债” is a CIP topic. It has a definite reference to something mentioned earlier and is coreferential with the gap behind the verb “还”. The topicalized noun phrase hence forms the internal argument of “还”. The agent “你” of the predicate verb plays the grammatical role of subject in the clause. Though a CIP topic is termed as

① Xu and Liu's works is published in Chinese. The types of clause topics in their classification are translated by the author.

② Examples used in the present study are mainly taken from the corpus created by the author for the purpose of the present study and will not be stated specifically later. When other scholars' examples are cited, illustrations will be given.

③ The slash symbol “/” rather than the punctuation mark “,” or “。” is employed throughout this book to indicate the end of a clause.