現代語言學論叢

主題在國語中的功能研究

邁向言談分析的第一步

曹逢甫著

台灣學生書局印行

A FUNCTIONAL STUDY OF TOPIC IN CHINESE: THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

BY

TSAO FENG-FU

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曹逢甫，台灣省彰化縣人，民國三十一年生。民國五十三年畢業於國立台灣師範大學英語系。曾執教於基隆中學、建國中學、中山女中等校。五十九年至六十一年留學美夏威夷大學。六十三至六十五年又赴美國南加州大學，研究語言學與語言教學，於六十六年八月獲語言學博士學位。現執教於國立台灣師範大學英語系、英語研究所及輔仁大學語言研究所。著有在國內外學術專刊上發表的語言學及語言教學論文數篇，並主編有文馨推理聽讀英文系列十册。

獻給母親

含辛茹苦守寡三十餘年養我育我

幫助我完成最高學校教育的母親

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TO MY MOTHER

Who, after being widowed

at the age of 30, has devoted another

30 years to helping me through my formal education

「現代語言學論叢」緣起

語言與文字是人類歷史上最偉大的發明。有了語言，人類才能超越一切禽獸成爲萬物之靈。有了文字，祖先的文化遺產才能綿延不絕，相傳到現在。尤有進者，人的思惟或推理都以語言爲媒介，因此如能揭開語言之謎，對於人心之探求至少就可以獲得一半的解答。

中國對於語文的研究有一段悠久而輝煌的歷史，成爲漢學中最受人重視的一環。爲了繼承這光榮的傳統並且繼續予以發揚光大起見，我們準備刊行「現代語言學論叢」。在這論叢裡，我們有系統地介紹並討論現代語言學的理論與方法，同時運用這些理論與方法，從事國語語音、語法、語意各方面

的分析與研究。論叢將分爲兩大類：甲類用國文撰寫，乙類用英文撰寫。我們希望將來還能開闢第三類，以容納國內研究所學生的論文。

在人文科學普遍遭受歧視的今天，「現代語言學論叢」的出版可以說是一個相當勇敢的嘗試。我們除了感謝臺北學生書局提供這難得的機會以外，還虔誠地呼籲國內外從事漢語語言學研究的學者不斷給予支持與鼓勵。

湯 廷 池

民國六十五年九月二十九日於臺北

湯　序

自從馬建忠的馬氏文通於１８９８年問世以來，漢語語法的研究有了一段相當活躍的歷史。尤其是現代語言理論（例如Otto Jespersen的三品說、Leonard Bloomfield 的結構學派理論與Noam Chomsky的變形•衍生語法理論）導入以後，更掀起了漢語語法研究史上空前未有的蓬勃氣象。

但是，在實際從事漢語語法分析工作的學者之間，常有人覺得：主要地是爲了分析印歐語言而倡設的西方語言理論模式，有時候並不完全能適合於漢語句子結構的分析或說明。漢語中有些語法現象似乎無法應用歐美語言的語法理論做妥善的處理；例如主語與賓語的認定，即是久經爭論而至今仍懸而未決的問題之一。特別是漢語句子的主語，非但與歐美語言的主語大異其趣，而且主語與主題之間的句法與語意關係又往往糾纏不清，一直成爲漢語語言學家爭論的焦點。曹逢甫先生的近著漢語主題的功用分析：言談分析的第一步（A Functional Study of Topic in Chinese: The First Step Toward Discourse Analysis），對這個問題的解決提出了新的貢獻。

對於漢語主語的認定，我國語法學者之間向有兩個極端的主張。一個以王力先生的主語的定義及其在漢語中的應用爲代表，主張依據動詞與主語間的語意關係來認定主語，特別強調「本地人的語感」（native speaker's intuition）的重要。另一派主張以趙元任先生的中國話的文法爲代表，主語的認定全憑句子表面結構的線列次序，出現於句首的主題即是主語。但是王力先生的僅承認主語，與趙元任先生的以主題爲主語，都忽略了主語與主題在漢語句子裏可以共存的事實。主題與主語可能彼此對立（如“魚，我最喜吃黃魚”），也可能合而爲一（如“老張昨天上台北去了”→“老張，他昨天上台北去了”），就是賓語也可能成爲主題（如“我以前見過老王”→“老王，我以前見過（他）”）。主題與主語之間的語意關係可能非常密切（例如

「領有與領屬的關係」如“李小姐（的）眼睛很漂亮”、「整體與部分的關係」如“我的孩子，三個在美國，二個在日本”、「物質與度量衡的關係」如“糖一斤五塊錢”），也可能相當鬆懈（如“婚姻的事，我自己做主”），其間的關係極爲複雜。Charles Li 與Sandra Thompson 於1976年合著的主語與主題：新的語言類型分析（Subject and Topic : A New Typology of Language）也注意到了這個漢語語法的特徵，因而把漢語歸類爲「主題居顯要地位的語言」（topic-prominent language），以與英語等「以主語居顯要地位的語言」（subject-prominent language）區別。

但是曹先生則認爲在漢語裏形成言談單元的，不是單獨個別的句子，而是在同一個主題或話題下前後連繫的好幾個句子。依曹先生的看法，漢語是趨向於以言談爲中心的語言（discourse-oriented language），在句法與語意結構的分析上必須考慮在同一個「主題連鎖」（topic-chain）之下互相連繫的所有的句子；反之，英語是趨向於以句子爲中心的語言（sentence-oriented language），在句法與語意結構的分析上常只需考慮個別的句子。在趨向於以言談爲中心的語言裏，爲了避免言詞上不必要的重複，經常把指稱相同的名詞加以刪略。由於漢語的這種刪略名詞的情形遠比使用代名詞的情形爲多，結果常把動詞與主語或賓語之間的語法關係弄得模糊不清，有時候連句子與句子之間的界限都不容易分辨。因此，曹先生試圖從「言談功用」（discourse function）的觀點來分析主語與主題的區別，進而討論主題與句法結構的關係以及主題在言談上的功用。在他論文的第五及第六兩章有關主題在言談組織的功用的討論中，曹先生以兩個友人之間在電話上所做的實際談話爲分析的資料，以求語料的眞實性與自然性。

漢語的主語不容易認定，主語與主題之間的界限也不容易劃清，因爲這些問題牽涉到「無主句」包括語用上的刪略如“老張回去了，（他）不會再來了”、「存現句」如“桌子上有一本書”與“昨天來了三位客人”、「氣象句」如“下雨了”與“打雷了”，「雙主句」（如“中國，物產豐富”、“魚，我最喜歡吃黃魚”）「倒裝句」（包括「賓語提前」如“我數學很喜歡”與「賓語移首」如“數學我很喜歡”，以及“他父親死了”與“他死了父親了”、“我

們所追求的是自由與民主”與“自由與民主是我們所追求的”等許多複雜的句型。曹先生把這一類問題細加討論，並就主語與主題的畫分獲得了如下的結論：漢語的主語不能帶上介詞，可以出現於動詞的前面，在指稱上必須是「有所指」（specific），對於述語動詞的選擇及涉及指稱相同的變形具有決定性的作用；另一方面，主題則經常出現於句首，可以用表語氣停頓的助詞隔開，在指稱上必須是「定指」（definite），而且可以涉及出現於句子外面的名詞，但是只能對於代名化變形與指稱相同名詞的刪略變形發生作用。

曹先生的文筆簡鍊有力，敍述細密而清晰，因此可讀性很高。他對於前人分析（其中包括拙著國語格變語語法試論與國語變形語法研究第一集：移位變形）的介紹忠實而扼要，其批評也十分中肯。關於曹先生論文的詳細內容與論點，我想稍後另外找機會寫一篇評介的文章（對於此一問題有興趣的讀者，不妨先看學生書局出版的拙著國語語法研究論集中「主語的句法與語意的功能」與「主語與主題的畫分」這兩篇文章），這裏先向國內的讀者鄭重推薦，並歡迎大家踴躍參加漢語語法研究的行列，以壯大我們的陣容！

湯廷池　1979年6月22日識於新竹

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PREFACE

I am very happy to see the publication of Dr. Tsao Feng-fu's "A Functional Study of Topic in Chinese: The First Step Towards Discourse Analysis." It was when I served as the outside member of his dissertation committee that I read the first draft of this remarkable work which he was writing then as his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Southern California.

I was very pleased to find that Dr. Tsao was tackling the thorny problems of topic-comment relations from the point of view of discourse analysis—an approach which I had claimed to be in the right direction but did not undertake personally in my work on universe scope relations (1967).

Compared to Japanese or English, Chinese sentences generally lack a large number of markers of grammatical relations. Because of this fact, the result has been that in spite of the existence of quite a few brilliant works on Mandarin syntax, Chinese syntactic works have not contributed very much to the development of the general syntactic theories: this is because Chinese linguistics, so far, has kept itself within the confines of the sentence boundary.

Markers of grammatical relations within the domain of the sentence are so meager in Chinese that we can hardly evaluate one solution to be better than another. Once we extend our domain of syntax from the sentence to the topic chain or even the paragraph, Chinese linguistics is likely to have something to offer the general theory of syntax. This is because there are more constraints among sentences in Chinese than in English or other European languages on which current linguistic theories are based.

Dr. Tsao's present work is to be highly recommended for the big step toward the discourse approach to the problems of topic and subject in Chinese and for contributing to

the development of linguistic theory in general. With findings and claims presented in this work, theoreticians should be in a better position to work out a model that is better suited for inter- and intra-sentential constraints which we have observed not only in Chinese but also in almost every natural language of the world.

There are many scholars in the field of Chinese language who think that modern linguistics is not applicable to Chinese. Linguists, however, claim that linguistics is the study of man's language in general and of any specific human language. Since the Chinese are human beings, any linguistic theory that fails to account for the significant facts found in Chinese needs to be modified. It is my belief that Dr. Tsao's treatment of topic in Mandarin is much more readable to non-linguists than most of the previous linguistic works on Mandarin and may change many scholars' views on the applicability of linguistics to Chinese.

Robert L. Cheng
October 1978
University of Hawaii
U.S.A.

FOREWORD

In the year 1968, when I first joined the staff of the Mandarin Training Center, National Taiwan Normal University, and began to be interested in Chinese grammar, Chao's book, *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese,* was published. When I first read it, soon after its publication, I was greatly impressed by the data that Chao has amassed and by his many interesting, and often detailed, observations. However, a few years later, when I studied it carefully, I was somewhat disappointed. Not that it lacks deep structure and transformations (I have never been an ardent adherent of the generative-transformational camp of grammar), but that there seems to have no general theory to hold those interesting observations together. In particular, I have tried to extend Chao's grammatical analysis, and other more recent transformational ones, to the analysis of discourse in Chinese and have found, to my great dismay, that what has been defined as a sentence in Chinese by these grammarians does not actually function as a discourse unit in Chinese. Something must be wrong,but what?

After two years of deliberation and careful examination of actual discourse data, I have come to the conclusion that a topic chain, a stretch of discourse composed of one, and often more than one, clause, headed by a topic which serves as a common link among all the clauses, actually functions as a discourse unit in Chinese. That's why I have, perhaps rather presumptuously, entitled this book *A Functional Study of Topic in Chinese: The First Step Towards Discourse Analysis.* Of course, before such a conclusion was reached, I had studied the syntactic, semantic, discoursal, and communicational aspects of topic in Chinese and the result is the study that I am going to present.

Since this book originated as a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Southern California, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Prof. James T.

Heringer, Chairman of my dissertation committee, who has given me careful guidance and encouragement since the first conception of this topic. Deep gratitude also goes to other members of the committee, Professors Robert B. Kaplan, Dallas Willard, and Robert L. Cheng, who have all given me many valuable comments on the contents as well as the presentation in the course of writing the dissertation. Dr. Cheng has also written a preface for this version especially, which to use a Chinese expression, "adds much color to the book." I would also like to extend my deep appreciation to Prof. T. C. Tang of National Taiwan Normal University, who, besides carefully reading an earlier draft and giving me many valuable comments, has prepared for this book a lengthy introduction, which can be read as a research paper in its own right.

Special thanks go to the National Science Council, Republic of China, whose 1974-76 study grant enabled me to finish all the requirements leading up to the actual writing of the dissertation and whose 1978 grant further enabled me to get the book published. I am also indebted to Mrs. Jya-wei Li-Hwang, Miss Yan-hwei Li, Mr. Fa-shin Fan, Mr. Deng-ming Liu, Mr. Chang-shyi Chiang and Miss Si-chiu Liu, who in various ways have helped prepare the manuscript for publication.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my wife, Ai-chu, without whose constant and unflagging assistance and encouragement, both during my two-year absence from home and during the time I was writing and revising this study, this book could never have become a reality.

Feng-fu Tsao
May 15, 1979
Department of English
National Taiwan Normal University

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