

Approaching
Gender in Chinese Compliments

汉语称赞语中的性别研究

史耕山 著



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序

欣闻史耕山同志的博士毕业论文即将付梓出版，作为他在北师大攻读博士学位期间的指导教师，我感到非常高兴。我有幸目睹作者的成长和本书的完成过程，愿与读者分享内心的激动和喜悦。

耕山的研究方向是社会语言学中的语言性别差异。语言与性别差异研究是语言学、心理学、社会学、人类学等许多领域所关注的课题。随着 20 世纪 60 年代社会语言学的发展，以前一直呈零散状态的语言性别差异研究很快进入快速发展的鼎盛时期。1975 年，Robin Lakoff 发表了该领域的经典著作——《语言和女性的地位》。针对性别话语风格的差异，她在本书中第一次用语言学的术语提出了许多很有影响力的论断：男性话语风格坚强有力、直截了当、自信果断，具有支配性，而女性话语风格温和无力、迂回间接、自我否定，具有从属性。Lakoff 的内省式假设在语言学界引起了较大的争论，一方面，一些研究纷纷支持 Lakoff 的假设，并在女权主义运动的推动下，以这种两元论观点为基调向现存的性别话语秩序发起挑战；另一方面，随着社会语言学研究的不断深入，研究领域不断拓宽，许多研究却又得出了相反的结论，即话语策略与话语意图并不总是一致的。性别话语风格受交际场合、话题、说话人之间角色关系以及宏观社会文化规约因素的制约。换句话说，性别话语风格是多元的、动态的。正是在以上认识的理论基础上，耕山同志运用实证研究方法，以汉语称赞语为载体，对发生在三个言语社区的 939 个称赞语进行了实地考察和定性、定量分析，最终建立了一个性别与宏观社会文化规约以及微观情景因素共变的模式，从而更加准确地定位并解释言语交际中的性别差异。

总的看来，耕山的研究在以下几个方面做了有益的尝试：

首先，本研究突出了性别话语风格在言语交际中所受到的宏观社会文化规约以及微观情景因素的共同影响。因此，只有将社会因素与情景因素结合起来，我们才能更好地考察语言与性别之间的共变关系。

其次，本研究突出了性别话语风格的语用功能和趋同性分析。这一侧重将有助于我们更好地理解不同性别身份在日常交际中的运作机制，

使我们认识到性别交际是能动的、有创造性的，性别话语风格的成功运用，可以使交流更顺利，更有成效。

第三，本研究在研究方法上也进行了革新。本研究选择了三个基本同质的言语社区作为研究范围。这样可以把调查结果在三个社区之间进行对比，从而使自己的研究结论更具有说服力和代表性。另外，问卷调查和访谈的使用也对实地观察进行了积极的补充。总之，不同的方法之间扬长避短，形成互补，从而提高了研究效果。

另外值得指出的是，耕山的研究主要对汉语语料进行了翔实的民族学考察。这为国内语言与性别研究提供了第一手、更有说服力的调查依据。在当代语言学研究鼓励以本土语料为重的趋势下，本研究可谓是一次积极的尝试。

当然，这个领域的研究还有许多问题需要我们探讨。例如，正式场合下的称赞语、等级角色关系下的称赞语等方面，以及称赞语的其他分析层面，如句法、语音、非言语层面等。我们不能期待一个项目、一本博士论文去回答所有这些问题。今后的研究可以以此为出发点，逐步拓展，精益求精，对语言与性别进行一个更加全面的调查与分析。

总之，攻读博士学位是一个艰苦的过程，需要自己情感、时间和精力的巨大付出。从2002年到2005年，耕山克服了工作和家庭中的种种困难，一方面扎实学好普通语言学和社会语言学理论知识，一方面花费了很多力气在各个言语社区进行田野调查，广泛收集语料，治学态度认真，也吃得起苦，取得了非常优秀的成绩。在校期间，其博士论文的相关理论框架就得以在外语类核心期刊发表。论文匿名评审专家和答辩委员也对他的研究工作给予了积极的评价。博士研究生毕业后，耕山又于2005年9月进入北京外国语大学中国外语教育研究中心博士后流动站进行后续研究，并相继又有新的研究成果问世。借他的博士论文出版之际，我希望他能够把握好科研、教学和行政之间的平衡关系，继续多出成果，出好成果，在中国社会语言学领域和外语教学领域做出新的贡献。

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摘 要

为了更好揭示语言与性别之间的互动关系,本文运用民族学的方法对发生在三个汉语言语社区的939个称赞语进行了实地考察和定性、定量分析。我们首先考察了称赞语在不同性别组和角色关系上的总体分布情况,然后将相关情景因素保持一致,深入作了一些情景对比,旨在进一步突出性别在日常交际中的作用。

通过对比分析(性别在称赞频率、策略、话题、回应、功能、效果和褒义语义载体等层面的分布),我们提出性别与宏观社会文化语境以及微观情景语境互动的理论模式。因此,性别差异是动态的、相对的,并受这两个语境的制约。同时,我们认为女性与男性的话语风格虽有差异,但也有相似之处。在本次研究中,我们发现至少有四种条件会使性别话语交际发生趋同现象。最后我们还探讨了性别互动的社会语用功能。

本次研究在理论、实践和方法论三个方面有以下意义:

首先我们发现性别话语风格在言语交际中受到宏观社会文化规约以及微观情景因素的共同影响。因此,只有将社会因素与情景因素结合起来,我们才能更好地考察语言与性别之间的共变。另外,我们还对本土语料展开了实地调查。这为语言与性别研究提供了第一手的、更有说服力的调查依据。

其次,本次研究将有助于我们更好理解不同性别身份在日常交际中的运作机制,有助于我们对性别身份中的差异性和趋同性有一个更加明晰的认识。性别交际是能动的、有创造性的,其目的是为了使交流更顺利、更有成效。

最后,我们在研究方法论的革新方面也进行了有益的尝试。在本次研究中,我们选择了三个基本同质的言语社区作为研究对象。这样可以把调查结果在三个社区之间进行对比,从而使自己的研究结论更

具有说服力和代表性。另外，我们还进行了问卷调查和访谈。总之，不同的方法之间扬长避短，形成互补，从而提高了研究效果。

关键词：语言与性别；汉语；称赞语；民族学；情景；共变

Abstract

For a better understanding of language and gender in Chinese context, we made an ethnographic study of 939 compliments in three communities. We firstly examined the general distribution of compliments on gender groups and participant relationships; second, we held the situational variables constant and selected some comparisons to further highlight the work that gender has done in daily speech interaction.

After analysis of gender in Chinese compliments (the distribution of gender on compliment frequencies, strategies, topics, responses, functions, effects and positive semantic carriers), we propose a model in which gender co-varies with its particular socio-cultural context and situational context. Therefore, gender differences are dynamic, relative and context-sensitive. Meanwhile, female and male speech styles will not only differ from each other, but overlap each other as well. We have located four conditions in which gender similarities may be possible. Moreover, we also stress the sociopragmatic functions of gender interaction.

This research throws new light on the study of language and gender either in theory, in practice and in research methodology.

Firstly, we have provided a covariation model for language and gender study. In this model, we will better locate and interpret gender interaction from a combination of socio-cultural and situational contexts. Moreover, we argue that local data can be tremendously helpful in developing strong language and gender argumentation.

Secondly, we can better understand gender performance in everyday life. In this case, we can develop our keen awareness of gender differences and similarities in speech interaction, thus facili-

tating smooth and successful communication.

Finally, we selected three communities for ethnographic observations and comparisons. In addition, we issued questionnaires and carried out interviews. We believe complementary research methods can help a lot in sociolinguistic investigations.

Key Words: language and gender; Chinese; compliments; ethnography; situation; covariation

List of Abbreviations

A: age

CC: campus community

CE: *compliment effect*

CF: compliment function

CR: compliment response

CS: compliment strategy

CRC: comparatively reinforced compliment(s)

CT: compliment topic

E: education (educated)

FCC: further comparative cases

F-F: female-female

F-M: female-male

GC: general cases

GG: gender group

M-F: male-female

M-M: male-male

NSC: number of semantic carriers

NT: number of turns

PC: plain compliment(s)

PR: participant relationship

S: setting

VC: village community

WCC: working-class community

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