郑通涛 著

汉语话语 言谈标志的 理论及个例研究

A Study of Chinese Discourse Markers: A Case Study



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General Introduction

The book is divided into eight chapters:

Chapter 1 reviews the literature of discourse analysis and the study of discourse markers (DMs) in English, Mandarin, and other languages. The conclusion is: there has not been a systematic study, nor is there a consensus viewpoint of DMs. Scholars have studied these units from differing points which may not account for the nature of DMs in discourse. An appropriate methodology is required to clarify the nature and the use of DMs.

Chapter 2 discusses the contexts in which DMs appear. $h\tilde{2}$ is used as an example to show conditioning factors like topic, type of conversation, social status, gender, speech actions, and other discourse and non-discourse factors, all of which can influence the occurrence of $h\tilde{2}$.

Chapter 3 discusses the basic tonic patterns of DMs and their relevant meanings in discourse; the difference between tonic patterns of DMs and lexical tones; the relationship between intonation features of utterances and intonation features of DMs; the relations between different distributions of DMs and their implications reflected in intonation appearance.

Chapter 4 discusses the function of $h\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$ in Information States and the relation between $h\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$'s application and human mental activities such as new/old information triggering (shared knowledge prefacing), information repairing, and other information management work. Types and conditions of shared knowledge and information repair are also discussed. The pragmatic effect of DMs on the theory of speech acts also is further discussed. This chapter claims that DMs directly contribute to information management. They fulfil the task of information triggers, and information repairing.

Chapter 5 discusses the status of $h\tilde{2}$ in discourse cohesion and coherence. This chapter claims that the function of $h\tilde{2}$ can be divided into seven different types of semantic cohesive relations and four types of pragmatic cohesive relations as well as two types of coherent relations. These types of coherent relations have been infrequently referred to by scholars. These functions are retained due to a DM's dual orientation nature, referring back to previous referents and forward to

subsequent referents, and indicate the intention of continuation of the speaker during the talk. The flexibility covering scope of $h\tilde{o}$ is also discussed: $h\tilde{o}$ can refer to one referent, two referents, one utterance, or an utterance chunk, depending on each individual situation. In this sense, $h\tilde{o}$ aids textual cohesion and coherence.

Chapter 6 discusses the implication of $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ in turn taking mechanism. $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ is the signal of offering information in terms of the Markov Chains and therefore it couches a significant meaning—floor holder. But in the circumstance of certain types of speaker attitude such as requiring a response or agreeing with the previous proposition content, $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ also signals speakers relinquishing the floor. All these phenomena can be explained in terms of Markov Chains. The utterance (s) qualified by $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ therefore has an impact on the turn taking system. This chapter also discusses the relationship between the DM application, speaker intention, and the result of turn taking structures.

Chapter 7 discusses the relationship between $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ and interpersonal relationships. $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ is used to project selfhood, personhood and enhance "impression management" which is the fundamental pragmatic effect of human communication. $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$'s applications violate Gricean Maxims. The most basic factor for this violation is $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$'s constraint by interpersonal relationships which take the shape of politeness or "face work". The conclusion of this chapter claims that DMs in Amoy Chinese reflect the social relationship in Xiamen society: they are stamped with the brand of class of society.

Chapter 8 is conclusion, analysis and discussion of previous seven chapters are summerised in this chapter. A coherence model of discourse analysis is presented.

2

Transcription and Glossing Conventions

The following table lists the most prominent conventions for the transcription of the data extracts and the provision of English glosses. Some symbols are specific for Amoy Chinese. Others are more or less standard in discourse analysis.

| NOTATION | MEANING |
|----------|---|
| = | overlapping |
| ¥ | falling intonation |
| 7 | rising intonation |
| V | falling then rising |
| - 52 | Xiamen lexical tonic pattern (number indicates the relevant |
| | lexical tone pattern) |
| · " | quotation from other authors and specific terminology |
| | the speaker continues but the transcription ends |
| hhh | laugher |
| () | short endorsement from hearer |
| Italic | emphasised |
| Bold | strong emphasized |
| _ | extending |

IPA Conventions

The IPA system is used throughout this thesis but some symbols have been added to the list to represent some IPA symbols due to the limitation of computer capacity. Tones are not represented, as a gloss is already provided for every word and a free translation for every utterance.

| Xiamen Consonants | Vowels | | |
|-------------------|--------|----|-------|
| p | a | 3 | (o) |
| р' | ai | ĩ | |
| m | au | en | (eng) |

■ 汉语话语言谈标志的理论及个例研究 ■

| | | | | , . |
|---------------|-------|----|----|-------|
| t | | ou | an | (ang) |
| ť, | | e | in | (ing) |
| n | | ei | ă | |
| l | (d) | en | æ | |
| k | i | | | |
| k' | | iu | | |
| h | | o | | |
| ts | (tç) | ou | | |
| ts' | (t'¢) | oi | | |
| s | (c) | u | | |
| $d\mathbf{z}$ | | ui | | |
| b | | ue | | |
| ø | | | | |

Abstract

This book focuses on a neglected category of discourse units in Amoy Chinese: Discourse markers (DMs). The central aim of the book is to explore the nature of the DMs in Chinese discourse through a detailed analysis of the Amoy Chinese utterance final DM $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$. A further objective is to provide a theoretical framework for DM study in other Chinese dialects. This theoretical hypothesis has been examined and tested by analysis of the Xiamen discourse markers $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$. Though this tiny but typical DM's exploration we can see how DMs function in all levels of Chinese communication.

The main hypothesis is that the central meaning of final DMs like $h\mathfrak{Z}$ is to seek affirmation that the newly introduced proposition (s) is/are appropriately recognized by the hearer, and whether the other discourse functions of DMs such as indicating the speaker's relinquishing the floor and asking for hearer's solidarity, are contextual variants of this central meaning.

There were two reasons for selecting the utterance final marker $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ for detailed study. The first was that $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ has a typical distribution as do other DMs in Amoy Chinese and also other Chinese dialects: it can appear in two different types of utterance positions: an utterance-final position conveying a complete propositional meaning and an utterance-initial position conveying an uncompleted propositional meaning. This distribution feature helps in understanding the complex nature of DMs. The second reason was that DMs like $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ always co-occurs with other "inclusive" personal pronouns such as lan (inclusive "us") which couches a clear "selfhood" meaning. This "selfhood" meaning of $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ helps to explain the social-cultural meaning of $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$.

The data in this study is based on twelve hours of authentic tape recordings of twelve native Xiamen speakers (including the author), eight of whom currently study in Australian universities, and four of whom are new graduates currently employed in Xiamen City. Four of the twelve were female speakers. The twelve speakers were divided into two groups: intimate and non-intimate groups according to their relationships to each other. The criteria for determining their relationships were a) time (how long they had known each other); b) type of relationship; c) age; d) education level; and e) gender. About three hours tape recordings were

randomly taken during author's friends visited him. Another three hours were taken when author's friends were invited to visit him. Some of the subjects were aware that their conversations were taped and some did not. Tap recordings were taken in either the author's home in Canberra or author's brother's home in Xiamen City.

This book examines h\(\tilde{0} \) from the point of view of socio-linguistics, social psychology, pragmatics, information theory, and cybernetic theory. Comparisons between English and Mandarin are made in all seven chapters. A revision of Schiffrin's (1987) discourse analysis model is adopted for the study. Two basic categories have been added to the old model: phonetic features of DMs discussed in Chapter Three, and the implication of interpersonal relationship of DMs discussed in Chapter Seven. Also other changes have been made to the revised model, e.g. Action Structures and Participant Framework are no longer treated as independent categories, but have been incorporated into other categories' analyses because these two categories are not so significant to the DMs.

The orientation of the use of DMs is pragmatic, as DMs mainly convey the speaker's attitudinal and emotional feeling towards the propositional content and the hearer. The nature of DMs can only be revealed by analyzing the relationship between DMs' pragmatic function and their phonetic structures; their function in information structures; their function in the turn taking structure; their function in the interpersonal structure; and their function in the overall discourse system comprised of the above five components.

During the course of this study, the above hypothesis was confirmed. Several specific points can be made in relation to the findings.

The first point concerns the phonological features of $h\bar{s}$. The basic intonation pattern of $h\bar{s}$ associated with its central meaning is a normal volume, short tempo, and with a falling lexical tonic pattern, approximating the "yinqu" lexical tonic pattern in Amoy Chinese.

A second point is that $h\tilde{2}$'s central meaning is goal orientated. It belongs to the application of the second communication goal; how to say it, to whom (compared with the first communication goal, what to say). DMs are always used when a discrepant expectation is created between the interlocutors.

Another significant finding was that all other functions of $h\tilde{2}$ are contextual variants of the central meaning. These variants are associated with different human cognitive states when newly introduced information is being processed in these states.

Finally, this study shows that the DMs act as an anti-entropy force which is used to stabilize the communication system where a deviant factor is detected by

the speaker.

Different functions of $h\tilde{z}$ in above five dimensions can be integrated into an unified unit. The result of the above chapter analysis of $h\tilde{z}$ (from Chapter 2 – 7) supports this claim:

Firstly, in contextual dimension, the appearance of $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ is restrained by topic, relevant shared information etc., because $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ is a kind of anti-entropy force which reduce the chaos level in the discourse and stabilize the system. Their main function in discourse is in keeping a certain level of communicative involvement for both speaker and addressee. Therefore it dynamically re-adjusts speaker-addressee to a new alignment in the situation where a new discourse topic is introduced and where there is a need for the relevant shared information. The use of $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ at this moment guarantees the establishment of the new alignment by reassuring whether the hearer adequately receives the information. In short, $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ will be used when a discrepancy expectation is created between the interlocutors.

Secondly, in prosodic dimension, h5 has a range of intonation patterns which directly relate to different attitudinal and emotional meanings of the speaker because only these alternatives enable the speaker to adequately reflect his different cognitive states by freely selecting one or more alternatives from these options. At this stage, there is a need for the speaker make sure whether his choice is adequately recognized by the hearer. h5 therefore in this situation can be interpreted as asking information reception, information endorsement etc.

Thirdly, in interlocutors' knowledge base, because of the new introduced prepositions, the speaker has an obligation to help the hearer to interpret what is his/her real intention in the utterances and some shared knowledge need to be presented in order to understand the utterances. In doing so, the speaker uses $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ to allude to hearer's knowledge bases and uses it to assure whether relevant shared knowledge has been adequately activated, transited, or received. There also a need for the speaker to repair his/her disfluency start which may affects the hearer's interpretation of these prepositions. In this moment, the use of $h\bar{\mathfrak{I}}$ is the best choice for the speaker.

Fourthly, in turn taking mechanism base, because of the new introduced prepositions, the speaker has to decide if s/he needs the floor in order to continue the following deduction. In the situation where an confirmation from the hearer is expected, the speaker may use the utterance-final $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ to provide a chance for hearer to do so, while in the situation where the speaker does not want to be interrupted, the utterance-middle position $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ may be used. $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ can be interpreted as a floor holder or as a RQM depend on which position it is located. The new introduced preposition is used as strategical application where there is a potential

conflict between the interlocutors. The speaker cans distant him/herself by introducing third party (new preposition) with $h\tilde{z}$ into the conversation. $h\tilde{z}$ at this moment is used as a "compensation" device to resume the conversation atmosphere which may be affected by the new introduced preposition. $h\tilde{z}$ in this moment reflects the speaker's intention that s/he wants to make sure that if his/her appealing for co-operation and show solidarity are adequately recognized by the hearer. Also, because of the new introduced preposition which comprises of some uncertain elements which can easily lead to a disprefered structures of an adjacency pair in which $h\tilde{z}$ always appears, it therefore, account for the fact that $h\tilde{z}$ always accompanies with an unexpected answer form the speaker.

Fifthly, in coherent dimension, the cohesive and coherent function displayed by $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ depends on what kind of "scope" the $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ covers in the discourse. If $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ covers a local discourse structures, it can only have a cohesive function while if it covers a global structure it may have a coherent function. The two main coherent functions closely relate to the new introduced preposition. In the situation where $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ covers a local discourse structure when a speaker introduces some new participant, time, space parameters into the discourse, the speaker is obligate to clarify what are all these new parameters are about. Therefore, a more detail explanation is needed. But firstly, before the speaker starts to give his/her detail explanation, s/he has to make sure that these initial newly introduced parameter has been adequately recognized by the hearer ($h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ is used and is referred as a "backward" function), then the speaker prefaces the explanations to detail these parameters (a "forward" function).

Because these new parameters are only located at the lower discourse structure, and the $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ accordingly can have a cohesive function. In this sense, the above procedure constitutes seven pairs of cohesive relationships between the front part and later part of $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$. $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ plays a necessary pivotal role in constituting above seven local cohesive relationships. In the situation where $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ covers a global discourse structure and the speaker uses the global structures as a premise for further deduction, $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ has a coherent function. $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ is interpreted as to reassure an adequate reception of the hearer about the premise. $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ has the coherent function because the following deducting behind the $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ is based ones sere the previous premise. In this situation, $h\bar{\mathfrak{d}}$ displays both a backward and a forward function because it refers back to the previous information and it leads the following deduction.

Sixthly, in social-culture dimension, because of the new introduced prepositions, the speaker somehow has to show his/her obligation to establish a new alignment with the hearer. The fact is, although $h\tilde{z}$ is a ROM (reduced

question marker) which to some extent indicates partial uncertainty of the speaker, it leaves no time and space for the hearer to response. This phenomenon seems conflict with $h\tilde{\mathfrak{Z}}$'s RQF (response question final) nature. The preference in which $h\tilde{\mathfrak{Z}}$ is dominantly used by intimate friends can resolve this conflict because the use of $h\tilde{\mathfrak{Z}}$ does not indicate the real intention of the speaker who wish to make a sincere request to the hearer, $h\tilde{\mathfrak{Z}}$ is only a "dummy" question marker. The reason a speaker can use such a "dummy" marker instead of using a real question marker but does no harm to the communication is because there are three requisites which have to be satisfied before a $h\tilde{\mathfrak{Z}}$ can be used, that is, $h\tilde{\mathfrak{Z}}$ has to satisfy the requirements of physical context, social context, and discourse context. Because only intimate friend relationship can satisfy the above requirements. In this sense, $h\tilde{\mathfrak{Z}}$ belongs to sub-code system of Xiamen intimate group.

The following points demonstrates a coherent model of the relationship between $h\tilde{\mathfrak{z}}$'s central meaning and its contextual variants:

The relation between central meaning of $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$ and its contextual variants $h\tilde{\mathfrak{I}}$'s Central Meaning:

To assure if the speaker newly introduced presupposition (s) is/are appropriately recognized by the hearer.

Contextual Variants:

- 1. ASSOCIATED (BASIC) TONIC PATTERNS: short, falling, normal volume. VARIANTS: rising, high level, and long and short level tonic patterns etc. The latter to some extent modify the central meaning.
- 2. EMOTIONAL & ATTITUDIAL MEANING: high percentage of self confident towards the previous information & the hearer's attitude. This explains why it can be used as a reduced question marker. It normally requires no confirmation from the hearer.
- 3. INFORMATION STATE: alludes to hearer's knowledge base and leads five kind of information transition from unshared to share as well as three kinds of information repairs. This can be viewed as the realization of the central meaning in this cognitive state.
- 4. TURN TAKING: (utterance middle position $h\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$) is a floor holder indicating the speaker's intention for further information providing; (utterance final position $h\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$) indicates the speaker's relinquish the floor. This is the result of realizing $h\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$'s central meaning where the different distributions of $h\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$ are needed.
- 5. COHESIVE & COHERENCE: in local level, it indicates seven kinds of semantic cohesive relationships and four kinds of pragmatic cohesive relationships

in speaker's discourse production; in global level, it indicates the relationship between the main argument and the supportive material. This is the requirement for realizing $h\tilde{\mathfrak{d}}$'s central meaning where different conversational moves (backward and forward orientating) are needed.

6. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP: creates three kinds of "impression management" and resumes the intimate group identity by both showing the speaker's own solidarity and asking the hearer's support. This is the result of the realizing the central meaning among the intimate group.

Definition of DMs

What kind of discourse unit can be used as a DM?

- 1) It has to be the word/phrase which contains "empty" or "semi-empty" semantic meaning because the semantic state of these units enables them to keep a reasonable "space" for loading human's emotional and attitudinal feeling for the pragmatic purposes.
- 2) It has to be located in the juncture of utterances, either in the utterance initial or utterance final position; it is detachable from the main utterance, and followed by a pause.
- 3) It has to be containing a set of intonation patterns which normally comprises of duration, volume, and pitch movement and always has an abnormal phonological change (reduction or extension).
- 4) It has to be operated at both local and global levels of discourse and on different planes of discourse.

These four criteria will enable us to generalize DMs from other units in discourse. About 28 Xiamen DMs which have been identified and listed in Chapter Two for discussions are based on these criteria.

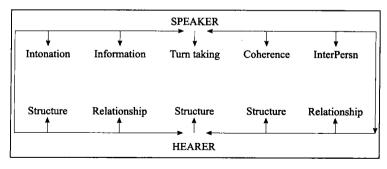


Figure 1. A Coherent Discourse Model of DMs

中文摘要

本书研究的是在话语分析中甚至是传统语言研究中经常被忽略的一类成分,即言谈标志。一部分言谈标志在传统的结构主义语法中被称为语气词。但是并不是所有的言谈标志是语气词。比如说"你知道吗"、"对不对"是汉语话语分析中的言谈标志,但它们却不是传统意义上的语气词。

汉语的话语分析研究使得汉语研究从传统的词及句子分析走向段落及篇章分析。从传统的句子成分分析法或古典的结构主义语法分析中走出来。对语言使用者的言语能力进行了系统的分析与归纳。传统的汉语语法深受英语影响,实际上是英语语法的翻版。全盘照搬英语语法来研究汉语在很大程度上忽视了汉语本身的特点。学科的划分是人为的,可是科学现象并不是依人们所划分的学科而存在的,因此,用多学科研究方法来研究汉语是势在必然。本书用话语分析方法对汉语的言谈标志进行了比较详细的分析,尤其对一个汉语标志从多学科角度进行了分析。研究时采用了了语用学、社会学、心理学、人类学、文化学、信息论以及控制论等学科的研究方法,将语言交际过程与信息系统中的信息交流过程相提并论,将语言研究置身于一个较为开阔的视野内。本书可为从事语言以及对外汉语教学的同人和爱好者提供参考,让他们能够从言语交际的角度观察言语能力是以什么样的方式表现出来。作者认为,本书能从另一角度为语言教材的编写、教学方法的更新以及教师的培养提供一种参照体系。

本书共分为八章。分别为:第一章,西方话语分析以及汉语话语分析的文献及评析;第二章,汉语中言谈标志定义以及言谈标志的确定;第三章,汉语言谈标志的语音特征及其分布;第四章,汉语言谈标志与认知系统的关系;第五章,汉语言谈标志在言语交流中的位置及作用;第六章,汉语言谈标志在话轮、语段、篇章以及交际互动中的作用;第七章,汉语言谈标志与文化人群的关系;第八章,结论,汉语言谈标志的理论模式也同时在本章中归纳出来。本书视角新颖、论述充分,大量运用了国外多学科的研究成果,相信对读者会有一定的启发。

1

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