That's Interesting! Towards a Phenomenology of Sociology and a Sociology of Phenomenology By Murray S. Davis Phil. Soc. Sci. 1 (1971), 309-344 (Modified)

真有意思！对于社会学的现象学和现象学社会学的研究。苏格兰。科学。1(1971)，309-344(修订)

Summary Question: How do theories that are generally considered interesting differ from theories that are generally considered non-interesting?

总结问题:一般认为有趣的理论与一般认为无趣的理论有什么不同？

Answer: Interesting theories deny certain assumptions of their audience, while non-interesting theories affirm certain assumptions of their audience. This answer was arrived at through the examination of a number of famous social, and especially sociological, theories. That examination also generated a systematic index of the variety of propositional forms that interesting and non-interesting theories may take. The fertility of this approach suggested a new field be established called the Sociology of the Interesting, which is intended to supplement the Sociology of Knowledge. This new field will be phenomenologically oriented in so far as it will focus on the movement of the audience's mind from one accepted theory to another. It will be sociologically oriented in so far as it will focus on the dissimilar base-line theories of the various sociological categories that compose the audience. In addition to its value in interpreting the social impact of theories, the Sociology of the Interesting can contribute to our understanding of both the common sense and scientific perspectives on reality.

答:有趣的理论否定了观众的某些假设，而非有趣的理论则肯定了观众的某些假设。这个答案是通过对一些著名的社会理论，特别是社会学理论的研究得到的。这项研究还产生了一个有关各种介词形式的系统指数，有趣和无趣的理论可能会采用。这种方法的丰富性表明，应该建立一个新的领域，叫做有趣的社会学，旨在补充知识社会学。这个新领域将以现象学为导向，因为它将侧重于观众的思想从一个被接受的理论到另一个。它将以社会学为导向，因为它将侧重于构成听众的各种社会学类别的不同的基线理论。除了它在解释理论的社会影响方面的价值之外，《有趣的社会学》还可以促进我们对现实的常识和科学观点的理解。

Part I: Introduction It has long been thought that a theorist is considered great because his theories are true, but this is false. A theorist is considered great, not because his theories are true, but because they are interesting. Those who carefully and exhaustively verify trivial theories are soon forgotten, whereas those who cursorily and expediently verify interesting theories are long remembered. In fact, the truth of a theory has very little to do with its impact, for a theory can continue to be found interesting even though its truth is disputed — even refuted!

长期以来，人们一直认为理论家被认为是伟大的，因为他的理论是正确的，但这是错误的。理论家被认为是伟大的，不是因为他的理论是真实的，而是因为他们是有趣的。那些仔细而详尽地验证微不足道的理论的人很快就会被遗忘，而那些谨慎而迅速地验证有趣理论的人却早已被人们铭记。事实上，一个理论的真理与其影响几乎没有关系，因为一个理论可以继续被发现是有趣的，即使它的真理是有争议的ーー甚至是否定的！

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Since this capacity to stimulate interest is a necessary if not sufficient characteristic of greatness, then any study of theorists who are considered great must begin by examining why their theories are considered interesting — why, in other words, the theorist is worth studying at all. But before we can attempt even this preliminary task we must understand clearly why some theories are considered interesting while others are not. In this essay, I

既然这种激发兴趣的能力是一个必要的，如果不是足够的伟大特征，那么任何关于被认为伟大的理论家的研究必须首先考察为什么他们的理论被认为是有趣的ーー换句话说，为什么理论家值得研究。但是，在我们甚至可以尝试这个初步任务之前，我们必须清楚地理解为什么有些理论被认为是有趣的，而有些不是。在这篇文章中，我

will try to determine what it means for a theory to be considered interesting (or, in the extreme, fascinating).

将试图确定一个理论被认为有趣意味着什么(或者，在极端的，迷人的)。

Students who follow to the letter all of the injunctions of current textbooks on theory-construction, but take into account no other criterion in the construction of their theories, will turn out work that will be found dull indeed. Their impeccably constructed theories will go unnoted — or, more precisely, unfootnoted — by others. But should these students also take into account that criterion, to be detailed below, that distinguishes interesting theories from uninteresting theories, they will find that their theories will make their readers literally sit up and take notice. Their theories will then be discussed among colleagues, examined in journals, confirmed or denied in dissertations, and taught to students as the most recent instances of progress in their profession.

学生们遵循现有教科书中关于理论建构的所有禁令，但在理论的构建中没有考虑其他的标准，那么他们的工作就会变得枯燥乏味。他们无可挑剔的理论将不为人所知——或者，更准确地说，不为别人所注意。但是如果这些学生也考虑到这个标准，详细的说明，区分有趣的理论和无趣的理论，他们会发现他们的理论将使他们的读者真正地坐起来并注意到。然后，他们的理论将在同事之间讨论，在期刊上审查，论文中确认或否定，并且作为他们职业进步的最新实例教给学生。

I will confine my inquiry to social theories that have been considered interesting, giving special attention to famous sociological theories. I suggest, however, that the level of abstraction of the analysis presented here is high enough for it to be applicable equally well to theories in all areas of social science and even to theories in natural science. But this generalization of the following discussion will have to await further investigation.

我将把我的研究局限于那些被认为有趣的社会理论，特别关注著名的社会学理论。然而，我认为，这里提出的分析的抽象程度足够高，足以同样适用于社会科学所有领域的理论，甚至适用于自然科学的理论。但是，以下讨论的这种概括将不得不等待进一步的调查。

1. Interesting non-propositions

第一名。有趣的非主张

I will further restrict this paper to analyzing the interesting component of those theories that Kant has called "synthetic a posteriori propositions" — assertions that refer to the empirical world and are not merely matters of definition. But these propositions, of course, are not the only ingredients of the scientific enterprise that may be found interesting, though they are the most important. Space, however, forbids consideration here of the various types of non-propositions that are also capable of evoking interest. Thus I will not be dealing with (1) findings, which confirm or disconfirm hypotheses, (2) clues, which indicate the way a problem can be solved, (3) aesthetic descriptions, which refine perception, (4) analogies, which render the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar, and (5) models, which simplify the integration of complex relationships.

我将进一步限制本文分析康德称之为"综合后验命题"的那些理论中有趣的部分，即指的是经验世界的断言，而不仅仅是定义问题。当然，这些主张并不是科学事业的唯一组成部分，尽管它们是最重要的。然而，在这里，空间禁止考虑各种类型的非命题，它们也能唤起人们的兴趣。因此，我将不再处理(1)证实或否定假设的发现;(2)线索，这些线索表明了一个问题可以被解决的方式，(3)美学描述，它改善了感知，(4)类比，使得熟悉的模型变得陌生，(5)模型，简化了复杂关系的整合。

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2. The interesting and the routine

第二名。有趣的和常规的

The interesting is something that affects the attention. Websters Third defines interesting as "engaging the attention." The question naturally arises: Where was the attention before it was engaged by the interesting?

有趣的是影响注意力的东西。WebstersThird将有趣的定义定义为"吸引注意力"这个问题自然而然地出现了:在引起有趣的人的注意之前，它的注意力在哪里？

It is hard to answer this question because, by definition, one is usually not attentive to what one is usually not attentive to. But, for those who wish to understand human behavior, it is very important to answer this question because most people spend most of their lives in this state they are not attentive to. Harold Garfinkel (1967) has called this state of low attention or low consciousness "the routinized taken-for-granted world of everyday life." Since the interesting, by definition, engages the attention more than the non-interesting, perhaps the former can be used to make manifest the latter. I will attempt to use what is found interesting to disclose what is routinely taken-for-granted.

很难回答这个问题，因为从定义上讲，人们通常不会注意到一个人通常不关心的事情。但是，对于那些想要理解人类行为的人来说，回答这个问题是非常重要的，因为大多数人的大部分生活都是在这种状态下度过的，他们并不关心。哈罗德·葛芬柯(1967)把这种低注意或低意识的状态称为"日常生活中常规化的理所当然的世界"既然有趣的事物，从定义上来说，比非趣味性更能吸引人的注意力，也许前者可以用来表现后者。我将试图利用发现的有趣的东西来揭示什么是常规的被认可。

If the defining characteristic of anything that some audience considers interesting is that it stands out in their attention in contrast to the routinized taken-for-granted world of their everyday lives, then the defining characteristic of a theory that some audience considers interesting is that it stands out in their attention in contrast to the web of routinely taken-for-granted propositions that make up the theoretical structure of their everyday lives. In other words, a new theory will be noticed only when it denies an old truth (proverb, platitude, maxim, adage, saying, commonplace, etc.). (The actual process by which a theory comes to be considered interesting today is, of course, much more complicated because of the fragmentation of the audience into lay and professional groups. This important complication will be taken up in a later section.)

如果一些听众认为有趣的任何事物的定义特征是，它在他们的注意力中脱颖而出，与日常生活中常规化的理所当然的世界形成鲜明对比，那么一些听众认为有趣的理论的定义特征是，它在他们的注意力中脱颖而出，与构成他们日常生活理论结构的常规理论形成对照。换句话说，只有当它否认一个古老的真理(谚语、陈词滥调、格言、谚语、老生常谈等)时，才会注意到一个新的理论。(当然，一个理论在今天被认为是有趣的实际过程，当然要复杂得多，因为听众分散为非专业团体和专业团体。这个重要的并发症将在后面的部分中讨论。)

3. The interesting in theory and in practice

图3。在理论上和实践中都很有趣

All interesting theories, at least all interesting social theories, then, attack the taken-for-granted worlds of their audiences. An audience will consider any particular proposition to be worth saying only if it denies the truth of some part of their routinely held assumption-ground. If it does not challenge but merely confirms one of their taken-for-granted beliefs, they will respond to it by rejecting its value while affirming its truth. They will declare that the proposition need not be stated because it is already part of their theoretical scheme: "Of course." "That's obvious." "Everybody knows that." "It goes without saying."

所有有趣的理论，至少是所有有趣的社会理论，然后，攻击那些被认为是理所当然的观众。只有当观众否认他们经常坚持的假设的某些部分的真相时，观众才会认为任何特定的命题都是值得说的。如果它没有挑战，只是证实了他们的一个理所当然的信念，他们就会拒绝它的价值，同时肯定它的真理。他们会宣称，这个提议不需要说明，因为它已经是他们理论计划的一部分:"当然。""这很明显。""每个人都知道。""这是不言而喻的。"

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The taken-for-granted world includes not only this theoretical dimension but also a practical dimension. A theory will be considered truly interesting only if it has repercussions on both levels. On the latter level, an audience will find a theory to be interesting only when it denies the significance of part of their present "on-going practical activity" (Garfinkel, 1967) and insists that they should be engaged in some new on-going practical activity instead. If this practical consequence of a theory is not immediately apparent to its audience, they will respond to it by rejecting its value until someone can concretely demonstrate its utility: "So what?" "Who cares?" "Why bother?" "What good is it?"

被认为是理所当然的世界不仅包括这一理论层面，而且还包括一个实际方面。只有当一个理论对两个层面都有影响的时候，它才会被认为是真正有趣的。在后一个层面上，听众只有在否认他们目前的"正在进行的实际活动"(Garfinkel，1967年)的重要性，并坚持认为他们应该从事一些新的正在进行的实际活动。如果一个理论的这种实际结果不能立即为听众所知，他们将通过拒绝它的价值来回应它，直到有人能够具体地证明它的效用:"那又怎样?""谁在乎呢?""为什么要麻烦呢?""这有什么用呢?"

An analysis of the rhetorical structure of social research reveals how it is made to seem interesting on both theoretical and practical levels. The standard form of the books and articles about this research is the following: (1) The author articulates the taken-for-granted assumptions of his imagined audience by reviewing the literature of the particular sub-tradition in question ("It has long been thought . . ."). (2) He adduces one or more propositions that deny what has been traditionally assumed ("But this is false . . ."). (3) He spends the body of the work proving by various methodological devices that the old routinely assumed propositions are wrong while the new ones he has asserted are right ("We have seen instead that . . ."). (4) In conclusion, he suggests the practical consequences of these new propositions for his imagined audience's on-going social research, specifically how they ought to deflect research onto new paths (Further investigation is necessary to . . .).

通过对社会研究修辞结构的分析，揭示了社会研究在理论和实践两个层面上如何使它看起来有趣。关于这项研究的书籍和文章的标准形式如下:(1)提交人通过审查有关特定次传统的文献，阐述了他想象的受众的理所当然的假设("长期以来一直认为......")。(2)他提出了一个或多个否定传统假设的主张("但这是错误的......")。(3)他用各种方法学手段证明，旧的常规假设是错误的，而他所断言的新命题是正确的("我们已经看到......")。(4)最后，他提出了这些新的主张对他想象中的观众正在进行的社会研究的实际后果，特别是他们应该如何将研究转移到新的道路上(进一步的调查是必要的...)。

An analysis of the cognitive content of social research reveals much more about the nature of that which is interesting and, equally important, that which is not. Theoretically, it is worth investigating the social theories that have been considered interesting because of what they reveal about the common-sense every-day layman's view of the world, which they are attacking. Practically, it is worth investigating those social theories that have been considered interesting so that we can learn to assert interesting theories ourselves. If we come to understand the process by which interesting theories are generated, we will not have to continue to do what has been done up till now — leave the interesting to the inspired.

对社会研究的认知内容的分析更多地揭示了有趣的，同样重要的，有趣的和不是的。从理论上讲，值得研究的是那些被认为有趣的社会理论，因为它们揭示了普通人每天对世界的看法，他们所攻击的世界。实际上，我们值得去研究那些被认为有趣的社会理论，这样我们就可以学会主张有趣的理论。如果我们开始理解有趣的理论产生的过程，我们将不必继续做迄今为止已经做过的事情ーー把有趣的理论留给有趣的人去做。

4. Procedure

4.程序

To discover what made a social theory interesting, I examined a large number of social and especially sociological propositions that have been considered interesting, in the hope of isolating the common element of interest in all of them and of accounting for

为了发现社会理论的有趣之处，我研究了大量被认为有趣的社会特别是社会学命题，希望能够把所有这些问题的共同利益因素分离出来，并对其进行解释

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their differences. Since my purpose was primarily heuristic, I did not feel it was necessary or feasible to establish the precise degree of interestability of each proposition. In a later section, 1 will offer some suggestions about how the study of interesting propositions can be put on a more rigorous footing. For the purposes of this investigation, I considered a social theory to be interesting if it has been in wide circulation. Wide circulation here is meant to encompass both those social theories that have been considered interesting in times past and those that have been considered interesting recently — that is, those that were and those that are in the air. (The former are now usually taught to students in introductory courses; the latter in substantive courses beyond the introductory level.) I also examined for this investigation some well-turned propositions of popular sociology that have caught the public's fancy and have achieved a wide circulation outside the strict limits of the discipline's domain.

他们的不同之处。由于我的目的主要是启发性的，我并不认为有必要或者可行来确定每一个命题的确切的有趣程度。在后面的一节中，我将提供一些建议，说明如何把研究有趣的命题放在更严格的基础上。为了这次调查的目的，我认为一个社会理论是有趣的，如果它已经在广泛流通。这里的广泛流传意味着既包括那些在过去被认为有趣的社会理论，也包括那些最近被认为有趣的社会理论，也就是说，那些曾经存在的和那些在空气中的。(前者现在通常在入门课程中教授给学生;后者在实质性课程中超出了入门级别。)我也为这次调查研究了一些受欢迎的社会学的主张，它们吸引了公众的兴趣，并在学科领域的严格限制之外实现了广泛的流通。

5. The common element of all interesting propositions

第五名。所有有趣命题的共同要素

All of the interesting propositions I examined were found to involve the radical distinction between seeming and being, between the subject of phenomenology and the subject of ontology. An interesting proposition was one that first articulated a phenomenological presumption about the way a particular part of the world had looked, and then denied this phenomenological presumption in the name of truth, that is, in the name of a more profound, more real, more ontological criterion. Put more precisely, an interesting proposition was one that attempted first to expose the ontological claim of its accredited counterpart as merely phenomenological pretence, and then to deny this phenomenological pretence with its own claim to ontological priority. In brief, an interesting proposition was always the negation of an accepted one. All of the interesting propositions I examined were easily translatable into the form: "What seems to be X is in reality non-X" or "What is accepted as X is actually non-X."

我所研究的所有有趣的命题都被发现包含了表象和存在之间的根本区别，在现象学的主题和本体论的主题之间。一个有趣的命题首先阐述了一个关于世界某个特定部分所观察方式的现象学假设，然后以真理的名义否定这种现象学的假设，即以一种更深刻、更真实、更本体论的标准的名义，否定了这种现象学的假设。更准确地说，一个有趣的命题首先试图揭示其认可的对应者的本体论主张，仅仅是现象学的借口，然后用它自己对本体论优先权的主张来否认这种现象学的借口。简而言之，一个有趣的命题总是否定一个被接受的命题。我所研究的所有有趣命题都可以很容易地转化为形式:"看起来x实际上是non-X"或者"被接受为x的实际上是非x"

6. The species of interesting propositions

第六名。有趣命题的种类

While all interesting propositions were found to have in common the same dialectical relation between the phenomenological and the ontological, they were found to be distinguished on the logical level. The variety of interesting propositions fell into twelve logical categories that involved either the characterization of a single phenomenon or the relations among multiple phenomena. These twelve logical categories constitute an Index of the Interesting.

虽然所有有趣的命题都有共同的辩证关系的现象学和本体论，他们被发现是在逻辑层次上被发现的。各种有趣的命题分为十二个逻辑类别，它们既涉及单一现象的角色塑造，也涉及多种现象之间的关系。这十二个逻辑分类构成了有趣的索引。

Part II: The Index of the Interesting 5

第二部分:有趣的5的索引

A — The Characterization of a single phenomenon

Aー单一现象的角色塑造

(i) Organization

(i)组织

a. What seems to be a disorganized (unstructured) phenomenon is in reality an organized (structured) phenomenon.

A.似乎是一种无组织的(非结构化)现象实际上是一种有组织的(结构化)现象。

Example: Ferdinand Tonnies' assertion in Community and Society that the relations among people within all societies were considered at the time he wrote to be manifold and indeterminate, can in fact be organized around two main types (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft).

例如:FerdinandTonnies在《共同体和社会》中声称，在他写作时，人们认为所有社会中的人之间的关系是多方面的和不确定的，事实上可以围绕两个主要类型(Gemeinschaft和Gesellschaft)组织起来。

b. What seems to be an organized (structured) phenomenon is in reality a disorganized (unstructured) phenomenon.

B.似乎是一种有组织的(结构化)现象实际上是一种无组织的(非结构化)现象。

Example: Karl Marx's assertion in Capital that the economic processes of bourgeois society, which were considered at the time he wrote to be organized in one way, are in fact not organized in that way (but rather organized in another way).

例如:卡尔·马克思在《资本论》中断言，资产阶级社会的经济过程在他写作时被认为是以一种方式组织起来的，事实上并不是这样组织起来的(而是以另一种方式组织起来)。

Comment: The thrust of a younger ripening discipline is to develop organizing propositions of Type (i)a. Perhaps the most fundamental example in sociology is Auguste Compte's assertion that social phenomena in themselves, which were considered at the time he wrote to be unstructured (unlike natural phenomena), do in fact possess a coherent structure that can be grasped by science. The major sub-fields of a discipline also begin with the assertion of an organization for a particular social phenomenon that was thought to be unorganized. Thus Gustave LeBon started the field of Collective Behavior when he managed to structure something so seemingly chaotic as crowds. Organizing propositions often appear abbreviated as concepts. Cooley, for example, managed to

评论:年轻的成熟学科的主旨是发展类型(i)a的组织命题。也许社会学中最基本的例子就是奥古斯特·孔特的主张，即社会现象本身，在他写作的时候被认为是非结构化的(不像自然现象)，事实上拥有一个连贯的结构，可以被科学所掌握。一个学科的主要分支领域也从一个组织声称某一特定社会现象开始，这种现象被认为是无组织的。因此，古斯塔夫·莱邦在他设法建立起集体行为的领域时，他成功地构建了一个看似混乱的群体，从而开始了集体行为的领域。组织命题通常被简化为概念。比如说，库里就设法做到了

organize the apparently amorphous middle distance between the individual and the society with his notion of the "primary group."

将个人与社会之间显然无定形的中间距离与他的"主要群体"的概念

Talcott Parsons, certainly the most famous living organizer of both social theories and social processes, acquired his renown mostly for propositions of Type (i)a. In his early work (The Structure of Social Action), he asserts that four early twentieth-century social theorists (Marshall, Durkheim, Pareto, and Weber), who were considered at the time he wrote to be dealing with completely different social phenomena in completely different ways, are in fact all saying essentially the same thing about the same general social

塔尔科特·帕森斯，无疑是社会理论和社会过程中最著名的活动组织者，他的声望主要来自于类型(i)a的命题。在他早期的著作《社会行为的结构》中，他断言，二十世纪早期的四位社会理论家(马歇尔、德尔海姆、Pareto和韦伯)，他们在他写作时被认为是以完全不同的方式处理完全不同的社会现象，事实上，他们对同一个大众社会基本上都在说同一件事

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phenomenon. And in his later work (Economy and Society), he asserts that four major social institutions (familial, cultural, political, and economic), which were considered at the time he wrote to be relatively uncoordinated with one another, are in fact all strictly integrated into a coherent social system.

现象。在他后来的著作《经济与社会》中，他断言四大社会制度(家庭、文化、政治和经济)，在他写作时被认为相对不协调，实际上都被严格地纳入一个连贯的社会制度。

The thrust of an older stagnating discipline in need of rejuvenation is to develop Disorganizing or critical propositions of Type (i)b. Each disorganizing proposition criticizes the adequacy of the previously accepted organizing proposition (though nearly always calling for the substitution of a new organizing proposition rather than merely claiming the phenomenon is completely incapable of being structured). Classic examples of successful attempts to disorganize accepted organizations include Ward's critique of Social Darwinism and Mead's critique of Watsonian Behaviorism. Recent critiques of accepted organizations in modern sociology entailing Type (i)b propositions include Denis Wrong's attack on its models, Harold Garfinkel's attack on its methods, and Alvin Gouldner's attack on its politics.

需要恢复活力的老一代停滞学科的推动力是开发类型(i)b的分解或批判命题。每一个组织命题都批评了之前接受的组织命题的充分性(尽管几乎总是要求替换一个新的组织命题，而不是仅仅声称这种现象是完全无法构建的)。成功地试图组织公认的组织的经典例子包括沃德对社会达尔文主义的批判和米德对沃特森行为主义的批判。最近对现代社会学中公认的组织的批评包括DenisWrong对其模型的攻击、哈罗德·葛芬柯对其方法的攻击，以及阿尔文•高尔德纳(AlvinGouldner)对其政治的攻击。

Note that not just any organizing proposition is interesting: only those that organize phenomena that had seemed too complex or chaotic to be ordered. And not just any critical proposition is interesting: only those that criticize previous organizations of phenomena that had become generally accepted.

请注意，不是任何组织命题都是有趣的:只有那些组织似乎过于复杂或混乱的现象才会被下令。而且不是任何批判性的命题都是有趣的:只有那些批评之前的组织的现象已经被普遍接受。

(ii) Composition

(ii)成分

a. What seem to be assorted heterogeneous phenomena are in reality composed of a single element.

A.在现实中，似乎各种各样的异质现象是由一个单独的元素组成的。

Example: Sigmund Freud's assertion throughout his Collected Works that the behavior of children, primitives, neurotics, and adults in crowds, as well as dreams, jokes, and slips of the tongue and pen, which were considered at the time he wrote to be unassociated in any way with one another, are in fact all various manifestations of the same instinctual drives

例如:西格蒙德·弗洛伊德在他的《收集作品》中断言，孩子、原始人、神经病和成年人在人群中的行为，以及梦境、笑话、舌头和笔误，这些都是他在写作时被认为与他人没有任何联系的，实际上都是相同的本能驱动力的各种表现

b. What seems to be a single phenomenon is in reality composed of assorted heterogeneous elements.

B.在现实中，似乎只有一个现象的是由各种不同的元素组成的。

Example: Max Weber's assertion in Economy and Society that the stratification system, which was considered at the time he wrote to be monolithic, is in fact composed of the three independent variables of economic class, status prestige, and political power.

例如:马克斯·韦伯在《经济与社会》中声称，他在写作时被认为是一个整体的分层体系，实际上是由经济阶层、地位威望和政治权力这三个独立变量组成。

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Comment: Many natural and social scientists have made their reputations by pointing out that the appearance of a natural or social phenomenon is an illusion and that what the phenomenon really consists of lies below its surface. Their profound insight is considered especially interesting when these theorists also assert that the fundamental nature (depth structure) of the phenomenon contradicts the surface impression, as, for example, the seemingly continuous appearance of a table is contradicted by the discrete molecules of which it is actually composed. Usually, these scientists have pointed out a single factor that underlies what had heretofore seemed heterogeneous phenomena. In the social sciences, such monofactoral theorists as Marx, Nietzsche, and McLuhan have reduced a large number of seemingly diverse social phenomena down to their economic, power, or communicative components. Other social theorists who have observed that a few seemingly diverse social phenomena have at least one component in common have achieved less ambitious, but nonetheless interesting, reductions. Thus Simmel in his Sociology showed that the "triadic form", and the interaction processes associated with it, underlay both the three-person family and the three-class society.

评论:许多自然科学家和社会科学家都曾指出，自然现象或社会现象的出现只是一种幻觉，而这种现象实际上是由其表面下的谎言构成的。当这些理论家断言这种现象的基本性质(深度结构)与表面印象相矛盾时，他们深刻的洞察力被认为是特别有趣的，例如，表面似乎连续不断的外观与其实际构成的离散分子相矛盾。通常情况下，这些科学家指出了一个单一的因素，这个因素构成了迄今为止看起来各种各样的现象。在社会科学领域，像马克思、尼采和麦克卢汉这样的单一沿岸理论家已经将大量看似多样化的社会现象归结为经济、权力或交际的组成部分。其他的社会理论家已经观察到，一些看似多样化的社会现象至少有一个共同的组成部分实现了不那么雄心勃勃，但却是有趣的减少。因此，《社会学》中的Simmel指出,"三元形式"以及与之相关的相互作用过程是三人家庭和三人社会的基础。

Interesting propositions of the opposite type, (ii)b, occur when a theorist manages to distinguish several factors that compose a phenomenon previously thought to be unitary. Talcott Parsons, who has tried his hand at analysis as well as synthesis, constructed a Type (ii)b proposition in The Social System when he asserted that Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, each of which was considered at the time he wrote to be an indivisible phenomenon, are in fact composed of several independent (pattern) variables.

相反类型的有趣命题，(ii)b，发生在理论家设法区分构成一个以前被认为是单一的现象的几个因素时发生的。塔尔科特·帕森斯曾尝试过分析和综合，他在《社会系统》中构建了一个类型(ii)b型命题，他断言，Gemeinschaft和Gesellschaft在他写作时被认为是一个不可分割的现象，实际上是由几个独立的(模式)变量组成。

Paul Lazarsfeld and Allan Barton (1955) have distinguished both types of composition propositions in empirical sociological research. Those research methods that produce Type (ii)a propositions they call "reduction". Reduction consists of methods to simplify complex classifications (indices). Those research methods that produce Type (ii)b propositions they call "substruction". Substruction consists of methods to elaborate simple classifications (typologies).

PaulLazarsfeld和AllanBarton(1955)在实证社会学研究中区分了两种构成命题。这些研究方法产生的第二类命题，他们称之为"减少"。减少包括简化复杂分类(指数)的方法。这些研究方法产生了他们称为"子结构"的类型(ii)b命题。子结构包括精心设计简单分类(类型)的方法。

In each of the social sciences today, the major schools of thought are often modeled after either Continental Structuralism or English Analytic Philosophy. Those schools derived from Continental Structuralism have tried to make their output interesting by developing methodological procedures designed to turn out propositions of Type (ii)a. Those schools derived from English Analytic Philosophy have tried to make their output interesting by developing methodological procedures designed to turn out propositions of Type (ii)b.

在今天的每一门社会科学中，主要的思想流派通常以大陆结构主义或英国分析哲学为模型。那些源自大陆结构主义的学校试图通过制定方法学程序来使其产出变得有趣，这些程序的目的是提出第(ii)类的命题。这些来自英国分析哲学的学校试图通过制定方法学程序使其产出变得有趣，以便提出第(ii)b型命题。

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More generally, we may say that those who assert Type (ii)a propositions are disciples of the Platonic Tradition in which interesting propositions are generated by finding simplicity in the apparently complex; whereas those who assert Type (ii)b propositions are disciples of the Aristotelian Tradition in which interesting propositions are generated by finding complexity in the apparently simple.

更广泛地说，我们可以说，那些主张第二类命题的人是柏拉图传统的信徒，其中有趣的命题是通过在显然复杂的中发现简单性来产生有趣的命题;而那些主张Type(ii)b命题的人则是亚里士多德传统的信徒，其中有趣的命题是通过在显然简单的复杂中发现复杂性而产生有趣命题的。

(iii) Abstraction

(iii)抽象

a. What seems to be an individual phenomenon is in reality a holistic phenomenon.

A.似乎是个人现象的现象实际上是一种整体现象。

Example: Emile Durkheim's assertion in Suicide that suicide, which was considered at the time he wrote to be a behavior characteristic of an individual, is in fact (more crucially) a process characteristic of a society.

例如:EmileDurkheim在《自杀》中断言，自杀，在他写作时被认为是个人的一种行为特征，事实上(更关键的)是一个社会的过程特征。

b. What seems to be a holistic phenomenon is in reality an individual phenomenon.

B.似乎是一种整体现象，实际上是一种个体现象。

Example:Sigmund Freud's assertion in Thoughts for the Times on War and Death that war, which was considered at the time he wrote to be a social phenomenon, is in fact (more crucially) a psychological phenomenon.

例如:西格蒙德·弗洛伊德在《战争与死亡时代的思想》一书中断言战争是一种社会现象，事实上(更为关键的)是一种心理现象。

Comment: Holistic propositions of Type (iii)a assert that what appears to be the property of an individual is actually the property of some whole of which the individual is a part. In the social sciences, using Type (iii)a propositions as a technique for getting audience attention is usually called "sociologizing" or "sociological imperialism." Along with suicide, two other seemingly individual phenomena that have been fruitfully subject to sociologizing are embarrassment (Goffman) and sleep (Aubert and White).

评论:类型iii的整体命题断言，看起来是个人财产的东西实际上是个人所属部分的整体属性。在社会科学中，把命题(iii)作为吸引观众注意力的技术，通常被称为"社会学"或"社会学帝国主义"除了自杀之外，另外两个看似个人的现象也被社会学家认为是尴尬(Goffman)和睡眠(Aubert和White)。

Particularistic propositions of Type (iii)b assert that what appears to be the property of a whole is actually the property of the individuals that make up this whole. In the social sciences, using Type (iii)b propositions as a technique for getting audience attention is usually called "psychologizing" or "psychological reductionism". Freud, of course, is the classic psychologizer of social phenomena, finding instinctual roots for such seemingly social phenomena as totems and taboos, among numerous other examples. Recently, the seemingly social fact that nations wage war over land has been explained by the newly discovered individual instinct for "territoriality" (Lorenz, Ardrey).

类型iiib的特殊性命题断言，整体的属性实际上是构成整体的个人的属性。在社会科学中，使用Type(iii)b命题作为吸引观众注意力的一种技术，通常被称为"心理学"或"心理还原论"。当然，弗洛伊德是社会现象的经典心理学家，在众多的例子中，为诸如图腾和禁忌这样看似社会现象找到了本能的根源。最近，各国为土地发动战争这一看似社会的事实，被新发现的个人"地域性"本能所解释(洛伦兹，阿德里)。

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(It is instructive to note that Vilfredo Pareto's reduction of various social phenomena to their psychological roots — "residues" — attracted much less interest in America than Freud's. Though Pareto wrote on these ics first, his work crossed the ocean last, after Freud and others had already succeeded in transforming the American assumption-ground and accustoming Americans to expect that many social phenomena would have a psychological basis. Other areas of Pareto's thought, however, which he considered more minor, succeeded in attracting more interest.)

(值得注意的是，维尔弗雷多·帕累托将各种社会现象减少到他们的心理根源ーー"残留"ーー对美国的兴趣远远低于弗洛伊德。虽然帕累托在这些经济学的基础上首先写道，他的工作最后跨越了海洋，因为弗洛伊德和其他人已经成功地改变了美国的假设基础，并使美国人认为许多社会现象会有心理基础。然而，帕累托的其他思想领域，他认为更加微小，成功地吸引了更多的兴趣。)

A third type of abstraction proposition has recently appeared in the social sciences. It attempts to interest its audience by denying the assumptions of both Type (iii)a and Type (iii)b propositions. This type of proposition asserts that the real locus of human phenomena is neither the individual level nor the social level, but rather some

第三种抽象主张最近出现在社会科学中。它试图通过否定Type(iii)a和Type(iii)b命题的假设来引起听众的兴趣。这种命题认为，人类现象的真实轨迹既不是个人层面，也不是社会层面，而是某种程度上的

intermediate social-psychological level. A social-psychological explanation of a phenomenon will be found interesting, however, only when the phenomenon has already been explained both psychologically and sociologically, and the dispute between those who uphold each of these explanations has grown heated.

中等社会心理水平。然而，只有当这种现象在心理学和社会学上已经得到解释时，才会发现一种现象的社会心理解释，维护这些解释的人之间的争论变得越来越激烈。

(iv) Generalization

(四)概括

a. What seems to be a local phenomenon is in reality a general phenomenon.

A.似乎是一种局部现象，实际上是一种普遍现象。

Example: Karl Mannheim's assertion in Ideology and Uia that the ideological limitation and distortion of thought processes, which was considered at the time he wrote to effect only the bourgeois class, in fact effects all social classes.

卡尔·曼海姆在《意识形态》和《乌尼亚》中的断言认为思维过程的意识形态局限和扭曲，在他写作时只考虑到资产阶级的影响，实际上影响了所有的社会阶层。

b. What seems to be a general phenomenon is in reality a local phenomenon.

B.似乎是一种普遍现象，实际上是一种局部现象。

Example: Bronislaw Malinowski's assertion in Sex and Repression in Savage Society that the Oedipus complex, which was considered at the time he wrote to be a human universal, in fact does not occur in all societies.

例如:布朗尼斯瓦夫·马林诺夫斯基在《野蛮社会中的性与压抑》中的断言，即俄狄浦斯情结在他写作时被认为是一个人类的普遍性，事实上并不发生在所有的社会。

Comment: Generalizing propositions and localizing propositions are two of the most common types of propositions in modern social science research. In fact, the main objective of methodology in the social sciences today seems to be to establish rigorous procedures that will determine the exact degree to which some assertion about social life can be generalized.

评论:概括命题和定位命题是现代社会科学研究中最常见的两种命题。事实上，当今社会科学方法论的主要目标似乎是建立严格的程序，以确定一些关于社会生活的断言能够普遍化的确切程度。

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图10

Although the tendency of the great social theorists of the past was to assert some truth about human life that held universally, the common tendency today of such divergent sociological schools as ethnomethodology and survey research, as well as Anglo-American anthropology, is to localize assertions and emphasize sub-group variation. In the past, attempts would be made to show that some behavioral characterization holds for all humanity; in the present, attempts are made to show that some behavioral characterization holds for some groups and tribes, but not for others.

尽管过去伟大的社会理论家的倾向是主张一些普遍存在的关于人类生活的真理，但如今社会学民族学方法论和调查研究以及英美人类学的共同趋势是将主张本土化，强调次群体的变异。在过去，人们会试图证明一些行为角色塑造对全人类都有效;目前，有人试图证明某些行为角色塑造对某些群体和部落是有效的，但对其他人却不是。

A theorist makes an interesting generalization when he asserts that some property that everyone knows to characterize one social category also characterizes another social category where its existence was not suspected. Freud, for example, tried to show that the sexual impulse was a major influence not only on the behavior of adults (which was fairly obvious), but also on the behavior of children (which was not so obvious).

当一个理论家提出一个有趣的概括时，他断言，一些人人都知道是某一社会范畴的特征的财产也是另一种社会范畴的特征，而这种社会范畴的存在并没有被怀疑。例如，弗洛伊德试图证明性冲动不仅对成年人的行为有重大影响(这是相当明显的)，而且对孩子的行为也有重大影响(这一点并不明显)。

A theorist makes an interesting localization when he asserts that some property, that is thought to characterize everybody — to be part of human nature — belongs merely to one social category and not others. Edward Hall, for example, tried to show that many problems in inter-cultural contact stem from those in one society believing those in all other societies attach the same meaning to spatial features as they do; whereas in fact the interpretation of crucial aspects of the spatial dimension varied considerably in different societies.

理论家在断言某些被认为是每个人的特征ーー成为人性的一部分ーー只属于一个社会范畴，而不属于其他类别时，他做出了一个有趣的定位。例如，爱德华·霍尔试图表明文化间接触中的许多问题来自于一个社会的人，他们认为所有其他社会的人对空间特征有同样的意义;而事实上，对空间层面的关键方面的解释在不同的社会中差别很大。

(v) Stabilization

(五)稳定

a. What seems to be a stable and unchanging phenomenon is in reality an unstable and changing phenomenon.

A.似乎是一种稳定和不变的现象，实际上是一种不稳定和不断变化的现象。

Example: Karl Marx's assertion in Capital that the social organization of bourgeois society, which was considered at the time he wrote to be permanent, is in fact about to be suddenly and dramatically transformed.

例如:卡尔·马克思在《资本论》中断言，资产阶级社会的社会组织，在他写作的时候被认为是永久的，实际上正在突然和戏剧性的转变。

b. What seems to be an unstable and changing phenomenon is in reality a stable and unchanging phenomenon.

B.似乎是一种不稳定和不断变化的现象，实际上是一种稳定和不变的现象。

Example: Georg Simmel's assertion in Conflict that any conflict-ridden social organization, which was considered at the time he wrote to be on the verge of transformation, may in fact be capable of continuing indefinitely as it is (in a steady-state of conflict).

例如:GeorgSimmel在《冲突》中声称，任何冲突频发的社会组织，在他写道即将发生变革的时候被认为可能实际上能够无限期地继续下去，因为它处于一种稳定的冲突状态。

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图11

Comment: Just as some propositions are interesting because they assert an unexpected generalization or lack of generalization of the characteristics of a social phenomenon across some social category space, so other propositions are interesting because they assert an unexpected stabilization or lack of stabilization of the characteristics of a social phenomenon across time. Propositions of Type (v) fall within the range of historical

评论:正如一些命题是有趣的，因为它们断言一个意想不到的概括或者缺乏对社会现象在某些社会范畴中的特征的概括，因此其他命题也很有意思，因为它们断言一个跨时间的社会现象的特征出人意料地趋于稳定或缺乏稳定。类型(v)的命题属于历史范围

sociology that is concerned with demonstrating the temporal continuity or change of social phenomena.

社会学关注社会现象的时间连续性或变化。

One wing of historical sociology tries to construct interesting propositions of Type (v)a by demonstrating the surprising instability and even change of seemingly stable social phenomena. The New Left historical sociologists, for instance, assert that American society, which was considered at the time they wrote to have been held together in the past by a basic value consensus, has in fact had a long history of disruption, conflict, violence, and incipient disintegration. On a smaller scale, Berger and Luckmann in The Social Construction of Reality have pointed out that all enduring social institutions do not continue to exist "naturally" as had been thought, but must develop elaborate maintenance mechanisms to ward off the constant threats to their stability.

一部分历史社会学试图通过展示看似稳定的社会现象令人惊讶的不稳定甚至变化，从而构建Type(v)a型的有趣命题。例如，新左派的历史社会学家断言，美国社会，在他们写作的时候被认为是以基本价值共识为基础的，实际上有着长期的破坏、冲突、暴力和初始分裂的历史。在《现实社会建设》一书中，伯杰和拉克曼指出，所有持久的社会制度都不会像原先想象的那样"自然地"存在，而是必须制定精心设计的维持机制，以防止对其稳定性的不断威胁。

The other wing of historical sociology tries to construct interesting propositions of Type (v)b by demonstrating the surprising stability and even permanence of seemingly unstable social phenomena. Besides Simmel and the "functions of social conflict" theorists like Lewis Coser who attempt to show how those processes of a social phenomenon that appear self-destructive are actually those processes that are helping the social phenomenon to maintain itself, this wing also includes those archetypal theorists like the New-Freudian Lewis Feuer in The Conflict of Generations and the New-Jungian Phillip Slater in Microcosm who interpret social phenomena that appear violent and disruptive, such as student riots against college administrators and group revolts against their leaders, as merely the most recent repetition and manifestation of an original and ongoing paradigmatic pattern of human behavior.

另一个历史社会学试图通过展示看似不稳定的社会现象的惊人稳定性甚至持久性，来构建类型vb的有趣命题。除了Simmel和LewisCoser这样的"社会冲突的功能"的理论家试图证明那些看似自我毁灭的社会现象的过程实际上是那些帮助社会现象自我维持的过程，这一派也包括那些典型的理论家，比如新弗洛伊德学派的刘易斯·弗耶和新君荣时期菲利普·斯莱特在《微观世界》中解释暴力和破坏性社会现象的新君格尼亚人菲利普·斯莱特，他们把暴力和破坏性的社会现象解释为暴力和破坏性的社会现象，比如学生对大学行政人员的暴乱和反对他们的领导者的学生骚乱。

(vi) Function

(vi)功能

a. What seems to be a phenomenon that functions ineffectively as a means for the attainment of an end is in reality a phenomenon that functions effectively.

A.作为实现目的的手段似乎无法有效发挥作用的现象，实际上是一种有效运作的现象。

Example: Robert Merton's assertion in Social Theory and Social Structure that the political machine, which was considered at the time he wrote to be an inefficient

例如:罗伯特·默顿在《社会理论与社会结构》中的断言认为政治机器是一种低效率的政治机器

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十二

institution for obtaining community goals, is in fact an efficient institution for obtaining community goals.

事实上，获取社区目标的机构是一个获得社区目标的有效机构。

b. What seems to be a phenomenon that functions effectively as a means for the attainment of an end is in reality a phenomenon that functions ineffectively.

B.作为实现目的的一种手段，似乎有效运作的一种现象，实际上是一种无效运作的现象。

Example: Herbert Marcuse's assertion in Repressive Tolerance that the tradition of tolerance in America, which was considered at the time he wrote to be a value that fostered the goal of a liberated society, is in fact a value that hindered the goal of a liberated society.

例如:赫伯特·马尔库塞在《镇压宽容》中声称，美国的宽容传统在他写作时被认为是促进解放社会目标的价值观，事实上是一种阻碍解放社会目标的价值观。

Comment: Merton's discussion of manifest and latent functions (1957) is the classic statement of a methodological technique specifically designed to generate interesting propositions. His approach is similar to the one presented here, though confined only to one type of interesting proposition (Type (vi)).

评论:默顿关于显性和潜在功能的讨论(1957年)是一个方法论技术的经典陈述，专门用来产生有趣的命题。他的方法与这里提出的方法相似，尽管仅限于一种有趣的命题(第(vi)类)。

Merton tells the social theorist to proceed in the following way. In the light of the social theorist's "deeper" insight into the actual workings of some social phenomenon, he has first to deny what Merton calls its manifest (i.e. generally apparent) function or dysfunction, and then to reveal what Merton calls its latent (i.e. not generally apparent) function or dysfunction. Though Merton does not say so specifically, he strongly implies that the latent function or dysfunction of the social phenomenon must be the opposite of its manifest dysfunction or function.

默顿告诉社会理论家按照下面的方式进行。考虑到社会理论家对某些社会现象的实际运作的"更深层次"的洞察，他首先否认了默顿所说的表现(即一般表面上显而易见的)功能或功能障碍，然后揭示默顿所说的潜在功能或功能障碍。虽然默顿没有明确表示，但他强烈暗示，社会现象的潜在功能或功能障碍必须与其明显的功能障碍或功能相反。

Type (vi)a propositions have conservative political implications: one should not try to change an obviously defective social institution that in reality has useful consequences. In other words, the social theorist claims that a certain social institution, of which his audience is known to disapprove, actually has consequences, of which his audience is known to approve. Popular examples of Type (vi)a propositions would be "Witch doctors really are effective at curing their patients" and "Folk remedies for illness turn out to be really effective."

第(六)类命题具有保守的政治含义:人们不应试图改变一个明显有缺陷的社会制度，这种制度实际上具有有益的后果。换句话说，社会理论家声称，某个社会机构，他的听众被认为不赞成，实际上是有后果的，他的听众已经认可了。类型(vi)的流行例子是"巫医确实能有效治愈病人"和"对疾病的民间治疗被证明是真正有效的。"

Type (vi)b propositions have radical political implications: one should try to change a seemingly successful social institution that in reality has destructive consequences. In other words, the social theorist claims that a certain social institution, of which his audience is known to approve, actually has consequences, of which his audience is known to

类型(vi)b命题具有根本性的政治含义:人们应该试图改变一个看似成功的社会制度，而这种制度实际上具有破坏性的后果。换句话说，社会理论家声称，某个社会机构，他的听众已经认可，实际上是有后果的，他的听众是知道的

disapprove. Popular examples of Type (vi)b propositions would be "Jails really

我不同意。类型(vi)b命题的流行例子是"监狱"

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图13

turn out criminals", "Schools really make children stupid", and "Mental hospitals really make people mentally ill."

"学校真的会让孩子变得愚蠢","精神病院真的让人精神不正常。"

Though there is no necessary theoretical reason why these two types of propositions should not arise with equal frequency, Merton and his followers have come up with more Type (vi)a propositions, while Radical Sociologists have come up with more Type (vi)b propositions.

虽然没有必要的理论上的理由为什么这两种命题不应该以同样的频率出现，默顿和他的追随者提出了更多的类型(vi)命题，而激进社会学家提出了更多的类型(vi)b命题。

(vii) Evaluation

(七)评价

a. What seems to be a bad phenomenon is in reality a good phenomenon.

A.似乎是一个坏现象的现象实际上是一个好现象。

Example: R. D. Laing's assertion in The Politics of Experience that schizophrenia, which was considered at the time he wrote to be a bad thing, is in fact a good thing.

例如:r.d.Laing在《经验的政治》中断言，精神分裂症，在他写作的时候被认为是一件坏事，实际上是一件好事。

b. What seems to be a good phenomenon is in reality a bad phenomenon.

B.似乎是一个好现象在现实中是一个不好的现象。

Example: Fried rich Nietzsche's assertion in On the Genealogy of Morals that Christian morality, which was considered at the time he wrote to be a good thing, is in fact a bad thing.

例如:弗里德里希·尼采在《论道德谱系论》中的断言认为，基督教道德，在他写作的时候被认为是一件好事，实际上是一件坏事。

Comment: Evaluative propositions are found interesting only when the theorist's evaluation of a phenomenon differs from his audience's evaluation of this phenomenon. There are two ways in which the theorist can come up with such a re-evaluation of accepted values.

评论:只有当理论家对某一现象的评价与他的听众对这一现象的评价不同时，评价命题才会变得有趣。理论家可以通过两种方式对公认的价值进行这样的重新评估。

First, he can change the rating of a phenomenon by changing the indicator (operational definition) of the phenomenon to be rated. Depending on his audience's appraisal, he can select either the best or the worst particular aspects of the phenomenon to stand for the phenomenon as a whole. Should his audience customarily view the phenomenon in its best light, he can then view it in its worst, and vice versa. Thus, if a social theorist wishes to counter his audience's appraisal of American Society as great or as awful, he need merely select, to serve as his indicators of the moral worth of American Society as a whole, those

首先，他可以通过改变现象的指示操作型定义来改变现象的等级。根据观众的评价，他可以选择现象的最好或最坏的方面来代表整个现象。如果他的听众习惯性地以最好的角度看待这一现象，他就可以看到它最糟糕的一面，反之亦然。因此，如果一个社会理论家想要反驳他的听众对美国社会的评价，他只需要选择，作为他的整个美国社会的道德价值的指标，那些

of its aspects that are generally considered bad (like pollution, pockets of poverty, materialism, etc.) or those of its aspects that are generally considered good (like technology, average income, abundant consumer goods, etc.).

一般被认为是不好的方面(如污染、贫穷、物质主义等)或者那些被普遍认为是好的方面(比如技术、平均收入、丰富的消费品等)。

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图14

Second, he can change the rating of a phenomenon by changing the moral measure to which it is being compared. Something is judged good or bad relative to some standard of good or bad. Change the standard of comparison and the evaluation of the phenomenon is also likely to change. Should his audience customarily evaluate a phenomenon positively relative to one comparison baseline, he can then evaluate it negatively relative to another comparison baseline, and vice versa. Comparison baselines for a social phenomenon include (1) other social phenomena of the same logical type, (2) the same social phenomenon in the past (recent or distant), (3) future projections of the social phenomenon (short run or long run), and (4) some positive or negative ideal version of the social phenomenon. Thus if a social theorist wishes to counter his audience's appraisal of American Society as great or as awful, he need merely compare it to (1) other societies (Sweden, Nazi Germany, etc.), (2) its past history (the Gay Nineties, the Depression, etc.), (3) its potential futures (2001, 1984, etc.) or (4) some uian or disian society (Marx's pure communism, Hobbes' state of nature, etc.).

其次，他可以通过改变比较的道德标准来改变现象的评级。相对于某些标准的好坏，有些东西被判断为好的或坏的，而不是好的或者坏的。改变比较标准和对这一现象的评价也可能发生变化。如果他的受众习惯上相对于一个比较基线对一个现象进行积极评价，那么他就可以相对于另一个比较基线作出负面的评价，反之亦然。社会现象的比较基线包括:(1)同一逻辑类型的其他社会现象，(2)过去(近期或遥远)同样的社会现象;(3)社会现象(短期或长期)的未来预测;(4)社会现象的一些积极或消极的版本。因此，如果一个社会理论家想要反驳他的听众对美国社会的评价，他只需要把它与其他社会(瑞典、纳粹德国等)、(2)其过去的历史(同性恋九十年代，抑郁症等)，(3)潜在的未来(2001,1984，等)或者(4)一些伊斯兰社会(马克思的纯粹的共产主义，霍布斯的自然状态等)。

(Notice that all disputes about the moral worth of American Society as a whole are actually disputes about what aspects of American Society are to be used as indicators for this evaluation and what comparison baselines are to be used to evaluate them. In fact, disputes about the moral worth of all social phenomena can be reduced to disputes involving these same two factors.)

(请注意，所有关于美国社会整体道德价值的争论实际上都是关于美国社会的哪些方面可以用来作为评价的指标，以及用什么比较基准来评估它们。事实上，关于所有社会现象的道德价值的争论可以归结为涉及这两个因素的争论。)

Evaluative propositions are common in social research, but, because of the norm of ethical neutrality, some theorists prefer to make their value judgements more latent than blatant. Without ever explicitly stating their appraisal of a social phenomenon, they can communicate their appraisal implicitly by demonstrating the ways in which this social phenomenon is similar to another social phenomenon whose moral status is generally accepted. By means of this strategy, Goffman, in Asylums, subtly passes judgement on the moral status of mental hospitals by showing how remarkably many features they have in common with concentration camps.

评价主张在社会研究中很常见，但是，由于道德中立的规范，一些理论家倾向于让他们的价值判断更隐蔽而不是明目张胆。他们从来没有明确说明他们对社会现象的评价，他们可以通过展示这种社会现象与另一种社会现象相似的方式，其道德地位得到普遍接受。通过这种策略，在精神病院里，Goffman通过展示他们与集中营有多么相似的特征，巧妙地对精神病院的道德地位作出判断。

B — The Relations Among Multiple Phenomena

Bー多种现象之间的关系

(viii) Co-relation

(viii)共同关系

a. What seem to be unrelated (independent) phenomena are in reality correlated (interdependent) phenomena.

A.看起来不相关的(独立的)现象在现实中是相互关联的(相互依存的)现象。

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图15

Example: August Hollingshead's assertion in Social Class and Mental Illness that social class and mental illness, which were considered at the time he wrote to be uncorrelated, are in fact correlated.

例如:奥古斯特·霍林斯黑德在《社会阶层与精神疾病》中的断言，即社会阶层和精神疾病在他写作的时候被认为是不相关的，事实上是相关的。

b. What seem to be related (interdependent) phenomena are in reality uncorrelated (independent) phenomena.

B.看起来相关的(相互依存的)现象实际上是不相关的(独立的)现象。

Example: Emile Durkeim's assertion in Suicide that suicide and such other phenomena as psychopathological states, race, heredity, and climate, which were considered at the time he wrote to be correlated, are in fact uncorrelated.

例如:EmileDurkeim在《自杀》中断言，自杀和其他精神病理学状态、种族、遗传和气候等现象实际上是不相关的。

Comment: Modern computer technology in the social sciences both allows and fosters the prolific production of an enormous number of propositions involving correlations among phenomena (Type (viii)) that are uninteresting. These correlative propositions are uninteresting because they are obvious, because everyone already knew the phenomena in question were related. It is the rare computer correlation that draws attention to a surprising relation among phenomena that everyone did not already expect. Qualitative correlations are more likely to be interesting than quantitative correlations because the human mind, unlike the computer, is programmed (in various degrees of clarity) with the additional rule for the construction of interesting propositions described in this paper. This additional step in one's mental program between conception and assertion serves as a filter to screen out (censor) those correlative propositions that are not worth saying.

评论:社会科学中的现代计算机技术允许并促进了大量涉及各种现象之间相互关系的命题(Type(viii))，这些命题都是无趣的。这些相关的命题是无趣的，因为它们是显而易见的，因为每个人都已经知道这些现象是相关的。这是一种罕见的计算机相关性，它将人们的注意力吸引到一个令人惊讶的现象之间的关系，而这种关系是所有人都没有预料到的。定性相关性比定量相关性更有趣，因为人类的大脑，不像计算机，被编程(在不同程度的清晰度)与建立有趣命题的附加规则不同。在一个人的心理程序中，在概念和断言之间的这个额外的步骤作为筛选(审查)那些不值得说的相关命题。

Social theorists have pointed out many interesting correlations among phenomena that previously had been thought to be uncorrelated. Using Type (viii)a propositions, they have asserted connections between such seemingly unconnected phenomena as social organization and culture (Marx, Durkheim), society and self (Cooley, Mead), group

社会理论家指出，以前被认为是无关联的现象之间有许多有趣的相关性。使用Type(viii)a命题，他们断言了诸如社会组织和文化(马克思、涂尔干)、社会和自我(Cooley，Mead)之间的联系

pressure and individual perception (Asch), living standard and population growth (Malthus), birth order and personality traits.

压力和个体感知(Asch)、生活水平和人口增长(马尔萨斯)、出生顺序和个性特征。

Social theorists have pointed out the absence of correlation among phenomena thought to be correlated less often than the presence of correlation among phenomena thought to be uncorrelated. Interesting propositions of Type (viii)b are rarer than interesting propositions of Type (viii)a because the social theorist's audience assume social phenomena to be uncorrelated more often than they assume social phenomena to be correlated. Nevertheless, social theorists have asserted a few intriguing disassociations among phenomena whose associations have been assumed, such as the disconnection

社会理论家指出，被认为相互关联的现象之间缺乏相关性，这种相关性比认为不相关的现象之间存在相关性要少。类型(viii)b的有趣命题比类型(viii)a的有趣命题更罕见，因为社会理论家的受众认为社会现象与他们认为的社会现象相关联的频率更高。尽管如此，社会理论家们断言了一些有趣的分歧，这些现象的联系已经被假定，比如说断开

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图16

between the self and the body (Mead, Goffman) and the disconnection between power and authority (Tocqueville).

在自我和身体之间(米德，戈夫曼)和权力与权威的脱节(Tocqueville)。

In the popular press, perhaps the best examples of both Type (viii)a propositions and Type (viii)b propositions can be found in attempts to link various forms of smoking and various forms of illness. The public's interest was aroused with the first publication of studies that found statistical correlations between cigarette smoking and illness because the public had previously thought there was no connection between these two phenomena (Type (viii)a proposition). The public's interest was also aroused with the first publication of studies that found little or no statistical correlation between marijuana smoking and illness because the public had previously thought there was a strong connection between these two phenomena (Type (viii)b proposition).

在大众出版物中，也许最好的例子是Type(viii)a命题和Type(viii)b命题——的最佳例子，可以在试图将各种形式的吸烟和各种形式的疾病联系起来。第一次发表的研究发现吸烟与疾病之间的统计相关性，引起了公众的兴趣，因为公众曾经认为这两种现象之间没有联系(Type(viii)a命题)。第一次发表的研究报告也引起了公众的兴趣，因为公众曾经认为这两种现象(Type(viii)b命题)之间存在着很强的联系，这也引起了公众的兴趣。

(ix) Co-existence

(ix)共存

a. What seem to be phenomena that can exist together are in reality phenomena that cannot exist together.

A.似乎可以共同存在的现象是在现实中不能共存的现象。

Example: Denis de Rougemont's assertion in Love in the Western World that love and marriage, which were considered at the time he wrote to be compatible, are in fact incompatible.

例如:DenisdeRougemont在《西方世界的爱》中的断言，即爱情和婚姻在他写作时被认为是相容的，事实上是不相容的。

b. What seem to be phenomena that cannot exist together are in reality phenomena that can exist together.

B.似乎不能共同存在的现象是现实中可以共存的现象。

Example: Sigmund Freud's assertion in Notes on a Case of Obsessional Neurosis that love and hate, which were considered at the time he wrote to be incompatible, are in fact compatible (in the psychological state of ambivalence).

例如:西格蒙德·弗洛伊德在《关于强迫性神经症的笔记》中的断言，即爱与恨，在他写作的时候被认为是不相容的，事实上是兼容的(在矛盾心理状态下)。

Comment: This type of interesting proposition is relatively rare in the social sciences since few pairs or sets of social phenomena are conceived as being so incompatible with one another that they negate one another's very existence. Type (ix)b propositions, however, are more common that Type (ix)a propositions: when two or more social phenomena are assumed to be incompatible, they are usually assumed to be strongly incompatible, and therefore the jolt of the interesting is likely to occur whenever they are asserted to coexist; whereas when two or more social phenomena are assumed to be compatible, they are usually assumed to be weakly compatible, and therefore the jolt of

评论:这种有趣的命题在社会科学中相对罕见，因为几乎没有一对或几组社会现象被认为是如此不相容，以至于他们否定了彼此的存在。然而，类型(ix)b命题更为常见:第(九)类命题:当两个或两个以上的社会现象被认为是不兼容的时候，它们通常被认为是非常不兼容的，因此，当两个或两个以上的社会现象被认为是相容的时候，它们通常被认为是弱兼容的，因此

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the interesting is not likely to occur whenever they are asserted to be incapable of coexistence.

有趣的事情不太可能发生，只要他们被断言无法共存。

The intensive interest generated by the dynamic ambiguity of Type (ix)b propositions encourages their use as inspired titles and catch phrases. "The Lonely Crowd", "The Cold War" (i.e., "The Peaceful War"), and "Poverty in the Midst of Plenty" are all actually Type (ix)b propositions in elliptical form.

类型(ix)b命题的动态模糊性所产生的强烈兴趣鼓励了它们作为灵感标题和捕捉短语的使用。"孤独的人群"、"冷战"(即"和平战争")和"富足中的贫困"实际上都是椭圆形的第(九)b型命题。

(x) Co-variation

(x)共变

a. What seems to be a positive co-variation between phenomena is in reality a negative co-variation between phenomena.

A.现象之间似乎存在正相互变化的现象，实际上是现象之间的负共变。

Example: David Caplovitz's assertion in The Poor Pay More that expenditures for many goods and services, which were considered at the time he wrote to decrease at the lower income levels, in fact increase at the lower income levels.

例如:DavidCaplovitz在《穷人工资增加》一书中断言，许多商品和服务的支出在他写作时被认为在较低的收入水平下降，事实上在较低的收入水平上有所增加。

b. What seems to be a negative co-variation between phenomena is in reality a positive co-variation between phenomena.

B.现象之间的负共变现象实际上是现象之间的一种积极的协同变化。

Example: Alexis de Tocqueville's assertion in The Old Regime and the French Revolution that a social groups desire for revolution, which was considered at the time he wrote to decrease as their standard of living goes up, in fact increases as their standard of living goes up.

例如:亚历西斯·德·托克维尔在《旧政权》和《法国大革命》中断言，一个社会群体渴望革命，当他写下要降低他们的生活水平时，这一论断随着他们生活水平的提高而增加。

Comment: There are two other types of co-variance propositions that attract interest: (1) What seems to be a continuous (incremental) co-variation between phenomena is in reality a discontinuous (discrete) co-variation. The Marxist notion of the point at which a quantitative change suddenly turns into a qualitative change involves this type of proposition. (2) What seems to be a linear co-variation between phenomena is in reality a curvilinear co-variation. This type of proposition occurs whenever extremes are said to come together, i.e. to be more similar to each other than they are to the mean. This pattern is often found in (a) Stratification Correlates — when the upper class and the lower class are asserted to be more similar on some trait than either is to the middle class — (b) Hierarchical organization correlates — when the management and the

注释:有两种其他类型的协方差命题吸引人们的兴趣:(1)似乎是一个连续的(渐进的)共变现象实际上是一个不连续的(离散的)协变。马克思主义关于定量变化突然转变为质变的观点涉及到这种命题。(2)现象之间的线性共变现象实际上是曲线共变。这种类型的命题发生在每当有人说两个极端结合在一起的时候，也就是说，它们相互之间的相似程度比它们与平均值的相似程度更高。这种模式常见于(a)分层关联ーー当上层阶级和下层阶级被断言在某些特征上比中产阶级更相似ー(b)分层组织相关ーー管理层和

workers are asserted to be more similar on some trait then either is to the middle management — and (c) Historical-Demographic Correlates — when primitive society

工人在某些特征上被断言更相似，那么对于中层管理人员也是如此——(c)历史——人口关系——当时的原始社会

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and modern society are asserted to be more similar on some trait than either is to historically intervening societies.

而现代社会在某些特征上被认为比历史上的干预社会更为相似。

(xi) Opposition

(十一)反对

a. What seem to be similar (nearly identical) phenomena are in reality opposite phenomena.

A.似乎相似(几乎相同)的现象实际上是相反的现象。

Example: Marshall McLuhan's assertion in Understanding Media that radio and television, which were considered at the time he wrote to be similar media, are in fact opposite media (one being a hot medium; the other being a cool medium).

例如:马素·麦克鲁汉在《理解媒体》中断言，电台和电视在他写作的时候被认为是类似的媒体，事实上是相反的媒体(一个是热媒体;另一个是一个很酷的媒体)。

b. What seem to be opposite phenomena are in reality similar (nearly identical) phenomena.

B.似乎是相反的现象在现实中是相似的(几乎相同的)现象。

Example: Eric Hoffer's assertion in The True Believer that the psychological motivations of those who join opposing social movements, which were considered at the time he wrote to be opposite, are in fact similar.

例如:EricHoffer在狂热份子中断言，那些加入反对社会运动的人的心理动机，在他写反社会运动的时候被认为是相反的，实际上是相似的。

Comment: When opposition propositions, especially of type (xi)b, are combined with evaluation propositions, especially of Type (vii)b, we have the relatively formalized technique of generating interesting propositions known as dialectical thinking. A social theorist uses this technique of dialectical thinking whenever be tries to elicit his audience's interest by asserting that a seemingly positive social phenomenon actually has the negative characteristics of the opposite social phenomenon, or occasionally vice versa. Perhaps the most famous example of dialectical thinking is the Marxian (actually Proudhonian) assertion that "Ownership is theft."

评论:当反对派的主张，尤其是类型(十一)b，与评价主张结合在一起，特别是类型(vii)b，我们有相对正规的技术，产生有趣的命题，称为辩证思维。一个社会理论家使用这种辩证思维的方法，只要试图通过断言一个看似积极的社会现象实际上具有相反社会现象的消极特征，或者偶尔反之亦然。也许辩证思维最著名的例子是马克思主义者(实际上是普罗多尼安)断言"所有权就是盗窃"

Sometimes a transformational process must be added to bring about the identification of the apparent opposites — as in "Disgust is repressed desire" and "Marriage is legalized prostitution." This transformational process, however, merely makes the proposition possible and contributes little to its impact. The intensity of the proposition's impact is due not to its adjectival and unstressed transformational process, but to the one-two punch of its sudden logical and evaluational reversal.

有时候，必须加入一个转变过程，以便查明明显的对立面，例如"厌恶是被压抑的欲望"和"婚姻是合法的卖淫"然而，这个转变过程只是使命题成为可能，对其影响微乎其微。命题影响的强度不是由于它的形容词和无压力的转换过程，而是由于它突然出现的逻辑和评价上的逆转。

Though this double negation of accepted concepts and values appeals to Continental social theorists, it is often too extreme for the Anglo-American mind, which consequently tends to consider dialectical propositions more bizarre than interesting. Hence their

虽然这种对公认的概念和价值观的双重否定吸引了大陆社会理论家，但是对于英美人来说，这种否定往往过于极端，因此，这种思维倾向于认为辩证主张更加奇异而非有趣。因此，他们的

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图19

applause when the Englishman Orwell satirized these dialectical propositions in 1984 with such hyperbolic examples as "Freedom is slavery", "War is peace", and "Ignorance is strength."

1984年，当英国人奥威尔用诸如"自由就是奴隶"、"战争即和平"和"无知即力量"等夸张的例子来讽刺这些辩证主张时，掌声响起

(xii) Causation

(十二)因果关系

a. What seems to be the independent phenomenon (variable) in a causal relation is in reality the dependent phenomenon (variable).

A.因果关系中的独立现象(变量)实际上是一个依赖现象(变量)。

Example: Howard Becker's assertion in Outsiders that the peculiar behavior of some individuals, which was considered at the time he wrote to cause other people to label them deviants, is in fact caused by other people labeling them deviants.

例如:霍华德·贝克尔在《局外人》中声称，一些人的特殊行为，在他写信给其他人的时候被认为是异常人，事实上是由于其他人给他们贴上了异常者的标签。

b. What seems to be the dependent phenomenon (variable) in a causal relation is in reality the independent phenomenon (variable).

B.因果关系中的依赖现象(变量)实际上是一个独立的现象(变量)。

Example: Max Weber's assertion in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism that the religion of a society, which was considered at the time he wrote to be determined by the economy of the society, in fact determines the economy of the society.

例如:马克斯·韦伯在新教伦理与资本主义精神中断言，一个社会的宗教在他写作时被认为是由社会经济决定的，事实上决定了社会的经济。

Comment: Type (xii) propositions, which evoke interest by reversing the causal relationship usually assumed between phenomena, are especially common in popular sociology. Such journalistic subjects are "How the American judicial system was actually on trial during the Chicago Seven conspiracy case," "How victims actually cause crimes," and "How schools disrupt childhood" are all ultimately based on Type (xii) propositions.

评论:类型(十二)命题，通过颠倒通常假设的现象之间的因果关系来唤起兴趣的命题，在流行社会学中尤为常见。这些新闻主题是"美国司法系统在芝加哥七阴谋案中是如何进行审判的,""受害者如何实际上导致犯罪"和"学校如何破坏童年"都是基于类型(十二)命题的。

There is a third variety of causal proposition that stimulates interest against the ground assumption of the first two: What seems to be a simple one way causal relation between phenomena is actually a complex mutual interaction between phenomena. Scholars who have read Max Weber's entire Sociology of Religion continually point out that he does not exclusively define either religion or economy as the independent or the dependent phenomenon, as dilettantes who have read only his Protestant Ethic assume; rather he actually shows how both the religion and the economy of a society reciprocally influence each other's development.

有第三种因果命题刺激利益与前两种假设的基本假设:似乎是一个简单的单向因果关系实际上是现象之间复杂的相互作用。读过马克斯•韦伯全部宗教社会学的学者们不断指出，他并没有完全把宗教或经济定义为独立或依赖现象，因为只读过他的新教伦理假设的半吊子人;相反，他实际上展示了一个社会的宗教和经济如何互相影响彼此的发展。

Part III: Discussion

第三部分:讨论

1. Non-interesting propositions

无趣的主张

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We have seen that an audience finds a proposition interesting not because it tells them some truth they did not already know, but instead because it tells them some truth they thought they already knew was wrong. In other words, an interesting proposition is one that denies some aspect of the assumption-ground of its audience, and in The Index of the Interesting we have categorized the various aspects of this assumption-ground that

我们已经看到一个观众发现一个有趣的命题，不是因为它告诉他们一些他们不知道的真相，而是因为它告诉他们一些他们认为他们已经知道是错误的真相。换句话说，一个有趣的命题否定了观众假设的某些方面，而在《有趣的索引》中，我们对这种假设的各个方面进行了分类

can be denied. Since this is the defining characteristic of an interesting proposition, it can also be used as a criterion to determine whether or not a particular proposition is interesting.

可以被拒绝。由于这是一个有趣的命题的决定性特征，它也可以作为判断某一特定命题是否有趣的标准。

If the criterion by which an audience judges a particular proposition to be interesting is that it denies some aspect of their assumption-ground, then the criterion by which they will judge a particular proposition to be non-interesting is that it does not deny some aspect of their assumption-ground. There are three ways in which a proposition can fail to deny some aspect of the assumption-ground of its audience, and therefore there are three general types of propositions that will be found non-interesting by their audience.

如果观众判断某一特定命题是否有趣的标准是否认其假设基础的某些方面，那么他们判断某一特定命题的标准是不令人感兴趣的，那就是它并不否定其假设基础的某些方面。一个命题有三种方式不能否定其受众假设的某些方面，因此有三种一般类型的命题会被他们的听众发现是无趣的。

First, an audience will consider a proposition to be non-interesting if, instead of denying some aspect of their assumption-ground, the proposition affirms some aspect of their assumption-ground.1 (E.g.: "Husbands often influence their wives' political behavior.") In effect, the proposition is saying to its audience: What seems to be the case is in fact the case. What you always thought was true is really true. Phenomenology is ontology. The audience's response to propositions of this type will be: "That's obvious!"

首先，如果观众认为一个命题是无趣的，如果他们不否认他们的假设基础的某些方面，而是肯定其假设的某些方面(例如:"丈夫经常影响妻子的政治行为")实际上，这个命题是在对观众说:似乎是这样的情况，实际上就是这样。你一直认为是真的是真的。现象学是本体论。观众对这类主张的反应是:"这很明显!"

Second, an audience will consider a proposition to be non-interesting if, instead of denying or affirming some aspect of their assumption-ground, the proposition does not speak to any aspect of this assumption-ground at all. (E.g.: "Eskimos are more likely than Jews to. . .") In effect, the proposition is saying to its audience: What is really true has no connection with what you always thought was true. Phenomenology is unrelated to ontology. The audience's response to propositions of this type will be: "That's irrelevant!"

其次，如果观众认为一个命题是无趣的，如果他们不否认或肯定其假设理由的某些方面，而是根本不涉及这一假设理由的任何方面。(例如:"爱斯基摩人比犹太人更有可能......")实际上，这个命题对听众说:真实的东西与你一直认为是真实的东西没有关系。现象学与本体论无关。观众对这类主张的反应是:"那是无关紧要的!"

Third, an audience will consider a proposition to be non-interesting if, instead of denying some aspect of their assumption-ground, the proposition denies the whole assumption-ground. (E.g.: "Social factors have no effect on a person's behavior.") In effect, the proposition is saying to its audience: Everything that seems to be the case is not the case at all. Everything you always thought was true is really false.

第三，如果观众不否认他们的假设基础的某些方面，而是否认整个假设基础，观众就会认为一个命题是无趣的。(例如:"社会因素对人的行为没有影响。")实际上，这个命题在对观众说:所有看起来是这样的事情根本不是事实。所有你一直认为是真实的事情都是错误的。

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Phenomenology is completely contrary to ontology. T he audience's response to propositions of this type will be: "That's absurd!"

现象学与本体论完全背道而驰。观众对这类主张的反应是:"这太荒谬了!"

Why would anyone bother to assert a non-interesting proposition? Non-interesting social theories are often asserted on purpose by those who think that the business of social scientists is merely to assert any theory that can be derived and confirmed according to the textbook rules of theory construction and verification. Actually, the mediocre in the social sciences (and probably the natural sciences too) can be defined as those who take the textbook rules of scientific procedures too literally and too exclusively. It should be clear from the above discussion that those who lack what is called "the creative spark" are in fact those who fail to take into account the assumption-grounds of their audiences.2

为什么会有人费心提出一个无趣的主张呢？那些认为社会科学家的工作仅仅是坚持任何可以根据教科书的理论建设和验证规则得出和确认的理论。实际上，社会科学(可能还有自然科学)中的平庸者，可以被定义为那些把科学程序的教科书规则看得太真实、太专一的人。从上述讨论可以清楚地看出，那些缺乏所谓"创造性火花"的人实际上是那些没有考虑到其受众的假设理由的人

But even the Stars of social science sometimes assert propositions found to be non-interesting. Why should this ever be the case? Besides the occasional fall of the Stars themselves into mediocrity, the fault may lie not in the Stars, but in their audience.

但是，即使是社会科学的明星们有时也会断言那些命题是无趣的。为什么会出现这种情况呢？除了星星偶尔变得平庸之外，错误也许不在于星星，而在于他们的观众。

Propositions are interesting or uninteresting only in relation to the assumption-ground of some audience. If an audience finds a proposition asserted by a reputable social scientist to be obvious or irrelevant or absurd, it may be because the proposition has come to the attention of an audience other than the one to whom it was originally intended. A proposition that merely affirms a particular assumption, is irrelevant to any assumption, or annihilates the whole assumption-ground, of one audience may have been formulated to deny a particular assumption, be relevant to some assumption, or harmonize with the whole assumption-ground, of another audience. It is a common occurrence today for an out-group audience to monitor accidentally propositions originally directed towards an in-group audience. The academic world today is composed of specialized sub-worlds (disciplines) that are growing increasingly distinct both from each other and from the common-sense world (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), but that are also attempting to translate their internally generated propositions both to other disciplines and to the common-sense world. An audience that encounters one of these interdisciplinized or popularized propositions is likely to find it non-interesting because this proposition had not been specifically designed to take the assumptions of this new audience into account.

命题是有趣的或无趣的，只是关系到一些观众的假设基础。如果听众发现一个著名的社会科学家声称的主张是明显的、不相关的或荒谬的，那可能是因为这个命题已经引起了观众的注意，而不是最初的目标。一个仅仅肯定某个假设的命题，与任何假设无关，或者消灭了整个假设基础的命题，可能是为了否定某一特定假设，与某种假设相关，或与另一个受众的整个假设基础相协调。这是一个常见的现象，一个外部群体的观众，监测意见意见意外地指向群体内的听众。当今的学术世界是由专门的次世界(学科)组成的，它们相互之间以及来自常识世界(伯杰和洛克曼，1966年)，但也试图将他们内部产生的命题转化为其他学科和常识世界。如果一个受众遇到了这些跨学科或者普及的命题，那么他们可能会发现它没什么意思，因为这个命题并不是专门设计来考虑到这些新受众的假设的。

2. Complicating social factors

第二名。复杂的社会因素

If an audience will find interesting any proposition that attacks the assumption they hold about its ic, then presumably all one would have to do to assert an interesting

如果一个观众会发现任何有趣的主张来攻击他们对于集成电路的假设，那么大概所有的观众都必须坚持一个有趣的

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proposition is, first, to specify what the audience assumption about any ic is, and, second, to come up with a proposition that refutes it. Unfortunately, whereas it is usually easy to come up with a proposition that refutes an audience assumption (one need simply refer to the foregoing index of interesting propositions); it is usually difficult to specify precisely what this potentially deniable audience assumption is.

首先，命题是指出观众对于任何集成电路的假设是什么，第二，提出一个反驳它的建议。不幸的是，虽然通常很容易提出一个驳斥听众假设的主张(一个需要简单地参考上述有趣命题的索引);通常很难准确说明这种潜在的可否认的受众假设是什么。

Specifying an audience assumption about a ic is usually difficult because this assumption is not necessarily a unitary thing. Since Marx, we have been aware that any division within the social base of theoretical assumption-ground may cause a division within the theoretical assumption-ground itself. As an audience is often segmented along various social lines, the assumption about a ic held by one audience segment is likely to be at variance with the assumption about that ic held by another audience segment. In order to clarify the difficulties involved in specifying an audience assumption, let us consider a few of the most important audience segments whose assumptions must be taken into account by anyone who wants to assert a proposition that all members of his intended audience will find interesting.

对于一个集成电路，指定一个观众假设通常是困难的，因为这个假设并不一定是一个整体。自马克思以来，我们已经意识到，理论假设基础的社会基础内的任何分裂都可能在理论假设的基础上造成分裂。由于观众往往按照不同的社会路线进行分割，关于一个听众群体所持有的集成电路的假设可能与另一个受众群体所持有的关于这种集成电路的假设不一致。为了澄清在确定一个受众假设时所涉及的困难，让我们考虑一些最重要的受众群体，他们的假设必须得到任何人的考虑，因为任何人想要提出一个命题，即他的所有预期受众都会感兴趣。

The fundamental division in the social structure of an audience is between those who hold the common-sense assumption about a particular ic and those whose assumption about the ic is conditioned by their intellectual specialty or discipline (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). This is the division between the laymen who have "conventional wisdom" about the ic on the one side and the experts who have "esoteric knowledge" about the ic on the other. Within each of these two realms, further sub-divisions may occur, making it still more difficult to specify all of the audience assumptions, and consequently to create propositions that will be found universally interesting.

观众的社会结构的根本区别在于那些对某一特定的集成电路持有常识假设的人，另一类人对集成电路的假设取决于他们的知识专长或学科(伯杰和洛克曼，1966年)。这就是一方面对集成电路拥有"传统智慧"的外行和对集成电路有着"深奥认识"的专家之间的区别。在这两个领域中的每一个都可能出现进一步的细分，这使得指定所有的观众假设更加困难，因此创建的命题将被发现是普遍有趣的。

The assumptions about a ic held by both laymen and experts may be too diverse or too amorphous for any proposition about this ic to be found universally interesting. Variations in laymen's assumptions about the ic may be along the lines of the usual sociological categories — age, sex, class, etc. — or some more subtle sociological categories. Variations in experts' assumptions about the ic are usually along the lines of their membership in a particular discipline or in one of the schools of thought that are contending for power within that discipline. It will not be found easy to say something interesting about a ic on which there is no lay or expert consensus of assumptions. It is

关于外行和专家持有的集成电路的假设可能过于多样化或者太模糊，以至于任何关于这种集成电路的提议都会被发现是非常有趣的。外行关于ic的假设的变化可能与通常的社会学范畴(年龄、性别、阶级等)或者一些更微妙的社会学范畴。专家关于集成电路的假设的差异通常与他们在某一特定学科或在一个思想流派中争夺权力的思想流派。我们不会轻易地说出一些有趣的关于一个集成电路的有趣的东西，在这个集成电路上，假设没有专家或专家的共识。It是的

hard to deny what seems to be the case if there is no consensus about what seems to be the case.

如果对于这种情况似乎没有达成共识，那么这种情况似乎很难被否认。

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Lay and expert assumptions about a ic may not only vary over social space, but also change over time. Since the consensus of assumptions in the past is usually considered to be greater than the consensus of assumptions in the present, those who wish to assert interesting propositions often try to refute what they call the "traditional view" of the ic. But in practice the traditional assumption past usually proves to be as hard to specify as the contemporary assumption.

关于集成电路的专家假设可能不仅在社会空间上有所不同，而且随着时间的推移也会发生变化。由于过去对假设的共识通常被认为大于目前假设的共识，那些希望提出有趣主张的人往往试图反驳他们所称的国际公约的"传统观点"。但在实践中，传统的假设过去通常被证明与当代假设一样难以具体说明。

Furthermore, what laymen and experts assume to be true about a ic has not only changed from the past, but is in the process of changing for the future. It is especially the younger generation who begin to take for granted a new assumption about a ic that differs from the taken-for-granted assumption of the older generation. This new assumption that is becoming increasingly accepted by the young may be called the vanguard assumption.3

此外，外行和专家认为关于集成电路的事实不仅已经从过去发生了变化，而且正在为将来而改变。尤其是年轻一代开始认为，一个新的假设是理所当然的，这个新的假设不同于老一辈人认为理所当然的假设。这个越来越被年轻人接受的新假设可能被称为先锋假设

If the main problems of asserting propositions that will be found interesting to either all laymen or all experts involve the fact that their baseline assumptions are often formless or floating, the main problem of asserting propositions that will be found interesting to both laymen and experts involves the fact that their separate baseline assumptions are often incommensurate.

如果对所有外行或所有专家都感兴趣的主张主张的主要问题涉及这样一个事实，即他们的基线假设往往是无形的或浮动的，那么主张主张的主要问题是，他们的基线假设往往不相称。

Although it has now become generally recognized that the realms of the various intellectual specialties have split off from the common-sense world (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), the implication of this fact for the generation of propositions has not been made explicit. On the phenomenological level, this split between Conventional Wisdom and Esoteric Knowledge occurred when propositions were asserted that denied the assumptions of the common-sense world. Intellectual specialties were formed when various groups of self-styled experts began to accept those propositions that had refuted the assumptions of laymen. As an intellectual specialty developed, what began merely as a proposition that refuted a taken-for-granted assumption of the common-sense world now became a taken-for-granted assumption in its own right. When an intellectual specialty reached maturity — and this is the important point — all propositions generated within it are referred back not to the old baseline of the taken-for-granted assumption of the

虽然现在已经普遍认识到，各种知识分子的领域已经脱离了常识世界(伯杰和洛克曼，1966年)，但这一事实对提出命题的影响尚未明确。在现象学层面上，传统智慧和深奥知识之间的这种分裂是在主张否定了常识世界的假设时发生的。当各种自封的专家组开始接受那些驳斥外行人假设的主张时，才形成了知识专长。作为一个发展起来的知识专长，一开始仅仅是一个反驳了常识世界理所当然的假设的命题，现在本身就成为一种理所当然的假设。当一个知识专长达到成熟时ーー这是一个重要的问题ーー所有在其中产生的命题都不会回到已经被认可的假设的旧基准上

common-sense world, but to the new baseline of the taken-for-granted assumption of the intellectual specialty itself. In other words, an intellectual specialty, which began in a dialectical relationship with an assumption of the common-sense world, evolves and progresses by means of an internal dialectic with its own basic assumption.

常识的世界，但是对于新的基准，被认为是理所当然的假设本身。换句话说，一种智力的特殊性，始于与常识世界假设的辩证关系，通过内在辩证法的演进和发展，具有自己的基本假设。

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Anyone who wishes to assert a proposition that will be found interesting by laymen as well as experts must deal with the dilemma of this double dialectic. On the one hand, his proposition will interest experts only if it denies the ground-assumption of their discipline. On the other hand, his proposition will interest laymen only if it denies a ground-assumption of the common-sense world. But since the ground-assumption of experts is already a denial of a ground-assumption of laymen, he will find that any proposition that interests experts (because it denies their ground-assumption) will not interest laymen (because it affirms their ground-assumption), and vice versa. What will be interesting to the one will be obvious to the other.

任何想要维护一个被外行人和专家发现有趣的命题的人，都必须处理这种双重辩证法的困境。一方面，他的提议只有在否认他们的纪律的基本假设的情况下才会引起专家的兴趣。另一方面，他的主张只有在否认了常识世界的基本假设的情况下才会引起外行的兴趣。但由于专家的基本假设已经否定了外行人的一个基本假设，他将发现任何令专家感兴趣的主张(因为专家否认他们的假设)都不会引起外行的兴趣(因为它肯定了他们的假设)，反之亦然。对一个人来说有趣的事情对另一个人来说是显而易见的。

In the academic world, a person usually resolves this dilemma by grasping for one horn while ignoring the other, by restricting the potential audience who will consider his proposition to his fellow experts while not worrying about the opinion of laymen. He will usually publish his proposition in a specialized journal or technical text, where it will be scrutinized only by his colleagues who hold the very ground-assumption he wishes to attack. But note that the propositions of these specialized journals and technical texts that are found interesting by their professional readers are actually of the form: What everybody, except experts on the subject, think is true is in fact true.

在学术界，一个人通常通过抓住一个角而忽略另一个角来解决这个困境，他会限制那些在不担心外行意见的情况下，将自己的观点提交给其他专家。他通常会在一份专业期刊或技术文本中发表自己的观点，只有他的同事才会仔细审查他的提议，他们坚持他的基本假设。但是请注意，这些专业期刊和技术文本的主张被他们的专业读者发现是有趣的，实际上是这样的:除了这方面的专家外，每个人都认为是真实的事实是真实的。

No one will recognize that the proposition is of this form until the proposition is brought to the attention of non-experts. However, the more a person's proposition is found interesting by the experts of his field, the more he will be tempted to bring it to the attention of these non-experts. Should he be foolish enough to reveal the proposition that interested his colleagues to his non-professional friends, he will usually find that they are not impressed. Should he be even more foolish enough to disseminate this proposition to a wider public through popularizing it in newspapers and magazines, he will succeed only in convincing more people of the poverty of his discipline.

在提请非专家注意这一主张之前，没有人会认识到这种形式的命题。然而，一个人的命题被他领域的专家发现越有趣，他就越想引起这些非专家的注意。如果他愚蠢到向同事透露他的同事对他的非专业朋友感兴趣的主张，他通常会发现他们并没有被打动。如果他更愚蠢地通过在报纸和杂志上宣传这一主张，向更广泛的公众宣传这一主张，他只会成功地说服更多人相信他的学科贫困。

In sum, the fact that the baseline assumptions of intellectual specialties and the baseline assumptions of the common-sense world are incommensurate is responsible for the fact that propositions that had had good receptions in the former usually get poor receptions in the latter. Those who attempt to popularize propositions that experts had found interesting often must resort to jargon in order to obscure the fundamental lack of inter-translatability between the universe of discourse of the intellectual specialty and the universe of discourse of the common-sense world. They are aware, intuitively if not consciously, that the interestingness of an expert's proposition, like the poetry of a foreign author, is what gets lost in translation.4

总之，知识专长的基准假设和常识世界的基线假设不相称，这一事实是造成前者受到良好接受的主张往往在后者得不到好的接受。那些试图推广专家发现有趣的命题的人，常常必须使用行话来掩盖知识分子专业的话语空间和常识世界的话语空间之间的基本不可译性。他们意识到，如果不是有意识的话，他们意识到专家提议的趣味性，就像外国作家的诗歌一样，是翻译中丢失的东西

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3. Uncomplicating social factors

图3。不复杂的社会因素

Considering all of the assumptions of all of the various audience segments that a proposition must react against in order to be considered interesting, it is a wonder that anyone has ever asserted a proposition that attracted widespread interest. But the fact that some social theorists do occasionally utter propositions that are generally found interesting should alert us to the possibility that the problem of generating interesting propositions is not so complex as it first appears.

考虑到所有观众群体的所有假设，一个命题必须作出反应才能被认为是有趣的，这是一个奇迹，任何人曾经断言一个吸引广泛兴趣的主张。但事实上，一些社会理论家偶尔会提出一些普遍被认为有趣的命题，这一事实应该提醒我们，产生有趣命题的问题可能并不像它最初出现时那样复杂。

Although there is a diversity of audience segments, on a certain level of abstraction there is only a duality of audience assumptions. Therefore, one technique a person can use to simplify the assumptions of his audience is to raise the level of abstraction at which he considers them. The higher the level of abstraction at which his proposition attacks the assumptions of his audience, the more the assumptions of his audience will run together. Eventually, as in The Index of the Interesting, he will be able to reach that level of abstraction at which there are only two audience assumptions about a ic possible. There may be many segments to his audience, but, at a certain level of abstraction, each segment must assume either 'X' or 'non-X' about a particular ic, and therefore each segment will find interesting either a proposition that asserts 'non-X' against its assumption of 'X' or a proposition that asserts 'X' against its assumption of 'non-X'. For example, although audience segments may differ as to the degree each thinks a certain phenomenon is generalizable, the social theorist who raises the level of abstraction at which the phenomenon is defined can divide all his audience segments into two groups:

尽管观众群体的多样性，但是在某种抽象层面上，观众的假设只有一个对偶性。因此，一个人可以用来简化他的观众的假设的一个技巧，就是提高他认为他们的抽象层次。他的主张越是攻击他的听众的假设，他的听众的假设就越是一起运行。最终，就像《有趣的索引》一样，他将能够达到那种抽象的水平，在这个层次上，只有两个观众假设一个集成电路的可能性。他的听众可能有很多部分，但是，在某种抽象层次上，每一个段必须假定某个特定的ic是x或者非x，因此，每一个片段都会发现一个主张'non-X'与它对x的假设相对照的命题，或者是一个主张'x'反对其假定的'non-X'。例如，虽然观众群体可能对于每个人认为某种现象是普遍存在的程度可能有所不同，但是提高抽象层次的社会理论家可以将他的所有观众群分成两组:

those who think this abstractly defined phenomenon is generalizable at all, and those who think this abstractly defined phenomenon is merely local. Having categorized his audience segments in this way, he can now interest the former group of audience segments by asserting the phenomenon is actually local or he can interest the latter group of audience segments by asserting the phenomenon is actually generalizable. By directing his proposition towards the assumption of those audience segments who form the majority, or at least the majority of those whose opinion is significant to him, the social theorist will find that his proposition will elicit wide, if not universal, interest.

那些认为这种抽象定义的现象是普遍存在的，而那些认为这种抽象定义的现象只是局部现象的人。通过这种方式对他的观众群进行分类之后，他现在可以通过断言这种现象实际上是地方性的，或者他可以通过断言这种现象来引起后一群观众群的兴趣实际上是普遍存在的。社会理论家将他的观点引导到那些占多数的观众群体，或者至少是那些对他意义重大的观众群中的大多数，社会理论家会发现，他的主张将引出广泛的，如果不是普遍的兴趣。

If he still wants to try for universal, rather than merely majority, interest, the social theorist has another means at his disposal. Having narrowed the number of assumptions of the segments of his audience down to two, he may wish to reduce this duality of assumptions still further. He may wish to cohere the assumption-ground of all his audience segments into a unity, to bring together his many adversaries into a single opponent — "the enemy." The rhetorical technique of integrating all of the assumptions

如果他仍然想要尝试普遍的，而不仅仅是大多数的兴趣，社会理论家有另一种方法可以支配。在将他的听众群体的假设范围缩小到两个之后，他可能希望进一步减少这种假设的双重性。他可能希望把他所有听众的假设基础结合成一个整体，把他的许多对手组成一个单一的对手ーー"敌人"整合所有假设的修辞技巧

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that are to be refuted into the single (wrong) assumption of the 'other side' may be called consensus creation.

被驳斥为"另一面"的单一(错误)假设，也许被称为共识创造。

Consensus creation is an artful task that involves three steps. First, the social theorist articulates lack of consensus into dissension either generally ("Half think 'X' and half think 'non-X'.") or along the lines of specific sociological categories ("The lower classes think 'X', whereas the upper classes think 'non-X'.") or of categories appropriate to an intellectual specialty ("The Structural-Functionalists think 'X'; the Symbolic-Interactionists think 'non-X'.") Second, he claims this apparent dissension is actually a consensus at a higher level. ("But both these groups are actually saying the same thing: 'Y'.") Finally, having created this higher consensus of assumptions, he is now ready to deny it. ("However, they are both wrong. What really is the case is 'non-Y'.")

建立共识是一项巧妙的任务，涉及三个步骤。首先，社会理论家将缺乏共识的观点一般性地表达出来("一半认为"x"，另一半认为是"non-X")或者按照特定的社会学类别("下层阶级认为'x'，而上层阶级则认为'非x'。")或者与知识专业相适应的类别("结构-功能主义者认为是"x";象征-互动主义者认为'非x'。")其次，他声称这种明显的分歧实际上是一个更高层次的共识。("但这两个群体实际上都在说同一件事:'y'。")最后，在形成了更高共识的假设之后，他现在准备否认这一点。("然而，他们都错了。真正的情况是'不'。")

All segments of the social theorists' audience will now find his proposition interesting because it refutes the basic assumption shared by all of them (which basic assumption they themselves may not have known they all fundamentally assumed until he pointed out to them that they did). Convincing one's audience that they fundamentally hold a particular assumption about a ic, however, takes somewhat more than rhetorical skill. It

社会理论家的所有观众现在都会觉得他的观点很有趣，因为它驳斥了他们所有人共有的基本假设(他们本身可能直到向他们指出这些假设之前，他们可能根本不知道这些假设。)。然而，让观众相信，他们从根本上对集成电路做出了一个特定的假设，但是，他们需要的不仅仅是修辞技巧。它

also takes some knowledge of what assumptions about the ic the audience does actually hold. Should the assumption that a social theorist tries to convince his audience that they actually hold be too discrepant from the assumption they do actually hold, his audience will accuse him of setting up a straw man — an assumption that is easily blown over because no flesh and blood person ever actually held it — certainly no member of his audience.

同时也需要了解观众实际持有的关于集成电路的假设。如果假设一个社会理论家试图说服他的听众，他们实际上所持有的假设与他们实际上所坚持的假设相差太大，他的听众会指责他设立了一个稻草人ーー这种假设很容易被推翻，因为没有一个真正拥有过稻草人的人——当然也不是他的听众。

In either the common-sense world or the world of his intellectual specialty, a social theorist may attempt to create a potentially refutable assumption around the Traditional Assumption, the Contemporary Assumption, or the Vanguard Assumption. For all three, this temporally-specific form of consensus creation involves selecting as targets a few representative writers — past, present, or prophetic — showing them all to be saying essentially the same thing about a particular ic, and claiming that their mutual position on this ic embodies the Refutandum — the basic assumption of the time in all its various manifestations that the social theorist is going to attempt to refute. In the case of sociology, for instance, a few sociologists must be shown to represent not merely a sociological tradition, but the sociological tradition; not merely a position of some sociologists today, but the present position of sociologists; not merely a possible trend in sociology, but the coming trend in sociology. If a social theorist can also convince his

无论是在常识世界中，还是在他的知识专长领域，一个社会理论家可能试图围绕传统假设、当代假设或先锋假设来创造一个潜在的可反驳的假设。对于所有这三个人来说，创造共识的这种特定的时间形式包括选择一些具有代表性的作家作为目标ーー过去、现在或预言ーー表明他们对某一特定的理论基本上都在说同样的事情，并且声称他们在这个问题上的共同立场体现了反驳的反驳——时间的基本假设。例如，在社会学的例子中，一些社会学家必须被证明不仅仅代表社会学传统，而且代表社会学传统;不仅仅是社会学家的现状，而是社会学家目前的地位，而不仅仅是社会学的一种可能趋势，而是社会学的未来趋势。如果一个社会理论家也能说服他的

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图27

audience that what these representative writers assume about a ic is in fact what his audience themselves assume about the ic — only less articulately — then he has set the stage on which the battle for his audience's attention will take place. He is now ready to launch an attack against his audience's assumption in order to capture and to hold their interest. His probability of success in this endeavor is augmented by the fact that he well knows the weakness in the rampart of his audience's assumption, for — being the one who articulated this assumption for his audience — he himself has had a hand at its construction.

这些具有代表性的作家对集成电路的假设，实际上是他的听众自己对集成电路的假设ーー只是不那么明确ーー那么他就为将要引起听众注意的战斗奠定了基础。他现在准备对他的观众的假设发起攻击，以便抓住并保持他们的兴趣。他在这一努力中获得成功的可能性因为他清楚地知道他的听众的假设中的弱点，因为是他为他的听众阐述了这个假设ーー他自己也参与了其建设。

Whereas the logical steps that create conviction end with Q. E. D. (Quod Erat Demonstrandum!), the rhetorical steps that incubate interest end with Q. E. R. (Quod Erat Refutandum!).

然而，建立信念的逻辑步骤以qed结束(Q.E.D.!)，孵化兴趣的修辞步骤以q.e.r.结尾(QuodEratRefutandum).

It is much harder for a social theorist to generate a proposition that will be found interesting in both the common-sense world and the world of his intellectual specialty, and therefore such a task is usually not attempted. However, there are a few occasions in which it will be worth his while to attempt to make a proposition evoke this ecumenical interest.

对于一个社会理论家来说，要提出一个在常识世界和他的知识专长领域都很有趣的命题，因此这样的任务通常是不会尝试的。然而，在一些情况下，试图提出一项建议会引起人们的这种普世利益。

Laymen and experts will find the same proposition interesting when their assumptions about its ic happen to line up; but, for reasons that we have seen, their assumptions about ics are usually out-of-phase. Nevertheless, the assumptions of laymen and experts do occasionally get into phase, for, while the assumptions of both are evolving in the dialectical manner described above, the assumptions of the former are changing more slowly than the assumptions of the latter and sometimes fall two stages behind. When this occurs, a proposition of general interest becomes possible.

外行和专家会发现同样的命题很有趣，因为他们对于ic的假设恰好是一致的;但是，由于我们已经看到的原因，他们对于ics的假设通常是不合时宜的。然而，外行和专家的假设偶尔会进入阶段，因为，虽然两者的假设是以上述辩证方式演变的，但前者的假设变化比后者的假设变化更慢，有时会落后两个阶段。当这种情况发生时，一个普遍感兴趣的命题就成为可能。

Another reason it is difficult for a social theorist to assert a proposition that will interest laymen as well as experts is that the ics on which experts have assumptions are often so obscure that laymen have no assumptions about these ics at all. (This is even more the case in the natural sciences.) The social theorist, however, can make laymen interested in expert propositions about these esoteric ics if he can first make them feel the necessity and value of having an assumption — any assumption — about these ics. He can make a ic thus significant to laymen — i.e. make it a subject of their on-going theoretical activity

对于一个社会理论家来说，很难提出一个让外行和专家都感兴趣的主张的另一个原因是，专家所依据的经济学常常是如此模糊，以至于外行人对这些学科根本没有任何假设。(在自然科学领域，情况更是如此。)然而，社会理论家可以让外行对这些深奥学科的专家主张感兴趣，如果他能够首先让他们感到有必要和有价值的假设ーー任何假设ーー有关这些理论的假设ーー的必要性和价值。他可以使一个集成电路对外行来说意义重大ーー也就是说，使它成为他们正在进行的理论活动的主题

— by first demonstrating its concrete effect on their on-going practical activity. Importance is the mother of Interest even if Refutation is the father.

通过首次证明它对他们正在进行的实际活动产生的具体影响。重要性是利益的母亲，即使Refutation是父亲。

* 1. Further research into the implications of interesting propositions

进一步研究有趣命题的含义

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I wish to re-emphasize the fact that I did not intend for The Index of the Interesting to be definitive. Both the collection and the categorization of interesting propositions need further refinement.

我希望再次强调，我并不打算对《有趣的索引》作出明确的规定。有趣命题的集合和分类都需要进一步完善。

A more sophisticated method of identifying interesting propositions should be developed. In the case of sociology, it might be fruitful to take a survey of sociologists in which they would be asked to "Name your five favorite sociological propositions." Or one might analyze those sociological propositions chosen for highlighting in the American Sociologist

应该开发一种更复杂的方法来识别有趣的命题。就社会学而言，对社会学家进行调查可能会有所收获，在调查中，他们将被要求"说出你最喜欢的五种社会学命题"或者可以分析一下美国社会学家选择强调的那些社会学命题

in order to see what the staff of the official organ of the profession considers interesting. Sociological propositions that aroused general interest may also be found in those articles chosen for reprinting either in the Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series or in various popular texts of selected readings.

为了看看这个职业的官方机构的工作人员认为有趣的是什么。引起普遍兴趣的社会学主张也可以在Bobbs-Merrill再版系列或某些读物的各种通俗文本中选择重印的文章中也可以找到引起普遍兴趣的社会学命题。

A more formal category system of interesting propositions should also be developed. It could be modeled along the lines of those category systems of all possible propositions (judgements) developed by Aristotle in his Organon, Kant in his Critique of Pure Reason, Hegel in his Logic, or some more recent system. Furthermore, specifying its sub-categories on lower levels of abstraction would increase the usefulness of the category system.

还应该建立一个更为正式的有趣主张分类系统。它可以模仿亚里士多德在他的《风琴》、《康德的纯粹理性批判》、《黑格尔在他的逻辑》中，或者是最近的一些系统中发展出来的所有可能命题(判断)，康德的纯粹理性批判，黑格尔在他的逻辑，或一些更新的系统。此外，在较低抽象级别上指定其子类别将增加类别系统的有用性。

The reader may wish to adapt the category system of interesting propositions for personal use. He may do this informally by attempting to locate in The Index of the Interesting those social theories that he himself has always found appealing. Those that are easily located in the category system will provide him with subjectively relevant knowledge of the general types of social theories that he himself finds interesting. Those that are not easily located in the category system will provide him with objectively relevant knowledge of how, in order to include them, The Index of the Interesting ought to be revised or extended.

读者可能希望将有趣的命题分类系统调整为个人用途。他可能会非正式地尝试在《有趣的索引》中找到那些他自己一直觉得有吸引力的社会理论。那些很容易在分类系统中定位的人，将为他提供他自己感兴趣的一般社会理论类型的主观相关知识。那些不容易在分类系统中找到的人，将向他提供客观相关的知识，说明如何纳入这些知识，应当修订或扩大《有趣指数》。

Stimulating an audience's interest in a particular proposition is, as we have seen, in a matter of rhetoric. Consequently, we might obtain additional insight into the rhetorical strategies that are used to arouse an audience's interest by studying both classical and modern treatises on the art and practice of rhetoric.

正如我们已经看到的，刺激观众对某一特定命题的兴趣是一种修辞。因此，我们可以通过研究古典和现代关于修辞艺术和修辞实践的论文，从而使我们对修辞策略有更深入的了解。

It would also be useful to discover the psychological basis of the fact that some theories attract interest whereas others do not. Gestalt Psychology is likely to be the most fruitful approach to the psychological explanation of interesting theories. Its highly developed

发现某些理论引起兴趣而另一些理论不能引起兴趣这一事实的心理基础也是有益的。对于有趣理论的心理学解释，格式塔学派可能是最有成效的方法。它高度发达

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图29

analysis of how objects that arouse perceptive interest involve figures that stand out against their backgrounds provides an intriguing parallel with the foregoing analysis of how propositions that arouse cognitive interest involve assertions that run counter to their assumption-grounds.

分析引起感知兴趣的对象如何涉及与他们的背景非常突出的数字，提供了一个有趣的平行分析，上述分析引起认知兴趣的主张如何涉及与其假设理由背道而驰的主张。

There are other things besides propositions that can attract interest, like paintings and people. Perhaps we could come to understand their drawing power as well if we also looked at them in terms of anticipation and surprise. We might then find that paintings are interesting insofar as their form or content contravenes accepted aesthetic rules, while people are interesting insofar as their character or behavior contradicts status and role expectations. Before any conclusions can be drawn, however, the extent and manner of these deviations from the norm must be made more explicit.

除了可以吸引人们兴趣的主张之外，还有其他东西，比如绘画和人物。如果我们也能从期待和惊喜的角度来看待它们，也许我们也可以理解它们的吸引力。我们可能会发现，只要绘画的形式或内容违反了公认的审美规则，我们可能会发现绘画是有趣的，而人们的性格或行为与地位和角色期望相矛盾。然而，在得出任何结论之前，必须更明确地说明这些偏离规范的程度和方式。

Finally, further research on interesting propositions in the social (and natural) sciences can help us to learn more about the theoretical structure of the common-sense world. If it is true that those propositions that are found interesting are those that deny various aspects of this conventional structure, then we can gain understanding of the nature of this conventional structure indirectly by studying those interesting propositions that deny it. Moreover, we can gain understanding of the variations in this conventional structure also indirectly by studying those propositions that interest individuals at some social locations but do not interest individuals at other social locations. Regardless of the truth of a proposition, then, the mere fact that someone finds it interesting indicates that there is much we can learn from it.

最后，对社会(和自然)科学中有趣的命题的进一步研究可以帮助我们更多地了解常识世界的理论结构。如果那些被发现有趣的命题是那些否定这种传统结构的各个方面的命题，那么我们就可以通过研究那些否定这种结构的有趣主张间接地了解这种传统结构的性质。此外，我们还可以通过研究某些社会地点个人感兴趣但不关心其他社会地点个人的主张，我们也可以间接地了解这种传统结构的变化。不管一个命题的真实性如何，一个人觉得有趣的事实表明我们可以从中学到很多东西。

5. Implications of interesting propositions for further research

第五名。有趣的建议对进一步研究的影响

The common critique of most contemporary social and especially sociological research is that it is dull, that it says what everybody knows or what nobody cares about. It is this defect in the way the social sciences are generally practiced today — perhaps more than any other single reason — that is responsible for the relatively low status of their disciplines, for the relatively low ability they have to attract superior students, for the relatively low enthusiasm they arouse in the public and even in their own practitioners. In order to discover the cause of their present lethargy and to propose a cure I will try to bring out the implications for social and especially sociological research of the foregoing discussion of what makes a theoretical proposition interesting. Hopefully, once social scientists become more aware of the deficiency of their disciplines, they will be inspired to transform old procedures that have made them vapid into new procedures that will make them vital.

对于大多数当代社会研究，尤其是社会学研究的普遍批判是，它是枯燥乏味的，它说明了每个人所知道的或者没有人关心的东西。正是这种社会科学在当今普遍实践中的缺陷ーー也许比其他任何单一的原因都要重要——这些原因导致了他们学科的地位相对较低，因为他们吸引优秀学生的能力相对较低，因为他们在公众甚至在他们自己的实践者中引起的相对较低的热情。为了找出他们目前昏昏欲睡的原因，并提出一种治疗方法，我将试图揭示上述讨论对社会特别是社会学研究的影响，探讨什么使理论命题变得有趣。希望，一旦社会科学家们更加意识到自己学科的不足，他们就会受到启发，改变那些使他们变得无趣的旧程序，使之变得至关重要。

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We have seen that the criterion that distinguishes an interesting proposition from a non-interesting proposition is that the former, unlike the latter, denies a specific assumption of its audience. Analysis of all books and articles that have left their mark on the social sciences will show, I believe, that they satisfy this criterion in the various ways enumerated in The Index of the Interesting. If this is the case, then, the present languor of the social sciences is due directly to the fact that social scientists do not attempt to satisfy this criterion in their own research consistently. What success their own research has in interesting others comes only from the fact that they satisfy this criterion inadvertently. Those social scientists who are considered the most interesting today are those who actually apply this criterion to their own research intuitively. The point of this paper, however, is to show that the social sciences as a whole could be much improved if all students of social life were taught to evaluate their own research according to this criterion consciously.

我们已经看到，区分一个有趣的命题和一个无趣的命题的标准是，前者不同于后者，否定了其受众的具体假设。我相信，对所有在社会科学中留下印记的书籍和文章的分析，将表明它们以《有趣指数》中列举的各种方式满足这一标准。如果是这样的话，那么，当前社会科学的衰落直接归因于这样一个事实，即社会科学家在他们自己的研究中没有试图满足这一标准。他们自己的研究在有趣的人身上取得了怎样的成功，只是因为他们无意中满足了这个标准。那些被认为是今天最有趣的社会科学家是那些直观地将这个标准应用到他们自己研究中的人。然而，本文的目的是要表明，如果社会生活的所有学生都被教导根据这个标准有意识地评估他们自己的研究，那么整个社会科学就可以得到很大的改善。

Glaser and Strauss (1967) have astutely observed that the anemic state of modern sociology in particular stems largely from the fact that most courses and textbooks on sociological methods pay too much attention to the confirmation of theories and not enough attention to the generation of theories. But Glaser and Strauss have not specified the remedy for this deficiency precisely enough. What is needed is not more social theories, but more interesting social theories. The student of social life needs to know not merely how to generate a theory from a body of data; he needs to know how to generate a theory from a body of data that will be found interesting.

格拉泽和施特劳斯(1967)敏锐地观察到，现代社会学的贫血状态在很大程度上源于这样一个事实:大多数社会学方法的课程和教科书都过于注重理论的确认，而对理论的产生注意不够。但格拉泽和施特劳斯并没有明确说明这种缺陷的治疗方法。我们需要的不是更多的社会理论，而是更有趣的社会理论。社会生活的学生需要知道的不仅仅是如何从大量的数据中产生一个理论;他需要知道如何从一组有趣的数据中产生一个理论。

Glaser and Strauss feel that the prerequisite for generating a theory is an intense familiarity with the data. But I would add that the prerequisite for generating an interesting theory is an intense familiarity with previous audience assumptions about the data as well. To be found interesting, a theory must be played off against what was previously assumed about the phenomenon in question. An audience will not find interesting just any theory about mental hospitals; they will find interesting only those theories about mental hospitals that clash with their previous stereotypes of mental hospitals. Therefore, the social researcher who wants to be certain that he will produce an interesting theory about his subject must first familiarize himself with what his audience already assumes to be true about his subject, before he can even begin to generate a proposition that, in denying their assumption, will attract their attention.5

格拉泽和施特劳斯认为，产生一个理论的先决条件是对数据非常熟悉。但是我要补充的是，产生一个有趣的理论的先决条件是对以前观众对数据的假设非常熟悉。有趣的是，一个理论必须与之前对这一现象的假设相抵触。观众不会对任何有关精神病院的理论感兴趣;他们只会发现那些关于精神病院的理论与他们之前对精神病院的陈规定型观念相冲突的那些心理医院理论。因此，社会研究者想要确定他会对他的主题提出一个有趣的理论，他必须首先熟悉他的听众对他的主题已经假定的事实，在他甚至可以开始产生一个命题，在否定他们的假设，将吸引他们的注意力

More generally, courses and texts on methods in the social sciences should teach their students to see that the construction of influential social theories does not take place in

一般来说，关于社会科学方法的课程和文本应当教导学生，让他们明白，在社会科学中，有影响力的社会理论的建构并没有发生在

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an intellectual vacuum. The present logical approach to theory construction should be supplemented by an approach to theory construction that is not only phenomenological as we have seen, but also ecological, for it is not the inner development of a theory that makes it interesting, but its outer relation to the assumption of its audience. It will not do merely to inform the student of the ways in which his theory must be induced from the data or deduced from more abstract principles. The student must also be made to recognize that his own theory about a ic comes into being in an environment in which it will have to compete for the scarce resources of his audience's attention and allegiance with at least one other theory. This other theory — which got there first — consists of what the audience thinks it already knows (i.e. assumes to be true) about a given body of data.6 Theory construction, in other words, should not be treated as an independent logical or empirical enterprise separate from, and unrelated to, what the audience already knows about a given body of data, for they will consider a new theory interesting — pay attention to what it proposes — only if it reacts against the baseline of what they previously presumed.

一个智力真空。当前对理论建构的逻辑方法应该辅之以一种理论构建方法，这种方法不仅是我们所看到的现象学，而且是生态学的，因为它不是一个有趣的理论的内在发展，而是它与其受众的假设的外在关系。它不会仅仅通知学生他的理论必须从数据或从更抽象的原则推导出来的方式。学生还必须认识到，他自己关于ic的理论产生于一种环境，在这种环境中，他必须与至少一种其他理论竞争稀缺的听众关注和忠诚的资源。另一种理论——首先到达那里——包括听众认为它已经知道(即假定是真实的)某一特定数据体。6理论结构，换句话说，不应该被当作一个独立的逻辑或经验企业，与观众已经知道的某一特定数据无关，因为他们会考虑一个有趣的新理论ーー只有当它与他们之前推测的基线作出反应时，他们才会考虑一个新的理论——注意它所提出的东西ーー只有当它与他们之前推测的基线作出反应时，他们才会考虑它所提出的东西。

In short, the student should learn that he must always take into account the assumption of his audience about a ic before asserting his own theory about this ic. The more clearly he can specify his audience's assumption, the more strikingly he will be able to attack it. This denial of a clearly understood audience assumption is the essence of the interesting. It is what separates enduring research from ephemeral research. Those disciplines that make this conscious awareness of audience assumptions a standard part of their methodological procedures will raise the proportion of interesting propositions relative to non-interesting propositions in circulation within their discipline, will consequently increase the Interesting Quotient (I.Q) of their discipline relative to the Interesting Quotient of other disciplines, and will therefore reap the benefits that accrue to a high status intellectual enterprise that is capable of enthusing both the public and its own practitioners.

简而言之，学生应该知道，他必须总是考虑到他的听众关于一个集成电路的假设，然后才能断言他自己关于这个集成电路的理论。他越能清楚地说明他的听众的假设，他就越能更明显地攻击它。否定一个明确理解的观众假设是有趣的本质。这就是将持久的研究和短暂的研究分开的原因。那些使观众意识到这一点的学科假定，其方法学程序的一个标准部分将提高有意思的命题的比例，相对于在其学科中流通的非有趣命题，将因此增加他们学科中与其他学科的有趣商数相对应的有趣商数(I.Q)，从而收获高地位的知识型企业所获得的利益，这种企业能够使公众和自己的从业人员都充满热情。

6. The interesting and the academic

第六名。有趣的和学术性的

The analysis of the interesting elaborated here also has repercussions on the non-research activities of social (and other) scientists, particularly in the areas of course presentation and curriculum development.

这里阐述的有趣的分析也对社会(和其他)科学家的非研究活动产生影响，特别是在课程介绍和课程开发方面。

Courses are usually laid out on a model of increasing structured differentiation. First, a general theory regarding some subject matter is presented in the introductory lectures. Then, this general theoretical framework is applied to specific categories or instances of

课程通常是建立在增加结构性差异的模式上。首先，介绍性讲座提出了关于某些主题的一般理论。然后，这个一般的理论框架被应用到具体的类别或实例中

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the subject matter in the rest of the course. Finally, in the concluding lectures, this general theory is summarized with its limitations and potentials pointed out. But this structural approach to course presentation often fails to grasp the student's interest because it does not specifically concern itself with what the student finds interesting. As in the case of theory construction, too much concern with the inner processes of the subject matter and too little concern with the audience's evolving view of the subject matter will alienate the one from the other.

课程其余部分的主题。最后，在总结性讲座中，总结了这一概论的局限性和潜力。但是这种课程表达的结构性方法往往不能抓住学生的兴趣，因为它并没有特别关注学生感兴趣的内容。就理论建构而言，过于关注主题的内在过程，而对观众对主题的演变观点关注得太少，就会疏远对方。

A phenomenological-ontological approach to course presentation, however, would overcome this deficiency of the structural approach, for it would be concerned at all times with the evolution of the student's assumptions about the subject matter. With this approach, a course would begin by articulating the student's common-sense assumptions about the subject matter, would continue by refuting these lay assumptions and replacing them with expert propositions, and would conclude by rapidly recapitulating, and thus manifesting for the student, the process by which his original naive view of the subject matter was transformed into a new sophisticated view of the subject matter. Such a course demands from the teacher not merely knowledge of the goal to which he wants to draw his students, but also knowledge of their starting point — where his students were originally at. Any course whose on-going development parallels the natural progression of the student's mind from start to finish should have no difficulty in eliciting and sustaining their interest.

然而，一种现象学-本体论方法将克服结构方法的这种不足，因为它始终关注学生对主题事物的假设的演变。通过这种方法，一门课程将首先阐明学生对主题事项的常识性假设，通过驳斥这些假设并以专家命题取而代之，并在结束时迅速调整资本结构，从而体现学生的观点，他原先对主题事项的天真看法转变成对主题问题的一种新的复杂观点。这样的课程要求老师不仅要知道他想画他的学生的目标，还要知道他们的起点ーー他的学生最初在哪里。任何一门课程，其持续发展与学生从开始到结束的自然进程相似的课程，都应该毫无困难地引起和维持他们的兴趣。

The curriculum as a whole should also be synchronized with the mental development of the student. The fact that little attention is paid to the evolving assumptions of students in most curricula today is responsible for the fact that students often feel their education lacks relevance. Since naive student assumptions about a subject matter are most ignored

整个课程也应该与学生的心理发展同步进行。今天大多数课程很少注意学生不断变化的假设，这一事实导致学生往往觉得自己的教育缺乏相关性。因为天真的学生对于一个主题的假设被忽略了

at the introductory level, beginning students are particularly prone to finding introductory courses (and texts) dull. If a person's interest is aroused only when he encounters something unexpected, then he will necessarily find an introductory course to be dull insofar as it does not deny his expectations. Perhaps the only unexpected feature of most Introductory courses, their only redeeming feature that arouses what little interest the student has, is their denial of his assumption that some complex subject matter, like social life, is unordered.

在入门阶段，刚入学的学生特别容易发现入门课程(和课本)枯燥乏味。如果一个人的兴趣只是在遇到意想不到的事情时才会被唤起，那么他一定会发现一个介绍性的课程是枯燥的，因为它不否认他的期望。也许大多数入门课程的唯一意想不到的特点是，他们唯一能唤起学生兴趣的特点就是他们否定了他的假设，即一些复杂的主题，如社会生活，是无序的。

Unfortunately, the particular kind of order that most Introductory courses impose on their subject matter consists merely of the Classic Statements of the field. Although these Classic Statements had interested previous generations of experts because they had denied their assumptions, these Classic Statements will fail to arouse present

不幸的是，大多数介绍性课程对其主题事项所强加的特殊的秩序，仅仅是由该领域的经典陈述组成。虽然这些经典声明对前几代的专家感兴趣，因为他们否认了他们的假设，但这些经典的陈述将不能引起现在

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student interest insofar as students today do not hold the same assumptions about the subject matter as did the experts of the previous generations.

学生的兴趣，因为今天的学生并不像前几代的专家那样，对主题问题持有相同的假设。

Nevertheless, introductory courses (and texts) do perform an indispensable function in the curriculum of the discipline as a whole, for they set up the pre-conditions necessary for students to find advanced courses (and texts) interesting. Introductory courses engender those expectations about the subject matter that the propositions put forth in advanced courses are specifically designed to deny. Since the dialectical process of the interesting can occur only after specific assumptions about a subject have been formed, students usually find advanced courses to be more interesting than introductory courses. This is not to say that introductory courses — even if they must be less interesting than advanced courses — must be as uninteresting as they often are. They could be made more interesting to the beginning student if they attempted to show him in detail how the Classic Statements of the discipline actually do refute many of the assumptions about the subject matter that he has acquired merely by being socialized into the common-sense world of the outside society in which he grew up.

不过，入门课程(和课本)确实在整个学科的课程中发挥着不可或缺的作用，因为它们为学生找到有趣的高级课程(和课本)创造了必要的前提条件。介绍性课程引起了人们对这一主题的期望，即在高级课程中提出的主张是专门设计来否定的。由于有趣的辩证过程只有在对某一主题的具体假设形成后才能发生，学生通常会发现高级课程比入门课程更有趣。这并不是说，入门课程——即使它们必须不如高级课程那么有趣——必须像往常一样无趣。如果刚入学的学生试图向他详细介绍学科的经典陈述实际上如何反驳关于他仅仅通过被社会化成他成长的外部社会的常识世界而获得的关于这个主题的许多假设。

Very recently, in some parts of the academy, there has been a reaction against excessive concentration on the sophisticated propositions of experts. But this reaction seems to be turning into an excessive concentration on the naive assumptions of students. Both extremes are to be avoided if student interest is to be maintained. In the past, student

最近，在该学院的一些地方，人们对专家的复杂主张过度集中的现象产生了反应。但这种反应似乎正转变为过度关注学生的天真假设。如果要保持学生的兴趣，这两个极端都是可以避免的。在过去，学生

interest in a subject was often inhibited by too much attention to the latest conclusions of experts and too little attention to the original assumptions of students. In the future, it looks as though student interest in a subject may be inhibited by too much attention to the original assumptions of students and too little attention to the latest conclusions of experts. Students will then be as bored with having their naive views left undisturbed as they were with having their naive views ignored. In either case, that transcendence of original assumptions that is intrinsic to the interesting does not occur. What is needed is a pedagogical approach that takes into account both the student's naive view of the subject matter as its beginning and the expert's sophisticated view of the subject matter as its end, and methodically leads the student from one to the other. Only in this way will the term academic cease to be synonymous with irrelevant.

过于注意专家的最新结论，以及对学生原始假设的关注太少，往往会抑制对某一主题的兴趣。在未来，看起来学生对某个科目的兴趣可能会因为过于关注学生的原始假设而受到抑制，而对专家的最新结论关注得太少。这样，学生们就会厌倦了自己天真的观点，因为他们的天真观点被忽视。在这两种情况下，原始假设的超越不会发生。我们需要的是一种教学方法，既要考虑到学生对主题事物的幼稚观点，又考虑到专家对主题事项的复杂观点，并有条不紊地将学生从一个问题引向另一个。只有这样，学术这个词才不会成为无关紧要的同义词。

7. The systematization of the interesting?

7.有趣的系统化？

In trying to construct The Index of the Interesting, I had hoped to make it as systematic as possible. However, as I proceeded in this attempt, I discovered — to my dismay — that the more systematic I tried to make it, the less interesting it became. Rather than

在尝试构建有趣的索引时，我曾希望使它尽可能系统化。然而，当我继续这种尝试时，我沮丧地发现，我越是有系统地尝试去做，它就越没有意思。而不是

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continue to spin out my system at the increasing cost of decreasing interest, I decided that my dilemma itself might serve as the basis for some reflections on the relation between the interesting and the systematic.

我决定，我的困境本身可以作为对有趣和系统之间关系的一些思考的基础，我决定我的困境本身可以作为一些反思有趣和系统之间关系的基础。

At this critical point, I was proceeding in the following way. From my file of interesting propositions, I had taken one that I had not previously classified: "Robert Merton's assertion in Puritanism, Pietism, and Science that fundamentalist Protestantism and science, which were considered at the time he wrote to have developed from two completely different psycho-value complexes, in fact developed from the same psycho-value complex." From this, I induced its logical category — (xiii). Evolution — and its general type — (xiii)a "What seem to be phenomena that evolved out of completely different sources are in reality phenomena that evolved out of the same source.

在这个关键时刻，我是按照以下的方式进行的。从我的文件中有趣的命题，我采取了一个我以前没有分类的:"罗伯特·默顿在清教主义、虔诚主义和科学方面的主张，正是在他写这篇文章的时候被认为是从两个完全不同的心理价值复合体发展而来的，事实上是从同一个心理价值复合体发展而来的。"由此，我引出了它的逻辑范畴ー(十三)。进化ーー及其一般类型ーー(十三)"从完全不同的来源进化而来的似乎是现实现象，是从同一来源演化而来的。

According to my procedure for systematically elaborating my thesis — which had worked well enough in previous cases — the logical opposite of a general type of interesting proposition should also be a general type of interesting proposition. But here the trouble started. I could find no concrete example of supposedly interesting Type (xiii)b propositions: What seem to be phenomena that evolved out of the same source are in reality phenomena that evolved out of completely different sources. I found myself attempting to force several recalcitrant social theories into this mould. Noting that the results were uninspired and plainly artificial, I eventually gave up and decided not to extend my thesis into this new category at all, even though I was certain there was a good example of Type (xiii)b propositions somewhere and even though I hated to lose my Merton example of Type (xiii)a propositions, which was such an excellent illustration of the hermeneutic power of my thesis.

根据我系统地阐述我的论文的程序ーー在以前的案例中已经足够成功ーー与一般类型的有趣命题的逻辑相反，也应该是一种普遍的有趣的命题。但是这里麻烦开始了。我找不到任何具体的例子来说明所谓有趣的类型(xiii)b命题:从同一来源进化而来的似乎是现实现象，而这些现象是完全不同的来源。我发现自己试图将一些顽固的社会理论强加到这个模子里。注意到结果没有灵感，而且显然是人为的，最终我放弃了，决定不把我的论文扩展到这个新的范畴，尽管我确信在某个地方存在类型(xiii)b命题的一个很好的例子，尽管我讨厌失去我在默顿的例子，Type(十三)a命题，这是我论文解释力的一个很好的例子。

Let me try to abstract from my particular difficulty the general difficulty that all theorists must confront when they try to be both interesting and systematic. I will take the simplest case. A theorist makes an interesting assertion about phenomenon (a). His assertion is interesting because it counters his audience's previous belief about phenomenon (a). He discovers his assertion is also interesting in regard to phenomenon (b) because it also counters his audience's previous belief about phenomenon (b). But then he finds that the two phenomena with which he has been concerned — phenomenon (a) and phenomenon (b) — have a logical relationship that, through its own internal process, engenders a third phenomenon (c) and a fourth phenomenon (d).

让我试着从我的特殊困难中抽象出所有理论家在试图变得既有趣又有系统时必须面对的一般困难。我会选择最简单的情况。一个理论家对现象作出了有趣的断言。他的断言很有意思，因为它反驳了他的听众对现象(a)的信念。他发现他的断言在现象(b)方面也很有趣，因为它也反驳了他的听众以前对现象的看法(b)。但后来他发现，他所关注的两种现象ーー现象(a)和现象(b)ーー有一种逻辑关系，通过它自己的内部过程，产生了第三个现象(c)和第四个现象(d)。

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* b
* a c b d b

A c b d b

Now, if the theorist wishes to be systematic, he must further apply his assertion to phenomenon (c) and phenomenon (d). But he has no guarantee that this systematic application of his assertion to phenomenon (c) and phenomenon (d) will still be interesting because his assertion may not counter his audience's previous beliefs about phenomenon (c) and phenomenon (d).

现在，如果理论家希望系统化，他必须进一步将他的断言应用于现象(c)和现象(d)。但是他并不能保证这种系统地将他的断言应用于现象(c)和现象(d)仍然很有趣，因为他的断言可能与他的听众以前对于现象(c)和现象(d)的信念。

The great theorist, therefore, intuitively recognizing the potential decline of interest in his assertion as this assertion is applied to more and more phenomena, usually only implies these extensions, leaving it to his epigone to articulate his system and systematically fill in the vacant boxes. These less perceptive followers will apply their mentor's originally provocative assertion mechanically in the sense that they will not be attentive-as their mentor was — to the presuppositions about these new ics that their audience already holds.

因此，伟大的理论家，直观地认识到对他的断言的兴趣可能下降，因为这个断言被应用到越来越多的现象中，通常只是暗示这些扩展，留给他的epigone来表达他的系统和系统地填补空缺的盒子。这些缺乏洞察力的追随者将机械地运用他们导师最初的挑衅性断言，即他们不会像他们的导师那样注意到他们的听众已经持有的关于这些新兴学科的预设。

Systems begin interestingly enough, but there is much logical and sociological necessity for them not to end that way. One must usually choose between being interesting and being systematic. One cannot easily be both.

系统的开始非常有趣，但是他们不以这种方式结束有很多逻辑和社会学的必要性。人们通常必须在有趣和有系统性之间做出选择。一个人不可能两者兼得。

8. Conclusion

图8。结论

Phenomenology, as the term is generally used and as I have used it here, is the study of (mere) appearances on the sensory level and, more importantly for my purpose, (mere) assumptions on the cognitive level. The emphasis is on the "mere", for to call a phenomenon phenomenological implies that beyond what people see or assume there is something more real. But the term phenomenology has another, larger, meaning — developed by Hegel and Husserl — that includes not merely the seductively false appearances and assumptions, but the whole movement of the mind away from them

现象学，这个术语通常被使用，我在这里使用过，是研究感官层面的表象，更重要的是为了我的目的，(仅仅)认知水平上的假设。重点在于"纯粹"，因为把一种现象称为现象学意味着，除了人们所看到或假设的事物之外，还有更真实的东西。但是现象学这个术语有另一个更大的意义ーー由黑格尔和胡塞尔发展，不仅包括诱惑性的假象和假设，还包括整个心灵的运动远离它们

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towards the ontologically true. It is in this larger sense of the entire process that what I have tried to lay out in these pages is a Phenomenology of Sociology.

在本体论上是正确的。正是在这整个过程的更大意义上，我试图在这些页面中阐述的是社会学的现象学。

I have asserted that all social theories that are found interesting involve a certain movement of the mind of the audience who finds them so. These theories implicitly articulate the routinely taken-for-granted assumptions of the audience who finds them interesting, and then deny these presumptions in the name of some higher — or more fundamental — truth. Yet not only is sociology founded upon this phenomenological process, this phenomenological process is equally founded upon sociology, for the original assumptions of each segment of the audience — the starting points of this process — are differentially distributed over social space.

我断言，所有被发现有趣的社会理论都涉及到观众的某种思维运动，他们发现他们是如此。这些理论含蓄地阐述了那些认为这些假设很有趣的听众经常采取的理所当然的假设，然后以一些更高或更基本的真理的名义否认这些假设。然而，社会学不仅建立在这一现象学过程之上，而且这种现象学过程同样建立在社会学之上，因为每一个观众的原始假设ーー这个过程的出发点ーー在社会空间上的分布是不同的。

Therefore, in order to develop fully a field of inquiry that may be called The Sociology of the Interesting, the Phenomenology of Sociology, which studies the movement of the audience's mind from one accepted social theory to another, must be combined with the Sociology of Phenomenology, which studies the dissimilar baseline theories of diverse lay and professional audience segments from which this phenomenological process begins.

因此，为了充分发展一个调查领域，这个领域可以被称为有趣的社会学，社会学的现象学，研究观众的思想从一个公认的社会理论到另一种，必须与现象学社会学结合起来，这个社会学研究了不同的基础理论的不同的基础理论，从这个现象学过程开始。

It is important to distinguish the Sociology of Knowledge from the Sociology of the Interesting. The former is essentially a study of beliefs and assumptions; the latter is essentially a study of the breakdown and build up of beliefs and the transformation of assumptions. To be sure, the Sociology of Knowledge has studied the historical succession of ideologies, but, in its classic form at least (Mannheim, 1936), it has studied belief-systems as though they were static phenomena; it has considered the historical succession of belief-systems as the relatively sudden replacement of one static ideology by another static ideology. The Sociology of the Interesting, on the other hand, has a much less static, much more dynamic orientation. It focuses on the exact point at which one belief-system is being transformed into another belief-system. It focuses on the exact point at which the hold of an old theoretical assumption on some individuals or groups has weakened enough for them to begin to find a new — contradictory — theoretical proposition interesting. And it is concerned with discovering the precise sociological and phenomenological mechanisms of change. All this, however, does not mean that the Sociology of Knowledge should be replaced by the Sociology of the Interesting. It does mean that the Sociology of Knowledge should be supplemented by the Sociology of the Interesting, for crucial aspects of our changing theoretical structures that are necessarily obscured from the perspective of the former will be more clearly revealed from the perspective of the latter.

重要的是要把知识社会学与有趣的社会学区分开来。前者本质上是对信念和假设的研究;后者基本上是对信念的分解和建立以及假设的转变的研究。诚然，知识社会学研究了意识形态的历史演替，但是，至少在其经典形式(曼海姆，1936年)，它研究了信仰系统，就好像它们是静态现象一样;它认为信仰系统的历史演替是另一种静态意识形态相对突然地取代了静态意识形态。另一方面，《有趣的社会学》则没有那么静态，更有活力的定位。它侧重于一种信仰系统正在转变为另一种信仰系统的确切时间点。它关注的是对某些个人或群体的旧理论假设的确切要求已经削弱到足以使他们开始找到一个新的ーー矛盾的ー理论命题。它关注的是发现变化的精确的社会学和现象学机制。然而，所有这些并不意味着知识社会学应该被有趣的社会学所取代。它的确意味着，知识社会学应该辅之以有趣的社会学，从前者的角度来看，我们不断变化的理论结构的关键方面将从后者的角度更加清楚地显示出来。

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The foregoing discussion of the interesting gives us a model of scientific revolutions quite different from the one given by Thomas Kuhn (1962). Kuhn maintains, roughly, that a concrete experience that is anomalous to a previous set of scientific assumptions and interpretative procedures (paradigms) motivates scientists to look for a new set of scientific assumptions and interpretative procedures (paradigms) that explains the anomalous experience better than the old. But to view most scientists as unwilling to make a major change in the accepted conceptual scheme until some concrete anomaly forces them to is

上述有趣的讨论为我们提供了一个与托马斯·库恩(1962)所提出的不同的科学革命模型。库恩坚持认为，与先前的一套科学假设和解释程序(范式)不同的具体经验促使科学家寻找一套新的科学假设和解释程序(范式)，这种模式比旧的更能解释异常的经验。但是，大多数科学家不愿意对公认的概念方案做出重大改变，直到一些具体的异常力量迫使他们这样做

to attribute to most scientists a conservatism and lack of personal ambition that surely cannot be that common a personality characteristic even among natural scientists let alone social scientists. In opposition to Kuhn, I would contend that sheer boredom with the old routinely accepted paradigm and desire to make a name for themselves would motivate many scientists to look for anomalies unexplainable by the old paradigm but explainable by a new one (preferably of their own devising), rather than merely wait for the anomalies to crop up by themselves. One can acquire more professional status by attaching one's reputation to a rising new paradigm than by being the handmaiden of a declining old paradigm. The best way to make a name for oneself in an intellectual discipline is to be interesting — denying the assumed while affirming the unanticipated.

在大多数科学家看来，保守主义和个人野心的缺失，即使在自然科学家中也不可能有那么普遍的个性特征，更不用说社会科学家了。与库恩相反，我认为，对于那些老式的常规范式的无聊和为自己树立名声的渴望会激励许多科学家去寻找旧范式无法解释的异常现象，而不是仅仅等待异常现象自行出现，而是用一种新的(最好是由他们自己设计的)解释清楚，而不是等待异常现象自己出现。一个人可以通过将自己的声誉与一个新的范式联系起来，而不是成为一个衰落的旧范式的女仆。在知识纪律中为自己赢得名声的最好方法是有趣的——否定假设，同时肯定未曾预料到的事情。

Yet one must be careful not to go too far. There is a fine but definite line between asserting the surprising and asserting the shocking, between the interesting and the absurd. An interesting proposition, we saw, was one that denied the weakly held assumptions of its audience. But those who attempt to deny the strongly held assumptions of their audience will have their very sanity called into question.7 They will be accused of being lunatics; if scientists, they will be called crackpots. If the difference between the inspired and the insane is only in the degree of tenacity of the particular audience assumptions they choose to attack, it is perhaps for this reason that genius has always been considered close to madness.

然而，人们必须小心，不要走得太远。在断言令人惊讶的和断言令人震惊之间，有趣的和荒谬的之间有一条细微而明确的界限。我们看到了一个有趣的命题，它否定了观众的虚弱假设。但是那些试图否定他们观众的强烈假设的人将会对他们的理智产生疑问。7他们会被指责为疯子;如果科学家，他们将被称为疯子。如果灵感和疯狂之间的区别只是在于他们选择攻击的特定观众的坚韧程度，也许正是因为这个原因，天才一直被认为是近乎疯狂的。

In this essay, I have tried to put forward a new way of analyzing theoretical propositions. 1 believe it is as important to learn why a theory is found interesting by some audience as it is to ascertain the truth of its content or the logic of its form.

本文试图提出一种新的理论命题分析方法。1.相信了解为什么一个理论被一些听众感兴趣是同样重要的，因为它是为了确定其内容的真实性或其形式的逻辑。

This essay, then, has been both a description and an exhortation. It has been a description insofar as I have tried to designate those factors that have made the writings of great theorists so interesting, It has been an exhortation insofar as 1 have urged my readers to become more aware of these factors in order to make their own writings more

因此，这篇文章既是一种描述，也是一种劝告。这是一个描述，因为我试图指出那些使伟大理论家的著作变得如此有趣的因素，这是一种劝告，因为我已经敦促我的读者更多地意识到这些因素，以便使他们自己的著作更加丰富

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interesting. I contend that the generation of interesting theories ought to be the object of as much attention as the verification of insipid ones. This report should be regarded as an introductory investigation of that residual category of 'genius' that separates the great theorists from the mediocre. So what? Who cares?

有意思。我认为，有趣的理论的产生应该像核实那些乏味的理论一样引人注目。这份报告应该被看作是对将伟大理论家和平庸者区分开的"天才"剩余类别的介绍性调查。那又怎样？谁在乎呢？

Notes 1 However, a person might find interesting a proposition that affirms one of his assumptions if this assumption has lately been strongly attacked by others. Those whose beliefs have been recently weakened welcome new supports for old suppositions. ("Just as I always thought!")

然而，如果这个假设最近受到其他人的强烈攻击，一个人可能会发现一个有趣的命题，这个假设肯定了他的一个假设。那些信仰最近被削弱的人们欢迎新的支持旧的假设。("正如我一直认为的那样!")

2 The quality of being imaginative, which interesting theorists are praised for possessing, consists less of their ability to imagine inventively something novel than of their ability to imagine empathetically what others consider to be traditional.

2富有想象力的品质——有趣的理论家因为拥有它而受到赞扬——与其说他们有能力可悲地想象别人认为是传统的东西的能力。

3 The Vanguard Assumption of the young is derived from a proposition that has attempted to refute the Contemporary Assumption of the old in the following way. Many propositions that the older generation had found interesting become transformed into assumptions that the younger generation find routine. Consequently, those propositions that have interested the older generation — i.e. those that have attempted to refute their own taken-for-granted assumptions — may no longer appeal to the younger generation because these propositions may no longer have a dialectical impact on the younger generation's own taken-for-granted assumptions. They have become the younger generation's taken-for-granted assumptions! Freudian insights, for instance, do not seem to arouse much interest in the young today because the young today already assume the sex drive to be a prime motivator of human behavior.

3年轻人的先锋假设源于一个试图以下列方式反驳旧的当代假设的命题。年长一代发现的许多有趣的主张都变成了年轻一代发现常规的假设。因此，那些使老一代感兴趣的主张——即那些试图驳斥他们自己的理所当然的假设的人ーー可能不再吸引年轻一代，因为这些主张可能不再对年轻一代自己的理所当然的假设产生辩证的影响。他们已经成为年轻一代认为理所当然的假设！例如，弗洛伊德学派的洞察力似乎并没有引起年轻人的兴趣，因为今天的年轻人已经假设性欲是人类行为的主要动力。

4 Jargon is the failure to translate a proposition from one universe of discourse to another. It retains the interestingness of a proposition by actually re-restricting its audience to those very experts who found it interesting in the first place, for jargon is a meaningful unit of discourse only in relation to the baseline assumption of an intellectual specialty.

4.行话是指不能将一个命题从一个话语空间转化为另一个宇宙。它保留了一个命题的趣味性，它实际上将其受众重新限制在那些首先觉得有趣的专家，因为行话是一个有意义的话语单元，只是在知识专长的基线假设上。

5 Although it might be thought that the "review of the literature" section of research articles and books serves this function, in most cases it does not do so adequately. Most social researchers do not clearly understand that the purpose of their review of the literature is to articulate the assumptions of their audience, and not merely to fulfil a

5.虽然可以认为，研究文章和书籍中的"文献审查"一节起到了这种作用，但在大多数情况下，它并没有充分发挥这一作用。大多数社会研究人员并不清楚地明白，他们对文学作品的审查目的是阐明读者的假设，而不仅仅是实现一个

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rhetorical ritual. Nor do they clearly understand that the purpose of the rest of their research presentation is to increase our interest by refuting these assumptions, and not merely to "increase our knowledge" by confirming or ignoring them.

修辞仪式。他们也没有清楚地认识到，其余研究报告的目的是通过驳斥这些假设来提高我们的兴趣，而不仅仅是通过确认或忽视这些假设来"增加我们的知识"。

6 Should there be more than one other accepted theory about the ic or should it not be clear what this other accepted theory is, the student will also have to handle the preliminary problem, treated in a previous section, of cohering the various competitors of his own theory into a single rival, before he can even attempt to vanquish them. "Unite and conquer" is the motto of every successful social theorist.

6.如果关于集成电路有不止一种被接受的理论，或者不清楚这个其他被接受的理论是什么，学生也将不得不处理的初步问题，处理在前一部分，将他自己的理论的不同竞争者凝聚成一个对立的竞争对手，然后他才能试图征服他们。"团结和征服"是每一位成功的社会理论家的座右铭。

7 More precisely: Up to a certain point, the more strongly an audience holds an assumption, the more interesting they will find the proposition that denies it. But beyond this point, the more strongly an audience holds an assumption, the more insane they will consider anyone who attempts to deny it. Anyone who attempts to deny his audience's beliefs about natural and social phenomena past this point is, in effect, attacking his audience's very sanity. The audience, in this case, can save its own sanity only by accusing him of losing his.

7更准确地说:在一定程度上，观众越是坚持一个假设，他们就会越感兴趣地发现否定它的主张。但是在这个观点之外，观众越是坚持一个假设，他们就越会认为任何人试图否认这个假设。任何试图否定他的听众对过去的自然和社会现象的信仰，实际上是在攻击他的听众的理智。在这种情况下，观众只有通过指责他失去了自己的理智，才能保持自己的理智。

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