

论汉语韵律的形态功能与句法演变的历史分期

On Morphological Function of Prosody and the Chronologies of Syntactic Changes in Chinese

冯胜利

哈佛大学 北京语言大学

Based previous work on prosodic syntax in the past decade, this paper proposes that (1) prosody itself functions as a functional category in syntax. It is further argued that (2) the prosodic effects caused by prosodic morphology are actually triggers of syntactic operations and changes in Chinese history. It is also shown that the morphological system of Old Chinese had changed from a system of segmental-phonologic morphology to a system of supersegmental-phonologic morphology. Finally, it is argued that the history of syntactic changes in ancient Chinese could be chronologized into two major periods: one with a segmental-phonological morphology before Eastern Han and the other with a supersegmental phonological morphology after the Han, giving rise to a subsequent typological change from syntheticity to analyticity.

经过过去十多年的研究，韵律制约词法和句法的作用日益显著。本文即在以往研究的基础上进而提出：（1）韵律本身具有形态的语法功能；（2）韵律的这种形态功能在句法史上扮演着促发演变的重要角色。文章继而提出，（3）上古汉语曾经历了从音段形态(segmental-phonologic morphology)到超音段形态(supersegmental-phonologic morphology)的历史演变，因而（4）汉语史的分期可以形态的类型为标志，将其二分为东汉以前“音段形态类型”的综合型语言(synthetic language)和东汉以后逐步形成的“超音段形态”为主的分析型语言(analytic language)两大类型。