韻律特徵和韻律單位的類型學研究

張洪明

澳門科技大學，美國威斯康星大學麥迪遜校區

　　韻律特徵的類型學性質與人類語言的韻律層級單位密切相關，其完整的韻律單位清單包括各個不同的層次，諸如韻素、音節、音步/音塊、韻律詞、黏附組，音系短語，語調短語和話語。任何特定語言的韻律單位可以在韻律層級結構的不同層次上找到表達，這是普遍語法的一部分。但特定語言不一定包括韻律層級結構上的所有單位，這是語言類型學的表現。特定語言編碼的韻律單位集取決於該語言是否具有定義這些韻律單位的參數。以"音步"為例，它是一個與二元凸顯節律對比相關的重音語言韻律層級結構單位；與重音相關的參數特徵包括凸顯性、可預測性、節律性、累積性、層級性等。然而，作為一種沒有音系學意義節律二元對立的聲調語言，漢語在詞層面沒有結構性、範疇化的重音。輕聲並不等同於非重音音節。與其他聲調相比，輕聲的音系表現是聲調變化過程，如延展、降階、升階、下浮、浮游、調階、變調、中和等。與重音音節相對，非重音音節是節律運作過程，如抑揚、揚抑、衝突，抵觸、行合併等。詞層面的輕重音也非句層面的輕重讀。語音學中的參數，如音高、音強和音長等，無法在類型學上範疇化地分辨聲調語言、重音語言和音調音高語言之間的差異，因為這是音系學的概念，而非語音學的概念。

　　本演講將通過詳析聲調、輕重音、音調音高、音步、音塊、語音學、音系學、必要條件、充要條件等概念之異同，在類型學框架內證明，聲稱漢語北京話是重音語言這種說法既在概念上是錯誤的，在實驗上也毫無根據。北京話不具備語言類型分類所需的重音語言的任何音系屬性和語音特質。

Typological Studies of Prosodic Features and Prosodic Units

Hongming Zhang

Macau University of Science and Technology / University of Wisconsin-Madison

The typological nature of prosodic features is closely related to the prosodic hierarchical units of a human language, a complete inventory of which will contain various levels including the mora, the syllable, the foot/phonological chunk, the prosodic word, the clitic group, the phonological phrase, the intonation phrase, and the utterance. The prosodic units of any specific language can find expression on different levels of the prosodic hierarchy, which is part of Universal Grammar, but a specific language may not necessarily include all the units on the prosodic hierarchy. The set of prosodic units a specific language encodes depends on whether

this language makes use of the parameter that defines these prosodic units. To take 'foot' for example, one of the prosodic units on the prosodic hierarchy relevant to stress languages with binary-contrast: the features of the parameter relevant to the stress include prominence, predictability, rhythmicity, culminativity, hierarchical structure, etc. However, as a tonal language without binary-contrast, Chinese does not have structural categorized stress on the lexical level. The neutral tone is not equivalent to the unstressed syllable. As opposed to other tones, its phonological demonstration is the tone changing process, such as spreading, downstep, upstep, downdrift, floating, tone terracing, tone sandhi, neutralization, etc. The unstressed syllable, in contrast to the stressed syllable, is the process of metrical operation, such as iambic, trochee, clash, line conflation, etc. To distinguish tone and stress, we should employ phonological means, rather than phonetic ways. The parameters in phonetics like pitch, intensity, and duration are not workable to distinguish the differences holding among tone, stress and pitch-accent which are concepts in phonology instead of phonetics.

Within the typological framework presented here, I will demonstrate that it would be conceptually misguided and empirically groundless to claim that Mandarin Chinese is a stress language, as the language does not possess any of the phonological properties required of such a phonological classification.