### ARTICLE FOR DISCUSSION

## A CHINESE PHONOLOGICAL ENIGMA $\textbf{Geoffrey Sampson}^*$

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#### ABSTRACT

Recent cross-language research has yielded strong statistical evidence in support of the idea, advocated by André Martinet and widely accepted by linguists, that languages avoid adopting sound-changes which would create many homophones. Yet we know that the history of Chinese phonology has been marked by repeated phoneme mergers and losses which led to a very high incidence of homophony, forcing the monomorphemic vocabulary of the classical language to be replaced by a largely bimorphemic modern vocabulary. This paper examines various ways in which this apparent contradiction might be resolved. None seems fully satisfactory, yet some resolution must exist.

#### KEYWORDS

Homophones Homophony avoidance Functional yield Functional load Martinet

# 汉语音韵里的一个谜 散复生

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提要

安德烈·马蒂内(André Martinet)提出对于会产生很多同音异义词的变音形式,语言会避免引入;该观点已广为语言学家们所接受。近期的跨语言研究已提供有力的统计数据来支持这一观点。然而,我们知道汉语音韵学的发展历史特点是音素的不断合并和丢失,导致同音现象的几率很高, 使得古代语言的单音素词汇被以双音素为主的现代词汇所代替。本文考察了各种不同的方法来尝试解决这个突出的矛盾。似乎没有一种方法完全令人满意, 然而某种解决方法肯定存在。

关键词

同音字词 同音异义回避 功能效益 功能负荷量 安德烈