3. PRONOUNS AND MEASURE WORDS

Repetitive pronominal forms and the phenomenon of repeating measure words in the total corpus of the four language groups will be treated in this chapter.

Repetition of pronouns hardly exists in Sinitic speech forms. Only one instance of repetition applicable to this word class was found in the whole Chinese corpus, with an emphatic function, which is presumably what Yuan's (1989: 48-49) characterization of the meaning of the repetitive form as expressing a specific place (具體 位置) in relation to the sense of the unrepeated base morpheme, amounts to. Yuan thus claims that emphatic repetition of demonstrative pronouns referring to place is an active process in the Xi'an dialect of the north-western Mandarin dialect group. E.g.:

<div align="center">

你 的 站 在 這這 等 著
you (pl.) stand prep. here wait part.
'(You) wait here (and nowhere else).'

</div>

The Tibeto-Burman languages seem to be different in this respect, at least as far as Jingpo and Tangut are concerned. In Jingpo, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns may undergo repetition. Within personal pronouns, with the exclusion of the first person plural inclusive forms of possessive pronouns and reflexive pronouns, all other forms can be repeated with an emphatic function. Monosyllabic base forms are repeated as such (A —> AA) while disyllabic pronominal morphemes duplicate the final syllable (AB —> ABB) (Xu Xijian 1990: 54). E.g.:

<div align="center">

ŋai33   —>   ŋai33 ŋai33   'I'
ʃan55 the33 —>   ʃan55 the33 the33 'they'

</div>

Repeated demonstrative pronouns are, in like manner with personal pronouns, emphatic in meaning (Xu Xijian 1990: 54). The structural conditioning is identical with personal pronoun forms. E.g.:

<div align="center">

n33 tai33 tai33   'this'
tho55 ʒa31 ʒa31   'that'

</div>

Jingpo possesses specific qualitative demonstrative pronouns, which serve as modifiers or adverbs in a syntactic context. The semantic function of repetition is again emphasis. Note the difference of tones in the repetitive part (ABB-) (Xu Xijian 1990: 54). E.g.:

ʃa55 lo51 lo31	'like that, in that way, so'
n55 lo51 lo31	'like this, this way, so, such'

Repetition of interrogative pronouns has a pluralizing function in Jingpo (Xu Xijian 1990: 54-55). E.g.:

ka31 tai33 tai33	'who (pl.)'
ka31 te?55 te?55	'whose (pl.)'
ka31 ʒa31 ʒa31	'which (pl.)'
ka31 loi55 loi55	'what time (pl.)'
ka31 naŋ55 naŋ55	'what place (pl.)'
ka31 niŋ31 niŋ31	'how (pl.)'

Ma (1988: 36) claims that there are only three monosyllabic pronominal forms in Tangut which may be subjected to duplication, namely *r̥iu̯* 'all, various', a determinative pronoun, *ŋa* 'I' and *je* 'self'. Repetition of *r̥iu̯* (—> *r̥iu̯ r̥iu̯*) brings along with it an expansion in attributive scope as the non-repeated form is strictly a modifier of nominals while the duplicated item may also modify verbs (Ma 1988: 37). Ma (1988: 37) is not able to specify what semantic function the repetition of the first person singular pronoun *ŋa* (—> *ŋa ŋa*) and that of the indefinite pronoun *je* (—> *je je*) serves.

The only language that allows pronominal duplication in the corpus of the Tai group is Li, in which the possibility of the process, with an emphatic meaning, is restricted to one lexeme, the monosyllabic indefinite pronoun *ran55* 'every, each' (Ouyang & Zheng 1980: 24-25). E.g.:

ran55	ran55	tsuːn53	u55	aːu53	rɯ11	na53
every	every	Cl[97]	person	all	like	he

'Everybody likes him.'

Otherwise, there is no mention of such a possibility in connection with the other Tai languages in the corpus, except for a categorical denial of the application of repetition to pronouns in Shui (Zhang Junru 1980: 35).

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97   Cl = classifier. Classifiers are alternatively called measure words.

Vietnamese expresses distributivity with the following repetitive disyllabic (AA) and four-syllable (AABB) personal pronoun[98] and disyllabic indefinite pronoun forms:

ta ta	'we all'
tao tao nó nó	'I and he (individually)'[99]
chi chi	'anything, whatever (unit) individually'[100]
mỗi mỗi	'each, every (unit) individually'
(Thompson 1965: 151)	

When the Vietnamese interrogative pronouns *ai* 'who' and *sao* 'why, how' are duplicated, the former becomes indefinite in meaning while the latter is distributive:

ai ai	'anyone, anybody'[101]
sao sao	'however (individually)'
(Hoang et al. 1995: 13; Thompson 1965: 151)	

Speakers of Wa seem to be able to express such an indefinite pronominal meaning as 'so much' either with a monosyllabic lexeme or alternatively with an alliterative repetitive form derived from the monosyllabic base:

diŋ 'so much'   —>   diŋ dot 'so much'
(Zhou & Yan 1984: 28)

The only instance of repetitive pronominal forms contained in the Miao-Yao sub-corpus is opaque to the extent of constituting an independent disyllabic lexeme in the lexicon of the Thailand Miao variant (Green Miao) (Lyman 1974: 26). The lexeme in question has an indefinite meaning. E.g.:

kuv	muaj	ntaw	ntaw	lub	tsev
I	have	many		Cl	house

'I have many houses.'

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98   The Standard Vietnamese personal pronoun paradigm has some empty slots (see e.g. Thompson 1965: 248) which are filled in usage by kinship terms, names of professions and other terms of reference for human beings.

99   Besides belonging in the set of properly pronominal forms, both *tao* and *nó* may imply a negative attitude towards the addressee on the speaker's side but they may also imply familiarity between the interlocutors (Thompson 1965: 248-250).

100 *Chi* is a dialectal form (Dang & Le 1990:131).

101 The non-repeated *ai* also expresses indefinite meaning (see e.g. Dang & Le 1990: 10) so that repetition seems to apply vacuously, unless, of course, an emphatic nuance is part of the semantics of the repeated pronoun. This is, however, a question that only a native speaker can resolve as the sources used do not confirm such an assumption.

A distinctive areal characteristic of the whole set of languages in the corpus is the existence of the category of measure words, or classifiers as they are also called. The function of classifiers in general terms is to mark lexical items as belonging in particular semantic classes. Measure words tend to partake in productive repetition in every language group in the corpus. It is also worthy of note that semantically the duplication of measure words (/classifiers) quite regularly results in a form with a distributive meaning.

Due to the overlap of nouns and measure words, as proved by the nominal sub-category referred to as 'nouns also used as measure words' in a previous chapter (ch. 2), the focus in this chapter will be on 'measure words proper', by which in this context the so-called 'sortal' measure words are meant, i.e. those which individuate referents according to their form and not according to quantity as the so-called 'mensural' measure words or classifiers do. Mensural classifiers may be further divided into three sub-classes: (i) collective, (ii) measurement and (iii) containment classifiers. The first class is often seen as consisting of generic classifiers, expressing the meaning 'kind, sort', for example, and of non-generic classifiers (e.g. 'pair'), while a term with the meaning 'meter' obviously belongs in (ii) and 'dipper', for instance, partakes of (iii).

Sortal measure words in Standard Chinese and Cantonese are regularly monosyllabic and thus their repetition results in disyllabic forms (A —> AA). E.g.:

tiáo tiao (xīnwén)	'every item (of news)'[102]
gè ge (rén)	'every (person)'
zhāng zhāng (zhǐ)	'every sheet (of paper)'
piān piān (wénzhāng)	'every (article)'
(Li & Thompson 1981: 34-35)	

jek-jek (gúpiu)	'all shares'
tou-tou (hei)	'every film'
(Matthews & Yip 1994: 266)	

The Jingpo material in the corpus also offers examples of duplicated monosyllabic sortal measure words. The meaning of the resulting disyllabic forms is argued by Xu Xijian (1990: 58) as showing variation depending on the syntactic function: 'indeterminate plural' (='some') in the case of the subject, 'plural' when acting as a complement modified by an interrogative pronoun in a compound predicate formed with a copula, and 'distributive' when serving as a direct object or as an adverbial. The repeated items in the subsequent two sentences highlight the plural and distributive meanings (Xu Xijian 1990: 58; Si et al. 1983: 946):

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102   The item in parentheses is the noun which determines the choice of a specific classifier. The parentheses also indicate the possibility of the omission of a noun where the context makes the identity of a particular noun clear.

nan^{55} the^{33} a$?^{31}$ ko^{31} ka^{31} ʒa^{31} lok^{31} lok^{31} ʒe$?^{55}$ ma^{31}ni^{51}
you (pl.)   part. (poss.) part.   which   Cl^{103} be   part.[104]
'Which vegetable beds are yours?'

ka^{55} wa^{55} jan^{33} jan^{33} a^{55} ka$?^{31}$
bamboo   Cl^{105} take   part.[106]
'Let's each take a bamboo!'

Within the Tai group Mulao, Maonan, Dong and Lajia resemble Standard Chinese and Cantonese in their repetition of sortal classifiers and the resulting forms. E.g.:

mu^6 mu^6 'all (people)'[107]
toŋ^6 toŋ^6 'every (plant)'
at^7 at^7 'every (thing)'
(Mulao; Wang & Zheng 1980: 48)

dat^{23} dat^{23} 'every (fruit)'
ai^{42} ai^{42} 'all (people)'
(Maonan; Liang 1980b: 40)

muŋ^{31} muŋ^{31} 'every (person)'
nan^{55} nan^{55} 'every (thing)'
(Dong; Liang 1980a: 38)

lak^{24} lak^{24} 'every (person)'
tu^{231} tu^{231} 'every (thing)'
(Lajia; Mao et al. 1982: 145)

In Shui the repetition of sortal classifiers is restricted to a few items, otherwise the indefinite pronouns *tsap^{43}* and *jən^{31}* (='every, each') are used (Zhang Junru 1980: 34). Dai and Li for their part, represent Tai speech forms where measure words simply cannot be repeated (Yu & Luo 1980: 38; Ouyang & Zheng 1980: 31).

Contrary to Wa, of which no examples of repetitive measure words are available – though Zhou & Yan (1984: 40) do not quite categorically deny the possibility of such formations – Vietnamese seems to share with Sinitic and Tai languages the

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103 A measure word for a vegetable bed.

104 A sentence final particle used at the end of questions with a 2nd person pl. subject (Si et al. 1983: 481).

105 A measure word referring to bamboo.

106 This sentence-final particle is used at the end of a request and implies that the subject is in the 1st pers.pl. (Si et al. 1983: 138).

107 The noun in parentheses in the English translation refers to the noun the classifier *mu^6* and the other Tai classifiers are determined by.

feature of creating disyllabic AA(-) forms with a distributive meaning out of mono-syllabic classifier bases. E.g.:

> cuốn cuốn   'every (book)'
> (Thompson 1965: 151)

The duplicated measure words in the Miao-Yao data are no exception in this respect as the consistency in expressing distributive meaning in the following set of AA(-) items indicates:

> laːn^{21} laːn^{21} 'every (person)'
> (Mian; Mao et al. 1982: 27)

> luŋ$^{33/44}$ luŋ$^{33/44}$ 'every (thing)'
> kuŋ$^{43/54}$ kuŋ$^{43/54}$ 'every (tree)'
> (Bunu; Mao et al. 1982: 78)

> nɔ$^{1/2}$ nɔ^{1} 'every (thing)'
> ʔdau^{2} ʔdau^{2} 'every (person)'
> (Hainan [Yao]; Lu 1987: 54, 57)

> tau^{21} tau^{21} 'every (person)'
> (Biaomin[108] [Yao]; Mao 1989: 41)

> đeiv đeiv   'every (leaf)'
> trăngz trăngz   'every (instrument)'
> tul tul   'every (animal)'[109]
> (Miao [Yao?], Vietnam; Nguyen Van Loi 1975: 22)

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108   According to Mao (1989: 38), however, Biaomin is a dialect of Mian.

109   *Tul* also refers to animals (Nguyen Van Loi 1975: 22).