4. ADJECTIVAL LEXEMES

The description of repetitive adjectival lexemes[110] differs in two respects from that of nominal items. First, there will be no division of the Sinitic adjectival corpus into sub-chapters on a semantic basis, but remarks concerning meaning are interspersed in the text of sub-chapters with the names of major dialect groups as titles. Second, there is a slight shift of focus in description from a repetitive lexeme/output dominance evident in ch. 2, over to a processual bias in the treatment of repetitive adjectival data. In other words, when in the case of repetitive nominal items, mostly conceptualized as established members of a particular lexicon, the exposition of the meaning and of the relative proportion of repetitive forms within a particular lexicon[111] was achieved through lists of lexemes subsumed under a specific semantic categorisation, the conceptualisation of repetitive adjectival lexemes as modifications of the same lexeme rather than independent lexemes, abolishes such lists as primary descriptive tools.

Naturally, this change of emphasis does not imply an absolute denial of the possibility of occurrence in the analysis below of presumably lexicalised repetitive adjectival forms, as the conception of repetitive nominals as predominantly separately listed lexical items does not exclude the possibility of occurrence of duplicative nominals generated by productive rules[112]. The reason for this shift of focus in the treatment of adjectival material resides mainly in the difference between what is generally achieved by nominal and adjectival repetition, respectively. The result of a duplicated noun is very often another noun referring to a distinct entity in comparison to the base noun, while a duplicated adjective most often expresses a modification, motivated by the requirements of an on-going discourse, of the same qualitative concept as referred to by the adjectival base. As it is not irrational to assume that the creation of a name for a separate entity in the experiential world of speakers of a particular speech community corresponds to primary communicative

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110 For consistency's sake the term 'lexeme' is also used to refer to the adjectival items in this chapter, despite the fact that the emphasis is more on the processual aspect of repetition than in chapter 2, which means that often a form exemplifying a particular repetitive pattern is probably neither stored in the memory of native speakers nor would it correspondingly be listed as a separate entry in a dictionary.

111 To convey such an idea is naturally possible only with speech forms represented by larger nominal sub-sets within the whole corpus, i.e. Sinitic speech forms and Vietnamese.

112 Such sub-sets of nouns as those with temporal reference and those referring to place plus a few other nouns seem to stand as good candidates for repetitive nouns produced by rules rather than stored as entries in the lexicon due to the modification of the meaning of what can be regarded as a base form (see 2.1.1.6, 2.1.1.8).

needs and thus tends to have lexical consequences in the form of a new entry in the respective lexicon, it is equally reasonable to suppose that such inherently ephemeral phenomena as repetitive modifications of a cognitively unitary qualitative concept will not lend themselves as easily to lexicalisation, but are rather produced by means of general linguistic rules when the need arises. The choice of metalinguistic terms by other linguists, e.g. Chao (1970: 205-210) and Li & Thompson (1981: 32), when they define the purpose of adjectival repetition as giving more vivid meaning to the original word or modifying its degree of intensity, supports the proposed unitary view with regard to adjectives.

The set of pronouns and measure words/classifiers treated in the previous chapter, for example, resembles adjectives more than nominals in that the purpose of their repetition seems to be quite generally to modify the meaning of an unrepeated base form. The sub-set of nouns labelled as 'nouns also used as measure words' are similar in this respect to what have been called 'measure words proper' (='sortals') in the study.

The principles of the notational system introduced in ch. 2 are also valid in this chapter and the notational lexicon will be complemented if necessary. The definitions used to determine the accepted set of repetitive nominal lexemes in ch. 2 are likewise applicable to the set of adjectival lexemes treated in this chapter with less weight on definition (iv) (p. 5) in the present context than in the case of nominals, due to the shift of emphasis mentioned above.

4.1. THE SINITIC GROUP

The set of adjectival repetitive lexemes in Sinitic speech forms will, in like manner to the nominal data, be treated in terms of the classification in Yuan (1989) with the difference that this time the names of major dialect groups serve as titles of sub-chapters. The distribution of the items in the adjectival corpus between various Sinitic speech forms deviates from that of the nominal corpus in including lexemes from Hakka and Gan, and in offering a sizeable sub-corpus from the Yue group, whose representatives were almost absent from the nominal data. The appearance or notable increase in size of the sub-corpora of the dialect groups mentioned is, however, counterbalanced by reductions in the size of the adjectival sub-corpus in other Sinitic groups.

Items from Old Chinese will be treated together with those from Standard Chinese. The practice of using the term 'Mandarin' (= 北方話)[113] as a head modified by the name of a cardinal point when referring to what might generally be called non-standard Mandarin speech forms, will be retained.

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113   See Norman (1988: 181), for example.

Although Sinitic speech forms are deemed notorious for their resistance to formal word classification due to the paucity of morphological affixes, the term 'adjective' is used in this chapter in the traditional sense to refer to members of a lexical category that designates a property, primarily for two reasons: first, the Chinese sources do not seem to be much bothered by the problems of word class adherence as they avail themselves quite freely of the corresponding Chinese term (= 形容詞) when discussing relevant lexical forms; second, as the term in question is familiar it is immediately understood by everyone without the necessity of a definition. Since analysts whose native language is Chinese feel quite comfortable in classifying lexical forms as adjectives, the application of this term cannot be totally misleading.

Gan's recent account (1993) of repetition[114] in Mandarin Chinese, by which he means 'the modern Standard Chinese language' (Gan 1993: 11), has provided a great amount of up-to-date material for the following exposition of adjectival repetition in Sinitic speech forms.

4.1.1. Standard and Old Chinese

Gan (1993: 78-102) distinguishes nine structurally different repetitive adjectival patterns in Standard Chinese, i.e. AA, AABB, ABB, ABCC, AABC, AAB, A-*li*-AB, A-*bu*-BB[115] and ABAB, which is five more than in Li & Thompson (1981: 32-36), for example, who have recognized AA, AABB, AAB and ABB[116]. Chao's (1970: 199) list of repetitive patterns has nothing to offer by way of an addition to Gan's list.

Gan (1993: 72) makes a point of reducing adjectives and adverbs to a single category, which is what other analysts are also prone to do, if not so straightforwardly, by stating that many duplicated monosyllabic adjectives can also function as modifiers of verbs, i.e. adverbs (see also Li & Thompson 1981: 32; Chao 1970: 207-208). The meaning of a repetitive disyllabic AA item derived from a monosyllabic base morpheme is regularly intensifying, that is, increase in form corresponds to increase in meaning, which in the case of a quality can be paraphrased as 'more/very much of X'. E.g.:

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114   Gan uses the traditional term 'reduplication'.

115   Rather A-*bu*-BBC, see p. 91.

116   Gan (1993: 72) argues that Li & Thompson should have recognized only two structural patterns of adjectival duplicatives, i.e. AA and AABB, but a more careful inspection of their text reveals two examples of which one can be matched with the AAB pattern (*bēngbeng cuì* 'crackling crisp') and one complies with the ABB pattern (*lěng bīngbīng* 'cold as ice') (Li & Thompson 1981: 36).

| hóng | 'red' | —> | hóng hong (de)[117] | 'rather red' |
| cháng | 'long' | —> | cháng chang (de) | 'rather long' |

(Gan 1993: 78-79)

Gan (1993: 82-83) maintains that there are quite a number of disyllabic adjectives in the AA pattern for which an independent base morpheme cannot be found, or if there is one, then a semantic connection between the meaning of the duplicative item and the monosyllabic morpheme cannot be plausibly established. E.g.:

| táng táng | 'dignified, impressive' |
| xióng xióng | 'flaming, ablaze' |

The existence of such baseless disyllabic AA items can be easily verified by browsing through a dictionary. The following set is a selection of adjectival lexemes of this type:

zī zī	'diligent, industrious'
sān sān	'(of hair, twigs, etc.) thin and long'
xī xī	'(formal) vexed, troubled'
jiān jiān	'(formal) small, tiny'
zhēn zhēn	'(formal) luxuriant, overgrown with brambles'
qī qī	'(lit.) luxuriant, lush'
qīn qīn	'(formal) like a galloping horse'
tiáo tiáo	'far away, remote'
xìng xìng	'angry, resentful'
jiǒng jiǒng	'(formal) (of eyes) bright, shining'
xǔ xǔ	'vivid, lively'
yàng yàng	'disgruntled, sullen'
bīn bīn	'(formal) refined'
chōng chōng	'laden with anxiety, careworn'
kū kū	'(formal) diligent, industrious, assiduous'
mǎng mǎng	'(lit.) vast and boundless'

(Wei et al. 1995: 1361, 859, 1077, 468, 1306, 769, 802, 999, 1140, 520-521, 1147, 1180, 63, 137, 565, 662)

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117 Very often Chinese analysts are prone to provide isolated examples of duplicative adjectival/ adverb forms with a particle attached after them, which in the case of Standard Chinese is 'de'. Gan's explication (1993: 80) of this element makes it clear that for some reason the particle has been carried over from a purely syntactic framework to a context where it does not necessarily belong. This is why it is placed in parentheses contrary to Gan's exemplifications but in accordance with the practice established in ch. 2.

An obvious explanation for these items is that they are lexicalised outputs of a repetitive process active some time in the past in the workings of the Sinitic speech form(s) on which the codified modern standard language has been founded.

Standard Chinese disyllabic adjectives are repeated by duplicating the constituent syllables of the base contiguously one after the other (AB —> AABB). As with repeated monosyllables, Gan (1993: 84) argues that the repetition of disyllables has regular intensifying semantic results. E.g.:

| gān jìng | 'clean' | —> | gān gan jìng jìng | 'very clean' |
| zhěng qí | 'orderly' | —> | zhěng zheng qí qí | 'very orderly' |

Although most monosyllabic adjectives can be subjected to duplication, as argued by Gan (1993: 78), who cites *huá* 'slippery' as an example of an exception to the dominant tendency, Li & Thompson (1981: 33) state that the number of disyllabic adjectives barred from repetition is far greater than is the case with monosyllabic adjectives. Unfortunately, no hard and fast rules can be set to determine which adjectives are and which adjectives are not eligible to serve as inputs to the repetitive process. Here are some of the disyllabic items listed by Li & Thompson (1981: 33-34) as incapable of undergoing repetition in Standard Chinese:

róngyì	'easy'
kùnnán	'difficult'
yánzhòng	'serious, grave'
yúbèn	'stupid'
pínqióng	'impoverished'

It may come as something of a surprise that even such presumably frequent Standard Chinese adjectives as *róngyì* and *kùnnán* cannot be repeated.

According to Gan (1993: 86-87), there is a set of adjectival AABB repetitive lexemes which are derived from verbs[118]. The verbal bases are of two kinds: (i) two juxtaposed verbs or (ii) disyllabic verbs. E.g.:

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[118] Perhaps due to the adjective-verb and adjective-adverb overlapping in Standard Chinese (Gan 1993: 81, 72), forms seem to be variably construed either as verbs, adjectives or adverbs in the source materials. Because of this overlap Gan (1993: 72), for example, collapses adjectives and adverbs into one category, having as a further motivation for this procedure the fact that the two classes of items according to him go through quite similar processes of repetition. This feature of multiple membership of certain lexical items is exemplified by the way the examples under (i) and (ii) are treated. *Pǎo pǎo tiào tiào*, for example, is translated into English with a verb ('skip along') in Wei et al. (1995: 739) but seems to function as an adverb in the sentence given there as an example of its usage. *Kě ke bàn bàn* is provided with an adjectival renderings by Wei et al. (1995: 553) while Gan has added the suffix *-ly* to one of the English counterparts both here and under (ii) in his translation of the duplicative of *láodao*. The present work is consistent in using adjectival English counterparts in the translations of the duplicative forms in question, a procedure which can hardly be regarded as a distortion of linguistic facts as it only aspires to comply with the theme of the chapter in emphasizing one aspect in the multiple membership of the items in question.

(i)   pǎo   tiào   —>   pǎo pǎo tiào tiào   'vivacious (especially of a child)'
       run   jump

       kē   bàn   —>   kē ke bàn bàn   'bumpy, limping'
       bump jump

(ii)   láodao 'chatter'   —>   láo lao dāo dāo   'garrulous'

Gan (1993: 85-86) notes further that there are adjectival lexemes patterned as
AABB for which no AB bases can be found. These forms give the impression of
being derived from the juxtaposition of two repeated morphemes. E.g.:

       mǎn man dāng dāng   'full to the brim'
       zhàn zhàn jīng jīng   'trembling with fear and trepidation'
       yǐng yǐng chuò chuò   'vague and dim'
       wěi wěi nuò nuò   'submissive and obedient'

A closer inspection of the Standard Chinese lexicon reveals that such
quadrisyllabic adjectival repetitive lexemes with no listed base forms are by no
means a rare phenomenon. E.g.:

       guǐ guǐ suì suì   'sneaking, furtive, stealthy'
       sōng song kuǎ kuǎ   'not solid or firm, unsteady; slack, sluggish'
       qū qū wān wān   'winding, meandering'
       bèng bèng tiào tiào   'bouncing and vivacious'
       fēng fēng huǒ huǒ   'hustling and bustling; stirring'
       jǐ ji chā chā   'very crowded, packed tight, jammed together'
       (Wei et al. 1995: 365, 957, 816, 46, 290, 455)[119]

All the lexemes just cited are derived from independent repeated juxtaposed
morphemes (A + B —> AA + BB): *guǐ* 'ghost, spirit, apparition; stealthy, surrepti-
tious, etc.' + *suì* 'evil spirit, ghost; to haunt and plague' (Wei et al. 1995: 365,
965); *sōng* 'loose, slack' + *kuǎ* 'to collapse, fall, break down' (Wei et al. 1995:
957, 567); *qū* 'bent, curved; bend' + *wān* 'curved, tortuous, crooked' (Wei et al.
1995: 816, 1036); *bèng* 'to leap, jump, spring' + *tiào* 'to jump, leap, bounce' (Wei
et al. 1995: 46, 1000); *fēng* 'wind; air-dry, winnow; swift as the wind, etc.' + *huǒ*
'fire; fiery, flaming; urgent, pressing; anger, temper' (Wei et al. 1995: 289, 437); *jǐ*
'to squeeze, press' + *chā* 'to stick in, insert' (Wei et al. 1995: 455, 101).

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119   When a disyllabic adjective is duplicated the second syllable of the resulting repetitive form is
      tonally neutral (Li & Thompson 1981: 33). Among this set of items only *sōng song kuǎ
      kuǎ* and *jǐ ji chā chā* are regular in this sense while all the other members of the set
      have full tones on the second syllable. But all of them share the common feature of having
      no traceable disyllabic base.

The Standard Chinese lexicon contains pairs of lexemes, one quadrisyllabic and the other disyllabic, of which the latter could be regarded as the base of the former, but the meaning of the assumed derivative form does not seem to imply any obvious intensification in the quality referred to by the supposed base, if judged on the basis of the English translations. E.g.:

hào hào dàng dàng	'vast and mighty'
	(<— hào dàng 'vast and mighty')
lěng lěng qīng qīng	'cold and cheerless, desolate'
	(<— lěng qīng 'cold and cheerless, desolate')
mǎ mǎ hū hū	'careless, casual; not very good, etc.'
	(<— mǎ hū 'careless, casual')

(Wei et al. 1995: 388, 595, 653)

Of course, it takes a native speaker to determine whether there is a difference of meaning between these disyllabic and quadrisyllabic lexemes. The quadrisyllabic forms are similar to the majority of items in the previous set in that they do not neutralize the second syllable and thus do not comply with the regular pattern of repetitive forms derived from disyllabic adjectival bases.

There are also forms listed as members of the Standard Chinese vocabulary which are outwardly compatible with the AABB pattern with no corresponding disyllabic entry, but which seem to be composed of a duplicated independent mono-syllabic lexeme followed by a presumably indivisible disyllabic repetitive constituent. The latter is written with an otherwise homophonous character but for the tone. Note how the items in the set below comply with the regular repetitive pattern in having a tonally neutral second syllable:

è e shī shī	(惡惡實實)	'(dial.) fierce, ferocious'
hēi hei shī shī	(黑黑實實)	'(of a person) dark and sturdy'
máo mao tēng tēng	(毛毛騰騰)	'flurried and excited, flustered'
màn man tēng tēng	(慢慢騰騰)	'loiteringly slow'
mí mi zhēng zhēng	(迷迷怔怔)	'dazed, confused'

(Wei et al. 1995: 252, 395, 662, 660, 674)

The tones of both 實 and 騰 in their function as representing independent monosyllabic entries in the lexicon is rising (35) not level (55) and the respective meanings are 'solid; true, real, actual; reality, fact, etc.' for the former and 'to gallop, jump, prance; rise, soar; make room, clear out, vacate' for the latter (Wei et al. 1995: 909, 987). One of the functions of 騰 in the relevant entry is formulated as "used after certain verbs to show repeated actions" but the example of such a usage

does not contain duplicated 騰 in the level tone but a single 騰 in the rising tone[120] (翻騰 *fānténg* 'to seethe, rise, churn; to turn sth. over and over' [Wei et al. 1995: 265]). In the entry for 實 no such suffixal function has been recorded (see Wei et al. 1995: 909). These quadrisyllabic lexemes resemble trisyllabic repetitive ABB forms in having the BB part in the level tone. The 怔 in the last item differs from 實 and 騰 in having a level tone reading entered in Wei et al. (1995: 1309) with the meaning 'seized with terror, terrified, panic-stricken', but Wei et al. (1995: 1314) also features a falling tone reading, marked as dialectal, and translated into English as 'to stare blankly, be in a daze', which meaning seems to be also conveyed by an AA form (怔怔) and is obviously close to the meaning of *mí mi zhēng zhēng* (迷迷 怔怔), too.

The following two AABB adjectival lexemes presumably exemplify quadrisyllabic morphemes since none of the possible constituents represent independent entries in the Standard Chinese lexicon. Note how the formal regularity corresponding to the quadrisyllabic result of a duplicated disyllabic base is flawless all the way down to the toneless second syllable:

lī li lā lā	'(inf.) scattered, sporadic'
lī li luō luō	'(inf.) verbose and unclear in speech, rambling and indistinct'

(Wei et al. 1995: 596)

A nominal disyllabic lexeme, such as *gēda* 'a swelling on the skin, pimple, lump, etc.' (Wei et al. 1995: 324) can serve as a base for the derivation of a regular adjectival quadrisyllabic repetitive form:

gē da —> gē ge dā dā   '(inf.) rough, knotty, bumpy'

The structure of ABB adjectival lexemes usually consists of an adjectival base morpheme to which a repetitive modifying BB constituent is suffixed[121] to form a repetitive lexeme of the headword type[122], a descriptive term used by Yip & Zhang (1995: 39). All lexemes of the ABB type in Standard Chinese are not, however, always traceable, when not too opaque, back to the A + BB formative pattern. The form *liàng tāng tāng* (亮堂堂) 'brightly lit, brilliant', for example, is derived from *liàngtang* (亮堂) 'light, bright' (Yip & Zhang 1995: 39; Wei et al. 1995: 614). Yip & Zhang (1995: 39) bring out two repetitive adjectivals, *ruǎn mián mián* (軟綿綿) 'soft, weak' and *xiāng pēn pēn* (香噴噴) 'sweet-smelling, savoury, appetizing',

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120 Or alternatively with a neutral tone (Wei et al. 1995: 265).

121 Lu (1964: 114) uses a term usually translated as 'complement' in linguistic contexts to refer to the BB part in tripartite repetitive lexemes of the ABB type.

122 In other words, these ABB forms are compositional in meaning.

which according to them are derived rather unexpectedly from *mián ruǎn* (綿軟) 'soft, weak' and *pēn xiāng* (噴香)[123], respectively (Wei et al. 1995: 852, 1105, 677).

Gan (1993: 88-89) argues that there are two kinds of disyllabic suffixal BB elements in this category of repetitive adjectivals: some are onomatopoeic[124] in nature, e.g.:

rè hū hū	'very warm'
màn tēng tēng	'rather slow'
jǐn bā bā	'rather tight, hard up'
suān liū liū	'rather sour'
(Gan 1993: 89-90)	

while others can be analysed as being repetitions of a monosyllabic morpheme associated with a conventional meaning. E.g.:

lü	yōu yōu	'glossy gree (leaves, plants, etc.)'
green	oil	
guāng	tū tū	'rather bare'
bare	bald	
è	hěn hěn	'rather fierce, ferocious'
fierce	cruel	
(Gan 1993: 89)		

Gan (1993: 90) argues that as the modifying suffixal repetitive constituent has intensifying consequences for the meaning of the head adjectival lexeme, the adjectival repetitive lexemes of the ABB type are semantically similar to the duplicative items exemplifying the AA and AABB types. But it seems that the semantic scope of the trisyllabic type is ampler, ranging from intensifying (e.g. *rè hū hū* 'very warm') by way of less intensifying (e.g. *è hěn hěn* 'rather fierce') to the point of de-intensifying the relative amount of quality expressed by the base (e.g. *lěng sī sī* 'a bit chilly').

With the kind of signs used as Chinese characters, composite both in semantics and phonetics, there is always the temptation of interpreting or employing them as carriers of a conventional meaning in the cases where symbolisation of the phonetic content of a linguistic element only is meant. Gan (1993: 90-91) suggests that this may also be the case with the sort of ABB lexemes represented by *lü yōu yōu*,

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123   Curiously enough, Wei et al. (1995) does not recognize *pēn xiāng* as an entry.

124   The decision to exclude onomatopoeic items from our analysis (p. 3) refers to elements of a purely onomatopoeic nature.

guāng tū tū and *è hěn hěn* above. Yip & Zhang (1995: 47), echoing Gan (1993: 90) but using slightly different terminology, maintain that in most cases the BB duplicative part has no precise meaning and is used more as a phonaesthetic means to modify the meaning of the head.

Some ABB lexemes with an onomatopoeic BB part are according to Gan (1993: 91) in free variation with a corresponding regular AABB structure. E.g.:

lè hē hē/lè le hē hē	'rather happy and cheerful'
bìng yān yān/bìng bing yān yān	'rather sick and weary'
xiū dā dā/xiū xiu dā dā	'rather shy, bashful'
(Gan 1993: 91-92)	

Gan (1993: 92-93) distinguishes further deverbal (i) and denominal (ii) trisyllabic duplicative lexemes moulded after the ABB pattern. E.g.:

(i)	xiào 'smile'	—>	xiào xī xī	'smiling broadly'
	nào 'make noise'	—>	nào hōng hōng	'clamorous, noisy'
(ii)	xuè 'blood'	—>	xuè lín lín	'bloody, dripping with blood'
	hàn 'sweat'	—>	hàn jīn jīn	'sweaty, moist with sweat'

Some disyllabic nominal lexemes may also suffix an BB element after them with the same semantic effects as with monosyllabic heads, creating ABCC adjectival repetitive lexical items. E.g.:

qìshì	'manner'	—>	qìshì xiōng xiōng	'overbearing'
yānwù	'smoke, mist'	—>	yānwù tēng tēng	'full of smoke'[125]
mùqì	'lethargy,	—>	mùqì chén chén[126]	'lethargic, apathetic, lifeless'

(Gan 1993: 93; Wei et al. 1995: 698)

It is not only disyllabic nouns that may have a repetitive constituent suffixed to them, since the following example has a disyllabic adjective in the AB slot:

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125 For some reason, Gan (1993: 93) gives a syllable by syllable translation of this lexeme (*yān* 'smoke' + *wù* 'fog'), even though it figures as a single entry (*yānwù* 'smoke, mist or vapour; a mixture of smoke and vapour; smog') in Wei et al. (1995: 1166). The translation adopted here complies with Wei et al. (1995).

126 Note how the tone of the BB part is not high level, which according to Yip & Zhang (1995: 45) is the rule in repetitive lexemes of the ABB pattern, so perhaps the choice of the character 沉 'to sink; (fig.) to keep down, lower, sink; profound, heavy; to feel heavy' (Wei et al. 1995: 120) to write the repetitive constituent of this trisyllabic lexeme does correctly reflect its formative history.

kělián   'pitiful, pathetic, poor' —> kělián bā bā 'pitiable, pathetic'[127]
(Wei et al. 1995: 554)

The Standard Chinese lexicon contains repetitive adjectival listed entries of the ABCC type where the disyllabic non-repetitive constituent is followed by a repetitive element which is also a listed entity perhaps traceable to a monosyllabic lexeme. E.g.:

zhōng xīn 'loyalty, devotion' + gěng gěng[128] '(liter.) devoted, dedicated, etc.'
  —> zhōng xīn gěng gěng 'loyal and devoted, most faithful and true'

xuè lèi 'tears of blood' + bān bān[129] 'full of stains or spots'
  —> xuè lèi bān bān 'full of blood and tears'
(Wei et al. 1995: 1334, 1156)

The type of relationship contracted by the constituents above gives the impression of being one of juxtaposition of semantically similar items rather than modification and somehow resembles in this respect the AABB nominal lexemes introduced in 2.1.1.7. In other words, the meaning of the whole lexeme is derived from the combination of the meaning of the constituents.

The non-repetitive constituent can be an entity divisible into elements acting as independent lexemes. E.g.:

dà 'big, large, great' + fù 'belly, abdomen, stomach'
 + pián pián 'bulging, swelling'
  —> dà fù pián pián 'pot-bellied, big-bellied'
(Wei et al. 1995: 183)

The same repetitive element can be used with different AB constituents. E.g.:

xióng xīn 'great ambitions, lofty aspirations' + bó bó[130] 'thriving, vigorous'
  —> xióng xīn bó bó 'very ambitious'
xìng zhì 'interest, mood to enjoy' + bó bó 'thriving, vigorous, etc.'
  —> xìng zhì bó bó 'full of zest, in high spirits'
(Wei et al. 1995: 1141, 1139)

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[127] In addition to the adjectival meanings, a verbal meaning is also attributed to kělián (Wei et al. 1995: 554). This kind of multiple word class membership is not rare among items in Standard Chinese; especially the ambiguity of adjectives and verbs is not uncommon (see Gan 1993: 98-99).

[128] Gěng gěng is traceable to gěng '(liter.) bright, honest and just, upright' (Wei et al. 1995: 332).

[129] Bān bān is based on bān 'spot, speck, speckle, stripe; spotted, striped' (Wei et al. 1995:

[130] Bó bó is derived from bó '(formal) vigorous, thriving' (Wei et al. 1995: 70).

The reverse order of constituents is also possible, i.e. ABCC becomes AABC. E.g.:

chǔ chǔ[131] 'tidy, neat; delicate, dainty' + kě lián 'pitiful, pitiable, poor'
   —> chǔ chǔ kě lián '(of a young woman) delicate and charming'
(Wei et al. 1995: 151)

Though perhaps not as evident as in the case of previous ABCC examples, one would still feel that the aptest way to characterize the relationship contracted by the immediate constituents of the AABC item above is to regard it as an instance of juxtaposition, i.e. it is compositional in meaning. The inclusion of listed units sub-sumable under the patterns ABCC and AABC is justified by the fact that they are among the kind of repetitive lexical forms allowed by the definitions concerning the nature of acceptable nominal repetitive corpus (see ch. 2, p. 5), considered valid also with regard to the adjectival data.

A monosyllabic base morpheme can be combined with more than one repetitive suffix. Among the most prolific ones in this respect in Standard Chinese are *hēi* 'black' and *liàng* 'bright, light'. E.g.:

hēi chēn chēn	'(of the sky) gloomy, forecast'
hēi dōng dōng	'pitch-dark'
hēi hū hū	'rather dark, dusky, indistinctly observable in the distance'
hēi you you	'jet-black, shiny black'
hēi liū liū	'black and bright'
hēi xū xū	'dark'
hēi yā yā	'dense or dark mass of'
hēi qū qū	'pitch-dark'
(Wei et al. 1995: 395-396)	
liàng guāng guāng	'shining'
liàng jīng jīng	'glittering, sparkling, glistening'
liàng zhēng zhēng	'shining, gleaming'
liàng huǎng huǎng	'dazzling, brilliant, glittering'[132]
liàng shǎn shǎn	'sparkling, glittering'
liàng tāng tāng	'brightly lit, well lit, brilliant'
(Wei et al. 1995: 614)	

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131   *Chǔ chǔ* is traceable back to *chǔ* 'clear, neat' (Wei et al. 1995: 151).

132   This lexeme, as well as the following one, diverge from the general rule of having the repetitive constituent in the level tone. Instead, in these two forms the characters used to write the duplicative elements stand for monosyllabic independent lexemes in the falling-rising tone with at least one of their meanings being associated with brightness in general (*huǎng* 'to dazzle'; *shǎn* 'lightning; to flash, sparkle, shine' [Wei et al. 1995: 426, 869]).

Conversely, the same repetitive element can associate itself with a number of heads; *liū liū*, for example, forms the following trisyllabic lexemes with different monosyllabic head constituents:

huī liū liū	'dull grey; gloomy, dejected, crestfallen'
suān liū liū	'sour, pungent; sad, mournful; envious; pedantic'
féi liū liū	'(of animals) stout and sleek; (of fruits, nuts etc.) fleshy and shiny; (dial.) well-off, prosperous'
hēi liū liū	'black and bright'
yuán liū liū	'good and round, rounded'
xī liū liū	'(of porridge, soup, etc.) very thin'
wū liū liū	'(of eyes) dark and liquid'

(Wei et al. 1995: 426, 963, 280, 395, 1261, 1078, 1062)

Sī sī, with a de-intensifying semantic effect, does not combine with so many heads as *liū liū*, but is not restricted to one single monosyllabic lexeme either. E.g.:

là sī sī	'a little hot'
tián sī sī	'pleasantly sweet; quite pleased; gratified, happy'
lěng sī sī	'a bit chilly'
liáng sī sī	'coolish, rather cool, a bit cool'

(Wei et al. 1995: 578, 997, 595, 611)

Points presumably quite close to the contrary poles in the intensity continuum of the quality referred to by the head adjective can be expressed through the use of different disyllabic repetitive suffixes. E.g.:

liáng sī sī	'a bit cold'
liáng sēn sēn	'piercingly cold'

(Wei et al. 1995: 611)

Values other than the contrary ones concerning the level of intensity of an adjectival quality can also be conveyed in this manner. E.g.:

hán sī sī	'a little chilly'
hán sēn sēn	'chilly'

(Wei et al. 1995: 380)

Note how the semantic impact of the repetitive constituent in the first members of the two sets of examples above is consistently the same, i.e. decrease of the level of intensity of the quality expressed by the adjective to which they are suffixed, but

in the second members the same duplicative suffixal constituent seems to be inten-
sifying in its semantic impact in the first case (*liáng* 'cool, cold' —> *liáng sēn sēn*
'piercingly cold'), while it appears to be de-intensifying in effect in the second case
(*hán* 'cold' —> *hán sēn sēn* 'chilly'). Consequently, the meaning of an ABB
lexeme cannot always be conclusively predicted on the basis of the repetitive suf-
fixal elements, as there may be mutually contradictory semantic results consequent
to the application of the same BB suffix. If the pair in the second set is seen as an
incipient beginning for a list of adjectives, the order of the members of which were
directly proportional to the increase in intensification of the quality expressed by
each member, the following member in the second set could plausibly be provided
by the monosyllabic head itself, i.e. *hán* 'cold' (Wei et al. 1995: 380).

Repetitive lexemes of the AAB type where the repetitive constituent is prefixed
to a non-repeated constituent, barely exist in Standard Chinese. Gan (1993: 94) has
found only two lexicalised items, namely:

mēng mēng liàng	'(sky) just turning bright'
mā ma hēi	'(sky) just turning dark'

where the repetitive AA part is described as having more of an onomatopoeic or
iconic effect than an intensifying effect. There is an opaque lexeme listed in Wei et
al. (1995: 351) which is structurally analysable as a fully-fledged AAB form, name-
ly *guā guā jiào* '(inf.) tip-top, top-notch', in which the duplicative constituent can
be phonetically and orthographically associated with an independent onomatopoeic
lexeme (*guā guā* 'the quacking of a duck, the croaking of a frog, the cawing of a
crow'), while the form in the slot reserved for the non-duplicative constituent is
written with the character 叫, which usually records verbal meanings (Wei et al.
1995: 489-490).

Though not listed by any source among the patterns embodying the structure of
repetitive adjectival lexemes in Standard Chinese, be they outputs of a productive
process or lexicalised repetitive items, the following three items can be subsumed
under the ABA pattern:

zhí dǎ zhí	'(inf.) straightforward, blunt, point-blank'
míng dǎ míng	'(dial.) clear, obvious, plain'
shí dǎ shí	'real, true, honest, genuine'
(Wei et al. 1995: 1320, 686, 909)	

Perhaps these lexemes represent a more extensively applied process active in
less formal varieties within Standard Chinese or in dialects, as implied by the paren-
thesized portions of the English counterparts, whereby an adjectival base is dupli-
cated with the insertion of *dǎ* in the falling-rising tone, represented by the character

打 normally associated with the verbal meaning 'to strike, hit, beat' (Wei et al. 1995: 177) in Standard Chinese, but presumably with a formative function within the hypothesized repetitive process. Another possibility is that these forms are a portion of remnants of a historical, today non-active process, with a stray lexical representative in the most codified version of Standard Chinese, but perhaps more numerously present in the lexica of other registers of *putonghua*. Or maybe the ABA adjectival items above are instances of an incipient regular repetitive pattern originating in a non-standard Sinitic speech form and slowly beginning to make its way into Standard Chinese, first under the guise of lexical loans[133].

The A-*li*-AB type stands for a repetitive process whereby the first syllable of a disyllabic lexeme with a derogatory meaning is duplicated with the insertion of a syllable-sized element (*li*) between the repeated syllables; only negatively connotated disyllabic adjectives can undergo this kind of repetition which enhances the degree of the negative quality expressed by the disyllabic base (Gan 1993: 95-96). E.g.:

hú tu	'muddleheaded, careless'	—>	hú li hú tū
gǔ guài	'queer, eccentric'	—>	gǔ li gǔ guài
jiāo qi	'squeamish, finicky'	—>	jiāo li jiāo qī
liú qì	'rascally, rakish'	—>	liú li liú qì

(Gan 1993: 96-97)

The restricted set of repetitive lexemes analysed by Gan (1993: 97) as exemplifying an A-*bu*-BB pattern is further noted by him as being obligatorily suffixed by *de*, which he identifies with a structural particle. But if this *de* is obligatory, i.e. it appears at the end of every single item partaking of this limited set, it is logical to change the A-*bu*-BB formula into an A-*bu*-BBC formula. The A in the formula represents an adjectival lexeme to which -*bu*-BBC is suffixed with derogatory semantic consequences. E.g.:

huá bu jī jī de	'slimy and slippery'
suān bu liū liū de	'sourish'
ruǎn bu jī jī de	'soft (of things that should not be soft)'[134]

The -*bu*-BBC suffix is in free variation with a non-repetitive suffix (Gan 1993: 98) and in the case of *suān*, this is the variant that exists as a lexeme in a codified

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133 A diglossic situation such as the one prevalent in China does not necessarily presuppose a uni-directional flow of lexical elements from the high variety to the low variety/varieties. The opposite is also possible as, for example, a number of items originally from Wu, which have entered the standard language, show: *gān gà* (尷尬) 'awkward, embarrassed', *biē sān* (瘪三) 'vagrant, tramp' and *lǎo bǎn* (老板) 'boss' (Creamer et al. 1991: i-ii; Wei et al. 1995: 314, 61, 587).

134 None of these examples figure as entries in Wei et al. 1995.

Standard Chinese lexicon, though with -*jī*- instead of -*liū*- as the third syllable, an alternative also noted by Gan (1993: 97): *suān bu jī*[135] 'slightly sour or tart, sourish; tired and feeling weak, exhausted, worn-out' (Wei et al 1995: 962). *Huá bu jī liū* 'slippery', a non-duplicative entity listed in Wei et al. (1995: 415) and marked as being dialectal, presumably represents an amalgamation of the alternant repetitive syllables attributed by Gan to A-*bu*-BBC forms. According to Gan (1993: 98), -*bu*- in the suffixal part, though usually written with 不, has nothing to do with the morpheme of negation implied by the character, but represents a phonetic application of the same. Wei et al. (1995: 962) lists an entry with *suān* suffixed by -*bu liū diū*, in which the two final syllables stand in an alliterative relationship to each other, thus reminding one of those languages in the corpus where this type of partial duplication is a prolific process. The whole lexeme – figuring without the obligatory *de* in the dictionary – is marked as dialectal and the meaning conveyed has a negative connotation ('unpleasantly sour').

Gan (1993) shows much concern for pointing out the recalcitrance of Standard Chinese, and analogically of all languages of the same type of course, to formal word class classification owing to its lack of explicit morphological markers (see Gan 1993: 11, 71-72, 98). Gan (1993: 98-99) maintains that the ambiguity of adjectives and verbs, for example, can often only be solved by the context where the relevant items are used. There are lexemes which undergo a different type of duplication depending whether they are used as verbs or as adjectives: when *gāoxìng* is repeated according to the AABB pattern, it functions as an adjective with an intensifying semantic effect ('very happy'), but when it assumes a verbal function it is duplicated as ABAB with a resulting tentative meaning. E.g.:

> ràng   wǒ   yě   gāo xìng gāo xìng
> let   I   also   happy
> 'Let me have a little joy, too.'
> (Gan 1993: 99)

Old Chinese, by which is meant the language of the classical texts of the Zhou dynasty (Packard 1998: 35), differs from the standard language and probably from the majority of other Sinitic speech forms in being characterized by partial repetitive processes typical of the set of Mon-Khmer languages in the corpus of the study. Partial repetition is even thought to have been much more productive than complete repetition in Old Chinese (Packard 1998: 8). Since it is such a rare phenomenon in Sinitic speech forms, exemplification of its sub-categories, alliterative and rhyming duplicates, is preferred to presenting instances of lexemes where the constituent syllables are perfect copies of one another. The following two items represent alliterative (A A/x) and rhyming (A x/A) adjectival repetitive lexemes, respectively:

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135   *de*, despite its obligatoriness, does not form a part of this lexeme in Wei et al. 1995: 962.

*tsʰ-r-jum–tsʰ-r-jaj   'uneven, irregular'[136]
*ʔiwʔ-liwʔ   'elegant, beautiful'
(Baxter & Sagart 1998: 65)

An important sub-category within alliterative duplicatives of Old Chinese is the set of forms in which only the vowels of the constituent syllables are different from each other. Just as in the Katuic languages (2.5), the vowels in the syllables of these disyllabic repetitive lexemes are not totally random. One dominant pair consists of -e- in the first and -o- in the second syllable. E.g.:

*kʰet-kʰot   'separated'[137]
*tsʰjek-tsʰjok   'busy'
*greʔ-groʔ   'carefree and happy'
(Baxter & Sagart 1998: 65-66)

Though partial duplication is not productive in the modern standard language, there are lexemes in its lexicon which meet the general criteria for alliterative and rhyming repetitive forms and which were recognized as such by specific terms in traditional Chinese philology. The following set of examples introduces this kind of rhyming duplicatives from the Standard Chinese lexical stock:

líng dīng   'lonely'
xiāo yáo   'free and unfettered'
miǎn tiǎn   'shy, bashful'
yǎo tiǎo   '(of a woman) gentle and graceful'
(Gan 1993: 111)

One characteristic of these alliterative and rhyming repetitive lexemes is their opacity, i.e. they are inseparable disyllabic morphemes. Another typical feature is that the majority of them are written with pairs of characters having the same radical component, as if an indication of the mutual similarity of the constituent syllables in each pair (Gan 1993: 112).

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136 The source whence this item has been taken, an article co-authored by William Baxter and Laurent Sagart in Packard (1998: 35-75), offers an alternative reconstructed form claimed to be preferred by Sagart, namely *s-hlrjim–s-hlrjaj (Baxter & Sagart 1998: 65).

137 Baxter and Sagart offer 'bound together', a totally opposite meaning as an alternative for this lexeme, provided, however, with a question mark (Baxter & Sagart 1998: 65).

4.1.2. The Mandarin dialects

The following disyllabic repetitive lexemes (AA) from the Mouping dialect of Shandong province (Northern Mandarin dialects) are similar to their Standard Chinese counterparts in indicating augmentation in the level of the intensity of a quality. E.g.:

$$lɤ(r)^{51} \; lɤ(r)^{51} \qquad \text{'very wet'}$$
$$xou(r)^{51} \; xou(r)^{51} \qquad \text{'very salty'}$$
(Luo 1995: 13)

Luo (1995: 13) notes that there are disyllabic repetitive adjectives in the Mouping lexicon, which when repeated yield quadrisyllabic results (AA —> AAAA). Unfortunately, the semantic effect brought about by repetition in the example below is not explicitly given by Luo:

$$man^{213} \; man \quad \text{slow'} \quad \longrightarrow \quad 慢慢慢慢(的)^{138}$$

Sometimes a duplicative adjective cannot undergo repetition, *ɕiou(r)²¹³ ɕiou(r)²¹³* 'disorderly' is one of them (Luo 1995: 13).

The ABB type repetitive forms in Mouping are similar to those in Standard Chinese in being constructed of a monosyllabic adjective followed by a disyllabic repetitive element which seems to modify the meaning of the former apparently to a slightly lesser degree of intensification than in the standard language, even to the point of de-intensification in one case. E.g.:

$$ts'u^{51} \; lən \; lən^{51} \qquad \text{'rather coarse, crude'}$$
$$piɑo^{51} \; hu \; hu^{51} \qquad \text{'somewhat stupid'}$$
$$kɑo^{51} \; liaŋ \; liaŋ^{51} \qquad \text{'relatively high'}$$
$$uo^{213} \; sən \; sən^{51} \qquad \text{'rather coarse, crude'}$$
(Luo 1995: 14)

Mouping offers an interesting repetitive pattern whereby the disyllabic base form is composed of a prefixed modifying morpheme which corresponds in meaning to the Standard Chinese *hěn* (很) 'very', followed by the modified adjectival lexeme (Luo 1995: 14). Luo neither calls these morphemes adverbs nor does he explicitly refer to them with the term prefix, but he simply states that "X in the base

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138 Luo (1995: 13) marks the output in Chinese characters only.

formula XA represents a syllable with a modifying function". One may hypothesize that Luo's usage of the term 'syllable' instead of 'word' is an indication of a morphological rather than a syntactic context and consequently the treatment of this pattern here falls quite within the scope of the study. Furthermore, despite Luo's reticence as to the exact nature of the morphemes in question, the fact that the resulting ABAB duplicatives are analysed by him under the same heading together with ABB forms supports the decision to treat them as partaking of morphology. Semantically, the ABAB forms imply intensification of the quality expressed by the disyllabic base.

The following intensifying prefixes appear in Luo's sample[139]: 老，溜，透，死，通，巴，錚，習，精 and 焦, which after combining with certain adjectives can be repeated to give the subsequent quadrisyllabic disjunctively repetitive lexemes (A + B —> ABAB):

老髒	'very dirty'	—>	老髒老髒	'extremely dirty'
溜滿	'very full'	—>	溜滿溜滿	'extremely full'
透肥	'very fat'	—>	透肥透肥	'extremely fat'
死辣	'very peppery'	—>	死辣死辣	'extremely peppery'
通紅	'very red'	—>	通紅通紅	'extremely red'
巴澀	'very astringent'	—>	巴澀巴澀	'extremely astringent'
錚輕	'very light'	—>	錚輕錚輕	'extremely light'
習甜	'very sweet'	—>	習甜習甜	'extremely sweet'
精秕	'very blighted'	—>	精秕精秕	'extremely blighted'
焦酸	'very sour'	—>	焦酸焦酸	'extremely sour'

Repetitive patterns in the Huojia dialect of Henan province (the Northern Mandarin sub-group) often contain as a constituent in their structure one of the following eight affixes, generally only differing in the articulation of the initial consonant: $pə\text{?}33$, $p'ə\text{?}33$, $kə\text{?}33$, $k'ə\text{?}33$, $xə\text{?}33$, $ku\text{?}33$, $k'u\text{?}33$, $xu\text{?}33$ (He 1980: 53). The repetitive patterns with such formative constituents include ABB, ABAB, AABB and ABCC (He 1980: 61-63; He 1984a: 41, 42-45). The practice of placing unrepeated affixes in parentheses suggested in ch. 2 (p. 5) and consistently applied thereafter, is not followed in the case of Huojia affixes since they are instrumental in the formation of the type of repetitive items mentioned.

Analogically to Standard Chinese and the Mouping dialect, the disyllabic duplicates (BB) in Huojia trisyllabic ABB adjectival repetitive lexemes do not possess a definite independent meaning by themselves, while the constituent marked A is not an adjective, as one would expect on the basis of the two variants alluded to, but one of the eight affixes. E.g.:

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139 In this context Luo, for some reason, uses Chinese characters.

kə^{33} t'an^{33} t'ɐ(r)^{33} (li)	'exhausted'
ku^{33} tɕyɐ^{33} tɕyɐ^{33} (li)	'(of clothes) turned upwards'
k'ə^{33} tɕ'ia^{33} tɕ'ia^{33} (li)	'tight'
xu^{33} lyŋ^{33} lyŋ^{33} (li)	'(of eyes) bright and piercing'
pə^{33} ta^{33} ta^{33} (li)	'(of quantity) much'
p'ə^{33} t'a^{33} t'a^{33} (li)	'tired'
(He 1980: 62)	

The quadrisyllabic ABAB (A = affix) repetitive forms in Huojia are of two kinds: either they are based on (i) disyllabic verbs, i.e. are deverbal, or then (ii) there is no disyllabic independent base form to which they can be traced back (He 1980: 62). E.g.:

(i)	kə^{33} liau^{53} kə^{33} liau^{53} (li)	'(of flames) not vigorous'
	kə^{33} iau^{31} kə^{33} iau^{31} (li)	'swaying, tottering'
	kə^{33} t'iau^{13} kə^{33} t'iau^{13} (li)	'bouncing and vivacious'
(ii)	ku^{33} yn^{33} ku^{33} yn^{33} (li)	'dizzy, giddy'
	kə^{33} ɕiɛ^{31} kə^{33} ɕiɛ^{31} (li)	'(of eyes) oblique'
	kə^{33} xaŋ^{53} kə^{33} xaŋ^{53} (li)	'(of stomach) protrusive'
	(He 1980: 62-63)	

The quadrisyllabic ABAB repeated items can be expanded into repetitive forms consisting of six syllables by the insertion of *i*^{33} 'one': *kə*^{33} *iau*^{31} *kə*^{33} *iau*^{31} *(li)* —> *i*^{33} *kə*^{33} *iau*^{31} *i*^{33} *kə*^{33} *iau*^{31} *(li)*. He (1980: 62) explains that the function of the expansion is to emphasize rhythmic progression of an action, which concept as such, without further clarification, is hardly of much help in an attempt to understand more thoroughly the general meaning of these expanded Huojia forms.

The adjectival lexemes of four syllables with consecutive repetition (AABB, A = affix) are derived either from a disyllabic (i) noun or a disyllabic (ii) verb in Huojia (He 1980: 63). E.g.:

(i)	k'u^{33} k'u^{33} luŋ^{31} luŋ^{31} (li)	'full of holes, worn out'
	kə^{33} kə^{33} ua^{13} ua^{13} (li)	'(of a road, surface of things) uneven, bumpy'
	kə^{33} kə^{33} liŋ$^{53/31}$ liŋ^{53} (li)	'(of a field) difficult to plough due to ridges'
(ii)	ku^{33} ku^{33} tʂuei^{13} tʂuei^{13} (li)	'(of carried things) numerous'
	kə^{33} kə^{33} kuai$^{53/31}$ kuai^{13} (li)	'very winding, meandering'
	kə^{33} kə^{33} tɕiɐ^{33} tɕiɐ^{33} (li)	'(because of stammering) unclear'
	(He 1980: 63)	

The meaning of the quadrisyllabic adjectival lexemes patterned as ABCC (A = adjective, B = affix[140]) seems to be dominated by affective associations, since He (1984a: 44-45) describes their meaning exclusively in connotative terms. He suggests that the complimentary or derogatory sense of the repetitive item may depend on the adjective to which the repetitive suffixal element is attached, as in:

mi?33 kə?33 tsa?13 tsa?13 (li?)[141]	'(of stitches) close'
miŋ31 tɕi?33 liɔ33 liɔ13 (li?)	'shiny'

where the adjectives *mi?33* and *miŋ31* should be regarded as the source for the complimentary sense of these complex lexemes. On the other hand, *ku?33* as a constitutive affix causes an ABCC lexeme to assume a derogatory meaning. E.g.:

luan13 ku?33 tuŋ33 tuŋ33 (li?)	'mixed and disorderly'
yan31 ku?33 lu33 lu33 (li?)	'short, small and fat'
t'u33 ku?33 ʂua33 ʂua33 (li?)	'bald; bleak and desolate'
kan33 ku?33 suɤ33 suɤ33 (li?)	'not moist'
(He 1984a: 44)	

Lexemes in which one or both of the duplicative syllables has/have the *-r* -suffix are usually commendatory in meaning. E.g.:

tɕ'iŋ33 kə?33 tsan33 tsɐ(r)33 (li?)	'clear and transparent'
mei53 pə?33 tsɨ(r)33 tsɨ(r)33 (li?)	'pleased, comfortable'
ts'uei13 kə?33 pəŋ13 pə(r)33 (li?)	'(of food) crisp; (of speech) resonant'
(He 1984a: 44)	

According to He (1984a: 45), there are pairs of ABCC duplicatives in the Huojia dialect, of which the form with an *-r* -suffix (i) is complimentary, while the form with a changed or an unchanged rhyme (ii) has a derogatory connotation. E.g.:

(i)	ʐou13 p'ə?33 naŋ33 na(r)33 (li?)	'with an aftertaste'
(ii)	ʐou13 p'ə?33 nɔ33 nɔ33 (li?)	'dropsical'

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[140] He's list (He 1984a: 41) of affixal syllables featured in the formation of ABCC duplicatives differs from the list given above in that *mə?33*, *ts'ə?33*, *tʂ'u?33* and *tɕi?33* are newcomers while *k'u?33* is missing altogether.

[141] For some reason, the phonological form of this final syllable written with 的 in Chinese characters is provided with a glottal stop in He 1984a: 41 whereas in He 1980 it ends in a vowel. As He does not give any explanations as to why one or the other is wrong, the items are given exactly in the same form as they appear in He 1984a and 1980.

   (i) tʂə?33 pə?33 nian33 niɐ(r)33 (li?) 'perfectly straight, tall and straight'
   (ii) tʂə?33 pə?33 nia33 nia33 (li?)   'arrogant, haughty'

   (i) p'aŋ13 pə?33 tən33 tə(r)33 (li?)   'suitably plump'
   (ii) p'aŋ13 pə?33 tən33 tən33 (li?)   'fat, corpulent'

Finally, He (1984a: 45) cites repetitive elements which, when used as formatives in a repetitive lexeme of the ABCC type, always bring with them a derogatory connotation to the whole entity. E.g.:

     tɕ'iŋ33 tʂ'u?33 ly33 ly33 (li?)   '(of complexion) ashen, livid'
     tan13 ts'ə?33 la33 la33 (li?)   'unenthusiastic, indifferent'

Huojia affixless trisyllabic (ABB) lexemes, in which A refers to a monosyllabic adjective and the BB part to a duplicative constituent, are in many respects like quadrisyllabic (ABCC) lexemes as regards distribution of complimentary and derogatory meaning. He (1984a: 42-43) argues that the commendatory or positive meaning in these ABB lexemes, just as in ABCC items, is associated with the -*r* -suffix, which may either be attached to both syllables in the duplicative suffixal string, or to the latter of the two similar suffixal syllables. E.g.:

     ɕian53 liŋ13 liə(r)33 (li?)   'clear'
     suan33 liou33 lio(r)33 (li?)   'palatably acid'
     tʂ'ou31 xuə(r)13 xuə(r)33 (li?)   'suitably thick'

Similarly to ABCC lexemes, there are pairs of affixless compositional ABB duplicatives in the Huojia dialect, of which the form with an -*r* -suffix (i) is complimentary, and its pair with an unchanged or changed rhyme (ii) is derogatory (He 1984a: 43):

   (i)   xuaŋ31 lan13 lɐ(r)33 (li?)   'yellow (pleasing to the eye)'
   (ii)   xuaŋ31 la13 la33 (li?)   '(unpleasantly) yellow'

   (i)   tɕiŋ13 tɕ'iau13 tɕ'iɔ(r)33 (li?)   'very quiet'
   (ii)   tɕiŋ13 tɕ'iɔ33 tɕ'iɔ33 (li?)   'spacious and lonesome, open and quiet'

   (i)   tɕin53 pəŋ13 pə(r)33 (li?)   'suitably tight'
   (ii)   tɕin53 pəŋ13 pəŋ33 (li?)   'too tight'

Some -*r* -less repetitive elements suffixed to an adjective in Huojia have, however, a commendatory meaning (He 1984a:43), such as:

tɕiŋ³³ tou¹³ tou³³ (li?)   'precious and lovely'
tɕ'iŋ³³ mɔ¹³ mɔ³³ (li?)   'pleasantly green (e.g. scene)'
xa?³³ tu?¹³ tu?³³ (li?)   'luxuriant (crops)'

Some ABB adjectival items in the Huojia dialect can be changed into corresponding ABCC lexemes (He 1984a: 44) with a slight difference in meaning: the former pattern emphasizes the level of intensity of the quality referred to, whereas the latter describes the outer appearance.

The A in ABB or ABCC does not necessarily have to be an adjective (He 1984a: 46). E.g.:

t'u⁵³   'earth'   ⟶   t'u⁵³ mə?³³ xu¹³ xu³³ (li?) 'covered with clay'
                   ⟶   t'u⁵³ pə?³³ tɕi¹³ tɕi³³ (li?) 'a little uncouth'
luei¹³   'tear'   ⟶   luei¹³ xua³³ xua¹³ (li?)   'brimming with tears'
tɕin³³   'metal'   ⟶   tɕin³³ kə?³³ lɔ³³ lɔ³³ (li?)   'glittering, glistening'

He (1984a: 46) also mentions a few Huojia ABB/ABCC adjectival lexemes which have been lexicalised to the point of inseparability of the head adjective and the repetitive suffixal constituent. E.g.:

lyan¹³ xuə(r)¹³ xuə(r)³³ (li?)   'sticky, glutinous'
ɕy¹³ kə?³³ tɔ³³ tɔ³³ (li?)   'talkative'
yn¹³ tsa?³³ tsa?³³ (li?)   'moist, suitably liquid'
tʂ'ə?³³ t'iɔ³³ t'iɔ³³ (li?)   'stark naked'

According to Yuan (1989: 49), the disyllabic adjectives in the dialect of Luoyang, a northern Mandarin dialect from Henan province, can undergo three different repetitive patterns: ABB, AAB and ABAB. Each adjective is subjected to at least one of the patterns, as in:

牢實   ⟶   牢實實
囫圇   ⟶   囫圇圇

or to two, as in:

現成   ⟶   現現成 / 現成成
雪白   ⟶   雪白白 / 雪白雪白
噴香   ⟶   噴香香 / 噴香噴香

but very rarely to three. All types of repetitive pattern have a common intensifying semantic effect.

South-western Mandarin dialects are represented by the Chengdu (Sichuan), Yingshan (Hubei) and Suining (Sichuan) local dialects. The adjectival repetitive lexicon of each of these speech forms is not treated in its entirety but as with the northern Mandarin sub-corpus, some typical features by which they deviate from Standard Chinese are emphasized.

In Sichuan, repetitive, semantically compositional adjectivals of the ABB type (A = usually an adjective, BB = repetitive suffixal element) are more numerous and more frequent in use than in the speech of Beijing on which Standard Chinese has been modelled (Yang 1995: 47). One deviant feature is that while in Beijing the A is most often an adjective and very seldom a noun or a verb, the probability that a representative of the last two categories would appear in the slot for A is much greater in Chengdu than it is in Beijing. Here is a selection of lexemes with 風 'wind', 猴 'monkey', 夢 'dream' and 汗 'sweat' functioning as A:

風潔潔   'windy and cold'
猴抓抓   'quick, mischievous'
夢濁濁   'dreamy, not clear-headed'
汗沾沾   '(of clothes) sweaty'
(Yang 1995: 47)

In the Chengdu dialect, the same noun can have various disyllabic repetitive suffixes attached to it to make trisyllabic repetitive adjectival lexemes with differing meanings. E.g.:

粉粗粗   '(of things) powdery; (of a face) delicate'
粉嘟嘟   '(of a surface) full of powder'
粉嚕嚕   '(of a child's face) delicate and glowing'
(Yang 1995: 47)

In the following set the A slot is filled by such verbs as 飛 'to fly', 吊 'to hang, suspend' and 閃 'to dodge', respectively:

飛叉叉   'quick and neat, hustling and bustling'
吊甩甩   'swaying (while hanging down)'
閃悠悠   'swaying up and down'
(Yang 1995: 47)

Conversely to the set of lexemes with a noun as A above, the subsequent adjectival items of the ABB type show how the same duplicative constituent can be suffixed to various verbal A's. E.g.:

扯�夯   'fond of arguing'
詫夯夯   '(of a child) shy with strangers'
躃夯夯   'with no sense of propriety'
(Yang 1995: 47)

One differentiating feature between the ABB type repetitive adjectival patterns in Chengdu and Beijing resides in the fact that sometimes when the etymologically common A is restricted to a single morpheme in the latter, the former allows this A to be suffixed by various repetitive elements (Yang 1995: 47). E.g.:

Beijing	Chengdu
干巴巴	干巴巴, 干 tɔ²¹³ tɔ²¹³, 干焦焦, 干酥酥, 干沙沙
綠油油	綠油油, 綠瑩瑩, 綠下下, 綠茸茸, 綠瓦瓦
麻酥酥	麻酥酥, 麻 fə⁴⁴ fə⁴⁴, 麻糾糾, 麻格格

The speech form of Yingshan, of Hubei province, as recorded in Chen (1994: 64-67) has repetitive patterns in common with Standard Chinese (e.g. AㄈB, AABB and ABAC in which B = 里), but it is the compositional patterns which serve as a distinguishing factor between the two Sinitic variants.

In the Yingshan AAB type compositional repetitive pattern B represents a lexeme which is modified by a prefixed duplicative constituent with no independent lexical meaning (Chen 1994: 64). The second syllable of the AA part can undergo -r-suffixation. Chen (1994: 64) maintains that the -r-suffixed form has a connotative nuance, implying fondness, which the non -r-suffixed lexeme lacks. The general meaning of the AAB pattern in Yingshan is to enhance the level of intensity of the quality expressed by the head adjective (B). In other words, despite different AA parts, such lexemes as 溜溜光(的) and 稀稀爛(的) share the common semantic feature of expressing intensification of the quality in question, translatable into Standard Chinese as 很 'very', as noted by Chen (1994: 64). As Yingshan dialectal forms may not be quite transparently relatable to the corresponding Standard Chinese entities, the character used to write the monosyllabic adjective in the source is given in square brackets in the set of examples below in order to facilitate the understanding of the kind of qualitative categories expressed:

naŋ³¹ naŋ k'u²⁴ [苦] (ti)   min³⁵ miə(r) t'ian⁵⁵ [甜] (ti)
pəŋ³³ pəŋ xuaŋ⁵⁵ [黃] (ti)   ɕi³¹ ɕiə(r) lən³³ [嫩] (ti)
tɕ'i²¹³ tɕ'i xɛ²¹³ [黑] (ti)   niu³¹ niə(r) ʐuan²⁴ [軟] (ti)
(Chen 1994: 64)

The common semantic function of the repetitive constituent in Yingshan trisyllabic repetitive adjectival lexemes does not mean that they can be interchangeably prefixed to any adjective, but each AA stretch is prefixable only to a limited set of

adjectives: (i) $çi^{31}$ $çiə(r)$- (稀稀[兒]), (ii)$tç'iε^{213}$ $tç'iε$- (切切) and (iii) ka^{24} ka-
(嘎嘎), for example, are characterized by the subsequent combinatory distributions,
respectively (Chen 1994: 64-65):

[i]	稀稀(兒)爛(的)	稀稀(兒)軟(的)
	稀稀(兒)嫩(的)	稀稀(兒)濃(的)
	稀稀(兒)泡(的)	稀稀(兒)枵(的)
[ii]	切切生(的)	[iii] 嘎嘎白(的)
	切切濕(的)	嘎嘎黃(的)

The Yingshan dialect also possesses a more complex repetitive adjectival pat-
tern, an extended version of the AAB type, represented by the formula AABC, in
which the B slot is always filled by the infix luo^{24} (裸). A typical context for this
pattern is a sentence with a derogatory connotation, the negative implication of
which can be paraphrased as 'too C' (Chen 1994: 65). E.g.:

    $tε^{35}$ $t'iau^{55}$ $k'u^{35}tsɿ$ $pəŋ^{35}$ $pəŋ$ luo^{24} $tçin^{24}$ ti
    these   Cl   trousers   too tight   part.
    'These trousers are too tight.'

    $tai^{35}tsɿ$ $tçi^{35}$ $tε$ $çi^{31}$ $çi$ luo^{24} $səŋ^{31}$ ti
    belt   to tie part.   too loose   part.
    'The belt is too loose.'

A connotative opposition between a complimentary and a derogatory meaning
is achieved when an adjective without a negative semantic nuance appears in both
patterns, with the AAB form standing for the complimentary member and with the
AABC form representing the derogatory member of the opposition (Chen 1994:
66). E.g.:

    $tε^{35}$ uan^{24} $ts'ai^{35}$ min^{35} min $t'ian^{55}$ ti, $tε^{33}$ $piε^{33}$ xau^{24} $tç'i^{213}$
    this CL   food   very sweet   part. especially   tasty
    'This food is very sweet, very tasty indeed.'

    $tε^{35}$ $uan^{24}ts'ai^{35}$ min^{35} min luo^{24} $t'ian^{55}$ ti, i^{213} $tiə(r)^{24}pu^{213}$ xau^{24} $tç'i^{213}$
    this CL   food   too sweet   part. a bit   not   tasty
    'This food is too sweet, not a bit tasty.'

The AABC pattern can for its part be extended into an AABCD (D = adj.)
pattern by the insertion of xuo^{24} (= B), which Chen (1994: 66) analyses as being a

modal affix with an implication of casualness. When *xuo24* is added to an AABC form, *luo24* (= C) undergoes -*r*-suffixation and the meaning of the AABC item is de-intensified from 'too (much of a quality)' to 'a little (of a quality)' (Chen 1994: 66). E.g.:

k'ai31 ṣɨ24   pin31 pin xuo24 lə(r) lən24 ti
boiled water   a little cold   part.
'The boiled water is a little cold.'

ts'ai35   piɛ24 piɛ xuo24 lə(r) tan33 ti
food   a little tasteless   part.
'The food is a little tasteless.'

According to Zhen (1984: 27-40), the dialect of Suining, of Sichuan province, like that of Yingshan, shares a set of adjectival repetitive patterns with Standard Chinese (e.g. AA, AABB, ABAC in which B = 里, and ABB), but again, as with Yingshan, it is mainly the patterns analysed by Zhen as compositional which make the difference.

Zhen (1984: 27) distinguishes five compositional patterns of which three are of interest here, since they are repetitive, i.e. BBA, ABB and ABAB. Zhen (1984: 27, 38) seems to argue that the five patterns in question are actually variations of a single pattern, namely that of combining a certain monosyllabic constituent with a clear lexical meaning – mostly adjectival, less often nominal or verbal – with another monosyllabic constituent whose meaning varies from clear to dependency on combination with the other constituent for it to emerge. The furthest that Zhen proceeds in the way of semantic specification of these compositional patterns, be they repetitive or not, is to characterize them collectively as 'vivid forms of adjectives' (形容詞的生動形式). As Zhen's article is the only source on the Suining dialect available at the moment for the purposes of the study, the presentation here is necessarily more a formal survey of Suining compositional repetitive adjectival lexemes without detailed descriptions of semantic differences, if there are any, between the three duplicative patterns.

There are, however, two kinds of adjectival ABB structures in Suining (Zhen 1984: 38): one is compositional (A + BB) and the other derivational (AB —> ABB), the latter having the apparently pan-Sinitic quadrisyllabic adjectival derivative pattern as an alternative (AB —> AABB). E.g.:

死板   —>   死板板 / 死死板板
伸展   —>   伸展展 / 伸伸展展
胖壯   —>   胖壯壯 / 胖胖壯壯

Sometimes only the trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic duplicative derivatives exist without the disyllabic base (Zhen 1984: 38). E.g.:

密匝匝	密密匝匝
稀撈撈	稀稀撈撈
白胖胖	白白胖胖

Some affixes (= B) in the Suining dialect are very versatile in their combinatory capability as duplicative affixes in that they can be (i) prefixed (BBA), (ii) suffixed (ABB) and (iii) infixed (ABAB) (Zhen 1984: 38), as indicated below:

(i)	焦	tɕiau^{55}	tɕiau^{55} tɕiau^{55} fu^{21}
			tɕiau^{55} tɕiau^{55} sɿ^{21}
(ii)			xuaŋ^{21} tɕiau^{55} tɕiau^{55}
			kan^{55} tɕiau^{55} tɕiau^{55}
(iii)			sɿ^{21} tɕiau^{55} sɿ^{21} tɕiau^{55}
			fu^{21} tɕiau^{55} fu^{21} tɕiau^{55}

while others are more restricted either in terms of the position in relation to A or in terms of which A's they can be combined with; the set of A's cannot combine with any B's either (Zhen 1984: 38).

Of the Suining repetitive patterns under consideration, it seems that ABB is the most frequent, with ABAB coming next, while BBA has the fewest exponents (Zhen 1984: 28-38).

4.1.3. The Wu dialects

The set of repetitive adjectival lexemes treated in this chapter consists primarily of more complex items taken principally from the Shanghai, Suzhou and Chongming dialects, in Jiangsu province, as well as the dialect of Wenzhou, in Zhejiang province.

The Wu dialects are similar to Standard Chinese in partaking of the disyllabic (AA) and quadrisyllabic (AABB) adjectival repetitive patterns (see e.g. Bourgeois 1941: 21-22, as well as Min et al. 1986, SFYCD 1993, ChoFYCD 1993), but instead of them the focus will be on such patterns as AAB and ABB, as well as ABA and, only to some extent, ABAB. In Standard Chinese, the last pattern is usually an index of a repetitive verb rather than a repetitive adjective (Gan 1993: 44-50, 98-100).

Some lexemes, which on the basis of their structure as listed items are clearly categorizable as being of the AAB type, are a slight problem due to their containing in their listed form an element in the B slot written either as 叫 or 交 in Chinese characters and pronounced as *tɕiɔ34* (Shanghai) or *tɕiɔ33* (Chongming) and *tɕiæ55* (Suzhou), respectively. The problem concerns particularly the Chongming data which has quite a few such forms entered as adjectives (ChoFYCD 1993) while the source on Shanghai (Min et al. 1986) contains none and that on Suzhou (SFYCD 1993) only one. The analysis of lexemes with *tɕiɔ33* in the final position as adjectives in ChoFYCD is in blatant conflict with the description given of *tɕiɔ33* as an independent entry where this morpheme is quite unambiguously defined as a suffix attached either to duplicated monosyllabic adjectives or to onomatopoeic words, with the result that the whole construction functions as an adverb (ChoFYCD 1993: 107). The corresponding element (*tɕiæ55*) in the Suzhou dialect is not problematic since the lexemes where it functions as a constituent can also be used as adjectives, though more rarely (SFYCD 1993: 70).

Perhaps the explanation to the evidently contradictory assignment of lexemes with an adverb-building suffix to the category of adjectives[142] lies in the fact that, like Standard Chinese (see Gan 1993: 71-72), other Sinitic speech forms are presumably also characterized by a rather extensive overlapping of adjectives and adverbs so that the actual class affiliation of a lexeme (adjective or adverb) depends on the sentential context in which it occurs. If this is accepted as a solution, not forgetting as an additional piece of evidence that in SFYCD the etymologically corresponding element (*tɕiæ55*)[143] figures in lexemes explicitly defined as occurring both as adjectives and as adverbs, then the listing of the lexemes in Chongming ending in *tɕiɔ33* as adjectives can be regarded as a reflection of the same type of multiple class membership. Consequently, the listings of ChoFYCD are considered valid. As a sign of the double membership of the lexemes with *tɕiɔ33* and *tɕiæ55*, the adverbial suffix -*ly* will be provided in parentheses in the English translation.

Unlike Standard Chinese (Gan 1993: 93-94), in which repetitive adjectival lexemes of the AAB type are exceedingly rare, the Shanghai dialect within the Wu group possesses a productive process, with an intensifying function, whereby a disyllabic base is transformed into an AAB duplicative. E.g.:

| məʔ2 həʔ5 | 'dark' | —> | məʔ2 məʔ2 həʔ5 | 'very dark' |
| t'iʔ5 tɕiŋ34 | 'very tight' | —> | t'iʔ5 t'iʔ5 tɕiŋ34 | 'extremely tight' |

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142 Not all lexemes with *tɕiɔ33* are classified as adjectives in ChoFYCD, however (see ChoFYCD 1993: 261).

143 The rhyme -*iɔ* in the Chongming dialect is quite regularly corresponded by -*iæ* in the dialect of Suzhou (ChoFYCD 1993: 10; SFYCD 1993: 10). The reason for choosing a different character to write this morpheme in Suzhou is perhaps that the tone of the chosen character fits better with the tone of the suffix.

zaʔ2 lɔ13   '(of food) tough' —> zaʔ2 zaʔ2 lɔ13   'very tough'
saʔ5 zi13   'tidy'   —> saʔ5 saʔ5 zi13   'very tidy'
mi13 ɕiɔ34   'small'   —> mi13 mi13 ɕiɔ34   'very small'
t'aʔ5 p'u53   'full'   —> t'aʔ5 t'aʔ5 p'u53 'very full'
piŋ53 iŋ53   'ice-cold'   —> piŋ53 piŋ53 iŋ53   'extremely cold'[144]

(Min et al. 1986: 356, 243, 47, 335-336, 106, 321, 107)

A similar process is possible in the Chongming dialect, too. E.g.:

piə?5 dzə?2/5 'direct'   —> piə?5 piə?5 dzə?2 'very direct'
piə?5 lo?2/5 'dark green' —> piə?5 piə?5 lo?2   'very dark green'
tɕiɔ55 kuæ55 'much'   —> tɕiɔ55 tɕiɔ55 kuæ55 'very much'[145]
tiə?5 yø24/55 'very round' —> tiə?5 tiə?5 yø24   'extremely round'
tiə?5 uæ?2/5 'very glossy' —> tiə?5 tiə?5 uæ?2/5 'extremely glossy'

(ChoFYCD 1993: 198, 107)

Some disyllabics seem to be alternatively expandable into disjunctive quadrisyllabic repetitive forms (AB —> ABAB). E.g.:

piə?5 dzə?2/5   —> piə?5 piə?5 dzə?2 / piə?5 dzə?2 piə?5 dzə?2
piə?5 t'in424/33 'direct' —> piə?5 piə?5 t'in424 / piə?5 t'in424 piə?5 t'in424
piə?5 lo?2/5   —> piə?5 piə?5 lo?2 / piə?5 lo?2 piə?5 lo?2

(ChoFYCD 1993: 197-198)[146]

Both the Shanghai dialect and the dialect of Chongming have AA and AAB lexemes which are apparently not traceable to a non-repeated base form. The first lexical set below is from Shanghai followed by a set from Chongming:

do?2 do?2 tɕi53   'boiling hot'
ta?5 ta?5 ti34   'dripping; poor'
hɔ34 hɔ34 li13   'very good'
ziɿ?2 ziɿ?2 bo?2   'extremely thin'

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[144] Strangely enough, Min et al. (1986: 107) have opted for two different characters to write the
       B element in this derivation despite the obvious derivative relationship between the two
       lexemes. In the unduplicated form, the character is 陰 while it in the repetitive form is 蔭.

[145] As the dialects of Shanghai, Chongming and Suzhou, besides belonging in the same dialectal
       sub-group are not geographically so wide apart from each other, it is understandable that they
       have dialectal vocabulary in common. One example of such vocabulary is this item, which in
       Shanghai in its underived form is *tɕiɔ53 kue53* and *tɕiæ55 kue55/21*in Suzhou (Min et al. 1986:
       104; SFYCD 1993: 70).

[146] The two phonologically identical *piə?5* constituents are presumably not the same: the one in
       the first two lexemes is 筆 and the one in the third is 碧 when written in Chinese characters.

la$ʔ$2 la$ʔ$2 fiuaŋ13   'extremely yellow'
tsoŋ53 tsoŋ53 tɕiɔ34   'moderate'
və$ʔ$2 və$ʔ$2 sɔ34   'very much'
(Min et al. 1986: 216, 315, 342, 343, 30, 37)

$ʔ$ue424 $ʔ$ue424/33 (tɕiɔ(33))   'light(ly)'
ɕyo$ʔ$5 ɕyo$ʔ$5 oŋ24/55   'blood red'
ts'ə$ʔ$5 ts'ə$ʔ$5 hə$ʔ$ 'pitch-dark'
t'ɔ55 t'ɔ55 (tɕiɔ(33))   'slow(ly)'
filæ$ʔ$2 læ$ʔ$2 (tɕiɔ(33))   'ruthless(ly)'
sɑ$ʔ$5 sɑ$ʔ$5 bɑ$ʔ$2/5   'sparklingly white'
(ChoFYCD 1993: 50, 215, 193, 94, 176, 184)

If the trisyllabic AAB lexemes above are observed from a semantic point of view, it is obvious that the meaning achieved through the repetitive process in the case of traceable lexemes consists uniformly of an intensification of the quality in question. This meaning seems to be still explicitly perceivable with some non-traceable items, too.

For some reason, the source on the Suzhou dialect has only the following non-traceable, or non-retrievable (for this term, see Yip & Zhang 1995: 39), adjectival AAB and AA lexemes:

hɛ51/55 hɛ51/55 fiuɛ31/21   'very very much'
la$ʔ$3 la$ʔ$3 (tɕiæ)   'ruthless(ly)'
(SFYCD 1993: 92, 248)

The Wenzhou dialect, representing southern Wu dialects, also possesses adjectival lexemes of the AAB type. Unfortunately, Zhengzhang (1979: 222-224) does not always provide translations into Standard Chinese of the meaning of the examples written exclusively in Chinese characters so that in the exemplifications below translations appear only with the cases where a Standard Chinese version is available in the original. Zhengzhang divides the data into various sub-groups. First, the sub-group where the repetitive constituent is seen as being attached to a presumably adjectival monosyllabic base. E.g.:

藍　—>　淡淡藍(兒)
黃　—>　嫩嫩黃(兒)
門　—>　扣扣門(兒)   'just right, appropriate'
(Zhengzhang 1979: 222)

The next sub-group consists of denominal trisyllabic adjectivals where a repeti-
tive modifying constituent is prefixed to a head noun (AA + B[suff.]) and finally the
whole construction is converted into an adjective. E.g.:

短短腳(兒)
粒粒板(兒)   'scattered, piece by piece'
細細粒(兒)
(Zhengzhang 1979: 223)

The third AA + B[suff.] sub-group comprises lexemes analysable as verb +
object -constructions, which while still retaining their verbal function, are also
classifiable as adjectives, thus implementing a double word class membership,
presumably a not too uncommon phenomenon in Sinitic speech forms. (See Gan
1993: 81.) E.g.:

搭搭臀(兒)   'irresponsible'
擺擺盆(兒)   'playful'
搵搵頭(兒)   'submissive'
(Zhengzhang 1979: 223)

Fourthly, Zhengzhang wants to distinguish a structural class which he regards
as infixal, i.e. a formative is inserted between the constituents of an otherwise
established repetitive lexeme[147] (AA[suff.] —> AAB[suff.]). Regrettably, none of
the exponents of the sub-category below have a Standard Chinese equivalent in the
original:

大大   —>   大大個(兒)
碎碎   —>   碎碎個(兒)
輕輕   —>   輕輕爾(兒)
慢慢   —>   慢慢爾(兒)
(Zhengzhang 1979: 223)

As an indication of the 兒-suffix being a non-compulsory formative in repeti-
tive adjectival lexemes, Zhengzhang defines the addition of this suffix to an AAB
item (AAB —> AAB + [suff.]) as a characteristic of the fifth structural category.
Deplorably, the author seems to be mainly interested in form, as he gives no

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147   As the title of the source article on the Wenzhou dialect is '溫州方言的兒尾 (兒-suffix in
      the Wenzhou dialect)', the formulae describing each sub-category invariably contains a paren-
      thesized abbreviation '(suff.)'. Unfortunately, this article happens to be the only source of
      repetitive forms available in this Wu dialect so that possibly the proportion of *-r*-suffixed
      lexical forms in Wenzhou is not quite as conspicuous as on the basis of Zhengzhang (1979)
      it appears to be.

explanation as to the possible semantic function of this operation, unless the suffixed form and the form without the 兒-suffix are in free variation:

冷冷生 —> 冷冷生兒   'unenthusiastic'
積積堅 —> 積積堅兒   'crowded, packed'
(Zhengzhang 1979: 223)

As far as the repetitive ABA pattern is concerned, the sources on Wu dialects used here testify to its existence in other varieties of Sinitic also. The Suzhou dialect, for instance, parallels Standard Chinese in having an element ($t\bar{a}$) written with the character 打 inserted between the constituents of what looks like a duplicated adjective ($ts'in^{55}$ 清). E.g.:

ts'in⁵⁵ tã⁵¹/³³ ts'in⁵⁵/²¹   'cold and cheerless, desolate'
(SFYCD 1993: 225)

The dialect of Shanghai has a different infixed formative in its listed lexemes of the ABA type, namely either $ba\Omega$ or $ba\eta^{13}/p'a\eta^{34}$. E.g.:

zəʔ² baʔ² zəʔ²   'straightforward, blunt'
tɕiaʔ⁵ baŋ¹³/p'aŋ³⁴ tɕiaʔ⁵   'about the same, similar'
ŋaŋ¹³ baŋ¹³/p'aŋ³⁴ ŋaŋ¹³   'demanding (skill)'[148]
(Min et al. 1986: 158, 282, 301)

The Chongming dialect agrees with neither of the preceding Wu variants, but inserts *lə* in the neutral tone, or *ləʔ* instead. E.g.:

fiyoŋ²⁴² lə fiyoŋ²⁴²   '(of waves) rippling, undulating'
filiəʔ² ləʔ²/⁵ filiəʔ²/⁵   '(of disposition) unreasonable, awkward,
                              difficult'
(ChoFYCD 1993: 172, 199-200)

The Wenzhou data offer an explicitation of a productive process resulting in ABA type repetitive lexemes. Zhengzhang (1979: 223) says that duplicated measure words infixed with 加 and suffixed with 兒 often function as adjectives (A —> AA —> A加A —> A加A兒). E.g.:

條加條兒   '(mass of) longish (things)'
雙加雙兒   '(of cooked rice) distinctly pellet-like'

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[148] This item is also listed as part of the Standard Chinese lexicon (see Wei et al. 1995: 1229).

| 塊加塊兒 | 'lump-like' |
| 片加片兒 | 'slice-like' |

Yuan (1989: 95) argues that in the Wu dialects, the suffixation of a duplicative constituent to a monosyllabic adjective, thus creating a repetitive adjectival lexeme of the ABB type, causes a subtle change of meaning ("..., 意義上就起了細微的變化") The scope of this concept of semantic subtlety seems to range from an intensifying to a de-intensifying effect[149]. The following two sets of lexemes from the Shanghai dialect and the dialect of Chongming, respectively, exemplify the former end of the intensity continuum:

po^{34} tsɿ^{53} tsɿ^{53}	'very full (of food)'
mo^{12} lɔ^{13} lɔ^{13}	'very much'
zɤ^{13} ɕyə^{15} ɕyə^{15}	'very stupid-looking'
ɲyø^{13} p'u^{34} p'u^{34}	'very soft'
tiŋ^{34} kua^{15} kua^{15}	'extremely good'
kø^{53} po^{15} po^{15}	'very dry'
(Min et al. 1986: 177, 26, 115, 168, 169, 10)	

fiuən^{242} to^{15} to^{15}	'very round'
fiɲã^{53} tɕ'yo^{15} tɕ'yo^{15}	'very hard'
fiɲiə^{12} boŋ$^{424/33}$ boŋ$^{424/33}$	'very warm'
(ChoFYCD 1993: 143, 150, 203)	

Semantic intensification caused by the suffixation of a duplicative element to a monosyllabic adjectival lexeme occurs in the dialect of Suzhou, too. E.g.:

ɲin$^{31/13}$ tɕiɤ$^{55/33}$ tɕiɤ$^{55/21}$	'(of polished glutinous rice) very sticky'
fiua^{13} t'a^{155} t'a^{155}	'very slippery'
(SFYCD 1993: 230, 254)	

De-intensification of a quality is expressed in the dialects of Shanghai and Suzhou by the subsequent sets of ABB items, respectively:

ha^{15} sɿ^{34} sɿ^{34}	'a little scared'
tə^{15} ka^{15} ka^{15}	'a little sticky'
fiiaŋ^{13} li^{13} li^{13}	'a little itchy'
(Min et al. 1986: 89, 279, 286)	

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149 This conclusion is based on the use of either 很 or 有點兒 in the corresponding Standard Chinese translations.

la?3 zi13/33 zi13/21   'a little hot'
k'əu51 in51/33 in51/21   'a little bitter'
fiuən13 dæ13/33 dæ13/21   'a little dizzy'
(SFYCD 1993: 248, 166, 233)

In like manner with Standard Chinese, lexemes referring to colours constitute a sub-category of repetitive adjectivals of the ABB type in the Wu dialects, as shown by the two items below from the Suzhou dialect:

ba?3 liæ31/33 liæ31/21   'pale, pallid, wan'
hə?5 iɤ55/33 iɤ55/21   '(refers to the colour of the face)'
(SFYCD 1993: 257, 277)

The view that the duplicative constituents in repetitive lexemes of the ABB type should be regarded as suffixes, and thus the whole lexeme as compositional, is corroborated by the authors of the Chongming dialect dictionary, who have listed the following elements under the heading 'appended elements' (附加成分) (ChoFYCD 1993: 263) and have accorded an entry to each of them where their function as suffixes is explicitly specified:

(i)   -do?2 do?2   (vi)   -hθ424/33 hθ(33)
(ii)   -to?5 to?5   (vii) -?iθ55 ?iθ55
(iii) -tθ55 tθ55   (viii) -sɨ55 sɨ55
(iv)   -tən55 tən55   (ix)   -filo?2 lo?2/5
(v)   -kθ33 kθ33
(ChoFYCD 1993: 209, 208, 79, 127, 85, 86, 89, 4, 210)

Zhengzhang (1979), who is more interested in structure than in meaning, brings up three different kinds of ABB repetitive adjectivals in the Wenzhou dialect. One category consists of lexical outputs of a productive process (AB[suff.] —> ABB[suff.]). E.g.:

蒙碎(兒)   —>   蒙碎碎(兒)[150]
蒙矮(兒)   —>   蒙矮矮(兒)
蒙細(兒)   —>   蒙細細(兒)
蒙狹(兒)   —>   蒙狹狹(兒)

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[150] With this category, translations into Standard Chinese are absent. Zhengzhang presents the members of this particular derivation as both 兒-suffixed as well as without this suffix, which can be taken as an index of its optional character. Note how all items in the set consistently have the same first element (蒙), the precise meaning of which unfortunately cannot be ascertained under the present circumstances.

The second category appears to comprise items from the opaque end of the continuum of lexicalised ABB type adjectival repetitive lexemes, as they are characterized merely by the presumably optional addition of the 兒-suffix (ABB + [suff.]). E.g.:

> 黃藏藏(兒)
> 暖昏昏(兒)
> 短侏侏(兒)
> 粉璀璀(兒)
> (Zhengzhang 1979: 223)

Finally, the third category, characterized by suffixation of the repeated part (A + BB[suff.]), is represented by the following items:

> 碎個個(兒)
> 飽個個(兒)
> 白個個(兒)
> (Zhengzhang 1979: 223)[151]

The Danyang dialect of Jiangsu province has adjectival lexemes patterned as ABB with a de-intensifying semantic effect. In these forms A refers to the numeral 'one' and BB stands for a repeated monosyllabic adjective. E.g.:

> i$?3$ po$?4$ po$?4$ 'a little thin'
> i$?3$ ɑ55 ɑ55 'a little short (of stature)'
> (Cai 1994: 116)

The Suzhou dialect has a productive duplicative process whereby the repeated affix *fiuø13* or alternatively *t'ɤ513* together with a duplicated monosyllabic adjective creates a repetitive lexeme of the ABAB type, implying a high level of intensity as to the quality concerned. E.g.:

> dɑ31 fiuø13 dɑ31 fiuø13 'extremely big'
> tɕ'in55 t'ɤ513 tɕ'in55 t'ɤ513 'extremely light'
> (SFYCD 1993: 127)

The two affixes are interchangeable without any difference in meaning, and with *fiuø13* an abridged ABA version instead of the full ABAB pattern is possible (SFYCD 1993: 127).

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151   Regrettably, Zhengzhang (1979: 223) cites only one repetitive suffix from the Wenzhou dialect. It is impossible to know if there are more, as the data on Wenzhou is restricted to a single article.

The lexical data on the three Jiangsu Wu dialects – Shanghai, Suzhou and Chongming – contain quadrisyllabic items comparable to the ones in Standard Chinese, constructed of a supposed disyllabic head constituent (AB) to which a duplicative modifying suffix (-CC) has been attached, yielding an ABCC pattern[152]. The subsequent three sets of lexemes introduce items exemplifying this complex pattern:

$s\dot{i}^{53}$ vu^{13} $d\partial\eta^{13}$ $d\partial\eta^{13}$ 'bookwormish (?)'
φio^{34} $t\varphi ir^{25}$ lin^{13} lin^{13} 'small and exquisite'
$z\partial\eta^{13}$ $t\varphi in^{53}$ φi^{53} φi^{53} 'abnormal'
(Shanghai; Min et al. 1986: 43, 20, 225)

$f\partial\eta^{55}$ $li\tilde{a}^{13/33}$ $dæ^{13/33}$ $dæ^{31/21}$ 'very nice and cool'
$k'\gamma^{51}$ $t\varphi'in^{55/33}$ $p'iæ^{55/33}$ $p'iæ^{55/21}$ 'indiscriminate (in speech)'
(Suzhou; SFYCD 1993: 235, 152)

do^{24} $o\eta^{24/55}$ $p'\partial n$ $p'\partial n$ '(of complexion) thoroughly red'
$filo^{22}$ $pi\partial^{25}$ $i\partial^{24/55}$ $i\partial^{24/55}$ 'fresh green'
$fi\eta\tilde{a}^{313}$ $ku\partial^{25}$ $l\partial n^{24/55}$ $l\partial n^{24/55}$ '(of food) tough (for not being cooked till tender)'
$k'o\eta^{55}$ $s\partial n^{55}$ $da^{(242)}$ $da^{(242)}$ 'not carrying anything'
(Chongming; ChoFYCD 1993: 94, 210, 150, 171)

4.1.4. The Xiang and Gan dialects

The set of Xiang and Gan dialects consists of two speech forms for the former and three for the latter. The Changsha dialect from Hunan province represents the New Xiang dialects where northern dialectal influence has gone further than in Old Xiang dialects, represented in the corpus by the dialect of Loudi (Hunan). The three Gan dialects – Nanchang, Lichuan and Pingxiang – all hail from Jiangxi province.

The nature of the data from these two dialect groups is characterized by the fact that but for one (Pingxiang) they all originate in lexica (ChaFYCD 1993, LFYCD[153] 1994, NFYCD[154] 1994, LiFYCD[155] 1995), thus representing rather the output end of the repetitive process.

Some of the repetitive adjectivals of the Changsha dialect are slightly problematic due to their containing an element the individual definition of which is in

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[152] The cautious formulation as to the nature of the other immediate constituent (AB) is due to the fact that the elements assumed to be disyllabic entities do not figure as independent entries in the sources used.

[153] Abbreviation for Loudi fangyan cidian.

[154] NFYCD = Nanchang fangyan cidian.

[155] LiFYCD = Lichuan fangyan cidian.

conflict with the categorisation of the repetitive lexemes of which it is a constituent. One case is parallel to the categorisation of lexemes with 叫 / 交 in the Wu dialects earlier on, with the obvious distinction of there being a formally different element, namely *li* (里), in the corresponding slot. *Li* is, as one would already expect, defined as a particle corresponding to the particle functioning as an adverbial marker (地) in Standard Chinese (ChaFYCD 1993: 20[Introd.]), but still the lexemes ending in *li* are consistently classified as adjectives in ChaFYCD (1993: 253). Concerning Loudi, one of the functions of a phonologically identical element (*li*), with an alternative nasal initial (*ni*) after nasal endings and written with a slightly different character (哩), is to act as an adverbial marker comparable, again, to the Standard Chinese 地 (LFYCD 1994: 17 [Introd.]), but just as in Changsha, many items with 哩 as the final syllable are listed as adjectives in LFYCD (1994: 270-275). But as with Wu dialects, the listings in the sources, ChaFYCD and LFYCD, are, however, considered valid. For the use of parentheses in this connection, see fn. 117.

The other case concerns elements written in Changsha with two characters, 子 *tsi (41)* and 的 *ti*, of which the first presumably stands for a nominal suffix, while the second is a particle most often connected with the function of an attributive marker or of forming a nominal expression. Some listed adjectival entities of the Loudi dialect have *tsi* (唧) as their final constituent, which corresponds to *tsi (41)* in Changsha (see LFYCD 1994: 17 [Introd.]). But again, the categorisations in the sources used are regarded as valid. In respect to the nominal suffixes, the policy of placing non-instrumental affixes in parentheses will naturally be followed. As for the parenthesization of 的 (*ti*), see fn. 117 and ChaFYCD (1993: 8-9).

Despite the bias toward fixed lexical items in the Xiang data, both the Changsha and Loudi sub-corpora presumably contain productive repetitive patterns which deviate from the more general set of common Sinitic repetitive patterns.

The formula ABCB collapses two different quadrisyllabic disjunctive patterns in the Changsha dialect, in one A = 很 and C = 八 (i) and in the other A is apparently either a free morpheme or a bound morpheme[156], while C is always *tsi* (子) (ii). The constituent marked B does not necessarily represent an independent entry, as far as ChaFYCD is concerned. Semantically, the former is characterized as being emphatic, the latter is simply considered derogatory in meaning. The examples below are cited in the form in which they appear in the source, that is, Chinese characters for (i) and phonetic transcription for (ii). Since Standard Chinese parallels to the repetitive forms in (i) cannot be found in the original, only the meaning of the base (= A) is provided. Of the two patterns, (i) is more productive than (ii):

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156   On the basis of ChaFYCD.

(i)   很 B 八 B[157] —>   很高八高   'high'
                            很晏八晏   'late'

(ii) A B *tsɨ* B   —>   ŋəu55 ye24 tsɨ ye24 'hot and suffocating'
      (ChaFYCD 1993: 17 [Introd.], 136)

In the dialect of Loudi, the slots in the same general formula ABCB are filled by a prefix (= A), a monosyllabic adjective (= B) and *pa* (= C). The application of this pattern in Loudi results in an enhanced semantic effect, i.e. intensification of the meaning of the base. E.g.:

to44 'many'   —>   mɤŋ35 to44 pa to44   'very many'
da11 'big'   —>   maŋ da11 pa da11   'very big'
(LFYCD 1994: 14 [Introd.], 84, 52)

In an apparently productive repetitive derivation with a four syllable result in Loudi, the first syllable of a disyllabic adjective is repeated with the insertion of *li35* (= C) in between (AB —> ACAB = A *li35* A B). E.g.:

tɕ'yn42/t'un42 tɕ'i35   'stupid'
    —> tɕ'yn42/t'un42 li35/55 tɕ'yn42/t'un42 tɕ'i35/55   'stupid looking'
(LFYCD 1994: 165)

In the following two derivations the base is, however, a monosyllabic adjective, from which a quadrisyllabic form is produced by affixation of the disjunctive pair *li35...tɕ'i35* (A —> ABAC = A *li35* A *tɕ'i35*):

ɕio42 'self-centred' —> ɕio42 *li35/55* ɕio42 *tɕ'i35/55*   'conceited looking'
mo44 'awkward'   —> mo44 *li35/55* mo44/33 *tɕ'i35/55* 'awkward looking'
(LFYCD 1994: 98, 83)

The disjunctive pair *tɕ'i* ... *tɕ'i* is mixed with both repeated adjectives and verbs in the Loudi dialect (A —> A *tɕ'i* B*tɕ'i*). The former case results in a more emphatic expression (i), while the latter process seems to change a verb into an adjective (ii). E.g.:

(i)   da11 'big'   —>   da11*tɕ'i* da11*tɕ'i*   'high above'

(ii) mo44 'to cover' —>   mo44*tɕ'i* mo44/33*tɕ'i* 'drawn tight'
      (LFYCD 1994: 17 [Introd.], 209)

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157 This 很 is an instance of phonetic application of Chinese characters, since 'very' in the dialect of Changsha is *man13* (ChaFYCD 1993: 20), not *xən41* or *xɤ41* (colloquial reading of 很) (漢語方音字匯 1989: 282). The other character (八) in the formula is also used phonetically.

Disyllabic repetitive listemes in the Loudi material (i) are either 'parenthesized', i.e. with an affix not considered instrumental in the formation of the form in question, or 'unparenthesized'. When of the former type, the parenthesized constituent is *tsi*. In Changsha (ii), it can be either *tsɨ* or *li*. E.g.:

(i)   tɕ'y42 tɕ'y   'pestle-like'[158]
         sin44 sin(44/33)   '(of food, etc.) fresh'
         ŋã42 ŋã33 (tsi)   'a little'
         mi44 mi55 (tsi)   'extremely little'
         (LFYCD 1994: 38, 157, 197, 8)

         ləu41 ləu41 (tsɨ)   'passable'
         lin33 lin33 (tsɨ)   'quiet(ly)'[159]
         k'an33 k'an33 (li)   'frightened; cold'
         po55 po55 (li)   '(of water, soup) boiling'
         (ChaFYCD 1993: 108, 129, 191, 171, 60)

The 'unparenthesized' items with three syllables naturally count as AAB forms. In the subsequent Loudi pair (i), followed by a Changsha item (ii), the first is derogatory in meaning while the second is not:

(i)   liɔ42 liɔ kɤŋ   'aslant'
         liɔ42 liɔ ʐin13/33   'aslant '
         (LFYCD 1994: 112)

(ii)   mau13/33 mau13/33 ye24   'a little warm'
         (ChaFYCD 1993: 108)

The lexicon of both Xiang variants displays quite a few forms of the ABB type, rife in other Sinitic speech forms, too. E.g.:

Changsha:
         çyei41 kua11 kua11 (ti)   'moist, damp'
         xan11 pa33 pa33 (ti)   'moist with sweat'
         lian13 iəu33 iəu33 (ti)   'cool and refreshing'
         la24 xo33 xo33 (ti)   'peppery, hot'

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158   On the basis of the entry in LFYCD (1994: 38), *tɕ'y42 tɕ'y* can be interpreted as being either deverbal or denominal.

159   The English translation reflects the Standard Chinese version ('悄悄地') of this Changsha item. Curiously enough, the Changsha *-tsɨ(41)*, though written with the character usually interpreted as representing a nominal marker, seems to correspond to the element functioning as an adverbial marker (地) in the Standard Chinese expression.

fən41 to13 to13 (ti)   'very starchy'
(ChaFYCD 1993: 104, 173, 174, 46, 183)

Loudi:

xue44 ɣu(11/22) ɣu11 (li)   'dusky, overcast'
tsua/tsa44 lɣu(35/33) lɣu35 (li) '(of cooked dishes, usu. meat) no oil'
mɣ13 xɣŋ35/55 xɣŋ35/55 (ni)   'hairy, downy'
ie13 çiɣ(44/33) çiɣ44 (li)   '(of weather) scorching'
(LFYCD 1994: 78, 60, 122, 73)

May the first lexeme in the Changsha set above serve as a reminder of the necessity of caution when dealing with characters used to write dialectal material. Outwardly, it looks as if çyei41 written with the character 水 in the source is utilized as a head to which is added a suffixal repetitive constituent -kua11 kua11 [ti] with a modifying function. However, the constituent acting as the putative head of the lexeme under consideration happens to be represented as an independent entry in ChaFYCD (1993: 104) with none of the meanings attributed to it being 'water'. As a matter of fact, they are not even nominal, but adjectival ('[of a person] slick, smooth, oily') or verbal ('to play with people by dishonest means'). On the basis of the semantics of the repetitive lexeme, though, one would be tempted to argue that it is precisely the meaning 'water' which has served as a point of departure for the meaning of the whole item. Finally, one may wonder that if the meaning 'water' cannot be located under the character 水 in ChaFYCD, how then can it be found in a dictionary based on Chinese characters? What then is 'water' in the Changsha dialect?

Even though entries of listed lexical items seldom contain information as to the structure of a listeme and they do not often comment on the semantic difference between a particular lexeme and another lexeme, the entry of fən41 to13 to13 (ti) is very revelatory in this sense as it explicitly establishes a derivative relationship between fən41 'starchy' and fən41 to13 to13 (ti) by saying that the latter expresses an increase in the level of intensity of the quality referred to by the former (ChaFYCD 1993: 183).

The data on Changsha (i) and Loudi (ii) dialects contain one example of a denominal complex compositional repetitive adjectival lexeme from each, patterned as ABCC. They resemble quadrisyllabic adjectives in the Standard Chinese and Wu sub-corpus in consisting of a disyllabic head, entered as a nominal entry by itself, followed by a suffixed repetitive modifying element:

(i)   ku^{24} təu   'bone'[160]   —>   ku^{24} təu tɕ'y^{41} tɕ'y^{41} (ti) 'skinny'
(ChaFYCD 1993: 23)

(ii) lɤu^{11} mi$^{42/11}$ 'polished glutinous rice'
        —> lɤu^{11} mi$^{42/11}$ do$^{13/33}$ do$(13/33)$ 'cowardly, weak'
(LFYCD 1994: 146)

In the Lichuan dialect of the Gan sub-group, the meaning 'a little' is imple-
mented by adding the nominal suffix -*i* (LiFYCD 1995: 48) to a duplicated adjective
(A —> AAB)[161]. E.g.:

tɕiam^{22} 'sharp'
    —>   tɕiam^{22} tɕiam^{22} mi   'a little sharp'
ŋau$^{44/35}$ 'crooked'
    —>   ŋau^{35} ŋau$^{35/53}$ i   '(of head) inclined'
(LiFYCD 1995: 19 [Introd.], 118, 85)

This AAB pattern can be expanded into an AABC structure by inserting ɕiʔ in
the B slot without any substantial change in meaning. E.g.:

hap^5 hap^5 i 'a little narrow'   —>   hap^5 hap^5 ɕiʔ i
iɛ^{13} iɛ i   'a little stupid'   —>   iɛ^{13} iɛ ɕiʔ i
(LiFYCD 1995: 19 [Introd.], 199, 31)

The dialect of Lichuan is similar to that of Loudi (see above) in forming four
syllable repetitive adjectives disjunctively (A —> ABAC = A *ti* A *k'i^{53}*). E.g.:

tɛu^{35} 'stubborn' —>   tɛu^{35} *ti* tɛu^{35} *k'i^{53}*
                                 '(of speech and actions) crude and rash'
kuai^{53} 'strange'   —>   kuai^{53} *ti* kuai^{53} *k'i^{53}*
                                 'peculiar, queer, singular'
(LiFYCD 1995: 100, 73)

Another Gan dialect, that of Nanchang, possesses, not surprisingly, the same
type of ABAC disjunctive repetitive adjectival pattern as Loudi and Lichuan, as the
following non-retrievable exponent in the present corpus indicates: *liu^{35} li liu^{35}*

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160   Possibly due to a printer's error or some other oversight, the entry for this item lacks the
      meaning, with only a blank space after the characters and the transcription. Despite the
      hazards connected with writing dialects in Chinese script, the combination of characters
      utilized to transcribe the lexeme in question are assumed to represent the same meaning in the
      Changsha dialect as they have in Standard Chinese (see Wei et al. 1995: 347).

161   As the meaning of the acquired form is crucially dependent on the suffix, it is accordingly not
      parenthesized. Note the assimilation of the suffix to the preceding syllable-final nasal.

tɕ'i213 '(of speech and actions) dishonest, indecent' [162] (NFYCD 1994: 138). The data on the dialect of Nanchang attests, however, to there being productive disjunctive ABAC patterns or rather ACAB, based on disyllabic adjectives (AB —> ACAB = A *li/ku* AB). Note the intensification, quite in accordance with the iconicity principle (i.e. more form corresponds to more meaning), in the second derivation:

> muŋ213 tuŋ   'confused'
>   —> muŋ213 *li* muŋ213 tuŋ213 'simple minded'
> mie42 lan42   '(food cooked till) very soft'
>   —> mie42 *ku* mie42 lan42   '(food cooked till) extremely soft'
> (NFYCD 1994: 231,72)

Like other Sinitic speech forms, the lexica of Gan dialects, as represented by Nanchang and Lichuan, are not devoid of non-traceable repetitive lexemes, as the following selection of (i) parenthesized disyllabics (see the definition above) and (ii) trisyllabics indicates:

> (i)   miau22 miau22 (uɛ)   '(of woman) slender (figure)'
>   tɔʔ3/5 tɔʔ3/5 (i)   '(of) meager (weight)'
>   hou44 hou44 (uɛ)   'normal, regular'
>   (LiFYCD 1995: 87, 233, 99)
>
> (ii)   kua42 kua42 tɕiɛu35   'extremely good'
>   ia11 ia u35   'not earnest, not serious'
>   (NFYCD 1994: 58, 56)
>
>   niɔŋ35 niɔŋ35 k'iɔŋ22   '(of accent) womanish'
>   ŋom35 ŋom35 hŋ22   'loose, unstable'
>   (LiFYCD 1995: 179, 92)

Curiously enough, the present Gan data contain surprisingly few exponents of the otherwise so rife trisyllabic ABB pattern. Does this mean that it is not so common in this Sinitic sub-group as in others? In any case, the one single ABB item representing the output of a productive repetitive process comes from Nanchang:

> fo213 'fire'   —>   fo213 lat lat   'scorching hot'
> (NFYCD 1994: 62)

Typical of the three Pingxiang ABB adjectival items in the Gan data is that they are always derogatory in meaning (Wei 1995: 173).

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162 Though sister dialects, a distinctive feature connecting Nanchang and Lichuan is that with the *-i* -rhyme, a Nanchang initial *l-* corresponds to an initial *t-* in Lichuan (NFYCD 1994: 7; LiFYCD 1995: 9, 17).

In addition to a traceable consecutively repetitive quadrisyllabic item in the combined Xiang and Gan sub-corpus (AB —> AABB: *lai13 p'i35* 'rascally' —> *lai13 lai13 p'i35 p'i35* 'cheeky; shameless and loathsome' [LiFYCD 1995: 69]), the present Xiang-Gan data contain non-traceable items of similar construction, as shown by the subsequent selection, arranged hierarchically in sub-sets first according to dialect group (Xiang [i], Gan [ii]) and then on the basis of the individual dialects concerned:

(i)   mã11 mã(11/22) si35/55 si35/55   'slow(ly)'
         ŋɤ13 ŋɤ(13/33) tɕi35/55 tɕi35/55   'shaky'
         (LFYCD 1994: 190, 131)

         to13 to tian55 tian   'bumpy, rough'
         u11 u11 tsa33 tsa   'blurred, indistinct'
         (ChaFYCD 1993: 62, 24)

(ii)   tɕin42 tɕin ɲiet5 ɲiet5   'prudent, careful'
         fɔŋ213 fɔŋ fit5 fit   'lively, vigorous'
         (NFYCD 1994: 197, 213)

         liŋ13 liŋ13 lam13 lam13   'garrulous (of elderly people)'
         ki?5 ki?5 t'au13 t'au13   'neatly dressed'
         (LiFYCD 1995: 187, 223)

4.1.5. The Hakka dialects

The present Hakka corpus is based on what is called the 'Sixian speech' (四縣 話)[163], spoken in Taiwan (Luo 1990: 78). Luo's presentation of the Hakka (Sixian) adjectival duplicative lexicon (1990: 262-266) distinguishes the following set of repetitive patterns: AA, AAA, AAB, ABB, AABB and ABAB. The forms used to exemplify each pattern have been intentionally chosen, whenever possible, exclusively from among the items marked in the source with blank squares instead of characters, in order to illuminate idiosynchratic Hakka vocabulary[164].

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163   The term 四縣 refers literally to four counties (興寧, 五華, 平遠 and 蕉嶺) which formerly belonged to the 嘉應 administrative district in Guangdong province. Today the name of this administrative district is 梅縣 (Meixian) and probably the most well-known Hakka dialect, at least to those versed in Chinese dialectology, is called by this name. To all appearances, the Taiwanese Sixian dialect is roughly the same as the Meixian dialect. The greatest concentration of Sixian speakers in Taiwan is in Miaoli (苗栗)county, the northern part of the island. (Luo 1990: 76-78).

164   The convention of using blank squares instead of characters as a sign of a morpheme/word whose pan-Sinitic etymology is not clear or is unknown, is a common practice in Chinese dialectological publications.

As in Standard Chinese, duplication of a monosyllabic adjective in the Sixian dialect is semantically an index of an increase in intensity of the quality expressed by the same. E.g.:

nem^{24} 'full'	$\longrightarrow$	nem^{11} nem^{24}	'very full'
hin^{11} 'dizzy'	$\longrightarrow$	hin^{11} hin^{11}	'very dizzy'
k'it^5 'narrow and small'	$\longrightarrow$	k'it^5 k'it^5	'very narrow and small'

(Luo 1990: 263)

The Sixian Hakka is the possessor of a triplicative repetitive process in its morphology and quite iconically, increase in form has a regular correspondence in the increase in intensity during the derivational route from the monosyllabic adjectival base via duplication to triplication, so that a triplicated form indicates the strongest degree of intensity. The following set of adjectival lexemes embodies the outputs of a productive triplicative process. E.g.:

ts'i^{24} ts'i$^{24/11}$ ts'i^{24}	'extremely fresh'
fai^{55} fai^{55} fai^{55}	'extremely bad'[165]
kiak$^{2/24}$ kiak^2 kiak^2	'extremely quick, fast'
tsat^5 tsat^5 tsat^5	'extremely rapid and intense'

(Luo 1990: 264-265)

The repetitive adjectival lexemes of the AAB pattern consist of a repeated adjective and a suffix (AA + -e) (Luo 1990: 263). Semantically, the AAB pattern represents number two (2) on a four-digit scale of intensity on which numerical growth is directly proportional to increase in intensity (i.e. A = 1, AAB = 2, AA = 3, AAA = 4)[166]. E.g.:

tiam$^{24/11}$ tiam^{24} me^{31}	'rather quiet'[167]
iu^{55} iu^{55} ve^{31}	'rather thin, fine'
fat^2 fat^2 te^{11}	'rather wide'
se^{55} se^{55} e^{31}	'rather small'

(Luo 1990: 263)[168]

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[165] This item is etymologically related to Standard Chinese *huài* (壞), while all the other lexemes in this set are exclusively Hakka (Luo 1990: 264-265).

[166] As the lexemes constructed of a repeated adjective regularly followed by the -e-suffix have a consistently distinct semantic function from those of the AA type, they are regarded as belonging to the unparenthesized AAB pattern rather than partaking of the AA pattern with a parenthesized suffix after them.

[167] This is the only purely dialectal form among the four. The others can be written with 幼, 闊 and 細 as a token of their pan-Sinitic nature (see Luo 1990: 263).

[168] The alternation in the form of the suffix is conditioned by the articulatory features of the coda of the previous syllable.

In another trisyllabic pattern in the Sixian context, namely ABB (A + BB), the A slot is reserved for a monosyllabic adjective. The semantic impact of the suffixation of a duplicative element to the adjective seems to be similar to the effect produced by the repetitive derivation of a disyllabic adjectival form (see above), if the use of the same intensifier in the respective Standard Chinese translations is considered an acceptable measure (Luo 1990: 265). E.g.:

fuŋ^{11} tsit^2 tsit^2	'very red'
laŋ^{11} tsim^{55} tsim^{55}	'very cold'
p'i^{11} tu^{55} tu^{55}	'very fat'

Unlike Standard Chinese, in which the AABB pattern represents both productive repetition and composition (Gan 1993: 83-86), the Sixian AABB pattern seems to be strictly compositional (AA + BB). The two repetitive adjectives are juxtaposed with an intensifying semantic effect comparable to that of the patterns AA and ABB. E.g.:

ts'in^{31} ts'in^{31} ts'ai^{31} ts'ai^{31}	'very careless, casual'
van$^{24/11}$ van^{24} vat^2 vat^2	'very tortuous'
vaŋ^{11} vaŋ^{11} vak^2 vak^2	'very difficult'
(Luo 1990: 265)[169]	

According to Luo (1990: 265), the ABAB pattern refers to the output of duplicated disyllabic adjectives in Sixian speech, thus distinguishing it from Standard Chinese, which in Gan's opinion (1993: 100) does not actually have adjectival repetition of the ABAB type. As to the accomplished meaning, the definition of the semantics involved with this pattern, as presented by Luo, is contradictory to the meaning implied by the same author in the Standard Chinese translations of the exponents of the pattern. Curiously enough, the wording in Luo's definition very much resembles the way the meaning of repeated action verbs is usually explained within the Sinitic context[170]. And yet the translations either explicitly contain the intensifier 很 (hěn) 'very' or let it be otherwise understood that an intensifying semantic effect is aimed at. In other words, leaving the mentioned contradiction aside, Luo's definition alone would make Sixian Hakka similar to Standard Chinese in that ABAB duplications of certain disyllabic lexemes are verbs while their AABB forms are semantically parallel to repetitive adjectives (see Gan 1993: 99-100), except that, as noted above, the Sixian AABB pattern is exclusively compositional, in Luo's opinion.

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[169] The BB part in *van$^{24/11}$ van^{24} vat^2 vat^2* and *vaŋ^{11} vaŋ^{11} vak^2 vak^2* is marked as being etymologically unrelated within the Sinitic context (Luo 1990: 265).

[170] Compare Luo (1990: 265) with Gan (1993: 41, 45) and Li & Thompson (1980: 29-30).

The A slot in a parenthesized ABB pattern is often reserved for a noun. The repetitive element in the middle can either be a duplicated adjective or a duplicated verb[171]. The noun is often the name of a part of the body. In the following examples, the nouns are *t'eu11* ('head'), *p'i55* ('nose'), *tsoi55* ('mouth'), *su31* ('hand'), *sat5* ('tongue') and *ɲi31* ('ear'), respectively:

t'eu11 ts'ɨm31 ts'ɨm31 (me11)	'depressed, downcast'
p'i55 ɲiu55 ɲiu55 (ve31)	'disobedient'
tsoi55 sok5 sok5 (ke31)	'(look like) yearning (for something)'
su31 ia31 ia31 (e11)	'hard up, in straitened circumstances'
sat5 lei11 lei11 (e31)	'(look like) sticking the tongue out'
ɲi31 hio55 hio55 (ve31)	'inattentive'
(Luo 1990: 265-266)	

The same noun referring to a part of the body can function as A in various repetitive lexemes of the parenthesized ABB type, as shown by the subsequent set with 眼 'eye'[172] as the head:

眼 k'ok2 k'ok2 (ke11)	'with sunken eyes'
眼 taŋ11 taŋ11 (ŋe31)	'helpless, unfeeling'
眼 ts'an55 ts'an55 (ne31)	'(of expression) shameless'
(Luo 1990: 265)	

The A slot in the ABB pattern in question is not exclusively filled by nouns; verbs are also possible. E.g.:

發 ts'a55 ts'a55 (e31)	'very wealthy'
笑 si11 si11 (e31)	'grinning'
驚 k'ap5 k'ap5 (pe31)	'startled and shivering'
(Luo 1990: 280)	

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171 It would be interesting to know to what extent these forms are transparent to a native speaker, i.e. does he/she perceive the AA part as being a repetitive adjective/verb?

172 For some reason, Luo prefers Chinese characters to phonetic script in writing the constituent in the A slot in this and the following set of examples.

4.1.6. The Yue dialects

The Yue data used for analysis in this chapter comprises material from two Yue variants spoken in Guangdong province, (Hongkong) Cantonese and the dialect of Dongguan, and two speech forms from Guangxi province, the dialects of Pingnan and Tengxian, from the western parts of the Yue-speaking area.

The Yue set of repetitive patterns is quite unique within the Sinitic corpus of the study because it consists of two separate main categories, namely the sub-set of totally repetitive patterns and the sub-set of partially repetitive patterns. The former can be subsumed under such formulae as AA, AAA, AAB, ABB, ABA, AABB, ABAB, AABC as well as ABCC, while the latter is represented by A A/x, A x/A, A B A/x, A A B x/A and A x/A B. The sub-set of partially repetitive patterns is an exclusive characteristic of the Tengxian dialect; none of the other three share this feature.

In Cantonese, as in many other Sinitic speech forms, repetition of monosyllabic adjectives (A —> AA) is associated with a regular intensifying effect, quite in accordance with the iconicity principle. E.g.:

daaih	'big'	—>	daaih-daaih	'very big'
múhn	'full'	—>	múhn-múhn	'very full'

(Matthews & Yip 1994: 163)[173]

With disyllabic adjectives, the semantic effect of repetition is similar to that of monosyllabic adjectives (AB —> AABB). E.g.:

yinngahn	'intimate' —>	yin-yin-ngahn-ngahn	'pretty intimate'
jingsàhn	'energetic' —>	jing-jing-sàhn-sàhn	'all full of energy'

(Matthews & Yip 1994: 163)

The Dongguan dialect does not differ from Cantonese in this respect. E.g.:

k'ɐi^{13} ŋɐi^{13} 'clean'
    —> k'ɐi^{13} k'ɐi^{13} ŋɐi^{13} ŋɐi^{13} 'very clean'
nau^{32} sau^{32} 'in a mess, slovenly'
    —> nau^{32} nau^{32} sau^{32} sau^{32} 'very slovenly'
(DFYCD[174] 1997: 67, 106-107)

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173 The first syllable in the repetitive form can optionally be high rising, i.e. *dáai-daaih* and *mún-múhn* (Matthews & Yip 1994: 163).

174 DFYCD = Dongguan fangyan cidian.

Cantonese (i) and the dialect of Dongguan (ii) are no different from other Sinitic speech forms in that they have non-retrievable quadrisyllabic (AABB) repetitive lexemes. E.g.:

(i) hīng-hīng-ngóh-ngóh   'intimate, in love'
     (Matthews & Yip 1994: 163)

(ii) ŋaŋ^{213} ŋaŋ^{213} tsaŋ^{213} tsaŋ^{213} 'domineering'
     mɔi^{21} mɔi^{21} moŋ^{35} moŋ^{35} 'confused'
     (DFYCD 1997: 183, 83)

In Cantonese, emphatic usage can be responsible for octosyllabic repetitive items ($A_1A_1B_1B_1A_2A_2B_2B_2$), which in practice are combinations of two duplicated disyllabic adjectives ($A_1B_1 + A_2B_2$). E.g.:

hīngsūng + gáandāan ⟶ hīng-hīng-sūng-sūng gáan-gáan-dāan-dāan
relaxing   simple   nice and light and easy and relaxing

sīmàhn + wānyàuh ⟶ sī-sī-màhn-màhn wān-wān-yàuh-yàuh
gentle   tender   nice and kind and gentle
(Matthews & Yip 1994: 163)

There are two sub-types of AAB adjectival patterns in Cantonese. One results from a repetitive process in which the first syllable of a disyllabic adjective is repeated with an intensifying impact. E.g.:

sāpseui   'trivial' ⟶   sāp-sāp-seui   'rather trivial'
hóusàm   'kind'   ⟶   hóu-hóu-sàm   'rather kind'
cháuyéung   'ugly'   ⟶   cháu-cháu-yéung 'rather ugly'
(Matthews & Yip 1994: 164)

The other sub-type differs from the first in that the duplicated adjective is followed by the suffix -déi (A ⟶ AAB = AA + déi). Contrary to the previous repetitive modes, this particular pattern moderates the degree of intensity inherent in the quality expressed by the monosyllabic base, being inconsistent with the iconicity principle. E.g.:

sān   'new'   ⟶   sān-sān-déi   'newish'
waaih   'broken' ⟶   waaih-wáai-déi   'a bit broken'
(Matthews & Yip 1994: 164)

The Dongguan dialect has a corresponding structure (A —> AAB = AA + tɐi32/35). E.g.:

vɔŋ21	'yellow'	—>	vɔŋ21 vɔŋ21 tɐi32/35	'yellowish'
søn213	'sour'	—>	søn213 søn213 tɐi32/35	'a bit sour'
(DFYCD 1997: 61)				

The repetitive process with *-déi* is also applicable to disyllabic adjectives in Cantonese, but note how only the first syllable undergoes repetition with the *-déi* suffix following immediately after the repeated syllable (i.e. AB —> AA *déi* B which can be rewritten as AABC on a more general level). E.g.:

chīsin	'crazy'	—>	chī-chī-déi-sin	'a bit crazy'
pacháu	'shy'	—>	pa-pa-déi-cháu	'a bit shy'
(Matthews & Yip 1994: 165)				

In Dongguan, only the second syllable of a disyllabic adjective can be duplicated, and a trisyllabic, intensifying repetitive form results (AB —> ABB). E.g.:

| vɛk22 t'øt44 'sleek' | —> | vɛk22 t'øt44 t'øt44 'very sleek' |
| (DFYCD 1997: 259) | | |

The first compositional repetitive pattern type within the Cantonese context is here provided by the ABB pattern (A + BB), already familiar, with its general characteristics in the Sinitic context, from previous chapters. Matthews & Yip (1994: 165), in their rather brief description of Cantonese lexemes of this type, imply that only adjectives should be eligible to function as A's, but So & Harrison's extensive list (1996: 41-56), containing current ABB items from Hong Kong and Macau, proves that there are quite a few lexemes with nouns in the first slot. Most of these nouns are names of parts of the body, which reminds one of the sub-set of repetitive adjectival items in the Sixian (Hakka) speech form, dealt with in the previous chapter. As presumably most examples of the ABB pattern in earlier chapters on Sinitic adjectival repetitive forms have mainly concentrated on the various characteristics of lexemes with an adjectival head, the aforesaid list gives an opportunity to draw attention to the not uncommon phenomenon of how nominals, especially names of parts of the body, help to create repetitive adjectival vocabulary in Cantonese.

The nominal morpheme *ngaan5* 'eye' in the role of A helps to build the following lexemes with different meanings:

ngaan⁵ sap¹ sap¹   'tearful'
ngaan⁵ gwat⁶ gwat⁶   'looking daggers'
ngaan⁵ ding⁶ ding⁶   'glassy-eyed'
ngaan⁵ mung¹ mung¹   'eyes half closed'
ngaan⁵ dzaam² dzaam²   'blinking'
(So & Harrison 1996: 54)

The same noun (ŋɛŋ¹³ 'eye') is found in this function in Dongguan, too. E.g.:

ŋɛŋ¹³ kɐm²¹³ kɐm²¹³   'with fixed gaze'
ŋɛŋ¹³ pak²² pak²²   'helpless (look in the eyes)'
ŋɛŋ¹³ sɔk⁴⁴ sɔk⁴⁴   'tearful'
ŋɛŋ¹³ ŋok⁴⁴ ŋok⁴⁴   'with wide eyes'
(DFYCD 1997: 196-197)

Another Cantonese noun with many occurrences in various ABB items on So & Harrison's list is *tau⁴* 'head'. E.g.:

tau⁴ ling⁶ ling⁶   'shaking head'
tau⁴ dap¹ dap¹   'bowed down'
tau⁴ ngok⁶ ngok⁶   'looking around'
tau⁴ gong¹ gong¹   'bare headed'
tau⁴ dai⁶ dai⁶   'troublesome'
(So & Harrison 1996: 55-56)

Other parts of the body are not so numerously represented as the heads of these trisyllabic adjectives; among them are two morphemes for 'mouth', *hau²* (口) and *zœi²* (嘴), as well as *sau²* 'hand', *mou²* 'hair', *sam¹* 'heart' and *min⁶* 'face'. E.g.:

hau² faa¹ faa¹   'facetious'
hau² zat⁶ zat⁶   'stammering'
zœi² juk¹ juk¹   'soundless mouthing'
zœi² hiu³ hiu³   'bare headed'
sau² zan³ zan³   'shaky hands'
mou⁴ sang⁶ sang⁶   'hairy'
sam¹ fong¹ fong¹   'apprehensive'
min⁶ ceng¹ ceng¹   'pale-faced'
(So & Harrison 1996: 52-53, 56)

The A slot is not exclusively dominated by names of parts of the body, as *fo²* 'fire' and *sœi²* 'water' prove:

fo^2 laat^8 laat^8 'atmospherically hot'

sœi^2 lau^4 lau^4 'watery'

(So & Harrison 1996: 52)

An interesting detail on the list is that the negative *mou^4* (無), which is characterized by Matthews & Yip (1994: 257) as overlapping with *mou^5* – the negative form of *yauh^5* with the meaning 'have not' – and tending to replace it in formal and written Cantonese, figures as the head of the following items with the same qualitative meaning:

mou^4 dyn^1 dyn^1 'unreasoning'

mou^4 cing^4 cing^4 'unreasoning'

mou^4 laa^1 laa^1 'unreasoning'

(So & Harrison 1996: 54)

The DFYCD features quite a few trisyllabic repetitive listemes of the AAB type. E.g.:

t'ε^{35} t'ε^{35} nin^{213} 'very sticky'

fau^{21} fau^{21} p'aŋ^{32} 'like floating on water'

ŋɔk^{22} ŋɔk^{22} ŋən^{32} 'extremely bright'

kɐk^{22} kɐk^{22} ha^{13} 'limping'

sɐi^{35} sɐi^{35} hɐi^{32} 'forced (to do), dejected'

kɔk^{44} kɔk^{44} kø^{35} 'hasty'

(DFYCD 1997: 21, 104, 267, 132, 254, 64, 265)

Among the adjectival repetitive patterns with a monosyllabic base in the Pingnan dialect, those of the form AA with an intensifying semantic effect are, not surprisingly, the most common (Liu & Xiao 1988: 139). E.g.:

sɐn^{55} 'new'   —>   sɐn^{55} sɐn^{55} 'very new'

kəu^{55} 'high'   —>   kəu^{55} kəu^{55} 'very high'

yn^{31} 'round'   —>   yn^{31} yn^{31} 'very round'

(Liu & Xiao 1988:140)

The dialect of Pingnan is similar to the Sixian speech form in contracting a regular relationship of iconical correspondence between meaning and form in its set of non-suffixed patterns, i.e. what is semantically 'more' on a continuum is paralleled by formal 'more' in structure (A '...' —> AA 'very...' —> AAA 'extremely...'). Consequently, the following trisyllabic outputs exemplify the strongest degree of intensity of the quality expressed by each monosyllabic base form; the intermediate value on the respective intensity continuum is naturally provided by the disyllabic output in the parenthesized derivation above:

hɛm31	'salty'	—>	hɛm31 hɛm31 hɛm31	'extremely salty'
ʃɐu53	'thin'	—>	ʃɐu53 ʃɐu53 ʃɐu53	'extremely thin'
ləu24	'old'	—>	ləu24 ləu24 ləu24	'extremely old'

(Liu & Xiao 1988: 140)

This principle of direct proportionality between meaning and form in Pingnan is damaged by the following suffixed AAB pattern (B = suffix) with its de-intensifying semantic impact. Note how this Pingnan pattern resembles the suffixed AAB patterns in Cantonese and Dongguan, both in form and meaning. E.g.:

| uɔŋ31 uɔŋ31 ti55 | 'a little yellow' |
| hɐk5 hɐk5 ti55 | 'a little black' |

(Liu & Xiao 1988: 140)

The Pingnan speech form possesses repetitive adjectival lexemes of the ABA type, which are not merely dispersed lexical items but are outputs of a productive process. The B in this pattern is consistently *kuɐi35*. The AA pattern and the infixal ABA pattern contract a close relationship which manifests itself as the capability of all adjectives partaking of ABA, to undergo repetition so as to form AA, but not all AA's can be expanded into ABA's. Infixal repetitive forms are otherwise similar in meaning to infixless forms, but for their inherent derogatory implication. E.g.:

| pan11 kuɐi35 pan11 | 'very muddy' |
| ai35 kuɐi35 ai35 | 'very short of stature' |

(Liu & Xiao 1988: 140)

There is yet another compositional AAB pattern (AA + B) in Pingnan which is similar to another structurally compositional trisyllabic repetitive pattern in the same dialect, namely ABB (A + BB), in being semantically intensifying (Liu & Xiao 1988: 140). If this is true, the exponents of these two patterns are not different in meaning from the repetitive adjectival lexemes of the AA type (see above). E.g.:

pak5 syt5 syt5	'very white'
fa55 paŋ31 paŋ31	'blurred, indistinct'
lɐp5 lɐp5 lɛŋ35	'very beautiful'
ŋau53 ŋau53 k'ok5	'crooked, meandering'

Another typical feature of these two compositional pattern types within the Pingnan context is the boundness of the repetitive constituent; a not uncommon characteristic shared by the total sub-set of adjectival trisyllabic compositional repetitive lexemes, most of which are of the ABB type, within the Sinitic corpus at

hand. Further, it is usual in Pingnan for the majority of prefixed lexemes (AAB) to be interchangeable with the corresponding suffixed ones (ABB) with no change of meaning, while the contrary phenomenon is not so rife. Compare the following pairs[175]:

uɐn⁵⁵ uɐn⁵⁵ sɛŋ⁵⁵	=	sɛŋ⁵⁵ (腥) uɐn⁵⁵ uɐn⁵⁵
ŋɐu⁵⁵ ŋɐu⁵⁵ laŋ²⁴	=	laŋ²⁴ (冷) ŋɐu⁵⁵ ŋɐu⁵⁵
ʃo³¹ (傻) kaŋ⁵⁵ kaŋ⁵⁵	≠	kaŋ⁵⁵ kaŋ⁵⁵ ʃo³¹
fu²⁴ (苦) tiu⁵⁵ tiu⁵⁵	≠	tiu⁵⁵ tiu⁵⁵ fu²⁴

(Liu & Xiao 1988: 140-141)

Repetitive lexemes of the ABB and AAB patterns may also be based on disyllabic adjectives. Of those belonging to the former type (ABB) (i), Liu & Xiao (1988: 144) explicitly state that they are intensifying in meaning, while of those partaking of the latter (AAB) (ii) Liu & Xiao, rather strangely, only take note of their similar syntactic behaviour with their suffixed counterparts. Fortunately, the translations into Standard Chinese of the pair of Pingnan AAB items below contain an element allowing their interpretation as intensifying:

(i)	u⁵⁵ tsəu⁵⁵ tsəu⁵⁵	'very dirty'
	ŋam⁵⁵ ts'am³¹ ts'am³¹	'uneven, not uniform'
(ii)	ku³⁵ ku³⁵ sok⁵⁵	'very unsociable'
	ku⁵⁵ ku⁵⁵ hɔn³¹	'very stingy'

According to Liu & Xiao (1988: 144), the AABB pattern represents a common structure among repetitive adjectival lexemes based on disyllabic adjectives. The semantic effect of duplication resulting in a lexeme of the AABB type does not differ from that associated with the affixed patterns in the previous paragraph. E.g.:

lɐn³¹ lɐn³¹ tsɐn¹¹ tsɐn¹¹	'careless (in handling things)'
kuɐi³⁵ kuɐi³⁵ ma²⁴ ma²⁴	'very sly, cunning'
ŋa³¹ ŋa³¹ ts'at³ ts'at³	'very conceited'

Not surprisingly, the Pingnan dialect also has non-retrievable quadrisyllabic repetitive adjectivals of the AABB type. E.g.:

in⁵⁵ in⁵⁵ p'aŋ⁵⁵ p'aŋ⁵⁵	'(of thick smoke) irritating (the respiratory organs)'

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175 To give a hint of the meaning of the respective lexemes, the characters used to write the adjectival heads in Liu & Xiao (1988) are given in parentheses.

pak¹ pak¹ k'ɛ³⁵ k'ɛ³⁵   'very white'
(Liu & Xiao 1988: 144)

The adjectival lexemes subsumable under the ABCC pattern represent in the Pingnan context infixal outputs of a repetitive process applied to disyllabic bases. The infix is the same as in infixal lexemes derived from monosyllabic bases (see above), but the connotation can be either complimentary or derogatory. E.g.:

k'i³⁵ kuɐi³⁵ li²⁴ li²⁴   'neat, tidy'
moŋ²⁴ kuɐi³⁵ pɐi⁵³ pɐi⁵³   'very confused'
(Liu & Xiao 1988: 144)

Finally, a repetitive adjectival lexeme of the ABAB type in the dialect of Pingnan is possible only if the disyllabic base can be analysed as consisting of a head element and a modifying element. The general meaning of the ABAB pattern has not been explicitly explained in the source and as there is no Standard Chinese translation, only the basic meaning of the quality in question is given in these two examples:

maŋ³⁵ ʃɐu⁵³ maŋ³⁵ ʃɐu⁵³   'thin'
ma⁵⁵ hɐk⁵ ma⁵⁵ hɐk⁵   'black'
(Liu & Xiao 1988: 144)

On the basis of the list provided by Liu & Xiao (1988: 144-145) concerning the capability of Pingnan disyllabic adjectives to undergo various repetitive processes, one can draw the rough conclusion that unless the base consists of a modifier and a head, in the majority of cases it can serve as an input to almost all processes.

As the fourth of the Yue dialects available for the study, Tengxian, is quite unique among the Sinitic speech forms of the corpus in having partial repetitive patterns, the focus will be exclusively on them in the presentation below, leaving aside the analysis of its totally repetitive patterns (e.g. AA, AAB where B = suff. 地, etc. [Deng 1995: 34]).

The most common type of adjectival alliterative repetitive pattern in the Teng-xian dialect has the rhyme [-ɐŋ] in the partially repeated syllable which is placed before the monosyllabic base (A —> A/x A). The relationship between meaning and form is iconically motivated. E.g.:

to²³¹   'humpbacked' —>   tɐŋ²¹ to²³¹   'very humpbacked'
niɐp⁵   'shrivelled'   —>   nɐŋ³³ niɐp⁵   'very shrivelled'
θu⁵³   'crisp'   —>   θɐŋ⁴⁴ θu⁵³   'very crisp'
ʃo²¹   'stupid'   —>   ʃɐŋ⁴⁴ ʃo²¹   'very stupid'
(Deng 1995: 34)

There are also other, less frequent rhymes in the repeated syllable of partially repetitive adjectival lexemes of the alliterative A/x A type. E.g.:

ŋɐu⁵³   'crooked'   —>   ŋɐt⁵ ŋɐu⁵³   'very crooked'
bɐm²¹   'muddy'   —>   bɔm²³¹ bɐm²¹   'very muddy'
luk¹   'green'   —>   lau²⁴ luk¹   'very green'
kɐŋ⁴⁴   'stubborn'   —>   kɐ⁵³ kɐŋ⁴⁴   'very stubborn'
(Deng 1995: 34)

The derivation of partially repetitive disyllabic adjectives in the dialect of Tengxian can result in rhyming entities, too. The rhyming syllable is placed before the monosyllabic base (A —> x/A A). The principle of iconicity is not invalidated by the subsequent set of items either:

kɔm⁵³   'sweet'   —>   nɔm⁴⁴ kɔm⁵³   'very sweet'
ʔuŋ²³¹   'red'   —>   luŋ⁴⁴ ʔuŋ²³¹   'very red'
hɐk⁵   'black'   —>   mɐk⁵ hɐk⁵   'very black'
(Deng 1995: 34-35)

It is possible for the bases in the partially repetitive lexemes of the A/x A type to be preceded by more than one kind of alliterative syllable. All variants achieve a similar intensifying semantic effect. E.g.:

θoi⁴²³   'broken'   —>   θɐŋ⁴⁴/θɐp⁵/θa⁴⁴ θoi⁴²³
lun²¹   'in disorder' —>   lɐŋ²³¹/la²³¹ lun²¹
t'oi⁴²³   'brittle'   —>   t'ɐŋ⁴⁴/t'ɐp⁵ t'oi⁴²³
(Deng 1995: 35)

The pattern which can be formulated as AAB in accordance with the methodological principle for the notational system to be exclusively sensitive to the outer form of repetitive items as such in disregard of language-specific features, is, when the Tengxian data is more closely examined, actually derivable from the disyllabic alliterative pattern by repetition of the alliterative syllable (language-specifically: A/x A —> A/x A/x A). Quite contrary to the iconicity principle, the A/x A/x A lexemes are semantically de-intensifying (Deng 1995: 36)[176]. In principle, each alliterative lexeme of the A/x A type has its corresponding A/x A/x A item. Consequently, the following kind of regular derivational series can be established:

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[176] Deng (1995: 36) also points out, rather contradictorily however, that A/x A/x A items, despite being de-intensifying, are perhaps more vivid than A/x A lexemes. How can a degree of intensity graded as 'very' (很) on a qualitative continuum be less than a degree graded as 'a little' (有點) on the very same continuum?

van^{53} 'curved'   —> veŋ^{423} van^{53} 'very crooked'
                      —> veŋ^{423} veŋ^{423} van^{53} 'a little curved'
bɛn^{44} 'flat'   —> bɐŋ^{423} bɛn^{44} 'very flat'
                      —> bɐŋ$^{423/42}$ bɐŋ^{423} bɛn^{44} 'a little flat'
tɐn^{231} 'blunt'   —> tɐŋ^{21} tɐn^{231} 'very blunt'
                      —> tɐŋ^{21} tɐŋ^{21} tɐn^{231} 'a little blunt'
(Deng 1995: 35)

If the monosyllabic base can be preceded by more than one type of alliterative syllable, all A/x A combinations can follow the A/x A/x A pattern. E.g.:

t'oi^{423} 'brittle'   —> t'ɐŋ^{44} t'oi^{423} —>   t'ɐŋ^{44} t'ɐŋ$^{44/42}$ t'oi^{423}
t'oi^{423} 'brittle'   —> t'ɐp^{5} t'oi^{423} —>   t'ɐp^{5} t'ɐp$^{5/3}$ t'oi^{423}
(Deng 1995: 36)

Like Pingnan, the Tengxian dialect has an infixal repetitive pattern, but unlike the former, it is possible for it to be partially duplicative in the latter. Another similarity between the two Yue dialects related to infixal repetitive structures resides in the close derivational relationship between a simpler repetitive pattern and a more complex one. In the Tengxian dialect, the process of derivation is more regular in that every lexeme of the alliterative A/x A type can be expanded into an item of the A/x B A type (A/x A —> A/x B A) (Deng 1995: 36), whereas in the dialect of Pingnan not every lexeme of the AA type is marked for a process turning it into a lexeme of the ABA type. The semantic function of the A/x B A pattern is parallel to that of the A/x A pattern, but lexemes of the former type are very often characterized by a derogatory connotation (Deng 1995: 36). The following set of examples highlights the base and the infixal output (A —> A/x B A):

ɲau^{423} 'wrinkled' —>   ɲɐŋ^{33} kɐi^{44} ɲau^{423} 'very wrinkled'
loi^{423} 'tired'   —>   lɐŋ^{53} kɐi^{44} loi^{423} 'very tired'
vo^{423} 'dirty'   —>   vɐŋ^{53} kɐi^{44} vo^{423} 'very dirty'

In analogy to A/x A and A/x B A, the more complex infixal pattern of the Tengxian dialect is derived from the more complex alliterative pattern and this derivational relationship is similar to the one between the simpler patterns, i.e. every A/x A/x A has its corresponding complex infixal form, which can be either alliterative or rhyming (A/x A/x A —> A/x A/x B A or x/A x/A B A) (Deng 1995: 36). The complex infixal forms, derogatory in connotation, are rarely used, as there are only a few colour terms which commonly assume this pattern. E.g.:

luŋ44/42 luŋ44 ʔuŋ231   'a little red'   —> luŋ44/42 luŋ44 kɐi44 ʔuŋ231
mɐk5/3 mɐk5 hɐk5   'a little black' —> mɐk5/3 mɐk5 kɐi44 hɐk5
lɐŋ21 lɐŋ21 lam231   'a little blue'   —> lɐŋ21 lɐŋ21 kɐi44 lam231
(Deng 1995: 34-36)

Finally, the Tengxian dialect has a complex rhyming pattern, A x/A B, where A stands for a monosyllabic adjectival base, x/A represents the repetitive syllable rhyming with A, and B refers to a morpheme which, according to Deng (1995: 36-37), is comparable to the adjectival suffix 然 in Old Chinese. The initial consonant in the repetitive syllable is always [h], which has as its consequence the exclusion from this pattern of adjectives with an initial [h], and the B constituent does not vary either, but is consistently [t∫ɛŋ231] (Deng 1995: 36). Besides the regular intensifying impact on the semantics of the base, it is typical of the A x/A B lexemes that they have a derogatory connotation (Deng 1995: 37). E.g.:

ŋɔk1   'stunned'   —> ŋɔk44 hɔk3 t∫ɛŋ231   'very stunned'
k'iau53 'warped'   —> k'iau53 hiau53 t∫ɛŋ231 'very warped'
ŋiaŋ24 'respectful' —> ŋiaŋ24 hiaŋ33 t∫ɛŋ231 'very respectful'
∫uk5   'shrunken'   —> ∫uk5 huk33 t∫ɛŋ231   'very shrunken'

4.1.7. The Min dialects

The Min corpus consists primarily of material from Taiwanese, the dialects of Xiamen, Chaozhou, Fuzhou, Putian and Haikou. In addition to the dialect of Haikou from Hainan island, only the Chaozhou dialect is spoken within the limits of Guangdong, while the localities referring to the other speech forms are all situated in Fujian province. According to the internal sub-grouping of Min dialects in Yuan (1989: 234, 236), of the six enumerated speech forms five belong in three different groups, two of which are determined by cardinal points. The first three, Taiwanese and the dialects of Xiamen and Chaozhou, belong in Yuan's classification to the southern Min group, while the speech forms of Fuzhou and Putian belong to separate groups. The Fuzhou dialect is a member of the eastern Min group and the dialect of Putian forms part of a group in which, in addition to the dialect of Putian, there is only one more member, namely Xianyou (仙游), whence the name Puxian for the group. Taiwanese and the Xiamen dialect resemble each other so much that Yuan (1989: 236), for example, includes them in the same category[177]. The Haikou

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[177] According to Xu Jidun (1990: 95), Taiwanese and the Xiamen dialect have a common source, as both speech forms are mixtures of two southern Min varieties on the mainland, namely Quanzhou (泉州) and Zhangzhou (漳州). A summary of the differences between these two dialects can be found in XFYCD (1993: 20-21 [Introd.]) and in Xu Jidun (1990: 96-100), for example.

dialect is not included in any of Yuan's Min sub-groups, but is reckoned by him to be a Min speech form (Yuan et al. 1989: 234; see also Liang 1984: 264-271). Unfortunately, the two remaining Min categories in Yuan's classification, northern Min and central Min, have no representatives in the corpus.

The selection of Min repetitive patterns treated in this chapter comprise the following set: AA, AAA, ABB, ABA, AABB and ABAB. The starting-point of the analysis of southern Min (Taiwanese) repetitive adjectivals is AA, the simplest pattern, which is interesting in that it contradicts the principle of iconicity by being weaker in intensity when compared with the non-repetitive base form (Xu Jidun 1990: 290-291; see also Gan 1993: 101-102). E.g.:

hng	'distant'	—>	hng-hng	'somewhat distant'
oeh	'narrow'	—>	oeh-oeh	'somewhat narrow'
siok	'cheap'	—>	siok-siok	'somewhat cheap'
thiám	'severe'	—>	thiám-thiám	'somewhat severe'

(Embree 1973: 87, 236, 283, 192)

But the triplicate AAA pattern is compatible with the aforementioned principle since it expresses a clear increase in intensity in respect to the level of intensity of the quality implied by the base (Xu Jidun 1990: 291; Gan 1993: 101-102). As fundamentally all monosyllabic adjectives can undergo triplicate repetition in Taiwanese (Xu Jidun 1990: 291), the above set is no exception:

hng-hng-hng	'very distant'
oeh-oeh-oeh	'very narrow'
siok-siok-siok	'very cheap'
thiám-thiám-thiám	'very severe'

Interestingly enough, this feature of non-iconic adjectival repetition does not seem to hold true in the Xiamen dialect, for which Yuan (1989: 272) establishes a totally iconic repetitive paradigm[178]. E.g.:

aŋ^{24}	'red'	—>	aŋ$^{24/33}$ aŋ^{24}	'very red'
		—>	aŋ^{24} aŋ$^{24/33}$ aŋ^{24}	'extremely red'
sui^{51}	'pretty'	—>	sui$^{51/55}$ sui^{51}	'very pretty'
		—>	sui$^{51/55}$ sui$^{51/55}$ sui^{51}	'extremely pretty'

Not all southern Min dialects are capable of triplicate repetition. The Chaozhou dialect possesses only duplication of adjectival bases with the regular intensifying effect, e.g.:

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[178] Yuan (1989: 272) says that duplication "goes a step further" ("弟一次重叠表示'進一步'.") and triplication "expresses 'extremely', 'very'" ("弟二次重叠表示'极', '很'.").

ou^{33} 'black'   —>   ou$^{33/23}$ ou^{33} 'very black'
k'aŋ^{33} 'empty'   —>   k'aŋ$^{33/23}$ k'aŋ^{33} 'very empty'
(Yuan et al. 1989: 272)

The Haikou dialect resembles that of Chaozhou in its lack of triplicatives and in its compliance with the common norm of enhanced meaning, instead of semantic moderation, brought about by repetition. E.g.:

lɔp^3	'wet'	—>	lɔp^3 lɔp^3	'very wet'
ʔdi^{33}	'full'	—>	ʔdi^{33} ʔdi^{33}	'very full'
sin^{35}	'cold'	—>	sin^{35} sin^{35}	'very cold'
xua^{24}	'slow'	—>	xua^{24} xua^{24}	'very slow'

(HFYCD[179] 1996: 257, 5, 205-206, 69)

The HFYCD features many non-retrievable disyllabic repetitive adjectives, being comparable to the Standard Chinese lexicon in this respect. Such items as *seŋ^{55} seŋ^{55}* 'fragmentary', *ʔdɔi^{55} ʔdɔi^{55}* '(of speech) dissonant', *lu^{35} lu^{35}* 'downcast', *tsu^{35} tsu^{35}* 'nearsighted', *moŋ^{21} moŋ^{21}* '(of raindrops) tiny, fine' and *iam^{33} iam^{33}* 'sparkling, (of time) quick' seem to exist only in the AA form in the Haikou vocabulary (HFYCD 1996: 240, 136, 23, 246, 198).

The repetitive lexemes of the compositional ABB type indicate a strong degree of intensity of the quality expressed by the head adjectival constituent in Taiwanese (Xu Jidun 1990: 293). E.g.:

tam-lok-lok	'very/extremely wet'
mo·h-ki-ki	'very/extremely thin'
eng-phong-phong	'very/extremely dusty'

(Embree 1973: 253, 181, 66)

The dialect of Xiamen is in this respect identical with Taiwanese. E.g.:

bat$^{5/1}$ tsiu$^{11/51}$ tsiu^{11}	'very/extremely dense, intimate'
iu$^{11/51}$ mi$^{24/33}$ mi^{24}	'very/extremely thin, fine'

(Yuan et al. 1989: 271)

As in other Sinitic speech forms, Taiwanese has adjectives functioning as heads in repetitive lexemes of the ABB type, which can be suffixed by various duplicative elements. The adjectives 'red' (*ang*) and 'cold' (*léng*), for example, can be modified by four different BB constituents that do not seem to stand in drastic

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179   HFYCD = Haikou fangyan cidian.

semantic opposition to each other since the following trisyllabic items are not
marked for separate, mutually different meanings in the source used[180]:

ang-chu-chu 'very/extremely red'	léng-ki-ki	'very/extremely cold'
ang-kì-kì	léng-peng-peng	
ang-kòng-kòng	léng-piang-piang	
ang-phà-phà	léng-sih-sih	

(Embree 1973: 3, 167)

There are, however, cases where the addition of a different repetitive element
after the head results in a lexeme with a different meaning, not only a semantically
similar modification of the modified constituent. E.g.:

kng 'bright'	—>	kng-khut-khut	'smooth'
	—>	kng-tam-tam	'clean, orderly'
	—>	kng-lìu-lìu/-theh-theh	'naked, nude'

(Embree 1973: 139)

Like Cantonese, as well as the dialects of Dongguan and Sixian, the Haikou
dialect has repetitive adjectival lexemes of the ABB type with the name of a part of
the body (*mak³* 'eye' below) acting as the head. E.g.:

mak³ kut³ kut³	'(of eyes) tired'
mak³ lɔp⁵ lɔp⁵	'with sunken eyes'
mak³ kim²⁴ kim²⁴	'(of expression) helpless'
mak³ kui²⁴ kui²⁴	'(of eyes) wide open'
mak³ mɛ³⁵ mɛ³⁵	'(of eyes) blurred, dimmed'
mak³ tsiau⁵⁵ tsiau⁵⁵	'(of eyes) irritated (due to sun)'

(HFYCD 1996: 268-269)

The southern Min dialects spoken in southern Zhejiang are reported by Yuan
(1989: 272) to possess an infixal repetitive pattern (ABA) with an intensifying
semantic function comparable in degree to the AAA pattern in Xiamen and the ABB
pattern in Taiwanese. The B slot is consistently filled by *xian⁴⁵³*. E.g.:

ke⁵⁵/³¹ xian⁴⁵³ ke⁵⁵	'very/extremely much, many'
se¹¹/⁵⁵ xian⁴⁵³ se¹¹	'very/extremely thin, fine'

Taiwanese has two kinds of quadrisyllabic adjectival repetitive patterns: AABB
and ABAB. In Xu 's opinion (Xu Jidun 1990: 292-293), the difference between

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180 Native speakers might disagree on this.

them concerns both word formation type and meaning, the former being composi-
tional and the latter derivational. Thus the Taiwanese AABB pattern resembles a
structurally similar adjectival repetitive pattern in Standard Chinese representing
non-retrievable quadrisyllabic AABB repetitive lexemes which are more like a
combination of two repeated adjectival morphemes than derivations from a disyl-
labic adjectival base (see Gan 1993: 85). However, at least two of the items that Xu
uses to exemplify the Taiwanese compositional pattern (Xu Jidun 1990: 292) are
retrievable (see Embree 1973: 241, 199), which means that there seem to be two
types of derivational quadrisyllabic repetitive patterns in Taiwanese, (AB —>)
AABB and (AB —>) ABAB.

Semantically, Taiwanese derivational AABB repetitive forms express a higher
degree of intensity than the non-repetitive form (Xu Jidun 1990: 292; Gan 1993:
83-86). E.g:

> sóng-khoài 'comfortable' —> sóng-sóng-khoài-khoài 'very comfortable'
> peh-chhat 'untrue'   —> peh-peh-chhat-chhat   'very untrue'
> (Embree 1973: 246, 199)

Contrary to the consecutive pattern, the disjunctive ABAB pattern of Tai-
wanese signifies movement towards a weaker value on the intensity continuum of
the quality in question (Xu Jidun 1990: 294). E.g.:

> hò·-táu   'protruding' —> hò·-táu-hò·-táu   'slightly protruding'
> pin-toan   'lazy'   —> pin-toan-pin-toan   'slightly lazy'
> lok-chhih 'deteriorated' —> lok-chhih-lok-chhih   'slightly deteriorated'
> peh-chhat 'untrue'   —> peh-chhat-peh-chhat   'slightly untrue'
> (Embree 1973: 89, 205, 175)

The dialect of Xiamen, like Standard Chinese, has in its lexicon both alliterat-
ive (A A/x) and rhyming (A x/A) adjectives. E.g.:

> ts'in^{33} ts'ai^{51} 'casual, careless'
> ut^5 tsut^{32} 'annoyed, upset'
> bi?^{5} ts'i?^{32} 'frustrated, disappointed'
> (Yuan et al. 1989: 265)

As there is no active partially repetitive word formation process in Xiamen,
these forms are presumably inseparable disyllabic morphemes. They are very col-
loquial, so to speak, since their constituent syllables are marked by blank squares in
Yuan as an indication of non-relatedness to the common Sinitic lexical stock. It

would be interesting to know how rife this kind of partially repetitive forms in the spoken language actually are.

The Haikou data also contain fixed rhyming and alliterative lexemes. One wonders whether the partial similarity of this type of items is coincidental or whether they could be vestiges of an earlier productive process. E.g.:

lai^{33} sai^{33}	'(of clothes) dirty'
ʔdo^{21} no^{33}	'(of man's leg) long'
nɔk^5 nau^{24}	'(of life) prosperous'
xek^3 xɔp^3	'(of road) bumpy, rough'
(HFYCD 1996: 130, 101, 282, 281)	

Rhyming is a possible feature in the suffixal constituent of Xiamen repetitive adjectival lexemes (A B x/B). E.g:

ho^{51} li$^{51/55}$ si^{51}	'very good'
kut^5 lut$^{5/1}$ sut^5	'very slippery'
(Yuan et al. 1989: 271)	

The Chaozhou dialect has a semantically de-intensifying ABAB pattern which is formed with a repeated monosyllabic adjective and an affixal element, either *huaiʔ4* or *ts'iʔ4* (Yuan et al. 1989: 272). This Chaozhou pattern resembles the Huojia dialect of the northern Mandarin sub-group and the Suzhou dialect in the Wu sub-group, which can also be analysed as having an affixal constituent as a functional unit in lexemes subsumable under the ABAB formula. The following pair represents the Chaozhou speech form:

ŋ^{55} 'yellow'
    —>   ŋ$^{55/213}$ huaiʔ$^{4/21}$ ŋ$^{55/213}$ huaiʔ^4 'a little yellow'
tiəm^{55} 'sweet'
    —>   tiəm$^{55/213}$ ts'iʔ$^{4/21}$ tiəm$^{55/213}$ ts'iʔ^4 'a little sweet'

Yuan (1989: 300) claims that in Min dialects, repetition is most extensively used in the dialect of Putian in the Puxian group. Regrettably, this is hardly evident from the scanty Putian sub-corpus available for this study, even though it does introduce two repetitive adjectival patterns that are not so common within the Sinitic corpus as a whole. On the general notational level these patterns can be written as AAB and AA, but they are not quite what one is probably accustomed to expect from formulae with this constitution in the Sinitic framework. In the Putian context

here, the first pattern can either symbolize the output of a repetitive process with a disyllabic adjective as a base, e.g.:[181]

野蠻	—>	野野蠻	'savage'
狡猾	—>	狡狡猾	'sly, cunning'
落後	—>	落落後	'backward'

or it can be an index of a compositional pattern with a nominal prefixal repetitive constituent modifying what on the basis of the characters looks like a nominal constituent (AA + B). In any case, this variant of the AAB pattern is used to describe unpleasant odours or flavours. E.g.:

人人味	'smelling like people'
酒酒味	'smelling like alcohol'
飯飯氣	'smelling like spoiled food'

(Yuan et al. 1989: 300)

Not all disyllabic adjectives in the Putian dialect can undergo the AAB pattern but they rather duplicate both syllables of the disyllabic base (AB —> AABB), as in Standard Chinese and many other Sinitic speech forms. Unfortunately, the semantic effect of this type of repetition in Putian is not given in the source. E.g.:

和氣	—>	和和氣氣	'gentle, friendly'
爽快	—>	爽爽快快	'comfortable'
清楚	—>	清清楚楚	'clear'

(Yuan et al. 1989: 300)

The Putian AA duplicates include a sub-set comprising repetitive adjectival forms derived from monosyllabic nouns. E.g.:

猴 'monkey'	—>	猴猴	'lean like a monkey'
柴 'firewood'	—>	柴柴	'like a bag of bones'
蛋 'egg'	—>	蛋蛋	'round and plump like an egg'

(Yuan et al. 1989: 300)

Repetitive adjectival lexemes are distributed between the following set of patterns in the data concerning the Fuzhou dialect of the eastern Min subgroup: AA, AAA, ABB, AAB and AABB.

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181   The examples in Yuan (1989: 300) are given only in Chinese characters with no separate translations into Standard Chinese, thus the only option for finding out the meaning of the item is to rely on the characters, as is done here. Since Yuan does not specify the degree of intensity implied by the AAB pattern in the Putian dialect, only the basic meaning, on the basis of the characters, is rendered into English.

Zheng (1988: 308) claims that in the case of lexemes of the AA type the intensifying function of repetition depends on their syntactic function. It seems essentially to be the attributive position in which the occurrence of intensification is irregular. Reference to syntax, however, is nothing extraordinary, as definitions of the meaning of repetitive adjectives in Standard Chinese seem habitually to contain a mention of their syntactic function (see Li & Thompson 1981: 32; Gan 1993: 78). In any case, when perceivable, the meaning of the Fuzhou AA items does not on the whole differ, with the exception of Taiwanese, from the corresponding repetitive adjectival forms in other Sinitic speech forms treated in the study. E.g.:

tsia³¹	'early'	⟶	tsia³¹/³⁵ tsia³¹	'very early'
lɛi²⁴²	'sharp'	⟶	lɛi²⁴²/li⁵³ lɛi²⁴²	'very sharp'
tøy³¹	'short'	⟶	tøy³¹/³⁵ tøy³¹	'very short'

(Zheng 1988: 308)

There are only five monosyllabic adjectives in the Fuzhou dialect capable of following the AAA pattern, which regularly indicates the strongest degree of intensity. E.g.:

t'aʔ²³	'clean'	⟶	t'aʔ²³/t'aʔ¹¹ t'aʔ²³/t'aʔ⁵³ t'aʔ²³	'extremely clean'
aŋ²¹³	'late'	⟶	aŋ²¹³/aŋ¹¹ aŋ²¹³/aŋ⁵³ aŋ²¹³	'extremely late'

(Zheng 1988: 307)

One type of ABB pattern in Fuzhou is compositional (A + BB) and as such familiar from other Sinitic speech forms. For Zheng (1988: 310), the repetitive element in this type of ABB pattern is strictly suffixal without an independent meaning, as its semantic function indirectly manifests itself through the intensifying impact it has on the meaning of the monosyllabic adjective to which it is attached. E.g.:

paʔ⁵/¹ ts'ia²¹³/⁵³ ts'ia²¹³	'(of face, wall, etc.) white'
øyŋ⁵³/³¹ kɛi²¹³/ki⁵³ kɛi²¹³	'extremely red'
ts'iaŋ⁴⁴/¹¹ mɔ²¹³/mo⁵³ mɔ²¹³	'(of fruit) raw'
xøyʔ⁵/³¹ p'i⁵³/³¹ p'i/β'i⁵³	'puffing and blowing'

(Zheng 1988: 311)

The order of the constituents can be the opposite in Fuzhou, i.e. AA + B. Note the high level of intensity of all the forms in the set below:

p'ɛ⁵³/¹¹ p'ɛ⁵³/¹¹ t/lɔyŋ²⁴²	'extremely heavy'
t'uʔ⁵/¹ t'uʔ⁵/¹ u⁴⁴	'extremely black'

piŋ⁴⁴ᐟ¹¹ p/miŋ⁴⁴ᐟ⁵³ t/nɔyŋ²¹³   'extremely cool'
(Zheng 1988: 311)

In the second type of ABB pattern in Fuzhou, A symbolizes a prefix and its structure is totally conditioned by the structure of B in that it contracts an alliterative relationship with it and if B ends in a nasal, the rhyme of A is -iŋ, while in non-nasal cases it is -i (Zheng 1988: 306). Consequently, in the context of the dialect of Fuzhou, this variant of the ABB pattern is derivational, not compositional, and as it is partially repetitive, a more dialect-specific formulation for it is A/x AA. The A/x AA type of repetition of monosyllabic adjectives usually brings with it an intensifying semantic effect with a derogatory connotation (Zheng 1988: 307-308). E.g.:

ŋɔ²¹³   'haughty' —→ ŋi³¹ᐟ¹¹ ŋɔ²¹³ᐟŋo⁵³ ŋɔ²¹³   'rather haughty'
tsiɑʔ²³   'unsteady' —→ tsi³¹ᐟ¹¹ tsiɑʔ²³ᐟ⁴ tsiɑʔ²³   'rather unsteady'
nuoŋ³¹   'soft'   —→ niŋ³¹ᐟ¹¹ nuoŋ³¹ᐟ³⁵ nuoŋ³¹   'rather soft'
(Zheng 1988: 306)

According to Zheng (1988: 305), all the adjectival patterns related to the outputs of repeated disyllabic bases, three altogether, namely (i) ABB, (ii) AAB and (iii) AABB, are intensifying in meaning in the Fuzhou dialect. The subsequent three sets of repetitive lexemes illustrate items pertaining to each[182]:

(i) ABB:
    kaŋ⁴⁴ t/na⁴⁴   —→ kaŋ⁴⁴ t/na⁴⁴ t/la⁴⁴   'dull and dry'
    to³¹ t/louŋ²¹³   —→ to³¹ t/louŋ²¹³ t/nouŋ²¹³   'very honest'
    kaŋ³¹ taŋ⁴⁴   —→ kaŋ³¹ taŋ⁴⁴ taŋ⁴⁴   'very simple'
    (Zheng 1988: 310)

(ii) AAB:
    xo³¹ t'/liɑŋ²¹³   —→ xo³¹ xo³¹ t'/liɑŋ²¹³   'obedient'
    k'uaŋ⁴⁴ p/mɛiŋ³¹ —→ k'uaŋ⁴⁴ k'/ŋuaŋ⁴⁴ p/mɛiŋ³¹ 'very slow'
    t'ɑʔ/t'aʔ²³ ɑiʔ²³ —→ t'ɑʔ/t'aʔ²³ t'ɑʔ/t'aʔ²³ ɑiʔ²³ 'very clean'
    (Zheng 1988:309-310)

(iii) AABB:
    tiɑŋ²⁴² t/nuɔʔ⁵   —→ tiɑŋ²⁴² t/niɑŋ²⁴² t/nuɔʔ⁵ t/luɔʔ⁵ 'very quiet'
    xuoŋ³¹ øyŋ/ŋøyŋ⁵³ —→ xuoŋ³¹ xuoŋ³¹ øyŋ/ŋøyŋ⁵³ øyŋ/ŋøyŋ⁵³
                            'very pink'
    mieŋ³¹ kyoŋ³¹   —→ mieŋ³¹ mieŋ³¹ kyoŋ³¹ kyoŋ³¹ 'very reluctant'
    (Zheng 1988: 309)

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182 As the tone sandhi patterns are not absolutely clear in this context and not a central issue in the study, only the lexical tones will be marked in these three sets. The lax-tense vowel variation and the alternation of initial consonants will be retained, since they are here the explicit part of 'the transcription applied in the sources' (see p. 3).

The potentiality of a disyllabic adjective for participation in more than one repetitive pattern could be regarded as a reflection of this semantic homogeneity.

4.2. THE TIBETO-BURMAN GROUP

The corpus of repetitive adjectival lexemes relating to the Tibeto-Burman group comprises material from Burmese, Jingpo, Hani, Pumi, Jinuo, Tangut, Yi, Muya, Qiang, Zhaba, Jiarong, Tujia as well as Tibetan and is larger than the nominal Tibeto-Burman corpus.

The simplest adjectival[183] pattern in Burmese (A —> AA) is exemplified by the following derivations, the first two being undefined by O'Kell (1969: 473) in terms of translation as to any regular semantic change, but in the third (O'Kell 1969: 79) a hint of an alteration in meaning is evident, pointing to a possible de-intensifying effect of the repetitive process, contrary to the principle of iconicity:

kaùñ	—>	kaùñ kaùñ	'good, well'[184]
myañ	—>	myañ myañ	'quick(ly)'
pya 'blue'	—>	pya pya	'blue, bluish'

Disyllabic bases are repeated consecutively (AB —> AABB), as the subsequent derivations indicate, again without an apparent (de-/)intensifying change:

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[183] Actually, the term 'adjective' does not appear at all in O'Kell's terminology, since he divides morphemes into two classes: words (= lexical morphemes) and particles (= grammatical morphemes), the former being subdivided into verbs, nouns and interjections (O'Kell 1969: 1). An important term directly related to the subject of the study is O'Kell's 'derived words' which means 'word' + 'formative' —> 'derived word', and one possible formative for O'Kell is "the formative process of *repetition*" (O'Kell 1969: 2). O'Kell (1969: 45) divides the category of verbs into two types: those which denote actions and those which denote qualities or states. The terms he uses for these types are 'functive' and 'stative' respectively. What is rather confusing in his analysis is to call all derivatives 'derived nouns', though they would obviously, in the terminology of this study be called 'adjectives', for example (O'Kell 1969: 473-476, 479). This terminological choice compels O'Kell to use, instead of the terms 'adverb' and 'adjective' with their fixed syntactic implications, such longish expressions as "the derived word is a noun, usually occurring as an adverb complement... or a derived noun attribute", respectively (O'Kell 1969: 473). As has been stated in ch. 1, the category of adjectives is one of the word classes proposed to be applied in the classification of the data so that a form with a qualitative reference is consistently labelled an adjective in the study. In other words, supposing that perception and categorization as qualities in language of certain entities is universal, the translation into English with an adjective of a Burmese repetitive form implies the existence of this category in Burmese, as implicitly admitted by O'Kell's division of verbs above.

[184] As the notation system of the study is based on the syllable as the basic unit, the constituent syllables of repetitive forms are, for clarity's sake, usually written separately, contrary to O'Kell's practice, for instance. This is not, however, an absolute rule.

thei <u>hca</u>	—>	thei <u>thei</u> hca <u>hca</u>	'definite(ly)'
thwe? le?	—>	thwe? thwe? le? le?	'quick(ly), fluent(ly)'
lu? la?	—>	lu? lu? la? la?	'free(ly)'

(O'Kell 1969: 473, 135)

Semantic gradation is, however, evident from the following two pairs of examples moulded in the compositional ABB pattern. The two sets differ from each other in that one (i) contains lexemes composed of the prefix *hka?*[185] (= A) followed by a repeated adjective, and the other (ii) includes items where the monosyllabic adjective is retained in an unrepeated form (= A) suffixed by a duplicative rhyming constituent:

(i)	pyɑ 'blue' —>	hkɑ? pyɑ <u>pyɑ</u>	'fairly blue'
	mɑ 'hard' —>	hkɑ? mɑ mɑ	'fairly hard'
(ii)	pyɑ 'blue' —>	pyɑ tɑ tɑ	'bluish'[186]
	mɑ 'hard' —>	mɑ tɑ tɑ	'rather hard'

(O'Kell 1969: 79)

Another prefix used in lexemes of this repetitive type is *tɑ̆*. No clear-cut semantic difference in intensity between the base and the derived form has been recorded for the following derivation:

| hpyeì | —> | tɑ̆ hpyeì hpyeì | 'slow(ly)' |

(O'Kell 1969: 412)

The *tɑ̆* prefix also occurs with disyllabic bases, adjectival or verbal, achieving a disjunctive pattern, as the prefix itself is repeated before each consecutively duplicated syllable of the base (AB —> CAACBB = tɑ̆ AA tɑ̆ BB). E.g.:

| áñò | —> | tɑ̆ áñ áñ tɑ̆ ò ò | 'astonished' |

(O'Kell 1969: 412)

There is a third kind of ABB pattern in Burmese composed of lexemes derived from two juxtaposed semantically similar (i) verbs or (ii) adjectives of which the latter is duplicated (A + B —> ABB). E.g.:

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185 O'Kell (1969: 274) paraphrases the meaning of this prefix as 'rather, to some extent, fairly'.

186 According to O'Kell (1969: 478) the semantics of the repeated disyllabic constituent implies that "the quality expressed by the base is imperfectly or only partially achieved" and that it sometimes has a derogatory connotation, suggesting disapproval and contempt.

(i)   pyɑuñ 'to joke' + hco 'to play the buffoon'
        —> pyɑuñ hco <u>h</u>co 'joking(ly), insincere(ly)'

(ii)   hcɑuʔ 'dry' + thweí 'dry'   —> hcɑuʔ thweí <u>th</u>weí 'dry (drily)'
        ni 'red' + yè 'bold'   —> ni yè yè 'brilliant red'
        (O'Kell 1969: 475)

Lexemes complying with the AAB pattern, i.e. with a reversed position of the repetitive constituent in respect to ABB, are also possible within this compositional type (A + B —> AAB). E.g.:

ciʔ 'to frizzle' + tɑuʔ 'to blaze'   —>ciʔ ciʔ tɑuʔ 'blazing (hot)'
pɑʔ 'to go/set round' + le 'to go round'—>pɑʔ pɑʔ le 'encircling'
pyoù 'to shimmer' + pyeʔ 'bright'   —>pyoù <u>p</u>yoù pyeʔ
                                             'glittering'

(O'Kell 1969: 475)

In connection with Burmese nominal repetition (2.2), it was noted how sentential context where a repetitive element occurs can play a decisive role in the interpretation of the meaning of the element in question. As with nouns, repetition of adjectival lexemes can also be used to signal alternative meaning within a sentence:

moù ywɑ-ywɑ nei pu-<u>p</u>u seʔbeǐñ sì -<u>th</u>wɑ-<u>t</u>a -<u>h</u>pè
sky rain   sun hot   bicycle ride -go -V.S.[187] -indeed
'Rain or shine, (he) goes off on (his) bicycle.'
(O'Kell 1969: 476)

In a variant of Hani spoken in Yunnan, China, the outputs of productive adjectival repetition with a monosyllabic base are either disyllabic (AA), trisyllabic with an infix (ABA = A *pha³³* A), quadrisyllabic with an infix (ABCB = AB *pha³³* B) or quadrisyllabic with a suffix (ABBC = ABB *ma³³/za³¹*) (Li Yongsui 1986: 16-17).

The relationship between the patterns AA and A *pha³³* A is a regular instance of the iconicity principle with AA as the formally simpler pattern implementing the weaker and A *pha³³* A as the formally more complex pattern representing the stronger degree of intensity. Hani lexemes of the (i) AA and (ii) A *pha³³* A type are represented by the following items:

(i)   n$\underline{a}^{31}$ 'early' —> n$\underline{a}^{31}$ n$\underline{a}^{31/35}$ 'rather early'
        bjɔ³³ 'full'   —> bjɔ³³ bjɔ³³ 'rather full'
        de³³ 'level'   —> de³³ de³³ 'rather level'

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187 V.S.=verb sentence marker (O'Kell 1969: xv).

(ii) ɲi^{55} 'red'   —> $\text{ɲi}^{55}\,\text{pha}^{33}\,\text{ɲi}^{55}$ 'very red'
        bjɔ^{33} 'full'   —> $\text{bjɔ}^{33}\,\text{pha}^{33}\,\text{bjɔ}^{33}$ 'very full'
        tɕhe^{55} 'sour'   —> $\text{tɕhe}^{55}\,\text{pha}^{33}\,\text{tɕhe}^{55}$ 'very sour'
        (Li Yongsui 1986: 16)

On the basis of Standard Chinese translations of the Hani lexemes of the infixal quadrisyllabic type (AB *pha^{33}* B) below, the common semantic factor implied by these repetitive forms is a change in the intensity of the quality expressed by the base. In the first two examples the alteration obeys the iconicity principle, while the third refutes it:

        ɣɔ^{55} 'hard'   —> $\text{ɣɔ}^{55}\,\text{tɕo}^{33}\,\text{pha}^{33}\,\text{tɕo}^{33}$ 'very hard'
        si^{31} 'tight'   —> $\text{si}^{31}\,\text{xe}^{31}\,\text{pha}^{33}\,\text{xe}^{31}$ 'tightly drawn, taut'
        ga^{33} 'cold'   —> $\text{ga}^{33}\,\text{si}^{33}\,\text{pha}^{33}\,\text{si}^{33}$ 'chilly'
        (Li Yongsui 1986: 16-17)

According to Li Yongsui (1986: 17), the original meaning of the suffix *-ma^{33}* in the suffixal quadrisyllabic pattern (*ABB ma^{33}/za^{31}*) is 'mother' with a transferred meaning 'big, large'. As a suffix it further intensifies the semantic effect achieved through repetition with the result that the degree of intensity of repetitive lexemes of the *ABB ma^{33}/za^{31}* type is comparable, if Standard Chinese translations are used as a measure, to that of the lexemes belonging to the two *pha^{33}* patterns, with the exception of the de-intensifying one (*ga^{33} si^{33} pha^{33} si^{33}* 'chilly'). E.g.:

        dɔ^{31} 'blunt'   —> $\text{dɔ}^{31}\,\text{le}^{55}\,\text{le}^{55}\,\text{ma}^{33}$ 'very, extremely blunt'
        gɯ^{33} 'dry'   —> $\text{gɯ}^{33}\,\text{sa}^{33}\,\text{sa}^{33}\,\text{ma}^{33}$ 'very dry'
        mo^{55} 'distant' —> $\text{mo}^{55}\,\text{tsha}^{33}\,\text{tsha}^{33}\,\text{ma}^{33}$ 'very distant'

The suffix *-za^{31}* is the opposite of *-ma^{33}*. Originally, it meant 'son' with 'small' as a transferred meaning, and as a suffix it moderates the degree of intensity of a repetitive lexeme (i), unless the base happens to be an adjective expressing smallness and other related meanings, in which case *-za^{31}* signals a sense of grown intensity (ii) (Li Yongsui 1986: 17). E.g.:

(i) ja^{55} 'cheap'   —> $\text{ja}^{55}\,\text{le}^{33}\,\text{le}^{33}\,\text{za}^{31}$ 'a little cheap'
        dɔ^{55} 'blunt'   —> $\text{dɔ}^{55}\,\text{tɕu}^{31}\,\text{tɕu}^{31}\,\text{za}^{31}$ 'a little blunt'

(ii) phja^{55} 'light'   —> $\text{phja}^{55}\,\text{se}^{33}\,\text{se}^{33}\,\text{za}^{31}$ 'very light'
        ɲi^{55} 'small'   —> $\text{ɲi}^{55}\,\text{tsha}^{33}\,\text{tsha}^{33}\,\text{za}^{31}$ 'very small'
        nɔ^{31} 'soft'   —> $\text{nɔ}^{31}\,\text{ço}^{33}\,\text{ço}^{33}\,\text{za}^{31}$ 'very soft'

In Jingpo, the semantic effect of duplication seems to depend on the syntactic function of the resulting repetitive form, even though this is not quite regular, as shown by the following two examples with duplicated monosyllabic adjectives (AA) serving as adverbials with opposite, (i) de-intensified and (ii) intensified meanings of which the former should be the norm (Xu Xijian 1990: 56-57):

(i)   tai33 nam31si31 khje33 khje33 ʒai31 wa31 sai
        that fruit   red   verb aux. part.[188]
        'That fruit has turned reddish.'

(ii)   ŋai33 khʒu55 khʒu55 ʃa55 niʔ55ai33
        I   full   eat   part.[189]
        'I have eaten my fill.'

Predicatively used repetitive lexemes are claimed by Xu to be semantically intensifying (Xu Xijian 1990: 56):

        nam31paṇ31 n33tai33tsoṃ31 tsoṃ31 ai33 wa33
        flower   this   pretty   part. interj.[190]
        'This flower is very pretty!'

An adjective can be duplicated in the function of a subject for the sake of emphasis. Disyllabic adjectives duplicate only the second syllable (AB —> ABB):

        ka31tʃa33tʃa33 ko31 tai31 niŋ33 na55 mam33 ka31tʃa33 ai33
        good   part. this year part. millet good   part.[191]
        'As far as good goes, this year's millet is good.'

The meaning of a repeated disyllabic adjective can be dependent on the repetitive pattern in Jingpo: (i) ABB can signal frequency of the state of affairs referred to by the base, while (ii) ABAB, uniconically, carries with it a consistent moderation of the degree of intensity in the quality implied by the base (Xu Xijian 1990: 56-57). E.g.:

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[188] *ʒai31* belongs to a closed set of a special kind of verbs, 'verbs of general reference' (泛指動詞 in Chinese), the usage of which is presumably more conditioned by syntactic considerations than by their lexical meaning. *Wa31* is an auxiliary referring to incipient or on-going action and *sai33* a sentence-final particle (see Si et al. 1983: 938-939, 858, 706).

[189] *niʔ55ai55* is a sentence-final particle (Si et al. 1983: 594).

[190] *ai33* is a sentence-final particle (Si et al. 1983: 18).

[191] *ko31* is a subject particle and *na55* corresponds to 的 in Standard Chinese (Si et al. 1983: 196, 544).

(i)   ko̰ʔ55 si33 'hungry' —> ko̰ʔ55 si33 si33   'often hungry'
        la31 kji55 'cool'   —> la31 kji55 kji55   'often cool'

(ii)   ko̰ʔ55 si33 'hungry' —> ko̰ʔ55 si33 ko̰ʔ55 si33 'a little hungry'
        la31 kji55 'cool'   —> la31 kji55 la31 kji55 'a little cool'

Jingpo is very fond of repetitive quadrisyllabic lexemes (Si et al. 1983: 933), also featured in the class of adjectives. Structurally, the items presented here are (i) units formed with a disyllabic single-morpheme lexeme and two syllables, of which one copies the first syllable of the disyllabic morpheme and the other alliterates with the second syllable of the same (AB —> ABAB/x), (ii) lexemes consisting of two juxtaposed alliterating, semantically similar disyllabic single-morpheme items (AB + AB/x —> ABAB/x), or (iii) entities formed with juxtaposed, semantically similar repeated monosyllabic morphemes (A + B —> AA + BB —> AABB). E.g.:

(i)   a31 tʃe̠n33 a31 tʃa̠n33   'scrappy, fragmentary'
        half

(ii)   a55 khun51 a55 khʒoʔ55   'dry, arid'
        dry (outside) dry (inside)

(iii)   kjiʔ31 kjiʔ31 koʔ31 koʔ31   'winding, meandering'
        winding   curved

        te̠ŋ31 te̠ŋ31 pa̠ŋ31 pa̠ŋ31   'full of stains or spots'
        spot   spotted
        (Si et al. 1983: 934-935)

Jinuo (i) and Tangut (ii) do not deviate from the general, iconical tendency in the duplication of a lexeme (A —> AA) to give a form with an enhanced meaning as a result (Gai 1981: 72; Ma 1988: 36):

(i)   muɯ3 'good' —> muɯ3 muɯ3 very good'
        pjɐ3 'slow' —> pjɐ3 pjɐ3   'very slow'

(ii)   tshie 'fine' —> tshie tshie 'very fine, delicate'
        dziou 'long' —> dziou dziou 'very long'

Most adjectives in Jinuo carry the prefix *a3* or *tɕi3*. In the examples just cited, the prefix has been dropped altogether, but it can either be retained in non-repetitive form while the adjectival root is duplicated (AB —> ABB) (i), or it can also undergo repetition (AB —> ABAB) (ii). Possible semantic differentiation concomitant

with these patterns is not specified by Gai (1981: 72), so it is supposed that Gai's generalization of the semantic enhancement accompanying repetition in Jinuo applies to these patterns, too. E.g.:

(i)   a³ thu³ 'thick' —> a³ thu³ thu³
       a³ pɹo³ 'white' —> a³ pɹo³ pɹo³

(ii)   a³ thu³ 'thick' —> a³ thu³ a³ thu³
       a³ pɹo³ 'white' —> a³ pɹo³ a³ pɹo³

Like Sinitic speech forms, Pumi possesses trisyllabic compositional adjectival lexemes formed by suffixing a modifying repetitive element to an adjective (A + BB —> ABB). E.g.:

ɲa¹³   'black' —>   ɲa¹³ xu⁵⁵ xu⁵⁵ 'black, rather dark'
bʒɛ¹³   'light' —>   bʒɛ¹³ iɛ⁵⁵ iɛ⁵⁵ 'smooth, slippery'
(Lu 1983: 57-58)

Derived repetitive adjectives in Pumi, be they disyllabic (A —> AA) or quadri-syllabic (AB —> ABAB), consistently bring about an increase in qualitative intensity and thus conform to the dominant tendency shown by the Sinitic materials. E.g.:

ʂã⁵⁵   'long'   —>   ʂã⁵⁵ ʂã⁵⁵   'very long'
ʂõ⁵⁵ ne⁵⁵ 'clean' —>   ʂõ⁵⁵ ne⁵⁵ ʂõ⁵⁵ ne⁵⁵ 'very clean'
(Lu 1983: 58)

An enhanced semantic effect is a regular characteristic of repetitive adjectival patterns in many other Tibeto-Burman languages not mentioned so far. Achang, for example, reflects this in its disyllabic duplicates[192]:

liam³¹ liam³¹   'sharp'
lum³¹ lum³¹   'round'
(Fu 1987: 48)

Dulong (Trung) has disyllabic (AA) and trisyllabic (ABB) patterns to the same effect:

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[192] Since all sets of examples pertaining to a number of Tibeto-Burman languages to be introduced in this context comply with the explicitly stated semantic principle of heightened qualitative intensity, only the basic meaning of the relevant duplicated base is given, not the changed intensified sense, which is the usual procedure in this study.

AA: găm⁵³ găm⁵³ 'good'   ABB: puɯ³¹ ɕiŋ⁵⁵ ɕiŋ⁵⁵ 'green'
       mɔŋ⁵⁵ mɔŋ⁵⁵ 'white'
       (Li Yongsui 1986: 22)

Besides having a disyllabic pattern (AA), Bai possesses both a trisyllabic pattern (ABB) and a quadrisyllabic consecutively repetitive pattern (AABB). E.g:

AA: tsɯ⁴² tsɯ⁴²   'hard'   ABB: phɛ⁵⁵ no²¹ no²¹ 'soft'
       tuĩ⁵⁵ tuĩ⁵⁵   'straight'   AABB: khỹ³³ khỹ³³ khuɑ³³ khuɑ³³
       (Li Yongsui 1986: 22-23)   'spacious'

Naxi appears to have both the consecutive and the disjunctive quadrisyllabic versions (AABB, ABAB) in its list of intensificatory patterns alongside the disyllabic pattern. E.g.:

AA: tɕi⁵⁵ tɕi⁵⁵ 'small'   AABB: zu³¹/³³ zu³¹ le⁵⁵ le⁵⁵/³³ 'light'
       phər³¹/¹³ phər³¹ 'white'   ABAB: mbu³³ kə³³ mbu³³ kə³³ 'bright'
                                         ndzy³³ to³³ ndzy³³ to³³ 'stiff,
       (Li Yongsui 1986: 21-22)   hard'

Yi[193] is similar to Bai as regards the set of adjectival repetitive patterns, but the ordering of constituent syllables in the quadrisyllabic pattern is disjunctive. E.g.:

AA: mo³³ mo³³ 'high'   ABB: ni³³ pi̧³³ pi̧³³   'green'
       tho³³ tho³³ 'thick'   ABAB: nẹ⁵⁵ dɤ³³ nẹ⁵⁵dɤ³³ 'deep'
       (Li Yongsui 1986: 21, 23)

According to Fu (1997: 113), any adjective in Yi[194] can be repeated for emphasis, by which term he seems to refer to intensification. If an adjective carries a prefix[195], it will be duplicated, too, yielding a disjunctive quadrisyllabic pattern (AB —> ABAB). E.g.:

       ¹ndʐa 'beautiful' —>   ¹ndʐa ¹ndʐa 'very beautiful'[196]
       ³mbo 'good'   —>   ³mbo ³mbo 'very good'

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193 These Yi forms represent the Axi dialect (Li Yongsui 1986: 21).

194 Fu's description of Yi is based primarily on dialects spoken in Sichuan (the Liangshan Yi Autonomous Region) and Yunnan (Fu 1997: iii, 42).

195 The two prefixes applied to adjectives are described by Fu (1997: 110) as standing in opposition: *a* expresses the greater and *e* the lesser degree of magnitude.

196 The positioning of the digit for tone category in the upper left hand corner of a syllable only follows Fu's practice (1997).

²a ²ʂo 'long'   —>   ²a ²ʂo ²a ²ʂo   'very long'
¹e ³tsɨ 'small'   —>   ¹e ³tsɨ ¹e ³tsɨ   'very small'
(Fu 1997: 114)

The infixal pattern (ABA = A ²dʒɨ A for prefixless and ABCAB = AB ²dʒɨ AB for prefixed lexemes) is semantically more intense than the infixless one in Yi. E.g.:

¹ndẓa 'beautiful' —>   ¹ndẓa ²dʒɨ ¹ndẓa 'extremely beautiful'
¹a ²ȥ 'big'   —>   ¹a ²ȥ ²dʒɨ ¹a ²ȥ   'extremely big'
(Fu 1997: 114)

Fu (1997: 114) claims that in a sentential context, the simultaneous usage of non-repeated, repeated and infixal repetitive forms of the same adjective can be translated into English as if constructing a comparative paradigm. E.g.:

²ts'ɔ ²ts'ɨ ²ma ³mbo, ²a ¹dzɨ ²ma ³mbo ³mbo, ²a ¹di ²ma ³mbo ²dʒɨ ³mbo
person this Cl good   that Cl good   that[197] Cl   good
'This person is good, that one is better and that one (yonder) is the best.'

Interestingly enough, a pattern of the ABB repetitive type, i.e. the adjective is repeated while the prefix remains in non-repetitive form, represents a question in Yi. E.g.:

²a ²n̥e 'red'   —>   ²a ²n̥e ²n̥e   'Is it red?'
²a ²ʂo 'long'   —>   ²a ²ʂo ²ʂo   'Is it long?'
(Fu 1997: 114, 168)

One of the criteria adopted in this study for regarding a lexical item as repetitive is simply its form (see p. 5) so that a (consecutively) repetitive listed entity is by default considered eligible for the corpus mainly for historical reasons, i.e. such a form is seen as a lexicalised output of a lost repetitive derivation. Besides, it is not irrational to assume that such a lexical form can, by abduction, be regarded as a result of duplication by native speakers at some phase in the development of a language. Accordingly, the following Muya[198] (i) and Qiang (ii) lexemes are instances of repetitive lexical items (AA) within the framework of the study, though they are not results of an active synchronic process:

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[197] This demonstrative pronoun denotes a greater degree of distance from the speaker than ²a ¹dzɨ (Fu 1997: 101).

[198] Muya is a Chinese name for a subdialect of Khams-Tibetan spoken in Sichuan (Matisoff 1995: 67).

(i)   ɣui33 ɣui53   'thick'
      mbɐ33 mbɐ53   'low'
      (Li Yongsui 1986: 22)

(ii) xa55 xa33   'yellow'
      ʐe33 ʐe33   'rare, sparse'
      (Li Yongsui 1986: 22)

This kind of adjectives can undergo repetition. In Zhaba[199], a logical result of repeating such a duplicative base is a lexeme consisting of four identical syllables (AAAA). Note the intensification in meaning. E.g.:

kɐ55 kɐ55 'big' —> kɐ55 kɐ55 kɐ55 kɐ55 'rather big'
ɲi55 ɲi55 'red' —> ɲi55 ɲi55 ɲi55 ɲi55 'rather red'
(Li Yongsui 1986: 23)

Zhaba is also characterized by a trisyllabic repetitive pattern (ABB). E.g.:

si55 tsã55 tsã55   'shining'
tshõ55 ti55 ti55   'white'[200]
(Li Yongsui 1986: 23)

In Muya, a repetitive base can be repeated according to an infixal pattern (AA fiu55 AA). E.g.:

nɐ33 nɐ53 'early' —> nɐ33 nɐ55 fiu55 nɐ33 nɐ53 'rather early'
(Li Yongsui 1986: 23)

Bola[201] is regarded as a peculiar case by Li Yongsui (1986: 23) since it possesses a prefixal compositional repetitive pattern (AA + B), which as far as the total corpus is concerned is not so rare. E.g.:

tʃam35 tʃam35/31 li31   'heavy'
pak̠55 pak̠55 tʃɔ55   'sour, pungent'

Jiarong suffixes duplicative elements to disyllabic and trisyllabic adjectival heads (AB + CC —> ABCC, ABC + DD —> ABCDD), which is rather exceptional within the context of examples introduced so far from other Tibeto-Burman languages. E.g.:

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199   Zhaba is considered a Qiangic language (Matisoff 1995: 81).

200   The Standard Chinese translation of this Zhaba lexeme is rendered into English as 'a vast expanse of whiteness' in Wei et al. (1995: 20).

201   A variant of Jingpo (see fn. 6 in Li Yongsui 1986: 23).

ABCC: ABCDD:
kə ndʒəm mol mol 'soft'   kə mə ʃtak ŋk'ak ŋk'ak 'desolate'
kə nak sgək sgək 'pitch-dark'   kə wər ne luŋ luŋ   'bright red'
(Li Yongsui 1986: 23-24)

As in Jingpo, quadrisyllabic formulae are a common feature in Tujia where both monosyllabic and disyllabic adjectives can follow four repetitive patterns: ABAC, AABB, ABAB, ABCC and AAAB (Tian 1986: 30-34). The ABAC pattern distinguishes itself from the rest in having two different affixal syllables in repetitive forms derived from monosyllabic bases. E.g.:

khua⁵⁵   'wide'   —>   khua⁵⁵ pa⁵⁵/pai⁵⁵ khua⁵⁵ la⁵⁵/lai⁵⁵
                                      khua⁵⁵ pa⁵⁵/pai⁵⁵ khua⁵⁵ sa⁵⁵/sai⁵⁵
                                      khua⁵⁵ pa⁵⁵/pai⁵⁵ khua⁵⁵ za⁵⁵/zai⁵⁵

(Tian 1986: 32)²⁰²

The reason why repetitive forms derived from disyllabic bases in Tujia are structurally similar to those from monosyllabic bases is that only the first syllable of the former is repeated. E.g.:

mia⁵⁵ tɕe⁵⁵ 'red'   —>   mia⁵⁵ tɕe⁵⁵ mia⁵⁵ pha⁵⁵/phai⁵⁵
                                    mia⁵⁵ tɕe⁵⁵ mia⁵⁵ sa⁵⁵/sai⁵⁵
                                    mia⁵⁵ tɕe⁵⁵ mia⁵⁵ za⁵⁵/zai⁵⁵

(Tian 1986: 32)

Regrettably, Tian does not specify the semantic function of this pattern (see Tian 1986: 31-32), which is why only the meaning of the base is given in the two sets of examples above.

Tian likewise fails to provide a detailed explanation concerning the semantics of lexemes of the consecutive compositional type with monosyllabic bases (A —> AA + BB —> AABB); Tian (1986: 32) merely notes that the adjectival repetitive lexemes of this type are formally more diverse than the corresponding verbal items. E.g.:

khua⁵⁵   'wide'   —>   khua⁵⁵ khua⁵⁵ kha⁵⁵/khai⁵⁵ kha⁵⁵/khai⁵⁵
                                      khua⁵⁵ khua⁵⁵ zi⁵⁵/tɕhi⁵⁵ zi⁵⁵/tɕhi⁵⁵
                                      khua⁵⁵ khua⁵⁵ ka⁵⁵/kai⁵⁵ ka⁵⁵/kai⁵⁵

(Tian 1986: 33)

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²⁰² Actually, *khua⁵⁵* is a loan from Chinese (Tian 1986: 31).

This negligence is remedied in connection with a lexeme derived from a disyllabic base (*mia^{55} tɕe^{55}* 'red', also marked for ABAC) within the same pattern type (AABB), the repetitive form of which adjective is explained by Tian (1986: 33) as either complimentary or derogatory in meaning. E.g.:

>   mia^{55} tɕe^{55} 'red' —> mia^{55} mia^{55} tɕe^{55} tɕe^{55} 'flushed,
>   disagreeably reddish'
>
>   (Tian 1986: 33)

With the ABAB pattern Tian (1986: 33) takes separate note of the meaning for the repetitive output of the monosyllabic and disyllabic lexemes serving as bases for this pattern, saying that (i) repetitive forms derived from *khua^{55}* denote the width of tree leaves, bamboo shoots, shells etc., while (ii) the form derived from *mia^{55} tɕe^{55}* has a Standard Chinese translation which can be interpreted as signifying intensification of the quality expressed by the Tujia base. E.g.:

> (i)   khua^{55} 'wide'—> khua^{55} tsha^{55}/tshai^{55} khua^{55} tsha^{55}/tshai^{55}
>   khua^{55} ka^{55}/kai^{55} khua^{55} ka^{55}/kai^{55}
>   khua^{55} kha^{55}/khai^{55} khua^{55} kha^{55}/khai^{55}
>
> (ii) mia^{55} tɕe^{55} 'red' —> mia^{55} tɕe^{55} mia^{55} tɕe^{55} 'brightly red, glowing'

The process resulting in lexemes of the compositional ABCC type in Tujia uses disyllabic adjectives as bases and the accompanying semantic impact is said by Tian (1986: 34) to imply a stronger degree of intensity than is the case with the ABAB pattern. The affixal syllable filling the C slot is not restricted to one type but varies in form without presumably causing a change in meaning. E.g.:

>   mia^{55} tɕe^{55} 'red' —> mia^{55} tɕe^{55} xa^{55}/xai^{55} xa^{55}/xai^{55} 'extremely red'
>   mia^{55} tɕe^{55} ɣa^{55}/ɣai^{55} ɣa^{55}/ɣai^{55}
>   mia^{55} tɕe^{55} ŋa^{55}/ŋai^{55} ŋa^{55}/ŋai^{55}
>   mia^{55} tɕe^{55} ta^{55}/tai^{55} ta^{55}/tai^{55}

The last pattern (AAAB) is likewise restricted to disyllabic adjectives as bases, but its formation deviates radically from that of the rest in that it involves the reduction to one syllable of the disyllabic base followed by the triplication of this very syllable and finally the formative process is brought to a close by the addition of an affixal syllable to the triplicated form (AB —> A —> AAA —> AAA + B —> AAAB). E.g.:

mia⁵⁵ tɕe⁵⁵ 'red'

    —> mia⁵⁵ —> mia⁵⁵ mia⁵⁵ mia⁵⁵ —> mia⁵⁵ mia⁵⁵ mia⁵⁵ tsa⁵⁵

(Tian 1986: 34)

Again, Tian refuses to explicate in more detail the semantic function of this pattern in respect to other patterns.

The trisyllabic compositional pattern of the ABB type is not exclusively a frequent feature of Sinitic speech forms, it is argued by Hu (1990: 24) as being a general phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman languages as a whole. Tibetan ABB lexemes, as analysed by Hu (1990: 24-29), seem to bear a resemblance to corresponding Sinitic ones in that A, which is usually an adjective capable of functioning as an independent lexeme by itself, is modified by a repetitive element. E.g.:

dkar 'white' + tɕhem tɕhem —> dkar tɕhem tɕhem 'sparkling white'
rlon 'wet' + çig çig   —> rlon çig çig   'drenched'
bzi 'drunk' + jom jom   —> bzi jom jom 'sottish'
(Hu 1990: 24-25)

In Tibetan, most duplicates serving as suffixes in lexemes of the ABB pattern can be used alone as independent lexical items (Hu 1990: 25), whereas in Standard Chinese for instance, the BB parts are in the majority of cases bound morphemes (see Gan 1993: 90-91).

Another feature in common with Sinitic is the existence of duplicates combinable with several adjectival heads; -thiŋ thiŋ illustrates this characteristic in Tibetan:

nag thiŋ thiŋ   'rather dark, dusky'
dro thiŋ thiŋ   'nice and warm'
mŋar thiŋ thiŋ   'pleasantly sweet'
graŋ thiŋ thiŋ   '(of wind) chilling'
ɲob thiŋ thiŋ   'languid, listless'
(Hu 1990: 25)

This is counterbalanced by infrequent suffixal duplicates, capable of combining with only a few lexemes and very often constituting bound morphemes (Hu 1990: 25). E.g.:

dgafi jas jas   'contented, pleased'
dal lhod lhod   'unhurried'
fidar sig sig   'quivering, shaking (with cold)'

Just as in Sinitic, a different suffixal duplicate brings out a different shade of meaning from the same head. The concept of 'red' can be divided into the following nuances in Tibetan by changing the BB part in a lexeme moulded after the ABB type[203]:

dmar tçhil tçhil	'bright red, glowing'
dmar tçhem tçhem	'scarlet'
dmar khog khog	'ruddy, rosy'
dmar phig phig	紅馥馥
dmar phjur phjur	'very red'
dmar lam lam	'sparkling red'
dmar lhab lhab	紅翻翻
(Hu 1990: 29)	

Some ABB adjectival lexemes have corresponding quadrisyllabic forms (ABB —> AABB), which Hu (1990: 26) considers slightly more intense in meaning. E.g.:

tsha fiur fiur 'warm' —> tsha tsha fiur fiur 'steaming hot'
ziŋ loŋ loŋ   'chaotic' —> ziŋ ziŋ loŋ loŋ 'with everyone lending a hand'
ldem khjug khjug 'wobbly' —> ldem ldem khjug khjug 'staggering'

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203 Those Chinese lexemes given as translations of the Tibetan terms which could not be found as such in Wei et al. (1995) are cited in the form in which they appear in Hu (1990: 29). The Standard Chinese counterparts used by Hu for *dmar tçhil tçhil* and *dmar phjur phjur* are synonymous, according to Wei et al. (1995: 401), but it is assumed in this context that the difference in form of these Tibetan items corresponds to a different shade of meaning, reflected in the English translations.

4.3. THE TAI GROUP

As in other language groups treated so far, the semantic function of productive repetition applicable to monosyllabic adjectival lexemes (A —> AA) in the Tai data is consistently that of intensification in (i) Mulao, (ii) Dong, (iii) Dai, (iv) Gelao and (v) Li. E.g.:

(i)	khwaːŋ^3 khwaːŋ^3 (kɔ)	'very loose'
	peŋ^2 peŋ^2 (kɔ)	'very smooth'
	(Wang et al. 1980: 42)	
(ii)	ja^{453} ja^{453} (tji^{33})	'very red'
	an^{55} an^{55} (ta^{33})	'very slow'
	(Liang 1980a: 51)	
(iii)	suŋ^1 suŋ^1	'very high'
	sɯ^6 sɯ^6	'very frank'
	(Yu & Luo 1980: 54)	
(iv)	tɕ'ɒ^{55} tɕ'ɒ^{55}	'very quick'
	(He 1982: 29)	
(v)	pheːk^{55} pheːk^{55}	'very tall'
	(Ouyang & Zheng 1980: 21)	

Monosyllabic adjectives can be repeated also in Lajia, but the source used emphasizes the syntactic role of repetitive qualitative forms as verbal complements in VP's. E.g.:

mi^{11} khjaːŋ^{51} khjaːŋ^{51} pai^{51}
go   high   go[204]

laːŋ^{214} soŋ^{51} soŋ^{51} pai^{51}
let   slack   go
(Mao et al. 1982: 146)

Shui does not seem to have an active repetitive process corresponding to those of the five Tai languages presented above (see Zhang Junru 1980), while in Liang (1980b: 53) it is expressly stated that Maonan monosyllabic adjectives cannot undergo (total) repetition.

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204   According to Mao et al. (1982: 147), the verb *pai^{51}* 'go' has the particular function of forming a complement to a verb, together with a repeated adjective. The result is semantically emphatic.

Like Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman languages, members of the Tai group also have compositional repetitive lexemes whereby a duplicative element is suffixed to an adjectival head (A + BB) in order to modify its meaning, presumably towards the intense pole of the intensity continuum. This feature characterizes (i) Mulao, (ii) Dong, (iii) Dai, (iv) Li, (v) Lajia, (vi) Shui and (vii) Zhuang within the Tai corpus of the study. E.g.:

(i)	ma^{3} məp^{7} məp^{7}	'very soft'
	khγa^{1} lø^{5} lø^{5}	'very sharp'
	(Wang et al. 1980: 42)	
(ii)	toŋ^{53} taːt^{55} taːt^{55}	'very crooked'
	jaːi^{323} ye^{31} ye^{31}	'very long'
	(Liang 1980a: 29)	
(iii)	dɛŋ^{1} vaːt^{8} vaːt^{8}	'red'[205]
	baːŋ^{1} jɔʔ^{8} jɔʔ^{8}	'white'
	(Yu & Luo 1980: 54)	
(iv)	khaːu^{53} uːn^{53} uːn^{53}	'very fair (skin)'
	fou^{11} ok^{53} ok^{53}	'very hot'
	(Ouyang & Zheng 1980: 21)	
(v)	fot^{55} naŋ^{24} naŋ^{24}	'stinking'
	khwaːn^{51} loːm^{24} loːm^{24}	'very sweet'
	(Mao et al. 1982: 149)[206]	

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[205] The source does not specify the meaning of the repetitive form, it only gives the meaning of the adjectival head.

[206] Unlike other authors within the Tai corpus, who tend to regard the suffixal duplicate as having no clear independent meaning (see Liang 1980a: 28; Zhang Junru 1980: 27), Mao et al. (1982: 149) treat them as repetitions of meaningful adverbials (狀詞) (naŋ^{24} '臭的氣味'; loːm^{24} '甜的味道') modifying the meaning of the head adjective, with a semantic intensification when repeated. This certainly makes the structures they are attached to look more like phrases than fixed lexemes (see Mao et al. 1982: 158-159), but as the structures which these duplicates help to build together with adjectives (or verbs) are otherwise quite like the trisyllabic compositional lexemes in other Tai languages, these Lajia ABB forms are analysed as being comparable to them. Perhaps Lajia, with its transparent BB constituents, represents an earlier stage in the history of such compositional repetitive lexemes, while the other Tai languages in the corpus have gone further in the grammaticalization process towards suffixation. A disturbing incongruence in Mao et al.'s word class system is that they have two classes, 狀詞 and 副詞, which on a general distributional level are completely overlapping in that they both modify verbs and adjectives (Mao et al. 1982: 149-150). Upon a closer inspection one notes that the difference, if it is reasonable to posit any, seems to stem from the fact that the latter are usually placed before the head, as explicitly stated by the authors, while the former appear to follow it, though the authors do not separately mention this. Even though the positional criterion rather successfully distinguishes the two classes, one would still like to know the specific argument(s) for having two almost identical word classes.

(vi)	daːŋ24 theŋ33 theŋ33		'brilliant'
	ɕu24 laːp35 laːp35		'fresh green'
	(Zhang Junru 1980: 27)		
(vii)	pi2 pat8 pat8		'very fat'
	rou2 rat8 rat8		'very slippery'
	(Lu 1988: 49)		

Another characteristic shared by the Tai languages in the corpus with languages of the Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman groups is that the same adjective can act as a host for several different suffixal duplicates for the purpose of expressing various shades of meaning, as the following Dong items indicate:

ja453	'red'	—>	ja453 ljuŋ53 ljuŋ53	'bright red'
		—>	ja453 ɕe53 ɕe53	'reddish'
		—>	ja453 ljit24 ljit24	'brilliant red'
saŋ53	'straight'	—>	saŋ53 ljau53 ljau53	'very straight'
		—>	saŋ53 let55 let55	'perfectly straight'
(Liang 1980a: 29)				

In Dong, it is possible to construct trisyllabic compositional ABB type adjectives by attaching a duplicative suffix to a nominal head. Disyllabic nouns may also serve as heads, in which case the result is a four syllable form of the ABCC type. E.g.:

pən53	'sweat'	—>	pən53 ɕəp21 ɕəp21	'dripping with sweat'
nam31 ta31	'tears'	—>	nam31 ta31 jem53 jem53	'brimming with tears'
nun55	'maggot'	—>	nun55 ɲəp21 ɲəp21	'wriggling like a maggot'
(Liang 1980a: 29)				

In several languages it has been suggested that an association exists between close vowels and smallness, and between open vowels and largeness. Lu (1988: 49) cites examples of Zhuang trisyllabic compositional adjectives of the ABB type which can be arranged in paradigms according to this associative principle. E.g.:

tɐm5 tit7 tit7	'(of a tiny object) short'
tɐm5 tet7 tet7	'(of a small object) a little short'
tɐm5 tat7 tat7	'(of a large object) very short'
tɐm5 tɔt7 tɔt7	'(of a bulky object) extremely short'

The unity as lexemes of this type of items is strengthened by the contraction of an alliterative relationship between the two constituents (A + A/x A/x), also evident in the following two sets of further examples of the mentioned association:

rou^2 ret^8 ret^8	'a bit slippery; (of a small surface) slippery'
rou^2 rat^8 rat^8	'very slippery; (of a large surface) slippery'
rou^2 rɔt^8 rɔt^8	'(of big and round objects) slippery'
pi^2 pet^8 pet^8	'a bit fat; (of small animals) fat'
pi^2 pat^8 pat^8	'very fat; (of a large surface) fat'
pi^2 pɔt^8 pɔt^8	'extremely fat; chubby'
(Lu 1988: 49)	

Semantically related (antonymous or synonymous) monosyllabic adjectives can be joined together to compose a quadrisyllabic consecutively repetitive form (AABB) in (i) Gelao, (ii) Mulao, (iii) Shui, (iv) Dai, (v) Li and (vi) Daiya. These Tai quadrisyllabics resemble non-traceable Standard Chinese quadrisyllabic AABB lexemes as described by Gan (1993: 85). E.g.:

(i)   ə^{55} 'crooked' + au^{24} 'tortuous' —> ə^{55} ə^{55} au^{24} au^{24} 'winding'
     (He 1982: 49)

(ii) foŋ^1 'high' + hɣam^5 'low' —> foŋ^1 foŋ^1 hɣam^5 hɣam^5 'bumpy'
     (Wang & Zheng 1980: 42)

(iii) haːn^{33} 'red' + ɕu^{24} 'green' —> haːn^{33} haːn^{33} ɕu^{24} ɕu^{24} 'in gay colors'
     (Zhang Junru 1980: 45)

(iv) nam^1 'beautiful' + ŋaːm^2 'pretty' —> nam^1 nam^1 ŋaːm^2 ŋaːm^2 'very pretty'
     (Yu & Luo 1980: 30)

(v)   pheːk^{55} 'tall' + loŋ^{53} 'big' —> pheːk^{55} pheːk^{55} loŋ^{53} loŋ^{53} 'very tall'
     (Ouyang & Zheng 1980: 50)

(vi) pau^2 'full' + pəm^1 'full' —> pau^2 pau^2 pəm^1 pəm^1 'very full, plump'
     (Xing 1987: 45)

In Dong (i) and Li (ii), two semantically opposite adjectives can be disjunctively repeated (A + B —> ABAB) to indicate diversity of properties. And even though monosyllabic adjectives do not duplicate in Maonan (iii), the disyllabic adjective formed by attaching a modifying syllable to a monosyllabic base can be repeated to create a quadrisyllabic disjunctive repetitive form (ABAB) with an enhanced degree of intensity. The additional syllable does not necessarily resemble the head in form, but in the example cited below the former happens to alliterate with the latter. E.g.:

(i) maːk24 'big' + ni53 'little' —> maːk24 ni53 maːk24 ni53 'big and little'
(Liang 1980a: 51)

(ii) pheːk55 'high' + thaɯ11 'low' —> pheːk55 thaɯ11 pheːk55 thaɯ11
(Ouyang & Zheng 1980: 21)   'bumpy'

(iii) ba213 'wide' —> ba213 + bət23 —> ba213 bət23 ba213 bət23 'very wide'
(Liang 1980b: 31-32)

Partial repetition with an alliterative relationship between the base and the duplicative syllable (A —> A A/x) as well as the intensifying semantic effect can be attested in (i) Mulao, (ii) Maonan, (iii) Gelao and (iv) Shui in the Tai corpus. Note also the use of varying rhymes in the repetitive syllable to mark different degrees of intensity in Maonan. Li (v) deviates both structurally from the rest in prefixing the repetitive syllable (A —> A/x A) while in others it is suffixal, as well as semantically, since in the instances below repetition has a distributive implication in Li. E.g.:

(i) ɣaːi6   'sharp'   —>   ɣaːi6 ɣət8   'very sharp'
(Wang & Zheng 1980: 42)

(ii) laːn51   'red'   —>   laːn51 luŋ51   'scarlet'
     laːn51   'red'   —>   laːn51 li44   'gay-colored red'
     tuŋ44   'muddy'   —>   tuŋ44 tut55   'rather muddy'
     tuŋ44   'muddy'   —>   tuŋ44 tɯ42   'very muddy'
(Liang 1980b: 42, 31)

(iii) sei33   'blue'   —>   sei33 se24   'very blue'
      ntei33   'cold'   —>   ntei33 ntu24   'ice cold'
      piɒ24   'soft'   —>   piɒ24 pin33   'very soft'
      lan33   'black'   —>   lan33 ləɯ24   'pitch-dark'
(He 1982: 20)

(iv) vaːŋ24   'high'   —>   vaːŋ24 vaːu24   'very high'
      m̥ai35   'new'   —>   m̥ai35 m̥eŋ33   'very new'
      da33   'hard'   —>   da33 dot55   'very hard'
(Zhang Junru 1980: 27)

(v) koːk53   'dented'   —>   ku53 koːk53   'dented all over'
     khaːu53   'white'   —>   khu53 khaːu53   'white all over'
(Ouyang & Zheng 1980: 21)

Compared to alliteration, rhyming (A —> A x/A) is a much rarer partially repetitive principle in the Tai corpus of the study, only attested in Shui. E.g.:

> ti33   'small'   —>   ti33 ni33   'very small'
> (Zhang Junru 1980: 27)

Structurally, a more complex case of rhyming repetition is represented by those lexemes of the ABB type in (i) Mulao and (ii) Dai in which a partially repetitive relationship exists between the suffixal syllables (A —> A B x/B). E.g.:

> (i)   aːŋ5   'happy'   —>   aːŋ5 khə5 lə5 'exceptionally happy'
>   (Wang & Zheng 1980: 43)

> (ii) dɛŋ1   'red'   —>   dɛŋ1 tsaːŋ2 haːŋ2
>   baːŋ1   'white'   —>   baːŋ1 thɔʔ7 loʔ7
>   (Yu & Luo 1980: 53-54)[207]

The Tai corpus contains quadrisyllabic partially repetitive lexemes that can be described in terms of an alliterative or rhyming relationship contracted between the constituent syllables. Such complex repetitive items can be the result of juxtaposing two partially repetitive lexemes, as is the case with the following Maonan entity (A A/x A A/x):

> tuŋ44 tut55 'rather muddy' + tuŋ44 tuɯ42 'very muddy'
>   —> tuŋ44 tut55 tuŋ44 tuɯ42 'very muddy'
> (Liang 1980b: 32)

In Lajia, a pattern of the form ABAB/x is a generalisation for lexemes in which the first and the third syllables are completely repetitive in respect to each other while the second and the fourth are alliterative. A further regularity is that the rhyme of the second syllable always ends in -a and that its tone is consistently high falling (51). In the formula, as it stands above, only B marks a semantically empty syllable, i.e. it does not have an independent meaning, while B/x, analysed by the source used as contracting a modifying relationship with A, does have a meaning of its own. After this clarification of the internal structure of this type of lexemes in Lajia, it is obvious that it is the first alliterative syllable (from left to right) that copies the initial consonant of the second and not the other way round, as implied by the formula in its present form. The only thing that has to be done to make the

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207   Yu & Luo (1980: 53-54) do not specify the meaning of each repetitive form; they only make the general remark that the suffixation of duplicative syllables carries with it an intensifying semantic impact.

notation correctly reflect the linguistic reality in Lajia, is to switch B over to B/x's position and vice versa: ABAB/x —> AB/x AB. Semantically, the four syllable items indicate a stronger degree of intensity than the disyllabic form. Note the coincidental alliteration of initial consonants in all four syllables in one of the following examples:

koːŋ^{55} tuŋ^{11} 'red'   —>   koːŋ^{55} ta^{51} koːŋ^{55} tuŋ^{11} 'bright red'
lam^{51} luːi^{231} 'black' —>   lam^{51} la^{51} lam^{51} luːi^{231} 'pitch-dark'
pieːk^{11} phom^{51} 'white' —>   pieːk^{11} pha^{51} pieːk^{11} phom^{51} 'very white'
(Mao et al. 1982: 136-137)

Shui is the only language in the Tai corpus with rhyming quadrisyllabic repetitive adjectival lexemes (A —> A x/A- x/A- x/A- or A B x/B- x/B- x/B-). Their semantic function is to intensify the quality expressed by what can be regarded as a base form. A further regularity is that the initial consonants of the second and fourth syllables almost coincide in their articulatory features, the only difference concerning aspiration, and that the third syllable has an initial nasal which assimilates to the place of articulation of the preceding final consonant. Once more, the semantics of the derivations below accord with the iconicity principle. E.g.:

vaŋ^{24} 'high' —>   vaŋ^{24} qaːŋ^{33} ŋaːŋ^{33} qhaːŋ^{33} 'very high'
qam^{35} 'black' —>   qam^{35} taːt^{35} ɲaːt^{43} thaːt^{43} 'very black'
(Zhang Junru 1980: 27)

The most complex instances of repetition in the Tai corpus as far as features of alliteration and rhyming are concerned, can be found in Li, in which a quadrisyllabic pattern involves both categories of partial repetition distributed in the following way in the linear framework: the first syllable, which is always the prefix kɯ$^{(11)}$, often alliterates with the third syllable[208], which in turn rhymes with the second syllable (= the base) that can contract an alliterative relationship with the fourth syllable, but this does not seem to be a regular occurrence. The subsequent examples, both based on a verb, also realize the last mentioned alliterative relationship:

thau^{11} 'struggle' —> kɯ$^{(11)}$ thau^{11} kau^{11} thak^{55} 'struggling'
ɲoŋ^{55} 'sway'   —> kɯ$^{(11)}$ ɲoŋ^{55} koŋ^{55} ɲeŋ^{53} 'swaying'
(Ouyang & Zheng 1980: 77)

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[208] The third syllable may aspirate its velar stop (Ouyang & Zheng 1980: 77) in which case there is naturally no perfect alliteration.

4.4. THE VIET-MUONG GROUP

As the vast majority of duplications involving a monosyllabic base (A —> AA) treated so far have been consistently accompanied by intensification of the quality expressed by the same, it is interesting to note how in Vietnamese the repetitive form either (i) weakens or (ii) strengthens the meaning of the base form (Nguyen 1999: 10-15). E.g.:

(i)	xanh	'green'	—>	xanh xanh	'greenish'
	thuôn	'tapered'	—>	thuôn thuôn	'a little tapered'
(ii)	rầm	'loud'	—>	rầm rầm	'clamorous'
	ngồng	'towering'	—>	ngồng ngồng	'gigantic'

(Truong 1970: 25; Dang & Le 1990: 675-676, 586, 376-377)

An interesting sub-type among disyllabic adjectival repetitive outputs comprises lexemes derived from nouns denoting materials[209]. E.g.:

dầu	'oil'	—>	dầu dầu	'oily'
nước	'water'	—>	nước nước	'watery'
mỡ	'fat, lard'	—>	mỡ mỡ	'fatty'

(Nguyen Tai Can 1975: 185)

Besides nouns denoting materials, a few other kinds of monosyllabic[210] substantives have this property, too. E.g.:

cỏ	'grass'	—>	cỏ cỏ	'grassy'
muỗi	'mosquito'	—>	muỗi muỗi	'mosquito-y'[211]

(Nguyen Tai Can 1975: 186)

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209 The expression 'nouns denoting materials' is a translation of a corresponding Vietnamese expression coined by Nguyen Tai Can in his *Từ loại danh từ trong tiếng Việt hiện đại* (Noun in Modern Vietnamese) (1975: 184).

210 Nguyen Tai Can (1975: 186, fn. 1) defines this type of duplication as non-applicable to plurisyllabic nouns.

211 The purpose of this unidiomatic English equivalent is to emphasize that the Vietnamese repetitive output does not imply plural reference, but is an adjective, as explicitly stated by Nguyen Tai Can (1975: 185-186). It is also evident from the sentence used by Nguyen (1975: 186) as an example, in which the form in question is preceded by *hơi* 'a little, a whit, a bit' (Dang & Le 1990: 334), a member of a paradigm of syntagmatic determiners as an adjective (or a verb) of the unit standing after it in the linear sequence of a string (see Nguyen Tai Can 1975: 24-25).

Lexemes which according to the Vietnamese linguistic tradition are completely repetitive, but which are treated as partially repetitive due to strict adherence to the principle of formal (dis)similarity between the base and the duplicated item adopted in the study (see fn. 64), can also be either intensifying or moderating. E.g.:

| chậm | 'slow' | —> | chậm chậm | 'very slow' |
| chếch | 'oblique' | —> | chênh chếch | 'a little oblique' |

(Truong 1970: 25)

In Thompson's analysis (1965: 154-173), the outputs above belong in a voluminous major category of disyllabic repetitive lexemes called 'emphatics' which all share the common feature of being partially repetitive in form. Another distinctive characteristic is that they are mostly non-productive, as there are only two sub-categories of productive emphatics, one of which is represented by the derivation with *chếch* above as the base and called 'attenuatives' by Thompson (1965: 172-173) while the other, termed 'ironic emphatics' in Thompson's treatment (1965: 173), has been dealt with in 2.4. Semantically, the vaguer emphatics, in Thompson's words (1965: 154), "range over a large semantic area from simply stylistic variants... to derivatives with highly specialized, figurative, or extended connotations" perceptible perhaps only to a native speaker. A more detailed exposition of forms and meanings in Thompson's analysis would be superfluous, as the intention of the study is to serve as a general survey of the topic and thus it cannot concentrate too much on a single language in the corpus. A characteristic of these partially derived lexemes shared with repetitive adjectival sub-corpora from other language groups is that they build lexical sets founded on one base, with semantically differentiated members. The distinctions in meaning between the members of one and the same set can be (i) slight or practically non-existent, or then (ii) more conspicuous, as shown below. All the lexemes to be cited are alliterative (A —> A A/x; A —> A/x A). E.g.:

(i) khờ
  'gullible, naïve, dull' —>

khù khờ	'slow-witted'
khờ khạo	'gullible, naïve, dull'
khờ khệch	'dull, stupid'
khờ khĩnh	'gullible, naïve, dull'

(ii) nhỏ   'small'   —>

nhỏ nhắn	'slender'
nhỏ nhẻ	'soft of voice'
nhỏ nhen	'pretty'

(Thompson 1965: 167-168)

Lexemes derived from the same base and referring to different points on the intensificatory continuum naturally belong in the latter category. E.g.:

tròn	'round'	—>	tròn trĩnh	'roundish, plump'
			tròn trặn	'perfectly round'

(Thompson 1965: 168)

Though mostly non-productive, the disyllabic repetitive items in Thompson's category of emphatics are often transparent to the extent that one of the constituent syllables can be considered the base from which the duplicative syllable is derived, but there are opaque disyllabics satisfying the general formal criteria for repetitive items, where both constituent syllables are asemantic. This kind of lexeme would have perhaps otherwise gone unnoticed by Vietnamese linguists, simply branded as disyllabic single-morpheme words in taxonomies of the modern Vietnamese lexicon, had not native speakers been so highly discerning as to their semantic characteristics, associating them with repetitive forms in general, though unable to identify a meaning for either of the constituent syllables (Phi 1998: 9). These circumstances have led analysts to search more thoroughly for a *signifiant* for this type of *signifié*, and it has been suggested that the presence of the same sub-syllabic element, e.g. rhyme, in a set of lexemes is responsible for this 'feeling' of semantic identity experienced by natives, inexplicable on the syllabic level. To find out the essential symbolic value of a rhyme, Phi (1998: 9-20) has mapped out its distribution in terms of its presence in opaque duplicates, in the repetitive syllable of transparent duplicates and finally in monosyllabic lexemes, and if the total set of lexemes in which the rhyme in question appears can be regarded as being semantically consistent in some way, then the hypothesis of native competence relying on sub-syllabic components in the recognition of a semantic feature has been proved.

Some Vietnamese adjectives can undergo triplication with either only tonal (A —> A A- A-) or also segmental (A —> A A/x A/x) modification of the base. In Nguyen's opinion (1969: 190), the resulting triplicates are 'superlative' in meaning in comparison to the monosyllabic base, which is quite in agreement with what is predicted by the principle of iconicity. E.g.:

xơ	'unravelled'	—>	xơ xờ xờ	'badly unravelled'
sát	'close'	—>	sát sàn sạt	'very close'
sạch	'clean'	—>	sạch sành sanh	'quite clean'

As the above usage of the term 'superlative' implies, Nguyen Kim Than (1969) conceives the formation of triplicates can be conceived in terms of a paradigm, and this is also in essence what Nguyen Tai Can (1975: 130) basically does, though from a different angle, when he depicts it as a prefixation, suffixation or infixation

of a further repetitive syllable to a disyllabic duplicate. To emphasize the notion of paradigm, the monosyllabic base is added in parentheses in the set below. E.g.:

(mơ 'to dream' —>) lơ mơ 'half-asleep, dreamy'
　　—> tơ + lơ mơ —> tơ lơ mơ 'foolishly dreamy'
(trơ 'solitary; brazen-faced' —>) trơ trơ
　　—> trơ trơ + trơ —> trơ trơ trơ[212]
(xốp 'spongy' —>) xốp xộp 'very spongy'
　　—> xốp + xòm + xộp —> xốp xòm xộp 'extremely spongy'

The description of the formation of trisyllabic repetitive lexemes in terms of a paradigm is at its most explicit in Hoang (1985: 62), where the derivations exemplifying four different formative patterns[213] have a monosyllabic form as the first element in the chain.

Finally, a disyllabic adjective can also function as the base for trisyllabic repetitive lexemes (AB —> ABB). Interestingly enough, the Vietnamese repetitive forms of this type are comparable to the ones in Lajia (see fn. 206) and also to a certain extent to Standard Chinese[214], in that the bases are compositional: the second syllable has a meaning of its own and its function is to modify the meaning of the adjective in the first syllable. The repetition of the final syllable in this kind of compound brings with it an intensification to the 'superlative'[215] degree of the quality expressed by the base compound. In order to make more explicit the notion of 'superlative' favoured by Nguyen (1969), the derivations presented below contain forms with the function of 'positive' and 'comparative', respectively, in the present context. E.g.:

thơm 'sweet-smelling' —> thơm phức[216] 'very sweet-smelling'
　　—> thơm phức phức 'strongly fragrant'
trắng 'white' —> trắng phau[217] 'spotlessly white'
　　—> trắng phau phau 'strikingly white'

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[212] Unfortunately, the meanings of these particular repetitive forms could not be found in the sources available.

[213] On the basis of suprasegmental, segmental and positional criteria, the four patterns are mutually distinguishable by (i) tonal alternation, (ii) tonal and segmental alternation, (iii) anteposition of the repetitive syllable(s) and by (iv) a rhyming relationship between the base and the anteposed repetitive syllables.

[214] See Gan 1993: 88-89.

[215] Nguyen 1969: 191-192.

[216] This item is listed in Dang & Le (1990: 567) as an adjunct and its role as a bound intensifier is reflected in the way in which its meaning is explicated: 'very (fragrant), very (flavoured), very (sweet-smelling)'.

[217] *Phau* 'spotless, immaculate' (Dang & Le 1990: 553).

đỏ 'red' —> đỏ au[218] 'bright red' —> đỏ au au 'extremely red'

xanh 'blue, green' —> xanh lè[219] 'glaringly green'

    —> xanh lè lè 'extremely green'

(Nguyen 1969: 191; Hoang et al. 1988: 348; Truong 1998: 72; Dang & Le 1990: 778)

Truong (1998: 72) cites *vàng ngàu ngàu* and *vàng chạch chạch* as further examples of the ABB repetitive type. The elements in the second syllable of these lexemes are, as one would expect, meaningful units (*ngàu/ngầu* 'very muddy; bloodshot'[220]; *chạch* 'loach'[221]), and the disyllabic base of the former triplicate (*vàng ngàu*) consequently means something like 'turbidly yellow', but as the colour of the fish called *chạch* in Vietnamese is unclear, it is impossible to suggest even an approximative English equivalent for the disyllabic base of the latter triplicate.

Quadrisyllabic repetitive lexemes are usually based on disyllabic repetitive forms. The derivations can be complete and consecutive (AB —> AABB) with an enhanced semantic effect (Nguyen 1969: 192). E.g.:

hùng hổ   'violent'   —>   hùng hùng hổ hổ   'rather violent'

(Tran 1992: 55)

Or they are disjunctive with tonal changes on repetitive syllables with the repetitive disyllabic constituent either before or after the base (AB —> A B A- B-/ A- B- A B)[222]. E.g.:

còm ròm   'emaciated'   —>   còm ròm cỏm rỏm/cỏm rỏm còm ròm[223]

phục phịch   'fat and clumsy'—>   phục phịch phúc phích/

                                       phúc phích phục phịch

(Thompson 1965: 174)

One possible pattern is distinguished by the alliteration of the second syllable of the anteposed repetitive constituent in the quadrisyllabic output form with the second syllable of the base form (AB —> A B/x A B). The rhyme of the alliterative

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218 *Au* 'bright and cheerful' (Dang & Le 1990: 14).

219 *Lè* 'glaring' (Dang & Le 1990: 403).

220 Dang & Le 1990: 488.

221 Dang & Le 1990: 113.

222 The speech form spoken in South Vietnam allows the part with lower register tones in quadrisyllabic repetitive lexemes to be placed before the other part, whereas in the north it is a rule that the sequence with low tones is placed at the rear of the quadriplicate (Tran 1992: 56-57).

223 Since the semantic effect concurrent with this pattern cannot be ascertained from the sources available, no translation is provided. In such cases, Thompson's general assessment of the semantic content of these forms (1965: 174) as adding strong dramatic overtones to the meaning of their bases can serve as a common evaluation.

repetitive syllable regularly consists of a single vowel (-*a*) and the resulting form marks a higher value on the intensity scale. E.g.:

| lếch tếch | 'frumpish' | —> | lếch tha lếch thếch | 'rather frumpish' |
| nhí nhảnh | 'lively' | —> | nhí nha nhí nhảnh | 'rather lively' |

(Tran 1992: 55; Thompson 1965: 175)

Semantically, forms liable to follow this type of repetitive pattern share the general characteristic of referring to inherently fluctuating, unstable circumstances and very often they are opaque, i.e. it is very difficult to determine the meaning of the constituents (Vo 1998: 25). Furthermore, forms with a derogatory connotation are a much more probable target for the kind of repetitive process in question than connotatively commendatory disyllabics (Vo 1998: 26). Finally, southern Vietnamese differs from northern and central Vietnamese in that the set of lexemes capable of undergoing the process under consideration (AB —> A B/x A B) in the latter variants (i), does not necessarily coincide with that of the former dialect[224] (ii). E.g.:

| (i) | láu táu | 'hasty (in speech)' | —> | | láu ta láu táu |
| (ii) | | | —> | | lau tau láu táu |

(Vo 1998: 21, fn. 1)

Some disyllabic repetitive adjectives can serve as bases for a rhyming repetitive process whereby the rhymes of both constituent syllables of the base are repeated in a derived syllable placed immediately after their models (A —> A x/A B x/B). E.g.:

| xơ xác | 'denuded' | —> | xơ rơ xác rác |

(Tran 1992: 55)

Muong is similar to Vietnamese in that increase in form is not necessarily always reciprocated by a corresponding increase in meaning (= intensification), but sometimes the contrary occurs, as the instances of complete reduplication below indicate (A —> AA):

$hơm^2$	'fragrant'	—>	$hơm^2$ $hơm^2$	'a little fragrant'
$sọl^2$	'pungent'	—>	$sọl^2$ $sọl^2$	'a little pungent'
dip^5	'low'	—>	dip^5 dip^5	'a little low'

(Hoang 1998: 32)

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224 In the case of non-coincidence, it is not always true that the northern and central pattern (AB —> A B/x A B) shows a regular correspondence with the southern AB —> A- B- AB pattern. Other possible patterns include AB —> ABA- B- and AB —> AB A/x B/x, for example. (Vo 1998: 21, fn. 1).

On the other hand, just as in Vietnamese, duplicates in Muong can also indicate intensification of the meaning of a base (A —> A A-). E.g.:

ro^2 ro^3	'very noisy'
von^4 von^1	'very high and solitary'
(Hoang 1998: 33)	

Muong resembles other Mon-Khmer languages in the corpus in possessing repetitive forms with alternating vowels in the rhyme of the constituent syllables (A A/x). E.g.:

rong^3 reng^3	'longish'
ngênh^1 ngang^1	'swaggering'
(Hoang 1998: 33)	

Productive partial repetition partakes of the set of repetitive processes in Muong. Both types are represented, alliterative (A —> A A(-)/x) (i), and rhyming (A —> x/A A / A x/A) (ii). E.g.:

(i)	hrươm^1	'dense'	—> hrươm^1 hrưk^5	'bushy, dense'
	βɑl^5	'bent'	—> βɑl^5 βew^5	'twisted'
	sươj^2	'fresh'	—> sươj^2 se^4	'cheerful'
	(Hoang 1998: 33)			

(ii)	zong^3	'slim'	—> tlong^3 zong^3	'quite slim'
	sôm^1	'thickly haired'	—> sôm^1 ñôm^1	'hairy, shaggy'
	sak^5	'bare'	—> sak^5 rak^5	'denuded'
	(Hoang 1998: 34)			

4.5. OTHER MON-KHMER LANGUAGES

Wa is similar to many other languages in the corpus in its conformity to the iconicity principle in constructing repetitive lexemes. The resulting forms can either be (i) complete (A —> AA) or (ii) alliterative (A —> A/x A). E.g.:

(i)	rauh	'red'	—>	rauh rauh	'very red'
	mhɔm	'good'	—>	mhɔm mhɔm	'very good'
(ii)	siah	'exquisite'—>		su siah	'very small, fine'

(Zhou & Yan 1984: 61, 28)

Repetition of an attributive adjective in Wa is a dialectal, not a general phenomenon. No specific change in the lexical meaning is attached to this repetitive process in the source used, only its syntactic environment is mentioned, as if the duplication were completely conditioned by syntactic considerations. E.g.:

khau?	tiŋ tiŋ	'a big tree'
tree	big	
ʃaŋ	laŋ laŋ	'a high wall'
wall	high	

(Zhou & Yan 1984: 149)

Beside creating nouns, it is also possible to construct adjectives through a suffixal alliterative process in Wa. If the expression 'harmonious and rhetoric colouring' used in the source (Zhou & Yan 1984: 28) is considered a statement containing a semantic judgement, then repetition does not only concern form in the following derivations

dau?	'strange'	—>	dau? deŋ
lhak	'clever'	—>	lhak lhiau

These lexemes with suffixed asemantic syllables can be expanded into disjunctive quadrisyllabic ones (AB —> CACB). The expansion process strengthens the degree of intensity of the quality expressed by the base. Note how the element filling the C slot is not asemantic. E.g.:

dau? deŋ	'strange'	—>	mɛ? dau? mɛ? deŋ	'very strange'
			some	

(Zhou & Yan 1984: 29)

Another way to create lexemes of four syllables in Wa is to juxtapose two semantically close disyllabic adjectives with the prefixal syllable *si* and possibly alliterative second syllables (AB + AB(/x) —> ABAB(/x)). If the term 'rhetoric' is accepted as somehow co-referential with the term 'intense' or 'intensifying', then the juxtapositive process complies with the principle of iconicity. E.g.:

si ŋaʔ + si ŋeh   —>   si ŋaʔ si ŋeh   'clean and tidy'
clean   tidy

si ʔauh + si ʔɯm   —>   si ʔauh si ʔɯm   'hot and sultry'
hot   sultry
(Zhou & Yan 1984: 29)

The element inserted before A and B in a disyllabic lexeme can itself be disyllabic, in which case a six-syllable repetitive form is achieved (CD + A CD + B —> CDACDB). Note the nominal base:

rhɔm rhi   'heart'   —>   si gaɯʔ rhɔm si gaɯʔ rhi   'excited'
                             glad
(Zhou & Yan 1984: 29)

Contrary to Wa but in consonance with Vietnamese and Muong, the Katuic complete duplicates on monosyllabic or disyllabic bases (A —> AA, AB —> ABB) can be weaker in intensity than their formally simpler roots. E.g.:

bhook   'white'   —>   bhook bhook   'whitish'
ta viêng   'blue'   —>   ta viêng viêng 'bluish'
(Katu; Hoang 1993: 15)

o   'pretty'   —>   o o   'somewhat pretty'
(Bru; Hoang 1993: 15)

ngoot   'black'   —>   ngoot ngoot   'blackish'
(Taoih; Hoang 1993: 15)

soσ   'pleased' —>   soσ soσ   'a little pleased'
ket   'small'   —>   ket ket   'smallish'
(Pacoh; Hoang 1993: 15)

Intensification of a quality is indicated by repetitive means in the Katuic languages as well, but note how the exponents of this semantic category below are expressed through alliterative (A —> A A/x), not complete repetition, with a complimentary or derogatory connotation:

| brah | 'clean' | —> | brah briêl | 'clean, cleanly' |
| săk | 'dense' | —> | săk siăk | 'bushy, dense' |

(Bru; Hoang 1993: 16)

| lmuq | 'slow' | —> | lmuq lmui | 'very slow' |
| ket | 'small' | —> | ket kooj | 'very small' |

(Pacoh; Hoang 1993: 15, 16)

| tiq | 'old' | —> | tiq tơơt | 'outdated, ancient' |

(Taoih; Hoang 1993: 16)

| brông | 'red' | —> | brông brang | '(of complexion) ruddy, pink' |

(Katu; Hoang 1993: 15)

The Katuic languages are further characterized by an alliterative process whereby a prefixal syllable ending in -a is added to the base establishing a plural reference, i.e. many objects have the quality in question (A —> A/x A). E.g.:

| tru | 'deep' | —> | ta tru | 'deep (+ pl.)' |
| toiq | 'long' | —> | ta toiq | 'long (+ pl.)' |

(Pacoh and Taoih; Hoang 1993: 16)

The relationship between meaning and form is not, however, as neat and systematic in the Katuic repetitive lexicon as the data so far examined suggest, as for example in Bru the expression of emphasis on the continuity of a property and that of reciprocity coincide on the level of formal pattern (A —> ABA). E.g.:

| kai | '(of pain) dull' | —> | kai pa kai | 'dull and lasting' |
| cheq | 'near' | —> | cheq ra cheq | 'next to each other' |

(Hoang 1993: 16-17)

Like Vietnamese and other Mon-Khmer languages, the Katuic languages are also characterized by regular combinatory tendencies between syllable-initial consonants in disyllabic rhyming repetitive lexemes (A x/A) (see 2.4). Regularity in this context implies retention of (i) t- or (ii) l- in the first syllable, while the initial in the second syllable varies (Hoang 1993: 10). All the items in (i) stem from Pacoh and/or Taoih, while those in (ii) are from Bru, Taoih and Katu, respectively:

(i)	toói ngoói	'gloomy'
	tuar nhuar	'stagnant'
	tin lin	'even and flat'
	tuap yuap	'ruffled'

(ii)	leq deq	'muddy'
	leau nheau	'half-closed'
	loi thoi	'silent'

The restricted data on the repetitive adjectival vocabulary of Jeh can be summed up by distinguishing (i) complete duplicatives (AA) and two types of alliterative repetitive lexemes (A A/x): (ii) those differing only in the vowel of the rhyme, and (iii) those with another kind of formal variation between the rhymes of the constituent syllables. E.g.:

(i)	di? di?	'different'
	druk druk	'grey'
	yam yam	'violet'
(ii)	gung ging	'(of road) curved'
	luk lek	'deceitful'
(iii)	ja jayah	'frisky'
	le leh	'shorter'
	lu luk	'noisy'
	(Cohen 1966: 39-40)	

Repetitive adjectival lexemes with alternating final consonants (*ngiat ngiah* 'light green') and different vowels in the second syllable of the disyllabic constituents of a repetitive lexeme (*samu? sama?* 'untidy') are also possible (Cohen 1966: 40).

4.6. THE MIAO-YAO GROUP

The set of Miao-Yao speech forms in 2.5 is complemented by items from a Yao variant called Biaomin (標敏) in Standard Chinese, which is actually a dialect of Mian and spoken primarily in Guangxi but also in Hunan (Mao 1989: 38), and by items from a dialect of Hmong Njua (= Green Miao) as spoken in the province Xieng Khoung, northern Laos (Harriehausen 1990: 2).

The duplicates of monosyllabic adjectives (A —> AA) within the Miao-Yao corpus available for the study are semantically quite predictable on the basis of the iconicity principle. The mode of presentation of examples is similar to that used in 2.5. E.g.:

ɳje^{52}	'heavy'	—>	ɳje^{52} ɳje^{52} 'very heavy'
heŋ^{33}	'light'	—>	heŋ$^{33/52}$ heŋ^{33} 'very light'
(Mian; Mao et al. 1982: 36)			

vi^{43}	'small'	—>	vi$^{43/54}$ vi^{43}	'very small'
nte^{43}	'long'	—>	nte$^{43/54}$ nte^{43}	'very long'

(Bunu; Mao et al. 1982: 91)

ku^{33}	'remote'	—>	ku^{33} ku^{33}	'rather remote'
nan^{13}	'cool'	—>	nan^{13} nan^{13}	'rather cool'

(Biaomin; Mao et al. 1982: 91)

kwaŋ^3	'wide'	—>	kwaŋ^3 kwaŋ^3	'very wide'
gɔŋ^5	'good'	—>	gɔŋ^5 gɔŋ^5	'very good'

(Yao, Hainan; Lu 1987: 58)

geiv	'narrow'	—>	geiv geiv	'very narrow'
caz	'wise'	—>	caz caz	'very wise'

(Miao [Yao?], Vietnam; Nguyen Van Loi 1975: 22)

hlub	'hard'	—>	hlub hlub	'very hard'
ntsuab	'green'	—>	ntsuab ntsuab	'dark green'

(Hmong Njua, Laos; Harriehausen 1990: 48)

In Mian, verbs can serve as bases for repetitive adjectival lexemes. E.g.:

ɬɛ^{24}	'to stretch'	—>	ɬɛ$^{24/52}$ ɬɛ^{24}	'like the tongue hanging out'
dzei^{12}	'to bite'	—>	dzei^{12} dzei^{12}	'wreathed in smiles'

(Mao et al. 1982: 25)

Biaomin avails itself of tonal change in addition to repetition in order to express a still higher degree of intensity (A —> A- A). The changed tone is always 35, a high rising tone. E.g.:

ku^{33}	'remote'	—>	ku$^{33->35}$ ku^{33}	'most remote'
nan^{13}	'cool'	—>	nan$^{13->35}$ nan^{13}	'most cool'

(Mao 1989: 38-39)

With regard to disyllabic adjectives, only the first syllable is duplicated in Biaomin (AB —> AAB). E.g.:

so^{13} lɛi^{21}	'clean' —>	so^{13} so^{13} lɛi^{21}	'rather clean'
dzaŋ^{54} kua^{13}	'ugly' —>	dzaŋ^{54} dzaŋ^{54} kua^{13}	'rather ugly'

(Mao 1989: 39)

In analogy to repetitive forms derived from monosyllabic bases, the expression of a still stronger degree of intensity in a trisyllabic output of a disyllabic base is achieved through changing the first tone in a string to a high rising one (35). E.g.:

so^{13} lɛi^{21} 'clean'   —>   so$^{13->35}$ so^{13} lɛi^{21} 'very clean'

dzaŋ^{54} kua^{13} 'ugly'   —>   dzaŋ$^{54->35}$ dzaŋ^{54} kua^{13} 'very ugly'

(Mao 1989: 39)

Mian is similar to Biaomin in having repetitive lexemes of the AAB type, except that in Mao et al.'s analysis of the former speech form (1982: 37), the disyllabic base is interpreted as consisting of an adverbial modifier followed by its head, a monosyllabic adjective, and it is the adverbial constituent that is duplicated. The meanings of the adverbial element and the head adjective are actually synonymous, if the renderings given by Mao et al. (1982) are reliable. For example, in such a disyllabic construction, as *dzan^6 si^7* the first constituent is the adverbial, rendered into Standard Chinese by Mao et al. as 紅的樣子 (literally 'appearance of red'), while the second is the modified adjective ('red'). This mode of analysis is identical to the one applied by the same authors to triplicate repetitive lexemes in Lajia, except that there the repetitive element is suffixal, not prefixal (see fn. 206). As Biaomin is considered a dialect of Mian, it would be interesting to know whether a similar analysis were applicable to disyllabic bases of AAB lexemes in that speech form. Presumably the answer is negative, since the author of the article on Biaomin also acts as co-author of the monograph on Mian (Bunu and Lajia), and if Biaomin had such lexical structures, the author would probably have treated them as analogical to the ones in Mian. In any case, the three Mian AAB items below are regarded as parallel to the structurally corresponding Biaomin entities in being derived from a disyllabic base and accompanied by an enhanced semantic effect as a concomitant result of the process. E.g.:

(i)   dom^{21} 'property of softness' + mau^{33} 'soft' —> dom^{21} mau^1 'soft, lithe' —> dom$^{21/52}$ dom^{21} mau^{33} 'soft, weak'

(ii) ɱjet^{55} 'fragrant odour' + daŋ^{33} 'fragrant' —> ɱjet^{55} daŋ^{33} 'fragrant, delicious' —> ɱjet^{55} ɱjet^{55} daŋ^{33} 'sweet smelling'

(iii) djom^{21} 'sweet tasting' + kaːm^{33} 'sweet' —> djom^{21} kaːm^{33} 'sweet' —> djom^{21} djom^{21} kaːm^{33} 'pleasantly sweet'
      (Mao et al. 1982: 40)

The trisyllabic repetitive lexemes of the ABB type in Bunu are subjected by Mao et al. (1982: 95-96) to exactly the same kind of analysis as the corresponding Lajia and Vietnamese items and the Mian AAB triplicates, i.e. they are based on a disyllabic structure consisting of an adverbial modifier and its head, with the former constituent undergoing duplication. The resulting forms show a stronger level of intensity compared to the base. E.g.:

(i)   θɤŋ^{231} 'cool' + hiŋ^{33} 'feeling of coolness'
       —> θɤŋ^{231} hiŋ^{33} 'ice-cold' —> θɤŋ^{231} hiŋ^{33} hiŋ^{33} 'icy, frosty'

(ii)   co^{31} 'hard' + ci^{33} 'property of hardness'
       —> co^{31} ci^{33} 'very hard' —> co^{31} ci$^{33/44}$ ci$^{33/44}$ 'very hard, stiff'

(iii) lɤŋ^{33} 'red' + tɬan^{31} 'scarlet appearance'
       —> lɤŋ^{33} tɬan^{31} 'scarlet' —> lɤŋ^{33} tɬan^{31} tɬan^{31} 'brilliant red'
       (Mao et al. 1982: 96)

The Hainan Yao variant shares the trisyllabic pattern with Bunu (ABB), but there is no analysis to the same effect as with Bunu, in the source used. E.g.:

ti^7 plaŋ^2 plaŋ^2	'bright red'
bou^5 blan^2 blan^2	'(of a mountain slope) bare'
(Lu 1987: 55)	

It is possible to construct infixal repetitive lexemes in Mian, which has two variants of this pattern: (i) one infixes *hai^{12}* (A —> A *hai^{12}* A) and (ii) the other inserts a disyllabic *n^{24} tu^{55}* between the repetitive syllables (A—> A *n^{24} tu^{55}* A). The wording of Mao et al. (1982: 36-37) implies that semantically, the intensifying effect of the infixal process with *hai^{12}* is comparable to that of the repetition of monosyllabic adjectival bases (A —> AA), while the other with *n^{24} tu^{55}* amounts in meaning to 'fairly' if its Standard Chinese semantic equivalent is translated into English. E.g.:

(i)	ton^{12}	'slow'	—>	ton^{12} hai$^{12/24}$ ton^{12}	'very slow'
	heŋ^{33}	'light'	—>	heŋ^{33} hai$^{12/24}$ heŋ^{33}	'very light'
(ii)	pɛ^{12}	'white'	—>	pɛ^{12} n^{24} tu^{55} pɛ^{12}	'fairly white'
	ṇje^{52}	'heavy'	—>	ṇje^{52} n^{24} tu^{55} ṇje^{52}	'fairly heavy'

Juxtaposition of consecutively repeated antonymous monosyllabic adjectives (A + B —> AABB) is a practice cited in Mao et al. (1982: 26) by which means quadrisyllabic repetitive adjectival lexemes are constructed in Mian. E.g.:

ku$^{24/21}$ ku^{24} lun$^{24/21}$ lun^{24} 'old and young'
old   delicate

tɬu$^{33/21}$ tɬu^{33} fai$^{24/21}$ fai^{24} 'big and small'
big   small

Bunu seems to possess quite a few repetitive quadrisyllabic adjectival patterns. The totally repetitive patterns are of two kinds, the consecutive (i) AABB and the disjunctive (ii) ABAB, in both of which the A slot is filled by a meaningless syllable while the syllable in the B slot has an independent meaning and provides the point of departure for the semantic modification desired. Note the verbal base and the alliterative relationship between all syllables in the output form in (i). E.g.:

(i)   nzjɤŋ^{42} 'to look sideways'
           —> nzja^{33} nzja$^{33/44}$ nzjɤŋ^{42} nzjɤŋ^{42} 'half-hearted'

(ii) ŋai^{42} '(of eyes) closed'
           —> ka^{22} ŋai^{42} ka^{22} ŋai^{42} 'muddleheaded'
      khaŋ^{42} 'nimble'
           —> pa^{22} khaŋ^{42} pa^{22} khaŋ^{42} 'brisk, lighthearted'
      (Mao et al. 1982: 81-82)

In the set of Bunu partially repetitive patterns of four syllables, both alliterative and rhyming variants are represented. The former are of two kinds: the second and the fourth syllables alliterate with each other except for tone, and the rhyme of the second syllable is (i) -*i* or (ii)-*a* [A B/x A B(-)/x]. All four syllables in the repetitive form can be alliterative, but this is not a regular feature. In the rhyming pattern (iii), the rhyming syllables, apparently with differing tones, occupy the second and fourth slots in the formula [A x/B A x/B(-)]. As far as the semantics of the constituent syllables in the formulae cited is concerned, the syllable marked with A is meaningful, while the second and fourth syllables are meaningless in themselves. Again, the repetitive forms are semantically more intense or vivid when compared to their bases. Note the verbal base in the second derivation in (ii). E.g.:

(i)   kwen^{12} 'yellow' —> kwen^{12} zi̞^{24} kwen$^{12/24}$ zo^{231} 'golden yellow'
      tɬuŋ^{33} 'black' —> tɬuŋ^{33} tɬi^{33} tɬuŋ$^{33/44}$ tɬay^{54} 'jet black'
      ntsɤu^{12} 'green' —> ntsɤu^{12} ji^{44} ntsɤu$^{12/24}$ jɤu$^{43/54}$ 'green and lush'

(ii) tɬu^{33} 'white' —> tɬu^{33} mpha^{44} tɬu$^{33/44}$ mphiŋ$^{43/54}$ 'snow white'
      ntɬi^{22} 'to fall' —> ntɬi^{22} ntɬa^{12} ntɬi^{22} ntɬo^{22} 'very confused'

(iii) ŋkwai^{12} 'dizzy' —> ŋkwai^{12} laŋ^{24} ŋkwai$^{12/24}$ taŋ^{22} 'stunned, dazed'
      (Mao et al. 1982: 82)

Disyllabic alliterative lexemes are not an uncommon phenomenon in Miao [Yao?] (Vietnam). According to Nguyen Van Loi (1975: 24), they are mostly opaque single-morpheme items, but some are transparent to the extent that a meaningful element is discernible, and thus a derivation with an intensifying semantic effect can be set up (A —> A A/x). E.g.:

| đôngs | 'violet' | —> | đôngs đangs | 'pitch-black' |
| blas | 'shiny' | —> | blas blux | 'very shiny'[225] |

Nguyen Van Loi (1975: 25) argues further that in this kind of Miao [Yao?] lexemes the semantic constituent was originally an independent lexical entity expressing a state or a property and that the now asemantic alliterative syllable should have initially been added to restrict the meaning of the said state/property; the similarity of the initial consonants could be haphazard. For Nguyen the subsequent disyllabic lexemes in modern Vietnamese reflect the semantic configuration that earlier presumably prevailed in Miao [Yao?]:

đỏ 'red' + lòm 'gaudy'	—> đỏ lòm 'gaudily red'
đặc 'dense' + kịt 'dark'	—> đặc kịt 'thoroughly dark, dense'
trắng 'white' + hếu 'naked'	—> trắng hếu 'nakedly white'

Nguyen's hypothesis that the disyllabic alliterative lexemes in Miao [Yao?] originated in a modifying relationship between the constituents greatly resembles Mao et al.'s analysis of the nature of the disyllabic base for trisyllabic repetitive items (AAB, ABB) in modern Mian, Bunu and Lajia (see above).

Though especially the single-morpheme alliterative units in Miao [Yao?] should be monolithic to the extent of not allowing insertion of other elements between the constituent syllables, it is still possible to derive four syllable forms from disyllabic ones by adding the same syllable before both constituents (AA/x —> BABA/x). This operation has an emphatic semantic impact as a result. The inserted items can be either meaningful or meaningless. E.g.:

nir naov 'crooked'	—> choux nir choux naov 'twisted, tortuous'
	to curl
njăngr njur 'desolate'	—> uô njăngr uô njur 'derelict, desolate'
(Nguyen Van Loi 1975: 25)	

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[225] Alliterative forms in Miao [Yao?] are not characterized by such rules of alternation involving tones and final consonants as in the case of Vietnamese, for example, but there is a tendency towards tonal similarity between the syllables (Nguyen Van Loi 1975: 24).