

REDUPLICATION IN CLASSICAL CHINESE POETRY

by

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THESIS

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

Reduplication is one of the most interesting linguistic phenomena in Chinese. It appears both in spoken language and in literature such as poetry. *Shijing*, being the first collection of Chinese poetry, is treated as the earliest document to which the use of reduplication words can be traced back. (Shi 2007: 99) Therefore, it should be considered an appropriate source for the study of reduplication, especially in poetry. Tang poetry, which occurred almost two millennia later than *Shijing*, kept some of the linguistic features of *Shijing* including the use of reduplication expressions. (Wei 2011: 16) As a result, it could also be seen as a useful database to the analysis of reduplication.

The aim of this thesis is to discuss some of the core features of reduplication in classical Chinese poetry with reference to the work of *Shijing* and Tang poetry, which make use of a large number of reduplication expressions, and try to discover what the similarities and dissimilarities are between the two works so as to understand whether the features of reduplication changed over time. The content of this thesis will be generally divided into four chapters. The first three chapters will focus on discussing how reduplication functions in modern Chinese, which in this thesis means modern Mandarin, in the works of *Shijing* and in Tang poetry. The following chapter will be presenting some of the findings in comparing the reduplication cases in *Shijing* and in Tang poetry and the final chapter will be giving a short summary of the whole content of the thesis.

1.1 Introduction to reduplication

The concept of reduplication is generally understood as the morphological process in which repetitive constructions are formed in order to achieve a systematic shift in the semantic implications or to display different syntactic functions. The repetition of the form can be either ‘intact or with minor adaptations’ to the fixation in patterns. (Wiedenhof 2015: 439) These two features of the repetitive constructions result in two subtypes of reduplication that are recognized by scholars (Moravcsik 1978: 304; Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 137; McCarthy 2006: 185; Inkelas & Downing 2015: 502; et al.) and have been frequently and mostly analyzed and surveyed in terms of the form properties, namely, total and partial reduplication. Total reduplication refers to the repetition of the entire morphological base, which serves as the reduplication root, without phonological modification. For instance,

ENGLISH: *night night* ‘good night’ (*night*: a certain period of time of the day)

MANDARIN: 天天 *tiān tiān* ‘everyday’ (天 *tiān* ‘day’)

JAPANESE: *kizu-kizu* ‘having many scratches’ (*kizu* ‘wound’) (Kwon 2017)

MODERN GREEK: *čitala-čitala* ‘she/I read for a while’ (*čitala* ‘read’) (Kallergi 2009)

INDONESIAN: *kərə-kərə* ‘monkeys’ (*kərə* ‘monkey’) (Inkelas & Downing 2015: 503)

Partial reduplication, as its name suggests, reduplicates the phonological subpart of the root. Examples are given as follows.

ENGLISH: *zigzag* ‘a line with sharp angles’

GERMAN: *quitschquatsch* ‘nonsense’

MANDARIN: 窈窕 *yáo tiǎo* ‘beautiful’

MANDARIN: 滑溜溜 *huá liū liū* ‘slippery’

As is shown in the examples, the reduplication process results in new forms of expression with extra given semantics, which the original forms do not bear. In total reduplication, the newly constructed expression consists of two identical forms while in partial reduplication, only a subpart of the form, i.e. the onset, the rhyme or both of them are reduplicated. For instance, in the English example *zigzag* and the German example *quitschquatsch*, the nucleus within the rhyme is changed in the reduplicated expression compared to their original form *zig* and *quitsch*. As a result, only the onsets of these forms are reduplicated. When it comes to reduplication in Mandarin, it can be different from English and German because in Mandarin, not only the onset and the rhyme, but also one of the syllables within a disyllabic form can be reduplicated as the example 滑溜溜 *huá liū liū* ‘slippery’ illustrates.

Apart from form properties, there are also other aspects in which reduplication can be analyzed. Semantics is also of significant importance in the discussion of reduplication. Semantic properties of reduplication are, as its name suggests, the meanings that are added to the expression after the reduplication process is operated.

It may be appropriate to address here the difference between reduplication and repetition with reference to semantic properties because mere repetition cases can sometimes be mistaken as reduplication due to their similarities in terms of formation. For example, the expression of *night night* in English can be considered a case of reduplication. Therefore, one might initially hypothesize that the structure of *day day* is also a case of reduplication while in actuality it is only a repetition. The criterion for deciding whether a reduplicative construction is the case of reduplication or repetition lies whether the reduplicative process can be regarded morphological as the definition of reduplication indicates. To make it clearer, if the newly formed construction bears new semantic implication compared to the morphological root, it can be considered reduplication. With this criterion, it is easy to recognize that the expression *night night* is reduplication as the reduplicative form carries the different meaning of ‘goodnight’ while the morphological root of this reduplication expression *night* generally provides the meaning of ‘a certain period of time of the day’. The expression of *day day* is, however, an ill-formed reduplication because the newly formed construction is not generally used to indicate anything. As a result, *day day* is only a repetition of the form *day*.

However, it should be pointed out that although this criterion seems straight forward, it is still difficult sometimes to decide whether a case is reduplication or not because the semantic properties of the expressions can vary according to different contexts. For instance, the English expression *hot hot* can be regarded as a repetition case because the reduplicative form of *hot* do not seem to have conventionally added semantics. However, in some contexts, this expression can carry an extra meaning of authenticity (Wiedenhof 2015: 439) or emphasis (Kajitani 2005) apart from the meaning carried by the original form. Consider the following example.

It's not just hot, it's *hot hot*.

In this context, the expression of *hot hot* can be interpreted with an emphasis on degree. In other words, this reduplicative form of *hot* can be understood as ‘real hot’ or ‘extremely hot’ with extra semantics added to the original meaning of *hot*. Therefore, in this context, *hot hot* can be regarded as a case of reduplication rather than repetition. Some other illustrations mentioned by Wiedenhof (2015: 439) are *food food* meaning ‘real food’ and *cat cat* meaning ‘real cat’ with the initial stressed.

In short, as is clear from the discussion above, two aspects play a role in reduplication, form and meaning. The following sections will be giving detailed discussion on the form properties and semantic properties of reduplication.

1.2 Reduplication in Chinese

It has been noticed by Moravcsik (1978: 303) that “the number of reduplicative construction types that is defined is in fact infinite”. Reduplication patterns in Chinese, although not being considered as many as infinite, can still be highly productive and diverse. Consider the following examples.

看看 *kàn kan* (看 *kàn* ‘look’) ‘have a look’
試一試 *shì yi shì* (試 *shì* ‘try’) ‘have a try’
去不去 *qù bu qù* (去 *qù* ‘go’) ‘go or not’
喜不喜歡 *xǐ bu xǐ huān* (喜歡 *xǐ huān* ‘like’) ‘whether or not like (it)’
傻里傻氣 *shǎ li shǎ qì* (傻氣 *shǎ qì* ‘nerdy’) ‘muddle-headed and nerdy’
實話實說 *shí huà shí shuō* (實話 *shí huà* ‘truth’) ‘be honest and tell the truth’
考慮考慮 *kǎo lü kǎo lü* (考慮 *kǎo lü* ‘consider’) ‘think about something for a while’
花花草草 *huā huā cǎo cǎo* (花 *huā* ‘flower’ 草 *cǎo* ‘grass’) ‘flowers and grasses’

Each of the expressions stands for one pattern of reduplication and the list will continuously go on with more conventionally accepted reduplicated expressions formed and added. Due to space limitation, the discussions in this thesis will not cover all the patterns that are used in Chinese; instead, interpretation of the cases that commonly occur will be given so as to present a general picture of how reduplication in Chinese functions. The massively wide range of pattern variation of reduplication cases in Chinese can be characterized and categorized under different parameters. The following section will present analysis on reduplication in Chinese from form properties, properties of the morphological root and functions. In order to avoid repetition of discussions, illustrations of semantic properties will be provided with the discussions on properties of the roots in the second part.

1.2.1 Form properties

1.2.1.1 Total reduplication

Reduplication cases in Chinese can also be divided into two major subgroups, namely total reduplication and partial reduplication and different patterns of reduplication in Chinese can be easily recognized and presented. Total reduplication in Chinese can be grouped into three main patterns, AA, ABAB and AABB. In each of these patterns, constituents represented by same letters are identical in term of forms in reduplication. For example, in AA pattern, A is the morphological root and in ABAB pattern, AB is the morphological root.

AA type is one of the most common reduplication patterns in Chinese. In this type, terms that express kinship meanings are often quoted by scholars (Li & Thompson 1989: 36; Taylor 1995: 34; Hsieh 2015; et al.). Some examples are given as follows.

爸爸 *bàba* ‘father’
哥哥 *gēge* ‘elder brother’

媽媽 *māma* ‘mother’
姐姐 *jiějie* ‘elder sister’

Although these terms have become conventionally acknowledged cases for reduplication as they are consistently mentioned by scholars in journals and books, it should be noted that whether they bear the features of reduplication still remains to be discussed.

The definition of reduplication states that the process is morphological, meaning new semantics will be added to the original meaning of the root after reduplication. To take 媽媽 *māma* ‘mother’ as an example, whether the expression is a case of reduplication or not depends on whether there is any semantic difference between the morphological root 媽 *mā* and the reduplicative construction 媽媽 *māma*. It is argued by Li and Thompson (1989: 35) that the morphological roots of these expressions are morphemes, either bound or free. This statement indicates that the root 媽 *mā* is a meaning bearing unit; and in kinship terms the expression in reduplicated forms ‘share the same meaning with the reduplicated morpheme itself’. (Li & McBride Chang 2013: 52) That is to say, 媽 *mā* and 媽媽 *māma* are sharing the same meaning of ‘mother’. This interpretation, however, is incompatible with the above mentioned definition of reduplication.

The other way of analyzing this example is based on the interpretation that the morphological root 媽 *mā* is originally a meaningless syllable, which does not indicate any semantics in its bare form. Genette (1995: 127) has treated this kind of reduplicative expression as mimologism, which is a sound symbolism (Genette & Morgan 1989: 202) similar to onomatopoeia. Some scholars (Taylor, I., Taylor, M.M. & Taylor, M.M. 1995: 34) also find this point of view quite agreeable as they argue that reduplication kinship terms such as *mama* and *baba* ‘resemble “baby words” which can be understood as the ‘string of vowels and consonants’ of ‘a baby’s first babbled sounds’ (Peterson 2013: 171). In this interpretation, 媽 *mā* is treated as a sound imitating syllable other than a morpheme. Therefore, the reduplication process results in a change in the property of the root from semantic empty to a meaning bearing disyllabic morpheme¹. In other words, a new expression with the meaning of ‘mother’ is formed by reduplicating the meaningless syllable. This process agrees with reduplication in terms of morphological feature. Therefore, in this interpretation, 媽媽 *māma* can be regarded as a well-defined case of reduplication.

However, this argument seems even less convincing as 媽 *mā* is well functional in its bare form without reduplication. As a result, kinship terms should be interpreted from other angles. It is argued by Wong (2004: 61), the reduplication in names could result in the function of expressing intimacy. Being the expressions that function similarly as names because both kinship terms and names could be used to address people, kinship terms in reduplicated form could also be logically considered denoting the meaning of an increase in intimacy.

It should be pointed out that although kinship terms in this thesis are placed under the category of total reduplication due to the fact that expressions such as 媽媽 *māma* are the reduplicated form of the same morpheme, in this case, 媽 *mā*, meaning ‘mother’; the categorization is still in debate as the second syllable does not usually bear a tone. In other words, in a strict sense 媽媽 *māma* is not constructed by two identical syllable and could therefore be treated as partial reduplication.

Apart from kinship terms, there are also other types of AA reduplication. Illustrations can be seen as follows.

天天 *tiān tiān* (天 *tiān* ‘day’) ‘every day’

¹ Detailed explanation will be given in the later section of onomatopoeia.

樣樣 *yàng yàng* (樣 *yàng* ‘classifier’²) ‘all kinds of’
 等等 *děng děng* (等 *děng* ‘wait’) ‘wait for a while’³
 慢慢 *màn màn* (慢 *màn* ‘slow’) ‘slowly (do something)’

Another type of total reduplication in Chinese is ABAB. It is argued by some scholars (Li 2018: 91) that ABAB should be in fact considered as repetition as it ‘operates at the phrasal level whereas reduplication is operated at the word level’. Therefore, to clarify, this thesis will not make the strict distinction between these two parameters and will still regard ABAB pattern as reduplication instead of repetition. Examples of this pattern is shown below.

商量商量 *shāng liang shāng liang* (商量 *shāng liàng* ‘discuss’) ‘discuss for a while’
 雪白雪白 *xuě bái xuě bái* (雪白 *xuě bái* ‘snow white’) ‘white as snow’
 一團一團 *yī tuán yī tuán* (一團 *yī tuán* ‘one CL’) ‘many balls of’
 吭哧吭哧 *kēng chī kēng chī* (吭哧 *kēng chī* ‘onomatopoeia’) ‘sound of puff and blow’

The ABAB pattern can be regarded as the reduplicative form of the morphological root AB, which is, in most of the cases, a word. By reduplicating the disyllabic root, extra semantics⁴ are given to the new forms.

The pattern of AABB could also be regarded as total reduplication. This pattern can be formed by two types of roots. Firstly, A and B are individual morphemes and AB do not usually form a word. For example,

口口聲聲 *kǒu kǒu shēng shēng* (口 *kǒu* ‘mouth’ 聲 *shēng* ‘voice’) ‘keep on declaring’
 瓶瓶罐罐 *píng píng guàn guàn* (瓶 *píng* ‘botltle’ 罐 *guàn* ‘can’) ‘containers’
 家家戶戶 *jiā jiā hù hù* (家 *jiā* ‘home’ 戶 *hù* ‘account’) ‘every household’

In these examples, all the syllables which constitute the reduplication constructions are morphemes and the structure of AB in these cases is considered morphologically nonexistent as in *口聲 **kǒu shēng*, *瓶罐 **píng guàn* and *家戶 **jiā hù*.

The reduplication cases in AABB pattern can also be regarded formed by another type of root, namely, the disyllabic root in AB form. For instance,

安安靜靜 *ān ān jìng jìng* (安靜 *ān jìng* ‘quiet’) ‘peaceful and quiet’
 簡簡單單 *jiǎn jiǎn dān dān* (簡單 *jiǎn dān* ‘simple’) ‘easy and simple’
 高高興興 *gāo gāo xìng xìng* (高興 *gāo xìng* ‘happy’) ‘happily’

It should be pointed out, however, that not all the AB words can form reduplicative construction. As is noticed by some scholars (Huang & Shi 2016: 281), ‘the adjectives that can undergo ABAB reduplication are special absolute ones in which the B morpheme is modified by A’ and vice versa. For adjectives of AB form in which B is modified by A, the AABB pattern could be considered ill-formed. For instance,

雪白 *xuě bái* ‘white as snow’

² Abbreviated as CL in the following paper

³ The monosyllabic 等 *děng* bears another meaning which is ‘and so on’. However, the reduplicative construction 等等 *děng děng* shares the same meaning as the monosyllabic root. As a result, it should not be treated as a case of reduplication and this interpretation will not be included in this paper.

⁴ Detailed discussion will be given in the section of properties of the morphological roots.

雪白雪白 *xuě bái xuě bái* ‘as shining white as snow’ (Hsieh 2015)
*雪雪白白 **xuě xuě bái bái*

火紅 *huǒ hóng* ‘red as fire’
火紅火紅 *huǒ hóng huǒ hóng* ‘as burning red as fire’
*火火紅紅 **huǒ huǒ hóng hóng*

The morpheme 雪 *xuě* ‘snow’ and 火 *huǒ* ‘fire’ in both examples function as the modifiers. In cases like these, the AABB pattern of reduplication does not exist and the only reduplication pattern that they can undergo is ABAB.

Apart from these exceptions, some other words cannot form AABB reduplication pattern either. Consider the following examples.

花花草草 *huā huā cǎo cǎo* (花草 *huā cǎo* ‘flower and grass’) ‘flowers and grasses’
*花花瓶瓶 **huā huā píng píng* (花瓶 *huā píng* ‘vase’)

The reduplicative expression 花花草草 *huā huā cǎo cǎo* can be interpreted as the form derived from the word 花草 *huā cǎo* ‘flower and grass’. However, reduplication cannot undergo in the case of 花瓶 *huā píng* ‘vase’. Although not being widely discussed, the reason for this could be 花 *huā* ‘flower’ and 瓶 *píng* ‘bottle’ are not morphemes whose semantics share similarities while 花 *huā* ‘flower’ and 草 *cǎo* ‘grass’ share resemblance in terms of meaning as each of the morpheme represents a kind of small plant. Other examples can also be found. For instance,

走走停停 *zǒu zǒu tíng tíng* (走 *zǒu* ‘walk’ 停 *tíng* ‘stop’) ‘stop-start’
*走走路路 **zǒu zǒu lù lù* (走 *zǒu* ‘walk’ 路 *lù* ‘road’)

走 *zǒu* ‘walk’ and 停 *tíng* ‘stop’ could be regarded as two morphemes whose semantics are connected because each of them stands for a state of movement. However, 走 *zǒu* ‘walk’ and 路 *lù* ‘road’ do not show semantic similarities. As a result, the AABB form of these two morphemes is ill formed.

1.2.1.2 Partial reduplication

The other type of reduplication in terms of form properties is partial reduplication. As is mentioned above, partial reduplication involves reduplicating part of the form. The reduplicated part can be a single syllable of a disyllabic form or subpart within one syllable, namely, onset or rhyme. The former usually appears in modern Chinese and the latter is often found in the examples of Old Chinese. The discussion on partial reduplication within syllables will be provided in the later section 2.2.

It has been noticed by scholars (Packard 1998:8) that partial reduplication can be more productive than total reduplication in terms of word formation. Some generally recognized patterns of partial reduplication are given as follows.

ABB

This pattern can be further divided into three different types with only one being partial reduplication and the other two being non-reduplication. For instance, expressions such as 嘩啦啦 *huā lā lā* ‘onomatopoeia, sound of a crash’ and 滑溜溜 *huá liū liū* ‘slippery’ could fall into the first type. It is not hard to recognize that the ABB expression in this type is derived from the root AB with the second monosyllabic unit being reduplicated. As a disyllabic root, 嘩啦 *huā lā* is also a onomatopoeia representing a one-time sound as in 嘩啦一下倒了 *huā lā yī xià dào le* ‘[onomatopoeia] at one time is it poured’; with the final syllable being reduplicated, the newly formed expression 嘩啦啦 *huā lā lā* can be used to represent multi sounds instead of the one-time sound as in 水嘩啦啦地流 *shuǐ huā lā lā de liú* ‘[onomatopoeia] flows the water’. In the example of 滑溜溜 *huá liū liū* ‘slippery’, the disyllabic root 滑溜 *huá liū* also means ‘slippery’. With reduplication applied, a syntactic function is added to the newly constructed expression. Consider the following expressions.

滑溜的地面 *huá liū de dì miàn* ‘slippery floor’

滑溜溜的地面 *huá liū liū de dì miàn* ‘slippery floor’

*地面滑溜的 **dì miàn huá liū de*

地面滑溜溜的 *dì miàn huá liū liū de* ‘the floor is slippery’

To make it clearer, both of the AB root and the ABB expression can serve as modifier but only the ABB expression can be used as predicate which is why the expression *地面滑溜的 **dì miàn huá liū de* is considered ill-formed. It can be seen from the two examples that the formation of this type of ABB expression fits right into the prerequisite of being reduplication, namely, a morphological process. Therefore, it may be safe to arrive at the conclusion that the ABB pattern that derives from the root AB could be regarded as cases of partial reduplication.

The second type of ABB pattern can be interpreted as an A plus BB pattern, in which BB is a freely functional expression and can be used without the attachment of other component and A usually functions as modifier. For instance, 老奶奶 *lǎo nǎi nai* ‘granny’ and 蚕寶寶 *cán bǎo bao* ‘silkworm’ can both be analyzed as this type of ABB pattern. In the two examples, 老 *lǎo* ‘old’ and 蚕 *cán* ‘silkworm’ are both modifiers without which the heads 奶奶 *nǎi nai* ‘grandmother’ and 寶寶 *bǎo bao* ‘baby’ can still function freely. With the reference of the sections above, it can be noticed that these heads are cases of total reduplication because the root 奶 *nǎi* ‘milk’ and 寶 *bǎo* ‘treasure’ have different meanings from the reduplicated expressions. Therefore, this type of ABB pattern should be regarded as a modifier plus total reduplication case instead of a partial reduplication in spite of their similarity in terms of structure.

There is also another type of ABB expression which should not be regarded as the partial reduplication pattern. Consider the following examples.

亂糟糟 *luàn zāo zāo* ‘messy’

光禿禿 *guāng tū tū* ‘barren and bald’

Although 糟糟 *zāo zāo* and 禿禿 *tū tū* function as the modifiers of the heads 亂 *luàn* and 光 *guāng*, these two expressions should not be seen as total reduplication cases because they are only functional with and only with the attachment of these specific heads. In other words, 亂

糟糟 *luàn zāo zāo* ‘messy’ and 光禿禿 *guāng tū tū* ‘bald’ should be treated as fixed collocations in which cases the BB subpart cannot be separated from the ABB construction. This type of ABB is neither formed by an A plus BB pattern nor is it derived from an AB root. As a consequence, They should not be regarded as reduplication cases but only expressions that contain subparts which are in repetition form in order to achieve certain semantic effects.

A *yi* A and A *le* A

These two patterns of reduplication could sometimes be debatable on whether they should be treated as partial reduplication or simply derived patterns of the total reduplication AA. Differences in categorization lay the different segmentations of these expressions. For instance, the segmentations for the pattern A *yi* A could be A *yi*-A (A BA) or A *yi* A (A B A). *yi* in this expression functions as a quantity adverbial meaning ‘for one time’. (Cheng 2014: 264) Therefore, it makes more sense to segment this expression as A *yi*-A in which *yi* is used to modify the second A as in 一看究竟 *yī kàn jiū jìng* ‘have a look and find out’ (— *yī* ‘for one time’ 看 *kàn* ‘look’). As a result of this interpretation, the pattern A *yi* A could be regarded as the partial reduplication of the root *yi*-A signifying the repetition of the action meaning ‘A for one time’. Similarly, the segmentations for the pattern A *le* A could be A-*le* A (AB A) or A *le* A (A B A). *le* is a particle denoting the meaning of ‘have done something’ and it usually follows the verbs it modifies. For example, 看了 *kàn le* ‘have seen’. Therefore, the A-*le* A segmentation seems more reasonable and the expression could be seen as the reduplicated pattern of the root A-*le* meaning ‘have done something for more than one time’ as in 看了看 *kàn le kàn* ‘have looked at (something) for more than one time’.

A *bu* AB

Compared to the other patterns that are mentioned above, this type could be considered the least problematic as the formation of this type of expressions clearly shows the features of partial reduplication. Consider the example below.

看不看書 *kàn bu kàn shū* ‘whether or not read the book’
 喜不喜歡 *xǐ bu xǐ huan* ‘whether or not like (it)’
 漂不漂亮 *piào bu piào liang* ‘whether or not (it) is beautiful’
 綠不綠卡 *lǜ bu lǜ kǎ* ‘whether or not (you have) a green card’ (Hsieh 2015)

The root AB could be a VO construction, a verb, an adjective or adverb or a noun; and the reduplicated subpart is always the first syllable of the disyllabic form. By reduplicating the first syllable, a yes or no question is formed and an extra meaning is added to the expression compared to the original form AB. Therefore, this type of expressions can be considered a typical case of partial reduplication.

It has been noticed by Hsieh (2015) that there are other types of expressions, although not being discussed as frequently as the patterns mentioned above, are also conventionally recognized as a cases of partial reduplication. For the sake of introduction, some examples are given as follows. However, due to the irrelevance of these examples to the discussion on reduplication in *Shijing* in later section, detailed discussions will not be provided.

A *li* AB

糊裡糊塗 *hú li hú tú* ‘confused and muddled’
怪裡怪氣 *guài li guài qì* ‘eccentric and queer’
嚙裡嚙嚙 *luō li luō suo* ‘wordy’

ABAC

畢恭畢敬 *bì gōng bì jìng* ‘reverent and respectful’
活靈活現 *huó líng huó xiàn* ‘lifelike vivid’
實話實說 *shí huà shí shuō* ‘be honest and tell the truth’

ABCB

大錯特錯 *dà cuò tè cuò* ‘awfully wrong’
就事論事 *jiù shì lùn shì* ‘fact oriented’
心服口服 *xīn fú kǒu fú* ‘totally convinced’

1.2.2 Properties of the morphological roots

As is mentioned above, the reduplication process would result in semantic difference on the newly formed construction. It can also be easily recognized that the semantic effects brought by reduplication can vary according to the difference in properties of the morphological roots. This section will be discussing reduplication cases in five subsections, meaningless syllable, nominal, verbal, adjective/adverbial and classifier reduplication.

Meaningless syllable reduplication

Reduplicated constructions formed by meaningless syllables are usually seen in the sound imitating expressions, or onomatopoeia. For example,

汪汪 *wāng wāng* ‘dog bark’
嗚嗚 *wū wū* ‘crying sound’
嘖嘖 *zé zé* ‘sound of smacking lips’

As derivative of sound symbolism (Laing 2014: 48), monosyllabic onomatopoeia, which is usually meaningless in its bare form, simply signifies the sound by presenting its feature with the resemblance of the syllable. By applying the reduplication process, the newly constructed onomatopoeia can be used not only to represent the phonetic properties of the sound but also to bear the semantics of the object it describes (Rhodes 1994: 280). As a result, a fully established expression is formed as a lexicon to serve as part of the language. (Laing 2014: 48)⁵

Nominal reduplication

As its name suggests that this type of reduplication cases is formed by nominal constituents. One of the most distinct semantic effects of nominal reduplication could be considered denoting the meaning of plurality or an increase in quantity. For instance,

⁵ Detailed discussion can be seen in section 2.1 on Saussure (1916)’s linguistic sign.

天天 *tiān tiān* ‘everyday’ (天 *tiān* ‘day’)

人人 *rén rén* ‘everyone’ (人 *rén* ‘person’)

瓶瓶罐罐 *píng píng guàn guàn* ‘containers’ (瓶 *píng* ‘bottle’ 罐 *guàn* ‘jar’)

瓜瓜豆豆 *guā guā dòu dòu* ‘vegetables’ (瓜 *guā* ‘melon’ 豆 *dòu* ‘pea’) (Chu 2000: 19)

The examples of 天天 *tiān tiān* ‘everyday’ and 人人 *rén rén* ‘everyone’ can be regarded as typical cases in which a meaning of plurality is given by the process of reduplication.

However, the other two cases are slightly different, as the reduplicated constructions not only denote the meaning of an increase in quantity but also extra meanings which were not possessed by the roots. The roots in the expression 瓶瓶罐罐 *píng píng guàn guàn* ‘containers’ carry the meaning of ‘bottle’ and ‘jar’; however, by reduplicating the roots, the meaning carried by the new construction is no longer limited to ‘bottles and jars’; an extra semantics of collectives which means ‘all kinds of containers’ is also denoted. Similarly, the meaning of 瓜瓜豆豆 *guā guā dòu dòu* is no longer restricted to ‘melons and peas’ but is expanded and used to indicate the collectives of ‘vegetables’. Therefore, they can be used following the classifier 一些 *yì xiē* ‘some’ while the other expressions such as 天天 *tiān tiān* ‘everyday’ cannot be combined with this classifier.

However, it should be pointed out that not all the nominal reduplication necessarily denotes the meaning of plurality. Apart from all the kinship terms such as 媽媽 *māma* ‘mother’ and 哥哥 *gē ge* ‘elder brother’, some reduplicated expressions have a singular meaning. For instance, 星星 *xīng xīng* can represent the collectives of ‘stars’ as in 滿天都是星星 *mǎn tiān dōu shì xīng xīng* ‘sky is full of stars’ and also the singular meaning ‘star’ as in 一顆星星 *yì kē xīng xīng* ‘one CL star’. (Hsieh 2015) Moreover, nominal reduplication can also be found in child-directed speech, for example, (吃) 飯飯 (*chī*) *fàn fàn* ‘(eat) rice’ and (洗) 澡澡 (*xǐ*) *zǎo zǎo* ‘(take) a bath’. In these cases, reduplicated constructions do not have added plural meanings, but extend intimacy, just like kinship terms.

Verbal reduplication

Verbal reduplication, as is noticed by a number of scholars (Li & Thompson 1981; Li. & McBride-Chang 2013; Hsieh 2015; et. al.), results in several different meaning effects. Some illustrations are in order.

Firstly, the semantics given by the process of reduplicating verbs is ‘do something for a while’. For instance, the reduplicated expression 說說 *shuō shuo* should not be interpreted as the mere repetition of the verb 說 *shuō* ‘talk’. By reduplicating the verb, the extra semantics that is added to the original meaning of the root is ‘a little’ (Li. & McBride 2013:52). Therefore, 說說 *shuō shuo* should be understood as ‘talk for a while/little bit’.

It may be necessary to compare 說說 *shuō shuo* with one of the pattern that has been discussed above, namely, A *yi* A. It is mentioned in the previous section that one of the way of interpreting the expression in the pattern A *yi* A is the repetition of the action *yi* A ‘A for one time’ meaning do something for multiple times. However, the A *yi* A pattern can also have similar connotation as the AA pattern verbal reduplication. For instance, 說說 *shuō shuo* and 說一說 *shuō yi shuō* can denote the same meaning of ‘talk about something for a while/talk about something a little bit’.

Secondly, verbal reduplication can denote the meaning of ‘give something a try’ especially preceding 看 *kàn* ‘see’ (Tsao 2004). For example, 說說看 (我能否理解) *shuō shuō kàn* (*wǒ néng fǒu li jiē*) ‘give it a try and talk to see (if I can understand)’. It can be seen from the example that the reduplicated expression 說說 *shuō shuo* in this case is the same as the example mentioned above which means ‘talk for a while’. Therefore, one can also argue that the meaning of ‘give it a try’ is merely carried by the morpheme 看 *kàn*; because without the attachment of this morpheme, the meaning of ‘try’ in this expression will no longer exist.

Thirdly, similar to the meaning effect of plurality brought by nominal reduplication, reduplicating verbs is also possible to indicate the repetition of certain actions. For example, 敲敲打打 *qiāo qiāo dǎ dǎ* means ‘to knock and beat again and again’. By reduplicating the roots 敲打 *qiāo dǎ* ‘to knock and beat’, an implied meaning of continues action is therefore given.

Adjective reduplication

Adjective reduplication could perhaps be considered the most troublesome and debatable among all the reduplication cases in Chinese. Different point of views can always be seen on the semantic effects of adjective reduplication. For instance, Zhu (1982) notices that the adjective reduplication in the pattern of AA denote different meaning when they are in different positions within a phrase or sentence but other scholars, like Shi (2008: 621), argue that positions do not always make a difference. Therefore, it is difficult to arrive at a consensus principle of how different semantic effects are generated by reduplicating different types of adjectives in terms of their syntactic functions and properties. In order to avoid possible confusions and to provide a general picture of how adjective reduplication works within the limited space of this thesis, this section will abandon the discussion on ambiguous cases where debates are still on going and mainly present examples that are generally agreed on by scholars as illustrations.

This section will be discussing the adjective reduplication from three types of semantic effect, namely, the change of degree and the change of states, which are brought by the reduplication process, and some uncategorized cases. The change of degree generated by adjective reduplication is widely recognized and discussed by scholars (Ji 1952; Zhu 1982: 66; Li 1996; Chen 2008; et. al). This phenomenon can be further divided into two aspects, increasing degree and decreasing degree. Consider the following examples.

捆得緊緊的 *kǔn de jǐn jǐn de* ‘firmly tied’ (Shi 2008: 620)

幹幹淨淨 *gān gān jìng jìng* ‘very clean’ (Hsieh 2015)

In the example given by Shi, it should be clear that there is an emphasis on the degree of the state ‘tied’ and by reduplicating the adjective 緊 *jǐn* ‘firm’, an extra meaning of increased degree is generated. Similarly, In this example, the reduplicating of the root 幹淨 *gān jìng* makes the newly formed expression 幹幹淨淨 *gān gān jìng jìng* more intense as Hsieh states that an intended meaning carried by this expression is ‘very’ compared to the bare form of this adjective.

The function of decreasing degree can also be found in the semantic effect of adjective reduplication. For example,

紅紅的 *hóng hóng de* ‘red-ish’ (Ji 1952)

短短的頭發 *duǎn duǎn de tóu fa* ‘short-ish hair’ (Zhu 1982)
高興高興 *gāo xìng gāo xìng* ‘have some fun’

If this reduplication pattern is abbreviated as AA de with A being the root, then the meaning denoted by the reduplication process could be understood as ‘A yet not too A’. For instance, 紅紅的臉 *hóng hóng de liǎn* ‘red-ish face’ can be interpreted as ‘the face is red, but not exactly red-red’. The example of 短短的頭發 *duǎn duǎn de tóu fa* can also be understood as a descriptive expression meaning ‘the hair is short-looked but not yet short-short’. Similarly, Hsieh (2015) has noticed that the expression 高興高興 *gāo xìng gāo xìng* ‘have some fun’ can also be interpreted as adjective reduplication case that encodes the diminishing connotation meaning ‘have some fun (for a while)/have a little bit of fun’. Similar expression that functions alike is 暖和暖和 *nuǎn huo nuǎn huo* ‘get warmed up a little bit’.

The second type of adjective reduplication is, however, not as apparent as the previously mentioned cases because this type does not preeminently reflect the features of reduplication as a morphological process. Nonetheless, they are still conventionally regarded as cases of reduplication. Illustrations are given as follows.

圓圓的月亮 *yuán yuán de yuè liàng* ‘round moon’
甜甜的笑容 *tián tián de xiào róng* ‘sweet smile’

Apparently, expressions like these cannot be analyzed as the cases denoting increased and decreased degree; because instead of changing degree, reduplicated adjectives in these cases indicate purely illustrative meanings. To make it simpler, if the semantic effect carried by the above mentioned type of adjective reduplication can be interpreted as ‘more A or less A’; then the meaning of this type of reduplication should be ‘A or not A’. For instance, although it could be slightly logical to interpret 圓圓的月亮 *yuán yuán de yuè liàng* as ‘round-yet-not-too-round moon’; it does not make any sense to interpret 甜甜的笑容 *tián tián de xiào róng* as ‘sweet-yet-not-too-sweet smile’. (Chen 2008:36)

Apart from these cases, there are still other expressions on which the features of reduplication are not well reflected. For example, it is argued by Shi (2005: 619) that the expression 大大小小 *dà dà xiǎo xiǎo* ‘big and small’ should be treated separately from the reduplication cases such as 幹幹淨淨 *gān gān jìng jìng* ‘very clean’; because 大大小小 is not derived from the form 大小 *dà xiǎo* ‘big and small’ but rather from a 大大 plus 小小 process. Additionally, compare to the original meaning of 大 *dà* ‘big’ and 小 *xiǎo* ‘small’, the expression 大大小小 *dà dà xiǎo xiǎo* does not have extra added semantics apart from the meaning carried by 大 *dà* and 小 *xiǎo*. Therefore, it should be regarded as a case of repetition rather than reduplication.

In Chinese, classifiers can also form reduplicated expressions. The semantic effects denoted by CL reduplication are mainly twofold. Firstly, the meaning of ‘all’ or ‘every’ can be presented. Consider the following examples.

火車趟趟晚點 *huǒ chē tàng tàng wǎn diǎn*
‘every train is late/all the trains are late’

點點滴滴都是回憶 *diǎn diǎn dī dī dōu shì huí yì*

‘every bit is memory’

Note that in the second example, the AABB expression 點點滴滴 *diǎn diǎn dī dī* ‘every bit’ can also be presented in the pattern of *yi A yi B* denoting the same meaning as in 一點一滴 *yī diǎn yī dī*.

The second type of semantic effects is denoting the connotation of massive quantity. For example,

公園裏盛開了朵朵鮮花 *gōng yuán lǐ shèng kāi le duō duō xiān huā*
‘flowers are blooming in the park’

Different from the previously mentioned AA example of 趟趟 *tàng tàng*, 朵朵鮮花 *duō duō xiān huā* in this expression can be interpreted neither with the meaning of ‘every flower’ nor ‘all flowers’ but rather a meaning of ‘a number which is beyond count’ to indicate the massive quantity of the flowers in the park. Therefore, it is worthwhile to mention this case as a separate type. However, this type of reduplication can also be interpreted as a metaohorical extension of the type indicating the meaning ‘every’.

There is also another pattern of CL reduplication that requires mentioning due to its wide occurrence, namely, the *yi AA* pattern. Generally speaking, this type of CL reduplication denotes a meaning of ‘every’ which is similar to the AA pattern that has been discussed above. However, with the numeral — *yī* ‘one’ attached to the AA pattern, different semantic implications can be realized. Illustrations are given below.

一次次挑戰極限 *yí cì cì tiǎo zhàn jí xiànl*
‘challenge the extreme again and again’

一個個消息傳來 *yí gè gè xiāo xi chuán lái*
‘news are coming one by one’

雨一滴滴打在臉上 *yǔ yì dī dī dǎ zài liǎn shàng*
‘rain drops hit the face’

Perhaps it is obvious enough to see the differences of the three *yi AA* expressions from the meanings they present. In the first example, 一次次 *yí cì cì* indicates a repeating state of the verb ‘challenge’ so as to focus on the implication of the meaning ‘over and over’. However, in 一個個消息傳來 *yí gè gè xiāo xi chuán lái*, the meaning is more emphasized on the sequence rather than repetition. Finally, in 雨一滴滴打在臉上 *yǔ yì dī dī dǎ zài liǎn shàng*, the concentration of meaning is on the continuity of the rain drops, which is also different from the semantic implications of the other examples. Therefore, the semantic differences of the CL reduplication could be diverse and context based. Due to the fact that this content is irrelevant to what will be discussed in later sections, more details will not be given in this thesis.

Now that the ideas of what reduplication is and how it functions has been presented. The following sections will focus on analyzing the reduplication phenomena in *Shijing* and poetry from Tang. Chapter 2 will start with the *Shijing*.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Reduplication in *Shijing*

Amongst the 305 poems in *Shijing*, a total number of 183 of them have made use of reduplication expressions in order to achieve certain effect. (Wang 2011: 42) As a result, *Shijing* might be treated an appropriate primary source in studying the reduplication in classical Chinese poetry. This chapter will provide some discussions on the main characteristics of reduplication expressions in *Shijing* from the angle of form properties.

2.1 Total reduplication

An overwhelming majority of reduplication examples that can be found in *Shijing* is total reduplication. This concept refers to the case where reduplicated expressions are formed without further modification on the phonological properties. In other words, it can be regarded as the repetition of the forms in which the syllables are identical. This type of reduplication appears most often in the pattern of AA in *Shijing*.

The AA pattern that undergoes the reduplication process found in *Shijing* generally serves as modifier or predicate which provides descriptive functions. The examples that fall into this pattern can be further divided into four types in terms of properties of the roots. More precisely, cases can be interpreted differently when A is a meaningless syllable, a nominal, an adjective or a verb.

Different point of views can always be seen on the question of whether the expressions of AA pattern should be treated as cases of reduplication or not when A is a meaningless syllable, or in other words, when A does not bear any semantics. The debate, unfortunately, is still on going and it seems that it is not easy to arrive at a consensus regarding this issue. For instance, Kennedy (1964) provides his arguments on reduplication of Chinese based on the premise that the roots of reduplicated words should be free morphemes while other scholars (Huang, Hsieh & Chen 2017; Kang 1995) state otherwise. For instance, Hsieh (2015) argues that the reduplicated expressions formed by meaningless syllables in the pattern of AA can be regarded as conventionally accepted cases of reduplication. As is mentioned above, in this thesis, reduplication is regarded as a morphological process, in which new expressions with extra semantics are formed. This definition indicates that the reduplication is in fact a process in which new words are generated from existing words or morphemes, and not on the basis of meaningless syllables, because, as their name suggests, they do not have semantic indication. Thus, this section will be looking at two types of AA forms, namely, reduplication and onomatopoeia, which are phonologically presented in the reduplicated forms.

Onomatopoeia

A significant number of AA patterns formed by meaningless syllables in *Shijing* are onomatopoeia, which is the expression used for movements and sounds (Liu 2017) due to the phonological resemblance between the syllables of the expressions and physical sounds. As is stated by Lu (2002), the tradition of using echoic words in Chinese can be traced back to *Shijing*; therefore, *Shijing* can also be considered a substantial reference for the study of onomatopoeia words in Chinese linguistics. Some examples are given as follows:

習習谷風 *xí xí gǔ fēng*

xi xi valley wind

‘xi xi the wind in the valley blows’

淮水湯湯 *huái shuǐ shāng shāng*

Huai river shang shang

‘shang shang the Huai river flows’

肅肅其羽 *sù sù qí yǔ*
su su its feather
'su su it flies'

嚶嚶草蟲 *yāo yāo cǎo chóng*
yao yao grass insect
'yao yao the katydid beeps'

In the above given examples, 習習 *xi xi*, 湯湯 *shāng shāng*, 肅肅 *sù sù* and 嚶嚶 *yāo yāo* are expressions whose semantic implications are firmly connected to the phonological properties they represent. From the morphological point of view, these syllables are not morphemes because they do not carry meanings in monosyllabic forms. However, with the reduplication applied, the AA words that they formed become disyllabic morphemes with conventionally accepted semantic implication.

It may be appropriate and necessary to introduce the concept of linguistic sign here as the relation between the phonological property and semantics has been mentioned. It is stated by Saussure (1916: 66) that a linguistic sign consists of a form and a meaning. The concept of form in this context represents the sound-image or the phonological form of the sound. To make it simpler and clearer, a phonological form represents how a sound can be uttered in certain language. In the examples given above, 習 *xi*, 湯 *shāng*, 肅 *sù* and 嚶 *yāo* can only be regarded as phonological forms because they can only be treated as meaningless syllables. By reduplicating these phonological forms, semantics are added to the newly formed expressions denoting the meaning of 'the sound of certain things'. Therefore, the process of repeating the meaningless syllables can be regarded as a process which turns a phonological form into a linguistic sign by giving meanings to the newly formed expressions. That is to say, 習 *xi*, 湯 *shāng*, 肅 *sù* and 嚶 *yāo* are only syllables without any meaning while 習習 *xi xi*, 湯湯 *shāng shāng*, 肅肅 *sù sù* and 嚶嚶 *yāo yāo* are linguistic signs representing the concepts of the sounds.

It is argued by Morgan and Allopenna (1997: 178) that the process of reduplication may provide distinction between lexical items and functional items. However, this observation does not completely match the reduplication cases of onomatopoeia in *Shijing* because it can be seen from the reduplication examples, which is given above, that the process from functional to lexical or from lexical to functional does not exist. Instead, the functional and lexical properties of onomatopoeia are generated simultaneously. For instance, in the example of 習習谷風 *xi xi gǔ fēng*, 習 *xi* is considered a meaningless syllable when it appears in monosyllabic form. Only after the reduplication process, can the newly formed expression 習習 *xi xi* represent the sound image as well as the semantic implication of the sound of the referent, in this case, wind in the valley. In other words, the reduplication process does not change the properties of the disyllabic expressions formed by meaningless syllables roots from functional to lexical because the monosyllabic form before the application of reduplication process does not have functional property in the first place.

As a matter of fact, it may seem illogical to consider the disyllabic expression such as 習習 *xi xi* the concept of the sounds while to treat the monosyllabic form 習 *xi* as the physical sound because both of them can be used to represent the same thing. The explanation of this phenomenon that appears in *Shijing*, if there is any, could be considered as context-based. For example, the disyllabic word 習習 *xi xi* can be regarded as an onomatopoeia while the monosyllabic 習 *xi* cannot because this onomatopoeia functions as the description of the wind, which is less likely to blow just for one time or one instance. Similar explanation could also apply to other examples. The reduplication 湯湯 *shāng shāng* functions as description of the sound of river flows, which is normally a continuous process. Therefore, the monosyllabic 湯 *shāng* cannot be regarded as an onomatopoeia in the context of this line. Due to the unfortunate

absence of example of monosyllabic onomatopoeia which can be found in *Shijing*, perhaps the cases of the monosyllabic onomatopoeia 嘩 *huā* and disyllabic onomatopoeia 嘩嘩 *huā huā* in modern Mandarin can better explain this phenomenon. The monosyllabic 嘩 *huā* can be used as onomatopoeia in “嘩”地一下 *huā de yī xià* because 一下 *yī xià* ‘for once’ indicates that the referent is a one-time movement and has only one sound. However, the monosyllabic 嘩 *huā* cannot be used in combination with 雨 *yǔ* ‘rain’ as in *雨“嘩”地下 **yǔ huā de xià* because raining is always a continuous process in which more than one sound will be generated. As a result, the disyllabic onomatopoeia 嘩嘩 *huā huā* should be used here as in 雨“嘩嘩”地下 *yǔ huā huā de xià* “hua hua the rain falls” to indicate the sound of the rain drops.

Nominal reduplication

The AA pattern reduplication formed by nominal roots in Chinese is considered more restricted in distribution and less productive (Hsieh 2015). In the previous chapter, some features of nominal reduplication have already been presented. When it comes to nominal reduplication in *Shijing*, some differences can be noticed.

The cases of AA pattern nominal reduplication which can be found in *Shijing* are also scarce. One of the most quoted and discussed example is given as follows.

燕燕於飛 *yàn yàn yú fēi*
swallow swallow particle fly
'the swallows go flying' (Karlgren 1950:16)

It is argue by scholars (Sun 1999:55; Cheng & Jiang 1991:69⁶) that the reduplicated word 燕燕 *yàn yàn* in this example can only be regarded as a repetition of the monosyllabic morpheme 燕 *yàn*, as a result, it is not a case of reduplication. However, this argument may not be entirely correct because the interpretation of nominal reduplication in *Shijing* could also be context-based.

The point that one should always bear in mind when interpreting reduplication is that new words with extra given or different meanings are generated during the reduplication process due to the morphological purpose of reduplication operation. In other words, whether 燕燕 *yàn yàn* should be considered a reduplication case or not lies whether there is any semantic difference between 燕燕 *yàn yàn* and the monosyllabic form 燕 *yàn*. Therefore, it is essential to look at the expression of 燕燕 *yàn yàn* in the interpretation of the whole poem.

燕燕於飛，差池其羽。 *yàn yàn yú fēi, cī chí qí yǔ*
之子於歸，遠送於野。 *zhī zǐ yú guī, sòng yuǎn yú yě*
瞻望弗及，泣涕如雨。 *zhān wàng fú jí, qì tì rú yǔ*.

'The swallows go flying, uneven-looking their wings; this young lady goes to her new home, far I accompany her out in the open country; I gaze after her, I can no longer see her, the tears are like rain.' (Karlgren 1950:16)

⁶ The original text is in Chinese as quoted here: 燕，鳥名，形似雀。陳奐傳疏：詩重言燕燕者，此猶鴟鴟鴟鴟，黃鳥黃鳥，疊乎成義之例。“Swallow, name of a bird. Chen huan in his book *Chuanshu* has stated: the word ‘swallow swallow’ in poem is a reduplicated expression, this is like ‘hawk hawk’ and ‘yellow birds yellow birds’. These are the examples of such kind of expression.”

This poem describes the reluctant and sad feeling of a person who is accompanying a lady to the open country when she goes to her new home. The description of flying swallows in the beginning of this poem can be regarded as a contrast to what the person is experiencing. Therefore, 燕燕 *yàn yàn* in this context could be understood as ‘a pair of swallows’ so as to correspond to the situation of the person and the lady. The interpretation of the poem could be ‘A pair of swallows are flying together while I have to say farewell to the lady’, which makes more sense than regarding 燕燕 *yàn yàn* as a mere repetition of the concept of 燕 *yàn*, the general designation of ‘swallow’. With different semantic implication given to the expression 燕燕 *yàn yàn*, the disyllabic word, as a result, should be considered a case of nominal reduplication in this context.

Adjective reduplication

The AA pattern reduplication formed by adjective morphemes is most commonly found in *Shijing*. Despite the massive quantity of the cases, most of them denote the same function, being modifiers or predicates. Some examples can be seen as follows.

其葉蓁蓁 *qí yè zhēn zhēn*
its leaf luxuriant
'its leaves are luxuriant'

言笑晏晏 *yán xiào yàn yàn*
speak laugh happy and gentle
'chat and laugh happily and gently'

籜籜竹竿 *dí dí zhú gān*
thin and long bamboo stick
'the bamboo sticks are so thin and long'

有狐綯綯 *yǒu hú suí suí*
have fox slowly slowly
'there is a slowly-walking fox'

In examples listed above, 蓪蓁 *zhēn zhēn*, 晏晏 *yàn yàn*, 篜籜 *dí dí* and 綯綯 *suí suí* all serve as the description of the appearances of certain objects or the state of certain movements.

It is not difficult to discover from the cases in *Shijing* that all the adjective roots in reduplication form are gradable, which means they can be used to describe feelings or appearances to a certain degree. In other words, they are the adjectives which can be modified by the counterpart of 很 *hěn* in modern Chinese meaning ‘very’, although many of these adjectives cannot be measured into concrete scales such as dimension.

From a morphological point of view, the process of reduplication on these adjectives gives new semantic implications, which the single form does not usually denote. Similar to the cases in modern Chinese, adjective reduplication in *Shijing* can also be interpreted denoting the connotation of intensity. For instance, in the expression 篜籜竹竿 *dí dí zhú gān*, 篜 *dí* means ‘thin and long’ and by reduplicating this single form, the meaning of the expression 篜籜 *dí dí* can be understood as an intensification on the degree of ‘thin and long’ meaning ‘very thin and long’.

Another semantic implication that can be seen in these cases is ‘impressives’ (Dobson 1968: 4) meaning a certain feeling or impression of something. In the expression 其葉蓁蓁 *qí yè zhēn zhēn*, 蓩 *zhēn* denotes the meaning of ‘luxuriant’ and by reduplicating the single form, an extra meaning of ‘appear like’ or ‘give an impression of’ is added when one is confronted with the subject it modifies. (1968:5) Therefore, the interpretation of 其葉蓁蓁 *qí yè zhēn zhēn* in this analysis could be ‘its leaves appear to be luxuriant’.

Apart from the semantic implication, the reduplication process on adjective also gives syntactic functions to the newly constructed expressions. For example, in 其葉蓁蓁 *qí yè zhēn zhēn*, 蓁蓁 *zhēn zhēn* ‘luxuriant’ serves a descriptive function as in ‘its leaves are luxuriant’, therefore, it should be treated as a predicate. Although the single form of 蓁 *zhēn* is also denoting the same meaning of ‘luxuriant’ and it is unclear whether it can also be used as predicate as no example can be found in *Shijing*, compared to the reduplicated form, it does not bear other semantics such as intensives or impressiveness. As a result, the meaning effect of reduplication process can still be well presented.

Adjective reduplication can also display other syntactic function, as the expression 言笑晏晏 *yán xiào yàn yàn* illustrates. 晏晏 *yàn yàn* ‘happily and gently’ is used to describe how the action ‘chat and laugh’ look like, as a result, it is used as an adjunct.

It should be noted that in example 有狐綏綏 *yǒu hú suí suí*, the original meaning of 綏綏 *suí suí* is ‘slowly’ without the implication of the movement ‘walk’. However, when it is used in combination with 狐 *hú* ‘fox’, the meaning of ‘walk’ should be added because an animal cannot be described as ‘slowly’ without the mentioning of any movement. As a result, it may seem that 綏綏 *suí suí* here functions as predicate but in actuality, it is still a descriptive element which modifies the implied ‘walking’ movement of the fox.

Verbal reduplication

Verbal reduplication in AA pattern in *Shijing* is also an interesting phenomenon. Unlike the modern Chinese in which verbal reduplication still functions like verb, verbal reduplication in *Shijing* denotes more than one syntactic implication. Generally speaking, the cases of AA verbal reduplication in *Shijing* can be subdivided into two groups according to their syntactic functions, namely, adjective/adverbial and verbal. The discussion will be given in order.

As is mentioned above, most of the AA reduplication cases in *Shijing* provide descriptive information as adjectives and adverbs do. Some cases found in verbal reduplication also function like adjectives or adverbs as they can be syntactically analyzed as predicates. For example,

鶴之奔奔 <i>chún zhī bēn bēn</i> quail particle run run 'the quails are ardent' (Karlgren 1950:32)	招招舟子 <i>zhāo zhāo zhōu zǐ</i> wave wave boat son 'the boatman is beckoning'
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Seen from the example that the original meaning of 奔 *bēn* is ‘to run’. With the reduplication process applied, the meaning of 奔奔 *bēn bēn* is not the repetition of the verb 奔 *bēn* as in ‘to run and run’ as verbal reduplication in modern Chinese always denotes. Instead, it is more logical to interpret 奔奔 *bēn bēn* as a descriptive expression denoting the meaning of how the quails looks like. Therefore, the meaning of this verbal reduplication case has been extended because the quails are in the manner of running which makes them look ‘ardent’. Similar analysis could be applied to the case of 招招舟子 *zhāo zhāo zhōu zǐ*. The monosyllabic morpheme 招 *zhāo* carries the verbal meaning of ‘to wave’. By reduplicating the root, the implication of ‘waving’, which functions as adjective, is added. Therefore, 招招 *zhāo zhāo* in this context can be understood as ‘how the boatman appears like’.⁷

⁷ Cheng & Jiang (1991) pp. 90. The original text is: 招招，招手貌。“*zhāo zhāo*, (means) in the manner of waving.”

The following examples are cases where verbal reduplication in AA pattern still function like verbs.

有客宿宿 *yǒu kè sù sù*
have guest accommodate accommodate
'there is a guest who stays one night,
there is a guest who stays two nights'
(Karlgren 1950: 247)

采采卷耳 *cǎi cǎi juǎn ěr*
pick pick Juan-er plant
'pick the Juan-er over and over'

Similar to the case of 燕燕 *yàn yàn*, the reduplication cases of verb in the examples 有客宿宿 *yǒu kè sù sù* and 采采卷耳 *cǎi cǎi juǎn ěr* denote the meaning of repetition of certain movements. It emphasizes the process or the continuous state of the movements rather than the one-time action which is represented by the monosyllabic morphemes 宿 *sù* 'sleep over' and 采 *cǎi* 'to pick'. Therefore, the function of reduplication in both cases could be interpreted as the expressing of the meaning 'more than one time'.

Other cases

It is worth noting that apart from the AA pattern, there are also two other patterns, which appear like total reduplication, can be found in *Shijing*, namely, AABB and ABAB. Unlike the various types that the AABB pattern can be realized in terms of the morphological roots in modern Chinese as mentioned in section 1.2.1, the AABB examples in *Shijing* are much less diverse. Consider the following examples.

戰戰兢兢 *zhàn zhàn jīng jīng*
fear fear cautious cautious
'tremble and cautious'

濟濟蹻蹻 *jǐ jǐ qiāng qiāng*
respectful respectful rhythmic rhythmic
'respectful and stately'

兢兢業業 *jīng jīng yè yè*
cautious cautious fear fear
'fearsome and terrible'

綿綿翼翼 *mián mián yì yì*
continuous continuous orderly orderly
'continuous and orderly'

Some features of this type of AABB expression can be recognized. Firstly, all these expressions serve certain descriptive functions. For instance, the expression 戰戰兢兢 *zhàn zhàn jīng jīng* 'tremble and cautious' serves a syntactic function of predicate as Karlgren (1950: 143) understands the whole line 'one is tremble and cautious'. Similarly, the expression 綿綿翼翼 *mián mián yì yì* also function as a predicate meaning 'they were continuous and orderly' (Karlgren 1950: 236). Secondly, unlike examples shown in modern Chinese that can be constructed by reduplicating the root AB, all of the AABB pattern found in *Shijing* is formed only in one way. That is to say, they are constructed only by combining different AA reduplication expressions together. For example, the expression 戰戰兢兢 *zhàn zhàn jīng jīng* can be regarded as a case that undergoes the process of combining 戰戰 *zhàn zhàn* with 兢兢 *jīng jīng*. A comparison between 戰戰兢兢 *zhàn zhàn jīng jīng* and 兢兢業業 *jīng jīng yè yè* can even make it clearer. The expression 兢兢業業 *jīng jīng yè yè* can be analyzed as a combination of 兢兢 *jīng jīng* and 業業 *yè yè*, in which 兢兢 *jīng jīng* can also be used to construct other expressions while denoting the same connotation as the previously mentioned case shows. Thirdly and most importantly, all these expressions seem to be

denoting the semantics which are formed by combining the semantics carried by the constituents, namely, the AA expressions. In other words, the AABB expression does not carry extra meaning other than the combination of the meanings carried by AA and BB. For instance, the semantics denoted by the expression 綿綿翼翼 *mián mián yì yì* is simply formed by combining the meanings of 綿綿 *mián mián* ‘continuous’ and 翼翼 *yì yì* ‘orderly’.

Similarly, the meaning carried by 濟濟蹻蹻 *jǐ jǐ qiāng qiāng* is also a combination of the meanings of 濟濟 *jǐ jǐ* ‘respectful’ and 蹻蹻 *qiāng qiāng* ‘stately’. As a result, the AABB pattern that appears like reduplication in *Shijing* can only be interpreted as a combined form of the AA reduplication. To summarize what has been discussed above, the AABB pattern is in fact an AA plus AA pattern.

The other pattern is the ABAB expression. The examples found in *Shijing* can be generally divided into six subtypes according to the property of the root AB. Amongst all the subtypes of ABAB expressions, some can be treated as reduplication while others remain to be cases of repetition. Illustrations are given as follows.

歸哉歸哉 *guī zāi guī zāi*

return particle return particle
'come back, come back'

玼兮玼兮 *cǐ xī cǐ xī*

bright particle bright particle
'so bright the jade, so bright the jade'

碩鼠碩鼠 *shuò shǔ shuò shǔ*

big rat big rat
'big rat, big rat'

采薇采薇 *cǎi wēi cǎi wēi*

pick Wei plant pick Wei plant
'pick Wei plant, pick Wei plant'

左之左之 *zuǒ zhī zuǒ zhī*

left particle left particle
'to the left, to the left'

有客有客 *yǒu kè yǒu kè*

have guest have guest
'there is a guest, there is a guest'

The first subtype of the ABAB pattern is illustrated with the example of 歸哉歸哉 *guī zāi guī zāi*. This expression is constructed by repeating the single form 歸哉 *guī zāi*, which is a verb-particle structure meaning ‘come back’. From the context⁸ where this expression is quoted from, it can be seen that by repeating the form 歸哉 *guī zāi*, an emotional intensity is created so as to express the eagerness of looking forward to the return of the husband compared to the single form expression 歸哉 *guī zāi*. As a result, 歸哉歸哉 *guī zāi guī zāi* denotes a different meaning, which can be understood as the change of degree, from the root. However, despite the semantic effect, 歸哉 *guī zāi* should not be considered as a word but a sentence. Thus, 歸哉歸哉 *guī zāi guī zāi* should not be treated as reduplication. In the following sections, more repetition cases will be mentioned. The reason for the occurrence of repetition will be discussed in part 2.3.

ABAB expression can also be constructed with an adjective-auxiliary root. In the example of 糔兮玼兮 *cǐ xī cǐ xī*, the single form 糌兮 *cǐ xī* can be interpreted as describing the brightness of jewellery as in ‘[f]reshly bright is her pheasant robe’⁹ (Karlgren 1950: 31). Seen from the context where this expression is taken, repeating the single form 糌兮 *cǐ xī* does not

⁸ The line in which the expression appears is given here: 振振君子，歸哉歸哉！ ‘Oh, my majestic lord, come back! Come back!’

⁹ The original text is given as follows: 糌兮玼兮，其之翟也。

add extra semantics such as intensity to the meaning of the whole line. Therefore, this expression can only be treated as a repetition.

Another subtype is formed with nominal. This type of ABAB expression can be considered similar to the total reduplication pattern AA which is discussed in the last section. The only difference in terms of formation is that the root of ABAB expression is a disyllabic nominal while the root of AA is a monosyllabic nominal. Despite the resemblance between these two types of expressions, ABAB still functions differently from the AA pattern in terms of semantics.

It is mentioned that the reduplicated expression 燕燕 *yàn yàn* as in 燕燕於飛 *yàn yàn yú fēi* ‘the swallows go flying’ can be understood as ‘a pair of swallows’ in the context compared to the meaning ‘swallow’ carried by the single form 燕 *yàn*. However, the case of ABAB pattern should be interpreted differently. The expression 碩鼠硕鼠 *shuò shǔ shuò shǔ*, for instance, does not denote the meaning of an increase in quantity but still carries the same meaning as the single form 碩鼠 *shuò shǔ* does as in ‘big rat, big rat, do not eat our millet!’¹⁰ (Karlgren 1950: 73). Therefore, it should be treated as a mere repetition rather than reduplication.

The verb-object construction can also form ABAB expressions as the example 采薇采薇 *cǎi wēi cǎi wēi* represents. In the previous section on the discussion of AA pattern, the case of 采采卷耳 *cǎi cǎi juǎn ěr* ‘pick the Juan-er over and over’ is mentioned. Unlike the differences in semantics between the AA pattern and ABAB pattern formed by nominal, 采薇采薇 *cǎi wēi cǎi wēi* and 采采 *cǎi cǎi* can be interpreted in the same way. As is mentioned that the reduplicating form 采采 *cǎi cǎi* denotes an extra meaning of ‘over and over’ compared to the root 采 *cǎi* ‘pick’, 采薇采薇 *cǎi wēi cǎi wēi* can also be considered carrying the meaning of ‘over and over’ or ‘do something for more than one time’. Consider the context from which the expression 采薇采薇 *cǎi wēi cǎi wēi* is quoted. The meaning of the whole line is ‘we pick the Wei plant, we pick the Wei plant, the Wei plant is now sprouting’¹¹. Therefore, it is reasonable to interpret 采薇采薇 *cǎi wēi cǎi wēi* as an indication of the repeating of the action 采薇 *cǎi wēi* ‘pick Wei plant’. However, similar to the expression 歸哉歸哉 *guī zāi guī zāi*, 采薇采薇 *cǎi wēi cǎi wēi* is also an expression in the structure of sentence, therefore, it would be reasonable not to consider this case as reduplication.

The forth subtype of ABAB expression is the one which is constructed by preposition-auxiliary structure as the example 左之左之 *zuǒ zhī zuǒ zhī* ‘to the left, to the left’ shows. From the meaning it is not hard to find that the repeating of the single form 左之 *zuǒ zhī* ‘to the left’ does not intend to denote a semantics of change of degree such as ‘to the very left’ or other aspects. Therefore, this type of ABAB expression should be treated as repetition.

The last type is constructed with phrase. In the expression 有客有客 *yǒu kè yǒu kè* ‘there is a guest, there is a guest’, there is no extra given semantics such as increase in quantity when it is compared to the meaning of the single form 有客 *yǒu kè* ‘there is a guest’. The formation of the meaning of this ABAB expression is only a repetition of the meaning of AB. Therefore, this type is also a case of repetition rather than reduplication.

¹⁰ The original text is given as follows: 碩鼠硕鼠，無食我黍！

¹¹ The original text is given as follows: 采薇采薇，薇亦作止。

2.2 Partial reduplication

It has been discussed in the first chapter that there are two types of partial reduplications in Chinese, namely, the reduplicating of one syllable of a disyllabic form and the reduplicating of the subparts, or in other words, onset and rhyme, within a syllable. This section will focus on the analysis of partial reduplication cases in *Shijing*, most of which often fall into the latter type. The following analysis will be given from three aspects, phonology, property and morphology.

Phonologically speaking, partial reduplication in *Shijing* can be generally divided into two types, alliteration (the Chinese term is: 雙聲 *shuāngshēng*) and duplicated rhymes (疊韻 *diéyùn*). As the names suggest, alliteration stands for the cases in which the reduplicated form contains two syllables whose initials or onsets are identical phonemes while in the cases of duplicated rhymes, it is the rhymes of the forms that are reduplicated. The differences between alliteration and duplicated rhymes can be illustrated with the following examples.

輾轉 *zhǎnzhuǎn* ‘toss and fidget’
踟躕 *chíchú* ‘walk hesitantly’

菡萏 *hàndàn* ‘lotus’
虺隕 *huǐtuí* ‘illness’

In the examples of 輾轉 *zhǎnzhuǎn* and 跤躕 *chíchú*, which belong to the category of alliteration, the onsets of each constituent in the reduplicated forms, -*zh* and -*ch*, are reduplicated and in the cases of 菡萏 *hàndàn* and 虰隕 *huǐtuí*, which should be regarded as cases of duplicated rhymes, it is the rhymes of the constituents in the reduplicated forms, that is to say, -*an* and -*ui*, that are reduplicated. The tones of the constituents of partial reduplication cases are in most cases the same and in some cases different.

Partial reduplication in *Shijing* can also be used as different grammatical properties, namely, nouns, adjectives, verbs and interjections. For instance,

流離 *liúli* ‘liu-li bird’
鴛鴦 *yuānyang* ‘mandarin duck’

玄黃 *xuánhuáng* ‘black and yellow’
拮据 *jiéjù* ‘hard up’

In these examples, it should be easy to recognize the grammatical properties from the meaning of each reduplicated expression. 流離 *liúli* and 鴛鴦 *yuānyang* are cases of nominal partial reduplication; 玄黃 *xuánhuáng* and 拈据 *jiéjù* are considered examples of adjective expressions and 輾轉 *zhǎnzhuǎn* and 跤躕 *chíchú* works as verbs in terms of grammatical functions. Due to its apparentness, further discussions will not be given in this thesis.

Partial reduplication cases in *Shijing* can also be analyzed in terms of morphology. In other words, despite their similarities in phonological features, which categorize them into alliteration and duplicated rhymes, how the reduplicated forms are semantically comprised

can be different. To make it more precise, partial reduplication cases in *Shijing* can be comprised with two meaningless syllables, one meaningless syllable and one morpheme or with two morphemes. Consider the following examples.

噫嘻 *yīxī* ‘interjection’

於乎 *wūhū* ‘interjection’

Similar to the onomatopoeia cases in *Shijing*, partial reduplicated expressions which denote the meaning of interjection is also composed of meaningless syllables because interjection is often used to express emotional connotation in certain context by imitating the sounds of sighing and cannot be analyzed separately. For instance, 噫嘻 *yīxī* in the context of 噫嘻成王 *yīxīchéngwáng* is presented as one expression and is always interpreted as a whole as in ‘Oh, Ch’eng Wang’ (Karlgren 1950: 244).

Expressions in partial reduplicated forms can also be composed with two morphemes as the following examples illustrate.

窈窕 *yǎotiǎo* ‘beautiful and good’

鴛鴦 *yuānyāng* ‘mandarin duck’

Although the expression 窈窕 *yǎotiǎo* ‘beautiful and good’ is usually treated as one morpheme in the use of modern Chinese because each constituent of the expression cannot be analyzed separately as meaning bear unit, He (2008) argues that the interpretation of 窈窕 *yǎotiǎo* in *Shijing* can be different from the interpretation in modern Chinese because 窈 *yǎo* and 穗 *tǎo* are two morphemes in Old Chinese. He discussed that, as quoted here [...]秦晉之間,美心為窈,美狀為穎。’[...] during the Qin and Jin Dynasty, beautiful heart is *yao* and beautiful appearance is *tiao*. Similarly, the expression 鴛鴦 *yuānyāng* ‘mandarin duck’ is also composed of two morphemes with their own meanings. (Li 1989: 79)

Perhaps it may seem odd to consider 窈窕 *yǎotiǎo* as partial reduplication case because it does not completely fit into the definition of duplicated rhymes. Therefore, it is necessary to make a few remarks concerning this point. Although in this expression, it is not the rhyme *-iao* which is reduplicated, it is argued by Wang (1936: 43)¹² that the rhyme in Old Chinese normally excludes the glide or checked vowels before the main vowels. In other words, the rhyme in 窈窕 *yǎotiǎo* only includes the main diphthong *-ao* and excludes the checked vowel *-i* before it. As a result, 窈窕 *yǎotiǎo* can still be regarded as a well defined case of partial reduplication in Old Chinese.

There are also partial reduplication cases in *Shijing* which are formed with one morpheme and one meaningless syllable. For instance,

荏染 *rénrǎn* ‘tender’

參差 *cēncī* ‘of varying length’

The expression 茚染 *rénrǎn* is interpreted by Karlgren (1950: 148) as ‘tender’. In 說文解字 *Shuōwénjiězì*, which is a Chinese dictionary from the Han Dynasty, the definition to 染 *rǎn* is ‘to add colors’¹³ and does not have any resemblance with ‘mild’ or ‘tender’. In fact, the meaning of 茚染 *rénrǎn* is overlapping with the meaning of 茚 *rén* ‘weak, tender’. As a result, the expression 茚染 *rénrǎn* can be considered a disyllabic morpheme with the constituent 茚 *rén* being a morpheme and 染 *rǎn* being a meaningless syllable.

¹² The original text is given here: 古人所謂韻，大多數是從主要元音算起，主要元音之前的短弱元音是不算在內的。’The so-called rhyme in Old Chinese usually starts from the main vowel, the short and weak vowel preceding the main vowel is not included.’

¹³ The original text is given here: 染，以增彩為色。

There is one other type of partial reduplication case in *Shijing*, which is labeled as miscellaneous reduplication by Dobson (1968a:11), that worth mentioning as it presents itself in a large number in partial reduplication examples in *Shijing*. It can be noticed that many of the names of plants, birds and insects are formed with reduplication. The expression 鴛鴦 *yuānyāng* which has been discussed above could be considered one example in this type. The other cases, however, display a dissimilation in terms of formation because most of them cannot be further divided into monosyllabic morphemes but can only be regarded as disyllabic morphemes. Some illustrations are given below.

扶蘇 *fúsū* ‘mulberry’
蟋蟀 *xīshuài* ‘cricket’
霖霖 *màimù* ‘drizzle’

芍藥 *sháoyào* ‘peony’
蟻蝶 *didòng* ‘rainbow’
流離 *liúlí* ‘liu-li bird’

Now that the idea of how reduplication in *Shijing* functions has been given; one confusion might occur, namely, the purpose of using repetition expression because repetition does not usually have semantic effect as reduplication does. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce the concept of prosody.

2.3 Prosody in *Shijing*

The poetic prosody refers to the way in which verses are rhythmically structured according to the number of metrical feet and the stresses. Poetic prosody is always treated as a separate concept from other linguistic units concerning semantics such as words or phrases and it only deals with rhythms and rhymes which are firmly connected to acoustics. Perhaps the best way of describing the poetic prosody in *Shijing* could be dipodic as Feng (2011: 224) summarizes. The dipodic prosody is a two-footed metrical unit representing a regular pattern of a primary and a secondary stress combination. (Greene 2012: 368) Given the fact that dipodic prosody has been standardized as a ‘norm of metrical structure for poetry’ during the time when *Shijing* was composed, that is to say, before the Spring and Autumn period (722-481 BC) (Feng 2011: 226), the prosodic principle can also be considered one of the reasons for the abundant occurrence of the disyllabic reduplication, repetition and the onomatopoeia cases in *Shijing*. Dobson (1968a: 232) notices that monosyllabic words in Chinese do not have the phonological complexity greater than a consonant-vowel-consonant structure, meaning there is only one ‘peak of sonority’¹⁴ within each word. As a result, achieving dipodic prosody can be as simple as reduplicating the monosyllabic form and constructing a two-footed structure. For instance, it has been discussed above that in the partial reduplicated expression of 莘染 *rénrǎn* ‘tender’, the meaning of 莘 *rén* is overlapping with the meaning of the whole disyllabic expression and therefore, it also makes sense to use the monosyllabic morpheme 莘 *rén* instead of the disyllabic morpheme 莘染 *rénrǎn* in the line. However, the partial reduplication process introduces a non-morpheme 染 *rǎn* and attaches it with 莘 *rén* resulting in a disyllabic morpheme. Although the reason of choosing this specific syllable remains unclear, the purpose of the application of reduplication could be seen as the realization of the dipodic prosody in the line.

¹⁴ The peak of sonority is determined by the Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP) which measures the sonority of phonation by the general scale of: voiceless obstruents < voiced obstruents < nasals < liquids < glides < vowels. (Butt 1992) Selkirk (1984a) further distinguishes the degrees of sonority within the classes of obstruents and liquids as: /p/, /t/, /k/ < /b/, /d/, /g/ < /f/, /θ/ < /v/, /z/, /ð/ < /s/ < /m/, /n/ < /l/ < /r/.

Apart from dipodic prosody that results in a large amount of reduplicated expressions constructed in *Shijing*, another prosodic principle mentioned by Dobson is that the arrangement of words in lines matches a four-syllable structure or a four-feet structure. It is discussed earlier that each monosyllabic word in Chinese has only one ‘peak of sonority’, meaning the monosyllabic word is the building block of the metrical structure in poetry. (1968a: 232) As a result, the four-syllable or four-feet structure could be considered equivalent as the four-word structure. Therefore, some confusion regarding reduplication and repetition in earlier sections could be thusly answered.

In earlier sections, some cases, which do not denote extra semantics as reduplication expressions do but are still presented in the reduplicated structures, have been mentioned. For instance, in the discussion of ABAB pattern expressions in *Shijing*, several types of ABAB expressions are considered not cases of reduplication but of repetition. Unlike reduplication cases, expressions that fall under the category of repetition do not have extra meanings or syntactic functions. As a result, confusions regarding the necessity of the application of repetition in *Shijing* may rise because the expression before repetition can perfectly denote the same meaning and the grammatical function as the repetition expression does and it may seem pointless to introduce the repetition structure. The purpose of using repetition expressions in *Shijing* could be, therefore, looked for in the principle of the four-syllable prosody.

As is discussed, the ABAB pattern in *Shijing* is formed by reduplicating the single form AB, which can be a nominal, an adjective-particle structure, a verb-particle structure or a phrase. Amongst the different types of ABAB repetition cases, the repetition of nominal and phrase could be considered formed in the simplest way of repeating the single form AB. For instance, the nominal repetition of 碩鼠 碩鼠 *shuò shǔ shuò shǔ* ‘big rat, big rat’ and the phrase repetition 有客 有客 *yǒu kè yǒu kè* ‘there is a guest, there is a guest’ are formed by the repetition of the single expressions of 碩鼠 *shuò shǔ* and 有客 *yǒu kè* and the four-syllable prosody in the line can be achieved.

However, unlike nominal and phrase repetition, other types of repetition, which also succeed in arriving a four-syllable prosody in the line, undergo a more complex process of repetition. One of the common features of these cases could be the use of grammatical particles. There are different types of particles that can be found in *Shijing* carrying different grammatical functions. This section will present illustrations by introducing some of the particles and how they function in the formation of repetition. Consider the following expressions.

懷哉懷哉 *huái zāi huái zāi*

yearn particle yearn particle

‘I yearn, I yearn’

子兮子兮 *zǐ xī zǐ xī*

you particle you particle

‘what a young lady, what a young lady’

左之左之 *zuǒ zhī zuǒ zhī*

left particle left particle

‘to the left, to the left’

In these examples, the word that takes the position of A in ABAB can be seen as the bare form of these repetition expressions. In the expression of 懷哉懷哉 *huái zāi huái zāi*, the bare form 懷 *huái* functions as a verb meaning ‘to yearn’. In order to achieve the dipodic prosody

as well as the four-syllable prosodic principles, two processes can be spotted in the formation of this expression. Firstly, the dipodic prosody requires a primary stress and secondary stress pattern in the metrical structure. Therefore, a particle 哉 *zāi* indicating the ‘sentential mood’ (Dobson 1968b: 310) is introduced and attached to the verb; the expression 懷哉 *huái zāi* is thusly formed. Secondly, the repetition of the expression 懷哉 *huái zāi* is applied resulting in the final expression 懷哉懷哉 *huái zāi huái zāi* which matches both the dipodic prosody and the four-syllable prosody principles. The meaning of the final expression, however, is interpreted no more than the repetition of the meaning of 懷 *huái*. In other words, the meaning carried by 懷哉懷哉 *huái zāi huái zāi* could be treated equivalent as the meaning of 懷 *huái* because firstly, repetition process does not bring extra meanings and secondly, the purpose of repetition in *Shijing*, as is discussed earlier, is merely metrical and does not have connection with semantics.

In some cases, the bare form A can be a pronoun as 子 *zǐ* ‘you’ in the example 子兮子兮 *zǐ xī zǐ xī* illustrates. Similar to the process of the formation of 懷哉懷哉 *huái zāi huái zāi*, the particle 兮 *xī*, which is used to denote the metrical function, is added to the bare form of 子 *zǐ* and makes the expression 子兮 *zǐ xī* a primary-secondary stress pattern. The repetition of the expression 子兮 *zǐ xī* then forms the four-syllable line which denotes the same meaning as the bare form 子 *zǐ* does.

Apart from verbs and pronouns, the bare form of A can also be adjectives as 左 *zuǒ* ‘left’ in the expression 左之左之 *zuǒ zhī zuǒ zhī* and the formation process can also be considered similar. In this expression, a different particle 之 *zhī* denoting the meaning of ‘determination and spatial relations’ (Dobson 1968b: 29) is used.

It can also be noticed that apart from the pattern ABAB, other cases in which the same particle is attached with different words following the pattern of ABAC or ABCB, could also be seen in *Shijing*. In the expressions that fall under this pattern, A and C are usually semantically related. Some illustrations are given as follows.

載笑載言 <i>zài xiào zài yán</i> particle laugh particle speak 'then I laughed, then I talked'	容兮遂兮 <i>róng xī suì xī</i> knife particle gem particle 'Oh, his ceremonial knife, oh his Sui gem'
如山如阜 <i>rú shān rú fù</i> particle mountain particle hill 'as if the mountains, as if the hills'	不稼不穡 <i>bú jià bù sè</i> particle sow particle reap 'if you do not sow, if you do not reap'

It can be seen from the examples above that 笑 *xiào* ‘laugh’ and 言 *yán* ‘talked’ are semantic related as they are used to describe the situation in which people are laughing and chatting. 容 *róng* and 遂 *suì* are connected in terms of meaning because they are the objects used by the child as decoration. 山 *shān* ‘mountain’ and 阜 *fù* ‘hill’ are morphemes denoting similar meanings and 稼 *jià* ‘sow’ and 穡 *sè* ‘reap’ refer to different processes in cultivation. The particle 載 *zài* functions as a grammatical particle indicating the ‘momentary aspect’ in the sense of ‘one moment A, the next moment B’ or ‘first A then B’ as Dobson (1968b: 310) argues. Different scholars have also arrived at an agreement on this interpretation. For instance, Karlgren (1950: 40) states likewise as in his understanding of this line ‘then I laughed, then I talked’ indicating the momentary steps of ‘first laughed then talked’. In the expression 容兮遂兮 *róng xī suì xī*, 兮 *xī* is used as a metrical particle, which denotes the

same grammatical function playing the role of adding extra syllables to the line so as to meet the prosodic requirements as in 子兮子兮 *zǐ xī zǐ xī*. The particle 如 *rú* is used ‘in anaphora’ meaning ‘thus and such’ (Dobson 1968b: 299) in the expression 如山如阜 *rú shān rú fù* ‘as if the mountains, as if the hills’ and the particle 不 *bù*, as the translation suggests, denotes the function of negation in its unstressed form (Dobson 1968b: 273) meaning ‘do not’.

It is worth mentioning that in the examples of ABAC and ABCB pattern, another way of achieving the prosodic effect can be noticed. Usually, the morphemes B and C in ABAC and the morphemes A and C in ABCB are semantically related as is mentioned above. It could also be the case in which A/B and C are morphemes by themselves and can as well form a compound word AC/BC. Dobson (1968a: 232) has noticed that in some cases, particles are inserted and split the compound words into individual morphemes in order to secure four syllables in the line especially in poetry. For example,

載沉載浮 *zài chén zài fú*
particle sink particle float
'one moment sunk, the next floating'

綠兮衣兮 *lǜ xī yī xī*
green particle jacket particle
'green is the jacket'

如琢如磨 *rú zhuó rú mó*
particle chisel particle polish
'as if chiseled, as if polished'

不狩不獵 *bú shòu bù liè*
particle chase particle hunt
'do not chase, do not hunt'

In each expression, all the morphemes in the position of B and C in the pattern ABAC or A and C in the pattern of ABCB can form a compound word as 沉浮 *chén fú* ‘rise and fall’ in 載沉載浮 *zài chén zài fú*, 綠衣 *lǜ yī* ‘green jacket’ in 綠兮衣兮 *lǜ xī yī xī*, 琢磨 *zhuó mó* ‘polish and refine’ in 如琢如磨 *rú zhuó rú mó* and 獵獵 *shòu liè* ‘to hunt’ in 不狩不獵 *bú shòu bù liè*. Some features can be noticed from these expressions. When particles are inserted in the compound words, the meanings of these compound words are also broken down to the meanings of the individual morphemes. To make it clearer, for instance, the compound words 綠衣 *lǜ yī* ‘green jacket’ can be regarded as a modifier-head structure or a noun-phrase in terms of syntax. However, by inserting the metrical particle 兮 *xī*, the meaning of ‘green jacket’ becomes vague compared to the original compound word because 綠 *lǜ* ‘green’ and 衣 *yī* ‘jacket’ seem to be equally stressed in terms of semantics and according to the interpretation given by Karlgren (1950: 16), 綠 *lǜ* ‘green’ is no longer treated as a modifier of the head 衣 *yī* but rather the predicate. In the other expression 不狩不獵 *bú shòu bù liè*, the particle 不 *bù* denoting the meaning of negation is inserted in the compound word 獵獵 *shòu liè*. After the insertion is done, the interpretation of this line becomes morphemes specific because the meaning of the compound word ‘to hunt’ does not seem to have emphasis on the meaning of the first morpheme 獵 *shòu* ‘to chase’. However, by splitting the compound, the meaning of 獵 *shòu* is then revealed and mentioned.

To make a closure of this section, some points are worth noting. Firstly, the dipodic prosody principle does not seem to have a strict rule regarding the sequence of the primary and the secondary stress. In other words, both sequences of primary-secondary stress and secondary-primary stress can form the dipodic prosody. As is discussed, the particles are usually unstressed and thusly take the secondary stress in the structure. Therefore, examples from both patterns of ABAC or ABCB are mentioned as illustrations of the application of how the prosodic principles function in *Shijing*. Secondly, it can be noticed from the discussion that the position of particles can be either preceding or following the morphemes

such as 載沉載浮 *zài chén zài fú* (particle B particle C) and 緑兮衣兮 *lǜ xī yī xī* (A particle C particle). The reason for the difference regarding the position of the particles remains unanswered in this thesis. For further understanding of how the particles function in *Shijing* in terms of syntax, more discussion will be undoubtedly in need.

It has been made clear that prosody could be regarded as one of the reason of using repetition in *Shijing*. It may also be one of the factors that determine the luxuriant occurrence of reduplication cases; but one should always bear in mind that reduplication can also carry extra effect compared to repetition and this should also be considered the purpose of using reduplication.

This chapter has presented analysis of reduplication in *Shijing* from the angle of total and partial reduplication. The concept of prosody is also mentioned in order to understand the occurrence of repetition cases in *Shijing*. The next chapter will move on to discussions on reduplication expressions in Tang poetry.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Reduplication in Tang poetry

The first two chapters have provided the definition of reduplication and discussed some of the cases of reduplication in modern Chinese as well as in *Shijing*. Building on the analysis which has been presented in the previous sections, a general picture of how the process of reduplication functions and how reduplication cases can be interpreted according to different parameters should have been made clear so far. Therefore, this section will focus on discussing how reduplication in the poetry of Tang is realized by giving examples of reduplication from the poems of Tang. This chapter will be presenting the discussion from the aspects of the properties of the reduplicated expressions, namely, onomatopoeia, nominal, adjectival and verbal.

3.1 Onomatopoeia

The tradition of using onomatopoeia words can also be found in the poems of Tang. These words are usually presented in the reduplicated pattern of AA, denoting syntactic functions to the lines in poems. For example,

車轔轔，馬蕭蕭 *chē lín lín, mǎ xiāo xiāo*
chariot [onomatopoeia onomatopoeia], horse [onomatopoeia onomatopoeia]
'LIN! LIN! Chariots jangle, HSIAO! HSIAO! Horses snort'

In these lines, the onomatopoeias in reduplicated form functions as modifiers of describing how the chariots and horses sound like although it is argued by Lü and Xu (1988: 184) that this interpretation could be problematic because 蕭蕭 *xiāo xiāo* should not be interpreted as the sound of the horses but rather the sound of the wagons as the onomatopoeia 蕭蕭 *xiāo xiāo* does not seem to show close resemblance with the sound of horses and the interpretation of 'wagon' could be considered corresponding to the 'chariot' in the previous line. However, other scholars such as Wei (2011: 16) argue that although onomatopoeias are usually presented in a vague sense because sometimes the connection between the physical sounds and the onomatopoeia words cannot be obviously noticed, when the onomatopoeia words are

encountered, it would normally not be investigated regarding the precision in terms of phonetic features in presenting the actual sounds.

Another illustration can be the following example.

流水鳴活活 *liú shuǐ míng huó huó*
flow of river sound huohuo
'huohuo, the flow of the river'

In this line, the definition of 活 *huó* given by 說文解字 *shuōwénjiězì* is 'the sound of flows'¹⁵ indicating that the expression in its monosyllabic form is already a meaning bearing unit, in other words, a morpheme. However, the phonological feature of the morpheme 活 *huó* does not seem to strongly relate to the sound of the water.

3.2 Nominal reduplication

Nominal reduplication cases that can be found in Tang poetry usually denote two types of semantic effects. Firstly, reduplicated expressions carry an extra meaning of 'every' compared to the roots in their bare forms. For instance,

日日春光斗日光 *rì rì chūn guāng dòu rì guāng*
day day spring light vie sun light
'every day the glory of spring vies the glory of the sun'

As the translation suggests, the expression 日日 *rì rì* can be interpreted as 'every day' indicating the continuous state of the competition between the glory of spring and of the sun. The root 日 *rì* 'day' in its monosyllabic form, however, fails to provide this extra meaning. A similar case can be seen in the example given below.

倚遍江南寺寺樓 *yǐ biàn jiāng nán sì sì lóu*
lean all river south monastery monastery building
'lean against the pillar of every monastery in south of the Yangtze river'

Compared to the previous example of 日日 *rì rì*, the reduplicated expression 寺寺 *sì sì* can be more obviously noticed carrying the meaning of 'every' because the expression 遍 *biàn* in the line already implies the meaning of 'all' prior to the expression 寺寺 *sì sì* and thusly the translation of 寺寺 *sì sì* 'every monastery' could be considered well-reasoned.

Another example is also appropriate in illustrating this point.

年年歲歲花相似 *nián nián suì suì huā xiàng sì*
year year flower alike
'year after year, the flowers are the same'

In this line, 年年歲歲 *nián nián suì suì* is interpreted as 'year after year'. Therefore, the whole line can be understood as 'the flowers are the same every year'.

Nominal reduplication expressions can also denote the meaning of plurality in Tang poetry. Consider the following example.

¹⁵ The original text is quoted here: 活, 流聲也。

詩人老去鶯鶯在，公子歸來燕燕忙

shī rén lǎo qù yīng yīng zài, gōng zǐ guī lái yàn yàn máng

poet old become oriole oriole exist, young master return swallow swallow busy

‘the poet left old but orioles remain there, the young master returns while swallows are busy’

In the translation provided by Charles Budd (Li 1988: 77), the reduplicated expression 鶯鶯 *yīng yīng* and 燕燕 *yàn yàn* are treated as the indication of the plural meaning ‘orioles’ and ‘swallows’. This interpretation could be considered reasonable because the meaning of these lines does not seem to have emphasis on one specific oriole or swallow and therefore, 鶯鶯 *yīng yīng* and 燕燕 *yàn yàn* can be considered as collective terms representing the general concept of the two kinds of bird.

3.3 Adjectival reduplication

Adjectival reduplication in Tang poetry usually indicates the semantic effect of intensification on degree or purely illustrative. For example,

青青河畔草，郁郁園中柳 *qīng qīng hé pàn cǎo, yù yù yuán zhōng liǔ*

green green river bank grass, luxuriant luxuriant garden inside willow

‘blue, blue, is the grass about the river, the willows have overfilled the close garden’

There are two reduplicated expressions in these lines, 青青 *qīng qīng* ‘blue, blue’ and 郁郁 *yù yù* ‘overfilled’. The interpretation of 郁郁 *yù yù* as ‘overfilled’ can be regarded apparent in indicating the intensification brought by reduplication as the monosyllabic form of 郁 *yù* means ‘luxuriant’ and the translation of ‘overfilled’ of the reduplicated form implies that ‘the willows are so luxuriant that they overfill the garden’. Therefore, this could be considered a well-defined case of intensification on degree. The interpretation of 青青 *qīng qīng*, however, could be more complicated starting from the analysis of the translation ‘blue, blue’ provided by Ezra Pound (Alexander 1995: 95). Perhaps the biggest problem that this translation might cause is the confusion of translating 青 *qīng* which originally means ‘green’ into ‘blue’. One possible explanation to this could be that ‘blue’ usually presented as 藍 *lán* indicates a color of intensified ‘green’. This presumption could be demonstrated by the line in another poem of Tang. Consider the following lines,

日出江花紅勝火，春來江水綠如藍

rì chū jiāng huā hóng shèng huǒ, chūn lái jiāng shuǐ lǜ rú lán

sunrise river flower red prevail fire, spring come river water green like blue

‘the flowers at river are more red than fire at sunrise, the water in river is green as blue in spring’¹⁶

In the first line, there is a comparative description that can be noticed, namely, the expression of 紅勝火 *hóng shèng huǒ* meaning ‘more red than fire’. Therefore, the expression 綠如藍 *lǜ rú lán*, which is in the parallel position in the second line as 紅勝火 *hóng shèng huǒ*, should also be considered an expression indicating the similar comparative meaning according to the

¹⁶ The original interpretation is given by Chen and Su (2006: 152) in Chinese. The original text is quoted here: 日出時的花比火還要紅，春天的江水像藍色一樣綠。

principle of antithetic parallelism in poetry. Parallelism is regarded as ‘the most common species in Chinese poetry’ (Neuman 1917: 17) providing the principle in which expressions appear in corresponding position in couplets should be equivalent in sense. As a result, the expression 綠如藍 *lǜ rú lán* should also be interpreted as a comparative description; in other words, the interpretation of this expression should be ‘so green as blue’ because if ‘blue’ is regarded less green than ‘green’, this expression does not seem to make sense. As a result, 藍 *lán* ‘blue’ can be interpreted as a color of intensified green.

Therefore, the translation of ‘blue, blue’ for the expression of 青青 *qīng qīng* can be well-explained as an intensive degree of 青 *qīng* ‘green’ and therefore, demonstrates the meaning effect of intensification of adjectival reduplication.

The other meaning effect of adjectival reduplication in the poems of Tang is illustrative, meaning the reduplicated expression is not usually interpreted in a gradable sense but rather in the sense of pure description of certain things. For example,

梨花院落溶溶月，柳絮池塘淡淡風

lí huā yuàn luò róng róng yuè, liǔ xù chí táng dàn dàn fēng

pear blossom garden water-like water-like moon, catkin pound light light wind

‘the pear blossom, the garden and the moon in the dense mist; the catkin, the pound and the breeze’

The reduplicated expression 溶溶 *róng róng* is usually used in describing the flourishing state of water according to 說文解字 *Shuōwénjiězì*¹⁷. As a result, it would be farfetched to consider the process of reduplication as intensification in this case because the meaning of ‘flourishing’ is normally not analyzed as a gradable description. The expression 淡淡 *dàn dàn* in the second line, however, can be understood as the intensification of the adjective 淡 *dàn* ‘light’ meaning ‘very light’ because the adjective itself is gradable and it makes perfect sense to analyze the expression 淡淡風 *dàn dàn fēng* as ‘breeze’ so as to correspond to the peace of the night described in the line.

3.4 Verbal reduplication

The single form that constructs verbal reduplication expressions in Tang poetry is usually limited to the monosyllabic verbs and is often found scarce. (Wang 1996: 233) Some examples are given in order.

看看似相識 *kàn kàn sì xiāng shí*

look look as if know

‘gaze for a long time as if (they) know (each other)’

The reduplicated expression 看看 *kàn kàn* in this context is interpreted as ‘gaze for a long time’ indicating that the meaning effect brought by reduplication process in this case is an increase in the duration of the action 看 *kàn* ‘to look’. (Wang 1996: 233) Although this expression could also be understood as ‘gaze for a while’ if the whole line is interpreted as ‘gaze only for a while (and they already seem like) know (each other)’.

¹⁷ In 說文解字 *shuōwénjiězì* 溶溶 *róng róng* is defined as 按今人謂水盛曰溶溶。‘the flourishing look of water is contemporarily called rongrong’

If this example is not convincing in indicating the lengthening of duration time of certain action, the following example might be considered more appropriate.

飛飛未能止 *fēi fēi wèi néng zhǐ*
fly fly not can stop
'keep flying as if (they are) unable to stop'

In this line, the expression 未能止 *wèi néng zhǐ* provides an implication of the connotation that the preceding action has not yet come to an end point. As a result, in this context, it would be logical enough to consider the reduplication expression 飛飛 *fēi fēi* as the action 飛 *fēi* 'to fly' in lengthening duration meaning 'keep flying'.

So far, the discussions on reduplication expressions in both *Shijing* and Tang poetry have been given. The next section will provide a comparison of the reduplication cases between the two works.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Comparison between *Shijing* and Tang poetry

Reduplication has long been treated as an interesting phenomenon in the domain of linguistics. This thesis has discussed some of the characteristics of reduplication expressions in modern Chinese, in *Shijing* and in Tang poetry. This section will provide some of the findings in comparing the features of reduplication in Chinese poetry along time, in other words, a comparison showing the similarities and differences between the features shown in the cases of reduplication in *Shijing* and in Tang poetry. In the following chapter of this section, some concluding remarks will also be given.

4.1 Similarities and dissimilarities

The similarities and dissimilarities regarding the use of reduplication in *Shijing* and Tang poetry will be presented from the aspects of properties of the reduplicated expressions and their structures.

Onomatopoeia

As discussed above, *Shijing* could be considered a sourceful database for the study of onomatopoeia cases in Chinese language; the use of onomatopoeia can also be spotted in poems of Tang. In terms of grammatical functions, the cases in *Shijing* and Tang poetry can be regarded similar as the onomatopoeia words in both of the works can be used as predicates or modifiers. In terms of form property, most of the cases in *Shijing* and Tang poetry are presented in totally reduplicated form; namely, the constituents are identical in terms of phonetic features. The differences, however, are what can be considered interesting. Firstly, from the aspect of distribution, onomatopoeia cases in *Shijing* are found fewer in numbers than in Tang poetry. For instance, Shi (2004: 131) has noticed that the onomatopoeia words imitating the sounds of bird in *Shijing* are limited to 9 different expressions while in the poems of Tang, the number had increased to 51. Secondly, the constituents of onomatopoeia in its monosyllabic form in *Shijing* are all meaningless syllables indicating the physical

sounds only. However, some onomatopoeia words in poems of Tang are constructed with morphemes that have the semantic of ‘the sound of certain things’. For example,

Nominal reduplication

The meaning effect of nominal reduplication in *Shijing* can be summarized as denoting the meaning of plurality. The same effect can also be found in poems in Tang as the example 鶯鶯 *yīng yīng* ‘orioles’ and 燕燕 *yàn yàn* ‘swallows’ illustrate. Nominal reduplication in Tang poetry can also denote the meaning ‘every’, which can be considered similar to the meaning effect in modern Chinese and cannot be found in cases in *Shijing*.

In terms of structure, nominal reduplication in Tang poetry also displays a pattern of AABB, which is only presented in the cases of adjectival reduplication in *Shijing*. For example, the expression 年年歲歲 *nián nián suì suì* example that has been mentioned in the previous section.

Apart from reduplication cases, there are also expressions appearing to be in the reduplicated form but are actually repetition found in *Shijing*, such as the repetition of disyllabic nominal in the pattern of ABAB. These cases are found scarce in the poems of Tang.

Verbal reduplication

Structually speaking, all the verbal reduplication cases in *Shijing* and in poems of Tang seem to be presented in the same pattern of AA. However, the meaning effect of verbal reduplication in *Shijing* and poems of Tang seems to be different. As is mentioned, verbal reduplication usually denotes the meaning of repetition of certain actions, such as the extra meaning of ‘over and over’ carried by the expression of 采采 *cǎi cǎi* in the line of 采采卷耳 *cǎi cǎi juǎn ěr* ‘pick the Juan-er over and over’. Verbal reduplication cases in Tang poetry, denotes a slight different meaing of lengthening of duration of certain action which, for instance, can be illustrated by the example 看看 *kàn kàn* as in 看看似相識 *kàn kàn sì xiāng shí* ‘gaze for a long time as if (they) know (each other)’. Although it is argued by Wang (1996: 234) that verbal reduplication can also be interpreted deoting the meaning of ‘repetition of certain actions’, which is similar to the meaning effect presented in *Shijing*; it should be pointed out that sometimes the meaning of long duration and repetition of certain action cannot be easily distinguished. For instance, Wang (1996: 234) states that in the line of 拍拍不得離 *pāi pāi bù dé lí* ‘swing for many times but not able to leave’, the reduplication expression 拍拍 *pāi pāi* indicates a repetition of the action ‘to swing’. However, it also makes sense to interpret this line in the sense of ‘swing for a long time but not able to leave’. As a result, whether the meaning effect of repetition of action should be considered as similarity of one of the features verbal reduplication between *Shijing* and Tang poetry still remains to be discussed.

The dissimilarities which can be noticed in the comparison is that verbal reduplication cases in *Shijing* is able to fuction as nominalized verbs denoting the descriptive function. For instance, the expression 招招 *zhāo zhāo* in *Shijing* is interpreted as ‘in the waving manner’. It does not bear the grammatical function of a verb but rather function like a gerund. In Tang poetry, expressions denoting this meaning effect cannot be found.

Adjectival reduplication

In terms of semantics, adjectival reduplication in both *Shijing* and Tang poetry carries the meaning of intensification on degree as the expression 蓼蓼 zhēn zhēn ‘luxuriant’ in *Shijing* and 青青 qīng qīng ‘blue, blue’ in Tang poetry illustrate. In some cases, adjectives that undergo the reduplication process can also be treated as the expressions denoting the illustrative meaning. Most of the adjectives that construct this type of expressions are usually not gradable such as 溶溶 róng róng ‘water-like’ as in 梨花院落溶溶月 lí huā yuàn luò róng róng yuè ‘the pear blossom, the garden and the moon in the dense mist’.

In terms of form properties, cases of adjectival reduplication in both *Shijing* and Tang poetry can be presented in the pattern of AABB, which in essence can be treated as an AA plus AA structure. However, the constituents AA in *Shijing* can usually be flexibly combined with other expressions of AA pattern adjectival reduplication. For instance, the expression 穢兢 jīng jīng can be used both in the expression of 戰戰兢兢 zhàn zhàn jīng jīng ‘tremble and cautious’ and in the expression of 穢兢業業 jīng jīng yè yè ‘fearsome and terrible’. However, in the poems of Tang, the combination of AABB is usually in a more fixed state and cannot be divided and combined with other AA pattern adjectives. (Shi 2007: 101)

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Concluding remarks

This thesis discussed some of the core features of reduplication illustrated by expressions in modern Chinese and classical poetry. The first chapter provides the definition and some examples of reduplication in modern Chinese from the aspects of form properties and properties of the morphological roots. The discussion on semantic effects of different types of reduplication is also given in the section of properties of the morphological roots due to the fact that reduplication expressions that bear different properties usually denote different meanings and functions. The second chapter focuses on reduplication in *Shijing* in terms of form properties, in other words, total reduplication and partial reduplication. At the end of this chapter, the tradition of prosody in *Shijing* is explained so as to provide a possible reason for the occurrence of the use of repetition expressions in *Shijing*. The third chapter presents some of the illustrations of reduplication in Tang poetry from the aspects of properties of the expressions, namely, onomatopoeia, nominal reduplictaion, adjectival reduplication and verbal reduplication. In the fourth chapter, a comparison between the reduplication in *Shijing* and Tang poetry is given. It turns out that both similarities and dissimilarities can be found in the cases in terms of meaning effect and structure, indicating that some featres of reduplication in classical Chinese poetry is indeed changing over time.

As one of the interesting linguistic phenomenon in Chinese language, reduplication has been studied and investigated by scholars for decades. Although some rules regarding the construction and distribution of reduplication expressions have been worked out, there are still other aspects of this phenomenon that require further and in depth study and research.

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