



Ideophones in Middle Chinese: A Typological Study of a Tang Dynasty Poetic Corpus

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Abstract (English)

Ideophones in Middle Chinese: A Typological Study of a Tang Dynasty Poetic Corpus

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This M.A. thesis investigates ideophones in Tang dynasty (618-907 AD) Middle Chinese (Sinitic, Sino-Tibetan) from a typological perspective. Ideophones are defined as a set of words that are phonologically and morphologically marked and depict some form of sensory image (Dingemanse 2011b).

Middle Chinese has a large body of ideophones, whose domains range from the depiction of sound, movement, visual and other external senses to the depiction of internal senses (cf. Dingemanse 2012a). There is some work on modern variants of Sinitic languages (cf. Mok 2001; Bodomo 2006; de Sousa 2008; de Sousa 2011; Meng 2012; Wu 2014), but so far, there is no encompassing study of ideophones of a stage in the historical development of Sinitic languages.

The purpose of this study is to develop a descriptive model for ideophones in Middle Chinese, which is compatible with what we know about them cross-linguistically. The main research question of this study is “what are the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic features of ideophones in Middle Chinese?” This question is studied in terms of three parameters, viz. the parameters of form, of meaning and of use. Each parameter corresponds to some of the components of Dingemanse’s (2011b) definition and is studied through a set of subquestions.

A corpus that is representative of and practical for Tang dynasty Middle Chinese poetry, the *300 Tang Poems* (*Tang shi san bai shou* 唐诗三百首), is used in this study, because it shows a high amount of ideophones (201 tokens in 320 poems).

For the parameter of form (ch. 4), we show that ideophones display eight morphological patterns, of which partial and full reduplication represent most tokens. The *-ran* 然 suffix pattern has been added to these patterns because of its semantically and syntactically similar functions.

Secondly, for the parameter of meaning (ch. 5), ideophones seem to fit in with the range of domains as established in cross-linguistic research. However, this range has to be adapted to be fully applicable to the corpus, specifically as concerns the categories of wetness, temperature, time and evaluation. The corpus also shows linguistic phenomena like synaesthesia and polysemy, as well as possible traces of the so-called Frequency Code (Hinton and Nichols 1994).

Thirdly, for the parameter of use (ch. 6), it is observed that ideophones tend to be used at the edges of a line (in poetic couplets). Syntactically, they have both ‘core’ functions (e.g. predicate) as well as ‘peripheral’ functions (e.g. adverbial) in the sentence.

The three-parameter model provides a good approach to the subject. It enables future research of ideophones for other stages in the development of Sinitic languages, both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. The addition of historical corpora will no doubt lead to more precise results. Furthermore, connecting the different parameters will make more cross-linguistic comparison possible.

Abstract (Nederlands, Dutch)

Middelchinese ideofonen: een typologische studie van een poëtisch corpus uit de Tang-dynastie

Thomas Van Hoey

Deze meesterproef bestudeert ideofonen in Middelchinees (Sinitisch, Sino-Tibetaans) uit de Tang-dynastie (618-907) vanuit een typologisch perspectief. Ideofonen worden gedefinieerd als een groep woorden die fonologisch en morfologisch gemarkeerd zijn, en zintuiglijke prikkel uitbeelden (Dingemanse 2011b).

Het Middelchinees kent veel ideofonen. Het zintuiglijke domein ervan omvat zowel de uitbeelding van geluid, beweging, visuele en andere uiterlijke zintuigen als innerlijke zintuigen (cf. Dingemanse 2012a). Er zijn enkele studies naar ideofonen in moderne varianten van Sinitische talen (cf. Mok 2001; Bodomo 2006; de Sousa 2008; de Sousa 2011; Meng 2012; Wu 2014), maar tot dusver nog geen omvattend onderzoek naar ideofonen in een stadium van de ontwikkeling van zulke talen.

Het doel van deze studie is de ontwikkeling van een descriptief model geschikt voor Middelchinees dat aansluit bij de cross-linguïstische literatuur. De grote onderzoeksraag klinkt als volgt: “Wat zijn de fonologische, morfologische, semantische en syntactische kenmerken van Middelchinese ideofonen?” Deze vraag wordt bestudeerd vanuit drie parameters, nl. vorm, betekenis en gebruik. Elke parameter beantwoordt aan enkele onderdelen van Dingemanses (2011b) definitie.

Een representatief en handig corpus voor Middelchinese poëzie uit de Tang-dynastie, de collectie van 300 *Tang Gedichten* (*Tang shi san bai shou* 唐诗三百首), wordt gebruikt in deze studie, omdat het een hoge frequentie aan ideofonen bevat (201 tokens in 320 gedichten).

De parameter van vorm (h. 4) toont aan dat ideofonen volgens acht morfologische patronen opgebouwd worden. Daarvan vertegenwoordigen gedeeltelijke en volle reduplicatie de meeste tokens.

Een vernieuwing van dit onderzoek is de toevoeging van het *-ran* 然 suffix aan deze patronen, omdat het een gelijkaardige semantiek en syntaxis vertoonde.

Volgens de parameter van betekenis (h. 5) was de hele reeks zintuiglijke domeinen bekend uit de typologische literatuur (cf. supra) gedekt in het Middelchinees. Deze reeks moet echter wel aangepast worden aan het corpus, in het bijzonder met betrekking tot de categorieën natheid, temperatuur, tijd en evaluatie. In het corpus waren daarnaast ook synesthesia en polysemie aanwezig, alsook mogelijke sporen van de zogeheten ‘Frequency code’ (Hinton and Nichols 1994).

De derde parameter (h. 6) toont aan dat ideofonen voornamelijk voorkomen aan de rand van een regel (van disticha in poëzie). Anderzijds vervullen ze op syntactisch vlak zowel kernfuncties in de zin (bv. predicaat) als randfuncties (bv. adverbiaal).

Het model met de drie parameters blijkt een goede aanpak te zijn die verder onderzoek naar ideofonen in andere ontwikkelingsstadia van Sinitische talen mogelijk maakt, zowel vanuit synchroon als diachroon perspectief. Wanneer studies verbreed worden naar historische corpora zal dat ongetwijfeld tot interessante resultaten leiden. Bovendien zorgt de verbinding van de verschillende parameters met elkaar voor cross-lingüistische vergelijkbaarheid.

Acknowledgement

Leuven, May 2015

The words ‘text’ and ‘textile’ are related – they do not only share their etymology, but also some crucial components. Texts are never written in isolation, just like one thread cannot become a piece of cloth. The threads of a text are exchanges between different views on similar topics. This piece of text in the hands of the reader is no different. It could not have been completed without the help of a number of people.

First and foremost I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Jean-Christophe Verstraete. Ever since I took his course on language typology last year, he has provided crucial insights and increased my curiosity for linguistics. I would like to thank him especially for the many feedback moments and for answering my plethora of questions.

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I hope the reader will also enjoy this exploring study of Middle Chinese ideophones.

Thomas Van Hoey

你如果真爱在你心中永不更改
你会看到风中七色的美丽
你会画出风中的色彩
你的心会看到全世界最温柔的表白
你听风在说话说着不朽的情爱
那全世界最温柔的表白

“If you listen to the wind speaking of immortal love
The most tender confession in the world
If true love is in your heart, it will never change
You will see the beauty of the seven colours of the wind
And your heart can paint with the colours of the wind”

(*Feng zhi cai* 風之彩 “Colours of the wind”)

– *Feng zhong qi lü* 風中奇緣 ‘Pocahontas’)

The following abbreviations are used in this study:

1	first person	N	nominal
2	second person	NP	noun phrase
3	third person	O	object-like argument of transitive verb
A	agent-like argument of transitive verb	PASS	passive marker
ADV	adverb(ial)	Q	question marker
ADJ	adjective	RELO	marks the object in a relative clause
AT	attributive	ID	ideophone
BG	background, see section 6.1.2.E	S	single argument of intransitive verb
COMP	complementizer	SBJ	subject marker
DH	Dingemanse Hierarchy	TOP	topic marker
FOC	focus marker	UT	utterance, see section 6.1.2.F
NMLZ	nominalizer	V	verb
GFH	Grammatical-Functional Hierarchy	XI	marks pause
LIH	Lexical Iconicity Hierarchy	YOU	existential sentence (there is, there are)
MOD	modification marker		

Glossing conventions¹

Glosses consist of five parts:

1st line: (Gloss number) AUTHOR, Transcribed title followed by title in Chinese characters

2nd line: Couplet in chinese characters.

Individual lines are separated by a comma and end with a period.

Ideophones are inside a rectangle.

3rd line: Phonological transcription (*Hanyu pinyin*, cf. 2.2)

Tilde ‘~’ indicates reduplication.

Hyphen ‘-’ links roots and suffixation.

Dot ‘.’ marks syllable boundaries

Ideophones are bold.

4th line: Interlinear gloss

Hyphen ‘-’ links roots and suffixation.

Dot ‘.’ indicates several metalanguage elements for a single object-language element

5th line: ‘Free translation’ (based on Wang (2004), A-number)

The gloss number refers to the main text, where the gloss is cited. The A-number refers to the gloss number in appendix A.

¹ The conventions are based on the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Bickel, Comrie and Haspelmath 2008).

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Introduction

This M.A. thesis investigates the form, meaning and use of ideophones in Tang dynasty (618-907 AD) Middle Chinese. Ideophones are a set of words that are phonologically and morphologically marked and depict some form of sensory image (see, for instance, Dingemanse 2011). Middle Chinese has a large body of ideophones, whose sensory domain ranges from the depiction of sound, movement, visual and other external senses to the depiction of internal senses.

Examples include words like: *youyou* ‘bark’ or *xiaoxiao* ‘neigh’ which depict sound; *paihuai* ‘wander’, *piaopiao* ‘wave’ or ‘drift’, which depict movement; *mingming* ‘dark’ or *mangmang* ‘vast’, which depict visual senses; *linli* ‘dripping wet’, *qiqi* ‘cold’ or *youyou* ‘lasting for a long time’, which depict other senses, in this case wetness, temperature and time respectively; and finally, *yiyi* ‘nostalgic’ and *chouchu* ‘sad’, which depict cognitive states or internal feelings.

Middle Chinese (Sinitic, Sino-Tibetan) (*Zhonggu Hanyu* 中古汉语) represents a stage in the development of Northern Chinese dialects, dating from the 4th century until the 12th century AD. Tang dynasty (618-907) Middle Chinese is considered as the cultural and literary high point of Middle Chinese, the transitional period from Early Middle Chinese to Late Middle Chinese (Wilkinson 2013: 18).

Ideophones have not been studied extensively for Sinitic languages, and not at all for Middle Chinese. This study aims to make a start at filling this gap. Research in this dissertation focuses on Middle Chinese Tang dynasty poetry, available in a corpus called *300 Tang Poems* (*Tang shi san bai shou* 唐诗三百首). This corpus is used because it represents a fairly accessible collection of Middle Chinese material, with a high frequency of ideophones (possibly as a genre effect). Obviously, the study is restricted to this particular corpus, and does not attempt to provide an exhaustive list of *all* ideophones in Middle Chinese. It simply tries to describe their properties in a typological perspective.

The main research question propelling this research is “what are the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic features of ideophones in Middle Chinese?” This question will be examined from three perspectives: form, meaning and use. Each perspective corresponds to some of the

components of Dingemanse's (2011b) definition “ideophones are marked words that depict sensory image”, and will be investigated through a set of subquestions.

Chapter 1 of this study discusses ideophones and provides a survey of cross-linguistic literature on the phenomenon. Chapter 2 focuses on the material examined (*300 Tang Poems*) and the methods used. Chapter 3 further defines research questions guiding this thesis. Chapter 4 is about the parameter of form (phonologically and morphologically). Chapter 5 examines the parameter of meaning (semantically). Chapter 6 addresses the parameter of use (functionally-syntactically). A conclusion and some directions for future research are provided in the final chapter 7, followed by a bibliography and appendices A and B.

Throughout this dissertation we will consistently use the Mandarin Chinese Hanyu pinyin transcription method (cf. 2.2), except when discussing the formation processes of Middle Chinese ideophones in chapter 4. This will be marked with ‘MC’ (Middle Chinese).

1. Ideophones

This chapter defines the term ‘ideophone’, and provides an overview of the state of the art of research on ideophones. In this section, we will define the term ‘ideophone’, using Mark Dingemanse’s study on Siwu (Dingemanse 2011) and we will elaborate on its components. After this, other (older) definitions for the phenomenon will be discussed and contrasted briefly with the chosen definition.

In section 1.2 we will discuss terminology, then give a short historical overview of research on ideophones, from the 19th century on, working up until more recent studies.

In section 1.3 this general survey will be supplemented with a summary of the study of ideophones in Sinitic languages, based on a summary of Chinese work by Zhao Aiwu (2008), and supplemented with an overview of Western studies of ideophones in Sinitic languages.

1.1. Definition: ideophones are marked words that depict sensory image

As we are dealing with a linguistic phenomenon that has received very little attention in China (Meng 2012: 15) and is well-studied in other languages (cf. *infra*), we first explore the state of the art from a typological perspective, and gradually work down to Middle Chinese, the subject of this study.

For a typological definition, we need to bear in mind Martin Haspelmath’s (2010) warning that it is important to use so-called comparative concepts when we study phenomena cross-linguistically. Haspelmath proposes that typologists define concepts which are not related to any particular language, and use these definitions to investigate linguistic phenomena across languages, if these are to be examined and compared in a fair way.

There have been a number of definitions of the linguistic phenomenon examined in this study, many of which differ considerably. However, some definitions are more clearly comparative concepts than others – we believe the best is the one proposed by the Africanist Mark Dingemanse in his work on Siwu (Kwa, Niger-Congo). Following Dingemanse (2011b: 25-29) we can use the following definition for ideophones:

“Ideophones are MARKED WORDS that DEPICT SENSORY IMAGE” (Dingemanse 2011b: 25).

This definition consists of four major parts (underlined in the definition).

- Firstly, they are “*marked* in the sense that they stand out from other words.” (Dingemanse 2011b: 25). This markedness differs for any given language, but it is often situated on the phonological or morphological level. Prosody and syntactic position also seem to stand out quite often. Phonological markedness is often taken to refer to the use of sounds outside the ordinary phoneme inventory of a language, but Dingemanse shows that formal markedness often involves a wider range of possible configurations, rather than the use of extra sounds (Dingemanse 2011b: 26). We will see that this essentially holds true for Middle Chinese ideophones as well: they are not especially marked by their phonological form (cf. 4), but there is a tendency to use the *ping* tone (cf. 4.3.5) for words denoting sounds (onomatopoeia) in addition to their ‘special’ morphological composition. As for morphology, it will be seen in section 4.4 that reduplication is the most frequent morphological process in ideophones.

- Secondly, ideophones are *words*, i.e. “conventionalised minimal free forms with specifiable meanings” (Dingemanse 2011b: 26). The notion of ‘word’ can be problematic cross-linguistically. In this definition, the notion *word* is to be considered in the sense of the term *root* in Haspelmath (2011). In Chinese research on the phenomenon (cf. 1.3) the central debate focused on whether or not these linguistic *signifiers* (*signifiants*) ought to be considered as a linguistic sign at all. For are not all linguistic signs, or words, arbitrary? The last fifteen years have seen a broadening of ideophone categories studied in China, from only onomatopoeia to other types as well (see below in section 1.3), which presupposes an acceptance of ideophones as word categories.

- Thirdly, ideophones *depict* rather than *describe*. For Dingemanse this is one of the key characteristics of ideophones. He provides a Siwu example, contrasting the descriptive periphrasis of “walking unevenly and out of balance” versus the depicting ideophone *gbadara-gbadara* which holds the same meaning (Dingemanse 2011b: 27).

A similar example can be found in Middle Chinese *paihuai* (MC: /beaj~hwoj/)² 徘徊, which can be depicted in one elegant word or described using dictionary definitions as:

1. Go back and forth. 2. Hesitant, wandering. 3. Linger. 4. Slowly walking. 5. Circling. 6. Rose.
1. 往返旋；来回走动。2. 犹彷徨。游移不定貌。3. 流连；留恋。4. 安行貌；徐行貌。5. 犹回环。6. 见“徘徊花”=玫瑰花的别称。（Zdic.net“徘徊”）

Other scholars have characterized this criterion of depiction in other terms: “‘commentative vs. presentive/dramatic’ (Kunene 1965; Fortune 1962), ‘prosaic vs. expressive’ (Diffloth 1972), ‘analytic vs. affecto-imagistic’ (Kita 1997), ‘discursive vs. performative’ (Nuckolls 1995), ‘descriptive vs. mimetic’ (Güldemann 2008)” etc. (Dingemanse 2011b: 27).

- Finally, ideophones convey a *sensory image*, i.e. “perceptual knowledge that derives from sensory perception of the environment and the body” (Dingemanse 2011b: 28). This includes perceptions of sound, colour, taste, smell, texture, postures, gaits, activities, visual images and even “psychophysical sensations that are drawn from perceptions of the environment and bodily experience (Nuckolls 1995: 146)” (Dingemanse 2011b: 27). The term *sensory* thus has to be understood in its broadest sense - perceptions of the external world (vision, hearing, touch, taste, smell), and the internal world (kinaesthetic sensations, interoceptive experience and balance) (Dingemanse 2011: 27-28).

We will take Dingemanse’s definition³ of ideophones as “marked words that depict sensory image” as the point of departure for our investigation into Middle Chinese ideophones.

1.2. Brief survey of research

1.2.1. A note on terminology

Now that we have a working definition for the comparative concept of ideophones, it is time to delve deeper into existing research on the phenomenon. First, though, there are some terminological remarks: the term used here is *ideophone*, which according to Dingemanse (2012: 656) is the most

² Following conventions, Chinese words will be transcribed according to the Hanyu pinyin system for (Modern) Mandarin Chinese, unless they are preceded by specific transcriptions, such as ‘MC’ for Middle Chinese (Baxter-Sagart reconstruction (Baxter 1992; Baxter & Sagart 2014a; ibid. 2014b) (cf. 4.3)) or ‘Cant.’ for Cantonese etc.

³ The origin of this definition as opposed to other definitions is chronicled in Dingemanse (2011b).

widespread term, originating in African linguistics (Childs 1994: 178). Two other common terms are *expressive* or *mimetic*. Expressive is the name used in the Southeast Asian tradition, mimetic the name used in Japanese linguistics. However, the terminology is even more extensive - Childs mentions a short list of terms including: *echo-words* for Semitic languages (including Amharic, Tigrinya and Tigre), *emphatics* (Liberia), *impressifs* (Asian and African languages, e.g. Vietnamese and Malagasy) and even some Swahili terms (*vielezi miigo*, *tanakali za sauti* or *takwidi*) that seem to “underscore the onomatopoeic or imitative component” (Childs 1994: 178-179).

So far, a general term for ‘ideophone’ in Chinese does not exist. As research almost solely focused on onomatopoeia, there are terms for words that ‘look like sound words’ (*xiangshengci* 象声词), or that ‘mimic sound’ (*nishengci* 拟声词) (Meng 2012). The latter term was later contrasted with ‘manner-mimicking words’ (*nitaici* 拟态词) because of Japanese influence (Meng 2012). In the conclusion of this dissertation we will propose a general Chinese term for ideophones based on Dingemanse’s definition.

1.2.2. The very beginning

This survey of research on ideophones is sketched very extensively in Dingemanse (2011b: 57-75).

Pre-1950 sources on ideophones mainly involve African languages. However, the very first mention of ideophones can be found in Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* on Sanskrit (4th century BC), revolving around imitative words, that often occur in reduplicated form and are followed by the quotative particle *-iti* (Dingemanse 2011b: 58-59). This notion of reduplication will be important for Middle Chinese as well, as we will show in section 4.4.

The first Western studies on ideophones are two grammatical treatises of Japanese, of which P. Rodriguez’s 1604 *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* is worth quoting:

“Les Japonais ont un grand nombre d’adverbes dont ils se servent non-seulement pour exprimer les modifications d’une action, mais qui indiquent encore le son, le bruit, la position de la chose. (...) On forme encore un grand nombre d’adverbes par la répétition du même mot, pour exprimer la manière dont se fait une chose, ou le son de cette chose: comme *farafara*, bruit de la pluie ou des larmes qui tombent.”

“The Japanese have a great number of adverbs which serve not only to express the manner of an event, but which also indicate the sound, the noise, the position of the thing. (...) Many of these adverbs are formed by

repetition of the same word, to express the manner in which a thing is done, or the sound of the thing: like *farafara*, sound of rain or tears falling'."

(Rodriguez 1604, translated into French by Landress in 1825; translation and quote in Dingemanse 2011b: 59).

Next we have three studies on West-African languages: Vidal (1852) studied Yoruba, Koelle (1854) studied Kanuri and Vai and Schlegel (1857) studied Ewe. These three seminal studies did not, however, lead to any wider interest in the phenomenon – ideophones were even considered “playthings, not the tools of language” to put it in Max Müller’s words (Müller 1899 [1862]: 486, in Dingemanse 2011: 61).

The next important name is that of Clement Martyn Doke, a linguist who studied mainly South African languages. For him Bantu languages all possessed a separate word class of ideophones, on a par with nouns and verbs. It is his 1935 definition that became the standard definition for a long time. For Doke, ideophones were a “rhetorical vehicle” used mainly in narrative and poetry, as opposed to previous observations that it was also used in everyday speech (e.g. Whitehead (1899) and Junod (1896)) (Dingemanse 2011b: 66-67).

1.2.3. Out of Africa

Other studies followed: Fortune (1962) and Kunene (1965) highlighted the *performative* nature of ideophones; Alexandre (1966) tried classifying their meanings. However, they all were heavily influenced by Doke’s legacy, specifically his insistence that ideophones are a grammatical class (Dingemanse 2011b: 68).

A contemporary innovative article by Paul Newman (1968) on ideophones in Hausa attempted to turn the tables:

“[W]hile one may speak of ideophonic words in Hausa as a single class from a phonological/semantic point of view, one must syntactically separate them into at least three grammatical classes: adjectival-intensifiers, verbal-intensifiers, and descriptive-adverbs” (Newman 1968: 111, in Dingemanse 2011b: 68).

Other studies that focused on other language families seemed to provide evidence that ideophones are realized differently across languages, but on some comparative level they all share some attributes (specifically the components in Dingemanse’s definition). Such studies included for Indian languages Hoffkann (1952) and Emeneau (1969) and for Mon-Khmer languages Durand (1961) on Vietnamese,

Banker (1964) on Bahnar, Henderson (1965) on Khasi and Watson (1966) on Pacoh (Dingemanse 2011b: 68-69).

At the same time, the Japanese scholarly tradition started investigating Japanese ideophones as well, as can be seen in Akita's (2010a) extensive bibliography.

1.2.4. Across the world

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the rise of the first crosslinguistic studies on ideophones, perhaps influenced by seminal studies like Greenberg (1966). William Samarin (1970) identified African ideophones as similar to “onomatopes” of Azerbaijani and Malagasy, reduplicated adverbs of Mon-Khmer languages, “impressionistic adverbs” of Korean and similar phenomena of Tamil, Thai and some American Indian languages like Yokuts and Waiwai. He states:

“Elsewhere in the world ... we find similar classes of words. What is striking about them, as with African ideophonic words, is that (1) they display a great deal of play with sounds, that (2) they are predominantly reduplicative, that (3) their phonology is in some respects different from that of all other words, and finally that (4) they have very specific meanings sometimes difficult to define.” (Samarin 1970: 160).

Two years later Gérard Diffloth (1972) reached similar conclusions for the Bantu, Chadic, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Munda, Mon-Khmer, Austronesian, Japanese and Korean language families. He concluded:

“Such a wide geographic and historical distribution indicates that ideophones are a characteristic of natural language in general, even though they are conspicuously undeveloped and poorly structured in the languages of Europe.” (Diffloth 1972: 440, quoted in Dingemanse 2011b: 70).

The work of these two scholars led to new investigations into the nature of ideophones, in individual languages and cross-linguistically.

Since the 1990s there has been a renewed interest in ideophones. The 1994 volume *Sound Symbolism*, edited by Leanne Hinton, Johanna Nichols and John J. Ohala (1994) touched upon the domain of ideophones. Next there is the work of Kita Sotaro (1993), which can take an experimental perspective on ideophones. Finally, there is the edited volume based on the first typological conference on ideophones: Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz's *Ideophones* (2001). This volume not only represents a giant leap forward in the descriptive studies on ideophones, but it also conveys the message that “contrary to

being peripheral elements, ideophones form an integral part of the languages in which they occur and should therefore not be ignored, but should be considered in their typological characterizations” (Ameka 2001: 25). And that is exactly what we set out to do here in this dissertation.

1.3. Chinese investigations

After a general survey of cross-linguistic literature on the phenomenon, we turn to investigations of ideophones in Chinese languages. In section 1.3.1 we look at the Chinese sources; in section 1.3.2 we look at Western studies on Chinese.

1.3.1. Into the East

This section is based on Zhao Aiwu 赵爱武 (2008), which addresses the Chinese state of the field of onomatopoeia in the last 20 years. While the title of his study suggests it is focused on onomatopoeia in the broad sense, it actually focuses on onomatopoeia (a subset of ideophones in the context of this thesis, i.e. those ideophones that depict a sound).

The first term for this set of words was coined in 1951 by Lü Shuxiang 吕叔湘 and Zhu Dexi 朱德熙: *xiangshengci* 象声词 (onomatope, litt. “look like-sound-word”). In 1984, it was used to label an extra wordclass in a revised edition of the *Zhongxue jiaoxue yufa tixi tiyao* 中学教学语法体系提要 [Outline of the grammatical system for the education of Chinese] (Zhao Aiwu 2008: 180). This was in addition to the 11 wordclasses Zhang Zhigong 张志公 devised for Mandarin in 1956 (nouns, measure words, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctives, particles and interjections).

A first topic addressed by Zhao is a debate on the nature of these ideophones. As stated in section 1.1, a first prerequisite for studying these elements has to be the acceptance that they are linguistic signs. This debate originated in the 1990s, when Wen Lian 文联 (1991) denied that ideophones are linguistic signs (in the Saussurian and Peircean sense). Geng Erling 耿二岭 (1994) refuted this claim by nuancing

that “onomatopoeia are not really a reflection of a mirror of natural sounds, ... but are mere conventional forms of natural sounds”⁴, constituting a second symbolic system.

A second line of research follows from the first one: even though the status of onomatopoeia as word or linguistic sign was disputed, much of the debate has focused on their wordclass status. They have either been assigned to the category of adjectives, or their own ‘special’ category, or they have been left aside because they were too vague. In the 1951 terminology by Lü Shuxiang and Zhu Dexi, there were three subclasses: 1. exclamations (*tanci* 叹词), e.g. *a* 啊 “ah!”, *ai* 唉 “alas, well”; 2. ‘question-answer’ words (*wendaci* 问答词), e.g. *en* 噛 ‘yes’; 3. ‘narrow sense onomatopoeia’ (*xiayi xiangshengi* 狹义象声词), e.g. *peng* 砰 “bang”, *pang* 兵 “pang, pong” and *huala* 哗啦 “with a crash”.

After viewing onomatopoeia as a separate class (different from *tanci*) in the 1980s and the debate on their word status, they were assigned to the group of lexical items or content words, as opposed to functional words (closed-class items)⁵ in the 1990s 1990s – marking them essentially as full-fledged words.

A third topic is the emerging comparative study of ideophones. Zhao Aiwu (2008) highlights comparative studies between Mandarin Chinese and English, Korean, Japanese and Tibetan. Of these, the comparison with Japanese – a language that is well known for having a rich body of ideophones – has yielded most results. Two important studies are Zhang Hanying 张汉英 (1999) and Yao Jieqing 姚洁青 (2004). Zhang concludes that the categories of onomatopoeia and ‘manner-mimicking words’ (*nitaici* 拟态词) are both symbolic signs. In Japanese they are viewed as a part of the category of adverbs, whereas in Modern Chinese they are regarded as a separate class. Yao proposes to merge Mandarin ‘sound-mimicking words’ (*niyinci* 拟音词) and ‘manner-mimicking words’ - just like in Japanese, based on three perspectives of phonology, semantics and syntax.

⁴象声词并不是自然声的镜子式的反应，.....而只是自然声的习俗定型而已。

⁵, “full-words” (*shizi* 实字) vs. *xuzi* 虚字 “empty words” in Chinese terminology.

A fourth line of research includes studies of onomatopoeia in specific texts, e.g. *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 诗经) (11th-7th century BC) (Lu Ping 卢平 2001), Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) texts (Zhou Bixiang 周碧香 1999), Ming dynasty (1368-1644) texts (Yang Zaiwu 杨载武 1994; Xu Yangmin 许仰民 2003) and also one study by Zhao Aiwu that focused on a diachronic aspect (from *Shijing* until Yuan drama)⁶ (Zhao Aiwu 2005).

Apart from these more historically oriented studies, studies on modern Chinese languages have been emerging since the 1980s, e.g. a pioneering study by Geng Erling 耿二岭 (1986), a more pragmatics oriented study by Xu Bingruo 徐冰若 (2001) and a more comprehensive study by Li Jing'er 李镜儿 (2007).

The bibliography and the list of suggested readings provided by Zhao Aiwu in his overview article suggest that there the two alternative terms ‘look-like sound words’ (*xiangshengci* 象声词) and ‘sound-mimicking words’ (*nishengci* 拟声词) are more or less evenly distributed. However, I believe that the last term was adapted from Japanese linguistics, where onomatopoeia are known as ‘sound-mimic words’ (*giongo* 擬音語 or *giseigo* 擬声語), as opposed to ‘manner-mimicking words’ (*gitaigo* 擬態語)⁷ (cf. 1.3.2).

So even though this Japanese-inspired terminology seems to be on the rise in the last decade, I believe the older term *xiangshengci* will persist, because of its accepted use.

1.3.2. From the West

As was seen in section 1.3.1, Chinese research focused mostly on the ideophonic subclass of onomatopoeia. Through comparison with mostly Japanese research, the scope of the study was broadened to include states, feelings and other things - words we have identified with a general term as

⁶ However, this last study focused considerably more on *Shijing* than on Yuan drama and cannot really be called diachronic.

⁷ For further reading, the reader is directed to Guo Yong 郭勇 (2000) for the origin of this terminology and for other studies to Zhang Ting 张婷 (2007) and Zhu Caiyun 祝彩云 (1995).

ideophones. Now we will briefly discuss five important Western studies on Modern Sinitic languages that take a wider perspective on the topic.

A first study is Waiching Enid Mok's PhD dissertation *Chinese sound symbolism: A phonological perspective* (2001). Her study analyzed sound symbolism in Mandarin, Cantonese and Hakka, which is strongly linked with ideophones because of the related to iconicity (see Dingemanse 2011b). A previous study of Mandarin sound symbolism can be found in Lapolla (1994). Mok's study is very interesting because of the analytical framework she uses for the synchronic study of the three dialects. Section 4.4 on the formation of ideophones in Middle Chinese will be partly based on her study.

A second study is Adams Bodomo's comparison between Dagaare and Cantonese ideophones (Bodomo 2006). Bodomo uses Doke's (1935) definition (cf. supra) for these words. However, he also makes some observations in the same line as Dingemanse (2011), e.g. "ideophones have a striking grammatical structure that sets them apart from other word classes in each language", "[they constitute] a cohesive class of words" and "ideophones have a special expressive and dramaturgic function that other words may lack in any one language. This therefore means that the study of ideophones can indeed go beyond the realms of core linguistics to areas like literature, narrative strategies, indirection, and the expression of emotion with linguistic and semi-linguistic or dramaturgic resources such as ideophones" (Bodomo 2006: 213). With these remarks Bodomo shows that ideophones in Chinese languages need to be further investigated.

Thirdly, there are two unpublished presentations by Hilário de Sousa on Cantonese ideophones. De Sousa (2008) focuses on the role of tones in Cantonese ideophones, while de Sousa (2011) investigates ideophonic compounds in East and Southeast Asia. De Sousa (2008) finds some correspondences between the grammatically diverse, "closed(-ish)" classes of Cantonese ideophones that are phonosemantically defined (*ibid.* slide 13) and meanings they express. De Sousa (2011) uses Dingemanse's definition to analyse Cantonese. He argues that instead of "marked words that depict sensory image", the words component should be expanded to words/affixes, mostly based on research

on Cantonese, Vietnamese and Thai ideophones. For this reason, this study is an important addition to research on ideophones.

More recently, an MA thesis by Chenxi Meng (*A description of ideophonic words in Mandarin Chinese*) at Leiden University (2012) has studied Modern Mandarin Chinese. Meng based her study on the Beijing dialect and used a framework similar to Akita Kimi's PhD dissertation on Japanese ideophones (Akita 2009). Akita classified Japanese ideophones into three categories: *phonomimes* (*giongo* 擬音語; sound), *phenomimes* (*gitaigo* 擬態語; non-auditory experience) and *psychomimes* (*gijōgo* 擬情語; internal experiences), which is a further diversification of the more traditional Japanese classification into 'sound-mimicking words' (*giongo*) and 'state-mimicking words' (*gitaigo*).

Meng's Mandarin classification takes the form of so-called O-IDEOS, A-IDEOS and M-IDEOS. O-IDEOS are onomatopoeic words that, according to her, are the most prototypical ideophones, i.e. their "formal properties are the most deviant from prosaic grammar among all ideophonic items" (Meng 2012: 21). A-IDEOS denote properties and function mostly as predicates or attributes ('ideophonic adjectives'). M-IDEOS have more adverbial or predicative use and mimic manners (Meng 2012: 21).

Even more recently we have Wu Mengqi's MA thesis on ideophones in Southern Sinitic languages (Wu 2012). He also uses Dingemanse's (2011b) definition of ideophones to describe the ideophonic system of Ruihong and Gan (both Southern Sinitic). Using a corpus, he focuses predominantly on the phonological system and sound symbolism.

1.4. Conclusion of chapter 1

In this section we provided a cross-linguistically valid definition for ideophones, namely Dingemanse's "Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory image". This definition was put in the historical context of cross-linguistic research ideophones, which was followed by an overview of Chinese investigations into the phenomenon of onomatopoeia. Finally, this was supplemented with more recent Western studies on Chinese ideophones in modern Sinitic languages.

2. Material and methodology

Given the range of questions to be answered in this study, we have chosen to analyze a smaller corpus at a deeper level, rather than to broaden the scope and perhaps end up with more superficial analyses. As a result, this thesis is not an attempt to study ideophones in Middle Chinese in any exhaustive way, but to build a model that can describe Middle Chinese ideophones, which could also be useful for later stages of Chinese.

In this chapter we will discuss material (2.1) and methodology (2.2), followed by a section on research questions behind this study in chapter 3.

2.1. Material: 300 Tang poems

2.1.1. About the corpus

The corpus that is used in this study consists primarily of a collection of some 300 poems from the Tang dynasty (618-907), aptly called *300 Tang poems* (*Tang shi san bai shou* 唐诗三百首). The number of poems in this collection varies according to whether one sees separate poems with the same title that are called ‘number one’ (*qi yi* 其一), ‘number two’ (*qi er* 其二) as belonging to one poem or as two separate ones. In this study, we have opted to view every separate poem as a poem in itself, bringing the poem count to 320.

The collection was first assembled around 1763 by Qing scholar named Sun Zhu 孙洙 (1711-1778), with the courtesy name Lin Xi 临西 and most often referred to as Hengtang tuishi 薡塘退士 “Retired Master of Hengtang”. He compiled the collection out of dissatisfaction with the anthology *Qianjiashi* 千家诗 (‘Poems by a thousand masters’) that was compiled by Liu Kezhuang 刘克庄 in the late Southern Song (1127-1276). At the same time he was influenced by Ming dynasty (1368-1644) anthologies (*Tang shi san bai shou* 2015).

The collection includes 78 poets divided over 7 genres. Notable poets included in the anthology are Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), Li Bai 李白 (705-762), Wang Wei 王维 (699-759), Li Shangyin 李商隐 (813-858), Meng

Haoran (689-740), Han Yu 韩愈 (768-824), Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852), Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), Liu Changqing 刘长卿 (709–785), Cen Shen 岑参 (715-770), Wang Changling 王昌龄 (698-756), Wei Yingwu 韦应物 (737-792) etc.

2.1.2. Representativity of the corpus

The fact that this collection was first assembled in the 18th century obviously raises questions about how representative it is for Middle Chinese. There are other collections of Tang dynasty poetry and prose that are much bigger in size, e.g. the *Complete Tang Poems* (*Quan Tang shi* 全唐诗) and the *Complete Tang Prose* (*Quan Tang fu* 全唐文), but just like the *300 Tang Poems* they were collected during the Qing dynasty (between 1705-1707 and 1808-1814 respectively). However, even the best editions can only be traced back to the 11th century (Song dynasty) (Mair 2001: 278-281), which means we have no editions of collections that are more reliable than the one we use here. This suggests that the *300 Tang Poems* can be considered a valid resource for research of Middle Chinese ideophones.

Since this is an introductory study into ideophones of Middle Chinese and the frequency of ideophones in the corpus of the *300 Tang Poems* is quite high (some 200 ideophones in some 300 poems), we have decided to use this compilation as a point of departure. Given the scarcity of work on this topic, the findings of this study provide a basis for later research to confirm or disprove.

2.1.3. Seven genres

The seven genres represented in the collection are folk song styled verse (*yuefu* 乐府); five-character ancient verse (*wuyan gushi* 五言古诗) and seven-character ancient verse (*qiyan gushi* 七言古诗); five-character regular verse (*wuyan lüshi* 五言律诗), seven-character regular verse (*qiyan lüshi* 七言律诗), five-character quatrain (*wuyan jueju* 五言绝句) and seven-character quatrain (*qiyan jueju* 七言绝句) for modern style verse (obviously, in the contemporary sense).

Yuefu ('music bureau') verses refer to the governmental institution that was charged with collecting and writing lyrics during Eastern Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD), and that was later imitated beyond this

institution. Tang dynasty “New Yuefu” usually take the shape of five or seven characters per line with minimal attention to rhyme. They typically include laments about an event, or they serve to provide criticism, express love from the voice of a certain person, e.g. a hunter, a peasant girl, a soldier at the frontier (Watson 1971).

Ancient verse styles emerged as a poetic form in the second century. Through collections, such as the Han dynasty *Nineteen old poems* (*shijiu gushi* 十九古诗), they became examples for the Tang poets of unregulated verse comprising five (or seven) characters. The poems are typically made up of couplets that rhyme. Couplets are made up of two lines of five or seven characters. The caesura occurs before the last three syllables in a line. Lines in couplets typically are constructed similarly on the syntactic level and antithetically on the semantic (Watson 1971).

- (1) 我 歌 月 徘徊， 我 舞 影 零亂。
 wǒ gē yuè pái~huái wǒ wǔ yǐng líng-luàn.
 1 sing moon ID.wander 1 dance shadow ID.scattered
 While I'm singing, the moon sways to and fro; while I'm dancing, my shadow tangles so.
 (from Li Bai 李白, “Drinking alone under the Moon” 月下獨酌; translation by Wang (2004: 4; A-3))

The example in (1) is a couplet (marked by five characters, a comma, five characters and a period). Both lines start with “I” (wo), and have a syntactically similar structure, namely pronoun – verb – noun – ideophone. However, semantically there are some contrasts: sing vs. dance, moon (high) vs. shadow (low); wander vs. scattered. These last items are both ideophones, depicting different movements: *paihuai* is more or less a linear movement going back and forth, while *lingluan* is a movement occurring at the same time at different places, similar to flickering shadows.

Regulated verse (*jintishi* ‘modern style verse’) was most popular during Tang dynasty and is the strictest of the three main categories. This genre can be further divided into three subgenres, based upon poem length: *lüshi* 律诗 (8 lines), *jueju* 绝句 (4 lines) and *pailü* 排律 (indeterminate length). Formal rules include: a basic division in couplets, unvarying line length throughout the poem (five or seven characters), and compulsory rhyme according to a technical rhyme scheme. There is a division between level tones (*pingsheng* 平声) and non-level ('deflected') tones (*zesheng* 僵声). The tonal pattern

of regulated verse is carefully laid out, following some basic schemes. Syntactically and thematically there is an even further requirement of ‚antithetic parallelism‘. The caesura (／) occurs at the same place as in ancient-style verse, i.e. before the final three characters.

An example that fits most of these criteria can be found in Wang Wan’s 王湾 (693-751) *Written at the Foot of the Beigu Mountain 次北固山下*, a five-character *lüshi*.

(2)

客	路／	青	山	外,	行	舟／	綠	水	前。
kè	lù	qīng	shān	wài	xíng	zhōu	lǜ	shuǐ	qián
traveller	road	green	mountain	outside	pass	boat	green	water	in.front
潮	平／	兩	岸	闊,	風	正／	一	帆	懸。
cháo	píng	liǎng	àn	kuò	fēng	zhèng	yī	fān	xuán
tide	flat	two	bank	wide	wind	right	one	sail	suspend
海	日／	生	殘	夜,	江	春／	入	舊	年。
hǎi	rì	shēng	cán	yè	jiāng	chūn	rù	jiù	nián
sea	sun	appear	decline	night	stream	spring	enter	old	year
鄉	書／	何處		達,	歸	雁／	洛陽		邊。
xiāng	shū	hé.chù		dá	guī	yàn	Luò.yáng		biān.
home	letter	where		reach	return	goose	Luoyang		there

“At the foot of the green mountain, on my journey; on the blue water my boat is sailing ahead.
The two banks grow wider, as the tide makes its way; in the fair wind, a single sail is seen to spread.
The sea’s sun appears while the night dwindles away; into the old year, is merging the river’s spring.
Who can bring back my home letter, I want to say; it will be a wild goose to Luoyang returning.”

(Wang (2004: 169))

2.1.4. Source of the material

The corpus that is used in this dissertation can be consulted freely at Wikisource (“*Tang shi san bai shou 唐詩三百首 [300 Tang Poems]*” 2015). We have chosen to use traditional characters (*fantizi* 繁体字) for both the poems and the analyses. The alternative would have been to use simplified characters (*jiantizi* 简体字). Traditional characters are, as the name suggests characters that were used in the past (following standardization in the Qin dynasty (221 BC – 206 BC). Starting in the 1950s People’s Republic

of China, there were some campaigns that intended to simplify characters. For political reasons, the Republic of China (Taiwan), Hong Kong, Macau and Singapore continue to use traditional characters until this day⁸.

When analyzing larger bodies of text, it is highly accepted as a general rule to convert them all to the same character set. We have chosen traditional characters for two reasons: 1. Since we are dealing with classical poetry, it is nice to use traditional characters; 2. It is also more practical because the poems stored on Wikisource use traditional characters.

2.1.5. Limits of the material

Every study in (historical or typological) linguistics is shaped by the material used. The use of the 300 *Tang Poems* is no different in this respect: it imposes some limits on our conclusions.

Firstly, there will be some bias towards ideophones consisting of two syllables. As we shall see in section 4.1, Modern Mandarin Chinese has a lot of different sizes of ideophones, ranging from a single syllable to four syllables (Meng 2012). Ideophones in the corpus used in this study, however, only consist of two syllables, because of constraints placed by the poetic genres in the corpus.

Secondly, as we shall see in chapter 4, there will be an unexpectedly low number of ideophones depicting sound compared to other categories. As we shall connect this study to a typological semantic hierarchy in section 5.1, such a hierarchy would suggest that sound ideophones should occur most frequently, while data in this corpus suggests that ideophones depicting visual senses are predominant. This may be due to the great lengths Chinese poets tended to go when trying to attract the reader's attention and spur their imagination.

Thirdly, in chapter 6 it will be argued that according cross-linguistic research, ideophones tend to drift to the edges of clauses, viz. fulfill a non-essential role in the sentence. It will be shown that ideophones both constitute 'core' functions of the clause (e.g. predicate), as well as 'peripheral'

⁸ To further complicate the issue, characters used in Japanese and Korean are often something 'in between', e.g. *qi* 'energy' (*ki* in Japanese) has respectively the following traditional, Japanese and simplified forms: 氣, 気, 气. While this character, which holds the same semantic and phonological value, does not differ that much, the shape of characters can differ considerably.

functions (e.g. adverbial). It is possible that this is a case of poetic license: the validity of these tendencies should be addressed in further research.

These three main remarks, to be discussed in depth in chapters 4 (parameter of form), 5 (parameter of meaning) and 6 (parameter of use), should be investigated with a broader historical corpus in later research. However, as this dissertation intends to provide a deep analysis rather than a broad one, such investigations are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

2.2. Methodology

2.2.1. Data collection

In the process of data collection, I read all poems of the corpus to qualitatively mark the ideophone-like words. Parameters used the concept ‘reduplication’ (see further in section 4.1) and semantic criteria according to the general definition used in this studies, based on Dingemanse’s (2011b) definition: “ideophones are marked words that depict sensory image”. This resulted in a collection of candidate ideophones (some 240 occurrences on the 320 poems). Of these 240, about 40 were rejected or accepted on grounds of other parameters, especially the parameter of meaning (see chapter 5).

The rejected candidates include two categories: 1) candidates that formally looked like reduplication (e.g. *chuchu* 处处 ‘every place’, *yiyi* 一一 ‘every one’, *yeye* 夜夜 ‘every night’, *niannian* 年年 ‘night’ etc.) but were dismissed because of their meaning, i.e. they did not conform to the other criteria in the definition. For instance, the examples do not really depict anything or do not correspond with a specific sense (except for time-related categories, to be discussed in section 5.1.3; 2) Candidates that seemed to fit the description semantically but did not look like reduplication, e.g. *qiliang* 凄凉 ‘miserable’ or *wuyue* 悟悦 ‘happy because of understanding’.

2.2.2. Data processing

The 201 ideophones that remained after the initial data collection were organized in an MS Excel sheet, together with their: pinyin transcription, simplified and traditional form of the characters, Middle Chinese reconstruction, gloss information (number of the gloss, author, title, couplet, Wikisource link,

Mandarin pronunciation, genre information...), Zdic dictionary⁹ definition and translation, morphology (reduplication pattern) and semantic category (based on the implicational hierarchy in Dingemanse (2012: 663). Based on this master sheet, other sheets were created to study the different research questions, for instance concerning the form of ideophones, discussed in chapter 4 below.

2.2.3. Data presentation

Appendix A presents the glosses for the 150 couplets in which we were able to identify ideophones. For convenience, we have adhered to the standard convention of transcribing these poems in a modern dialect - we have opted for Mandarin Chinese. Other choices would have been other Sinitic dialects that are written with characters, e.g. Cantonese, Min, Gan, Hakka, Wu etc. Since Mandarin Chinese fulfills the role of 'standard language' that is taught everywhere and because it is the dialect I am most familiar with, the choice for Mandarin was relatively easy.

In appendix B the identified ideophones can be found - sorted by *pinyin*, simplified character, traditional character, Middle Chinese reconstruction (Baxter & Sagart 2014), dictionary definition and morphological pattern.

The Hanyu *pinyin* transcription is currently the most widely accepted transcription method of Mandarin Chinese (earlier, it used to be the Wade-Giles system. In Taiwan, the *zhuyin fuhao* system is used.) For Middle Chinese we will use the Baxter-Sagart reconstruction method (see section 4.3).

⁹ Online free Chinese dictionary that is composed of some major dictionaries such as the *Hanyu da cidian* 汉语大词典 [Big dictionary of Chinese words] and the 1716 Kangxi dictionary (*Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典).

3. Research questions

As we have seen in section 1.3, there are not many studies that focus on the whole range of ideophones in any Sinitic language, apart from Mok (2001), Bodomo (2006), de Sousa (2008; 2011), Meng (2012) and Wu (2014). Furthermore, there has not been any study that has investigated the topic of ideophones in an earlier stage of Chinese. Finally, the cross-linguistic model proposed in Dingemanse (2011b; 2012) is still relatively new, and has not been applied to Sinitic data. Wu (2014) has referred to this, but has not used the full range of the definition or the implications suggested in Dingemanse (2012).

For these reasons, we have decided to look at one stage in the development of Chinese, viz. Tang dynasty (618-907) Middle Chinese, in order to develop a descriptive model that can be used later on in the study of ideophones in Sinitic languages – especially diachronically.

The main question guiding this study is “what are the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic features of ideophones in Middle Chinese?”

If we start from the definition “ideophones are MARKED WORDS that DEPICT SENSORY IMAGE”, we can transform it into three distinct subquestions to be examined both individually and in relation to one another. Just like a tripod, we hope that the three ‘legs’ or parameters will generate a descriptive model that can also be useful for other stages in the development of Chinese.

The first question, “what is the internal structure of ideophones?” deals with the components of MARKED and WORDS. This will be called the parameter of FORM and will be discussed in chapter 4.

The second question, “what do ideophones mean?” deals with the criteria of MARKED, DEPICT and SENSORY IMAGE. If there is any type of genuine sound symbolism in Middle Chinese ideophones (as suggested in LaPolla (1994) for Mandarin Chinese), this should become clear if we examine the parameters of form and meaning together, cf. chapter 5.

The third set of questions concerns the parameter of USE: “What position do ideophones take in a phrase? What role do they play in the phrase? What is their function?” This question should eventually bring all parameters together (chapter 6).

All of these questions are of course still very broad and will be further specified when we discuss the subsequent parameters below. It is our hope that this study on ideophones in Middle Chinese will contribute to typological study of the phenomenon.

4. Parameter of form

4.1. Defining form

In section 2.2 it was mentioned that the basic criterion for identifying ideophones was some sort of reduplication. The reason for considering reduplication as the main marker is based on cross-linguistic evidence as well as on evidence from studies on ideophones in modern Sinitic languages.

“Typical ways in which ideophones are structurally marked include skewed phonotactic distributions, various forms of feature harmony, most common among them *vowel harmony* (Akita et al. forthcoming; Blench 2010), and a restricted number of *tonal melodies* in tone languages. Ideophones also display certain liberties relative to other words: more possible syllable structures, a wider variety of word forms (often including several types of reduplication), and a remarkable susceptibility to expressive morphology – playful additive word formation processes like reduplication and lengthening (Zwicky and Pullum 1987).”

(Dingemanse 2012a: 656)

As can be seen, Dingemanse (2012a) argues in his overview article that reduplication is often a marker for the formation of ideophones. Cross-linguistically, it plays a role in e.g. Japanese (Akita 2009: 34), Korean (Shin 2012: 25), Siwu (Kwa) (Dingemanse 2011b), Khasi (Mon-Khmer) (Diffloth 1979: 51), Sre (Mon-Khmer) (Diffloth 1979: 52), Katuena (Tunayana) (Smoll 2014: 21–22) etc.

Literature from modern Sinitic languages suggests at “least partial reduplication” as the main morphological process for identifying ideophones, see Mok (2001: 131–132) and Meng (2012: 43) for Mandarin Chinese (Sino-Tibetan); Mok (2001: 131–132), (Bodomo 2006: 208) and de Sousa (2008) for Cantonese (Sino-Tibetan); and Wu (2014: 10–11) for Gan (Sino-Tibetan).

Because of this cross-linguistic and Chinese-specific evidence, it is a viable strategy to consider reduplication as the main criterion in the formation of ideophones in Middle Chinese as well. This leads to the following questions: what exactly is reduplicated? And are we dealing with full reduplication, or rather partial reduplication, as the literature on Modern Chinese suggests?

To answer the first question, it can be assumed that for Premodern Chinese, the basic ‘building blocks’ for reduplication are syllables¹⁰, expressed through Chinese characters in script. We will restrict the argument of this section first to this so-called full reduplication.

Suppose that we select all the fully reduplicated words from the corpus, e.g. *cece* 懈惻 ‘sad’, *yangyang* 漾漾 ‘drift’ and *chuchu* 处处 ‘every place’. We should investigate if there is some difference between these three tokens that are examples of respectively a property-root, an action-root and a thing-root in the cross-linguistic terminology of in Croft’s (2000) for comparative concepts. It can be observed that reduplication in the first two cases has another semantic value than the last one: intensification or emphasis (*ce* by itself means ‘sorrowful, sad’, *yang* respectively ‘ripple, overflow’; *cece* is ‘sadder’ than *ce*, *yangyang* ‘drift’ is an intensification of ‘ripple’) vs. generality and uniformisation (*chu* is ‘a place’, the reduplicated *chuchu* ‘every place’). We can add this semantic value to the process of reduplication because in these three examples, they reduplicated elements (bases) all have their own meaning. However, that this is not always the case will be touched upon in section 4.4.2.

We can also say that the first two DEPICT a SENSORY IMAGE (cf. the definition given in section 1.1), whereas the last one only refers a thing-root or in more conventional terminology a noun.

This means that the main criterion of reduplication should be combined with the semantic component of the definition in order to identify ideophones. In the corpus this resulted in the identification of other thing-roots that were rejected later on, e.g. *yiyi* 一一 ‘every one’ and *yeye* 夜夜 ‘every night’.

The previous argument was restricted to full reduplication. However, as will be shown in section 4.4, the linguistic reality is more complex. Ideophones are not only words that are MARKED through full reduplication, but also through partial reduplication. Together with the semantic component shown above, it is possible to consider both full and partial reduplication of a base with a specific meaning

¹⁰ Pulleyblank (1995: 8-10) shows that “in general the syllable, written with a single character, and the word correspond in Classical Chinese”, but that notable exceptions include: a) a few bound compounds (e.g. *junzi* 君子 ‘gentleman’); b) disyllabic expressions “formed by total or partial reduplication of monosyllables”, i.e. ideophones; c) polysyllabic foreign loanwords (e.g. *luotuo* 骆驼 ‘camel’); d and e) monosyllabic contractions (e.g. *bie* 别 ‘don’t’ < *bu yao* 不要 ‘do not’).

(DEPICTING a SENSORY IMAGE) as the main criterion for the formation of ideophones in Middle Chinese.

As mentioned before, in Chinese, the reduplicatable building blocks are syllables, represented by characters in graphemes and made up of different sounds. As a result, we have to treat phonology and morphology separately. We will first present an analysis of the ‘Chinese syllable’ in section 4.2. This is necessary to assign sound values to the characters in our corpus¹¹. For, while we have chosen Mandarin Chinese *Hanyu pinyin* as the main transcription method, the object of this study is Middle Chinese and we need to reconstruct the phonology of the identified ideophones (section 4.3) to further investigate their formation mechanisms (section 4.4).

4.2. The Chinese syllable

Good representations of the Chinese syllable system can be found in Meng (2012: 7) and Dong (2014: 28). The current representation is based on their models.

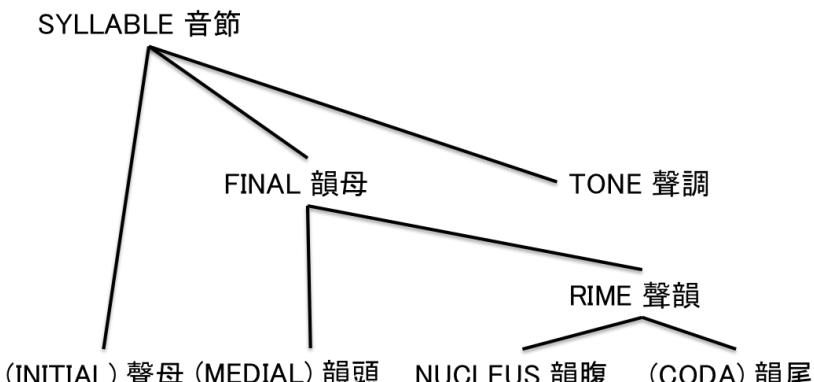


Figure 1: The Chinese syllable

As can be seen from Figure 1, a Chinese syllable minimally consists of a nucleus (or main vowel). This can be supplemented with a coda – in Middle Chinese these can only be nasals, i.e. /m/, /n/, or /ŋ/, or voiceless stops, i.e. /p/, /t/ or /k/. These two together make up the rime of a syllable. However, a rime

¹¹ For, a given character e.g. 国 ‘country’ is pronounced differently according to different languages: *guó* in Mandarin Chinese, *gwok*³ in Cantonese, *koku* in the Chinese reading of Japanese, *kwuk* in Korean. The sound value that we need to investigate, however, is the Middle Chinese reconstruction, viz. *kwok* (in the Baxter-Sagart reconstruction, cf. infra).

can be preceded by medials, i.e. semivowels like /j/ or /w/ in Middle Chinese. These three components together are called a final. A final can be preceded by an initial or onset (consonants). The whole syllable also gets a tonal suprasyllabic element. Summarizing, a Chinese syllable minimally consists of a final (nucleus) with a tone and maximally of an initial, medial, nucleus and coda with a tone (Meng 2012; Dong 2014).

The graphic representation given above is also useful because it shows how a rime, i.e. nucleus + coda, are sufficient for syllables (or characters, used interchangeably) to rhyme (Meng 2012: 7). This is of course a major point in deciding if the relation between two syllables is marked enough to count as an ideophone, i.e. to identify processes of ‘incomplete reduplication’ in the absence of full reduplication (cf. 4.4.1). Meng (2012) used this structure to refer to Mandarin Chinese. However, it can be used to analyze older stages in the development of Sinitic as well, as Dong (2014) has shown.

4.3. Middle Chinese phonology

4.3.1. Introduction to reconstruction

Reconstructions of Middle Chinese phonology date from the last fifty years. We will briefly outline the methods used by most scholars, among which the Swedish sinologist Bernard Karlgren’s *Grammata Serica Recensa* (1957) was the first Western work. His method (cf. *infra*) was supplemented by Li Fang-Kuei 李方桂 (1974-1975). Afterwards, other alternatives for reconstructions were suggested by the Canadian Edwin G. Pulleyblank (1984), the American William Baxter (1992), who often collaborates with the Frenchman Laurent Sagart, as in Baxter & Sagart (2014b). These last two devoted most of their research to the phonology of Old Chinese, but in order to get there, you have to go via Middle Chinese phonology.

Important evidence¹² that is a first step in the process of the reconstruction of the phonological values of Middle Chinese is the traditional method of providing the pronunciation of a given character, called *fanqie* 反切. This method of literally ‘turning’ and ‘cutting’ was invented in the Later Han period (25-

¹² Introductions to Chinese historical phonology can be found in Jacques (2006) and (Dong 2014: 45-70).

220 AD) by commentators of classical texts. The pronunciation of a character is given through a combination of the initial and the final of two other characters. For example, *dōng* 東 ‘east’ is explained in the *Kangxi dictionary* as “dé hóng qiè 德紅切” (“Zdic”: *dong* 東). These characters have semantic value ‘virtue’ and ‘red’, and are used for their phonological value. They are followed by *qie* – a marker that signals the preceding characters constitute a *fanqie* method. In Modern Mandarin Chinese, the system still is relevant because the initial and final are still the same, while only the tone has changed through the ages. In Middle Chinese, *dong*¹³ would be analyzed as /t-ok/ + /h-uwng^{PING}/, resulting in the reconstructed phonology of /tuwng^{PING}/ (Pulleyblank 1995; Baxter and Sagart 2014a).

This *fanqie* method together with material found in rime dictionaries such as the *Qieyun* 切韻 (601 AD) and *Guangyun* 廣韻 (1007 AD) and rime tables found in the *Yunjing* 韻鏡 (1161-1203 AD) was the first step in the reconstruction of Middle Chinese phonology. This was supplemented with material known from current Sinitic languages, e.g. Mandarin, Cantonese, Yue, Wu, Hakka, Min Nan etc., and phonetic information about the same character found in other languages in the Sinosphere, such as Vietnamese, Japanese and Korean.

As an example, the character given in footnote 11, 国 ‘country’ has the Mandarin Chinese value *guó* [kʷo 1]. Looking at the *fanqie*, we find *gǔ - huò qie* 骨或切, suggesting a Middle Chinese pronunciation of /k-wo/. However, information supplied by surrounding languages, viz. Cantonese *gwok*³, Japanese *koku* and Korean *kwuk*, all suggest the final /-wo/ should actually end on a /k/-stop, i.e. /-wok/, so that *guo* should have a Middle Chinese pronunciation of /k-wok/. This information is of course invaluable when reduplication is seen as the main productive process for ideophones.

¹³ The Mandarin *fanqie* of *dong* would be /d-e/ [t-ɤ 1] + /h-ong/ [x-ɤŋ 1] = /t-ong/ [t- ɤŋ 1]. The notion that initial and final are still the same does not refer to the absence of phonological changes throughout time (because this has occurred), but to the fact that the *fanqie* method is still a rather valid system for analyzing the phonology of Chinese characters using language intern methodology (not resorting to e.g. the International Phonetic Alphabet or alphabetical romanisation methods).

4.3.2. A reconstructed system

Further refinement of this method led to some noteworthy reconstruction systems, of which the Karlgren-Li system is a very good first attempt. However, the Baxter-Sagart reconstruction might even be better – not in terms of actual speech sounds¹⁴, but in terms of its usability as a system. It is actually a simplification of the Karlgren-Li system, in an alphabetical presentation that holds similar information. Baxter and Sagart (2014a; 2014b) provide an “ASCII friendly” reconstruction method, which will be given below in three parts, namely initials, finals and tones.

4.3.3. Middle Chinese initials

Baxter's transcription of the traditional initials is as follows (Baxter 1992; Baxter & Sagart 2014):

Table 1: Middle Chinese initials

Initials with traditional names								
	stops and affricates			nasals	fricatives		glide	Divisions
	tenuis	aspirate	voiced		tenuis	voiced		
Labials	幫 p-	滂 ph-	並 b-	明 m-				all
Dentals	端 t-	透 th-	定 d-	泥 n-				I and IV
Laterals						來 l-		I, III and IV
Retroflex stops	知 tr-	徹 trh-	澄 dr-	娘 nr-				II
Dental sibilants	精 ts-	清 tsh-	從 dz-		心 s-	邪 z-		I, III and IV
Retroflex sibilants	莊 tsr-	初 tsrh-	崇 dzh-		生 sr-	俟 zr-		II
Palatals	章 tsy-	昌 tsyh-	禪 dzy-	日 ny-	書 sy-	船 zy-	以 y-	III
Velars	見 k-	溪 kh-	群 g-	疑 ng-				all
Laryngeals	影 ?-				曉 x-	云 h-		all

It should be noted that in the representation used here, -r-, -y- and -h- represent a retroflex, palatalized and aspirated articulation respectively. The initial h- is a voiced fricative ([ɣ] or [ɦ]), while x- is its voiceless counterpart ([x] or [h]).

4.3.4. Middle Chinese finals

First we provide the vocalic finals. These can all occur in the level, rising or departing tones (cf. infra).

After this, we provide the nasal finals (thus with a nasal coda). These nasal codas – which can occur

¹⁴ Neither does the Karlgren-Li system, see Jacques (2006); Dong (2014).

with the same tones - can be replaced by the voiceless stops /-p/, /-t/, /-k/ and receive an entering tone (see section 4.3.5).

Table 2: Middle Chinese finals (vocalic codas)

Vocalic codas										
Rhyme class	開 kāi					合 hé				
	Div I	Div II	III mix	III ind	Div IV	Div I	Div II	III mix	III ind	Div IV
果	歌 -a		歌 -ja			戈 -wa		戈 -jwa		
假		麻 -æ	麻 -jæ				麻 -wæ			
遇			魚 -jo							
		模 -u	虞 -ju							
蟹	咍 -oj	皆 -ɛj	祭 -j(i)ejH		齊 -ej	灰 -woj	皆 -wɛj	祭 -jw(i)ejH		齊 -wej
		佳 -ɛi					佳 -wɛi			
	泰 -ajH	夬 -æjH		廢 -jojH		泰 -wajH	夬 -wæjH	廢 -jwojH		
止			支 -j(i)e					支 -jw(i)e		
			脂 -(j)ij					脂 -(j)wij		
			之 -i	微 -iji					微 -jwij	
效	豪 -aw	肴 -æw	宵 -j(i)ew		蕭 -ew					
流	侯 -uw		尤 -juw	幽 -jiw						

Table 3: Middle Chinese finals (nasal codas)

Nasal codas										
Rhyme class	開 kāi					合 hé				
	I	II	III mix	III ind	IV	I	II	III mix	III ind	IV
咸	談 -am	銜 -æm		嚴 -jæm						凡 -jom
	覃 -om	咸 -ɛm	鹽 -j(i)em	添 -em						
深			侵 -(j)im							
山	寒 -an	刪 -æn		元 -jon		桓 -wan	刪 -wæn		元 -jwon	
		山 -ɛn	仙 -j(i)en	先 -en		山 -wɛn	仙 -jw(i)en	先 -wen		
臻	痕 -on		臻 -in	殷 -jin		魂 -won			文 -jun	
			真 -(j)in				諱 -(j)win			
宕	唐 -ang		陽 -jang			唐 -wang		陽 -jwang		
梗		庚 -æng	庚 -jæng				庚 -wæng	庚 -jwæng		
		耕 -ɛng		清 -jieng	青 -eng		耕 -wɛng		清 -jwieng	青 -weng
曾	登 -ong		蒸 -ing			登 -wong		蒸 -wing		
通	東 -uwng		東 -juwng							
	冬 -owng		鍾 -jowng							
江		江 -æwng								

4.3.5. Middle Chinese tones

Middle Chinese (very presumably) saw the development of tones (tonogenesis), which led to four different tones, named after an example of each tone: the *ping* 平 ‘level’ tone, the *shang* 上 ‘rising’ tone, the *qu* 去 ‘departing’ tone and the *ru* 入 ‘entering’ tone. The precise tone contour is difficult to gauge, as Laurent Sagart explains:

“The Chinese terms for the four tones: *ping2* 平 ‘Level’, *shang3* 上 ‘Rising’, *qu4* 去 ‘Departing’ and *ru4* 入 ‘Entering’ are at the same time examples of the very same categories: moreover from a lexical-semantic point of view, they form two couples: Level/Rising and Departing/Entering. The choice of these labels has fuelled numerous speculations concerning the phonetic nature of Early Middle Chinese tones: thus it is often assumed that the Level tone was level in pitch, and that the Rising tone was rising. Beyond these rather plausible assumptions, however, it’s [sic] difficult to go with certainty.” (Sagart 1999: 4)

Furthermore, based on information found in the *Qieyun* (cf. supra), there is a correlation between the rime (nucleus + coda) and which tone might be applied to it (Sagart 1999: 3):

Table 4: Tones and the Middle Chinese syllable

Syllable ending	Level (<i>ping</i>)	Rising (<i>shang</i>)	Departing (<i>qu</i>)	Entering (<i>ru</i>)
Vowel	+	+	+	-
Semivowel	+	+	+	-
Nasal	+	+	+	-
Oral stop	-	-	-	+

These four tones can further be divided into two categories: a light (*yang* 阳) and a dark (*yin* 阴) variant. This depends mostly on the phonological shape of the reconstructed Middle Chinese initial: voiceless initials are called ‘dark’, while voiced initials are called ‘light’ (Wang 1967: 95). These suprasegmental features are kept in e.g. the development to Cantonese tones, but the segmental elements (initials and finals) might change. The development of these four (x two) tones of Middle Chinese to Mandarin is illustrated below in Figure 2.



Figure 2: Evolution of tones from Middle Chinese to Mandarin

The *ping*, *shang* and *qu* tones are all unchecked tones, while the *ru* tone is checked, i.e. when it ends in a voiceless stop *-p*, *-t* or *-k*. In Appendix B the Middle Chinese reconstructions are not marked especially except for the ending in the voiceless stop. *Ping* tones are not marked either. *Shang* tones are marked with *-X*, *qu* tones with *-H*.

4.4. Morphology of Middle Chinese ideophones

4.4.1. Reduplication patterns

Now that we have defined the Middle Chinese syllable (section 4.3), we can turn to the formation of Middle Chinese ideophones. In previous literature on ideophones in modern Sinitic languages, reduplication was seen as a very important process in the formation of ideophones (Mok 2001; Bodomo 2006; Bodomo 2008; De Sousa 2008; De Sousa 2011; Meng 2012; Wu 2014). In section 4.1 it was argued that both partial and full reduplication should form the main criterion for identifying ideophones in the corpus.

For more precise patterns of ideophones, one can look at Meng (2012: 25), who identified ideophonic patterns that morphologically ranged from a single syllable to quadrisyllabic ideophones: A¹⁵, AB, AA, ABB, AABB, ABAB, ABCD. As can be seen, the only full reduplication are the AA, AABB and ABAB patterns; AB, ABB and ABCD often are examples of partial reduplication, viz. A and B (and possibly C

¹⁵ A capital letter here stands for a syllable or Chinese character.

and D) closely resemble each other. Mok (2001), De Sousa (2008) and Wu (2014) list similar patterns. This suggests that reduplicative-like patterns certainly are an important factor when identifying ideophones. In the corpus only patterns like AA or AB are found. Here, we can see what is likely to be a genre effect in our corpus: since we are dealing with poetic genres that do not provide a lot of space for any words, only disyllabic words occur in the corpus. Other patterns (especially ABB, AABB, ABAB, ABCD) might be of later date, but this is not sure and could and should be investigated in further research.

So, supposing full, strict reduplication means using the same syllable A twice (form: AA), there should be already a lot of ideophones that can be identified (see section 4.1). Now, if we accept the possibility that reduplication might be broadened to partial reduplication – in which only one or more parts of the syllable are shared between two syllables (form: AB) (cf. supra), there are even more candidates that could be considered as ideophones morphologically.

Following Meng (2012: 28-29), the following disyllabic reduplicative-like patterns can be identified in Modern Chinese – she lists FULL REDUPLICATON, RHYME, ALLITERATION, ASSONANCE, CONSONANCE, PARARHYME and NON-REDUPLICATED. First let us look at the patterns and Mandarin examples given by Meng (2012: 29):

FULL-REDUPLICATED	<i>səu1.səu1</i>	'swift; sound of wind'
RHYME	<i>u1.lu1</i>	'mumbling speaking sound'
ALLITERATION	<i>tɪl.ta1</i>	'tick-tock, sound of dripping'
ASSONANCE	<i>kə1.təŋ1</i>	'click, clip-clop'
CONSONANCE	<i>pəŋ1.təŋ1</i>	'sound of hitting'
PARARHYME	<i>tɪŋ1.təŋ1</i>	'sound of hitting metal'
NON-REDUPLICATED	<i>xəŋ1.tei1</i>	'murmur, whisper'

(Meng 2012: 29)

We can link these patterns to the analysis of the Chinese syllable provided above. This yields the following combinations (I = initial, M = medial, N = nucleus, C = coda; the reduplicated parts have been marked; names according to Meng (2012) have been provided):

Table 5: Patterns of 'reduplication'

1	I	M	N	C	FULL REDUPLICATION
2	I	M	N	C	ALLITERATION
3	I	M	N	C	
4	I	M	N	C	
5	I	M	N	C	
6	I	M	N	C	ASSONANCE
7	I	M	N	C	
8	I	M	N	C	
9	I	M	N	C	ALMOST REDUPLICATION
10	I	M	N	C	CONSONANCE
11	I	M	N	C	
12	I	M	N	C	
13	I	M	N	C	PARARHYME
14	I	M	N	C	
15	I	M	N	C	
16	I	M	N	C	DIFFERENT

Now we have a solid basis for defining what kind of reduplication patterns between two given syllables are possible, these patterns become very noticeable in the corpus. Supplemented with a few semantic constraints, viz. that ideophones should DEPICT something, it was possible to identify 202 tokens in the corpus. This also means that some candidates were rejected (e.g. *chuchu* 处处 ‘every place’, *yiyi* —— ‘every one’, *yeye* 夜夜 ‘every night’, *niannian* 年年 ‘night’ etc.), because they are reduplications of nouns and act as a kind of pluralizer. Conversely, accepting candidates that seemed semantically very similar to the group of ideophones already identified – made it possible to include e.g. *qiliang* 凄凉 ‘miserable’ or *wuyue* 悟悦 ‘happy because of understanding’.

Below we provide some examples, with the gloss number between brackets – a convention that we will follow throughout this dissertation. A full list of these patterns can be found in Appendix B.

FULL-REDUPLICATED	欣欣	xīnxīn	MC: *xjn~xjn ¹⁶	‘happy’	(1)
ALLITERATION	零落	língluò	MC: *leng~*lak	‘decline’	(5)
ASSONANCE	孤獨	gūdú	MC: *ku~*duwk	‘lonely’	(108)
ALMOST REDUPLICATION	NOT FOUND				
CONSONANCE	徘徊	páihuái	MC: #beaj~#hwoj	‘wander’	(3)

¹⁶ In the Middle Chinese reconstruction (signified by ‘MC’) the asterisk * stands for ‘found in Baxter and Sagart’s list of reconstructed forms (2014a)’, while the hashtag # stands for ‘reconstructed by myself based on *fanqie* and Baxter & Sagart (2014a)’.

PARARHYME	玲瓏	<i>línglóng</i>	MC: #leng~#ljowng	'bright'	(140)
REDUPLICATION	感感	<i>qīqī</i>	MC: *tshek~tshek	'sad'	(19)
RHYME	突兀	<i>tūwù</i>	MC: *dwot~*ngwot	'towering'	(14)
NON-REDUPLICATED	悟悅	<i>wùyuè</i>	MC: *nguH~*ywet	'understanding happy'	(49)

As can be seen, seven patterns were identified of the eight suggested by Meng (2012). Problems with identifying the right pattern in the corpus will be discussed in section 4.4.3, an addition of another pattern will be done in section 4.4.4 and the distribution of these patterns in the corpus will be discussed in section 4.4.5. In the next section (4.4.2), however, we briefly come back to the notion of reduplication as it was discussed in section 4.4.1.

4.4.2. Revisiting reduplication

Now that full and partial reduplication have been defined as the primary method of identifying ideophones and tested on the corpus, we should reflect briefly on the first findings.

The question of what exactly is reduplicated is important: what is the *base* for an ideophone created through one of these processes? In section 4.1 we referred to the comparative concepts of action-root, thing-root and property-root (Haspelmath 2000). It was found that thing-roots had to be rejected, since they refer to objects and do not DEPICT any SENSORY IMAGE, as the set of action-roots and property-roots *can* do.

The semantics of ideophones is discussed more in detail in chapter 5, but in general, it appears that fully reduplicated syllables (type AA) often mark some sort of intensification of the concept denoted by syllable A, except when we are dealing with ideophones that represent a sound. This is suggested for Modern Mandarin Chinese by Meng (2012: 63). In the examples below *gun* (3) means 'to roll', so reduplication of the AA-type acts as some kind of intensifier, giving us *gungun* 'to gush'. On the other hand, *jiujiu* (4; AA-type), referring to a sound, almost never occurs as *jiu* alone – and when it does, it is used as some kind of abbreviation of the full form *jiujiu*.

(3) DU FU, *Deng gao* 登高

無 邊 落 木 蕭蕭 下，不 盡 長江 滾滾 來。
 wú biān luò mù xiāo~xiāo xià bù jìn Chángjiāng gǔn~gǔn lái
 not.have place fall tree ID.sparse down not end Yangtze ID.gush come
 Those falling leaves in boundless quantity are drifting in the air desolately; the water of the endless Yangtze River is surging on for ever and ever. (Wang, 2004: 261; A-121)

(4) DU FU, *Bing che xing* 兵車行

新 鬼 煩 冤 舊 鬼 哭，天 陰雨 濕 聲 啾啾。
 xīn guǐ fán yuān jiù guǐ kū tiān yīn.yǔ shī shēng jiū~jiū
 new ghost complain wrong old ghost cry day torrent wet sound ID.high.sound
 New ghosts complain of their wrongs and old ghosts weep; in gloomy, rainy days their sobs make one's flesh creep. (Wang, 2004: 146; A-85)

However, for the AB patterns (alliteration, assonance, consonance, pararhyme, rhyme (and also the -ran pattern, which will be discussed in section 4.4.4)) it is difficult to immediately discern the base of these ideophones, because there are three different composition scenarios: 1. both syllables (= characters) have no meaning when separated; 2. one syllable that has a meaning, but the other does not and cannot be used separately, i.e. a bound morpheme; 3. both syllables each have their own meaning but the combination of the two syllables is not the same as adding up the individual meanings. (Dong Jianfeng 2010: 63)

The first type is found in *cenci* (5). The characters *cenci* occur only in this word and not separately at all with this phonetic value (參 is usually pronounced *can* and has no meaning in common, 差 respectively as *cha* or *chai*, both with completely different meanings).

The second type is exemplified by *Xiaotiao* (6). *Xiao* ‘grave’ can occur on its own as a predicate, while *tiao* ‘branch, twig’ only occurs on its own with a different meaning. Together, however, they form a new meaning ‘decline’ (also ‘lonely’, ‘sparse’ in dictionaries).

The third type is shown in *gugao* (7). *Gu* ‘lonely’ and *gao* ‘tall, high’ both occur separately, but together they combine their meanings in one DEPICTIVE meaning ‘isolated and high’ or ‘alone and noble’.

(5) LI SHANGYIN, *Luo hua* 落花

參差 連 曲 陌, 迢遞 送 斜 晖。
cēn~cī lián qū mò tiáo~dì sòng xié huī
ID.quick.complex connect wind road ID.distant send inclined sunlight

They swirl pellmell and to tortuous paths swiftly run; as far as if they would see off the setting sun.

(Wang, 2004: 230; A-105)

(6) DU FU, *Ye wang* 野望

跨 馬 出 郊 時 極 目, 不 堪 人 事 曰 蕭條。
kuà mǎ chū jiāo shí jí mù bù kān rén shì rì xiāo~tiáo
stride horse go.out city time reach eye not contain person thing sun ID.decline
Riding to the suburbs, I at times cast my eyes far away; and can't help grieving for state affairs getting worse day by day. (Wang, 2004: 257; A-120)

(7) DU FU, *Gu bai xing* 古柏行

落落 盤 據 雖 得 地, 寅寅 孤高 多 烈 風。
luò~luò pán jù suī dé dì, míng~míng gū~gāo duō liè fēng
ID.aloof disc ground though get ground ID.uncertain ID.alone.tall many strong wind
Though this tall tree has its blessed place aloof to stand; lonely and high, it can hardly strong wind withstand.
(Wang, 2004: 78; A-39)

While it would be interesting to explore the compositionality of ideophones in more detail, this would lead us quite far from our initial question. Moreover, this issue cannot be answered adequately without going beyond the corpus that was compiled, so we will leave it at this brief comment.

4.4.3. Problematic cases in the corpus

There were some issues with assigning labels to the patterns found, notably in the categories of ALLITERATION, ASSONANCE vs. RHYME, CONSONANCE and RHYME.

The first issue has to do with the degree of similarity required when assigning the ideophones to categories. We have adapted a mild standard for syllables that had almost equal phonemes, e.g. (A-11) *yenX~#'jangH, (A-40) #pjun~*phjang, (A-105) #tew~#dejH in the category of ALLITERATION. A very similar problem is found in (A-79) *ngaem~*lwan (in the category of RHYME): are -ae- and -a- similar enough? Are -m and -n similar enough? We made the choice to place them in the category of RHYME. For ALLITERATION there were three such tokens, for RHYME also three, which shows that we are

dealing with a marginal phenomenon. Still, we opted for the inclusion strategy rather than the exclusion strategy.

A second issue relates to the category of CONSONANCE, e.g. (A-2) *cuiwei*, MC: #tshwijH~*mej; (A-3) *paihuai*, MC: #beaj~#hwoj;. Even though there is no real coda as defined above (which should be -m, -n, -ng, -p, -t, -k), we have chosen to regard the semivowel -j as a coda. All six instances of CONSONANCE had this issue.

Similar issues arise when assigning ideophones to the categories of ASSONANCE or RHYME: when there is a zero-coda, should we look at a given ideophone as an instance of rhyme or assonance? We have chosen to assign it to the category of RHYME.

A third set of problems has to do with the category marked as DIFFERENT or NON-REDUPLICATED. Let us first list the problematic forms and candidate-ideophones:

淒涼	<i>qīliáng</i>	MC: #tshej~*ljang	'miserable'	(A-100)
悟悅	<i>wùyuè</i>	MC: *nguH~*ywet	'understanding happy'	(A-49)

We can observe two things that these forms have in common: 1) both are an example of forms that are linked to some sort of inner feeling (*wuyue*) or evalation (*qiliang*) – an issue that will be discussed further in chapter 5.1.3; 2) both ideophones are written with characters that share the same radical – a part of a given character that in most cases provides a semantic clue. In *qiliang* this is the radical ‘water’ 氵; in *wuyue* it is ‘heart’ 忄¹⁷. So even though they are not linked phonologically, they are linked in some sort of semantic way.

However, it seems that if we take partial and full reduplication as the main formal criteria for distinguishing ideophones, then it seems that we have reached the edges of identifying ideophones through this method, viz. further research should be conducted to see whether we should consider this influence from script (i.e. the semantic radicals as can be seen above) on language as a valid component in the identification process of ideophones.

¹⁷ These are abbreviations of *shui* 水 and *xin* 心 respectively.

4.4.4. Another category: -RAN

In the process of identifying ideophones, we noticed there is a set of words that share semantically similar meanings with forms already identified as ideophones. However, they are not formed through a process of reduplication as outlined above – they are formed using a suffix *-ran* 然 (MC: *-nyen). This suffix might be considered as a form of periphrasis. Its basic meaning is ‘like X’, ‘X-y’, thus adding a depicting (!) sense to a preceding word:

<i>chuàngrán</i>	愴然	#tsrhjangH-*nyen	‘sad’	(A-45)
<i>yírán</i>	怡然	*yi-*nyen	‘happy’	(A-47)
<i>dànrán</i>	澹然	*damX-*nyen	‘tranquil’	(A-136)
<i>hàorán</i>	浩然	*hawX-*nyen	‘heroic’	(A-106)

As can be seen, what these words lack in MARKedness, they seem to make up for in DEPICTION of SENSORY IMAGE. In some cases, moreover, roots can form ideophones through a reduplication pattern as well as through *-ran* suffixation, e.g. (8) *mang-ran* and (9) *mang~mang*. *Mang-ran* ‘immense’ and *mang~mang* ‘vast’ have a similar meaning. First of all, *mang* ‘vast, immense; obscure’ is a bound morpheme, occurring in words like *mangmang*, *mangran* or *mangmei* 茫昧 ‘unknowable’. The fully reduplicated form *mangmang* suggests some kind of intensification, while the *-ran* form simply states that something is ‘*mang*-like’. The role of this suffix should be further investigated, but preliminary research of this category of ideophones seems to suggest it occurs after roots that are bound morphemes – giving them a chance to be used as ideophones¹⁸.

- (8) LI BAI, *Shu dao nan* 蜀道難

蠶叢	及	魚鳧,	開	國	何	茫然。
Cán.cóng	jí	Yúfú	kāi	guó	hé	máng-rán
Cancong	reach	Yufu	open	country	what	ID.immense

The Kind Cancong together with the King Yufu; how mythic was the kingdom founded there by them two!
(Wang, 2004: 136; A-78)

¹⁸ In section 5.2.3 the role of -RAN will become slightly clearer.

- (9) LIU CHANGQING, *Song li zhong cheng gui han yang bie ye* 送李中丞歸漢陽別業
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-------|---------|-------|------|-------|
| 茫茫 | 江漢 | 上, | 日暮 | 復 | 何 | 之? |
| máng~máng | Jiāng-Hàn | shàng | rì mù | fù | hé | zhī |
| ID.vast | Jiang-Han | above | sun set | again | what | go.to |
- Now, on such vastness of waters near Jiang-Han there; I wonder, with the sun setting, he will drift where!
 (Wang, 2004: 206; A-96)

To conclude, therefore we opt to add this set of words to the formation paradigms above, bringing the number to nine possible patterns, of which eight are found in the corpus.

4.4.5. Distribution of reduplication patterns

Now that the relevant formation processes found in the corpus have been defined and discussed, it is necessary to look into their distribution. A visual representation is provided below. For ALLITERATION, we found 24 tokens; ASSONANCE 1; CONSONANCE 6; DIFFERENT 2; PARARHYME 1; -RAN 16; FULL REDUPLICATION 116 and for RHYME 36.

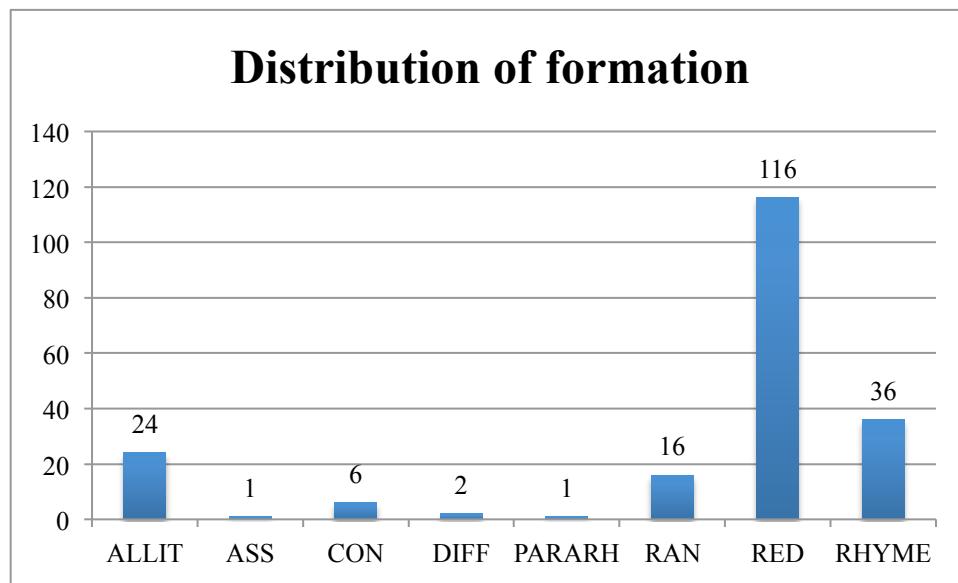


Figure 3: Distribution of formation

It is obvious from Figure 3 that REDUPLICATION is by far the most productive formation mechanism for ideophones. This is a feature that is in accordance with cross-linguistic literature, as was mentioned in section 4.1 and further supports the claim that (full) reduplication is critical in identifying ideophones.

4.4.6. Distribution of tonal pairs

The typological literature suggests that tonal languages seem to prefer some unusual tonal combinations or one tonal pattern over the other. Let us find out if this is the case in our corpus as well. As suggested by Mok (2001), Meng (2012) and Wu (2014) the Mandarin first tone seems to be prevalent in ideophones. As shown before, this tone can be reconstructed to the *ping* tone (or *ru* tone) in Middle Chinese. Unfortunately, as far as I know, there has not been any study on the distribution of tones in Middle Chinese. However, Mok (2001) provides clues based on modern dialects: Mandarin speakers seem to favour the first tone (a derivative from the Middle Chinese *ping* tone) for ideophones, Cantonese ideophones have a more evenly distributed tonal usage, using five of the six main tones for ideophones, of which tone 1 (derivative of *ping*) and 4 (derivative of *ping*) are the most used (Mok 2001: 134). She further notes how ‘ideophonized’ words, i.e. combinations of characters that act as an ideophone-like word, tend to change their original tonal pattern to a high level pattern. So even though this issue certainly needs further investigation, it might be possible to regard the use of *ping* tones as an indicator of ideophony.

Possible combinations include on the one hand combinations between *ping* (P), *shang* (S), *qu* (Q) and *ru* (R) tones in two syllables and a combination of the same four and the *-ran* suffix (which is a *ping* tone). However, not all combinations are realized in the corpus: P~S, S~S, S~Q, S~R, Q~P, Q~S, R~P, R~S and R~Q combinations are not attested in the corpus. In other words, the combinations P~P, P~Q, P~R, S~P, Q~Q, Q~R, R~R are found in the corpus, but they are not evenly distributed:

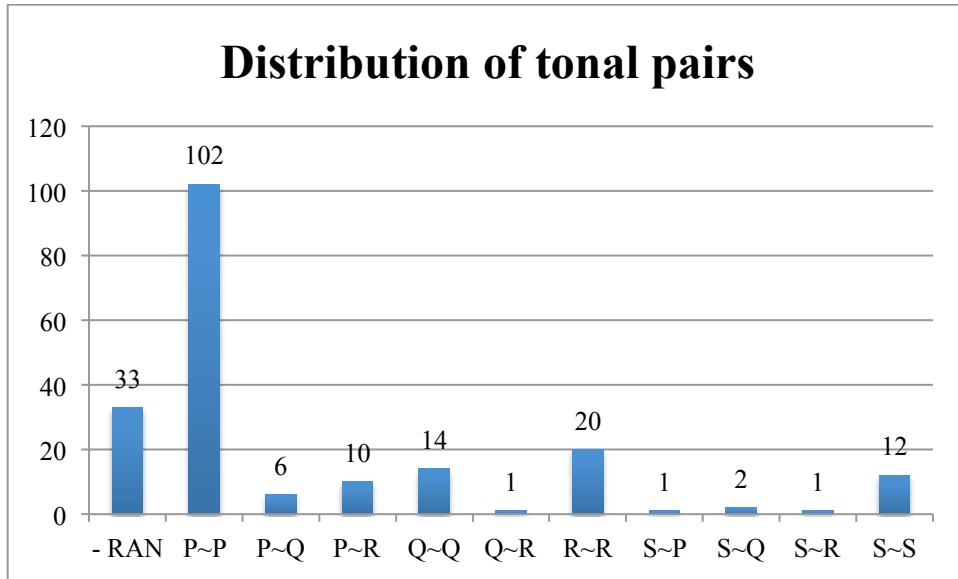


Figure 4: Distribution of tonal pairs

As can be seen in Figure 4, there is a strong tendency for *ping-ping* combinations, which seems to have remained in Modern Mandarin Chinese. This view can be distorted however, in two ways: 1) if *ping* tones occur significantly more frequently in Middle Chinese than other tones, then it would be understandable that combinations with these tones occur more frequently as well. As of now, there are no studies that can be used to compare the distribution of tones as it is found in this corpus. It would lead too far to investigate *all* syllables to see which one is most prevalent. 2) Perhaps the material we used is not representative enough. However, this caveat applies to any historical linguistic study based on a corpus.

5. Parameter of meaning

5.1. An implicational hierarchy

5.1.1. Ears, limbs, eyes, nose, mind

In this chapter, we will focus on the parameter of MEANING – the parameter that addresses three core elements of the cross-linguistic definition (cf. 1.1): MARKED, DEPICT and SENSORY IMAGE.

In order to classify the ideophones we found in our corpus, we start from the hierarchy proposed by Dingemanse (2012a: 663):

SOUND < MOVEMENT < VISUAL PATTERNS < OTHER SENSORY PERCEPTIONS < INNER FEELINGS AND
COGNITIVE STATES

As an implicational hierarchy, this generalization works as follows: based on cross-linguistic evidence the different categories are ordered in such a way that for most languages (that have ideophones) the following statement holds true: if a language L has ideophones that depict some sort of visual pattern, they should also have ideophones that depict movement and sound.

One could hypothesize that language L should have a greater number of SOUND ideophones than MOVEMENT ideophones if both are present, and subsequently more MOVEMENT ideophones than VISUAL ones. However, these hierarchies do not stubbornly insist that every language has all these ideophones – it is perfectly possible that language B might only have movement and sound ideophones, excluding the rest of the hierarchy¹⁹.

5.1.2. Range of the hierarchy in Middle Chinese

Dingemanse's (2012) hierarchy suggests there are five broad categories in which ideophones in all languages could be classified. However, he also adds that investigating more data will lead to refinement in two ways: 1) finer distinctions, especially in the class of 'other sensory perceptions'; 2)

¹⁹ See also (Corbett 2011) for a more extensive view on implicational hierarchies.

the shape will presumably transform from a linear hierarchy to some kind of semantic map²⁰ (Dingemanse 2012a: 664).

From a very quick look at the corpus, it becomes apparent immediately that Middle Chinese is definitely a language that covers the whole spectrum of the hierarchy. We will first give some examples of every concept. In (10) both *linlin* ‘rattle’ (of carts) and *xiaoxiao* ‘neigh’ (of horses) are examples of SOUND ideophones. *Piaopiao* ‘drift’ (or ‘wave’, in the wind) in (11) is an example of MOVEMENT. *Wulu* ‘fog’ in (12) is represents a VISUAL pattern. As for OTHER SENSES, *qiqi* ‘cold’ in (13) is a clear example of a temperature-like sense, *ruran* ‘soak’ and *linli* ‘wet’ in (14) of a sense of wetness. INNER FEELINGS AND COGNITIVE STATES also occur in the corpus: *danran* ‘calm’ and *wuyue* ‘happy because of understanding’ in (15), or *gudu* ‘lonely’ in (16). The glosses are given below so the reader can see these ideophones within their rightful context:

- (10) DU FU, *Bing che xing* 兵車行

車	麟 麟	馬	蕭 蕭	行	人	弓	箭	各	在	腰。
chē	lín~lín	mǎ	xiāo~xiāo	xíng	rén	gōng	jiàn	gè	zài	yāo
chariot	ID.rattle	horse	ID.neigh	walk	person	bow	arrow	each	be.at	waist

The chariots are rattling, the horses are neighing; the bows and arrows are round the men's waists swaying.
(Wang, 2004: 146; A-84)

- (11) DU FU, *Lü ye shu huai* 旅夜書懷

飄 飄	何	所	似,	天	地	一	沙鷗。
piāo~piāo	hé	suǒ	sì	tiān	dì	yī	shā-ōu
ID.drift	what	RELO	seem	heaven	earth	one	sand-gull

What am I like, roaming all my life here and there? Just a seagull that flies between the earth and air!
(Wang, 2004: 185; A-91)

- (12) LIU ZONGYUAN, *Chen yi chao shi yuan du chan jing* 晨詣超師院讀禪經

日	出	霧 露	餘,	青松	如	膏	沐。
rì	chū	wù~lù	yú	qīngsōng	rú	gāo	mù
sun	come.out	ID.fog	plenty.of	(green).pine	like	oil	bathe

Still moistened by the dew and mist, when the sun shines; as if they were bathed in oil, look these verdant pines. (Wang, 2004: 43; A-20)

²⁰ (see Haspelmath 2003; Van der Auwera 2008)

(13) LI BAI, *Chang xiang si zhi yi* 長相思之一

微 霜 淒淒 簾 色 寒, 孤 燈 不 明 思 欲 絶。
wēi shuāng qī~qī diàn sè hán gū dēng bù míng sī yù jué
small frost ID.cold bamboo.mat feel cold lonely light not bright thoughts will end
Autumn crickets are chirping round rails shining like gold; and chilly light frost makes the bamboo mat feel cold. Under dim lamplight, of longing for her I'll die; rolling up screens, I see the moon and vainly sigh.
(Wang, 2004: 139; A-81)

(14) LI SHANGYIN, *Han bei* 韓碑

公 退 齋 戒 坐 小 閣, 濡 紗 大 筆 何 淋 滴。
gōng tuì zhāi jiè zuò xiǎo gé rú~rǎn dà bì hé lín~lí
duke retire fast sit small room ID.soak big brush what ID.dripping.wet
Yu retired, fasted, bathed and sat in a small cabinet; how fully soaked in ink his large writing brush he let.
(Wang, 2004: 123; A-72)

(15) LIU ZONGYUAN, *Chen yi chao shi yuan du chan jing* 晨詣超師院讀禪經

澹 然 離 言 說, 悅 悅 心 自 足。
dàn-rán lí yán-shuō wù-yuè xīn zì zú
ID.calm leave speak-speak ID.understanding.happy mind 3.self enough
A feeling of calm beyond words has seized on me; conscious of bliss, of course contented I should be.
(Wang, 2004: 43; A-49)

(16) CUI TU, *Chu ye you huai* 除夜有懷

亂 山 殘 雪 夜, 獨 異 鄉 春。
luàn shān cán xuě yè gū~dú yì xiāng chūn
chaos mountain remnant snow night ID.lonely different village spring
The mountains are filled with remnant snows in the night; I'm a homesick stranger by a lonely candle light.
(Wang, 2004: 237; A-108)

From the examples above, it is very clear that the whole hierarchy is represented in the corpus. However, this does not mean that every ideophone belongs to a clear-cut category. In section 5.1.3 we discuss the main factors used in the identification process. In section 5.1.4 this analysis is put to the test. However, the fuzziness of the categories is discussed in section 5.1.5, because there are some instances of synesthesia in the corpus as well. After this, the similar but fundamentally different phenomenon of polysemy will be discussed (cf. 5.1.6).

5.1.3. A more nuanced categoric classification of meaning

When assigning categories to the meanings of the ideophones in their context, it is of utmost importance to have a clear understanding of the relevant category, i.e. it should be clear what one considers as e.g. VISUAL or MOVEMENT. During this process, there were some mismatches between the proposed implicational hierarchy and the data. In the discussion below, the delineation of each category will be explained in detail. As always, the number between brackets refers to the gloss number in appendix A.

- SOUND ideophones are very straightforward. As was suggested by other classification systems, e.g. the Japanese *giongi* vs. *gitaigo*, these are the easiest to identify. In Chinese characters it is furthermore notable that most of the SOUND ideophones identified in the corpus share a ‘mouth’ radical (*kou* 口), e.g. (A-25) *youyou* 呲呦 ‘bark’, (A-26) *jiujiu* 啾啾 ‘high sound’, (A-67) *caocao* 嘈嘈 ‘noisy’.

- MOVEMENT ideophones are also easy to identify, for similar reasons as mentioned above. In characters there is no special correspondence with movement, but semantic clues for the type of word one is dealing with can be found in radicals as well, e.g. radical ‘to go’ in (A-3) *paihuai* 徘徊‘wander’, radical ‘water’ in (A-8) *yangyang* 漾漾 ‘drifting’, radical ‘wind’ in (A-17) *yangyang* 颺颺 ‘flying’, radical ‘hand’ in (A-55) *yaoyao* 搖搖 ‘swing’ and radical ‘foot’ in (A-56) *chouchu* 躊躇 ‘hesitant’.

- VISUAL ideophones are relatively straightforward. Still, the demarcation between MOVEMENT and VISUAL proved difficult at times, e.g. (17) *rongrong* 溶溶 ‘slow’, said of fog floating slowly in this example. Does this ideophone address the movement of the mist, or rather the sense of vision? Because of its context in (17), litt. “the fog over the pool flies *rongrong*”, we have chosen to assign *rongrong* to MOVEMENT, because what is stressed here is more the way it moves, than the invisibility feature.

(17) QI WUQIAN, *Chun fan ruo ye xi* 春泛若耶溪

潭	煙	飛	溶溶,	林	月	低	向	後。
tán	yān	fēi	róng~róng	líng	yuè	dī	xiàng	hòu
pool	fog	fly	ID.slow	wood	moon	low	to	behind

Over the pool, the mist spreads vast and gross; The low moon o'er trees its light backward throws.

(Wang, 2004: 26; A-13)

So, the main criterion we used to distinguish between MOVEMENT and VISUAL is that MOVEMENT depicts events of moving, while VISUAL depicts properties that are of a more stative nature, e.g. height, clearness (vs. blurriness). Examples of this category include: (A-2) *cuiwei* 翠微 ‘misty’, (A-8) *chengcheng* 澄澄 ‘clear water’, (A-14) *tuwu* 突兀 ‘towering’, (A-18) *mingming* 寞冥 ‘dark’, (A-24) *cangcang* 蒼蒼 ‘endless’ or (A-27) *xiaotiao* 蕭條 ‘thing’.

- The concept of OTHER PERCEPTIONS is quite vague, as also admitted by Dingemanse. In our corpus, it is manifested in three different ways: 1) as TEMPERATURE, e.g. (A-41) *sese* 瑟瑟‘cold’, (A-81) *qiqi* 淒淒 ‘cold’ and (A-139) *lingling* 冽冽‘cold’. 2) As a sense of WETNESS or *some sort of TACTILE sense*²¹, e.g. (A-72) *ruran* 濡染‘soaked’, (A-72) *linli* 淋漓‘dripping wet’, (A-142) *longzhong* 龍鐘‘wet’ and (A-147) *feifei* 霏霏 ‘dense rain’. Both of these are rather conventional sense categories. However, number 3) was a bit harder to assign: TIME (as in ‘a sense of time’). First it looked as if it could be assigned to VISUAL (‘see time passing’) or MOVEMENT (‘the movement of days < sun’), but neither is entirely satisfactory. In order to accommodate these examples, we propose adding a category of TIME to the hierarchy, which is manifested very clearly in our data:

(18) CHEN ZI'ANG, *Deng you zhou tai ge* 登幽州臺歌

念	天	地	之	悠	悠	，	獨	愴	然	而	涕	下	。
niàn	tiān-dì		zhī	yōu~yōu		dú	chuàng-rán	ér	tì		xià		
think	heaven-earth		ZHI	ID.longlasting		alone	ID.sad		CONJtear		down		

The world will go on to the last; alone, I shed tears of torture! (Wang, 2004: 89; A-45)

(19) WANG CHANLING, *Tong cong di nan zhai wan yue yi shan yin cui shao fu* 同從弟南齋翫月憶山陰崔少府

冉	冉	幾	盈	虛	，	澄	澄	變	變	今	古	。
rǎn~rǎn	jǐ	yíng	xū		chéng~chéng	biàn		jiàn	gǔ			

ID.gradual several full empty ID.bright change now old

Endless time passes by as it waxes and wanes; The past's changed to the present, but chaste it remains.
(Wang, 2004: 23; A-12)

²¹ The corpus, however, did not have any tokens that depicted tactile senses without the ‘wetness’. In such a case we are either dealing with underrepresentation (which I think is more probable) or with non-existence.

(20) LI SHANGYIN, *Wu ti zhi er* 無題之二

重帷深下莫愁堂，臥後清宵細細長。
zhòng wéi shēn xià mò chóu táng wò hòu qīng xiāo xì~xì cháng
heavy curtain deep down don't worry hall sleep after clear night ID.slow long
In the Don't Worry Bower multifold curtains hang so deep; long, long seems the quiet night when she is awake from sleep. (Wang, 2004: 291; A-134)

Examples of this category mostly relate to duration: (A-23) *chichi* 邇遲 ‘long lasting’, (18) *youyou* 悠悠 ‘long lasting’, (A-94) *manman* 漫漫 ‘long lasting’, (20) *xixi* 細細 ‘slow’ or (19) *ranran* 蕊苒‘gradual’. I think it is fitting to place this TIME category after the vague term OTHER PERCEPTIONS and near INNER FEELINGS because it is clearly something that is on the borderline between external and internal perceptions²².

- The final comparative concept in the hierarchy is INNER FEELINGS AND COGNITIVE STATES. We believe this broad concept also needs some refinement. We have opted to divide it into three subcategories, which are not entirely clearly delineated and deserve further study in later research:

1. INNER FEELINGS includes those ideophones that describe the feelings of a persona in a poem, rather than trying to evaluate these feelings or address a certain emotion in the audience. Examples include (21) *cece* 憬惻 ‘sad’, (22) *yiyi* 依依 ‘reluctant to leave’, (23) *youyou* 悠悠 ‘melancholic’ and (A-135) *chouchang* 惆悵 ‘frustrated’.

(21) DU FU, *Meng Li Bai zhi yi* 夢李白之一

死別已吞聲，生別常惻惻。
sǐ-bié yǐ tūn-shēng shēng-bié cháng cè~cè
part.forever already cry part.for.a.time often ID.sad

To part for ever often makes one cry; to part for a time also makes one sigh. (Wang, 2004: 10; A-6)

(22) WANG WEI, *Wei chuan tian jia* 渭川田家

田夫荷鋤至，相見語依依。
tiánfū hè chú zhì xiāng jiàn yǔ yī~yī
farmer carry hoe arrive each.other see speak ID.reluctant.to.leave

Farmers shouldering hoes are seen to come by. They meet and talk idly, loath to say good-bye.

(Wang, 2004: 17; A-9)

²² Xiao Yang from Hong Kong University is preparing a paper “Discovering sound symbolism in Mandarin ideophones”, but in a powerpoint presentation also puts TIME ideophones in a separate category (Yang, X.)

(23) WEI YINGWU, *Song Yang shi nü* 送楊氏女

永 日 方 愁愁, 出 門 復 悠悠。
yǒng rì fāng qī~qī chū mén fù yōu~yōu
eternal day 2 ID.sad leave door return.to ID.melancholic

These days to grieve for you I never cease; Now you're leaving, the more my cares increase. (Wang, 2004: 39; A-19)

2. EVALUATION includes ideophones that show some evaluative aspect the poet is trying to convey to the audience, e.g. like a moral lesson or an unexpected twist: (A-99) *linran* 凛然 ‘demanding respect’,

(24) *qiliang* 漒涼 ‘miserable’ or (25) *haoran* 浩然 ‘heroic’.

(24) LIU YUXI, *Shu xian zhu miao* 蜀先主廟

淒涼 蜀 故 妓, 來 舞 魏 宮 前。
qī.liáng shǔ gù jì lái wǔ wèi gōng qián.
ID.miserable Shu former beauty come dance Wei palace front
Who surrendered, thus causing Shu's former beauties; their tragic lot to dance in Wei's royal palace.
(Wang, 2004: 222; A-100)

(25) WEN TINGYUN, *Song ren dong you* 送人東遊

荒 戍 落 黃 葉, 浩然 離 故 關。
huāng shù luò huáng yè hào~rán lí gù guān
wilde fortress fall yellow leaf ID.heroic leave gold pass
Yellow leaves are falling on the forlorn fortress; you leave the old pass in a way firm and dauntless!
(Wang, 2004: 233; A-106)

3. COGNITIVE STATES are also about persons in texts, but express a state rather than a feeling, viz. they are responding more to outer stimuli, rather than coming from the inside, e.g. (26) *yanyi* 掩抑 ‘gloomy’, (A-102) *qiqi* 蕤萋 ‘mourn’, (27) *taoran* 陶然 ‘drunk and happy’. However, it should be noted that the distinction between these three is not entirely clear and deserves further research.

(26) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

絃絃 掩抑 聲聲 思, 似 訴 平 生 不 得 志。
xián-xián yǎn~yì shēng-shēng sī sì sù píng shēng bù dé zhì
string-string ID.gloomy sound-sound think seem complain normal life not get success
There was depression in each pluck of string, there was to think of in each sound something; it seemed that she was trying to complain, of setbacks she used in her life to sustain. (Wang, 2004: 114; A-66)

- (27) CUI SHU, *Jiu ri deng wang xian tai cheng liu ming fu rong* 九日登望仙臺呈劉明府容
- | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|-------|---------------|--------|-----|----------|
| 且 | 欲 | 近 | 尋 | 彭 | 澤 | 宰, |
| qiě | yù | jìn | xún | Péng | Zé | zǎi |
| moreover | want | close | search | Peng | Ze | official |
| 陶然 | 共 | 醉 | 菊 | 花 | 杯。 | |
| táo-rán | gòng | zuì | jú | huā | bēi | |
| ID.drunk.happy | together | drunk | chrysanthemum | flower | cup | |
| I'd rather have Prefect nearby t'gether with me; drink chrysanthemum wine and make ourselves carefree. | | | | | | |
| (Wang, 2004: 246; A-114) | | | | | | |

The result of the discussion above can be represented in an adapted Dingemanse Hierarchy (DH), as follows:

SOUND > MOVEMENT > VISION > WETNESS / TEMPERATURE > TIME > COGNITIVE STATE / EVALUATION
/ INNER FEELINGS

It is important to note that while wetness and temperature can be seen as instances of ‘other senses’ and the righter end has been cut into three parts (cognitive states, evaluation, inner feelings), the ‘time’ category has been put between these two groups (cf. TIME in this section).

5.1.4. Distribution in the corpus: genre and area effects

With the semantic categories defined, we can now investigate how they are distributed across the corpus. Things are actually not as clear-cut as the above categories suggest, because in many cases there is what we could call ‘synesthesia’ across different categories. For this reason we will first look at ideophones that exemplify ‘pure’ semantic categories and discuss synesthesia below.

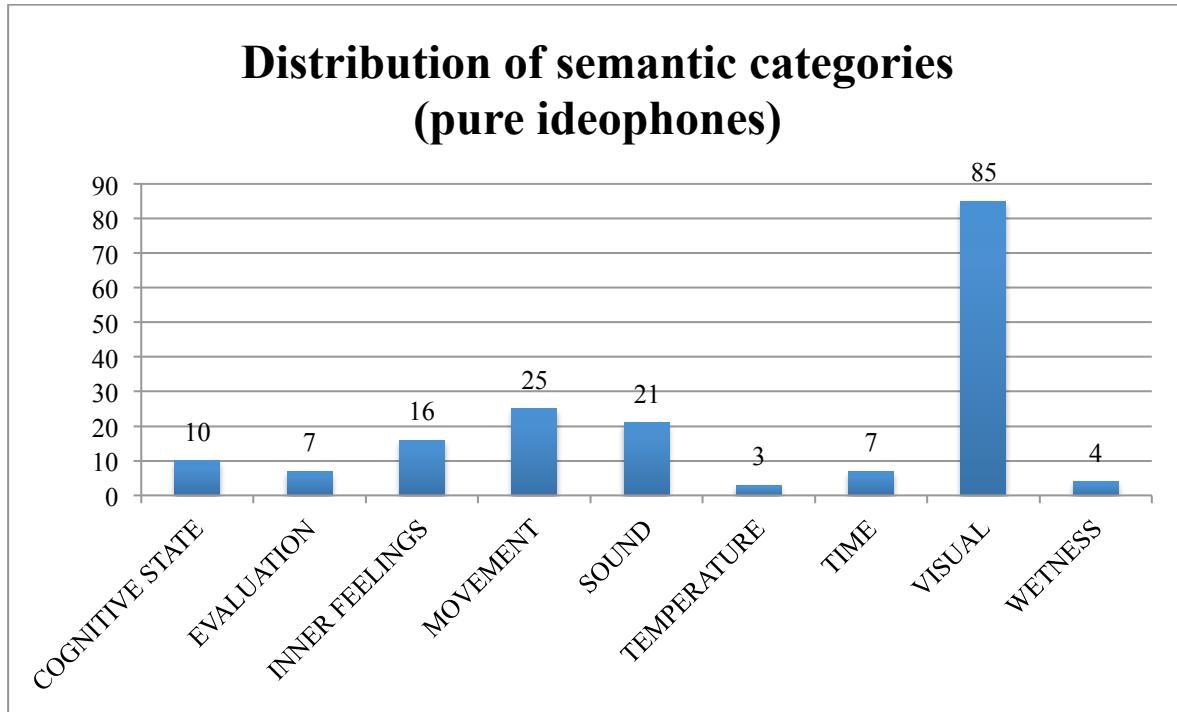


Figure 5: Distribution of semantic categories (pure ideophones)

As can be seen Figure 5, VISUAL ideophones are best represented in the corpus (85 tokens on 178 ‘pure’ tokens). This is perhaps due to a genre effect. We are dealing with poetry and especially Tang poems are known for their pictorial, painting-like style. For instance, the poet Su Shi wrote the following lines about the painter-poet Wang Wei (style name Mojie):

“When I savour Mojie’s poems, there is a painting in the poem.
When I look at Mojie’s paintings, there is a poem in the painting.”
味摩詰之詩，詩中有畫。
觀摩詰之畫，畫中有詩。
(Su Shi, *Lantian yanyu tu* 藍田煙雨圖)

However, it is surprising that other categories are almost equally well represented in the corpus. If the hierarchy is completely and cross-linguistically valid, we could expect SOUND to occur more often than the three internal states at the other end of the hierarchy. Perhaps this is due to an areal effect.

Dingemanse summarizes research on the matter: “[I]deophone systems from the Americas appear to be mainly limited to encoding sound and movement (Nuckolls 1996; Tedlock 1999); African ideophone systems tend to cover broad ranges of sensory imagery (Samarin 1971a); and Japanese and Korean have

been reported to feature relatively high numbers of ideophones for cognitive states (Akita 2009; Childs 2001)" (Dingemanse 2012a: 663).

It is well known that contact between China, Korea and Japan flourished in the course of history, especially during the extraverted Tang dynasty (Twitchett 1979; Vande Walle 2007). There was also a lot of language contact during these times, making the notion of an East Asian Sprachbund acceptable (Bisang 1996; Enfield 2005; Matisoff 2006). Walter Bisang (1996) goes to great lengths to prove the existence of a South and East Asian Sprachbund in the domain of grammaticalization. Nick Enfield (2005) proposes an areal typology that also pays respect to individual language use, the social function of language and generally discusses aspects ranging from phonology to syntax and pragmatics. James Matisoff (2006) is more focused on the distribution of tones in (South) East Asia.

So if Japanese and Korean have a relatively high number of ideophones that depict cognitive states and the like, it is possible that China has them too (or adopted them or even influenced them in the other languages). What is valid for one domain could also be for another similar domain under the same conditions, if both linguistic areas belong to the same Sprachbund.

5.1.5. Synaesthesia

In the previous sections we discussed the distribution of 'pure' categories. However, as stated in 5.1.4, there are also clear cases of synaesthesia, where the meaning of an ideophone seems to convey two senses at the same time. A definition is provided by Tucker Childs:

"Synaesthesia represents another non-arbitrary mating of sound with meaning, but this time with regard to other human senses. It is a metaphoriacal extension of onomatopoeia to sight, touch and taste. [... It r]efers to the pairing of certain words with non-auditory sensations (cf. Jakobson and Waugh 1987: 192)"
(Childs 1994: 191).

This means we are dealing with the activation of two senses at once. For instance, *liaolu* 'desolate' in (28) is a mix of VISUAL (there are not a lot of trees on the mountain, it is barren) and INNER FEELINGS (feeling sorry for the mountain's loneliness). In (29) *anan* 'sad' or 'gloomy' there is a similar mix between INNER FEELINGS (sadness because the arrival of spring heralds the passing of years) and VISUAL (*anan* also means dark – so even though it is spring, it is also dark in some way). *Youyou* 'idle' or

better ‘frustration because of wasted time’ in (30) combines TIME and EVALUATION. As a last example, *liluan* in (31) is a convergence of MOVEMENT (suggested by the word chaos, which is definitely not stative) and EVALUATION (chaos is never a good thing).

- (28) WANG WEI, *Lao jiang xing* 老將行

蒼茫 古木連窮巷，寥落寒山對虛牖。
 cāng~máng gǔ mù lián qióng xiàng liáo~luò hán shān duì xū yǒu
 ID.vast old tree connect poor lane ID.desolate cold mountain face humble window
 Vast were age-old trees extending to his secluded lanes; quiet were bleak hills facing his humble window panes. (Wang, 2004: 133; A-77)

- (29) WEI YINGWU, *Ji li dan yuan xi* 寄李儋元錫

世事茫茫難自料，春愁黯黯獨成眠。
 shì shì máng~máng nán zì liào chūn chóu àn~àn dú chéng mián
 world affair ID.numerous hard self expect spring sad ID.sad alone become sleep
 In this world of vicissitudes, what will happen one can't reckon; gloomily laden with spring sadness, I alone go to sleep here. (Wang, 2004: 272; A-126)

- (30) CUI HAO, *Huang he lou* 黃鶴樓

黃鶴一去不復返，白雲千載空悠悠。
 huáng hè yī qù bù fù fǎn bái yún qiān zǎi kōng yōu~yōu
 yellow crane one leave not again return white cloud thousand carry in.vain ID.idle
 Since the yellow crane left here, never has it come back; aimlessly are white clouds a thousand years drifting slack. (Wang, 2004: 243; A-110)

- (31) LI YI, *Xi jian wai di you yan bie* 喜見外弟又言別

十年離亂後，長大一相逢。
 shí nián lí~luàn hòu zhǎng dà yī xiāng féng
 ten year ID.chaotic after grow big one each.other meet
 After then long sad years of turbulence and pain; we've grown up and are now happy to meet again.
 (Wang, 2004: 218; A-98)

Figure 6 shows the patterns found in the corpus:

Distribution of semantic categories (synaesthetic ideophones)

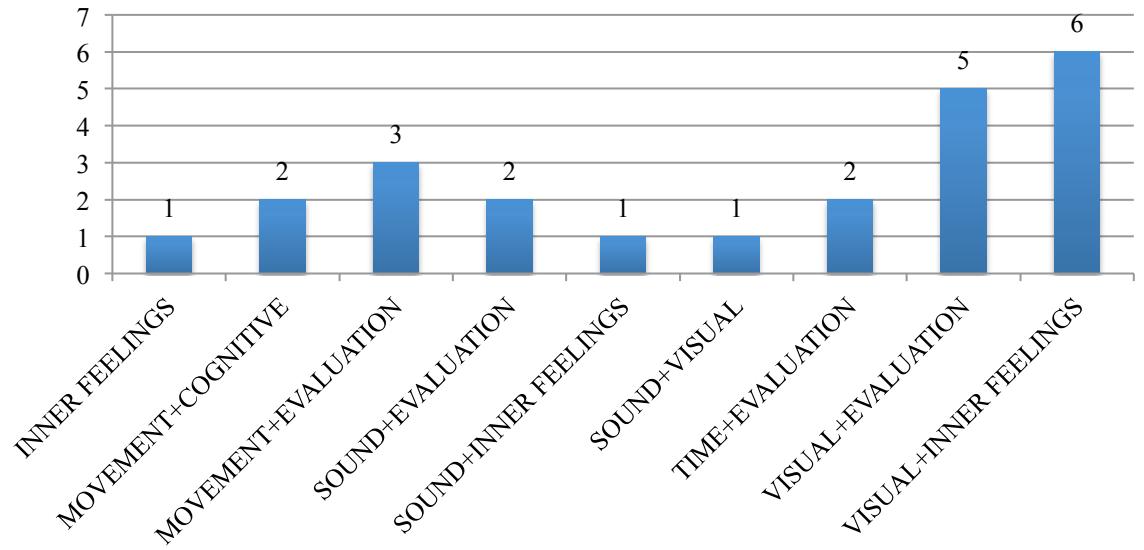


Figure 6: Distribution of semantic categories (synaesthetic ideophones)

As can be seen in Figure 6, the most frequent synaesthetic combination is VISUAL + INNER FEELINGS (6 tokens of 23 tokens in total). But it is perhaps more useful to provide a chart that shows which categories could be ‘synaesthetized’ and the number of links one category yielded. The examples provided above are also representative of these most frequent combinations.

Furthermore, VISUAL is the most productive synaesthesiaizable category according to the corpus. This is perhaps due to its high frequency. Next is EVALUATION, which may be due to the fact that the poet is trying to draw a certain response from his audience.

We have tried to visualize the different identified synaesthetic patterns. It can be seen that there is almost no constraint on any category for synaesthetic ideophones.

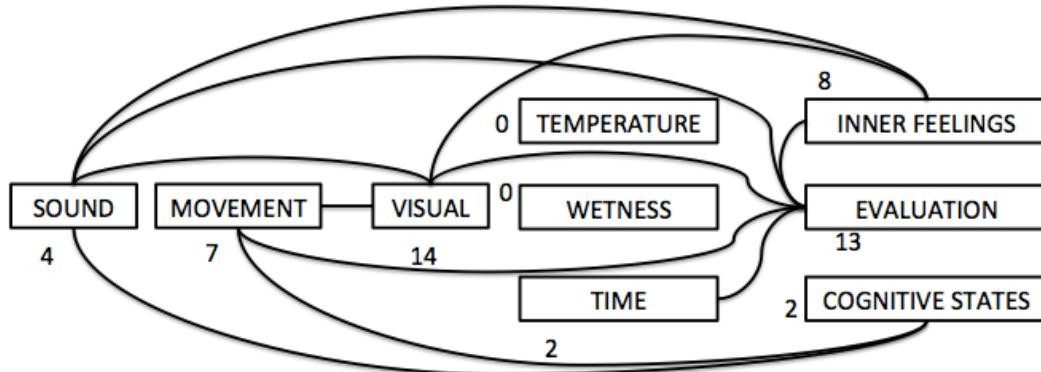


Figure 7: Possible synesthesia patterns between semantic categories

5.1.6. Polysemy

In the previous section we discussed synesthesia. Now it is time for polysemy, which is actually a highly complicated matter. For this reason, we will limit observations to the corpus we have used so far.

Polysemy²³ is worth investigating because of the role it plays in semantic (semasiological) development (Van der Auwera 2008). It presupposes at least two different meanings for one lexical item, activated separately in different contexts, with “a semantic connection between the[se] senses” (Cruse 2011: 115). We can analyse a semantic system that is fixed on one point in time, but parts of this system can change through time, resulting in semantic development. Below we will not only see polysemy inside the same semantic category, which is not surprising, but also cross-category polysemy (section 5.1.6.2). But first we will look at an example of polysemy in the corpus and how it could be dealt with.

²³ While synesthesia (cf. 5.1.5) referred to the simultaneous activation of two sensory domains in a given context, polysemy is the activation of one meaning in a given context. So in a way these two phenomena are in complementary distribution, viz. the activation of one meaning vs. two at the same time. However, as can be seen in the data in section 5.2.2, synesthetic meanings can also constitute meanings of lexemes; as long as it is one of the possible meanings of a lexeme that is activated in a given context, we can call this lexeme polysemous.

5.1.6.1. Introducing a silent, quiet and cold example

It is clear from one look at appendix B that the Ideophones in the corpus are highly polysemous when we look at the dictionary entries (provided by [Zdic.com](#)). In a lot of cases there is even cross-categorial polysemy. As an example, we will list three instances of *jiji*, followed by its dictionary entry.

- (32) MENG HAORAN, *Liu bie Wang Wei* 留別王維

寂寂	竟	何	時，朝朝	空	自	歸。
jì~jì	jìng	hé	shí zhāo-zhāo	kōng	zì	guī
ID.alone	complete	what	time morning-morning	empty	3.selfreturn	

What am I waiting for with life idled away! Gaining nothing, I come back alone day by day. (Wang, 2004: 203; A-93)

- (33) LIU CHANGQING, *Changsha guo Jia Yi zhai* 長沙過賈誼宅

寂寂	江	山	搖	落	處，
jì~jì	jiāng	shān	yáo	luò	chù
ID.silent	river	mountain	shake	fall	place
憐	君	何	事	到	天
lián	jūn	hé	shì	dào	tiān
overthink	lord	what	thing	arrive.at	heaven
					horizon

All around it's deadly quiet and presents a scene forlorn and desolate; I wonder why you were banished to this world's corner and sigh for your fate! (Wang, 2004: 269; A-123)

- (34) ZHU QINYU, *Gong zhong cí* 宮中詞

寂寂	花	時	閉	院	門，
jí~jí	huā	shí	bì	yuàn	mén
ID.silent	flower	time	close	palace	gate
美人	相	並	立	瓊	軒。
měi-rén	xiāng	bìng	lì	qióng	xuān
beautiful.woman	each.other	next.to	stand	fine	lofty

With flowers in bloom, the palace is quiet with its closed gate there; along the splendid porch stand side by side the maidens fair. (Wang, 2004: 334; A-143)

- (35) Dictionary entry:

1. Appearing silent. 2. Alone and cold. 3. Quietly.

1. 寂静无声貌。 2. 孤单；冷落。 3. 犹悄悄。

(Zdic.com)

As can be seen, *jiji* has three basic meanings. (32) illustrates the sense ‘alone’, while (33) and (34) show the ‘quiet’ sense. So *jiji* is most definitely polysemous in the corpus. It is difficult to gauge if contemporary readers of such a poem ‘felt’ the two meanings at once, or if context makes this clear. If

the two meanings were activated at the same time (with a preference of one meaning over the other), this could also be an instance of synesthesia.

In the rest of this section, we will outline the method we used to detect polysemy in the corpus. After identifying ideophonic tokens we used dictionary entries to get a general sense of what a certain ideophone *can* mean. However, these entries are taken out of their *real* context (Chinese dictionaries customarily provide one or two example sentences to illustrate the specific meaning of an entry). This problem can be solved by using translations and notes, viz. we have used Wang (2004) for translations of the glosses in appendix A and the volume by Zhao Changping 赵昌平(2006) for notes. Through this method, one can get closer to the meaning(s) a certain word may have in a given context.

5.1.6.2. Analyzing polysemous ideophones in the corpus

The analysis is carried out in three big steps. Firstly, all the ideophones that occur more than once in the corpus are grouped, including those instances where one base generates more ideophones through different patterns, e.g. *an* 黯 generates *anan* 黯黯 as well as *anran* 黯然. These 119 tokens are then divided into a group of polysemous tokens and non-polysemous tokens. This latter group is not further analysed for this issue of polysemy, but the former group is.

In this next step we related the polysemous Ideophones to the meaning hierarchy we have postulated before:

(SUPEREXPRESSIVES) > SOUND > MOVEMENT > VISION > WETNESS / TEMPERATURE > TIME > COGNITIVE STATE / EVALUATION / INNER FEELINGS > NONMIMETICS

Polysemy within these categories is interesting but unsurprising, as in the *cangcang* and *cangmang* tokens:

(36) LI BAI, *Guan shan yue* 關山月

明	月	出	天	山,	蒼茫	雲	海	間。
míng	yuè	chū	tiān	shān	cāng~máng	yún	hǎi	jiān
bright	moon	come.out	Tian	mountain	ID.wide	cloud	see	amid

From the Tian Mountain rises the moon bright; in a vast sea of clouds it shines its light. (Wang, 2004: 47; A-22)

- (37) LI QI, *Ting Dong da tan hu jia sheng jian ji yu nong fang gei shi* 聽董大彈胡笳聲兼寄語弄房給事
 古 戍 蒼蒼 烽 火 寒, 大 荒 沈沈 飛 雪 白。
 gǔ shù cāng~cāng fēng huǒ hán dà huāng chén~chén fēi xuě bái
 ancient garrison ID.endless beacon fire cold big waste ID.vague fly white snow
 The ancient posts there are wild, and beacon fires cold grow; gloomy is the vast wasteland and flies the white snow. (Wang, 2004: 58; A-24)

- (38) WANG WEI, *Lao jiang xing* 老將行
 蒼茫 古木連窮巷, 寥落寒山對虛牖。
 cāng~máng gǔ mù lián qióng xiàng liáo~luò hán shān duì xū yǒu
 ID.vast old tree connect poor lane ID.desolate cold mountain face humble window
 Vast were age-old trees extending to his secluded lanes; quiet were bleak hills facing his humble window panes. (Wang, 2004: 133; A-77)

- (39) LIU CHANGQING, *Song ling che shang ren* 送靈澈上人
 蒼蒼竹林寺, 杏杳鐘聲晚。
 cāng~cāng zhú lín sì yǎo~yǎo zhōng shēng wǎn
 ID.green bamboo tree temple ID.dark bell sound late
 Amid the greens stands the Bamboo Temple alone; In the evening reverberates its late bell's tone.
 (Wang, 2004: 306; A-138)

Cangcang, either ‘green’, ‘vast’ or ‘endless’ and *cangmang* ‘wide’ are all polysemous in the VISUAL category. It is, however, more interesting to look at tokens that exhibit cross-categorical polysemy. This is the third step.

Cross-categorically polysemous tokens (48 tokens):

ànàn	21	dim light	VISUAL
	126	sad	VISUAL+INNER_FEELINGS
ànrán	129	lifeless	COGNITIVE_STATE
chóuchú	116	sad	INNER_FEELINGS
	56	hesitant	MOVEMENT
hàohào	18	abundant water	VISUAL
hàorán	106	heroic	EVALUATION
jìjì	93	alone	INNER_FEELINGS
	123, 143	quiet, silent	SOUND
lílí	101	thick	VISUAL
líluàn	98	chaotic	MOVEMENT+EVALUATION

mángrán	83 137 78	unclear unknown immense	COGNITIVE_STATE VISUAL VISUAL+INNER_FEELINGS
mànmàn	94 142	long lasting boundless	TIME VISUAL
míngmíng	39 17 18, 37, 97	uncertain secretly dark	EVALUATION VISUAL VISUAL
qīqī	71 81 127	sad cold desolate	SOUND + EVALUATION TEMPERATURE VISUAL+INNER_FEELINGS
qīqī	16 102 111, 149	sad mourn flourishing	INNER_FEELINGS COGNITIVE_STATE VISUAL
sàsà	25 133	rapid wind sound	MOVEMENT SOUND
xiāosè	42	sparse	VISUAL
xiāotiáo	120, 122 27	decline thin	MOVEMENT+COGNITIVE_STATE VISUAL
xiāoxiāo	84, 88 104 121 130	neigh rustle sparse desolate	SOUND SOUND VISUAL VISUAL+INNER_FEELINGS
yírán	47	happy	COGNITIVE_STATE
yíyuè	10	entertained	INNER_FEELINGS
yīyī	148 9	nostalgic reluctant to leave	COGNITIVE_STATE INNER_FEELINGS
yōuyōu	19	melancholic	INNER_FEELINGS
yōuyōu	45, 58	long lasting	TIME
yōuyōu	110	idle	TIME+EVALUATION

If one were to map out the cross-categorical relationships of polysemy for the ideophones above, it would turn out that there really are no restrictions whatsoever on which polysemic categories can co-occur. However, whether an ideophone acts as adverb, predicate or nominalised constituent does of

course influence the way in which it should be interpreted (cf. chapter 6). This interpretation is not on the level of semantics (and *a fortiori* on that of polysemy) but on the level of (functional) syntax. The polysemy depends on two things:

1) When the form is completely the same (e.g. the first group of *qiqi*), the relevant meaning (and thus polysemy) depends almost entirely on the lexical-semantic context it occurs in.

(40) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

淒淒 不似向 前 聲， 滿 座 重 聞 皆 掩 泣。
 qī~qī bù sì xiàng qián shēng mǎn zuò zhòng wén jiē yǎn qì
 ID.sad not seem to front sound full audience again hear all cover cry

They produced such mournful sounds different, from those they had so far before forth sent; that all those who heard the pipa played again, covered their faces and couldn't their tears restrain. (Wang, 2004: 114; A-71)

(41) LI BAI, *Chang xiang si zhi yi* 長相思之一

微 霜 **淒淒** 簾 色 寒， 孤 燈 不 明 思 欲 絶。
 wēi shuāng qī~qī diàn sè hán gū dēng bù míng sī yù jué
 small frost ID.cold bamboo.mat feel cold lonely light not bright thoughts will end

Autumn crickets are chirping round rails shining like gold; and chilly light frost makes the bamboo mat feel cold. Under dim lamplight, of longing for her I'll die; rolling up screens, I see the moon and vainly sigh.

(Wang, 2004: 139; A-81)

(42) HAN HONG, *Tongtixianyouguan* 同題仙遊觀

仙	臺	初	見	五	城	樓,
xiān	tái	chū	jiàn	wǔ	chéng	lóu
immortal	platform	first.time	see	five	city	tower
風	物	淒淒	宿	雨	收。	
fēng	wù	qī~qī	sù	yǔ	shōu	
wind	thing	ID.desolate	stay	rain	collect	

The fairy temple with its five tall towers begins to appear; after a long rain, which makes the landscape so desolate and drear. (Wang, 2004: 273; A-127)

In (40) *qiqi* has the glossed meaning of ‘sad’. In this context, *qiqi* is used to describe the sounds played by the pipa (a Chinese lute). So it was assigned to the synaesthetic semantic categories of SOUND + EVALUATION. In a second context, the description of frost in (41) its meaning was ‘cold’ and accordingly assigned to TEMPERATURE. In (42) it was used to describe the landscape: this was very dreary or ‘desolate’ – invoking both a VISION and INNER FEELINGS the reader should get when reading

this descriptive line. So the analysis of all these words will show that the activation of a certain meaning of a polysemous word is highly dependent on the context in which it occurs.

2) When the form is not the same (e.g. *anan* vs. *anran*, the base is *an* ‘dark, gloomy’), the different strategies of formation produce ideophones that to a varying degree differ in meaning. Whereas *anan* ‘dim’, ‘sad’ reiterates the base meaning of *an*, *anran* extends this meaning to ‘lifeless’ in the context of the gloss. The relevant glosses are shown below:

(43) WANG CHANLING, *Sai xia qu* 塞下曲

平	沙	日	未	沒,	黯	見	臨洮。
píng	shā	rì	wèi	méi	àn~àn	jiàn	Líntáo
flat	sand	sun	not.yet	set	ID.dim.light	see	Lintao

The sun over the sandy plain has not yet set; A vague view of the distant Lintao we can get. (Wang, 2004: 46; A-21)

(44) WEI YINGWU, *Ji lí dan yuan xi* 寄李儋元錫

世	事	茫	茫	難	自	料,	春	愁	黯	黯	獨	成	眠。
shì	shì	máng	~máng	nán	zì	liào	chūn	chóu	àn~àn	dú	chéng	mián	
world	affair	ID.numerous	hard	self	expect	spring	sad	ID.sad	alone	become	sleep		

In this world of vicissitudes, what will happen one can't reckon; gloomily lade with spring sadness, I alone go to sleep here. (Wang, 2004: 272; A-126)

(45) LIU YUXI, *Xi sai shan huai gu* 西塞山懷古

王	濬	樓	船	下	益	州,	金陵	王	氣	黯	然	收。
Wáng	Jùn	lóu	chuán	xià	Yì	-zhōu	Jinlíng	wáng	qì	àn	-rán	shōu
Wang	Jun	tower	boat	down	Yi	-prefecture	Jinling	king	air	ID.lifeless	collect	

From Yi Prefecture sailed down Wang Jun's ships of war; the Jinling ruler's kingly air was soon no more.
(Wang, 2004: 277; A-129)

So, regarding polysemy, we can conclude that almost all of the identified Ideophones are polysemous according to their dictionary definitions (usual meanings). In the corpus we found 119 tokens of sets of words that share the same word or are formed from the same base. Of these 119 tokens, 48 were polysemous across semantic categories. Through a qualitative example, it was shown that this is mostly due to the context they appear in – since there is virtually no constraint on the appearance of one semantic category in a certain position or function. Further (diachronic and synchronic) research might show there are tendencies noticeable, but with this – rather specialised – corpus, we have been unable to find any.

5.2. Correlations between the parameters of FORM and MEANING

5.2.1. Sound Symbolism: non-arbitrary relations between sound and meaning

In the discussion above we have outlined a set of features defining ideophones in the corpus, both on the phonological level (4.3), the morphological level (4.4) and the semantical level (5.1). Given that ideophones are often taken to be sound-symbolic in some way, one could wonder in how far some elements in phonological form are linked in some non-arbitrary way to the meaning of an ideophone. The present section investigates this question.

Sound symbolism presents a challenge to the Saussurean dualistic view of the sign system - which is still prevalent in Chinese research on the topic (cf. 1.3.1; Meng (2012: 15)). So how does one investigate this matter? Based on the 1994 volume *Sound Symbolism* edited by Hinton, Nichols and Ohala, we can use the so-called ‘frequency code’ to see how sound symbolism plays out in Middle Chinese. This hypothesis was named by John Ohala (1984), but studied well before: Sapir (1911; 1927), Jersperson (1933), Swadesh (1970), Nichols (1971) e.a. all use similar observations (Hinton, Nichols & Ohala 1994: 10). The following table is a summary of this frequency code – which states that there is a correspondence between specific types of sounds and specific types of meanings:

Table 6: The Frequency Code

SMALL	LARGE
High tones	Low tones
Vowels with high second formants (/i/)	Vowels with low second formants (/u/)
High frequency consonants	Low frequency consonants
High front vowels	Low back vowels
Voiceless obstruents	Voiced obstruents
Ejectives	Plain stops
Dentals, alveolars, palatals, front velars	Labials, back velars
LINKS WITH	
High frequency sounds	Low frequency sounds

Small size	Large size
Sharpness	Softness
Rapid movement	Heavy, slow movements

(Hinton 1984: 9; Hinton, Nichols & Ohala 1994: 10, 83)

To investigate this question in the corpus, we have looked at the different ideophones and their specific meaning in a given gloss. This meaning was then validated on the criterion of SMALLness or LARGEness as suggested above, e.g. *souliu* (46) and *jiuju* (46) were candidates for SMALLness, while *linglong* (47) was an ideal candidate for LARGEness. Smallness and largeness are not clear-cut categories, but when one thinks in terms of opposites like small vs. large, short vs. short, rapid vs. slow, high vs. low (sounds), low vs. high (size), sharp vs. soft, sparse vs. dense, close vs. far/endless/boundless etc, it is possible to evaluate these ideophones according to the two parameters above – the first word of the antonymous pair signifying smallness and the second largeness respectively. Rejected candidates did not fit into one of these schemes.

(46) LI QI, *Ting an wan shan chui bi li ge* 聽安萬善吹簫築歌

枯	桑	老	柏	寒	颺颺,
kū	sāng	lǎo	bǎi	hán	sōu~liú
withered	mulberry	old	cedar	cold	ID.wind.sound
九	雛	鳴	鳳	亂	啾啾。
jiǔ	chú	míng	fèng	luàn	jiū~jiū.
nine	nestling	cry	phoenix	chaos	ID.high.sound

Its tune is like free-moving wind that itself steers; freezing the withered mulberry and old cypress; making many young phoenixes cry in a mess; arousing at once dragons' wails and tigers' roars. (Wang, 2004: 60; A-26)

(47) LI BAI, *Yu jie yuan* 玉階怨

却	下	水晶	簾,	玲瓏	望	秋	月。
què	xià	shuǐ.jīng	lián	líng~lóng	wàng	qiū	yuè
abrupt	down	crystal	curtain	ID.bright	look.at	autumn	moon

Then she abruptly lowers the crystal screen; and stares at the autumn moon clean and bright.

(Wang, 2004: 315; A-140)

113 ideophones of the 202 can be considered analyzable for the frequency code. After the Middle Chinese syllables are broken down into intial, nucleus and coda (medial was left out), each of these is put to the test. A table provided in Johansson and Zlatev (2013: 10) is used as a criterion for the

consonants, because it supplements the Frequency code as given in Table 6. As for vowels, high front vowels are considered small, while high back vowels are viewed as large. For each of the three elements (initial, nucleus, coda), we decided whether the element in question represented a small or large form and if this corresponded with the smallness or largeness of the semantics identified earlier. After looking at the correspondences, they were translated to a numerical value and added. So each syllable of the 113 ideophones got a score out of 3.

Mandarin	character	MC	Init.	Nucl.	Coda	Score
SMALL						
sōuliú	飕飕	#sr-ju-w~#l-ju-w	X	0	X	0
jìjì	寂寂	*dz-e-k	1	1	0	2
míngmíng	冥冥	*m-e-ng	1	1	0	2
LARGE						
mángmáng	茫茫	#m-a-ng	0	1	1	2
xìxì	细细	*s-e-j(H)	0	0	0	0
cāngmáng	苍茫	*ts-a-ng~#m-a-ng	0	1	1	2
zhēngróng	峥嵘	*dzh-ea-ng~#h-ea-ng	X	X	1	1

For *jiji*, *mingming* on the SMALL side and *mangmang*, *xixi* and *cangmang* on the LARGE side the correspondence is fairly obvious: /dz/, /m/, /s/, /ts/ are produced in the front of the mouth, that is why they are 1 “correspondence with the frequency code” in the first set, while 0 “no correspondence” in the second, for the element initial. *Souliu* is more difficult: /sr/ suggests smallness, but /l/ suggests largeness. For this reason, it gets the value ‘X’ for the initial. In the calculation of the final score for a given ideophone (of the 113 included ones), X was counted as 0. So in the end ideophones got a score on 3, based on how strongly their reconstructed phonology resembled the frequency code. Figure 8 below shows the results:

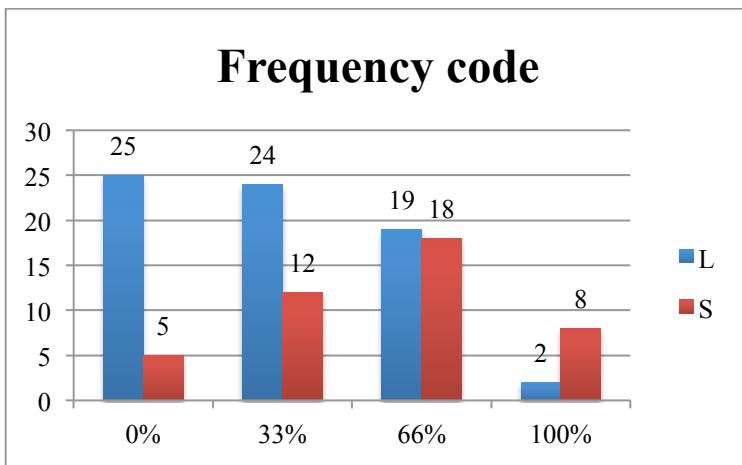


Figure 8: Frequency Code in the corpus

As can be seen from the chart above, the frequency code might be relevant for Middle Chinese – but not always and mostly for SMALL ideophones. To verify if this really is the case, more research on ideophones is necessary. Unfortunately, such research is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, cross-linguistic evidence provided by Johansson and Zlatev (2013: 16-17) suggests that some (modern) languages in East Asia²⁴ (as well as Central Africa and Southeast Asia) are compatible with the frequency code.

5.2.2. Correspondences between tone and meaning

In the previous section we investigated the existence of sound symbolism in Middle Chinese ideophones, using reconstructed Middle Chinese phonology and cross-linguistic literature. In this section, we will investigate if there are any correspondences between tonal patterns and the semantic categories delineated above. This issue is motivated by previous literature on modern Sinitic languages (Mok 2001; de Sousa 2011; Meng 2012).

The data in this corpus show no surprising results (see Table 7). Tonal combinations with *ping~ping* remain the most frequent and are most frequently paired with the most productive semantic category of VISION (27% of the corpus).

²⁴ Their sample included the following Sino-Tibetan languages: Cantonese, Burmese, Garo, Kachin, Karen, Ladakhi, Limbu, Meithei and Tibetan (Johansson & Zlatev 2013: 13).

However, *ping~ping* is not only productive for VISION, but also for *all* the other semantic categories. This suggests that if one were to look for prototypical ideophones in Middle Chinese, the *ping~ping* pattern might be considered a worthy candidate. For a further development of this pattern from Early Modern Chinese to Modern Chinese, see Mok (2001: 134–150).

Table 7: Semantic categories x tonal patterns

Semantic categories	Tonal patterns											
	- ran	P~P	P~Q	P~R	Q~Q	Q~R	R~R	S~P	S~Q	S~R	S~S	Total
COGNITIVE STATE	6	3								1		10
EVALUATION	5	2										7
INNER FEELINGS	2	5	1	2	1	1	3				1	16
MOVEMENT	7	8		1	4		1	1	1		2	25
SOUND		13					6				1	20
TEMPERATURE		2					1					3
TIME		4			2						1	7
VISUAL	9	47	3	3	6		9		1		7	85
WETNESS	1	3										4
Total	30	87	4	6	13	1	20	1	2	1	12	177

5.2.3. Correspondences between morphological form and semantic categories

In the same way, it is possible to investigate correspondences between morphological patterns and the semantic categories. The result is shown in Table 8.

As a first observation, we see that REDUPLICATION, ALLITERATION and RHYME are the most productive morphological processes (see also section 4.4.5 above), generating ideophones for almost all semantic categories. As a second observation, it becomes clearer what the -RAN pattern actually does: 1. There are no SOUND ideophones in this pattern, suggesting-RAN is not iconic²⁵ enough in a sense; 2. There is a strong link between -RAN and the right-hand side of the hierarchy: COGNITIVE STATE,

²⁵ On the iconicity of ideophones from a cross-linguistic perspective, see Dingemanse (2011a; 2012a).

EVALUATION and INNER FEELINGS. This conclusion further supports an earlier claim touched upon in section 4.4.4.

Table 8: Semantic categories x morphological patterns

Semantic categories	Morphological patterns									Total
	ALLITERATION	ASSONANCE	CONSONANCE	DIFFERENT	PARARHYME	-RAN	REDUPLICATION	RHYME		
COGNITIVE STATE	1					6	2	1	10	
EVALUATION				1		4	1	1	7	
INNER FEELINGS	3	1		1		2	7	2	16	
MOVEMENT	3		3			1	12	6	25	
SOUND	2			1			17	1	21	
TEMPERATURE							3		3	
TIME							7		7	
VISUAL	6		3		1	1	58	16	85	
WETNESS	2						1	1	4	
Total	17	1	6	3	1	14	108	28	178	

5.3. Summary of the parameter of MEANING

To conclude this section on the parameter of MEANING, it has been shown that the etic Dingemanse hierarchy (cf. 5.1.3) can be used to categorize Middle Chinese ideophones, but with some changes: extending OTHER SENSES to TEMPERATURE and WETNESS; adding TIME; adding the EVALUATION component to the ‘internal senses’. The Dingemanse Hierarchy was adapted to:

SOUND > MOVEMENT > VISION > WETNESS / TEMPERATURE > TIME > COGNITIVE STATE / EVALUATION /
INNER FEELINGS

It is highly probable that, as Dingemanse (2012a) suggested, more cross-linguistic research on the topic of ideophones will eventually yield a representation that is more like a semantic map. In terms of frequency of these categories, we saw a dominance of VISUAL ideophones, perhaps due to genre effects. In some ways, this is unexpected, since the hierarchy suggests that SOUND ideophones should be the most frequent.

However, the meaning ideophones in the corpus was not always clearcut and easily assignable to one of these categories. There often were cases of synesthesia, with the VISUAL and EVALUATIVE categories more prone to synesthesia than other categories.

Furthermore, correspondences between the parameters of FORM and MEANING so far have brought us two steps closer to finding out what typical ideophones in Middle Chinese are. It was found that there are possible traces of the so-called Frequency Code available in Middle Chinese. Further it was shown that two consecutive *ping* tones are the most productive (cf. 4.4.6) across all semantic categories (cf. 5.2.2) and that full reduplication, rhyme and alliteration were possible morphological processes in the formation of ideophones (cf. 5.2.3). However, the *-ran* category did not occur in ideophones belonging to the SOUND category, which tells us something about the semantics of this suffix, viz. it does occur quite often with the ‘internal senses’ mentioned above.

6. Parameter of use

6.1. What do Middle Chinese ideophones do?

As strongly argued in previous literature (esp. Dingemanse 2011), ideophones should be examined fully within their context of appearance. Because we are dealing with historical data, however, we have to work with written material. The questions we are trying to answer in this section are twofold: 1. Do ideophones in their poetic context appear always in the same positions, viz. do they always appear at the beginning or the end of a line or in the middle? This question will look at the position of ideophones in a given line. 2. What is the functional-syntactical role they fulfill in the sentence? Do they occur more as ‘core’ constituents or rather as ‘peripheric’ constituents. In section 6.2 this last question will be connected to the other parameters, as well as to another cross-linguistic hierarchy, i.e. the Grammatical-Functional Hierarchy (GFH).

6.1.1. Positions of ideophones in the corpus

In this section we will discuss the positions ideophones can take.

Because of the specificity of the genre, i.e. Tang dynasty poetry (see section 2.1), a normal line of a couplet takes the following form in a five-character (or seven-character) line:

(xx) xx // xxx²⁶

As it has been suggested by cross-linguistic literature (Akita 2009; Meng 2012; Dingemanse 2012a) that ideophones tend to occur at the *edges* of clauses, the FIRST positions of a five-character line and a seven-character line will be treated together, as a category ‘FIRST’, and similarly for ULTIMATE and PENULTIMATE respectively, cf. Table 9. This is because, as we have shown in great detail, ideophones appear as reduplicated sets of two syllables.

²⁶ X marks a syllable or character; // marks the caesura

Table 9: Positions of ideophones

POSITION	FIVE CHARACTER LINE	SEVEN CHARACTER LINE
First	XX // XXX	XX / XX // XXX
Ultimate	XX // XXX	XX / XX // XXX
Penultimate	XX // XXX	XX / XX // XXX
5:23	XX // XXX	
7:23		XX / XX // XXX
7:34		XX / XX // XXX
7:45		XX / XX // XXX

Below, *xinxin* in (48) is an example of ideophones in the FIRST position; *lingluan* and *paihuai* in (3) are examples of the ULTIMATE position; *chichi* and *mimi* in (23) are examples of the PENULTIMATE position and *cangcang* and *chenchen* in (24) are examples of the 7:34 position:

- (48) ZHANG JIULING, *Ganyu* (*Lanye chun weirui*) 感遇 (蘭葉春葳蕤)

欣欣 此 生意， 自爾 爲 佳 節。
xīn~xīn cǐ shēng-yì zì-ér wéi jiā jié
 ID.happy this vitality thus make good season

It is such thriving liveliness of theirs; that brings good seasons to us unawares. (Wang, 2004: 1; A-1)

- (49) LI BAI, *Yue xia du zhuo* 月下獨酌

我 歌 月 徘徊， 我 舞 影 零亂。
wǒ gē yuè pái-huái wǒ wǔ yǐng líng-luàn.
 1 sing moon 1 ID.wander 1 dance shadow ID.scattered

While I'm singing, the moon sways to and fro; while I'm dancing, my shadow tangles so. (Wang, 2004: 4; A-3)

- (50) MENG JIAO, *You zi yin* 遊子吟

臨 行 密密 縫， 意 恐 驛驛 歸。
lín xíng mì-mì fèng yì kǒng chí-chí guī
 close perform ID.close sew mind fear ID.long.lasting come.back

She sews with stitches close to each other; for fear he may about the world long roam. (Wang, 2004: 51; A-23)

- (51) LI QI, *Ting Dong da tan hu jia sheng jian ji yu nong fang gei shi* 聽董大彈胡笳聲兼寄語弄房給事
 古 戍 蒼蒼 烽 火 寒， 大 荒 沈沈 飛 雪 白。
 gǔ shù cāng~cāng fēng huǒ hán dà huāng chén~chén fēi xuě bái
 ancient garrisonID.endless beacon fire cold big waste ID.vague fly white snow
 The ancient posts there are wild, and beacon fires cold grow; gloomy is the vast wasteland and flies the white snow. (Wang, 2004: 58; A-24)

With these options in mind, let us now turn to the positions that actually occur in the corpus:

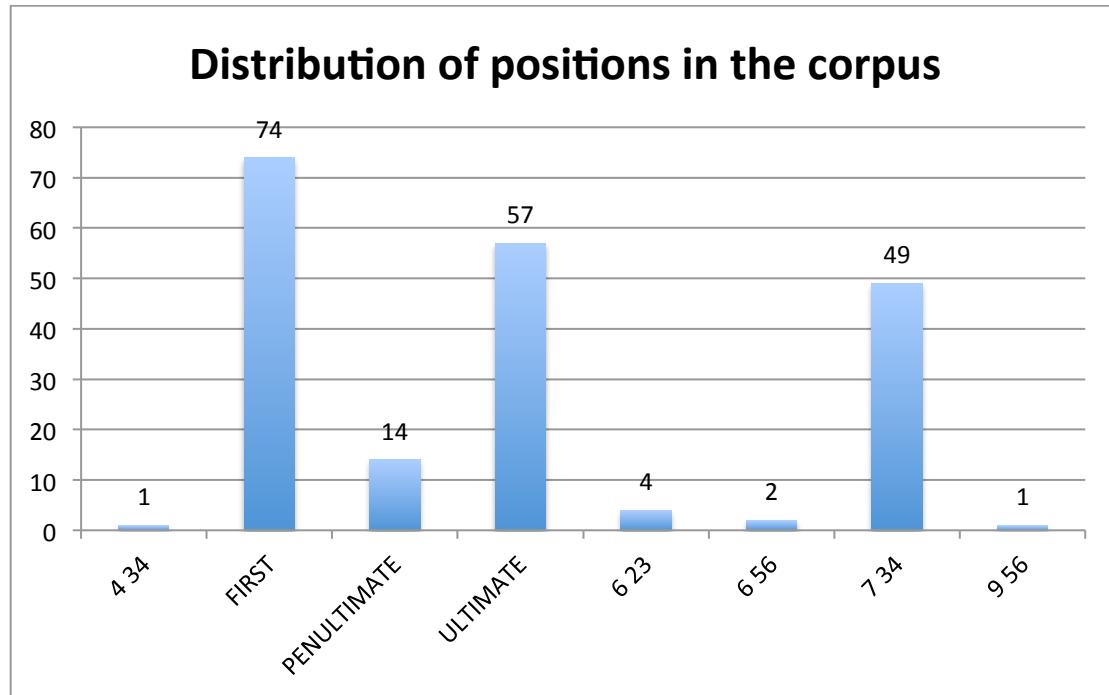


Figure 9: Distribution of positions in the corpus

As can be seen from the graphic representation, ideophones tend to occur in four major positions: in the FIRST position (74 tokens; 37%), the ULTIMATE position (58 tokens; 28%), the third and fourth place in a seven-character line (XX XX // XXX) (49 tokens; 24%) and the PENULTIMATE position (14 tokens; 7%). Together these positions take up more than 96% of ideophones in the corpus.

However, the marginal positions (4:34, 6:23, 6: 56 AND 9:56) should also be examined in detail. Respectively, they occur 1, 4, 2 and 1 times in the corpus (see 52-56).

- (52) LI BAI, *Meng you tian lao yin liu bie* 夢遊天姥吟留別
 雲 青青 兮 欲 雨， 水 澄澄 兮 生 煙。
 yún qīng~qīng xī yù yǔ shuǐ dàn~dàn xī shēng yān
 cloud ID.bluegreen XI will rain water ID.ripple XI create smoke
 It looks like rain, so densely are the clouds clustering; o'er the rippling limpid water, mist is gathering.
 (Wang, 2004: 64; A-31)

(53) LI BAI, *Meng you tian lao yin liu bie* 夢遊天姥吟留別

列缺 **霹靂**, 丘巒 崩 摧。
liè.quē pī-lì qīu-luán bēng cuī
lightning ID.lightning.thunder hill-hill collapse break
Bright flashes of lightning, loudly rumbles the thunder; hillocks in a range are crushed and torn asunder.
(Wang, 2004: 64; A-32)

(54) LI BAI, *Meng you tian lao yin liu bie* 夢遊天姥吟留別

霓 爲 衣 兮 風 爲 馬, 雲 之 君 兮 紛紛 而 來 下。
ní wéi yī xī fēng wéi mǎ yún zhī jūn xī fēn-fēn ér lái xià
rainbow be clothes XI wind be horses cloud MOD lord XI ID.numerous AND come down
With the rainbows as clothes and the winds as horses; the lords of Clouds come swarming down in great forces. (Wang, 2004: 64; A-33)

(55) CHEN ZI'ANG, *Deng you zhou tai ge* 登幽州臺歌

念 天 地 之 悠 悠, 獨 憶 然 而 涕 下。
niàn tiān-dì zhī yōu-yōu dù chuàng-rán ér tì xià
think heaven-earth ZHI ID.longlasting alone ID.sad ER tear down
The world will go on to the last; alone, I shed tears of torture! (Wang, 2004: 89; A-45)

(56) DU FU, *Bing che xing* 兵車行

車 轛 軛, 馬 蕭 蕭, 行 人 弓 箭 各 在 腰。
chē lín-lín mǎ xiāo-xiāo xíng rén gōng jiàn gè zài yāo
chariot ID.rattle horse ID.neigh walk person bow arrow each be.at waist
The chariots are rattling, the horses are neighing; the bows and arrows are round the men's waists swaying.
(Wang, 2004: 146; A-84)

It could very well be that these are natural positions for ideophones in lines of these lengths. However, the lines above do not constitute the normal poetic forms that are ubiquitous in this corpus. So we can still conclude for now that ideophones occur mostly at the edges – even without the 7:34 ideophones, the ideophones at the edges still add up to 71%. This tells us something about their use, but it will yield more interesting results after we look at the more syntactic-pragmatic functions they have in the corpus.

6.1.2. Six basic constructions

Inspired by Meng (2012: 35-37), where we find four different constructions for her so-called O-IDEOs, we will introduce six constructions the ideophones in the corpus can be assigned to. They each have some specific subconstructions. Even though there are about six constructions below, the very nature of the genre (the rather strict rules of Tang dynasty poetry) prevents the use of almost all possible markers, as opposed to Modern Mandarin Chinese Meng (2012).

A. the PREDICATE construction. In this construction, ideophones take the role of Verb or Adjective²⁷, both in intransitive sentences as transitive ones. This leads to the following examples:

*IDEOPHONE_P*²⁸ *S*²⁹

- (57) ZHANG JIULING, *Ganyu* (*Lanye chun weirui*) 感遇 (蘭葉春葳蕤)

欣欣此生意，自爾爲佳節。
xīn~xīn *cǐ* *shēng-yì* *zì-ěr* *wéi* *jiā* *jié*
 ID.happy this vitality thus make good season

It is such thriving liveliness of theirs; that brings good seasons to us unawares. (Wang, 2004: 1; A-1)

S *(S)* *IDEOPHONE_P*

- (58) LI BAI, *Yue xia du zhuo* 月下獨酌

我歌月徘徊，我舞影零亂。
wǒ *gē* *yuè* *pái~huái* *wǒ* *wǔ* *yǐng* *líng~luàn*.
 1 sing moon ID.wander 1 dance shadow ID.scattered

While I'm singing, the moon sways to and fro; while I'm dancing, my shadow tangles so. (Wang, 2004: 4; A-3)

- (59) DU FU, *Meng Li Bai zhi yi* 夢李白之二

孰云網恢恢，將老身反累。
shú *yún* *wǎng* *huī~huī* *jiāng* *lǎo* *shēn* *fǎn* *lèi*
 who say net ID.large JIANG old body return.to weary

Who says the net of heaven has large meshes? When growing old, you are in such distress! (Wang, 2004: 10; A-7)

²⁷ Written with a capital to mark their language-particularity (as opposed to cross-linguistic concepts), see (Croft 2000; Haspelmath 2010)

²⁸ The subscript P (P) is used to mark the role, in this case 'predicate.'

²⁹ It should be noted that while the normal word order of Middle Chinese prose is predominantly SV, this order can be flipped around to VS in poetry.

A *IDEOPHONE_P* O

- (60) MENG HAORAN, *Qiu deng lan shan ji zhang wu* 秋登蘭山寄張五

北 山 白 雲 裏, 隱者 自 怡悅。
 běi shān bái yún lǐ yǐn-zhě zì yí~yuè
 North mountain white cloud in hide-NMLZ 3.self ID.entertained

In the white clouds over the North Mountain, I, the hermit, myself will entertain. (Wang, 2004: 20; A-10)

V O=S *IDEOPHONE_P*

This is a secondary predicate construction, in which the object O of a verb acts as the subject S for another verb. In gloss (82) below, the poet is longing (*yi*) for the lord (*jun*), but the lord is also distant (*tiaotiao*). So *tiaotiao* acts as the predicate of *jun* in this bigger construction, in which *jun* is a ‘pivot’ between the two phrases:

- (61) LI BAI, *Chang xiang si zhi yi* 長相思之二

此 曲 有 意 無 人 傳, 願 隨
 cǐ qū yǒu yì wú rén chuán yuàn suí
 this tune have intention not.have persontransfer want follow
 春 風 寄 燕然, 憶 君 **迢迢** 隔 青 天。
 chūn fēng jì yàn.rán yì jūn tiáo~tiáo gé qīng tiān
 spring wind send frontier long.for lord ID.distant separate blue sky

No one is to carry my song's message, I fear; let it be brought by the spring breeze to the frontier; with the blue sky 'tween us, how I long for you here! (Wang, 2004: 140; A-82)

B. the ADVERBIAL construction. Ideophones in this construction type modify their governing verb directly.

IDEOPHONE_{ADV} V O

- (62) DU FU, *Meng Li Bai zhi yi* 夢李白之一

死別 已 吞聲, 生別 常 慬惻。
 sǐ-bié yǐ tūn-shēng shēng-bié cháng cè~cè
 part.forever already cry part.for.a.time often ID.sad

To part for ever often makes one cry; to part for a time also makes one sigh. (Wang, 2004: 10; A-6)

- (63) QI WUQIAN,
- Chun fan ruo ye xi*
- 春泛若耶溪

潭 煙 飛 溶溶, 林 月 低 向 後。
 tán yān fēi róng~róng lín yuè dī xiàng hòu
 pool mist fly ID.slow wood moon low to behind

Over the pool, the mist spreads vast and gross; The low moon o'er trees its light backward throws.

(Wang, 2004: 26; A-13)

C. the ATTRIBUTIVE construction. In this construction Ideophones modify a nominal element (noun phrases, nouns etc.).

IDEOPHONE_{AT} [ADJ] NP]_{NP}

- (64) LI BAI,
- Guan shan yue*
- 關山月

明 月 出 天 山, 蒼茫 雲 海 間。
 míng yuè chū tiān shān cāng~máng yún hái jiān
 bright moon come.out Tian mountain ID.wide cloud see amid

From the Tian Mountain rises the moon bright; in a vast sea of clouds it shines its light. (Wang, 2004: 47; A-22)

- (65) HAN YU,
- Ye heng yue miao sui su yue si ti men lou*
- 謁衡嶽廟遂宿嶽寺題門樓

猿 鳴 鐘 動 不知 曜, 嵬嵬 寒 日 生 於 東。
 yuán míng zhōng dòng bù zhī shǔ gǎo~gǎo hán rì shēng yú dōng
 monkey growl bell move notknow dawn ID.bright cold day be.born in east

Monkeys cried, bells tolled, came unnoticed the dawning of the day; and in the east, a brilliant, chilly sun had soon risen. (Wang, 2004: 94; A-52)

D. in the NOMINALISATION construction Ideophones take the syntactic role of a nominal element.

IDEOPHONE_N V

- (66) LIU ZONGYUAN,
- Chen yi chao shi yuan du chan jing*
- 晨詣超師院讀禪經

日 出 霧露 餘, 青松 如 膏 沐。
 rì chū wù~lù yú qīngsōng rú gāo mù
 sun come.out ID.mist plenty.of (green).pine like oil bathe

Still moistened by the dew and mist, when the sun shines; as if they were bathed in oil, look these verdant pines. (Wang, 2004: 43; A-20)

[N

zhi 之³⁰IDEOPHONE_N]_{NP}

- (67) CHEN ZI'ANG,
- Deng you zhou tai ge*
- 登幽州臺歌

念	天地	之	悠悠,	獨	愴然	而	涕	下。
niàn	tiān-dì	zhī	yōu~yōu	dú	chuàng-rán	ér	tì	xià
think	heaven-earth	ZHI	ID.longlasting	alone	ID.sad	ER	tear	down

The world will go on to the last; alone, I shed tears of torture! (Wang, 2004: 89; A-45)

E. the BACKGROUND construction. Ideophones in this construction do not modify the a Verb directly, but rather take the whole phrase or situation in their scope. This could be viewed as a kind of adverbial marker, but it is mentioned separately here precisely because of its scope and its different structure, i.e. it is not followed by a Verb but rather by a subject – even though this is not always expressed. Examples will make this less straightforward construction more clear.

IDEOPHONE_{BG} S (ADJ) V

- (68) WEI YINGWU,
- Xi ci xu yi xian*
- 夕次盱眙縣

浩浩	風	起	波,	冥冥	日	沈	夕。
hào~hào	fēng	qǐ	bō	míng~míng	rì	chén	xī
ID.abundant.water	wind	raise	wave	ID.dark	sun	sink	night

The wind stirs up huge waves with all its might; and dimly sets the sun out of the sight. (Wang, 2004: 37; A-18)

IDEOPHONE_{BG} A V O

- (69) WEI YINGWU,
- Song Yang shi nü*
- 送楊氏女

永	日	方	慙慙,	出	門	復	悠悠。
yǒng	rì	fāng	qī~qī	chū	mén	fù	yōu~yōu
eternalday	2	ID.sad	leave	door	return.to	ID.melancholic	

These days to grieve for you I never cease; Now you're leaving, the more my cares increase. (Wang, 2004: 39; A-19)

F. the UTTERANCE construction. This last construction is perhaps the most iconic of all. Ideophones of this category form a sentential like unit of their own.

³⁰ *zhi* is a noun modifying marker that marks e.g. genitive like constructions, e.g. *fu mu zhi ai* 父母之愛 ‘the love of the parents’.

IDEOPHONE_{UT} S V

(70) HAN YU, *Shi gu ge* 石鼓歌

石 鼓 之 歌 止 於 此, 嘭呼 吾 意 其 蹤 跑。
 shí gǔ zhī gē zhǐ yú cǐ wū~hū wú yì qí cuō~tuō
 stonedrum MOD song stop at this ID.sad.sound 1 intention 3 ID.wasted.time
 And here must be ended my poor Ode to the Stone Drums; but alas, would that my intention might not to
 naught come! (Wang, 2004: 97; A-54)

he 何³¹ IDEOPHONE_{UT}

(71) LI SHANGYIN, *Han bei* 韓碑

公 退 齋 戒 坐 小 閣, 濡 染 大 筆 何 淋 滴。
 gōng tuì zhāi jiè zuò xiǎo gé rú~rǎn dà bì hé lín~lí
 duke retire fast sit small room ID.soak big brush what ID.dripping.wet
 Yu retired, fasted, bathed and sat in a small cabinet; how fully soaked in ink his large writing brush he let.
 (Wang, 2004: 123; A-72)

After showing all these different constructions it is perhaps best to see how they are distributed over the corpus.

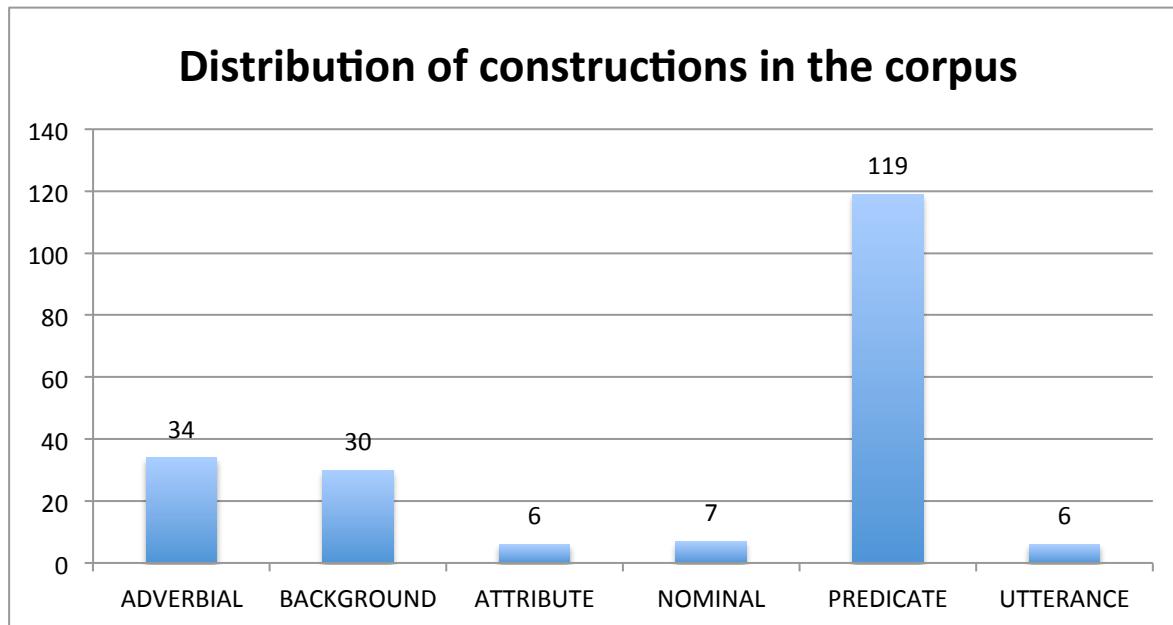


Figure 10: Distribution of constructions in the corpus

The preceding visual representation (Figure 10) shows that the PREDICATE construction is the most frequent (119 tokens; 59%). This shows that Middle Chinese Ideophones take up the role of Verb or

³¹ *he* is an exclamative particle, translatable as ‘how...!’ or ‘what...!’.

Stative Verb (i.e. Adjective in a predicate construction) most often. Next are the ADVERBIAL and BACKGROUND construction, which take up respectively 17% and 15%. However, these figures will yield more interesting observations if we relate them to the position they take, as well as to previously established morphological and semantic categories.

6.2. Correlations between grammatical function, position, and type of ideophone

6.2.1. Grammatical functions and positions

The main question that drives this section is: is there a relation between the position ideophones occupy in the corpus, the functional role they fulfill and the semantic type of ideophone we are dealing with? First we look at the grammatical functions (constructions) and positions in Table 10.

Table 10: Constructions x positions

Construction	Position									Total
	4 34	FIRST	PENULTIMATE	ULTIMATE	6 23	6 56	7 34	9 56		
ADVERB		17	8	4			5			34
ATTRIBUTE		5	1							6
BACKGROUND		27		1			2			30
NOMINAL		1	1	3		1	1			7
PREDICATE	1	21	4	46	4	1	41	1		119
UTTERANCE		3		3						6
Total	1	74	14	57	4	2	49	1	202	

What immediately stands out in Table 10 is that Ideophones in the PREDICATE position can occur in any position. Almost the same thing can be said for Ideophones in a NOMINAL position (it is presumably due to lack of data that there are no tokens for the marginal positions – 4:34, 6:23 and 9:56). Adverbial

Ideophones also occur in the four major positions (FIRST, PENULTIMATE, ULTIMATE, 7:34). Background Ideophones, however, almost only occur in the FIRST position. This is logical, since they take the entire phrase as their scope and Middle Chinese modifiers precede the modified element. Utterance Ideophones occur only in the FIRST and ULTIMATE positions – the edges of the line. This is also very interesting, because they are the most iconic Ideophones in the corpus (SOUND based) and thus were expected to occur at the edges, which they do.

6.2.2. Semantic categories and grammatical functions

Next we look at the semantic categories of ideophones in relation to the constructions defined in section 6.1.2 in Table 11. For this exercise it was necessary to take the non-synaesthetic Ideophones and leave the synaesthetic ones out, as we did in section 5.1.5.

Table 11: Semantic categories x constructions

<i>Semantic category</i>	<i>Constructions</i>							Total
	ADVERB	ATTRIBUTE	BACKGROUND	NOMINAL	PREDICATE	UTTERANCE		
COGNITIVE_STATE	3		1		6			10
EVALUATION	1		3		2	1		7
INNER_FEELINGS	2	1	1	1	11			16
MOVEMENT	9		2	1	13			25
SOUND	4		4		10	2		20
TEMPERATURE					3			3
TIME	3		1		3			7
VISUAL	9	5	15	3	52	1		85
WETNESS					3	1		4
Total	31	6	27	5	103	5		177

For the most frequent occurring construction – the PREDICATE construction – there do not seem to be any semantic constraints. The same can be said for the ADVERB and BACKGROUND constructions. This leaves the more nominal constructions: ATTRIBUTES and NOMINALISATIONS, as well as the UTTERANCE construction. While there are not many tokens for the nominal constructions, it is highly likely that Ideophones can be nominalised or used attributively *when necessary* – as is the case in most of Middle Chinese grammar³².

The UTTERANCE construction occurs twice in its first subtype with SOUND and EVALUATION Ideophones, while it occurs with the VISUAL and WETNESS types with its second subtype. The first subtype is the more typical interjection:

- (72) HAN YU, *Shi gu ge* 石鼓歌

石 鼓 之 歌 止 於 此, 噎呼 吾 意 其 蹤蹉。
shí gǔ zhī gē zhǐ yú cǐ wū~hū wú yì qí cuō~tuó
stonedrum MOD song stop at this ID.sad.sound 1 intention 3 ID.wasted.time

And here must be ended my poor Ode to the Stone Drums; but alas, would that my intention might not to naught come! (Wang, 2004: 97; A-54)

The second subtype uses the marker *he* ‘how...!’ or ‘what...!’ to announce the interjection:

- (73) LI SHANGYIN, *Han bei* 韓碑

公 退 齋 戒 坐 小 閣, 濡 染 大 筆 何 淋 滴。
gōng tuì zhāi jiè zuò xiǎo gé rú~rǎn dà bì hé lín~lí
duke retire fast sit small room ID.soak big brush what ID.dripping.wet

Yu retired, fasted, bathed and sat in a small cabinet; how fully soaked in ink his large writing brush he let.
(Wang, 2004: 123; A-72)

So, with this last table we have essentially shown that there are almost no constraints between semantics and function.

6.2.3. Visualizing correspondences between the parameters of meaning and use

Figure 11 is a visualization of the strength of correspondences between the different categories of each hierarchy. It is inspired by Akita (2009: 85-89, 245), who linked a semantic hierarchy to a ‘Grammatical-

³² For an extensive investigation on precategoriality in Late Archaic Chinese, see (Bisang 2008). I believe most of what holds for Late Archaic Chinese is still true in this case for Middle Chinese.

Functional Hierarchy' (GFH). The semantic hierarchy we use is still the adapted Dingemanse Hierarchy and the hierarchy used for the grammatical functions is based on the six constructions defined above. Akita's GFH suggest some functions are more 'core', and others more 'peripheral'. This is shown in Figure 11 as well.

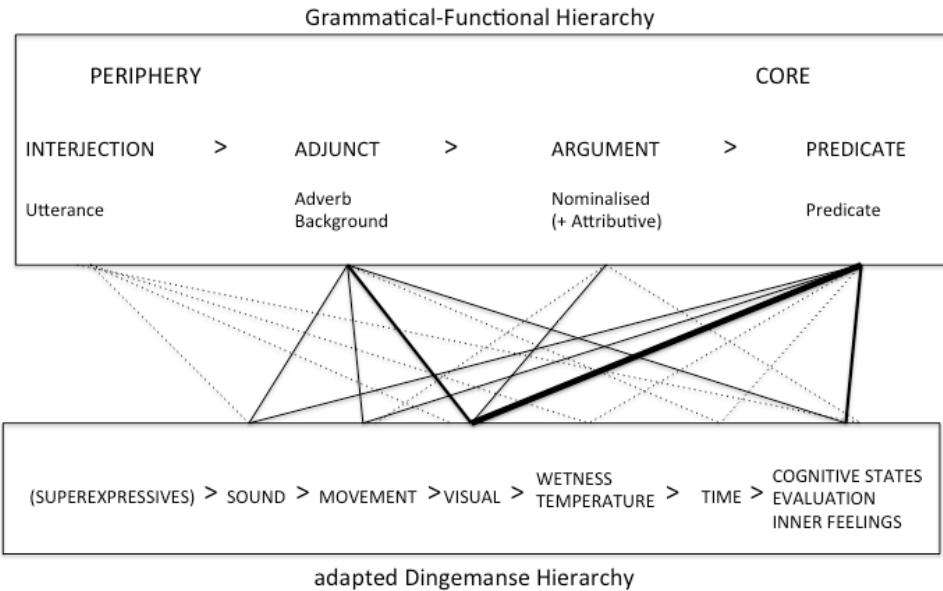


Figure 11: GFH linked to the Dingemanse Hierarchy

Figure 11 shows some remarkable tendencies, the strongest lines run from such CORE realisations as the PREDICATE category across the whole adapted Dingemanse Hierarchy. However, more peripheral uses, viz. ADJUNCTIVE uses (i.e. the Background and Adverb categories) are also a second very important use of the ideophones identified in the corpus.

Constructing this kind of visualization for ideophones in other languages will also enable cross-linguistic comparison.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Summary and discussion

Based on the typological literature, ideophones have been defined as “marked words that depict sensory image” (Dingemanse 2011b: 25). They occur in many languages, but the phenomenon is relatively under-studied in a cross-linguistic perspective (cf. 1.2.2 to 1.2.4) and the terminology is highly divergent (cf. 1.2.1). As for modern Sinitic languages, there are about five Western studies that focus on ideophones (cf. 1.3.2), while traditional Chinese research has focused almost solely on one subclass, viz. onomatopoeia (cf. 1.3.1). So far, there has not been a comprehensive study of ideophones in an earlier stage of Chinese.

Through the use of a Tang dynasty (618-907) corpus of Middle Chinese poetry (*300 Tang Poems* 唐诗三百首) (cf. 2), we did a typological analysis of Middle Chinese ideophones. This analysis was driven by a study of three parameters, viz. the parameters of form, of meaning and of use, in order to develop a working model capable of describing ideophones for other stages in the development and other genres of Chinese (cf. 3). We will first discuss findings for each parameter below.

7.1.1. Form

Based on evidence from both cross-linguistic research and studies on ideophones in modern Sinitic languages, partial and full reduplication were considered as the main criteria for the formation of ideophones (cf. 4.1). Through analysis of the reconstructed Middle Chinese syllable (cf. 4.2 and 4.3) seven patterns were found in the corpus, the most productive one being full reduplication, next to alliteration, assonance, consonance, pararhyme and rhyme, including the non-reduplication pattern (which was very marginally present in the corpus) (cf. 4.4, esp. 4.4.1 and 4.4.5). To these seven, the *-ran* pattern was added, because semantically and syntactically it behaved quite similarly (cf. 4.4.4). The inclusion of *-ran* is also an innovation of this study. As for tones, it was found that consecutive *ping*

tones were prevalent in the corpus, but it could not be ascertained if this implied further special marking of the ideophonic words (cf. 4.4.6).

7.1.2. Meaning

For the parameter of meaning, we found inspiration in a cross-linguistic hierarchy of ideophones as proposed by Dingemanse (2012a: 663) (cf. 5.1.1). However, the comparative concepts in this hierarchy had to be adapted to categories as they occurred in the corpus. Thus, the adapted Dingemanse Hierarchy was proposed (cf. 5.1.2 and 5.1.3):

SOUND > MOVEMENT > VISION > WETNESS / TEMPERATURE > TIME > COGNITIVE STATE / EVALUATION
/ INNER FEELINGS

In terms of validity of the hierarchy, we verified that the whole original DH was covered in the corpus, and needed to be supplemented with the categories of wetness, temperature, time and evaluation. However, the way the hierarchy has been proposed suggests that sound ideophones will be most frequent in a given corpus, which was not the case in this corpus – visual ideophones occur most frequently. It was argued that this might be due to genre effects (poetry) or areal effects (a Southeast and East Asian Sprachbund) (cf. 5.1.4).

Apart from ideophones that fit the DH template perfectly, we also discussed synaesthetic (cf. 5.1.5) and polysemous (cf. 5.1.6) ideophones. It was found that synaesthesia between all categories in the DH was possible (with evaluation yielding most synaesthetic tokens). Polysemy was found to occur within the same category as well as across categories.

When the parameter of form was analysed in relation to the parameter of meaning, we showed that the so-called cross-linguistic Frequency code may be valid for Middle Chinese ideophones as well (cf. 5.2.1). Furthermore, it was observed that the *-ran* category could not occur in ideophones belonging to the sound category, marking it as a less iconic but still ideophonic pattern.

7.1.3. Use

In the last parameter, a position analysis of ideophones in the poetic template showed that ideophones tend to drift to the edges of a given line, viz. they occurred most frequently in the first two available places or the last three (cf. 6.1.1). A functional-syntactic analysis showed there are six basic constructions in which ideophones are used: utterance, adverb, background, nominal, attribute and predicate. It was found that ideophones tended to either fulfill a ‘core’ function in the poetic couplet (i.e. as predicate) or a more ‘peripheral’ function (i.e. as adverb or background) (cf. 6.1.2).

These two sets of data were analysed in relation to the hierarchy of types of ideophones, which made it possible to visualize the convergence of the parameter of meaning and the parameter of use in section 6.2. This visualization, repeated here in Figure 12, showed the tendencies that appear to exist in the corpus of Tang dynasty Middle Chinese ideophones.

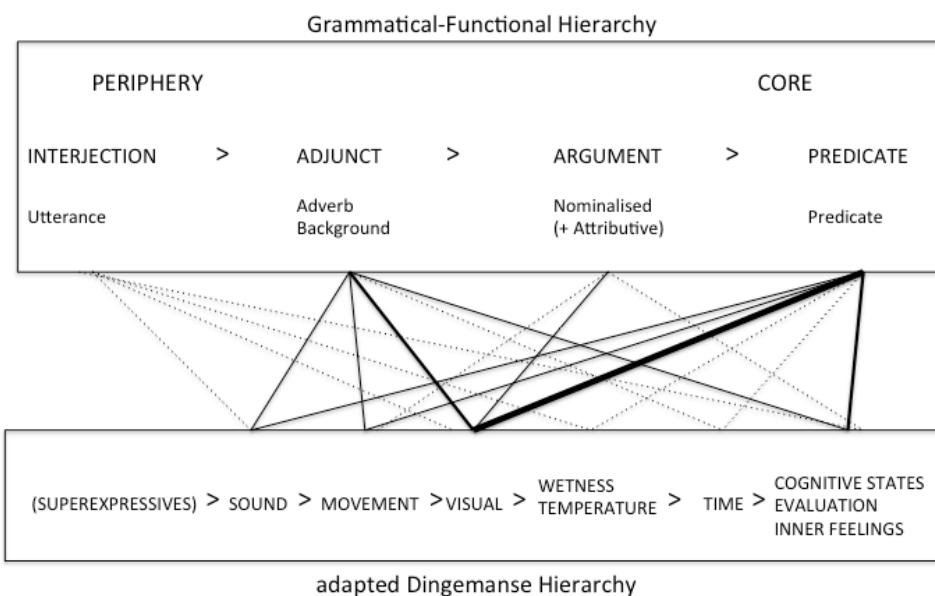


Figure 12: Link between meaning and use

7.1.4. Evaluation of the Dingemanse definition and Chinese terminology

We can conclude that Dingemanse's (2011b) definition of ideophones as “marked words that depict sensory image” was a good point of departure for this study, because it is based on cross-linguistic research, but also leaves enough space for language specific features.

Furthermore, ideophones proved to be a good term to describe the linguistic phenomenon that was investigated in this study. However, there is still no Chinese terminology that captures the full range of words in a way ‘ideophone’ does. Therefore, based on a Chinese translation of the definition (*miaohui zhijue yixiang bei biaozhi de ci* “描绘 知觉意象 被标志 的词”) we propose the term *huiyici* 绘意词 for ‘ideophone’. *Hui* means ‘depict’ or ‘paint (a picture)’; *yi* means ‘idea, intention’; *ci* means ‘word’. We believe ‘depict-idea word’ is a good translation for the term ‘ideophone’.

7.2. Future research

Some future research questions can be linked to the limits of corpus as they were outlined in section 2.1.5. The main goal of this dissertation was not to be exhaustive, but to create a model that can be used to describe ideophones in Middle Chinese, and could also be useful for other stages in the development of the language (cf. 3). This model can and should be tested against the background of a much larger historical corpus, which is available for Chinese.

Detailed corpus linguistic study will have to play a major role in future research on Chinese ideophones, not only for more synchronic studies, but also to study their diachronic evolution. This will provide valuable additions to the field of Chinese linguistics as well as the typological field of ideophones. Unfortunately, psycholinguistic and cognitive experimental studies will only be possible for modern Sinitic languages, but this will also provide a very relevant contribution. In the end, adopting a maximalist approach that tries to embrace a variationist perspective may even show the way ideophones prototypically tend to behave, with layers of more (and less) ideophonized items.

The field is still *mengmeng* ‘flourishing’ and the possibilities appear *cangcang* ‘endless’.

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Appendix A: Glossed example sentences

Glossing conventions

Glosses consist of five parts:

1st line: (Gloss number) AUTHOR, Transcribed title followed by title in Chinese characters

2nd line: Couplet in chinese characters.

Individual lines are separated by a comma and end with a period.

Ideophones are inside a rectangle.

3rd line: Phonological transcription (*Hanyu pinyin*, cf. 2.2)

Tilde ‘~’ indicates reduplication.

Hyphen ‘-’ links roots and suffixation.

Dot ‘.’ marks syllable boundaries

Ideophones are bold.

4th line: Interlinear gloss

Hyphen ‘-’ links roots and suffixation.

Dot ‘.’ indicates several metalanguage elements for a single object-language element

5th line: ‘Free translation’ (based on Wang (2004))

The following abbreviations are used in this study:

1	first person	N	nominal
2	second person	NP	noun phrase
3	third person	O	object-like argument of transitive verb
A	agent-like argument of transitive verb	PASS	passive marker
ADV	adverb(ial)	Q	question marker
ADJ	adjective	RELO	marks the object in a relative clause
AT	attributive	ID	ideophone
BG	background, see section 6.1.2.E	S	single argument of intransitive verb
COMP	complementizer	SBJ	subject marker
DH	Dingemanse Hierarchy	TOP	topic marker
FOC	focus marker	UT	utterance, see section 6.1.2.F
NMLZ	nominalizer	V	verb
GFH	Grammatical-Functional Hierarchy	XI	marks pause
LIH	Lexical Iconicity Hierarchy	YOU	existential sentence (there is, there are)
MOD	modification marker		

- (1) ZHANG JIULING, *Ganyu* (*Lanye chun weirui*) 感遇 (蘭葉春葳蕤)
 欣欣此生意，自爾爲佳節。
 xīn~xīn cǐ shēng-yì zì-ěr wéi jiā jié
 ID.happy this vitality thus make good season
 It is such thriving liveliness of theirs; that brings good seasons to us unawares. (Wang, 2004: 1)
- (2) LI BAI, *Xia zhong nan shan guo hu si shan ren su zhi jiu* 下終南山過斛斯山人宿置酒
 却顧所來徑，蒼蒼橫翠微。
 què gù suǒ lái jìng cāng~cāng héng cuì~wēi.
 but look.back RELO come path ID.endless horizontal ID.misty
 Looking back at the path we had just passed; we saw it crossed with verdure hazy and vast. (Wang, 2004: 3)
- (3) LI BAI, *Yue xia du zhuo* 月下獨酌
 我歌月徘徊，我舞影零亂。
 wǒ gē yuè pái~huái wǒ wǔ yǐng líng~luàn.
 1 sing moon ID.wander 1 dance shadow ID.scattered
 While I'm singing, the moon sways to and fro; while I'm dancing, my shadow tangles so. (Wang, 2004: 4)
- (4) DU FU, *Zeng wei ba chu shi* 贈衛八處士
 明日隔山岳，世事兩茫茫。
 míng-rì gé shān-yuè shì-shì liǎng máng~máng
 Tomorrow separate mountain affairs.of.human.world both ID.blurred
 Tomorrow, we'll be by mountains separated; No one knows in future how we'll be fated. (Wang, 2004: 6)
- (5) DU FU, *Jiaren* 佳人
 自云良家子，零落依草木。
 zì yún liángjiā zǐ líng~luò yī cǎo-mù
 3.self say good.family child ID.decline depend.on grass-wood
 She says she came from a good family, and lived here when reduced to poverty. (Wang, 2004: 8)
- (6) DU FU, *Meng Li Bai zhi yi* 夢李白之一
 死別已吞聲，生別常惻惻。
 sǐ-bié yǐ tūn-shēng shēng-bié cháng cè~cè
 part.forever already cry part.for.a.time often ID.sad
 To part for ever often makes one cry; to part for a time also makes one sigh. (Wang, 2004: 10)
- (7) DU FU, *Meng Li Bai zhi yi* 夢李白之二
 孰云網恢恢，將老身反累。
 shú yún wǎng huī~huī jiāng lǎo shēn fǎn lèi
 who say net ID.large JIANG old body return.to weary
 Who says the net of heaven has large meshes? When growing old, you are in such distress! (Wang, 2004: 10)
- (8) WANG WEI, *Qing xi* 青谿
 漾漾泛菱荇，澄澄映葭葦。
 yàng yàng fàn líng xìng chéng chéng yìng jiā wěi

yàng~yàng fān líng-xìng **chéng~chéng** yìng jiā-wěi.
 ID.drifting float waterweeds ID.clear.water reflect reeds
 It undulates with floating waterweeds, and is clear in the reflection of reeds. (Wang, 2004: 16)

(9) WANG WEI, *Wei chuan tian jia* 渭川田家

田夫 荷 鋤 至, 相 見 語 依依。
 tiánfū hè chú zhì xiāng jiàn yǔ yī~yī
 farmer carry hoe arrive each.other see speak ID.reluctant.to.leave
 Farmers shouldering hoes are seen to come by. They meet and talk idly, loath to say good-bye.
 (Wang, 2004: 17)

(10) MENG HAORAN, *Qiu deng lan shan ji zhang wu* 秋登蘭山寄張五

北 山 白 雲 裏, 隱者 自 怡悅。
 běi shān bái yún lǐ yǐn-zhě zì yí~yuè
 North mountain white cloud in hide-NMLZ 3.self ID.entertained
 In the white clouds over the North Mountain, I, the hermit, myself will entertain. (Wang, 2004: 20)

(11) WANG CHANGLING, *Tong cong di nan zhai wan yue yi shan yin cui shao fu* 同從弟南齋翫月憶山陰崔少府

清 輝 淡 水 木, 演漾 在 窗戶。
 qīng huī dàn shuǐ mù yǎng-yàng zài chuānghù
 clear light glitter water tree ID.undulate in window
 Its clear light glitters in waters and among trees; and ripples on the windows and doors in like wise.
 (Wang, 2004: 23)

(12) WANG CHANGLING, *Tong cong di nan zhai wan yue yi shan yin cui shao fu* 同從弟南齋翫月憶山陰崔少府

苒苒 幾 盈 虛, 澄澄 變 今 古。
 rǎn~rǎn jǐ yíng xū chéng~chéng biàn jīn gǔ
 ID.gradual several full empty ID.bright change now old
 Endless time passes by as it waxes and wanes; The past's changed to the present, but chaste it remains.
 (Wang, 2004: 23)

(13) QI WUQIAN, *Chun fan ruo ye xi* 春泛若耶溪

潭 煙 飛 溶溶, 林 月 低 向 後。
 tán yān fēi róng~róng lín yuè dī xiàng hòu
 pool mist fly ID.slow wood moon low to behind
 Over the pool, the mist spreads vast and gross; The low moon o'er trees its light backward throws.
 (Wang, 2004: 26)

(14) CEN SHEN, *Yu gao shi xue ju deng ci'en si fu tu* 與高適薛據登慈恩寺浮圖

突兀 壓 神 州, 嶧崿 如 鬼 工。
 tú~wù yā shén zhōu zhēng~róng rú guǐ gōng
 ID.towering press spirit country ID.extraordinary be.like ghost work
 Surpassing all others in the country, it's like a structure of genie's workmanship. (Wang, 2004: 29)

- (15) CEN SHEN, *Yu gao shi xue ju deng ci'en si fu tu* 與高適薛據登慈恩寺浮圖
 五陵 北原 上，萬古青 **濛濛**。
 wǔ líng běi yuán shàng wàn-gǔ qīng méng~méng
 five tombs north plain on forever green ID.flourishing
 The five tombs of emperors on the north plain; are forever green and misty remain. (Wang, 2004: 29)
- (16) WEI YINGWU, *Chu fa yang zi ji yuan da xiao shu* 初發揚子寄元大校書
 憎憊去親愛，**泛泛**入煙霧。
 qī~qī qù qīn ài fàn~fàn rù yān-wù
 ID.sad leave dear love ID.floating enter mist
 Sadly to my dear friend I said good-bye; and into the vast mist my boat passed by. (Wang, 2004: 34)
- (17) WEI YINGWU, *Chang'an yu feng zhe* 長安遇馮著
 寞寞花正開，**鶯鶯**燕新乳。
 míng~míng huā zhèng kāi yáng~yáng yàn xīn-rǔ
 ID.secretly flower just blossom ID.flying swallow newborn
 Now the flowers here have blossomed on the sly; and young swallows learn to fly in the sky. (Wang, 2004: 36)
- (18) WEI YINGWU, *Xi ci xu yi xian* 夕次盱眙縣
 浩浩風起波，**冥冥**日沈*夕。
 hào~hào fēng qǐ bō míng~míng rì chén xī
 ID.abundant.water wind raise wave ID.dark sun sink night
 The wind stirs up huge waves with all its might; and dimly sets the sun out of the sight. (Wang, 2004: 37)
 *沈=沉
- (19) WEI YINGWU, *Song Yang shi nü* 送楊氏女
 永日方**慙慙**，出門復**悠悠**。
 yǒng rì fāng qī~qī chū mén fù yōu~yōu
 eternalday 2 ID.sad leave door return.to ID.melancholic
 These days to grieve for you I never cease; Now you're leaving, the more my cares increase. (Wang, 2004: 39)
- (20) LIU ZONGYUAN, *Chen yi chao shi yuan du chan jing* 晨詣超師院讀禪經
 日出**霧露**餘，青松如膏沐。
 rì chū wù~lù yú qīngsōng rú gāo mù
 sun come.out ID.mist plenty.of (green).pine like oil bathe
 Still moistened by the dew and mist, when the sun shines; as if they were bathed in oil, look these verdant pines. (Wang, 2004: 43)
- (21) WANG CHANGLING, *Sai xia qu* 塞下曲
 平沙日未沒，**點點**見臨洮。
 píng shā rì wèi méi diǎn~diǎn jiàn Líntáo
 flat sand sun not.yet set ID.dim.light see Lintao
 The sun over the sandy plain has not yet set; A vague view of the distant Lintao we can get. (Wang, 2004: 46)

(22) LI BAI, *Guan shan yue* 關山月

明 月 出 天 山， 蒼 茫 雲 海 間。
míng yuè chū tiān shān cāng-máng yún hǎi jiān
bright moon come.out Tian mountain ID.wide cloud see amid

From the Tian Mountain rises the moon bright; in a vast sea of clouds it shines its light. (Wang, 2004: 47)

(23) MENG JIAO, *You zì yín* 遊子吟

臨 行 密 密 縫， 意 恐 遲 遲 歸。
lín xíng mì-mì fèng yì kǒng chí-chí guī
close perform ID.close sew mind fear ID.long.lasting come.back

She sews with stitches close to each other; for fear he may about the world long roam. (Wang, 2004: 51)

(24) LI QI, *Ting Dong da tan hu jia sheng jian ji yu nong fang gei shi* 聽董大彈胡笳聲兼寄語弄房給事

古 戍 蒼 蒼 烽 火 寒， 大 荒 沈 沈 飛 雪 白。
gǔ shù cāng-cāng fēng huǒ hán dà huāng chén-chén fēi xuě bái
ancient garrison ID.endless beacon fire cold big waste ID.vague fly white snow
The ancient posts there are wild, and beacon fires cold grow; gloomy is the vast wasteland and flies the white snow. (Wang, 2004: 58)

(25) LI QI, *Ting Dong da tan hu jia sheng jian ji yu nong fang gei shi* 聽董大彈胡笳聲兼寄語弄房給事

迸 泉 飄 飄 飛 木 末， 野 鹿 嘤 嘤 走 堂 下。
bèng quán sà-sà fēi mù mò yě lù yōu-yōu zǒu táng xià
spurt fountain ID.rapid fly tree branch wild deer ID.bark run hall under
On the trees' farthest parts, gushing fountain sprays fall; wild deer cry and run along the foot of the hall.
(Wang, 2004: 58)

(26) LI QI, *Ting an wan shan chui bi li ge* 聽安萬善吹觱篥歌

枯 桑 老 柏 寒 飄 飄，
kū sāng lǎo bǎi hán sōu-liú
withered mulberry old cedar cold ID.wind.sound
九 雛 鳴 凤 亂 啾 啾。
jiǔ chú míng fèng luàn jiū-jīū.
nine nestling cry phoenix chaos ID.high.sound

Its tune is like free-moving wind that itself steers; freezing the withered mulberry and old cypress; making many young phoenixes cry in a mess; arousing at once dragons' wails and tigers' roars. (Wang, 2004: 60)

(27) LI QI, *Ting an wan shan chui bi li ge* 聽安萬善吹觱篥歌

忽 然 更 作 漁 陽 揣， 黃 雲 蕭 條 白 日 暗。
hū-rán gèng zuò Yúyáng cà, huáng yún xiāo-tiáo bái rì àn
ID.suddenly even.more make Yuyang rub yellow cloud ID.thin white sun dark
All of a sudden, to Yuyang Drumbeats it comes; yellow clouds turn bleak to Spring in the Willow
(Wang, 2004: 60)

- (28) LI BAI, *Lu shan yao ji lu shi yu xu zhou* 廬山謠寄廬侍御虛舟
 香 爐 瀑布 遙 相 望， 迴 厓 脊 嶠 凌 **蒼蒼**。
 xiāng lú pù.bù yáo xiāng wàng huí yá dá zhàng líng cāng~cāng.
 cense stove waterfall far each.other look.at return cliff pile peak tomb ID.endless
 Facing it, cascades of Peak Censer afar lie; winding cliffs and piled-up peaks tower high to the sky.
 (Wang, 2004: 62)
- (29) LI BAI, *Lu shan yao ji lu shi yu xu zhou* 廬山謠寄廬侍御虛舟
 登 高 壯 觀 天 地 間，
 dēng gāo zhuàng guān tiān dì jiān
 climb high magnificent view heaven earth between
 大 江 **茫茫** 去 不 還。
 dà jiāng máng~máng qù bù hái
 big river ID.vast leave not come.back
 I climb high and have a full view of things around; ne'er to return flows the great river forward bound.
 (Wang, 2004: 62)
- (30) LI BAI, *Meng you tian lao yin liu bie* 夢遊天姥吟留別
 謝 公 宿 處 今 尚 在， 淬 水 **蕩漾** 清 猴 啼。
 xiè gōng sù chù jīn shàng zài lù shuǐ dàng~yàng qīng yuán tí
 Xie mister lodge place now still be.at clear water ID.rise clear gibbon growl
 Where the poet Xie once lived is seen to remain; clear water waves and gibbons wail with might and main.
 (Wang, 2004: 64)
- (31) LI BAI, *Meng you tian lao yin liu bie* 夢遊天姥吟留別
 雲 **青青** 兮 欲 雨， 水 **澹澹** 兮 生 煙。
 yún qīng~qīng xī yù yǔ shuǐ dàn~dàn xī shēng yān
 cloud ID.bluegreen XI will rain water ID.ripple XI create smoke
 It looks like rain, so densely are the clouds clustering; o'er the rippling limpid water, mist is gathering.
 (Wang, 2004: 64)
- (32) LI BAI, *Meng you tian lao yin liu bie* 夢遊天姥吟留別
 列缺 **霹靂**， 丘巒 崩 崩。
 liè.quē pī~lì qīū-luán bēng cuī
 lightning ID.lightning.thunder hill-hill collapse break
 Bright flashes of lightning, loudly rumbles the thunder; hillocks in a range are crushed and torn asunder.
 (Wang, 2004: 64)
- (33) LI BAI, *Meng you tian lao yin liu bie* 夢遊天姥吟留別
 霓 爲 衣 兮 風 爲 馬， 雲 之 君 兮 **紛紛** 而 來 下。
 ní wéi yī xī fēng wéi mǎ yún zhī jūn xī fēn~fēn COMP lái xià
 rainbow be clothes XI wind be horses cloud MOD lord XI ID.numerous and come down
 With the rainbows as clothes and the winds as horses; the lords of Clouds come swarming down in great forces. (Wang, 2004: 64)

- (34) CEN SHEN, *Zou ma chuan xing feng song feng da fu chu shi xi zheng* 走馬川行奉送封大夫出師西征
走 馬 川 行 雪 海 邊， 平 沙 莽莽 黃 入 天。
zǒu mǎ chuān xíng xuě hǎi biān píng shā mǎng~mǎng huáng rù tiān
run horse stream go snow sea place flat sand ID.boundless yellow enter sky
The Running-Horse River flows by a sea of snow; where sands are vast that rise up the sky yellow!
(Wang, 2004: 70)
- (35) CEN SHEN, *Bai xue ge song wu pan guan gui jing* 白雪歌送武判官歸京
紛紛 暮 雪 下 輶門， 風 擧 紅 旗 凍 不 翻。
fēn~fēn mù xuě xià yuán-mén fēng chè hóng qí dòng bù fān
ID.numerous camp snow down gate wind strike red flag frozen not wave
O'er the camp gate is densely falling evening snow; the frozen flags won't flutter, though the winds hard blow. (Wang, 2004: 74)
- (36) DU FU, *Ji hanjian yi zhu* 寄韓諫議注
美人 娟娟 隔 秋 水， 灑 足 洞庭 望 八荒。
měi-rén juān~juān gé qiū shuǐ zhuó zú Dòngtíng wàng bā.huāng.
beautiful.woman ID.beautiful separate autumn water wash foot Dongting look.at far.off
You're beyond the autumn river, like a beauty; with feet washed in Dongting Lake, watching earth and sky.
(Wang, 2004: 76)
- (37) DU FU, *Ji hanjian yi zhu* 寄韓諫議注
鴻 飛 冥冥 日 月 白， 青 楓 葉 赤 天 雨 霜。
hóng fēi míng~míng rì yuè bái qīng fēng yè chì tiān yǔ shuāng
Swan.goose fly ID.dark sun moon white green maple leaf red sky rain frost
A swan goose in the air, you're like sun and moon clean; or like frost that falls on red leaves of maples green.
(Wang, 2004: 76)
- (38) DU FU, *Gu bai xing* 古柏行
崔嵬 枝幹 郊 原 古， 窈窕 丹青 戶牖 空。
cuī~wéi zhī-gàn jiāo yuán gǔ yǎo~tiǎo dān-qīng hù-yǒu kōng
ID.big branch-trunk outskirt plain old ID.refined red-green.art door-window empty
Old are giant trees with huge branches on the outskirt plain; empty are the halls while pretty things remain.
(Wang, 2004: 78)
- (39) DU FU, *Gu bai xing* 古柏行
落落 盤 據 雖 得 地， 冥冥 孤高 多 烈 風。
luò~luò pán jù suī dé dì, míng~míng gū~gāo duō liè fēng
ID.aloof disc ground though get ground ID.uncertain ID.alone.tall many strong wind
Though this tall tree has its blessed place aloof to stand; lonely and high, it can hardly strong wind withstand.
(Wang, 2004: 78)

- (40) DU FU, *Guan gong sun da niang di zi wu jian qi xing bing xu* 觀公孫大娘弟子舞劍器行並序
 絳 脣 珠 袖 兩 寂寞，晚 有 弟子 傳 芬芳。
 jiàng chún zhū xiù liǎng jì-mò wǎn yǒu dì-zǐ chuán fēn~fāng
 silk lip pearl sleeve both alone night YOU pupil pass.on ID.fine.stuff
 Both her ruby lips and pearled sleeves have long been gone; by her pupil her fine art is lately passed on.
 (Wang, 2004: 80)
- (41) DU FU, *Guan gong sun da niang di zi wu jian qi xing bing xu* 觀公孫大娘弟子舞劍器行並序
 臨頽 美人 在 白 帝，妙 舞 此 曲 神 揚揚。
 Línyǐng měirén zài bái dì miào wǔ cǐ qū shén yáng~yáng
 Linying beautiful.woman be.at white emperor grace dance this tune spirit ID.elegant
 The Linying fair is now in White Emperor City; who plays the sword dance with grace and dexterity.
 (Wang, 2004: 80)
- (42) DU FU, *Guan gong sun da niang di zi wu jian qi xing bing xu* 觀公孫大娘弟子舞劍器行並序
 金粟 堆 前 木 已 拱，瞿塘 石 城 草 蕭瑟。
 Jīnsù duī qián mù yǐ gǒng Qútáng shí chéng cǎo xiāo~sè.
 Jinsu pile frontwood already arch Qutang stone city grass ID.sparse
 On the south of Jinsu Tombs, trees have to arch grown; near Qutang Gorge, Stone City grass its bleakness has shown. (Wang, 2004: 80)
- (43) DU FU, *Wei feng lu shi zhai guan cao jiang jun hua ma tu* 韋諷錄事宅觀曹將軍畫馬圖
 曾 貌 先 帝 照 夜 白，龍 池 十 日 飛 霹靂。
 céng mào xiān dì zhào yè bái lóng chí shí rì fēi pī-lì
 once appear deceased emperor shine night bright dragon pool ten day fly ID.lightning
 He drew the late Emperor's horse Shine-the-Night-Bright; that made pool dragons for ten days with bolts take to flight. (Wang, 2004: 86)
- (44) DU FU, *Wei feng lu shi zhai guan cao jiang jun hua ma tu* 韋諷錄事宅觀曹將軍畫馬圖
 此 皆 騎 戰 一 敵 萬， 緝 素 漠 漠 開 風 沙。
 cǐ jiē qí zhàn yī dí wàn gǎo-sù mò~mò kāi fēng shā
 3 all ride battle one enemy ten.thousand white.silk-dress ID.dense open wind sand
 In battles they are steeds one against ten thousand; on the white silk, they seem to stir up wind and sand.
 (Wang, 2004: 86)
- (45) CHEN ZI'ANG, *Deng youzhou tai ge* 登幽州臺歌
 念 天 地 之 悠 悠， 獨 憶 然 而 涕 下。
 niàn tiān-dì zhī yōu~yōu dú chuàng-rán COMP tì xià
 think heaven-earth SUBJ ID.longlasting alone ID.sad and tear down
 The world will go on to the last; alone, I shed tears of torture! (Wang, 2004: 89)

(46) HAN YU, *Shan shi* 山石

當	流	赤	足	蹋	澗	石,
dāng	liú	chì	zú	tà	jiàn	shí
when	go	red	feet	step.on	stream	stone
水	聲	激激		風	吹	衣。
shuǐ	shēng	jī~jī		fēng	chuī	yī
water	sound	ID.rapid.flowing.sound	wind	blow		clothes

Walking in water we trod on stones with bare feet; rushing water makes noise and in our clothes winds fleet.
(Wang, 2004: 90)

(47) DU FU, *Zeng wei ba chu shi* 贈衛八處士

怡然	敬	父執,	問	我	來	何方。
yí-rán	jìng	fù.zhí	wèn	wǒ	lái	hé fāng

ID.happy respect father's.friend ask 1 come what place

They greet their father's old friend with good grace; and want to be told I come from what place.

(Wang, 2004: 6)

(48) YUAN JIE, *Zei tui shi guan li* 賊退示官吏

忽然	遭	世	變,	數	歲	親 戎旃。
hū-rán	zāo	shì	biàn	shù	suì	qīn róng-zhān

ID.sudden suffer world change number year 1 army-flag

Then came a sudden change of world affairs; in the army some years I had to stay. (Wang, 2004: 30)

(49) LIU ZONGYUAN, *Chen yi chao shi yuan du chan jing* 晨詣超師院讀禪經

澹然	離	言說,	悟悅	心	自	足。
dàn-rán	lí	yán-shuō	wù-yuè	xīn	zì	zú

ID.calm leave speak-speak ID.understanding.happy mind 3.self enough

A feeling of calm beyond words has seized on me; conscious of bliss, of course contented I should be.

(Wang, 2004: 43)

(50) HAN YU, *Ba yue shi wu ye zeng zhang gong cao* 八月十五夜贈張功曹

十	生	九	死	到	官	所,	幽	居	默默	如	藏逃。
shí	shēng	jiǔ	sǐ	dào	guān	suǒ	yōu	jū	mò~mò	rú	cáng-táo

ten live nine die.go.to official place hidden dwell ID.secluded like hide-run.away

I went to my new post at life's risk, nine times out of ten; and lived in seclusion like a runagate in his den.

(Wang, 2004: 92)

(51) HAN YU, *Ye heng yue miao sui su yue si ti men lou* 謁衡嶽廟遂宿嶽寺題門樓

我	來	正	逢	秋	雨	節,	陰	氣	晦昧	無	清	風。
wǒ	lái	zhèng	féng	qiū	yǔ	jié	yīn	qì	huì~mèi	wú	qīng	fēng.

1 come just meet autumn rain season dark air ID.gloomy dont.have clear wind

Once in the autumn rainy season, there I had a ride; all was gloomy and dismal, of the breeze there wasn't a bit. (Wang, 2004: 94)

(52) HAN YU, *Ye heng yue miao sui su yue si ti men lou* 謁衡嶽廟遂宿嶽寺題門樓
猿 鳴 鐘 動 不 知 曜，果果 寒 日 生 於 東。
yuán míng zhōng dòng bù zhī shǔ gǎo~gǎo hán rì shēng yú dōng
monkey growl bell move notknow dawn ID.bright cold day be.born in east
Monkeys cried, bells tolled, came unnoticed the dawning of the day; and in the east, a brilliant, chilly sun had soon risen. (Wang, 2004: 94)

(53) HAN YU, *Shi gu ge* 石鼓歌
鐫 功 勒 成 告 萬 世，
juān gōng lēi chéng gào wàn shì
engrave effort strap become tell ten.thousand generation
鑿 石 作 鼓 署 嵯峨。
záo shí zuò gǔ huī cuō~é
chisel stone make drum destroy ID.towering
Rocks were chopped off the cliffs and chipped into form of drum; whereon their feats were carved to show generations to come. (Wang, 2004: 97)

(54) HAN YU, *Shi gu ge* 石鼓歌
石 鼓 之 歌 止 於 此，嗚呼 吾 意 其 路。
shí gǔ zhī gē zhǐ yú cǐ wū~hū wú yì qí cuō~tuó
stonedrum MOD song stop at this ID.sad.sound 1 intention 3 ID.wasted.time
And here must be ended my poor Ode to the Stone Drums; but alas, would that my intention might not to naught come! (Wang, 2004: 97)

(55) BAI JUYI, *Chang hen ge* 長恨歌
翠 華 搖 搖 行 復 止，西 出 都 門 百 餘 里。
cuì huá yáo~yáo xíng fù zhǐ xī chū dōu mén bǎi yú lǐ
jade grand ID.swing go repeat stop west go.out capital gate hundred more li
The Emperor with courtiers and ladies, after alternate moves and tarries; past the west gate of the city, marched forward more than a hundred li. (Wang, 2004: 102)

(56) BAI JUYI, *Chang hen ge* 長恨歌
天 旋 日 轉 迴 龍 駁， 到 此 蹤 蹤 不 能 去。
tiān xuán rì zhuǎn huí lóng yù dào cǐ chóu~chú bù néng qù
heaven revolve day turn return dragon drive arrive.at this ID.hesitant not can leave
At last came to pass a great turn: the Emperor was now to return; at the place where had died his love, he hesitated and could not move. (Wang, 2004: 102)

(57) BAI JUYI, *Chang hen ge* 長恨歌
遲 遲 鐘 鼓 初 長 夜，耿 耿 星 河 欲 曜 天。
chí~chí zhōng gǔ chū cháng yè gěng~gěng xīng-hé yù shǔ tiān.
ID.late bell drum first.time long night ID.bright star-river will dawn day
Late sounded the bell and the drum, the night began long to come; very bright was the Milky Way, heralding the dawning of the day. (Wang, 2004: 102)

(58) BAI JUYI, *Chang hen ge* 長恨歌

悠悠 生死別 經年，魂魄不曾來入夢。
yōu~yōu shēng sǐ bié jīng nián hún.pò bù céng lái rù mèng
ID.longlasting live die depart pass year soul not again come enter dream
Long were the years they had parted, since she from the world departed; wheresoever her soul might be, in dreams he e'er failed it to see. (Wang, 2004: 102)

(59) BAI JUYI, *Chang hen ge* 長恨歌

上窮碧落 下黃泉，兩處茫茫皆不見。
shàng qióng bì luò xià huáng quán liǎng chù máng~máng jiē bù jiàn
above endless blue residence under yellow stream two place ID.boundless all not see
Nor in the blue heaven above, nor in the netherworld below; could he find the Emperor's love, both the places were boundless so! (Wang, 2004: 102)

(60) BAI JUYI, *Chang hen ge* 長恨歌

忽聞海上有仙山，
hū wén hǎi yǒu xiān shān
sudden hear sea YOU immortal mountain
山在虛無縹渺間。
shān zài xū wú piāo~miǎo jiān
mountain be.at empty not ID.indiscernible between

Suddenly it was reported: on the sea a fairy mountain; could indistinctly be spotted, among visions all uncertain. (Wang, 2004: 102)

(61) BAI JUYI, *Chang hen ge* 長恨歌

攬衣推枕起徘徊，珠箔銀屏籬迤開。
lǎn yī tuī zhěn qǐ pái~huái zhū bó yín píng lǐ~yí kāi
take clothes push pillow get.up ID.wander pearl screen silver screen ID.wind open
Then she pushed aside her pillow, dressed herself and pace to and fro; the pearl shade and the silver screen, one by one to be opened were seen. (Wang, 2004: 102)

(62) BAI JUYI, *Chang hen ge* 長恨歌

風吹仙袂飄飄，舉，
fēng chuī xiān mèi piāo~piāo jǔ
wind blow immortal sleeve ID.blow raise
猶似霓裳羽衣舞。
yóu-sìní shang yǔ yī wǔ
like rainbow skirt feather clothes dance

Blown by the wind, her two sleeves long, fluttered and made her the same sight; as when she had danced to the song "Clothes Rainbow-Bright and Feather-Light". (Wang, 2004: 102)

(63) BAI JUYI, *Chang hen ge* 長恨歌

天長地久有時盡，此恨綿綿無絕期。
tiān cháng dì jiǔ yǒu shí jìn cǐ hèn mián~mián wú jué qī
heaven long earth long have time end this sorrow ID.continuous not.have end period
Ne'er have heaven and earth so long passed, but they'll sometime come to their last; while there'll be no end to the sorrow, of these two lovers deep in love so! (Wang, 2004: 102)

(64) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

潯陽江頭夜送客，楓葉荻花秋瑟瑟。
Xún.yáng jiāng tóu yè sòng kè fēng yè dí huā qiū sè~sè.
Xunyang river head night send guest maple leave reed flower autumn ID.cold
To Xunyang Riverside I had to wend, one night, for I was to see off a friend; maple leaves and reed flowers could oft be seen, so bleak and chilly the autumn had been. (Wang, 2004: 114)

(65) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

醉不成功，歡慘將別，
zuì bù chéng huān cǎn jiāng bié
drunk not become merry pitiful will separate
別時茫茫江浸月。
bié shí máng~máng jiāng jìn yuè
separate time ID.vague river immerse moon
Though drunk, we could never make ourselves gay, to each other we'd have good-bye to say; our parting would lead to a vague future, just like the moon immersed in the river. (Wang, 2004: 114)

(66) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

絃絃掩抑聲聲思，似訴平生不得志。
xián-xián yǎn-yì shēng-shēng sī sì sù píng shēng bù dé zhì
string-string ID.gloomy sound-sound think seem complain normal life not get success
There was depression in each pluck of string, there was to think of in each sound something; it seemed that she was trying to complain, of setbacks she used in her life to sustain. (Wang, 2004: 114)

(67) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

大絃嘈嘈如急雨，小絃切切如私語。
dà xián cáo~cáo rú jí-yǔ xiǎo xián qiè~qiè rú sī yǔ
big string ID.noisy like torrent.rain small string ID.low.sound like private talk
Quite loud was the sound from the bigger strings, like a torrential rain beating something; while low was the sound from the finer strings, like two lovers between themselves whispering. (Wang, 2004: 114)

(68) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

嘈嘈切切錯雜彈，大珠小珠落玉盤。
cáo~cáo qiè~qiè cuò zá tán dà zhū xiǎo zhū luò yù pán
ID.noisy ID.low.sound mistake various play big pearl smal pearl fall jade plate
When her fingers on the strings made varied bounds, at intervals came the high or low sounds; as if bigger or smaller pearls precious, were droping onto the jade plate curious. (Wang, 2004: 114)

(69) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

我聞琵琶已歎息，又聞此語重唧唧。
wǒ wén pí.pá yǐ tàn-xī yòu wén cǐ yǔ chónɡ jī~jī
1 hear pipa already sigh also hear this talk double ID.sighing
When at pipa playing she made a try, I had many a time heaved a long sigh; now that her story was touchingly told, I couldn't help sighing for her double-fold. (Wang, 2004: 114)

(70) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

豈無山歌與村笛，嘔啞嘲哳難為聽。
qǐ wú shān gē yǔ cūn dí [ðu-yǎ]-[cháo-zhā] nán wéi tīng
Q not.have mountain song and village flute ID.ugly.sound hard be listen
There were of course songs by mountain songsters, or sometimes flutes played by idle villagers; but they were mostly grating to the ear, and therefore very displeasing to hear. (Wang, 2004: 114)

(71) BAI JUYI, *Pipa xing* 琵琶行

淒淒不似向前三聲，滿座重聞皆掩泣。
qī~qī bù sì xiàng qián shēng mǎn zuò zhòng wén jiē yǎn qì
ID.sad not seem to front sound full audience again hear all cover cry
They produced such mournful sounds different, from those they had so far before forth sent; that all those who heard the pipa played again, covered their faces and couldn't their tears restrain. (Wang, 2004: 114)

(72) LI SHANGYIN, *Han bei* 韓碑

公退齋戒坐小閣，濡染大筆何淋漓。
gōng tuì zhāi.jiè zuò xiǎo gé rú-rǎn dà bì hé lín-lí
duke retire fast sit small room ID.soak big brush what ID.dripping.wet
Yu retired, fasted, bathed and sat in a small cabinet; how fully soaked in ink his large writing brush he let. (Wang, 2004: 123)

(73) GAO SHI, *Yan ge xing* 燕歌行

邊庭飄飄那可度，絕域蒼茫更何有。
biān tíng piāo-yáo nà kě dù jué yù cāng-máng gèng hé yǒu
border stay ID.turbulent that can cross end area ID.vast even.more what have
How could they stay in the borderland amidst turbulence? What could they get in the vast place at remotest distance? (Wang, 2004: 128)

(74) YUAN JIE, *Shi yu hu shang zui ge* 石魚湖上醉歌

山為樽，水為沼，酒徒歷歷坐洲島。
shān wéi zūn shuǐ wéi zhǎo jiǔ-tú lì~lì zuò zhōu.dǎo
mountain be goblet water be pond alcohol-follower ID.in.rows sit islet
The hill serves as goblet, the water as wine pool; the islet is of drunkards sitting around full. (Wang, 2004: 89)

(75) GAO SHI, *Yan ge xing* 燕歌行

相	看	白	刃	血	紛紛,
Xiāng	kàn	bái	rèn	xuè	fēn~fēn
each.other	look.at	white	sword	blood	ID.numerous
死	節	從	來	豈	顧 勳。
sǐ	jié	cóng	lái	qǐ	gù xūn
die	season	follow	come	Q	turn.and.look merit

Each saw the other's white sword profusely stained with reb blood; when they were ready to die, o'er what rewards would they brood? (Wang, 2004: 128)

(76) WANG WEI, *Lao jiang xing* 老將行

漢	兵	奮迅	如	霹靂	虜	騎	崩騰	畏	蒺藜。
Hàn	bīng	fèn~xùn	rú	pī~lì	lǔ	qí	bēngténg	wèi	jí.lí
Han	soldier	ID.run.fast	like	ID.lightning	captive	ride	ID.gallop	fear	barbed.points

Like thunderbolt, the inspired Han soldiers sped on their way; far fear of hoof-traps, the dispersed enemies fled away. (Wang, 2004: 133)

(77) WANG WEI, *Lao jiang xing* 老將行

蒼茫	古木	連	窮	巷,	寥落	寒	山	對	虛	牖。	
cāng~máng	gǔ	mù	lián	qióng	xiàng	liáo~luò	hán	shān	duì	xū	yǒu
ID.vast	old	tree	connect	poor	lane	ID.desolate	cold	mountain	face	humble	window

Vast were age-old trees extending to his secluded lanes; quiet were bleak hills facing his humble window panes. (Wang, 2004: 133)

(78) LI BAI, *Shu dao nan* 蜀道難

蠶叢	及	魚鳧,	開	國	何	茫然。
Cán.cóng	jí	Yúfú	kāi	guó	hé	máng-rán
Cancong	reach	Yufu	open	country	what	ID.immense

The Kind Cancong together with the King Yufu; how mythic was the kingdom founded there by them two! (Wang, 2004: 136)

(79) LI BAI, *Shu dao nan* 蜀道難

青	泥	何	盤盤,	百	步	九	折	縈	巖巒。
qīng	ní	hé	pán~pán	bǎi	bù	jiǔ	zhé	yíng	yán~luán
green	mud	what	ID.wind	hundred	steps	nine	twist	encompass	ID.high

How winding is Mount Green Turf and how tortuous! Round its peaks a hundred steps will find turns numerous. (Wang, 2004: 136)

(80) LI BAI, *Shu dao nan* 蜀道難

劍閣	岥嶸	而	崔嵬,	一	夫	當	關,	萬	夫	莫	開。
Jiàngé	zhēng~róng	COMP	cuī~wéi	yī	fū	dāng	guān	wàn	fū	mò	kāi
Jiange	ID.high	and	ID.towering	one	man	when	close	ten.thousand	man	none	open

Jiange is a stronghold very lofty and steep; which ten-thousand fail to seize with one man to keep. (Wang, 2004: 136)

(81) LI BAI, *Chang xiang si zhi yi* 長相思之一

微 霜 淒淒 簾 色 寒, 孤 燈 不 明 思 欲 絶。
wēi shuāng qī~qī diàn sè hán gū dēng bù míng sī yù jué
small frost ID.cold bamboo.mat feel cold lonely light not bright thoughts will end
Autumn crickets are chirping round rails shining like gold; and chilly light frost makes the bamboo mat feel cold. Under dim lamplight, of longing for her I'll die; rolling up screens, I see the moon and vainly sigh.
(Wang, 2004: 139)

(82) LI BAI, *Chang xiang si zhi yi* 長相思之二

此 曲 有 意 無 人 傳, 願 隨
cǐ qū yǒu yì wú rén chuán yuàn suí
this tune have intention not.have persontransfer want follow
春 風 寄 燕然, 憶 君 迢迢 隔 青 天。
chūn fēng jì yàn.rán yì jūn tiáo~tiáo gé qīng tiān
spring wind send frontier long.for lord ID.distant separate blue sky
No one is to carry my song's message, I fear; let it be brought by the spring breeze to the frontier; with the blue sky 'tween us, how I long for you here! (Wang, 2004: 140)

(83) LI BAI, *Xing lu nan zhi yi* 行路難之一

停 杯 投 箸 不 能 食,
tíng bēi tóu zhù bù néng shí
cease cup put chopsticks not can eat
拔 劍 四 顧 心 茫然。
bá jiàn sì gù xīn máng-rán.
draw sword four look.around mind ID.unclear
Laying down my cup and chop-sticks, I can eat nought; but drawing my sword, I look around, lost in deep thought. (Wang, 2004: 141)

(84) DU FU, *Bing che xing* 兵車行

車 麟麟, 馬 蕭蕭, 行 人 弓 箭 各 在 腰。
chē lín~lín mǎ xiāo~xiāo xíng rén gōng jiàn gè zài yāo
chariot ID.rattle horse ID.neigh walk person bow arrow each be.at waist
The chariots are rattling, the horses are neighing; the bows and arrows are round the men's waists swaying.
(Wang, 2004: 146)

(85) DU FU, *Bing che xing* 兵車行

新 鬼 煩 冊 舊 鬼 哭, 天 陰雨 濕 聲 啾啾。
xīn guǐ fán yuàn jiù guǐ kū tiān yīn.yǔ shī shēng jiū~jiū
new ghost complain wrong old ghost cry day torrent wet sound ID.high.sound
New ghosts complain of their wrongs and old ghosts weep; in gloomy, rainy days their sobs make one's flesh creep. (Wang, 2004: 146)

(86) DU FU, *Li ren xing* 麗人行

犀	箸	饜飫	久	未	下,
xī	zhù	yàn~yù	jiǔ	wèi	xià
rhinoceros	chopsticks	ID.abundant	long.time	not.yet	down
鑾	刀	縷	切	空	紛綸 。
luán	dāo	lǚ	qiè	kōng	fēn~lún
bell	knife	in.detail	cut	vainly	ID.hectic

Rhinoceros-horn chopsticks are kept still, for they all have eaten and drunk their fill; vainly are cooks busy in cutting things, whith the kitchen knives that can cause bells' rings. (Wang, 2004: 150)

(87) LI LONGJI, *Jing zou Lu Zhai Kongzi er tan zhī* 經鄒魯祭孔子而歎之

夫子	何	爲	者,	栖栖	一	代	中。
fū-zǐ	hé	wèi	zhě	qī~qī	yī	dài	zhōng
master	what	for	TOP	ID.busy	one	lifetime	in

For what indeed, my Master, did you strive; so hard and unceasingly all your life? (Wang, 2004: 162)

(88) LI BAI, *Song you ren* 送友人

揮	手	自	茲	去,	蕭蕭	班	馬	鳴。
huī	shǒu	zì	zī	qù	xiāo~xiāo	bān	mǎ	míng
wave	hand	from	this	leave	ID.neigh	scheduled	horse	cry

We've to wave hands and from here you've to depart; for loudly is neighing your horse that'll on time start.
(Wang, 2004: 174)

(89) LI BAI, *Ye bo niu zhu huai gu* 夜泊牛渚懷古

明	朝	挂	帆	席,	楓	葉	落	紛紛 。
míng	zhào	guà	fān	xí	fēng	yè	luò	fēn~fēn
tomorrow	morning	hang	sail	seat	maple	leaf	fall	ID.numerous

To-morrow morning I will sail away; amid maple leaves fallen every-way. (Wang, 2004: 176)

(90) DU FU, *Chun su zuo sheng* 春宿左省

花	隱	掖	垣	暮,	啾啾	棲	鳥	過。
huā	yǐn	yē	yuán	mù	jiū~jiū	qī	niǎo	guò
flower	dim	tuck.in	wall	dusk	ID.chirp	stay	bird	pass

Flowers grow dim as dusk befalls the Yamen walls fast; merrily chirp returning birds when they skim past.
(Wang, 2004: 179)

(91) DU FU, *Lü ye shu huai* 旅夜書懷

飘	飘	何	所	似,	天	地	一	沙鷗。
piāo~piāo	hé	suǒ	sì	tiān	dì	yī	shā-ōu	
ID.drift	what	RELO	seem	heaven	earth	one	sand-gull	

What am I like, roaming all my life here and there? Just a seagull that flies between the earth and air!
(Wang, 2004: 185)

(92) WANG WEI, *Gu Song shan zuo* 歸嵩山作

清 川 帶 長 薄， 車 馬 去 閑閑。
qīng chuān dài zhǎng báo chē mǎ qù xián~xián
clear stream girdle long duckweed cart horse leave ID.tranquil
The clear stream girdles a long range of trees; my carriage rattles along with much ease. (Wang, 2004: 189)

(93) MENG HAORAN, *Liu bie Wang Wei* 留別王維

寂寂 竟 何 時， 朝朝 空 自 歸。
jì~jì jìng hé shí zhāo-zhāo kōng zì guī
ID.alone complete what time morning-morning empty 3.selfreturn
What am I waiting for with life idled away! Gaining nothing, I come back alone day by day. (Wang, 2004: 203)

(94) MENG HAORAN, *Zao han you huai* 早寒有懷

迷 津 欲 有 問， 平 海 夕 漫漫。
mí jīn yù yǒu wèn píng hǎi xī mǎn~màn
confused ford will have question flat sea night ID.long

I am anxious to know where lies my course right; on such boundless water in the long, long night.
(Wang, 2004: 204)

(95) LIU CHANGQING, *Song li zhong cheng gui han yang bie ye* 送李中丞歸漢陽別業

流落 征 南 將， 曾 驅 十 萬 師。
liú~luò zhēng nán jiāng céng qū shí wàn shī
ID.wander campaign south general once drive ten ten.thousand man
He, who on a southern campaign was commander; of a hundred thousand men, is now to wander.
(Wang, 2004: 206)

(96) LIU CHANGQING, *Song li zhong cheng gui han yang bie ye* 送李中丞歸漢陽別業

茫茫 江漢 上， 日 暮 復 何 之？
máng~máng Jiāng-Hàn shàng rì mù fù hé zhī
ID.vast Jiang-Han above sun set again what go.to
Now, on such vastness of waters near Jiang-Han there; I wonder, with the sun setting, he will drift where!
(Wang, 2004: 206)

(97) WEI YINGWU, *Fu de mu yu song li zhou* 賦得暮雨送李胄

漠漠 帆 來 重， 夔 夔 鳥 去 遲。
mò~mò fān lái zhòng míng~míng niǎo qù chí.
ID.misty sail come heavy ID.dark bird leave slow
Lagging come the sails, shrouded in heavy moisture; while in twilight rain-drenched homing birds slowly fly.
(Wang, 2004: 213)

(98) LI YI, *Xi jian wai di you yan bie* 喜見外弟又言別

十 年 離亂 後， 長 大 一 相 逢。
shí nián lí~luàn hòu zhǎng dà yī xiāng féng
ten year ID.chaotic after grow big one each.other meet

After then long sad years of turbulence and pain; we've grown up and are now happy to meet again.
(Wang, 2004: 218)

(99) LIU YUXI, *Shu xian zhu miao* 蜀先主廟

天 地 英雄 氣， 千 秋 尚 凜然。
tiān dì yīng.xióng qì qiān qiū shàng lǐn-rán
heaven earth hero spirit thousand autumn once ID.demand.respect
His heroic spirit got from earth and heaven; has wone him high prestige up to to-day even.
(Wang, 2004: 222)

(100) LIU YUXI, *Shu xian zhu miao* 蜀先主廟

淒涼 蜀 故 妓， 來 舞 魏 宮 前。
qī.liáng shǔ gù jì lái wǔ wèi gōng qián.
ID.miserable Shu former beauty come dance Wei palace front
Who surrendered, thus causing Shu's former beauties; their tragic lot to dance in Wei's royal palace.
(Wang, 2004: 222)

(101) BAI JUYI, *Fu de gu yuan cao song bie* 賦得古原草送別

離離 原 上 草， 一 歲 一 枯 荣。
lí~lí yuán shàng cǎo yī suì yī kū róng
ID.thick plain above grass one year one wither flower
Luxuriant is the grass on the plain; once a year does it by turn thrive and wane. (Wang, 2004: 224)

(102) BAI JUYI, *Fu de gu yuan cao song bie* 賦得古原草送別

又 送 王 孫 去， 婵 婵 滿 別 情。
yòu sòng wáng sūn qù qī~qī mǎn bié qíng
again send king grandson leave ID.mourn full separate feelings
Once more I see off a noble's descendant; at parting, it gives us a heart laden. (Wang, 2004: 224)

(103) DU MU, *Lü su* 旅宿

旅 館 無 良 伴， 凝 情 自 悄 然。
lǚ guǎn wú liáng bàn níng~qíng zì qiǎo-rán.
travel hall not.have good companion ID.focus 3.self ID.sad
I stayed at an inn in lack of good company; a sense of loneliness came of itself on me. (Wang, 2004: 225)

(104) XU HUN, *Qiu ri fu que ti tong guan yi lou* 秋日赴闕題潼關驛樓

紅 葉 晚 蕭蕭， 長亭 酒 一 瓢。
hóng yè wǎn xiāo~xiāo cháng.tíng jiǔ yī piáo
red leaf late ID.rustle rest.house wine one gourd
Red leaves rustle in the roaring wind of evening; at the Post House a gourdful of wine I'm drinking.
(Wang, 2004: 226)

(105) LI SHANGYIN, *Luo hua* 落花

參差 連曲陌，迢遞送斜暉。
cēn~cī lián qū mò tiáo~dì sòng xié huī
ID.quick.complex connect wind road ID.distant send inclined sunlight
They swirl pellmell and to tortuous paths swiftly run; as far as if they would see off the setting sun.
(Wang, 2004: 230)

(106) WEN TINGYUN, *Song ren dong you* 送人東遊

荒戍落黃葉，浩然離故關。
huāng shù luò huáng yè hào~rán lí gù guān
wilde fortress fall yellow leaf ID.heroic leave gold pass
Yellow leaves are falling on the forlorn fortress; you leave the old pass in a way firm and dauntless!
(Wang, 2004: 233)

(107) CUI TU, *Chu ye you huai* 除夜有懷

迢遞三巴路，羈危萬里身。
tiáo~dì sān bā lù jī wēi wàn lǐ shēn
ID.distant three Ba road stay danger ten.thousand li body
Long is the road to the three Ba's in the west land; where far from home I now stay and the trials withstand.
(Wang, 2004: 237)

(108) CUI TU, *Chu ye you huai* 除夜有懷

亂山殘雪夜，孤獨異鄉春。
luàn shān cán xuě yè gū~dú yì xiāng chūn
chaos mountain remnant snow night ID.lonely different village spring
The mountains are filled with remnant snows in the night; I'm a homesick stranger by a lonely candle light.
(Wang, 2004: 237)

(109) DU XUNHE, *Chun gong yuan* 春宮怨

早被嬪娟誤，欲妝臨鏡慵。
zǎo bèi chán~juān wù yù zhuāng lín jìng yōng
early PASSID.beautiful scold will make.up look.at mirror weary
Long have I troubled myself with my own beauty; to improve my looks at a glass I've got lazy.
(Wang, 2004: 239)

(110) CUI HAO, *Huang he lou* 黃鶴樓

黃鶴一去不復返，白雲千載空悠悠。
huáng hè yī qù bù fù fǎn bái yún qiān zài kōng yōu~yōu
yellow crane one leave not again return white cloud thousand carry in.vain ID.idle
Since the yellow crane left here, never has it come back; aimlessly are white clouds a thousand years drifting slack. (Wang, 2004: 243)

(111) CUI HAO, *Huang he lou* 黃鵠樓

晴 川 **歷歷** 漢陽 樹， 芳 草 **萋萋** 鵠洲。
qíng chuān lì~lì Hàn yáng shù fāng cǎo qī~qī yīng.wǔ zhōu
sunny stream ID.rows Hanyang tree scented grass ID.flourishing parrot islet
Along the sunny river, the Hanyang trees are seen; over the Parrot Islet, grow grasses thick and green.
(Wang, 2004: 243)

(112) CUI HAO, *Xing jing hua yin* 行經華陰

岩堯 太華 俯 咸 京， 天 外 三 峰 削 不 成。
tiáo~yáo Tàihuá fǔ xián jīng tiān wài sān fēng xuē bù chéng
ID.high.steep Taihua look Xian capital sky outside three peak chopnot become
High and steep is Taihua Mountain o'erlooking Xianyang Capital; its three peaks towering beyond the sky are not worked by the hands mortal. (Wang, 2004: 244)

(113) ZU YONG, *Wang ji men* 望薊門

燕 臺 一 望 客 心 驚， 箫 鼓 **喧喧** 漢 將 營。
Yàn tái yī wàng kè xīn jīng xiāo gǔ xuān~xuān hàn jiāng yíng
Yan terrace one see guest heard shock flute drum ID.bustle Han general camp
A far view from the Yen Terrace makes me palpitate with much fear; thundering drumbeats and bugles from the Han troops' camps I can hear. (Wang, 2004: 245)

(114) CUI SHU, *Jiu ri deng wang xian tai cheng liu ming fu rong* 九日登望仙臺呈劉明府容

且 欲 近 尋 彭 澤 宰，
qiě yù jìn xún Péng Zé zǎi
moreover want close search Peng Ze official
陶然 共 醉 菊 花 杯。
táo-rán gòng zuì jú huā bēi
ID.drunk.happy together drunk chrysanthemum flower cup
I'd rather have Prefect nearby t'gether with me; drink chrysanthemum wine and make ourselves carefree.
(Wang, 2004: 246)

(115) LI QI, *Song wei wan zhi jing* 送魏萬之京

莫 見 長安 行 樂 處， 空 令 歲 月 易 **蹉跎**。
mò jiàn Cháng'Ān xíng lè chù kōng lìng suì yuè yì cuō~tuó
don't see Chang'an go happy place empty cause year month easy ID.waste.time
Don't take Chang'an City just for a place for gaiety; and let your months and years be wasted in vanity!
(Wang, 2004: 247)

(116) GAO SHI, *Song Li shao fu bian xia zhong wang shao fu bian Changsha* 送李少府贬峽中王少府貶長沙

聖 代 即 今 多 雨 露， 暫 時 分 手 莫 **躊躇**。
shèng dài jí jīn duō yǔ lù zhàn shí fēn shǒu mò chóu~chú.
holy era until now many rain dew temporary time divide hand don't ID.sad
As His Majesty is always generous with favor; our parting must be temporary, so don't be cast down.
(Wang, 2004: 249)

(117) WANG WEI, *Zeng guo gei shi* 贈郭給事

洞 門 高閣 露 餘 輝， 桃 李 陰 陰 柳 素 飛。
dòng mén gāo~gé ài yú huī táo lǐ yīn~yīn liǔ xù fēi
hole gate ID.towering haze more shine peach plum ID.dark willow catkin fly
Bathed in the setting sunshine are arch-door towers standing high; among shady leaves of peach and plum, willow catkins fly. (Wang, 2004: 253)

(118) WANG WEI, *Ji yu wang chuan zhuang zuo* 積雨輞川莊作

漠漠 水 田 飛 白 鷺， 陰 陰 夏 木 嘸 黃 鶲。
mò~mò shuǐ tián fēi bái lù yīn~yīn xià mù zhuàn huáng-lí
ID.misty water field fly white egret ID.dark summer tree cry yellow-blackbird
Over misty water-logged fields white-feathered egrets fly; amidst shadowy summer woods orioles sweetly cry. (Wang, 2004: 254)

(119) DU FU, *Shu xiang* 蜀相

丞 相 祠 堂 何 處 尋， 錦 官 城 外 柏 森 森。
chéng-xiàng cí-táng hé chù xún Jǐnguān chéng wài bǎi sēn~sēn
prime-minister temple-hall what place seek Jinguan city outside cedar ID.dense.wood
Where can we find the old temple of the Prime Minister? It lies outside of Jinguan under the tall cypress trees. (Wang, 2004: 255)

(120) DU FU, *Ye wang* 野望

跨 馬 出 郊 時 極 目， 不 堪 人 事 日 蕭 條。
kuà mǎ chū jiāo shí jí mù bù kān rén shì rì xiāo~tiáo
stride horse go.out city time reach eye not contain person thing sun ID.decline
Riding to the suburbs, I at times cast my eyes far away; and can't help grieving for state affairs getting worse day by day. (Wang, 2004: 257)

(121) DU FU, *Deng gao* 登高

無 邊 落 木 蕭 蕭 下， 不 盡 長 江 滾 滾 來。
wú biān luò mù xiāo~xiāo xià bù jìn Chángjiāng gǔn~gǔn lái
not.have place fall tree ID.sparse down not end Yangtze ID.gush come
Those falling leaves in boundless quantity are drifting in the air desolately; the water of the endless Yangtze River is surging on for ever and ever. (Wang, 2004: 261)

(122) DU FU, *Yong huai gu ji zhi er* 詠懷古跡之二

悵 望 千 秋 一 灑 淚， 蕭 條 異 代 不 同 時。
chàng~wàng qiān qiū yī sǎ lèi xiāo~tiáo yì dài bù tóng shí
ID.melancholic thousand autum one shed tear ID.decline different time not same time
Looking back o'er ages, I feel grief and can't help shedding my tears; he and I are ill-fated alike though in different times and years. (Wang, 2004: 264)

(123) LIU CHANGQING, *Changsha guo Jia Yi zhai* 長沙過賈誼宅

寂寂	江	山	搖	落	處,
jì~jì	jiāng	shān	yáo	luò	chù
ID.quiet	river	mountain	shake	fall	place
憐	君	何	事	到	天 涯。
lián	jūn	hé	shì	dào	tiān yá
overthink	lord	what	thing	arrive.at	heaven horizon

All around it's deadly quiet and presents a scene forlorn and desolate; I wonder why you were banished tot his world's corner and sigh for your fate! (Wang, 2004: 269)

(124) LIU CHANGQING, *Zi xia kou zhi Yingwu zhou wang yue yang ji Yuan zhong cheng* 自夏口至鸚鵡洲望岳陽寄元中丞

汀	洲	無	浪	復	無	煙,
tīng	zhōu	wú	làng	fù	wú	yān
sand	islet	not.have	wave	repeat	not.have	smoke
楚	客	相	思	益	渺然。	
Chǔ	kè	xiāng	sī	yì	miǎo-rán	
Chu	guest	each.other	think	more	ID.far.away	

It being fine, there're no waves or mists about het Parrot Sand Bar; I, a stranger here, think the more of you, my dear friend who's afar. (Wang, 2004: 270)

(125) QIAN QI, *Zeng que xia pei she ren* 贈闕下裴舍人

二	月	黃	鶯	飛	上	林,	春	城	紫禁	曉	陰陰。
èr	yuè	huáng	yīng	fēi	shàng	lín	chūn	chéng	zǐ.jìn	xiǎo	yīn~yīn
two	moon	yellow	oriole	fly	above	wood	spring	city	forbidden.palace	dawn	ID.dark

In second moon, on Imperial Garden trees orioles alight; the Royal Palace in the capital is bathed in dawn's dim light.

(Wang, 2004: 271)

(126) WEI YINGWU, *Ji li dan yuan xi* 寄李儋元錫

世	事	茫茫	難	自	料,	春	愁	黯黯	獨	成	眠。
shì	shì	máng~máng	nán	zì	liào	chūn	chóu	àn~àn	dú	chéng	mián
world	affair	ID.numerous	hard	self	expect	spring	sad	ID.sad	alone	become	sleep

In this world of vicissitudes, what will happen one can't reckon; gloomily laden with spring sadness, I alone go to sleep here. (Wang, 2004: 272)

(127) HAN HONG, *Tongtixianyouguan* 同題仙遊觀

仙	臺	初	見	五	城	樓,
xiān	tái	chū	jiàn	wǔ	chéng	lóu
immortal	platform	first.time	see	five	city	tower
風	物	淒淒	宿	雨	收。	
fēng	wù	qī~qī	sù	yǔ	shōu	
wind	thing	ID.desolate	stay	rain	collect	

The fairy temple with its five tall towers begins to appear; after a long rain, which makes the landscape so desolate and dreary. (Wang, 2004: 273)

(128) LIU ZONGYUAN, *Deng Liuzhou cheng lou ji zhang ting feng lian si zhou ci shi* 登柳州城樓寄漳汀封連四州刺史

城	上	高	樓	接	大	荒,
chéng	shàng	gāo	lóu	jiē	dà	huāng
city	above	high	tower	merge.with	big	wilderness
海	天	愁	思	正	茫茫。	
hǎi	tiān	chóu	sī	zhèng	máng~máng	
sea	heaven	sad	thought	just	ID.boundless	

Merging into the wilderness stands the tower high; my sad thoughts extend as the boundless sea and sky.

(Wang, 2004: 276)

(129) LIU YUXI, *Xi sai shan huai gu* 西塞山懷古

王濬	樓	船	下	益州,	金陵	王	氣	黯然	收。	
Wáng	Jùn	lóu	chuán	xià	Yì-zhōu	Jin.líng	wáng	qì	àn-rán	shōu
Wang	Jun	tower	boat	down	Yi-prefecture	Jinling	king	air	ID.lifeless	collect

From Yi Prefecture sailed down Wang Jun's ships of war; the Jinling ruler's kingly air was soon no more.

(Wang, 2004: 277)

(130) LIU YUXI, *Xi sai shan huai gu* 西塞山懷古

今	逢	四	海	為	家	日,	故	壘	蕭蕭	蘆荻	秋。
jīn	féng	sì	hǎi	wéi	jiā	rì	gù	lěi	xiāo~xiāo	lú.dí	qiū
now	connect	four	sea	be	home	day	old	fort	ID.desolate	reed	autumn

To-day, the four seas are all under the Royal reign; amid autumn reeds those lonely old forts still remain.

(Wang, 2004: 277)

(131) LI SHANGYIN, *Jin se* 錦瑟

此	情	可	待	成	追憶,	只	是	當	時	已	惘然。
cǐ	qíng	kě	dài	chéng	zhuī.yì	zhǐ	shì	dāng	shí	yǐ	wǎng-rán
this	feeling	can	wait	become	recall	only	this	when	time	already	ID.overwhelmed

Are these strong feelings only to be later recalled? At the very first they were felt, one must have been galled.

(Wang, 2004: 282)

(132) LI SHANGYIN, *Wu ti zhi yi* 無題之一

蠟	照	半	籠	金	翡翠,	麝	熏	微	度	繡	芙蓉。
là	zhào	bàn	lóng	jīn	fěi~cuì	shè	xūn	wēi	dù	xiù	fú.róng
candle	shine	half	cage	gold	ID.green.bird	musk	smell	little	pass	embroidered	lotus

On half the caged golden halcyon, the candle light glistens; the musk smell gently spreads to the lotus-embroidered curtain. (Wang, 2004: 285)

(133) LI SHANGYIN, *Wu ti zhier* 無題之二

颯颯 東 風 細 雨 來， 芙蓉 塘 外 有 輕 雷。
sà~sà dōng fēng xì yǔ lái fú.róng táng wài yǒu qīng léi
ID.wind.sound east wind small rain come lotus pond outside YOU light thunder
Along with drizzling rains are soughing the eastern winds swift; beyond the Hibiscus Pond is heard the faint thundering sound.

(Wang, 2004: 286)

(134) LI SHANGYIN, *Wu ti zhier* 無題之二

重 帷 深 下 莫 愁 堂， 臥 後 清 宵 細細 長。
zhòng wéi shēn xià mò chóu táng wò hòu qīng xiāo xì~xì cháng
heavy curtain deep down don't worry hall sleep after clear night ID.slow long
In the Don't Worry Bower multifold curtains hang so deep; long, long seems the quiet night when she is awake from sleep. (Wang, 2004: 291)

(135) LI SHANGYIN, *Wu ti zhier* 無題之二

直 道 相 思 了 無 益，
zhí dào xiāng sī liǎo wú yì
straight say each.other thought know not.have better
未 妨 惆悵 是 清 狂。
wèi fáng chóu~chàng shì qīng kuáng
not.yet obstruct ID.frustration this clear crazy

Though she knows her lovesickness is nothing but a fancy; why not let disconsolation go on for being crazy!

(Wang, 2004: 291)

(136) WEN TINGYUN, *Li zhou nan du* 利洲南渡

澹然 空 水 對 斜 暉，
dàn-rán kōng shuǐ duì xié huī
ID.tranquil empty water face incline sunshine
曲 島 蒼茫 接 翠微。
qǔ dǎo cāng~máng jiē cuì~wēi
winding island ID.vast merge ID.green.hill

Over the limpid water reflect the slanting sun's rays; a winding isle merges in the vastness with the green hill.

(Wang, 2004: 292)

(137) WEN TINGYUN, *Su wu miao* 蘇武廟

蘇武 魂銷 漢 使 前， 古 祠 高 樹 兩 茫然。
Sū.Wǔ hú.xiāo Hán shǐ qián gǔ cí gāo shù liǎng máng~rán
Su Wu die Han envoy before old temple high tree both ID.unknown
When Su Wu met Han's envoy, of broken heart he would die; but now so calm remain his old shrine and tall trees around. (Wang, 2004: 293)

(138) LIU CHANGQING, *Song ling che shang ren* 送靈澈上人

蒼蒼 竹 林 寺， 鐸 鐘 聲 晚。

cāng~cāng zhú lín sì yáo~yǎo zhōng shēng wǎn

ID.green bamboo tree temple ID.dark bell sound late

Amid the greens stands the Bamboo Temple alone; In the evening reverberates its late bell's tone.

(Wang, 2004: 306)

(139) LIU CHANGQING, *Ting tan qin* 聽彈琴

泠泠 七 弦 上， 靜 听 松 風 寒。

líng~líng qī xián shàng jìng tīng sōng fēng hán

ID.cold seven string above quiet listen.to pine wind cold

Quietly I heard the Chilly-Wind-in-Pines, the old song; on the tinkling seven-string zither by someone played.

(Wang, 2004: 306)

(140) LI BAI, *Yu jie yuan* 玉階怨

却 下 水晶 簾， 玲瓏 望 秋 月。

què xià shuǐ.jīng lián líng~lóng wàng qiū yuè

abrupt down crystal curtain ID.bright look.at autumn moon

Then she abruptly lowers the crystal screen; and stares at the autumn moon clean and bright.

(Wang, 2004: 315)

(141) ZHANG XU, *Tao hua xi* 桃花谿

隱隱 飛 橋 隔 野 煙， 石 磯 西 畔 問 漁 船。

yǐn~yǐn fēi qiáo gé yě yān shí jī xī pàn wèn yú chuán

ID.unclear fly bridge separate wild smoke stone ledge west bank ask fish boat

Separating the wild mist, overhung a bridge hazily; by a west-bank rock, to a fisher I raised a query.

(Wang, 2004: 322)

(142) CEN SHEN, *Feng ru jing shi* 逢入京使

故 園 東 望 路 漫漫， 雙 袖 龍鍾 淚 不 乾。

gù yuán dōng wàng lù mǎn~mǎn shuāng xiù lóng~zhōng lèi bù gān

old garden east look road ID.boundless both sleeve ID.wet tear notdry

Looking eastwards, I feel my homeland lies far, far away; in vain I try with sleeves my o'erflowing of tears to stay. (Wang, 2004: 326)

(143) ZHU QINYU, *Gong zhong ci* 宮中詞

寂寂 花 時 閉 院 門，

jí~jí huā shí bì yuàn mén

ID.silent flower time close palace gate

美人 相 並 立 瓊 軒。

měi-rén xiāng bìng lì qióng xuān

beautiful.woman each.other next.to stand fine lofty

With flowers in bloom, the palace is quiet with its closed gate there; along the splendid porch stand side by side the maidens fair. (Wang, 2004: 334)

(144) DU MU, *Ji Yangzhou Han Chuopan guan* 寄揚州韓綽判官

青 山 隱隱 水迢迢， 秋盡江南草未凋。
qīng shān yǐn~yǐn shuǐ tiáo~tiáo qiū jìn jiāngnán cǎo wèi diāo
green mountain ID.unclear water ID.long autumn end riversouth grass not.yet wither
The mountains grow indistinct, the waters flow far away; at autumn's end, green grasses south of the river still stay. (Wang, 2004: 337)

(145) DU MU, *Zeng bie zhi yi* 贈別之一

娉娉 裹裹 十三餘， 荳蔻 梢頭 二月初。
pīng~pīng niǎo~niǎo shí sān yú dòu.kòu shāo.tóu èr yuè chū
ID.beautiful ID.long ten three more cardamom branch.tip two month beginning
She is beautiful, slender, a little more than thirteen; looking like cardamom at a spray's tip in early spring. (Wang, 2004: 339)

(146) LI SHANGYIN, *Ji Linghu lang zhong* 寄令狐郎中

嵩雲秦樹久離居，雙鯉迢迢一紙書。
Sōng yún Qín shù jiǔ lí jū shuāng lǐ tiáo~tiáo yī zhǐ shū
Song* cloud Qin* tree long.time leave live pair carp ID.long one paper letter
You in Chang'an and I in Luoyang - long parted are we; from your place far away your letter has at last reached me. (Wang, 2004: 340)

*Mount Song lies near Luoyang, Chang'an is located in Qin.

(147) WEI ZHUANG, *Jin ling tu* 金陵圖

江雨霏霏江草齊，六朝如夢鳥空啼。
jiāng yǔ fēi~fēi jiāng cǎo qí liù cháo rú mèng niǎo kōng tí
river rain ID.dense.rain river grass neat six dynasty like dream bird in.vain cry
Drizzling rains fall o'er neat grass that on the riverside lies; Six Dynasties have passed by like dreams with birds' vain cries. (Wang, 2004: 345)

(148) ZHANG BI, *Ji ren* 寄人

別夢依依到謝家，小廊回合曲闌斜。
bié mèng yī~yī dào xiè jiā xiǎo láng huí~hé qǔ lán xié
separate dream ID.nostalgic arrive.at excuse house small corridor ID.wind twist rail incline
I dreamed going to your home, reluctant from you to part; there were small corridors with slanting zigzag rails around. (Wang, 2004: 346)

(149) ANONYMOUS, *Za shi* 雜詩

盡寒食雨草萋萋，著麥苗風柳映堤。
jìn hán shí yǔ cǎo qī~qī zhuó mài miáo fēng liǔ yìng dī
end cold food rain grass ID.flourish begin wheat sprout wind willow reflect dyke
In the rain near Cold Food Day, luxuriantly grass grows; young wheat waves in the wind, while on the lakeside sway willows. (Wang, 2004: 346)

(150) WANG WEI, *Wei cheng qu* 渭城曲

渭 城 朝 雨 涼 輕 墓， 客 舍 青 青 柳 色 新。
Wèi chéng zhāo yǔ yì qīng chén kè shě qīng~qīng liǔ sè xīn
Wei city morning rain moisten light dust guest lodge ID.green willow colour new
Morning rains in Wei City clean the dust off the pathway; near the tavern, willows are fresh with luxuriant green. (Wang, 2004: 348)

(151) WANG CHANGLING, *Chang xin yuan* 長信怨

奉 帚 平 明 金 殿 開， 暫 將 團 扇 共 徘 徻。
fèng zhǒu píng.míng jīn diàn kāi zàn jiāng tuán shàn gòng pái~huái.
offer broom dawn gold hall open short.time will circle fan together ID.wander
At dawn when the palace gate opens, she will sweep around; then for a while she will stroll about, holding a fan round. (Wang, 2004: 349)

Appendix B:

Conventions

This appendix shows all ideophones found in the corpus and glosses (cf. appendix A). It has been cleared of duplicates. The table has been sorted according to its Hanyu pinyin transcription method.

- Column 1:** Pinyin Hanyu pinyin Mandarin Chinese transcription (cf. 2.2)
- Column 2:** Simplified characters of the ideophone, followed by its traditional variant between square brackets '[]'
- Column 3:** Middle Chinese reconstruction, according to Baxter (1992); Baxter and Sagart (2014a); Baxter and Sagart (2014b)
asterisk '*' indicates attested reconstruction
hash '#' indicates own reconstruction, based on *fanqie* (cf. 4.3) and Baxter and Sagart's works
- Column 4:** Zdic, online dictionary
- Column 5:** Translation of Zdic
- Column 6:** Morphological pattern (cf. 4.4)
ALLIT stands for alliteration
ASS stands for assonance
CON stands for consonance
DIFF stands for non-reduplication, or different
PARA stands for pararhyme
RAN stands for -*ran* suffixation
RED stands for full reduplication
RHYME stands for rhyme

Pinyin	Chinese	Middle Chinese	Zdic	Translation	Morph
ànànrán	黯黯 [黯黯]	#'eamH~ 'eamH	1.光线昏暗；颜色发黑。2.隐藏不露，不显扬。3.沮丧忧愁貌。	1. Dim light of a blackish colour. 2. Hiding something. 3. Seeming very sad.	RED
bēngténg	崩腾 [崩騰]	*pong~ dong	1.奔腾。2.奔走，奔波。3.动荡，纷乱。4.形容杂乱之貌。5.飞扬，纷飞。	1. Rushing, galloping. 2. Rush away, rush about. 3. Turmoil, chaos. 4. Describes chaos. 5. Fly, waver.	RHYME

cāngcāng	苍苍 [蒼蒼]	*tshang~ tshang	1.深青色。2.指天。3.茂盛；众多。 4.灰白色。5.茫无边际。6.迷茫。	1. Deep blue-green. 2. Heaven. 3. Foirishing, numerous. 4. Blue. 5. Endless. 6. Dazed.	RED
cāngmáng	苍茫 [蒼茫]	*tsang~ #mang	1.广阔无边的样子。2.模糊不清的样子。3.犹匆忙。	1. Expansive looking. 2. Looking vague. 3. Like being in a hurry.	RHYME
cáocáo	嘈嘈 [嘈嘈]	#dzaw~ dzaw	1.形容众声嘈杂。2.犹吵吵。	1. Describes the chattering of many people. 2. Noisy.	RED
cècè	恻恻 [惻惻]	#tsrhik~ tsrhik	1.悲痛；凄凉。2.寒冷貌。3.恳切。	1. Sad, grieving. 2. Seeming cold. 3. Earnest.	RED
cēncī	参差 [參差]	*tsrhim~ *tsrhje	1.不齐貌。2.纷纭繁杂。3.蹉跎；错过。4.远离；阻隔。5.差不多；几乎。6.很快；顷刻。7.不一致；矛盾。8.差池；差错。9.古代乐器名。洞箫，即无底的排箫。亦名笙。相传为舜造，象凤翼参差不齐。	1. Seeming neat. 2. Diversely complex. 3. Wasted, missed. 4. Far away, separated by barriers. 5. Almost. 6. Very quick. 7. Contradictory. 8. Incorrect. 9. Ancient music instrument [...].	ALLIT
chàngwàng	怅望 [悵望]	*trhjangH~ mjiangH	惆怅地看望或想望。	Melancholically looking or desiring.	RHYME
chánjuān	婵娟 [嬋娟]	#dzyen~ #'jwen	1.姿态美好貌。2.指美人。3.形容花木秀美动人。4.指花木。5.形容月色明媚。6.指代明月或月光。7.轻盈飘舞貌。8.犹婵媛。情思牵萦貌。	1. Appearing to have a beautiful attitude. 2. Beautiful woman. 3. Describes beautiful flowers that move people. 4. Flowers and trees. 5. Bright moon. 6. Moon(light). 7. Seeming to waver slightly. 8. Lovely, affectionate (woman).	RHYME
cháozhā	嘲哳 [嘲哳]	#traew~ #traet	1.形容乐器声或歌声嘈杂。2.形容鸟鸣声嘈杂。3.形容说话声音含糊不清。	1. Describes the different sounds of music instruments or singing. 2. Describes the chattering of birds. 3. Describes dim and vague chattering.	ALLIT

chénchén	沉沉 [沈沈]	*drim~ drim	1.盛貌；茂盛貌。2.水深貌；雨大貌。3.形容深沉。4.形容心事沉重。5.形容物体沉重。6.形容寂静无声或声音悠远隐约。7.形容音信杳无。8.宫室深邃貌。	1. Seeming luscious. 2. Water appearing to be very deep, or rain to be plentiful. 3. Appearing deep. 4. Describes deep emotions. 5. Describes heavy objects. 6. Describes quiet or vaguely distant sounds. 7. Describes silence. 8. A palace seeming abstruse.	RED
chéngchéng	澄澄 [澄澄]	*dring~ dring	清澈明洁貌。	Seeming clear and bright (watery)	RED
chíchí	迟迟 [遲遲]	*drij~ drij	1.徐行貌。2.阳光温暖、光线充足的样子。3.长远。4.长久。5.渐渐地；慢慢地。6.晚；延迟。7.舒缓，从容不迫的样子。8.眷念貌；依恋貌。9.迟疑。	1. Seeming to walk slowly. 2. Warm and full sunrays. 3. Far off. 4. Long lasting. 5. Gradually, slowly. 6. Late. 7. Seeming leisurely. 8. Appearing to be nostalgic and holding onto something. 9. Hesitating.	RED
chóuchàng	惆怅 [惆悵]	#trhjuw~ *trhjangH	1.因失意或失望而伤感、懊恼。2.惊叹。唐杜甫3.轻率。4.仓猝。	1. Sad, upset because of frustration or hesitation. 2. Amazing (Tang Du Fu). 3. Lightly. 4. Hastily.	ALLIT
chóuchú	踌躇 [躊躇]	#drjuw~ #drjo	1.踯躅，徘徊不进。2.犹豫，迟疑不决。3.研究，反复思量。4.从容自得。5.忐忑不安，极度痛心。	1. Wandering without end. 2. Hesitant. 3. Thought-through thinking. 4. Calm and contented. 5. Uneasy, extremely sad.	ALLIT
chuàngrán	怆然 [愴然]	#tsrhjangH -*nyen	悲伤貌。	Seeming sad.	RAN
cùiwēi	翠微 [翠微]	#tshwijH~ *mej	1.指青翠掩映的山腰幽深处。2.泛指青山。3.形容山光水色青翠缥缈。	1. Refers to the verdant deeply hidden places in the mountainside. 2. Blue-green hills. 3. Describes landscapes of mountains and rivers covered in greenish mist.	CON

cuīwéi	崔嵬 [崔嵬]	*dzwoj~ *ngwoj	1.本指有石的土山。后泛指高山。2.比喻巨大的障碍或困难。3.山顶。4.高耸貌；高大貌。5.显赫；盛大。6.犹块垒。胸中郁积的不平之气。	1. Stony mound (originally), high mountains (later). 2. Big obstacles or difficulties. 3. Mountain peak. 4. Seemingly towering. 5. Prominent, grand. 6. Gloomy.	RHYME
cuó'é	嵯峨 [嵯峨]	#tsha~ #nga	1.山高峻貌。2.指高耸的山。3.屹立。4.坎坷不平。5.形容盛多。	1. Mountains appearing very high. 2. Towering mountains. 3. Gigantically towering. 4. Bumpy. 5. Describes abundance.	RHYME
cuōtuó	蹉跎 [蹉跎]	#tsha~ #da	1.失足。2.失时。3.衰退。4.失意；虚度光阴。5.参差不齐貌。6.阻挠。	1. Slippery. 2. Missing the moment. 3. Receding. 4. Frustrated because of wasted time. 5. Seemingly uneven. 6. Obstructed.	RHYME
dàndàn	澹澹 [澹澹]	*damX~ damX	1.荡漾貌。2.吹拂貌。3.恬静貌。4.广漠貌。5.颜色淡；不浓。	1. Rippling. 2. Blowing. 3. Tranquil. 4. Expansive. 5. Lightly coloured.	RED
dàngyàng	荡漾 [蕩漾]	*dangH~ #yangH	1.水波微动。2.引申指物体在水中起伏波动。3.思想、情绪等起伏波动。4.飘扬；飘拂。5.引申为吹拂。6.浮动；浮现。	1. Slightly moving waves. 2. Rising and falling in the water (metonymy). 3. Thoughts and emotions rising and falling. 4. Flying, flowing. 5. Blowing (metonymy). 6. Floating, emerging.	RHYME
dànrán	澹然 [澹然]	*damX- *nyen	1.恬淡貌。2.安定貌；安静貌。	1. Seeming tranquil. 2. Seeming stable and quiet.	RAN
fānfān	泛泛 [汎汎]	*phjomH~ phjomH	亦作“泛泛”。亦作“汎汎”。1.漂浮貌；浮行貌。2.引申为随波逐流。3.水流貌。4.广大无边际貌。5.充满貌。6.浮浅；寻常。	1. Seemingly floating. 2. Moving with the waves (metonymy). 3. Appearance of flowing water. 4. Seemingly endless. 5. Seemingly full. 6. Superficial, unusual.	RED
fěicuì	翡翠 [翡翠]	#pejX~ #tsjwijH	1.鸟名。嘴长而直，生活在水边，吃鱼虾之类。羽毛有蓝、绿、赤、棕等色，可做装饰品。2.指翠羽。用以装饰车服，编织帘帷。3.即硬玉。色彩鲜艳的天然矿石，主要用作装饰品和工艺美术品。	1. Bird [...]. 2. Emerald like feathers, used in decoration [...]. 3. Jadeite, used in decoration [...].	CON

fēifēi	霏霏 [霏霏]	#pej~pej	1.雨雪盛貌。2.泛指浓密盛多。3.飘洒，飞扬。4.纷乱貌。	1. Rain and snow appearing abundant. 2. Thick and much. 3. Floating and flying in the air. 4. Seemingly chaotic.	RED
fēnfāng	芬芳 [芬芳]	#pjun~ *phjang	1.香；香气。2.比喻美好的德行或名声。3.犹纷纷。	1. Fragrant, aromatic. 2. With a good reputation or name (metaphor). 3. Numerous but chaotic.	ALLIT
fēnfēn	纷纷 [紛紛]	#pjun~ pjun	1.乱貌。2.众多貌。3.烦忙；忙乱。	1. Seemingly chaotic. 2. Seemingly numerous. 3. Hectic.	RED
fēnlún	纷纶 [紛綸]	#pjun~ *lwin	1.杂乱貌；众多貌。2.渊博。3.忙碌；忙乱。4.华美。	1. Seeming messy and numerous. 2. Profound. 3. Hectic. 4. Gorgeous.	RHYME
fènxùn	奋迅 [奮迅]	*pjunH~ #sinH	1.形容鸟飞或兽跑迅疾而有气势。2.精神振奋，行动迅速。3.振起。	1. Describes birds flying or beasts running fast and ferosciously. 2. With inspired spirit and fast movement. 3. Raise up.	RHYME
gǎogǎo	杲杲 [杲杲]	#kawH~ kawH	明亮貌。	Appearing very bright.	RED
gāogé	高阁 [高閣]	*kaw~ *kak	1.高大的楼阁。2.置放书籍、器物的高架子。3.高高地搁置起来。谓弃置。4.星名。	1. Tall tower. 2. Placement of books and things on a high shelf. 3. Shelved highly. 4. Name of a star.	ALLIT
gěnggěng	耿耿 [耿耿]	*keangX~ keangX	1.烦躁不安，心事重重。2.诚信貌。3.指一片忠心。4.明亮貌。5.显著；鲜明。6.超凡之貌。7.上升貌。8.高远貌。	1. Irritable, preoccupied. 2. Seeming honest. 3. Loyalty. 4. Seeming bright. 5. Bright, distinct. 6. Appearing extraordinary. 7. Seeming rising. 8. Seeming lofty.	RED
gūdú	孤独 [孤獨]	*ku~ *duwk	1.幼而无父和老而无子。2.孤立无援，孤单无助。3.只身独处；孤单寂寞。	1. Young without father or old without a son. 2. Isolated, lonely, helpless. 3. Alone, lonely.	ASS
gūgāo	孤高 [孤高]	*ku~ *kaw	1.孤立高耸。2.孤特高洁；孤傲自许。	1. isolated and high. 2. alone and noble; proud	ALLIT
gǔngǔn	滚滚 [滾滾]	#kwonX~ kwonH	1.水涌流貌。2.翻腾貌。3.滔滔不绝貌。4.谓迅速消逝。5.浑圆饱满貌。	1. Water appearing to be rushing. 2. Seemingly churning. 3. Seemingly gushing. 4. Quickly fading away. 5. Looking round and plump.	RED

hào hào	浩浩 [浩浩]	*hawX~ hawX	1.水盛大貌。2.广大无际貌。3.谓胸怀开阔坦荡。4.风势强劲貌。5.声音宏大。6.引申为喧闹。	1. Water appearing to be abundant. 2. Seeming great and endless. 3. Magnanimous and open-minded. 4. Wind appearing very strong. 5. Grand and loud sound. 6. Noisy (metonymy)	RED
hào rán	浩然 [浩然]	*hawX- *nyen	1.水盛大貌。2.广大壮阔貌。3.正大豪迈貌。4.不可阻遏、无所留恋貌。	1. Water appearing to be abundant. 2. Seeming immense and magnificent. 3. Seeming grand and heroic. 4. Seeming irresistible and unforgettable.	RAN
huí hé	回合 [回合]	*hwoj~ *hop	1.缭绕；环绕。2.旧小说称两武将交锋一次为一个回合。3.现泛指双方较量一次。亦作“廻合”。	1. Wind around. 2. Old times: clash of two general's chariots. 3. Contest between two parties.	ALLIT
huī huī	恢恢 [恢恢]	#khwoj~ khwoj	1.宽阔广大貌。2.宽宏大度貌。	1. Seeming immense and wide. 2. Seeming large-minded, magnanimous.	RED
huì mèi	晦昧 [晦昧]	*xwojH~ *mwojH	1.昏暗，阴暗。2.犹愚昧。3.隐晦不明；模糊不清。	1. Dark. 2. Ignorant. 3. Obscure, blurred.	RHYME
hūrán	忽然 [忽然]	*xwot- *nyen	1.不经心，忽略。2.俄顷，一会儿。3.突然。4.偶然。5.恍惚；不明貌。6.尽；死。7.假如；倘或。	1. Careless. 2. For a while. 3. Suddenly. 4. Accidentally. 5. Appearing dim and vague. 6. Ending, dying. 7. Supposing, if	RAN
jì jì	寂寂 [寂寂]	*dzek~ dzek	1.寂静无声貌。2.孤单；冷落。3.犹悄悄。	1. Appearing silent. 2. Alone and cold. 3. Quietly.	RED
jī jī	激激 [激激]	*kek~ kek	1.急疾貌。2.象声词。急流声。	1. Seeming very fast. 2. Sound of rapid flowing (onom.)	RED
jī jī	唧唧 [唧唧]	#tsi~ tsi	1.叹息。亦指叹息声。2.赞叹声。3.鸟鸣、虫吟声。4.犹唠叨。	1. Sighing. 2. Humming. 3. Chirping of birds and insects. 4. Nagging.	RED
jiū jiū	啾啾 [啾啾]	#tsjuw~ tsjuw	1.象声词。鸟兽虫的鸣叫声。2.象声词。吹奏管乐声。3.象声词。泛以象各种凄切尖细的声音。	1. Chirping of birds, beasts and insects (onom.). 2. Sound of wind music (onom.). 3. High, sharp sound (onom.)	RED
juān juān	娟娟 [娟娟]	#'jwen~ 'jwen	1.姿态柔美貌。2.长曲貌。3.明媚貌。4.飘动貌。5.同“涓涓”。缓流；细流。	1. Appearing to have a gentle attitude. 2. Long and curved. 3. Beautiful. 4. Floating. 5. Slowly flowing, trickling.	RED

liáoluò	寥落 [寥落]	#lew~ *lak	1.稀疏；稀少。2.衰落；衰败。3.冷落；冷清。4.谓孤单；寂寞。	1. Sparce, scarce. 2. Declining. 3. Desolate. 4. Lonely.	ALLIT
lílí	离离 [離離]	*lje~ lje	1.盛多貌。2.浓密貌。3.井然有序貌。4.旷远貌；空貌。5.明亮貌；光鲜貌。6.引申为光彩、光荣。7.清晰貌；分明貌。8.隐约貌。9.若断若续貌；相连貌。10.懒散疲沓貌。11.飘动貌；摇荡貌。12.轻细貌。13.悲痛貌；忧伤貌。14.独特貌；孤独貌。15.象声词。	1. Seemingly numerous. 2. Seeming thick. 3. Orderly but filled with paradoxes. 4. Seeming far off. 5. Seeming bright. 6. Gorious (metonymy). 7. Seeming clear. 8. Seeming faint. 9. Seeming connected after a break. 10. Seeming lazy and sluggish. 11. Seemingly wavering. 12. Seeming delicate. 13. Seeming sad, depressed. 14. Seeming distinct and lonely. 15. Onomatopoeia.	RED
lìlì	历历 [歷歷]	*lek~ lek	1.清晰貌。2.逐一，一一。3.排列成行。4.犹历录。5.零落貌。6.象声词。	1. Seeming clear. 2. One by one. 3. Arranged in rows. 4. Seeming scattered. 5. Onomatopoeia.	RED
líluàn	离乱 [離亂]	*lje~ *lwanH	1.变乱。常指战乱。2.历乱。纷杂貌。	1. Become chaotic (in wars). 2. Seeming chaotic and confused.	ALLIT
línglíng	泠泠 [泠泠]	#leng~ leng	1.清凉貌；冷清貌。2.清白、洁白貌。3.形容声音清越、悠扬。	1. Seeming cool and clear. 2. Seeming clean and white. 3. Describes clear and melodious sound.	RED
línglóng	玲珑 [玲瓏]	#leng~ #ljowng	1.玉声；清越的声音。2.明彻貌。3.诗词中用以指梅花或雪。4.精巧貌。5.灵活貌。6.指唐代歌妓商玲珑。7.泛指歌妓。8.乐章名。	1. Sound of jade, clear sound. 2. Seeming bright and penetrating. 3. Rose or snow (poetry). 4. Seeming delicate. 5. Seeming flexible. 6. Refers to the exquisite geishas of the Tang. 7. Geisha. 8. Name of an instrument.	PARAR H
língluàn	零乱 [零亂]	*leng~ *lwanH	1.散乱。2.景物纷呈貌。	1. Scattered. 2. Scenery appearing colourful.	ALLIT

língluò	零落 [零落]	*leng~ *lak	1.凋谢。2.喻死亡。3.衰颓败落。4.飘零，流落。5.散乱，散失。6.掉落。7.借指掉下的眼泪。8.稀疏，稀稀落落。9.零头，剩馀的。10.残缺不全，零碎。	1. Wither. 2. Death (metaphor). 3. Declining. 4. Wandering. 5. Scattered, lost. 6. Fall. 7. Falling tears. 8. Sparse. 9. Remnant. 10. Fragmentary.	ALLIT
línlí	淋漓 [淋漓]	*lim~ #lje	亦作“淋离”。亦作“淋灝”。1.沾湿或流滴貌。2.长而美好貌。3.盛多；充盛。4.形容酣畅。	1. Seemingly dripping or wet. 2. Long and beautiful of appearance. 3. Abundant. 4. Describes easiness [e.g. sleep soundly]	ALLIT
linlín	辚辚 [辚辚]	#lin~ lin	1.象声词。车行声。2.象声词。雷鸣声。	1. Sound of rolling cars. 2. Sound of thunder.	RED
lǐnrán	凛然 [凜然]	*limX- *nyen	1.严肃；令人敬畏的样子。或形容表示敬重或惊恐的神态。2.形容寒凉。	1. Serious, demanding respect. Or describes a commanding attitude. 2. Describes the cold.	RAN
liúluò	流落 [流落]	*ljuw~ *lak	1.漂泊外地，穷困失意。2.流失在外。3.犹沦落。4.衰落。5.犹留落。际遇不好，无所遇合。	1. Wandering outside, feeling destitute and dejected. 2. Run off outside. 3. Fallen low. 4. Declined. 5. Misfortunous.	ALLIT
līyí	逦迤 [邇迤]	#liX~ #yi	亦作“邇迤”。1.曲折连绵貌。2.曲折行进貌。	1. Winding. 2. Meandering.	RHYME
lóngzhōng	龙钟 [龍鐘]	*ljowng~ *tsyowng	1.身体衰老，行动不灵便者。2.衰老貌；年迈。3.失意潦倒貌。4.沾湿貌。5.行进艰难貌。6.指竹。	1. Aging body, not flexible moving anymore. 2. Elderyly. 3. Frustrated. 4. Wet. 5. Stumble upon difficulties. 6. Bamboo.	RHYME
luòluò	落落 [落落]	*lak~ lak	1.犹磊落。常用以形容人的气质、襟怀。2.形容孤高，与人难合。3.稀疏；零落。4.冷淡。5.高超；卓越。6.粗劣貌。7.形容多而连续不断的样子。8.清楚、分明的样子。9.清澈貌。10.象声词。	1. With an open and upright temperament. 2. Describes aloofness and stand-offish. 3. Sparce, scattered. 4. Cool. 5. Superb, excellent. 6. Seeming coarse. 7. Describes a connception. 8. Distinct. 9. Seeming clear. 10. Onomatopoeia.	RED
mángmáng	茫茫 [茫茫]	#mang~ mang	1.广大而辽阔。2.遥远。3.渺茫；模糊不清。4.纷繁，纷杂；众多。5.茂盛。	1. Vast. 2. Distant. 3. Slim, blurred. 4. Numerous and confused. 5. Flourishing.	RED

mǎngmǎng	莽莽 [莽莽]	#mangH~mangH	1.茂盛貌。2.众多貌。犹累累。3.长大貌。4.无涯际貌。5.指时间的长远无际；悠久。6.渺茫；迷茫。7.草率；鲁莽。8.气势雄浑貌。	1. Seeming lush. 2. Seeming numerous and countless. 3. Seeming grown up. 4. Boundless. 5. Long term and boundless time period. 6. Uncertain, confused. 7. Rash and reckless. 8. Seeming forceful.	RED
mángrán	茫然 [茫然]	#mang-*nyen	亦作“芒然”。1.广阔无边的样子。2.模糊不清的样子；无所知的样子。3.犹惘然。失意的样子。4.急遽貌。茫，通“忙”。	1. Vast and immense. 2. Unclear and unknown. 3. Frustrated and disappointed. 4. Seeming rapid.	RAN
mànmàn	漫漫 [漫漫]	*manH~manH	1.广远无际貌。2.长貌；久貌。3.平缓貌。4.遍布貌。5.众多貌。6.放任，放纵。7.昏愦糊涂。8.浩荡貌。9.容光焕发的样子。10.慢慢。	1. Seemingly boundless. 2. Seeming long (in space and time). 3. Seeming gentle. 4. Seeming ubiquitous. 5. Seeming numerous. 6. Indulge. 7. Confused. 8. Seeming vast and mighty. 9. Radiant. 10. Slowly.	RED
méngméng	濛濛 [濛濛]	*muwng~muwng	1. 迷茫貌。2.纷杂貌。3.浓盛貌。	1. Vast, hazy. 2. Numerous, disorderly. 3. Thick, prosperous.	RED
mì mi	密密 [密密]	*mit~mit	1.勤勉努力。2.亲密。3.紧密；细密。4.犹秘密。5.迷茫貌。	1. Diligent. 2. Intimate. 3. Close. 4. Secretly. 5. Seemingly confused.	RED
miánmián	绵绵 [綿綿]	#mjen~mjen	亦作“縵绵”。1.连续不断貌。2.微细；微弱。3.安静貌。	1. Seeming continuous. 2. Very small, feeble. 3. Seemingly quiet.	RED
miǎorán	渺然 [渺然]	*mjiewX-*nyen	1.广远貌。2.微小貌；藐小貌。3.因久远而形影模糊以至消失。	1. Seeming far away. 2. Seeming very small and tiny. 3. So far away it seems to disappear.	RAN

míngmíng	冥冥 [冥冥]	*meng~ meng	1.昏暗貌。2.黑夜；晚上。3.懵懂无知貌。4.引申为不知不觉。5.迷漫。6.渺茫貌。7.高远貌。8.指高远的空际。9.幽深貌。10.指避世隐居之处。11.指阴间。12.泛指主宰人世祸福的神灵世界。13.指死亡。14.昏迷；麻木。15.沉默不语貌。16.专心致志貌。17.私下；暗中。	1. Seeming dark. 2. Night. 3. Seeming ignorant. 4. Unconscious (metonymy). 5. Hazy. 6. Seeming uncertain. 7. Seeming lofty. 8. Loft sky. 9. Seeming deep and hidden. 10. Reclusive place. 11. Underworld. 12. World of the spirits that dominate the (mis)fortune of the human world. 13. Death. 14. Unconscious, numb. 15. Silently appearing. 16. Seemingly concentrating. 17. Privately, secretly.	RED
mòmò	默默 [默默]	#mok~ mok	1.缄口不说话。2.幽寂无声。3.无知貌。4.不得意。5.暗暗地。	1. Saying nothing. 2. Secluded and silent. 3. Seeming ignorant. 4. Not proud. 5. Secretly.	RED
mòmò	漠漠 [漠漠]	#maek~ maek	1.寂静无声貌。2.密布貌；布列貌。3.迷蒙貌。4.广阔貌。5.冷淡；不关心。6.茂盛、浓郁貌。	1. Silent. 2. Densely covered. 3. Misty. 4. Broad. 5. Cold, not caring. 6. Lush and rich in appearance.	RED
niǎoniǎo	袅袅 [袅袅]	#newX~ newX	亦作“裊裊”。1.摇曳不定貌。2.纤长柔美貌。3.形容声音婉转悠扬。4.缭绕；缠绕。5.微风吹拂貌。	1. Flickering. 2. Long and soft. 3. Describes a sweet melody. 4. Curled, wound. 5. Like a small breeze blowing.	RED
níngqíng	凝情 [凝情]	*nging~ *dzjeng	情意专注。/情意贯注	Focus of affection./Focus really hard.	RHYME
ǒuyǎ	呕哑 [呕哑]	*'uwX~ *'aeX	1.象声词。小儿说话声。2.象声词。管弦声。3.象声词。鸟兽声。4.象声词。舟车声。5.象声词。水车车水声。	Onomatopoeia for 1. Small children talking. 2. Snare of an instrument. 3. Sound of birds and beasts. 4. Boats and carts. 5. Water wheels.	ALLIT
páihuái	徘徊 [徘徊]	#beaj~ #hwoj	1.往返回旋；来回走动。2.犹彷徨。游移不定貌。3.流连；留恋。4.安行貌；徐行貌。5.犹回环。6.见“徘徊花”=玫瑰花的别称。	1. Go back and forth. 2. Hesitant, wandering. 3. Linger. 4. Slowly walking. 5. Circling. 6. Rose.	CON
pánpán	盘盘 [盤盤]	#bwan~ bwan	1.曲折回绕貌。2.宽广貌；巨大貌。	1. Tortuous, winding. 2. Wide, huge.	RED

piāomiǎo	缥缈 [缥缈]	#phjew~ #mjewX	亦作“缥渺”。亦作“縹渺”。1.高远隐约貌。2.随风飘扬；随水浮流。3.形容声音清越悠扬。4.虚浮；渺茫。5.峰名。	1. Dimly discernible. 2. Blow in the wind, float with the stream. 3. Describes a clear and melodious sound. 4. Superficial, uncertain. 5. Name of a mountain peak.	RHYME
piāopiāo	飘飘 [飘飘]	#phjew~ phjew	1.风吹貌。2.飞扬貌。3.飞翔貌。4.轻盈舒缓，超尘脱俗的样子。5.形容动荡不安、不平静。6.漂泊貌。形容行止无定。7.迅疾貌，倏忽貌。8.形容思想、意趣高远。9.形容遥远、久远。	1. Blowing of the wind. 2. Rising. 3. Flying. 4. Light up, transcend. 5. Describes turmoil. 6. Drifting. 7. Swift. 8. Describes how thoughts and interests are far off. 9. Describes distance and far awayness.	RED
piāoyáo	飘飖 [飘飖]	#phjew~ yew	1.风吹貌。2.飘荡；飞扬。3.形容动荡、起伏。4.摇动；晃动。5.飞翔貌。6.形容举止轻盈、洒脱。7.流落；飘泊。8.形容驰思高远。9.遥远貌。10.指缥渺貌。	1. Blowing of the wind. 2. Drifting, flying. 3. Describes turbulence, undulations. 4. Shaking, rocking. 5. Flying. 6. Describes light, free and easy manner. 7. Wandering, drifting. 8. Describes far off thoughts. 9. Seeming distant. 10. Faintly discernable.	RHYME
pīlì	霹雳 [霹靂]	#phek~ #lek	1.响雷，震雷。2.喻壮盛的声威。3.雷击。4.比喻突然发生。5.形容神速。6.象声词。7.古星名。8.古琴曲名。9.古琴名。	1. Rolling of the thunder. 2. Strong, deep sound. 3. Lightning. 4. Sudden movement. 5. Describes rapidness. 6. Onomatopoeia. 7. Ancient name of a star. 8. Ancient music piece. 9. Guzheng.	RHYME
pīngpīng	娉娉 [娉娉]	*pheng~ pheng	轻盈美好貌。	Light and beautiful.	RED
qiǎorán	悄然 [悄然]	#tshjewX-*nyen	1.忧伤貌。2.寂静貌。3.浑然，依然。	1. Sad. 2. Silent. 3. Absolutely, still.	RAN
qièqiè	切切 [切切]	*tshet~ tshet	相互敬重切磋勉励貌。1.急切，急迫。2.哀怨、忧伤貌。3.恳挚。4.深切。5.再三告诫之词。6.象声词。形容声音轻细。7.象声词。形容声音凄切。	1. Urgent. 2. Sad. 3. Sincere. 4. Profound. 5. Repeatedly warning. 6. Light sound (onom.). 7. Mournful sound (onom.).	RED

qīliáng	凄凉 [淒涼]	#tshej~ *ljang	1.孤寂冷落。 2.悲凉。 3.犹凄惨。	1. Lonely, cold. 2. Desolate. 3. Miserable.	DIFF
qīngqīng	青青 [青青]	*tsheng~ tsheng	1.形容颜色很青。 2.借指杨柳。 3.浓黑貌。 4.形容年纪很轻。 5.形容久盛不衰。	1. Very blue-greenish colour. 2. Willow. 3. Dark blackish. 4. Young age. 5. Longliving.	RED
qīqī	凄凄 [淒淒]	#tshej~ tshej	1.悲伤貌； 凄凉貌。 2.饥病貌。 3.云兴起貌。 4.寒凉貌。 5.水下滴貌； 水流貌。 6.沾湿貌。 7.草木盛貌。 8.象声词。 9.萋萋。 茂盛貌。	1. Sad, desolate. 2. Hungry and diseased. 3. Clouds rising up. 4. Cold. 5. Water dripping down, flowing. 6. Wet. 7. Plants flourishing. 8. Onomatopoeia. 9. Lush.	RED
qīqī	戚戚 [慙慙]	*tshek~ tshek	1.相亲貌。 2.忧惧貌； 忧伤貌。 3.心动貌。 4.低语声。	1. Dear to each other. 2. Worried, sad. 3. With a racing heart. 4. In a low voice.	RED
qīqī	栖栖 [棲棲]	*sej~ sej	亦作“栖栖”。 1.忙碌不安貌。 2.孤寂零落貌。	1. Busy, uneasy. 2. Lonely, scattered.	RED
qīqī	萋萋 [萋萋]	#tshej~ tshej	1.草木茂盛貌。 2.云行弥漫貌。 3.华丽貌。 4.衰飒貌。	1. Plants flourishing. 2. Full of moving clouds. 3. Gorgeous. 4. Mourn.	RED
qīqī	淒淒 [淒淒]	#tshej~ tshej	1.悲伤貌； 凄凉貌。 2.饥病貌。 3.云兴起貌。 4.寒凉貌。 5.水下滴貌； 水流貌。 6.沾湿貌。 7.草木盛貌。 8.象声词。 9.萋萋。 茂盛貌。	1. Sad, desolate. 2. Hungry and diseased. 3. Clouds rising up. 4. Cold. 5. Water dripping down, flowing. 6. Wet. 7. Plants flourishing. 8. Onomatopoeia. 9. Lush.	RED
rǎnrǎn	苒苒 [苒苒]	#nyemX~ nyemX	1.草盛貌。 2.柔弱貌； 柔和貌。 3.幽蔚貌。 4.犹渐渐。	1. Abundance of grass. 2. Delicate, soft. 3. Deeply colourful. 4. Gradually.	RED
róngróng	溶溶 [溶溶]	#yowng~ yowng	1.水流盛大貌。 2.宽广貌。 3.盛多貌。 4.明净洁白貌。 5.和暖。 6.缓慢。	1. A lot of water flowing. 2. Broad. 3. Numerous. 4. Bright. 5. Pleasantly warm. 6. Slow.	RED
rúrǎn	濡染 [濡染]	*nyu-*nyen	1.沾染； 受熏陶。 2.谓描绘和表现。 3.浸湿。	1. Contaminated. 2. What is described and performed. 3. Soak.	ALLIT
sàsà	飒飒 [飒飒]	#sop~ sop	1.象声词形容风吹动树木枝叶等的声音。 2.衰老貌。 3.疾速貌。	1. The sound of wind blowing through trees and moving its leaves and branches (onom.). 2. Receding. 3. Rapid.	RED

sēnsēn	森森 [森森]	*srim~ srim	1.树木繁密貌。2.指茂密的树木或其浓荫。3.众多貌。4.丰满修长貌。5.蔚然兴盛貌。6.高耸貌。7.幽暗貌。8.昏沉貌；昏乱貌。9.凉貌；寒冷貌。10.威严可畏貌。11.战栗貌。12.严谨有序貌。13.味道纯正浓郁。	1. Dense vegetation. 2. Densely covered trees or their shadow. 3. Numerous. 4. Full and fulgrown. 5. Luxuriant flourishing. 6. Towering. 7. Dim. 8. Dazed, murky. 9. Cold. 10. Majestic, impressive. 11. Trembling. 12. Strict and orderly. 13. With a strong and full flavour.	RED
sèsè	瑟瑟 [瑟瑟]	*srit~ srit	1.碧色宝石。2.指碧绿色。3.象声词。形容风声或其他轻微的声音4.寒凉貌。5.萧索貌；寂寥貌。6.形容发抖的样子。7.辽代祈雨射柳的礼仪。	1. Greenish gem. 2. Green. 3. Softly blowing of the wind or similar things (onom.). 4. Cold. 5. Desolate. 6. Shivering. 7. Willow breaking ceremony for rain (Liao dyn.)	RED
sōuliú	飕飗 [飕飗]	#srjuw~ #ljuw	1.象声词。风雨声。2.风凛冽貌。3.指寒气，寒风。4.衰败貌。	1. Sound of wind and rain. 2. Piercingly cold wind. 3. Cold air or wind. 4. Decaying.	RHYME
táorán	陶然 [陶然]	#dew- *nyen	1.醉乐貌。2.喜悦、快乐貌。	1. Drunk and funny. 2. Happy.	RAN
tiáodì	迢递 [迢遞]	#tew~ #dejH	亦作“迢遰”。亦作“迢遯”。亦作“迢递”。1.遥远貌。2.指思虑悠远。3.高峻貌。4.曲折貌。5.婉转貌。6.连绵不绝貌。7.时间久长貌。	1. Distant. 2. Deep pondering. 3. High and steep. 4. Tortuous. 5. Sweet and agreeable. 6. Connected. 7. Of a long time.	ALLIT
tiáotiáo	迢迢 [迢迢]	#tew~ tew	1.高貌。2.深貌。3.道路遥远貌；水流绵长貌。4.时间久长貌。5.舞动貌。	1. High. 2. Deep. 3. Said of a long and distant road, river, endless. 4. Of a long time. 5. Dancing.	RED
tiáoyáo	岩堈 [岩堈]	#tew~ #ngew	亦作“岩堈”。亦作“峐峐”。高峻；高耸。	High and steep, towering.	RHYME
tūwù	突兀 [突兀]	*dwot~ *ngwot	亦作“突杌”、“突屼”。1.高耸貌。2.特出；奇特。3.端坐貌。4.猝然。5.奇怪；别扭。	1. Towering. 2. Outstanding, peculiar. 3. Sit upright. 4. Suddenly. 5. Strange, awkward.	RHYME
wǎngrán	惘然 [惘然]	*mjangX- *nyen	1.失意貌；忧思貌。2.疑惑不解貌。3.谓不知所措貌。4.迷糊不清貌。5.谓空无所有貌。	1. Dejected, sorrowful. 2. Puzzled. 3. Overwhelmed, at a loss for words. 4. Fuzzy, vague. 5. Empty.	RAN

wūhū	呜呼 [嗚呼]	#'u~ #hu	亦作“呜乎”。亦作“呜虞”。1.叹词。表示悲伤。2.叹词。表示赞美或慨叹。3.旧时祭文中常用“呜呼”，后因以借指死亡。4.象声词。多用作哭声或鸟鸣声。	1. Exlamation of sadness ('alas'). 2. Exclamation of praise or lament. 3. Death (old texts). 4. Sound of crying or birds chirping (onom.)	RHYME
wùlù	雾露 [霧露]	*mjuH~ *luH	1.指雾。2.因冒霜露犯寒暑而死的典故。3.喻谗谄蔽明的人。4.喻恩泽。	1. Fog. 2. Allusion to death because of frost and dew in winter and summer. 3. People who slander and flatter (metaphor). 4. Grace, lustre (metaphor).	RHYME
wùyuè	悟悅 [悟悅]	*nguH~ *ywet	因了悟而喜悦。	Happy because of understanding.	DIFF
xiánxián	闲闲 [閑閑]	*hean~ hean	亦作“閒閒”。1.从容自得貌。2.强盛貌。3.闲静。4.悠闲的样子。5.引申谓随便便，不在意。	1. Calm and content. 2. Powerful and prosperous. 3. Serene, tranquil. 4. Leisurely. 5. Arbitrary, as one pleases (metonymy).	RED
xiāosè	萧瑟 [蕭瑟]	*sew~ *srit	1.形容风吹树木的声音。2.凋零；冷落；凄凉。3.稀疏。	1. Sound of wind blowing through the trees. 2. Coldness. 3. Sparseness.	ALLIT
xiāotiáo	萧条 [蕭條]	*sew~ #dew	1.寂寞冷落；凋零。2.指政治、经济等不景气；衰微；衰退。3.疏散；稀疏。4.匮乏。5.犹逍遥。闲逸貌。6.消瘦貌。7.简陋。	1. Lonely, cold, desolate. 2. Political, economic recession, decline. 3. Sparseness. 4. Scarceness. 5. Leisurely. 6. Thinning down. 7. Simple and crude.	RHYME
xiāoxiāo	萧萧 [蕭蕭]	*sew~ sew	1.象声词。常形容马叫声、风雨声、流水声、草木摇落声、乐器声等。2.萧条；寂静。3.形容凄清、寒冷。4.稀疏。5.简陋。6.潇洒。	1. Sound of horses' neighing, the elements (wind and rain), water flowing, plants rustling, music instruments etc. (onom.). 2. Desolate, quiet. 3. Lonely, sad, cold. 4. Sparse. 5. Simple and crude. 6. Natural and unrestrained.	RED
xīnxīn	欣欣 [欣欣]	*xjn~ xjn	1.喜乐貌。2.草木茂盛貌。3.泛指昌盛。	1. Appearing happy. 2. Plants seeming exuberant. 3. Generally refers to prosperity.	RED

xìxì	细细 [細細]	*sejH~ sejH	1.轻微。 2.仔细。 3.缓缓。 4.密密。	1. Mild. 2. Careful. 3. Sowly. 4. Dense.	RED
xuānxuān	喧喧 [喧喧]	*xjwon~ xjwon	1.形容声音喧闹。 2.形容扰攘纷杂。 3.犹赫赫。	1. Bustling sound. 2. Hustle in a mess. 3. Illustrious.	RED
yángyáng	颺颺 [颶颶]	*yang~ yang	1.得意貌。 2.飘逸貌。 3.飘扬貌。 4. 自若貌。	1. Proud. 2. Elegant. 3. Waving, flying. 4. Calm.	RED
yángyáng	扬扬 [揚揚]	*yang~ yang	1.得意貌。 2.飘逸貌。 3.飘扬貌。 4. 自若貌。	1. Proud. 2. Elegant. 3. Waving, flying. 4. Calm.	RED
yàngyàng	漾漾 [漾漾]	#'jangH~ 'jangH	1.闪耀貌。 2.飘荡貌。	1. Sparkling. 2. Drifting.	RED
yánluán	岩峦 [巖巒]	*ngaem~ *lwan	高峰的山峦； 山峦。	Mountains (with high peaks)	RHYME
yǎnyàng	演漾 [演漾]	*yenX~ #'jangH	1.水波荡漾。 2.飘摇貌。	1. Undulating waves. 2. Floating in the wind.	ALLIT
yǎnyì	掩抑 [掩抑]	#'jemX~ *'ik	1.遮盖； 遮挡。 2.压制。 3.指压倒， 盖过。 4.形容声音低沉。 5.指说话的语调低沉。 6.形容心情抑郁。 7.谓性情拘谨。 8.犹抑扬。	1. Covering. 2. Suppressing. 3. Overwhelming, overshadowed. 4. Muffled sound. 5. In a low speaking voice. 6. Gloomy spirit. 7. Cautious temperament. 8. Rising and falling.	ALLIT
yànyù	餍饫 [饜飫]	*'jemH~ #'joH	1.形容食品极丰盛。 2.尽量满足口腹需要； 感到饱足。 3.犹博览。	1. Describes abundance of food. 2. Feel full of food. 3. Read extensively.	ALLIT
yǎotiǎo	窈窕 [窈窕]	*'ewX~ *dewX	亦作“ 窈窕 ”。 1.娴静貌； 美好貌。 2.妖冶貌。 3.指美女。 4.喻指才子。 5.深邃貌； 秘奥貌。	1. Gentle, fine. 2. Coquettish. 3. Beautiful woman. 4. Talented person/scholar (metaphor). 5. Profound.	RHYME
yáoyáo	摇摇 [搖搖]	*yew~ yew	1.心神不定貌。 2.摆动、摇曳貌。 3.远貌。	1. Anxious, distracted. 2. Swinging, swaying. 3. Far.	RED
yǎoyǎo	杳杳 [杳杳]	#'ewX~ 'ewX	1.昏暗貌。 2.幽远貌。 3.犹渺茫。 4.犹隐约，依稀。	1. Dark. 2. Deep, secluded. 3. Uncertain. 4. Faint, vague.	RED
yǐnyǐn	隐隐 [隱隱]	*'jenX~ 'jenX	1.隐约不分明貌。 2.忧戚貌。 3.象声词。形容车声。 4.盛多貌。 隐，通“ 殷 ”。	1. Unclear, indiscernable. 2. Sad. 3. Rattling sound of carts (onom.). 4. Numerous.	RED
yīnyīn	阴阴 [陰陰]	*'im~ 'im	1.幽暗貌。 2.深邃貌。 3.犹隐隐。 微痛貌。	1. Dark. 2. Deep, profound. 3. Indistinct, slightly painful.	RED
yírán	怡然 [怡然]	*yi- *nyen	安适自在貌； 喜悦貌。	Comfortable, happy, cheerful.	RAN

yīyī	依依 [依依]	*'jej~ 'jej	1.轻柔披拂貌。2.依恋不舍的样子。 3.形容思慕怀念的心情。4.依稀貌； 隐约貌。5.象声词。	1. Gently blowing. 2. Reluctant to leave. 3. Nostalgic. 4. Vague. 5. Onomatopoeia.	RED
yíyuè	怡悦 [怡悅]	*yi~ *ywet	亦作“怡说”。取悦；喜悦。	Entertained, joyful.	ALLIT
yōuyōu	悠悠 [悠悠]	*yuw~ yuw	1.思念貌；忧思貌。2.辽阔无际；遥远。 3.久长；久远。4.连绵不尽貌。 5.众多貌。6.世俗；一般。7.引申为庸俗，荒谬。 8.指世俗之人，众人。 9.飘动貌。10.动荡；飘忽不定。 11.游荡貌；懒散不尽心貌。 12.闲适貌。 13.形容声音气息缓慢细长。 14.黝黑幽暗貌。悠，通“儻”。	1. Yearning, melancholic. 2. Vast. 3. Longlasting. 4. Connected. 5. Numerous. 6. Worldly, normal. 7. Vulgar, absurd (metonymy). 8. The people. 9. Waving. 10. Turbulent. 11. Wandering, idle. 12. Leisurely. 13. Slowly and slim breathing sound. 14. Dark.	RED
yōuyōu	呦呦 [呦呦]	#'juw~ 'juw	1.象声词。鹿鸣声。2.象声词。亦指小动物的叫声。 3.象声词。哭泣声或口中发出的低微声音。	Onomatopoeia: 1. Sound of deer and birds. 2. Sound of small animals. 3. Sound of crying or low sounds coming out of one's mouth.	RED
zhēngróng	峥嵘 [崢嶸]	*dzreang~ #heang	1.高峻貌。2.指高峻的山峰。3.卓越，不平凡。 4.兴盛；兴旺。5.形容植物茂盛。6.谓仕宦得意。 7.高旷。8.形容岁月逝去。9.深远貌，深邃貌。 10.幽深阴暗；阴沉。11.犹凛冽。 12.枯槁貌；瘦削貌。13.引申为潦倒。 14.形容波涛汹涌。15.形容泪流满面貌。 16.犹狰狞。状貌凶恶。	1. High and steep. 2. Peak of a mountain. 3. Excellent, extraordinary. 4. Flourishing, thriving. 5. Lush plants. 6. Praise for an official. 7. High and wide. 8. Elapsing of time. 9. Profound. 10. Dark, secluded. 11. Biting cold. 12. Withered, thin. 13. Miserable, frustrated. 14. Roaring waves. 15. Tears filling one's face completely. 16. Ferocious, vicious.	RHYME