

Background

Reduplication and degree words like *hen* ‘very’ have a similar effect on gradable adjectives in Mandarin Chinese:

	Bare Adj	Adding degree words/reduplication
Directly attributive	√ (1a)	× (2a)
Directly predicative	× (1b)	√ (2b)

(1) a. *gan.jing (de) chenyi* clean SUB shirt ‘the clean shirt’  
b. *\*chenyi gan.jin* shirt clean ‘The shirt is clean.’

(2) a. {*gan.gan.jing.jing/hen gan.jing*} *\*(de) chenyi* clean-clean /very clean SUB shirt ‘the {clean<sub>RED</sub>/(very) clean} shirt’  
b. *chenyi {gan.gan.jing.jing/hen gan.jing}* shirt clean-clean /very clean ‘The shirt is {clean<sub>RED</sub>/(very) clean}.’

Reduplication seems to be in complementary distribution with degree words

(3) *chenyi (\*hen) gan.gan.jing.jing* shirt very clean-clean

Previous Claims (Zhang 2015)

- Both the reduplication morpheme (RED) and degree words like *hen* head the functional projection (DegP) above AP;
- Only functional projections like DegP have the [+V] feature, which makes them directly predicative (following Grano 2012).

RED does not instantiate the same functional head as *hen*

[1] Reduplication and degree words can co-occur; the order matters:

(4) *zhei jian chenyi hen gan.jing hen gan.jing* this CL shirt very clean very clean ‘This shirt is very very clean’

[2] For a class of ‘orphan’ reduplicated adjectives which do not have a base form (Liu 2013; Paul 2015):

(5) a. *da.da.lie.lie* ‘careless<sub>RED</sub>’ (< *\*da.lie*)  
b. *po.po.ma.ma* ‘fussy<sub>RED</sub>’ (< *\*po.ma*)  
(6) a. *da.da.lie.lie \*(de) nvhai* careless SUB girl ‘the careless<sub>RED</sub> girl’  
b. *zhei ge nvhai da.da.lie.lie* this CL girl careless ‘The girl is careless<sub>RED</sub>.’

RED must not occupy the Deg position for them:

(7) a. *zhei ge nvhai hen da.da.lie.lie* this CL girl very careless ‘This girl is (very) careless<sub>RED</sub>.’  
b. *zhei ge nvhai bi Mali geng da.da.lie.lie* this CL girl than Mary more careless ‘This girl is more careless<sub>RED</sub> than Lisi.’

Summary

- RED is indeed a functional head with [+V] feature (2; 6)
- RED is not in complementary distribution with Deg° (3; 4; 7)

Proposal: Two positions of RED

(i) RED as the adjectival categorizer a° (with [+V] feature) which takes a root compound (within the framework of Distributed Morphology, Marantz 1997, a.o.)

(ii) RED as the head of a functional projection which is structurally higher than DegP, which we identify as the ‘Emphatic Phrase’ (EmpP)

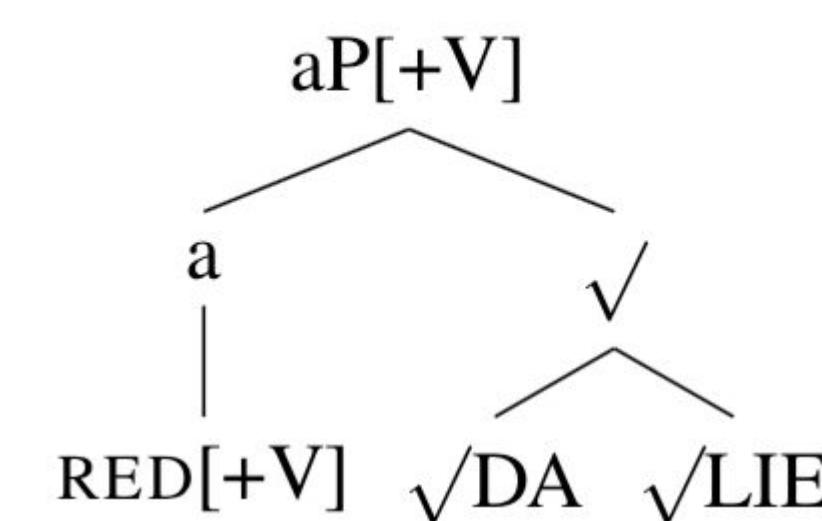
**Assumptions.** Following Lee-Kim (2016), the reduplication pattern is sensitive to the structure of its base.

When the base is a coordinate phrase AB, the resulting form is AABB;  
When the base is a subordinate phrase AB, the resulting form is ABAB.

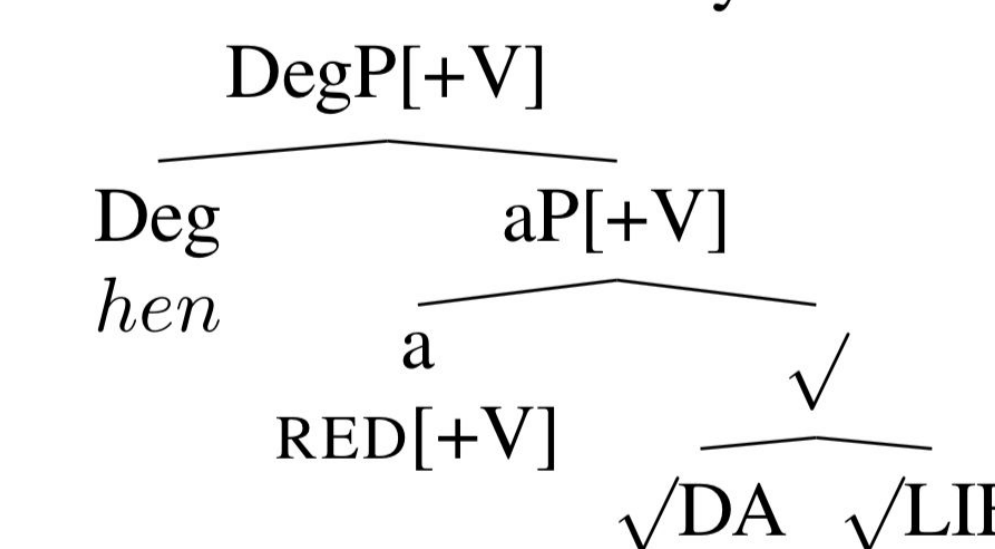
Derivations.

[1] ‘Orphan’ reduplicated adjectives are directly predicative ([+V]), but can co-occur with *hen* (RED as the adjectival categorizer a°)

(8) *da.da.lie.lie* ‘careless’

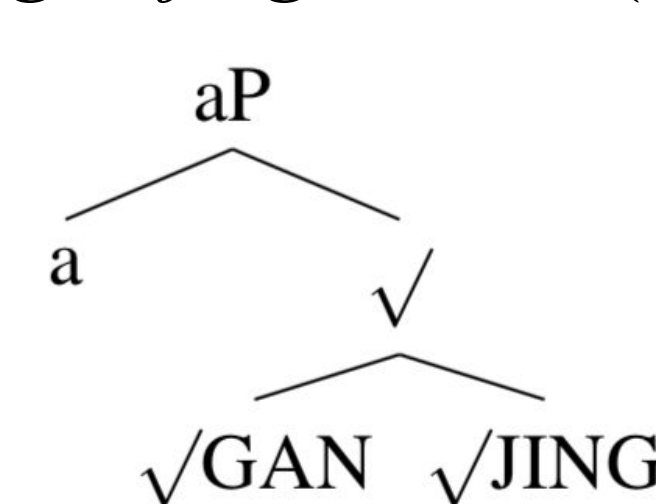


(9) *hen da.da.lie.lie* ‘very careless’

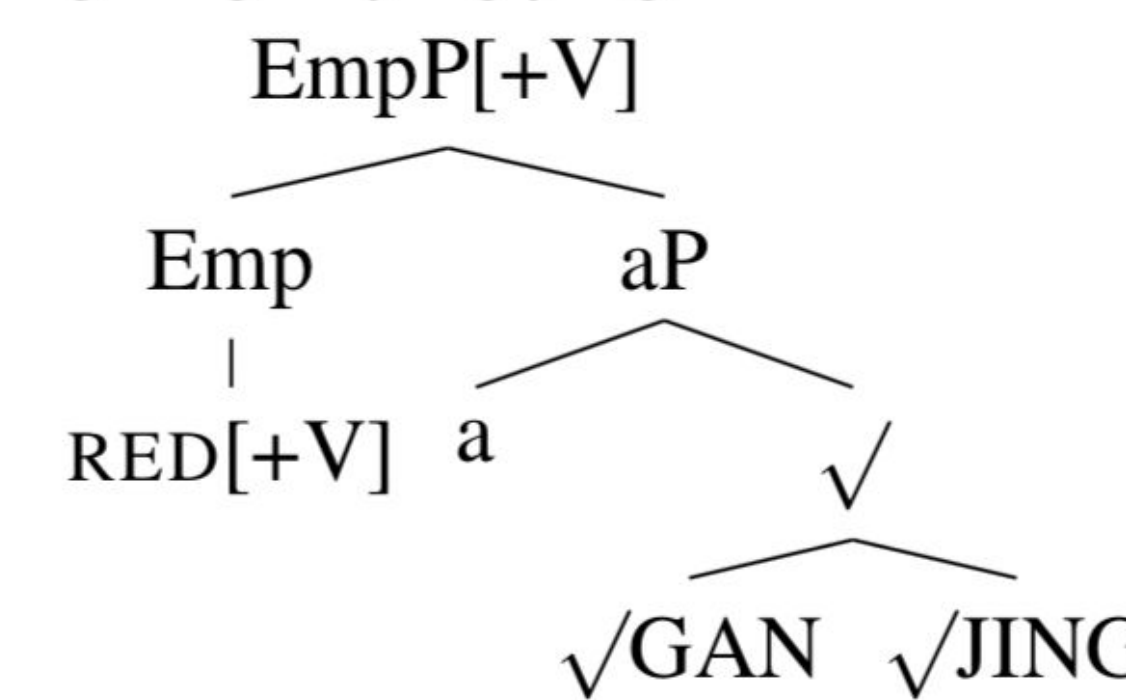


[2] ‘Non-orphan’ reduplicated adjectives are directly predicative (10b); though its base is not directly predicative (10a):

(10) a. *gan.jing* ‘clean’ (no [+V])

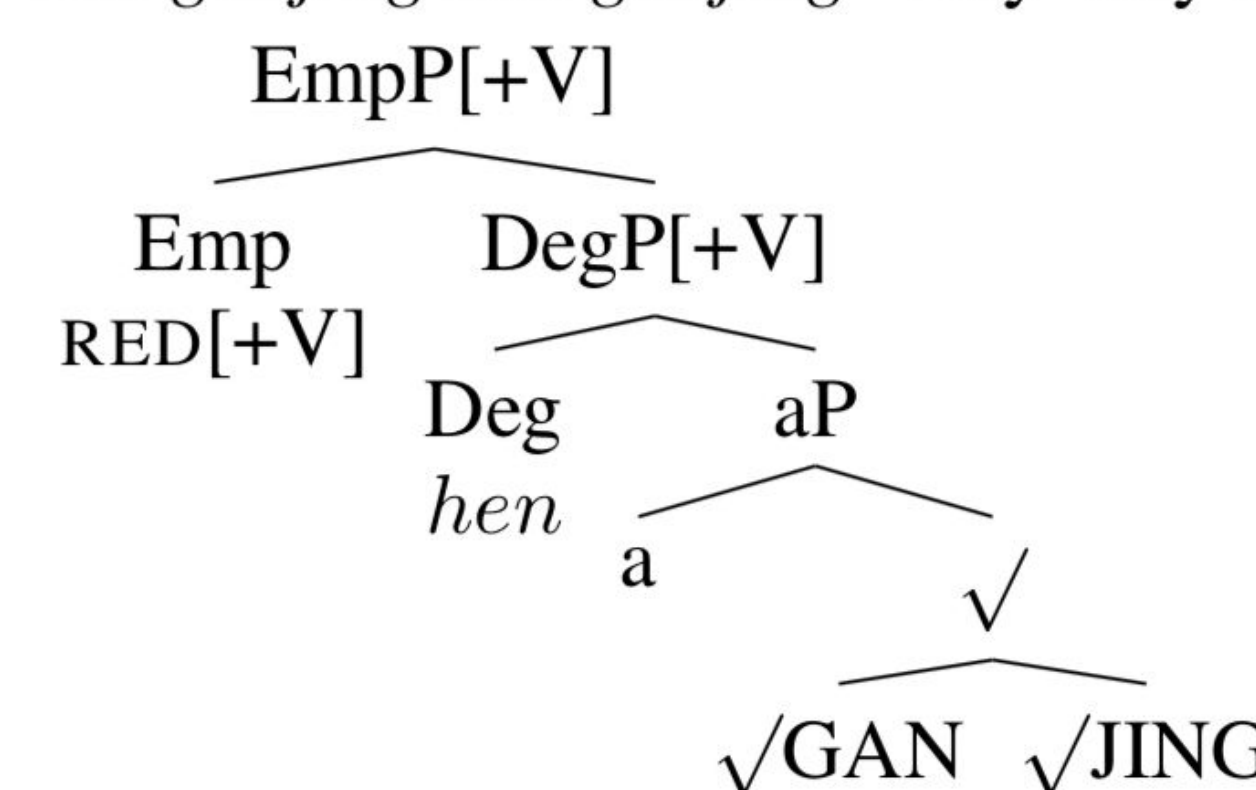


b. *gan.gan.jing.jing* ‘clean-clean’



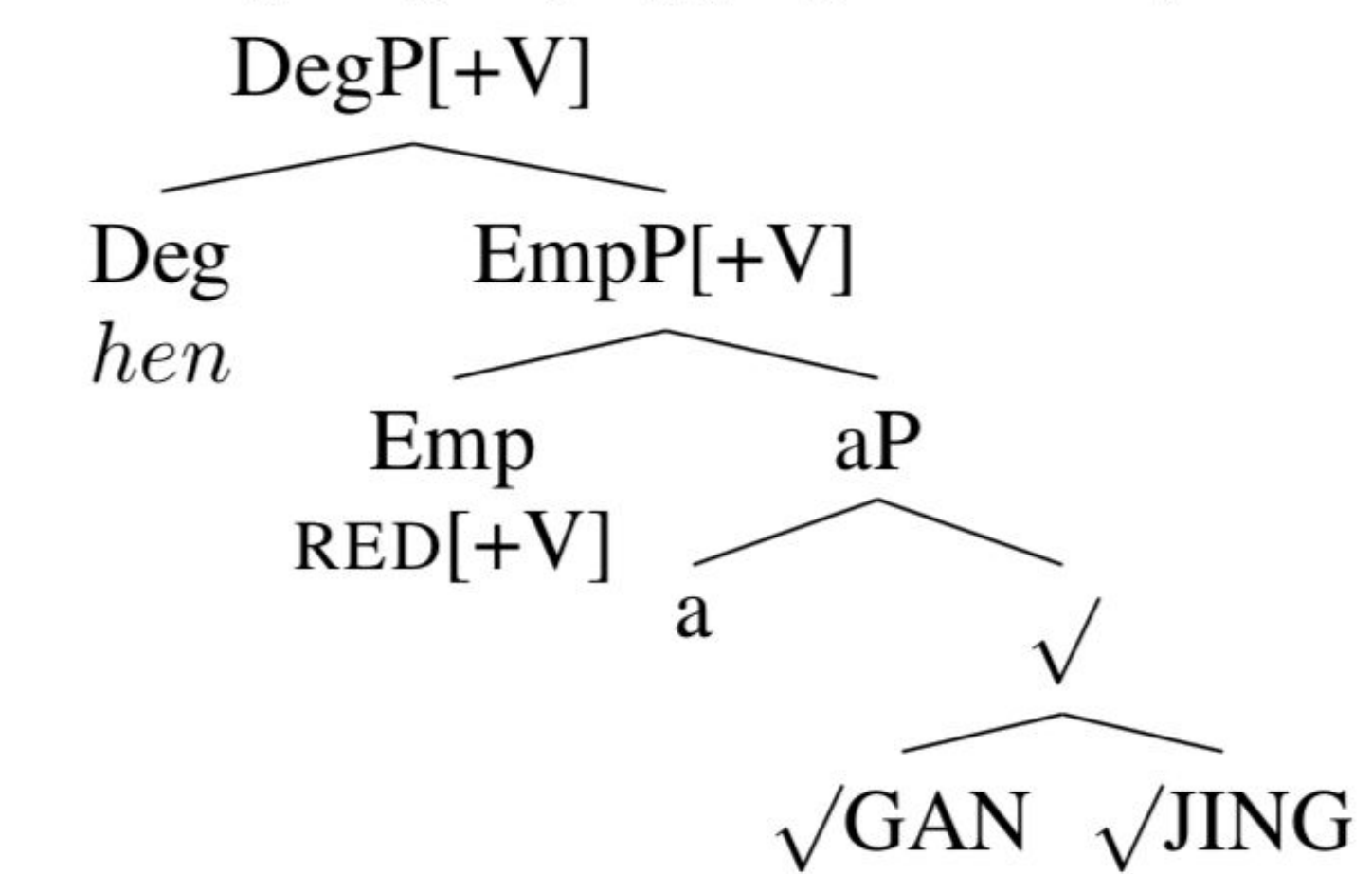
[3] Reduplication is possible after the addition of *hen*

(11) *hen ganjing hen ganjing* ‘very very clean’



[4] Addition of a degree word to a ‘non-orphan’ reduplicated adjective is not possible: EmpP must be higher than DegP in the extended projection

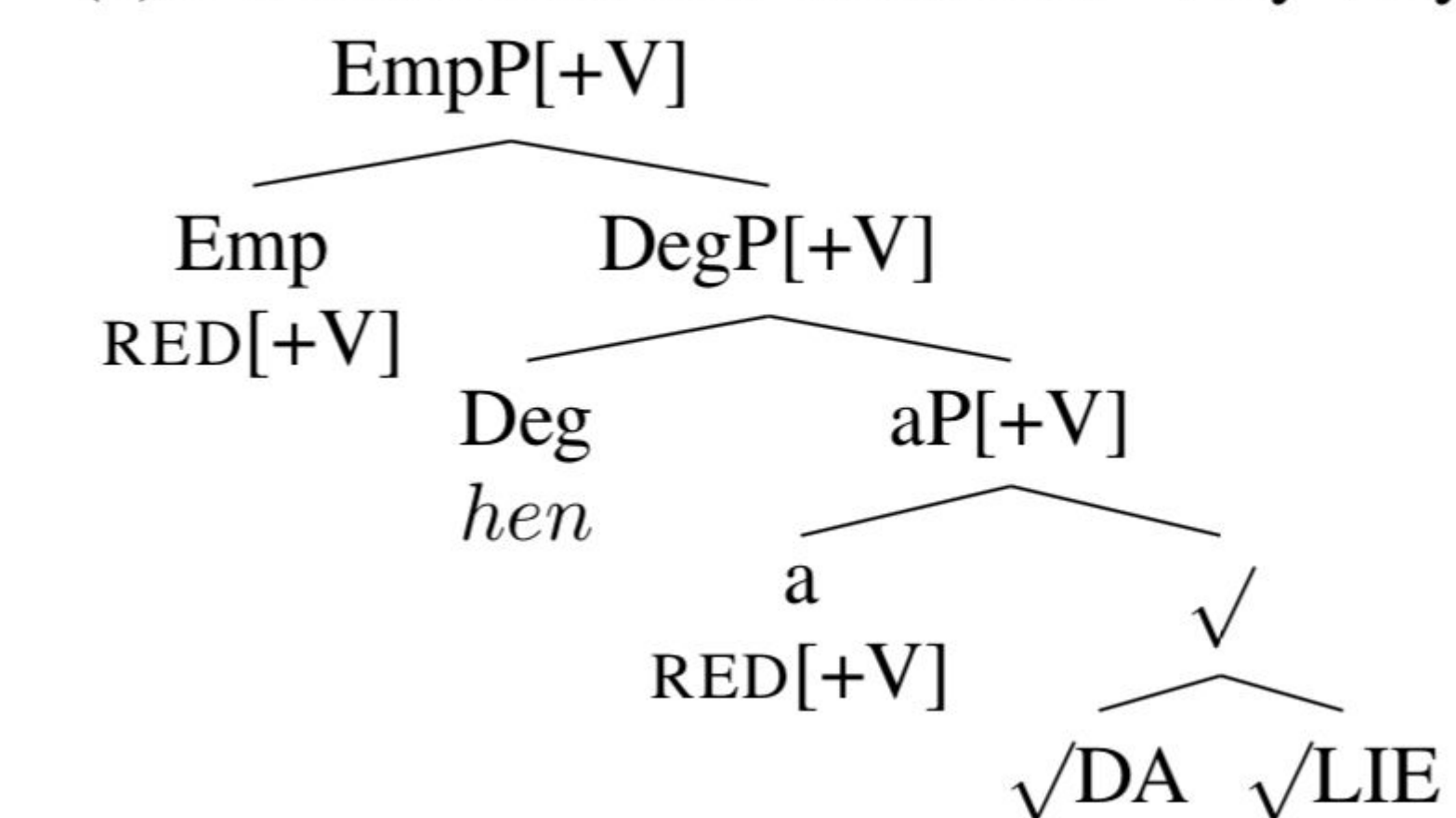
(12) *\*hen gan.gan.jing.jing* Int: ‘very clean-clean’



Extensions

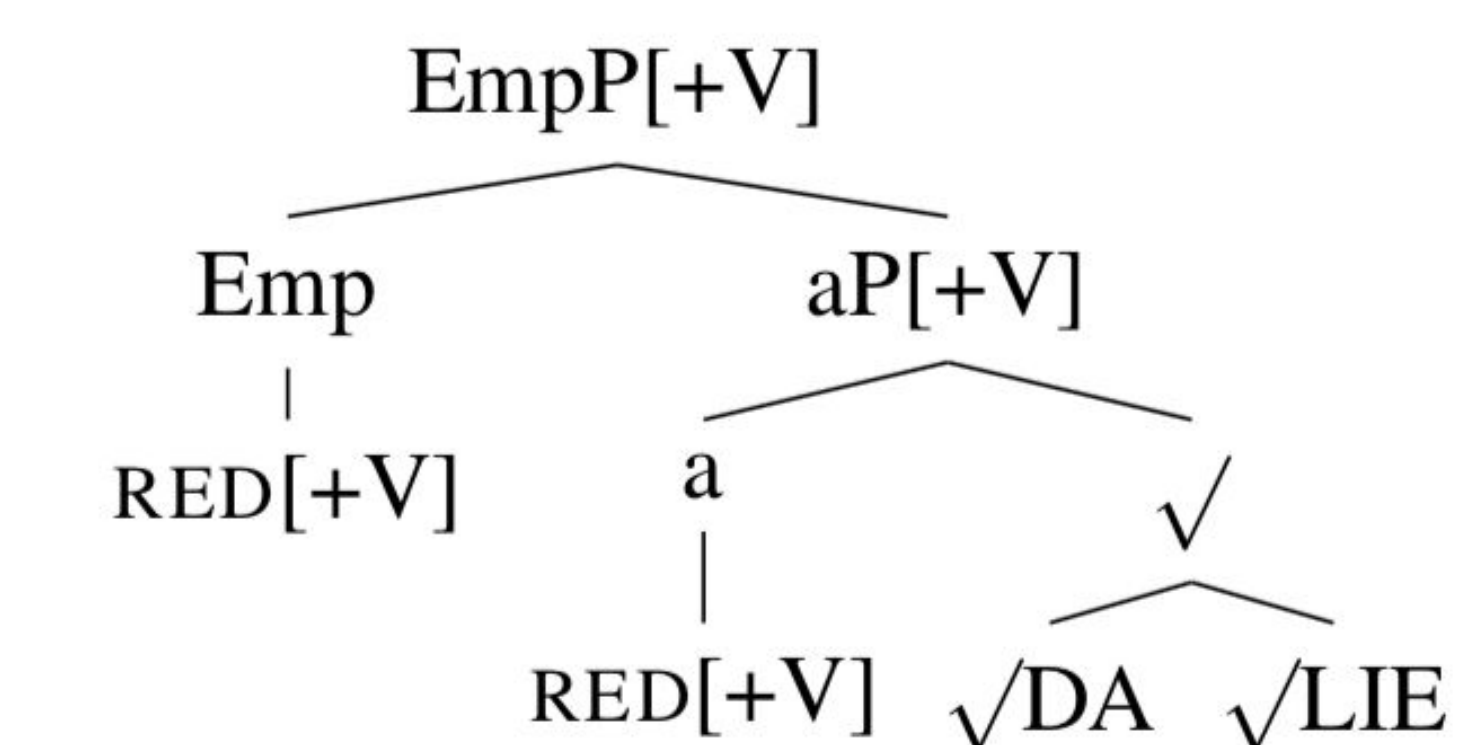
[1] Since two REDs head different projections, they can co-occur in principle—the prediction is borne out:

(13) (?) *hen dadalielie hen dadalielie* ‘very very careless’



[2] Though reduplication can be used either as an adjectival categorizer or an Emp head, (14) is still banned because of the syntactic OCP (Hiraiwa 2010):

(14) *\*da.da.lie.lie.da.da.lie.lie* ‘careless-careless’



Conclusions

- Two uses of RED: reduplication morpheme as an adjectival categorizer or as the head of an Emphatic Phrase
- The Emphatic Phrase as an additional functional projection to DegP in the extended projection of adjectives captures the intuition about reduplicated adjectives in Liu (2013), according to which they denote a ‘life-like’ state and the positive degree conveyed is ‘the byproduct of state realization’.