Lexicon and Description of Sui Adjective Intensifiers

James N. Stanford

Michigan State University

doi: 10.1349/PS1.1537-0852.A.313

url: http://journals.dartmouth.edu/cgi-bin/WebObjects/Journals.woa/1/xmlpage/1/article/313
Lexicon and Description of Sui Adjective Intensifiers

James N. Stanford
Michigan State University

Sui, an indigenous minority language of southwest China, has an elaborate system of adjective intensification. Adjectives are intensified with word-specific, bound morphemes that usually either rhyme with the base or alliterate with the base. Stanford (2007) notes morphophonological patterns that suggest reduplication, rhyme, alliteration, The Emergence of the Unmarked (McCarthy & Prince 1994, Yip 2001), identity avoidance, and “Copy But Don’t Repeat” (Kennard 2004). However, the adjective intensifiers defy a simple, fully predictable explanation in such terms; the intensifier lexicon may be best described as “patterned variety,” a case of lexicalized poetry or a poeticized lexicon. Word formation is guided by general patterns, but each specific intensifier may vary within those overall guidelines. Many adjectives have multiple intensifiers that bear subtle semantic and pragmatic distinctions. The current paper serves as a complement to Stanford (2007) by providing a detailed lexicon of the Sui adjective intensifiers for future reference and further analysis. This lexicon is based on the author’s fieldwork and represents the first detailed account of Sui adjective intensifiers for the wider linguistic community.

1. Introduction

The Sui people are an indigenous ethnic minority of southwest China, numbering 346,000 in a 1990 census (He et al. 1992:1) and reported to be 406,902 in 2000 (Xuecun Wei, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). The great majority (93%) live in southern Guizhou Province (Burusphat et al. 2003). The language, a member of the Tai-Kadai family, is isolating, tonal, and largely monosyllabic.

1.1 Sui Phonology

Sui consonants are given below following Li (1948), Shuiyu Diaocha Baogao (1956), Zhang (1980), Luo (1992), Zeng & Yao (1996), Edmondson et al. (2004), as well as the author’s observations of the specific village under investigation, Ljaj Ku Tsong (Zhonghe Township, Sandu Autonomous Sui County).

---

1I would like to thank Yen-Hwei Lin for her extensive advice on this project, the Sui people who patiently taught me to speak their language and kindly allowed me to elicit this set of data, Jerold Edmondson, Tim and Debbie Vinzani, Grover Hudson, Dennis Preston, David Dwyer, the editors and reviewers of Journal of East Asian Linguistics, the audience at the Third Workshop on Theoretical East Asian Linguistics, and Qiannan Minority Teacher College.

2Shuiyu Diaocha Baogao [Report on Investigations of the Sui language] is an unpublished manuscript from 1956. A copy of the manuscript was acquired through the help of Jerold Edmondson.
Table 1. Consonants

Table 2 outlines the Sui tone inventory of Ljaj Ku Tsong Village. The inventory is based on the author’s observations and comparison with Shuiyu Diaocha Baogao (1956), Zhang (1980), Luo (1992), Zeng & Yao (1996). The table follows Chao’s (1930) 1-5 scale for contour tones (1=low, 5=high). Tone numbers are based on the traditional system used for areal languages (e.g. Li 1948, Zhang 1980, Edmondson & Solnit 1988). The even/odd distinction in tone numbers represents an interpretation of a historical tone split; even-numbered tones indicate syllables that are supposed to have had historically voiced onsets, while odd-numbered tones indicate syllables with historically voiceless onsets (Li 1948, Edmondson & Solnit 1988). Tones 7 and 8 represent “checked” syllables (defined in this transcription system as syllables ending in –p, -t, or –k). Finally, checked syllables are distinguished as S (short vowel) and L (long vowel).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone 1</th>
<th>Tone 2</th>
<th>Tone 3</th>
<th>Tone 4</th>
<th>Tone 5</th>
<th>Tone 6</th>
<th>Tone 7S</th>
<th>Tone 7L</th>
<th>Tone 8S</th>
<th>Tone 8L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Sui tones in Ljaj Ku Tsong village

3In the region under investigation, the sound represented by /w/ is usually perceived as having a labio-dental place of articulation when it occurs in syllable-initial position. It may be that it is a labio-dental approximant (cf. Edmondson et al. 2004). The underlying form is not yet entirely clear, so the sound is transcribed [v] in syllable-initial position in this study.

4Future study may reveal that the checked tones could be combined with corresponding unchecked tones into an underlying system of just six tones. Li (1948) opts to use all eight tones for clarity, and this transcription system is adopted here.
1.2 Sui Adjective Intensifiers

Sui has an elaborate system of adjective intensification that involves rhyme and alliteration. First, note that a generic, non-word-specific intensifier can be used to intensify adjectives, as exemplified in (1).

(1)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sui Form</th>
<th>English Form</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \sqrt{2} )</td>
<td>‘tall’</td>
<td>( \sqrt{2} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ?\text{nom} )</td>
<td>‘dark/black’</td>
<td>( ?\text{nom} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{koj} )</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
<td>( \text{koj} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of the Alliterative Class are given in (3).

(2)  

| a.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| b.  | \( ?\text{mej} \) |  
| c.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| d.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| e.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| f.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| g.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| h.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| i.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| j.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  

Examples of the Rhyming Class are given in (2).

(2)  

| a.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| b.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| c.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| d.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| e.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| f.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| g.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| h.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| i.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  
| j.  | \( \sqrt{2} \) |  

In most cases, the intensifiers are word-specific, bound morphemes which are not attested elsewhere in the language. Homonymy with other lexical items outside the adjective intensifier lexicon occasionally occurs, but Sui speakers consider such rare homonyms to be coincidental and unrelated.

In addition to the two major classes of rhyming and alliterative intensifiers, some intensifiers do not show any phonological resemblance with their bases. For example, \( x\text{om}^3 \) ‘sour’ \( \rightarrow x\text{om}^3 \) p\( \sqrt{2} \) ‘very sour’. Stanford (2007) suggests the possibility that such items represent historical compounds where the second syllable has lost its original status as a stand-alone word.
Comparing (2a-b) and (3a-b) above, note that a given base adjective may have more than one intensifier. Subtle semantic and pragmatic differences are often observed in such instances. Another example is given in (4).

(4) \(\text{ʨoŋ}^3 \text{‘thin/skinny’} \rightarrow \text{ʨoŋ}^3 \text{ʨen}^1 \) ‘very thin/skinny’ (most common/general)
\(\rightarrow \text{ʨoŋ}^3 \text{ʨop}^7 \) ‘very thin/skinny’ (derogatory, higher intensity than \(\text{ʨoŋ}^3 \text{ʨen}^1 \))
\(\rightarrow \text{ʨoŋ}^3 \text{fjoŋ}^4 \) ‘very thin/skinny’ (higher intensity than \(\text{ʨoŋ}^3 \text{ʨen}^1 \))

Finally, within the Rhyming Class, there is a subset of complex rhyming expressions involving three or more rhyming syllables. For example:

(5) \(\text{tʃəŋ} \) ‘full’
\(\text{tʃəŋ} \text{ɲəŋ} \) ‘very full’
\(\text{tʃəŋ} \text{ɲəŋ} \text{ʃəŋ} \) ‘extremely full’

2. Analysis

A summary of Stanford’s (2007) analysis is given in §2.

2.1 The rhyming class

In the Rhyming Class of intensifiers (e.g. (2)), Stanford (2007) finds clear evidence of The Emergence of the Unmarked (McCarthy & Prince 1994), the process whereby unmarked forms “emerge” in environments such as reduplication where base-reduplicant identity is ranked lower than markedness constraints (in the Optimality Theoretic terms of Prince & Smolensky (1993).) Stanford follows Yip’s (2001) analysis of reduplication in Chaoyang and other Chinese languages, finding that coronal onsets (i.e., unmarked onsets) are generally favored in the Sui intensifiers. Examples are given in (6).

(6) a. \(\text{vaŋ}^1 \) ‘tall’ \(\rightarrow \text{vaŋ}^1 \text{ʨaŋ}^2 \) ‘very tall’
b. \(\text{faŋ}^3 \) ‘wide’ \(\rightarrow \text{faŋ}^3 \text{ʨaŋ}^2 \) ‘very wide’
c. \(\text{mbu}^3 \) ‘protruding’ \(\rightarrow \text{mbu}^3 \text{ʨu}^5 \) ‘very protruding’
d. \(\text{ʔmej}^5 \) ‘stingy’ \(\rightarrow \text{ʔmej}^5 \text{tej}^1 \) ‘very stingy’
e. \(\text{som}^3 \) ‘sour’ \(\rightarrow \text{som}^3 \text{tom}^4 \) ‘very sour’
f. \(\text{qon}^4 \) ‘short’ \(\rightarrow \text{qon}^4 \text{ʔnɔŋ}^3 \) ‘very short’
g. \(\text{mat}^7 \) ‘tight’ \(\rightarrow \text{mat}^7 \text{ʨat}^8 \) ‘very tight’
h. \(\text{pon}^1 \) ‘stupid’ \(\rightarrow \text{pon}^1 \text{ʔnəŋ}^1 \) ‘very stupid’

Stanford reports that the intensifier has a coronal onset in 95% (56/59) of the cases where the base onset is non-coronal (as in (6)). For both coronal and non-coronal onset bases, the intensifier has a coronal onset in 88% (88/100) of the cases.

However, Stanford notes that identity avoidance also plays a role in the choice of intensifier onset. A base with a coronal onset, e.g. \(\text{laŋ} \), does not normally reduplicate as \(\*\text{laŋ} \text{laŋ} \). Instead, it reduplicates as \(\text{laŋ} \text{təŋ} \); i.e., the intensifier remains coronal (following TETU), but the manner of articulation has changed. This suggests the presence of identity avoidance working in conjunction with TETU. Specifically, Stanford follows Yip’s (1995a) use of \(*\text{REPEAT}
(Identical syllables cannot be adjacent) and Kennard’s (2004) “Copy But Don’t Repeat.” In this way, a combination of TETU and identity avoidance is used to explain \( ləŋ \rightarrow ləŋ təŋ \) and \( ləŋ \rightarrow ləŋ * ləŋ. \)

As for tone, Stanford observes that rhyming intensifiers often copy the tone of their bases, although there are some cases where a non-falling-tone base has a falling-tone intensifier.

### 2.2 The alliterative class

Intensifiers in the Alliterative Class (e.g. (3)) do not show evidence of the TETU effects found in the Rhyming Intensifiers. The rhymes of alliterative intensifiers show a great deal of variety. Further, there is no apparent preference for unmarked forms as would be expected of TETU. Identity avoidance is clearly present since the intensifier rhymes differ from their base rhymes, yet the specific choice of rhyme appears to be quite flexible.

### 2.3 Patterned variety

Stanford concludes that Sui intensifiers represent a system of patterned variety that could be described as lexicalized poetry or as a poeticized lexicon. First, note in (7-8) that the presence of multiple intensifier options precludes the possibility of strict word formation rules for a given base.

\[
\begin{align*}
(7) \quad & p^4_u^1: \\
& p^4_u^1 \text{ ‘gray’ } \rightarrow \quad p^4_u^1 p^4_oj^1 \quad \text{‘very gray’ (e.g. ash spots on clothing)} \\
& p^4_u^1 \text{ ‘gray’ } \rightarrow \quad p^4_u^1 p^4_oŋ^1 \quad \text{‘very gray/pale’ (especially referring to skin)} \\
& p^4_u^1 \text{ ‘gray’ } \rightarrow \quad p^4_u^1 p^4_ew^3 \quad \text{‘very gray’} \\
& p^4_u^1 \text{ ‘gray’ } \rightarrow \quad p^4_u^1 p^4_ok^7 \quad \text{‘very gray’ (often referring to a distant, misty scene)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(8) \quad & xom^3: \\
& xom^3 \text{ ‘sour’ } \rightarrow \quad xom^3 \text{ tom}^4 \quad \text{‘very sour’} \\
& xom^3 \text{ ‘sour’ } \rightarrow \quad xom^3 \text{ ?nom}^5 \quad \text{‘very sour’}
\end{align*}
\]

The intensifiers (exemplified in (7-8)) follow general guidelines (rhyme, alliteration, TETU, “Copy But Don’t Repeat”), yet the specific features of a given intensifier may vary within those general guidelines. For example, in rhyming intensifiers, TETU encourages a coronal onset, yet the specific choice of coronal varies.

Alliterative intensifiers further illustrate this patterned variety on the tonal level. Stanford observes that the tone of an alliterative intensifier and the tone of its base usually come from the same side of the tone split discussed above. In other words, both are usually either even-numbered tones or odd-numbered tones. Thus, the tones of alliterative intensifiers exhibit patterned variety: the specific choice of intensifier tone can vary, but it usually must stay within the same side of the tone split, even or odd.

Stanford’s analysis may be confirmed through future cross-linguistic comparisons. Phenomena that appear to be at least generally similar to Sui adjective intensifiers have been reported in nearby Tai-Kadai languages such as Bouyei (Yu et al. 1994), but no data are
available for comparison. Vietnamese may also have similar adjective intensification (Thompson 1965, James Kirby personal communication). Thus, a cross-examination of the Sui data with other languages may yield further insights in the future.

3. The lexicon

The data entries provided here represent phonetic observation of the pronunciation of a native male Sui speaker in Ljaj Ku Tsong village, July 2004. The author collected 400 intensifiers from that speaker with the goal of providing the first detailed set of data representing a Sui speaker’s intensifier system. Prior work includes Wei (1999), who provides an initial description of about 20 Sui intensifiers. Two general Sui dictionaries (Burusphat, Wei, & Edmondson 2003 and Zeng & Yao 1996) also include intensifiers in their entries. However, such collections sometimes have a mix of dialect variants or historical variants, especially since intensifiers can vary in subtle ways from village to village. Therefore, the author set out to establish a single, detailed intensifier lexicon representing the synchronic lexicon of a single speaker.

Future phonological analysis of Sui may provide insight into transcription decisions for features such as the length of /a:/ and the status of onset glides. The data set is divided into two main categories, the Alliterative Class and the Rhyming Class, and then further subdivided by morpho-phonological features. The small class of intensifiers with no base-reduplicant phonological resemblance is listed separately (the No-Pattern Class).

For all adjective intensifying expressions, the leftmost syllable is assumed to represent a monosyllabic adjective unless otherwise indicated. When an expression has more than two syllables, an underline is used to indicate which pair of syllables belong to the given category being analyzed in that section.

As noted above, a single base adjective often has more than one possible choice of intensifier. In such cases, each intensifier is listed in its appropriate category below. When available, further information is provided to show semantic/pragmatic contrasts between such different intensifier options for a single base adjective.

“Variant” refers to a minor alternation in pronunciation of a given entry that the consultant views as equivalent to his primary pronunciation.

3.1 The Alliterative Class

The intensifiers in the alliterative class are organized in the following groups (where “checked” refers to syllables with –p, -t, -k in syllable final position):

1. Checked base syllable, unchecked reduplicant syllable
2. Checked base, checked reduplicant
3. Unchecked base, checked reduplicant
4. Unchecked base, unchecked reduplicant:
   4.1 Nasal-final base, nasal-final reduplicant
   4.2 Nasal-final base, vowel/glide-final reduplicant
   4.3 Vowel/glide-final base, nasal-final reduplicant
   4.4 Vowel/glide-final base, vowel/glide-final reduplicant
In addition to the adjective intensifiers, a few alliterative nouns and other word classes are included for future analysis, e.g., ʔɲɛʔɲɔ ‘swing’ (n.). Such words could share similar alliterative origins as the adjective intensifiers since Sui is otherwise largely monosyllabic.

3.1.1 Checked base, unchecked reduplicant

kaːt7 kow¹ ‘very nimble, agile’ (general use)
m̩bɔːk7 m̩bow¹ ‘very protruding, having many protrusions’ (general use)
ʔnep7 ʔnep³ ‘very narrow’ (higher level of intensity than ʔnep7 ⱆ ɲɛ:tl)
ʔnet7 ʔno³ ‘a swing’ (n.)
ʔbokʔbow¹ ‘very coarse’ (for small objects or table tops)
ʔdon¹ tʰakʔtej¹ ‘very bright’ (?don¹ ‘bright’)
pak⁵ ɲen¹ ‘very coarse, rough’
ɲe:tnᵉj¹ ‘sealed very tightly’ (higher intensity than ɲɛ:tnow¹)
ɲe:tnow¹ ‘sealed very tightly’ (general use)
ɲe:tnᵉj¹ ‘sealed very tightly’
ɲit³ ɲɔ³ ‘very cold’ (weather)
ʔjet³ ʔjɔ³ ‘very long ago’
lap⁷ len⁵ ‘very chatty, talkative’ (derogatory)
l̩ek⁸ l̩uj² ‘very strong’ (general use)
l̩ep⁷ l̩u³ ‘very remote, very faraway place’ (l̩ep⁷ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
l̩et⁷ l̩aw³ ‘hypocritical, false display of affection’ (l̩aw³ is not otherwise attested in this region, but it appears in other dialects as l̩aw³ ‘proud’)
l̩et⁷ l̩om¹ ‘very proud’
l̩ok⁷ l̩en¹ ‘very sweaty’
mat⁷ mew¹ ‘very dirty’ (derogatory, e.g., an animal or person’s face)
m̩ok⁷ m̩ow² ‘very fierce, brave’ (can refer to actions, unlike m̩ok⁷ t̩ok⁵)
m̩ok⁷ m̩ow² ‘very fierce, brave, greedy’ (may be related to m̩ow² in q̩a¹ m̩ow² ‘greedy’)
p̩a:k⁸ p̩a² ‘very white’ (often used to refer to skin)
p̩a:k⁸ p̩on⁴ ‘very white’ (general use)
q̩op⁷ q̩e:j⁵ ‘very rugged’ (of mountain) (q̩op⁷ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
q̩at⁷ q̩ow¹ ‘very bitter’
sut⁷ som¹ ‘very pretty, cute’ (esp. little animals or children)
sat⁷ sew³ ‘very hot’
t̩ut⁸ t̩aw⁴ ‘very wrinkled’ (e.g., clothes) (higher intensity than t̩ut⁸ t̩et⁸)
t̩ɔːk⁷ t̩om³ ‘very stiff, inflexible’ (general use)
t⁴ak⁷ t⁴aw¹ ‘very clear and bright’ (less common than t⁴ak⁷ tej¹) (t⁴ak⁷ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
t⁴ak⁷ t⁴ej¹ ‘very clear and bright’ (general use) (t⁴ak⁷ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
3.1.2 Unchecked base, checked reduplicant

\[ ?\text{nej}^7 ?\text{ne}:t^7 \] ‘very narrow’ (general use)
\[ ?\text{nej}^7 ?\text{ne}:t^7 \] ‘very narrow’ (can be derogatory, higher level of intensity than \[ ?\text{nej}^7 ?\text{ne}:t^7 \])
\[ ^\text{d}\text{op}^7 ^\text{d}e:\text{p}^7 \] ‘very crafty, sly’
\[ \text{tčak}^2 \text{tčop}^3 \] ‘very still, inflexible’ (higher intensity than \[ \text{tčak}^2 \text{tčom}^3 \])
\[ ?\text{ut}^8 ?\text{et}^8 \] ‘very wrinkled’ (e.g., clothes) (general use)
\[ \text{tsu}:t^7 \text{tsət}^7 \] ‘very wrinkled or curly’ (esp. hair)

3.1.3. Unchecked base, checked reduplicant

\[ \text{yō}^2 \text{yə:t}^8 \] ‘very empty’ (esp. empty-handed)
\[ ^\text{d}\text{am}^7 ^\text{d}e:\text{t}^7 \] ‘very short’ (height) (general use)
\[ ^\text{d}\text{am}^7 ^\text{d}o:\text{t}^7 \] ‘very short’ (height)
\[ ^\text{d}iŋ^5 ^\text{du:t}^7 \] ‘very dark’ (higher level of intensity than \[ ^\text{d}iŋ^5 ^\text{do}^7 \])
\[ ?\text{om}^6 ?\text{e}:k^7 \] ‘very clean/clear, wiped clean’
\[ ?\text{nam}^1 ?\text{nat}^7 \] ‘very fierce’
\[ ?\text{baj}^3 ?\text{be}:p^7 \] ‘very thin’
\[ ?\text{da}^4 ?\text{do:t}^7 \] ‘very hard’
\[ ?\text{daj}^5 ?\text{də:k}^7 \] ‘very shallow’ (general use)
\[ ?\text{i}:t^7 ?\text{pa}:t^7 \] ‘very cold’
\[ ?\text{naŋ}^2 ?\text{no:t}^7 \] ‘very salty’
\[ ?\text{nam}^1 ?\text{nut}^7 \] ‘very black/dark’ (higher level of intensity than \[ ?\text{nam}^1 ?\text{nej}^1 \])
\[ ?\text{mej}^5 ?\text{mu}:t^7 \] ‘very stingy’ (general use)
\[ ?\text{nd}^1 ?\text{no:k}^7 \] ‘very thick’ (general use)
\[ ?\text{om}^5 ?\text{a}:t^7 \] ‘very humid, muggy weather’ (higher intensity than \[ ?\text{om}^5 ?\text{oj}^1 \])
\[ \text{can}^2 \text{co:t}^8 \] ‘very straight or naïve/unintelligent’ (general use)
\[ \text{paw}^6 \text{net}^8 \] ‘very ugly’ (general use)
\[ \text{paw}^6 \text{net}^8 \] ‘very slender, thin’ (of a person) (\[ \text{paw}^6 \] is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
\[ ?\text{non}^2 \text{net}^8 \] ‘very muddled, confused’
\[ ?\text{nam}^1 \text{no:k}^7 \] ‘very bored’
\[ ?\text{ow}^4 \text{no:k}^7 \] ‘very cold’
\[ \text{kʰi}^2 \text{kʰop}^7 \] ‘opened a little crack’ (e.g., a window) (consultant is unsure if this is an adjective+intensifier pair or simply a two-syllable word; \[ \text{kʰi}^3 \] means to open just a crack; \[ \text{kʰop}^7 \] is not otherwise attested)
\[ ?\text{ka}:t^7 \] ‘very sparse’
\[ ?\text{kon}^1 \text{kat}^7 \] ‘very dry’ (esp. for skin)
\[ ?\text{kon}^1 \text{kop}^7 \] ‘very dry’ (esp. for physical objects which once held water/moisture)
\[ ?\text{lo}:t^7 ?\text{at}^7 \] ‘very sweaty’
\[ ?\text{lo}:t^7 ?\text{ja}:k^7 \] ‘completely finished’
\[ \text{pʰa}^8 \text{pʰok}^7 \] ‘very gray’ (often referring to misty mountains)
\[ \text{pʰa}^3 \text{pʰa}:k^7 \] ‘very crooked’ (\[ \text{pʰa}^3 \] ‘crooked’ appears to be a variant of \[ ?\text{baj}^3 \] ‘crooked’)
\[ \text{pʰow}^2 \text{pʰop}^7 \] ‘very swollen’
\[ \text{paj}^6 \text{pak}^7 \] ‘very crooked’
\[ \text{pʰ}^7 \text{pʰ}^8 \] ‘very fat’ (only referring to people; has an intimate, ‘cute’ sense)
\[ \text{pʰap}^7 \text{pʰap}^8 \] ‘very shriveled, withered’; (note: there is a two-syllable word, \[ \text{pʰap}^7 \text{pʰ}^1 \] with similar meaning)
\[ \text{pʰen}^2 \text{pʰen}^8 \] ‘very flat’

Sui Lexicon

Linguistic Discovery 5.1:1-27
3.1.4 Unchecked base, unchecked reduplicant

3.1.4.1 Nasal-final base, nasal-final reduplicant

\[ \text{\textit{\text{pu}}}^{1} \text{pop}^{7} \quad \text{very swollen, bulging} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{qam}}}^{1} \text{qa}:^{7} \quad \text{very bitter} \text{ (often refers to vegetables)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{qam}}}^{1} \text{qu:t}^{7} \quad \text{very bitter} \text{ (general use)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{qam}}}^{5} \text{qa}:^{7} \quad \text{very purple/dark} \text{ (often refers to dark skin; higher intensity than qam}^{5} \text{ qe:j}^{1}) \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{qam}}}^{5} \text{qu:t}^{7} \quad \text{very purple/dark} \text{ (general use)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{qen}}}^{3} \text{qok}^{4} \quad \text{very colorful} \text{ (higher intensity than qen}^{3} \text{ qe:w}^{1}) \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{qaj}}}^{5} \text{qaj}^{8} \quad \text{very crooked} \text{ (tends to be derogatory; higher intensity than qaj}^{5} \text{ tq:j}^{1}) \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{qom}}}^{5} \text{qok}^{4} \quad \text{having many protrusions, not level} \text{ (higher intensity than qom}^{5} \text{ qe:j}^{3}) \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{sa}}}^{1} \text{so}^{8} \quad \text{very itchy/prickly} \text{ (e.g., thorns) (higher intensity than sa}^{1} \text{ som}^{1}) \]
\[ \text{s}^{9} \text{ow}^{3} \text{s}^{9} \text{e:t}^{7} \quad \text{very few} \text{ (general use)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{tcaw}}}^{1} \text{tca:k}^{7} \quad \text{very curved} \text{ (e.g., curly hair) (indicates greater curvature than tcaw}^{1} \text{ qe:w}^{3}) \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{tce}}}^{3} \text{tce:p}^{7} \quad \text{very old} \text{ (of people) (general use)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{tcoj}}}^{3} \text{tcoj}^{7} \quad \text{very skinny} \text{ (higher intensity than tcoj}^{3} \text{ tce:n}^{1} \text{; also tcoj}^{3} \text{ tcoj}^{7} \text{ tends to be derogatory; tcoj}^{3} \text{ tce:n}^{1} \text{ and tcoj}^{3} \text{ qo:j}^{4} \text{ are not so derogatory)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{tcen}}}^{3} \text{tce:a:t}^{7} \quad \text{very colorful} \text{ (general use)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{taj}}}^{5} \text{tak}^{8} \quad \text{very colorful} \text{ (higher intensity, brighter colors than taj}^{5} \text{ tew}^{1}) \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{taw}}}^{6} \text{taw}^{8} \quad \text{very anxious, agitated} \text{ (status as an adjectival expression is unclear: taw}^{6} \text{ is a verb \textquoteleft to stamp one\textapos;s feet\textquoteright)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{t'en}}}^{2} \text{t'ok}^{8} \quad \text{very full} \text{ (of food)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{tu}}}^{5} \text{t'a:t}^{7} \quad \text{very tough, firm} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{tshej}}}^{1} \text{tshej}^{7} \quad \text{very attractive, good-looking} \text{ (general use)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{xog}}}^{3} \text{x:at}^{7} \quad \text{very poor} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{xa:n}}}^{4} \text{xat}^{8} \quad \text{very slender, tall (of a person) or a long road} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{xot}}}^{7} \text{xat}^{7} \quad \text{very skilled} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{zaw}}}^{1} \text{zak}^{7} \quad \text{very numb, insensitive} \]

\[ \text{\textit{\text{dan}}}^{5} \text{den}^{3} \quad \text{very short} \text{ (height) (higher intensity than dan}^{5} \text{ de:t}^{7}) \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{den}}}^{3} \text{den}^{5} \quad \text{very short} \text{ (length) (higher intensity than den}^{3} \text{ d'ow}^{5}) \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{dij}}}^{5} \text{dom}^{8} \quad \text{very dark} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{n'om}}}^{5} \text{n'om}^{3} \quad \text{very dark} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{qam}}}^{3} \text{qen}^{3} \quad \text{very dizzy} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{qam}}}^{3} \text{qon}^{3} \quad \text{very confused} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{k'h}}}^{3} \text{k'om}^{1} \quad \text{very brown} \text{ (general use)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{kun}}}^{3} \text{k'ej}^{3} \quad \text{very dry} \text{ (esp. for pools of water or cooking pots which once held water)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{le}}}^{6} \text{lan}^{6} \quad \text{very disorderly, messy} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{lan}}}^{5} \text{len}^{1} \quad \text{very spicy} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{l'em}}}^{5} \text{l'aj}^{1} \quad \text{very talkative} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{pa:n}}}^{3} \text{pa:on}^{3} \quad \text{very moldy} \text{ (higher intensity than pa:n}^{3} \text{ p'ow}^{1}) \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{tcoj}}}^{3} \text{tce:n}^{1} \quad \text{very skinny} \text{ (general use)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{teh}}}^{3} \text{teh}^{1} \quad \text{very steep} \text{ (general use)} \]
\[ \text{\textit{\text{tej}}}^{5} \text{te:j}^{1} \quad \text{very spicy} \text{ (less common than tej}^{5} \text{ te:j}^{3} \text{; higher intensity)} \]
tʰən³ tʰɔm¹ ‘puffed, bulging, not wrinkled’ (general use)
 tôm⁵ tôm³ ‘very dark’ (weather)
 vəŋ¹ vəŋ⁵ ‘very tall’ (vəŋ¹ vəŋ⁵ does not include a sense of ‘strong’, unlike vəŋ¹ tɔːŋ²)

3.1.4.2 Nasal-final base, vowel/glide-final reduplicant

ɣən⁵ ɣən¹ ‘very clean/clear/cool’
 kəŋ¹ kəŋ¹ ‘very muddled, confused’ (mental)
 kəŋ⁴ kəŋ⁴ ‘very young’ (general use)
 kəŋ⁵ kəŋ⁴ ‘very young’ (higher intensity than kəŋ⁴ kəŋ⁴)
 mʰəm⁶ mʰə³ ‘very damp/humid’ (tends to refer to food, skin, or clothes; more limited usage than mʰəm⁶ tɔːm⁶)
 mʰən¹ mʰən¹ ‘very expensive’
 n¹dəŋ¹ n¹dəŋ¹ ‘very fragrant’
 n¹dən⁵ n¹dən⁵ ‘very short’ (length) (general use)
 ʔyəm⁵ ʔyə³ ‘very swollen’
 ʔnən³ ʔnən³ ‘very tender’ (of objects or human heart)
 ʔbəŋ⁴ ʔbəŋ⁴ ‘very soggy, muddy’
 ʔdəŋ³ ʔdəŋ³ ‘very smooth, shiny’
 ʔdəŋ⁵ ʔdəŋ⁵ ‘very itchy’ (?dən⁵ also appears as a verb ‘pull’)
 ʔdəŋ³ ʔdəŋ³ ‘very tender’ (a variant: ʔnən³ ʔnə³)
 ʔməm³ ʔmə³ ‘very deep’ (general use)
 ʔmən³ ʔmən³ ‘very deep’ (often refers to dangerous situations, e.g., deep, opaque water)
 ʔmən³ ʔmə³ ‘very black/dark’ (common, e.g., dark black clothes)
 ʔmən³ ʔmə³ ‘very black’ (esp. a portion of an object that is blackened)
 ɔn⁶ ɔn³ ‘very tiring’
 əm³ ə³ ‘very dizzy’ (described as being a reduced form of əm³ ən³)
 nən³ nə¹ ‘very cold’ (esp. for water)
 nən³ nə³ ‘very stupid, stupefied’ (nən³ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
 fən¹ fəj⁴ ‘very gentle flavor or very relaxed, easy’; fən¹ = ‘slow’)
 fən¹ fəj⁴ ‘very gentle flavor’ (note that fən¹ fəj⁴ doesn’t have the secondary meaning ‘relaxed, easy’ found in fən¹ fəj¹)
 fən³ fəj² ‘very steep’
 fəm¹ fə³ ‘very still and quiet’ (fəm¹ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
 jən² jəj² ‘very orderly’
 kʰən¹ kʰəj¹ ‘very diligent’ (kʰən¹ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
 kən³ kəj¹ ‘very white’ (complexion)
 kɪn³ kɪ³ ‘very pretty’
 kəm³ kəj³ ‘very weak/sickly’
 liŋ¹ ɬəw¹ ‘very clear/dry’ (weather)
 ləŋ¹ ləj¹ ‘all the same, all one kind’ (grammatically required to have another corresponding syllable ləŋ¹ at the beginning of the phrase: ləŋ¹ ow⁴ ləŋ¹ ləj¹ ‘only rice, nothing else’ (ow⁴ = ‘rice’)
 ləŋ⁴ ləj² ‘very sweet’
 ləŋ⁵ ɬəw¹ ‘very loose’ (esp. referring to a loosely fitting object which distinguishes this intensifier from ləŋ⁵ ləw³)
 ləŋ⁵ ɬəw³ ‘very loose, spacious’ (e.g. very few people present during market day)
 mən³ məj³ ‘pure yellow’
man³ mow¹ ‘deep yellow’ (most common)
?om² ?oj¹ ‘very humid, muggy weather’ (general use)
caa² caj² ‘very stupid’ (only referring to intelligence, not straightness of objects, cf. caa² caːf⁸)
πau⁵ πaj³ ‘very worried’
nau⁵ nej² ‘very tender’
p⁻au⁴ p⁻oj³ ‘very moldy’ (higher intensity than p⁻aːŋ³ p⁻ow¹)
p⁻au⁴ p⁻ow¹ ‘very moldy’ (esp. for objects, e.g. clothes)
p⁻au⁴ p⁻ow¹ ‘very barren, clear’
πau⁴ θoj¹ ‘very stupid’ (general use)
qaːŋ⁵ laːŋ⁵ laː⁴ ‘very simple, crude’ (e.g. a simple house) (the syllables are not otherwise attested)
q⁻au¹ q⁻oj¹ ‘very delicious’
qaːŋ⁴ q⁻ŋ³ ‘very bitter’ (higher intensity than qaːŋ¹ qːt⁷)
qaːŋ⁴ q⁻ŋ³ ‘very purple/dark’
qaːŋ⁴ q⁻ŋ³ ‘very purple/dark’ (often refers to dark skin)
qaːŋ⁴ qow² ‘very short’ (higher intensity than qaːŋ⁴ ʔnːŋ³)
qaːŋ⁴ qow² ‘very agile/nimble’ (higher intensity than qaːŋ¹ qoj¹)
qaːŋ⁴ qow² ‘very agile/nimble’ (general use)
qaːŋ⁴ qow² ‘very colorful’ (general use)
qaːŋ⁴ qow² ‘having many protrusions, not level’ (general use)
som⁵ si¹ ‘very wet and very dirty’ (neither syllable is otherwise attested in any similar context; this expression most commonly serves as an intensifier of another word such as p⁻jaːt⁷ ‘filled with blood’)
tc⁻en³ tc⁻u⁵ ‘very steep’ (higher intensity than tc⁻en³ tc⁻en¹)
tc⁻en³ tc⁻en¹ ‘wound a lot (wire, string) or a very winding, curving (road)’
tc⁻en³ tc⁻en¹ ‘very cheap’
t⁻en³ t⁻aw¹ ‘puffed, bulging, not wrinkled’
tom¹ tej¹ ‘very blunt, dull’ (does not refer to intelligence)
tom¹ tej¹ ‘very blunt, dull’ (does not refer to intelligence; higher intensity than tom¹ tej¹)
ts⁻au³ ts⁻aw³ ‘very attractive, good-looking’
ts⁻au³ ts⁻aw³ ‘very constricted, bloated’
ts⁻au³ ts⁻aw³ ‘very sharp’
x⁻au³ xaw¹ ‘very hollow’
x⁻au³ xaw¹ ‘very early’
x⁻au³ xaw¹ ‘very strong/healthy’
z⁻au³ z⁻aw³ ‘very heavy’ (lower intensity than z⁻au¹ nak⁷)

3.1.4.3 Vowel/glide-final base, nasal-final reduplicant

γo⁶ γaːŋ⁴ ‘very leaky’ (general use)
⁵bu³ ⁵bun¹ ‘very protruding’ (often refers to small objects, food)
⁵daw⁵ ⁵dːn¹ ‘to move around with rolling, rocking motion’ (adjective/verb status unclear)
⁵øj³ ⁵øŋ² ‘very long’ (general use)
⁵bː⁵ ⁵bːŋ³ ‘very smooth’ (e.g., skin)
⁵dːe⁵ ⁵dːŋ⁵ ‘very shallow’ (higher intensity than ⁵dːe⁵ ⁴dːik⁷)
ca⁷ cen¹ ‘very sharp’
cu⁶ cin⁵ ‘very green’
3.1.4.4 Vowel/glide-final base, vowel/glide-final reduplicate

\( \text{tu}^3 \text{ca}:n^1 \) ‘very lively’ (uncommon)
\( \text{p}^\text{ow}^3 \text{pe}:n^3 \) ‘very ugly’ (humorous; less common than \( \text{p}^\text{ow}^5 \text{pe}:t^7 \))
\( \text{pu}^5 \text{ni}^3 \) ‘very smelly’ (esp. of a child)
\( \text{k}^5 \text{ki}^1 \) ‘not respectable, not decent, not honest’ (most commonly occurs with \( \text{m}^4 \))

\( \text{lo}^3 \text{la}^1 \) ‘very bald’ (hair or a barren mountain)
\( \text{me}^5 \text{me}^3 \) ‘very new’
\( \text{n}^5 \text{ni}^1 \) ‘very unrespectable’ (general use) (\( \text{n}^5 \text{ni}^1 \) also appears in \( \text{n}^5 \text{si}^1 \))
\( \text{n}^5 \text{ni}^3 \) ‘very unrespectable’ (tends to refer to taboo behavior, higher intensity than \( \text{n}^5 \text{ni}^5 \))

\( \text{p}^\text{a}^1 \text{p}^\text{a}^3 \text{ni} \) ‘very gray/pale’ (esp. for a pudgy person with pale skin)
\( \text{p}^\text{bi}^3 \text{p}^\text{bi}^5 \text{ni} \) ‘very near’
\( \text{pu}^1 \text{pe}:n \) ‘very swollen’
\( \text{q}^\text{aw}^3 \text{go}:n^3 \) ‘very old’ (physical objects)
\( \text{qu}^\text{lu}^5 \text{lan}^3 \) ‘very round’ (tends to refer to smaller objects than \( \text{qu}^5 \text{lu}^5 \) \text{su}^5 \text{does} \) (\( \text{qu}^5 \text{lu}^5 \) \text{= ‘round’})

\( \text{sa}^1 \text{so}:n^1 \) ‘very itchy/prickly’ (general use)
\( \text{s}^\text{ow}^3 \text{s}^\text{a}:n^1 \) ‘very few’ (higher intensity than \( \text{s}^\text{ow}^3 \text{s}^\text{e}:t^7 \))
\( \text{s}^\text{u}^3 \text{sa}^3 \text{ni} \) ‘very dry’
\( \text{tc}^\text{aw}^1 \text{tc}^\text{en}^3 \) ‘very curved’ (higher intensity than \( \text{tc}^\text{aw}^1 \text{tc}^\text{ak}^7 \))
\( \text{taj}^5 \text{ta}^3 \) ‘multicolored’ (higher intensity than \( \text{taj}^5 \text{te}^5 \text{w}^1 \) but not as high as \( \text{taj}^5 \text{tak}^7 \))
\( \text{t}^\text{e}^5 \text{te}^3 \text{om}^3 \) ‘very old’ (of people) (higher intensity than \( \text{t}^\text{e}^5 \text{te}^5 \text{op}^3 \))
\( \text{tk}^1 \text{mo}^3 \text{mon}^1 \) ‘very full’; higher intensity than \( \text{tk}^7 \text{n}^5 \text{ep}^8 \) (\( \text{tk}^7 = ‘full’ \))
\( \text{va}^5 \text{vo}^1 \) ‘very stupid’ (more derogatory than \( \text{va}^5 \text{vo}^3 \); slightly less intensity than \( \text{va}^3 \text{nj}^5 \))
\( \text{za}^3 \text{ze}^3 \) ‘very light’ (general use)

\( \text{yo}^6 \text{vi}^3 \) ‘very leaky and dirty’
\( \text{yi}^6 \text{vew}^2 \) ‘very coarse, rough’
\( \text{mb}^3 \text{a}^3 \text{m}^3 \text{bow}^1 \) ‘very blurry’ (higher intensity than \( \text{mb}^3 \text{a}^3 \text{te}^4 \))
\( \text{mb}^3 \text{boj}^1 \) ‘very protruding’ (higher intensity than \( \text{mb}^3 \text{te}^5 \text{u}^5 \))
\( \text{mb}^3 \text{bow}^1 \) ‘very protruding’ (higher intensity than \( \text{mb}^3 \text{te}^5 \text{u}^5 \))
\( \text{mb}^3 \text{te}^3 \text{oj}^1 \) ‘very protruding’ (tends to refer to large thick objects)
\( \text{m}^5 \text{daw}^5 \text{m}^5 \text{dow}^1 \) ‘to move around with rolling, rocking motion (adjective/verb status unclear)
\( \text{m}^3 \text{na}^1 \text{m}^3 \text{na}^3 \) ‘to swing’ (v.); \( \text{m}^3 \text{na}^3 \) also appears in \( \text{m}^7 \text{na}^3 \), ‘swing’ (n.)
\( \text{m}^3 \text{a}^3 \text{m}^3 \text{e}^3 \text{ej}^1 \) ‘very bored’
\( \text{m}^5 \text{ba}^5 \text{m}^5 \text{buj}^3 \) ‘very smooth’
\( \text{m}^3 \text{dal}^1 \text{m}^3 \text{dew}^5 \) ‘very good’
\( \text{m}^5 \text{di}^3 \text{m}^5 \text{du}^5 \) ‘very far’
\( \text{m}^3 \text{ma}^3 \text{m}^3 \text{me}^5 \text{m}^3 \text{ew}^3 \) ‘very soft’ (usually implies rotten)
\( \text{m}^3 \text{ma}^3 \text{m}^3 \text{mi}^3 \) ‘very soft’ (uncommon)
\( \text{m}^3 \text{ma}^3 \text{m}^3 \text{me}^3 \text{ej}^1 \) ‘very soft’ (most common)
\( \text{m}^1 \text{ma}^1 \text{mo}^3 \) ‘very thick’ (implies both big and thick; higher degree of emphasis than \( \text{m}^1 \text{na}^1 \text{m}^3 \text{no}^5 \text{k}^5 \))
\( \text{me}^5 \text{no}^1 \) ‘very tired’
3.2 The rhyming class

The intensifiers in the rhyming class are organized into six groups: intensifiers with labial onsets (Group 1), dorsal onsets (Group 2), glottal onsets (Group 3), coronal onsets (Group 4), fully reduplicated pairs (Group 5), and three-syllable expressions (Group 6). Within those groups, intensifiers are further differentiated as sets of intensifiers sharing similar onset feature changes. Finally, within some sets, intensifiers are differentiated into subsets of similar feature changes.

In a few cases where a pair of intensifiers rhyme with each other but do not rhyme with the base adjective, then the rhyming pair being analyzed in that section is underlined, e.g., tom\(^1\) ‘dull’ → tom\(^1\) po\(^2\) so\(^2\) ‘very dull’.

The third syllables of three-syllable rhyming expressions (e.g., mow\(^1\) ‘rash (adj.)’ → mow\(^1\) low\(^1\) ‘very rash’ → mow\(^1\) low\(^1\) tow\(^2\) ‘extremely rash’) are analyzed as a separate set. The two rhyming syllables being analyzed in that section are underlined, e.g., mow\(^1\) low\(^1\) tow\(^2\). In addition, for a few intensifiers where speakers report that the rhyming syllables cannot be separated, e.g., p\(aq\)^5 l\(aq\)^5 s\(aq\)^5 ‘extremely messy’; *p\(aq\)^5 l\(aq\)^5, then the whole expression is listed along with the more typical two-syllable expressions with the first two syllables underlined to show they are being analyzed in that section, e.g., p\(aq\)^5 l\(aq\)^5 s\(aq\)^5.
Group 1. Labial base onsets

Set 1.1: Voiced labial becomes a voiceless coronal obstruent

Feature changes in this set:
[+voice] → [-voice]
[labial] → [coronal]

Variation in Onset Place: 7 cases of [tɕ], 1 case of [tj], 1 case of [tɕʰ], 1 case of [t]

mbɔ:k⁷ tɕɔ:k⁸ ‘very protruding, having many protrusions’
mba³ tɕa⁴ ‘very blurry’ (most common)
mbam⁶ tɕam⁶ ‘very damp/humid’ (general use)
mbaw³ tɕaw⁴ ‘very muddled’
mbu⁵ tɕu⁵ ‘very protruding, having many protrusions’
ʔbaŋ⁵ tɕaŋ⁴ ‘very crooked’
ʔbok⁷ tɕok⁸ ‘very coarse’ (used for large objects such as rocks)
ʔmeŋ⁵ tɕi⁴ ‘very stingy/selfish’
mət⁶ tɕə⁶ ‘very damp/humid’ (general use)
ʔməŋ⁵ tɕəŋ⁴ ‘very tall’

Set 1.2: Voiceless labial becomes a voiced coronal sonorant

Feature changes in this set:
[-voice]→[+voice]
[labial]→[coronal]
[-lat]→ [+lat] (exception: pən¹ nən¹)
[-son]→ [+son] (exceptions: mow¹ low¹)

pən¹ nən¹ ‘very stupid’
pi³ pu¹ lʊ¹ ‘very fat’ (pi² ‘fat’) (pᵢ¹ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
pi⁵ li⁵ ‘messy’ (e.g. a messy desktop) (pi⁶ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
pəai⁵ ləai⁵ səai⁵ ‘very messy’ (e.g. messy writing or messy soup, differs from pi⁵ li⁵ si⁵ or pᵢ⁶ lə:n⁶ nə:n⁶; pᵢ⁷ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
pən⁶ lən⁶ nə:n⁶ ‘very messy’ (e.g. a messed up pile of books) (pᵢ⁶ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
pə:k⁷ lə:k⁷ ‘very dirty’
pəŋ⁶ ləŋ⁶ ‘very flat’ (general use)
məw¹ low¹ ‘very crude’ (derogatory)
fəŋ⁵ lə:n⁶ ‘very wide’
fə:n¹ lə:n² ‘very slow or gentle flavor’ (e.g. alcohol) (Note that fə:n¹ lə:n² doesn’t have the secondary meaning ‘relaxed, easy’ found in fə:n¹ fəj¹)
Unclassified:
\[ p^3q^3 t^4 q^4 \] ‘very crooked’ (the base may be in free variation with \( b^3 \))
\[ f^8 y^8 t^8 \] ‘very disheveled, weary’ (\( f^8 \) is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)

**Group 2. Dorsal base onsets**

**Set 2.1: Voiced dorsal becomes a voiceless coronal**

Feature changes in this set:
[dorsal]→[coronal]
Other feature changes are listed below by subset.

Subset 2.1.1:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[+cont]→[-cont]

\( k^8 a^7 c^8 a^8 \) ‘very agile’, also ‘hurried, hasty’

Subset 2.1.2:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[-nasal]→[+nasal]

\( \dot{y}^3 q^j \) \( p^j \) ‘very long’

Subset 2.1.3:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[+nasal]→[-nasal]

\( n^7 a^7 t^8 a^7 \) ‘very still and quiet’ (\( n^7 \) is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
\( n^8 s^8 t^8 \) ‘very stupid’
\( t^m \) \( n^2 s^2 \) ‘very dull’ (of a knife), ‘unintelligent’ (of a person) (\( t^m \) ‘dull’)

**Set 2.2: Voiceless dorsal becomes a voiced coronal**

Feature change in this set: [dorsal]→[coronal]. Other feature changes are listed below by subset.

Subset 2.2.1:
[-voice]→[+voice]
[-cont]→[+cont]
[-lat]→[+lat]
[-son]→[+son]

In this subset, the bases are not attested as monosyllabic adjectives.
ʔdɑʒ3 ʔɑŋ5 ʔɔŋ5  ‘very hard’ (?dɑ3 ‘hard’)
ʔdɑʒ3 ɡaŋ8 ɡaŋ8  ‘very hard’
ʔdɑʒ3 ɡe5 ɡe5 ɡe5  ‘very hard’
maŋ4 ɡɑ5 ɡɑ5 ɡɑ5  ‘very happy’ (maŋ4 ‘happy’)
ɡq6 ɡaŋ5 ɡaŋ5 ɡaŋ5  ‘very bald’
ɡqαŋ6 ɡaŋ6 ɡaŋ6  ‘round’
ɡqαŋ6 ɡɑ5 ɡɑ5 ɡɑ5  ‘very simple, crude’ (e.g., a simple house)
qak7 ɡɑ7 ɡɑ7  ‘mysterious’
qew3 ɡlɛw3  ‘clever, mysterious’
qu5 ɡu5  ‘round’ (for ball-like objects)
tɛŋ3 ɡɛm3 ɡɛm3  ‘very skinny’; free variant: tɛŋ3 ɡwam3 ɡjam3

Subset 2.2.2:
[ -voice ]→ [+voice ]
[ -cont ]→ [+cont ]
[ -nasal ]→ [+nasal ]
[ -son ]→ [+son ]

ʔmɑ3 ɡwɛt8 ɡwɛt8  ‘very soft’ (ʔmɑ3 ‘soft’) (ɡwɛt8 is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
xaŋ7 ɡwɑt8 ɡwɑt8  ‘very lazy’ (ʔmɑ3 ‘soft’) (ɡwɑt8 is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
qaŋ4 ɡnɔŋ3 ɡnɔŋ3  ‘very short’ (general use)
xom3 ɡnom3 ɡnom3  ‘very sour’ (higher intensity than xom3 ɡɑ:t’)

Subset 2.2.3:
[ -lat ]→ [+lat ]
[ -son ]→ [+son ]

xɑ3 ɡjɔ4  ‘very poor’
xop7 ɡop8  ‘very dizzy with success’ (xop8 is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)

Subset 2.2.4:
pi2 ɡɑ5 ɡɑ5 ɡdɔm1  ‘very fat’ (pi2 ‘fat’) (ɡɑ5 is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)

Set 2.3: Voiceless dorsal becomes a voiceless coronal obstruent

Feature changes are listed by subset below.

Subset 2.3.1:
[ +cont ]→ [ -cont ]

xɑ:ŋ3 ɡɑ:ŋ2  ‘very red’ (can be derogatory)
xɑk7 ɡɑk8  ‘very crowded, constricted’ (general use)
xom$^3$ tom$^4$ ‘very sour’ (higher intensity than xom$^3$ pjɑː$t^7$)
xom$^3$ tom$^5$ ?nom$^5$ som$^5$ ‘very sour’ (higher intensity than xom$^3$ ?nom$^5$)

Subset 2.3.2:
[dorsal]→[coronal]
[-cont]→[+cont]
[-strid]→[+strid]

In this subset, the bases are not attested as monosyllabic adjectives.

kɔ$^5$ sɔ$^5$ ‘to be stunned, stupefied’
kəŋ$^5$ səŋ$^5$ ‘can’t help doing something, have no alternative’

Subset 2.3.3:
[dorsal]→[coronal]
[+asp]→[-asp]

kʰiŋ$^3$ tŋ$^4$ ‘very brown’

Subset 2.3.4
[dorsal]→[coronal]
[+bk]→[-bk]

qŋ$^2$ tŋ$^1$ ‘very crooked’ (tends to be derogatory)

**Set 2.4: Voiceless velar fricative becomes a voiceless uvular stop**

Feature changes in this set:
[dorsal]→[uvular]
[+cont]→[-cont]

xɔŋ$^1$ qɔŋ$^7$ ‘very hollow’ (Another version, xɔŋ$^1$ tɔŋ$^2$, is observed in the Shuilong region)
xɔk$^7$ qok$^8$ ‘very hurriedly, not carefully’ (adverbial)

**Set 2.5: Voiceless velar stop becomes a voiced velar fricative**

Feature changes in this set:
[-cont]→[+cont]
[+asp]→[-asp]
[-voice]→[+voice]

kʰo$^3$ yo$^4$ ‘very hollowed, sunken (object) or greedy’
Set 2.6: Tone change only

koŋ² koŋ⁶ koŋ³ ‘very much’ (only used when speaking to a child in a silly manner)

Group 3. Glottal base onsets

Feature change: [glottal]→[coronal]

ʔom³ tom⁴ ‘very hunchbacked’
ʔom⁵ tom⁵ ‘very humid’ (weather)

Group 4. Coronal base onsets

Set 4.1: Voiceless coronal obstruent becomes coronal nasal (with same [back] feature)

Feature changes in this set:
[-son]→[+son]
[-nasal]→[+nasal]
[-voice]→[+voice]

pu¹ təŋ¹ ?nəŋ¹ (also: pu¹ təŋ¹) ‘very swollen’ (e.g. an inflated basketball) (təŋ¹ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
təŋ¹ ?nəŋ¹ ‘very long’ (time)
təŋ⁵ ?nəŋ⁵ ‘very full’ (of food)
tək⁷ ?nəŋ⁷ ‘very broken’
tom⁴ ?nom¹ ‘very dull’ (of a knife), also ‘dumb’ (of a person)
tow⁵ ?nom⁵ ‘very dull, slow’ (of ability to think)
xom³ tom⁵ ?nom⁵ som⁵ ‘very sour’ (higher intensity than xom³ ?nom⁵) (?nom⁵ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
čəŋ² tɕoŋ² ?nəŋ² ‘very stupid’ (čəŋ² ‘stupid’) (tɕoŋ² is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
pi² təŋ² ?nəŋ² ‘very fat’ (pi² ‘far’) (təŋ² is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)

The following intensifying expressions for "dam⁵ ‘short’ (height) bear close phonological resemblance. The consultant reports all four expressions, but it is unclear whether they should be classified as individual entries or “free variants” of a single entry. In addition, except for tu:t⁷, the bases are not attested as monosyllabic adjectives.

"dam⁵ tɕi:t⁷ ?nə:t⁷ ‘very short’ (height) ("dam⁵ ‘short’ (height))
"dam⁵ te: ne³ ‘very short’ (height) ("dam⁵ ‘short’ (height))
"den⁵ tu:t⁷ ?nə:t⁷ ‘very short’ (height) ("dam⁵ ‘short’ (height))
"dam⁵ tu:t⁷ nu:t⁷ ‘very short’ (height) ("dam⁵ ‘short’ (height); also the consultant reports that tu:t⁷ can also function as an independent word meaning ‘short’)
Set 4.2: Voiceless coronal obstruent becomes a lateral

Feature changes in this set listed below by subset.

Subset 4.2.1:
Feature changes:
[-voice]→[+voice]
[-lat]→[+lat]
[-cont]→[+cont]

ɕoŋ² tet⁸ let⁸ ‘very straight’ (can only refer to objects) (tet⁸ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
təcaːt⁷ ləːt⁷ sɪːt⁷ ‘very disorderly, messy’ (e.g., a messy dinner table) (tcaːt⁷ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
xaːn³ təːn² laːn² ‘extremely red’ (higher intensity than xaːn³ təːn²) (xaːn³ ‘red’)

Subset 4.2.2:
Feature changes:
[-voice]→[+voice]
[+strid]→[-strid]

sɔn⁴ sop⁷ lɔp⁸ ‘very flustered, hurried’ (sɔn⁴ ‘flustered, hurried’) (sop⁷ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)

Set 4.3: Nasal or lateral coronal becomes a voiceless coronal obstruent (or voiceless nasal)

Feature changes listed by subset below.

Subset 4.3.1:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[+nasal]→[-nasal]
[-strid]→[+strid]
[+son]→[-son]
The bases in this set are not attested as monosyllabic adjectives.

ⁿdɔm⁵ ne⁵ se² ‘very short (height)’ (ⁿdɔm⁵ ‘short (height)’)
n’iŋ⁵ s’iŋ⁵ ‘very filthy, unrespectable’
n’iŋ⁵ s’iŋ⁵ ‘very filthy, unrespectable’
n’oŋ⁷ ɕɔ⁵ ‘very filthy, unrespectable’
ɲoŋ² ɕoŋ² ‘very stupid’
Subset 4.3.2:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[+lat]→[-lat]
[-strid]→[+strid]
[+son]→[-son]

лат⁸ сат⁸ ‘Very blunt, stubborn’

Subset 4.3.3:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[+lat]→[-lat]
[+son]→[-son]
[+cont]→[-cont]

l⁶ɔn⁴ tɛn² ‘very blunt, dull’ (e.g. a knife)
l⁶ɔn⁶ t⁶ɔn⁶ ‘very disorderly, messy’
ləŋ⁵ təŋ⁴ ‘very careless’
ləŋ⁵ tɛŋ⁴ ‘very straight’
ləŋ⁷ təŋ⁸ ‘very chatty, talkative’ (derogatory)

Subset 4.3.4:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[+lat]→[-lat]
[+son]→[-son]
[-nasal]→[+nasal]
[+cont]→[-cont]

lə:n⁶ pə:n⁶ ‘Very messy’ (e.g. a pile of books) (lə:n⁶ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)

**Set 4.4 Voiced coronal obstruent onsets becomes another coronal obstruent**

Subset 4.4.1:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[-strid]→[+strid]
[-cont]→[+cont]

ʔdɛ:t⁷ se:t⁷ ‘Very quiet’
Subset 4.4.2:
[-cont]→[+cont]
[-lat]→[+lat]

ʔdeːtɭ leːtɭ seːtɭ ‘very quiet’ (higher intensity than ʔdeːt seːtɭ)

**Set 4.5: Coronal obstruent becomes an obstruent with different place of articulation**

Feature changes listed by subset below.

Subset 4.5.1:
[-cont]→[+cont]
[coronal]→[dorsal]

tɕəm4 ɤəm4 ‘very fierce’
ɕəŋ2 tʰu3 ɾu4 ‘very stupid’ (ɕəŋ2 ‘stupid’) (tʰu3 is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)

Subset 4.5.2:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[coronal]→[dorsal, +labial]

ʔdoːŋ1 kʰɑːŋ2 ‘Very bright’, esp. when light suddenly emerges (could be related Chinese guang ‘light; ray; bright’, but the Sui consultant views kʰɑːŋ2 as a purely Sui intensifier and it is not otherwise attested in Sui. However, a similar word kʰɑːŋ1 exists which means ‘bright’.)

Subset 4.5.3:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[coronal]→[dorsal]
[-nasal]→[+nasal]

tom1 tɔ2 nɔɔ2 sɔ2 ‘Very dull’ (of a knife), ‘very dumb’ (of a person) (tom1 ‘dull’) (tɔ2 is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)

Subset 4.5.4:
[-cont]→[+cont]
[coronal]→[labial]

tɕɔŋ3 ʃəŋ4 ‘very skinny’ (higher intensity than tɕɔŋ3 tɕɛn1)
tiw3 fiw4 ‘very dried up’ (higher intensity than tiw3 tɔ5)
Subset 4.5.5:
[-cont]→[+cont]
[coronal]→[labial]
[+nasal]→[-nasal]

ʔnam¹ fam² ‘very black/dark’

Subset 4.5.6:
[-cont]→[+cont]
[coronal]→[labial]
[-voice]→[+voice]

tse:k⁷ ve:k⁷ ‘very bright’

Subset 4.5.7:
[-cont]→[+cont]
[coronal]→[labial]

ʔdɑ:n³ ʋɑ:n³ ‘very shiny/glittering’

Set 4.6: Tone change only

ʔdɔ³ʔdɔ:͡t⁷ʔdɔ:̃t⁸ ‘very hard’ (ʔdɔ:̃t⁷ is not attested as a monosyllabic adjective)
ʔn³ʔn⁴ ‘very far forward, frontmost’
ti³ti⁴ ‘very small’ (same meaning as ti³ti⁴)
lon¹lon⁶lon³ ‘farthest behind’ (only used when speaking to a child in a silly manner)

Group 5. Fully reduplicated pairs

The expressions in this set, primarily ABB full reduplication pairs, are considered distinct from the rhyming/alliterative intensifiers since (a) these ABB expressions are usually clearly onomatopoeic, unlike the rhyming/alliterative intensifiers and (b) these expressions usually occur as verb modifiers, unlike rhyming/alliterative intensifiers which apparently cannot modify verbs.
(c) Further, note that the fully reduplicated pairs attach to phonologically distinct syllables (e.g., ku¹ ‘to laugh’ → ku¹ ci⁵ci⁵ ‘to laugh quietly’). Although rhyming/alliterative intensifiers occasionally attach to a phonologically distinct adjective (e.g., ʔdɑ³ ‘hard’ → ʔdɑ’ qat⁶ lat⁸ ‘very hard’), such examples are uncommon among the rhyming/alliterative type. Thus, the fully reduplicated set shown here appears to represent a separate process.

ʔaw¹lo⁵ xeː⁴ xeːt⁸ ‘sound of breathing’ (ʔaw¹lo⁵ ‘to inhale’)
ʔnɛ⁶ na⁵ na⁶ ‘sound of crying’ (ʔnɛ³ ‘cry’)
mbʔaw³mbʔaw³ ‘snow falling in sheets’ (verb modifier)
ʔda’yaːk’yaːk⁷ ‘many tears falling’ (ʔda¹ ‘eye’)

Linguistic Discovery 5.1:1-27
‘talks a lot, talkative’ (onomatopoeic; most commonly modifies verbs)

kiw¹ kʰwɨt⁷ kʰwɨt⁷ ‘sound of whistling’ (kiw¹ ‘whistle’)
ku¹ ci² ci² ‘to laugh quietly’ (ku¹ ‘laugh’)
ku¹ xa² xa² ‘to laugh loudly’ (ku¹ ‘laugh’) (xa² xa² also has the sense ‘disrespectful’)

kʷaːŋ¹ lap⁷ lap⁷ ‘shining very brightly, strong light’ (kʷaːŋ¹ ‘shining, bright’) (ʔdaːŋ¹ ‘shining, bright’) also: kʷaːŋ⁷ liːp⁷ liːp⁷ and ʔdaːŋ¹ liːp⁷ liːp⁷

pʰaːt⁷ vo² vo² ‘to bleed a lot or filled with blood’ (pʰaːt⁷ ‘blood, bleed’)  
pʰaːt⁷ liːn⁴ liːn⁴ ‘to bleed a lot or filled with blood’ (pʰaːt⁷ ‘blood, bleed’)  
su⁷ ʔdaːt⁷ ʔdaːt⁷ ‘very scalding, scald a lot’ (higher intensity than su⁷ som¹) (su⁷ ‘to scald, scalding, hot’)

m̥ow¹ low¹ tow² ‘extremely crude/rash’ (m̥ow¹ ‘crude/rash’)
qom³ lom² som² ‘sound of thunder’ (onomatopoeia) (included here for comparison)
qu⁵ lu⁵ tu⁴ ‘very round’ (slightly different usage than qu⁵ lu⁵ su⁵; e.g. a person who has rolled into a ball; higher intensity than qu⁵ lu⁵)

Group 6. Three-syllable rhyming expressions

In this section, the second and third syllable of three-syllable expressions are analyzed as base+reduplicant pairs. Neither of the syllables are attested as monosyllabic adjectives.

Set 6.1: Coronal lateral to voiceless coronal nasal
Features changed in this set:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[+lat]→[-lat]
[+cont]→[-cont]
[-nasal]→[+nasal]

pʰaːn⁶ ʔaːn⁶ naːn⁶ ‘extremely messy’ (e.g. a disordered pile of books)

Set 6.2: Coronal lateral to voiceless coronal stop
Features changed in this set:
[+voice]→[-voice]
[+lat]→[-lat]
[+cont]→[-cont]
[+son]→[-son]

m̥ow¹ low¹ tow² ‘extremely crude/rash’ (m̥ow¹ ‘crude/rash’)
qom³ lom² som² ‘sound of thunder’ (onomatopoeia) (included here for comparison)
qu⁵ lu⁵ tu⁴ ‘very round’ (slightly different usage than qu⁵ lu⁵ su⁵; e.g. a person who has rolled into a ball; higher intensity than qu⁵ lu⁵)
Set 6.3: Coronal lateral to voiceless coronal fricative

Features changed:

[+voice]→[-voice]

[+lat]→[-lat]

[-strid]→[+strid]

[+son]→[-son]

\[?da^3\ qam^5 \ lop^5 \ san^5\] ‘extremely hard’ (\(?da^3\ ‘hard’)

\[?da^3\ qat^8 \ lat^8 \ sat^8\] ‘extremely hard’ (\(?da^3\ ‘hard’)

\[?da^3\ ge^5 \ le^5 \ se^5\] ‘extremely hard’ (\(?da^3\ ‘hard’)

\[?de:t^1 \ le:t^1 \ se:t^1\] ‘extremely quiet’ (\(?det^2\ ‘quiet’)

\[caŋ^2 \ tet^8 \ let^8 \ set^8\] ‘extremely stupid’ (\(caŋ^2\ ‘stupid’)

\[mow^1 \ low^1 \ sow^1\] ‘extremely crude/rash’ (\(mow^1\ ‘crude/rash’)

\[pi^2\ pu^1 \ lu^1 \ su^1\] ‘extremely fat’ (\(pi^2\ ‘fat’)

\[pi^5\ li^5 \ si^5\] ‘extremely messy’, also includes the meaning ‘narrow’, e.g., a messy, narrow room (\(pi^5\ li^5\ ‘messy’)

\[p[a]j^5 \ [a]j^5 \ siaj^5\] ‘extremely messy’, e.g., messy writing or messy soup, not the same meaning as \(pi^5\ li^5\ si^5\) or \(p[a]:n^6\ \(s:a:n^6\)

\[p[a]:n^6 \ la:n^6 \ s:a:n^6\] ‘extremely messy’ (e.g., a disorderly pile of books)

\[p[ɛ]:k^2 \ le:k^2 \ se:k^2\] ‘extremely dirty’ (\(p[ɛ]:k^2\ ‘dirty’)

\[p[ɛ]:n^2 \ le:n^2 \ se:n^2\] ‘extremely flat’ (\(p[ɛ]:n^2\ ‘flat’)

\[qo^6 \ la^6 \ so^6\] ‘extremely bald’

\[qam^6 \ lam^6 \ som^6\] ‘extremely round’ (\(qam^6\ ‘round’)

\[qak^7 \ lak^7 \ sak^7\] ‘extremely mysterious’ (\(qak^7\ ‘mysterious’)

\[qak^8 \ lok^8 \ sok^8\] ‘very round-wheel-like’ (\(qak^8\ ‘wheel’(n.))

\[qu^5 \ lu^5 \ su^5\] ‘very round’ (\(qu^5\ lu^5\ ‘round’ (not wheels))

\[tca:t^1 \ lat^1 \ sa:t^1\] ‘very disorderly’

\[tcop^1 \ kem^3 \ lem^3 \ sem^3\] ‘extremely skinny’ (\(tcop^1\ ‘skinny’)

\[xa:n^3 \ t[ə]:n^2 \ la:n^2 \ s:a:n^2\] ‘extremely red’ (\(xa:n^3\ ‘red’)

Set 6.4: Coronal nasal to voiceless coronal fricative

Subset 6.4.1:

Features changed in the onset:

[+nasal]→[-nasal]

[+son]→[-son]

[+voice]→[-voice]

[-strid]→[+strid]

[-cont]→[+cont]

\[^n^5\ te:t^7 \ net^7 \ se:t^7\] ‘extremely short (stature)’ (\(^n^5\ ‘short’ (height))

\[^n^5\ to:t^7 \ no:t^7 \ so:t^7\] ‘extremely short (stature)’ (\(^n^5\ ‘short’ (height); note similarity with \(^n^5\ te:t^7 \ net^7 \ se:t^7\))

\[^n^5\ te^2 \ ne^2 \ se^2\] ‘extremely short (stature)’ (\(^n^5\ ‘short’ (height))

\[^n^5\ te:n^2 \ no:t^1 \ so:t^1\] ‘extremely short (length)’ (\(^n^5\ ‘short’ (length))
 Subset 6.4.2:
Features changed in the onset:
[-nasal] → [+nasal]
[-son] → [+son]
[-strid] → [+strid]
[-cont] → [+cont]

ʔɣɑ j 3 ɲ̥ɑ j 1 ɟɬ j 1 ‘extremely long (length)’ (ʔɣɑ j 3 ‘long’ (length))

Set 6.5: Voiced labial fricative to voiceless coronal fricative

Features changed in this set:
[-voice] → [+voice]
[-labial] → [coronal]

tse:k 7 ve:k 7 se:k 7 ‘extremely bright’ (light)
ʔdːn 5 ʁɑ:n 3 sɑ:n 3 ‘extremely shiny, glittery’ (ʔdːn 3 ‘shiny, glittery’)

3.3 The No-Pattern Class

Intensifiers in this class show no apparent phonological connection between base and reduplicant.

κəm 1 ʔdɨp 1 ‘very muddled’ (referring to liquids, includes the sense ‘dirty’, cf., κəm 1 ʔoŋ 1)
qaj 2 ʔaŋ 8 ‘very crooked’ (for physical objects)
qaj 3 ʔoŋ 7 ‘very crooked’ (esp. for describing a child or little animal in a humorous sense, e.g., a child walking in an unstable manner)
qaj 2 tək 8 ‘very crooked’
pu ʔənk 7 ‘very smelly’ (general use)
pi 2 ʔaŋ 7 ‘very fat’ (for both farm animals and people)
tɕɛn³ ɲet⁷ ‘very tight’ (note that this intensifier is distinguished by vowel length from ɲɛt³ in ɲɛt³ ɲow⁴)
tik⁷ ɲet⁸ ‘very full’ (general use)
t¹u³ ɲak⁷ ‘very sticky’ (most common; t³ ɲaw³ ‘very sticky’ occurs rarely and indicates higher intensity)
ixa³ ɲan¹ ‘very red’ (general use, not derogatory; cf. xɑ⁷ ɲɔ)
xom³ ɲɑt⁷ ‘very sour’ (general use)
ʔɣɑ³ ɲak⁷ ‘very heavy’ (general use)
ʔɣɑ³ ʔbɑt⁷ ‘very wet’ (most common)
ʔɣɑ³ ʔdɑt⁷ ‘very wet’

References

Burusphat, Somsonge, Xuechun Wei, and Jerold A. Edmondson. 2003. Sui (Shui) Chinese-Thai Dictionary, Mahidol University, Bangkok (Sui, Chinese, and English entries by Wei and Edmondson).

Chao, Y.R. 1930. A System of Tone Letters. La Maitre phonetique 45/24-27.


East Asian Linguistics 16/2.87-111.
Wei, Xuechun. 1999. Shuiyu Xingrongci Houzhui Yanjiu [Research of Sui language adjective
suffixes]. In Shuijiaxue Yanjiu Vol. 3. Guizhou, China: Guizhou Province Sui
Association, 221-225.
Yip, Moira. 1995a. Identity Avoidance in Phonology and Morphology. Ms, University of
California, Irvine.
Elzinga (eds.), Proceedings of South Western Optimality Theory Workshop 1995
Arizona Phonology Conference Volume 5: University of Arizona Department of
Linguistics Coyote Papers, 238-262.
Salford: University of Salford Publications, 757-788.
and P. Farrell (eds.) Morphology and its Relation to Phonology and Syntax. Stanford,
Lombardi (ed.), Segmental Phonology in Optimality Theory, Cambridge University
Yu Jiongbiao, Wil Snyder, and Donna Snyder. 1994. Two initial grammatical discoveries in the
Fucun speech of Libo Buyi. In Stuart R. Milliken (ed.), SIL Occasional Papers on the
Minority Languages of China vol. 1, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Hong Kong, 1-11.
Zeng, Xiaoyu and Yao Fuxiang. 1996. Hanshui Cidian [Chinese-Sui Dictionary]. Chengdu:
Sichuan People’s Publishing.
House.

Author's contact information:
James Stanford
Rice University
Department of Linguistics
Herring Hall 217
(713)348-2956
E-mail: stanford@rice.edu