

Chapter 8

Compounding and duplication

8.1 Compounding

Compounds are derived through the word structure rules given in (1) and illustrated through the examples given in sections 2.5 and 8.1.

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|-----|----|---|---|-------|
| (1) | a. | N | → | [N+V] |
| | b. | N | → | [V+N] |
| | c. | N | → | [N+N] |
| | d. | V | → | [V+V] |

The following subsections are organized on semantic⁹⁰ and formal grounds. A compound is considered semantically productive if its meaning is recoverable from the meaning of the sum of its parts, but nonproductive if the meaning is unpredictable or interpretable only through meanings associated through convention (i.e. the metaphorical extension of core meaning or figurative interpretation) to the roots in the compound.

Nominal compounds can be categorized formally as endocentric, either right- or left-headed, or exocentric. The head of a compound is that root which determines the category of, or is the main referent of, the compound. The only verbal compounds found are exocentric.

8.1.1 Productive combinations

Nominal compounds such as the noun+noun and verb+noun compounds given in (2a-g) are right-headed. In these cases the first root modifies the second root. In (2e-g), the final root is modified by a noun+verb compound.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (2) | a. | <i>khónlám</i> | foot-way | 'footpath' |
| | b. | <i>phiruk</i> | cloth-basket | 'clothes basket' |
| | c. | <i>yéngon</i> | hen-place | 'chicken coop' |
| | d. | <i>thákpám</i> | drink-place | 'drinking place' |
| | e. | <i>máykhúmphi</i> | face-cover-cloth | 'veil' |
| | f. | <i>phiyonphám</i> | cloth-sell-place | 'cloth shop' |
| | g. | <i>unbántha</i> | ice-rule-month | 'winter' |

Nominal compounds of the form noun+verb may be left-headed as in (2h-j) where the head is modified by a state verb.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (2) | h. | <i>phigá</i> | cloth-under | 'under garment' |
| | i. | <i>činjaw</i> | hill-big | 'mountain' |
| | j. | <i>yumgom</i> | house-collect | 'outhouse, urinal' |

Examples of exocentric nominal compounds, where neither root is the head, as in English *deaf-mute*, are given in (2k-m).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| (2) | k. | <i>míná</i> | eye-nose | 'organs' |
| | l. | <i>tíkhon</i> | stream-ditch | 'marshy land' |
| | m. | <i>čákisín</i> | rice-water | 'meal' |

Exocentric noun+verb compounds are deverbal synthetic compounds (Hoe-ksema 1985: 142) where the first root is the patient of the second. In Meithei such compounds are most often occupational titles as shown in (2n,o) (where the gender marker has scope over the entire compound), or a definition of what an entity is because of some action performed or accomplished by that entity (2p,q).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (2) | n. | <i>phisabi</i> | cloth-weave-FEM | 'female cloth weaver' |
| | o. | <i>čaphusábá</i> | pot-make-MAS | 'male potter' |
| | p. | <i>sínjón</i> | wood-enter | 'axe' |
| | q. | <i>phijét</i> | dress-wear | 'dress' |

(2r) is a rare example of exocentric verbal compounds in Meithei.

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|-----|----|----------------|-----------|--------|
| (2) | r. | <i>čáthák-</i> | eat-drink | 'dine' |
|-----|----|----------------|-----------|--------|

There are no left-headed verb+verb compounds in the synchronic grammar of Meithei since these have been reinterpreted as verb+derivational morphemes (see section 7.1).⁹¹

8.1.2 Nonproductive combinations

In some instances the meaning of the compound can only be obtained through a figurative interpretation of the relationship between the roots. Thus in (3a) the mother of the land is 'queen', in (3b) a death on the road is an 'accidental death', and in (3c) the voice of noisy news is 'rumor'.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| (3) | a. | <i>ləymá</i> | land-mother | 'queen, goddess' |
| | b. | <i>lámši</i> | path-die | 'accidental death' |
| | c. | <i>páwnínkhón</i> | news-noisy-voice | 'rumor' |

Some compounds have a specialized meaning. For example, the stative verb *lel-* 'best', for example, can be compounded to a noun to indicate the best or most representative noun of its kind as in (3d,e). In (3f,g), however, the meaning of the compound is narrowed to a specific example: *layrel* means python and *phúrel* is the starter cloth in a weaving loom. Similarly in (3h), 'cloth-fold' does not refer to any folded cloth but to a garment used in a specific ritual.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| (3) | d. | <i>turel</i> | stream-best | 'river' |
| | e. | <i>hirél</i> | boat-best | 'best boat' |
| | f. | <i>layrel</i> | snake-best | 'python' |
| | g. | <i>phúrel</i> | cloth-best | 'topmost cloth' |
| | h. | <i>phidúp</i> | cloth-fold | 'cloth for Shrada ceremony' |

The examples in (3i-m) illustrate more idiomatic compounds where the meaning is not recoverable from the meaning of the roots.

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|----|--|-----------------|----------------------|
| i. | <i>gurumántra</i> | mentor-chant | 'absolutely correct' |
| j. | <i>níntháw</i> | wish-soul | 'king' |
| k. | <i>mətikčábə</i> | NM-fit-eat | 'be fit' |
| l. | <i>khudončábə</i> | hand-bridge-eat | 'opportunity' |
| m. | <i>khónḡoynəre</i> | | |
| | khónḡ -khoy -nə -lə -e | | |
| | foot -rough -INST -PERF -ASRT | | |
| | 'insulted' (Literally: by roughing up the leg) | | |

8.1.3 Affixation within compounds

It is also possible for derived or inflected forms to be members of compounds. A noun root is compounded to verb stem in (4a) and to an inflected noun in (4b).

- | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------------|--|
| (4) | a. | <i>čəynərol</i> | |
| | | čəy -nə -lon | |
| | | beat -RECIP -language | |
| | | 'rules for fighting' | |

- b. *innaphi*
 in -nə -phi
 wrap -INST -cloth
 'wrapper, shawl'

In (4c,d), the attributive prefix has scope over the first root and not the whole compound. In this sense, prefixation is affixation within the compound.

- (4) c. *əthenpót*
 ə -then -pót
 ATT -display -thing
 'gift'
- d. *ətúman*
 ə -tú -mən
 ATT -sew -price
 'sewing charge'

8.2 Duplication

Section 8.2 describes the creation of lexical collocations by partially or fully duplicating a constituent or part of a constituent or by pairing a constituent or part of a constituent with a rhyming word. Often referred to as echo-word formation or reduplication (Abbi 1992), this word formation process is common in Tibeto-Burman languages and across language families in Southeast Asia.⁹² Ch. Nandakumari Devi (1985), Ch. Yashawanta Singh (1988), Th. Harimohon Singh (1989b) and N. Khelchandra Singh (1964) discuss the various methods of duplication which exist in Meithei, and I will present a formal and functional analysis of these in this section.

8.2.1 Repetition

In repetition two instances of the same morphological constituent occur contiguously. There are two types of repetition: stem repetition and word repetition.

8.2.1.1 Word repetition

In word repetition, a word (a free standing form like a free root or a root with additional derivational or inflectional affixes) occurs twice. Each word-word sequence is treated as a single constituent by the syntax and is structurally a compound. The resulting constituent can be combined in phrases in the same way that other lexical items of the same category are combined.

The duplicated word may be a simple noun root as in (5a), a derived noun as in (5b), or an inflected noun as in (5c).

- (5) a. *yum yum čáηdúnə bot khomní*
 yum yum čáη -túnə bot khom -í
 house house enter -ING vote collect -NHYP
 house house entering vote campaigned
 'They canvassed house to house for votes.'

- b. *məpəy məpəy phəŋbə*
 mə -pəy mə -pəy phəŋ -pə
 NM -group NM -group find -NOM
 heap heap to find
 'to find several heaps (of something)'

- c. *əynə əynə ŋámbə təwnəsi*
 əy -nə əy -nə ŋəm -pə təw -nə -si
 I -CNTR I -CNTR possible -NOM do -RECIP -SUP
 I I be possible let us do together
 'Let us each (rather than the members of the other group) do whatever we can do.'

If an inflected word is repeated, inflection shows up on both constituents as in (5c). If an uninflected word undergoes repetition, inflection will have scope over the duplicated form. Thus the process of duplication is available before as well as after inflectional morphology is concatenated to nouns.

- (5) d. *məkhoy yum yumdə čátkhre*
 mə -khoy yum yum -tə čát -khi -lə -e
 3P -hpl house house -LOC go -still -PERF -ASRT
 they house house to have gone
 'They have gone to their respective houses.'

Question words can be duplicated to get a distributional reading as in (5e,f) or a plural reading as in (5g): the basic question word is first duplicated, and further modification of the question word form (for example, the suffixation of a case marker) follows the duplicated form.

- (5) e. *nəŋ kəna kəna loynəəkʔi*
nəŋ kəna kəna loynə -lək -í
 you who who together -DISTAL -NHYP
 you who who are with
 'Who all are you associated with?'

 f. *nəŋ məhákpə kəday kədaydə thí*
nəŋ mə -hákpə -pu kəday kəday -tə thí -í
 you 3P -here -PAT where where -LOC search -NHYP
 you him where where search
 'Where all (in which places) do you seek for him?'

 g. *nəkhoy kəri kəri laybák čátli*
nə -khoy kəri kəri lay -pák čát -lə -e
 2P -hpl what what land -width go -PERF -ASRT
 you all what all countries gone

Adverbs may also undergo word repetition to signal that an action is performed with great intensity or occurs more than once. When an adverb is duplicated, the entire verb + *-nə* 'adverbial' is duplicated.

- (5) h. V how often
məháknə hənna hənna
mə -háknə -nə hən -nə hən -nə
 3P -here -CNTR return -ADV return -ADV
 he again again
thəbáktu təwwí
thəbák -tu təw -í
 work -DDET do -NHYP
 that work does
 'He does the work again and again.'

- i. V in what manner
məhákpə tápnə tápnə čátli
mə -hákpə táp -nə táp -nə čát -li
 he -here slow -ADV slow -ADV go -PROG
 he slowly slowly walks
 'He walks slowly.'

 j. V in what quantity
məhákpə yu yamna yamna thákʔi
mə -hákpə yu yam -nə yam -nə thák -í
 he -here wine lot -ADV lot -ADV drink -NHYP
 he liquor a lot a lot drinks
 'He's a heavy drinker.'

 k. V while doing what
məhákpə kwá yonna yonna
mə -hákpə kwá yon -nə yon -nə
 3P -here betel nut sell -ADV sell -ADV
 he betel nut selling selling
wá ɲáŋɲəmmi
wá ɲáŋ -ləm -li
 word speak -EVD -PROG
 word said
 'He spoke while selling betel nut.'

The same pattern of repetition is found with adverbs derived from the compounding of *tə* 'abundantly, V (in an agreeable sense)' with a verb root. *tə* is no longer productive in Meithei and occurs only in duplicated forms.

- (5) l. *tənəw tənəwbə*
tə -nəw tə -nəw -pə
 abundant -soft abundant -soft -NOM
 'very soft'

 m. *tənoy tənoybə*
tə -noy tə -noy -pə
 abundant -fat abundant -fat -NOM
 'pleasingly plump'

n. <i>taseŋ</i>		<i>taseŋba</i>		
tə	-seŋ	tə	-seŋ	-pə
abundant	-clear	abundant	-clear	-NOM
'crystal clear, absolutely correct'				

Verbs can also undergo word repetition and are used as responses to questions or requests. When the response is affirmative, its force is strengthened or made more immediate.

(5) o. <i>khəŋje</i>		<i>khəŋje</i>		<i>čátlo</i>
khəŋ	-e	khəŋ	-e	čát
know	-ASRT	know	-ASRT	go
know		know		go!
'I know that very well, just you go!'				

Permission is most appropriately granted in a duplicated form.

(5) p. <i>čátlo</i>		<i>čátlo</i>		
čát	-o	čát	-o	
go	-SOLCT	go	-SOLCT	
'Why don't you go, go!'				

When the speaker responds in the negative with a duplicated verb, impatience and anger are conveyed.

(5) q. <i>ləyte</i>		<i>ləyte</i>		
ləy	-tə	-e	ləy	-tə
be	-NEG	-ASRT	be	-NEG
is not			is not	-ASRT
'There isn't any!'				

r. <i>pamjəde</i>		<i>pamjəde</i>		
pam	-čə	-tə	-e	pam
like	-SELF	-NEG	-ASRT	like
don't like			-SELF	-NEG
			-ASRT	
don't like				

pibirəkkənu

pí	-pi	-lək	-kə	-nu
give	-REC	-DISTAL	-POT	-PROBH
please don't give me				

The choice of inflection can be significant. Thus in (5s), when the root and the nonhypothetical word are duplicated, a positive meaning is signalled. However, in (5t) when the root is followed by the perfect aspect marker, the duplicated form is sarcastic.

(5) s. <i>pháy</i>		<i>pháy</i>		
phé	-í	phé	-í	
good	-NHYP	good	-NHYP	
good		good		
'Excellent.'				

t. <i>pháre</i>		<i>pháre</i>		
phé	-lə	-e	phé	-lə
good	-PERF	-ASRT	good	-PERF
is good			is good	-ASRT
'Oh, great!'				

When a verb in the progressive aspect is duplicated, it acts as an adverb indicating in what manner the action described is performed. Such constructions are used in conjunction with the verb *təw-* 'do'. The implication is that the action described by the duplicated verb is being performed apathetically or partially (not to the extent intended or expected).

(5) u. <i>tumli</i>		<i>tumli</i>		<i>təwba</i>
tum	-li	tum	-li	təw
sleep	-PROG	sleep	-PROG	do
sleeping		sleeping		-NOM
to do				
'not quite asleep'				

v. <i>čátli</i>		<i>čátli</i>		<i>təwba</i>
čát	-li	čát	-li	təw
go	-PROG	go	-PROG	do
-NOM				
'moving along very slowly, not quite stopped' (used of inanimate objects)'				

Verbs can be duplicated when accompanied by a member of a set of roots which appear only in duplication: *trik*, *drit*, *throk*, *thron*, *šrok*, *rok* or *tru*. *Trik* has a possible cognate in Tibetan *t'rik* 'precise, sure' (Jaeschke 1881) but I'm unsure of the origin of the other roots, some of which may be nonsense syllables. There is also no obvious factor that determines the choice of which root

to indicate that some quality or action exists or is performed to an excessive or unexpected amount.

- (5) w. *ɲəwrok* *ɲəwrok* *pót*
 ɲəw -rok *ɲəw* -rok *pót*
 white -rok white -rok thing
 too white too white thing
 'excessively white items'
- x. *səŋtrik* *səŋtrik* *pót*
 səŋ -trik *səŋ* -trik *pót*
 green -trik green -trik thing
 too green too green thing
 'excessively green items'
- y. *saŋdron* *saŋdron* *pót*
 saŋ -dron *saŋ* -dron *pót*
 long -dron long -dron thing
 too long too long thing
 'excessively long items'
- z. *məkhoy* *waŋthron* *waŋthron* *waŋŋí*
 mə -khoy *waŋ* -thron *waŋ* -thron *waŋ* -í
 3P -hpl tall -thron tall -thron tall -NHYP
 they too tall too tall are tall
 'They are all very tall.'

Right-headed and left-headed verbal compounds are possible with duplicated verbs. Such constructions often indicate a lesser quantity or quality.

- (5) aa. *piklək* *piklək* *sémmu*
 pik -lək *pik* -lək *sém* -u
 small -type small -type make -IMP
 small type small type make
 'Make it of a smaller size.'
- bb. *kárúm* *kárúm* *təwre*
 ká -lúm *ká* -lúm *təw* -lə -e
 roast -heavy roast -heavy do -PERF -ASRT
 very roasted very roasted has been done
 'It is somewhat overroasted'

- cc. *kháybók* *kháybók* *yéllu*
 kháy -pok *kháy* -pok *yél* -u
 split -birth split -birth divide -IMP
 half half divide
 'Divide this into equal shares.'

8.2.1.2 Stem repetition

Stem repetition, which refers to the repetition of a stem rather than the whole word, applies only to adjectives. In (6), the attributive-verb sequence, which is not a free form, is repeated. Such collocations are written as separate words because there is a pause between the forms.

- (6) a. *əhaw* *əhawbə*
 ə -haw *ə* -haw -pə
 ATT -taste ATT -taste -NOM
 'very tasty'
- b. *əčá* *əčábə* *čátkhro*
 ə -čá *ə* -čá -pə *čát* -khi -lə -o
 ATT -eat ATT -eat -NOM go -STILL -INT -SOLCT
 all the ones eaten why don't you go
 'All of those who have eaten, go!'
- c. *ətúm* *ətumbə* *uyun*
 ə -túm *ə* -túm -pə *u* -yun
 ATT -point ATT -point -NOM wood -erect
 the sharp ones sticks
 'the extremely pointed sticks'
- d. *əkhəŋ* *khəŋdəbə*
 ə -khəŋ *khəŋ* -tə -pə
 ATT -know know -NEG -NOM
 'known and unknown'

Verbs of motion or process cannot undergo this pattern of duplication: *tum* 'sleep', for example, cannot be duplicated as in **ətum ətumbə* to mean 'very sleepy'.

In one type of stem repetition, a verb may be duplicated and the copy compounded with another verb, resulting in the structure 'verb verb 'verb'.

- (6) e. *čénkáv káwbə*
 čén -káv káv -pə
 run -kick kick -NOM
 'to kick while running'

- f. *námthán thánbə*
 nám -thán thán -pə
 force -carry carry -NOM
 'to carry with force'

The [verb₂-verb₁] sequence, which occurs only in stem repetition, modifies the following verb. Characteristically, the first root⁹³ in this sequence is semantically bleached and brings a predictable meaning to the duplicated form: *khán* 'startle' is consistently used to mean 'suddenly' (6g,h); *pán* 'idiot' to mean 'to V foolishly or carelessly' as in (6i); *pum* 'all' to mean 'to V thoroughly' as in (6j,k) or extended to signify 'to V with abandon, recklessly or excessively' as in (6l) and *pún* 'dense' to mean 'to V in large amounts'.

- g. *khánčát čáminbə*
 khén -čát čát -niŋ -pə
 startle -go go -WISH -NOM
 'to suddenly want to go.'

- h. *khánniŋ níŋsiŋlakí*
 khén -niŋ níŋ -siŋ -lək -í
 startle -WISH wish -GPL -DISTAL -NHYP
 'suddenly remember'

- i. *pánčát čátpə*
 pán -čát čát -pə
 fool -go fool -NOM
 'to go carelessly'

- j. *pumgaw kawbə*
 pum -kaw kaw -pə
 all -forget forget -NOM
 'to forget completely'

- k. *pumkáv káwbə*
 pum -káv káv -pə
 all -kick kick -NOM
 'to kick without aim'

- l. *púnŋám ŋámbə*
 pún -ŋám ŋám -pə
 dense -possible possible-NOM
 'to be all powerful'

The structure [[verb₁-verb₂][verb₁]] is attested with the following set of roots: *nék*- 'touch' which is consistently used to mean 'suddenly' as in (6m); *suk*- 'all'

- (6) *mkhənpék khənbə*
 khən -pék khən -pə
 know -touch know -NOM
 'sudden knowledge'

- n. *musuk mubə*
 mu -suk mu -pə
 black -all black -NOM
 'completely black'

- o. *nóŋsi phúdit phúnə súy*
 nóŋ -si phú -thit phú -nə sú -í
 rain -PDET beat -mix beat -ADV wash -NHYP
 this rain like beating rained
 'It rained heavily last night.'

The root *i* 'full' signals 'to be completely V, totally V, V without reserve' as in (6p) and can also indicate a superlative quality or quantity as in (6q) or a usual or persistently existing state as in (6r).⁹⁴

- (6) p. *ičám čámbə*
 i -čám čám -pə
 full -direct direct -NOM
 'absolutely true, simple'

- q. *əy ičá čáy*
 əy i -čá čá -í
 I full -eat eat -NHYP
 'I eat everything.'

- r. *usinə iwaŋ waŋŋí*
 u -si -nə i -waŋ waŋ -í
 wood -PDET -CNTR full -tall tall -NHYP
 this tree is the tallest
 'This tree is the tallest one.'

- s. *mahákki məsám iphá pháy*
 mə -hák -ki mə -sám i -phé phé -í
 3P -here -GEN 3P -hair full -dry dry -NHYP
 his hair is completely dry

The roots *rok*, *trik* and *thronj* are involved in duplication in stem repetition serving the same function as in word repetition (see (5w-y)).

- (6) t. *mahák* *ɲawrok* *ɲawwi*
 mə -hák ɲəw -rok ɲəw -í
 3P -here white -rok white -NHYP
 he is too white
 'He is completely white.'

- u. *səɲtrik* *səɲbə*
 səɲ -trik səɲ -pə
 green -trik green -NOM
 'too green'

8.2.2 Echo collocations

I use the term echo collocation to refer to a constituent whose members are prosodically matched. I distinguish between the juxtaposition of echo words where the constituents in the collocation are created (i) through regular inflectional or derivational processes and (ii) echo words that involve a combination of a free standing form with a nonsense syllable. Echo forms function syntactically as single constituents.

8.2.2.1 Echo collocations with free forms

Echo collocations with free-standing forms can be of three types: (1) two nonidentical stems with identical affixes; (2) two identical stems with nonidentical affixes and (3) two stems (choice prosodically determined), with identical affixes. Each of these types is discussed below.

8.2.2.1.1 Nonidentical stems with identical affixes

It is possible to juxtapose two different roots/stems⁹⁵ with the same derivational morphology where the roots/stems (a) refer to two (often widely divergent) members of the same set of actions, properties or qualities, and (b) have the same number of syllables. In such collocations the first and second constituents are prosodically balanced, the second root/stem echoing the first in its

- (7) a. *sétčəɲiɲbə* *čáɲəɲiɲbə*
 sət -čə -niɲ -pə čá -čə -niɲ -pə
 wear -SELF -WISH -NOM eat -SELF -WISH -NOM
 wishing to wear wishing to eat
 'wishing to wear and eat'

(7b) is an interesting example: the monomorphemic form *həway* is misanalyzed as being bimorphemic; the second syllable is considered to be *way*- 'thereabouts'. *həway* is juxtaposed with the complex word *ceɲway* which consists of the stem *ceɲ* 'rice' and *way*- which is used here to mean 'stuff like rice'.

- (7) b. *həway* *čəɲway*
 həway čəɲ -way
 lentils rice -thereabouts
 'lentils and rice and such'

This type of echo word formation is also possible with matching inflectional morphology on juxtaposed stems as in (7c) with *-pə* 'nominalizer' and in (7d) with *-ni* 'copula' where the affix or enclitic occurs on both words in the echo word.

- (7) c. *əykhoydi* *tumbə* *čábə*
 əy -khoy -ti tum -pə čá -pə
 I -hpl -DLMT sleep -NOM eat -NOM
 our to sleep eating
- čəɲləkte*
 čəɲ -lək -tə -e
 enter -DISTAL -NEG -ASRT
 enter
 'Our basic comforts were not a consideration.'

- d. *koyni* *ləɲni*
 koy -ni ləɲ -ni
 roam -COP cast -COP
 'to roam about'

8.2.2.1.2 Nonidentical stems with identical morphology

The same type of echo collocation illustrated in (7) is illustrated in (8) with compounds where the initial stem in both compounds of the collocation has the same number of syllables and both compounds have the same second root/stem. Also, the first root/stem in both compounds of the collocation refer to two members of the same set of actions, properties or qualities.

- (8) a. *čákyon* *phiyon*
 čák -yon phi -yon
 rice -sell cloth -sell
 'distribution of rice
 and clothes'
- b. *čátphám lakphám*
 čát -phám lak -phám
 go -place come -place
 'place of goings and comings'
- c. *phisa* *lónsa*
 phi -sa lón -sa
 cloth -weave embroider -weave
 'weaving, embroidery and the like'
- d. *háyñam* *láyñam*
 háy -ñam láy -ñam
 fruit -smell flower -smell
 'the smell of fruit and flowers
 and the like'

There are also some idiomatic phrases which are composed of a collocation of two compounds where the original meaning of one of the roots in each compound is bleached: in (8e,f) *póy*- 'wander' is used to mean 'to sort of V'; in (8g) *kum*- 'like' is used to mean 'to do part of V'; and in (8h,i) *lak*- 'come' is used to mean 'V in this manner'.⁹⁶

- (8) e. *čábóy* *lakpóy*
 čá -póy lak -póy
 eat -wander come -wander
 sort of eat sort of come
 'to eat just a little (not hungry but eating a little to satisfy someone's request that you eat)'
- f. *tumbóy* *lakpóy*
 tum -póy lak -póy
 sleep -wander come -wander
 sort of sleep sort of come
 'sort of sleeping'

- g. *khəŋgum* *lakʔum*
 khəŋ -kum lak -kum
 know -like come -like
 similar to knowing similar to coming
 'to know something but not the whole story'

- h. *khutthám* *lakthám*
 khut -thám lak -thám
 class -keep come -keep
 method of keeping things like coming
 'method of keeping, and the like'

- i. *khutyen* *lakyen*
 khut -yen lak -yen
 class -look come -look
 method of looking things like looking
 'manner of looking and the like'

Lexical collocations may consist of a constituent with a monosyllabic root followed by a constituent with a bisyllabic root, where both roots are followed by an identical morphology. The meaning signalled is a collection of like objects.

- (8) j. *phisu* *phənéksu*
 phi -su phənék -su
 cloth -ALSO phənék -ALSO
 'clothes and phənék⁹⁷ also'

- k. *čáksu* *yénsáŋsu*
 čák -su yénsáŋ -su
 rice -ALSO curry -ALSO
 'rice and curry too'

- l. *kwáne* *mənanə*
 kwá -ne mə -na -ne
 betel nut -SI NM -leaf -SI
 'betel nut and leaves'

8.2.2.1.3 Identical stems with nonidentical morphology

Echo collocations may consist of identical roots with nonidentical, semantically polarized derivational, inflectional or enclitic morphology. In (9a,b) for example, a positive form of the verb is opposed to the negative form of the verb.

- (9) a. *oybə* *oydəbə* b. *oyni* *oyroy*
 oy -pə oy -tə -pə oy -ni oy -loy
 be -NOM be -NEG -NOM be -COP be -NPOT
 to be to not be will be will not be
 'to be or not to be' 'will be or will not be'

Similarly, the derivational morphemes *-thok* 'to V outwards' and *-sin* 'to V inwards' form a frame ____-*thok* ____-*sin*, with slots which can be filled by verbs of motion (eg. going, coming) or those that involve movement (eg. pulling, carrying). The resulting meaning is that the action is carried out repeatedly and with no perceivable end (back and forth, to and fro, in and out).

- (9) c. *čátthok* *čátsin* d. *puthok* *pusin*
 čát -thok čát -sin pu -thok pu -sin
 go -OUT go -IN carry -OUT carry -IN
 'to walk back and forth' 'to carry in and out'

Other common "frames" are ____-*khət* ____-*thə* 'to V upwards' with 'to V downwards' as in (9e) and ____-*təñə* ____-*ləbədi* 'by Ving' with 'if Ving' as in (9f).

- (9) e. *həngət* *həndə*
 hən -khət hən -thə
 advance -UP advance -DOWN
 'to go to and fro'
- f. *náptána* *nápləbədi* *khəra* *waŋna* *náppu*
 nəp -təñə nəp -ləbədi khəra waŋ -nə nəp -u
 paste -BY paste -IF some high -ADV paste -IMP
 pasting if pasting somewhat higher paste it
 'If you (genuinely) intend to paste it here you should paste it a little higher.'

As in other South Asian languages, following an emphatic

For example, when the enclitic following the first verb stem is the delimitative marker *-ti*, the meaning of the full duplicated form can be translated as 'make sure that you do/don't do this V'.

- (9) g. *čádi* *čáw*
 čá -ti čá -u
 eat -DMLT eat -IMP
 eating eat
 'Please be sure to eat these (I see you haven't eaten them yet)!'
- h. *kəpti* *kəpkənu*
 kəp -ti kəp -kə -nu
 cry -DLMT cry -POT -PROBH
 crying don't cry
 '(Do anything but) don't cry!'

When the enclitic following the first verb stem is the *-tə* 'exclusive', the meaning of the full duplicated form can be translated as 'stop all other action and do just this V'.

- (9) i. *čádə* *čáw*
 čá -tə čá -u
 eat -EX eat -IMP
 just eat eat
 '(Stop messing around) and eat!'

- j. *ŋaydə* *ŋayyu* *má*
 ŋay -tə ŋay -u má
 wait -EX wait -IMP he
 just wait wait he

- sóydəna* *lakʔəni*
 sóy -təñə lak -kə -ni
 certain -BY come -POT -COP
 certainly will come
 '(Stop bothering me with inquiries and) wait for him, he will surely come.'

Examples (9k,m) can be used as warnings when said with emphatic intonation, which entails an increase in amplitude and speed of utterance. It

punished).’ This pattern of duplication is also possible with *kum-* ‘like’, with the meaning, ‘Don’t just kind of V, (really) do V.’

- | | |
|--|---|
| (9) k. <i>čádum čáw</i>
čá -kum čá -u
eat -like eat -IMP
like eating eat
‘Just eat (instead of asking
questions about the food)!’ | l. <i>nóktum nók?u</i>
nók -kum nók -u
laugh -like laugh -IMP
like laughing laugh
‘(Don’t fake happiness, by kind
of laughing), just laugh!’ |
|--|---|

8.2.2.2 Echo word formation

Echo word formation occurs with bisyllabic stems where such stems are either loan words or morphologically complex words whose composition is not obvious to the native speaker. Three patterns can be distinguished. In the first pattern, the initial syllable of a bisyllabic noun is duplicated and combined with *nay* ‘and all like things’ to form a pseudo-word.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| (10) a. <i>čəphu čənay</i>
čəphu čə -nay
pot copy -etc
‘pots and such’ | b. <i>čəru čənay</i>
čəru čə -nay
straw copy -etc
‘straw etc.’ | c. <i>čəjik čənay</i>
čəjik čə -nay
cold rice copy -etc
‘old rice etc.’ |
|---|---|--|

In the second pattern, the second syllable of a bisyllabic noun may be duplicated and combined with *nun̩*, which also means ‘and all like things, etc.’ to form a pseudo-word.⁹⁸

- | | |
|--|---|
| (10) d. <i>upu nun̩pu</i>
u -pu nun̩ -pu
wood -carry etc -copy
‘boxes and such’ | e. <i>phənék nun̩nók</i>
phənék nun̩ -nók
female garment etc -copy
‘female garment and such’ |
| f. <i>čini nun̩ni</i>
čini nun̩ -ni
sugar etc -copy
‘sugar and such’ | g. <i>komla nun̩la</i>
komla nun̩ -la
orange etc -copy
‘oranges and such’ |

Compounds may occur in similar echo words. Here the right-hand stem of a nominal compound is compounded with *luk* ‘and all like things, etc.’ as in (10h) or *ren̩* ‘etc’ as in (10i), where the position of the copied syllable is reversed.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (10) h. <i>khon̩bal lukpal</i>
khon̩ -pan luk -pan
canal -bank etc -bank
‘drainage and such’ | i. <i>səŋgəy khəyren̩</i>
səŋ -khəy khəy -ren̩
edifice -share share -etc
‘buildings, etc.’ |
|---|---|

Following a third pattern, a derived adjective (from a verb root with the affixation of the attributive prefix *ə-*) or derived nominal (from a verb root with affixation of the prefix *mə-*) is echoed by a pseudo-word that consists of the prefix of the first constituent of the echo collocation and the stem *lak* ‘V in this manner’, which may be derived from ‘to come’.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (10) j. <i>əčū ərak</i>
ə -su ə -lak
ATT -stain ATT -etc
‘stained, etc.’ | k. <i>əmu ərak</i>
ə -mu ə -lak
ATT -black ATT -etc
‘black, etc.’ |
| l. <i>əraŋ ərak</i>
ə -ləŋ ə -lak
ATT -bright ATT -etc
‘bright, etc.’ | m. <i>məčū məraŋ</i>
mə -su mə -raŋ
NM -color NM -etc
‘color, etc.’ |

Although it is clear that the choice of *nay*, *nun̩*, *lak*, *luk* and *ren̩* is dependent on the structure of the echo word, it is not clear what the differing functions of each form is.

8.2.3 Ideophones

This is list of ideophones compiled from my data and the *Manipuri to Manipuri and English Dictionary* (N. Khelchandra Singh: 1964). Additional forms can be found in Abbi (1992: 16). The verb root typically following the ideophone is given in this list, then the ideophones are given under it.

(11)

Sounds made by humans, objects or natural forces

<i>khon-</i>	'low (as a cow), chirp'
<i>groy groy khonŋi</i>	'make the sound made by rainfall'
<i>ŋáŋ-</i>	'talk'
<i>preŋ preŋ ŋáŋbà</i>	'to prattle'
<i>ŋáw-</i>	'fry'
<i>jo jo ŋáwbà</i>	'to make this sound when frying fish'
<i>tak-</i>	'rub'
<i>krik krik takpà</i>	'to make this sound when rubbing on a grinding stone'
<i>ta-</i>	'fall'
<i>təp təp tabà</i>	'the way water falls'
<i>thín-</i>	'beat, knock'
<i>tək tək thínbà</i>	'to knock repeatedly'
<i>čát-</i>	'go'
<i>gəm gəm čátpà</i>	'to make this sound when walking briskly'
<i>jarí jarí čátpà</i>	'for clothes to make a gliding sound when walking'
<i>phədət phədət čátpà</i>	'to make this sound while walking'
<i>čak-</i>	'burn'
<i>ŋarəŋ ŋarəŋ čakpà</i>	'sound of fire burning'
<i>čík-</i>	'scratch, bite'
<i>krək krək číkpa</i>	'to make this sound when gnashing teeth'
<i>čén-</i>	'run'
<i>oro oro čénbà</i>	'roaring sound of running water'
<i>pum-</i>	'rotten'
<i>bri bri pumbà</i>	'to be rotten enough to make this sound when handled'
<i>law-</i>	'shout'
<i>grəŋ grəŋ lawbà</i>	'to rumble'
<i>groy groy lawbà</i>	'to rumble'
<i>čəp čəp lawbà</i>	'to make this sound when smacking the lips'
<i>črik črik lawbà</i>	'to make a cracking sound'
<i>mí mí lawbà</i>	'to sing in a low tone'
<i>šriŋ šriŋ lawbà</i>	'to jingle'
<i>yəw yəw lawbà</i>	'to be noisy for a duration'
<i>say-</i>	'chew'
<i>gəw gəw saybà</i>	'to make this sound when chewing something soft'
<i>grəw grəw saybà</i>	'to make this sound when chewing something crunchy'
<i>son-</i>	'utter'

<i>kuk kuk</i>	'sound made when asking babies to drink something other than water'
<i>tek tek</i>	'sound made by watch'
<i>tron tron</i>	'sound running water makes'
<i>pat pat</i>	'sound made to ask an elephant to sit down'

Sounds made by animals and birds

<i>khon-</i>	'chirp, low'
<i>ko ko khonbà</i>	'to make a barking sound'
<i>ček ček khonbà</i>	'to make a chirping sound'
<i>hambe hambe khonbà</i>	'sound made by lowing cattle'
<i>law-</i>	'shout'
<i>phan phan lawbà</i>	'to chirp'
<i>kukru kukru</i>	'a pigeon's cry'
<i>graw grow</i>	'barking of a dog'
<i>ŋarəŋ ŋarəŋ</i>	'roaring of a tiger (or thunder)'
<i>nyaw nyaw</i>	'meowing of a cat'
<i>mo mo</i>	'mooing of a cow'

Manner in which an action is performed

<i>ka-</i>	'rise'
<i>phun phun kabà</i>	'to puff up (as steam)'
<i>təw-</i>	'do'
<i>uron uron təwbà</i>	'to make this sound when falling asleep'
<i>kuphet kuphet təwbà</i>	'to twinkle (as do stars or fire flies)'
<i>phet phet təwbà</i>	'to pounce on'
<i>thók-</i>	'be out'
<i>prəp prəp thókpà</i>	'coming out or go in quickly'
<i>nán-</i>	'be slimy'
<i>srit srit nánbà</i>	'manner of being slippery'
<i>nók-</i>	'laugh'
<i>hayrap hayrap nókpà</i>	'for a smile comes over a face in this way'
<i>thik thik nókpà</i>	'to titter'
<i>ŋáŋ-</i>	'speak'
<i>čəbeŋ čəbeŋ ŋáŋbà</i>	'to speak incessantly'
<i>šo šo ŋáŋbà</i>	'to flare up in a temper'
<i>činsin-</i>	'shudder'
	'to shudder in this way'

<i>čon-</i>	'jump'
<i>thuk thuk čonbə</i>	'to palpitate'
<i>piŋ piŋ čonbə</i>	'to beat at the rhythm of a pulse'
<i>phən phən čonbə</i>	'to jump jerkily'
<i>pharəŋ pharəŋ čonbə</i>	'to take jumps in quick succession'
<i>phraŋ phraŋ čonbə</i>	'to jump in a bouncing fashion'
<i>láv-</i>	'soft'
<i>nəp nəp láwbə</i>	'to be supple'
<i>həw-</i>	'start'
<i>gruŋ gruŋ həwbə</i>	'to be a tumultuous start'
<i>haŋ-</i>	'open'
<i>sət sət haŋbə</i>	'to open in quick succession'
<i>húk-</i>	'eat'
<i>kok kok húkpə</i>	'to put into the mouth in quick succession'
<i>sa-</i>	'hot'
<i>phon phon sabə</i>	'to get so hot that steam appears'
<i>lumbuumbu sabə</i>	'to be lukewarm'
<i>sít-</i>	'blow'
<i>liri liri súpə</i>	'for the wind to blow softly'

Chapter 9

Functional and pragmatic aspects

This chapter describes the encoding of epistemic modality and pragmatics by the formal categories covered in Chapters 3–7, concentrating on how the force of direct speech acts are attenuated through particular lexical or affixal morphology and through indirect speech acts. I also discuss how the formal categories discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are used to encode evidentiality.

9.1 Indirect speech acts

In chapter 5, I showed how sentence types are signalled in Meithei and I described what speech acts these sentence types perform. The default mapping between a sentence type and the speech act it conveys can be utilized through unconventional mappings to modify the communicative force of a particular sentence. In many cases it is culturally more appropriate to use an indirect speech act or in some other way attenuate the force of a direct speech act.

9.1.1 Commanding

The force of a command issued through the use of *-u* 'imperative' and *-nu* 'prohibitive' can be attenuated either through particular words or affixes or through the use of interrogative or supplicative sentences.

9.1.1.1 Attenuating commands with words or affixes

A command can take the shape of a request through the use of the words *čanbidúnə* 'please', *thəwʃánbidúnə* 'kindly', or *nɪŋsibidúnə* 'affectionately' (Ch. Yashawanta Singh 1984 and B. Premavati Devi 1988).

- (1) a. *čanbidúnə* *isiŋ ədu* *thəkpɪyɪ*
 čan -pi -túnə *isiŋ ə -tu* *thək -pi -u*
 let -REC -ING water ATT -ddet drink -REC -IMP
 please water that please drink
 'Please drink the water!'