

# REDUPLICATION IN NGEQ<sup>1</sup>

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- 0. Introduction
- 1. Reduplicated adverbial descriptives
  - 1.1 Function
  - 1.2 Intonation
  - 1.3 Forms
    - 1.31 Reduplication of roots
    - 1.32 Rootless reduplications
- 2. Reduplicated nouns
  - 2.1 Function
  - 2.2 Intonation
  - 2.3 Forms
- 3. Reduplicated verbs

## 0. INTRODUCTION

The Ngeq are an ethnic minority group in Southern Laos living along the slopes of the western Annam Cordillera. They are located along the Se Kong River which has its head waters in Vietnam and flows through the provinces of Saravane and Attopeu. While most of the Ngeq are along the Se Kong River in the province of Saravane, many have fled as refugees to the tributaries of the Se Done River and to the Pakse area. Their language belongs to the Katuic branch of Mon-Khmer (Thomas and Headley 1970). Ngeq, Ngkriang, and Khiang are considered dialects of one language, with Khiang bordering on the Alak, and Ngeq in the middle between Ngkriang and Ta Oi. They belong to a group of tribes which call themselves "Brou" (not to be confused with the linguistic group called Brou in Vietnam). At one time they are said to have populated the land near the great "Mother of Waters", the Mekong, which presently separates Thailand and Laos through most of Laos' southern boundary. But now they are found in the mountains along the eastern rivers of Saravane province.

Previous work in reduplication has been done in similar tribal languages by Richard Watson and Elizabeth Banker of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Vietnam. They have described reduplication in Pacoh and Bahnar respectively, one a language of the Katuic branch and the other the Bahnaric branch of Mon-Khmer (R. Watson, 1966b, Banker, 1964).

## 1. REDUPLICATED ADVERBIAL DESCRIPTIVES

Adverbial descriptives modify verbs and adjectives. These are an important distinctive in Ngeq as well as other related languages of the area. To speak "Brou" as they do one must use these descriptives. One can communicate freely and still not use these couplets of reduplication. But to use the language idiomatically, one must use these freely because they have a description for nearly every kind of action and every kind of "goodness" and "badness".

One could say *Qo reek kook* 'She's smoking'. But that would not convey much of the meaning of how she is doing it. Does she have a wad of tobacco wrapped up in a leaf to be smoke? She's standing? Sitting? They would say, *Qo, rEEK kOOK tELq bELq* 'She's puffing on her pipe sitting on the floor with her hands around the pipe.' 'Sitting on the floor with her hands around the pipe' is all conveyed in the reduplicated descriptive word *tELq bELq*, descriptive of how she is smoking.

Reduplicated adverbial descriptives may be used in the same way as adverbial adjectives. The following sentences show the similar functions of reduplicated adverbial descriptives and adverbial adjectives illustrating it with the clause root: (*ngaay*: Actor: "they"; *y00q waay* Action: "to go weed"; *rE*: goal: "field"; *toor loor*: Condition of Goal: "to be clean")

### 1) Description of Action:

*ngaay y00q waay rE toor loor* 'they went to weed clean bald' "they went to remove all the stubble from the field."  
(Actor - Action - Goal - Descriptive)

*ngaay y00q waay rE haqaac* 'they went to weed the field clean' "they went to clear the field."

*ngaay y00q waay rE d0ng haqaac tAAt LAAt* 'They went to weed field let clear clean' "They went to clear the field completely clean"  
(Actor - Action - Goal - Adjective)

### 2) Description of Goal:

*rE qan ngaay y00q waay nkay toor loor* 'field which they went to weed that clean bald.' "The field which they went to weed is clean bald."  
(Goal - *qan* - Actor - Action - *nkay* - Descriptive)

*rE qan ngaay y00q waay nkay haqaac*: 'field which they went to weed that clear' "The field which they

went to clear is nice and clean."

(Goal - *qan* - Actor - Action - *nkay* - Adjective)

3) Questioned Actor:

*ngaay ngaay yyaq qan y00q waay rE toor loor* 'They they who which went to weed field clean bald?' "Who was it who went to the field to weed it clean bald?"

(Actor - Question (who) - Action - Goal - Descriptive).

*ngaay ngaay yyaq qan y00q waay rE haqaac* 'They they who which went to weed field clear.' "Who was it that went to weed the field clear?"

(Actor - Question (who) - Action - Goal - Adjective)

This sentence poses semantic difficulties as it is not known if the field will be cleared or not. Usually a reduplicated descriptive is not used in a question, especially if there is uncertainty about the completeness of the action.

4) Questioned purpose:

*qimEh ngaay y00q waay rE toor loor* 'why they do to weed field clean bald.' "why did they go to the field to weed it clean bald?"

(*qihmEh* - Actor - Action - Goal - Descriptive)

*qihmEh ngaay y00q waay rE haqaac?* "Why did they go to weed the field clear?"

(*qihmEh* - Actor - Action - Goal - Adjective)

With these sentences likewise, since they are in question form, it is not presupposed that the work will be complete.

5) Emphasized Condition:

*toor loor rE qan jA ngaay y00q waay nkay* 'clean bald field which already they went to weed that.' "That field which they went to weed is clean bald."

(Descriptive - Goal - *qan* - *jA* - Actor - Action - *nkay*)

*haqaac rE qan jA ngaay y00q waay nkay* 'clear field which already they went to weed that.' "The field is clear which they went to weed."

(Adjective - Goal - *qan* - *jA* - Actor - Action - *nkay*)

The action in these sentences is predicated on the Condition, the first sentence using a Verbal Descriptive, the second sentence using an adverbial Verbal Adjective.

## 6) Completed Action:

*ngaay y00q waay rE toor loor tooc* 'they went to weed field clean bald all.' "They went to the fields to weed them clean bald."

(Actor - Action - Goal - Verbal Desc. - *tooc*)

*ngaay y00q waay rE haqaac tooc* 'They went to finish clearing their fields.'

(Actor - Action - Goal - Verbal Adjective - *tooc*)

## 7) Deleted goal:

*qan ngaay waay nkay toor loor* 'what they weeded that clean bald.' "What they weeded is clean bald."

(*qan* - Actor - Action - *nkay* - Verbal Descriptive)

*qan ngaay waay nkay haqaac.* 'what they weeded that clear' "What they weeded is clear."

(*qan* - Actor - Action - *nkay* - Verbal Adjective.)

*Formulas for transformations:*

1. Description of action: (Actor - Action - Goal - Condition)
2. Descriptive of goal: (Goal - *qan* - Actor - Action - *nkay* - Condition)
3. Questioned actor: (Actor - Interrogative - Action - Goal - Condition)
4. Questioned purpose: (*qihmEh* - Actor - Action - Goal - Condition)
5. Emphasized condition: (Condition - Goal - *qan* - *jA* - Actor - Action - *nkay*)
6. Completed Action: (Actor - Action - Goal - Condition - *tooc*)
7. Deleted goal: (*qan* - Actor - Action - *nkay* - Condition)

## 1.2. INTONATION

The adverbial descriptive is the highest point of the clause or sentence intonation. Usually two syllables make up the descriptive. The syllable patterns are: CV(F) CV(F), or CV(C) CV(F). The main syllable may begin with a consonant cluster of two or three consonants, which in a descriptive reduplication would be reduplicated intact. In a reduplicated couplet the last syllable of the couplet receives the greatest stress of the word and has the highest intonation of the clause or sentence. The first word or syllable of the couplet is usually on a level tone like the rest of the clause or sentence; the last syllable receives greater stress, higher intonation and longer duration.

## 1.3. FORMS

## 1.3 REDUPLICATION OF ROOTS

## 1.31 CV(F) CV(F)

The following words may be reduplicated by replacing the first consonant with "t", giving the pattern: tV(F) CV(F). They may also be reduplicated in the pattern: tV(F) taCV(F). The latter pattern is used to describe a continued state over a period of time, or a continual characteristic. The latter pattern is considered the more pleasing to listen to, but it is improper to use such a form to stress disgraceful or improper qualities. Most of the following may also take the Pluralizing formula (section 1.32.1). The choice of pattern depends mostly on the fitness of the meaning. If the sentence already indicates a large number of participants it is improper to amplify it further with reduplications.

In some cases the semantic relation between the root and the reduplication is not immediately apparent.

Throughout this paper cited forms are arranged in terms of their final consonant as stop-nasals-liquids-open, and from front to back.

Vowel order proceeds from front to back and from high to low:

1. *nyaap* -- fire beginning to flame up  
*taap nyaap* -- unkempt, straggling hair
2. *qIIIt* -- many, lots of all kind; as grass growing in a field  
*tIIIt qIIIt*; *tIIIt taqIIIt* - an unweeded untidy field; the most of anything
3. *cEe* -- a new sore, still bloody  
*tEe cEe* -- a deep anger inside of long standing
4. *caac* -- white  
*taac caac* - very white; whiteness all over
5. *cuc* -- to put the head down in the water, to duck quickly  
*tuc cuc* -- blackest; blackish
6. *nguk* -- large well-formed point  
*tuk nguk*, *tuk tanguk* -- large, well-formed; as a rhino's horn, bamboo shoot, mountain
7. *muk* -- sprouting out nicely  
*tuk muk* -- well-formed

8. *ngook* -- the highest protrusion from the top of a house  
*took ngook* -- protruding out and above everything else
9. *lok* -- to peel off  
*tOk lok* -- thin  
*tOk talOk* -- characteristic thinness
10. *kIq* -- many people going in a group  
*tIq kIq* -- crowded together with many people
11. *jAq* -- fun  
*tAq jAq* -- fun, enjoyable, beautiful (said if one wants to be ambiguous as to what specific fun or beauty was enjoyed)
12. *krAq* -- whole grain rice  
*tAq krAq* -- fully up, full faced up (as something on a large drying tray)
13. *lAaq* -- level with something  
*tAaq lAaq; tAaq talAaq* -- spread out completely, covering completely, smoothly, same height
14. *wEnq* -- lying down in an arched position  
*tEnq wEnq* -- arched back
15. *nyongq* -- anger  
*tongq nyongq* -- furiously angry
16. *cElq* -- jumping around  
*tElq cElq* -- jumping, bobbing around, as children when playing
17. *pIIlq* -- flat, pug-nosed  
*tIIlq pIIlq* -- sitting with legs down flat
18. *mAAyq* -- one  
*tAAyq mAAyq* -- the one most beautiful girl
19. *jaawq* -- stepping out with the first foot  
*taawq jaawq* -- one fellow who stands out as the most handsome in group, well-dressed
20. *mAam* -- sausage  
*tAam mAam* -- protruding from mouth (as a bone out of a dog's mouth)
21. *pum* -- a large ulcer  
*tum pum* -- ulcerous over a large area
22. *suam* -- wet (as of a dewy field)  
*tuam suam* -- many places where there is stubble sticking up field

23. *cA00n* -- thronging people  
*tA00n cA00n* -- throngs, great crowds
24. *cEny* -- to make tabu a certain kind of food  
*tEny cEny* -- ugly teeth
25. *kAAN* -- small  
*tAAN kAAN* -- a great thronging crowd
26. *liing* -- to pour out water  
*tiing liing* -- a great expanse of water
27. *ngEng* -- crooked neck  
*tEng ngEng* -- crooked
28. *hIing* -- a woman carrying large basket  
*tiing hIing* -- a woman bent over carrying a large basket
29. *kAAng* -- hard (as center of log)  
*tAAng kAAng* -- stuck, hard to pull out
30. *yAAng* -- getting up  
*tAAng yAAng* -- tall, taller than others
31. *jung'* -- feet  
*tung jung* -- the curve of the bottom parts (as when one  
lays in a hammock)
32. *ngong* -- teasing, bullying words  
*tong ngong* -- large bodied (as elephant)
33. *mong* -- living  
*tong mong* -- tender leaves sprouting out
34. *mEr* -- beautiful  
*tEr mEr* -- beauty of a girl
35. *yIir* -- large trees  
*tiir yIir* -- tallness of a tree above others
36. *wIir* -- large lips  
*tiir wIir* -- ugliness of someone's lips
37. *yAAr* -- a beautiful tree  
*tAAr yAAr* -- the most beautiful of a group
38. *lAar* -- well covered, laid out well  
*tAar lAar* -- smoothly covered all over, level
39. *bEEl* -- eating crookedly (as a cow chews cud)  
*teEl bEEl* -- with food still in cheeks eating with  
stuffed cheeks

40. *ngul* -- silent  
*tul ngul* -- sitting silently, not looking anywhere or saying anything
41. *yul* -- to let down  
*tul yul* -- hanging high up in a tree, hanging down from a high place
42. *yol* -- taking hold of a branch and letting oneself down  
*tol yol* -- suspended from high up
43. *yool* -- to suspend hook from pole  
*tool yool* -- suspended from pole above water
44. *yool* -- feet coming down  
*tool yool* -- coming down swinging
45. *quul* -- a hot feeling inside  
*tuul quul* -- painful, feverish, swollen, hot feeling in stomach
46. *buul* -- dark, dingy, hidden  
*tuul buul* -- opaque, dim, indistinct, overcast, smudged
47. *pI* -- fire burning  
*tI pI* -- sitting along without talking, motionless
48. *krA* -- on back  
*tA krA* -- lying on back with feet up (as dead bird)

1.31.2 CV(F) → cV(F) → CV(F)

The following words may be reduplicated by replacing the first consonant with /c/

1. *duk* -- lying down pouting  
*cuk duk* -- large rump
2. *tIIit* -- disinterested in what is going on about  
*cIIit tIIit* -- undisturbed by all around (as baby sleeping)
3. *nAh* -- filled  
*cAh nAh* -- fulness (as one filled from eating)
4. *doq* -- sunny  
*coq doq* -- rump up, bending over digging
5. *dok* -- flat  
*cok dok* -- laid out, sick



## 1.31.3 PARTIALLY REDUPLICATED DISYLLABLES

Certain disyllabic words reduplicated only part of their root. There is no regularity to these forms:

1. *cah0* -- to open mouth  
*t0h h0h; t0h tah0h* -- open mouthed
2. *kamproop* -- to sleep on stomach  
*roop roop* -- sleeping on stomach
3. *cakAAng* -- to be stiff (as one in a seizure of epilepsy)  
*tAAng kAAng* -- tough, cannot be pulled out

## 1.31.4 MISCELLANEOUS MONOSYLLABLES

1. *louk* -- bamboo shoots rotting  
*pouk louk* -- discarded
2. *muul* -- mildewed  
*muul mAaak* -- mildewed, dirty, smudgy, filthy
3. *bEEL* -- crooked chewing  
*b00L bEEL* -- stuffed cheeks

## 1.31.5 CVC CV → harCVC harCV

Descriptives having a basic pattern CVC CV take the pluralizing amplification formula harCVC harCV.

1. *lumq lu* -- a bulge in one place  
*harlumq harlu* -- many places with bulges
2. *bomq lo* -- putting food into mouth  
*harbomq harlo* -- many people filling their mouths with food

## 1.31.6 CVC → paCVC paCVC

This adds the prefix *pa-* to the reduplicated forms.

1. *buamq* -- flabby cheeks  
*pabuamq pabuamq* -- elderly person eating with sagging cheeks

## 1.31.7 SIMPLE DOUBLING

The following words are reduplicated without change.

1. *tok* -- down  
*tok tok* -- inclined with trail leading downward

2. *diq* -- short  
*diq diq* -- shortness
3. *kiq koq* -- hobbling  
*kiq kiq koq koq* -- walking along as a lame man on knees
4. *luq* -- pull  
*luq luq* -- naked, all pulled off; nakedness
5. *cuq ciq* -- ripe  
*cuq cuq ciq ciq* -- ready to eat, pick
6. *cuaq* -- call pigs  
*cuaq cuaq* call for pigs to come
7. *nyuq* -- afraid  
*nyuq nyuq* -- fearful
8. *suam* -- wet  
*suam suam* -- wet from walking through dewy field
9. *tIng* -- up  
*tIng tIng* -- ascending trail, going up an incline
10. *cung* -- long  
*cung cung* -- longness
11. *kal* -- support  
*kal kal* -- putting up wood supporting underside
12. *nyir* -- blinking  
*nyir nyir* -- blinking constantly
13. *wEEw* -- crooked  
*wEEw wEEw* -- twisted all out of shape
14. *lIAw* -- bland  
*lIAw lIAw* -- tasteless

### 1.32 ROOTLESS REDUPLICATIONS

Many adverbial descriptives have the form of reduplicatives, but have no identifiable simple root.

#### 1.32.1 tVF CVF

The following words appear in only this one pattern. They cannot take the pluralizing or habitual reduplicative patterns (see 1.32.3) because they are words which already describe a great quantity or a characteristic which cannot be amplified.

1. *tik lik* -- close together, tightly
2. *teik reik* -- striped, lines
3. *tAak rAak* -- camouflaged, painted in many places
4. *tuuk puuk* -- white, faded (as when many leaves have fallen to the ground)
5. *tuak muak* -- largeness of fishhead
6. *took rook* -- covered with stones; many stones protruding
7. *tA00k lA00k* -- long, sprawled out; chest and neck above the rest; a river with rapids wider than the rest
8. *tIq hIq* -- hot, large slab of rock
9. *tawq jawq* -- thin skinny
10. *tiim biim* -- full, house full of guests
11. *tIIAM mIIAM* -- messy, unkempt; a lot of grass growing
12. *tAan cAan* -- many people arriving
13. *tir lir* -- level, smooth
14. *tEEr mEEr* -- beautiful
15. *tar qar* -- much fruit on a tree, vastness (many people walking in rows)
16. *tuur suur* -- ornamented fancy dressing
17. *tur qur* -- vastness of water: the noise of rushing water
18. *til pil* -- blindly groping for something in the darkness
19. *tuul muul* -- mirage-like, thinking a shadow is something else
20. *tool qool* -- many people, the vastness of a crowd
21. *tool ngool* -- large slab of rock, road bed
22. *tuy suy* -- running faster than the rest, spreading fast (as smoke from gun or truck)
23. *tooy looy* -- as fire beginning to start
24. *tEEw hEEw* -- incessant pain, want something badly
25. *taaw caaw* -- whiteness, beautiful (as an elephant's tusk).
26. *tuh juh* -- straight, good looking wood.

### 1.32.2 SIMPLE DOUBLING

The following, apparently, onomatopoeic, words are simply doubled.

1. *carook carook* -- pouring water into a glass
2. *kruaq kruaq* -- stomach growling
3. *tongq tongq* -- pounding nail into something
4. *paang paang* -- hitting the water
5. *puaq puaq* -- cutting the grass quickly to finish
6. *phruaq phruaq* -- fish splashing on the surface of water

### 1.32.3 NORMAL WIDE SPECTRUM REDUPLICATION

The following words take the full spectrum of reduplication, including the simple patterns *tV(F) CV(F)* and *tV(F) taCV(F)*, the pluralizing pattern *harCi(F) harCV(F)* and the habitual state pattern *(par)Ci(F) parCV(F)*. The pluralizing

pattern indicates that the number of the things or people involved is a large number, or that there are groups of large numbers involved. The habitual state pattern indicates that what is described is the usual state or action being done in great numbers. It has the meaning of large numbers, as well as pluralizing and habituating the action characteristic of the thing described. Some of these words have identifiable roots but are listed together here for convenience.

1. *tAaap nyAaap; tAaap tanyAaap* -- unkempt hair (e.g. of a demented person); uncut, uncared for, as a field which is unweeded; a stack of wood  
*harnyiip harnyAaap* -- unkempt hair of many demented people, uncut, uncombed  
*parnyiip parnyAaap* -- many people characteristically having unkempt hair
2. *tIIIt qIIIt; tIIIt taqIIIt* the most  
*harqiit harqIIIt* -- large quantities of things  
*parqiit parqIIIt; qiit parqIIIt* -- characteristic abundance possessions of the rich
3. *tup bup; tup tabup* -- introverted, untalkative person  
*harbip harbup* -- many untalkative people together  
*parbip parbup; bip parbup* -- many usually untalkative people
4. *tIIIt krIIIt; tIIIt takrIIIt* -- piles here and there, coils of rope  
*harkriit harkrIIIt* -- many piles of rope, coils, many piles of stone  
*parkriit parkrIIIt; kriit parkrIIIt* -- a person standing with rope wound all around
5. *tot lot; tot talot* -- largeness, stubbornness (of finger)  
*harlit harlot* -- a handful of large stubby fingers, many large stubby things sticking out  
*parlit parlot, lit parlot* -- large hands, of stubby fingers
6. *taac caac; taac tacaac* -- whiteness  
*harcie harcaac* -- many white places  
*parcie parcaac; cie parcaac* -- many leprous spots
7. *tuk muk; tuk tamuk* -- well-formed growth (of a bamboo shoot)  
*harmik harmuk* -- many good-looking sprouts  
*parmik parmuk; mik parmuk* -- a clump of bamboo with characteristically well formed bamboo shoots

8. *tuk nguk; tuk tanguk* -- tall mountain  
*harngik harnguk* -- a many peaked mountain  
*parngik parnguk; ngik parnguk* -- many mountains with many peaks
9. *tok kok; tok takok* -- sitting watch, taking care of things  
*harkik harkok* -- many chilled people huddled around fire  
*parkik parkok; kik parkok* -- many people, chickens huddled up together
10. *tok mok; tok tamok* -- someone waiting for a handout  
*harmik harmok* -- many children waiting for handouts  
*parmik parmok, mik parmok* -- as a beggar constantly asking for handouts
11. *tAOk hAOk; tAOk tahAOk* -- deepness of cavity; of ulcer, of wound, crater  
*harhik harhAOk* -- stealthily taking rice from the table until it is all gone  
*parhik parhAOk; hik parhAOk* -- describing someone who constantly takes rice from the basket until it is all gone
12. *tAaq ngAaq; tAaq tangAaq* -- crookedness  
*harngiiq harngAaq* -- many people sitting in chairs  
*parngiiq parngAaq* -- tables and chairs lying around
13. *toq joq; toq tajoq* -- bursting out  
*harjiq harjoq* -- many people with diarrhea  
*parjiq parjoq* -- a group of women carrying fire wood on their backs
14. *toq moq; toq tamoq* -- well-formed shoots coming up well  
*harmiq harmoq* -- a lot of bamboo shoots coming well  
*parmiq parmoq; miq parmoq* -- a clump of bamboo where shoots come up well
15. *tuamq kruamq; tuamq takruamq* -- thin from lack of food  
*harkrimq harkruamq* -- many people thin from starvation  
*parkrimq parkruamq; krimq parkruamq* -- many thin and starving people
16. *tomq lomq; tomq talomq* -- beauty of hair and head  
*harlimq harlomq* -- many beautiful people  
*parlimq parlomq; limq parlomq* -- beautiful people running
17. *tomq ngomq; tomq tangomq* -- stillness of posture (because of pain)

*harngimq harngomq* -- a group of people afraid to go outside

*parngimq parngomq; ngimq parngomq* -- people constantly afraid to go out of the house

18. *tAq ngAq; tAq tangAq* -- sitting proudly in chair (straight)  
*harngiq harngAq* -- many people sitting straight up in chairs proudly  
*parngiq parngAq; ngiq parngAq* -- people sitting proudly
19. *tomq somq; tomq tasomq* -- bushiness of a beard  
*harsimq harsomq* -- many men with bushy beards  
*parsimq parsomq* -- many bees nests in many places
20. *tEnq wEnq; tEnq tawEnq* -- crooked; curled up, sleeping with arched backs  
*harwinq harwEnq* -- many people sleeping curled up  
*parwinq parwEnq; winq parwEnq* -- animals sleeping with head tucked in
21. *tonq pongq; tongq tapongq* -- openness of a wound  
*harpingq harpongq* -- many places with open wounds, clumps of trees  
*parpingq parpongq; pingq parpongq* -- clumps here and there
22. *tElq bElq; tElq tabElq* -- near the edge, ready to topple over  
*harbilq harbElq* -- many people with mouths stuffed, food ready to fall out  
*parbilq parbElq; bilq parbElq* -- persons who eat with stuffed mouths
23. *tElq qElq; tElq taqElq* -- shortness  
*harqilq harqElq* -- many children playing together  
*parqilq parqElq* -- children who congregate together
24. *tElq mElq; tElq tamElq* -- beauty of a young girl  
*harmilq harmElq* -- many beautiful girls  
*parmilq parmElq; milq parmElq* -- many girls of well-known beauty
25. *tElq ngElq; tElq tangElq* -- sleeping undisturbedly, soundly  
*harngilq harngElq* -- many children lying down  
*parngilq parngElq; ngilq parngElq* -- one who sleeps completely undisturbed

For the remainder of this list only the tV(F) CV(F) pattern will be given.

The other patterns can be constructed on the analogy of the preceding words.

26. *tAaalq mAaalq* -- ugly-faced person
27. *tolq ngolq* -- one sitting off by himself
28. *toolq ngoolq* -- perched on top
29. *tIIrq hIIrq* -- with rump up (as when hoeing the ground, digging, weeding)
30. *toorq boorq* -- mounds
31. *tewq hewa* -- small hole
32. *tawq bawq* -- wan and thin
33. *tawq cawq* -- something sticking out of an expanse, protruding out after burning off a field, out of the water
34. *tawq ngawq* small, dwarfed person, animal
35. *taa q jaawq* -- handsome, well-dressed
36. *tIIm bIIm* -- thorn stuck in foot; threateningly beside the trail
37. *tIIm mIIm* -- puffy, overgrown, large facial features
38. *tIIAm krIIAm* -- large growth in a field
39. *tIIAm sIIAm* -- small grassy clump in a field
40. *tAam mAam* -- bulging mouth full of food
41. *tEng ngEng* -- crookedness of the neck, twisted in pain
42. *tAAng jAAng* -- standing straightly
43. *tuam nyuam* -- high uncut grass (longer than *tIIAm sIIAm*) too tall to pass
44. *tAAng wAAng* -- object across the trail, stream; uncrossable because of obstacle
45. *tAaang pAaang* -- wide sheets of things, large sheets
46. *tuung luung* -- largeness of hole
47. *toong ngoong* -- large bodied
48. *tAal lAal* -- staring, large eyed
49. *tu l qul* -- a big person
50. *tol lol* -- openness of a wound
51. *tIIr yIIr* -- largeness, large possessions
52. *tAAr yAAr* -- large tree (larger than those around)
53. *tor mor* -- beautiful (of a girl)
54. *tor nyor* -- angry, cows standing around chewing cud
55. *toor joor* -- perched up high, in tree, on top of things
56. *toor loor* -- bald, well-burned off, without growth, a field where rice will not grow
57. *tong krong* -- coiled up
58. *tI pI* -- off by oneself
59. *to ko* -- perched on the edge, on edge of a fire

#### 1.32.4 FULL SPECTRUM WITH CV(F), caCV(F) SIMPLE FORMS

The following differ from the normal patterns in that they have /c/ rather than /t/ in the simple patterns.

1. *cuuk tuuk; cuuk catuuk* -- largeness of stomach

1. *cuuk tuuk; cuuk catuuk* -- largeness of stomach  
*hartiik hartuuk* -- many people with pot-bellied stomachs  
*partiik partuuk; tiik partuuk* -- bloated (as dead pigs)
2. *cong nong; cong canong* -- standing with pack on back  
*harning harnong* many people with packs on their backs (said to a group, meaning, "make yourself at home")  
*parning parnong, ning parnong* -- heavy; as when one carries a casket to burial
3. *cuul nuul; cuul canuul* -- largeness of stomach  
*harniil harnuul* -- many pot-bellied people  
*parniil parnuul; niil parnuul* -- many people who are big stomached
4. *cul nul, cul canul* -- largeness of stomach, pregnant woman  
*harnil harnul* -- fatness of many people, many pregnant women  
*parnil parnul, nil parnul* -- many women far advanced in pregnancy
5. *caA00s daA00s; caA00s cadaA00s* -- overgrown, too big for one's age  
*hardis hardA00s* -- many people wearing clothes too big for them; many big tigers  
*pardis pardA00s; dis pardA00s* -- big tigers passing along

### 1.32.5 FULL SPECTRUM WITH SIMPLE DOUBLING

The following has doubling *dok...dok...*, *dorq...dorq* in the simple form, and in the pluralizing and habitual state forms it drops the *dok*.

1. *dok dorq dok dorq* -- playfulness of a group of small children, animals  
*hardirq hardorq* -- many small pigs together  
*pardirq pardorq* -- many small pigs together starting to walk

### 1.32.6 LACKING HABITUAL STATE

The following take the full spectrum of reduplication except the habitual state pattern. The last example has *cV(F)* and *caCV(F)* in its simple forms

1. *tuup muup* -- large cheeks, swollen from toothache or jaw infection  
*harmiip harmuup* -- swollen cheeks



2. *tAap ngAap*--lying down undisturbed  
*harnqip harnqAap*--many adult lying down
3. *tum lum*--swollen  
*harlim harlum*--a small pig giving birth to a lot of baby pigs
4. *tolq molq*--beautiful  
*harmilq harmolq*--many good looking pigs
5. *tAq krAq*--largeness of grain, wholeness  
*harkriq harkrAq*--teeming with living things (in the water)
6. *tIIIn qIIIn*--many possessions  
*harqiIn harqIIIn*--abundance of things
7. *tAar lAar; tAar talAar*--level or beautifully covered, even mats  
*harlir harlAar*--many places where there are stone slabs exposed smoothness, levelness over a wide area
8. *cul tul; cul catul*--largeness of a person  
*hartil hartul*--a litter of large pigs

### 1.32.7 LACKING PLURALIZING

The following take the full spectrum of reduplication except the pluralizing pattern.

1. *took look; took talook*--bouncing of a ball; running of a child  
*parliik parlook*--the characteristic of children to bounce up and down while running
2. *tAng yAng; tAng tayAng*--go and come back without getting expectation fulfilled  
*parying paryAng*--several people returning empty handed
3. *tar qar; tar taqar*--in a line, lined up walking  
*parqir parqar*--many people in a line who cannot get up an ascent
4. *tEEr cEEr; tEEr tacEEr*--a diagonal cut, diagonalness of a stick or stone, diamond shaped corner  
*parcir parcEEr*--a diagonal cut; characteristically not straight

### 1.32.8 FULL SPECTRUM WITH Y-FINAL ROOTS

Words with final /y/ change the /y/ to /l/ after /i/, giving the pluralizing pattern *harCiil harCVy* and the habitual state pattern *(par)Ciil parCVy*

1. *tuy nguy; tuy tanguy*-- not much fun, unenjoyable  
*harngil harnguy*-- many people not having much fun
2. *toy kroy; toy takroy*-- as a baby chick sitting shivering

*harkril harkroy* -- many chicks around with feathers ruffled up shivering.

### 1.32.9 OTHER VARIANTS

The following words have /ii/ alternating with /Aaa/ in the root.

1. *tiit jiit; tiit tajiit* -- much fruit on a tree, small fruit  
*harjiit harjAaat* -- much fruit on a tree, large fruit  
*parjiit parjAaat* -- a tree that is always bearing luscious large fruit
2. *tik wiik; tik tawik* -- crookedly, as a snake lying motionless  
*harwiik harwAaak* -- many snakes winding along  
*parwiik parwAaak* -- many snakes winding along

## 2. REDUPLICATED NOUNS

Semantic reduplicating of nouns is used to make a noun less specific, more collective, more generic. Occasionally there may be a phonological resemblance between the two parts of the reduplicated noun (or 'couplet'), but phonological resemblance is rare. A couplet is generally composed of two near-synonyms, or two words from the same semantic field, or a noun and an empty word. (cf. R. Watson 1966b, Dorothy Thomas 1966). A couplet may be used when speaking generally about a class of items. It is improper to use a couplet when speaking about a specific item or when one has the item in hand. Not all nouns have couplet partners.

### 2.1 FUNCTION

Nouns that cannot be used in a couplet can only be used as the noun head in a noun phrase. Other nouns can also be used to modify another preceding noun. On the whole, each of the following nouns which has a complement may also be used in modifying something else. Those which cannot be used as modifiers are a special class of nouns and will not be taken up in this study. The following sentences show the varied use of the reduplicated noun couplet, illustrating it with the clause root: (Actor: *ngaay* 'they'; Action: *y00q su go* 'look for'; Goal: *krE cuang* 'vine'. The action is a verb phrase (Auxiliary predicate + Main Predicate), and the goal is a noun phrase (Main Noun + Auxiliary Noun).

## 1) General Statement of fact:

*ngaay y00q su krE cuang* 'they went look vines-vines'  
 "They went to look for the vines."  
 (Actor - Action - Goal)

## 2) Goal Emphasis:

*ngaay y00q su krE su cuang* 'they went look vines look vines'  
 "They went to look for vines."  
 (Actor - Aux. Predicate - Main Predicate - Main Noun-  
 Aux. Pred.- Aux. Noun.)

## 3) Question of Actor:

*ngaay ngaay yyaq y00q su krE su cuang* 'they they who went looking vines looking vines'  
 "Who is that looking for vines?"  
 (Actor - *ngaay yyaq* - Main Action - Main Goal - Main Action - Aux. Goal)

## 4) Action in Doubt:

*c00m ngaay y00q su krE su cuang* 'know they went look vines look vines'  
 "I don't know but what they went to look for vines."  
 (*c00m* - Actor - Aux. Action - Main, Act. - Main Goal - Main Action + Aux. Goal)

## 5. Emphatic emphasis on Actor:

*ngaay hAyq y00q su krE cuang* 'they did go looking vines-vines'  
 "Sure it was they who went looking for vines."

## Questioned Actor:

*ngaay qE y00q su krE cuang* 'they question went looking vines-vines'  
 Was it they who went looking for vines?"  
 (Actor - *hAyq/qE* - Action - Goal)

## 6. Questioned Action:

*ngaay y00q su krE cuang qE* 'they went looking vines-vines question'  
 "Did they go looking for vines?"

## Surety of Action:

*ngaay y00q su krE cuang hAyq* 'they went looking for vines-vines sure'  
 "Yes they did go looking for vines."  
 (Actor - Action - Goal - *qE/hAyq*)

## 7. Questioned Auxiliary Action:

*ngaay y00q qE su krE su cuang* 'they went question  
 looking vines looking vines' "Have they left (yet),  
 looking for vines?"  
 (Actor - Aux. Action + qE - Main Action -Main  
 Action - Aux. Goal)

## 8. Noun Phrase:

*ngaay qan y00q su krE cuang* 'those who went lodging  
 vines-vines' "Those who went looking for vines..."  
 (Actor + *qan* + Action + Goal)

## 9. Questioned direction:

*karna mu ngaay y00q su krE cuang* 'which trail they go  
 looking vines-vines.' "Which way did they go looking  
 for vines."

## Questioned Auxiliary Action:

*qamEh ngaay y00q su krE cuang* 'why they go looking for  
 vines-vines', "Why did they go looking for vines?"  
 (*karna mu/ qamEh* + Actor + Action + Goal)

A simple noun may appear by itself as Goal in any of the above transformations, but the Main Action is not repeated, and there is no Auxiliary Goal.

In the following the item is in hand and so cannot be reduplicated.

*cung qa krE nne* 'long excl. vine this' "This vine is long!"

## 2.2 INTONATION

The noun reduplications in Ngeq do not change the intonation pattern of the sentences. When an auxiliary noun falls at the end of the sentence, it takes normal falling intonation to complete the sentence.

## 2.3 FORMS

In the following examples the first word given is the Main Noun and the second is the Auxiliary Noun, and their meanings are also given in that order. This is then followed by the general meaning of the reduplicated couplet. Where only one specific meaning is given, it may be taken as the meaning of both of the nouns, or that the second noun is empty. Where only one meaning is

given (as in 4.), the couplet as a whole means the same as its parts.

1. *tip kOOn*g--rice basket, lump of cooked rice; rice ready to eat
2. *poop pannyAO*h--small deer (roe deer), large deer; deer
3. *sitt sAq*--resins; sealers for baskets and boats
4. *preet kLOOy*--bananas
5. *hII*t ya--tobacco; tobaccos
6. *pAat sOn*g--grass, growth (small); weeds
7. *mat moh*--eye, nose; face
8. *hannaat harrong*--shooting instruments; guns
9. *mmaat cakuyy*--people
10. *kut kooy*--frogs, lizards; crawling things
11. *tuut tawaaq*--pithy edible tree hearts, similar to heart of banana tree
12. *hampeej tanyiw*--anteaters
13. *lot laang*--truck, chassis; vehicle with engine
14. *mic carah*--ants
15. *sEc suuy*--meat
16. *prEc diw*--peppers, garlic; spices
17. *rOoc lOom*--abdomen, liver; heart, center of emotions
18. *qiik cuur*--pigs
19. *qiik ndruiy*--pigs, chickens; domesticated animals
20. *dIk luuy*--squash, gourd, edible squashes
21. *katiak kallaay*--dirt, earth; ground
22. *wiak tarpak*--work, business to do; labor, something to do
23. *pak saay*--beads
24. *kallaak kallias*--forks in the trail; forks
25. *harluk harkuul*--covering, blanket; blankets
26. *nnuuk nniang*--nets without handles, nets, nets on frames
27. *kabuok kaleeng*--pipe, things on stem; pipes
28. *cok nuar*--hoe, weeding knife; weeding instruments
29. *harpOk harpu*--shelters in the rice field; shelters
30. *tual lok tual lA*--pestles
31. *kOk nko*--pipe, bamboo tube; pipe for smoking, water pipes
32. *hOOk daaw*--spear, sword; weapons of war
33. *mbOOk mbuul*--cloths woven for covering; blankets
34. *prOoq kraas*--squirrels; tree climbing animals
35. *triiq karrOk*--water buffalo, cows; sacrificial animals
36. *ceq kadial*--child, wife; immediate family
37. *ceq kOOn*--children; descendants
38. *dAAq dOOn*g--water; places to fish, trap, drink or bathe
39. *praq jeeng*--silver, gold; money
40. *plAAaq leemq*--fish, tiger; game animals
41. *paaq pong*--edible roots
42. *taaq naam*--iron, metal; metals
43. *koq prAa*--machetes; large knives

44. *soq yOh*--skirt, blouse; women's clothing
45. *ceq leemq ceq ciim*--baby tiger, baby bird; baby wild animals
46. *qEE m qaay*--younger, older; siblings of the same sex
47. *nam paang*--rice granaries
48. *maam tareel*--percussion musical instruments
49. *raam ruung*--traps for fish
50. *qAA m pAA y*--unhusked rice, cooked rice; rice to eat
51. *raam siit*--traps for fish
52. *karruum kanc00r*--below the house; ground under the house
53. *huar toom huar t00k*--streams
54. *kampan kampur*--elderly women
55. *nang sian nang s0*--letter
56. *khEE n khuuy*--percussion musical instruments (borrowed from Lao)
57. *wan harwaak*--possessions
58. *nyon ny00k*--airplanes
59. *ting kAA n ting c00ng*--beads
60. *dIk cA00n r00k*--nets set inside of fish traps
61. *han00n hanaq*--places to sleep; beds
62. *bAA ny priim*--beard, growth; whiskers
63. *priing kan00ng*--logs lying down; large logs
64. *ciang tuuq*--elephants
65. *takiang tanyaang*--lamps
66. *kaniang kabaang*--teeth, mouth; inside of mouth
67. *harteeng hartuuk*--wall boards; walls
68. *kooy rEE ng kooy rot*--lizards
69. *carIng carAA aq*--dense growth, jungle; jungles
70. *carIng praang*--shelf above the fireplace for drying things, rafters; places above for putting things
71. *saang trung*--carrying baskets for water gourds
72. *nhaang ntoot*--bones, carcass; frame, bones
73. *jung te*--feet, hands; members
74. *plang jAA*--grass for roofing, branches used for roofing; roofing materials
75. *pong kam*--edible roots
76. *pong kok pong laaw*--tapioca root, laaw root, edible roots
77. *tong d00ng tong day*--tender ends of the tree; sprouts edible leaves
78. *duong dEh*--house, pots; utensils
79. *trIng tarriang*--fish
80. *song hap*--pants, shirt; men's clothing
81. *nc0ng harl00s*--shrimps
82. *ng0ng ncAA s*--shrimps
83. *pr00ng mbaak*--arm, shoulder
84. *harp00ng parjaang*--shore; place to cross; crossing
85. *kadial kadAA q*--wife
86. *bil bo*--rats
87. *tannool nkal*--supporting piles, corner posts; support of house

88. *tiar patay*--fish
89. *taniar tapaang*--floor slats; flooring
90. *sabIy sabaay*--cured cabbage
91. *tangay takaay*--days
92. *cabAaay tamul*--soup, vegetables; tasty things
93. *callaay callOh*--loin cloth, cloth that comes off; loin-cloths
94. *wIy nsaay wIy nno*--to have friends
95. *salaay salooy*--fields which have been planted for a year already (don't have to cut down the big timber again to make field)
96. *ndruuy ndra*--chickens
97. *bOOy saay*--salt
98. *capias caniat*--small knives
99. *santias santong*--sprouts, tender shoots; sprouts of trees
100. *canAas calang*--combs
101. *pannaAas pannaan*--jackfruit
102. *bas biak*--hooks for fishing
103. *quus tuuy*--fire
104. *quus qAAq*--fire
105. *ruus bu*--fields which have been left to grow wild
106. *mih tung*--aunt, uncle, aunts and uncles
107. *tapEh tamplO*--fireplace, ashes; kitchen
108. *dEh pangAaan*--pots, plates, eating utensils
109. *sEh mbEEq*--horses, goats
110. *tajAah tajil*--open fields; used land
111. *kacah kamoony*--charcoal
112. *tarcuh tarhAaak*--waterfalls
113. *karuh kaLOOm*--a basket for carrying clothing
114. *koh kiing*--mountain, slopes; mountains
115. *parnOh talE*--*khOOngs* and gongs; items of wealth and used in feasts, festivals, funerals and other functions
116. *kandOh kallo*--traps in the field
117. *parlOh karta*--door, ladder; entrances, exits
118. *cInghAOh cInkAOh*--spoon, ladle; spoons
119. *pannyAOh harmOOy*--deer
120. *parlOh parluk*--door
121. *trOh ri*--baskets which women carry hung over shoulder
122. *tiaw luung*--back carrying baskets
123. *cEEw cuq*--pepper sauce
124. *mEEw tok*--feline animals, cats
125. *praw ku*--spirits, ghosts; spirits of the dead
126. *kataaw kannooc*--sugar cane, that which can be peeled; cane
127. *cake cO*--dogs, dogs; canine animals
128. *karsE karmI*-- a vine rope, a hand rope; ropes
129. *krE cuang*--vines
130. *tabI hangIp*--night, darkness; night
131. *nang sI nang sO*--letter
132. *pIA sok*--head, hair; head

133. *canna parrEEk*--food, things to smoke; satisfying things of life
134. *hala halAq*--leaves
135. *sabu sabAq*--soap
136. *kO no kO noor*--discarded water-carrying tubes
137. *bi bo bi bAAL*--fetishes
138. *kalho halto*--vegetables
139. *pO plang*--corn, roofing grass; stalks still standing
140. *karkO nnyooy*--husked rice
141. *harqO callOOK*--rafts made out of bamboo tubes; rafts
142. *tamO tamAq*--stones
143. *sO paakka*--pencil, pen; writing instruments

### 3. REDUPLICATED VERBS

Phonological reduplication of verbs appears only with reciprocal action.

#### 3.1 FUNCTION

Reduplicated verbs do not take objects and are used only in simple sentences:

1. *ngaay tarsu su* "They are looking for each other."  
(Actor + Reciprocal Reduplicated Verb)

#### 3.2 INTONATION

The beginning of the sentence is said on a level tone; the end of the reduplication is given considerable emphasis, with higher pitch.

#### 3.3 FORMS

Reciprocal action takes place between two people with simultaneous action done to each other or first one doing one thing for another and then the other person doing the same thing for the first person. The two actions may be done at the same time. The normal reduplication pattern is *tarCV(F) CV(F)*, except in no.14, 27, 40.

1. *tarcOOp cOOp*--look at each other secretly (as boy and girl)
2. *tarkOOp kOOp*--take hold of each other
3. *tarpiat piat*--edge each other's mat
4. *tarpiat priat*--ride each other's stick; as children change off and play with each other's riding-horse stick
5. *tartiat tiat*-- threaten to strike each other with a



switch

6. *tarpEt pEt*--kick each other with the toe
7. *tarkat kat*--cut each other's hair
8. *tarquut quut*--strike each other
9. *tarkuat kuat*--check on each other
10. *tarsuat suat* -- cut each other
11. *tarhoot hoot*--blow on each other; cause healing to each other
12. *tarkOot kOot*--hug each other
13. *tarbic bic*--try to do work when sleepy
14. *barbEc bEc*--hire someone to kill another
15. *tartEc tEc*-- sell each other
16. *tartrEc trEc*--taste a little of each others food (soup)
17. *tarbOoc bOoc*--sing to each other
18. *tarliak liak*--undress each other
19. *tarteek teek*--lead each other
20. *tarcarEEK carEEK*--split each other's wood
21. *tarcuk cuk*--gossip about each other
22. *tartOk-tOk*--be afraid of each other
  
23. *tarwiq wiq*--pinch each other
24. *tardiiq diiq*--take turns riding on each other
25. *tarpeq peq*--cut each other with machete
26. *tarbAq bAq*--children sing to each other
27. *sarsok sok*--fist fight with each other
28. *tarkAq kAq*--push with the heel on each other
29. *tarkaAQ kaaq*--dip out for each other (sharing the catch of fish, etc.)
30. *tarluq luq*--pull each other
31. *tarnyuq nyuq*--fear each other
32. *tarpA0q pA0q*--carry for each other (taking turns with each other's loads)
33. *tary00q y00q*--go together (as husband and wife)
34. *tarc00m c00m*--know each other
35. *tarcom com*--complain about each other
36. *tarpian pian*--trade with each other
37. *tarbeen been*--have each other (in marriage)
38. *tarwian wian*--sleeping curled up on each other
39. *tartoon toon*--accuse each to another, suspect each other
40. *caruum ruum*--meet each other, run into each other
41. *tarnoony noony*--go back on a promise together
42. *tarwiing wiing*--return things to each other
43. *tardeeng deeng*--take each other in marriage
44. *tarsEng sEng*--vie with each other
45. *tarwAAng wAAng*--give a small amount to each other
46. *tarkAang kAng*--block each other's way
47. *tarbang bang*--hide behind each other
48. *tartang tang*--bet each other
49. *tarcOng cOng*--burn each other
50. *tarnyOng nyOng*--praise each other

51. *tardEEL dEEL*--lick each other
52. *tarhEEL hEEL*--love each other
53. *tarqOOL qOOL*--gossip about each other
54. *tarkuur kuur*--curse each other
55. *tarpoor poor*--help each other
56. *tarwEh wEh*--divide up for each other
57. *tarwEth wEth*--strike each other with small stick or switch
58. *tartu tu*--leave each other (go away from a prospective partner)
59. *tarmE mE*--look at each other
60. *tarngo ngo*--sitting with each other
61. *tarsu su*-- look for each other
62. *tarlua lua*--keep what has been borrowed from each other
63. *tarjah jah*--count on not getting anything from going with each other

## FOOTNOTES

1. This paper was written at a workshop held in Nhatrang October 1969, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Initial study of the Ngeq language was done by Mr. Labuff. Further work and translation was done by Nakamura and others from Japan. The author and his wife began work in Saravane in September 1967, working with the Overseas Missionary Fellowship. Work was initiated with several tribal group of southern Laos by the Mission Evangelique and has been continued by the O.M.F. since 1959.

This present work is based on informant work done with Mr. Vene Sivilay presently living in Houei Bang Yawq. He speaks the dialect which is used by the Representative of the Ngeq to the government of Laos. A resettlement village has been established about ten miles from Pakse in the province of Se Done. Other villages where there are Ngeq present are the villages at Kilometers 14, km.22 and km.23 though the latter would group themselves with the Ngkriang, as would others in the villages along the Saigon-Pakse Road. The Ngkriang may be found in the villages on this road at km.15 1/2 km.16, km.24 and in the Leprosy Rehabilitation Village at km.30.

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