



## Reduplication and its structures in Western Rengma

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**Abstract:** The research paper primarily focuses on the reduplication processes and morphological formation in Western Rengma. Western Rengma Terüpvunyu (name of the dialect and community) is one of the varieties of Rengma that falls under the Angami-Pochuri group of the Tibeto-Burman (TB) language family. This variety of Rengma is spoken in the eastern part of the Karbi Anglong district in Assam, India. Reduplication is a notable morphological feature in the grammar of Western Rengma. The current study examines the reduplicated patterns, structures, and their grammatical purposes of Western Rengma. The structure of reduplication, its variations, and its occurrences in Western Rengma would be discussed in this study. The existence of a left-base or right-base reduplication in a language is a key consideration when talking about the reduplication of any language. The current observation leads to an understanding that reduplication in Western Rengma is of the right base. Reduplication in Western Rengma is one of the crucial morphological processes that create new lexical and morphological items that can express a variety of meanings at the word and sentence levels.

**Keywords:** Reduplication, Terüpvunyu, Word Reduplication, Partial Reduplication

### 1. Introduction

Western Rengma, one of North-east India's endangered languages, is spoken in Dimapur in Nagaland and the Karbi-Anglong (East) district of Assam, India. It belongs to the family of Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages' Angami-Pochuri branch. In the genetic classification of Tibeto-Burman languages provided by Burling (in his Tibeto-Burman Languages of North-East India) Burling shows Rengma (Northern) under the Angami-Pochuri group, but the remaining varieties of Rengma, notably Rengma (Western), seem to be missing (Burling, 2003). During colonization, the Europeans coined the term 'Rengma,' an exonym that means 'ring men'. Huge rings were once worn around the necks and ears of this tribe of people. Terüpvunyu, pronounced as /tərapjnu/, is the name of the dialect of Western Rengma. It serves as both an endonym and an autonym, as it was given by the native population to identify both the community and its language. The Rengma have a total population of 65,328 (Census of India, 2011, p. 10). They can be classified into four groups: Northern Rengma (*Kandinyu*) spoken in the districts of Wokha and Kohima in Nagaland; Central Rengma (*Direnyu*) spoken in the Tseminyu district in Kohima; Southern Rengma (*Thehenyu*) spoken in the bordering regions of Nagaland and Manipur; and Western Rengma (*Terüpvunyu*), which includes the Eastern part of Karbi Anglong in Assam and Dimapur in Nagaland. Western Rengma, like other Naga tribes, has a rich cultural heritage that includes traditional dance, music, cuisine, and attire. Traditionally, they are involved in agriculture, cultivating rice and millet, along with vegetables, fruits, and betelnut. They also make handicrafts and weave. Although practicing animism, the Western Rengma gradually adopted Christianity throughout time, and today, churches play a significant role in their community. Western Rengma lacks its own written script and currently uses a modified Roman script. While the language features tonal distinctions typical of Tibeto-Burman languages, these are not represented in the current writing system. To preserve accurate meaning and improve understanding, a phonemic-based orthography is essential.

Reduplication functions plurality, forms new words, and is a process of expressing onomatopoeic words (Brahma, 2013, p 184). Reduplication in Western Rengma functions as full, partial, and eco formation, like Bodo and



Liangmai, where full reduplication is commonly used without any change in the structure of the reduplicated root. But the occurrence of partial reduplication in an expression is repeated partially or often paired with rhyming words (Daimai, 2019, p 47). The pattern of partial reduplication in Western Rengma aligns closely with Bodo, where partial reduplication is closely observed in such cases where partial reduplication often occurs with phonological shift with a syllabic sequence of CV, VC, CVC, and CVCCV. However, the specific phonological shifts accompanying reduplication may differ between the two languages. It is to be mentioned that Western Rengma, unlike Bodo, lacks the feature of dissimilar reduplication, where the reduplicant differs significantly from the base form, sometimes even being a completely different lexical item. Such reduplication is semantically unpredictable and often relies on idiomatic and culturally embedded meanings.

Reduplication is one of the effective methods for creating new words in Western Rengma. Like Bodo, where reduplication can result in noun compounds, adjectives, and adverbs. Nevertheless, a specific type of reduplication seen in Bodo, called dissimilar reduplication, is absent from Western Rengma.

## 1.1. Related Literature

One of the few published works on Western Rengma is *A Study of Tenselessness in Rengma (Western)* by Monali Longmailai (2019). She examines the serial verb construction (SVC), which is crucial for figuring out the timing of Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM), and talks about the tense, aspect, and mood elements present in Western Rengma (Longmailai, 2019). Another notable work to be mentioned is *The Rengma Nagas* (1937) by JP Mills, which described the sociocultural features of the society and mentioned that Western Rengma had been split into two halves, the Northern and Southern districts. The northern and southern halves are called Ntenyi and Nzong, respectively (Mills, 1937). Furthermore, John S. Rengma's book *Jo Kenjih Do Latsishwu* (Grammar & Words) (2013) included fundamental Western Rengma grammar (Rengma, 2013).

## 2. Methodology

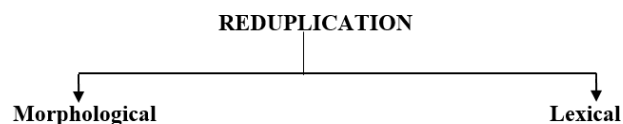
The approach of this study focuses on the most widely used techniques in field linguistics, such as questionnaires, interviews, and observation, which were used to collect the primary data. The study was conducted in the village of Nkhenlari in the East Karbi Anglong District of Assam, where groups of men and women between the ages of 25 and 60 provided the majority of the random words and sentences, and the language speakers were interviewed in order to collect the data needed for the study. Leipzig Glossing Conventions for interlinear glossing were used to analyze the obtained data. Secondary sources such as books, journals, Ph.D. theses, periodicals, articles, etc., as well as internet resources, were examined for reference in addition to the primary source. The sample survey provided in Abbi's *A Manual of Linguistic Field Work and Structure of Indian Languages* (Abbi, 2001) and *Languages & Cultures on the Margin: Guidelines for Fieldwork on Endangered Languages* by Kumar, et al. was applied to develop the survey questions (Tripathi and Singh, 2018).

### 2.1 Reduplication: an Overview

The most frequent morphological processes present in most of the languages are collectively referred to as reduplication in linguistics. It plays a remarkable role in the development of words in a language. Reduplication in Western Rengma can be broadly divided into two categories: total reduplication and partial reduplication.

Reduplication, as defined by Abbi in her book, *Reduplication in South Asian Languages*, reduplication stands for the repetition of all or part of a lexical item carrying a semantic modification (Abbi, 1992, p.12). Reduplication can therefore be either partial or complete. For instance, *gwẽ~ gwẽ* 'slowly~ slowly' in Western Rengma is an example of complete reduplication. Reduplication is generally divided into two categories: Morphological Reduplication (MR) and Lexical Reduplication (LR). Morphological Reduplication is referred to as the least meaningful, segmentally indivisible morphemes made up of repeated syllables (Abbi, 1992, p.12). Mimic words, Sound symbolism, and Onomatopoeia are all examples of morphological reduplication (MR), which is also known as expressive. However, lexical reduplication (LR) is the repeated use of any group of phonological components comprising a word (Abbi, 1992, p.13). Reduplications of words, compounds, and eco-formations constitute most of the lexical reduplication. The following diagram illustrates the reduplication structure of Western Rengma:





**Figure 1.** Kinds of Reduplication in Western Rengma

## 2.2 Analysis of the Result

Reduplication in Western Rengma is mainly classified into two types: Morphological Reduplication (MR) and Lexical Reduplication (LR). This classification of reduplication is very common in the Tibeto-Burman languages, where expressives, acoustic noises, onomatopoeias, and imitative sounds often express morphological reduplication. In contrast, lexical reduplication is expressed by eco-formation and compounds.

### 2.2.1 Morphological Reduplication (MR)

Morphological reduplication is one of the varieties of reduplication that is minimally significant and segmentally indivisible and is made up of iterated syllables where the syllables undergo a process of repetition within a word or across multiple words (Abbi, 1992, p. 12). As a result, the base and iterated portion combined constitute a single morpheme, which is also a lexeme (Abbi, 1992). Onomatopoeia, imitative, sound symbolism, and mimic sounds can be termed as some morphological reduplication examples (Abbi, 1992). These factors can be further grouped under 'Morphological Reduplication' in Western Rengma. It is one of the key factors for the grammar of Western Rengma.

### 2.2.2 Expressive

Expressives are one of the productive and key factors in Western Rengma. During the field study, it was discovered that Western Rengma has about 25 ways of 'walking' to convey different types of walking. These ways of 'walking' can be analyzed under partial and complete ways of reduplication. For example,

<i>ti-ŋk<sup>h</sup>u~k<sup>h</sup>u</i>	'walk slowly'
<i>ti-fenɔ~nɔ</i>	'walk carefully'
<i>ti-t<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ~t<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ</i>	'walk fast'
<i>ti-tua~tua</i>	'walk on clay'
<i>ti-pok~pok</i>	'walk with wet legs'
<i>ti-nhjaŋ~nhjaŋ</i>	'walk with one leg'
<i>ti-nt<sup>h</sup>an~t<sup>h</sup>an</i>	'jump and walk'
<i>ti-damu~mu</i>	'walk silently'
<i>ti-ontɔ~tɔ</i>	'discontinuous walk'
<i>ti-k<sup>h</sup>i~k<sup>h</sup>i</i>	'walk with a bent posture'
<i>ti-tenkeni~ni</i>	'race walking'
<i>ti-k<sup>h</sup>ura~k<sup>h</sup>uri</i>	'zigzag walk'
<i>ti-gua~gua</i>	'walk unsteadily'
<i>ti-npaŋnaŋ~naŋ</i>	'walk with a heavy load likely to fall'
<i>ti-kaddat~kaddu</i>	'unbalanced walk'
<i>ti-rəd~rəd</i>	'parade walk'
<i>ti-dət~dət</i>	'walk with a heavy load'



<i>ti-baŋ~baŋ</i>	'walk normally while carrying a heavy load'
<i>ti-wi~wi</i>	'noisy walk'
<i>ti-zi~zi</i>	'walk straight'
<i>ti-tʃenre~re</i>	'hike'

These are the different types of walk used in different contexts by the speakers of the language, which not only enrich the vocabulary of the language but also mark one of the prominent features of Western Rengma that is difficult to find in any other Tibeto-Burman languages. Expressives in Western Rengma are used to convey all five senses of perception like other Indian languages, i.e., the senses of hearing, sight, smell, touch, and taste. Both full and partial reduplication of the expressive is present in Western Rengma.

### 2.2.3 Acoustic noises or sense of hearing

Acoustic noises encompass sounds produced by humans, animals, and numerous inanimate things, among others. The reduplication of acoustic noises in Western Rengma can be either partial or complete.

#### *Sounds of Natural Phenomena*

(1) a. <i>fěŋ~fěŋ</i>	'sound of flowing water'
b. <i>təra~ra</i>	'sound of dew drops'
c. <i>feli~li</i>	'sound of blowing air'
d. <i>perɔ~ɔ</i>	'thundering sound'

#### *Sounds made by humans*

(2) a. <i>kʰeri~ri</i>	'giggling sound'
b. <i>kuet~kuet</i>	'sound of drinking water'
c. <i>karɔ~ɔ</i>	'sound of gurgling'
d. <i>ta~ta</i>	'sound of tapping feet'

#### *Sounds by various inanimate objects*

(3) a. <i>tɔŋ~tɔŋ</i>	'sound of drumbeat'
b. <i>deŋ~deŋ</i>	'sound of broken drumbeat'
c. <i>kəri~ri</i>	'sound of cycle bell'
d. <i>ri~ri</i>	'sound produced by wiggling of bamboo'

### 2.2.4 Sense of sight

Western Rengma has miscellaneous expressions to indicate the sense of sight. These kinds of expressions in Western Rengma refer to glittering, glimmering, shining, or sparkling features of an object. Expressives for the sense of sight occur both completely and partially. A few examples have been given below:

(4)a. <i>pje~pje</i>	'twinkling'
b. <i>feme-le -du</i>	<i>pje~pje</i>
star-nom-pl	twinkle-red
'The stars are twinkling'	
(5) a. <i>kanpue~pue</i>	'shining'
b. <i>baŋkʰi-le</i>	<i>kanpue~pue</i>
ring-nom	shine-red



'The ring is shining'

### 2.2.5 Sense of smell

Expressives for smell in Western Rengma occur with good and bad smells. These kinds of expressions take place only in partial reduplication. Considering the following examples.

(6) a. *nan<sup>h</sup>e~<sup>h</sup>e* 'smell of fermented items' / 'something that is not good in smell'

b. *hetã -le nan<sup>h</sup>e ~<sup>h</sup>e gua-mu*

dry fish-nom odour-red good-neg

'Dry fish smells bad'

(7) a. *tahifan~fan* 'aroma'

b. *hunt<sup>h</sup>ira-le tahifan~fan gua*

orange-nom aroma red good

'Oranges smell good'

### 2.2.6 Sense of touch

These kinds of expressions in Western Rengma are used to refer to the sense of feeling while touching the object. Expressives for the sense of touch occur in both partial and complete reduplication in Western Rengma.

(8) a. *buenje~nje* 'smooth'

b. *pẽ -le buenje~nje*

mushroom-nom smooth red

'Mushrooms are smooth'

(9) a. *tfa~tfa* 'wet'

b. *p<sup>h</sup>e-le-du tfa~tfa*

cloth-nom pl wet red

'The clothes are wet'

### 2.2.7 Sense of taste

These kinds of expressions are used to denote the taste of any edible items in Western Rengma. Expressives for taste, if reduplicated, then they specify that the taste of an item is extreme or high. They occur in partial reduplication.

(10) a. *fatar~ro* 'tangy'

b. *njeni~ni* 'sweet'

c. *fank<sup>h</sup>e~k<sup>h</sup>e* 'salty'

d. *paro~ro* 'crunchy'

### 2.2.8 Onomatopoeias and imitative

In general, onomatopoeias mimic the sounds of an object, an action, or a natural phenomenon. It also communicates the physical and mental emotions of happiness, grief, etc. Like other Tibeto-Burman languages, Western Rengma is rich in this area; as a result, its usages are widely used. Western Rengma onomatopoeias can be examined under both Complete and Partial reduplication. Considering the following sounds for different domains:



- (11) a. *bi~bi* 'drizzle'  
 b. *waŋ~waŋ* 'sound of a dog barking'  
 c. *tiŋ~tiŋ* 'sound of ringing bell'  
 d. *tferin~rin* 'sound of cycle bell'

Considering the sounds mentioned in sentences,

- (12) *tʃən nɦa bi~bi bin-jɔ*  
 sky fall drizzle-red -exist-pres

'It is drizzling'

- (13) *florinda -le cycle bell nɦen tferin~rin -bin-jɔ*  
 florinda-nom cycle bell press sound-red -exist-pres

'Florinda is ringing the cycle bell'

This is worth mentioning here that sentence (12) is an example of complete reduplication, whereas sentence (13) is partial. However, in both sentences, the difference lies in the syllable structure, viz, the monosyllabic words undergo complete reduplication with the repetition of the whole syllable, whereas the disyllabic words or words with more than one syllable can be analyzed under partial reduplication; here, the final syllable of the morpheme is reduplicated, and the reduplicated morpheme may or may not stand alone.

### 2.2.9 Lexical Reduplication (LR)

Lexical reduplication is one of the most productive ways of understanding the word structure of a language. Abbi explains reduplication as any set of phonological units that are repeated to form a new word with or without any grammatical changes is known as lexical reduplication (Abbi, 1992). Lexical Reduplication in Western Rengma can be subdivided into three types: Echo-formation, Compounds, and Word Reduplication.

### 2.2.10 Echo-formation

A phoneme or basic syllable is partially repeated in an echo formation. The echoed phoneme or syllable does not have grammatical meaning on its own; rather, it only has significance when it is a part of a base or root word. (Baro, 2019, p.2). Although there are fewer instances of echo words in Western Rengma, there have been a few instances that are discussed here with appropriate examples.

- (14) a. *kətʃi~kənji* 'cry and the like'  
 b. *katte~katfe* 'meal and the like'  
 c. *tʰakʰɔŋ~tʰarən* 'stuff and the like'

The occurrence of the echo words is shown below with the help of sentences:

- (15) *asan-le kətʃi~kənji tʰetʰi-bin-jɔ*  
 asan-nom cry-red work do -exist-pres

'Asan is doing the work crying'

- (16) *a-le katte~katfe te-b re -bin-jɔ*  
 1sg-nom meal-red eat pst come -exist-pres

'I came after having food, etc.'

In the above examples (15) and (16), the base words in each sentence occur in partial reduplication. Here, the final syllable of the morpheme changes from *kətʃi* to *kənji*; likewise, *tʰakʰɔŋ* changes to *tʰarən*. The initial two



consonant phonemes are replaced by another consonant, but the vowel in syllable-final remains the same in most of the echo words in Western Rengma.

### 2.2.11 Compounds

Compounds in Western Rengma are essential for the creation of new words. It is a process of partial reduplication where semantically identical, semantically paired, or opposite words are co-joined to the base word to form a new word. A few examples have been cited below:

(17) a. *hekkā~kappi* > *hekkappi*

sun rise 'east'

b. *kadzji~kanje* > *kadzikanje*

soil shake 'earthquake'

c. *lakka~hikkə* > *lakahika*

there here 'everywhere'

d. *njɔŋ~kanjiŋ* > *njɔŋkanjiŋ*

heart pain 'sadness'

e. *kati~katfi* > *katikatfi*

food drinks 'meal'

(18) *a-le kati~katfi te akənni -biŋ*

1sg-nom food drinks eat like -exist

'I like to eat a meal'

(19) *tʰa-le lakka~hikka zi -biŋ-ɔ*

Object-nom there here scatter -exist-pres

'Things are scattering everywhere'

Endocentric and exocentric compounds are the two categories into which compounds in Western Rengma are semantically subdivided. From the examples above, it is evident that the instances are both endocentric and exocentric compounds, with one element acting as a semantic head and the other as a modifier in an endocentric compound. An exocentric compound, on the other hand, lacks an interpretative head. *Hekakappi*, for instance, is composed of two lexemes. Here, the words 'sun' and 'to rise' stand for either 'east' or 'sunrise,' respectively.

### 2.3 Word Reduplication

Word reduplication in western Rengma can be complete, partial, or discontinuous depending on the syllable structure of the base or stem of the morpheme. It could be termed as one of the important factors of reduplication under Lexical reduplication (Abbi, 1992). The structure of word reduplication processes and their occurrence in Western Rengma is shown in the figure below:

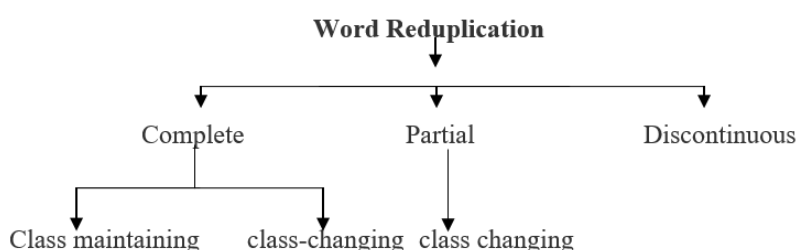


Figure 2. Types of Word Reduplication in Western Rengma



The figure above demonstrates the types of word reduplication in Western Rengma is classified into three major types: complete word reduplication, partial word reduplication, and discontinuous word reduplication, which are further classified into class-maintaining and class-changing. It is noteworthy to mention that discontinuous word reduplication is one of the prominent features of word processes in Western Rengma, which is rare in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

## 2.4 Complete word reduplication

Complete reduplication refers to paired constructions where the stem or base of the word is repeated fully without any phonological or morphological changes. Complete reduplication in Western Rengma occurs in almost every grammatical category, viz., Noun, Pronoun, Verb, and Adjective. A few examples from each of the grammatical categories are listed below:

### 2.4.1 Noun

Word reduplication of Nouns in Western Rengma is both full and partial, and they sometimes act as distributiveness. However, the occurrences differ with the syllable structure; morphemes with a single syllable that could be a V, VC, or CV appear in complete reduplication. For instance,

- (20)a. *ka~ka* 'house to house'  
 b. *pʰe~pʰe* 'wide clothes and so on'  
 c. *ʃã~ʃã* 'road to road'
- (21) *ram-le ka~ka su te -bij*  
 ram-nom house-red beg eat -exist  
 'Ram begs from house to house'

### 2.4.2 Pronoun

Pronouns for complete word reduplication in Western Rengma are very minimal. They take place only with the second person (2P) singular and plural pronouns. For instance, /*ŋgɔŋ*/ 'you pl' /*ŋgɔŋ~ŋgɔŋ*/ 'you and you all'. The use of such reduplication in the community is very rare. However, Interrogative Pronouns are widely used, which also mark plurality when reduplicated. A few examples are shown below:

- (22) a. *de~de* 'what pl'  
 b. *ʃu~ʃu* 'who pl'  
 c. *dãntʰe~dãntʰe* 'how pl'
- (23) *ʃu~ʃu nju -le re -bij?*  
 Who-red +human-nom come -exist  
 'Who all has come?'

### 2.4.3 Adjective

- (24) a. *tʃe~tʃe* 'rough and the like'  
 b. *tue~tue* 'sticky and the like'  
 c. *kum~kum* 'weak and the like'

Adjectives in Western Rengma are of two types: Simple and derived adjectives. Both the adjectives are reduplicated, maintaining the same grammatical category. The examples above are primary adjectives, and they are reduplicated completely.



Quantifiers in Western Rengma function as an adjective where the numbers are used to modify the noun or noun phrases in a sentence. They also act as distributives when reduplicated. For example, /*me~me*/ 'one-one', /*ʃən~ʃən*/ 'two-two'.

- (25) *nme*                      *me~me*                      *tʰeə*    *rje*    *-ta*  
 +human                      one-red                      each    come    cmd  
 'Come one each'

2.4.4 Verb

- (26) a. *gẽ~gẽ*                      'continuity of going'  
 b. *te~te*                              'continuity of eating'  
 c. *dʒet~dʒet*                      'continuity of sleeping'  
 d. *nrẽ~nrẽ*                              'continuity of breaking'  
 e. *nhjɔ~nhjɔ*                      'continuity of dancing'

- (27) *a-le*                      *ti~ti*                      *ka*    *ki*    *gẽ*    *-b*    *-he*  
 1sg-nom    walk-red    house    towards go    pst    -pref  
 'He went home walking'

- (28) *hengualu-le*                      *te~te*                      *lasi*    *kʰeə*    *-he*  
 hengualu-nom eat-red    book    read    -impf  
 'Hengualu read books while eating'

The examples above in (27) and (28) show that when the verbs are reduplicated, they remain unchanged, they act as verbal but function as Reduplicated Verbal Adverb, where the main verb is preceded by verbal adverbs.

Further classifications of word reduplication include a) class-maintaining and b) class-changing. Abbi explains the terms as those completely reduplicated words that do not change their grammatical categories; even after being reduplicated, their non-iterated base form can be termed as class-maintaining reduplication. On the other hand, in the class-changing category of complete word reduplication, the grammatical class of the reduplicated form changes, hence making it different from the non-reduplicated base form (Abbi, 1992, p. 26).

2.5 Class-maintaining Complete Word Reduplication

Class-maintaining complete word reduplication in Western Rengma is less common. A few word classes maintain the same word category even after reduplication. To be mentioned, it has been observed that only nouns, pronouns, and adjectives follow this process.

Table 1. Class-maintaining word reduplication of Interrogative pronouns

Pronoun>Pronoun			
Non-reduplicated form	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
<i>de</i>	what	<i>de~de</i>	what and all
<i>ʃu</i>	who	<i>ʃu~ʃu</i>	who and all
<i>dege</i>	which	<i>dege~dege</i>	which and all

Table 2. Class-maintaining word reduplication of adjectives

Adjective>Adjective			
Non-reduplicated Form	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
<i>tʃə</i>	watery	<i>tʃə~tʃə</i>	waterier
<i>nue</i>	soft	<i>nue~nue</i>	softer



<i>tʃɔ</i>	tall	<i>tʃɔ~tʃɔ</i>	tall and the like
<i>kum</i>	weak	<i>kum~kum</i>	weaker

## 2.6 Class-changing Complete Word Reduplication

The word classes that undergo grammatical changes under class-changing complete reduplication in Western Rengma are mostly verbs, nouns, and adjectives. The tables below illustrate the changes these word classes undergo.

**Table 3.** Class-changing word reduplication from verb to noun

Verb>Noun			
Non-reduplicated Form	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
<i>gẽ</i>	go	<i>gẽ~gẽ</i>	while going
<i>te</i>	eat	<i>te~te</i>	while going
<i>ti</i>	walk	<i>ti~ti</i>	while walking
<i>re</i>	come	<i>re~re</i>	while coming

**Table 4.** Class-changing word reduplication from noun to adverb

Noun>Adverb					
Non-reduplicated Form	Gloss	Word-class	Reduplicated form	Gloss	Word-class
<i>dʒɔ</i>	division of time	noun	<i>dʒɔ~dʒɔ</i>	repeatedly	Adverb
<i>kaɟe</i>	distance	noun	<i>kaɟe~kaɟe</i>	far away	Adverb

**Table 5.** Class-changing complete word reduplication from adjective to adverb

Adjective>Adverb					
Non-reduplicated Form	Gloss	Word-class	Reduplicated form	Gloss	Word-class
<i>ŋhe</i>	quick	adjective	<i>ŋhe~ŋhe</i>	quickly	Adverb
<i>wẽ</i>	Slow	adjective	<i>wẽ~wẽ</i>	slowly	Adverb

The tables above demonstrate that class maintenance involves less entire word reduplication than class changing. The number of complete reduplicated words that change word classes is greater than the number of grammatical categories that can keep their current word class.

In addition to class-changing complete word reduplication, a few traces of class-changing partial word reduplication have also been discovered, and this could be considered one of the most notable characteristics of Western Rengma. This will be further discussed below under the section on partial reduplication.

## 2.7 Partial Reduplication

The term "partial word reduplication" describes the partial repeating of a phoneme or a morpheme's syllable with an indication of semantic alteration. Partial word reduplication, according to Abbi, is the repetition of any individual word component. A vowel, vowel-consonant, or consonant-vowel combination can make up the duplicated syllable that is a component of the base word (V, VC, or CV, respectively). The word that has been partially duplicated can be used as a single structural category (Abbi, 1992). Partial Reduplication in Western Rengma occurs only in



syllabic reduplication; such reduplication can be found in the grammatical categories of Noun, Pronouns, Verb, and Adjective.

### 2.7.1 Noun

Partial Word Reduplication (PWR) of nouns in Western Rengma is very less. The reduplication occurs in the medial and final syllables of the reduplicated morpheme. Such reduplication denotes plural meaning. The reduplicated form may or may not have a meaning of its own, hence, cannot stand independently.

(29)a. *rinji~rji*

village-red

'village and the like'

b. *kappu~kappe*

clothes-red

'clothes and the like'

c. *tamme~tagge*

human-red

'human and the like'

c. *səkkə~sənni*

rice-red

'rice and the like'

### 2.7.2 Pronoun

Partial reduplication of pronouns, such as personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns, is possible in Western Rengma. The reduplication takes place in the reduplicated form's final syllable, and the pronouns in Western Rengma are generally monosyllabic and disyllabic. The following are illustrations of a few examples.

(30) a. *ale~le*

1ps-red

'I and like'

b. *li.ge~ge*

dist.boy-red

'that boy'

c. *hi.ge~ge*

prox.boy-red

'this boy'

d. *hi.gi~gi*

prox.girl-red

'this girl'

### 2.7.3 Verb

(31) a. *kətʃə~tʃə*



play-red

'play and the like'

b. *kəntʰaŋ~tʰaŋ*

talk-red

'talk and the like'

c. *sakalo~lo*

learn-red 'learn and the like'

(32) *asan-le*                      *kanji~nji*                      *binkʰən*                      *gě*                      *běɔ*                      *ʃere-ko*

asan-nom                      laugh-red                      chair                      go                      from                      fall-pst

'Asan fell from the chair while laughing'

Western Rengma has partially duplicated verbs that function as infinitive verbs. As an illustration, in sentence (32), *kanji* for 'to laugh' is repeated or suffixed with the lexeme *nji* to produce the infinitive action of the verb, and the suffixal reduplication increases the sentence's significance.

### 2.7.4. Adjective

As mentioned earlier, the two types of adjectives in Western Rengma, i.e., simple and derived adjectives, are reduplicated. The former is completely reduplicated, while the latter is reduplicated partially. It is to be mentioned that, like most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, most of the derived adjectives in the language are formed by adding the prefix /*ka-*/ or /*ke-*/ with the root stem or base word to form a new lexeme. A good number of derived adjectives are reduplicated partially, of which some are illustrated below.

(33) a. *kaseŋ~seŋ*

small-red

'small and the like'

b. *kagaŋ~gaŋ*

big-red

'big and the like'

c. *karhɔ~hɔ*

less-red

'less and the like'

### 2.8 Class-changing partial reduplication

A significant number of the lexemes in Western Rengma are partially reduplicated, which means that when the base form is reduplicated, they fall into a different grammatical category. The table below displays some class-changing partial duplication data, which may or may not modify the meaning even after being reduplicated.

**Table 6.** Class-changing partial reduplication

Non-reduplicated Form	Gloss	Word-class	Reduplicated form	Gloss	Word-class
<i>ʃakab</i>	learn	verb	<i>ʃakab~b</i>	while learning	noun
<i>kaɕe</i>	distance	noun	<i>kaɕe~ɕe</i>	far away	adverb
<i>kanne</i>	near	adjective	<i>kanne~ne</i>	near to	preposition



<i>karhɔ</i>	little	adjective	<i>karhɔ~hɔ</i>	less	adverb
<i>nhru</i>	sick	adjective	<i>nhru~ru</i>	sickness	noun
<i>kanji</i>	laugh	verb	<i>kanji~nji</i>	while laughing	noun

According to the data in the table above, which also sufficiently indicates how the word classes of the morphemes change when they are partially reduplicated, the largest modifications occur with nouns and adjectives, while the other word classes are less prevalent.

### 2.9 Syntactic Functions

In Western Rengma, beyond its role in lexical analysis, reduplication also serves an important syntactic function by conveying simultaneity, where the occurrence of two actions or events at the same time. This simultaneous aspect can indicate:

- a. Type A: the simultaneous completion of activities or events,
- b. Type B: the extension or prolongation of one event/action, or
- c. Type C: the ongoing continuation of both actions for a certain duration.

#### 2.9.1 Simultaneity Type A

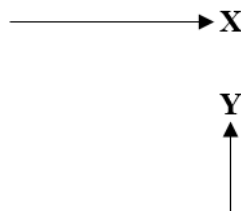


Figure 3. Simultaneity Type A

In the figure, the arrow marked X represents the reduplicated verb derived as an adverb, and the arrow marked Y represents the main verb (MV). This figure represents the simultaneity of two punctual verbs as discussed in the examples below:

(34) *li-ge-le tu te-te bəs -le tiŋ-kɔ-he*  
 3ps-masc-nom rice eat-red bus -nom leave-pst-imp  
 'The bus left as he had rice.'

The reduplicated adverbial verb *te-te* 'eat and eat' and the main verb *tiŋ* 'leave' show the synchronization and simultaneity of the two punctual and completive actions.

#### 2.9.2 Simultaneity Type B

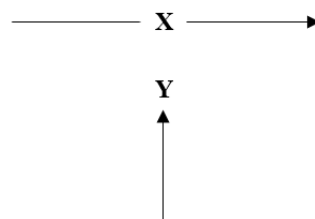


Figure 4. Simultaneity Type B

In the figure above, X demonstrates a verb derived as an adjective, which is non-punctual, and Y represents a punctual main verb. This aspect is further discussed in the example below:

- (35) *li-ge-le*      *sa*      *ti-ti*      *ge*      *bin-jɔ*      *paŋ-he-kɔ*  
 3ps-masc-nom    road      walk-red      go      exist-impf      fall-perf-pst  
 'The boy fell while walking on the road.'

### 2.9.3 Simultaneity Type C

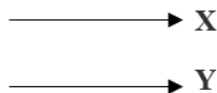


Figure 5. Simultaneity Type C

Simultaneity Type C represents two non-punctual actions or events being simultaneous with each other for a while. This is discussed in the sentence below:

- (36) *lenju-gi-le*      *zɔ-zɔ*      *ram-le*      *tiŋ-kɔ-he-ma*  
 3ps-fem-nom    talk-red      ram-nom      leave-pst-perf-perf  
 'Ram left when she kept talking.'

### 2.10 Discontinuous Word Reduplication

Discontinuous word reduplication, according to Abbi, occurs when the base and the reduplicated form are separated by the insertion of an infix or a syllable that could be either V (vowel), VC (vowel-consonant), or CV (consonant-vowel) (Abbi, 1992, p.27). In Western Rengma, the infix element consists of a connector element /-dɔ-/ and a contrast marker /-we-/, which are positioned inside the base and the reduplicated form. These morphemes have no specific meaning because they are bound in nature.

- (37) a. *di-dɔ-di*      'only water'

b. *sənbən-dɔ-sənbən*      'only trees'

c. *ka-dɔ-ka*      'only houses'

- (38) *kaha*      *nju*      *mu*      -we-      *kaha*      *nju*

some      +human neg cnt      somebody      +human

'Someone or the other.'

- (39) *t<sup>h</sup>a*      *kaha-mu*      -we-      *t<sup>h</sup>a*      *kaha*

thing      some-neg      cnt      object      some

'something or the other.'

- (40) *julie*      -le      *t<sup>h</sup>a*      *kaha*      *mu*      -we-      *t<sup>h</sup>a*      *kaha*      *t<sup>h</sup>e*      -biŋ

julie-nom      thing      some      neg      cnt      thing      some      work      -exist

'Julie is always engaged in something or other work.'

An added element within the base word and the reduplicated form is related to the structure of discontinuous word reduplication in Western Rengma, which could be concluded from the examples above. Although the use of this kind of reduplication is less common among native speakers, it is unquestionably a significant aspect in the grammar of Western Rengma.



### 3. Discussion

The structure of reduplication, its variations, and its occurrences in Western Rengma are discussed in this study. The structure of Reduplication in Western Rengma is classified into Lexical and Morphological reduplication, where Lexical reduplication is often expressed by compounds, eco-formations, and word reduplication, which is further categorized into class-maintaining and class-changing reduplication; on the other hand, morphological reduplication is utilized by expressives. The main features of morphological reduplication in Western Rengma are:

- a. Morphological reduplication can take the form of both complete and partial reduplication.
- b. Expressives in Western Rengma are usually reduplicated.
- c. Expressives convey all five senses of hearing, sight, smell, touch, and taste.
- d. Expressives do not go under the process of vowel alteration or deletion during reduplication.
- e. Onomatopoeia and imitative is another feature discussed in morphological reduplication, which takes the form of both complete and partial reduplication.

In lexical reduplication, another notable feature to be highlighted of Western Rengma is: The reduplication of serial verbs attached to the main verb represents aspectual categories in the language. For example,

(41) *hengualu-le kotari-pe hij hu -he -he -ma*

Hengualu-nom knife-inst veggie chop -perf -perf -pres

'Hengualu chopped the veggies with a knife.'

(42) *a-le hete ngu -he -he -ma*

1ps-nom dry fish roast -perf -perf pst

'I roasted dry fish'

One of the notable syntactic features of Western Rengma is that the perfective participle is reduplicated, as shown in the examples above. The serial verbs in Western Rengma often undergo such a process of complete reduplication. More findings in this section include:

- a. Eco-formations undergo consonant change during the process of reduplication and are partially reduplicated.
- b. In this process, the phonemes *hekka>kappi* ( $k>p$ ), *lakka>hikkə* ( $l>h$ ), and *kati~katʃi* ( $t>tʃ$ ) occur in the word-initial and medial positions.
- c. The vowel alteration of *hekka>kappi* ( $a>i$ ), *kadzɪ>kanje* ( $i>e$ ), and *lakka>hikkə* ( $a>ə$ ) in the word-final position.

### 4. Conclusion

Reduplication is one of the key components of the word-formation processes of Western Rengma, which are classified into morphological and lexical reduplication. The existence of a left-base or right-base reduplication in a language is a key consideration when talking about the reduplication of any language. The current observation leads to an understanding that reduplication in Western Rengma is of the right base. The current study demonstrates reduplication as one of the crucial morphological processes that create new lexical and morphological items, which can express a variety of meanings at both the word and sentence levels. Reduplication in both morphology and vocabulary is a characteristic aspect of Western Rengma grammar. There is no denying that Western Rengma, like other South Asian languages, is rich in expressiveness, but it should be noted that the other three categories of lexical reduplication, namely, eco formation, compounds, and word reduplication, also play a crucial role in the creation of new lexemes that represent various meanings and functions in the language. Contrarily, it was discovered during the discussion that in addition to full class altering and class maintaining reduplication, several other lexemes are partially reduplicated, changing the grammatical category when reduplicated, which alters the meaning. The class-shifting partial reduplication feature of Western Rengma can be considered one of its key characteristics.



## Abbreviations

1PS	First Person Singular
ASP	Aspect
CMD	Command
CNT	Contrast
CONT	Continuous
DIST	Distal
EXIST	Existentiality
IMPF	Imperfective
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
PERF	Perfective
PROX	Proximal
PRS	Present
PST	Past
RED	Reduplication considered one of its key characteristics

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**Data availability**

Data analysed in this study are not publicly available. However, these could be obtained from the corresponding author on a reasonable request.

**Ethics Statement**

This study was carried out and reported adhering to ethical standards. A written informed consent was obtained from the parents or caregivers of all the participants before initiating the study procedures.

**Has this article been screened for Similarity?**

Yes

**Conflict of interest**

The Authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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