

Dvandva

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Abstract

This paper considers the way in which the term ‘dvandva’ has been applied to compounds by linguists in western traditions. A classification of types based on the analysis of language descriptions is provided, and some types which have similarities to dvandvas but which do not fit under the same general heading are distinguished from dvandvas. It is suggested that the patterns illustrated may have restricted occurrence genetically and/or areally and that a full classification is thus required for typological reasons.

I Introduction

It is the contention of this paper that the class of dvandva compounds, a class which western linguistics inherited from the Sanskrit grammarians, has been misapplied in modern western linguistics. Probably because there is no equivalent class in many modern western European languages, the label has been applied to a range of different constructions, some of which clearly belong to classes other than dvandva as defined in Sanskrit. Moreover, the set of types to which the label has been applied is so diverse that it would be more helpful to set up a series of distinct types. A provisional terminology (to some extent following Bauer 2006, but also taking into account the suggestions from Wälchli 2005) will be provided.¹

I.1 Sanskrit

According to Whitney (1924: §1247), dvandva compounds are those where

the members are syntactically coordinate: a joining together of words which in an uncompounded condition would be connected by the conjunction *and* (rarely *or*).

This definition, which refers directly back to the work of Pāṇini (see Katre 1987: 135; Vasu 1891: 271), or definitions like it, seems to cause problems for later scholars. The definition of a dvandva as a compound whose elements could be linked syntactically by *and* allows scholars to lose sight of other important aspects of the Sanskrit dvandva. Incidentally, although most Sanskrit compounds were named with an exemplar of the type, the word *dvandva* means ‘two-by-two’ or ‘pair’ and is an instance of reduplication and not itself a dvandva compound.

Matters of definition are not helped by the fact that there appears to have been a considerable diachronic development in dvandvas in the Sanskrit period (see Wackernagel 1905). In the earliest period, dvandas were largely made up of the names of two people or deities who acted as a unity.

- (1) *mitrā-vāruṇau* ‘M. and V’. (Burrow 1955: 217)

This spread first to other masculine nouns, and later to feminine and neuter nouns (Burrow 1955: 217), and became pluralisable at a relatively late date, as in

- (2) *ajāvāyāḥ* ‘sheep and goats’ (Burrow, 1955: 217)

Originally dvandvas were treated as duals or plurals (depending upon the meaning of the combination), but eventually became treated as neuter singular collectives (Whitney 1924: §1252). This seems to imply that in the early period, dvandvas were simply a way to provide a close coordination, but later they tended to be lexicalised. That’s when we get examples like those in (3) (Burrow, 1955: 217).

- (3) *kṛtākṛtā* ‘what has been done and what has not been done’
keśāśmasurū ‘hair and beard’
ahorātrā- ‘a day and a night’

Semantically, it is clear that for the Sanskrit grammarians the default reading for a dvandva is that the two elements are understood as being linked by *and* (or the equivalent term in the language in question). In terms of a Venn diagram, the dvandva is understood as being a new unity made up of the whole of the two entities named (see Figure 1). This becomes important when we look at some of the uses to which the label has been put more recently. In English, such an interpretation of a noun-noun construction seems to be most common in the names of businesses created by mergers, such as *Time-Warner* and *Hewlett-Packard*.

1.2 Modern treatments

The label *dvandva* has been picked up in recent descriptions of other languages, and has been translated in a number of ways. We have at least the following terms, which may or may not be distinguished from each other by individual authors: aggregative (Whitney 1924), coordinate (Quirk et al. 1985), coordinating (Quirk et al. 1985), coordinative (Bloomfield 1935), copulative (Whitney 1924; Bloomfield 1935) and co-compound (Bhatia 1993: 319; Wälchli 2005). The difficulty is that in many of the modern western

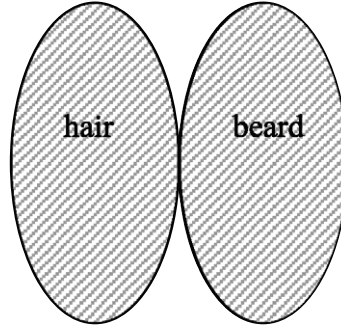


Figure 1. Venn diagram representation of a typical dvandva.

Table 1. Examples of constructions called dvandvas in recent works.

<i>Example</i>	<i>Source</i>
Austria-Hungary	Spencer 1991; Trask 1993
Harper-Collins	Katamba 1993
Franco-German; Polish-German	Crystal 2003; Toman 2003
London-Edinburgh	Crystal 2003
north-west	Katamba 1993
tragicomic	Trask 1993
bitter-sweet	Katamba 1993
stir-fry; freeze-dry	Trask 1993; Bußmann 2002
player-manager; bartender-psychologist; singer-songwriter	Katamba 1993; Bußmann 2002; Plag 2003
girl-friend; toro-bèf (Haitian, lit. 'bull-cow')	Katamba 1993; Fabb 1998

European languages there are few or no compounds just like the Sanskrit dvandva compounds, so we have a label with no obvious referent. Accordingly the label gets used in a number of ways. Some examples of constructions labelled 'dvandva' in the recent literature are listed in Table 1. Before we ask whether the label is justified in all these cases, it must at least be recognised that the types illustrated are semantically extremely different.

There is something of interest which could be said of each of these examples, but the ones which I have placed at the foot of the list seem to me to be particularly contentious, and I will deal with them first.

Examples like *girl-friend* are just like *she-goat*; the first element is primarily a sex-marker (see e.g. Wackernagel 1905: 250–1). It is true that *girl-friend* has become

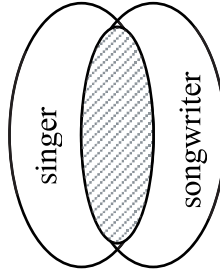


Figure 2. Venn diagram treatment of an appositional compound.

lexicalised among many speakers so as to have sexual or romantic connotations, but it is still possible to talk of one's girl-friend (sometimes with a different stress pattern) simply meaning a friend who is female. The same thing applies to old-fashioned examples like *maid-servant* and *man-servant*. This being the case, I see such examples as being clearly headed, with *girl* acting as the modifying element. They are thus not relevant here, since one of the characteristics of dvandvas is that the two elements have equal standing in respect to headedness, at least in semantic terms. *Ajāvāyah* 'sheep and goats' denotes neither a subtype of sheep nor a subtype of goat, while *girl-friend* does denote a subtype of friend.

Compounds of the *singer-songwriter* type are specifically excluded from the set of dvandvas by the Sanskrit grammarians, and are classed as *karmadhāraya* compounds, which are semantically headed and are a subtype of *tatpuruṣa* compounds. As Burrow (1955: 210) says

One of the classes of *karmadhāraya* compounds are
made up of two nouns in apposition: *puruṣamṛgá-*
'male antelope', *úlūkayātu-* 'owl demon'

Note that Burrow's example also rules out the *girl-friend* examples. Unlike the situation in Figure 1, these compounds pick out the intersection of two sets (see Figure 2), and name two aspects of a single individual, not two distinct individuals. So if we are going to allow the terminology *appositional compound* for these, they have to be distinguished from dvandvas, not included within them.

According to Carstairs-McCarthy (2002: 61) *stir-fry* and *freeze-dry* are both headed compounds. The hyponymy test works well here: stir-frying is a kind of frying (not a kind of stirring) and freeze-drying is a kind of drying (achieved by freezing). Again they seem to be excluded from the set of dvandvas.

2 Attested types

In this section I want to provide, from a range of languages, a list of examples of the various kinds of apparently coordinated compounds which might be included under the

cover-term dvandva. Although language descriptions are not always explicit enough for it to be clear which of these types is found in any given language, it seems likely that the various types have different geographical and genetic ranges, and this makes establishing a complete set of types important for getting good descriptions. Because it is so difficult to interpret the available descriptions (which may not be complete) no attempt is made here to work out what the parameters of variation might be: that is left for subsequent research.

2.1 Coordinated personal names

Although this type does not seem to be very frequent, it is one of the oldest types in Sanskrit.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| (4) | Oriya | hōri-hōrō | ‘Hari and Hara’ | Neukom & Patnaik 2003: 20 |
| | Sanskrit | mitrā-
vāruṇau | ‘M. and V.’ | Burrow 1955: 217 |

2.2 Coordinated place names

This type is rarely mentioned in the descriptions of less well-known languages, but is well-known in European languages. Sometimes this type uses a bound morpheme to represent one (or both) of the parts concerned. Wälchli (2005: 7–8) feels that these compounds are not dvandvas at all. He terms them ‘fusional’ compounds. The argument is presumably that in a real dvandva the two entities co-ordinated maintain their separate identities, whereas in these compounds there is only one new ‘fused’ identity. I find the distinction rather artificial. Buda and Pest may both maintain their own identities within Budapest, and a mother and father may act as a ‘fused’ identity as parents. Thus I would still class these as dvandvas, though clearly there is room for discussion.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|--------------------|
| (5) | English | Austro-Hungary |
| | French | Alsace-Lorraine |
| | German | Schleswig-Holstein |
| | Hungarian | Budapest |

There are also apparently co-ordinated names, at least in German, which don’t work the same way. For example, *Leipzig-Mölkau* is a suburb of Leipzig, so the two names are not on an equal footing. English also provides us with the example of *Dallas-Fort Worth* as the name of an airport (compare German *Leipzig-Halle*), where the two do seem to be of equal value but where we would not want to say that the airport represents the whole of Dallas and the whole of Fort Worth. These can be understood as dvandvas only if the word airport (or its translation) is understood, but is perhaps better understood as the airport for the region of Dallas and Fort Worth (and thus for something larger than the addition of the two names).

2.3 Coordinated business names

This is the type which I have previously cited as the most common use of dvandvas in English. These, too, must be fusional in Wälchli's terminology.

- (6) English Aol-Time-Warner,
 Hewlett-Packard

2.4 Coordinated other proper names

Here we have three different types already mentioned. The first is the type where the proper names are place names indicating the extreme points of a journey.

- (7) English London-
 Edinburgh
 express
- French le vol the Paris-Rome
 Paris-Rome flight

Although London and Edinburgh are of equal status in such a construction, the compound does not denote the combination of the two cities. Moreover, as far as I know, this type occurs only as a modifying compound, so that it is, in any case, a compound adjective. I prefer to call this type a TRANSLATIVE compound, a label which will become more transparent later.

Apparently similar are CO-PARTICIPANT COMPOUNDS, which occur mainly as modifiers in larger compounds. These do not name the extremes of a trip (not even a figurative one), but the participants in some interaction. Note here that we have a mixture of proper and common nouns.

- (8) English Arab-Israeli
 conflict,
 mother-child
 relationship,
 the Leeds-
 Newcastle
 match
- French Des traités Franco-Russian
 franco-russes treaties
- German Artz-Patient- doctor-patient Olsen 2001: 320
 Verhältnis relationship

2.5 Coordinated family relationships

This seems to be the prototypical type of dvandva in a wide range of languages. A few are listed below. The inflectional marking of these differs from language to language: in

some each stem is individually inflected, in some the compound as a whole is inflected for dual (where available) or plural.

(9)	Basque	aitona-amona-k	grandfather grandmother PL	Saltarelli 1988: 262
	Hunzib	iyu-ʔabu	mother father	van den Berg 1995: 54
	Japanese	oya-ko	parent child	Tsujimura 1996: 152
	Jinghpō	phu ³¹ nau ³³	older brother younger brother	Dai & Diehl 2003: 403
	Khmer	ʔo:pùk-mdɑ:y	father mother	Jacob 1968: 199
	Korean	pwu-ca	father son	Sohn 1994: 417
	Lezgian	buba-dide	father mother	Haspelmath 1993: 108
	Malayalam	bharyaabhart aakkanmaar	husband wife	Asher & Kumari 1997: 399
	Mandarin	zǐ nǚ	son daughter	Li & Thompson 1981: 50
	Marathi	āī bāp	mother father	Pandharipān de 1997: 518
	Mlabri	mɿʔ mɿm	mother father	Rischel 1995: 138
	Punjabi	pàāii-páiN	brother sister	Bhatia 1993: 320
	Sanskrit	pitāputrāḥ	father son	Burrow 1955: 218
	Tamil	aṇṇaṇ-tampi	elder-brother younger-brother	Asher 1982: 206
	Thai	phôḥ mĕe	father mother	Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 37
	Turkish	karı koca	wife husband	Johanson 1998: 50
	Uzbek	âta âna	father mother	Johanson 1998: 50

In each of these cases it seems that the two related people are seen both as individuals and as a unit. For example, most of the mother-father combinations are the normal words for parents.

2.6 Other coordinated humans

We might expect other coordinations of humans to play a large role in these constructions, but in my small sample I have none that are not denoting family members. To some extent this is just a failure of a limited data-set, since Wälchli (2005: 138) cites a Georgian form meaning ‘guest-host’. Nevertheless, this is a noticeable gap in the data, and it may well be significant.

2.7 Coordinated common nouns I: additive relationship

In these examples, the compound as a whole denotes the sum of the two parts.

(10)	Basque	zeru-lur-ak	heaven earth PL	Saltarelli 1988: 262
	English	mind-brain, murder-suicide, space-time		Olsen 2001: 317
	Hunzib	mesed-okro	gold silver	van den Berg 1995: 54
	Japanese	eda-ha	branches leaves	Tsujimura 1996: 152
	Korean	ma-so	horse cow	Sohn 1994: 416
	Malayalam	raapakalə	night day	Asher & Kumari 1997: 399
	Punjabi	raat-din	night day	Bhatia 1993: 320
	Sanskrit	ajāvāyaḥ	sheep goats	Burrow 1955: 217
	Sanskrit	keśaśmaśrú	hair beard	Burrow 1955: 217

Note that we cannot tell from the glosses that the Korean example means literally horses and cows and not domestic animals in general (as a similar compound is reported to mean for Lezgian). Nor is it clear why night and day occur relatively often (besides genetic inheritance, of course). Does it mean a period of 24 hours (cf. Danish *dogn*), or does it mean, as in Marathi (Pandharipande 1997: 518), ‘all the time, incessantly’ (cf. English *night and day*). All that is important is that there is some good pragmatic reason for coordinating these two nouns in a way that also draws attention to their unity. Although Fleischer et al. (1995: 128) suggest that German *Strümpfhose* ‘stocking trousers = tights’ belongs here, German-speaking colleagues have confirmed that they perceive this as a headed structure.

In some instances, the compound has become so idiomatic that it is impossible to see the underlying reason for the coordination, but this is simply a matter of lexicalisation/idiomatisation and should neither surprise us nor make us set up a separate category to deal with it.

(11)	Marathi	ghar-dār	house door	Pandharipande
			‘entire estate’	1997: 520

In the discussions of Sanskrit (and in the discussions of some of the other languages, too) much is made of the fact that the link between the two words of the compound is not always additive: the two may be alternatives. Some examples are given below.

(12)	Sanskrit	jayaparājaya	victory defeat	Whitney 1924: §1252
	Punjabi	such-dukh	happiness sorrow	Bhatia 1993: 320

Punjabi	paap-pun	sin good deeds	Bhatia 1993: 320
Malayalam	sukha- asukham (-ṛṇṇaḷ)	health ill-health PL	Asher & Kumari 1997: 399
Marathi	pāp-puṇya	sin merit	Pandharipande 1997: 519

It is not clear how much weight should be given to this apparent variation, since (a) it is often possible to coordinate opposites, and (b) this particular type of compound appears to depend upon coordination of ideas rather than addition of ideas.

2.8 Coordinated common nouns 2: co-hyponyms

One common strategy with coordinated compounds in some languages is for each element independently to name a hyponym of the broader category denoted by the compound as a whole.

(13) Chantyal	nfiē tfiara	milk buttermilk 'dairy products'	Noonan 2003: 328
Hunzib	p'irt'i-jebu	lung liver 'inner parts'	Van den Berg 1995: 54
Mandarin	huā-mù	flower tree 'vegetation'	Li & Thompson 1981: 50
Marathi	tikhaṭmīṭh	pepper salt 'spices'	Pandharipande 1997: 519
Punjabi	bas-kaar	bus-car 'vehicles'	Bhatia 1993: 320
Tuvan	imirā-sēk	mosquito fly 'flying insects'	Johanson 1998: 50
Vietnamese	bàn-ghế	table chair 'furniture'	Nguyễn 1997: 66

These are sometimes called superordinate compounds (Pandharipande 1997) or collective co-compounds (Wälchli 2005: 141). The latter term implies that the compound always denotes a collective entity, which may or may not be true. I have previously called these CO-HYPONYMIC (Bauer 2006).

With co-hyponymic compounds there are also instances where the logic of the formation is no longer transparent.

(14) Persian	ab+o+hæva	water+LINK+air 'climate'	Mahootian 1997: 282
Punjabi	daal-roTii	lentils bread 'livelihood'	Bhatia 1993: 320

2.9 Coordinated common nouns 3: co-synonyms

In a number of cases, we find situations where synonyms are conjoined in a compound. This is expected in situations where there is diglossia or bilingualism in the community (compare English phrases like *goods and chattels*, and see Boeder (1991) for a range of such examples), but often goes beyond such cases, and in some languages appears to be used for disambiguation of homophones. Some examples are given in (15).

- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (15) Lezgian | kar-k'walax | job work
'job,
business' | Haspelmath
1993: 108 |
| Punjabi | maar-piTT | beating
beating 'assault' | Bhatia
1993: 321 |
| Vietnamese | đường xá | road street
'roads' | Nguyễn 1987: 65 |

2.10 Coordinated common nouns 4: compromises

There are a few instances where the compound as a whole denotes not the sum of the two parts but a compromise between the two parts, a half-way point between them, as it were. I cite English below because in most languages items like *north* are treated as adjectives, while in English it is less clear.

- (16) English north-west

2.11 Coordinated verbs

We find many of the same types as verbs, though not necessarily in the same languages. We have four types to consider here: additive compounds (perhaps better understood as linked with *or*), co-hyponymic compounds (some lexicalised), co-synonymic compounds and compromise compounds.

Additive:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|---|
| (17) Greek (Modern) | ben-o-vjéno | go in-LINK-go out | Joseph &
Philippaki-Warburton
1987: 225 |
| Hungarian | súg-búg | whisper murmur | Kenesei et al.
1998: 378 |
| Japanese | yomi-kaki | read write | Tsujimura
1996: 152 |
| Japanese | naki-sakebu | cry shout | Kageyama
1999: 301 |
| Mandarin | fú-yǎng | support care for | Li & Thompson
1981: 70 |

Thai	lûan lɔɔy	slide float ‘drift’ (of thoughts)	Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005: 40
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Co-hyponym:

(18) Vietnamese	ăn-uống	eat drink ‘get nourishment’	Nguyễn 1997: 67
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Co-synonym:

(19) Burmese	cí hyú	look-at behold ‘look at’	Wheatley 2003: 122
Khmer	proət praah	depart depart ‘depart’	Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 205
Korean	olk-mayta	bind tie ‘fasten’	Sohn 1994: 425
Mandarin	gòu mǎi	buy buy ‘buy’	Li & Thompson 1981: 68
Oriya	jhink-a- oṭər-a	drag pull	Neukom & Patnaik 2003: 134

Compromise:

(20) Erromangan (Sye)	avan alou	walk run ‘half walking, half running’	Crowley 1998: 141
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2.12 Coordinated adjectives

With coordinated adjectives we find similar things, although here we must add patterns with adjectives derived from proper nouns. In some cases it may not be entirely clear how to classify some forms.

There are translative compounds with adjectives as well as with nouns:

(21) English	A Greek-Italian translation	
German	Ein Deutsch- Polnisches Wörterbuch	A German- Polish dictionary
Slovenian	Nemecko- Slovenský Slovník	German- Slovenian dictionary

Just as in *London-Edinburgh*, we have a starting point and a finishing point, so that the order of the elements is important. This is not obviously the case in many real dvandvas. In one case we have a literal journey for starting point to an end point, in another a figurative journey from one language to another. The apparently parallel instances given in (22) are in fact rather different. This time there is no journey, literal or figurative, involved, but we have a number of participants in an event. I call these CO-PARTICIPANT COMPOUNDS, though the odd thing is that the participants are denoted by adjectives rather than by nouns. Examples with nouns are also found, though, as in *mother-child relationship* (Spencer 1991: 311), but Wälchli (2005: 7) excludes these from the set of dvandvas.

- (22) English Polish-German
 talks,
 Sino-American
 relations

Additive:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------|--------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| (23) | Basque | zuri-gorri | red white | Saltarelli 1988: 263 |
| | French | tragicomique | tragicomical | |
| | German | taubstumm | deaf dumb | Paul 1920: 7 |
| | Gujarati | khəruNkhoṭuN | true false | Cardona
1965: 164 |
| | Mandarin | yuán-huá | round
smooth | Li & Thompson
1981: 70 |
| | Punjabi | garam-sard | hot cold | Bhatia 1993: 320 |
| | Sanskrit | çāntānukūla | tranquil
propitious | Whitney
1924: §1257 |
| | Thai | khīaw wāan | green sweet
'green sweet'
[of curry] | Iwasaki &
Ingkaphirom
2005: 37 |

Although Paul (1920: 7) includes adjectives like *bittersuß* 'bittersweet', *süßsauer* 'sweet sour' in his examples here, it is not entirely clear whether they are dvandvas or appositional compounds. Wälchli (2005: 78) states that they are intersective, since the food so described is both bitter and sweet, but while that may be true of the noun modified by the adjective, it is not clear to me that we must read the adjective in the same way. It seems to me that *bittersweet* is not at the intersection of bitter and sweet, but rather denotes simultaneously the qualities of being bitter and of being sweet. If this argument holds, they are dvandvas, not appositional compounds, but clearly the matter is a difficult one.

There are similar problems with colour adjectives. The Basque example of red and white is listed above, but English *blue-green* is listed below in the compromise series. At times it can be impossible to tell even from the translation which type is involved.

Hungarian appears to have both types; German is similar, but the two are distinguished by stress (Olsen 2001: 302). A number of languages seem to use these constructions for the colours of flags (e.g. German, Slovene, French), but in French *le bleu-blanc-rouge* ‘the blue-white-red’ may become a noun meaning the flag.

I have failed to find any co-hyponymic adjectival compounds, but it would be premature to say that this is other than an accidental gap.

Co-synonym:

(24)	Khmer	chap rəhah	quick fast ‘fast’	Ourn & Haiman 2000: 485
	Mandarin	měi-li	beautiful beautiful ‘beautiful’	Li & Thompson 1981: 69
	Punjabi	sabz haraa	green-green ‘deep green’	Bhatia 1993: 323
	Vietnamese	do-bẩn	dirty dirty ‘filthy’	Nguyễn 1997: 67

Compromise:

(25)	English	blue-green		
	Hungarian	kék-es-zöld	blue-LINK-green	Kenesei et al. 1998: 380
	Sanskrit	aruṇa-piśaṅgá-	red-brown	Wackernagel 1905: 171
	Sanskrit	uttarapūrva	north-east	Whitney 1924: §1257

2.13 Coordinated adverbs

Coordinated adverbs tend to be rare cross-linguistically, those occurring most often being of the ‘here and there’, ‘now and then’ type. Examples are listed below.

(26)	Khalka	end tend	here there ‘here and there’	Wälchli 2005: 140
	Khanty	togoś-ŋən tiś-ŋən	there-DU here-DU ‘here and there’	Wälchli 2005: 52
	Mandarin	zǎo-wǎn	early late ‘sooner or later’	Li & Thompson 1981: 82
	Mordvin	t’ese-toso	here there ‘everywhere’	Wälchli 2005: 139

We can also include here the adverbs created from nouns of the ‘night and day’ or ‘end to end’ types discussed by Wälchli (2005: 139–41). Wälchli terms all of these ‘generalising compounds’, and includes some verbal compounds under the rubric, his clearest example being one from Mordvin meaning ‘twist and turn’. However, this verb could be seen as additive in meaning, and the adverbial nature of the others seems to be an important feature of this type. The ‘night and day’ type is exocentric.

2.14 Exocentric dvandvas

Some languages allow compounds which Wälchli (2005) calls ‘scalar’, where the two ends of some scale are named. However, typically these ends of the scale are named with adjectives, while the compound as a whole is used as a noun. These compounds are thus, like the adverbial type mentioned above, exocentric – although as Wälchli (2005: 152) points out, the distinction between adjective and noun is not always clear in the relevant languages. It is not clear whether all nominal exocentric dvandvas have this scalar quality or not.

(27)	Amdo Tibetan	ri thəŋ	long short ‘length’	Norbu et al. 2000: 163
	Khmer	khəh trəw	wrong right ‘morality’	Ourn & Haiman 2000: 484
	Mandarin	hòu-báo	thick thin ‘thickness’	Li & Thompson 1981: 81
	Old Uyghur	ulug-i kičig-i	big-its little-its ‘size’	Wälchli 2005: 138

3 Some peripheral types

3.1 Coordinated common nouns 5: hyponym-superordinate compounds

Many scholars list hyponym superordinate compounds such as *cod-fish* along with other coordinated compounds. The Venn diagram for these instances is as in Figure 3, which seems to indicate that these should be seen as a separate type, although we could argue that by being a cod, something is also a fish. Note that although we could argue for the headedness of this class (and thus against an analysis of these as dvandvas on those grounds), it is not necessarily clear which element should be considered the head on semantic grounds, although grammatically the right-hand element will be seen as the head in English.

Such compounds are clearly quite common, as illustrated below, though they do not really seem to be dvandvas.

(28)	English	oak-tree, fir-tree, mynah-bird
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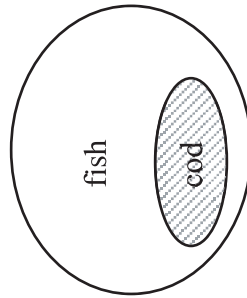


Figure 3. Venn diagram for cod-fish.

Malayalam	puḷimaram	amarind tree	Asher & Kumari 1997: 395
Marathi	kamal puṣpa	lotus flower	Pandharipande 1997: 520
Punjabi	kamal phull	lotus flower	Bhatia 1993: 320

3.2 And the like

There is an areally-restricted construction in which a phonologically altered version of a noun is suffixed to the noun to give a construction meaning ‘noun and things like that’. Examples are cited in (29). Since the second form in these constructions is not a freely-occurring lexeme (in the Punjabi example cited, neither element occurs freely), these are not considered to be compounds, and thus by extension cannot be dvandvas.

(29) Kannada	freNDu- giNDu	friends and the like	Sridhar 1990: 285
Kashmiri	caɽy vaɽy	tea and things served with it	Wali & Koul 1997: 285
Lezghian	sik’-mik’	fox X ‘foxes and other wild animals’	Haspelmath 1993: 109
Malayalam	vaŋʈiim kiŋʈiim	vehicle-COORD X-COORD ‘vehicles and the like’	Asher & Kumari 1997:
Punjabi	vaaNii shaaNii	‘water and the like’ (the elements here derive from <i>paaNii</i>)	Bhatia 1993: 322
Uzbek	nān pān	bread and the like	Johanson 1998: 50

3.3 Reduplication

In some languages a single word may be repeated for emphasis, and the result may look word-like. A few examples are given below. If these form single words, they are presumably to be interpreted as instances of full reduplication rather than as compounds, and not as dvandvas at all.

- | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (30) Afrikaans | amper amper | nearly REDUP | Botha 1988: 2 |
| | | ‘very nearly’ | |
| Kannada | bi:di-bi:di | street REDUP | Sridhar 1990: 285 |
| | | ‘every street’ | |
| Kashmiri | ja:yi ja:yi | ‘everywhere’ | Wali & Koul 1997: 282 |
| Mordvin | kolmo-ń
kolmo-ń | three-GEN
REDUP ‘three
each’ | Wälchli
2005: 167 |

3.4 Ornamental compounds

Wälchli has a subset of co-compounds (more or less equivalent to dvandvas) which he terms ‘ornamental compounds’. These are defined as compounds which ‘contain an empty part that does not contribute to the meaning of the whole and may even be misleading’ (Wälchli 2005: 146). He cites as an example the Mordvin expression *vel’e šado* ‘village hundred = village’. Although he suggests that the element ‘hundred’ may have arisen historically because villages typically contained about a hundred people (Wälchli 2005: 184 fn 3), synchronically today the second element is meaningless at best, and potentially misleading. Given that there is no clear coordination between the two elements in this particular case, it is difficult to see why it should be classified as a dvandva at all. While Wälchli does cite other examples which are less extreme, they all seem to fall into two classes: those like the Mordvin example just cited where the justification for classifying something as a dvandva is unclear, and those where the meaning of the dvandva has been extended to include cases where the meaning of one element seems inappropriate (for example, he cites an instance where the word for new leaf shoots – formed as a dvandva – has become the word for all foliage, even after the leaves have fallen). A referee points out to me that in principle this type and the type illustrated in 3.2 raise descriptive problems similar to that involved in treating *kith* as a word in the expression *kith and kin*. I take the general point and acknowledge that unique morphs provide a problem whether they occur in words or in phrases. However, it seems to me that such instances are better dealt with as a matter of etymology or as instances of internal modification rather than as a matter of the classification of constructions, and they are accordingly ignored here.

Summary of Types

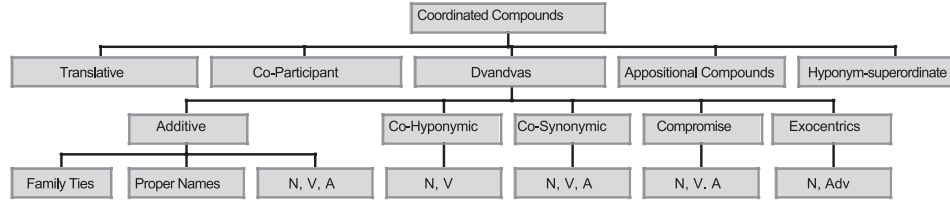


Figure 4. Summary of types.

3.5 Numbers

Some authors suggest that a number like *sixty-four* is a compound, and possibly a dvandva, denoting the total of sixty and four. I must admit that I am in some doubt as to whether to accept such a classification. The distribution of such items across languages is very different from the distribution of items like Sanskrit *ajāvāyāḥ*. The meaning of the numbers arises from the demands of the system of which they are a part, while the dvandvas that have been discussed here present an expression-type whose prime *raison d'être* is external to the systems in which they are found. I list them for the sake of completeness, but do not classify them as dvandvas.

4 Conclusions

The classification of coordinated compounds given here, and summarised in Figure 4, was largely developed before I read Wälchli's (2005) discussion of the topic. The fact that we agree in so many ways is encouraging, especially given our different data-bases and our different goals. Wälchli's prime focus is on Altaic and Uralic languages and on the variation in the use of the co-compound construction within and across languages, while most of my data comes from Southern and South-East Asian languages and I am more concerned with setting up a classification which will allow for more specific and accurate descriptions of this morphological phenomenon. While I have clearly benefitted from reading Wälchli's work, our classifications are different enough to indicate that there is not only no complete agreement on what precisely the term 'dvandva' might cover, but there are also different ways of dividing up the area that is agreed on. Although I do not assume that the classification I have given here is necessarily exhaustive, it allows for a better classification of coordinated compounds than has generally been in use before. Although I can comment only impressionistically on the basis of the imperfect data that I have collected, it seems to me that many of these types are likely to be geographically quite distinct and possibly genetically distinct as well. Without a full typological description, we cannot hope to discover what the actual types in particular languages might be, and so we will not make progress in determining such matters.

Some of this contribution is a plea for more accurate use of the Sanskrit terminology, so that, for example, appositional compounds are not included as dvandvas. Some of this

work provides labels for the subtypes which were familiar to the Sanskrit grammarians (proper names, family ties, additive, compromise). Some provides labels for other types that are widely found but were not present in Sanskrit. I have also tried to delimit dvandvas by suggesting that some constructions which are often included under the same umbrella are more usefully treated as distinct. This leaves other aspects of dvandvas still to be dealt with: for example, in what order do the elements in a dvandva occur (see Wackernagel 1905: 166; Ourn & Haiman 2000: 485)? What role does the phonetic similarity of the elements play in the coining of dvandvas (see e.g. Ourn & Haiman 2000)? Even a relatively minor category like the dvandva can be seen to be extremely complex when it is analysed with care.

Note

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