2 Expressives as a semantically complex category in South Asian languages

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1 Introduction

The complex semantic structure of expressives, as well as the wide conceptual and sensational space that they occupy, make them complex categories that have been ignored both by Western and Asian linguists because they are aprototypical grammatical features and not fitting the writing of traditional grammars. This is because of our obsession with restricting to the prototypical categorization lists approach of Aristotelian categories. We must admit that categories may encode one or more schematic meanings across different conceptual-semantic domains (Kuteva 2009, 2010). Categories can be structurally definable as well as semantically complex, and can occupy the major grammatical structure of a language without being a typical noun, adverb, adjective or verb. Unfortunately, these are considered perfunctorily in any grammar if we are lucky enough to find their mention. More often than not, expressives are unsung heroes of any grammar of South Asian languages. The form-meaning pairing that I review here presents a challenge exactly because of its complex semantics. I draw examples from the languages of the Indo-Aryan family, Austroasiatic family including the Munda group, the Davidian language family and especially from the languages of the Himalayan region, namely, Tai-Kadai, and Tibeto-Burman.

The term "expressives" as used in this paper is inclusive of ideophones, onomatopoeics, mimics, imitatives and sound symbolic forms.[1] Although many writers today use, the term *expressive*, there has been something of a naming frenzy in the past. In earlier works, especially on African and South Asian languages, expressives have also been given labels such as 'interjections,' 'descriptive adverbs,' 'picture words,' 'adverbials,' 'intensives,' 'emphatics' and 'impressifs'. Again, different scholars give different definitions of expressives.

According to Childs (1989: 1), the term 'expressives' seems to have been first coined by Durand (1961) in his analysis of Vietnamese. The term was later adopted and defined by Gerald Diffloth (1972, 1976) and Murray B. Emeneau (1978). The term 'ideophone' is widely used, however, for the African phenomenon, as in Doke (1935) for Bantu. He seems to have first suggested the term, he defined or at least described an ideophone as a vivid representation of an idea of sound, a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to

manner, colour, smell, action, state or intensity. This seems to suggest that ideo-phones are a grammatical class of words, a type of adverbial, but no formal criter-ion is given for distinguishing them from other adverbs. In the Bantu languages with which Doke was concerned, the invariable or indeclinable nature of ideo-phones had often been noted, in contrast to those adverbials formed with the loca-tive class prefixes.

It has also been noted that expressives, for some languages, are frequently phonologically anomalous. They may contain phonemes not found in other types of words, or unique sequences of phonemes, and they may be errant in respect to the rules of tone that apply to them. Diffloth holds a similar opinion (1972).[2] Diffloth (1976), for Semai, considers expressives as a "third basic word class" of the same order of magnitude as nouns and verbs. Describing the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of Semai expressives, he proves that they are not even subject to the condition of "lexical discreteness" and are indeed "a totally different kind of linguistic animal".

Diffloth very strongly advocates (1972) the iconicity point of view of expres-sives, "iconicity is the very *raison d'etre* of the whole word class called Expres-sives," and also suggests that the linguistic theory has to be overhauled completely to incorporate this phenomenon, "it will be necessary to create an aesthetic compo-nent of grammar, distinct from, but incorporated into, the logicophonological com-ponent which has been the sole preoccupation of generativists."

Emeneau (1978) in his study of Kota onomatopoeics, opines that expressives can be identified by having syntax and morphology different from that of the major classes of the language. In Abbi (1987), I reject such a position, contending that expressives do not necessarily have distinct morpho-syntactic properties than the other lexical items in the language. For example, verbal onomatopoeics and imitatives in Hindi and Tamil operate as normal verbs and take normal affixations allowed in those languages. Emeneau, however, rightly comments that

> …perhaps it would be more just to say that expressives denote varied types of sensation, the impingement of the material world, outside or within the person, upon the senses-not merely the five conventionally identified senses, but also the feelings both internal and external.
>
> (1978)

2 The structure of expressives

Abbi (1987, 1990, 1992) discusses expressives from the point of view of reduplica-tion, the linguistic structuration, which is more common and widespread in all the South Asian languages than the non-reduplicated ones. Whether the expressive form is reduplicated or non-reduplicated, each form is a unit lexeme and a single structural category. Almost all (nearly 99%) reduplicated expressives are formed by iterating a meaningless syllable. The resultant structure thus acquires a meaning, constituting a single morpheme as well as a single lexeme in that language. Thus, Sora (Austroasiatic) *mel* 'to inspect,' *di* 'to count,' Khasi *raʔ* 'flowers' are words

derived by expressive morphology. An expressive derives its status of a word/ lexeme only after it is duplicated, as the non-reduplicated syllable does not exist as a word.[3] Abbi (1987) considers all expressives as instances of morphological reduplication as opposed to the lexical reduplication in which the units before iteration are meaningful words of the language concerned. The question of expressives being iconic cannot be established without some doubt. Had these been totally iconic, languages of a *sprachbund* would share their phonetic shapes of expressives. Nonetheless, some sound symbolism is involved, but no one can be sure about their total iconic nature. For instance, for 'rain pattering sound', Hindi has *ʈəp*, while Mizo, the Tibeto-Burman language has *klɛk*; for sense of sight, Hindi has *cam cam*, Nepali uses *bʰər bʰər* and Mizo has *sɛp sɛp*. Consider Appendix 2.1 on expressives in Himalayan languages to see the variety of forms to denote universal conceptual semantic space.

   As mentioned earlier, expressives behave and function like regular words and thus form a part of the lexicons of Indian languages. Unlike many other languages of the world, expressives in Indian languages can form predicates. The morphological form of the expressive word varies from language family to language family. It can be suffixed by a conjunctive participle in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, while in Tibeto-Burman it can be prefixed by a particle indicating "manner". It constitutes as a bare adverbial category and thus does not take any suffix/prefix in Khasi, the Mon Khmer language of the Austroasiatic family.[4] Before I proceed, let me illustrate that it is extremely difficult to translate expressives in English and several explanations at best, prove to be at times, marginally close to the real meaning. Please see the examples given in Table 2.1.

3 Grammaticality

As stated previously, expressives can function as typical nouns or verbs of the language concerned. They are employed in regular grammatical paradigms of the language, and thus form an integral part of the lexicon. In other words, they do not necessarily have morphosyntactic characteristics that are distinct from

Table 2.1 Expressives used in various morphological paradigms in Hindi.

Root	*pʰəʈ*	semantically vacuous	
Stem	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ*	'flutter'	
Infinitive	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -ana*		
	PAST	PRS.IMPERFECT	FUTURE
3MSG	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-ya*	*pʰəʈ p pʰəʈ -a-ta*	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-yega*
3FSG	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-yi*	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-ti*	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-yegi*
3MPL	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-ye*	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-te*	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-yẽge*
3FPL	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-yĩ*	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ-a -tĩ*	*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -a-yẽgi*
Derivative Noun		*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ-a-həʈ*	'fluttering/flutter'
Derivative Modifiers		*pʰəʈ pʰəʈ -ay-a/i-hu-a/i*	'having fluttered 3MSG/3FSG'

the rest of the lexical items in these languages. For instance, many of the imitative expressives (acoustic noises) in Hindi operate as an ordinary verbal category taking the usual affixes of Hindi.

I have observed elsewhere (Abbi 1994) that some expressives have their origin in words which are cognates across the same language family. Thus, Hindi *təm təm-ana* 'to redden with anger' is derived from the word *tamra* 'copper coloured, copper', which finds its cognates in Pali *tamba* 'red,' 'copper'; Prakrit *tamba* 'red (adjective/noun),' Dameli *trāmba* 'red'and Sinhalese *tambha* 'reddish.' It is to be established historically whether expressives are derived from verbs or verbs are derived from expressives after de-expressivizing them. Okombe-Lukumbu Tassa (in Voeltz and Kilian Hartz 2001) cites both processes for Tetela (Bantu).

4 Semantics of expressive morphology

As previously stated, expressives represent complex semantic category in all languages of South Asia. Their complexities have been the sole driving force for not being recognized as the inherent part of any grammar. I explain and elaborate on these in the next section.

4.1 Complex semantic categories

Expressives represent:

  i. Five senses of perception (*panchēndriya*)
 ii. States of mind
iii. Manner of an action
 iv. Kinship terminology (language universal)
  v. Various states of confusion.

I discuss three of these categories (i, ii and iii) in some detail in the following subsections.

4.1.1 Five senses of perception (panchēndriya)

We must state that the most significant aspect of Indian expressives is that they, without fail, indicate the five senses of perception, namely, smell, sight, touch, hearing and taste. Thus, *gam gam* 'aroma' in Maithili, *cam cam* 'glittering' in Hindi, *las las* 'sticky' in Punjabi, *khe khe* 'laughter' in Meitei, *ʈok ʈok* 'laughing sound' in Kurukh and *kur kur-a* 'crunchy' in Hindi are typical examples of expressives indicating distinct five senses of perception. [5]

4.1.2 As 'manner' of an action

Another semantic area most widely covered by expressives is that of the 'manner' of an action/event stated. Every society and its members perceive the

world distinctively. The perception of the manner in which any activity can be undertaken is culture-specific; that is, each culture has its own views and models of the way in which any activity is undertaken. Societal and culture-specific 'manner' in Indian languages are expressed largely by expressive morphology rather than by prosaic words of manner adverbs. The phenomenon is in greater abundance in the indigenous languages of India than in the modem languages and, among the indigenous ones, is more prevalent in the languages of the northeast of the Subcontinent – Tibeto-Burman, Tai-Kadai and Khasi (Austroasiatic). In the following section, I consider this region in detail to highlight this important phenomenon of microarea.

5 Languages of the Himalayan region

Although expressives are a common phenomenon in South Asian languages, it is abundant in languages spoken in the Himalayan region, whether those of the Tibeto-Burman language family, or Tai-Kadai, or the Mon Khmer branch of Khasi or the Western Himalayan languages of Indo-Aryan. Thus, I draw my examples primarily from the languages of these groups. I would like to take into consideration the languages of the Northeast, primarily the Naga languages of the Tibeto-Burman family, Tai-Khamti from Tai-Kadai and Khasi of the Mon-Khmer group of Austroasiatic language family. These examples represent the range of perceptive powers of the speech communities of Naga, Khasi and Tai-Khamti. In (Abbi & Victor 1997) we identified 59 expressives, all indicating the manner of 'walking' in Khasi and an equal number in Tangkhul Naga. Action verbs such as 'crying,' 'walking,' 'running' and 'laughing' are coded with a high number of expressives as shown in Appendix 2.3.

5.1 Tangkhul Naga (Tibeto-Burman)

Tangkhul Naga belongs to the Kuki-Chin branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family and is spoken by 1.5 million people who are spread over the whole Ukhrul District of Manipur – a hilly terrain spreading over 4,722 square kilometers. A large number of speakers of this language is scattered outside the Ukhrul District.

The language is known by the ethnic name for the people of the Ukhrul District, 'Tangkhul Naga'. It consists of many dialects – each village has its own dialect named after the village. Intelligibility among the village dialects varies according to the distance between them.

Out of 342 expressives known so far in Tangkhul Naga, 278 begin with a consonant, 31 with a vowel and 33 with semivowels; therefore, about 80% of the expressives have initial consonants. Further classification shows that out of 278 expressives with initial consonant, 48 are non-reduplicated and the rest are reduplicated either partially or completely (Victor 1992). Phonologically, partial reduplication undergoes a process in which a vowel or a consonant/semivowel or both are changed, deleted or added in the reduplicated part.

As in other South Asian languages, Tangkhul Naga expressives can occupy both the verbal and the adverbial slots, thereby meaning that an expressive either forms the predicate or occurs in adjunct position as a verbal modifier. The prefix *ta-* is used as an adverbial particle to the expressive. It is noteworthy that this prefix cannot be attached to any other word class. I discuss this in more detail in Section 6.

Some examples from the reduplicated expressives are cited, as they are more common than the non-reduplicated ones. Reduplicated expressives are either partially or fully reduplicated, although the latter ones outnumber the former. Interestingly, in partial reduplicated forms, vowels are altered along with tones. Hence the reduplicator and the reduplicant have different tone markings. Consider one such example, provided next.

(1)   *ho?ó:ho ho?à:ho*   'expression used in quieting babies or putting them to sleep'

More often than not, reduplicated expressives have tone marked only once, either on the repeated part, or on the base. Thus:

(2)   *ŋə̀ŋ ŋəŋ* 'burning of a huge fire producing a lot of noise, high flames and consuming fuel wood very fast'

However, cases of both reduplicator and reduplicant that are marked by tones are not unusual. Consider examples (3) and (4) from (Victor 1992: 48) as follows:

(3)   *tít tít* 'to be very tight like a gunny bag due to over-stuffing, or a garment to be very tight when put on'
(4)   *rór rór*   'do something one after another, repeating the same action'

Various kinds of base syllables take part in forming monosyllabic, bisyllabic and trisyllabic expressives. Similarly, an initial sound can be a vowel, a consonant or a semivowel. Tones can be variable or fixed. All permutations are possible as the language is very rich in its stock of expressives.

Another interesting feature of Tangkhul Naga is that expressives, like any word, can be compounded, i.e., two expressives can form a compound. Compounds can be either compositional, i.e., retaining the individual meaning of each expressive, or opaque, referring to some third entity. Structurally, various ways can be employed to derive an expressive compound, namely, two bisyllabic reduplicated expressives can be compounded, or one of the syllables can be dropped or tones can change, resulting in tone sandhi as shown in Table 2.2. Tangkhul Naga is the only language that allows three expressive word compounds. Such compounding results in tonal change as shown in (5) through (7).

(5)   *yáŋ + yìŋ = yáŋ-yiŋ* 'the state of having a relieving sigh, fragile, touchy moving (emotionally), orchids'
(6)   *yáŋ* 'sudden short spanned emotional feeling as happiness or sadness'
(7)   *yìŋ* 'emotional disturbance caused by the sight of extremely beautiful or very bad colours or looks'

The high-toned *yáŋ́* becomes low-toned and low-toned *yìŋ* becomes midtoned when compounded.[6]

Table 2.2 Expressive compounds in Tangkhul Naga.

No	Expressive 1	Expressive 2	Compound	Remarks
1	*yáŋ* 'sudden short spanned emotional feeling as happiness or sadness'	*yìŋ* 'emotional disturbance caused by the sight of extremely beautiful or very bad colours or looks'	*yàŋ-yìŋ* 'the state of having a relieving sigh, fragile, touchy moving (emotionally), orchids'	Derived out of non-reduplicated expressive. The high-toned *yaŋ* becomes low-toned and low-toned *yiŋ* becomes mid-toned when compounded.
2	*pʰút pʰut* 'do something with special need or urgency'	*nám nam* 'go in a rush manner and straight not caring for hindrances'	*pʰút pʰut nám nam* 'do, go, act quickly without pause or questioning as in case of emergency'	Compositional meaning is retained and original tones are also retained.
3	*zí zí* 'moving here and there restlessly, dropping and peeping'	*par* 'touching everything at reach in a hurried manner as if looking for something urgently needed'	*zí zí par* 'having a special work needing close attention and anxiety for its completion, especially at the tilling and transplantation season'	Complete reduplication with original tones being maintained. Semantic shift as meaning is no longer compositional.
4	*yúp yup* 'becoming darker and darker very fast as with burning out lamps'	*yəp* 'instinct sight of momentary appearance and disappearance of objects'	*sə́p səp* 'doing or saying anything, moderately, or neither less nor more'	*yupyəpsəp* 'time span of one hour just after the sunset' Remarks: three expressive compound with truncated second syllable and loss of tones

5.2 Khasi (Austroasiatic, Mon Khmer)

During our 1997 fieldwork, we came across Khasi expressives in large number where we identified 66 different expressives that collocate with the verb *yaid* 'walk'; 57 which collocate with the verb 'cry'; 20 expressives collocating with the verb *ba: m* 'eat'; 28 expressives with the verb *khin* 'tremble'; 38 with the verb *krin* 'speak,' 'say' and 18 expressives collocate with the verb *mareh* 'to run'. The largest number of expressives begins with *k-* or *kh-* in Khasi. The enormity of manner expressives collocating with the verb 'to walk' in the Northeast could certainly license the area as a 'walking area' (Abbi and Victor 1997: 427), as illustrated in Appendix 2.3.

5.3 Tai-Khamti (Tai-Kadai)

A very productive use of expressive morphology is made for accentuation of any colour or for accentuation of any attribute. Consider the following examples (Sharma 2014).[7]

(8) $syen^4\ sok^2\text{-}sok^2$ 'very beautiful'
      $suŋ^1\ wen^2\text{-}wen^2$ 'very tall'
      $suŋ^1\ ngau^2\text{-}ngau^2$ 'very tall'
      $təm^1\ me^6\text{-}me^6$ 'very short'
      $cəm^3\ thɔk^6\text{-}thɔk^6$ 'very close'
      $yəm^5 sɔk^2 sɔk^2$ 'wet completely'

Interestingly, South Asian expressives are not restricted to the perceptual words and manner of actions alone. There are many in various languages which lay bare many feelings, situations, attributes, disorder, disturbance, confusion, untidiness and, as Emeneau (1978) says, "our internal and external feelings". Consider the following examples from Nepali (Abbi 1991: 18), an Indo-Aryan language.

(9)   *kʰəl bəl*   'hurly burly,' 'commotion'
      kʰala bɛla   'riot uproar'
      cʰul cʰul   'unsteady'
      kʰoʈəl kʰəʈəl   'topsy turvy'
      əʈ pəʈ   'disorderliness'

As far as the kinship terminology is concerned, not all, but the majority of the languages of the world derive their kinship lexicon by expressive morphology, primarily by duplicating the initial syllable, e.g., *mama* 'mother', *papa* 'father' in English; *dada* 'grandfather', *didi* 'elder sister' in Hindi, also with vowel alternation such as *dadi* 'grandmother' (father's mother) and *nani* 'grandmother (mother's mother)'.

   As I noted in Section 1.2, expressives at the morphological level can work as any other word in the language. The following section illustrates the syntactic characteristic of these constructions.

   What is striking is the use of similar linguistic material for shared semantic constructs by these languages. The structural similarities are the significant linguistic truths of the area (for detail, see Abbi 1993).

   Thus, expressive words constitute a single coherent conceptual – semantic space across the languages of the Himalayan region. This semantic space includes definable but semantically complex categories. However, expressives in general – considering South Asia as a single linguistic area – are categories which encode one or more schematic meanings across different but interrelated conceptual-semantic domains.

6 Syntactic characteristics

At the syntactic level, expressive verbs in most of the South Asian languages have the following characteristics:

- Syntactically, they can occupy the final position in an SOV language.
- They have the potentiality of being used as a finite verb, e.g. Hindi:

(10) *use   dekhte   hi   mẽn thərthər-aya*
     3SG-ACC see-PRS.IMP.OBL EMPH 1SG EXPR-3MSG
     'I shivered seeing him.'

- They have the potential of being used as a conjunct verb/converb, e.g.,
  Hindi:

(11) *dʰək dʰək kər*
     EXPR   *(do)/hona (*be*)*
     'throbbing.'

     In Bangla

(12) *miṭ miṭ kɔre dekh*
     EXPR   do   see
     'seeing in a slying manner'

- They have the potential to be used as a complex predicate in conjunctive
  participle form, such as in *dʰək kər ke* (EXPR + do+ CP) 'having throbbed' or
  'throbbingly,' which serves as a manner adverb.
- In Tangkhul Naga (and other Tibeto-Burman languages) they can be prefixed
  by *ta-* to mark the adverbial or adjectival nature to the construction, e.g. *ta-yok yok* 'go wearily'; *ta-yok yok hay-rə* 'he is weary'. An important feature
  about the expressives is that like any other modifier category, they have their
  own strict collocational restrictions – each type is rule governed to appear
  with a select few verbs and nouns.

Unlike ideophones in African languages (Newman 1968: 107–18) Tangkhul Naga
expressives can occur in all sentence types – declarative, imperative, potential,
obligatory, conditional, permissive, aphoristic, vocative and topicalized/focused
(Victor 1992: 69). Consider the examples in (13):

(13a) *tham tham* = loudly, with a lasting impression, do something with force
       without fear and hesitation
(13b) [declarative]
     a   **tham tham**   mətuy-tə   ləy
     3MSG   expressive   speak-VPT   PRS
     'He is speaking loudly without any hesitation'
(13c) [imperative]
     tham tham   khə-mətuy   təm-lu
     expressive   INF-speak   learn-IMP
     '[You] learn to speak loudly and impressively without fear and pause.'

(13d) [potential]

    i   zət-khəreotə   a **tham tham**   mətuy-phok   hauləpay

    1SG   go-as soon as   3SG expressive   speak-start   may

    'As soon as I leave he may start speaking loudly.'

(13e) [optative]

    ithum-wuy   *məśun*   *vaŋ*   **tham tham**   *mətuy-sə*

    we-GEN   right   for   expressive   speak-OPT

    'Let us speak without fear for our rights.'

(13f) [conditional]

    tham tham   mətuy-əkhə   mipiŋ-nə   nə-li   so-rə

    expressive   speak-COND   people-NOM   you-ACC   praise-FUT

    'If you speak impressively, people will praise you.'

Tangkhul Naga is a language that does not have a separate word class of "adverbs". It has four different adverbial affixes that are affixed to adjectives to produce "adverbial meaning". Expressive formation is the only way the language generates adverbs.

Consider the following examples from Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages:

Bangla

(14a) *śe*   **huṛmuṛ**   *korch-e*

    3SG   EXPR hurried   do PRS-3SG

    's/he is hurrying up.'

(14b) *mey-ʈi*   **dum dam kɔre**   *kɔtha*   *bɔle*

    girl-CL   expressive-CP   talk   speak

    'The girl speaks without thinking.'

Angika

(15) matha   **hən hən-awe-che**/   **hən hən**   kər-eche

    head   expressive-3SG PRS/   expressive   do 3SG PRS

    'Head is aching with heavy and pulsating sense'

Tamil

(16) *taʈataʈa-ttal*   'to walk unsteadily with age, to be loose'

    taɭutaɭu-ttal   'to falter or stammer from ecstatic joy, love or other emotion'

    tiʈutiʈu-ttal   'beating of the heart with fear, speedily'

    naɭunaɭu-ttal   'speak evasively'

    neruneru-ttal   'feel sudden pain as in the stomach'

    noʈunoʈu-ttal   'to be fidgety, restless, to be rude'

    koɭukoɭu-ttal   'to become loose, deranged

All of these characteristics draw our attention to the complexity of the grammatical category called "expressives" and surely warrant a definite place in the grammar. Expressives carve out an independent category status in any South Asian language because of their morphological, syntactic and semantic behaviour.

7 The social aspect

Expressives assume a significant part in social cohesion and solidarity. As Tucker Childs puts it "*Ideophones are quintessentially the mark of local identity of continuity with an ideophone past."* (2001). South Asian communities regard the knowledge of expressives as a marker of intelligence and identity both. There are innumerable numbers of fables and folk tales as how a stranger in the village was identified as soon as he started speaking with the wrong set of expressives, or divulged his identity while muttering in dream of unknown expressives. Bhaskararao (1977:31) quotes an interesting fable from Telugu, a Dravidian language where the king tests the intelligence of his minister by giving only a series of expressives "*puṭukku jarajara ḍubbukku me:*" "the goat bleated after the dry bottle gourd fell on it".

8 Conclusion

There is no doubt that because of unusual nature of these constructions – namely, expressives – have escaped the kind of attention they deserved in grammar. Eurocentric and Westernized linguistic theories avoided establishing a proper place for these constructions within the prevailing grammatical theories. This could be because of the complex semantic structure of these constructions as well as the wide semantic and conceptual space that they occupy or, because these did not fit into the Aristotelian categories of grammar. Asian linguists ignored them, describing and giving them their due place in descriptive grammars because of the sociolinguistic nature of these constructions. These are, more often than not, spoken phenomena that are used in informal settings. These constructions never find their place in written literature other than in the genre of short stories and poetry. Perhaps these were the reasons for their omission from the grammatical description of any language. What Watson (2001) said of African languages is so very true for South Asian languages, namely, these have been the victims of "textual genocide".

What worries me most is the fact that expressives are endangered structures that are dying very quickly. The examples that I have quoted here from "walking expressives" (Appendix 2.3) are no longer found in the speech of the young generation of Khasi. These are being lost at an alarming speed. Considering the fact these are heavily loaded semantically and culturally, the loss of these structures will have a serious impingement on the cognitive abilities of the community.

Some of the issues and questions that we can address in the future are:

- Can these structures be considered the result of coevolutionary approach where culture plays the centre stage?
- Do these structures confirm the theory of relativity, i.e., do these structures determine the perception of modes of an action?
- Or conversely, are these structures the reflection of the culture-specific society that has heightened perceptive capabilities?

- How to assign an appropriate place of this complex category in grammar as it occupies wide semantic and conceptual space?

We hope to have answers to some of the questions in future.

Abbreviations

ACC=accusative; COND=conditional; CL=classifier; CP= conjunctive participle; EMPH=emphatic; EXPR=expressive; F=feminine; FUT=future; IMP=imperative; INF=infinitive; M=masculine; OBL=obligative; OPT=optative; PRS=present; PST=past; VPT=verbal particle.

Appendix 2.1 Expressives in Himalayan languages (*Panchēndriya*)

Sense of Sound: Acoustic Noises

a) Animal Noises

No.	Language	Expressive sound	Meaning of expressive
1.	Khasi	ŋəŋ-ba ŋəŋ to make echo sound EXP	'Mosquito noise'
2.	Tangkhul	*sip sip*	'Sound of cicada twittering'
3.	Meitei	*ŋiyau ŋiyau* *məu məu* *ci ci*	'Mewing sound of cat' 'Barking sound of dog' 'Crying sound of mouse'
4.	Chakashang	*krü krü*	'Sound of hen calling the newly hatched chicken'
5.	Yimchunger	*cik cik* *triyak triyak*	'Hissing sound of snake' 'Monkey's chattering when about to sleep'
6.	Mizo	*bao? bao?* *crit crit*	'Sound of dogs barking' 'Twittering sound of a house cricket'

b) Noises made by humans

SL. No.	Language	Expressive sound	Meaning of expressive
1.	Khasi	*nok-ba kʰe kʰe* laugh EXPR. "To giggle."	'Giggle'
2.	Tangkhul	*tʰi tʰi* *rok rok*	'Giggle' 'Sound of snoring'
3.	Meitei	*kʰi kʰi* *wa: wa:*	'Giggle' 'Laughter' (heartily)
4.	Yimchunger	*ha ha* *kʰəm kʰəm*	'Sound of laughing in a silly manner' 'Threatening noise with a serious look'
5.	Chakhashang	*tü tü*	'Sound of mourning or crying due to pain or extreme fear'

c) Noises made by natural phenomenon

SL. No.	Language	Expressive sound	Meaning of expressive
1.	Khasi	*kʰom-ba grəŋ grəŋ* blow EXPR.	'Thundering sound'
2.	Tangkhul	*cək cək* *kuŋ kuŋ*	'Sound of drizzle' 'Sound of thunder'
3.	Meitei	*cro cro* *krəŋ krəŋ* *brek brek*	'Sound of heavy rains' 'Sound of thunder' 'Sound of discontinuous rain accompanied by hail'
4.	Nagamese	*tak tak*	'Sound of rain pattering'
5.	Konyak	*pruk pruk*	'Sound of water flowing in small streams'

d) Noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects

SL. No.	Language	Expressive sound	Meaning of expressive
1.	Khasi	*lau-ba tchrin tchrin* To make sound EXPR. 'To jingle.'	'Jingle' (sound of anklets, bangles etc.)
2.	Tangkhul	*kʰok kʰok* *ten ten* *šeo šeo*	'Sound of wood chopping' 'Sound of tin or plates falling on the ground' 'Sound of fermented rice bubbling'
3.	Meitei	*pʰrak pʰrak* *pak pak*	'Sound of bamboo breaking' 'Sound of slapping, kicking'
4.	Yimchunger	*tʰrak tʰrak*	'Sound of fire cracker, bursting of bamboo when put on fire'
5.	Chakhashang	*kruŋ kruŋ*	'Sound of ringing bell'
6.	Konyak	*pʰruk pʰruk*	'Sound of boiling water'

1. Sense of Sight: Shimmering aspects of objects

SL. No.	Language	Expressive sound	Meaning of expressive
1.	Khasi	*tʰəwan micak ŋan-ba kupʰet kupʰet* star shine EXPR. 'The stars are twinkling'.	'Twinkling'
2.	Tangkhul	*pʰik pʰik* *han han*	'Twinkling' 'Glare' (unbearable to the eyes)
3.	Meitei	*hiŋ hiŋ* *raŋ raŋ*	'Shining of metallic object' 'Brightness seen by a weeping person'
4.	Yimchunger	*rək rək* *nciŋ nciŋ*	'Twinkling, sparkling' 'Shining of metallic objects'
5.	Nagamese	*camo camo*	'Twinkling or momentary shining'

2. Sense of Touch

SL. No.	Language	Expressive sound	Meaning of expressive
1.	Khasi	*tsənap tsənap pa-pɔt* EXPR thing 'Sticky thing.'	'Sticky'
2.	Tangkhul	*hat hat* *lər lər*	'Feeling of sharpness such as knife, thorn, etc.' 'Feeling hard when pressed' (strong muscles, cycle tyres, etc.)
3.	Meitei	*pet pet* *kʰək kʰək*	'Soft such as overcooked rice or over ripen fruit.' 'Hard feelings of woods, bones, shoes, etc.'
4.	Chakhashang	*to to* *pa: pa:* *tü tü*	'To feel hard to chew, break or press' 'Loose or sticky like overcooked rice or overripe fruit' 'Very sticky' (hard to be removed or peeled off).
5.	Yimchunger	*əyik əyik* *tʰrim tʰrim*	'Very hard, such as underdone meat, tough'. 'Feeling of rubbing legs, hands, etc. or touching only the hair not the skin'.
6.	Konyak	*yiŋ yiŋ*	'Feeling of electric shock'.
7.	Nagamese	*syap syap*	'Sticky like overcooked rice'.

3. Sense of Smell

SL. No.	Language	Expressive sound	Meaning of expressive
1.	Khasi	*jiŋ sma hek hek* smell EXPR. 'Unpleasant smell.'	'Smelly' (unpleasant).
2.	Tangkhul	*hik hik*	'Strong smell (good or bad) causing irritation in the nose.'
3.	Meitei	*swe swe*	'Intense bad smell such as rotten things or stool.'

4. Sense of Taste

SL. No.	Language	Expressive sound	Meaning of expressive
1.	Nagamese	*sətə sətə*	'Tangy taste'
2.	Tangkhul	*mat mat*	'Extremely hot (chili hot)'.

5. Other Senses

SL. No.	Language	Expressive sound	Meaning of expressive
1.	Khasi	*huri hura*	'Confusion'
2.	Tangkhul	*kʰak kʰak*	'Feeling of foreign particle in the eye'
		tuk tuk	'Beating of heart due to longing or depression'
3.	Meitei	*ciŋ ciŋ*	'Feeling of pain rhyming with the beating of pulse'
		uru uru	'Nauseous feeling'
		tʰuk tʰuk	'Feeling of depression or longing'

Appendix 2.2 Expressives in Bangla

	Bangla Expressives	Gloss
[i]	*hiɽ hiɽ*	Pull forcefully, inhumanly
	miʈ miʈ	In a sly manner
	ʈik ʈik	Nagging lightly, continuously
	tiɽ tiɽ	Seething with anger
	min min	[pleading] meekly
[u]	*huɽ muɽ*	Hurriedly
	ghur ghur	Roaming around
	chŭk chŭk	Hovering around with bad intention
	tuɽ tuɽ	[run] with small steps
	duɽ duɽ	[run] quickly
	ʈuk ʈuk	[gazing] expectantly
[ɛ]	*kɛʈ kɛʈ*	[talk] harshly
	ghɛn ghɛ̃n	[talk] complainingly
	pɛn pɛ̃n	[talk] whiningly
	phɛl phɛl	Staring incomprehendingly
[a]	*Dhã dhã*	Acting quickly, rashly
	hã hã	Greedily

Appendix 2.3 Expressive of 'manner of walking' in Khasi and Tangkhul Naga

(Source: Abbi and Victor 1996)

Khasi (Austroasiatic)
*yaid (*v) **'go, walk, proceed'.**

- *bak'-bak'* 'go hurriedly'
- *biaŋ-biaŋ* 'walk continuously.'
- *bran-bran* ' go very fast' .
- *brum-brum* 'go with heavy steps'
- *hai-hai* 'walk shakingly as if very heavy'
- *han'-han'*   'walk like a duck'
- *kep'-kep'*   'go slowly not sure to keep the equilibrium'
- ker'-ker' 'walk trembling'
- khne?-khne? 'walk like a lame man'
- khniŋ-khniŋ 'walk lamely' (as if very tired or there is a stone in the sole)
- khrup' khrup' 'walk quickly and stamping the floor with the steps
- kjik'-kjik' 'walk as if on pins'
- knia?-knia? 'walk nicely and willing to speak.'
- knip'-knip? 'walk with pain'
- kor'-kor' 'walk trembling (from sickness)
- kthai-kthai 'walk well-dressed'
- kthek'-kthek' 'walk like dancing as on springs'
- kui-kui 'move a short but large body'
- kynrum'-kynrep' 'go on pouncing'
- kyrthek'-kyrthek' 'walk like dancing'
- kyntup'-kyntup 'walk dressing very modestly'
- dar-dar 'walk briskly'
- der-der 'walk about with flying clothes'
- dat'-dat' 'walk quickly without turning to left or right'
- doy'-doy' 'walk quickly (small boy)'
- don'-don' walk like a bird or child'
- dop'-dop' 'walk like a child, who has just learned to walk'
- dot-dot 'move as an old person'
- neŋ-neŋ 'walk like an intoxicated'
- ner-ner 'move shakingly'
- nuŋ-nuŋ 'went on walking'
- hir-hir 'go longingly'
- yor-yor 'walk slowly from weakness'
- jaw-jaw 'go about in poorly wet clothes'
- ibeŋ-ibeŋ 'go completely naked'
- luŋ-luŋ/leŋ-leŋ 'go in a hurry'
- suki-suki don-don 'went out very slowly as an old person'
- mIen-mIen 'go about very healthy and muscular'
- rymphat' -rymphat' 'go about dirty and poorly dressed'
- sak-sak 'walk straight on'
- san-san 'daddle, walk as if not sure
- dain-ši-dain 'going ahead successfully'
- šey-šey'walk with long strides'
- šen-šen'go as a drunkard'
- šop-šop 'walk with caution'
- sar-sar 'go stealthily'
- suki lwen'-lwen' (v) 'creep slowly'
- tai-tai 'go about very dirty'

- ter-ter 'proceed in order'
- thaid'-ši-thaid' 'proceed on and on'
- then'-then' 'walk steady'
- thew-thew 'walk with strong legs'
- thiaw-ši-thiaw 'walk uphill with strong legs'
- thir-thir 'go quickly'
- thnet'-thnet' 'walk as if on the point of falling'
- thud'-thud' 'walk as stumbling'
- thut'-thut' 'walk tremblingly'
- twet'-twet' 'walk too fast'
- tub'-tub' 'walk as if not liking it'
- tub-pa-tub' 'go slowly'
- tuin'-tuin' 'go slowly like an elephant'
- wai-wai 'walk weekly'
- wey-wey 'go in a zig-zag way'
- wet-wet 'go on hurriedly'
- wit'-wit' 'walk with many obstacles'
- wut'-wut' 'go on hurriedly'

Similarly, in Tangkhul Naga walking is perceived in various subtle ways. The verb for 'walk/go' is *kəzət* which follows the manner adverbial expressives of several types. Consider:

Tnagkhul Naga (Tibeto-Burman)

kəzət 'to go/walk'

yaŋyay kəzət   'to waddle like a child (when walked by grownup people)
šiŋšiŋ - 'to walk with heavy footstep in a direct manner without stopping or
        looking about'
tʰuŋtʰuŋ- 'to walk heedlessly and laborously, usually with anger or worriness'
yuryur- 'to walk in batches at a time'
tʰuttʰut- 'to walk stealthily and slowly'
camcam- 'to walk blindly and slowly; walk like very old people'
həyhəy- 'to walk limpingly'
nutnut- 'to walk unprogressingly with frequent backward motion, as while
        forcing to go by pushing or dragging'
wuywuy- 'to walk waveringly, as when one is drunk'
yəyə- 'to walk in a leisure way without any purpose'
wakwak- 'to walk with long strides, especially by tall persons'
hiŋhiŋ- 'to walk fast with rather long strides'
rutrut- 'to walk silently and carefully, usually said of thief or persons with
        suspicious look'
təytəy- 'to waddle (by around one-year-old children)'
pʰutpʰut- 'to walk very fast (as if getting late for some place to reach)'
namnam- 'to walk straight and quickly not caring for hindrances'
kuku- 'to walk tiringly with bowed posture'
həkhək- 'to walk quickly with light steps'

yokyok- 'to walk swinging the upper part of the body from back to front, especially by thin and tall person'

haphap- 'to walk carelessly without looking for what lies on the surface/ ground'

yapyap- 'to walk uneasily with bowed legs, as when one has got boils in the thighs or buttocks'

rinrin- 'to walk carefully with hesitation, as on thorny surface'

pǝkpǝk- 'to walk lightly looking back and forth'

tʰǝktʰǝk- 'to walk mincingly'

nennen- 'to walk slowly with hesitation, as with shyness in front or a crowd or someone'

pikpik- 'to walk fast and swingingly, as in a crowded street or place'

Notes

1 For details on each of these to avoid the confusion created by the overlapping definitions see Abbi, 1992.
2 The author disagrees with this view as it is discussed later in the paper.
3 However, although small in number, Naga languages (Tibeto-Burman) do have non-reduplicated expressives.
4 In case of Khasi, these constructions are not verbal adverbs but adverbs per se.
5 See Appendix 2.1 and 2.2 for a wide range of expressives in Indian languages.
6 For details on their formation and semantics one may consult Victor (1992).
7 Numbers indicate the tone levels.

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