

**A GRAMMATICAL STUDY OF EXPRESSIVES AND
ECHO FORMATION IN TANGKHUL NAGA**

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SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES
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जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

Centre of Linguistics & English
School of Languages

C E R T I F I C A T E

Certified that this dissertation entitled "A GRAMMATICAL STUDY OF EXPRESSIVES AND ECHO FORMATION IN TANGKHUL NAGA" submitted by AHUM VICTOR in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) is an original work and has not been submitted so far, in part or full, for any degree of this or any other university.

We recommend this dissertation to be placed before the examiners for evaluation

(PROF. MEENAKSHI MUKHERJEE)
CHAIRPERSON


(DR. ANVITA ABBI)
SUPERVISOR

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

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Thanks are due to my friends for their motivating wishes.

New Delhi
July 20, 1992.


(AHUM VICTOR)

to

mom LANOTLA

and

dad KAZINGA

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Symbols

ʋ	=	Semi-vowel
CC	=	Simultaneous
^P C	=	Prebilabialized
≠	=	Syllable boundary

Abbreviations

acc	accusative
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
asp.	aspect
B	base word
c.p.	conjunctive participle
E	echo word
Exp	expressive
fem.	feminine
imp	imperative
mas.	masculine
mannr.attri	manner attribute
N	noun
non.fut	non-future
opt.	optative
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural
pres.	present
R	replacer
v.p.	verbal participle

Chapter I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

1.0. Versatility of Language

Expression of versatility is a common phenomenon of language. For instance, it should be expected that greetings and amenities in almost any language must be understood in terms of the situations in which they are used, rather than in terms of translation. (The same is ultimately true, of course, of any word in any language, but in many cases translation gives a reasonably accurate picture). Greeting formalities range from simple exchanges comparable to English "How are you?", "Fine." to ceremonies involving special postures including bowing, or standing aside motionless. It is unfortunately impossible to represent in writing the interminable exchanges, in Tangkhul Naga, of monosyllables like /yo?/ and /tə/, with substantive words of greeting and question about each other's well-being substituted from time to time, all in an inexorable metronomic rhythm. A three/four-word question has to be compressed into the same time as a single /yo?/. Sometimes I wonder when will well-meaning individuals, translators, and my little sisters ever stop asking me how to say "Good morning", "Dear sir",

"Merry Christmas", or "Happy New Year" in Tangkhul Naga. (One American missionary, looking for a title for his completed field-work, asked me how to say "Sex" in Tangkhul Naga, obviously thinking of all the connotations of the English word; deadpan, I asked him to look up in the dictionary).

But, what is done with many English expressions as described in dictionaries and grammars might be called "under translation". Another example in Tangkhul Naga is you SMELL poverty. You do not, of course. In many languages, however, there is a single verb for perceiving a sound or an odor; and in some languages such a verb includes also perceiving a flavor or a tactile sensation, perceived by other than sight. Similarly, the Tangkhul Nagas do not talk about "drinking" a cigarette, but many languages have a single verb covering the range of 'drink' and 'suck on'.

On the other hand, words may have more specific uses than we are accustomed to. In Tangkhul Naga, the verb /za/ corresponds to 'eat' if the object is /zat/ 'food' or almost any soft food. If the object is anything chewy or crisp -- including meat, fowl, fruit, and fish (though good fish properly cooked in groundnut oil "melts in the mouth") -- the verb used is /say/.

Interestingly, the verb /za/ is used for eating banana. This sort of situation presents a more serious problem for the researcher; he has to learn to incorporate more in his vocabulary than he expected to. Again, /za/ or /say/ is indeed the general word for 'eat', but with other objects it refers among other things to using up or wasting money, having sexual relationship, accepting a bribe, punishing, enduring suffering, and so on at considerable length.

Even finer distinctions are often made, as one might expect, in technical vocabulary which the non-Tangkhul Naga learner may have much less occasion to use. For example, there are specific lexical units – EXPRESSIVES, if I am not mistaken -- for various colorings and markings; a single word /prikpru/, for instance, mean something like 'green with tiny black and white spots on round objects'. Or, take a simpler example by observing the following sentence:

i-kuy wur wur nənɪŋtə ləy.
 my head spinning is
 (My head is spinning wur wur)

The present study is devoted to investigate into structures such as the above hard-to-define-or-translate underlined 'word' which appears to have some intriguing semantic ranges.

1.1. Chapterization

This work is divided into four chapters. In this chapter a short introductory remark about expressives and echo formation in Tangkhul Naga and other languages is made. The following part discusses the definitional/literature review, the state of art/an overview, and a brief description of Tangkhul Naga, and methodology. Chapter 2 deals with expressives -- focussing on phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic features followed by a brief note on pragmatic aspect. Chapter 3 deals with echo formation (giving more attention to reduplication and semantic aspect). The fourth chapter highlights the reasons for the neglect of study on expressives; drawing some generalizations and a concluding remark on issues in research on expressives and echo formation.

1.2. Expressives

Expressives, in spite of constituting a sizable portion of Tangkhul Naga lexicon, represent a neglected set of 'words' rarely integrated into linguistic descriptions. And though they are abundantly entered in the dictionary, they do receive wrong treatment -- they are not treated as 'constituting a single structured category', and they are not given a more formally oriented analyses.

Of course, as Childs (1989) points out, "... ideophones are not unique or even qualitatively different from those possessed by other word categories. No feature is unique to ideophones, but they do function somewhat apart from the matrix language, possibly due to their greater reliance on universals and less reliance on language-specific conventions."¹

In virtually every South Asian language there is fairly large group of words now generally known as 'expressives'. Many of them have some kind of adjectival and adverbial uses, and so should be considered here. Unfortunately, when it comes to talking about expressives, for almost every speaker of Tangkhul Naga -- including conspicuously myself -- puzzle-headedness begins to appear: we are rapidly reaching the level of our own incompetence. Everyone seems to recognize that some words are expressives, but no one finds it easy to define them with any precision.

In this work I seek to bring Tangkhul Naga expressives into the mainstream of linguistic discussion -- documenting this class of words as well as incorporating them into linguistic descriptions and using them to

1. Tucker G. Childs, 1989. African Ideophones. Mimeo. p. 1.

test linguistic theory. But, unfortunately, as no research work has been carried out so far on Tangkhul Naga expressives, I have to rely much on the large-but-not-so-coherent literature of expressives in other languages.

1.3. Definitional/Literature Review

The term 'expressives' as used in this work is inclusive of ideophones, onomatopoeics, mimics, imitatives, and sound symbolism. Although many writers today use the term 'expressives', 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', 'onomatopoeic adverbials', 'intensives', 'emphatics', 'impressifs', and so on. Again, different scholars give different definitions of expressives.

According to the list in Childs (1989:1), the term 'expressives' seems to have first coined by Duran (1961) in his analyses of Vietnamese. The term was later adopted and defined by Gerald Diffloth (1976)² and

2. Gerald Diffloth, 1976. "Expressives in Semai" in Austro-Asiatic Studies, Pt.1. Edited by L.Thompson and S.Starosta. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press. pp. 249-64.

Murray B. Emeneau (1978).³ The term 'ideophone' is widely used, however, for the African phenomenon, as in Doke (1935) for Bantu.⁴ 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, color, smell, action, state or intensity. This seems to suggest that ideophones are a grammatical class of words, a type of adverbial, but no formal criterion is given for distinguishing them from other adverbs. In the Bantu languages with which Doke was concerned, the invariable or indeclinable nature of ideophones has often been noted, in contrast with adverbials like those formed with the locative class prefixes; but the languages in question, Welmers⁵ argues, 'have at least a few other invariable words such as the term for 'today', which

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3. M.B. Emeneau, 1978. "Some Notes on Dravidian Intensives", in Collected Works of Emeneau. Berkeley: University of California.
 4. Clement Doke, 1935. Bantu Linguistic Terminology. London: Longmans.
 5. Wm.E. Welmers, 1973. African Language Structures. California: University of California Press. pp. 446-77.

are also adverbials but which one would hardly want to call ideophones.'

In a category similar to Dimock (1957)⁶ and Marchand (1957)⁷, 'phonaesthetics' appears to play a rather minor role in Tangkhul Naga expressives, though it is attested. For instance, Tangkhul Naga /ph-/ is a phonaestheme associated with 'swiftness' in expressives like phutphut, phetphet, phauphau, etc., but (of course) not phiphi, phayphay, etc. (See discussion on 'sound symbolism' in chapter 2).

It has also been noted for some languages that expressives are frequently phonologically anomalous. They may contain phonemes not found in other types of words, or unique sequences of phonemes, and they may be aberrant in respect to the rules of tone that apply to them. Paul Newman (1968) has aptly pointed out, however, that "It should be emphasized that the phonological distinctiveness of ideophones is a property of the set

6. Edward C. Dimock, 1957. "Symbolic Forms in Bengali", Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, 18:22-29.

7. James W. Marchand, 1957. "The Proto-Germanic Long Stops", General Linguistics, vol. 2, pp. 51-69.

as a whole and not necessarily of each member of the set."⁸ That is, some words that one would like to call ideophones may be phonologically normal, and a particular word cannot be identified as an ideophone on purely phonological grounds in all cases. Yet, Newman would like to define ideophones in African languages generally on the basis of phonological and semantic criteria. For Hausa language he defines ideophones purely phonologically, but he was less successful for Tera.

Courtenay (1969)⁹ applies a phonological definition also to Yoruba, in which several different phonotactic patterns are peculiar to different sets of ideophones. If such a phonological definition is possible for a particular language, it should be all means be used, it may well be that phonological anomalies may be diagnostic for many or most languages, though of course the particular anomalies will vary from language to language. Semantic criteria would seem to be extremely difficult if not impossible to apply in any rigid

8. Paul Newman, 1968. "Ideophones from a Syntactic Point of View", Journal of West African Languages, 5, p.107.

9. Karen Courtenay, 1976. "Ideophones Defined as a Phonological Class: The Case of Yoruba", Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement no.6, pp. 13-26.

fashion, although we may well have an intuitive impression that ideophones share some vaguely defined semantic characteristics.

Samarin (1965),¹⁰ on the other hand, maintains that ideophones must be defined on a language-specific basis, in terms of grammatical function. He clearly implies that ideophones constitute a morphological class, which may be true for some of the languages with which he has worked. This does not seem to be the case, however, for all languages. Courtenay (1969:138) explicitly says that Yoruba ideophones can be adverbs, adjectives, or nouns.

Fortune (1962), whose phonosemantic definition of ideophones in Shona does not seem as rigid as one would like, describes them as a 'subcategory of verb in the language.'¹¹

Diffloth (1976),¹² for Semai, considers expressives as a 'third basic word-class' of the same order of

10. William J. Samarin, 1965. "Perspective on African Ideophones", *African Studies*, 24, pp. 117-21.

11. Mentioned in Welmers, *op.cit.*

12. Gerald Diffloth, *op.cit.*

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'. They are classified according to their various modes of perceptions they pertain to and, for him, they seem to be 'extremely idiosyncratic describing a situation perceived as a whole, as an independent clause would'.

Emeneau (1978),¹³ 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. Abbi (1987)¹⁴ rejects such position. For her, expressives 'are not necessarily having distinct morpho-syntactic properties than the other lexical items in the language. For example, verbal onomatopoeics and imitatives in Hindi and Tamil operate as a normal verb and take normal affixations allowed.' Emeneau, however, rightly puts that 'perhaps it would be more just to say that expressives denote

13. M.B.Emeneau, 1978. op. cit.

14. Anvita Abbi, 1987. Reduplicative Structures in South Asian Languages: A Phenomenon of Linguistic Area. J.N.U., New Delhi, UGC Report on Advanced Research Project.

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'. For Bloomfield¹⁵ and Hockett,¹⁶ onomatopoeias can be judged simply in terms of sound and meaning. Such observation is quite understandable and in some cases perhaps valid, but subjective judgement is often heavily involved; phetphet may -- and is said to -- 'sound like' the crack of a whip to a speaker of Tangkhul Naga, but it doesn't to one of my Korean friends, though he would readily accept lkrl:l: as genuinely imitative of the cock's crowing sound.

Apte¹⁷ classifies Marathi onomatopoeics into two types: those in which there is imitation of actual sound and/or actions; and those in which the sounds are associated with certain sensory feelings and states of being. For Tamil, Gnanasundaram¹⁸ presents a collection of the

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15. Leonard Bloomfield, 1933. Language. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. pp. 156-57.
 16. Charles F. Hockett, 1958. A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York: The Macmillan Co. pp. 293-300.
 17. M.L. Apte, 1968. Reduplication, Echo Formation and Onomatopoeia in Marathi. Poona: Deccan College.
 18. V. Gnanasundaram, 1986. Onomatopoeia in Tamil. All India Tamil Linguists Association.

phonetically motivated or onomatopoeic words classified on the basis of their formal and semantic functions. Though he does not attempt, he suggests that the onomatopoeic words can be studied from the historical point of view also which will cover the loss and acquisition of onomatopoeic value by the words.

Another important work is Childs (1989) for African ideophones. He defines and discusses ideophones through a combination of phonological, morphological, semantic, and pragmatic criteria. He asserts that it is "best to think of ideophones as a prototype category with a core of good members" -- suggesting "a prototype definition with less good members of the class on the periphery and a core of 'best' ideophones at the center". For him, as one moves outward, members become less and less 'good' until leaving the ideophone category and joining another word class or even joining forms of non-linguistic expressiveness, such as gesture. He claims that that this definition can be used cross-linguistically and can be adapted to individual languages.

Abbi¹⁹ defines expressive 'as a unit morpheme as well as

19. Anvita Abbi, 1990. Semantic Unity in Linguistic Diversity. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study. Monograph.

a unit word' which 'acquires the meaningful status only after [a meaningless syllable] is repeated'. She describes expressives from the point of view of reduplication, and distinguishes them from other word classes: 'Expressives are a kind of MORPHOLOGICAL REDUPLICATION while other structures like ghər ghər 'house house'... where the syllable which undergoes reduplication is a complete word itself, is an example of LEXICAL REDUPLICATION'. According to her, the most significant aspect of Indian expressives is that they indicate five senses of perceptions, and, as mentioned earlier, they 'behave and function like any regular word and thus form a part of the lexicons of Indian languages'. She finds that South Asian 'expressives are not restricted to the perceptual words and manner of actions. There are many in various languages which lay bare a large number of feelings, situations, attributes, disorder, disturbance, confusion, untidiness, etc.' She claims that 'at least 15 different expressives to represent disorderliness' is known to her.

1.4. The State of Art: An Overview

Judging from the literature on expressives, and from my own experience -- which is not intensive for any one language but includes a sketchy sampling in a good many -- I would suggest that for Tangkhul Naga, morpho-

phonological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic criteria may be found necessary for defining expressives.

It has frequently been said that expressives are at least to some extent idiosyncratic, that is, that individual speakers may make up new expressives as they feel like it, with the effect of intensifying what has been said, and without any specific relationship between sound and meaning. Such reports seem to be wild exaggerations, based on insufficient or insufficiently scientific observation, though it may seem plausible if one listens to an expert story teller dramatically punctuating his narrative with seemingly ad hoc phonologically anomalous forms. With possible occasional exceptions, expressives in any language are, like other forms, part of the community-accepted lexicon of arbitrary associations between sound and meaning.

In Tangkhul Naga, one type of form commonly included in the category of expressives is those which can take a prefix -- ta-. The study of ta- prefixation is too vast a subject. Many non-onomatopoeic expressives can take this prefix, but the problem is that with or without prefixation they function as adjectives and adverbs. However, in most cases ta- seems to modify expressives functioning as adjectives and adverbs

expressing some relation of 'state' and 'manner'. (For detail see discussion in chapter 2). The following example, with intensive and continuative meanings, is typical:

a yok yok zət-li
he Exp go-pres.
'He is going wearily'

a ta-yok yok hai-rə
he Exp be-perf.asp.
'He is weary'

The justifiability of classifying such forms as expressives may be called into question. Syntactically, they function as adverbs and predicative adjectives, and both their reduplicated and non-reduplicated usage (of course not with all such expressives) are unique. They are, to be sure, distinctive in some ways. Phonologically, unlike other word classes, their tone is very flexible. Morphologically, they are invariable and indeclinable (with the exception of ta- prefixation). Semantically, they seem to denote some kind of intensive meaning, and their reduplication denotes the meaning of continuity. Is all this sufficient reason to put them in the special category of 'expressives' rather than calling them adjectives or adverbs? If they are to

be called expressives, they would at least appear to be a definable subtype.

A discussion on semantic ranges, the definition of lexical entries, cannot in the nature of the case be systematic, and it may seem trivial to one with some sophistication about language. A few examples of unexpected semantic ranges may, however, be instructive to two types of people -- those who are attempting to learn Tangkhul Naga after a minimum of technical training and who are easily satisfied with a superficial explanation, and the new breed of advanced student who is immersed in the complexities of contemporary theoretical linguistics but learns little about the realities of languages in their daily use. In short, a language has not been well studied until the nature of varied semantic ranges and other aspects, if not an exhaustible list of all recordable collocations, has been noted.

1.5. Echo Formation

The term 'echo formation' refers to a situation where the second part (called 'echo' hereafter) in a paired construction is an echo of the base word and does not have any meaning of its own. When attached to the meaningful base, the whole construction expresses an idea of 'generality', 'plurality', 'concentration', etc.

Examining published works on echo formation in South Asian languages, we find that not only is there a similarity in the way in which echo words are formed across languages but there is also a consensus of attitudes towards the extensive use of echo constructions and a widespread 'need' to use them. Echo constructions constitute an important portion of Tangkhul Naga lexicon. Although there are only about 70 echo constructions -- very less in number when compared to expressives, and echo constructions in other languages-- they are extensively used both in formal and informal speech and writing

1.6. Definitional/Literature Review

Echo words express varied ideas, the notions or meanings of things, quality, manner of action related to the one indicated by the real meaningful element. According to Emeneau²⁰ the function of echo formation is to denote a specimen which the speaker does not care to identify from among a hypothesized collection of identical discrete entities of infinite extension of a non-discrete handleable entity. Echo formation, for him, 'is evalua-

20. M.B. Emeneau, 1988. "Echo Words in Toda", New Indian Antiquary, vol. 1. pp. 107-117.

ted phonetically as a compound and that the second member of the compound, while it may be isolated as a separate word in certain circumstances, is entirely meaningless; if it should coincide with a real noun, this is accidental'.

Bhaskararao²¹ and Selvam²² discuss the structure of Telugu echo words and generalized some semantic aspect of them. Selvam points out that the base word and the echo always belong to the same syntactic class. This implies that their behavioral pattern is the same. He offers a set of rules governing their formations.

Apte²³ studies the echo formation in Marathi intensively at the semantic level. He discovers that echo formation gives an additional meaning of generality, generality without reference to anything specific, and thing, manner, quality or action of similar nature as indicated by the stem.

21. Peri bhaskararao, 1977. Reduplication and Onomatopoeia in Telugu. Poona: Deccan College.

22. S. Selvam, 1988. Expressives in Telugu. M.Phil. dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

23. M.L. Apte. op. cit.

Mahapatra,²⁴ for Gta?, defines echo words as those which are phonologically derivable from their base words. He exemplifies a set of rules governing their structure. He finds that echo words are formed by changing only the vowels of the base which is a common Munda feature. (In Tangkhul Naga, as we will see later, it is found that echo words are formed by changing the phoneme(s) or the last syllable of the base word).

For Abbi (1990),²⁵ echo formations, with specific types of meaning, is a typical South Asian linguistic feature which has originated due to language contact. Examining data of echo words in languages belonging to different families, she discusses their grammatical functions -- nominals, adjectivals, pronominals, verbals, and adverbials. She finds that 'echo word is formed by replacing the initial syllable of the word in question by another syllable keeping intact the canonical shape of the word. Most often it copies the initial vowel of the base word; hence Hindi sag vag 'vegetables, etc.' has -a- which is copied in the echo word also'.

24. K. Mahapatra, 1978. "Echo-Formation in Gta?", Austro-Asiatic Studies, Pt. II, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 13, edited by N. Jenner, et al. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

25. Anvita Abbi. op. cit.

Another interesting point which Abbi (1992)²⁶ talks about is 'semantic echoing' and 'functional echoing' in which the demarcation between them 'is not very clear cut. The language use and pragmatic factors help us in deciding which is what'.

To sum up, the above discussion has demonstrated the availability of a detailed descriptive apparatus for expressives and echo formation. Apte (1968), Abbi (1987, 1990, 1992), among others, treat echo construction as a form of reduplication. Expressives and echo formation possess a number of distinguishing characteristics, not all of which apply to all languages. Some linguists use the term 'expressives' and 'echo formation' interchangeably in the literature. This might have arisen from the fact that in common parlance these terms are not seen as distinct. As Emeneau (1969) points out, in South Asian languages both expressives and echo formations are areal features and both may be seen as 'structural traits of the Indian linguistic area'. They are, however, different from each other (and I will discuss them as two separate phenomena).

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26. Anvita Abbi, 1992. Reduplication in South Asian Languages: An Areal, Typological and Historical Study. New Delhi: Allied Publishers. p. 20 ff.

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1.7. Tangkhul Naga

The Tangkhul, phonemically /tan^hul/, belongs to the Naga sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family. It is spoken by the Tangkhul Naga numbering about 1,50,000.⁼ The Tangkhul Nagas are spread over the whole Ukhrul District of Manipur -- a hilly terrain spreading over 1823 sq. miles. A large number of the speakers of this language is scattered outside Ukhrul District.

There are 219 Tangkhul Naga villages in Ukhrul District, excluding 6 Kuki villages. The district is bounded in the north by the Mao hills of Manipur and Nagaland (inhabited by the speakers of Mao, Maram, Paumei, Angami, Chakhashang, and Konyak); in the south by the Sadar Hills and Imphal Valley (inhabited by the speakers of Thangal, Makeng, Kuki, Anal, Maring, Kom, Paite, and Meitei); in the east by the Kabo Valley of Burma (inhabited by the speakers of Kachin, Somrah-Tangkhul-Naga, Burmese Kuki, etc.); and in the west by the Tengnoupal hills (inhabited by the speakers of Rongmei, etc.).

The language spoken by the Tangkhul Nagas is simply

= "Census of India, 1991; Provisional Population Totals" shows that the population of Tangkhul Naga in Ukhrul District is 109,952.

known by their ethnic name 'Tangkhul Naga'. It consists of many dialects -- each village has its own dialect named after the village. The intelligibility among the village dialects varies according to the distance between them. Farther the village, the more is the unintelligibility. The so-called 'Standard Tangkhul Naga' came into existence only at the close of the 19th century. Its lexicon is comprised of the various village dialects in which the Ukhrul dialect occupies the largest portion. Standard Tangkhul Naga is very much receptive of any 'new' word found in the various sub-dialects; and as a result, its lexicon is enlarging rapidly.

Although the concentration of the Tangkhul Naga in the entire Ukhrul district was more, each village was on war -- "Head hunting" -- with the other. Constant attacks from the neighboring villages made their life uncertain and led them to seclusion. This seclusion, I think, is one of the main reasons for the gradual development of the village dialects. Their conscious efforts for using and inventing secret codes due to fear of war with other villages added to the diversity, in due course, between the village dialects.

The study of the Tangkhul Naga language was initiated

by Rev. Fr. N. Brown in 1837 with the publication of three short vocabularies in North Tangkhul, Central Tangkhul and South Tangkhul. Later, in 1918, Rev. Fr. W. William Pettigrew brought about the "Tangkhul Naga Grammar and Dictionary". Though these pioneering works are of much value, they are not linguistically sophisticated.

Many Tangkhul Naga scholars are now engaged in the development of the language. The Tangkhul Naga Literature Committee is presently engaged, among other things, in revising and enlarging dictionaries and grammars -- attempting to give, I learn, great attention to 'expressives'. This can be viewed as an encouraging gesture.

The data used in this work is collected from the contemporary forms of usage of Tangkhul Naga which is reflected in the literary works and formal and informal speeches and writings. In Tangkhul Naga, expressives and echo constructions are extensively employed in everyday usage including literary works such as the Bible, Hymnals, and High School texts, often giving ambiguous or vague meanings stimulating the reader to respond with ideas, associations, and feelings out of his or her own experience and background .

Phonemic inventory of Tangkhul Naga

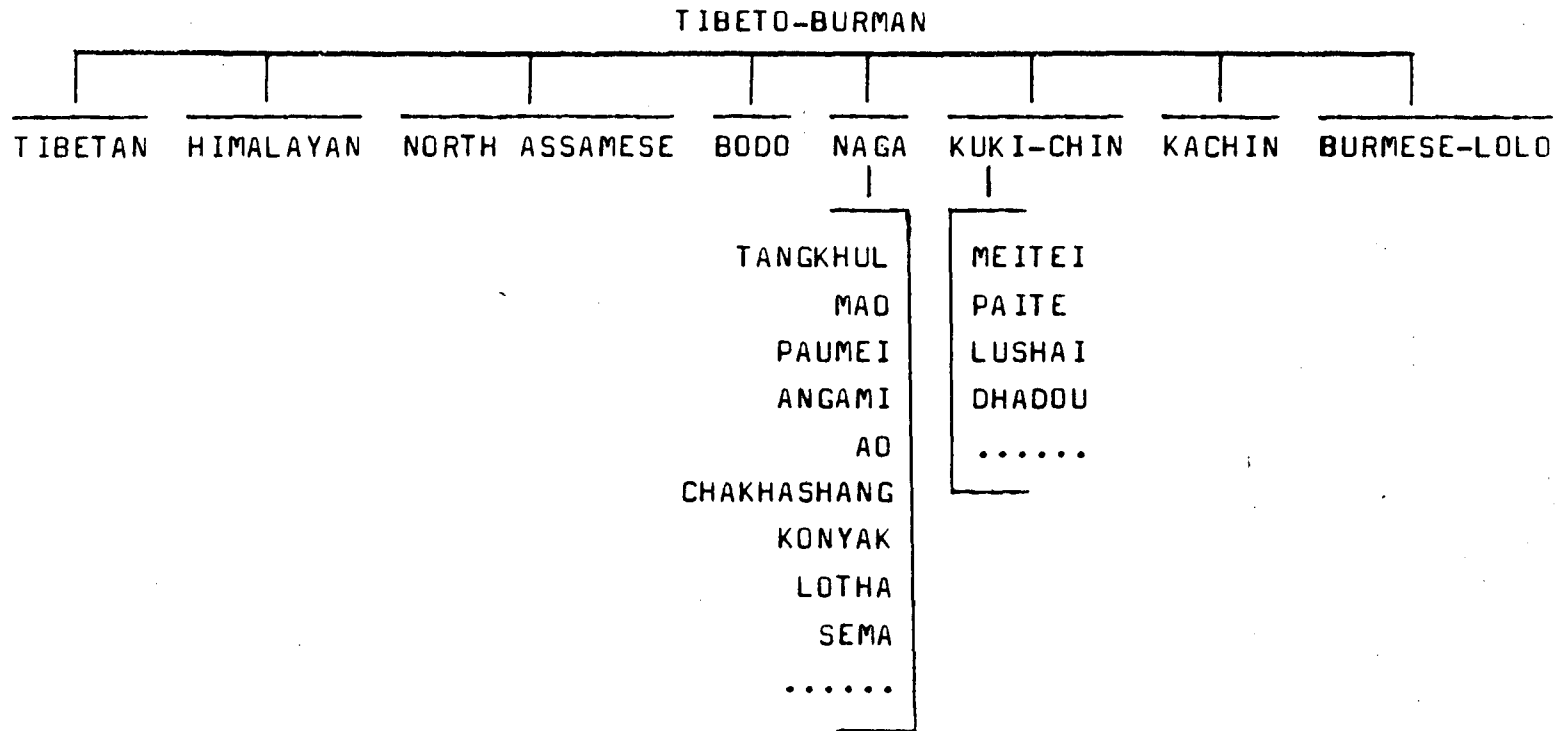
Consonants: p t c k ?
 p^h t^h k^h
 č^v
 f s š h
 v z
 m ŋ n ŋ
 l
 r
 w y

Vowels: i ü ù u
 ɪ
 e o
 ə
 ɛ ɔ
 a

Suprasegmentals: : = Length
 ~ = Nasalization

Tones: Mid = Not marked
 High = /
 Low = \
 Rising-falling = ^
 Falling-rising = v
 High rising = /
 Rising-level = /
 Falling-level = \
 \

Place of Tangkhul Naga in Tibeto-Burman



Adapted from Konow (1909).

1.8. Methodology

This work employs L1 approach or mentalist approach and inductive methodology -- accounting for the native speaker-hearer's competence. Most of the data come from my own intuition (since the language under discussion is my mother tongue). However, I had to cross-check the data with friends, scholars, and in the dictionary to get more information about the connotative and denotative meanings and usage of the data. Much data were collected from informants (through questionnaires and observation) and dictionaries and other literary works. And, for a more exhaustive analysis of both expressives and echo formations, I have entered some data found in some of the various inter-village dialects. I have the liberty to do this since, as mentioned, there are many inter-village/sub-dialect variants which the standardized Tangkhul Naga is very much receptive of, and also because they would be easily learned or comprehensible to all the speakers of the language.

Chapter 2

E X P R E S S I V E S

2.0. Do expressives constitute a separate word class?

Now, a very controversial question is whether or not expressives actually form a separate word category or a part with other categories such as adjectives, and adverbs. In some languages they do not. In Tangkhul Naga expressives do have syntactic and other features of their own. Many of them can be located in some already established classes, that is, no separate class is needed. Tangkhul Naga expressives function as adjectives and adverbs, and in some cases as nouns. I will, therefore, flatly reject the position that completely denies them linguistic status.

Now, if we can separate expressives as a word class, the next question is "What conditions define these words as a class?" No doubt, the criteria partake of the phonological, morphological and semantic peculiarities these words exhibit; but syntactic and pragmatic criteria will work as well. Occasionally, expressives violate these conditions in Tangkhul Naga as might be in some other languages too. But these violations do not vitiate the generalization achieved on a broad consideration.

The following discussion take the approach ranging from a focus on phonological features to a focus on pragmatic and aesthetic consideration.

2.1. Morpho-phonological

Linguists note the peculiar phonological features of expressives in various languages. Interestingly, and in contrast with some languages, what is unique about Tangkhul Naga expressives is their tonal features -- tone is very flexible with most of the expressives as it is nowhere else in the language. (We have to remember that Tangkhul Naga is a tone language in the strictest sense). In other words, tone is phonemic in Tangkhul Naga, for example, what might seem to some speakers of other languages to be a single lexical item kəpha is in fact three different words, depending on the associated tone:

kəpha	'search'
kəpha	'good'
kəpha	'pluck'

Here, I would like to quote the passage: "... a tone in a linguistic system will be realized in such a way that it contrasts with other tones in the system while varying according to context. In the case of English, tones are part of what is usually called

But it may not be the case with expressives displaying varied tones. For example:

(1) phík phík

(2) phík phik

(3) phik phik

(4) phík phik

(5) phik phík

all mean the same thing, that is, they all refer to a single item of expressive meaning:

'momentary flare, flash; glaring of mirror, glass, water, etc. that glistens in the sun; twinkling, as stars; feel or become quite fresh, as after a shower or when cold water is sprinkled while feeling sleepy; witty, physically and mentally quick and resourceful'

In the above example, although (2) is the more acceptable one when uttered in isolation, that is, without any affixation, almost all the expressives have the liberty of tonal fluctuation. However, the expectation

intonation ... but in many languages tones are more directly associated with syllables or lexical items." in John Clark and Colin Yallop (1990), An Introduction to Phonetics and Phonology, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

p.286.

is that not all expressives have this feature. For instance, the following expressives have a fixed initial low tone followed by mid tone:

- r̀um rum 'hard to break, or chew, as some nuts or dried fruits'
r̀uy ruy 'starchy and soft, as cooked yam, etc.'
ḡur ḡur 'murmuring sound'
r̀ik rik 'touching sensation of lice, etc. crawling on the body'

Likewise, some expressives have fixed high toned-initial syllable followed by mid-toned second or final syllable:

- só so 'raining non-stop moderately'
yaḡ yaḡ 'feeling of intense loud sound, usually unbearable to the ears'
hur hur 'smell nice or be fragrant, as perfume'

From these examples, and examining other expressives, I do not see that any tonal rules can be generalized. It is, therefore, best to simply think of them as accidental.

2.1.1. Structure

Tangkhuł Naga expressives have a structure of two syllables. Monosyllabic and trisyllabic, or polysyllabic

expressives are very less in number, and most of the polysyllabic expressives are 'compound' ones formed from two or three distinct expressives. Most of the expressives begin with a consonant. Out of 342 expressives (known to me), 33 begin with semi-vowels, 31 with vowels.

2.1.1.1. Expressives beginning with vowels

Expressives with initial vowel occur in the following varied shapes:

V(:)	<u>a:</u>	'expression of believing what is said is absolutely true'
VC	<u>a?</u>	'sudden and very brief crying sound when one is in pain'
V#	<u>əy</u>	'expression of disgust for something offensive to sight'
VVC	<u>oE?</u>	'belching or vomiting sound; expression of utter dislike; swine's crying sound'
V#C	<u>ayš</u>	'expression of mocking in a jesting manner, disbelieve, declining, or saying "No"'
V#VC	<u>aya?</u>	'expression of pretentious surprise, especially used while jesting, or insulting one another for fun'

- VVV ayyo 'expression of self-pity, regret, or wonderment'
- VCV#C apayc 'expression of inspiring pity for some minor mistakes or wrong-doing'
- V#VVCVC ayauvÉ? 'expression of anger when someone much inferior in age, strength, or status disobey or start creating troubles'
- VVCV#CV əhuyro 'expression of bereaving or lamenting'
- VCVC imim 'to be very tasty, as sweets, chutni, etc., especially when consumed in little quantity; so temptingly sweet-spoken that one finds to resist or refuse'

Thus, we see that expressives with initial vowel occur in varied shapes. The list seems to be rather exaggerating, and the same thing happens in vowel length also. Lengthening is also more susceptible to individual manipulation; and some expressives allow extra-long vowel.

2.1.1.2. Expressives beginning with semi-vowels

There are 33 expressives beginning with semi-vowels. They are found in the following nine shapes.

- ψV ye: 'buzzing sound of mosquito, bee, or fly'
- wo: 'expression of calling someone followed by the name or address'

ʌVV yi[^] 'sound made by bullet, stone, or a blow of fist moving in high speed and passing overhead or nearly hitting'

wau[\] 'produce a lot of saliva, as while chewing tobaccoed 'pan' for the first time, or while feeling nausea'

ʌVVʌV yəy[\] 'walk without any purpose, or uninvitedly'

ʌVVʌVV wuywuy[/] 'walk waveringly'

ʌVC wok 'sudden emotional disturbance after finding something missing; feel very sorry for one's own mistakes'

yut[\] 'knock straight into anything -- no control or obstacle in the way'

ʌVCʌVC wakwak 'walk with long strides'

yuryur 'go in batches at a time'

ʌVʌVC yaya? 'an interjective utterance used to express fear, disgust, etc.'

ʌVCʌVV yənyəy[\] 'to waddle'

ʌCVCʌCVC yheryhər[\] 'flow down smoothly, as water from a tape or pipe'

Thus, we see a number of phonological shapes displayed by expressives with initial semi-vowels.

2.1.1.3. Non-reduplicated expressives with initial consonants.

Out of 342 expressives known so far, 278 begin with consonant (31 with vowels and 33 with semi-vowels). That is, 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. The following are the various shapes with initial consonant displayed by non-reduplicated expressives.

(i) Expressives having CV(:) shape:

- phi: 'Leaking air or water with hissing noise, as from a tube'
- ŋa: 'babies' crying sound'
- kú: 'Expression used in hide-and-seek game signalling "Go"'

(ii) Expressives having CVV(:) shape:

- fiú: 'whistling sound'
- viú: 'sound made by a thin cane, or stick when waved or thrown in the air at high speed'
- cəo: 'yelling sound used in hunting encouraging fellow hunters and dogs'

(iii) Expressives which have CCVC shape:

thrək	'noise made in clearing off phlegm'
grēr	'roaring sound of a lion or a tiger'
krug	'close a door quickly with a loud thud'
prēt	'mid-pitched farting sound'
prət	'low-pitched farting sound'
khṛək	'noise of breathing with difficulty, especially by a sick and dying person'

(iv) Expressives of the shape CVC

Expressives of CVC shape occupy the largest portion in the non-reduplicated type. Out of 48 non-reduplicated expressives with initial consonant 16 have CVC shape. Some of them are illustrated as under.

tig	'ringing sound of 'smaller' bells; extremely dark; very timid or foolish; uncivilized'
phək	'slap hard on the face; the sound made in doing so'
phu?	'the act or sound of blowing wind with the mouth'
ḡā?	'buffaloes' crying sound, especially when they are about to fight'

- [/]rot 'give a hard and swift throw or kick, as in fighting (usually causing injury); get hurt in doing something with over exertion; rebuke or scold so harshly that the one who is scolded or rebuked becomes like a dumb'
- [/]čám 'unexpected sudden uneasy feeling or wondering in finding someone or something missing or absent'
- ^ˇšut 'expression used in chasing away dogs, or cows'
- [/]šuš 'expression used in chasing away domestic fowls'
- [\]ha? 'expression of jesting used when someone suddenly appears smartly with new clothes, or when a woman's physical shape (especially thighs) is seen through when she stands, wearing thin and transparent cloth, at a place with light or sunlight on her backside'

List of shapes goes on, and there are some more which non-reduplicated expressives have. Expressives of the following shapes are very less in number -- most of them have just one or two item(s).

- (v) CV# P^ˆthuy 'expression of utter hate, or cursing, usually made with the gesture of spitting'
- CVV jwu: [^] 'dogs' crying sound when they are scared or hesitant to attack an animal which would be dangerous to them'

- (vii) C+VV kyau / 'crying sound of chicks when they are scared or in search of their 'mother'
- (viii) C+VC kwɛ? \ 'croacking sound of frogs'
swɛ? \ 'expression of dislike for foul smell, dirty jokes, etc.'
- (ix) CV+C səys / 'expression of disbelieve, or disagreement uttered in a mocking manner'
fəyθ / 'expression of discarding or abusing with hatred or anger; saying "What the hell!"'
- (x) CVVC thoək \ 'sound made in spitting out phlegm after clearing throat'
- (xi) CVCCV čamri \ 'to be bright as moonlit sky or well-lit room; looking bright and happy'
həmbɛ: \ \ 'crying sound of a cow or a calf'
- (xii) CVCVV huroú ^ 'crying sound of a kind of black monkey'
- (xiii) CVCV# təray \ \ 'shout, weep, jump, search, or run at the top of one's lungs or strength'
- (xiv) CVCCVC cəŋkók \ / 'chirping sound of a kind of colorful-winged cicada'
- (xv) CCVCVC trarik \ 'to be bright as a beam of light seen through holes, as on the roof'

From the above illustration, we have seen an exaggerated number of shapes displayed by non-reduplicated expressives. As we will see soon, reduplicated expressives too have varied shapes.

2.1.1.4. Reduplicated expressives

To avoid repetition, expressives which can be reduplicated once (completely reduplicatable ones) will be discussed later in the section on Semantics (in which the difference between reduplicated and non-reduplicated expressives will be discussed). Here, only the three types -- partially reduplicated, completely reduplicated, and compounds -- will be discussed.

2.1.1.4.1. Partially reduplicated expressives

Partially reduplicated expressives are very less in number. Out of more than 250 reduplicated expressives only 9 fall under this category. Partial reduplication undergoes a process in which a vowel or a consonant/ semi-vowel or both are changed, deleted or added in the reduplicated part. The following are the different shapes of partially reduplicated expressives.

(i) C_xVC C_yVC shape -- change in the initial consonant:

s -----> r

\sum rum 'growing of plants very thickly so that
it is hard to pass through'

(ii) CVC_xV CVC_yV -- change in the penultimate consonant:

s -----> r

ηÉsÉ ηÉrÉ 'talk jabberingly (especially by children)'

(iii) VCV_x VCV_y -- change in the final vowel:

i -----> ə

\amí amə 'Becoming useless, unclear, or forgotten
of some very important persons, things,
or promise after a long time'

(iv) $CV\#CV_x\#$ $CV\#CV_y$ -- change in the final phonemes:

əy -----> a

huyrəy huyra 'groan or moan in unbearable pain with
continuous restless movement'

(v) CVC_0 CVC_1 -- addition of a final consonant:

∅ -----> ?

yá yá? 'expression of fear for someone doing
shilly mistakes'

(vi) CVCV_x(:)CV CVCV_y(:)CV -- change in the medial vowel:

o -----> a

ho?o:ho ho?a:ho 'expression used in quieting babies or putting them to sleep'

(vii) #VC #V# -- change in the final phonemes:

aŋ -----> əy

yaŋ yəy 'to waddle like a child'

Tonal rules. From the above seven examples, it is obvious that tones alternate in partially reduplicated expressives. As enough data is not available, we face difficulty in generalizing tonal rules. However, by examining the above seven expressives, we can roughly formulate the following tonal rules.

Rule 1.

reduplicand	reduplicator
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{High} \\ \text{Mid} \\ \text{Low} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{High} \\ \text{Mid} \\ \text{Low} \end{array} \right\} [\text{back vowel}]$

Rule 2.

reduplicand	reduplicator
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{High} \\ \text{Mid} \\ \text{Low} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{High} \\ \text{Mid} \end{array} \right\} [-\text{back vowel}]$

Rule 1 shows that tone of a syllable with back vowel becomes either high, mid or low, whereas Rule 2 shows that the tone of a syllable in the reduplicator is either high or mid (and never low) if it has a front or central vowel. The obvious generalization is that tones alternate in partial reduplications; (i) is exception.

2.1.1.4.2. Completely reduplicated expressives

There are 138 completely reduplicated expressives, excluding 113 'reduplicatable' expressives, in Tnagkhul Naga. They are found in the following varied shapes.

(i) Expressives of $\Psi\Psi\Psi$ shape:

- y^həyə 'going without any purpose, or uninvitedly'
 yoyo 'soft, smooth talking in a winning voice or manner'

(ii) Expressive having VCVC shape:

- əkək 'feeling of intermitent headache occuring rhythmically with pulse-beat'

= By 'reduplicatable' I mean those expressives which can exist both in reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms. Reduplication gives only the additional meaning of repetition, plurality, intensity, etc. (See discussion on Semantics).

- ÉtÉt 'pasty as wetted pot-clay, or flour; the sound made in walking on muddy surface or while mixing clay or paste; jabbering'
- ekək 'keep on slaughtering animals and consuming ravishly; frequenting dying of important persons'
- imim 'very tasty as sweets, chutni, etc., especially when consumed in little quantity; so temptingly sweet-spoken that one finds difficult to refuse or resist'
- ópop 'to be weary or done up; becoming strengthless after a long fight making easy for the opponent, as in boxing, etc.'

(iii) Expressives of CVCV shape:

Next to CVC pattern, CV is the most common pattern of completely reduplicated expressives.

- riri 'tremble in fear; blowing of wind gently; numbness due to weak health; feeling of relieving pain while getting massage'
- sasa 'flowing of rheum or saliva in large quantity or frequently; easily breakable as old or decayed thread or ropes'
- čiči 'shrieking noise of rats or mice'

rara 'the state of rice which is undercooked or cooked so well that the grains do not get attached to one another'

kúkú 'become extremely tired that an animal or a person cannot run away or try to run away anymore; harmless or well-tamed'

pa:pa: 'act in a mad fashion; to be daft; so tasteless that one feels (while eating) as if chewing decayed wood, especially due to complete loss of appetite'

(iv) Expressives of +VCVVC shape:

yokyok 'lacking in firmness and consequently drooping; become limp and useless as limbs; supple as a cane'

wutwut 'go into one place after the other, as when one is 'on the run''

yinyin 'slight shaking of shrubs or grass, etc. especially caused by an animal which is not in sight'

yupyup 'become darker and darker very fast as after sunset or with burning-out lamps'

(v) Expressives having CV+CV+ shape:

suysuy 'shedding of a lot of tears for a long time, especially in bereavement'

səysəy 'speak with anger in a revengeful manner and without caring for control or interruption'

saysay 'engaged or experienced in a variety of works or arts'

náy^hnay 'well nigh, tiptoe of expectation'

(vi) Expressives of CVVCVV shape:

héo^hheo 'noise made by phlegm-filled throat in breathing (as of athsma patients); frequenting loose motion due to diarrhea; noise made by little quantity of water boiling over great heat'

ceo^hceo 'noisy state or sound made by a large number of children, rats, or birds'

kau^hkau 'the way an insect crawls (spiders, ants, etc.); walk crawling liked a legged insect (especially upward or uphill);

(vii) Expressives having the shape CCVC CCVC

tren^htren 'repeated sound or discharging of thunderbolts; sound made by heavy hailstones falling on the roof made of corrugated iron'

phrəpphrəp 'the act or sound of bird's fluttering'

creŋcreŋ 'the act or sound of strumming guitar'

The above examples indicate that trill /r/ is the only sound to occupy the second member position of initial consonant clusters found in expressives.

(viii) Expressives having CVC shape:

CVC is the most common pattern of not only non-reduplicated and partially reduplicated expressives but also of completely reduplicated expressives. The following are expressives of this type with different initial consonant.

- haphap 'walk here and there carelessly, usually said of persons with distasteful behavior'
- čupčup 'noise made by crispy things when they are chewed or squeezed; do something in a rough and ready manner'
- tərtər 'the state or noise of boiling water or cooking something producing bubbles'
- pəpəp 'recite or speak very fast without faltering; to be easy in breaking or cutting with one stroke, as thread, ropes, etc.'
- məpməp 'itchy feeling due to skin allergy caused in contact with worms, flies or maggots'
- thunthun 'the sound or act of heavy fist fighting; produce a lot of dust while shaking dirty clothes or when children are playing on dusty ground; to stand up abruptly and walk away without looking back; going or doing without care and laborously'

- zəkzək 'say or do something reiteratively, or exactly as desired; work in a perfect manner that no complaint can be made; fragile as glasswares or chinawares'
- zəpzep 'hard to go through, as on a rough, rugged and stony path'
- vatvat 'the sound of boiling when the article is overboiled; soft and sticky as overboiled rice; wet; muddy and slippery; frequenting loose motion'
- leŋleŋ 'go willingly with light movement'
- reŋreŋ 'clattering or rattling sound'
- namnam 'go or do in a rush manner'
- phəŋphəŋ 'difficulty, as in writing or strumming guitar owing to being out of practice for a long time'
- kəŋkəŋ 'look soft and fully filled or large in number but find very hard and much less in number or quantity when handled or used'
- šipšip 'chirping sound of a kind of grey-colored cicada'
- šiqšiq 'hard to shake or move, firmly rooted or nailed; reliable; straight as a die; go in a direct manner without stopping or looking about or around'

x) $C_x VC_x C_x VC_x$ / $C_x CVC_x C_x CVC_x$ -- Expressives with

identical initial and final consonant:

tittit 'to be very tight like a gunny bag' due to over-stuffing, or a garment to be very tight when put on'

tottot 'in a hurry, hasty manner; rushing'

rorror 'do something one after another repeating the same action'

nennen 'feeling refreshingly cold, as water, air or body; to be cold in manner or approach'

ḡəḡḡḡ 'big fire burning producing a lot of noise, flames and consuming fuel wood very fastly'

poppop 'sound of hitting hard at, or falling of, soft and heavy objects (as body, or fruits)'

krukkruk 'hen's crying sound signalling danger, or to come for food, to its chicken; expression uttered in signalling the fowls to come for food'

propprop 'sound of effervescence'

Expressives having #VV #VV shape:

wauwau 'to be rough and dry as when scurf is formed on the skin and coming off in greyish scale; produce a lot of saliva, as while chewing 'pan' for the first time or when feeling nausea'

yauyau 'moving of many people here and there
noisily, boisterously'

(xi) Expressives having +VVVV+ shape:

wayway 'chewing something satisfactorily dis-
playing a lot of mouth movement'

wuywuy 'walk waveringly'

yuyyuy 'walk with the upper part of the body
swinging back and forth'

(xii) Expressives of +CVC+CVC shape:

yheryer 'flowing down smoothly, as water from
a tape or pipe'

(xiii) Expressives of CVCVCCVCVC shape:

mæronmæron 'by degree, series, or rotation; one
over or after another'

Thus, we have seen a number of shapes that Tangkhul Naga expressives displays. Some shapes are very common and some have just one or two items. For (xii) and (xiii) above only one each of item are available. We have also seen that all the sounds -- vowels, consonants and semi-vowels are found occupying the initial phoneme of an expressive.

2.1.2. Interface between Expressive Phonology and Morphology

It is mentioned earlier that tone is very flexible with Tangkhul Naga expressives. There are, however, some essential phonetic or nonphonetic factors that may govern the application of a rule and thus play a significant role in forming the phonological structure of expressives. Not much is known about the specific role that these factors play in 'expressive phonology'. As a result, the following discussion will be more discursive, reflecting our tentative understanding of these matters.

2.1.2.1. Compound Expressives and Tone Sandhi

There are 10 compound expressives in Tangkhul Naga. They are formed of two or three distinct expressives. In the process of compounding, expressives are assigned fixed tone. This results, in almost all the cases, tonal change -- losing their 'original' tone in isolation. The procedure of tonal description is clearly laborious, since "one must identify suitable frames to begin with and then run extensive lists of items through them, but it offers a principled way of basing a tonal description on reasonably solid evidence."²⁷ It is not surprising that tones

27. Hohn Clark and Colin Yallop. op.cit. p. 290.

interact not only with each other but also with their segmental context. In Tangkhul Naga (as in many other languages), there are quite specific assimilatory processes, whereby a high tone is realised as a high rising between a high and a mid, or a mid tone becomes high or low, or a high tone becomes mid or low, and so on. In fact the literature on tone languages suggests that interactions among tones are typical rather than unusual, and we can devote major attention to what is called 'Tone Sandhi'. Unfortunately, in Tangkhul Naga tone sandhi is sensitive mainly to trisyllabic compound expressives, and ta- prefixed expressives. (It seems that tone sandhi is not very sensitive to other word classes or word structure: I cannot think of, or find, any word to which sandhi rules apply).

Now, let us examine the following compound expressives and see how the sandhi rule changes the tonal quality of the word.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| (1) yúpyup + yəpyəp + səpsəp | ---> | yup-yəp-səp |] Mid
toned |
| (2) nŭtnut + nəknək + səksək | ---> | nuk-nək-sək | |
| (3) pítpit + pətpət + sətset | ---> | pit-pət-sət | |
| * (4) phomphāmsi | 'fully stained with blood, etc.' | | |
| (5) phíkphik + rikrik + phi:kphi:k | ---> | phik-rik-phi:k | |

(For glosses of (1), (2), (3), (5), see p.60 ff)

* Not expressive.

=(6) rumprirum 'a wind instrument made of clay; the
sound made in playing this instrument'

=(7) IkrÍ:l: 'cock's crowing sound'

In (1), (2) and (3) above, all the compounded expres-
sives have mid toned syllables. (5) seems to be an
exception -- with high toned middle or second syllable.
However, its tonal rule can be predicted by comparing
with the two non-compound onomatopoeias -- (6) and (7).
(4) is not an expressive but an adjective, added merely
for its tonal similarity with the preceding three exam-
ples.

Rule 1. (for (1), (2), (3), (4))

$$\text{Tone} \rightarrow \text{Mid/} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [C] \\ \dagger \end{array} \right\}_x \frac{[V]}{c} c_y \neq \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [C] \\ \dagger \end{array} \right\}_x \frac{[V]}{c} c_y \neq c \frac{[V]}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [C] \\ \dagger \end{array} \right\}_y \#$$

Rule 2. (for (5), (6), (7))

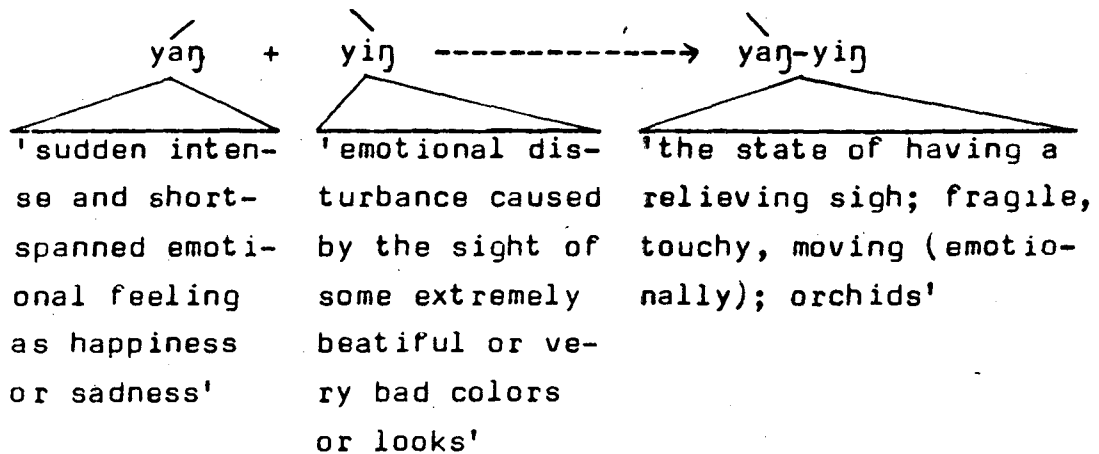
$$\text{Tone} \rightarrow \text{High/} \left(\begin{array}{c} [C] \\ \text{high} \end{array} \right) V(:) CC(C) \frac{[V]}{c} CV(:)C$$

In (2) above, the dental /t/ becomes velar /k/ in the
compounded structure. This might be because trisyllabic

⁰onomatopoeias.

compound expressive tends to have identical final consonants in all the three syllables. In other words, final consonant of the third constituent is copied in the compounded form.

Tonal change occurs not only in trisyllabic compound expressives but also in bisyllabic compound compound expressive. Unluckily, the following is the only one example of bisyllabic compounded form.



The high-toned yaŋ becomes low-toned and low-toned yiŋ becomes mid-toned when compounded. Rule for yaŋ cannot be generalized as the first syllable in any bisyllabic expressive can be assigned either high, mid or low tone. Though not very convincing, for yiŋ (losing its original low tone and becoming mid-toned) the most common rule, somewhat similar to that of Rule 2 in page 52, is applied. That is:

The tone of the second syllable with high vowel is high (mid in some cases) and never low.

2.1.2.2. Prefixation and change in tone.

Many reduplicated expressives can take the prefix /ta-/ which modifies the expressives functioning as adjectives and adverbs. This prefixation conditions the sandhi rule determining the tone of both the first and the second syllables. With ta- prefix (which is always on high tone) the tone of the first syllable is either mid or low, and the second syllable's tone is either high or mid.

Examples:

hekhek ---> tá-hekhek 'hard to chew, break, or move (as underboiled meat, bones, or firmly rooted stones)'

khakkhak ---> tá-khakkhak 'feeling of dust particle in the eye, hars to blink; anything skeleton-like or bony'

coco ---> tá-coco 'look massive and hard but find light and yielding under pressure, as beehives'

nəpnəp ---> tá-nəpnəp 'sticky, nimbly; skillful; coming the way as one desired; lucky'

reoreo ----> ta-reoreo 'jolly, full of high spirit'

riri ----> ta-riri 'giving momentary relief from pain, burden; to be rather helpful'

The prefix ta- is universally on high tone. After its prefixation there is a tonal shift operating. But no fixed or refined tonal rules can be generalized as tone is realized differently by different speakers, say northerners, westerners, etc. The following rules are tentative -- generalized for description's sake. (We have to remember that what we are doing all with tone, in almost all the cases, is what is more acceptable to me).

Rule 3.

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Tone} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{High} \\ \text{Mid} \\ \text{Low} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \quad \text{---->} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mid} \\ \text{Low} \end{array} \right\} / \text{ta-} \underline{\quad} \text{syll} \#$$

[syll]

Rule 4.

$$\text{Tone} \quad \text{--->} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{High} \\ \text{Mid} \end{array} \right\} / \text{ta-syll} \underline{\quad} \#$$

[syll]

But, the expectation is that not all expressives taking ta- prefix possess these features. There are some

expressives whose tones are not affected by ta- prefixation. For instance, consider the following examples.

- \backslash rumrum --> tá- \backslash rumrum 'hard but breakable or chewable, as nuts or dried fruits'
 \backslash ruyruy --> tá- \backslash ruyruy 'soft and starchy as cooked yam or some other vegetables'
 \backslash neoneo --> tá- \backslash neoneo 'feeling of dust particle in food while chewing'

Prosodic features, such as syllable structure and tone, will generally be more important marking as a different class. Tone is changeable with expressives as it is nowhere else in the language. Again, the glottal stop /ʔ/ appears only with expressives and not with other already established word class.

Expressives, in spite of their having adjectival and adverbial functions, are not declinable. If they bear affix, it is only the ta- prefix which is not affixable to any other class of words. Many non-onomatopoeic expressives can take this prefix. ta- modifies an expressive functioning as adjective or adverb. The result is that ta- prefixed expressives function as predicative adjectives or (manner) adverbs. (See discussion in syntax part).

2.1.3. Compound expressives

Compound expressives are divided into two types -- maintaining the complete form of the distinct expressives and deleting or dropping of one of the syllables of the bisyllabic or reduplicated distinct expressives in the process of compounding.

2.1.3.1. Maintaining the complete shape in compound formation:

- (1) zizi parpar 'having a special work needing close attention and anxiety for its completion, especially at the tilling and transplantation season'

from

zizi 'moving here and there restlessly drooping and peeping'

and

parpar 'touching everything at reach in a hurried manner as if looking for something needed immediately'

- (2) zizi yauyau 'make disturbances in any meeting or place where work is being done'

from

zizi (same as in (1) above)

and

yauyau 'moving here and there noisily, boisterously'

(3) yinyin yaya 'indistinct, dim, or purblind'

from

yinyin 'slight shaking of shrubs or grass especially caused by animals which are not in sight'

and

yaya 'become utterly disheartened suddenly'

(4) phutphut namnam 'do, go, or act quickly without pause or questioning as when something emergency happens'

from

phutphut 'do something with special speed and urgency'

and

namnam 'go in a rush manner and straight not caring for hindrances'

(5) thunthun yanyan 'going or doing something with sudden determination; strong blasting of wind causing the air cloudy with dust'

from

thunthun 'sound of heavy fist fighting; produce a lot of dust while shaking dusty cloth or when children are playing on dusty ground; stand up abruptly and walk away with long strides (especially due to anger)'

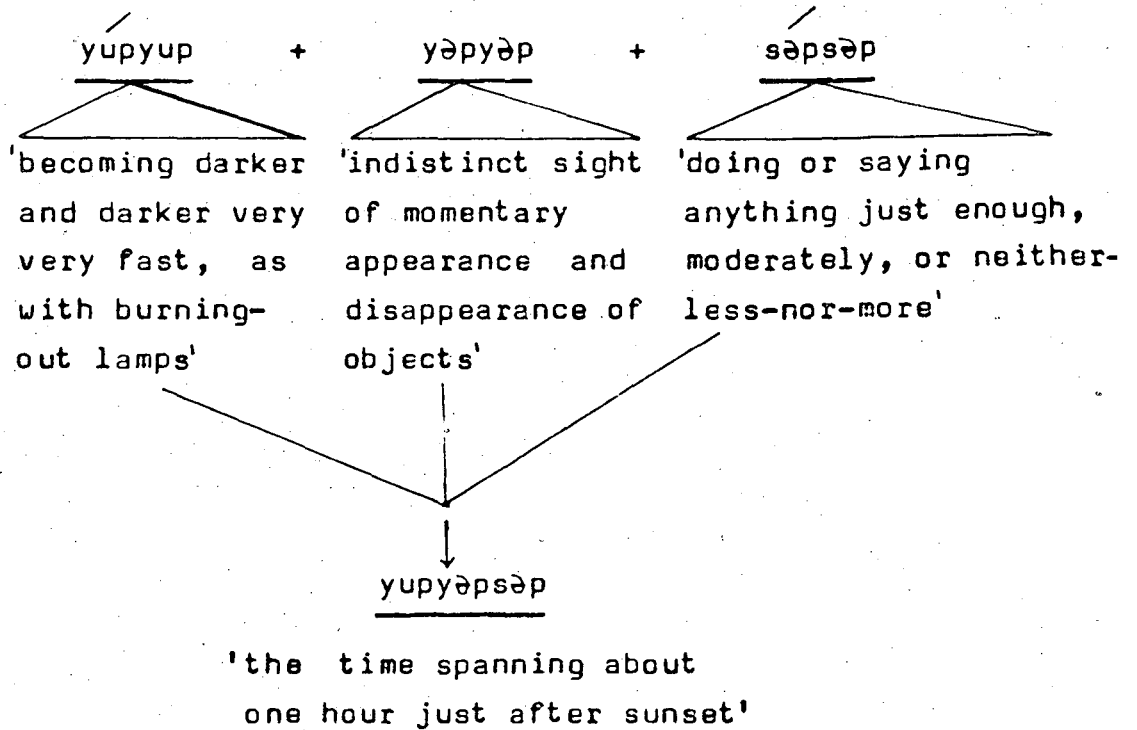
and

yanyan 'feeling of intense loudness usually unbearable to the ears; scattered and moving here and there (unable to control), as a crowd of people, a swarm of bees or insects, or a herd or flock of animals; fragile as dried mudballs, 'laddoo', etc.'

2.1.3.2. Dropping of syllable in the process of compounding:

The following compound expressives are formed from either two or three distinct bisyllabic expressives. The process results in the derivation of nouns and adverbs or new expressives. In compounding, the initial (C)(V)VC of each reduplicated expressives are combined together. That is, non-iterated part of each expressive is used.

Examples: (1)



In the same way the following three words or expressions are formed from distinct expressives:

(2) nuknəksək 'being engaged in other thing(mental or physical) and slow to start moving or doing something, especially when someone is anxiously waiting for'

from

nutnut 'hard to pull out, break, or twist (as plant's roots or ropes)';

nəkək 'soft, powdery, well nigh, tiptoe of expectation, do something minutely';

and

səksək 'feeling of indecisiveness; tasteless and hard as underboiled vegetables; feeling of worry while waiting for the detail information about some bad news'

(3) pitpətsət 'the state of thick muddy water flowing with whirling motion, as after a heavy rain'

from

pitpit 'shine like metallic objects, well-polished shoes, or bald head'

pətpət 'soft, or pasty as overcooked food; hard to catch hold of or easy to swallow as slippery objects or fruits'

and

sətsət 'do or say something fastly and skillfully as in dealing playing cards or reciting'

(4) phikriphik '(of, or relating to) appearances of objects, person or ghosts indistinctly for a very short moment and vanishing, usually causing fear to the viewer'

rom

phikphik 'twinkling; off-and-on shining, flare,
or flash of electric light, or water
glass, mirror glistening in the sun'

phikphik 'feeling quite fresh as after a shower
or recovering from illness; witty,
mentally and physically quick and
resourceful'

and

rikrik 'beating of ears by animals; feeling of
extreme fear, hair-raising; feeling of
lice, insects crawling on the body'

The above discussion illustrates that Tangkhul Naga expressives display a wide range of semantico-syntactic aspects, and interesting and peculiar morpho-phonological patterns. One can say that several rules are operating simultaneously, that is, tonal consonant copying rule and tone sandhi as discussed earlier are applied in the above compound expressives as well.

2.2. Expressives and their syntactic features

2.2.0. Introduction. The earlier discussions have illustrated, or posed the question as to, the existence of a separate word category. Tangkhul Naga expressives, in many cases function as adjectives and adverbs. They

qualify verbs and adjectives, and in some cases nouns. In many cases non-onomatopoeic expressives cannot be differentiated from adjectives and adverbs except on morphological and phonological grounds. This might lead one to think that expressives cannot be defined as a word class solely on the basis of their syntactic and semantic aspects. However, syntactic and semantic generalizations do exist. Sometimes expressives are so dramatically set apart from the rest of an utterance that they can be treated as a separate grammatical element. These demonstrate as opposing to the treatment regarding expressives as syntactically unattached and semantically optional elements --unnecessary in any referential or information-theory sense.²⁸

One productive feature of Tangkhul Naga expressives is that they are often introduced by ta- prefix. They also have collocational restrictions. They co-occur with verbs, adjectives, and nouns. One important observation is that Tangkhul Naga expressives appear in many sentence types-- declarative, imperative, optative, potential, obligatory, and interrogatory. (For simplicity, tones will not be marked hereafter).

28. Tucker G. Childs, op. cit., p. 13.

2.2.1. Syntactic features of /ta-/ prefixed expressives:

As mentioned earlier, ta- prefixed expressives, in most cases, function as predicative adjectives and manner adverbs. This is exemplified in the following sentences.

yokyok 'lacking in firmness and consequently drooping; become strengthless, or limp and useless as limbs; supple as a cane'

(1) a ta-yokyok zət-li
he Exp go-pres
'He is walking wearily'

(2) a ta-yokyok hay-rə
he Exp be-perf.asp
'He is weary'

2.2.2. Collocational restrictions

As in some other languages, there are some collocational restrictions of Tangkhul Naga expressives in their occurrences. The close relationship between verbs, adjectives and nouns and expressives manifests itself in the frequency of collocational restrictions between the three word classes and expressives. Further, onomatopoeic expressives in particular augment the lexicon as, for example, names for vegetables, tools or machines. Tangkhul Naga expressives

2.2.2.2. Expressives having collocational restriction
with nouns:

- (1) may həmhəm 'reddening of face due to shyness or
face Exp anger'
- (2) məluḡ thūthū 'feeling of intense anger'
heart Exp
- (3) kuyha rikrik 'feeling of extreme fear; hair-raising'
hair Exp
- (4) a məluḡ-tiḡtiḡ əynə pəm-li
he heart-Exp manr.attri sit-pres
'He is sitting so worried'

It is interesting to note that nouns with which expres-
sives have collocational restrictions are all human body
parts. Further investigation needs as to why expressives
do not have collocational restriction with nouns other
than human parts.

2.2.2.3. Expressives having collocational restriction
with verbs:

- (1) mənu rimrim 'smiling most of the time with pleasant
smile Exp appearance'

(2) ši purpur 'gloomy in appearance; in a pensive mood'
mind Exp

(3) khəksuy haphap 'breath in difficulty due to over-
breath Exp exertion (as running fast for a
long time)'

There are some verbs with which a large number of expres-
sives have collocational restriction. We can examine, for
instance, the following 'walking' expressives. (The word
order is Exp+Verb in this case).

'Walking Expressives' (kəzət 'to go/walk')

yayyay kəzət 'to waddle like a child (by grown up
people)'

šiqšiq ---- 'to walk with heavy footsteps in a direct
manner without stopping or looking about'

thunthun --- 'to walk heedlessly and laborously, usually
with anger or worry'

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'

kəzət 'to go/walk'

- uuyuy kəzət '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'
- highig --- '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'
- kükü ---- '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 forth, especially by thin and tall persons'
- 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'
- pəkpək ---- 'to walk lightly looking back and forth'
- thəkhək --- 'to walk mincingly'
- nennen ---- 'to walk slowly with hesitation, as with shyness in front of a crowd or someone'
- pikpik ---- 'to walk fast and swingingly, as in a crowded street or place'

2.2.3. Expressives in different sentence types.

Newman observes that ideophones in African languages commonly appear in declarative sentences.²⁹ In the Tangkhul Naga phenomenon, expressives appear in many sentence types -- declarative, imperative, potential, obligatory, conditional, permissive, optative, interrogative, negative, aphoristic, vocative, and topicalized/focused. We can see the following as to how a single item of expressive -- thamtham -- appears in different sentence types.

thamtham 'speak loudly and/or impressingly, or do something with full force without any fear, hesitation and pause'

(1) Declarative:

a thamtham mətuy-tə ləy
he Exp. speak+v.p. pres.

'He is speaking loudly without any hesitation.'

(2) Imperative:

thamtham khəmətuy təm-lu
Exp. inf+speak learn-imper.

'(You) learn how to speak loudly and impressingly without fear and pause'

29. Paul Newman, 1968. "Ideophones from a Syntactic point of view", Journal of West African Languages, 5:107-18.

(3) Potential:

i zət-khəreotə a thamtham mətuy-phok hauləpay
I go-as soon as he Exp. speak-start may

'He may start speaking loudly ... as soon as I leave'

(4) Obligatory:

nə kəthanə-nə thamtham mətuy-phəlungə
you leader-Aux. Exp. speak-must

'You must speak loudly without hesitation since
you are the leader'

(5) Conditional:

thamtham mətuyəkhə mipiŋ-nə nə-li so-rə
Exp. speak if people+nom. you-accu. praise-fut.

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

(6) Optative:

ithum-wuy məšun van thamtham mətuy-sə
we-gen. right for Exp. speak-opt.marker

'Let us speak ... without fear for our rights'

(7) Interrogative:

khəməya mə-khuylə thamtham khəmətuy-paci khipa khələ
permission neg-take Exp. speaking-hum.Det. who q.m.

'Who is the one speaking loudly without taking
permission?'

(8) Permissive:

* (a) nə thamtham mətuy-payrə
you Exp. speak-can

'You can speak loudly ...'

Though sentence (8)(a) is grammatically and logically well-formed, it is, in Tangkhul Naga, pragmatically an ill-formed sentence. This does not mean that expressives cannot appear in permissive sentences. Some other expressives would fulfill the purpose, as in sentence (7)(b) below:

metmet 'eat a lot (often too much), especially
by heavy and healthy people'

(b) nə metmet za-payrə
you Exp. eat-can

'You can eat a lot (up to your satisfaction)'

(9) Negative:

tangkʰul súnau-piŋ thamtham mə-mətuy kəsəy-mənə
Tangkʰul woman-pl Exp. neg-speak habit-neg

'Tangkʰul women usually don't speak loudly ...'

Thus far, we have seen how expressives appear in different sentence types. Some of the sentences above might not be very well-formed. It is only because of my attempt to exemplify with a single item of expressive.

Now, if we want to go still further, we can have the following sentences which one can hear often from the Tangkhul Naga speakers.

(10) Aphoristic:

sapsap 'eating most of the time'

vatvat 'frequenting loose motion, as due to diarrhea'

sapsap say, vatvat pay
Exp. eat Exp. defecate

'The more you eat the more you defecate'

(11) Vocative:

wo: 'vocative expressive uttered just before the address'

theotheo 'sound made by man or animal while going carefully or stealthily on surface covered with dry leaves and grass'

wo: theotheo kəzət-pa khi sa-kə-zət khələ
Exp Exp. inf-go-hum.det what do-inf-go q.m.

'(??) the-one-going-stealthily-making-sound-of-breaking-dry-leaves, what are you going there for?'

This seems to be a nonsense sentence. The underlined expression is used as an address in the sentence. But, to the Tangkhul Naga speakers, such utterances are not very strange. It can be uttered, for instance, by a

forest watchman suspecting the addressee to be a thief. Since the speaker of the above sentence does not know the name or identity of the addressee, he has to address the hearer with the 'expressive phrase'.

(12) Topicalized/focused:

phikrikphik 'appearance of objects, persons, or
ghosts, indistinctly for a very short
moment and vanishing, usually causing
fear to the viewer'

<u>phikrikphik</u>	'məniŋəkhə	məŋəthulaklu
Exp	if not	don't ever move

'The moment you are seen, you have to disappear
(run away); if not, stand still'

This sentence can be uttered, for instance, by a militant commander to the new recruits.

Thus, we have seen that Tangkhul Naga expressives display unique syntactic features. In many sentences, they can appear as 'head word' or, say, 'adpositions'. Unlike in other languages, such as in the African phenomenon, many of Tangkhul Naga expressives can be understood even out of context.

2.3. Semantic aspects of expressives

2.3.0. Introduction. We come to the most difficult part when expressives are subjected to vigorous semantic analysis. But, at the same time it is a criterion most oftenly invoked. Even native speakers find great difficulty in explaining the meaning of an expressive, especially of one limited to occurring with one verb or adjective. For Diffloth, expressives should be considered as a whole decomposed into very small morphemes -- elements as small, perhaps, as distinctive features -- to discard the conventional notions of root and morphology, and to treat them as micro-sentences made up of distinctive features.²⁹ Abbi asserts that 'expressives have their own idiosyncracies of meaning which evolve with the culture, history and literature of a particular language group'. She further points out that expressives in South Asian languages are used to emote all the five senses of perception, that is, of smell, sight, touch, hearing and taste.³⁰ (So far, I have been using the term 'expressives' to be inclusive of ideophones, onomatopoeics, sound symbolism, etc.).

29. Gerald Diffloth, op. cit. p.261.

30. Anvita Abbi, 1990. op. cit. p.16.

2.3.1. Expressives and the five senses of perceptions

Onomatopoeics as used in this study constitutes as a subclass of expressives, and as such, expressives express both sounds and other senses. Now, the division of expressives according to the five senses they express is rather evasive -- there are some overlapping among them. Abbi (1992:17) rightly points out that 'some of the expressives indicating the 'feel of' or 'touch' overlap with those of indicating sounds'. However, for brevity and to have an overall view of the meaning expressed by these expressives, division is made in the following way according to the different senses they indicate.

2.3.1.1. Sense of hearing.

Expressives of this type are simply the noise or sounds produced or made by animals, human beings, natural forces or objects, and in carrying out some actions. In other words, they are onomatopoeics having some similarity, if not exact, with the actual sound produced or made. Noises are divided into four types -- (a) noises made by non-human beings; (b) noises made by human being; (c) noises made by natural forces and (d) noises made by inanimate objects.

(a) Noises made by non-human beings:

- hũrou 'squeaking sound of a black colored
monkey'
- phrəpphrəp 'birds' fluttering sound'
- kwɛ? 'croaking sound of frogs'
- həmbɛ: 'crying sound of calf'
- ŋa? 'buffaloes's crying sound, especially
when they are about to fight'
- ĩŋ 'shrilly noise made by pigs or piglings'
- cici 'shrieking noise of mice'
- yĩ: 'buzzing sound of mosquito, bee, etc.'
- ŋrər 'roaring sound of a lion or tiger'
- ceŋkok 'chirping sound of a colorful-winged
cicada'
- šipšip 'chirping sound of a grey-colored cicada'
- krukkruk 'sound made by hen signalling its
of danger, or to come for food'
- lkrI:I: 'cocks' crowing sound'
- ŋyau 'cats' mewling sound'
- mu? 'dog's barking sound'
- ka:ka: 'crow's crowing sound'
- koktu 'cuckoo's chirping sound'

(b) Noises made by human being:

- hauhau 'sound of laughing merrily and noisily'
- oɛ? 'belching or vomotting sound'
- heoheo 'noise produced by phlegm-filled throat
in breathing (usually said of athsma patients)'
- thrək 'noise produced by phlegm-filled throat
in coughing'
- četčet 'sound of gnashing teeth, especially
made when asleep'
- poppop 'clapping sound'
- tək 'clicking sound made by the tongue'
- ŋa:a: 'babies crying sound'
- fiu: 'whistling sound'
- khl? 'sound made in blowing mucus-filled nose'
- P^hthuy 'sound of spitting forcefully'
- (k)rok(k)rok 'snoring sound'
- pī: 'high-pitched farting sound'
- pret 'mid-pitched farting sound'
- prot 'low-pitched farting sound'
- krokkrok 'sound made by air/gas moving in the
intestines'
- khIkhI? 'sound of laughing out out of control'

(c) Sounds made by natural forces:

- tren 'sound produced in discharging thunderbolt'
kuḡkuḡ 'thundering sound'
wurr 'noise of strong winds blowing'
cəkək 'raindrops' falling sound'

(d) Noises made by various inanimate objects:

- cūcū 'noise made by crisp thing when chewed
or squeezed'
kupkup 'noise made in chewing dried nuts, sugar, etc.'
tərtər 'noise of boiling water'
gūtūt 'noise produced in gulping or drinking water'
pum 'sound of heavy solid things falling
into water'
kəḡkəḡ 'thumping sound made in pounding rice'
šeošeo 'sound of coins, pebbles in a container or
when they are poured over; jingling sound
of a kind of foot ornament'
tektek 'ticking sound of clock/timepiece'
rumprirum 'sound produced by an oval-shaped wind
instrument made of clay'
təntən 'sound of tearing clothes, paper, etc.'

- phi:i: 'hissing noise of water or air leaking'
- vĩu: 'sound of a thin cane or stick when waved
or thrown in the air with high speed'
- creŋcreŋ 'sound of strumming guitar'
- zəpʔəp 'dripping sound of water drops; noise made
in chewing raw vegetables such as cucumber,
carrot, etc.'
- teŋteŋ 'sound made in beating empty tins, metallic
objects such as plates or sheets'
- tartar 'sound produced in weaving cloth'
- teoteo 'popping sound made in roasting or frying'
- tĩtĩ: 'sound of motor vehicles' horn'
- rere 'sound made by seeds inside dry shell when
shaked'
- retret 'noise made by shaky bed'
- phɛtphɛt 'sound made in whipping with lash or rod'
- photphot 'sound produced in digging soft soil with
full of roots; or in cutting weeds'
- krəkkrək 'sound produced by hard-soled shoes
while walking on smooth and hard surface'
- preŋpreŋ 'sound of metallic utensils falling on
the ground or clashing one another'

2.3.1.2. Sense of sight:

- püpü 'illusory sight of tiny shining objects
or pebbles flying (especially due to sickness)'
- phikphik 'off-and-on shining, flaring as of flash-light
or water, mirror, etc. glistening in the
sun; twinkling of stars'
- hanhan 'indistinct bright sight seen when one's
eyes are filled with tears; intense shining
as direct sunlight usually unbearable to
the eye'
- pitpit 'shining of metallic objects, well-polished
shoes, or bald head'
- yəpyəp 'indistinct sight of momentary appearance
and disappearance of objects, persons, etc.'
- yij 'deep-shaded color or extremely colorful
objects which usually give pleasant or
unpleasant feeling'

2.3.1.3. Sense of touch:

This refer to the feeling or sensation when human
body is in contact with 'anything'. Thus, it is not
restricted only to the sense felt by the skin.

- khakkhak 'feeling of dust particle in the eye'

rikrik	'feeling of lice, etc. crawling on the skin'
EtEt	'pasty, as wetted flour , or overcooked rice'
ruprup	'feeling (especially on the face) of humid warm wind blowing'
pupu	'feeling of cutaneous eruptions such as scabbies, prickly heat or other skin disease'
meomeo	'sensation in touching extremely sharp or keen-edged knife or razor'
nennen	'feeling of pleasantly cold water'
yahyah	'feeling of extremely cold water or ice'
nəunəu	'soft and yielding as balloon'
naynay	'slippery as fish or mossed stone'
neoneo	'feeling dust/sand particle while chewing food'
nonnon	'feeling of touching soft body such as earth-worms'
honhon	'feeling of pleasant cold wind blowing'
lərlər	'feeling in pressing hard muscle, tyres, air-filled balls, etc.'
hathat	'feeling of cracked sole or chapped lips touching on soft skin'
nəknək	'powdery'

2.3.1.4. Sense of taste and smell:

matmat	'burning sensation of extremely hot chilli'
satsat	'burning sensation of hot chilli'
phəkphək	'taste very sour'
inim	'taste very sweet, yummy'
pa:pa:	'so tasteless that one feels like chewing decayed 'woods' when one has lost appetite completely'
cek	'taste very bitter'
hikhik	'smell very strong like burning chilli, or menthol, etc., usually hard to inhale'
hurhur	'smell very good like perfume , fragrant flowers'
hunhun	'smell very good like spicy food'
rutrut	'smell very bad like rotten things, stool, etc.'

2.3.1.5. Other senses -- emotional or physical:

There are many expressives indicating the various emotional and physical feelings -- happiness, anxiety, loneliness, giddiness, anger, impatience, etc.

riri	'pleasant feeling as while getting massage'
------	---

məpməp	'itchy feeling due to allergy'
wokwok	'feeling deadpan, or dumbfounded (not like in other days or times)'
šepšep	'itchy and pain feeling while scratching pus-filled scabbies or boils'
tuktuk	'feel so anxious or worried causing the pulse beat faster'
wok	'sudden emotional disturbance after finding something missing; feel very sorry for one's own mistakes'
cam	'sudden uneasy feeling in finding someone missing, or in losing the way to some place'
yanyan	'feeling of unbearable intense loud sound'
kək	'feeling of intense headache, as due to hangover'
lərlər	'feeling so angry causing the face twitching'
thəŋthəŋ	'throbbing feeling, as when a boil has formed'
reprep	'pain feeling caused by nettling'
rinrin	'uneasy feeling, as while taking injection, walking barefoot on stony or thorny surface, at the sight of dread-looking insects or raptiles, or while descending suddenly on board a flight'

rimrim 'feeling of pain when stung by bees, ants,
or nettle'

phərpħərpħə 'feel so difficult in doing something, as
writing or struming guitar due to out of
practice for a long time'

Thus, we see a large number of expressives indicating both mental and physical comportment of human beings (apart from the 'five senses') describing varied states or feelings. This type of expressives is the largest category followed by sense of touch and sight. Surprisingly, expressives of taste and smell are very less (just three or four) in number.

2.3.2. Sound symbolism

In a category somewhat similar to onomatopoeia, sound symbolism appears to play a rather minor role in Tangkhul Naga expressives. Here, the term 'sound symbolism' is used as a sound or sequence of sounds recurring in a number of expressives associated in some way with the idea. Unfortunately, this discussion will be rather discursive because there are many instances of incongruity. For instance, (I would like to say that) /ph-/ in initial

position in Tangkhul Naga expressives is associated with 'quickness' after examining the following expressives.

phikphik 'witty, physically and mentally quick and resourceful; fast off-and-on shining of flash-light'

phrəpphrəp 'birds' fluttering'

phu? 'blowing wind with the mouth forcefully (cf. phu: 'blowing ... gently)'

phutphut 'do something with special speed or urgency'

phetphet 'whipping with lash or rod; falling of rain drops accompanied by strong winds'

phukphuk 'become very angry suddenly (said of hot-tempered persons)'

phak 'give a hard and swift blow; grow up very fastly, as plants, young boys or girls at the stage of adolescence'

But, the expectation is that not all expressives with initial /ph-/ are associated with the idea of 'fastness' or 'quickness'. And, contrastingly, some expressives indicate the opposite idea -- 'slowness'.

phəpəpəp 'find very difficult in doing something due to out of practice for a long time'

phayphay 'spreading slowly and steadily, as climbing roots of pumpkin, gourd, etc.'

Again, one expressive may denote two polar ideas or meanings. For example:

phukphuk (1) become very angry suddenly; and
(2) walk slowly with difficulty, as on the sand

However, employing the 'frequency count', we can have the following broad generalizations:

- (1) 'bright' is associated with spread vowels /i/ and /a/;
- (2) 'dark' is associated with /u/ or rounded vowels;
- (3) high tone usually represent small things and faster motion or action;
- (4) low tone usually represent larger things and slower motion or action;
- (5) increasingly more powerful action or intensity is conveyed as one moves through the series of ejective, aspirated stops and breathy-voiced stops;
- (6) final semi-vowel represent continuity and slowness;
- (7) final diphthongs represent continuity and fastness;

(8) final /-ak/ conveys slower but more powerful action, or intense state;

(9) final /-ik/ conveys faster but less powerful action, or less intense state;

(10) long vowel gives the concepts of 'more' or larger;

(11) short vowel gives the concepts of 'less' or 'smaller';

and, interestingly,

(12) distorted pronunciation denotes irregular shapes, motion, etc.

Such generalization is not an unequivocal observation. There are many inconsistencies. Sound symbolisms are indeed problematic and are impossible to specify precisely. In many cases, the same 'phonaestheme' conveys not only different ideas but also opposite or polar ideas as we saw in the case of initial /ph-/.

2.3.3. Names of objects and animals derived from expres-

sives:

prikpru 'striped or spotted with tiny colors in such a way that one senses as if the spots or stripes are moving or shaking'

prikpru-la 'a kind of green pumpkin with small
fem. black and white spots'
marker

nignig 'the way a windmill rotates'

nignig-a 'pinwheel or windmill'

mas.
marker

yeye 'hissing sound of air, water, etc,
leaking'

yeye-a 'a mantled kerosene lamp with pump --
mas. 'petromax' -- which produce a hissing
marker sound when pumped and lighted'

koktu 'cuckoo; chirping sound of cuckoo'

ceoceo 'noise made by a large number of rats,
birds, or children; low-pitched chirp-
ing sound of birds'

ceoceo-a 'a dark-grey colored bird'
mas.marker

rumprirum 'an ancient Tangkhul Naga wind instru-
ment made of clay (with three holes --
one for blowing with the mouth and
two for playing with the fingers); the
sound made in playing this instru-
ment'

These names of objects and birds reflect onomatopoeic origin, likely mediated by ideophones. In Tangkhul Naga many insects, reptiles, and birds are named in this way. There are hundreds of them whose names are derived from onomatopoeias with or without gender marker.

2.3.4. Difference between reduplicated and non-reduplicated expressives

This refer to the 'reduplicatable' expressives which can occur both in non-reduplicated and completely reduplicated forms. Out of 253 completely reduplicated expressives in Tangkhul Naga, 113 fall under this category. The following expressives in non-reduplicated and reduplicated forms denote certain amount of difference in meaning.

cup 'noise or act of breaking crisp things with one bite, or squeeze'

cupcup 'repeated noise or act of breaking crisp things by chewing or squeezing'

tut 'being overcrowded, as in a bus, room, etc.'

tuttut 'being overcrowded, as in a bus, room, etc. (Here, either the state of being overcrowded is recurred or the place -- bus, room, etc. -- is more than one).

phau 'flowing of water plentifully, as from a tape'

phauphau 'continuous flowing of water plentifully, as from a tape'

hau 'the act or sound of laughing out suddenly by many persons'

hauhau 'continuous laughing merrily and loudly'

yit 'feeling giddy especially while standing
up suddenly from a long sitting position'

yityit 'continuous feeling of giddiness while
walking or standing; feeling nausea'

(Here, the degree of giddiness is less acute or intense
when reduplicated)

From the above few examples, we see that there are some
differences in meaning between reduplicated and non-redu-
plicated expressives. In most cases, reduplication gives
the additional meaning of repetition, continuity, inten-
sity, plurality, or demunitive.

In summary, Tangkhul Naga expressives have a wide range
of 'modifier' function. Sometimes, they are quite
specific, evoking some concrete imagery. The above dis-
cussion has also illustrated the types of sound-meaning
associations found in expressives.

2.4. Pragmatic aspects of expressives

As illustrated above, expressives are not found only in
declarative sentence types. They appear in various types
of sentence . Again, they are not restricted to certain
types of discourse, and I don't see any of their being

correlated strictly with social factors such as sex, age, educational qualification, westernization or urbanization. Interestingly, I observe most of the elderly and more educated people being 'proud' of their having more access to employing more expressives in their narrative and public speaking. The Tangkhul Naga Bible translators (among others), too, find great need to convey the content meaning of various passages (both clear and vague) by employing expressives extensively. Thus, expressives are featured both in formal and informal styles. All these are in contrast to some languages such as the African phenomenon as stated in Childs (1989). Of course, to some context, some expressives are considered inappropriate, and those denoting obscenity are even prohibited.

Linguists note the curious connection of expressives to the context not found with other words. For example, researchers on African ideophones find that they do not refer to context as do diectic words, but rather they can derive meaning from their context. Such observation is partial since in Tangkhul Naga expressives are hard to distinguish from adjectives and adverbs. It is useful to note that there are some individual variation in the frequency with which different speakers use expressives. While serving the general function of expressiveness, expressives may serve individual expressiveness and not group-oriented expressiveness.

For Doke (1954:86-87), the issue of interdialectal or 'dialectal variation is considerable, as in Southern Bantu, in "striking contrast" to the affinities found elsewhere.' This seems to be a vexing issue, but, in Tangkhul Naga, I don't find any variation among the various inter-village dialects except in phonology. Data collected from some ten major inter-villages (including the Ukhrul dialect which constitutes more than half of the standardized lexicon) shows that there is no difference between the expressives of the varied dialects as far as morphology, syntax and semantics (and pragmatics) are concerned.

In sum, the extensive use of expressive in the Tangkhul Naga phenomenon is, I guess, the result of language loyalty with the speakers' ever increasing effort to promote the language (by trying to do away as much as possible with loan or borrowed words). The philosophy of the people shapes their language to a great extent.

Chapter 3

E C H O F O R M A T I O N

3.0. Introduction. Echo formation, as seen in chapter 1, is a widespread phenomenon in most of the South Asian languages. It applies at the level of word. Studies in Tangkhul Naga and other languages reveal that class of words such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives may be used in the construction of echo words. Though very less number of echo words are found in Tangkhul Naga, they are very commonly used both in formal and informal speech.

Echo formation simply refers to a situation in which the second 'word' (the first in some rare cases) in the paired construction is an echo of the base word, and the echo word has no individual occurrence of its own.

Linguists have been defining or redefining the term 'echo word' as different languages display different structural rules. Abbi (1992:20) states that " An echo word has been defined as a partially repeated form of the base word -- partially in the sense that that either the initial phoneme (which can be either a consonant or a vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. The 'replacer' (phoneme or syllable) sound sequences are more or less fixed or rigid. The replacer sound sequences may not

necessarily be unique but may never be numerous ". This is an exhaustive definition in broad term. But redefinition is needed again as echo formation in Tangkhul Naga display some peculiarities. For instance, consider the following examples of echo formation.

thigna riha
 = plant kingdom
 B Echo

thig + ana
 plant leave (of plant)

Here one might not like to think of the echo word riha as a partial repetition of the base thigna. The second part may not even seem to be an echo word to one who encounter such examples for the first time. But echo formation is at work here. Only redefinition is needed. The consonant of both the syllables of the base word are replaced and the vowel are retained.

Also, surprisingly, unlike in Hindi, Tamil, Telugu and many other languages, the number of replacer is unbelievably very high in the Tangkhul Naga. Out of only 68 echo words, there are 32 replacers out of which three are very common and each of the rest are found in just one or two word(s)/items(s).

This chapter gives a description of the structure of echo formation offering a set of 'replacers'. The function of the various types of echo words at the semantic level, and their grammatical position, will also be discussed.

3.1. Structure of Echo words

An echo word is divided into two parts --(1). The stable base and (2) The divergent base or replaced part; and to make description simpler (and for convenience) I will use the symbols S and R for 'stable base' and 'replaced part/replacer' respectively. The base word will be represented by the symbol B. For example, the whole construction of hame 'housefly' + hara will be represented as:

<u>hame</u>	<u>ha-ra</u>
B	S R

that is, hame is the base word; ha- the stable base and -ra the replacer. Elsewhere, echo word will be represented by the symbol E in the following way:

<u>hame</u>	<u>hara</u>	'houseflies, etc.'
housefly	E	

The division of categories and offering the rules governing the formation poses a problem. As mentioned, there are only 68 echo words and we find 32 replacers. Three of them are very common, the rest with just one or two item(s).

There is no fixed replacers and all the replacers seem to be collocationally restricted. And as no rules can be formulated, what best we can do is to simply list all the replacers, and, for the sake of convenience and description, broadly divide into the following four types.

Type 1. Replacing the phoneme(s) of the last syllable:

(1) R = /-a/

<u>ɲətək</u>	<u>ɲəta</u>	'intermit, by rotation, one after
intermit	ɛ	the other'

<u>mərəy</u>	<u>mərə</u>	'tricks, cunning, designing'
trick	ɛ	

<u>kəcun</u>	<u>kəca</u>	'larger number, majority'
large	ɛ	

<u>pakrū</u>	<u>pakra</u>	'posts and pillars of all sorts'
post	ɛ	

(2) R = /-r-/

<u>acəy</u>	<u>arəy</u>	'manner, behavior, attiquette'
manner	ɛ	

<u>tacəm</u>	<u>tarəm</u>	'even, methodical, to be in order,
even	ɛ	systematical, good manner'

(7) R = /-or/

khəŋərik khəŋəror 'restless, excessive, or deviant
outsmart ɛ behavior; overact, outsmart'

(8) R = /-ɛ/

akhərū akhərɛ 'ropes, cords, creepers, roots, etc.'
rope ɛ

(9) R = /-aŋ/

kəcot kəcaŋ 'tire, suffering, poverty, pain, etc.'
tire ɛ

məru məraŋ 'spices, etc.'
spice ɛ

(10) R = /-n-/

kūcay kūnay 'worms, lizards, snakes, etc.'
worm ɛ

(11) R = /-ya-/

kəpoŋ khəyaŋ 'full, complete, successful,
full ɛ without any mistake, trouble, or
delay in carrying out something'

(12) R = /-ət/

ŋəci ŋəcət 'fear, fright, etc.'
fear ɛ

(13) R = /-əy/

məhek məhəy 'witty, outwit, outsmart, proud, etc.'
outsmart ɛ

Note on Type I.

The above replacers replace the phoneme(s) of the last syllable of the base word. Replacers (1), (2) and (3) are the most common -- found in 16, 11 and 7 numbers of echo formations respectively. (8) and (9) are found in two echo formations each and the rest in just only one. All the replacers are collocationally restricted and no structural rules can be generalized.

Type II. Replacing the last syllable of the base word.

(14) R = -yaŋ

khəsaŋ khəyaŋ 'scatter, chase away'
chase E

(15) R = -ra

hame hara 'flies, etc.'
fly E

(16) R = -zat

awor azat 'trick, cunning, pretentious, etc.'
trick, E
knowledge

(17) R = -reg

məzū məreg 'unskill, not gifted, inexperienced'
unskill, E
not hit-
ting, missed

(18) R = -rak

kəsoy khərak 'failure, hindrance, misfortune'
fail, E
mistake

(19) R = -ḡay

kəcam khəḡay 'poverty, etc.'
poor E

(20) R = -ror

khəḡayəy khəḡəror 'metamorphosed human tiger,
metamorpho- E mythical beings, dangerous
sed human tiger abnormal persons, etc.'

(21) R = -sú

khəli kəsú 'stealing, robbing, cheating, etc.'
steal E

(22) R = -rəy

kəyay khərəy 'courtyard, open spaces or the
court- E compounds in the village'
yard

(23) R = -nam

kəsuy khənam 'rotten and/or stinking things, etc.'
rot E

(24) R = -ha

ci^hfü ciha 'dust, dusty or dirty things, etc.'
dust E

(25) R = -fü

kəsar kəfü 'old people, old and helpless, poor,
old E
people or sick people'

(26) R = -nay

ɲəcim ɲanay 'disgust, hate, dislike'
disgust E

(27) R = -khuy

məʃun məkhuy 'right, reason, wisdom, etc.'
right E

(28) R = -si

takəthú takəsi 'spill, spoil, wasteng, etc.'
spill E

(29) R = -kon

zəkkəsi zəkkəkon 'ugly looking, bad shape, bad
ugly E manner or character, etc.'

(30) R = -thag

khəŋkəser khəŋkəthag 'freak, unchaste, proud,
freak E flamboyant, etc.'

Type III. Replacing the first syllable of the base word.

(31) R = sŭ-

sŭhan canhan 'speaking, talk, voice, or disting-
E speaking uishing trait and manner of one's
speaking or talking'

Note: It is interesting to note that (31) is the only example in which the first syllable of the B is replaced. Again, surprisingly, it is the only example in which the echo words precedes the base word.

Type IV. Replacing all the consonants of the base word.

(32) R = consonants

<u>thigna</u>	<u>riha</u>	'plant kingdom'
leaf	ɛ	

Note: In this single example it is hard to talk about the replacer when compared to other replacers. It is obvious only that all the consonants of the base word are replaced by other consonants. riha is, no doubt, an echo word as: (a) it has no meaning in isolation; (b) it exactly copies the tones of the base word as all the echo words do; and (c) though not a very strong claim, the vowels of the base word are retained.

3.2. Semantic and Pragmatic aspects

An echo word is generally seen as one which is added to the base (meaningful) word to give it the meaning of 'et cetera', 'things similar to', 'associated with that', 'extremity', 'concentration', 'generality', and so on. Tangkhul Naga echo words denote wide semantic ranges. The function of the echo formation denote the meaning, notion, or idea of 'generality', 'plurality' 'distributive', etc., and in some cases, ambiguous or vague meaning not akin to the one indicated by the base word -- the real meaningful element. Again, in many cases, echo formation serves as superordinate class. (See examples next page).

- (a) athəy aray 'fruits, vegetables, or agricul-
fruit E tural products, etc.'
- (b) akhəri akhəra 'intestines, bowels, entrails,
intes- E liver, heart, spleen, kidney, etc.'
tine
- (c) thigna riha 'plant kingdom'
leaf E

The meanings of these echo constructions can be enlarged further. For instance, (a) above may also mean any edible wild fruits or leaves. In the same way (b) means all the parts inside the trunk of the human body, or even nerves or veins (but, of course, not ribs or bones).

As mentioned, some echo formations express some vague or ambiguous meanings in the sense that they are quite different from the meanings of the base words.

For example:

- (d) aməy ama 'the beginning or cause of something,
end E
point the inner meaning of something'
of a
rolled
thread

It is hard to explain such phenomena. However, they are extensively used in everyday speeches; and we can have an interesting exercise, say, for (d) above. The whole construction aməy ama is, in syntax, collocationally restricted with the compound word məphakəkhuy

meaning 'not finding out'. The term or phrase is usually said of a person who does not know what he is doing or speaking, or interfering/interrupting in others' business and starts acting or speaking in a mad fashion or without knowing others' intention or the 'cause and effect' of something in which he got involved.

We face the same problem with: khəməthək 'itch' ---->
khəməthək khəmərək 'restless behavior, caprice, freak, unchaste, etc.' It is difficult to account as to how the original meaning of 'itch' got lost in the echo formation. In isolation 'itch' does not serve as a polysemous word either. Historical study might help in analyzing the interrelation and interdependence of the different meanings in the semantic construct of such words.

Another interesting example is

vərE vəra 'God'
 God E

in which the echo word does not add or give any additional meaning. The echo part does not mean anything in isolation. Thus, I would say that the function of the echo word here is \emptyset (zero). But, it is interesting to note its usage. The word came into existence only in the late 19th century (after the

Tangkhul Nagas were converted to Christianity), and the word refers only to the Christian God (which is only one). Earlier, the Tangkhul Naga pantheon encompassed a number of gods — kəmeo — all belonging to various classes according to their powers, and activities. Today, kəmeo is referred to evil spirits. Although I have said that the echo word vəra is meaningless and gives no additional meaning in the echo formation, some speakers argue that the difference between vərɛ and vərɛ vəra is something to do with proximity — the attitude of the speaker towards God. For example, they say that a 'believer' praying for forgiveness and help will address to God with the word vərɛ. Such a believer thinks that God is right beside him. On the other hand, vərɛ vəra is used in addressing to God, for instance, by a suffering believer questioning or protesting why He has forsaken him. The construction may also be used in informal discussion, or by a non-believer in sarcasm. However, I come across some other speakers suggesting just the *opposite* usage also. To me, it seems that the usage of the two terms is individually oriented. Both are found interchangeably even in Biblical booklets. And though it is not clear, there is surely some differences between the meaningful base word and the echoed construction.

Morphology and semantics also play a considerable role in the echo formation of compound words. Compound nouns in Tangkhul Naga which can undergo echo formation are formed of two kinds of nouns — concrete and abstract, to use the traditional terms. In the process of echo formation the abstract noun is dropped in the echo part. There are three such echo constructions in which all the compound base words have the abstract noun acəm 'behavior'.

(1) acəm arəm 'behavior, manner, character,
behavior E attiquette, etc.'

(1a) mi-cəm mi-rəm 'good behavior, accepted code
man-beha- E of conduct'
vior

(1b) sa-cəm sa-rəm 'rude or bad behavior'
animal- E
behavior

(1c) fü-cəm fü-rəm 'shameless behavior'
dog-beha- E
vior

It is interesting to note the semantic peculiarities of these four echo constructions. (1) has a wide range of meanings — behavior, etc. — which can be either good or bad. The rest three — (1a), (1b) and (1c) — have fixed meanings, that is, 'good/accepted behavior', 'rude or bad behavior' and 'shameless behavior'

respectively. As in the case of vəɾɛ vəɾa 'God' above, the echo parts in (1a), (1b) and (1c) above do not give any additional meaning, and are meaningless in isolation. Their usage can be accounted for by pragmatic considerations only. The base (compound) words are extensively used both in formal and informal speeches and writings. I find that in most cases the echo constructions are used only in colloquial and informal speech.

Summary

Tangkhul Naga echo formation shows structural peculiarities and wide range of semantics unlike in many other languages such as Hindi, Telugu, Tamil, and even Meitei (though Meitei and Tangkhul Naga belong to the same family -- Tibeto-Burman). There is no fixed replacer or replacing rule as such. All the echo words and replacers seem to be collocationally restricted. Again, it is interesting to ask why monosyllabic words cannot undergo echo formation; and why only 68 words can have echo construction. Also, unlike in some other languages, only nouns and adjectives can undergo echo formation in the language.

Chapter 4

C O N C L U S I O N

4.0. Expressives and Echo Formation: An Overview

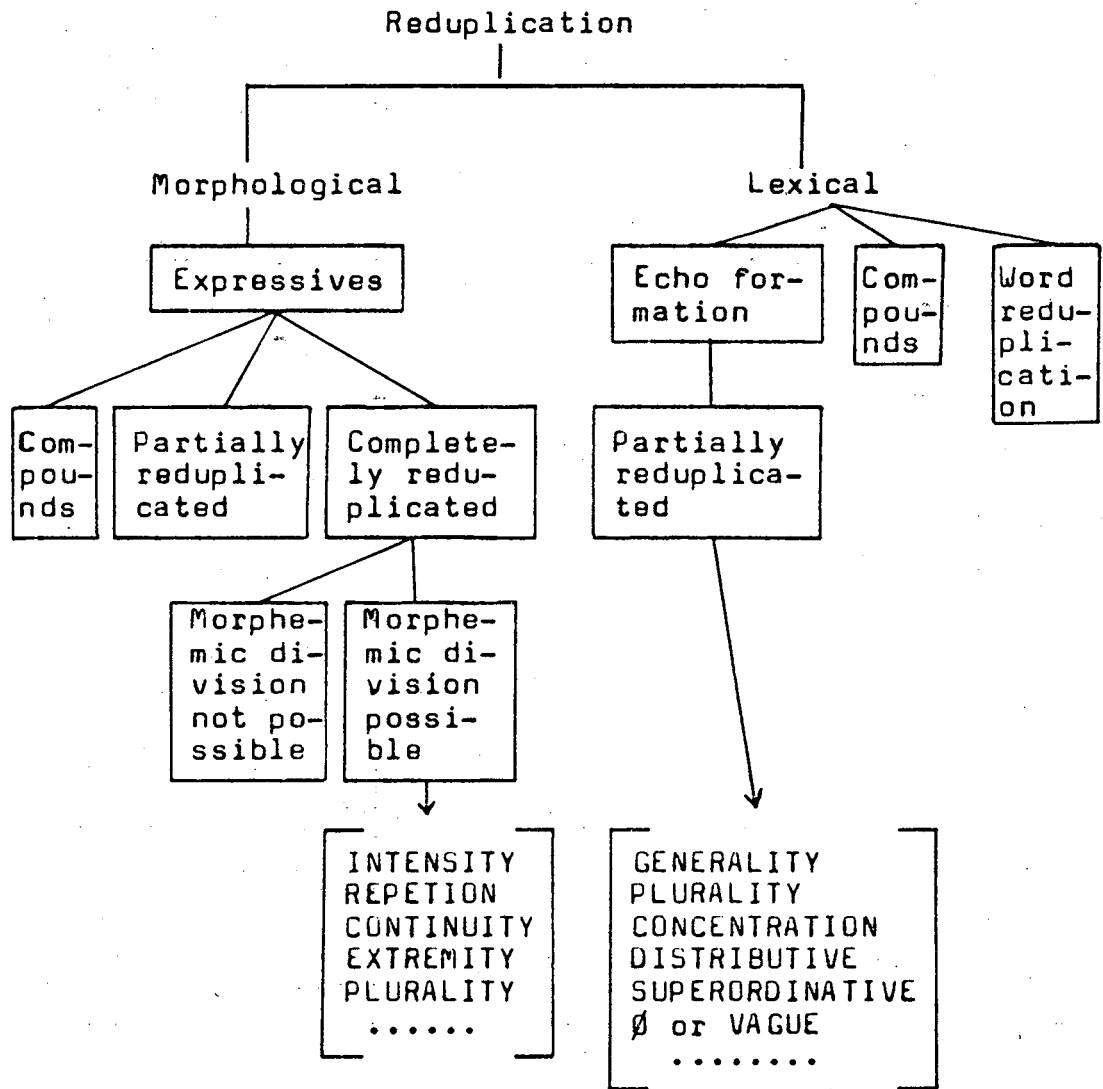
Both expressives and echo formations are extensively used in both formal and informal speech and writing in Tangkhul Naga. They are two different linguistic structures sharing some common morpho-semantic-syntactic properties. Expressives and echo words are 'so expressive' that, very often, similar picture or the content meaning of an utterance or discourse cannot be expressed by other words.

Echo formations and most of the expressives are reduplicated structures. However, they fall under different types of reduplication. The figures in the following pages show how they are related to or differentiated from each other.

4.1. Expressives as a set of separate word category in Tangkhul Naga

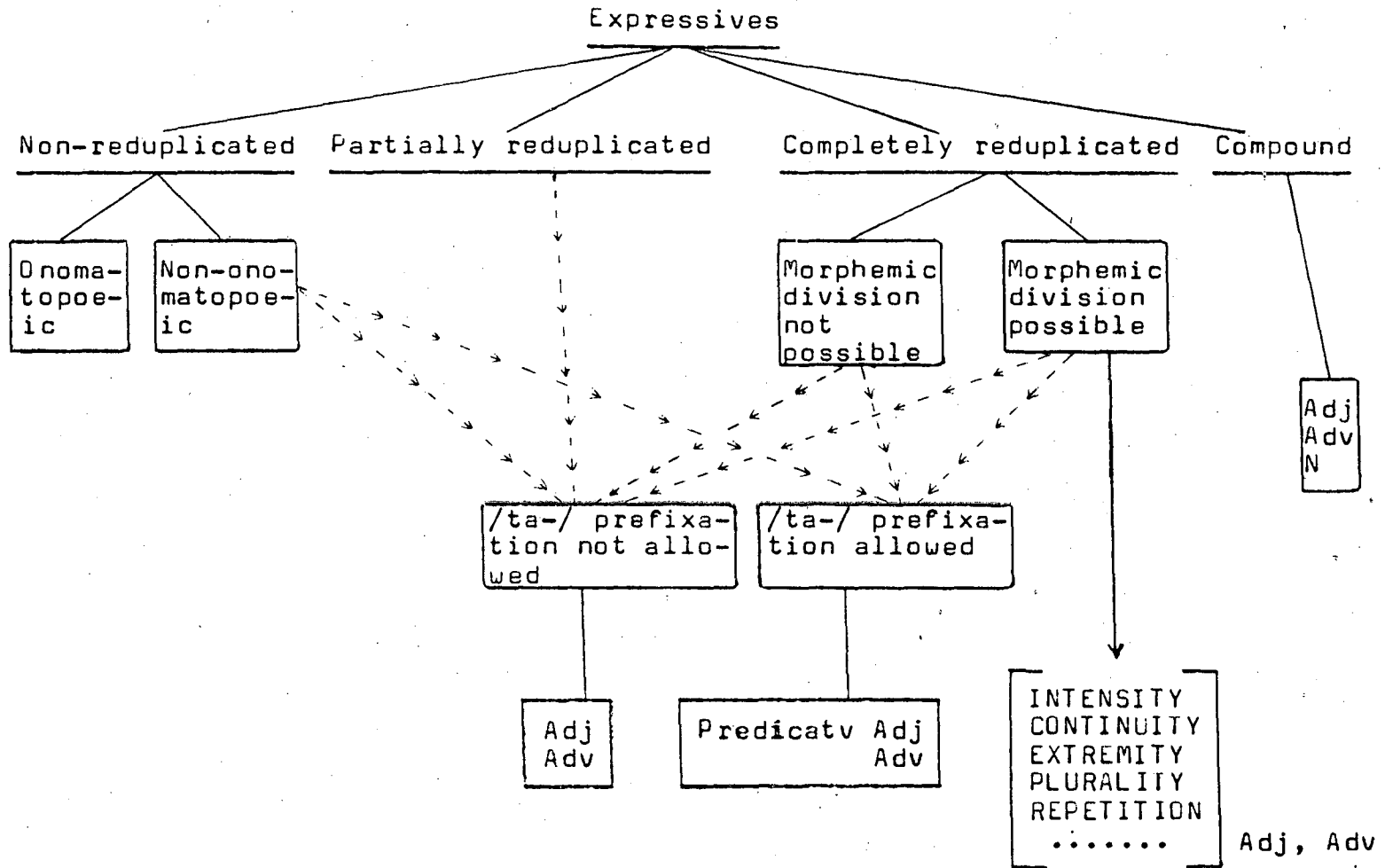
Expressives in Tangkhul Naga (as in many other languages) denote the senses of perception. They function as modifiers modifying various objects, states, or actions.

Figure 1. Types of reduplication and their semantic properties.



Words in capital letters signify semantic constructs.

Figure 2. Types of expressives and their morpho-syntactico-semantic properties



110

Words in capital letters signify semantic constructs.

Figure 3. Replacing patterns of Echo Formation.

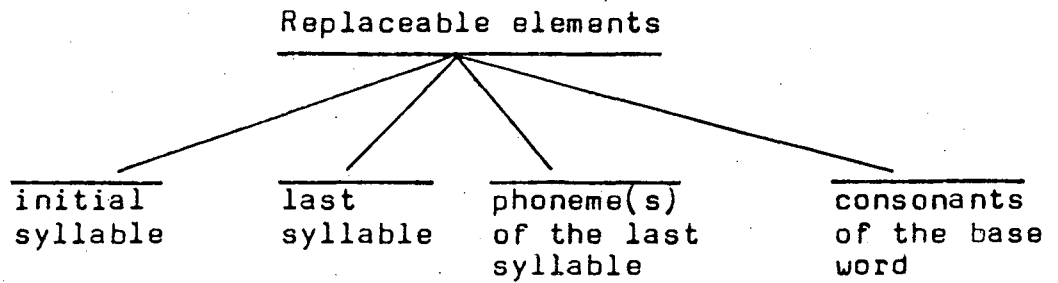


Figure 4. Collocation and Word Order of Expressives.

	Restricted collocation	Free collocation
Word order	1. Exp + Vb	1. Exp + Vb
	2. Adj + Exp	----
	3. N + Exp	----

Very often they function as adjectives and adverbs. Like some other word classes, expressives can undergo compound formation. The iterated parts, sometimes the whole parts, of two or three distinct expressives are combined in the process of compounding -- resulting in the formation of new expressives or adjectives, adverbs and nouns.

In Tangkhul Naga it is curious and surprising to note that there is no 'adverb' as such. Only three or four modifier affixes are there which function as adverbs or adverbials when affixed to adjectives. In sharp contrast expressives in most cases, function as adverbs and adjectives. Though no historical evidence and proof is available, I guess that expressives had existed before the evolution of adverbial and modifiers.

From the above discussion I would like to claim that Tangkhul Naga expressives form a separate word category. They function as adjectives, adverbs and nouns. In this language, even onomatopoeic expressives often function as adjectives, adverbs and nouns. Of course, expressives have some morpho-phonological peculiarities. Unlike other word classes such as nouns and adjectives they are never declinable and hence may be considered invariable except in some rare cases as in compounding. They can take only the ta- prefix which is not affixable to any other word

class. Again, expressives violate the tonal features of the language -- tone is very flexible as it is nowhere else in the language. (All the words or morphemes of other word classes have assigned fixed tones). But these violations or peculiarities do not vitiate the generalizations achieved on a broad consideration.

Within the language further definitional problems arise. We will have to say that no one feature can be considered criterial; a constellation of characteristics differentiates expressives from other word categories. For example, one expressive may exhibit the typical phonological irregularities, but because it possesses other 'expressive' feature it must be included in the category. Expressives also have some features, even with items outside language proper, such as gesture. Many expressives can function as 'headwords' or say, 'adpositions'. They appear in various sentence types -- imperative, declarative, optative, topicalized or focussed, and so on. For all these, I would like to claim Tangkhul Naga expressives as a separate and unique word class.

4.2. Issues in research on expressives and echo formation.

Expressives have often been neglected as has other reduplicative structures in general and echo formation in particular. Compared to expressives, echo formation

has enjoyed great prominence in the field of linguistics (as far as the Indian Phenomenon is concerned). Some linguists posit that one reason for the neglect of expressives is their position on the periphery of language proper, especially in a structural view. Expressives are interesting to linguists just because they straddle the boundary with paralinguistic and extralinguistic phenomena. They have also been ignored because of their intractability to analysis. Their variability or invariability also presents an obstacle. In many languages, they are not regularly employed in writing texts, and in addition, they have little in the way of morpho-syntax and may heavily rely on context for interpretation.

All these factors suggest why expressives have not received the attention they rightly deserve. On the other hand, these factors also indicate why indeed they must be studied. One reason for why expressives should be brought into the mainstream of linguistics is their widespread distribution in the languages of the world. Not only in Tangkhul Naga or Tibeto-Burma languages and other South Asian languages, expressives are found in Aboriginal Australian languages, Russian, Lahu, Pidgins and creoles in the New World, for example, Jamaican English, and all the African languages. Like in the African phenomenon, expressives in Indo-Aryan, Dravidian,

Munda, Mon-Kher, and Tibeto-Burman languages, represent a sizable proportion of the language's lexicon. In Tangkhul Naga a lexicon of about 8000 words contains more than 350 expressives. Expressives also constitute an open and productive class in many languages. In Tangkhul Naga, expressives generally represent a significant part of lexicon, a part that cannot be ignored or neglected in any adequate analysis of the language.

A taxonomy of types has emerged and further comparative work can be undertaken, for instance, by making a cross-linguistic comparison of senses appealed to by expressives. Their distribution might be found to follow a species-specific pattern. Much further research needs to be done, of course, in comparing expressives cross-linguistically in Tibeto-Burman or South Asian languages and elsewhere. Field techniques need refinement, and I feel that the greatest need is for research done by native speakers. (I wonder how a non-Tangkhul Naga speaker would carry out this present study realizing that my laborious analysis is still below standard).

Many research works on expressives have concentrated on analyzing them as constituting a separate system-- assuming that they belong outside language proper. I have tried to take the opposite assumption and I find it

very productive. Another area of interest with expressives is their derivation from verbs (in some African languages) and their collocational restrictions with verbs, nouns, adjectives (in Tangkhul Naga). Examining the place of expressives in a rule-ordered treatment is needed. Some promising works have already been done in this line, but in most cases, just to note the exceptionality of expressives and ignore them.

I have mentioned the importance of expressives to literary discourse. Further consideration as to how they are used in this medium can inform us as to the pragmatic conditions on their appearance. Bible translators have confronted this issue many times (both for poetic and prose forms), and the responses of the readers as to the appropriateness of expressives have been varied-- much accepted in Tangkhul Naga.

4.3. Summary

There is a need to adequately describe and document the phenomenon using the framework roughly sketched above. Another focus must be on integrating expressives into the mainstream of linguistic inquiry-- treating expressives as a legitimate object of inquiry and squarely confronting the problems they pose. If our approach is confined

to the referential function of language, expressives will just remain hunkering on the periphery of language.

In this work I have ^{tried} to demonstrate how expressives and echo words stand within language proper, while acknowledging their stand without. I hope that the present work in spite of many shortcomings, would engender a respectability for expressives and echo formations and stimulate the investigation of them in Tangkhul Naga and other languages.

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A P P E N D I X

List of expressives

(i) Completely reduplicated expressives:

- ək ək 'feeling of intermitent headache occurring rhythmically with the heart-beat'
- ət ət 'thick and sticky as honey, properly prepared and long-preserved rice beer, or any thick liquid which flows slowly when poured'
- im im 'to be very tasty, or yummy, as sweets, chutni, etc. (usually when consumed in little quantity); so temptingly sweet-spoken that one finds hard to resist or refuse (collocated with suy 'to lure')'
- ek ek 'keep on slaughtering animals and consuming ravishly; frequenting dying of important old people'
- et et 'the act or sound of children flouncing and brawling, especially with their mothers'
- e:t e:t 'keep on talking rubbish, nonsense slowly and unintelligibly'
- en en 'high-pitched loud noise, usually unbearable to the ears'
- Et Et 'being pasty as wetted pot-clay, or flour: the sound made while walking on muddy surface; to keep on jabbering'
- yə yə 'going without any purpose or uninvitedly'

- yot yot 'supple as a cane, lacking in firmness or yielding to pressure, as bed made of plastic ropes or cords'
- yok yok 'walk with long strides with the upper part of the body swaying back and forth (especially by thin and tall persons); become limp and useless as limbs; lacking in firmness and consequently drooping or become shaky'
- yap yap 'walk clumsily with the legs spread wide, as when one has got boils in the thighs or buttock'
- yin yin 'slight shaking of shrubs, bushes, etc. caused especially by animals which are not in sight'
- yo yo 'soft, smooth talking in a winning voice (collocated with han 'speak')'
- yau yau 'many persons moving here and there noisily, boisterously'
- yup yup 'become darker and darker very fastly, as with burning-out lamp, or after dusk'
- yam yam 'feel unwell as when one is about to get fever'
- yher yher 'flowing down abundantly and smoothly as water from a tape or pipe'
- yur yur 'go in batches at a time'
- wau wau 'to be rough and dry as when scurf is formed on the skin and coming off in small white or gray scale; produce a lot of saliva, as while feeling nausea, or chewing tobaccoed 'pan' (for the first time)'
- way way 'chew (as 'pan') satisfactorily displaying lots of mouth movement'

- wuy wuy 'Walk waveringly (collocated with kəzət 'to go')
- wut wut 'go into one place after the other,' as when one is 'on the run'
- ceo ceo 'noisy state or noisy sound made by a large number of rats, birds, or children'
- ci ci 'shrieking noise of mice'
- cip cip 'go with difficulty but unheedingly, often breaking or crushing shrubs, or grass; to work hard and progressively'
- co co 'look massive and hard but find light and yielding under pressure (breaking or squeezing) as beehives, etc.'
- cop cop 'pelted rain; to be soft in cutting plaintain, cucumber, water melon, etc. (producing the sound cop cop)'
- cam cam 'to toddle; walk swayingly and unsteadily, as in darkness or on rough, rugged, stony path'
- cig cig 'longing for somebody anxiously (collocated with hon 'long')'
- čet čet 'extremely hard to unscrew or twist; sound of gnashing teeth in anger; sound made in removing or unscrewing tightly fitted nails, screws, etc.'
- čreg čreg 'the act or sound of strumming guitar'
- hek hek 'very hard to chew, as bones, or some nuts'
- hap hap 'walk here and there carelessly (usually said of persons with distasteful behavior)'
- hig hig 'jump or walk in a quick and light movement'

hot hot 'hard as starched clothes; noise made by silk or starched clothes when they are rubbed, as in walking'

heo heo 'noise made by phlegm-filled throat or lungs in breathing (usually said of asthma patients); frequenting loose motion, especially due to diarrhea; the state or hissing sound of boiling water heavily for a long time, especially in a small pot'

han han 'the state of eyes filled with tears; bright sight seen by a person whose eyes are filled with tears; sunlight or extremely bright light usually unbearable to the eye'

həm həm 'reddening of face due to shyness or anger'

hon hon 'getting plenty of air or feeling cool breeze blowing as when one is wearing short or thin clothes'

hup hup 'work sweating or laborously not caring for any obstacle'

hət hət 'feeling of touching rough skin, cloth, etc.'

huk huk 'intense pain, especially in the anus due to piles; swampy (collocated with nay 'trot')'

kup kup 'noise made in chewing dried nuts, sugar, etc.; granulelike (not powdery)'

kruk kruk 'clucking sound made by a hen, especially in calling its chicks; sound made by man in signalling the fowls to come for food'

keo keo 'the noise made in chewing crispy food, carrot, cucumber, etc.'



- kau kau 'the way a spider or some other legged insects crawl(s); crawling like a spider (usually upward or uphill)'
- kú kú 'become extremely tired that an animal or a person cannot run away or try to run away anymore; harmless, well-tamed'
- koŋ koŋ 'look soft and fully filled or large in number but find very hard and much less in number or quantity'
- khak khak 'feeling of dust particle in the eye; hard to swallow due to dry throat; bony, or skeletonlike'
- lər lər 'a sudden spasmodic motion or jerking of a particular muscles; twitching of face due to anger'
- lə:r lə:r 'noise of any liquid boiling up in large bubbles'
- leg leg 'go willingly with light movement (collocated with kəzət 'to go')'
- məp məp 'itchy feeling due to allergy (especially when in contact with maggots, flies, worms)'
- mer mer 'rustling movement of a snake'
- mit mit 'steady falling of tears; flow in a slow and continuous manner, as river in plain areas; do something in an even flowing manner'
- mət mət 'eat noisily and hungrily, especially by babies'
- me:r me:r 'flimsy; the movement of an overfat and lazy person; the state of butter when it is about to melt'

- mu mu 'easy to chew, break, or crush, as dry and solid things such as mollasses, chalk, etc.'
- meo meo 'extremely sharp as keen-edged knife or razor'
- mək mək 'easy to get stained or spotted, as with ink, powder, charcoal, etc. when touched'
- mun mun 'soft and easily breakable, as boiled ereca nut, clayish rock, etc.'
- məy məy 'steadily consuming (as fire), progressing (as work), worsening (as illness), spreading (as rumours), etc.'
- mEt mEt 'eat a lot, especially by healthy persons'
- məron məron 'by degrees, series, or rotation'
- nap nap 'move with exaggerated jerky motion, as little children flouncing about their mother's clothes'
- nam nam 'say or do something in a rush manner'
- nək nək 'smooth as well levelled plank, powder, etc.'
- nam nam 'go or do in a hurry manner as if time is running out'
- nop nop 'moist and sticky, as sweating body in humid and hot weather; dried things becoming moistened and soft'
- nir nir 'sound of a large number of people singing in unison so loudly, especially making one feels some kind of emotional disturbances'
- nəp nəp 'nimble, sticky, lucky; anything coming the way as one desired'

nap nap 'touching someone or something in every turn or move, as while moving in a big crowd; found or scattered all over; many people working simultaneously in all direction'

nay nay 'well nigh, tiptoe of expectation'

hur hur 'murmuring sound; tumult, confusion, din, or uproar'

ḡəḡ ḡəḡ 'consuming woods very fastly as in a big fire; the noise made in such burning'

ḡam ḡam 'loud noise usually producing an echo, as mike or a person shouting inside a large building'

ḡot ḡot 'eat or suck noisily, especially by hungry and thirsty babies'

pau pau 'tremble in fear or due to fever, etc.; sound made by half-filled water pot while carrying'

pəḡ pəḡ 'reciting or speaking very fastly without faltering; easy in breaking or cutting with one swift stroke, said of thread, branches, meat'

prop prop 'sound of effervescence'

pum pum 'sound of mumbling, muttering; the act of talking something confidentially'

pû pû 'illusory sight of tiny shining objects flying especially when one is sick or very weak'

pa: pa: 'act in a mad fashion, to be daft; so tasteless that one feels like chewing decayed wood, especially caused by complete lost of appetite'

pam pam 'flow with a rushing sound, as streams after a heavy rain'

pur pur 'to be in a fermenting or rotting state; pale faced or expressionless, as when one is in a pensive mood'

pú pú 'touching sensation of cutaneous eruptions, as while rubbing skin with scabbies or prickly heat'

phrəp phrəp 'flutter; birds' fluttering sound'

phi phi 'leaking air or water with a hissing sound, as from a tube; flow in a very thin and trickling streams'

pha pha 'say or do something inadvertantly, carelessly or heedlessly'

phut phut 'do something with special speed and urgency'

phuk phuk 'the state of boiling water heavily; become very angry suddenly, especially said of hot tempered persons'

phər phər 'difficulty in writing, or strumming guitar owing to being out of practice for a long time'

phag phag 'to toddle like a child'

pho pho 'have a large handful of anything'

phuk phuk 'hard to walk, as on quicksand'

rok rok 'snoring sound; talk shamelessly'

ri ri 'tremble in fear; blowing of wind gently; feeling numb or shaky due to weak health; sensation of relieving pain, as while taking massage'

rú rú 'eat, speak or do something without pause as instructed or commanded'

ra ra 'the state of rice which is undercooked or cooked so well that the grains do not get attached to one another'

rom rom 'eat fast and heartily with non-stop mouth movement'

rək rək 'shaky, as chair, or table with loose screws or on unlevelled surface'

rɛ rɛ 'noise made by seeds inside dried shell when shaken'

rut rut 'walk silently here and there, especially said of a person with suspicious look, or a timid person'

reŋ reŋ 'clattering or rattling sound'

rim rim 'sensation of pain, especially when stung by nettle, ants, etc.'

ror ror 'do something one after another repeating the same action'

run run 'bore into anything until through, pierce through'

rum rum 'hard to chew; to be hard as nuts or dried fruits'

rəŋ rəŋ 'call out loudly for a person who does not hear'

sep sep 'intermittent light rain accompanied by wind blowing moderately'

suy suy 'continuous shedding of tears, as in bereavement'

sa sa 'flowing of rheum or saliva in large quantity or frequently'

- sem sem 'raining lightly and continuously'
- say say 'engaged or experienced in a variety of works'
- siŋ siŋ 'hard to shake or move, as firmly rooted posts, stones, etc.; reliable; go in a direct manner without stopping or looking about'
- sep sep 'itchy and pain feeling, as while scratching scabbies'
- si si 'drizzling'
- šo šo 'raining non-stop moderately'
- šap šap 'talking or eating most of the time; hard as dried or seasoned woods'
- šəy šəy 'speak with anger in a revengeful manner without caring for stopping or interruption'
- šip šip 'chirping sound of a grey-colored cicada'
- šun šun 'raining heavily and continuously; relieving of stomach pain gradually as gas is expelled; gradual falling of high temperature, as of fever'
- šop šop 'cast a spell over to charm, especially in conversation; weep bitterly'
- tər tər 'the state or noise of boiling water heavily'
- tuk tuk 'beating of heart or pulse very fast, especially due to over-anxiousness, or worry; to do something in a hurry manner as if time is running out'
- tag tag 'scream aloud but heard by no one'

tau tau 'do or say something carelessly, absent-mindedly and quickly'

tot tot 'do anything in a hurry, hasty manner'

tar tar 'sound made in weaving cloth; act cowardly'

tap tap 'plenty, scattered or found everywhere'

tham tham 'speak loudly; do something with full force without any hesitation and pause'

thut thut 'noise made in walking stealthily and bare-foot, especially said of thieves or ghosts in the night'

thot thot 'continuous moving of hands and legs while sleeping, usually disturbing the bedmate'

thek thek 'rattling noise made in breaking small and dry branches or sticks'

thup thup 'do something willingly and without any delay when commanded'

vat vat 'the sound of boiling when the article is over-boiled; slippery and muddy, as foot-path after rain; frequenting loose motion, as due to diarrhea'

va:t va:t 'do a work with implements in a steady and powerful manner; walk splashing in knee-deep water'

zək zək 'say or do reiteratively; do in a perfect manner that no complaint can be made; fragile, as glasswares, or chinawares'

zep zep 'hard to go through, as on rough, rugged, stony path'

(ii) Once reduplicatable expressives:

- op 'being weary, languish or done up; become strengthless and fall easily, as after a long fight; the act of falling without any strength'
- um 'burning of fire with huge flames'
- yit 'feeling giddy while walking or standing up suddenly, especially due to weak health'
- yag 'feeling of intense loud sound, usually unbearable to the ears;
- yap 'yielding to pressure, as old bamboo wall, or small bridge made of cane or ropes'
- yut 'sudden feeling of giddiness or unconsciousness; become weaker very fast, as sick and dying (old) people; object or person moving in darkness giving the viewer an indistinct sight'
- yak 'flexible or elastic, as rubber or the body of a gymnast'
- yəp 'indistinct sight of short spanned appearance or disappearance of objects, persons, etc.'
- yot 'spongy, shaky, or yielding to pressure, as a sofa, loosely rooted posts, etc.'
- wur 'spinning very fast; feeling dizzy or nausea'
- wok 'feeling dumbfounded, especially after finding something lost or missing'
- wug 'feeling giddy or nausea, especially after a long sleep, or bus-ride'

<u>wak</u>	'take or cross with a long stride'
<u>ciŋ</u>	'scramble or scatter suddenly , as a large number of people running away or fleeing'
<u>cək</u>	'sound of rain or water drop falling; the act of jumping of a flea'
<u>ciɸ</u>	'the noise made in crushing dry leaves, grass, etc.'
<u>cup</u>	'noise made by crisp thing when it is chewed or squeezed'
<u>cun</u>	'heavy objects like logs falling or moving down, usually routing earth'
<u>com</u>	'eating heartily and finishing very fast'
<u>ciɹ</u>	'work laborously with much difficulty'
<u>gut</u>	'the act or sound of gulping a mouthful of water'
<u>hek</u>	'hard to chew, break or move; feeling of hardness in chewing, as bones, etc.'
<u>hau</u>	' the act or sound of laughing out loudly and suddenly; do something hastily and superficially'
<u>hik</u>	'feeling of sudden accute pain; smell some strong odor usually difficult to inhale or obstructing breathing, as the smell of burning chilli'
<u>hur</u>	'smelling good, as perfumes, etc.'
<u>hut</u>	'persons or objects moving very fast nearly hitting someone or something'
<u>hi</u>	'giggle; giggling sound'
<u>ha</u>	'the act or sound of laughing, usually in lower pitch'

- heŋ 'acting in a hasty manner without thinking, especially when commanded; turn a deaf ear to advice or teaching'
- hok 'vomitting sound; knock off or press off the skin or husk of fruit, grain, etc. easily'
- kəŋ 'closing door with a loud thud; shooting sound; thumbing sound made in pounding rice; ringing sound of a large bell or a resonant metallic object'
- ket 'creaky or grating noise of door with rusty hinges'
- krɯŋ 'thundering sound; close a door quickly with a loud thud'
- krok 'noise made by gas moving in the intestines; noise made in chewing bones, hard nuts, etc.'
- kuŋ 'rushing or knocking sound; to fall on the ground usually producing a hitting sound'
- krək 'noise made by hard-soled shoes while stepping on hard surface'
- khok 'noise made in chopping big and hollow trees'
- khI? 'noise of laughing out loudly and suddenly, especially when one is supposed not to'
- lak 'say or do something abruptly; going away abruptly, usually without looking back'
- lək 'do, say, give, or take something abruptly without thinking'
- lət 'jar with a swift and hard blow'

- mat 'painful sensation, as when poked by thorns, or bitten by bugs, etc.; feeling extremely hot, as in the sun or when in touch with fire; burning sensation, as chilli on the tongue or in the stomach'
- nen 'feel very cold when touched or contacted, as water, air, or human body; very cold in manner or approach'
- nip 'soft as fur clothes, etc.'
- nəu 'find elastic and soft when touched or handled'
- nay 'slippery, as mossed stone, fish, or muddy path'
- nut 'hard to cut or drag on; very slow in action or movement, as while resisting someone's order or request to do something'
- neo 'feeling of sandy particle in the food while chewing'
- non 'slippery and soft sensation when touched, as fish, snake, etc.'
- ne 'an expression imitative of someone's talking, especially used in jesting or scolding'
- nut 'hit or beat mercilessly with full force or hard blow, as while taming wild buffaloes, or punishing someone'
- pum 'the sound or act of heavy solid objects or human body falling into water and sinking'
- piŋ 'to be very red to give pleasant or unpleasant sight or emotional feeling'

- prek 'blowing sound of hollow reeds or bamboo burning in fire; blowing sound of smaller fire-cracker'
- pit 'shining of metallic objects, well polished shoes, bald head, etc.'
- pet 'become flattened easily when pressed, as soft, pasty, or overripened, overcooked fruits, food; the noise made in pressing or crushing such soft things'
- pop 'sound made in hitting hard on the body with fist, stick, etc.; the sound produced by soft and heavy things, such as fruits, falling and hitting on the ground'
- pək 'hard to catch hold of, as very slippery objects; staring abruptly; brittle'
- peo 'noise made by cats, rats, or human being letting the utensil, cans, containers falling or clashing one another, especially while searching for eatables, etc.'
- pəŋ 'cut or break easily with one stroke'
- po 'the sound made in hitting a ball with a bamboo stick'
- put 'take hold of lightly and let go; hard to catch, as wild creatures'
- pət 'to be neat, trim, tidy, spruce, slippery, or polished'
- phik 'flare, flash, shining of flash-light or water, glass, mirror, etc. glistening in the sun; to shine once and then gone'

- phi:k 'feeling quite fresh, as after a shower or when recovered from illness, etc.; witty, physically and mentally quick and resourceful'
- phau 'flowing out of water in large quantity, as from a big pipe; noise made by a strong water wave'
- ph&t 'sound produced in whipping with lash or rod; interrupted rain accompanied by strong winds'
- phuk 'become very angry suddenly; noise made when a heavy object is thrown into the sands'
- phak 'grow up very fast, as plants, or boys and girls at the stage of adolescence'
- phû 'garrulous; falling or spilling in all direction, as while pounding rice too hard'
- phap 'falling cowardly, or without any strength; noise made by a dao or spear in slashing or cutting some soft object; become very weak or strengthless suddenly'
- phot 'noise made in cutting weeds, or soft soil with full of roots'
- rik 'to be very black, to be black enough to give pleasant or unpleasant sight'
- rIk 'beating of ears by animals; feeling of extreme fear or hair-raising; sensation of lice, insects, etc. crawling on the body'
- rot 'sound of cracking fingers, etc.; scold or rebuke so badly that the one being scolded or rebuked become speechless; throw swiftly and let fall the opponent usually causing injury, as in wrestling'

- rup 'feeling of humid warm wind blowing'
- rep 'paining sensation caused by nettling, burn, or whipping with a rod; yielding to pressure, as old basket made of bamboo which is easy to break; noise made in pressing or pushing bamboo wall, or other object made of reeds, cane, etc.'
- rin 'uneasy feeling, as while taking injection, walking barefoot on thorny surface, or at the sight of dread-looking insects, reptiles, or while descending suddenly when on board a flight'
- reo 'noise made by thatch or rustles while carrying; noise made in breaking dry leaves or branches; sound made by glasses or utensil when they are rubbed together'
- ruy 'starchy and soft, as cooked yam, etc.'
- rip 'doing anything in harmony, or singing in good tune and time; symphony'
- rop 'yielding on pressure, as plastic bottle; noise made in squeezing, folding, or pressing bottle made of plastic, paper, etc.'
- rig 'feeling of utter dislike for hearing dreadful story, news, etc.'
- ret 'noise made by shaky bed, chair, etc.'
- ro:t 'squeeze or wrench some parts of the body causing great pain; noise made in crushing out the sap or juice of fruits, etc.'
- řeo 'noise made by coins, pebbles, etc. in a container when shaken or when they are poured out of the container; clinking sound of metallic ornaments'

- si 'very sour in taste; angry looking'
- ši 'to be white enough to give pleasant sight'
- ser 'noise made in scraping something with fingers or a hoe'
- sat 'intense burning sensation, as extremely hot chilli on the tongue'
- šut 'expelling a lot of gas in farting making a very low or inaudible noise; Expression used in threatening pretentiously, especially to children'
- tut 'being overcrowded, as in a bus, house, etc.'
- tek 'ticking sound of watch or time-piece'
- tap 'become very soft and wet due to rotting; work or catch hold of something with one's full force or power; upbraid, scold, or slap, punch, etc. harshly or with full force'
- tək 'difficult to walk, or do something due to hindrances or disturbance'
- tug 'sound produced in beating a large drum; sound produced in walking or running on wooden floor'
- tren 'loud sound produced in discharging thunderbolt'
- teŋ 'noise made in tearing clothes, paper, etc.; break something by biting or cutting forcefully'
- tit 'to be very tight like a gunny bag due to overstuffing; put, fill, stick, press, or hold tightly'
- tiŋ 'jingling or clinking sound; intense momentary pain'

- teŋ 'sound of beating empty tin, metallic plates or sheets'
- tot 'do something in a slovenly dirty manner'
- tor 'soft as cooked green vegetables; setback, to upset a work done, to relapse, as a wound'
- teo 'popping sound made in roasting, frying, etc.'
- thəŋ 'throbbing feeling, as when a boil has formed'
- tĩ 'blowing sound of motor vehicles' horns'
- ti: 'squeaking sound of rats'
- thun 'noise of heavy fist fighting; produce a lot of dust, as while shaking dusty cloth or when children are playing on dusty surface; stand up abruptly and walk away, especially when one is angered; do anything heedlessly and laborously'
- thet 'passed kissing or touched swiftly and lightly missing the target, as in firing or throwing stones, etc.; noise made by insects' wings hitting something while flying'
- theo 'noise made by a person or an animal while going stealthily on a surface covered with dry leaves or grass'
- zim 'being green enough to give pleasant sight'
- zək 'sound made by glasswares when hot water is poured in them'
- zəp 'fitting, giving, doing, or saying something exactly as expected, desired or required; "nothing more nothing less"'

(iii) Non-reduplicated expressives:

lkrI:I: 'cock's crowing sound'

a? 'sudden and very brief crying sound when one is in pain'

aya? '(same as a?); expression of pretentious surprise, especially while jesting or cracking jokes or insulting each other for fun'

ayš 'expression of mocking in a jesting manner, disbelieve, declining, or saying "No"'

apayč 'expression of inspiring pity for some minor mistakes or wrong-doing'

a: 'expression of believing what is said is absolutely true or believable'

ayauvɛ? 'expression of anger when someone much inferior in age, strength, or status disobey or start creating troubles, usually uttered with the intention of surely beating or teaching a lesson'

ahaha? 'expression of disgust or repel when someone keeps on talking talking/doing impossible things or acting clumsily'

ayyo: 'expression of self-pity, regret, or wonderment'

a:m 'expression of luring a baby to eat'

əš 'sighing with disgust, regret, or anger'

əhə? 'expression of instant self-contempt for doing something wrong, or for making some minor mistakes'

- əchuy 'expression of sighing'
- əchuyro: 'expression of bereaving or lamenting'
- əy 'expression of disgust for something offensive to sight, such as stool, worms, rotten things, skin disease, etc.'
- əs 'expression of sighing helplessly, especially when children are doing some nasty things, or repelling someone after getting fed up of their continuous begging or committing mistakes'
- in 'shrilly noise made by pigs or piglings'
- oɛ? 'belching or vomitting sound; expression of utter dislike; swines' crying sound'
- oy 'expression of mocking at children for their nasty behavior'
- um 'expression for total agreement or praise, or saying "Yes", "That's it", etc.'
- wurrr 'spin, rotate, or coil up at high speed; noise of strong or stormy winds; feeling of intense giddiness or headache'
- wok 'sudden emotional disturbance, especially after finding something or someone missing'
- yē 'buzzing sound of mosquitoes, bees, etc.'
- yut 'knock straight into anything, usually no control or obstacle in the way'
- yan 'the act or sound of hitting on the head in a typical manner with clenched fingers, or the feeling of pain when hit in such a manner'

<u>ceŋ</u> kok	'chirping sound of a kind of colorful-winged cicada'
<u>cam</u>	'uneasy feeling in finding someone missing or gone'
<u>camri</u>	'to be bright as clear moonlit sky or well-lit room; looking bright and happy'
<u>čəo:</u>	'yelling sound, especially while hunting -- encouraging fellow hunters and dogs'
<u>fiu:</u>	'whistling sound'
<u>fəyth</u>	'expression of discarding or a generalized form of abuse, especially with anger; "What the hell"'
<u>hūrou</u>	'squeaking sound of a kind of black colored monkeys'
<u>həmbɛ:</u>	'crying sound of a cow or a calf'
<u>ha?</u>	'expression of jesting, as when one appears suddenly looking very smart with new clothes, or when a woman, wearing thin and transparent clothes, stands at the door that her inner physical shape is visible'
<u>hun</u>	'say or do something a little and left unfinished'
<u>kwɛ?</u>	'croaking sound of frogs'
<u>kú:</u>	'expression used in playing hide-and-seek signalling "Go"'
<u>krug</u>	'noise made by any heavy and big thing falling and hitting on the ground'

- kyau 'crying sound of chicks or young fowls, as when caught or in search of their 'mother''
- khlʔ 'noise made in, or the act of, blowing mucus-filled nose loudly'
- khumhũ 'swollen like balloon, as when stung by bees on the face'
- khɾək 'noise made in taking a difficult breathe, especially by a very sick or dying person'
- net 'the act of, or the sound made in, kicking fast and lightly on the buttocks'
- ŋaʔ 'buffaloes' crying sound, especially when they are about to fight'
- ŋa: 'babies' crying sound'
- ŋrə:r 'roaring sound of a tiger or a lion'
- ŋau 'imitative sound of some mythical tigers; expression used in warning children to stay away from or not to play with cats, or dogs lest they would be bitten'
- ŋeth 'throw swiftly and let one fall with a thud, as in wrestling'
- ŋuu: 'dogs' crying sound when they are scared or hesitant to attack an animal, as in hunting'
- pĩ: 'high-pitched farting sound'
- pret 'mid-pitched farting sound'
- prot 'low-pitched farting sound'
- phek 'the act of, or the noise made in slapping'

- phú? 'the act or sound of blowing wind with the mouth'
- phi:: 'hissing noise made by water or air leaking through a tube, ball, etc.'
- phap 'stumble and suddenly sit in a puddle; the sound made in doing so'
- rumprirum 'sound of playing of a kind a oval-shaped wind instrument made of clay' (This is also the name of the instrument).
- rom 'sitting up from lying position or standing up from sitting position abruptly'
- səys 'expression of disbelief or disagreement, usually uttered in a mocking manner'
- swɛ? 'expression of utter dislike for foul smell, dirty jokes, etc.'
- šut 'expression used in asking for silence, etc.'
- sut 'expression or the act of chasing away dogs, etc.'
- šuš 'expression or the act of chasing away domestic fowls'
- tij 'very dark (as in the night without any light); very timid, foolish or innocent; uncivilized (collocated with təgməŋ 'dark')'
- tatrahə 'to be dim, seen indistinctly or without clear outlines as in a 'moonless' starry night'
- trarik 'to be bright as a beam of light seen through holes on the roof or walls'
- təray 'do anything at the top of one's strength'

- thrək 'noise made in clearing phlegm-filled throat'
- thoək 'noise of spitting out phlegm (after-coughing)'
- ^Pthuy 'noise made in spitting forcefully; expression of utter hate and/or cursing (usually made with the gesture of spitting)'
- thek 'hold onto lightly and let off'
- viŭ: 'sound made by a thin cane, or stick when it is waved or thrown in the air with high speed'
- vet 'wear nice dresses flamboyantly so that the wearer looks like a different person'

(iv) Partially reduplicated expressives:

- ho?o:ho ho?a:ho 'expression used in quieting babies from crying or putting them to sleep -- "lullaby"'
- həy?o:həy? həy?a:həy? 'a repetitive singsong expression used when many people are working together merrily and laborously in a rhythmic movement' (It is also used in traditional folk dancing).
- həy həy? 'a typical Naga yelling sound signalling the beginning or end of performing traditional folk song and dance'
- huyrəy huyrə 'groan or moan in pain with continuous restless movement'
- yəg yəy 'to waddle'
- ya ya? 'an interjective utterance used to express fear, disgust, etc.'

sum rum 'growing thickly, as plants'

ŋɛsɛ ɲɛrɛ 'talk jabberingly, especially by children'

ami amə 'become useless, unclear, or forgotten after a long time (usually said of very important things or persons)'

(v) Compound expressives:

yag-yiŋ 'the state of having a relieving sigh; emotionally fragile, touchy, or moving; some kinds of colorful orchids'

yinyin-yaya 'indistinct sight, dim, purblind'

yup-yəp-səp 'dark enough that one cannot see something distinctly; the time spanning about one hour just after sunset'

nuk-nək-sək 'being engaged in other thing (mentally and/or physically) and be slow to start moving or doing something, especially when someone is anxiously waiting for'

pit-pət-sət 'the state of shiny muddy water flowing with whirling motion, as after a heavy rain'

phik-rik-phi:k 'appearance of persons, ghosts, or objects indistinctly for a very short moment and then vanishing, usually causing fear to the viewer'

phutphut-namnam 'do anything quickly without pause or questioning, as in emergency'

thug-yag 'of, or relating to a short-spanned strong blast (of wind) causing the air cloudy with dust'

zizi-parpar 'having a special work needing close attention and anxiety for its completion, especially during tilling and transplantation season'

zizi-yauyau 'make disturbances in any meeting or at any place where others are busily engaged in discussion or some works'

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