

EXPRESSIVES IN PNAR

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Abstract

*The term **expressive** refers to the kind of word-class which is considered under the category of parts-of-speech. Expressives are known by different names such as ideophones, mimetics, phono-aesthetics etc. Following Diffloth's classification, this paper attempts to explore the two different types of expressives, viz., **ideophones** and **onomatopoetic** in Pnar. The expressive in Pnar also shows a tendency to distinguish itself from other word classes, but in some cases it can be substituted by noun, verb, adjective and adverb.*

Introduction¹

There are types of word-classes which do not normally fit into any of the *traditional eight parts* of speech or as Diffloth (1979) mentions, many languages of Mon-Khmer group whose basic part of speech has no equivalent in the classical system, inherited from the Graeco-Latin tradition. These types of word-classes were referred to by different names by different scholars.

¹ This paper is dedicated to Prof. Gérard Diffloth for his encouraging and insightful suggestions to work on the expressives of Pnar.

These lexical categories are referred to as *expressives* by Peacock (1970), Diffloth (1972 & 1976), and others, *phono-aesthetics* by Henderson (1976) or *ideophones* by Newman (1968) and others. However, in some cases, scholars have made an attempt to define these terms as separate terms. Crystal (1997) clearly distinguishes between expressive and ideophone. According to him, an *expressive* is a term that is sometime used in semantics as part of a classification of types of meaning. The *expressive* meaning refers both to its emotional content and to any identification it might have in terms of the personality or individual creativity of the user (e.g. poetic language). And an *ideophone* is a term used to refer to any vivid (ideophonic) representation of an idea in terms of a sound, such as what occurs through onomatopoeia.

According to Diffloth (1972, 1976a), expressives denote sensory perceptions of the speaker's visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, gustatory, emotion and others in relation to particular phenomena. He (1976a) states that expressives contain ideophones as a subclass and ideophones include *onomatopoetic forms* as its subclass. In discussing the *expressive* in Semai, he differentiates these three terms as follows and I quote:

Onomatopoetic forms are those displaying acoustic symbolism and having syntactic and morphological properties totally different from those of verbs and nouns. *Ideophones* are words displaying phonological symbolism of any kind (acoustic, articulatory, structural) and having distinct morpho-syntactic properties; ideophones include onomatopoetic forms as a subclass. *Expressive* have the same morpho-syntactic properties as ideophones, but their symbolism, if such exists, is not necessarily phonological..." (Diffloth 1976a).

2. Expressives in Pnar²

Earlier studies (Diffloth³ 1976a, Enfield 2007) proposed that *expressive* is a cover term that includes *ideophones*, *onomatopoeia* etc. In this paper, I propose to discuss the *expressives* in Pnar under two subclasses - *onomatopoeia* and *ideophones*. The reason that I attempt to further classify *expressives* into two subclasses is simply based on the fact that certain expressive words simulate the sounds they represent (*onomatopoeia*) and some do not simulate (*ideophones*) the sounds in their vivid representation of an idea, feeling, smell etc. The

² Pnar is one of the languages which belong to the Khasian group of Mon-Khmer sub-branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family spoken in the present East & West Jaintia Hills Districts, some pockets of Cachar Hills and North Cachar Hills Districts of Assam, Vairangte town of Mizoram and in the adjacent areas of Jaintia Hills. The term Khasian was used by Diffloth (2005) to specify its position under the Khasi-Khmuic branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family. According to him there are four languages under this term Khasian. In the earlier classification (1974) he groups the Khasi language and its dialects directly under Mon-Khmer along with Palaungic, Monic, Khmuic, Vietmuong, Katuic, Bahnaric, Pearic, Khmer, Semang, Sakai and Semelaic. And in the latter edition (1982), he regrouped Khasi language along with Palaungic-Khmuic and Vietmuong under the North branch of the Mon-Khmer. Sidwell (2009, 2011), on the other hand, classifies Khasian along with Palaungic under the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family. According to his classification, the Khasian-Palaungic forms as a group under Mon-Khmer, along with the Munda, Khmuic, Pakanic, Vietic, Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmer, Pearic, Nicobarese, Aslian, Monic and Shompen.

Both of these classifications of Austro-Asiatic only specify the position of the Khasian group but not the subgroups under this branch. However, Pnar can be classified along with the other languages viz., War and Khasi and Lyngngam under the Khasian group. The results of some of the researches on both Pnar and Khasi shared lots of cognate words as compared to War and Lyngngam. War shows lots of dissimilarity in terms of vocabulary and sound system.

³ According to Diffloth ideophones include onomatopoeic forms as a subclass and they are discussed under the heading of expressive.

interesting part is that native speakers have no difficulty in comprehending these *expressives* even if they hear it for the first time. Below are some of the examples of *ideophones* and *onomatopoeia*.

2.1 *Ideophones*

Different scholars are of the view that ideophones are iconic as they closely resemble the sounds or the signs and the objects they represent. However, in Pnar ideophones are arbitrary. They are simply symbolic sounds; in their phonological forms they invoke those images which they describe. To the native speakers they are not just sound symbolic but could equally visualize those images they represent. They represent the description of meaning in the form of an idea, feeling, shape, size etc. and they do represent a robust word-category. Here are some examples of Pnar ideophones:

(1) *Ideophones*

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| a. | <i>t^hirʃɛt t^hirʃɛt</i> | ‘a person whose dress is improper, torn or unclean’ |
| b. | <i>klok</i> | ‘eating or swallowing in one gulp or at once’ |
| c. | <i>krɔc</i> | ‘drinking or swallowing in one gulp or at once’ |
| d. | <i>k^hɲɔc k^hɲɔc</i> | ‘state of walking unsteadily’ |
| e. | <i>ɲɔj ɲɔj</i> | ‘over sweet of sugar or the like’ |
| f. | <i>ʃrup</i> | ‘satisfactorily happy’ |
| g. | <i>tdɔt</i> | ‘as a tree branch totally dissociate from the tree trunk’ |
| h. | <i>b^hɛk</i> | ‘to sit firmly with total body weight’ |
| i. | <i>kʃui kʃui</i> | ‘walking slowly and steadily’ |
| j. | <i>k^hnɛŋ k^hnɛŋ</i> | ‘walking with head held high and chest out’ |

2.2 Onomatopoeia

The term onomatopoeia is derived from the two Greek words, *onoma* 'name' and *poiein* 'to make' and hence *onomatopoeia* means 'the coining of a name or word in imitation of a sound' (*Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* 1998). Onomatopoeia is one of the common cross-linguistic phenomena referring to the naming of a thing or action by vocal imitation of the sound associated with it. Onomatopoeia usually includes those words that imitate human or animal voices or sounds or words that imitate real sounds, examples, *bow bow* 'sound of a dog's bark', *sur sur* 'sound of running water', etc.

Some nouns derive their names from the sounds / voices they make (such as *miaw* 'cat', *titpu* 'cuckoo', *jak jak* 'name of a small bird [*rufescent prina*] etc.), *onomatopoeic words* seem to be confined only within the positions where adverbs usually occur. This is one of the differences between *onomatopoeia* and *ideophones*; the latter's grammatical functions are extended to verbs, adjectives and nouns (which will be discussed in Section 5: Morphological and Syntactic analysis of the expressives). Here are some examples of Pnar *onomatopoeic* words:

(2) Pnar *onomatopoeia*

- a. *brɔp brɔp* 'sound of raindrop'
- b. *k^hlok k^hlok* 'sound of boiling water'
- c. *k^hlɔk k^hlɔk* 'sound of objects not properly fitted, as in vehicle'
- d. *ur ur* 'sound of burning fire'

It is worthwhile to mention that some of the names of animals and objects in child speech are derived from the sounds they make or sounds associated with them.

(3) *Onomatopoeia in child's speech*

Child speech		Adult speech	
a. <i>dew dew</i>	↔	ksaw	'dog'
b. <i>kək kək</i>	↔	sʔiar	'chicken'
c. <i>mεʔ mεʔ</i>	↔	blang	'goat'
d. <i>un un</i>	↔	kali	'vehicle'
e. <i>mam mam</i>	↔	bam	'food'

3. Reduplication

Majority of expressives in Pnar are reduplicatives in form and nature. Sidwell (2014) points out a strong feature of these expressives as reduplication, either full or partial reduplication. Of course, there are *expressives* that are not in reduplicated forms but it is possible to reduplicate them. Such expressives are few in number as compared to the reduplicated forms. Such expressive words are *c^hkεk* 'to stop abruptly', *fɔr* 'to stand at once' as in *jeɲ fɔr* 'to stand at once/immediately'. The morphological process of reduplication is not restricted only to expressives, but other word classes too undergo this process. However, to reduplicate other word classes connotes different things and adds up extra information as compared to expressives. Expressives are by nature in reduplication form but other word classes, when reduplicated, provide extra information, they intensify, qualify and kind of suggest an idea or feeling in addition to the primary meaning. For example,

when the verb *bam* 'to eat' is reduplicated to *bam bam*, it implies 'to keep on eating, not to wait', similarly when an adjective *wab^ha* 'good' is reduplicated, it becomes *wab^ha wab^ha* which functions as a qualifier and indicates 'only good ones'.

There are two types of reduplication in Pnar: partial reduplication and complete reduplication and these forms are applicable to both expressives and other word classes.

(4) Examples of *expressives* with no *reduplication* forms

- a. *Jrup* as in *hun Jrup* 'satisfactorily happy'
- b. *tdɔt* as in *k^hajɲ tdɔt* 'completely dislocated'
- c. *nongsanɲ* as in *su-wi nongsanɲ* 'only one (the last one which cannot be lending)'
- d. *b^hɛk* as in *c^hɔŋ b^hɛk* 'to sit firmly with total body weight'

(5) Examples of *complete reduplicated expressives*

- a. *pi.ɔt pi.ɔt* 'looking short and stout'
- b. *plɔɲ plɔɲ* 'looking beautifully smooth with mild and tender look'
- c. *plew plew* 'to stare at someone with eyes wide-open/ big eyes'
- d. *kʃui kʃui* 'walking slowly and steadily'
- e. *k^hnɛŋ k^hnɛŋ* 'walking with head held high and chest out'
- f. *pirdɛt pirdɛt* 'description of the position of the neck (head reclined, looking up, and chest out)'

The basic concept of total/complete reduplication across languages of the world is that reduplication involves copying of

the entire base/stem. The examples of *expressives* given above, normally occur in their reduplicated forms and it is not easy to specify which one is the stem or base in *total reduplication forms* because they always co-occur. There are instances where these *expressives* occur in their single forms (with no *reduplication*) but in such cases the pronunciation is completely different. For example, the expressive [kɟuj kɟuj] → ['kɟu:]; the *expressive* is heavily stressed-marked and the duration of the vowel is prolonged more than what we often perceive in the long vowel or the vowel in open syllable.

(6) Examples of *partial reduplicated expressives*

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. <i>t̪ɪr^hut t̪ɪr^hat</i> | 'to be covered in dirt and grime' |
| b. <i>k^hrum k^hram</i> | 'sound of a falling object' |
| c. <i>t^hum t^ham</i> | 'echo sound of a gunshot' |
| d. <i>t^hum t^hum t^ham t^ham</i> | 'walking around noisily' |
| e. <i>dum dum dam dam</i> | 'to do faster/immediately with extra pace' |
| f. <i>hum hum ham ham</i> | 'noisy whispering sounds made by many people' |
| g. <i>p^hrum p^hrum p^hram p^hram</i> | 'simply throwing away without any care' |
| h. <i>lum lum lɛm lɛm</i> | 'not clearly understood' |
| i. <i>ɲur ɲur ɲɛr ɲɛr</i> | 'no clear visual (especially at dawn or dusk)' |
| j. <i>tur tur tɛr tɛr</i> | 'followed (after) by many' |
| k. <i>tiap tiap tap tap</i> | 'little bit here, little bit there' |

In the case of *partial reduplications* some of these *expressives* can be uttered in isolation; such as [tirp^hut], [k^hrum], etc. but in this case there is neither extra length of vowel nor heavy stressing of the words. In analysing these *expressives* of partial reduplication, it has been found that the pattern {(C)CV[u]C[m] → (C)CV[a]C[m]} is the most common though there are other possible constructions as well, for example {(C)CuC → (C)CεC} as in [tur tur tεr tεr], [ɲur ɲur ɲεr ɲεr] or other constructions such as [tiap tiap tap tap].

Total reduplication with other word classes means to provide extra meaning so as to mark plurality for nouns, to intensify, to qualify for adverbs and adjectives etc.

(7) Examples of *complete reduplication* in other word classes

- a. *suki suki* (adv.) 'very slowly'
- b. *wa-sih wa-sih* (adj.) 'bad bad (only the bad ones)'
- c. *bam bam* (v.) 'to ask someone to keep on eating'
- d. *c^hɔŋ c^hɔŋ* (v.) 'asking someone politely to have a seat, not required to wait for permission'
- e. *wa b^ha wa b^ha* (adj.) 'good good (only the good ones)'

(8) Examples of *partial reduplication* in other word classes

- a. *parɔm paʃaʔ* (N) 'story and the like'
- b. *k^hinnaʔ k^hintlunʔ* (N) 'child and the like (children)'
- c. *malu mala* (Adj.) 'little bit (quality)'

- d. *k^haʃiak k^hadu* (Adj.) ‘few, only some, not many (quantity)’
- e. *həjlɛr həjtɛʔ* (Adj.) ‘somehow ok, as in one’s health not sick nor perfectly healthy’
- f. *mata madej* (Adv.) ‘to act in a careless manner’
- g. *huria human* (Adv.) ‘to talk or work carelessly’
- h. *p^haraj p^harəŋ* (Adj.) ‘things lying messily everywhere’

Most of the adjectives and adverbs that have undergone this kind of construction (partial reduplication) usually indicate the state to near perfection.

It is noteworthy to mention that Pnar has a number of *euphonious syllables* where one of the word or the iteration is a nonsense or meaningless. The morphological processes of half of these words are in the form of partial reduplication whereas the other is not and a compound of two different words. In the case of monosyllabic words, the onset is repeated and the rhyme is completely changed and for disyllabic words, the first syllable is retained but not the other one; hence it is in the form of partial reduplication.

(9) Examples of some of the *euphonious syllables*

- a. *k^hlo:kʃam* ‘forest and the like’
- b. *ksuc k^hrej* ‘evil and the like’
- c. *tiar tar* ‘things or articles and the like’
- d. *parəm paʃaʔ* ‘story and the like’
- e. *k^hadiak k^hadu* ‘few’

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| f. | <i>pure put^hi</i> | 'education' |
| g. | <i>kirk^hu kirdɔ?</i> | 'to bless, to sanctify, to wish others others for good thing' |
| h. | <i>kinnɔ? kinta</i> | 'to blame, to charge' |
| i. | <i>kınrum kınram</i> | 'obstacles hanging in front' |
| j. | <i>p^haraj p^harɔŋ (Adj.)</i> | 'things lying messily here and there' |

The first element or the first word carries the meaning and the second word is nonsensical and cannot exist without the other. For example, the phrase *k^hlo: kjam* is a combination of *k^hlo:* and *kjam*, *k^hlo:* meaning 'forest' whereas *kjam*, literally means 'cold' and semantically has nothing to contribute to the meaning of the phrase. Similarly, the phrase *parɔm paja?* 'story and the like' is made of the two words; *parɔm* 'story' and *paja?*. *Paja?* has no meaning and is a nonsensical word. The phrase *pure put^hi* is made up of *pure* 'to read' and *put^hi* is the nonsensical word, hence the phrase *pure put^hi* means 'education'.

Another process of *reduplication* is the insertion of *-pa-* and *-ma-* in between or what Rabel terms as interfixes. The distinction between *pa* and *ma* is very complex; with some verbs (or adverbs), they seem to convey different meanings whereas the others are in free variation.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>t^hiah pa t^hiah</i> | 'to sleep again and again (discontinue)' |
| <i>t^hiah-ma-t^hiah</i> | 'continue to sleep' |
| <i>bam pa bam</i> | 'to eat again and again (after some gap)' |
| <i>bam ma bam</i> | 'to eat again and again (continuing)' |
| <i>suki pa suki</i> | 'slowly and gradually' |

$c^h\text{ɔ}\eta pa c^h\text{ɔ}\eta$

'to sit again and again (discontinue)'

$c^h\text{ɔ}\eta ma c^h\text{ɔ}\eta$

'just sitting (without doing anything)'

4. Some characteristics of the phonology of Pnar *expressives*

Many of the earlier literatures are of the view that *expressives* exhibit phonological patterns of their own, different from those found in the rest of the language to which it belongs. Diffloth (1979) points out significantly that *expressives* have their own phonological, morphological and syntactic patterns. He mentions that in no way the prosaic phonology of language and the phonology of expressive words agree to each other in many ways. He states that "... many statements made about the phonology of prosaic, i.e. non-expressive words, have to be modified when applied to expressive". This claim seems to work out in the phonological system of Pnar, where phonological patterns of *expressives* are different from those found in the rest of the other word classes. Though there may be differences between these two phonemic inventories (*expressives* vs. other word classes), they are not to a great extent. Some phonemes are found only in the sound symbolic portion of the lexicon. One significant example of such a case is the occurrence of the *voiceless postalveolar fricative* /ʃ/ in the phonological system of the *expressives* as in the examples *ʃak ʃak* 'glittering as in the currency note or sharp knife', *ʃur ʃur* '(onomatopoeia) the way/ sound of flowing water' etc. The absence of the /ʃ/ is one of the most striking features that differentiated Pnar from the Standard Khasi (and some other Khasian varieties) and has been reported in several works (Bareh 2007 & 2014, Khyriem 2013, and Ring 2012). The /ʃ/ of the Standard Khasi always corresponds to the voiceless palatal aspirated stop /c^h/ of Pnar in most of the cognates.

Another significant difference of these two phonemic inventories is the clear phonotactic differences. In the analysis of the sound system of Pnar, Bareh (2007 & 2014), Khyriem (2013) mentioned the presence of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in the sound system of Pnar, but none of these works reported the occurrence of /s/ in the final position of a word or syllable. This phonotactic constraint of /s/ in the final position is contradicted in the expressive words. One such example, is *ʃis ʃis* 'well dressed/ to be dressed well'.

Combination of segments such as $k^h\eta\omega_\#$ seems to appear only in the *expressives*. In the phonotactic constraints of Pnar phonology, the cluster $k^h\eta$ never preceded the mid-low back vowel / ω / but it is always followed by other vowels such as / o /, / i / etc as in the words / $k^h\eta om$ / 'to grumble' and / $k^h\eta i\eta$ / 'to be disgusted'. So the combination of the segments $k^h\eta\omega_\#$ appears only with expressives representing sound as in $k^h\eta\omega c$ $k^h\eta\omega c$ 'indicates the way of walking lazily as with soft/ weak legs'.

Another interesting feature worth remarking is that vowel length is not phonemic in Pnar, but in some expressive words, *long* versus *short* vowels, though they are not creating phonological contrast, certainly they express semantic contrast. The expressive *slup slup* 'eating noisily' could mean two things with different vowel length; it provides extra information as in the examples below.

- (10) *bam u slu:p slu:p*
eat 3SG.M EXPR
'He is eating noisily and slowly'
- (11) *bam u slup slup*
eat 3SG.M EXPR
'He is eating noisily and rapidly'

5. Grammatical analysis of the expressives

Since syntactic and morphological characteristics of *expressives* have much in common, in this analysis we treat them together as grammatical characteristics. Many of the earlier works claim *expressives* as distinct from other word classes, phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. The debate is on, on the issue, whether or not *expressives* form a coherent class of their own or belong to a different word-class (Newman 1968). This is perhaps one of the most relevant points for discussion of the *expressives* in Pnar. *Expressives* in Pnar often occur in the position that adverbs would occupy in a sentence and many are confused between *expressives* and adverbs, or choose to treat *expressives* as different types of adverbs. Rabel-Heymann (1976) in her paper "Sound symbolism and Khasi adverbs" classifies it into two types: *general adverbs* and *proper adverbs*. According to her analysis, *general adverbs* are those adverbs that can occur with many different verbs and *proper adverbs* are those adverbs that act like satellites to a limited number of verbs only. Henderson (1976) uses the term phonaesthetic adverbial expressions to describe this word class. Another striking point where these expressive words deceive us is that just like adverbs, they too can modify verbs and adjectives, and of course they can modify nouns to some extent. The differences that these two classes make, as Rabel-Heymann (op cit) claims, is that genuine adverbs can modify any type of verbs and adjectives, whereas *expressives* are reserved only for particular verbs or adjectives (with the exception of a few *expressives* like *plew plew*). This can be illustrated by the following examples; the adverb *suki*

'slowly' can occur with many different verbs, for instance, *bam suki* 'to eat slowly', *laj suki* 'to walk slowly', *tʰɔʔ suki* 'to write slowly' etc. On the other hand, expressive *kʰɲɔc kʰɲɔc* can occur only with the verb *laj* 'to go'. There are *expressives* that occur with different verbs, however they convey semantically similar intended meaning, for example, the expressive *cʰkɛk* with the verb *saŋɛʔ* 'to stop' > *saŋɛʔ cʰkɛk* 'to stop abruptly', *jeŋ cʰkɛk* 'to stand still', *nɛʔ cʰkɛk* 'to stick firmly', *duŋ cʰkɛk* 'to firmly pierce' etc.

Another valid point to support that *expressives* are different from adverbs is that word classes of nouns, verbs and adjectives can be replaced or substituted by *expressives*. However, adverbs cannot substitute these word classes and can function only as modifiers to verbs and adjectives. Sentences 12a to 12d below can clearly help us understand the role of *expressives* in replacing these word classes.

(12a) *daŋ-bam U slup slup*
PROG eat 3SG.M EXPR
 'He is still eating (noisily and rapidly)'

(12b) *daŋ- slup slup U*
PROG EXPR 3SG.M
 'He is still eating (noisily and rapidly)'

(12c) *u-tu ukʰinna? slup slup da laj u*
3SG.M-DEM 3SG.M child EXPR PST go 3SG.M
 'That boy (who eat noisily and rapidly) went'

(12d) *cʰejwɔn u-tu slup slup*
where 3SG.M-DEM EXPR
 'Where is he (the one that eats noisily and rapidly)'

Sentence 12a evidently indicates the function of expressive as a modifier to the main verb *bam* 'to eat' even though it does not occur immediately after the verb or within the verb phrase; while 12b describes how one would eat, it provides the feeling of seeing the action. Sentence 12b illustrates that *expressives* have the potentiality to occur within the slot of verb phrase without the main verb. Sentence 12b shows that the VP contains only the progressive marker and an *expressive*, but not the main verb. In the context of this sentence, the main verb 'eat' is replaced by an expressive *slup slup* and functions like one of the main verbs and also can prefix with auxiliary verbs like *daŋ* (progressive), *da* (past tense marker), *pin-* (causative marker), *ia* (associative marker) etc. The expressive *slup slup* in 12c is seen as a modifier to the head noun *k^hinna?* 'child' and takes the role of an adjective. It occurs in the position where it usually is expected for an adjective and functions as one. Finally, in 12d expressive *slup slup* completely replaces the head noun and occurs in the slot of head noun and functions as a noun which can be preceded by demonstrative and gender markers or any other element that could occur within the noun phrase. The examples above show that *expressives* as a different word-class can occur and replace other word classes, but it is not possible for an adverb to function like that. Sentence (13) below is an illustration that *expressives* can be prefixed with the causative marker *pin -*;

- (13) *ka kʃut wa pin-k^hɲɔc k^hɲɔc u*
 3SG.F-sickness ADJ CAU. EXPR EXPR 3SG.M
 'It is the sickness that causes him to walk sickly/weakly'

In the syntactic analysis of *expressives*, it appears that there are a number of issues worth discussing. On par with the

function of other word classes, *expressives* too can syntactically denote their functions.

5.1 *Expressives within imperative clauses*

It is very interesting to note the differences between *expressives* and adverbs in imperative clauses. Imperative clauses are generally employed to give commands, make requests and to exhort. Talking of imperative, we may arrive at two possibilities; either we refer to a positive imperative or negative imperative. In Pnar, there is no special marker employed as such to indicate that the sentence is a positive imperative form except a rising of intonation of the verb to mark command and a clause-final rising-falling intonation to mark request. To our surprise, *expressives* never occur in positive imperative clauses.

(14) *ʔsaŋɛ? c^hkɛk!* 'stop abruptly!'

(15) *ʔbam slup slup!* 'eat (noisily and rapidly)!'

It is not ungrammatical to utter such sentences as in examples 14 and 15 above, but they are rarely uttered and it rather sounds weird. This is probably, the degree of command and request in Pnar is restricted to a certain limit. It is possible to request/command one to perform an action and it is also possible to indicate how it should be (as in the case of adverbs), but not to that extent that the action should be descriptive on par with the *expressives*. Positive imperative constructions are ruled out using *expressive* words but are well-formed and are grammatical when it occurs with an adverb as in sentences (16) and (17) below:

(16) *bam suki suki!* 'eat slowly!'

(17) *laj lusmat lusmat!* 'go faster!'

Nonetheless, expressives do occur in negative imperative clauses and in fact it is very normal and common. The regular negative marker in Pnar is marked by *im* but it never occurs in the negative imperative clauses. The negative imperative marker *ham* is used to denote prohibition or prevention. Negative imperative is typically distinguishable from declarative; the existence of the negative imperative marker *ham*, the rising of the intonation, and the sentence is always in the real mood. Examples (18) and (19) below are of the negative imperative construction.

- (18) *ham* *p̄in-k^hɲɔc k^hɲɔc* *c^hini*
 NEG-IMP CAU. EXPR here
 ‘Don’t (cause yourself) walk sickly/weakly here’
- (19) *ham* *bam* *slu:p slu:p*
 NEG-IMP eat EXPR
 ‘Don’t eat noisily and slowly (don’t make such a noise while eating)’

This is because we cannot predict or anticipate to describe the expression of the action or mental state of the other. But certainly it is possible with the negative imperative because the action has supposedly taken place and can be described by the expression.

5.2 Exclamatory-expressives

In some constructions of these expressive words, it is very difficult to decide whether they function as an expressive utterance or exclamatory utterance. I hope it is not controversial to coin words such as exclamatory-expressives because in the real sense, these words function both as expressives and exclamatory as in the following examples:

(20) *c^hi - saj napɔʔ kata, c^hlew a kɔt haʃar*
 once pull out PREP pocket EXPR 3SGF paper thousand
 'Once (one) pulls out of pocket, surprisingly a glittering one
 thousand note appears'

(21) *mirsin-pɔj ha wa-dɔŋ miʔ u k^hla ŋuŋ*
 moment reach PREP curve appear 3SGM tiger EXPR
 'The moment reached the curve, tiger suddenly or
 unexpectedly appeared'

(22) *c^hi - waj juŋ, kreŋ ne jeŋ u ha lac*
 once open house EXPR PAR stand 3SGM PREP outside
 'The moment (one) open(s) the door, he unexpectedly
 stands outside'

Expressives such as these; *c^hlew*, *ŋuŋ*, *kreŋ* etc., not only evoke the sense of being there and describe the unexpected or sudden appearance of the nouns but at the same time they also function as exclamatory markers to evoke surprise and emotional utterances. They are usually uttered with utmost stress, as such to create the exclamatory eminence of the utterances. Utterances like these may not be possible if we substitute the expressives with other word classes.

6. Conclusion

It is unfortunate that none of the works that has been carried on Pnar (Bareh 2007 & 2014, Khyriem 2013) ever discussed the richness of the expressives. It has been observed that the analysis of expressives in this paper may throw some light on the universality of expressives because it tends to agree in many ways with the earlier literatures that focused on the differences of expressives from the other word classes of languages at different levels of analysis. An attempt to study the different

types of consonant that could occur in the coda position of the expressive words reveals that in addition to the possibility that fricative /s/ does add up to the list. Among the voiceless alveolar recorded the highest number of occurrence in the stop sounds, /c/. Syntactically, expressives in Pnar have the tendency to behave or occupy the position of other word classes in sentences.

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