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IDEOPHONES IN KHALING RAI

Aimée lahaussois

In Khaling Rai, a number of lexemes have been found which can be considered ideophones, according to Dingemanse (2012:654)'s definition of the latter as 'marked words depictive of sensory imagery.'

This article will describe the different types of ideophones found in Khaling. These ideophones not only manifest a range of different morphological patterns, but cover the entire spectrum of sensory modalities found in Dingemanse's implicational hierarchy (2012:663), namely sound, movement, visual patterns, other sensory perceptions (such as texture and taste) and cognitive states.

The more than 400 ideophones collected to date in Khaling present a sound symbolic landscape which appears to be considerably richer than that found in other Kiranti languages with which the author is familiar. This factor is interesting to consider alongside the fact that Khaling is the only language, to our knowledge, which has an auditory demonstrative (see Jacques and Lahaussais 2014).

ideophones, sound symbolism, Khaling Rai, Kiranti

1. INTRODUCTION

In Khaling Rai, a Tibeto-Burman language within the Kiranti subgroup spoken by some 10,000 speakers in Eastern Nepal, a number of lexemes have been found which can be considered to have an ideophonic component, according to Dingemanse (2012: 654)'s definition of ideophones as 'marked words depictive of sensory imagery.'

This presentation will describe the different types of ideophones found in Khaling. These lexemes, which can be grouped into three types according to morphological pattern, together cover the entire spectrum of sensory modalities found in Dingemanse's implicational hierarchy for ideophones (2012: 663), namely sound, movement, visual patterns, other sensory perceptions (such as texture and taste) and cognitive states.

The more than 400 ideophonic lexemes collected to date in Khaling present a very rich sound symbolic landscape. This factor is interesting to consider alongside the fact that Khaling is the only language, to our knowledge, which has an auditory demonstrative (Jacques and Lahaussais 2014)—another instance of a lexeme which picks up on sensory input.

While research on Eastern and Central Kiranti languages has resulted in documentation of evidence of ideophonic lexemes in languages such as Chintang (Rai et al 2005), Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 302-304), Yakkha (Schackow 2015: 181-182) (albeit sometimes with different labels, among which paralexemes, mimetics, ideophonic adverbs), the phenomenon has not been described for Western Kiranti languages. The fact that grammatical descriptions do not often take into account these lexemes—which push at the boundaries of the language through their many marginal characteristics—may lead a reader of grammars of Kiranti languages to believe that ideophones are not found in Western Kirant.

Nonetheless, in addition to the data presented herein for Khaling, Thulung also shows evidence of a large class of ideophonic lexemes, leading me to believe that words of this type are in fact found throughout the Kiranti language area¹. Their omission from grammars is probably not an indication of their actual presence or absence in a given language but rather of the (sometimes implicit) adoption by linguists of grammaticographical models which do not include a "slot" for ideophonic lexemes, as well as the challenge that ideophones present "in all subdomains of language description" as far as grammar writing goes (Jacques 2013: 256).

The structure of the present paper is as follows: Section 2 will introduce the three types of ideophones which have been identified in Khaling, after describing the characteristics shared by all Khaling lexemes belonging to this word class and presenting the differences that lead to the establishment of three distinct types of ideophones. Sections 3, 4 and 5 will present in greater detail ideophones of types A, B and C respectively. Section 6 will discuss some general issues encountered in describing ideophones in the language, namely sound symbolism, reduplication as it occurs elsewhere in Khaling, and the relevance of the implicational hierarchy set up by Dingemans (2012: 663) for investigating the ideophones of Khaling.

2. TYPES OF IDEOPHONES IN KHALING

Despite the commonalities found across ideophonic lexemes in many languages, among which the "special dramaturgic function that differs from all other word classes" (Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 2001: 3), and the numerous formal parallels that can be found in the morphology and syntax of these lexemes (*ibid*), it is important to lay out language-specific criteria for what we consider to be ideophones in Khaling, in order to justify considering that they form a word class. The following features are those found to be distinctive for the ideophones of Khaling:

- 1) Phonotactics: compared to other words in the language, Khaling ideophones are recognizable by the fact that they have special phonotactic patterns.
- 2) Reduplication: all Khaling ideophones make use of reduplication, usually of a syllable (or bisyllable) but sometimes only of the vowel.
- 3) Adverbial nature: these lexemes are all adverbial in nature, occurring in the preverbal slot. They are not however considered to be adverbs as they cannot be negated.² They can be removed from the predicate without loss of grammaticality³, although the resulting sentence will lack expressivity.

¹ They also exist in Nepali, sometimes with very similar patterns to what is found in some Kiranti languages.

² Diffloth (among others) points out that although some linguists have considered ideophonic lexemes to be a subclass of adverbs, the similarities between the two word classes are "quite superficial" and that "expressives" (as sound symbolic lexemes are labeled in some Asian languages) are not negatable, whereas adverbs are. (Diffloth 1994: 108)

³ Klamer (2001: 168) calls them "often syntactically redundant or optional (adjunct) constituents, in addition to not allowing negation."

- 4) Semantics: all Khaling ideophones convey information that is perceived sensorially, and do so in a way that approximates, to the extent possible, the characteristic they code for.
- 5) Pragmatic function: as in a great many languages, ideophones in Khaling are described as intensifying the action being described.

The features listed above make it possible to determine the boundaries of the word class of ideophones in Khaling. Within the class, three types of ideophones emerge, based on the extent to which the above features apply to the ideophones: while all ideophones have special phonotactics, there are three main patterns that emerge as far as the morphological patterns of the ideophones are concerned, with reduplication used in different ways. The three types are also tap into different sensorial domains. Additionally, there are different derivational possibilities according to ideophone type, as well as ability to combine with light verbs. The degree of reported dramaturgic function is also different across the three types. The features exhibited by Khaling ideophones which make it possible to group them into three distinct types are laid out in Table 1.

<i>Ideophone type</i>	<i>Phonology/morphology</i>	<i>Semantics</i>	<i>Syntax</i>
Pattern A	Sound-symbolic. Special intonational pattern. Reduplication of vowel.	Adds forcefulness and/or suddenness to motion. Always listed with verbs it co-occurs with.	Does not combine with light verbs (but some exceptions).
subpattern A1	$C_1\hat{V}_1(C_2) \sim C_1V_1tsV_1$ eg. <i>phô:</i> ~ <i>photso (nê:nε)</i> , '(cover) suddenly'		
subpattern A2	$C_1V_1C_2V_1$ eg. <i>phoso (sênnε)</i> , '(kill) suddenly'		
Pattern B	Sound-symbolic. Special intonational pattern. Trisyllabic, with reduplication of second syllable $C_1V_1.C_2V_1.C_2V_1$ eg. <i>gAlAlA (rênnε)</i> , '(laugh) with a low pitch'	Used to convey information about manner, qualifying the sound or motion of the action. Can be "defined" in isolation of verb but cannot occur without a verb.	Never combines with light verb.
Pattern C	Derivation with <i>-m/mîm</i> to nominal	Used for description of physical attributes	Combines with light verbs.
subpattern C1	Reduplicated monosyllable: $C_1V_1-C_1V_1$: if open eg. <i>βiβi:</i> , with an ugly grimace $C_1VC_2-C_1VC_2$ if closed eg. <i>tsuntsun</i> , with bent knees (sitting position)		
subpattern C2	Reduplicated bisyllable: $C_1V_1(C_2).C_3V_2(C_4)-C_1V_1(C_2).C_3V_2(C_4)$ eg. <i>phesleη-phesleη</i> , very lightly		

Table 1. Ideophonic patterns and main characteristics

It is important to mention that Khaling ideophones and onomatopoeia are considered to be quite distinct: Onomatopoeia in Khaling are most often found in animal names⁴, as can be seen from the list in Table 2.

kokkoro	partridge
ŋoŋŋo	eagle
tsitsige	small colorful bird
tsiptsirim	rose finch
tsektse	small colorful bird
tuktukur	dove
pipiri	bulbul
poəppoəp	owl
hutiplakplak	Himalayan owl
dədəmə	termite
siksiger	grasshopper
huhutsa	owl

Table 2. Onomatopoeic animal names

They exhibit reduplication but not particular patterns of reduplication across the category. While they have an ideophonic component in that they often approximate the sound made by the animal they are used to name, they are all nominal. Unlike some other languages, Khaling onomatopoeia cannot be used in combination with an utterance or light verb to refer to the action of the animal calling. Instead, Khaling uses non-specific verbs (of crying, crowing, roaring, calling, etc) for this.

Onomatopoeia are thus not considered to be ideophones in Khaling: they are reduplicated forms, but are not adverbial nor do they express sensory information (although they are clearly grammaticalized forms of words depicting sensory information).

3. TYPE A IDEOPHONES

Examples (1)-(4) illustrate type A ideophones. Two subtypes are found, labeled subtype A1 (exemplified in (1), (2), (4)) and subtype A2 (as in (3)).

⁴ A few other nominal onomatopoeia have been found, all ending in -wə: tshətsəwə, heat; dhudhuwə, obstacle; dʌkdʌwə, heartbeat.

- (1) tikîm pʌteka tʌŋ bhuk-tɛ
 AUD.DEM firecracker IDEO explode-3SG.PST
 'That firecracker we heard exploded suddenly.'
- (2) nêr-ʔɛ ghrot-po ʔu-sôm rû: bhrê:tɛ
 tiger-ERG goat-GEN 3POSS-breath IDEO wear.out-3SG.PST
 'The tiger violently shut off the goat's airstream.'
- (3) khlep-ʔɛ ʔûŋ phele ʔi-lʌk-ʌtʌ
 dog-ERG 1SG IDEO INV-lick-3SG>1SG.PST
 'The dog licked me suddenly.'
- (4) mɛ bî:-ʔɛ wo tsok sâŋ-khʌ-tɛ
 DEM mythical.vulture-ERG also IDEO pick.up-AUX-3SG>3.PST
 'A mythical vulture picked her up suddenly.'

3.1 Subtype A1

Subtype A1 is characterized by a monosyllabic pattern bearing falling tone. When these ideophones are open syllables with a CV̂: shape (as in (2)), they can have a variant form of the shape CV₁.tsV₁, with reduplication of the vowel. This is found in, for example, *pê:/petse khlêmnɛ*, 'to peel/sharpen quickly', and *phlô:/phlotso lɛinɛ*, 'to emerge suddenly.'

Monosyllabic A1 ideophones can also be closed, with a pattern C₁ŴC₂, in which case there is no variant form, and these ideophones thus show no sign of reduplication. Phonotactically, C₂ can be lateral (l, r), nasal (ŋ, m, n) or k. The medial vowel has a falling tone, except when the C₂ is k, as Khaling tone only occurs on syllables with long vowels or those closed by resonants (see Jacques et al 2012: 1098-1100). Some examples of closed syllable subtype A1 ideophones are *phûŋ tarnɛ*, 'to break off suddenly', *soŋl moŋmnɛ*, 'to spill or pour out suddenly', *plâm sânnɛ*, 'to escape suddenly', *phâr koŋlnɛ*, 'to pursue suddenly', *pek toŋinɛ*, 'to catch in the air suddenly'.

3.2 Subtype A2

Subpattern A2 is characterized by the pattern C₁V₁.C₂V₁, with a reduplicated vowel. C₂ is predominantly lateral with this subpattern, but k, p, b, t are also found (as well as j and s, with a single example of each). The pattern, in (3) above, is also seen in the following ideophones (listed with their accompanying verbs): *tsiri tsê:nɛ*, 'to pinch suddenly', *tsəkə kêmnnɛ*, 'to climb suddenly (eg by jumping up)', *sepe dhê:nɛ*, 'to wipe off forcefully, thoroughly'.

3.3 Characteristics of type A ideophones

Semantically, type A ideophones convey the suddenness of the action or the forcefulness with which it is carried out. In terms of sensorial domains covered, they predominantly code for the quality of movement. The sensorial domain can also sometimes extend to sound, as often rapid or forceful movement is identified as such through the sound of the action. This is the case with the ideophone in (1).

Type A ideophones are found frequently in narratives, in which they intensify the narration, making it "more exciting", closer to "real action" (Dhan Bahadur Rai, p.c.), in other words contributing a dramaturgic function, one of the commonly described features of ideophones cross-linguistically (Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 2001:3, Watson 2001: 387). They can be omitted from the verb without any loss of grammaticality, but their absence results in a less immediate sense of the action.

3.4 Derivation and combination with verbs

As far as morphosyntactic characteristics of these ideophones are concerned, there is no possible derivation with type A ideophones: they cannot be nominalized with the nominalizer *-m/-mîm*, nor can they undergo any other type of derivation.

Type A ideophones cannot combine with light verbs, except in marginal cases which will be described below. One of their particularities is that they combine with specific lexical verbs, and that their pairing with these verbs is not at all productive: they are associated with one or at most a small number of semantically related verbs, forming lexical pairs. There are some exceptions to the general rule associating a type A ideophone with a single lexical verb:

a) Labile verbs and derivationally-related pairs of verbs generally share ideophones:

tsê krâ:nε	forcefully stuff into (vt); be stuck suddenly (vi)
thâη ru:nε	tremble/shake (vi) suddenly; shake out (vt)
suddenly	
lô:/lotso phânne	pull off suddenly; come off suddenly
phlô:/phlotso leine/lênne	emerge suddenly/take out suddenly
pak thoômne/thoômsine	beat forcefully/bump into something forcefully
lâ:/lætɕ wɔ:nε/wɔɔine	enter forcefully/bring inside forcefully

b) Homophonous verbs do not pattern predictably, being roughly evenly divided between those that take the same ideophone (i) and those that do not (ii):

(i) same ideophone for homophonous verbs:

wî: sânnε a) cover quickly, b) pull grain off stalks suddenly
piti khlênne, a) burn suddenly; b) misstep suddenly and fall

dzele hô:nɛ, a) cry out suddenly; b) pull off suddenly

dhê:/dhətɕə wɛnnɛ a) suddenly tangle (vi); b) go over ridge suddenly

thele tsânɛ a) catch on spear, spike suddenly ; b) start an activity suddenly

(ii) different ideophones for homophonous verbs:

tsiri tsê:nɛ, pinch suddenly vs. krâŋ tsê:nɛ, to close suddenly

bhrû: thu:nɛ, poke suddenly with a spear vs. soôn thu:nɛ, stretch out legs quickly

khû:/khutsɕ ɾɒmnɛ, cut quickly into pieces vs. mê:/mɛtsɕ ɾɒmnɛ, coil around quickly

solo moômɛ spill out suddenly, vs. tebe moômɛ, suddenly find something out

c) Occasionally, verbs with similar or connected semantics will combine with the same ideophone:

soro hoômɛ, slurp quickly; soro phâmɛ, drink up quickly

phô:/photso koômɛ, cover suddenly; phô:/photso nê:nɛ, cover suddenly

phoso mânɛ, die suddenly; phoso sênnɛ, kill suddenly

Although type A ideophones generally cannot occur with light verbs, there are a few rare cases where they combine with light verb *mɛnɛ* 'to do', as in *kaɟa mɛnɛ*, 'to uproot completely'.

Note that the ideophone *kaɟa* is also found in combination with *mêmnɛ*, 'uproot in circular motion', as well as *telnɛ*, uproot vertically, suggesting that the semantics of the action of uprooting (regardless of the directionality) could have spread to the ideophone, making it possible for it to combine with a light verb and still carry the meaning in the absence of a lexically full verb.

This is nonetheless not the case for pairs such as in c) above: even though *phô: koômɛ* and *phô: nê:nɛ* have close semantics, their lexical verbs cannot be replaced by a light verb such as *mɛnɛ*, 'to do'. The issue of light verbs combining with type A ideophones requires further study.

4. TYPE B IDEOPHONES

Type B ideophones are characterized by being trisyllabic, with a reduplicated second syllable and the same vowel throughout.⁵ Their structure can be represented as $C_1V_1.C_2V_1.C_2V_1$, with C_1 frequently a fricative/affricate (s, h, ts,

⁵ The term "triplication" is found in conjunction with a set of partially ideophonic adverbs in Chintang (Rai et al 2005), Bantawa (Rai and Winter 1997, Doornenbal 2009) and Yakkha (Schackow 2015), but while the Chintang and Bantawa versions are very different from what is found in Khaling, the Yakkha triplicated adverbs are formed exactly the same way as Khaling type B ideophones. Interestingly, despite the same morphological pattern, there is remarkably little overlap in the resulting ideophones: only *hururu* and *gururu* are found in both lists (Schackow 2015: 182).

tsh), and C₂ frequently a continuant (laterals l, r or approximant w) with stops k and t also occurring. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate two type B ideophones.

- (5) **tsəttə-həm** **kilili** **bhrəs-tənu**
 child-PLU high-pitched call-3PL>3SG.PST
 'The children called with a high-pitched sound.'
- (6) **phururu** **mi** **dhəm-nə**
 with.big.puffs fire blow-INF
 'To blow on the fire with big puffs'

Table 3 presents a list of type B ideophones.

gururu	rumbling sound (landslide, thunder, stomach)
gɔlɔlɔ	low-pitched sound with echo
hiriri	falling downwards (like down a cliff, long distance) or thrown through air
hururu	sound of wind blowing, of flame whooshing
khititi	high-pitched laughing
khururu	sound of swift, soundless, efficient running
kilili	high-pitched (women, children)
phururu	sound of blowing with big puffs, of wings flapping
pərəre	holding up, put in standing position or shape
sekeke	rustling sound (small animal in bush)
selele	way of unspooling thread, string
sititi	spread out (of animals, insects)
sololo	pouring continuously
sororo~soɔɔɔɔ	rustling sound
sututu	sliding motion
sululə	way of sliding out
sawawa	rushing water sound, (male) laughter with no sound, wind blowing through trees
tilili	shining brightly (small light)
tsherere	sound of waterfall on rock or overflow of water through pipe
tshororo	sizzling sound (always with heat)
tsororo	sucking sound
tsururu	sound of very small stream of water
talɔlɔ	shining but not so brightly (bigger lamp)

Table 3: Type B ideophones and their semantic characterization

4.1 Semantics

Pattern B ideophones are largely confined to the sensory domain of sound, but can occasionally be found to make reference to other senses such as visual (such

as *tīlīlī* 'shining brightly' and *tālālā* 'shining not so brightly'), cognitive state (*?elele* 'nauseous'), taste (*hēreṛe*, 'lightly chili-flavored'). As with type A ideophones, type B ideophones have a dramaturgic function, intensifying the action they are associated with.

It is interesting to note that cross-linguistic sound symbolic patterns relate the consonants of type B ideophones with the sense of sound which they are associated with: continuants (typical of C₂) are often found in ideophones describing continuous sounds or acts, and fricatives (typical of C₁) are found in words which convey the sound of the motion through air (Hinton, Nichols, Ohala 1994: 9).

4.2 Derivation and combination with verbs

Type B ideophones cannot undergo derivation with the nominalizer *-m/-mîm* into a nominal or adjective. A different type of derivation is however possible: all type B ideophones can be rendered as C₁V₁.C₂V₁-*maksi*, with the same meaning and use as the trisyllabic variant. The ideophones in examples (5) and (6) can be replaced by *kilimaksi* and *phurumaksi* respectively.

In combining with verbs, type B ideophones must occur with full lexical verbs. Speakers are uncomfortable listing ideophones of this type without an accompanying verb⁶, and claim that they have no meaning without their lexical verb. Despite this, type B ideophones have a wider range of combinations available to them than do type A ideophones: any verb that fits the semantics carried by the ideophone is acceptable.

Type B ideophones are sometimes given in combination with quotative verbs such as *?ēnne*, 'say', *bhroōnne* 'call', *dzene* 'speak', *rēnne* 'laugh', a fact which is unsurprising given their association with the sensorial domain of sound.

4.3 Relationship with type A ideophones

Sometimes there is a clear shared origin between type A and type B ideophones. In such cases, the lexical verb associated with type A is one of the possible verbs that combine with the related type B ideophone.

Some type A and B ideophones sharing a base are listed in Table 4:

<i>Type B</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>Type A (+verb)</i>	<i>gloss</i>
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⁶ Note that even though Table 3 lists ideophones without their verbs, this is just a shorthand to get around listing all the verbs they co-occur with.

hiriri	falling downward	hiri tha:ne	drop suddenly from a height
selele	unspooling sound	sele phrô:ne	untie quickly, unfold quickly
phururu	sound of blowing air	phuru dɔmne	blow forcefully
sololo	pouring continuously	solo moômne	pour out quickly
tsiriri	pinching feeling	tsiri tsê:ne	pinch forcefully
phelele	with big licks	phele lâ:ne	lick quickly, suddenly
bhururu	sound of burning	bhuru hânne	burn completely, thoroughly

Table 4: Type A and B ideophones sharing the same base

In other cases, however, the base for the two types of ideophones looks similar, but the resulting ideophones are completely unrelated, as shown by the pairs in Table 5:

Type B	gloss	Type A (+ verb)	gloss
piriri	flowing forcefully	piri tsarne	be badly wrinkled
sekeke	rustling sound	seke rine	throw across ground suddenly
sororo	rustling sound	soro hoômne	slurp quickly
sululu	sliding sound	sulu thâ:ne	expel snot forcefully
tsororo	sucking sound	tsoro khrâmne	crush completely

Table 5: Type A and B ideophones with homophonous (but unrelated) bases

The data in table 5 suggests that the sound symbolic elements that sometimes emerge in ideophones are not all that substantiated, insofar as it is possible to have homophonous bases for ideophones with very different interpretations.

5. TYPE C IDEOPHONES

Type C ideophones are illustrated in examples (7)-(11), which are further subdivided into two subtypes, subtype C1 and subtype C2.

- (7) ʔi-ŋitso **kronkron** mɘ-je
 2POSS-ear pointy do-2SG>3.IMP
 'Point your ears! (listen carefully)'
- (8) naŋlo **khakhar** - mîm gə
 winnow round-NMLZ be.INAN
 'The winnow is round.'
- (9) ʔuŋʌ **sese** : sêlkə-nɛ sê :
 1SG.ERG cleanly eat.up-1SG>2SG EMPH
 'I will eat you all up.'
- (10) **ruburubu** pəɔn-pɛ gə
 tightly tie-PTCP be.INAN
 'It is tied tightly.'
- (11) ʔʌm-po ʔu-kɘr **pheslenpheslen** gə
 3SG-GEN 3SG.POSS-load very.lightly be.INAN
 'His load is very light.'

5.1 Subtype C1

Subtype C1 is characterized morphologically by having a reduplicated single syllable, which can be represented as $C_1V_1-C_1V_1$: for open syllables (with lengthening of the final vowel of the second syllable) or $C_1V_1C_2-C_1V_1C_2$ when the monosyllabic base is a closed syllable. Some phonotactic constraints apply to these patterns: C_2 is always nasal or lateral (the only exception is with a C_2 of t, in *khotkhot*, 'pointing upwards'), and when C_2 is lateral, the pattern is $C_1V_1-C_1V_1C_2$, with the C_2 deleted from the first syllable, as in *rʌrʌl* 'cylindrical' or *khakhar* 'round'. Examples (7)-(9) above are of C1 ideophones.

5.2 Subtype C2

Subtype C2 is characterized by a reduplicated bisyllabic base, made up of open or closed syllables. This results in the three following patterns, which are illustrated in examples (10) and (11) above:

$C_1V_1.C_2V_2$ - $C_1V_1.C_2V_2$
 $C_1V_1.C_2V_2C_3$ - $C_1V_1.C_2V_2C_3$
 $C_1V_1C_2.C_3V_2C_4$ - $C_1V_1C_2.C_3V_2C_4$

The only constraint that was found on these patterns was that the final consonant in each base (in other words, C_2 , C_3 and C_4 , respectively, in the three patterns listed above) was most frequently lateral or nasal, with -k as the only other possibility.

5.3 Semantic characteristics

Type C ideophones cluster around sensorial domains associated with the description of physical characteristics: color, shape, position, texture and taste. Because a concrete lexical characterization is associated with each ideophone, the gloss associated is lexical. Table 6 lists some type C ideophones.

bhɛlbhɛl	horizontal
blɛblɛ:	unclear, dim
sese:	clear, bright, clean
tʃhutsu:	spiky, sharp (of thorn)
dʌmdʌm	lukewarm, comfortable
ʔemʔem	nicely hot
ɕudɕur	sour
ɕʌɕʌr	slightly sour
jaja:	foul-tasting (went bad in a copper pot)
lemlem	sweet
tʃhɔtʃhɔ:	rich (taste of protein: nuts, milk...)
ɕimɔŋɕimɔŋ	overly weak in flavor
	confused sound of many people talking
kɛlɛŋkɛlɛŋ	together
kilɪŋkilɪŋ	high-pitched echo
khʌkhʌr	circular, round
klʌmklʌm	deep with rounded bottom or end
phephe:	flat
pʌpʌl	spherical
rʌrʌl	cylindrical
	long or high (length/height is main dimension of note, not round or flat; like a water bottle, not a bridge)
soŋsoŋ	hunched (humans)
guŋguŋ	tilted, angled
khɛŋkhɛŋ	pointed upwards
khotkhot	on side, in an unstable position
koŋkoŋ	bent over (grains, plants)
kuŋkuŋ	in a row, lined up, as at a wedding
tiŋtiŋ	upright (when sitting), not doing anything
toŋtoŋ	with bent knees
tsʌntsʌn	in a row, lined up, as at a wedding
tʌŋtʌŋ	pointed downward
dhʌludhʌlu	fresh, strong, healthy
khʌŋkhʌŋ	obedient, respectful of customs
khʌwɛkhʌwɛ	ready to act, ready to listen
tsʌŋtsʌŋ	relieved, refreshed (after shower, good sleep, getting rid of troubles)
keŋkeŋ	irritated (from a sound, like a cricket or cicada)
segesege	sleepy
simoksimok	smiling
ɕzedɕe:	with many largish holes
ghrɛghrɛ:	dirty (of water)
glʌŋglʌŋ	

khun̄khun̄	thick (of smoke only)
leŋleŋ	with oil floating on surface
ŋoŋo:	sad, about to cry
tshetshe:	with many smaller holds (strainer)
tshɛbɛtshɛbɛ	light and sharp (for a knife)
tshutsu:	angry-looking
tsɔŋtsɔŋ	in a point after filling a container
wʌwʌɾ	puffed-up (eg animal when attacking)
βiβi:	in a bad mood
	twinkling, with gentle changes in intensity
dyl̄pikdyl̄pik	(light, fire)
khʌkhʌɾ	disappointed
lɛphilɛphi	flexible
rukuruku	very heavy

Table 6. Some type C ideophones

5.4 Derivation and combination with verbs

Type C ideophones, unlike other ideophone types, productively undergo derivation with the nominalizer *-m/-mîm*, resulting in nominals which can have an adjectival function.

Examples (12) and (13) show the same ideophone in underived and derived forms respectively.

- (12) **dyl̄pikdyl̄pik** mi ghɾɛ
twinkling fire burn
'The fire burns in a twinkling manner.'

- (13) **dyl̄pikdyl̄pik-mîm** mi
twinkling-NMLZ fire
'the twinkling fire'

Unlike other ideophone types in Khaling, type C ideophones can occur with light verbs, in addition to combining with lexical verbs associated with the sensory domain of the ideophone in question. When used with light verbs, the ideophones cannot be removed from the sentence, as they form an indispensable part of the predicate. Type C ideophones combining with the verb 'do' are seen in (14) and (15) and with the verb 'be' in (16).

- (14) **koklɔp** **ki-ji-lo** **ʔus-runku** **wɔwɔr**
 rooster fight-3DU-TEMP 3DU.POSS-neck.feather puffed.up
mɛ-su
 do-3DU>3
 'When roosters fight, they puff up their neck feathers.'
- (15) **phɔl** **thɛp-nu-lo** **tsɔŋtsɔŋ** **mɛ-nu**
 flour measure-3PL>3-TEMP forming.a.point do-3PL>3
 'When measuring out flour, they fill it past the brim.'
- (16) **jojo:** **mɔ-mu-pɛ** **tsettse**
 without.moving NEG-be-PTCP child
 'A child that never stays still'

5.5 Sources for type C ideophones

Whereas for type A and B ideophones, sound symbolism is invoked as a source for the base, for type C ideophones, a few different sources can be posited, as presented in Table 7.

<i>ideophone</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>source lexeme</i>	<i>part of speech of source</i>
lemlem	sweet	lemnɛ, to taste	verb
kuŋkuŋ	bent over (grains, plants)	kûnsinɛ, to bend	verb
rɔrɔl	cylindrical	rɔlnɛ, to roll	verb
dzudzur	sour	dzhɔrnɛ, to be sour (verb root dzhɔr)	verb
sese:	clear	sê:nɛ, to clean	verb
khoɔrkhoɔr	with a roasted taste and smell	khoɔrnɛ, roast, fry	verb
herehere	sharp	hernɛ, to be sharp	verb
ruburubu	tied tightly	ribɔ, rope	noun
rɔmrɔm	salty	rɔm, salt	noun
jojo:	patiently, calmly, still	jo, also, even	adverb

Table 7. Lexical sources for some type C ideophones

In this sense, type C ideophones resemble the reduplicated and triplicated adverbs found in Chintang and Bantawa: the adverbs found in those languages can have nominal, verbal or ideophonic sources for bases used as input for the same morphological patterns (Rai et al 2005, Rai and Winter 1997).

There is an additional difficulty with type C ideophones which is not found with other types: it is at times difficult to tease apart ideophones of this type from

adverbs which have been reduplicated.⁷ But as I shall address in section 6.2, reduplication of an adverb results in a modified meaning from the unreduplicated version, and we do not find that sort of change in meaning in the ideophones of type C. Nonetheless, all lexemes for which there is a doubt—namely any adverb describing a physical characteristic and exhibiting reduplication, for which there is an equivalent non-reduplicated adverb in the language—have been removed from the present corpus. It must be noted, however, that this judgment is synchronic only: it is likely that at least some of the ideophones presented in this section originate from unreduplicated adverbs which are no longer used.

6. GENERAL ISSUES

6.1 Sound symbolism

Sound symbolism is evoked above in connection with the types and positions of consonants found within the templates of ideophones and their use to 'depict' the senses which the ideophones code. Vowels also contribute to the sound symbolic nature of ideophones, most obviously in the minimal and near minimal pairs⁸ which sometimes occur with the same lexical verb but with slightly different semantics relating to size or pitch or intensity.

<i>ideophone</i>	<i>translation</i>	<i>ideophone</i>	<i>translation</i>	<i>ideophone type</i>
tīlī ghreṅe	shine brightly, in a focused manner	tālālā ghreṅe	shine dimly or over a large area (of lamp)	B
ḍuḍur	sour	ḍāḍar	slightly sour	C
tsiri kēṅṅe	bite (of small animal)	tsak kēṅṅe	bite (of large animal)	A
kiliṅkiliṅ	high-pitched echo	gālāṅgālāṅ	lower-pitched echo	C
kilīlī rēṅṅe	laugh with a high pitch	gālālā rēṅṅe	laugh with a low pitch	B

Table 8. Vowel contrasts in pairs of ideophones

⁷ Matisoff describes an analogical phenomenon for Lahu: of the Lahu *gitaigo* (the term being borrowed from Japanese, lexemes of this type also being referred to by Matisoff as "attitudinals", as opposed to *giseigo*, or sound-imitative words), some are "non-reduplicated disyllables, but the disyllables as a whole may be reduplicated". (Matisoff 1994: 120). And the same is found in Japanese, where mimetics can occur as a base, conveying manner through iconicity, or as forms having undergone repetition or reduplication, in which case they take on additional Aktionsart semantics (Kita 1997: 399-400). The question of non-reduplicated yet potentially still ideophonic adverbs in Khaling requires further study.

⁸ Only two pairs were found to contrast in their initial consonants: thoro vs soro hoḥmṅe, slurp something thick and thin, respectively; phê: vs pê: līṅe, suddenly stack something large vs small, respectively. Differences in initial consonants are frequently made use of to create different ideophones, but minimal pairs with a different in level, intensity, size in the semantics are clearly rare and most found with vowel differences.

In this respect, even though sound-symbolism appears to be in part culturally anchored⁹, Khaling ideophones exhibit patterns of sound symbolic contrasts that are attested cross-linguistically (Hinton, Nichols, Ohala 1994: 4).

6.2 Reduplication in Khaling

Reduplication, which is treated herein as an identifying feature of ideophones, has distinct functions elsewhere in Khaling:

a) It signals that an action is carried out repeatedly or over a long period of time. This interpretation is found with verbs (17-18), adverbs (19) and even type A ideophones¹⁰ (20-21).

- | | | | |
|--|----------|--------------|--------------|
| (17) tsetstə-fiem | prô:-nu | prô:-nu-nΛ | sô:-ʔε |
| child-PLU | jump-3PL | jump-3PL-SEQ | hunger-INSTR |
| mΛt-nu. | | | |
| make-3PL>3 | | | |
| 'Children jump around a lot and get hungry.' | | | |

- | | | | |
|---|---------|---------------|-------------------|
| (18) tsettə-ʔε | leŋaksi | dzu-tε | dzu-tε-nΛ |
| child-ERG | banana | eat-3SG>3.PST | eat-3SG>3.PST-SEQ |
| ho:-tε | | | |
| come-3SG.PST | | | |
| 'The child ate many bananas and came over.' | | | |

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| (19) wεtε-wεtε | lɛmthi-nε |
| slowly-RED | walk-INF |
| 'to walk slowly and regularly, steadily' | |

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (20) dΛΛ | dzhɛl-hɛm | khraŋ-khraŋ | tseç-nuje |
| quickly | window-PLU | IDEO-RED | close-2SG>3PL.IMP |
| 'Close the many windows quickly!' | | | |

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| (21) ʔΛmʔ-ε | bhuŋ-bhuŋ | blɛt-tɛnu |
| 3SG-ERG | IDEO-RED | tell-3SG>3PL.PST |
| 'He revealed many secrets suddenly.' | | |

b) It is the way to express universal quantification. This interpretation is found when the reduplicated element is a nominal, an adjective in -pε, or a nominalized type C ideophone. This is the only way to signal that the reference of a nominal is to all items fitting the description. The plural marker in Khaling (and in other

⁹ Diffloth (1994: 109) points out the cultural (as opposed to universal) nature of some types of sound-symbolism and their potential opacity for non-native speakers of a language.

¹⁰ When reduplicated pattern C ideophones lose their tone.

Kiranti languages, and Nepali as well) does not indicate all nominals of a certain reference, but rather the noun in question and other similar nouns. In other words, the only way to refer to 'all the children' is through reduplication, as in (24); *tsəttə-həm*, on the other hand, refers to 'children and others'.

- (22) *gool-gool-pe* *ki* *sâ:-ne* *mattə*
 big-RED-PTCP potato select-INF OBL
 'One must select all the big(gest) potatoes.'
- (23) *bubûm-bubûm* *bubujem* *poɔt-tə-lo* *bɔŋ*
 white.NMLZ-RED shrub blossom-3SG>3-TEMP be.nice
 'When all the white(st) shrubs blossom it is nice.'
- (24) *tsəttə-təttə-ʔe* *leŋaksi* *dzə-tnu*
 child-RED-ERG banana eat-3PL>3.PST
 'All the children ate bananas.'
- (25) *tsəttə-ʔe leŋaksi-leŋaksi* *dzə-tə-nɔ* *ho:-tə*
 child-ERG banana-RED eat-3SG>3.PST-SEQ come-3SG.PST
 'The child ate all (and only) bananas and then came.'

c) It lessens the intensity of the quality being described. This function is found with type C ideophones, as in (26), and is particularly used of color terms¹¹ to refer to a less intense version of the base ideophone.

- (26) *bubujem* *bubu-bubu* *joɔi*
 shrub white-RED appear
 'The shrub looks off-white.'

This interpretation is rather unexpected in light of the other functions associated with reduplication, and can be contrasted with the function presented in b) above. While reduplication commonly signals notions such as "iteration, duration, and intensification" (Watson 2001: 399), this is not always the case, and in some languages (Vietnamese and Mon-Khmer languages) reduplication is used to lessen intensity (ibid), as in Khaling: *dzudzur-dzudzur* 'slightly sour' (vs *dzudzur* 'sour'), and *khakhar-khakhar*, 'less round' (vs *khakhar* 'round') are some other examples.

¹¹ Some additional examples are: *hɔlɔlam*, red>*hɔlɔŋhɔlɔŋ*, light or dark red (as well as pink, orange, rust colored), *gigim*, green > *gigigigimim*, light or dark green. Note that the reduplication only involves the base, and not the nominalized form. This is in opposition to (23) where reduplication of the nominalized form results in a superlative reading.

d) It is used to express the complement in the construction for expressing desires. This construction uses the impersonal form of the verb *dâ:nɛ* ('want') in the template POSS[A]-root[CV]-RED *dâ:/da:te* (see (27)-(29)).¹² If the reduplicated verb has a CVC base, then its second iteration takes the full CVC, as opposed to the truncated CV of the first iteration.

(27) *ʔuŋ* *ʔʌ-dzə-dzə* *dâ:*
 1SG 1SG.POSS-eat-eat want
 'I want to eat/I feel like eating.'

(28) *ʔʌ-dʌrʌm* *ʔuŋ* *ʔu-dʌ-dʌm* *dâ:*
 1SG.POSS-friend 1SG 3SG.POSS-meet-meet want
 'My friend wants to see/meet up with me.'

(29) *ʔʌm* *ʔu-khʌr-si-si/ʔu-khʌ-khʌr-si* *dâ:*
 3SG 3SG.POSS-turn-REFL-RED want/3SG.POSS-turn-turn-REFL want
 'He wants to spin.'

6.3 Relationship with auditory demonstrative

Khaling has what has been called an auditory demonstrative (Jacques and Lahaussais 2014), which signals that the primary channel of sensory perception is auditory rather than visual. It is, as far as we are able to ascertain, typologically unique.

(30) *mʌŋ* *lɛl* *tikʌ-m*
 what song AUD.DEM-NMLZ
 'What song is that?' (asked by a speaker of a person listening to a song on her cell phone)

There is nothing to suggest any sound symbolic source for this demonstrative; indeed it seems likely that it is a contraction of *tɛ ŋi-kʌ-m* DEM hear-1PI>3-NMLZ, 'that which we hear'. Nonetheless, it is interesting Khaling has a number of different lexemes that take into account the type of sensory input: the auditory demonstrative is one type of such lexemes in the language, and the ideophones are another, signaling, according to the ideophone in question, that the main

¹² The template for the construction is that the complement verb has a CV(C) root which is reduplicated and possessive-marked for the agent role followed by an impersonal (3rd person) form of the verb 'want'. Note that with reflexively-marked verbs, the complement verb can either reduplicate the root followed by a single reflexive marker, or use a single syllable of the verb followed by a reduplicated reflexive marker (see (20)).

sensory channel for perception is sound, taste, texture, color, shape, position, manner of motion, etc.

The two, despite obvious differences (in phonology, morphology, syntax), tap into the same cognitive processes.

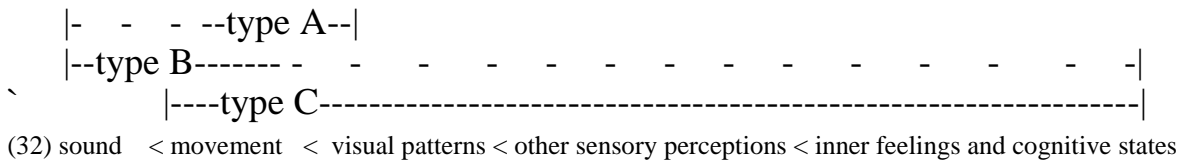
6.4 typological issues

Dingemanse (2012: 663) has proposed the implicational hierarchy for ideophones:

(31) sound < movement < visual patterns < other sensory perceptions < inner feelings and cognitive states

According to the hierarchy in (31), a language with ideophones somewhere along the scale will also have ideophones coding everything to the left of that particular sensory mode. Thus a language with ideophones for visual patterns will necessarily also have ideophones for sound and movement.

The usefulness of this hierarchy is apparent for a language like Khaling, where ideophones display distinct morphological patterns according to the sensory traits they code for. Because the morphology for the three ideophone types is different, the words conforming to these patterns might not have been conceived of as belonging to the same word class, but this hierarchy makes it possible to see how the three patterns of Khaling all form part of a continuum, highlighting different parts of it. The position of the three different types of Khaling ideophones on the hierarchy can be represented in (32):



Khaling ideophones can be seen to cover the entire range of senses making up the implicational hierarchy: Type A covers movement and is occasionally extended to sound, expressing that an action is carried out with suddenness or forcefulness. Type B primarily covers sound with an extension to movement, providing details about the manner of the sound and/or movement, but also extends to a few other domains (*herere*, 'mildly chili-flavored'; *talala*, 'dim (of light)'; *tilili*, 'bright (of light)'; *?elele*, 'nauseous'). Type C covers physical characteristics: visual patterns such as color, shape, position are amply represented, and other sensory domains such as taste, texture, temperature, as well as some inner feelings¹³ and cognitive states are also covered by this pattern.

¹³ It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between an inner state and physical appearance, as the latter can be the outer manifestation of that inner state, see for example *tshutsu.*, angry, spiky.

The hierarchy helps to elucidate the ideophonic landscape of Khaling: it not only makes it possible to identify as members of a single lexical category elements that might otherwise have been treated as too different to be considered together, given their very different shapes. In doing so, a more complete picture emerges of the expressive potential of the language in covering the different senses of perception; it also reveals that the ideophones to the right of the hierarchy are less prototypical: type C ideophones can undergo nominalizing derivation and can combine freely with light verbs, while the other types cannot.

8. CONCLUSION

Khaling has been found to have a large inventory of ideophones. These ideophones are categorized into three different types, based on a number of criteria, and the division into three types correlates with the different senses which are depicted by the ideophones. The senses in question cover the full range of Dingemanse's 2012 implication hierarchy, with the three types overlapping in part but generally having their own range within the hierarchy.

It would be very interesting to see the emergence of studies of ideophonic lexemes in other Western Kiranti languages, where they apparently also occur even though they are currently undescribed, and to map out the patterns and functions of this word class throughout the Kiranti-speaking area.

ABBREVIATIONS

>	'acting on'	NMLZ	nominalizer
AUD.DEM	auditory demonstrative	OBL	obligatory
AUX	auxiliary	PL	plural (agreement)
DEM	demonstrative	PLU	plural
DU	dual	POSS	possessive
EMPH	emphasis	PST	past
ERG	ergative	PTCP	participle
GEN	genitive	RED	reduplication
IDEO	ideophone	REFL	reflexive
IMP	imperative	SEQ	sequential
INAN	inanimate	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	TEMP	temporal
NEG	negative		

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