

4 Nepali expressive morphology

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1 Introduction

Expressives in Nepali constitute a word class with conspicuous and pronounced sound symbolic properties. As parts of speech, expressives exhibit roughly the same syntactic valence as adverbs and predicate adjectives, and they fulfil functions similar to those parts of speech. Nepali expressives are not nonce onomatopoeic formations and are readily comprehensible to other speakers of the language. Expressives are reputed often to be overlooked by lexicographers and neglected by grammarians, though Nepali lexicographers are evidently of a higher calibre in this regard. These parts of speech are an integral part of the grammar and lexicon of the language. Whilst all speakers of Nepali use expressives, some speakers embellish their speech with these parts of speech much more so than others.

All students of linguistics learn that the relationship between form and meaning in language is arbitrary, as taught by Ferdinand de Saussure in Geneva at the beginning of the 20th century, thereby reformulating a strain of thought that had been articulated in various ways since Julius Caesar Scaliger (1540). This view is yet much older and can be traced back to Hermogenes, as he was depicted by Plato in the 5th century BC. However, Plato's reflections on language were not as one-sided as we find repeated in many a modern linguistic textbook. Whereas Hermogenes espoused the view that the relation between a linguistic form and its meaning was arbitrary, reflecting the result of convention, Plato portrayed the young Cratylus as convinced that a natural and intrinsic relationship obtained between a linguistic form and its meaning.

In this piece, Plato's teacher Socrates explains that names are forms employed as tools, such as awls and shuttles, to enable our understanding of reality. Using the metaphor of tools, Socrates asserts that by virtue of the speech sounds and syllables of which they are composed, some names are more apt and fitting than others. By adducing etymologies, ranging from false folk etymologies and sound symbolic free associations to morphologically real derivations, Socrates elucidates to the two young men the more complex reality that language exhibits traits of both Cratylus' semantic naturalism as well as Hermogenes' conventionalism. Plato's treatment of the problem of naming culminates in a discussion of the distinction between the name, the named and reality outside of language, concluding with reflections on

the conundrum as to whether constantly changing reality can ever be knowable, and whether language can adequately serve as a lens through which we could ever know reality.

In consonance with these more subtle deliberations, linguists have long made the empirical observation that the relationship between form and meaning is, in fact, not entirely arbitrary, a theme elaborated in 1663 by Johannes Clauberg (1663; cf. Weber 1999; Wunderlin 2017). From 1774, Antoine Court de Gébelin developed the idea that the relationship between specific articulations and certain notions was not arbitrary and that there was a biological basis for the tendency to associate certain sounds with certain notions despite observable linguistic diversity. With regard to the *Valeur des Intonations de la Touche Labiale*, for example, Court de Gébelin wrote that:

...cette Touche étant la plus aisée à mettre en jeu, est la première dont les enfans fassent usage, & ils s'en servent pour désigner les Êtres agréables dont ils sont environnés: ainsi la Nature ne commence à parler en eux que pour faire entendre des sons doux & pour prononcer des choses flatteuses; de-là tous ces mots enfantins, *papa, mama, fanfan, bonbon, bouillie, baiser, poupon, poupée, bobo, bibi, beau, bon, bien, ami, amie, banbin*.

(1775: 335)

...La touche *labiale*, la plus aisée à mettre en jeu, la plus douce, la plus gracieuse, sert à désigner les premiers Êtres que l'homme connoit, ceux qui l'environnent & auxquels il doit tout, ceux qu'il aime de préférence; de-là tous ces mots enfantins, *papa, maman, fanfan, bonbon, baiser, poupée, beau, bon, bien*. On s'est servi également pour désigner la bouche & tous les effets de la *bouche*, tels que le *boire*, le *manger*, le *parler*, le *respirer*, & cela dans toutes les Langues, parce que toutes ont été puisées dans la Nature.

(1776: 90–91)

Only two and a half centuries later was Court de Gébelin's hypothesis that there was a developmental biological basis for the phonaesthetic or sound symbolic values of certain articulations followed up by Morris Michael Lewis (1936), who first made a systematic study of such phenomena.

In the ethnolinguistic handbook of the Himalayas, I noted that:

Onomatopoeic tendencies and idiophones such as 'cuckoo' also constitute a deviation from the arbitrary nature of the relationship between meaning and phonological form. Perhaps there are also neurological facts which have not yet been understood which contribute to a probabilistic tendency for proximal deictics in genetically unrelated languages to have high front vowels, for distal deictics to have high back vowels, for words denoting 'tongue' to contain a lateral consonant, for words meaning 'nose' to contain a nasal segment or feature, for second person pronouns to contain an [n],

for first person pronouns to contain a bilabial nasal [m], or for the names of crustaceans with chitinous exoskeletons to sound ‘crunchy’ by virtue of a voiceless velar /k/.

(van Driem 2001: 153)

Not surprisingly, the computational facilities for data crunching available today have rendered possible quantitative studies, e.g., Blasia et al. (2016), that have now begun to corroborate what has long been a widely appreciated and well-established empirical observation in linguistics. Real breakthroughs will come when the neurological basis comes to be understood for this phenomenon. Recent studies have only just begun to scrape the surface of this inordinately complex domain, e.g., Husain et al. (2006), Theunissen and Elie (2014), Cheung et al. (2016), Manca and Grimaldi (2016).

2 Documenting the Nepali language

According to the 1991 census, just over nine million people, or about half of the population of the kingdom of Nepal, were counted as native speakers of Nepali. Yet, most, although by no means all, of the 18.5 million people tallied in the 1991 census had some command of Nepali as a second language, varying between eloquent fluency to a mere rudimentary working knowledge. In 2017, the population of Nepal was estimated to be about 30 million, including a sizeable number of Nepalis who work and live outside of the country, and proficiency in the language has become more widespread, notwithstanding the language rights that have meanwhile been gained by the country’s many indigenous linguistic minorities. Furthermore, Nepali is the majority language in Darjeeling and Sikkim, and Nepali is spoken in parts of southern Bhutan, by some families in Garhwal and Kumaon and in parts of northeastern India. Outside of Nepal, native speakers of the language have been estimated to number several millions of people. The present study on Nepali expressives is based on traditional spoken usage today amongst native speakers of high caste, i.e., Brahmins or बाहुन *bāhun* and warrior caste or छेत्री *chetri*, in central Nepal west of the अरुण *Aruṇ*.

Literary prose texts written in Nepali first appear in the 17th century. The first extant text written in Nepali according to Pradhān (1984: 25) is a short biography of Rām Śāh, but Kamal Prakāś Malla contested this and reported the earliest authentically datable manuscript in Nepali to be the 1716 translation of an Ayurvedic medical text (1989: 456). In the 18th and 19th centuries, the production of Nepali prose texts reached a crescendo, judging from the manuscripts which have survived. However, Abhi Subedī (1989) reported that only 19 manuscripts in Nepali survive from the period before Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇ Śāh’s conquest of the Kathmandu valley in 1769, comprising medical texts, royal biographies and Hindu religious treatises.

William Kirkpatrick, who visited Nepal in 1793 as a British envoy, collected over 400 “Purbutti” words, on the basis of which he was able to ascertain that:

the Purbutti dialect is evidently a derivative from the Sanscrit, agreeing very closely with the various idioms of Behar, Oude, &c.

(Kirkpatrick 1811: 221)

Hodgson called the language “Khas or Parbattia” (1847). The term खस *Khas*, sometimes written as खश *Khaś*, is an ethnonym denoting the Indo-Aryan language community which settled in western Nepal and thence historically spread eastward, whereas the term पर्वतीय *parvatīya* denotes “montane, alpine” speech. In 1820, the first to call the language “Népalèse” was the British scholar Jason Alexander Ayton in his book *A Grammar of the Népalèse Language*, the first ever description of the language, and today a rare and precious collector’s item. Ayton was a lieutenant and an assistant professor of the Arabic and Persian languages at the College of Fort William near Calcutta, where he succumbed to malaria a year before his grammar was published.

It took some time before the British terms “Nepali” and “Nepalese” caught on in Nepal itself, since the term नेपाल भाषा *Nepāl bhāṣā* “Nepal language” applied to Newar. In fact, George Grierson objected vigorously to the use of the term “Nepali” and preferred to call the language only by its original name खस कुरा *Khas kurā* “language of the Khas”.

The language passes under various names. Europeans call it ‘Nēpālī’ or ‘Naipālī’, i.e., the language of Nepal. This is a misnomer, for it is not the language of Nepal, but only that of the Aryan rulers of the country. The inhabitants of Nepal itself give this name (in a slightly corrupted form) to the principal Tibeto-Burman language of the country, Newari, and call the Indo-Aryan language ‘Khas-kura,’ or ‘Khaśa-speech.’

(Grierson 1916, ix (iv): 18)

The first printed text in Nepali is the 1821 Serampore Bible, probably attributable to William Carey. Of far greater impact was Bhānubhakta Ācārya’s 1853 vernacular translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, published in 1887 by Moti Rām Bhaṭṭa in Benaras. The appearance of the Nepali *Rāmāyaṇa* is conventionally hailed as a watershed in the development of Nepali as a literary language, and Bhānubhakta Ācārya is considered to have been the *ādikavi* or *Urdichter* of the Nepali language. Jaṅg Bahādūr Rāṇā brought back a printing press from Europe in 1851 to print government notices, but the printing of Nepali books and periodicals in Nepal itself did not commence until the 1890s, and Benaras was to remain an important centre of printing in Nepali for many years. Sanskrit was increasingly abandoned in favour of the vernacular as the language of writing, as Nepali bloomed as a language of literature in both prose and verse.

Jaṅg Bahādūr Rāṇā officially changed the name खस कुरा *Khas kurā* “language of the Khas” to गोरखा भाषा *Gorkhā bhāṣā* “the language of Gorkha” or just गोरखाली *Gorkhālī*, by which name the language had already come to be known informally since the Gorkha conquest. The गोरखापत्र *Gorkhāpatra*, today still Nepal’s official daily paper, was founded by Deva Śamśer Rāṇā, who was

prime minister for four months in 1901. In 1913, the गोरखा भाषा प्रकाशिनी समिति *Gorkhā bhāṣā prakāśinī samiti* “Gorkha language publishing committee” was established in order to publish books in Nepali as well as to propagate, monitor and censor literature in Nepali. Only in 1905 did Candra Śamśer Rāṇā officially rename the Gorkhālī language as नेपाली *Nepālī* and declare Nepali to be the national language and only valid language for litigation. The Gorkhā government was likewise renamed the government of Nepal by Candra Śamśer Rāṇā in the 1920s.

Just as the name of the Nepali language was first coined by foreigners, the first lexicographical study of the language was completed by Ralph Lilley Turner. After studying Indology in Cambridge and Paris and teaching Sanskrit at Queen’s College in Benaras, he joined a battalion of sappers and miners in the Gurkha Rifles in 1916. For several years, he fought alongside Nepali soldiers against the Ottoman Turks in Palestine. After demobilisation in 1920, Turner compiled the *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, published in London in 1931. He was knighted in 1950, and only after retiring in 1957 as professor of Sanskrit at the University of London, a chair which he had held for two decades, did he compile the many fascicles of the first volume of the *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, brought out in instalments between 1962 and 1966 (Wright and Cowan 1984).

The most authoritative Nepali dictionary, *Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś*, was compiled by Vasudev Tripāthī and Vallabh Maṇi Dāhāl, with the assistance of Kṛṣṇa Prasād Parājulī and Gopī Kṛṣṇa Śarmā and under the direction of Bālkrṣṇa Pokhrel. The dictionary was published in Kathmandu in vs 2040 (i.e., AD 1983–84) by the Royal Nepal Academy or नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान *Nepāl Rājakīya Prajñā-Pratiṣṭhān*. More recent editions of the dictionary have since appeared, which in some cases even neglected to mention the original principal main compilers. Amidst a sea of ephemeral lesser attempts, the excellent English-Nepali and Nepali-English dictionaries by Pradhān and Pradhān (1947, vs 2028) and the splendid English-Nepali dictionary by Bābulāl Pradhān (1988) are now classics. The English-Nepali dictionary edited by Dīkṣit (vs 2044) is an erudite and valuable work, and a good and practical English-Nepali dictionary was compiled by Adhikārī (1999). The Nepali-English dictionary compiled by Candra Lāl Siṃha (1971), teacher at Durbar High School, and first published after his death deserves special mention because it contains some interesting and otherwise undocumented or antiquated Nepali lexical material. The Russian-Nepali dictionary by Korolëv and Kudrjavcev (1975) and the Nepali-Russian dictionary by Rabinovič et al. (1968) are outstanding works of lexicography.

Although the language has officially been known as Nepali since 1905, the older terms पर्वतीय *parvatīya* or पर्वते *parvate*, खस कुरा *Khas kurā* and गोरखाली *Gorkhālī* are still used throughout Nepal, especially by non-native speakers of Nepali to designate the national language, as well as by native speakers of the language outside of Nepal. Kamal Dīkṣit (1961) collated an anthology of old Nepali poetry entitled *Buṅgal* “attic, garret”, starting from the oldest extant

Nepali poem composed by the Newar poet Subānanda. Bālkr̥ṣṇa Pokhrel (1963) wrote a patriotic history of Nepali literature entitled *Pāñc Śay Varṣa*, i.e., “five hundred years”, containing an anthology of five centuries of early Nepali prose specimens and texts from 1336 to 1866.

Following the pioneering grammar written by Ayton in 1820, early attempts at describing the grammar of Nepali included Turnbull (1904), Morland-Hughes (1947), Meerendonk (1949) and Gordon (1950), based on the language of Darjeeling and of soldiers in the Gurkha regiments. After Nepal opened its borders in 1951, Nepali became more popular as a language for foreigners to learn. Thomas Welbourne Clark (1963) wrote an exemplary coursebook replete with exercises and grammatical notes. In Moscow, Nikolaj Ivanovič Korolëv (1965) brought out a grammatical sketch in Russian, followed three years later by the most sophisticated synoptic reference grammar of the Nepali language to date, in the form of an appendix to the splendid Nepali-Russian dictionary by Rabinovič, Korolëv and Aleksandrovna (1968).

In sequel to the splendid work by Clark and Korolëv, two coursebooks by Matthews (1984) and Hutt and Subedi (1999) suffered from fundamental drawbacks, which have already been detailed elsewhere (van Driem 2001: 1138–1140). Since my earlier critique, a revamped edition of Hutt and Subedi’s coursebook has appeared, thanks to a new third author named Kr̥ṣṇa Pradhān (2011). The complete rewriting and reorganisation of the book by Pradhān has rendered the coursebook usable and useful, though still quite far from ideal. Another usable Nepali coursebook was produced by Aryāl (2010). Both a comprehensive reference grammar of the Nepali language and a good Nepali course textbook remain sorely needed *desiderata*. Meanwhile, a noteworthy collection of grammatical studies was published in Nepali by the Royal Nepal Academy (Sigdyāl and Bandhu, vs 2045), and a syntactic study of Nepali was written by Pokhrel (2004).

The authoritative orthography of Nepali is based on Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl (vs 2040), and the choice in favour of conventional spelling raises a relevant issue. During a private luncheon with the great sitar maestro at Child’s Hill on the 24th of September 2002, a couple of days after a memorable private sitar concert in London, one of several interesting thoughts which the eminent virtuoso Ravi Shankar shared with me was his perennial amazement at the implicit racial assumptions harboured by many people of the Subcontinent. Although Ravi Shankar had trained a few Occidental musicians to play the sitar outstandingly, some listeners amongst Indian audiences would perceive these maestri as just pretending to play the sitar, since they assumed that a person with a fair complexion and Western physiognomy could not possibly be playing the sitar in a genuine, let alone adept fashion.

In a similar fashion, scholars in the Kathmandu Valley scoffed at Turner’s (1931: 579) excellent proposal that the postposition सँग *sāga* [səŋə] “with” be written phonologically as सान *saṇa* [səŋə], in strict observance of the phonemic reality of the living Nepali language as it is spoken.¹ In principle, the *Devanāgarī* script is quite well-equipped to represent Nepali phonologically, but a fully phonemic spelling is not followed in practice. In fact, when some of the orthographic proposals contained in Turner’s dictionary were rejected, a dispute was already ongoing in the Kathmandu Valley about which words should be written with the

letter व *v* and which should be written with ब *b*. The controversy about this intricate issue in Nepali phonology had first broken out in the year vs 1965 (AD 1908–1909), with Virendra Keśarī Arjyāl pitted against Cakra Pāṇi Cālise, Rām Maṇi Ādī, Jayapṛthvī Bahādur Siṃha, Hem Rāj Paṇḍit and Viśva Maṇi Dīkṣitācārya. The not fully phonemic character of Nepali orthography prompted various publishing houses to formulate their own sets of guidelines, whereby those outlined by Aśīm and Pradhān vs 1991 (AD 1934–1935) came to be viewed as the most authoritative.

Although susceptible to improvements that could render spelling more phonemic or morphophonological, on the whole Nepali orthography represents a sophisticated writing system. Yet, beginning in vs 2034 (i.e., AD 1977–1978), a number of spelling controversies again broke out between scholars at Tribhuvan University and the Curriculum Development Centre (पाठ्यक्रम विकास केन्द्र *Pāthyakram Vikās Kendra*). These disputes were only put to rest when वल्लभमणि दाहाल Vallabh Maṇi Dāhāl spearheaded the movement that culminated in the compilation of the authoritative dictionary *Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś* in vs 2040 (AD 1983–1984). The existence of this authoritative dictionary did not prevent a minor quibble erupting in vs 2057 (AD 2000–2001) about whether or not the spelling of the word शहीद *śahīd* “martyr” should perhaps be changed to सहिद *sahid*.

In recent years, and in shrill contrast to the linguistically sensible orthographic proposal put forward by Turner in 1931, self-appointed spelling aficionados in Nepal have undertaken to tamper with Nepalese orthography in a staggeringly incompetent fashion. This meddling first began with the entirely valid and already long understood observation that Nepali phonology no longer possesses a phonemic distinction corresponding to the spelling difference observed between the ह्रस्व *hrasva* vowel symbols इ *i* and उ *u* as opposed to the दीर्घ *dirgha* vowel signs ई *ī* and ऊ *ū*, nor does modern Nepalese phonology distinguish between the sibilants represented by three distinct symbols, श *ś*, ष *ṣ* and स *s*, in *Devanāgarī* script. Spelling conventions had increasingly become a source of vexation to Nepali pupils, particularly since Maoists had for years systematically disrupted an entire generation of schooling by Nepal’s youth.

During a seminar held at the no longer so royal Nepal Academy between the 10th and 13th of January 2011, a number of academicians headed by Hemāṅg Rāj Adhikārī came up with a medley of suggestions about possible spelling reforms.² These ideas inspired a group of busybodies inside the Curriculum Development Centre of the Ministry of Education (शिक्षा मंत्रालय *Śikṣā Mantrālaya*) to tinker with the Nepali spelling in school textbooks, and on the 27th of March 2012 these self-appointed experts decided to implement the changes that they had devised.³ After several months, during which these bureaucrats busily botched Nepali spelling, the Minister of Education, Dīnānāth Śarmā, signed this new haphazard orthography into law on the 6th of August 2012.⁴ Meanwhile, Adhikārī and his gaggle at the Academy had hastily thrown together the seventh edition of the नेपाली बृहत् शब्दकोश *Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś*, that was thoroughly polluted by this orthography.

The altered spellings in the new schoolbooks were characterised by such linguistic incompetence and such astonishing ignorance of Nepali orthographic

traditions and of the principles governing Indic writing systems in general that a public outcry ensued. In the Nepalese parliament, representatives Gītā Rānā, Kāntā Bhaṭṭarāī and Anurādh Thāpā accused the charlatan Adhikārī of ruining the Nepali language. The linguists Bāl Kṛṣṇa Pokharel, Śaraccandra Vastī and Cūḍā Maṇi Gautam spoke out publicly in an eloquent manner against the orthographic travesty propagated by Adhikārī and his accomplices, and their criticisms were seconded by the scholars at the Department of Nepali at Tribhuvan University. A grass-roots protest movement leapt into action, the most vocal group being the नेपाली भाषा बचाउ समिति *Nepālī bhāṣā bacāu samiti* “Save the Nepali language” committee. A formal investigation was launched into abuse of power by the Ministry of Education.

Four years later, on the 9th of September 2016,⁵ in the name of the many aggrieved parties, the journalist Tapendra Bahādur Kārki and the solicitor Bhadra Prasād Nepāl sued the government for the spoliation of Nepali orthography in school textbooks, taking the Ministry of Education and the Curriculum Development Centre to the Supreme Court. The plaintiffs demanded that the court reverse the decision to change spellings with an order of certiorari, and ultimately they won. The damage inflicted upon Nepali orthography was ordered undone by the Supreme Court on the 19th of September 2016 and again on the 17th of October 2016.⁶

Afterwards, the then Minister of Education waffled about never having read the haphazard reforms that he had enacted so that he could disavow any knowledge of the content of the paperwork which he himself had signed. In consequence of the Supreme Court rulings, the Academy was compelled to issue a directive on the 15th of November 2016,⁷ withdrawing all copies of the dictionaries with the mutilated spellings and advising a reversion to the authoritative edition of the *Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś* first prepared by Tripāthī and Dāhāl (vs 2040).⁸

There has always been some natural variation in spelling amongst Nepali literati, and this variation is acknowledged and documented in the authoritative vs 2040 edition of the *Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś*. However, in the wake of the जन आन्दोलन *jan āndolan* “people’s movement” of vs 2046 (AD 1990), the emergence of an unbridled press gave hordes of semi-literate people the chance to rush their ideas into print without the benefit of copy editing. After the palace massacre in 2001, the rampant proliferation of uneducated orthographies worsened, and a small group of philistines even somehow managed to infiltrate into the otherwise venerable echelons of the Nepal Academy. In the wake of the egregious episode recently perpetrated by this group of infiltrators, their well-spoken opponent Śaraccandra Vastī published a new orthographic instruction manual in August 2017, prescribing a return to the lovely traditional spelling.

Amongst genuine literati, some natural variation in spelling will no doubt persist, however, and, as time goes by, orthographic ameliorations of a more sophisticated, linguistically informed and less interventionist nature will no doubt be proposed. Perhaps one day, a few of Turner’s proposals, such as his sensibly phonemic spelling of the postposition सङ्ग *saṅga* [səŋgə] “with”, will come to be reconsidered. Maybe the phonemic principle and the native Devanāgarī symbol for the representation of a final velar nasal without a following velar

occlusive will one day in future come to be applied more generally in all such cases in a consistent fashion.

3 Expressives vs. onomatopoeia

Despite their phonaesthetic and sometimes onomatopoeic character, Nepali expressives do not have vague senses, but instead convey precise meanings and evoke highly specific images. Diffloth (1972, 1976, 1979, 1994, 2001) and Nagaraja (2003) have pointed out that expressives in many Austroasiatic languages behave similarly. Despite elements of sound symbolism, expressives represent a phenomenon distinct from ideophones and onomatopoeia. At the same time, a spectrum exists that ranges from onomatopoeia to regular adverbs and predicate adjectival complements, and in Nepali this spectrum appears to be fluid. Unlike what Diffloth has reported in expressives in some Austroasiatic languages, speakers of Nepali are aware that expressives are different from other parts of speech, but they do not reject expressives as words or belittle their status as bonafide parts of the language. Instead, a sound mastery of the expressives described here and many more besides would serve as a hallmark of a good command of the language.

Although expressives are pregnant with sound symbolism, expressives should be distinguished from onomatopoeic forms. The Nepali language is richly endowed with onomatopoeia, and onomatopoeic parts of speech that convey acoustic imagery might be nouns or verbs. For example, the word गड्याङ्गुडुङ् *gaḍyāṅguḍuṅ* [gəḍəŋguḍuŋ] “thunder” is a noun, which by its phonetic form evokes the rumble or the crackling roar of thunder.

- (1) भदौ महिनामा आकाशमा बढी गड्याङ्गुडुङ् गर्छ । त्यति बेला खोलामा तीते फूल्ल्छ ।
bhadau mahinā-mā ākāś-mā baḍhī gaḍyāṅguḍuṅ gar-cha. tyati
 Bhadau month-[loc] sky-[loc] more thunder do-[prs/3s]. that.much
belā kholā-mā tīte phul-cha
 period.of.time river-[loc] baby.minnows come.to.flower-[prs/3s]

Especially in the month of Bhadau [i.e., roughly the second half of August and the first half of September], it rumbles with thunder in the sky. At that time, tiny [bitter tasting] minnows come out in the streams.

- (2) गड्याङ्गुडुङ् गर्दै छ । बाहिर नजा ।
gaḍyāṅguḍuṅ gar-dai cha bāhira na-jā
 thunder do-[prg] be/[prs/3s] outside [neg]-go

It's thundering. Don't go outside.

The sound of a raging alpine brook in spate during the rainy season is captured by the verb गढ्गढाउनु *gaḍhgaḍhāunu*. In the following sentence, a lowly drainage canal is roaring onomatopoeically under similar circumstances.

(3) कुलोमा पानी गढाढाए आयो ।

kulo-mā *pānī* *gaḍhgaḍhā-era* *ā-yo*
 drainage.canal-[loc] water make.the.sound.gadḥgadḥ-[cg] come-[pfp/3s]

The water in the drainage canal is flowing down, making a roaring bubbling noise.

Nepali onomatopoeic forms can fascinate. A deluge of heavy rain makes the sound दसररर *darararara* [ḍəɾəɾəɾə], whereas the onomatopoeic form सलललल *salalalala* [sələlələlə] conveys the sound of smoothly flowing water, and the gradual flow of a wide river is captured by the form स्वी *svā* [swā].

Although expressives are pregnant with sound symbolism, expressives should be distinguished from onomatopoeic nouns and verbs or onomatopoeic forms that serve as interjections. As parts of speech in their own right, expressives behave differently than onomatopoeia.

First of all, many expressives could not realistically be construed as representing cases of onomatopoeia. Secondly, Nepali prosody is renowned for its pronounced and highly expressive intonational melodies, and expressives differ from onomatopoeia in terms of their cadence. Nepali expressives are often pronounced at a higher pitch than the rest of the sentence in which they are embedded, whereas onomatopoeic forms, such as ब्वाँ *bvāāā* [bvāāā] “moo” (of a cow) and भुटुटुटु *bhuṭuṭuṭu* [bʰuṭuṭuṭu] “ratatatat” (sound of a sub-machine gun) usually tend to receive the same prosodic intonation as a direct quote. Thirdly, expressives appear to serve syntactic functions that are normally fulfilled by adverbs and by predicate adjectives, though constraints apply, particularly in cases in where the syntactic function fulfilled by an expressive approaches that of a predicate adjective. Unlike expressives, however, adverbs and predicate adjectives are not pronounced at an elevated pitch with respect to the rest of the sentence either.

4 Expressives ending in a geminate velar plosive sequence

Many Nepali expressive end in a final phonaesthetic sequence containing a geminate, such as [kkə], [tʃə], [tʃtʃə], [tɛtɛə], [ppə], [ŋŋə], [mmə] and [nnə]. A number of Nepali expressives are reduplicated or rhyming forms. A smaller and perhaps even more fascinating subset of expressives exhibits neither gemination nor evince reduplication or rhyme. An astonishingly large number of Nepali expressives end in a released geminate voiceless velar plosive [kkə]. First, we shall examine this large group of expressives.

The expressive सुटुक्क *suṭukka* [suṭukkə] denotes an action conducted secretly and furtively without others’ knowledge.

- (4) शनिवार मलाई खबर नगरीकन सुदीप सुटुक्क दोलखा पो पुगेछ ।

śanivār ma-lāi khabar na-gar-īkana sudīp suṭukka dolakhā po
 Saturday I-[pat] news [neg]-do-[pfg] Sudīp suṭukka Dolakhā po
pug-e-cha
 arrive-[ifp]-[3s]

Saturday, without informing me, Sudīp secretly went off to Dolakhā.

As always, much is lost in translation. For example, the inferential past form *pug-cha* has a mirative quality, and the adverb *po* means contrary to expectation and governs the preceding constituent, i.e., the place name *Dolakhā*.

English translations strive to capture the meanings present in the Nepali original, since the lexical and grammatical meanings and their ramifications are not quite rendered visible in the interlinear morpheme gloss, which serves mainly to provide some insight into the syntactic and semantic structure of the original Nepali utterances. As explained in the prolegomena to the Bumthang grammar (van Driem 2015), I reject the so-called “Leipzig glossing rules” and their Platonic essentialist underpinnings as part of a semantically stunted approach to language. Labels used in the interlinear morpheme glosses are explained in the list of abbreviations at the end of this chapter. Glosses of lexical items, of course, are not equivalent in meaning, merely expedient in being somewhat indicative of the meaning of the Nepali word.⁹ Nepali orthography is not quite phonological, but comes rather close. Nepali is transliterated in keeping with Indological convention, with minor adaptations, as explained in van Driem (2001: xi–xiii). Therefore, the conventional spelling of Nepali is followed, as provided by Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl (vs 2040). For the sake of completeness, a phonetic rendering is also provided between square brackets using the symbols of the International Phonetic Association.

The expressive सुटुक्क *suṭukka* [suṭukkə] connotes a clandestine activity.

- (5) मैले सुबाशसँग सुटुक्क कानेखुसी गर्दा राजनलाई रीस उठेछ ।

maile subās-sāga suṭukka kānekhustī gar-dā
 I/[erg] Subās-with suṭukka whispering.in.someone’s.ear do-[prg]
rājan-lāi rīs uṭh-e-cha
 Rājan-[pat] anger arise-[ifp]-[3s]

Rājan got angry because I was secretly whispering plans into Subās’s ear.

- (6) सिलीगुडीमा चोरले पर्यटकको खल्लीबाट सुटुक्क पाँच सयको नोट निकाल्यो ।

silīguḍī-mā cor-le paryaṭak-ko khaltī-bāṭa suṭukka pāc
 Silīguḍī-[loc] thief-[erg] tourist-[gen] pocket-from suṭukka five
say-ko noṭ nikāl-yo
 hundred-[gen] bill remove-[pfp/3s]

In Silīguḍī, a thief furtively took a 500 rupee bill out of the tourist’s pocket.

- (7) भरत भाइले लक्ष्मण दाइको पर्सबाट दुई सय रुपैयाँ निकालेर सुटुक्क गएछ । अनि लक्ष्मण दाइले थाहा पाएर भरतलाई सम्झाउनु भयो ।

bharat bhāi-le lakṣmaṇ dāi-ko pars-bāṭa
 Bharat younger.brother-[erg] Lakṣmaṇ elder.brother-[gen] wallet-from
duī say rupaiyā nikāl-era suṭukka ga-e-cha.
 two hundred rupee remove-[cg] suṭukka go-[ifp]-[3s].
lakṣmaṇ dāi-le thāhā pā-era bharat-lāi
 Lakṣmaṇ elder.brother-[erg] knowledge get-[cg] Bharat-[pat] lāi
saṃjhāu-nu bha-yo
 explain-[inf1] be-[pfp]

Younger brother Bharat secretly took two hundred rupees from the wallet of elder brother Lakṣmaṇ and then went off. Then, when Lakṣmaṇ found out about this, he taught Bharat about right and wrong.

- (8) नवीन र जनक सुटुक्क कोठामा गएर जोमसोम जाने योजना बनाएछन् ।

navīn ra janak suṭukka koṭhā-mā ga-era jomsom jā-ne
 Navīn and Janak suṭukka room-[loc] go-[cg] Jomsom go-[inf₃]
yojanā banā-e-chan
 plan make-[ifp]-[3p]

Navīn and Janak went into the room without anybody knowing about it and made a plan to go off to Jomsom.

- (9) तिनीहरूले आफ्नो तरिकाले सुटुक्क काम गर्छन् अनि काम बिग्निएपछि मात्र मलाई खबर गर्छन् ।

tinī-harū-le āphno tarikā-le suṭukka kām gar-chan ani kām
 they-[p]-[erg] own manner-[erg] suṭukka work do-[3p] and work
bigr-i-e-pachi mātra ma-lāi khabar gar-chan
 spoil-[mp]-[prt₂]-after only I-[pat] news do-[3p]

They work sneakily according to their own way of doing things and then only after they mess things up do they inform me belatedly.

Another expressive which likewise denotes an action conducted in a clandestine manner is खुसुक्क *khusukka* [k^husukkə]. However, the two expressives सुटुक्क *suṭukka* and खुसुक्क *khusukka* have a different flavour. The expressive सुटुक्क *suṭukka* occurs in the speech of every Nepali speaker and is far more frequent in usage than खुसुक्क *khusukka*. The form सुटुक्क *suṭukka* is often used with an activity viewed as illicit, e.g., सुटुक्क भाग्नु *suṭukka bhāgnu* “run off secretly, abscond”, सुटुक्क भन्नु *suṭukka bhannu* “say secretly”. The expressive खुसुक्क *khusukka* has a more favourable connotation as if the furtive action were performed discretely or by sleight of hand. Therefore, in the last example, the form खुसुक्क *khusukka* would be inappropriate because the lads spoiled the work.

- (10) खाना खाएको ठाउँमा ब्रायनले पैसा लिन मानेन तर मैले बिलको पैसा खुसुक्क उसको खल्लीमा हालिदिँ ।

khānā khā-eko thāū-mā brāyan-le paisā li-na
 food eat-[ipp] place-[loc] Brian-[erg] money take-[inf₂]
mān-ena tara maile bil-ko paisā khusukka
 agree-[3s/neg/pfp] but I/[erg] bill-[gen] money khusukka
us-ko khaltī-mā hāl-i di-ē
 he-[gen] pocket-[loc] put-[prt₁] give-[1s/pfp]

In the place where we ate [on the way], Brian refused to accept any money, but I secretly slipped the money for the food bill into his pocket.

- (11) टीका र प्रमिलाको विवाह गर्न नदिने भनेर आमा-बुवाले भनेपछि उनीहरू घरबाट खुसुक्क भाग्ने योजना बनाएका रहेछन् ।

ṭikā ra pramilā-ko vivāha gar-na na-di-ne bhan-era
 Ṭikā and Pramilā-[gen] marriage do-[inf₂] [neg]-give-[inf₃] say-[cg]¹⁰
āmā-buvā-le bhan-e-pachi unī-harū ghar-bāṭa khusukka
 mother-father-[erg] say-[prt₂]-after they-[p] house-from khusukka
bhāg-ne yojanā banā-ekā rah-e-chan
 run.away-[inf₃] plan make-[ipp] remain-[ifp]-[3p]

It appears that Ṭikā and Pramilā secretly made a plan to abscond from home and elope after mother and father said that they were not going to let them get married.

- (12) सुदीपले मेरो खल्लीबाट खुसुक्क एक हजार निकालेछ ।

sudīp-le mero khaltī-bāṭa khusukka ek hajār nikāl-e-cha
 Sudīp-[erg] my pocket-from khusukka one thousand remove-[ifp]-[3s]

It appears that Sudīp deftly took one thousand rupees from my pocket.

The expressive पुलुक्क *pulukka* [pulukkə], according to Kanak Maṇi Dīksit (2017), suggests ‘a glance that is simultaneously inquisitive and diffident’. Of course, this characterisation is quite correct, but a focal component of the meaning appears also to be feigned insouciance, so that observations are made without being too obvious, thereby essentially stealing a glance.

- (13) सुकदेव म सँग रीसाएर पल्लो घरतिर गएको छ । जानु त संगीते एक चोटी पुलुक्क हेरेर आउनु त त्यसले के गर्दै छ ... त्यो ।

sukadev ma-sāga rīsā-era pallo ghar-tira ga-eko. jā-nu
 Sukadev I-with get.angry-[cg] next.door house-to go-[ipp]. go-[inf₁]
ta sāgīte ek cofī pulukka her-era āu-nu ta tyas-le
 [top] Sāgītā one time pulukka look[cg] come-[inf₁] [top] he-[erg]
ke gar-dai cha ... tyo
 what do-[prg] be/3s ... he

Sukadev got angry with me and went next door. Please go over, Sāgītā, and have a look, without being too obvious, to see what he’s up to, that guy.

The expressive खुत्रुक्क *khutrukka* [kʰuʈʈʁukkə], which conveys the meaning of an action or movement carried out in a light-footed, furtive and stealthy manner.

- (14) बिरालोले घरभित्र संदुशमा राखेको दुध खाँदै थियो । त्यति बेला म घर भित्र पर्से । अनि बिरालो मलाई देखेर झ्यालबाट खुत्रुक्क ओर्लिएर भाग्यो ।

birālo ghar-bhitra sanduś-mā rākh-eko dudh khā-dai
 cat-[erg] house-inside wooden.jar-[loc] put-[ipp] milk eat-[prg]
thiyo. Tyati belā ma ghar bhitra pas-ē.
 be-[pfp/3s]. that.much period.of.time I house-inside enter [pfp/1s].
Ani birālo ma-lāi dekh-era jhyāl-bāṭa khutrukka orli-era
 and.then cat I-[pat] see-[cg] window-from *khutrukka* descend-[cg]
bhāg-yo
 run.away-[pfp/3s].

The cat was inside the house drinking the milk that had been put in the wooden jar. At that moment I entered the house. Then, upon seeing me, the cat dropped down stealthily from the window and ran off.

The expressive खुत्रुक्क *khutrukka* [kʰuʈʈʁukkə] must not be confused with the similar sounding but semantically quite distinct form खुत्रुक्कै *khutrukkai* [kʰuʈʈʁukkəi] which expresses the meaning of an action or movement carried out all at once and all of a sudden. Formally, the form खुत्रुक्कै *khutrukkai* would appear to be a regular emphatic form of the expressive खुत्रुक्क *khutrukka*. However, the difference in meaning between the two expressives is now so great that they represent distinct lexical items.

- (15) बाटोमा हिँडा खेरि खुट्टामा ठेस लागेर खुत्रुक्कै परें ।

bāto-mā hīḍā-dā kheri khuṭṭā-mā thes
 road-[loc] walk-[prg] at.the.time.of foot/leg-[loc] trip/stumble
lāg-era khutrukkai par-ē
 be.affected-[cg] *khutrukkai* fall.down-[pfp/1s]

As I was walking down the road, I tripped and fell all at once.

The expressive भुतुक्क *bhutukka* [bʰuʈʈukkə] is used to convey two different feelings, both of which appear somehow to be notionally related in Nepali, namely being stricken with anger and envy and being overwhelmed with a sudden unbearable pain.

- (16) मेरो प्रगति देखेर हरि डाहले भुतुक्क भएर मर्यो ।

mero pragati dekh-era hari dāha-le bhutukka bha-era
 my progress see-[cg] Hari envy-[erg] *bhutukka* become-[cg]
mar-yo
 die-[pfp/3s]

Seeing my progress, Hari was green with envy.

- (17) हिंडुदा हिंडुदै खुट्रो दूङ्गामा ठेस लागेर भुतुक भएँ ।

hīḍ-dā hīḍ-dai khuṭṭo ḍhūṅgā-mā thes
 walk-[prg] walk-[prg/emph] foot/leg stone-[loc] trip/stumble
lāg-era bhutukka bha-ẽ
 be.affected-[cg] bhutukka become-[pfp/1s]

Whilst walking, I stubbed my toe/bumped my foot and it hurt like hell.

Unlike the pair of distinct expressives खुत्रुक *khutrukka* and खुत्रुकै *khutrukkai*, the form भुतुकै *bhutukkai* [bʰuṭukkəi] is just the regular emphatic form of the expressive भुतुक *bhutukka* [bʰuṭukkə]. However, when a speaker says भुतुकै भएँ *bhutukkai bhaẽ* “I am overwhelmed with an unbearable pain”, the expression remains ambiguous as to whether the suffering is caused by envy or physical pain.

The expressive जुरुक्क *jurukka* [ɟʊrukəkə] conveys the sense of suddenness. Since this expressive most often collocates with the verb उठ्नु *uṭhnu* “rise”, the verb often evokes the image of an abrupt rising.

- (18) हाम्रो कुरा मन नपरेर शिव जुरुक्क उठेर हिँड्यो ।

hāmro kurā man na-par-era śiva jurukka uṭh-era
 our discussion mind [neg]-fall-[cg] Śiva jurukka get.up-[cg]
hīḍ-yo
 walk-[pfp/3s]

Because he didn’t like what we were saying, Śiva abruptly got up and left.

- (19) म बिहान जुरुक्क उठ्ने बित्तिकै काममा गएँ ।

ma bihān jurukka uṭh-ne bittikai kām-mā ga-ẽ
 I morning jurukka get.up-[inf₃] whilst work-[loc] go-[pfp/1s]

In the morning, as soon as I got up all of a sudden, I dashed off to work.

- (20) अनि साथीले फोन गरेपछि जुरुक्क उठेर हतार हतारमा साथीलाई भेट्न गइयो ।

ani sāthī-le phon gar-e-pachi jurukka uṭh-era hatār
 and.then friend-[erg] phone do-[prt₂]-after jurukka get.up-[cg] haste
hatār-mā sāthī-lāi bhet-na ga-i-yo
 haste-[loc] friend-[pat] meet-[inf₂] go-[mp]-[pfp/1s]

Then, after [his] friend called, he got up all at once and went off to meet the friend in a big hurry.

A similar expressive, ठनक्क *thanakka* [tʰənəkəkə], likewise conveys suddenness, but not of rising or getting up, but of standing upright or becoming erect. The expressive typically collocates with the verbs ठेकिनु *thākinu* “become erect, stand upright” and ठेकाउनु *thākāunu* “make erect”, from which this expressive derives.

- (21) तल्लो घरमा बोको काटेको रहेछ । त्यही भएर म मासु किन्न गएको । मासु जोख्ने क्रममा एक धार्मी भन्दा बडी भएर तुलोको डन्डी ठनक्क ठंक्रियो ।

tallo ghar-mā boko kāṭ-eko rahecha. tyahī
 lower house-[loc] billy.goat slaughter-[ipp] remain-[ifp]-[3s]. that/[emph]
bha-era ma māsu kin-na ga-eko. māsu jokh-ne kram-mā
 be-[cg] I meat buy-[inf₂] go-[ipp]. meat weigh-[inf₃] activity-[loc]
ek dhārñī bhandā baḍī bha-era tulo-ko ḍandī
 one dhārñī-than more be-[cg] scale-[gen] measuring.rod
thanakka thāki-yo.
thanakka become.erect-[pfp/3s]

It turns out that they had slaughtered a goat in the lower house. So, I went to buy some meat. As we were weighing the meat, the weight indicator stood suddenly upright because the portion of meat was heavier than one *dhārñī*.

In order to understand the utterance, it is helpful to know that the weight indicator named a डन्डी *ḍandī* is a stick attached to a traditional Nepalese scale or *tulo*, which is calibrated to assume a horizontal position if the object weighed is equivalent to one *dhārñī* [i.e., twelve पाउ *pāu* or roughly 2.33 kg], whereas the डन्डी *ḍandī* will droop if the object weighed weighs less than a *dhārñī* and gradually rises towards a vertical position as the object weighs more than a *dhārñī*.

Because of its meaning, the expression ठनक्क ठंक्रियो *thanakka thākiyo* may be used to refer to a sudden erection. However, in such contexts, the expressive रनक्क *ranakka* [rənəkkə] is more aptly employed with regard to the virile member, as in the following crude utterance.

- (22) त्यो केटीलाई देखेर मेरो रनक्क ठंक्रियो ।

tyo keṭī-lāi dekh-era mero ranakka thanki-yo.
 that girl-[pat] see-[cg] my *ranakka* become.erect-[pfp/3s]

I got an erection when I saw that girl.

In a similar fashion, the expressive तनक्क *tanakka* [tənəkkə] derives from the verbs तन्किनु *tankinu* “become taut” and तन्काउनु *tankāunu* “make taut, stretch taut”. The expressive तनक्क *tanakka* conveys the meaning of taut and stretched.

- (23) तन्ना तनक्क तन्काएर त्यो ओछ्यानलाई चटक्क पारेर राख्नु ।

tannā tanakka tankā-era tyo ochyān-lāi caṭakka pār-era
 sheet *tanakka* pull.taut-[cg] that mattress-[pat] *caṭakka* render-[cg]
rākh-nu
 put-[inf1]

Stretch the sheets taut across the bed and make the bed nicely.

The obvious etymological relationship which obtains between the expressives ठनक्क *thanakka* and तनक्क *tanakka* and the verbs from which they derive is exceptional

amongst Nepali expressives. In the case of तनक्क *tanakka*, an entire word family shares in the etymological relationship, including items such as तन्ना *tannā* “sheet”, तान बुन्नु *tān bunnū* “weave” and so forth.

Similarly, the expressive टनक्क *ṭanakka* [ṭənəkka] derives from the verb टन्कनु *ṭankanu* “be infected, fester painfully”. The expressive टनक्क *ṭanakka* conveys the image of a festering wound throbbing with pain.

- (24) खुट्टाको घाउमा पीप भरिएर पाकेछ । घाउ टनक्क टन्किएर हिँड्ने गाह्रो भयो मलाई त ।
khutṭā-ko ghāu-mā pīp bhar-i-era pāk-e-cha. ghāu
 leg-[gen] wound-[loc] pus full.up-[mp]-[cg] ripen-[ifp]-[pfp/3s]. wound
ṭanakka ṭank-i-era hīḍ-nai gāhro bha-yo
ṭanakka fester-[mp]-[cg] walk-[inf2/emph] difficult become-[pfp/3s]
ma-lāi ta
 I-[pat] [top]

The wound on my leg appears to be festering and has filled up with pus.
 Because the festering wound is throbbing so painfully, it has even become hard for me just to walk.

- (25) सुकदेवको हातमा पिलो पाकेको देखेर टीकाले सुकदेवलाई पिलो कतिको टनक्क टनक्क गर्छ भनेर सोध्दै थियो ।
sukadev-ko hāt-mā pilo pāk-eko dekh-era ṭikā-le
 Sukadev-[gen] hand-[loc] furuncle ripen-[ipp] see-[cg] Ṭikā-[erg]
sukadev-lāi pilo kati-ko ṭanakka ṭanakka gar-cha
 Sukadev-[pat] furuncle how.much-[gen] ṭanakka ṭanakka do-[prs/3s]
bhan-era sodh-dai thi-yo
 say-[cg] ask-[prg/emph] be-[pfp/3s]

Seeing that the furuncle on Sukadev’s hand had come to a head, Ṭikā was asking Sukadev just how much the boil was painfully throbbing.

As in the case of the expressives ठनक्क *ṭhanakka*, तनक्क *tanakka* and टनक्क *ṭanakka*, an etymological relationship obtains between the expressive फनक्क *phanakka* [pʰənəkka] and the verb फन्कनु *phankanu* and its mediopassive counterpart फन्किनु *phankinu* “be in disagreement with, be dissatisfied and trying to get out of a tight spot”. An example of the use of this verb is in the following utterance.

- (26) बैठकमा सबैजनाको सहमति भएर गरेको निर्णयमा लोक मान मात्र किन फन्कि राखेको छ ।
baiṭhak-mā sabai-janā sahamati bha-era gar-eko nirṇay-mā lok
 meeting-[loc] all-[hum] agreement be-[cg] do-[ipp] decision-[loc] Lok
mān mātra kina phank-i rākh-eko cha
 Mān only why be.disgruntled-[prt1] keep-[ipp] be/[prs/3s]

Why is just Lok Mān disgruntled about the decision that was taken at the meeting after everybody had come to be in agreement?

- (27) त्यसलाई के भयो । हाम्रो कुरा चित्त बुझेन जस्तो छ । फनक्क फन्केर गयो ।

tyas-lāi ke bha-yo. hāmro kurā citta bujh-ena
 he/she-[pat] what become-[pfp/3s]. our matter mind please-[pfp/3s]
jasto cha. phanakka phank-era ga-yo.
 as.if be/[prs/3s] phanakka be.disgruntled-[cg] go-[pfp/3s]

What's with him. He appears to be displeased with what we were talking about. He just butted out whilst giving the appearance of great displeasure.

A homophonous expressive फनक्क *phanakka* [pʰənəkka] is etymologically related to the verbs फन्कनु *phankanu* and transitive फन्काउनु *phankāunu* “to make a round about something, to go or turn around in a sweeping circular motion”.

- (28) यहाँ अगाडिको ट्राफिकले हाम्रो ट्याक्सीलाई मोड्न दिएन । अलि अगाडिबाट फनक्क घूमौं है ।

yahā agāḍi-ko trāphik-le hāmro tyāksī-lāi mod-na
 here ahead-[gen] traffic.policeman-[erg] our taxi-[pat] turn-[inf.]
di-ena. ali agāḍi-bāṭa phanakka ghūm-āū hai.
 give-[neg/pfp/3s]. a.bit ahead-from phanakka turn/wander-[1p/adh] hey

The traffic policeman just up ahead did not let our taxi turn [to the right] here. [Turning left...] Let's just go up ahead a bit and then make a U-turn.

- (29) मैले मन्दिरलाई फनक्क एक फन्को लाएँ बिहानै अनि काममा गएँ ।

maile mandir-lāi phanakka ek phanko lā-ē bihān-ai
 I/[erg] temple-[pat] phanakka one round bring-[pfp/1s] morning-[emph]
ani kām-mā ga-ē
 and.then work-[loc] go-[pfp/1s]

Early in the morning, I circumambulated the temple once and then went to work.

Similar in form but distinct in meaning is the expressive फरक्क *pharakka* [pʰərəkka], etymologically related to the intransitive फर्किनु *pharkinu* and transitive फर्काउनु *pharkāunu* “turn back, turn around, return”. The form फरक्क *pharakka* evokes the image of making an about-face. The following sentence was uttered on the phone to a person who does not see the speaker and is therefore unable to find him.

- (30) तँ जहाँ हिंडि रहेको छस् त्यहाँबाट फरक्क फर्केर आइस् भने म भएको ठाउँमा आइ पुगछस् ।

tā jahā hīḍ-i rah-eko chas tyahā-bāṭa
 you there.where walk-[prt.] remain-[ipp] be/[prs/2s] there-from
pharakka phark-era ā-is bhan-e ma bha-eko
phanakka turn.back-[cg] come-[prs/2s] say-[prt.] I be-[ipp]
thāū-mā ā-i pug-chas
 place-[loc] come-[prt.] arrive-[prs/2s]

If you make an about-face from the direction in which you are presently walking and then walk back from where you are now, then you will end up at the spot where I am [standing].

Similarly, the expressive सनक्क *sanakka* [sənəkkə] is related to both the verb सन्किनु *sankinu* “be displeased, refuse angrily to do something” and the noun सनक *sanak* “angry resistance”.

- (31) भाइ तँलाई के भयो । बिस्तारै बोल्न सक्दैनस् । किन सनक्क सन्केको । चित्त बुझेन भने भन ।
बरु बसेर सल्ला गरौं ।

bhāi tā-lāi ke bha-yo. bistārai bol-na
younger.brother you-[pat] what happen-[pfp/3s]. slowly speak-[inf₂]
sak-dainas. kina sanakka sank-eko. citta
be.able.to-[neg/prs/2s]. why *sanakka* angrily.refuse-[ipp]. sentiment
bujh-ena bhan-e bhan. baru bas-era sallā gar-āũ
arouse-[pfp/3s] say-[prt₂] say/[imp] rather sit-[cg] advice do-[adh/1p]

What’s wrong with you, little brother? Can’t you speak softly/slowly? Why have you suddenly become so irate and obstinate? If you are displeased, say what’s on your mind. Rather, let us sit together and talk it through.

Although the expressive सनक्क *sanakka* collocates readily with the verb to which it is etymologically related, the expressive also leads a life of its own. Unless we are dealing with homophones, the meaning of the expressive सनक्क *sanakka* is no longer semantically restricted to irate obstinacy. In the context of cleaning, the expressive सनक्क *sanakka* conveys the sense of removing all dirt from every nook and cranny.

- (32) खाना खाइ सके पछि ममीले चुह्रो सनक्क लोटाउनु भयो ।

khāna khā-i sak-e pachi mamī-le cuhlo sanakka
food eat-[prt₁] finish-[prt₂] after mummy-[erg] hearth.area *sanakka*
loṭāu-nu bha-yo.
mop.up.with.fresh.cow.dung-[inf₁] be[pfp/3s]

After [we] finished eating, mummy mopped up the hearth area [where one eats] with fresh cow dung thoroughly.

- (33) सनक्क पारेर आँगन बढार त ।

sanakka pār-era āṅgan baḍhār ta
sanakka render-[cg] courtyard sweep [top]

Sweep the courtyard, removing the dirt and dust from every nook and cranny.

The preemptive expressive खुरुक्क *khurukka* [kʰurukkə] “without giving any flak, without putting up a fuss, without protest or excuses” is routinely used by those who wield authority and deal with unruly staff or obstreperous individuals.

- (34) पहिला मैले भनेको काम खुरुक्क गर न । अनि त्यसपछि सोचौंला ।

pahilā maile bhan-eko kām khurukka gar-a na. ani
 first I[erg] say-[ipp] work *khurukka* do-[imp] [fu]. and.then
tyas-pachi soc-āñlā.
 this-after think-[pos/1p]

First do what I told you to do without giving any flak, and then we'll think about it.

- (35) खाना खाएपछि खुरुक्क पैसा तिर्नु पर्यो नि ।

khānā khā-e-pachi khurukka paisā tir-nu par-yo ni
 food eat-[prt₂]-after *khurukka* money pay-[inf₁] fall-[pfp/3s] [iu]

When you're done eating, just pay without putting up any fuss.

- (36) मैले जा भनेपछि खुरुक्क लेकसाइड जा न ।

maile jā bhan-e-pachi khurukka leksāiḍ jā na
 I[erg] go say-[prt₂]-after *khurukka* Lakeside go [fu]

When I tell you to go to Lakeside, just go without putting up a fuss.

The expressive खुरुक्क *khurukka* is used not just to preempt protest, but also to preclude the person being addressed trying to get out of doing something by other means. When used in this way, the expressive खुरुक्क *khurukka* also conveys the sense of “at once” and “without further delay”. For example, if a servant is asked to fetch a computer from the next house, and he attempts to delegate the task to another orderly or delay doing the task because he wishes to complete another chore first, he might be told:

- (37) खुरुक्क गएर कम्प्युटर आफै लिएर आइज न ।

khurukka ga-era kampyutar āphai li-era āija na
khurukka go-[cg] computer self/[emph] take-[cg] come.here [fu]

Go at once and just bring the computer yourself without further delay

Another expressive with a highly specific meaning is चपक्क *capakka* [təpəkkə], which conveys the sense of snugly or in an all-round embrace.

- (38) सुरेश दाइले मलाई भेट्ने बित्तिकै चपक्क समात्नु हुन्छ ।

sureś dāi-le ma-lāi bheṭ-ne bittikai capakka
 Sureś elder.brother-[erg] I-[pat] meet-[inf₃] whilst *capakka*
samāt-nu huncha
 catch/grab-[inf₁] be/[3s]

As soon as elder brother Sureś meets me, he grabs me snugly in an all-round embrace.

Similar in sound but quite different in meaning is the expressive चसक्क *casakka* [tʰəsəkka], which conveys the feeling of being pierced or, for example, receiving an injection for the first time.

- (39) सियोले खोप्दा खेरि चसक्क दुख्छ ।

siyo-le khop-da kheri casakka dukh-cha
needle-[erg] stick/pierce-[prg] at.the.time.of *casakka* hurt-[3s]

When you stick yourself [inadvertantly] with a needle, it hurts with a piercing sensation.

- (40) म बगैचामा काम गर्दा मेरो हातमा काँडाले चसक्क खोप्यो ।

ma bagāicā-mā kām gar-da mero hāt-mā kāḍā-le casakka
I garden-[loc] work do-[prg] my hand-[loc] thorn-[erg] *casakka*
khop-yo
stick/pierce-[pfp/3s]

Whilst working in the garden, my hand was stuck by a thorn giving a piercing sensation.

This expressive चसक्क *casakka* can be used both for a physical feeling of pain as well as a mentally piercing sensation of anguish, similar to being stuck by a thorn or splinter in an emotional sense.

- (41) नेपालको भूकम्पको खबर सुन्दा कोहि आफन्त पऱ्यो कि भनेर मेरो मनमा चसक्क चिसो पऱ्यो ।

nepāl-ko bhūkampa-ko khabar sun-da kōhi āphanta
Nepal-[gen] earthquake-[gen] news hear-[prg] any relative
par-yo ki bhan-era mero man-mā casakka ciso
fall-[pfp/3s] whether say-[cg] my mind-[loc] *casakka* cold/wet
pas-yo
enter-[pfp/3s]

When I heard the news of the earthquake in Nepal, my mind was chillingly pierced by the idea that perhaps one of my relatives could have been hurt.

- (42) मनमा चसक्क कुरा बिज्यो ।

man-mā casakka kurā bij-yo
mind-[loc] *casakka* matter pierce-[pfp/3s]

The matter seared my mind in a piercing fashion.

- (43) तेरो कुराले मेरो मन चसक्क भयो ।

tero kurā-le mero man casakka bha-yo
your discussion[erg] my mind *casakka* become-[pfp/3s]

What you are telling gives me a piercing feeling of unpleasantness.

The expressive टुप्लुक्क *tuplukka* [tuplukkə] gives voice to the same sense as evoked by the English expression “speaking of the devil”. In other words, this form is used when someone makes an appearance at the moment that this person is the topic of discussion. This specific meaning is illustrated by the following Nepali utterances.

- (44) सुनिलको कुरा गर्दा गर्दै उ टुप्लुक्क त्यहीँ आइपुग्यो ।

sunil-ko kurā gar-dā gar-dai u tuplukka tyahĩ
 Sunil-[gen] discussion do-[prg] do-[prg/emph] he *tuplukka* there/[emph]
ā-i pug-yo
 come-[prt₁] arrive-[pfp/3s]

Just when we were speaking about Sunil, he showed up by sheer coincidence

- (45) रामलाई हामीसँग चितवन नलैजाने भनेको तर हामी हिँड्ने बेलामा उ टुप्लुक्क आइपुग्यो । त्यसैले एकलै छोडेर हिँड्न मिलेन ।

rām-lāi hāmī-sāga citvan na-la-i-jā-ne bhan-eko
 Rām-[pat] we-with Citvan [neg]-take.along-[prt₁]-go-[inf₃] say-[ipp]
tara hāmī hīḍ-ne belā-mā u tuplukka ā-i
 but we set.off-[inf₁] period.of.time-[loc] he *tuplukka* come-[prt₁]
pug-yo. tyas-ai-le eklai choḍ-era hīḍ-na
 arrive-[pfp/3s]. that-[emph]-[erg] alone abandon-[cg] set.off-[inf₂]
mil-ena
 be.all.right-[neg/pfp/3s]

We had decided that we were not going to take Rām along with us to Citvan, but at the moment that we were about to leave, he showed up by sheer coincidence, and so we could not just leave him by himself.

- (46) मेरो विषयमा साथीहरु कुरा काट्दै रहेछन् । त्यति बेलै म टुप्लुक्क त्यहाँ पुगें । मलाई देखेर सबैजना ज्याक् जुरुक्क उठेर हिँडे ।

mero viṣaya-mā sāthī-harū kurā kāṭ-dai rah-e-chan,
 my subject-[loc] friend-[p] discussion cut-[prg] remain-[ifp]-[3p].
tyati belai ma tuplukka tyahā pug-ē.
 that.much period.of.time/[emph] I *tuplukka* there arrive-[pfp/1s].
ma-lāi dekh-era sabai-janā jaryāk jurukka uth-era
 I-[pat] see-[cg] all-[hum] *jaryāk jurukka* get.up-[cg]
hīḍ-e.
 walk.off-[pfp/3p]

It turns out that the friends were badmouthing me, and by sheer coincidence I showed up at that very moment. Upon seeing me, they all got up abruptly and walked off.

The last example contains not just an instance of the expressive टुप्लुक्क *tuplukka* but also a case of an intensified expressive, whereby जुरुक्क *jurukka* is intensified as ज्याक् जुरुक्क *jaryāk jurukka* [dʒəræk dʒurukkə], evoking a very visual sense of the awkward image of everybody getting up all at once in great haste.

The expressive पुटुक्क *puṭukka* [puṭukkə] evokes the image of emerging or coming up in the fashion of a boil or pimple, as in the following sentences. The second sentence was heard uttered by a native speaker of Nepali in response to televised images.

- (47) पुटुक्क फोको उठेको ।

puṭukka phoko uṭh-eko
puṭukka blister come.up-[ipp]

A blister came up and formed just like that.

- (48) मुस्लिमहरूले प्रार्थना गर्दा खेरि तिनिहरूको चाक पुटुक्क उठेको हुन्छ ।

muslim-harū-le prārthanā gar-dā kheri tini-harū-ko
 Muslim-[p]-[erg] prayer do-[prg] at.the.time.of they-[p]-[gen]
cāk puṭukka uṭh-eko huncha
 back.side *puṭukka come.up-[ipp] be/[3s]*

When Muslims pray, their rear quarters all pop up.

- (49) भुँडै मान्छेको पेट पुटुक्क अगाडि आएको ।

bhūḍ-e mānche peṭ puṭukka agāḍi ā-eko
 belly-[adj] person stomach *puṭukka forward come-[ipp]*

A fat man's stomach pops out forward like this.

The expressive फुतुक्कै *phutukkai* [pʰutukkəi] evokes the image of ripening fully to the point of bursting.

- (50) हलुवाबेद रुखमा फुतुक्कै पाकेछ ।

haluvābed rukh-mā phutukkai pāk-e-cha
 persimmon tree-[loc] *phutukkai ripen-[ifp]-[3s]*

The persimmons ripened on the tree until they were about to burst open.

- (51) हाम्रो घरको अम्बाको बोटमा दुई-चार वटा अम्बाहरू पुतुक्के भएर पाकि सक्दा पनि कसैले याद गरेनछन् । कसैले पनि टीपेर खाएनन् ।

hāmro ghar-ko ambā-ko boṭ-mā duī-cār-vaṭā ambā-harū
 our house-[gen] guava-[gen] tree-[loc] two-four-[nhc] guava-[p]
phutukkai bha-era pāk-i sak-dā pani kas-ai-le
phutukkai become-[cg] ripen-[prt.] finish-[prg] also who-[emph]-[erg]
yād gar-e-na-chan. kas-ai-le pani ṭīp-era
 remembrance do-[ifp]-[neg]-[3p]. who-[emph]-[erg] also pluck-[cg]
khā-enan
 eat-[neg/pfp/3p]

Even though two to four of the guavas on our guava tree had completed ripening until they were about to burst open, nobody paid them any heed. Nobody picked and ate them.

The expressive टक्क *ṭakka* [ṭakkə] conveys the sense of everything being brought into an orderly and tidy state.

- (52) सबै कुरा टक्क मिलाएर राख त बाबु ।

sabai kurā ṭakka milā-era rākh-a ta bābu
all thing *ṭakka* arrange-[cg] put-[imp] [top] Bābu

Get everything neatly ordered and tidily arranged now, Bābu¹¹

Both the expressives चटक्क *caṭakka* [tɕəṭakkə] and चिटिक्क *ciṭikka* [tɕiṭikkə] convey the sense of pretty, groomed or beautified, but they each have a different flavour.

- (53) चटक्क परे सोल्तिनी कता हिंडेको हो ।

caṭakka par-era, solṭinī, katā hīḍ-eko ho
whither be/[3s] sister-in-law¹² *caṭakka* become-[cg] walk-[ipp]

Where is it that you are off to, sis, all done up and pretty like that?

- (54) सुदीप भाइ सिक्किम जाने भनेर चटक्क परे गयो ।

sudīp bhāi sikkim jā-ne bhan-era caṭakka par-era
Sudīp younger.brother Sikkim go-[inf₃] say-[cg] *caṭakka* become-[cg]
ga-yo
go-[pf/p/3s]

Younger brother Sudīp got all spruced up because he was going off to Sikkim.

- (55) सुकदेवको जन्ती जाने भनेर अर्जुन चटक्क भएर घरबाट हिंड्यो ।

sukadev-ko jantī jā-ne bhan-era arjun caṭakka
Sukadev-[gen] marital.procession go-[inf₃] say-[cg] Arjun *caṭakka*
bha-era ghar-bāṭa hīḍ-yo
become[cg] house-from set.off-[pf/p/3s]

In order to take part in Sukadev's marital procession, Arjun left the house after getting himself all nicely groomed.

- (56) दशैंको बेलामा नेपालको घरहरू चिटिक्क पारेर शृंगारिन्छन् ।

daśāi-ko belā-mā nepāl-ko ghar-harū ciṭikka
Daśāi-[gen] period.of.time-[loc] Nepal-[gen] house-[p] *ciṭikka*
pār-era śṛṅgār-i-ncha
render-[cg] spruce.up-[mp]-[prs/3s]

During the festival of Daśāi, the houses in Nepal get all spruced up.

- (57) सुरेश दाइ आउँदै हुनु हुन्छ भनेर मैले आफ्नो कोठा चिटिक्क पारेर राखेको छु ।

sureś dāi āũ-dai hu-nu huncha bhan-era maile
 Sureś elder.brother come-[prg/emph] be-[inf₁] be/[3s] say-[cg] I/[erg]
āphno koṭhā ciṭikka pār-era rākh-eko chu
 own room ciṭikka render-[cg] keep-[ipp] be/[prs/1s]

Because elder brother Sureś was coming, I tidied up my room.

The expressive बुरुक्क *burukka* [burukkə] or बुर्लुक्क *burlukka* [burlukkə] conveys the image of jumping or bolting in an agitated or overly excited fashion.

- (58) भैसी गाडीलाई देखेर बुरुक्क उफ्रियो ।

bhāīsī gādī-lāi dekh-era burukka uphri-yo
 buffalo car-[pat] see-[cg] burukka jump.up-[pfp/3s]

Upon seeing the car, the buffalo bolted suddenly in an excited fashion

- (59) बुरुक्क उफ्रेर किन जाने विदेश ।

burukka uphr-era kina jā-ne videś
 burukka jump.up-[cg] why go-[inf₃] abroad

Why do you want to bolt off suddenly and go abroad?

The expressive भुसुक्क *bhusukka* [bhusukkə] means completely or utterly.

- (60) भुसुक्क बिर्सको छ ।

bhusukka birs-eko cha
 bhusukka forget-[ipp] be/[3s/prs]

He forgot completely

By contrast, the expressive पटक *paṭakka* [pəṭakkə] or, more emphatically, पटककै *paṭakkai* [pəṭakkəi] “utterly, absolutely, at all” collocates with a negative verb. Though similar in meaning, the two expressives are used quite differently. Moreover, the form पटककै *paṭakkai* [pəṭakkəi] is transparently an emphatic form of the word पटक *paṭak* [pəṭək] “time, occasion, turn”. In the case of पटककै *paṭakkai*, the etymological transparency is so clear that treating the form as an expressive is justified only on account of the gemination of the voiceless velar plosive precisely mimicking the most commonly observed final phonological pattern in Nepali expressives.

- (61) त्यो मान्छेलाई औषधि पटककै चाहिन्दैन ।

tyo mānche-lāi auṣadhi paṭakkai cāh-i-ndaina
 that person-[pat] medicine paṭakkai need-[mp]-[neg/prs/3s]

That guy absolutely does not need any medicine

- (62) मलाई चुरोट खाने मान्छे पटकै मन पर्दैनन् ।

ma-lāi curoṭ khā-ne mānche paṭakkai man par-dainan
I-[pat] tobacco eat-[inf₃] person *paṭakkai* mind fall-[neg/prs/3p]

I can't stand cigarette smokers.

- (63) किनले हामीलाई भनेको कुरा पटकै मिलेन ।

kiran-le hāmī-lāi bhan-eko kurā paṭakkai mil-ena
Kiran-[erg] we-[pat] say-[ipp] matter *paṭakkai* be.in.accord-[neg/pfp/3s]

What Kiran told us isn't true at all.

- (64) हिजो आज अशोक भरतले लगाएको काम पटकै गर्दैन रे ।

hijo āja aśok bharat-le lagā-eko kām paṭakkai
yesterday today Aśok-[erg] Bharat-[erg] cause.to.do-[ipp] work *paṭakkai*
gar-daina re
do-[neg/prs/3s] [rsp]

I heard that nowadays Aśok never does what Bharat tells him to do.

- (65) सुकदेवले घर सफा गरेको पटकै भएन ।

sukadev-le ghar saphā gar-eko paṭakkai bha-ena
Sukadev-[erg] house clean do-[ipp] *paṭakkai* become-[neg/pfp/3s]

The way that Sukadev cleaned the house won't do at all.

The expressive छक्क *chakka* [tʰəkkə]¹³ conveys the image of astonishment and is used in collocation with the verb पर्नु *parnu* “fall” to express amazement. As in the case of the form पटकै *paṭakkai*, the choice to treat this form as an expressive is based on the word exhibiting the most frequent final phonological pattern of expressives, with the gemination of the voiceless velar plosive.

- (66) त्यो कुइरेले नेपाली बोलेको सुनेर त्यहाँ बसेका नेपालीहरू छक्क परेर त्यसले बोलेको कुरा चाख लिएर सुनेका ।

tyo kuire-le nepālī bol-eko sun-era tyahā bas-ekā
that gora-[erg] Nepali speak-[ipp] hear-[cg] there sit-[ipp/p]
nepālī-harū chakka par-era tyas-le bol-eko kurā cākh
Nepali-[p] *chakka* fall-[cg] he/she-[erg] speak-[ipp] matter interest
li-era sun-ekā.
take-[cg] sit-[ipp/p]

Those Nepalis were amazed when they heard that gora speaking Nepali and then took an interest in what he was saying and [sat there and] listened to him.

The expressive दुक्क *dhukka* [dʰukkə] denotes the sense of being free of worry and anxiety and without cares. The first of the two example sentences is a headline, whereas the second, like all the other example sentences, is a spoken utterance.

- (67) नेपाल बाहिर छु भनेर अपराधी ढुक्क हुने दिन गए, विदेशमा गरे पनि नेपालमै गरे सरह कानून लाग्ने ऐन पारित ।

nepāl bāhira chu bhan-era aparādhī ḍhukka hun-e din ga-e
 Nepal outside am say-[cg] criminal ḍhukka be-[inf₃] day go-[pfp/3p]
videś-mā gar-e pani nepāl-mai gar-e sarah kānun
 abroad-[loc] do-[prt₂] also Nepal-[loc/emph] do-[prt₂] equal law
lāg-ne ain pārit
 apply-[inf₃] legislation decided

The days are now gone that criminals can be free of worry thinking that they are outside of Nepal, legislation has been decided that crimes committed abroad will be treated before the law as if they had been committed in Nepal.

- (68) जीनान विश्वविद्यालयले क्यान्टोनबाट सबै कागजपत्र पठाएर सुदीपले अहिले चीनको भिजा पाउँछ भन्ने कुरामा म अब ढुक्क भएँ ।

jīnān vīśvavidyālaya-le kyānton-bāṭa sabai kāgaj-patra paṭhā-era
 Jinān University-[erg] Canton-from all paper-letter send-[cg]
sudīp-le ahile cīn-ko bhijā pāū-cha bhan-ne kurā-mā
 Sudīp now China-[gen] visa get-[prs/3s] say-[inf₃] matter-[loc]
ma aba ḍhukka bha-ē
 I now ḍhukka become-[pfp/1s]

Now that Jinān University has sent all the paperwork from Canton (Guāngzhōu), my mind is now at peace that Sudīp will now get his Chinese [student] visa.

The expressive सर्लक्क *sarlakka* [sərləkkə] means completely, all at once or all in one go.

- (69) मैले हेर्दा हेर्दै सर्पले सिंगै भ्यागुतो सर्लक्क निल्यो ।

maile her-dā her-dai sarpa-le sīgai bhyāguto
 I/[erg] look-[prg] look-[prg/emph] snake[erg] in.one.piece frog
sarlakka nil-yo
sarlakka swallow-[pfp/3s]

As I looked on, the snake swallowed the frog whole in just one gulp

- (70) त्यो मिस्त्रीले मेरो काम सर्लक्क एकै दिनमा सबै सिध्यायो ।

tyo mistrī-le mero kām sarlakka ek-ai din-mā sabai
 that tradesman-[erg] my work sarlakka one-[emph] day-[loc] all
sidhyā-yo
 complete-[pfp/3s]

That tradesman completed all my work in one go within a single day

The expressive टुसुक्क *ṭusukka* [ṭusukkə] conveys the image of sitting jauntily on one's haunches in the Nepali style, i.e., with both feet flat on the ground.

- (71) चरीकोट आउनको लागि गाडी कुरेर बसेको । कुर्दा कुर्दा गाडी नआएर म त्यहीं बाटोको डिलमा टुसुक्क बसेको मात्रै थिएँ गाडी आइ हाल्यो । अनि गाडीमा चढेर म चरीकोटतिर लागें ।

carīkoṭ āu-na-ko lāgi gādī kur-era bas-eko
 Carīkoṭ come-[inf₂]-[gen] for vehicle wait.for-[cg] sit-[ipp].
kur-dā kur-dā gādī na-ā-era ma
 wait.for-[prg] wait.for-[prg]. vehicle [neg]-come-[cg] I
tyahī bāṭo-ko ḍil-mā ṭusukka bas-eko matrai
 there/[emph] road-[gen] roadside-[loc] ṭusukka sit-[ipp] only
thi-ē gādī ā-i hāl-yo. ani
 be-[pfp/1s]. vehicle come-[prt₁] complete-[pfp/3s] and.then
gādī-mā caḍh-era ma carīkoṭ-tira lāg-ē.
 vehicle-[loc] climb-[cg] I Carīkoṭ-toward set.off-[pfp/1s]

I was waiting for the bus in order to come to Carīkoṭ. As the bus hadn't come even though I had been waiting for so long, I just sat down on my haunches at the roadsides, and just as I had sat down, the vehicle showed up, and then I got in and began to head towards Carīkoṭ.

The expressive सुलुक्क *sulukka* conjures up the image of swallowing whole without chewing.

- (72) सर्पले भ्यागुतोलाई हेर्दा हेर्दै सुलुक्क निल्यो ।

sarpa-le bhyāguto-lāi her-dā her-dai sulukka
 snake-[erg] frog-[pat] watch-[prg] watch-[prg/emph] *sulukka*
nil-yo
 swallow-[pfp/3s]

As I looked on, the snake swallowed the frog whole.

The expressive पिलिक्क *pilikka* [pilikkə] evokes the image of flashing lightning. An iterative form पलाक्क *palāk pilikka* [pəlakpilikkə]. This expressive form can collocate with the verb गर्नु *garnu* “do”. Whether this expressive in such collocations serves as a nominal complement or an adverbial modifier is moot. In any event, पिलिक्क *pilikka* and पलाक्क *palāk pilikka* [pəlakpilikkə] are not the only expressives that can occur as complements of the verb गर्नु *garnu* “do”.

- (73) पिलिक्क गरेर चट्याङ पयो ।

pilikka gar-era catyāṅg par-yo
pilikka do-[cg] thunderbolt fall-[pfp/3s]

It flashed and lightning struck.

- (74) आकाशमा बिजुली चम्किन्दै छ पलाक पिलिक्क गरेको बेलामा चट्याङ हान्छ ।

ākāś-mā bijulī camki-ndai cha. palākpilikka gar-eko
 sky-[loc] lightning flash-[prg] be/[prs/3s] *palākpilikka do-[ipp]*
belā-mā catyāṅg hān-cha
 period.of.time-[loc] thunderbolt strike-[prs/3s]

Lightning is flashing in the sky. When it is flashing and flickering like that, a bolt of lightning will strike.

The above list of Nepali expressives ending in the sequence [kkə] is probably not complete. However, this subset of Nepali expressives accounts for about half of the forms in the present study. The preponderance of these forms and the etymological transparency of forms such as ठनक्क *thanakka*, तनक्क *tanakka*, टनक्क *ṭanakka* and फनक्क *phanakka* suggest that the formation of expressives in [kkə] may be akin to a productive morphological process. However, the form मक्ख *makkha* [mækkʰə], which conveys the image of being smugly satisfied, differs from all of the hitherto adduced expressive forms in ending in the sequence [kkʰə].

- (75) के हो महेश । खुब मक्ख परेर बसेका छौ । के भयो त्यस्तो ।

ke ho maheś. khub makkha par-era bas-ekā chau.
 what be/[prs/3s] Mahesh pretty *makkha* fall-[cg] sit-[ipp/p] be/[prs/2p]
ke bha-yo tyasto
 what be-[pfp/3s] like.that

What gives, Mahesh? You're sitting there looking quite smugly satisfied about something. What happened to make you feel like that.

5 Expressives ending in a geminate retroflex plosive sequence

The following sets of expressives is a smaller set ending in the geminate sequence [t̪t̪ə]. The expressive फाट्टफुट्ट *phāṭṭaphuṭṭa* [pʰat̪t̪ə pʰuṭ̪t̪ə] means “à l'improviste, in a makeshift fashion”.

- (76) फाट्टफुट्ट सबैले अंग्रेजी बोल्छन् ।

phāṭṭaphuṭṭa sabai-le āgrejī bol-chan
phāṭṭaphuṭṭa all-[erg] English speak-[3p/prs]

In a makeshift fashion, everybody can make do in English

- (77) मलाई त्यो काम गर्न त्यति राम्रो आउँदैन तर फाट्टफुट्ट काम चलाउन सक्छु ।

ma-lāī tyo kām gar-na tyati āū-daina tara
 I-[pat] that work do-[inf₂] that.much come-[neg/prs/3s] but
phāṭṭaphuṭṭa kām calāu-na sak-chu
phāṭṭaphuṭṭa work cause.to.move-[inf₂] can-[prs/1s]

I don't know that well how to go about doing that work, but I can try to improvise.

The expressive स्वाट्ट *svāṭṭa* [swaṭṭa] means “unexpectedly, all of a sudden”, whereas the expressive च्वाट्ट *cvāṭṭa* [tɕwaṭṭa] means “in one fell swoop, in twain, asunder”.

- (78) रामले बाटोमा गाडी आउँदा आउँदै स्वाट्ट बाटो काट्यो ।

rām-le baṭo-mā gāḍī āū-dā āū-dai svāṭṭa
 Rām-[erg] road-[loc] car come-[prg] come-[prg/emph] *svāṭṭa*
bāṭo kāt-yo
 road cut-[pfp/3s]

As cars just kept on coming, Rām suddenly crossed the road.

- (79) सन्तोष भाइ नसोधीकन स्वाट्ट कोठाभित्र आएर किताब लिएर गयो ।

santoṣ bhāi na-sodh-īkana svāṭṭa koṭhā-bhitra ā-era
 Santoṣ younger.brother [neg]-ask-[pfg] *svāṭṭa* room-inside come-[cg]
kitāb li-era ga-yo
 book take-[cg] go-[pfp/3s]

Without asking, younger brother Santoṣ suddenly went into the room, took the book and went off.

- (80) आज बिहान तरकारी काट्दा काट्दै मेरो हात च्वाट्ट काट्यो ।

āja bihān tarkārī kāt-dā kāt-dai mero hāt cvāṭṭa
 today morning vegetables cut-[prg] cut-[prg/emph] my hand *cvāṭṭa*
kāt-yo
 cut-[pfp/3s]

This morning, whilst cutting the vegetables, I suddenly cut my hand.

- (81) दाशैंमा मार हान्दा बोकाको गर्धन एकै पटकमा च्वाट्ट छिनाउनु पर्छ नभए दूर्भाग्य हुन्छ ।

daśāi mār hān-dā bokā-ko gardhan ek-ai paṭak-mā cvāṭṭa
 Daśāi kill shoot-[prg] goat-[gen] neck one-[emph] time-[loc] *cvāṭṭa*
chināu-nu par-cha na-bha-e dūrbhāgya huncha
 sever-[inf₁] must-[prs/3s] [neg]-become-[prt₂] misfortune be/[prs/3s]

Whilst celebrating the slaughtering festival of Daśāi, one must sever the neck of the goat with one fell swoop [so that the goat suffers no pain], otherwise it will bring misfortune.

- (82) राम पिङ खेल्दा खेलदै पिङको डोरी च्वाट्ट छिनेर उसको दूर्घटना भयो ।

rām piṅ khel-dā khel-dai piṅ-ko dorī
 Rām festival.swing play-[prg] play-[prg/emph] festival.swing-[gen] rope
cvāṭṭa chin-era us-ko dūrghaṭanā bha-yo.
cvāṭṭa be.severed-[cg] he-[gen] accident become-[pfp/3s]

Whilst playing on the large festival swing, the rope snapped in two and he suffered an accident.

- (83) रुख सीधा बनाउन भनेर रुखमा डोरी बाँधेर तानेको । डोरी मकाएको रहेछ । रुख सीधा हुन आट्दा खेरि डोरी च्वाट्ट चुडियो । रुख तल गयो । मान्छे पर पुग्यो ।

rukḥ sīdhā banāu-na bhan-era rukḥ-mā ḍorī bādh-era tān-eko.
 tree straight make-[inf₂] say-[cg] tree-[loc] rope tie-[cg] pull-[ipp].
ḍorī makā-eko rah-e-cha. rukḥ sīdhā hu-na
 rope rot/get.soft-[ipp] remain-[ifp]-[3s]. tree straight be-[inf₂]
āt-dā kheri ḍorī cvāṭṭa cuḍi-yo. rukḥ tala
 be.on.the.verge.of-[prg] whilst rope cvāṭṭa snap-[pfp/3s]. tree down
gayo. mānche para pug-yo.
 go-[pfp/3s]. person over.there arrive-[pfp/3s]

In order to straighten a tree, [we] had tied a rope to the tree and were pulling it straight. The rope had become rotten, however. Just at the moment that the tree was about to be straight, the rope snapped in two. The tree fell back down, and the guys all landed in the other direction.

The expressive इवाट्ट *jhvāṭṭa* [dʰwaṭṭa] is similar in meaning to the expressive च्वाट्ट *cvāṭṭa* [tɕwaṭṭa], but the image of the action depicted is more violent or as unfolding with a jolt, evoking the impression of greater force.

- (84) मोबाइल चार्ज गर्दा चार्जर बिग्रेर हातमा इवाट्ट केन्ट लाग्यो ।

mobāil cārj gar-dā cārjar bigr-era hāt-mā jhvāṭṭa
 mobile.phone charge do-[prg] charger be.spoilt-[cg] hand-[loc] *jhvāṭṭa*
karent lāg-yo
 electric.current affect-[pfp/3s]

Whilst recharging the mobile phone, because the charger was broken, I suddenly got an electric shock in my hand.

- (85) भैंसीले दाम्लो इवाट्ट छिनाएर भाग्यो ।

bhāīsī dāmlo jhvāṭṭa chinā-era bhāg-yo
 buffalo tether *jhvāṭṭa* sever-[cg] run.away-[pfp/3s]

The buffalo snapped the tether in two and ran off.

- (86) रुख काट्दा खेरि जति बेला रुख ढल्छ ठीक त्यति बेले इवाट्ट बल लगाएर आफु तिर तान्नु ।

rukḥ kāt-dā kheri jati belā rukḥ ḍhal-cha
 tree cut-[prg] whilst just.as.much period.of.time tree fall.over-[prs/3s]
thīk tyati belai jhvāṭṭa bal lāgā-era
 exactly that.much period.of.time/[emph] *jhvāṭṭa* strength apply-[cg]
āphu-tira tān-nu
 self-toward pull-[inf₁]

When chopping down a tree, at precisely the moment that the tree begins to fall, exert force with a sudden burst of strength and pull the tree towards yourself.

- (87) आफै झ्वाट्ट छिन्यो ।

āphai jhvāṭṭa chin-yo
self/[emph] *jhvāṭṭa* snap-[pfp/3s]

It snapped in two by itself with great force.

The expressive फ्याट्ट *phyāṭṭa* [p^{hi}æt̪t̪] evokes the image of finishing up an activity briskly and without assiduity. In the context of striking something with a projectile, the expressive फ्याट्ट *phyāṭṭa* represents the action was done with effect but in a casual manner without the person being confident that he would actually strike the target.

- (88) मलाई अलि हतार छ । म मेरो कामचाहिं पहिला फ्याट्ट सकाएर आउँछु । अनि बसेर कुरा गरौंला है ।

ma-lāi ali hatār cha. ma mero kām-cāhī pahilā phyāṭṭa
I-[pat] a.bit hurry be/[prs/3s]. I my work-[ind] first *phyāṭṭa*
sakā-era āi-chu. ani bas-era kurā gar-āi-lā
finish.up-[cg] come-[prs/1s]. and.then sit-[cg] discussion do-[pos/1p]
hai
hey

I am in a bit of a hurry. I shall finish up my work first and then come. Then we'll sit down together and talk the matter through, all right.

- (89) संदीपले गुलेलीले फ्याट्ट हानेर रुखमा भएको ढुकुरलाई भुइँमा झारि दियो ।

sandīp-le gulelī-le phyāṭṭa hān-era rukh-mā bha-eko
Sandīp-[erg] catapult-[erg] *phyāṭṭa* strike-[cg] tree-[loc] be-[ipp]
dhukur-lāi bhuī-mā jhār-i di-yo
pigeon-[pat] ground-[loc] cause.to.fall-[prt1] give-[pfp/3s]

Sandīp fired his catapult in an offhand manner and caused the pigeon in the tree to drop down to the ground.

- (90) रोहितले मलाई फोन गरेर तिमीहरू एकै छिन पखिँदै गर । मेरो बाटोमा अलिकति काम छ । त्यसलाई फ्याट्ट सकाएर आइ हाल्छु भनेको छ ।

rohit-le ma-lāi phon gar-era timī-harū ekai chin
Rohit-[erg] I-[pat] phone do-[cg] you-[p] one/[emph] moment
parkhi-ndai gar-a. mero bāto-mā alikati kām
wait-[prg/emph] do-[imp]. my way-[loc] a.little.bit work
cha. tyas-lāi phyāṭṭa sakā-era ā-i hāl-chu
be/[prs/3s]. that-[pat] *phyāṭṭa* finish.up-[cg] come-[prt₁] insert-[prs/1s]
bhan-eko cha
say-[ipp] be/[prs/3s]

Rohit rang me up and said that we should just keep waiting for one more second. He said, "I have some work to get done on the way. I shall just finish that up in a jiffy and then I'll be right there".

6 Expressives ending in a geminate dental plosive sequence

In sequel to the expressives ending in the sequences [kkə] and [ttə], we shall now examine expressives ending in the voiceless dental geminate sequence [tt̪t̪]. The first expressive to be discussed in this set is the form लुत्त *lutta* [lu^htt̪t̪], which renders vivid the image of entering an orifice or passage. Speakers report that this expressive also conveys the notion of concealment or concealed activity.

- (91) पर बाट बिरालोले मुसालाई लखट्टदै आपको थियो मुसा लुत्त प्वालमा छियो । बिरालो हेरेको है भयो ।

para-bāṭa birālo-le musā-lāī lakhaṭ-dai ā-eko
 over.there-from cat-[erg] mouse-[pat] chase.after-[prg/emph] come-[ipp]
thi-yo, musā lutta pvāl-mā chir-yo. birālo
 be-[pfp/3s]. mouse *lutta* hole-[loc] slip.into-[pfp/3s]. cat
her-eko her-ai bha-yo.
 look-[ipp] look-[emph] become-[pfp/3s]

From over there the cat came chasing after the mouse, and the mouse slipped into the hole. The cat could do nothing but keep looking on in powerless bewilderment.

As the astute reader may have surmised from the semantic description, just provided, the expressive लुत्त *lutta* [lu^htt̪t̪] is particularly employed in sexual contexts, although this realm of discourse presumably does not constitute a routine topic of conversation for all speakers of the language. The expressive लुत्त *lutta* [lu^htt̪t̪] has a counterpart फुत्त *phutta* [p^hu^htt̪t̪], which serves to render vivid the image of popping out of an orifice or slipping out of a passage.

- (92) लुत्त छियो... हाल्यो फुत्त चाहिं निस्कियो बाहिर ।

lutta chiryo... hāl-yo, phutta cāhī niski-yo
lutta slip.into-[pfp/3s]... insert-[pfp/3s], *phutta* [ind] emerge-[pfp/3s]
bāhira
 outside

It went in just like that... [he] put it in, but it slipped back out just like that.

The expressive फुत्त *phutta* is also used vividly to depict the image of hopping, popping or jumping.

- (93) खरायो फुत्त फुत्त उफ्रिन्दै बगैँचा पुग्यो ।

kharāyo phutta phutta uphri-ndai bagāĩcā pug-yo.
 rabbit *phutta phutta* jump.up-[prg] garden arrive-[pfp/3s]

The rabbit hopped all the way over to the garden.

- (94) फुत्त फड्को मायो ।

phutta phadko mār-yo.
phutta stride kill-[pfp/3s]

All at once he took a big stride forward.¹⁴

- (95) फुत्त हातबाट मोबाइल भुइँमा झर्‍यो ।

phutta hāt-bāṭa mobāil bhuĩ-mā jhar-yo.
phutta hand-from mobile.phone ground-[loc] fall-[pfp/3s]

All at once the mobile phone slipped from his hand and fell to the ground.

The expressive फुत्त *phutta* can be used to convey a sense of ease and alacrity when urging someone to take a jump or to take a plunge into the water.

- (96) फुत्त उफ्रेर आउ ।

phutta uphr-era ā-u
phutta jump.up-[cg] come-[imp]

Come on and hop in.

- (97) फुत्त हाम फाल ।

phutta hām phāl-a
phutta jump throw-[imp]

Come on and take a jump.

The closely related form सुलुत्त *sulutta* [sulutt̪a] has a sense quite similar to that of the expressive लुत्त *lutta* [lutt̪a], but the expressive सुलुत्त *sulutta* also conveys the sense of slippery.

- (98) आज बिहान खान खाँदा भात अड्कियो अनि तरकारी खाएको भात त सुलुत्त गयो ।

āja bihān khāna khāñ-dā bhāt aḍki-yo ani
 today morning food eat-[prg] cooked.rice get.stuck-[pfp/3s] and.then
tarkārī khā-eko bhāt ta sulutta ga-yo
 vegetables eat-[ipp] cooked.rice [top] *sulutta* go-[pfp/3s]

This morning, when I was eating, the rice got stuck in my throat and then I ate some wet vegetable curry, and the rice went down just like that.

- (99) माछा समात्न खोज्दा सुलुत्त चिप्लियो ।

māchā samāt-na khoj-dā sulutta cipli-yo
 fish catch-[inf₂] try-[prg] *sulutta* slip-[pfp/3s]

As [I] was trying to catch hold of the fish, it slipped [out of my hands] just like that.

- (100) ढिँडो खाँदा घाँटीले थाहा नपाइ सुलुत्त छियो ।

ḍhĩḍo khā̃-dā ghā̃ṭī-le thāhā na-pā-i sulutta
 stodge eat-[prg] throat-[erg] knowledge [neg]-get-[prt₁] *sulutta*
chir-yo
 slip.into-[pfp/3s]

As [I] was eating millet stodge, it slipped down the hatch without my throat even coming to know.

The stodge referred to in the last example is traditionally a cooked black paste made of finely ground finger millet, although sometimes maize flour is used, which results in a stodge reminiscent of polenta. A bit of the black stodge is removed from the mass on the plate with one's fingers, then moistened in the lentil stew or other wet curry and consumed. The phonetic similarity but semantic distinctness is noteworthy that can be observed between सुलुत्त *sulutta* [sulutt̪] and the expressive सुलुक्क *sulukka*, discussed previously.

The expressive ल्वात्त *lvätta* [lvatt̪] conveys the sense of recklessness and of doing something that should not be done due to a careless or inconsiderate attitude. If there is no explicit agent, as in the case of a sentence with a mediopassive verb, then the image conveyed is of an activity that is out of control.

- (101) खाना बनाएर पाहुनालाई दिनु पर्ने खानामा सिधै आएर ल्वात्त हात हाल्यो ।

khānā banā-era pāhunā-lāi di-nu par-ne khānā-mā
 food make-[cg] guest-[pat] give-[inf₁] must-[inf₃] food-[loc]
sidhai ā-era lvätta hāt hāl-yo
 straight/[emph] come-[cg] *lvätta* hand insert-[pfp/3s]

After the food had been prepared, she just came straight along and stuck her hand recklessly into the food that was meant to be served to the guests.

- (102) झ्याम्पलले काम गरि रहेको ठाउँमा काम गर्दा गर्दै झ्याम्पल ढूङ्गामा बजारिएर ल्वात्तै भासियो ।

jhyāmpal-le kām gar-i rah-eko thāũ-mā kām gar-dā
 iron.rod-[erg] work do-[prt₁] remain-[ipp] place-[loc] work do-[prg]
gar-dai jhyāmpal ḍhūngā-mā bajāri-era lvätta
 do-[prg/emph] iron.rod stone-[loc] strike/bounce-[cg] *lvätta*
bhās-i-yo
 bury/drive.in-[mp]-[pfp/3s]

In the place where [we were] working with the iron stake, whilst [we were] working, the iron stake bounced back up¹⁵ from a stone that it had struck and then dashed into the ground in another spot.¹⁶

The expressive ख्वात्त *khvätta* [k^hvatt̪] is typically used in anger when a person has done something wrong or has not done what he or she had promised to do.

- (103) कसैलाई नसोधि खात्त झोलामा हालिस् । हालि हाल्छस् ।
kas-ai-lāī na-sodh-i khvāṭṭa jholā-mā hāl-is.
 who-[emph]-[pat] [neg]-ask-[prt₁] *khvāṭṭa* bag-[loc] insert-[pfp/2s].
hāl-i hāl-chas
 insert-[prt₁] insert-[prs/2s]

You just stuck it in the bag without asking anyone. So, you just stick things [in your bag] like that, do you?

The following example with the expressive खात्त *khvāṭṭa* [k^hwaṭṭə] also contains a lot of Kathmandu urban slang.

- (104) तैले खात्त पारिस् । नापिस् । बोक्र्याइस् । तैले केहि खुत्याउँदैन् ।
tāile khvāṭṭa pār-is. nāp-is. bokryā-is.
 you/[s/erg] *khvāṭṭa* render-[pfp/2s]. blow.it-[pfp/2s]. mess.up-[pfp/2s].
tāile kehi khutyāū-dainas
 you/[s/erg] anything manage.to.do-[neg/prs/2s]

You really let [us] down. You blew it. You messed things up. You really can't manage to get anything done right.

The expressive फ्यात्त *phyāṭṭa* [p^hiætṭə] conveys the action of releasing something unthinkingly.

- (105) अस्ति बिहान गाडी पल्टिएको हेर्न म हातमा भएको झोला भुइँमा फ्यात्त छोडेर दौडिँ ।
asti bihān gādī palṭi-eko her-na ma
 day.before.yesterday morning vehicle flip.over-[ipp] look-[inf₂] I
hāt-mā bha-eko jholā bhuī-mā phyāṭṭa choḍ-era
 hand-[loc] be-[ipp] bag ground-[loc] *phyāṭṭa* release-[cg]
daudi-ē
 sprint-[pfp/1s]

The other morning, I just dropped the bag that I was carrying and ran off to see the vehicle that had flipped over.

- (106) त्यो भिजेको लुगा फ्यात्त भुइँमा राखेर कता हिँडेको त । त्यसलाई सुकाउनु पर्दैन् ।
tyo bhij-eko lugā phyāṭṭa bhuī-mā rākh-era katā
 that get.wet-[ipp] clothes *phyāṭṭa* ground-[loc] put-[cg] whither
hiḍ-eko ta. tyas-lāī sukāu-nu par-daina
 walk-[ipp] [top]. that-[pat] dry.out-[inf₁] must-[neg/prs/3s]

So, where do you think you're off to, just leaving the wet clothes on the ground like that? Aren't you supposed to be hanging them out to dry?

7 Expressives ending in a geminate palatal affricate sequence

A couple of expressives ends in the voiceless palatal geminate sequence [tɕtɕə]. The expressive *प्याच्च* *pyācca* [pʲætɕtɕə] evokes the image of prattling or speaking without thinking, whereas the expressive *थ्याच्च* *thyācca* [tʰiætɕtɕə] conveys the image of sitting down without looking or thinking. Both expressives occur in a Nepali proverb quoted below.

- (107) बोल्ल पाएँ भनेर प्याच्च नबोल्लु ।
बस्न पाएँ भनेर थ्याच्च नबस्नु ।

bol-na pā-ē bhan-era pyācca na-bol-nu
speak-[inf₂] get-[pfp/1s] say-[cg] *pyācca* [neg-speak-[inf₁]]
bas-na pā-ē bhan-era thvācca na-bas-nu
sit.down-[inf₂] get-[pfp/1s] say-[cg] *thvācca* [neg]-sit.down-[inf₁]

Just because you got the chance to speak, don't speak without thinking.
Just because you got the chance to take a seat, don't just sit down unwittingly.

- (108) काहिला भाइ झुक्केर थ्याच्च पीरामा बसेको थियो । वास्तवमा पीरामा चाहिँ बच्चाले आका गरेको थियो ।

kāhīlā bhāi jhukk-era thyācca pīrā-mā
fourth.born younger.brother err-[cg] *thyācca* flat.wooden.stool-[loc]
bas-eko thi-yo. vāstav-mā pīrā-mā
sit.down-[ipp] be-[pfp/3s]. real-[loc] flat.wooden.stool-[loc]
baccā-le ākā gar-eko thi-yo.
child-[erg] poo do-[ipp] be-[pfp/3s].

Fourth-born younger brother just sat on the flat stool without thinking or looking. In fact, a child had done a poo on that flat stool.

- (109) अरु मान्छे कुरा गरि रहेको ठाउँमा कुनाल भाइ त्यहाँ पुगेर के कुरा भएको थियो भन्ने थाहा नभईकन प्याच्च बोलेको ।

aru mānche kurā gar-i rah-eko thāū-mā kunāl
other person discussion do-[prt₁] remain-[ipp] place-[loc] Kunāl
bhāi tyahā pug-era ke kurā bha-eko
younger.brother there arrive-[cg] what discussion be-[ipp]
thi-yo bhan-ne thāhā na-bha-īkana pyācca bol-eko
be-[pfp/3s] say-[inf₃] knowledge [neg]-be-[pfg] *pyācca* speak-[ipp]

When younger brother Kunāl arrived at the place where the others had been talking, without having an inkling about what they had been talking about, he just began blurting out his own ideas entirely out of context.

8 Expressives ending in a geminate bilabial plosive sequence

The expressive *झ्याप्प* *jharyāppa* [dʒʰəræppə], ending in the voiceless bilabial geminate sequence [ppə], suggests being squashed or slammed down to the ground. Although the emphatic form *झ्याप्पै* *jharyāppai* [dʒʰəræppəi] was used in the second of the following two sentences, the fate of the victim in the second case was bright.

- (110) भुकम्प भएको बेलामा हाम्रो गाउँमा एकजना हजुर-बुवालाई घरले झ्याप्प चेपेको थियो ।
bhukampa bha-eko belā-mā hāmro gāū-mā
 earthquake become-[ipp] period.of.time-[loc] our village-[loc]
ek-janā hajur-buvā-lāi ghar-le jharyāppa
 one-[hum] grandfather-[pat] house-[erg] jharyāppa
cep-eko thi-yo.
 pinch/squash[ipp] be-[pfp/3s]

During the time of the earthquake, one elderly man was crushed [to death in an instant] by a house that caved in on top of him.

- (111) भुकम्प गएको बेलामा हाम्रो गाउँमा एउटा भतीजलाई घरले झ्याप्पै चेपेको थियो । अनि हामी सबैजना मिलेर भतीजको सकुशल उद्धार गर्न सफल भयौं ।
bhukampa ga-eko belā-mā hāmro gāū-mā euṭā
 earthquake go-[ipp] period.of.time-[loc] our village-[loc] one/[nhc]
bhatīj-lāi ghar-le jharyāppai cep-eko thi-yo,
 nephew-[pat] house-[erg] jharyāppai pinch/squash-[ipp] be-[pfp/3s].
ani hāmī sabai-janā mil-era bhatīj-ko sakuśal
 and.then we all-[hum] get.together-[cg] nephew-[gen] rescue
uddhār gar-na saphal bha-yāū
 salvage do-[inf₂] successful become-[pfp/1p]

At the time that the earthquake struck, one young nephew was suddenly caught and squashed underneath a house, and then we got together and managed to rescue and extricate him alive.

The expressive झ्याप्प *jhyāppa* [dʒʰæppə] suggests sudden or abrupt action.¹⁷

- (112) हामी घर फर्किन्दा खेरि हाम्रो गाडी कुदि रहेको थियो । हाम्रो गाडीको अगाडि कुकर आइ पुगेर लोक बहादुर दाइले झ्याप्प ब्रेक लगाउनु भयो ।
hāmī ghar pharki-ndā kheri hāmro gādī kud-i rah-eko
 we home return-[prg] whilst our vehicle run-[prt₁] remain-[ipp]
thi-yo. hāmro gādī agādi kukur ā-i pug-era
 be-[pfp/3s]. our vehicle in.front.of dog come-[prt₁] arrive-[cg]
lok bahādur dāi-le jhyāppa brek lagāu-nu
 Lok Bahādur elder.brother-[erg] jhyāppa brake apply-[inf₁]
bha-yo
 be-[pfp/3s]

As we were returning home, our car was careening along, and then a dog shot out in front of our vehicle, and elder brother Lok Bahādur then suddenly slammed on the brakes.

- (113) भागि रहेको कुखुरोलाई झ्याप्प समात्‍यो ।
bhāg-i rah-eko kukhuro-lāi jhyāppa samāt-yo
 run.away-[prt₁] remain-[ipp] chicken-[pat] jhyāppa grab-[pfp/3s]

[He] suddenly snatched the chicken that was on the run.

The expressive क्वाप्प क्वाप्प *kvāppa kvāppa* [kwappə kwappə] conjures up the image of eating in small round mouthfuls by munching one mouthful after the other. The similarity in meaning and form to the Dutch *hapje* “mouthful” is striking. Possible implications of the meaning can either entail that one is eating by oneself in a sequestered spot, as in the first two examples, or that the eating is conducted in a speedy fashion, one mouthful after the other, as in the last two examples.

- (114) सबैजना भोकाएका मान्छेको छेउमा बसेर एकलै क्वाप्प क्वाप्प खान तँलाई अफ्ठ्यारो लागेन ।
sabai-janā bhokā-ekā mānche-ko cheu-mā bas-era
 all-[hum] go.hungry-[ipp/p] person-[gen] alongside-[loc] sit-[cg]
eklai kvāppa kvāppa khā-na tā-lāi aṭṭhyāro
 by.oneself *kvāppa kvāppa* eat-[inf₂] you-[pat] difficult
lāg-ena
 seem-[neg/pfp/3s]

Don't you even feel a little uneasy munching blithely away sitting in front of all these hungry people?

- (115) लोखर्केले त्यहाँ बसेर क्वाप्प क्वाप्प खाँदै छ ।
lokharke-le tyahā bas-era kvāppa kvāppa khāṇ-dai cha
 squirrel-[erg] there sit-[cg] *kvāppa kvāppa* eat-[prg/emph] be/[prs/3s]

The squirrel is sitting over there, munching away one mouthful after the other.

- (116) उसिनेर राखेको आलु नुन खोर्सानी सँग क्वाप्प क्वाप्प खाइन्छ ।
usin-era rākh-eko ālu nun khorsānī-sāga kvāppa kvāppa
 boil.in.water-[cg] put-[ipp] potato salt chillie-with *kvāppa kvāppa*
khā-i-ncha
 eat-[mp]-[prs/3s]

Boiled potatoes with salt and chillies go right in by the mouthful.

- (117) म खाना खाँदै गरेको बेलामा बजार गइहाल्नु पर्ने काम परेर मैले भात क्वाप्प क्वाप्प खाएर गइ हालें ।
ma khānā khāṇ-dai gar-eko belā-mā bajār ga-i
 I food eat-[prg/emph] do-[ipp] period.of.time-[loc] bazaar go-[prt₁]
hāl-nu par-ne kām par-era maile bhāt kvāppa kvāppa
 insert-[inf₁] must-[inf₃] work fall-[cg] I/[erg] rice *kvāppa kvāppa*
khā-era ga-i hāl-ē
 eat-[cg] go-[prt₁] insert-[pfp/1s]

Whilst I was busy eating, the need arose to go run an errand in the market, and so I ate my rice one mouthful after the other and then headed off promptly [to the market].

The expressive ख्वाप्प *khvāppa* [khwappə] conveys the image of a piercing or jabbing action.

- (118) त्यो गल्लीमा कुनै मान्छेले ख्वाप्प छुरीले हानेर भाग्यो ।
tyo gallī-mā kunai māñche-le khvāppa churī-le hān-era
 that alleyway-[loc] some person-[erg] *khvāppa* knife-[erg] strike-[cg]
bhāg-yo
 run.away-[pfp/3s]

Down in that alleyway, some guy stabbed someone with a knife and then ran off.

Up to this point, we have discussed the large set of expressives ending in the geminate sequence [kkə] and the four sets of forms ending in the retroflex geminate sequence [ʈʈə], the dental geminate sequence [ʈʈə], including a single form ending in [ʈʈi], the palatal geminate sequence [tɕtɕə] and the bilabial geminate sequence [ppə]. Some of the following expressives evince geminate nasal sequences at the end of the word, but the remaining expressives demonstrate that this part of speech is characterised by phonetic diversity.

9 Expressives ending in a geminate liquid or rhotic sequence

The expressive खुलुल्ल *khululla* [kʰulullə] evokes the image of running liquid.

- (119) बर्खामा कुलो भरि पानी खुलुल्ल बगेर आउँछ ।
barkhā-mā kulo bhar-i pānī khululla bag-era
 rainy.season-[loc] drainage.canal fill-[prt₁] water *khululla* flow-[cg]
āũ-cha
 come-[prs/3s]

During the rainy season, water just comes guzzling down the drainage canals.

The expressive छताछुल्ल *chatāchulla* [tɕʰətətɕʰullə] evokes the image of spilt liquid.

- (120) घरमा केटाकेटीले कोहि कोहि बेला खेल्ने क्रममा पानी छताछुल्ल पोखेका हुन्छन् ।
ghar-mā keṭākeṭī-le kōhi kōhi belā khel-ne
 house-[loc] children-[erg] some some period.of.time play-[inf₃]
kram-mā pānī chatāchulla pokh-ekā hun-chan
 case-[loc] water *chatāchulla* spill-[ipp/p] be-[prs/3p]

Sometimes when children are playing at home, they will be spilling water left and right all over the place.

- (121) म पानी सादैं थिएँ । पानी सादा खेरि गाग्री लडेर पानी भुइँभरि छताछुल्ल भयो ।

ma pānī sār-dai thi-ē. pānī sār-dā kheri
 I water shift-[prg] be-[pfp/1s]. water shift-[prg] whilst
gāgrī laḍ-era pānī bhuī-bhari chatāchulla
 huge.copper.water.jar topple-[cg] water ground-full chatāchulla
bha-yo
 be-[pfp/3s]

I was carrying water from one place to another. Whilst I was transporting the water, the large copper water jug toppled, and the water was spilt all over the ground.

As opposed to the expressive छताछुल्ल *chatāchulla*, which conveys the image of spilt liquids, the expressive हार्र *hvārra* [^hwarrə] conveys the notion of spilt particulate matter.

- (122) म खेतबाट धानको भारी बोकेर घर आउँदै थिएँ । बाटोमा मेरो धानको भारी फुटेर धान जति सबै बाटोमा हार्र पोखियो ।

ma khet-bāṭa dhān-ko bhārī bok-era ghara āũ-dai
 I rice.field-from paddy-[gen] burden carry-[cg] home come-[prg]
thi-ē. bāṭo-mā mero dhān-ko bhārī phuṭ-era
 be-[pfp/1s]. road-[loc] paddy-[gen] burden burst-[cg]
dhān jati sabai bāṭo-mā hvārra pokh-i-yo
 paddy as.much.as all road-[loc] hvārra spill-[mp]-[pfp/3s]

I was coming home carrying a burden of paddy from the rice field. My burden of paddy burst on the way, and just about all of the paddy was spilt onto the ground.

The corresponding emphatic form हार्रै *hvārrai* [^hwarrəi] is attested as an expressive used to convey the notion of great speed, as if kicking up and scattering dust on the way whilst whirring past.

- (123) बिहान बाटोमा गाडी नै हुन्दैन र त्यति खेर मेरो गाडी हार्रै जान्छ ।

bihān bāṭo-mā gāḍī nai hun-daina ra tyati
 morning road-[loc] vehicle themselves be-[neg/prs/3s] and that.much
khera mero gāḍī hvārrai jā-ncha
 span.of.time my vehicle hvārrai go-[prs/3s]

In the morning there are no vehicles on the road, and my car just goes whizzing along.

10 Expressives ending in a geminate sibilant sequence

The expressive ख्वास्स *khvāssa* [^khassə] evokes the image of putting something into something else in a nonchalant fashion. In the case of donning footwear, the use of this expressive additionally, in most contexts, implies without putting on socks.

- (124) खास्स खुट्टा हाल्ने अनि हिँड्ने ।

khvāssa khuṭṭā hāl-ne ani hīḍ-ne
khvāssa feet insert-[inf₃] and.then walk.off-[inf₃]

Just stick your feet into those shoes and get a move on.

- (125) जसको पायो त्यसको चप्पल वा जुतामा खास्स खुट्टा हाल्ने नगर्नु ।

jas-ko pā-yo tyas-ko cappal vā juttā-mā khvāssa
 whoever-[gen] get-[pfp/3s] he/she-[gen] flip.flop or shoe-[loc] *khvāssa*
khuṭṭā hāl-ne na-gar-nu
 foot insert-[inf₃] [neg]-do-[inf₁]

Don't just put your feet into whoever's flip-flops or shoes you happen to find lying about.

- (126) तेरो हातमा भएको पानीको बोटल खास्स झोलामा हालेर हिँड् न । के देखाएर हिँड्छस् ।

tero hāt-mā bha-eko pānī-ko botal khvāssa jholā-mā
 your hand-[loc] be-[ipp] water-[gen] bottle *khvāssa* bag-[loc]
hāl-era hīḍ na. ke dekhā-era hīḍ-chas
 insert-[cg] walk [fu]. what show-[cg] walk-[prs/2s]

Just put that water bottle away in your bag and move. What are you doing walking about showing that thing?

- (127) के बोकि राख्छस् । त्यो भाँडामा खास्स हालेर आइज न ।

ke bok-i rākh-chas. tyo bhāḍā-mā khvāssa hāl-era
 what carry-[prt₁] keep-[prs/2s]. that bin-[loc] *khvāssa* insert-[cg]
āija na
 come [fu]

Why do you keep on carrying that thing? Just throw it in that bin over there and then come on back.

The expressive *ṭhvāssa* [t^hwassə] conjures up the image of painfully stubbing one's toe or bruising oneself.

- (128) हिँड्दा हिँड्दै मेरो अम्लामा ट्वास्स ठेस लाग्यो ।

hīḍ-dā hīḍ-dai mero amlā-mā ṭhvāssa ṭhes
 walk-[prg] walk-[prg/emph] my digit-[loc] *ṭhvāssa* stub
lāg-yo
 apply-[pfp/3s]

While I was walking, I badly stubbed my toe.

11 Expressives ending in a geminate dental nasal sequence

In addition to the final geminate sequence [ŋŋə], Nepali expressives can end in the geminate nasal sequences [mmə] and [nnə]. The expressive टन्ना *ṭanna* [tənnə] conveys the sensation of having eaten so that one is bursting at the seams.

- (129) – पूरा अघाउने गरि खाइस् ?

purā aghāu-ne gar-i khā-is
 completely be.sated-[inf₃] do-[prt₁] eat-[pfp/2s]

Have you eaten your feel?

- मैले टन्न खाएको छु ।

maile ṭanna khā-eko chu
 I/[erg] ṭanna eat-[ipp] be/[prs/1s]

I have eaten so that I am bursting at the seams.

12 Expressives ending in a geminate velar nasal sequence

There are several expressive ending in a geminate velar nasal, some of which appear to evoke semantically similar images. The expressive सिरिङ्गु: *siriṅṅa* [siriŋŋə] is described as depicting the sensation of having cold water poured down one's back. Not surprisingly, सिरिङ्गु: *siriṅṅa* is used in precisely this context, but this expressive is also used in other contexts where an experience elicits a similar type of shuddering sensation.

- (130) मेरो ढाडमा चिसो पानी पर्दा जिउ नै सिरिङ्गु भयो ।

mero ḍhād-mā ciso pānī par-dā jiu nai siriṅṅa
 my spine-[loc] cold water fall-[prg] body the.very *siriṅṅa*
bha-yo
 become-[pfp/3s]

When cold water ran down my back, my whole body shuddered.

- (131) आज बिहान उठेर बाहिर जाँदा सर्प देखेर मेरो जिउ सिरिङ्गु भयो ।

āja bijān uṭh-era bāhira jā-dā sarpa dekh-era mero
 today morning get.up-[cg] outside go-[prg] snake see-[cg] my
jiu siriṅṅa bha-yo
 body *siriṅṅa* become-[pfp/3s]

When I woke up this morning and, as I went outside, I saw a snake and it gave me the shudders.

- (132) पाराग्लाइडिङ गर्दा एकै चोटि तल गएर फेरी माथि जाँदा मेरो मन सिरिङ्गु भयो ।

pārāglāidiṅ gar-dā ek-ai coṭi tala ga-era pherī māthi
 paragliding do-[prg] one-[emph] time down go-[cg] again up
jā-dā mero man siriṅṅa bha-yo
 go-[prg] my mind *siriṅṅa* become-[pfp/3s]

During paragliding, when swooping down and then coming back up all at once, my mind was all a-shudder.

The expressive तुरुङ्गु: *туруङ्गु* [turuŋŋə] and तरङ्गु: *तरङ्गु* [təŋŋə] both evoke the image of a sudden fright, but each has its own flavour.

- (133) म मनमा कुरा सोचेर बसि राखेको थिएँ पछाडि बाट प्रशान्त दाइ आएर बाघ जस्तो कराउनु भयो अनि म तुरुङ्गु: तर्सिएँ ।

ma man-mā kurā soc-era bas-i rākh-eko thi-ē.
 I mind-[loc] matter think-[cg] sit-[prt₁] keep-[ipp] be-[pfp/1s].
praśānt dāi ā-era bāgh jasto karāu-nu
 Praśānt elder.brother come-[cg] tiger like cry/shout-[inf.]
bha-yo ani ma turuṅṅa tarsi-ē
 be-[pfp/3s] and.then I *туруङ्गु* be.startled-[pfp/1s]

I was quietly sitting there thinking to myself when elder brother Praśānt came along from behind and began growling like a tiger and I was frightfully startled.

- (134) सडकमा हिंडि रहेको बेलामा अगाडिबाट चालकको बसमा नभएको बाइक आएर मेरो छेउरै बाट जाँदा म तरङ्गु: तर्सिएँ ।

sadək-mā hīḍ-i rah-eko belā-mā agāḍi-bāṭa
 street-[loc] walk-[prt₁] remain-[ipp] period.of.time-[loc] in.front-from
cālak-ko bas-mā na-bha-eko bāik ā-era mero
 driver-[gen] control-[loc] [neg]-be-[ipp] motorcycle come-[cg] my
cheu-ai-bāṭa jā-dā ma taraṅṅa tarsi-ē
 side-[emph]-from go-[prg] I *तरङ्गु* be.startled-[pfp/1s]

When I was walking on the street, a motorcycle that was manifestly not under the driver's control came from up ahead and then skirted right past me and I got a terrible fright.

The expressive झसङ्गु: *jhasaṅṅa* [dʒʰəsəŋŋə] evokes the image of being jolted.

- (135) नराम्रो सपना देखेर गहिरो निन्द्राबाट झस्किएर झसङ्गु: भएर बिउँझिएँ ।

narāmro sapnā dekh-era gahiro nindrā-bāṭa
 bad dream see-[cg] deep sleep-from
jhaski-era jhasaṅṅa bha-era
 be.startled.out.of.one's.sleep-[cg] *jhasaṅṅa* be-[cg]
biūjh-i-ē
 awaken-[mp]-[pfp/1s]

I awoke when I was startled awake from my deep sleep upon seeing a bad dream.

- (136) सुदीपको रोहित भन्ने साथी सूनखानी गाउँ जाँदै थियो । अनि बाटोमा गाडी पल्टिएको खबर सुनेर त्यो साथी प्यो कि भनेर सुदीप झसङ्गु भयो ।

sudīp-ko rohit bhan-ne sāthī sūnkhānī gāū jā-dai
 Sudīp-[gen] Rohit say-[inf₃] friend Sūnkhānī village go-[prg]
thi-yo ani bāto-mā gāḍī palṭi-eko
 be-[pfp/3s] and.then road-[loc] vehicle flip.over-[ipp]
khobar sun-era tyo sāthī par-yo ki bhan-era
 news hear-[cg] that friend fall-[pfp/3s] whether say-[cg]
sudīp jhasaṇṇa bha-yo
 Sudīp jhasaṇṇa become-[pfp/3s]

Sudīp's friend named Rohit was on his way to the village of Sūnkhānī and then Sudīp heard the news that a vehicle had flipped over on the [precipitous] road and then Sudīp got a sudden fright, wondering whether his friend might have been a casualty of the accident.

The expressive ठीङ्गु *thīṇṇa* [tʰiŋŋə] evokes the image of standing in the wrong place and obstinately failing to budge.

- (137) काँडाघारीदेखि आउँदा हाम्रो ट्याक्सीलाई देखि देखि पनि ट्याक्सी जाने बाटोमा ठीङ्गु उभिएर बसि रहेको थियो । काल खोजेर आएको मान्छे रहेछ ।

kāḍāghārī-dekhi āū-da hāmro ṭyāksī-lāī dekh-i dekh-i pani
 Kāḍāghārī-from come-[prg] our taxi-[pat] see-[prt₁] see-[prt₁] also
ṭyāksī jā-ne bāto-mā thīṇṇa ubhi-era bas-i rah-eko
 taxi go-[inf₃] way-[loc] thīṇṇa stand-[cg] stay-[prt₁] remain-[ipp]
thi-yo. kāl khoj-era ā-eko mānche rah-e-cha.
 be-[pfp/3s]. epoch seek-[cg] come-[ipp] person remain-[ifp]-[3s]

As we were coming from Kāḍāghārī, even though he plainly saw our taxi, he just kept on standing there right in the way of where the taxi was coming. He was obviously in a big hurry to meet the Grim Reaper.

The Nepali expressive चप्ल्याङ *caplyāṇ* [tʰəpl̩æŋ], which also sometimes occurs in the form चप्ल्याङ्गु *caplyāṇṇa* [tʰəpl̩æŋŋə], conveys the image of a splash of water and fits into the syntax of a sentence very much as would any regular adverb. Despite its suggestively onomatopoeic character, this form, like other expressives, is pronounced with a raised prosodic intonation.

- (138) मेरो मोबाइल चप्ल्याङ पानीमा परेर बिग्रियो ।

mero mobāil caplyāṇ pānī-mā parera bigri-yo
 my mobile.phone caplyāṇ water-[loc] fall-[cg] be.spoilt-[pfp/3s]

My mobile fell into the water with a splash and was ruined.

The Nepali expressive ढाङ्गु *ṭvāṇṇa* [tʰwaŋŋə] evokes the image of a resounding thud or smack.

- (139) छतमा राखिएको गमला खसेर बाटोमा हिँडि रहेको मानिसको टाउकोमा ढाङ्ग लाग्यो ।
chat-mā rākh-i-eko gamalā khas-era bāṭo-mā hīḍ-i
 roof-[loc] put-[mp]-[ipp] flower.pot fall-[cg] road-[loc] walk-[prt1]
rah-eko mānis-ko ṭāuko-mā ṭvāṇṇa lāg-yo
 remain-[ipp] person-[gen] head-[loc] ṭvāṇṇa strike-[pfp/3s]

The flower pot that had been put on the roof fell and with a terrible thud struck the head of somebody who was walking on the road below.

- (140) गाडी गुडि रहेको बेलामा गाडीको टायरले ढूङ्गो उछिट्टिएर झ्यालको शीशामा ढाङ्ग लागेर झ्यालको शीशा फुट्यो ।
gāḍī guḍi rah-eko belā-mā ṭāyar-le
 vehicle roll-[prt₁] remain-[ipp] period.of.time-[loc] tyre-[gen]
ḍhūṅgo uchiṭṭi-era jhyāl-ko śiśā-mā ṭvāṇṇa lāg-era
 stone skip-[cg] window-[gen] glass-[loc] ṭvāṇṇa strike-[cg]
jhyāl-ko śiśā phuṭ-yo
 window-[gen] glass shatter-[pfp/3s]

As the car was rolling along, a stone skipped on the tyre and struck the glass of the window with a big smack, and the window shattered.

Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl (vs 2040: 629) derive the Nepali form दङ्ग *daṅ* from Persian *دنگ* *dang* “astonished, confounded”. Although this etymology may be entirely correct, part of the nativisation of this loanword is manifest in the fact that Nepali speakers treat the word as if it were a native expressive, pronouncing the word with a geminate velar nasal final sequence as दङ्ग *daṇṇa* [ḍəṅṅə]. This form collocates with the verb पर्नु *parnu* “fall” in the expression दङ्ग पर्नु *daṇṇa parnu* “be amazed”, and, despite its alien provenance, can now on phonetic grounds be categorised as amongst the set of Nepali expressives ending in [ṅṅə].

- (141) सुकदेवले कुवेतको भिसा पाएछ । भिसा पाएँ भनेर दङ्ग परेको छ । अब कुवेतमा काम गर्न चाहिँ सकछ कि सकदैन ।

sukadev-le kuvet-ko bhisā pā-e-cha. bhisā pā-ē
 Sukadev-[erg] Kuwait-[gen] visa get-[ifp]-[3s]. visa get-[pfp/1s]
bhan-era daṇṇa par-eko cha. aba kuvet-mā kām
 say-[cg] daṇṇa fall-[ipp] be/[prs/3s]. now Kuwait-[loc] work
gar-na-cāhī sak-cha ki sak-daina.
 do-[inf₂]-[ind] be.able-[prs/3s] or be.able-[neg/prs/3s]

Sukadev got a visa for Kuwait. He is absolutely amazed that he got a visa. Now [it remains to be seen whether] he will actually be able to work in Kuwait or not.

The same proviso with regard to the form दङ्ग *daṇṇa* [ḍəṅṅə] might be indulged in the case of the form मक्ख *makkha* [mækkʰə] “smugly satisfied”, adduced above. In our opening paragraph, we pointed out that expressives exhibit approximately the

same syntactic valence as adverbs and predicate adjectives. By this formulation, expressives would actually exhibit a more versatile syntactic valence than either adverbs or adjectives. Yet as parts of speech, the syntactic behaviour of expressives is unlike that of adjectives. Expressives cannot be used adnominally, and even their occurrence in syntactic positions that can be occupied by predicate adjectives is restricted.

Whilst expressives often act as the predicate complement of inchoative forms of the verb हुनु *hunu* “to be”, such as a भयो *bhayo* or भएँ *bhaẽ*, a collocation such as *चसक्क लाग्यो *casakka lāgyo* yields unacceptable Nepali, although the verb लाग्नु *lāgnu* “appear, feel like, seem, appear, make itself felt as” pre-eminently takes predicate adjectives. Whether this is a general grammatical constraint or simply a question of lexical collocation is an issue which remains to be properly investigated. Similarly, the forms दङ्क *daṅka* [ḍəŋŋə] “amazed, astonished” and मक्ख *makkha* [mækkʰə] “smugly satisfied”, likewise cannot combine with the verb लाग्नु *lāgnu*, but collocate uniquely with the verb पर्नु *parnu* “fall”.

Perhaps the collocation and syntactic behaviour of an expressive has nothing to do with the part of speech that expressives collectively represent, or perhaps there is more than one category of expressive. It may just be that Nepali distinguishes two sets of adjectives, as does Japanese, for example, and that these two sets of Nepali adjectives exhibit different syntactic behaviour. On the other hand, collocation may have more to do with the lexical semantics of the particular form in question. For example, whilst both the expressives छक्क *chakka* and दङ्क *daṅka* combine with the verb पर्नु *parnu* “fall” to yield collocations expressing amazement, the form अचम्म *acamma* [ətəəmmə] “astonishing, unusual” likewise expresses astonishment, but this form does preferentially collocate with the verb लाग्नु *lāgnu* “appear, feel like, seem, appear, make itself felt as”.

- (142) त्यो खबर सुन्दा अचम्म लाग्छ ।

tyo khabar sun-dā acamma lāg-cha
that news hear-[prg] astonishing appear-[prs/3s]

Listening to that news, it really strikes you as odd.

- (143) त्यो फोटो हेरेर अचम्म लाग्यो ।

photo her-era acamma lāg-yo
photo look.at-[cg] astonishing appear-[pfp/3s]

Looking at the photo, it really struck me as unusual.

In the case of the forms छक्क *chakka* and दङ्क *daṅka*, the expressive modifies the syntactic constituent denoting the experiencer, i.e., the person who feels the sense of amazement, whereas the form अचम्म *acamma* qualifies the matter that is experienced. The difference in collocation would therefore appear to be a natural consequence of a difference in meaning. The precise constraints governing the valence of expressives have therefore yet to be analytically better understood and documented, for multiple factors may be at play. However, with the expressive अचम्म *acamma*,

we have already lunged prematurely into the next section, which deals with expressives characterised by a final phonaesthetic bilabial geminate sequence.

13 Expressives ending in a geminate bilabial nasal sequence

The expressive खवाम् *khvāmma* [khwammə], ending in a geminate bilabial nasal sequence, conveys the image of burying a sharp implement into a substrate as far as possible.

- (144) हामी जंगलमा बन तरुल खन्दै गरेको बेलामा हामी सँगै गएको साथी नरेशलाई साँपले टोक्यो भनेर म हातमा भएको ड्याम्पल भुइँमा खवाम् गाडेर नरेशलाई हेर्न गएँ ।

hāmī jāgal-mā ban tarul khan-dai gar-eko
 we jungle forest tuber dig-[prg/emph] do-[ipp]
belā-mā hāmī sāgai ga-eko sāthī nareś-lāi
 period.of.time-[loc] we together go-[ipp] friend nareś-[pat]
sāp-le tok-yo bhan-era ma hāt-mā bha-eko jhyāmpal
 snake-[erg] bite-[pfp/3s] say-[cg] I hand-[loc] be-[ipp] iron.rod
bhui-mā khvāmma gād-era nareś-lāi her-na ga-ē
 ground-[loc] *khvāmma* bury-[cg] nareś-[pat] look.at-[inf.] go-[pfp/1s]

Whilst we were digging up forest tubers in the jungle, as the friend Nareś who had come along with us had been bitten by a snake, I thrust the iron rod that I was holding in my hands into the ground and went over to tend to Nareś.

- (145) गाउँघरको खेतमा दाँइ गर्नको लागि खेतको गह्वोमा गोरु घूम्न मिल्ने गरि कीलो खवाम् गाडिन्छ र गोरुलाई त्यो कीलोमा बाँधेर गोरु घूमाउँदै दाँइ गरिन्छ ।

gāũ-ghar-ko khet-mā dāi gar-na-ko lāgi
 village-house-[gen] rice.field-[loc] threshing do-[inf.]-[gen] for
khet-ko gahro-mā goru ghūm-na
 rice.field-[gen] rice.field.terrace-[loc] bull go.around-[inf.]
mil-ne gar-i kīlo khvāmma gād-i-ncha ra
 be.suitable-[inf.] do-[prt.] stake *khvāmma* bury-[mp]-[prs/3s] and
goru-lāi tyo kīlo-mā bādh-era goru
 bull-[pat] that stake-[loc] tie.up-[cg] bull
ghūmaũ-dai dāi gar-i-ncha
 make.go.around-[prg/emph] threshing do-[mp]-[prs/3s]

In the rice fields of our home village, in order to prepare the threshing floor, a stake that is suitable for having the bull walk around in circles is thrust with all our might into the ground of one of the rice field terraces and then the bull is tethered up to that stake and the threshing can commence.

Note the phonetic similarity but semantic distinctness between the expressive खवाम् *khvāmma* and the expressive खवाप्प *khvāppa*, illustrated above.

The expressive झन्याम् *jharyāmma* [dʒʰəræmmə] evokes the acoustic image of noisily shattering upon impact.

- (146) घरमा ऐना किनेर ल्याएको बुवाले समात्न खोज्दा ऐना भुइँमा झरेर झन्याम्म फुट्यो ।

ghar-mā ainā kin-era lyā-eko buvā-le samāt-na
 house-[loc] mirror buy-[cg] bring-[ipp] father-[erg] grab-[inf₂]
khoj-dā ainā bhuī-mā jhar-era jharyāmma
 try-[prg] mirror ground-[loc] fall.down-[cg] jharyāmma
phuṭ-yo
 break-[pfp/3s]

After buying a mirror and bringing it home, father tried to get a good hold of the mirror, but it fell to the ground, shattering into pieces with a big crash.

- (147) हिजो मूलपानीमा दुइटै गाडी एक आपसमा ठोकिंदा दुइटै गाडीको अगाडिको शीशा झन्याम्म फुटेको थियो ।

hijo mūlpānī-mā dui-tā gādī ek āpas-mā
 yesterday Mūlpānī-[loc] two-[nhc] car one another-[loc]
ṭhok-i-ndā dui-tai gādī-ko agādī-ko śīśā
 collide-[mp]-[prg] two-[nhc/emph] car-[gen] in.front-[gen] glass
jharyāmma phuṭ-eko thi-yo
jharyāmma break-[ipp] be-[pfp/3s]

Yesterday, when two cars collided into each other at Mūlpānī, both of their windscreens were shattered to pieces.

Note the phonetic similarity but semantic distinctness between the expressive झन्याम्म *jharyāmma* and the expressive झन्याप्प *jharyāppa*, illustrated previously above.

In conveying the sound of a single slap of the hand against a cheek, the expressive चड्याम्म *caḍyāmma* [tɕəḍjæmmə] likewise ends in a sequence containing a geminate bilabial nasal in the language. In the following example sentence, the second syllable of the expressive is pronounced at quite a high pitch, and a prosodic caesura appears to lie between the expressive and the rest of the sentence, not in the sense of a pause but in the shape of an abrupt change of prosody.

- (148) चड्याम्म गाला पड्काउँ भाइ ।

caḍyāmma gālā paḍkā-ũ bhāi
caḍyāmma cheek cause.to.pop-[opt/1s] younger.brother

Do you want me to give you one helluva slap on your cheek, little brother?

14 Reduplicated and rhyming expressives

There are various ways of slapping people, and for a native speaker of Nepali there is no mistaking the expressive चड्याम्म *caḍyāmma* [tɕəḍjæmmə], conveying the image of a single forceful slap on the cheek, with the expressive प्ल्याट् प्ल्याट् *plyāt plyāt* [pliæt pliæt], conveying a slap on each cheek delivered in quick succession.

- (149) दिदीले भान्जीलाई स्कुलको गृहकार्य गर्न मानिन भनेर प्ल्याट् प्ल्याट् गालामा हिरकाउनु भयो ।
didī-le bhānjī-lāi skul-ko gṛhakārya gar-na
 elder.sister sister's.daughter-[pat] school-[gen] homework do-[inf₂]
mān-ina bhan-era plyāt plyāt gālā-mā hirkāu-nu
 obey-[neg/pfp/3s/fem] say-[cg] plyāt plyāt cheek-[loc] strike-[inf₁]
bha-yo
 be-[pfp/3s]

Because her daughter refused to do her homework, elder sister slapped her on the cheeks.

The form प्ल्याट् प्ल्याट् *plyāt plyāt* brings us to another subset of Nepali expressives, reduplicated and rhyming forms. Some, but not all, of the reduplicated expressives come close to onomatopoeia in character.

The expressive प्याट् प्याट् *phyāt phyāt* [p^{hi}æt p^{hi}æt] conveys the image of activities taking place one after the other in quick succession.

- (150) रामले लोचनको होटलमा लोचनले लगाएको काम प्याट् प्याट् गरेर राम छिटो घर फर्कियो ।
rām-le locan-ko hoṭal-mā locan-le lagā-eko kām
 Rām-[erg] Locan-[gen] hotel-[loc] Locan-[erg] give.to.do-[ipp] work
phyāt phyāt gar-era rām chiṭo ghar pharki-yo
phyāt phyāt do-[cg] Rām fast house return-[pfp/3s]

In Locan's hotel, Rām quickly completed the chores that Locan had given him to do, one after the other, so that Rām quickly returned home.

- (151) चिरन जीवीले आफ्नो कार्यालयमा सबै काम एकै छिनमा प्याट् प्याट् सिध्याएर छिटै बजारमा आफ्नो साथीहरूलाई भेट्न गयो ।
ciran jīvī-le āphno kāryālaya-mā sabai kām ek-ai
 Ciran Jīvī-[erg] own office-[loc] all work one-[emph]
chin-mā phyāt phyāt sidhyā-era chiṭai bājār-mā
 instant-[loc] phyāt phyāt complete-[cg] fast/[emph] bazaar-[loc]
āphno sāthī-harū-lāi bhet-na ga-yo
 own friend-[p]-[pat] meet-[inf₂] go-[pfp/3s]

Ciran Jīvī finished all the work in his office, completing one thing after the other, and then quickly went off to meet his friends in the bazaar.

The expressive भ्याट् भ्याट् *bhyāt bhyāt* [b^{hi}æt b^{hi}æt] evokes the acoustic image of the rustle of flapping wings.

- (152) आकाशमा ठूलो चील उड्दा चीलको पखेटा भ्याट् भ्याट् गरेको सुनियो ।
ākāś-mā ṭhūlo cīl uḍ-dā cīl-ko pakheṭā bhyāt bhyāt
 sky-[loc] big eagle fly-[prg] eagle-[gen] wing bhyāt bhyāt
gar-eko sun-i-yo
 do-[ipp] hear-[mp]-[pfp/3s]

As the eagle was flying overhead, the swooshing noise of the eagle's wings flapping could be heard.

Somewhat similar in meaning and form to the expressive क्वाप्प क्वाप्प *kvāppa kvāppa*, but lacking the final geminate plosive sequences, the expressive कुपु कुपु *kupu kupu* [kupu kupu] specifically conjures up the image of eating in tiny mouthfuls and without pause, in the manner of child.

- (153) त्यो बच्चाले सबै भात कुपु कुपु खायो ।

tyo baccā-le sabai bhāt kupu kupu khā-yo
that child-[erg] all cooked.rice *kupu kupu* eat-[pfp/3s]

That child ate up all the rice, eating in the manner of a child.

Despite the difference in vocalism, the expressive भतभती *bhatbhatī* [bʰətʌtʰi] is related to the noun भुतभुते *bhutbhute* ‘hot glowing embers’, which may occur both as a noun in its own right and as an adjective to modify खरानी *kharānī* ‘ashes’. In the following example, in which a ritual healer addresses a malevolent spirit which he is driving out of the body of an ailing person.

- (154) भुतभुते खरानीमा हालि दिन्छु तँलाई । यो मान्छेको शरीर छोडेर भाग ।

bhutbhute kharānī-mā hāl-i din-chu tā-lāi. yo
glowing.embers ashes-[loc] insert-[prt₁] give-[prs/1s]. this
māñche-ko śarīr choḍ-era bhāg
person-[gen] body leave-[cg] run.away

I shall put you into the glowing embers. Leave the body of this person and begone!

The form धमाधम *dhamādham* [dʰəmadʰəm] evokes the image of activity or work executed quickly, energetically and without unnecessary delay.

- (155) मैले भनेको बेलामा आफ्नो काम धमाधम शुरु गरेको भए पानी पर्न भन्दा अगाडि सिध्न्थ्यो ।

maile bhan-eko belā-mā āphno kām dhamādham
I/[erg] say-[ipp] period.of.time-[loc] one's.own work *dhamādham*
śuru gareko bha-e pānī par-na bhandā agāḍi
begin do-[ipp] be-[prt₂] water fall-[inf₂] than before
sidh-i-nthyo
finish-[mp]-[con/3s]

If you had started your work diligently and without delay when I told you to do so, then your work would now have been finished before it started to rain.

- (156) तल्लो खेतमा धमाधम धान रोप्ने काम चलदै छ ।

tallo khet-mā dhamādham dhān rop-ne kām
 lower rice.field-[loc] dhamādham paddy plant-[inf₃] work
cal-dai cha
 move-[prg/emph] be/[prs/3s]

The planting of rice seedlings is diligently in progress in the lower rice field.

The form फटाफट *phaṭāphaṭ* [pʰəṭapʰəṭ] evokes the image of movement conducted quickly, energetically and without unnecessary delay.

- (157) हामी दिउँसो फटाफट हिंडेको भए हामी साँझ नपदै घर पुग्यौं ।

hāmī diūso phaṭāphaṭ hīḍ-eko bha-e hāmī sājh
 we daytime phaṭāphaṭ walk-[ipp] be-[prt₂] we evening.twilight
na-par-dai ghar pug-thyāū
 [neg]-fall-[prg/emph] home arrive-[con/1p]

If we had walked energetically and without delay during the daylight hours, then we would have reached home before nightfall.

- (158) त्यो पारिको पहाडको टुप्पोमा पुग्नलाई फटाफट हिंड्ने हो भने तीन घण्टा मात्रै लाग्छ ।

tyo pāri-ko pahād-ko tупpo-mā
 that across.the.valley-[gen] mountain-[gen] summit-[loc]
pug-na-lāī phaṭāphaṭ hīḍ-ne ho bhan-e tīn
 arrive-[inf₂]-[pat] phaṭāphaṭ walk-[inf₃] be/[prs/3s] say-[prt₂] two
ghaṇṭā mātrai lāg-cha
 hour only/[emph] take-[prs/3s]

If we set off walking energetically and without delay to reach the summit of that mountain across the valley, then it will only take three hours.

The expressive भतभती *bhatbhatī* evokes the image of intense internal burning.

- (159) कृष्ण दाइले गाउँमा राहत बाँदेको देखेर कृष्ण दाइको सत्रुहरुलाई भित्र-भित्रै भतभती पोलेको छ ।

kṛṣṇa dāi-le gāū-mā rāhat bād-eko
 Kṛṣṇa elder.brother-[erg] village-[loc] relief.aid distribute-[ipp]
dekh-era kṛṣṇa dāi-ko satru-harū-lāī
 see-[cg] Kṛṣṇa elder.brother-[gen] rival-[p]-[pat]
bhitra-bhitrai bhatbhatī pol-eko cha
 inside-inside/[emph] bhatbhatī burn/roast-[ipp] be/[prs/3s]

When Krishna's rivals saw how he was able to distribute relief aid in the village [after the earthquake], they burnt inside with seething envy.

The form ग्वाँ ग्वाँ *gvā gvā* [gʷā gʷā] conveys the image of uncontrolled sobbing.

- (160) उत्सव आफ्नो ट्याक्सी लिएर रत्नपार्क बाट सूर्य बिनायक जाँदा खेरि बानेश्वरको जेब्रा क्रासिडमा बाटो काट्दै गरेको एउटा बालकलाई कोटेश्वरबाट रत्नपार्क जाँदै गरेको सार्वजनिक यातायातको बसले ठक्कर दिएर उसलाई जेब्रा क्रासिडमै घाइते बनाएको देखेर उत्सव आफ्नो मन थाम्न नसकेर ट्याक्सी भित्रै गाँ गाँ रोयो ।

utsav āphno tyāksī li-era ratna-pārk-bāṭa sūrya bināyak
 Utsav own taxi take-[cg] Ratna Pārk-from Sūrya Bināyak
jā-dā kheri bāneśvara-ko jebrā krāsīn-mā bāṭo
 go-[prg] whilst Bāneśvara-[gen] zebra crossing-[loc] road
kāṭ-dai gar-eko euṭā bālak-lāi koṭeśvara-bāṭa
 cut-[prg/emph] do-[ipp] one/[nhc] child[pat] Koṭeśvara-from
ratna-pārk jā-dai gar-eko sārvaajanik yātāyāt-ko
 Ratna Pārk go-[prg/emph] do-[ipp] public transport
bas-le ṭhakkār di-era us-lāi jebrā krāsīn-mai
 bus[erg] smack give-[cg] he/she-[pat] zebra crossing[loc/emph]
ghāite banā-eko dekh-era utsav āphno man
 wounded/casualty make-[ipp] see-[cg] Utsav own mind
thām-na na-sak-era tyāksī bhitrai gvā gvā
 bear-[inf₂] [neg]-be.able-[cg] taxi inside/[emph] gvā gvā
royo
 cry-[pfp/3s]

Utsav took his taxi and whilst he was on his way from Ratna Pārk to Sūrya Bināyak, when he saw that the public transport bus that was on its way from Koṭeśvara to Ratna Pārk had hit a child that was crossing the road on the Bāneśvara zebra crossing and had rendered the child a casualty on that very zebra crossing, Utsav could not bear the sight of it and broke down sobbing right there inside of his taxi.

- (161) पैसा कमाउन परदेश गएको छोरोको दुर्घटनाको खबर सुनेर घरमा भएकी बूढी आमा गाँ गाँ डाँको छोडेर रोएर बसेकी छन् ।

paisā kamāu-na pardeś ga-eko choro-ko dūrghaṭanā-ko
 money earn-[inf₂] foreign.country go-[ipp] son-[gen] accident-[gen]
khabar sun-era ghar-mā bha-ekī budhī āmā
 news hear-[cg] house-[loc] be-[ipp/fem] old/[fem] mother
gvā gvā ḍāko choḍ-era ro-era bas-ekī chan
 gvā gvā wailing release-[cg] cry-[cg] sit-[ipp/fem] be/[prs/3p]

When the old mother sitting at home heard the news about the accident of her son who had gone abroad to earn money, she let out a wail and then broke down and just sat there sobbing.

The expressive ड्याड कि ड्याड *ḍyān ki ḍyān* [ḍæŋ ki ḍæŋ] conveys the image of beating or striking.

- (162) नील बराही तिर घनश्यामले हरिलाई ड्याड कि ड्याड पिटेको मैले पनि देखें ।
nīl barāhī-tira ghanaśyām-le hari-lāī ḍyāñ ki ḍyāñ
 Nīl Barāhī-around Ghanaśyām-[erg] Hari-[pat] ḍyāñ ki ḍyāñ
piṭ-eko maile pani dekh-ē
 beat-[ipp] I/[erg] too see-[pfp/1s]

I too saw that Ghanaśyām gave Hari a horrible beating near Nīl Barāhī.

- (163) ग्याल्पी ले ड्याड कि ड्याड कोदो कुटिदिएर जाउ न बाबु ।
gyālpī-le ḍyāñ ki ḍyāñ kodo kuṭ-i di-era
gyālpī-[erg] ḍyāñ ki ḍyāñ finger.millet beat-[prt₁] give-[cg]
jā-u na bābu
 go-[imp] [fu] Bābu

Bābu, go and thresh the finger millet vigorously with a *gyālpī*.¹⁸

In the case of reduplicated forms, the transition from expressives to onomatopoeia appears to be a gradual one, separated perhaps by no more than a highly fuzzy and fluid border.

However, unlike expressive forms, Nepali onomatopoeic forms tend not necessarily to trigger a pronunciation in a high pitch, and instead exhibit a pattern of intonation characteristic of a direct quote. Moreover, unlike genuine expressives, onomatopoeic forms do not fulfil a function that could be described as adverbial. The following examples illustrate the onomatopoeic forms ड्याड ड्याड *ḍyāñ ḍyāñ* [dʌŋ dʌŋ], ट्यान कुटु ट्यान कुटु *ṭyāñ kuṭu ṭyāñ kuṭu* *ḍhyāñ* [tʌn kuṭu tʌn kuṭu dʰʌŋ] and ढङ ढङ *ḍhañ ḍhañ* [dʰʌŋ dʰʌŋ].

- (164) तामाङहरूले ड्याड ड्याड डम्फु बजाउँछन् ।
tāmāñ-harū-le ḍyāñ ḍyāñ ḍamphu bajāu-nchan
 Tamang-[p]-[erg] ḍyāñ ḍyāñ Tamang.drum play-[prs/3p]

The Tamangs beat the *ḍamphu* drum “[dʌŋ dʌŋ]”.

- (165) दमाई ट्यान कुटु ट्यान कुटु ढ्याँड पारेर दमा बजाउन आएको ।
damāī ṭyāñ kuṭu ṭyāñ kuṭu ḍhyāñ pār-era
 tailor/minstrel.caste ṭyāñ kuṭu ṭyāñ kuṭu ḍhyāñ render-[cg]
damā bajāu-na ā-eko
 tailor.caste.drum play-[inf₂] come-[ipp]

The tailor came to play the *damā* drum “[tʌn kuṭu tʌn kuṭu dʰʌŋ]”.

- (166) पल्लो घरमा बार्दलीको छानो बनाउँदा जस्ताको आवाज ढड ढड आइ रहेको थियो ।

pallo ghar-mā bārdalī-ko chāno banāu-ndā
 next.door house-[loc] balcony-[gen] roof make-[prg]
jastā-ko āvāj ḍhaṇ ḍhaṇ ā-i
 corrugated.metal.sheet-[gen] sound ḍhaṇ ḍhaṇ come-[prt]
rah-eko thi-yo
 remain-[ipp] be-[pfp/3s]

When making the roof of the balcony next door, as they were hammering the corrugated metal sheet, that “[ḍʰəŋ ḍʰəŋ]” noise kept on coming.

Two reduplicated forms सिमसिम *simsim* [simsim] and भुसभुस *bhusbhus* [bʰusbʰus] convey the image of drizzling rain, each with its own flavour. Some say that भुसभुस *bhusbhus* evokes more the image of fine drizzle in the air, whereas सिमसिम *simsim* evokes more the image of getting moist, since a perennially moist piece of land also happens to be called a सिम *sim*. Both expressives can be augmented with an adjectival ending to yield the regular adjectives सिमसिमे *simsime* and भुसभुसे *bhusbhuse*, which are used in the expressions सिमसिमे पानी *simsime pānī* and भुसभुसे पानी *bhusbhuse pānī*, each of which translates into English as “drizzling rain”. These adjectival forms are perhaps even more frequent in usage, but the following examples show that the plain expressives can be used as such.

- (167) सिमसिम पानी पर्न थाल्यो ।

simsim pānī par-na thāl-yo
 water *simsim* fall-[inf₂] begin-[pfp/3s]

It has begun to drizzle.

- (168) भुसभुसे पानी परि रहेको छ ।

bhusbhuse pānī par-i rah-eko cha
bhusbhuse-[adj] water fall-[prt] remain-[ipp] be-[prs/3s]

It is drizzling.

The expressive ग्रूम ग्रूम *grūm grūm* [grum grum] conveys the notion of munching on something crunchy.

- (169) चिउरा मात्रै छ । ग्रूम ग्रूम चपाउने । ग्रूम ग्रूम चपाउँदै गर्नु । दाँत बलियो हुन्छ ।

ciurā mātra cha. grūm grūm capāu-ne.
 flattened.dry.rice only be-[prs/3s] *grūm grūm* chew-[inf₃].
grūm grūm capāũ-dai gar-nu. dāt baliyo hun-cha
grūm grūm chew-[prg] do-[inf₁]. tooth strong be-[prs/3s]

[For today’s midday tiffin] there is nothing but flattened dry rice. Let’s munch on it crunchily. Just chew crunchily. [Your] teeth will be strong.

The expressive गुल्हुङ गुल्हुङ *gulṭuṅ gulṭuṅ* [gulṭuṅ gulṭuṅ] suggests the rolling action of a boulder. An etymological relationship obtains with the verb गुल्हाउनु *gulṭāunu* “tumble downhill”, which is used with reference to boulders. Both the expressive and the verb occur in the following sentence.

- (170) हाम्रो घर बनाउँदा ढूङ्गा फुटाउने ठाउँमा एउटा ढूङ्गा माथिबाट गुल्हुङ गुल्हुङ गुल्हाउँदै आएर
 एउटा काकालाई लाग्यो । अस्पताल लाँदै गर्दा प्राथमिक उपचार गर्ने ठाउँमा मर्नु भयो ।
hāmro ghar banāũ-dā ḍhūṅgā phuṭāu-ne ṭhāũ-mā euṭā ḍhūṅgā
 our house build-[prg] boulder split-[inf₃] place-[loc] one boulder
māthi-bāṭa gulṭuṅ gulṭuṅ gulṭāũ-dai ā-era euṭā
 above-from gulṭuṅ gulṭuṅ roll.downhill-[prg] come-[cg] one/[nhc]
kākā-lāi lāg-yo. aspatāl lā-dai gar-dā
 paternal.uncle-[pat] strike-[pfp/3s]. hospital take-[prg/emph] do-[prg]
prāthamik upacār gar-ne ṭhāũ-mā mar-nu bha-yo
 primary treatment do-[inf₃] place-[loc] die-[inf₁] be-[pfp/3s]

When they were building our house, at the place where they were splitting boulders, one boulder came barrelling down the slope from above and struck one paternal uncle. As they were taking him to hospital, he died at the place where they administer first aid.

Distinct from the reduplicated forms are the expressives that rhyme or show partial reduplication, the latter commonly termed a jingle in some linguistic treatises. The expressive कच्चाक्कुचुक *kacyākkucuk* [kəɕækkuteuk] evokes the image of something crumpled up and dented.

- (171) महत्त्वपूर्ण कागजपत्र कच्चाक्कुचुक नपारीकन जतन गरेर राख्नु पर्छ ।
mahattvapūrṇa kāgaj-patra kacyākkucuk na-pār-ikana jatan
 important paper-letter kacyākkucuk [neg]-render-[pfg] care
gar-era rākh-nu par-cha
 do-[cg] keep-[inf₁] must-[prs/3s]

You have to keep important documents with care without wrinkling them.

- (172) आज बिहान सडकमा बस र ट्रक ठोकिंदा बस त पूरै कच्चाक्कुचुक भयो ।
āja bihān saḍak-mā bas ra ṭrak ṭhok-i-nda bas ta
 today morning street-[loc] bus and lorry collide-[mp]-[prg] bus [top]
pūrai kacyākkucuk bha-yo
 completely/[emph] kacyākkucuk become-[pfp/3s]

This morning on the highway, when a bus and lorry crashed, the bus got all smashed and crumpled up.

- (173) हातले कागज एउटै पोको पारेर मेरो चिठी कच्याक्कुचुक पारिन् ।

hāt-le kāgaj euṭai poko pār-era mero ciṭhī
 hand-[erg] paper one/[nhc/emph] ball render-[cg] my letter
kacyākkucuk pār-in
kacyākkucuk render-[pfp/3s/fem]

Crumpling up the paper with her hand, she reduced my letter to a crumpled up ball of paper.

Similarly, the expressive मर्याकमुरुक *maryākmuruk* [mərɨækmuruk] conveys the image of massage conducted by pinching and kneading movements.

- (174) हिजो सुरेन्द्र दाइको जिउ दुखेर मैले सुरेन्द्र दाइको जिउ मर्याकमुरुक पार्दिँए थिचि दिएको सुरेन्द्र दाइलाई अलिकाति आराम भएको महसुस भएछ ।

hijo surendra dāi-ko jiu dukh-era surendra
 yesterday Surendra elder-brother-[gen] body ache-[cg] Surendra
dāi-ko jiu maryākmuruk pār-di-era thic-i
 elder.brother-[gen] body maryākmuruk render-give-[cg] pinch-[prt₁]
di-eko surendra dāi-lāi alikaṭi ārām bha-eko
 give-[ipp]. Surendra elder.brother-[pat] little.bit relief become-[ipp]
mahasus bha-e-cha
 awareness become-[ifp]-[3s]

Yesterday, elder brother Surendra's body was aching, and so I gave him a massage, kneading and pinching gently. Afterwards, he began to experience a sense of relief.

The expressive गुट्टु *guṭuṭu* [guṭuṭu] suggests speed, but also exhibits a somewhat more pronounced onomatopoeic character than is usual in expressives, evoking the sound of the thud thud thud of running feet hitting the ground.

- (175) सिंगटी जाँदै गरेको बस पल्टियो भनेको सुनेर तिनीहरू गुट्टु दौडिएर बस पल्टेको ठाउँमा पुगेका थिए ।

sīgaṭi jā-dai gar-eko bas palṭ-i-yo bhan-eko sun-era
 Sīgaṭi go-[prg] do-[ipp] bus flip-[mp]-[pfp/3s] say-[ipp] hear-[cg]
tinī-harū guṭuṭu daud-i-era bas palṭ-eko thāū-mā
 they-[p] guṭuṭu run-[mp]-[cg] bus flip-[ipp] place-[loc]
pug-ekā thi-e
 arrive-[ipp/p] be-[pfp/3p]

When they heard that the bus that was on its way to Sīgaṭi had flipped, they ran briskly and reached the spot where the bus had flipped [and gone down below the road].

The expressive फलात फुलुत *phalāt phulut* [pʰəlaṭ phuluṭ] evokes the image of something that has been soaked or cooked to such an extent that it is soft or falling apart.

- (176) दशैँमा मामा घरमा मासु पकाउँदा हड्डी नै फलातफुलुत हुने गरि पकाउनु भएछ ।
daśāĩ-mā māmā ghar-mā māsu pakāũ-dā haḍḍī nai
Daśāĩ-[loc] maternal.uncle house-[loc] meat cook-[prg] bone the.very
phalāt phulut hu-ne gar-i pakāũ-nu bha-e-cha.
phalāt phulut be-[inf₃] do-[prt₁] cook-[inf₁] become-[ifp]-[3s]

At Daśāĩ, when they were cooking the meat in the household of maternal uncle, it turns out that they had cooked it [for so long] that even the very bones had got mushy.

- (177) बिहानको पत्रिका बाहिर गेटमै बिसैर पत्रिका पानीले बिझेर फलात फुलुत भएछ । आजको समाचार के थियो भनेर पढ्ने पाइएन ।
bihān-ko patrikā bāhira geṭ-mai birs-era
morning-[gen] newspaper outside gate-[loc/emph] forget-[cg]
patrikā pānī-le bijh-era phalāt phulut
newspaper water-[erg] get.wet-[cg] phalāt phulut
bha-e-cha. āja-ko samācār ke thi-yo
become-[ifp]-[3s]. today-[gen] news what be-[pfp/3s]
bhan-era paḍh-nai pā-i-ena
say-[cg] read-[inf₂/emph] get-[mp]-[neg/pfp/3s]

Having forgotten the newspaper this morning outside at the gate, the newspaper got totally soaked in the rain till it was reduced to mush. [We] didn't even get to read what today's news was about.

The rhyming expressive ओल्ते कोल्ते *olṭe kolṭe* [olṭe kolṭe] conveys the image of secret whispers at close quarters, with one's mouth hidden behind the shielding palm of a hand, or of concealed exchanges behind closed doors.

- (178) गणेशले आकाशको कुरा गर्दा आकाशको घर परिवारबाट ओल्ते कोल्ते भएर कुरा गर्न खोज्छ किनभने गणेशले आकाशको बारेमा नराप्नो कुरा गर्छ ।
gaṇeś-le ākāś-ko kurā gar-dā ākāś-ko
Gaṇeś-[erg] Ākāś-[gen] discussion do-[prg] Ākāś-[gen]
ghar-parivār-bāṭa olṭe kolṭe bhaera kurā gar-na
house-family-from olṭe kolṭe become-[cg] discussion do-[inf₂]
khoj-cha kinabhane gaṇeś-le ākāś-ko bāre-mā nārāmro
seek-[prs/3s] because Gaṇeś-[erg] Ākāś-[gen] about-[loc] bad
kurā gar-cha
discussion do-[prs/3s]

When Ganesh talks about Ākāś, he tries to talk in a secretive way so as to keep this from Ākāś's household and family because Gaṇeś badmouths Ākāś.

Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl (vs 2040: 178) included an entry for ओल्ता कोल्ता *olṭā kolṭā*, which they defined as denoting looking around or turning to and fro, whilst the meaning described and illustrated here for the actually observed expressive ओल्ते

कोल्ते *olṭe kolṭe* might by implication entail looking around to see whether one is being observed.

The rhyming expressive उकुस मुकुस *ukus mukus* [ukus mukus] conveys the image of being in a stuffy place, not being able to get enough air or experiencing a suffocating sensation.

- (179) राती सुत्दा कोठाको झ्याल नखोली सुतेछु । राती उकुसमुकुस भएर फेरि उठेर झ्याल खोलेर सुतेपछि बल्ल ठीक भयो ।

rātī sut-dā koṭhā-ko jhyāl na-khol-i sut-e-chu.
 night sleep-[prg] room-[gen] window [neg]-open-[prt₁] sleep-[ifp]-[1s].
rātī ukus mukus bha-era pheri uṭh-era jhyāl
 night ukus mukus become-[cg] again get.up-[cg] window
khol-era sut-e-pachi balla thīk bha-yo
 open-[cg] sleep-[prt₂]-after finally all.right become-[pfp/3s]

It turns out that I had gone to sleep at night without opening the window.

When I got a stuffy feeling at night, I got back up and opened the window, and then, when I went back to sleep, it finally felt all right again.

- (180) धेरै जाडो भयो भने पनि म राती सुत्दा सिरकले मुख छोपेर कहिल्यै सुत्दिनँ किनभने मलाई सिरकले मुख छोप्यो भने उकुसमुकुस हुन्छ ।

dherai jāḍo bha-yo bhan-e pani ma rātī sut-dā
 very cold become-[pfp/3s] say-[prt₂] also I night sleep-[prg]
sirak-le mukh chop-era kahilyai sut-dinā
 quilt-[erg] mouth cover-[cg] when/[emph] sleep-[neg/prs/1s]
kinabhane ma-lāī sirak-le mukh chop-yo bhane ukus
 because I-[pat] quilt-[erg] mouth cover-[pfp/3s] if ukus
mukus hun-cha
mukus be-[prs/3s]

Even if it gets very cold, I never cover my head with the quilt when I sleep because, when I cover my face with the quilt, I get a suffocating feeling.

The following example shows that, for some speakers at least, a feeling of stuffiness and the sensation of being smothered and unable to get enough fresh air can be occasioned by an overly copious meal.

- (181) हिजो बेलुकी खाना धेरै खाएर एक छिन त उकुस मुकुस भयो नि मलाई ।

hijo belukī khānā dherai khā-era ek chin ta ukus
 yesterday evening food much eat-[cg] one moment [top] ukus
mukus bha-yo ni ma-lāī
mukus become-[pfp/3s] [iu] I-[pat]

When I ate so much yesterday evening, just for a moment I really got a stuffy feeling.

The expressive सरसरती *sarsartī* [sərsərti] conveys the image of skimming a document or going through a piece of writing cursorily.

- (182) मैले तपाईंको किताब सरसरती पढेँ । मलाई राम्रो लागेन ।
maile tapāĩ-ko kitāb sarsartī paḍh-ẽ. ma-lāĩ rāmro
 I/[erg] you-[gen] book *sarsartī* read-[pfp/1s]. I-[pat] good
lāg-ena
 seem-[neg/pfp/3s]

I skimmed through your book, but it didn't appeal to me.

- (183) मैले तिम्रो हिसाब सरसरती हेरेँ तर मलाई चित्त बुझेन ।
maile timro hisāb sarsartī her-ẽ tara ma-lāĩ citta
 I/[erg] your accounting *sarsartī* look-[pfp/1s] but I-[pat] sentiment
bujh-ena
 arouse-[neg/pfp/3s]

I went over your calculations but I am not satisfied.

The expressive अलपत्र *alapatra* [əlapətrə] conveys the image of being in a state of not knowing what to do.

- (184) सुकदेव आज काठमाडौंबाट चितवन जाँदैगर्दा बाटोमा उसको पर्स पैसा र मोबाइल सबै हराएर
 अहिले मुग्लिङमा अलपत्र परेको छ ।
sukadev āja kāṭhmāḍāũ-bāṭa citvan jā-dai-gar-dā
 Sukadev today Kāṭhmāṇḍū-from Citvan go-[prg/emph]-do-[prg]
bāṭo-mā us-ko pars paisā ra mobāil sabai
 road-[loc] he/she-[gen] wallet money and mobile.phone all
harā-era ahile mugliñ-mā alapatra par-eko cha
 lose-[cg] now Mugliñ-[loc] *alapatra* fall-[ipp] be/[prs/3s]

Today on the way from Kāṭhmāṇḍū to Citvan, Sukadev lost his wallet, money and mobile phone and is now stuck in Mugliñ with no idea what to do next.

- (185) दलालले दसजना नेपाली विदेश लगेर अलपत्र पारेर छाड्यो ।
dalāl-le das-janā nepālī videś lag-era alapatra pār-era
 broker-[erg] ten-[hum] Nepālī abroad take-[cg] *alapatra* render-[cg]
chod-yo.
 abandon-[pfp/3s]

The broker [i.e., human trafficker] took ten Nepalis abroad and rendered them in a state of not knowing what to do next and then abandoned them.

- (186) सुनिलले हाम्रो काम शुरु गरेर आधा काम मात्र गरेर बाँकी काम अलपत्र पारेर छोड्यो ।

sunil-le hāmro kām śuru gar-era ādhā kām mātra gar-era
 Sunil-[erg] our work begin do-[cg] half work only do-[cg]
bākī kām alapatra pār-era choḍ-yo.
 remainder work alapatra render-[cg] abandon-[pf]/3s]

Sunil started our work, then after only having finished half the job he abandoned the work leaving it in a state so that it would be hard to pick up and complete the task.

15 Monosyllabic expressives

Finally, Nepali has expressives that show no final sequence containing a geminate and exhibit neither reduplication nor rhyme. One of this small set of expressives even has a known etymology, as do the expressives ठनक्क *ṭhanakka*, तनक्क *tanakka*, टनक्क *ṭanakka*, फनक्क *phanakka* and सनक्क *sanakka*. Yet the transparency of their etymology somehow does not diminish the sound symbolic qualities and expressive force of the form in question. In origin, the expressive टाप *tāp* is clearly the noun टाप *tāp* “hoof”, which specifically denotes a horse’s hoof as opposed to a खुर *khur*, which denotes the hoof of a cow, goat or buffalo. The expressive टाप *tāp* evidently derives from the expression टाप कस्नु *tāp kasnu*, whereby the verb कस्नु *kasnu* means “to tie up [a knot]” or “to tighten [a belt, rope or cable]”. The expression टाप कस्यो *tāp kasyo* can be translated as “he bolted off”, “he dashed off” or “he absconded”, literally “he tightened up the hoof”.

- (187) झोला भिरेर टाप कस्ने ।

jholā bhir-era tāp kas-ne.
 bag strap.on-[cg] tāp tighten-[inf]₃]

Let’s strap on our bags and get the hell out of here.

- (188) त्यो केटाले हाम्रो भाइ को खेलौना चोरेर टाप कसेछ ।

tyo keṭā-le hāmro bhāi-ko khelaunā cor-era tāp
 that boy-[erg] our younger.brother-[gen] toy steal-[cg] tāp
kas-yo
 tighten-[pf]/3s]

That boy stole our younger brother’s toy and then beat it.

The colloquial expression has, however, given birth to the use of the form टाप *tāp* as an expressive, evoking the image of having vanished without a trace.

- (189) तँलाई खोज्दै पुलिस आइ पुग्यो । तँ टाप ठोक् यहाँबाट ।

tā-lāi khoj-dai pulis ā-i pug-yo.
 you-[pat] seek-[prg/emph] police come-[prt₁] arrive-[pfp/3s].
tā t̥āp thok yahā-bāṭa
 you t̥āp bump here-from

The police have come looking for you. You, beat it from here.

- (190) तपाईंहरू आएको देखेर उ भर्खरै यहाँबाट टाप भाग्यो ।

tapāi-harū ā-eko dekh-era u bharkhar-ai yahā-bāṭa t̥āp
 you-[p] come-[ipp] see-[cg] he just.now-[emph] here-from t̥āp
bhāg-yo
 run.away-[pfp/3s]

He just left in a hurry at the moment he saw you guys coming.

- (191) मान्छेलाई विदेश पठाउँछु भनेर म्यानपाउवर चलाउने मान्छे ती मान्छेहरूको पैसा खाएर टाप भयो ।

mānche-lāi vides̥ pathāũ-chu bhan-era myānpāuvar calāu-ne
 person-[pat] abroad send-[prs/1s] say-[cg] manpower operate-[inf₃]
mānche ti mānche-harū-ko paisā khā-era t̥āp bha-yo
 person those person-[p]-[gen] money eat-[cg] t̥āp become-[pfp/3s]

The guy who was running a manpower agency to send people abroad for employment vanished without a trace after taking all their money.

- (192) – सुनिल अब कता गयो ?

sunil aba katā ga-yo
 Sunil now whither go-[pfp/3s]

Where did Sunil go now?

- सुनिल अब यहाँबाट टाप !

sunil aba yahā-bāṭa t̥āp
 Sunil now here-from t̥āp

Sunil has now vanished from here without a trace.

The expressive टाप *t̥āp* can even be used by itself. An alternative shorter answer in the exchange recorded in the last example could also be just the word टाप *t̥āp*, used on its own.

The expressive द्र्रँ *t̥vā* [t̥wā] evokes the image of staring or gaping at something in sheer puzzlement.

- (193) लाटाले पापा हेरेको जस्तो के ट्वाँ परे हेर्छस् । जाऔं हिंड म सित । बाटोमा अरु पनि देख्छस् ।
lātā-le pāpā her-eko jasto ke tvā̃ par-era
 idiot-[erg] piece.of.bread look-[ipp] like what *tvā̃* become-[cg]
her-chas. jā-āũ hīd ma-sita. bāṭo-mā aru pani
 look-[prs/2s]. go-[opt/1p] walk I-with. road-[loc] other too
dekh-chas
 see-[prs/2s]

What are you standing there for, gaping like an idiot who has never before seen a piece of bread. Come on, walk with me. On the way you'll see even more.

- (194) कहिले कम्प्युटर नदेखेको मान्छे चरीकोट पुगेर मान्छेहरु कम्प्युटरमा काम गरेको देखेर उ ट्वाँ परे हेर्दै थियो । अनि मैले सम्झाएँ भाइ संसार धेरै अगाडि बढि सक्यो भनेर ।
kahile kampyutar na-dekh-eko māñche carikoṭ pug-era
 when computer [neg]-see-[ipp] person Carikoṭ arrive-[cg]
māñche-harū kampyutar-mā kām gar-eko dekh-era u tvā̃
 person-[p] computer-[loc] work do-[ipp] see-[cg] he/she *tvā̃*
par-era her-dai thi-yo. ani maile
 become-[cg] look-[prg] be-[pfp/3s]. and.then I[erg]
samjhā-ē bhāi sāsār dherai agāḍi badh-i
 explain-[pfp/1s] younger.brother world much ahead advance-[prt₁]
sak-yo bhan-era
 already-[pfp/3s] say-[cg]

When somebody who had never seen computers before showed up in Carikoṭ and saw people working on computers, he just stared at them gaping. At that point, I explained to the guy, “younger brother, the world has already moved on ahead’.

16 Concluding observations

As parts of speech, Nepali expressives are distinguished from simple adverbs, which in Nepali may have meanings which are not necessarily so simply expressed in English. For example, the adverbial particle पो *po* in example sentence (4) indicates that the meaning expressed by the preceding syntactic constituent, which the particle पो *po* governs, is contrary to the expectation of the speaker. Similarly, the adverbial pair क्यारे *kyāre* and ब्यारे *byāre* also express subtle meanings. The adverb क्यारे *kyāre* expresses uncertainty on the part of the speaker, as if the speaker is hedging or expressing a hunch.

- (195) मलाई सिक्किम बस्दा बस्दा बोर लागि सक्यो । म त जाउँ क्यारे नेपाल ।
ma-lāi sikkim bas-dā bas-dā bor lāg-i sak-yo.
 I-[pat] Sikkim sit-[prg] sit-[prg] boredom feel-[prt₁] already-[pfp/3s].
ma ta jā-ũ kyāre nepāl
 I [top] go-[opt/1s] *kyāre* Nepāl

I already feel quite bored, staying in Sikkim for so long. I wonder whether I should not just go back to Nepal now.

This uncertainty on the part of the speaker expressed by *क्यारे* *kyāre* can even be used in the imperative or in questions. When leaving, it is common to wish the person well who is staying behind, saying *राम्रोसित बस्नुहोस्* *rāmro-sita basnuhos* “remain well”, but a speaker who is going away for a long time or who has other reasons to harbour some sense of uncertainty might wish the person staying behind well, saying *राम्रोसित बस्नुहोस् क्यारे* *rāmro-sita basnuhos kyāre* “remain well, I guess”. It is possible to modify a simply question such as *कता हिँड्यो* *katā hīḍyo* “where did he go off to?” with this adverb, but the difference between this question and *कता हिँड्यो क्यारे* *katā hīḍyo kyāre* is a subtle one. The speaker is still essentially posing the same question, but the addition of the adverb *क्यारे* *kyāre* is a hedge, which shows some reservation on the part of the speaker with regard to any presuppositions which might be implied or could be construed from the very question.

The adverb *ब्यारे* *byāre* marks a proposition that is contrary to what has already just been maintained or has previously been contended in some other context.

- (196) टीकेलाई मेरो नम्बर याद रहेनछ । मैले सुरेश दाइलाई मेरो नम्बर दिँदा खेरि टीकेले होइन भन्यो । अनि फेरी मैले सुरेश दाइलाई त्यही हो ब्यारे मेरो नम्बर भनेर टीपाएँ ।

ṭīke-lāī mero nambar yād rah-e-nacha. maile
Ṭīkā-[pat] my number remembrance remain-[ifp]-[neg/3s]. I/[erg]
sureś dāi-lāī mero nambar dī-dā kheri ṭīke-le
Sureś elder.brother-[pat] my number give-[prg] whilst Ṭīkā-[erg]
hoina bhan-yo. ani pheri maile sureś
it.isn't say-[pfp/3s]. and.then again I/[erg] Sureś
dāi-lāī tyahī ho byāre mero nambar bhan-era
elder.brother-[pat] that/[emph] it.is byāre my number say-[cg]
ṭīpā-ē
have.someone.jot.down-[pfp/1s]

Ṭīkā turns out not to remember my telephone number correctly. As I was giving Sureś my telephone number, *Ṭīkā* said, no that's not right. So then I told Sureś that what I had said *was* in fact my number, and I had him note it down.

Whilst remaining silent on the possible etymology of *क्यारे* *kyāre*, Tripāthī and Dāhāl (vs 2040: 989) propose that an etymological relationship obtains between the adverbs *ब्यारे* *byāre* and the reported speech marker *रे* *re*. This hearsay evidential is tagged onto the end of an utterance, including questions and imperatives, indicating that the speaker is relating or repeating a contention or statement made by an unspecified person or persons other than the speaker.¹⁹

Expressives are evidently parts of speech distinct from adverbs. Tripāthī and Dāhāl categorise expressives as *क्रियाविशेषण* *kriyāviśeṣaṇ* “adverbs” in their dictionary *Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś*, noting, however, that these forms have an *अनुकरण* *anukaraṇ mūl* “mimetic basis” in the Aristotelian sense.²⁰ Nonetheless, some expressives do not have a fixed orthography. The *Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś* includes entries for the following 74 forms illustrated in the present study, listed here in the order in which they have been presented in the present study: *सुटुक्क* *suṭukka*, *खुसुक्क* *khusukka*, *पुलुक्क* *pulukka*, *खुत्रुक्क* *khutrukka*, *भुतुक्क* *bhutukka*, *जुरुक्क*

jurukka, ठनक्क *thanakka*, रनक्क *ranakka*, तनक्क *tanakka*, टनक्क *ṭanakka*, फनक्क *phanakka*, फरक्क *pharakka*, सनक्क *sanakka*, खुरुक्क *khurukka*, चसक्क *casakka*, टुप्लुक्क *ṭuplukka*, पुटुक्क *puṭukka*, टक्क *ṭakka*, चटक्क *caṭakka*, चिट्ठिक्क *ciṭṭikka*, बुरुक्क *burukka* or बुर्लुक्क *burlukka*, भुसुक्क *bhusukka*, पटक्क *paṭakka* and पटक्कै *paṭakkai*, छक्क *chakka*, ढुक्क *ḍhukka*, ढुसक्क *ṭusukka*, सुलुक्क *sulukka*, पिलिक्क *pilikka*, मक्ख *makkha*, फाट्टफुट्ट *phāṭṭaphuṭṭa*, स्वाट्ट *svāṭṭa*, च्वाट्ट *cvāṭṭa*, इवाट्ट *jhvāṭṭa*, फ्याट्ट *phyāṭṭa*, लुत्त *lutta*, फुत्त *phutta*, ल्वात्त *lvāṭṭa*, ख्वात्त *khvāṭṭa*, फ्यात्त *phyāṭṭa*, प्याच्च *pyācca*, थ्याच्च *thyācca*, झ्याप्प *jhyāppa*, क्वाप्प *kvāppa* *kvāppa*, ख्वाप्प *khvāppa*, खुलुल्ल *khululla*, छताछुल्ल *chatāchulla*, हारै *hvarra*, हारै *hvarrai*, ख्वास्स *khvāssa*, ठ्वास्स *thvāssa*, टन्न *ṭanna*, सिरिङ्ग *siriṇṇa*, झसङ्ग *jhasaṇṇa*, ठीङ्ग *ṭhīṇṇa*, दङ्ग *daṇṇa*, अचम्म *acamma*, ख्याम्म *khvāmma*, झ्याम्म *jhyāmma*, चड्याम्म *caḍyāmma*, फ्याद् *phyāḍ* *phyāḍ*, भ्याद् *bhyāḍ* *bhyāḍ*, कुपु *kupu* *kupu*, धमाधम *dhamādhama*, फटाफट *phaṭāphaṭ*, भतभती *bhatbhatī*, सिमसिम *simsim*, कच्चाक्कुचुक *kacyākkucuk*, मर्याकमुरुक *maryākmuruk*, उकुस *ukus* *mukus*, सरसरती *sarsartī*, अलपत्र *alapatra*, टाप *tāp*.

Seen against this background of lexicographical thoroughness, the sixteen forms illustrated in the present study that are not covered by a lexical entry of their own in the *Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś* include the expressives फुतुक्कै *phutukkai*, सर्लक्क *sar-lakka*, सुलुत्त *sulutta*, झ्याप्प *jhyāppa*, तुरुङ्ग *туруṇṇa*, तरङ्ग *taraṇṇa*, चप्प्याङ्ग *cap-lyāṇṇa*, द्वाङ्ग *tvāṇṇa*, प्ल्याद् *plyāḍ* *plyāḍ*, ग्वाँ *gvā* *gvā*, डेड कि डेड *ḍeṇ ki ḍeṇ*, भुसभुस *bhusbhus*, ग्रूम *grūm* *grūm*, गुल्गुड *gulṭuṇ* *gulṭuṇ*, गुट्टु *guṭṭu*, फलात्त *phalāt* *phulut* and द्वाँ *tvā*. On the other hand, Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl also recorded quite a number of expressives that I have not yet observed, e.g. खुस्स *khussa*, ल्वाक्क *lvākka*, थुत्त *thutta*, थ्वात्त *thvāṭṭa*, थ्वास्स *thvāssa*, भ्वात्त *bhvāṭṭa*, खुलुक्क *khulukka*. At least a few of these expressives in the dictionary were unknown to the speakers whom I consulted, but it is good to keep in mind that in some cases speakers produce expressive forms and recognise them only in the specific contexts in which they make sense.

In conclusion, after this review of well over seven dozen Nepali expressives, which no doubt represent a mere subset comprising some of the more frequent expressives in the language, it can be observed that expressives constitute a part of speech representing a grammatical category in its own right, distinct from both adverbs and predicate adjectives. Moreover, despite being suffused with sound symbolism, expressives in Nepali constitute a category that is distinct from onomatopoeia. By the same token, expressives can have etymologies, and derivational relationships may obtain between expressives and other parts of speech.

The present study is a first attempt to classify the expressives on the basis of their phonetic traits, and the classificatory approach adopted here is a prerequisite and a prelude to an analytical semiotic treatment of these parts of speech. Assembling the expressives in this way reveals that many expressives appear to be composed of identifiable phonaesthemes. The relationship between the pairs of expressives झ्याप्प *jhyāppa* vs. झ्याम्म *jhyāmma* and ख्याप्प *khvāppa* vs. ख्याम्म *khvāmma* suggest the psychological reality of particular semiotic values in the minds of Nepali speakers that distinguish the final sequence [ppə] from final [mmə]. Similarly, the formal and semantic resemblance and distinctness between

the expressives सुलुत्त *sulutta* and सुलुक्क *sulukka* suggest the existence of definable semiotic values for the final phonaesthetic sequences [tt̪ə] and [kkə], or more probably perhaps between the final phonaesthemes [utt̪ə] and [ukkə].

Often a good deal of reflection is required on the part of native speakers before they can capture what elements of meaning are added to an utterance through the presence of a particular expressive and precisely what meaning comes to be lacking when the same utterance is pronounced without that particular expressive, e.g., (88). It is laudable that Vasudev Tripāṭhī and Vallabh Maṇi Dāhāl undertook to incorporate so many expressives in their monumental lexicographical work. Yet dictionary entries seldom contain examples of actual usage. Moreover, the perennial challenge to lexicographers to provide instructive and insightful definitions that are not ultimately circular looms even larger in the case of expressives. It is yet another tribute to these great lexicographers that they provided so many semantically sensitive definitions for a fair number of the expressive entries which they managed to document.

Expressives are observed to be more frequent in colloquial registers of speech than in elevated literary styles, and certain speakers can be observed to make incessant use of them, whereas others use them sparingly. Expressives represent just one facet of the beauty and expressive power of the Nepali language, and they are but one of the multifarious factors which add to the already robust linguistic topography of the Nepali language.²¹ It is my hope that this study will inspire a more comprehensive semiotic studies of these parts of speech, both in order to document these intriguing and lovely elements in the Nepali language, but also for the light that these parts of speech and their semiotic traits and phonaesthetic characteristics may shed on the relationship between form and meaning and on the nature of language itself.

List of abbreviations

The abbreviations used in the interlinear morpheme glosses are explained in the list below. In the context of the Indian subcontinent, serial verb constructions used to be termed *conjunct verbs* or *compound verbs* (Burton-Page 1957; Hacker 1961), a term for which Bisang (1995) used the contraction *converb*. For semantically similar grammatical categories in Limbu and Dumi (van Driem 1987, 1993), I introduced the term “perfect gerund”, abbreviated [pfG], in view of the phenomenon that serial verb constructions in Limbu, Dumi and, for that matter, Nepali distinguish between a “present gerund” category, abbreviated [prG], denoting a situation coetaneous with the situation denoted by the main verb, and a “perfect gerund” category, denoting a situation that is either temporally anterior to the situation denoted by the main verb or depicting a situation that adverbially modifies the situation denoted by the main verb.

Although each grammatical category no doubt has its own precise language-specific meaning and language-specific morphosyntactic ramifications, the latter type of category is principally used in serial verb constructions. In view of its meaning

and syntactic function, the term “perfect gerund” is therefore arguably more apt than the descriptively less adequate terms “conjunct verb”, “compound verb” and “converb”. In order to emphasise the fundamentally adverbial character of the category and its syntactic role in clause chaining, however, I here introduce the term “concatenative gerund”, abbreviated [cg], for the Nepali category expressed by the suffix <-era>. In spoken language, I have used this term for many years now.

Both in terms of its meaning and its syntactic behaviour, the Nepali progressive participle in <-(n)dā> is the grammatical category most closely analogous to what I termed a “present gerund” [prG] in the context of the Limbu and Dumi grammars in that the category depicts a situation coetaneous with the situation denoted by the main verb. However, this Nepali grammatical form is morphosyntactically more participial in character than what I am here calling the concatenative gerund, and the progressive participle in <-(n)dā> figures in one of the Nepali progressive or continuous tenses. For this reason, I have chosen to use the abbreviation [prg] for the Nepali progressive participle in <-(n)dā> in the interlinear morpheme glosses.

adj	adjectival ending <-e>
cg	concatenative gerund <-era>
con	conditional conjugation
emph	emphatic suffix <-ai ~ -hī>
erg	ergative ending in <-le>, marking agent or instrument
fem	feminine
fu	particle of friendly urging <na>
gen	genitive ending in <-ko>, in literary speech also <-kā> (plural masculine), <-kī> (feminine)
hum	human numeral classifier <-janā>
ifp	stem participial suffix <-e> as ending of the inferential past
imp	imperative in <-a ~ -u>
ind	individuating postposition <-cāhī> “in particular, as for”
inf ₁	infinitive in <-nu> (cf. Turner 1921)
inf ₂	infinitive in <-na> (cf. Turner 1921)
inf ₃	infinitive in <-ne> (cf. Turner 1921)
ipp	imperfective past participle in <-eko>
iu	particle of insistent urging <-ni>
loc	locative morpheme <-mā> “in, on, at”
mp	mediopassive suffix or infix <-i>
neg	negative morpheme
nhc	non-human numeral classifier <-auṭā ~ -vaṭā>
opt	optative mood, routinely termed ‘adhortative’ in the first person forms
p	plural
pat	patientive form in <-lāi>, marking the benefacted, malefacted or affected actant or recipient or the goal of the activity or situation denoted by the verb
pfg	perfective gerund <-īkana>
pfp	perfective past

pos	possible future
prg	progressive participle in < -(n)dā >
prs	present tense
prt ₁	stem participle in < -i >
prt ₂	stem participle in < -e >
rsp	reported speech particle or hearsay evidential < re >
s	singular
top	contrastive topic postposition < ta >
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

Appendix — Journalism on the Nepali spelling controversy

Key pieces of Nepali journalism covering the orthographic controversy are listed below in chronological order of appearance online. The name or *nom de plume* of the journalist is cited when available. All online postings are dated except for two, and the undated postings are listed between the entries for 2016 and 2017. My cordial thanks goes to दीपक अर्याल Dīpak Āryāl of Madan Puruskār Pustakālaya in Lalitpur for making this list of journalistic sources far more complete.

शुद्ध लेखिरहेकालाई अशुद्ध लेखिस् भन्ने हास्यास्पद काम भइरहेको छ’ — जबर्जस्ती नियम नलादौं, भाषालाई आफ्नो गतिमा बन्न दिऊँ — वर्ण विन्यास कि वर्ण विनाश ! Śuddha lekhi raheko-lāi asuddha lekhis bhanne hāsyāspad kām bhai raheko cha — jabarjastī niyam nalādāū, bhāṣā-lāi āphno gati-mā bagna diū — varṇa vinyās ki varṇa vināś ! (२०७३ भदौ ८, i.e. 24 August 2016), *Online Khabar* <www.onlinekhabar.com/2016/08/470003/>.

जन सरोकार John Sarokār. 2016. नेपाली भाषा विवाद संसदमा, छानविन समिति गठन गर्न माग Nepālī bhāṣā vivād sāsad-mā, chānvin samiti gaṭhan garna māg (1 September 2016), नेपाल जापान डट कम *Nepal Japan Dot Com* <http://www.nepaljapan.com/नेपाली-भाषा-विवाद-संसदमा/>.

भाषा विवाद: अरुले जबर्जस्ती लाद्र पाइएन नि ! Bhāṣā vivād: aru-le jabarjastī lādna pāiena ni! (२०७३ भाद्र २१, i.e. 6 September 2016), *Online Khabar* <www.onlinekhabar.com/2016/09/474890/>.

रोहित खतिवडा Rohit Khativādā. 2016. के हो भाषा विवाद ? भाषा विवाद अब संसद र अख्तियारमा Ke ho bhāṣā vivād? Bhāṣā vivād aba sāsad ra akhtiyār-mā (२०७३ भाद्र २२, i.e. 7 September 2016), सेतोपाटी *Setopātī* <http://archive.setopati.com/samaj/52928/>.

जोतारे धोइबा Joṭāre Dhāibā. 2016. ‘भाषा बिगार्दा आमालाई लात्ताले हिरकाँएजस्तो भएको छ’ — भाउजूसँग डराउँदै ‘भाषा बिगार्ने’ माथि प्रहार ‘Bhāṣā bigārdā āmā-lāi lāttā-le hirkāe-jasto bhaeko cha’ — bhāujū-sāga ḍarāūdai ‘bhāṣā bigārne’ māthi prahār (२०७३ भाद्र २२, i.e. 7 September 2016), *Online Khabar* <www.onlinekhabar.com/2016/09/475650/>.

सर्वोच्च पुग्यो वर्णविन्यास विवाद Sarvocca pugyo varṇavinyās vivād (२०७३ भाद्र २४, i.e. 9 September 2016), *Outline News Service* <www.onsnews.com/nepali-language-2/>

- पूर्व्यायाधीशहरूले भने, 'भाषालाई अस्तव्यस्त नपार' Pūrvanyāyādhīś-harū-le bhane 'bhāṣā-lāi astavyast napāra' (२०७३ भाद्र २६, i.e., 11 September 2016), *Outline News Service* <www.onsnews.com/nepali-language-3/>.
- मन्त्रीको निर्णयले भाषा विवाद अदालत पुग्यो Mantrī-ko nirṇay-le bhāṣā vivād adālat pugyo (२०७३ भाद्र २७, i.e., 12 September 2016), बैंकको समाचार *Bank ko samācār* <<http://bankkosamachar.com/मन्त्रीको-निर्णयले-भाषा/>>.
- यसरी जन्मियो वर्णविन्यास ÷ भाषा विवाद Yasarī janmiyo varṇavinyās ÷ bhāṣā vivād (२०७३ असोज १, i.e., 17 September 2016), राजधानी लोकप्रिय राष्ट्रिय दैनिक *Rājdhānī Lokapriya Rāṣṭriya Dainik* <rajdhanidaily.com/2016/09/17/7269/>.
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- भाषा विवादमा पछि हट्यो एकेडेमी, शब्दकोशको पछिल्लो संस्करण खारेज — नवौं संस्करण किनेका पाठकलाई नयाँ शब्दकोश उपलब्ध गराइने bhāṣā vivād-mā pachi hatyo ekeḍemī, śabda-koś-ko pachillo sāskaraṇ khārej — navāũ sanskaraṇ kinekā pāthak-lāi nayā śab-dakoś upalabdha garāine (२०७३ मंसिर २, i.e., 17 November 2016), *Online Khabar* <www.onlinekhabar.com/2016/11/502568/>.
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sudhār garine (२०७४ वैशाख १, i.e., 14 April 2017), नेपाल खबर *Nepāl Khabar* <<https://nepalkhabar.com/np/news/community/13580/?tpl=150>>.

Notes

- 1 Turner's spelling सङ् *saṅa* was adopted by Clark (1963).
- 2 २०६७ पुस २६ – २९, i.e. 2067 *Pus* 26–29.
- 3 २०६८ चैत १४ गते, i.e. 2068 *Cait* 14.
- 4 २०६९ साउन २२ गते, i.e. 2069 *Sāun* 22.
- 5 २०७३ भाद्र २४ गते, i.e. 2073 *Bhādra* 24.
- 6 २०७३ असोज ३ गते, i.e. 2073 *Asoj* 3, and २०७३ कार्तिक १ गते, i.e. 2073 *Kārtik* 1.
- 7 २०७३ कार्तिक ३० गते, i.e. 2073 *Kārtik* 30.
- 8 Pieces of journalism documenting these events are listed in the Appendix.
- 9 For example, the past stem थि- <thi- > of the verb हुनु *hunu* “to be” is glossed as “be”, whereas the inchoative past stem भ- <bha- > is glossed either as “be”, “become” or “happen”, depending on which gloss appears to be most explanatory for an English reader in the given example sentence. The word कुरा *kurā* may be glossed variously as “discussion”, “matter”, “thing”, “language”, whatever appears to be the most apt English rendering in the given context.
- 10 The verb भन्नु *bhannu* “say” yields an array of grammatical function words. The form भनेर *bhanera*, the concatenative gerund of भन्नु *bhannu* “say”, serves as a postposition marking a direct quote or subordinate clause. Similarly, the postposition भने *bhane*, the stem participle in <-e > of the verb भन्नु *bhannu* “say”, meaning “if”, marks a contingency. Both the postpositions भन्ने *bhanne*, the infinitival form in <-ne > of the verb भन्नु *bhannu* “say”, and the postposition भनि *bhani* (sometimes written as भनी *bhani*), the stem participle in <-i > of the verb भन्नु *bhannu* “say”, terminate a subordinate clause or a proposition in the sense of “that” or “namely”. In the latter function, the use of this verb is reminiscent of the antique Dutch usage of the subjunctive form *zegge* “say” formerly used on bank cheques and negotiable instruments on paper, introducing the precise value denominated in guilders. The postposition भनेको *bhaneko* “say”, the imperfective past participle in <-eko >, is used in the sense of “signifying” or “means”, although the form is also used straightforwardly as the imperfective past participle in <-eko > of the verb भन्नु *bhannu* “say”. Similarly, the form किनभने *kinabhane* “because”, incorporating the stem participle in <-e > of the verb भन्नु *bhannu* “say”, remains etymologically transparent in meaning literally “if it be asked why”.
- 11 बाबु *Bābu* is an affectionate term of address.
- 12 The terms सोल्टी *solṭī*, roughly “brother-in-law”, and सोल्टिनी *solṭinī*, roughly “sister-in-law”, are borrowed kinship terms, sometimes heard in western Nepal, and do not properly constitute part of Nepali kinship nomenclature, but represent a rival subsystem in Nepali kinship terminology (cf. van Driem 2019).
- 13 Non-native speakers might like to exercise care in distinguishing this form from the phonemically distinct words छक्का *chakkā* “poofter” and चक्का *cakkā* [< चक्र *cakra*] “tyre”.
- 14 Some speakers can be heard to use the more colloquial expression टाढा मारु *tāṇ māru*.
- 15 The iterative or vibrational sense of बजारिनु *bajārinu* is lost in the English translation.
- 16 In western Nepal, a झ्याम्पल *jhyāmpal* is called a गल *gal*.
- 17 This expressive is not to be confused with the form झ्याप *jhyāp* [ḍʰæp] “drunk, plastered”.
- 18 Used as a metaphor, the Nepali expression ग्याल्पी चलाउनु *gyālpī calāunu* “operate the threshing device” means to work in a speedy and relentless manner.

- 19 The first element in क्यारे *kyāre* is manifestly क्या *kyā* “what”, an older form of के *ke* “what”, but Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl identify the first element in ब्यारे *byāre* as Persian “बाह” *bāh*. It is not quite clear, however, to which Farsi form they are making reference, e.g. the form با *bāh* of the word باءا *bādā*, “let it be” or “so be it” or the exclamation وا *wāh*, which, depending on the situation, may translate variously as “fie”, “pshaw” or “bravo”, presumably not the noun با *bāh* “sperm, virility”.
- 20 Aristotle is known in Indic languages such as Nepali as अरस्तु *Arastu* (cf. Tripāṭhī and Dāhāl vs 2040: 38).
- 21 cf. van Driem (2016) for an elucidation of the concept of linguistic topography.

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