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Aimée Lahaussais

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# Classes de mots « marginales » en langues kiranti (Népal oriental) : idéophones et interjections

**Aimée Lahaussois**

[aimee.lahaussois@cns.fr](mailto:aimee.lahaussois@cns.fr)

Laboratoire d'histoire des théories linguistiques

Université Paris Cité et Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, CNRS,

F-75013 Paris, France

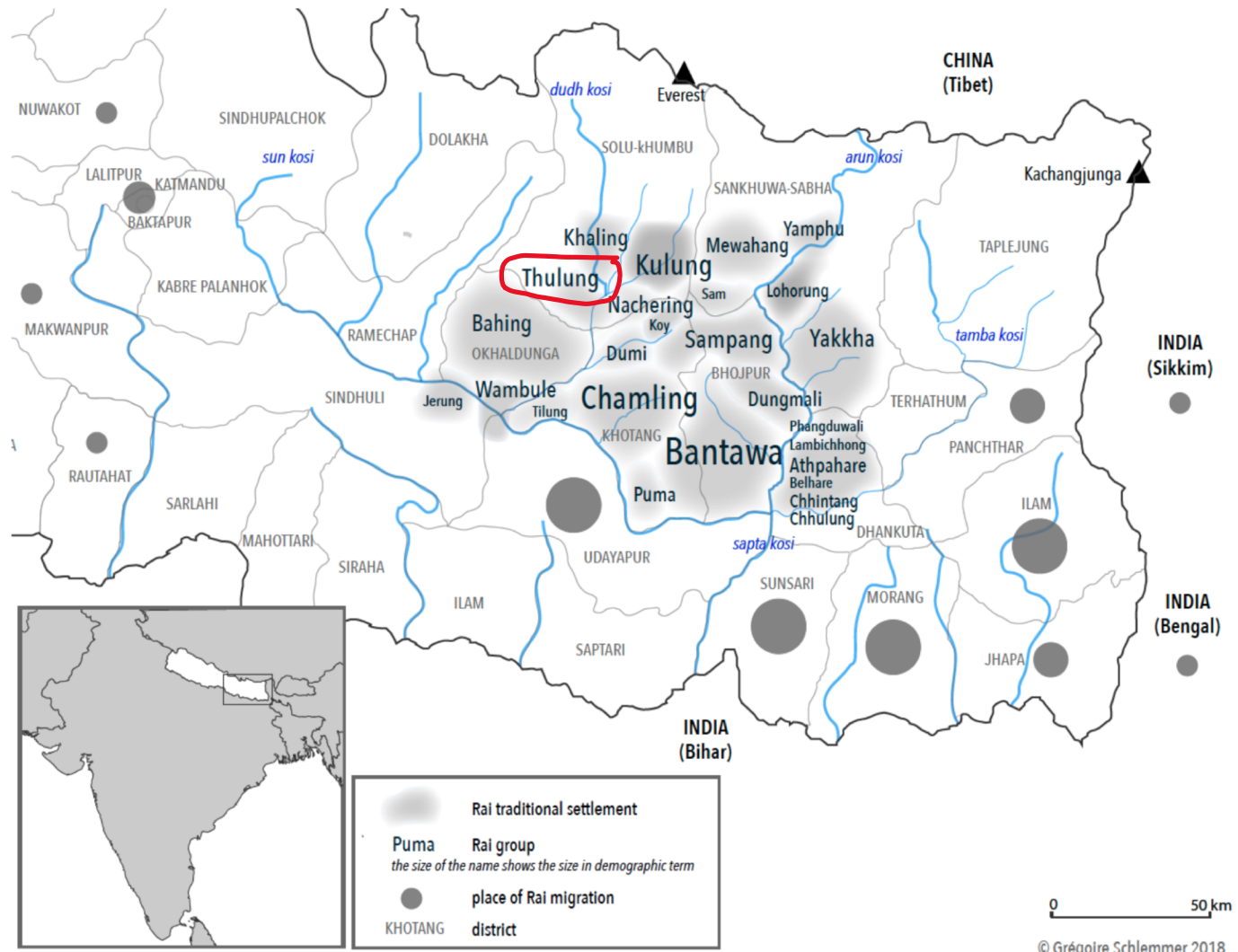
- Les langues kiranti et le thulung
- Idéophones
- Interjections
- La notion de marginalité dans ces classes de mots

Sous-groupe de la famille sino-tibétaine/trans-himalayenne

Ca. 30 langues, Népal oriental

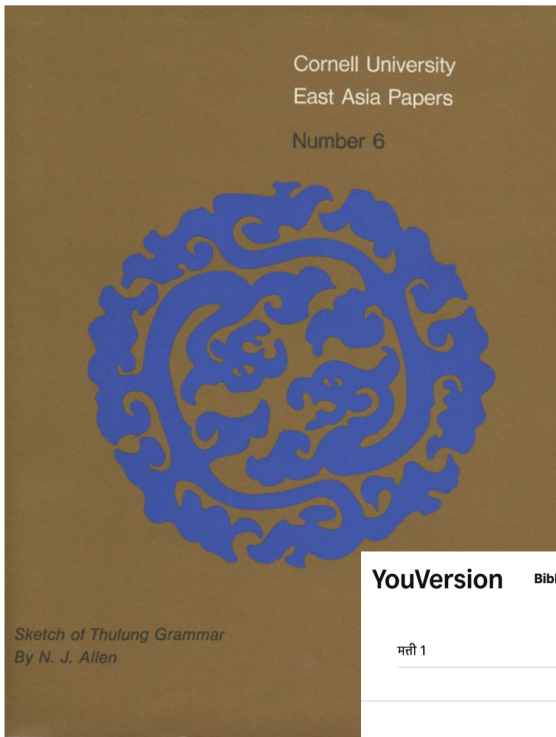
Thulung: plusieurs milliers de locuteurs

Contact intensif avec le népali (indo-aryen)



## Etat de la description/documentation :

- Nicholas Allen: esquisse grammaticale (1975)
- Aimée Lahaussais: depuis 1999
  - corpus de 10+ heures de matériaux narratifs
  - Articles
  - Pas de grammaire de référence
- SIL : traduction en thulung de la Bible
- Matériaux pédagogiques développés par un groupe à Katmandou : manuels scolaires pour le primaire



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## येशू ख्रीष्टकु पाइमाखाकाम नडमिम

(लूका ३:२३-३८)

<sup>1</sup> ओराम येशू ख्रीष्टकु पाइमाखाकाम नडमिमकु सुम्दिमोलोम ल्वा सो। येशू ख्रीष्ट दाऊदकु दोचोलाकामका रोम्डी, मा दाऊद अब्राहामकु दोचोलाकामिम बाइडा।

<sup>2</sup> अब्राहाम इसहाककु पाप बाइडा, इसहाक याकूबकु पाप बाइडा, याकूब यहूदा नुड उ वा-ल्वाकमिमकु पाप बाइडा।

<sup>3</sup> यहूदा फारेस नुड जाहेरकु पाप बाइडा। मेर्चिपकु माम तामार बाइडा। फारेस हेन्नोनकु पाप, हेन्नोन आरामकु पाप बाइडा।

<sup>4</sup> आराम अम्मीनादाबकु पाप, अम्मीनादाब नहशोनकु पाप, नहशोन सल्मोनकु पाप,

<sup>5</sup> सल्मोन बोअजकु पाप बाइडा। बोअजकु माम राहाब बाइडा। बोअज

<sup>1</sup> The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.

<sup>2</sup> Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judah and his brethren; <sup>3</sup> and Judah begat Perez and Zerah of Tamar; and Perez begat Hezron; and Hezron begat Ram; <sup>4</sup> and Ram begat Amminadab; and Amminadab begat Nahshon; and Nahshon begat Salmon; <sup>5</sup> and Salmon begat Boaz of Rahab; and Boaz begat Obed of Ruth; and Obed begat Jesse; <sup>6</sup> and Jesse begat David the king.

And David begat Solomon of her *that had been the wife* of Uriah; <sup>7</sup> and Solomon begat Rehoboam; and Rehoboam begat Abijah; and Abijah begat Asa; <sup>8</sup> and Asa begat

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## Thulung Rai

The Thulung stories in the corpus are from two different dialects, that of Mukli, considered the homeland of the Thulung, and from Deusa, further north and sharing a border with Khaling territory. While Ethnologue lists a population size of 20,000 based on the 2011 census, the actual number of speakers is considerably lower, of the order of 2000 full speakers.

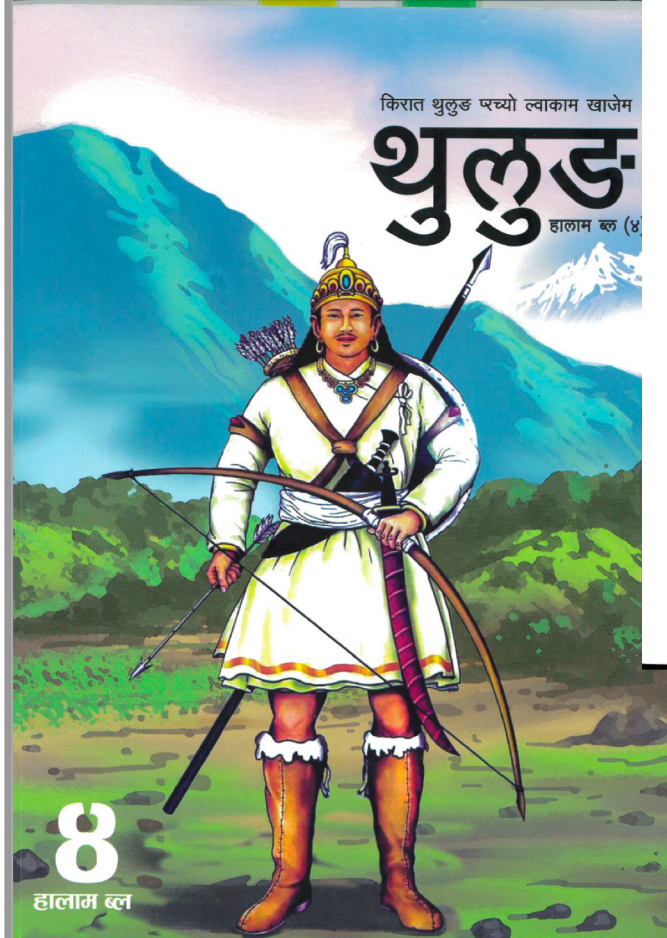
[See more](#)

### Resources

DOI	Type	Transcription(s)	Duration	Title	Researcher(s)	Speaker(s)	Date
10.1017/S0022268319000001	Audio		00:14:32	Miyakma	Lahaussais, Aimée	Thulung, Lakpa	2010
10.1017/S0022268319000002	Audio		00:09:30	Conversation	Lahaussais, Aimée	Bala Thulung — Dil Kumar Thulung (= "Dilu")	2009-07-18



Researchers  
Lahaussais, Aimée



### वोमठेम

९. ध्वायुम र्वाकमा देमकुलीडा साम बाट्पा नुड साम मिबाट्पा निफीडा नड बु । ज्योम डाट्नी ।

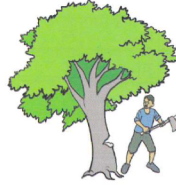
र	म्युच्यु	लुड	वेनो	व्वा	नेम
पो	खाजेप	ख्लेवा	ढेला	खाजेम	डो
बुप्लो	देलकु	घक्पु	सड	दक्सा	लामचोको
लो	र्याक्सड	भेन्दा	थुम	मेस्यु	खोरवा

१०. होप्लोखोमडा थेसिवा होड्डा ड'लाम देमकुलीलाम साम बाट्पा नुड साम मिबाट्पा पवाक्निमा नड र्याक्नी ।

साम बाट्पा नड	साम मिबाट्पा नड
र, .....	लुड, .....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....

### परडसी खारिद

११. ध्वायुम र्याक्पेलचिप रेप्साका गानी उहेम द्वाक्नी ? हेडा द्वाक्नी, र्याक्नी ।



फ १००

### डासी- को'डो (१५)

### जनम थुलुड



ओ सुबुडा स्युम्युमोलो सालामोलो आथाम गुइ पच्यो मिनी मुन्डिम । ओ इकी नेप्दी किप्दीडा बोकोली न्यावालिडा स्योमिदच्यो ख्वादिच्यो, देवा, सेले नोक्छो, पापखाली बेबखाली, मुल्युच्योमिमका मुली ओदी बेत्तो साखेवा होरतो, रुवुम बालाम फक्तो गेट्मिडिम । मेम्साकाडा इकी थुलुड पच्यो र्वाद्युकाम साम्ती ज्युल्पा साम्तीच्यो युमच्यो जनम थुलुड बाइडा ।

जनम थुलुड खोटाडकाम रिब्बुड दिप्पा र्वाक्पा खोमडा माम मडिसमाया राई नुड पाप रासमान राईलामका यल थ: ५०४७ चक्की मुनाम २२ काम नेम गस्ताम बाइडा । उमा दोच्यो वाखाम्च्यो । सु'ले तारापा नुड सुलेडा जाउमाच्यो रिपाप रिच्योडा खोलेडाम छारी गस्ताम युम्पे जनम थुलुड

फ १०१

- Noms & pronoms : marquage du cas (ergatif scindé: 1 +2 vs. 3), du nombre (SG, DU, PL)
- Verbes : indexation du sujet et de l'objet (verbes transitifs)

prefixal slot	root	suffixal slot 1	suffix slot 2	suffix slot 3	suffix slot 4	suffixal slot 5	suffixal slot 6
Négation	Σ	Indexes personnels partiels	Mouvement associé	Valence	Aktionsart/ aspect	Indexes personnels (+temps); Marqueurs non-finis (infinitif; converbes; participes)	Mode : Optatif; Irrealis

## Scénarios intransitifs : S non-marqué ; indexation verbale du S

(1) go        λη-ηυ  
1SG        sleep-1SG  
'I sleep'

(2) khlea    λm  
dog        sleep.3SG  
'The dog sleeps'

**Scénarios transitifs** : ergatif scindé (1,2 non-marqués vs. 3 -ka) et datif ("primary object" –lai; récipientaires ou patients humains)

A-∅ P-∅ V-a>p

(3) go        khlea    jal-u  
1SG        dog        strike-1SG>3SG  
'I strike the dog.'

A-ka P-∅ V-a>p :

- (4)        gu-ka    khlea                    jal-⊖  
             3SG-ERG dog                    strike-3SG>3SG  
             'He strikes the dog.'

A-∅ P-lai V-a>p :

- (5)        go            me            mʉtsʉ-lai            jal-u  
             1SG            DIST.DEM man-DAT            strike-1SG>3SG  
             'I strike that man.'

A-ka P-lai V-a>p :

- (6)        gu-ka    go-lai    jal-ŋi  
             3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT strike-3SG>1SG  
             'He strikes me.'

## Scénarios ditransitifs

### Verbes secondatifs

A-∅ G-lai T-∅ V-a>g

(7)      go-∅      gana-lai    kuɬɛma-∅      gwa:-ni  
         1SG-∅    2SG-DAT    puppy-∅      give-1SG>2SG

'I give you a puppy.'

A-ka G-lai T-∅ V-a>g

(8)      gu-ka      u:ma      tsəttə-mim-lai    tsʌkleɬ-∅      gwak-tɛmi  
         3SG-ERG   3SG.POSS   child-PLU-DAT    chocolate-∅      give-3SG>3PL.PST

'She gave chocolate to her children.'

## Verbes indirectifs

A-∅ G-lai T-∅ V-a>t

- (9) go-∅    gana-lai    bwa-∅    thɤr-pu  
1SG-∅    2SG-DAT    pig-∅    send-1SG>3SG  
'I send you a pig.'

A-ka G-lai T-∅ V-a>t

- (10) pɫsɫe-ka            go-lai    sor-∅    bhret-dɤ  
store.keeper-ERG    1SG-DAT    rice -∅    sell-3SG>3SG.PST  
'The storekeeper sold me rice.'

- Adjectifs : très petite classe (complétée par des participes, qui peuvent se lexicaliser)
- Adverbes: nombreux adverbes spatiaux, temporaux, mais petite classe d'adverbes de manière
- Particules de discours
- Idéophones
- Interjections

“For comparative purposes, we can define ideophones as an open lexical class of marked words that depict sensory imager”

Dingemanse 2019

“The definition has five elements. First, ideophones form an OPEN LEXICAL CLASS, i.e. a group of words open to new additions. Second, ideophones are MARKED: their structural make-up is distinctive relative to other classes of words, especially in terms of phonology and prosody. Third, ideophones are WORDS, or more precisely lexical items with conventional meanings. Fourth, ideophones DEPICT: they use a mode of signification that highlights iconic associations between aspects of form and meaning. And fifth, their meanings lie in the domain of SENSORY IMAGERY, evoking rich sensory scenes in colourful ways.”

Dingemanse 2023a

Hiérarchie implicative (Dingemanse 2012)

SOUND < MOVEMENT < VISUAL PATTERNS < OTHER SENSORY PERCEPTIONS < INNER FEELINGS AND COGNITIVE STATES

[sound = onomatopées]

# Bibliographie (minimale) sur les Idéophones

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- Körtvélyessy, Livia & Pavol Štekauer (eds.). 2024. *Onomatopoeia in the world's languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Lahaussois, Aimée, Marsault, Julie & Treis, Yvonne (eds.) 2024. Special issue “Ideophones: Honing in on a descriptive and typological concept”. *Linguistic Typology at the Crossroads* 4.1.

Identifiés sur la base de leur gabarits morphophonologiques, combinés avec leur fonction syntaxique (adverbiale) et, parfois, leur sémantique : 4 gabarits ; dépicition d'une ou plusieurs dimensions sensorielles ; ajout d'une "dramaturgic intensity to events" (Voeltz et Kilian-Hatz eds 2001)

(11) *me po-ku di-ka tsha ghrok-tɰ=m=ne*  
 DEM chicken-GEN egg-INSTR IDEO throw-3SG>3SG.PST=NMLZ=TOP  
 'He threw the egg abruptly'



ca. 100 idéophones dans mon corpus narratif thulung (cf. les 400 idéophones trouvés en khaling en combinant des recherches sur corpus et de l'élicitation)

**TYPE 1 "préverbes idéophoniques"**

Souvent mono-syllabiques

CV (phlə, la, hu, tsha, phe)

CVŋ (dzhon, thon)

CVp (lep, rəp, sep)

CVr (tsər, dzər)

CVCV (puli, piri, səle, tshoko, khotse)

**Sémantique** : ‘avec un mouvement abrupte’

Forment des collocations avec un seul (ou un petit nombre de) verbe

**la** thanmu, pull out abruptly

**tshi** pro:mu jump abruptly

**khotse** jummu, suck in abruptly

**lep** bo:mu, push abruptly

**tsər** krwamu, stuff abruptly

**puli** tsarmu, fall abruptly

**piri** nammu, squeeze abruptly

**rəp** tsɤmmu, catch abruptly

**rəp** dzenmu, hold abruptly

**tsha** ghro:mu, throw abruptly

**səle** hanmu, pour abruptly

**phlə** lu:mu, come out abruptly

**dzhoŋ** konmu, lift abruptly

**phe** hemmu, disappear abruptly

**tsoko** dɛmu, pick up abruptly

**hu** bl:mu, get up abruptly

**thoŋ** konmu, pick up abruptly

**sep** bl:mu, sweep away abruptly

**tshut** bommu, repair abruptly

**phali** termu, knock over abruptly

Liste plus longue -- 62 exemples – dans l’annexe de la description d’Allen 1975 ‘adverbs of abruptness’.

- (12) *hu*      *blk-ta*      *tsλη-lan̄ka*      *l̄s-ta*      *hu*  
 IDEO      rise-3SG.PST      back-ABL      go-3SG.PST      IDEO
- blk-ta=ma*      *me*      *th̄lsa-ku*      *th̄ληki*      *dzhoŋ*  
 rise-3SG.PST=SEQ      DIST.DEM      pine-GEN      resin      IDEO
- kos-t̄u=ma*      *thoŋ*      *koŋ-d̄u=ʔe*      *u-bui*  
 lift-3SG>3SG.PST=SEQ      IDEO      spray-3SG>3SG.PST=HS      3SG.POSS-head

*d̄l:la*      *mekotima=ne*  
 above      then=TOP

‘He **got up abruptly**, he went from her backside and **got up abruptly**, and **abruptly lifted** the pine resin, and **abruptly sprayed it** onto the top of her head.’ (Vulture, 151)



## Morphologie/syntaxe

Forme invariante

Uniquement en position préverbale ; rien ne peut intervenir entre l'IDEO et le verbe (verbes avec IDEO jamais négatifs..)

## Fréquence

interviennent souvent au même tournant narratif d'une histoire traditionnelle ;

rare d'en trouver des nouveaux : sur 1h30 de nouveaux textes (non traditionnels), aucun idéophone de ce type

[<http://himalco.huma-num.fr/corpus/comparable/index.htm>]

**Type 2 : "idéophones rédupliqués"****Phonotactique** : réduplication totale ou partielle*Réduplication totale :*CV<sub>1</sub>(C).CV<sub>1</sub>(C)

phwakphwak, making sound phwakphwak [sound]

phwĩphwĩ, like the wind [sound, movement]

lala, red [visual pattern]

ʔomʔom, yellow [visual pattern]

tɒtɒ, in a row [visual pattern]

khrekhre, bumpy [other sensory perception]

pɒpɒ, smooth [other sensory perception]

CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub>(C).CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub>(C)

tsɹjaktsɹjak 'making sound of  
hard thread' [sound]

khurukhuru 'continuously'  
[movement]

khɹɹkɹkɹ 'superficially (eg  
hoeing)' [visual pattern]

kɹkɹkɹ 'few' [visual pattern]

phujemphujem 'fluffy' [visual  
pattern/other sensory perception]

phɹsjakphɹsjak 'loose' [visual  
pattern/other sensory perception]

tiliptilip 'shining (small lamp)'  
[visual perception] **NEW!**

*Réduplication partielle*

CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>1</sub>C.CV<sub>2</sub>CV<sub>2</sub>C

garɹŋguruŋ 'lumpy' [other sensory  
perception]

- (13) ʔã            *phwĩphwĩ*            *pharbuŋ*    *pel*  
 INTJ.yeah    **IDEO.like.the.wind** headdress    shadow  
*dhos-ta=lo*  
 move-3SG.PST=TEMP  
 ‘when that headdress shadow moved **like the wind...**’ (Miy.LR 61)



## Morphologie

Peuvent se combiner avec un morphème dérivationnel :

-*ja* ADV ; ne s'utilise qu'avec, parmi les idéophones, ceux de type 2 ; aucun changement de fonction

-*m* NMLZ ; pour une fonction attributive

- (14) *khurukhuru*      *mi-dzəpa*      *lapdi*      *mi-lɔk-tsi*      *dzəpa*      *lapdi*  
**continuously**      NEG-good      road      NEG-go-2DU      good      road
- lɔk-tsi*      *khrekhre-ja*      *bəpa*      *lapdi*      *mi-lɔk-tsi,*      *plɔplɔ-ja*      *bə-pa*  
go-2DU      **bumpy-ADV**      do-ACT.PTCP      road      NEG-go-2DU      **smooth-ADV**      do-ACT.PTCP
- lapdi*      *lɔk-tsi*  
road      go-2DU
- Do not go continuously on the bad road, go on the good road, do not go on the **bumpy** road, go on the **smooth** road

### Type 3 : idéophones partiellement tripliqués

Phonotactique :  $C_1V_1.C_2V_1.C_2V_1(C_2V_1)....$

- (14) *u-sem*                      *ne*                      ***telelelele***                      *thʉs-tʉ*  
 3SG.POSS-hair      TOP                      **IDEO.so.long**                      pull-3SG>3SG.PST  
 ‘He pulled his hair **very long.**’ (Ghumne Pani, 93)

- (15) *u-tarbar*    ***khjarjarjarja***  
 3SG.POSS-machete                                      **IDEO.scraping.sound**  
*thʉt-to*                                      *yok-ta=?e*  
 pull-MAN                                      come.down-3SG.PST=HS  
 ‘He came down pulling his machete **making a scraping sound,** they said.’  
 (Dilwar 129)



Morphologie :

- peuvent se combiner avec un suffixe dérivationnel *-maks* (ADV, uniquement pour ce type d'idéophone)

(16) *tsiri-maks*                    *khret-dɥ=lo=ne*

**IDEO.in.small.bites**            bite-3SG>3.PST=TEMP=TOP

*mer-tsip-ka*                    *me*    *se:r*    *tsɥm-tsi*

DEM-DU-ERG                    DEM louse catch-3DU>3.PST

‘When the flea bit **in small irritating bites**, the two caught the flea...’

(Jau Khleu 260)

cf. *tsiriri*, IDEO.in.small.bites

## Sémantique :

*khjarjarjarja*, 'with a scraping sound' [sound]

*lɪtɪlɪtɪlɪ*, 'with dripping sound' [sound]

*tsjarjarjarja*, 'with high pitched sound of flowing liquid' [sound]

*dzhwararara*, 'with hissing sound' [sound]

*tələlələ*, 'very long' [visual pattern]

*tsiriri*, 'like small, annoying insect bites' [other sensory perception]

## Fréquence :

sur 1h30 de données nouvelles :

*khudumaksi*, 'quickly (running)' [movement]

*gwararara*, 'sound of earthquake, dragging things' [sound]

*hurumaksi*, 'sound of wind and earthquake' (< nep.) [sound]

*gurururu*, 'sound of earthquake' (< nep.) [sound]

**Type 4: idéophones à consonne géminée**

Se terminent en -CCΛ(i)

*brwassli*, 'with burning sound' [sound]

*grwappri*, 'forcefully' [movement]

*thakkli*, 'exactly'

*lakkli*, 'further off'

*tshakkli*, 'in a surprised way'

*latakkl*, 'really'

*pkkli*, 'definitely, surely'

*thjappri*, 'tightly'

*tswattli*, 'abruptly'

(17) *meram-ka marikana u-miksi-ra hopmam miksi-ra*

DEM-ERG much 3SG.POSS-eye-LOC like.this eye-LOC

*brwassli tsa-irɬ=ʔe=ma*

**burning.sound** burn-3SG>3SG.PST=HS=SEQ

‘She burned her eye so much like this **with a burning sound.**’ (Eagle, 79)





	<b>Type 1, ideophonic preverbs</b>	<b>Type 2, reduplicated ideophones</b>	<b>Type 3, partially triplicated ideophones</b>	<b>Type 4, geminated ideophones</b>
<b>morphophonological pattern</b>	CV(C) or CVCV	CV(C).CV(C), CVCV(C).CVCV(C)	C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> .C <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub> .C <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (C <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub> ...)	...CCΛ(i)
<b>derivational possibilities</b>	No derivation possible	Derivation with nominalizer <i>-m</i> (into nouns, adjectives); with adverbializer <i>-ja</i> (function unchanged)	Derivation with <i>-maksi</i> (function unchanged)	No derivation possible
<b>semantics</b>	collocate with specific verbs; semantics conveying abruptness of action [movement]; cannot be negated	convey manner qualified by sound, visual pattern, other sensory perception [texture]	convey manner qualified by sound, visual pattern, other sensory perception	convey manner qualified by sound, movement
<b>syntax</b>	always in preverbal position (no intervening material)	can occur with light verbs	can occur with light verbs, mostly preverbal	preverbal position
<b>prosody</b>	form a single prosodic unit with verb	no particular prosodic marking	in most cases, prosodically marked	in most cases, prosodically marked

|--Type 1--|

|-----Type 2-----|

|----Type 3-----|

|-----Type 4-----|

SOUND < MOVEMENT < VISUAL PATTERN < OTHER SENSORY ...

# Idéophones dans d'autres langues kiranti

Langue	Préverbaux	Redupliqués		Tripliqués		Géminés + a/ʌ(i)
		totale	partielle	totale	partielle	
<b>Thulung</b>	x	x	x		x	x
<i>Limbu</i>		x				
<b>Hayu</b>		x	x			
<i>Belhare</i>		x	x			
<i>Athpare</i>		x				
<i>Camling</i>		x	x			
<i>Yamphu</i>		x	x		x	x
<b>Wambule</b>	x					
<b>Bantawa</b>		x	x	x		
<b>Puma</b>		x	x			
<b>Yakkha</b>	x	x			x	
<b>Chintang</b>		x	x	x	x	x
<b>Dumi</b>		x			x	
<b>Khaling</b>	x	x			x	

Langues en italiques : données uniquement trouvées dans des gloses (exemples, textes, glossaires)

Monosyllabique + verbe	Rédupliqués	Tripliqués	Geminés + ə(i)
'monosyllabic expressives'	Traités sous 'reduplicated and rhyming expressives'	Traités sous 'reduplicated and rhyming expressives'	'expressives ending in a geminate velar plosive sequence'
<i>ṭap + kasnu</i> 'bolt off' <i>ṭvã + parnu</i> 'gape in puzzlement'	<i>bhyāt bhyāt</i> 'with a swooshing sound' <i>kupu kupu</i> 'in the manner of a child eating' <i>simsim</i> 'in a drizzling way'	<i>gututu</i> 'briskly' [ <i>darararara</i> ('the sound of heavy rain') et <i>salalala</i> ('the sound of smoothly flowing water')] sont des onomatopées et non pas des expressifs]	<i>sutukkə</i> 'secretly' <i>khusukkə</i> 'deftly'
	<i>phalāt phulut</i> 'soaked or cooked till soft'		

Gabarits morphophonologiques partagés, en kiranti et au-delà.

La "matière" est-elle également partagée ?

Y a-t-il des racines idéophoniques, partagées entre plusieurs types ?

ex. IDEO 3 *tsiriri*, 'in small, irritating bites'

et IDEO 1 *tsiri* + *themmu*, 'pinch, pick carefully, strongly'

mais aussi de nombreux contre-exemples, ex khaling :

*piriri* 'flowing forcefully' vs. *piri tsɿrɿnɛ* 'to be badly wrinkled'

Peut-on parler de cognats idéophoniques en kiranti ?

ex. wambule (Opgenort 2004)

*phlu* ("adv emphatic word") + *bwarcam* "drive out, take out, cause to come out, pluck out"

vs.

thulung: *phlθ* ('abruptly', IDEO type 1) + *lu:mu* 'exit'

Définition de Wilkins (1992:124)

“Interjection: A conventional lexical form which (commonly and) conventionally constitutes an utterance on its own, (typically) does not enter into construction with other word classes, is (usually) monomorphemic, and (generally) does not host inflectional or derivational morphemes.”

Taxinomie fonctionnelle proposée par Ameka (1992) : *expressive*, *conative* et *phatic*

“**Expressive** interjections are primarily symptoms of a producer’s cognitive or emotive state;

**conative** interjections primarily invite an action or response from another party in the interaction;

and **phatic** interjections are primarily used to establish and maintain communicative contact.”

(Dingemanse 2023b)

Ponsonnet (2023) : + *social interjections*

Interjections  
répertoriées  
dans mon  
corpus thulung  
(nov. 2023)

interjection	number of occurrences	function	type
mina, mena	163	hesitation; filler	phatic
ʔǻ, ʔǻ̃, ʔm	49	acquiescence, agreement; hesitation or conversational pause (also found in Nepali)	phatic
lu	54	used to make someone do something (can be repeated for emphasis) or to call attention (Nepali? Opgenort and Schackow say so...)	conative
meʔe	36	contradiction, no	phatic
ʔe	36	acknowledgement of what was previously said (by self or others)	phatic
ma	?	expression of having something to add	phatic
ʔa	13	filler, hesitation; sudden understanding	phatic
lʌ, lʌu	10	agreement (well, that's right...) (<Nepali)	phatic
khʌi	10	I don't know (<Nepali)	phatic
ʔeu, ʔʌu	10	demanding attention	conative
ba, ba:	6	expression of not knowing (<where (bante); // on Nepali khʌi 'I don't know')	phatic
sewo	6	greeting	social
lʌhʌi, lahai	5	injunction to do something, to pay attention (<Nepali)	conative
amʌi, amʌ̃i, ʌmʌi	4	fear, surprise [one occurrence as mʌi, not amʌi] (<Nepali a:ma 'mother' + intensifier)	expressive
abui:	2	fear/surprise (<Nepali)	expressive
swa:tʂa	2	"I don't know"	phatic
allase, alase	2	thank you	social
maʔa	1	fear, surprise (calqued on Nepali a:ma)	expressive
atsha	1	pain	expressive
mmm	1	expressing delight at taste	expressive
mʌi	1	asking for confirmation of understanding (//Nepali hʌi)	conative
bitsara	1	compassion (<Nepali 'poor thing')	expressive

Les interjections peuvent être comptées et classées, mais présentent certaines difficultés :

- variation phonologique = une seule interjection ou plusieurs ?
- très petit nombre d'occurrences pour certaines interjections
- gloses/traductions sous-spécifiées --> fonctions ?
- problèmes de transcription : interjections souvent non-transcrites/ignorées
- catégorisation : marque de discours/conjonction/évidentiel vs. interjection ?

Les chiffres dans le tableau ne sont certainement pas corrects

ex. conversation de 6:35, 49 interjections répertoriées

interjection	fréquence	emprunt ?	fonction	type
mina, mena	9		hesitation	phatic
ke	1	Nep.	hesitation	phatic
hamsɤma	1		hesitation	phatic
memtha	1		hesitation	phatic
ʔa. ʔe	2		hesitation (while thinking)	phatic
ʔʌ, ʔʌ̃	7		acquiescence	phatic
ʔe, ʔe:	8		remembering/realizing something	phatic
ʔm	12		understanding	phatic
swa:ca	1		"I don't know"	phatic
meʔe	1		"no"	phatic
ʔei	1		showing lack of caring	phatic
ʔʌe	1		asking for repetition	conative
hʌi	2	Nep.	asking for confirmation	conative
lu	1	Nep.	asking for attention, reaction	conative
ʔi	1	Nep.	"look"	conative

Fréquence des types d'interjections dans mon corpus:

phatiques > conatives > expressives

Les interjections phatiques (hésitation, accord, contradiction...) sont de loin les plus fréquentes, mais aussi les plus difficiles à transcrire/analyser en thulung : tendance à la monosyllabité, et plus difficiles à les distinguer d'autres éléments phonologiquement proches

Les interjections conatives (qui suscitent une réaction de la part de l'interlocuteur) sont plus fréquemment empruntées au népali que les phatiques

Les interjections expressives sont les plus faciles à identifier/analyser (peur, surprise, douleur) mais il y en a très peu dans mon corpus : peur : *abui*: (<nép.), 2 ; *maʔa* (/nép), 1 ; douleur : *atsha*, 1 ; délice : *ʔmmm*, 1 ; compassion : *bitsara* (<nép.), 1

- **mena (hésitation)**

<i>mena</i>	<i>gana</i>	<i>homsaka</i>	<i>ko:-lem</i>	<i>tsli</i>	<i>pakha</i>
<b>INTJ.hes</b>	2SG	like.this	one-CL.day	CONTR	outside
<i>lak-pa</i>	<i>li:s-a</i>	<i>tlrl</i>	<i>melksa</i>		
go-PTCP	pretend-2SG	but	NEG-go-2SG		

'Um, you pretend to go outside, but don't go' (Jau Khleu 171)

également utilisée comme 'filler' :

<i>ala</i>	<i>mena-ra</i>	<i>am-d#</i>
up.there	<b>FILLER-LOC</b>	put.to.sleep-3SG>3SG.PST
<i>bhar</i>	<i>d#:la</i>	
rack	above	

'She put him to sleep up there on the **thing**, above the rack'  
(eagle 68)

- **ʔã (accord)**

Souvent utilisée avec un changement de locuteur, en réponse positive à une question

SP1: *areka*      *phoka-ka*      *klɿ:-mi*  
like.this      ash-INSTR      paint-3PL>3SG  
'They paint it with ash like this?'

SP2: **ʔã**      *me*      *phoka-ka*      *klɿ:mi*  
**INTJ.yeah**      DEM      ash-INSTR      paint-3PL>3SG  
'Yes, they paint it with ash.' (Bungarma 190)

- ?e (compréhension/réalisation)

SP1: ?e                    *dwa:khom ?*

INTJ.oh                loom

‘Oh, you mean, the loom?’

SP2: ?ã                    *dwa:khom*

INTJ.yeah            loom

‘Right, the loom.’ (Childhood 205-206)

*səpdi səpdi ghume dəm-thal-miri, ?e*  
 forest forest walk become-HAB-3PL.PST INTJ.oh  
*guku-wo rwam-ri-m thət-toko-m*  
 1PE-ADD say-3PL.PST-NMLZ hear-1PE>3SG.PST-NMLZ  
 ‘They wandered around the forest, **oh**, we also heard that they said that.’  
 (Thulung Origins 8, 9)

Sans pause dans la prosodie, *?e* est analysé comme un **marqueur évidentiel** (discours rapporté)

*akima beppap tsli kha:li səpdi səpdi*  
 1PI.POSS ancestor CONTR always forest forest  
*ghume dəm-thal-miri=?e*  
 walk become-HAB-3PL.PST=**HS**  
 ‘Our ancestors always wandered the forests, **they say**’  
 (Thulung Origins 13)

- **ma (ajout de commentaire ou question)**

SP1:      swaksi      rwamma                      o              make=m  
             swaksi      say-PASS.PTCP              DEM              before=NMLZ  
             ne              dha:mi=ŋa                      ho              ni  
             TOP              expensive=INT              COP              indeed

What they called *swaksi* (kind of cloth), this thing from before was quite expensive

SP2:      **ma**              athal=re                      jəpa              make=m=re  
             **INTJ.add** nowadays=FOC              good              before=NMLZ=FOC  
             jəpa rechɫ mena sɫmɫe  
             good MIR HES time

**And so** is now better, or was before better?

(Makenunomlo 65, 66)

Sans pause dans la prosodie, = ma est une conjonction pour créer une séquence de propositions :

khʌs-ka

bʌk-ʌ:rʌ=**ma**

Chetri-ERG

speak.as.medium-3SG>3.PST=**SEQ**

me=wo thə-uto=m

DEM=ADD hear-1SG>3.PST=NMLZ

The Chetri spoke (for the dead man) **and** I heard that as well  
(makenuŋomlo)

D'autres classes sont groupées avec les idéophones/interjections, ex. les "interactifs" (Heine 2023: "An interactive is an invariable deictic form that is in some way set off from the surrounding text semantically, syntactically and prosodically and can neither be negated nor questioned.")

- Attention signals (e.g. 'ahem');
- Directives (e.g. 'come', 'chop-chop');
- Discourse markers (including fillers like 'um');
- Evaluatives (e.g. 'bloody brilliant');
- Ideophones (e.g. 'bang');
- Interjections (e.g. 'yippee');
- Response elicitors (e.g. 'eh?', 'pardon?');
- Response signals (e.g. 'absolutely', 'certainly not');
- Social formulae (e.g. 'bye bye');
- Vocatives (e.g. 'Mom!')

## Que peut-on entendre par marginalité ?

- linguistique
- grammaticographique

- Comment la calculer ?

Sur la base de la fréquence ? Si oui, dans quel corpus, et ce corpus est-il bien représentatif ?

La présence d'une classe de mot dépend des types d'évènements communicatifs qui composent le corpus

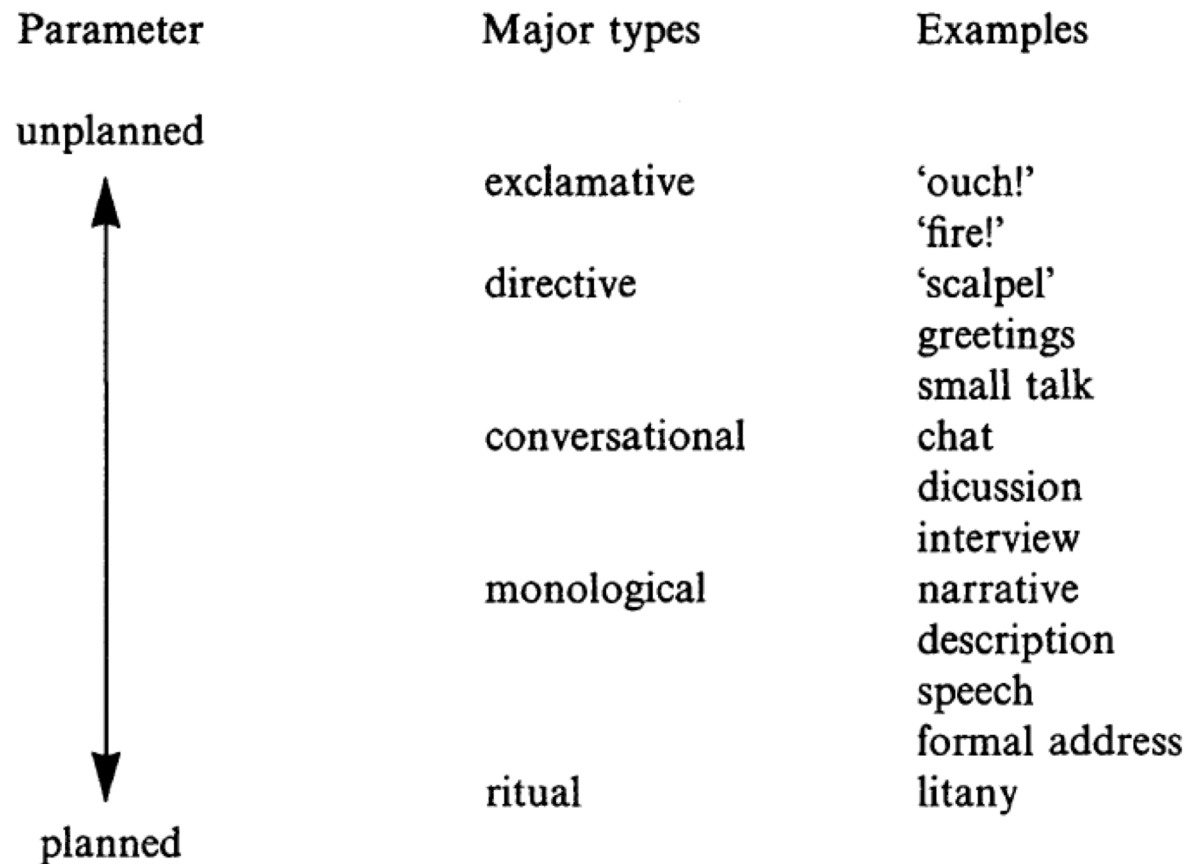


Figure 1. *Types of communicative events according to the parameter of spontaneity*  
Himmelmann 1998: 180

Dingemanse & Liesenfeld 2022: “Compared to text corpora, conversational corpora are much harder to collect, annotate, transcribe, and as a result they represent a much smaller subset of data.”

Extrait de narratif monologique



Extrait de conversation



Mais les interactifs sont également sous-représentés pour d'autres raisons :

- exclamatives :
  - difficiles à capturer à cause de leur nature spontanée
- conversations :
  - soulèvent des questions de consentement (locuteurs multiples, nature plus intime voire compromettante du contenu) et sont plus sensibles à la présence d'un enregistreur
  - les communautés de locuteurs peuvent préférer la préservation de leur patrimoine culturel sous la forme d'histoires traditionnelles, plutôt que de conversations privées

Mon corpus (→ début octobre 2024) :

40 narratifs enregistrés et annotés (Toolbox/ELAN)

- 4 conversations
- 36 narratifs monologiques

[Echantillon de ce corpus sur

[https://pangloss.cnrs.fr/corpus/Thulung\\_Rai?lang=en](https://pangloss.cnrs.fr/corpus/Thulung_Rai?lang=en)]

Les "communicative event types" proposés par Himmelmann forment un continuum plutôt que des types distincts.

En ré-examinant mon corpus, j'y ai découvert beaucoup plus d'interaction (et d'interactifs) qu'auparavant, même dans les narratifs "monologiques".

Comment classifier un narratif avec un locuteur qui raconte une histoire, et un interlocuteur qui "répond" à chaque énoncé avec une (quasi imperceptible) interjection ?



## Méthodologie de collecte compliquée

- élicitation peu productive : quels stimuli utiliser ? Dans mon expérience, une description d'une situation risquant de provoquer des interjections a tendance à générer des paraphrases
- mots parfois ignorés au moment de transcrire et d'annoter les textes
- mots difficiles à traduire (pour les locuteurs, les linguistes...)

Les interactifs sont très fréquemment omis de grammaires descriptives

[Exceptions, ex. Ameka 1991 : la grammaire de l'ewe contient plus de 200 pages sur les “Interactional speech formulae” et les Interjections (et plus encore sur les vocatifs, les huchements de berger, etc.)]

Les grammaires descriptives tendent à être focalisées sur la morphosyntaxe, et les interactifs sont souvent définis par leur non-participation à la morphologie/syntaxe.

Hodgson 1857, 1858 : Esquisses grammaticales et glossaires du bahing et du vayu

Publiées dans un article en deux parties, dans deux volumes successifs du *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (volumes 26 et 27)

“Comparative vocabulary of the languages of the broken tribes of Nepal”

- Vocabulary of Vayu (vol. 26, p 372-428): 56 pages
- Grammar of Vayu (vol. 26, p. 429-485)
- Vocabulary of Bahing (vol. 26, p. 486-522): 37 pages
- Grammar of Bahing (vol. 27. p 393-442)

[Organisation des esquisses grammaticales : morphologie verbale (voir Lahaussais 2023)]

## Macrostructure

### Vayu

Nouns substantive

### **Vayu adjectives**

Vayu numerals

Vayu adverbs

Vayu prepositions

### **Conjunctions**

Vayu verbs

Adverbs and prepositions compared

### Bahing

Nouns substantive

### **Bahing adjectives**

Numerals

Bahing pronouns

Bahing verbs

Bahing prepositions

### **Conjunctions**

Bahing adverbs

## Microstructure

Substantifs : ordre alphabétique (anglais)

Adjectifs : organisation sémantique (char. morales, physiques, condition humaine, spatial, météo, ...)

Verbes : organisation sémantique

- Interjections :

Dans la section "Conjunctions" des grammaires

Yes (assent)	} No words.
No (dissent)	
Verbal negative	Máng (prefix.)
Verbal prohibitive	Thá (prefix.)
Noun primitive	Máng. Má (prefix).
Alas !	} No words.
Bravo !	
Hurrah !	

[Vayu]

- Idéophones

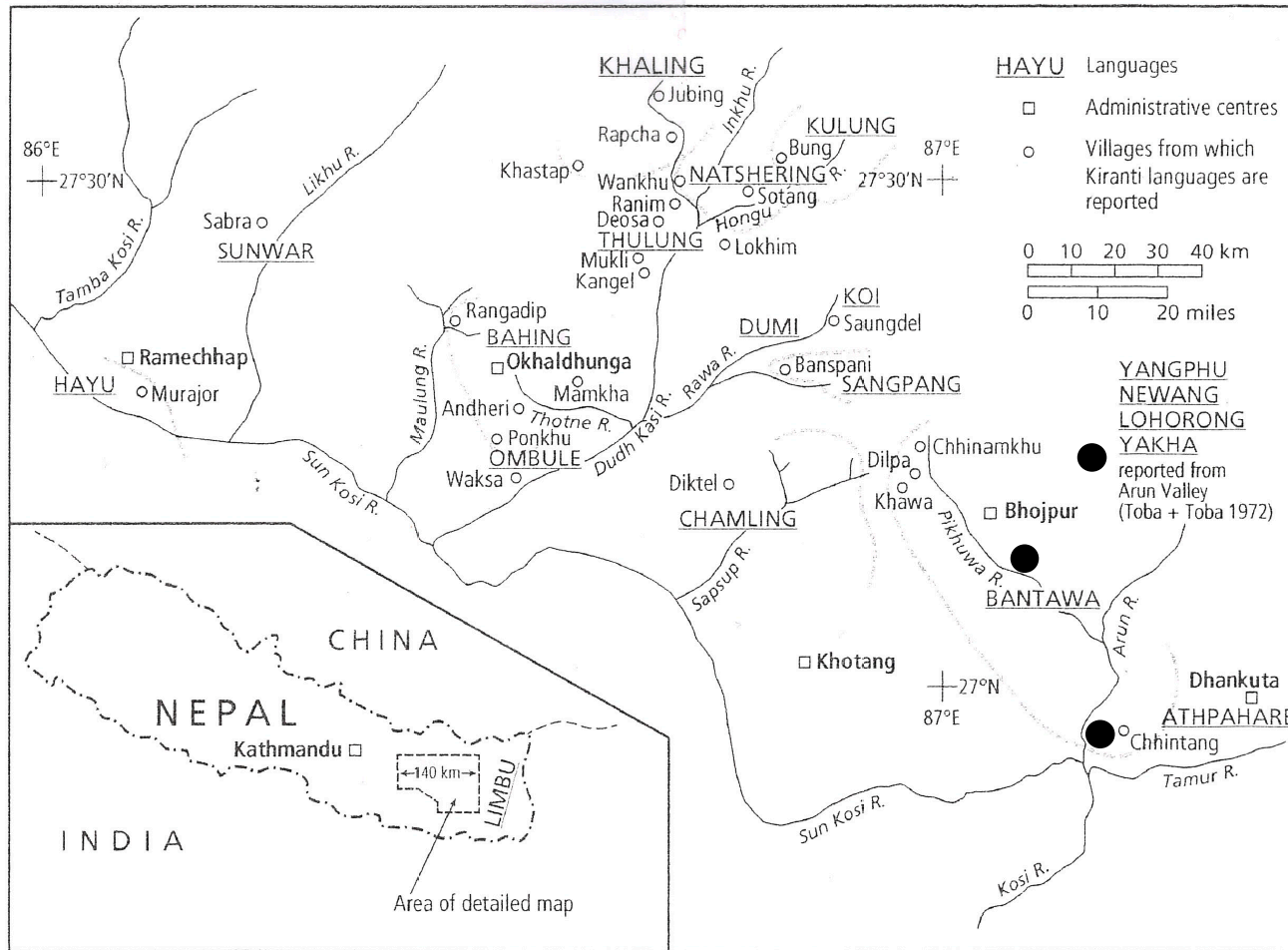
Se trouvent dans la section "Adjectives" des vocabulaires de Hodgson, qui ont une organisation sémantique ; les idéophones sont dans les sections portant sur les caractéristiques physiques des objets.

On n'y trouve que des idéophones rédupliqués :

ex.	luminous	dang dang mu
	dark	kung kung mu
	straight	cheng cheng
	round	teltel
	spherical	kulkul
	pointed	kyerkyer

Corpus de  
descriptions 20e s.

1975	Allen	<u>Thulung</u>
1979/1984	Toba	<u>Khaling</u>
1984	Rai NK	<u>Bantawa</u>
1985	<u>Weidert &amp; Subba</u>	Limbu
1987	<u>Van Driem</u>	Limbu
1988	Michailovsky	<u>Hayu</u>
1993	<u>Van Driem</u>	Dumi
1997	Ebert	<u>Athpare</u>
1997	Ebert	<u>Camling</u>
1998	Rutgers	<u>Yamphu</u>
2004	<u>Oppenort</u>	<u>Wambule</u>
2005	<u>Oppenort</u>	<u>Jero</u>
2006	<u>Tolsma</u>	<u>Kulung</u>
2007	<u>Tumbahang</u>	<u>Chatthare Limbu</u>
2008	Borchers	<u>Sunwar</u>
2009	<u>Doornenbal</u>	<u>Bantawa</u>
2012	Rai VS	<u>Chamling</u>
2014	Sharma	Puma
2015	<u>Paudyal</u>	<u>Chintang</u>
2015	Rai TM	<u>Koyee</u>
2015	<u>Schackow</u>	<u>Yakkha</u>
2016	Rai NM	Dumi
2017	<u>Tumbahang</u>	<u>Chatthare Limbu</u>



carte selon Michailovsky 1975

## Recherche très limitée sur les idéophones en kiranti

### Articles

- 2005: Rai et al., “Triplification and ideophones in **Chintang**”
- 2017 : Lahaussais, “Ideophones in **Khaling**”
- 2023 : Lahaussais, “Ideophonic patterns in **Kiranti** languages and beyond”

### Grammaires avec des sections/mentions d'idéophones:

- Doornenbal (2009), **bantawa**, "ideophonic" [ref. to bases for adverbs]
- Sharma (2014), **puma**, "idiophones" [sic]
- Schackow (2015), **yakkha**, "Reduplication, triplification and ideophones"
- Paudyal (2015), **chintang**, "ideophones"

Autres termes utilisés pour des lexèmes avec des caractéristiques idéophoniques :

- Rai et Winter 1997 : **bantawa**, "paralexemes"
- Allen (1975) : **thulung**, "expressive resources"
- Rai (1984) : **bantawa**, "onomatopoetic adverbs"
- Michailovsky (1988) : **hayu** "mots phonésthétiques"
- Rai (2016) : **dumi**, "expressive adverbs", "onomatopoeic"

[Lahaussois 2024 sur la variété terminologique pour décrire des lexèmes idéophoniques]

Langue	Préverbaux	Redupliqués		Tripliqués		Géminés + a/ʌ(i)
		totale	partielle	totale	partielle	
<b>Thulung</b>	x	x	x		x	x
<i>Limbu</i>		x				
<b>Hayu</b>		x	x			
<i>Belhare</i>		x	x			
<i>Athpare</i>		x				
<i>Camling</i>		x	x			
<i>Yamphu</i>		x	x		x	x
<b>Wambule</b>	x					
<b>Bantawa</b>		x	x	x		
<b>Puma</b>		x	x			
<b>Yakkha</b>	x	x			x	
<b>Chintang</b>		x	x	x	x	x
<b>Dumi</b>		x			x	
<b>Khaling</b>	x	x			x	

Langues en italiques : données uniquement trouvées dans des gloses (exemples, textes, glossaires)

Recherche de termes “interject...”, “exclamat...”, “particle”

Grammaires triées en trois types :

- grammaires sans mention aucune d'interjections ;
- grammaires avec le terme “interjection” (ou assimilé) mais aucune discussion ;
- grammaires avec une discussion (parfois minimale) dans le texte.

## Grammaires sans interjections évidentes

1988	Michailovsky	hayu	No evidence that any of the “ <b>particule</b> ” are interjections (they are discourse particles of various sorts)
1998	Rutgers	yamphu	“Interjection” in gloss abbreviations list, but term is never used. Some lexemes in dictionary glossed as <b>particles</b> : Mostly for discourse-related markers (which are usually suffixal); A few, written as words, look like potential interjections (in dictionary): e.g. <i>na</i> “look here”; <i>he he</i> attention requesting particle
2005	Opgenort	jero	--
2007	Tumbahang	limbu chatthare	Term “ <b>particule</b> ” found with case markers, for discourse markers, hearsay marker
2014	Sharma	puma	Mentions a few <b>exclamatives</b> , but they are claimed to be borrowed from Nepali
2016	Rai NM	dumi	--
2017	Tumbahang	limbu chatthare	Section on <b>particles</b> is for discourse markers only

## Grammaires où figurent des interjections mais sans discussion

Aucune mention dans le texte de la grammaire, mais quelques lexèmes glosés “interjection”, “exclamati(on|ve)”, “expressive” ...

khai! u-kh-ya-ka                      ta-ko              thyo!  
 INTJ this-PLACE-levLOC-ABL    come-NML    was (Nep.)  
 'Khai! It has come from over here!' (Jh13.9)

Camling (Ebert 1997: 49)

Lorsque l'étiquette est plus large que “interjection”, ex. “particle”, elle inclut souvent des particules de discours

## Grammaires avec mentions/discussions d'interjections

1979/1984	Toba	khaling	“interjections”
1984	Rai NK	bantawa	“exclamative particles”, “vocative particles”
2009	Doornenbal	bantawa	“sentence particles”
2012	Rai VS	chamling	“exclamatory particles”, “vocative particles”
2015	Rai TM	koyee	“interjections”
2015	Schackow	yakkha	“interjections”

0. - Introduction

1. - PHONOLOGY

2. - WORD ORDER

3. - NOUNS

4. - PRONOUNS

5. - NUMERALS

6. - VERBS

7. - ADJECTIVES

8. - ADVERBS

9. - CONJUNCTIONS

10. - PARTICLES

11. - INTERJECTIONS

Abbreviations

Bibliography

## 11. INTERJECTIONS

minaa 'well now' introducing an utterance or a new topic of impertence.

mäki, maaka, mana 'right', 'I see' response of the listener, not necessarily agreement.

äyi, äyeye 'is that so!' surprise over something seen or heard.

aakaaye 'it hurts!'

ehoy 'hey!' calling some one far away.

hou 'hey!' calling some one, always used together with the name of the person called. The name precedes the interjection.

aa 'yes'.

moo 'no'

aslaasö 'thank you'

nüwo, ne 'please take this!' (giving a gift, offering food to a guest).

do 'let's go!' always followed by a finite verb form.

## Koyee grammar (Rai TM 2015)

### Chapter Adverbs and other minor word classes

#### Section Interjections (1 page)

“The Koyee language has a few interjections. They are used to express sudden feelings in Koyee as in ...

apui 'expression of fear'

oho 'expression of surprise, wonder or dismay'

aha 'expression of pleasure'

aka 'expression of pain or fatigue'

hʌt 'expression of disappointment or disapproval'

tshja 'expression of contempt'

atsitsi 'expression of disgusting'

huʔtʰʌtse 'expression of beware'

tsʰoʔ 'expression of negation'

ajeʔe 'expression of pity'

Interjections in the Koyee language are not much productive. There is an indospehric influence in Koyee as we examined in (17). The interjections like oho 'expressions of surprise', aha 'expression of pleasure' show that these are used in Nepali.”

→ **uniquement des interjections expressives**

## Grammar of Yakkha (Schackow 2015)

### Chapitre Discourse particles and interjections

#### Section Interjections

“Yakkha has a closed class of interjections, such as **hoʔi**, **bhela** and **yakthu** (all meaning ‘**Enough!**’), **om** ‘**yes**’, **menna/manna** ‘**no**’ (identificational and existential, respectively), and **issan**, the latter being pronounced with a rising intonation. It stands for ‘**I do not know**’ or ‘I have no idea’, just like the Nepali interjection *khoi*. Examples are provided in (45). Interjections are usually employed as sentence replacements, but in Yakkha it is still possible to additionally express a topic, as in (45a). The affirmative and the negative interjections also have copular function (see also §8.7 and 11.1.11). Interjections, like sentences, can host further discourse particles such as in (45d). In the Ankhinbhuin dialect, *om* has an alternant *ommi*.  
(45)

- a. *ka=ca ho?i.*  
 1SG=ADD enough  
 ‘I also had enough.’
- b. *yakthu=i?*  
 enough=Q  
 ‘Did you have enough?’
- c. *men=na, nna=man!*  
 COP.NEG=NMLZ.SG that=EMPH  
 ‘No, it is that one!’
- d. *he?ne khet-u ha?lo, issan la?lo!*  
 where carry\_off-3.P[PST] EXCLA IGN EXCLA  
 ‘Where did he take it - I have no idea!’ [20\_pea\_02.031]
- e. *om=ba!*  
 yes=EMPH  
 ‘Yes, of course!’

A particle **lu** (borrowed from Nepali) can be found sentence-initially (see example (25a)) or replacing sentences. It is employed to **initiate an action, both in commands and in hortatives**. There is no expression for ‘thank you’ in Yakkha. Common greetings are **sewayo**, and *seme?nenna*, which is the verb ‘greet’ with 1>2 inflection ‘**I greet you**’. Geomorphic interjections, prompting the addressee to look in a particular direction (**tu** for ‘**Look uphill!**’, **mu** for ‘**Look downhill!**’ and **yu** for ‘**Look over there!**’) have been discussed in §7.3.”

Les autres grammaires dans lesquelles il y a une discussion/mention d'interjections sont très limitées dans leur description :

soit une mention que la catégorie existe mais aucun exemple, soit une section avec quelques exemples mais aucune indication de leur fonction.

L'association du terme « marginal » (Dingemanse 2018) avec ces deux classes de mots n'est pas justifié sur le plan linguistique -- même si la constitution de corpus largement narratifs mono-locuteurs a tendance à les sous-représenter.

Sur le plan grammaticographique, ce sont effectivement des classes de mots marginalisées pour des raisons telles que la diversité terminologique utilisée pour les identifier, la non-participation à la morphosyntaxe, l'organisation du contenu (largement morphosyntaxique) de descriptions grammaticales.

- Fédération typologie et universaux linguistiques  
Programme (co-dir. avec Y. Treis): idéophones et interjections (2018-2019)
- Labex EFL
  - Opération de recherche (co-dir. avec Y. Treis) : Ideophones and interjections in a typological, areal and diachronic perspective (2020-2024)
- Financement IDEX Emergence en recherche
  - Projet TWINKLE (Thulung interactives in a context of language endangerment) (2024-2026)

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