

## CHAPTER -5

### REDUPLICATION

#### 5.0. Introduction

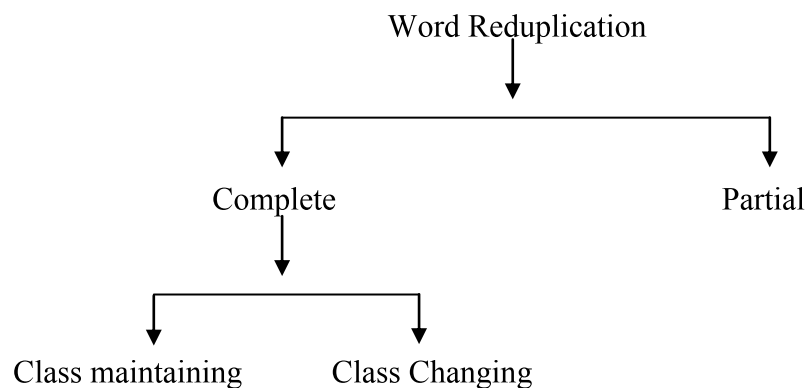
Reduplication is the process of fully or partially repetition of the base form to have a word. Structurally this process can be classified into partial and complete reduplication. Abbi (1992:12) define that “reduplication stands for repetition of all or a part of a lexical item carrying a semantic modification.” According to her, reduplication can be classified mainly into two types, i.e. morphological and lexical reduplication. Morphological reduplication refers to the minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes which are constituted of iterated syllables. The onomatopoeic constructions, imitative, certain instances of sound symbolism, mimic words are all examples of morphological reduplication. Lexical reduplication refers to the repetition of any sequence of phonological units comprising of a word. It is not minimally meaningful and thus can be further divided as they are formed of two identical words or two non-identical phonological words, e.g. *baithe baithe* ‘while sitting’, *khana vana* ‘food etc.’ (see Abbi (1992), for further discussion).

The reduplication is another important process of word formation in Bodo. On the basis of the word structure, reduplication can be either complete or partial. In Bodo, the reduplication can be broadly classified into three types, viz. word reduplication, echo-formations and expressives.

## 5.1. Word Reduplication

Word reduplication stands for the complete or partial repetition of the base of the word or the stem. In case of word formation, the complete word reduplication is found in two types namely, Class changing and Class maintaining. The following chart is the classification of word reduplication in Bodo.

Figure 5:



### 5.1.1. Complete word reduplication

The complete word reduplication is a process of word repetition where the same base words or stems are repeated itself fully. In this process, words are formed by class changing and class maintaining of grammatical categories. These are given below:

**Class changing word reduplication:** The process can derive new words in Bodo.

	<b>Adjective</b>	>	<b>Adverb</b>
(i)	t <sup>h</sup> ab		t <sup>h</sup> ab-t <sup>h</sup> ab
	quick		‘quickly’
(ii)	lasui		lasui-lasui
	slow		‘slowly’

	<b>Verb</b>	>	<b>Adverb</b>
(iii)	muusá		muusá-muusá
	dace'		'while dancing'
(iv)	mini		mini-mini
	smile		'while smiling'

**Class maintaining word reduplication:**

In this process, words do not change its lexemes but it is formed by semantic modification.

	<b>Adjective</b>	>	<b>Adjective Plural</b>
(i)	guza		guza-guza
	red		'red (PL)'
(ii)	gumu		gumu-gumu
	yellow		'yellow (PL)'
	<b>Noun</b>	>	<b>Noun</b>
(iii)	lama		lama-lama
	road		'through the roads'
(iv)	k <sup>h</sup> uma		k <sup>h</sup> uma-k <sup>h</sup> uma
	ear		'ear to ear'

### 5.1.1.1. Adverb formation by complete reduplication

In Bodo, a large number of adverbs are formed by complete reduplication process.

#### 5.1.1.1.1. Reduplicative adverb from adjective

Many adverbs are derived from adjectives by complete reduplication process in Bodo language.

	<b>Adjective</b>	>	<b>Adverb</b>
(i)	guduṅ		guduṅ-guduṅ
	hot		‘hotly’
(ii)	guuk <sup>h</sup> ruui		guuk <sup>h</sup> ruui-guuk <sup>h</sup> ruui
	speed		‘speedily’
(iii)	mabar		mabar-mabar
	immediate		‘immediately’
(iv)	raga		raga-raga
	angry		‘angrily’
(v)	siri		siri-siri
	silent		‘silently’
(vi)	guruii		guruii-guruii
	smooth		‘smoothly’

**Example as under the following sentence:**

210. /bi-yuu      guduṅ-guduṅ    saha    luṅ-u/  
he-NOM      hot-hot      tea      drink-HAB  
‘He drinks tea hotly.’

### 5.1.1.1.2. Reduplicative adverb from verb

In Bodo, the complete verbal repetition forms the adverbs

	<b>Verb</b>	>	<b>Adverb</b>
(i)	bibai		bibai-bibai
	to beg		‘by begging’
(ii)	raizlai		raizlai-raizlai
	to talk (each other)		‘keep talking’
(iii)	t <sup>h</sup> abai		t <sup>h</sup> abai-t <sup>h</sup> abai
	to walk		‘while walking’

### 5.1.1.1.3. Reduplicative adverb from numeral

Numeral reduplication forms an adverb in Bodo language.

	<b>Numeral</b>	>	<b>Adverb</b>
(i)	sat <sup>h</sup> am		sat <sup>h</sup> am-sat <sup>h</sup> am
	three (human)		‘three at a time’
(ii)	munnui		munnui-munnui
	two (materials)		‘two at a time’

A sentence is shown below the numeral reduplication functioning as adverb.

211.	/mastar-a	p <sup>h</sup> oraisa-p <sup>h</sup> ur-k <sup>h</sup> uu	sat <sup>h</sup> am-sat <sup>h</sup> am	leŋhór-duŋ/
	teacher-NOM	student-PL-ACC	three-three	call-PROG

‘Teacher is calling three students at a time.’

### 5.1.1.2. Semantic differences in complete reduplication

In Bodo, nominal, adjectival, verbal and adverbs reduplications are found in different meanings, like plural meaning, locative meaning, co-occurrence, persuasive, repetition, each etc. The following sub-sections are analyzed on semantic grounds.

#### 5.1.1.2.1. Plural meaning

In Bodo, the plural meaning is indicated by complete reduplication of interrogative, indefinite and reflexive pronouns.

##### Interrogative pronoun:

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
(i)	ma what	ma-ma 'what (PL)'
(ii)	sùr who	sùr-sùr 'who (PL)'
(iii)	bobe which	bobe-bobe 'which (PL)'

The sentences have given below to know the plural meaning of interrogative pronoun's reduplication.

212. /nuŋ **ma** muwa-k<sup>h</sup>uu muɯŋmuun-u/

you what item-ACC like-HAB

'What item do you like?'

213. /nuŋ **ma-ma** muwa-k<sup>h</sup>uu muɯŋmuun-u/

you what-what item-ACC. like-HAB

'What are the items do you like?'

214. /beyao **sùr** p<sup>h</sup>ui-gun/  
 here who come-FUT  
 ‘Who will come here?’
215. /beyao **sùr-sùr** mansi p<sup>h</sup>ui-gun/  
 here who-who man come-FUT  
 ‘Who are the people will come here?’
216. /nuŋ **bobe** gosla-k<sup>h</sup>uu muɯŋmuɯn-u/  
 you what item-ACC like-HAB  
 ‘Which shirt do you like?’
217. /nuŋ **bobe bobe** gosla-k<sup>h</sup>uu muɯŋmuɯn-u/  
 you what item-ACC like-HAB  
 ‘Which are the shirts do you like?’

**Indefinite pronoun:**

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
(i)	surba	surba-surba
	somebody	‘some bodies’
(ii)	k <sup>h</sup> aise	k <sup>h</sup> aise-k <sup>h</sup> aise
	someone	‘some-ones’
(iii)	bobaoba	bobaoba-bobaoba
	somewhere	‘somewhere (PL)’

**Reflexive pronoun:**

(i)	gao	gao-gao
	self	‘selves’

**Some adjectives also indicate plural meaning by complete reduplication in Bodo language.**

	Singular	Plural		
(i)	guza	guza-guza		
	red	‘red (PL)’		
(ii)	gup <sup>h</sup> úr	gup <sup>h</sup> úr-gup <sup>h</sup> úr		
	white	‘white (PL)’		
(iii)	guusum	guusum-guusum		
	black	‘black (PL)’		
218.	/bé bagan-ao	guza-guza	bibar doŋ/	
	It garden-LOC	red-red	flower be	
	‘There are red (red) flowers in the garden.’			
219.	/bé hat <sup>h</sup> ai-yao	gup <sup>h</sup> úr-gup <sup>h</sup> úr	muusu p <sup>h</sup> an-duŋ/	
	this market-LOC	white-white	cow sell-PROG	
	‘White (white) cows are selling in this market.’			
220.	/aŋ lama-yao	guusum guusum	maozi nú-duŋ/	
	I road-LOC	black-black	cat see-PROG	
	‘I am seeing black (black) cats at the road’			



**Nouns also denote plural meaning by complete reduplication in Bodo language.**

(i)	gami	gami-gami
	village	‘villages’ / ‘village to village’
(ii)	no	no-no
	house	‘houses’ / ‘house to house’
(iii)	lama	lama-lama
	road	‘throw the roads’ / ‘road to road’

The following sentences are represented the meaning of plural by complete reduplication of noun in Bodo language.

221. /bisur-uu      gubaŋ      gami-gami      t<sup>h</sup>áŋ-k<sup>h</sup>áŋ-bai/  
 they-NOM      many      village-village      go-already-PERF

‘They have already gone many villages.’

222. /bisur-uu      gaosur-ni      no-no      berai-duŋ/  
 They-NOM      selves-GEN      house-house      roam-PROG

‘They are roaming to their own houses.’

223. /aŋ      gari-k<sup>h</sup>uu      lama-lama      salai-duŋ/  
 I      car-ACC      road-road      drive-PROG

‘I am driving car throw the roads.’

### 5.1.1.2.2. Locative meaning

Generally, the locative meaning is indicated by the case marker /-ao/ or /-yao/. However, sometimes the reduplication of common noun signifies the locative meaning in Bodo language.

- |       |             |                      |
|-------|-------------|----------------------|
| (i)   | hagra       | hagra-hagra          |
|       | jungle      | ‘in the jungle’      |
| (ii)  | bari        | bari-bari            |
|       | garden      | ‘in the garden’      |
| (iii) | dubli       | dubli-dubli          |
|       | paddy field | ‘in the paddy field’ |

#### The sentence with locative case marker:

224. /mui-ya    **hagra-yao**    t<sup>h</sup>a-yu/  
deer-NOM    jungle-LOC.    live-HAB.  
‘The deer lives in the jungle.’

#### The sentence with reduplication:

225. /mui-ya    **hagra-hagra**    t<sup>h</sup>a-yu/  
deer-NOM    jungle-jungle    live-HAB.  
‘The deer lives in the jungle.’

226. /daobo-ya    **uuwabari-uuwabari**    basa    banai-yu/  
Heron-NOM    bamboo garden-bamboo garden    nest    build-HAB.  
‘The heron nests in the bamboo-garden’

227. /musuu-wa **dubli-dubli**                      gaŋsu      za-yu/  
 cow-NOM      paddy field-paddy field      grass              eat-HAB.  
 ‘Cow grazes in the paddy field.’

#### 5.1.1.2.3. Co-occurrence

When adverbs are derived from the verbs, it is repeated and conveys the meaning of co-occurrence.

228. /bi-yu              t<sup>h</sup>abai t<sup>h</sup>abai sop<sup>h</sup>ui-bai/  
 he-NOM              walk      walk      reach-PERF  
 ‘He has reached while walking.’
229. /bi-yu      aŋ-zuŋ      mini      mini      raizlai-duŋ/  
 he-NOM      I-INST.      smile      smile      talk-PROG  
 ‘He is talking with me keep smiling.’

#### 5.1.1.2.4. Repetition

Some adverbs are reduplicated to express the meaning of repetition.

- (i)      gole-gole                      ‘again and again’
- (ii)      k<sup>h</sup>onle-k<sup>h</sup>onle                      ‘again and again’
- (iii)      zaolé-zaolé                      ‘again and again’
- (iv)      k<sup>h</sup>és-k<sup>h</sup>és                      ‘repeatedly’

The sentences are shown below to know the meaning of repetition of the adverbs.

230. aŋ bé-k<sup>h</sup>uu gole-gole p<sup>h</sup>orai-bai/

I it-ACC again-again read-PERF

‘I have read it again and again.’

231. /bi-ni suuundui k<sup>h</sup>onle-k<sup>h</sup>onle da-buŋ/

he/she-GEN. about again-again NEG-say

‘Don’t say again and again about him/her.’

#### 5.1.1.2.5. Persuasive

If the simple verbs or imperative verbs are used in reduplication, they may convey the meaning of ‘persuasion’.

	<b>Simple verb</b>	<b>Reduplication of verb</b>
(i)	mao	mao mao
	to work	‘work! (persuasive)’
(ii)	zá	zá zá
	to eat	‘eat! (persuasive)’
(iii)	dun	dun-dun
	to keep	‘keep! (persuasive)’

	<b>Imperative verb</b>	<b>Reduplication of verb</b>
(i)	mao-duu ‘work!’ work-IMP	maoduu maoduu ‘work! (persuasive)’
(ii)	za-duu ‘eat!’ eat- IMP	zaduu-zaduu ‘eat! (persuasive)’
(iii)	ha-duu ‘cut!’ cut-IMP	haduu-haduu ‘cut! (persuasive)’

#### 5.1.1.2.6. Each

When cardinal numeral is reduplicated, it denotes the meaning of ‘each’ in Bodo.

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (i)  | t <sup>h</sup> ainui<br>two (fruit)   | t <sup>h</sup> ainui-t <sup>h</sup> ainui<br>‘two each’ |
| (ii) | munse<br>one (material)   | munse-munse<br>‘one each’                               |
| 232. | /bisur t <sup>h</sup> ainui t <sup>h</sup> aizuu za-duŋ/<br>they two mangoeat-PROG<br>‘They have eaten two mangoes.’                                |   |
| 233. | /bisur t <sup>h</sup> ainui-t <sup>h</sup> ainui t <sup>h</sup> aizuu za-duŋ/<br>they two two mango eat-PROG<br>‘They have eaten two mangoes each.’ |   |

### 5.1.2. Partial word reduplication

In this process, a syllable of the base word is repeated partially. Most of the final syllable of the base is repeated in the partial word reduplication of Bodo language. In the case of adjective, it is partially reduplicated and expands its meaning.

- |        |   |                       |
|--------|---|-----------------------|
| (i)    | ránt <sup>h</sup> ej-t <sup>h</sup> ej      | ‘very thin’           |
|        | (ugly) thin-RED                             |                       |
| (ii)   | dego-go                                     | ‘very big (eye)’      |
|        | big (eye)-RED                               |                       |
| (iii)  | gusuŋ-suŋ                                   | ‘very short’          |
|        | short-RED                                   |                       |
| (iv)   | k <sup>h</sup> anay rumbaŋ-baŋ              | ‘most beautiful hair’ |
|        | hair beautiful-RED                          |                       |
| (v)    | gont <sup>h</sup> oŋ k <sup>h</sup> andi-di | ‘very short nose’     |
|        | nose short-RED                              |                       |
| (vi)   | k <sup>h</sup> uumsi-si                     | ‘excessive dark’      |
|        | dark-RED                                    |                       |
| (vii)  | gup <sup>h</sup> úr-p <sup>h</sup> úr       | ‘excessive white’     |
|        | White-RED                                   |                       |
| (viii) | guza-za                                     | ‘excessive red’       |
|        | Red-RED                                     |                       |

(ix) gwɔp<sup>h</sup>ár-p<sup>h</sup>ár 'extremely pointed'

pointed-RED

(x) gumùn-mùn 'extremely ripe'

ripe-RED

## 5.2. Echo-Formation

Echo-formation belongs to the category of lexical reduplication. "An echo word has been defined as a partially repeated from the base word, partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable (Abbi 1991: 20)." In Bodo, the base word is followed by an echo word in the echo construction. The echo word does not occur by itself, it's a kind of bound morpheme and it has no individual meaning in the concerned language. The echo word gets the status of a meaningful element only it is being attached the base. Abbi (1991:20) mentioned that the echo word gets the meaning of 'and the like', 'etcetera', 'such and such', or 'associated with that'. Echo-formation processes of Bodo are explained below with the help of examples.

**Most productive replacer sound of the echo word is /t<sup>h</sup>/ in Bodo language which replaces the initial consonant phoneme of the base word.**

(i) mansi-t<sup>h</sup>ansi 'man and the like'

man-RED.

(ii) hagra-t<sup>h</sup>agra 'bush etc.'

bush/jungle-RED

- |        |   |                               |
|--------|---|-------------------------------|
| (iii)  | dáo-t <sup>h</sup> áo                                 | ‘birds and things similar to’ |
|        | bird-RED  |                               |
| (iv)   | na-t <sup>h</sup> a/                                  | ‘fish-etc.’                   |
|        | fish-RED  |                               |
| (v)    | musa-t <sup>h</sup> usa                               | ‘tiger and the like’          |
|        | tiger-RED   |                               |
| (vi)   | muisu-t <sup>h</sup> uisu                             | ‘buffalo and the like’        |
|        | tiger-RED   |                               |
| (vii)  | sik <sup>h</sup> ao-t <sup>h</sup> ik <sup>h</sup> ao | ‘thief and the like’          |
|        | thief-RED   |                               |
| (viii) | guza-t <sup>h</sup> uza                               | ‘red and etc.’                |
|        | red-RED   |                               |
| (ix)   | gusum-t <sup>h</sup> usum                             | ‘black and etc.’              |
|        | black-RED   |                               |
| (x)    | no-t <sup>h</sup> o                                   | ‘house and etc.’              |
|        | house-RED   |                               |
| (xi)   | ak <sup>h</sup> ai-t <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup> ai  | ‘hand and etc.’               |
|        | hand-RED  |                               |



(xii) at<sup>h</sup>iŋ-t<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>iŋ 'leg and etc.'

Leg-RED

(xiii) bigab-t<sup>h</sup>igab 'solid portion etc.'

solid portion (in a liquid)-RED

**When a word begins with /t<sup>h</sup>a/ sound, initial syllable of the base is replaced by /t<sup>h</sup>u/  
sound in echo words.**

(i) t<sup>h</sup>adun-t<sup>h</sup>udun 'arum and etc.'

Arum-RED

(ii) t<sup>h</sup>ailir-t<sup>h</sup>uilir 'banana and etc.'

banana-RED

(iii) t<sup>h</sup>aibeŋ-t<sup>h</sup>uibeŋ 'cucumber and etc.'

cucumber-RED

(iv) t<sup>h</sup>aso-t<sup>h</sup>uso 'jungle arum and etc.'

jungle arum-RED

(v) t<sup>h</sup>amp<sup>h</sup>ui-t<sup>h</sup>ump<sup>h</sup>ui 'mosquito and etc.'

mosquito-RED

(vi) t<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>li-t<sup>h</sup>up<sup>h</sup>li 'hip and associate with'

hip-RED

### 5.3. Expressives

Expressive is a category of morphological reduplication. It refers to the minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes which are constituted of repeated syllables. The expressives include onomatopoeias, sound symbolism, idiophones and imitative. It may or may not have phonological symbolism.

Expressives in Bodo are used to indicate all the five senses of perception, i.e. of hearing, smell, sight, touch and taste. They are mentioned below:

#### 5.3.1. Acoustic noises:

##### 5.3.1.1. Animal Voices:

- |        |   |                           |
|--------|---|---------------------------|
| (i)    | p <sup>h</sup> uu p <sup>h</sup> uu       | ‘barking of a dog’        |
| (ii)   | meo meo                                   | ‘mewing of a cat’         |
| (iii)  | oye oye                                   | ‘crying sound of pig’     |
| (iv)   | k <sup>h</sup> á k <sup>h</sup> á         | ‘crowing of crow’         |
| (v)    | k <sup>h</sup> uuwuu k <sup>h</sup> uuwuu | ‘singing of cuckoo’       |
| (vi)   | bruŋ bruŋ                                 | ‘humming of bee’          |
| (vii)  | oŋ oŋ                                     | ‘flying sound of bee’     |
| (viii) | sip sip                                   | ‘crying sound of chicken’ |

### 5.3.1.2. Noise of natural phenomena:

- |        |                                       |   |
|--------|---------------------------------------|---|
| (i)    | zrum zrum                             | ‘sound of waterfall’                      |
| (ii)   | hum hum                               | ‘sound of storm’                          |
| (iii)  | t <sup>h</sup> o t <sup>h</sup> o     | ‘cutting sound of tree’                   |
| (iv)   | grum grum                             | ‘thundering sound’                        |
| (v)    | ra ra                                 | ‘flowing sound of river’                  |
| (vi)   | siu siu                               | ‘blowing of air’                          |
| (vii)  | zub zub                               | ‘sound of heavy raining’                  |
| (viii) | t <sup>h</sup> ob t <sup>h</sup> ob   | ‘falling of dew’                          |
| (ix)   | k <sup>h</sup> ram k <sup>h</sup> ram | ‘a sound at the time of falling big tree’ |

### 5.3.1.3. Noise made by human:

- |       |   |                              |
|-------|---|------------------------------|
| (i)   | sруб sруб                                   | ‘sound of drinking tea’      |
| (ii)  | k <sup>h</sup> rob k <sup>h</sup> rob       | ‘sound of clapping’          |
| (iii) | groд groд                                   | ‘sound of drinking water’    |
| (iv)  | oho oho                                     | ‘sound of coughing/vomiting’ |
| (v)   | k <sup>h</sup> riŋ k <sup>h</sup> riŋ       | ‘jingling sound of anklets’  |
| (vi)  | t <sup>h</sup> oririt t <sup>h</sup> oririt | ‘sound of fluting’           |

- |        |                                       |   |
|--------|---------------------------------------|---|
| (vii)  | dum dum                               | ‘beating of drum’                                     |
| (viii) | t <sup>h</sup> ao t <sup>h</sup> ao   | ‘sound of gun firing slapping’                        |
| (ix)   | doŋ doŋ                               | ‘ringing of bell’                                     |
| (x)    | p <sup>h</sup> ur p <sup>h</sup> ur   | ‘flying sound of birds’                               |
| (xi)   | ger ger                               | ‘sound of fanning’                                    |
| (xii)  | k <sup>h</sup> ráo k <sup>h</sup> ráo | ‘sound of weaving’                                    |
| (xiii) | dub dub                               | ‘a sound of making rice powder by uwal                |
|        |                                       | (uwal: a wooden husking implement of Bodo tradition)’ |
| (xiv)  | p <sup>h</sup> e p <sup>h</sup> e     | ‘sound of playing wind pipe’                          |
| (xv)   | hub hub                               | ‘sound of diving into water’                          |

**5.3.1.4. Scolding or Dispersing sound of animal and bird:**

- |       |                                     |   |
|-------|-------------------------------------|---|
| (i)   | swid swid                           | ‘dispersing of dog’                     |
| (ii)  | hur hur                             | ‘dispersing of bird (like hen or cock)’ |
| (iii) | hui hui                             | ‘hunting sound of deer’                 |
| (iv)  | t <sup>h</sup> us t <sup>h</sup> us | ‘dispersing sound of cat’               |

### 5.3.1.5. Calling sound of domestic animal and bird:

- |       |                   |   |
|-------|-------------------|---|
| (i)   | gor gor godi godi | ‘calling sound of dog’                    |
| (ii)  | zo zo             | ‘calling sound of pig’                    |
| (iii) | mi mi             | ‘calling sound of cat’                    |
| (iv)  | gri gri           | ‘calling of domestic birds (hens & cock)’ |

### 5.3.1.6. Noise by miscellaneous:

- |       |                                     |  |
|-------|-------------------------------------|--|
| (i)   | t <sup>h</sup> or t <sup>h</sup> or | ‘sound of falling water’                 |
| (ii)  | t <sup>h</sup> ob t <sup>h</sup> ob | ‘falling of rain’                        |
| (iii) | zobbo zobbo                         | ‘sound of jumping in the river or water’ |
| (iv)  | dabuṅ dabuṅ                         | ‘sound of swimming’                      |

### 5.3.2. Sense of Smell:

- |       |   |                   |
|-------|---|-------------------|
| (i)   | k <sup>h</sup> arnai k <sup>h</sup> arnai | ‘burn smelling’   |
| (ii)  | gesao gesao                               | ‘rotten smelling’ |
| (iii) | guat <sup>h</sup> ao guat <sup>h</sup> ao | ‘tasty smelling’  |
| (iv)  | bedor bedor                               | ‘smell of meat’   |
| (v)   | k <sup>h</sup> arnai k <sup>h</sup> arnai | ‘smell of blood’  |

### 5.3.3. Sense of sight:

(i)	p <sup>h</sup> lam p <sup>h</sup> lam	‘thundering light’
(ii)	k <sup>h</sup> lab k <sup>h</sup> lib	‘sparkling’
(iii)	blao blao	‘light of burning’
(iv)	da da	‘reflecting/twinkling’
(v)	diu diu	‘very clean’
(vi)	riu riu	‘so far distance’
(vii)	rumwui rumwui	‘faintly, indistinctly, dimly’
(viii)	ziri ziri	‘a sight of slowly flowing water’
(ix)	sur sur	‘sight of round moving’
(ix)	zu zu	‘sight of heavy drinking water’
(x)	hoŋ hoŋ	‘a sight wide open’

### 5.3.4. Sense of touch:

Some of the expressives indicating the ‘feel of’ or ‘touch’ overlap with those of indicating sounds (Abbi, 1991: 17). Bodo also uses some reduplicative words for sense of touch and sense of feeling.

(i)	gud gud	‘feeling of uneasiness’
(ii)	sibro sibro	‘sense of rough (not smooth)’

(iii)	lep <sup>h</sup> e lep <sup>h</sup> e	‘smooth’
(iv)	gurui gurui	‘softy’
(v)	gusu gusu	‘feeling of cold’
(vi)	k <sup>h</sup> ej k <sup>h</sup> ej	‘sense of pain as caused by poking’
(vii)	k <sup>h</sup> rub k <sup>h</sup> rub	‘sense of painby getting illness’
(viii)	zrem zrem	‘suddenly feeling of pain’
(ix)	guis guis	‘sense of feeling illness’
(x)	rom rom	‘sense of weariness’
(xi)	braj braj	‘sense of swelling’
(xii)	at <sup>h</sup> a at <sup>h</sup> a	‘sticky’
(xiii)	duᅇhao duᅇhao	‘sense of feeling hot’
(xiv)	k <sup>h</sup> uulu k <sup>h</sup> uulu	‘sense of blowing air’
(xv)	t <sup>h</sup> iᅇ t <sup>h</sup> iᅇ	‘sense of aching’
(xvi)	t <sup>h</sup> uur t <sup>h</sup> uur	‘shivering’
(xvii)	muut <sup>h</sup> u muut <sup>h</sup> u	‘sense of good feeling’

### 5.3.5. Sense of taste:

- |        |   |                           |
|--------|---|---------------------------|
| (i)    | k <sup>h</sup> reb k <sup>h</sup> reb     | ‘a little bit soil’       |
| (ii)   | guwab guwab                               | ‘salty taste’             |
| (iii)  | gudui gudui                               | ‘sweet taste’             |
| (iv)   | k <sup>h</sup> uirum duirum               | ‘slightly sour and sweet’ |
| (v)    | duilo duilo                               | ‘slightly sweet taste’    |
| (vi)   | guuk <sup>h</sup> a guuk <sup>h</sup> a   | ‘bitter taste’            |
| (vii)  | k <sup>h</sup> ale k <sup>h</sup> ale     | ‘a little bitter taste’   |
| (viii) | guuk <sup>h</sup> ui guuk <sup>h</sup> ui | ‘sour taste’              |
| (ix)   | guusa guusa                               | ‘hot chilly taste’        |