Expressives in Kam (Dong 侗): A study in sign typology (Part II)*

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Like many Austro-Tai languages and many Sino-Tibetan languages, Kam (Dong 侗) exhibits a wealth of descriptive syllables after the verb or the adjective. These syllables, henceforth called *expressives*, are typically reduplicated and cover a wide range of functions such as grading, speed and manner modification, and various kinds of sound symbolism, metaphor, etc. I propose to view the expressive compound as a sign: the predicate-head functions as the *signified* and the expressive as the *signifier*. In fact, since the predicate-head itself has the classical Saussurean sign anatomy, the head-expressive compound presents the case of a complex sign or what I call a second-order sign. The attested types of relationship that hold between the signified and signifier spread across almost the whole spectrum of sign species recognized in the literature. This paper is the result of a survey of ca. 260 expressives and is one of the achievements of a long-term Kam dictionary project.

Key words : Tai-Kadai, Kam, semantics, semiotics, expressives, onomatopoeia.

Comme beaucoup de langues austro-tai et sino-tibétaines, le kam fait un abondant usage après le verbe de syllabes descriptives. Ces syllabes, dites "expressives", sont généralement redoublées et remplissent de multiples fonctions linguistiques : spécification de degré, de vitesse ou de manière. Elles renvoient à divers symbolismes sonores, métaphores etc. Le composé "prédicat-syllabes expressives" est ici analysé comme un signe. Le prédicat, en lui-même signe saussurien, a rôle de *signifié* et les syllabes expressives celui de *signifiant*. Le composé en question serait un signe complexe de second ordre dont les relations entre signifié et signifiant recouvrent toutes celles décrites dans la littérature. Cet article, résultat de l'examen de près de 260 items expressifs, s'inscrit dans un projet à long terme d'un dictionnaire du kam.

Mots clés : Tai-kadai, kam, sémantique, sémiologie, expressifs, onomatopées.

3. LINGUISTIC-FUNCTIONAL ACCOUNT OF KAM EXPRESSIVES

There is a whole subclass of Kam expressives which does not fit in the semiotic framework but functions clearly as adverbials of the following types: degree adverbs (section 3.1.), manner adverbs (section 3.2.). These expressives modify the clause at the situational level. It means that they never provide speaker level modifications such as: a) subjective modifications (e.g. 'hopefully'), or b) evidential (e.g. 'obviously', 'allegedly').

3.1. Degree adverbs

There is a flurry of literature on the notion of adverbs of degree, but the modifiers examined there concern 'very', 'extremely' and the like. Virtually nothing has been written on degree modifications like 'brand-new', 'stark-mad', etc which are English approximations for (some of) the Kam adjectival expressives. In what follows I will point out similarities and differences between the adjectival expressives and those more standard (universal?) adverbs of degree (= 'very', 'extremely', etc).

My reflection concentrates on the notion of 'scale'. In lexical semantics, the study of scales also called "semantic fields"[1] or "notional domain"[2], has a long tradition. Scales are mental (linguistic) abstractions from a myriad of phenomenal occurrences. For example, sentences (21), (22) and (23) report on phenomenal occurrences.

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[1] This term was/is popular with the adherents of the componential analysis, mainly naturalists and fieldworkers of the 1960s and 1970s. A semantic field is defined as "a group of words closely related in meaning, often subsumed under a general term" (Lehrer 1974: 1).

[2] Culioli (1990), inspired by the mathematical concept of a topological space, associates to every lexeme a notional space (domain) which he views like an open subset of a topological space. (The topological space contains all the notional domains.) Like every open set of a topological space, the notional domain has an attractor center (Culioli: "là où il y a le plus haut degré de modalité exclamatoire") and a gradient which measures the distance between the value of a modification (e.g. 'assez grand') with its attractor centre.

(21)   'Two weeks ago a <u>new</u> teacher arrived in the school.'
(22)   'Yesterday they bought a <u>new</u> car.'
(23)   *'The mountain is <u>new</u> here.'

The scale of the adjective 'new' captures properties or differences of the time frame for which it is an adequate label, of the entities (arguments) it can apply to and of many more modalities (e.g. 'newness through what type of introduction'). The scale of 'new' is the cognitive abstraction of its pragmatic uses. When the task is to describe concretely the scale of 'new', it is only possible to deliver approximations or simplifications. An approximate characterization would be:

- Temporal distance to time of speaking (first axis): One day, one week, one month...
- Nature of argument (second axis): Human, animal, object...

Consider another famous example of Rosch (1978) with the prototypical (i.e. approximate) description of the scale of 'bird':

[+/-] Feathers (first axis)
[+/-] Wings (second axis)
[+/-] Two legs (third axis)
[+/-] Can fly (fourth axis)

The difference of (the approximation of) the scale of 'new' and the scale of 'bird' is that for 'new' the degrees lie on *continuous* axes or, in other words, the scale of 'new' itself is *continuous*, whereas for 'bird' there are exactly $2^4 = 16$ degrees which means that the scale of 'bird' is *discrete* (cf. Haag 1997 who employs a similar terminology).

I call *adverb of degree* (in the larger sense) every adverb which restricts the set of possible values represented on a scale. The Kam adjectival expressives are always subordinated to their head and hence are adverbs of degree. After preparing the terminology, I come now to the similarities and differences of the Kam expressive and the conventional adverbs 'very', 'extremely', etc. The results of this section may be presented as follows:

- Similarity: The Kam expressives under the lens in this section as well as the conventional degree adverbs (e.g. 'very', etc) both require continuous adjectival scales for modification.
- Difference: The Kam expressives and the conventional adverbs both restrict the range of qualities of the head adjective, but conventional degree adverbs modify only the most salient axis (e.g. for 'new' this axis is 'the temporal distance to the speaker'), while the expressive can modify any quality of the adjective (cf. section 3.1.1).
- Difference: The Kam expressives often restrict the range of arguments allowed, while conventional adverb degrees do not manifest any restriction on arguments (section 3.1.2).

3.1.1. Restrictions on the range of qualities

Consider in English the difference between

(24)   'Peter's car is very new.'
(25)   'Peter's car is brand-new.'

Both examples express approximately the same temporal distance from the speaker.[3] Their main difference is that while 'very' provides a uni-modo modification of the axis of 'temporal distance to the speaker', 'brand-new', in addition, evokes the picture of a state where an entity has been just unpacked out of a box or, alternatively, it evokes the picture of a product which just exited the product line and on which a mark is freshly branded. (Here the nominal meaning of 'brand' has an influence). Through its capacity to relate to imaginary states, 'brand-new' shows a high degree of determinacy of the qualities of 'new' or, in other words, it restricts the range of qualities of 'new'. While 'very' only restricts the temporal distance-

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[3] There is perhaps a small difference in that 'brand-new' represents a slightly higher degree than 'very new' which can be appreciated by the following set of sentences: 1) 'very new' and 'brand-new' have a higher degree than 'new'. Examples: a) 'Peter's car is new, but not very new;' b) 'Peter's car is new, but not brand-new.' 2) 'Brand-new' has a slightly higher degree than 'very new'. Examples: a) 'Peter's car is very new, but not brand-new;' b) *'Peter's car is brand-new, but not very new.'

to-the-speaker axis, 'brand-' also restricts the pragmatic uses of 'new' and hence its (other) qualities.

In Kam, most of those expressives which have an adjectival head but no independent lexical meaning behave like 'brand-new'. In what follows, I present three examples where the expressive, though forbidden as an independent predicate, injects autonomous meaning into the compound.

First example. The expressive $jəp^{323}$ has no independent lexical meaning but appears after two adjectives: $k^waŋ^{55}$ 'bright' and $məi^{453}$ 'new' where it evokes the meaning 'flash, dazzle, blink'.

(26a) au^{31} sai^{323} $k^waŋ^{55}$ $\underline{jep^{323}}$ $\underline{jep^{323}}$.
    LOC:in   heart, mind   bright   EXPR   EXPR
    'It is like a flash of inspiration in the mind.'

(26b) $məi^{453}$ $\underline{jep^{323}}$ $\underline{jep^{323}}$.
    new   EXPR   EXPR
    'brand-new, original'

Second example. tu^{323} functions as an expressive of the adjective $təŋ^{53}$ 'dark' and has to be reduplicated. It adds the distinctive meaning 'uncanny, sinister' to the meaning of the head-adjective.

(27) au^{31} $səm^{31}$ $təŋ^{53}$ $\underline{tu^{323}}$ $\underline{tu^{323}}$.
    LOC:in   room   dark   EXPR   EXPR
    'The darkness in this room is sinister.'

Third example. $laŋ^{35}$ is the expressive of pek^{31} 'white': $pek^{31}laŋ^{35}laŋ^{35}$ 'dazzling white', typically to qualify the colour of the sun, the moon or the stars. $laŋ^{35}$ thus conveys the meaning of 'bright, dazzling', though it cannot articulate this meaning as a syntactic head, but only as expressive.

(28) $ṇan^{55}k^he^{35}$ u^{55} kau^{323} pak^{31} $\underline{laŋ^{35}}$ $\underline{laŋ^{35}}$.
    moon   LOC:on   head; here: sky   white   EXPR   EXPR
    'The moon (in the sky) is shining very brightly.'

3.1.2. Restrictions on the range of arguments

Consider again 'new' and 'brand-new' in:

(29) 'Peter's car is brand-new.'
(30) 'Peter's teacher is new here.'
(31) *'Peter's teacher is brand-new here'

The issue in (29) (30) and (31) is that 'brand-new' usually requires inanimate objects, typically fabricated products, and not people as argument. The reason for this restriction lies in 'brand-' 's capacity to relate to imaginary situations as described above. Several of the Kam adjectival expressive compounds restrict the range of possible arguments: the set of arguments allowed with the head-expressive compound is *strictly* included in the set of arguments compatible with the head. Consider the following examples.

First example. The expressive ɬam^{53} is associated with the colour adjective man^{13} 'yellow'. The compound $\text{man}^{13}\text{ɬam}^{53}\text{ɬam}^{53}$ means 'buff' in the context of cloth. It co-occurs with textiles as arguments, while the adjective man^{13} 'yellow' is compatible with a greater set of arguments, for example also including 'tree leaves' etc.

(32a) pa^{53} məi^{31} man^{13} kuŋ^{11}.
      leaf   *tree*   *yellow*   *very*
      'The tree leaves are golden yellow.'

(32b) *ʔpa^{53} məi^{31} man^{13} $\underline{\text{ɬam}^{53}}$ $\underline{\text{ɬam}^{53}}$
      leaf   *tree*   *yellow*   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
      (*?'The tree leaves are shabby')

(32c) məi^{31} uk^{323} nai^{33} man^{13} $\underline{\text{ɬam}^{53}}$ $\underline{\text{ɬam}^{53}}$.
      CL   *garment*   *DEM:PROX*   *yellow*   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
      'This garment is buff coloured (dirty yellow).'

Second example. The expressive hep^{31} appears after the adjective ut^{13} 'warm, hot' and is then only associated with the body

temperature of people. It means that it cannot be associated with, for example, the temperature of water.

(33a) nem^{31} na^{55} ut^{13} kuŋ^{11}.
 water *river* *hot* *very*
 'The river water is very hot.'

(33b) *ʔnem^{31} na^{55} ut^{13} hep^{31} hep^{31}
 water *river* *hot, warm* *EXPR* *EXPR*
 (*?'The river water is fever-hot')

(33c) lak^{31}un^{323} ut^{13} hep^{31} hep^{31}.
 child *hot, warm* *EXPR* *EXPR*
 'The child has a fever.'

3.2. Manner adverbs

A certain number of Kam expressives entertain with their (verbal) head a manner relationship. Manner adverbials specify the way in which a situation happens. Most authors agree that a test for recognizing manner adverbials is to exhibit whether the construction under consideration is an adequate answer to a question with 'how' (not directly followed by an adjective like in 'how long') or 'in what way/manner'.[4] Two criteria serve to further sub-categorize manner adverbials: scope of the adverbial and the restriction on the type of situation (e.g. action, state, etc.). Manner adverbs restrict the type of a situation in that they require the situation to be [+ dynamic] and/or [+ control].[5] Moreover, they have a scope. The concept of manner intervenes at two levels. First it concerns the way in which the situation happens. Example: 'Peter speaks frankly.' In this sense it is sub-situational. Manner can also relate to the way of speaking. Example: 'Frankly, Peter...' In this context the adverbial is super-situational and functions as a sentence adverb or, in Dik's terminology, as a satellite of level 4 (1997).

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[4] Cf. Dik (1975: 97, 1997:230); Nilsen (1972: 92); Vester (1983: 41-42).
[5] Cf. Dik (1975).

The Kam expressives that display manner always have parts of the sentence in their scope but not the whole sentence. They are invariably sub-situational. A quick look at the whole set of expressives (appendices 5.2. and 5.3.) shows that they all require dynamic situations with one exception. This exception concerns a group of expressives which I have classified below in the rubric 'Converbs' (section 3.2.3.2.). These are expressives with a verbal origin occurring after an adjectival head. It follows that all the manner expressives considered in this section never occur after stative verbs. We distinguish three cases with regard to the type of element included in the scope of the expressive: the controller or force of the situation (3.2.1.); the goal of the situation (3.2.2.); and the predicate (3.2.3.).

In Kam, the manner of a situation is predominantly coded by expressives, though several pre-verbal manner adverbs exist, for example the speed adverbs hoi^{453} 'quick' and səi^{453} 'slow' (cf. section 3.2.3.1.). In contrast with English and Mandarin, there is no productive morphological procedure in Kam to derive manner adverbs from adjectives, although in Tongdao/Hunan, one locality of the Kam area, the particle ɬa^{33} functions as an adverbializer, probably through the (recent) influence of Mandarin or the local Chinese dialect.[6] This particle, however, is unavailable in other Kam varieties. The puzzling wealth of expressives apparently compensates for this lack. Another difference between the Kam manner expressives and their semantic equivalents in English or Mandarin is that the expressive is compatible with only a very restricted number of heads (see introduction of this paper). This explains why for certain categories of manner (e.g. speed) there exists a great variety of expressives, each compatible with a different segment of head verbs.

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[6] In English, manner adverbs are derived from adjectives by suffixing the syllable *-ly* (e.g. 'carefully'), while in Mandarin a similar procedure is available with the particle - *de* 地 (e.g. *kuài kuài de* 快快地 'quickly'). In the Kam variety of Tongdao county, Hunan province, the particle -ɬa^{33} functions as an adverbializer as shown in example (2) of this paper. This particle is unavailable in other localities, especially those from which the contributors of the forthcoming dictionary originate.

3.2.1. The controller or the force is in the scope of the expressive

The expressives in this group are mainly what I call *parade* adverbs. These adverbs, mainly attached to verbs of motion, specify the quantificational configuration in which the controller performs the action or motion. These expressives may be glossed in English by 'pell-mell', 'in groups', 'disorderly', etc. Parade adverbs require collective controller or mass force noun phrases. Kam is an analytic language. Analytic languages "lack affixes" (Sapir 1921). Such languages are characterized as manifesting a "high degree of indeterminateness within the framework of nouns and verbs" (Bisang 1996: 532) or, as Bybee (1997: 28) puts it, "they lack obligatory categories". It means that in these languages a bare noun like 'table' can mean 'table' (singular) or 'tables' (plural). Most of the common nouns have a [+ individual] as well as a [+ collective] reading in isolation. Parade adverbs require common nouns that allow a [+ collective] reading (or require nouns that are [+ mass]) and impose then the [+ collective] reading. (The problem of ambiguity in the lexical coding of noun-forces where the reading is always [+ mass] does not exist.) Witness: $l^j au^{35}$ '*disorderly*'. The expressive $l^j au^{35}$ appears to be postponed only after the verb $p \partial n^{323}$ 'fly'. Though $t \varphi e k^{55} pit^{323}$ in isolation can mean 'grasshopper' (singular) and 'grasshoppers' (plural), in (34) it has the [+ collective] meaning.

(34) $t \varphi e k^{55} pit^{323}$ $p \partial n^{323}$ $l^j au^{35}$ $l^j au^{35}$.
        grasshopper   fly   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
        'The grasshoppers fly in great disorder.'

hem^{31} '*in swarms, in droves, in groups*'. Although the English gloss of this expressive hints at a wide range of compatible head verbs, there is only a closed well defined set of verbs which can be modified by hem^{31}. This set comprises the following verbs: $p \partial n^{323}$ 'fly', pai^{55} 'go', ma^{35} 'come', $n \partial i^{35}$ 'move', ko^{55} 'laugh' and ne^{323} 'weep'. The argument in the examples below is always [+ collective].

(35a) $p \partial n^{323}$ $\underline{hem^{31}}$ $\underline{hem^{31}}$ (35b) pai^{55} $\underline{hem^{31}}$ $\underline{hem^{31}}$
         fly   *EXPR*   *EXPR*   go, walk   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
         'fly in swarms'   'walk in groups'

(35c) ma^{35} hɐm^{31} hɐm^{31}
come *EXPR EXPR*
'come in groups'

hu^{31} *'one after another, in a line'*. This expressive is similar to the preceding hɐm^{31} with regards to the choice of head verbs but is not compatible with ko^{55} 'laugh', or ne^{323} 'weep'. It mainly modifies one of the following verbs: pən^{323} 'fly', pai^{55} 'go', ma^{35} 'come', or nəi^{35} 'move'.

(36a) pən^{323} hu^{31} hu^{31} (36b) pai^{55} hu^{31} hu^{31}
fly   EXPR EXPR   *go, walk EXPR EXPR*
'fly in formation'   'walk in a line'

(36c) ma^{35} hu^{31} hu^{31}
come *EXPR EXPR*
'come one after the other'

pən^{55} *'pell-mell, hastily and disorderly'*. The expressive pən^{55} can be postponed after precisely two head-verbs: lɐŋ^{33} 'flee, escape' and san^{453} 'disperse'.

(37a) lɐŋ^{33} pən^{55} pən^{55} (37b) san^{453} pən^{55} pən^{55}
flee   EXPR EXPR   *disperse EXPR EXPR*
'flee pell-mell'   'disperse hastily'

kʰe^{453} *'continuously'*. The expressive kʰe^{453} appears to be restricted mainly to the context of weather phenomenon like 'continuously raining'.

(38) tʰəu^{453} lʲok^{31} ŋʷət^{31} ɕu^{323} tok^{55} pʲən^{55}
arrive   NUM:6   month   then   fall   rain
kʰe^{453} kʰe^{453} ʈa^{33}.
EXPR   EXPR   DEM:DIST
'Once we get into June it is raining continuously.'

kʰʷəŋ⁴⁵³ *'one after the other, in a line'*. The expressive kʰʷəŋ⁴⁵³ appears after a wider range of verbs of motion and has to be reduplicated.

(39)   ɳ.ən¹¹   lət³⁵   pai⁵⁵   k̲ʰ̲ʷ̲ə̲ŋ̲⁴⁵³   k̲ʰ̲ʷ̲ə̲ŋ̲⁴⁵³.
        people   QUANT:all   go   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
        'All the people went one after the other.'

3.2.2. The goal is in the scope of the expressive

This type concerns the case where the expressive describes the manner of how the goal is affected by the situation. A small number of expressives fall into this category. Consider:

kaŋ³³ *'fully, abundantly, successfully'*. kaŋ³³ can co-occur with several [+ dynamic, -control] verbs like 'grow', 'become', etc, indicating that the situation in force is more than expected in quantity or degree. It has to be reduplicated and appear in the postposition of the verb. (The noun phrase mʲek³²³ 'lady' in 40b is technically speaking not a goal, though it occurs in the same syntactic slot where goals of the verb we³¹ normally occur).

(40a)   kʷe⁵⁵   tu⁵⁵   mʲiu¹¹   k̲a̲ŋ̲³³   k̲a̲ŋ̲³³.
         melon   grow   sprouts   EXPR   EXPR
         'The melon grows sprouts abundantly.'

(40b)   we³¹   mʲek³²³   k̲a̲ŋ̲³³   k̲a̲ŋ̲³³
         do, become   lady   EXPR   EXPR
         'fully become a young woman.'

This expressive has to be distinguished from resultative versatiles which form a small and closed class in Kam (see Gerner, 2002). Resultative versatiles are derived from verbs. They present the situation together with its result. The resultative versatiles in Kam include the following: tʰəu⁴⁵³ 'arrive'; təm⁵⁵ 'meet'; lɪ³²³ 'get' and lai⁵⁵ 'well, ready' (the only adjective). Witness:

(41a) ka³²³ tʰəu⁴⁵³ (41b) səm³³ təm⁵⁵
     wait   ARRIVE   *search MEET*
     'wait successfully'   'find'

(41c) to³²³ lɪ³²³ pa⁵⁵
     put; catch GET *fish*
     'succeed in catching a fish'

The difference between the resultative versatiles and the above expressive is that the versatiles describe achieved resultative states, whereas the expressive in (40a) and (40b) does not. The situations described in (40a) and (40b) are ongoing. Abundance denotes the manner and not the result. A further formal difference is that the resultative versatiles cannot be reduplicated, while kaŋ³³ in (40a) and (40b) has to be. Consider other expressives of this type:

təm⁵³ *'fixedly, firmly, inflexibly'*. təm⁵³ occurs in two kinds of situations, i.e. with two [- dynamic, + control] verbs: təi¹¹ 'take, hold' and tən¹¹ 'stand'. This expressive indicates the fixed and invariable manner of holding a position. It has to be reduplicated.

(42a) mau³³ təi¹¹ pʲa⁵⁵ au³¹ mʲa¹¹ <u>təm⁵³</u> <u>təm⁵³</u>.
     3P SG hold   stone LOC:in hand   EXPR EXPR
     'He/she holds the stone very firmly.'

(42b) tən¹¹ <u>təm⁵³</u> <u>təm⁵³</u>
     stand EXPR EXPR
     'stand very firmly'

lop³²³ *'conspicuously'*. lop³²³ can only appear after the verb tu⁵⁵ 'put out' and has to be reduplicated.

(43) tu¹¹ sui¹¹ ta³³ tu⁵⁵ kau³²³ <u>lop³²³</u> <u>lop³²³</u>.
     CL   snake DEM:DIST put out head   EXPR EXPR
     'The snake puts out its head conspicuously.'

ɳat³¹ *'irregularly'*. ɳat³¹ is the (unique) expressive of the verb tut¹³ 'scratch' and is used for qualifying the disorderly scratching of one's head.

(44)   ɬʰut¹³   kau³²³   ŋat³¹   ŋat³¹.
        scratch head   EXPR   EXPR
        'Scratch one's head in an irregular fashion, ruffle one's hair'

ŋa³³ *'blankly, barely'.* ŋa³³ is goal-orientated and expresses after the verb it³¹ 'bite' that the goal is being left bare or gnawed off.

(45)   mau³³   pən³²³   it³¹   kau³²³   pʲət⁵⁵   ŋa³³   ŋa³³.
        3P SG   always   bite   head   pen   EXPR   EXPR
        'He always chews off the end of the pen.'

3.2.3. The predicate is in the scope of the expressive

There are three categories of expressives with the head predicate in their scope: speed adverbs (section 3.2.3.1), 'converbs' (where the expressive is derived from a verb, section 3.2.3.2) and a residual category of various heterogeneous expressives (section 3.2.3.3.).

3.2.3.1. Speed adverbs

Speed is classified by Dik (1997: 231) as a notion different from manner. However, 'quickly' and 'slowly' are adequate answers to *how*-questions. They qualify therefore for manner adverbs. In Kam there are several expressives conveying the idea of speed. They have to be distinguished from the two rather widespread standard speed adverbs hoi⁴⁵³ 'quick' and səi⁴⁵³ 'slow'. Both are in use with a wide range of [+ dynamic] verbs and appear in the prefield of the predicate. The speed expressives considered in this section, on the other hand, must appear in the postfield of the verb and the set of compatible head-verbs is reduced to a few members. The speed expressives are presented as follows:

kʷat³¹ *'quickly'.* kʷat³¹ is a speed adverb and can be involved with a restricted number of heterogenous verbs like sui⁵³ 'sit down', suk³¹ 'bind up', and tɛt⁵⁵ 'cut'. It can occur in the simple and the reduplicated form.

(46a)   sui^{53} k^{w}at^{31} k^{w}at^{31} (46b)   suk^{31} k^{w}at^{31} k^{w}at^{31}
        sit   *EXPR*   *EXPR*   *bind up* *EXPR*   *EXPR*
        'sit down quickly'   'bind up quickly'

ça t^{13} *'quickly, suddenly'*. This expressive is compatible with a wider range of verb-heads: with verbs of affect like pek^{31} 'strike', or p^{j}ɐk^{55} 'whip'; with verbs of production like ça^{323} 'write', or p^{j}a^{55} 'weave' or with verbs of motion like ʈçən^{11} 'rise' or jən^{55} 'raise'.

(47a)   pek^{31} çat^{13} çat^{13} (47b) ça^{323} çat^{13} çat^{13}
        strike   *EXPR*   *EXPR*   *write*   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
        'strike quickly/suddenly'   'write quickly'

(47c)   ʈçən^{11} çat^{13} çat^{13}
        rise   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
        'rise quickly'

təp^{55} *'slowly'*. təp^{55} is a speed adverb and is restricted to a small but rather heterogeneous set of verbs. These verbs include ʈan^{55}/ʈi^{55} 'eat, drink', we^{31} 'do, make' and pu^{55} 'pick up'. The expressive təp^{55} has to appear in its reduplicated form.

(48a)   mau^{33} ɳau^{33} ʈa^{33} pu^{55} təm^{33} təp^{55} təp^{55}.
        3P SG   *LOC:be at*   *LOC PRO:there pick up fruit*   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
        'He/she picks up the fruit there slowly.'

(48b)   ʈan^{55} təp^{55} təp^{55}
        eat   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
        'eat slowly'

tət^{323} *'quickly'*. tət^{323} is a speed adverb and is only compatible with ʈui^{53} 'pinch'. The expressive tət^{323} has to appear in its reduplicated form.

(49)   lak³¹un³²³   mia¹¹   ɟui⁵³   na³²³   tət³²³   tət³²³.
        child   *hand*   *pinch*   *face*   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
        'The child very quickly pinches [his/her counterpart's] face.'

lʲe⁴⁵³ *'abruptly'*. lʲe⁴⁵³ only appears after the verb ɕon⁵³ 'turn, return' and means that the movement is sudden. It has to appear in its reduplicated form.

(50)   mau³³   ɕon⁵³   lʲe⁴⁵³   lʲe⁴⁵³.
        3P SG   *turn*   *EXPR*   *EXPR*
        'He turned around abruptly.'

3.2.3.2. 'Converbs'

The simple quotation marks used in the title indicate that the phenomenon recognized here is different from the concept of converb studied extensively in inflectional languages. The converb, sometimes called verbal adverb, gerund or adverbial participle, is defined by Haspelmath (1995) by the following four criteria observed cross-linguistically in an array of (inflectional and agglutinative) languages:

(i)   Verb origin: A converb is a verb form of the inflectional paradigm of the verb.

(ii)   Indefiniteness: A converb lacks specifications for tense, aspect or mood.

(iii)   Adverbial: A converb is an adverbial construction.

(iv)   Subordination: A converb is subordinated to or embedded in a head predicate.

In Kam, a set of expressives is derived from verbs and associated to an adjectival or verbal head. The adjective-expressive compound is never used as an adnominal modifier but always as the predicate of the sentence. The expressives contemplated in this section are thus adverbial (criterion iii). They are subordinated in meaning and form. (They occur outside the basic predicational frame: SVO+EXPR, cf. criterion iv). Furthermore, expressives never

incorporate specifications for tense, aspect or mood, which, anyway, are optional grammatical categories in analytic languages (cf. criterion ii). Of course, the criterion (i) is problematic for analytic languages which lack an inflectional morphology. However, the morpho-syntactic property of expressives is to be reduplicated and to occur in the postfield of their head to which they are subordinated. It means that the verbal expressives would fit in a trimmed version of criterion (i). The really problematic issue in associating verbal expressives with converbs, however, is that while in converb languages almost every verb can function as converb, in Kam the set of verbs allowed to occur as the expressive of a head is fairly small. Most mainstream verbs are not allowed to function as expressives (converbs). Keeping this fact in mind, we may now cautiously proceed with the Kam 'converbs'.

A. With adjectival head

In this category, the head is an adjective and the expressive is derived from a verb. It is more convenient to view the state coded by the adjective as being interwoven with the activity hinted at by the verbal expressive, rather than to interpret the state as the result of the activity. Consider the following pairs of examples. (The 'a' version illustrates the expressive as a plain verb, and the 'b' version its involvement as expressive.)

- $\underline{\text{tap}^{11}}$ 'press'.

(51a) au^{55} p^ja^{55} $\underline{\text{tap}^{11}}$ u^{55} $\underline{\text{ta}^{33}}$.
         take   stone   press   LOC:on   LOC PRO:there
         'Take a stone and press on there.'

(51b) pa^{55} $\underline{\text{tap}^{11}}$ $\underline{\text{tap}^{11}}$
         sticky   EXPR   EXPR
         'sticky while/through pressing'

- <u>taŋ^{55}</u> 'grow, develop'.

(52a) wa^{35} lai^{55} <u>taŋ^{55}</u> to^{323} kau^{323} pʲa^{55}toŋ^{33}, kən^{11}
flower good grow DUR head cliff person
lai^{55} <u>taŋ^{55}</u> to^{323} tɕiu^{323}sən^{55} ɕau^{35}.
good dwell DUR village 2P PL
'Just as nice flowers grow up on [inaccessible] cliffs, you have nice people here in your [remote] village.' (North Kam picturesque courtesy statement.)

(52b) tun^{53} <u>taŋ^{55}</u> <u>taŋ^{55}</u>
bent, curled EXPR EXPR
'very curly (e.g. hair, the dog's tail)'

- <u>kʷat^{55}</u> 'coil, twist'.

(53a) an^{323}ɳa^{31} ta^{33} <u>kʷat^{55}</u> oi^{55} min^{11}.
axle of loom DEM:DIST coil, twist much cotton
'The axle of the loom can twist a lot of cotton.'

(53b) ten^{323} <u>kʷat^{55}</u> <u>kʷat^{55}</u>
tight EXPR EXPR
'coiled tight'

- <u>ŋaŋ^{53}</u> 'look upward'.

(54a) ja^{11} ta^{55} <u>ŋaŋ^{53}</u> mən^{55}pʰaŋ^{35}
NUM:2 eyes look upward sky, universe
'Both eyes peer into the sky.'

(54b) pʰaŋ^{35} <u>ŋaŋ^{53}</u> <u>ŋaŋ^{53}</u>
tall EXPR EXPR
'tall and upright'

- <u>jeu^{35}</u> 'wave'.

(55a) ləm^{11} <u>jeu^{35}</u> pa^{53} məi^{31}.

(55b)   ţau⁵⁵   jeu³⁵   jeu³⁵
           fragile   EXPR   EXPR
           'fragile through waving [to and fro]'

B. With verbal head

I could only find three or four verbal expressives occurring after verbal predicates. These verbal expressives denote activities semantically correlated to the activity of the head. Consider:

- pʲat³²³ 'flog'.

(56a)   pʲat³²³   mau³³   i⁵⁵   nɐt⁵⁵.
           flog   3P SG   NUM:1   VERB CL
           'Give him/her a flogging'

(56b)   heu³⁵   pʲat³²³   pʲat³²³
           beat   EXPR   EXPR
           'beat repeatedly'

- sat³²³ 'strike'.

(57a)   lak³¹un¹³ tou³³   ɳən¹¹lao³¹ sat³²³   i⁵⁵   ɕu³²³.
           child   by   adult   strike NUM:1   VERB CL:bamboo rod
           'The child was beaten by the adult with a bamboo rod.'

(57b)   pʲɐk⁵⁵   sat³²³   sat³²³
           whip   EXPR   EXPR
           'whip repeatedly'

- ɳin⁵⁵ 'grimacing'.

(58a)   lɐt¹¹   ɳe¹¹   we³¹   ɳin⁵⁵
           open, draw   teeth   do, appear as   grimacing
           'open one's mouth and grimace'

(58b)   ko⁵⁵   ɳin⁵⁵ ɳin⁵⁵
           laugh, smile   EXPR EXPR
           'laugh and make a face'

3.2.3.3. Other adverbs

In this last category fall various heterogenous expressive manner adverbs. As remarked before, Kam does not derive the manner adverbs from adjectives as is the case in English with the suffix *-ly* or even in Mandarin with the suffix *-de* -地 . One major channel for Kam to express manner is via the system of expressives. Consider the following incomplete list:

tom^{55} *'aggressively, rudely, fiercely'*. tom^{55} modifies the predicate and is only compatible with the verb çi^{53} 'point at' in the postposition of which it has to be reduplicated.

(59)   mau^{33} çi^{53} e^{35} tom^{55} tom^{55}.
         3P SG point at   other people   EXPR   EXPR
         'He points rudely at other people.'

ţʰat^{35} *'with jumps'*. The expressive ţʰat^{35} can occur in the postposition of a couple of verbs of motion like pʲiu^{55} 'jump', ţʰam^{13} 'walk', etc and can then be reduplicated. In addition, it is allowed to occur in its simple version in front of an array of verbs of motion but it may never function as verbal head. In both positions it has a regular semantic input indicating that the motion is carried out with continuous jumps.

(60)   pɪ^{31} nu^{53} mau^{33} ȵən^{11} lau^{31}, ţʰam^{13} kʰwən^{35}
         NEG IMP   look   3P SG   person   old   walk   road
         ţʰat^{35} ţʰat^{35} hoi^{453} kuŋ^{11}.
         EXPR   EXPR   quick   much
         'Don't think he/she is old, he/she can still hop along quickly.'

təŋ^{323} *'in zig-zags, staggering'*. This expressive is used in its reduplicated version after walk-related verbs. It then conveys the stable meaning of 'staggering'.

(61)   təi^{55} kʰwau^{13} ţʰam^{13} kʰwən^{35} təŋ^{323} təŋ^{323}.
         dead   wine   walk   road   EXPR   EXPR
         'One staggers if one is drunk.'

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lət^{55} *'straight'*. lət^{55} is reduplicated and appears after verbs of motion like pai^{55} 'go' or p^{j}eu^{53} 'run'. It expresses the straight form of a movement.

(62)   mau^{33} pai^{55} lət^{55} lət^{55} kau^{323} me^{11} çon^{53}.
         3P SG   go   EXPR   EXPR   head, end   NEG   return
         'He goes straight to the finish and does not turn back.'

mun^{53} *'eloquently'*. mun^{53} is only compatible with aŋ^{323} 'speak' and is reduplicated in its postfield.

(63)   əp^{55} aŋ^{323} mun^{53} mun^{53} əi^{323} wo^{31} sa^{53}.
         mouth   speak   EXPR   EXPR   NEG   know   stop
         'Talk on and on without interruption in a flow of eloquence.'

ɳok^{35} *'very busily'*. ɳok^{35} is typically involved with a couple of verbs of production like ça^{323} 'write' or we^{31} 'do, work', etc. It expresses a manner of complete mental absorption in the activity. The expressive ɳok^{35} has to be reduplicated.

(64)   mau^{33} ça^{323} a^{55} ɳok^{35} ɳok^{35}.
         3P SG   write   song   EXPR   EXPR
         'He/she is immersed in writing songs.'

4. CONCLUSION

The problem of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, which by no means only belongs to an older era of linguistics, is examined in this paper on a limited but morpho-syntactically well defined segment of the lexicon of Kam, an Austro-Tai language from South-West China. A great portion of this segment manifests various semiotic relationships between the two faces of the sign that are subsumed in the literature of semiotics under the labels of index, icon, symbol and name. The relatively high occurrence of motivated, non-arbitrary signs in Kam, in contrast to the low

number of comparable phenomena in the lexicon of Western languages, raises the question of the fundamental structural language features favoring the emergence of motivated signs. The speculation I offer here is related to the features of analyticity vs. inflectionality. Languages of the analytic morphological type (mainly Sino-Tibetan and Kadai) display a high degree of indeterminacy in the domain of the noun and the verb (cf. Bisang 1996: 532, Bybee 1997: 28; see also related remarks in section 3.2.1 of this paper), while languages with an inflectional morphology, including Indo-European, have to be very explicit in the grammatical marking of categories in the domain of the noun and the verb. Inflectional languages show a high degree of determinateness for various grammatical categories. My suggestion is that because of their lack of morphology, analytic languages are driven to compensate their indeterminacy by increasing information directly in the linguistic sign. It does not mean that grammatical meanings like plurality or verbal aspect are directly expressed in the linguistic sign. The idea is rather that there is an inbuilt force which counter-balances the under-coding of one set of values by the over-coding of another set of values.

5. APPENDICES

In the following sub-sections I give lists of noun-expressive compounds (5.1.), adjective-expressive compounds (5.2.) and verb-expressive compounds (5.3.). While perhaps not every single expressive of the forthcoming dictionary is present in these lists, they constitute, however, a fairly representative sample. The two rightmost columns contain specified information about the possibility/necessity of the expressive in question to reduplicate and information about its dialect affiliation: Ⓝ means 'Northern dialect' and Ⓢ 'Southern dialect' (cf. Long and Zheng 1998). An expressive without (lexical) meaning is noted by '---', while /onom./ means 'onomatopoeic' and /interj./ 'interjection'.

5.1. List of Kam noun-expressive compounds

It is important to note that the noun-expressive compound functions syntactically as a predicate and not as an argument.

Kam noun	Kam expressive	Modified Kam noun	Red.	Dialect
$k^w en^{11}$ 'smoke'	$puŋ^{33}$ 'grey'	$k^w en^{11}puŋ^{33}puŋ^{33}$ 'full of grey smoke'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	$(ŋ)ui^{323}$ '---'	$k^w en^{11}(ŋ)ui^{323}(ŋ)ui^{323}$ 'smoke-filled'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
pui^{55} 'fire'	$həp^{31}$ '---'	$pui^{55}həp^{31}həp^{31}$ 'widespread-fire'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
lap^{323} 'lightning'	jap^{31} '---'	$lap^{323}jap^{31}jap^{31}$ 'lightning-flashing'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
na^{323} 'face'	$m^j au^{323}$ '---'	$na^{323}m^j au^{323}m^j au^{323}$ 'of bruised face'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
ta^{55} 'eye'	jap^{11} '---'	$ta^{55}jap^{11}jap^{11}$ 'with blinking eyes'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
$nem^{31}ta^{55}$ 'tear'	$k^{hw}eu^{453}$ '---'	$nem^{31}ta^{55}k^{hw}eu^{453}k^{hw}eu^{453}$ 'tear-drenched'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	$p^{hj}oŋ^{35}$ '---'	$nem^{31}ta^{55}p^{hj}oŋ^{35}p^{hj}oŋ^{35}$ 'tearful'	must	Ⓢ
pa^{53} 'leaf'	$nəm^{33}$ '---'	$pa^{53}nəm^{33}nəm^{33}$ 'leafy'	must	Ⓢ
wa^{35} 'flower'	$nəm^{33}$ '---'	$wa^{35}nəm^{33}nəm^{33}$ 'in full bloom'	must	Ⓢ
nem^{31} 'water'	$ŋ^w an^{31}$ '---'	$nem^{31}ŋ^w an^{31}ŋ^w an^{31}$ 'turbulent' (water)	must	Ⓢ
	$waŋ^{323}$ 'pond'	$nem^{31}waŋ^{323}waŋ^{323}$ 'with a thin film of water'	must	Ⓝ
$nem^{31}nan^{33}$ 'waterfall'	jem^{53} /onom./	$nem^{31}nan^{33}jem^{53}jem^{53}$ 'a roaring waterfall'	must	Ⓢ
$laŋ^{33}$ 'wave'	$pəi^{55}$ '---'	$laŋ^{33}pəi^{55}pəi^{55}$ 'with mountainous waves'	must	Ⓢ

5.2. List of Kam adjective-expressive compounds ordered by semantic classes

A. Physical property

Kam adjective	Kam expressive	Modified Kam adjective	Red.	Dialect
1) Substance & structure				
pa^{55} 'sticky'	ƚap^{11} 'press'	pa^{55}ƚap^{11}ƚap^{11} 'sticky by pressing' (rice cake)	can	Ⓝ
ƚo^{323} 'sticky'	n̬ui^{11} 'rub'	ƚo^{323}n̬ui^{11}n̬ui^{11} 'sticky and thin'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	ƚet^{55} '---'	ƚo^{323}ƚet^{55}ƚet^{55} 'very sticky, strongly glutinous'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
an^{11} 'messy'	iu^{31} /interj./	an^{11}iu^{31}iu^{31} 'really/ completely messy'	can	Ⓢ
n̬an^{35} 'itchy'	n̬i^{13} '---'	n̬an^{35}n̬i^{13}n̬i^{13} 'very itchy'	can	Ⓢ
piŋ^{323} 'tidy'	kəp^{323} '---'	piŋ^{323}kəp^{323}kəp^{323} 'clean and in order'	can	Ⓢ
kɛn^{31} 'in order'	kɛt^{55} '---'	kɛn^{31}kɛt^{55}kɛt^{55} 'in correct order'	can	Ⓢ
çeŋ^{13} 'clean'	kəp^{323} '---'	çeŋ^{13}kəp^{323}kəp^{323} 'very clean'	can	Ⓢ
wa^{53} 'dirty'	m^{j}au^{453} '---'	wa^{53}m^{j}au^{453}m^{j}au^{453} 'very dirty'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
ɛt^{55} 'dense'	ɛu^{55} ' '	ɛt^{55}ɛu^{55}ɛu^{55} 'overcrowded (density of a crowd)'	can	Ⓢ
n̬ən^{55} 'foul'	koŋ^{31} '---'	n̬ən^{55}koŋ^{31}koŋ^{31} 'rotten' (e.g. eggs)	must	Ⓝ
ta^{33} 'hard, stiff'	pit^{33} '---'	ta^{33}pit^{33}pit^{33} 'rigid'	must	Ⓝ
k^{w}a^{323} 'hard'	təŋ^{323} '---'	k^{w}a^{323}təŋ^{323}təŋ^{323} 'extremely hard'	can	Ⓢ
	ku^{55} '---'	k^{w}a^{323}ku^{55}ku^{55} 'very hard'	can	Ⓢ
	k^{w}at^{55} 'coil'	k^{w}a^{323}k^{w}at^{55}k^{w}at^{55} 'tightly hard'	can	Ⓢ
so^{35} 'thick, coarse'	sai^{13} '---'	so^{35}sai^{13}sai^{13} 'very big, thick' (e.g. yarn, grain)	must	Ⓢ
	jok^{323} '---'	so^{35}jok^{323}jok^{323} 'very coarse, rough' (e.g. cloth)	can	Ⓢ
ƚo^{53} 'tough'	ƚet^{55} '---'	ƚo^{53}ƚet^{55}ƚet^{55} 'very tough' (e.g. wood)	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	n̬iŋ^{35} '---'	ƚo^{53}n̬iŋ^{35}n̬iŋ^{35} 'very tough' (e.g. root)	must	Ⓝ

kʷan⁵³ 'stiff'	kʷən³²³ '---'	kʷan⁵³kʷən³²³kʷən³²³ 'very stiff' (clothes)	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
weŋ⁵³ 'powdery'	wet⁵⁵ '---'	weŋ⁵³wet⁵⁵wet⁵⁵ 'powdery; watery'	must	Ⓢ
ma³²³ 'soft, supple'	məm³³ '---'	ma³²³məm³³məm³³ 'mushy' (used for food)	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	mɐp¹³ '---'	ma³²³mɐp¹³mɐp¹³ 'very soft'	can	Ⓢ
	mop¹¹ '---'	ma³²³mop¹¹mop¹¹ 'soft and loose'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	ȵaŋ⁴⁵³ '---'	ma³²³ȵaŋ⁴⁵³ȵaŋ⁴⁵³ 'fatigued and weak'	can	Ⓝ
	ȵa³¹ 'reel'	ma³²³ȵa³¹ȵa³¹ 'supple, flexible; weak, feeble'	can	Ⓢ
tik³²³ 'full'	mʲep³²³ '---'	tik³²³mʲep³²³mʲep³²³ 'overflowing'	can	Ⓢ
suŋ³³ 'full'	lʲom⁵⁵ '---'	suŋ³³lʲom⁵⁵lʲom⁵⁵ 'packed'	must	Ⓢ
maŋ⁵⁵ 'thin, rare'	mi⁵⁵/lʲi⁵⁵ '---'	maŋ⁵⁵mi⁵⁵mi⁵⁵/lʲi⁵⁵lʲi⁵⁵ 'extremely thin, flimsy'	can	Ⓢ
	ki⁵⁵ '---'	maŋ⁵⁵ki⁵⁵ki⁵⁵ 'extremely thin'	must	Ⓝ
ʈen³²³ 'tight'	kʷet⁵⁵ 'coil'	ʈen³²³kʷet⁵⁵kʷet⁵⁵ 'very tight'	can	Ⓢ
	kʷen⁵³ '---'	ʈen³²³kʷen⁵³kʷen⁵³ 'extremely tight'	can	Ⓢ
	iu⁵⁵ '---'	ʈen³²³iu⁵⁵iu⁵⁵ 'taut' (e.g. drum skin)	can	Ⓝ
nɐm³³ 'damp'	kʷet³¹ '---'	nɐm³³kʷet³¹kʷet³¹ 'very damp'	can	Ⓢ
jɐk⁵⁵ 'wet'	kʷet³¹ '---'	jɐk⁵⁵kʷet³¹kʷet³¹ 'very wet'	can	Ⓢ
	jəm⁴⁵³ '---'	jɐk⁵⁵jəm⁴⁵³jəm⁴⁵³ 'drenched'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
si⁴⁵³ 'fragmentary'	ȵəp⁵⁵ '---'	si⁴⁵³ȵəp⁵⁵ȵəp⁵⁵ 'shattered'	can	Ⓢ
o³³ 'leaking'	ɐp³¹ '---'	o³³ɐp³¹ɐp³¹ 'leaking everywhere'	can	Ⓢ
ʈau⁵⁵ 'fragile'	jau¹³ '---'	ʈau⁵⁵jau¹³jau¹³ 'crispy' (food)	must	Ⓝ
	jeu¹³ 'float'	ʈau⁵⁵jeu¹³jeu¹³ 'brittle' (dried noodles)	must	Ⓝ

$t^h en^{35}$ 'heavy'	tap^{55} 'collect'	$t^h en^{35} tap^{55} tap^{55}$ 'very heavy'	must	Ⓢ
	tam^{53} '---'	$t^h en^{35} tam^{53} tam^{53}$ 'very heavy'	can	Ⓢ
	nep^{31} '---'	$t^h en^{35} nep^{31} nep^{31}$ 'too heavy' (e.g. bags)	can	Ⓢ
$t^h a^{13}$ 'light'	$t^h ap^{13}$ '---'	$t^h a^{13} t^h ap^{13} t^h ap^{13}$ 'very light'	can	Ⓢ
	wau^{55} '---'	$t^h a^{13} wau^{55} wau^{55}$ 'very light'	must	Ⓝ
	wen^{11} '---'	$t^h a^{13} wen^{11} wen^{11}$ 'very light'	must	Ⓝ

2) Dimension

$p^h aŋ^{35}$ 'tall, big'	ten^{53} 'crest'	$p^h aŋ^{35} ten^{53} ten^{53}$ 'of very important stature'	must	Ⓢ	
	$kiŋ^{53}$ '---'	$p^h aŋ^{35} kiŋ^{53} kiŋ^{53}$ 'mountainous, extremely high'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	$ŋaŋ^{53}$ 'look up'	$p^h aŋ^{35} ŋaŋ^{53} ŋaŋ^{53}$ 'tall and upright'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	$çau^{33}$ '---'	$p^h aŋ^{35} çau^{33} çau^{33}$ 'huge' (e.g. mountain)	must	Ⓢ	
	$çoŋ^{33}$ '---'	$p^h aŋ^{35} çoŋ^{33} çoŋ^{33}$ 'very tall'	can	Ⓢ	
	jo^{53} '---'	$p^h aŋ^{35} jo^{53} jo^{53}$ 'tall and lean, lanky'	can	Ⓢ	
$t^h em^{453}$ 'short, low'	pep^{55} '---'	$t^h em^{453} pep^{55} pep^{55}$ 'hilly' (e.g. landscape)	must	Ⓢ	
	$t^h eu^{35}$ '---'	$t^h em^{453} t^h eu^{35} t^h eu^{35}$ 'extremely short, low'	can	Ⓢ	
$p^j e^{323}$ 'flat'	$p^j et^{55}$ '---'	$p^j e^{323} p^j et^{55} p^j et^{55}$ 'flat'	can	Ⓢ	
	$p^j aŋ^{33}$ '---'	$p^j e^{323} p^j aŋ^{33} p^j aŋ^{33}$ 'flat as a pancake'	can	Ⓢ	
$pi:ŋ^{11}$ 'level'	tap^{31} '---'	$pi:ŋ^{11} tap^{31} tap^{31}$ 'very level, very smooth'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
$k^{hw}aŋ^{13}$ 'wide'	$naŋ^{33}$ 'bud'	$k^{hw}aŋ^{13} naŋ^{33} naŋ^{33}$ 'as wide as a blossoming bud'	must	Ⓢ	
	jin^{33} '---'	$k^{hw}aŋ^{13} jin^{33} jin^{33}$ 'very wide'	must	Ⓢ	
jai^{323} 'long'	je^{31} '---'	$jai^{323} je^{31} je^{31}$ 'very long, endless'	can	Ⓢ	
sek^{55} 'steep'	sem^{55} '---'	$sek^{55} sem^{55} sem^{55}$ 'very steep' (e.g. mountain slope)	can	Ⓢ	

3) Form & shape

a²² 'dull'	ən³¹ '---'	a²²ən³¹ən³¹ 'blunt' (e.g. knife)	can	Ⓝ
	it¹³ '---'	a²²it¹³it¹³ 'blunt' (e.g. knife)	can	Ⓝ
pan³³ 'askew'	wut²² 'suddenly'	pan³³wut²²wut²² 'unba-lanced' (by sudden reversal)	can	Ⓝ
ta²² 'pointed'	tu³¹ '---'	ta²²tu³¹tu³¹ ' conical, coniform, tapered'	must	Ⓝ
siu⁵³ 'sharp'	sip⁵⁵ '---'	siu⁵³sip⁵⁵sip⁵⁵ 'very sharp'	must	Ⓢ
ço⁴⁵³ 'pointed, sharp'	çaŋ⁵⁵ '---'	ço⁴⁵³çaŋ⁵⁵çaŋ⁵⁵ 'razor-sharp'	can	Ⓢ
pi²² 'fat'	pət³¹ '---'	pi²²pət³¹pət³¹ 'corpulent, obese'	can	Ⓝ
pui¹¹ 'fat'	pəp³¹ '---'	pui¹¹pəp³¹pəp³¹ 'tubby, chubby' (for humans)	can	Ⓢ
	pəm³³ '---'	pui¹¹pəm³³pəm³³ 'corpulent, full-bodied'	can	Ⓢ
na⁵⁵ 'thick'	nok⁵⁵ 'again'	na⁵⁵nok⁵⁵nok⁵⁵ 'thick' (for textiles)	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
pu⁵⁵ 'swollen'	pəp⁵⁵ '---'	pu⁵⁵pəp⁵⁵pəp⁵⁵ 'tautly swollen'	can	Ⓢ
peŋ³³ 'bloated'	pot³¹ '---'	peŋ³³pot³¹pot³¹ 'distended'	can	Ⓢ
çeŋ⁵³ 'bloated'	teŋ⁵⁵ '---'	çeŋ⁵⁵teŋ⁵⁵teŋ⁵⁵ 'engorged' (after overeating)	can	Ⓢ
ton¹¹ 'round'	jon³³ 'barrel'	ton¹¹jon³³jon³³ 'rotund'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
si⁴⁵³ 'thin, fine'	səp⁵⁵ '---'	si⁴⁵³səp⁵⁵səp⁵⁵ 'very fine, very subtle'	must	Ⓢ
ɬiu³²³ 'thin, lean'	ɬɐt⁵⁵ '---'	ɬiu³²³ɬɐt⁵⁵ɬɐt⁵⁵ 'of shrivelled or bony appearance'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	n̩iu¹¹ 'withered'	ɬiu³²³n̩iu¹¹n̩iu¹¹ 'emaciated'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
ɬun⁵³ 'curled'	taŋ⁵⁵ 'dwell'	ɬun⁵³taŋ⁵⁵taŋ⁵⁵ 'curly (e.g. hair, the dog's tail)'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
ɐu⁵⁵ 'crooked'	i⁵⁵ '---'	ɐu⁵⁵i⁵⁵i⁵⁵ 'very crooked'	can	Ⓢ
ɬoŋ⁵³ 'curved'	ɬɐt⁵⁵ '---'	ɬoŋ⁵³ɬɐt⁵⁵ɬɐt⁵⁵ 'strongly curved'	can	Ⓢ
m/pʰɐt³⁵ 'curved down'	n̩ap³¹ '---'	mɐt³⁵/pʰɐt³⁵n̩ap³¹n̩ap³¹ 'weighed down'	must	Ⓢ
sɐŋ¹¹ 'right, straight'	lət⁵⁵ 'straight'	sɐŋ¹¹lət⁵⁵lət⁵⁵ 'of very straight form'	can	Ⓢ
	lʲu⁴⁵³ '---'	sɐŋ¹¹lʲu⁴⁵³lʲu⁴⁵³ 'very straight' (piece of wood)	must	Ⓢ

k^{h}o^{35} 'slippery, fluent'	k^{hw}en^{453} '---'	k^{h}o^{35}k^{hw}en^{453}k^{hw}en^{453} 'slippery' (frozen road)	can	Ⓢ
	k^{h}oŋ^{453} '---'	k^{h}o^{35}k^{h}oŋ^{453}k^{h}oŋ^{453} 'very smooth'; 'very fluent'	can	Ⓢ

4) Colour & brightness

ɐm^{53} 'violet'	ui^{55} '---'	ɐm^{53}ui^{55}ui^{55} 'deep violet'	can	Ⓢ
pak^{31} 'white'	puŋ^{33} 'grey'	pak^{31}puŋ^{33}puŋ^{33} 'fog-white, mist-white'	can	Ⓢ
	p^{h}un^{453} '---'	pak^{31}p^{h}un^{453}p^{h}un^{453} 'clear-white'	must	Ⓢ
	moŋ^{55} '---'	pak^{31}moŋ^{55}moŋ^{55} 'off-white' (fruit, cotton)	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	sep^{323} '---'	pak^{31}sep^{323}sep^{323} 'snow-white, pure-white'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	siŋ^{33} 'clean'	pak^{31}siŋ^{33}siŋ^{33} 'clean white'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	laŋ^{55} '---'	pak^{31}laŋ^{55}laŋ^{55} 'dazzling white' (like the moon)	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
ja^{453} 'red'	wu^{53} '---'	ja^{453}wu^{53}wu^{53} 'bright red' (e.g. red currant)	must	Ⓢ
	jəi^{11} 'pear'	ja^{453}jəi^{11}jəi^{11} 'red-yellow' (like a pear)	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	jau^{35} '---'	ja^{453}jau^{35}jau^{35} 'pink' (e.g. red eyes)	can	Ⓢ
p^{h}a^{35} 'grey, blue'	p^{h}u^{13} '---'	p^{h}a^{35}p^{h}u^{13}p^{h}u^{13} 'ash-grey; blind'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	pən^{31} '---'	p^{h}a^{35}pən^{31}pən^{31} 'grey and ugly'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	pɐk^{31} 'white'	p^{h}a^{35}pɐk^{31}pɐk^{31} 'pale grey'	can	Ⓢ
	ɐm^{53} 'purple'	p^{h}a^{35}ɐm^{53}ɐm^{53} 'deep blue'	can	Ⓢ
su^{35} 'green, blue'	siu^{13} '---'	su^{35}siu^{13}siu^{13} 'luscious'	must	Ⓢ
nɐm^{55} 'black'	ɐk^{35} '---'	nɐm^{55}ɐk^{35}ɐk^{35} 'black with a myriad of dots' (ants)	can	Ⓢ
	tum^{323} '---'	nɐm^{55}tum^{323}tum^{323} 'densely-foggy'	must	Ⓢ
	meu^{35} '---'	nɐm^{55}meu^{35}meu^{35} 'jet-black, cat-black'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	m^{j}ai^{13} '---'	nɐm^{55}m^{j}ai^{13}m^{j}ai^{13} 'black' (skin exposed to sun)	must	Ⓢ
man^{13} 'yellow'	k^{w}eu^{35} '---'	man^{13}k^{w}eu^{35}k^{w}eu^{35} 'bright-, golden-yellow'	can	Ⓝ

	ȶam^{53} '---'	man^{13}ȶam^{53}ȶam^{53} 'yellow (colour of cloth)'	can	Ⓢ
	moŋ^{55} '---'	man^{13}moŋ^{55}moŋ^{55} 'yellow (of a fruit)'	must	Ⓢ
	pʰi:^{35} '---'	man^{13}pʰi:^{35}pʰi:^{35} 'brown, rusty-yellow'	can	Ⓢ
	em^{33} '---'	man^{13}em^{33}em^{33} 'golden'	must	Ⓝ
en^{53} 'multicoloured'	i^{31} /interj./	en^{53}i^{31}i^{31} 'colourful and gaudy, garish'	can	Ⓢ
wa^{35} 'colourful'	mʲau^{323} '---'	wa^{35}mʲau^{323}mʲau^{323} 'extravagantly fancy'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	wi^{453} '---'	wa^{35}wi^{453}wi^{453} 'gaudy, garish'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
tɐŋ^{55} 'bright'	wen^{31} '---'	tɐŋ^{55}wen^{31}wen^{31} 'gleaming, shining'	must	Ⓝ
kʷaŋ^{55} 'bright'	tiŋ^{33} '---'	kʷaŋ^{55}tiŋ^{33}tiŋ^{33} 'radiant'	can	Ⓢ
	siŋ^{33} 'clean'	kʷaŋ^{55}siŋ^{33}siŋ^{33} 'brightly lit'	must	Ⓢ
	jip^{323} '---'	kʷaŋ^{55}jip^{323}jip^{323} 'glistening'	must	Ⓢ
	jəp^{323} '---'	kʷaŋ^{55}jəp^{323}jəp^{323} 'dazzlingly bright'	can	Ⓢ
təŋ^{53} 'dark'	təp^{55} '---'	təŋ^{53}təp^{55}təp^{55} 'shiny-black'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	tum^{55} '---'	təŋ^{53}tum^{55}tum^{55} 'pitch-black'	must	Ⓢ
	tu^{323} '---'	təŋ^{53}tu^{323}tu^{323} 'sinister-black'	must	Ⓢ
	meu^{35} '---'	təŋ^{53}meu^{35}meu^{35} 'jet-black, cat-black'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	ȵoŋ^{31} '---'	təŋ^{53}ȵoŋ^{31}ȵoŋ^{31} 'bright outside, dark inside'	must	Ⓝ
səm^{31} 'dark'	sut^{323} '---'	səm^{31}sut^{323}sut^{323} 'very dark'	must	Ⓝ
mun^{11} 'foggy'	puŋ^{33} 'grey'	mun^{11}puŋ^{33}puŋ^{33} 'fog-grey, mist-grey'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	tum^{323} '---'	mun^{11}tum^{323}tum^{323} 'densely-foggy'	must	Ⓢ
	çəp^{35} '---'	mun^{11}çəp^{35}çəp^{35} 'extremely foggy'	must	Ⓢ
lu^{35} 'clear'	leŋ^{33} '---'	lu^{35}leŋ^{33}leŋ^{33} 'crystal-clear' (e.g. water)	can	Ⓢ

5) Sound & taste

kəm^{53} 'quiet'	kiu^{55} '---'	kəm^{53}kiu^{55}kiu^{55} 'dead quiet'	can	Ⓢ
taŋ^{55} 'fragrant'	ŋoŋ^{453} '---'	taŋ^{55}ŋoŋ^{453}ŋoŋ^{453} 'fragrant, savoury'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ

Kam adjective	Kam expressive	Modified Kam adjective	Red.	Dialect
	ŋʷeŋ⁴⁵³ '---'	taŋ⁵⁵ŋʷeŋ⁴⁵³ŋʷeŋ⁴⁵³ 'fragrant, savoury'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
kʰʷan³⁵ 'sweet'	n̥em³³ 'happy'	kʰʷan³⁵n̥em³³n̥em³³ 'of a sweetish appearance'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	ɬəp¹¹ '---'	kʰʷan³⁵ɬəp¹¹ɬəp¹¹ 'very sweet'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
lʲan³³ 'piquant'	lʲəu¹¹ '---'	lʲan³³lʲəu¹¹lʲəu¹¹ 'extremely spicy and piquant'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	pʰe¹³ 'trembling'	lʲan³³pʰe¹³pʰe¹³ 'extremely spicy, very hot'	must	Ⓝ
səm¹³ 'sour'	lʲut¹³ '---'	səm¹³lʲut¹³lʲut¹³ 'extremely sour', acid sour	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
sik¹³ 'tasteless'	ŋui¹³ '---'	sik¹³ŋui¹³ŋui¹³ 'lightly bland' (lack of salt)	must	Ⓢ
	ɕem¹³ '---'	sik¹³ɕem¹³ɕem¹³ 'flavorless' (lack of salt)	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ

6) Age

məi⁴⁵³ 'new'	lʲet⁵⁵ '---'	məi⁴⁵³lʲet⁵⁵lʲet⁵⁵ 'completely new, brand-new'	can	Ⓢ
	mʲeu¹³ '---'	məi⁴⁵³mʲeu¹³mʲeu¹³ 'brand-new'	can	Ⓢ
	jəp³²³ '---'	məi⁴⁵³jəp³²³jəp³²³ 'brand spanking new'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
n̥i⁵⁵ 'small, young'	nu³²³ '---'	n̥i⁵⁵nu³²³nu³²³ 'young and immature'	must	Ⓢ

7) Temperature

tun⁵⁵ 'warm, hot'	hu³³ /interj./	tun⁵⁵hu³³hu³³ 'cosily warm'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	kuŋ⁵³ '---'	tun⁵⁵kuŋ⁵³kuŋ⁵³ 'very warm'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
sau³²³ 'warm'	hu³³ '---'	sau³²³hu³³hu³³ 'pleasantly warm'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
ut¹³ 'hot'	həp³¹ '---'	ut¹³həp³¹həp³¹ 'feverish' (for body temperature)	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
ɕək³²³ 'scald'	ɕe³³ '---'	ɕək³²³ɕe³³ɕe³³ 'scorching' (e.g. sun)	must	Ⓝ
jim⁴⁵³ 'cool'	ji¹³ '---'	jim⁴⁵³ji¹³ji¹³ 'pleasantly cool' (light breeze)	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ

B. Value

Kam adjective	Kam expressive	Modified Kam adjective	Red.	Dialect
lai⁵⁵ 'good, well'	ti³³ '---'	lai⁵⁵ti³³ti³³ 'extremely good'	must	Ⓢ

C. Animated state of mind

Kam adjective	Kam expressive	Modified Kam adjective	Red.	Dialect
em^{35} 'confused'	u^{323} '---'	em^{35}u^{323}u^{323} 'very confused'	can	Ⓢ
ɬʰi^{453} 'angry'	pəi^{11} '---'	ɬʰi^{453}pəi^{11}pəi^{11} 'furious'	must	Ⓢ
	tu^{31} '---'	ɬʰi^{453}tu^{31}tu^{31} 'livid'	must	Ⓢ
it^{323} 'ill, painful'	kiŋ^{53} '---'	it^{323}kiŋ^{53}kiŋ^{53} 'very painful'	must	Ⓢ
	ŋʷək^{323} '---'	it^{323}ŋʷək^{323}ŋʷək^{323} 'chronically ill'	must	Ⓢ
	som^{33} '---'	it^{323}som^{33}som^{33} 'severely aching'	must	Ⓢ
meŋ^{31} 'happy, lucky'	kʷe^{55} '---'	meŋ^{31}kʷe^{55}kʷe^{55} 'happy-go-lucky'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
ɬeŋ^{31} 'strong, robust'	ɬeu^{11} '---'	ɬeŋ^{31}ɬeu^{11}ɬeu^{11} 'very robust'	must	Ⓝ

5.3. List of Kam verb-expressive compounds ordered by semantic classes

A. Physical events (implying physical affect of the arguments involved)

Kam verb	Kam expressive	Modified Kam verb	Red.	Dialect
1) Creation & production				
pʲa^{55} 'weave'	ɕet^{13} 'quickly'	pʲa^{55}ɕet^{13}ɕet^{13} 'weave very quickly'	can	Ⓢ
ɕa^{323} 'write'	ɕet^{13} 'quickly'	ɕa^{323}ɕet^{13}ɕet^{13} 'write quickly and fluently'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	ȵok^{35} 'busily'	ɕa^{323}ȵok^{35}ȵok^{35} 'be immersed in writing'	can	Ⓢ
we^{31} 'do, make'	təp^{55} 'slowly'	we^{31}təp^{55}təp^{55} 'do slowly'	must	Ⓢ
we^{31}oŋ^{55} 'work'	ȵet^{35} 'slowly'	we^{31}oŋ^{55}ȵet^{35}ȵet^{35} 'work slowly'	must	Ⓢ
2) Affect				
aŋ^{53} 'glue, stick'	əm^{55} 'cook'	aŋ^{53}əm^{55}əm^{55} 'glue with heat'	can	Ⓢ
peu^{53} 'explode'	pʰum^{33} /onom./	peu^{53}pʰum^{33}pʰum^{33} 'explode loudly' (a rock)	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	pʰʲet^{35} /onom./	peu^{53}pʰʲet^{35}pʰʲet^{35} 'pop' (puff rice)	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
heu^{35} 'beat'	pɛp^{11} /onom./	heu^{35}pɛp^{11}pɛp^{11} 'beat with a dull sound'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ

	pɛt¹¹ /onom./	heu³⁵pɛt¹¹pɛt¹¹ 'rattle'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	pɛm³¹ /onom./	heu³⁵pɛm³¹pɛm³¹ 'drum' (hollow sound)	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	pʲɛt³²³ 'flog'	heu³⁵pʲɛt³²³pʲɛt³²³ 'beat repeatedly'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
çok⁵⁵ 'beat, pound'	pək¹¹ /onom./	çok⁵⁵pək¹¹pək¹¹ 'beat' (the breast)	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	pok¹¹ /onom./	çok⁵⁵pok¹¹pok¹¹ 'punch' (e.g. in a fight)	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
pək³¹ 'thresh, beat'	pɛt³²³ 'punch'	pək³¹pɛt³²³pɛt³²³ 'punch repeatedly'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	çɛt¹³ 'quickly'	pək³¹çɛt¹³çɛt¹³ 'strike quickly'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
pʲɛk⁵⁵ 'whip'	sɛt³²³ 'whip'	pʲɛk⁵⁵sɛt³²³sɛt³²³ 'whip repeatedly'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	çit³²³ /onom./	pʲɛk⁵⁵çit³²³çit³²³ 'swishing the whip'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	çɛt¹³ 'quickly'	pʲɛk⁵⁵çɛt¹³çɛt¹³ 'cracking the whip'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
pʰək¹³ 'flap'	pɛm³¹ /onom./	pʰək¹³pɛm³¹pɛm³¹ 'flapping' (hollow sound)	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
mɛk¹³ 'chop'	pʲɛt³²³ 'thrash'	mɛk¹³pʲɛt³²³pʲɛt³²³ 'chop finely'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
te⁵³ 'quarrel'	pək¹¹ /onom./	te⁵³pək¹¹pək¹¹ 'noisily fight each other'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
tɛk³²³ 'hit, knock'	teŋ⁵⁵ /onom./	tɛk³²³teŋ⁵⁵teŋ⁵⁵ 'noisy knocking' (sound of loom)	must		Ⓢ
tet⁵⁵ 'cut'	kʷɛt³¹ 'quickly'	tet⁵⁵kʷɛt³¹kʷɛt³¹ 'cut quickly'	can		Ⓢ
kʷən⁵⁵ 'cut (scissors)'	ɬep³¹ /onom./	kʷən⁵⁵ɬep³¹ɬep³¹ 'cut noisily with scissors'	must		Ⓢ
çək³²³ 'scald, burn'	ɬət³²³ '---'	çək³²³ɬət³²³ɬət³²³ 'extremely scalding'	must		Ⓢ
ɬui⁵³ 'pinch'	tət³²³ 'quickly'	ɬui⁵³tət³²³tət³²³ 'pinch quickly'	must		Ⓢ
lʲa¹¹ 'lick'	lʲəp¹³ /onom./	lʲa¹¹lʲəp¹³lʲəp¹³ 'lap noisily' (e.g. dog)	must		Ⓢ
ɬut¹³ 'scratch'	n̪ɛt³¹ 'disorderly'	ɬut¹³n̪ɛt³¹n̪ɛt³¹ 'scratch one's head randomly'	must		Ⓢ
it³¹ 'bite'	ŋa³³ 'blankly'	it³¹ŋa³³ŋa³³ 'chew to the bone'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
çɛu⁴⁵³ 'peck'	top³²³ /onom./	çɛu⁴⁵³top³²³top³²³ 'peck noisily' (woodpecker)	can		Ⓢ

	tok³²³ /onom./	çeu⁴⁵³tok³²³tok³²³ 'peck noisily' (woodpecker)	can	Ⓢ
ça¹³miːn¹¹ 'spin'	weu³⁵ /onom./	ça¹³miːn¹¹weu³⁵weu³⁵ 'spin noisily with a loom'	must	Ⓢ

3) Destruction & consumption

ɬi⁵⁵ 'smoke (a pipe)'	pɐt¹¹ /onom./	ɬi⁵⁵pɐt¹¹pɐt¹¹ 'suck noisily' (on a pipe)	can	Ⓢ
ɬan⁵⁵/ɬi⁵⁵ 'eat, drink'	təp⁵⁵ 'slowly'	ɬan⁵⁵təp⁵⁵təp⁵⁵ 'eat up slowly'	must	Ⓢ
	(kʰ)ot³¹ /onom./	ɬi⁵⁵(kʰ)ot³¹(kʰ)ot³¹ 'gobble'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	mʲat³¹ /onom./	ɬi⁵⁵mʲat³¹mʲat³¹ 'chew nosily'	must	Ⓢ
wum³¹ 'drink'	(kʰ)ot³¹ /onom./	wum³¹(kʰ)ot³¹(kʰ)ot³¹ 'drink noisily'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
ɐn³⁵ 'gulp'	(kʰ)ot³¹ /onom./	ɐn³⁵(kʰ)ot³¹(kʰ)ot³¹ 'gulping'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ

B. Relational situations (Positions and motions)

Kam verb	Kam expressive	Modified Kam verb	Red.	Dialect
1) Introduction & initiation				
pu⁵⁵ 'pick up'	təp⁵⁵ 'slowly'	pu⁵⁵təp⁵⁵təp⁵⁵ 'pick up slowly'	must	Ⓢ
çi⁵³ 'point at'	tom⁵⁵ 'rudely'	çi⁵³tom⁵⁵tom⁵⁵ 'point aggressively at someone'	can	Ⓢ
tu⁵⁵ 'grow, sprout'	kaŋ³³ 'abundantly'	tu⁵⁵kaŋ³³kaŋ³³ 'abundantly grow'	must	Ⓢ
we³¹ 'become'	kaŋ³³ 'abundantly'	we³¹kaŋ³³kaŋ³³ 'fully becoming'	must	Ⓢ
	koŋ¹¹ '---'	we³¹koŋ¹¹koŋ¹¹ 'very becoming, stunning (girls)'	must	Ⓢ
pen⁵³ 'dress up'	koŋ¹¹ '---'	pen⁵³koŋ¹¹koŋ¹¹ 'dress becomingly' (girls)	must	Ⓢ
siu¹³çən³⁵ 'dress up'	koŋ¹¹ '---'	siu¹³çən³⁵koŋ¹¹koŋ¹¹ 'dress stunningly' (girls)	must	Ⓢ
sui⁵³ 'sit down'	kʷɐt³¹ 'quickly'	sui⁵³kʷɐt³¹kʷɐt³¹ 'sit down quickly'	can	Ⓢ
suk³¹ 'bind up'	kʷɐt³¹ 'quickly'	suk³¹kʷɐt³¹kʷɐt³¹ 'bind up quickly'	can	Ⓢ
əi³⁵to⁵⁵ 'open the door'	ŋet³²³ /onom./	əi³⁵to⁵⁵ŋet³²³ŋet³²³ 'noisily open the door'	must	Ⓢ

2) Motion

leŋ³³ 'escape'	pən⁵⁵ 'pell-mell'	leŋ³³pən⁵⁵pən⁵⁵ 'flee in disarray'	must	Ⓢ
san⁴⁵³ 'disperse'	pən⁵⁵ 'pell-mell'	san⁴⁵³pən⁵⁵pən⁵⁵ 'scatter'	must	Ⓢ
pən³²³ 'fly'	hɐm³¹ 'in swarms'	pən³²³hɐm³¹hɐm³¹ 'swarming'	must	Ⓢ
	hu³¹ 'in a line'	pən³²³hu³¹hu³¹ 'fly in formation'	can	Ⓢ
	pʰəi³¹ /onom./	pən³²³pʰəi³¹pʰəi³¹ 'fly noisily' (sound of wings)	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	lʲau³⁵ 'disorderly'	pən³²³lʲau³⁵lʲau³⁵ 'fly randomly'	must	Ⓢ
pai⁵⁵ 'go'	hɐm³¹ 'in groups'	pai⁵⁵hɐm³¹hɐm³¹ 'go together'	must	Ⓢ
	hu³¹ 'one by one'	pai⁵⁵hu³¹hu³¹ 'go singly'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	kʰʷəŋ⁴⁵³ 'in a line'	pai⁵⁵kʰʷəŋ⁴⁵³kʰʷəŋ⁴⁵³ 'go in order'	must	Ⓢ
	lət⁵⁵ 'straight'	pai⁵⁵lət⁵⁵lət⁵⁵ 'go directly'	must	Ⓢ
ma³⁵ 'come'	hɐm³¹ 'in groups'	ma³⁵hɐm³¹hɐm³¹ 'come together'	must	Ⓢ
	hu³¹ 'in a line'	ma³⁵hu³¹hu³¹ 'come in a queue'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	kʰʷəŋ⁴⁵³ 'in a line'	ma³⁵kʰʷəŋ⁴⁵³kʰʷəŋ⁴⁵³ 'come in order'	must	Ⓢ
tʰam¹³ 'walk'	tʰɐt³⁵ '---'	tʰam¹³tʰɐt³⁵tʰɐt³⁵ 'walking and hopping'	can	Ⓢ
	təŋ³²³ '---'	tʰam¹³təŋ³²³təŋ³²³ 'stagger'	must	Ⓝ
	kʰʷəŋ³¹ 'in a line'	tʰam¹³kʰʷəŋ³¹kʰʷəŋ³¹ 'walk in order'	must	Ⓢ
çon⁵³ '(re)turn'	lʲe⁴⁵³ 'abruptly'	çon⁵³lʲe⁴⁵³lʲe⁴⁵³ 'turn around abruptly'	must	Ⓢ
pʲiu⁵⁵ 'jump'	pʰʲem¹³ /onom./	pʲiu⁵⁵pʰʲem¹³pʰʲem¹³ 'jump with a splash'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	tʰɐt³⁵ 'with jumps'	pʲiu⁵⁵tʰɐt³⁵tʰɐt³⁵ 'jump to and fro'	can	Ⓢ
	tʰoŋ³⁵ 'high'	pʲiu⁵⁵tʰoŋ³⁵tʰoŋ³⁵ 'leaping'	can	Ⓢ
	tʰok³⁵ 'one-footed'	pʲiu⁵⁵tʰok³⁵tʰok³⁵ 'hopping'	can	Ⓢ
pit³²³ 'bounce'	pʰʲɐk¹³ '---'	pit³²³pʰʲɐk¹³pʰʲɐk¹³ 'leap forward'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ

Kam verb	Kam expressive	Modified Kam verb	Red.	Dialect
	seŋ³²³ '---'	pit³²³seŋ³²³seŋ³²³ 'flapping' (fish in net)	can	Ⓢ
nəi³⁵ 'move'	pɐp¹¹ /onom./	nəi³⁵pɐp¹¹pɐp¹¹ 'shiver' (e.g. in fear)	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	hɐm³¹ 'in groups'	nəi³⁵hɐm³¹hɐm³¹ 'move together'	must	Ⓢ
	hu³¹ 'in a line'	nəi³⁵hu³¹hu³¹ 'move singly'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
	nəp⁵⁵ '---'	nəi³⁵nəp⁵⁵nəp⁵⁵ 'wriggle'	must	Ⓢ
ho³¹ 'roll'	non³²³ '---'	ho³¹non³²³non³²³ 'keep on rolling'	must	Ⓢ
ɬən¹¹ 'rise'	çet¹³ 'quickly'	ɬən¹¹çet¹³çet¹³ 'rise very quickly'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
jən⁵⁵ 'raise'	çet¹³ 'quickly'	jən⁵⁵çet¹³çet¹³ 'raise very quickly'	can	Ⓝ Ⓢ
tu⁵⁵ 'put out'	lop³²³ 'conspicuously'	tu⁵⁵lop³²³lop³²³ 'put out conspicuously'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
tok⁵⁵ 'fall'	tʰəm³⁵ /omom./	tok⁵⁵tʰəm³⁵tʰəm³⁵ 'fall with a splash'	must	Ⓢ
tok⁵⁵pʲən⁵⁵ 'rain'	təp⁵⁵ /omom./	tok⁵⁵pʲən⁵⁵təp⁵⁵təp⁵⁵ 'rain nosily' (e.g. drops)	must	Ⓢ
	kʰʷe³¹ 'continuously'	tok⁵⁵pʲən⁵⁵kʰʷe³¹kʰʷe³¹ 'rain continuously'	must	Ⓝ
tok⁵⁵u³¹ 'hail'	ço³¹ /omom./	tok⁵⁵u³¹ço³¹ço³¹ 'hail noisily'	must	Ⓢ

3) Position

təi¹¹ 'take, hold'	ɬəm⁵³ 'fixedly'	təi¹¹ɬəm⁵³ɬəm⁵³ 'hold tightly'	must	Ⓢ
ɬən¹¹ 'stand'	ɬəm⁵³ 'fixedly'	ɬən¹¹ɬəm⁵³ɬəm⁵³ 'stand firmly'	must	Ⓢ
n̻au³³ 'live, be at'	lən⁵⁵ '---'	n̻au³³lən⁵⁵lən⁵⁵ 'stand still'	can	Ⓢ

C. Animated state of mind

Kam verb	Kam expressive	Modified Kam verb	Red.	Dialect

1) Mental activity & state

çaŋ⁴⁵³ 'think, miss'	ŋui³⁵ 'yearning'	çaŋ⁴⁵³ŋui³⁵ŋui³⁵ 'strongly miss somebody'	must	Ⓢ
nɐk³⁵ 'sleep'	pʰi¹³ '---'	nɐk³⁵pʰi¹³pʰi¹³ 'sleep deeply'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
n̻ən³³ 'remember'	tʰək³⁵ '---'	n̻ən³³tʰək³⁵tʰək³⁵ 'recall well and constantly'	must	Ⓢ

2) Expression & exteriorisation

uŋ¹³ 'sound'	pɐp¹¹ /onom./	uŋ¹³pɐp¹¹pɐp¹¹ 'muffled'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	pɐt¹¹ /onom./	uŋ¹³pɐt¹¹pɐt¹¹ 'crackling'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	pɐm³¹ /onom./	uŋ¹³pɐm³¹pɐm³¹ 'hollow sounding'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	hu³¹ /onom./	uŋ¹³hu³¹hu³¹ 'whistling'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	pʰʲet³⁵ /onom./	uŋ¹³pʰʲet³⁵pʰʲet³⁵ 'popping (e.g. puff rice)'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	kʰeŋ³⁵ /onom./	uŋ¹³kʰeŋ³⁵kʰeŋ³⁵ 'plucking' (Biba instrument)	must		Ⓢ
	kʰot³¹ /onom./	uŋ¹³kʰot³¹kʰot³¹ 'rumbling' (belly) (borborygmus)	can		Ⓢ
	kʰʷɐk³⁵ /onom./	uŋ¹³kʰʷɐk³⁵kʰʷɐk³⁵ 'snapping' (fingers)	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	wɐn⁵³ /onom./	uŋ¹³wɐn⁵³wɐn⁵³ 'rustling' (leaves)	must		Ⓢ
	pʰəm³¹ /onom./	uŋ¹³pʰəm³¹pʰəm³¹ 'bangbang' (sound of a gun)	can		Ⓢ
uŋ¹³pʲa³²³ 'rumble'	hɐm³¹ /onom./	uŋ¹³pʲa³²³hɐm³¹hɐm³¹ 'rumble' (thunder)	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
ko⁵⁵ 'laugh, smile'	hɐm³¹ 'in groups'	ko⁵⁵hɐm³¹hɐm³¹ 'laugh together'	must		Ⓢ
	li:⁵⁵ /onom./	ko⁵⁵li:⁵⁵li:⁵⁵ 'giggling'	must		Ⓢ
	n̠əm³²³ '---'	ko⁵⁵n̠əm³²³n̠əm³²³ 'smile lovingly'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	n̠in⁵⁵ 'grimacing'	ko⁵⁵n̠in⁵⁵n̠in⁵⁵ 'grimacing'	must		Ⓢ
	tʰa³¹ /onom./	ko⁵⁵tʰa³¹tʰa³¹ 'roaring laughing'	must		Ⓢ
	ha³³ /onom./	ko⁵⁵ha³³ha³³ 'laughing' (haha)	must		Ⓢ
	kit⁵⁵ '---'	ko⁵⁵kit⁵⁵kit⁵⁵ 'laugh pleasantly'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
	n̠e³³ '---'	ko⁵⁵n̠e³³n̠e³³ 'smile'	can	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
ne³²³ 'weep'	hɐm³¹ 'in groups'	ne³²³hɐm³¹hɐm³¹ 'weep together'	must		Ⓢ
	lʲoŋ⁵³ '---'	ne³²³lʲoŋ⁵³lʲoŋ⁵³ 'bawling'	must		Ⓢ
	ŋu¹¹ /onom./	ne³²³ŋu¹¹ŋu¹¹ 'weeping, sobbing'	must	Ⓝ	Ⓢ
jaŋ⁵⁵ 'sigh'	həi³¹ /onom./	jaŋ⁵⁵həi³¹həi³¹ 'sigh deeply'	must		Ⓢ
	ŋi³²³ /onom./	jaŋ⁵⁵ŋi³²³ŋi³²³ 'moaning'	must		Ⓢ

son^{55} 'snore'	hot^{31} /onom./	son^{55}hot^{31}hot^{31} 'snore with grunting'	must	Ⓢ
lɐn^{453} 'snap'	k^{hw}ɐk^{35} /onom./	lɐn^{453}k^{hw}ɐk^{35}k^{hw}ɐk^{35} 'snap fingers loudly'	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
pan^{55}/wan^{55} 'shout'	leŋ^{55} /onom./	pan^{55}leŋ^{55}leŋ^{55} 'shout loudly' (in deafness context)	must	Ⓢ
	m^{j}au^{323} /onom./	pan^{55}m^{j}au^{323}m^{j}au^{323} 'miaow' (the sound of cats)	must	Ⓢ
	ŋa^{453} /onom./	pan^{55}ŋa^{453}ŋa^{453} 'crying' (the sound of a baby)	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
sin^{13} 'call'	ŋ^{w}e^{53} /onom./	sin^{13}ŋ^{w}e^{53}ŋ^{w}e^{53} 'caw' (of a raven or crow)	must	Ⓢ
to^{323}a^{55} 'sing'	leŋ^{55} /onom./	to^{323}a^{55}leŋ^{55}leŋ^{55} 'harmonic singing' (girls)	must	Ⓝ Ⓢ
wa^{33}/aŋ^{323} 'speak'	mun^{53} 'eloquently'	aŋ^{323}mun^{53}mun^{53} 'speak eloquently'	must	Ⓢ
ɕui^{35}lən^{11} 'play Lusheng'	nən^{35} /onom./	ɕui^{35}lən^{11}nən^{35}nən^{35} 'play Lusheng loudly'	must	Ⓢ

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