

TRIPLICATED VERBAL ADJUNCTS IN BANTAWA¹

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Among the elements specifying properties of verbal actions in Bantawa, a 'complex pronominalising' Tibeto-Burman language of eastern Nepal, forms deserve special attention in which a nucleus (kernel) K is repeated twice so that a triplet KKK (followed by a suffix -wa) results. Examples are:

- (a) *mükmükmükwa khap-* weep profusely : *mük* eye
- (b) *kakkakkakwa let-* burn with a red glow : *kak* live coal
- (c) *cekcekcekwa wa ta-* rain continuously : *cek-* ?
- (d) *nunnunnunwa dutt-* feel soft touch : *nun-* ?

The nuclei differ in status: in the case of (a) and (b) they exist as free forms or as monolexemic stems as part of the lexicon of contemporary Bantawa; in the case of (c) and (d), they do not – only the triplets extended by -wa are found as actually attested words.

The distinction made here between forms with lexicalised and with unlexicalised nuclei is of course one based on current use in the language of at least one native speaker; yet it seems appropriate to apply it consistently to all triplets which one of us, Novel Kishore Rai, has been able to collect from his own dialect of Bantawa (as spoken at Rabi, Panchthar).

In the examples below, each triplet + -wa is represented by 'X'.

1. This group, comprising triplets relatable to simple nuclei recurring as free forms or as monolexemic stems, consists of the following items:

- (1) *con-* 'be eager to do something' in:²
?O cha konma conconconwa cüyang.
 this child to.move.about X is.CONT
 The child is eager to move about.

¹ This is a corrected and slightly amended version of a paper which appeared in *Linguistic Fiesta* (Festschrift Hisao Kakehi) in 1990. Permission has been received from the publishers for this PL version.

² The practical orthography used in this paper is that employed in Werner Winter – Novel Kishore Rai, *An analytical dictionary of Bantawa* (to appear).

- (2) *cük-* 'save; be stingy' in:
Khamma cükcükcükwa müye!
 money X do
 Use the money like a miser!
- (3) *chek-* 'come to one's senses' in:
?O cha chekchekchekwa cepyang.
 this child X speaks.CONT³
 What the child says makes sense.
- (4) *chop-* 'be dry' in:
?Üng cha dham yüngma chopchopchopwa lisang.
 my child falls to.say X I.became
 I was afraid that my child would fall.
- (5) *chük-* 'pinch' in:
 a. *?O bungga chükchükchükwa nam.*
 this flower X smells
 This flower smells very bad.
 b. *?Oda chükchükchükwa cung luyang.*
 here X cold feels.CONT
 It is very cold here.
- (6) *dek-* 'cover; block' in:
 a. *Kuiro?a dekdekdekwa lisa.*
 by.cloud X became
 The cloud caused it to be very dark.
 b. *Nam lunta kiya dekdekdekwa lisa.*
 sun se and X became
 The sun set and it became very dark.
- (7) *hak-* 'be warm' in:
 a. *?O khimhutda hakhakhakwa luyang.*
 this in.house.interior X feels.CONT
 It is very warm inside the house.
 b. *?O tit hakhakhakwa luyang!*
 this cloth X feels.CONT
 This material is very warm.
- (8) *hük-* 'wind' in:
 a. *Khana hühkhühkwa mancüde!*
 thou X do.not.do!
 Don't move about aimlessly.

³ Abbreviations used in these examples are: ABSTR (abstract), CONT (continuous), ERG (ergative), NSG (non-singular) and REFL (reflexive).

- b. *Mo bhürüdu hühkhühkwa luyang.*
 that on.top.of.hill X feels.CONT
 It is very windy up on the hill.

- (9) *kak* 'live coal' in:

Moko mi kakkakkakwa letyang.
 that fire X burns.CONT
 The fire is burning a deep red.

- (10) *kup-* 'keep warm; incubate' in:

Moko kupkupkupwa ?imsa.
 he/she X slept
 He/she slept nice and warm.

- (11) *küp-* 'cut into pieces' in:

?Üng buk küpküpküpwä tukyang.
 my belly X hurts.CONT
 My stomach hurts very badly.

- (12) *küt-* 'affect by being rotten' in:

?Am khowa kütükütüwa namyang.
 thy wound X smells.CONT
 Your wound smells abominably.

- (13) *khok-* 'be aged' in:

?O müna khokkhokkhokwa thung.
 this man X coughs
 This man keeps coughing.

- (14) *khük-* 'be bitter' in:

?O puyupma khükkhükkhükwa luyang.
 this cucumber X feels.CONT
 This cucumber tastes very bitter.

- (15) *mak-* 'be black' in:

?ayü nampük makmakmakwa ya?ang.
 today night X is.CONT
 It is pitch dark tonight.

- (16) *mok-* 'kick' in:

?Ü tang tuk kiya moko mokmokmokwa ten.
 his/her head hurts and he/she X falls.down
 He/she has a headache and collapses.

- (17) *mük* 'eye' in:

Mo müna mükümükwä khapyang.
 that man X weeps.CONT
 The man is weeping profusely.

- (18) *nop-* 'touch' in:
 ?Ü koma?a mo cha nopnopnopwa mü.
 his/her grandmother.ERG that child X did
 His/her grandmother treated the child with much affection.
- (19) *ngep-* 'brand' in:
 ?Üng buk ngepngepngepwa tuk.
 my belly X hurts
 I have severe stomach pain.
- (20) *rak* 'heat' in:
 Mi rakrakrakwa letyang.
 fire X burns.CONT
 The fire is very strong.
- (21) *rep-* 'become strong' in:
 ?O cha repreprepwa kama mü.
 this child X work does
 This child words very hard.
- (22) *seng-* 'clean' in:
 Moko khim sengsengsengwa katyang.
 that house X appears.CONT
 That house looks very clean.
- (23) *sip-* 'cease; be closed' in:
 a. ?Ayü sipsipsipwa nam nuyang.
 today X sun is.good.CONT
 The sunshine is very weak today.
 b. Tuwa kiya moko sipsipsipwa lisa.
 became.sick and he/she X became
 He/she fell ill and became very weak.
- (24) *süng* 'wood' in:
 Papapmawo singa süngsüngsüngwa li.
 snail's horn X becomes
 The snail's tentacles stand up firmly.
- (25) *tük-* 'wipe' in:
 ?Üngka khim tüktüktükwa sengnga.
 I house X I.cleaned
 I cleaned the house thoroughly.
- (26) *them-* 'be lost' in:
 ?Üngka themthemthemwa konnga.
 I X I.walked.about
 I walked about completely lost.