TRIPLECTED VERBAL ADJUNCTS IN BANTAWA

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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) kakakkakakwa 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:
    ?O cha konma conconconwa cüyang.
    this child to.move.about X is.CONT
    The child is eager to move about.

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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).

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(2) cuk- ‘save; be stingy’ in:

*Khanna cukcukcukwa miye!

money X do
Use the money like a miser!

(3) chek- ‘come to one’s senses’ in:

?O cha chekchekchekwa cephyang.
this child X speaks.CONT
What the child says makes sense.

(4) chop- ‘be dry’ in:

?Úng cha dham yúngma 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:
      by.cloud X became
      The cloud caused it to be very dark.
   b. Nam lunta kiya dekdekdekwa lisa.
      sun set and X became
      The sun set and it became very dark.

(7) hak- ‘be warm’ in:
   a. ?O khimhutda hakakhakwa luyang.
      this in.house.interior X feels.CONT
      It is very warm inside the house.
   b. ?O tit hakakhakwa luyang!
      this cloth X feels.CONT
      This material is very warm.

(8) hük ‘wind’ in:
   a. Khana hükhükhükwa mançiude!
      thou X do.not.do!
      Don’t move about aimlessly.

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3 Abbreviations used in these examples are: ABSTR (abstract), CONT (continuous), ERG (ergative), NSG (non-singular) and REFL (reflexive).
b. *Mo bhūrūdu hūkhūkhūkwā luyang.*
that on.top.of.hill $X$ feels.CONT
It is very windy up on the hill.

(9) *kak* 'live coal' in:
*Moko mī kakkakkakwā letyang.*
that fire $X$ burns.CONT
The fire is burning a deep red.

(10) *kup-* 'keep warm; incubate' in:
*Moko kupkupkupwā ʔimsa.*
he/she $X$ slept
He/she slept nice and warm.

(11) *ktip-* 'cut into pieces' in:
ʔŪng buk kūktūkūkwā tukyang.
my belly $X$ hurts.CONT
My stomach hurts very badly.

(12) *ktūt-* 'affect by being rotten' in:
ʔAm khowā kūktūktūtwā nanyang.
thy wound $X$ smells.CONT
Your wound smells abominably.

(13) *khok-* 'be aged' in:
ʔO mūna khokkhokkhokwā thung.
this man $X$ coughs
This man keeps coughing.

(14) *khūk-* 'be bitter' in:
ʔO puyupma hūkhūkhūkwā luyang.
this cucumber $X$ feels.CONT
This cucumber tastes very bitter.

(15) *mak-* 'be black' in:
ʔayū nampūk makmakmakwā yaʔang.
today night $X$ is.CONT
It is pitch dark tonight.

(16) *mok-* ‘kick’ in:
ʔū tang tuk kiya moko mokmokmokwā ten.
his/her head hurts and he/she $X$ falls.down
He/she has a headache and collapses.

(17) *mūk* 'eye' in:
*Moko mūnā mūkmūkmūkwā khapyang.*
that man $X$ weeps.CONT
The man is weeping profusely.
(18) *nop-‘touch’in:*

\[ ?\bar{u} \text{koma a} \text{ mo cha} \text{ nopnopnopwa mū.} \]

his/her grandmother.ERG that child X did
His/her grandmother treated the child with much affection.

(19) *ngep-‘brand’in:*

\[ ?\bar{u} \text{ng buk} \text{ ngepngengepwa tuk.} \]

my belly X hurts
I have severe stomach pain.

(20) *rak-‘heat’in:*

\[ \text{Mi rakrakrakwa letyang.} \]

fire X burns.CONT
The fire is very strong.

(21) *rep-‘become strong’in:*

\[ ?\bar{u} \text{cha repreprepwa kama mū.} \]

this child X work does
This child words very hard.

(22) *seng-‘clean’in:*

\[ \text{Moko khim} \text{ sengsengsengwa katyang.} \]

that house X appears.CONT
That house looks very clean.

(23) *sip-‘cease;be closed’in:

a. \[ ?\bar{u} \text{Ayü sipsipsipwa nam nuyang.} \]

today X sun is.good.CONT
The sunshine is very weak today.

b. \[ \text{Tuwa} \text{ kiya moko sipsipsipwa lisa.} \]
became.sick and he/she X became
He/she fell ill and became very weak.

(24) *sūng-‘wood’in:*

\[ \text{Papapmawo singa}sūngsūngstingwa li. \]

snail’s horn X becomes
The snail’s tentacles stand up firmly.

(25) *tūk-‘wipe’in:*

\[ ?\bar{u} \text{ngka khim tūktūktükwa sengnga.} \]

I house X I.cleaned
I cleaned the house thoroughly.

(26) *them-‘be lost’in:*

\[ ?\bar{u} \text{ngka themthemthemwa konnga.} \]

I X I.walked.about
I walked about completely lost.