

TRIPPLICATED 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) *mükümükwakhap-* 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:
Kharuma 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 bunga 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 hühühükwa 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 hühühükwa luyang.*
 that on.top.of.hill X feels.CONT
 It is very windy up on the hill.
- (9) *kak* 'live coal' in:
Moko mi kakkakkwa letyang.
 that fire X burns.CONT
 The fire is burning a deep red.
- (10) *kup-* 'keep warm; incubate' in:
Moko kupkupwa ?imsa.
 he/she X slept
 He/she slept nice and warm.
- (11) *küp-* 'cut into pieces' in:
?Üng buk küpküpwa tulyang.
 my belly X hurts.CONT
 My stomach hurts very badly.
- (12) *küt-* 'affect by being rotten' in:
?Am khowa kütükütwa namyang.
 thy wound X smells.CONT
 Your wound smells abominably.
- (13) *khok-* 'be aged' in:
?O müna khokkhokhokwa 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 mokmokmokra ten.
 his/her head hurts and he/she X falls.down
 He/she has a headache and collapses.
- (17) *mük* 'eye' in:
Mo müna mükmükmükwa 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 tüktütükwa sengnga.
 I house X I.cleaned
 I cleaned the house thoroughly.
- (26) *ther-* 'be lost' in:
 ?Üngka themthemthemwa konnga.
 I X I.walked.about
 I walked about completely lost.

2. The list of words in this group that is of triplets the nucleus of which is not found as a free form or as a monolexemic stem, is much longer:

- (27) *cap- '?* in:
?Üng kopa capcapcapwa bima ?ümrü.
 my grandfather X to.walk are.able
 My grandfather can walk very well.
- (28) *cek- '?* in:
?Ayü cekcekcekwa wa tayang.
 today X rain comes.CONT
 Today it keeps raining.
- (29) *cin- '?* in:
Moko tukkaba cincincinwa bana.
 that patient X arrived
 The patient arrived in a very poor state of health.
- (30) *cip- '?* in:
?Am tangda cipcipcipwa ?a?wa ya?ang.
 thy on.head X oil is.CONT
 Oil is dripping from your head.
- (31) *chak- '?* in:
Mo khokmawo ngalüing chakchakchakwa ya?ang.
 that old.woman's face X is.CONT
 That old woman's face is shining.
- (32) *cheng- '?* in:
?O tit chengchengchengwa ya?ang.
 this cloth X is.CONT
 This material is very transparent.
- (33) *chok- '?* in:
?Üng tit chokchokchokwa katyang.
 my cloth X appears.CONT
 Your cloth looks very clean.
- (34) *chom- '?* in:
?Am tit chomchomchomwa katyang.
 thy cloth X appears.CONT
 Your cloth looks very white.
- (35) *dap- '?* in:
Chaci dapdapdapwa loma yakmaci li.
 children X to.tell to.be.NSG becomes
 Children must be told what to do in a strict way.

- (36) *deng- 'ʔ'* in:
Moko dengdengdengwa di dhatyang?
 he/she X what beats.CONT
 What is he beating so loudly?
- (37) *dop- 'ʔ'* in:
Buktanghuda dopdopdopwa yaʔang.
 in.cave.interior X is.CONT
 It is very dark inside the cave.
- (38) *dük- 'ʔ'* in:
Mangpa dükdükdükwä dhuntungu.
 shaman X shivers.CONT
 The shaman is shivering continuously.
- (39) *gom- 'ʔ'* in:
Moko müna gomgomgomwa bi.
 that man X walks
 The man walks in a sluggish way.
- (40) *ghe- 'ʔ'* in:
Mo bukkhundima ghegheghewa biyang.
 that pregnant.woman X walks.CONT
 The pregnant woman walks with her stomach protruding.
- (41) *ghek- 'ʔ'* in:
?Ummakʔa set ghekghekghekwa ?i.
 by.beer dying X laughs
 A drunkard laughs continuously.
- (42) *ghok- 'ʔ'* in:
Hongkudangka ghokghokghokwa caʔwa ta.
 from.river X water comes
 Abundant water comes from the river.
- (43) *hip- 'ʔ'* in:
- Moko hiphiphipwa thung.*
 he/she X coughs
 He/she coughs in an irritating way.
 - ?Üngkaʔa khana hiphiphipwa mitna.*
 I.ERG thou X I.remember.thee
 I will think of you all the time.
- (44) *hok- 'ʔ'* in:
Khana caʔwa hokhokhokwa manthokde!
 thou water X do.not.pour
 Don't pour the water in such a wasteful way!

- (45) *jük- '?* in:
Moko ma?a dhiru kiya jükjükjükwa liyang.
 he/she by.fever met and X became.CONT
 He had an attack of fever and became very ill.
- (46) *jhong- '?* in:
M himsale jhongjhongjhongwa lot.
 that lunatic X runs
 The lunatic runs around wildly.
- (47) *kep- '?* in:
?Ayü kepkpkpwa nam nuyang.
 today X sun is.good.CONT
 The sun is shining nicely today.
- (48) *kük- '?* in:
Moko hongku kükkükükwa datyang.
 that river X appears.CONT
 The river looks a deep blue.
- (49) *khek- '?* in:
Moko khekkekkekwa ?iyang.
 he/she X laughs.CONT
 He/she keeps laughing.
- (50) *khuk- '?* in:
Moko buwale khukkhukkhukwa patyang.
 that owl X cries.CONT
 The owl keeps hooting.
- (51) *lak- '?* in:
Dena khana laklaklakwa tü?iyang?
 why thou X laughest.CONT
 Why are you laughing all the time?
- (52) *lek- '?* in:
- a. *Moko bhürü lekleklekwa dat.*
 that hill X appears
 The hill can be seen clearly.
 - b. *?Üngka?a moko lekleklekwa sintung.*
 I.ERG that X I.know.it
 I know that very well.
- (53) *leng- '?* in:
?Am tit lenglenglengwa datyang.
 thy cloth X appears.CONT
 Your cloth seems quite transparent.

- (54) *luk- 'ʔ'* in:
ʔÜng kümaʔa lukluklukwa dhuntang.
 I by.fear X I.trembled
 I was very much afraid.
- (55) *lum- 'ʔ'* in:
Nosaʔa süngtang lumlumlumwa khuyu.
 he/she.ERG tree X carried
 He/she carried the tree with difficulty.
- (56) *mek- 'ʔ'* in:
- a. *Mekmekmekwa ʔüng ʔipma yiyang.*
 X my sleep comes.down.CONT
 I feel very sleepy.
- b. *Namda mekmekmekwa ʔan ʔipma yi.*
 in.sun X our sleep comes.down
 We feel very sleepy in the sun.
- (57) *müng- 'ʔ'* in:
Müngmüngmüngwa ʔummak manhade!
 X beer do.not.distribute
 Don't be to generous with the beer!
- (58) *nun- 'ʔ'* in:
ʔAm chuk nunnunnumwa duttungyang.
 thy hand X I.feel.CONT
 I feel the soft touch of your hand.
- (59) *ngak- 'ʔ'* in:
ʔAm ngalüng ngakngakngakwa katyang.
 thy face X appears.CONT
 Your face looks very red.
- (60) *pe- 'ʔ'* in:
Mo chaʔa ʔü nicha pepewewa khuyu.
 hat child-ERG his/her younger.sibling X carried
 The child carried its younger brother/sister with difficulty.
- (61) *phe- 'ʔ'* in:
ʔÜngkaʔa lünga pephewewa khuyung.
 I.ERG thatch X I.carried.it
 It was easy for me to carry the thatch.
- (62) *phon- 'ʔ'* in:
Sumpuk phomphomphomwa bhungyang.
 dry.grass X is.piled.up.CONT
 Dry grass is easily piled up.

- (63) *phuk- 'ʔ'* in:
ʔO bunga phukphukphukwa nam.
 this flower X smells
 The flower has a very pleasant smell.
- (64) *rang- 'ʔ'* in:
Khana rangrangrangwa di tũkhunyang?
 thou X what carriest.CONT
 What is the huge thing you are carrying?
- (65) *rok- 'ʔ'* in:
ʔAyũ rokrokrokwa wa ta yakyang.
 today X rain comes is.CONT
 Today it has been raining all day.
- (66) *suk- 'ʔ'* in:
- a. *Kutiwaʔa suksuksukwa namsu.*
 dog.ERG X smells
 The dog sniffs eagerly.
 - b. *Mo ma suksuksukwa khawa.*
 that woman X wept
 The woman kept weeping.
- (67) *sũk 'ʔ'* in:
Khana dena sũksũksũkwa tũʔiyang?
 thou why X laughest.CONT
 Why do you keep laughing to yourself.
- (68) *tak- 'ʔ'* in:
ʔÜng maʔa taktaktakwa mũnga.
 my mother.ERG X does.to.me
 My mother treats me very strictly.
- (69) *ram- 'ʔ'* in:
Mosowo mũkwa tamtamamwa lisa.
 his/her tears X became
 His/her tears were about to flow.
- (70) *tet- 'ʔ'* in:
ʔOko cha tettettetwa cep.
 this child X speaks
 This child speaks very clearly.
- (71) *tong- 'ʔ'* in:
ʔÜngka tongtongtongwa sũng khunnga.
 I X wood I.carry
 I carry a heavy load of wood.

- (72) *thuk-* 'ʔ' in:
- a. *Sahoʔwa hukthukthukwa namyang.*
 leather X smells.CONT
 The leather smells very bad.
- b. *ʔÜngka cungaʔa thukthukthukwa dhunnga.*
 I by.cold X I.tremble
 I shiver very badly from the cold.
- (73) *yap-* 'ʔ' in:
- ʔOko kodali yapyapyapwa lisa.*
 this hoe X became
 This hoe has worn very thin.
- (74) *yük-* 'ʔ' in:
- Yükyüküywa tit manthupde!*
 X cloth do.not.sew!
 Do not sew the cloth when you are trembling badly!
- (75) *yüng-* 'ʔ' in:
- Tit pera kiya yüngyüngyüngwa lisa.*
 cloth tore and X became
 The material has become transparent by wear and tear.

3. The forms given as nuclei in §§1–2 are all characterised by finals that are admissible, in terms of Bantawa morphophonemics, in preconsonantal position. This is only natural as the nuclei occur only before consonants in the items discussed here, viz. in the interior of triplets or before *-wa*. The consonants found before other consonants (other than *-s-*) are *p, t, k, m, n* and *ng*, provided they follow immediately upon a vowel; in bases of the types *CVCs-* and *CVCT-*, the consonantal increments *-s-* and *-t-* are deleted before a further consonant. The list of consonants incurred in position before non-derivational consonants is thus shorter than that of consonants and consonant clusters admissible in prevocalic position for roots and extended bases: it is the prevocalic variants which provide the data that allow us to identify */s/, /n/, /l/,* and */r/* as root-final morphophonemes of Bantawa – before consonants (other than *-s-*) */s/* is lost without a trace, and */n/, /l/,* and */r/* merge to yield *-n-*.

It follows that the nuclei listed in §§1–2 cannot be equated directly with (unextended) roots or (extended) bases of the Bantawa lexicon: conclusive evidence will have to come rather from forms other than the triplets – only the combination of information about preconsonantal and prevocalic variants can lead to a safe identification of the morphophonemic shape of the configurations underlying the nuclei enumerated.

Thus unextended roots can be said to be reflected by, for example, the nuclei (4) *chop-*, (18) *nop-*, (5) *chük*, (25) *tük-*, (26) *them-*, (22) *seng-*. On the other hand, for, for example, (2) *cük-*, (6) *dek-*, (7) *hak-*, (10) *kup-* and (19) *ngep-*, prevocalic variants make it necessary to derive the nuclei from the extended bases *cükt-*, *dekt-*, *hakt-*, *kupt-* and *ngept-*.

4. A few of the nuclei in §§ 1–2 are identical in shape with free forms of the Bantawa lexicon: (8) *hük* ‘wind’, (9) *kak* ‘live coal’, (17) *mük* ‘eye’, (20) *rak* ‘heat’ and (24) *süng* ‘wood’. The remaining nuclei require an identification with verb stems, that is with bound forms. The fact that both *hük* and an extended verb stem *hükt-* would be reflected by a preconsonantal nucleus *hük-* opens the possibility to consider some, if not all, of the nuclei listed in this paragraph as derived from extended bases in *-t-*. There are two advantages to such a view: on the one hand, all triplets in Group One could be taken to consist of triplicated verb stem plus a deverbative suffix *-wa*; on the other, the rather awkward semantic distance between, say, *mük* ‘eye’ and (17) *mükmükmükwa* glossable by ‘with many tears’ would be lessened.

A suffix *-t-* added to a primary noun serves to shift it to the category of the verb (the function of Bantawa *-t-* can be described in most general terms as that of creating an opening for an additional argument or of increasing the valency of a form by one step); the basic meaning of *mükt-* would thus be ‘do something with respect to the eye’ (English *to eye* is not a bad parallel). The unreduplicated verb base *mükt-* ‘to cast an eye upon’ and the triplet *mükmükmükwa* can then be taken to show two different specifications of the use of the denominative verb base *mükt-*.

A similar argument can be brought to bear on *süngsüngsüngwa*, which can be translated roughly by ‘standing erect’; again the semantic distance to the noun *süng* ‘wood’ is striking.

If one considers the fact that the older meaning of Kiranti **siŋ* appears to have been ‘tree’, a hypothetical **süngt-* would call for a hypothetical translation ‘to tree’, which would form the basis for an expression denoting ‘stand upright like a tree’; this verb stem, with a meaning ‘to remain motionless’, is found in expressions such as *Manceppang süngtancin!* (NEG.speak.ABSTR X.REFL) ‘Keep quiet!’.

The situation found in the case of *mükt-* has a further parallel in another form of our short list. If the argument put forward with regard to *mükmükmükwa* is appropriate, it should apply also to (8) *hükhühükwa*, a form which one may want to render by ‘with wind’. Again a monolexic form exists alongside the noun *hük* ‘wind’; again, as in the case of *mükt-* ‘to cast an eye upon’, it shows a specification of ‘to do something with respect to wind’ in that it denotes ‘to produce wind; to fan’. Once more the unspecified notion expressed by the denominative in *-t-* is the one from which the meaning of the triplet can most readily be derived; it has to remain an open question whether this fact reflects a chronology of semantic changes.

5. Triplets included in Group Two all have in common that they cannot convincingly be aligned with monolexic entities in the lexicon of present-day Bantawa. This means that the nuclei in §2 cannot be compared with variants outside the triplets, in particular not with prevocalic ones. As pointed out in §3, the nuclei in §2 cannot be derived from underlying morphophonemic configuration, at least not on the basis of synchronic Bantawa data. In the absence of a documentation of earlier stages of this language the only possibility left for a deeper analysis of the nuclei is a comparison with forms found in other Kiranti languages; this line of investigation will, however, not be pursued in the present paper.

6. If the approach just alluded to should prove successful, it would mean that part of the items in Group Two could be transferred to Group One, albeit on a pre-Bantawa level. This result would imply that a larger percentage of the forms attested in triplets could be related to items from the normal (pre-)Bantawa lexicon. It can, however, be claimed even at this point that in all likelihood there would remain a residue of items that would not find a place in such a normal lexicon. This claim can be based on the following observation:

If one considers roots of the shape CVC- as basic for the native Bantawa inventory of forms, and if one furthermore takes the prevocalic root initials to be representative of the components of the phonemic system, then this system can be said to contain the following items:

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>				
<i>p^h</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>c^h</i>	<i>k^h</i>					
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>							
<i>b^h</i>	<i>d^h</i>	<i>d^h</i>							
<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>		<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>
			<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>				

Simple inspection of the list in §2 shows that six of the fifty items assembled here have an onset that is not included in the inventory of phonemes as represented in the basic lexicon: (39) *gomgomgomwa*, (40) *ghegheghewa*, (41) *ghekghekghekwa*, (42) *ghokghokghokwa*, (45) *jükjükjükwä*, and (46) *jhongjhongjhongwa*. The onsets, though not part of the system of basic Bantawa phonemes, supplement this system remarkably well; this fact may be taken to provide support against their being replaced by closely similar basic phonemes; further support may be assumed to derive from the fact that *g*, *gh*, *j* and *jh* do occur in the regular inventory of Nepali and thus in Bantawa loanwords taken over from this language.

The fact that *g*, *gh*, *j* and *jh* thus are not in any way outlandish to speakers of Bantawa still does not make forms that contain these sounds part of the basic lexicon of the language. It seems useful to separate such items from the normal inventory of lexemes by labelling them *paralexemes*.

7. Paralexemes then would be items whose phonological shape differs from forms in the basic lexicon. In our case, *jhongjhongjhongwa* and so on then have to be identified as paralexemes or as derivatives based on paralexemic nuclei. (It may be mentioned in passing that the application of the same criterion would also lead to the identification of fairly numerous borrowed items as paralexemic entities – a result which offers considerable advantages for further analysis.)

Paralexemic status has to be ascribed to a number of entities incurred in word lists assembled for present-day Bantawa on the strength of the phonological shape. Cases in question are *kagak* 'crow', *ghangghangma* 'spider', and *jharak* 'all', as well as *gAjihangpa* 'bride(groom)'s father' and *gAjihangma* 'bride(groom)'s mother', with the latter two forms also containing the vowel -A-, a mid-central vowel alien to the basic lexicon of Bantawa, though of high frequency in words borrowed from Nepali. (Again, there appears to be no indication that the mid-central vowel was ever replaced by either the high-central or the low-

central vowel, both of which form part of the phonemic system of the basic lexicon of Bantawa, and again it can be pointed out that mid-central *A* filled a gap in this system:

	front	central	back
high	<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>	

Thus, *gAji-*, though showing in sequence three sounds alien to the basic phonemic system of Bantawa, apparently still had a good chance to survive as such since the three sounds all could serve as symmetry-furthering complements of the system.)

Ghangghangma and *gAjihangpa/gajihangma* give evidence of the fact that paralexemes may be subject to word-formation processes normally affecting the basic lexicon: *ghangghangma* shows an extension by *-ma*, a suffix not uncommon in terms denoting small animals; *gAjihangpa/gAjihangma* are best analysed as compounds with *hang* as their second lexeme, an honorific term which as a free form is applied to 'king'. The dividing line between paralexemes and lexemes is thus rather tenuous: items from outside the lexicon proper can be used to extend and enrich it.

Still, it is worth noting that parts of the basic lexicon are highly resistant to such additions. Among the close to 600 verb stems listed in Novel Kishore Rai's dissertation,⁴ only three have an onset that would lead one to consider including them among paralexemes: *jhomt-* 'attack', *jhus-* 'instigate' and *jhüs-* 'show one's teeth' – for 99.5% of all verb stems the initial consonant is part of the basic inventory of Bantawa phonemes.

8. An onset *g-* is found also in *gwamm-*, used to refer to the sound made when jumping. The extrasystemic initial consonant occurs in an item which shows in addition a violation of present-day Bantawa phonotactic rules: nowhere in the basic vocabulary does one incur words with initial consonant clusters. However, *gwamm-*, with its double deviation from the normal pattern, itself forms part of a set of some twenty configurations characterised by onsets C_1C_2a- followed by a sequence $-C_3C_3-$; only the continuants *-l-*, *-y-* and *-w-* can fill the position $-C_2-$. For $-C_3-$, *-y-*, *-p-*, *-t-*, *-k-*, *-m-* and *-ng-* are attested. Thus, even if an item such as *pwakk-*, referring to the sound made when hitting something, contains only sounds that can be taken to represent basic phonemes of Bantawa, the phonotactics of the form make it advisable to include *pwakk-* (as well as the other members of the set) in the category of paralexemes.

9. An item such as *gonom* 'stupid' shows, apart from its *g-*, another violation of normal root and base structure: rather than CVC- or CVct-/CVCs- we find here an unreducible pattern CVCVC. The pattern recurs in, for example, *kagak* 'crow' and *jharak* 'all', that is in other items from the class of paralexemes identifiable as such by *-g-* and *jh-*. All three of these forms of the type CVCVC are further characterised by identity of the two vowels. The formula for the pattern can thus be rewritten to read CV_2CV_2C . This pattern too, recurs in

⁴ The additional forms introduced in §§7–11 are taken from Novel Kishore Rai's dissertation (*A descriptive study of Bantawa*, Pune 1985), a revised version of which is currently in preparation.

forms with sounds from the inventory of basic phonemes of Bantawa such as *bethem* 'idiot', *bhorok* 'frog', and *puyup* 'cucumber'; again, as in the case of words discussed in §7, derivationally or compositionally extended forms with a first element with stem-internal vowel harmony are found in *papapma* 'snail', *therengpa* 'thunder' and *chürütbung* 'a kind of orchid'.

10. The combined evidence of extrasystemic sounds, of consonant clusters in initial position, and of vowel harmony within stems thus enables us to identify a substantial body of forms as belonging to a category which has here been called paralexemes. This phonological and phonotactic evidence can be supplemented by evidence from morphology such as has been presented in the main body of the present paper.

Triplcation has been shown to occur with nuclei which in part could be assigned to the class of paralexemic entities on phonological grounds (cf. §6). If one wants to consider triplets an internally cohesive class of forms, then at least most of the items in Group Two should be included among the paralexemes, if not for the nuclei as such, then at least as far as the triplets are concerned. The same classification would seem to be in order for the triplets of Group One; here we would then have a recurrence of the phenomenon described in §§7 and 9, albeit with a difference in direction: forms may be transferred from one component of the opposition 'lexemes – paralexemes' to the other, which makes it possible that a lexemic nucleus may be expanded into a paralexemic triplet.

11. Up to this point, our argumentation has been entirely in terms of form. It seems, however, possible to arrive at useful generalisations about semantic properties of paralexemes of native origin in Bantawa.

The verbal adjunct discussed in §§1–2 all serve to specify the manner of the verbal action alluded to; in extreme cases the verb itself is semantically near-empty. The specification usually refers to repetition or intensity of the action. As repetition is one means of reinforcing an action, repetition may be taken to be basic in this context. If so, the use of triplets may be taken to be highly iconic. (It should be noted here that the triple nucleus cannot be reduced to a double one, so that while KKK is acceptable, KK is not, and not even K can be used by itself without a serious difference in connotation.)

Iconicity of a slightly different type is used in forms of the type discussed in §8. Again the manner in which an action is performed is focused upon; now it is essentially the sound which accompanies the action that is of interest. One may want to interpret variations such as *pwakk-* (associated with breaking): *bhwakk-* (associated with falling down) or *twakk-* (hitting): *thwakk-* (breaking): *dhwakk-* (hitting) as pointing to traces of a system of consonant gradation used to signal degrees of intensity, and one may view the doubling of C_3 to C_3C_3 as signalling intensity as such and thus not very different functionally from triplcation. However, it hardly seems safe to venture beyond a more general statement that in forms of this group, too, the connotative value of an expression seems to be more significant than the denotative one.

It is this general claim that may open the way toward an inclusion of forms of the type CV_1CV_1C . To claim that *bethem* or *gonom* or *jharak* are 'onomatopoeic' formations does not do much good: what is it that is imitated by these forms? What is, however, much more

easily claimed – and probably much more readily accepted as a claim – is that the use of paralexemic labels seems to evoke something apart from the mere identification of an entity in a linguistically grasped universe: persons, animals, things, actions and states so named are not just perceived as recognisable phenomena, but are at the same time appraised and evaluated subjectively. Viewed this way, items as different in form as members of the Bantawa classes KKK, $C_1C_2VC_3C_3$ - and CV_1CV_1C (as well as of some classes not discussed here) can effectively be treated as belonging to one category – a category definable not only in terms of deviations from normal phonological, phonotactic, and morphological patterns of Bantawa, but also in terms of a shared functional-semantic dimension. Ideally, paralexemes should be characterised by both formal deviations and what may somewhat loosely be called functional overload. As can be seen clearly from the forms listed in §2, the degree of formal deviation may be reduced without a form becoming deprived of its status as a paralexeme: most nuclei in Group Two contain only sequences of sounds which recur in the basic vocabulary, and yet (67) *süksüksükwa* and (41) *ghekghekghekwa* apparently do not differ at all on the level of meaning and functional overload. To be sure, the pattern KKK keeps *süksüksükwa* safely inside the category of paralexemes, but if one were to decide that not only the triplets KKK should be recognised as paralexemes, but also the nuclei K, then *sük-* would not show any deviation from normal patterns of Bantawa root structure, and still one would probably be very reluctant to separate *sük-* from *ghek-*.

We have to conclude then that in spite of formal non-deviation, functional considerations may make us decide in favour of inclusion in the category of paralexemic entities. There would then be a cline from maximal deviation to non-deviation, with the domain of the paralexeme (as determined on functional grounds) extending well into the area of non-deviation. If so, we would be in a position to align Group One with Group Two – the fact that the nuclei in Group One are all non-deviating, while in Group Two at least some normal nuclei are clearly deviating, would not force us to consider KKK formations in Group One as categorically different from KKK formations in Group Two.

The claim made here is then that there is a gradual transition from the extrasystemic to the intrasystemic within the category of paralexemes, which makes it possible for entities from the category of lexemes to become incorporated in the functionally defined category of paralexemes.

The same lack of an insurmountable borderline between lexemes and paralexemes is found clearly in cases of a transfer in the opposite direction. Consider forms of the type CV_1CV_1C in §9 and §11: we have little difficulty in accepting the notion of a functional overload for *gonom* ‘stupid’, *bethem* ‘idiot’, or *jharak* ‘all’, but to maintain the same for *kagak* ‘crow’, *bhorok* ‘frog’, or *puyup* ‘cucumber’ is not that simple.

It seems necessary to draw a very general conclusion: as lexemes and paralexemes are coexisting parts of the lexical inventory of the speakers of a language, they will be in a position to transfer items from the one domain to the other if so desired. Such transfers may be occasional, or they may become conventionalised in the language: in the second case, lexicalisation may lead to elimination of a form from the category of paralexemes, paralexicalisation may have the opposite result. *Kagak* ‘crow’ then once was a (functionally defined) paralexeme in Bantawa, but no longer is, while some of the nuclei in Group Two may well have been part of the domain of lexemes in pre-Bantawa but now have ceased to belong there.

12. The investigation of what has been called here paralexemes in Bantawa has shown that we have before us a rich array of forms with their own formal characteristics, which serve to add an important functional dimension to the linguistic assessment of the speaker's universe and which provide a large reservoir for qualitative and quantitative changes in the lexicon of the language, changes which in part can be reconstructed, in part directly observed. Change, however, works both ways: paralexemes may become part of the normal lexicon, and the normal lexicon may feed the domain of the paralexemes.

What has been noted here about developments in Bantawa is both language-specific and of more general interest. The domain of the paralexemic coexists with that of the lexemic in other languages too; both domains will interact there too, because both of them are at the disposal of the competent speaker. The extent to which, say, the paralexemic is activated may well vary, but a language which could not make use of special expressions with a functional overload would lack an important ingredient for human beings' coping with the world around them, and for interacting successfully with others. What at first may seem to be marginal to language thus turns out to be a highly significant component, and to investigate it is well worth the effort of linguists.