

Reduplication in Bantawa

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Bantawa is one of the pronominalized languages of Tibeto-Himalayan Branch belonging to Tibeto-Burman sub-family. It is widely spoken in the eastern part of Nepal. Bhojpur, Dhankutta, Panchttar, Illam, Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari are the major districts of Mechi, Koshi and Sagarmatha zones of eastern Nepal where Bantawa is spoken mostly. It is also spoken in some parts of Darjeeling district of West Bengal (India), Sikkim and Bhutan.

Reduplication is one of the most productive morphological processes in Bantawa. Broadly, this process has two major functions: grammatical and semantic. The grammatical function of reduplication is to indicate the various grammatical categories (Apte, M. L. 1968) such as number, gender, tense and mode etc. This function is not common in most of the languages. Bloomfield gives some of the examples of this type from Tagalog and Fox. The semantic function of reduplication is to show intensity, less intensity, continuity, certainty, distribution, repeated action and specification of the meaning which is expressed in the basic unit before reduplication. This is the most common function which is found in most of the languages. Bantawa has both of these functions of reduplication.

The term 'reduplication' is defined by various scholars in various ways regarding different languages. Apte, M.L. (1968) has given a detail description of reduplication process and its structure in Marathi. He writes, "The term reduplication may now be defined as either 1) the repetition of an entire or a partical phoneme sequence of a stem morpheme which, together with the stem, constitutes a word; or 2) the repetition of the initial or the first two syllables within a unit already established as a primary word, such repetition of the initial or the first two syllables being either complete or partial...." He has taken a 'word' as the basic unit for reduplication in Marathi. A morpheme is considered as a basic unit for reduplication in Bantawa. A bound or free morpheme can be repeated as a process of reduplication.

Reduplication can be both partial and complete in Bantawa. When the whole base or the first unit is fully repeated as a second unit then that is known as a complete reduplication. When a bound form of a morpheme as the part of a word is being repeated then that is considered as a partial reduplication.

Onomatopœia and echo-formation are not included in this paper. The grammatical function of reduplication which is considered to be the specific function of the language is dealt first and the semantic function which is supposed to be the general one is discussed later in this paper.

I. Grammatical function:

a. Change of grammatical categories v. redup. (part) > N.

1. /kin/ 'to scare' /kinkin/ 'scare-crow'
2. /lak/ 'to hang' /laklak/ 'hanger' (furniture)
3. /Iim/ 'to press' /TimTim/ 'suffocation'. (esp. in sleep).
4. /kūn/ 'to hang' /k̄ ū n̄ k̄ ū n̄ r i / 'a swing'

N. redup. > adj

1. /yum/ 'Salt' /yumyum/ 'Salty',
2. /h ū k/ 'air' /hūkhūk/ 'airy'
3. /Caʔwa/ 'water' /Caʔwaʔcaʔwa / 'watery'
4. /aʔwa/ 'oil' /aʔwaʔaʔwa/ 'oily'

b. Change in number

Interrogative, demonstrative and referential pronouns are reduplicated, for dual and plural.

1. /sañ/ 'who' /sañ sañ/ 'who' (dl. or pl.)
2. /oko/ 'this' /oko oko/ these (dl. or pl.)
3. /moko/ 'that' /mokomoko/ those (dl. or pl.)
4. /kho/ 'that' /khokho/ those (dl. or pl.)

There is no distinction of dual and plural in the pronominal forms but they are marked distinctly in verbal form. The nonsingular marker /ci/ is optional in the reduplicated part.

c. Change of aspect.

Simple non-past rudup.	Non-past progressive
1. ū n̄ k a KhaT̄na ūnka khaT̄nāna	'I go' 'I am going'
2. ūnkaci khaT̄ci ūnkaci khaT̄cīnci	'We two (inclu.) go! 'We two (inclu.) are going'
3. ūnkaca khaT̄ca ūnkaca khaT̄cānca	'We two (exclu.) go' 'We two (exclu.) are going'.
4. khanaci t̄ukhaT̄ci khanaci t̄ukhaT̄cīnci	'You two go' 'You two are going'.

5. mokoci khaTci 'They two go'.
 mokoci khaTciñci 'They two are going'.

In the above example the verb root /khaT/ meaning 'to go' is not reduplicated but the suffixes are reduplicated in order to achieve the progressive aspect. Pronominal marker /na/ in the first person singular dual exclusive marker /ca/ and non-singular marker /ci/ are reduplicated in dual in all persons. It is to be noted that the pronominal marker /n/ is intervening before the reduplicated suffix in all dual numbers.

II. Semantic function:

- a. Nouns: Reduplication of nouns is possible except in the proper and abstract nouns and it suggests the sense of specification of meaning in general.

Examples:-

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|--------|
| 1. | lamlam | biye |
| | road road | walk |
| | Walk on the road only. | |
| 2. | kok kok | coye |
| | rice rice | eat! |
| | Eat rice only | |
| 3. | bak bak | sere |
| | pig pig | kill! |
| | kill the pigs only | |
| 4. | ca } wa } ca } wa } | kese |
| | water water | remove |
| | Remove the water only. | |

Reduplication of nouns may also suggest the sense of sequencing.

Examples:-

1. ūnka khimkhim khaTna
 I house house go
 I go house to house.
2. khana TenTen Kole
 You Village village walk
 you go (walk) village to village

3. T a n̄ T a n̄ khipTe
head head count
count the head to head

b. Numerals

Reduplication of numerals gives the sense of distribution

Examples:-

1. ū k T a ū k T a hase
one one divide
Divide one to each.
2. h ū s a T h ū s a T cane
two two eat
(you) eat two each.
3. ūkke wa ūkke wa mūye
one half one half make
Make one half of each.

c. Adjectives

Reduplication of adjective is very interesting. There can be two types of reduplications: partial and complete. The partial reduplication is meant for the intensification of the meaning and the complete reduplication suggests deintensification or less intensification (Bhaskararao 1977) of the same.

Partial reduplication > intensification.

1. lemchok 'sweet'
lemchok chok 'very sweet'
2. suncuk 'sour'
suncukcuk 'very sour'
3. khūkpak 'bitter'
khūkpakpak 'very bitter'

Complete reduplication > deintensification

1. lemchok lemchok 'a little sweet'
2. suncuksuncuk 'a little sour'

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------------|
| 3. | khūkpak khūkpak | 'a little bitter' |
| 4. | wacekwacek | 'a little watery' |

d. Adverbs

There can be no partial reduplication of adverbs and complete reduplication suggests intensification and specification of the meaning.

Examples:-

- | | | |
|----|-------------|------------------------|
| 1. | HaTna | 'after a while' |
| | haTna haTna | 'a little after while' |
| 2. | ODa | 'here' |
| | Oda Oda | '(particularly) here' |
| 3. | Dani | 'above' |
| | Dani Dani | 'up above, far above' |
| 4. | aTThu | 'before, early' |
| | aTThu aTThu | 'very early' |

e. Post-positions

Reduplication of postpositions shows the closeness or specification of the meaning. They also show the sequence of the action and place.

Examples:-

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------|
| 1. | busiT busiTDa | Yunse |
| | in front in front at | keep |
| | keep closely in the front. | |
| 2. | cūk cūkDa | Kharan |
| | near near at | went (I) |
| | (I) went closely near by. | |
| 3. | mosowo den den | dhumTun |
| | his of back back | followed (I) |
| | (I) followed him closely back to back. | |

f. Verbs

Verbs are reduplicated along with the particles and give the sense of constinuity.

Examples:-

1. moko cayānsa cayānsa khara
He kept on eating while going.
2. ūnkaca cepyaṅsa cepyaṅsa banaca
We two (excl.) kept of talking while coming.
3. ūnka minyaṅsa minyaṅsa kahTṅa.
I keep on thinking while going.

In the above examples the verb roots /ca/ /cap/ and /min/ are associated with the progressive suffix /yaṅ/ and the particle /sa/. The meaning of verb roots is 'to eat' 'to speak' and 'to think' respectively and the meaning of the suffix /yaṅ/ and the particle /sa/ suggests the sense of 'continuity and manner but they may not be able to give meaning in isolation. It is to be noted that these actions are taking place simultaneously.

Reduplication of the verb roots with the particle /si/ suggests the sense of repeated action.

1. ūnka casicasi hoTTaṅ
I am tired of eating (repeatedly)
2. moko khapsi khapsi hoTtu
He is tired of weeping (repeatedly)
3. khana cepsicepsi tuhoTTa
You (sing) are tired of speaking (repeatedly)

In the above examples we find that two actions are taking place one after another and the second action is the result of the first one. The first repeated action is the result of reduplication.

Verbs may suggest continuity of the single action with a single verb in a sentence.

1. moko khaTkokhaT
He goes on and on.
2. moko biwobi
He walks on and on.
3. ūnka cepṅawocepṅa
I speak on and on.

4. Oko epkoep

This (man) stands on and on.

In the above examples the intervening suffix /ko/ and /wo/ are phonetically identical to the genitive suffix but they are applied as the adjectival suffix to denote the quality of the action. The condition is /ko/ after the consonant and /wo/ after the vowel.

When the verbs are reduplicated without any particles then they suggest the sense of certainty.

Examples:-

- | | |
|------------|-------------------|
| 1. moko | TaTa |
| He/she | comes (certainly) |
| 2. moko | khaTkhaT |
| He/she | goes (certainly) |
| 3. moci | KhaTci khaTci |
| They two | go (certainly) |
| 4. Khana | tūbanban |
| you (sing) | come (certainly) |

Triplication

There are certain nouns and verbs which can be repeated twice with the formative suffix at the end. We find the grammatical category also changes with intensification of the meaning in the same time. Here, this process is known as triplication in general,

Examples:-

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. m̄uk | 'eye' |
| m̄ukm̄ukm̄ukwa | 'full of tears' |
| 2. nop | 'to touch' |
| nopnopnopwa | 'very affectionately' |
| 3. h̄uk | 'wind' 'air' |
| h̄ukh̄ukh̄ukwa | 'full of air or wind' |
| 4. rak | 'living coal' |
| rakrakra kwa | 'burning brightly' |

5.	sip	'to close'
	sipsipsipwa	'very much closed'
6.	sop	'to touch' 'to veel' (by hand)
	sopsopsopwa	'blindly'
7.	Ton̄	'to arrange'
	Ton̄Ton̄Ton̄wa	'a big heap'

This process is very much productive in Bantawa and the roots can be free and bound both. The formative suffix /wa/ is phonetically identical to the suffix suggesting the liquid element in a compound word.

NOTES

abbreviations and diacritics.

ū	unrounded high back vowel
ṅ	velar nasal consonant
V.	verb
N.	Noun
redup.	reduplicated
part.	particle
Adj.	Adjective
dl.	Dual
Pl.	Plural
excl.	exclusive
incl.	inclusive

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