A grammar of Bantawa

Grammar, paradigm tables, glossary and texts of a Rai language of Eastern Nepal
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Proefschrift

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Preface

From 2000 to 2006, I lived in Nepal. During those years, I became acquainted with some Bantawa Rai (Nepali Raї) speakers and the language research community of Nepal. Ever since 2000, when I first learnt about the existence of Kiranti people, I have taken an interest in the complex and diverse Kiranti branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family. In early 2003, I came to know some Bantawa Rai speakers personally. When Mitra Raї took me with him to his homeland in Sindran, I became enthralled with the Bantawa Rai, their beautiful language, their heroic but slightly shrouded history, and their scattered homesteads, clinging to the steep and inaccessible valleys of the Koʃi river complex.

In late 2005, I planned to spend another year in Nepal to devote to the study of the complexity of the Bantawa word. The Bantawa word, as will become clear in the course of this book, is potentially very complex. Within the boundaries of a syntactically simple and indivisible unit, the most intricate rules apply. On top of the information that I had collected earlier, I elicited more data and recorded some more stories in order to tackle the first step, i.e. a phonology. Any phonologist will know that in order to write a phonology and understand the interactions between the phonetic form and the 'higher' levels of grammar, one must have an idea of almost the entire grammar of a language.

In 2006, however, it became apparent that I would leave Nepal for a longer time. At that moment, I decided to hoard as many data as possible and see what I could make out of those data. The reader is reading the result of that effort.

Acknowledgements

This book could never have been written without the assistance and support of many people. In particular, thanks are due to Mitra, Bishwahang and my other Rai friends; You have been so kind and helpful. It is my wish that the world gets to learn more of your beautiful language and culture yet. Thanks to Prof. Dr. George van Driem, who contributed substantially to this thesis with his comments and corrections but did not see it through to the end. Thank you, Kwang-Ju Cho, Dan McCloy, Jeff Webster, the Watters family and all other expat linguists in Nepal that I met during the years that I lived there, for all the encouragement, ideas and hospitality. In a way, you saved me. Thank you, G2B, Harmelen, the Van Lindenberg family, for supporting me from or in the Netherlands. Thanks to the people of the Centre for Nepal and Asian
Studies (CNAS) and of the Tribhuvan University, particularly Prof. N.M. Tuladhar and Prof. N.K. Rai, for permitting me to do research in the affiliate program. I apologize for not completing my work in Nepal and hope this book makes up for it. To the people I met at the Linguistics faculty of Leiden University: professors, researchers, AIOs: thank you for your input and forming a great research community. To Jan Kwantes: for the computer; to Michael Guravage: for talking me into \LaTeX.

To my friends: thanks for being friends.
To Marieke, Jan, Kees, Wim and Luuk: thanks for everything.
### Notational conventions

The following table explains the abbreviations used in the text. For abbreviations that are used as morpheme glosses, page references are given that point to the pages where these morphemes are discussed.

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<td>PNOM</td>
<td>purposive nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>passive participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRN</td>
<td>pronominal suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTB</td>
<td>Proto-Tibeto-Burman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qhum</td>
<td>human qualifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qthing</td>
<td>inanimate object qualifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>referential marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFLc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sfx</td>
<td>suffixal slot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIM</td>
<td>simultaneous converb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMp</td>
<td>phrasal simultaneous marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUP</td>
<td>supine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swTOP</td>
<td>switch topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topicaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>first verb in a compound, serial verb construction (main verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>second verb in a compound, serial verb construction (vector verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vf</td>
<td>finite verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIA</td>
<td>vialative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOCp</td>
<td>vocative prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
personal pronouns The distinctions made in Bantawa personal pronouns are different from those in English. In Bantawa, there are inclusive and exclusive first person forms that would both translate as English 'we' or 'our'. For all three persons, not only singular and plural are distinguished, but also the dual. Finally, while in English third person pronouns gender is marked, this is not the case in Bantawa. For the sake of clarity, the glosses for ambiguous pronouns are disambiguated by superscripts. The gloss WE\textsuperscript{PL}, for instance, means 'we', plural inclusive. The superscripts are the single letter abbreviations found in the abbreviations table above. In this book, in several instances, the free translations of elicited examples may contain the word 'he' as a rendering of the third person pronoun, viz. \textlangle kʰo\textrangle, glossed as 'HE/SHE'. Also, in explanations, the reader may find the word 'he' referring to third person actants who might equally well be women. The reader is invited to add 'or she' wherever appropriate.

V.S. The abbreviation V.S. stands for Vikram Samvat, which is the calendar system current in Nepal. This calendar system is 56 or 57 years ahead of the Gregorian calendar, with New Year falling around the 14\textsuperscript{th} of April. Vikram Samvat 2055, for example, was from April 1998 to April 1999.

names Many names for geographical entities, languages and people in this grammar are taken from Nepali. Nepali names will be transliterated. For very frequent names I shall give a transliteration only once, and then introduce an English name that will be used throughout. Places and language names that have received a name in English language literature will be named by this name in English. I shall write: Kathmandu, not Kāṭhamāṇḍū, but Dhankutā and Choṭiḍā.

The transliteration of Nepali names follows the conventional Indological scheme and is listed in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क क kh ग g घ gh ह ह</td>
<td>अ a आ ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>च c छ ch ज j झ jh झ jh ह ह</td>
<td>ई ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ट ṭ ठ th ड d ढ dh ण n अ ṅ</td>
<td>र ṭṛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>त t थ th द d ध dh न n ए e ऐ ai</td>
<td>प p फ ph ब b भ bh भ bh म m ओ o ओ ō au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>य y र r ल l व v</td>
<td>' ' ~ ' m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>श s ष ṣ स s ह h</td>
<td>: ḍ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Nepali' is the name used to refer to the national language of Nepal, also known by the names Khas or Parvatī. The word Nepāli means 'Nepalese', and is abbreviated as 'Nep.'
text sources The corpus samples in this book were taken from many different sources (§1.1.2). For the sentences that were taken from accessible text sources, these sources are referenced by a brief code, placed between square brackets [ ]. Should the reader wish to see a sentence in context, then the source can be found by consultation of the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Bw]</td>
<td>Bungwakha</td>
<td>The magazine <em>Bungwakha</em> (Rāi 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Tt]</td>
<td>Taptape</td>
<td>(Cho 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Hk]</td>
<td>Hangkangsi</td>
<td>(Cho 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Lc]</td>
<td>Local climate</td>
<td>(Cho 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Gn]</td>
<td>Ganya</td>
<td>App.A.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Hm]</td>
<td>Hengmawa</td>
<td>App.A.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Dt]</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>App.A.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Rl]</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>App.A.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Sm]</td>
<td>Sumnima</td>
<td>App.A.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Bt]</td>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>Unpublished recording by the author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Om]</td>
<td>Old Man</td>
<td>Unpublished recording by the author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Dw]</td>
<td>Dowa ‘shaman’</td>
<td>Unpublished recording by the author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Mr]</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>Unpublished recording by the author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Sn]</td>
<td>Sindrang</td>
<td>Unpublished texts, recorded by K.-J. Cho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1

Introduction

In this introductory chapter, I shall first mention some methodological issues and give acknowledgements of sources (§1.1). Next, the necessary background on the Bantawa language (§1.2) will be given. Introductory notes on the culture and life of the Bantawa people are added to the texts in Appendix A.

1.1 This grammar

1.1.1 Aims

This book is a grammar of the Bantawa language. Previous grammars of this language have been published, viz. Bântâvâ (V.S. 2055), Rai (1985), and a few articles have been published on the language as well. However, I believe that there is still ample scope for new work on Bantawa. This grammar differs from previous grammars in several ways.

Central Dialect

First of all, this grammar describes a dialect different than those published before, cf. §1.2. The dialect used as a basis for this description is spoken in the Hatuvã area, in Bhojpur district in eastern Nepal. More specifically, I focused on the language as it is spoken in Sindrān, an area in the southeast corner of Bhojpur. This area is the centre of Hatuvã, and the language is known as Hatuvall. Hatuvã is arguably the centre of the Bantawa speaking area. An alternative title for this grammar could have been A Grammar of Hatuvall.

Comprehensive

Second, though incomplete, this grammar is more comprehensive than any grammar previously published. The data upon which this grammar is based are more plentiful. This description covers more subjects than the previous studies mentioned above. The sections on phonology, noun and verb morphology contain more detail than
earlier studies of the Bantawa language. Moreover, this grammar not only gives a descriptive overview of the morphology of all word classes in Bantawa, but also offers data on usage and syntax.

**Analytical points**

Every language deserves a description in its own terms. To try and apply foreign terminology to a language does not always clarify the issues. In the case of Bantawa, this consideration has not led me to invent or reinvent terminology that may obscure obvious and common linguistic similarities or facts. However, given that Bantawa needs a description in its own terms led me to focus on the issues that are significant for Bantawa. While I do not suggest that these grammatical features are unique to Bantawa, the linguistic facts regarding verbal agreement, nominal and verbal compounding, nominalisation and clause combining are of particular linguistic interest. In §1.3 the main points of the Bantawa language are highlighted.

**1.1.2 Sources**

The civil war in Nepal has been an obstacle in collecting reliable data to support this grammar. The conflict has not only caused immeasurable grief to the Nepali population in terms of lives, but has also cost dearly in economical, ecological and social terms. Remote areas have become insecure and more isolated. The rural areas of Nepal have become depleted of people who can till the land and sustain the rural culture. Boys and girls and other unwilling victims were confronted by the choice to either join the rebel side or flee to the city and perhaps join the, then Royal, Nepalese army. These developments have complicated the collection of data and effectively precluded a long-term stay for research purposes in Bhojpur. As a result, many recordings were made in the city rather than in the village in the midst of the language community.

There are by and large three data sources for this grammar: a) informants and on-site recordings, b) the magazine *Bungwakha* (Rāi 2004) and c) other publications on the language.

**Language informants**

The data for this grammatical description and analysis were collected over a period of three years in varying circumstances and locations. After a first field trip to Bhojpur in October 2003, it was getting increasingly difficult to move around freely for both security and personal reasons. A second trip to Dharān in the summer of 2005 was very fruitful for getting a head start on the verb inventory. However, while most of the corpus was recorded in Bhojpur, most of the elicited data were collected far from Bhojpur, in Pokharā.

Throughout, the aim was to stick to a single dialect of the language. Variation in dialects can easily jeopardise data integrity and any sort of analysis.
1.1. This grammar

Mitra Rāī introduced me to his language and family and aroused my interest in his language and culture. In Dharān, I was taught by Kṛṣṇa Bahādur Rāī and Bhuvan Rāī, who were very fast and effective language teachers. Kṛṣṇa is from the Bāsikhorā area in Hatuvā, while Bhuvan hails from Āmčok. In Pokhārā, I spent many hours with Viśvahān Rāī. He is one of those rare Bantawa residents of Pokhārā who speaks his mother tongue even on a daily basis. Viśvahān lives with his extended family on a compound, where he runs a trekking business. As Viśvahān is also from Sindrān, he was the best teacher imaginable.

Figure 1.1: Language informants

Viśvahān Rāī  Mitra Rāī  Thām Jīt Rāī

Additional questions were answered by Rudra Rāī, Ravin ’Robin’ Rāī and Śyam Rasālī, Prakāś Rāī and Thām Jīt Rāī.

The narratives were told by Kājīmān Rāī, Thām Jīt Rāī and Viśvahān Rāī. In the course of my work I met many other Rai, whom I shall not mention here. They are all people of great patience. I cannot recollect having met a less than cheerful Rai, let alone an angry one. The language is theirs. The analysis and the errors are mine.

Literary Bantawa

In the year 2004, Padam Rāī started publishing a monthly Bantawa Rai language magazine entitled Bungwakha, written Buṇvākha in Devanāgarī script. This invaluable periodical is a real treasure trove of linguistic, anthropological and sociocultural

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1from Choṭšāḷā, Sindrān, Bhojpur (educated up to SLC, School leaving certificate, 38 yrs.)
2from Bāsikhorā, Bhojpur (Ed. IA, 29 yrs.)
3Prem Kunār ‘Bhuvan’ Rāī, from Devāntār, Bhojpur (24 yrs.)
4from Yatmakāhā Tole, Sindrān (class 10, 31 yrs.), married to Vidyā Māyā Rāī, from Monten village.
5from Ākhisāḷā, Dhankut (32 yrs.)
6from Pāṅcā, Bhojpur.
7from Choṭšāḷā, Sindrān (educated up to SLC, School leaving certificate, 23 yrs)
8from Lākpurāh, Homtān (educated up to SLC, School leaving certificate=2, 28 yrs.)
9from Choṭšāḷā, Sindrān (no formal education, 65 yrs.)
data. Even so, I have been cautious to use data from this magazine. I have not always been able to trace the geographical source of texts and was wary of having literary Bantawa mix with my oral data. Also, the uncomfortable Devanāgarī spelling used for Bantawa does not always accurately represent real forms. Nevertheless, the editor Padam Rāi must be highly commended for his relentless efforts to advocate and develop his mother tongue. Bungwakha is a unique magazine of a remarkably high quality.

In the course of a research project for the Tribhuvan University of Kathmandu, Kwang-Ju Cho published a number of annotated Bantawa texts (2007). Kwang-Ju Cho kindly gave me access to his collection. His collection stretches far wider than the published selection. In spite of good progress in the course of the past several years, the shortage of Bantawa literary texts is still an impediment for Bantawa language development.

While I have used the texts of literary sources for my investigations, all analyses remain mine.

Other publications

Previously, several scholars have published on the Bantawa language. Their works can be found in the references.

The earliest published data on Bantawa are found in the Vocabulary of the languages of the broken tribes of Népál (Hodgson 1857). Then, more than a century of silence followed. Since the 1980s, the major contributions have come from mother tongue speakers, Bāntavaş and Rai. Đik Bāntavaş published a grammar (V.S. 2055) and a dictionary (2001), both in Nepali. Prof. Dr. Noval Kiśor Rāi has written an English-language grammar of the language (1985), and created a dictionary from Bantawa to English in cooperation with Werner Winter and Timta Rāi (1985). Furthermore, Keith Sprigg and Boyd Michailovsky have published on Bantawa subjects on the basis of original data.

There are quite a few secondary publications on the language. Most of these publications rely on the grammar and articles published by Rai, e.g. Foltan (1992), Ebert (1994). Rai’s grammar was based on the Rabi dialect of the language (1985: 15), spoken slightly eastward from the area that is the designated heartland. Indeed there are easily notable differences between the two dialects, but not so, it is claimed, that understanding is ever hampered. Rai’s grammar differs quite obviously from Đik Bāntavaş’s grammar in phonology, but also in other, less obvious respects.

1.1.3 Methodology

A descriptive grammar is ideally written inductively and based on a solid foundation of evidence. For this grammar too, the text corpus informed the description and analysis. Previous descriptions of the Bantawa language in particular and the Kiranti languages as a group were also used, albeit in a critical way. Complete agreement tables for verbs, necessary in order to present paradigms and discover conjugation patterns cannot be distilled from a text corpus. For that reason, agreement tables and grammaticality judgments were elicited.
1.2. The language

Theoretical background

Wary of theoretical feuds, I have tried, but not always succeeded, to avoid statements or terminology that would fit one theory but not another. This grammar has been put as much as possible in general, theory-neutral terms. If there is a unifying, underlying theory, then this framework would be the ‘basic linguistic theory, the typological and functional framework of linguistic analysis in terms of which most grammars are cast.’ (Aikhenvald 2004: xi).

For some terminology, I shall assume that the meaning is known from and equivalent to that of common linguistic practice. For potentially vague terms and words that are problematic for Bantawa, the reader finds some paragraphs in the text that are dedicated to the definition of terminology.

At certain points in the text, I have referenced some more-or-less theoretical works that have informed analytical or terminological choices. The rather extensive article by Bickel and Nichols (2006) contains many definitions of morphological units of description, of the concepts of word and formative, etc. The works by Givón (2001) and Payne (1997) offer many insights on grammatical description in general. On the topics of complex verbs, evidentiality and word-hood I consulted Aikhenvald and Dixon’s works (2002, 2004, 2006).

1.2 The language

In this section, we discuss the historical, geographical and linguistic situation of the Bantawa language, i.e. where the language is spoken and what languages and people surround the Bantawa speakers.

1.2.1 Language situation

Numerically, Bantawa is the largest language among the Kiranti languages. The number of people identifying themselves as Bantawa was 371,056 in the 2001 census of Nepal. The majority of Bantawa speakers reside in the hills of eastern Nepal (Figure 1.2).

Geography From west to east, the country of Nepal is divided into five development regions. The Eastern Region is the easternmost of these. The development regions are subdivided into zones, and further into districts. There are 75 districts in Nepal, and Bhojpur is one of these. Bhojpur is situated in eastern Nepal, and is central in the Eastern Region. The hills of the Eastern Region are mostly populated by Rai, Limbu and other groups of Kiranti origin. Further north of the Bantawa-speaking area there are other non-Kiranti groups of what used to be referred to as the Mongoloid racial stock, e.g. the Sherpa and the Lhomi, and also speakers of Tibetan dialects. Towards the south one finds people who speak languages of Indo-Aryan origin, e.g. the speakers of Tharu, Rajbangsi and Maithili. Even small pockets of speakers of Austroasiatic languages are found.
Chapter 1. Introduction

The chief Bantawa speaking areas are in the districts of Bhojpur, Dhankuṭā, Sunsari, Udayapur and Khoṭān, all of which are in the Eastern Region.

The geographical centre of these five districts is Bhojpur. Bhojpur is the perceived heartland of the Bantawa people, cf. Hanßon (1991: 6: ‘the recent main area’) and Eppele et al. (2003). The Bantawa language is also spoken further east, in Moraṅ, Tehrathum, Pāchtar and Ilām, and even beyond the border in India, i.e. Sikkim, and Bhutan, cf. Rai (1985: 15) and Eppele et al. (2003). An eastern variety of Bantawa is reportedly used as a lingua franca between Rai minorities in Limbuwan, Sikkim and Bhutan and as a first language by Rai of other ethnic origin.

Endangered  By strict criteria, Bantawa as a language is not immediately endangered. The language will probably last another century. The number of Bantawa speakers is relatively high. In Bhojpur there are quite a few villages with a majority of Bantawa speakers. The inhabitants of these villages use Bantawa every day, and children learn Bantawa as their mother tongue. My main informant did not speak Nepali until the age of 10 when he entered school. Some children still learn Bantawa as their mother tongue and only learn Nepali when they enter school.

However, even where Bantawa is quite vital and still passed on to the next generation, the pressure on the language from the national language Nepali is immense. Many Bantawa speakers switch code frequently and use many loans in everyday speech. Nepali slowly nibbles away at the language, and it is hard to see how this tendency can be reversed in the current context. Nowadays, there are some efforts and initiatives to strengthen language development. While most Bantawa speakers still feel that their children should first learn Bantawa (Eppele et al. 2003:
1.2. The language

The language suffers heavily from modern pressures. The language will dwindle unless the use of the language in communication outside of the house is promoted.

1.2.2 Speakers

Not all speakers of Bantawa identify themselves as ethnic Bantawa Rai. Many speakers of Bantawa belong to another Kiranti group, e.g. Kulung or Chamling, who happen to have migrated to a Bantawa speaking area. Similarly, there are non-Kiranti inhabitants of Bhojpur of Indo-Aryan stock who speak Bantawa as a mother tongue. In Sindrañ, the last stronghold of Bantawa, the vast majority of the population identifies themselves as Kirawa 'Kiranti' and speak Bantawa as a mother tongue.

Kiranti Bantawa speakers generally identify themselves as Kirawa, and their language as Kirawa yiŋ. The term kirawa no doubt has some relationship with the Nepali word kirā that is used nation-wide. This etymon is as old as the Vedas, dating back to 1000 BC (van Driem 2001: 594).

The term 'Kiranti' designates the groups of Tibeto-Burman stock that peopled the Himalayas from the east in prehistoric times. These people reached at least as far as the Kathmandu valley. It has been suggested that the progenitors of the current inhabitants of the Kathmandu valley, the Newar, were also part of this prehistoric Völkerwanderung.

Nowadays, different subdivisions of the Kiranti people are proposed. In common parlance, a distinction is made between Rai, who are the largest group of Kiranti people, Limbu, the largest single unit of Kiranti people who are not Rai, and smaller groups such as the Yakkha and Sunwar people who are neither Rai nor Limbu. Some

10Cf. Van Driem (2003: 24)
Kiranti groups reject the designation 'Rāi', as this word is of Nepali origin. Other groups recently started to shed the epithet Rāi, e.g. the Bahing people. In any case, currently most Bantawa people are known by the name Rāi in Nepal’s registry offices. Due to the present increase in awareness and status of minorities, it is becoming increasingly popular to choose ‘Bantawa’ or a clan name as a surname.

**Bantawa** The name ‘Bantawa’ has been used for the Bantawa speakers for a long time. In the 19th century, Hodgson (1857: 162) noted that his ‘Rúngchhénbúng, Chhingtǎng and Wǎlíng languages ‘could be unitised under the common name of Bontáwa’. The spelling Bontáwa is not as outlandish as it would seem. Even today some authors write bantāwā. In Devanāgarī script, the ‘ā’ designates the ‘implicit’ vowel, short a, that is realised as [a] or [ʌ]. As one walks down from Bhojpur to Dhārān, this pronunciation is heard more often. The northern form [bantawa] is gradually replaced by the southern form [bantawā] or even [bantawa]. For his grammar (V.S. 2055), Bāntāvā chose the orthography Bāntāvā, but for his dictionary (2001) he switched to Bāntāvā. The latter form is the standard now, used in the magazine Bungwakha and in most other publications.

The term Bantawa sometimes includes groups that are not strictly Bantawa-speaking Rai. For example, even though Chintang is considerably different from standard Bantawa, the Bantawa themselves call that language Chintā˙ne Bāntāwā. The etymology of the word Bāntāwā is unclear. The term can be analysed as ‘weapon-bearer’, i.e. warrior, as (1). This etymology, however, is speculative.

(1) ban-tat-wa
    weapon-bring-APm
    ‘weapon-bearer’

### 1.2.3 History

**Political history** Throughout historical times, the Hatuvā area has been a Kiranti-speaking area. What happened in prehistory remains a matter of conjecture.

Hatuvā apparently was a political unit at the time of the unification of Nepal. Hatuvāgadhi, just above Sindrān’s central town Ghodēṭār, was the fortress of the last king of Hatuvā. Hatuvāgadhi is a heritage site that has lain in ruins for over a century. The ruins of Hatuvāgadhi were further destroyed by the Royal Nepalese Army. The Royal Nepalese Army set up their base in this safer spot after their base in Ghodēṭār was overrun by Maoist rebels. Hatuvā is found in many historical records and is mentioned amongst other Kiranti kingdoms, e.g. Vijayapur-Moraṇi and Caudād, that fought against the Śah armies in the last quarter of the 18th century11.

The strongest memory alive amongst Bantawa speakers in the area is the history of the subjugation by the armies of Prθhvi Nāraṇ Śāha. After Prθhvi Nāraṇ Śāha himself conquered the strong Newar kingdoms of Kathmandu valley, he and his successors subdued eastern Nepal by conquest. This unification was a traumatic experience for the Kiranti people. It is ingrained in the collective memory of the

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11Cf. e.g. Neupane (2001)
Kiranti people that the Hindus usurped land by unfair land laws and forbade the Kiranti to eat cows. The last kings of Hatuvā are kept alive in oral history.

**Language contact**  Historically, the Bantawa language has developed from the language of Proto-Kiranti immigrants who arrived in eastern Nepal in prehistoric times. In Bantawa, we also find traces of the influence of Sanskrit-based languages. There is evidence in Bantawa of both old and more recent borrowing from some Indo-Aryan language, which points to long standing contact, cf. §2.4. However, even now that this contact has intensified dramatically with two centuries of political unity, the grammatical structure of Bantawa is still distinctly Kiranti and very unlike that of Indo-Aryan languages.

**1.2.4 Dialects**

Hatuvā is the region that linguistically forms the centre of the Bantawa speaking area. Currently however, Hatuvā is not a political unit. Area names like Hatuvā, Šām cog and Dilpā are the names of *thums*. Thums were political divisions under the early Śāha government in the 19th century, that are now also known as *upakendra* ‘subcentre’. The past Hatuvā *thum* includes 7 modern villages, namely Bāsikhōra, Rāṇī, Homtān, Devāntār, Pātlepān, Khairān and Sindrān.

Distinct dialect areas have been identified by Eppele *et al.* (2003) and Hanßon (1991). Eppele’s findings are more detailed with regard to Bantawa and, I believe, linguistically most reliable. Basing themselves on numerous interviews and comprehension tests, Eppele *et al.* distinguish four dialects. West of Hatuvā, towards and in Khoṭān lies the Šām cog dialect. To the north, the Dilpā dialect is spoken, which is the basis for the description by Bāntāvā (V.S. 2055). Towards the east lies the Dhankut area, where the eastern dialect is spoken that forms the material for Rai’s descriptions (1984, 1985, 1988). The dialect used as a basis for the current description is spoken in the Hatuvā area, Bhojpur.

The differences between Bantawa dialects must not be exaggerated. All speakers claim that they fully understand speakers from other dialect areas. The dialects of the Rabi and Dhankut area are of the same stock.

In this grammar, incidental references can be made to clear dialectal differences, e.g. in the ordering and nature of verbal prefixes, pronunciation of hiatus, or realisation of some phonemes. Within the Hatuvā area there are subtle differences in pronunciation and even lexical differences. These differences will be discussed in the text where necessary. The present grammatical description, however, does not contain a dialect study.

**Dialects or languages**  Within the context of Kiranti languages, Bantawa holds a central position, geographically as well as linguistically. At least numerically, Bantawa is the largest Rai language. Bantawa has exerted strong influence on surrounding languages, which makes it difficult to tell whether relationships between neighbouring languages are historical, signalling a genetic relationship, or recent, in the form of loans and replacement. Some languages close to Bantawa are Chintang
towards the east, Chamling towards the west, and Dungmali in the north-east. These languages show many similarities to Bantawa. On closer study however, real differences can be found that are deeper than the surface. Around Dhankutā, there are some languages that are close to Bantawa, but are still languages in their own right, viz. Chiling, the various Athpahariya dialects, including Belhare, and Yakkha. From the data I collected of the eastern Bantawa variety as spoken by, for example, Rudra Rāi, it must be concluded that there are many similarities between eastern Bantawa and the languages of the Yakkha cluster. See below §1.2.5.

1.2.5 The language family affiliation

The Bantawa language is a member of the Kiranti group of languages. The scholar who tries to assign the Kiranti languages to the right language family runs into trouble right from the start. Obviously, the Kiranti languages are part of the same group of languages that also includes Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and all languages that can be related to these three. However, the proper name for this family is a point of contention. Matisoff, the author of the reference work on ‘Sino-Tibetan' reconstruction, splits off Sinitic from the rest of the family (2003). This split is reflected in the choice of ‘Sino-Tibetan' as a name for the family. Others, e.g. Van Driem (2005) and Sagart (2006), have pointed out the absence of evidence that would set apart Sinitic languages from the rest of the family. In order to establish the validity of a division of the family in two major branches, viz. Sinitic and non-Sinitic, there must be evidence of linguistic innovations that are shared by all non-Sinitic languages that are not found in the Sinitic branch. The lack of such evidence should lead any scholar to adopt an agnostic stance and avoid unwarranted propositions regarding historical relationships. Sinitic is then best treated on a par with the rest of the family, i.e. just a branch on equal footing with Karenic, Himalayish or Bodish, Lolo-Burmese etc. Proponents of this default theory (van Driem 2005) prefer to call the language family ‘Tibeto-Burman.'

The position of the Kiranti languages within the Tibeto-Burman language family is not fixed. It has been suggested that the Kiranti languages together with the Magaric and Newaric languages form a sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman called ‘Himalayish' (Bradley 1997). The Himalayish sub-branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family apparently further belongs to the Bodic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family.

The position of Bantawa within the Kiranti language group There are some 30-odd different Kiranti languages, and several subgroupings have been proposed. Michailovsky (1994) established a major divide between Western Kiranti, comprising

12Kham, Magar and Chepang, (Watters 2004)
13A proposed taxon that includes Newaric and Kiranti languages was labelled Mahakiranti by van Driem (2001). Later, van Driem (2003) no longer entertained the Mahakiranti hypothesis, but retained ‘... the name 'Mahakiranti' for the sake of argument to designate the proposition that Newaric and Kiranti together form a coherent subgroup within the Tibeto-Burman family.' (2003: 24).
14Bradley (1997) calls this branch Bodic or Western Tibeto-Burman, while (Matisoff 2003: 6) uses 'Himalayan'.
1.2. The language

Figure 1.4: Kiranti family tree, after van Driem (2001)

of Hayu, Bahing, Sunuwar, Dumi, Khaling and Thulung on the one hand, and Eastern Kiranti, comprising of Kulung, Chamling, Bantawa and Limbu on the other. This division is based on shared phonological innovations in the initial plosives of these languages and has not been seriously contested. Later, Bradley (1997: 16) offered a rather unspecific tree that sums up eight branches of the Kiranti group.

Opgenort (2005) has refined Michailovsky’s analysis, using an innovative method of combining lexical isoglosses, i.e. counting etyma that are shared between languages, with phonological isoglosses, i.e. counting shared phonological innovations.

Van Driem (2001: 615) offers a genealogical tree for the Kiranti language group as represented in Figure 1.4. On the basis of the work of Michailovsky and Opgenort, we know this model to be largely correct. The subclassification situates Bantawa in the Southern branch of Central Kiranti. What the model does not show is that the distance between Bantawa and Western Kiranti languages is greater than that between Bantawa and Eastern Kiranti languages. The distance between languages not only surfaces in the phonological form of etyma as shown by Michailovsky (1994) and Opgenort (2004), but also in specific items in the vocabulary.

Bantawa shares many etyma with Eastern Kiranti languages that are not shared with Western Kiranti languages. Particularly, my data suggest that Bantawa shares some etyma with the languages of the Yakkha cluster\textsuperscript{15, 16}, that these languages do

\textsuperscript{15}The Chiling, Āṭhpahariyā, Belhare and Yakkha languages were grouped under the heading ‘Dhankutic’ by Bickel (1996: 22). Van Driem (2001: 684) labels this taxon as ‘Greater Yakkha’, contends that Belhare is an Āṭhpahariyā dialect and further writes that these languages ‘show greater affinity with Limbu than do other Kiranti languages, yet they share salient, basic lexical roots with Rai languages to the west’. Examples of these shared roots are indeed plentiful, for example we might add Rai *hik ‘wind’ vs. Limbu surit, *namnī ‘last year’ vs. Limbu metli, etc. However, there are also many roots that Central and Eastern Kiranti share but are not found outside of these two taxa, for example *asen ‘yesterday’ and met-ma ‘to apply’ and ‘causative’. These data suggest that the differences between Limbu and other Kiranti languages with regard to the phonological development of initial plosives, cf. Michailovsky (1994), are not unambiguously
not share with languages outside the Central Kiranti taxon.

1.3 Overview of the Bantawa language

Bantawa is a central Kiranti language that shares many features with its neighbouring languages. On the basis of some simple sentences we’ll highlight the main characteristics of the Bantawa language.

Word classes In Bantawa the nominal and verbal word classes can be clearly distinguished by morphology, syntactical function and, less clearly, meaning. Within the nominal class we can distinguish nouns, proper nouns and pronouns. All nominal classes have a shared morphology that includes affixation of case, locative and other nominal suffixes, and possessive prefixes.

The class of verbs forms the core of the Bantawa lexicon. Verbs have a restrictive phonological structure. The class of verbs is not just formally very regular on the surface but it also can be shown that many relationships pertain between the verbs, such that we find verb families maintaining causative, applicative, transitivised and detransitivised relationships between them. Verb morphology is very rich. Verbs are inflected for tense and participant agreement; nominalisations and other forms account for another seven conjugational forms for each verb. Verb paradigms easily comprise more than a hundred different forms.

Aside from these main classes, it is meaningful to distinguish the adjectival and adverbial word classes as well for Bantawa. Other word classes are numerically smaller, such as conjunctions and the epistemic and pragmatic particles.

Ergativity Bantawa is a split-ergative language. With regard to case marking, the main participants are marked according to an ergative / absolutive opposition. In this grammar I’ll mark the main participants as subject (S) for intransitive sentences and agent (A) and patient (P) for transitive sentences. Subjects and patients have no overt case marking while the agent is marked with the explicit ergative marker <-ʔa> (ERG). In this respect, S and P are aligned, while A stands apart, which we shall call an ‘ergative pattern’. However, we also find that agreement suffixes on the transitive finite verb correspond to either agent or patient, such that we find a mixed alignment pattern. Finite verb prefixes always correspond to either A or S, but never to P; this we shall call an ‘accusative pattern’. Throughout this grammar alignment patterns will be put in this terminology.

(2) araŋ ni ik-tet ḥaŋhon-ʔo ten-da ik-cʰa kʰokpa mina
once NAR one-qual country-GEN village-LOC one-qhum old man man
yuw-a-ŋ-a ni
be-PT-PROG-PT NAR

parallelled in lexical differences.

16Discussing the data collected by Gvozdanović, Van Driem (1994) notes some Yakkha words that have cognates in Central Kiranti but not in more Eastern Kiranti languages, e.g. mokma ‘to hit’. Cf. also Hanßon et al. (1997).
1.3. Overview of the Bantawa language

(3) hɨŋ-yaŋsa yuŋ-yaŋsa mi-kʰar-a-ŋ-a-hída ik-len mo kʰoku
live-PROG-SIM sit-PROG-SIM 3pl-go-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP one-day that old.man
sarimaʔa dʰir-u-ki im-kʰa-da-ŋa ims-aʔo; ims-a-lis-a
disease-ERG find-3P-SEQ sleep-PNOM-LOC-EMPH sleep-PT-NOM sleep-PT-become-PT
NAR

'While they were living easily that way, one day a disease struck that old man,
and he lay down on the bed; lay down and stayed there.' [Om]

Word order and sentence syntax  Bantawa is a clear-cut verb-final language,
with the proviso that sentence embedding morphology, the nominalizer <-ʔo> and
the epistemic particle <ni> (NAR) can follow the verb. We see the narrative particle
ni in the sentences (2, 3) above. The clause-embedding morphology <-hídə> 'while'
and <-ki> 'after' is suffixed to the verbs in (3). The nominalizer in Bantawa, very
characteristically, operates as a sentence marker as also shown in example (3). Its
meaning here is to punctuate the story by marking the fact that the man lay down as
a fact, after which the story continues.

While Bantawa is clearly verb-final, the order of the other constituents is not
rigidly determined by syntax, but rather influenced by pragmatic considerations.
Adjuncts and modifiers generally precede the nominal verbal arguments, as shown in
the examples above: arʔa ni iktet haj̓ onʔo ten̓a 'Once, in a village in some country...'
(2) or hɨŋyaŋsa yuŋyaŋsa mîkʰarây̓ iída 'While they were living easily that way...
(3). In transitive sentences, the agent tends to precede the patient; however,
this tendency is not very strong and counterexamples are found easily. The topic of the
sentence is often, but not obligatorily, marked with the clitic topic marker <-na>
(TOP). Particularly if the patient precedes the agent, it is marked with the topicalizer

Nominals  No noun is a count noun in Bantawa; in order to form a quantified
noun phrase, a pronominal qualifier is required. Qualifiers are specific to the type of
noun. Different qualifiers are used for inanimate nouns, human nouns or nouns that
represent objects of specific shapes. Sentence (2) shows two examples: ik-tet haj̓ on
one-qual country 'one country' or ik-ʔu kʰoku one-qual old.man 'an old man'.

Nominal morphology consists of prefixed possessive markers and case suffixes,
including locational or functional suffixes. Case suffixes may be stacked, resulting in
reification (cf. §3.5). The genitive case may combine with a nominal phrase to form a
postpositional expression that expresses a complex nominal relationship (cf. §3.3.2).
Nouns can also be formed by compounding; two types of noun compounding are
discussed in §3.1.3.

Verbs  In Bantawa, finite verbs are conjugated to reflect and agree with the
participants in a verbal situation. Bantawa has a very rich verbal morphology, with
up to 10 slots for agreement inflection. The three grammatical numbers that can find
expression in verbal agreement are the singular, the dual and the plural. The first,
second and third persons are distinguished in Bantawa verbal flection; in the non-singular, the first person inclusive and exclusive have separate agreement suffixes. There is a clear distinction between the transitive and intransitive conjugation of verbs. Transitively conjugated verbs express a transitive verbal situation. The intransitive verb inflection pattern is used for intransitive predicates and transitive predicates expressing little or no effect on the patient, which we shall call the antipassive conjugation of verbs, cf. §6.2.

The transitive finite verbs show agreement with both patient and agent, according to a split-ergative pattern. As a pattern, the suffixes on transitively conjugated verbs show person agreement with the highest ordered participant first, i.e. the first or second person participants, and show number agreement with the higher-numbered participants. In §4.4, the verb affixes are described in a classical slot analysis. While a slot morphology approach may suffice to describe simple facts of morpheme ordering, some non-linear phenomena such as the copying of phonetic material in simplex finite verb morphology are perhaps not captured easily in terms of slots and ordering, cf. §4.5.2.

Complex predicates  Bantawa has many strategies for forming complex verbal predicates. Apart from lexically causative verbs, there are some processes to form causative predicates morphologically. Similarly there are processes to form reflexive and reciprocal predicates. A very eye-catching feature of Bantawa is the very productive formation of complex verbal predicates that contain two or more similarly inflected verbs in a sequence, such as shown above in (3): *ims-a-lis-a* he-slept-he-became ‘he became bedridden’. Even compared to other Kiranti languages, Bantawa shows very prolific verbal compounding. The progressive paradigms are a grammaticalised form of this type of complex verbs. Only verbs with formally parallel morphological suffixation can be compounded in this way. Quite a few pages of this grammar have been spent to describe the morphological formation of this type of non-root compounding. In the chapter on complex predicates, §7.2, the ordering of affixes in slots is put to use to give an adequate description of the formation of this type of complex verb. In contrast with simple, single-root verbs, serial verbs of this type express direction, aspect and other semantic nuances.

Clause embedding and nominalisation  Bantawa has essentially two strategies to combine two clauses. One clause combining strategy involves the embedding of a non-finite clause in a matrix clause, cf. §5.1. Verb participants may be shared in complex clauses formed according to this pattern, and often obligatorily so. An example of this pattern is shown in example (3), *hinya nga yunya nga mi ka ara* 'while they were living easily', where the simultaneous converb suffix <-sa> (SIM) marks the non-finite verb forms that are sub-predicates of the entire clause.

The same sentence also demonstrates the other pattern: *mika ara-hida ... sarima ... a d* i r u-ki ... *ims-a-ʔo* ‘while they were going ... after a disease struck him ... he lay down.’ The other major pattern used to combine multiple clauses is that of subordination by clause-final suffixes such as the phrasal simultaneous <-hida> (SIMP) and the
1.3. Overview of the Bantawa language

sequential suffix <-ki> (SEQ). These sentence-final suffixes correspond to European sentence-initial subordinating coordinators such as ‘while’ and ‘after’.

Nominalisation  Bantawa has a nominalising suffix <-ʔo> (NOM) that has many functions in the language. Suffixed to and in between nominal phrases, the nominaliser functionally resembles a genitive. This general nominalizer can, however, affix to phrases of any type, forming an adnominal modifier phrase to any nominal phrase that may follow. The general nominaliser <-ʔo> is also affixed to finite clauses, marking a relative clause that may be subordinated to nouns. However, the nominaliser occurs independently on finite phrases as well, without further dependent context. In this position, the nominaliser indicates a factitive, background or assertive status of the sentence. In sum, this marker functions as a general nominaliser and subordinator, marking constituents for a specific grammatical role. On the other hand, the general nominaliser functions in ‘stand-alone’ position and can be intentionally added to sentences as an epistemic category, and as an information structuring device. The Bantawa nominaliser shares many features with similar nominalising markers in related languages in the Himalayas, and thus reflects an areal typological feature (van Driem 1993a, Bickel 1999, Watters 2008).

Figure 1.5: On the verandah
Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter is an outline of Bantawa phonology. The phoneme inventory is given and explained, and syllable structure is discussed. There are some issues that deserve special attention, viz. a) the status of voiced aspirated stops, b) the status of the glottal stop, c) the way to deal with Nepali influence on the language, particularly in relation to phonology, and d) some more minor issues.

2.1 Consonants

The consonantal inventory of Bantawa may be summarised as in Table 2.1.

The grey cells are all phonemes, for which minimal pairs are easily found. Their phonemic status has been observed previously by Bāntāvā (2001) and Rai (1985). The grey cells contain phonemes that are quite certain, but those in between square brackets [ ] are not unproblematic. The phones in white areas of the table are not analysed as phonemes for different reasons.

Table 2.1: Consonant Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>manner</th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>pharyngeal</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>-voice</td>
<td>+voice</td>
<td>-voice</td>
<td>+voice</td>
<td>-voice</td>
<td>+voice</td>
<td>+voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>-asp</td>
<td>+asp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tʃʰ</td>
<td>dʒʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>-asp</td>
<td>+asp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>-asp</td>
<td>+asp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>trill/flap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17
Chapter 2. Phonology

Each of these phonemes will be briefly discussed below. The status of the retroflex consonants will be discussed in section §2.4, which discusses Nepali influences in Bantawa. The opposition of voiced stops vs. voiced aspirated stops, viz. [b] vs. [bʰ], [d] vs. [dʰ], [g] vs. [gʰ] and [dz] vs. [dzʰ], will be discussed separately. The glottal stop also deserves a discussion of its own, as do the rare aspirated approximants or glides.

Nepali loans

One general problem that needs discussion in a phonological description of any Kiranti language is the status of loans from Nepali. In order to decide whether some phonetic distinction signals a phonemic contrast, it is the set of data under consideration that determines the outcome. The phonology of Bantawa can be discussed very well excluding the loans from Nepali, as the core of the lexicon is well preserved. Also, the percentage of obvious Nepali loans is very limited. I feel that it is justified to consider the phonology of Bantawa while excluding obvious Nepali loans. Some aspects and developments in the sound system may be related to Nepali influence, for instance the development or retention of aspirated voiced stops, viz. /bʰ/, /dʰ/, /dzʰ/ and /gʰ/ as distinctive phonemes. However, whatever their origin, these developments are part of the Bantawa sound system as such. The issue is different from whether or not to include Nepali words in the data set. Some criteria for inclusion of Nepali words into the data set could be frequency and degree of adaptation to Bantawa phonology. The situation can be compared to French influence on Dutch. It would be awkward to introduce a phone in the Dutch phoneme inventory on the basis of a single French loan found in some speakers’ repertoire. However, when a number of loans that contain this contrastive phone form an integral part of the Dutch vocabulary, the phoneme must be considered a ‘Dutch’ phoneme.

The Nepali influence on Bantawa is similar. It is hard to produce a good and useful figure to quantify the penetration of Nepali into Bantawa. In my word list, a more or less random slice out of the language, based primarily on texts and, for verbs, elicitation, one finds some 15% of Nepali loans, i.e. 450 out of 3000. Most loans, particularly the frequently used loans, have undergone adaptation to Bantawa phonology. Several authors who published word lists (Rai et al. 1985, Bāntāvā 2001) tended to record ‘native’ words only, and thus these dictionaries give a view of the reality that is biased for ‘real’ Bantawa words. Apart from this problem with printed sources, there is considerable regional variation in penetration. Some areas are reportedly under stronger Nepali influence than others. For this description, however, the situation in Sindrān is taken as a yardstick. In Sindrān, most loan words are adapted to Bantawa phonological rules. The loan words that conform to Bantawa phonology were admitted to the data set. For more discussion of Nepali influence, see §2.4.

The class of verbs forms the core of the Bantawa lexicon. The verb inventory is phonologically very regular and forms the most solid stronghold of the native lexicon. We shall establish a basic set of phonemes and phoneme combinations from this class and discuss some phenomena that extend beyond this class.
2.1.1 Minimal pairs for the clear-cut contrasts

In Table 2.1, there is a series of affricate consonants only at the alveodental or alveolar place of articulation. These affricates are sometimes treated as if they fill the 'gap' for the palatal stops, but phonetically as well as phonologically this is incorrect. However, these consonants pattern with the stop phonemes in some other respects and we shall treat them together.

Contrasts between unvoiced, unvoiced aspirated and voiced members of the labial, dental, velar and affricate series are easily found.\footnote{In the lists of minimal pairs, the part of speech is given for each word by the following abbreviations: \textit{v} verb, \textit{n} noun, \textit{adj} adjective and \textit{adv} adverb.}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textbf{p} & \textbf{pʰ} & \textbf{b} \\
potma & ‘grope’ \textit{v} & pujma & ‘begin’ \textit{v} \\
pʰotma & ‘accuse’ \textit{v} & pʰugma & ‘run away, send off’ \textit{v} \\
pʰopma & ‘catch’ \textit{v} & bujma & ‘sow’ \textit{v} \\
popma & ‘be unholy, defile’ \textit{v} & pʰiŋma & ‘crack’ \textit{v} \\
bopma & ‘cover’ \textit{v} & biŋma & ‘blast’ \textit{v} \\
pʰitma & ‘put together’ \textit{v} & pʰanma & ‘change’ \textit{v} \\
patma & ‘cry out, shout’ \textit{v} & penma & ‘order, fly’ \textit{v} \\
batma & ‘bloom, bring, reach’ \textit{v} & pʰenma & ‘untie’ \textit{v} \\
putma & ‘boil over’ \textit{v} & & \\
pʰutma & ‘break’ \textit{v} & & \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textbf{t} & \textbf{tʰ} & \textbf{d} & \textbf{dʰ} \\
tama & ‘come far’ \textit{v}, ‘copper (N)’ \textit{n} & tomma & ‘support’ \textit{v} \\
tʰama & ‘split’ \textit{v} & tʰomma & ‘dance, make dance’ \textit{v} \\
dama & ‘finalise’ \textit{v} & domma & ‘be senseless’ \textit{v} \\
dʰama & ‘fall down, go down’ \textit{v} & tupma & ‘understand, meet’ \textit{v} \\
tʰatma & ‘be sufficient’ \textit{v} & dupma & ‘earn’ \textit{v} \\
dʰatma & ‘hit’ \textit{v} & duŋma & ‘drink’ \textit{v} \\
tenjma & ‘make blunt’ \textit{v} & dʰunjma & ‘thresh, bump’ \textit{v} \\
tᵉŋjma & ‘push away with hand’ \textit{v} & tukma & ‘be ill, strike’ \textit{v} \\
denjma & ‘weave’ \textit{v} & tʰukma & ‘spit at someone’ \textit{v} \\
tipma & ‘drain off’ \textit{v} & dukma & ‘flood’ \textit{v} \\
dipma & ‘cover’ \textit{v} & & \\
tʰinjma & ‘pounce, wake up’ \textit{v} & & \\
dinjma & ‘lay eggs’ \textit{v} & & \\
\end{tabular}
Chapter 2. Phonology

**ts ~ tsʰ ~ dz**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsikma</th>
<th>‘economise, dye’ v</th>
<th>tsinma</th>
<th>‘end, teach, finish’ v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsʰikma</td>
<td>‘pinch’ v</td>
<td>tsʰinma</td>
<td>‘wrap around’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsama</td>
<td>‘eat’ v</td>
<td>tsʰajma</td>
<td>‘stack up’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰama</td>
<td>‘get a child’ v, ‘cook’ v</td>
<td>dzajma</td>
<td>‘construct on the ground’ v, reach height v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsekma</td>
<td>‘chop up, arrange marriage’ v</td>
<td>tsʰojma</td>
<td>‘please’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰekma</td>
<td>‘block, lock in’ v</td>
<td>tsʰojma</td>
<td>‘deliver’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsumma</td>
<td>‘shrink, clean up, remove’ v</td>
<td>tsʰumma</td>
<td>‘sink, tie up’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰumma</td>
<td>‘sink, tie up’ v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**k ~ kʰ ~ g**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kikma</th>
<th>‘hold’ v</th>
<th>kuma</th>
<th>‘heat’ v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰikma</td>
<td>‘be bitter’ v</td>
<td>kʰuma</td>
<td>‘chew’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ken</td>
<td>‘large drum’ n</td>
<td>kakma</td>
<td>‘jump over, occupy’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰen</td>
<td>‘wound’ n</td>
<td>gakma</td>
<td>‘make a hut’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katma</td>
<td>‘feel’ v</td>
<td>kʰajma</td>
<td>‘look’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰatma</td>
<td>‘go, take away’ v</td>
<td>gaŋma</td>
<td>‘make a hut’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepma</td>
<td>‘sting’ v</td>
<td>kʰojma</td>
<td>‘freeze’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰepma</td>
<td>‘stick’ v</td>
<td>goŋma</td>
<td>‘stretch’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kima</td>
<td>‘be long’ v</td>
<td>kʰoma</td>
<td>‘scrape’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰima</td>
<td>‘quarrel’ v</td>
<td>goma</td>
<td>‘belch’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopma</td>
<td>‘surround’ v</td>
<td>koŋma</td>
<td>‘level’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰopma</td>
<td>‘close, cut firewood’ v</td>
<td>goŋma</td>
<td>‘stretch’ v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These cases are all unproblematic. However, verbs beginning with voiced affricates and velars are rare. Nevertheless, these verbs contrast regularly with other verbs beginning with a homorganic unvoiced stop and cannot be construed as loans. Nasal consonants contrast with their homorganic stop consonants, which I shall not demonstrate. Nasal also contrast with one another in every position; So do laterals and glides.

**m ~ n ~ ŋ**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nan</th>
<th>‘hail’ n</th>
<th>anco</th>
<th>‘our dis’ pro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>‘godhead’ n</td>
<td>amco</td>
<td>‘your dis’ pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nopma</td>
<td>‘touch’ v</td>
<td>canma</td>
<td>‘feed’ v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mopma</td>
<td>‘lose sense’ v</td>
<td>camma</td>
<td>‘sharpen’ v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1. Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma 'mother'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n 'fish'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba 'weave'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba 'uncle'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch 'aunt'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch 'be greasy'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mọ 'deceive'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nọ 'taste oily'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nọ 'flounder'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam 'way'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n 'leg'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n 'rock'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n 'snap'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 'eel'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 'Brahmin' (Bähun)</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n 'stick in'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n 'smell, reek'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k 'measurement basket'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k 'wound'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**w ~ j**

Minimal contrasts between /w/ and /j/ are not frequent because these phones have a limited distribution with respect to the following vowel. However, there are enough distinctive contexts to establish a phonemic contrast. The data set contains no minimal pairs between /w/ and /j/, but near-minimal pairs are not infrequent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wama 'dry'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jama 'tickle'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witma 'collect'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíma 'bring down'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winma 'to grind'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíp 'downwards'</td>
<td>adv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhuwa 'owl'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buja 'previously'</td>
<td>adv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawa 'water jug'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaja 'rice plant'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do 'officiant'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so 'basket'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**r ~ l**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ri 'spread the word'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li 'hook up'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra 'plant'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la 'leg'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rek 'rip'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lek 'lick'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rı 'spread, scatter'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima 'happen, become'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ron 'pierce'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lon 'go outside v, take outside, take out'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru 'shake'</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu 'liver'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha 'plough'</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hala 'red'</td>
<td>adj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2. Phonology

s ~ t ~ ts ~ tsʰ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saŋ</td>
<td>'who' pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan</td>
<td>'head' n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chtan</td>
<td>'also' part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senma</td>
<td>'ask' v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenma</td>
<td>'uproot' v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cenma</td>
<td>'splice' v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chenma</td>
<td>'select' v, 'urinate' v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɨŋ</td>
<td>'wood' n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɨŋ</td>
<td>'thorn' n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cɨŋ</td>
<td>'exit' n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakma</td>
<td>'weed' v, 'breath' n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakma</td>
<td>'bathe' v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sutma</td>
<td>'hide' v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cutma</td>
<td>'tease' v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chutma</td>
<td>'send' v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maksa</td>
<td>'bear' n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makca</td>
<td>'son-in-law' n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2.1.2 Voiced stops vs. voiced aspirated stops**

There are only few examples of minimally contrastive pairs between aspirated and unaspirated voiced stops, which suggests that either the phonemic contrast has only recently developed or is in decay. The consideration that contact with the Nepali language, that has the contrast, has relatively recently intensified supports the hypothesis that the phonemic contrast between simple voiced and voiced aspirated stops is a recent development. However, the presence of lexical items that are not apparent loans from Nepali or even have a demonstrable Kiranti pedigree supports the contrary view. It seems that the lexical items that contain voiced aspirates are found in a limited number of functional categories, viz. flower names, intensifiers and ideophonically expressive jargon, cf. §2.2.1.

Michailovsky (1994: 766) does not reconstruct reflexes in Proto-Kiranti that correspond to this opposition and excludes /gʰ/ and /dzʰ/ from his Bantawa phoneme inventory, which suggests that the opposition is not old. For /bʰ/ and /dʰ/, Michailovsky simply lists two variants for some examples (1994: 772), without further elaboration. I maintain that /dʰ/, /bʰ/ and /gʰ/ are real phonemes, for which enough contrasts can be demonstrated. For /dzʰ/, technically no contrast can be shown. However, it must not be excluded from the phoneme inventory. Most speakers of Bantawa have distinct preferences for one form or the other of the words that have either /dz/ or /dzʰ/. This phonemic distinction is very real to the speakers.

b ~ bʰ

At first sight, the phonemic status of /bʰ/ is doubtful. There are dialectal variations in words, such as in examples (4) and (5), that give the impression that specific forms are very local and, perhaps, more accidental than significant.

(4) pig
   a. [bʰak] (Sindrān, author’s field notes)
   b. [bak] (Rabi dialect, NK Rai)
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(5) crab
   a. \[kʰeβak\] (Sindrān, author’s field notes)
   b. \[kʰebak\] (Rabi dialect, NK Rai)

Moreover, there are certain forms where deciding on the right form was hard for
several informants, for example those in (6) and (7)

(6) bɨŋma ‘blast’
    bʰɨŋma ‘blast’, also: bʰɨŋkʰawa vs. bɨŋkʰawa ‘gun’
(7) bekma ‘fold’
    bʰekma ‘fold’

However, for most other forms there generally is agreement on the proper form.
There are some nouns showing the contrast /b/ vs. /bʰ/. Word-initially, the contrast
is relatively unproblematic in spite of variation in some words. Most speakers who
have learnt Nepali are very aware of the contrast, e.g. in frequent loans such as bʰela
‘gathering’ vs. bela ‘time, occasion’.

(8) b ~ bʰ minimal pairs
   a. batma ‘bloom’, ‘bring’, ‘reach’
      bʰatma ‘fetch water’
   b. bak ‘flat, leaf’
      bʰak ‘pig’

While there is a word initial contrast, /bʰ/ and /b/ do not appear in phonemic
contrast in intervocalic position2. Voiced bilabials are usually realised as \[β\] in this
position. Informants’ intuitions about which consonant this should represent are
often based on their understanding of the etymology of the word in question. A form
such as \[kʰeβak\] ‘crab’ causes doubt, as the \[βak\] part could be understood as ‘flat’, as
a crab is flat, or as ‘pig’, as there may be something pig-like about the crab. This doubt
about a word’s etymology shows the real uncertainty about the voiced, intervocalic
bilabials. Phonologically, the contrast is neutralised intervocally.

d ~ dʰ

The contrast between /d/ and /dʰ/ is more frequent and well-established than that
between /b/ and /bʰ/. Still, there are quite a few instances where judgment is
uncertain, or where there are two forms available to express the same concept.

(9) danma ‘trip’
    dʰanma ‘bring down’
(10) dima ‘make fall’
    dʰima ‘lay’

2In fact, the one example of intervocalic /bʰ/ from Rai et al. (1985), which represents the Rabi dialect,
is yo-bʰi ‘chin’. This entry in Rai et al. (1985) contains a footnote reading ‘Koku: yo-b’. 
Some of these correspondences (9,10) can be explained as a reflex of a Proto-Tibeto-Burman transitive derivation process, cf. §6.3.1. While synchronically the meaning difference may be minimal or absent, we can assume that in the past there used to be a derivational relationship between two forms. Anyhow, in most instances the contrast is unproblematic, as shown in the minimal pairs.

The occurrence of two forms for ‘egg’ in example (11) has another explanation. The variation in this form may be related to the fact that ‘egg’ is most frequently used in compounds, such as wadin ‘chicken-egg’ etc. The point is that similar to the labial voiced stops, the aspiration contrast is neutralised intervocically. The phonemes /d/ or /dʰ/ may be realised either way, but, in careful speech, will be realised as the known underlying form. In transparent compounds, speakers have an intuition as to which phoneme is underlying, so that the phonemic contrast must still be maintained for this position. In the non-compound loans /pʰdu~pʰdu/ ‘dove’ (= *porewa (N), parevã) the aspiration is truly uncertain. The form /baddʰe~badde/ ‘many’ (= * bɔɖʰi(N)), another loan which is unique anyway with its d-geminate, the aspiration is very often not realised. Speakers may pronounce aspiration if they are aware of the word’s origin, or for extra emphasis. A similar ideophonic value is associated with other consonants, e.g. see /dz~dzʰ/ below. Underlyingly, we must posit /baddʰe/.

**dz ~ dzʰ**

Voiced alveodental affricates are rare in Bantawa. Either [dz] or [dzʰ] occurs in only 25 words out of some 2000, of which only ten are possibly of native origin. Voiced alveodental affricates do not seem to appear in the core verb lexicon that derives from proto-Kiranti (Michailovsky 1994). The remarks that apply to the b ~ bʰ opposition apply with more force to the opposition dz ~ dzʰ.

Most of the verbs that start with [dz] are acceptable with the aspirated variant as well.

(12) Verbs with dz ~ dzʰ

a. dzǝŋma 'construct on the ground'; 'reach height'

b. dzǝnma 'pile up' (related to (a)?)

c. dzøŋma / dzʰøŋma 'reach height, be tall'

d. dzʰonma 'make tall' (derived from (c)?)

e. dzʰomma 'surround'

f. dzʰumma 'gather'

The non-verbal examples are listed in (13).

(13) Non-verbs with dz ~ dzʰ

a. dzʰarar 'all'

b. badziŋma 'cricket'
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c. ondzoŋlo / undzʰoŋlok ‘much, many’ (< dzonma)
d. goŋdzoruŋ ‘begonia’
e. dzʰidzʰema ‘Mussaenda macrophylla flower’ (Nepali dhobini)
f. dzajgala ‘kind of flower’

Of these words, dzʰarak is the most prominent and frequent. The low frequency of /dz/ and /dzʰ/ does not mean that they are foreign.

If we leave the flower names aside, the concept of size, mostly big, and the consonants /dz/ and /dzʰ/ seem associated. This association can be qualified as onomatopœic, or, more correctly, ideophonic (Caughley 1997: 96). The expressiveness of the sound is associated with the size denoted. One gets the impression that the breathiness and length of the vowel after /dz/ in the words /dzʰarak/ and /dzʰoŋma/ is related to the emphasis or size expressed. Throughout I shall note the ideophonic usage of words and sounds in general; With respect to adverbs cf. the discussion in §8.2.4.

In sum, while there is no minimal pair in the native lexicon of Bantawa to contrast [dz] and [dzʰ], the proficient speakers of this language have fixed intuitions about which one to choose for some words. The contrast between [dz] and [dzʰ] is marginal, but phonemic.

\[g \sim gʰ\]

Word-initially, there is only one contrast between [g] and [gʰ]. The following forms are found in the data set.

(14) goŋma ~ gʰoŋma
    a. goŋma ‘stretch’
    b. gʰoŋma⁴ ‘fuck’
(15) goku ~ gʰoku ‘caterpillar’
(16) goma ~ gʰoma ‘belch’

There are no minimal pairs with the exception of (14), where, again, emotional value seems to be attached to the aspirated form. However, while there are very few minimal pairs, there are some near-minimal pairs that warrant the conclusion that this contrast is phonemic.

(17) gungunjŋ ‘very deep’
    gʰum ‘leaf umbrella’

Speakers that have had some exposure to Nepali have fixed preferences for one form or the other. It is fair to say that the phonemic contrast exists in the competence

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³dzʰarak has possible cognates in at least Limbu: sarak, and Chamling: jʰarak. Ebert (1997a) remarks that ‘jahrak’ in Chamling is the only word she found with this onset. The verbs that indicate ‘to be of size’, dzonma, dzʰonma, dʰonma also have apparent cognates in Limbu: conjan, conjāy: height, elevation. Bantawa dzanma may have a cognate in the Limbu verb comma (com-): ‘to put something up high’ (The Limbu examples are from Jeff Webster, personal communication).
⁴This word is considered very rude.
of most speakers. However, there is regional variation, resulting in speakers from one area preferring and consistently using one form, while in another area another form may be preferably used.

These factors together make it impossible to find a criterion by which to determine the underlying phoneme for those words that have two forms. In a reconstructed ‘proto-Bantawa’ language, the contrast is certainly not there. The contrast /g/ vs. /gʰ/ is a recent development5.

Intervocally, again, the contrast is completely neutralised. For compound words, the underlying phoneme can be reconstructed, but not for example (18) below.

(18) ogi ~ ogʰi ‘sweet potato’

For occurrences after the homorganic nasal /ŋ/ the picture is even more complicated. Here a forward voicing assimilation process also seems to operate, which is rare elsewhere in the language, except, may be, in rapid speech.

(19) ‘star’
   a. san-gʰen (NK Rai)
   b. san-ken (author’s field notes)

As this type of syllable junction occurs in compounds only, underlying forms are easily reconstructed.

2.1.3 The glottal stop

Glottal stops do not contrast with other phonemes

The glottal stop is a problematic phone in Bantawa that does not have the status of a full phoneme. There is no position where the glottal stop contrasts with any other sound. The glottal stop only contrastively occurs syllable initially; however, the contrast is with its absence only. The presence of the glottal stop indicates a syllable boundary, and this syllable boundary is contrastive, e.g. (20).

(20) a. so.ma ‘lazyness’
    b. somʔa ‘by love’

In syllable-final position, the glottal stop occurs as an allophone for the voiceless stops /p/ /t/ and /k/. Considering this distribution of the glottal stop, we analyse the glottal stop as a contextually determined filler that signals a syllable boundary. In specific positions, the glottal stop functions as the default consonant. The glottal stop is then analysed as an empty syllable-initial consonant position. This analysis makes room for inserting glides in some contexts where a vowel-final syllable occurs in a word or phrase before a syllable with an empty onset. In these contexts, glottal occlusion may appear as well but cannot be analysed as phonemic, as it is not contrastive with the glides /w/ or /j/.

5Michailovsky (1994) leaves the /g ~ gʰ/ series out of the phonemic inventory for Bantawa. However, this does not seem warranted. In Rai’s work on the Rabi dialect as well as in my field notes, several /g ~ gʰ/ contrasts are found.
In the discussion of allophony, we shall see that syllable-final stops are pronounced with simultaneous closure of the glottis, resulting in unreleased consonants. The simultaneous closure of the glottis makes it hard to perceive differences between /p/, /t/ and /k/ in syllable-final position, even to native Bantawa speakers. Moreover, in some instances the glottal occlusion is more audible or occurs previous to the closure at the place of articulation of the consonant, leading to perception of a glottal stop. These facts together must have led Bànțăvă (2001: 1) to posit the glottal stop as a phoneme. On investigation, there is not a single minimal pair that could tell the glottal stop apart from any of the voiceless syllable-final stops. The most frequent contexts where syllable-final glottal stops are recorded are at the end of a word and before either of the two glides /j/ and /w/, most prominently in /-kwa/- sequences. The morphemes <-wa> 'water' or <-wa> 'fowl' are quite frequent in Bantawa nominal compounds. The homophonous suffix <-wa> is used in a 'male' class of nominals. Where roots ending in /k/ get a suffix with the form <-wa>, the phonetic realisation of the /k/ is primarily glottal, as in examples (21).

(21) k → ? / _w
   a. /tsakwa/ [tsaʔwa] ‘water’
   b. /akwa/ [aʔwa] ‘oil’
   c. /kintʰokwa/ [kintʰɔʔwa] ‘rebel’

In these contexts, writing /k/ is completely acceptable to Bantawa speakers. When the word-internal structure of derivations is transparent, e.g. in cakwa (< *cak ‘bathe’ + *wa ‘liquid’), writing /k/ is preferred. Verbal roots ending in /p/, /t/ or /k/, that appear in continuous forms with <jaŋ> are frequently realised with a final [ʔ]. This effect is carried further in reduced forms for the conjugation of <jak> ‘existential to be’ and for the proto-verb <*jaŋ> ‘to be’, that does not occur independently, cf. example (22).

(22) forms deriving from /jaŋ/, with /ʔ/
   a. /jakjaŋ/ [j aʔjaŋ] ‘it is’ (< jak-jaŋ ‘be-PROG’)
   b. /maaŋ/ [maʔaŋ] ‘it was not’
      (< * man-jak-jaŋ ‘NEGNPp-be-PROG’)

In fact, the last form (22b) is an example where [ʔ] occurs intervocically and no glide allophone would be acceptable. Although this form could be understood to form a near-minimal pair with /p/, /t/ or /k/, or /w/ or /j/ in similar contexts, this is not the correct analysis. The occurrence of [ʔ] in example (22b) represents the last reflex of deleted material at the syllable boundary: the syllable boundary itself. Word final /t/ and /p/ may also be replaced by or misheard as [ʔ], but less so than /k/. However, in some circumstances the prefronting vowel assimilation reveals the nature of the consonant, even when the consonant is not pronounced, cf. the section on allophony §2.2.

(23) t → ?
   a. /pot/ → [poʔt] → [poʔtʔ] → [poʔʔ] ‘throat’
Uncertain final consonants

In contexts where prefronting is not audible, viz. after the front vowels /i/ and /e/, only careful speech or transparent word structure shows what the underlying consonant is. As a result, there are a number of words where different sources give different opinions on which the syllable final consonant is in a given word. Also, often forms without consonant exist next to forms with them, cf. Table 2.2. Historical analysis or synchronic investigation of the derivational history of these words may point out which is the underlying consonant. There is no reason to assume an underlying consonant /ʔ/, however.

Table 2.2: Uncertain end consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Hatuvāli</th>
<th>Rat</th>
<th>Bāntāvā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/utwa/</td>
<td>sugarcane</td>
<td>/utwa/</td>
<td>[uʔa]</td>
<td>[uʔwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cakwa/</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>[cakwa]</td>
<td>[cakwa]</td>
<td>[caʔwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/akwa/</td>
<td>oil</td>
<td>[akwa]</td>
<td>[akwa]</td>
<td>[aʔwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cɨkj/</td>
<td>rat</td>
<td>[cɨkj]</td>
<td>[citji]</td>
<td>[cük-yū]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɔŋwat/</td>
<td>basket</td>
<td>[tɔŋwa]</td>
<td>[tɔŋwaʔ]</td>
<td>[tɔŋwa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mirik/</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>[mirik]</td>
<td>[mirl]</td>
<td>[mirl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sibt/</td>
<td>bean</td>
<td>[sibt]</td>
<td>[sibi]</td>
<td>[sibi]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No empty onset

Bantawa, like other Kiranti languages⁶, disallows phonological words without onset. If the initial consonant position is empty, some consonantal material is inserted. By default, we hear a word-initial glottal release if no other syllable-initial consonant is present. Although the glottal onset may be replaced by appropriate glides or simply be left out in rapid speech, the insertion of a glottal stop is the rule. However, it seems that the notion of phonological word does not suffice to account for the appearance of glottal stops or other empty-onset replacers in every context.

(24) inserted glottal stop

a. [pujupʔo]
pujup-ʔo
cucumber-GEN

---

⁶Cf. (Bickel et al. 2007: 10).
2.1. Consonants

‘of the cucumber’ ʔo ‘GEN’

b. [ʔuknɪŋ]
   i-uk-n-iŋ
   NEGNPp-peel-NEG-1s
   ‘I did not peel it’ ukma ‘to peel’

c. [kʰo-ʔa]
   kʰo-sa-ʔa
   he/she-PRN-ERG
   ‘by him’ ʔa ‘ERG’

d. [ʔuʔu]
   uʔ-u
   peel-3P
   ‘he peeled it’ u ‘3P’

e. [cʔa]
   cʔ-ʔa
   finish-PT
   ‘it finished’ a ‘PT’

When in a morphologically complex word a vowel-initial suffix affixes to a stem or some prefix attaches to a vowel-initial stem, some phonetic material is inserted to dissociate the two vowels or the vowel-initial syllable from the previous. It is not the notion of phonological word that requires non-empty onsets, but a smaller phonological constituent, the syllable.

Cohering and non-cohering suffixes  The word-internal syllable boundaries where a glottal stop is audible always coincide with morphemic boundaries. Morpheme boundaries between two vowels always produce the potential for epenthesis of a glottal stop. Wherever there is a boundary of the above nature, there may be a glottal stop in the empty-onset position. However, there is a small class of vowel-initial bound morphemes that do not introduce this type of syllable boundary. The contrast between the two classes consists in the presence of a syllable boundary.

For instance, the genitive <-ʔo> (GEN) differs minimally with the vocative <-o> (VOC), in that the latter does not necessarily introduce a new syllable. The following pair shows this contrast.

(25) King
   a. hanpə!
      *hanpa-o
      king-VOC
      ‘oh king!’
   b. hanpəʔo
      hanpa-ʔo
Chapter 2. Phonology

king-GEN
 ‘of the king, the king’s’

The difference in junction behaviour can be explained in two ways. The first is to simply say that the glottal stop is a consonant in its own right, which is a simple but unsatisfactory solution. Phonologically, the glottal stop does not contrast with other phones. For instance, Rai lists two different forms for the genitive case in his grammar as in (26).

(26) genitive according to Rai (1985)
   a. -wo / [V] _ after vowels
   b. -ko / [C] _ after consonants

This allomorphy for the genitive does not appear in the Sindrān dialect, but we shall observe elsewhere that paradigmatic intervocalic positions can be filled with either the glottal stop or conditioned glides [w] or [y], cf. §4.3.6. The dialectal difference and the phonological facts observed in the verb paradigms together must lead us to suspect that the genitive does not so much start with a consonant, but rather with a consonant position. By contrast, the vocative elides the preceding vowel if it can, or will form a new syllable if it cannot. The genitive suffix <-ʔo> is a non-cohering suffix, which means that it forms its own domain for syllabification, where the vocative -o is cohering and forms one domain of syllabification with the stem to which it has been attached (Booij 2005: 155).

In the nominal realm, the vocative <-o> is the only vowel-initial suffix that does not necessarily introduce a syllable boundary. The final vowel /a/ on nouns is replaced by the vocative <-o> on suffixation. A stem change takes place, cf. §3.2.

For the sake of the simplicity of description, we choose to describe these phenomena by defining conditioned allomorphs for verb roots or noun roots. Vowel-initial suffixes that start with a consonant position are, in this grammar, transcribed with an initial glottal. This glottal represents the phonetical fact that this consonant position is usually realised with a glottal stop.

Glide insertion  The empty consonant position may be realised as glides in some contexts. Where two different vowels meet on a syllable boundary, the inserted glottal can be replaced by an appropriate intervocalic glide, either of /j/ or /w/. Glide insertion is the same in all places where vowels do not coalesce, but in some places glide insertion is required while in other places it is optional. There is a degree of variability on where and when to use glides, depending on speaker’s preferences and also on pragmatic pressure. For example, before stressed syllables glide insertion is rare, probably due to the pragmatic pressure to make the stressed syllable stand out.

Glides are predictable by the combination of the two vowels involved. The following rules apply: a) if both vowels are non-low, i.e. both are one of the set { i u o e }, no glide is inserted, b) if both vowels are low, i.e. both are /a/, no glide is inserted, c) if the first vowel is /a/ and the second is non-low and non-round, i.e. one of the set { i e }, then /j/ may be inserted, d) if the first vowel is non-low and the second vowel is /a/, then /w/ may be inserted, e) if the first vowel is non-low and
2.1. Consonants

Non-round, i.e. one of the set { i e }, and the second is any other vowel, then /j/ may be inserted.

This leads to underlying forms as in examples (27).

(27) Non-empty onsets: glide insertion.
   a. [cija] /ci-a/ finish-PT ‘it finished’
   b. [nuwa] /nu-a/ be.good-PT ‘it’s good’

A separate discussion of vowel-junction behaviour in verb stem final position is deferred to §4.3, on verbal morphophonology. To describe verb stem alternations, I shall use the glottal stop as a notational device for a syllable boundary that prevents vowel coalescence. This glottal stop is treated in this grammar as a symbol to represent a contrastive syllable boundary.

2.1.4 Aspirated glides

As will be discussed in §3.4, there are some frequent words in Bantawa that have /hj/ as an onset. All of these words have been derived in a process that seems to prefix some proto-morpheme <*h-> to bound locative roots, resulting in nominal locative roots. The <*h-> may be compared to the English prefix ‘a-’ in ‘above’ and ‘around’.

(28) NOMloc
   *h -ju (LOC.below) > hju-
   *h -ja (LOC.level) > hja-
   *h -du (LOC.up) > dʰu-
   *h -da (LOC) > dʰa-

This prefixation results in aspiration when applied to /d/-initial forms. Application of this prefix to /j/-initial locative roots results in a complex onset /hj-/ . The exact nature of the morphological operation cannot be determined, but we observe that a pharyngeal articulation is added to the syllable onset.

One might argue that the /hj/-forms are aspirated glides. Another phonetic oddity sets these forms apart from simple onset words, viz. the /h/ phoneme that is normally realised as voiced [ɦ] is, surprisingly, devoiced in this context.

While for reasons of analogy, an analysis as ‘aspirated glides’ may seem attractive, we shall discard this possibility immediately, as a) there are no other examples of a synchronic or diachronic formation process resulting in similar forms, i.e. these forms are a rare lexical matter, and b) there are other syllable-initial consonant clusters as well, such that these forms fit in a pattern.

The sequence /hj-/ then is considered as a complex onset. The devoicing of /h/ in this context is a matter of allophony.
2.1.5 Vowels

There are six phonemic vowels in Bantawa, cf. Table 2.3. Minimal pairs as in example (29) are plentiful.

Table 2.3: Vowel Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>kanma 'identify', 'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɨ/</td>
<td>kenma 'keep animals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>kinma 'scare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>kunma 'choke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>konma 'walk'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diphthong /əj/ is very rare, but it does occur in some original Kiranti words. The phoneme /əj/ also appears in older loans from Nepali or other neighbouring languages.

(30) /əj/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/əj/</td>
<td>kʰəjsi 'walnut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḍʒəjgəla 'kind of flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pusəj 'uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pəjri 'stairs' (&lt; *bʰrjaŋ (N) ??)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternative analyses for this sound sequence must be discounted. To analyse the phoneme /a/ as two syllables, e.g. /i.i/, meets with the following objections. First, there are no other examples of polysyllabic morphemes that have a sequence of two vowels. Second, when an /i/-initial suffix is added to a verbal stem ending in a vowel, either i.e. /i/ gets deleted, or a glide /j/ is inserted.

An analysis positing the glide /j/ as syllable coda can be rejected, as this analysis would leave the facts a) that the other glide /w/ does not occur syllable-finally and b) that /j/ does not occur after any other vowel unexplained. Also, the phonetic

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7In previous literature on Bantawa, several notations have been used for the vowel /ɨ/. The vowel /ɨ/ can be realised in a variety of ways, which evidently lead to different transcriptions. Rai (1985), apparently under German influence, chose /ü/, which Ebert freely changed to /ɨ/ in her descriptions (1994: 16). By default, and in contrast with the Nepali short /a/, realised as [ə], [ɔ] or [ʌ], the phoneme /ɨ/ is realised as a [+high] vowel. Later, in the section on allophony, we shall see that the vowel /ɨ/ can be realised as any vowel in the central region.

*father’s younger sister’s husband
2.1. Consonants

duration of this syllable, even in controlled speech, is similar to or even shorter than that of the other vowels. We must then allow it into the phoneme inventory.

Feature definitions

As an effective means of description, I propose to use the I,A,U system as proposed by Van de Weijer (1994: 5). Three single-valued features express the following properties as in (31) [his (3)].

\begin{align*}
\text{(31)} & \\
I & \text{frontness (or ‘acuteness’ or ‘sharpness’ or ‘palatality’)} \\
A & \text{lowness (or ‘compactness’ or ‘sonority’)} \\
U & \text{roundness (or ‘gravity’ or ‘flatness’ or ‘labiality’)}
\end{align*}

The vowels of Bantawa can be defined in terms of this single-valued feature system as in Table 2.4. The benefit of this type of feature definition will be shown later where it serves as a means of formulating rules. We shall refer to this feature definition in the sections on vowel assimilation ($\S$2.5.2) and Nepali loans ($\S$2.4.2).

Table 2.4: Vowel feature definitions

| /i/  | I   |
| /e/  | I, A |
| /ɨ/  | A   |
| /a/  | U   |
| /u/  | U, A |

Vowel length

As opposed to the neighbouring Kiranti languages Limbu (van Driem 1987), Kulung (Tolsma 1999) and Wâmbule (Oppenort 2002), vowel length is not contrastive in Bantawa. While there is some allophony in terms of vowel quality and length, related to the syllable structure, this allophony is not contrastive, cf. $\S$2.3.2.

/e/ vs. /a/

There are a number of morphemes where there is a seemingly free variation between /e/ and /a/.

\begin{align*}
\text{(32)} & \\
/e/-\text{form} & /a/-\text{form} & \text{gloss} & \text{notes} \\
/tet/ & /tat/ & \text{qual} & \text{iktat, iktet ‘one’} \\
/cʰe/ & /cʰa/ & \text{-also} & \text{wacʰin cʰaŋ ‘beer also’} \\
/ŋe/ & /ŋa/ & \text{EMPH} & \text{iŋ-biwa-cʰe ‘my brother too’} \\
/anken/ & /ankan/ & \text{we^{incl.pl}} & \text{also ‘ankanka’ (excl.pl)}
\end{align*}
For the alternations in (32), I have not been able to find patterns of phonological conditioning. The differences may be dialectical, but I have not been able to associate one or the other form to any region, nor have I found an obvious dialectal pattern, let alone an isogloss, within the Bantawa area. In the works of Bāntāvā (2001, V.S. 2055), who describes a more northern variety, we find both /tet/ and /tat/ for the numeral counter QUAL. Similarly, I have recorded both forms from my informants.

There are patterns of /e/ ~ /a/ correspondences across Kiranti languages, e.g. the /ɛ/ in Limbu consistently corresponds to /a/ in Bantawa.

In conclusion, while /e/ and /a/ are significantly different in minimal pairs, in this limited set of lexical items /e/ and /a/ vary freely. The morphemes in (32) share the feature that they are bound and not the first syllables in the words they are part of. We could speculate that there is something ‘under the surface’, e.g. an archiphoneme /æ/. However, in order to falsify or verify this hypothesis we need other surface phenomena to correlate with this putative vowel. I have found none.

2.2 The syllable

The canonical form of the syllable in Bantawa is represented in (33).

(33) \( C_i (C_2) V (C_f) \)

The Bantawa word consists of one or more syllables. The first rule that regulates syllabification is the rule for onset maximalisation.

(34) CVCV
    a. CV.CV
    b. * CV.C.V

In a sequence such as in (34), the second consonant must be taken to be the onset of the second syllable, rather than the final consonant of the first. The principle of onset maximalisation explains the phonetic realisation of consonants and vowels. A sequence of consonants must split over two syllables, except where two consonants make a valid syllable onset. In the latter case, onset maximalisation kicks in again. There are instances, where there could be ambiguity as to which syllable one of the legal syllable-final consonants would belong, viz. where a consonant occurs word-medially before a glide. This is the case in progressive verb forms, in front of the progressive morpheme <ja< PROG>, or in nominals with the frequent <-wa> suffix. In these cases, the readily accessible morphological make-up of the word determines the syllabification.

(35) syllabification of -CC- sequences
    a. kʰa.rek.la ‘drought’
    b. o.hjat.ni ‘over here’
    c. tik.wa ‘forest fowl’
    d. mi.dat.jaŋ ‘they are visible’

What will be said below on the phonetic realisation of consonants and vowels, must be related to this model of the syllable. Once the correct syllabification for a
2.2. The syllable

word is known, the phonetic realisation of phonemes is predictable.

2.2.1 Syllable onset

Every phonemic consonant may appear in syllable initial position, as this is the most contrastive position. The syllable initial position may not be empty. The syllable initial position is filled by the glottal stop if it is empty lexically or by paradigmatic alternation such as found in verbal conjugation.

By contrast, the second consonant position of the syllable onset may only contain /j/ or /w/. To understand the phonotactic rules of the syllable onset, it is helpful to divide the consonants in sonority classes. With regard to sonority, all stops and affricates must be grouped as obstruents (Co). This class includes the fricatives /s/ and /h/.

Second strongest consonants are the nasals (Cn), followed by the liquids (Cl) and finally the approximants (Ca). Only the approximants can occur in the C2 position, after obstruents.

(36) Consonant classes

Co obstruents /p/ /pʰ/ /b/ /bʰ/, /t/ /tʰ/ /d/ /dʰ/,
/k/ /kʰ/ /g/, /ts/ /tsʰ/ /dz/, /s/ /h/

Cn nasals /m/ /n/ /ŋ/ 

Cl liquids /l/ /r/ 

Ca approximants /w/ /j/

(37) consonant clusters

a. sjau-sjau 'chirp-chirp' [DB]
b. pʰjal-pʰjal 'flap-flap' [DB]
c. cʰjam-cʰjam 'with one stroke'

The examples are onomatopoeic or, rather, ideophonic, but there are also non-ideophonic examples, such as below.

(38) consonant clusters (non-ideophonic)

a. hjakko 'over there'
b. hwatni 'this way'

While it is true that technically any approximant or Ca can occur in C2 position, this is not the case in the core lexicon of the language, that is the verb and noun inventory. In fact, no complex onsets occur at all in the core lexicon. This fact has also been observed in the very instructive article on the subject of reduplication by Winter and Rai (1997). Based on the observation that in the adverbial elements that they discuss many rare phonemes occur, particularly the infamous /dz/, /dzʰ/ and /gʰ/, Winter and Rai arrive at an analysis of these forms as 'paralexemic', i.e. they separate these forms from the basic lexicon. The class of paralexemes comprises the lexical items with those phonemes and those with complex onsets. This classification is based on formal characteristics alone. Winter and Rai proceed to connect these formal characteristics to a functional consideration, viz. that these forms have an
iconic or ‘ideophonic’ value, i.e. ‘they 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.’ (Winter and Rai 1997: 133). This semantic dimension is that of emotion, emphasis or an iconic expression of degree.

The stratification in the Bantawa lexicon is not a unique feature of Bantawa, but has good parallels in other languages as well9. In particular, for Japanese four different strata have been discerned. The lexicon can be divided into four sets of forms, viz. Yamato ‘native’, Sino-Japanese loans, foreign words, i.e. recent loans and mimetics (Itô and Mester 1995).

A similar situation exists in Bantawa, where there are strict formal and functional criteria that distinguish the core lexicon from that of the paralexemes. Additionally, a last stratum, that of the loans of Nepali and beyond, can be singled out. The term ‘paralexemes’ corresponds to ‘mimetics’:

Mimetics ‘function syntactically as manner adverbs and may refer to just any aspect (visual, emotional, etc.) of the activity involved, rather than just its sound’10.

It is helpful to introduce the notion of stratification. There are only very few exceptional core-lexical items such as /hjuna/ ‘below’ to challenge the notion.

All phonemes in the onset position are normally pronounced true to the phonetic value of their notation as used here. The phonetic realisation of coronal stops will be discussed below, §2.4 ‘Nepali Influence’. At this point we may note that while /h/ usually is realised with voice [ɦ], /h/ is devoiced when followed by /j/ or /w/.

/\wa/ and /\ja/: vowel length, complex onset or both?

There are other, severe restrictions on the distribution of /\w/ and /\j/ in post-onset position. The issue is that /\w/ in post-onset position only occurs before /a/, and /\j/ only occurs before /a/ and /u/. The examples of /\j/ before /u/ are limited to the morpheme /hju/ ‘below’ and its derivations. For /\w/ and /\j/ in onset position, no such limitations exist.

(39) /\w/ and /\j/ in onset position
   a. wetma
      ‘to throw’
   b. witma
      ‘to collect’
   c. wɨk
      ‘field’
   d. jukma
      ‘to mount’

9Languages that show stratification include European languages, such as English and Dutch. For instance, for both English and Dutch there are separate morphological word formation strategies for latinate and germanic roots.

10This definition originates from McCawley and is cited from Itô and Mester (1995).
2.2. The syllable

e. jokma
‘to feel pain’
f. jıtma
‘to bring down’

Examples of /w/ before non-low back vowels /o/ and /u/ are impossible to find. Bãntavã (2001) lists some examples with /wo/ in his dictionary, and Rai (1985) lists <wo> as the canonical form for the post-vocalic genitive. In the Hatuvãli dialect however, there are no such examples. Instead, in all of the examples that Rai and Bantawa list, we found [ʔo] in the Hatuvãli dialect, which must lead to the obvious conclusion that one of the dialectal differences is that the ‘no empty onset’ principle is obeyed in a different fashion.

Likewise, there are no examples of /je/ and /ji/. The words that are on file such as /jitma/ ‘bring down’, /jikma/ ‘to mount (a horse)’ and /jima/ ‘come down’ are all identified as Dílpãli dialect by Hatuvãli speakers. In the Hatuvãli, the canonical forms all have /ɨ/ or /u/ where Dílpãli forms have /i/. The Hatuvãli dialect, apparently, has phonotactical constraints that are different from those of the Dílpãli dialect.

The limited distribution of /w/ and /j/ before vowels is can be explained as a result of articulatory constraints and auditory contrastiveness (Burquest 1998: 62). In phonological theory, the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) has been defined, that blocks the occurrence of identical phonological features in immediate adjacency. Many languages show an OCP-like resistance to sequences of segments that differ in just one distinctive feature. In Bantawa, the co-occurrence of vowels and consonants at the same articulatory position seems constrained, such that /w/ cannot be followed by a vowel having a [U] feature, and /j/ does not appear before vowels having [i]. As a result, there are less examples in Bantawa that show that /w/ and /j/ are distinct phonemes. However, there is still a clear contrast before the two vowels that have no [I] or [U] feature, i.e. /i/ and /a/.

The nature of /w/ and /j/ in the second position (C2) of a complex onset before the vowel /a/ calls for some discussion. In his grammar of Wãmbule, Opgenort (2002: 60) posits a vowel length contrast for all vowels excepting the /e/ and /o/. Both in Wãmbule and in Bantawa, the /wa/ and /ja/ sequences can occur after the regular set of syllable onsets. In those contexts, the question is whether /w/ and /j/ should be considered part of the nucleus or rather be analysed as a complex onset + vowel. For the /Cwa/ sequence, it seems straightforward to opt for an analysis of /wa/ as vowel, as there are no other contexts for post-initial /w/ except before the vowel /a/. In addition, there is a deceptive morphophonological relationship between /o/ and /wa/. If there were a morphophonological alternation between /o/ and /wa/ we could henceforth analyse /wa/ as a short /o/ [ɔ], which, for some speakers, is in fact an acceptable allophone.

The morphophonological alternation seems to be the following. When deictic pronouns ending in -o are suffixed with certain suffixes that happen to have a

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11The regular onset inventory of Wãmbule includes complex onsets of the format CiCl, i.e. an initial consonant plus a liquid, e.g. /gl/ and /pr/, so that onsets as /glo/ and /prw/ are equally acceptable. In this respect, Wãmbule, together with other western Kiranti languages, differs significantly from Bantawa. However, the problem of how to analyse /wa/ and /ja/ remains similar.
consonant cluster, a syllable structure of (C)VC.CV results. In a syllable structure like this, the first syllable has a filled coda, and the syllable counts as heavy, as in contrast with a light syllable that has an empty coda. The changes to the nucleus vowel of the syllable that occur as a result of this added syllable weight can be described as shortening.

\[(40)\] Vowel shortening?

a. mo
  that
  \[\text{\textit{mō}}\]
  ‘that’

b. mo-ko
  that-REF
  \[\text{\textit{mōkō}}\]
  ‘that one’ (specifically)

c. m-wa-kko
  that-LIKE-REF
  \[\text{\textit{mōkō̄}}\]
  ‘one like that’

On the basis of this apparent alternation between /\textit{o}/ and /\textit{wa}/, we could jump to the conclusion that /\textit{wa}/ must be analysed as a part of the nucleus, but there are some objections to this analysis. Firstly, it is not at all the case that in closed syllables with /\textit{o}/, [\textit{ō}] is the preferred or even allowed realisation. For example, to pronounce \textit{mokma} ‘to hit’ as [\textit{mōkma}] is clearly unacceptable. The alternation in (40), then, is not a simple long-short alternation. There is no phonological rule that operates on vowel length. An alternative analysis for these forms is preferable. Informed by the morphological composition of these words, such an analysis is presented in §3.4.

Except for locative expressions, all words with a /\textit{Cja}/ onset are in the ‘paralexemic’ class, as proposed by Rai and Winter. The discussion of /\textit{ja}/ in post-initial context can be brief. I know of no examples of morphophonological alternation between /\textit{e}/ and /\textit{ja}/. Also, for /\textit{j}/ in \textit{C}_2 position, the phoneme /\textit{a}/ is not the only vowel that can follow. In locative expressions, both /\textit{hja}/ and /\textit{hju}/ function as base roots. Apparently, /\textit{CjV}/ is simply a legal sequence in Bantawa, and nothing stops us from analysing the /\textit{j}/ in those sequences as a \textit{C}_2.

In terms of the vowel system, analysing /\textit{wa}/ as short /\textit{o}/ and /\textit{ja}/ as short /\textit{e}/ would render the vowel system asymmetrical, as there would only be these two vowels with a short vs. long opposition.

It remains an interesting fact, that when the phoneme /\textit{w}/ occupies the \textit{C}_2 position, then the phoneme /\textit{a}/ is the only vowel that can follow. However, this phonotactic phenomenon is widespread in the languages of Nepal, both of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman stock. In Nepali, /\textit{wā}/ and /\textit{jā}/ are regular alternative perceptions and pronunciations of short /\textit{a}/ and /\textit{ae}/. In transcribed English loans, one finds t\textit{yāksi} /\textit{tjaksi}/ for ‘taxi’, and I have even seen p\textit{vāts} /p\textit{wats}/ for ‘pots’.

The phoneme sequences /\textit{Cw}/ and /\textit{Cj}/ will be analysed as ‘paralexemic’ consonant clusters. This analysis has two descriptive benefits. a) The difference between
'native' and 'mimetic' forms in the lexicon can be expressed in terms of a single rule of phonotactics, viz. mimetic forms have consonant clusters. b) We do not need to imbalance the vowel system by introducing three new vowels, viz. /ja/, /ju/ and /wa/. While in Nepali and other languages of the area /wa/ and /ja/ are interpreted as short vowels, sometimes even with regular alternations with the longer counterparts, this analysis does not fit Bantawa. In sum, the phoneme sequences /wa/ and /ja/ are not included in the vowel inventory.

### 2.2.2 Syllable final consonants

In the analysis of syllable codas, the sonority classes come in as useful again. Only obstruents and nasals occur in coda position in the Bantawa core lexicon, i.e. in nouns and verbs. Affricates, fricatives or voiced stops do not appear in syllable-final position. It is both impossible and irrelevant to determine whether the consonants appearing are devoiced or de-aspirated consonants or underlyingly something else that is devoiced and de-aspirated in the process of realisation. This is impossible to determine because the language provides no contexts in which the contrast would emerge again, e.g. by voiced or vowel-initial suffixes. This implies that there are no contexts where the contrast would be relevant again. Most nominal suffixes beginning with a vowel have an empty initial consonant position realised as a glottal stop, as in example (41).

(41) Nominal suffixes beginning with -V
   a. [pujupʔo]
      /pujup-ʔo/
      cucumber-GEN
      'of the cucumber'
   b. [minaʔa]
      /mina-ʔa/
      man-ERG
      'by the man'

Suffixes that a) begin with a vowel and b) do not cause hiatus never cause aspiration or voicing of a previous consonant that would be voiceless or unaspirated in the root form.

Verbal stem alternation is far more complicated than can be described here and cannot be put in purely formal rules of phonology alone. The relevant observation pertaining to the point here is that even in verb stem alternation there are no rules referring to voicing vs. devoicing of the stem-final consonants. However, some verb stem alternations may be motivated by the requirements of a valid syllabification, cf. §4.3.5.

The set of syllable-final consonants contains the following consonants that all share the property [-continuant].

(42) Final Consonants

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{C}_f \\
/p/ \ /t/ \ /k/ \\
/m/ \ /n/ \ /ŋ/
\end{array}
\]
Chapter 2. Phonology

There is a single restriction on the syllable-final consonant which is a result of a phonological rule. No velar can close a syllable that has /i/ for a vowel. This restriction is the result of a process that backs /i/ to /ɨ/ in this context.

(43) backing of high vowels before velars
i → i / _ [+velar]

The results of this process can be shown by comparing cognates between Bantawa and surrounding languages, as in examples (44, 45).

(44) kíma ‘to fear’
   a. || kíma ‘to fear’ (Limbu)
   b. kitma ‘to scare’

(45) jíma ‘to descend’
   a. || jítma ‘to bring down’ (Dilpali)

There are many such correspondences of /ɨ/ and /i/, some within the language, but most between Bantawa words and their cognates in other languages. The rule (43) is still productive, witness the facts that a) in native Bantawa words, the sequence /i[velar]/ is not found anywhere, b) in verb stem relationships, as between kíma – kitma above, there is a regular change, and c) in the verb paradigm we find /ci/ as an allomorph for the dual suffix <-ci> before /ŋ/, see §4.4.

Gemination

Whenever two identical consonants meet at the syllable boundary, we can speak of a geminate. Most geminates are not lexical but arise as a coincidental result of the meeting of identical consonants. Geminates are realised as long consonants.

(46) geminates
   a. [hɛnkʰamːa] /hen.kʰam.ma/ ‘world’
      < *hen ‘stay’, *kʰam ‘place’, *ma ‘big’
   b. [kadʰupːa] /ka.dʰup.pa/ ‘blacksmith’
      < *APR-hit-APM (regular active participle: ‘hitter’)

In Nepali orthography, there is a tendency to write geminates as two consonants of the same type, with the first one orthographically halved. This orthography may lead to a bad analysis in the case of some words where syllable-final /t/ and syllable initial /ts/ meet:

(47) almost-geminates: t/ts geminates
   a. [hetːsʰawa] /het.tsʰa.wa/orphan’
      < * het ⟨| hen ‘remain, be left behind’⟩, *cʰa ‘child’, *wa ‘male’

The important thing to note is that while the Nepali orthography would prescribe हेच्छावा hečchāvā for this particular form, this orthography should not lead to the erroneous thought that /ts/ is a valid syllable-final consonant, or even that /ts/ could
geminate as a whole. In Bantawa, not only identical consonants at the syllable form
geminate: An unvoiced stop syllable-final consonant meeting a syllable-initial voiced
homorganic stop will also produce a voiced geminate. If we interpret a geminate
as the same consonant occurring in both syllables involved, this type of gemination
leads to voiced syllable-final consonants that are not in the regular set of syllable
final consonants as defined in (42).

(48) gemination
   a. [bobbojoŋ-ma]
bop-bojoŋ-ma
   round-*termite-FEM\^\textsuperscript{12} ‘termite’
   b. sud-da
< ? *sita \textit{together} (N) - *da ‘locative’
   ‘together with’
   c. mad-diŋ
man-yiŋ
NEGPTP-be
‘it’s not there!’
   d. kʰiš-sa
*deer-animal\^\textsuperscript{13} ‘deer’
   e. hissa (Bāntāvā 2001)
   ‘frustration’

The first examples show voice assimilation on the first consonant (p → b, t → d). For (48a)
my informant insisted that writing the phonemic form represented second
was best, because the compounded structure of the word is perfectly transparant.
However, for (48b) and (48c) the etymology is not readily accessible and writing
/dd/ makes sense. Most voicing assimilations however, are like the \textit{hetc\textsuperscript{awa}} example
above and have a transparant origin. The latter two cases are less obvious, as it
is not clear what the underlying consonant under the first /s/ should be. Bāntāvā
(2001) lists quite a few words containing /ss/ geminates. Most of these words qualify
for membership of the paralexemic class on semantic grounds, iconically expressing
emotion or forceful intent. However, there are ample examples of phonologically
derived /ss/ geminates in the language, i.e. where verb stems in -t are suffixed by
/ss/-initial suffixes.

(49) [cakwa bʰassi kʰatma]
cakwa bʰat-si  kʰat-ma
water fetch-SUP go-INF
‘to go to get water’

This assimilation seems obligatory in some dialects only, e.g. Rabi, Dilpālī. In
careful pronunciation, Hatuvālī speakers will pronounce [bʰatsi]. In conclusion, in
\^\textsuperscript{12}Feminine suffix, cf. §3.1.4.
\^\textsuperscript{13}The suffix <-sa> usually designates larger animals, cf. §3.1.4.
phonemic notation, we shall allow for /s/ in syllable-final position in conditioned circumstances, viz. geminates that are often paralexemic. For transparantly derived forms we shall write /ts/, not /ss/.

**Nasals at the syllable boundary**

One of the most common natural processes in language is that of nasal assimilation (Burquest 1998: 117). However, nasal assimilation does not occur in Bantawa. There is, sure enough, a statistical preference for nasals to meet homorganic consonants at the syllable boundary in polysyllabic morphemes, cf. (50), but there is no rule that enforces homorganic articulation of sequences of stops and nasals.

(50) homorganic nasal and stop at syllable boundary
   a. /tumpu/ ‘kāulo (N) tree’
   b. /bendasi/ ‘tomato’
   c. /pʰanta/ ‘young man’
   d. /longa/ ‘pepper’

The absence of an assimilation rule may be associated with the functional pressure on syllable-final nasals. Possessive prefixes, for example, contrast in their final consonant only, cf. §3.4.

(51) No nasal assimilation
   a. am-ko
      your^1-GEN
      ‘your’
   b. an-ko
      our^m-GEN
      ‘our’
   c. am-pappa
      your^1-childs.father.in.law
      ‘your child’s father-in-law’
   d. iŋ-papa
      my-father
      ‘my father’

**Summary**

In sum, the following syllable structures are found in Bantawa:\(^{14}\)

(52) The Bantawa syllable:\(^{15}\)
   a. C V
   b. C\(_a\) C\(_a\) V

---

\(^{14}\)V is the set of vowels, including the diphthong. All of the sets C, C\(_a\), C\(_a\) and C\(_f\) have been defined before (36).
2.3. Allophony

c. C V C_f

d. C_o C_v V C_f

This model is very simple, considering that the further restrictions on phoneme co-occurrence and syllable co-occurrence are quite few. Native words containing syllables of types (52b) and (52d) are immediately marked as paralexemes that often have an ideophonic or onomatopoeic aspect to their meaning.

The simplicity of Bantawa syllable structure is remarkable. The total number of possible onsets is 1 (empty onset) + 23 (number of consonants) + 16 * 2 (number of obstruents * number of C_f), is 56. The total number of nuclei is 7 (number of vowels), and the number of possible finals = 1 (empty) + 6 (number of C_f), is 7. The number of possible rhymes therefore is 7 * 7 - 2 (excluding /i/+velar), is 47. All in all the number of possible syllables is a mere 56 * 47 = 2632. However, /w/ and /j/ in C_f position only occur before /a/, so we must subtract 16 * 2 (number of complex onsets) * 6 (all vowels not /a/) * 7 (all possible codas) = 1344. All in all, there are then 1288 possible syllables.

The number of syllables that contain a /wa/ or /ja/ sequence is 16 * 2 * 7 = 224, i.e. the number of obstruents * the number of C_f * the number of codas. Of the possible syllables, 224 are paralexemic, by the standard defined and bring an ideophonic meaning aspect. These paralexemes are not part of the core verbal and nominal lexicon. This leaves a mere 1044 possible syllables for the core lexicon.

If we consider that the Bantawa verb root is always monosyllabic and that there are currently some 750 verb entries in the lexicon, we can appreciate the very dense population of the available phonological space, which stands in contrast to some other languages. All words in the lexicon that deviate from this syllable type can be immediately recognised as recent loans, most often from Nepali.

2.3 Allophony

In the previous discussion of phonemes, some notes on allophony have already been made. In this following section, we shall discuss other relevant patterns of allophony.

2.3.1 Intervocalic consonants

Consonant phonemes in intervocalic position may sound significantly different from their syllable-initial form. [-Coronal] aspirated stops may be realised as fricative, by a laxation of stricture:

(53) voiceless fricatives as allophones for aspirates

a. [taraxuk] /tarakʰuk/ ‘a clan name’
b. [liʃu] /lipʰu/ ‘sting (e.g. of a bee)’
   /pʰ/ may be realised as [ʃ] anyway, cf.
c. [ʃintsiri] /pʰintsiri/ ‘mushroom’

Voiced [-coronal] stops, irrespective of aspiration, may also be realised as a fricative by the same lenition.
Chapter 2. Phonology

(54) voiced fricatives as allophones for stops
   a. [saluβi] /salubi/ ‘salubi root’
   b. [kʰeβak] /kʰebak/ ‘crab’
   c. [oyi] /ogbi/ ‘sweet yam’

The above lenition processes can be summarized in an optional lenition rule as defined in (55).

(55) aspirated consonants can be replaced by fricative consonants
   [+aspirated] → [-stop] / [+V] _ [+V]

Syllable-initial phonemes in a position that would form difficult combinations may be adapted to fit the tongue. The nasal /ŋ/ may be pronounced /ɲ/ after an /n/ or before a high vowel.

(56) ŋ → ɲ / _ [i]
   a. [munɲa] /munŋa/ ‘that much, that much only’
   b. [ɲɛn] /ɲen/ ‘fight’

This type of adaptation never goes as far as to cause the phonetic realisation of a phoneme to coincide with that of another, however.

2.3.2 Vowel allophony

The syllable nucleus is invariably one of the vowels or the diphthong. While there is no phonemic contrast between long and short vowels in Bantawa, there is some phonetic variation that depends on location. Vowels in open word-final syllables are all pronounced with significant lengthening, except for the /a/ that has no long variant. The normal short variants of vowels may differ both in quality and in length from the long vowels. The regular allophonic variations in vowel quality are shown in examples (57-59).

(57) /e/ → [eː] / _ [#]

   /e/ → [e]
   a. [lemлемa] /lemlemma/ ‘yeti’
   b. [deki:] /deki/ ‘why’
   c. [bʰeː] /bʰe/ ‘arrow, spear’

(58) /o/ → [oː] / _ [#]

   /o/ → [o]
   a. [tʰakloː] /tʰaklo/ ‘stairs’
   b. [doː] /do/ ‘mouth’
   c. [kombi] /kombi/ ‘grass knife’
2.3. Allophony

(59) \(/i/ \rightarrow [i:] / _ [\#]

\(/i/ \rightarrow [i]

a. [pɪʔ] /pit/ 'cow'
b. [nɪ] /ni/ 'it is said'

The rule that summarizes this allophony is in (60).

(60) vowel realisation in open and closed syllables
\(/V/ \rightarrow [V:] / _ [\#]
\(/V/ \rightarrow [+\text{central}]

After velar consonants, vowels may be initially backed if they are eligible for backing, which is to say that particularly /o/ may be articulated as [ʊo] or [u]. Before /e/, frequently an on-glide /ʲ/ is inserted after velars. Before coronal consonants, vowels have a fronted off-glide, cf. §2.1.3 on glottal stops. The results of these processes can be represented in careful phonetic transcriptions as in (61).

(61) off-glide and on-glide
a. [kʰʷoŋkiː] /kʰonki/ 'and then'
b. [koŋma] /konma/ 'to walk'
c. [kʰaːt] /kʰat/ 'he goes'
d. [saŋkɛŋ] /saŋken/ 'star'

2.3.3 Allophony of the central vowel

The central vowel /ɨ/ has many realisations, and much of this allophony is free. The feature definition of /ɨ/ is empty, i.e. that none of the features I, A, or U are associated. The empty feature definition of /ɨ/ expresses and perhaps even explains the variability of this vowel.

There are some regular patterns of variation in realisation of the central vowel /ɨ/. How these patterns must be explained is not entirely clear. Some variations seem triggered by harmony, i.e. assimilation, some by dissimilation. There are quite a few verbal prefixes that have /ɨ/ as a vowel: <tɨ> (2AS), <mɨ> (3PL), etc.

The quality of this vowel by and large correlates with the quality of the vowel of the following syllable, the verb root, in the following way:

(62) /ɨ/ \rightarrow [a] / _ C[+back]

a. [mamɨ] /mɪmu/ 'they do'

(63) /ɨ/ \rightarrow [a] / _ C[+low]

a. [jumɛnɨ] /jiŋ mɪlaʔ/ 'they pray'

(64) /ɨ/ \rightarrow [u] / _ C[+velar]

a. [isinuŋnaŋ] /isinniŋnɨ/ 'I do not know (PROG)'
There is a striking variability in the realisation of this particular phoneme, which is not mirrored in parallel variability in other vowels. While this variation seems conditioned by other vowels in the word, it need not be cast in terms of vowel harmony. Nowhere do the allophones of /ɨ/ coincide with another phonemic vowel. In other words, the allophony of /ɨ/ is a not matter of phonology but phonetics. However, there are good reasons to draw attention to this variability. It must be noted that a) this phoneme is sensitive to features of non-adjacent phonemes, i.e. vowel qualities may spread beyond the immediate segmental context, and b) the phoneme /ɨ/ is more sensitive to the vowel quality of the vowels of adjacent syllables than other vowel phonemes.

With regard to the last point, we can say that if we picture the vowel phonemes as occupying an area in the vocalic continuum, we should represent /ɨ/ as covering a large central region. While all vowels modestly occupy small areas on the vowel map, cf. Figure 2.1, the central vowel may be realised anywhere else.

(65) Vowels that are different in one dialect, but the same in another
   a. [ɦəŋsa] /hiŋsa/ ‘while living’ (Bantawa)
   b. [ɦəŋsa] /haŋsa/ ‘a creature, a spirit’ (< Nepali haŋsā)

In the Sindrāṅ dialect under investigation, the Nepali loan vowel /a/ and Bantawa /ɨ/ were quite distinct. In recorded speech from the neighbouring area of Bāsikhorā both vowels are equated to [ə]. The difference with regard to the realisation of the central vowel /ɨ/ can be expressed as a difference between east and west. In the west, the vowel /ɨ/ is equal to the Nepali vowel short /a/, often realised as [ɔ], in the east, viz. Sindrāṅ, Homtān and east from the Hatuvā area, /ɨ/ is distinctly realised as [i] or [u].
2.4 Nepali influence

As noted, the allophonic variability of the /ɨ/ vowel demonstrates that the realisation of a phoneme not only depends on its immediate context, but may also be influenced by non-adjacent segments, viz. vowels in adjacent syllables. In §2.5, we shall return to this observation.

2.3.4 Weakening of syllable-final /n/

Before /s/ and /ʃ/, a syllable-final consonant /n/ is pronounced as a nasalised alveolar approximant or semi-vowel. It is odd to put /s/ and /ʃ/ together, but I surmise that /s/ and /ʃ/ form a natural class of alveolar non-stop consonants. Before the alveodental stops /t/, /tʰ/, /d/ and /dʰ/, the change of /n/ is optional, but before /s/ and /ʃ/ it is obligatory.

(66) /n/ reduction

\[ [+\text{nasal}, \text{anterior}] \rightarrow [+\text{consonantal}] / _ \quad [+\text{consonantal}, \text{anterior}] \]

The occurrence of this phonetic form of /n/ is not restricted to any specific morphological context. The sound change occurs where the negative prefix <man-> meets verb stem initial consonants in verb stems, in word formation and inside monomorphemic words.

(67) /n/ weakening

a. [maʃetdo] \n /mansetdo/ ‘do not kill’
b. [maljuŋdo] \n /manjuŋdo/ ‘do not place it’
c. [weis] \n /wensi/ ‘raspberry’
d. [kois] \n /konsi/ ‘(in order) to walk’

For verbal morphophonology, this phonological change is insignificant. The application of the phonological change is entirely predictable and does not distinguish one verb from another. The alternation of /n/ and /i/ needs no explanation in terms of verb stem allomorphy, contra Sprigg (1987). In contrast with what is reported for the Rabi dialect (Rai 1985), the glide normally does not lose nasality. Since Bantawa speakers and readers easily reconstruct this sound as a conditioned allophone for /n/, we must write /n/\(^{16}\).

2.4 Nepali influence

So far, the discussion has been limited to native Bantawa words. Native words can be formally defined as the words that have the phonetic and phonological characteristics outlined above and can boast a decent Kiranti pedigree. Regular cognates of native words can be readily found in other Kiranti languages of the area and further afield in the language family. Form and history agree here and, to some extent, also form

\(^{16}\)There is considerable regional variation with respect to this sound change. The replacement of syllable-final dentals or the insertion of /i/ varies regionally, to the extent that for a word as kʰonki ‘and then’ forms such as kʰonki are found, cf. off-glides, above.
and function, as the entire domain of verbs and core vocabulary of noun and other word classes consists of these forms only.

However, it is fair to say that present-day Bantawa has undergone heavy influence from Nepali. The Nepali influence is tangible in all Bantawa dialects, but perhaps to a different extent for different dialects. The problem that the linguist now faces is to decide to which extent the Nepali loanwords should be considered part of the language, and thus be part of the analysis.

Currently, some loan words are readily recognised as such, and stand apart considerably both in form and in usage, i.e. they are restricted to certain domains only. In the previous section (2.2.2), it was noted that because of the strict limitations on Bantawa phonotactics in the syllable, formally recognising foreign words is straightforward. However, not only the syllabic structure of a word may betray foreign descent, the appearance of some specific phones is also indicative of loan forms.

This could lead to the conclusion that nothing is amiss, as if the phonology of the pure language could be discussed without mentioning Nepali influence. In the introduction to this chapter, we have idealised the phonological world by identifying the native part of the lexicon, i.e. the class of verbs and nouns without obvious foreign descent. This has been a helpful strategy, and using formal methods only, we have even been able to stratify the native Bantawa lexicon further into a set of core forms and mimetic forms.

As a heuristic strategy, this analytical approach is helpful. However, even if the premiss that lexical strata can be teased apart is true, that does not imply that no problems on the fringe of languages remain. Some selected issues will be discussed here. These are the problems of a) the correct phonological analysis of coronals in Bantawa and b) the vocalic contrast between the Bantawa central vowel /ɨ/ and the Nepali central vowel /ɔ/.

While we are on the subject of borrowing from Nepali, we shall include a discussion of formal operations in the borrowing process.

### 2.4.1 Dentals, retroflexes, alveodentals or alveolars?

The first problem that the linguist faces is that of the coronal consonants. The Nepali language contains two sets of coronals. See Table 2.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[-voice-asp]</th>
<th>[-voice+asp]</th>
<th>[+voice-asp]</th>
<th>[+voice+asp]</th>
<th>[+voice+nas]</th>
<th>fric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alveodental</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>ḍʰ</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex, palatal</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭʰ</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>ḍʰ</td>
<td>ṅ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast with Nepali coronals, Bantawa coronals are originally neither dental or retroflex. The retroflex vs. dental opposition is geographically mostly limited to the South Asia area, but the opposition is not original to the Tibeto-Burman
languages. Within the Bantawa phonology, the retroflex vs. dental opposition is irrelevant, so I deliberately chose to write the Bantawa coronal phonemes with the simple symbols /t/, /d/, etc.

However, the frequency of Nepali loans in the language calls for inclusion of the Nepali opposition in the language. All loan words in example (68) are well used and contrast with the native word *tara* ‘he brought’.

(68)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>tara</th>
<th>&lt;Nep. tār</th>
<th>[tarma]</th>
<th>‘wire’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>tara</td>
<td>&lt;Nep. tārā</td>
<td>[tarma]</td>
<td>‘star’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>tara</td>
<td>&lt;Nep. tār</td>
<td>[tarma]</td>
<td>‘level ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>tara</td>
<td>&lt;tata</td>
<td>[tara]</td>
<td>‘to bring’ (intr. conjugated)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now we could choose to distinguish the different words in the text in roman alphabet by precisely indicating the type of coronal meant. In fact, I believe that some Bantawa speakers that are very proficient in both Nepali and their mother tongue speak exactly like that. However, such careful speech is rare. My informants held that ‘towards the north’, people tended to identify the Bantawa native /t/ with Nepali /t/, whereas to the east the Bantawa /t/ is conflated with /t/. This corresponds to what we see in the works of Bāntāvā (V.S. 2055, 2001) and Rai (1985). Bāntāvā, who is from the north, consistently writes /t/ for Bantawa /t/, while Rai, from the east, simply posits a /t/ vs. /t/ opposition in his phonology, and continues to assign the native Bantawa /t/ to the /t/ slot. While he lists a few minimal pairs with regard to place of articulation (Rai 1985: 24-26), he does not offer /t/ vs. /t/ contrasts, which I believe is a major omission in his description.

If the three sounds are distinctive, the coronal area is articulatorily overcrowded. Therefore, it is difficult to imagine three phonemically distinctive coronals with the same manner articulation in a language. There are several logical alternatives.

1. consider and pronounce them differently, i.e. maintain a three-way distinction
2. equate Bantawa /t/ with Nepali /t/
3. equate Bantawa /t/ with Nepali /t/
4. ignore the Nepali distinction and equate both Nepali /t/s to Bantawa /t/.

Where this will end up is a part of the natural development of the language in the current context. While prescriptive linguistics may influence language development, I believe that neither option 1 or 4 is viable for the simple reason that the articulatory space is overcrowded.

In conclusion, we cannot say to which of the two Nepali phonemes /t/ or /t/ the Bantawa /t/ corresponds. However, we shall in the following description choose to write the Bantawa /t/ as simply t. Nepali loans will be marked as such, either by adding an N in the gloss or by italicising the word in the source text or both. Nepali dental /t/ [t] will not be marked, the retroflex /t/ [ʈ] however will be.

17And some languages of Oceania, particularly Australia (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996)
These notational choices might be construed as an implicit choice for the equation of Bantawa /t/ with the Nepali /t̪/, but are not intended that way, as I believe that this choice will be made by the language community.

With regard to writing, however, I hold the opinion that writing Bantawa /t/ as the Nepali /t̪/ and to write all other coronals as corresponding dentals is a) closer to the truth for the Northern and Central dialects, including the one under investigation here, and also b) looks better in the Devanāgarī alphabet. A quick letter count of the Nepali dictionary reveals that there are double the number of dentals in the dictionary than retroflexes, which holds for each voiced vs. aspirated opposition pair. Writing /t̪/a/ /sa/ /n̪a/ is therefore arguably more natural.

2.4.2 Vowels

The situation with regard to vowels is similar to that of the coronals. The basic inventory of simple vowels of Nepali is /ā a i e u o/. Additionally, the diphthongs /ai/ [a] and /au/ [au] are found. The Devanāgarī script used for Nepali permits writing length contrasts for /ā/ and /i/ as well. This length contrast is a matter of history and orthography, but is not phonemic.

The length contrast between /ā/ and /a/ is better explained as a contrast of quality18. Short /a/ is realised as [a], [o] or [ʌ], depending on context and individual choice. In Nepali transliterations, I shall write ‘a’, but in Bantawa words I shall write ‘a’, even when ‘o’ would be equally justified.

Where Nepali meets Bantawa, all of the vowels and the diphthong /ai/ are straightforwardly mapped onto Bantawa equivalents. The short vowel /a/, by contrast, is retained as /a/ in many loan words. See below.

The Nepali vowels /au/ and /a/ are not native to the Bantawa vowel system. The diphthong /au/ is mostly realised as an approximation of the Nepali original or as /o/. For the Nepali vowel /a/, the correspondances are more diverse.

Under certain conditions, the Bantawa vowel /i/ is realised phonetically as [ɔ]. The conditioned phonetic identity of Bantawa /i/ with the Nepali /a/ would make this phonological vowel /i/ the obvious choice for the phonological adaptation of Nepali loan words. However, there are no examples of phonological adaptation of Nepali /a/ > Bantawa /i/, rather, it seems that the Nepali loan /a/ is copied intact as [ɔ]. If we include Nepali loans in the data set for phonological analysis, the vowel inventory must be extended with the extra vowel /ɔ/.

Rai (1985: 29) simply included the Nepali /a/ in the phoneme inventory. Rai analyses the set of vowels as in Table 2.6.

While Rai (1985) works with a ternary opposition high-mid-low, I have adapted his analysis to a binary format in Table 2.6. However, while Rai (1985) offers some

18While the length opposition in Nepali has phonological significance across the entire vowel range, this does not mean that long counterparts of short vowels are simply long vowels with the same quality. In Nepali, there is a morphophonological relationship between short and long vowel pairs, viz. /a/ and /ɔ/, and /i/ and /ai/. Examples: pākāmũ ‘to cook, transitive’ vs. pākmũ ‘to cook, intransitive’, rājmītĩ ‘politics’ vs. rājmātī ‘political’.

19Rai writes /ü/ for the vowel that we write as /ɨ/.

20Rai writes capital A for the Nepali short /a/, as he apparently had limited typesetting options.
2.4. Nepali influence

contrasts for the obvious oppositions, he does not give examples of the less obvious vowel contrast /A/ vs. /Ü/, in our notation: /a/ vs. /I/.

If we allow Nepali loans in the data set, we must assign the features \([I, U]\) to the central Bantawa vowel /I/, and leave the vowel definition for Bantawa /a/ blank, i.e. make it the central vowel. This is not a very strange idea, even for language-internal reasons, i.e. without reference to the language contact situation, as the vowel /I/ historically derives from */i/. In some word final and all pre-velar positions, this historical */i/ moved to /I/ by spreading forward of the \([U]\) feature of the velar.

Under an analysis of /I/ as [], i.e. no features, this change amounts to losing the \([I]\) feature. It would then be strange that /e/ should be exempt from this rule. Under an analysis of /I/ as \([I, U]\), this change amounts to adding the \([U]\) feature under the conditions specified.

We revisit the rule of the backing of /i/ as previously given in (43).

(69) backing of high vowels before velars

\[ i \rightarrow i \_ [ + \text{velar} ] \]

a. \( i \) as []

\[ [I] \rightarrow [\_] \_ [ + \text{velar} ] \]

b. \( i \) as \([I, U]\]

\[ [I] \rightarrow [I, U] \_ [ + \text{velar} ] \]

Under whatever analysis, the fact remains that the Bantawa contrast /I/ vs. /a/ is problematic. In some dialects, the vowel /I/ and /a/ are contrastive phonemes. In Rabi (Rai 1985) and Sindrān the vowel contrast is consistently marked, i.e. phonemic, while for other dialects the vowels are equally pronounced as [a]. The oppositions in (70) demonstrate the point.

(70) /I/ ~ /a/

a. tiri ‘you can’

b. toro ‘but’ (N)

c. hiṃsa ‘living’

d. ḫoṅsa ‘spirit’ (N)

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Table 2.6: Bantawa vowels according to Rai (1985: 29)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>u</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ū (i)²⁹</th>
<th>A (o)²⁰</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is an orthographic challenge to represent this opposition in the Devanāgarī alphabet. In some dialects, viz. Bāsikhorā and Āmco, there is no difference between the vowels. Some speakers, then, will resist marking any of these vowels as different from the other. For other speakers different marking of different vowels will be straightforward and expected. To complicate the problem, for all dialects across the Bantawa-speaking area, even in those dialects where the /ɨ/ is phonemically equal to the Nepali short /a/ elsewhere, the /ɨ/ before velars is audibly different from the same phoneme in other contexts.

This leads to different intuitions regarding this phoneme’s status and distributions. One finds spellings of /ɨ/ [u] as an [, i.e. u with low dot, e.g. in Bāntāvā (2001). In the monthly magazine Bungwakha (Rāi 2004), many spelling variations are found. It is advisable to choose an orthographic form that keeps the spelling of those vowels close to their Nepali counterpart, viz. अ, and distinct enough to disambiguate in every instance. A regular and subtle variation on the Nepali short /a/ (अ) seems an obvious choice, but ultimately this is a matter to be decided by the Bantawa writing community.

2.4.3 Phonological adaptation in borrowing from Nepali

Several regular phonological procedures take place in borrowing from Nepali. Where the Nepali form of the word conflicts with Bantawa rules for syllabification, several strategies are employed.

Addition of /a/ to a closed syllable.

Closed syllables in Bantawa can end in a very limited set of phonemes only. Wherever there is a violation of that rule, the vowel /a/ is added. Syllable-final aspiration may be lost before the /a/ is added, but not always.

(71) obligatory /a/-addition
   a. akʰira < ɐkʰiɾa ‘last’
   b. kʰola < kʰola ‘cover’
   c. dəuwapa < jəwəpʰa ‘answer’
   d. lekʰa < lekʰ ‘highland’

Where the syllable-final consonant is legal, addition of the vowel /a/ is optional.

(72) Optional /a/ after /p,t,k,m,n,ŋ/
   a. gʰum < ghum [ɡʰum] ‘leaf umbrella’
   b. dəetʰana < jëthən [dəetʰən] ‘brother-in-law’

Secondary features are usually dropped, e.g. nasalisation of vowels, or aspiration of consonants in non-initial position.

21At the moment of writing (2007), the Bantawa-language journal Bungwakha (Rāi 2004) increasingly adopts the spelling अ. Some individual authors still prefer अ before velars.
2.5 Selected morphophonological issues

(73) ʰgʰasa < ghãs [gʰãs]  ‘grass’
(74) natri < nāthri [nathri]  ‘nose-bone’

The Nepali short vowel /a/ [ɔ] is frequently interpreted as the vowel /a/:

(75) /a/ -> /ɔ/
   a. sarasa < sāras [saros]  ‘saras crane’
   b. lapsi < lapsī [lpsi]  ‘lapsi fruit’

For consonants, it is hard to give rules. In frequently used and older loans, the retroflex consonants reduce to alveodental counterparts. Intervocalic voiced retroflex stops are often pronounced as [ɾ] /r/. There are some reinterpretations of Nepali words that suggest that Bantawa as a language prefers to close syllables in /i/ with a /t/ or glottal closure.

(76) rare and unsystematic operations
   a. sibit < simī [simi]  ‘bean’
   b. masit < mās [mas]  ‘black gram’

For (76a) the loan history may shed some light on the present-day form. The /b/ consonant in form (76a) may have been retained from the Sanskrit śimbah. Forms such as these point to a longer loan history, as they are phonologically perfectly adapted and seem independent loans from an older stage of Nepali. In both forms we find an additional /t/ that is absent from the source, which perhaps does not reflect loan history but rather an inconspicuous tendency to add /t/ to words that would otherwise end in an open vowel /-i/. Unsystematic loans must therefore be explained by their loan history and by independent phonological processes, such as the variability of end consonants as discussed in §2.1.3.

2.5 Selected morphophonological issues

2.5.1 Quantity and tone

In a certain context in the Bantawa language, and according to some speakers, there is a phonemic contrast of tone. This apparent tonal contrast only emerges in a unique context, viz. in closed syllable verb stems in certain verb forms in certain conjugation types.

While I was able to establish some phonological reality of the feature by testing both production and comprehension and getting consistent results with a limited number of informants, the contrast was rejected by others. To get some clarity on this possible contrast, the particular context of this prosodic feature will receive some attention in the section dedicated to verb conjugations.

Here, I shall just observe that my data show a meaningful, phonemic high or rising pitch that contrasts with the neutral tone contour in closed verb stems of the
first and second conjugation. This audible contrast is a result of a lexical property of these verbs but is not present on all forms of the verbs of these classes.

(77) kʰapma
    a. kʰápma
       'to cry'
    b. kʰápmna
       'to thatch'

(78) kʰokma
    a. kʰókma
       'to chop off'
    b. kʰókmna
       'to extract'

Given the evidence, we must conclude that Bantawa has a phonemic tone contrast. The tonal contrast is not a prominent feature of the language and is limited to certain dialects only. Indeed, I am not aware of any grammarian who has noted it before. This may be due to either the marginal and predictable nature of the contrast or to the absence of the phenomenon in the dialects that previous grammarians dealt with. The functional load of this phonological distinction is minimal: The tonal distinction matters most in the cases discussed in §4.3.7. As the high-tone verbs seem the odd ones out, I shall limit myself to marking the high-tone verbs, where relevant, with an acute accent (´x). For discussion, see section §4.3 on verb stem types.

2.5.2 Vowel harmony

In the most frequently used of word classes, the pronouns and the pronominal derivatives, we find two instances of vowel assimilation where the assimilation is to the vowel of the next syllable, i.e. a non-adjacent segment. This is best labelled vowel harmony.

Variable quality of the vowel in the pronominal marker <-sV> (PRN)

The first instance of this rare process is found in the pronominal marker <-sV> (PRN) that is regularly inserted in certain pronominal and quasi-pronominal forms. See §3.4.5. This morpheme has two allomorphs, viz. <so ~ sa>, that are conditioned by the vocalic context as in example (79).

(79) PRN < sa / _ [a] ~ so / _ [o] >
    a. o-saʔa
       this-PRN-ERG
       'by this'
    b. o-soʔo
       this-PRN-GEN
       'of this'
2.5. Selected morphophonological issues

It is helpful here to invoke a feature-based system of phonology. We can understand such pronominal forms as either fully underspecified, i.e. only a vowel ‘position’ is present, or just specified as [A], as this is the one feature shared by /a/ and /o/. The specific vowel quality of the suffix then spreads forward.

/o/ ~ /u/ harmony

The second instance of apparent vowel harmony is seen in the different vowel quality of the pronouns themselves, where they are suffixed by locational or other markers.

(80) ‘that’-locatives
   a. mo
      that
      ‘that’
   b. mu-ju
      that-LOC. low
      ‘there below’
   c. mo-ja
      that-LOC. level
      ‘over there’

(81) ‘this’-compound locative expressions
   a. u-hjutni
      this-downwards
      ‘down here’
   b. o-hjatni
      this-at.the.same.level
      ‘over here’

(82) derivations of kʰo ‘that’
   a. kʰun-nucʰaŋ-na
      that-even.though-EMPH
      ‘nevertheless...’
   b. kʰun-ki-na (kʰonkina)
      that-SEQ-TOP
      ‘and after that...’

The [I] or [U] feature values of the suffix vowel apparently delete the [A]-feature of the pronominal root. The examples with kʰo above are found in Sindrañ only. There is some variation between speakers. In written Bantawa, e.g. (Rāi 2004), as well as in careful speech, the form kʰun is avoided. While the forms (80) and (81) are found in writing, Bantāvā (2001) lists ohjtun in his dictionary. We can conclude, that vowel harmony is not fully phonologised and varies across dialects. In literary Bantawa, writing underlying phonemes may be preferable. For the <-sa ~ -so> variation, that is fully phonological, two different forms must be written, true to the phonological form.
2.5.3 Final remarks

Henceforth, in subsequent chapters, I shall use the following notation to write the phonemes of the language. This notation differs from the phonetic notation based on the IPA alphabet only in order to simplify and connect to the work on South Asian languages by other authors.

The representation of [ts], [dz] and their aspirated counterpart affricates by /c/, /j/ and /cʰ/, /jʰ/ is in line with South Asian linguistic tradition. Similarly, writing IPA [j] as /y/ is a part of the same tradition that I shall follow. By the same tradition, the affricates are included in the stop series. While palatal affricates do not pattern in all respects with the stop series, e.g. they cannot be syllable-final consonants, they do pattern with stops in other respects, e.g. they can be obstruents in complex syllable onsets. Apart from the traditional reasons, then, there is independent motivation for this presentation.

Technically, [dzʰ] is a very marginal phoneme as opposed to [dz], but I shall represent the opposition throughout. Similarly, I shall write either /b/ or /bʰ/ intervocalically, according to what my informants or I deemed best on the basis of known etymology or other intuitions.

Table 2.7: Consonant Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>manner</th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>pharyngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>bʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>dʰ</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-asp</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3

Nominals

Nouns form a major word class in Bantawa. The class of nouns is an open class. New members are easily formed or added. Semantically, nouns typically denote time-stable concepts, viz. persons, things, entities. In contrast with adjectives or predicate verbs, nouns do not denote a single property of an entity, but identify the thing or concept itself. The degree in which nouns are concrete, compact and countable may vary, but the prototypical noun is all of these (Givón 2001: 51).

Syntactically, nouns fill roles as arguments to verbs, occurring left of the verb. In adverbial roles, nouns express temporal, locational or manner information. Morphologically, Bantawa has a distinct set of bound morphemes that apply to nominals only.

Nominals other than nouns are syntactically and morphologically similar to nouns. Proper nouns have a more limited distribution and allow for less modification, but are otherwise similar. Pronouns have some specific morphology and defining anaphoric and deictic semantics. Nouns, proper nouns and pronouns are grouped as nominals on the grounds of shared morphology and syntactic function, viz. serving as arguments to verbs.

3.1 Nominal classes

There are three major classes of nominals.

(83) **Nominal subclasses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pronouns</th>
<th>first person pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>second person pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper nouns (names)</td>
<td>third person pronouns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Third person nominals

Nominals alone can form a noun phrase, but noun phrases can also be complex. A noun phrase that has a third person nominal as a head can be called a third person noun phrase. Semantically, the noun denotes a set of individual items or the bundle
of features describing that set, e.g. \( k^h \)im means ‘house’. In context, \( k^h \)im may denote an individual house or a cardboard box, but as a free noun \( k^h \)im denotes the set of things one would wish to call ‘house’. The idea that a noun denotes a set of things is not a new formal interpretative model for dealing with nominal semantics, but is important in the discussion of nominal compounds.

### 3.1.1 Nominal subclasses

#### Proper nouns

Proper nouns are distinct from nouns in that proper nouns typically denote a unique concept, either a person, place or legal or collective entity. This has some repercussions for the morphology of proper nouns, viz. proper nouns are typically not countable and do not form noun compounds.

(84) paruhaŋ-ʔo-na i-sipa on \( k^h \)an-nu-Ø-yan-Ø-ʔo,
Paruhang-GEN-TOP his-skill (N) this.size COMPL-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
i-pok detni kat-Ø-yan-Ø ni.
his/her-body how feel-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR.
'Paruhang’s skill was that good, how well his body looked, it is said.’ [Sm]

The interpretation of proper nouns changes to that of collective nouns, once the plural suffix is affixed or other quantificational elements are added to the noun phrase. The contrast between (a) and (b) in examples (85) shows that the interpretation of saha ‘Śāha’ shifts from the person ‘Śāha’ to the collective ‘those of Śāha’ when the plural <-ci> is added.

(85) a. araŋ, araŋ ni pr̥thvi narayan saha-ʔa pūrva-ya kirāti haŋhon-ci
before before NAR Pr̥thvi Nārāyaṇ Śāha-ERG east-LOC.lev Kiranti kingdom-PL
ch̥in-yan-ṣa tu-ʔa.
push-PROG-SIM meet-PT
'Before, long ago, it is said, Pr̥thvi Nārāyaṇ Śāha met the Kiranti kingdoms in conquest,'

b. kʰo garī pr̥thvi narayan saha-ci-ʔa, i-sena-ci-ʔa, mo-ya
that time Pr̥thvi Nārāyaṇ Śāha-PL-ERG his/her-soldier-PL-ERG that-LOC.lev
kirātti-ci badd̥e mi-ser-u-ci ni,
Kiranti-PL much 3pl-kill-3P-DU NAR
'At that time, those of Pr̥thvi Nārāyaṇ Śāha, his soldiers, killed many Kirantis there, it is said.’ [Rl]

#### Nouns

As the major functions of nouns in Bantawa are very close to those of the almost universal category of nouns, and as examples of nouns are found throughout the text, I shall not spend much time defining the category.

(86) Countable nouns
3.1. Nominal classes

The birds are talking.

Simple nouns are used to denote one or more entities of a kind. The number of entities is a function of quantificational operators, viz. number marking and quantificational modifiers, and definiteness as expressed by possessive marking or deictic modifiers. Simple nouns that are not countable are mass nouns. Simple nouns are different from proper nouns and pronouns, that refer to discrete and known entities only. The number marking on nouns will be discussed in §3.2.1.

Pronouns

In contrast with simple nouns, pronouns are prototypically referential or deictic. Pronouns identify individuals in discourse, i.e. anaphoric, or in the physical context of the speech act, i.e. deictic. For Bantawa, it is helpful not to limit the class of pronouns to strictly referential or anaphoric elements corresponding to ‘he, you,’ etc. Rather, if all words are included that quantify over and refer to, i.e. identify or select from entities or sets of entities in the discourse, then we have a group of words in the language that shares syntactical and morphological properties. Deictic elements, that refer by physical location or by other criteria not present in the immediate linguistic context, must also be included in the class of pronouns. Pronouns form a noun phrase as such, and have some morphology specific to their class. Quantifiers such as ‘all’ can also have the pronominal suffix <-sa> (PRN) that is particular to pronouns.

(87) Pronouns

'all will give you a nine horned one, to you’ [Gn]

Pronouns will be discussed in great detail in §3.4.

3.1.2 Noun phrase syntax

Nouns, syntactically, appear in noun phrases (NPs). Noun phrase syntax is not very complicated, except if we consider that phrases of any type may occur, in nominalised form, in modifier or head position in NPs.

The make-up of a noun phrase can best be put in a linear format. In the schema below, optional elements are between brackets. There is a maximum of five positions in the noun phrase, that can be filled according to the table below.
Under each position we list the possible, mutually exclusive instantiations for each position.

(88) Noun phrase syntax

\[(determiner) \ (modifiers) \ (prefix-\ head-\ -(number)-\ -(case))\]

quantifier\ possessive-\ noun\ proper\ noun\ pronoun

The head is the only position that must be filled. If there is no noun, pronoun or proper noun in a noun phrase, then some modifier must serve as nominal head. The noun phrase is then interpreted as a reification of this modifier. This means that the phrase is interpreted as something analogous to the English phrase 'the one', i.e. the one that is modified. Examples of modifiers serving as head include sentential adjuncts serving as nominal heads, as in example (402) and reified pronominals, cf. §3.5. In example (89), 'the one of the headman' is the headman's house.

(89) sen-ya kʰar-a-ta-ŋ -heda ik-tet ten-daʔo
ask-PROG-SIM go-PT-PROG-PT while one-qual village-LOC-GEN
i-dʰuwaʔo-da ta-Ø-la-Ø-ki sen-u.
his/her-big.man-GEN-LOC come.far-PT-DIRback-PT-SEQ ask-3P
‘while he went, asking, having arrived at a village’s headman’s (house), he asked...’ [Bw]

For semantic reasons, proper nouns and pronouns allow for a lot less modification than simple nouns. In the subsequent sections on nominal categories, we shall refer to the positions in the noun phrase as in (88).

3.1.3 Noun compounding

The Bantawa language has an active process of nominal compounding. Two nouns are simply put together and form a noun compound, without intervening morphology or the phonologically motivated insertion of segments.

All nouns can form compounds, but not pronouns or proper nouns. The fact that compounding is restricted to simple nouns must be related to the different semantics of proper nouns and pronouns: Proper nouns and pronouns refer to known, discrete entities either in the discourse context or from the domain of interpretation. As we shall discuss, the noun compounding structure must be interpreted as an operation on sets of entities in the interpretative domain of nouns. Apparently, this semantic operation cannot apply to proper nouns or pronouns.

By semantic and morphological criteria, there are at least three major subclasses in nominal compounds.

Head-modifier compounding

The most regular and well-known type of compounding is head-modifier compounding, which is also common in European languages. The right hand member of this
type of compound is the head that determines the major semantic and syntactic parameters of the compound. Where the features ‘animate’ and ‘human’ matter, for instance in selecting counting qualifiers, these are obviously inherited from the right-hand member.

While the exact relationship between the modifier and the head is widely variable, it can at least be said of a compound of this type, that if a compound is of type X-Y, the resulting semantics of the compound reads something like ‘a Y that is located in X’, or, ‘a Y of X’. If we take for granted that the domain of noun interpretations Dom(N) has a Boolean structure, then we can use the interpretation rule given by (Hoeksema 1984: 77) as a good starting point for explaining the semantics of head-modifier compounds. He calls a ‘modifier’ a ‘specifier’. He writes as in (90).

(90) **Specifier interpretation**  If \(|x| \in \text{Dom}(N)\) and \(|y| \in \text{Dom}(N)\), then \(|f(x)|\) is a function from \(\text{Dom}(N)\) into itself, such that \(|f(x)|(\{y\})\) is the restriction of \(|y|\) to that part which is related by some salient relation \(R\) to \(|x|\).

This means: if the interpretation of noun \(Y\) is a set \(Y'\), then the interpretation \(XY'\) of compound noun \(XY\) (\(X\) being the modifier, \(Y\) being the head) is a subset of \(Y'\).

In the subsequent discussion by Hoeksema, he readily concedes that this definition is not without problems (‘there are some possible counter-examples’), but the point is that the denotation of a compound noun is some sort of subset of the head noun, be it of an extended, metaphorical or literal interpretation of the noun. With regard to the vague notion of a ‘salient relation’, this relation may range from possessive (\(Y\) possesses \(X\)) to anything, but the limit is usually that ‘negative relations are disallowed’ (Hoeksema 1984: 78).

The following is a small sample of the compounds under discussion here.

(91) **Head-modifier compounding**

a. laŋ-kuši
   leg-finger
   ‘toe’

b. mɨk-mɨwa
   eye-hair
   ‘eyebrow’

c. d’en-yiwa
   back-bone
   ‘backbone’

Different with regard to lexical category, but semantically very similar, are all other compounds that have a noun as a head and an element of some other category as modifier. We must then deal equally with all the other compounds that have a nominal head. Verb-noun compounds are just as frequent and regularly formed as noun-noun compounds. The left-hand members can be of other categories as well.

(92) **X-noun compounds**

a. pin-yiwa
   fly-bone
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‘collarbone’ (verb-noun)

b. hyu-cok
   below-floor
‘lower floor’ (pronoun-noun)

c. ni-mina
   other-man
‘another man’ (numeral-noun)

The element ‘ni’ ‘other’ in (92c) is quite frequent in noun compounds, viz. nihaphon ‘foreign country’ and nicʰa ‘younger sibling’ (lit. other child), but does not appear independently with this meaning. Ni is an apparent cognate of Limbu ni- ‘two’ and Kulung nite ‘two’¹, although the numeral two is hiwa in Bantawa.

There is also a number of nouns that are derived from a zero-derivation of a verb, cf. below. Actually, it is impossible to say which class must be considered the base. The point is that these roots can be used both verbally and nominally. This type of zero-marked verb-noun traffic is not infrequent in the language.

(93) zero-marked verb-noun traffic (<-ma> (INF) is the infinitive)

a. ŋen ‘fight’
   ŋe-ma ‘to fight’

b. cʰup ‘handful’
   cʰup-ma ‘to take a handful’

c. din ‘egg’
   din-ma ‘to lay eggs’

d. bʰop ‘round, round object’
   bʰop-ma ‘to make round’

Analysing the structure of analytical causatives (§7.3.1), we shall observe that verb stems can be reinterpreted as nominal verb complements. The re-interpretation of verbs as nouns can also be observed in the following noun-verb compounds.

(94) noun-verb compounds resulting in nouns

a. kaci-pen
   work-order
‘programme’ (noun-verb)

b. wa-cʰin
   water-filter
‘beer’² (noun-verb)

Thus far, the discussion of head-modifier compounds has been put in terms of semantics and categories. A syntactic feature of this type of compounds as opposed to the additive compounds below is that head-modifier compounds take only one single possessive prefix in possessive forms.

¹Proto-Tibeto-Burman: *g/s-ni-s ‘two’ (Matisoff 2003: 604)
²wa-cʰin: local beer is made in a process involving filtering. The full verb form relating to this is wa-cʰinma, so really, this compound is also a member of the verbal category. The noun in this compound, then, serves as a complement to the verb.
3.1. Nominal classes

(95) am-d³ep-yiwa ot-na
your³-back-bone break-2P
‘I shall break your backbone’

(96) am-k³im-hajma-ʔo i-niŋ di k³a?
your³-house-queen-GEN his/her-name what POL?
‘what is your wife’s name?’

Additive compounding

In contrast with head-modifier compounding, in Bantawa there is an active process of additive compounding. The results of this type of compounding are different with regard to both semantics and morphological behaviour. If a compound is of type X-Y, the resulting semantics of the compound reads something like ‘both X and Y’. Put into the same set-theoretical notation as for the head-modifier compounds, we should write the following.

(97) Additive compound interpretation

If $|x| \in \text{Dom}(N)$ and $|y| \in \text{Dom}(N)$, then $|f(x)|$ is a function from $\text{Dom}(N)$ into itself, such that $|f(x)||y| = |x| \cup |y|$.

In other words, in these compounds the interpretation of the whole form is not a subset of the interpretation of the head, but rather the union of the interpretations of both members.

For the base forms, there are no obvious formal clues to what compound should be interpreted as an additive or which should be interpreted as a head-modifier compound. Semantically, however, distinguishing these is not hard. Where both members operate, by some definition, at the same level of taxonomy in the semantic domain, i.e. when they are mutually excluding members of a well defined superset, then the interpretation of their compound is likely to be additive.

Morphosyntactically, additive compounds behave differently as well. Possessive prefixes are distributed over both members, rather than prefixed to the whole word only.

(98) friends

a. yawa-kuwa
friend-youth.friend
‘friends and all’

b. i-yawa-i-kwac-ci-sudda b³ela mi-lish-a-ki
his/her-friend-his/her-*friend-PL-NCOM gather (N) 3pl-become-PT-SEQ
‘having gathered together with his friends and acquaintances...’

(99) extremities

a. lanç-c³uk
leg-hand
‘extremities’
b. i-laŋ-i-cʰuk  kʰar-a-cʰ ar-a-ʔo  mina
   his/her-leg-his/her-hand stretch-PT go-PT-NOM man
   'a paralysed man' (lit. a man with stretched arms and legs)

(100) parents
a. iŋ-pa-ma-ci  kʰar-a-ci
   my-father-mother-PL go-PT-DU
   'my father and mother went'
b. iŋ-pa-iŋ-ma-ci  kʰar-a-ci
   my-father-my-mother-PL go-PT-DU
   'my father and mother went'

Example (100) shows that, in additive compounds, distribution of possessive prefixes is possible but not always required. Animate additive compounds can appear in either plural form, even though singular forms inherently have a plural reading. The plural ending of pa-ma-ci\(^3\) is obligatory. The procedure distributing prefixes has a wider application than only those compounds that are strictly additive.

This type of compound also has members that only fit in the scheme purely formally. Some expressions of location or direction that operate adverbially in other contexts, i.e. are modifiers to the verb or sentence, are morphologically nominal in Bantawa. Those locational adverbs that are reduplicated or split are also susceptible to double possessive marking if so required.

(101) -bu -bu 'ahead'
   a. iŋ-bu-iŋ-bu  kol-a
      my-before-my-before walk-PT
      'walk in front of me'

**Rhyme compounding**

In the region of South-Asia, there is a widespread phenomenon of rhyming compounds. These compounds have a meaningful first half, carrying most if not all of the functional content, and a grammatical second half. This second half sometimes only appears next to the first half, or may be semantically loosely related to it, but is in any case primarily selected for its formal property that it rhymes with the first half. The second half of such constructions will not productively compound with other nouns or appear independently.

In Nepali, for instance, we find forms that are entirely based on rhyming, viz. चिन्द्र-चिन्द्र cīḍa-sīḍa 'tea and all that', कागज़-कागज़ kāgaj-sāgaj 'paper and all that, the paperwork'. Sometimes, a quite arbitrary morpheme that is somehow related to the first half is selected, e.g. रिती-रिती riti-stiti 'rituals and all that'. The form of the second member of these compounds is more important than its meaning, if any. In some cases, this second half is strictly grammatical and merely expands the meaning of the first compound member to 'everything like that, all that'.

---

\(^3\)The non-singular <-ci> on pa-ma-ci is really a dual, as signalled by the verb agreement.
Bantawa has a very similar process, and the lexicon contains a considerable number of these rhyme compounds. These compounds mostly behave as additive compounds, but do not appear in plural forms, as by the operation of repetition plurality is expressed already.

(102) traditions
   a. tʰapsin-hili
      tradition-*tradition
      ‘traditions’
   b. o anko tʰapsin-hili-daŋka lont-a-kʰar-a
      this our* tradition-*tradition-LOC-ABL come.out-PT-go-PT
      ‘he left our traditions’
   c. an-tʰapsin-an-hili
      our*-tradition-our*-tradition
      ‘our traditions’

(103) respect
   a. saya-taya
      head-brain
      ‘respect’
   b. saya-taya pi-ma
      head-brain give-INF
      ‘to show respect’

These compounds behave as normal compounds morphologically, i.e. the possessive prefixes are not distributed over the compounding parts.

3.1.4 Noun compounding vs. derivation

True compound nouns are those, where ideally the main semantic content is predictable from the compounding roots, as shown above. However, there are many nouns that can easily be recognized by their form, particularly their suffix, while the meaning of these suffixes is not very meaningful or transparent synchronically. These lexical nouns show endings that probably are a reflex of a formation or compounding process that once was productive. Synchronically, these nouns cannot meaningfully be decomposed into their constituting parts. We analyse nouns as ‘suffixed’ by the following criteria:

- the roots of these nouns do not appear without their suffixes.
- the suffixes of these nouns either do not appear independently, e.g. <-wa>, <-ba>, or have an entirely different meaning when serving as a root or as a root in a true compound, e.g. the cʰu diminutive.

Often, the noun suffixes operate as classifiers, grouping the nouns into classes. What remains is a correspondence of noun endings to semantic subgroupings. Mostly, however, these groupings have no grammatical import in terms of syntax or morphology.
Gender marking

Nouns in -ma\(^4\) typically denote either females, for all nouns referring to humans, or concepts associated with femininity, or small items and animals.

(104) Oppositions in male vs. female
   a. de-ma
      ‘aunt’
   b. de-wa
      ‘uncle’
   c. di-ma
      ‘grandmother’
   d. di-wa
      ‘grandfather’

(105) Small animals
   a. muni-ma
      ‘cat’
   b. yagʰan-ma
      ‘spider’
   c. pon-ma
      ‘cuckoo’

(106) concepts apparently associated with femininity
   a. henkʰam-ma
      ‘the world’
   b. ninam-ma
      ‘the sky’
   c. yikicik-ma
      ‘typhoid’

The -ma ending on the word for ‘typhoid’ is not an accident: Most disease names end in <-ma>. While the -ma noun ending must not be confused with the infinitive -ma, it has an obvious relationship with the -ma ending on active participles denoting animate females.

The -ba, -pa or -wa\(^5\) endings signal male gender in all nouns with human or animate reference. However, these endings equally frequent appear without obvious clue to a function, particularly where the words in these endings have no female counterparts.

(107) The -pa ending
   a. kip-pa
      ‘flea’

\(^4\)mother, feminine suffix PTB *ma-n (Matisoff 2003: 601)
\(^5\) ‘man/father/husband/person’ PTB *wa (Matisoff 2003: 618)
‘father’ FK *pä (Starostin 1998-2003)
b. ponpi-pa
   ‘buffalo bull’

c. sanjwa
   ‘buffalo’

d. but: (!) sanjwa-pa
   ‘buffalo-bull’
e. sanjwa-ma
   ‘buffalo-cow’

(108) The -wa ending
a. sun-wa
   ‘bee’
b. kuti-wa
   ‘dog’
c. saken-wa
   ‘Sakenwa’

The <-wa> ending in these nouns must not be confused with the <-wa> endings on
birds, or with <-wa> endings on words that denote some kind of liquid. Bird names in
<-wa> derive from the root wa, that in isolation means ‘chicken’. The <-wa> ending
on liquids derives from the root ”wa” ‘water’.

Nouns in -cha: diminutive

As an independent root, cʰa means ‘child’. This suffix is also used as a numeral
classifier, cf. §3.6. The root cʰa, however, also serves as a diminutive noun suffix,
i.e. it operates as a compound but cannot be taken to signal a ‘child’ in any biological
meaning.

(109) diminutive
a. bekʰa bekʰa-cʰa
   ‘bag’ ‘little bag’
b. yawa yawa-cʰa
   ‘friend’ ‘little friend’
c. upkʰa upkʰa-cʰa
   ‘torch’ ‘little torch’

These forms contrast with words where -cʰa serves as an ordinary compound
member, e.g. gwetokoʰa ‘bull calf’, or as a kind of category marker for nouns, e.g.
duwacʰa ‘boy’ or mecʰacʰa ‘girl’.

6Sakenwa is the name of a goddess that is associated with weather. It is rather counterintuitive that
’sakenwa’ should be female, considering the suffix on the noun. This fact illustrates that the relationship
between noun suffix and gender is now loose.
7 ‘child’ PTB *za-tsa (Matisoff 2003: 215)
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Nouns in -mi: human

Many nouns referring to humans end in -mi, but the morpheme as such does not appear in the meaning of ‘man, person’ or the like.

(110) nouns in -mi
   a. kʰaru-mi
      wisdom-*human
      ‘farmer’
   b. taya-mi
      head-*human
      ‘leader, student’
   c. cʰek-mi
      imprison-*human
      ‘prisoner’

This suffix is also found in words to which some degree of animacy is apparently ascribed, viz. kuhupmi ‘big storm’, sakóymi ‘soul’. The general ‘human’ suffix <-mi> must not be confused with the morpheme <*me ~ *mi >9. This specifically female suffix is sporadically found in fixed compounds, e.g. mecʰacʰ ‘girl’ and namymi, ‘daughter-in-law’.

Nouns in -si, -wa, -bop, -sa

The noun endings mentioned so far can be said to be grammaticalised or frozen word endings. Apart from these, there are some words that are frequent right-hand members of compounds to the extent that they are semantic classifiers, grouping words. Some of the more frequent of these are listed here.

(111) si ‘fruit’
   a. cʰokwa-si
      orange-fruit
      ‘orange’
   b. nay-si
      hail-fruit
      ‘hail’
   c. yam-si
      body-fruit
      ‘breast-feeding’

(112) wa ‘bird’ 10

---

8 ‘man/person’ PTB *r-mi(y)-n(Matisoff 2003: 602). This etymon is found all over the Kiranti languages.

9 ‘female’ PTB *mi ‘female/girl’ (Matisoff 2003: 602)

10 ‘chicken’ PTB *wa (Matisoff 2003: 618)

Opgenort (2004: 5) seems to suggest that /*kwa*/ must be reconstructed.
3.1. Nominal classes

a. muk-wa
   ‘partridge’

b. bera-wa
   ‘parrot’

c. cʰon-wa
   ‘bird’

d. wa
   ‘chicken’

wa ‘water’ \(^{11}\)

a. nakʰɨ-wa
   ‘snot’ (na- ‘nose’ (?), kʰi ‘dirt’, -wa ‘liquid’)

b. mik-wa
   ‘tear’

c. cak-wa
   ‘water’

d. wa
   ‘rain’

sa ‘big animal, mammal’ \(^{12}\)

a. kʰis-sa
   ‘deer’

b. tumpa-sa
   ‘wild cat’

c. bwa-sa
   ‘pangolin’

d. sa
   ‘flesh, meat’

There are a few homophonous morphemes <-wa>, meaning ‘male’, ‘bird’ and ‘water’ respectively, and as a result this word form is found very frequently in nouns or noun compounds. The extensive list of examples above shows that while nominal compounding is a regular process, this does not imply that the meaning of compounds is always a compositional function of the elements in the compound. To different degrees, different elements have lost their inherent meaning and have been grammaticalised into suffixes, or compounds have become frozen as lexical items.

3.1.5 Typology of noun compounding

Bickel and Nichols write (2006: 33) that: ‘It is chiefly verbs that are bipartite, but bipartite nominal stems that undergo interposition are attested in Limbu (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal). The third person singular possessive form of teʔphug ‘garments,

\(^{11}\)’water’ PK *wa (Starostin 1998-2003)

\(^{12}\)’flesh’ PTB *syə-n ‘animal/body/flesh/meat’ (Matisoff 2003: 613)
Table 3.1: Types of nominal compounding in Bantawa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Compounding</th>
<th>Semantic behaviour ( XY )</th>
<th>Morphological behaviour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head-modifier compounding</td>
<td>( XY' \subseteq Y' ) interpretation of the whole is a subset of the interpretation of the head</td>
<td>Behaves as normal noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additive compounding</td>
<td>( XY' = X' \cup Y' ) interpretation of the whole is a union of the interpretation of both members</td>
<td>Possessive prefixes may distribute over compounding parts. Animate forms may appear in dual/plural.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhyme / grammatical compounding</td>
<td>( XY' = X' \cup \text{like}(X') ) interpretation of XY extends the interpretation of X by 'similar' referents</td>
<td>Second part grammatically determined, not necessarily meaningful. Plurals are ruled out.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

clothing', for instance, is \textit{ku-de:il-ku-bhu} (van Driem 1987: 27), with the possessive marker \textit{ku-} occurring not only at the beginning of the word but also at the beginning of its second (etymologically separate) part. (This example also illustrates simulfixation, as is discussed just below.)

Bickel and Nichols define interposition as follows:

INTERPOSITION Interposition is a typologically distinct subtype of infixation. In general, infixation places formatives into a phonologically or prosodically defined environment (e.g. after the stem’s onset consonant(s), or after the first syllable), but in the case of interposition, the environment is more nearly morphological, reflecting petrified derivational morphology or compounding. Interposition typically involves formatives placed between the two parts of a BIPARTITE STEM.

This definition neatly contrasts interposition with other morphological change processes, viz. preposition and prefixation, and postposition and suffixation. The contrast with infixation is that interposition is conditioned by morphological rather than by phonological boundaries.

The Limbu example cited by Bickel and Nichols is equal to the Bantawa phenomenon of additive compounding. In fact, the Bantawa half-cognate \textit{tit-kʰan} for the Limbu form has a similar structure and equally means 'clothes and all'. What we need is a typology of compounding constructions to clarify where languages differ or are equal. The Bantawa facts can be described as in Table 3.1.

To say that the formation of possessed forms of additive compounds is an entirely different process, viz. interposition, than possessive formation for simplex
nouns is unnecessarily confusing. An analysis in terms of interposition may be motivated by the tacit assumption ‘derivation precedes inflection’, that states that once a noun has undergone a process such as compounding, this noun cannot normally be further augmented with governed agreement markers, e.g. inflection or possessive prefixation. However, once we abandon that assumption, the different behaviour of additive and head-modifier compounds becomes understandable and even predictable. The interpretation of additives corresponds to that of ordinary conjunctions, i.e. laŋčʰuk corresponds to English ‘legs and hands’. In constructions that are prosodically words but have phrasal properties we can expect the possessor marking to distribute, as in English ‘my legs and my hands’.

In the possessive forms of ordinary compounds such as inj-mik-miwa my-eye-hair 'my eyebrow', the relationship of the modifier (eye) is with the head (hair) rather than with the possessor. The possessive relation pertains to the entire compound, not with its constituents.

In a formal model for morphological description, we must be able to express this structural difference. The minimal requirement for such a model is that we must be able to describe non-root compounding, rather than rule out compounding of inflected roots.

3.2 Nominal morphology

This section deals with suffixal nominal morphology. (The only nominal prefixes are the possessive prefixes, cf. §3.4.2). Nominal morphology affixes to noun phrases rather than to nouns only, as many nominal affixes can apply to nominalised verbs or to anything else that is of nominal category.

Nominals have specific morphology that expresses number and case. Number marking is not a matter of agreement in a strict sense, i.e. not a grammatical parameter, §3.2.1. Case suffixes are ordered after number marking. Noun phrases can be marked with case either to signal their syntactic role (§3.2.2) or to form locative, temporal and other adverbial expressions (§3.3.1). The genitive case may not be primarily a nominal category. The genitive seems to affix to any type of phrase to form adnominal expressions. Adpositions (§3.3.2) are complex cases that form adverbial expressions out of noun phrases.

3.2.1 Number marking

In the Bantawa language, a three-way distinction in numbers is relevant grammatically, viz. between the singular, dual and plural number. The difference between dual and plural is often visible in verbal agreement only. In nominals only the two-way singular versus non-singular distinction can be made. There is no singular number marker for nouns. The non-singular marker <-ci> (PL) indicates either that the noun refers to multiples instances of the item denoted by the singular noun (example 115), or that the noun denotes a group of entities that are of the same nature as, or related to the singular noun (as in example 116).
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(115) tayami-ci
   student-PL
   ‘students’

(116) tit-ci
   clothes-PL
   ‘cloth and other things to wear’

The non-singular <-ci> does not contrast with the singular form in the same way that European plural nouns contrast with their singular counterparts. As has been observed for many South Asian languages, the difference between singular and plural number marking is privative rather than equipollent: The plural marker contrasts with its absence, not with the singular. In European languages such as Dutch or English, a countable noun is necessarily marked singular or plural. In Bantawa, nouns not explicitly marked for non-singular may still refer to plural referents and, apparently as a correlate, a plural noun often does not simply mean ‘more than one’, but ‘multiple things of the same type’.

However, while the plural marking is intentional on inanimate nouns in contrast with obligatorily marked number, the plural marker is grammatically required in other contexts. For instance, quantified non-singular animate nouns must be marked with the non-singular <-ci> to be grammatical.

(117) Obligatorily marked plural
   a. mina-ci mi-ta-Ø
      man-PL 3pl-come-PT
      ‘the men came’
   b. *mina mita
   c. ??hwatet mina

(118) Obligatorily marked plural (dual)
   a. pa-ma-ci kʰat-ci-ŋ-ci
      father-mother-PL go-DU-PROG-DU
      ‘our parents are going’
   b. *pa-ma kʰatciŋci

So while number is not an obligatory category for every Bantawa noun, it is obligatory on human nouns, preferred on animate nouns and acceptable on nouns denoting other living creatures. When used for ordinary count nouns denoting objects and concepts, non-singular marking usually means ‘and such’. Suffixation of the plural on mass nouns necessarily results in a ‘types of...’ reading.

It seems, then, that there are degrees of animacy in Bantawa, as follows:

← maximally animate  maximally inanimate →
human animate living count nouns mass nouns

The animacy in this sense is inversely proportional to the countability of nouns, which has direct consequences for the interpretation of the plural marker, as explained above.
3.2. Nominal morphology

3.2.2 Case suffixes

All noun phrases are obligatorily marked for case. Cases contrast with adpositions in that they are bound formatives and do not govern case but rather affix to nouns that are governed (Bickel and Nichols 2006: 94). All case markers in Bantawa are suffixes. Much of the case terminology employed here is discussed in Bickel and Nichols’s work on inflection (2006: 92).

The following governed case endings are found on Bantawa nominals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>absolutive marker, required on the overt subject in intransitive clauses and the patient and/or dative object in transitive clauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔa</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative marker, required on the overt agent in transitive clauses and an instrumental marker introducing oblique instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo</td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive, case marker on the modifier of genitive constructions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As discussed in the phonology chapter, the glottal stop [ʔ] is a problematic phone in Bantawa as its phonemic status is not immediately clear. Here, the glottal is added to the phonological form of the ergative and genitive case markers, to signal that these markers start with an empty consonant position. The syllable is subject to the no-empty onset principle and thus a glottal stop or, alternatively, an assimilated consonant or, after vowels, a glide is inserted.

The following simple non-governed cases are found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>VOCp</td>
<td>vocative prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-da</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-du</td>
<td>LOC.HIGH</td>
<td>locative (high)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>LOC.LEVEL</td>
<td>locative (level)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>LOC.LOW</td>
<td>locative (low)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-cohering genitive <-ʔo> (GEN) differs minimally with the cohering vocative suffix <-o> (VOC), in that the latter does not introduce a new syllable, cf. §2.1.3.

3.2.3 Absolutive and ergative

The case for the absolutive (citation form)

For Wāmbule, Opgenort argues that the absolutive case, identical to the bare noun or the noun in citation form, is not a case at all on the grounds that the ‘nominal role marking strategy in Wāmbule does not function strictly along syntactic lines, but is also semantically motivated’ (2002: 149). For that reason, Opgenort analyses the absolutive case as the unmarked form and the absolutive as a non-existent case.
No zero absolutive case <-Ø> is assumed, nor is an absolutive label (ABS) written for each and every noun not marked otherwise.

To a great degree, this analysis applies to Bantawa as well. Role markers are 'the expression of an intended meaning' and semantically motivated. However, the distribution of the absolutive vis-à-vis the ergative marker is governed by syntactic roles. In transitive clauses, the ergative is required on the agent participant. In intransitive clauses, likewise, the marking of the single participant, usually by the absolutive <-Ø> is determined by the verb.

By contrast, the explicit marking of dative objects with the dative suffix <-lai> is optional, as is the choice between locative-marked passive objects and absolutive-marked recipients. In sum, case is primarily determined by the grammatical role of the noun. Even where there is freedom to choose on semantic considerations only, the room for choice is limited by the grammatical role. Nevertheless we shall not write the absolutive except below where we want to explicitly highlight the grammatical roles, on the grounds that the absolutive arguably is the absence of another case.

All nouns have a simple citation form and nouns in an unmarked (absolutive) position appear in that citation form. Pure, native Bantawa nouns comply with the phonological rules for syllable forms and syllabification. Except when the noun is a derivation of a verb or other category, the rather weak word stress falls on the first syllable. In case of derivations, the word stress falls on the root of the derivation.

The absolutive is selected as

- subject of intransitive clauses
- object of transitive clauses
- indirect object of bitransitive clauses
- in adverbial and other uses of nouns, e.g. time denotations.

**Ergative and instrumental <-ʔa>**

The non-cohering (cf. §2.1.3) ergative suffix <-ʔa> (ERG) is required on all agents of transitive clauses. The syntactical discussion of the ergative system of Bantawa is presented in the introduction to clause syntax in §6.1. Some sample sentences will give the gist of the agreement system. In the examples below the absolutive is marked in order to explicitly mark the noun case distribution.

(119) intransitive

- a. cakwa-Ø  son-Ø-yap-Ø
  water-ABS flow-NPT-PROG-NPT
  'the water is flowing'
- b. o-ko  dum-Ø  tøŋ-a
  this-PRN matter-ABS agree-PT
  'it was OK' (lit. that matter agreed)

(120) transitive sentences
3.2. Nominal morphology

a. abo iŋkaØ malok sumnimaʔa watniŋa mollok kʰan
   now (N) I-ABS part Sumnima-ERG this.manner-EMPH part vcompl
   its-aŋ-lo i-kʰaŋ-ra cʰa.
   be.bad-PT-1s-MAN 3AM-see-1s MIR
   ‘now Sumnima has seen me this way, while I was in a bad way, it
   appears.’ [Sm]

b. jʰarak harj-ciʔa mo-ko mecʰaʔa-lai nulok kʰanulok
   all king-PL-ERG that-PRN girl-DAT good beautiful
   i-kʰanj-aŋ-a-ʔa-hida
   3AM-see-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp
   ‘While all the kings considered that girl beautiful’ (lit. ‘while all the
   kings looked beautifully at that girl’) [Gn]

The ergative is required in transitive sentences. In examples from oral literature,
such as example (120a), the word order may be driven by the order in which
the participants come from the memory of the speaker, and in those cases the case
marking settles any ambiguity with regard to grammatical roles. The canonical word
order (cf. §1.3) is usually followed, though, as in (120b). The use of the dative suffix
<-lai> is entirely optional.

The ergative may also be affixed to nominals in roles that would usually be called
‘instrumental’. Noun phrases that are marked with the ergative but do not act as
the agent in a verb frame translate as instrumental modifiers. There is no separate
instrumental case, however. Ergative-marked instrumental phrases are adverbial
modifiers denoting either the cause, the method or the instrument of the action.

(121) muddum mett-u, i-cʰa, i-mayaʔa.
   chants apply-3P, his/her-child, his/her-love (N)-ERG
   ‘She said the chants, her son’s, out of love.’ [Sm]

(122) kʰon-kína moswaʔa dʰwásoʔa somt-a-n-ci-n
   then-SEQ-TOP soot-ERG (N)-ERG rub-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
   ‘then he rubbed himself with soot’ [Sm]

(123) ani solonwaʔa kʰiʔt-u, tʰokt-u-dis-u i-do-da-tni jamma
   then gourd-ERG worship-3P, pour-3P-insert-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL total
   sprinkle-3P
   ‘Then she worshipped with the gourd, she poured it into his mouth, she
   sprinkled it all over.’ [Sm]

These sentences were taken from the Sumnima narrative (Appendix A.6). Word
order is relatively free in this narrative, guided by pragmatic considerations and
memory. The last sentence has a normal word order, but the participants are
not present in full noun phrases. Neither the agent, the mother of the deceased,
who sprinkles, nor the direct object, the water, nor the recipient, the deceased, are
mentioned except in agreement marking, i.e. the verbal agreement and the possessive
agreement on do ‘mouth’. The suffix <-ʔa> on solonwa ‘gourd’ is interpreted as an
instrumental, as gourds, being inanimate, are unlikely sprinklers. The interpretation of ergative-marked nominals can usually be resolved by pragmatic considerations and an understanding of the verbal situation.

**The dative**

In Bantawa the patient in transitive clauses patterns with the subject of intransitive clauses in that both take the absolutive case. However, under the influence of the national language Nepali, one occasionally finds a dative marker <-lai> (DAT), from Nepali -lāi, on recipient participants. Even in Nepali, not all object participants are equally eligible for marking with this case, as it is primarily used for animate recipients. Occasionally, the dative <-lai> is found on inanimate recipients or animate patients as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-lai&gt;</td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dative marker is not native to Bantawa. When informants re-checked recorded stories, they often suggested to take the foreign dative marker out.

(124) ɨŋ ka hyukko kʰim-yuʔo ig-yawa-lai hor-u-ŋʔo.
       lower house-LOC.low-GEN my-friend-DAT open-3P-1s-NOM
       'I let my friend of the house below go.'

(125) mo-ciʔa kʰana-lai kʰowa ni-mett-a.
       that-PL-ERG you-DAT wound 3A-cause-PT
       'They wounded you.'

In everyday speech however, <-lai> (DAT) appears frequently.

### 3.2.4 Genitive

The genitive suffix <-ʔo> is the last of the cases that are governed and required under syntactical circumstances\(^\text{13}\). The genitive <-ʔo> (GEN) is found on nominal phrases in the following constructions.

(126) Genitive constructions

a. adnominal modifier constructions
b. possessive constructions
c. postposition constructions

---

\(^{13}\)Pragmatically, I consider a case 'governed' when the case ending on a noun phrase reflects the role of the phrase at hand and is called for by other constituents in the syntactic structure. By this definition, the absolutive and ergative cases are clearly governed whereas the genitive is a case for doubt. Other cases form phrases out of nominals that are functionally adverbial. The genitive suffix <-ʔo> partly qualifies as a grammatical case for the following reasons: a) the genitive functions as an adnominalising functor, syntagmatically connecting two phrases, b) in its guise as nominaliser, the genitive functions as a sentence complementiser that is required by the complementising verb, §5.2.5.
The genitive expresses almost every kind of relationship pertaining between two nouns. In fact, we observe that even in possessive and postposition constructions, the genitive-marked noun is just a modifier to the head noun from a syntactical point of view. The genitive merely signals the dependency relationship between the head noun and some noun phrase that is embedded in the matrix noun phrase.

The genitive as a modifier marker

**Function** A typical genitive construction in English would be 'John's dog', where the noun 'John' is marked with the genitive suffix -'s, or the equal construction 'the dog of John', where the genitive relation is expressed analytically by 'of'. In both of these constructions, 'dog' is the head of the noun phrase and 'John' is the modifier.

The genitive construction has a wide range of meanings. The genitive sometimes is interpreted as possessive. For example, in 'John's car' the genitive expresses ownership. Generally, the most eye-catching of the range of meanings of a genitive construction is this possessive relationship. However, the example 'John's dog' expresses a relationship of association. The 'Duke of York' has yet another relation with York. In 'the last minute of the day' the genitive expresses a part-of relationship. In sum, any positive relationship can be expressed by a genitive.

**Syntax** In Bantawa, the general syntax of a genitive construction is very simple. Two NPs may be tied together by marking the first with the genitive.

```
NP
  NP_mod
    modifier-GEN
  NP_head
    head
```

The genitive construction is used for all relationships that are usually coded with genitives, including the possessive.

**Genitive and possessive** In Bantawa, the possessive construction is a variation on the genitive construction, where the head noun is marked with a possessive prefix, that agrees in number and person with the possessor noun. The possessive construction only expresses possession in the simple sense of the word and kinship or other intimate relationships.

(127) Genitive constructions

a. nepala-da badd'pe-ka com-ʔo t'upsin yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
   Nepal-LOC many-CNT type-GEN tradition be-NPT-PROG-NPT
   'in Nepal there are traditions of many kinds'

---

14The relationship that holds between two members of a compound noun (§3.1.3) was qualified exactly the same as the genitive relationship: any positive relationship may be expressed. These relations are positive in the sense that any circumscription of this relation can be done in affirmative, simple terms. We would not expect any phrase 'John’s X' to mean 'the X that John does not ...'
b. suna rupa-ʔo watmasi
gold silver-GEN ornament
‘golden and silver ornaments’
c. mecʰacʰa-ci-ʔo watmasi
girl-PL-GEN ornament
‘ornaments of girls’
d. duwacʰa-ʔo kʰim-da-ŋka
boy-GEN house-LOC-ABL
‘out of the boy’s house’

The genitive constructions above are not possessives. So, we do not expect possessive prefixation on the head, which is italicised in examples (127a,127b). However, the absence of possessive prefixes in (127c, 127d) is unexpected, as we might feel that there is some sort of possessive relationship between the boys and their houses (127d), and the girls and their ornaments (127c). However, there is a real semantic difference between duwacʰa-ʔo kʰim ‘boy-GEN his/her-house’ and duwacʰa-ʔo kʰim ‘boy-GEN house’. Both may be translated as ‘the boy’s house’, but the second talks of any house belonging to any boy, whereas the first relates of a house of a specific boy, i.e. the boy is definite. Example (127d) is taken from an explanation of marriage customs. The mentioned boy really refers to all boys. If the story would be about a specific boy, the possessive marker would be affixed on the head noun to indicate definiteness. Similarly, the genitive in sample (127c) merely says that these ornaments are ornaments of girls, for example, in contrast with ornaments of boys. In other words, the genitives in examples (127c, 127d) only signal that the first non-head noun does not modify the head noun as a possessor, but as a modifier only.

Once we accept this analysis, we may grow more amenable to the idea that the genitive signals modification only.

The genitive is a general modifier Generally, genitive-marked phrases delimit the range of reference of the head of the noun phrase and narrow down the scope of the whole. As the examples show, there is not an obvious common denominator of the functions of the genitive-marked modifier. Anyway, it seems that the possessive relationship is excluded from the set of functions.

(128) General nominalisation: modifier construction

a. mecʰacʰa-ci cilor kʰim-da-ʔo kaci mi-mu
girl-PL often house-LOC-NOM work 3pl-do
‘Girls often do the house work.’ [Gr]

b. magar raja kʰar-a-ki ik-tet purwa-ya-ʔo kirawa raja (…)
Magar king (N) go-PT-SEQ one-qual east (N)-LOC.level-GEN Kiranti king (N) (…)
mo-ya-ŋka ban-a-kina, ik-tet kirawa.
that-LOC.level-ABL come.level-PT-CUS one-qual Kiranti
‘When the Magar king had gone, at that time one Eastern Kiranti king (…) came from there, one Kiranti.’ [Gn]
The nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM) can be used to subordinate phrases of all categories, cf. §5.2. In other words, the nominaliser turns a phrase of any category into a modifier. In example (128a), the locative *kʰimda* is turned into an adnominal modifier. The modifier nouns in genitive constructions are nouns-turned-modifier by the general nominaliser <-ʔo>. Excepting host category, the genitive case shares both form and function with the nominaliser suffix <-ʔo>. I shall gloss the suffix <-ʔo> as a genitive (GEN) when it occurs as a noun case, but as a nominaliser (NOM) for all other categories. Further discussion is found in the chapter on verb nominalisation and subordination (§5.2).

The head of genitive constructions must be a third person noun phrase. The genitive case is <-ʔo> for all third person noun phrases. For the remaining pronouns there are specific forms called possessive pronouns.

**Possessive constructions**

The possessive construction has the following format:

```
NP
   /\  
NP_pos  NP_head
      /\          /\  
possessor-GEN possessed
```

The agreement within the construction works two ways. No doubt, the right hand member, the possessed, is the head of the construction: the number and case features of the head noun only are syntactically relevant outside the noun phrase. However, the person and number of the possessive prefix on the head must agree with that of the subordinated possessor noun phrase.

This type of agreement is reminiscent of verb agreement. While the nominal arguments of the verb are subcategorised for category and case by virtue of their syntactic roles, the person and number marking on the verb must, in turn, agree with that of the relevant participants.

The agreement pattern within the noun phrase is similar: While the genitive suffix <-ʔo> is required on the possessor noun, the possessive prefix must agree in number and person with the possessor. The morphology of possessive prefixes is discussed in the following section, §3.4.2.

If the antecedent of the possessive prefix is clear anyway or appears in another role, for instance the agent of the sentence, then the antecedent does not need explicit mention in the form of a genitive marked modifier. Also, possessive prefix-marked nouns can do perfectly well without their modifier and are interpretable even if there is no antecedent for the possessive pronominal prefix in the immediate context. The possessive prefix has the same anaphoric scope as an ordinary pronoun. The genitive-marked modifier in possessive constructions only functions as an explicit antecedent for the possessive prefix that is to follow. Possessive constructions are a
Possessive constructions

(129) Possessive constructions
   a. mînâ-ci-ʔo ico ninâ ɕit-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
      man-PL-GEN their mind leave-NPT-PROG-NPT
      'the people are displeased' (lit. the mind of people is leaving)
   b. cʰetkuma-ʔo i-cʰenwa-ci
      girl-GEN his/her-relative-PL
      'the relatives of the girl' (now definite)
   c. i-ма-ʔo i-som si-wa
      his/her-mother-GEN his/her-wish die-PT
      'his mother had her wish' (lit. the wish of his mother died) [Sm]
   d. sumnîma-ʔo i-cik-da i-yukt-a
      Sumnîma-GEN his/her-side-LOC 3AM-put-PT
      'They put him at the side of Sumnîma' [Sm]

The discussion of possessive constructions will be resumed in §3.4.2, the definiteness effect of the possessive prefix will be discussed in §3.4.3.

Complex postposition constructions

Most, if not all, complex postpositions in Bantawa require a genitive-marked host. We could say that postpositions govern the genitive case. Complex postpositions have a transparent structure: Postposition constructions are genitive constructions that have a noun as a grammatical head. Semantically, the bulk of the meaning is in the genitive-marked adnominal modifier, but grammatically, the postposition is the head.

As these constructions are very frequent and on the way of being grammaticalised, the genitive marking on the modifier noun is frequently dropped. The postpositioned noun more and more starts to act as a case in its own right, while at the same time the semantically more prominent modifier noun becomes the head.

(130) at the foot of
   a. kʰokli-ʔo bʰen-da linjwakʰa cʰonj-da pit goŋdok mi-can-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
      forest-GEN foot-LOC meadow top-LOC cow bull 3pl-feed-NPT-PROG-NPT
      'at the foot of the forest, up in the meadow, the cows and bulls are grazing' [Sg]
   b. buktan kʰonki sigraŋ-bʰen-da mi-yuw-áŋ-a ni.
      cave and tree-foot-LOC 3pl-sit-PT-PROG-PT NAR
      'They lived in caves and at the foot of trees, it is said.'

In example (130a) the phrase kʰokli-ʔo bʰen-da 'at the foot of the forest' is a transparent construction. By contrast, the genitive has dropped from the similar construction sigraŋ-bʰen-da 'at the foot of the trees' in example (130b). The contrast
between the two examples show the progressive grammaticalisation of bʰen-da ‘at
the foot of’ as a postposition in its own right.

Postpositions of this type may also use the full possessive construction, i.e. the
locative expression in the postposition may also be prefixed by a possessive prefix. Where possessive prefixes are non-third person, it is preferred syntax to leave the
antecedent out.

(131) postpositions without explicit antecedent
   a. am-cik-da
      your’-side-LOC
      ‘at your side’
   b. iŋ-bu  iŋ-bu  kol-a
      my-front my-front walk-PT
      ‘walk ahead of me’

Postpositions are nominal expressions that are used adverbially by virtue of the
usually locative suffix on the head. The modifiers of the heads of these adverbial
expressions, then, can equally be nominal or verbal.

(132) after
   a. pāc-ka  len-ʔo  den-ŋa  cʰa  wa-çaŋ-ma  ni  yin-in.
      five (N)-CNT day-GEN back-LOC child water-wash-INF NAR-12plSP
      ‘after five days, we say, “we must wash the child’’ (lit. to wash the
child)
   b. m-iŋ-tok-cin-ʔo  deŋ-da
      3pl-receive-finish-NOM back-LOC
      ‘after they are born...’

The complement of deŋ-da ‘after’ can be a nominalised expression of any kind. Again we observe that the genitive and general nominaliser <-ʔo> are the same
morpheme.

3.2.5 Vocative prefix and suffix

There is only one case prefix in Bantawa, which is the vocative prefix <a-> (VOCP).
The vocative prefix only occurs on kinship nouns, and then again some of these are
ruled out. This prefix has an ancestry going as far back as Proto-Tibeto-Burman15.

The less restricted vocative is a suffix of the form <-o>. It is formally different
from the genitive in that it does not introduce a syllable boundary (see above). For
nouns ending in /-a/, the final vowel is deleted before the suffix.

---

15’glottal prefix’ Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ʔa / *ʔə / *ʔa / *ʔaŋ / *ʔā. Matisoff (2003: 104) assigns a
wide range of meanings to this single prefix. If he is correct, functionally both the third person possessive
marker <i->, verbal inverse marker <i-> and this vocative prefix would derive from one single source. Why
two different phonological forms are found would then still have to be explained.
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(133) haŋpo!
  *haŋpa-o
  king-VOC
  ‘oh king!’

(134) cʰɨno!
  *cʰina-o
  aunt-VOC
  ‘aunt!’

(135) nicʰo!
  nicʰa-o
  younger.brother-VOC
  ‘younger brother!’

Names are affixed with an epenthetic, possibly emphatic affix <-e> (EMPHE) first\(^{16}\), before the vocative suffix <-o> is attached. The vocative here does not fuse with this vowel, nor is /e/ deleted.

(136) syameʔo ([sjameʔo])
  syam-e-o
  Śyām-ATTN-VOC
  ‘Hey, Śyām!’

(137) kesaveʔo ([kʃaʃeʔo])
  kesav-e-o
  Keshav-ATTN-VOC
  ‘Hey, Keshav!’

The majority of kinship terms get the vocative prefix <a-> (VOCp). The vocative prefix occupies the one prefixal slot available for nouns. This slot is available for possessive markers only. The vocative prefix is best understood as an alternative to the first person singular possessive prefix, a portmanteau implying both possession and vocativity. The one addressed is the relative, e.g. father or mother, of the speaker.

(138) amo!
  a-ma-o
  VOCp-mother-VOC
  ‘mother!’

(139) apo!
  a-pa-o
  VOCp-father-VOC
  ‘father!’

(140) abaŋjo!
  a-baŋa-o

\(^{16}\)The <-e> prefix is found on several cases, cf. §3.3.5. The emphatic <-e> is discussed in §8.3.2. I am inclined to think that the epenthetic -e in vocative forms for names has more to do with the emphatic marker than with the comitatives.
3.3 Non-structural cases

For reasons unknown to me, this prefix is disallowed on some kinship terms.

(141) *anícʰo
** younger brother!

3.3 Non-structural cases

In this section we survey cases that do not mark governed participants in the sentence structure, but rather are used to form adpositional phrases that are used for a wide range of syntactic and semantic functions. The non-structural cases include the locatives (§3.3.1) and composite locational morphology, i.e. complex postpositions (§3.3.2), as well as allatives and ablatives (§3.3.3). Allatives and ablatives share the feature that they attach after locative case endings only. The group of suffixes that have some semantic similarities to ablatives are treated together with the ablatives. The comitatives are discussed in §3.3.5. Bantawa has a whole group of comitatives that all look alike but differ slightly in distribution and function.

While locatives, comitatives and all nominal morphology derived from these are different from other cases in that they are not selected for structural reasons, they can still be considered cases in that a) they are formatives, i.e. bound morphemes, b) they are categorically restricted to nominals, and c) never govern case on the nominal they suffix to (Bickel and Nichols 2006: 94).

3.3.1 Locatives

There are four locatives in Bantawa. One of the locatives is neutral with regard to vertical level, the other three indicate the vertical level of the object discussed. The four-way vertical deictic system pervades all grammatical categories: Demonstratives, as well as verbs of movement, both for ‘to come’ and ‘to go’, come in four ways, and likewise their derivatives, cf. §4.2.2; so do adverbial expressions of location, direction, etc. The vertical level system also is a defining typological feature of the Kiranti languages of Nepal. The elaborate vertical deictic systems have been observed in most descriptions of every language that belongs to the group17. The following table lists the locatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-da</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative, inessive, adessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-du</td>
<td>LOC.HIGH</td>
<td>locative (high, up), superessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>LOC.LOW</td>
<td>locative (low, down), subessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>LOC.LEVEL</td>
<td>locative (level), essive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17Cf. e.g. Opgenort (2002: 202), Ebert (1994: 94), Allen (1975: 110), Tolsma (1999: 26). However, while Limbu has the ability to mark the vertical level on adverbial and verbal level, Limbu seems to be poor in terms of noun cases, cf. Ebert (1994: 95), Weidert and Subba (1985: 46).
While in neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages the same meanings of direction and movement can be expressed, the vertical factor has not been grammaticalised to the complete degree it has in Kiranti languages. The point of reference of this vertical level is the speaker, a directly quoted speaker in a narrative, or, at least, a mutually understood location of reference. (The reference point in European languages, by contrast, is usually the head noun itself.)

Another aspect to keep in mind is the association of high level with a northern, more hilly region, even if in fact the altitude may be lower; and likewise of low level with south. Considering the Bantawas’ location on the southern side of the Himalayas, this association is entirely transparent.

There are two instances where it may seem that locatives are selected by subcategorisation. First, locatives may appear as oblique arguments to the verb in transitive clauses, cf. example (142a) below and §6.1-6.2.

(142) locative on denoted objects
a. ɨŋkaʔ-a ram-da hwa-tet gadi-ci in-uŋ-ci-ŋ
 I-ERG Rām-LOC two-QUAL car-PL sell-1s-PL-1sc
‘I sold two cars to Rām’

The locative is selected here at the expense of an unmarked (absolutive) noun because it is an oblique case, in order to signal object demotion. The object is, so to speak, on its way out and might as well be left out. In this instance, the locative case serves to show that, while Rām is affected by the transaction, he is only marginally so.

There are two morphemes that structurally subcategorise for the locative. The first is the ablative marker <-ŋka> (§3.3.3), the other the allative <-tni> (§3.3.4). These markers only attach to nouns that have already been suffixed with one of the four locatives. This morphotactical requirement of the allative and ablative cases can be given a logical, semantic explanation: If something comes from or goes to somewhere, the ‘somewhere’ part must be a locative in Bantawa.

Locative cases only appear on noun phrases, with the exception of the inessive locative <-da>, that is also found on verb forms to indicate temporal location. See §8.4.2.

(143) neutral locative <-da>

a. araŋ ik-cʰa kʰokpa kʰim-da yuw-a-ŋ-a
long.ago one-qpers old.man house-LOC be.loc-PT-PROG-PT
‘once there was an old man in a house’

b. koi mo-da mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø, koi mo-ya
some (N) that-LOC 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT, some (N) that-LOC.level
3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘some are there, some are over there’

c. dʰa-ni-ŋka-cʰaŋ i-majʰa-da cʰuk-Ø, hyu-ni-ŋka-cʰaŋ
up-LOCAT-ABL-too his/her-middle-LOC be.down, down-LOCAT-ABL-too
i-majʰa-da cʰuk-Ø
his/her-middle-LOC be.down
3.3. Non-structural cases

'from up it is (also) in the middle, from down it is also in the middle.'

d. kʰadaʔo kʰadaʔo kuncikma-da tʰem-aŋ
where-NOM where-NOM darkness-LOC lose.way-PT-1s
'where, oh where, I lost my way in the darkness'

e. kʰim-kon-da
house-heart-LOC
'inside the house'

Example (143a) is the most straightforward use of the locative <-da>, simply indicating physical location. Example (143b) is of interest, because moya and moda differ only in choice of locative and the different locatives are used to contrast proximity only. This is not at all the usual usage. In this instance, also, the opposition was crucially accentuated with hand gestures by the speaker. The speaker can use the difference between the two locative cases to distinguish two different groups of people. The neutral locative <-da> is more naturally associated with close than distant objects. Examples (143d, 143c) show more or less abstract uses of the locative. The locative in expressions such as i-majʰa-da ‘in the middle’ and kuncikma-da ‘in the dark’ is figurative. In figurative locative expressions, except for temporal location only the neutral form is used.

(144) Vertically explicit locatives

a. hyu-cok-yu dʰa-Ø-kʰa-Ø
down-floor-LOC.low descend-NPT-see-NPT
'please, come down to the lower floor!'

b. iŋka markolen gʰoretara-ya kʰat-ma-ki i̲k-tet gai kʰit-ma
I tomorrow Ghodeṭār-LOC.level go-INF-SEQ one-qual cow buy-INF
dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
must-NPT-PROG-NPT
'Tomorrow I have to go to Ghodeṭār and buy a cow'

c. yawa-ci iŋ-jerŋ-ya mi-ban-yaŋ
friend-PL my-back-LOC.level 3pl-come.level-PROG
'our friends are following' (lit. the friends are at my back)

d. yānṣinṛəŋ cok-du
Schima.wallichii top-LOC.high
'in the top of the Schima wallichii tree'

e. nulok i-Ø-ʔo mina si-Ø-ʔo i-dʰenŋ paru-du
well do-NPT-NOM man die-NPT-NOM his/her-back heaven-LOC.high
kʰat-Ø-ki yunŋ-Ø
go-NPT-SEQ sit-NPT-SEQ
'a well-behaved man will live in heaven after he dies'

The same-level locative <-ya>, lower-level locative <-yu> and higher-level locative <-du> explicitly state the level of location relative to the speaker or the point of reference. The level mentioned mostly is simply a physical level. The act of following someone in example (144c) happened at the same level, thus the same-level locative
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<-ya> is selected in the construction in-deg-ya ‘in my back’. To descend to a lower level is unambiguously ‘low’, cf. example (144a), as much as the top of a tree or heaven are unambiguously ‘high’ in last two examples.

Time and direction

There is, however, also some figurative use of the vertical level locatives. In temporal orientation of the Bantawa, the future lies at neutral level, but the past lies lower.

(145) ačosa i-bu-yu
two.days.before his/her-before-LOC.low
‘two days ago’

(146) cʰa-yu-gka i-dʰuwa li-ma-tari
child-LOC.low-ABL his/her-big become-INF-until
‘until we grow mature, from childhood’

Both the simple locative in the past, the first example, and the ablative ‘from before, from childhood’, have the ‘low’ locative <-yu>. The past is ‘low’. Future and present expressions simply select the neutral locative <-da>, if they take a locative at all.

(147) ta-Øʔo don-da
come-NPT-NOM year-LOC
‘in the coming year’

There are also completely idiomatic selections of one or the other locative, e.g. in the following expression.

(148) senmaŋ-yu kʰaŋ-u
dream-LOC.low look-3P
‘she saw it in a dream’

3.3.2 Complex postpositions

Adpositions contrast with cases in the sense that adpositions are words, not formatives. Adpositions are words and syntactically the head of phrases. Bantawa adpositions are invariably postpositions because grammatical heads of noun phrases in Bantawa always sit at the right hand side of their modifiers.

As shown previously, complex postpositions are best understood as a particular instance of genitive constructions. When postpositions have grammaticalised further and appear as suffixes to the nominal, postpositions have the form of compound
3.3. Non-structural cases

Due to grammaticalisation of postpositional expressions, the syntactical head by no means carries the bulk of the meaning of the complex noun phrase but merely serves as a locational expression, as a host for a locative case or simply as a locative case. Due to the same grammaticalisation process, the intervening morphology is under pressure to reduce and often simply falls away. Consider the following forms.

(149) ‘at the foot of a tree’
   a. sɨŋ-ʔo  i-b³en-da
      tree-GEN his/her-foot-LOC
      ‘at the foot of the tree’
   b. sɨŋ-ʔo  b³en-da
      tree-GEN foot-LOC
      ‘at the foot of a tree’
   c. sɨŋ-b³en-da
      tree-foot-LOC
      ‘at the foot of the/a tree’

(150) ‘inside the house’
   a. kʰim-ʔo  i-kon-da
      house-GEN his/her-heart-LOC
      ‘inside the house’
   b. kʰim-kon-da
      house-heart-LOC
      ‘in the inside of the/a house’

There is a contrast in definiteness associated with the presence of the possessive prefix on the head noun that is further discussed in the next section (§3.4). Also, the more compressed or grammaticalised forms may have a more specialised meaning. The noun compound kʰimkoŋ itself means ‘the inside of the house’ and is used in contrast with the house as a whole or even for the more private area of the house in contrast with the rest of it.

Below, a probably not exhaustive list of postpositions is presented. In any case, these examples give a picture of the category of postpositions. Some postpositions derive from body part metaphors, e.g. ‘at the back’ means ‘after that’ or ‘at the rear side’. Other postpositions have a simple locative meaning, viz. ‘in a hole’ means ‘inside’, etc. Postpositions in their unreduced form all govern the genitive. The possessive prefixes on the postpositions are left out of the table below. Possessive prefixes primarily mark definiteness and have no significance for this particular construction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo niki</td>
<td>-GEN for</td>
<td>benefactive, naming beneficiary of the event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo nimpaŋ</td>
<td>-GEN benefit</td>
<td>benefactive, for the benefit of, alternative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo lagi</td>
<td>for (N)</td>
<td>idem, of Nepali origin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The benefactive postpositions do not take further locative affixes, while most others require appropriate locative affixation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo bʰen-da</td>
<td>-GEN foot-LOC</td>
<td>at the foot of, 'subessive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo duŋ-du</td>
<td>-GEN top-LOC</td>
<td>on top of, 'superessive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo dʰen-da-GEN</td>
<td>back-LOC</td>
<td>at the back of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo deŋ-da</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo pačʰi</td>
<td>-GEN back (N)</td>
<td>after, of Nepali origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo bu-ya</td>
<td>-GEN before-LOC.level</td>
<td>ahead, before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo hut-da</td>
<td>-GEN hole-LOC</td>
<td>inside, into, 'illative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo tʰen-da</td>
<td>-GEN bottom-LOC</td>
<td>at the bottom of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo kʰoŋ-da</td>
<td>-GEN centre-LOC</td>
<td>inessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo cik-da</td>
<td>-GEN side-LOC</td>
<td>at the side of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buŋkʰa-da</td>
<td>outside-LOC</td>
<td>'outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔo com-du</td>
<td>-GEN top-LOC.high</td>
<td>on top of, superlative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(151) tʰapsiŋ-ʔo lagi
  tradition-GEN for (N)
  'for the sake of the tradition'

(152) mo-so-ʔo i-duŋ-du
  that-PRN-GEN his/her-top-LOC.high
  'on top of that'

(153) gagtyaŋ-ʔo i-tʰen-da
  distillation.vessel-GEN his/her-bottom-LOC
  'at the bottom of the distillation vessel'

(154) bʰiri-ʔo i-com-du kʰar-a, kʰon-ki hik ca-∅.
  hill-GEN his/her-top-LOC.go-PT that.O-SEQ wind eat-PT
  'go to the top of the hill and take a breath of air'

The postpositions that are used for locating events in time, i.e. anteriority or posteriority, or temporal location, 'before', 'after', etc., are the same that are used on nominalised clauses to link two events in temporal order. These postpositions will be discussed in §8.4.2.

### 3.3.3 Ablatives, vialative and comparative

The ablative indicates a movement away from an object and translates as 'away from', or 'from out of'. In Bantawa, the ablative is always stacked on a locative and cannot be affixed straight on a noun root. As location is specified for vertical level by necessity, the ablative forms of a noun always specify the vertical level of the location that is now left.
3.3. Non-structural cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-ŋka&gt;</td>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative, stacks on locatives, elative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-lama&gt;</td>
<td>VIA</td>
<td>vialative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-bʰanda&gt;</td>
<td>COMP (N)</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(155) suŋkʰam-du-ŋka kalo kuiro yu-Ø-nalo jʰori
goose.place-LOC.high-ABL black (N) mist (N) come.down-NPT-COND rain (N)
cʰto-ŋa o o-da ta-Ø.

time (N)-EMPH this this-LOC come.far-NPT

‘If black clouds come from Sungkham, up, then the rain will come this way, fast.’ [Lc]

(156) u-yu-ŋka tʰaŋʔo cahi mo-tni, mo-tni-ŋa mokko
this-LOC.low-ABL tʰaŋ-NPT-NOM spec.N that-ALL that-ALL-EMPH such
lugbʰuŋ-da-ŋka mu-hyu-tni-ŋa la-Ø-kʰat-Ø.
Lungbhung-LOC-ABL that-below-ALL-EMPH return-NPT-DIRaway-NPT

‘The one that comes up from below, it will return downwards, just like that, that way, like that, via Lungbhung.’

These sentences on the rains coming from either up or down make the point very clearly. The ablative suffix <-ŋka> affixes to either the lower-level locative <-yu>, the higher-level locative <-du> or the neutral locative <-da>. As in the example, the level or direction where the winds come from is necessarily specified. The modification luŋbʰuŋ-da-ŋka ‘via Lungbhung’, with the vertically neutral locative case <-da>, showcases a second usage of the ablative, which is more exactly captured with the word vialative.

Ablatives in more figurative senses invariably select the vertically neutral locative <-da>.

(157) samba-ʔo bayu-da-ŋka kʰeŋ ba-ma
bamboo-GEN bamboo.rope-LOC-ABL measurement.basket weave-INF

‘to make a basket out of bamboo’

The ablative -d-aŋ-ka apparently derives from the suffixation of the instrumental onto the locative with a, perhaps emphatic, nasal wedged in between, viz. <-d-aŋ-ka> (-LOC-EMPH-ERG)19.

**Vialative**

The Bantawa specialised vialative <-lama> is used to express a movement via a certain location or path. However, the ablative is still used frequently for telling by what way someone or something travelled.

(158) ‘to come from this village, to come via some place’

19The /k/-initial form of the ergative case <-ʔa> is not found elsewhere in the language, but there are ample examples of other vowel-initial suffixes that have <-ʔV ~ kV > allomorphs. The genitive <-ʔo> has a <-ko> allomorph in e.g. maŋkʰoεm ‘tomorrow’, and the exclusive marker regularly alternates between <-ʔa ~ -kʰa>, cf. §4.5.2.
Chapter 3. Nominals

3. Nominals

a. o ten-lama ta-Ø-ŋ-ʔo
   this village-VIA come.far-PT-1s-NOM
   * I came from this village
b. o ten-da-ŋ-ka ta-Ø-ŋ-ʔo
   this village-LOC-ABL come.far-PT-1s-NOM
   'I came from this village'
c. pritʰwī cok-lama tʰaŋ-a-ŋ-ʔo leksai-da-ŋka
   Prthvi chowk (N)-VIA come.up-PT-1s-NOM Lakeside-LOC-ABL
   'I came via Prthvi Chowk, from Lakeside'

(159) 'to send via someone'
a. Syam-lama kʰais-u-ŋ
   Śyām-VIA send-3P-1s
   'I sent it with Śyām'
b. Syam-da-ŋ ka kʰais-u-ŋ
   Śyām-LOC-ABL send-3P-1s
   ?? 'I sent it with Śyām'

The first set of examples clearly contrasts the use of the ablative versus the vialative in a literal, physical meaning. The vialative suffix <-lama> (VIA) is more restricted than the ablative and reflects a movement through, but not from a certain location or person. It can only mean that one travelled by a village, not from. The less literal ‘via’ meaning, when some person is used as an intermediary, also calls for the vialative rather than the ablative.

Comparative

The comparative in Bantawa is expressed with the ablative, if not with the Nepali loan bʰanda. The latter is increasingly popular, which may be because the Nepali loan bʰanda is less ambiguous, at least in the context of Bantawa.

(160) kʰana iŋka-bʰanda ti-ki-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
       you' 1-COMP (N)  2AS-be.long-NPT-PROG-NPT
       'you are taller than me'

(161) jʰarak-da-ŋka ikiwaŋ batt-u
       all-LOC-ABL long bring-3P
       'take the longest'

The ablative in this sense selects the inessive locative <-da>.

3.3.4 Allative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-tni&gt;</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative, stacks on locatives: ‘direction towards’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3. Non-structural cases

The allative indicates movement towards a location. Structurally, the allative noun suffix <-tni> patterns with the ablative. The allative cannot affix to a noun root, but requires locative marking on the noun first (162). The allative attaches to pronouns or the interrogative *de* 'what' right away, but then has the meaning of 'manner,' 'likeness', cf. example (163). When the allative suffixes to a locative marked pronoun, again, the allative meaning comes up (164).

(162) un maddiŋ i-sam bahira kʰat-Ø-lon-Ø
    like.that not.there his/her-vapour outside (N) go-NPT-DIRup-NPT
    buŋkʰa-ya-tni lon-Ø-kʰat-Ø
outside-LOC.level-ALL go.outside-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
    'If not, the steam will go out, it will go out.' [Hm]

(163) a-pa kʰana de-tni-nalo ti-yiŋ-Ø-yan-Ø mo-tni
    VOCp-father you’ what-ALL-COND that-ALL 2AS-say-NPT-PROG-NPT that-ALL
    man-yiŋ-da
    NEGPp-say-NEGPTs
    'Father, why are you speaking that way. Do not speak like that. [Gn]

(164) o-ya-tni ban-a
    this-LOC.level-ALL come.level-PT
    'come over here’

3.3.5 Comitatives: Cases starting with -e

The Bantawa language has four suffixes that can be grouped into a class of comitatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nin</td>
<td>COM</td>
<td>base comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔenan</td>
<td>COME</td>
<td>comitative in -e-: associative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sudda</td>
<td>COMS</td>
<td>comitative of Nepali origin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʔeda</td>
<td>COML</td>
<td>locative comitative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is unclear whether there is any functional difference between the comitative markers that contain the pattern <-nVn>. These markers are apparently of Kiranti origin, since they seem cognate to Limbu <-nu> and Wâmbule <-no> (Opgenort 2002: 157). The comitative <-nin> (COM) is the only form to appear with and without the interfix <-ʔe>, while the other forms require this specific marker. Even so, I have been unable to discern any functional difference between <-nin> (COM) and <-ʔenan> (COME).

Aside from origin and form, I have found no difference between the comitatives <-sudda> and <-ʔenan ~’enen>. It seems that <-sudda> derives from Nepali *sita* 'together' + locative <-da> and is thus of foreign origin. However, both comitatives translate as Nepali *sath* 'together with, along with'.

These first three comitatives together differ from the locative comitative <-ʔeda> (COML), which has a definite locative meaning. The suffix <-ʔeda> (COML) expresses that a property, e.g. a skill, or object is 'with someone', i.e. in someone’s immediate possession. The locative comitative is not used for something that is in someone’s
house if the person is not in his house. The possessed item would have to be on his body, for example.

Apparently there is a proto-case-marker *ʔe* that the comitative cases share, but this suffix does not occur independently. The infixed *ʔe* shares the property with the genitive and ergative that it introduces a syllable boundary, which is represented by the glottal.

The locative comitative *ʔeda* has syntactic properties that differ from the other comitatives. The marker *ʔeda* is never used to form a complex noun phrase out of two or more noun phrases that operates as a single syntactic unit, but only functions in locational predicates as a locative with a possessive meaning. Therefore, it could be argued that the locative comitative *ʔeda* is not a comitative in a syntactical sense.

(165) kʰo-ʔeda ɨk-tet kitab yuŋ-Ø-yan-Ø.
    he/she-COMl one-qual book sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
    ‘he has a book with him’

The phrase marked with *ʔeda* can be in any position that can be occupied by an adverb. The alternative ɨktet kitab kʰoʔeda yuŋyaŋ is equally grammatical. However, it would be unnatural to position a phrase marked with the comitative *ʔenan* before its associated noun phrase or phrases.

The comitatives *nin*, *ʔenan* and *sudda* bring a meaning of personal accompaniment in the case of animate noun phrases, or group together a set of noun phrases as a unit. The interpretation of the relationship between the members of the resulting composite noun phrase is relatively free. The number and person agreement on the verb correlates with either just the first noun in the noun phrase or the joined-set-interpretation of the full noun phrase.

(166) kʰo-ʔenan  bajaran kʰar-a-ci-a
    he/she-COMe market go-PT-DU-e
    ‘I went to the bazaar with him’

(167) am-pa-ʔenan  kʰar-a-ci
    yours-father-COMe go-PT-DU
    ‘Go with your father!’

These examples focus on the duality of the subject, i.e. both of us or both of you. The verb agreement then signals that the subject is dual: Two persons go to the market. The next examples contrast with this:

(168) (injka) kʰo-ʔenan  bajaran kʰar-a-ŋ
    (I) he/she-COM market go-PT-1s
    ‘I went to the bazaar with him’

(169) yawa-ci-ʔenan kʰar-a-ŋ.
    friend-PL-COMe go-PT-1s
    ‘I went with friends’
3.4. Pronouns and vertical orientation

These sentences focus on the first person speaker only and the verb, correspondingly, agrees with the subject *ŋka 'I'. Where the verb agrees with one half of the comitative-marked noun phrase, the bond between the comitative-joined participants is apparently less intimate.

In all examples, half of the noun phrase, viz. the pronoun 'I', can be left out and does not need to be mentioned explicitly. When a participant that is implicit in the verbal agreement is mentioned explicitly, this participant precedes the comitative-marked noun phrase. The comitative <-ʔenan> must not be interpreted as an operator joining two noun phrases. Instead, the noun phrases under the scope of the comitatives must be joined by other means, e.g. conjunctive operators or commas, summing up members of a group. The comitatives are NP-final and have scope over the entire preceding nominal complex. By virtue of that right-headedness, comitative marked noun phrases can again be used in modifying function (cf. 170)

(170) paruhaŋ-ninʔo sumnima haŋmaʔo buŋwa bar-a-hida...
Paruhaŋ-COM-GEN Sumnima queen-GEN flower flower-PT-SIMc...

'while the flower of Sumnima the queen, who was with Paruhaŋ, flowered...'

3.3.6 Other markers

There are a few more markers, that indicate method, manner and direction. While these markers are an integral part of nominal morphology, they are primarily used in stacks on pronouns or pronominal constructs. For that reason, discussion of these elements is postponed to the section following the introduction of pronouns.

3.4 Pronouns and vertical orientation

In Bantawa, pronouns form a distinct subclass within the major class of nominals by semantic, syntactic and morphological criteria.

3.4.1 Pronouns

Personal pronouns are marked for person and number. There are three persons, first, second and third person. In the first and second person forms, there is a three-way number distinction: singular, dual and plural. For the first person, in non-singular forms, a clear distinction is made for situations where the speaker includes hearers in the action and situations where hearers are excluded from the action. Inclusive forms, then, translate as 'you and me', whereas exclusive forms translate as 'he or they and I, but not you'. Inclusive forms are labelled 'i' for the sake of brevity, exclusive forms are simply labelled '1'. 
Person pronouns

In Table 3.2 the person pronouns are listed. The base forms are used as unmarked (absolutive) pronouns and can be regularly extended with case markings. The possessive prefixal or prepositional noun modifiers form a separate paradigm. The genitive paradigm for pronouns is listed in Table 3.2 as the genitive formation of pronouns is not predictable from the base forms. The usage of the possessive and genitive forms is detailed in §3.4.2 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person / number</th>
<th>base form</th>
<th>possessive prefix</th>
<th>independent genitive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.s</td>
<td>ɨ njka</td>
<td>ɨ nj</td>
<td>ɨ njko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.d</td>
<td>ankaca / ankaciʔa</td>
<td>ʔ ancu</td>
<td>ancaʔo (ancuʔo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.p</td>
<td>ankanaka</td>
<td>ancu</td>
<td>ankaʔo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.d</td>
<td>ankaci</td>
<td>an-</td>
<td>ancuʔo (anco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.p</td>
<td>ankan</td>
<td>an-</td>
<td>anko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.s</td>
<td>kʰ ana</td>
<td>am-</td>
<td>amko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.d</td>
<td>kʰ anaci</td>
<td>amcu</td>
<td>amcuʔo (amco)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.p</td>
<td>kʰ ananin</td>
<td>amnu</td>
<td>ammuʔo (amno)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.s</td>
<td>(kʰ o)</td>
<td>ᵐ-</td>
<td>iko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.ns</td>
<td>(kʰ oci)</td>
<td>icu- (ici-)</td>
<td>icuʔo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphologically the exclusive forms are marked by an exclusive morpheme <-ʔa ~ -ka> (€). This marker also appears in number agreement on finite verb forms.

The distribution and morphology of free forms is like that of noun phrases. Free forms may be inflected for case, e.g. ergative, or postpositions may be added, e.g. comitatives or locatives.

Third person pronouns

Third person pronouns are obligatorily specified for proximity\(^{20}\) or visibility. The pronouns mo and o are used mainly in an exophoric meaning. A degree of proximity is expressed in deictic contexts. This does not exclude usage in purely textual discourse, where the proximal opposition can be effectively put to use to separate two otherwise equal referents. In any case, even in narrative contexts, the opposition is analogous with spatial proximity. The pronoun kʰ o ‘he/she’ is used in discourse as a strictly anaphoric pronoun and is neutral with respect to spatial deixis with regard to proximity or vertical level. The pronoun kʰ o is preferred for human referents, i.e. has a honorific status in contrast with the pronouns o ‘this’ and mo ‘that’, that are considered inappropriate for adult people. We shall call kʰ o alternatively ‘invisible’ or ‘referential’, or, more precise, ‘strictly referential’.

The spatially deictic forms do not occur independently, but they are frequent roots of derived deictic expressions, as discussed below. The spatially deictic pronominal

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\(^{20}\)The marking for proximity in Bantawa is limited to the contrast between distal, for far objects and persons, and proximal, for near objects and persons.
3.4. Pronouns and vertical orientation

Roots are obviously derived from the locative suffixes that are present in the Bantawa language by some proto-prefix *h* (NOMLOC), signalling a nominalised locative. This prefix is best interpreted as a nominaliser or adverbialiser of locatives, not unlike English *a-* in ‘above’, ‘around’. The prefixation of this morph leads to phonological sequences */hC/*, that are illegal in Bantawa. As a result, */hy/* is often realised as an aspirated glide, while the sequence */hd/* is realised as an aspirated consonant /dʰ/.

(171) NOMloc

* h -yu (LOC.below) > hyu-
* h -ya (LOC.level) > hya-
* h -du (LOC.up) > dʰu-
* h -da (LOC) > dʰa-

These pronominal roots are included here because they operate as pronouns for all word-forming purposes, see below. This part of the pronominal system is an integral part of the system of vertical deixis already introduced in the previous section.

The third person pronouns may have special forms before certain suffixes. Before a distinct class of suffixes, an /-n/ is added to the stem, to signal that the pronoun refers to a sentence rather than to a nominal antecedent (cf. §3.4.7, §8.4.2). The suffixed forms in /-n/ must not be confused with the independently appearing quantifying forms meaning ‘that much, this much’, viz. kʰon, mon, on.

The stem vowel change to /u/ is triggered by vowel harmony with the following syllable or may even optionally occur without an obvious trigger.

### 3.4.2 Possessive prefixes and pronouns

#### Possessive prefixes

The possessive prefixes are used in possessive constructions. A possessive relationship between two nouns is indicated by a genitive case on the first noun and a possessive prefix on the second. The possessive prefix on the second noun agrees with the person and number of the possessor. Ordinary nouns assign a third person possessive prefix that agrees in number. Second and first person pronouns do not assign possessive prefixes except for the singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>slot</th>
<th>form</th>
<th>spatial deictic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Invisible</td>
<td>Visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.s</td>
<td>kʰo</td>
<td>mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.ns</td>
<td>kʰoci</td>
<td>moci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre-suffixal forms</td>
<td>kʰon-</td>
<td>mon-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forms</td>
<td>kʰun-</td>
<td>mun-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3. Nominals

(172) 'your hand' (singular and plural)
   a. amko am-cʰuk
      your your-hand
      'your hand'
   b. *amco am-cʰuk
      your your-hand
      ** 'your du hand'
   c. amco cʰuk
      your hand
      'your du hand'

As possessive prefixes of the first and second person are often unambiguous, in practice the full genitive-marked pronoun is rarely used.

(173) aba, am-nin-da, o wakko pi-nin-y-in.
      now, your-name-LOC, this like this give-1ns2-PROG-1ns2
      'Now, in your name, we are giving you this, like this.'

3.4.3 The third person possessive prefix and definiteness

The third person possessive prefix often occurs without an obvious possessor preceding it. The referential scope of the third person possessive prefix is very wide. This prefix needs no antecedent preceding it in the immediate context. In the normal possessive construction, the antecedent simply precedes the possessed and is marked as dependent or modifier by the genitive <-ʔo> (GEN).

(174) cʰa cʰetkuma-ʔo i-cʰenwa-ci.
      child girl-GEN his/her-relative-PL
      'the relatives of the young girl'

However, the possessive prefix may well refer further back to the previous discourse.

(175) reference back to the previous sentence
   a. ik-tet rajkumar-ʔa dor-u, ą raja-ʔo i-cʰa-ʔa dor-u, tə
      one-qual prince-ERG ask-3P, yes, king-GEN his/her-child-FOC ask-3P but
      mo-ko rajkumard-da kʰat-ma-ŋa cʰunt-a-ŋ-a-heda.
      that-REF prince-LOC go-INF-EMPH refuse-PT-PROG-PT-SImP
      'One prince came to ask for her, for the king's daughter, but she refused to go with the prince'
   b. i-pa-ʔa ekdamaj kʰar-a-ki kʰar-a-ni lo-o
      his/her-father-ERG very.much (N) go-PT-SEQ go-PT-QUOT say PT-NOM
      yu-wa-ŋ-a təcʰunt-a.
      be-PT-PROG-PT but (N) refuse-PT
      Her father very much said, "go, go!" but she refused.
In the second sentence (175b), the first prefix <ɨ> 'her' refers back to the girl. The referential scope of possessive prefixes is the same as that of ordinary pronouns. Free pronouns are grounded in the wider discourse and not restricted by rules that restrict their anaphoric reference to e.g. the sentence or clause. In many instances where the possessive marker <ɨ> (HIS/HER) is used, however, the antecedent of the possessive prefix does not seem relevant at all. In these instances, the effect of <ɨ> is more like that of a definite marker on the noun. Consider the following examples.

(176) 'something to chisel'
   a. i-chuk-kʰa batt-u-kʰ-o.
      his/her-chisel-PNOM bring-3P-see-3P
      'get the chisel'
   b. cʰak-kʰa batt-u-kʰ-o.
      chisel-PNOM bring-3P-see-3P
      ?? get something to chisel

Example 176b is not considered well-formed. The word cʰak-kʰa is too vague and aspecific. This deverbal in <-kʰa> that has an instrumental sense in this context, references a class, not individual items. In order to ask for a single chisel, this noun must be individuated by the possessive prefix. These two examples are in contrast with usage of the possessive prefix on ordinary nouns.

(177) 'a banana'
   a. i-naksi batt-u-kʰ-o.
      his/her-banana bring-3P-see-3P
      'get his banana'
   b. naksi batt-u-kʰ-o.
      banana bring-3P-see-3P
      'get a banana'

The (a) line asks for specifically his banana and amounts to instigating theft. In contrast, the (b) line asks for any banana, any banana will do, for instance to eat.

Even while the possessive prefix primarily indicates definitiveness, this does not mean that it will always be translated by a definite determiner 'the' in English. It only means that the noun thus prefixed is specific and identifiable in a given context. Sentence (178) would be unacceptable in Bantawa without a prefix. However, it would be strange to translate as 'the line' in English.

(178) sɨŋraŋ-ci i-pelen mi-yuŋ-Ø-yay-Ø.
      tree-PL his/her-line 3pi-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
      'the trees are in a line'

When discussing the possessive construction in the previous section, the most relevant observations regarding definiteness in genitive constructions have already been made. In conjunction with the general statements above, the reader should now be able to determine when a prefix is expected and when it is not. However, to
complete the examples of the distribution of this prefix, I now list a couple of specific
groups of constructions where the prefix is necessarily present. For the majority of
other noun phrases we do not expect a definite marking.

Parts of the day and time expressions

The first group of definite marked nouns are parts of the day, and time indications
that are relative to the point of reference. While the roots of parts of the day can be
reconstructed as $k^ʰolen$ 'afternoon' and $nampik$ 'evening', these roots are never used
in isolation, thus the canonical forms are as follows.

(179) afternoon
   a. i-$k^ʰolen$
      his/her-afternoon
      ‘afternoon’
   b. mankolen i-$k^ʰolen$
      tomorrow his/her-afternoon
      ‘tomorrow afternoon’

(180) evening
   a. ayi i-nampik
      today his/her-evening
      ‘tonight’
   b. ak$^{b}omaj$ i-nampik
      yesterday his/her-evening
      ‘last night’

(181) form meaning

      waj$^{i}$ morning, early morning
      $k^ʰolen$ afternoon, midday
      nampik evening, night
      $k^ʰakut$ night, darkness

Almost without exception, time nouns start with a prefix <a> or <i>. The origin
of the prefix <a> is unclear to me. It is unlikely that this prefix should be a variant
form of the third person possessive prefix <i>, as <a> has cognates in other Eastern
and Central Kiranti languages even when those languages have an entirely different
form for the third person possessive prefix: For example, Limbu has <ku>. See Table
3.4.

In §8.2.5, we delve into the etymology of the words in Table 3.4. The pattern
of prefixation with either <i>- or <a>- is clear. Prefixing the third person possessive
prefix <i>- is obligatory for parts of the day and may well reflect the grounding of
the time reference to the point of reference. For time expressions of other days the
choice of prefix is lexical.
3.4. Pronouns and vertical orientation

Body parts

All body parts are necessarily inalienably possessed. Therefore one only very rarely finds them without a prefix. Bantåvå lists them in his dictionary (2001) with the third person possessive prefix <-ɨ>. In the glossary, I shall list body parts by their root form without prefix, as body parts may take any prefix.

(182) Body parts
   a. ɨŋ-yam
      my-body
      ‘my body’
   b. am-taŋ
      your‘-head
      ‘your head’

Prefixation of the definite markers is to be expected in all nouns that are a member or part of a bigger object in discourse. These are understood to be definite.

Emotions

Emotions or experiences in Bantawa are often expressed by a possessor-noun-verb construction. In a configuration as in (183), the semantics of the entire idiom may be a) primarily in the noun, as when the noun primarily denotes an emotion (184), b) primarily in the verb, as when the noun pictures an action (185), c) or is a fully idiomatic combination of the noun-verb collocation (186). The agreement properties of these constructions are treated in §6.1.3.

(183) Structure of emotion predicates
     possessive-noun verb-agreement

     In any case, the possessor of the body part or emotion invariably is the subject of the verbal action. The possessor is then marked obligatorily on the body part.

(184) ɨŋ-kima kat-Ø.
     my-fear feel-NPT
     ‘I am getting afraid.’

(185) ... i-na-d’aw-a-ki ik-len tawan mu-ca-si ni ki lont-a.
     ... his/her-nose-be.bored-PT-SEQ one-day guest do-eat-SUP REP SEQ come.out-PT.
     ‘having got bored, (he said) ‘let’s enjoy being a guest’ and went out.’

(186) nam-ʔa i-najwa huw-a kʰar-a
     sun-ERG he/she-equilibrium spin-PT go-PT
     ‘By the sun he got dizzy,’ (‘his head spun’).
Adjectives of degree

Bantawa has only a very small set of native adjectival roots. Most words used in a pre-nominal modifier position are deverbal or denominal. Of the set of more or less standard adjectives some are derived and for some the derivational history is obscure.

Surprisingly, many of these real adjectives obligatorily take the possessive prefix. Again, it may be that the presence of this marker originates from a need for grounding the degree to which the adjectival property applies: he is ‘that big’ or ‘this new’.

(187) adjective in head position

ɨ-rokwa-ci  yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci
his/her-old-PL be-DU-PROG-DU

‘they are old, they are the old ones’ (about shoes)

In this example, it is hard to say whether the possessive prefix refers to some owner of the shoes, or is placed to express a definite degree of oldness. In any case, the root of the adjective is rokwa ‘old’. Gradable adjectives such as rokwa ‘old’ rarely appear in unprefixed forms. Its counterpart nuŋwa ‘new’ also requires a prefix. If only a remote suggestion of comparison is made, it becomes ungrammatical to leave out the prefix on gradable adjectives.

(188) o  kap i-nuŋwa  rəcʰə
this cup his/her-new MIR
‘this cup appears to be new’

(189) ʰo kap nuŋwa rəcʰə

The adjective dʰiwaŋ ‘big’ almost never occurs without its prefix. When the possessive prefix is missing, indefiniteness is markedly clear.

(190) i-dʰiwaŋ  hoŋku-da
his/her-big river-LOC
‘in a big river’

(191) icu  dəŋ-da  waŋ-ɑ-ki  dʰiwaŋ  pʰenwa  ca-ma  lis-a.
their back-LOC enter-PT-SEQ big beating eat-INF become-PT
‘... coming after them, they should be beaten up in a great way’ [Bw]

Adverbs of degree also are preferably marked for definiteness.

(192) i-cit  kʰa-dar-ɑ  lont-ɑ-ki...
his/her-little thing-brighten-PT come.out-PT-SEQ
‘and after it had become a bit lighter...’

The general rule to be learned from this brief digression is that all nouns and adjectives that stand in some relationship to a known antecedent, or those nouns that clearly cut a subset of their referential domain, are susceptible to possessive prefixation. In other words, an instance of the word kʰim ‘house’ that does not denote the full set of houses, any house or the generic notion of ‘houseness’ will likely have a prefix.
3.4.4 Possessive pronouns

In case of emphasis or ambiguity, a full possessive pronoun may precede the noun with the possessive prefix. This possessive pronoun is mostly there to rule out any ambiguity. Most often, when the antecedent is unambiguous, the full pronoun of the owner is left out of the genitive construction.

(193) ñka kuncikma-da am-kʰim ɨŋ-la-ŋ.  
I dark-LOC your²-house come-1s-arrive-1s  
'I arrived at your house in the dark.'

(194) ñka iŋ-pʰekwa cʰor-ɑŋ-kina yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.  
I my-money pay-1s-TEMP be-PT-PROG-PT  
'I live (in a house), paying rent'

Essentially, the independent possessive pronouns are genitive forms of personal pronouns. Possessive pronouns can operate as independent nouns and render the meaning 'mine' (iŋko) or 'yours' (amko) that way, as an instance of reification.

(195) ñko he saŋ-ʔo?  
my or who-GEN  
'mine or whose (is it)'

(196) ñko-na maddij  
my-TOP NEG.be  
'mine is not there'  
'as for me, I do not have one'

In the following line, the topicalised absolutive form for the recipient is the explicit antecedent for the possessive.

(197) ñka-na iŋ-paʔa baddi-e i-dʰiwaŋ-ko rāga  
i-TOP my-father-ERG much his/her-big-GEN buffalo (N)  
i-piwaŋ-y-aŋ-ʔo  
3AM-give-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-NOM auxPast (N)  
'tMy father used to give me a bigger buffalo!' [Gn]

3.4.5 Third person pronoun morphology

In third person pronouns, some specific morphology is found that is not found on other nominals.

The pronominal marker ‘-sa ~ -so’ (PRN)

For certain third person pronominals, the ergative and genitive case endings ‘-ʔa’ and ‘-ʔo’ cannot be affixed without inserting a perhaps prosodically motivated marker ‘-sa. When interviewing Bantawa speakers about the meaning of this marker, they do not offer more than 'it simply sounds better'. However, the marker is not optional. This purely phonological motivation, uninformative as it may seem, is
in line with the observation that the vowel of this marker is in harmony with the following marker, yielding /sa/ before the ergative <-ʔa> and /so/ before the genitive <-ʔo>, which suggests that this marker is more part of the case marker than of the stem.

(198)  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-ci</td>
<td>this-PL</td>
<td>‘these’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-saʔa</td>
<td>this-PRN-ERG</td>
<td>‘by this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-soʔo</td>
<td>this-PRN-GEN</td>
<td>‘of this’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(199)  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-ci</td>
<td>what-PL</td>
<td>‘what things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-saʔa</td>
<td>what-PRN-ERG</td>
<td>‘by what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-soʔo</td>
<td>what-PRN-GEN</td>
<td>‘of what’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronominal marker <-sV> (PRN) is required with at least the following pronominal elements: o ‘this’, mo ‘that’, kʰo ‘that’, di ‘what’, jʰarak ‘all’, but, significantly, not on saŋ ‘who’. By extension, this morphology applies to quantifier expressions, as in the following example.

(200)  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kâns-a-ki</td>
<td>mo ɖola-da</td>
<td>i-pa-a-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obey-PT-SEQ</td>
<td>her palanquin (N)-LOC</td>
<td>3AM-put-in-PT-SEQ two-qual-PRN-ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-kʰuy-a-c-u-kina</td>
<td>i-batt-a-c-u.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AM-carry-PT-DU-3P-SEQ 3AM-bring-PT-DU-3P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘After she obeyed, having put her in the palanquin, two people carried her and brought her.’ [Gn]

This limited set of lexical roots are not the only context where this morpheme pops up though. The marker pronominal <-sV> is also required with genitive and ergative forms of reified pronominal stacks. These will be exemplified below.

The specific reference marker <-ko>

Another marker specific to pronouns is the specific reference marker <-ko> (REF), that indicates that it is ‘this one’ and no other to which the speaker wishes to specifically draw attention. Although <-ko> (REF) looks like an ordinary genitive or attributive marker, it can be seen as a focal element. While in ordinary discourse o ‘this’ and mo ‘that’ may be used to indicate normal participant reference (‘he did this and then that one said this...’), adding this marker makes a participant stand out.

(201)  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-ko</td>
<td>burjwa nam-nulo nam-Ø-yanj-Ø.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this-REF flower smell-good smell-NPT-PROG-NPT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this flower smells good’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(202)  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-ko-tet</td>
<td>kʰa-nulo yak-Ø-yanj-Ø.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this-REF-qual see-good be-NPT-PROG-NPT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this one looks good’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4. Pronouns and vertical orientation

The addition of a numeral qualifier <-tet> adds to the focus. While it is perhaps not a coincidence that this marker is homophonous to some lexicalised forms of the general nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM), these suffixes are not the same. For instance, the genitive form of mo 'that' is <-mo-so-ʔo> (cf. §3.4.5), while the attributive, referential form of mo is <-moko>. Adding the specific reference marker to pronouns has little syntactic import, but has the semantic effect of adding to the specificity of the reference.

3.4.6 Interrogative pronouns

Bantawa has the following inventory of question words or interrogative pronouns.

(203) Question words
   a. di / de 'what'
   b. dem 'how much'
   c. demk 'how many'
   d. demkʰa 'when'
   e. saŋ 'who'

Applying regular nominal and pronominal morphology, other interrogative expressions can be derived. There is a special root for locational interrogatives, which is <-kʰa>-. The root <-kʰa>- partakes in spatial derivations, as discussed in the next section, resulting in the following forms.

(204) derived question words from kʰa-
   a. kʰada 'where'
   b. kʰatni 'where to, towards where?'
   c. kʰakko 'what sort of, which?'

The morpheme <-kʰa>- does not occur independently as a question word.

3.4.7 Pronominal morphology: Derived deictic adverbials

Affixes on pronouns and spatial deictics

Based on the afore-mentioned third person or spatial deictic elements, a myriad of adverbial expressions can be formed. Table 3.5 lists locative and manner adverbials, but is by no means exhaustive. Locative expressions can be formed on the basis of strictly deictic elements as well as on the basis of spatial deictics.

Aside from the set of pronouns and the spatial deictic roots, there is the bound root <-wa->. This morpheme is a dependent pronominal root that can be related to o 'this'. This root can be suffixed with the allative <-tni> (ALL) and attributive <-kko> (ATTR) suffixes to form similaritive expressions, referring to the immediate preceding context and resulting in meanings such as 'here' and 'like this'. From this point of view, <-wa-> functions much like <-o> 'this'. However, the further usage of <-wa-> in similaritive derivations, as in the next section, and the formal identity with
Table 3.4: Nominal time expressions with possessive marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a(t)-cʰŋja</td>
<td>before, previously, a few days before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-kʰomaŋ</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-yi</td>
<td>today, this day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majkolen</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-cʰıntık</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-summak</td>
<td>in three days time, three days from now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-lummak</td>
<td>in four days' time, four days from now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-cʰimbaddoŋ</td>
<td>the year before last year (two years ago)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-nemnjŋ</td>
<td>last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namnŋaŋ</td>
<td>next year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰimnŋaŋ</td>
<td>the year after next year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domnŋaŋ</td>
<td>in three years, three years later</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.5: Derived (pronominal) locative and manner adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>source</th>
<th>derived</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tni</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>watni</td>
<td>here, this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
<td>otni</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>motni</td>
<td>there (visible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰo</td>
<td>kʰotni</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>(referential)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʰu-</td>
<td>dʰutni</td>
<td>upwards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hya-</td>
<td>hyatni</td>
<td>sideways, level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʰa-</td>
<td>dʰatni</td>
<td>over there (up)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>detni</td>
<td>why? how?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kko</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>wakko</td>
<td>like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hyu</td>
<td>hyukko</td>
<td>lower, the lower...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>attributive (nominalising)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hya-</td>
<td>hyakko</td>
<td>over there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʰa-</td>
<td>dʰakko</td>
<td>over there (up)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>dʰani</td>
<td>above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hya-</td>
<td>hyani</td>
<td>across, far</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>hya-</td>
<td>hyana</td>
<td>over there, level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hyu-</td>
<td>hyuna</td>
<td>over there, below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dʰet</td>
<td>hya-</td>
<td>hyadʰet, hyaudet</td>
<td>across</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dʰera</td>
<td>hya-</td>
<td>hyaudʰera</td>
<td>across</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 3. Nominals
the likeness-operator <wa> (LIKE) suggests closer kinship with the latter morpheme. The matter remains unresolved.

The markers -ni and -na in table 3.5 can be taken as locative cases with a limited distribution. They are restricted to pronouns and will be discussed in §3.4.9.

The difference between attributive wakko ‘alike, like this’ and manner watni ‘similarly’ should be immediately clear, but an example can do no harm. Forms ending in attribute <-kko> are typically used predicatively or as an adjectival modifier to a noun phrase and are nominal. Forms ending in the allative <-tni> are adverbial and function on clause level. The following minimal contrast makes the point.

(205) ɨŋka watni ɨ cep-ma mi-ɾi.
    me like. ALL talk-INF 3pl-can
  ‘They can speak like me.’

(206) ɨŋ-ten-daʔo ɨ mina ɨŋko wakko ɨ yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
    my-village-LOC-GEN man mine like.ATTR be-NPT-PROG-NPT
  ‘People from my village are just like me.’

The suffixes expressing direction or location across <-dʰet ~ dʰera> (ACR) are obviously derivations of the verb dʰetma, meaning ‘to cut across, to cross over, e.g. to the other end of a valley’.

Manner, temporal and causal affixes  In contrast with the wide applicability of the affixes in the previous section, the manner, temporal, size or causal affixes in can only be affixed to strictly pronominal elements.

(207) Affixation with <-n> (SIZE)
    a. kʰu-n
        he/she-size
      ‘that much, that size’

(208) Stacking <-ʔo ~ -ko> (GEN) makes a size pronoun attributive
    a. o-n-ko
        this-size-GEN
      ‘this much, this size’
    b. mo-n-ko
        that-size-GEN
      ‘that much, that size’

(209) Stacking <-n> (SIZE) and <-ŋa> (EMPH) forms a size / quantity pro-adverb
    a. o-n-ŋa
        this-size-EMPH
      ‘this much only’

(210) Affixation of <-ha> (MANNER) forms a manner pro-adverb
    a. o-ha
        this-manner
      ‘this way’
The attributive and adverbial pronouns in (208) and (209) are based on the size pronominal roots that have the form of a pronominal root + <-n> (207). The attributive pronominals are formed as these roots + <-ko> (208). The suffix <-ko> is a restricted allomorph of the genitive. The 'this much'-type adverbs are simply a size pronoun + emphasis marker <-ŋa>, see §8.3.2.

The other pronominal suffixes that select a pronominal root + <-n> all function as clause conjunctions. These suffixes connect clauses by linking them in some way, viz. temporal subordination or sequencing, etc., cf. (211).

\[
\begin{align*}
\Sigma-nalo & \text{ (CAUS)} 'cause' & k^on & k^onnalo & 'therefore' \\
\text{deki} & \text{dekinalo} & \text{because} \\
\text{maŋaŋ} & \text{majnalano} & \text{unless} \\
\Sigma-ki & \text{(SEQ) 'sequential'} & \text{mon} & \text{monki} & \text{after that} \\
\text{'temporal ordering'} & k^on & k^onki & \text{after that} \\
\Sigma-ʔosāʔa & \text{(REAS)} & k^on & k^onʔosa & \text{therefore}
\end{align*}
\]

The <-n> in these forms is not the same as the suffix in the 'size' pronouns. The alternative form of the pronouns in <-n> signals that these pronouns refer to sentential antecedents (cf. §8.4.2). These pronouns, therefore, are technically not nominal anymore. By adding nominalising morphology, these pronouns can still have nominal morphology. For instance, the compound suffix <-ʔo-saʔa> (REAS) is formed as in (212).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(212) REAS} \\
\text{a. -ʔo-saʔa} & \\
\text{NOM-PRN-ERG} & \\
\text{REAS}
\end{align*}
\]

### 3.4.8 Locational derivations

Apart from these suffixes, pronouns can take any of the locative suffixes <-da> (LOC), <-ya> (LOC.LEVEL), <-yu> (LOC.LOW) and <-du> (LOC.HIGH), as described in §3.2. In affixation of these suffixes, the vowel harmony process as decribed in §2.5.2 applies.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(213) mo-ya} & \\
\text{that-LOC.level} & \text{there (level)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(214) mu-yu} & \\
\text{that-LOC.low} & \text{there (below)}
\end{align*}
\]

These derivations pattern with regular case marking on nominals.
3.4.9 Stacking of pronominal derivations

Similaritative and attributive stacks

Table 3.6 contains the derivations based on pronominal suffixes beginning with the similaritive root <-wa>. This root also occurs independently as a phrasal clitic introducing comparisons (cf. §8.2.3). Stacks based on the suffix <-wa> are further used as a suffix to the Bantawa pronoun roots. In this context, the similaritive form -watni signals similarity to the antecedent indicated by the pronoun. Similarly, the form wakko, that independently means 'alike, like' forms a modifier that refers back to the antecedent of the pronoun, signalling that the modified phrase is like the one referred to. See Table 3.6. The parameters of similarity and attributive usage are thus stacked on the referential deixis of the pronoun, indicating the disjoint semantics of these morphemes. The form mwa'ko 'like that (attributive)' and moko 'that (attributive)' may superficially look phonologically related, but as the morphological structure of these forms is very dissimilar, an analysis in terms of vowel length must be dismissed (cf. the discussion in §2.2.1). Synchronically, the similaritive suffix <-wa> (LIKE) has nothing to do with <-o> 'this'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>suffix source</th>
<th>derived</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-watni o</td>
<td>owatni</td>
<td>like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hwatni</td>
<td>manner, similaritive SIMIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>watni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>otni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>mwatni</td>
<td>like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰo</td>
<td>kʰwatni</td>
<td>like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰotni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wakko o</td>
<td>hwakko</td>
<td>this kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wakko</td>
<td>'this kind of' — attributive LIKE.ATTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>okko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>mwavko</td>
<td>that kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mokko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰo</td>
<td>kʰwakko</td>
<td>that kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰekko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cells in Table 3.6 are filled with different forms found for each derivation. The formations based on <-wa> result in forms that show different degrees of contraction. I have not been able to associate the degree of contraction with dialect areas, and assume that it is largely a matter of idiolect or speech rate. The most usual and characteristic forms, however, are those where the affixed pronoun contracts to /Cw/, C representing the initial consonant. The o pronoun technically has no initial consonant, although [ʔ] is inserted due to the no-empty-onset principle, and sometimes only the suffix remains, resulting in identical watni and wakko. Many
speakers retain a laryngeal reflex of the glottal, though, and pronounce \textit{\textsuperscript{h}watni} and \textit{\textsuperscript{h}wakko}.

Besides a similaritive meaning, the suffix \textit{\textsuperscript{-kko}} (LIKE.ATTR) has a connotation of size. This meaning of size occurs when the attributive likeness marker \textit{\textsuperscript{-kko}} attaches to independent pronouns, but not after spatial deictics. The resulting forms with contrast minimally with pronouns affixed with the specific reference suffix \textit{\textsuperscript{-ko}}.

(215) ATTR vs. REF

a. \textit{\textsuperscript{Ø}-wakko} battle\textsuperscript{3P-see-3P} ‘bring one like that, please’
b. \textit{\textsuperscript{o}-ko} battle\textsuperscript{3P-see-3P} ‘bring me that one, please’
c. \textit{\textsuperscript{m}-wako} m\textsuperscript{kat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-o} ‘one that is black like that’
d. \textit{\textsuperscript{m}-ko} mina ‘that person’

**Locational stacks**

Similar to the \textit{\textsuperscript{-wa}} derivations, the locational adverbs in \textit{\textsuperscript{-tni}} and \textit{\textsuperscript{-kko}} may be independent words or serve as suffixes to the regular set of third person pronouns. The effect is that the parameters of referentiality and spatial orientation are stacked. This stacking process proves that these parameters are semantically disjoint.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>high</th>
<th>level</th>
<th>low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proximal</td>
<td>o-d\textsuperscript{a-tni}</td>
<td>u-d\textsuperscript{u-tni}</td>
<td>o-hya-tni</td>
<td>u-hyu-tni\textsuperscript{21}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>mo-d\textsuperscript{a-tni}</td>
<td>mu-d\textsuperscript{u-tni}</td>
<td>mo-hya-tni</td>
<td>mu-hyu-tni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referential</td>
<td>(k\textsuperscript{\textit{h}o-d\textsuperscript{a-tni}})</td>
<td>(k\textsuperscript{\textit{h}u-d\textsuperscript{u-tni}})</td>
<td>(k\textsuperscript{\textit{h}o-hya-tni})</td>
<td>(k\textsuperscript{\textit{h}u-hyu-tni})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The deictic forms of this set are far more frequent than the strictly referential forms based on \textit{\textsuperscript{k}o}. Forms based on \textit{\textsuperscript{k}o} are considered imaginary or abstract (Nep. \textit{kalpanāmā} ‘in the imagination’), and are restricted to situations where one is talking about some objects that are out of sight, whether or not the location is known. An expression such as \textit{\textsuperscript{k}ud\textsuperscript{u-tni} k\textit{\textsuperscript{h}atcine} ‘let us go upwards, there’} is technically legal but, out of context, considered very vague about where exactly we are going.

The deictic element in the forms in Table 3.7 only signals the point of reference, i.e. the deictic centre, the reference point of the speaker, not of the direction. The

\textsuperscript{21}Bāntava offers the form ohyutni (2001)
direction is signalled by the second element. For example, the form *udʰutni* must be glossed 'in this direction, upwards', i.e. towards the speaker, while *mudʰutni* is 'in that direction, upwards,' i.e. away from the speaker.

Imagine that there are three people on a mountain, two on top of the ridge, Rām and Śyām, and one below, Prem.

(216) Śyām can say to Prem:

a. *u-dʰutni tʰaŋ-a!*
   'come up towards here!' ('come to me')

b. *mu-dʰutni tʰaŋ-a!*
   'come up towards there' ('go to Rām!')

c. *ram-ʔo-du kʰar-a!*
   Rām-GEN-LOC.high go-PT
   'go to Rām's place!'

d. *ram-ʔe-du kʰar-a!*
   Rām-COMr-LOC.high go-PT
   'go to Rām's place!'

Now imagine, that Rām and Śyām are down, and Prem is up.

(217) Rām might say to Śyām:

a. *mudʰutni lonta!*
   'go up over there!' (go up, towards that direction, upwards)

b. *dʰana lonta!*
   'go up over there!' (go up, towards that direction)

(218) Rām might say to Prem:

a. *ohyutni yɨwa!*
   'come down here!' (towards me)

b. *muhuytni yɨwa!*
   'come down over there!' (towards Śyām)

c. *syamʔo yutni kʰara!*
   'go downwards to where Śyām is!'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributive</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>high</th>
<th>level</th>
<th>low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proximal</td>
<td>o-dʰa-kko</td>
<td>u-dʰu-kko</td>
<td>o-(h)ya-kko</td>
<td>u-yu-kko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>mo-dʰa-kko</td>
<td>mu-dʰu-kko</td>
<td>mo-(h)ya-kko</td>
<td>mu-yu-kko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referential</td>
<td>kʰo-dʰa-kko</td>
<td>kʰu-dʰu-kko</td>
<td>kʰo-(h)ya-kko</td>
<td>kʰu-yu-kko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A similar story applies to the attributive or adjectival usage of locatives. Table 3.8 shows a paradigm of attributive spatial locatives. Like directional forms, these consist of a stack of a deictic centre a ‘this’, mo ‘that’ or kʰo ‘he/she’ with a spatially attributive form. A hill on the same level, but beyond this one, is hya-kko bʰɨrɨ (LOC.level-ATTR hill) ‘the hill on the same level’. The hills, houses or anything on the same level can further be divided in those close by and those further out: ohyakko bʰɨrɨ (this-LOC.level-ATTR hill), mohyakko bʰɨrɨ (that-LOC.level-ATTR hill), etc.

If speakers cannot be bothered with vertical deixis, which is not unusual, then forms as mod’aka‘ that one over there’ are selected in preference over the vertically specified forms. Aspiration on the level and low forms, starting with hyu- and hya- is frequently lost in these particular forms.

**Locatives in <-na> and <-ni>**

For spatial pronominal roots, locative expressions can be formed with the alternative pronominal case markers <-ni> (LOCAT) and <-na> (LATTR). These suffixes have a limited distribution and only affix to vertically non-neutral spatial roots, forming an adversative expression indicating essive case at a location higher, yonder or lower.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>LOCAT</td>
<td>Locative marker, adversive usage with phrasal scope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>LATTR</td>
<td>Locative marker, adversive usage with modifier scope, ‘attributive’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(219) hyana bʰɨrɨ
‘the cliff over there’

The locational adverbs ending in <-na> and <-ni> can also be suffixed with ablative markers <-ŋka>, resulting in ablative locational adversative expressions.

(220) ablative adverbs
a. dʰa-ni-ŋka-cʰaŋ i-majʰa-da cʰuk-Ø, up-LOCAT-ABL-too his/her-middle-LOC be.downNPT,
   ‘from up it is also in the middle’

b. hyu-ni-ŋka-cʰaŋ i-majʰa-da cʰuk-Ø, down-LOCAT-ABL-too his/her-middle-LOC be.down-NPT
   ‘from down it is also in the middle’

The resulting meaning of the entire phrase is that the object is located right in the middle with respect to the vertical parameter.

(221) Ablatives based on <-na> forms
a. dʰaŋka
   ‘from there’

b. hyaŋka
   ‘from down below’
3.5 Reification and slot positions

While reification is a process that can apply to any class of phrases, it is necessary to introduce the concept here while discussing the abundant stacking of suffixes on pronouns. What I mean by the word ‘reification’ can be clarified by observing the following stacks of suffixes on a simple noun.

(222) LOC+ABL
a. kʰimda
   ‘in the house’
b. kʰimduŋka
   ‘out of the house’

(223) LOC+GEN
a. kʰimda
   ‘in the house’
b. kʰimduʔo
   ‘of the one in the house’ (e.g. of a chicken that just walked into the house)

(224) GEN+LOC
a. kʰimʔo
   ‘of the house’
b. kʰimʔoda
   ‘in the one of the house’ (e.g. in the window of the house as opposed to the window of the shed)

We can assume that the ablative in the first example stacks naturally onto the locative without introducing some extra interpretative structure: The reading is not ‘out of the one in the house’. However, this is not so for the latter two stacking examples that bring extra structure with them. I shall not enter into a formal notation of this phenomenon with superscripts, but simply observe that nouns do not so much have morphological slot positions where cases can land. Rather, nominal suffixes impose a category on their host. If kʰimda is an adverbial modifier, then affixing another case, e.g. ergative or genitive, will turn kʰimda into an empty-headed noun phrase. If kʰimʔo is a genitive-marked modifier, then affixing another case will cause exactly the same effect. Stacking is particularly prolific in pronouns, cf. (225-226).

(225) kʰo-saʔa mu-Ø.
he/she-PRN-ERG do-3P
‘he/she did it’

Those are simple forms with a pronoun, to introduce the pattern.

(226) Stacks
Chapter 3. Nominals

3.6 Counting and classifiers

The Bantawa numeral system is hopelessly defective, as it is under great pressure from Nepali, which is invariably used in trading contacts of any nature with neighbouring people. However, the numerals up to three are widely used in preference to Nepali numerals and many people, even young people, will have an idea of what four and five is in Bantawa. For numbers over five no consistent number system can be elicited.

In the noun phrase, numerical or other quantification takes the first slot in the order of things. Numbers require the presence of qualifiers or classifiers. Classifiers are the counters that are used to define the unit of counting in the domain to which the head noun refers. Classifiers signal the semantic type of noun if it is individuated and therefore, classifiers put the nouns into classes. Classes are purely intuitive and if one knows the meaning of a word, by inference via the taxonomy of things, one can establish the classifier of choice.

(227) The properly quantified noun phrase then has the syntax:

\[\text{numeral-classifier (modifiers) noun (suffixes)}\]

Table 3.9 lists the numbers.

All numbers over two may take the counter <-ka> (CNT), and numbers over three do so obligatorily. Although this morpheme has no obvious function, it is a productive suffix in the sense that also Nepali loan numerals get the affix. The counter suffix <-ka> cannot fruitfully be reduced to an incidental lexical regularity.

(228) nau-ka-paŋ mina
\(\text{nine (N)-CNT-qhum man}\)
\‘nine people’
### 3.6. Counting and classifiers

#### Table 3.9: Bantawa Numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>number</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>comments</th>
<th>alternative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik-</td>
<td>one</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwa-</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>also: hiwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum-ka</td>
<td>three</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lek-ka</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>(but cf. 8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰuk-ka</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>cʰuk ‘hand’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sek-ka</td>
<td>six</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rek-ka</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>su-ka- (Bāntāvā 2001)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lek-ka</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>?questionable</td>
<td>rek-wa (Bāntāvā 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-ka</td>
<td>nine</td>
<td>(Bāntāvā 2001)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina-nam</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Classifiers

These are the most frequent classifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-tet ~ -tat&gt;</td>
<td>QTHING</td>
<td>Classifier for objects(^{22}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-cʰa&gt;</td>
<td>QHUM</td>
<td>Classifier for human referents, cognate to cʰa ‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-paŋ ~ -waŋ&gt;</td>
<td>QHUM</td>
<td>Classifier for human referents. &lt;-waŋ&gt; is selected after vowels, &lt;-paŋ&gt; occurs elsewhere.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some classifier is required. If speakers are not particular about classifying in detail, they select <-tet ~ -tat> for non-human nouns, and <-paŋ ~ -waŋ ~ cʰa> for human nouns. The distribution of <-cʰa> and <-paŋ ~ -waŋ> is complementary. The suffix <-cʰa> is used after ik ‘one’ only, for all other numbers <-paŋ ~ -waŋ> is used.

(229) ikeʰa  
    ‘one person’

(230) hiwaŋ  
    ‘two persons’

(231) sum(-ka)paŋ  
    ‘three persons’

Quantified noun phrases with an empty head are quite legal. Numbers with QHUM or QTHING can be translated as ‘n persons’ or ‘n items,’ respectively. For more detailed classification, many other roots are in current use. Some classifiers function as nouns in their own right, whereas some are strictly classifiers.

(232) bop  ‘round object’
    a. ik-bop littim  
        one-round guava  
        ‘one guava’

\(^{22}\)Regarding the vowel variation, see §2.1.5. It has been suggested to me that this classifier might originate from Nepali vāta.
Chapter 3. Nominals

(233) bak ‘flat object’
   a. dem-ka bak cakʰuŋ bat-ma?
       how.many-CNT flat plate take-INF
       ‘how many plates of utensils to take?’

Some nouns are discrete units in themselves and therefore resist the use of classifiers, or may be seen as classifiers in their own right.

(234) tʰep ‘drop’
   a. ik-tʰep cakwa
       one-drop water
       ‘one drop of water’

(235) du ‘step’
   a. syala-na ik-du hwᵃ-du dʰir-u on-de...
       jackal-TOP one-step two-step find-3P that.much-OR.what
       ‘The jackal followed one or two steps, that much, what?’ [Tt]

(236) len ‘day’
   a. iklen hwᵃlen
       ‘one or two days’

(237) dʰəŋ ‘part’
   a. ikdʰəŋ
       ‘one half’

(238) cit ‘a bit’
   a. ik-cit hyu-ni ta-Ø-la-Ø-ki...
       one-bit down-ALL come-NPT-return-NPT-SEQ
       ‘having gone a bit down again...’

(239) kʰepi ‘time, turn’
   a. ik-kʰepi
       one-time
       ‘once’

Not only numerals, however, are subcategorised for suffixation with -<ka> (CNT) and the group of classifiers. Any member of the closed class of quantifiers can take these affixes.

(240) demka ‘how many’
   a. demkᵃpᵃŋ
       ‘how many people?’

However, while jʰarak ‘all’ and baddʰe ‘many’ are found with quantifier morphology, more often than not the quantifier morphology is absent, cf. the examples (241a) vs. (241b) and (242a) vs. (242b).

(241) jʰarak ‘all’
   a. jʰarak-ka-tet
       all-CNT-qthing
‘all things’
b. jʰarak mina
‘all people’

(242) baddʰe ‘many’
a. baddʰe-ka comʔo pasu-ci
   many-CNT type-GEN animal (N)-PL
   ‘many kinds of animals’
b. baddʰe himsale kutiwa-ci
   many crazy dog-PL
   ‘many mad dogs’

In sum, we observe that while the native numeral lexicon of Bantawa is in decay, the Bantawa language still has an elaborate grammatical system for the construction of quantified noun phrases.

Figure 3.1: Udhaulĩ pujā in Pokhara (cf. Appendix A.5)
Chapter 4

Verbs

4.1 Introduction

Verbs

Verbs form an open class of words that code the core of propositions. In contrast with the prototypical noun, the prototypical verb codes temporally instable notions, i.e. actions, events and states (Givón 2001: 52). States are verbal in Bantawa, whether they are transient or stable.

Syntactical role of verbs

Syntactically, verbs stand out as the core constituent of clauses. Verbs are the grammatical heads of clauses. Verbs project the grammatical roles and govern case on the nominal constituents. While ordering of nominal phrases and other adverbial modifiers with respect to one another is relatively free, verbs must occur clause-finally. Nominal arguments occurring after the verb must be regarded as an afterthought, which is readily audible in the form of a pause. All clauses must contain an overt verb, except those predicate clauses that express a simple equation.

Verb classes

Simple equative predications can be expressed by zero verbs, which appears as a juxtaposition of two noun phrases. In §4.2 we discuss verbs that are grouped as 'to be' verbs. In the same section, we shall also discuss some other verb classes that stand out by their defining behaviour as a group. These verb classes are distinguished mainly by semantic and functional differences. We briefly discuss action, stative, modal and motion verbs.

Verb morphology

After this functional survey, I shall describe how verbs are put together formally. First I shall discuss verb stems (§4.3), then the simplex finite morphology (§4.4). The remainder of the simplex verb morphology is dealt with in the section on non-finite verbs (§5.1).

Tense and Aspect

The categories non-past and past or preterite are primary and coded on simplex verb forms. After the description of simplex verb forms, I shall
discuss temporal and aspectual categories such as imperfective, perfective, perfect and pluperfect forms (§4.6). Before I proceed to describe the morphosyntax that encodes composite tenses and aspects, these functional categories will be described in functional terms.

**Subsequent chapters**  This chapter describes the morphology of the finite simplex forms of the verb. In the subsequent chapters, we shall deal with several other aspects of verb derivation, morphology and syntax in detail.

Chapter 5 will deal with nominalisation procedures and strategies to embed verbs or full clauses into a matrix clause. Chapter 5 consists of two sections. The first section focuses on the morphology of non-finite verbs, the other on the application of general nominalisation to full clauses and verbs.

Chapter 6 will be dedicated to valency operations on the verb, i.e. operations having to do with the number and role of participants that the verbs encode. However, while doing that, at some points the effect of some valency operations on the temporal and aspectual interpretation of the verbs must be discussed as well.

Chapter 7 delves into the morphology of complex verbs. Under the heading ‘complex verbs’, compound verbs, progressives and complemented verbs are treated. Syntactically, complex verbs operate as a single syntactic constituent in the clause. For complex verb constructions, we shall discern different lexical and grammatical construction patterns.

**4.2 Verb classes**

All clause types must contain an overt verb, except for the bare predicate clauses. These equative clauses only contain two nominal phrases. They are full sentences and can even be nominalised as such. We may assume that there is a zero copula ‘to be.’

In this overview of verb classes, we start with the verbs that share the property that they express some kind of predication. The copula verbs have similar syntactic behaviour, but have different aspectual flavours or distributional restrictions.

**4.2.1 To be**

The zero copula ‘to be’  We may assume that the equative predicates such as (243, 244) contain a phonetically empty equative verb Ø (EQ). Alternatively we may introduce a special grammar for the equative construction that contains no verb at all and yields the equative meaning. However, the constructions containing zero copulae contrast with constructions containing an explicit copula (cf. 248, 249), as well as with constructions without any verb at all, e.g. (244) might mean ‘that, my father’ in wider context. For convenience, then, we shall assume an zero copula.

(243) mo-ko san Ø ?o?
   that-REF who EQ NOM?
   ‘Who is that?’
4.2. Verb classes

(244) mo-ko iŋ-pa ø.
    that-REF my-father EQ
    ‘He is my father.’

These clauses have an equative (Rai 1985: 179) or identifying meaning.

\textbf{yuŋma ~ yukma} In equative sentences, as an alternative to the zero copula, appropriately inflected forms of the verb yuŋma ‘to sit, to be’ can be used. Yuŋma is the general verb for existential and locative predication.

(245) baise rajiya mi-yuŋ-a-ŋ-ŋ.
    twenty-two (N) kingdom (N) 3pl-sit-PT-PROG-PT
    ‘There were twenty-two kingdoms’ [Gn]

(246) ani iŋ-daju jɛtʰ-a-enan yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ciʔa.
    and (N) my-elder.brother (N) firstborn (N)-COMe sit-DU-PROG-DU-e
    ‘I and my oldest brother were together’ [Sm]

(247) sadʰayʔo lagi kʰokli-ya ŋa kʰana ti-yuŋ.
    always (N)-GEN for (N) forest-LOC.level-EMPH you’ 2AS-sit
    ‘You will stay in the forest forever.’ [Dt]

Yuŋma belongs to a family of verbs based on the stems <yuŋ ~ yuk> that all signal locative existence ‘to be, to sit, to put’. These verbs are also used as auxiliaries in the formation of the perfect ($§5.2.3$).

\textbf{lima} Where predication has an aspect of change, the verb lima ‘to become’ is preferably used. Consider the following examples.

(248) kʰana həŋ [Ø]
    you’ king EQ
    ‘You are the king.’

This is the simple, equative clause. Yuŋma could have been used as well. To express future ‘to be’, we must use a form of the inchoative verb lima ‘become’, cf. (249).

(249) mankolen həŋ tɄi.
    tomorrow king 2AS-become
    ‘You will be king tomorrow.’

(250) mankolen həŋ tɄiʔo  yuŋ-Ø.
    tomorrow king 2AS-become-NOM sit-NPT
    ‘Tomorrow you will be king – for sure.’

In example (250), we see a form of the future perfect that expresses certainty. This construction will be discussed in section $§5.2.3$, on the perfect.
Both of these forms, one simple present and the other progressive, are augmented by the nominaliser <-ʔo>, that will be discussed in Chapter 5. The forms in examples (251, 252) express certainty by virtue of the combination of the verb and nominaliser.

Alternatively, the exclamative marker <-ʔa> can be used as an expression of certainty. Lima is also used as a modal auxiliary expressing certainty and necessity.

cʰukma  The verb cʰukma ‘to be down, to jump’ is used locatively and in comparative contexts.

(254) o-ko dem cʰuk-Ø?
this-REF how.much be.down-NPT
‘how much is this?’

(255) dʰakko cʰuk-Ø.
upwards be.down-NPT
‘It is up.’

(256) iŋka bantawa rai cʰuk-ʔa.
i Bantawa Rai be.down-1sNP
‘I am a Bantawa Rai.’

yakma ~ yaŋma  The etymologically related verbs yakma and yaŋma primarily indicate bare existence or equation. However, these verbs may be used in a locative sense, where locative predication introduces the existence of a new entity, as is particularly clear in example (260). Yaŋma is rather rare as an independent verb, as yuŋma and yakma are usually preferred.

(257) o-da di yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
this-LOC what be-NPT-prog-NPT
‘What is this here?’

(258) dem-ka-tet yin-ci mi-yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
how.much-CNT-qual word-PL 3pl-be-NPT-prog-NPT
‘How many words are there?’

(259) iŋ-goji-da sumka yaŋ yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
my-pocket (N)-LOC three coin be-NPT-prog-NPT
‘There are three coins in my pocket.’
4.2. Verb classes

(260) wasin-taŋ-du sikwa-ci mi-yaŋ-aʔo
aler.tree-head-LOC.high hornet-PL 3pl-be-PT-NOM
'that there are hornets up in an alder tree' [Bw]

Some speakers frown upon locative usage as in (259). For equation in contrast with location, yukma is used, e.g. for weight:

(261) weight
a. 50 kilo on-ŋa yak-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.  
   50 k.g. this.much-EMPH sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
   'I weigh only 50 kg.'

b. * 50 kilo on-ŋa yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.  
   50 k.g. this.much-EMPH sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
   ** (ungrammatical) with yuŋma

This verb pair is the root for the progressive yajma and habitual yukma vector verbs (§7.2.6).

**Defective negative forms**  While the normal verbal negation formation is with either the prefixes <i>- (NEGNP) or <man- (NEGPTP), the negative forms for some 'to be' verbs are irregular, viz. examples (262a-263c).

(262) negative of yajma (regular would have been manyaŋ)
   a. maʔan!  
      'No!'

(263) negative of yuŋma (regular would have been manyaŋ)
   a. matdŋj  
      'It's not there!'
   b. matdŋj-ci  
      not.there-PL
      'They are not there!'
   c. matdŋj-yaŋ  
      not.there-PROG
      'They are not there (currently)!'

The paradigms are defective. Maʔan is a single form. For the verb matdŋj the plural and dual are identical (263b), and a progressive is also possible (263c).

4.2.2 Verb classes by syntactic behaviour

Verbs can be classified along many different lines. Here, I shall outline the major groups of verbs, identified by shared syntactic behaviour and corresponding semantic features. Prototypically, verbs describe an event or state pertaining to the arguments in the clause. All verbs have a valence indicating the number of participants of the event. Valence is a major component of transitivity, cf. §6.1. Verbs conjugate
according to transitivity class. Verbs may be transitive or intransitive, depending on the nature of the predication. Verb classes may be distinguished by the number or type of participants or by the nature of the predication.

**Action verbs**

Action verbs describe events and form a relatively unmarked and large class of verbs. Action verbs are subcategorised for nominal complements.

(264) naŋsiʔa i-catt-a-ŋ
    hailstone-ERG 3AM-hit-PT-1s
    'A hailstone hit me.'

(265) mɨ kmɨ kwɨ
    profusely
cry-PT
    'He cried profusely.'

Prototypical action verbs describe an activity with an endpoint, which makes them typically telic, cf. ex. (264). However, there may be an inherent progressive aspect, no complement, or adverbial modification may stretch the time reference, cf. (265).

Action verbs project either one, two or three grammatical roles that normally are expressed by nominal phrases. Single grammatical role verbs usually conjugate intransitively, although there are exceptions. Verbs projecting more than one grammatical role can conjugate transitively. The issue of transitivity and grammatical roles will be discussed in Chapter 6.

**Stative verbs**

Stative verbs are those verbs that predicate a state or property. Stative or property verbs fulfil the role that adjectives fulfil in many European languages.

(266) cʰak-Ø-yaj-Ø.
    be.hard-NPT-PROG-NPT
    'It is hard!'

(267) nu-Ø!
    be.good-NPT
    'It is good, OK!'

Stative verbs are intransitive but often have transitive, causative counterparts. Frequently, these counterparts are formed by transitive conjugation of the intransitive root. In chapter 6, on transitivity operations, this will be discussed at length.

Stative verbs are often what I shall call middle verbs, in the sense that the patient of transitively conjugated verb form corresponds to the subject of a clause containing an intransitive conjugation of the same verb. More precisely, both patient and subject are interpreted as undergoers. For action verbs, by contrast, both the agent in transitive conjugation and subject are interpreted as source or agentive.
4.2. Verb classes

Modal verbs

There is a distinct class of verbs that take infinitive phrases as a complement and serve as modals. Some verbs take infinitive complements only, while other verbs are used as modals in a more or less figurative sense.

Inceptive  
*Muma* is interpreted as the inceptive auxiliary ‘about to begin, to start’. In isolation *muma* means ‘to do’.

(268)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{i-najwa} & \quad \text{hu-ma} \quad \text{mu-yaŋ-Ø} \\
\text{his/her-mind} & \quad \text{spin-INF} \quad \text{do-PROG-NPT}
\end{align*} \]

‘He starts to get dizzy.’

Obligation  
*Dotma* ‘be necessary’ is the auxiliary of obligation. Conjugated transitively in isolation, *dotma* means ‘to beg, to require’. *Dotma* frequently appears in third person singular intransitive forms with an infinitive complement.

(269)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{kʰat-ma} & \quad \text{dot-Ø} \\
\text{go-INF} & \quad \text{must-NPT}
\end{align*} \]

‘One has to go (you must go)’

Ability  
*Rɨma* ‘can’ expresses ability in the sense of having the capacity, not in the sense of having the opportunity or permission.

(270)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{cep-ma} & \quad \text{i-ri-n-iŋ} \\
\text{Speak-INF} & \quad \text{NEGn-PROG-1s}
\end{align*} \]

‘I cannot speak.’

Hurry  
*Dɨŋma* ‘hurry’ expresses a hurried manner of action and selects an infinitival complement.

(271)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{bajara} & \quad \text{kʰat-ma} \quad \text{diŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa} \\
\text{bazaar} & \quad \text{go-INF} \quad \text{hurry-1sNP-PROG-1sNP}
\end{align*} \]

‘I am hurrying to go to the bazaar.’

Desire  
The verb *sɨma* ‘to die’ has undergone a semantic shift to function as a modal verb in the figurative sense of ‘to die for, to wish’.

(272)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{badde} & \quad \text{cija} \quad \text{duŋ-ma} \quad \text{ti-si-yaŋ?} \\
\text{much} & \quad \text{tea} \quad \text{drink-INF} \quad \text{2AS-die-PROG}
\end{align*} \]

‘Do you want to drink tea badly?’

(273)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{kʰo} & \quad \text{sa} \quad \text{si-wa} \\
\text{he/she} & \quad \text{meat} \quad \text{die-PT}
\end{align*} \]

‘He is hungry.’

Collocating with *sa* ‘meat’ the verb *sɨma* simply means ‘be hungry’.
Chapter 4. Verbs

Inchoative. The verb *lima* in isolation means 'to become, to happen'. When *lima* in the past tense is combined with infinitive phrases, it signals that the subordinated phrases did happen, cf. examples (274, 598d). In non-past tense, *lima* indicates that the infinitive phrase is imminent, cf. (275). Like the auxiliary of obligation, there may be a imperative overtone in future usage of *lima* such that things 'must' happen.

(274) watni min-ma-ʔa-ŋe buwjakʰa-ʔo puk-ma lis-a, sum-ka-doŋ this.way think-INF-ERG Bunwakha-GEN begin-INF become-PT three-CNT-year bu-ya.
front-LOC.level

'By such a thought the birth of Bunwakha happened, three years ago.'

(275) jʰarak-s-a pʰa-ma li-Ø.
all-PRN-ERG help-INF become-NPT

'All will help.'

Others. There are many more auxiliaries that take infinitival complements. Not all auxiliaries can be discussed, and it seems pointless to invent Latinate terminology for each of them. The most important are a) *tokma*, auxiliary of permission, of opportunity, 'to get' in isolation, and b) *pukma* ~ *puŋma*, another inceptive auxiliary, 'to start, to begin'.

Motion verbs

Motion verbs or, in a wider sense, all verbs that signal location or a change of location, form a very significant class of verbs. Motion verbs function very productively in verbal compounding (§7.2). Used as vector verbs in compounds, motion verbs indicate a perfective aspect and sometimes the direction of the action and where the action ends. Syntactically, motion verbs stand apart as they license the supine <-si> (SUP), cf. section §5.1.5, whereas modal verbs strictly collocate with the infinitive.

Like locative cases, motion verbs are marked for vertical orientation in a clear-cut three-way division, i.e. high 'movement up', level, and low 'movement down'. Additionally, there are level-neutral motion verbs that give no information on vertical level change and express movement from or to an unknown source or far away. Orthogonal to this division, there is a split between 'come' and 'go', resulting in eight different roots for movement. Motion verbs can be transitivised in different ways (cf. Ch. 6), such that quite a few verbs result (see Table 4.1).

There are also motion verbs that focus on the method of movement rather than on the vertical orientation, viz. *konma* 'to walk about', *latma* 'to take out', *lotma* 'to run', *puŋma* 'to escape', etc. These motion verbs serve equally well as vector verbs in compounds and also select the supine.

Other verb classes

Many more verb classes can be identified. Other verb classes are not introduced here, as I have restricted the discussion to the immediately relevant syntactic and
morphological notions. Emotion verbs and verbs with obligatory arguments are discussed in Chapter 6.

4.3 Morphology of verb stems

4.3.1 Introduction

This section treats two aspects of the morphophonology of the verb stem. First, it is noted that there are two stem allomorphs for each verb. The canonical shape of these allomorphs is described. The selection of allomorphs is conditioned by phonological context. However, the forms of the two stem allomorphs labelled pre-consonantal stem and pre-vocalic stem are not predictable from the context. It does not always suffice to know one of the stems to be able to predict the other.

Secondly, to understand the range of alternation, we group the verbs into conjugation classes. Several scholars have previously published on the formal characteristics of Bantawa verb stems\(^1\). I shall show, that if we know the pre-consonantal stem and the conjugation class for a verb, we can predict the verb’s junction behaviour. There is no way to describe the stem alternation more economically.

There are three conjugation classes. The first two are called the t-conjugation and s-conjugation. These classes are based on the type of alternation between the two different stem allomorphs for an individual verb. In the case of the t- and s-conjugations, the pre-vocalic stem for a verb derives from the pre-consonantal stem form by addition of either a t or s. The third class is labelled the \(\emptyset\)-conjugation, because here the pre-vocalic stem is not derived from the pre-consonantal stem by an obvious addition. In this \(\emptyset\)-conjugation, several consonant changes occur, some of which are unpredictable, forcing us to introduce subclasses in the \(\emptyset\)-conjugation.

In §6.3.1, some stem derivation processes for causativisation are discussed. These derivation processes explain morphological relations that exist between verb stems.

\(^1\)In his grammar, Bántávā (V.S. 2055: 33) does list stem alternations but does not attempt to group verbs by alternation patterns. Rai gives an overview of the stem formation for his dialect of Bantawa (1985: 87). Sprigg has published on the subject of Bantawa verb roots, presenting the stem alternation patterns as a transparant morphological transitivity operation (1987).

Table 4.1: Verbs of movement - by direction and level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>direction</th>
<th>up</th>
<th>level</th>
<th>down</th>
<th>neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>come (intrans)</td>
<td>t°aŋma</td>
<td>banma</td>
<td>yima</td>
<td>tama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>lonma</td>
<td>bitma</td>
<td>d°ama</td>
<td>k°atma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring (transitive)</td>
<td>t°akma</td>
<td>batma</td>
<td>yitma</td>
<td>tatma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take (transitive)</td>
<td>lonma</td>
<td>d°anma</td>
<td>k°atma</td>
<td>k°anma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
largely originated from these lexical derivation processes. The relation between
derivation processes and the conjugation classes will be discussed in §6.3.1. The
conclusion of that discussion is that the two parameters, i.e. (1) whether a verb takes
part in a certain derivation process and (2) how a verb conjugates, seem only loosely
correlated. There are many exceptions to the system. While there is certainly a
relation between derivational origin and conjugation class, this relation is mostly
historical. The membership of a conjugation class is not necessarily related to the
derivational history of a verb.

Notational conventions and abbreviations. Abbreviations follow the conven-
tions outlined in the section on abbreviations in this book. Subscripts indicate
conjugation type membership, e.g. hin\textsubscript{3a} is member of conjugation class 3a, thus
conjugates as hilu, while hin\textsubscript{2} is member of class 2, thus conjugates as hinsu.

4.3.2 Phonological structure of the verb root

Verbs, roots and stems. A Bantawa verb may be listed in the lexicon by a form
of one, two or more syllables followed by the ending of the infinitive, the citation
form. One or more syllables may uniquely identify a verb as a unique combination
of form and meaning, and thus are the verb as a whole. However, finite and all
other verb inflection only affixes to the last part of any polysyllabic verb. We
shall label this verbal head as the ‘stem’ for the remainder of this section. A verb
stem in this sense may in turn have been historically derived from another root
morpheme. However, here we are not concerned with roots of derivations but with
stems that host inflection. All Bantawa verbs have one or two stem allomorphs: The
pre-consonantal verb stem allomorph is always a single syllable, the pre-vocalic stem
allomorph is usually sesquisyllabic.

There are instances where two syllables uniquely identify a verb meaning, such
as is the case with verb complements, e.g. kʰa-etma ‘to tell’. However, in finite forms,
the complement is split off from the verbal head of the stem and all fectional prefixes
affix to the verbal head only: kʰa mietucci ‘they told them.’ A grammatical formation
such as the analytical causative with <-met> (CAUS) affirms the fact that only the
verbal head hosts inflectional markers, while deverbal grammatical complements
are prefixed to the inflected verb as a whole, cf. §7.3.

Whether these constructions are treated as a) a special instance of the general
process of verbal compounding, or b) as a verb always taking a deverbal stem as
complement, in either case the special status of the verb stem is maintained. In the
ensuing discussion we shall discuss the regular alternation of verb stem allomorphs.

Allomorphs. For each Bantawa verb there are two stem forms, i.e. stem allomorphs.
For instance, the verb <kon-~ kol-> in the infinitive is kon-ma (walk-INF), whereas the
third person singular form is kol-a (walk-PT). The selection of stem forms is entirely
dependent of the paradigmatic ending. This stem selection can be described in terms
of phonological context only. However, to know the form of a stem for each context, we must list two stems for each verb\(^2\).

**Pre-consonantal stem** the stem allomorph that appears before consonants or word-finally

**Pre-vocalic stem** the stem allomorph that appears before vowels

**The pre-consonantal stem** The syllable structure of the pre-consonantal stem allomorphs is as in (276).

\[(276)\] Pre-consonantal stem syllable structure

\[(C_i)V(C_f)\]

The initial consonant \(C_i\) may or may not be present. The possible initial consonants are listed in (277).

\[(277)\] Verb initial consonants

\[C_i = \{ p \ p^h \ b \ b^h \ m \ t \ t^h \ d \ d^h \ n \ c \ c^h \ j \ j^h \ k \ k^h \ g \ g^h \ y \ h \ s \ y \ w \ l \ r \}\]

The initial consonant can be any of the valid native consonant phonemes. Consonant clusters are ruled out, however. The vowel can be any of the native Bantawa vowels (278).

\[(278)\] Verb stem vowels

\[V = \{ a \ e \ i \ o \ u \ i \}\]

The final consonant \(C_f\) may or may not be present. Valid final consonants are a limited subset of the consonant phonemes. Stem-final consonants in the pre-consonantal stem only appear before consonants or before the word boundary. These consonants are true syllable codas and not the onset of a new syllable.

\[(279)\] Final consonants

\[C_f = \{ p \ t \ k \ m \ n \}\]

In short, the valid shape of the pre-consonantal stem is that of the Bantawa syllable, except that initial consonant clusters are not allowed.

\(^2\)Spigg (1992) states that there may be as many as five different types of junction for some verbs. This may be true in a phonetic sense, but morphophonologically only two are relevant. He lists five different contexts that condition five possibly different forms: (a) before vowel (b) before nasals (c) before glides (d) before voiced stops /d/ (e) at word boundary. However, the morphophonologically relevant distinction is two-way only: 1) before vowels [Spigg’s (a)] 2) elsewhere [Spigg’s (b-e)]. The alternations in the elsewhere part are entirely predictable by phonological rules that are not unique to any stem junction type, cf. §4 on phonology.
The pre-vocalic stem The pre-vocalic stem can take on more forms than the pre-consonantal stem. The structure of the pre-vocalic stem is as in (280):

(280) pre-vocalic stem syllable structure
   \((C_i) V (C_f) (C_e)\)

If there is an extra consonant \(C_e\) in the pre-vocalic stem, the final consonant \(C_f\) is always the same for the two verb stem allomorphs. However, in the \(\varnothing\)-conjugation, where there is no extra consonant, it is not always the case that the same consonant \(C_f\) from the pre-consonantal stem persists in the pre-vocalic stem. For pre-vocalic allomorphs that have no extra consonant, the stem-final consonant is not a syllable-final consonant. Rather, the stem-final consonant is the initial consonant of the next syllable. In this case, the consonant may be the same as the consonant in the pre-consonantal stem, but usually there is a change. This change is not always predictable. In the next section we shall list the possible allomorph pairs to find the patterns. There are only two consonants that can appear as the first consonant in the next syllable, in an pre-vocalic stem with a filled final consonant position, cf. (281).

(281) Extra consonants
   \(C_e = \{ s \ t \}\)

Before /s/, only nasal final consonants appear. There are two exceptions that deserve attention. Firstly, due to a general phonological rule, /n/ before /s/ is pronounced as [˜ı] or even [ı], cf. §2.2.2. This is a general phonological rule, however, that is not specific to verb roots and does need not concern us here. The other exception is a real exception. There are two verbs that violate the rule that only nasal final consonants appear before /s/, see example (282).

(282) Non-nasals before extra /s/
   a. its-a
      bad-PT
      'It is bad.' (<ɨtma 'to be bad')
   b. taks-a.
      fill-PT
      'It filled.' (intr, <takma 'to fill')

The verb <tak ~ taks> 'to fill (intr)' was reported for the Šmoke dialect only, and even so, this is an exception even for Šmoke. These exceptions do not violate any phonotactic rule of Bantawa, but are exceptional only in being a member of the s-conjugation class.

Syllabicity The real difference between pre-consonantal and pre-vocalic stems is in syllabic structure. Pre-consonantal stem allomorphs are truly monosyllabic in the sense that they form a full syllable. Pre-vocalic stem allomorphs are sesquisyllabic, spanning one and a half syllable due to the syllabification process in Bantawa. The few vowel-final stems where both the final and extra consonant \((C_f \text{ and } C_e)\) are absent are exceptional in the sense that for these stems both the pre-consonantal
and pre-vocalic stems span a single syllable only. In the normal case, the final stem consonant or stem augment of the pre-vocalic stem allomorph is the onset of the second syllable of the finite verb.

### 4.3.3 Bantawa verbs grouped by junction type

So far, we have described the canonical Bantawa verb stem allomorphs in general terms. To understand how stem allomorphs relate to one another, we list the stem alternatives for each verb. Stem allomorphs for any verb are most simply seen comparing infinitive forms ending in <-ma> (INF) and third person singular forms ending in the ending <-u> (3P) for transitive verbs or in the past-tense suffix <-a> (PT) for intransitive verbs. Verbs can be classed into junction types by the alternation between their pre-consonantal and pre-vocalic stem forms. There are three conjugations for verbs, and the third conjugation is in turn subdivided into subgroups.

1. **t-conjugation**
   In this conjugation, the pre-vocalic stem equals the pre-consonantal stem +t. All canonical syllable final consonants can appear in front of the extra consonant /t/. The stem-final consonant position cannot be empty, however. Both transitive and intransitive verbs appear in this conjugation.
   - `<hek ~ hekt>` e.g. hek-ma 'to cut' vs. hekt-u 'he cut'
   - `<ŋap ~ ŋapt>` e.g. ŋap-ma 'to snatch' vs. ŋapt-u 'he snatched'
   - `<hot ~ hott>` e.g. hot-ma 'to be tired' vs. hott-a 'he was tired'
   - `<kuŋ ~ kuŋt>` e.g. kuŋ-ma 'to bend' vs. kuŋt-a 'it bent'
   - `<dʰan ~ dʰant>` e.g. dʰan-ma 'to bring down' vs. dʰant-u 'he brought it down'
   - `<pʰom ~ pʰomt>` e.g. pʰom-ma 'to get confused' vs. pʰomt-a 'he was confused'

   For this conjugation, the pre-consonantal stem is entirely predictable from the pre-vocalic stem, i.e. by cutting off the /t/.

2. **s-conjugation**
   In this conjugation, the pre-vocalic stem equals the pre-consonantal stem +s. If the stem-final consonant is there, it must be a nasal: {ŋ ɲ m}. With the exception of the examples in (282), only nasals appear in front of the extra consonant /s/. It is also possible that the stem-final consonant position is empty. Both transitive and intransitive verbs appear in this conjugation.
   - `<oŋ ~ oŋs>` e.g. oŋ-ma 'to give light' vs. oŋs-a 'it gave light'
   - `<kʰan ~ kʰans>` e.g. kʰan-ma 'to send' vs. kʰans-u 'he sent it'
   - `<im ~ ims>` e.g. im-ma 'to sleep' vs. ims-a 'he slept'
   - `<nu ~ nus>` e.g. nu-ma 'to heal' vs. nus-u 'he healed'

   Similar to the t-conjugation, the pre-consonantal stem can unambiguously be derived from the pre-vocalic stem for all verbs of this conjugation, i.e. by cutting the <-s>.

---

*This organisation in conjugations is similar to that in (Rai 1985) and (Sprigg 1987). Classes 1 and 2 correspond with both these writers’ t- and s- classes. Class 2 includes Rai’s Class 6. Class 3 here corresponds to Rai’s classes 3, 4 and 5. The analysis here resembles Sprigg’s, but differs in some aspects, as will be clear.*
3. Ø-conjugation, or single consonant conjugation

The identifying feature of this conjugation is that there is no extra consonant in the pre-vocalic stem forms. All stem-final consonants are found in this conjugation, as well as stem that have no stem-final consonant.

Instead of adding a consonant, Ø-conjugation pre-vocalic stem forms either are equal to the pre-consonantal stem forms, or differ from the pre-consonantal stem forms only by a) consonant change or b) consonant deletion or c) vowel coalescence, in the case of the absence of a stem-final consonant in the pre-consonantal stem.

As a) the number of different consonants appearing in pre-vocalic stems is bigger than that in pre-consonantal stem, and b) the pre-consonantal stem consonant is often predictable from the pre-vocalic stem, we assume that the pre-vocalic stem is primary and the pre-consonantal stem is secondary.

**Third conjugation class** As conjugation class (3) is, in a sense, the most basic of the three classes and shows most variation in stem forms, the Ø-conjugation needs a special discussion.

This class has been dubbed the Ø-conjugation⁴, because there is no stem-final consonant. At least, so it seems. However, within this class we observe different behaviour with regard to vowel fusion. The -p, -k, and -n verbs of the Ø-conjugation have empty stem-final consonants prevocally, but retain their stem-final consonant position, with the result that hiatus or some replacement for this illegal empty onset occurs. In contrast, vowel-final stems are subjected to coalescence rules as shown in §4.3.6. To clarify that the -p, -k and -n verbs in this class behave differently from verbs that have no final consonant in the pre-consonantal stem, I have listed the glottal stop /ʔ/ as their pre-vocalic stem consonant in the tables below. This signals that fusion processes that apply to verbs without a final consonant in the pre-consonantal stem do not apply. In examples (283-286) I have contrasted the pre-consonantal stems that appear before the infinitive <-ma>, with the pre-vocalic stems that appear before the past tense suffix <-a> or the third person patient ending <-u>.

(283) cakma ~ cama
    a. (wa)cak-ma ~ (wa)caʔ-a 'to bathe', 'he bathed'
    b. ca-ma ~ ca-Ø 'to eat', 'he ate'

(284) tupma ~ tuma
    a. tup-ma ~ tuʔ-u 'to meet', 'he met'
    b. tu-ma ~ tu-Ø 'to dig', 'he dug'

(285) hokma ~ homa
    a. hok-ma ~ hoʔ-u 'to open', 'he opened'
    b. ho-ma ~ ho-Ø 'to burn (tr)', 'he burnt'

⁴Sprigg (1987): z-conjugation
4.3. Morphology of verb stems

(286) hopma ~ homa
a. (wa)hop-ma ~ hoʔ-a 'to get wet', 'he got wet'
b. ho-ma ~ hoʔa 'to burn (intr)', 'it burnt'

For these examples the third-person forms are different only by virtue of the consonant position for C₃ at the end of the stem.

However, some verbs are pronounced as coalesced forms anyway. While stem vowels regularly do not fuse with vowel initial suffixes due to the stem-final consonant position, the stem vowel /ɨ/ may fuse: cʰk > cʰu (cʰ+i+u) 'to pinch', hip > hu (<hi+u) 'peel'. Similarly for the verb 'to chew', two different verbs, both of the third conjugation, are offered: kʰupma > kʰuʔu: 'he chews' or kʰuma > kʰu: 'he chews'.

4.3.4 Predictability of conjugation class

If we know the pre-consonantal stem of a verb, we can never predict the form for the pre-vocalic stem. However, if we know the pre-consonantal stem plus the verb's conjugation type, we can predict the pre-vocalic stem unless the verb is of conjugation type 3) and the stem's final consonant is one of {n Ø}. In these cases we must know the sub-type as well. Conversely, it is not true that the pre-consonantal stem is always predictable from the pre-vocalic stem either. If the pre-vocalic stem has a final syllable break, then the pre-consonantal stem must be one of {p n k Ø}. If the pre-vocalic stem has /r/ as consonant, the pre-consonantal stem must be one of {t n}. If the pre-vocalic stem has /w/ for consonant, the pre-consonantal stem must be one of {p Ø} and /j/ leads to either {n Ø}. There is therefore no alternative for the lexicographer but to either list both stems or give one of the stems and, if necessary, the verb's conjugation type.

Sprigg (1987: 13) seems to object to the idea of treating 'lexical items such as [...] as each having two phonological forms, a vowel-final form [...] and a consonant final form'. Sprigg fields five objections to this solution, amongst which: 'it would upset grammatical relationships'. This objection refers to the lexical process of causative formation (§6.3.1) that he relates to conjugation assignment. Sprigg (1987) seeks to describe the causative formation process as a 'conjugation type shift' only, and therefore his conjugation type assignment is informed by this lexical process as well.

Sprigg (1987) lists two verbs that show a <-t ~ -Ø> pattern, viz. <lot ~ loy> 'run' and <lat ~ lay> 'take out'. However, in our data these pattern with all other t₁ verbs, i.e. <lot ~ lor> and <lat ~ lar>.

Sprigg (1987) lists two verbs that show a <-t ~ -Ø> pattern, viz. <lot ~ loy> 'run' and <lat ~ lay> 'take out'. However, in our data these pattern with all other t₁ verbs, i.e. <lot ~ lor> and <lat ~ lar>.

The second stem form may derive from a causative interpretation of the verb, viz. 'I made myself think'. In other texts an alternative, regular form is found, viz. min-a 'he thought', based on a stable stem min₃b.

Exceptions There are two verbs that do not fit into the conjugation classes as presented here. Both are one-of-a-kind exceptions: <min ~ mitt> 'to think' and <kʰaŋ ~ kʰa> 'to look'. The verb kʰaŋma 'to look, see' is very frequent as a second verb in verb compounds, where it signals politeness. However, kʰaŋma is apparently avoided in the past tense in its literal meaning. Instead forms of copma 'to see' are used.
Table 4.2: Overview of consonant alternation in the Ø-conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem consonant pairs</th>
<th>Members and/or comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stem-C Stem-V Conj</strong></td>
<td>(infinitive ~ third person sg. past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k ʔ 3</td>
<td>sokma ~ soʔu ‘kick’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t r 3</td>
<td>setma ~ seru ‘kill’. The change r &gt; t is also found in other languages, e.g. Limbu. We would expect /t/ to pattern with /k/ and /p/, but it does not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p ʔ 3</td>
<td>There is no need for a sub-class. The epenthetic /w/ is conditioned by the following vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w 3</td>
<td>if this is an /a/, /w/ is inserted. Bantu (V.S. 2055) lists verb alternatives in his grammar using the -a verb ending only, consistently inserting /w/ also for -k, stems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø ʔ 3a</td>
<td>/Ø/ here means ‘no syllable boundary’. By consequence, the stem vowels is subject to the coalescence processes such as described in §4.3.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w 3b</td>
<td>These glides are epenthetic unlike the /w/ ~ /y/ that replace /p/ in the Ø-conjugation. As the /w/ and /y/ distribute complementarily, conditioned by surrounding vowels, we assign them to one class (3b).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n l 3a</td>
<td>Surprisingly, the /n/ class shows very unpredictable behaviour, while other nasals produce stable stems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n 3b</td>
<td>The l-forms are most frequent: konna ~ kola ‘walk’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r 3c</td>
<td>The n- and y-forms are in complementary distribution w.r.t. the preceding stem vowel, but then, as these forms are few, we shall leave it alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y 3d</td>
<td>For each of the τ-, y- and r- consonant forms there are clues from the derivational relationship with -tt-stems, that they originally were *-t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔ 3e</td>
<td>However, the derivation history is not transparent from the current forms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m m 3</td>
<td>a stable stem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3. Morphology of verb stems

as by the simple surface observations of stem alternation. For a sweeping analysis like that, it is troublesome if the move between 'conjugation types now do not correspond to the derivational process'. Repeating the problem as an argument, he notes that it would complicate lexicography if we have to list two forms. However, it is obvious that the conjugal facts do not correspond to derivational rules. We must not sacrifice transparency of the conjugation system in order to arrive at neat linguistic analyses.

In Table 4.3 the reader finds a list of all stem consonant pairs, their frequencies and conjugation class assignment. All verbs can be found in the verb list in the appendix.

This table prompts the phonological comment that the absence of -ij and -ik stems is by no means a coincidence. The sound change in chapter 2, rule (43) has historically emptied those slots. In the chapter on verb derivations (§6.3.1), we shall return to this observation.

4.3.5 Phonological justification for conjugation classes

In view of the constraints on Bantawa syllable structure (cf. §2.2), it is obvious that the primary motivation for the conjugal alternation of verb roots is phonological. We can start to assume that the pre-vocalic stem is the basic root for each verb, whenever the pre-vocalic stem is more identifying for a verb than its pre-consonantal stem. For all pre-consonantal stems, there are multiple possibilities of pre-vocalic stem, but this is rarely true the other way around. Based on the alternations between pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal stems, we may formulate phonological rules that are invoked when the constraints on syllable structure are not satisfied.

(287) sound change of liquids at syllable-final position
   a. l → n / _ [.]
   b. r → t / _ [.]

(288) deletion of extrasyllabic consonant before syllable boundary
   a. t → Ø / [+consonantal] _ [.]
   b. s → Ø / [+consonantal] _ [.]

These rules capture most of the current facts but do not regularly and predictably apply synchronically. For instance, rule (287b) does not always apply. There are forms in -r- that are inflections of -n stem verbs, e.g. cʰor-u ~ cʰon-ma, wer-u ~ wen-ma, cʰir-u

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7Some -Ø verbs from the second conjugation, as well as some Ø-verbs and n-verbs of the third, are roots for -t verbs of the first conjugation. Sprigg (1987: 22) assigns those items to the t1-class (transitives) that derive from a Ø3-class verb to a virtual Ø1-class. (But, he does not discuss the t1-examples that have a derivational relationship to Ø2- or n3- verbs.) There are two drawbacks to this approach. First, now the Ø-class verbs have been subclassed, without a phonetic difference between the two sub-types of verb. Second, there are many more derivational oddities (§6.3.1), and it is not a good strategy to introduce conjugation classes, that must describe surface behaviour, to answer for lexical irregularities. While Sprigg's analysis is clear and gives the correct clues for historical reconstruction, it complicates conjugation assignment.

8In these rules [], denotes syllable boundary.
Table 4.3: Verb Stem Alternations and Frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem final</th>
<th>stem vowel</th>
<th>Conjugation</th>
<th>Total per pair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-C -V</td>
<td>a e i o u i</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>9 2 1 3</td>
<td>15 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 3 3</td>
<td>6 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6 2 3 4</td>
<td>16 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>12 9 8 8 7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p w</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>4 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>6 3 3 7 12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt</td>
<td>13 16 9 16</td>
<td>7 7</td>
<td>75 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t r</td>
<td>11 9 4 6 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tt</td>
<td>19 13 17 13</td>
<td>19 13</td>
<td>94 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k ?</td>
<td>5 5 12 6 4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kt</td>
<td>16 13</td>
<td>20 17 15</td>
<td>81 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m m</td>
<td>2 4 2 5 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>17 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms</td>
<td>14 11 4 8 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>45 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mt</td>
<td>7 6 6 13 10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n l</td>
<td>2 2 4 5 1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>16 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>1 4 1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>2 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>1 2 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>4 4 2 1 3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>19 9 10 15</td>
<td>11 9</td>
<td>73 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj ?</td>
<td>8 3 4 4 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>12 11 10 15</td>
<td></td>
<td>57 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>11 7 11 2 4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>174 134 81</td>
<td>161 141 102</td>
<td>402 172 219 793</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3. Morphology of verb stems

~ cʰin-ma. We can assume that these rules applied actively in the past though, and now their reflexes have been frozen in verbal conjugation classes. Irregularities as this /r/ < /n/ pattern may well be due to the partial replacement of original /t/ verbs by their more transitive /n/ allofams. While the pre-consonantal stem of a verb did get replaced, the pre-vocalic stem did not. The rules in (288) apply regularly, making the pre-consonantal stem for first and second conjugation class verbs predictable from the pre-vocalic stem. Rules (288) leave a phonological trace in tone, cf. §4.3.7.

The problem with investigating the status of the above rules is that there is no scope for application elsewhere in the language. Not only is nominal flection quite limited, but also all nominal roots have legal final syllables that are not dependent on further vowel-affixation to be validated. Wherever necessary in the noun classes (e.g. with loans from Nepali), other strategies are employed to comply with the restrictions of syllable structure.

It is not possible to devise rules like the above to explain the elision of /k/ and /p/ in the Ø-conjugation class. First of all, in this instance of pre-consonantal stem and pre-vocalic stem correspondences, the pre-consonantal stem is actually richer in information than the pre-vocalic stem. By consequence, rules to disallow glottal stops or empty onsets by rewriting them into /k/ or /p/ in the appropriate contexts are bound to overgenerate tremendously. To begin with, there are actually many cases where empty syllable codas are found. In the reverse rule /k/ or /p/ would be rewritten to /Ø/ or /ʔ/, intervocalically. This rule may have applied historically but seems to lack any motivation synchronically, witness the presence of many poly- as well as monomorphic bisyllabic forms containing exactly that sequence.

(289) V-p-V, V-k-V
   a. tʰupi   ‘scar’
   b. diwapa  ‘forefather’
   c. deki    ‘why’
   d. jaŋcʰoku ‘hill nettle’

In sum, we can conclude that while there is a clear phonological motivation for the alternations in conjugation classes, viz. the restrictions on syllable structure, the synchronic status of rules trying to capture the alternations within conjugation classes is unclear.

4.3.6 Vowel coalescence

There are some thirty verb stems ending in vowels. Every stem vowel is represented, but the forms for the single verb in -e, tema ‘to calm down’, could not be verified. For these verb stems, both the pre-consonantal and pre-vocalic stem end in a vowel. Affixation of consonant-initial verb endings is unproblematic, in that these do not geminate or change. The vowel-initial verb endings have conditioned allomorphs in the contexts of vowel-final verb stems. In the interest of economy, the verb allomorphs are described as morphophonologically conditioned. However, it is obvious that these allomorphs are the result of some process of coalescence. Except where bound verb suffixes meet vowel-final verb stems, vowel coalescence occurs
nowhere else in the language. The following verb endings are relevant to the discussion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>PT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>3P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in</td>
<td>12P,SP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following fusion processes occur:

(290) stem vowel -a
   a. a + in → an
e     can
    'we eat’
   b. a + a → a
e     nica
    'he eats you’
   c. a + u → a
e     ca
    'he eats’

(291) stem vowel -i
   a. i + in → in
e     tama rinka
    'we can come’
   b. i + a → iwa
e     riwanj
    'I could’
   c. i + u → i
e     piŋ
    'I gave’

(292) stem vowel -o
   a. o + in → on
e     lon
    'we say’
   b. o + a → owa
e     ilowa
    'they said to him’
   c. o + u → o
e     lo
    'he said’

(293) stem vowel -u
   a. u + in → un
e     mun
    'we do’
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b. u + a → uwa
   nuwa
   'it is good'

c. u + u → u
   tu
   'he digs'

(294) stem vowel -i

a. i + in → in
   yinka
   'we came down'

b. i + a → iya
   iya
   'he laughed'

c. i + u → iyu
   ciyu
   'he finished it'

The glides /w/ and /y/ that emerge in the forms listed are optional and epenthetic. The epenthetic glide can always be replaced by a glottal stop [ʔ], although that would in many cases be regarded as slightly unnatural. Glides are predictable by the previous vowel by the rules given in the chapter on phonology, ch. 2.

The past tense suffix <-a> is always preserved after root vowels, except where it fuses with its equal /a/. The /i/ vowel of the first and second person plural suffix <in> (12PL SP) always gives way to the stem vowel. The /u/ vowel of the third person patient suffix <-u> also always gives way, except after a root vowel /i/, where it remains intact. The following allomorphs must be defined:

3P < u ~
   Ø / [+syllabic] _ ~
   yu / i _ >

PT < a ~
   Ø / a _ ~
   ya / [+back] _ ~
   wa / [+back] _ >

12plSP < in ~
   n / [+syllabic] _ >

For distribution and ordering, see next section.

These allomorphs for verbal suffixes are phonologically conditioned. However, there is also a more complicated pattern of suffix allomorphy that is morphologically motivated: The present and past tense simplex forms of transitive verbs in /-a/ are different only in their patterns of vowel fusion. Compare the following parts of the paradigms of cama 'to eat' and kʰatma 'to take'.
Chapter 4. Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>→ 3s NPT eat</th>
<th>→ 3s NPT take</th>
<th>→ 3s PT eat</th>
<th>→ 3s PT take</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.s</td>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>kʰattuŋ</td>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>kʰattuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.d</td>
<td>cacuʔa</td>
<td>kʰatcuʔa</td>
<td>cacuʔa</td>
<td>kʰattacuʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.p</td>
<td>camka</td>
<td>kʰattumka</td>
<td>comka</td>
<td>kʰattumka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.d</td>
<td>cacu</td>
<td>kʰatcu</td>
<td>cacu</td>
<td>kʰattacu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.p</td>
<td>cam</td>
<td>kʰattum</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>kʰattum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.s</td>
<td>tica</td>
<td>tikʰuu</td>
<td>tico</td>
<td>tikʰattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.d</td>
<td>ticacu</td>
<td>tıkʰatcu</td>
<td>ticacu</td>
<td>tıkʰattacu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.p</td>
<td>ticam</td>
<td>tıkʰattum</td>
<td>tıkʰattum</td>
<td>tıkʰattum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.s</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>kʰattu</td>
<td>co</td>
<td>kʰattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.d</td>
<td>icacu</td>
<td>ikʰatcu</td>
<td>icacu</td>
<td>ikʰattacu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.p</td>
<td>ica</td>
<td>ikʰat</td>
<td>ica</td>
<td>ikʰatta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This state of affairs is rather perplexing at first. It seems that the stem-final /-a/ in non-past forms overrides the third person patient suffix <-u>, whereas in the preterite forms, there is fusion into the single vowel /o/. We can sum this up as in (295).

(295) a. \( \Sigma + 3P \)
   \[ ca + u \rightarrow ca \]

b. \( \Sigma + PT + 3P \)
   \[ ca + a + u \rightarrow co \]

a) An analysis where <-a> + <-u> PT + 3P go to /o/ first and then overrides the stem /a/ fails, as this does not happen in kʰattu (kʰatto) ‘he took him’. b) Neither is it true that cama ‘to eat’ has a lexical past tense stem co-, as past tense forms without the third person suffix are based on ca-. c) Although the non-past forms of cama ‘to eat’ are partly homophonous with antipassive forms, the paradigm as a whole clearly shows that this is not the antipassive paradigm. In the antipassive paradigm ‘we eat’ would be cam but not can, etc., etc.

We are left with no alternative but to state allomorphy rules for all stems in -a (written as \( \Sigma \)), involving all three morphemes:

(296) \( \Sigma a \rightarrow \Sigma o / - PT 3P \)

We may stipulate that the < Ø > allomorph of the past tense morpheme has the ability to weaken the stem vowel, but it is hard to find further independent evidence for that.

Vowels that do not coalesce

As briefly mentioned above, verbs of conjugation classes k₃ and p₃ have a pre-consonantal stem in /-k/ and /-p/ respectively, while the vocalic suffixes are preceded by a syllable break. The pre-vocalic stem ending of these verbs is conveniently written with \( \tilde{ } \), for example as in yoʔu ‘he peeled out’ < yopma ‘to peel’. The glottal stop has no phonemic status, but signals a syllable boundary between the verb stem and the following vowel-initial affix. Wherever this boundary is absent form verb stems ending in vowels, as above, vowels coalesce. The syllable boundary
4.3. Morphology of verb stems

is part of the pre-vocalic stem allomorph of verbs of the k₂ and p₂ classes. Due to the no-empty-onset rule as described in §2.1.3 this boundary is realised as [ʔ].

The syllable boundary may be realised throughout as a glottal stop. However, in normal speech, the syllable boundary emerges as a, sometimes hardly audible, glottal stop in between homorganic or nearly homorganic vowels and as an approximant between different vowels.

(297) nak lo-ʔu
    loan loan-3P
    ‘He loaned’

(298) wa ca-ʔa
    water bathe-PT
    ‘He bathed’

(299) caʔwa pa-ʔu.
    water put.in-3P
    ‘He put in water.’

(300) wa ho-ʔaŋ (also: wa howaŋ)
    water get.wet-1s
    ‘I got wet.’

The identifying feature of the pre-vocalic stem of these verbs is not the glottal stop, but rather the syllable boundary, however realised. This phonological boundary distinguishes these verbs from vowel-final stems. The glottal stop ʔ signals this boundary.

4.3.7 Tone

Rule (288), deleting extrasyllabic consonants, is generally applicable to verbal roots of t- and s-conjugation classes. This rule applies in verbal/nominal compounds as well:

(301) water-springs: verb-noun compounds

   a. ku-munja
      *kus-munja
      be.hot-source
      ‘hot spring’

   b. kep-munja
      *keps-munja
      be.cold-source
      ‘cold spring’

The psychological reality of rule (288) can be further corroborated with the observation that in some dialects, there is a reflex of this consonant deletion left on the resulting syllable. For all pre-consonantal forms of verbs of the t- and s-conjugation classes, the loss of the final, extra root consonant by deletion rule (288) is compensated for by a high tone on the root syllable.
Tonal contrast is not a pervasive feature of the Bantawa language, and outside of this context no lexical or grammatical tonal contrasts are found. We can then best assume that this high tone is a subphonemic residue imposed on the intonational contour of the verbal form. The resulting forms seemingly have a shorter and more abrupt root syllable in a higher pitch. However, on measurement, this perception is proven to be false. The contrast is mainly in length and amplitude.

The first syllable of infinitives bears the weak word stress, realised in higher pitch and greater amplitude. Unmarked infinitives show a gradually falling pitch contour on the first syllable. Pitch generally does fall towards nasal consonants. Note that the infinitive ending is <-ma> (INF). Since Bantawa is not a tone language in general, we can assign L as the default tone to all syllables, and write L.L for normal two-syllable infinitives. Due to the stress placement, however, the normal pitch contour is HL.L, HL representing a falling contour on the normally higher pitched initial syllable.

However, in t- and s- conjugation infinitives, the tonal pattern is H.L. The falling tone on the stressed pitched syllable is simplified to H.

Placing a number of pitch contours of t-conjugation verbs against those of Ø-conjugation verbs shows the contrast.

Contrasted pitch contours of infinitive forms of verbs of different conjugation classes

In all of these graphs, the timing is very similar. Only the verbal form root is shown, invariably reading cʰVCma, with the value of VC variable for the vowel and consonant. The last part of the verb form, -ma, generally shows as a flat line. Right before the ending there is a hiatus where no pitch is shown, which represents the stem final consonant. The pitch contour right before the stem final consonant shows the root’s pitch contour. While for t-conjugation verbs the root pitch is high and flat, the pitch is falling or low for verbs of the Ø-conjugation. This contrast results in minimal pairs differentiated by tone alone. The minimal pairs can be written using simple tone marks for the t-conjugation class verbs only.
4.3. Morphology of verb stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal Minimal Pairs</th>
<th>t-Conjugation</th>
<th>Ø-Conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. cátma 'hit the mark'</td>
<td>catma 'ferment'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. cʰákma 'be hard'</td>
<td>cʰakma 'chisel'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. káŋma 'obey, hide'</td>
<td>kᵃŋma 'heat up, warm up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. kʰápma 'thatch'</td>
<td>kʰapma 'cry'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. kʰókma 'chop off'</td>
<td>kʰokma 'extract'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. kʰónma 'resurrect'</td>
<td>kʰonma 'move'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. pónma 'divide'</td>
<td>pònma 'grow'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. tôńma 'arrange'</td>
<td>tonma 'push away'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. kúmma 'hide'</td>
<td>kumma 'hide'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. kúpmá 'sit on eggs'</td>
<td>kupma 'pick up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. kʰúnma 'penetrate'</td>
<td>kʰunma 'carry'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. tʰńma 'filter'</td>
<td>cʰńma 'nudge'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. tʰńjma 'spread out'</td>
<td>tʰńjma 'be pregnant'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that the tonal contrast is predictable by a grammatical rule. However, there are hints that the contrast is mainly lexicalised. For instance, while one would expect a tonal contrast between kʰatma₁ 'to take' and kʰatma₃ 'to go', this contrast is not there, as these roots are phonologically the same, at least in the experience of the language users. In other related root pairs, however, e.g. kǔmma ~ kumma, the contrast is still present.

### 4.3.8 Accounts for the tonal contrast

**Account 1**

Now that the circumstances of the tonal contrast have been delineated, we must try to explain it and capture it in a viable phonological rule. There are at least two alternative accounts possible. The first is to rewrite the consonant deletion rule as above to (303)⁹.

(303) Deletion of extrasyllabic consonant before syllable boundary

\[
\begin{pmatrix} 
-\text{anterior} \\
-\text{consonantal} \\
-\text{coronal} \\
-\text{voiced} 
\end{pmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{high tone}] / [+\text{consonantal}] - []
\]

In other words, the segment does not go to /Ø/, but rather to an unassociated [+high tone] autosegment. This feature, then, must be assumed to associate with the

⁹Tacitly, the rule has been generalised, which goes without penalty as there are no other contexts that could falsify such a generalisation.
sylable to the left of the deletion site. How this would happen, however, is not clear to me. For example, why would the high tone autosegment not spread all over the place? By conventional autosegmental phonological theory\(^{10}\), tone spreads over the word unless spreading is blocked by tone marking already present on other syllables. Since Bantawa has no lexical tonal contrasts, an analysis is this vein is problematic.

**Account 2**

There is an alternative way, I maintain, to account for this tonal contrast. This account simply says that this extrasyllabic consonant is deleted late, i.e. after the normal intonation pattern has been generated. The normal falling pitch contour on infinitives is merely a reflex of the nasal onset of the next syllable\(^{11}\), and it is the t- and s-conjugation verb infinitives that are marked. This should be so, if we assume that the pitch contour over the verb form is built before the deletion of the extrasyllabic consonant from the pre-vocalic verb form to form the pre-consonantal verb stem allomorph. What is heard, when an pre-consonantal verb stem is uttered, is an pre-vocalic stem, pronounced in anticipation of a syllable having the onset in /s-/ or /t-/. However, the extrasyllabic consonants /s/ or /t/ are deleted right before they are pronounced. The advantages of this account are that Bantawa remains a language without lexical tone and that no tone registers need to be introduced. Moreover, this analysis avoids the problems with the alternative, i.e. how to properly associate new replacement autosegments with their segmental units. Finally, this theory correctly predicts that in contexts where there is not normally a falling tone, before syllables without nasal onset, this tonal effect is not present. For example, the following nominalisations, where a consonant is equally deleted, do not show a tonal contrast (304).

(304) No contrast for forms not starting with a nasal: the *-starred forms do not occur.

a. * bóp-kʰa
   bop-kʰa
   cover-PNOM
   ‘lid, cover’
   <bop- ~ bopt-> ‘to cover’

b. * lak-lù-kʰa
   lak-lu-kʰa
   dance-perform-PNOM
   ‘dancing place’
   <lak lu-> ‘to dance’

\(^{10}\)For an introductory background on autosegmental phonology, cf. Burquest (1998). The proper association of an autosegment generated by a phonological rule is problematic. In Bantawa, the tone mentioned in rule (303 may associate with the syllable to the left by the Universal Association Convention (UAC) but why would it not spread to the right by the Right Spread Rule? We cannot assume that spreading is blocked by tone marking already present on all other morphemes, excepting verb roots. At least, this analysis requires that we assume that by default, every segment is lexically marked for tone.

\(^{11}\)Low tone and nasality are generally known to be associated, cf. e.g. (Ploch 2000).
While the revised version of the extrasyllabic consonant deletion rule (303) aptly describes the fact, the rule is not necessary if we, instead, offer the following explanation.

(305) Account for high tone in Bantawa verb forms
a. pitch contours are sensitive to nasal consonants, i.e. pitch falls before syllables beginning with nasals, and
b. the late deletion of extrasyllabic consonants leaves a trace in the emergence of pitch contours atypical of their context.

4.4 Finite verb morphology

This section will deal with the finite, so called simplex forms. We shall give a description of the verb agreement in terms of a slot morphology approach, similar to e.g. the treatment of the Limbu verb by Van Driem (1999). Where appropriate, I shall draw attention to phenomena that are outside the scope of a simple slot morphology approach.

4.4.1 Person and number categories

The Bantawa verbal agreement is of the classical Kiranti style. Bantawa has eleven pronominal categories. There are singular, dual and plural forms for all three persons. For the first person, inclusive and exclusive are distinguished in the non-singular forms. As a result, the set of pronouns represents eleven different person-and-number combinations, as in Table 4.4. The dual vs. plural distinction on the third person is marginal, in the sense that the distinction is not present on the pronoun. However, the difference between dual and plural subject is marked on the finite verb. For reference, the set of personal pronouns for Bantawa is repeated below from §3.4.

Table 4.4: Bantawa pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1e</th>
<th>1i</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>ijk</td>
<td>kʰana</td>
<td>kʰo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>ankaca</td>
<td>ankaci</td>
<td>kʰanaci</td>
<td>kʰoci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>ankanka</td>
<td>ankan</td>
<td>kʰanain</td>
<td>kʰoci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inclusive first person (1i or i) represents the first and second person merged into one. The paradigmatic forms of the finite verb will be listed in simplex verb conjugation tables. In simplex transitive verb conjugations, forms can have affixes showing either agent or patient agreement, or both. The tables of transitive verbal agreement contain forms for verbal situations with valid actant combinations, viz. a first person agent acts upon a second person patient (1→2), and so on: 1→3, i→3,
Chapter 4. Verbs

2→1, 2→3, 3→1, etc. Forms representing 1→1 and 2→2 combinations are not found. The number of different valid actant combinations then amounts to a total of $(9+9+6+9+6+9+9+9) = 75$. There are 9 combinations for all person combinations for all numbers (singular, dual and plural), but 6 combinations for all person combinations involving the inclusive first person (that has no singular). Finite verbs are also marked for tense (past and non-past) and polarity (affirmative vs. negative), resulting in a potential of 300 combinations of inflectional categories on transitive verbs.

Several actant combinations are represented by a single form. For example, the form \textit{n}î\textit{khuci} means ‘he/she/they took us/you’. As a result, there are only 42 or 43 different forms for the non-past and past tense transitive affirmative forms respectively. In comparison, intransitive forms are relatively simple. Different forms express eleven different person and number combinations for each combination of tense and polarity. Apart from the past tense negated paradigm, first person inclusive and third person dual forms are identical. Intransitive paradigm for most tense-polarity combinations usually have ten different forms. Aside from these finite paradigms, verbs may have reflexive paradigms and a set of non-finite forms, viz. nominalisations, converbs, the supine and the infinitive, cf. §5.1. Optatives, nominalised and subordinated forms are all formed transparently on the basis of finite forms.

4.4.2 Stem alternation

There are two stem allomorphs for each verb stem: the pre-consonantal stem and the pre-vocalic stem. The stem selection is completely conditioned by the immediate context and can be defined in phonological terms. Stem allomorphy and selection were discussed in the previous section, cf. §4.3.

4.4.3 Agreement paradigms

Apart from person and number agreement, finite verb forms express polarity, affirmative or negative and either of the basic tenses non-past or past, abbreviated NPT and PT. The untensed imperative mood also has a simplex paradigm, containing forms for implicit second person subjects only. Imperatives agree with the number of the addressee and, in transitive forms, with the agreement parameters of the patient.

Tense and polarity combinations

In the agreement tables below and in Table 4.5, there are finite simplex paradigms for four combinations of tense and polarity, viz. the combinations of simple tenses non-past and past, and affirmative and negative. However, the negative past forms are best described as derived and complex forms, regularly deriving from the affirmative non-past forms. For this reason, the morphology specific to the negative past will be treated separately from the simplex morphology. As opposed to the simplex paradigms, the non-past negative paradigm is complex.
4.4. Finite verb morphology

Intransitive forms

The intransitive paradigm contains eleven person and number combinations for two polarity and two tense forms, plus three imperative forms. The affix patterns of these forms are listed here below. In intransitive conjugation, the affixes indicate tense and agreement with person and number of the subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>slot</th>
<th>P NPT</th>
<th>N NPT</th>
<th>P PT</th>
<th>N PT</th>
<th>P IM</th>
<th>N IM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For reference, some sample paradigms that form the basis of this analysis are listed in Appendix B.

Transitive forms

In transitive conjugation, the affixes can agree with both agent and patient. This results in rather large and unwieldy agreement matrices for each tense and polarity combination. However, to get a good insight in agreement patterns, it is helpful to have a clear picture of these tables. This will help to understand when an affix corresponds to a patient, and when it corresponds to an agent.

In all of the tables listed below and in the appendix, the horizontal axis represents the different patients, while the vertical axis represents the agent. The action denoted by the verbal form must normally be understood as performed by the agent and inflicted upon the patient. There are four persons in Bantawa, if we count the first person exclusive (1) as different from the first inclusive (i). For the purpose of demonstrating agreement paradigms it is convenient to treat exclusive and inclusive forms separately. All of these persons can operate on the other, but the forms of 1 → 1 and 2 → 2 are expressed by reflexive forms, so these are not found in the transitive paradigm table. For lack of plausibility, i ↔ 1 and i ↔ 2 forms are not found either. The paradigm table contains nine blocks of forms, viz. block 1 → 2 for the first person agent operating on the second person patient, first person agent to third person patient etc., as in Figure 4.1.

Identical forms The listings of forms for each verb paradigm can be significantly abbreviated by using the fact that many forms are equal. The agreement matrix contains 75 cells that can be filled with paradigmatic forms. In transitive agreement however, there are no distinct forms for third person dual and plural patient forms,
therefore these are subsumed under the heading 3NS, i.e. third person non-singular. Also, the following transitive relationships are expressed by a single form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>slots</th>
<th>comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ns→2</td>
<td>all non-singular first person agent → second person patient forms are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expressed by a single form, ending in &lt;-ni&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2→1ns</td>
<td>all second person agent → non-singular first person patient are expressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by a single form, with prefix &lt;ti&gt; and suffix &lt;-ni&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ns→1d</td>
<td>all non-singular third person agent → dual first person patient are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expressed by a single form, with prefix &lt;ni&gt; and suffix &lt;ciʔa&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ns→1p</td>
<td>all non-singular third person agent → plural first person patient are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expressed by a single form, with prefix &lt;ni&gt; and suffixes &lt;in-ka&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→id</td>
<td>all third person agent → dual first person patient are expressed by a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>single form, with prefix &lt;ni&gt; and suffix &lt;ci&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→ip</td>
<td>all third person agent → plural first person patient are expressed by a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>single form, with prefix &lt;ni&gt; and suffix &lt;in&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→2s</td>
<td>all third person agent → singular second person patient are expressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by a single form, with prefix &lt;ni&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→2d</td>
<td>all third person agent → dual second person patient are expressed by a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>single form, with prefix &lt;ni&gt; and suffix &lt;ci&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5. Morpheme analysis

This section treats the verbal affixes that create finite verb forms in Bantawa. These affixes correspond to person and number of participants and polarity and tense of the verb. Most affixes indicate a combination of values for these parameters and so are portmanteau morphemes.

4.5.1 Prefixes

In this section we shall discuss the prefixes that are part of the finite verbal morphology. Prefixes primarily indicate two functional categories: a) polarity, i.e. negation prefixes, and b) person.

Person prefixes correspond with agent and subject only. This is one of the morphological accusative agreement patterns found in the language.

Person prefixes

There are four prefixes expressing person categories in the Hatuvăli Bantawa paradigm, as in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ti-&gt;</td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td>second person subject or agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;i&gt;</td>
<td>3AM</td>
<td>third person agent in marked configurations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ni&gt;</td>
<td>3A</td>
<td>third person agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;mi&gt;</td>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>third person non-singular patient or subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second person agent or subject <ti-> The second person prefix occurs in all forms where there is a second person subject in intransitive forms or second person agent in transitive forms. Except for this prefix, the 1ns → 2 forms are formally similar to the 2 → 1ns forms in the transitive paradigm. This person prefix is a clear instance of accusative morphology, where subject agreement patterns with agent agreement13.

12The non-past affirmative paradigm has variants for the 3s → 1ns forms with the third person agent prefix <i> (3AM). If these forms were counted separately, the number of unique forms for the non-past paradigm would be 42.

13According to Watters (1998: 784), who reviews the verbal prefixation patterns across languages, the second person prefix is the 'opening wedge' that opens up a prefixal slot to other person prefixes. The
Table 4.5: Transitive Agreement - Non-past forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A/P</th>
<th>1S</th>
<th>1D</th>
<th>1P</th>
<th>IP</th>
<th>2S</th>
<th>2D</th>
<th>2P</th>
<th>3S</th>
<th>3NS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-naci</td>
<td>-nanin</td>
<td>-uŋ</td>
<td>-uŋćįg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1D</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>Σ-ni</td>
<td>Σ-umka</td>
<td>Σ-umciŋka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>Σ-cu</td>
<td>Σ-cu</td>
<td>Σ-umciŋka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP</td>
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Non-past Affirmative Transitive Paradigm

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Non-past Negative Transitive Paradigm
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**Past Affirmative Transitive Paradigm**

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**Past Negative Transitive Paradigm**

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4.5. Morpheme analysis
Third person agent in marked configurations  The marked third person agent prefix <ɨ-> (3AM) is present in the 3s→1, 3ns→1s, as well as in the 3ns→3s affirmative forms.

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The marked third person agent prefix <ɨ-> marks all third person agent forms in the transitive paradigm that are not otherwise marked with a more specific prefix marking third person agent, viz. <nɨ-> (3A) or <mɨ-> (3PL), except where the agent is the third person singular. The positions in the paradigm that have this prefix can be called marked configurations, in the sense that in these configurations the agent-patient relation reverses the pattern of participant ranking, as will be outlined in §4.5.2. In summary, in the hierarchy of persons the participants are ranked as 1 > 2 > 3ns > 3s. The empirical import of such a ranking is evident from the pattern of person and number marking on the suffixes. See below. For prefixes, the person hierarchy is relevant for the marked third person agent prefix <ɨ-> only. The forms in the paradigm that have the prefix <ɨ-> (3AM) happen to be those forms where there is an apparent disparity in ranking and specificity between the agent and patient.\(^{14}\)

Third person agent prefix <ni->  There are two more third person prefixes, viz. the third person agent prefix <ni-> (3A) and the third person plural prefix <mi-> (3PL). The third person agent prefix <ni-> appears in all 3→112 forms that do not have the marked-configuration prefix <ɨ-> or the more specific third person plural prefix <mi-> (3PL). The prefix <ni-> expresses the combination of a third person agent with implication is, that we would not expect a Kiranti language to have person prefixes at all, if there is no second-person prefix.

\(^{14}\) For the prefix <ɨ-> (3AM), an inverse analysis was proposed by (Ebert 1994: 26), who also applies it to the Chamling prefix <pa-> (Ebert 1997a). Judging by person ranking on the hierarchy only, at first an inverse analysis seems to make some sense. On closer inspection, however, an analysis of this type creates more problems than it solves. The essence of an inverse marker is that it must affix to all verb forms that denote an action of a lower ranking person on a higher ranking person. This would explain the general pattern of the appearance of <ɨ-> (3AM), but it would not explain why it is absent on 2→1 or 3d→1d, or many other forms, and that irregularity is more easily explained by substitution by more specific markers anyway, cf. the analysis here. The most problematic part of an inverse analysis is that as a corollary, the third person patient suffix <u-> must be interpreted as a 'direct' marker. Such an analysis is not tenable: the assumed direct marker is used at the same time as the inverse marker in the 3d→3 forms.
a non-third person patient in transitive verbs. All 3→2 forms have the prefix, but 3→1 forms have the prefix only where the marked third person agent prefix <i-> is not present. In the 3→1s/d forms as well as in the 3→ip forms, we find irregular marking. In the →3 patient forms, the prefixal person slot either remains empty, or is taken by the third person plural prefix <m-i> or the marked third person agent prefix <i->.

Table 4.7: Distribution of the third person agent prefix <n-i> and the third person plural prefix <m-i>

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Third person plural prefix <m-i> The third person plural prefix <m-i> (3PL) expresses third person plural subject or agent. In the transitive paradigm, the prefix occurs in the 3p→3ns forms, but not in the other 3p→→ forms. These positions in the paradigm align this prefix with the second person prefix <t-i>: both prefixes agree with the agent of transitive and the subject of intransitive predicates.

Unexpectedly, the third person plural prefix <m-i> (3PL) also appears in 3→ip forms\(^{15}\). These forms correspond to the third person plural subject form in the intransitive paradigm. The appearance of the third person plural prefix <m-i> in the forms with an inclusive plural patient in the paradigm can be explained as a merger of the impersonal forms with the first person inclusive object forms. In sections §6.4.1 and §8.6, it is observed that an intransitive conjugation of a transitive verb X which would read as ‘they do X,’ is reinterpreted as ‘someone, a third person, does X to us.’ This reinterpretation of the intransitive conjugation of a transitive verb explains these forms, that would otherwise not be compatible with a gloss 3PL for <m-i>.

\(^{15}\)To be precise, I found two competing 3→ip forms.

a. <m-i-Σ-in>
b. <m-i-Σ>

(a.) patterns with the parallel forms in the transitive paradigm, i.e. 3→1p, 3→2p. (b.) patterns with the third person plural subject forms of the intransitive paradigm.
Summary of person prefixes  If the occurrence of <mi-> (3PL) in forms with a plural inclusive patient is left out of the equation, we find that person prefixes always correspond to the agent. The third person plural prefix <mi-> is also peripheral in the sense that it does not appear in negated forms, but is replaced by the negative third person plural prefix <ni-> (N3pl) in negative third person plural patient transitive and third person plural subject intransitive forms.

The distribution of third person prefixes in the transitive paradigm can best be described in terms of specific-ness. We can state that the third person plural prefix <mi-> (3PL) is most specific in designating the third person plural scenarios 3p→3ns and 3→ip. Next, we can state that, quite idiosyncratically, the marked-scenario prefix <i-> (3AM) expresses the scenarios 3ns→3, 3s→1s and 3d→1s. Given this distribution of the more specific third person prefixes, the less specific scenarios with third person involvement have the third person agent prefix <ni-> (3A).

Watters (1998) suggests that person prefixes developed from possessive markers. This may hold for the marked third person agent marker <i->, that is homophonous with the third person possessive prefix. We shall be able to say more on the functional differences between prefixes and suffixes later.

Negation prefixes

There are two negation prefixes, viz. the past negative <man-> (NEGPTP) and non-past negative <i~Ø> (NEGNP). There is a single portmanteau morpheme <ni-> (N3PL) that expresses both negative polarity and third person agent.

Non-past negative  The non-past negative prefix <i> (NEGNP) expresses negative polarity in the non-past tense forms. The prefix occurs on every non-past negative form, except where there is any other person prefix, i.e. one of the prefixes described previously. This fact can be explained in two ways, viz. a) <i> (NEGNP) has a zero allomorph after a vowel-final prefix, or b) person prefixes block the single available prefix slot before <i> (NEGNP) can attach. As the latter solution is simpler, I shall gloss negative non-past forms with a single prefix only.

Past negative  The past negative prefix <man> (NEGPTP) is present in all other negative forms, i.e. in the past tense negative paradigm, the negative imperative paradigm, as well as in all negative non-finite verb forms. The negative past will be discussed separately.

Negative third person plural <ni> (N3PL)  The third person plural prefix <ni> has a negative counterpart <ni> (N3PL). The negative third person plural prefix <ni> appears in the intransitive third person plural non-past forms, and the transitive third person plural →3 forms. While homophonous with the third person agent prefix <ni> (3A), these two prefixes cannot be equated, as they are functionally different and occur in different positions in the paradigm.
4.5. Morpheic analysis

A slot analysis of prefixes

In Bantawa verbs, there is only one prefixal slot.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pfx1</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2AS</td>
<td>&lt;tɨ&gt;</td>
<td>second person agent or subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A</td>
<td>&lt;nɨ&gt;</td>
<td>third person agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>&lt;mi&gt;</td>
<td>third person and plurality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AM</td>
<td>&lt;i&gt;</td>
<td>third person agent in marked scenarios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N3PL</td>
<td>&lt;ni&gt;</td>
<td>third person plural agent or subject in non-past negative forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGNP</td>
<td>&lt;i&gt;</td>
<td>negative non-past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Across dialects and even between individual speakers from the same area, there is considerable variation in the ordering of person prefixes relative to the prefix <man> (NEGPTp). The negative past tense is formed as an analytical, composite tense. For these reasons it is not helpful to include the ordering of this prefix in a slot analysis. I shall address the formation of the past tense negative in a separate section, §4.5.3.

4.5.2 Suffixes

The suffixal string in simplex verb forms is far more complicated than the prefixal string.

Person and number hierarchy

As we have seen, the distribution of person prefixes in the transitive paradigm corresponds to an accusative pattern.

The distribution of person and number suffixes, however, is much more complicated. If we consider the paradigm in detail, we find that the presence of person suffixes is primarily determined by the ranking of participants, rather than the syntactic roles of the participants, or the semantic roles for that matter.

Person hierarchy  In brief, the person hierarchy is simply 1 > 2 > 3 or, in other words, the more remote the person is from the speech act or the speaker, the lower it ranks in the person hierarchy.

In an informative discussion of the Tibeto-Burman agreement paradigms (1998: Ch. 17 of his Kham Grammar), Watters states that in general in Tibeto-Burman languages:

(A) agreement is with first or second person in preference to third, and

(B) with the object where both participants are first or second person.

This statement shows the correspondence between the person hierarchy and agreement as reflected in verbal affixes. However, this general schema needs some modification in its application to Bantawa. In any case, with regard to suffixes the 3s→ forms are exactly equal to the intransitive forms that correspond to the same
patient. The patient in transitive agreement patterns with the subject in intransitive agreement, which represents a distinctly ergative pattern in the verbal agreement.

However, ranking is more important than just the ergative pattern. In the verbal agreement suffix string all first person singular forms carry some variant of <-ŋ>. This is true only with the exception of 1s→2 forms, where the second person patient <-na> supersedes the first person suffix <-ŋ>, in line with Watters’ (B). Non-singular 1 ↔ 2 person constellations all get a portmanteau morpheme <-ni(n)> (1NS2) so that ranking does not matter anymore for these forms. Irrespective of role, first person exclusive forms always have an exclusive suffix <-a~ka>. Surprisingly, the second person patient is not consistently marked by the suffixes in spite of rule (A).

Third person patient suffixes are different from other agentive suffixes, as they are marked with the third person patient suffix <-u>. In transitive conjugation, the plural suffix for first and second person agents is <-m>, in contrast with the suffix <-in> for patients and subjects16. This leads to some ambiguity between second and first person inclusive patient forms, but the peculiar shape of 3→ip forms partly makes up for this.

As person suffixes are determined primarily by ranking, it would be hard to tell agent and patient roles apart for any Bantawa form. However, this ambiguity is resolved by the prefixes discussed before.

**Number hierarchy** Apart from person hierarchy, there is also a number hierarchy stating simply that plural > dual > singular, or the greater number ranks highest. In the number hierarchy another split pattern emerges. The number of the agent is only marked on the suffixes a) when the number of the agent outranks the number of the patient, and b) when the person of the agent outranks or equals the person patient or c) when the patient is 1s. In summary, agent number marking is found only on 2ns→1s and →3 forms.

Patient participant are reflected in verbal agreement wherever they outrank the agent. Number markers occupy different slots for patient and agent, resulting in forms with double number marking, i.e. one number suffix corresponding to the patient and one number suffix corresponding to the agent.

Different from the pattern, the forms with a first person plural inclusiv patient lack number marking, just as the 3p→3s form. These are innovative elements in the paradigm. As Watters (1998: 748) noted, number marking in Kiranti languages is generally dissociated from person marking.

On forms reflecting a third person agent and a non-third person patient, we find object number agreement only. On forms with a third person patient we find number marking for both participants, except in 3→3 where only one marker is found that corresponds to the highest numbered participant. (Watters 1998: 748) introduces a typological yardstick where languages fall in either of two classes according to the number agreement found in non-singular-non-singular participant combinations. Type A is a language where in those conditions the number marking corresponds

---
16First and second person plural markers represent an ergative trait of the morphology, where patient patterns with the subject.
4.5. Morpheme analysis

with the object, while type B is a language where number affixes correspond to the subject.

By this standard, Bantawa clearly is a type A language. However, number marking is yet another instance of the phenomenon, that marking is not only determined by role, but more so by ranking. In all of the third person patient series, the agent also leaves a footprint in the number marking. The split by person ranking is visible in the Bantawa verb suffixes when it interacts with the number ranking as well.

### Person suffixes

In Bantawa we find the following person agreement suffixes in the verbal paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>◐ŋ ◐a ◐ŋ</td>
<td>1S</td>
<td>first person singular marker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>◐ŋa</td>
<td>1SNP</td>
<td>This morpheme is the non-past variant of 1S. It appears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in non-past intransitive forms and 2/3→1s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>◐ni</td>
<td>1NS2</td>
<td>first person non-singular and 2nd person involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>◐a ◐ka</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>exclusive marker, that contrasts first person exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>forms from inclusive forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>◐na</td>
<td>2P</td>
<td>Second person patient in 1s→2 transitive forms, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>second person subject and patient in negated non-past forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>◐u</td>
<td>3P</td>
<td>Third person patient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Copying

Several person and number suffixes in the finite verb suffix string are subject to the ‘copying’ process that occurs in Bantawa. As noted before, the Bantawa finite verb suffix string is described in terms of slots; nevertheless, we observe that some parts of the suffixal string are copied to a ‘copy’ slot-location under certain conditions. Let us use the capital letters (A B C) to represent suffixes. We observe that a verbal form may be Σ-A in one part of the paradigm, and that addition of a simple suffix C results in the form Σ-A-C-A. When C is added to a form Σ-B, the resulting form is Σ-B-C-B, etc. The A or B that follows C is clearly copied. The suffixes that are copied and the triggers of the copying process are noted below. The copying process is described in some more detail in the discussion of the triggers; tabular data is given in Tables 4.10, 4.8 and 4.11.

### First person singular

The suffix first person singular suffix ◐ŋ ◐a ◐ŋ (1S) appears in all forms that involve a first person singular participant, with the only exception of 1s→2 forms. The ◐ŋ allomorph appears after vowel-final roots or suffixes. The suffix ◐ŋ is always copied when another non-singular participant in the action puts its number marking in, cf. Table 4.8. In the 1s→2 agreement, no first person marking appears, in line with the split-ergative pattern. The second person patient suffix ◐na dominates. As the number also comes from the highest numbered participant, these forms show patient agreement only.
Table 4.8: Distribution and copying of the first person suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agent series</th>
<th>1S → 3S</th>
<th>1S → 3NS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P NPT</td>
<td>Σ-ŋ</td>
<td>Σ-ŋciŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P PT</td>
<td>Σ-ŋ</td>
<td>Σ-ŋciŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N NPT</td>
<td>i-Σ-nŋ</td>
<td>i-Σ-nŋciŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N PT</td>
<td>man-Σ-dŋ</td>
<td>man-Σ-dŋciŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>patient series</th>
<th>s → 1S</th>
<th>d → 1S</th>
<th>p → 1S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P NPT 2</td>
<td>ti-Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>ti-Σ-ŋciŋ</td>
<td>ti-Σ-ŋniŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P NPT 3</td>
<td>i-Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>i-Σ-ŋciŋ</td>
<td>ni-Σ-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P PT 2</td>
<td>ti-Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>ti-Σ-ŋciŋ</td>
<td>ti-Σ-ŋniŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P PT 3</td>
<td>i-Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>ni-Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>ni-Σ-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N NPT 2</td>
<td>ti-Σ-nŋ</td>
<td>ti-Σ-nŋciŋ</td>
<td>ti-Σ-nŋniŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N NPT 3</td>
<td>i-Σ-nŋ</td>
<td>ni-Σ-nŋ</td>
<td>ni-Σ-nŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N PT 2</td>
<td>manti-Σ-dŋ</td>
<td>manti-Σ-dŋciŋ</td>
<td>manti-Σ-dŋniŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N PT 3</td>
<td>man-Σ-dŋ</td>
<td>manni-Σ-dŋ</td>
<td>manni-Σ-dŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-singular first ↔ second person agreement  All 1ns→2 forms in the transitive paradigm have the first and second person portmanteau suffix <-ni> (1NS 2)\(^{17}\). The role of each participant is disambiguated by the second person agent or subject prefix <-tɨ>.

Exclusive marker  The exclusive suffix <-a ~ ka> (t) tells apart exclusive and inclusive forms. First person exclusive verb forms are identical to the inclusive forms\(^{18}\), with the addition of the exclusive marker <-ʔ-ka> (E). Whenever the exclusive suffix is affixed immediately after a vowel, a syllable break is heard in careful speech and the morpheme appears as [ʔa]. In allegro speech, the dual suffix <-ci> and <-a> (t) coalesce to [ca]. Elsewhere, the exclusive suffix is <-ka>.

Second person patient  The second person patient suffix <-na> (2P) indicates a second person patient in the transitive 1s→2 forms. Irregularly, the second person patient suffix <-na> also appears in second person plural imperative transitive forms, that are otherwise equal to past tense forms without the second person prefix <-tɨ> (2AS), cf. §4.7.2. The second person patient suffix does not appear in the affirmative intransitive paradigm or elsewhere in the transitive affirmative paradigm.

Remarkably, in all transitive and intransitive forms involving second person the non-past negative suffix <-n> (NEG N) requires the suffixation of the second person patient suffix <-na> as well. In the transitive negative paradigm, second person patient suffix appears in the 3→2 and 2→3 forms, which is everywhere where a more specific suffix does not occur. In the intransitive negative paradigm, this suffix appears in all second person forms. This distribution can be explained by two factors,

\(^{17}\)The first and second person non-singular suffix <-ni> (1NS 2) can be reconstructed from protomorphemes <-*na> (2) + <-*t> (1NS). The suffix has an unconditioned, idiolectal variant <-nin>.

\(^{18}\)With the exception of the 3→ip forms, cf. the paragraph on <-mi> (3PL).
4.5. Morpheme analysis

viz. a) the non-past negation suffix <-n> requires to be part of a full syllable, cf. also
the allomorphy <-n ~ nin> for this same non-past negative suffix, and b) we observe
in other places as well that negative forms with third person patient align with
intransitive forms, cf. §6.1.2.

The second person patient suffix <-na> (2P) is the only true second person suffix.

**Third person patient suffix** The third person patient suffix is <-u ~ Ø> (3P)\(^{19}\).
The suffix <-u> (3P) occurs on all forms with a third person patient in the affirmative
transitive paradigm, with the exception of 3pl→1s forms. This form is best described
as having a zero allomorph of the third person patient suffix. The third person
patient suffix also surfaces as Øafter stem vowel /u/. Strictly speaking, the third
person patient suffix <-u> does not just mark the third person patient, but also the
intentional category of transitivity as in contrast with the antipassive forms. See for
discussion §6.2.1.

**Number suffixes**

In Bantawa we find the following number agreement suffixes in the verbal paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;cil~c&gt;</td>
<td>DU</td>
<td>Dual agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;cil~c&gt;</td>
<td>DUP</td>
<td>Dual patient and subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nin~ni&gt;</td>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>Second person plural participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in&gt;</td>
<td>12PLSP</td>
<td>first and second person plural patient and subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m&gt;</td>
<td>12PLA</td>
<td>first and second person plural agent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dual patient suffix <-cil> and second person plural suffix <-ni> trigger a special
copy-effect. For this reason, these suffixes will be treated more extensively.

**Dual agent or subject marking** Agents only have a number agreement marker
when they rank higher on the person hierarchy. The dual marker is <cil~c> (DU).
All transitive forms with a dual agent and a third person patient have the suffix <-cil>
(DU) on the verb. This suffix is found in all dual agent forms with a third person
patient, and there only.

Before the third person patient suffix <-u>, the dual suffix <-cil> has a phonologically conditioned allomorph <-cil>. Either of the dual markers <-cil> (DU) or (DUP)
may coalesce with the exclusive <-a> (E) to /-cyə/ or /-ca/.

**Second person plural 2PL.** The second person plural suffix <nin~ni> (2PL)
indicates second person plural agent or subject\(^{20}\) in all positions of the paradigm
where no other, less specific suffixes mark this category, i.e. transitive 2p→1s, 1s→2p

\(^{19}\)An inverse analysis of the <-i> prefix would imply that the third person patient suffix be analysed as
a direct marker. This analysis, however, is ruled out by the co-occurrence of the marked-scenario prefix <-i>
and intransitive 2p. In non-past forms 3→2p the combination of the second person plural and the negation suffix is MININ12plN or, in free variation, <nimin>. There is rampant uncertainty on the right form of this suffix and informants maintain that it does not matter much. It seems that in progressive forms, where even more ni-mi-syllables appear, articulatory stress kicks in and the right point of closure ceases to matter.

In the 2p→1s configuration, the second person plural suffix has the form <-ni> and triggers a copy, cf. §4.5.2.

First and second person plural subject or patient In all other transitive and intransitive forms that involve a plural first or second person subject or patient, the less specific plural form <-n> (12Pl.SP) emerges. The suffix <-n ~ -in> (12Pl.SP) consistently designates first or second person plural subject or patient. The allomorphy <-n ~ -in> is conditioned by phonological context only: if preceded by a vowel, the initial vowel of the morpheme will be elided, cf. si-n ‘we die’ vs. kol-in ‘we walk’.

In the non-past negative forms, the first and second person plural morpheme has an allomorph <-im>, conditioned and followed by the negative suffix allomorph <-in> (NEG). In the non-past 1→2 negative forms as well as the negative non-past 3→2pl forms, the sequence <-minin> is found, that I label 12Pl.N and leave unanalysed. Although this suffix superficially looks like a concoction of the plural suffixes <-in> (12Pl.SP) and <-n> (NEG), analysing it proves to be very challenging.

First and second person plural agent In all transitive forms that involve a plural first or second person agent that affects a third person patient, the morpheme <-m> (12Pl.A) appears. The first and second person plural suffix <-m> can be considered a conditioned allomorph of the first and second person plural subject and patient suffix <-in> (12Pl.SP). The form <-m> appears after the third person patient suffix <-u> (3P) while the form <-in> (12Pl.SP) appears elsewhere. The suffix <-m> designates a first or second person plural agent but does not appear in 2→1-forms. The portmanteau first and second person involvement suffix <-ni> (1NS2) is more specific and if applicable, prevents all other person suffixes from appearing. The first and second person plural agent suffix <-m> is always copied from and to the same slots and under the same conditions as the first person singular suffix -ŋ. The distribution and copying of 12Pl.A is outlined in Table 4.9.

Dual patient marking and copying Dual number patients always have a dual agreement marker on the verb. The dual patient suffix <-ci> (DUP) is formally identical to the dual agent suffix <-ci> (DU). The morpheme <-ci> (DUP) occurs later in the string, after the markers associated with the higher ranking participant, with the exception of the exclusive marker.

20The morpheme <-nin> (2Pl.) could be analysed as frozen combination of the second person patient suffix <*na> (2P) + the first and second person plural <-in> (12Pl.SP). However, this analysis is not synchronically relevant: The sequence <-nanin> (3P 2Pl.) also appears in the paradigm as the 1s→2p form.
4.5. Morpheme analysis

Table 4.9: Distribution and copying of the first and second person plural agent suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>patient series</th>
<th>→3s</th>
<th>→3ns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>affirmative non-past ip</td>
<td>Σ-um</td>
<td>Σ-umcum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affirmative non-past 2p</td>
<td>ti-Σ-um</td>
<td>ti-Σ-umcum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative non-past ip</td>
<td>i-Σ-imin</td>
<td>i-Σ-imincin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative non-past 2p</td>
<td>ti-Σ-naminin</td>
<td>ti-Σ-naminincin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affirmative past ip</td>
<td>Σ-um</td>
<td>Σ-umcum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affirmative past 2p</td>
<td>ti-Σ-um</td>
<td>ti-Σ-umcum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative past ip</td>
<td>man-Σ-yuktum</td>
<td>man-Σ-yuktum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative past 2p</td>
<td>manti-Σ-yuktum</td>
<td>manti-Σ-yuktumcum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural morphemes <-ci> (DUP) and <-ni> (2PL) cause the special effect of copying as much material from the preceding syllable as needed to form a good syllable. For third person patients, <-ci> (DUP) is used for both dual and plural number.

The copies that are seen are listed in Table 4.10. For details on what copies we find for the first person forms, Cf. Tables 4.8 and 4.9.

Table 4.10: Copies triggered by DUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>suffix string</th>
<th>sfx</th>
<th>-DUP</th>
<th>copy</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-umcim</td>
<td>um</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>first and second person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(ŋ)ajciŋ</td>
<td>ajŋ</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>first person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uŋun</td>
<td>unŋ</td>
<td>-cu</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
<td>first person singular → third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nanciŋ</td>
<td>nan</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-imin</td>
<td>imin</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>e.g. negative forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(c)uncin</td>
<td>(c)un-cin</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>third person NPT NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(c)incin</td>
<td>(c)in-ci</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>e.g. reflexive forms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-cici</td>
<td>cci</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>reflexive forms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears that the rhyme of the preceding syllable gets copied. If the preceding syllable does not end in a consonant, no copy occurs. The dual patient morpheme <-ci> (DUP) is similar to the reflexive marker in both behaviour and form, cf. §4.5.6.

The copying of phonetic material is not elegantly described in a slot morphology approach. If we designate a separate slot for the copied phonetic material to land in, this slot obviously does not have a functional designation. Instead, its content is determined by form only. The copy is there only by virtue of the dual marker that triggers the copy operation. Apparently, introducing a non-singular patient participant restarts the affix string. In that sense, the copy process is comparable to reduplication: While the functional load is simple, the phonetic realisation may be widely different. The copying process is a shared feature found in several Central and Eastern Kiranti languages21.

21Bantawa has suffix copying triggered by <-ni> (2PL) and <-ci> (DUP). Suffix copying is also found
For descriptive purposes, we might equally well describe the copying as a matter of allomorphy on the DUP marker, e.g.,

DUP: \(-\text{ci}\)
-\(\text{cim} / \text{m} - \sim\)
-\(\text{cuŋ} / \text{uiŋ} - \sim\)
-\(\text{ciŋ} / \text{aiŋ} - \sim\)
-\(\text{cin} / \text{n} - >\)

In any case, what follows after DUP is formally determined, not functionally. After DUP, only the exclusive marker can follow, before other, optional non-tense or non-agreement morphology.

Tense suffixes
For a functional delineation of the past and non-past categories, cf. §4.6.1.

**Past tense marker**  The past tense marker is \(<a - Ø> (\text{PT})\). The past tense suffix is present in all imperative and past tense affirmative forms except transitive \(1\rightarrow 2\) and \(2\rightarrow 1\text{ns}\) forms. The zero allomorph of the past tense suffix appears before vowel-initial suffixes and after verb stems that have no stem-final consonant or consonant position, cf. §4.3.6. The past tense suffix appears first in the array of suffixes, immediately after the stem.

**Non-past marker**  There is no overt non-past suffix. Analytically, we can assume that where there is no suffix marking past tense, there is a non-past suffix \(<-Ø> (\text{NPT})\). An analysis of this kind presupposes that the opposition past vs. non-past is equipollent, i.e. one of the categories is always present.

There are formal arguments to warrant this assumption, e.g. the formal differences between more complex past and non-past forms as described in §4.3.6 and the difference between progressive forms as in example (306).

(306) progressive forms in past vs. non-past for vowel final verb *cama*

a. NPT 3s\(\rightarrow 2s\)
  \(\text{ni-ca-Ø-yaŋ-Ø}\)
  3A-eat-NPT-PROG-NPT
  ‘he is eating you’

b. PT 3s\(\rightarrow 2s\)
  \(\text{ni-ca-Ø-ŋ-a}\)
  3A-eat-PT-PROG-PT
  ‘he was eating you’

in Chamling (Ebert 1997a: 70-75), Belhare (Bickel 1996: 257) and Limbu (van Driem 1999), but not in, for example, Wänbule or Kulung. In this respect, Eastern and Central Kiranti languages differ from Western Kiranti languages. The functional load of the copy process as apparent in Kiranti languages is identical across languages: Copying seems to stress the presence of a non-singular patient.
The two allomorphs for the progressive <-yaŋ -ŋ> (PROG) are normally selected by phonological context only, cf. §7.2.6. However, the contrast in (306) is not conditioned by any phonological factor. Rather, the morphological fact that example (306a) is a non-past form dictates that <-yaŋ> be selected. The opposition is at least logically equipollent and yields different forms even if the suffixes representing past and non-past are not audible as such. On the other hand, there some forms in the paradigm where a binary opposition between past and non-past is hard to show. The transitive 1→2 and 2→1ns forms are identical for both tenses. An alternative analysis for these forms would be to suggest that these forms are underspecified for tense. Examples of non-past forms referring to past events cannot be found, but it is clear that the non-past forms are selected to express generic statements, i.e. statements that have no time reference as in example (307).

(307) nulok cɨØ-ʔo mɪna siØ-ʔo i-dŋeŋ paru-du kɐat-Ø-ki
    well do-NPT-NOM man die-NPT-NOM his/her-back heaven-LOC.high go-NPT-SEQ
    yʊŋ-Ø.
    sit-NPT
    ‘a well-behaved man will live in heaven after he dies.’

The generic usage of the non-past suggests that the non-past forms are unmarked for tense in some way. However, the formal opposition is clearly present in the larger part of the verbal paradigm, therefore the opposition is equipollent.

4.5.3 Negation

Non-past Negation

Negation in the non-past tense is complicated. The negative forms do not always derive straightforwardly from the positive forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;n ~ nin&gt;</td>
<td>NEGN</td>
<td>Non-past negation suffix23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many phonological processes happen when this morpheme is attached. During scrutiny of the verb paradigm tables for the non-past intransitive conjugation, we find examples for all of the processes below, cf. Appendix B.

The contrasts between some sample suffix strings from the affirmative and negative forms in (308) show that the negative suffix <-n> lands in a slot after the third person patient suffix <-u> (3P), but before the first person suffix <-ŋ> (1S).

22Pragmatically, the non-past suffix is not glossed in the examples in this grammar. However, I glossed the non-past as a suffix in most progressive forms and forms that are otherwise contrastive.

23Apparently, for prosodic reasons, in the second person forms, the suffix <-na> (2P) is inserted, resulting in a affirmative vs. negative pair of forms tʊʊm vs. tʊʊm-an ‘you walk, you do not walk’. In third person forms, where there is no suffix at all, the negative suffix emerges as <-nin>, viz. tʊʊm-nin, as apparently *tʊʊm.
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There are three morphophonological processes resulting in the final negated forms found in the conjugational paradigms.

- Due to the copying process triggered by the dual patient suffix <-ci>, cf. §4.5.2, we find the negative suffix <-n> either one or two times in the suffix string. This is a regular process, cf. (308-3/5).

- For the forms agreeing with the second person agent or subject that all have the second person prefix <tɨ> (2AS), the second person suffix <-na> (2P) is inserted, while the morpheme <-u> (3P) is deleted from transitive forms, resulting in dramatically different forms, cf. (308-4/5).

- This contrast becomes even more dramatic if the rule of dissimilation applies. Throughout the paradigm we see that the sequence /VCn#/ (single /n/ after a consonant, at the end of a word) is illegal for Bantawa. In those sequences, the allomorph <-nin> is selected for the negative suffix. For an affirmative, transitive form such *ti-kʰat-u-m* 2AS-take-3P-12plSP, 'you took him', the negative counterpart *ti-kʰat-na-m-n* 2AS-take-2P-12plSP-NEGn would then result in *ti-kʰat-na-m-i-nin*. However, this is not enough. The repetitive /m/ and /n/ evidently trigger further vowel epenthesis, resulting in the final form *ti-kʰat-na-mi-nin* (cf. 308-6).

The negative forms are quite different for the second person agent and patient series. In the negative forms the second person patient suffix <-na>, that only appears as patient-marker in affirmative forms, appears in the 2→3 forms as well as in the intransitive forms, coupled with the negative suffix <-n>. As a matter of fact, non-past negative forms with second person involvement are very reminiscent of intransitive forms. This must be associated with the fact that the transitivity of the entire phrase is reduced (on transitivity, cf. §6.1.2).

In the affirmative transitive paradigm, the 2→1ns forms are identical to the 1ns→2 forms, except for the prefix <ti-> (2AS). The contrast between *ti-kʰat-ni(n)* 'you take us' and *kʰat-ni(n)* 'we take you' is in the prefix only. In the negative paradigm however, the 2→1ns forms have a suffix string <-niminin ~ naminin> that differs quite dramatically from the simple negated suffix <-nin> for 1ns→2 forms, cf. *ti-kʰat-naminin* 'you do not take us' and *kʰat-nin* 'we do not take you'. The insertion
4.5. Morpheme analysis

of the <-na> (2P) suffix in negative forms seems to be motivated independently for forms with a second person subject, and results in the lengthened suffix string. Another explanatory factor is that there is a need for a contrast in the suffix string in the 2→1ns forms, because there is no contrast in the prefix that would differentiate affirmative from negative forms. If there were no change on the suffix string, affirmative and negative forms would be identical for 2→1ns forms, viz. ti-kʰut-ni(n) ‘you take us’ vs. ti-kʰut-nin ‘you do not take us’.

In intransitive forms, and transitive forms with a third person patient, the first or second person plural suffix <-in> (12PL SP) appears in its negated form <-imin>. While many negated forms seem remote from the corresponding affirmatives on the surface, derivations are transparent. Table 4.11 illustrates these processes and gives a clue to the non-past negation patterns.

Past tense negation

Formally, past tense negation forms are easy to describe. However, while these forms are formally transparent, they also represent two difficulties in Bantawa: a) perfective versus perfect, and b) the minor enigma that Bantawa shares with Chintange, i.e. that of prefix permutation. Here, I shall only outline the simple rules to understand the past tense negative morphology. In separate sections I shall discuss permutation (§4.5.5) and perfectivity (§4.6.1).

Past tense negative affixes There are three morphemes that are relevant to the formation of the past tense negative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;man-&gt;</td>
<td>NEGPTP</td>
<td>Negative past tense prefix, used in all non-finite and past tense verbal forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;da&gt;</td>
<td>NEGPTS</td>
<td>Negative past tense suffix, simple negative past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;yuk&gt;</td>
<td>NEGPTPF</td>
<td>Negative past tense perfect, perfect negative past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The one constant in the formation of the negative past is the prefix <man-> (NEGPTP). This prefix is obligatory and appears in front of the verb root. Its relative position to other prefixes is variable.

Negation in the past tense and imperatives may also be marked by either of the verbal formatives <da> (NEGPTS) or <yuk> (NEGPTPF), that appear after the verb root.24 If <da> (NEGPTS) is a suffix, then it must be allocated to the tense slot sfx1, the first slot after the verb root. Both <da> (NEGPTS) and <yuk> (NEGPTPF) derive from an auxiliary verb root. The difference in meaning between these operators has to do with aspect and will therefore be discussed in the section on perfectivity.

24In the formal discussion, I shall write about the simple negative past based on the suffix <-da> (NEGPTS). Formally, perfect past negatives are identical modulo the substitution of <-da> (NEGPTS) by <-yuk> (NEGPTPF).
Table 4.11: Copying triggered by the dual patient suffix -<ci> — non-past affirmative and negative forms contrasted

The first person inclusive dual and plural forms (id, ip) are formally similar to the first person exclusive forms (1d, 1p) minus the exclusive marker. To reduce the size of this table, the inclusive forms have been left out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot</th>
<th>pfx</th>
<th>Σ</th>
<th>sfx1</th>
<th>sfx2</th>
<th>sfx3</th>
<th>sfx4</th>
<th>sfx5</th>
<th>sfx6</th>
<th>sfx7</th>
<th>sfx8</th>
<th>sfx9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s kʰattunj</td>
<td>kʰatt</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>η</td>
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<tr>
<td>1d kʰatcuña</td>
<td>kʰat</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ka</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p kʰattumka</td>
<td>kʰatt</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ka</td>
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<tr>
<td>2s tikʰattu</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>kʰatt</td>
<td>u</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d tikʰatcu</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>kʰat</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>u</td>
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<tr>
<td>2p tikʰattum</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>kʰatt</td>
<td>u</td>
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<tr>
<td>3s kʰattu</td>
<td>kʰatt</td>
<td>u</td>
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<tr>
<td>3d ikʰatcu</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>kʰat</td>
<td>c</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p ikʰat</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>kʰat</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative non-past, 3s patient

| 1s ikʰatnijn | i | kʰat | n | η | ci | η |
| 1d ikʰatcunka | i | kʰat | c | u | n | ka |
| 1p ikʰattiminka | i | kʰatt | im | in | ka | |
| 2s tikʰatnan | ti | kʰat | na | n | |
| 2d tikʰatnancin | ti | kʰat | nan | ci | n | |
| 2p tikʰatnamin | ti | kʰat | na | min | in | |
| 3s ikʰattun | i | kʰatt | u | n | |
| 3d ikʰatcun | i | kʰat | c | u | n | |
| 3p nikʰattun | ni | kʰatt | u | n | |

Affirmative non-past, 3ns patient

| 1s kʰattunjčiŋ | kʰatt | u | n | η | ci | n | η | |
| 1d kʰatcučiŋka | kʰat | c | u | n | ci | n | ka | |
| 1p kʰattumčinka | kʰatt | u | m | cu | m | ka | |
| 2s tikʰatuci | ti | kʰatt | u | ci | |
| 2d tikʰatuci | ti | kʰat | c | u | ci | |
| 2p tikʰattumcum | ti | kʰatt | u | m | cu | m | |
| 3s kʰattuci | kʰatt | u | ci | |
| 3d ikʰatcuci | i | kʰat | c | u | ci | |
| 3p mikʰattuci | mi | kʰatt | u | ci | |

Negative non-past, 3ns patient

| 1s ikʰatnijčiŋ | i | kʰat | n | η | ci | η | |
| 1d ikʰatcuncinka | i | kʰat | c | u | n | ci | n | ka | |
| 1p ikʰattimincinka | i | kʰatt | im | in | ci | n | ka | |
| 2s tikʰatnancin | ti | kʰat | na | n | ci | n | |
| 2d tikʰatnancinan | ti | kʰat | na | n | ci | nan | |
| 2p tikʰatnaminicin | ti | kʰat | na | nim | in | ci | n | |
| 3s ikʰattuncin | i | kʰatt | u | n | ci | n | |
| 3d ikʰatcuncin | i | kʰat | c | u | n | ci | n | |
| 3p nikʰattuncin | ni | kʰatt | u | n | ci | n | |
4.5. Morpheme analysis

All forms of the negative past tense are built by the schema outlined in (309):

(309) General form for the negative past

\[ \text{man-} \Sigma \{\text{prefixes}\}-\text{da-}\{\text{suffixes}\} \]

The prefixes and suffixes are those of the affirmative non-past paradigm. The position of the prefixes is variable, and this issue is discussed in §4.5.5.

**Periphrastic tense** The past tense negative forms are best understood as a periphrastic tense formation. The past tense negative has formal similarities to verbal compounding, cf. §7.2. In the past tense negative paradigm we regularly find two verb roots in each form, i.e. the main root compounds with either \(<\text{da}>\) (NEGPTs) or \(<\text{yuk}>\) (NEGPTpv). However, in spite of the transparent verbal origins of these morphemes, the morphology of these suffixes is different from the general scheme of verbal compounding in Bantawa to the extent that we could choose to consider these morphemes as a part of the suffix sequence.

In full verb compounding, a part of the suffix string is repeated after each compounding root. By contrast, in the past tense negative there are no suffixes on the first verb root. In this respect, past tense negative formation is more like verb complementation as described in §7.3.

The verb \(\text{dama} \) ‘to effect’ is a frequent second verb, appearing in many verb compound constructions. The suffix \(<\text{da}>\) (NEGPTs) in the negative past construction is formally related to or derived from this vector verb. In some of the affirmative imperative forms, the root \(<\text{da}>\) is inserted complying with the general rules of verbal compounding, for reasons of politeness or because ‘it sounds nicer’.

(310) \[ p^\theta \text{as-u-do-} \emptyset \text{-ci} \]

help-3P-aux-3P-DUP

‘yousg help them!’

As one can see, in verbal compounds, the latter part of the suffix string that starts from sfx5 is dropped from the first verb. Otherwise, the form would have been \(p^\theta \text{usucidoci}\).

The analysis of the \(<\text{da}>\) (NEGPTs) suffix as originating from a second verb in a compound construction is corroborated by the fact that this second root is not present in some intransitive and antipassive forms. If \(<\text{da}>\) (NEGPTs) is not obligatory, the left hand side of a past tense negative form apparently can be a full finite form in its own right. Similarly, main verbs of verbal compounds are valid verbal forms, with or without the vector verb of the construction.

(311) ‘he did not eat’

a. \[ \text{man-ca-} \emptyset \]

NEGPTp-eat-NPT

(antipassive)

b. \[ \text{man-ca-d-o} \]

NEGPTp-eat-NEGPTs-3P
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(312) ‘I did not take’
   a. man-kʰat-ŋa
      NEGPTp-take-1s
      (antipassive)
   b. man-kʰat-do-Ø-ŋ
      NEGPTp-take-NEGPTs-3P-1s

(313) man-kʰat-Ø
      NEGPTp-take-NPT
      ‘he did not go’

(314) man-ta-ŋa
      NEGPTp-come-1s
      ‘I did not come’

In summary, the past tense negative is not a compound verb or complemented verb construction, nor a simplex finite form. The past tense negative is a periphrastic tense formation with its own syntax, given in (309).

### 4.5.4 A slot analysis of suffixes

The following diagram gives an overview of how the different suffixes are distributed over slots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sfx1</th>
<th>sfx2</th>
<th>sfx3</th>
<th>sfx4</th>
<th>sfx5</th>
<th>sfx6</th>
<th>sfx7</th>
<th>sfx8</th>
<th>sfx9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>2P</td>
<td>DU</td>
<td>3P</td>
<td>NEGn</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>copy</td>
<td>slot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;a&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;na&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;c-ci&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;u&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;n-in&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ŋ-arj&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nin-ni&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nin-ni&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGPTs</td>
<td>1ns2</td>
<td>12plSP</td>
<td>12plN</td>
<td>12plA</td>
<td>DUP</td>
<td>&lt;m&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;c-ci&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;da-d&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;ni&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;in-im&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;minin&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nin-in&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nin-in&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nin-in&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nin-in&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;nin-in&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are nine suffixal slots.

The first slot sfx1 contains tense and aspect marking only.

The suffixal slot sfx2 contains second person markers only.

The suffixal slot sfx3 can contain the agent dual suffix <-ci> or the second person plural suffix <-in>.

The suffixal slot sfx4 holds the third person patient suffix <-u> (3P) for all →3 forms (but not 3p →3s).

The suffixal slot sfx5 contains the negative suffix <-n>

The suffixal slot sfx6 contains first person agreement marking, either the first person suffix <-ŋ> or the first or second person plural agent suffix <-m>.

The suffixal slot sfx7 contains the second person plural suffix <-nin> or the dual patient marker <-ci>. Whenever some morpheme lands in sfx7, elements from sfx4-sfx6 will be copied into sfx8, whichever are needed to make a good syllable.

The suffixal slot sfx8 is the copy slot.

The suffixal slot sfx9 finally is filled in all first person exclusive forms.

The irregular composite first and second person plural negative suffix <-minin> (12plN) has tentatively been put in sfx5 as well.
4.5.5  Prefix order in past tense negative forms

Free ordering of verb prefixes in Bantawa

It seems that prefixes in Bantawa finite verb forms may occur in a variety of orders before the verb stem. The free ordering of prefixes in Bantawa only appears in the past tense negative forms. As an analysis for this remarkable phenomenon, I shall propose here that the apparent free permutability amounts to structural uncertainty. The past tense negative obviously is a periphrastic form and there are competing structural interpretations for its forms. The potential for competing structures accounts for the limited number of prefix orderings, i.e. that the ordering is not entirely free, and explains why permutation has such a limited scope only. First I shall describe the phenomenon of variable morpheme ordering and delineate its scope, before presenting an analytic account. As noted before, all forms of the negative past tense are built by the schema outlined in (309), repeated here.

(309) General form for the Negative Past

\[
\text{NEGPTP-S \{prefixes\}-NEGPTS-\{suffixes\}}
\]

The interesting fact about Bantawa is, that the position of the prefixes is entirely variable. The orders as listed in (315) are all attested.

(315) Attested prefix orders for negative past

a. Ordering A: \{prefixes\}-NEGPTP-S-NEGPTS-{suffixes}
   (Rai 1985: 114, Rabi dialect),

b. Ordering B: NEGPTP-{prefixes}-S-NEGPTS-{suffixes}
   (Rai 1985: 114, Rabi dialect), author’s field notes, Sindrān (Hatuvālī)

c. Ordering C: NEGPTP-S {prefixes}-NEGPTS-{suffixes}
   author’s field notes, Sindrān (Hatuvālī)

Examples can be found for each of these orders.

(316) a. ti-man-ban-da
   2AS-NEGPTP-come-NEGPTS
   ‘you did not come’

b. man-\text{ti}-ban-da
   NEGPTP-2AS-come-NEGPTS
   ‘you did not come’

c. man-ban \text{\text{ti}-da}
   NEGPTP-come 2AS-NEGPTS
   ‘you did not come’

Bantawa speakers generally accept any of these orders, but my informants were all consistent in using one form or the other. My informants rejected the order as in (315a), but accepted the order as in (315b) and (315c). Apparently, while there is regional variation, ordering must be said to be relatively free.

The variable \{prefixes\} can only contain one of the person prefixes \text{<t-\text{i}> (2AS), <i-} (3AM), \text{<ni-} (3A) or \text{<mi-} (3PL). Those prefixes are assigned to a single prefix slot pfx1 and generally refer to ‘nominative’ participants, i.e. agent and subject.
Scope of prefix permutability

The variability in Bantawa is nothing compared to the rampant variation reported for Bantawa’s close neighbour Chintang. Bickel et al. (2007) report that up to four prefixes can freely occur in any order in Chintang. This more extensive permutability is possibly due to several factors, viz. a) that verb complements are not rigorously pushed to the left as in Bantawa, cf. §7.3, and b) that the Chintang verbal agreement is organised such that more than one person prefix are possible. In summary, in the absence of other constraints, all of these affixes can permute.

Bickel et al. (2007) go to great lengths to demonstrate that prefix permutability in Chintang is a real novel fact, that challenges perceived linguistic notions on affix ordering and morphological analysis. To do this, Bickel et al. demonstrate that Chintang prefixes can affix anywhere under phonological constraints only. These constraints are phonological, i.e. not structural or morphological. The most significant constraint is that prefixes are subcategorised for a phonological constituent ω that they further define in terms of phonological content (Bickel et al. 2007: 21). However, these findings for Chintang are not applicable to Bantawa.

Structural limitations

First of all, the free position of person prefixes in Bantawa is limited to negative past constructions only. This is contrary to what we would expect if it were the case that the prefixes are subcategorised for a phonological constituent only. All of the constructions attested in Chintang where a prefix reorders are available in Bantawa, but only negative past constructions allow for this permutability.

Compare the following constructions:

(317) Negative past

a. Bantawa
   i. Cf. Example 316

b. Chintang
   i. a-ma-im-yokt-e
      2-NEG-sleep-NEG-PST
   ii. ma-a-im-yokt-e
      NEG-2-sleep-NEG-PST
      ‘You did not sleep’ (Bickel et al. 2007: ex.1)
   iii. ma-im-a-yokt-e
      NEG-sleep-2-NEG-PST
      ‘You did not sleep’ (Bickel et al. 2007: ex.65)

(318) Verb compounds

a. Bantawa
   i. ti-man-nin kʰan-nin
      2AS-lose-1ns2 send.away-1ns2
      ‘you’ have forgotten us[^8]
ii. * man-nin ti-kʰan-nin
   lose-1ns2 2AS-send.away-1ns2
   'you' have forgotten us

b. Chintang (Bickel et al. 2007: ex.12)
i. u-kos-a-gond-e
   3nsS-walk-PST-AMB-PST
   'They walked around'
ii. kos-a-u-gond-e
   walk-PST-3nsS-AMB-PST
   'They walked around'

(319) Morphological causatives
a. Bantawa
i. kʰa mi-met
   show 3pl-cause
   'they showed us (made us see)'
ii. * mi-kʰa met
   3pl-show cause
   'they showed us (made us see)'
b. Chintang (Bickel et al. 2007: ex.38)
i. . . . kha-u-mett-a-k-e
   carry 1nsP-3nsA-cause-PST-IPFV-PST
   'They made us carry it'
ii. . . . kha-u-khu mett-a-k-e
   1nsP-3nsA-carry cause-PST-IPFV-PST
   'They made us carry it'

(320) Verb complements
a. Bantawa
i. wa ti-si-Ø
   water 2AS-wash-3p
   'you will wash up'
ii. * ti-wa si-Ø
   2AS-water wash-3p
   'you will wash up'
b. Chintang (Bickel et al. 2007: ex.3)
i. {kha-u-kha-ma}-sin-yokt-e
   ask-3nsA-1nsP-NEG-ask-NEG-PST
   'They didn’t ask us'
   (the bracketed prefixes can freely permute.)

In conclusion, we must say that the permutation in Bantawa is restricted by
morphotactical constraints, and cannot say that prefixes only select 'any phonological
constituent of type \( \omega \) in a verbal complex'. The fact that person prefixes are not free
to choose to which root of a verbal compound they affix, cf. (318), also rules out an analysis that says that ‘prefixes select any stem of lexical category verb in a verbal complex’.

What we are left with is a single construction that triggers this permutability, and no apparent pattern in different constructions to identify a general rule to explain it.

Towards an account for prefix permutability

Compared to the non-past negative forms, the impact of the prefix <man-> (NEGPTp) on the verb form is minimal. Non-past negative morphemes are completely integrated with the verbal affixes, while we have analysed the negative past as a periphrastic verb form.

The morpheme man- has a solid Tibeto-Burman pedigree (Matisoff 2003: 488) as a free operator, an adverbial marker. Normally, negative operators tend to have a wide applicability and move freely, but man- has only a very limited distribution in Kiranti languages, viz. as a verb prefix26. The adverbial origin of the negative prefix man- explains why the structural status of man- as part of the finite verb is not yet fixed. Similarly, person prefixes are a recent innovation in Kiranti languages. The Western languages Thulung and Wāmbule do not have person prefixes, while Khaling only has one prefix <i->27. All Eastern Kiranti languages have person prefixes, but there is considerable variation. For that reason, I would suggest that structural ambiguity about the past tense negation is the factor that causes the free prefix ordering.

(321) Different structural interpretation for past tense negation.

**Ordering A:**  {prefixes}-NEGPTp-Σ-NEGPTs-{suffixes}

This ordering encapsulates the negative prefix in the person marking and represents the bound affix interpretation of the morphemes NEGPTp and NEGPTs.

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26Yamphu: <æʔænæmæn> (Rutgers 1998), Limbu: <mæn>- <n- > <m- > (van Driem 1999), Thulung: <mæn>- <m- > (Allen 1975: 54). All of these languages have obvious cognates of proto-Tibeto-Burman *<ma- > *may>. Opgenort (2002: 237) writes that Wāmbule <a- > is also cognate, but does not give an etymological history.

Yamphu and Kulung share the feature with Bantawa that man- only appears in the negative past, together with specific suffixes, while the non-past negative is formed with <-no> i.e. an /n/-based suffix (Tolsma 1999: 70). While the prefix shows different allomorphy, the distribution in Yamphu is the same (Rutgers 1998).

The Eastern Kiranti languages share the feature that /n/-based suffixes are inserted in the suffix string once, or twice by copying, to signal negation. Limbu and Athpariya have it for both the past and non-past tenses, Bantawa, Kulung and Yamphu only for the non-past.

27(Ebert 1994: 148): ‘The Khaling prefix marks a large area of the paradigm without obvious common functional denominator.’
4.5. Morpheme analysis

Ordering B: \( \text{NEGPT}_P \text{-[prefixes]-} \Sigma \text{-NEGPT}_S \text{-[suffixes]} \)
This ordering projects the negative prefix out of the verbal finite morphology and represents the adverbial interpretation of <man-> (NEGPT<sub>P</sub>).

Ordering C: \( \text{NEGPT}_P \Sigma \text{-[prefixes]-} \text{NEGPT}_S \text{-[suffixes]} \)
This ordering projects both the negative prefix and the verb root out of the verbal finite morphology. Finite agreement is hosted on the V2, the second verb root. This ordering represents the verb complement interpretation of the \( \text{NEGPT}_P \text{-V1 complex} \).

These are all of the ordering possibilities of the Bantawa past tense negative forms. They can be represented by different bracketings of forms as follows:

(322) ‘you did not go’
   a. timank<sup>k</sup>atda
      [t[man[[k<sup>a</sup>at][da]]<sub>c</sub>]<sub>v</sub>
   b. mantik<sup>k</sup>atda
      [man[[ti]<sub>p</sub>[[k<sup>a</sup>at][da]]<sub>v</sub>]<sub>c</sub>
   c. mank<sup>k</sup>attida
      [[mank<sup>k</sup>at]<sub>c</sub>[[tida]<sub>c</sub>]}
This analysis in terms of structure is further affirmed by the fact that we find no phonological, prosodic word break in the forms for orderings A and B where the negative and person prefix are both part of the same prefix string, i.e. on the main verb, while ordering C introduces a word break. Not only is this a prosodic fact, but we also can see that the prefixes on the second verb <-da> (NEGPTs) are not suffixed to the first verb stem, by the fact that even in front of vowel-initial prefixes, the pre-consonantal stem is selected, and not the pre-vocalic stem that is normally selected before vowel-initial suffixes, cf. (323).

(323) ‘They did not forget him’
   a. man-man-ñan i-da-c-u
      NEGPTp-lose-send 3AM-NEGPTs-DU-3P
      ‘They did not forget him’
   b. *man-man-ñais-i-da-c-u
      NEGPTp-lose-send-3AM-NEGPTs-DU-3P

It seems then that ordering C forms represent another structure rather than just another ordering. If the reordering were induced by phonological constraints only, we would have to answer the questions why a) the reordering does not occur in other conditions where the same phonological conditions are met, cf. examples 318-320 b) why non-person prefixes, e.g. <man-> (NEGPTp) do not reorder.

In the verb paradigms in the Appendix, I shall list forms in ordering C, as these are the forms that my main informants regularly offered. In Hatuvil ordering B is equally frequent and valid. In contrast, ordering A is considered foreign.

4.5.6 Reflexives: morphology

The morphology of the reflexive in Bantawa is integrated into the ordinary simplex verb agreement morphology. The Bantawa reflexive morphemes are <-nan ~ -n> (REFL), which is found in the reflexive paradigm only, and the dual patient marker <-ci> (DUP).

The forms of the reflexives are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tag</th>
<th>NPT</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>NPT N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>Σ-payı-cîŋ</td>
<td>Σ-a-ŋ</td>
<td>-cl-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>Σ-cl -ciʔa</td>
<td>Σ-a-ŋ</td>
<td>-cl-ʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>Σ-in -cinka</td>
<td>Σ-Ø-in -ci-n-ka</td>
<td>i-Σ-imin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id</td>
<td>Σ-cl -ci</td>
<td>Σ-a-cl -cl</td>
<td>i-Σ-ciŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ip</td>
<td>Σ-in -cin</td>
<td>Σ-Ø-in -cl-n</td>
<td>i-Σ-imin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>t-Σ-nan-cin</td>
<td>t-Σ-a-n</td>
<td>-cl-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>t-Σ-cl -ci</td>
<td>t-Σ-a-na-n-cl-n</td>
<td>t-Σ-nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>t-Σ-in -cin</td>
<td>t-Σ-a-na-n-cl-n</td>
<td>t-Σ-naminin-cin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>Σ-an -cin</td>
<td>Σ-a-n</td>
<td>-cl-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>Σ-cl -ci</td>
<td>Σ-a-cl -cl</td>
<td>i-Σ-ciŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>mi-Σ-nan-cin</td>
<td>mi-Σ-a-n</td>
<td>-cl-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Usage of more complex forms, e.g. negated and progressive, is not frequent.
However, these forms are certainly understood and current. The usage of the reflexive is discussed in §6.4.2. The following morphemes have a role in forming the reflexive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-nan ~ -n&gt;</td>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>Reflexive marker for non-dual forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-ci&gt;</td>
<td>DUP</td>
<td>Dual patient marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-n&gt;</td>
<td>REFLc</td>
<td>Copy of the reflexive marker, triggered by DUP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reflexive morphemes are applied to transitive verbs only. Throughout the reflexive paradigm, in both singular and non-singular forms, the suffix <-ci> appears. In fact, this is the only morpheme that appears in every reflexive form. At least formally, this marker can be identified with the dual patient marker <-ci> (DUP). The suffix <-ci> in reflexive forms is homophonous to the dual suffix, appears in the same slot and triggers the same copying effect.

For all forms that have no content in either suffixal slot sfx2 or sfx3, i.e. 2s and 3s/3p forms, the reflexive suffix <-nan ~ -n> is required and positioned in slot sfx2. For past tense and non-finite forms that have vocalic content in slot sfx1, i.e. infinitives and participles, the phonologically conditioned allomorph /n/ is used.

(325) ka-sat-ma-n-ci-n  
APpref-drag-APF-REFL-DUP-REFLc  
'reptile' (lit. one that drags itself)

If we add the apparent constraint that some morphemes require previous slots to be filled for purely morphotactical reasons, the slot analysis can account for these forms without complications. The reflexive morpheme <-nan ~ -n> (REFL) is unique to the reflexive forms and, where applicable, gets copied regularly. Its position is in suffixal slot sfx5 and like all markers in slot sfx5 it is copied to slot sfx8.

The above slot table is easily extended. For negative forms, some forms proved to be hard to elicit, particularly those forms with a second person subject, where affirmative forms formally start to coincide with the negative forms. However, it can be seen that negative formation is regular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sfx1</th>
<th>sfx2</th>
<th>sfx3</th>
<th>sfx4</th>
<th>sfx5</th>
<th>sfx6</th>
<th>sfx7</th>
<th>sfx8</th>
<th>sfx9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>&lt;-na ~ -n&gt;</td>
<td>REFLc</td>
<td>&lt;n&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternatively, one might opt for a portmanteau analysis for reflexives. However, considering the regularity in the paradigm, this is a bad idea. The affix string must be taken to be composite. Not only does the occurrence of morphemes pattern neatly with the copying phenomenon observed with the morpheme <-ci> (DUP), but also the suffix string can be split up in the case of verbal compounding (cf. §7.2), as in the following example.

(326) cips-a-n  
hang-PT-REFL kill-PT-REFL-DUP-REFLc  
'he killed himself by hanging'
Obviously, an analysis positing a portmanteau morpheme <-ncin> cannot account for the truncated suffix string on the first member of the verbal compound.

### 4.6 Tense, aspect and mood

#### 4.6.1 Tense and aspect

**Past vs. Non-past**

Simplex finite verbs in Bantawa are those verbs that carry finite morphology, but are not further affixed with aspectual or compounding morphology. Simplex verbs code two tenses: past (PT) and non-past (NPT).

Since these labels are in use for tense markers in a host of languages, I shall delineate the meaning of these labels in Bantawa. It has been noted for languages of the area, including Nepali, an Indo-European language, that for the forms that we label as past tense, in fact the perfective aspect of meaning is more prominent than the past reading, i.e. that the more important function of the usage of the past tense form, is to note the result of the action (ex. 327). These past tense forms are inherently perfective and perhaps best described as preterite (Payne 1997: 239).

(327) inherent perfectivity

a. nam lunt-a
   sun set-PT
   'the sun has set’

b. yum luw-a
   salt feel-PT
   'it’s salty’

By contrast, non-past forms are not understood as denoting the present situation. Rather non-past forms describe a) something that will happen in future, cf. example (328a), b) something that usually happens, habitual, ex. (329), or c) something that always happens, generic, ex. (330).

(328) to insult

a. ti- rim-ŋ
   2AS-insult-1s
   'you will insult me’

b. ti- rimt-a-ŋ
   2AS-insult-PT-1s
   'you have insulted me’

(329) kʰon-ki watmasi-da cilok kirawa tʰapsin-da-nalo mecʰacʰ-a-ci suna
   he/she-SEQ jewellery-LOC many Kiranti ritual-LOC-COND daughter-PL gold
   rupaʔo watmasi mi-wat-Øʔo kʰaŋ-ma tokt-u-m.
   silver-GEN jewellery 3pl-put.on-NPT-NOM look-INF receive-3P-12pA
   'Then, in the ornaments, often in the Kiranti tradition we can see the girls wearing golden and silver ornaments.’ [Gr]
4.6. Tense, aspect and mood

(330) mo gājityang-ʔo i-θen-da i-hut-ci mi-yak-Ø.
that distillation-GEN his/her-bottom-LOC his/her-hole-PL 3pl-be.in-NPT
‘There are holes in the bottom of the gagityang.’ [Hm]

The label non-past (NPT) is chosen in line with a nascent tradition in Kiranti grammars.

4.6.2 Explicit aspect marking

In contrast with or on top of the implicit aspectual notions associated with Bantawa verb forms, we also find many explicit markers of aspect in Bantawa. There are two quite distinct morphological strategies to mark aspect:

• verb compounding, with the vector verb indicating aspect, or

• verb nominalisation or nominalisation with auxiliary support.

Aspect by verbal compounding

Verbal compounding is an instance of verb serialisation where two successive verbs form a single verb phrase heading one clause. The morphology and semantics of verbal compounding will be discussed more extensively in §7.2. Here we only touch upon two categories: the progressive and the perfect.

(331) VERB COMPOUNDING is the formation of a compound verb by concatenating two inflected verbs. The semantics of the whole is a product of the lexical meaning of the main verb (V1), which is the first, left-hand member of the compound, and an aspectual contribution of the second verb in the compound (V2, or ‘vector verb’). The contribution of the second verbs varies widely, from an aspect marker to an almost independent, coordinated meaning.

Progressive

To form a progressive form, additional morphology must be added to the inherently perfective simplex verb forms. Progressives forms are used to express ongoing, progressing actions. Progressive forms are typically found in the scope of a subordinator or clause complementiser such as <-hida> ‘while’. Even for states, progressive forms are used in these contexts. Bantawa has two suffixes that indicate simultaneity of actions: <-sa> (SIM), forming non-finite forms and <-hida> (SIMc), suffixed to fully finite clauses.

(332) to be small

a. citt-a be.small-PT
    ‘it’s small’ (perfective: ‘it has become small’)

b. Un citt-a-ŋ-ŋ-a-ŋ-hida...
    that.size be.small-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-SIMc

---

28e.g. Ebert (1997b), Tolsma (1999).
`When I was small (young)` (progressive)

To express a current activity, the progressive is required. A current activity may include states that are perceived as continuous or continuously maintained. From the viewpoint of English, this results in somewhat counter-intuitive forms. When we ask whether someone knows about something, we must ask whether 'he is knowing' it.

(333) o ti-sint-u-n-o.  
this 2AS-know-3P-PROG-3P
‘do you know this?’

(334) cʰap-ma les-u-n-y-u-n.  
write-INF be.able-3P-1s-PROG-3P-1s
‘I am able to write’

The morphology of progressives is discussed extensively in §7.2.6.

Perfect and perfective In Bantawa simple past forms typically present an event or action as a transition, a change. For that reason simple finite forms are characterised as perfective (§4.6.1). Even for state or attribute verbs such as lemma 'to be sweet' or onma 'to be white', simplex verb forms express a state as the result of a process. Simplex verb forms contrast with verbal compounds that express many different aspectual and Aktionsart nuances. The perfect may be expressed by a verbal compound form or by a periphrastic perfect form, cf. §5.2.3. Here we mention the completive perfect vector verb, that focuses on the result of an event. The completive perfect vector verb is based on a verb root family that includes the verbs yugma 'to sit' and yukma 'to put', for intransitive and transitive forms respectively.

(335) hyuna abî watatma niʔo bʰɨ-hut-da hegma wa tam-Ø-yuŋ-Ø-ʔo  
down now (N) collection.jug NAR-NOM earthen.vessel-hole-LOC liquor  
fill.up-NPT-PERF-NPT-NOM yuŋ-Ø.  
‘sit-NPT’
‘Below, now, in the vessel called ‘collecting vessel’ the liquor will be collected.’

(336) ott-u-n yuŋs-u-n  
break-3P-1s PERF-3P-1s
‘I broke it’ (completive)

This completive perfect aspect differs from the periphrastic perfect in its focus on the result and its Aktionsart connotation of placement, putting down and ending up in a certain location. Completive forms can be combined with the progressive, which highlights that this aspect is independent of the perfective vs. progressive contrast.

The perfective aspect that is inherent in simplex finite verb forms can be focused by the aspectual vector verb dama that I mention here as the final example of aspect expressed by verbal compounding. The vector verb dama operates as an 'effect' auxiliary expressing the perfective transition in a verbal action. As most verbs are
inherently perfective, its function is that of emphasising perfectivity or adding the
perfective aspect to verbs that do not inherently have it.

The function and morphology of aspectual vector verbs is discussed extensively
in §7.2.6.

Past tense negation

Form As outlined in §4.5.3, the past tense negative forms are best understood as a
periphrastic verb paradigm. There are two competing paradigms for the formation of
the negative forms in the past tense. The two past negative paradigms are structurally
completely identical: Only the negative auxiliary is different. Full paradigms can
be elicited using either of the negative auxiliaries da or yuk, cf. example (337).

(337) a. pʰon man-mu ti-da-ŋ
    phone NEGPTp-do 2AS-NEGPTs-1s
    ‘You did not call me (at all).’
    b. pʰon man-mu ti-yuk-ŋa
    phone NEGPTp-do 2AS-NEGPTs-1s
    ‘You did not call me (or, at least, get through).’

For every form, the yuk-paradigm patterns exactly with the da-paradigm with
due allowance for phonological alternations. The yuk-forms suffer a lot less from
contraction and are more useful in demonstrating the paradigm.

In ordinary speech or elicitation, the yuk-forms are preferred in many cases.
In spite of the still transparant verbal root meanings of these morphemes, the
morphology of these suffixes in the past tense negative is different from the general
scheme of verbal compounding in Bantawa, cf. §7.2. The negative past markers can
be considered either as a part of the suffix sequence, or as the main inflected verb
of the construction that takes the left hand member, which is the semantically most
important verb, as a complement.

Semantics The aspectual difference between the two competing forms can be
 cast in terms of a perfect vs. perfective negation. The yuk-based forms focus on the
completion of an event. In many cases, to say that ‘I did not...’ is only relevant with
respect to the result: if the action is not completed, it did not take place.

By contrast, the da-based forms are perfective forms. These forms deny that
the entire action was started or that the effect as would have been intended by
a perfective form was reached. The possible different interpretations of a default
perfective form is clearly highlighted with the contrast between the two verbs ‘to go’
and ‘to come’. If someone ‘did not go’ than he did not set out in the first place. If
someone ‘did not come’, he may have been on the way, but just did not reach.

(338) Perfective negation

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29Under a different analysis of the structure of the negative past, the elements <da>NEGPTs and
<yuk>NEGPTpf are the content of a suffixal slot on the first verb. On the different analyses and morpheme
orders of the past negation forms, §4.5.3 and §4.5.5.
Chapter 4. Verbs

a. kʰo kʰim kʰar-a-ŋ-a tara man-ta-la.
   he/she house go-PT-PROG-PT but (N) NEGPTp-come-arrive
   ‘He was going home, but did not get there.’

b. man-kʰat
   NEGPTp-go
   ‘He did not go.’ (did not even start)

c. man-ta
   NEGPTp-come
   ‘He did not come.’ (could have started)

(339) Perfect negation

   a. man-kʰat-yuk.
      NEGPTp-go-NEGPTpf
      ‘He has not gone.’ (i.e. he may have been on his way and have returned, or not have started out at all)

(340) Perfective vs. perfect

   a. man-kʰat-do-Ø-m
      NEGPTp-take-NEGPTps-3P-12plA
      ‘we did not take it, i.e. we never did anything of the kind’ - Nepali ‘लगेनी’

   b. man-kʰat-yukt-u-m
      NEGPTp-take-NEGPTpf-3P-12plA
      ‘we did not take it, i.e. in any case we did not succeed in doing that’ - Nepali ‘लगेको हुनै’

   Aspect in the negative does not completely correspond to affirmative forms. The negative has semantic side-effects that the affirmative does not have. There are also negative forms with neither da- nor yuk- suffix. It would be tempting to say that these are aspectually ‘unmarked,’ however this is not so in contrast with -da forms. The alternation with suffix-less forms and da-forms is paradigmatic and not meaningful.

Parallels in imperatives

When the morpheme <da-> is inserted in affirmative forms, it is significant. In some of the affirmative imperative forms, the auxiliary dama is inserted, complying with the general rules of verbal compounding, for reasons of politeness or because it sounds ‘nicer’. In singular negated intransitive forms, it is required to distinguish imperative forms from past tense negative forms: Example (341) differs minimally from example (338b).

(341) man-kʰat-da
       NEGPTp-go-eff
       ‘Don’t go!’

(342) pʰas-u-do-Ø-ci
       help-3P-eff-3P-DU
       ‘You® help them!’
In example (342), effect vector verb <da> adds emphasis and politeness, aspectual information, as any vector verb in a verbal compound would add. Therefore, this is a normal instance of verb compounding as discussed in §7.2.

4.7 Mood

Now we shall discuss two more types of finite verbs, viz. the optative and the imperative forms. These forms can be the head of a full sentence, even if they have reduced scope for tense. Tense marking is imposed or superseded by mood. Verb forms in the imperative or optative cannot be nominalised, in the senses discussed in §5.2, and mood markers do not suffix to nominalised forms.

4.7.1 Optative

The optative is formed by simply affixing the morpheme <-ne> (OPT) to a finite verb in the non-past tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-&lt;ne&gt;</td>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>optative, hortative, subjunctive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The optative has two functions:

1. Optative, hortative or exhortative, depending on person and typically translates as ‘let us, let him...’, cf. ex. (343).
2. Subjunctive: To express wishes, to mark commands or conditions in subordinate clauses, emotion and possibility, cf. ex. (344, 345).

(343) pʰeri tup-ci-ne!
again (N) meet-DU-OPT
‘let’s meet again!’

(344) iŋka nu-lok nu-lok mu-na-ne niki-na mit-na-ŋ-naʔo
I be.good-MAN be.good-MAN do-2P-OPT REP-TOP remember-2P-PROG-2P-NOM
thiyo...
PPTaux
‘I had been thinking, “let me do you very well”...’ [Gn]

(345) ankenka-sudda ti-kʰat-ne-para nau sīge yak-Ø-yan-Øʔo
we¹⁰-with 2AS-go-OPT-COND nine horned (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
kʰana-lai rāga ni-pi.
you¹-DAT buffalo.bull (N) 3A-give
‘If you go with us, they will give you a nine-horned one, come with us and go!’ [Gn]

The morphology of the optative is not complicated. Neither are the semantics.
4.7.2 Imperative

Imperative forms are interpreted as commands that are directed at a second person. The imperative forms are identical to the second person past tense forms under deletion of the second person prefix <tɨ>, except for the transitive plural forms. In these forms, unpredictably, the second person suffix <-na> (2P) is inserted, viz. (346).

(346) ‘to take’ PT forms Imperative

| 2s→3s | tikʰattu          | kʰattu |
| 2d→3s | tikʰattacu        | kʰattacu |
| 2p→3s | tikʰattum          | kʰattanum |

The appearance of the second person suffix <-na> in negated transitive forms is regular. Apart from the 2p→3 forms, the imperative paradigm is entirely predictable. Therefore, I left the imperative paradigms out of the appendix listing verb conjugation paradigms.

The suffixes found on the forms in the imperative paradigm agree with the number of the addressed and the person and number of the object of the desired action. Imperatives are frequently extended by verbal compounding, with vector verbs <dama> (EFF) ‘effect’ and <kʰama> (SEE) ‘see’. Both verbs have the effect of reducing the directness, adding politeness.

(347) mo-da kʰar-a!
that-LOC go-PT!
‘go there!’

(348) i-cilok piw-a-ŋ-kʰa-ŋ
his/her-few give-PT-1s-see-1s
‘give me a little bit’

The morphology of the imperative is not complicated. Neither are the semantics.

4.7.3 Irrealis

The irrealis in Bantawa is formed by marking the protasis or conditional clause by the somewhat indefinable marker de (cf.§8.3.3). In irrealis constructions de will be glossed IRR. The marker de seems an obvious cognate of <di> ‘what’ and is associated with it by Bantawa speakers. However, the variant <di> ‘what’ is not used in irrealis constructions. The irrealis describes a hypothetical situation. In contrast with a conditional construction, in the irrealis construction both the condition and the consequence are false. The condition in an irrealis construction is always put in the past tense. The aspect marking on the verb can be varied to express subtle differences in the scope of the verb, e.g. (349-352).

(349) ta-ma riw-a-ŋ ni-ʔo de, ta-∅-ŋ-y-a-ŋ-ʔo ɲe
come-INF can-PT-1s NAR-NOM IRR come-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-NOM EMPH
‘If I could have come, I would have been coming.’

30The vector verb kʰama ‘to see’ is defective and irregular, such that it may not be a vector verb after all. See §7.2.6.
4.7. Mood

(350) ta-ma riw-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ-ʔo de, ta-Ø-ŋ-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a.
come-INF can-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-NOM IRR, come-PT-1s-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
‘If I had been able to come, I would have come.’

(351) but-ma ri-na-ŋ-na (ni) -ʔo de, but-na-ŋ-na-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a.
call-INF can-2P-PROG-2P (NAR) -NOM IRR call-2P-PROG-2P-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
‘If I could have called you, I would have.’

(352) o-da kʰwakko onjʰonjo gʰyu yuw-a-ŋ-a-ʔo de,
this-LOC such big ghee (N) be-PT-PROG-PT-NOM IRR,
eat.3P-12plA-PROG-3P-12plA-NOM
‘If there had been that much ghee (butter), we’d be eating it.’

The quotative or narrative marker <ni> is optional in the irrealis construction, e.g. (349, 351), but may add a flavour of remoteness to the condition (§8.5).

The nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM) plays a significant role in past tense irrealis constructions, where the speaker and hearer both know that the condition mentioned does not hold true. The nominaliser <-ʔo> is used for known facts (§5.2) and has more or less grammaticalised to obligatorily appear on either side of past tense irrealis constructions, i.e. both in the subordinate and main clause. See examples (353) and (354). This reflects the fact that past tense irrealis constructions often function to rhetorically explain how known facts came about.

In future irrealis constructions, the past tense must be used in the subordinate clause, but use of the nominaliser <-ʔo> is impossible, e.g. (355).

(353) ijja badde kʰipt-a-ŋ-a-ʔo de, idʰiwaq mina lis-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ-ʔo.
I much read-PT-1s-NOM IRR big man become-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-NOM
‘Had I learnt much, I would have been an important man.’

(354) badde saki siw-a de, iŋ-niŋa now-a-ŋ-a-ʔo.
much potato fruit-PT IRR my-mood be.good-PT-PROG-PT-NOM
‘If the potatoes had given more fruit, I would have been happy.’

(355) o mina o gari leksaid-ya kʰar-a de, nam-ʔa cʰos-u-ŋ-a.
this man this time (N) Lakeside-LOC.level go-PT IRR-ERG be.strong-3P-PROG-3P
‘If this man were to go to Lakeside now, the sun would scorch him.’

A future irrealis such as (355) implies that, of course, the situation will not occur.
Chapter 5

Subordination

**Deverbatives**  The primary aim of this chapter is to shed some light on strategies to use and embed nominalised verbs, non-finite verb forms or fully finite clauses in a wider context. These are all deverbatives, a name that subsumes a number of derivations of verbs or verb roots that somehow have lost the primary verbal character of their roots. The syntactic function of heading a clause may have been lost, or finiteness in terms of tense marking and person agreement has been reduced or lost.

There are different strategies in Bantawa to subordinate, i.e. embed, verbs or full clauses into another phrase or clause. The first strategy is to form nominalisations from the verb root. The instances of this strategy are discussed in §5.1. The different syntactic properties of these non-finite deverbatives and the way they are embedded are discussed as well.

Another, entirely different strategy is to employ the procedure of general nominalisation, identical to genitive formation, to finite verb forms, or rather, full clauses. Nominalised verb phrases function in sentence subordination and serve as nominal constituents, while they maintain their internal structure, tense and valence. As an areal feature, nominalised clauses may also be free-standing, without an obvious subordinating function. The different uses of the general nominaliser is discussed in §5.2.

### 5.1 Non-finite verb forms

This section describes the morphology of non-finite verb forms. These verb forms are non-finite in the sense that they cannot form the nucleus of a main clause but only occur in a subordinated, embedded clause or as a modifier. The distribution of non-finite verbs corresponds to the fact that they are not marked for tense, nor have they any implied tense associated with them. Thus, while non-finite verbs do not ground an event in time, these forms otherwise express other verbal categories, viz. polarity, number and degree of transitivity, but not person marking.

I distinguish the following groups of non-finite verb forms: a) participles, that
are primarily nominal, b) the infinitive, that can be subordinated to verbs that subcategorise for the infinitive and can also be considered nominal, c) converbs, that only occur in embedded positions and are limited in distribution.

Bantawa has three different participles: the active (§5.1.1), the passive (§5.1.2) and the purposive nominaliser (§5.1.3). Participles are nominal: Participles may fill a nominal argument position and accept nominal morphology. Participles can also be used adnominally to modify a noun.

The infinitive (§5.1.4) is used a) as citation form, b) as a noun to denote the verbal activity itself and c) as main verb in modal complex verb constructions.

The supine (§5.1.5) forms a category of its own. The supine differs from converbs, e.g. selectively collocates with verbs of movement and location only. However, supine clauses, like converb clauses, are not nominal, are optional modifiers and obligatorily share the agent or subject of the matrix clause.

Converbs differ from infinitives in that verbs do not subcategorise for converbs, and from participles in that they are not nominal. No nominal morphology attaches to converbs and converbs do not fill adnominal or nominal grammatical positions. Converbs form embedded sentences and function in the matrix clause in a role that is syntactically similar to that of adverbial modifiers. Ebert (2003) gives a handy overview of converbs and participles in Kiranti languages. There are two converbs in Bantawa, viz. the simultaneous converb (§5.1.6) and the negative perfect converb (§5.1.7).

5.1.1 Active participles

Morphology: Active participles are nominals that are derived from verb stems, that can be used as independent nouns or attributively in noun phrases. Active participles are morphologically derived from verb stems, using the pre-consonantal stem, by the following affixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ka-Σ&gt;</td>
<td>APPREF-Σ</td>
<td>active participle, attributive and nominal use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ka-Σ-pa&gt;</td>
<td>(APPREF-Σ-APm)</td>
<td>active participle, neuter or male gender in fixed expressions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ka-Σ-ma&gt;</td>
<td>(APPREF-Σ-API)</td>
<td>active participle, female gender, in fixed expressions only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ka-Σ-ci&gt;</td>
<td>(APPREF-Σ-APpl)</td>
<td>active participle, plural form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Across Kiranti languages, cognates of the Bantawa <ka-> prefix are found with the function of marking active participles, cf. Limbu <ke-Σ-pa>. Similarly, cognates of the Bantawa <pa>, <ma> and <ci> suffix markers for male, female and plural are found all over the Tibeto-Burman area. Active participle forms that have both a prefix and suffix could be called full forms. Full forms are somewhat marked and sometimes indicative of fixed idiom.

\(^{1}\)In linguistic tradition, 'converbs' have conventionally been called 'gerunds'. For some deverbal forms I chose the converb terminology, as this terminology expresses more clearly that these deverbal derivations contribute a verbal sub-predicate to the matrix clause.
5.1. Non-finite verb forms

The productive derivation of active participles is with the prefix only. Active participles function in this form in attributive position, as in examples (356). Active participles without the participle male suffix <-pa> (APM), female suffix <-ma> (APF) or plural suffix <-ci> (APPL) may also function as an independent head noun, cf. examples (357), but less frequently so.

Syntax  The participle suffixes are usually not dropped in participle forms that have a lexicalised meaning, but this is not a fixed rule. Sometimes the participle suffixes are dropped in this type of idiom as well.

(356) a. ka-set kintʰokwa-ciʔenan
   APPref-kill rebels-PL-COM
   'together with the murderous rebels'

   b. ka-ta mukla
   APPref-come group
   'the coming group'

   c. ka-tok mina
   APPref-receive man
   'a seen man, a respected man'

(357) a. sakonjʰiŋ ka-popʔa
   heart APPref-betray-ERG
   'by the traitor'

   b. ka-tuk
   APPref-be.ill
   'ill person'

When the plural ending <-ci> (APPL) suffixes to an active participle, the ending <-pa> (APM), if present at in the singular, can be dropped. However, even the retention of the participle suffix in plural forms varies lexically, resulting in alternative forms for plural active participles.

(358) yinjʰan ka-yiq-ci mi-ban-a-ki
   message APPref-say-APpl 3pl-come.level-PT-SEQ...
   'after the messengers came…'

Full participles usually have a fixed meaning and therefore cannot be used in attributive or modifier position. Full participles retain the gender suffix even in plural forms.

(359) ka-sen-pa
   APPref-ask-APm
   'interviewer' (lit. 'the asker')

(360) ka-dʰuk-pa-ci
   APPref-hit-APm-PL
   'blacksmiths'
Reflexive active participles are formed regularly and have a predictable interpretation.

(361) ka-sat-ma-n-ci-n
APpref-pull-APf-REFL-DUP-REFLc
‘reptile’ (lit. one that drags itself)

5.1.2 Passive participle

Morphology The passive participle is a deverbal nominal, that denotes the thing done in the verbal action, or the object of the verbal action. The passive participle is formed by affixing the passive participle suffix <-yɨŋ> (PP) to the infinitive of the verb. The infinitive denotes the verbal action itself as a nominal. The Bantawa independent word yɨŋ means ‘word, thing’. The derivational history of the passive participle is quite transparent. The compound means the thing achieved by the verbal action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Σ -ma-yɨŋ&gt; (Σ-INF-PP)</td>
<td>passive participle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntax The passive participle can be used attributively and independently as head noun.

(362) o-so-ʔo i-tup-ma-yɨŋ
this-PRN-GEN his/her-understand-INF-PP
‘its meaning’

(363) lo-ma-yɨŋ
speak-INF-PP
‘the command’

(364) yɨŋ-ma-yɨŋ
say-INF-PP
‘the word’, Nepali: kurā, lit. the thing said

(365) o-na i-nɨŋ-wa cin-ma-yɨŋ-wa e mu-Ø-yan-Ø.
this-TOP his/her-new teach-INF-PP-LIKE EMPHe be-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘Now, this is like a new teaching!’

(366) ap-ma-yɨŋ cɨŋwa
shoot-INF-PP bird
‘a shot-at bird’

5.1.3 Purposive nominaliser

Morphology In Bantawa, the purposive nominaliser suffix <-kʰa>, affixed to the pre-consonantal verb stem, derives purposive or locative nominalisations of the verb. Purposive or locative nominalisations have to my knowledge not been
5.1. Non-finite verb forms

reported for immediately neighbouring Kiranti languages, but the Thulung suffix -\textit{khop} ‘functional suffix’ is an apparent cognate, considering the formal and functional correspondences\textsuperscript{2}.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{marker} & \textbf{gloss} & \textbf{function} \\
\hline
\textsymbol{\Sigma} -k\textsuperscript{h}a & (\textsymbol{\Sigma}-\text{PNOM}) & purposive nominaliser, ‘in order to’ \\
\end{tabular}

\textbf{Syntax} The nominalising suffix \textsymbol{\Sigma}-k\textsuperscript{h}a (PNOM) derives an adnominal modifier from a verb, i.e. a deverbial adnominal. The derived noun denotes something that serves to achieve the action denoted by the verb. Nouns in \textsymbol{\Sigma}-k\textsuperscript{h}a can be translated as ‘somewhere where the verb happens’, ‘in the event of the verb happening’ or ‘something to perform the verb’. These nominalisations could be subsumed under the heading supine, but there are significant differences. Unlike the supine, deverbatives in \textsymbol{\Sigma}-k\textsuperscript{h}a are nominal or adnominal and grammatically pattern with participles. Deverbatives in \textsymbol{\Sigma}-k\textsuperscript{h}a have a wider meaning, denoting a location, purpose or instrument, and when they are further affixed with the locative \textsymbol{-da}, can come to mean ‘in the occasion, event of’. Examples include the following.

(367) Purposive nominaliser, modifier usage
a. i-do-da pak-k\textsuperscript{h}a kareli his/her-mouth-LOC place-PNOM bridle (N) ‘a bridle to place in the mouth’
b. cakawalawa-ci tiŋ-k\textsuperscript{h}a k\textsuperscript{h}an-k\textsuperscript{h}a sawa spirit-PL drive-PNOM send-PNOM power ‘the power to drive out spirits’
c. sawa tom-k\textsuperscript{h}a len power support-PNOM day ‘the resting day’
d. mi-su-w-a-da-Ø-ci hiŋ-k\textsuperscript{h}a-lon-k\textsuperscript{h}a sawa 3pl-die-PT-eff-PT-NOM-PL save-PNOM-take.out-PNOM power ‘the power to make the dead live again’
e. c\textit{ek}-k\textsuperscript{h}a k\textsuperscript{h}im-da block-PNOM house-LOC ‘in jail’

The above are all examples of modifier usage. It is clear that the modified noun serves the purpose of the verb that is nominalised in an instrumental or locative way.

(368) Independent usage, locative reading
a. laŋ nem-k\textsuperscript{h}a maddiŋ-yajan leg stretch-PNOM NEG.be-PROG ‘there was no room to stretch the legs’

\textsuperscript{2}Allen (1975: 60), Lahaussois (2002: 129). See also §8.6.
b. im-kʰə
sleep-PNOM
‘bed’
c. yuŋ-kʰə
sit-PNOM
‘place to sit’
d. maŋ mu-kʰə-da doŋ-ma dot-Ø.
worship do-PNOM-LOC shaman dance-INF must-NPT
‘While worshipping, the shaman must dance.’

In the examples of independent usage (368a-368c), the locative reading is evident. The nominalised verb denotes the place of action. The locative semantics of -kʰə are most prominent and apparently relate to the homophonous locative nominal suffix. However, the verbal suffix -kʰə covers a more diffuse functional area that can be described as the nominalisation of all non-grammatical roles, i.e. the roles of location, purpose, instrument and occasion. The event reading of this nominalisation as in (368d) is repeated in examples (371) below. Strictly instrumental nominalisations with -kʰə are listed here.

(369) Independent usage with instrumental reading
a. ɨ-chak-kʰə batt-u-kʰ-o.
his/her-chisel-PNOM bring-3P-see-3P
‘bring the chisel here’
b. rin-kʰə
plane-PNOM
‘a carpenter’s plane’
c. dʰok-kʰə
dig-PNOM
‘something to dig with’
d. duŋ-kʰə
drink-PNOM
‘something to drink from’

The nominalisations of this kind are generic, i.e. unspecific, e.g. a cat-kʰə (make eat-PNOM) ‘utensil’ may be any eating utensil, anything at all.

5.1.4 Infinitives

The Bantawa infinitive is a verb nominalisation that denotes the verbal action as such. The infinitive functions as the verb’s citation form and in subordinated position.

Morphology The infinitive is formed by adding the infinitive suffix <-ma> (INF) to the pre-consonantal verb stem. Further affixes found are a) a non-singular marker <-ci> (DU), corresponding to the object of transitive infinites only, and b) the reflexive morphology <-ncin> (REFL-DUP-REFLc).
The infinitive is never inflected for person. Infinitive forms are negated by the negative prefix <man-> (NEGPTp).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Σ-ma&gt;</td>
<td>(Σ-INF)</td>
<td>infinitive, 'to X'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Σ-ma-n-ci-n&gt;</td>
<td>(Σ-INF-REFL-DUP-copy)</td>
<td>reflexive infinitive, 'to X oneself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Σ-ma-ci&gt;</td>
<td>(Σ-INF-DU)</td>
<td>plural infinitive, 'to X (pl)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Syntax** Infinitives can enter into clausal relations, such as temporal or sequential relations, with other infinitives by suffixation of clausal morphology. For instance, it is valid to say 'to do this and then to do that' using the sequential morpheme <-ki> (SEQ) affixed to the sequentially first infinitive, cf. example (370c).

(370) infinitives

a. set-ma  
   kill-INF  
   'to kill'

b. man-set-da-ma  
   NEGPTp-kill-NEGPTs-INF  
   'to not kill, not to kill'

c. lə ouri  
   stick  
   tom-ma-ki  
   support-INF-SEQ  
   ma-ʔaŋ  
   NEGPTp-be  
   mo-du  
   that-LOC.high  
   ruŋ-ma-n-ci-n-ʔa?  
   shake-INF-REFL-DUP-REFLc-NOM  
   'It should be shaken, supported on a stick, isn't it?', lit. a stick to support and then, isn't it, on top of that, to shake ...?'

d. ai today  
   im-ma  
   sleep-INF  
   da-ma  
   eff-INF  
   ta  
   FOC (N)  
   ɨ-tokt-im-in-ʔa.  
   NEGPTp-receive-12plSP-NEGn-NOM  
   'Today we shall not get to sleep.'

e. mo-daŋka  
   that-ABL  
   i-ki-ma  
   kar-a-ŋ-a  
   his/her-fear-INF  
   ni.  
   feel-PT-PROG-PT NAR  
   'Her fear of that came to grow...'

Infinitives are used for
- citation, as in examples (370a, 370b),
- nominalised verb forms, as in example (370e)
- as a complement to verbs that take infinitival complements such as rima'can', lamma 'seek' or tokma 'get', as in example (370d)
- as an imperative or something that simply must be done (you must..., one must...), example (370c)

The plural marker <-ci> on the infinitive agrees with the understood patient of the verb only, never with the subject. The plural suffix <-ci> therefore never appears on intransitive infinitives. Once a plural marker appears on an infinitive, the infinitive is immediately understood as transitive. Compare the following sentences.
Chapter 5. Subordination

(371) infinitives with plural marking

a. maŋ mu-kʰa-da wa set-ma dot-Ø.
   worship do-PNOM-LOC chicken kill-INF must-NPT
   'While worshipping, a chicken must be killed.'

   worship do-PNOM-LOC chicken-PL kill-INF-PL 3pl-must
   'While worshipping, chickens must be killed.'

c. maŋ mu-kʰa-da dowa tʰom-ma dot-Ø.
   worship do-PNOM-LOC shaman dance-INF must-NPT
   'While worshipping, the shaman must dance.'

   worship do-PNOM-LOC shaman-PL dance-INF-PL 3pl-must
   ** 'while worshipping, the shamans must be made to dance'
   ** 'while worshipping, the shamans must dance.'

   worship do-PNOM-LOC man-PL come-INF-PL 3pl-must
   ** 'While worshipping, people must come.'

f. maŋ mu-kʰa-da mina-ci ta-ma dot-Ø.
   worship do-PNOM-LOC man-PL come-INF must-NPT
   'While worshipping, people must come.'

For the obligatory things to be done here, the infinitives that describe them must agree in number with the patients, e.g. example (371a). If an infinitive is ambiguous with respect to transitivity, the presence of the plural marker forces the transitive reading, and then intransitive readings are not possible. See example (371d).

Number marking on infinitives cannot agree with the subject of intransitive clauses, see examples (371e,371f). The infinitive forms a nominal phrase together with its patient or subject arguments, of which the number again must agree with the verb of the matrix clause.

5.1.5 Supine

Morphology  The supine is formally marked by the supine suffix <-si> (SUP), affixed to the pre-consonantal verb stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-si&gt;</td>
<td>(SUP)</td>
<td>Supine, 'in order to X'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntax  The supine or purposive infinitives are used as complements to finite verbs of direction. Supine forms indicate the purpose of the movement or action described in the matrix verb. While supine clauses may have their own nominal patient arguments, their agent or subject always is one and the same as that of the matrix clause.
5.1. Non-finite verb forms

(372) Supine
  a. lap-si ka-ta mukla
     catch-SUP APpref-come group
     'The group that came to catch.'
  b. gʰoḍa kʰ-i-si kʰar-a ni.
     horse (N) steal-SUP go-PT NAR
     'He went to steal a horse' [Tt]
  c. mo gʰoḍa ca-si ta-∅-ʔo.
     that horse (N) eat-SUP come-PT-NOM
     'He had come to eat horses' [Tt]
  d. gʰasa hek-si kʰar-a-ʔo.
     grass (N) cut-SUP go-PT-NOM
     'He went to cut grass.'

Traditionally, the supine is considered as akin to the infinitive because the relationship obtaining between supine and infinitive clauses and their host matrix verb is more intimate than the relationship obtaining between gerund or converb clauses and their respective matrix verb host. In Bantawa, however, the supine does not syntactically differ from the simultaneous converb, apart from the restriction that the matrix verb of supine constructions must be a verb of movement or location.

5.1.6 Simultaneous converb

Morphology

The simultaneous converb is a non-finite verb form, affixed with the simultaneous suffix <-sa> (SIM), that indicates that the described action goes on at the very same time as the matrix verbs. The simultaneous suffix <-sa> selects the pre-consonantal stem of verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Σ-sa&gt;</td>
<td>(Σ-SIM)</td>
<td>simultaneous converb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntax and semantics

Ebert (1997b: 79) calls the Athpahariya cognate <-sa> of this marker a simultaneous converb, which describes it adequately. The simultaneous marker forms embedded clauses that serve as subordinate modifier to the matrix verb. Similar to negative perfect converb clauses, simultaneous clauses are placed before the verb in the main clause. The subject or agent of the action may be mentioned first as argument to the simultaneous clause and be left out of the matrix clause, thus encapsulating the simultaneous clause in the main clause. The subject or agent of the simultaneous

3An alternative, more traditional terminology for this deverbal form would be ‘present gerund’. In the traditional label ‘present gerund’, ‘present’ conventionally means ‘simultaneous with the matrix clause event’.
clause always coindexes with that of the main clause, i.e. not with the patient. Also, the object of the action described by the embedded clause cannot be referenced in the matrix clause in any way. In summary, as with the supine, the subject patterns with the agent. The simultaneous clause inherits the time reference from the main clause. For this reason, Bickel (2004: 147) labels the Belhare cognate of this marker SS 'same subject/same tense'.

By the simultaneous nature of the marker, the progressive marker of the verb, which operates much like a compounding verb in finite clauses, is often inserted in simultaneous converb forms.

(373) \(t^0\text{om-yaŋ-sa} \quad k^h\text{ar-a}
\)
\[
dance-\text{PROG-SIM} \quad go-\text{PT}
\]
'He went, dancing.'

(374) \(ciya \text{ dup-yaŋ-sa} \quad yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa
\)
\[
tea \quad drink-\text{PROG-SIM} \quad sit-1s-\text{PROG-1s}
\]
'I shall be sitting, drinking tea...'

Simultaneous verb forms seem to be synonymous with finite verb forms embedded with the phrasal simultaneous marker <-hida> (SIMP) (§8.4). However, there are situations where the <-sa> converb is not possible, while the alternative formation with the phrasal simultaneous marker <-hida> is. The point is that any activity described by a simultaneous clause marked with <-sa> is supposed to continue as long as the matrix clause verb lasts. This contrasts with finite clauses marked by the simultaneous marker <-hida>, cf.§8.4.3.

With verbs in the matrix clause that express a perfective, resultative event, such as 'to fall down', the sentence becomes ungrammatical if the embedded clause is a simple simultaneous converb, cf. (375b) vs. (376b).

(375) The difference between the phrasal simultaneous marker <-heda ~ -hida> and the simultaneous converb in <-sa>.

a. \(t^0\text{om-aŋ-ŋa} \quad t^0\text{om-aŋ-a-heda} \quad d^h\text{ams-a}
\)
\[
dance-PT-\text{PROG-PT} \quad dance-PT-\text{PROG-PT-SIMP} \quad \text{fall-PT}
\]
'While he was dancing, he fell.'

b. * \(t^0\text{om-yaŋ-sa} \quad d^h\text{ams-a}
\)
\[
dance-\text{PROG-SIM} \quad \text{fall-PT}
\]
?? 'he fell while dancing.'

(376) while walking down

a. \(\text{yiinpa} d^h\text{a-Ø-ŋa-hida} \quad \text{len}s-a-k^h\text{ar-a}
\)
\[
down \quad descend-PT-\text{PROG-PT-SIMP} \quad \text{slip-PT-go-PT}
\]
'He slipped while he was walking down.'

b. * \(\text{yiinpa} d^h\text{a-sa} \quad \text{len}s-a-k^h\text{ar-a}
\)
\[
down \quad descend-\text{SIM} \quad \text{slip-PT-go-PT}
\]
?? 'He slipped while he was walking down.'
Example (375a) is grammatical and means that at some point, the subject fell down, while he or she had been dancing continuously, as expressed by the repeated progressive verb form. Example (375b) is considered funny because what is said is that someone fell and still continued dancing, both continuously. The contrast between examples (376a) and (376b) is the same.

While the progressive naturally fits well with the simultaneous, the progressive is not required and can actually render contrasting meanings.

(377) Progressive and simultaneous

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{k}\text{o-sa-ʔa} \quad \text{k}\text{ʰata-da} \quad \text{ims-ա-դ-հիդա} \quad \text{i-low-ա-դ-իդո} \\
& \quad \text{he/she-PRN-ERG bed (N)-LOC lie-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp 3AM-tell-PT-1s-NOM} \\
& \quad \text{‘He told me while he was lying on the bed...’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad \text{k}\text{o-sa-ʔa} \quad \text{k}\text{ʰata-da} \quad \text{im-sa} \quad \text{i-low-ա-դ-իդո} \\
& \quad \text{he/she-PRN-ERG bed (N)-LOC lie-SIM 3AM-tell-PT-1s-NOM} \\
& \quad \text{‘he told me, during the time that he lay down on the bed...’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{c.} & \quad \text{k}\text{o-sa-ʔa} \quad \text{k}\text{ʰata-da} \quad \text{im-ա-ն-ա-դ-իդո} \\
& \quad \text{he/she-PRN-ERG bed (N)-LOC lie-PROG-SIM 3AM-tell-PT-1s-NOM} \\
& \quad \text{‘He told me while he was laying himself down on the bed...’}
\end{align*}
\]

The contrast between examples (377a) and (377c) is due to the inherent perfunctivity of these Bantawa verbs. Examples (377a) and (377b) describe that he spoke when the situation was such that he had lain down, while (377c) tells us that he spoke while this situation was brought about.

It has already been mentioned that embedded simultaneous clauses have the same subject and tense as the matrix clause. The subject that a simultaneous clause shares with the matrix clause must agree with the matrix verb in case marking and cannot be realised as the agent or subject of the embedded simultaneous clause.

(378) An intransitive main clause does not allow ergative marking on embedded clause

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{mo-ko} \quad \text{mina-ci} \quad \text{madala} \quad \text{mok-ա-ն-ա-դ-իդո} \\
& \quad \text{that-REF} \quad \text{man-PL} \quad \text{drum (N)} \quad \text{hit-PROG-SIM 3pl-dance-PT-PROG-PT} \\
& \quad \text{‘While they hit the drums, they were dancing’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b.} & \quad * \quad \text{moko} \quad \text{minaci-ʔa} \quad \text{madala} \quad \text{mokja-sa} \quad \text{m} \text{ʰom-a} \text{ŋ-a.} \\
& \quad \text{...-ERG} \quad \text{...} \\
& \quad \text{‘invalid with ERG marking.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Even though mokma ‘to hit’ is a transitive verb and the object of the beating is mentioned, an ergative marking on the agent of the hitting is ruled out.

**A note on the clause status of simultaneous converbs** Each embedded verb marked with the simultaneous morpheme <-sa> is a clause of its own, independently denoting an event. This fact has implications for the form of this marking applied to compounded verbs in Bantawa (§7.2). Normally, the first suffix after the verb stem is reduplicated in a compound, e.g. the infinitive for ‘to keep writing’ is: cʰapma-yakma. However, the simultaneous suffix <-sa> is not repeated, for cʰapsa-yaksa would yield
5.1.7 Negative perfect converb

Morphology

The negative perfect converb is a non-finite verb form that loosely translates as ‘not having done X’. The negative perfect converb is formed by prefixing the negative prefix to the infinitive of the verb and suffixing the negative perfect converb suffix <maŋ> (NPC). The negative perfect converb suffix can be analysed as a compound of the infinitive suffix <-ma> and the emphasis marker <ŋ> (EMPH). Even though the derivation of the form may be transparent, we shall give the suffix a single gloss to avoid the idea that this is an emphasised negative infinitive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;man-ŋ-ŋ&gt;</td>
<td>(NEGPTp-ŋ-NPC)</td>
<td>negative perfect converb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntax

The negative perfect converb can be the head of embedded clauses that function as subordinate modifiers to the matrix verb. Subordinate clauses are placed before the head verb of the main clause. The subject or agent of the action may be mentioned first as an argument to the embedded negative perfect converb, thus properly encapsulating the embedded clause in the main clause. The subject or agent of the embedded converb coindexes with that of the main clause, and not with the patient. The positive counterpart of the negative perfect converb is a fully finite form expanded with a sequential marker <-ki>, as shown below.

(380) a. yaŋ man-cʰon-maŋ bas-da kon-ma i-nu-nin.
    money NEGPTp-pay-NPC bus-LOC walk-INF NEGNP-be.good-3NEG
    ‘It’s not good to ride on the bus not having paid money.’

b. yaŋ cʰon-ma-kí bas-da kon-ma dot-Ø.
    money pay-INF-SEQ bus-LOC walk-INF must-NPT
    ‘One must ride on the bus after paying money.’

(381) a. kok man-ca-maŋ i-ri-niŋ.
    rice NEGPTp-eat-NPC NEGNP-can-NEG1s
    ‘I cannot do it, not having eating.’
5.2 Nominalisation

5.2.1 Verb nominalisation

In section 5.1, we reviewed a number of non-finite verb forms. By definition, non-finite forms only appear in a position subordinated to and embedded in a matrix clause or in an otherwise subordinated or modifier position. A number of non-finite deverbatives are also nominal in the sense that they show typically nominal properties, i.e. a) non-finite nominal deverbatives can have nominal morphology, b) syntactically, non-finite nominal deverbatives only appear as nominal modifiers or nominal heads, i.e. as verb arguments where noun phrases headed by a noun would be equally valid, or c) non-finite nominal deverbatives can be modified by nominal modifiers.

5.2.2 General nominaliser

Apart from specialised non-finite morphology, Bantawa has a procedure to nominalise finite verbs, i.e. verb forms fully marked for tense and heading a clause. It is more correct, therefore, to speak of nominalised clauses rather than verbs. This nominalisation is morphologically marked by the very general nominaliser suffix <-ʔo> (NOM).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-ʔo&gt;</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>General nominaliser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This nominaliser has a very wide applicability, nominalising adverbial, nominal and verbal phrases. When the general nominaliser <-ʔo> applies to noun phrases, we refer to it by its classical name genitive, abbreviated GEN.

(382) Nominalisation across categories

a. kʰun-nucʰaŋa o-da iŋka nepala-da-ʔo mecʰacʰa-ci-ʔo watmasi
   he/she-even.though this-LOC 1 Nepal-LOC-GEN daughter-PL-GEN jewellery
kʰon-ki hum-ma tit-ʔo dum lu-yar-sa kʰat-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
   he/she-SEQ put.on-INF clothes-GEN thing tell-PRG-SIM go-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
   ‘However, here I shall go talking of the ornaments and clothes that Nepal’s girls put on.’ [Gr]

b. kok ca-ŋa-ki-na ri-ŋa.
   rice eat-1s-SEQ-TOP can-1s
   ‘I can do it after I eat.’

The positive and negative pairs in examples (380) and (381) demonstrate the function of the negative perfect converb construction. While there is functional and formal correspondence between the negative perfect converb and the infinitive, infinitives need additional morphology to signal the sequence of events (380b). Therefore, the negative perfect converb is a distinct morpheme.
Functions of the nominaliser

All of these examples show the function of the nominaliser <ʔo> as an operator that turns phrases of any type into adnominal modifiers. In example (382a), we see the nominaliser function as a genitive4. In example (382b) the nominaliser operates on locative adverbial expressions. In example (382c) the nominaliser turns the gapped phrase mo-da mu-ma dot-Ø-yay-Ø-ʔo ‘that need to be done there’ into a modifier for the extracted noun kaci ‘the work’.

Nominalised phrases of any kind also appear as independent noun phrases. From the way that independent nominalised clauses translate we see that these are headless noun phrases. These phrases translate as ‘the one...,’ e.g. (89), (156). These examples show that while we call the suffix under scrutiny a nominaliser, its essential function is to turn phrases into adnominal modifiers5.

In the remainder of this chapter, we shall review the various uses of the general nominaliser. In §5.2.5, we shall highlight the complementiser function. In §5.2.6, we shall discuss the function of <ʔo> as a free-standing sentence nominaliser. First we shall deal with a more modest function of the nominaliser, viz. the formation of the periphrastic perfect.

5.2.3 Perfect and pluperfect

Perfect forms

Past, i.e. preterite, perfective forms are turned into perfect forms by means of an auxiliary. There are two perfects: a present and a past perfect, known as pluperfect.

The present perfect describes a current state of events, viz. that the event described has occurred in the past and is now a fact. In that sense, a present perfect represents a state: A present perfect signals an action in the past that has relevance in the present. The past perfect or pluperfect describes a state that was true at a time

---

4Not as a possessive!
5The nominaliser might well be called an adnominaliser. However, we stick to the terminology ‘nominaliser’ as that ties in with terminology used for other languages of the area.
of reference that lies in the past. This combination of tense and aspect is commonly
used for backgrounding in narratives put in the past tense.

Both progressive and simple forms can be put in the perfect. This leads to the
The concept of a progressive perfect makes sense if we keep in mind that the perfect
is used for backgrounding: Of course it is quite possible that an event that was
progressive forms the background to some situation.

Morphology

In Bantawa, the perfect aspect is formed analytically by combining a main verb with
an auxiliary. The perfect aspect is disjoint from tense: One can express perfect aspect
for past and non-past events alike.

(383) The perfect is formed by the following procedure:
   a. the clause has a finite transitive or intransitive verb form in the past
tense.
   b. this verb is nominalised with the general nominaliser <ʔo>
   c. either of these three
      PF1 tʰiyo, a past tense form of Nepali 'to be' is added.
      PF2 a third person progressive form of the verb yukma3 'be' is added.
      PF3 a progressive form of either of the intransitive verbs yuŋma3 'sit' or
          yuŋma3 'be' is added, and inflected in agreement with the subject.

In summary, the perfect is analytically formed by nominalising the verb and
adding an auxiliary. There is considerable variation in the auxiliary. The auxiliary
may either be a loan from Nepali, a form inflected for third person singular, or a
form agreeing with the subject or agent. For reference, it can be noted that this is
one of the several instances where the subject and agent pattern with one another
syntactically.

Tense

The tense of the auxiliary determines the tense of the whole construction.
The nominalised verb in perfect forms cannot be in the present tense: Example (384)
is not acceptable, as the main verb is a non-past form.

(384) * kʰat-ŋaʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a
go-1sNP-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
** 'I have gone'

In the first perfect formation only the past perfect is expressed. The first perfect
formation does not have a non-past form, which would have been formed with the
Nepali auxiliary cʰa. The absence of this non-past perfect formation is not surprising,
as the pluperfect forms are the most common anyway, and there are other means of
expressing present perfect.
Perfect forms with an uninflected auxiliary  I shall not dwell on the perfect forms with the Nepali auxiliary \textit{tʰiyω}, as these are similar to Bantawa forms formed with \textit{yukma} except that the auxiliary is replaced.

(385) PF2 Forms
a. siw-a-da-Ø  
die-PT-eff-PT  
‘he died’

b. siw-a-da-Ø-ʔo  yuw-a-ŋ-a  
die-PT-eff-PT-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT  
‘he had died’

c. kʰar-a-ŋ-ʔo  yuw-a-ŋ-a  
go-PT-1s-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT  
‘I had gone’

d. ott-u-ʔo  yug-Ø-yaŋ-Ø  
brack-3P-NOM be-NPT-PROG-NPT  
‘he has broken it’

The thing of note is that the auxiliary is obligatorily in the progressive aspect, which one might not expect in perfect forms. However, the progressive is required in those forms, which is not all strange: The perfect describes an event that has passed and is currently the situation. In agreement with the nominalising usage of the nominaliser suffix \textit{ʔo}, the event is seen as a property of some participant in the event or situation described. The perfect merely ascribes the event by means of the auxiliary to the subject or agent of the nominalised clause.

The fact that perfect can only reference subject and agent participants in the nominalised clause reflects the discourse reference properties of the nominalised clause: Only the last argument of the verb can be referenced. If we wish to say that someone had been killed, which requires a passive in English, this cannot be done using the perfect nominalisation, e.g. with an alternative auxiliary, as in English. However, if the nominalised verb belongs to the class of middle verbs, where intransitive conjugation immediately renders the passive or rather intransitive reading, the passive reading follows necessarily. In order to express in Bantawa that someone had been killed, the agent must be left out from the nominalised clause.

(386) kʰo i-ser-a-ʔo  tʰiyω  
he 3AM-kill-PT-NOM PERF.aux  
‘he had been killed’ (lit. ‘they had killed him’)

(387) ijk-a-ʔa i-ser-a-ʔo  kʰa-ŋ.  
i-ERG 3AM-kill-PT-NOM see-1s  
‘I saw a man that was killed’ (‘I saw a man that they killed’)

Perfect forms can be formed from simple and progressive forms alike. Perfect forms based on progressive finite verbs are progressive perfectives, denoting a fact that had progressively occurred before the time of reference.

(388) kʰar-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ-ʔo  yuw-a-ŋ-a  
go-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
'I had been going'

**Perfect forms with an inflected auxiliary** In the last or third perfect formation, the auxiliary agrees with the agent or subject of the nominalised clause.

(389) Intransitive, present perfect
a. kʰar-a-ŋ-ʔo yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
go-PT-1s-NOM be-1s-PROG-1s
'I have gone.'
b. kʰar-a-ci-ʔo yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci.
go-PT-DU-NOM be-DU-PROG-DU
'They have gone.'

(390) Intransitive, past perfect, pluperfect
2AS-go-PT-DU-NOM 2AS-be-PT PROG-PT-DU
'You had gone.'
b. ti-kʰar-a-nin-ʔo ti-yuwget-y-in.
2AS-go-PT-2p-NOM 2AS-be-2p-PROG-2p-DU
'You had gone.'

(391) Transitive, present perfect
a. ott-ʊ-ŋ-ʔo yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
break-3P-1s-BEN-1s-NOM be-1s-PROG-1s
'I have broken his arm.'
b. ot-na-ʔo yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
break-2P-NOM be-1s-PROG-1s
'I have broken yours.'

The different patient marking on the first verbs in examples (391a) and (391b), but the similar subject marking on the auxiliary in both, illustrates the agent participant agreement on the auxiliary for transitive perfect forms.

(392) Transitive, past perfect
a. ot-na-ʔo yuŋ-aŋ-y-aŋ.
break-2P-NOM be-1s-PROG-1s
'I had broken yours.'

### 5.2.4 Perfect formed by verbal compounding

The other strategy for adding aspected semantics to verbs is to compound them. Verbal compounding has briefly been introduced to demonstrate the progressive aspect (§4.6.2), and will be discussed in detail in §7.2. The compounding strategy is also available to explicitly mark perfect or completive aspect on verbs: For the non-past tense, compounding is the only strategy.
The verbs *yuŋma*₂ or *yukma*₁ 'to be, to sit, to put'⁶ indicate a perfect aspect of the previous action when used in the second position of a serial verb construction. The verb compound has a distinctly completive semantics that could also be labelled 'stative'. In isolation, the vector verbs of perfect compounds mean 'to sit, to put', but in combinations such as these, they denote that the action has now turned into a situation, a state of affairs that is stable.

(393) ɨĉʰuk ott-u-ŋ yuŋ-s-u-ŋ
   his/her-arm break-3P-1s put-3P-1s
   'I have broken his arm' (lit. 'I broke him, I put him')

For example (393), the following Nepali translations were offered: भैचिदिएको छू 'I have broken it for him', भैचिको छू 'I have broken it', भैचिरावेको छू 'I have put it into broken state', the last claimed to the most exact. In Nepali, the verb राख्नु 'to put' is similarly used to indicate completion of the action and to emphasise the continuity of the resulting state. As this construction is a compound verb, all compound constructions are available, including infinitive formation.

(394) to finish breaking
   a. ot-ma yuk-ma
      break-INF put-INF
      'to finish breaking'
   b. otma yuŋma
      'to finish breaking, to complete breaking, to finish breaking'
      Nepali gloss: भैचिर राख्नु, 'to put after breaking'.

The verbs *yuŋma* and *yukma* 'to put' can be inflected in the intransitive forms alike.

(395) kʰar-a-ŋ yuŋs-a-ŋ.
   go-PT-1s put-PT-1s
   'I have gone.'

5.2.5 The general nominaliser as subordinator and relativiser

The nominaliser <-ʔo> as used in the examples (382a-382c) has a clear-cut nominalising effect. Suffixed to a sentence, the nominaliser forms a relative or complement sentence that functions as an adjunct, for instance to a noun, or an argument of a verb.

The general subordinator or nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM) is used in three ways in combining clauses.

---

⁶The verb *yuŋma*₂ derives from *yuŋma*₁ by a regular derivation process, cf. §6.3.1. The relationship between *yukma*₁ and *yukma*₁ is similar, as these two differ only in conjugation type. The difference in transitivity that is frequently associated with the difference in conjugation type is not relevant in this particular compounding context.
5.2. Nominalisation

The general nominaliser as a subordinator

- form an adnominal or nominal phrase, viz. a relative clause by relativisation,
- form a sentential complement to *verba dicendi*,
- subordinate a sentence by independent nominalisation, i.e. ‘backgrounding’.

The general nominaliser as a relativiser

The nominaliser <ʔo> serves as a regular noun relativiser, embedding a sentence in a noun phrase as a modifier to the noun. For a sentence to serve as a relative clause, the nominal element that is modified must be extracted from the sentence. The structure of a relative construction is as in example (397).

(397) [ ... ei ... ]-NOMrelative clause N

**Extraction** The coreferential index i signals that the noun Ni is understood as if this noun functioned in the empty position Ø in the relative sentence. In example (398) for instance, the relative sentence Ø ram-lai kalam pi-Ø-ʔo ‘that gave Räm a pen’ can be reconstructed as mina ram-lai kalam pi-Ø-ʔo ‘the man gave Räm a pen’. The modified noun in this type of relativisation can be called an external head, if contrasted with a construction with an internal head, where the noun remains *in situ* while still the construction is interpreted as a noun phrase. An internal head construction is not possible in Bantawa.

Any type of grammatical constituent in the relative clause can become a head in a relativisation construction. In the examples below we see agent (398), subject (399), patient (400) and indirect object, i.e. recipient (401) extraction.

(398) mo [ei, ram-lai kaliem pi-Ø-ʔo] mina, saŋ?
    that Räm-DAT pen give-3P-NOM man who

    ‘Who is the man that gave the pen to Räm?’

(399) [ei, j̥araek-laŋ ka al-LOC-ABL c̣ʰɨyaŋ-Ø-ʔo] cakwa,
    all-LOC-ABL be.expensive-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM water

    ‘The most expensive water’

(400) [syam-ʔa Ram ei pi-Ø-ʔo] kalam, rato mu-yaŋ-Ø
    Śyām-ERG Räm give-3P-NOM pen red be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT

    ‘The pen that Śyām gave Räm is red.’

(401) mo [syam-ʔa ei kalam pi-Ø-ʔo] mina, saŋ?
    that Śyām-ERG pen (N) give-3P-NOM man who

    ‘Who is the man that Śyām gave the pen to?’

While there is no case marking to tell apart the indirect object and patient constituents between utterances (401) and (400), pragmatically these are distinguished by animacy. An animate object is more likely a recipient than a patient.
External head  Noun phrases that have relative clause adjuncts are headed by the modified noun. The modified noun is never contained inside the relative clause. The relative clause is a modifier to the noun. Sentential adjuncts can also serve as the head of a noun phrase, in which case the phrase will be understood as 'the one who...', cf. (402).

(402) ni-jata-da kʰaɾ-a-ʔo maŋ-da i-kʰaɾ-at-nin, ni-ʔo.
other-caste (N)-LOC go-PT-NOM godhead-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn NAR-NOM

‘Who joined another caste will not enter the realm of the forefathers.’

The general nominaliser marking sentential complements

Finally, the nominaliser «ʔo» marks sentential complements. Verbs of perception or speech are subcategorised for both phrasal and nominal complements. Complement phrases must be marked with «ʔo» (NOM), cf. example (329) or (403).

(403) [mo-da-ʔo ikcit mina-ciʔa kʰetni mi-yiʔ-ʔa] i-en-a-ki
that-LOC-GEN a.little man-PL-ERG that.way 3pl-say-PT-NOM 3AM-hear-PT-SEQ
mi-yiʔ-ʔa: "en-a-n-u-ʔa ...
3pl-say-PT hear-PT-2P-3P-12P

‘Some of the people there heard him speak like that and said, “Listen...”’

The nominaliser is also suffixed to sentential complements to verbs of perception. For verbs of cognition or utterance it may also be used, but for these verbs, the direct speech subordinator <ni> (NAR) is the marker of choice.

(404) iŋka syam kalam i-puʔa-ʔo kʰa-ʔa-ŋ.
1 Šyām pen (N) 3AM-give-PT-NOM see-PT-1s
‘I saw someone give Šyām a pen.’

(405) iŋka Syam-ʔa kalam pi-ʔa-ʔo kʰa-ʔa-ŋ.
1 Šyām-ERG pen (N) give-PT-NOM see-PT-1s
‘I saw that Šyām gave a pen.’

(406) iŋka Syam-ʔa kalam pi-ʔa-ʔo mina kʰa-ʔa-ŋ.
1 Šyām-ERG pen (N) give-PT-NOM man see-PT-1s
‘I saw the man that Šyām gave a pen to.’

(407) ramʔa sarimaʔa dʰiɾ-uʔa bakʰa Šyamʔeda in-uʔa iŋka kʰa-ʔa-ŋ.
Rām-ERG disease-ERG find-3P-NOM goat Šyām-COMI sell-3P-NOM 1 see-PT-1s
‘I saw Rām sell a sick goat to Šyām.’

Grammatically, incomplete sentences such as utterances (404) and (405) are ambiguous. In these sentences, one of the participants is not explicitly mentioned in the embedded clause. For that reason, these embedded sentences can also be interpreted as noun phrases with an empty head. For sentence (404), this means that technically the reading ‘I saw who gave Šyām a pen’ is possible. However, this structural ambiguity does not cause problems when the pragmatic context is understood. The availability of the alternative of inserting an explicit noun to avoid any ambiguity, cf. example (406), precludes ambiguity in the less-marked constructions.
Stand-alone sentences marked with the nominaliser

The nominaliser could be considered as a syntactic subordinator in those instances where the nominalised sentence a) is not an adnominal modifier, i.e. not followed by a modified noun, and b) ends the discourse or narrative or is followed by another full sentence without further morphology.

However, stand-alone nominalisation is different from compound subordinators such as 

\[\text{after}\]

as described in §8.4, and different from other adnominal or complement usage of the nominaliser, as discussed previously.

Stand-alone nominalisation marks background information and known facts, as discussed in §5.2.6.

\[(408)\] kami-ma-sudda yuŋ-s-a-ŋ-o, hai. kʰim-ŋ-da

blacksmith-mother-COM (N) sit-PT-1s-NOM hey. that.way-ever-NOM I

kʰiim-man-ŋ-da

house-godhead-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn-1s

'I have stayed with a Kèmes woman, hey. Like that too, I cannot go into the realm of the house gods.'

In the midst of a discourse or narrative, this usage of independent nominalisation can be construed as sentence conjunction. This analysis would be further corroborated by the fact that the nominaliser <\-ʔo> is in paradigmatic opposition to other conjunctive operators, such as the sequentialiser <-ki> (cf. §8.4): Co-occurrence with any other sentence conjunction is ruled out. However, the understood relationship of a nominalised clause with a successive sentence is a result of the functions of stand-alone nominalisation rather than the other way around.

5.2.6 Stand-alone nominalisation

The nominaliser <\-ʔo> also appears independently as a marker on free-standing sentences. This phenomenon is widespread throughout the region7. Watters (2008) cites a host of grammars and grammarians in an attempt to identify typological common denominators and pinpoint a functional core of this type of nominalisation. Even if the function is unsure, syntactically this type of nominalisation is clearly delineated. Clauses can be nominalised even when they are not overtly subordinated. I shall follow Watters in calling this phenomenon 'free standing' nominalisation.

Known facts  Free-standing nominalisation marks known facts, i.e. knowledge that hearer and speaker share. In the following line (409) from the Ganya narrative this function is explicit in the form 'you said to me...' Using the nominaliser, the speaker intentionally implies: You know it, and there is no denying it.

\[(409)\] la iŋka kʰa-an-anin-ŋa nau ši ge råga piw-a-nin-ne,

OK 1 you EMP nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) give-PT-2p-OPT


2AS-say-PT-1s-2p-1sc-NOM OK now (N) give-PT-1s-2p-1sc that-ref-PRN-ERG beg-3P

7Watters (2008): 'The nominalisation of independent, non-subordinated clauses is a phenomenon that has been reported all across Tibeto-Burman, both within Himalayish and outside it.'
'Well, let you give me a nine-horned buffalo bull, you said so, well, now give it, she asked.' [Gn]

**Backgrounding** The nominaliser also marks background information, which is perhaps akin to marking known facts. The statements that move a story line forward in a narrative are normally put in unmarked forms, while background information is marked by nominalised forms. The usage of nominalisation is clearly illustrated in the recipe for ‘Hengmawa’. In this recipe, the things that people are expected to know, e.g. facts about the utensils, are put in the nominalised form.

(410)  

a. pʰeri kʰonki-na gagityaŋ-hut-da ik-tet bʰi
    again (N) and.then-TOP distillation.vessel-hole-LOC one-qual earthen.vessel
    yuyu-ma dot-Ø.
    put-INF must-NPT
   
   ‘after that, inside the gagityang one must put an earthen vessel.’ [Hm]

b. i-do nikai hamko mu-Ø-/lo.
   his/her-mouth very (N) different be.pred-NPT-NOM
   ‘The mouth of that one is very different.’ [Hm]

As we see, the second sentence is nominalised. This sentence states a fact that is not part of the progressing story.

**Factive** Rutgers (1998) labels free-standing nominalised verbs ‘factive.’ This label nicely sums up the ‘backgrounding’ and ‘known facts’ readings mentioned above, and I shall use it to refer to these two functions.

**Mirative** Nominalised clauses also serve as complement to miratives. The mirative functional category is a regional phenomenon. Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language, and many Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal have simple grammatical means to mark new information. The Nepali auxiliary raeca [rəɛə] is borrowed as Bantawa rəɛə as a mirative marker. The mirative takes nominalised sentential complements.

(411) am-cʰa baddpʰe i-kʰaru mett-u-ŋ-o-ʔo rəɛə.
   your²-child very his/her-mind apply-3P-PROG-3P-NOM MIR (N)
   ‘your son appears to be very clever’

**Controversy and assertion** The nominalisation marker has a quite different effect on the non-past forms. Indicative nominalised forms are either understood as assertive such that the speaker expects controversy, but is ready to stand up against it, or they turn the inherent future reading into a proper present tense reading: ‘this is going to happen right now.’

(412) Effect of nominalisation of non-past forms  

a. kʰat-ŋa
   go-1s
   ‘I shall go’
5.2. Nominalisation

b.  kʰat-ŋaʔo
    go-1s-NOM
    ‘I go’ (or ‘certainly will go’, ‘am going right now’)

Questions  Finally, to conclude our survey of different uses for this nominaliser, we must note that questions or instructions are often marked with the nominaliser. This has also been observed for a multitude of languages of the area (Watters 2008: 22).

(413)  am-kʰe  ham-si  ti-kʰar-aʔo?
    your²-lise swap-SUP 2AS-go-PT-NOM
    ‘Did you go to swap lice?’ (meaning: did you go to have sex?)

However, this is not so much a matter of politeness as in Newar (Watters 2008: 22), but simply a matter of correct language. Inquiring questions that inform after a statement of fact and would translate as ‘is it the fact that...?’, are normally put in the nominalised form. Imperatives are not nominalised.

Imperfective  Van Driem (1987) offers the label ‘imperfective’ for the nominalised forms in Limbu as well as for the parallel forms in Dumi (1993b). The choice for this label is further clarified in Van Driem (1993a), where the author points out the similarities in function of the Limbu nominaliser on one hand and the Russian imperfective on the other. While the nominaliser of Limbu is formally different from the Bantawa nominaliser, in many respects the Limbu normaliser functions similarly: The nominaliser affixes to finite verbs and appears in similar contexts.

The label ‘imperfective’ originates from the Slavic linguistic tradition and has a well defined meaning in that context. In this grammar, however, I reserve this term for verbal categories that express cursive, i.e. ongoing aspect as in contrast with perfective aspect of the verb. In this notion of the imperfective, all imperfective categories contrast with perfective categories that denote that the verbal action is delimited, has a beginning or end. In this grammar, the imperfective is understood as defined by Payne (1997: 239), i.e. as describing a process ‘from the inside’, as an ongoing process. This functional area of verb aspect is covered in Bantawa by the progressive and continuative verb compound forms. Particularly the progressive is so frequent, that petrified forms are grammaticalising to form a fixed paradigm.

To call the nominaliser an imperfective is infelicitous because all verbs, regardless of their aspect, both progressive and perfective, can be nominalised. Apparently, the categories of aspect and Aktionsart, viz. imperfective, progressive and perfective on one hand and factitive or nominalisation on the other hand are functionally disjoint. Moreover, unlike the Russian imperfective, the nominaliser is not a verbal category but a cross-category suffix that primarily turns clauses of any type into nominals or nominal modifiers. For this reason, Bantawa nominalised forms are not described as imperfective.
An account for free-standing nominalisation

Empty copula  Watters (2008: 22-26) attributes the assertive and contrastive interpretations of nominalised clauses to the fact that, under the surface, these nominalised clauses are the complement or predicate of an empty equative verb. A sentence such as the following, that concludes a narrative, then must be translated as a cleft sentence. Sentence (414a) would translate as 'it is like that', while example (414b) would, more precisely and emphatically, be rendered as 'The fact is, it was like that'.

(414)  a.  kʰwatni lis-a.
    like.that become-PT
    'it is like that'
  b.  ... kina kʰwatni ĭlis-a-ʔo.
    ... SEQ like.that become-PT-NOM
    '... Then, that is what it is like.'

Under this analysis, the statements in (414) are structurally very different from backgrounding or factitive sentences. Sentence (414b) gets the structure of an equative predicate, where the nominalised clause is the single argument of an empty monovalent copula. The nominalised clause in (414b) is interpreted as embedded to an implied, monovalent equative verb.

(414b)  [kʰwatni ĭlis-a-ʔo]  [Ø]copula
        [like.that become-PT-NOM]copula  EQ
        'The fact is, it was like that.'

Arguably, Bantawa has an empty equative copula, cf. §4.2.1, so assuming a monovalent reading for this copula is not far-fetched: a) Zero verbs are well established in simple equations, and, more importantly, b) some other copula verbs of the 'to be' class are seen to form constructions with a nominalised clause complement, e.g. perfect constructions9, but also, in the same vein, the mirative. In summary, this account by Watters (2008) explains the differences in interpretation between two types of stand-alone nominalisations by positing an empty copula for those sentences that have a contrastive or assertive reading. Even if this analysis is hard to prove or falsify, since it involves an inaudible element, this way of describing this structure offers some insight into the semantic effect of nominalisation.

Making an object of a sentence  The factive and backgrounding use of nominalised sentences are quite different from contrastive and assertive sentences. To understand the non-contrastive usage of nominalised sentences, we may keep in mind that these sentences, by virtue of nominalisation, are technically no longer propositions but noun phrases. A sentence, as a proposition, would normally be

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8This analysis is parallel to ex.(54) in Watters (2008).
9As a footnote, we might well observe that in many or all Indo-European languages, perfect participles are adnominal. In many languages, the formation of perfect aspect is the process of turning the perfect participle into a predicate.
associated with the logical Boolean type, i.e. a sentence may have a truth value and can be evaluated as true or false. The effect of stand-alone nominalisation on a sentence, is that the sentence is turned into an entity, an object. This sentential object can be an argument to a verb as a sentential complement or become one half of a predication, even with a zero copula, or a circumstance, a general fact providing background information to a story. The general nominalisation in Bantawa has the semantic effect of changing sentences into noun phrases. This procedure spawns all these different possibilities for interpretation and manipulation.

Figure 5.1: Scorching the hair off the hog
Chapter 6

Transitivity Operations

This chapter discusses the various types of grammatical and semantic role patterns in Bantawa. The focus is on transitivity. First I survey the field of transitivity in §6.1. In §6.2, we review a morphological procedure that reduces the transitivity or valency of verbs. This simple procedure reduces the number of participants by changing the agreement on the verb, i.e. conjugating a verb intransitively instead of transitively. Deleting a participant from the verbal agreement does not necessarily imply that this participant cannot be mentioned. It turns out that verbs differ in the semantic effect of morphological category change. In §6.3, we discuss formation of causatives. There are different lexical and morphological procedures that introduce a new participant to a verb frame. These new participants have different semantic roles, dependent on the procedure and morphosyntactic make-up of the new verbal derivations or constructions. In §6.4, we discuss procedures for reducing the number of participants, i.e. the formation of reflexives and reciprocals.

6.1 Simple clause syntax

6.1.1 Grammatical roles, valence and conjugation

The first basic intuitive concept is that of valency. Valency is the number of arguments that a verb takes or, in other words, for which a verb is subcategorised. In §6.1.1 we shall review the standard grammatical roles in simple clauses, i.e. clauses without embedded clauses. After that, we survey the clause types that are found in Bantawa.

In the more or less standard clause types, viz. intransitive, transitive and bitransitive clauses, there is quite a predictable relationship between grammatical marking and semantic roles. The grammatical shape of roles remains consistent, even

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1Valency is sometimes referred to as ‘arity’ as well, and in that sense refers to the plain number of arguments in the clause. I intend to use the word ‘category’ primarily for the morphological class of the verb, whether the verb conjugates transitively or intransitively. The morphological class of a verb expresses its ‘transitivity’, but this concept will be defined more precisely later in this chapter.
if we consider different constructions such as *pars pro toto* agreement, agreement with embedded arguments and impersonal constructions.

**Grammatical roles**

The simplified picture that is valid for most languages is that verbs can be either intransitive, whereby only a subject of the verb appears in the clause, or transitive.

**Transitive and intransitive**

In transitive clauses, the non-oblique participants in the verbal action are labelled agent and patient.

The grammatical relations of nominal arguments to the verb materialise in an ergative-absolutive system, where subject and patient appear in the absolutive case <-Ø> (ABS) and the agent in the ergative case <-ʔa> (ERG). Furthermore, participants that maintain a grammatical relationship to the verb are potentially marked by verbal agreement, according to the system outlined in §4.4. Where verbal actions have more than two participants, i.e. in bitransitive clauses, which object gets agreement marking is specific to the verb.

In an ideal world, intransitive clauses would contain one single nominal argument for the verb in absolutive case. The verb would have markers for person and number, agreeing with this subject only. In transitive clauses, two participants would appear. The agent would be marked with the ergative suffix <-ʔa> and the patient would occur in absolutive case again, while the verb would show agreement with both participants. For the rarer bitransitive clauses, e.g. with give and sell, the verb would be transitive, but the third participant would not be marked on the verb. The dative, benefactive or recipient participant would appear in absolutive case or carry dative case marking <-lai> (DAT), a loan from Nepali -lår.

For the larger part, this picture holds true for Bantawa. The following sentences show the pattern.

(415) Intransitive

a. abo, hänkänši bat-Ø, nani-cy-o, asara-da-ŋka, asara sauna 
   now (N) viburnum bloom-NPT, child (N)-PL-VOC, Asār-LOC-ABL, Asār Sāun
   ‘Now, the viburnum flowers, dear child, from Asār, Asār-Sāun.’ [Hk]

b. i-do-da paːk-kʰa koreli kʰuy-ā-kī gʰoːda kʰi-si kʰar-ā
   his/her-mouth-LOC put.in-NOM bridle carry-PT-SEQ horse steal-SUP go-PT
   NAR
   ‘Taking a bridle to put in its mouth, he went to steal a horse, it is said.’ [Tt]

(416) Transitive

a. kiwa e sopt-u dʰir-u ni, mo mina-ʔa.
   tiger EMPHe rub-3P meet-3P NAR, that man-ERG
   ‘Rubbing, he met the tiger, that man, it is said.’ [Tt]

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2The ergative-absolutive syntax is a shared feature of Kiranti languages. While there are different forms for the ergative marker cross-linguistically, generally the absolutive is unmarked.
b. mina-lai i-law-a-ki i-ch'ekt-a.  
man-DAT (N) 3AM-catch-SEQ 3AM-lock-PT  
‘Grabbing the man, they locked him in (jail)’

Transitive patients pattern with intransitive subjects and do not get overt case marking, cf. (415a) haŋkare, (415b) koreli, g'odə, (416a) kiwa. However, in the instances where there may be potential confusion or where emphasis is felt to be necessary, the dative marker <-lai> (DAT) may be added to the patient (416b). This is even more so for dative objects in bitransitive sentences. The ergative marker appears on the agent noun in transitive sentences, if an agent noun phrase is present (416a). The ergative is required to make a sentence grammatical.

Intransitive verbs only have a grammatical subject, both in the clause as well as marked on the verb as agreement. However, the semantic role of that subject with respect to the action is ambiguous: The subject may have more or less control over the action. In action verbs, from a semantic point of view, the subject can have roles ranging from passive patient to active agent. For static verbs, predicating a state or attribute over the subject, the contrast between patient and agent seems hardly applicable. However, where we can contrast state verbs with their causative counterparts, it becomes obvious that grammatically subjects of state clauses fit in the patient category. Subjects of intransitive clauses may align with either patients or agents of corresponding transitive clauses.

For a normal transitive verb, the action can be pictured as originating from the agent and affecting the patient, say A → P. The normal case is where the syntactic and semantic roles of the participants coincide.

In this grammar, transitive verb agreement paradigms are presented as tables, cf. Tables 4.5, 4.6 and the appendix. These tables implicitly state that the verb forms represent actions performed by the agent upon the patient. The proper interpretation of the participant roles and course of action of these tables is pictured in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Transitivity as A → P

6.1.2 Transitivity

So far, we have referred to ‘valency’ as being almost synonymous with (in-) transitivity. From a morphological point of view, however, we find that verbs may be conjugated transitively without obvious clue or without overt participants to agree
with, and we find that verbs may be conjugated intransitively even when there are
two or more nominal constituents in the clause standing in an obvious argument
relationship with the verb.

As a matter of terminology, while ‘valency’ only refers to the number of
participants in a certain frame, ‘transitivity’ is a concept that finds expression on the
verb and in case marking, that is wider than valency alone.

Stretching the concept of transitivity to become a property of clauses is not a novel
idea, as it is explained in an article by Hopper and Thompson (1980). Semantically,
transitivity is not an absolute. There are scales of transitivity. Hopper and Thompson
(1980: 252) split the concept of transitivity into several components. Their work is
based on research in a multitude of languages, where they find that, across languages,
certain semantic properties pattern together as triggers for transitive morphology,
whereas other properties do not.

I have repeated a part of their list of features triggering transitivity below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parameters</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>LOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Participants</td>
<td>two or more participants, agent and object</td>
<td>1 participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Volitionality</td>
<td>volitional</td>
<td>non-volitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Affirmation</td>
<td>affirmative</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Mode</td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Individuation of object</td>
<td>object highly individuated</td>
<td>object non-individuated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prototypically most transitive clause is where the parameters all fit in the
HIGH category. I shall not discuss this scheme as such but refer to it in discussing
certain phenomena in the Bantawa language. One of Hopper and Thompson’s central
hypotheses is the following (1980: 255):

If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity
according to any of the features 1A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical or
semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also
show (a) to be higher in Transitivity.

In other words, the coding of transitivity is consistent: if a clause rates higher
on the scale of transitivity, then other, concomitant grammatical features in the
same clause will agree with that transitivity, provided any such feature relating to
transitivity is present. Some clauses are more transitive than others. The most
transitive situation is where a voluntary agent inflicts an effect upon a known and
animate passive patient that undergoes the action to completion. This widens the
concept of transitivity from strictly a relation between an n number of participants
to encompass semantic features, time and aspect as well.

For example, in Hindi the ergative marker on the agent in transitive clauses <-ne>
is only required in the past tense. A past action having more reality than non-past
actions, this can be associated with feature (G) in the list. The hypothesis of Hopper
and Thompson (1980) then predicts that we would not expect, for example, a situation
in Hindi where <-ne> appears in non-volitional actions but not with volitional actions.

This widened concept of transitivity is helpful in understanding the selection
of case and verb conjugation in Bantawa. The semantic notion of transitivity is
mapped onto the morphological marking and syntactical positions and relations that exist in the clause. The transitivity is apparent in morphology in the participant agreement on the finite verb. Syntactically, the relevant parameters are a) overt presence of participants as arguments to the verb and b) the case marking on these nominals. The pattern for Bantawa is presented in (417). Subscripts signal syntactic participant, either subject (S), agent (A) or patient (P). The markers $A_S$, $A_A$ and $A_P$ denote participant agreement, either expressed in prefixes or suffixes.

\[(417)\] **intransitive clauses**
\[\text{Subject}_S-\text{ABS Verb}-A_S\]

**transitive clauses**
\[\text{Agent}_A-\text{ERG Patient}_P-\text{ABS (Recipient-DAT) Verb}-A_A-\text{AP}\]

How the agreement on the verb is realised is discussed in §4.4. Transitivity is not merely a matter of valence. Verbs may project two or three grammatical roles into the clause but may nevertheless be conjugated intransitively, motivated by a perceived or expressed lower transitivity of the entire clause. The less transitive form may express a) incompleteness of the action, b) less affectedness of the patient or c) non-individuation of the object, i.e. generic statements. Also in Bantawa, we find that d) the verbal suffix <-u> expressing a third person patient is absent from negated forms. In summary, morphological transitivity as shown on the verb agreement does not just reflect the number of participants alone.

**Intransitive clauses**

In this section, we treat clauses that are intransitive from a syntactical as well as a morphological viewpoint. The semantically intransitive expressions that get a morphologically or syntactically transitive realisation are treated in 6.1.3. Intransitive clauses in this sense are truly simple. The interpretation of the subject ranges between agentive or patientive. This is not a void semantic observation because many verbs that appear in an intransitive clause can conjugate transitively as well. If that is the case, more agentive subjects will correspond to the agent of the transitive verb\(^3\), and more patientive subjects will correspond to the patient\(^4\). Some verbs do not allow for a transitive conjugation, e.g. ‘to sleep’.

\[(418)\] **eat**
\[\text{a. caŋ} \quad \text{‘I ate.’ antipassive: whatever I ate is not important.}\]
\[\text{b. coŋ} \quad \text{‘I ate it.’ transitive: something known, at a certain time, and I finished it.}\]

\[(419)\] **snap**

\(^3\)Intransitive verbs with a subject that corresponds to the agent of the verb in transitive conjugations can be called ‘antipassive’.

\(^4\)Intransitive verbs with a subject that corresponds to the patient of the verb in transitive conjugations can be called ‘middle’.
Chapter 6. Transitivity Operations

(a. samba kera
   ‘the bamboo snapped’
b. samba keru
   ‘he snapped the bamboo’

(420) sleep
a. imsanŋ.
   ‘I slept’
b. *imsuŋ.
   **‘I slept (him?)’

More on causativisation in is to be found in section 6.3.

Transitive clauses
In transitive clauses, the agreement marking on the verb normally corresponds to both agent and patient. This pattern is most common and transparent to understand and examples are found throughout the corpus. There are some variations on the pattern that deserve attention.

Bitransitive clauses
For bitransitive verbs, there is ambiguity as to which of the two objects will agree with the patient markers on the verb. It is useful to semantically distinguish between the dative object, that is the recipient of the action, and the direct object, that usually fulfils a role closer to an instrument or a passive manipulated object. In keeping with this line of thinking it is helpful to refer to the ‘Hierarchy of topicality of semantic roles’, as formulated by Givón (2001: 200).

- Agt > Dat/Ben > Pat > Loc > others

This semantic hierarchy is coupled with preferential accessibility to the grammatical roles dished out by the verb, i.e. the syntactic subject, agent and patient roles. This preferential accessibility is stated as follows:

(421) preferential accessibility
a. Access to subject grammatical role
   If a simple clause has an agent argument, this argument has the highest claim to the subject grammatical role. Otherwise, the claim passes down the above hierarchy in order.
b. Access to object (here: patient) grammatical role
   If the simple clause has a dative/benefactive argument, this argument has the highest claim to the direct object grammatical role. Otherwise, the claim passes down the above hierarchy in order.

From the examples given by Givón (2001: 220), it appears that there is considerable cross-linguistic variation in how the hierarchy of works out. In Bantawa, the access
of dative objects to the direct object position is a matter of lexical subcategorisation rather than a rule. It depends on the type of bitransitive verb whether the dative object or direct object will be reflected in the verb agreement. Some verbs have a pattern where the dative object controls the agreement marking on the verb, while for other verbs the direct or patient object corresponds to the agreement on the verb.

The verbs loma 'to speak' and pɨma 'to give' pattern with one another in that the dative object gets the agreement marking on the verb, but inma 'to sell' is different in that verbal object agreement agrees with the direct object rather than with the recipient participant.

(422) to give

a. iŋka-ʔa ram badde-ka-tet cʰapdani-ci pi-ŋ.
   I-ERG Rām many-NUM-QUAL pen-PL give-1s
   'I gave Rām many pens'

   I-ERG Rām many-NUM-QUAL pen-PL give-1s-DUP-1s
   ** I gave Rām many pens

c. * iŋka-ʔa ram rə syam ik-tet cʰapdani pi-ŋ
   I-ERG Rām and Šyām one-QUAL pen give-1s
   ** I gave Rām and Šyām one pen

d. iŋka-ʔa ram rə syam ik-tet cʰapdani pi-ŋ-ci-ŋ
   I-ERG Rām and Šyām one-QUAL pen give-1s-DUP-1sc
   'I gave Rām and Šyām one pen'

Example (422b) is ungrammatical because the plural marking on the verb conflicts with the singular dative recipient. Example (422c) is ungrammatical because the non-singular marking <-ci>, required for dual recipients, is absent.

(423) to sell

   I-ERG Rām two-QUAL car-PL sell-1s-DUP-1s
   'I sold Rām two cars'

   I-ERG Rām-LOC two-QUAL car-PL sell-1s-DUP-1s
   'I sold two cars to Rām'

With the verb inma 'to sell' however, relations are expressed differently. The verb must agree with the direct object. Sentences without plural object marking on the verb as in example (423) are ungrammatical. In this type of sentence, the direct object can be demoted even further, by suffixing the dative object with a locative marker <-da>. This demotion is possible or required for bitransitive verbs of motion, such as tatma 'to bring' or kʰatma 'take', as well. The fact that the verb inma 'to sell' shares this agreement pattern with motion verbs, clarifies that inma is perceived as a member of the motion class of verbs, where the dative object refers to the location of the action.
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**Pars pro toto**

For agreement purposes, body parts are considered to stand for the whole. In English, the noun ‘head’ is the nominal head of the phrase ‘my head’, and determines its agreement features. By contrast, in Bantawa the agreement features of a noun phrase reflect the speaker’s understanding of the situation. The patient of the situation in (424) only finds explicit mention in the possessive pronoun. However, the agreement features on the verb depict the situation such that the owner of that body part is the recipient and seem to agree with the possessive pronoun. The body part represents the whole of its owner, the recipient.

(424)  
  a. am-d\(^h\)en-yiwa ot-na.  
      your\(^3\)-back-bone snap-2P  
      ‘I shall break your backbone’  
  b. am-k\(^\circ\)omta\(^m\)-da mok-na  
      your\(^4\)-cheek-LOC slap-2P  
      ‘I shall slap you on the cheek’

(425)  
  a. anka-\(^\circ\)o som tuk-nin.  
      we\(^m\)-GEN heart hurt-1ns2  
      ‘we like you’ (lit. our heart hurts ‘to’ you)  
  b. anka-\(^\circ\)o som tu?-a.  
      we\(^m\)-GEN heart hurt-PT  
      ‘we feel compassionate’ (lit. our heart hurts)

The latter two examples show that it is not a hard and fast rule that the possessive prefix or pronoun determines the person and number features of a noun phrase. Specifically in transitive contexts where a relation between two animate participants is expressed via body parts, the full person agreement emerges.

**Agreement with participants in the embedded clause**

Similarly, the agreement on a matrix verb may express the participants in the embedded clause rather than those of the main clause. Consider the following examples.

(426) thinking  
  a. di ti-sen-\(\pi\)a?  
      what 2AS-ask-1s  
      ‘what will you ask me?’  
  b. di sen-ma ti-mit-\(\pi\)-\(\eta\)-\(\eta\).  
      what ask-INF 2AS-think-1s-PROG-1s  
      ‘what are you thinking of asking me?’  
  c. di sen-ma ti-mit-u-\(\eta\)-\(\eta\)?  
      what ask-INF 2AS-think-3P-PROG-PT.3P  
      ‘what are you thinking of asking him?’.
In a simple clause (426a), the verb *senma* 'to ask' simply agrees with the agent and dative object. However, when someone is thinking of a question and we ask what it is he is thinking of asking, the patient marking of the thinking verb appears to reflect the patient of the asking, e.g. (426b, 426c). Agreement with embedded arguments is regular on verbs governing infinitive subordinate clauses. The agreement on a matrix verb with participants embedded in an infinitive phrase points at a close integration with the matrix clause.

### 6.1.3 Impersonal clauses

The grammatical roles in simple intransitive clauses and transitive clauses are relatively clear. This is less so for a quite extensive class of verbal expressions that express emotions, diseases and situations where there is one participant more or less undergoing an emotion, with or without an obvious other participant as the cause of this condition. These *verba sentiendi* are impersonal verbs that conjugate according to a specific area in the agreement matrix of the transitive verb.

#### Part of the paradigm used by impersonal verbs

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#### Diseases: 3s → patient

Diseases and feelings are not entirely under the control of the person subject to them, which is reflected in the verbal forms that express these situations. The typical agreement present on the verb is that of a third person singular agent representing the disease or feeling, and a variable patient, cf. the schema above.

(427) get fever

a. ɪŋka maŋdʰin i-mett-a-ŋ.

  1   fever   3AM-affect-PT-1s

  ‘I have a fever’

(428) get the hiccups
Intransitives with an object

To wish, to want badly: intransive verb with an object

The two ways of expressing desire in Bantawa are conjugated intransitively, in spite of the fact that an object must be mentioned. This agreement pattern puts the subject of the verb alone in the spotlight, reflecting the fact that the desire or volition expressed by these verbs primarily is a feature of the subject and hardly, if at all, affects the object.

The verb \(sɨma\) ‘to want badly’ is an intransitive verb that is homophonous with and related to the verb \(sɨma\) ‘to die’. In spite of this, \(sɨma\) ‘to want badly’ requires an object. Both object and subject of \(sɨma\) are in the absolutive case. Similarly, the verb \(caha\ metma\) ‘to want (to have)’ consists in the intransitive conjugation of \(metma\) ‘to apply’, accompanied by a complementary noun \(caha\), which is a loan from Nepali \(c¯aha\ ‘want, liking’. With this verb too, all nominals in the sentence are in absolutive case.

(433) want
a. \(kʰana\ cʰapdani caha\ ti-met-yaŋ?\)
   you pen wish 2AS-apply-PROG
   ‘Do you want a pen?’

(434) to be hungry, to desire

\(^5\)Compare the English idiom ‘to die for’.
6.1. Simple clause syntax

a. ogari kʰananim sa ti-si-n-y-in he maʔaŋ
   this.time you.pl hunger 2AS-die-12plSP-PROG-12plSP or NEG.be
   ‘are you (pl) hungry or not?’

b. badde ciya duŋ-ʔa ti-si-yaŋ
   much tea drink-INF 2AS-die-PROG
   ‘Do you want to drink more tea?’

Emotions: verbs with an additional noun

There is a quite large group of verbs or verbal idioms that contains an extra nominal argument with or without corresponding agreement marking on the verb. First let us consider some examples where the nominal argument agrees with the verb marking. Many of such expressions can be called body part emotion verbs, as the emotion is expressed as if it were located in a certain body part, e.g. mind, lung or heart.

The emotions of ‘to like’ or ‘to dislike’ are located in the mind. In Bantawa, these emotions are expressed by an idiom that literally means that the mind can cʰitma ‘leave’ or noma ‘be good’, depending on the mood of the owner. In a similar vein, the relationship between people can be expressed by what the mind does. Even when it is only the mind of the experiencer that gets affected pars pro toto, two participants can be marked on the verb, cf. §6.1.2.

(435) iŋ-niŋa no-ŋa.
   my-mind be.good-1s
   ‘I am pleased.’ (with ...)

(436) am-dum-ʔa iŋko iŋ-niŋa cʰir-a-ŋ-a.
   your²-word-ERG my my-mind leave-PT-PROG-PT
   ‘Your words made me angry’ (lit. ‘by your words, my mind leaves’)

(437) iŋka-ʔa kʰana-lai iŋ-niŋa cʰit-na-ŋ-na
   I-ERG you²-DAT my-mind make.leave-2P-PROG-2P
   ‘I do not like you.’ (lit. I make my mind leave for you)

(438) kʰana-ʔa am-niŋa ti-nos-a-ŋ he ti-cʰir-a-ŋ?
   you²-ERG your²-mind 2AS-make.good-PT-1s or 2AS-make.leave-PT-1s
   ‘Do you like me or hate me?’

(439) kʰana kʰoci-ʔo i-niŋa ni-no-yaŋ
   you² they³-GEN his/her-mind 3A-make.good-PROG
   ‘They like you.’

Example (435) is the simple case: The intransitive verb agrees with the experiencer. In example (436), the ergative marker marks the source of the event. However, as the verb is intransitive and grammatically agrees with the mind, the instrumental reading is required for the ergative in amdumʔa ‘by your word’. In this example, the dislike is ascribed to the second person by the possessive prefix <am-> (YOUR²) on dum ‘word’. In the third example, the dislike is more volitional, and the transitive counterpart of cʰitma ‘to leave’ is used. The last examples show the transitive usages of both noma ‘to be good’ and cʰitma ‘to leave’.
Chapter 6. Transitivity Operations

The verb does not always agree with the experiencer, e.g. in the following metaphorical use of *lokma* ‘to boil’, which conjugates differently from the literal use.

(440) ɨŋ-lawa lok-Ø.
       my-mind boil-NPT
       ‘I am scared.’

Bantawa also has many idiomatic expressions in which the verb does not agree with its argument noun at all. Instead, the agreement on the verb reflects the participant relationship.

(441) to feel for someone

a. ɨŋ-kaʔa som tuk-na.
   I-ERG lung hurt-2P
   ‘I feel for you.’

b. ɨŋ-som tuk-na
   my-lung hurt-2P
   ‘I feel for you.’

c. ɨŋ-kaʔa kʰo-lai som tukt-u-ŋ
   I-ERG he-DAT lung hurt-3P-1s
   ‘I feel for him.’

d. kʰo-saʔa som ni-tuk-yaŋ
   he-PRN-ERG lung 3A-hurt-PROG
   ‘He feels for you.’

There are two alternatives in usage: Either the feeler is expressed as agent, e.g. (441a, c, d) or simply as the owner of the seat of emotion, e.g. (441b). In either case, the verb agreement reflects the relationship.

**Semantics** All of these predicates somehow express an emotion or experience. The experiencer may be cast either as a) the owner of the emotion, e.g. (440, 442), or b) the owner of the body part of the emotion, e.g. (435), or c) the agent of the emotive operation on a body part, e.g. (438, 441).

(442) ɨŋ-cirpa kat-Ø
       my-anger feel-NPT
       ‘I am angry’ (lit. ‘my anger is felt’)

The experience predicates all consist of a combination of a nominal and verbal part. For some verbs of experience, the verb is meaningful in expressing the emotion or sensation, while for other predicates the non-verbal part of the predicate is the semantic center of gravity. The way the semantics are composed can be either a) the noun contains most of the semantics, i.e. the emotion, and the verb is just the host for tense and agreement, e.g. (442), b) the noun denotes a body part that undergoes some movement or operation, together they constitute the emotion, e.g. (440,436), or c) the verb has a definite emotive meaning, the noun in the construction mostly hosts the owner, by possessive marking (441). A detailed study into these patterns for Belhare is found in Bickel (1997).
6.2 Verb transitivity operations

Intransitive verbs, conjugating transitively

To boil  Some verbs, in spite of seeming to be semantically intransitive, still emerge as syntactically transitive. The example of this is ‘to boil’, lokma.

(443) boil
   a. cakwa lokt-u
      water boil-3P
      ‘the water boils.’
   b. * cakwa lokt-a
      water boil-PT
      ‘the water boiled’
   c. * cakwa lokt-u-ŋ
      water boil-3P-1s
      ‘I boiled the water’
   d. cakwa lok-mett-u-ŋ
      water boil-CAUS-3P-1s
      ‘I make the water boil.’

In spite of the transitive form, there is no perceived object of the boiling, but one cannot use the verb intransitively, cf. sentence (b), nor can the verb be interpreted transitively. The formal transitivity perhaps reflects the violent nature of the bubbling, which makes the water seem the agent. To express a causative ‘to make boil’, one has to resort to a circumscribed morphological causative, cf. §6.3.3. Irregular transitive conjugation was also reported for Thulung, interestingly for the cognate verb <lok/t-> ‘to boil’: loqjîu ‘it has boiled’ (Allen 1975: 42, 220)\footnote{Also in Limbu, cf. (van Driem 1987: 451)}.

6.2 Verb transitivity operations

This section discusses operations on verbs that change valency or, more generally, transitivity as expressed in the verbal morphology.

6.2.1 Antipassive and middle verb conjugation

The notion of transitivity not only refers to the number of participants as expressed on the verb, i.e. arity or valency. There are also other aspects of transitivity of the predicate, such as completion, definiteness, etc. (See above, §6.1.2) Transitivity is expressed in morphology, primarily in the stem type and participant agreement of the verb. Normally, all participants in the predicate event, with a maximum of two, are expressed in verb agreement as outlined in the previous paragraphs. There are some regular variations to this pattern.

One deviation from the general pattern is that many verbs conjugate both transitively and intransitively. These verbs may have marking and agreement typical for two-participant clauses as well as subject-only clauses. A two-way verb
classification into transitive and intransitive verbs is insufficient. We would need a more specific verb classification to capture the fact that some verbs only conjugate transitively, some conjugate in two ways and some conjugate intransitively only.

There are different ways in which we can analyse this phenomenon. Syntactically, we can observe that verbs are transformed from one valency class into another by some morphological zero operation. In an analysis of that kind, it may be hard to decide which verbs are roots and which are derived. Are the intransitives more basic or the transitive forms? To decide this, one may look at transitive-intransitive pairs and try and identify formal characteristics that distinguish one verb pair from another. There may also be semantic clues to whether a verb is basically transitive or intransitive.

6.2.2 Antipassive: object demotion or omission

The antipassive is a valence decreasing operation that downgrades or deletes the patient of the verbal predicate. In English, demotion of the patient may be effected by either putting the object in an oblique case or, more drastically, by omitting the object. Compare the English examples in (444).

(444) make the sentence less transitive
   a. he shot the deer
   b. he shot at the deer
   c. he shot

In Bantawa, both possibilities (444b) and (444c) are available as well. An example of (b) was already shown in §6.1.2, where the locative takes the place of zero marking in certain bitransitive clauses. The replacement of an absolutive case by a locative is a marginal procedure in Bantawa. A more common strategy of patient demotion is simple omission. The prime antipassive formation strategy in Bantawa is to put a transitive verb in an intransitive form. In Bantawa, therefore, the antipassive has clear morphological reflexes on the verb and usually only on the verb.

Implicit antipassive

Many transitive verbs that allow antipassive usage can conjugate as if they were intransitive, while the agent argument remains in the ergative case or is not mentioned but understood. We shall call the intransitive conjugation of transitive verbs the implicit antipassive because, except in the agreement marking, there is no signal that the object is less relevant to the speech situation. The implicit antipassive contrasts with the explicit antipassive, where an extra morpheme is added to signal argument deletion (See §6.2.3). In the implicit antipassive, the agreement on the verb refers to the agent and the agent is still understood as such. This contrasts with the middle conjugation of transitive verbs as discussed in a following section.

(445) ukma 'to peel'
6.2. Verb transitivity operations

a. i-kʰot uʔ-u-kʰo.
   his/her-skin peel-3P-see:3P
   'peel off the skin' (lit. peel its skin and see, i.e. finish it)

b. iʔka-ʔa uʔ-a-ŋ
   1-ERG peel-PT-1s
   'I peeled (it)'

(446) cʰoma 'to plough'

a. cʰoʔ-u-ŋ
   plough-3P-1s
   'I ploughed it.'

b. cʰoʔ-a-ŋ
   plough-PT-1s
   'I have been ploughing.'

c. jamma-ŋe wiʔ cʰos-u-ŋ-ciʔ-u-ŋ
   all (N)-EMPH land plough-3P-1s-finish-3P-1s
   'I finished ploughing all of the land.'

As we see in the first example above, the normal imperative for a transitive verbs ends in the marker <-u> (3P) that is typical for the transitive conjugation only. However, if one has been peeling already, it is acceptable to say 'I have peeled' in an intransitive form, omitting the object.

For verbs where the object is less specific or less obviously affected, it is the standard to use the antipassive forms of the verbs. With a process such as ploughing, it is not clear where exactly the object is affected. The object, the soil, is inanimate and diffuse. If the object is mentioned at all next to an antipassive form, it will be understood as the location of the action. However, if the action has been performed on a specific object and has been completed, it is incorrect to use the antipassive, and the full transitive form must be used, cf. (446c).

Consider the following example sentences on catching fish and listening.

(447) ŋa laʔma 'to catch fish'

a. ŋa laʔ-u-ŋ.
   fish catch-3P-1s
   'I caught a fish (the fish)'

b. *ŋa laʔ-a-ŋ
   fish catch-PT-1s
   'I caught a fish'

c. ŋa laʔ-a-ciʔa.
   fish catch-PT-DU-e
   'We (dual, excl) went fishing.'

d. kʰo-sa-ʔa ŋa laʔ-u.
   he-PRN-ERG fish catch-3P
   'He caught a fish.'
e. ? kʰo-saʔa ŋa laʔ-a
   he-PRN-ERG fish catch-PT
   ? He went fishing.

(448) kʰa enma ‘to listen, to hear’
   a. ik-tat kiwa mo-yu ta-ki kʰa-en-a-a niʔo rəcʰa.
      one-qual tiger that-down come-SEQ thing-hear-PT-PROG-PT NAR-NOM MIR
      ‘One tiger, coming below (from there) was listening, it so happened,...’

The basic grammatical pattern is found in (447a), where both agent and patient are clearly discernible. The verb lapma ‘to catch’ cannot be conjugated intransitively and then mean ‘I caught a fish’, let alone, ‘I caught the fish’, e.g. (447b). However, if we went fishing as an activity without a clear object, it is fine to leave the object out and use the verb antipassively, e.g. (447c). The case marking of the agent or subject in simple, declarative antipassive clauses is doubtful. While a sentence such as (447d) is acceptable, example (447e) is understood but raises eyebrows. However, the alternative kʰo ŋa laʔ-a ‘he caught fish’ does not sound very good either. The basic and frequent usage is where the pronouns are left out altogether. In citation forms elicited from language teachers, the antipassive form is often mentioned first⁷. When time reference is less relevant, antipassive forms are also preferred over transitive forms.

(449) kʰina ‘to steal’
   a. syam kʰis-a
      Śyām steal-PT
      ‘Śyām steals.’
   b. * syam o paisa kʰis-a
      Śyām this money (N) steal-PT
      ‘Śyām stole this money.’
   c. syam-ʔa i-paʔo i-yaŋ kʰis-u
      Śyām-ERG his/her-father-GEN his/her-money steal-3P
      ‘Śyām stole his father’s money.’
   d. (kʰosaʔa yaŋ) kʰis-a-ki i-law-a i-cʰekt-a.
      steal-PT-SEQ 3AM-catch-PT 3AM-close-PT
      ‘... having stolen money, they caught him and locked him in.’

The verb kʰina ‘steal’ behaves according to the described pattern, not allowing for antipassive usage when the object is present, e.g. (449b). When someone habitually steals, though, it is the norm to conjugate the verb intransitively (449a). When used in a subordinate embedded clause, object and time reference are irrelevant again, and the intransitive conjugation is preferred (449d).

This corresponds to the intuition of one of my teachers who remarked the following about kikma ‘to hold’. If one says kikta it is as if it has been long ago or any time, really, while if one says kiktu, it only just happened. Using the transitive form

⁷As matter of fact, Rai (1985: p.88 et passim) mentions antipassive forms only in his grammar, giving, for instance, mokta for ‘he kicks’.
brings in a notion of perfectivity. The form \( kɨkta \) would be translated as ‘he held it,’ suggesting that he has been holding it for a while. By contrast, the form \( kɨktu \) would translate as ‘he grabbed it’, ‘he got hold of it’.

Another notion that is important in selecting the conjugation type is the amount of control over the object. For example, the verb \( manma kʰunma \) ‘to forget’ clearly denotes some loss of control. Both transitive and intransitive forms are acceptable for conjugating \( manma kʰunma \).

\[(450) \quad manma kʰunma \ ‘to forget’
   \begin{enumerate}
   \item mantuŋ kʰaisuŋ
         ‘I forgot’
   \item mantanŋ kʰaisanŋ
         ‘I forgot’
   \end{enumerate}\]

As a more general case, negated forms, where control is inherently less, are prone to lose the transitive conjugation marking. Finally, not all transitive verbs can be used this way. Some verbs that are more transitive than others resist antipassivisation.

\[(451) \quad \text{no antipassive?}
   \begin{enumerate}
   \item * sera
         *he kills
   \item * kʰatta
         *he takes
   \item ? dʰatta
         ?he kicks
   \end{enumerate}\]

Specifically, as a class, the resulting verbs of lexical or morphological applicative or causative derivations resist antipassive usage. Obviously, for these verbs an intransitive alternative is available, viz. the root of the derivation.

### 6.2.3 Explicit antipassive

The explicit antipassive is a grammatical construction that contains a free antipassive marker \(<kʰa>\) in the object position to signal that the object of the verbal situation is not relevant.

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<td>ANTP</td>
<td>Explicit antipassive, dummy object marker</td>
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The antipassive marker \(<kʰa>\) (ANTP) is very versatile and explicitly pre-empts any ambiguity to what argument structure is intended. Phonologically, the morpheme \( kʰa \) is a word, but this word always appears immediately in front of the verb form. Consider the following examples.

\[(452) \quad \text{hitma} \ ‘to scorch’\]
Chapter 6. Transitivity Operations

a. nam-ʔa mi-hit-yaŋ.
sun-ERG 3pl-scorch-PROG
'The sun is scorching us.'
b. am-taŋ-miwa hitt-a?
your' -head-hair burn-PT
'Did your hair get burnt?'
c. nam-ʔa kʰa hit-yaŋ.
sun-ERG AntP scorch-PROG
'The sun is scorching.'
d. kʰo-saʔa kʰa hit-Ø.
he/she-PRN-ERG AntP scorch-NPT
'He burns.'
e. kʰo-ciʔa kʰa hit-ci.
he/she-PL-ERG AntP scorch-DU
'They (du) burn.'
f. kʰo-ciʔa kʰa mi-hit.
he/she-PL-ERG AntP 3pl-scorch
'They (pl) burn.'

Normally, the verb hitma 'to scorch' is transitive (452a). Hitma 'to scorch' cannot be just conjugated intransitively to render an antipassive meaning, because this verb is a middle verb and will be understood as 'be burnt' when conjugated intransitively, cf. example (452b). To render an antipassive reading, the explicit antipassive marker <kʰa> must be added to serve as the verb’s direct object, cf. example (452c). The verb must conjugate intransitively, but the ergative markers are required on the agent noun phrase, e.g. (452d-452f). Verbs with explicit antipassive marker are translated as other antipassives, with an understood or implicit object. A distinctly indefinite meaning aspect is added, approximately rendered by 'to do X around'.

(453) kʰa mokma ‘to hit around’

a. han kʰa mok-ŋa.
now AntP hit-1s
'Now I shall hit, start hitting around'
b. deki kʰa ti-mok-yaŋ.
why AntP 2AS-hit-PROG
'Why are you hitting?'
c. deki kʰa ti-moʔ-in?
why AntP 2AS-hit-12plSP
'Why are you (pl) hitting?'
d. deki ti-moʔ-u-m?
why 2AS-hit-3P-12plA
'Why are you (pl) hitting him?'
e. deki kʰa man-mok ti-da-n?
why AntP NEGPTp-hit 2AS-NEGfx-12plSP
'Why have you (pl) not hit (someone)?
6.2. Verb transitivity operations

Many perception verbs almost obligatorily take the kʰa object and are given with kʰa in their citation forms, as forms without an object sound unnatural.

(454) kʰa kʰaŋma
     ‘to see’
(455) kʰa enma
     ‘to hear’

In regular usage though, verbs of perception are like any verb.

(456) kʰa kʰaŋ-ма si-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
     AntP see-INF wish-1s-PROG-1s
     ‘I would like to see some.’
(457) kʰa i-en-niŋ.
     AntP NEGNPp-hear-NEG1
     ‘I cannot hear a thing’
(458) kʰo i-en-niŋ
     he/she NEGNPp-hear-NEG1
     ‘I cannot hear it.’

Note that the negated verb forms for transitive verbs with third person patient and intransitive verbs are very similar or even identical. For first person forms, however, only the object pronoun or antipassive marker tells us the difference.

Transitivity resumed

The way that transitive verbs in Bantawa are used either in transitive conjugation or intransitive conjugation stresses the importance of widening the notion of transitivity. Transitivity in the narrow senses of morphological coding on the verb or the syntactical make-up of the sentence refers to the coding of the number of participants only. However, usage of transitive verb forms signals more than just arity. The transitive verb codes participants, but also the tense and aspect as well as specificity of the object. The correlation of multiple meaning facets with transitive morphology apparently is not a quirk of Bantawa but corresponds to universal facts as pointed out by Hopper and Thompson, as mentioned in §6.1.2.

6.2.4 Middle or zero causative derivation

A middle verb is one that renders a meaning closer to the passive even when it is grammatically active. The class of middle verbs is also referred to as the ‘break’ class of verbs. The verb ‘break’ has very similar behaviour cross-linguistically. As opposed to other transitive verbs, the subject of the verb ‘break’, when only one participant is mentioned, in intransitive usage, corresponds to the patient rather than to the agent in the transitive clause.

\footnote{Hopper and Thompson (1980) use the terminology ‘Individuation of the Object’ for specificity or perhaps definiteness of the object.}
Chapter 6. Transitivity Operations

(459) Transitive vs. middle
   a. He breaks the vase
   b. The vase breaks

(460) Transitive vs. antipassive
   a. He eats porridge
   b. He eats

Indeed, most of the various Bantawa ‘break’ verbs are in this class, though not all. For the sake of description, let us assume that middle verbs, that conjugate in two ways, are basically intransitive verbs that undergo a zero causative derivation to become transitive verbs. When middle verbs conjugate transitively, an additional participant is added to the verb frame that denotes the causer of the process or state. The verbs that participate in this derivation typically describe processes and states. By this type of causative derivation, verbs turn into action-process verbs that express a grammatical relation for the agent.

To posit an active derivational process for this ‘minimal’ causative construction is consistent with the finding that this derivation is not available for all verbs, even where we would expect it. The transitive conjugation of process-state verbs is ungrammatical when a competing morphological or lexical causative derivation is available.

(461) ketma ‘break, snap’ (middle)
   a. samba ker-a.
      bamboo break-PT
      ‘The bamboo broke’
   b. kʰo-saʔa samba ker-u
      he-PRN-ERG bamboo break-3P
      ‘He broke the bamboo.’

(462) otma ‘break, fracture’ (intransitive)
   a. iŋ-chuk or-a.
      my-arm fracture-PT
      ‘My arm broke.’
   b. * kʰosaʔa iŋ-chuk oru
      * ‘he broke my arm’

(463) otma ‘break, fracture’ (transitive, causative)
   a. kʰo-saʔa iŋ-chuk i-ott-aŋ.
      he-PRN-ERG my-arm 3AM-fracture-PT-1s
      ‘He broke my arm.’

For the verb <ot ~ or> ‘to break’ a regular lexical derivation <ot ~ ott> is available, which invalidates the transitive use of the intransitive verb. Example verbs in the class of middle verbs are listed below.
6.2. Verb transitivity operations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>infinitive</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>middle</th>
<th>active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ketma</td>
<td>break, snap (of sticks)</td>
<td>kera</td>
<td>— keru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰутма</td>
<td>break, snap (of wires)</td>
<td>pʰутта</td>
<td>— pʰутту</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бутма</td>
<td>break down, destroy</td>
<td>бүса kʰара</td>
<td>— бүсу</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бигма</td>
<td>explode</td>
<td>биъса kʰара</td>
<td>— биъсун</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>хутма</td>
<td>be pierced, pierce</td>
<td>хутта kʰара</td>
<td>— хутту</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Middle verbs typically denote a process. As a class, state verbs also show middle derivation behaviour\(^9\). Not all state and process verbs allow for middle derivation. There are two exceptions to the rule. The first is the simple situation where a verb does not allow for zero causative derivation because there are other simpler and unambiguous grammatical alternatives. The alternative may be either lexical or a morphological causative non-zero derivation. See отма 'to break' above, where a competing derivation process is in the way.

The other instance where middle conjugation of verbs is illegal is where a semantic specialisation stands in the way. If the transitive form of some verb renders a different specialised meaning, this form cannot be used as a simple causative. For example, consider кʰикма 'to be bitter'.

(464) кʰикма 'to be bitter' (intransitive and derived causatives)

\(\text{a. } kʰ-i̱k-yaŋ-ʔo} \quad \text{pakt-u.} \\
\quad \text{be.bitter-PROG-NOM make-3P}
\quad \text{'She made it bitter' (of a mother and the food)}

\(\text{b. } \text{seluwa-ʔa} \quad o} \quad \text{ŋa-lai} \quad kʰik-t-u. \\
\quad \text{bitter.herb-ERG this fish-DAT make.bitter-3P}
\quad \text{'The herbs numbed the fish.'}

\(\text{c. } \text{seluwa-ʔa} \quad kʰaŋ} \quad kʰik-mett-u. \\
\quad \text{bitter.herb-ERG vegetables be.bitter-CAUS-3P}
\quad \text{'The herbs made the vegetables bitter.'}

The first example (464a) shows the normal intransitive usage as well as a very lengthy causative. The normal intransitive form is used to create a finite, third person singular progressive and then nominalised form, resulting in a reified adjective that means 'bitter'. This nominal denotes the bitter stuff, perhaps herbs, that she put in the food in order to make it bitter. Example (464b) shows that the transitive use of this verb has a very specialised meaning. The herb seluwa (Nep: ttепатi) 'Articmisia' is used for catching fish\(^10\). The procedure is to collect a lot of the herb and then pound it into a mush. After that, a section of a river or creek is blocked and the mush is thrown in. The fish are numbed by the herb’s juices and can be caught at leisure. The fish can simply be grabbed or hammered on the head with stones. If we wish to say that some herb caused the vegetables to be bitter, a periphrastic causative construction (464c) must be used.

\(^9\)Note that attributes and qualities, such as size, colour and taste are typically predicated by verbs in Bantawa.

\(^10\)The piscicidal usage of Artimisia indica has also been reported by Joshi and Joshi (2006).
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6.3 Causative formation

6.3.1 Lexical causatives

Upon investigation of the verb inventory, it becomes obvious that many verb stem pairs are related to one another. There are lexical rules that form transitive verb stems out of other intransitive or transitive roots. The most obvious pairs that can be found in the data are listed in Table 6.1. Sprigg (1987) and Rai (1985) similarly have listed many example pairs of this phenomenon.

There are two derivational processes that both have been attested in many Tibeto-Burman languages. These derivational processes reflect stem formation procedures that were already present in proto-Tibeto-Burman.\(^{11}\)

Stem-final consonant addition or change

Adding <-t> The first process involves adding a suffix <-t> to the verb root, resulting in an applicative, benefactive, causative or directive (ABCD) reading for the resulting verb. It is hard to assign a single semantic function to the stem extender <-t>. Some verbs derived by addition of <-t> have a definite causative reading, e.g. cʰetma ‘make urinate’ is used for taking a child outside in order to induce it to perform the job. Other verbs of this group do not allow a causative reading, e.g. bʰetma ‘fart at’ is a clear example of a strict applicative in the sense that a new participant is brought on stage that otherwise would appear in an oblique case. Some <-t> verbs do not allow another than a benefactive reading, e.g. tʰopma ‘dance for someone else’. These verbs are a special instance of applicatives.

Adding <-s> The second derivation process adds a suffix <-s> to the verb root and results in a causative reading for the resulting verb. I consider the rare applicative readings to be reinterpreted exceptions. The semantic effect of the <-s> transitivisation is much more transparent than that of the <-t> operation.

The common denominator for these processes is the introduction of another participant in the verb matrix. The addition of a new participant role does not imply that this participant is always realised. Many transitive verbs allow for intransitive inflection, and in many cases the grammatical object participant is not mentioned.

Morphology For the stem derivation processes, the pre-consonantal stem of each verb is taken as input. For the <-s> stem derivation process, the final consonant of the verb stem root is nasalised, so that the rule would be as in (465).

\[(465) \text{CAUS}(v) = v \{[\text{nasal}] \} + s_2\]

The resulting verb stem always conjugates according to the s-conjugation class.

For the <-t> stem formation the picture is not so clear. Most frequently, the root consonant can be retained and the resulting verb is in the t-conjugation class, so that the rule could read as in (466).

\(^{11}\text{Cf. Michailovsky (1999), Matisoff (2003: 452, 471).}\)
However, for a significant number of verbs, some additional changes happen to the verb final consonant. Table 6.3 shows that there is a lot of traffic between nasal and non-nasal consonants within the class of verbs derived by addition of <-t> to another root. Also, some results of the t-stem formation are in the zero conjugation class. The subscript \( t_1 \) as in (466) incorrectly suggests that all resulting stems are in the t-conjugation class. Rule (466) must corrected into the form below.

\[
(466) \quad ABCD(v) = v + t_1
\]

Active morphological causative or lexical causative?

The question arises whether we consider this derivation process as an active morphological causative formation or consider the derived stems as lexical causatives, where the roots and formation process are still traceable. As mentioned previously, Sprigg (1987) makes derivation processes an informing factor in his analysis of verb stem conjugations. To explain the variation in the formation processes as in Table 6.1, he fits the conjugation class assignments to make them match this derivation process. op. cit. p.4: 'Part of the justification for distinguishing [...] classes [...] is not purely syntagmatic [...] but grammatical: it aims to associate lexical items by such functions as transitive, intransitive, causative [...]'”

As a method to reconstruct historical forms, the deep analysis of derivational processes is helpful. For example, based on the observed /ms/ ~ /pt/ alternation in the verb pair *imma* vs. *ipma* 'to sleep' in Table 6.1, a proto-form <*ip ~ *iʔ> could be posited. Logically, both of the surfacing forms would derive from this root form. This reconstruction has two problems. First, conceptually it is hard to think of a gloss for a detransitivised 'sleep', but, more significantly, there are no examples of a verb 'to sleep' that has the simple form *ip* in any of the surrounding languages: Thulung <oms>, Kulung <im ~ ims>, Athpahariya <ims>. Rather, the form in Limbu <im ~ ips> points the other way. The stem final /s/ in <ims> is everywhere and the consonant change *p* → *m* is secondary. We can then conclude that the class membership of <ims> and of many other intransitive members of conjugation classes 1 and 2 is a result of its original form <*ips>, and not of some derivation.

Sprigg (1987: 25) draws the same conclusion via a shortcut, stating that there is actually a /ps/ junction type that surfaces as /ms/. The assumption behind this putative junction type is that there is an active grammatical relationship between the verb pairs that are in a lexical causative relationship.

Whether causative forms based on a <-t> or <-s> derivation result from an active process or are lexical causatives is hard to decide, but there are some clues. Firstly, it is questionable to posit phonemes such as *t* that are never audible, but only fill a slot (Ø) in the conjugation type matrix just to feed the derivation process. Secondly, the change of /*ps/ → /ms/ in verb endings reflects a historical process only. In present day Bantawa /ps/ sequences are not uncommon in intervocalic position, e.g. *bepsa* ‘sheep’, and verb suffixes in *s* affix without problem to stems ending in -p, cf. the supine <-si> (SUP), see (467).
Chapter 6. Transitivity Operations

(467) Supine formation causing a /ps/ sequence

a. am-nicʰa  ip-si  kʰatt-u
   your-younger.brother put.to.sleep-SUP bring-IMP
   'bring your younger brother to bed'

b. im-si  kʰar-a
   sleep-SUP go-IMP
   'go and sleep'

These facts make the change of an underlying /ps/ into /ms/ an idiosyncratic process without independent motivation. Thirdly, the semantic operation associated with these processes is not unambiguous or even always predictable.

Even if the formation process could be shown to be instantiated anew, that should not distract from the fact that conjugation class assignment and derivational history must not be confused for any verb. The conjugation class of verbs is not predictable from the pre-consonantal stem final consonant. So we cannot say that all root verbs for the t- and s-stem derivations are members of the zero conjugation class, which indeed turns out to be the fact. Similarly, causative derivation result verbs are not necessary a member of one or the other conjugation class. By far most resulting verbs are members of the t- and s- conjugations.

In this context it is relevant to stress again that conjugation class membership is not at all associated with transitivity. Obviously ABCD verbs are transitive, though most of them allow for intransitive inflection anyway, but many members of the s- and t- classes are true intransitives. As verb stems in the t- and s- conjugation classes are assigned to these classes for formal reasons only, it is logical to expect that they are part of lexical causative relations with other verbs.

In our data, there is also a number of verb pairs that are obviously related, while both members of the pair are transitive members of the first or second conjugation. It is quite possible to reconstruct historical forms for these verbs that once fed the derivation process. Particularly for the ms ~ pt alternation this can be done unambiguously, e.g. *reps 'sprinkle around', *kaps 'to meet'. However, for the gt ~ kt and mt ~ pt pairs, where an obvious consonant change is the only surfacing reflex of the derivation operation, the method for reconstruction is less obvious, cf. Table 6.3.

There are also examples of intransitive-intransitive relationships without other obvious semantic differences, e.g. kima 'to be afraid' ~ kitma 'to be afraid'. There are a few irregular examples too. Derivations that have only one example in Table 6.1 might be considered irregular, but not if they can be traced back to a regular derivation. However, when both root and result of a derivation have changed conjugation class membership, that derivation certainly is not regular, e.g. cʰotma (cʰottu) 'to pay' > cʰonma (cʰoru) 'to pay for someone else'. The verb cʰonma 'to pay for (on behalf of) someone else' is obviously the benefactive for cʰotma 'to pay'. Cʰotma 'to pay', however, conjugates according to class t₁, while cʰonma 'to pay for' may have been in n₁₂, but now conjugates as n₁₂c.
### Table 6.1: Verb Stem Alternations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitivity</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th># in data</th>
<th>effect</th>
<th>class change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less</td>
<td>More</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/η</td>
<td>k/kt</td>
<td>tʰajma - tʰakma (come up, bring up)</td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>APPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/t</td>
<td>t/tt</td>
<td>kʰatma - kʰatma (go, take)</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/n</td>
<td>t/tt</td>
<td>konma - kotma (walk, make walk)</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/n</td>
<td>t/tt</td>
<td>banma - batma (come, bring)</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/n</td>
<td>n/pt</td>
<td>cʰitma (squeeze, make squeeze)</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>APPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/θ</td>
<td>t/tt</td>
<td>kuma - kutma (heat, heat for someone)</td>
<td>[13]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/θ</td>
<td>t/tt</td>
<td>ima - itma (laugh, laugh at)</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>APPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/θ</td>
<td>t/r</td>
<td>tama - tatma (bring, come)</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/m</td>
<td>p/pt</td>
<td>tʰomma - tʰopma (dance for s.o., dance)</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>BEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/m</td>
<td>p/pt</td>
<td>kumma - kupma (sit on eggs / hide (oneself))</td>
<td></td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/m</td>
<td>p/pt</td>
<td>tʰapma (winnow, spread wide)</td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>APPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/n</td>
<td>n/pt</td>
<td>pʰima - pʰinma (break off)</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/n</td>
<td>n/pt</td>
<td>pʰinma (get loose, unstitch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/n</td>
<td>n/nt</td>
<td>lonma - lonma (go outside, take out)</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/m</td>
<td>m/mt</td>
<td>semma (rest, make quiet)</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/p</td>
<td>m/mt</td>
<td>lemma (be sweet, flatter)</td>
<td></td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/p</td>
<td>m/mt</td>
<td>mapma - mammata (grab, grab hair)</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>APPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/θ</td>
<td>m/mt</td>
<td>pʰinma (get tangled, hold tightly)</td>
<td></td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/n</td>
<td>n/nt</td>
<td>yujma - yujma (sit, put)</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/n</td>
<td>n/nt</td>
<td>hokma - homma (begin, begin)</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/n</td>
<td>n/nt</td>
<td>hinma - hinma [hila, hinsu] (shake, shake)</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₋/t</td>
<td>n/nt</td>
<td>kʰanma - kʰatma (go, send)</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6.2: Verb Stem Alternations continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitivity Less</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th># in data</th>
<th>effect</th>
<th>class change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m/m</td>
<td>kumma ~ kumma [kuma - kumsu] (hide, hide)</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>m₃ -&gt; m₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>namma ~ namma [nama - namsu] (reek, smell)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p/Ø</td>
<td>apma - amma [au - amsu] (shoot, shoot at (aimlessly, if vi))</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>p₃ -&gt; m₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p/w</td>
<td>tupma ~ tumma [tuʔu - tumsu] (meet, join together)</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰapma ~ kʰamma [kʰawa - kʰamsu] (cry, make cry)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>epma ~ emma (stand, make stand)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p/pt</td>
<td>tapma ~ tamma (fill, fill up)</td>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>p₁ -&gt; m₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-Ø</td>
<td>muma ~ numa [niau - nusu] (fight, fight one another)</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Ø₁ -&gt; Ø₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>numa ~ numa [nua - nusu] (be good, make better)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.3: Irregular Verb Stem Alternations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem consonant pair</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m/mt-&gt;p/pt</td>
<td>[kamma ~ kapma](kamsa ~ kapta) ’join, put together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[remma ~ repma](rantu ~ raktu) ’sprinkle around, sprinkle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ajma ~ akma](antu ~ aktu) ’tolerate, feel pain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[bumma ~ bupma](butu ~ buptu) ’fold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[momma ~ mopma] ’lose sense, lose sense’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[bomma ~ bopma] ’put on top, cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[domma ~ dopma] ’be senseless, worship’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[pemma ~ pepma] ’press, be timid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[bʰomma ~ bʰopma] ’make round, make bundle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Semantics

The semantics of causative derivations must be understood as logical operations on verb roots.

As mentioned, the semantics of the t-derivation can be summed up with the acronym ABCD: applicative, benefactive, causative and directive. For the ABD parts of this acronym, the bottom line is that an extra actant enters the stage. The event denoted in the verb root is applied to this new participant. The agent or source of the resulting verb form is the same as that of the root.

The derivation rule (466) was formulated as a production rule forming an ABCD verb from a source verb. The operator morpheme in that derivation is <-\( t \rangle\), that could be glossed as ABCD if we see it as an independent morpheme. The transitiviser <-\( t \rangle\) works as a functor, taking a verb root as input, modifying it phonologically and producing a new verb root with increased valency. The new participant takes the role of undergoer or patient in the new verb frame. The agent of the source is the same as the one in the target.

S-derivations and some of the t-derivations, however, are different in that the agent of the newly formed verb was not present in the original. The agent or cause is the new participant to the event\(^{13}\). The subject\(^{14}\) of the source verb is moved into the causee of the target and the causer is the new participant. The patient marking on inflected forms of the resulting verbs agrees with the causee while the original direct object of this verb is shifted out of the agreement pattern. More of these semantic aspects will be discussed when all different causatives will be compared. See below.

6.3.2 Reflexes of the causativising prefix *s-

The prefix *s- with a directive or causativising function is extremely old and can be reconstructed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman (Watters 2004: 3, citing LaPolla). In most languages of the family, the prefix is no longer productive, but in languages all across the family fossilised pairs of verbs can be readily found in which the vocalism of the more transitive verb of a transitive vs. intransitive pair is attributable to a lost prefix *s-. Reflexes of the prefix *s- are harder to find in Bantawa verbs than in the Limbu verbal inventory (Michailovsky 1999). The following pairs emerge from our data:

\[
\begin{align*}
d - d^h & \quad <d^a \text{m} - d^a \text{msu}> & \quad \text{thrash, throw to the ground}
\text{d} & - d^h^h \\
<\text{dan} - d^h \text{antu}> & \quad \text{trip, bring down}
<\text{di} - d^h \text{i}> & \quad \text{reach, be tall}
<\text{k} - k^h & \quad <k^h \text{o} - k^h \text{olu}> & \quad \text{walk, move}
<\text{kon} - k^h \text{olu}> & \quad \text{hide, bury}
<\text{kum} - k^h \text{umtu}> & \quad \text{squeeze, squeeze}
<\text{pin} - b^h \text{il}> & \quad \text{squeeze, squeeze}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^{13}\)Payne (1997: 176).

\(^{14}\)The word ‘subject’ for verbs undergoing causativisation subsumes subject for intransitive verbs and agent for transitive roots. In causative derivations, verbs follow an accusative pattern.
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\[ t^h \rightarrow d^h \]
\[ \text{<ten} \rightarrow \text{tens}> \quad \text{<d}^h\text{en} \rightarrow \text{d}^h\text{el}> \quad \text{‘fall over / uproot, uproot’} \]

\[ t^h \rightarrow t^{h}\]
\[ \text{<tep} \rightarrow \text{tept}> \quad \text{<t}^{h}\text{ep} \rightarrow \text{t}^{h}\text{ept}> \quad \text{‘add, add to cooking food’} \]

Remnants of this old process seem much more marginal in Bantawa than in Limbu (Michailovsky 1999), Thulung (Allen 1975) or Wàmbule (Opgenort 2002: 255-256). This may be partially due to replacement of old causatives, e.g. Michailovsky lists the pair \( p^h \text{e}r \text{ ‘fly’} \rightarrow p^h\text{es ‘cause to fly}’ \text{ for Limbu, while in Bantawa the cognate verb pinma, pi\text{\textdagger}a, ‘fly’ has a new causative pinma, pinsu, ‘make fly’.} \]

6.3.3 Complex causative predicates

In this section, two types of analytical causative constructions will be discussed. Both involve a construction that combines a bare verb root with fully conjugated verb stem. That stem carries flection and agreement and indicates the type of causation, while the root verb brings the lexical meaning. The root verb functions as a deverbal complement noun in this type of construction. There are many examples of underived elements in exactly the same position, which naturally must lead to the conclusion that these regularly derived deverbatives and nouns are of one kind. For that reason, the use of deverbatives with mett- and mu- is discussed before the causatives are explored. The discussion of the verb muma continues in the section on reciprocals.

Muma and metma as light verbs

The verbs muma ‘to do’ and metma ‘to apply, to affect’ both occur independently. These verbs have no special formal characteristics but are special in function as they are the first choice for use in verbal constructions that operate on transitivity. Also, the verbs muma ‘to do’ and metma ‘to apply, to affect’ function in many constructions as a verbal host for agreement without further semantic import. In these constructions, the semantic content is expressed by a complement, cf. §7.3.1.

Muma

The verb muma ‘to do’ is used for the analytical causative (§6.3.3) as well as for the reciprocal forms (§6.4.3). This verb muma also serves as an inchoative auxiliary (§4.2.2). In borrowing words from Nepali, the verb muma ‘to do’ serves as a host for finite flection.

(468) muma in Nepali loans

\[ \text{a. bakas watni banya mu-ma-ki} \]
\[ \text{box (E) like make (N) do-INF-SEQ} \]
\[ \text{‘Making it like a box, …’} \]
\[ \text{b. jupe mu-\text{\textdagger}ki} \]
\[ \text{mutter (N) do-1s-SEQ} \]
\[ \text{‘while I was muttering’} \]

\( \text{\textdagger} \)
6.3. Causative formation

Any Nepali verb can be borrowed in the construction shown in (469):

(469) Syntax of Nepali verb loans

- Nepali second perfect participle\textsuperscript{15} finite form of muma
  \texttt{<root>-e muma}

This usage of muma 'to do' is best understood as only an instance of a more general auxiliary function for making verbs out of nouns (see (470)).

(470) muma as a light verb

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. yiŋ mi-latØ dowa-ci puja mi-mu-Ø, maŋ mi-mu-Ø.
    prayer 3pl-take.out-NPT sorcery-PL worship (N) 3pl-do-NPT godhead 3pl-do-NPT
    \textquote{They pray, the priests do the ritual, they do the ritual.}'
  \item b. heŋmawa mu-ma tarika onŋa.
    liquor do-INF method (N) only
    \textquote{This much only is the way to make liquor.'}
\end{itemize}

**Metma** The verb metma 'to apply, to affect' is used for the analytical causative (§6.3.3) as well as for impersonal constructions (§6.1.3). Independently, metma 'to apply, to affect' can be glossed as 'to apply', indicating that a property or action applies to a recipient, an undergoer. The verb metma 'to apply, to affect' contrasts with muma 'to do' in that there is necessarily a recipient of the action.

(471) ē iŋka abo o-ko pala-da-ŋka-ŋa kʰana-lai puja met-na-ne
    yes I now (N) this-ref turn (N)/LOC-ABL-EMPH you-DAT worship (N) cause-2P-OPT
    ni lo-Ø-ki-na mo-ko amala-raj bʰen-da kʰar-a-ki-na
    NAR say-3P-SEQ-TOP that-ref lemon (N)/plant root-LOC go-PT-SEQ-TOP
    i-pa-ʔa caḥi rāga-ci bʰale-ci
    his/her-father-ERG swTOP (N) buffalo.bull (N)/PL rooster (N)/PL
    tʰakt-u-ci-ki-na puja mett-u.
    bring.up-3P-DUP-SEQ-TOP worship (N) cause-3P
    'Now, let me worship you right from this time, he said, and going to the foot of the lemon tree, her father brought up buffalo bulls and roosters, and worshipped.' [Gn]

If we contrast example (471) with (470a), we see that in both these constructions, the noun puja 'worship' is a kind of complement of the verb. However, the semantic make-up of the sentences are different. The verb metma 'to apply, to affect' agrees with the recipient of the worship, while the verb muma 'to do' in this usage preferably conjugates intransitively.

The verb metma 'to apply, to affect' also appears in different idiomatic expressions, e.g. caḥa metma 'to want', cf. §6.1.3, e.g. (433a). Impersonal examples are found in §6.1.3, e.g. (427a, 428a, 430a).

\textsuperscript{15}The Nepali second perfect participle is formed with a <-e> or <-ya> suffix after the past tense stem (Clark 1989: 234).
Status of complements of *muma* and *metma*  The status of the complements to *muma* 'to do' and *metma* 'to apply' is rather special. a) There is never any kind of agreement with these complements in the agreement affixes present on the finite verb, as we saw above. If there is agreement, it is with participants in the verb phrase. b) Where there are no intervening prefixes, there is a tendency to pronounce these verb complements as one single word with the verbal root, such that they could be written together, viz. *magmuma* 'to worship', *jupemuŋ* 'I muttered'. c) For these forms, we have a clear intuition that these are lexical units rendering a single semantic concept.

These facts lead me to give these complements a special label, viz. 'verbal complement'. Verbal complements will be treated more elaborately in §7.3. The complement roots in the causative constructions discussed below, behave the same way in phonological and morphological respect as the ordinary complements to *muma* 'to do' and *metma* 'to apply' discussed above.

**Analytical causatives with mett-**

The periphrastic analytical formation of verbal causatives is done as follows. An pre-consonantal stem of a verb is placed in front of a fully transitively inflected form of the verb *metma* 'to apply', then operating as a grammatical causative marker `<mett ~ met>` (CAUS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Σ&gt; &lt;metma&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;Σ&gt; CAUS</td>
<td>analytical causative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ensuing composite form can generally be rendered as 'to cause to X'. The way this causative is understood ranges from 'to force to X' to more neutral translations such as 'to make X'.

(472)  *kaci mu-met-ma*

work do-CAUS-INF

'make s.o. do the work’

**On structure and word-hood**  Analytical causatives of this kind can be understood as a verbal complex, where the second verb takes the embedded verb as an argument. This reflects the semantic relationship (see below) in which, obviously, the meaning of the embedded verb is sunk into the matrix.

The two verbs form one verbal complex, but only the second verb is conjugated. The person and number agreement markers on the second verb correspond to the causer as agent agreement and to the causee in patient agreement. The two roots fuse into one phonological word, but not when prefixes on the second verb intervene. Verbal prefixes introduce a word boundary with the result that the embedded word splits off (476).

(473)  *belun mut-met-ma*

balloon blow-CAUS-INF

'make someone blow up a balloon’
6.3. Causative formation

(474) iŋkaʔa eʔa-ci belun mut-mett-u-ŋ- תוכל-ן-1s-DUP-3P-1s
I-ERG child-PL balloon blow-CAUS-3P-1s-DUP-3P-1s
‘I let the children blow up the balloon’

(475) kʰat-met-ma₁⁶
take-CAUS-INF
‘to let take’

(476) kʰat i-mett-a-c-u
take 3AM-CAUS-PT-DU-3P
‘he let them take it’

Semantics The following examples will help the discussion. Examples (477) are analytical causatives. In contrast, the examples in (478) are lexical s-derivations (§6.3.1): canma ‘to make eat’ derives from cama, and kʰanma ‘to send’ derives from kʰatma ‘to go’.

(477) Analytical causatives with mett-

a. jəbər ca i-mett-aŋ
force (N) eat 3AM-CAUS-1s
‘he forced me to eat’

b. kʰaŋ-met-ma
see-CAUS-INF
‘to show’

c. ca-met-ma
eat-CAUS-INF
‘to make someone eat’ (खान लगाउन (N))

d. kʰat-met-ma
go-CAUS-INF
‘to make go’

e. ram-ʔa i-nicbə-ci-lai kətʰmanḍu-ya kampyuṭaṛ
c̣ह-ERG his/her-younger.brother-PL-DAT Kath.-LOC.level computer
kʰit-si kʰat-mett-u-ci
buy-SUP go-CAUS-3P-DUP
‘Ṛam made his younger brothers go to Kathmandu to buy a computer’

(478) Lexical causatives with s-derivation

a. momo can-na
momo feed-2P
‘I shall give you momos to eat’

b. momo can-ma ni mit-na-ŋ-na
momo feed-INF REP think-2P-PROG-2P
‘I have the idea to give you momos to eat’

 footprint is ambiguous between ‘let take’ and ‘let go’, but is usually understood as the first.
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(479) T-derivations are not causatives

a. catma ɨ p
   *ca 'eat'
   'to eat for someone else'

b. tɨ-çat-ɑ-ŋ
   2AS-eat.BEN-PT-1s
   'You ate it for me, you have eaten my food!'

c. ʰkət-u
   take-3P
   'he took it' (*kət 'go')

Where causative constructions of the analytical kind compete with alternative shorter lexical constructions as described above, the connotation of involuntariness and remoteness of the causer and causee are obvious. This is consistent with the iconicity principles governing different types of causatives. There is a strong relationship between the conceptual integration of cause and effect, and the structural integration. The difference can be expressed in terms of direct and indirect integration. 'Direct causation is where the causer is directly, instantly and probably physically responsible for the effect' (Payne 1997: 181). Thus, the first examples with metma 'to cause' leave more room for protesting by the causees than the latter ones.

(480) There are at least three different ways in which the relationship between structural and conceptual integration is instantiated:

a. Structural distance
b. Finite vs. non-finite verb forms
c. Morphological case of the causee [(Payne 1997: 182), also (Givón 2001: Ch.12)]

For the analytical causatives with metma 'causative', there is less control of the causer over the events to occur. This results in readings with connotations of forceful causation, see samples (477), but not necessarily in a negative sense, e.g. ʰkəçatmetma 'to show'. The s-derivations in (478) are structurally more closely integrated, resulting in more immediate causation: cama 'to eat' → çanma 'to feed' and ʰkəçatma 'to go' → ʰkəanma 'to send'. The t-derivations in (479) seem, on this scale, to be more closely integrated still if and when they are interpreted as causatives. The object is controlled completely by the causee or agent of the resulting verb. It is instructive to see the different derivations of some verbs next to one another.

(481) to eat

a. cama root
   'to eat'
6.3. Causative formation

b. canma₂ s-derivation
   'to feed'

c. catma₁ t-derivation
   'to eat for someone else'

d. cametma morphological causative
   'to make eat'

(482) to go
a. kʰatma₃ root
   'to go'

b. kʰanma₂ s-derivation
   'to send'

c. kʰatma₁ t-derivation
   'to take'

d. khatmetma morphological causative
   'to make go'

We are now able to analyse the difference in meaning between s- and t-derivations in terms of control. Derivations in <-t> generally signal more direct control of the agent over the object. As a result, if derivations in <-t> have a causative reading and an s-derivation alternative, the object is as a rule inanimate for the t-derivations.

Analytical causatives with muma < mu ~ mus- >

Apart from the very productive causative in metma 'causative', there is a morphological operation with verb muma 'to make do', which is the s-derivation of muma 'to do'. Formally this causative aligns with the derivation by metma 'causative'.

<table>
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<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Σ&gt; &lt;muma&gt;</td>
<td>(Σ) MAKE.DO</td>
<td>analytical causative with mus-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The resulting participant reorganisation of this causative contrasts with that of the causative formed with metma 'causative'.

(483) kʰajmuma

a. kʰaŋ-mu-ma
   see-make.do-INF
   'to display' (देखाउनु, प्रदर्शन गर्नु (N) 'to show, to display, to exhibit')

b. o dum kʰaŋ-mus-u-ŋ
   this thing see-make.do-3P-1s
   'I put that on display'

(484) kʰajmetma

a. kʰaŋ-met-ma
   see-CAUS-INF
   'to show' (देखाउनु (N) 'to show')
b. ʔo dum kʰaŋ-met-na
   this thing see-CAUS-2P
   'I show that to you'

Remarkably, the agreement the agent of kʰaŋmuma is reflected as the displayer, and the patient is the object on display. The agent of kʰaŋmetma, however, is the causer of the seeing, while the patient is the seer. The thing on display can still be added to the clause in absolutive case.

The causatives in muma 'make do' are probably not strictly causatives in the sense that someone is caused to do X, but rather something is caused to be Xed. The agent of the action is not mentioned. Rather, in the agreement pattern, the agent is replaced by the causer. These forms can be described as passive causatives.

The agent argument of both causatives causes the event as denoted by the root verb to happen. However, the causative verb metma 'causative' expresses that the agent causes someone to be the subject of the root verb, while the passive causative verb muma 'make do' expresses that the agent causes someone to be the object of the root verb. Actants that are not included in the resulting causative formation, i.e. not in the morphological agreement, can be realised as an extra participant in the absolutive case for metma 'causative', as in fact the case in example (484b), or in an oblique source case, i.e. ablative, for the passive muma 'make do'.

The causatives in muma 'make do' can again be reflexivised by the ordinary morphological means. In this case, my informant’s intuition prescribed that the constituents be written as two words, which may be explained by the weight of the resulting matrix verb.

(485) kʰaŋ mumancin 'to show oneself'

   a. kʰaŋ mu-ма-n-ci-n
      see make.do-INF-REFL-DUP-REFL
      'To appear, to show oneself'

   b. kʰaŋ mu-ɲaŋ-ci-ŋ.
      see make.do-1sNP-DUP-1s
      'I shall show myself.'

In summary, it appears that the verb muma 'to do' is an auxiliary verb that forms the verbal nucleus of verb phrases that denote actions named by a nominal or deverbal root. The causative of muma 'to do' is muma 'make do'. This causative involves someone else who is caused to do what is further circumscribed by a deverbative root that is prefixed to the inflected verb root. Yet another usage of muma 'to do' as a sort of catch-all auxiliary verb to describe actions that have no independent verb root is further discussed in the chapter on reciprocals, cf. the next section.
6.4 Valence decreasing operations

6.4.1 Passive

Bantawa does not have a passive construction as such. There are several means to express passive meanings, however. The passive function here is understood to a) leave out the agent of the verbal event, demote it or leave it out, and b) turn the patient into the subject of the clause.

Middle conjugation As we saw in §6.2.1, a passive form for a verb is readily available for middle verbs, i.e. an intransitive conjugation of the verb immediately turns the transitive patient into the subject of the sentence without mention of the agent.

First person inclusive plural

First person inclusive plural as default agent For active verbs that have no natural middle conjugation, an alternative means to render passive is to use first person inclusive plural forms to express things that would otherwise be put in a passive form. A sentence that literally would translate 'we do ...' often must be translated as 'one does ...'. The first person inclusive plural serves as the impersonal pronoun, much like on in French or men in Dutch.

(486) littim tokt-in.
   guava receive-12plSP
   'You can get guavas.'

(487) dekinalo ni yin-in-nalo yin-ma dat-Ø-nalo o cakwa
   because NAR say-12plSP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
   jatika kʰepi tatai li-Ø ?a, mo lat-ma kʰat-ma
   how.much (N) time hot (N) become-NPT EMPH that take.out-INF take.away-INF
   yak-ma dot-Ø.
   be.in-INF must-NPT
   'Because, we say, one should say, every time that water gets hot, you must continuously throw it out.' [Hm]

The strategy is to conjugate a transitive verb in the inclusive plural intransitive form. The resulting meaning is that of an impersonal action: the inclusive plural person is the impersonal, default person.

First person inclusive as default patient Similarly, the inclusive plural can be construed as the patient in a construction with a third person agent. Forms that correspond to 'it happens to us' then amount to 'it is done ...', cf. (488). In impersonal constructions with an anonymous agent, the patient corresponds to a passive undergoer, the typical subject of a passive clause. For verbs such as hitma 'to scorch', the forms with first person plural patient pattern with dummy subject forms in English, such as 'it rains'.
Chapter 6. Transitivity Operations

(488) nam-ʔa mi-hit-yəŋ
sun-ERG 3pl-burn-PROG
‘The sun is burning.’ (lit. ‘the sun scorches us’)

(489) kʰo-so-ʔo deŋ kʰokpa yiŋ-a ni mina nulok ci-n-nalo,
he/she-PRN-GEN back-old.man say-PT NAR man well do-12plSP-COND
si-n-da-n-nučʰaŋa la-ma-hiŋ-ma topt-u-m-ʔo
die-12plSP-eff-12plSP-even.though return-INF-live-INF receive-3P-12plA-NOM
racʰo.
MIR.
‘After this, the old man said: “it appears, that if a man does well, even though he dies, he will get to live again.” ’ [Om]

Inclusive plural forms serve as impersonal forms and are used to form generic statements without a specific object. However, it is more correct to say that antipassive forms, i.e. those without specific object, have come to serve as inclusive plural forms.

In the transitive paradigm, the first person non-singular exclusive forms are typically formed by adding <-ʔa -ka> (E) to the form to the first person plural inclusive forms. The inclusive plural patient forms are the exception to this general scheme. These forms select the third person plural prefix <m-> (3PL) only, and therefore are formally equal to third person plural forms of the intransitive or to third person plural antipassive forms. This formal correspondance is not an accident because the first person inclusive patient frequently has the reading of the default, impersonal person. Most often, 3—ip forms are understood as having no object at all.

**Third person plural agent**

Another strategy to express a passive meaning is to choose a third person plural agent and then not mention the agent explicitly.

(490) ni-kʰatt-a-ŋ.
3A-take-PT-1s
‘I was taken.’ (lit. they took me)

(491) i-ser-a.
3AM-kill-PT
‘He was killed’ (lit. they killed him)

There are no further morphosyntactical complications with this usage of dummy third person plural agent forms.

### 6.4.2 Reflexives

Reflexive morphology is applied to transitive verbs only. Transitive verbs code a verbal event that has both an agent and a patient. Reflexive forms express that the agent and patient participants are the same by identity. In plural forms, some speakers allow for a reciprocal interpretation of reflexive forms, which is not
unnatural if we consider the definition of the reflexive. Nevertheless, most speakers have separate reflexive and reciprocal forms in their repertoire. Reflexives can be used in all available finite and non-finite forms for a verb. The formation of the reflexive has been discussed in §4.5.6.

6.4.3 Reciprocal

Reciprocal verbs are formed by taking a bare verb root and using it as a complement to the auxiliary verb muma ‘to do’. The auxiliary verb is conjugated intransitively. The verb root must be transitive or else there could be no reciprocity.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Σ mu-</td>
<td>Σ RECIP-</td>
<td>Reciprocal root, ‘to X one another’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ-ka-Σ mu-</td>
<td>Σ RECIPp-Σ RECIP-</td>
<td>Reciprocal, emphatic: ‘to X one another’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Σ-ka-Σ forms are best understood as a complex complement to the verb, a participle consisting of reduplicated root with the active participle prefix <ka-> wedged in between. There is no semantic difference between the two variants, but the participial forms more iconically express the reciprocity of the action and perhaps repetition.

While preferably and most meaningfully the reciprocal only occurs in plural forms, it is not illegal to use singular forms. Singular forms signal that the action is repetitive and transitive, i.e. someone unmentioned is returning the action.

(492) simple reciprocal
a. Cino cʰok-muw-a-ci di bʰene jaigala-bunjwa ani
   gift (N) move-RECIP-PT-DU what saying (N) jaigala-flower then (N)
   doŋ-kʰola doŋ,
   mouth.harp-cover mouth.harp
   ‘Sending presents, what to say, a jaigala flower and a mouth harp with a cover.’ [Sm]
b. masiq pasiq cʰit-muw-a-ci.
   wife husband leave.for.someone else-RECIP-PT-DU
   ‘The couple split up.’
c. kʰon-ki-na pi-muw-a-ci kʰo-da-ŋka cino pahile
   he/she-SEQ-TOP give-RECIP-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL gift (N) before (N)
   pi-muw-a-ci-kina niga no-ka-no muw-a-ci
give-RECIP-PT-DU-CAUS mood be.happy-RECIPp-be.happy do-PT-DU
   ‘Then, they gave it to one another. After they had given it to one another, they liked one another.’

(493) extended (participial form) reciprocal
   beat-RECIPp-beat do-PT-PROG-PT
   ‘He was in a fight’ (beating and being beaten)
b. lak lu-kʰa da bihe mi-mu-Ø. niña
religious.dance feel-PNOM-LOC marriage (N) 3pl-be.pred-NPT mood
no-ka no mi-mu-Ø, warisa tʰaŋna ci.
be.happy-RECIP be.happy 3pl-be.pred-NPT girl young.man-PL

‘On the dance floor they get engaged. They like one another, the young girls and boys.’
Chapter 7

Complex Verbs

7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with two types of complex verbs. The first, very frequent type involves the concatenation of two sometimes partially conjugated verb forms that serves as a single verb in every other respect. See example (494).

(494) hakt-a-lont-a.
    be.warm-PT-come.up-PT
    'It has become warm.'

In sentence (494), we see two conjugated verbs that are both valid finite verbs in their own right, fused into a single word. No other words can intervene and the complex as a whole forms the entire predicate, denoting a single event. In this type of construction, both parts are verbal and similarly conjugated, but this does not imply that the constituent parts are semantically on an equal footing. This type of complex verb will henceforth be called a compound verb, and will be discussed in §7.2.

The other type of complex verb involves the composition of a single verbal predicate or even word out of an argument morpheme and a finite, conjugated verb form, as in examples (495). The relevant words are italicised.

(495) Complex verbs, composed of a root and a conjugated verb
    a. nakcʰɔŋ-ci sakenwa mu-kʰa-da ya mi-hat.
       priest-PL Sakenwa do-PNOM-LOC prayer 3pl-share
       'The priests pray during Sakenwa worship.'
    b. dem ca-nu-Ø-lo!
       how eat-be.good-NPT-MAN
       'How tasty!'
    c. kʰananim san-ʔa mowatni lam kʰaŋ ni-mett-in?
       you² who-ERG like.that road see 3A-cause-12plSP
       'Who showed you the road like that?' [Bw]
In this construction type, the argument element may be either nominal as in example (495a) or verbal, e.g. (495b, 495c). The common denominator in constructions of this type is that the compounding parts are unequal in status. The verbal head at the right hand side is conjugated, while the dependent element appears left in its root form. The left hand element may be either verbal or nominal, but in each case the entire complex is verbal. For lack of better terminology, I shall call the left-hand element in this type of compound a complement. This type of complex verb is extensively discussed in §7.3. The afore-mentioned forms both serve as a verbal predicate in clauses. They are compounds because they form a single predicate, often even a single prosodic word.

7.2 Compound verbs

This section first describes the typological position of compound verbs. Then, we shall concentrate on the formal characteristics of compound verbs. Finally we shall classify the types of compound verbs by semantic content.

7.2.1 Compound verb typology

Compound verbs as serial verb constructions

Compound verbs (CVs) are perhaps best understood as a subspecies of serial verb constructions (SVCs). Compound verbs are a type of serial verb constructions that are contiguous, form single grammatical words and have single or concordant marking of grammatical categories. Serial verb constructions are defined by the following criteria (496) of Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 4-20, 339-344).

(496) Features of serial verb constructions

a. serial verb constructions are single predicates,

b. serial verb constructions are monoclausal,

c. serial verb constructions are prosodic units,

d. serial verb constructions share tense, aspect and polarity,

e. serial verb constructions denote one event

f. serial verb constructions share participants

Bantawa compound verbs certainly comply with all of the criteria in (496), perhaps with the proviso that tense and aspect (496d) are not primarily a matter of sharing, but rather a compositional affair\(^2\). Some authors, esp. Payne, do not include compound verbs under the serial verb label\(^3\).

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\(^1\)A single predicate has at least the features that the predicate a) denotes a single event, b) has a single tense and aspect value and c) has one set of participants: if there are two verbs, they share all participants.

\(^2\)Tense and aspect are a result of composition. The compound has a tense and aspect semantics that is not necessarily found in each individual member. The expressed aspect is a function of the compound rather than present in each member.

\(^3\) Payne writes (1997: 307): A serial-Verb construction contains two or more verb roots that are neither compounded nor
Compound verb terminology  As noted in footnote 3, the term 'compound verb' is perhaps inapt for the Bantawa serial verb construction. However, the term is common in Kiranti literature.

A compound verb obviously consists of two or more verbs. The first verb is called the main verb, while subsequent verbs are called vector verbs, second verbs or light verbs. Below, these parts of compound verbs are sometimes referenced by the abbreviations V1 ‘first verb’ and V2 ‘second verb’. The distinction between V1 and V2 is based on the division of semantic labour. Main verbs generally express the bulk of the content of the compound, while vector verbs primarily add aspectual or directional information. In spite of this general correspondence of function and position, there are also compounds with reverse (§7.2.5) or equal (§7.2.6) division of labour.

In other Kiranti literature, we find the terms 'motionalisers' and 'aspectivizers' in use to designate vector verbs. This terminology is not incorrect as such, but as these labels are semantically motivated rather than by form, they are not helpful to designate a formal class. I shall use these terms for vector verbs of a certain semantic type only. The term ‘auxiliary’ as employed by Tolsma (1999: 76), Rutgers (1998: 137) and Weidert and Subba (1985: 85) I reserve for those finite verbs that function in complex predicates containing a non-finite main verb.

Features of compound verbs

Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 3) define some parameters that account for much of the cross-linguistic variation in serial verb constructions.

Composition  Serial verbs constructions may be either symmetrical, i.e. with equal and interchangeable parts, or asymmetrical. Most Bantawa compound verbs are asymmetrical in the sense that the second verbs in the construction are from a restricted class, viz. motion or ‘to be’ verbs. However, compound verbs that have a semantics that boils down to the coordination of the constituents are arguably members of separate clauses. Serial verbs occur in all types of languages, but may be more common in languages that have little or no verbal morphology. (...) Typically, verbs in a series will express various facets of one complex event. For example, the concept expressed by the English verb bring is divisible into at least two components, the picking up or taking of an object and the movement toward a deictic center. In many languages, this complex concept is embodied in a serial-verb construction ... By any account, Bantawa compound verbs formally do not fit this description. a) Verbs are certainly compounded, in the sense that they are built from two or more distinct constituting parts with identifiable meaning and also in the sense that they form one grammatical or even phonological word. b) Bantawa has a lot of verbal morphology. c) Bantawa compound verbs do not allow different participants for different parts of the compound.

On the semantic side of things, Bantawa compound verbs partly fit the serial verb description of Payne, as they embody exactly that type of conceptual complexity that he describes.

The term ‘compound verbs’ is used by Tolsma (1999: 60), Ebert (1994: 60); ‘aspectivised compound’ by Van Driem (1993: 197), Ebert and Lahaussois (2002: 200) note that the term ‘compound verbs’ relates the Kiranti constructions to constructions in other South Asian languages that are called similarly.


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symmetrical. At least syntactically, there is no constraint on the selection of any second verb.

Contiguity Secondly, verbs that form a serial verb construction may either have to be next to one another or other constituents may intervene. In Bantawa, intervening constituents are not grammatical. Compound verbs are coherent, contiguous phrases⁷.

Word-hood As a corollary of the contiguity of the verbal compound construction, Bantawa compound verbs always form a single lexical unit, even when the construction spans two prosodic units with a clear two-word intonational contour.

Marking of grammatical categories The final variation in serial verb constructions relates to the marking of grammatical categories. Aikhenvald and Dixon note that verbal categories such as agreement and tense parameters ‘may be marked just once per construction (‘single marking’); or can be marked on every component (‘concordant marking’’) (2006: 4). We shall see in §7.2.3 that agreement categories are marked in a distinct way in Bantawa and other Kiranti languages.

In sum, by Aikhenvald and Dixon’s terminology and classification, Bantawa compound verbs are a subtype of serial verb constructions. As there are more fine-grained defining features of the construction, I shall write compound verbs (CV) in the remainder.

A note on serial verbs and multiple clauses It is not helpful to describe Bantawa compound verbs as derived from multiple clauses that have grammaticalised into one predicate. Even if we can associate the semantics of some second verb with the meaning of this verb in isolation, a rephrasing of a compound verb in two predicates has a meaning that is different from the original compound.

7.2.2 Morphosyntax

In this section, we shall draw the general picture of the morphosyntax of Bantawa compound verbs.

Compound verb composition

In compound verb constructions, one of the verbs determines the primary semantics and the argument structure. The second verb provides fine distinctions, usually marking both direction and aspect or one of these. Both verbs in a compound are inflected for tense, person and number agreement.

Compound verbs are those sequences as in (497).

⁷The requirement that compound verbs be contiguous is a property of all Kiranti languages that feature compound verbs. Perhaps more then anything else, this feature identifies Kiranti compound verbs as lexical units.
7.2. Compound verbs

(497) \[ V_1 \, V_2 \]

a. in which the first verb (V1) gives the main semantic content of the expression, and

b. the second verb (V2) adjusts the meaning by giving additional information.

The different types of additional information as mentioned in (497b) will be discussed. Verb compounds may still show a great degree of variation in form. More often than not, the formal variation corresponds exactly to semantic correlates.

Syntactic constraints

Given that compound verbs are the head of a single clause in that they replace a simplex verb, there are syntactic constraints on the compound verb construction.

We can define compound verbs as complex verbs that have constituent parts that are verbs and have congruent forms. What we see below is that compound verbs have the property that the compounding parts are two congruent correspondingly suffix inflected verb forms. In summary, the extra formal properties as in (498) apply.

(498) specific properties of compound verbs as opposed to other complex verbs

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. there are no suffixes on V1 that are not present on V2
  \item there are no clausal suffixes on V1
  \item there are no prefixes on V2
  \item b. there is agreement of valence: if V1 is transitive, then so is V2.
\end{itemize}

Property (498a) expresses that there is no unique morphology in between V1 ‘first verb’ and V2 ‘second verb’. Morphology of various types is affixed to the verb, such as finite agreement or clause-level morphology applying to the verb as the last member in the clause. However, we expect that morphology a) to affix to either the compound verb as a whole, i.e. on its fringes, rather than in between V1 and V2, or b) to distribute over both members of the compound verb, as they are equal parts. In any case, V1 is not the head of a subordinated clause and is not nominalised, unless the vector verb is also marked in that way. This corresponds to the monoclusal constraint on serial verb constructions formulated by Dixon, which says that there ought to be ‘no syntactic linkage’ (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006: 339).

The second constraint (498b) is called ‘Transitivity Harmony’ by Pokharel (1999: 193). I conjecture that the valence agreement constraint (498b) is not just an areal influence, but a reflex of some universal rule that expresses the impossibility to code conflicting participant agreement in a single clause.

\footnote{Across Kiranti languages, the rule is: ‘There are no prefixes on V2 that are not present on V1.’ In Bantawa, there are no prefixes on V2 at all.}

\footnote{not the head of a subordinated clause,’ i.e. the main verb is not a converb, has no marking for manner, temporal or other type of subordination.}

\footnote{Pokharel observes this phenomenon in a well-defined gerund-type subset of Nepali compound verbs.}
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7.2.3 Morphology

In the past, several scholars have noted the abundant verbal compounding in Bantawa (Foltan 1992, Rai 1985). However, previous analyses suffered from a lack of data. The limited availability of data is remedied by the full paradigms for compound verbs in the Appendix. The basic form of a compound verb is simply a sequence of inflected verb forms. We find two compound verbs in sentence (499).

(499) hant-u-m tar-u-mʔ o mamayɨŋ man-kʰan-sa kʰar-in.
    speak-3P-12plA bring-3P-12plA-NOM mother.tongue lose-send-SIM go-12plSP
    'We keep losing the mother tongue that we have spoken so far.' [Bw]

The example illustrates several things. The first compound hantum tarum ‘we have spoken so far’ shows that multiple suffixes <-u-m> ‘3P-12plA’ are present on both parts of the compound. Moreover, example (499) shows that further affixation through nominalisation by <-ʔo> (NOM) happens only once. The second compound in this sentence, mankʰansa ‘while losing’, is a concatenation of two roots. Apparently, the converb suffix <-sa> (SIM) is a type of affix that differs from inflectional categories such as on hantum tarum ‘we have spoken so far’. We must infer that clausal suffixes are never marked on both parts of the compound, whereas flectional suffixes are marked.

Example (500) adds another fact to the picture.

(500) jʰarāk bantawa rai-ciʔa o dum i-tupt-a yuŋsa.
    all Bantawa Rai-PL-ERG this 3AM-understand-PT put-PT
    'All Bantawa Rais have understood this matter.' [Bw]

The compound iupta yuŋsa ‘have understood’ shows that while suffixes such as preterite <-a> are marked on both parts of the compound, the marked third person prefix <-i-> appears only once. While the basic picture shows that both parts of a compound verb are inflected, the resulting form may be reduced by a process of affix reduction. Rule (501) describes the distribution of flection affixes over the constituting verbs in a compound verb.

(501) Rule for affix retention on Bantawa compound verbs

Affix reduction: prefixes appear on the head verb (V1) only, suffixes up to suffix slot five appear on both verbs, and suffixes in slots six and beyond only appear on the second verb (V2).

This type of affix retention is not at all unusual in Kiranti perspective.

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11Foltan (1992: 51) previously gave a more limited version of this rule. Before she set out on her treatment of Bantawa compounds, she limited the discussion to these constructions that meet the following requirement:

Affix reduction: prefixes appear on the head verb (V1) only, the PT [past tense] affix comes on both verbs, and if the compound is in PT [past tense], then the number suffixes come on the V2 [second verb] only.

The way the affix reduction rule was formulated was based on limited data and on past tense forms only. Also, nothing is explicit on whether compounds break up in separate words or are fused into one. It is not so much only the past tense marker that survives on the first verb but rather all suffixes up to and including slot five.
Formal description of morphology

A formal description of morphology should be based on structural rules, rather than on rules operating on phonological form. The morphology of compound verbs is functionally determined.

Affix reduction  The verb forms that take part in Bantawa verb compounding are conjugated forms, not roots. However, only suffixes up to suffixal slot six (sfx6) are allowed at the point of compounding, thus finite verbs with agreement beyond that slot or involving prefixes will have defective compounded forms.

Slot morphology Some central slot morphology concepts are that a) all affixes are assigned to a slot and only appear in that assigned slot, b) in word forms only one affix goes into one slot, c) once something has gone into slot 6, no affix assigned to a slot closer to the root can be assigned, i.e. affixes appear in increasing order.

In summary, slot morphology is a method to describe linear morpheme ordering. Slot assignments of morphemes are well known ($4.5.4$). We can represent finite forms as in (502)$^{12}$.

(502) Slot filling in finite verb forms.

| ikʰatnin | ‘we do not take you’ |
| phon | morph | slot |
| i | NEGNPp | -1 |
| kʰat | take | 0 |
| ni | 1ns2 | 1 |
| n | NEGn | 2 |
| 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

| kolinka | ‘we shall walk’ |
| phon | morph | slot |
| kol | walk | -1 |
| in | 12plSP | 0 |
| e | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

Based on slot membership of the root or affixes, we could say on the basis of these examples, that kolin ‘we walk’ is a form that stretches from slot 0 to slot 3, whereas kolinka ‘we walk’ fills slots 0 up to 9.

To represent the morphological status of a verbal form, we can use a left superscript number to denote the left-most filled slot, and a right superscript for the right-most filled slot. We could then write $^0$kolinka, or $^{-1}$ikʰatnin. As a means of generalisation we can write $^n$V$m$ for any given verb form with slots $n$-$m$ filled$^{13}$. This notational convention allows us to formulate the rule for verb compounding in Bantawa (503).

$^{12}$The slot line numbers the slots, with negative numbers for prefixal slots and 0 for the root. The morph line labels the morphemes and the phon line represents the actual phonetic content.

$^{13}$A verb form of type $^n$V$m$ may or may not be a valid finite form. There may be internal dependencies between affixes or restrictions on the affix syntax beyond simple affix ordering, that govern the syntax of any verb type.
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(503) \( 0^\text{V6} \rightarrow 0^\text{V6} 0^\text{V6} \)

if: the suffix string forms zero or one syllable and the contents of the suffix strings are equal

This rule means that verb forms can only be compounded without prefixes and possibly with suffixes filled up to slot 6. The resulting form has the combinatory properties of a simplex verb with suffix slots 1 to 6 filled, with the same person and number parameters as each of the compounding elements. A rule such as this is very strong and predicts that only sequences of verbs that meet these formal constraints may compound. This rule predicts that a compound verb cannot have a singular instance of suffixes before suffix slot 6 (504), nor can the compound have duplicate suffixes beyond slot 6 (505).

(504) Suffixes before slot 6 must be duplicated.
   a. * i-lon-k\text{\textipa{h}at-nin}
      NEGNp-come.out-go-NEGn
      * 'He does not come out.'
   b. i-lon-nin k\text{\textipa{h}at-nin}
      NEGNp-come.up-NEGn go-NEGn
      'He does not come out.'

(505) Suffixes beyond slot 6 cannot be duplicated.
   a. * k\text{\textipa{h}ar-in-ka} lont-in-ka
      go-12plSP-e come.out-12plSP-e
      * 'We shall rise again.'
   b. k\text{\textipa{h}ar-in} lont-in-ka
      go-12plSP come.out-12plSP-e
      'We shall rise again.'

Verb compounding does not operate on roots. On the surface it may well be that two roots compound (506), but the resulting form cannot take any suffix in the slot range from 0 to 6 (507).

(506) lon-Ø-k\text{\textipa{h}at-Ø}
     come.out-NPT-go-NPT
     'He will come out.'

(507) * lon-k\text{\textipa{h}at-ci}
     come.out-go-DU
     'They will come out.'

Reading a compound verb, we search for two equal finite verbs that combine into one as by rule (503). We can now see how rule (503) operates. If we represent the compound verbs as trees, we see that the middle section always is a verb of type \( 0^\text{V6} \). The formal compounding rule only applies inasmuch as the result makes sense, and the semantic constraints were left out of the equation. The rule is agnostic about the composition of the resulting semantics and does not prescribe whether the semantics of the vector verb are embedded into that of the main verb or the other way around. This rule says that syntactically, the main and vector verbs are equal.
Some structures for compounded verbs.

a. nimanta kʰansačiʔa 'they have forgotten us'

b. timannan kʰannamínin 'you will not forget us'

c. ciŋman setmančin 'to kill yourself by hanging'

The repetition of suffixes on the first and second verbs is not phonological copying, but rather a functional equivalence of the two forms that apparently is dictated by the syntactic constraints above. This can be seen from the simple fact that the phonological form of the two verbs can be different, while the morpheme make-up is the same, cf. (509), where the morpheme \(<\emptyset >-u\> (3P) alternatively appears as /Ø/ and /u/.

(509) saŋʔa la-Ø-da-Ø-n-ų-ciʔoʔ?
who-ERG return-3P-eff-3P-PROG-3P-DU-NOM
'Who is getting them?"
Also, in example (510), we see that the suffix <-in -n> (12PL SP) fuses regularly with the vowel-final stem <ma> ‘to go lost’ to form <man>, whereas in the second half of the compound the full suffix <-in> appears after the stem <-kʰar>.

(510) kʰada ti-ma-n-kʰar-in?
where 2AS-go.lost-12PLSP-go-12PLSP
‘Where did you pl get lost?’

**Grammatical words and phonological words** Compound verbs constitute a single grammatical unit in Bantawa\(^4\). The way the compounds break up into prosodic units is another matter. In all syntactic respects, compound verbs operate in the same way as non-compound verbs, i.e. compound verbs are grammatically single words. However, while forms such as pirakʰara ‘it was grazed off’ are undoubtedly a single phonological word, verb compounds from other parts of the conjugational paradigms are not.

The rules for phonological word-hood for Bantawa have to do with the weight of the repeated string of suffixes. If there are no suffixes on the first verb or if this suffix string ends in a vowel, the compound is pronounced like a single word would be pronounced. If the suffix string is heavy and adds an extra syllable to the first verb that ends in a consonant, the word breaks up into two phonological units. Compare examples (511a) and (511b).

(511) a. ims-a-yakt-a
sleep-PT-CONT-PT
‘He continued sleeping’

b. las-a-ŋ piw-a-ŋ!
return-PT-1s give-PT-1s
‘Give it back!’

Non-flectional suffixes are appended to the second verb only.

**Typological ramifications**

This elaborate formal exercise allows me to review some remarks on serial verbs as made by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006). The issue is about the parameter of marking. Marking relates to whether compound verbs are marked singly, i.e. each grammatical category such as agreement marking appears only once, or concordantly, each marking appears multiple times. As we see, in Bantawa both happen at the same time. Some markers appear once, whereby some appear in concordance. Moreover, which marking strategy happens is primarily determined by a strictly formal feature, viz. slot ordering.

Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 40): ‘SVCs which form one grammatical word allow single marking only.’ If compound verbs are serial verb constructions, then

\(^4\)The term ‘grammatical word’ means ‘grammatical or lexical unit’ in this thesis. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002: 18): ‘A grammatical word consists of a number of grammatical elements which a) always occur together, rather than scattered through the clause (the criterion of cohesiveness); b) occur in a fixed order; c) have a conventionalised coherence and meaning.’
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this statement may need some qualification. None of the generalisations made on concordant and singular marking made by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 44) seems to apply to Bantawa or even to Kiranti languages in general.

Bantawa compound verbs are hard to position between morphology and syntax. Traditionally, inflection is seen as a syntactic category and not included in the lexicon of the language. Derivation, on the other hand, is a lexical process. What we see in Bantawa compound verbs is the distribution of flection over different parts of a compound as a strictly morphological process fed by syntax. There is no easy escape hatch for the traditional lexicon vs. syntax opposition. It cannot be maintained that the constituent members of compound verbs are grammatical words as such. Parts of compound verbs may be ungrammatical or incomplete as long as the morphological constraints are met. The left-hand member of the compound in example (508c) demonstrates this. Compound verbs are equally hard to categorise as compounds or serial verb constructions.

7.2.4 Semantic typology

Verbal compounding as discussed here is extremely frequent in Bantawa, particularly if we analyse the progressive forms as compounds. Bantawa is a big user of compound verbs15. Surveying the semantic field that compound verbs cover amounts to charting the functional area that is covered by compound verb constructions.

Bantawa compound verbs are mostly asymmetrical. This means that most often, but not always, vector verbs come from a limited set of verbs and have another contribution to the semantics of the whole than main verbs. The focus here is on the distribution and semantics of the vector verb in the construction. The vector verb generally functions as a modifier to the first verb so that compound verbs can be grouped or classified according to the vector verb.

In the definition of serial verb constructions (SVCs) by Aikhenvald and Dixon, verbal complexes that involve category changing16, i.e. causatives and passives, would be included in the general class of serial verb constructions. However, for Bantawa, we have singled these constructions out, as a) they are formally different from ordinary compound verbs, i.e. there is no copying of agreement markers, and b) they are functionally very different from other compound verbs. Valency-changing compound verbs pattern with complement verb constructions (§7.3) rather than with compound verbs.

This issue with valence agreement has an important effect on how we functionally subgroup compound verb constructions.

Functional subclassification The functional area covered by compound verbs is charted in Figure 7.1. This subclassification is valid, at least for Bantawa. The

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15Similarly, Rutgers (1998: 137) reports for Yamphu, that ‘it has proved difficult to elicit verbal forms which are unmodified by any verbal auxiliary.’

16Category changing or valency changing. The word ‘category’ is related to ‘valency’ but focuses on the morphological conjugation type, i.e. transitive or intransitive. The morphological category does not unambiguously correspond to syntactical valency, i.e. the possible number of arguments to the verb (cf. §6).
undirected motionalisers section in this chart is found in other Kiranti languages but
not in Bantawa. Even though this function seems to be absent from Bantawa, it was
included here to complete a picture that covers most of the functional areas of vector
verbs across Kiranti languages.

Figure 7.1: Functional subclassification of compound verbs

Compound verbs

I. Category-Changing  Reflexive, Benefactive, Causative, Passive §7.3.3

II. Category-Preserving

i. Category-Sensitive (Category-Selective) §7.2.5
   a. Motionalisers §7.2.5
      * Directional/Telic  subclassed by direction (go/come) and
      level (up/down)
      * Undirected  (Imperfective)
   b. Coordinating  Coordinated semantics §7.2.6

ii. Category-Insensitive
   a. Aspectual  Progressives, Perfective,
      Resultative, Frustrative §7.2.6
   b. Modal  Potentiality, Conative §7.2.6

Compound verb constructions must firstly be divided between category changing
and category preserving compound verbs. The distinction between category chang-
ing and preserving compound verbs is primarily morphological, but corresponds
transparently to differences in functional categories17.

In category changing compound verbs, only a bare root emerges as the first verb
(V1). In these constructions the first verb functions as an argument to the second, not
unlike subordinated infinitives to modals. In category preserving compound verbs,
both the main verb and vector verb conjugate. In these constructions the first and
second verbs are coordinate equal-level verbs, not unlike serial verbs.

With category-sensitive compound verbs, I mean those constructions that have
second verbs that formally correspond to differences in the first verb with regard to
valency, or that only appear with compounding verbs that agree in valency. There
may be no intransitive counterpart for a transitive verb compound combination. This
class of compound verbs might as well be labelled category-selective, as the second
verbs in these constructions seem to be selected to agree in category with the first
verb. The selection of the vector implies that from a transitive-intransitive pair of
verbs, only the corresponding form emerges.

With category-insensitive compound verbs, I mean those constructions in which
the second verb conjugates just as the first, irrespective of its independent, inherent
valency. Superficially the distinction between category sensitive and insensitive
compound verbs seems more formal than functional. However, there is a correlation

17For languages where the first verb in verbal compound (V1) is only present as a bare root, e.g.
Wámbole and Yamphu, the difference does not emerge in form, as only the second verb (V2) is conjugated.
For languages such as Bantawa, Kuling and Limbu, where both verbs are conjugated, there is a clear
difference in form between category changing and category preserving compounds.
between the type of vectors and the formal properties of the construction. Irrespective of their origin, second verbs that have aspectual import in compounds conjugate in agreement with the transitivity category of the first verb. By contrast, other vectors are selected with sensitivity to their original transitivity parameter.

**Comparative classification**  In this section, I shall repeatedly refer to grammars of neighbouring Kiranti languages. This is done for the following reasons. First, the terminology used by other descriptivists can help understand what is going on in Bantawa. Similarly, to contrast the Bantawa phenomena to those in neighbouring languages highlights common patterns and correspondences or may highlight Bantawa-specific aspects in the system. Finally, the cross-linguistic comparison has a value in itself in demonstrating the close kinship of Kiranti languages. As I do not want the cross-language comparisons to clutter the Bantawa description, I have tucked away many correspondences in the footnotes.

### 7.2.5 Category-selective compound verbs

Ordinary compound verbs can be divided by a single formal property, i.e. the way second verbs vary according to transitivity for the compound verb. There are vectors that are the same for either transitive or intransitive compound verbs, and there are vectors that come in pairs, one for transitive and intransitive conjugation.

Frequently, where Kiranti languages have lexical pairs for verbs for either transitive and intransitive independent usage, these same pairs appear in the second verb position in compounds.

**Motionalisers and aspectivisers** In the Kirantist linguistic literature, we find the terminology 'motionaliser' and 'aspectiviser' in use for verb compounding constructions, in particular to designate the second verb. Wherever this terminology is used, it never quite fits the entire set of second verbs. Not all vectors add aspect or aspect only to the verbal complex and this holds true for motionalisers as well. The motionaliser-aspectiviser terminology can be used fruitfully in a survey of the semantic types of vector verbs, but does not cover the entire formal category of compounding verbs. We find that in Bantawa, the category selective behaviour is primarily found in motionaliser vector verbs. By contrast, aspectiviser verbs, e.g. progressive and perfect vectors, adapt to their main verb with regard to valency.

Motionalisers (§7.2.5) and aspectivisers (§7.2.6) form the bulk of Bantawa compound verbs. However, a significant number of vector verbs remain that do not fit these two classes. There are vector verbs that are conatives or experientials. These vector verbs are neither motionalisers or aspectivisers. Many verbal compounds render coordinate readings of the compounded parts, designating a complex event with two sub-events. Some vector verbs are idiosyncratic or grammatically required without obvious clue (§7.2.6).
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Motionalisers

Motionalisers are second verbs in verbal compounds that derive from verbs of movement.

Semantics

Motionalisers modify the meaning of the verb complex in two ways at the same time: a) Motionalisers add a usually telic aspect to the verb semantics. This means that as an aspectual marker, motionalisers select the process and final boundary of the verbal action. In other words, motionalisers focus on the completion of the action, without restricting the aspectual information to the completion. b) Motionalisers indicate the direction in which the event ends. The event ends in the direction indicated by the verb that the motionaliser is derived from.

For some combinations of main and vector verb (V1-V2), the telic aspect is dominant and it is hard to imagine a directional reading for the vector verb, as in examples (512), (513a) and (519a). For other main and vector verb combinations, the directional aspect dominates and the meaning of the total verb complex almost amounts to pure coordination of the semantics of the two compounding verbs, as in the examples (513b) and (512b). However, for the majority of verb compounds involving a motionaliser, the motionaliser brings both components to the overall meaning, viz. the examples (515a) and (516).

\[512\] kʰatma, as vector verb: motionaliser of going, 'go away' (DIReaway), telic aspect, derived from 'to go'

- a. yawa rikt-a kʰar-a.
  friend twist-PT go-PT
  'the friend got angry.'
- b. kanla al-a kʰar-a.
  ridge turn-over-PT go-PT
  'the terrace ridge toppled over.'

\[513\] kʰanma, as vector verb: 'completive' aspect, derived from 'to make go'

- a. (...) tənə ani i-do cʰaj (...) rikt-u-kʰais-u.
  but.then (N) then (N) his/her-mouth also (...) twist-3P-COMPL-3P
  'Then, however, Paruhang’s mouth also was twisted.'
- b. winma kʰanma
  ditch send
  'to ditch, to throw away, to dispose'
- c. wetma kʰanma
  throw send
  'to throw away'
- d. manma kʰanma
  lose send
  'to forget'

\[514\] kʰatma, as vector verb: motionaliser of taking, 'take away' (DIReaway), (strong) telic aspect, derived from 'to take'
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a. baca ɨ-pakt-a-c-u-pəcɨli-yaŋ-sa  kʰar-a-kina, charmed 3AM-sow-PT-DU-3P-after (N) spread (N) become-PROG-SIM go-PT-CAUS
dʰake  mu-Ø-kʰatt-u, cover (N) do-3P-DIRaway-3P

‘After they put on the charm, having spread, it covered (the water).’

(515) tama3 as vector verb: motionaliser of returning, ‘come’ (DIRback), derived from ‘to come’
a. kʰwatni yɨŋ-a, kʰon-da-nka o-sa-na pakt-u. pakt-u-ta-na
that.way say-PT he/she-LOC-ABL this-PRN-TOP put.in-3P put.in-3P-FOC (N)-TOP
mo kʰon-ta-Ø ler-a-ɨŋ-a.
that resurrect-PT-DIRback-PT burn-PT-live-PT

‘Like that she spoke. After that, like that, now, she put it in. She put it in, recovered consciousness and lived again.’

Vector verb selection by direction, valency and level Bantawa has a symmetrical system of motion verbs such as that found in all Kiranti languages. Motion verbs are marked for direction, i.e. coming or going, transitivity (valency) and level, i.e. up, down, level, or neutral (cf. §4.2.2).

All motion verbs are possible vector verbs in verbal compounds. The motion verbs that are neutral with respect to the vertical level are used most frequently and, as may be expected, are used by default if only the aspect of telicity is sought. Vertically marked verbs always bring the directional meaning aspect and are never strictly aspectual, but otherwise have the same aspectual effect as their neutral counterparts.

As described in §6.3.1, most verbs that come in transitive-intransitive pairs have a clearly discernible derivational relationship. For instance, the intransitive verb kʰatma3 ‘to go’ has two transitive derivations, viz. kʰatma1 ‘to take’ and kʰanma2 ‘to send’. The first form kʰatma1 ‘to take’ implies a more direct causation. The second, more transparent and productive causative formation kʰanma2 regularly means ‘to make go, to send’, i.e. a more mediated causation.

Many verbs have regular transitive derivations and by extension, verb forms that are used intransitively in compounded forms are also likely to be used transitively in compounded form.

For verbs such as kʰatma3 ‘to go’ the question arises which transitive alternative is used in transitive conjugation. There is no definite answer to this question, as the choice of vector verb is mostly lexically determined. If we compare the forms for kujma ‘to bend’ (516), we see that while the verb kujma ‘to bend’, which is a middle verb, does not formally change, the verb kʰatma3 ‘to go’ changes to its regular causative form kʰanma2 ‘to send’. However, the choice of causative form is lexical. Note that the causative of mama ‘to get lost’ is manma1 ‘to loose’, another causative formation than kʰanma2 ‘to send’.

(516) ‘to bend’ - kʰatma3 → kʰanma2
a. kuj-Ø kʰar-Øa.
bend-PT go-PT

‘It bent.’
Chapter 7. Complex Verbs

b. kurt-u kʰais-u.
   bend-3P send-3P
   ‘He bent it.’

(517) ‘to get lost’ vs. ‘to lose’ - kʰatma₁ → kʰanma₂

a. ma-Ø kʰar-a.
   get.lost-PT go-PT
   ‘It got lost.’

b. mant-u kʰans-u.
   lose-3P let.go-3P
   ‘He lost it, he forgot it.’

(518) ‘Abandon, release’

a. ler-u-ŋ kʰans-u-ŋ.
   leave-3P-1s let.go-3P-1s
   ‘I left him behind.’

b. hor-u-m kʰais-u-m.
   open-3P-12plA let.go-3P-12plA
   ‘We opened it and let it go (the water).’

In general, it is fair to say that the kʰatma₁ (kʰattu) ‘to take’ transitive derivation is more strictly aspectual in usage, whereas the form kʰanma₂ ‘to send’ always retains a connotation of ‘away’, disappearance and physical abandonment.

(519) kʰatma₃ → kʰatma₁

a. lint-u kʰatt-ul
   attack-3P take-3P
   ‘attack!’

b. som-ma kʰat-ма
   search-INF take-INF
   ‘to search thoroughly’

c. soms-u kʰatt-u.
   search-3P take-3P
   ‘He searched thoroughly.’

Aspect and direction So far, we have mostly chosen the verb kʰatma ‘to go’ and its derivatives as example verbs. However, any motion verb, however specified for vertical direction, transitivity or other parameters, can be a vector verb. To give examples of each one would be rather unwieldy, but some more examples may help to reveal patterns in the aspectual side-effects or associations of motionalisers. It turns out that verbs of approaching motion ‘to come’ are associated with an inchoative aspect ‘to begin, to start’, whereas verbs of the ‘go’ family express a more telic aspect ‘to end’.

In a grammatical, analytical inchoative construction, formed as infinitive + modal (520), the inceptive is focussed on as a separate part of the proposition, whereby the

\(^{19}\) Also (Rai 1985: 119) ‘inceptive’
7.2. Compound verbs

Inception is only loosely connected to the main event. For example, in line (520) most in-laws would be awaiting their turn, but still the statement as a whole would be true.

(520) jagge-da cʰenwar-ciʔa behula behuli-ci tika wat-ma
jagge (N)-LOC inlaw-PL-ERG groom (N)-PL blessing.mark (N) apply-INF
mi-puŋs-u-ci.
3pl-start-3P-DU

‘In the jagge compound, the in-laws start to give blessing marks to the bride and bridegroom.’ [Mr]

However, inceptive aspect as expressed by compound verbs with approaching motion verbs as vector verb is different. In compound verbs, the inception is an aspect of the event as such, whereby the event itself is qualified as a type of inception. However, approaching motion vector verbs do not necessarily express aspect only. Example (522) shows a clear directional reading for an approaching motionaliser verb. The telic aspect that is inherent to normal motionals is still available.

In any case, the motionaliser lonma ‘to come up’ has more or less grammaticalised to become an inchoative aspectualiser (521a). Some verbs necessarily select a ‘come’ motionaliser and are not grammatical without it (521c).

(521) Other motion verbs as V2.
   a. kʰon-t-a lont-a.
      resurrect-PT come.out-PT
      ‘He resurrected.’
   b. puw-a lont-a
      rise-PT come.out-PT
      ‘He rose, he stood up.’
   c. *puw-a
      rise-PT
      ‘he rose’
   d. kʰon-ma ta-ma
      resurrect-INF come-INF
      ‘to rise and come, to resurrect’

(522) lonma2 as telic motionaliser

oil spill-PT-SEQ-TOP my-hand-ERG collect-3P-1S-bring.up-3P-1s

‘The oil spilt, and I collected it with my hand.’

Some motionals are undirected and do not denote a motion with a clear direction, but rather a roundabout or wandering motion. These motion verbs also function as vector motionals and here it becomes important to pay proper attention to the aspeclusal connotations of motionaliser vector verbs. While at first we emphasised the direction part of the semantics of vector verbs deriving from
motion verbs, we can also see clear patterns of association of type of motion with type of aspectual information contributed. It seems sensible to split independent motion verbs in two major groups according to the factor oriented (Bickel 1996: Ch.6). The oriented verbs can further be subdivided by direction, viz. go or come, and vertical level, viz. up, down, level or neutral.

**Motion Verbs**

I. Oriented Verbs
   i. come    up, down, level and neutral
   ii. go     up, down, level and neutral

II. Not-oriented
   i. wander, walk

The prototypical non-oriented verb is *konma* 'to walk'. In Bantawa, *konma* 'to walk' does not function as a vector verb, but cognates of *konma* are attested in Belhare (Bickel 1996: Ch.8) and in Limbu (van Driem 1987: 187). Bickel labels the effect of this verb as 'spatially distributed temporary aspect'. Van Driem describes the Limbu cognate of this verb as a 'spatially defocused continuous'. This non-oriented vector verb translates as 'to go around X-ing'. The probably most prototypical usage is found in the Belhare example (523).

(523) gaũ-gaũ raksi iŋa un-gon-u
village-village brandy beer drink-SDT-3U

'He is going around drinking brandy and beer' (Bickel 1996: 8.2.b.B)

Bickel insists that the spatially distributed vector does not of necessity imply motion. Like other motionalisers, the vector verb may lose its meaning of movement altogether and reduce to a strict aspectualiser. As aspectualisers, then, the non-oriented motion verbs clearly have an atelic effect. They are a specialised subclass of continuous aspect forms. The continuous is a special form of the imperfective20.

While Bantawa does have the root *konma* 'to walk', this root is not used as a vector verb. This is remarkable as such, but probably not significant enough to warrant a lot of discussion. I have included the spatially distributed aspect here in order to later extend this discussion of motionalisers to a review of Kiranti vector verbs. We are now able to summarise the association of aspect with motion as in (524).

(524) association of direction with aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oriented verbs</th>
<th>go ←→ telic: 'away'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>come ←→ inchoative (telic): 'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-oriented verbs</td>
<td>walk ←→ non-telic, continuous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The selection of transitive or intransitive forms as well the vertical level part of motion verbs are left out of the equation, since with regard to aspect these are less important.

20While Belhare and Limbu have only these obviously cognate forms attested, Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 152) has an entire class of roundabout motionalisers, each with different aspectual details, e.g. 'there and back', 'circumvagant'.
7.2 Compound verbs

Lama ‘to return’ The verb *lama* ‘to return, to reach’ is an ordinary motion verb in that it duly serves as a vector verb (525) and is even quite frequent in that role. Some informants allow for forms that have further reduced suffix strings, missing suffixes that normally are retained in compounded verbs, viz. example (525a) vs. (525b).

(525) *lama* ‘to return’ as vector verb
   a. ta-Ø-ci la-Ø-ci-ki...
      come-PT-DU return-PT-DU-SEQ
      ‘after they had reached...’
   b. ta-Ø-la-Ø-ci-ki...
      come-PT-return-PT-DU-SEQ
      ‘after they had reached...’

However, the verb is also a frequent main verb and then, exceptionally, only brings the meaning ‘again’ to the entire verb complex. In this type of compound, it seems that any verb may serve as vector, and *lama* ‘to return’ only brings directional information. Combined with motion verbs, *lama* ‘to return’ translates as ‘back’, viz. ‘go back’, ‘come back’, with other verbs, *lama* translates as ‘again’.21

(526) *lama* ‘to return’ meaning ‘back’, or ‘again’
   a. iŋka las-a-ŋ-c°ŋs-a-ŋ-da-ŋ-ni-ŋ!
      return-PT-1s-deliver-PT-1s-eff-1s-2p-1s NAR say-3P-DUP
      ‘Bring me back! she told them.’ [Gn]
   b. amno paruhang-na las-a-k°att-a-n-u-m.
      your° Paruhang-TOP return-PT-DIRaway-PT-2P-3P-12plA
      ‘Take your Paruhang back again.’ [Sm]
   c. iŋka ak°ɔmaq matte trekiŋ kon-ma kaci-da-ŋka
      yesterday only (N) trekking walk-INF work-LOC-ABL
      las-a-ŋ-ta-Ø-ŋ yuus-a-ŋ.
      return-PT-1s-come-PT-1s COMPL-PT-1s
      ‘Only yesterday I have returned from my trekking job.’
   d. la-ci tup-ci-ne!
      return-DU meet-DU-OPT
      ‘Let us meet again!’

7.2.6 Category-insensitive compound verbs

In form, motionalisers are usually different for transitive and intransitive verb compounds. Different forms, usually derivatives of the same family, are selected for forms with different valency. This categorial selection is a strategy to mark a transitivity parameter that is consistent between the parts of the compound verb. The alternative to categorial selection is to ignore the valency of the compounding verbs or to allow compounding with one type of vector verb only. The vector verbs that are not selected by valency come in exactly these classes.

21The verb *lama* la-~ las-~ ‘return’ is of the s-conjugation class and conjugates both transitively and intransitively, according to context.
Chapter 7. Complex Verbs

Aspectuals

Introduction  First, there is a group of aspectual vector verbs. There are not many vector verbs that mark aspect, but they are very heavily used. Aspectual vector verbs conjugate with both transitive and intransitive inflection markers. Historically or even synchronically, aspectuals derive from typical intransitive verbs, i.e. members of the ‘to be’ family of verbs, from ‘to sit’ and ‘to lie’.

Aspectuals not only formally stand out as ‘category-insensitive’22, but they also form a functionally distinct group of vector verbs.

Semantic subclasses  As aspect markers, aspectual vector verbs usually are members of some ‘family’ of aspect.

Cursive  The group of cursive aspects includes the imperfective, progressive, continuous, and perhaps the ‘inceptive’ aspect. In Bantawa, the most frequent vector verb is the progressive, that is well underway of being grammaticalised, but still discernible as a vector verb. Many compound verbs can be seen as subcategories of the imperfective, e.g. durative, iterative or progressive.

Perfective  Another group of vector verbs denote or focus the perfective aspect or a subtype of the perfective, viz. ‘inceptive’, ‘completive’ or ‘resultative’. The verb \( \text{dama} \) \(<\text{da} \sim \text{do}>\), which never occurs independently, belongs to this class. The verb \( \text{dama} \) comes very close in meaning to the perfect \( \text{yukma} \) forms, see below. The subtle difference is that the forms augmented with \( \text{dama} \) are perfective, not perfect. \( \text{Dama} \) focuses on the inceptive aspect of the form. The ‘motionalisers’ also typically focus on, or enhance, the perfective aspect of the verbal construction.

Perfect  For all Central Kiranti languages, we also find vector verbs based on the root family \(<\text{yu} / \text{yuk} / \text{yukt} \sim \text{yuŋ} / \text{yuŋ}s>\) ‘to sit, to be’. These vectors typically denote perfect aspect. Bickel (1996: 103) calls it a definitive aspect, about which more later.

Aspect and Aktionsart  together form one of the most complicated subjects of any grammar, particularly as the aspect of a proposition is dependent of so many factors. Aspect not only depends of the marking on the verb, by either a vector verb or other marking, but also of the inherent Aktionsart of the verb. On top of marking in the verbal predicate, there are other parts of propositions, viz. participants, adverbs, etc., and pragmatic factors that come into play.

The description and classification of aspectual vector verbs here is not a final word on their semantics. At least, for every vector verb we give the gist of the aspectual contribution of that verb to the verb complex as a whole and its distribution.

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22These vector verbs are labelled ‘category-insensitive’ here. For the aspectual vectors based on ‘to be’-verbs, we might as well have labelled them ‘intransitive’ and just say that the compound verb conjugates according to the highest number of participants (arguments) in the complex (Klamer 1994: 272). The difference would be in wording only. However, in Kiranti languages, we also find transitive verb roots figure in the ‘aspectual’ class of vector verbs. A clearly transitive verb such as ‘to eat’ \( \text{cama} \) also conjugates both transitively and intransitively. This means that the conjugation and valency of a compound verb does not follow the ‘highest number of participants’ but is determined by the main verb, at least, for ‘category-insensitive’ vector verbs.
7.2. Compound verbs 267

Ordering  As we can expect, there is a distinct pattern of ordering between V2s when there is more than one in a compounded verb form. The ordering is consistently as in (527).

(527) Relative ordering of vector verbs in compound verbs

<main verb><motionaliser><aspectiviser>
V1 V2 V2

Generally this ordering works out such that we only find one verb from each class. This constraint is primarily pragmatic. Adding a vector verb with an aspectual meaning that is included in a previous vector is pointless, and so is expressing two conflicting aspects. This works out in strong limitations on the ordering and appearance of vector verbs23. Verb chains longer than three verbs usually reflect either a) coordinated semantics for two main verbs or b) verbs subcategorised for a vector verb, together operating as a single main verb.

(528) dekinalo ni yin-in-nalo yin-ma dat-Ø-nalo o cakwa because NAR say-12plSP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
jatika khepi tatai li-Ø-ya, mo lat-ma kʰat-ma how.much (N) time hot (N) become-NPT-EMPH that take.out-INF take.away-INF
yak-ma dot-Ø.
be.in-INF must-NPT
'Because, we say, one should say, every time that water gets hot, you must continuously throw it out.' [Hm]

(529) ... pans-a kʰar-a ciʔ-a.
... be.late-PT-go-PT-finish-PT
'It already has become too late.' [Bw]

Imperfective aspects

The first and most widely used class of aspectual vector verbs are those expressing the imperfective or cursive aspects24. This class also includes vector verbs that express a distinct static meaning, also grouped in the imperfective and continuative realm of semantics. As vectors, these verbs yield aspects such as habituality, repetitivity, durativity, iterativity, progression and continuity. These vector verbs are part of a cursive aspect field25, and are all some kind of imperfective. Often the semantics of one specific vector verb encompasses that of a less specific vector verb, such that

23 However, perfect and perfective aspectuals do incidentally combine with strict motionalisers. When the verb lama is used in a 'return' kind of sense (cf. §7.2.5), the ordering constraint moves one place left, i.e. then the V2 can be considered as V1 (cf. 509).

24 Ebert (1994: 60) uses the terminology 'stative'.

25 Bickel (1996) extensively details how the aspects of Belhare, a language closely related to Bantawa, can best be classified and subclassified. He treats aspect markers as part of the suffix string on the main verb, even though they clearly have a verbal origin. This does not affect comparison between languages, as the matter of distribution of vector verbs is really the same. They way Bickel presents his data, it seems that throughout, in Belhare, vector verbs are more grammaticalised as verb suffixes, showing more and more unpredictable allomorphy. To understand the distribution of aspect markers in Belhare, Bickel
the durative implies imperfective and excludes perfect vector verbs. In Bantawa, we find the progressive and the continuous in the imperfective realm. These can be graded in force: the neutral zero verb form <Ø> < progressive <yaŋ ~ ŋ ~ Ø> < continuous <yak ~ yakt>.

The experiential cama 'to eat' is grouped with the imperfectives. This vector implies that the verbal situation is of ongoing nature. Considering that the inceptive or effective verb dama (EFF) is almost aspect-neutral, some types of usage of this vector suggest that it would fit both the imperfective and the perfective groupings.

For Dumi, van Driem (1993b: 199) describes the continuous <tho ~ thot>, often emerging as <thi>28, which comes close to the Bantawa progressive. In the same realm we find the durative <dza-dzuy ~ dzu-dzi-dzo> and the perseverative <bok ~ bhok>. Kulung also features a perseverative <la ~ lat> (infinitive lama), and a continuous cama29 (Tolsma 1999: 83). The forms for the Dumi durative and the Kulung continuous are mentioned, as they both are homophonous with the verb dzuni (Dumi) or cama (Kulung) 'to eat' in their respective languages. This is no coincidence, as the verb 'to eat' also serves as vector verbs in Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 166) and Bantawa. This vector is discussed with the resultatives, though it perhaps fits equally well with the imperfective aspectuals.

The progressive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;yaŋ ~ ŋ ~ ŋ ~ Ø&gt;</td>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive vector verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;yak ~ yakt&gt;</td>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous vector verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

introduces the concept of Horn scales. Markers or vector verbs that are higher on some Horn scale, imply the semantics of the members ranking lower on the scale. Members lower on the scale would be used when no more specific meaning is intended or called for; members higher on the scale are more specific. Typically, the least informative form on a scale is a zero form.

26Rutgers (1998: 188) mentions an imperfective group of vector verbs that includes the continuous, the protracted continuous and the perseverative continuous. In this group, apparently, each next member is more informative than the previous.

27The verb dama (EFF) is hard to classify. This vector approximates the perfective aspect that is inherent to every finite verb form. Indeed, many verbs are lexically subcategorised for dama without obvious reason.

28A Dumi example of a progressive, continuous aspect follows here. The form demonstrates that it is not continuous in the sense that duration is emphasised in any way. This contrasts with the other Dumi forms mentioned.

c. Im hempa lamthi-thin-t-a
   he where be.off.to-CNT-NPT-23S
   ‘Where is he heading off to?’

29The vector verb yuKma, which is a cognate of Bantawa yuKna, was labelled as a ‘durative’ by Tolsma (1999: 82). However, Kulung yuKma is more properly labelled a ‘perfect’, since it is not in the cursive family. The notion of duration can only apply to the definitive nature of the result and completeness of the verbal action. This vector does not signal an ongoing action, as Tolsma’s examples amply show.
Introduction The progressive is by far the most frequent vector verb in Bantawa. In fact, the progressive is so frequent and shows so much allomorphy that it might be considered part of the suffix string. However, the progressive clearly behaves as a compound verb in form and semantics. The progressive is significantly different in form: Under some conditions even a zero allomorph emerges (see examples 533, 640, 426b). In meaning, the Bantawa progressive differs from the English -ing forms, as the progressive also is used on typical stative verbs, cf. (530).

(530) Stative predicates in the progressive
a. om-Ø-yaj-Ø-ʔa  
   be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM + cloth-ERG + wrap-INF + must-NPT.  
   ‘We must wrap it in white cloth.’

b. cʰap-ma ləs-u-ŋ-y-u-ŋ.  
   write-INF be.able-3P-1s-PROG-3P-1s  
   ‘I can write.’

The progressive is not a simple imperfective. The progressive is not used to express habituality or repetition, for which the zero, unmarked verb forms may be used. The progressive also must not be called continuous, as it is used to show a process or an action in progress. To express that states pertain continuously, Bantawa has an etymologically closely related specific continuous form, cf. (531).

(531) Contrast between progressive and continuous
a. ɪms-a-ŋ-a.  
   sleep-PT-PART-PROG-PT  
   ‘He was lying down.’

b. ɪms-a-yakt-a.  
   sleep-PT-PART-CONT-PT
   ‘He continued to sleep.’

(532) Example of the contrast between progressive and continuous in a single sentence from the Sumnima narrative
a. ə̃ mwaṭni jaycʰəcičəŋ i-tokt-a-c-u-ci-ki-na  
   yes.that.way glorious.child 3AM-receive-PT-DU-3P-DUP-SEQ-TOP  
   mo-ci-cʰəŋ  
   that-PL-3P-DUP-SEQ-TOP
   mi-pon-Ø-yaj-Ø,  
   3pl-grow-PT-PART-PROG-NPT, 3pl-grow-PT-PART-CONT-PT

   ‘Er, like that, after they got their children, they also were growing up there, continued to grow up.’

Morphology of the progressive
The Bantawa progressive construction that uses the allomorphs <yəŋ ~ ŋ ~ y ~ Ø> is a compound construction (Ebert 1994). If we take a glance at the table for intransitive progressives though, there are some major diversions from the general pattern in Bantawa. The first column in Table 7.1 shows the affix strings of the simple non-past and the affix strings of the corresponding progressive forms. By comparing these affix strings we can infer the progressive allomorphs (fourth column).
Chapter 7. Complex Verbs

Table 7.1: Comparison of simplex non-past affixes with progressive non-past affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slot</th>
<th>NPT affixes</th>
<th>NPT PROG affixes</th>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>PROG allomorph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>Σ-ŋa</td>
<td>Σ-ŋanja</td>
<td>-ŋa-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>Σ-ciʔa</td>
<td>Σ-ciciąʔa</td>
<td>-ci-ci</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>Σ-inka</td>
<td>Σ-inyinka</td>
<td>-in-inka</td>
<td>-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id</td>
<td>Σ-ci</td>
<td>Σ-ciści</td>
<td>-ci-ci</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ip</td>
<td>Σ-in</td>
<td>Σ-inyin</td>
<td>-in-in</td>
<td>-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ti-Σ</td>
<td>ti-ŋyaŋ</td>
<td>-Ø-Ø</td>
<td>-ŋyaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>ti-Σ-ci</td>
<td>ti-ŋcići</td>
<td>-ci-ci</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ti-Σ-in</td>
<td>ti-ŋcin</td>
<td>-in-in</td>
<td>-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>Σ-ŋyaŋ</td>
<td>-Ø-Ø</td>
<td>-ŋyaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>Σ-ci</td>
<td>Σ-ciści</td>
<td>-ci-ci</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>mi-Σ</td>
<td>mi-ŋyaŋ</td>
<td>-Ø-Ø</td>
<td>-ŋyaŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We know from the general pattern of verbal compounding (§7.2.3) that the suffix sequence following the first verb is repeated after the second. Analysing the intransitive forms in Table 7.1, we find that the only difference between a normal vector verb and the progressive is the allomorphy of the latter. The progressive always aligns with the first syllable of suffixes on the main verb. If there is no agreement suffix or only zero-marked agreement, a full root <ŋyaŋ> will emerge, witness the second and third person singular forms. If the sequence of suffixes up to suffix slot 6 ends in a vowel, the ya-part of the progressive will elide, and only <-ŋ> surfaces, viz. the dual forms in the non-past, but also all past tense forms. Should a geminate /ŋŋ/ result, then this geminate is degeminated. If the sequence of suffixes starts in a vowel and ends in a consonant, then the <y> allomorph will surface as in the first and second person plural forms. Should the sequence of suffixes start and end in a consonant, the zero allomorph appears, cf. the negative or reflexive progressive forms as in (533)31.

(533) zero allomorph for the progressive

a. ti-kon-na-n-ci-n.
   2AS-walk-2P-NEGn-DU-NEGc
   ‘you don’t walk’

b. ti-kon-na-n-Ø-na-n-ci-n. (([tikonnanancin]))
   2AS-walk-2P-NEGn-PROG-2P-NEGn-DU-NEGc
   ‘you don’t walk’

30In the data presented by Rai (1985) and reworked by Ebert (1994), we find that that the first and second person plural forms show a progressive ending in <-yan>, e.g. tikoliyan ‘you3pl are walking’. To accommodate the particular progressive allomorphy in these forms in the Rabi dialect we can assume that in these forms -yan plus -in fuse into -yan.

31The zero allomorph of the progressive has led Rai (1984: 16) to analyse the progressive as an instance of reduplication. However, as we show amply, it is clearly an instance of verbal compounding.
7.2. Compound verbs

c. i-ɨ-cɨ-ɲ nin set-nin-ci-n
NEGNPp-hang-NEGn kill-NEGn-DUP-NEGc
‘He does not kill himself’
d. i-ɨ-cɨ-ɲ set-nin-Ø-nin-ci-n
NEGNPp-hang-NEGn kill-NEGn-PROG-NEGn-DUP-NEGc
‘He is not killing himself’

Full paradigms of progressive forms are given in the appendices. The allomorphy of the progressive seems to be aimed at reducing the prosodic weight of the compound verb construction. As a result, the most salient feature of the progressive is that the compounded verb never breaks up into two prosodic words, which contrasts with ordinary compounds. The progressive does not occur in the infinitive. These facts suggest that the progressive is gradually becoming a separate grammatical category instead of a special instance of verbal compounding.

Experiential cama ‘to eat’. Across Kiranti languages, we find that ‘to eat’ frequently serves as a vector verb. The Bantawa verb cama ‘to eat’ is a cursive vector verb. However cama ‘to eat’ is also similar to the experience verbs or probatives on the one hand, and to the category-changing verbs described as ‘middle’ on the other hand. Cama is a cursive vector verb in the sense that it implies that the action is ongoing. The focus is on the fact that the subject of the event gets to enjoy or ‘eat’ the benefit. As a result, in all tested languages that have cognates to cama ‘to eat’ these typically collocate with verbs such as ‘to laugh’32 and ‘to sleep’33.

Probably it is best to follow Rutger’s terminology ‘experience’ as this verb focuses on the fact that the subject, which is often the agent of the verbal action, gets to ‘eat’ the action as well. While the terminology varies widely in the literature, ranging from ‘durative,’ ‘continuous’, ‘auxiliary of experience’, the distribution and semantics are really quite similar. The verb cama ‘to eat’ most usually occurs as a vector verb on experience verbs that apply to the subject. As a corollary, if the main verb is not of that nature, this vector verb creates the effect of experience, either to the self34 or to someone else, cf. the Bantawa example (534a).

(534) Experiential

a. mo eʰ a pon ma ca ma he maʔan?
that child give.away-INF eat-INF or no
‘Should we give this child or not (for a wedding arrangement)?’

32Yamphu (Rutgers 1998):
d. yi t-cas-iŋ ma.
laugh-eat-EXPS-12NS
‘We laughed’
33Kulung (Tolsma 1999: Ex.341):
e. gundri-pu i ms ca te
straw.mat-LOC sleep-CNT-IMP
‘sleep on the straw mat’
34For Yamphu, Rutgers reports a middle effect.
Chapter 7. Complex Verbs

b. taŋkoŋ-da i-taŋ nant-u-ki ıms-a-ca-Øʔo
pillow-LOC his/her-head lean.back-3P-SEQ sleep-PT-eat-PT-NOM
yuŋ-a-ŋ-a,
sit-PT-PROG-PT
‘leaning his head on a pillow, he was fast asleep.’

Perfective and perfect

It is said of most Kiranti languages that finite verb forms have an inherent perfective aspect in that verb forms that are not explicitly marked for aspect typically denote a resultative or inceptive. Simple verbs mean that some boundary, either of starting or finishing the action, has been crossed.35 Bantawa simplex verb forms are inherently perfective. The inherent aspect is most prominent in past tense forms, but also transpires in non-past forms. Non-past forms are used for future time reference or generic statements where time reference is irrelevant. Non-past forms only express present tense if there are other clues.

If an action is ongoing, either in the past or present, a cursive aspect marker must be added, as in the previous paragraph. In spite of the inherent verb aspect, there are also explicit perfective aspectual vector verbs. As subclasses of these perfective vector verbs we can distinguish the general perfective and several resultatives.

The simple perfective dama

In Bantawa, some verbs are grammatically subcategorized for the perfective aspectual dama ‘effect’36. Dama does not seem to add any specific aspectual semantics to a verb form that is perfective anyway, but rather emphasises perfectivity. Some informants maintain that dama may also be added because it ‘sounds better’ or more polite. In imperatives, adding either inspective kʰama ‘see’ or dama ‘effect’ makes a form less direct.

The verb domma ‘think hard’ never occurs without dama. When used as an impersonal verb, domma means ‘to be surprised’. The verb sima ‘to die’ also never occurs without dama (535). In (536) the vector verb is not used obligatorily, but to indicate the resultative. The emphasis is on the crossing of a boundary.

(535) dama as obligatory vector verb.

a. dom-ma da-ma.
think.hard-INF eff-INF
‘to think very hard’

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35 The Bantawa inherent verb aspect contrasts with the inherent aspect of Dutch verb forms. In Dutch, the past tense of gaan ‘to go’ is the verb form ging. This form does not denote the result or inception of the action. The sentence ik ging daarheen ‘I went that way’ does imply that ‘I was headed in that direction’ but does not imply that ‘I reached there’ or ‘I started going there’, which would have been resultative or inceptive respectively.

36 This verb dama never occurs independently. Sometimes, dama is glossed in Nepali with equivalents of ‘to put’. It is a possible cognate of the Limbu root *ta ~ *da as in the example below and perhaps of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ʔ-da ‘put/place’ (Matisoff 2003: 586).

f. se:n-doo-ma
question-put-INF
‘to ask’ (cf. Dutch: vragen stellen ‘to pose questions’)
7.2. Compound verbs

b. ɨŋka-na i-domt-a-ŋ-da-Ø-ŋ.
   I-TOP 3AM-think.hard-PT-IS-eff-PT-IS
   'I was surprised.'

c. si-ma da-ma
die-INF eff-INF
   'to die'

(536) dama as perfective auxiliary.

a. im-ma da-ma
   sleep-INF eff-INF
   'to fall asleep'

b. yuŋ-ma da-ma
   put-INF eff-INF
   'to place'

Dama is category-insensitive and conjugates whichever way the main verb conjugates. Dama serves in a reduced form in Bantawa past tense negation as an empty verb that serves to host agreement. In Bantawa there are two competing paradigms for past tense negation. One paradigm is based on dama and is the default perfective negation. The other past tense negation paradigm is based on yukma and is best understood as perfect negation, cf. §4.5.3.

Witness vector verbs Across Kiranti languages, we also find probatives, i.e. vector verbs that signal that the action described in the main verb must be checked, experienced or witnessed. These vector verbs do not change aspect, but are typically used for the imperatives. In Bantawa, adding an appropriate form of kʰama "to see" to imperative forms only signals politeness and perhaps an aspect of ease, such as 'do this and you’ll see it’s easy'.

(537) kʰama - probative

a. icilok piw-a-ŋ-kʰa-Ø-ŋ.
give-PT-IS-see-PT-IS
   'Give me a little bit.'

b. sampica yı-yaŋ-sa hik lant-u-kʰo.
millet shake-PROG-SIM wind winnow-3P-see.3P
   'Winnow the millet, shaking it to the wind.'

c. kʰim kʰar-a-kʰ-a-Ø-ci
   house go-PT-see-PT-DU
   you go home, please!'
d. kʰim kʰar-a-ci-kʰa-Ø!
house go-PT-DU-see-PT
‘you’d go home, please!’
e. kʰim kʰar-a-nin-kʰa-Ø!
house go-PT-2p-see-PT
‘you pl go home, please!’
f. *kʰim kʰar-a-kʰa-Ø-nin!

Kʰama 'to see' also is category-insensitive and conjugates in whichever way the main verb conjugates. The verb kʰama seems to maintain a relationship with kʰaŋma 'to see'. However, the stem velar nasal never occurs in compound forms. In addition, the paradigm of compound verbs with kʰama is defective. All singular forms with the root <kʰa-> pattern regularly with all other compound verbs, as in examples (537a, 537b), but some plural markers do not appear on the vector verb, while these markers must appear on parallel forms with other verbs. As examples (537c, 537d) show, the position of the dual marker is variable. Examples (537e, 537f) show that the second person plural suffix can only appear before the suffix, not after. This irregular pattern suggests that <kʰa-> may not have been a verb originally, but derives from another source. The frequent suffix <-kʰa> will be discussed further in §8.6.

Other resultatives There is a very varied group of vector verbs that are resultative and add to or emphasise one or another part of the total verbal action much in the way that motionalisers add or emphasise the motion part. Some but not all resultatives add a telic aspect. Some resultatives do not so much tell of the completion of the action, but give the beneficiary of the action or the manner of completion.

Conative Metaphorically, the conative is in the class of resultatives, as we know the action did not end or is an ongoing attempt. The Bantawa vector verb lukma may be classified as a conative. If we look at example (538), we see that it must be grouped with the probatives and the cursive durative aspects.

(538) cencikwa kol-a-lukt-a-hida, cencikwaʔa waluʔe
buffalo.bird walk-PT-CON-PT-SIMp buffalo.bird-ERG water.source-ATTR
dʰir-u-ŋ, muluʔe
dʰir-u-ŋ.
find-3P-EMPH water.source (N)-ATTR find-3P-EMPH
‘The pade bird, while it was walking around, and found a water source, found water.’ [Sm]

Lukma 'conative' also is category-insensitive and conjugates in whichever way the main verb conjugates38.

Inceptive Bantawa does not have a dedicated inceptive vector verb,39 but other languages do. However, there are perfective vector verbs that emphasise the fact that the verbal action as a whole is an initiative to a new state, a new state arising,

38Yamphu pʰiʔma 'attempt' (Rutgers 1998: 180) might as well have been labelled as 'conative'.
39There is, however, a modal auxiliary pʰiŋma ~ pʰukma 'to start', selecting infinitival complements.
and completed. Perhaps the term ‘inceptive’ fits this process-and-result meaning, as these vector verbs can also intentionally focus the inception of a new state.

Firstly, the Bantawa verb *dama* serves as an intentional marker of perfectivity, not adding much to the inherent perfective meaning of a simplex verb form. The directional verb *lonma* ‘to come up’ functions as a more precise inceptive vector verb and has become almost completely grammaticalised to signal inception. This inceptive signals the start of the new situation as described in the main verb. While ordinarily *lonma* ‘to come up’ retains something of its directional meaning, e.g. (539), the meaning contribution may be entirely aspectual in other sentences, e.g. (540).

(539) puw-a-lont-a
    get.up-PT-come.up-PT
    ‘he got up’

(540) mo-ko hims-a-lont-a.
    that-PRN go.crazy-PT-come.up-PT
    ‘he went crazy.’

The inceptives as mentioned here are a subtype of the perfective aspect.

*Finality* Where the inceptive focuses on the emergence of an event and the result, the vector verb *cima* ‘to finish’ emphasises the closure or the completion of an event. The verb *cima* usually translates as ‘to end doing...’ or ‘to complete doing...’, but may also merely focus on the finality of the event to put emphasis on the fact that the verbal action has taken a long time and that the resources have been exhausted.

As an independent verb, *cima* ‘to finish’ may take nominal arguments as in *len ciʔa* ‘the day finished’. However, this verb combines with verbs in compounding constructs and does not take infinitival complements. Cf. also (529, 446c).

(541) badde i-huŋ-a-ŋ ci-a-ŋ.
    much 3AM-PT-1s finish-PT-1s
    ‘He has already waited a lot for me.’

The vector verb *cima* ‘to finish’ conjugates both ways, agreeing with the main verb.

*Till death* The mortative\(^{40}\) indicates an action ending in death.

(542) ‘mortative’
    a. kŋ-o-lai makyiʔa i-çiŋs-a ser-a
        he/she-DAT rope-ERG 3AM-hang-PT kill-PT
        ‘They killed him hanging him with a rope’
    b. rik-tu ser-u
        strangle-3P kill-3P
        ‘He strangled it’

\(^{40}\)Van Driem (1987) labelled this aspect the ‘mechrithanatos’ aspect.
Mortatives\textsuperscript{41} are category-sensitive vector verbs, i.e. a vector verb of equal transitivity, viz. ‘to die’ or ‘to kill’, is selected for different main verbs. Bantawa also has a positive counterpart \(hijma\) ‘to live’ that indicates that an action results in revival, cf. (515a).

**Relinquitive** The relinquitive expresses that an action ends in abandonment\textsuperscript{42}.

In Bantawa we see various verbs serve as a relinquitive. \(Hanma\) ‘to send’ is more of a dimittive, e.g. (543), while \(k\text{hanma}\) ‘to send’ is a motionaliser, not specifically a relinquitive. By contrast, the verb \(kema\) ‘to throw away’ only appears in compounds denoting events ending in final abandonment, e.g. (544)\textsuperscript{43}.

\[(543)\text{ dimittive (‘to send off’) }\]
\begin{itemize}
  \item a. ri-na han-na
  \begin{itemize}
    \item chase-2P send-2P
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item ‘I shall chase you away’
  \end{itemize}

\[(544)\text{ relinquitive (‘throw away, abandon’) }\]
\begin{itemize}
  \item a. mant-u-kes-u
  \begin{itemize}
    \item lose-3P-throw.away-3P
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item ‘He forgot it.’
  \end{itemize}

  \begin{itemize}
  \item b. mit-ma ke-ma
  \begin{itemize}
    \item think-INF throw.away-INF
  \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item ‘to decide’ (!)
  \end{itemize}

Relinquitives are category-sensitive.

**Perfect, definitive or completive yukma** As mentioned in the introduction above, aspectual vector verbs are often based on ‘to be’ verbs, denoting different ways of being. Bantawa has two ways of expressing the perfect or pluperfect aspect. a) The perfect can be expressed by periphrastic verb construction of inequal parts, combining a nominalised verb phrase with a yukma-based auxiliary. This construction only serves for past tense perfects. b) The other method of forming a perfect is to compound the main verb by regular verbal compounding with the verb yukma ‘to sit’ or yukma ‘to put’. The verbs yukma or yukma derive from the same root and form a transitive - intransitive pair that differ regularly in valency. In isolation the verbs yukma or yukma mean ‘to sit’ or ‘to put’ respectively. The original meanings of these vector verbs may be relevant to the interpretation of compounded forms, e.g. (545). However, most often, the prominent and only meaning component is that of aspect.

\textsuperscript{41}Mortatives are found across Kiranti languages, e.g. in Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 166) and Kulung (Tolsma 1999).

\textsuperscript{42}Also Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 152), Dumi (van Driem 1993b: 202) ‘dispatch, dimittive’

\textsuperscript{43}Ebert (1994: 64) mistakes Bantawa dama for a relinquitive. However, it is rather an almost neutral aspectiviser (§7.2.6). In languages where the ‘to put’ meaning of dama is still apparent, the label ‘relinquitive’ may serve to highlight the motion of ‘putting it down’ as a part of the whole verbal action. The first Bantawa example that Ebert gives is badly glossed. In the other and the Chamling examples the ‘abandonment’ meaning component derives solely from the main verb. For ‘relinquitives’ her text contains a valid Limbu example yuksu dho ‘he left it behind’, which, however, derives from another root.
7.2. Compound verbs

(545) ɨcilok kims-u-ŋ-lar-u-ŋ-yuŋs-u-ŋ.
    a.bit    save-3P-1s-take-3P-1s-PERF-3P-1s
'I have been saving a bit'

It would be most easy to say that the vector yuŋma just indicates perfect aspect. The perfect reading is most prominent and compatible with the fact that these perfect vector verbs combine well with the progressive. Both the periphrastic perfect and the verb compound perfect signal a state resulting from a verbal action. This state may be predicated over any subject with separate time reference and cursive, generic or any other aspect.

(546) progressive forms of perfect sentences
    a. ɨŋ ka kʰana jiwapa cʰot-naʔo yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.
       1 you answer give-2P-NOM be.PERF-PT-PROG-PT
'I had given you an answer' ('I was in a state that I had given you an answer')
    b. i-klʰimhaŋma saro-ŋa riŋri pi-ʔ-yuŋs-u-ŋ-u.
       his/her-housewife much (N)-EMPH trouble give-3P-PERF-3P-PROG-3P
'He had given his wife a lot of trouble.'

The combination of the perfect and progressive aspect may seem counterintuitive, but is logical in Bantawa. A periphrastic perfect with a non-progressive auxiliary refers to generic or future situations. Current states must be expressed with a progressive form, cf. (530). A perfect form expresses a state: If this state is a current state, the auxiliary must be in the progressive. Still, the verb compound perfect is not exactly equal to the periphrastic perfect. The verb compound perfect primarily focuses on the result of the action. This construction intentionally emphasises that the action is over, rather than simply denoting a stable state. In that sense, the verb compound is a resultative rather than a full perfect, cf. example (548).

(547) ik kʰepi mo-da kʰar-a-ŋ yuŋs-a-ŋ.
    one time that-LOC go-PT-1s PERF-PT-1s
'I have gone there once.'

(548) ɨcilok un-ŋa ɨŋka yiq-a-yuŋs-a-ŋ.
    a.bit   this.much-EMPH  speak-PT-PERF-PT-1s
'I only spoke this much.'

The verb yukma 'to put', that is related to yuŋma 'to sit', serves in a reduced form in one of the two Bantawa past tense negation paradigms as a complementiser verb to host agreement. The negation paradigm based on yukma 'to put' is best understood
as perfect negation, as it denies that the state described in the verb applies to the 
alleged subject, cf. §4.5.3.

The perfect usage of *yuŋma* is category-insensitive.

**Conjunctive compound verbs**

Finally, there is always the leftover class of vector verbs that are hard to classify. Vector verbs that are situationally chosen typically do not just express the aspect of the verbal complex, but rather the verb complex semantics amounts to a simple coordination of the compounding parts. This coordination does not usually reflect a consecutive order of events in time, although the interpretation of the verb complex may require that on pragmatic grounds.

The verb *cama* 'to eat' compounds with a number of other verbs, to express different ways of eating (549a).

(549) Eating in verb compounds

a. ses-u co-Ø
   selectively.eat-3P eat-3P
   'it ate (the plant) but left the hard bits'

b. kuʔ-u-ki kʰupt-u-co ni.
   pick.up-3P-SEQ chew-3P-eat.3P NAR
   'He picked it up, and ate it chewing.' [Tt]

Using a compound verb to coordinate two separate but simultaneous parts of a single event is found in other Kiranti languages as well.

If every simultaneous interpretation fails, we must conclude that the coordination of verbs denotes consecutive events. The semantics of these compounds would be

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44 Bickel (1996: 103) describes the Belhare cognate *yukt-* of this Bantawa resultative as the 'definitive'. This terminology is of course primarily motivated by the specific usage of this marker in the Belhare language, but should not obscure the close relationship between the two cognates. In Belhare, the marker *yukt-* is only used in the non-past, and most frequently points forward in time, signalling that something will definitely happen. This is what happens in Bantawa as well, except that future usage is rare. To understand this as a 'future perfect' makes perfect sense.

45 Rutgers (1998: 169) explains the Yamphu cognate 'auxiliary of placement' in strictly physical terms ('this situation (...) involves a putting down'). This meaning component may be more prominent for Yamphu, but from his examples and the fact that he groups this verb under 'effect auxiliaries' I derive that there is an aspectual connotation as well.

46 The vector verb usage of *yuŋma* is therefore formally different from the independently occurring verb *yuŋma*. There are two derivationally related independent verbs *yuŋma* 'to sit' and *yuŋma* 'to put'. These verbs partake in two separate conjugations, viz. intransitive *yuŋ* 'he sat' vs. transitive *yuŋ* 'he put it'. However, as a vector verbs we find only find the s-conjugation form, conjugated both ways, e.g. -yuŋ-a (PERF-PT).

47 The following Thulung example parallels (549a). The single event reading is required.

g. sal-pe-mu
   pick-eat-INF
   'pick and choose while eating' from (Allen 1975)
rendered best by a conjunction of both constituent parts. These constructions are apparently common coordinated predicates conflated into one.\footnote{In Belhare, coordinate readings of ’eat’ compound verbs are found, e.g. describing a procedure of arriving at a meal.}

In Bantawa, truly coordinated predicates in the sense that they refer to two events rather than one, are rare (550).

(550) \( \text{ani solonwa-} \text{ʔa k}^\text{hitt-u t}^\text{hokt-u-dis-u, i-do-da-tni jamma} \) 
\( \text{then (N) gourd-ERG worship-3P spill-3P-reach-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL all (N) re} \) 
\( \text{pt-u.} \) 
\( \text{sprinkle-3P.} \) 
\( \text{’Then, with the gourd she worshipped and poured in water, she sprinkled it all towards his mouth.’ [Sm]} \)

For most ordinary verb compounds with idiosyncratic or rare vector verbs, however, the starting point for an interpretation is to understand the form as describing two simultaneous actions.

(551) \( \text{pir-a-lar-a.} \) 
\( \text{graze-PT-get.off-PT} \) 
\( \text{’It was grazed and stripped off.’} \)

**Idiomatic collocations** The vector verbs discussed so far may also appear obligatorily. Some verbs for no obvious reason just require these vector verbs in order to be grammatical. In example (552), there is no obvious reason why \( \text{d}^\text{hantaŋ} \) ‘brought down’ should appear.

(552) \( \text{t}^\text{i-somt-aŋ d}^\text{hant-aŋ-nalo iŋka yaŋ pi-na.} \) 
\( \text{2AS-please-PT-1s bring.down-PT-1s-COND I money give-2P} \) 
\( \text{’If you make me happy, I shall give you money.’} \)

(553) \( \text{lek-ma yak-ma si-n-lo.} \) 
\( \text{lick-INF hold-INF wish-12plSP-MAN} \) 
\( \text{’Let’s kiss.’ (lit. ’it’s like we wish to kiss’)} \)

In the fixed expression \( \text{lekma yakma ‘to kiss’} \), the vector verb \( \text{yakma ‘to be, to stay’} \) does not denote a continuous as it usually does as a vector verb, but rather serves in the meaning ’to stay, to hold’ which derives from its independent form.

\( \text{\text{\footnote{In Belhare, coordinate readings of ’eat’ compound verbs are found, e.g. describing a procedure of arriving at a meal.}} h. na meri set-ca-ma DEM goat kill-eat-INF} \)
\( \text{’[we should] kill and eat this goat’ (Bickel 1996: ex.7.1.a)} \)

\( \text{Thulung has examples where it is hard to argue that the compound verb denotes a single event.} \)

\( \text{i. ðuŋ-bik-a} \) 
\( \text{drink-come-IMP2s} \) 
\( \text{’drink and then come’} \)
7.3 Verb complements

Complemented verbs come in two types.

Grammatical complements The first type are the verbs with grammatical complements. There is a small set of verbal roots that take verbal roots as grammatical complements, resulting in a complex verb. Alternatively, these can be called ‘category-changing compounds’. Examples include analytical causatives (554, §6.3.3) and reciprocal constructions (§6.4.3). The incorporated verbal element ca-in (554) is an argument to the verb met- ‘to cause’.

(554) momo ca-met-na
momo eat-CAUS-2P
‘I shall make you eat the momos’

Lexical complements The second class are verbs that lexically collocate with a fixed set of complements. These complements are incorporated and a lexical part of the verbal predicate. The close structural integration may be formally visible in the fact that lexical complements form a single word with the verb for some parts of the paradigm. Examples include verbal predicates expressing experience and emotion(555, §6.1.3, §7.4). The lexical complement to the verb appears in the same position as the grammatical complements mentioned above, but are often of nominal origin.

(555) kʰo-so-ʔo i-niŋ cʰun-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-mind refuse-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘He does not trust me’ (his mind refuses)

7.3.1 Compound verbs with valency effects

There are complex verb constructions where vector verbs seem to change the valency of the main verb by adding or deleting a participant position. These vector verbs affect the transitivity of the verb and turn a transitive into an intransitive, e.g. reflexive or passive, or the other way around, e.g. causative or benefactive.

These complex verbs are of an entirely different class than ordinary verb compounds, because both their semantics and their structure are very different.

This type of complex verb has been labelled ‘grammatical complement verbs’. This label expresses that these vector verbs are second verbs in compound constructions that take an argument as an obligatory complement to form a valid verbal predicate. This is different from plain compounding in the sense that in these complement verbs the left hand verb (V1) does not conjugate and is not on equal footing with the vector verb (V2). The structural differences between these two construction types are obvious from the trees as in (556).

(556) Two types of complex verb
A complication of analysing these complement verbs as compound verbs is that by the very nature of these verbs, there is a clash of valency between the first and second verbs, whereby rule (498b) would be violated. Logically, these verbs do not allow actant agreement flection on the main verb, as that would result in two types of agreement within one complex verb. What happens is that the main verb is present as a bare root, and if it is marked at all, it is only marked for tense.

Valency-changing vector verbs, then, are henceforth regarded as verbs that are subcategorised for a grammatical deverbal complement in contrast with verbs that take a lexical complement idiomatically expressions, or are bi-morphemic verbs, cf.§7.4.

**Valence changing vector verbs**

Category-changing complex verbs (556b) are based on a select class of vector verbs, i.e. causatives and benefactives, that select verb roots as grammatical arguments. Depending on the type of operation, we label them valence-decreasing or valence-increasing. Candidates for the valence-decreasing class are the reflexives and the passives. The Thulung reflexive can be explained this way, as well as the Limbu passive -tɛt. However, Bantawa does not feature a passive, and we show below that the reflexive paradigm is not helpfully re-analysed in these terms.

Candidates for the valence-increasing class are causatives of various types, and benefactives. The grammatical causative using metma ‘to cause’ is not a compound verb but a complement-verb combination. However, the other major valence increasing verb, the benefactive pima, does formally pattern with general verb compounding.

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49 And for other Kiranti languages, reflexives perhaps and passives.

50 The grammatical causative is found all of the Central and Eastern Kiranti language area. Kulung
Morphology

The morphology of category-changing compounds is uncomplicated. Finite verbs all across Kiranti are conjugated significantly different for transitive and intransitive forms. Since the very nature of a category or valency changing verb root is to change the valency of the original verb, we do not expect the halves of a valency changing compound to agree. In fact, the first root in valency changing verbal constructs is never conjugated at all, as in Bantawa causatives (§6.3.3).

The pattern is as in (557).

(557) Verbal agreement pattern on category-changing compounds
\[ V_{\text{main}} < \text{prefixes}_A > V_{\text{operator}} < \text{suffixes}_A \]
Main verb Auxiliary verb, hosting all agreement

We expect the agreement on the operator verb \( V_{\text{operator}} \) to follow a transitive paradigm for valence increasing compounds, and an intransitive paradigm for valence decreasing compounds.

7.3.2 Valence decreasing auxiliaries

Reflexives

Reflexivisation is a category-decreasing operation. The reflexive marker that is generally found across Kiranti languages is \(-\text{ci}\) or \(-\text{si}\).\(^{51}\)

Ebert (1994: 54) suggests that the reflexive was originally a verb. Rai (1985: 137) actually says it is in Bantawa. It would not be a normal compound construction though. For Limbu, Bantawa and Thulung, the constructions are as in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tag</th>
<th>Bantawa (PT)</th>
<th>Limbu (PT)</th>
<th>Thulung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>Σ-a-ŋ &lt;ci-ŋ</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-ŋ</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-ŋuro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>Σ-a &lt;ci-ya</td>
<td>Σ-n-ŋσι-ŋya</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-coko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>Σ-in &lt;ci-n-ka</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-ŋya / Σ-ŋσι-na-ma</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-toko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id</td>
<td>Σ-a-ci &lt;ci</td>
<td>a-Σ-n-ŋσι-ŋ</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ip</td>
<td>Σ-in &lt;ci-n</td>
<td>a-Σ-ŋσι-ŋ(ε)</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ti-Σ-a-n &lt;ci-n</td>
<td>ke-Σ-ŋσι-ŋ(ε)</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>ti-Σ-a-na-n-ci-n</td>
<td>ke-Σ-n-ŋσι-ŋ(ε)</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ti-Σ-a-na-n-ci-n</td>
<td>ke-Σ-ŋσι-i</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσi-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>Σ-a-n &lt;ci-n</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσι-ŋ(ε)</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσi-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>Σ-a-ci &lt;ci</td>
<td>Σ-n-ŋσι-ŋ(ε)</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσi-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>mi-Σ-a-n &lt;ci-n</td>
<td>me-Σ-ŋσι-ŋ(ε)</td>
<td>Σ-ŋσi-miri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{51}\)Kulung, the reflexive is \(-\text{nci} <\text{ci}\), distributed over the paradigm like in Bantawa (Tolsma 1999: 56, 181). In Wāmbule, the reflexive is \(-\text{si}\) but reported to be rare and found on third person singular forms only (Opgenort 2002: 288). Formally, the Wāmbule middle patterns with Thulung.

\(^{51}\)mima (Tolsma 1999: 100), Yamphu ma/mma (Rutgers 1998: 193), Wāmbule pācām (Opgenort 2002: 388) and Thulung bêt are also in the valence-changing verb class. They are nowhere compound verbs, but always verbs with deverbal verb-root complements.

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Chapter 7. Complex Verbs
7.3. Verb complements

**Bantawa reflexives** At first glance, the variation in the reflexive paradigms is quite wild. However, as we saw in §4.5.6, the morphology of the reflexive patterns with the general rules that govern the simplex paradigm. The reflexive marker apparently doubles with the dual patient marker <-ci> (DUP), and the copying effect in the form of the repetition of markers appearing before the dual suffix <-ci> after it is part and parcel of the ordinary conjugational paradigm. This fact does not in any way negate or affirm the idea that the reflexive originated in a compound verb construction. However, for Bantawa, synchronically the reflexive simply is a part of the conjugation paradigms.

7.3.3 Valence increasing auxiliaries

Some authors, such as Ebert (1994) and Lahaussois (2002) have proposed to treat valence increasing verbs on a par with compound verbs. However, any incongruity between valence of the first and second verb in the complex construction results in formal differences from ordinary verbal compounding.

**Causative formation**

Bantawa causatives based on either metma ‘to apply’ or muma ‘to do’ follow the morphological schema as outlined in (557). In spite of suggestions otherwise52, I have not found a Kiranti language where the causative formation is a compound verb in the sense that the first and second verbs agree in conjugation.

The structure of causatives is as in (558), which is a specific instantiation of a complement-verb structure.

\[(558)\quad \text{Structure of causative}\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ComplV} \\
\text{Verb Root} \\
\text{pfx-CAUS-sfx}
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{\underline{\text{\textit{laha}}}}\text{\textit{sois} suggests that the Thulung causative is a vector verb as any other (2002: 203). However, the examples she offers contradict this. As pointed out elsewhere (§D.2), the main stem (V1) in a Thulung compound verb shows some remnant flection or root alternation, e.g. the compounded form of die-RES (to die + resultative) would read as in (g) for the third plural person. However, a completely parallel form with the causative in the position of the resultative (h) does not show the stem alternation of the ordinary compound. It follows that causatives are different from ordinary compounds. The Thulung examples suggest that causatives simply have a structure that differs from that of ordinary compounds. Thulung compound verb and verbal complement examples are listed below.}

\[\text{g. si-m-le-mri} \quad \text{die-3p-RES-3p.PST (cf si-mri, 3p past)}\]
\[\text{? ‘he died’ (Lahaussois 2002: 202)}\]

\[\text{h. muu-mij-ka} \quad \text{uni-lwa} \quad \text{su-be-mri} \quad \text{that-PLU-ERG 3POSS-story tell-do-3p.PST}\]
\[\text{‘They told each other their news.’ (Lahaussois 2002: Ex.272).}\]
The productive causative in Limbu utilises a perhaps nominalising optative on the first verb with an auxiliary ‘to do’ (van Driem 1987: 268) and is not a compound in the sense discussed here.

**Benefactives**

A benefactive is a vector verb that adds a participant to the clause matrix, viz. the participant that benefits from the action or is the intended beneficiary or recipient. This operation is largely covered by other causative formations as well and in many respects amounts to an applicative. For example, *wa cakma* ‘to wash’ in the regular applicative form *wa cayma* means ‘to wash someone else’.

The benefactive is no doubt a valence-increasing operation. In that respect, we would expect the benefactive to behave as a causativiser, and to select a verb root as a grammatical complement. However, in Bantawa the benefactive behaves as an ordinary verbal compound, conjugating both first and seconds halves of the compound. There is a restriction, however, that the benefactive only applies to transitive verbs and that only transitive verbs can be put in the benefactive (560). By this move, rule (498) is upheld, and the agreement structure of the verb compound remains clear. Across Kiranti and perhaps even universally, benefactives are invariably constructed with ‘to give’ as auxiliary. In Bantawa too, the verb *pima* ‘to give’ is the operator in the compound benefactive construction, e.g. (560-561).

(559) iŋ-nicʰa dima-ʔo i-pit bitt-u-pi-Ø. my-younger.brother grandmother-GEN his/her-cow milk-3P-BEN-3P

‘My younger brother milked her cow for grandmother.’

(560) The benefactive is ungrammatical on intransitive verbs

a. dimo-ʔo niki gʰođeṭar kʰar-a-ŋ. grandmother-GEN for Ghodetar go-PT-1s

‘I went to Ghodetar for (the benefit of) grandmother.’

b. * ... gʰođeṭar kʰar-a-ŋ-pi-Ø-ŋ ... Ghodetar go-PT-1s-BEN-3P-1s

(with a transitively conjugated benefactive)

c. * ... gʰođeṭar kʰar-a-ŋ-pi-a-ŋ ... Ghodetar go-PT-1s-BEN-PT-1s

(with an intransitively conjugated benefactive)

(561) i-yuŋ-s-a-ki pʰeri kʰai molok nau sige Ḳaŋa ni 3AM-put-PT-CAUS again (N) where (N) isn’t it nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) NAR i-low-a ta mo bʰałe-ʔo i-sira-ŋa kʰaŋ 3AM-say-PT though (N) that rooster (N)-GEN his/her-cock.comb-EMPH show i-ett-a-ki i-kʰipt-a-pilw-a: 3AM-read-PT-SEQ 3AM-read-PT-BEN-PT

53As an exception, (Lahaussois 2002: 212) reports that she cannot find confirmation for the independent meaning ‘to give’ for the Thulung benefactive auxiliary <sa->. In his grammatical sketch for Thulung, dating from the early ’70s of the last century, Allen (1975) mentioned that samu ‘give’ was still in use independently.
‘And after they put her down, well, this way, they said a nine horned buffalo-bull, they showed her the crown of a rooster and counted for her...’

In the exceptional case of the benefactive, the related Limbu language allows the coding of a third participant in the verb agreement.54

Summarising the findings on the benefactive, we should conclude that while the benefactive behaves as an ordinary compounding vector verb in Bantawa, it has the unique feature of introducing an extra actant. The benefactive construction is a special instance of the general pattern of verbal compounding.

7.3.4 A typological note

A review of causative and other valency-changing complex verbs must lead to the conclusion that valency-changing compound verbs are something fundamentally different from ordinary verb compounds — cross-linguistically.

It appears that the compound verb construction can be defined formally, and very precisely so, as a well-defined subtype of serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006). The typology can be fruitfully further refined with the exclusion of valency-changing constructs from the set of proper compound verbs. There are real concomitant formal and semantic differences between the two constructions. Valency-changing constructs are best understood as a grammatical subtype of verb complementation.

7.4 Verbs with lexical complements

As opposed to verbal constructions with grammatically incorporated arguments (cf. above, 7.3.1), there are complex verbs involving a root with a lexical complement. These verbs are idiomatic lexical units, standard collocations of complement and verb. The complements involved often occur independently as nouns.

7.4.1 Subclassification

In § 7.1, some typological features of bimorphemic verb stems were already mentioned. In the class of verbs with left-wardly projected complements, there are many grammatical constructions that can be regarded this way, e.g. causatives. The bimorphemic verbs are best considered as lexically complemented verbs.

54 As the Limbu example (j.) shows, one extra actant may be coded on the first verb in the compound, introducing a discrepancy between the agreement on the first and second verb. The construction is very effective and elegant. One way to understand it is as two predicates rather than one, i.e. as a conjunctive compound (§7.2.6).

j. ler-unb-nip-ba
release-1s3-give-1s2s-IMPF
‘I release him for you’
While it is true of all complex verbs that more than a single morpheme is involved, the defining feature of bimorphemic verbs is that these verbs have a lexically complex stem and that the semantics of the entire verb depends on more than a single morpheme in contrast with monomorphemic verbs. Based on the semantic structure of these verbs, some complements are best regarded as subject complements, viz. the experiencer verbs. The agreement of the verb complex as a whole is expressed by the possessor on the subject noun.

7.5 Subject verb complements

Complex verbs with a lexical argument that has an interpretation as subject are not very special from a morphological point of view. The subject noun is not usually prosodically incorporated into the verb complex and maintains grammatical relations by a possessive prefix. Syntactically and semantically the construction is interesting. A description of this construction has already been given in §6.1.3. Bickel (1997) dedicated an article to the phenomenon in Belhare, much of which applies to Bantawa as well.

The structure mostly expresses an experience or feeling. Two structures are found. The intransitive structure only describes the feeling happening to an experiencer, while the transitive structure designates a source or target of the feeling in the verbal agreement, e.g. (562).

(562) experience construction structure
a. possessive-body part verb-3.s
   prefix-noun verb-agreement
   experiencer-location.of.experience experience
b. possessive-body part verb-A→P
   prefix-noun verb-agreement
   experiencer-location.of.experience experience-Experiencer-Source

Examples are as below.

(563) mo-ko kamec’h a badde iŋ-ŋiŋa nos-u.  
   that-REF girl much my-mind please-3P
   ‘She pleases me very much.’

(564) kʰo-soʔo iŋiŋ cʰun-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.  
   he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-mind refuse-NPT-PROG-NPT
   ‘He does not trust me’ (his mind refuses)

(565) kʰo-ciʔo ico niŋa no-Ø.  
   he/she-PL-GEN their* mind be.good-NPT
   ‘they (pl) are happy’ (their mind is good)

(566) am-dumʔa iŋko iŋiŋa cʰir-a-ŋ-a.  
   your*-matter-ERG my my-mind leave-PT-PROG-PT
   ‘because of your matter, I am upset.’ (my mind is leaving)
Typical of *verba sentiendi* across the world is the location of emotions in some place in the body such as in the mind, cf. (563-566). The agreement in the verb is not very stable. For the verb *som tukna* (heart hurt-INF) ‘to care for, to feel for’ informants accept forms with and without a possessed heart and with or without transitive verb agreement (567).

(567) Transitive structures: possessed or not, agreeing or not

(a) *ɨŋkaʔa som tuk-na.*
   1-ERG heart hurt-2P
   ‘I feel for you’ (I hurt my heart for you)

(b) *ɨŋ som tuk-na.*
   my-heart hurt-2P
   ‘I care for you’ (my heart hurts for you)

(c) *ancoʔa som tuk-nin.*
   our<sup>2</sup> heart hurt-1ns2
   ‘We (du) feel for you’

(d) *ancoʔa som tuk-a.*
   our<sup>2</sup> heart hurt-PT
   ‘we (du) feel for you’

This variation in structure does not always reflect variation in the participant structure of the event. However, the structure is always predictable, as the basics of the construction are not challenged. These basics are that the emotion resides in a designated body part and that this body part is pictured as moving or undergoing some predication.

### 7.6 Object verb complements

Object verb complements are more complicated than subject verb complements. Firstly, verbs with object complements never agree with their idiomatic object in the sense of agreement marking on the verb. Rather, many verbs with object complements are intransitive, e.g. (569, 570), suggesting that the object is effectively lexically incorporated in the complex verb. Complement objects do not maintain any relationship outside the verb complex (571a).

(568) *wa-cak-ma*
   water-wash-INF
   ‘to shower’

(569) *wa-cak-Ø*
   water-wash-NPT
   ‘he showers’

(570) *eʔam lu-n-nel*
   song perform-12plSP-OPT
   ‘let’s sing a song!’
(571) ‘to need’ (intransitive conjugation with object complement and object)
   a. ᵱŋ kʰapdani caha met-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
      I pen want apply-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
      ‘I need a pen’

For by far the most object complements the origin is readily accessible. Most complements also function independently and their collocation as an incorporated verb complement in some idioms is just an extension of their ordinary usage.

7.6.1 Position of complement

The complement of the verb remains the left-most morpheme in the verbal complex, irrespective of any other agreement morphology. In any morphological process involving a complement to the verb root or a complex verb root, both parts of the construction are required in all paradigmatic forms, but the complement remains left and outside of the agreement morphology. The complement constructions that show this behaviour include lexical causativisation as exemplified in (cf.§6.3.1) and example (572c), reflexive formation as in example (572e) and analytical causativisation, e.g. (572d).

(572) idioms based on wahopma ‘get wet’
   a. wa-hop-ma
      water-get.wet-INF
      ‘to get wet’
   b. wa-hom-ma
      water-make.wet-INF
      ‘to make someone else wet’
   c. wa-homs-u
      water-make.wet-3P
      ‘he made him wet’
   d. wa-hop met-ma
      water-get.wet CAUS-INF
      ‘to soak someone else, let him be soaked’ (someone outside, for example)
   e. wa-hom-nan-ci-n
      water-make.wet-REFL-DUP-REFLc
      ‘he makes himself wet, he wets himself’

(573) idioms based on wacakma ‘to shower’
   a. ankaci wa-cak-ci.
      weii water-shower-DU
      ‘we shower’
   b. wa-can-ma
      water-shower.APPL-INF
      ‘to shower, wash another’
7.6. Object verb complements

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c. araŋ ɨŋ-maʔa wa i-qaŋ-s-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ.
before my-mother-ERG water 3AM-shower.APPL-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s
‘previously, my mother used to shower me.’

7.6.2 Semantics of the complement

There are some very frequent complements such as wa ‘liquid’, the root for ‘water’ that appears in many verbs having to do with water (see above), and ya, a root that roughly means ‘speech’, e.g. (574). Neither of these appear independently, except perhaps wa, as a subject in the idiom wa ɨŋ ‘water came’, meaning ‘it rained’.

(574) Complemented verb idiom based on ya ‘speech’

a. ya ka-yok
   speech APpref-counsel
   ‘an advisor, counsellor’

b. ya mat-ma
   speech apply-INF
   ‘to pray’

c. ya mar-a
   speech apply-PT
   ‘he prayed’, or: ‘you pray’ (IM)

d. ya lat-ma
   speech take.out-INF
   ‘to pray, to chant’

Most complements, however, are completely transparent. For example, the expression haŋ muma (king do-INF) ‘to rule’, literally ‘to do king’, has a structure that is the same all over Kiranti and also happens to be colloquial Nepali.

7.6.3 Syntax, morphology or lexicon?

Considering the general transparency of object-complemented verbs, it would seem that the differences between incorporated objects (object complements) and syntactical objects would be summed up by (575) and (576).

(575) morphosyntactic difference between verb complements and nominal objects

a. syntactical objects are represented in agreement marking on the finite verb,

b. incorporated objects are not.

(576) semantic difference between verb complements and nominal objects

a. syntactical objects have a constant meaning over domains,

b. incorporated objects have, in combination with the verb, an idiomatic or untransparent meaning.
Chapter 7. Complex Verbs

Generally, these two factors co-occur, nicely re-uniting form and meaning. However, there is also an aspect of phonological word-hood. Informants and speakers consider some complement constructions to form single words in contrast with ordinary object-verb sequences. Bantawa writers tend to write yalatma 'to pray' instead of ya latma, in Devanāgarī script. This orthography reflects the Bantawa speaker’s intuition about phonological word-hood, and corresponds to the prosody of the predicate. However, there is considerable variation and disagreement on two points. Opinions vary on grammatical word-hood of composite verbs. It is not always clear when to write a compound as one or two words, viz. what forms in the paradigm break up into two prosodic units and what forms are contiguous. Similarly, opinions diverge on lexical word-hood: which construction is an ‘idiom’ and which is not. The variability in grammatical word-hood can be solved fairly easily. If there is no intervening morphology between the stem and the verb’s incorporated object, they form a single phonological word. Otherwise, the two parts of the verb form two words. The issue of lexical word-hood has to do with the extent to which speakers assess each specific construction to be idiomatic. Obviously, this cannot be resolved by a simple rule.

There are some tests that indicate how closely the two parts of the bimorphemic verb are tied in to one another. If they can be the host for an emphatic clitic <-ŋe>, e.g. (577) or be coordinated, e.g. (578), this is a sign that the degree of structural integration is not very high: there is no constraint of contiguity. If both parts of the bimorphemic verb do not occur outside of their collocation idioms e.g. ya-matma ‘to pray’, this is a strong clue that this bi-morphemic stem is an unseparable lexical unit. For these lexical units, the word split in those parts of the conjugational paradigm where an agreement prefix intervenes between two verb stem parts is merely a matter dictated by the rule that the root of a conjugated Bantawa verb only has a single syllable (579).

(577) cʰam-ŋe lu-n-ne!
    song-EMPH perform-12plSP-OPT
    ‘let’s sing a song’

(578) cʰam kʰonki lak lu-n-ne!
    song and dance perform-12plSP-OPT
    ‘let sing and dance’

(579) ya mɨ-mat.
    speech 3pl-apply
    ‘they pray’

Even for the opaque idiom in (579), we can safely conjecture that ya has nominal origins and mat is verbal. While the meanings of the individual parts are subject to conjecture, the structure of these lexical units is not completely impregnable and some elements can intervene. For instance, the emphatic clitic <-ŋa> (EMPH) needs some type of grammatical constituent as a host. It does not matter whether the constituent is not a syntactic constituent or an element that operates below the level of the grammatical word. Not every element can host a clitic: Instead, an affix must be at least a complement or root to host a clitic.
Chapter 8

Other Word Classes

The major lexical categories of Bantawa are nominals and verbals, but there are also a few minor word classes. These classes are minor in the sense of morphological complexity, certainly not in the sense of frequency or importance.

Firstly, there are two modifier word classes, the adjectives and the adverbs.

Adjectives are traditionally nominal modifiers, restricted to a fixed, pre-nominal position in the noun phrase, and also occurring in predicate position. Adverbs are modifiers that operate on the clause level. Adverbs of degree or magnitude may also operate within the noun phrase as modifiers to adjectives, such as very in very big, or as quantifiers to the noun phrase such as many in many men. These content classes are discussed in §8.1 and §8.2.

As quite another matter, there are two groups of more or less grammatical constituents, viz. particles and clitics, and conjunctions. The particles and clitics discussed in §8.3 typically have a discourse and information structuring function. Particles either have a free position or a fixed position. Some emphatic or contrastive particles affix to whatever constituent needs focus or contrast. Some particles appear in fixed locations only, for example, clause-finally in the case of clause-type markers.

We shall see that the set of particles has some overlap with that of conjunctions. Conjunctions are operators that link either nominal phrases or entire clauses. In section §8.4, first the conjunctive or disjunctive operators effectuating grammatical coordination of nominal constituents are introduced. Then the subject of clause linkage is treated in more detail. In §8.5, we shall described the Bantawa quotative or narrative marker. This particle has a special function as an evidential, which gives it a semantically and syntactically special status. Finally, the element \( k' u \) is discussed that appears as a grammatical marker in many positions ($§8.6$).

8.1 Adjectives

Adjectives are traditionally adnominal modifiers that are restricted to a fixed pre-noun position in the noun phrase or occur in predicate position. Syntactically, it is both plausible and possible to delineate a class of constituents with this distribution.
8.1.1 Derivation and morphology

Time and again it has been observed that the Kiranti languages of Nepali or even the languages in the wider group that contains the Kiranti languages, Mahakiranti or Himalayish, do not have a proper lexical category of adjectives (Watters 1998: Ch.6). So, while the category ‘adjective’ is syntactically relevant, lexically the class is very small. In Bantawa, most functions of adnominal and predicate adjectives are covered by deverbal derivations or verbs. Colours and states are mostly covered by verbs such as kima ‘to be tall’, omma ‘to be white’ and makma ‘to be dark’ or by deverbatives.

(580) om-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
    be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT
     'It is white.'

8.1.2 Lexical adjectives

Bantawa has a small number of native adjectives, most of which show have formal traces of a derivational history. Suffixes such as <-wa>, <-pa ~ -po>, and others relate these adjectives to verbal roots.

(581) with -pa/-po/-wa
   a. top-po
       'big'
   b. nabak t'ep-pa
       ear closed
       'deaf'
   c. nu-wak^1
       'good'

(582) with -ko/-ka
   a. ran-ka
       bent, crooked, < ran-?
   b. hen-ka
       difficult, obstinate, < hen-ma ‘to remain’
   c. bom-ka
       round, < bom-ma ‘to bend, to be on top’
   d. laŋ-ka
       upright, < laŋ-?
   e. ham-ko
       different, < ham-?

(583) with -waŋ
   a. dʰiwaŋ
       'big’ < dʰi-ma ‘to be big’
   b. kiwaŋ
       'tall’ < ki-ma ‘to be tall’
8.1 Adjectives

The forms in <-pa> or variations thereof are apparently archaic forms of participial derivations, e.g. (581). The regular derivation of active participial deverbatives can also be used in all adjective roles, e.g. (594a).

The forms in <-ka> are reminiscent of regular nominalisation formation of intransitive verb forms, e.g. (582). Where in ordinary nominalisation the nominaliser has the form <-ʔo>, it surfaces as <-ko> in these forms\(^2\). In present-day Bantawa both variants are attested for a limited number of verbs, e.g. citʔo (be.small-NPT-NOM) vs. citko (584).

\[(584)\]
\[
\text{o} \quad \text{citko} \quad \text{mu-Ø-yan-Ø} \\
\text{this small do-NPT-PROG-NPT}
\]
\[
\text{‘This one is smaller.’}
\]

The forms in <-waŋ> quite regularly derive from verbs, e.g. (583). There are not enough adjectives in <-waŋ>, however, to call this a productive derivation. Also, not all derivations of this type are adjectives, e.g. taway ‘guest’.

8.1.3 Regular adjective formations

The adjectives mentioned so far show traces of older derivational processes. Bantawa also has productive processes in the language that prepare or modify words of different lexical classes to serve in an adnominal or predicate position. The relative scarcity of adjectives as such is countered by a wealth of other strategies to form predicates and adnominal modifiers.

General nominalisation

In §3.2.4 on the genitive and §5.2 on general nominalisation, we saw that any constituent can be turned into an adnominal modifier by a general nominalisation process with the nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM).

\[(585)\]
\[
\text{o-} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{mu-ma mi-dot-Ø-yan-Ø-ʔo} \\
\text{this-LOC do-INF 3pl-must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work-PL how.many-NOM}
\]
\[
\text{dem!} \\
\text{how.many}
\]
\[
\text{‘Oh! How many things need to be done here!’ (lit. ‘The things that must be done, how many!’ [Bw])}
\]

This formation of adnominals is a very general procedure with universal application to all word classes. The denominal adnominal formative is labelled the ‘genitive’, cf. §3.2.4. The deverbal adnominal derivation is called ‘nominalisation’, cf. §5.2.

By the same means, de-adverbial adnominal modifiers can be formed. In English, adverbs may be derived from adjectives by adding a suffix -ly, viz. happy > happily. In Bantawa, by contrast, there is adverb-to-adjective derivation with <-ʔo> (NOM).

\(^2\)The suffix <-wa> is a regular alternative for <-pa> in older forms (§3.1.3). The final /k/ in nunak is marginal and unpredictably appears in some suffixes (cf. §2.1.3).

\(^3\)The allomorphy of the nominaliser is not completely irregular, e.g. Rai (1985) offers <ko> as one of the allomorphs for the genitive.
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(586) adverb to adjective
   a. seŋ-seŋ-seŋ-wa
      clean-clean-clean-ADV
      ‘very clean’
   b. seŋ-seŋ-seŋ-waʔo kʰim
      clean-clean-clean-ADV-NOM house
      ‘a very clean house’

(587) adnominal time adverbs
   a. bu-daʔo on-ki ayi-donʔo salam cʰomasi kacipen-da
      before-LOC-NOM this-SEQ today-year-NOM poem
      competition programme-LOC
      di man-tojʔo dum yun-a-ŋ-a?
      what NEGPTp-agree-NOM thing be.sit-PT-PROG-PT
      ‘What was not correct, in the poetry competition of this year and last year?’ [Bw]

   This type of nominalisation happens on ordinary adverbs (586) as well as on time or locative adverbs (587).

Participles

Participles are adnominals that result from a productive deverbal derivation. Examples are plentiful, cf. §5.1.1.

(588) laptikʰon ka-hot mina-cʰan laptikʰon i-hott-a-ŋ-ki
      door APpref-open man-also door 3AM-open.BEN-PT-EMPH-SEQ
      las-a ims-a.
      return-PT sleep-PT
      ‘Even the man who opened the door went back to sleep after opening the
door for me.’ [Bw]

   All participles are used in nominal and in adnominal function. Active participles differ in meaning from general nominalisations of fully finite verb forms. Participles by their nature are not marked for tense and as a result have no time reference. Participles are preferably used to ascribe attributes to a noun that last and are stable and not specific to the situation. Nominalised clauses or finite verbs are used to denote situations or attributes that are grounded in time and have aspect and tense and perhaps are specific to the situation, cf. examples (589, 590) taken from [Bw].

(589) ka-kʰip mina-ciʔa kʰananin nulok-ŋe ti-sint-u-m-y-o-m,
      APpref-read man-PL-ERG you APpref-read man-PL-ERG you
      well-EMPH 2AS-know-3P-12plA-PROG-3P-12plA
      onde.
      maybe
      ‘The readers may know you well, perhaps.’

(590) write - specific and general
8.1. Adjectives

a. ɨŋka ɩʰAPT-U-ŋʔo salam
   'the poem written by me.'

b. salam ɬa-cʰap
   poem APpref-write
   'a poet'

However, there are many exceptions in the texts. We find nominalisations in use for long-lasting situations, e.g. ɬit-da-ʔo (be.small-eff-NOM) 'small' whereas ʔka-cit 'APpref-be.small' is unusual. On the other hand, we find participles used in a situation that is transient, unique and singular, cf. (588).

Adjectives in -lo

There are several adverb-forming morphemes in Bantawa. The first adverb formative is a suffix expressing likeness, -wa (LIKE) with a very general, wide applicability. The other adverb formative, -lok (MAN), expresses manner and is hosted by verbs only. They will be discussed in the next section (§8.2).

To function as a proper adnominal or adjective, adverbs must to be nominalised with -ʔo, see below. By contrast, adverbs in -lok can be used in strictly adjective positions without nominalisation, e.g. kʰannulo in examples (591) and (605).

(591) dosiwa-da mi-yak-yaŋ-ʔo kʰokwapa kʰokwama-ciʔa
   lip-LOC 3pl-be-PROG-NOM grandfather grandmother-PL-ERG
mi-.lu-ŋ-ɬi-ciʔo sastara on-ŋe
   3pl-perform-3P-PROG-3P-PL-NOM scripture (N) this.much EMPH
kʰoms-u-m-kí cʰaplabʰuŋ lois-u-m-lo dem kʰannulo
   collect-3P-12PA-SEQ magazine bring.up-3P-12PA-MAN how.much good
cʰaplabʰuŋ tyara li-ŋ.
   magazine ready (N) become-NPT
   'If only we collected the oral scriptures that are sung by the old people, and brought them out in a magazine, what a beautiful magazine we would have.'
   [Bw]

Adjectives derived from adverbs

The adnominal use of adverbs requires nominalisation, as in example (592b). Examples (592a, 592b) are from the same story about a journey through a dark jungle in Bungwakha. It would seem that the first line (592a) has two adverbs in adnominal position, viz. en-mu-lo 'pleasingly' and kejplenjywa 'sweetly'. However, the lack of adnominal marking by -ʔo (NOM) and the context make it clear that these words are modifiers to the verb, thus adverbs.

(592) A sweet song [Bw]

a. hyau-diʔet-yə hi-waŋ mecʰacʰa-ci dem en-nu-lo
   level-across-LOC.level two-qhum girl-PL how hear-be.good-MAN
kejplenjywa cʰam lu-ma ɬi-puys-a-c-ɬu.
   song perform-INF 3AM-start-PT-DU-3P
Chapter 8. Other Word Classes

‘Over there, two girls started to sing so beautifully and sweetly.’

b. dem-ni hya-ni kʰar-a-ŋ, mon-ni-ŋe mo-ko kejnlenpwa-ʔo cʰam how-NAR level-ALL go-PT-1s that-NAR-EMPH that-REF sweet-NOM song


‘So, then, I went over there, the singers that sung that sweet song went there too, while they were singing.’

The morphology of deverbative manner adverbs in <-lo> is described in §8.2.

8.1.4 Syntax and semantics

The syntactic distribution of adjectives can be summarised as adnominal and predicative. The most prominent function of adjectives is as an adnominal modifier. Most usually, the adnominal adjective narrows down the reference of the head noun. For example, toppo cʰapkami ‘big writer’ is a subtype of cʰapkami ‘writer’.

In an adnominal role, the adjectives appear before the noun, e.g. (594a, 594b). In predicative function, adjectives appear after the noun and before the copula, e.g. (593). Adjectives typically represent a single property only, e.g. color, size, quality.

(593) Adjectives in predicate position

a. ɨŋ-yam on pokko lis-a.
   my-body this.much big become-PT
   ‘My body had become so big.’ [Bw]

b. o buŋwakʰa cʰaplawa sapʰi nuwak yunj-Ø-yan-Ø.
   this Bungwakha magazine very good sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
   ‘This Bungwakha magazine is very good.’ [Bw]

(594) Adjectives in adnominal position

a. ka-kon-pa mina.
   APpref-walk-APm man
   ‘the walking man’

b. sitmaŋ-ciʔa ik-tet toppo yanjbʰak kʰokli-da ka-huŋ-ci hyatnī dead-PL-ERG one-qual big boar forest-LOC APpref-wait-PL towards

lor-a-ŋ-ʔo i-kʰan-ŋ-a.
   run-PT-PROG-PT-NOM 3AM-see-PT
   ‘The dead saw one wild boar in the forest, running at those that were waiting.’ [Bw]

Comparative

Gradable adjectives can be used to compare two objects or persons. There is no comparative morphology on adjectives in Bantawa. The comparative construction is

3Adjectives appear before simple nouns and not before pronouns, nor before proper nouns unless the latter downgrade to a nominal interpretation.
8.2. Adverbs

A comparative construction where the first comparandum appears first, then the second, marked with either the Nepali comparative \(<b^\text{nda}>(\text{COMP (N)})\) or the Bantawa ablative \(<\text{da}^\text{ŋ}ka>(\text{ABL})\), and finally the adjective phrase or verbal expression representing the subject or scale of the comparison.

\[(595)\text{ comparative}\\NP_1 \ NP_2 - \text{COMP} <\text{property}>\\a. \text{ }k^\text{bana iŋka-b^nda ti-ki-yəŋ.}\\ \text{you' } \text{COMP (N) }2\text{AS-be.tall-PROG}\\ \text{'you are taller than me.'}\\b. \text{ }j^\text{arak-da-ŋka i-kiwəj }\text{batt-u.}\\ \text{all-LOC-ABL his/her-long take-3P}\\ \text{'Take the longest.'}\\c. \text{ }j^\text{arak-da-ŋka ki-yəŋ-ʔo }\text{mina}\\ \text{all-LOC-ABL be.tall-PROG-NOM man}\\ \text{'the tallest man'}\\

A comparative construction that has \(j^\text{arak} \text{ 'all'}\) as the first comparandum can be translated as a superlative, e.g. (595b, 595c).

8.2. Adverbs

Syntactic label

The word 'adverb' here is used primarily as a syntactic label. An adverb is a constituent that functions as a modifier to the verb. Adverbs operate on the clause level, qualifying the verbal action in some way. Adverbs are not selected by a verb. There is no agreement on the verb, nor is the sentence ungrammatical if the adverb is left out. Adverbs appear left of the verb.

Morphology

Taking adverbs primarily as a syntactic class, we notice that this class of adverbs is morphologically and lexically very diverse. Many nouns are simply used in an adverbial role, particularly nouns denoting time and location (§8.2.5). Adverbs that are derived or formed by mimetic processes have a distinct form and can be said to be lexically adverbial, and these adverbs do not enter into morphological processes typical of nouns.

Semantics

Adverbs can be grouped either by form, source and derivation or by content and function. Semantically, at least the following subgroups can be identified:

(596) Adverbs by meaning
\a. adverbs of measure, magnitude and degree (intensifier)\b. adverbs of manner\c. adverbs of time\d. adverbs of location\e. adverbs of epistemic import ('apparently', 'certainly')
However, it makes just as much sense to start from the source of each type of adverb and look at the formation.

(597) Adverbs by form
   a. lexical adverbs, either quantificational, intensifying or epistemic
   b. deverbal derivations by the manner suffix <-lo> (MAN)
   c. adverbs formed by reduplication: expressive adverbs that are onomatopoeic or mimetic, usually of manner or degree and intensity
   d. adverbs derived by a generic process with the likeness suffix <-wa> (LIKE), usually of manner
   e. lexical and nominal adverbs, usually temporal or locative adverbs

To some degree there is a correspondence between form and function in that time and location adverbs generally are nominal or derived from nouns. Manner adverbs are often transparantly derived from verbs or by another derivation process that forms manner adverbs expressing similarity. Intensifiers are a limited lexical class. We shall discuss adverbs starting from the formal angle.

8.2.1 Lexical adverbs

Lexical adverbs are mostly quantifiers. We discuss baddhe 'many, much' and j’harak 'all' here, but quantifiers indicating a lesser degree, e.g. icici 'a little bit' are likewise quantifiers. Quantifiers serve in adverbial roles, e.g. (598a) and quantificational roles, e.g. (598c, 599a). Moreover, quantifiers function as intensifying modifiers to adjectives, e.g. (598b), as adnominals, e.g. (599b, 598d) and by extension even as nominals, e.g. (599c).

Considering the morphological valency of these quantifiers, they are morphologically nominal.

(598) Many, much
   a. baddhe kol-aŋ ideŋ...
      much walk-PT-1s after
      ‘After I had walked for a long time...’ [Bw]
   b. baddhe kâiwaŋ mina yuŋ-aŋ-a.
      much big man sit-PT-PROG-PT
      ‘He was a very important man.’
   c. baddhe-ka len-da iŋ-ten ta-ŋ-la-ŋ-ŋo-saʔa
      many-CNT day-LOC my-village come-PT-1s-return-PT-1s-NOM-PRN-ERG
      yawa-cʰa tup-ma suw-aŋ-ki kopkopkopwa yawa-ci lam-sa
      friend-DIM meet-INF wish-PT-1s-SEQ intensely friend-PL search-SIM
      kʰar-aŋ.
      go-PT-1s
      ‘Because I returned many days later to my village, I was dying to see my friends, and searched very intensely to find them.’
d. Sindʰiriwaʔo salamʔa-na baddʰe mina i-ma lis-a i,
Sindhiriwa-GEN poem-ERG-TOP many person laugh-INF become-PT ATTN,
maʔan?
NEGPTp-be

'Because of Sindhiriwa’s poem, many people had to laugh, didn’t they?'
[Bw]

(599) All, completely
a. jʰarak-ka don
all-CNT year
‘every year’ [Gn]

b. mo-da di kʰaŋ-ma lis-a-nalo jʰarak ka-ta mina-ciʔa
that-LOC what see-INF become-PT-COND all APpref-come person-PL-ERG
le-sa man-le-sa bantawa-yiŋ-da han-ma
be.able-SIM NEGPTp-be.able-SIM Bantawa-language-LOC talk-INF
dor-aŋ-a.
must-PT-PROG-PT

‘If we had to see anything there, all people who came, whether they
could or not, had to speak in the Bantawa language.’

c. jʰarak-s-a pʰa-ma li-Ø.
all-PRN-ERG help-INF become-NPT

‘All must help.’

Phonologically both intensifiers jʰarak ‘all’ and baddʰe ‘many, much’ are out of
the ordinary. The adverb baddʰe clearly has a Nepali origin (baddi ‘too much’) and
is therefore transphonologised with /a/ rather than /i/. The vowel is still foreign.
Some speakers and writers prefer the baddʰe form and pronunciation. The geminate
/dd/ is non-standard for Bantawa. The adverb jʰarak has a rare onset /jʰ/. We find
phonological markedness as a means to add to intensity in the language elsewhere
too (see below).

8.2.2 Manner adverbs

Deverbal adverbs in <-lok> (MAN)

Eastern Kiranti languages reportedly have a morpheme <-lok> that is labelled as a
comitative or something similar⁴. Bantawa does not have a cognate of this morpheme
on nominals, but <-lok>- is in wide use as a formative on verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-lo ~ -lok⁵&gt;</td>
<td>MAN</td>
<td>manner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In its most common usage, the manner suffix <-lok>- suffixes to bare verb roots.
An analysis as in (600a) seems to be most straightforward. However, while this type

⁴Ebert (1994) mentions a cognate of this morpheme for Athpahariya and Chamling, Bickel (1993: 25)
gives a Belhare cognate.
⁵The end consonant is uncertain, as in more words (cf.§2.1.3).
of usage is most frequent, it is analytically more sound to consider <-lok> (MAN) as a clause subordinator. The manner suffix is a sentential marker that suffixes to finite verbs rather than to verb roots.

(600) analysis: the manner suffix <-lok> is affixed to finite verbs

a. * n
   u-lok
   be.good-MAN
   'good'

b. [nu-Ø]-lok
   [be.good-NPT]-MAN
   'good'

As we shall see in the section on conjunctions and clause subordinators, the manner suffix <-lok> also affixes to verbs that are overtly marked for tense and person agreement (§8.4.4, examples 683, 684). In other constructions, <-lok> functions as a conditional and rarely as a topicaliser. Functionally, this type of usage is quite remote from the straightforward adverbial usage described here. However, since there is no reason to suppose that the conditional marker is another morpheme than the simple manner marker discussed here, I retain the analysis that <-lo -lok> (MAN) affixes to finite verbs only. This analysis, that explains both uses of the marker, results in the structural analysis as in (600b), containing a non-past suffix. Simple third person singular non-past forms are formally identical to verb roots. In glossed texts, I sometimes left the zero non-past suffix out in manner derivations these forms. Manner adverbs of this type, derived from intransitive verb stems, may serve as adjectives unmodified, since they may modify both nouns and verbs, cf. 8.1.

If a verb stem is bimorphemic, e.g. en-nu- (hear-be.good-) 'sound well', both parts are retained in derivations with <-lo>. The stem complement in a bimorphemic stem is very frequent in the common adjectives that typically denote quality. There are two series of adjectives, one based on numa 'to be good', the other on imwa 'to be bad.' Leftward-projected verbal complements of these verbs specify in what way things are good or bad.

(601) manner derivations with verb stem complements and <-lok>

a. kʰa-nu-lo yak-Ø-yan-Ø.
   see-be.good-MAN be-NPT-PROG-NPT
   'It is beautiful.'

b. en-nu-lo san-Ø-yan-Ø
   hear-be.good-MAN sound-NPT-PROG-NPT
   'It sounds good!'

c. o-ko bujwa nam-nu-lo nam-Ø-yan-Ø
   this-REF flower smell-be.good-MAN smell-NPT-PROG-NPT
   'This flower smells good.'

d. ca-nu-lo dʰutt-u.
   eat-be.good-MAN experience-3P
   'He likes it.'
8.2. Adverbs

(602)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>it-lo</th>
<th>be.bad-MAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bad'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. lau ijko-na iŋ-laŋ or-a-kʰar-a he detni kʰa-Ø? ca-it-lo
| well my-TOP | my-leg break-PT-go-PT or how see-PT eat-be.bad-MAN |
| tuk-ma puŋs-u. | hurt-INF start-3P |

'Well, did my leg break or what? It starts to hurt badly.'

b. kʰa-n-it-lo
| see-[epenthetic N]-be.bad-MAN |
| 'ugly' |

As adjectives, these derivations can have an independent interpretation as noun phrases. For that to happen, these derivation are preferably prefixed with a third person possessive prefix, which more or less functions as a definite determiner, e.g. (603), cf. §3.4.2. The word cilok 'much' has no obvious derivation and does not require this prefix.

(603)

| a. i-ci-lo            | piw-a-ŋ-kʰa-Ø-ŋ! |
| his/her-be.small-MAN | give-PT-1s-see-PT-1s |

'give me a little bit'

b. cilok ti-pi-Ø-ŋ.
| much 2AS-give-PT-1s |

'you gave me too much'

8.2.3 Adverbs of manner

We can discern some more derivation processes for other adverbs. The manner of situations can be expressed by adverbial derivations formed by the suffix <-wa> (LIKE) that denotes alikeness. The manner or alikeness of nominal phrases is expressed by adverbial derivations based on the related suffix <-wako> (LIKE).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Σ-wa&gt;</td>
<td>(Σ-LIKE) suffix, 'like X'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;wako&gt;</td>
<td>LIKE word, 'like', postposition after any phrase.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphemes <wa> (LIKE) and <wako> (LIKE) are quite similar in function. The most general formation method is to add the suffix <wa> (LIKE) to a phrase. This conveys the meaning of 'just like'. The morpheme wako is a full word that can serve as a nominal. The word wako can be analysed as <wa-ko> (LIKE-REF), cf.3.4.

(604) 'nuccʰya o-na taptape wako e račʰa’ ni syala-cʰe abo spasa'ta certainly this-TOP Taptape like hey MIR NAR jackal (N)-ever now (N) clear (N) payo-ni ca-it-lo lis-a.
| got (N)-EMPH (N) eat-be.bad-MAN become-PT |

'This really is Taptape! He is such a fierce one!' The jackal now also realised, with pain.' [Tt]
(605) Kirat rai yayokkʰa-ʔa kirawa yiŋ on-ki ridum-padum, canuca
Kirant Rai society-ERG Kiranti language this-SEQ ritual-tradition ?well
rat-ma-dum-da dem-leka nu-lok lam-da kon-yaŋ-wa
save-INF-thing-LOC how.many-approx. be.good-MAN road-LOC walk-PROG-LIKE
ti-lu-n-y-en?
2AS-feel-12pLS-PRT-12pLS
‘Do you feel as if the Kirant Rai Society is on the right road in saving the
Kiranti language and traditions?’ [Bw]

The collocation of adverbs formed with <-wa> (LIKE) with luma ‘to feel’ is
common and translates as ‘to feel as if’.

(606) kʰokpa lis-aŋ-wa lu-na-ŋa,
old.man become-PT-1s-LIKE feel-1sNP-PROC-1sNP
‘I feel like I’m an old man.’

(607) o-na i-niŋwa cin-maiŋ-wa e mu-ŋ-yaŋ-Ø!
this-TOP his/her-new teach-PP-LIKE EMPHe be-NPT-PROC-NPT
‘Well, this is like a new teaching!’

Example (607) shows that the suffix <-wa> (LIKE) has scope over the entire noun
phrase iŋwa cinmaɪŋ ‘a new teaching’, rather than over ‘teaching’ alone. While
the suffix <-wa> (LIKE) affixes to any type of constituent or phrase, <-wako> (LIKE)
makes a nominal expression. The morpheme wako may appear without or with a
geminated /k/, as wakko, without obvious difference in meaning. The gemination
may be associated with emphasis on the likeness.

(608) am-papa wakko yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø racʰa.
your’s-father like sit-NPT-PROC-NPT MIR
‘He could be your father.’

8.2.4 Reduplication in adverbs

Bantawa has a distinct class of adverbs that are formed by duplication or triplication
of a single syllable. Adverbial forms of this class are also obligatorily suffixed with
the suffix <-wa> (LIKE).

(609) makacikekwa (⊗ *mak ‘dark’, ⊗?cik ‘color, dye’, <wa> LIKE)
‘very dark’

(610) pototokokwa (⊗ *potok ‘stiff??’, <wa> LIKE)
‘very stiff, solid’ (as of liquid)

While the composition of (609) is quite transparant, this is not the case for example
(610). In general, not all adverbs based on replicated syllables can be understood in
terms of their parts. Rai in his dissertation on the Rabi dialect (1985) lists a very fine
collection of these adverbs, and Winter and Rai (1997) additionally provide a good
analysis of these adverbs.
8.2. Adverbs

Derivation

Winter and Rai (1997) dedicated an article to this phenomenon. They write:

... 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) mümümükwa kha-  weep profusely: mük 'eye'
(b) kakakakakwa let-  burn with a red glow: kak 'live coal'
(c) cekcecekwa ta-  rain continuously: cek- ?
(d) nunnununwa 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.

Even though this observation is based on the data from the Dhankutā dialect and not from Hatuvālī, this observation applies equally to the dialect under scrutiny here. However, why Winter and Rai should call <-wa> a ‘deverbative suffix’ is unclear to me. Above in §8.2.3, we found that this suffix can be affixed to any part of speech. The varied categories of the reduplicated kernel of the adverbs formed this way is problematised by Winter and Rai. Once we see that <-wa> has a very wide applicability, much of the mystery surrounding the apparently unselective formation of this type of adverbs vanishes.

Some roots for this type of adverb are known from independent forms of other word classes. Some are not known, and some seem to be selected for their expressive or onomatopoeic qualities only. In each case, the structure of the adverb is the same: a triplicated syllable, suffixed with <-wa> (LIKE).

Mimetics and paralexemes

Another interesting point is that some of the adverbs with this replication pattern employ a wider rule set for phonotactics and allow for different syllable structures than is usual in the core lexicon. This has been discussed in the section on phonology (§2). Some of the more expressive adverbs in this class have complex syllable onsets in /Cya-/ or syllable onsets, e.g. /gʰ/ or /jʰ/, that are not found in the core lexicon of verbs and nouns of Bantawa. Winter and Rai (1997) label the set of words with this formal property ‘paralexemes’. The phonological peculiarity of this group of adverbs is associated with a distinct aspect of emphasis, intensity and expressiveness in function. The paralexemic class of words typologically are on a par with mimetics, as described by Itô and Mester (1995).

Not only adverbs of the triple-root plus <-wa>-form show this association of phonological structure and expressiveness. There is also a class of manner adverbs in <-mi> and <-ti> that are similarly mimetic (611, 612). Likewise, the intensifier adverbs also formally stand out, cf. §8.2.1.

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Winter and Rai’s (1997) /ü/ is written /ɨ/ here.
Chapter 8. Other Word Classes

Iconicity of intensity

The paralexemic adverbs discussed above are strictly speaking not all adverbs of manner, although the last two $c^\text{ʰyaŋcʰyaŋt}i$ 'clear' and $c^\text{ʰyamcʰyami}$ 'one stroke' certainly are. Paralexemic adverbs often also indicate degree.

(613) $\text{mɨkmɨkwa kʰa-wa.}$
   *eye.x3-LIKE cry-PT
   'he cried incessantly, very profusely.'

For adverbs formed by replicated syllables, speakers have the option of stopping at two syllables, resulting in simple duplication. Bāntāvā (2001) mostly lists duplicated root adverbs in his dictionary. In those adverbs the number of reduplications very iconically expresses the degree. Two-syllable adverbs are less emphatic.

8.2.5 Adverbs of time and location

There are a great number of adverbial expressions that position an event in time and space. Locative expressions are uniformly formed from nominal or pronominal roots affixed with locative morphology. Locative morphology has been discussed in §3.3.1.

While temporal adverbs fulfill a typically adverbial role, they morphologically operate as nouns. Many English adverbs behave as nouns as well, as in 'tomorrow’s world’. Simply mentioning a temporal adverb will locate the event at that mentioned time.

(614) $\text{anemnij bu-daʔo salam cʰomasi kacîpen-da iŋka}$
   last.year before-LOC-NOM poem competition programme-LOC I
   $\text{dʰarana-ya yuŋ-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ.}$
   Dharān-LOC.level sit-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s
   'Last year, during the previous poetry competition, I was in Dharān.' [Bw]

Time adverbials are nouns used as adverbials. Temporal expressions affixed with a locative locate an event at a point in time. Affixation of an ablative expresses a stretch of time starting at the mentioned point in the sense of ‘as of, since’, while the suffix <-tari> 'until' expresses a stretch of time lasting to the mentioned point. Any other nominal relationship can be expressed by ordinary genitive suffixation.

In §3.3.1, it was pointed out how Bantawa locative suffixes express the vertical level of a location in a system distinguishing high, level, low and neutral levels. It is of interest here that temporarily past starting points are perceived as down, while present and future events are perceived as neutral. Thus the proper selection of locatives is as in examples (615, 616).
8.2. Adverbs

(615) asen-yuŋka
‘Since a few days’
(616) mankolen-daŋka
‘As of tomorrow’

Regularity in time ordinals

In a very interesting article, Michailovsky (2003) compared the so-called time ordinals of a group of Kiranti languages. Like other Kiranti languages, Bantawa is very rich in time ordinals. Time ordinals express relative, counted temporal notions such as ‘four years ago’ or ‘three years ago’ in a single word. Michailovsky shows that there is a surprising variety in Kiranti time ordinals. This variety is unexpected in such a limited semantic domain and interestingly, many morphemes occur within that domain only. While ordinal and cardinal numbers are often replaced by a contact language’s numbers under pressure of trade, the time ordinals are retained and less quickly lost.

In a method parallel to Michailovsky’s, I have listed the Bantawa facts. These data are my own recording. Wherever data from other sources are relevant, I have marked these data (M=Michailovsky, D=Dik Bāntāvā).

Days

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Bantawa</th>
<th>M:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>three days ago</td>
<td>ʰosa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two days ago</td>
<td>sen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>ʰomaŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>ʸi</td>
<td>M:  ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>manŋ kolen</td>
<td>M:  ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in two days</td>
<td>ʰin tuk</td>
<td>M:  cʰintolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in three days</td>
<td>sum mak</td>
<td>M:  suyaŋkolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in four days</td>
<td>lum mak</td>
<td>D:  sumaŋkolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in five days</td>
<td></td>
<td>D:  domaŋkolen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Bantawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two years ago</td>
<td>ʰimbaddoŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last year</td>
<td>nem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this year</td>
<td>ʸi doŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>next year</td>
<td>nam  manŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in two years</td>
<td>ʰim manŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in three years</td>
<td>dom  manŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lexical elements Several remarks can be made on the basis of these data. We can infer some meaning for the constituting parts of these expressions. The morpheme <manŋ> means ‘future year’ apart from or related to its other lexical meanings ‘spirit, godhead’. This element has cognates in all Kiranti languages except Western Kiranti (Michailovsky 2003: 11). The morpheme <nam ~ nem> means ‘one year away’ and <ʰin> means ‘two years away’, but also functions in days. Like
<map>, these morphemes have cognates in all Kiranti languages except Western Kiranti (Michailovsky 2003). While <don> also independently means 'year', <niŋ> only functions in these compounds. The morpheme <niŋ> has cognates in Southern and Eastern Kiranti only (Michailovsky 2003).

There are two words for 'day'. The word len appears independently as the ordinary word for 'day'. In the above list, the morpheme yi is restricted to 'today' and 'this year'. However, the word yi does have a wider distribution, viz. in arko-yyi (other (N)-day) 'another day'. The prefix <a-> in a-yi appears in all temporal adverbs relating to 'now' and previous time slots. Regarding the <i-> prefix in future day-words some observations have been made in §3.4.3.

Difference in data and dialects Future days in my data are significantly different from Michailovsky and Bāntāvā’s data, but I have no explanation to offer why that should be so. Michailovsky’s future day terminology is morphologically more transparent. The ending -<kolen>-<tolen> clearly is a composite of -<GEN-day>', so that his words read ‘X’s day’, ‘Y’s day’ and pattern with mapkolen 'tomorrow'. My data on future days do not pattern with any other language that Michailovsky lists. However, sum ‘three’ is also used for three elsewhere, and lum ‘four’ likely originates from proto-Tibeto-Burman7. The year numeral dommaŋ ‘in three years’ that is missing from Michailovsky’s data patterns neatly with Kulung and Khaling data.

8.3 Particles

The proper use of discourse particles in a foreign language is among the most difficult things to master. Along with tones, it is one of those aspects of grammar which leads the traditional grammarian to advise the learner to get hold of a native speaker and imitate him; always good advice in any case! (Mazaudon 2003: 2)

Particles are those elements in the sentence that do not have a grammatical function in the sense that sentence or clause syntax is dependent on them or directly impacts these particles. The particles known as focus markers structure the discourse by marking the topic of the sentence or by signaling new information, while the particles known as intensifiers add emphasis to, or signal the relevance of, a constituent. Discourse particles usually apply to a single constituent and appear as clitics and suffix to a phonological host. These particles are discussed as topic and focus markers, cf. §8.3.1.

Bantawa also features particles that express the speaker’s attachment to the proposition or convey epistemic information, e.g. hearsay, newness, etc. These particles usually appear as full words. Modal and epistemic particles are discussed in §8.3.3.

<sup>7</sup>The word sum apparently derives from Proto-Kiranti /*sum/. For four, Proto-Tibeto-Burman /*b-ly/ is mentioned by Matisoff (2003: 599). Bantawa seems to be the only non-Western or Central language that has retained a reflex of this etymon in time ordinals. Limbu has a reflex of this etymon in ordinary ordinals.
8.3.1 Topic and focus markers

Topic and focus markers do not interfere with the grammatical structure at sentence level. Rather, these markers structure the information flow. Topicalisers explicitly identify the topic of the discourse, while focus markers signal new and significant information.

**Topicaliser <-na>**

The clitic <-na> (TOP) is a topicaliser. Prosodically the topicaliser is a clitic, affixing to the last word of the phrase that is marked. ‘Topicalisation’ means the explicit marking of the constituent that is the subject matter, not necessarily the grammatical subject, of the sentence, or the constituent that is the given information, i.e. the known information which will be built upon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-na&gt;</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>Topicaliser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morpheme <-na> (TOP) attaches to constituents of any type. When the topicaliser <-na> affixes to a verbal constituent or to a pronoun referring to a proposition, this morpheme can be rendered in English as 'given that...'. When <-na> is hosted by a nominal constituent, the morpheme can be explicitly rendered as 'as for ...

Most often, leaving <-na> untranslated would be just fine. The topicaliser <-na> explicitly structures the information flow, which is not always necessary in translation. This clitic does not alter the grammatical structure of the clause. The marker <-na> (TOP) has a slightly contrastive connotation and it selects one topic at the expense of others, e.g. (617).

(617) ɨŋ ko-na madd ɨŋ-Ø.
my-TOP NEG be-NPT

‘As for me, I do not have one’ (lit. ‘mine, however, is not there’, in a conversation on whether the informant had a wife)

Topicalisers usually affix to the first constituent in the sentence. This element is usually understood as the topic anyway, and the functional load of <-na> (TOP) is then limited to demarcation of the topic (618). The topicaliser is insensitive to the category of its host, as can be seen in (619, 620), where it affixes to a locative and adverbal expression.

(618) paŋtehon-ʔo itihas sin-ma-na nu-lok i-sin-ni-ŋ.
region-GEN history (N) know-INF-TOP be.good-MAN NEGNPp-know-NEGn-1s

‘I do not know the region’s history that well.’

(619) mu-yu-na i-bastar matte ṭaksi tʰamba-da
that-LOC low-TOP his/her-dress (N) only (N) banana stem-LOC
hum-mett-u-do-Ø ni.
dress-CAUSE-3P-eff-3P NAR

‘Below, he only had dressed up a banana pole with his clothes.’
As the topicaliser only flags the starting point of the rest of the proposition, <-na> also figures prominently in clause linkage. In §8.4.2, we shall see that the topicaliser <-na> conspires with both the sequential linker <-ki> (SEQ) to form the standard sequencer <-kina>, as well as with the manner marker <-lo> (MAN) to form the conditional.

In some impersonal clauses that have no explicit causer or source, the subject or the experiencer is almost obligatorily marked by <-na>, cf. (621) and (535b). This usage, however, does not make the topicaliser a case marker.8

Nepali topicaliser <ta>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>TOP (N)</td>
<td>Nepalese topicaliser</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nepali particle <ta> is a topicaliser that we frequently find in Bantawa narratives. It seems that particles are very prone to loaning. For almost every native Bantawa particle, parallel Nepali loans are also found in texts. The function and distribution of the particle <ta> is very similar to that of the clitic <-na> (TOP). However, the Nepalese topicaliser <ta> is a free-standing particle that does not cliticize to a host word. The particle <ta> seems to be more free in distribution than <-na>. As in Nepali, <ta> can placed clause-finally in order to draw attention to the fact that this is a bit of background that the hearer should know. In the function of marking known information, <ta> roughly translates as ‘right’, ‘you see’?

Explicit topic switching

If the topic of the discourse changes unexpectedly or if the speaker wants to draw attention to a specific new topic, then he may resort to stronger measures and explicitly switch the topic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;tet&gt;</td>
<td>SWTOP</td>
<td>Topic Switcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;cahí&gt;</td>
<td>swTOP (N)</td>
<td>Nepalese Topic Switcher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8It is unclear to me whether there is a relation between the topicaliser <-na> (TOP) and the homophonous attributive locative <-na> (LATTR). If there is any relationship, it is not transparent.
For this purpose, the counting classifier <-tet> (§3.6) doubles as contrastive topicaliser, e.g. (623). While this suffix applies to topics only, the contrastive function goes beyond merely structuring the discourse (624).

(623) ɨ-nicʰa-tet min-Ø-yəŋ-Ø siŋ-rəŋ-cok-du-ŋka
his/her-younger.brother-swTOP think-NPT-PROG-NPT tree-plant-top-LOC.high-ABL ni.
NAR

'As for the younger brother, he was thinking up in that tree.' [Sm]

(624) kʰo-tet on-ʃɔŋ-lo mett-a-n-ci-n, ɨnjka-tet
that-swTOP this.size-be.big-MAN cause-PT-REFL-DUP-REFLc my-swTOP
cit-lok ɨ-mett-a-ŋ. be.small-MAN 3AM-cause-PT-1s

'That one he made big, for himself. For me, he made a small one.'

While in these samples the morpheme <-tet> was labelled swTOP, there is no reason to distinguish it from the counter or classifier <-tet>. The switch-topic marker only applies to nominal constituents and even preferably appears on genitive-marked nouns. The examples above were selected to show that this is not an obligatory selective restriction. In a vivid narrative such as Sumnima, as in the appendix, we see the frequent usage of this device to direct the hearer's attention.

The Nepali topic switcher cahi also widely appears in Bantawa discourse, in a function very similar to <-tet>. Often cahi is phonologically reduced, either to adapt to Bantawa phonology or just because it occurs in fast speech.

(625) ‘ɔ kiwa cay nikkay-Ø-hida o-sa-ʔa ɨ-sat-ŋa,...’
this tiger swTOP (N) very (N) run-NPT-5IMc this-PRN-ERG 3AM-pull-1sNP

'Now, this tiger, as it runs very fast, it will drag me...'

### 8.3.2 Emphasis and focus markers

Bantawa features an entire set of emphasis markers that affix to words or any type to signal that the information conveyed by the marked word is new or deserves the hearer’s special attention.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-ŋa ~ -ŋe ~ ŋ&gt;</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;-e&gt;</td>
<td>EMPHE</td>
<td>extra-emphatic marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The marker <-ŋa ~ -ŋe> (EMPH) is very frequent in narratives and conversation. The emphasis marker draws the attention of the hearer to the marked constituent. The marker <-ŋa ~ -ŋe> attaches to constituents of all categories with the exclusion of strictly grammatical particles.

(626) abo kiwa cʰe baliyo-ŋe cʰent-u ni.
now tiger also strong (N)-EMPH choose-3P NAR

'Now, the tiger also selected a strong one' [Tt]
Even so, the first poem that I wrote was pleasing at the time it first came out. [Bw]

The variation between allomorphs <ŋa ~ ŋe> seems to be free. I have not been able to find patterns of phonological conditioning. However, there are idiolectical preferences, and one speaker may prefer /e/ forms over /a/ forms, cf. §2.1.5. The distribution of the reduced allomorph <-ŋ> is limited to post-vowel, word-final positions only. While reduction is optional, it is more or less obligatory after ablatives (628).

After that, again, she took one leaf of ginger and a gourd.' [Sm]

The <e> emphatic marker is a separate word. Usually, there is a clear hiatus between the previous, emphasised phrase and the particle. The emphatic <e> seems to lend some more emphasis to the marked constituents than <-ŋ> (EMPH). Also, we do not find more than one emphatic marker <e> in a single clause, whereas that is not uncommon for <-ŋ> (EMPH).

It is I who am the biggest...' [Tt]

I have to let go...' [Tt]

Inclusion

The form <-cʰa> 'also' functions as an inclusive marker 'also, too' and as an indefiniteness marker 'ever'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cʰa</td>
<td>ALSO</td>
<td>inclusive marker, 'also, ever'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inclusive marker <-cʰa> 'also' is a clitic that attaches to constituents of any type. The clitic <-cʰa> signals that either contrary to expection or in an emphatic function in line with expectations, the marked constituent should be included in the proposition. The form of this morpheme varies between <cʰa ~ cʰe>, cf. §2.1.5. Frequently, the inclusive is further affixed with <-ŋ> (EMPH); in that case only the
8.3. Particles

form -cʰa emerges, viz. -cʰaj, not *-cʰey. Combined with η (EMPH), -cʰa may also mean ‘as soon as’ or ‘if’, e.g. (632). In combination with nu, forming <nuᶜʰe ~ nucʰaj>, -cʰa means ‘even though’, cf. §8.4.2.

(631) kʰon-ki arko-cʰaŋ laŋka-ŋa lis-a-nalo...
   he/she-SEQ another (N)-also upright-EMPH become-PT-COND...
   ‘Then, if the other also is flat, ...’ [Rl]

(632) kʰissa, kʰirisa, bʰik-sa, can-sa mi-kʰar-a, nam-puw-a-cʰaŋ
   deer deer elk feed-SIM 3pl-go-PT sun-set-PT-also
   mi-las-a-ta-Ø.
   3pl-return-PT-come-PT
   ‘All type of deer went on feeding, and as soon as the sun set, they returned.’
   [Bw]

Exclusion and other intensifiers

In order to explicitly exclude other possibilities from a statement, in Bantawa one of the delimitative intensifiers on ‘this much’ and kʰon ‘that much’ is used in combination with the emphatic marker. Stories are typically ended by a statement similar to (634).

(633) mo-da camayu caucau on-ŋa yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.
   that-LOC food noodles this.much-EMPH sit-PT-PROG-PT
   ‘As for food, there were only noodles.’ [Bw]

(634) ayi on-ŋa alanjne.
   today this.much-EMPH thanks.
   ‘For today, this much only. Thank you.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maŋ</td>
<td>NEGTOP</td>
<td>Negative topicaliser, negating the proposition for a specific topic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By contrast, the particle maŋ specifically excludes the previous constituent from the proposition. The particle maŋ looks like a contraction of maʔəŋ ‘no’, which, in turn, is possibly derived from man-yaŋ (NEGPTp-be) ‘no’.

(635) pᵃc kusi maŋ maddij
   five (N) finger NEGtop not.there
   ‘No, there are not five fingers. (i.e. there may be four)

Strictly speaking, this particle should be listed under the topicalisers. Other intensifiers are better treated as adverbs, as they generally have scope over the entire clause or over the adjective or nominal that follows. By contrast, the exclusive particles treated here have scope over the previous constituent.
Chapter 8. Other Word Classes

Non-reflexive self

As in European languages, the Nepali loan appi 'self' serves as an intensifier that emphasises the notion that the implicit subject or agent of the clause or the preceding noun phrase takes part in the event himself. This emphasis on one participant implies the exclusion of other possibilities. The Bantawa form appi then serves as an explicit exclusive marker, e.g. (636).

(636) pit sanwa ken-Ø-yan-Ø appi-ŋa gotʰala mu-Ø-yan-Ø.
cow buffalo keep-NPT-PROG-NPT self (N)-EMPH herding (N) do-NPT-PROG-NPT
'She herds the cow and buffalo. She is a herdsman herself.' [Bw]

The Bantawa form appi is a loan from Nepali ¯aphi 'self'. This form is perhaps an old and grammaticalised loan, as the aspiration has worn off and the Nepali genitive formation ¯aphno is not present in Bantawa. The regular Bantawa genitive formation appiʔo serves as an exclusive adjective 'own' (637).

8.3.3 Epistemic and modal particles

Aside from the particles that have scope over a single constituent, Bantawa features a set of particles that give information about the epistemic status of the entire sentence. Epistemic and modal particles may also express the speaker's expectations or the speaker's attitude towards the statement.

Molok 'like that'

When speakers of neighbouring languages who have limited or no knowledge of Bantawa try and mimic Bantawa speakers, they will often say detni molok! 'why - like that!' Indeed, this particle is heavily used. It is very hard to delineate either a clear communicative function or distributional restrictions. Although this etymology was questioned by my informants, I figure that molok derives from the morphemes shown in (638).

(638) mo-lok
that-MAN
'like that'

The interjection molok appears in all degrees of contraction and extension. We find an emphatic form with a geminated middle consonant molok (<mo-lok), but also forms with a reduced vowel, milok and even a maximally contracted form mok [mok]. The exact semantics of molok are hard to pin down, but considering the etymology here and its distribution, molok seems to function as a point in a conversation, where
the speaker resumes what he said before (... like that, ...), breathes, and continues. Molok lends some emphasis to what was said before without being very prominent. In that sense, molok functions like the English ‘isn’t it,’ so that choice for a gloss seems to render some of the impact of the particle.

(639) abo iŋka milok sumnima-ʔa watni-ŋa molok kʰan its-ɑ-ŋa-lo
now (N) I isn’t.it Sumnima-ERG here-EMPH isn’t. it SEE be.bad-PT-1s-MAN
i-kʰa-ɑ-ŋ racʰa.
3AM-see-PT-1s MIR

‘Now Sumnima has seen me in such a bad way, it appears.’ [Sm]

**Modal particles - ‘perhaps’**

In pauses, indicating doubt or uncertainty as to how to proceed, Bantawa speakers usually insert the word *men*. The interjection bʰa not so much emphasises the doubtfulness of the event itself, but stresses the speaker’s ignorance on the real state of events.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;men&gt;</td>
<td>DOUBT</td>
<td>particle expressing doubt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bʰa</td>
<td>PERHAPS</td>
<td>particle expressing possibility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word *men* can be understood as a modal particle expressing doubt. *Men* is often glossed as Nepali holā ‘maybe’. *Men* is the third singular person non-past form of the unique verb *menma*. This verb means ‘to be something’ in the intransitive and ‘to do something’ in the transitive conjugation. The ‘something’ is usually understood between the speaker and hearer. In a rather verbose translation, *menma* can be rendered as ‘to do or be something that you and I understand implicitly’. *Men* then means ‘it is what you and I understand implicitly’, and more freely ‘well, you know’.

(640) sumnima paruhang men sakenwa i-cʰen-ŋa-Ø-ŋa
Sumnima Paruhang DOUBT Sakenwa 3AM-select-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
un-de-na.
this.much-what-TOP

‘Sumnima and Paruhang, or, rather, Sakenwa is choosing me, this is what you know.’ [Dw]

This example was taken from an explanation of how a *dowa* ‘shaman’ is selected, i.e. by a dream. A future religious officiant, Bantawa *dowa*, will know in a dream that he is selected. By what godhead is the source of doubt in example (640).

The particle *men* also functions as a sentence conjunction in Bantawa. When *men* separates two alternatives, it translates best as ‘however’, or simply ‘but.’

(641) sitmaŋ-ci-ʔa mi-kʰaŋ men nop-ma mi-ri-nin.
dead-PL-ERG 3pl-see DOUBT touch-INF 3pl-can-NEGn

‘The dead can see but they cannot touch.’ [Bw]

To emphasise the hesitation, speakers may insert a glottal stop in the middle, resulting in the realisation [mɛʔɛn].
Chapter 8. Other Word Classes

(642) maŋ kolen bʰa wa-dʰup-Ø-lo wa ta-Ø.

tomorrow perhaps water-flood-NPT-MAN water come-NPT

‘Tomorrow, maybe rain will fall like a flood.’

About the origin of bʰa I have nothing to offer. The breathy initial consonant perhaps points to a mimetic background. The length of the vowel is used to emphasise the ignorance on the part of the speaker, e.g. bʰaː: ‘who knows?!’

**Mirative < racʰa >**

The mirative is a grammatical category that expresses newness of information. The mirative indicates that the information in the sentence is new to the speaker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;racʰa&gt;</td>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>mirative, a Nepali loan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mirative category is a loan from Nepali. It is doubtful whether the expression of this function is original to Bantawa. As the mirative is new, the mirative has had to integrate in Bantawa grammar. This integration may have happened in different ways for different speakers. Mostly, it seems that racʰa is a more or less blind sentence-final particle that has scope over the entire previous sentence, and that all of the information in the matrix clause is new. In sentence-final position, structurally the mirative is similar to the evidential <ni> (NAR). The mirative prefers nominalised sentences as a host, cf. (644). However, this is not a fixed rule, cf. (643). The selection of nominalised sentences can be explained by the fact that nominalisation on sentences is generally used to express that the information is either known or old. Miratives typically express the recent discovery of old facts. The categories ‘known’ and ‘mirative’ thus do not exclude one another. Rather, the mirative wants a nominalised sentence.

(643) kʰonkina ik-len buḍi-kʰokma-ʔo-da mina ta-Ø-la-Ø

then one-day old.woman (N)-old.woman-GEN-LOC man come-PT-return-PT


NEGNp-feel-NEGN NAR say-3P NAR TOP (N)

‘And then, one day, a man arrived at the old woman’s place, and said, “grandmother! you live all by yourself! Are you not afraid?”’ [Tt]

(644) mo yok-da-ŋa ik-tat kiwa mu-yu ta-Ø-ki

that time-LOC-EMPH one-qual tiger that-LOC.low came-PT-SEQ

kʰa-en-a-ŋa-ni-ʔo racʰa.

ANTp-hear-PT-PROG-PT-NAR-NOM MIR

‘At that very moment, a tiger arrived below there, and was listening.’ [Tt]

The mirative generally remains an opaque loan that does not interact morphologically with other elements10. However, there are examples where it attaches to a

---

10The Bantawa mirative is not a morphological category, very unlike the Nepali mirative. The Nepali
8.3. Particles

verb root to form a mirative verb form. In (645), kʰə racʰə means: ‘it could be seen’. The verb is present as a root only, and apparently the mirative racʰə was perceived as the finite verb.

(645) kʰar-aŋ-a-hida tamla kʰola-ʔo i-cʰοŋ-ya-ŋa
go-PT-PROG-PT-SImp Tamla river (N)-GEN his/her-bank (N)-LOC.level-EMPH
suj-ɾəŋ-cok-du ɾəkika-wa kʰə racʰə kacʰukpa-wa kʰə racʰə.
tree-stalk-top-LOC.high game (N)-LIKE see MIR monkey-LIKE see MIR

‘While he walked along the Tamur river bank, up in the tree tops he saw shapes like game, like monkeys.’ [Sn]

Attention particle /i/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ATTN</td>
<td>Particle signaling a call for attention</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The attention particle i occurs sentence-finally and draws the hearer’s attention to the fact that the speaker wants a question answered. The function of i is primarily rhetorical. The particle i suggests that the speaker expects an affirmative answer and has invested some emotion in the marked message.11

(646) man-man-kʰan ti-yuk-nin racʰə i?
NEGPTp-lose-send 2AS-PERF-1ns2 MIR ATTN
‘you have not forgotten us, have you?’

(647) kʰwatni i?
like.that ATTN
‘like that, isn’t it?’

Dya - assertion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dya</td>
<td>OR.WHAT</td>
<td>or what</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The normal form of the question word ‘what’ is di or de, cf. §3.4.6. However, if the question word ‘what’ is added at the end of a sentence, it serves to elicit confirmation. This may be a normal conversational alternation, but in an argumentative context, the hearer is discouraged from questioning the proposition. The hearer is challenged, whether he would dare to say otherwise ‘or what?’

In the section on the phonology of syllable onsets, §2.2.1, it was mentioned that there is an ideophonic association of emotive value with complex syllable onsets. We find confirmation of this in the form dya when it occurs sentence-finally as an alternative to di or de to assert the speaker’s conviction of the statement. Dya also appears in other positions with similar emotive value, e.g. (648d).

mirative is formed by affixing the present tense auxiliaries to the first perfect gerund forms. The form racʰu is a contraction of a regular formation of rahe+cʰu ‘to remain’ + ‘is’.

11The obvious cognate i in Kulung was labelled ‘emotion particle’ (EMO) by Tolsma (1999: 133).
Chapter 8. Other Word Classes

(648) From an interview with Kitab Singh [Bw]

a. dem-ka doŋ ti-batt-in-y-en-heda tayakʰim kʰat-ma
   how-many-CNT year 2AS-reach-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-SIMc school go-INF
   become-PT
   ‘At what age did you start to go to school?’

b. 6-ka doŋ-da.
   6-CNT year-LOC
   ‘At six years.’

c. kʰon-nucʰaŋ baddʰe riŋri tok-yaŋ-sa dya!
   he/she-even.though much trouble get-PROG-SIM OR.what!
   ‘And even so, getting so much trouble!’

d. dya ci-ma-kil!
   OR.what do-INF-SEQ
   ‘And then, what to do!’ (exasperated sigh - what to do?)

The question word de ‘what’ may combine with on ‘this.much’ to form a particle onde, that signals both closure of a statement and the presupposition on the speaker’s part that the hearer agrees. Literally onde translates ‘this much, what?’

(649) kʰana cʰaŋ nulok-ŋe ti-nu-yaŋ on-de ni
   you also well-EMPH 2AS-be.good-PROG this.much-what NAR
   min-ŋa-Ø-ŋa. he maʔaŋ?
   think-1sNP-PROG-1sNP or no
   ‘“You are also doing well,” I think. Or not?’ [Bw]

The word onde was also glossed to me as ‘may be.’ However, onde suggests agreement from the hearer rather than uncertainty on the part of the speaker (cf. also 589) De also fills an important grammatical role in the formation of irrealis constructions, marking the protasis or condition (cf. §4.7.3).

Nepali particles

Rai (1985) lists a host of particles that are of Nepali origin. Many of these I did not find in use in central Bantawa. The Sindrān dialect apparently differs from the Rabi dialect that Rai described. The relevance of Nepali words in a Bantawa grammar is limited, but for the sake of comprehensiveness I shall list the most frequent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;hola&gt;</td>
<td>maybe (N)</td>
<td>Nepali ‘may be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ni&gt;</td>
<td>ASSERT (N)</td>
<td>Nepali assertive marking, emphasising the proposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;kʰay&gt;</td>
<td>hmm? (N)</td>
<td>Nepali question particle, expressing ignorance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;hey&gt;</td>
<td>right? (N)</td>
<td>Nepali particle, asking and supposing affirmation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;laʊ&gt;</td>
<td>well (N)</td>
<td>Nepali particle, suggesting to move on, to get on with it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The details of these particles are not particularly interesting. The particles <hola> and <ni> are sentence-final. The other particles are interjections that can be
interjected at will. The particle *ni* deserves some attention as it certainly is not the same as the narrative *ni*, even though the assertive *ni* preferably occurs in the same position, viz. sentence finally.

### 8.3.4 Sentence particles

There is a host of expressions that serve as full sentences or as full statements on their own. To some extent, some can be analysed into their constituting parts and in some expressions some structure is still discernible, but as a rule these particles must just be learnt by a new speaker of Bantawa. Sentence particles serve as full statements or interjections.

(650) *atakane!*
whatever
‘Ah, well, whatever, who cares!’

(651) *alaŋne!!*
Thanks
‘Thanks!’

(652) *sewa mu-Ø-ne!*
*service (N) do-3P-OPT*
‘Hello!’ (in meeting)

(653) *la-ci-tup-ci-ne!*
*return-DU-meet-DU-OPT*
‘Let’s meet again!’

(654) *ə!
*yes
‘Yes.’ (affirmative nod)

(655) *maʔaŋ.
*no
‘No.’ (denying a statement or request)

(656) *matdɨj.
*not.there
‘No, it’s not there.’ (in answer to a question whether someone or something is present)

This list is not at all exhaustive, but to my subjective judgment these interjections are both frequent and important.

### 8.4 Conjunctions

**Definition** Conjunctions are those parts of speech that connect two words, phrases, or clauses. What constitutes a conjunction must be defined for each language. A conjunction is an invariable grammatical particle. Conjunctions form a small, closed
Chapter 8. Other Word Classes

class. Here, the word ‘conjunction’ is used as a syntactical and not as a semantic label\textsuperscript{12}.

Function The function of a conjunction is to explicitly mark coordination. Nouns or noun phrases that are simply juxtaposed are generally interpreted as either appositions or compounds. Nominal compounds may also have additive readings, cf. §3.1.3. Juxtaposed verbs without connecting morphology are either compounds, or ungrammatical.

Syntax and morphology The most general conjunctions are not sensitive to the type of constituent they conjoin. However, many Bantawa conjunctions serve to link clauses and bring a distinct subordinating, temporal or evaluative meaning component with them. Conjunctions are positioned in between the constituents they join\textsuperscript{13}.

Generally, Bantawa conjunctions are clitics and are phonologically dependent on the last word of the first of the two phrases they conjoin. However, for the conjunction of noun phrases, full word conjunctions are selected. These conjunctions may also be used for sentential conjunctions as clause linkers.

This section We first discuss those conjunctions that are both nominal and clausal conjunctions. Then we discuss those conjunctions that connect only sentences or clauses and then the syntax of clause linkage.

8.4.1 Nominal conjunctions

Bantawa has two simple conjunctions that can be used to join noun phrases. The conjunction $\text{he}$ ‘or’ is of native origin, while $\text{ra}$ ‘and’ is a loan from Nepali.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>OR</td>
<td>‘or’, the disjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>and (N)</td>
<td>‘and’, a Nepali conjunction that groups two phrases into a single phrase of the same type</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The absence of a native ‘and’ operator is not a defect in the language, but points to the related fact that ordinarily concatenated noun groups would be interpreted in an additive sense. For example, $\text{pa-ma}$ ‘father-mother’ means ‘father and mother’. The introduction of a conjunction from Nepali is a novelty with little added function.

The disjunction $\text{he}$ ‘or’ is used to separate two alternatives rather than to conjoin them, or to link them in any other temporal, conditional, rhetorical sense. The disjunction $\text{he}$ serves to separate constituents of any type, e.g. (657). Clause finally, $\text{he}$ can be used without mentioning the other alternative or representing the other alternative by $\text{maʔan}$ ‘not?’. This adds an extra emphasis to questions, challenging

\textsuperscript{12}In fact, a common conjunction may mean a logical disjunction, viz. ‘or’.

\textsuperscript{13}Conjunctive elements that associate a noun phrase with a previous noun phrase are called comitatives. Comitatives may also serve to form an adverbial expression, cf. §3.3.5. Comitatives are not treated here.
the hearer to offer an alternative. However, he ‘or’ does not occur only with yes-no questions, e.g. (658), but also with general questions, e.g. (659). In this way, he has slightly shifted from a simple disjunction to become a question-final focus marker.

(657) iŋko he sanno?
   my or who-GEN
   ‘mine or whose?’ (said by someone holding a pen, wondering whose it was)

(658) mu-ma dot-∅ he ma-tany?
   do-INF must-NPT or NEG Tp-be
   ‘Must it be done, or not?’

(659) ayim tana deki baimani ti-lis-a kʰar-a he?
   nowadays you why dishonest (N) 2AS-become-PT go-PT or?
   ‘Why have you become so mean these days?’ [Bw]

The conjunction rə does not show any unexpected behaviour as an ordinary coordinator. In the next sections, I shall only mention other conjunctions of Nepali origin in passing, as they are neither very frequent nor relevant.

Composite conjunctions onki and kʰonki (see below, §8.4.2) are regularly used as nominal conjunctions meaning ‘and’.

(660) iŋka samjog-ʔa cʰam on-ki salam a-appi cʰapt-ʔ-ŋ-ç-ū-ŋ,
   my accident (N)-ERG song this-SEQ poem self (N) write-3P-1s-DUP-3P-1s
   ‘I just write both songs and poems myself’ [Bw]

Conjoined noun phrases may result in singular agreement, e.g. (662) or plural (object) agreement, e.g. (660). This is associated with the perception of the resulting nominal conjunction. Conjunctions may be interpreted as a single matter such as ‘pepper and lemon’ as in (662). In other situations, the plurality of the conjunction may receive emphasis, e.g. (660).

8.4.2 Sentence conjunctions

In this section, we shall first list the most frequent sentence conjunctions. Starting from there, I shall outline the grammatical realisation of sentence conjunction. After this, we shall review some of the conjunctions and their precise functionality.

Sentence subordination often is clause linkage The relationship between combining clauses is usually cast in terms of a superordinated and a subordinated clause. The subordinated clause is called ‘embedded’ and the superordinated one ‘matrix clause’. Subordination does not always present as a clear-cut grammatical and semantical operation. In many instances, conjunctions such as the marker <-ki> (SEQ) are not used in a real subordinating sense. In discourse or narratives, sequence markers serve to guide the flow of time or thought. This type of subordination might well be tagged discourse organisation. These conjunctions mark the relationship between two equal sentences. In this section, therefore, ‘conjunction’ can often be understood as ‘clause linkage.’
Sentence conjunctions

The following sentence conjunctions are frequent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;V-ki&gt;</td>
<td>V-SEQ</td>
<td>Sequential marker, 'and then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;V-ki-na&gt;</td>
<td>V-SEQ-TOP</td>
<td>Sequential marking with a causal connotation, 'and then, because of...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;V-pacʰi&gt;</td>
<td>V-after (N)</td>
<td>'After this, ...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;N-ʔo deg-da&gt;</td>
<td>N-NOM BACK-LOC</td>
<td>‘After this...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;V-ideŋ&gt;</td>
<td>V-AFTER</td>
<td>‘Thereafter...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;V-cʰaŋ&gt;</td>
<td>V-ALSO</td>
<td>‘As soon as...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;V-nucʰaŋ&gt;</td>
<td>V-THOUGH</td>
<td>‘even though’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;N-ʔo-da&gt;</td>
<td>N-NOM-LOC</td>
<td>Temporal location: ‘when ...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;N-ʔo gari-da&gt;</td>
<td>N-NOM TIME-LOC</td>
<td>‘at the time of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;N-ʔo-sa-ʔa&gt;</td>
<td>N-NOM-PRN-ERG</td>
<td>‘because of...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;V-hida&gt;</td>
<td>V-SIMP</td>
<td>‘while...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;V-nalo&gt;</td>
<td>V-COND</td>
<td>Conditional, ‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;V-lo&gt;</td>
<td>V-MAN</td>
<td>‘as if’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No doubt there are more sentence conjunctions (that are not as frequent). In any case, more examples are not required to investigate the syntax of sentence conjunctions.

Morphology and syntax

Patterns of clause linkage. The basic patterns of sentence conjunction or clause chaining are as follows.

(661) Patterns of clause linkage.

a. [clause]_1-conj [clause]_2 example (662)
b. [clause verb]_1. verb-conj [clause]_2 examples (663, 664)
c. [clause]_1. pronoun-conj [clause]_2 example (665b)

Examples are easy to find. To simplify the examples, we concentrate on the most frequent clause chainer <-ki> (SEQ). The sequencer <-ki> occurs in all constructions.

(662) kʰim kʰar-a-ki longa on-ki suncikwa ca-Ø.

house go-PT-SEQ pepper this-SEQ lemon eat-PT

‘Having gone home, he ate pepper and lemon.’ [Bw]

In example (662), the subordinated clause ‘he went home’ shares the subject with the matrix clause. This is not required, however: It is possible for the two clauses to have different participants. The clause marked by <-ki> (SEQ) is finite, and in this respect the sentence coordinators discussed here are different from nominalisers, purposives or other operators that embed a

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14In the table, the affixes that require a verbal host, i.e. a finite verb, are prefixed by V- ‘verb’. The affixes that require a nominal host are prefixed by N- ‘noun’. The nominalisation marker <-ʔo> (NOM) that turns a finite verb into a nominal host is included in the presentation of nominal suffixes.
non-finite verb or clause in a matrix clause. Example example (662) shows
that attaching -ki to the first sentence is enough to express the relationship
between two sentences.

(663) Tail-head linkage (full) [Sm]

   he/she-SEQ-TOP last (N)-LOC-PT return-PT-meet-PT-DU
   ‘After that, at last, they met again.’

b. las-a-tuʔ-a-ci-ki-na ma-ʔaŋ watni lis-a-ci, e
   return-PT-meet-PT-DU-SEQ-TOP NEGPTp-be.PTNEG here become-PT-DU he
   watni yakbak-da.
   here arum.leaf-LOC
   ‘Meeting again, isn’t it, they were like this, in an Arum leaf.’

(664) Tail-head linkage (partial) [Sm]

a. talik-ʔa bʰe-ʔa ta-Ø-na mo-na əni mollok
   bow-ERG arrow-ERG come.far-NPT-TOP that-TOP then (N) isn’t.it
   set-ma-ʔe kʰo-s-a-na pam-ma-set-ma ʔe mollok
   kill-INF-EMPH he/she-PRN-ERG-TOP scratch-INF.kill-INF EMPHe isn’t.it
   mitt-u-kes-u-ni-ʔo racʰə
   think-3P-throw-3P-NAR-NOM MIR
   ‘By a bow-and-arrow, he will come, then, whatever, will kill, tear me
   up and kill me, he was thinking.’

b. mitt-u-pacʰi-na əni las-a-ta-Ø-ci i-tit-cʰe
   think-3P-after (N)-TOP then (N) return-PT-DIRback-PT-DU his/her-clothes-ever
   matdɨp-Ø i-nanga-ʔa ta-Ø-ni
   not.there-NPT his/her-naked (N)-EMPH come.far-PT-NAR
   ‘After thinking then when they had come back his clothes were not
   there, he came naked, it is said.’

Perhaps the most interesting strategy to link clauses is the so-called tail-head
linkage, whereby the tail of the first clause is repeated, affixed with a bit of
conjunction morphology and used as the first constituent in the new clause.

‘The predicate or the last part of the predicate of a sentence, i.e. its
‘tail’, is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence, constituting
its topic in the sense of known information and starting point.’
(Ebert 2003: 39)

This strategy does not always obey strict rules, such as ‘repeat the last
predicate as a whole’. The italicised parts in examples (664, 663) are the
repeated ‘tails’. Example (664) contains partial repetition, whereas example
(663) repeats the full verb. Tail-head linkage is frequent in narratives, but
also in ordinary conversation.

(665) Clause linking by pronominal reference [Bw]

   house-LOC sit-PT-DU-NOM also three-CNT-day become-PT-finish-PT
   ‘Three days had already passed, while we sat in the house.’
b. kʰon-ki ayi sindraŋ-tari kʰat-ci-ne ni-ki lont-a-ci-a.
   that-SEQ today Sindrān-up.to go-DU-OPT NAR-SEQ come.up-PT-DU-e
   ‘Then, we went out, in order to go to Sindrān.’

Finally, in Bantawa we find frequent examples of pronominal reference to the
previous clause. This results in structures similar to European conjunctions, such as
‘then’ and ‘after this’, that are typically positioned at the start of the clause. We find
an example of it in (665b) but also, incidentally, in line (663a).

**Morphological type**  Clause chainers attach both to pronouns and finite verbs.
Comparing the alternative strategies to link clauses, we see that pronouns can replace
finite verbs or rather entire clauses. The fact that pronouns can replace verbs is
morphologically of interest. Sentential conjunctions or clause linking morphemes
are clitics, as first suggested. However, they are not entirely type-insensitive.
Sentential conjunctions do not affix to strictly nominal phrases. In line (662) the
scope of the sequencer <-ki> was be extended to join noun phrases in a form such as
onki. However, <-ki> cannot affix to noun phrases without further morphology, e.g.
*longa-ki suncikwa, **‘pepper and lemon’ cf. (662). Ordinary Bantawa pronouns are
o ‘this’, mo ‘that’ and kʰo ‘that’. The pronouns referring to sentences have an <-n>
augment, resulting in the forms <on->, <mon-> and <kʰon->. These pronouns to not
appear as independent sentential pronouns as in English ‘I said that’, but only before
clause linking morphology.

Clearly, the augment <-n> is not phonologically conditioned. This can be shown
by the derivation of the clause linker <-ʔosaʔa> (REAS) that marks a clause as the
cause or reason for the following clause. This causal or consequential clause linker
is an instrumental or ergative case affixed to a clause or pronoun. The clause linker
<-ʔosaʔa> does not affix as a simple ergative <-ʔa> (ERG), however, but selects an
nominalised augmented clausal pronoun as its host.

(666) the contrast between expressing ergative or instrumental and expressing the
cause or reason.
   a. kʰon-ʔosaʔa
      that-NOM-PRN-ERG
      ‘because of that...’
   b. kʰo-ʔosaʔa
      that-PRN-ERG
      ‘by him, he...’

Bantawa, then, has two series of pronouns, based on one set of roots, that are
specific to the type of antecedent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal pronouns</th>
<th>Sentential pronouns</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>on-</td>
<td>proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>mon-</td>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰo</td>
<td>kʰon-</td>
<td>anaphoric, referential only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In sum, the clause-linking morphemes selectively require a sentential host and are strictly speaking not clitics, in spite of the fact that clause-linking morphemes attach to words from a number of categories.

### 8.4.3 Review of some clause linkers

We shall now review some clause linkers.

**Sequential: temporal ordering**

The most neutral clause linker is <-ki> (SEQ). The sequencer <-ki> expresses that the events described in two clauses are somehow linked. By default, <-ki> signals that the events occurred in sequence, i.e. in the order they are mentioned. However, many interpretations are possible, such as when a causal relationship is implied, or even a contrastive relationship, e.g. (662-665b). There are also examples where an interpretation of temporal ordering is impossible, e.g. (667). Everything depends on context.

(667) nam ch-os-a-ki mina kon-ma man-ri-Ø.
sun burn-PT-SEQ man walk-INF NEGPTp-can-NPT

’When the sun is shining, a man cannot walk.’ [Bw]

**Combination of <-ki> (SEQ) with <na> (TOP)**

Frequently, <-ki> (SEQ) is combined with the topicaliser <-na>. Technically, this only achieves the effect that the preceding clause is the given of the next clause, i.e. background information or the point of departure. This gives a connotation of causality.

(668) ’wako doŋ-da mi-lis-a-ʔa cʰa-ci-ʔa-na cikni-ne ki papa such year-LOC 3pl-become-PT-NOM child-PL-ERG-TOP early-EMPH or (N) father
ki mama mi-ca-ci’ ni mi-yin-yag, mon-ki-na o papa-mama or (N) mother 3pl-eat-DU NAR 3pl-say-PROG that-SEQ-TOP this father-mother
ka-ca cikrinjPitma cʰa-ci jʰarak-sa-ʔa idʰiwaŋ hōŋku-da son-ma APref-eat demon child-PL all-PRN-ERG big river-LOC make.flow-INF
kʰan-ma-ci mi-dot-Ø.
send-INF-DU 3pl-must-NPT

’The children born in such a year, now, soon eat their father or mother, it is said, therefore all people must drown these father-mother-eating demon-children in a big river.’ [Bw]

There is quite some interaction between the topicaliser <-na> (TOP) and the various sentence conjunctions. This interaction is natural, as both morphemes define the relationship of the preceding information with the new information. Combined with <-ki>, topicalisation has little impact. The topicaliser may appear in all three types of clause linkage after <-ki>, resulting in a sequence <-kina>, e.g. (661).

The topicaliser <na> presents the preceding clause as the background to the next, and in that way stresses that the preceding clause is temporally ordered before the
next, e.g. (669), suggesting a causal reading of the first clause, e.g. (668). Frequently, we also find <-na- (TOP) reduplicated.

(669) kʰo-so-deŋ-da balla nakɛʊŋ ken ʂɑŋ-Ø-ki-na-na
he/she-PRN.GEN-back-LOC at last (N) shaman
ken mani ʂɑŋ-Ø-ki-na-na man ʂpʰʊŋ-Ø.
large.drum mani large.drum play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP

'Finally, after that, the priest, playing the drum, the drum and cimbals, starts the worship.

Why the topicaliser <-na> should be reduplicated is a bit mysterious. We could suggest that semantic impact of the topicaliser has suffered from the frequency of usage, so much so that it has become an almost obligatory part of the conjunction <-kina>. As a response, to regain the temporal ordering effect of the topicaliser, speakers may reduplicate, considering <-kina> as a single suffix. The alternative explanations are either (a) phonology: rhythmic reduplication or iconic stressing of the topicalising function of <-na> by reduplication, or (b) etymology: a different etymological origin of na in <-kina> and <-na> (TOP). In any case, the reduplicated <-na-na> stresses the temporal ordering of the joined clauses. With the neutral sequencer <-ki> (SEQ) no specific temporal relationship between the joined clauses is expressed.

**Temporal ordering**

**Posteriority** While <-ki> (SEQ) does not express temporal ordering, there is also a set of clause linkers that very explicitly express posteriority. There are quite a few of these. First, the regular formations are the Nepali loan <V-panɔhi> 'after' and the native <-ʔo deŋ-da> (back-LOC) 'after' located at the end of the first clause. The regular affixation of nominal postpositions to verb forms requires nominalisation on the verb, as in (670). Frequently, however, we find that nominalisation is left out in sloppy and rapid speech. There is a difference between the construction with <-ʔo deŋ-da> and the construction with the Nepali <-panɔhi>. The morpheme <-panɔhi> only affixes after verbs and verbal pronouns, such that the canonical form for a pronominal conjunction is kʰonpɔnɔhi, e.g. (672). Example (671) shows that verbs must not be nominalised before <-panɔhi>. However, <-ʔo deŋ-da> is a nominal postposition which attaches to nouns and verbs alike (670, also 669).

ginger-cutting peel-NPT-finish-NPT-NOM after-LOC all-PL-DAT
say-3P-DUP

'After the ginger has been cut, he tells everyone.' [RI]

(671) ler-a-hiŋ-a pʰəПери ɡəɾbʰəwati lis-a.
survive-PT-live-PT after (N) again (N) pregnant (N) become-PT

'After she lived again, she was pregnant as well.' [Sm]

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15Ebert is uncertain whether, for Chamling, the sequentialiser <-na> and topicaliser /na/ are distinct or the same (1997b, 2003: 40).
8.4. Conjunctions

(672) kʰon-paᶜʰi kʰwatni yɨŋ-a-paᶜʰi á mi-tums-u-ci paᶜʰi
he/she-after (N) that.way say-PT-after (N) yes 3pl-join.together-3P-DUP after (N)
tuʔ-a-ci.
meet-PT-DU

‘After that, after he said this, they made them meet one another. After that they met.’ [Sm]

This difference between <-paᶜʰi> and <-ʔo deŋ-da> is paradigmatic for many clause chaining linkers. Some clause linkers are of verbal affixes, requiring no nominalisation on the verb, some are nominal affixes and grammatically require nominalisation. In the posterior group of sentence conjunctions there are two more independent conjunctions, viz. ideŋ and adeŋ ‘after this’. These are synonymous. Adeŋ patterns with the class of temporal expressions with the adverbialiser prefix <a->, but ideŋ is more common.

(673) ideŋ-da buŋwakʰ-a-da-ŋka kirawa-ciʔo nimpaŋ dya yɨŋ-ma ni
after-LOC Buŋwakha-LOC-ABL Kiranti-PL-GEN for what say-INF NAR
ti-min-yen?
2AS-think-12plSP

‘After this, what do you think you that Bungwakha must say for the Kirantis?’

Anteriority Anteriority of two connected clauses is expressed by the composite clause linker <-ʔo bu-ya> (-NOM front-LOC.level) ‘before’. This clause linker is formally equal to <-ʔo deŋ-da> (-NOM back-LOC) ‘after’, but not used as frequently.

Contrast: ‘Even though’

In isolation, <nucʰe ~ nucʰaŋ> means insistence, ‘truly, verily’. However, the by far more common usage is verb-final or clause-final, and nucʰaŋ ‘truly’ can also be used after simultaneous converbs in <-sa> (SIM), in the meaning ‘even though, though.’

(674) batt-u-nucʰaŋ, cʰunt-a.
call-3P-though refuse-PT
‘even if he calls, don’t listen.’

The obvious derivation of <-nucʰaŋ> seems to be a combination of nu- ‘to be good’ and cʰaŋ ‘ever, too’. The suffix <-cʰaŋ> itself, when affixed to verbs, renders the meaning of ‘immediately after’.

(675) jʰarak-da-ŋka bu-ya siw-a-da-Ø-cʰaŋ ...
all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level die-PT-eff-PT-also ...
‘First of all, immediately after death ...’ [Dt]

Temporal location

The locative <-ʔo -da> (LOC) can be used to express the notion that one event occurred at the same time as the other. However a more circuitous expression <-ʔo garida> (-NOM time (N)-LOC) ‘at that time’ is more usual.
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(676) nam len-Øʔo gari-da (...) kʰokli kʰat-Ø-yan-Ø
sun burn-NPT-NOM moment (N)-LOC (...) forest go-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘When the sun starts to shine, she goes to the forest...’ [Bw]

While <-da> (LOC) mostly needs a nominal host, <-gari> is more flexible and may also affix straightforward to verb forms. As with nominals, the locative also freely combines with the ablative, yielding the conjunction <-daŋka> ‘since, as from’ (677).

(677) iwayiŋ ṭʰiŋ-a-ŋ-daŋka-ŋe yiŋkʰan on-ki bantawa-yiŋ-da-ʔo
morning rise-PT-1s-LOC-ABLM EMPH news this-SEQ Bantawa-language-LOC-GEN
kacipen en-ma ni-kí iŋ-nábak cam-sa yuŋ-a-ŋ-yakt-a-ŋ.
programme listen-INF NAR-SEQ my-ear sharpen-SIM sit-PT-1s-CONT-PT-1s
‘Ever since I woke up, I am sitting, sharpening my ear to hear news and the programme in the Bantawa language.’ [Bw]

Simultaneity: ‘While’

The simultaneous marker <-hida> (SIMp) needs more attention than the momentaneous temporal locative <-da> (LOC) or its kin as in the above paragraph. Obviously we can recognise the locative <-da> (LOC) element in <-hida> ‘while’. However, the prefix <hi-> or <he-> ‘*while’ is specific to this marker. The phrasal simultaneous suffix <-hida> is not a nominal affix and requires a verbal host.

While temporal locatives pick a point of time, the suffix <-hida> ‘while’ selects a period, i.e. a stretch of time, which has obvious aspectual implications. The simultaneous <-hida> translates as ‘while’ rather than ‘when’, and resists affixation to a finite verb that denotes an instantaneous action (678).

(678) ? kʰar-a-hida
go-PT-SIMP
‘while he went’

(679) kʰar-a-ŋ-a-hida
go-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP
‘while he was going’

The phrasal simultaneous <-hida> is functionally very different from the simultaneous converb suffix <-sa> (SIM) (cf.§5.1.6). The morpheme <-hida> affixes to fully finite verbs, which has the effect that more aspectual possibilities become available. The converb <-sa> always must be interpreted as ‘while the [verbal] action happened...’, whereas <-hida> (SIMp) can be affixed to verbs with a specific aspect. Usually the progressive is selected, to create a reading for the verb such that it understood to last some time, which is a requirement for grammatical affixation of <-hida>. Usage of <-hida> does not require that the time frame of the embedded and matrix clause be the same, while usage of <-sa> (SIM) does require this.

For a few examples and explanation, see §5.1.6. Examples (375, 377) neatly demonstrate the contrast in interpretation between <-sa> and <-hida>.
8.4. Conjunctions

Causal

The causal linker <-ʔosaʔa> is a complex ergative or instrumental case that signals that the marked constituent is the source, originator or instrument of the event that follows. However, by explicitly selecting a verbal host, this marker turns into a causal suffix that is sometimes glossed REAS as ‘reason’, linking clauses (see §3.4.7). In pronominal form <-ʔosaʔa> translates as ‘therefore.’ (680).

(680) ʰkʰon-ʔo-s-a ʔa-ci-sa nuč-e ʰkʰat-ma dot-Ø.  ni
he/she-NOM-PRN-ERG do-SIM even.though go-INF must-NPT NAR
min-a-ŋ-pʰutt-a-ŋ-ki ʰlo-ŋ-ci-ŋ ‘la, iŋka ban-ŋa.’
think-PT-1s-cut-PT-1s-SEQ say-1s-DUP-1s well I come.level-1sNP
‘Therefore, deciding “whatever I do, I must go,” I told them, “OK, I shall come.”’ [Bw]

8.4.4 Sentential subordinator <lo>

Conditional

Conditional clauses are marked by a conditional suffix marker <-lo> (COND). The suffix <-lo> attaches clause-finally only, most usually onto the finite verb. Most frequently, the marker surfaces in the composite form <-nalo>, e.g. (681, 682). The essential part of the conditional is <-lo>. The ending <-na> (TOP) in this composite marker is the topicaliser. Although it does not happen frequently, it is not wrong to use <-lo> in isolation as a conditional marker, cf. (591).

(681) ta-ма ʰri-ŋa-nalo ta-ŋa.
come-INF can-1sNP-COND come-1sNP
‘If I can come, I shall come.’

The word dekinalo ‘because’, which is a very ’un-Kiranti’ sentence-initial conjunction, is an apparent calque from Nepali, containing the same morpheme <-lo>.

(682) som-ŋe siw-a, dekinalo khon-leka iŋka aṣa
heart-EMPH die-PT because that.much-approx I hope (N)
man-μu-ŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ʔo ʰtʰyo.
NEGPTp-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM aux
‘I was satisfied, as I had not been hoping that much.’ [Bw]

The conditional <-nalo> is not complicated with regard to usage, and can be used for past tense conditions as well as future tense conditions. The marker affixes to the protasis or condition as an ordinary conjunction, and then the result or consequence follows.

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16Bantawa de-ki-na-lo (what-SEQ-TOP-COND) [’why-if’] ‘because’ structurally parallels Nepali kina-bhune (N) [’why-if’].
Chapter 8. Other Word Classes

Subordinating with <-lo>: manner

Related to the use of <lo> as a manner adverb formative (MAN), Bantawa also features <-lo> (MAN) independently as a full sentence subordinator. In this function, <-lo> translates into English as 'as if...' (683–685).

(683) inj-nija nɔʔ-a-lo
     my-mood be.good-PT-MAN 3AM-speak-PT-1s
     'She made me happy.' (lit. '[my happiness was there]-MAN she spoke to me')

(684) inj-duk^a kʰar-a-lo i-low-a-ŋ
     my-pain go-PT-MAN 3AM-speak-PT-1s
     'He hurt me.'

(685) att^u iwayiŋ wad^upma kʰar-a-lo w a-Ø
     earlier morning flood go-PT-MAN water come-PT
     'Earlier this morning, it rained like a flood.'

This conjunction suffix easily combines with a conjugated form of the verb loma 'to tell,' which suggests that the marked sentence is a sentential complement to a *verbum dicendi*. The manner marker here serves to mark indiscriminate generalised subordination, marking a sentence almost as a direct speech marker. The marked sentences fill an adverbial role in the sentence and can be left out without loss of grammaticality.

Manner marker, conditional, topicaliser

The marker <-lo> (MAN) has already been analysed as a manner adverb formative, cf. §8.2.2). However, <-lo> has a much wider range of use and serves in conditional and less distinct subordinating functions as well. This subsection attempts to relate these functions in a unifying analysis. There are two more puzzling facts related to the clause subordinator <-lo>.

1) First, Ebert (2003: 41) labelled -lo a topic marker for Bantawa. This may be true for the dialect on which she based her work (Rai 1985), but not for the central dialect on which this study is based.

2) Second, it is not uncommon for clause subordinators to combine with the common topicaliser <-na> (TOP). However, other subordinators order before <-na> (TOP), whereas the conditional orders as <-na-lo> (TOP-MAN) 'if'. Given that the topicaliser <-na> marks the first constituent in a sentence, functionally we expect it to be the last suffix on the previous sentence.

These facts can be reconciled if we assume that <-lo> (MAN) originally was a more general topicaliser. This former topicaliser has now become specialised in two functions, i.e. manner marker and conditional. Topics and conditionals are well

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17 I have found <arlo> in this function in the speech of Dhankut-a-area speakers, e.g. Rudra Rāti from Ākhisalā, Dhankutā. However, <arlo> does not have this function in the central Bantawa dialects and is not found in this function in the monthly Bantawa-language magazine Bungwakha. In adjacent languages, the marker <arlo> is found as independent conjunction, e.g. in Kulung (Toloma 1999: 113).
known to be related, as has been pointed out by Haiman (1978), while the manner specialisation is more specific.

A note on the origin of <-lo>  As mentioned in §8.2.2, other authors relate cognates of <-lo> ‘manner’ to a nominal comitative marker. For Bantawa, there is no evidence for a nominal marker <-lo>. In fact, <-lo> selects strictly verbal hosts. This fact in itself does not negate the nominal marker etymological origin, however. My language teachers maintained that <-lo> derives from lo-Ø (say-3P) ‘he said’. This is in keeping with the grammaticalisation of speech verbs into conditionals found elsewhere, e.g. Nepali bhane ‘saying that’.

8.4.5 Correlative clauses

Syntax  A correlative construction ties two clauses together in a dependency relation such that one clause depends on the other. A correlation is a non-local strategy of relativisation in which a quantifying relative clause is found left of the clause that contains the constituent it belongs to. This constituent may be either a pronoun or pro-adverb, i.e. an adverbial pronoun. In general, the structure is as in (686), where IndPro stands for indefinite or relative pronoun, DemPro stands for a demonstrative, definite pronoun, which refers back to the relative pronoun.

(686) structure of correlative clauses in Bantawa
[ ... IndPro ... ]subordinate clause [ ... DemPro ... ]main clause

The relative pronoun in Bantawa is always an interrogative pronoun, cf. §3.4.6. Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns come in corresponding pairs that share type and scope, e.g. (687).

(687) Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns
   dem — kʰun — how many — that many
   demko — kʰunko — which — such
   detni — kʰwatni — how — that way
   kʰada — kʰoda — where — there
   etc. etc.

Although leaving out the emphatic suffix <-ŋ> is technically not illegal according to my language teachers, the demonstrative pro-element in the main clause is always marked with the emphatic suffix <-ŋ>.

Semantics  A correlative construction states that the relative pronominal entity in the subordinate clause correlates with, predicts or determines a definite pronominal counterpart in the main clause.

(688) dem wa ta-Ø, kʰun-ŋa wadera kʰar-a.
     how.much rain come-NPT that.much EMPH flood go-PT
     ‘As much rain falls, that much it will flood.’
8.5 Narrative and direct speech marker <ni>

Basic features of <ni> (NAR) The narrative or direct speech marker <ni> (NAR) is used to flag any sentence or part thereof that is not uttered by the speaker. This marker serves two purposes that both originate from a single function, viz. to indicate that the proposition marked by <ni> does not originate from the speaker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker gloss</th>
<th>function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ni&gt; NAR</td>
<td>Direct speech marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The speaker or narrator can use this device a) as a direct speech marker, e.g. (692, 693), or b) to explicitly mark second-hand information, e.g. (693).

(692) pāc-ka-len-ʔo dep-da ’eʔa wa-caŋ-ma’ ni yiŋ-in.
five (N)-CNT-day-GEN back-LOC child water-wash-INF NAR say-12plSP
‘After five days [after birth] “to wash the child,” we say.’ [Bt]

(693) ’kʰotni maʔan! baru ankenka kʰanaʔa ti-rat-nin-ʔo,’ ni
like.that NO rather (N) weς you'-ERG 2AS-save-1ns2-NOM NAR
3AM-tell-PT NAR
‘”Not like that! Rather you have rescued us,” they said, it is said.’ [Om]

8.5.1 Function

The functions of the direct speech marker ni all derive from the single function that <ni> labels information from someone else, whether explicitly mentioned, known or unknown. As a means of direct speech marking, the marker ni is merely a syntactical device to mark the end of the quotation.

The narrative ni is extremely frequent in narratives, following almost every single sentence as the entire narrative originates from hearsay. Although the label ‘hearsay’ suggests that the information is slightly discredited by the speaker, this is not necessarily the case. In legends or traditional stories, the element occurs in almost every line and serves no other purpose than to keep the listeners aware that this is what is being told, and so is worthy of attention.
In conversation, however, <ni> (NAR) may indicate the speaker’s attitude towards the information given if he does not explicitly mention the source. The hearsay meaning is more prominent in ordinary statements. Often, a speaker uses ni to dissociate himself from what he says and to indicate that the statements he relates are not his own.

Manner subordination

While <ni> (NAR) primarily marks direct speech, it is also a means of simple subordination. Where other subordinating devices fail or are deemed complicated, speakers often choose to express concepts or feelings by ni-marked phrases, not unlike English expressions such as ‘He was like “Turn down the music!”’.

(694) ’k’ana iŋko iŋ-yiŋ les-u, ni yiŋ-ma si-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
you’ my my-language be.able-3P NAR say-INF wish.for-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
‘I would wish for you to learn my language’ (lit. I wish to say, learn my language)

Evidentiality and epistemics

**Ni as an evidential** The particle <ni> (NAR) can be characterised as an evidential, in the sense that it is a grammatical means to mark the source of information. Even though it might be disputed whether <ni> (NAR) is a truly grammatical rather than lexical evidential, it is clearly of the evidential category.

The marker ni is an evidential, because a) ni clearly marks the source of information, b) the frequency of ni is extremely high and the occurrence of ni indicates the narrative genre, c) the marker ni has a unique, singular category and does not pattern with other clitics, particles or conjunctions, d) and the marker ni enters into non-trivial grammatical relations with other categories, such as the nominaliser and sentential subordinators.

Aikhenvald classifies evidential systems into groups (2004). According to Aikhenvald’s classification (2004: 23), Bantawa has an A3-system: a system with two choices, marking ‘reported, hearsay’ information against ‘everything else’. In Bantawa there is an evidential opposition between sentences marked by ni that signal ‘hearsay’, i.e. reported knowledge and unmarked sentences. The hearsay particle signals the marked form. There are no grammatical requirements for ni, and sentences are equally grammatical with or without ni. However, ni is indicative of the narrative genre and, in ordinary discourse, required on statements originating from a third source. Informants regularly offered ni as an addition to my Bantawa statements, when I endeavoured to speak the language. Obviously, leaving ni out where it is expected is considered weird and a sign of poor command of the language.

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18For an introduction to, and a definition of evidentiality, see Aikhenvald (2004). For now, suffice it to say that evidentiality is not a modal category, modifying the propositional status of a sentence. Evidentiality in the linguistic sense of the word only signals information source.
8.5.2 Syntax

Position in the clause The particle <ni> (NAR) is an independent word and not a clitic, though it may cliticise in rapid or even ordinary speech. The particle ni is very free in its position. Even parts of sentences can be marked with the effect that the last constituent is pushed back in the evidential hierarchy, in the sense that the constituent comes from ‘hearsay’.

Most frequently, ni marks sentences, and lands straight after the sentence-final verb. The particle ni has the interesting property, however, that it is not entirely clause-final, which puts it in a category different from clause conjunctions. The particle ni is not a clause linker. Whether ni is an evidential operator or a direct speech marker, it is free with regard to position.

Scope The scope of <ni> (NAR) is determined by its syntactic position. The operator ni has scope over its preceding constituent or clause. If ni follows an entire sentence, its prototypical usage in an evidential role, it qualifies the entire sentence as of a different origin. However, if ni follows a smaller constituent, most usually a noun phrase, then the scope of the operator is limited to that last constituent only. The effect is that the marked noun phrase is singled out as reported. Contrary to intuition, marking a noun phrase with ni adds emphasis to the function of the noun phrase’s referent in this position. Marking a single constituent as hearsay has the effect of clarifying its status. By contrast, marking an entire sentence as hearsay often is a way of putting the proposition in doubt. At least, this procedure dissociates the speaker from the proposition. The contrast is evidently clear from sentences (695) and (696). The free translations render the difference19.

(695) ram iŋ-kʰ-im-da ta-Ø ni.
Ram my-house-LOC come-NPT NAR
'Ram came into my house, it is said'

(696) ram ni iŋ-kʰ-im-da ta-Ø.
Ram NAR my-house-LOC come-NPT
'Ram, for sure, came into my house.'

Interactions of ni with other categories

The scope of <ni> (NAR) is a function of its position. The particle interacts with other epistemic categories according to its position. In the remainder of this section, some frequent usage patterns of ni will be outlined. The above examples (695, 696) minimally show the contrast where <ni> (NAR) was used in its evidential function. In various positions, however, one function of ni is more prominent, or another may not be available at all.

Combining with the nominaliser The particle <ni> (NAR) interacts with the nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM) in a way, that demonstrates the scopal properties of ni.

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19 For scope-sensitive use of evidential marking, cf. also the Sumnima narrative, e.g. line 83.
In its factitive function the nominaliser <-ʔo> is an epistemic category that turns a statement into known information, background information to the discourse. The only marker that can meaningfully intervene between the clause-final verb and the morpheme <ni> (NAR) is the nominaliser <-ʔo>, resulting in a final sequence -ʔo ni. The sequence of the nominaliser and evidential has a regular, computable meaning, viz. 'this is a fact, reportedly' or 'this is a fact, narrative'. Placing the nominaliser after <ni> (NAR) signals that a reported fact is supposedly known, whereas placing <ni> after <-ʔo> (NOM) signals that a supposedly known fact is reported.

The clause nominalisation marker frequently follows <ni>. As we saw in §5.2, nominalisation of clauses has the effect of labelling the previous statement as background information, i.e. something that is known or indisputable. In narratives or in conversations, something that has been told or something that comes from a third-party source is very likely to serve as background information.

Often, <ni> (NAR) combines with <-ʔo> (NOM) to form a single sentence-final particle that both dissociates the speaker from the proposition, as well as explicitly marks the statement as known, background, e.g. (697). Facts discussed so far by the speaker himself are also labelled with this particle <niʔo>, often contracted to <nyo>, e.g. (699). This compound particle <nyo> often serves to explicate things further, should they be unclear. In (698), this particle marks the verb compound, that is then repeated with an explicitly intransitive particle appi ‘self’ to eliminate the ambiguity with regard to transitivity.

While these are free standing nominalisations, <niʔo> (NAR-NOM) also marks simple adnominal expressions, in the meaning of ‘the so-called’, e.g. (700).

(697) ni-jata-da kʰar-aʔo mo maŋ-da i-kʰat-nin niʔo.
other-caste(N)-LOC go-PT-NOM that-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn NAR-NOM
'It’s known that someone who went with another caste, will not enter into the realm of gods.’ [Dt]

(698) an-yiŋ ma-ma-kʰat-ma niʔo appi-ne ma-ma-kʰat-ma lam our⁴-language get.lost-INF-inf-NOM self-EMPH get.lost-INF-go-INF path
yuŋ-Ø-yan-Ø.
sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
'Our language is on the road to going extinct, I mean, to going extinct itself.’ [Bw]

(699) on-ŋa kirawāʔo biha mu-ma tʰapsiŋ niʔo ohwatni this.much-EMPH Kiranti-GEN marriage do-INF tradition NAR-NOM this.way yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
put-INF must-NPT
'This much is the Kiranti tradition of doing a marriage, it must be done this way.’ [Mr]

(700) kuṭunjje bibila saptenkop-ʔo pitmire niʔo ten-da...
Kutunjje Bubula area-GEN Pitmire NAR-NOM village-LOC...
'In the village called “Pitmire” in the area of Kutunjje Bubula...’ [Bw]
Forming compound subordinators The form niʔo functions as a compound particle, with a specific scope, cf. above. The particle <ni> (NAR) obviously can occur before <-ʔo> (NOM). Similarly, ni orders before <-ki> (SEQ) to form a conjunction niki. This compound subordinator niki is very common, but often hardly adds anything to the ordinary subordination by <-ki> (SEQ). Roughly, «niki» translates as ‘saying that,’ or ‘given that’. Those phrases in English do not add content to an utterance, but rather form the punctuation of a discourse. In addition, «niki» freely combines with the topicaliser <-na> (TOP), forming «nikina» ‘and’.

Extending the usual conjunction pattern (§8.4), the conjunctive morpheme <-ki> not only attaches to the verb or verbal pronoun, but also to <ni> (NAR). In examples (701) and (702), the compound conjunction does not signal anything that <-ki> ‘sequentialiser’ could not mean.

(701) kʰonki kʰokpaʔo baddʰe niğa no-ma lis-a ni-ki-na ik-len then old.man-GEN much mood be.good-become-PT NAR-SEQ-TOP one-day
jʰarak mina-ci butt-u-ci...
all person-PL call-3P-DU

‘Then, as that man had become very happy, one day he called all people...’
[Om]

(702) ankenka lam bənyə mu-n-y-in-ka ni-ki-na-na, tyəhá weʷ road make (N) do-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-e NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP there (N)
thʰapsiq-hili enasar didi ci-ma dot-Ø-yar-Ø.
tradition-tradition according (N) what.PL do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT

‘After we have prepared the road, there we must do the things according to the traditions.’

(703) wa-sa ra kok ca-yar-ŋa yuŋ-a ni-ki-na.
chicken-meat and (N) rice eat-PROG-SIM sit-PT NAR-SEQ-TOP

‘In order that you sit eating rice and chicken meat.’

On imperatives and after-thoughts, «nikina» ‘and’ may serve as an independent subordinator, that translates as ‘in order to,’ cf. the imperative in (703). This usage of «niki» has grammaticalised, perhaps via infinitives as in (704), to become, surprisingly, a nominal suffix meaning ‘on behalf of, in order to’ (705).

(704) jãc pi-ma ni-ki yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋaʔo-cʰe baddʰe-ka-len

test (N) give-INF NAR-SEQ sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM also many-CNT-day
i-batt-a-ŋ.
3AM-bring-PT-1s

‘Also, when I sit in order to give a test, it will take me many days.’ [Bw]

(705) o-ko tit iŋ-cʰa-ko ni-ki.
this-REF clothes my-child-GEN NAR-SEQ

‘These clothes are for my child.’ (Bántavá 2001: 123)

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20 After-thought here means: a sentence added to a previous discourse, filling in missing information.
8.6. Something $k^h$a

**Etymology**

In form, $ni$ (NAR) is equal to the Bantawa prefix $<ni->$ 'other'\(^{21}\). There is a lot of shared functionality in that both morphemes signal that there is a second party, either as another entity or as another source of information. There is ample scope to conjecture that the narrative and direct speech marker $ni$ and the prefix $<ni>$ 'other' come from the same source. The hypothesis of a shared etymology for both morphemes is affirmed by the Rabi dialect narrative marker $<nimaŋ>$ as reported by Rai (1985). This marker is not found in this form in Hatuváli. $Nimay$ can be analysed as a transparant compound of $ni$ 'other' + $mag$ 'spirit, person'.

8.6 Something $k^h$a

$k^h$a is a morpheme with an amazing scope. The morpheme $k^h$a has been described with a great variety of grammatical functions in this grammar, including at least all those in (706).

(706) Functions of $k^h$a
1. **ANTP** explicit antipassive marker (§6.2.3)
2. **INTR** interrogative root (§3.4.6)
3. **PNOM** purposive nominaliser (§5.1.3)
4. 'place' as a noun suffix 'place', e.g. $buŋwa-k^h$a (flower garden)
5. **V2** verbal suffix or witness vector verb 'to see' (§7.2.6)

These functions may not all be related, but there is enough common semantic ground to see the relationships.

$k^h$a as a pronoun

In both (706.1) and (706.2) it emerges that $k^h$a is a pronominal element of either an indefinite or interrogative nature.

(707) $k^h$a as interrogative root
a. $k^h$a-$ʔo$-gari (phonetically $[k^haugari]$)
**IntR-GEN-time (N)**
'at what time?'
b. $k^h$a-da
**IntR-LOC**
'where?'

From what we see in (707), $k^h$a would have to mean 'what'. However, $k^h$a as an interrogative root does not occur independently. For the independent interrogative 'what', the form $di$ is used. The indefinite pronoun $k^h$a paradigmatically alternates with the definite anaphoric pronoun $k^h$o 'he/she', as in (457, 458), repeated here\(^{22}\).

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\(^{21}\)ni 'other': see §3.1.3, ex. (92c)

\(^{22}\)From these examples it should not be inferred that $k^h$a only occurs in a negative context. The opposition (457) vs. (458) is the same in affirmative forms and for all transitive verbs (6.2.3).
Previously, I labelled $kʰa$ as anti-passive, because the word figures in verbal conjugation paradigms as a left-hand complement to the verb in antipassive predicates. However, if we take $kʰa$ to be a pronoun, it might be glossed as the indefinite pronoun ‘something’. In a pronominal function, $kʰa$ only occurs as an object. The functions of $kʰa$ as an explicit antipassive and interrogative can perhaps be captured in the indeterminate pronominal gloss ‘anything’.

$kʰa$ as a locative

In the other functions (706.3) and (706.4), $kʰa$ serves as a suffix to either verbs or nouns, with a locative or purposive meaning for verbs and a locative meaning for nominals. The use of a noun to form participles is also seen in the passive participle, cf. §5.1.2. Purposive nominalisations always translate as ‘something to ...’, e.g. $yujkʰa$ ‘a seat’, $rinkʰa$ ‘a woodworker’s plane’. In the nominal suffix $kʰa$, only the locative reading is present. The common denominator between the verbal and nominal derivational suffix is the locative meaning. When used as a verbal nominaliser, it seems that the locative suffix $kʰa$ forms nominalisations that denote any non-grammatical role, viz. purpose, location and occasion. The rather marked functional area of <-$kʰa$> (PNOM) corresponds to the function of the Thulung suffix -$khop$ ‘functional suffix’. Allen (1975: 60) reports that, used to form verbal adjectives, this suffix means ‘performing such and such a function’, while used to form nouns it means ‘objects used for performing such and such an activity’, or ‘place for performing it’. Since this suffix expresses both functional and locative meanings, Allen chooses to label this suffix the ‘functional suffix,’ while Lahaussois (2002: 129) labels it the ‘locative’ and then excepts the evident non-locative formations such as $khlysi-khop$ ‘shoes’ from $khlymsimu$ ‘to wear on feet’.

$kʰa$ as a suffix to finite verbs

**Function** The function of $kʰa$- as a vector verb (706.5) is primarily that of a polite adhortative. Whether the $kʰa$ allomorph of the verb 'to see', as in use as a witness vector verb is related to the other uses of this sequence of two phonemes, would seem to be a matter of speculation. However, we observe below that in Lepcha, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Sikkim, there is a morpheme with a functional range similar to that of $kʰa$. This suggests that while $kʰa$- may pattern with vector verbs in some respects, it originally was a nominal suffix.
8.6. Something $k^h_a$

Morphology

The alternation of $k^h_a \sim k^h_o$ is very reminiscent of the alternation between transitive and antipassive forms for /a/-final transitive verbs, such as ca- ‘to eat’, e.g. (708-709).

(708) ca-Ø.
    eat-NPT
    ‘he eats.’

(709) ca (< *ca-u).
    eat-3P
    ‘he eats it.’

In an article, Gvozdanović (2004) reinterprets the data from Rai (1985). In this article, she collates the nominal instrumental case <-ʔa> and verbal past tense morpheme <-a>. This analysis is very problematic, but I would not discard the possibility that verbal categories have left traces in other areas of the language. In chapter 6, we saw that the concept of transitivity means more than number of participants. Transitivity also expresses definiteness and identifiability of the verb object. I would then consider it entirely possible that the alternation of pronominal $k^h_a \sim k^h_o$ goes back to a transitivity opposition as expressed on a verb. The pronominal alternation corresponds to the transitivity alternation in conjugations of $k^h_a$ as a vector verb.

A possible cognate

Interestingly, the Lepcha language also features a morpheme that expresses locative and purposive meanings on nouns and verbs, and adhortativity on finite verbs, similar to the functions of $k^h_a$. The Lepcha morpheme <-ká> ‘may be attached to nominals, verbs and entire clauses’. Plaisier (2006) assigns a primarily locative Gesamtbedeutung to this formative: ‘The supine, adhortative and locative senses of the Lepcha locative morpheme <-ká> are all functions of the same meaning, i.e. the goal toward which the action or situation is directed’. Plaisier (2006) further observes that the Dzongkha

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23Gvozdanović writes about the <-a> suffix: ‘it assigns an entity to a deictically disfocal region, i.e. ergative in the context of <nominal animate>[...], past in the verbal context of <temporal inactuality>, and modal in the verbal context of <temporal inactuality>’. (‘modal’ refers to the usages of <-a> in imperatives). This analysis is very problematic, as we see from simple verb paradigms that the alternation of <-a> vs. <-u> as a verbal suffix is mostly a matter of the participant combination that needs to be expressed in the verb agreement. For the forms she quotes to corroborate her point, the speaker of the language has no choice to select either or other form. Rather, forms are dictated by the paradigm. In fact, there are parts of the paradigm where <-u> represents past tense rather than <-a>, viz. the past tense forms of /a/-final verbs.

These alternations represent the opposite of the above conjecture. To associate intentional semantical discourse categories such as focus, disfocus or inactuality with this morpheme is therefore inaccurate.

However, where there is a choice by the speaker, it is not only possible, but even necessary to explain the choice for either <-u> or <-a>. The only place where choice is obligatory, is between transitive and antipassive conjugations of transitive verbs. See also §6.2.1. Gvozdanović (2004: 346) expresses this choice as ‘-a in Bantawa denotes that the goal pertains to the focal region.’ I leave it undecided whether this suffix has a function in information structuring, as the term focal suggests, rather than in simple grammar.

Gvozdanović must be credited for the attempt to make sense of the <-u> vs. <-a> alternation on verbs. I shall not point out the other minor errors in her data.
locative suffix ɾs khar might as well be cognate. As little is known about the history of these morphemes, it unclear at this point whether an etymological relationship obtains. For the moment, I just observe that the functional area covered by the respective morphemes is strikingly similar.

A cross-linguistic note on indeterminate objects

*kʰa in the verbal paradigm*  It is reported for Chintang, a close neighbour of Bantawa (Bickel et al. 2007), that there are two competing paradigms for first person inclusive plural forms. In one of these paradigms, a prefix *kʰa* consistently denotes the first person inclusive person. We see that in these forms an indefinite pronoun *kʰa* has grammaticalised to mean ‘us’.

Inclusive first person forms in Bantawa can also be used to denote impersonal forms (§6.4.1). In conclusion, we see a lot of traffic between inclusive first person forms and forms that have an impersonal, indefinite or absent object.

Interestingly, we see exactly the same pattern in formally more remote languages such as Limbu. In Limbu, almost all transitive forms expressing first person patient use yapmi, that apparently serves as a first person patient marker. In isolation, this word simply means ‘person’, which is used impersonally here to denote the first person. These facts lead to the conclusion that the grammaticalisation of impersonal nouns or pronouns to first person markers is a widespread phenomenon.
Appendices

A  Texts

This appendix contains a small selection of texts that form the foundation of the grammatical analysis and also add a feel of the Bantawa language in actual use. Not many texts have been published in written form. Rai (1985) published some texts, of which some were republished by Ebert (1994). The Bantawa language journal Bungwakha (Rāi 2004) is now building a corpus of text in monthly instalments, which is a major step forward in Bantawa language development.

Below I have listed two stories from Bantawa oral literature, viz. Ganya and Sumnima and Paruhang. These should give a feel for the vivid language that storytellers use, and have all the characteristics of narratives. Then some explanatory accounts by my language informant on Kiranti customs and tradition follow, i.e. on Death and Marriage. These have the double function of adding some texts of this genre to the corpus, while at the same time informing the reader about these traditions. Finally, the appendix features the recipe for hengmawa, the local brew of liquor. Every part of the corpus has its own brief introduction.

A.1  Ganya

The first story was told by Thām Jīt Rāi, hailing from Homtān. His dialect has the feature that the second person agent prefix is <ɨ>- rather than <tɨ>-). Otherwise no difference with the central Sindrān dialect can be seen. The Ganya story was told in a more or less linear fashion, with little hesitation or repetitions. The joke about the nine-horned-buffalo is a classic in Nepal and not limited to the Bantawa language area. The word Ganya is presented here as a a proper name. However, Ganya is also used as a class name for different goddesses.

(1) o-ko ganya ni-ʔo cābdā kirawa yiŋ-da-ŋka lo-Ø-m.
  this-ref Ganja  NAR-NOM word (N) Kiranti language-LOC-ABL say-3P-12pA
  'This word 'Ganya’, we say in the Kiranti language.’

(2) o-ko kʰa-da-ŋka suru lis-a ni bʰanne hanlok.
  this-ref where-LOC-ABL begin (N) become-PT NAR say.PTC today
  'Where did it start from? we shall say now.’
(3) While long ago in this land, in Nepal, there were many languages or kings.

(4) In this country, it is said there were twenty-four and twenty-two kingdoms.

(5) In that, there was one king, actually a Magar king.

(6) This king had one daughter, who was exceptionally beautiful.

(7) And that girl, while all the kings considered her a good, beautiful girl,

(8) one prince asked her, yes, asked for the king's daughter. While she refused to come with that prince,

(9) her father very much said go, go, but she refused.

(10) Later, having gone to the foot of a lemon tree she hung herself, putting a rope around her neck, she hung and killed herself.
In her name, after she hung and killed herself, her father had wept, very much.

'He kept crying.'

And having gone, after he had gone to the lemon tree, the child talked to her father.

As she talked: father, why are you speaking this way. Do not speak in this way.

From now on, you will not get to talk with me. Only I have become like that.

Later, in another lifetime, or if I shall be born another time, I will be with you, there it will be just like that.

She said, forgive me, my father, please.

In her name, after she hung and killed herself, her father very much.
‘Her father: from yesterday, why have you done to me like this, in your youth. I have done you so well, but you hung and killed yourself.’

(19) abo iŋka kʰana-sudda-ŋa ayiimit cʰa yun-ma ni now (N) I you-’with-EMPH nowadays child put-INF NAR min-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ʔo kʰana detni ti-yin-Ø bʰone.

think-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM you’ how 2AS-say-NPT if (N)

‘Now, today or tomorrow to get another child just like you, I am thinking, what do you say? he said.’

(20) kʰo-daŋ ka I kʰana-sudda-ŋa yun-ma ni min-na-ŋa-ŋa-ʔo

child nowadays six month (N)-LOC

‘To that, his child said:’

(21) iŋka a-pa kʰana-sudda-ŋa yun-ma ni min-na-ŋa-ŋa-ʔo

father VOC-father you’-with-EMPH sit-INF NAR

Think-2P-PROG-2P-1s-NOM

this.way-EMPH become-PT now (N) every (N) year-LOC I six month (N)-LOC

ik-tet raga bʰakala piw-a-ŋa-kina puja mett-aŋ.

one-qual buffalo.bull (N) vow (N) give-PT-1s-CAUS worship (N) cause-PT-1s

‘I, father, to be with you, I have been thinking just like this: now every year, every six months, give me a promise to give me a buffalo bull and worship me.’

(22) mo-da puja ti-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-heda iŋka kʰana-sudda

worship (N) 2AS-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-SIMp you’-with

that-LOC your-2P-OPT-CAUS

‘While you worship me in that, I shall be together with you.’

(23) iŋka iŋko mit-ma ti-siw-a-heda kʰana ici-nica

my remember-INF 2AS-die-PT-SIMp you’ their2-younger.brother

‘I, my memory, while you die; you and your siblings.’

(24) iŋka mo-ko puja muw-a-ŋa-heda-ŋa kʰaŋ-na-ne ni

that-ref worship (N) do-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp-EMPH look-2P-OPT NAR

say-PT-1s-also

‘ “Right while I do that worship, I shall watch you,” tell me also.’

(25) lə la ni i-pa-ʔa lo-Ø hai, kʰon-ʔo pacʰi karq-a.

OK OK NAR his/her-father-ERG say-3P hey he/she-GEN after (N) obey-PT

‘OK, OK, her father said, hey. After that, he obeyed.’

(26) së iŋka abo o-ko pala-daŋka-ŋa kʰana-lai puja met-na-ne

yes I now (N) this-ref turn (N)-LOC-ABL-EMPH you’-DAT worship (N) cause-2P-OPT

ni lo-Ø-kina mo-ko amala-raŋ bʰen-da kʰar-a-kina i-pa-ʔa

NAR say-3P-CAUS that-ref lemon (N)-plant root-LOC go-PT-CAUS his/her-father-ERG

cahi raga-ci, bʰale-ci bʰakt-u-ci-kina puja mett-u.

swTOP (N) buffalo.bull (N)-PL rooster (N)-PL bring.up-3P-DUP-CAUS worship (N) cause-3P
Now, let me worship you right from this time, he said, and going to the foot of the lemon tree, her father brought up buffalo bulls and roosters, and worshipped.’

(27) anĩ i-cʰa-sudda hant-a-ci. ā kʰana inja-sudda then (N) his/her-child-with talk-PT-DU yes you Çünkü yes you’ l-with yun-a-yakt-a, jʰarak-ka don jʰarak-da-ŋa amko nu-∅-yaj-∅-ni sit-PT-CONT-PRT all-CNT year all-LOC-EMPH your’ be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-NAR sakoywa mit-∅-yaj-∅-ʔo sanj-ci-cʰan jamma-ŋa heart remember-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM who-PL-ever all (N)-EMPHE mu-∅-yaj-∅-ʔo o-ko-da, ten-da kʰana-sudda. be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM this-ref-LOC village-LOC you’-with ‘And he talked with his child. Now, you stay with me, every year, everywhere your well wishers, whoever they are, will come together here, in the village with you.’

(28) ekdam nu-lok lis-a-ci-ni ka-min-ci matra very (N) be.good-MAN become-PT-DU-NAR APpref-think-APpl only (N) mi-yun-∅-yaj-∅. kʰana ankenka-sudda yuw-a-yakt-a-ni lo-∅. 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT you’ we⁶—with be-PT-CONT-PT-2p NAR say-3P ‘They were very good, only the well wishers came. You, stay with us, they said.’

(29) kʰo-tni-pac⁷i mo-ko raja magar raja-da-ŋka kʰar-a-ki. that-ALL-after (N) that-ref king (N) Magar king (N)-LOC-ABL go-PT-SEQ ‘After that, that king, when the Magar king had gone,’

(30) kʰar-a magar raja kʰar-a-ki, ik-tet pūrwa-ya-ʔo kirawa raja go-PT Magar king (N) go-PT-SEQ one-qual east (N)-LOC.level-GEN Kiranti king (N) mun cʰeka baise caubise rajyə mi-yuw-a-ŋ-a-heda that.much ?time twenty-two (N) twenty-four (N) kingdom (N) 3pl-be-PT-PROG-PRT-SIMP mo-ŋa-jkā ban-a-kina, ik-tet kirawa. that-LOC.level-ABL come.levl-PT-CAUS one-qual Kiranti ‘when the Magar king had gone, at that time one Eastern Kiranti king (there were twenty-two and twenty-four kingdoms) from there he came, one Kiranti.’

(31) kirawa-ci ico dʰuwa idʰuwa-taŋ ban-a-kina ninamhaŋ butt-u. Kiranti-Pl their⁸ big.man leader-head come.levl-PT-CAUS God call-3P kʰatt-u-g-o-hida butt-u, “kʰana deki o-da ti-yun-∅-yaj-∅?” take.away-3P-PROG-3P-SIMP call-3P you’ why this-LOC 2AS-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT ‘One leader of the Kirantis, a headman came and called upon God, while he took, he called, why do you stay here?’

(32) ik-tet munja rāga duĩ sige ni-pi-heda-ŋa kʰana one-qual that.much buffalo.bull (N) two (N) horned (N) 3A-give-SIMP-EMPH you¹ bʰu-la ti-li-∅-yaj-∅. error (N) 2AS-become-NPT-PROG-NPT ‘They give you only one buffalo bull, with two horns - you are mistaken.’

(33) ankenka-sudda ti-kʰat-∅-ne-para nau sige yak-∅-yaj-∅-ʔo we⁶-with 2AS-go-NPT-COND nine horned (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM kʰana-lai rāga ni-pi ankenka-sudda ta-∅-kʰat-∅ you’-DAT buffalo.bull (N) 3A-give we⁶-with come.far-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
‘If you go with us, they will give you a nine-horned one, come with us and go!’

(34) ə iŋko-na iŋ-pa sadəʊ ekdam-ŋa ik-tet rāga matrə ə ə yə ɨ ngko-na my-TOP my-father always very (N)-EMPH one-qual buffalo.bull (N) only (N)
i-pi-ŋa-ø-ŋa duī sīge rāga matrə
3AM-give-1sNP-PROG-1sNP two (N) horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) only (N)
i-pi-ŋa-ø-ŋa.
3AM-give-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
‘What? Now, my father always gives me one buffalo bull only, a two-horned buffalo bull only he gives me.’

(35) detni kʰana di molok? nau sīge rāga yun-Ø-yar-Ø lau how you what isn’t nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) sit-NPT-PROG-NPT well kʰat-ŋa-ne
go-1sNP-OPT
‘How, you have a what?! There is a nine-horned buffalo bull? Well, let me go.’

(36) niʔo NAR-NOM lo-Ø-kina mo-ko chetkuma ḷola-da i-paʔa-ki
NAR-NOM say-3P-CAUS that-ref girl palanquin (N)-LOC 3AM-put.in-PT-SEQ
i-batt-a
3AM-bring-PT
‘Speaking in this way, they put that girl on a palanquin and took her away.’

(37) kʰotni-ŋa pacʰi kʰon-pacʰi mo-ko
that.way-EMPH after (N) he/she-after (N) that-ref
kʰan-nuw-a-ŋ-aʔo mecʰacʰa cahi kaŋs-a
handsome-be.good-PT-PROG-PT-NOM daughter swTOP (N) obey-PT
‘After such, after that, that beautiful girl obeyed.’

(38) kaŋs-a-ki mo ḷola-da i-paʔa-ki hwan-saʔa
obey-PT-SEQ that palanquin (N)-LOC 3AM-put.in-PT-SEQ two-PRN-ERG
i-kʰuy-a-c-u-kina i-batt-a-c-u.
3AM-carry-PT-DU-3P-CAUS 3AM-bring-PT-DU-3P
‘Having obeyed, having put her in the palanquin, they carried her off.’

(39) mo i-batt-a-c-u pacʰi ik-tet mo sirjaŋ-bʰen-da
that 3AM-bring-PT-DU-3P after (N) one-qual that tree-root-LOC
i-yuŋs-a-c-u-kina puja i-mett-a-c-u.
3AM-put-PT-DU-3P-CAUS worship (N) 3AM-cause-PT-DU-3P
‘After they brought her, they put her at the foot of a tree and worshipped her.’

(40) la iŋka kʰan-anin-ŋa nau sīge rāga piw-a-nin-ne,
OK 1 you EMPH nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) give-PT-2p-OPT
 til-low-a-ŋniŋ-ʔo, la abį piw-a-ŋniŋ mo-ko-ʔa dor-u.
2AS-say-PT-1s-2p-1sc-NOM OK now (N) give-PT-1s-2p-1sc that-ref-PRN-ERG beg-3P
‘Well, you will give me a nine-horned buffalo bull, you said so, well, now give it, she asked.’
A. Texts

(41) dor-u-pəch'i i-pə-ŋa ta kʰai iŋka-na iŋ-pa-ʔa
beg-3P-after(N) his/her-father-EMPH then(N) where(N) I-TOP my-father-ERG
badda' ide'iwankə rāga i-piw-a-ŋ-a-ŋ-ʔ0 tʰiyo.
many big buffalo.bull(N) 3AM-give-1s-PROG-1s-NOM PPTaux
"After she asked, her father, well, "as for me, my father used to give me a bigger buffalo bull.""

(42) amno nau sīge rāga kʰai - kʰaŋ ett-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ. lau kʰai
your nine horned(N) buffalo.bull(N) where(N) show tell-PT-1s-2p-1s NOM well where(N)
mo nau sīge rāga madiŋ-Ø hola-Ø!
that nine horned(N) buffalo.bull(N) NEG.be-NPT maybe(N)-NPT
"What about your nine-horned buffalo bull - show me! Well, what about that nine-horned bull? It's not there!'"

(43) iŋka las-a-ŋ e'oŋs-a-ŋ-da-ŋ-ni-ŋ!
i return-PT-1s deliver-PT-PROG-NEGPTs-1s-2p-1s NOM say-3P-DUP
'Bring me back! she told them.'

(44) ma-ʔaŋ! kʰana detni yiŋ-ma i-nu-nin kʰana
NEGPTp-be.PTNEG you how say-INF NEGNPp-be.good NEG you
o-da-ŋa yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
this-LOC-EMPH sit-INF must-NPT
'No! For you, to speak like that is not good! You must stay right here.'

(45) o-da-ŋa ankenka-sudda kʰana yuŋ-ma dot-Ø jʰarak-ka doŋ
this-LOC-EMPH we'-with you sit-INF must-NPT all-CNT year
jʰarak-sa-ʔa kʰana nau nau sīg yak-Ø-yang-Ø-ʔ0 kʰana
all-PRN-ERG you nine nine horn(N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM you
rāga ni-pi
buffalo.bull(N) 3A-give
"Right here, with us, you must stay. Every year, every one will give you a nine-horned buffalo bull.'

(46) ankenka jʰarak kʰim-da-ŋka kʰana ni-kʰut ni-ʔ0
we' all house-LOC-ABL you 3A-bring.for.someone NAR-NOM
lo-Ø-kina pʰeri i-yuŋs-a.
say-3P-CAUS again(N) 3AM-put-PT
'We shall bring you one from every house, they said, and put her down again.'

(47) i-yuŋs-a-kina pʰeri kʰai molok nau sīge rāga ni
3AM-put-PT-CAUS again(N) where(N) isn't.it nine horned(N) buffalo.bull(N) NAR
i-low-a ta mo bʰale-ʔ0 i-sira-ŋa kʰaŋ
3AM-say-PT though(N) that rooster(N)-GEN his/her-cock.comb-EMPH show
i-ett-a-kɨ i-kʰipt-a-piw-a;
3AM-tell-PT-SEQ 3AM-read-PT-BEN-PT
'And after they put her down, well, this way, they said a nine-horned buffalo bull, they showed her the crown of a rooster and counted for her.'
Appendices


‘One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, they said and counted for her.’

(49) e! hey o-ko-ŋ a this-ref-EMPH nə u nine wəʈ a qual (N) si Ɂ̃ ga? horn (N) ə, Ɂ̃ yes o-interr o-ko-ŋ a this-ref-EMPH ni-ki-na NAR-SEQ-TOP kʰo-da-ŋ ka he/she-LOC-ABL motni rajkumarī magar rajaʔo i-cʰa-daʔo he/she-LOC-ABL like.that princess (N) Magar king (N)-GEN his/her-child-LOC-GEN i-nin-da-ŋ kirawa yin-da-ŋka giyya ni i-low-a kina his/her-name-LOC-ABL Kiranti language-LOC-ABL Ganja NAR 3AM-say-PT-CAUS mo puja mu-ma i-puŋs-a. that worship (N) do-INF 3AM-begin-PT

‘Hey! are these nine horns? Well, this is it. From then on, in that way they say “Ganya” in the Kiranti language for the princess, and in the name of the Magar king’s daughter they started to perform this worship.’

A.2 Bird song

This song, sung in Pokharā by Viśvahān Rāi, is added here as a diversion. This song contains countryside romance and beautiful participles.

(1) kʰo-ʔa bo-ʔa liŋwa-kʰa cʰon-da-pit goŋdok
forest-GEN root-LOC lowland.grass-place top-LOC cow bull
mi-ʔa-yaŋ-Ø.
3pl-feed-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘at the foot of the forest, at the top of the meadow, the cows and bulls are grazing’

(2) yəŋsiŋ-raq cok-du dommak pʰɔp-ca-sa cʰonwa-ci Schima.wallichii-plant top-LOC.high grasshopper catch-eat.2-SIM bird-PL
mi-ʔa-yaŋ-Ø cʰonwa-ci mi-ʔa-yaŋ-Ø.
3pl-talk-NPT-PROG-NPT bird-PL 3pl-talk-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘in the top of the Schima wallichii tree, the grasshoppers catch and eat, the birds are chatting, the birds are chatting’

(3) bakuloŋ bop-ма talik-cʰaŋ cʰak-ma cʰonwa-ci ap-ma-ci.
clay.pellet cover-INF bow-also chisel-INF bird-PL shoot-INF-DU
to make clay pellets, to cut a pellet bow, to shoot at the birds’

(4) ap-ma-ʔaŋ cʰonwa man-cat-man-tari i-ri-im-in
shoot-INF-PP bird NEGPTp-hit.the.mark-NPC-up.to NEGNPp-can-12pn-NEGn
lap-ma-ci i-ri-im-in lap-ma-ci.
catch-INF-DU NEGNPp-can-12pn-NEGn catch-INF-DU
‘a bird that is shot at, we cannot catch it until it’s hit, we cannot catch it’
A.3 Hengmawa

This is a recipe for hengmawa, the local brew of liquor. Hengmawa simply means ‘distillation water’. Some recipe of either beer or liquor has become a bit of tradition in Kiranti grammars, e.g. Wāmbule (Opgenort 2002: 432), Kulung (Tolsma 1999: 148), Limbu (van Driem 1987: 277-279), and Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 328-329).

The text is self-explanatory. Linguistically, the text is also very instructive for several reasons. The use of nominalised clauses for backgrounding is very clear. One finds background information, i.e. things that should have been done or that one ought to know about the preparation of hengmawa in nominalised sentences. Foreground information, in this case the sequence of instructions, is put in simple indicative sentences. This text is an example of an instructive text and contains a fine collection of infinitives.

1) han o-da ɨŋka hengmawa banyə mu-ma-ʔo ɨrək-sa-ʔa en-u-m-ne!
   ‘Now, all listen.’

2) më-da jəar-sa-ʔa en-u-m-ne!
   ‘Now, all listen.’

3) o-da  jəar-sa-ʔa en-u-m-ne!
   ‘Now, all listen.’

4) jəar-sa-ŋka bu Ya  mi mu-ma dot-Ø.
   ‘Before all, one must make fire.’

5) kəonki huluŋ-da ik-tët idɨiwayko kəam-ma kəam-ma dot-Ø.
   ‘Then, in the fireplace, one big vessel must be placed.’
Then, in that, fermented kodo beer must be put.

Then, in that, fermented kodo beer must be put into the vessel.

Then below that, the fire must be put, from the bottom of the fireplace.

Then the beer in the vessel, getting hot, will start to boil.

Before it cooks, on top of that a vessel called gagityang must be placed.

That one is made of clay.

There are holes in the bottom of the gagityang.

The steam of the beer below will come out upwards through that hole into the gagityang.

Again, after that, inside the gagityang one must put an earthen or other vessel.

The mouth of that one is very different.
(16) mo bʰaɖo-da i-cilok cakwa-cʰaŋ pak-ma dot-Ø
that pot (N)-LOC his/her-little.bit water-also put-INF must-NPT.
‘You must put also a little water into that vessel.’

(17) mo cakwa i-pa-im-in-nalo mo bʰi tatayi
that water NEGNP-put-in-12pn-NEGn-COND that earthen.vessel hot (N)
li-Ø-kina ku-Ø-kina dʰana-ŋka wacʰin-Ø i-sam
become-NPT-CAUS heat-NPT-CAUS above-ABL beer-GEN his/her-vapour
cʰok-Ø-dʰa-Ø-nucʰaŋa.
evaporate-NPT-DIRdown-NPT-even.though
‘If we do not put that water in, the steam of the beer will leak out and down as well, when the vessel gets hot.’

(18) hᵃŋ-Ø-kʰat-Ø-ni-kina i-cilok cakwa
get.hot-NPT-DIRaway-NPT-CAUS his/her-little.bit water
pa-u-m-nalo mo-da dʰana-ŋka wacʰin-ʔo i-sam dʰa-ʔo
put.in-3P-12pA-COND that-LOC above-ABL beer-GEN his/her-vapour up-GEN
hᵃŋ ma kʰat-ма i-tokt-u-n.
evaporate-INF go-INF NEGNPp-receive-3P-NEGn
‘After it has evaporated, if we put in a little water in there, the beer’s steam will not get to evaporate from up there.’

(19) tərə gagityaŋ-ʔo i-cʰonj-du arko ik-tet
but (N) distillation.vessel-GEN his/her-top-LOC.high another (N) one-qual
bata ni-ʔo pak-ma dot-Ø.
pointed.vessel NAR-NOM put-INF must-NPT
‘But on top of the gagityang, another vessel called bata must be put.’

(20) mo bata-ʔo i-thən i-cit com-ʔo li-ma
that pointed.vessel-GEN his/her-bottom his/her-little.bit point-GEN become-INF
dot-Ø.
must-NPT
‘The bottom of that vessel must be made a bit pointed.’

(21) com-ʔo yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
point-GEN sit-INF must-NPT
‘It must be pointed.’

(22) kʰonki mo bata-da bata ra gagityaŋ-ʔo
and.then that pointed.vessel-LOC pointed.vessel and (N) distillation.vessel-GEN
i-majʰa-da ik-tet bihomma ni-ʔo kapaṭa tit-ʔa
his/her-middle (N)-LOC one-qual distillation.cloth NAR-NOM cloth (N) cloth-ERG
hom-ma dot-Ø.
wrap-INF must-NPT
‘Then, in that bata, in between the bata and the gagityang, cotton cloth called bihomma must be stuck.’
(23) un maddîŋ i-sam bahira kʰat-Ø-lon-Ø
like.that not.there his/her-vapour outside (N) go-NPT-DIRup-NPT
buŋkʰa-ya-tni lon-Ø-kʰat-Ø.
outside-LOC.level-ALL go.outside-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
‘If not, the steam will go out, it will go out.’

(24) wacʰɨn i-sam buŋkʰa-yatni i-kʰat-nin-ne ni-ki-na-na
beer his/her-vapour outside-LOC.level-ALL go.outside-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
gagɨtjaŋ ra bata-o i-majʰa-da
distillation.vessel and (N) pointed.vessel-GEN his/her-middle (N)-LOC
bihomma hom-ma yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
distillation.cloth wrap-INF put-INF must-NPT
‘In order to not let the steam of the beer go out, the bihomma cloth must be put in
between the bata and the gagityaŋ.’

(25) on-ki bata-du caḵwa pʰeri mu-ma yak-ma dot-Ø.
this-SEQ pointed.vessel-LOC.high water again (N) be.pred-INF be.in-INF must-NPT
‘After this, one must continuously put water in the bata.’

(26) dekinalo ni yɨn-in-nalo yɨn-ma dat-Ø-nalo o caḵwa
because NAR say-12p-ISP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
jaṭi kʰepi titai liy-a, mo lat-ma kʰat-ma yak-ma
how.much (N) time hot (N) become-NPT that take.out-INF take.away-INF be.in-INF
must-NPT
dot-Ø.
‘Because, we say, one should say, every time that water gets hot, you must continuously
throw it out.’

(27) mo ik-tet-na caḵwa ku-Ø-kina lok-ma puŋs-u-nalo hyuna
that one-qual-EMPH water heat-NPT-CAUS boil-INF begin-3P-COND down
hermwa patalo li-Ø-kʰat-Ø.
liquor thin (N) become-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
‘If once the water starts to cook, the hengmwa below will go thin.’

(28) mo hermwa patalo i-li-nin-ne ni-ki-na-na dʰana
that liquor thin (N) NEGNPp-become-INEG-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP above
caḵwa pʰeri mu-ma yak-ma dot-Ø.
water again (N) be.pred-INF be.in-INF must-NPT
‘In order let that hengmwa not go thin, up there one must put water in.’

(29) ku-Ø-lon-Ø caḵwa ku-Ø-lon-Ø cʰaŋ mo
heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT water heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT also that
lat-ma-kʰan-ma-ki arko caḵwa pak-ma dot-Ø mo
take.out-INF-COMPL-INF-SEQ another (N) water put.in-INF must-NPT that
bata-dā.
pointed.vessel-LOC
‘If ever the water gets hot and goes out, one must put in other water in after taking it
out, in that bata.’
(30) kʰonki-na-na mo niʔo kram, mo niʔo kaci, pāc kʰepi-daŋka and.then-TOP-TOP that NAR-NOM kram that NAR-NOM work five (N) time-LOC-ABL sat kʰepi-tari mu-Ø-m-ʔo deŋ-da, seven (N) time-till do-3P-12pA-NOM back-LOC

‘After this, after we have done this procedure, these works, from five till seven times,’

(31) hyuna abi watatma niʔo bʰi-hut-da hepmawa down now (N) collection.jug NAR-NOM earthen.vessel-LOC-ABL liquor tam-Ø-yuŋ-Ø-ʔo yuŋ-Ø. fill.up-NPT-CONT-NPT-NOM sit-NPT

‘below, now, in the vessel called collecting vessel the hengmawa has been collected.’

(32) kʰonki-na abi hyuna mi set-ma dot-Ø. and.then-TOP now (N) down fire kill-INF must-NPT

‘And then, now, the fire below can be extinguished.’

(33) kʰonki-na bu-ya bata lat-ma kʰan-ma dot-Ø. and.then-TOP front-LOC.level pointed.vessel take.out-INF must-NPT

‘And then, first, the bata must be taken off.’

(34) kʰonki gagityaŋ-hut-daʔo watatma lat-ma dot-Ø. and.then distillation.vessel-LOC-GEN collection.jug take.out-INF must-NPT

‘And then, the collection jug inside the gagityang must be taken out.’

(35) mo watatma-da heŋmawa dem dʰa-Ø mo lar-u m that collection.jug-LOC liquor how.much go.down-PT that take.out-3P-12pA deŋ-da heŋmawa tayari lis-a. back-LOC liquor ready (N) become-PT

‘As much hengmawa as came down into that collection jug, after we take that out, the hengmawa is ready.’

(36) mwatni heŋmawa mu-ma dot-Ø. that.way liquor do-INF must-NPT

‘That way one must make hengmawa.’

(37) o heŋmawa o para owatni mu-ma dot-Ø. this liquor this method (N) like.this do-INF must-NPT

‘This hengmawa must be made this way.’

(38) heŋmawa mu-ma tarika onja. liquor do-INF method (N) only

‘This much only is the way to make hengmawa.’

(39) alañne! thanks

‘Thank you’
A.4 Death

This piece of text is Viśvahān Rai’s explanation of what needs to be done when someone dies in the Bantawa community. It is one part of a conversation from which the questions have been left out. At some points in the conversation, Viśvahān switched code to Nepali. Nepali text has been left out, but the translation was kept to keep the narrative complete. The conversation is interesting from a cultural and anthropological point of view, but also to demonstrate a natural mode of speech.

Kiranti people clearly distinguish themselves from the surrounding Hindu culture by their funeral rites. Bantawa people bury rather than cremate their dead. The three-tiered stone graves are located either on private property or at a burial site in the forest or along the road.

Close kin of the deceased observe three days of impurity after the funeral rites. These relatives travel to the temple complex of Barāhakṣetra to perform final rites 45 days after the death occurred.

As ancestor worship is a defining feature of Kiranti religion and culture, death has special significance. An unnatural death, e.g. by violence or by drowning, is considered inauspicious, and rituals are different. After death, the priests divine the status of the deceased to establish whether he or she can enter the family pantheon. As spirits are local, there are special rites to bring home Bantawa Rai dying far from home.

(1) bakʰa-ʔo-yu bakʰa hut-yu kʰum-ma dot-∅
soil-GEN-LOC.low soil hole-LOC.low bury-INF must-NPT
‘He must be buried in the ground.’

(2) jʰarak-da-ŋka bu-ya siw-a-da-∅-cʰaŋ saŋ kʰokpa siw-a-da he
all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level die-PT-eff-PT-also who old.man die-PT-TEMP or
kʰokma. kʰokpa kʰokma ico cʰa-ci, mi-yuŋ-∅-yan-∅-nalo,
old.woman old.man old.woman their‘ child-PL 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND
‘First of all, immediately after death (who died- an old man or an old woman), the old people’s children— if they are there—.’

(3) duwačʰa-ci-nalo duwačʰa-ʔa mo-da mu-ma dot-∅-yan-∅-ʔo kaci
son-PL-COND son-ERG that-LOC do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work
jʰarak mu-ma dot-∅
all do-INF must-NPT
‘If there are sons, the son must do all the jobs that need to be done in that case.’

(4) kʰon-ki-na jʰarak-da-ŋka bu-ya mo-ko mina si-∅-da-∅-cʰaŋ
he/she-SEQ-TOP all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level that-ref man die-PT-eff-PT-also
kʰimkoŋ-hut-da yuŋ-∅-yan-∅-nalo buŋkʰa-da lon-ma dot-∅,
interior-hole-LOC sit-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND outside-LOC take.outside-INF must-NPT
‘Then, before all, immediately after that person died, if he is in the house he must be taken outside.’

(5) kʰon-ki mina-ʔo i-taŋ hyatni laptikʰon paṭṭi hu-ma dot-∅
he/she-SEQ man-GEN his/her-head that.way doorway side (N) turn-INF must-NPT
‘Then the man’s head must be turned, over there, in the direction of the door.’
(6) kʰon-ki-na abi jʰarak dikʰa biwa-ci but-ma-ci dot-Ø
he/she-SEQ-TOP now (N) all brothers elder.brother-PL call-INF-DU must-NPT
‘after that, now, all the relatives must be called.’

(7) i-sin-cʰəŋ mi-ta-Ø api mi-ta-Ø but-ma-ʔa dot-Ø
3AM-know-also 3pl-come.far-NPT self 3pl-come.far-NPT call-INF-EMPH must-NPT
‘As soon as they know, they come, they come themselves. They must be called.’

(8) jʰarak all mɨ na man bʰela li-ma-kina mo mina-lai om-ʔa-yən-∅
all man gathered (N) become-INF-CAUS that man-DAT be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT
inuŋwa kapad a tit-ʔa bʰom-ma-ki
new cloth (N) clothes-ERG make.bundle-INF-SEQ
‘After all people have gathered, having wrapped that person in a white, new cloth,’

(9) bʰom-ma-kina samba-da yut-ma-ki
make.bundle-INF-CAUS bamboo-LOC tie-INF-SEQ
‘having wrapped him, and tied him onto bamboo poles,’

(10) kʰon-ki-na i-cʰa-ci-ʔa kʰun-ma dot-∅ duwacʰa-ci-ʔa
he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-child-PL-ERG carry-INF must-NPT son-PL-ERG
duwacʰa-ci maddaŋ-ɕi-nal o makcʰa
son-PL not.there-DU-COND girl-PL-LOC-GEN son.in.law
‘then his children must bury him, the sons. If there are no sons, then the daughter’s husbands (sons-in-law).’

(11) bʰarsak bʰo-ci-cʰəŋ ni-ta-nin-nalo dikcʰa-da-ʔo dikcʰa
possibly (N) he/she-PL-ever N3pl-come.far-NEGn-COND brothers-LOC-GEN brothers
bu-qa-ʔa kʰun-ma dot-∅
elder.brother-PL-ERG carry-INF must-NPT
‘Possibly, if they have not come either, then from amongst the relatives the older brothers must bury him.’

(12) kʰon-ki-na mo kʰatt-u-m-y-u-m kʰun-ma bʰon-da
he/she-SEQ-TOP that take.away-3P-12pA-PROG-3P-12pA carry-INF-COMP (N)
bu-ya mo ka-si-da-pa mina-ʔo i-do-da suna-wa
front-LOC.level that APPref-die-eff-APm man-GEN his/her-mouth-LOC gold-water
rupa-wa pak-ma dot-∅
silver-water put.in-INF must-NPT
‘Then, we take him. Before burial, some gold water or silver water must be put in the dead man’s mouth.’

(13) yaŋ pak-ma dot-∅ i-cici i-do-da i-ŋalɨŋ
money put.in-INF must-NPT his/her-little.bit his/her-mouth-LOC his/her-face
put.ATTR. (demka?) ik pʰek, ik yaŋ i-bidi - tʰapsin-ʔo lagi
there.dir.up how.many one piece one money his/her-bidi - ritual-GEN for (N)
‘Money must be put in, in his mouth, on top of his head. (how much?) One coin, one piece, his bidi, for the tradition.’
(14) (artʰə di?) o yaŋ? mo ni o abi mina siw-a-da-ʔo what? this money? that other this now (N) man die-PT-eff-PT-NOM deŋ-da jʰarar-da-ŋəka inuwak cija nuwak jo-nucʰaŋa pi-ma after-LOC all-LOC-ABL good thing (N) good whoever (N)—even.though give-INF han-ma i-niŋ-da send-INF his/her-name-LOC ‘(what does it mean?) The money? That, it is said, now, after a man has died, the best thing, whatever is good must be given, in his name.’

(15) jʰarak-da-ŋəka cʰi-ʔo-yə-ʔo cakwa cokʰo cakwa all-LOC-ABL be.expensive-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM water pure (N) water ni-ki-na suna-wa rupa-wa pak-ma dot-ʔ i-do-da NAR-SEQ-TOP gold-rain silver-rain put-INF-NOM must-NPT his/her-mouth-LOC ‘The most expensive water,—pure water, that is—and gold and silver must be put in his mouth.’

(16) kʰon-ki i-cʰuk-da yaŋ pak-ma dot-ʔ kʰon-ki-na kʰokli he/she-SEQ his/her-hand-LOC money put-INF-NOM he/she-SEQ-TOP forest hyatni he wik-da kʰum-si kʰat-ma dot-ʔ that.way or dry.ground-LOC bury-SUP go-INF must-NPT ‘We must put money in his hands. Then, in the forest, or in the field, we must go to bury him.’

(17) kʰum-si kʰat-ma-da mo paraʔa samba-da kʰun-ma dot-ʔ bury-SUP go-INF-TEMP that.method-ERG bamboo-LOC carry-INF must-NPT ‘Going for burying, we must carry (him) that way, on the bamboo.’

(18) kʰon-ki layaca-ni lo-ma dot-ʔ he/she-SEQ food.stuff-NAR say-INF must-NPT ‘Then, we must say layaca—the rice that is thrown ahead of the burial procession.’

(19) jʰarar-da-ŋəka bu-ya ka-kon-pa minaʔa kaya all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level APref-walk-APm man-ERG rice.plant ri-yə-ʔa kʰatt-u dyaʔ? otni. scatter-PROG-SIM take.away-3P or.what like.this ‘The people who are going in front are taking him throwing rice all around, or what? Like that.’

(20) kʰada kʰum-ma ni min-in kʰada kʰum-ma kʰada yuŋ-ma anken where bury-INF NAR think-12plISP where bury-INF where put-INF weʰ min-in. maʔaŋ-nalo kohi mina-ci si-ma-da-ma think-12plISP NEGPTp-be.PTNEG-COND someone man-PL die-INF-eff-INF bu-ya kʰo-ciʔa ninja i-no-ʔo yuŋ-kʰa yuŋ-ʔo front-LOC.level he/she-PL-ERG mood 3AM-be.happy-NPT-NOM sit-PLNP sit-NPT dya or.what ‘Where to bury, we think. Where to bury, where to put (the body), we think. Unless some man, before he dies, appoints a place that pleases him—or what.’
(21) mo-da iŋka si-ŋa-da-ŋa-hida kʰo-da kʰatt-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ ni that-LOC I die-1sNP-eff-1sNP-SIMp he/she-LOC take.away-PT-1s-2p-1sc NAR mi-yiŋ-Ø.
3pl-say-NPT

‘That is where I want to be when I have died, take me there,’’ they say.’

(22) kʰon-ki-na mo-da kʰat-ma-ci kʰum-ma-ci mi-dot-Ø badde he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC take.away-INF-DU bury-INF-DU 3pl-must-NPT many badde men hotlum tu-ma-ki mo-da mina-ʔo i-tañ many DOUBT hole dig.in-INF-SEQ that-LOC man-GEN his/her-head pǔrwa-hyatni mu-ma-ki kʰum-ma dot-Ø east (N)-across do-INF-SEQ bury-INF must-NPT

‘After that, taking him there, we must bury him. Many, many, err, what, making a hole, we put the man in with his head pointing east.’

(23) tərə kʰon-ki-na i-nuwa i-nuwak badde bu-ya i-nuwa i-nuwak luŋ-ci tat-ma-ci-kina dʰak dʰak yuŋ-ma, his/her-good stone-PL bring.far-INF-DU-CAUS dhak.onom dhak.onom put-INF luŋ thʰɨŋ-ma dot-Ø stone spread.out-INF must-NPT

‘but before burial, bringing many good stones, we but them dhak dhak together and spread them out.’

(24) kʰon-ki-na mo dʰuŋ-da tit-ci thʰiŋ-ma-ci gundrį he/she-SEQ-TOP that-above-LOC clothes-PL spread.out-INF-DU straw.mat (N) clothes-PL spread.out-INF-DU put.in-INF he/she-SEQ that dʰuŋ-da ip-ma mo above-LOC lay.down-INF must-NPT

‘Then, on top of that, spreading clothes, we must spread a straw mat. Then, put on clothes again, and then on top of that we lay the man down.’

(25) pʰeri i-dʰuŋ-du-ŋka watni-ʔo majja-ʔo luŋtak again (N) his/her-above-LOC high-ABL like.this-NOM pleasure (N)-GEN stone many big pleasantrY big stone-ERG NEGNPp-press.down-3P-NEGn watni si-Ø-da-ʔo mina o-da yuŋ-Ø here die-NPT-eff-NPT-NOM man this-LOC sit-NPT

‘Then again, from above, like this pleasant stones, very big, pleasantly that we do not press him with the big stones, like that the deceased man will lie here.’

(26) bakas watni banya mu-ma-ki majjaле dip-ma dot-Ø. o den-ŋ-da box (E) here make (N) do-INF-SEQ pleasant (N) cover-INF must-NPT this after-LOC matrə bəkʰa.
only (N) soil

‘Making it like a box, he must be covered pleasantly. Only after that (comes) the soil.’
Appendices

(27) sum-ka tala tʰok-ma dot-Ø. sum-ka kok banya mu-ma three-CNT floor (N) make.wall-INF must-NPT three-CNT floor make (N) do-INF dot-Ø.
must-NPT
'Three tiers must be made. Three floors must be made.'

(28) kʰon-ki minaʔo i-tan paṭṭi-da-ŋka biciklik-da kok he/she-SEQ man-GEN his/her-head side (N)-LOC-ABL earthen.vessel-LOC rice bʰan-ma-ki yuk-ma-da-ma dot-Ø.
boil-INF-SEQ mount-INF-eff-INF must-NPT
'Then, at the side of the man’s head, cooked rice must be put in a small pot.'

(29) kʰon-ki wa set-ma-ki, uncitko waicʰet set-ma-ki-na-na he/she-SEQ chicken kill-INF-SEQ TOP TOP yuk-ma-da-ma dot-Ø.
mount-INF-eff-INF must-NPT
'Then, killing a chicken, or a small chick for that matter, it must be put there.'

now (N) what-what-PL his/her-stick (N)-PL
'Then, at the side of his feet, towards his side, putting beer or liquor in a bottle gourd, in a bamboo cup, now at the side of this feet we leave what things? His stick, thongs, shoes or whatever, on top of his grave.'

(31) wa-sa ra kok ca-yəŋ-sa yuŋ-a-ni-ka.
chicken-meat and (N) rice eat-PROG-SIM yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-sa sit-PT-NAR-SEQ-TOP
'In order that you may be there, eating chicken and rice.'

(32) (epmaʔo i-dʰun-du)
grave-GEN his/her-above-LOC.high
'on top of the grave.'

his/her-big.man-PL
'Then, if there are sons, having gone home, the impure people say prayers, and the leaders.'

not.there-NPT this our⁸ ritual-culture-LOC-ABL go.outside-PT-go-PT


'From today, that man, from this day, he is not in this world. He left our tradition.'

(35) bak’a-yu wanj-a-k’ar-a at’awa paru-du k’at-Ø. abi, han j’arak soil-LOC low enter-PT go-PT or (N) heaven-LOC high go-NPT now (N) now all
ton-ma-ki-na k’o-so-ʔo i-niŋ-da i-c’a-ci match-INF SEQ-TOP he/she-PRN GEN his/her-name-LOC his/her-child-PL
mi-yun-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo duwac’ha-ci-ʔa 3pl-sit-NPT PROG-NPT-COND son-PL-ERG
‘He entered the earth, or will be going to heaven. Now, today, after all has been arranged, in his name, his children - if there are any, the sons,’

(36) seto kapada rik’-ma dot-Ø. white (N) cloth (N) twist-INF must-NPT
‘must be wrapped in white clothes.’

(37) k’on-ki-na-na di-sa-c’añ nop-ma i-nu-nin he/she-SEQ-TOP-TOP what-PRN-GEN touch-INF good-NEG
pasu-ci ni-mina mina nop-ma i-nu-nin. animal (N)-PL other-man man touch-INF good-NEG
‘Then, it is forbidden to touch anything. To touch animals, another man, a man, is no good.’

(38) sum-ka len, kirawa-da sum-ka len. paniwarj bamna-ci tehra-ka three-CNT day Kiranti-LOC three-CNT day Kiranti
len. anko kirawa b’apsinj’-da sum-ka len. day ourª Kiranti ritual-LOC three-CNT day
‘Three days. In Kiranti, three days. Chetrì and Båhùns thirteen days. In our Kiranti tradition three days.’

(39) parsi bihan cañ j’arak mina b’ela li-ma day.after.tomorrow (N) morning (N) sw-TOP (N) all man gathered (N) become-INF
dot-Ø nata gota c’etkuma dik’ha biwa b’ela must-NPT relation (N) family (N) girl brothers elder.brother gathered (N)
li-ma-kin’ maŋ mu-ma dot-Ø. become-INF-CAUS godhead do-INF must-NPT
‘Then after two days, in the morning, all people must gather. All kinsfolk, woman and male relatives must come together and do a ritual.’

(40) o siw-da-Ø-ʔo mina-ʔo i-niŋ-da. this die-PT-eff-PT-NOM man-GEN his/her-name-LOC
‘in the name of that deceased person.’

(41) nakc’on ma-ʔañ aru-c’añ dowa-ci mi-yun-Ø k’o-ci maŋ shaman NEG PT be PT NEG other (N)-also sorcery-PL 3pl-sit-NPT he/she-PL godhead
mi-mu-Ø k’on-ki-na mo maŋ yiŋ-Ø-lat-Ø-ʔo deŋ-da 3pl-do-NPT he/she-SEQ-TOP that godhead say-NPT DIR off-NPT-NOM after-LOC
la hai ya-da-ŋka j’arak dik’ha biwa seŋ-in-ka pyur well (N) hey now-LOC ABL all brothers elder.brother be clean-12plSP excl pure
lis-in-y-in-ka. become-12plSP PROG-12plSP e
'Not the shaman. There are other officiants as well. They do the ritual. Then after that prayer, well, from now on all the relatives are purified, we are pure again.'

(42) o-da-ŋka yum akwa ca-ma tokt-u-m-ka abi kʰâna sitmaŋ this-LOCABL salt oil eat-INF receive-3P-12pA-e now (N) you’ dead.person ti-lis-a, 2AS-become-PT 'From now on we can eat salt and oil again. Now you have become a dead person.'

(43) ankenka-lai dukʰa man-pi-da ni. we³-DAT trouble NEGPTp-give-NEGPTs NAR 'Do not give us trouble.'

(44) abi am-nin-da o wak wako pi-nin-Ø-nin now (N) your¹-name-LOC this such- such give-1ns2-PROG-1ns2 'In your name we are giving you such and such.'

(45) yiq mi-lat-Ø dowa-ci puja mi-mu-Ø maŋ prayer 3pl-take.out-NPT sorcery-PL worship (N) 3pl-be.pred-NPT godhead 3pl-do-NPT. 'They pray, the priests do the ritual, they do the ritual.'

(46) kʰon-ki mo ka-si-da-paʔo minaʔo i-nin-da mi-yin he/she/SEQ that APpref-die-eff-APm-GEN his/her-name-LOC 3pl-speak mo-ko len-ʔo bʰarŋ-ma-yiqʔo camatʰoka an-debre cʰuk owatni that-ref day-GEN boil-INF-PP-GEN food our¹-left hand like.this kʰik-ma-ki owatni pi-ma dot-Ø wet-ma kʰat-ma dot-Ø hold-INF-SEQ like.this give-INF must-NPT throw-INF take.away-INF must-NPT 'Then they speak in the name of that dead person, we take the rice, cooked on that day in our left hand like this, we must give it like this, and throw it away.'

(47) an-chuk-da mi-pak-Ø kʰon-ki dowa-ci mi-lat-Ø mogari our²-hand-LOC 3pl-put.in-NPT he/she/SEQ sorcery-PL prayer-say-SIM 3pl-go-NPT-PROG-NPT 'We put it in our hands, then the shamans pray, at that time they are going while praying.'

(48) mo ka-si-da-paʔo i-cʰa-ci duwacʰa-ci jo that APpref-die.eff-APm-GEN his/her-child-PL son-PL whoever (N) gʰumʔoma baseko huncʰo mo-ciʔo ico tᵃŋ-miwa kʰo-ma impurity-LOC (N) seated (N) is (N) that-PL-GEN theirⁿ head-hair scrape-INF dot-Ø 'That person’s children, sons, whoever was observing impurity, their hair must be shaved.'
(49) kʰon-ki mo-so-ʔo deŋ-da ab paitalis-ka len daŋka hwa
he/she-SEQ that-PRN-GEN after-LOC now(N) forty-five-CNT day LOC-ABL two
mahina sum-ka mahina-hut-da pʰeri mo ka-sida-pa-lai
month(N) three-CNT month(N)-hole-LOC again(N) that APpref-die.eff-APm-DAT
man-da pak-ma niʔo dum tʰapsiŋ yuŋ-∅
godhead-LOC put.in-INF NAR-NOM thing ritual sit-NPT
‘Then, after that, now from forty-five days, within two or three months, again for this
dead man, there is another thing, tradition called "adding him to the spirits".’

(50) ankaʔo kirawa-ʔo man-da
ourʷ Kiranti-GEN godhead-LOC
‘In our Kiranti pantheon, ...’

(51) (Nepali text)
‘... we worship him. Can we use him or not, that man. What kind of man was he, that
man? That is also decided by the priest, hey? He divines it, him...’

(52) yari mi-pek, hai.
ginger.cutting 3pl-peel, hey
‘They cut ginger, hey.’

(53) (Nepali text)
‘The priests know it completely, what, that dead spirit, and that man, while he lived,
as long as he lived...’

(54) hin-ŋ-a-ŋ-a-hida mo mina ni-jata-sudda ims-a-ʔo hai,
live-PT-PROG-PT-SIMc that man other-caste(N)-with sleep-PT-NOM hey
ni-jata ma-tar-a-ʔo, ni-jata-da kʰar-a-ʔo, mo
other-caste(N) mother-bring.far-PT-NOM other-caste(N)-LOC go-PT-NOM that
man-da i-kʰat-nin niʔo.
godhead-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn NAR-NOM
‘While he was living, was that man one, who sleeps with someone from another caste,
hey, who took one as a wife, who went in with someone of another caste, he will not
enter the realm of the forefathers.’

(55) kʰon-ki mo mina han ka-sida-pa mina-ʔo,
he/she-SEQ that man now APpref-die.eff-APm man-GEN
‘Then that man will speak, the dead man.’

(56) (Nepali Text)
‘his spirit, what, his soul, we say, hey, that will talk, hey’

(57) lau iŋka aran iŋ-tʰaŋŋa-cʰa-da watni paniwaŋma-sudda hai
well I once my-young.man-child-LOC here Chetrimi-with hey
kami-ma-sudda yuŋs-a-ŋ-ʔo, hai kʰwatni-cʰaŋ-ʔo iŋka
blacksmith-mother-with sit-PT-1s-NOM hey, that.way.ever-NOM I
kʰim-man-da i-kʰat-ni-ŋ man i-li-nin iŋka.
house-godhead-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn-1s godhead NEGNPp-become-NEGn I
'Well, before, in my youth, I have been like that with a Chetrí woman, hey, I have stayed with a Kambi woman, hey. Like that too, I cannot go into the realm of the house gods, cannot be a forefather. I go into the wandering spirits, I shall not be a god to be worshipped, I cannot because I have been like that. I did things outside of the tradition.'

(58) kʰonunale kʰwatni lis-a-ki ab iŋka cāĩ kʰokli-hyatni kʰonunale that.way become-PT-SEQ now (N) I swTOP (N) forest-across kʰāis-a-ŋ-n-ŋ ni-ʔō ni yin-Ø ka-sida-pa dowa-ci-ʔa send-PT-1s-2p-1sc NAR-NOM NAR say-NPT APpref-die.eff(APm sorcery-PL-ERG kʰon-Ø-pacʰi ankan-lai mi-Ø. resurrect-NPT-after (N) we¹-DAT 3pl-say-NPT 'This being like that, now send me, for one, to the jungle, he will say, the dead man. After that, the priests will tell that to us.'

(59) kʰo-so-ʔo deŋ-da ab ankan kʰokli-hyatni pak-ma-lai dowa-ci he/she-PRN-GEN after-LOC now (N) we¹ forest-across put.in-INF-DAT sorcery-PL tʰom-yɑŋ-sa ken mani saŋ-yɑŋ-sa mi-tʰom-Ø. dance-PROG-SIM large.drum cymbal play-PROG-SIM 3pl-dance-NPT 'After that, now, for us to put him in the direction of the jungle, the priests with dance, playing the drum and cymbals they will dance.'

(60) kʰokli-hyatni tiŋ-han-ma forest-across chase-send-INF 'To chase him to the jungle.'

(61) aba-da-ŋka o-da han-da-ŋka kʰana ayi-da-ŋka o-da kʰana now (N)-LOC-ABL this-LOC now-LOC-ABL you¹ today-LOC-ABL this-LOC you¹ ta-ma ti-tok-na-n yuŋ-ma kʰana ti-tok-na-n come.far-INF 2AS-receive-2P-NegN sit-INF you¹ 2AS-receive-2P-NegN 'From now on, from here and today, you, from today, you will not get to go here, you will not get to stay here.'

(62) kʰana sadʰəl-ko lagí kʰokli-hyatni kʰat-ma dot-Ø. sadʰəl-ʔo lagí you¹ always-GEN (N) for (N) forest-across go-INF must-NPT always (N)-GEN for (N) kʰokli-ya-ŋa kʰana ti-yuŋ-Ø, kʰokli-ya-ŋa ti-can-Ø, forest-LOC.level-EMPH you¹ 2AS-sit-NPT forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-feed-NPT kʰokli-ya-ŋa ti-yuŋ-Ø, kʰokli-ya-ŋa ti-hiy-Ø forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-sit-NPT forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-live-NPT 'You must forever roam in the jungle. Forever you will stay in the jungle, you will eat in the jungle, you will stay in the jungle, you will live in the jungle.'

(63) kʰana o-da man-ta-da, ankenka-lai man-pi-da you¹ this-LOC NEGPTp-come.far-NEGPTs we¹-DAT NEGPTp-give-NEGPTs ni-ki-na-na dowa-ci-ʔa i-Ø. NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP sorcery-PL-ERG 3AM-say-NPT 'Do not come here, do not give it to use, saying the priests will say.'
After that, if it does not obey, to say, if it does not hear, then this is what do they do. Now it is the arrow, 'bhe-talek', they say, isn’t it, and shooting with that they scare him off, or with the gun.

'With the gun they must scare it away, hey.'

They dig a small hole, hey, they stick edibles in, what, like that we are putting it for you, come to eat it, he says.’

‘If he does not refuse, that one, he will go into the pantheon again. He will enter our pantheon. Then, to enter our pantheon, by a chicken and an egg he must be completely purified.’

‘After the purification, well, from today you are together with our house gods, with the grandfathers and grandmothers, hey, forefathers and foremothers, you have received a place with them, and now you live there.’

‘They are happy with you.’

‘With the gun they must scare it away, hey.’
Appendices

A.5 About Hatuvā and about Kiranti religion

This brief conversation tells us a folk etymology for the name Hatuvā. Viśvahān Rāi relates how it could derive from the expression ‘the blood met’.

(1) hi tuʔ-a
   blood meet-PT
   ‘the blood met’

Even if this folk etymology is false, at least the conversation provides us a glimpse of the painful memories of Nepal’s unification that are entrenched in the Kiranti mind.

The second part of the conversation talks of present day religious practice in Hatuvā. In brief, we hear where shamans and priests are still practising and what happens during a religious celebration.

Throughout the year, Bantawa Rai perform different rites on different occasions. The most significant are the ubhauḷīpujā ‘upward worship’ and udhauḷīpujā ‘downward worship’. These are performed during the full moons in the Nepali months Māṃsir, i.e. November-December, and Vaiśākh, i.e. April-May, and mark the start of the
winter and spring seasons. The *udhaulı puja* marks the time that the shepherds bring their livestock up to the higher altitude meadows, the *udhaulı puja* celebrates their return.

These occasions are subsumed under the name of *Sakenwa*, known as *Sakela* amongst other Kiranti people. At these occasions, the future is divined by the shamans (*nakcʰo*). This specifically religious element plays a minor role in most *Sakenwa* occasions. Most of the time, two or three days, is spent on dancing and social activities. *Sakenwa pujā* are prime occasions for young boys and girls to meet.

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(1) araŋ araŋ-ni prītʰwi narayaŋ saha-ʔa pūrwya kirāti hanhon-ci once once-NAR Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-ERG east (N)-LOC.level Kiranti (N) country-PL chʰin-yaŋ-sa tu-Ø-ʔo. nudge-PROG-SIM meet-3P-NOM

‘Before, long ago, it is said, Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha met the Kiranti kingdoms in conquest.’

(2) kʰo he/she gəri moment prītʰwi Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-PL-ERG this his/her-soldier (N)-PL-ERG mo-ya kirāti-ci badde mi-ser-u-ci-ni that-LOC.level Kiranti (N)-PL many 3pl-kill-3P-DUP-NAR

‘At that time, those of Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha, his soldiers, killed many Kirantis there.’

(3) kʰon-ki mo-da hwa-tet undacitko hoŋku-ci yuŋ-ci-ni he/she-SEQ that-LOC two-qual that.small river-PL be-DU-PROG-DU kʰokli-hut-da. forest-hole-LOC

‘Then there were two small rivers, inside the forest.’


‘Finding the Kirantins who were hiding in that forest, they slaughtered them, the soldiers of Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha.’

(5) kʰon-ki ico hi hoŋku-watni-ŋa sont-a-ni hoŋku-watni he/she-SEQ theirblood river-SIMIL-EMPH flow-PT-NAR river-SIMIL cakwa-watni vont-a ni. water-SIMIL flow-PT-NAR

‘Then, their blood flowed like a river, it is said. It flowed like a river, like water, it is said.’

(6) ki-na-na hyakko kʰoсло o-hya-kko kʰoсло-ci otni SEQ-TOP-TOP that.lev stream this-level-ATTR stream-PL like.this mi-tuʔ-a-ki-na-na hatuju lis-ʔa-ʔo. 3pl-meet-PT-SEQ-TOP-TOP Hatuvā become-PT-NOM

‘Therefore, as this stream and that stream met that way, it became “Hatuvā”.’
(7) ankaʔo nakcʰoŋ sindraŋ-daʔo sakeňwa nakcʰoŋ-niʔo anemnuŋ our* shaman Sindrān-LOC-GEN Sakenwa shaman-NAR-NOM last.year
siw-a-da ni-ni die-PT-TEMP other-NAR
‘Our shaman, Sindrān’s ritual shaman died last year, they said, so,’

(8) iŋka-na kʰaŋ-ma man-tok-ŋa, iŋko baŋa.
I-TOP look-INF NEGPTp-receive-1sNP my uncle
‘I did not get to see him, he was my uncle.’

(9) tə rə but (N) sindraŋ Sindrān bʰeplo-da complete-LOC sum-paŋ three-qspir nakcʰoŋ-shaman-PL 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘but in all of Sindrān there are three shamans.’

(10) sakenwa aymit sindraŋ-da hwa-tet matte yuŋ-ciŋ-ci. sakeňwa nowadays Sindrān-LOC two-qual only (N) be-DU-PROG-DU
‘Nowadays there are only two Sakenwa pujas in Sindrān, only two.’

(11) dʰana lakturang-du dʰana kʰyali bʰen-du kʰon-ki above Lakturang-LOC.high above Kʰyali root-LOC.high he/she-SEQ
hyana cyemkʰa sat nābar waŋ-ya.
over.there.ATTR Chyemkha seven (N) number Ward-LOC.level
‘Up, in Lakturang, up, at the foot of Khyali, and then level, in Cyemkha, in ward number seven.’

(12) sakeňwa mu-kʰa-da jʰarak mina-ci dikeʰa jʰarak dikeʰa biwa-ci sakeňwa do-PNOM-LOC all man-PL brothers all brothers elder.brother-PL
nata-ci jʰarak anko nu-Ø-lok ka-mit mina-ci mo-da relative-PL all our* be-good-NPT-MAN APpref-remember man-PL that-LOC
bʰela mi-li-Ø.
gathered (N) 3pl-become-NPT
‘At a Sakenwa, all men, clans, all clans, brothers, relatives, all our well wishing men gather there.’

(13) kʰon-ki nakcʰoŋ man mu-Ø aru jʰarak bʰela he/she-SEQ shaman godhead do-3P other (N) all gathered (N)
mi-li-Ø o mina-ciʔa kʰo-lai saya taya i-pi-Ø.
3pl-become-NPT-NOM man-PL-ERG he/she-DAT head respect 3AM-give-NP.
‘Then the shaman does the ritual. All the other gathered people pay him respect.’

(14) kʰon-ki yayok i-pi-Ø kʰo-soʔo i-den-da kʰo badde he/she-SEQ advise 3AM-give-NPT he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-after-LOC he/she many
man yinj-Ø-lat-Ø.
godhead say-NPT-DIRoff-NPT
‘Then they give him advise. After that he prays a lot.’

(15) becʰuk pek-Ø kʰon-ki becʰuk pek-ki-na mo-da meʔen jokʰana ginger peel-NPT he/she-SEQ ginger cut-SEQ-TOP that-LOC DOUBT oracle (N)
kʰaŋ-ma ni yinj-ma dot-Ø
see-INF-NAR say-INF must-NPT
'He cuts the ginger. Then after he cut the ginger, in that, errr, he must see the omens.'

(16) becʰuk peʔ-ʔuʔ-watni becʰuk pek-ma dot-Ø o yıŋ-las-sa
ginger peel-3P-NOM-SIMIL ginger peel-INF must-NPT this prayer-pray-SIM

'Like this the ginger is cut, he must cut the ginger, praying this,'

(17) sakenwa i-nija no-Ø-yan-Ø-nalo mo becʰuk meksimam
Sakenwa his/her-mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND that ginger maximum
sum-ka kʰepi peʔ- u-m-hida sin-ma li-Ø.
three-CNT time peel-3P-12pA-SIMp know-INF become-NPT

'If the Sakenwa deity is pleased, we shall know it, cutting the ginger maximally three times.'

(18) mo nu-Ø-yan-Ø he it-Ø-yan-Ø ni-ki.
that be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT or be.bad-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR-SEQ
bu-yaʔo coʔi pe-ʔu-m-o laŋka lis-a-nalo
front-LOC.level-GEN time (N) peel-3P-12pA-NOM upright become-PT-COND
arko coʔi bomko lis-a-nalo mo maŋ i-nija
another (N) time (N) round become-PT-COND that godhead his/her-mood
no-Ø-yan-Ø.
be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT

'To say if it is good or bad: if the first time the cutting turns up with the flat side up,
and the second is turned over, then the spirit is pleased.'

(19) hwa kʰepi-da bu-ya laŋka lis-a arko coʔi bomka
two time-LOC front-LOC.level upright become-PT another (N) time (N) round
lis-a-nalo mo maŋ i-nija no-Ø-yan-Ø.
become-PT-COND that godhead his/her-mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT

'If, in two times, the first is flat and the other time it is turned over, then the spirit is pleased.'

(20) sakenwa sumnima paruhang-ci i-c-o-ni-ŋa
Sakenwa Sumnima Paruhang-PL NEGp-eat-3P-NEGn-EMPH
no-Ø-yan-Ø bʰawisya nu-Ø-yan-Ø ni tup-ma
be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT future (N) be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR understand-INF
dot-Ø.
must-NPT

'Sakenwa, Sumnima and Paruhang are pleased. We must understand that the future is good.'

(21) hwa kʰepi-da laŋka lis-a bu-ya coʔi kʰon-ki
two time-LOC upright become-PT front-LOC.level time (N) he/she-SEQ
arko-cʰaŋ laŋka-ŋa lis-a-nalo Sakenwaʔa i-cirpa
another (N)-also upright-EMPH become-PT-COND Sakenwa-ERG his/her-anger
kat-Ø-yan-Øni-ki tup-ma dot-Ø.
feel-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR-SEQ understand-INF must-NPT

'In two times, it got flat, the first time, then if the other also is flat, then we must understand that the anger of Sakenwa has been aroused.'
Then another time, it must be peeled. Then, if that is round, if that one is round, it is good.'

'Sumnima and Paruhang first were not pleased, but now they are pleased, hey, because we worshipped, we must understand.'

'If a man or a woman is about to die, or a small child, they can also tell.'

'Tonight the priest starts to pray.'
A. Texts

(30) maŋkolen lak lu-si kʰat-ma dot-∅ dʰana puja
    tomorrow religious.dance feel-SUP go-INF must-NPT above worship (N)
    place-LOC.high godhead do-PNOM-LOC place-LOC.up
'Tomorrow we must go to dance, up at the place for worship, at the place for the ritual.'

(31) kʰon-ki-na-na he/she-SEQ-TOP-TOP lama-tama arko-na y-∅ pʰeri
    he/she-SEQ another (N) TOP lama-copper (N) another (N) TOP descend-NPT again (N)
    mu-du-ŋa la-ma kʰat-ma dot-∅ manj mu-si
    that-LOC.high-EMPH return-INF go-INF must-NPT godhead do-SUP
'Afer that, to return, the other day we must go there again, to worship.'

(32) kʰon-ki arko yi ken mani-ci la-ma yuŋ-ma-ci
    he/she-SEQ another (N) day large.drum cymbal-PL return-INF put-INF-PL
    mi-dot-∅
    3pl-must-NPT
'Then on the other day, we must return the drum and cymbals and put them away.'

(33) ik-rati ik nampik hwa nampik sum-ka nampik
    one-night (N) one evening two evening three evening
    'One night, one night, two nights, three nights.'

(34) mu-n, mu-n-da pʰarak dikcʰa biwa nata gota
    do-12plSP do-12plSP-TEMP all brothers elder.brother relative (N) kin (N)
    kuṭumbʰ cʰetkuma kipmakʰa,
    family (N) girl brother’s-in-laws
    'It is done, in doing it all male relatives and in-laws (whoever, gathering, we dance, hey)'

(35) Lak lu-kʰa-da bihe mi-mu-∅. Nijja
    religious.dance perform-PNOM-LOC marriage (N) 3pl-be.pred-NPT mood
    no-ka-no mi-mu-∅ warisa tʰan-ci.
    be.happy-RECIP-be.happy 3pl-be.pred-NPT girl young.man-PL
    'On the dance floor they get engaged. They like one another, the young girls and boys.'

A.6 Sumnima

This narrative was told by Kajimān Rāi, an elderly man of more than 60 years in Chotīdā. While he was reportedly the best storyteller on the hill and easily talked for 20 minutes without interruption, he also freely mixed Nepali words into his story. However, the Bantawa grammar he uses is unscathed and the way he mixes in Nepali, phonologically and morphologically, points to a deep integration of Nepali loans into his language. His command of Nepali was so limited that there is every reason to believe that his style of speaking Bantawa very much reflects actual usage.
Kiranti religion

The religious codex of Kiranti people is contained in the *Kirat Mundhum*, or, in the Bantawa version of it, *Kirawa Muddum*. These scriptures are essentially an oral tradition, although recently some publications have seen the light that codify it in printed form. The *Kirat Yakthung Cumlung*¹ is particularly active in publishing material, but is dominated by Limbus. Recently, Imânsinâha Cemjôn’s² very complete and well organized bilingual³ book has been republished, called *Kirat Mundhum*⁴ as a ‘Kiranti scripture’.

More relevant to the Bantawa is the less fancily printed *Kirat-Rai-Vantavā ridum-mundhum ‘Kiranti Rai Bantawa oral tradition’*, by Jayaprasâd Mukâru (Vântavā) Rai. This book, published in Dharân by the author, contains a wealth of material, chants and songs performed at different religious occasions in the Bantawa language.

For some Kiranti languages,⁵ the religious register of the language have been studied. Two of the striking and shared features of these language registers are that first, the religious language utilises the normal verbal system of the language but stands apart in the use of different or typically repetitive, ideophonic noun patterns, and, second, that Nepali words and terminology are widely used in religious language, sometimes even more so than in the ordinary daily language.

Generally, the word *muddum* is used to mean everything that one needs to know about Kiranti oral tradition, folk tales, about ancestor worship, the deities that populate the pantheon, the festivals, purity and other customs. The ‘Sumnima and Paruhang’ narrative contains some of the material that makes up the Bantawa *muddum*. In this way, this narrative provides some of the rationale behind the belief system.

Belief system  There is no codified doctrine that a true Kiranti believer would have to accept. However, there are several beliefs that are specific to the Kiranti religion, particularly in contrast with the surrounding Hindu system. The most prominent feature of Bantawa religious practice is ancestor worship. Ancestors can be invoked and are believed to be present in some immaterial form. While these spirits are immaterial, they have a location.

Paruhang and Sumnima  Paruhang and Sumnima are the divine couple acting in the creation story. There are many more characters in this story, but these two are most prominent. If there is such a thing as a wider divine typology, they must be associated with the father god and mother goddess, with heaven and earth. Bantawa people themselves, who are confronting Hindu religious dominance, equate Paruhang with Paśupati, i.e. Śiva, and Sumnima with Parvatī, the spouse of Śiva.

¹*Kirat Yakthung Cumlung* (किरात यक्तुङ्ग चुम्लुङ्ग)
²*थुङ्ग नाथ* मुकुन्द
³Here, ‘bilingual’ means Limbu and Nepali. In this context Limbu is named *Kirat bhāṣā* ‘Kiranti language’.
⁴*Kirat Mundhum* (किरात मुन्डहुङ्ग), 2003, republished by Kirat Yakthung Chumlung
⁵For Thulung, Allen published a study (1975). For Mewahang, Gaenszle gave a detailed study (2000). To a lesser extent, Chintang has been described, also by Gaenszle et al. (2005).
The Sumnima narrative is a story of origins. I was told that this narrative explains why the traditions are the way they are. The story relates how Sumnima, the mother goddess, and Paruhang, the sky god, met, created the earth, had children, and how the lives of their children, Bear, Tiger and Human, unfolded. The story is the creation mythology of the Bantawa Rai.

The creation story here shows remarkable similarities with the story told by a Dumi speaker as in Van Driem (1993b: 285). The method of conception of the mother goddess Sumnima, named Naːyeːm in Dumi, her bird-friends and her three children are identical. No doubt these stories come from the same source.

Stylistically, the story is full of repetitions, after-thoughts, and interjections. Some repetitions have been translated. They clutter the translation a bit, but I felt that polishing them out would do injustice to the original text.

(1) puŋ-ma mollok i-le-ni-ŋ-Ø-ni-ŋ
begin-INF isn’t.it NEGNPp-know.NEGn-1s-PROG-NEGn-1s
i-sin-ni-ŋ-Ø-ni-ŋ. sumnima-ŋa puŋ-ma. abo han
NEGNPp-know.NEGn-1s-PROG-NEGn-1s Sumnima-EMPH begin-INF. now (N) now
sumnima paruhang cakwa duŋ-da yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci ni.
Sumnima Paruhang water top-LOC be-PT-PROG-PT-DU NAR
‘To start, I do not know, I do not know how. Start with Sumnima. Now, now Sumnima and Paruhang were over the water (sea), it is said.’

(2) cakwa duŋ-da ani yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida sumnima paruhang-edə tarə wərə
water top-LOC then (N) be-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMp Sumnima Paruhang-COMl but (N)
cakwa duŋ-da-ŋa yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci ni.
water top-LOC-EMPH be-PT-PROG-PT-DU NAR
‘Over the water, and, while they were there, Sumnina together with Paruhang, but they were over the water, it is said.’

(3) tarə pʰito pʰito yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci pʰito pʰito
but (N) different different be-PT-PROG-PT-DU different different
yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida i-kʰeri-da-na məʔen cʰok-muw-a-ci
be-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMp his/her-time (N)-LOC-TOP DOUBT move-RECIP-PT-DU
cino.
gift (N)
‘But they were apart, while they were apart, at that time, err, they sent each other presents.’

(4) cino cʰok-muw-a-ci, di bʰane, jaigala-bunywa, ani doŋ-kʰola,
gift (N) move-RECIP-PT-DU what if (N) flower-flower then (N) mouth.harp-cover
doj.
mouth.harp
‘Sending presents, what to say, a jaigala flower and a mouth harp with a cover.’

(5) kʰon-ki-na pi-muw-a-ci kʰo-da-ŋka cino pʰile
he/she-SEQ-TOP give-RECIP-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL gift (N) before (N)
pi-muw-a-ci-ki-na niŋa no-ka-no muw-a-ci.
give-RECIP-PT-DU-SEQ-TOP mood be.happy-RECIP-be.happy do-PT-DU
'Then, they gave it to one another. After they had given it to one another, they liked one another.'

(6) niŋa no-mu-ci-paⁿi: “o-ko-na mollok amno-na yawa keṭa-na mood please-RECIP-DU-after (N) this-ref-TOP isn’t.§ your§-TOP friend boy (N)-TOP mok.”

isn’t.it

‘After they liked one another, “this has become your friend.”’

(7) paruhaŋ or-a na i-sipa on Paruhang his/her-skill (N) this.much kʰan-ŋ yaŋ-ŋo i-pok detni kat-ŋ yaŋ-ŋo handsome-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM his/her-body how feel-NPT-PROG-NPT ni.

NAR ‘Paruhang, however, that good was his skill, how good was his body, it is said.’

(8) aní sumnima yiŋ-a kʰon-ki-na: “lau ankaʔo paruhaŋ-na molok then (N) Sumnima say-PT he/she-SEQ-TOP well our§ Paruhang-TOP isn’t.§ kʰan-ŋ yaŋ-ŋo.”

handsome-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-EMPH

‘And Sumnima said: Well, our Paruhang is looking very good.’

(9) “o-ŋe kʰon-maŋ ti-si-ŋ yaŋ-ŋo-nalo ǎbo this-EMPH see-INF-EMPH 2AS-want-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND now (N)

kʰut-ŋe.” ni kekuwa yiŋ-ŋo. ka-cʰok bring.for.someone-1ns2-EMPH NAR egret say-NPT APPref-move kekuwa-daŋka kʰwatni yiŋ a meʔen o ha hyatni ra egret-LOC-ABL that.way language that.1 DOUBT like.this that.way and (N)
o-hyatni meʔen yiŋ cʰonj-u.

this-across DOUBT language deliver-3P

“If you want to see him, now we shall bring him to you,” said the plover, the messengers, yes, the plovers send the messages like that from here and there, right?’

(10) yiŋ cʰonj-u-ki-na ǎ kʰon-ki-na mo i-tar-a paruhaŋ, language deliver-3P-SEQ-TOP yes he/she-SEQ-TOP that 3AM-bring.far-PT Paruhang ‘After delivering the message, they brought him, Paruhang.’

(11) paruhaŋ i-tar-a-kinə sumnimaʔo i-cik-da Paruhang 3AM-bring.far-PT-CAUS Sumnima-GEN his/her-vicinity-LOC

i-yukt-a. tana ńi ńi do ćʰan bango rikt-u-kʰais-u. 3AM-place-PT TOP (N) then (N) his/her-mouth also twisted (N) twist-3P-COMPL-3P

‘After bringing Paruhang, they put him at the side of Sumnima. Then, however, Paruhang also twisted his mouth.’

(12) kʰon-ki-na moswaʔa dʰwaʔoʔa somt-a-n-ci-n. “abo he/she-SEQ-TOP soot (N)-ERG soot (N)-ERG rub.in-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL now (N)
Then he rubbed himself with soot and smoke. "Now what does she think of me, how will she turn out to speak to me?" Saying that, he appeared to her.

(13) kʰon-ki a mo-na “la kʰatt-a-n-u-m, kʰatt-a-n-u-m,”
he/she-SEQ EXCL that-TOP OK take.away-PT-2P-3P-12pA take.away-PT-2P-3P-12pA ni yɨnt-a.
NAR say-PT
'Then, ah! Him! Well, take him away, away, she said.'

(14) amno paruhaŋ-na las-a-kʰatt-a-n-u-m.
amno yourp Paruhang-TOP return-PT-DIRaway-PT-2P-3P-12pA yourp
close-LOC.level-ALL-EMPH NAR 3AM-put-PNOM-LOC.level-EMPH say-PT
'Take your Paruhang back again. To your side, saying, in her place she said.'

(15) sumnima kʰwatni yɨnt-a-ki-na, lau, paruhaŋ-ʔo-na saro-ŋa
Sumnima that.way say-PT-SEQ-TOP well Paruhang-GEN-TOP much (N)-EMPH i-ɲiŋa cʰir-a.
his/her-mood leave-PT
'After Sumnima talked like that, well, Paruhang got very sad.'

(16) abo iŋka mi-lök sumnima-ʔa watni-ŋa mollok kʰan its-a-ŋ-lo
now (N)1 that-MAN Sumnima-ERG here-EMPH isn’t.it SEE be.bad-PT-1s-MAN
i-kʰa-ŋ racʰa. abo de-ki mokoŋkaŋni watni mollok lis-a-ŋ
3AM-see-PT-1s MIR now (N)1 what-SEQ isn’t.it1 here isn’t.it become-PT-1s
ʧuhra-ŋa he detni-ki ni-ki-na.
orphán (N)-EMPH or how-SEQ NAR-SEQ-TOP
'Now Sumnima has seen me in such a bad way, it appears. Now why did I get this way, being like an orphan, or why then?'

(17) kʰon-ki-na akʰira-da-na las-a-tuʔ-a-ci.
he/she-SEQ-TOP last (N)-LOC-TOP return-PT-meet-PT-DU
'After that, at last, they met again.'

(18) las-a-tuʔ-a-ci-ki-na maʔaŋ watni lis-a-ci e
return-PT-meet-PT-DU-SEQ-TOP NEGPTp-be_PTNEG here become-PT-DU hey
watni yakkab-da, o-ko detni i-mit-ŋa-Ø-ŋa ni-ki-na
here arum.leaf-LOC this-ref how 3AM-remember-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR-SEQ-TOP
ɔ iʔ-ŋa mu-Ø ni.
yes one-qual joke (N) do-3P NAR
'Meeting again, isn’t it, they were like this, er, like this in an Arum leaf. Now, how will she think of me, saying, he teased her, it is said.'
(19) yakbak-da cʰal mu-Ø-paecʰi abʰara cʰukt-a, sumnima.

arum.leaf-LOC joke (N) do-3P-after (N) hard (N) jump-PT Sumnima

‘Teasing her in the Arum leaf, Sumnima took it hard.’

(20) ki-na kʰo-da-ŋka-na: “iŋka-na mollok walu ?e sipt-u

SEQ-TOP he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP I-TOP isn’t.it water.source EMPH blink-3P

mulu ?e sipt-u ani cakwa duŋ-ma si-ŋa-Ø-ŋa,”

water.source (N) EMPH blink-3P then (N) water drink-INF want-1sNP-PROG-1sNP

ni yiŋ-a.

NAR say-PT

‘And then, after that, I, my water dries up, the source dries up, and now I want to drink water, she said.’

(21) cencɨkwa kol-a-lukt-a-hida cencıkwa-ʔa walu ?e dʰir-u-ŋ,

buffalo.bird walk-PT-CON-PT-SIMP buffalo.bird-ERG water.source EMPH find-3P-1s

mulu ?e dʰir-u-ŋ, water.source (N) EMPH find-3P-1s

‘The pade bird, while it was walking around, and found a water source, found water.’

(22) “kʰana sumnima ti-si-na-n, ti-let. iŋka kʰut-na.”

you Sumnima 2AS-die-2P-NEG 2AS-survive bring.for.someone-3P NAR

“You, Sumnima, will not die, you will live. I shall bring it to you.”

(23) kʰwatni yiŋ-a. kʰo-da-ŋka-na kʰutt-u.

that.way say-PT he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN say-PT

‘He spoke like that. After that, he brought it.’

(24) abo iŋka detni kʰut-na. iŋko iŋ-cʰuk-cʰaj matdiŋ-Ø. iŋ-laŋ now (N) I how bring.for.someone-2P my my-hand-also NEG be-NPT my-leg

matte yak-Ø-yan-Ø. ni cencıkwa yiŋ-a.

only (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR buffalo.bird say-PT

‘Now how do I bring it to you, I have no hands. I only have feet, said the pade bird.’

(25) cencıkwa kʰo-da-ŋka-sa yiŋ-a paecʰi sumnima-ʔa iremu abo

buffalo.bird he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN say-PT after (N) Sumnima-ERG ?? now (N)

am-do-da-ŋka ti-kʰut-ŋa-ne ni.

your²-mouth-LOC-ABL 2AS-bring.for.someone-1sNP-OPT NAR

‘After the pade bird had said that, Sumnima ordered, now bring it to me in your mouth.’

(26) ani iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma i-si-nin ani am-jiu

then (N) my my-water drink-INF NEGNP-die-NEG then (N) your²-body (N)

yakbak-da ani wa pokt-a-n-ci-n

arum.leaf-LOC then (N) rain get.wet-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL all (N)

wa-lejs-a-n-ci-n.

water-smear-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL

‘And I am still thirsty. Then dip your body into the water and rub yourself in.’
he/she-SEQ-TOP here my-mouth-LOC sow-PT-1s  
rems-a-n-ci-n-ki-na kʰon-ki-na iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma  
 sprinkle-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ-TOP my-water drink-INF  
si-Ø iŋ-sakma yuŋ-Ø ni-ni yiŋ-a, dya.  
die-NPT my-breath sit-NPT NAR-NAR say-PT or.what  
'Then (like this) put it in my mouth, shake it all around, and then, my thirst will be  
quenched, and my breath will be there (still), saying, she said, right!'  

(28) kʰon-ki-na watni he/she-SEQ-TOP  
rems-a-n-ci-n-ki-na kʰon-ki-na iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma  
 sprinkle-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ-TOP my-water drink-INF  
si-Ø iŋ-sakma yuŋ-Ø ni-ni yiŋ-a, dya.  
die-NPT my-breath sit-NPT NAR-NAR say-PT or.what  
'rems-a-n-ci-n-ki-na kʰon-ki-na iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma  
 sprinkle-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ-TOP my-water drink-INF  
si-Ø iŋ-sakma yuŋ-Ø ni-ni yiŋ-a, dya.  
die-NPT my-breath sit-NPT NAR-NAR say-PT or.what  
resurrect-PT-DIRback-PT survive-PT-live-PT  
'Like that she spoke, and after that, like that, now, (the bird) put it in, and she recovered  
consciousness and lived again.'  

(29) ler-a-h ɨŋ-a survive-PT-live-PT  
paruhaŋ-ʔa bicara thought (N)  
mu-Ø-u - kʰo-da-ŋka-sa-na  
thought (N) do-3P-PROG-3P - he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN-TOP  
akʰer-da-na i-yawa ɨ-kuwa-ci-sudda bʰela  
time (N)-LOC-TOP his/her-friend his/her-friend-PL-with gathered (N)  
mi-lis-a-ki i-sen-a ani jamma-s-a han-ma i-lapt-a  
3pl-become-PT-SEQ 3AM-ask-PT then (N) together (N)-PRN-ERG talk-INF 3AM-try-PT  
cep-ma i-lapt-a-ki i-sen-a:  
talk-INF 3AM-try-PT-SEQ 3AM-ask-PT  
'Paruhang was thinking, after that, at that time, having gathering with his friends,  
they asked him, and all together they tried to talk with him, tried to chat, they asked,'  

(30) paruhaŋ-ʔa bicara thought (N)  
mu-Ø-u - kʰo-da-ŋka-sa-na  
thought (N) do-3P-PROG-3P - he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN-TOP  
akʰer-da-na i-yawa ɨ-kuwa-ci-sudda bʰela  
time (N)-LOC-TOP his/her-friend his/her-friend-PL-with gathered (N)  
mi-lis-a-ki i-sen-a ani jamma-s-a han-ma i-lapt-a  
3pl-become-PT-SEQ 3AM-ask-PT then (N) together (N)-PRN-ERG talk-INF 3AM-try-PT  
cep-ma i-lapt-a-ki i-sen-a:  
talk-INF 3AM-try-PT-SEQ 3AM-ask-PT  
'Paruhang was thinking, after that, at that time, having gathering with his friends,  
they asked him, and all together they tried to talk with him, tried to chat, they asked,'  

(31) kʰon-ki-na i-sen-a-pacʰi paruhang pʰeri i-sen-a picʰe  
he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-ask-PT-after (N) Paruhang again (N) 3AM-ask-PT after (N)  
o-ko amko-ŋa i-watni sumnima-ʔa ani agʰi-na helan  
this-REF your-EMPH his/her-like this Sumnima-ERG then (N) before (N)-TOP hate (N)  
ni-muw-a-ŋa-wa-ʔo thɨyo watni ki-na watni ani  
who-GEN yours-EMPH-LIKE-NOM PFTaux here SEQ-TOP here then (N) your EMPHe  
hola,  
maybe (N)
‘After that, after asking, they asked Paruhang thereafter: this very Sumnima then, she hated you before. Like this, and then, like this, and now she is yours, may be.’

(33) inkə de-ki mollok kʰaŋ mus-a-ŋ-ci-ŋ iŋ-du²kʰa kʰaɾ-a-lo iŋ-som I what-SEQ isn’t it show CAUS-2P-1s-DUP-1s my-trouble go-PT-MAN my-love tʊʔ-a-lo i-low-a-ŋ iŋko-ne ni ʔiŋ-a. be.ill-PT-MAN 3AM-say-PT-1s my-EMPH NAR say-PT

‘Why then did I show myself: she made me unhappy. However, she is mine, he said.’

(34) kʰon-pacʰi kʰwatni ʔiŋ-a-pacʰi ā mi-tums-u-ci pacʰi he/she-after (N) then way say-PT-after (N) yes 3pl-join.together-3P-DUP after (N) tuʔ-a-ci. meet-PT-DU

‘After that, after he said this, they made them meet one another. After that they met.’

(35) pacʰi meʔen u - sɾišti o-ko rita tʰapsiq ʔo detni ā after (N) DOUBT he/she (N) - creation (N) this-ref ritual (N) now (N) how yes ako ankaci sumnima ra paruhaṉ lisa-ci tu-ʔa-ci now (N) weʰ Sumnima and (N) Paruhang become-PT-DU be.ill-PT-DU bʰela-li-sa-ci tʰapsiq hili detni o-ko ʔo ʔo puŋ-ć-u detni gathered (N)-ATTR-PRN-PL ritual culture how this-ref then (N) begin-3P-DU how bane-mu-c-u o-ko mollok.

make (N)-do-DU-3P this-ref isn’t it

‘After, errr, creation, this tradition now how was it? Now we have become Sumnima and Paruhang. We met, we gathered, and now how do we start the tradition, how do we make it, hey.’

(36) henkʰamma sumnima bʰone sumnima ā kʰun-ki-na kʰwatni earth Sumnima saying (N) Sumnima yes he/she-SEQ-TOP that.way ʔiŋ-a-ci, kʰon-da-ŋka.

say-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL

‘The earth, Sumnima said, then she spoke like this, after that.’

(37) o-sa ā pahilet kʰon-pacʰi o-ko cakwa matte cakwa-matʰi ani this-PRN yes first (N) he/she-after (N) this-ref water only (N) water-on.top (N) then (N) ā ləha-ʔo kʰomba sumnima-ʔa adee pi-ʔo ki-na e la loha-ʔo yes iron-GEN pole (N) Sumnima-ERG order (N) give-3P-SEQ-TOP EMPHe OK iron-GEN kʰabo tʰur-ma-dot pʰalam-o kʰabo i-tʰurs-a-č-u-kí-na ʔo pillar (N) dig-INF-OBlij iron (N)-GEN pillar (N) 3AM-dig-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-TOP yes cakwa-hut-yu-ŋka-ŋja-ŋja.

water-inside-LOC-low-ABL-EMPH

‘Like this first then she had to bury a strong pole in the water, Sumnima, he gave her the order. After they had buried the pole, it was from out of inside the water.’

(38) ā coke kʰábo-ki-na kʰon-ki coke kʰábo yes flat (N) pillar (N) SEQ-TOP be/she-SEQ flat (N) pillar (N) i-tʰurš-a-č-u-kí-na cakwa-hut-yu bʰen-yu o luŋ.

3AM-dig-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-TOP water-hole-LOC-low root-LOC-low this stone
"The flattened (top) of the pole, then having buried the flat pole, down in the water (at the foot) the stone,"

(39) i-lons-a-c-uki-na  mu-du  i-hamt-a-c-u
3s-take.outside-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-TOP that-LOC.high 3AM-hang-PT-DU-3P
mu-du  hamt-a-c-u-p ə baca  i-pakt-a-c-u.
that-LOC.high hang-PT-DU-3P-after (N) yes charm 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P

'Having taking out (the stone) they put it up there, on top they put it and then they put on a charm.'

(40) baca  charm ɨ-pakt-a-c-u-p ə cʰ i
3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P- after (N) pʰə ile spread (N) li-ya-ŋ sa become-PROG.SIM kʰar-a-kina

'Having put on the charm, having spread, it covered (the water).'

(41) kʰon-ki  mo-ci-ʔa  ani  bandana-ʔa  i-cʰums-a-c-u  bandana-cʰəŋ
he/she-SEQ that-PL-ERG then (N) tie (N)-ERG 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P tie (N)-also
caha dot-Ø-ʔa-na  račʰə.
need must-NPT-NOM-EMPH MIR

'Then they bound it with a rope, the rope also appeared to be required.'

(42) ə cʰum-ma-cʰəŋ  cʰum-ma-da  kʰun-ki-na  i-cʰums-a-c-u  ə
yes tie.up-INF-also tie.up-INF-TEMP he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P yes
pimaj-ʔa  i-cʰums-a-c-u  kʰayamaŋ-ʔa  rase  i-muw-a-c-u.
snake.god-ERG 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P Khayamang-ERG strangle (N) 3AM-do-PT-DU-3P

'Yes, they bound it with the snake god (Pimang), by Khayamang they strangled him.'

(43) bakʰa  kʰon-ki-na  i-lôs-a-c-u  ə
soil he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-take.outside-PT-DU-3P yes ourʰ chant-VIA
bobbyoŋma  bʰa  dʰəmira.
termite  they say (N) termite (N)

'Then they took the mud out. Yes, according to our tradition, they say the "bobbyoŋma", the termite.'

(44) dʰəmira-ʔa  bakʰa  lôs-ū  luŋ-ʔo  i-duŋ  dʰu-tni  pa-ʔu  ə
termite (N)-ERG soil take.outside-3P stone-GEN his/her-top up-ALL put.in-3P yes
kʰun-paceʰi  ã mo  rase  i-muw-a-c-u  bandana
he/she-after (N) yes that strangle (N) 3AM-do-PT-DU-3P tie (N)
i-pakt-a-c-u.
3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P

'The termite took the mud on top of the stone, above, then they bound him and put him in bondage.'

(45) kʰun-paceʰi  cahi  jamma  dʰake  mu-Ø-kʰatt-u.
he/she-after (N) swTOP (N) all (N) cover (N) do-3P-DIRaway-3P

'After that, altogether they covered and took him,'
Appendices

(46) o cakwa dipt-u cakwa dipt-u-pac\(i\) abo ani di-c\(e\) e this water cover-3P water cover-3P-after (N) now (N) then (N) what-ever hey "siŋraŋ-da-ŋka di ubje mu-c-u" ni yiŋ-a-ci, tree-LOC-ABL what grow (N) do-DU-3P NAR say-PT-DU

They covered it with water, after covering it, now, then, whatever, hey, what will we make grow from the tree take, they said.'

(47) sollaha muw-a-ci siŋraŋ-da-ŋka ubje mu-c-u-ne hai. ankaci ā abo advice (N) do-DU-DU tree-LOC-ABL grow (N) do-DU-3P OPT hey we\(\text{ii}\) yes now (N) u sirk\(b\)əŋŋa ra racana ā mo-ko lit-c-u-ne ni yiŋ-a-ci. he/she (N) sirk\(b\)əŋŋa and (N) creation (N) yes that-ref plant-DU-3P-3P OPT NAR say-PT-DU

'They discussed, from the tree what will we take out, hey. We, er, now, let us plant the sirkhana tree and creation, they said.'

(48) k\(b\)on-ki-na i-litt-a-c-u k\(b\)on-ki-na o-ko ten b\(e\)plokok he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-plant-DU-DU 3P he/she-SEQ-TOP this-ref village completely o-ko jamma-s-a i-yaŋ ni-ʔa ni-ki-na this-ref altogether (N)-PRN-ERG hold NAR-EMPHa NAR-SEQ-TOP

'And then they planted it. And then, that complete town, it held all.'

(49) k\(b\)on-ki mo i-litt-a-c-u-pac\(i\) k\(b\)on-ki-piĉe-da dana he/she-SEQ-DU-DU 3AM-plant-DU-3P after (N) he/she-SEQ-DU-DU (N)-LOC seed (N) ri[t]\(a\) i-pa-ʔa-c-u, soap.nut (N) 3AM-put.in-DU-DU-3P

'Then, after they planted that, after that they put in a rudraksha seed.'

(50) mo-da-ŋka-sa bar pipola bar ra pipoli i-litt-a-c-u, that-LOC-ABL-PRN bar (N) pipal (N) bar (N) and (N) poplar 3AM-plant-DU-3P

From there, they planted a bar-pipal tree, a bar tree and a pipal tree.'

(51) mo-da-ŋka-sa iko jayjanma c\(b\)-a-ci mo-da hurke mi-lis-a, that-LOC-ABL-PRN their\(d\) glorious (N) child-PL that-LOC raise (N) 3pl-become-PT

'By that, their new-born children grew up.'

(52) mi-poy-a.

3pl-grow-PT

'There they grew up.'

(53) ə mwatni jaya-c\(b\)-a-ci-c\(b\)\(a\)ŋ i-tokt-a-c-u-ci-kina mo-ci-c\(b\)\(a\)ŋ yes that.way glory (N)-child-PL also 3AM-receive-PT-DU-3P-DUP-CAUS that-PL-ever mi-pon-ʔa-yaŋ-Ø mi-poy-a-yakt-a 3pl-grow-NPT-PROG-NPT 3pl-grow-PT-CONT-PT

'Er, like that, after they got their children they also grew up there, continued to grow up.'

(54) ani sumnima-ʔa sapaŋa-yu e senmaŋa-yu k\(b\)aŋ-u nimaŋ then (N) Sumnima-ERG dream (N)-LOC low hey dream-LOC low see-3P quotative a cikiwa ə jet\(b\)a i-c\(b\)ora cikiwa ni.

that.1 small.leopard yes eldest (N) his/her-son (N) small.leopard other
‘And Sumnima saw in a dream, it is said, Ah, Cikiwa, well, their eldest son is called Cikiwa (small leopard).’

(55) əni maksa ani tumun ni ə i-co-niŋ kʰwa-kko ni. then (N) bear then (N) Tumun NAR yes their^2-name that-ATTR NAR
‘And “bear” (maksa), then, Tumun, is their name, like that.’

(56) tumun maksa rə cikiwa ni ə maksa rə kɨwa ni. Tumun bear and (N) small.leopard NAR yes bear and (N) tiger then (N) kʰo-da-ŋkwa-kko ənɨ. he/she-LOC-ABL-GEN-PRN then (N) Hangchanuma human.being (N)
‘Tumun bear, and Cikiwa, bear and tiger, then, following that, then there was Hangchanuma, a human.’

(57) haŋ kʰon-ka-c Tikama-c ɪŋ I work (N)-also NEGNPp-do-NEGn-1s
‘I shall not do work.’

(58) bə nibasi-ŋa waŋ-nə, jägal-ya-tni emph jungle-house (N)-EMPH enter-1sNP go-1sNP jungle (N)-LOC.level-ALL entry-PT-DIRaway-PT NAR
‘Saying, “I shall go off into the jungle,” he went off into the jungle.’

(59) kʰo-da-ŋkwa-kko-ma tumun o-tet agʰi-ŋa, jägal-ya-tni emph jungle-house (N)-EMPH enter-1sNP go-1sNP jungle (N)-LOC.level-ALL entry-PT-DIRaway-PT NAR
‘After that, yes, as for Tumun, he first went off into the forest.’

(60) mayarem i-mu-w-a-ci-p ə cikiwa rə háŋch’anuma matte mayarem 3AM-do-PT-DU-after (N) yes small.leopard and (N) Hangchanuma only (N) yuŋ-a-lar-a-ci ə ni sit-PT-DIRoff-PT-DU NAR
‘Having lost him in Mamarem, only Cikiwa and Hangchanuma were left.’
The oldest and youngest children only were left, and they were going to hunt, it is said.

While they were hunting, then, the younger "The elder will chase and bring some game, maybe.'

By a bow-and-arrow, he will come, he, then, whatever, will kill, tear me up and kill me, he was thinking.'

Yes, his clothes were not there, after that, Nathe my brother like that is doing to me, thinking, and then my elder brother, like this he will do to me, what will I do? I, then, will save my life.'
(69) abo ama am-sakoŋwa cha-ŋa iŋ-biwa maila-na now (N) mother (N) your* heart child-EMPH my-elder.brother second.brother-TOP mollok abo acca-ŋa kʰar-a-łont-a jāgal-ya-tni. isn’t it now (N) truly-EMPH go-PT-DIR-up PT jungle (N)-LOC level ALL
’Now, mother, your precious child, my older brother, the second brother, now, he really went up towards the jungle.’

(70) ani iŋ-daju jet’a-ʔa-χen yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci-ʔa. then (N) my-brother (N) eldest (N)-COM sit-DU-PROG-DU-e
’And we were together with my eldest brother.’

(71) iŋ-daju jet’a ʔa “o-ko sikara-ci ani cʰekt-u-ci, ant-u my-brother (N) eldest (N) EMPHa this-ref hunt (N)-PL then (N) block-3P-DUP turn-3P tar-u-ci ʔa!’ ni lo-ŋ ta-na. bring-3P-DU EMPHa NAR say-3P-1s TOP (N)-TOP
’Now, I said to my eldest brother: “Block the game, turn it and bring it, OK?”’

(72) aby-ŋ-a-χen mollok ikŋa sikara huŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋ ni-pamt-a-ŋ! 3AM-tear-PT-1s throw.away-PT-1s
’Yes, I was waiting for the game (to arrive).’

(73) kʰo-sa-ʔe mollok a cikiwa mu-nan-ci-n-ki-na jamma he/she-PRN-EMPH isn’t it yes small.leopard do-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP all (N) i-pamt-a-ŋ! kes-a-ŋ!
’Now, as he is a leopard, he will tear me all up!’

(74) iŋka detni ci-ŋa-ki mollok ikŋa nu-Ø i how do-1sNP-SEQ isn’t it I be.good-NPT
’Now, what should I to come out right?’

(75) “iŋ-biwa detni-ʔo ni lo-ŋ-ki-na nu-Ø” ni ajna my-elder.brother how-NOM NAR say-1sSEQ-TOP be.good-NPT NAR order (N) dor-a, i-ma-ʔeda kancʰa. must-PT his/her-mother-COMl youngest (N)
’What will I say to my brother, and be good,” he asked for instructions with his mother, the youngest.’

(76) kʰo-da-ŋa-na kancʰa i-cʰora ajna dor-ŋ a. ani “ła amco he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP youngest (N) his/her-son (N) order (N) must-PT then (N) OK your⁴ mina ra amco buddʰi-ʔa dʰir-u-ʔo-wa-ŋa ciw-a-ci aha,” ni. man and (N) your⁴ wisdom (N)-ERG find-3P-NOM LIKE-EMPH do-PT-DU EMPHa NAR
’That way, the youngest son asked for instructions. And she said: “Just like what your heart and your wisdom finds, do these things, hey”.

(77) ajna pi-Ø kancʰa i-cʰora-lāb a ajna pi-Ø-phaχi la order (N) give-3P youngest (N) his/her-son (N)-DAT (N) yes order (N) give-3P-after (N) OK bʰelhalyo la nu-Ø-ŋe ama ni yiį-ŋ. already done (N) OK be.good-NPT-EMPH mother (N) NAR say-PT
‘She gave instruction to her youngest son. Yes, after she gave an order, well, now, done. It is good now, the mother said to her youngest.’

(87) i-cʰa kʰa-na ik-topra kok mu-w-Ø ni ik his/her-child youngest (N) that-MAN yes one-leaf plate (N) rice cause-NPT NAR one
laʔʰa becʰukʰ solonwa-da-ŋka-ŋ wacʰin pak-Ø ni-ni lo-Ø stick (N) ginger yes gourd-LOC-ABL-EMPH beer put-in-NPT NAR-NAR say-3P
du-mu-a-ci. do-PT-DUP yes
‘She gave him one plate of rice and one stick of ginger. In a bottle gourd she put beer.’

(79) ama-laí kʰawatni i-rem-u ni kʰon-ki-na ñ ama-laí
mother (N)-DAT that.way 3AM-order-3P NAR he/she-SEQ-TOP yes mother (N)-DAT
i-rem-u-pacʰi la ni-ki-na kok-cʰaŋ mett-u-ci-kina
3AM-order-3P-after (N) OK NAR-SEQ-TOP rice-also cause-3P-DUP-CAUS
topra-da-ŋka ñ haŋcʰanuma-ʔa kʰuy-u ni.
leaf plate (N)-LOC-ABL yes Hangchanuma-ERG carry-3P NAR
‘He ordered his mother like that, and then, yes, after he ordered his mother, OK, she said and gave him rice as well, and Hangchanuma carried it away in a leaf plate.’

(80) i-cʰa kʰa-na-ʔa ni solonwa cʰaŋ kʰuy-u ni
his/her-child youngest (N)-ERG NAR gourd also carry-3P NAR
‘Her youngest son also carried the bottle gourd.’

(81) ik-pa-na becʰuk-cʰaŋ kʰuy-u ni kombi-cʰaŋ kʰuy-u ni talik-cʰaŋ
one-leaf (N) ginger-also carry-3P NAR grass-knife-also carry-3P NAR bow-also
carry-PT that-SEQ-after (N) go-PT-DU jungle (N)-LOC.level hunt (N) do-SUP
‘One lump of ginger also he carried, a sickle he carried, a bow he carried. Then they went to the jungle, to hunt.’

(82) ‘a-biwa kʰa-na eikara-ci jo-ʔo yanbʰak-ci kʰissa-ci
VOCP-elder.brother you’ hunt (N)-PL whoever (N)-GEN wild.boar-PL deer-PL
bʰiks-ci mi-ta-Ø-ʔo ti-dʰir-u-ci-ʔo ont-u
elk-PL 3pl-come.far-NPT-NOM 2AS-find-3P-DUP-NOM chase.in.hunt-3P
batt-u-ci, iʔka o-da yuŋ-ŋa,” ni-ʔa ni lo-Ø
bring-3P-DUP I this-LOC sit-1sNP NAR-EMPHa NAR say-3P
‘“Older brother! Whichever game, any wild boars, deer, elks that come your way, that you find, you must chase them (towards me). I stay here,” he said.’

(83) i-biwa-cʰe la ni yin-a ni i-biwa
his/her-elder.brother-ever OK NAR say-PT NAR his/her-elder.brother NAR
i-biwa kʰawatni yin-a-pacʰi ni kʰar-a. abo ayi-na
his/her-elder.brother that.way say-PT-after (N) NAR go-PT now (N) today-TOP
ancu-ʔa-ʔo set-mu-ma-ʔo din naí ho.
our-EMPH kill-RECIP-INF-GEN day (N) EMPH (N) is (N)
‘His brother said: OK. After his brother said that, he went. Today is the day will we kill each other.’
Now my mother had said to us two, to the extent of your wisdom, she had said, do it.

Now after I find a banana pole, and made it into my own shape, I must call (it) a man.

With my dress, I must make the banana pole stand. Also it must be made to hold the arrow-and-bow.

In my dress banana-thamba from there how he does it, it appears, thinking he climbed up to the top of the tree.

After he climbed up to the top of the tree, he had also brought his arrow-and-bow up there, he had also brought his rice and snack.

Below, he only had dressed up a banana pole with his clothes.
'After he had gone up, he was screaming “haha and hahu” from there.'

(92) i-nicʰaʔo i-bastar ɲaksi tʰamba.
his/her-younger.brother-GEN his/her-dress (N) banana stem
sirəŋ-cok-daʔŋka “a-bi mo-ko de ti-ci-0-yəŋ-0? mwatnỉ
tree-top-LOC-ABL. VOCp-brother that-ref what 2AS-do-NPT-PROG-NPT that.way
a-biwa iŋka-ña hasikʰelí mu-ŋa-0-ŋa-ʔo.”
VOCp-brother I-TOP jest (N) be.pred-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM
‘His younger brother’s dress was on the banana pole. From up the tree (he said:) “brother, what are you doing? Like that, brother, I am just kidding.”’

(93) ð e ni i-biwa yiŋ-ə ni.
yes hey NAR his/her-elder.brother say-PT NAR
‘Ahh! Right! said his elder brother.’

(94) kʰana kʰa-daʔŋka han-ma ti-lam-0-yəŋ-0ʔ0? ni iŋka-na
you’ where-LOC-ABL talk-INF 2AS-seek-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM I-TOP
sirəŋ cok-du yuŋ-ŋa-0-ya ni yiŋ-ma ni.
tree-plant top-LOC.high sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR say-INF NAR
‘From where are you trying to talk? I am sitting in the top of a tree, as I said.’

(95) kʰun-ki-na la abo anco amaʔa kʰaja mollok
he/she-SEQ-TOP OK now (N) ourʾ mother (N)-ERG snack (N) isn’t it
i-pakt-a-ciʔ0 duŋ-c-u-ne hai, kok bʰom ca-c-u-ne kok
3AM-put-in-PT-DU-NOM drink-DU-3P-OPT hey rice bundle eat-DU-3P-OPT rice
cʰaŋ ca-c-u-ne wačʰin cʰaŋ duŋ-c-u-ne ni yiŋ-a-ci ni.
also eat-DU-3P-OPT beer also drink-DU-3P-OPT NAR say-PT-DU NAR
‘And then: well, now let us eat the snack that our mother has wrapped, hey. Let us eat our snack, let use eat our rice and drink our beer, they said (it is said).’

(96) la kʰana iŋka abo i-dʰan-niʔ-či-ni-ŋ.
aní laŋkja
OK you’ I now (N) NEGNp-take.down-NEGn-1s-DUP-NEGn-1s then (N) flat
dʰis-a-n-ci.n am-do-da owatnỉ hoʔ-u-ki tatt-u a ni
lay-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL yourʾ-mouth-LOC like this open-3P-SEQ add-3P that.1 NAR
lo-ma ni lo-0.
say-INF NAR say-3P
‘Well, I am not taking it down to you. Then, lie yourself down flat on the floor. Open your mouth and take it like this! he said.’

(97) i-nicʰaʔa lo-0 ni, kʰun-ki i-biwa
his/her-younger.brother-ERG say-3P NAR he/she-SEQ his/her-elder.brother
kaŋ-s a ni. kʰon-pacʰi kok cʰaniŋka pʰile lett-u-dis-u
obey-PT NAR he/she-after (N) rice cʰaniŋka before (N) send-3P-reach-3P
kʰon-daʔŋka wačʰin tʰokt-u-dis-u. c-o, kʰiŋs-u.
he/she-LOC-ABL beer pour.to-3P-reach-3P eat-3P swallow-3P
‘The younger brother said that, and his elder brother obeyed, it is said. After he first fed him from the rice. After that, he poured him the beer. He at, and he swallowed.’
(98) abo in-bud?apa d?ir-u samma-ge in-biwa-c?e mu-Ø-ŋ ni
now (N) my-wisdom (N)-ERG find-3P till (N)-EMPH my-elder.brother-also do-3P-1s NAR
min-a.
think-PT
'Now I shall do as clever as I can to my brother, he thought.'

(99) i-nic’a-tet min-Ø-yan-Ø siq-ran-cok-du-ŋka
his/her-younger.brother-swTOP think-NPT-PROG-NPT tree-plant-top-LOC.high-ABL
ni. k?on-pac?i ã la am-mik sipt-u abo-lai cali ?ŋka
NAR he/she-after (N) yes OK your4-eye blink-3P now (N)-DAT swTOP (N) I
i-rahalpahal yan-Ø-yan-Ø.
his/her-remainder (N) sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
'The younger brother was thinking up in that tree. Then, hmm, well, close your eyes,
for now I have the remainder.'

(100) jamma tatt-u-wa ni lo-Ø ni. k?un-ki-na i-do ni la ni
all (N) add-3P-LIKE NAR say-3P NAR he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-mouth NAR OK NAR
kans-a ni k?o-da-ŋka-?o-sa-na i-do ho-?u-kina
hide-PT NAR he/she-LOC-ABL-GEN-PRN-TOP his/her-mouth open-3P-CAUS
i-mik sipt-u-ki i-do ho?u ni-ta-na b?he e
his/her-eye blink-3P-SEQ his/her-mouth open-3P NAR-TOP (N)-TOP arrow hey
apt-u-dis-u ni.
shoot-3P-reach-3P NAR
'Bring it all, he said, it is said. Then, his mouth, (as he had obeyed, he had opened his
mouth and closed his eyes), opening his mouth, he shot an arrow inside.'

(101) b?he apt-u-dis-u pac?i sw-a-da.
arrow shoot-3P-reach-3P after (N) die-PT-TEMPP
'Af...
’That is Sumnima. As a consequence, after she thought that way, her youngest, for one, came first.’

(105) kancʰa am-biwa kʰa-ʔu kʰada ti-chir-u-d-o ni sen-u. youngest (N) your-elder.brother see-3P where 2AS-leave-3P-eff-3P NAR ask-3P
’Youngest, what about your brother? Where did you leave him?’

’Yes, as for my brother, what, mother, you asked me, well. Yes, he was hunting, over there in the jungle I have left him, he said.’

(107) ñ i-cʰa kancʰa sumnima-lai kʰwatni lo-Ø ni. yes his/her-child youngest (N) Sumnima-DAT that.way say-3P NAR kʰon-pacʰi-na peri-ŋa las-u-sen-u hasikʰeli mi-yan-ŋ ni he/she-after (N)-TOP again (N)-EMPH return-3P-ask-3P jest (N) NEGPTp-be NAR lo-Ø ni say-3P NAR
’Yes, her youngest child said so to Sumnima. After that, she asked again: ’do not fool me’, she said.’

(108) kʰo-da-ŋka-sa pʰeri-ŋa tin bakyə tìn kʰepi he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN again (N)-EMPH three (N) sentence three (N) time ta-Ø-la-Ø-pacʰi, abo mollok in-ma-ʔeda-ʔo watni come.far-PT-return-PT-after (N) now (N) isn’t. it my-mother-COMl-GEN here i-biwa-ʔa i-mu-ŋa-ŋa ni ta amco his/her-elder.brother-ERG threeAM-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR though (N) yourd buddʰi-ʔa dʰir-u-ʔo amco minma-ʔa dʰir-u-ʔo sa cw-a-ci ni. your²-wisdom (N) find-3P-NOM your⁴ mind-ERG find-3P-CONS do-PT-DU NAR
’That way, after this happened three times, he said: Just as my mother said, when my brother would behave to me like this: ’do as your wisdom finds, as your mind finds...’’

(109) ani ti-lo-Ø ni-ʔo kʰon-ki-na hasikʰeli mu-Ø-yan-Ø then (N) 2AS-say-3P NAR-NOM he/she-SEQ-TOP jest (N) be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT mo-ya mo-da-ŋa ñ sikara hun-ŋ-yan-ŋ-ə that-LOC. level that-LOC. EMPH yes hunt (N) wait-3P-PROG-NP NAR ma-ʔaŋ NEGPTp-be.PTNEG
’That was as you said. After that, in jest, over there, he waited for the game, right?’

(110) kʰwatni man-yin-ŋ-da. qʰaʔa man-mu-da. kʰa ett-a-ŋ that.way NEGPTp-say-NEGPTs lie (N) NEGPTp-be.pred-NEGPTs AntP tell-PT-1s
am-buwaʔo ʔi-tunγgo i-yunγ-kʰa i-eikara
your elder.brother-GEN yes his/her-last (N) 3AM-put-PNOM his/her-hunt (N)
mu-kʰa ni kʰatni kʰotni ti-lo-Ø ni-ʔo mollok.
do-PNOM other where.dir that.way 2AS-say-3P NAR-NOM isn’t.it
‘Do not speak that way. Do not lie. Show me your brother’s final place, while he was hunting, what direction, that way, you will say it.’

(111) ser-uŋ-dodo-Ø-ŋ
kill-3P-1s-eff-3P-1s
ni NAR
a-keri-da finally (N)
cahi ̃ then (N)
haŋcʰanuma-ERG
ə-
i-cʰa-kancʰa 3AM-put-PNOM
his/her-child-youngest (N)
sumnima-ʔo Sumnima-GEN
ɨ-cʰa
his/her-child
kancʰa-ʔa youngest (N)-ERG
lo-Ø say-3P
ɨ-mai-lai kʰa ett-u.
his/her-mother-DAT AntP
tell-3P
‘ ‘I killed him,’’ finally, Hangchanuma, Sumnima’s youngest child, said, and he told his mother.’

(112) kʰon-daŋkaŋ ɪk-pana becʰuk rə solonwa
he/she-LOC-ABL-EMPH again (N)-EMPH one-leaf (N)
gourd
kʰatt-u kʰatt-u-kina muddum mett-u i-cʰa
take.away-3P take.away-3P-CAUS chant cause-3P his/her-child
i-maya-ʔa.
his/her-love (N)-ERG
‘After that, again, she brought one leaf of ginger and a gourd. After taking it, she said prayers over him, her son, by her love.’

(113) mo-ko-na ɪŋkən-sakoŋ ᵐaollek ɨni-muw-a
that-ref-TOP my-TOP heart isn’t.it this 3A-do-PT
i-y sakəŋwya-yə kʰana ani cikəwə-ŋa tʰiyo.
my-heart-LOC.level you’re here 3A-heart-LOC-EMPH PPTaux
‘This mine heart-child, well, dear-heart-child, you did such to me, in my heart you were my leopard.’

(114) ani tumun maksəʔo tʰiyo then (N) Tumun bear-VOC PPTaux
‘There was Tumun, the bear.’

(115) hancʰanuma kancʰa ani amno bʰai
Hangchanuma youngest (N) then (N) your younger.brother (N) younger.brother-GEN
tʰiyo-ni ani lo-Ø kʰatni lo-Ø pacʰi i-cʰatida luq
PPTaux-EMPH (N) then (N) say-3P where.dir say-3P after (N) his/her-chest-LOC stone
yukt-u, cikma lug.
place-3P flint stone
‘Hangchanuma, was the youngest, and your younger brother, she said, then, well. After she said such, she put a stone in her son’s chest, a flint stone.’

(116) ani solonwaʔa kʰitt-u tʰokt-u-dis-u i-do-da-tni jamma
then (N) gourd-ERG worship-3P spill-3P reach-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL all (N)
rept-u. kʰon-pacʰi rept-u-pacʰi ani tʰint-u-kʰais-u.
sprinkle-3P that-after (N) sprinkle-3P-after (N) then (N) wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P.
‘Then, with the gourd she worshipped, poured water into his mouth, she sprinkled it all. And she splashed water on him, and she revived him.’

(117) waset komnaga dipt-u-ki-na kʰwatni mu-Ø. kʰon-ki-na chicklet ??komnaga cover-3P-SEQ-TOP that.way do-3P. he/she-SEQ-TOP tʰint-u-kʰaïš-u. tʰint-u-kʰaïš-u-pacʰi kʰar-ɑ, ya hant-u wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P-after (N) go-PT prayer send-3P tʰin-loïš-u-pacʰi.

‘Covering him with a chick and komnenga, she did it like that. Then, she made him sit up. After she made him sit up, she went, and prayed, and woke him up.’

(118) deki mollok watni ti-ci-Ø-wa? am-buddʰi un-samma-ŋa why isn’t.it watni here 2AS-do-3P-LIKE your¹-wisdom (N) this.much-up.to (N)-EMPH racʰə.

MIR
‘Why, then, did you act like this? Your wisdom turns out to be up to this.’

(119) am-nicʰə hanče-anuma-ʔo tʰiyo kʰana cikiwa-ʔo your²-younger.brother Hangchanuma-NOM PPTaux you¹ small.leopard-NOM tʰiyo.

PPTaux
‘Your brother was Hangchanuma. You were Cikiwa.’

(120) abo o-ko i-buddʰi baddʰe-ŋa racʰə, amko am-buddʰi now (N) this-ref his/her-wisdom (N) many-EMPH MIR your² your²-wisdom (N) i-ci tʰore-ŋa racʰə.

his/her-little.bit much (N)-EMPH MIR
‘Now his wisdom appeared to be great, your wisdom appears to be a bit less.’

(121) cʰukt-a-ʔo racʰə am-buddʰi ni lo-Ø mo cikiwa jump-PT-NOM MIR your²-wisdom (N) NAR say-3P that small.leopard tʰint-u-loïš-u-pacʰi.

wake-3P-take.up-3P-after (N)
‘Your wisdom now has gone down, she said, after she had woken up the tiger.’

(122) lu ani am-nicʰə cʰibʰiri-du kon-Ø-yan-Ø-nalo, well then (N) your²-younger.brother hill.close-LOC high walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND e, cʰibʰiri-yu kon-Ø-yan-Ø-nalo, kʰana cʰibʰiri lont-a, hey hill.far-LOC.low walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND you¹ hill.close go.outside-PT kʰana cʰibʰiri-du ti-kon-Ø-yan-Ø-nalo am-nicʰə you¹ hill.close-LOC.high 2AS-walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND your²-younger.brother cʰibʰiri-yu kon-Ø.

hill.far-LOC.low walk-NPT
‘Well, now, if your younger brother goes over to the nearby hill, goes down from that far hill, then you must come up from the nearby hill, and your younger brother down from the hill further out.’
(123) abo am-kama]-čʰaŋ matdiŋ-Ø di-cʰaŋ kama
now (N) your’-income (N)-also not.there-NPT what-ever work (N)
ti-muwa-ʔo-cʰaŋ matdiŋ-Ø,
2AS-do-PT-NOM-also not.there-NPT
‘Now you also have no earning, income, you have done no work whatever.’

(124) am-ničʰaʔa-na kent-u-ŋ-u-ci-ʔo jemma
your’-younger.brother-ERG-EMPH keep.animals-3P-PROG-3P-DUP-NOM all (N)
ani kʰana kʰis-u-co-ʔa
then (N) you’ steal-3P-eat-3P-EMPHa.
‘All that your younger brother is keeping, you steal and eat it, hey!’

(125) kʰwatni lo-Ø-pacʰi i-maʔo i-som siw-a.
that.way say-3P-after (N) his/her-mother-GEN his/her-love die-PT
‘After she had said this, his mother was satisfied.’

(126) kʰon-daŋka-sa abo
his/her-mother-GEN his/her-love die-PT-also
kʰaŋ all (N)
ebni then (N)
detni how
bʰəne, if (N)
‘After his mother was satisfied, now, from that what do we say about the traditions.’

(127) man mu-ma ca-maʔo man mu-ma ca-maʔo āni detni bʰone,
godhead do-INF eat-INF-NOM godhead do-INF eat-INF-NOM then (N) how if (N)
‘To continuously worship the gods, and then how.’

(128) abo sakenwa āni yuŋuŋ-diwa āni epma-diwa ni
now (N) Sakenwa then (N) Yupung-grandfather then (N) grave-grandfather NAR
yin-in-y-in.
ā epma kʰit-ma ni aŋhiʔaŋ
say-12plSP-PROG-12plSP yes grave worship-INF NAR before (N)-GEN
an-baje-ci an-diwa-ci an-pa-ci
ourⁿ-grandfather (N)-PL ourⁿ-grandfather-PL ourⁿ-father-PL
mi-yuw-a-ŋ-aʔo tʰiyo,
3pl-be-PT-PROG-PT-NOM PPTaux
‘Now we say Sakenwa and Yupungdiwa and Epnadiwa (god of the grave?). Er, worship
at the grave means: they were our previous grandfathers, grandfathers and fathers.’

(129) təɾo sumnimaʔaŋa kʰwatni yuŋ-u-do-Øʔo huna-le
but (N) Sumnima-ERG-EMPH that.way put-3P-eff-3P-NOM being (N)-INSTR (N)
epma-diwa kʰit-ma dot-Ø-yan-Ø.
grave-grandfather worship-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘But as Sumnima has laid it down, the Epmadiwa must be paid honour.’

(130) āni yuŋuŋ-diwa-cʰaŋ mu-ma dot-Ø-yan-Ø.
then (N) Yupung-grandfather-also do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘And Yupungdiwa also must be done.’
(131) sampukdiwa-cʰəŋ mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø sum-ka-tet luŋ-ci-cʰəŋ
Sampukdiwa-also do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT three-CNT-qual stone-PL-also
an-dabya-kʰam-da tʰuŋ-ma-ci dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
our†-fireplace-place-LOC dig-INF-DU must-NPT-PROG-NPT
'Sampukdiwa also must be done, also, three stones must be spread out in the hearth stone.'

(132) i-lain mo-da-ŋa ani cʰute lis-a.
his/her-line (E) that-LOC-EMPH then (N) divided (N) become-PT
'The line there now there was the division'

(133) ani sakenwa ni yiŋ-in-y-in sakenwa-cʰəŋ ani mo
then (N) Sakenwa NAR say-12plSP-PROG-12plSP Sakenwa-also then (N) that
lain-da-ŋka cʰute lis-a luŋ-majʰa-da lims-a-dʰ-a-Ø.
line (E)-LOC-ABL divide (N) become-PT stone-middle (N)-LOC turn.over-PT-DIR down-PT
'We call Sakenwa: There is a separation by that line, it fell over in between the stones.'

(134) ik-lain-da sakenwa lis-a, ik-lain-da cʰu li sakenwa
one-line-LOC Sakenwa become-PT one-line-LOC swTOP (N) Yupung-grandfather
become-PT one-line-LOC three (N)-qual (N) that-LOC dig-INF must-eff-EMPH
'Sakenwa was in one line, in one line came Yupungdiwa. In one line, three pieces must be dug.'

(135) an-kʰim hut-ya luŋ-ci ani kʰon-ki-na mo-da bal čakʰa
our†-house inside-LOC.level stone-PL then (N) he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC strength (N)
dot-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø, mo luŋ-ci-da.
beg-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT that-LOC-LOC
'In our house’s stone hearth, there we must ask for strength, in those stones.'

(136) ki-na kʰwatni lis-a-ʔo.
SEQ-TOP that.way become-PT NOM
'Then, that is what it is like.'

(137) ani ke garne ani simnima-ʔo-na lai inka-na
then (N) what (N) do (N) then (N) Sumnima-GEN-TOP well 1-TOP
mon-samma-ŋa, nati, jetʰa...
that..much-up.to (N)-EMPH grandson (N) eldest (N)
'Then what to do, Sumnima’s (story), as for me, is up to here only, child, eldest son...'
(140) bhagata-ʔo-na iŋka i-tat-ni-ŋ.
Bhagata-GEN-TOP I NEGNP-pp-bring-NEGn-1s
‘The one from Bhagata I do not know.’

Figure 9.1: The temple complex of Barahaksetra on the Kośi river bank
B Paradigms

B.1 Intransitive agreement

The agreement tables listed below are based on data that are recorded in Sindhrān in Bhojpur district and further elicited from speakers of that area. This explains both why the data are very similar to the data of Rai (1985) and why there are some systematic differences.

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6The description of Bantawa as found in Rai (1985) differs slightly from the data presented here. The morpheme <nɨ> (3A) roughly corresponds to <ɨm> in Rai (1985). The ordering of prefixes is different in Rai (1985). The 1→2 and 2→1 non-singular forms are reduced in the dialect treated here, but more extensively marked in the presentation of Rai’s tables as found in Ebert (1994). For many forms, the comparison cannot be made because Rai (1985) does not give full paradigms.
### B.2 ‘To walk’

Below the affirmative and negative paradigms are given of the non-past tense, past tense and imperative mood of the verb *konma* ‘to walk’.

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### B.3 ‘To walk, progressive’

Below the progressive paradigms are given of the non-past and past tense of the verb *konma* ‘to walk’.

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B.4 ‘To come’

Below the affirmative and negative paradigms are given of the non-past tense, past tense and imperative mood of the verb ‘to come’, infinitive *tama*.

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B. Paradigms

B.5 ‘To need’

Below, the affirmative and negative conjugation paradigms are given of the non-past and past tenses in both the simple, perfective and progressive aspect of the part of the verb *caha metma* ‘to need’. The concept ‘to need’ is expressed by an intransitive conjugation of the verb *caha metma* ‘to need’.

(141) iŋka *ca*apdani caha met-ŋa-Ø-ŋa
   I pen need apply-1s-PROG-1s
   ‘I need a pen’

The verb stem *metma* ‘apply’ is used in different grammatical roles in Bantawa, such as an analytical causativiser. *Metma* also serves as a host of flection for a collection of bimorphemic verb roots. Those bimorphemic verb roots have the characteristic that the left morpheme serves to convey the main semantic content, whereas the right hand member *metma* indicates to whom this situation or feeling applies. The verb *metma* may then be glossed ‘apply’.

Interestingly, in the complex verb *caha metma* the verb agrees with the needer and conjugates intransitively. By contrast, verbs such as *k*alampa *metma* ‘to have a cold’ agree transitively with a cold as a third person agent and with the undergoer. In the case of *caha metma*, all noun phrases in the clause are in the absolutive case.

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## B.6 Reflexive agreement

The reflexive verb agreement paradigm is as below. Only prefixes and suffixes are lists, for all persons, tenses and polarities.

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B.7 The verb ‘to touch oneself’

Below one finds a sample paradigm of nopmancin ‘to touch oneself’, in simple and progressive aspects. The verb nopma ‘to touch’ with stem allomorphs <nop ~ nopt> is the root for these reflexive forms.

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B.8 The verb ‘to kill oneself by hanging’

Below one finds a sample paradigm of ‘to kill oneself by hanging’ in simple aspect only. This is a paradigm of a reflexive compound verb. Here only the left member carries prefixes, but its suffix string is truncated to a single syllable.

The verbs ‘to hang’ (ciına, root <ciŋ> - ciŋ) and ‘to kill’ (setma, root <set ~ ser>) are the root for these reflexive forms.

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B.9 ‘To take’

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### Progressive paradigms

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### B.10 ‘To eat’

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### B.11 ‘To forget’

#### Non-past affirmative

| 1s→2s | manna kʰanna |
| 1s→2d | manna kʰannaci |
| 1s→2p | manna kʰannanin |
| 1s→3s | mantuŋ kʰaĩsuŋ |
| 1s→3ns | mantuŋ kʰaĩsuŋciŋ |
| 1d→2s | manni kʰanni |
| 1d→3s | mancu kʰancuʔa |
| 1d→3ns | mancu kʰancuciʔa |
| 1p→3s | mantum kʰaĩsumka |
| 1p→3ns | mantum kʰaĩsumcumka |
| 1d→3ns | mancu kʰancuci |
| id→3s | mancu kʰancu |
| id→3ns | mancu kʰancuci |
| ip→3s | mantum kʰaĩsum |
| ip→3ns | mantum kʰaĩsumcum |
| 2s→1s | timanja kʰanja |
| 2s→1d | timannin kʰannin |
| 2s→3s | timantu kʰaĩsu |
| 2s→3ns | timantu kʰaĩsuci |
| 2d→1s | timanja kʰanjaŋciŋ |
| 2d→3s | timancu kʰancu |
| 2d→3ns | timancu kʰancuci |
| 2p→1s | timanja kʰanjaŋniŋ |
| 2p→3s | timantum kʰaĩsum |
| 2p→3ns | timantum kʰaĩsumcum |
| 3s→1s | imanja kʰanja |
| 3s→1d | nimanci kʰanciʔa |
| 3s→1p | nimantin kʰaĩšinka |
| 3s→1d | nimanci kʰaniŋ |
| 3s→1p | nimankʰan |
| 3s→2s | nimankʰan |
| 3s→2d | nimanci kʰan |
| 3s→2p | nimannin kʰan |
| 3s→3s | mantu kʰaĩsu |
| 3s→3ns | mantu kʰaĩsuci |
| 3d→1s | imanja kʰanjaŋciŋ |
| 3d→1d | nimanci kʰanciʔa |
| 3d→1p | nimantin kʰaĩšinka |
| 3d→3s | imancu kʰancu |
| 3d→3ns | imancu kʰancuci |
| 3p→1s | nimanja kʰanja |
| 3p→3s | imankʰan |
| 3p→3ns | mimantu kʰaĩsuci |

#### Non-past negative

| 1s→2s | imannan kʰan |
| 1s→2d | imannan kʰannanci |
| 1s→2p | imannan kʰannanimin |
| 1s→3s | imannij kʰannij |
| 1s→3ns | imannij kʰannijciŋ |
| 1d→2s | imannin kʰannin |
| 1d→3s | imancun kʰancunka |
| 1d→3ns | imancun kʰancuncinka |
| 1p→3s | imantin kʰaĩsiminka |
| 1p→3ns | imantin kʰaĩsimincinka |
| id→3s | imancun kʰancun |
| id→3ns | imancun kʰancuncin |
| ip→3s | imantin kʰaĩsimin |
| ip→3ns | imantin kʰaĩsimincin |
| 2s→1s | timannij kʰannij |
| 2s→1d | timannan kʰannaminin |
| 2s→3s | timannan kʰannan |
| 2s→3ns | timannan kʰannancin |
| 2d→1s | timannij kʰannijciŋ |
| 2d→3s | timannan kʰannancin |
| 2d→3ns | timannan kʰannancin |
| 2p→1s | timannij kʰannijminij |
| 2p→3s | timannan kʰannanminin |
| 2p→3ns | timannan kʰannanminincin |
| 3s→1s | imannij kʰannij |
| 3s→1d | nimancin kʰancinka |
| 3s→1p | nimantin kʰaĩšiminka |
| 3s→1d | nimannan kʰannancin |
| 3s→1p | mimannin kʰannin |
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| 3s→2d | nimannin kʰannancin |
| 3s→2p | nimannin kʰannanimin |
| 3s→3s | imantun kʰaĩsun |
| 3s→3ns | imantun kʰaĩsuncin |
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| 3d→1d | nimancin kʰancinka |
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| 3p→1s | nimannij kʰannij |
| 3p→3s | nimantun kʰaĩsun |
| 3p→3ns | nimantun kʰaĩsuncin |
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### Progressive paradigms

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<th>Number</th>
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<th>Non-negative</th>
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### B. Paradigms

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| }
Reflexive paradigms ('to forget oneself')

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Progressive reflexive paradigms ('to forget oneself')

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### Non-Finite forms (reflexive and simple)

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<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>INF refl</td>
<td>manman kʰanmancin</td>
<td>to forget yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF refl NEG</td>
<td>manman kʰan damancin</td>
<td>to not forget yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUP</td>
<td>mankʰanšĩ kʰara</td>
<td>go forget!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP refl</td>
<td>mantan kʰašancin</td>
<td>forget yourself!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIM</td>
<td>mankʰanyanša kʰara</td>
<td>forgetting, go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIM refl</td>
<td>mankʰancinsa kʰara</td>
<td>go forgetting!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUP refl</td>
<td>mankʰancinsi kʰara</td>
<td>go forget yourself!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## C Word list

For each entry, the Bantawa word list below contains the following information.

- a) The entry, for verbs in the infinitive. b) For verbs: a bracketed conjugated form. For each verb, the infinitive and third person singular forms suffice to derive all the forms in the paradigm. c) The part of speech or category, see below. d) Additional categorisation in brackets. For verbs, this field may be ‘antip’, i.e. antipassive, which means that if the transitive verb is conjugated intransitively, it is interpreted as an agentive verb without object. The field may also be ‘middle’, in which case a transitive verb in intransitive conjugation would mean that the subject of the form is the undergoer of the action. e) English description in italics, f) Nepali description preceded by a capital N, g) S. Scientific Latin description for some plant and animal names. h) Examples, with translations in italics i) Cross references to other records in the dictionaries. Types of cross references are listed below.

The following parts of speech are known (with additional information):

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<tr>
<th>p-o-s</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>sub-categories</th>
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<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>verb (intransitive)</td>
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<tr>
<td>vt</td>
<td>verb (transitive)</td>
<td>middle / antip / none</td>
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<tr>
<td>pro</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
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<td>nm</td>
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<td>conj</td>
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The following types of cross reference are used:

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<tr>
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<td>root, i.e. allofam root, derivational root</td>
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<td>caus</td>
<td>causative</td>
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<tr>
<td>appl</td>
<td>applicative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ben</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
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<tr>
<td>syn</td>
<td>synonym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pair</td>
<td>paired item, e.g. husband and wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opp</td>
<td>antonym, i.e. opposite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>off</td>
<td>other relationship that is not otherwise qualified</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- alenci n cardamom. N अलेन्ची.

- a -nfl ergative case ending.
- abi adv now.
akma (akta) vi to feel pain, strong pain; to suffer heavily; almost die. N सहनु.
aktudolo adv like dead.
akwa n oil. N तेल.
akmana finally, at last. N आखिर.
akmana advanced.
alaçnepart thanks, goodbye. N धन्यवाद; नमस्ते (छुट्दा). alaçnepartio ne ijnicba! 'thanks
and bye, brother!'. baddapartalaçnepart 'thanks very much'.
am possess prep- your, 2nd person singular possessive noun prefix.
amco pro (poss) your, of you (two persons); independent pronoun. N तिमिहर्ष्टको.
amko pro (poss) your, of you (one person); possessive pronoun. N तिमिहर्ष्टः.
amma (aum) vt to shoot aimlessly. N हान्सु. root apma.
amno pro (poss) your (plural).
anca?o pro (poss) our (excl. dual).
anco pro (poss) our (incl. dual).
andolan agitation, upheaval, tumult. N आन्दोलन.
anemini last year. N पाहार.
akanci pro we (incl. dual). N हामी (दुई जना). syn injaci.
akanci pro we (inclusive plural). N हामी (स अनि तिमिहर्ष्ट).
akancin pro we (inclusive, plural).
akankapro we (exclusive, plural).
akanka pro we (exclusive, plural).
akanca?o pro (poss) our, our (plural, exclusive). N हाम्चो.
akanco pro (poss) our (incl. plural).
anma (alka) vt (middle) to turn over, to lie down. N पल्टनु.
anma (anta) vi to snap (by the wind, of bamboo). N फुटनु. cf णन्मा.
ajma (aja) vi to tolerate. N सहनु. syn ajma.
ajma (ajsu) vt (antip) to tolerate. N सहनु. syn ajma. ajmansū 'I bore it'. ajmansu 'he bore it'.
ajma n pine tree. N सस्लो.
apma (apta) vt to shoot at (with arrow, gun), to hit. N हान्सु. root apma.
apma (aua) vt to shoot, shoot at (with arrow, gun). N हान्सु. caus amma. appl apma.
appi n self; myself, yourself, himself. N आफळ. api khaati 'I'll go myself'.
aran aparadv long ago.
aran n once, long ago, before. N उत्तरि. aran ikchakha kthimda yuwa 'once there was an
old man in a house'. aranypujkana 'from long ago...'.
asen n somewhere before the day before yesterday; a while ago, not specific. N अस्ति. asenyujka
kaci madd 'a couple of days there has been no work'.
atthu n before, a bit earlier; earlier, previously today; earlier, but just for today. N अघि. atthu
iwayihi 'earlier this morning'.
avet adv later, later today. N भर. awet inampik 'tonight'.
ayi n today, this day. N आज. cf awet.
ayidonó adv this year. N यहीं वर्‌.
ayimit n nowadays. N आजमालि।

b

baddhé adv many.
badha n festival. N चाँद वार रितितिरबाज।
bagara n (dry) river bed. N बागर।
bacan n magic charm; promise, pledge, oath. N बाचा। bacapaptacu 'they put on a charm'.
baddhé adj many; much. N बड़े; बड़ी। baddhe minaci 'many people'.
bajiyo n cricket; cicada. N बजायों की।
bak qual qualifier for flat things; as a noun signals a flat surface; not usual independently but frequent in combinations. N बन्न। demka bak cakun batma? 'how many plates should I take?'.
bakuloun n clay marble, clay pellet. N मटेड वार।
bakwa n S 1. porridge. N बांग। bakwa hopma 'to eat porridge'. S 2. leaf; used as a suffix rather than independent (in which case sumbakwa is used). N बांल।
bakên n clay, soil, mud; sand. bakên ada kênela muaŋ 'he is playing in the sand'. bakên tuma 'to dig in the ground'. bakên a bêda banemuna 'to make a clay pot'.
bakəwensi n Himalayan (wild) strawberries. cf wensi.
balam n window. N ब्याल।
bama (bō) vt to weave (socks, basket or a web, as by a spider). N बुन्। yagayarma tali bayan 'the spider makes a web': soya bama 'to make a basket'. ıktet soya boŋ 'I made one basket (and it's finished)'. ıktet soya bāŋ 'I have been making one basket (and it's not sure whether it's finished)'.
bamna n Bahun, Brahmin caste member.
bamna n eel.
bamnō n bamboo shoots. N कोली बाँस। N तामार।
bam n weapon. N हतियार।
bamnō u bicu n hand weapon. N हात हतियार।
bamna (bana) vi to come (level). N आउन। yaniŋka ... banyaŋ / bana 'from there ... he comes / came'. caus batma.
bantawa nm Bantawa. N बांतवार।
bantəŋ n thunderstorm; thunder and lightning. bantəŋ dəakina guðun patyaŋ 'as the thunderstorm comes, it cries 'Gurung"'.
baŋa n uncle, father's younger brother. N काका।
banga n cotton. N कापार।
baŋma (bangtu) vt to cross. laŋ baŋma 'cross your legs': siŋ baŋma 'to join wood'.
baŋma (bangtu) vt to weave, to make (e.g. of nests). N बुन्। yaŋ baŋma 'to make a nest'.
barasi n jackfruit. N कत्तूर।
bakən barasi n pineapple. N बुरुकर कत्तूर।
banīŋ n bamboo wood.
bata n a pointed vessel, put on top of the stack of vessels used in distilling liquor. N सामी बांडक।
batma (battu) vt S 1. to bring. N वामन। cf banma. root banma. S 2. reach (as of age). N पुरन। demka doŋ nabattiyen 'how many years old are you?'. demka doŋ tibattu 'how
many years old are you?'.
bayi n spirit, particularly one affecting the stomach. N नृत. 
bayu n bamboo rope, the soft tissue that can be bent. samba?o bayuda?ka kʰeŋ bama ‘to make a basket out of bamboo’. 
bebbik n flat basket for carrying small amounts of food; shopping bag, typically square cornered and carried as a handbag; made of bamboo strips. N प्रस्त. 
becukusi n ginger leaf. cf becuk kusi. 
becʰuk n ginger, ginger root. N अटुआ. kʰokli becʰuk ‘wild ginger (Costus speciosus)’. becʰuk niʔo jʰaraka?ka iʔiwaŋ siŋsi ‘the ginger is the most important fruit’. 
bekma (bektu) vt to fold (of clothes, and paper and folding stuff only). syn bʰekma. 
ben n hour, o’clock. N पड़ी; बजे. 
bencʰa n musical instrument. N बंप. 
bendasi n tomato (the fruit of a tomato plant). N नीलभेड़ा. cf kʰokli bendasi. 
berawa n left, left-hand side. moko berwa pəṭṭi yuŋa ‘he sits on the left side’. 
berawa n parrot. N युगा. 
besara n eagle. N बील. 
bibi n familiar form for elder brother. pair nɪcʰa. 
biciklik n earthen vessel. N हाँडी. cf bʰ. 
bihomma n turban; also: cloth, used in the distillation process. N बगरी. 
bikbike adv delirious. 
bikma (biu) vt to sweep. N बबाबु. 
bindku n sorghum; a kind of large millet. N जूनेलो. S Sorghum vulgare. 
bindkʰawa n gun. N बन्दुक. 
bindma (binsu) vt (middle) to blast, explode. N पड़काउँ. bindsa kʰara ‘it exploded’. bindsunj ‘it blasted it’. syn bʰɨŋma. 
bitma (bitti) vt to serve (your guests). 
biwa n elder brother; also used for all elder male cousins. abiwa ‘o, brother!’. 
biha n marriage. N बिहा. 
biha muma vt to marry. N बिहा गर्नू. 
bihan n advice. N सल्माह. yayok-bihan munne ‘let’s advise well’. 
bille adj faded (Nepali). N बिलेन. bille liya ‘it is fading, wasting away’. 
bim n clip; pin. N हुस्लिया. 
bitma (bittu) vi to walk, to go. ijbuda / ijbuya bitta ‘go in front, go first’. bitma yakma ‘to keep going’. 
bitma (bittu) vt to milk. 
boḍa n long bean, cowpea. N बोडी. 
bokma (bou) vt to plough. N जोक्त. kʰatni tikʰatyaŋo? wik boksi ‘where are you going? to plough the field’. cf dʰokma. 
boksi n spirit, witch. N नृत. बोक्सी. boksi?a mijeuckinghala bikbike miliyaŋ ‘they will go delirious after a spirit has bitten’. 
bolo n horizontal beam in the house. N बलो. 
bomak n sesame, sesame seed. N सिल्क. 
bombok n eggplant. N भ्यान्त्रा. 
bombolekma n butterfly, of the bigger kind (not a moth). N पूनली. cf pʰoptikiri.
bomka adj round, with the round side up. N गोचर. cf bomma.
bomma (bomsu) vt (middle) to bend, to warp; to make round. N बहुमात्र. बांधना.
bomma (bomta) vi to put on top, wear a cap or put on a lid.
bonwa n watersource; well; permanent source. N दरार. cf wapun.
bojkoloy n apricot. S Prunus armeniaca.
bop qual qualifier for counting round things. N दारा. Ik bop lattam ‘One guava’.
bopboyogma n termite. N भूमा.
bopkʰa n S 1. yeast to make millet ferment. N जोड़ बनाने ओश्चरी; मचा. S 2. lid, cover. N टक्की.
bopma (boptu) vt S 1. to cover, as a chicken in a basket; put a lid on. wa boptu ‘the chicken was covered’. S 2. to make round, e.g. to make clay marbles. caus bomma.
boptit n clothes, at least covering the body; a long shirt. N दोप कोटा.
boptoma n type of mouse that eats clothes. N पुर्ण मुखा. boptoma cikyi ‘city mouse’.
boptʰirit n (unknown) type of root.
bu n front. iṣbu iṣbu kola ‘walk in front of me’. amcoʔo bubu kola. ‘walk in front of us!’: buya biʔa ‘go first!’: buya kāptmaʔa duda yusockopt ‘earlier, I lived in Kathmandu’.
buduna n type of fish (approx. 20 cm long). N माछड़ा को माछा. buduna ga ‘buduna fish’.
buk n belly, stomach.
bukkʰundima n pregnant, pregnant woman. N मांसवानी. aspatalda baddʰe bukʰundimaci mitayan ‘in the hospital many pregnant women come.’.
bukluŋ n yard, the yard in front of the house. N आगां. bukluŋ sesuɭ ‘clean the yard!’.
bukma (buktu) vt to expose to heat. N तांदु. mi bukma ‘expose to the fire’. cf bʰukma.
bukma (buah) vt to request, ask for help. N अनुशासन गाँठा.
bukpa n barbet bird. N चरा.
buktaj n cave. N गुफा. no minaci buktajda miyuwana ni ‘it is said that those people lived in caves’.
bulaki n nose ring. N मुड़ा.
bumbuli n pangolin, scaly anteater. N सालक. syn bwasa.
bumma (bumtu) vt to fold. cf bupmu.
bumsumu n fly. N माघा.
burkʰa n outside; the yard (outside of the house). N बाहर; आगां. cf bukluŋ, cf hutda.
burma (burna) vi to sow seed; prepare in the nursery.
burwua n flower. N फूल. hile burwua ‘mud flower, trumpet flowers: Datura suaveolens’.
burwakʰa n flower garden, garden. N फूलवारी.
burwarse n flower bat, medium sized bat, reportedly eating from flowers. N फूल का चमेरो.
bupma (buptu) vt to fold; huddle up, pull in the legs. cf bumma.
busunima n sister-in-law, elder brother’s wife. N भाउँ.
butma (buttu) vt to call. N बोल्ला: बुत्र. butma rinjanaʔo de, butnajnaʔo yuwa. ‘if I could have called you, I would have called you.’.
butʰuruppa adj grey, whitish. N मल्ल; पाँच. butʰuruppa tiura ‘white balsam’.
buya adj previous, former; also in the sense ‘the first, the best’. previously, formerly.
bwasa n pangolin, scaly anteater; this animal has the habit of rolling itself up and rolling downhill when it senses dangers. N सालक. cf bumbuli.

bh

bhagata nm Bhagatā, a mythical follower of Milarepa in Sindrang. N भागता.
b³si **endeavour, effort.** N प्रयास; कोशिश. b³si / bal pakma 'to put in the effort'. cf b³si.
b³ak **pig.**
b³aktaŋ **shoulder.**
b³ala **spear.** N भाला.
b³anji **nephew; (younger and elder) sister's son.** N भान्जा.
b³anji **niece, sister's daughter.** N भान्जी.
b³anma **vt to be tall, to be high.** N अग्ला हुन्. dem b³ applies 'how tall! how high!'.
b³ajma (b³ajma) **vt (middle) to cook; to boil; also to prepare food.** N उमाल्नु; पकाउन्. b³ajma 'it boils; it is cooked'.
b³atma (b³atma) **vt to fetch water.** N भाती भन्नू. cacwa b³atma 'to fetch water'. cacwa b³asi b³atma 'to go to fetch water'.
b³ata **bamboo bar, rafter.** N भाटा.
b³e **arrow; spear, lance.** N भाला. b³e dʰ'upma 'to pierce with an arrow'.
b³ekma (b³ektu) **vt to fold (sheets, clothes).** syn bekma.
b³ema (b³emsu) **vt to fart.** N पाद गान्छ. appl b³ema.
b³emma (b³emsu) **vt to embrace (people also), carry (heavy things, as opposed to pʰ'ama - light things).** N अंगाली हुल्नु.
b³emma (b³emsu) **vt to fill (e.g. a glass with water).** N नभवाल्नु. b³emskbʰo 'fill it, please'. root b³epma.
b³en **root, foot (of mountain).** N भान. b³eni to b³en 'the foot of the hill'. ib³en icaimin 'we do not eat its root'. cf com.
b³ena **brother-in-law, elder sister's husband.** N भिनानु. syn pʰeyabuṣ.
b³enja (b³enju) **vt S 1. to eye someone (as a boy to a girl, or in despire).** N चढ्न भलाई हुन्छ. S 2. to be crooked, to be tilted. N भाल्नु; टेकिन्. ram?a kalam b³enju 'Ram bent the pen'.
b³eplo **adv all, full, completely.** N भनि. harhona b³eplo 'all of our country'. cf b³ep.
b³epma (b³eptu) **vt (middle) to fill.** N भन्नु. caus b³emma.
b³epsa **sheep.**
b³etma (b³ettu) **vt to fart at someone.** root b³emma.
b³etma **a fart.** cf b³etma. ib³etma lonyaŋ 'my fart came out'.
b³ewa **mango.** N कीरा.
b³i **earthen vessel.** N हुँकाती. cf wai b³ima.
b³iksa **elk; a big type of deer.** N जरावा.
b³ima **artificial pond; lit. 'big earthen vessel'; used in catching fish.** cf wai b³ima. cf b³i.
b³imja (b³imus) **vt to blast, fire.** N भास्करिन्; भास्करानु. banduk b³imja 'fire a gun'. adiwo, nampa b³ala b³eplo makaib³impa miyuuyan'ya granddad! the sun father's plate is full of popcorn (i.e. the stars are out). syn biyam.
b³irkok **hilltop.** N भागाको देवार.
b³iri **hill.** N भाउँ. b³iri tola 'hill top village'.
b³inma (b³ihul) **vt to squeeze (for juice).** N निचोलनू. kagati b³inma 'to squeeze a lemon'. syn pinma.
b³ira **precipice; steep slope of rock.** N कीरा.
b³ita (b³ittu) **vt to squeeze for someone else (for juice); milk.** N टुथ निकाल्नू; भिन्चोरिन्न। cf b³inma. root b³inma.
b\text{	extsuperscript{h}t}ta n wall around the fields, separating terraces from one another. N भत्ता.
b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}kma (b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}ktu) vt to mend, to patch. N टालनु.
b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}m n bundle; in figurative sense: a packet, a packed lunch. N पाको; बाजार. cf b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}mma.
b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}mma (b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}mtu) vt (middle) to make bundle, parcel. N पाको पानु. ižka b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}mtaŋ kʰaraŋ 'I got all stuff', to be round (of this size). N गाँवो हुनु; unb\text{	extsuperscript{o}}mko 'this round'.
b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}gma (b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}gu) vt to make sheaves.
b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}p n circle, round. N बाँटन। बबकार।
b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}pkoŋma n toad (frog). N पाह। cf b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}pma pāntok.
b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}pma (b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}ptu) vt to make round. N उत्थान।
b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}rorop n frog. cf b\text{	extsuperscript{o}}rorok.
b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}kma (b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}ktu) vt to bury, to cover with mud or stones; as in landslide, but also by human action. N चून।
b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}kma vt bask. nam b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}ksa cepma हाम 'talking and chatting while basking in the sun'. cf nam.
b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}nma (b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}nsu) vt to reject, to be dissatisfied (hoping to get better). N दृढळ।
b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}nma (b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}ntu) vt to husk. N धान, कोचा कूटु। गोस्ताय।
b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}yama (b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}ysu) vt to heap, to pile up. N धुपान।
b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}yama (b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}ysu) vt (middle) to destroy, break down. tib\text{	extsuperscript{u}}ysu 'you broke it'. b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}ysa kʰaraŋ 'it was destroyed'. N भक्तान।
b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}usa n chaff; dandruff. N भूस।
b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}tma (b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}ttu) vt to go white (of hair), to go mouldy (by fungus).
b\text{	extsuperscript{u}}wma n owl, bigger type (N ullam). N उल्ल।

C

cappare kig n front teeth. N आङ्गलका दाँत। cf kig.
caconk\textsuperscript{c}eq n a round winnowing tray (made of bamboo). N नाउख।
caha n a need, a wish or want. N चाह्ना। caha metma 'to wish for'. caha dotma 'to be required, to be necessary'.
caitlo adj stricken, troubled, suffering. sarimaʔa caitlo 'suffering a disease'.
caka n honeycomb. N भाजा। cunwa caka bille liyaŋ 'the honeycomb is melting'. cf sunwa.
cakab\textsuperscript{a} n demon, fiend; giant, monster. N राक्षस।
cakawalaw n spirits (bad spirits).
cakkomalau n flint. N चक्कय।
cakma (cau) vi to bathe. N नूहान। wacakma 'to bathe'. wacaʔa 'he bathed'. caus caŋma.
cakwa n water. N पानी। cakwa piwanj\textsuperscript{a}ŋ 'please, give me water'. cakwa lonk\textsuperscript{a} 'water source'.
cakwakalek n Chetři, 'water-licker'. N चेट्री।
cakwak\textsuperscript{a}mam n pit, well. N डिवार।
cakwalam n pipe, irrigation canal. N नली।
cak\textsuperscript{a}ŋ n millet paste. N डिंड्रा।
cak\textsuperscript{a}n n utensils (plates and bowls). N आङ्गलदो।
cali n greed. N लोभ। iči kalí kara 'I feel greedy'. kʰo cali myaŋ 'he is greedy'.
cama vt to eat. N खान। off catma.
camajwa n right, right hand side. N दाह। camajwa cʰuk 'the right hand'.
camacʰuk n the right hand, the 'eating hand'. N खान हात।
camma (cama) vt to listen attentively; to sharpen (a blade). N उदास। तिक्रा पानु।
canampot n gullet. S oesophagus.
canma (canu) vt to feed, graze. N चरानु. root cama. pit gondok micanyaj ‘the cows and bulls are grazing’. pit caisi kʰarinne ‘let’s go graze the cows’.
cara n festival. N चारा.
casukuk n kitchen. N भान्ना.
casum n grain, corn. N अन्ना.
casumla n the name of a month. N एक महिंदाको मासः.
catma (caru) vt to ferment; to dye. N खान्नु. पान्नु. caruʔo kʰača ‘fermented millet pulp’.
catma (cattu) vt to eat habitually; to be fit for drinking. N तान्नु. root cama.
catma (cattu) vt to hit, to hit the mark. N हान्नु; लार्ग्नु. naysiʔa icattaŋ ‘I was hit by a hailstone’.
cekcuri n starling bird, N rugi bird. N रुपी; डाडाहे.
cekma (cketu) vt to arrange the marriage, to ask and fix the time for getting the bride. N दुल्हनी फिक्नु.
cekma (cketu) vt to cut, chop up. N ताछ्रन्नु.
cennma (centu) vt to grind; to hit with rocks in order to kill. N िस्न्नु.
cencikwa n type of bird (Nepali: pāde bird). N पाद चरा.
cenna (centu) vt to sprik (firewood). N चिन्नु.
ceŋma (ceysu) vt to warn, to counsel. N नुसार गन्नु.
cepmra (cewa) vi to talk, to speak. N बोल्नु. cf hanma. cewine ‘let’s talk’.
cetma (cera) vt to be clever. N चलान्न हुनु. root cetma.
cetma (cketu) vt to be clever, strong. N चलान्न हुनु; लगाय हुनु. root cetma.
cibuν n koiralo tree, which has edible flowers. N कोइरालो. S Bauhinia variegata.
cik n side, vicinity; close by, close to. N नगिके. dabyacicke ‘close to the fireplace’. amcik ‘next to you’. ‘to icikka yuyma ‘to sit at the side of ...’.
cikak n horse chestnut. S Aesculus indica. N नाराकु.
cikiyaj n ant. N कमिलो. cikiyajʔa bakʔa tuju ‘the ant digs in the soil’.
cikkʰan n a type of plant (N tāki). N नाँकीको बोट. cikkʰanraŋ ‘tanki plant’.
cikma (ciktu) vt to economise, to save. N साँच्चु.
cikma (ciktu) vt (antip) S 1. to dye. S 2. to bind, to strap. N तुना बोल्नु. तुना ciktu ‘bind your strap’. cikta kʰara ‘it became a hard knot’.
cikni adv fast, immediately; jerkily. N जुरक्कु, तरल्ले.
cikroŋ n demon, incorporeal being (not a spirit as of the deceased). N भूस. cikroŋ dipma ‘to be possessed by a demon’.
ciktaŋ n muskrat, shrew, mole. N झुप्पो.
cikły kín n front teeth, ‘rat teeth’.
cikły n rat. N झुस। cikły kí ‘incisors’.
cilok adv many; more. N चेरै। nepaladaʔo cilok tʰaŋna warisaci nihanǰhon mikhʰatyaj ‘Nepal’s many boys and girls are going abroad’.
cima (cimw) vt (antip) to do. N गर्न। de ticyaŋ ‘what are you doing?’.
cinma (cinta) vi to wrinkle, curl up. N इयन्न। cintuʔo kʰokpa baddʰe patyaŋ ‘the wrinkled old man is screaming a lot’.
ciq n exit point, as in kʰicy: anus.
citma (citsa) vt S 1. to hang up (also: to hang someone else). N झुङ्ग्राचाँनु। citma setma ‘to kill someone by hanging him’. kʰolai makyiʔa iciṃs serif ‘they killed him hanging him with a
Appendices

rope'. S 2. to string. N उन्नु.
cirpa n anger. N रिम्झ. baddh̄'e'g irrigation kara 'I am very angry'.
cikiwa n small leopard. N चिल्लुङ्का. cf kiwa.
cilītan n squirrel. N लोंके.cuklo n a little bit. icilok 'a little bit'.
cim n scales, slivers. N कल्ला. pji'ā icim; pī'ō icim 'fish, snake scales'.
cima (cia) vi (antip) to finish, to end. N सिंद्रुङ्का. iŋka kama ciug 'I finished my job'. yaŋ cia kāra 'the money is finished'. cf warjma talama. caus citma.
cinma (cia) vi to end. N निःस्थापनणुः.
cinma (cintu) vt to teach. N सिकाःउः. c'aci cinmaci midot 'children must be taught'. cinmancin dora 'to have to learn'.
cinma (cia) vt to finish. N सिःस्थापनणुः.
cipma (ciptu) vt S 1. to pinch, to cut with tongs. N च्याङ्गुः. bokā?'o idbh in cipma 'to cut a he-goat’s testicles'. S 2. to hold to oneself, to stick s.th. in between the arm and body. cipma kara 'he was disgusted'.
cipma n disgust. N चिन्तन. k'oso?'o icipma kara 'he is disgusted':
cit -qual qualifier for humans.
citko adj small. N माना. o citko muyaŋ 'that one is smaller'.
citma (cittu) vt to finish, to finalise. N सिःस्थापनणुः. to be small; collocates with un-
ciyttanayaqahida 'when I was small'. unmicittanjaqahida 'when they (pl) were small'.
uncittanjaqahida 'when they (du), or we (du) were small'.
codum n talk.
cok n S 1. top. N शिखःर. दुःक्ष्या. yariṣ Guantanamo cokdu 'in the top of the cilaune tree'. S 2. level; floor in a house; step in a stairwell. N नला.
cokma (cokta) vi to leak. N चौहिन्युः. cokdu'a 'it will leak and go out'.
cokma (coktu) vt to join, to attach. N गाम्युः.
com n S 1. top, peak of a hill or moutain. N टुःम्युः. b'iri?'o icomdu 'on the top of the hill'. cf b'pen.
S 2. kind, type (of). N बाल, किशिम. baddh̄'e'ka com?'o pāsucī 'many kinds of animals'.
comcūri n mountain, snow mountain. N हिमाल.
comma (comsu) vt to make sharp, to make pointed. N तिङ्गो, शान्तुः. como lima dot 'it must be pointed'.
con n chin.
comma (contu) vt S 1. to stick up; to pick up with a hook. N उन्नु. to flatter, praise. S 2. N उन्नु.कालाउः.
conge n bamboo cup, cut out of a thick bamboo pole. N त्राझया.
conja (conja) vt to please, accommodate.
cope (cau) vt to see; to look at, to watch. N हेनु. cowu 'he looked'. k'ana?'a tisenāŋ?o yinjci?o juwapa hyuna co?u hay! 'See the answers to the questions that you asked me below, hey.'
cope n drongo, a kind of bird (N cibbe cará). N चिङ्गो, चंगा.
cota n wound. N चोट. b'ala'ya idbh uwa kota lisa 'striking a spear, he was wounded'.
cotma (cotta) vi to move. N माना.
cuklo n few, less; shortage. N कमी, कम.
cukma (cukta) vi to be small. N मानो हुनु. cuktaŋa 'he was small'. opp d'ima.
cukten n a smaller village (in comparison). N मानो गाउँ. opp d'item.
culo n more. N बढ़े.
cumma (cumusu) vt to shrink.  N चाँटानु.
cumma (cumusu) vt S 1. to clean up, to terminate, to remove. N हटाऊनु. S 2. to prepare. N तयार
गर्नु, cummancin 'to be prepared'.
cumma (cumu) vt to remove. N हटाउनु.
cuncurukwa n snow, or snow mountain. cuncurukwa dʰa 'it snowed'.
cumma (cuntu) vt to shrink, to wrinkle. N चाँटानु. iŋjalīŋ cuntu do kʰokpa baddʰe patyaŋ 'an old man with a wrinkled face is screaming loudly'.
cun  the cold, winter; as of weather (not of liquids). N चिन्छन. ai baddʰe curljuyāŋ 'today it's very
cold'.
cuywa n the cold, coldness. N जाडो. cuywa yam 'the cold season'. cf cunma.
cupma (cuptu) vt to interrupt, to close up, e.g. to stop defaecating. N बाघा गर्नु; cuptaŋ n left.
curi n small knife, one that comes with a khukuri (stuck in the handle). N कर्दे.
cutma (cura) vt to tease. N जिखाउनु.
cuwa n heart, the physical heart. N मुट्टा.
cuwaran n type of plant.

Cʰ

cʰ-a-nfl ever, also, too. cf cʰaŋ.
cʰ-a-qual person qualifier. ikcʰa 'one person'.
cʰ-a n child. N बेबी. cʰa tokma 'to give birth'.
cʰabak n larvae house; place where the bee's larvae are in a honeycomb. N नीरिको घार. sunwa
-cʰabak 'part of beehive'.
cʰadima n mother-in-law. cf cʰadiwa. cf dima.
cʰadiwa n father-in-law. cf cʰadima. cf diwa.
cʰadivarang n the house of the in-laws, i.e. the family of one's wife (for a woman, her in-laws would
be considered her own family). N गरुडाली. iŋcʰadivarangcʰi 'my in-laws'.
cʰakma (cʰaktu) vi to be hard, to be difficult. N गाँडो हुनु; साङ्गो हुनु. luŋ cʰak 'stone is hard
(general fact)'.
cʰakma (cʰau) vt to chisel into shape. N ताछूनु. talik cʰakma 'to cut a bow'. luŋ cʰakma 'to cut
a stone'.
cʰam n song. N नीत रूप.
cʰam luma vt sing. N गाउनु. iŋkaʔa cʰam luma kʰimda kʰaraŋ 'I went home, singing'.
kʰosaʔa cʰam luma manrido 'he can't sing'. iŋkaʔa cʰam manlummaŋ kʰimda kʰaraŋ
'not singing, I went home'.
cʰama (cʰasa) vi to get a child. N बिखाउनु.
cʰama (cʰasu) vt to cook, to bring to the boil (of porridge). N बोले पकाउनु. ben cʰatma.
cʰamalek n smooth, black lizard; looses tail when growing mature. N कालो चित्तलो छुप्लाने.
cʰamla n voice. N न्याय.
cʰamma (cʰamsu) vt to splice (with an axe). N चिन्छन (बन्धरोले). siŋ cʰamma 'to splice the
firewood'.
cʰamma (cʰantu) vt to pile, stack up (of stones or books). N बट्टनु.
cʰaŋ part also, too; a particle indicating inclusion of the previous phrase, or, when used in
correlatives or negation, indefiniteness. N पनि.
cʰaŋčaŋti adv clear. N छावनकृ. cʰyaŋčaŋti datyaŋ 'it is clearly visible'. cf cʰyanga.
chagma (chaptu) vt to stack up disorderly, pile unequal things onto one another. N झडप्नु.
chapdani n pen. N कलम.
chapkami n writer. N लेखक.
chaplpa n letter, writing; something in writing. N चिठ्ठी.
chaplaka n book.
chaplata n letter, notice; brief piece of text. N चिठ्ठी.
chapma (chaptu) vt to write. N लेखनु. chapma lesunjuyu 'I can write'.
chatma (chattu) vt to benefactive for heat water. N पकाइनु. cf chama. root chama.
chatma (chattu) vt to carry a load with a heap on top of it (as in a doko full with grass). N डाकोमा भारी बाँकनु.
chayuk n youth, childhood. N बालक काल.
chekhalemma n paradise flycatcher, jungle bird with long tailfeathers. N लांमुच्छुरे.
cheklabu n mulberry. N तोलेरीका कल.
chekma (chekata) vi to be blocked, to be locked in. N बंद हुनु.
chekma (chektu) vt (middle) to block, to lock up. N बंद गन्न। lam chekma 'to block the road'.
minalai ilawaki cheketa 'grabbing the man, they locked him in'. cf lapma.
chekmi n prisoner. N व्यापाराग्नामा परेका व्यक्ति.
che m (chesa) vi to wish for, to want; to strongly desire. N राहु लाग्न।
chena n interest. N राह। chapdani tokma chekma kat 'he likes to get that pen'. kaṭh'manḍu
k'atma ihe'kema katiyaį 'He wants to go to Kathmandu'. cf chema.
chena (chensu) vt to taste. N चावनु.
chena (chentu) vt to attract, to call. N डाकनु. lemc'okwa k'ana jemtsa che c'aci c'emtungcįŋ
'showing sweet things, I attracted the children'.
chenebi n property, possession, wealth. N सम्पत्ति.
chencik n storage basket, hung to the walls of houses to store utensils and the likes; woven from bamboo strips. N राख्ने डाता।
ченगरा n goat. N बाळ। chenargarapa 'billy-goat'.
chenkha'dham n toilet; a place to urinate. N जिसाब सेरे ढाई। ekha'dham chekha'dham 'toilet'.
chenma (chensu) vt to urinate. N जिसाब गन्न। caus che'tma.
chenma (chentu) vt to select, to pick, to choose. N चून।
chennak n Amaranthus. S Amaranthus.
chenwa n siblings, one's one family (N mātī). N मातरी.
chenwarag n the father's house, the parent's family for a married woman (N mātī). N मातृतारी.
chen'epa n urine. N जिसाब। chen'epadham 'toilet'. inç'epa baddē 'yiyatä insult my pee comes down (i.e. I
need to pee)'.
chen'epi n onion. N याज।
chen'epma (chen'epu) vt to roast meat or maize. N सेकाउन।
chen'ere n diarrhoea. N दृष्ठान्त, जैक़ chen'ere liyāja 'i have diarrhoea'.
chen'ska n splinter. N डेक्का।
chen'tkuma n female kin; sisters, daughters. N चौनी। inç'en'tkuma mita 'my sisters are coming'.
'chen'tkuma c'aci 'daughters'.
chen'tma (chentu) vt to make urinate; causative for to urinate. N जिसाब गरिनु। root chena.
chen'eu adv side, aside. N छेदः. chen'eu k' sim 'the house at the side'.
chen'biri n the hill closer by. N बल्लो डाँडा। cf dhib'iri.
chen'ik n poison. N निश्च।
C. Word list

chikma (cʰɪl) vt to pinch. N चिंमान.
chik'a n knot, lace (for fastening a garment). N तुना.
chima (cʰɪs) vi to be expensive. N महंगा हुन. opp notma.
chima (cʰɪs) vt to bind, to tie someone to something. N बांधन. ben chitma.
china n aunt, father's younger sister or father's younger brother's wife. N काकी; कृष.
chimma (cʰɪntu) vt to filter, to purify (as of beer). N छानन्. wacchin chimma 'filter local beer'.

nakwa cʰimma 'blow your nose'.

chimma (cʰiru) vt to nudge (as someone off a chair); to thrust, to poke. N ठेंगन.
chig n deal. N तयार्थ. icʰin mimuwa 'they made a deal'.
chigma (cʰin) vi to get blocked. N अड़किन.
chigma (cʰin) vt to block, to stop. N अड़काउन.
chimpa (cʰiptu) vt to suck (to chew until you get the juice). N चुसन् (चबाउन).
chitma (cʰittu) vt to bind for someone else; causative for cʰima. N साधितिन. cf chima. root cʰima. to not fit. N न अटि. manwaq, cʰitta 'it does not go in, it does not fit'.
chitwa n uncle, mother's younger brother. N मामा.
chimma (cʰintu) vt to wrap around, to fix (of a sari). N कम्बर बूँधन.
chimman adv the year after next year. N पराा. cf namman.
chimma (cʰintu) vt to wrap around, fix (as of sari). N कम्बर बूँधन. cf chimma.
chimpyanj n girdle, cloth tied round the hips. N गूठक.
chitma (cʰiru) vt (antip) to leave alone, to part (of food, places or people); also to break with habits.
N छोडन. amduम्वा इक्षी इन्निजा cʰiraŋ 'your words made me angry'. akʰomaq modu badde mimaci jʰagaḍa mimuki hiwan minaci icʰinjű cʰiraŋ 'as yesterday up there many people fought, two people were angry'. inśoma karki icʰija hara bokma cʰirunj 'being lazy, I stopped ploughing'. ben cʰitma.
chitma (cʰittu) vt S 1. to leave (for someone else). N छोडन्. nişa cʰitma 'to hate someone'.

ibuwa ḍiço nicʰa niṣa icʰittacu 'the older brothers hated their younger brother'. icʰija kʰanaalai icʰinjű cʰitnaṃja 'I hate you'. kʰanaə? aminja tinosan ḍe ticʰittac 'do you like me or not like me?'. masija pasija cʰit muwac 'the couple have split up'. root cʰitma. cf cʰitma. S 2. to wrap (for someone else). N लपसटिन. root cʰimma. cf cʰimma.

c'hoke n nephew; (elder and younger) brother's son. N भातवा.
c'hoke'ma n niece, (younger and elder) brother's daughter. N भातवी.
c'hoke'nen n sieve, made of bamboo strips, used for sieving beer. N छुपनी.
c'hokma (cʰotk) vt to present, give (in person!); to hand. N पुस्ताउन. oko kitab ram cʰoktuŋ doŋ 'I handed that book to Ram'. asenja cʰoknadana ḍo 'earlier already, I have given it to you'.
c'hokma (cʰou) vt to collect by scraping it off; to take off the top layer, e.g. of oil (on water) or cream.
N जमाउन. akwa tʰoakina ḍicʰuka cʰunloisn 'the oil split, and I collected it up again'.
c'hokma (cʰou) vt to move, to be contagious (of disease). N सान्. saŋko isarima cʰoʃutaru 'whose disease did he bring (who did he get it from?)'. caus cʰonja. yiŋ c'hokma vt to deliver a message, to pass on the message. cf cʰonja. yiŋ kac'hok 'the messenger'.

c'hokma vi to evaporate. N हवा हुन्. cʰokd'a 'it will evaporate'. wac'hok 'dew'.
c'hokuma n nettle, stinging nettle. N सिरस्थ. S Urtica dioica.
c'hokwasi n orange, mandarin. iyenda c'hokwasi siyaŋ / kuyyaŋ 'in my village, oranges are grown (lit. gives fruit / hangs)'.

chōma (cʰosta) vi to be strong. N जिन्नू, cʰoyaŋ 'he is strong', nam cʰosa 'the sun is burning'.
chōma (cʰosu) vt (antip) to plough. N दिटङ्, jammane wik cʰonsuciuŋ 'I finished ploughing all of the land'.
chōma (cʰou) vt (antip) to plough. N जिन्नू, nulok cʰowa ai 'plough well, hey!'.
chōmasii n competition, match. N प्रतियोगिता.
chōmma (cʰoma) vi to romp, to play with (physically); to stir. N श्रवण.
chōmma (cʰomsu) vt to make dry; to let something dry (e.g. in the sun). N सुकानु, hik?a nam?a
chōmsu 'the wind and sun dried it up'. root cʰopma.
chōmma (cʰoru) vt to pay. N रिं. cʰonsi kʰara 'go to pay for me'.
chōmma (cʰoru) vt to sting, give a burning sensation (as of salt in a wound). N ब्यापार.
chōŋ n above - not physical right on top of things, but 'at a higher elevation'. N माथि. lam?o
icʰoŋda 'above the road'.
chōŋ n top. yunça?o icʰoŋda 'on top of where he was...'.
chōŋ n wheat, grain. N गाज़.
chōŋma (cʰonsu) vt to deliver, make sure that it reaches the person (whether or not in person). N
उपयोग सु, ram?o kʰimya cʰonsunدوŋ 'I delivered it at Ram’s house (but not in his hands)'.
root cʰokma.
yiŋ cʰoŋma vt to deliver a message, to pass on the message. cf cʰonyma.
chōŋwa n bird (generic term).
chōŋwalk n dance movements; ritual dance. cf sili.
chōŋma (cʰoa) vi to dry (intr); to be dry, to go dry; to wither. N सुकनु, caus cʰomma.
chōsapa n a strong man, a healthy man. N बलिया.
chōtma (cʰottu) vt to pay for someone else; to pay. N तरहविनु. iŋka kʰana juwapa cʰotna?o
yuqana 'I had given you an answer'.
chuk adj five. N पाँच.
chuk n hand. N हात.
chukku n finger, cf kusi.
chukma (cʰukta) vi 1. to jump, land (birds, planes). N उपर, उपर जा, dʰodroyu cʰukta disani
'he jumped into a hole, it is said'. S 2. to be, in a landed position; to fall; to belong, to be in a
certain relational role. N पड़, oko dem cʰukta? 'How much does this cost?'. dʰakko cʰuk 'it
is up'. kʰakko jillada ticʰuk 'in which district do you live?': iŋka bantawa rai cʰukya 'I am
a Bantawa Rai'. kʰana bibi ticʰukta 'you are my older brother'.
chūma (cʰusa) vi to be fat, greasy. N बल्लालो बाड़ आउनु, cf gömma. to grease someone; to
flatter; to stir up. N फौकनु, फौकनु, iŋka inyawacia mina mokma nicʰusan 'my friends
stirred me up to beat that man'.
chūma n 'saal' tree, Shorea robusta. N शाल, S Shorea robusta.
chūmasiŋ n main pillar in the house. N मुख मन्त्रा। cf mulok³abo.
chumbulk n navel, umbilical cord. N नाइटो.
chūmma (cʰumsu) vt to bind, to tie up. N बंधन.
chūmma (cʰumtu) vt to dip, sink, drown. N डिवानु.
chūna n father’s sister; wife of father’s brother. N काफी.
chūnuma (cʰunta) vi to refuse, disobey, not agree to the suggestion. N न माननु. ram bajar kʰatma
chungata 'Ram refuses to go to the bazaar'. battunucʰaŋ cʰunta?a 'even if he calls, don’t listen'.
chūṃma (cʰuŋsa) vi to cough. N खोकु.
C. Word list

- **chup** (chupta) **vt** to dip, sink; to make wet. N निजामुन, इंजा वा चुप्त न ‘sank it in the water’.
  - wa chuptasiwa ‘he drowned (khumma is better, though’). cf kʰumma.

- **chup** N handful, fist. N मुंदी, इंजा चुप्त ‘one handful (e.g. of rice)’.

- **chupma** (chuu) **vt** to take out (in the hand, or fist). N मुंदावानु.

- **chutma** (chutta) **vt** to send (a man, not letters), to order. N नरानु.

- **chya**/chyan **adv** with one stroke, cutting with one big stroke. N एके बोटमा काटने काम.
  - **chya**/chyan dɛrɨ ‘cut it in one stroke’.

- **chya**/chyan **adv** clearly, distinctly. N छुरिनु.

- **chya**/chyan **adv** clearly, obviously. N स्वभ. chya nu ‘he is clearly better’. awet chya kʰadat ‘today, it will be clear’.

**d**

danḍa** n** punishment.

dai **n** khukuri, big knife. N भुक्ति. इंजा दबिर क्षम ‘i came to buy a khukuri’.

dabya** n** fireplace. N आचार, दबयमा कुम्ना दोत ‘one must put it close to the fireplace’.

dak** n** S 1. rhodondendron. N लालिगुरामा. S 2. warp, weaving instrument. N ताम.

dakbu** n** rhodondendron. N लालिगुरामा. S Rhodondendron arboreum.

dala** n** lentil. N दाल.

dama (da)** vi** to finalise, to effect. N राक्ष, इंजा दमा ‘to die’. immna dama ‘to fall asleep’.
  - kʰatma dama ‘to bring’. immna dama ‘to sell’. setma dama ‘to kill’. senma dama ‘to ask’.


damca** n** bark, of a banana tree; layers of bark. N भन्न.

damma (damsu)** vt** to thrash. N राखानु. cf dʰamma. syn dʰamma.

dani** n** vessel, pot; thing. N भाङ्. cf cʰapdani.

danna (dantu)** vt** to make fall, trip. N भसा. cf dʰanma. root dʰanma.

dajma (daja)** vt** to organize in order. N हार लगाउनु.

dare** n** punishment. N दर.

datma (dara)** vi** to be seen. N देखिनु. icit kʰadara ‘it became bright, clear’. kʰadara ‘it got bright’.
  - sankenci midaṭya ‘the stars can be seen’; cf kutma.
  - kʰa datma ** vi** rise, sunrise. nam kʰadatki kama musi kʰatya ‘i will go to do work right after sunrise’. nam kʰadara ‘the sun rose’; cf namma.

dawa** n** water jug. N धुना.

dawabu** n** type of flower, flowering in springtime, in strings in trees; white flower.

dayā** n** right, right hand side.

-de** pro** what?.

deki** adv** why, deki setma?o ‘why kill?’, deki nimok?o ‘why did he hit you?’, deki milok ‘why?’.

-dekinalo** conj** because.

dem** pro** how much; how many. o kap dem cʰukta ‘how much does this cup cost’.

dema** n** paternal aunt, father’s elder sister or wife of father’s elder brother. N भरी आमा. pair

dewa.

dekma** adj** how many. demka baje ‘what time is it?’. kʰana demka sale ‘how old are you?’.

-demko** pro** how much, in exclamations: how big is he? N किति. demko wa ta, kʰunkoja
  wadupma kʰara ‘as much rain falls, that much it will flood’.

demkʰa** pro** when. N कहिल्ल. demkʰacʰaṭ ‘whenever’.
deŋ n S 1. after, afterwards. N पछि, mum?o deŋa 'after we have done that'. S 2. back; with locative: at the back, behind, after. opp buk.

denma (denstu) vt to weave. N बन्.

denṣa adv reverse, backwards. N उल्टो. ikʰainmin; denṣa kon ni. 'We don’t see it; he walks backwards, they say.'

detni adv how, why.

dewa n paternal uncle, older brother of father, or the husband of an older sister of father. N उला छाट, adewa 'o, uncle'. pair dema.

dikʰa n (younger) brothers; brothers as a group; a clan. N भाइः. dikʰabiwa 'younger and older brothers'; pair cʰetkuma.

dima (disu) vt to make fall, to lie down. N लड़ानु.

diŋma (diŋa) vi to be in a hurry. N हतारमा हुँ. bajara kʰatma diŋja 'I was in a hurry to go the bazaar'.

dipma (dui) vt to make clay; to knead. N माटो बनानु.

di pro what? N के.

dibu n (Indian) chestnut. N कम्प. S Castanopsis indica.

dicʰaŋ pro anything, whatever.

dic pro what (non-singular).

dicʰaŋ pro anything; in negated contexts: nothing. mosa?a dicʰaŋ itoktuŋ 'he will get nothing'.

mosa?a: dicʰaŋ mantokyuktu 'he received nothing': dicʰaŋ atta 'oh, whatever!'.

dida adv in what? N कनना?

dikku n uncle, mother’s older brother. N मामा.

dima (disa) vi to reach. N आड़पनु. tadiusa 'he reached'. cʰukta disani 'he threw himself in'.

dima (disu) vt to reach. N आड़पनु. imiri kʰuntu disuni 'he stuck his tail in'.

dima n grandmother, father’s father or mother’s mother. cf dima.

dima n great-grandmother; mother’s mother’s mother. adimol 'my grandmother! oh old woman!'.

din n egg (generic); also used for testicle. N अन्ना.

dini n aunt; mother’s older brother’s wife. N माघु.

dinma (dintu) vt to lay eggs. N अन्ना फलनु. wa dʰinta 'the chicken laid eggs'.

dipma (diptu) vt to cover. N छोर्.

diwa n grandfather, father’s father or mother’s father. cf dima. adiwa 'o grandfather!'.

diwa n great-grandfather.

diwama n foremother. N पिन्. cf diwapa.

diwapa n forefather. N पिन्.
do n mouth.

docirok n snail. N मखँसीरा.
dokek n beak, bird’s beak. N चुंचो.
domiwa n beard, hair around the mouth.

domma (domta) vi to be senseless, think without direction, be amazed. N टोलानु. domma dama 'think very hard'.

domma vt to surprise, to amaze. N अचम्म लार्. iṅkana idomtaʔanŋ 'I was surprised'.

kʰanacina n Domingtadiː ‘you (pl) were surprised’, middle domma.

dommak n grasshopper. N फटेहरू.
domman n in three years, three years later. N तीन वर्ष पछि, cf cʰimman.
domma (donta) vt to fish with a rod. N माछा मान्.
dunma n musical instrument. N दुनमा; दीना.
dog n year; a year. N दाग; वर्ष. 1yc品格 toppotet nauka dog battu 'my oldest son is nine years old'.
dogdikitma n fiery. N दुग्धीकितमा.
dogma (dogso) vt to spin (thread). N दग्मा बनाउनु.
dopma (doptu) vt to worship. N पूजा गर्नु.
dosiwa n lip. N ओझ.
dot n request. N दो. cf dot.
dotma (dora) vi to must, obligation. N पर्नु. tama dora 'we have to go'. cama dotyan 'we should eat, will have to eat'.
dotma (doru) vt to beg, ask for. N माण्डू. middle dotma.
dowma n religious officiant; shaman, sorcerer; also: sorcery. N धोव्मा. dowa muङjane 'let me do sorcery...'.
du -qual step; quantifier of distance, operates are a numeral qualifier. N पद. ikdu hwadu 'one, two steps'.
du n moment; time, turn. N दु; चोटि, पस्त्री. ikdu khuङj 'wait a moment for me'. ikdukina 'after a moment'. ikduniya 'a moment please, hey'. cf केपी.
duda n milk (human, cows, any); also: used for breast. N दुधा. cf yamsi. duda duङjyaङj 'he drinks milk'.
dukdenjhang nm Dukdenghang, a Bantawa clan. N दुक्देंहाङ्ग, बांटवाचा बारको उठाँट पाछो (हुङjय).
dukma (duu) vt to flood. N भंगङjनु.
dukka n trouble, give trouble. N दुङjका.
dukka pima vt trouble, give trouble.
dukka n trouble.
dukka up n drowsiness, sleepiness. N दुङजाय. idukka up yiyङj 'he got sleepy (lit: his sleepiness came down)'.
dum n thing, language, speech; in general, an item, business, act. N दुङमा.
duma (dușa) vi to collect, gather. N भेला गर्नु.
dumma (duntu) vt to to make short. N छोटेराउनु.
duŋ n top, head. N माथि. mosoङj o idunjdu 'on top of that...'.
dungribuङj n pink daisy. N दुङत्रिहङ्गङ्ग फुल.
dumga (duju) vt (antip) to drink. N दीनु.
dumgmetma vt to feed (as for a mother her child: give a drink), to drench. N दीनू दिनु.
dunjtim n pride, arrogance. N आत्मकृत्ति. duŋtim kumma 'behave with pride, arrogantly'. cf duŋ tim.
dupkahawa n landslide (as a consequence of flood). N वधरो.
dupma (diiu) vt 1. to make a utensil, ornament. N कलाउनु. S 2. to wrap (e.g. around the head).
N बेडङjनु.
dutma (duttu) vt to sense, feel. N चान्दङj; शह्नु. detni duttu 'how does it feel (just)'.
duwača n son, boy, male person. N छुआङj. duwačača n 'little boy'. pair mečača. duwarik'kam n doorway; doorposts. cf duwari kङjam.
dya pro or what? a particle to express wonder, happiness, uncertainty, and annoyance; possibly a
variation on di, analogous to Nepali ke -- kya... N क्या. cf di.

dʰ

dʰamira n termite. N घमिरा.
dʰarmachā n adopted child. N अबंधपूर्व.
dʰakkō adj the upper, the one above. dʰakkō tolā 'the upper village'. cf hyukko.
dʰakma (dʰaktu) vt to be constipated. N अक्रानु। kʰolai ikʰia dʰaktu 'he get constipated'.
    iṣkʰia idʰaktaŋ 'i get constipated'.
dʰama vi to go down, to climb down; to fall down. N जानु। yutni dʰayaŋ 'he goes down'. akʰomaŋ
    yutni dʰa 'yesterday he went down'.
dʰamma (dʰamsu) vi to tumble down. N लड़नु।
dʰamma (dʰamsu) vt (middle) to throw to the ground. N पछाड़नुं. syn damma.
dʰana adv up there, above. N माथि. cf hyuna.
dʰanase n fruit bat, small bat. N माथि चमरे।
dʰanijka adv from up. cf dʰani Ĭka.
dʰamma (dʰantu) vt to take sth down; to drop. N जानु। caus damma.
dʰaŋ n part; half. N भाग। ik dʰaŋ kʰaŋa kʰatū, ik dʰaŋ įkaŋ yuṣṇaŋ 'you take one part, I'll
    keep one part'.
dʰaŋ vi to stack, to pile. N भाग लानु।
dʰapma (dʰapsu) vt to divide; to break. N वाँडनु।
dʰapma (dʰaptu) vt to wash clothes usually beating with a club. N पुन। wadʰapma 'to wash'.
dʰapma (dʰau) vt to kick with the leg. N कुठनु। Ĭkyaŋa Ĭkaŋā Ĭlōnna 'I will bring
your dandruff out by kicking you'.
dʰara n tap. N भाग।
dʰatkha n beating, pummeling. N कुटपिट। cf dʰatma.
dʰatma (dʰattu) vt to hit; to beat, to strike (e.g. with stick). N पिटनु।
dʰatnī adv up there, in upwards direction; upwards. N उं मासलिर। opp hyutni.
dʰaucok n upper floor. N माथि चमर। opp hyucok.
dʰekma (dʰektu) vt to block, to close (e.g. the door). N छतनु। lam dʰektu 'close the door'.
dʰenna (dʰetu) vt to uproot; to pull out. N उसलनु। syn tenma.
dʰeg n back, behind. amdʰeg, iṇḍʰeg 'your back, my back'. yawaci iṇḍenya mibanyan 'our
friends are coming behind'.
dʰenyiwa n backbone. N दाण। amdʰenyiwa otma 'I'll break your backbone'.
dʰera n across, at the other side; suffix indicating 'side of a hill', cf. compounds with this suffix. N
    पड़त। cf dʰetma.
dʰetma (dʰetu) vt to cut object; to cross river/road; to hack, cut with a khukuri. N काटनु। तानु।
    sanjwaʔ idʰikcerikda dʰerun 'I cut the buffalo's neck'.
dʰetma (dʰetu) vt to cut something for someone else, to cut off (a path or road to someone else). N
    काटदनु। तरादनु। anko an lap mīdʰetta 'They cut off our wing'. root dʰetma.
dʰi n vagina, female genitals. N भाण।
dʰikcerik n neck, back side. N गर्वेण। sanjwaʔ idʰikcerikda dʰerun 'I cut the buffalo's neck'.
dʰikma (dʰikta) vi to perimeter; to be as big as in perimeter. N मोटा हुनुं। undʰikyan 'it is this
big (in diameter)'; icit dʰikyan 'it is a bit bigger (in diameter)'. to chop; to cut off. N काटनु।
dʰikma setma 'to cut and kill'.
dʰima (dʰisu) vt to lay; to make fall; roll. N पल्टेकु. dʰimancin 'to lie (yourself) down'. caus dʰimac.

dʰiṭma (dʰitṭu) vt to drop; drop sth on third object. N गुढावुन्न. गुन्जा उन्न. pakistanci?a undʰikko luntak midʰitṭucc 'the Pakistaniis rolled down such big stones'. root dʰima.

dʰibʰiri n the far hill (the bigger one). N पल्टेकु, उपल्टेकु डाछा. cf dʰibʰiri.
dʰilay n thigh.
dʰimá (dʰisa) vi to be big. N ठुलो हुन्. dʰiyān 'he's bigger'.

dʰimore n termite. N पमिरो.

dʰin n egg; also: testicle(s). N अण्डा. dʰiniwa 'testicles'. cf din.
dʰinara n tiger, Bengal tiger. N बाघ.

dʰirma n bamboo bottle, cut out of one section of a bamboo pole (including the ribs knuckles); halfway a single hole is cut out. N बाँसको बांतल.

dʰitēn n a bigger village or place (in comparison). N ठुलो गाउँ. opp cukten.

dʰitma (dʰiru) vt to find; to use; to find time. N मेंटन्. मेटाउन्; म्याउन्. inka lamun?o dum dʰirun 'i found what I was looking for'. dʰirunyūnhida 'while I find time...'.

dʰiyayokkʰa n council. N महासम्बा. cf dʰi yayokkkʰa.

dʰokma (dʰoktu) vt to dig esp. with short handled spade; to peck (as of a bird with it's beak). N बाँनु, idʰoktan 'it pecked me'. wīk dʰoktu 'dig the garden!'.

dʰuḍʰuma n screw pine. S Pandanus furcatus. dʰuḍʰumaraṇ dʰuḍʰusi 'screw pine tree; screw pine fruit'.

dʰuwa n smoke.

dʰumma (dʰuntu) vt to trace; to search following the signs left. N बोल्न्.

dʰumna (dʰunta) vi to shiver (because of cold, fear and excitement). N काटन्.

dʰun n above, over. N माथि. yaṛḍʰunḍa 'above money'.

dʰunma (dʰunsa) vi to bump. N बोल्न्.

dʰunma (dʰunṣu) vt (middle) to thresh sth/so against hard object, to knock down; to thresh. N बाँकनु; ठोकनु; पछानु.

dʰupiraṇ n cedar. N बेवार. S Cedrus deodara.

dʰupma (dʰuu) vt to pierce; to hit; to sting (of thorns). N बोल्न्. tiṅkʰokwa idʰuwaŋ 'the thorn stung me'.

dʰuri n rooftop, roof beam. N धुरी.

dʰutma (dʰutta) vi to be rewarded (of bad deed). to experience, to feel. N बाँकु; लान्न. canulok dʰutta 'he likes the taste (he experience it as good tasting)'. hakla tiḍʰutuŋo 'are you feeling the warmth?'.

dʰutni adv upwards. N मासलिर. parudʰutni kʰarinne 'let's go to heaven'.

dʰuwa n big man, important man. N ठुलो मानछ.
root epma.
emma (emsu) vt (middle) to cool off (as of something else, i.e. to chill something). N तेलनुत्.
emma vi to cool off, to chill. N तेलनु. ema kʰara 'it went cold (as of tea). caus emma.
emsu n pretext, cause (for fighting). N नि. तः, emsu lamyag 'he is looking for a fight'.
emma (entu) vt to lift with a handle, to turn over. N देल्ना. tokpa luŋ enmakina limma
kʰanma dot 'lifting a big stone, it must turn over and away'.
emma (enla) vt (anttip) to hear. N सुनु. ennu 'let's listen later'. kʰaenaga 'he was listening'.
enluo adj good, good to hear. ennu sanyan 'it sounds good'. cf en nulo, cf kʰanulo namnulo.
emsa (ensu) vt (middle) S 1. to pour from a big vessel. N तातः (एक गायोवाट अकोमा). S 2. to
change the water course (e.g. of a river). N बोला नकाऊनु.
emsa (epst) vt to feed the wind; to make wind to a heap of grain, for example, to blow away the
peel. N हावा खुबाउनु. kaya hik eptu 'feed wind to the rice'. cf hikma.
emsa (ewa) vi to stand, be upright. N उभयनु. caus emma. cf kaeppa ewayao kahunupa.
emsa n grave, tomb. N बिहान.
etma (ettu) vt to make defecate (e.g. to make a child do that); causative of emma. N दिसा गरा०नु.
cf ema. root ema.
etma (ettu) vt to tell; collocates with -kʰu-. N मुनाउनु. kʰa emta 'to tell, to make hear'. root
emma.

gahak adj heavy. N गृः; गहालो.
gahana n ornament. N गहाना.
gaira n deep valley, 'down there'. N गाईरा, gairada yuŋŋa 'i live in the deep'.
gari n moment, time. N बाला, नाला. ogari 'at this moment'.
gagitaŋ n a distillation vessel, used to distill alcohol from beer; a vessel with holes in the bottom
to let the steam in. N रक्षक बनाउने भाड़ो.
gahu n wheat. N गहूः.
gakma (gaktu) vt (anttip) to make a hut on the ground, structure s th. without digging. N
tāmādikān ढेकाउने काम गनृः (बनाउदरा).
gakwa n crow. N काङ.
ganuũ vt to make a hut on the ground, structure s.th. without digging. N tāmādikān ढेकाउने
cाम गनृः (बनाउदरा). akʰo'maŋ uncitkō gotʰa gaŋtunŋ 'i made a small stable yesterday'. cf
gakma.
gedi n hip.
goksũ n catterpillar. N गोक्सुः; गोक्सुः. goksũ īntītwa waŋakina ihārant 'as the catterpillar got into
my clothes, it itched'.
gomane n Cobra plant, a very colourful and striped aroid. N गोमाने फूल. S Arisaema griffithii.
gomane buŋ 'the cobra plant'.
goma (gosa) vi to belief. N गोसा; गोसा. cf gʰotma.
gonjok n ox; bull, cow's bull (not of buffale). N गोंका.
gonja (gonja) vi to be of size, to be big. N गोंजा हुः. cit gonjaŋ 'it is small'. akʰo'maŋ cit
goŋtana ayy un gonjaŋ 'yesterday it was small, today it is like this'.
gonja (gonjtu) vt to stretch, to make tense, to bind up (of a bow).
gulenci n plumeria.
guşguļunj adv very deep, as of a gorge or deep valley.

gh

ghāsā n grass. N गाई।
ghāsala n grass land; a meadow. N गाई।
ghokro n throat. N गोरा। चिह्न। īngokro 'my throat'.
ghoksu n caterpillar. N खोलकी।
ghoksuhok n cocoon; a pupa with a hairy skin. N कीरको झूला।
ghonma (g’onjtsa) vt to fuck (slang). N यिख्नु। ma ghonma 'to fuck a girl'.
ghum n a leaf umbrella, a frame woven of bamboo strips; leaves are stuck in between to keep out the rain; carried on the head while people work the fields. N चुम।

h

haŋsa n spirit (ghost?). N आत्मा। mina’o ihaisa k’arahonta iyam onja yuyan ‘his spirit has gone out, only his body is left’.
herdi n turmeric (from Nepali). N वंचार। S Curcuma domestica.
hatuwa nm Hatuwa, an area in Bhojpur comprising of Sindrang, Ranibas, Homtang, Khairang, Patlepani, Hasanpur, Dewantar, Pawala and may be Bhasikhora. In all of Hatuwa, Bantawa is spoken, also by other Rai subgroups. N हतुवा।
hāsā n duck. N हास।
hakla n warm season. N वर्षा। hakla yamda ‘in the warm season’.
haklunywa n sweat. N पसिना।
hakma (hakta) vi to be warm, to be hot. N गमूँ हुनू। hakta lonta ‘it has become warm’.
hakma (hakta) vt to measure, to weight. N नानू।
hala adj red. N रंग।
halabuj n poinsettia. N नालुपातृ। S Poinsettia.
hale adv fast, right now. N अग्नि ने; छिटो। hale p’uṃsanin ‘start right now!’.
hanna (hassu) vt to divide, to distribute. N बांटिनु।
hamko adj different. N अल्प। दिमलौ।
hamma (hamtu) vt to hang, to entangle. N अल्बाउनु; अल्बाउनु।
han adv now. N अब। अग्नि।
hanlok adv now; today, later today. N भरे। अहिले। awet inampik ‘tonight’. cf awet.
hanna (hanta) vi to talk, in a continuous sense; to speak. N बांटू। गोफ साफ गनू।. cf cepma.
ak’omaj inja?a hantar ‘yesterday I talked’. hantinne ‘let’s talk’. hantaci?a?o yuwaṇa ‘we had talked (previously)’.
hanna (hantu) vt to send. N टाउनु। o kitap k’ana hannane. ‘Let me send you this book.’.
 ya hannma vt to pray, to incantate; to send a message. N प्राचना गनू। सबर पटाओ। cf yiŋ latma. cf ya hatma.
hañ n king. N राजा।
haŋc’n prince; son of a king. N राजकुमार।
haŋc’nunuma nm Hangchanuma; name of a girl; also used for mankind in religious language. N
hapṣanuma.
hayhon n land, our land; country, nation. N राष्ट्रः. hayhon bʰeplo anyiŋ lumaa dot ‘in all of our country our language must be spoken’.
hayhonla adj national, pertaining to our land. N राष्ट्रीयः. cf hayhon.
harpaci n government. N सरकारः.
harkansı n hangkansı, a local plant used to make oil. N भोङ्डालेरः. S Viburnum coriaceum, Viburnum mullaha.
harkop n country. N देशः.
harṣa a n kingdom.
harṣa vi to heat up, to get hot. N ताल्लः. harṣa kʰaṭma ‘to heat up, to get hot’. root hakma.
harṣa vt to itch. N विचारः; कोषाणुः. cf goksu. goksu iṣṭitda wajakina ihantar ‘as the caterpillar came into my clothes, it itched’.
harp a n king. cf haŋ.
harpma (hapta) vi to be stuck, be entangled, be stuck. N अंधनुः; अंधकः. amgʰokroya hapta ‘it got stuck in your throat’.
hara n plough. N हला.
hatdeuri n rope, string. N डोरी.
hatma (hattu) vt (antip) to hurry. N हतार गानः. deki tihatyan ‘why do you hurry?’.
hatma vt to share, to share amongst one another; to make share. N बांड़दिनः. root hama.
ya yatma vi to pray. N मन्त्र-तन्त्र गानः. nakʰoŋci sakienwa mukʰa da ya mihat ‘The priests pray during Sakienwa worship’. ya ihattacu ‘they (d) pray’, ya ihatta ‘they (pl) pray’.
harpʰurq n glutton, gluttonous person, ravenous eater. N बन्नुः.
hekma (hektu) vt to cut grass, to cut with a saw. N रटनुः; काटनुः.
helaŋ n hatred, hate. N हेला. kʰosaʔa helan imuwaŋ / imuṇaja ‘he hated me / hates me’.
helawa n red monkey, Rhesus monkey. S Macaca mulatta. N बौंदर.
hemma (hemsa) vi to be intoxicated, to be drunk. N लद्वदिनः. hemma kʰaṭma ‘be drunk, swing’.
henka adj bent, crooked; uneven. N टेंढः; बांजः. kʰa nan dekina henka nemiyaŋ ‘why are you so off- (so difficult)’. cf henma.
henkop n kingdom.
henkʰamma n world, earth. N धरि; संसारः. cf hen-kʰa-ma. cf ninamma.
henma (hena) vi to remain, to be left over. N चन्नुः; रहनः. icikol sa hena ‘A little bit of meat is left.’. caus hetma.
hensiq n phaledo tree, a tree with red flowers. N फालेवो. S Erythrina stricta.
henyaa (henya) vt to hurry. N हतार गानः.
henyaa (henya) vt (middle) to purify; to distill; intransitive: to evaporate. N बानः.
henymawa n liquor, local hard drink. N रक्सीः. cf henya.
henpaa (heptu) vt to hug (out of love). N अंगमला हानः.
hetcʰakuwa n orphan boy. N तूरों छोरा.
hetcʰama n orphan girl. N तूरों छोरी.
hetcʰawa n orphan. N तूरो.
hetma (hettu) vt to bind, to tie. N बॉधः. root henma.
hewa n sin. N सिन.
hi n blood. N रक्तः. ihi ‘his blood’.
hik n wind, air. N हाला. hik banyar ‘the wind is blowing’.

Appendices

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hikdikpa n hiccough, the hiccups. N बाझा. sanja?a imittanjki hikdikpa imet?ana? ‘thinking of who did I get the hiccups?’.

hikma (hiku) vt to fan. N हावा सुवालू. cf epma.

hilla n ghost, roaming spirit (of a man). N भूत प्रेत (सेटप्रेत). pair mamanj.

hima (hisu) vt to block, by plug. N छेक्नू.

himaj n blood swelling.

hịnk’a n life, the life as a concept. cf himύma.

hịnjma (hịng)a vi to live, be safe. N बाज्ञू. जजानू.

hịnjma (hịng)a vt (middle) to save. N बाजानू. hịnk’alokn’ a sawa ‘the power to save’. middle hịnjma.

hịnjma n life; the infinitive of ‘to live’. N जीवन.

hịnjma n living person, creature; living soul. N जीवन मान्य. opp sitma.

hipma (hī) vt to peel the bark of bamboo or tree. N बकोही.

hitma (hittu) (antip) to burn. N पाला. nama k’a hityan ‘the sun is burning’. nama k’a hitta ‘the sun was burning yesterday’. amtaŋ miwa hitta ‘did your hair burn?’.

hiwā adj two. N दुई.

hiyākna n sister of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. N ज्ञाई फक बुढारिको दिमी-बहिनी. pair hiiyakpa.

hiyākpa n brother of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. N ज्ञाई फक बुढारिको दादाबाबा. pair hiyakma.

hida vsufe ‘while’, simultaneous clause conjunctive marker.

hili n culture. N संस्कृति. t’apsi-hili ‘tradition-culture’. anko t’apsi-hilida sakenwa ni?o 1’araka’danka id’iwaŋ manj ‘in our culture, Sakenwa is the most important divinity’.

hima (hisu) vt to shake, stir a liquid (with the vessel). N हल्लानु. caus himma.

himma (himsa) vi to be mad. N बहुलाँगनु. moko himsa lonta ‘he went crazy’.

himsale adj mad, insane, crazy; madman. N बहुलाएको. cf himma. ayimīt tenda badd’e himsale kutiwi’i mikonyyaŋ ‘nowadays in the village many crazy dogs walk about’.

himma (hī) vi to be stirred. N मास्तिू. S 1. to stir, as of food. N मस्तानु. S 2. to break down lumps; divide. N मट्टाू. root hinma. root hima.

himma (hinsa) vt to shake, to stir. root hinma. root hima.

hīg n snow; ice. N हिए. बरफ.

hip n generation, age. N उम्र. दीवारी. ighip’o yawaci tenda sanj’an maddiŋci ‘there are no friends of my age in the village’.

hipma (hīptu) vt to shake through sieve.

hipma (hī) vt to cut down; clear an area in the jungle. N फाज्नु. मोहर पटार गन्नु.

hitamma n mountain, himalaya. N हिमालय.

hogyamna n praying mantis.

hokma (hou) vt to open door or mouth. N पोल्नु. caus hοnma.

hokwa n skin. N छल्वा. ihokwa ranja k’ara ‘he got a suntan’.

hola n bottle gourd. N लोका.

holasi n bottle gourd (the fruit, specifically). N लोका.

homa (hoh) vi to burn. N पोल्नु.

homa (hosu) vt to burn, to make burn. N पोल्नु. k’osa’a hosu ‘he burnt it’. root homa.

homa (ho) vt to burn, to make burn. N पोल्नु. k’osa’a ho ‘he burnt it’. homa.
homma (homa) vi to swell. N बाँहित्. homma lonta 'it had swollen'. caus hopma. off hopma. homma (homtu) vt to wrap (in clothes). N वृत्. omyaŋʔo titʔa homma dot. 'one must wrap it in white clothes'. to be wrapped (in clothes). N वृत।.
homma (holu) vt to mix. N टिपाउ।.
hoŋa n small type of fish (5cm long, 1cm diameter). N मानो माछा।
hoŋku n river; smaller river that grows and shrinks significantly with the season. N तोला।
hoŋma (honsu) vt to open, to uncover. N खोल।. root hopma.
hopma (hoa) vi to be wet. N भिज्।. wahopma 'to be wet'. wa takina wa hoʔaŋ 'because of the rain, I got wet'. caus hopma.
hopma (hoptu) vt to swell; to get wet. N रुच्।. wahopma 'to get wet, to swell'. root hopma.
hopma (hoptu) vt to drink; usage for specific liquids; preferably one says 'kʰabat hopma' (drink beer) but rather heŋmawa dupma (drink liquor). N खान।. सोले पिउ।। cf bakwa.
hotlum n hole, gap. cave. N घाट।. hotlumya kʰara 'get into the cave'.
hotma (hotta) vt (middle) to be tired; to wear out. This verb translates as intransitive, but conjugates transitively. hotma is an impersonal verb: the object of the 'wearing out' is the one to get tired.. N घाट।. hotta 'he got tired'. ihottan 'I became tired ('it wore me out').
hotma vt (middle) to open, release; to let go. N खोल।। छोड़।। छोड़।। injka hyuko kʰimyuʔo inyawalai horuʔo 'I let my friend of the house below go'. horum kʰaisum 'we opened it and let it go (the water)'. cf charitma.
hotpi n spot.
hucukiyan n a whistle; collocates with 'luma' to mean: to whistle. N सुंगल।। kʰo hucukiyan luwanja 'he is whistling'.
hukma (hukta) vi to bark. N पुच्।।
huma (hussu) vt to turn, to make turn. N पुमाउ।। root huma.
huma (huwa) vi S 1. to turn, to spin; to come up (of dizziness). N पुच्।। namʔa inaŋya huwa kʰara 'by the sun he got dizzy'. cf naywa. caus huma. S 2. to roll. N पुच्।।
humma (humsu) vt to put on (of clothes); to wear. N शीत।।
humma n eagle owl. N हृतील।।
humma (hulu) vt to shake a pole to pull it out. N कूँकाउ।।
huyma (huya) vt to wait, to wait for someone. N पेंबित।। huyan 'wait for me'. badde huyanja 'I have waited a long time for you'. badde huyančañ 'he has already waited a lot for me'.
hupma (hupta) vi to cover in a blanket, or, e.g. by sinking in dirt. N आउ।।
hut n hole, inside. N तुला।। घाट।। cikyʔo ihu/t a mouse's hole'. mo gagityanʔo itʰenda hutci miyak. 'There are holes in the bottom of that gagityanıt.'
hutda postp inside. N मित्र।। cf kog.
hutlun n fireplace, stove. N चुल।।
hutma (huru) vt to loosen; to take off. N कूँकाउ।।
hutma (hutta) vi to be pierced, to have holes. N ताल पान।।
hutma (huttu) vt (middle) to bore, to drill, to pierce. N ताल पान।। middle hutma.
hwa adj two. N दो।।
hwanj adj two persons; (two fused with qualifier pany). N दोई।ज्ञ।।
hwatni adv this way, in this manner. N वर्तमा।। hwatni ca 'do it this way...': cf mwatni.
hyakko adj that one over there, further away (on the same vertical level). N तेसी।। उत।।. hyakko kʰim 'that house over there'.
hyana **adv** over there, far away (as far as the eye can see) (attributive). N पर (तसा). hyana bʰ'ira 'the cliff over there'.

hyanana **adv** far away, over there, (farther than the eye can see). N उ पर. cf hyana.

hyani **n** there, in that location, at the same vertical level. N पर. hyani kʰ'ara 'go there, to that place'.

hyaʔo **adj** yonder, of over there (attributive). N पल्स. hyaʔo tenyaʔo simma 'the girl from the village over there...'.

hyatni **n** over there, in that direction (at the same vertical level). N उत्तरित. hyatni kʰ'ara 'go in that direction'.

hyaudʰ'era **adv** on the other side, across (the river, the valley). N पारि.

hyaudʰ'et **adv** other side, other bank.

hyu **n** deictic expression meaning 'that below'; it relates to expressions as o (this, proximal), mo (that, distal), hya (that, over there). hyu 'down below'.

hyucok **n** lower floor, ground floor. N तल तल्ला. hyucokyu dʰ'akʰ'a 'come down to the lower floor'.

hyukko **adj** the lower, the one below. hyukko tola 'the lower village'. cf dʰ'akko.

hyuna **adv** down there. N तल. hyuna dʰ'anne 'let's go down'. hyuna dʰ'ama 'to go down'.

hyunanka **adv** from down there.

hyutni **adv** over there, in downwards direction (at a lower vertical level, e.g. in the valley).

N न तलनिर. opp dʰ'atni. dʰ'anijkacʰ'anj imajʰ'ada cʰ'uk, 'from up it is in the middle'.

hyunijkacʰ'anj imajʰ'ada cʰ'uk 'from down it is in the middle'.

### C. Word list

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hya</td>
<td>yonder, of over there (attributive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyat</td>
<td>on the other side, across (the river, the valley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyucok</td>
<td>lower floor, ground floor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyukko</td>
<td>the lower, the one below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyuna</td>
<td>deictic expression meaning 'that below'; it relates to expressions as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o (this, proximal), mo (that, distal), hya (that, over there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyunanka</td>
<td>from down there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyutni</td>
<td>over there, in downwards direction (at a lower vertical level, e.g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in the valley).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icilosa</td>
<td>almost; a little.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icilok</td>
<td>a little, a little bit only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icit</td>
<td>a little, slightly; adverb of degree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ico</td>
<td>(poss) their (non-singular 3rd person possessive pronoun).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icʰ'intuk</td>
<td>the day after tomorrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idi</td>
<td>what - possessive form, 'his what', what of him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idʰ'iwag</td>
<td>adj big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idʰ'uwana</td>
<td>n leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik</td>
<td>one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikc</td>
<td>a little, a few.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icʰ'ani</td>
<td>one another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icʰ'ara</td>
<td>alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icʰ'angja</td>
<td>stay alone, sit alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icʰ'atja</td>
<td>I will go alone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikwiwaj</td>
<td>long, tall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iklenhwalen</td>
<td>adv one or two days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikn</td>
<td>together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikn</td>
<td>ankai ikni yunjine 'let's sit together'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikno</td>
<td>pro (poss) his, her (singular 3rd person possessive pronoun).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilenkon</td>
<td>adv day-by-day, daily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilummak</td>
<td>n in four days' time; four days from now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ima</td>
<td>(isa) vi to be bad.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


imirumpa adj unripe. N नपाकृति। imirumpa suntala sun ‘an unripe orange is sour’.
imampi n darkness, night; sunset, evening. N भन्तुरा। cf nam. cf iwayi। inampi lisa ‘it has become dark’.
iŋ posspfx- my, 1st person singular possessive noun prefix.
iŋka pro i, first person singular pronoun. N म।
iŋkaca pro we (excl. dual).
iŋkaci pro we (incl. dual). N हामी (इवै जना)।
iŋko pro (poss) mine, my; possessive pronoun for the first person singular.
iŋkwa adj old (of things, not people), worn. N तुराना। ɨŋkwa ɨŋkwa ɨŋkwa ‘they’re old’. cf ininawa.
issawa adj bad, evil.
isumam n in three days time; three days from now. N निकोपसू। cf illumamak.
istanake part never mind; let’s leave it alone, let’s not bother; lit: let’s not come. N जे होँम।
dlo adj bad.
ɨtma (itsa) vi to be bad, to be not good. issa ‘it is bad...’. badde cait ‘it is not tasty’. kʰan issaʔo ‘bad, useless’. nuwa he itsa ‘is it good or bad?’.
kʰan itma vi to look bad, ugly. N नराच्रो देखिनु।
ɨtʰanpa adv upwards. N उकालो। ɨtʰanpa kʰatma dot ‘one must go up’. cf itemma.

i

i part excl.
ideŋ n after. N पछि।
ilkʰip n number; (for magazines:) edition. N अंक, गतिन।
imma (iya) vi to laugh. N हूल्नु। appl itma.
imkʰa n bed, sleeping place. N बाट, मुल्ने ठाउँ। cf imma.
imma (imsa) vi to sleep. N मून्नु। caus ipma.
imma (imiu) vt (antip) to sell. N बेचनु। ɨŋkwa ɨŋkwa ɨŋkwa anco hwa ɪʃ ɜ ‘we (d) will sell our two cows’. kima karaki manindacuʔa ‘out of fear we (d) did not sell’. opp kʰitma.
impa (iptu) vt (antip) S 1. to deceive. N छल्नु। to put to sleep. N नूताउनु। root itma. S 2. to cover, to hide (from view). N धाकनु।
isara nm Isara, a Bantawa clan. N इसारा, बांतावा धरको एउठा पाईङ्ग्रा (हँगारा)।
isara n signal.
isì n ciuri tree, a tree with edible fruits; used for oil extraction. N चुरिः। S Bassia butyracea.
ɨtma (ittu) vt to laugh at. N हसाउनु। root itma.

j

joŋgala n flower, with small seeds and flowers that can be dried and stored for a long time.
jammay adv all.
jatma (jatutu) vt to construct on the ground. N भन्ताउनु। cf gakma.
jatma (jatutu) vt to reach some height. N चक्रो हुँनु। onjʰapko lisa ‘it got this big’.
jato n hand mill (for maize). N झाटात।
jetʰana n brother-in-law (wife’s elder brother). N जेठात।
joŋjma (joŋutu) vt to reach some height. N चक्रो हुँनु। onjoŋko
lisa 'it got this big'.
jora n pair (of shoes), couple. N जोड़ा.
juwapa n answer. N उत्तर. juwapa c'otna 'I gave you the answer'.

jh

jʰəmpala n lever, crowbar. N गल.
jʰənna vi to pile up. N चट्टनु.
jʰərak n all, every. N सब.
jʰij³pema n dhobini plant and flower. N छोर्नी. S Mussaenda macrophylla. jʰij³pema bujwa 'dhobini flower'.
jʰiṃnojmojwa n mourning. N गड्डागुजु. jʰiṃnojmojwa miciwaŋa 'they were crowding together'.
jʰomma vt to surround; crowd round. N चन्नु. cf jʰumma.
jʰomma (j³pona) vi to be high. N अग्नि हुनु. j³ponaŋa to b'ircok 'a high hill'.
j³omma (j³ponu) vt to make tall. N अग्नि बनाउनु.
j³omya (j³onu) vi (middle) to be tall; to make tall. N याँहो हुनु.
jʰora n shrub, thicket. N छाँड़ी. jʰorala 'thicket'. jʰorakʰa 'a densely grown place'.
jʰumma (j³unta) vi to gather; to meet together, be packed. N गृह युजु भएये भला हुनु. jʰamsànincin yuwanin 'we were packed together'.

k

ekadam n fodder plant, of the euphorbia family. N कदम. S Jatropha curcas.
kapti n lazy. N अल्पही.
karaŋ n nib. N कारङ.
kabítpta n a person who is qualified to perform religious duties.
kaci n job, work. N काम. jhunjha ijkca kaci toktuŋ 'as much tourists come in, that much work I get'.
kacin lupə n disciple, someone who wants to learn from a master.
kacipen n a programme, a festival. N कायप्रेम.
kac'ukpa n alternative term for Rhesus monkey, lit. a 'jumper'. N छाँड़र. cf helawa.
kad'uppa n blacksmith, member of the Kami caste, lit: 'hitter'. N कामी.
kaeppa n guard, sentry; someone standing. cf kahunpa.
kahunpa n guard, sentry; someone standing.
kakma (kaktu) vt to occupy; to have little room, be crammed. N ओगट्तनु. yugkʰa kakyaj 'the place was occupied'.
kakma (kaktu) vt (antip) to jump over. N गाँव.
kalekasincin n the people who know, the knowledgeable people. N जानवेश. kaletaŋ n forgiver. cf let.
kama (kaʃa) vi to have free time, off. N फ्रीमहनु. ai tikayaŋ 'are you free today'?.
kamduŋ nn Kamduŋ, a Bantawa clan. N कामदुङ. बांतावा धरको एउटा पाछ्रा (हाँगो). kamecʰa a n girl; young woman. N जवानी कुटी.
kamma (kamsu) vt to join. N जोड़नु.
kanco n tobacco. N तमाखः kancoraj 'tobacco plant'.

kanla n terrace; a step in the fields. N कान्लो.
kamma (kala) vi to get stuck (as in the throat). N अंकिनु. nulok ikʰuiminalo mikan ‘if you
don’t chew it well, it’ll get stuck.’
kamma (kansu) vt S 1. to identify; to ascertain; to see in the future. N विविधतावानी है हें. dowaʔa
kainsu ‘the seer sees into the future’. root katma.
kajma (kajsu) vt to accept, to obey. N मान्नु.
kajma (kajsu) vt (middle) to hide, of feet; to tuck in; to move your steps. N चालनु; भालना चालनु.
laŋ kajsu ‘pull in your feet’.
kajma (kajtu) vi to warm (indirectly). N ठेवनु.
kajma (kajtu) vt to heat up indirectly, to warm (e.g. to put out in the sun or next to a heater); to
dry (e.g. at the fire). N सकाउनु; तताउनु. bʰork’ar’io cʰaci bʰark’or janna lisaʔo cʰacilai
mida kajma cima dot ‘new-born babies must be warmed at the fire’.
kap n S 1. a pair, a complement; an accompaniment. N जोड़ी. ikapma di pakma ‘to complement
it, what shall we put in?’ ikap ‘his complement’. cf kapma. S 2. the middle; the split, a
branch. N विच; होँगा.
kapma (kaptu) vt to put together (things that are related). N जोड़नु.
kaptana n captain, officer.
kasatmancin n a reptile, a ‘crawling’ insect, lit. ‘one that drags itself’. N चिण्डी हें. cf satma.
kem (kara) vi to feel. N लाग्नु. caus kamma. kima kat ‘fear’. petma kat ‘belch’. ima kat
’smile’. ʃosma karaki inka hara bokma cʰiruŋ. ‘being lazy, I stopped ploughing’. kʰana
amsoma karaki hara bokma ticʰiruʔo? ‘Did you stop ploughing out of lazyness?’.
katok n respected, respectable, venerable. N मान्य. cf tokma.
katuk n ill person, sick man. N विरामी.
kat’uppa n tailor, member of the Damain caste; also musicians. lit: ‘he who sews’. N डामाई.
kaya n rice plant, paddy. N धान. kayaʔo bala ‘rice ear’.
kayarāŋ n rice paddy, rice plant. N धान.
kekma (kekta) vi to construct a roof; to join the rafters. N छाना बनाउनु. N झाना र भाटा जोडने
काम गन्नूँ.
kekuwā n lapwing (white bird, eating small fish; roaming rice fields and warm areas). N वाल्डा वाल्ड.
S Vanellus indicus.
kem n river bank, shore. N नदीपाट. होङ्कुँो ikem ‘the river bank’.
kema (kesu) vt to throw away. N फूर्णेनु; कर्नु. manma kema ‘to forget’. mitma kema ‘to
decide’.
ken n a large drum (bigger than maadal). N डंडा.
kenma (kentu) vt to feed, to keep (domesticate animals). N पान्नु.
kenwa n the keeping or fostering of animals; maintenance. N पालन.
kenya (kenja) vi to be cold, to be wet (and cold). N चिचो हुनु. kenyaŋ ‘it is cold’. kenya wa ‘cold
water’. kenyaŋ’o cakwa ‘cold water’.
kenya (kenyu) vt (anti-passive middle) to make cold (in Sindrang also to get cold). N चिचो हुनु;
चिचो पानुँ.
kenyuyuwa n cold spring, cold water source. N चिचोपानी. pair kumuywa.
kenyaj n buttocks, hindquarters. N चाक.
kepma (keptu) vt to sting. N खिलनु; खिलाउनु.
kera n crack, burst.
ketma (keru) vt (middle) to break, to snap (splice with a knife). N कटाउनु; कटनु. samba kera
ketma (kettu) **vt** to break, to snap (causative and benefactive; to break for someone else). N **ka/umatra/**ka/aamatra/ha/aamatrau/na/umatra **to make rot.**

kikma (kiktu) **vt** (antip) to hold (small things), to grab, to take. N **sama/umatra.** ic'ukda kiktuki "holding her hand".

Kima (kisa) **vi** to be afraid. N **tamsinu/**drakuma. kima idotnin 'you do not have to fear'. **off** kima.

Kima (kiu) **vt** to ret. N **kudinu. caus** kima.

Kima **n** fear, fright. N **dr.** ikima katyan 'he is afraid'. **cf** kima.

Kinness (kimsu) **vt** to decrease, to make less; to save, set apart. N **sama.** icilok kimsun laruwyunsu 'I am saving a bit'.

Kinness (kiiu) **vt** to button up; to sew. N **chalnu.**

Ki **n** tooth, teeth.

Kijma (kinya) **vt** (middle) to hang, to hang up. N **shunshukuna.** kinyafo thyo; ai maddi 'I had hung it there - now it's not here?!'.

Kiyma (kipto) **vt** (middle) to cut off, to split (with effect, not trying, but succeeding); also to split the money. N **ka/umatra.** kiptyan 'he cut himself (reflexive)'.

Kipma (kiptu) **vt** (middle) to break, to snap (causative and benefactive; to break for someone else).

Kitma (kittu) **vt** (none) to make rot. N **kudinu. root** kima. **cf** kima.

Kiwa **n** mute; dumb, stupid. N **larmu.** ikja kiwa kintsu kacimtu k'aisun 'being stupid, I forgot about things'.

Kiyanpa **n** mother's relative, some male person in the mother's house. N **nama.**

Ki **conj** and.

Kima (kiya) **vi** to be long; to be tall. N **a/umatra/**a/umatra/ma/aamatra/ma/aamatra/gha/ra **to make rot.**

Kinta (kinta) **vt** (middle) to frighten. N **to/umatra/**to/aamatra/ta. root** kitma.

Kinta **w** rebel, nowadays used and almost synonymous for maoist.

Kipakka **n** the in-laws of a brother or sister. N **满满.**

Kippa **n** flora. N **urnu.**

Kira **n** Kiranti, the autonym for the Kiranti grouping of people groups; also used in a narrower sense for Bantawas as a subgrouping. N **kiran.**

Kitap **n** book.

Kitma (kittu) **vt** (middle) to scare; to be afraid, scared of. N **tamsinu.** mo mina kitma dot 'one must fear that man'. **caus** kinma. root **kima.**

Kiwa **n** leopard; also translated as tiger, but it really refers to an animal the size of a leopard (N cituwa). N **chilina.**

Koiso **adj** any, some. N **kantuk.** kuiso yak, kuiso iyaknin 'of some people there are, of some there aren't'. Koi moda miyunyan; koi moya miyunyan 'some are there, some are over there'.

Kok **n** rice; cooked rice, also used as a generic word for 'food'. N **bata.**

Kokcom **n** ladle, flat spoon used for serving out rice. N **manu.**

Kokma (kou) **vt** to throw with stones. N **maa.**
\textbf{C. Word list}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{kurinalu} n a stone with red chips.
\item \textbf{kusi} n branch, leaf.
\item \textbf{kutiwa} n poppy. \textbf{S} Papaver.
\item \textbf{kutiwa} c\text{emma} n \text{Kantarak} with thorns only (not with fruit); different from \text{k}ibupma. \textbf{N} \text{कन्तरकरि}. \textbf{S} \text{Solanum Jacquinii}. \textbf{cf} \text{k}ibupma.
\item \textbf{kutiwa} n dog. \textbf{N} कुकुर.
\item \textbf{kuwa} vi (none) to be dark. \textbf{k}akutta 'it got dark'. \textbf{cf} datma.
\item \textbf{kuwa} n friend. \textbf{N} साभि-भाई. yawa-\text{kuwa} 'friends and all...'.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{\textit{k}h}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{k}isisi n walnut. \textbf{N} आंबो.
\item \textbf{k}ak\text{cko} pro whosoever (plural). \textbf{N} जस-जस. \textbf{k}ak\text{kkosa}ʔa 'by whomsoever'.
\item \textbf{k}\text{a} n\text{l} place, suffix of location (when added to nouns); a thicket. \textbf{N} ठाड़. भारी. g\text{asak}ʔa 'grass land'. sagak\text{ka} 'vegetable garden'. sampicak\text{ka} 'a millet field'.
\item \textbf{k}\text{a} pro
\item \textbf{k}abat n local beer. \textbf{N} जोड़.
\item \textbf{k}aca n local beer, made of fermented millet; also: the fermented dregs of beer. \textbf{N} जोड़; जोड़को फियर.
\item \textbf{k}\text{a}a pro where, at what location?. \textbf{N} जहाँ. \textbf{k}ana \text{ka}a tik\text{kat}, in\text{kac}\text{carj k}odan\text{jka} \text{kat}ja 'wherever you go, I will also go there'.
\item \textbf{k}adam\text{amp}a n porcupine. \textbf{N} दुर्गी.
\item \textbf{k}akin\text{wa} ad\text{j} scary, fearsome, dreadful. \textbf{N} बर लागो.
\item \textbf{k}ak\text{ko} pro which. \textbf{k}ak\text{ko} e\text{c}\text{arj 'whichever'. \text{pe}\text{ekwa} \text{k}ak\text{kko titum\text{sum} 'what sort of money is accepted?'. \text{oko k}ak\text{kko? 'which one is this?'.
\item \textbf{k}akut n night, darkness. \textbf{N} रात. ladip\text{ma} maddi\text{jo} \text{k}akut 'a moonless night'. \text{ak}om\text{a} \text{ik}akut 'yesterday\text{night}'.
\item \textbf{k}akwa n bird\text{lime}. \textbf{N} लिंसा.
\item \textbf{pak\text{ut} n cf k}akut.
\item \textbf{k}alak n sort, type; from Nepali, but Bantawa-ised by addition of a \text{/k/}. \textbf{N} आल.
\item \textbf{k}alam\text{pa} n the common cold, a cold. \textbf{N} रात्रा. in\text{k}a \text{k}alam\text{pa} p\text{uktaj k}a 'I've got a cold'. in\text{k}a \text{k}alam\text{pa} im\text{et\text{taj} 'I have caught a cold'.
\item \textbf{k}am n place, for specific purposes (mostly in compounds). \textbf{N} ठारा. cakwa-k\text{am} 'water-hole, small well'. puja-k\text{am} 'place for religious dancing'. dabya-k\text{am} 'fireplace'.
\item \textbf{k}ama vi to be satisfied, to be well fed. \textbf{N} अभाव. \text{inbuk k}asa 'my belly is satisfied'. \text{icot}b\text{uk m}ank\text{hayak 'they have not had enough'.
\item \textbf{k}amk\text{an\text{ka}r\text{ma} n a blind woman. \textbf{N} अभाव. \text{cf} \text{k}amk\text{an\text{ka}p\text{a}}.
\item \textbf{k}amk\text{an\text{ka}p\text{a} n a blind man, a blind person. \textbf{N} अभाव. \text{cf} \text{k}amk\text{an\text{ka}r}\text{m}a.
\item \textbf{k}ambopi n small woodpecker. \textbf{N} मानी लार्जेचि.
\item \textbf{k}amma (k\text{amsu} vt to make weep. \textbf{N} अभाव. \text{root k}\text{ap\text{ma}}.
\item \textbf{k}am\text{ma} (k\text{amsu} vt to put a vessel on the fire. \textbf{N} बसावू (भांडी बसावू). \text{ka}amma \text{ka}amma dot 'one must put a vessel on the fire'.
\item \textbf{k}amma n vessel, metal pot; also used for all vessels together. \textbf{N} भांडी; तातां. \textbf{N} अभाव. \text{root k}\text{ap\text{ma}}.
\item \textbf{k}amuk\text{la} n world.
\item \textbf{\text{ka}n\text{boj handsome, good; collocates with "nu" - the verb "to be good" to make the expression "to

be good, to be handsome". dem kʰanru 'how good!'.
kʰana pro you (sg.). N तिनी.
kʰanači pro you two.
kʰananim pro you all.
kʰanitdo adj bad, no good, useless. N नरामो.
kʰani n mine; source, place. N चानी.
kʰanma (kʰamsu) vt to send, to take out. N रातु. root kʰatma.
kʰarulō adj good, pretty (good to see). cf kʰa nulo. cf namnulo ennulo.
kʰaŋ vobj see, show (needs causative).
kʰaŋma (kʰa) vt to look, to watch; to see. N हें. mosa?a kʰa 'he watched'. mıkʰaci 'they look'.
kʰanyuŋsaŋ 'i kept watching'. iŋka kʰaŋ 'i watched'. kʰolai kʰaŋ 'i watched him'. aŋkacia
kʰolai kʰacia 'we (excl) looked him':
kʰaŋma (kʰa) vt to see, to look. N हें. oko di kʰa? moko di kʰa? 'What is this? What is that?'.
kʰam! kʰamnel 'let's look!'.
kʰaŋma n female caretaker, someone who looks after someone else, e.g. children.
kʰaŋmpa n caretaker; witness. kʰaŋmpa nikʰa nǐ?o 'a witness saw you, it is said...'.
kʰapa n diagonal roofbeam. N भुरी.
kuʃpícik n ornaments, jewels; ornamental stone. cf picik.
kʰapma (kʰapptu) vt to thatch a roof. N राज्व. tikʰaptin 'you thatch the roof'.
kʰapma (kʰawa) vi to cry, weep. N राज. mıkʰawajaʔo; tikʰawinyaŋ 'they cried; you are crying'.
caus kʰapma.
kuʃarekla n dry season, drought; desert, dry place. kʰarekla bana 'the dry season has come'.
kʰaru n mind, understanding; wisdom; senses. N दिमाग. cf mama kʰatma. iŋkʰaru makʰara
'my mind was lost (I lost my mind, went unconscious)'. kʰaruŋma makʰatma 'to lose your
mind. amkʰa baddle ikʰaru mettiŋgoʔo račʰa 'your son appears to be very wise'.
kʰaruŋmpa n wise man, a knowledge man. N तिनी; मुद्री.
kuʃaruma n mind, wisdom. N दिमाग. syn kʰaru.
kuʃaruni n farmer. N किसान.
kuʃatma (kʰara) vi to go. N जानु. caus kʰanma. caus kʰatma.
kuʃatma (kʰattu) vt to take away. N लाग़ु. hanyuŋsaŋ kʰatyan 'while he talks, he is walking'.
kuʃatma (kʰatma) vt to hatch, to come out of an egg; to sprout. N बृज. root kʰatma.
kuʃatni pro where (directional: where to?). N कता.
kuʃawā n hoopoe; small bird, that hammers the bark off wood to get the insects out. N भारस. kʰayamāŋ naŋ Khayamang, a godhead; a god that causes sores and allergies. N भारसानातः.
kʰe n louse on the body (not on the head). N तुम. amkʰe / ikʰe hamsi tikʰaraʔo? 'did you go to
swap your / his lice (i.e. to have sex)';
kʰebak n crab. N मात्ता.
kʰebakbuk n clerodendron (lit: crab flower). N मिस्तु; चुट्वा (?). S Clerodendron.
kʰekma (kʰektu) vt S 1. to hatch, to come out of an egg; to sprout. N बृजसु. S 2. to take a bite.
kʰemmā (kʰemsu) vt to get close, make friends. N साभी हें.
kʰen n wound, caused by some trauma; also disease (in compounds). N पाइँ.
kʰeq n basket for measurement, containing one pāti (n). N भाई.
kʰeqmā (kʰeqsu) vt to copy, imitate. N सिस्नु; नकल गें.
kʰepi n time, turn. N चाँद. ik kʰepi moda kʰaraŋ yuŋsaŋ. 'i have gone there once'. cf du.
kʰepma (kʰepptu) vt to stick (to a wall). N टांस्नु.
kʰerek n skull. N बोप्पी. tapkʰerek 'skull'.
kʰi n excrement, manure, stool. N दिसा.
kʰibupma n Kantakari. N कन्तकारिय. 
kʰicij n anus. cf kʰihut.
kʰihut n anus. cf kʰicij.
kʰikma (kʰikta) vi to be bitter (also: to feel bitter). N लितो हनु. kʰikyan jo paktu 'she made it bitter (e.g. the food)'.
kʰisma (kʰisu) vt (antip) to steal, to be a thief. N चोरनु.
kʰinma (kʰinta) vi to stretch. N तान्नु; तान्नाउनु.
kʰinma (kʰintu) vt (middle) to pull. N तान्नु. middle kʰinma.
kʰipma (kʰipsa) vt to swallow. N विन्नु.
kʰipma (kʰipu) vt to cover. N छान्नु; दाक्नु.
kʰissa n deer. N हरिण; मुग.
kʰitma (kʰitu) vt S 1. to comb. N कान्नु; S 2. to steal for someone else. N चोरविद्यु. S 3. to worship, to pay honour. N पुजा गन्नु. epma kʰitma 'worship for a grave; to do a religious exercise in front of grave'. ca kʰitma 'worship grain'.
kʰimba (kʰiya) vi to quarrel. N बाक्नु.
kʰimhajma n housewife, the mother in the house; wife. N ठिमाटिक, बेडिनिक. cf kʰimhajpa.
kʰimhajpa n husband, the man in the house. N ठिमान. 
kʰimkło n the interior of a house; inside the house. N थिभ; घारभिर. kʰimkło ya 'inside the house'.
kʰipma (kʰiptu) vt to read. N रहनु. irka baddel kʰiptapde, kʰiwaŋ mina lisaryanjo. 'Had I learned a lot, I would have been a big man'.
kʰitma (kʰiru) vt to buy. N खरिद. ai irka fa iket gai kʰiruŋ / hwaṭet gai kʰiruŋcu 'Now I buy one cow / two cows'. irka dabi kʰisi banaŋ 'I came to buy a big knife'.
kʰiyiŋma n horse. N बोधरा.

kʰo pro he, she, it.
kʰocori n funnel. 
kʰokale bug n orchid (lit: lizard flower). N मुनाखारि.
kʰokalake n lizard. N धेपारो.
kʰokli bendasi n lantern plant. S Physalis peruviana.
kʰokli n (small) jungle, wooded place; forest. N जंगल; बन. cf tʰujnam.
kʰokma (kʰoktu) vt to chop off. N कटनु.
kʰokma (kʰou) vt to extract oil; to press, squeeze. N तेर्लु; खाँदनु. akwa kʰokma 'to extract oil'.
kʰokma n old woman. pair kʰokwa.
kʰokpa n old man. N बृदिक. pair kʰokma.
kʰokwa n old man. pair kʰokma.
kʰola n cover, covering. N बाँध.
kʰolen n afternoon, midday. N दिवसाले. ayyi ikʰolen 'this afternoon'. cf kʰo len.
kʰoma (kʰomsa) vt to shave oneself; to dig with kodalo; scrape off. N बौजनु.
kʰomma (kʰomsa) vt to collect. N जम्माउनु.
kʰomma (kʰomsa) vt to play cymbals. N इमाटा बजाउनु.
kʰomtajma n cheek. N गाल्न, amkʰomtajmada mokna ‘I will slap you on your cheek’. amkʰomtajma cunta ‘your cheeks have wrinkled’.
kʰon vpro that, verbal pronoun; pronoun used as referring to verbal or sentential antecedent only. N त्यस्, त्यस्. kʰon'osa ‘therefore, for that reason’. cf mon on.
kʰonki conj and then. N अति. cf monki.
kʰonma (kʰulu) vt to move, to transport. N आना॒, root konma.
kʰonma (kʰonta) vi (middle) to rise, to resurrect. N बौद्रियु. kʰonta lonta ‘he resurrected’.
kʰonma tama ‘to rise and come, to resurrect’.
kʰonnalø adv therefore. cf dekinalo magnalo.
kʰoŋma (kʰuŋtu) vt to freeze. N घ्न्नु. kʰoŋsiɡ n soybean. N भट्टचार.
kʰopma (kʰoŋtu) vt to close (as of door). N बन्द गानू. kʰopma (kʰou) vt to cut (firewood). N दाउरो काटनू.
kʰoppa n saddle between two hills, small valley. N भन्नुकार्य.
kʰoŋt n peel, skin of a fruit. ikʰoŋt u?u?kʰol ‘peel it’.
kʰotet part that one, specific. N त्यस् चाहियै. kʰotet onjʰoŋlo mettancin, iŋkatet citlok imettaŋ ‘That one he made big for himself, for me he made a small one.’. cf otet tet.
kʰotma (kʰottu) vt S 1. to point. N आना॒. S 2. to shave someone else. N बौद्रियु. iŋtaj kʰottajkʰanŋ ‘please, shave my head’. root kʰoma.
kʰotni pro that way, in that way. N त्यसौरि. kʰana detni tic, kʰwatnija iŋkacʰaŋ cija ‘as you do, such I will also do’. kʰwatni minanji ‘thinking that way’,... cf kʰo. cf watni.
kʰoŋwa n wound, particularly a sore (coming from inside). cf kʰen. mosaʔa kʰoŋwa mettaŋpiwaŋ ‘he wounded me’. mociʔa kʰanalyai kʰoŋwa nimettapiwa ‘they wounded you’.
kʰugairi adv then, at that moment. kʰuigari kʰoko banaki ‘at that moment he came, and...’.
kʰukma (kʰuktu) vt to attack with horn. N गोङ्गल हानू. kʰumma (kʰu) vt to chew (soundless, as for rice). N बाङ्गल; kʰuŋ ‘I chew it’. ikʰuiminnalo mikan ‘if you don’t chew it well, it gets stuck’.
kʰumma (kʰumu) vt to bury; to plant. N गाङ्गल. root kumma.
kʰumma (kʰumu) vt to enter, to penetrate. N धिघरानू. imiri kʰumu disu ‘he stuck his tail in’.
kʰumma (kʰuyu) vt to carry, N बौङ्गल. ben kʰutma. duŋṭim kʰumma ‘to be arrogant’.
kʰuŋ n shell; plate, pot, pan. N धाँ, kʰebak kʰuŋ ‘a crab’s shell’.
kʰuŋma (kʰuyu) vt to shelter. N आना॒.
kʰupa (kʰupu) vt to chew (with sounds). N टौक्नू; बाङ्गानू. kuuki kʰuptuconi ‘picking it up, he chewed and ate it’.
kʰutma (kʰutu) vt to bring for someone. N बौङ्गिडिनू. root kʰunma.
kʰuwaran n fish that lives in the mud (eel?), (black, round head, approx. 20 cm long, 5 cm diameter). N भिल्ले माछू. kʰuwaranʔo ilap yak ‘the khuwarang has fins’. kʰuwaranʔo ilap ictiko mu. ‘the khuwarang’s fins are small’. kʰuwaranʔo nabʔak hwatet yakci. ‘the khuwarang has two gills’.
kʰuyle adj bald (Nepali). N नानाखुड़े; खुड़े.
C. Word list

lattam n guava. N शहनाका; अन्द्रा. lattam tokkin 'you can get guavas'.
labuwa n bat. N बकरे.
ladip n moon. ladipma 'moon'.
lak n religious dance, danced only during sakenwa occasions. N बालिका नाच, लक लुमा 'to dance'.
laklukha n dancing place, place where ritual dances are performed. N बालिका मात्रने ताउँ.
lakma (laktu) vt to stick, to fall on; of dirt or colour, stains. N लामा ; अन्धकार.
lakuwa n tuber, type of root; (gitāḍ N). N गिठा.
lakwa n yellow footed green pigeon (N haleso). N हलेसो.
lam n way, road; path; doorway. N बाटो.
lama vi to return, but never used alone. N फर्कनु. lama tama 'to return, coming'. lama khatma 'to return, going'. lasakara 'he returned home (away)'. caus latma.
lama vt to pick, to pick up. N टन्नु. iṣka bākkawensi lama dot 'I must pick strawberries'.
lanyunj 'I am picking (present continuous)'. lanyanj 'I was picking (past continuous)'. loy 'I have picked (simple past)'.
lamma (lamu) vt to seek, to search. N बोन्नु. lamukho 'search for it!'. hannma lamanyan 'he tries to talk'. nihā lamyaj 'he is looking for a fight [pretext]'. appl lapma.
lamna (lantu) vt to winnow, to feed to the wind. N हावा खुबाउँन्. hik lantu 'he fed it to the wind'.
larjkuk n foot-and-hand, extremities.
lap n leg; foot. N गुडा.
larka adj flat, stretched, with the flat side up; upright; steep. N ठाँडो.
larkubak n foot. N पाउँ; बुडा.
larkusi n toe, toes. N बुडा का अँखा. cf kusi.
larjma (laya) vi to make a joke.
larjma (laya) vt to wipe, to smear; to apply paint. N फोहोर बिज बा नाघ्रो कुरा दल्दु।
lap n wing; fin (of a fish). N पकेरा.
lapma (latpu) vt to try; to try to do something. N बोन्नु. hannma lapunj 'I tried to talk with him'.
hannma ilaptunj 'He tried to talk with me'. root lamma.
lapma (lau) vt to catch, to arrest. to grab, to take hold of. N मासाल्लु.
lapsi n sour fruit. S mala dabi. N शाकी.
laptikho n doorway. N देखो.
latli n centipede (of a poisonous kind). N खजूरो.
latma (laru) vt to take out. N ठकनु. root lama. piralara 'it was grazed off and went'.
   yiŋ latma vi (antip) to pray, to invoke. yiŋ milat 'they pray'.
latma (lattu) vt S 1. to take out. N ठकनु. root latma. S 2. to be enough; a dative verb. 'to be enough for someone'; agreeing with the recipient, the experience of the sufficiency). ilatunj 'it's enough for me'. lattu 'it's enough for him'.
lawa n shadow; shade. N खाझाँ. iṣkalwa 'my shadow'.
lawa n spirit, soul. N आत्मा; हस्त. bom bāṣakina minaci?o icolawa lo?la. 'after the bomb exploded, people got scared'.
lawacami n shadow.
layaca n food stuffs, flowers and rice that is spread around by those heading a burial procession. N बानकुरा.
lek adj eight (in Homtang). N अट.
lek n four. cf lekka. cf lippa.
lekka adj four. cf lek.
lekka adv approximately. N जरी. dem lekka yaŋ titokyaŋ 'how much money have you got, approximately?'. calis kilo lekka lisa hola. 'It is some forty kilos, may be.'. 4.5 gəarə leka yakaŋ, 'it's about 4.5 hours. (Bungwakha 23')

lekma (lea) vi to lick. N चाटू. lekma yayka sinlo 'let's kiss'. caus lejma.

lekwasi n orange, mandarin. N မန္လာ.

lek⁴a n highland, a high hilly area. N लेख.

lem n tongue. N जिला.

lema (lesu) vt to know how to do something; to learn (how to do something). N जानू. lesujo 'he knows ('is knowing')': igkaʔa amno bʰasa lema isiniŋnu 'i do not want to learn your language'. bʰapma lesujoŋ 'i can write (note the progressive aspect)'.

lemc⁴okwa n sweet, sweets, candy. N भिंडी. lemc⁴okwa kʰaŋmetsa cʰaci cʰemtuɾsɨŋ 'showing the sweets, I attracted the children'.

lemlemma n yetì, a legendary creature. N यती।

lemma (lemal) vi to be sweet. N မျက်ျချင်း. caus lemma.

lemma (lentu) vt to flatter, make sweet. N လက်နား. root lemma.

len n day, a day (of time, or as a date). N दिन; बार; गर्दन. cf lenta.

lenkolen n day by day, every day. N दिन-दिनें।

lenk⁴a n replacement; place to pour something in; a match to make fire. N मांझ ठाउँ; बालने चिज।

lemma (lensu) vt to light, to make bright; to ignite. N बानू।

lemma (lensu) vt to save (protect is not a good gloss). N बचाउ। root lenma.

lemma (lentu) vt to pour in. N बलिनु। बन्याउ।

lemma (lenu) vt to rip. N चिन।

lemma vi to burn, to be lighted, to be alive (non-human). N बन। kuppa lera 'the little light burnt'.

lenmi n lamp, wick; little oil lamp. N लांग, तुकी।

lenta n day of the week. N बार।

lemga (lepsa) vi to slip; slide. N चिलिन। ījmga lepsa kʰa 'my mother slipped'. root lekma.

lemga (lepsu) vt to smear; to plaster. N लिजः। ījmga kʰim lepsɨʔo 'my mother smeared the house'.

letma (lera) vt to leave, to let go, to release. N छोडः।

letma kʰaŋma vt to leave behind. keraŋ kʰaŋsuŋ 'i left him behind'.

letmancin vi to shed a skin (as for a snake). hokwa cʰirudiki nuŋwak li nalo letmancin ni lom 'if you leave a skin and a new one comes, we call it 'to leave oneself".

likma (liktu) vt to threaten.

likwahaŋ nM Lukwahang, a Bantawa clan. N लुकवाहा, बांतवा धरको एउटा पाछा (होटल)।

lima (lisu) vi to have intercourse. appli litma.

lijma (lısysu) vt to hook; to hang up. N भुँजङ्गाउ।

linwa n lowland grass; straw, long sturdy grass. N पहाड़ी खर। S Themeda.

litma (lıtsu) vt to have intercourse with. root lima.

liwa n ball, round object; grain. N दाना। mikliwa 'eyeball'. sampica liwa 'a grain of millet'.

li n penis. N लिजः।

lim n shoot, sprout. N नुआ। टोँ।

lima (lisu) vi to happen, to become; to be. N हु।

lima (lima) vi to bud; to sprout.

limma (limsa) vt to turn over. limsa kʰa 'it turned over'.

limma (limsu) vt to turn over.
limma (limta) vt to parboil.
linma (lintu) vt to attack, to press on. N भिच्छ। lintu k⁴attu 'attack!'. sanya?a mikh⁴ukhida milink⁴atolma setma miri 'The buffalo, if he strikes and presses on, can kill (1st incl plural object)'. cf timma.
lip⁴u n sting (of wasp, bee). N कील।
lita n down, fluff.
litma (littu) vt to plant, to sow. N रोन। k¹aṇa dem tillitru, k¹onja ink¹aṇaj litttu 'As much as you plant, that much I will also plant'. littitru; ilitru; 'he plants; they (du) plant; they plant (habitually)'.
loha n iron. N लाठ; कलाम।
loka n part. N भाग; अभ. loka hama dot 'one must divide the shares'.
lök⁴um n Nepali coat. N दीरा।
lokma (luktu) vt to boil. N धूस्ल। lokmetma 'to make boil'. lokma mu 'it's starting to boil'.
cakwa loktu 'the water is boiling'.
nam lokma vi to play (as of children). N सेल्न।
lawa lokma vi to be scared. N तरिंडा; injlawo lok 'I'll be scared'.
lokma (luktu) vt to take a loan, to ask for a loan of someone specific. N काद्न।
lokma (lou) vt to take a loan, to ask for a loan. N काद्न।
loma (lo) vt to tell; to say sth. to so.; to relate. N मन।
lomaiyaŋ n command, commandment.
lomna (lonsu) vt to take outside; to make come out, move. N ताकल। lonsun 'I'll take it out'.
root lonna.
lonma (lonta) vi to go outside. N ताकल। inyamda k¹owa lonta 'a sore developed in my body'.
yuninxa d⁵ati k¹atiyaŋ (k¹ara) / lonta 'from down, upwards, he goes (went) / goes up'.
caus lonma.
longa n spicy pepper, red or green. N चुम्म।
loŋk⁴im n temple. N सन्दर।
loŋma (loŋsu) vt (middle) S 1. to light, to light a lamp; brighten up. N बाल्न। स्वल्काउ। saya lonyaŋma 'to show respect'. S 2. to increase (in size), to grow; to praise, to lift up. N बद्धाउ। वहु। उकाउ।
lopma (loptu) vt to palpitate; to tremble; as in eyes or skin. N कान।
lose n slope; an arable area, but not with an oxen; temporary farming land. N पचर।
lotma (lora) vi to run. N दोन्। रङ्ग। क्रुत। detni wati cilok atilotci?i?o? 'why are you running so fast?'. cakwa lotyaj 'the water runs away'.
lukma (luktu) vt to be finished. N सिद्ध। inyac wi milukta 'my chickens are finished (they’re up)'.
lukma (luktu) vt point, point at. N अध्याय।
lukma (luktu) vt to finish. N मिद्धाय।
lulli n earthquake. N भूकंप। lulli t'$ança 'there was an earthquake'. lulli?a ink¹im b¹unṣu 'the earthquake destroyed my house'.
lumma (lumta) vi S 1. to feel, as of taste; to experience, to have effect, make feel. N लान। yum luwa 'it tastes salty (not too salty - it's OK). oda yunma wati luyan 'it feels like to I'd want to live here'. S 2. to speak; to sing; to perform. N वाल। गाउ। k¹o e⁴am luwa 'he sang a song'.
k¹aṇa e⁴am tiluwa 'you sang a song'. maniyiŋ milu 'to pray'.
lumma (lumtu) vt to sink, to drown (someone or something). N ब्राय।
lumna (luntu) vt to sink; to set (as for the sun). N डुङ्गु. nam lunta 'the sun has set'.
luj n price. N सोल्ल. oso ilum dem cəuk? 'what is its price?'.
luj n stone; generic term (mass). N डुङ्गु. kʰim kʰapkʰa luj 'slate (stone to roof the house)'.
lunjʰa n rocky place, rock bed, rock face. N चेरे डुङ्गु भएको ठाउँ. cf luj.
lunjʰaawa n rocky place, such as a steep hilly desert area or a dry river bed. N चेरे डुङ्गु भएको ठाउँ.
lumna (lunya) vt to finish. N लिक्यान्त्व. root lukma. oko sambale kʰana onja deki tiluṣa? 'why did you finish the straight bamboo bush on your own?'.
lummak n liver. N कोला.
luchtak n stone, individual rock; single stone. N डुङ्गा. cf luj.
lupma (lupta) vt S 1. to point. N तिखानुँ. S 2. dip, plunge, sink. N चोलनुँ.
lupmit n needle, pin. N निम्यो.
lurka n earlobe. N लोंगी.
lutma (lutu) vt to tell (of a story). N वाटानुँ.
lutma n bamboo mat, wicker mat (made of bamboo strips). N मान्तो.
luwa n seed. grain. N गेडा. iluwa 'his seed'.

ma n mother. N आमा. ama 'o, mum!'. amo 'mother!'. cf mama. pair pa.
ma part no. N हारन.
ma vobj 'woman' - a verbal complement, that together with tatma - ('to bring') renders the meaning (politely) 'to have intercourse with'.
maaj part no as a sentence-negation; the 3rd person negative for yakma.
maq'tma n flu. influenza. N गराउँको.
mahajja n Sumac's red leaves; a fodder plant. N भारो.; भक्स्तो.
majjु n aunt, mother's younger brother's wife. N भानुँ.
majha n middle (Nepali). N भान्तो. majhā kʰim 'the house in the middle'.
makacakikwa adv cf makacakika.
makacakika adv dark. cf makacakikwa.
makacakpa n dark, black. N अभ्यारो. kʰokli makacakpa yuuyan 'the forest is dark'.
makcʰa a n son-in-law (daughter's husband); also brother-in-law: younger sister's husband; in general all male in-laws (that are not patrilocal). N व्याई.
makika adj black. N काला.
makma (makta) vi to be black, to be dark. N अभ्यारो हुँ. makta kʰara 'it became dark'.
makyaŋ′o mina 'a dark skinned man'. cf omma.
makma (maktu) vt to see in a dream. N सपनामा देख्नु. root majma.
maksna n bear. N भालुः.
makwa n fishing bird; a bird that dives into the water and jumps out again. N मछा माने बरा.
makyi n rope. N डोरी.
malanbopi n splintbone; the round ball at the end of the calf bone.
mama (masu) vt to lose. N हारानुँ. inbekʰa masuŋ 'I lost my bag'. caus matma. root mama.
mama n mother (term of address). pair papa.
mama vi to go lost, to be lost. N हारानुँ; हारानुँ. cf kʰatma. cf mama. inkʰaru makʰara 'I lost my mind (went unconscious)'. hwatet gai mimakʰara 'two cows were lost'. akʰomaj kʰanaci timakʰaraci 'you (two) were lost yesterday'. kʰada timankʰarin 'where were you (pl) lost?'.
mamaŋ n ghost, roaming spirit (of a woman). N नृत्री (कृतवक). pair hilla. hilla-mamaŋ 'the ghosts, the spirits'.
maram npm Mamarem, a far place, where one gets lost: oblivion (religious language). N हरामको मान्द्रेयको बसाव । cf mamakatma.
mama (manamu) vt to grab (as in a fight). N माहारानु. appl mapma.
manı n cymbal, brass drum. N क्वानाटा.
mama vt to forget. manna kema 'to forget'. manna kʰanma 'to forget'. iyka kʰo dum mantuŋ kesiŋ 'We forget that thing', mantuŋ kʰansuŋ 'I forget it'. cf kema, cf kʰanma.
maŋ n godhead; spirit. N देवता. maŋci 'the gods'. maŋ muniyka 'we are worshipping'. maŋ kamupa 'a religious officiant; shaman'. maŋda pakma 'to elevate someone to deity, to perform the ritual that makes someone a proper ancestor to be worshipped'.
maŋ part Negating a topic; excluding a constituent from the statement; particle that indicates that the previous constituent specifically does hold or not hold. N बाहिरः. pác kusi maŋ mađdįŋ 'there are not five fingers (there may be four)'. ikcʰa oda banaci hwaŋ maŋ maįtįŋ 'please, one person, come here; not two people'.
maŋcʰama nn godhead; house god (particular to a house, purpose or locality). N देवता.
maŋçi k n wart. N मुसां. maŋdʰin n fever. N ज्वरोः. maŋhi m curse. N मथरः. maŋkolen n tomorrow. N भोलितः. maŋkolen-cʰintuk 'tomorrow, or the day after'.
maŋnalo conj if not, unless. cf kʰonalo.
maŋtʰon n diarrhoea. N रस्त्ताः. kʰana maŋtʰon nimetyaŋ? 'do you have diarrhoea?'. baddʰe akwa kʰan cānjkina maŋtʰon imetyaŋa 'have eaten a lot of oily vegetable, I am having diarrhoea'.
manyįŋ n prayer, vow. N प्रार्थना; भक्ति; चित्रः. manyįŋ luma 'to say a vow'.
mapma vt to grab, snatch (as if in a hurry). N माहारानु. माहारिदिनु. itaŋmiwa mapma dot. 'One must grab him by the hair.'. mapma kʰanma 'take it out, pull it off'. root mamma.
mapma vt to grab, to snatch (as if in a hurry, or to take from someone else). N माहारानु. amcʰapdani mapma kʰatma 'I will snatch away your pen'. moko mina o dum muptukʰattu 'that man took that thing away'. appl mamma. root mapma.
mašiŋ n wife, old woman (affectionately used for wife). N बुधी. pair pasiŋ.
masi t n black gram, black lentil. N मास. S Vigna mungo.
matįŋ vi singular form for negative 'to be'; it's not there, no.
matma (mattu) vt to lose for someone else. N हरामदिनु. root mamma.
mayąŋ n womb. N आत्माको मुंडः. cf yaŋ.
manyįŋ n later, in the (distant) future. N पछि. manyįŋ kʰana ikoįtaŋ mina lisa 'may you be a big man later'. cf neklo.
meccʰačʰa n girl, daughter. cf meccʰa-čʰa.
meccʰačʰa n S 1. daughter, female person. N छोरी. pair duwacʰa. S 2. girl.
meḳma (mekta) vi to sleep (in child language). N मुन्नु (बज्जाको भाषामा).
mekʰara n sheep. N भेड़र. mekʰaratʰumba 'he-sheep'.
men part but, maybe, err...; expression of hesitation.
menma (mentu) vt to refer to things like 'that', so-and-so only; do something that is presumably
Appendices

known. N "उ गर्नू".

metma (mettu) vt to cause, root for causative formation; also: to play a game. N गराउनू,

केलाउनू. काय-मेटमा 'to persuade (=kanma 'agree'). sin-metma 'to identify (=sinna

'know'). pak-metma 'to impose on, put on (=pukma 'to put').

कन्या metma vt to show, to make someone see. N देखाउनू.

य अग्नि metma vt to pray. N प्राह्याना गर्नू. cf या गर्ना.

mik n eye.

mik n finger joints (two per finger; described as eyes).

mikkun n eyebrow. N ऊखानी.

mikmiwa n eyebrow. N ऊखानी.

mikwa n tear, tears. N ऊखु.

milok part isn't it? sentence-final interjection to make a command or sentence complete; as such

meaningless but gives a feeling of finishing the line. N त: हो त निर. गर्नूहै मालक 'let's

eat, OK?'.

mima (miu) vt to fight (physical - not with the mouth [kʰima]).

mima (musu) vt to fight one another (physical - not with the mouth [kʰima]). N लड़नू. musuci

'they fight one another'. kʰoduŋkwa muma dot 'we must fight him (e.g. in a match)'. cf kʰima.

minma (mintu) vt to bundle (clothes, etc.); wrap up. N तोको पानू.

mina n man, person. N गान्त्व.

mipma (mipu) vt to deceive, lie. N दाँतु.

miwa n hair. hear, feathers. amtanmiwa 'your head's hair'. cʰonwa?o miwa 'bird's feathers'.

mi n fire. N ऊगी.

micnu kuy n coal, used for fire. N कोईला.

minawa n a friendly, thoughtful person. N दयालु गान्त्व. cf minma.

minbup n mushroom, a thinner type of amanita. N एक मामलो म्याउ.

minma (mittu) vt to think, remember. N समझून; चिन्तार गर्नू; संज्ञा. या सेतमानी मिन्नालो ...

'if we plan to catch fish...';

minma n thought; mind. N विचार. dida amminma yunyaŋ? 'what do you believe (hold to be

true)?';

miri n tail.

mirik n tail. N द्रुच्चृ. cʰooywamiri 'bird's tail'. saŋwamiri 'buffalo's tail'.

mitma (mitta) vi to remember. timitu 'you remembered'. mantimita do 'you did not remember'.

canulok badde mitnaŋja 'I have remembered you very well'.

mitma n memory. N संज्ञा.

mo pro that.

modatmi adv that side.

mogari adv at that time, then. N तथ.

mohara n just like that. N त्यान्त्र. deki tita?o? mohanja. 'why did you come? just like that'.

mohatmi adv that way. N त्यवीर.

mohyatmi adv over there (directional). N उतान्तर.

mokma (mou) vt to hit, to thresh; to strike (with hand), to slap. N चंदू.

momma (montu) vt to lose sense. N बेहोम हुनू; सानो हराउनू.

mon vpro that, verbal pronoun; pronoun used as referring to verbal or sentential antecedent only.

N त्या; त्यस. monheda 'while that happened,...': cf kʰon on.
monaŋka **adv** from there (deictic).
monkī **adv** after that, and then. **cf** kʰonki.
munko **adv** N yɔnti; yɔn. **cf** onko.
munja **adv** that much. N yɔnti.
motma (motu) **vt** to deceive. N mɔntu.
mopma (motu) **vt** to lose sense. N vɔnta ḡuŋ. 
motni **adv** to there (allative) (exodeictic, referential). **cf** kʰoŋti otni.
mowatni **adv** like that. **cf** watni.
moyu **adv** there (down from here). N ɔyə, ɔtan. **cf** yu.
muddun N traditional chant; incantation; scripture. **N** ƙiƙaƙa ƙe; ƙaƙa.
mukla N crowd, group.
mukma (muktu) **vt** to echo. N ƙaƙa yara.
mukwa N partridge. **N** ƙara.
mulokəabo N main pillar in the house. **N** ƙuƙa ƙaƙa. **cf** ƙumasiŋ.
mum ƙa to be, predication of quality or behaviour (not existential or equative).
munn ƙa to do to one another; reciprocal agreement host. **N** ƙaƙa. **cf** oƙuƙa ‘they sent one another’.
mum ƙa **vt** to cause (second form); to make. **N** ƙaƙa. kʰaŋmusacin ‘he showed himself’.
mum ƙa **vt** (middle) to do (most generic); to make. **N** ƙaƙa. ɗiŋŋaŋ ƙa ‘from what is it made’.

hewa manmuda ‘do not sin’. dowa ƙuma ‘to do sorcery’. ƙaƙa mu ‘make a gesture’.
munda **pro** that size. **N** ƙaƙa. mundu mu ‘it’s that size’. **cf** ƙaƙa munko.
mumina N cat.
munko **pro** like that, that size. **N** ƙaƙa. munko mu ‘it is that size’. **cf** munda unko.
mumna (munsu) **vt** to create (as of a god), give birth. **N** ƙuƙa ƙaƙa. 
munuja **adv** that much, that much only; adverb of measure. **N** yɔnti. **cf** ƙanya. 
mumuŋa (muŋtu) **vt** to give a rest; if the fire does not burn give it a moment of rest. **N** ƙaƙa. ɗuƙa muna ‘from what is it made’.
mupma (muŋtu) **vt** to cheat, lie, deceive. **cf** mopma. **N** ƙaƙa. 
murukəen N epilepsy. **N** ƙaƙa. **cf** ƙumaƙa.
muta (mutu) **vt** to blow. **N** ƙuƙa. ɗiŋŋaŋ ‘could you blow the fire’.
mwatni **adv** that way, in that manner. **N** ƙaƙa. mwatni ƙuma muma dot. ‘that way, one must make hengmawa.’. **cf** mwatni.

**N**
naniŋa N sisters; elder and younger sister. na-nicəci ‘sisters’. **cf** ƙaƙa. na part topicaliser (TOP).
nabak N ear.
nabu N nose. **N** ƙaƙa.
nadəpma (nadəawa) **vi** (in collocation with na-) to be more than satisfied, to be pleased, to be spoilt; to be lazy, bored. mohatinje iket mina kʰimɗanje ƙumaŋa? a inadəawa. kłaɛn tawaŋ muci ní kí lonta. ‘like that, one man, having sat for a long time in the house, having got bored, said ’let’s enjoy being a guest’ and went out.’.
nak N debt, loan. **N** ƙaƙa. nak lokmakina konsi kʰatma dot. ‘After making a debt, you must walk away.’. məsaŋa? kʰoŋo? inak louki kʰaŋa ‘he went after he took a loan from him’. ayidoŋ iŋya badde nakda waŋaŋ kʰaraj ‘this year I have run into a big debt’.
nakbele N cactus. **N** ƙaƙa.
Appendices

nakeŋ n shaman; traditional healer. N शामन.
nakimaj n rainbow. N डूंगाई।
nakəiwa n snot; mucus. N सिपाह। nakəiwa sonyaŋ ‘the snot is running out’. cf kʰi.
nam n sun. nam lonta ‘the sun rose’. nam kʰadara ‘the sun burnt’, scorched’. nam lunta ‘the sun sets’. cf kʰadat.
nambhuj n sunflower. N नामब्हुज।
namcimplek n lightning. N बिजुली; बिजुल।
namchirik n sky, firmament. N आकाश।
namduruj n the sky, firmament. namduruŋ ayi nilo katyaŋ ‘the sky is blue today’. cf nam.
namlen n Sunday.
namma (nama) vi to reek, stink. N मानावृष। namma (namsu) vt to smell. N मानावृष।
namman adj next year. N अग्नि। cf cʰimaŋ.
nammi n daughter-in-law; younger brother’s wife. N बुहारी। syn panṭen.
namnulo adj good (of smell), smelling good. oko bujwa namnulo namyaaŋ ‘this flower smells good’. cf nam nulo. cf kʰanulo ennulo.
nampik n evening, night. N रात्र। awet inampik ‘tonight’. cf awet.
namsam n sun ray.
namtenjekma n Tarai cricket, cricket occurring in warmer regions only. N क्रिकेट।
nana n elder sister; also: sister-in-law (wife’s elder sister, wife’s elder brother’s wife). N द्वितीय; जेथिमैसुलाई पनि यसो भन्न। ana ‘elder sister (vocative, form of address)’.
nana n elder sister.
nani n apple of the eye. N नन्नी। inṃi ko nani ‘the apple of my eye’.
nanma (nantu) vt to lean back, take a rest from carrying a load. N झेलना।
naŋ n hail. N असिन।
napsiŋwa n rain water, collected water that has come down from the eaves. N बल्यभेडारी।
najsi n hail; a single hailstone. cf naŋ, najsiʔa icattan ‘I was hit by a hailstone’. najsi dʰayaŋ ‘it is hailing’. najsicbop ‘a hailstone’.
najswa n dizziness, giddiness. N नायस। najswa huma ‘to get dizzy’, namʔa inajwa huwa kʰara ‘by the sun he got dizzy’.
napma (napta) vi to be related, to have ties. N जोड्न। cf napma.
napma (napta) vt to tie up the oxen. N जोड़न। hwatet kampyūtaraci napciŋci ‘two computers are connected’.
naranjkoŋ n shin. N पांसुला।
nari n wrist. N नारी।
narokoroŋ n crane. N उल्लो मारस।
narokwa n type of bird (dove / pigeon?). N एक मालको चर।
nati n grandson. N नाती।
natini n granddaughter. N नातिनी।
natri n nose bone, septum. N नाप्रो। natri kera ‘the nosebone broke’.
nawa n ‘lampate’ plant and flower. N नामपाट। S Duabanga grandiflower.
neklo n later; but only a bit (within some time - not indefinite). N पछि। demkʰa li? neklo. ‘when will it be? later.’
nemma (nemsu) vt to stretch, put your foot down; to tread, to trample. N टावन।
neyma (neyta) vt to trample, to flatten (e.g. a mud floor). N टावन।
nepma (neptu) vt to step on. N टेकनु, mo kalam mannepdo 'don't step on the pen'.
etma (nettus) vt to disturb, irritate, annoy. N चतावनु, mannetdañ 'don't disturb me'.
nicʰa adv for sure, surely.
nikma (nikta) vi to cover, be buried. N नूं, nikta kʰara 'it was completely covered'.
niŋ name.
nija n mood, wish. N मन, iŋniŋa cʰun 'he won't listen to me (lit: he disobeys my wish)'. kʰosoo
injį cʰunyāŋ 'he does not trust me (lit: his mood does not obey)'. ibuwacia iko nicʰa niŋa
ičʰittacu 'the older brothers hated their younger brother'. niŋa citma 'to hate someone'. cf
citma. niŋa noma 'to be pleased (with someone)'. cf noma. niŋa nokano mimu 'they like
one another'.
niŋcoŋ n type of tree, N khirra. N बिरां.
niŋkʰaŋ n toadstool, inedible type of fungus. N नकाने च्याउँ. niŋkʰaδa micʰuk 'these are
inedible mushrooms'.
ni adj other.
ni njpref other. niwaptelaci 'other boats'.
nicʰa n younger brother; also used for all younger male cousins and the wife's younger brother's
wife.
nieδa adv to the other. ik cʰa nieδa 'one to one another; to each other'.
nihaŋh n foreign country, abroad. N विदेश. cf hayhon.
niki conj clause (but also nominal) conjunction, meaning: viz., to wit; in order to...
nimpaŋ postp for; for the benefit of; a postposition that is put after a genitive-marked nominal. N
लागाम.
ninamhaŋ nm God; god. cf ninamma.
ninamma n sky, firmament. ninamma isepninin 'the sky is not clear (cloudy)'. ninamma
senyāŋ 'the sky is clear'. cf henkʰama. cf ninamhaŋ.
nisana n target, aim, mark (in shooting). N लीसानाम.
noma vi to be happy; to be good (of mood, collocating with niŋa only). N गुर्ज नु (यस्को प्रयोग
'संक्रन्ति सामेत माछे हुन्छ'). ankacī niŋa nomuci 'we like one another'. anken niŋa nomun
'we like one another'. ankacia niŋa nomuncjia 'we like one another (PROG)'. kʰanaci niŋa
notimuncjia 'do you like one another?'. cf niŋa. to please, to be liked; always collocating with
niŋa; the possess of niŋa is the one please. N मन पराउन्. moko kamecʰa badde iŋniŋa
nosu 'that girl pleases me very much (lit: she pleases my mood)'. iŋniŋa inosuncin 'I do not
like them'.
nompma (noprta) vi to touch. N छनु.
nomta (nottu) vi to be soft, be tender. N सल्लो हुन्. opp cʰīma.
nucʰaŋ adv certainly, nucʰaŋyo 'most certainly'.
nucʰaŋ vstuf even though, even if (verbal suffix). N ता परि. battunucʰaŋ, cʰunta. 'even if he
calls, don't listen'. iŋja lam mankʰaŋja nucʰaŋ kolaŋ 'although I did not see the road, I
walked'. iŋja iŋnicʰalai mandʰatŋa nucʰaŋja kʰawa 'even though 1 had not beaten my
younger brother, he cried'.
nucʰen n true, truthful; the truth. N सत्यः. सत्यता. opp soje.
nukma (nuktu) vt to rub, knead. N निर्चानः. cf nukma.
nukma (nul) vt to rub, knead; to roll spices to get the flavor out. N निर्चानः. cf nukma.
nukonja adj heartfelt, from the heart. N शुभः ठेर नलदाँकी. amnō jʰaraksoʔo nulok line niki
nukonja saya 'for all of you to be well, is my heartfelt wish'.
nulok adj good, well, in a happy way; happy. N रामो; रामी. nulok yuŋma 'live happily'.
numa vi to be good. N रामा हुन्. ben nutma. canuyan 'it tastes good'. kʰako kʰim kʰanuyan
'which house is better'. ennulo cʰam 'a nice song'. nuwa 'it's OK'.
numa vt to make better. N निको पान्. off nutma.
numma (numtu) vt to be nutritious, be beneficial. N रोज़्.
nunu n small child (affectionate, in calling). N बच्चा; नानी / बाबू.
nunuma n bog bean; little girl (in calling). N एक खानको सिमिद; सानो नानी. S Menyanthes trifoliata. cf sanjwalem.
nunut n spoiling; forgiveness. N धारातो; कमा. nunut muma 'to be spoiled'.
nυύυω vt new. N नया. o kap inuṣya ra[cʰə 'this cup appears to be new'.
nupma (nua) vt to knead. N अठू. cf nukma.
nusumpenta adj easy.
nutma (nuttu) vt to be good, to be fitting, be auspicious. N कानू. root numa.
nuwak adj good, good-natured. N अमेल. badd'ye inuwak mina 'a very good man'.
nuwɑ̃nɡi n worship ceremony performed in the field before sowing and harvesting. N कृषि पूजा.

I

ŋa -adv emphatic clitic particle. owatniŋa 'just like this'.
ŋa n fish. N नालू. undacitko ŋaici 'little fish'.
ŋahiŋ n face, facial features; looks. N अनुहार कृति.
ŋak adj four (in Homtang). N चार. नकम.
ŋaksi n banana, plantain. N केल.
ŋaktarŋakop n Indian cuckoo. N बोरङी; ओंघ पाढङको कराए चरा.
ŋaliŋ n forehead, face; in some areas specifically cheek. ŋaliŋ tepma 'to wash your face'. cf tepma.
ŋaluŋ n price of fish.
ŋamma (ŋamsa) vi to stick in. N चाँदनु. do ŋamma 'to stick into the mouth'. kutiwaʔa ŋamsaŋ
laʔaŋ 'the dog bit me'.
ŋamsi n cheek. N गाजा.
ŋamna (ŋanta) vt (middle) to snap (by the wind, of bamboo, of soft material); to splice. N गाजा. chema
ŋamma kʰatma 'to snap off'. ŋanta kʰara (nantu kʰaɪsu) 'it snapped'.
ŋamna (ŋansu) vt to rock (in a korko). N हल्लाङउन.
ŋapma (ŋapta) vt to snatch. N गोभु.
ŋapma n child's mother-in-law, mother-in-law of a son or daughter. N मम्मी. pair ĕppa. ŋappa
ŋappa n child's father-in-law, father-in-law of a son or daughter. N सम्भी. pair ĕppa. ŋekma (ŋeu) vt (antip) to bite. N टोक. mina kaŋekma 'witch'.
ŋema (ŋesu) vt to beat up, to hit systematically (as opposed to mokma); to fight. N कुटनु; कमेर
kʰut. ŋesukkʰo 'hit him!'.
ŋen n fight, war. N बगाडा, लडाई. kʰaŋaŋaŋ tilasumo?unalo idʰi'wan ŋen puktu 'if you would
hit back, a big fight would start'.
ŋepma (ŋcepta) vt to dry fry (using no or little oil). to burn someone else, to scorch. N पोल्यु. roṭi
ŋepma 'bake bread'.
ŋijma (ŋiwa) vt (antip) to fry (vegetables or meat). N पकाउन (भुटेर). kʰan ŋijma 'fry vegetables'.
sa ɲiskinka 'we fried the meat'.
ŋiṭma (ŋiṭtu) vt to cook grain to make beer, make beer. N जाड पकाउने.
ŋka -ndl 'from', ablative case.
ŋoma (josu) vt to dry fry. N ñtrn. mikai ŋoma 'fry maize'. caus ŋotma.
ŋomma (ŋoma) vi to taste oily. N ől ʒikst slwad ñtn.
ŋogma (ŋoga) vi to flounder, to be drowsy. N ʒntrn lqtn. ʃlin. cf ogma. ʒnjogancinki yuə 'floundering, he sat'.
ŋotma (ŋotu) vt to fry for someone else. N ñtttr ʃn. cf ŋoma. root ŋoma.

O

o pro this; proximal referential pronoun. N ʒə.
odi thei adv around this side; here. N ʃəhaíi.
odìera n this side of the valley, this side of the hill. N ʃəta paʃti.
oqari n this.time. cf ʃ o qari.
oqîi n sweet potato. N ʃwarbaʃəd.
oqîi n sweet yam. N ʃuqənii.
oha pro like this. N ʃən. cf ʃ o.
ohyatni n over here, in this direction, on the same vertical level. N ʃəta iʃə. ʒhyatni ʃn ʃat, cakwa ... 'over here it goes, the water...'. ʒhyatni bana 'come over here'.
okma (oa) vi to crow (as of cockerel). N ʃən. cf okma.
okma (okta) vi S 1. to crow (as of cockerel). N ʃən. cf okma. S 2. to be sick. N ʃən; ʃən ʒtn. ʃən ʃtn.
okta 'he is sick'. mo okma kara 'he feels sick'.
okma (oktu) vt to fold. N ʃətʃənii.
oko pro this. N ʒə.
okotet part this one, specifically. N ʃə ʃhaj. cf ʃn ʃətət.
omma (oma) vi to be white. N ʃən. ʒmyaŋ?o mna 'a white (skinned) man'. opp makma.
ompīwa n milk, as a liquid. N ʃəpə. on pro this much; a modifier of adjectives. N ʃət. on vpro this; proximal referential verbal pronoun; this pronoun has the form /on/ before clause-
chaining (verbal) suffixes. N ʃə. ʃə. cf ʃn ʃmon.
onjəŋlo adv very; much. N ʃət. ʃə ʃna. onjoŋlo kəm ʃnqkJiŋ iʃhtəŋ 'doing much work I got
tired'.
onko adv this.much. N ʃət. cf monko.
onma (onta) vt to chase in a hunt. N ʃtəkənən. ongə adv only. N ʃaʃə; ʃaʃə.
ongma (ongia) vt to light, to start a light. N ʃən. syn ləmə.
ongma (onjia) vi to be drowsy, to drowse. N ʃən. ʃən. syn ʃŋnma.
opma (oa) vt (none) to scoop, to get water out. N ʃaʃənən. otma (oru) vi (intransitive) to break, to fracture, to snap (as of bones, and wood). N ʃən. caus
otma. ora 'it broke'.
ottma (ottu) vt to fracture. N ʃənt. root otma. kəsə?ə ʃjəkətəŋ 'he broke my arm'.
ottma vt to splash. N ʃtnə. ʃləʃə. icif ʃkwa maŋ?ojdəŋkəŋ 'do not splash water on me'. cakwa
ottu! 'do splash water!'.
ottni adv here. cf odatni.
otototwa n wailing.

owako pro like this. N यस्तो.

owatni adv like this.

p

pairi n stairs, ladder; also steep mountain path. N धरारक. pairidangka d°amsankina inj°uk orā 'falling from the stairs I broke my arm'. cf t°aklo t°akok.

pa n father. N बाबा, बुधा. apa 'o, dad!', apo 'father!'. pair ma. cf papa.

pačiva n mist (from the river). N बाह. cf sam.

padu n dove, turtledove. N तामें हुकुर; कुले हुकुर.

pada n turtledove. N तामें हुकुर; कुले हुकुर.

paitala n sole, footsole. N पैतला.

pakma (paktu) vt to sow (seeds). N लगाउनु. makai paktu 'he planted maize'.

pakma (pau) vt to put in, to put on. N हाल्नु; राख्नु. cakwa paľ'u 'he put in water'. pauk°o 'put it in, please'.

pakura n wrist, pulse; lower arm. N नाडी; पाशुरो.

pamma (pamtu) vt (antip) to scratch, to tear (at the wall); to grab (with claws). N गाँज़नु.

pampurokma n barn owl, a smaller type of owl. N लादाकास्तोरो.

paniwa n the god of heaven, equated with the Hindu god Shiva. N धरारक. paniwa (pamtu) vt to cry for someone. N दिना हुनु.

papmateh n region. N श्रेण.

papten n daughter-in-law, son's wife. N बुढारी. syn nammi.

panjok n frog. N भगुर्तिका.

papa n father (term of address). cf mama.

papapma n slug. N चितलकोरो.

para n method, way; kind. N कार, तरिका.

paru n heaven. N भूमि. nulok cihu mina si°o id°en parudu k°atki yun 'a well behaving man will live in heaven after he died'.

paruhaŋ nm Paruhang; the god of heaven, equated with the Hindu god Shiva. N धरारक; महादेव.

pasiŋ n husband; old man (affectionately used for husband). N बुढो. pair masiŋ.

pata n part, piece. N विभाजन; तुका. nubu°o ipata 'nosewing'.

patma (pata) vi to cry out, to shout. N कराउनु. parinne 'let's cry out!'. caus panma.

patma (pattu) vt to cry for someone. N काराइनु.

pekma (peu) vt to peel. N ताछुँ.

pelele adv line, string. N लहर, लहरे.

pelelewə adv in line. N लहरे; लक्ष्य. cf penna. pelelewə mimm 'they sleep in a line'.

pele n line. N लहर; नम. sinrści ipalen miyunyaŋ 'the trees are in a line'.

penna (pesa) vi to vomit. N बाह्नु, appl petma.

penna (pemsu) vt to take out of the mouth.
pemma (pentu) vt to press. N धिप्न.
pempak n bread, flat bread of all types. N गोटेडी.
pemma (pela) vt to put in order. N कृस्म मिलाउनः, pelanincinki yunjnin 'you (pl) sit and stay in line!'.
penma (pia) vi to fly. N उड़नः, cf pinma.
penma (piti) n aeroplane (Am. airplane). N हवाईजहाजः. pensuri c'ukk'a 'airport'.
penma (peyso) vt to slash. N तख़्तानः.
penma (pepta) vi to be timid. N कान्तरः, लाख़्ता हुँ. k'osa?lo isaya pepta 'he was discouraged'.
pepmanci vi to be discouraged, be timid.
petma (peru) vt to fly. N उड़नः. petma (pepta) vi to fly. N उड़नः. peruk* 'rip up the paper!'.
pepma (pimp) ɨ to be aggressive. N कङ्का हुँः, prahari mihikyan 'the police are aggressive'.
petma (pettu) vt to vomit to or on someone else. to wash away. root pemma.
pin n snake. N सा.
pickle n tooth decay, the bug that eats away the tooth. N कृहीकाको दौंतः, दौंत खाने कीरा. inkip jicki?ja ica? 'a bug has eaten my tooth'.
pick n precious stone; ornamental stone.
plhok n snake skin, or a cocoon with a smooth skin. N सपको छ्राला.
pickma (piktu) vi to set (of the sun). nam pikk'ata. 'the sun goes down'. to dominate, to be strict; to be aggressive. N कङ्का हुँः.
pickma (piktu) to pass the thumb and the forefinger formed as a crescent over the face by way of insult; to dishartien. N लोचायनः.
pima (pi) vt to give. N दिनः. sahayata pincjyne 'I will help them'.
pimma (pintu) vt to be bumpy. N ढङ्गः.
pitma (pintu) vt to wash the dishes. N मायनः.
pimma (pintu) vt to wash the dishes. N मायनः.
pipma (pipma) vi to duck for fear, or shrink, implode. N डाँडाउः. सूमान्यः.
pitma (pita) vi to graze, to be abrased. N युख्निनः. pita k'ara 'it was grazed (wound)'.
pitma (pita) vi to pass the thumb and the forefinger formed as a crescent over the face by way of insult; to dishartien. N लोचायनः.
pimma (pi) vi to fly. N उड़नः. cf pinma.
pimma (pinma) to press. N धिप्न.
pimma (pina) vi to fly. N उड़नः. c'oonyia pita k'ara 'the bird flew away'. caus pinma.
pimma (pita) vt to squeeze. N निचायनः. syn b'pinma.
pinma (pinsu) vt to make fly. N उड़नः. sinranjai narsunki c'oonyia pinsu k'aissun 'I made the bird fly away by shaking the tree'. root pinma.
pinya ni collbone.
pipoli n fig tree (N pipal). N लेख दीपालः. S Ficus religiosa.
pira n low wooden seat. N पिका.
pirni n spinning-wheel. N बसानः.
pit n cow; cattle. N गायः.
pitma (pitta) vt to put together, to stack, to squeeze together. N निचायनिनः.
pok n body. N हिटः.
pokko adj big, tall. dem pokop puyup 'what a big cucumber!'. cf pokma.
pokma (pokta) vi to be of size. N वट्टः हुः, amc'h a dem pokyan 'what size is your son?'.
pokma vi to get wet. N धिप्नः. wapokta 'he got wet'. wa takina wa poktan 'after the rain, I got wet'.

C. Word list
ponma (ponsa) vi to stoop, to droop. N श्वर्न.  
ponma (ponsu) vt (middle) to bend down, to droop. N श्वर्नु. root pamma. 
ponma (pontu) vt to divide, to give away. N दिव्य, वाङ्दन, पाड़नु, यङ्गनु. yan pontu 'share the money'. mo cʰa ponmacama he maʔan? 'should we give this child or not (for a wedding arrangement)?'. 
ponma (poya) vi to grow, to wax (of the moon). N बड़नु. mo baddʰe poyaʔo 'he has grown a lot'. 
ladipma poya 'the moon is full (fully grown, completed growing)'. 
ponok adv thick, sticky (of viscosity). N बालाॅ. ponok ponok lisə 'it has become thick'. 
ponma n cuckoo. N कोइंडी. 
ponpipa n buffalo bull, male buffalo. N रागों. cf saryapa. 
ponma (poptu) vi to be unclean, be unholy (also sexually), impure. N जीता हुनु. maŋ popta 'the forefathers are defiled (ritually, by defiling the worship area)'. 
ni ponma vt to commit adultery. 
ponma (poppu) vt to defile, make unclean, unholy, impure (also sexually). N अगुळ रानु. 
pori n a load of grain in a carrying basket. N अन्ना हाळको बाँरा. बाङखो भारिद. kaya pori kʰuʔisi kʰarimne 'let's go to carry the paddy'. 
pot n neck, throat (outside, front of the neck). N थोंटी. 
potma (poru) vt to feel your way around. N झुम्रुढ्म गानु. 
potoktokwa adv stiff; solid (as of a liquid turned solid). potoktokwa lisə 'it has become very thick'. 
pukma (pua) vi to give birth; particularly for animals, for humans it is not polite. N विहानु; उत्तानु. 
caus pukma. caus pukma. 
pukma (pua) vi to stand up, to rise. N उदिनु. pukma lonna 'to stand up'. pua lonta 'he stood up', puwałonta 'he stood up'. 
pukma (puktu) vt to begin, to start (something else). N थालुनु; सुरु गानु. root pukma. 
pumma (pumpu) vt to hold tightly (in the fists). root pupma. 
puurma (pumpsu) vt to dig up with the hand or a small vessel - but not by instruments. N उदिनु. 
purkʰaci n start, beginning; reflexive nominalization of puurma. 
puurma (pumpsu) vt to begin, to start. root pukma. 
pumma (puntha) vi to get tangled. N लटपटिनु. caus pumma. 
pusai n uncle, father's younger sister's husband. N फुराजु. 
putma (puttu) vt to boil over, steam. N उदिनु. 
puyup n cucumber.

pʰ

pʰakama n S 1. flat basket or shovel, woven of bamboo strips, used for moving soil. S 2. female helper. N सफळाँ कुंडी. cf pʰama. 
pʰakawa n helper. N सफळाँ मान्नु; शेतालाला. cf pʰama. 
pʰakma (pʰau) vt to dig out with feet or hands (like a chicken for food). N बाल्यनु. 
pʰama (pʰaʔu) vt to help, assist. N सफळाँ. injaʔa kʰocilai akʰomaj manpʰadoncíj 'i did not help them yesterday'. injaʔa kʰocilai manjʰolen pʰasícíj 'i will help them tomorrow'. 
pʰamma (pʰamsu) vt to imitate (jokingly). 
pʰamma (pʰamtu) vt to embrace with wide arms. 
pʰan n exchange, place; substitution. kʰosoʔo ipʰanda 'in his place...'.

ph
pʰanma (pʰantu) vt to change.
pʰanta n young adult, adolescent; lover; a bit slang. N तवानी. cf tharjma.
pʰanjma (pʰantu) vt to pile up.
pʰapra n buckwheat. N काव्र.
pʰek adj S 1, four. N चार. S 2, five (in Homtang). N पाँच.
pʰekcem n earring, rings, golden ornament worn in the ear, covering quite a bit of the ear. N काान बूढ़ी.
pʰekwa n money. N रैसा.
pʰema (pʰesu) vt (middle) to spread out.
pʰenma (pʰentu) vt to untie. N फ्राउन. root pʰetma.
pʰengiynųbų n marigold. N सब्रप्रीती.
pʰenjma (pʰeysu) vt to slap.
pʰepma (pʰepṭu) vt to wrap. N पोको पानु.
pʰeta n turban, a cloth around the head. N गारी.
pʰetma (pʰeru) vt to pull back the foreskin. off pʰenma.
pʰeyabų n brother-in-law, elder sister's husband; lit. a flower. N भिनाजु. syn bʰena.
pʰinma (pʰilla) vi to get loose (madventently). pʰilla kʰara 'it went loose'. caus pʰinma.
pʰinma (pʰintu) vt to unstitch, tear apart. root pʰinma.
pʰijma (pʰyṣa) vi to crack.
pʰipma (pʰiptu) vt to suck, to absorb.
pʰilay n thigh. N फिलो.
pʰima (pʰisa) vi to break off of a chip of ceramic or glass. caus pʰinma.
pʰima (pʰisu) vt (middle) to break off of a chip of ceramic or glass. N विगानु; विघनु; manpʰido 'don't break it'. caus pʰinma.
pʰinciri n mushroom (any edible species). N बान मकिने च्याअर.
pʰinma (pʰinta) vi (middle) to break off of a chip of ceramic or glass. N पिटकक भाँचु. pʰinta kʰara 'it went on with a click'. root pʰima.
pʰitma (pʰittha) vi to poison (both tra. and itr.). N वियानु. pʰitma (pʰittu) vt to shoot something, hit.
pʰito adv different. N करक. pʰito matdīj 'it's not different'.
pʰomma (pʰonta) vi to get confused. N अतमलिनु.
pʰonma (pʰolu) vt to dig up, dig out.
pʰopma (pʰyṣa) vi to open, of a bag, of something that was closed, wrapped; be unwrapped; be disclosed. buwa pʰyṣa 'the flower opened'.
pʰopma (pʰyṣa) vt to open a bag, something that was closed, wrapped; unwrap; disclose. dum pʰyṣiṇnine 'let's start our matter'.
pʰopma (pʰopta) vt to catch (from out of the air, after it was thrown).
pʰoppe n oil plant, plant used to extract oil from. N नाकेश्र.
pʰoptikiri n moth, small butterfly. N नूलीय.
pʰotma (pʰottu) vt to accuse.
pʰuli n nose ornament. N नूली.
pʰuṇma (pʰuṣa) vi to escape, to run away. hale pʰuṇsanin 'escape quickly!'.
pʰuṇma (pʰuṣa) vt (middle) to make someone run away, to release; to send off. N भागानु. iktet mina?a moko minalai pʰuṣa 'one man sent that man away'.
pʰurkujʰumci n Orion constellation. N मूर तारामण्डल. pʰurkujʰumci datyarga 'the Orion is
Appendices

visible'.

\textit{pʰususupma} n measles. \textit{N दांगा.} \textit{pʰususupma} ipuktaŋ ‘I got the measles’.

\textit{pʰutma} (pʰutta) \textit{vi} to break by overstretching. \textit{ḍaŋgo} pʰutta ‘the thread broke’. \textit{yin} pʰutta ‘the case was closed; the decision was reached’. \textit{ilaŋ} pʰuttabanani ‘his leg broke (it was pulled off)’. \textit{cf} pʰutma.

\textit{pʰutma} (pʰuttu) \textit{vt} (middle) to break by overstretching.

\textbf{Γ}

\textit{rabi} n Sunday.

\textit{rakkab}ə\textit{al} \textit{adv} at last, finally (after long effort). \textit{N बन्ना बन्ना, सकिन नकिन}.

\textit{rako} n torch, flare. \textit{N नाला}.

\textit{rakab}uŋ n godavari N (flower). \textit{N गोदावरी}.

\textit{ranka} \textit{adj} diagonal, crooked. \textit{N तढ़के, बाढ़के}.

\textit{raj} n plant, stalk; usually only in combinations. \textit{N बीट}. \textit{cf} sigraŋ kayaran.

\textit{rañma} (raŋta) \textit{vi} to dry strongly, parch; tan. \textit{N खुदनु} iholka ranja kʰara ‘he got a suntan’.

\textit{rapma} (rau) \textit{vt} to dig out; widening a hole.

\textit{ratkʰami} n soldier, policeman; security personnel. \textit{N सुरक्षाकर्मी}.

\textit{ratma} (rattu) \textit{vt} to protect, to interfere.

\textit{rekk} \textit{adj} seven (in Homtang). \textit{N सात}.

\textit{rekma} (reku) \textit{vt} to rip. \textit{N व्यालनु}.

\textit{remma} (remsu) \textit{vt} to sprinkle around.

\textit{renma} (rentu) \textit{vt} to tell off, to rebuke. \textit{N गाली दिनु}.

\textit{renma} n a rebuke, a telling off; scolding. \textit{N गाली}. \textit{renma pima} ‘to tell off, to rebuke’.

\textit{repma} (reptu) \textit{vt} to sprinkle (of liquids only) someone (to another). \textit{N फिकिनु}. \textit{cf} remma.

\textit{retma} (reptu) \textit{vt} to file; make a fissure by filing.

\textit{rikb³ak} n madness. \textit{N सुख्ता}. \textit{cf} rikma.

\textit{rikma} (rikta) \textit{vi} to be angry (a meaning derived from 'be twisted'). \textit{N रिसाउनु}. \textit{yawa rikta} kʰara ‘he got angry’. \textit{cf} rikma.

\textit{rikma} (rikta) \textit{vt} to twist, to sprain; to braid. \textit{N बटाउनु}. \textit{riktu seru} ‘he strangled it’. \textit{to be twisted}, to be strangled. \textit{N बटाउनु}.

\textit{rika} n root.

\textit{rima} (risu) \textit{vt} S 1. to chase, to drive away (e.g. cattle). \textit{N चंदुनु}. rina hanna ‘I’ll chase you away’.

S 2. to mill; to make a trench; to fissure. \textit{caus} ritma.

\textit{rima} (ruu) \textit{vt} (antip) S 1. can, to be able to. \textit{N कमाउनु}. S 2. to earn, to make money. \textit{N कमाउनु}.

\textit{rimma} (rimsu) \textit{vt} to turn, as of a lid of a bottle. \textit{N पुमाउनु}; विकोले बन्द गंजु.

\textit{rimma} (rintu) \textit{vt} to file, to shape; to plane. \textit{N बोद्दु}. rinkʰa ‘file, plane’.

\textit{rijma} (ripa) \textit{vi} to spread (of a word); to be heard. \textit{N फुनिनु}.

\textit{rijri} n pain, suffering, trouble. \textit{N दुःखु}.

\textit{ripma} (riptu) \textit{vt} to choke. \textit{N सांस फें नापाउनु}. ripma kʰatma ‘to choke (completely)’.

\textit{ritma} (rittu) \textit{vt} to walk around, roundabout. \textit{N चुँचुँ}; जलनु. \textit{root} rima.

\textit{rima} (risu) \textit{vt} to spread (not seed, though); to scatter, disperse, strew. \textit{N छरनु}. \textit{caus} ritma.

\textit{rimma} (rintu) \textit{vt} S 1. to bear, to endure. \textit{N महनु}. S 2. to insult, to offend. \textit{N हनु}. \textit{tirimja} ‘you will insult me’. tirimtaŋ ‘you have insulted me’.

\textit{rimrim} \textit{adv} early. nam lona məgʰi rimrim ‘early, before the sun came out’. \textit{cf} iwayan.

\textit{ripma} (riptu) \textit{vt} to twist.

\textit{ritma} (rittu) \textit{vt} to spread, make spread. \textit{N छुरितनु}. \textit{root} rima.
rokma (rokt) vi to be wasted away. cf rokma.
rokma (roktu) vt to waste away by disease. roktac in 'he is glutting himself'.
rokthok n a bamboo net used in fishing. cf wai b'ima.
romma (romta) vi to be very hot and dry; die of drought. N बिलास.
romma (romtu) vt to dry fry.
rompong a n city. cf sahara.
rompongpyoewnętrad in crowds, multitudes.
romma (rontu) vt to pierce.
royma (roysa) vi to sting, to recur, relapse (of an old wound). N बिलास.
royma (roysu) vt (antip) S 1. to ring with a loud voice or sound. N हल्लावा. S 2. to search, frantically, in a hurry. N अर्पयन.
ropma (rou) vt to break into pieces (intentionally, as of firewood; especially by hand).
rukma (rukta) vt to rinse (but the mouth only!). do warukma 'rinse the mouth'.
rujma (rujsu) vt to shake. N हल्लावा.
rupa n silver. N चाँदी.
rupi n rapi birde. N रपी.
rupma (ruu) vt S 1. to separate by twisting. N दसरोह तिनावा. kʰoma? a saga ru?u 'He pulled off the spinach'. S 2. to complain, to whine. N बुझि हुन्. deki c'aci mirupya? sa misiya? he? 'why are the children complaining - are they hungry?'?
ruwa n down, cotton fluff. N कपान.
ruwama n the Evening Star, Venus. N गुण.

S

sahara n N सहर. city.
sa n meat, flesh, muscles; a nominal suffix for animals. N मांस.
sacojmi n hurricane; strong, sudden storm. N झूली.
sak n hunger, starvation. N मैक. sak pukma 'to get hungry'. sak ipukma 'I got hungry, I got starved'.
sakenwa n Sakenwa: a traditional, religious dance, known amongst all Kiranti people; known as sakenwa amongst the Bantawa, sakela (Chamling), sakwa (Dilpali), sakle (Dumi) and tosi (Sunwar). Also: a goddess. N चौथा. sakenwa nakcʰoŋ n religious officiant at the Sakenwa occasions; the. N चौथा को दुकावार.
saki n potato; yam, tuber. N तुंबि; आलू. kʰokli saki 'jungle potato'.
sakma (saktu) vt to weed. N गोद्वा.
sakma n breath; life, soul. N सांस. alsakma namya? 'your breath smells'. sakma sonma 'to breathe'.
sakoŋ n spirit, the unmaterial part of a human. N आत्मा.
sakojmi n living soul, heart; inner core. N आत्मा; मनोध.
sakoywa n heart, inner mind.
sakudima n forefather, great grandmother. N ब्राज्ञि. pair sakudwa.
sakudwa n forefather, great grandfather. N ब्राज्ञि. pair sakudwa.
salam n poem. N कविता.
sali n sister-in-law (wife's younger sister). N मानी.
salikonj n mongoose (Indian mongoose). N न्याउरी.
salo n younger in-law's, pertaining to people married to the wife's sisters. N मानी. salo biwa
Menyanthes trifoliata

'sister's husband'. salo nic a 'wife's younger sister's husband'.
salubi n salubi root; inedible but used for religious purposes.
salun n price of meat.
sam n ray, beam (of light). N किरण. namsam tala 'a sun ray came in'. cf nam.
sam n vapour, mist; steam. N बांध, होंकुं 'the mist came up from the river'.
sama (sasa) vi to be enough. N पूर्ण.
samba n bamboo, generic term; bamboo plant. N बाँस.
sambala n bamboo forest, plantation; bamboo bush.
sambapok n bamboo pole, the thick part of bamboo. N बाँसको धन.
sambaran n bamboo pole or stem.
samle adv runny, liquid. samle samla 'it has become very runny'.
samma (samtu) vt to spread, to part. N कैलू.
sampica n millet. N कोंडी.
sampuk n village, larger community. N गाउँ, क्षेत्र. cf sapten.
samrīj n worship song, hymn. N गीत, भजन.
samuc e adj straight. N सीधा.
samyok n church, congregation.
samyuklik a n meadow. N चौर.
sanamburup n polypore, a type of mushroom. N एक बाल्को ज्याउँ.
sanapapa n uncle, mother's younger sister's husband. N सानावा.
sanima n aunt, mother's younger sister. N सानिसमा.
sanla n word. N शब्द.
sanma (santu) vt to stroke; as of a fiddle or of an iron file. N हान्नु; बजाउनु; प्राहानु.
saj pro who (singular). N को.
sanju pro who (non-singular). N को-को.
sanjanwa n singing bird, onomatopeic; cries 'sangho! sangho!' from Phalgun till Baisakh-Jesth (in spring time). N हल्लसा.
sanjan n star. N तारा.
sanja vi to sound, to play (a sound), to ring. N बज्ञु. caus sanja.
sanja (sanja) vt to play (an instrument). N बजाउनु. root sanja.
sanjankuwa n cockerel, rooster. N भाली.
sanjwa n buffalo. N भेरी. cf poppipa.
sanjwale n bog bean (lit: buffalo's tongue). S Menyanthes trifoliata. cf nunuma.
sanjwapa n buffalo bull, male buffalo. N बोज्ञा. cf poppipa.
sanjwarjana n Ainsliaea, 'buffalo tree'.
sanpa (saptu) vt to sound, make audible. N नुनाउनु.
sanpasi n buckwheat. N फालसा.
sapten n region, area; countryside, e.g. Hatuvali. N क्षेत्र.
sapi n bladder.
sarasa n saras crane, smaller and local type of crane. N सारास.
sarima n disease. N रोग. sarima banya 'a disease came (e.g. to the village)'. iŋka sarima a
idraŋ 'i caught a disease'.
sarima n disease. cf sarihan.
satma (sara) vt to pull, to draw. N तान्नु.
sawarik n cartilage, soft bone; tendon, sinew. N नसो.
sawatomkʰa n resting. sawatomkʰa len 'resting day'. cf sawa toŋma.
saya n head, particularly the immaterial notion of it (N šir). N žir. sayabug 'a flower on the head: idiom for daughters and sisters'.
saya pima vt to honour, to pay respect. N ḷavu ṣuṅu.
nukorla saya part best wishes, I wish you the best. N ḷuṅ kāmanā.
sek adj six (in Hontang). N ʧ.
sekʰa n bedbug. N ḷuṅ.
sekma (sektu) vt to clean thoroughly, make clean; e.g. to take out the bits that do not fit from food. N ḷuṅ ᵣαu. sekma vi to finish, to end cleanly, peacefully. N ḷuṅ. ḷeŋ sek 'the war finishes'. ḷeŋ sea/ sekta 'the war finished'.
sela n sel bread, ring-shaped fried bread. N ḷavu ᴍaṭṭi.
seluwa n mugwort; a bitter herb (used for catching fish). N ḷeṭeṭu. S Artemisia Indica.
sema (sesu) vt to not eat the hard bits; to clear out. N ḷeṭau. sesu co 'it ate the plant but left the hard bits'.
sema (sema) vi to rest, be quiet. N ḷaṭṭā ṣuṅ. ḷeŋ sema/ semta 'the fight is over'. cf semma.
caus semma.
sema (sentu) vt to make peace. N ḷaṭṭā ṣaun; ḷaṭṭu. kʰosaʔa mikʰiyanaʔo cʰaci semtuci 'He made peace of the children who were quarrelling'. semtinne 'let's divide it'. cf semma.
root semma.
sema (senu) vt to ask, inquire. N ḷaṭṭā. senmanj n dream. N ḷavu. cf semni semmuyu senci. senmanju kʰanju 'she saw it in a dream'.
sejma (sesa) vi to be clean, to be clear. N ḷaṭṭā ṣuṅ; ḷaṭṭu ᵣaun; ḷaṭṭu. ninama senyaŋ 'the sky is clear'.

senyaŋo cakwa 'clear water'. caus sejma.
sejma (sesa) vt to clean. N ḷaṭṭu ᵣaun. root sejma. buklunj serjsum 'you (pl), clean the yard!'.
sejtanja n holy person.
sema (septu) vt to sharpen. N ḷaṭṭu.
setma (sera) vi to kill; when in middle conjugation, 'to be killed' used figuratively for 'to be drunk'. N ḷaṭṭu.
seula n branch, stalk; a piece of a tree usually comprising a small branch with attached leaves. N ḷavu.
sewa mune part greeting (sewa derives from Nepali 'service'). sewa mune 'hello!'.
sikma (sikutu) vt to fill forcefully. N ḷaṭṭa. 
sikwa n black hornet. N ḷavu. ḷaṭṭa.
sima (siŋ) vi to die, to go out of (fire). N ḷuṅ. ḷiṇ. ḷiṇa. siad ‘he died (note the obligatory -da)’. misuwaʔo cɪc ‘those that have died...’
sima (siŋ) vi to want, to have a strong urge for; to wish, to desire. N ḷaṭṭu. oda yuŋma siyana ‘he would want to live here’. iŋka amno yiŋ lema siŋaŋa ‘I want to learn your language’. kʰana iŋko iyinya lesuni yiŋma siŋaŋa. ‘I would like you to learn my language’.
sa sima vi to be hungry. cf luna.
sima n death. N ḷuṅ. 
sirsiwa n fruit. cf si-wa.
sirj n wood, tree.
Appendices

siybʰom n cocoon, pupa. N कायाः.
siycʰa n sprout, bud, shoot. N बिंबा, पाल्ला.
siṅkᵃdʰok n woodpecker. N लाहचिच्च.
siṅraŋ n tree. N रूङ्ग. cf siṅ, cf raṅ.
siṅsi n fruit; any kind of fruit from a tree. N फल, फलको फल.
sipma (siptu) vt to pull on (of shoes or gloves). N भिन्न; लाऊनु. cf sipma.
sipma n shoes. cf sipma.
sitma (siru) vt to strip (tear leaves of a plant). N लाँगूः.
si n fruit; as a classifier noun. cf gak-si. cf biro-si. cf śiṅ-si-wa.
sibi n bean, beans. N तिमल.
sikuwa n porch, verandah; front end of the house, outside of the door but under the roof. N दलन.
sili n ritual type of dance, dance movement. N अनिभय.
sima (sia) vi to bear fruit. N फलनु, बाद्दे जीया दि, उम्र नोवणा। ‘If the potatoes had given more fruit, I would have been happy’. jati va ta, kʰun saki siwa. ‘As much as it rains, that much the potatoes will bear fruit’.
simma (simtu) vt (none) to numb. N तिंहज्जाउँः. simma dama ‘to go numb (of limbs)’. simtu do ‘it went numb’.
sinma (sintu) vt to know, to know about (to have knowledge, not know how to or be able to). N नाथा हुः. oko dum sintyāya. ‘I know that’. diśaʔo sinma. ‘to know of what?’. sintinyinka ‘we know that’. sintuʔo ‘he knows that’. sintuʔo ‘he has gotten to know that’.
sip n pulp; dregs, lees; solid matter. N पिथ्रा; टोम कुरा.
sipma (sia) vt to cut, to slice; with back-and-forth movements. N काठूः.
sipma vt (middle) S 1. to blink, to close (e.g. of eyes). N चित्तिन्नु. ammik siptukʰo ‘please close your eyes’. S 2. to dry up, to close up. N छुँनु. mulu siptu ‘he closed up the water’. hik siptakʰara ‘the wind stopped’.
sira n a cock's comb; a head (the higher part of it). N सिराः.
sit n louse; headlouse, hairlouse. N लूक्सा.
sitdʰuwa n cockroach. N माहनोः.
sitma (sittu) vt to store safely, put in a hole. N लूकाउः.
sitmaŋ n dead person, some who has died. N मरेको मान्छु. opp higmaŋ.
siwa n S 1. fruit, produce of trees and plants. N फलनु. S 2. meaning. N अघे.
siwahāṃ nm Siwahang, a former Bantawa Rai king. N सिवघांक.
sojeto n false, untrue; a lie. N अप्ल्न्य, बटोः. opp nucʰe.
sojʰe adv just this way, straight. N न्याम, सोस्छा. iklen ayy sojʰe kʰara ‘one day has now gone like this’.
sokma (sou) vt S 1. to kick with foot. N गोदनुः. S 2. to husk; to polish (rice). N फलनु.
solonwa n gourd, calebas; to drink beer from; bottle gourd. N चिङ्झा.
som n S 1. love, as between friends; care, compassion. N दया; प्रेम; माया. yawacǐʔa som nimeteyan ‘your friends love you’. S 2. lung, (considering the number of idiomatic expressions based on this word, the lung must be perceived as the seat of love). N फोक्सा.
som tukma vt to have compassion; to hurt for, to love. N दया गन्नुः. mo mina siwaʔo dʰeŋḍa injom tuʔa ‘after that man died, my heart aches’.
som sima vi to be satisfied. N चिल्ल बुझनु.
som numa vt to love. N माया गन्नुः. kʰociʔa somnuma metcići ‘they love one another’.
soma (sosi) vi to be lazy. N अन्तव्यः हुन्.
soma n laziness; infinitive of 'to be lazy'. cf katma.
somma (somso) vt to rub in, to apply by rubbing; to search thoroughly. N पछाड़ानि. somma k'atma 'search thoroughly'. somsu k'atmu 'he searched thoroughly'.
somma d'anma vt to encourage, to make happy. N फकाउनि. tisomtan d'antajnalo igya yañ pina 'If you make me happy, I will give you money'.
somma (solu) vt to slide down; to flatter, coax. N फकाउनि. chit;charset N

somma (sontu) vt (middle) to pacify, please. N फकाउनि.
somma vi to flow. N बरनि. cakwa sonyan 'the water is flowing'. nakibiva sonyan 'the snot is running out'. to draw (of breath); to breathe. N सास फूनि. sakma somma 'to breathe'. irjaka'ia ig'sakma sonyan 'I breathe'.
somma (sojtu) vt to wither, to die (of trees and plants). N आक्षिमनि.
somma (sopstu) vt to rub, feel your way around in the dark; to frisk, search. N छानि. yam sopma 'to frisk the body'.
sosawa n lazybones, a lazy and gluttonous man. N अन्तव्यः, cf soma.
somta (sottu) vt to move. N नादः.
soya n basket for carrying, N दोक. N डोका.
sudda postp with; comitative postposition. N मणि. cf enan. ikjasudda yañ maddiq 'I have no money'. ikjasudda icilok yañ yunnyan 'I have a little bit of money'.
sukbe adv well, as in well wishing; 'blessing'. N गुनि. sukbe lisa 'let it be well'.
sukma (suktu) vt to lie in wait, peek, peer, peep; watch. N चियाउनि.
suma (susa) vi (middle) to itch, to be spicy. N चिनाउनि. badd'he susa 'it itches a lot; it stings'.

sumbakwā n leaf, foliage.
sumka adj three; root sum-. N तीनि.
summa (suntu) vt to make ferment, in an airtight place. N गुम्माउनि.
suna n gold. N गुनि.
sunabuja n golden ornament. N सुनको फूल. cf tarbug.
sunma (sunta) vi to be sour.
sunwa n bee. N मायु री. sunwa caka 'honeycomb'. sunwa c'abak 'larvae comb'.
sunj n (domestic) goat.
supma (susu) vt to take a little rice from pot. N बाहनि.
suptirja k'na n prosperity, successfulness. N फौलकाफः.
sup'ep n bag, cloth bag. N पाका.
sutma (sutta) vt to enter into; to hide. N युवाल्लि.
syala n jackal. N चालालि.

\( t \)
takma (taksa) vi to fill (needs k'α- verbal argument). N भागः. k'αa takma 'to fill'. k'αa taksa 'it filled up'.
takma (taktu) vt (middle) to be occupied, be filled up. N ओमाटि. yu'j'k'αa takta k'αara 'the place is already full'. cf kakma.
talik n bow, pellet bow. N गुलन्लि.
tama n copper.
tama vi to come far. N आउनूँ, tama riyanalo tanya. ‘If I can come, I will’. tama riyaŋŋi to de, tanyanŋyo ye. ‘I would have come, if I could.’ wa ta de, makai raŋ idpiwaŋ lisaŋyaŋ. ‘If water had fallen, the maize would have grown big.’ caus tama.
tama lama vi to return, to arrive; to reach. N जुनूँ, taci laciki ‘after they had reached…’.
tamma (טומס) vt to fill up, to collect. N रामनूँ. root tapma.
tamma (טנט) vi to jump. N उननूँ.
taŋ n head. N टाउनूँ.
tanjop n cap, hat; headwear. N टोपी.
tanjbuŋ n ornament (lit: head-flower). N गांगा.
tajkoŋ n pillow. N सिरानूँ.
tajmiwa n hair (of the head). N कालू.
tapma (טפת) vt to fill. N भानूँ. wa tapta ‘it filled with water’. caus tamma.
tara n bull’s eye, butt. N तारा.
tarakhuk nm Tarakhuk, a Bantawa clan. N तारखुक, बांतवा भर्को एउटा पाछा (होंगा).
tari -nfl up till, to, till; until; affixes to both nominalised verbs and nouns. N सम्म. sat kʰepitari ‘up till seven times’. itʰenyutarī ‘up to the bottom’.
tat -qual qualifier for objects, things; the generic qualifier.
tatma (טאת) vt to bring, to bring from afar (unspecific w.r.t. vertical orientation). N लाउनूँ. root tama. matara ‘he had intercourse’.
tatma (טט) vt to fill up. N भानूँ. cakwa tattu kʰo ‘fill up the water’. root tama.
tawa n Moonal pheasant; also: peacock. N मुनाल.
tawai n guest, visitor. N पाउना.
taya n S 1. respect. N मान. saya taya pima ‘to give respect’. S 2. brain, head; wisdom. N जान, बुद्धि.
tayami n leader, politician. N राजनैतिक, अभियव.
tayami n student, scholar. N विद्यार्थी.
tema (טימה) vi to be quiet. N गांठा दुनूँ. iʰoɡoḍa tema ‘the fight was over’. cf sema.
temma (טנסו) vt (middle) to flatten, to make flat; intransitively: to be flat. N सम्म पानूँ. temyaŋ ‘it is flat’, dem temsuŋ yoŋ kʰa ‘what a flat area’.
temma (טנט) vt to quieten, to make quiet; to pacify. N गाँठा पानूँ.
ten n village, place.
tencipa nm Tencipa, a Bantawa clan. N तेंचिपा, बांतवा भर्को एउटा पाछा (होंगा).
tenna (טיא) vi to fall over; to slip. N डालनूँ, लड़नूँ. hila teŋa ‘shaking, it fell over’. iŋnjawwa huwaškʰaɾaki bāka di taj ‘I felt over being dizzy’. root dʰenma.
temma (טנסו) vt to uproot. N डालनूँ. root tenma.
tenpaŋ n neighbour.
tegma (טנט) vt to make blunt; to compress; to press hard; to cram it in. N बाँधनूँ.
tepma (טפט) vt to add. N भनूँ. root tʰepma.
tepma (טיא) vt to wash face. N अनुहार भनूँ. ɡaľiŋ tepma ‘to wash your face’.
tet -qual numeral qualifier, general form (non-human, non-round).
tetma (טט) vt to pick, dig out little things (as in nose or out of holes). N कनाउनूँ.
tikma (tiku) vt to collect, rub off. N तान्नुः पान्नुः
tikwa (tikwa) vt to thread, to string, to make a garland. N तुन्नुः buya tikwa 'to make a garland'.
tikwa n red jungle fowl, forest fowl (wild chicken). N तुञ्चे.
tintirit n feel. N तुन्नुः
tijkōkwa n thorn; prickly plant.
tij n thorn. N तुञ्चे.
tijkōkwa n thorn. N ठोळः. tijkōkwa id'uwaŋ 'the thorn stung me'.
tijma (tijtu) vt to follow someone else; to chase. N पछाड़ि लागः घापाः के लागः.
tiribuk n forehead. N निभार.
tiyi n cane. N बेत.
tiylubn n flower (N betlauri). N बेलासूरी. cf yi.
tima (tia) vi to reach (archaic). N पुनः. tyau n 'I went there and got back'. caus titma.
timma (timu) vt to press down. N ठिकः.
tipma (tiu) vt to drain off (the beer). kʰaca tipma 'drain'.
tit n clothes; cloth, dress.
titiri τu n tamarind tree. N टमारिनस टामारिनस इंडिका.
titma (titu) vt to guide. N अघर लागः root tima.
tokma (toku) vt to receive, to get; to be allowed. N पाउः kʰa tokma 'to see, to get to see something'. mosaʔa dʰa mantokYu kʰa tipma 'he received nothing'.
cʰa tokma vt to get a child, to have a child. N बच्चा पाउः. जन्माउः hwalet cʰa ticitkacuću? 'Do you have two children?'.
tokpa n big, heavy, sizeable. N टूला. tokpa luj enmakina limma kʰa enma dot 'lifting a big stone, it must turn over and away'.
tokpo adj big. tokpo hik 'a big wind'. cf tok-pa.
tola n hamlet, a little village or settlement. N टोलः.
tomma (tontu) vt S 1. to support. N तनबाटा ठेलः S 2. to push. N चेतुः.
tonma (tonsu) vt to push away. N ठेलः.
tonma (tontu) vt to arrange. N मिथाउः. amno kʰim dem kʰanulo tontulo kʰaptaʔo 'how nicely you have roofed your house'.
torkola n meteor, meteorite; anything that shows as a streak of light against the night sky. N तौकः.
tojma (toja) vi to match, to meet. N मिथाउः.
tojma (tojsu) vt to put together, to match, to agree. N मिथाउः. dum tojma 'to agree (on some matter)'. cf tojma. root tojma.
tojwat n close-meshed wicker basket. N ठूँचेः.
toppo adj big, e.g. of rivers.
topra n a plate made of leaves (tapari N). N ठप्पराः.
totma (tottu) vt to help raise the load. N ठतदिनः.
tuikma (tuiku) vt touch; strike against. amtenpa soma tuktanum 'love your neighbour'.
tukma (tua) vi to be ill, hurt. N तुच्छः बिच्छाः असारीरिक कठः लागः अक्षमाः titaʔu?
'twere you ill yesterday?'. iyka ituknįniŋ 'I am not ill'. bʰutʔa mitaʔaʔo minaci 'people stricken by spirits'. som tukma 'to have compassion, to feel love for'.
tukwa n subject.
tupa (tu) vt to dig in (like for potatoes or to bury). N बन्नू. tuju ‘he is digging’. tuwaj ‘i dug’. tuncune ‘let's dig (du)’. tumne ‘let's dig (pl)’.
tumbuluk n nail, fingernail. N नाक. cf tiybulik.
tumma (tuma) vi to be ripe; to become ripe, to ripen. N पाकनु. tumma (tumsu) vt to join together e.g. make a boy and girl match. N बेटाहिदिनु. root tupma.
tumpasa n wild cat, jungle cat. N बनधार.
tumpicnik n knee. N बूढा.
tumpu n type of tree (काउलो N). N काउलो.
tumpucnikchik n game, where children pinch the top of each other's hands. N चिमुचिचिच (हात चिमाउने बेलं).
tun n pimple.
tupbu n grey monkey (with a long tail). N लकूंगी.
tupkhu n smoke. N चुंचा.
tupma (tunsu) vi to move, to drive (e.g. a car). N चलाउनु. duṣmaki tupma inunin. ‘It's not good to drink and then drive.’.
tupma (tuptu) vt to understand. N बुझ्नु. root tupma.
tupma (tuu) vt to meet. N भेडः। p'eri tuncine 'let's meet again'. caus tupma. caus tupma.
tupma n meaning. cf tup.
tuppi n crown of the head. N टूप्पी.
tuppij n meaning. cf tupma.
tutma (tuttu) vt to leak. N जाोला आवियान बन्ने वा छिन्ने आवि.

th

thabtu n ash, ashes. N झरनी.
thaklo n stairs, stairwell; ladder. N भन्याक. cf piri thakok.
thakma (thaktu) vt to bring up. N भागी ल्याउनु. root thapma.
thakok n stairs, stairwell; ladder. N भन्याक. cf piri thaklo.
thakrip n cloud. N झाला.
thaln n भालपाल, plate.
thali n net (e.g. for fishing); web (spiderweb). N जानी.
thama (thasu) vt to split, divide, manage, distribute. N पृण्याउनु. otyansa thama dora 'we had to divide it by breaking it up'.
thanma (thantu) vt to make stand. N उधाउनु.
thanjma (thapju) vi to come up. N भागी पृण्याउनु, yutnirka ... thanjma 'from down ... he comes'. caus thakma.
thanjma (thapsu) vt S 1. to set up weaving wood. N ताङ्नु. S 2. to shake out the dust, to winnow (for millet, mustard seeds). N कोदो हल्लाउनु; हाला मूबाउनु. ca thapsu 'shake the dust out!'.
cafe pmata yima.
thanjma n ascent, climb; also: steepness, steep. N उकानो. demko thanjma 'how steep!'. opp
yimpan. cf thaṇ.
thanjma n young man, adolescent. N युवा. pair warisa.
thapma (thaptu) vt to winnow. N निकलनु. cf yima. root thapma.
thapma (thawa) vi to spread wide. N फानु; च्यान्नु. caus thapma.
thapnij n culture, ritual. N स्कार.
tʰatma (tʰattu) vt to be sufficient. N पूर्ण, पूण्यावृत्त. 
tʰekluṅwa n spit, saliva. N धंसा. cf tʰup.
tʰekma (tʰektu) vt to push away with feet. N लात मानु. tʰekma dima ‘kick it in (Bantawa’s dictionary)’.
tʰekma n deaf, a deaf woman. N बक्री. pair tʰekpa.
tʰekloŋ n nightingale. N जुंगली.
tʰekpa n deaf, a deaf man. N बक्री. pair tʰekma.
tʰem n creeper; disorder. N बक्री; लहरा. tʰem pakma ‘to hang in a clump’.
tʰemkʰa n block, curtain, hindering. cf tʰenj. tʰemkʰatit ‘curtain’.
tʰemma (tʰema) vi to be lost. N विलुभत.
tʰen n bottom, floor. N बाक, जग, पशु, पक्षा. mo gagityay to enda butic. ‘There are holes in the bottom of that gagityay.’

C. Word list

Appl tepma. S 2. to cover, to close. N बाणन, cf dipama.
tʰeppa adj closed, deaf. N बक्री. nabak tʰeppa ‘deaf’.
tʰeppasa n big bat (spanning up to 70 cm). N बंगल बमरा.
tʰetma n spit.
tʰetma (tʰetu) vt to lift up for someone else (benefactive). N उजालनिर.
tʰetnumya n spit, saliva. N धंसा.
tʰikma (tʰiktu) vt to prepare bed for another. N आंखायाद दिनु.
tʰimbha n pillar, stem of a banana plant. N भाग.
tʰimmna (tʰintu) vt to pour out completely. N सिद्धानु.
tʰimmna (tʰinya) vi to be pregnant, to give birth; to grow in numbers. N धुळकोर हृद्दु ग्याता. mo tʰinya ‘she delivered a baby’. kʰo mana tʰinya ‘that person had his family extended’. cf cʰa tokma.
tʰimmna (tʰinsu) vt to spread a bed. N आंखायाद दिनु.
tʰinma (tʰila) vt to attack, to pounce. N ऋणिनिर.
tʰinma (tʰinta) vi to rise, to wake up (from sleep); to stand up (from chair). N विदेशानु.
tʰinma (tʰintu) vt (middle) to make rise: to wake up (someone else, from sleep); to stand up (from chair). N विदेशानु; विदेशानु.
tʰok n entrails; intestines, bowels. N आँख.
tʰokma vt to make a wall. N वचनल नामानु; भिन्न वचनानु. kanla tʰoktu ‘make that wall’.
tʰokma vt S 1. to spill; to pour. N पूखानानु, पूखा. cakwa tʰokma ‘pour s.o. else water’. cakwa tʰou ‘spill the water’. S 2. to rinse, to wash, to clean. N नसानु. tʰouki co ‘eat after you washed (your mouth)’.

Appl tepma. S 2. to cover, to close. N बाणन, cf dipama.
tʰopma (tʰopma) vi to dance. N नाचनु. ben tʰopma.
tʰopma (tʰomsu) vt to make dance, to make someone else dance. N निनाचनु. root tʰopma.
tʰog n place, location. N ठाउँ.
tʰogbi n sir, good gentlemen; respectful expression to address a meeting. N नाचनु. root tʰopma.
t'otma (t'ottu) vt S 1. to bring up sins of the past to add to the current argument. N फ़तरः।
लगाउँ। S 2. to add on top of what there (more than the receiver wants); to mix. N भनुः;
सिसाउँ।
t'ukma (t'uktu) vt to spit at someone. N भुकुः।
t'umba n ram, male sheep. N भुमा।
t'umma (t'usu) vt to dig in, to raise (after digging). N गाइनु।
t'umma (t'usu) vt to spit (in general, at the ground). N भुकुः।
t'uram n big jungle, woods; primary forest. N बिग्रान जङ्गलः। cf k'okli.
t'upi n scar. N दागः। t'upi yuña 'there is a scar'.
t'upma (t'uptu) vt to hang up in a clump; make a stand for plants. N झाडः।
लगाउँ।
t'upma (t'uu) vt S 1. to sew (clothes). N सिमनु। S 2. to make a great feast. N भोजः।
रागः हुः। cf t'upma.

U

ud'utni n up here, upwards; in this direction, upwards. N यता मासतिरः। icilok ud'utni 'a bit
higher'.

uyutni n down here, down this way; downwards. N यता तल तिरः। uhyutni yiawak'a 'come down
this way'.

umma (umtu) vt (antip) to peel. N बाजः प्यावकुः। ik'ot u?uk'oa 'peel it (pa)!'. u?ay 'i peeled (it)'.

umma (umtu) vt (middle) to close (mouth). N बन्द गन्नः। amdu umtu 'close your mouth'.

un pro like that, that way. N यस्तोः। युन मादिंः 'if it's not like that...'.

unctko adj small. N गानीः। युतको होङ्कुः 'a small river'. unda citkoc 'that small'. cf citko.

unda pro this size. N यतोः। unda mu 'it's this size'. cf munda unko.

unko pro this size. N यतोः। cf unko. cf munko.

unma (untu) vt (antip) to dig for food (by pig). N बन्नः।

unni n a little; less, comparatively less. N भाईः। unni piawà 'give me less'. unni onjã piawà 'give
me just a little'.

uppokok adv very big, huge. uppokok lu\u0938\u093f\u0928 'there was a very big stone'.

upma (upka) vt (middle) to shine with light. N बन्नः। upka 'it burned'. cf lema.

utwa n sugarcane. N उङ्गः। utwa dugum 'to eat sugarcane (it is called drinking because it's the sap
that is eaten after chewing)'.

W

wa sima vt to wash up, to wash your fash. N भुनुः। k'amma waswak'ã 'wash up the dishes...'.
k'amma wasuk'oci 'wash up the dishes & utensils!'. att'u (iwayin) wasi\u0915\u0930 'i already
washed it in the morning'.

wacajma (cajsu) vt to bathe another, to wash someone. N नुहाँडिनः। araj iyma?a wa
icansaya?y 'before, my mother used to bathe me'. root cakma.

wa n chicken.
wa n rain; also, root for 'liquid' in many compounds. wa ta 'it rains'.

wa vojb water. waopktuʔo 'soaked'. wadapma 'to wash'. wahopma 'to get wet'. wapokta 'he got soaked'.

wa vsuf like, similar. N जलने. maddiywa luwan 'it seems like it's not there'; cintinwa 'like as we teach'. cinmayiwa 'like a teaching'.


wadera n mud pool. N वातस्म. भलवानी धमलो पानी. dem wata, kʰunja wadera kʰara 'as much as it rains, that much it will be flooding'.

wadin n egg, chicken's egg. N अण्ग. cf din wa.

wadupa n flood. N फूला मल; जलाम्म.

wai bʰima n a fish pond, created by diverting the course of a river in order to catch fish. N बूताली

फूलाम. cf roktʰok. cf bʰi. cf wataplunjma.

waičet n chick, baby chicken. N चल्ला.

waiwet n silent, peaceful, quiet. N चुप. waiwet yunja 'keep silent'.

wakma (waktu) vt to make enter, enter someone. N निजयु, cf wajma. root wajma.

wako postp like, as used in comparison. N जस्तो. cakwa wako 'like water'. di wak ticiwaj? 'what are you giving me?'.

wakulen n waterplant. N पानीमा कुल्ने विषवा.

wakʰi n wakhi, white root (edible). N बाने मेंतो जरा.


walījhan nm Walinghang, the nephew of Shivahang, one king of Sindrang. N वालिङ्गहाक.

wala n water source. N पानीमा झरत.

wama (wasu) vt to dry. N गुड़ानु.

wamna (wamnu) vt to scratch on an itchy place. N कन्यानु.

wanikʰa n S 1. ladle, big spoon. N भलानु. बांड़. kok wanikʰa 'rice ladle'. S 2. ornament.

wamna (walu) vt to stir, to apply. N भलानु. kʰen wamna 'to hurt someone or something else'.

wamna (wansu) vt to waste time. N बर फाद्नु.

wajma (waja) vi to enter, arrive, come; reach (at); to climb. N पन्नु. mo satra bārṣāda waṇa 'he just arrived at his seventeenth year', mo satra bārṣāda tala. 'he is seventeen years old (fully completed the seventeenth year)'; ɟuŋgada waŋjaki talko eʰuada lasa. 'going in the boat he returned to the side of the lake'. bʰirɪʔo icokdu waʃjinne 'let's go to the top of the hill'. caus wakma.

wapa n rooster, cockerel. N भाले. cf wa.

wapma (wau) vt to row in a boat; move forward by splashing. N नाउ खियामा.

waptela n boat.

wapun n watersource; well; temporary as they emerge in monsoon after heavy rainfall. N मूल. cf bonwa.

warisa n girl, young, of adolescent age. N युवति. pair tʰajma.


wasuri n water trough, the gutter below the eaves, where the water comes down when it runs from the roof. N बल्ली.


wataplunjma n natural pond; a deeper area in a river. N बह.

watatma n jug used for the collection of the hengmawa in the distillation process. N भाने भोंडा.
watma (waru) vt (antip) to put on (as of ornaments), to wear jewelry; to give (as of names) generally: to apply; to befall. N लाउन्न. kʰ'en waraŋ 'i got hurt'. kʰ'ana di tiwaru 'what have you put on?'.

watma (watu) vt to make wear (as of ornaments, not clothes); to give (as of names) generally: to apply. N लाउदीन्न. niy watma 'to give a name'. saña?a iniy wattu 'who gave him that name?'.

watmasi n jewellery, ornaments. N गहना.

watni adv like this. cf kʰ'otni motni.

watni nfl similaritive, 'like this'. N जस्ले.

watup n confluence of two rivers. N दोभान.

wayiŋ n morning. N चिहान. aiy iwayiŋ 'this morning'.

wayitaŋ n type of tree.

wenma (weru) vt to throw a stone. N बुड्डा हान्नु.

wensi n berry, berries; raspberry. N एस्लु.

weŋma (weŋu) vt to chop by layers. N कढ़ार कादन्नु.

wetma (wetru) vt S 1. to hang up. S 2. to throw (away, seeds). N घ्यांकन्नु. wetma kʰ'anma 'to throw away'.

wik n dry ground, garden. N बारी.

winma (wintu) vt to grind. N दिन्नु.

winma vt to throw away (of trash), to throw. N घ्यांकन्नु. winma kʰ'anma 'to ditch, to throw away; to dispose'. cf wetma.

witma (wiru) vt to gather up, arrange. N बढ़न्नु. biskuna wiruk'b'o 'please, collect the corn (from the field)'.

Y

ya matma (ya mara) vt to pray. N ग्रामृत्ता गन्नु. cf metma.

yagʰəyaŋma n spider. N माकरा. yagʰəyaŋma tʰali bayaŋ ‘the spider makes a web’.

yak n a type arum of which the root or tuber is eaten. N पिडालु.

yakbak n arum leaf. N पिडालोको पात.

yakma (yaa) vi to be (existentially, locationally). N हुन्. ingojida sumka yaŋ yakyaŋ. ‘in my pocket there are three rupees’. oda di yakyaŋ 'what is this here?'. demkatet yĩći miyakaŋ? ‘how many words are there?’. 50 kilo onja yakṣaŋa ‘I weigh only 50 kgs.’.

yaksa n store, shelter. N अन्ना बाली रुढ़न्न गाढ; सानो कटरा, झुङ्गा, छाप्रा.

yam n body, torso; lap. N जिउ; जरीर. yam sopma 'to frisk the body'. inyamda tiyuŋ? 'will you sit on my lap?'.

yam n season. N मौसम. hakla yamda 'in the hot season'. cʰ'inacinen dʰ'it muma cʰ'an sumka yam kʰ'ara cia. ‘Before we met with my father’s sisters, three seasons had already past. (Bungwakha 23)’.

yama (yasu) vt to tickle. N काराकृती गन्नु.

yamma (yamta) vi to rot, to decay; particularly of wood. N मकाउन्न.

yamsi n breast-feeding, milk; used for milk that is drunk from the breast or udder, not for the white fluid as such. N रङ्च. cf omipwa.

yanjka adv from there (level).

yanjka adv from there. opp dʰ'anjka yutnjka. cf yani.

yanma (yantu) vt to help, in the material sense of the word; support financially. N महायन्ता दिन्नु.
yajn n money, general term; coin, coins. N रैसा. cf p'ekwa.
yajn n nest. N नूका. cf 'onewayajn 'bird's nest'. mayajn 'womb'.
yanjka n the interior of the house. N प इत्रि. yanjka bikma 'sweep the house'.
yanjkaabik n broom. N कुचा.
yanjlok adj light, of weight; lightweight. N हलुंको. cf yajn.
yamna (yansa) vi to be lightweight. N हलुंका हुं. yansa 'it was light'.
yamna (yaju) vt S 1. to hold; to embrace, to hug. N आहगानवृ. cf'yamna 'to hug a child'. S 2. to use. abiwa amdabhi yamna piwan el! 'brother, give me your khukuri to use it, hey!'.
yanisjn n cilaune tree; a very common tree used for wood. N चिलाउने. S Schima wallichii.
yawarnma n big river, sea. N नदी; समुद्र.
yamna (yapu) vt to ladle out; to scoop. to row a boat. N सन्काउने.
yarl n ginger cutting, for divination purposes; done during Sakenwa puja. N अढळा गांठने काम.
yarl pekma dot. 'we must cut the ginger'.
yatma (yatta) vi to get worn. N इनु. yatma (yattu) vt to wear out. N इनु. cf yatma.
yawakuwa n friends and all. N साथी-भाई.
yawa n friend. yawayawa som mituk 'friends love one another'. yawac'h a 'little friend'.
yawayok n a gathering, a meeting. N संगठन; संगति. yawayok muma 'to gather, to make a meeting'.
yayok n advice. N सल्लाह.
yayokka n meeting place; council. N सल्लाह गर्न घाउँ.
yihup n whip. N कोरा.
yikcikma n typhus. N टाइफीस.
yima (yia) vt to come down. N अवलित्रि. caus yitma.
yima (yisu) vt to whack someone, e.g. with a stick; to hit. N हिकाउने. sampica yiyansa hik lantuk'o winnow the millet, shaking it to the wind'. yisuk'aisu 'he hit him'.
yinpa adv downwards. N आरालो. opp पराम.
yin n language, speech, matter. amno yinđa hanma igc'ema katyaŋ 'I'm interested in speaking your (pl) language'. amyiŋ 'your (s) language'. yin latma 'to pray'.
yinjkan n news, message. yinjk'ankan piwan 'give me the message...'.
yijma (yina) vi to say, to tell. N ननु. बालने.
yipsi n word, a single word. N शब्द.
yitma (yiru) vt to bring down, to take from above (and bring down). N माधिबाट तल ल्याउने. sanja yiriṇjuc'iyo 'who will bring them down?'. root yima. caus yitma.
yitma (yittu) vt to bring down. N माधिबाट तल ल्याउने. root yima.
yiwa n bone. N हाँड़.
yikma (yiktu) vt to ride a horse. N चढने. cf yukma.
yima (yua) vi to come down. vi to descend. N अवलित्रि. cf yima. akb'omaj ikeb'a mina d'aniŋka yia 'yesterday one man came from above'.
yijma vt to tell. cf yigmna.
yitma (yittu) vt to bring down.
yok n time. sawatomk'a len tarab?o yokda '(at the time) when the resting day had come'.
yokma (yoktu) vt S 1. to feel repetitive pain, to feel continuous.pain. S 2. to apply cream, ointment.
yomma (yomtu) vt to chase off, throwing stones. N भ्रमानु.
yon n chin. N चापु.
yon ma (yonu) vt to not do work, have a holiday; take a break; to avoid. N बानु; नाचानु. didi came k'osa yomma dot. ‘what kinds of food he must avoid’.
yopma vt to take out the grain. N छावणु. moko mina mokoi yo?u ‘that man peeled out the maize’. syn letma k'asanma.
yotma (yottu) vt to add. N यटनु.
yukma (yuktu) vt s 1. to put; to place something at some location; to put for someone else, to put (benefactive). N राश्नु; रामिदनु. s 2. to mount; to ride a horse. N चढनु. root yuṣma.
yukma (yuwa) vi to be; in an existential and locative meaning. N रहनु.
yukma vt definitive vector verb, also used in past tense negative forms. N राश्नु. mancinyuk ‘he did not finish’. mancayuk ‘he did not finish eating’.
yum n salt.
yumbuŋ n everlasting flower. N खक्कि. s Anaphalis nepalensis (nubigena).
yumma vi to be salty. N नुमिलो हुनु.
yumpaima n big red field mouse.
yunma (yunta) vi to be weak, be thin. N दुवनानु.
yuṣma (yuṣa) vi to sit. N बसनु. caus yuṣma.
yuṣma (yuṣu) vt to put; to cause to sit. N बसनु; बसानु. root yuṣma. yuṣma dama ‘to put, to place’.
yupma (yuptu) vt to poke in; to fix by inserting. N ठुल्नु.
yupuṅ nn Yupung, the god or worship for crops and agriculture. N तारिपुज्ञा.
yutma (yuttu) vt to tie; to bind (the grass together). N बाँधनु.
D. Compound verbs across Kiranti

Introduction

Throughout the Kiranti languages, we find various compound verb constructions. In this appendix, the analysis of compound verbs as in §7.2 is extended to other Kiranti languages. The hypothesis is that the analysis made for Bantawa compound verbs can be extended to get an insight into the morphological variety in compound verbs across Kiranti languages. While there is some morphological variation, the similarities between compound verbs across Kiranti, in usage as well as in form, by far outdo the differences. Compound verbs in the sense discussed here are a defining feature of Kiranti languages.

By the term 'compound verbs' we refer to sequences as in (497).

(497) verb verb
    a. in which the first verb (V1) gives the main semantic content of the expression, and
    b. the second verb (V2) adjusts the meaning by giving additional information.

In compound verb constructions, V1 determines the primary semantics and also the argument structure.

The Kiranti compound verb

In the several sections of §7.2, I have alluded several times to the facts that a) Bantawa compound verbs are not at all unusual in their Kiranti context, and that b) Bantawa compound verbs, because of their formal marking of semantically different constructions, may shed light on Kiranti compound verbs as typological feature.

Kiranti compound verbs can be analysed as a subtype of serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006). However, across all Kiranti languages the syntax of compound verbs is subject to much more stringent rules and definitions than the general defining properties of serial verb constructions. Even when the lexical instantiations of the compounding verbs in compound verbs may be highly contingent, both formally and semantically there are such correspondences between compound constructions in Kiranti languages that we can say that a language without compound verbs is not a Kiranti language. The consistency in the use of the grammatical device of compound verbs across Kiranti languages is surprising, compared to the lexical and phonological variation between Kiranti languages.

Kiranti compound verbs can be meaningfully compared as a syntactic phenomenon (§D.1), with regard to their morphology (§D.2) and function and degree of grammaticalisation (§D.3).

D.1 Kiranti compound verbs: syntax

Kiranti compound verbs are the head of a single clause and replace a simplex verb. There are strict syntactic constraints on compound verb constructions. For Bantawa,
we have defined compound verbs as this subset of all complex verbs, that have the additional property that the constituting parts agree in form.

This formal constraint can be shown to correlate with the syntactic make-up of the compound verb construction. This means, that for syntactic reasons, we expect the extra formal properties as in (498) to apply.

(498) specific properties of compound verbs as opposed to other complex verbs
a. there are no affixes on V1 that are not present on V2,
b. there is agreement of valence: if V1 is transitive, then so is V2.

In ordinary compound verbs, (498a) applies, as the first and second verb should not have conflicting agreement parameters. There may well be clause-level morphology or morphology to apply to the verb as core of the clause. However, we expect that morphology a) to affix to either the compound verb as a whole (i.e. on its fringes) rather than in between the main and vector verb, or b) to distribute over both members of the compound, as they are equal parts.

As we shall see, across Kiranti, there is not much morphology on the first verb beyond tense and actant agreement. In any case, the first verb is not a converb or gerund, has no marking for manner, temporal conjunction or the like, and is not nominalised — unless the second verb is also marked in that way. This means that all Kiranti compounds are real compounds in the sense that they are contiguous, i.e. no other constituent intervenes, and there is no syntactic linkage.

Valency agreement

For Kiranti languages that have little or no morphology on the first verb, such as Wāmbule, and Yamphu, we find that there is no formal clue that distinguishes causatives and other valency-changing compounds from valency-preserving compounds. For these languages, analysts have generally not distinguished these categories that are very different for Bantawa.

Valence decreasing auxiliaries Excepting the middle or reflexive marker, other valence decreasing verbs in verb complementation structures are not common across Kiranti languages. A passive is attested only for Limbu. For other languages, there are alternative strategies to express the desired meaning. Most verbs have intransitive counterparts or can simply be conjugated intransitively. The passive -tet in Limbu deserves discussion7, e.g. (142, 143).

(142) kʰo-me-det-nen
get-3pl-PASS-NEG.3pl
'they are not available'

(143) suk-tet-∅
can-PASS-NPT.3s
'it is possible'
This structure confirms the point that was made for Bantawa (§7.3.1) that complex verbs with a valence-changing operation are not regular verb compounds. The Limbu examples show that there is no agreement at all on the first verb unlike what happens in ordinary Limbu compound verbs, cf. §D.2. The proper analysis is to reanalyse the first verb as a verbal noun that is incorporated much like the Bantawa constructs in §7.3.1.

For Bantawa, it makes sense to treat compound verbs of equal parts as true compound verbs as different from verbal compounds with inequal parts, i.e. those with a root argument to a conjugated verbal head. This distinction is relevant across the Kiranti area. With regard to form, introducing the distinction is overly exact for languages that do not formally distinguish valency-changing from valency-consistent compound verbs. However, syntactically and semantically the distinction is there for every Kiranti language. The valency-changing constructions that have been analysed in the literature on a par with verbal compounding, are cuckoos in the verbal compounding nest.

D.2 Kiranti compound verbs: morphology

Kiranti compound verbs share the formal properties listed in (144e) on top of the serial verb construction features defined in (496) (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006).

(144) Features of Kiranti compound verbs
   a. affix agreement, i.e. both compounding verbs have corresponding or identical agreement markers,
   b. valence agreement, i.e. the compounding verbs agree in valence: if the first verb is transitive, then so is the second,
   c. asymmetrical, i.e. compound verbs are generally asymmetrical in Kiranti: V2 has a semantic contribution in the realm of aspect or direction,
   d. contiguous, i.e. Kiranti compound verbs are contiguous, there are no intervening constituents,
   e. one word, i.e. Kiranti compound verbs are one single grammatical word, perhaps also a single phonological word.

For some Kiranti languages, the main verb appears in the uninflected form. For most Kiranti languages, some flection marks are present on both compounding verbs.

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7Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 49) make the point, that ‘valency-decreasing serial verb constructions with a passive meaning employ verbs such as ‘touch’, ‘strike’. This generalisation is borne out in Limbu in that the Limbu root tɛt also means ‘to strike from above.’

8Several authors have analysed the ‘compounding-like constructions’ as below as verb compounds.

1. reflexivisation
2. compound causatives
3. benefactive
4. coordinated predicates

Where it is not possible for every language to tell these constructions apart from ordinary compounds formally, each of these at least semantically forms a distinct class.
Verb compounds of this kind may still show a great degree of variation in form. The formal variation more often than not corresponds to semantic correlates (cf §D.1)

**Comparative compound verb morphology**

The primary form of the compound verb is simply a construction of a sequence of verbs, that are fully-inflected for tense and participant agreement.

All forms in Kiranti languages are somehow based on this pattern, and the differences in morphology between languages can be understood as differences in the degree of deviation of it.

**Limbu**

In Limbu, there is very little affix deletion. Prefixes are never eliminated. Suffixes are only deleted partially. More specifically, if the suffix sequence is longer than two syllables, the last will be deleted — excepting non-TA suffixes.

The two verbs are fused into one phonological word in Limbu, unless there is an intervening prefix (— on the V2). In that case, the construction falls apart in two phonological words.

(145) tʰaps-u-dʰo-aŋ
knock.down-U-COMPL-PT.3s>3/1s
‘he knocked him down’

(146) natt-u-latt-usi
drive-U-TAKE-PT.3s>3ns
‘he drove them out’

(147) lɔt-temmɛʔ a-bir-emmeʔ natt-emmeʔ a-bir-emmeʔ
take-IMP.2p>3s 1s-give-IMP.3p drive.out-IMP.2p>3s 1s-give-IMP.3p
‘you (pl) take it out and send it off for me’

(148) pɨʔl natt-ʊŋ-des-uŋ
cow drive-1s>3s-send-1s>3s
‘I drove the cow away’

(149) ɔːktɛ neːsɛ
shout-3s CONT-3s
‘it kept on screaming’

Example (147) is odd, in the sense that the agreement on V2 differs from that on the first verb. This will be discussed later.

The last example, from (van Driem 1987: 132) deviates from the rule, in that there are two words where we would expect a fusion. Neːma (‘to lie, be situated’) is different from other V2s in one more respect, that it does not stick to the rule of valency agreement, viz. (150).

(150) sapt-u neːsɛ
write-3s3sPT CONT-3PT
‘he kept on writing’
As described above, in Limbu, compound verbs consist of two juxtaposed finite verbs with exactly equal valence and morphology. The Limbu structure may be represented by (151). Greek letters represent variable parameter values. The aim of this representation is to show that the parameters of tense, agent and patient are the same in all parts of the compound verb complex.

(151) \( V_f^{\alpha_{\text{tense}}, \beta_{\text{agreement}}} \rightarrow V_f^{\alpha_{\text{tense}}, \beta_{\text{agreement}}} \rightarrow V_f^{\alpha_{\text{tense}}, \beta_{\text{agreement}}} \)

**Bantawa**

For Bantawa, we saw that the language shows an intermediate degree of affix reduction. The suffix string is truncated halfway on formal criteria, and prefix and later suffixes appear only once (cf. §7.2.3).

Compound verbs constitute a single grammatical unit in Bantawa. The way the compounds break up in prosodic units is another matter. Prefixes are present on the first verb only. Suffixes up to suffix slot sfx5 are present on both verbs, while the remaining part of the suffix string is appended to the second verb only. This symmetry in form is functional in nature, i.e. the equivalence in form is not governed by phonological but, rather, by functional constraints.

**Thulung**

Thulung has verbal suffixes only. In Thulung compounds, affix reduction is very strong. The rule is that all suffixes on the first verb are dropped, and the compound verb is fused into one single word.

But, (Allen 1975: 72) writes:

‘The form taken by the first stem is independent of the initial element of the second stem. Endings combine with the second stem as they would if it were not part of a compound verb, except that in this situation stem vowels are probably never long and the stem consonant is particularly likely to be lost (...) The problem in compound verbs is to predict the alteration in the first element which may accompany the addition of endings to the second.’ ‘The general rule is that the first element shows those changes that would have occurred if it were a free-standing verb, i.e. if the endings had been added to it directly.’

The stem changes in Thulung are mostly conditioned morphophonologically, which is to say that there is little stem selection that cannot be explained by the phonological nature of the suffixes. There is one major exception to this rule, that Allen (1975) describes as weakening. The weakening suffixes have the property to change the stem consonant, or even the stem vowel, for a number of irregular verbs, even when these suffixes are otherwise formally equal to other non-weakening suffixes. For example, there is a suffix <-ci> (DU) indicating dual agent. In present tense, stem weakening occurs, while in past tense, the fusion of stem and suffix is quite different. The baffling thing of Thulung verb compounding is that changes on the first verb take place even if they do not on the second verb, due to the phonological nature of this vector verb. This way, the difference between past and non-past may be visible on the first verb only.
The ‘X’ here signifies the fusion point between the first and second verb. To understand these forms synchronically in a strictly segmental framework, we must assume that there is some zero morpheme here that does the weakening job.

This curious behaviour that Allen described some thirty years ago, is mentioned again by Lahaussois, who studied this language more recently (Lahaussois 2003, 2002). In her thesis on Thulung, she writes that ’if the verb and person combination results in a main verb stem which is vowel-final, then truncated inflectional endings appear. The truncated inflectional material is consistent in being a single phoneme, namely the first of the expected full person/tense ending. [...] Exceptionally, for 3s non-past forms (where the stem and person ending are often fused), no extra material is inserted, but the stem vowel is altered to what it would be for the non-aspectivized form’ (2002: 202).

Wämble

In contrast with what happens in Thulung, Opgenort (2002: 394) writes that the stem of the first verb only paradigmatically adapts to the immediate context of the motionalisers, his terminology for vector verbs. He gives a sample of place assimilation for final stops, viz. (154).

(154) syā-khā-cā-me (underlying: syāt-khā-cā-me)
    kill-come/bring-PUR-RES
    ’to come or bring up and kill something’

Wämble then seems a language with no inflection on the main verb. Opgenort reports that most motionalisers are not sensitive to transitivity classes, which means that vector verbs are the same for transitive and intransitive main verbs. However, the transitivity constraint as in (498b) is still active in the selection of some motionalisers (2002: 397). In Wämble, the vector verbs are the only part of the compound that is inflected. Vectors may be conjugated either transitively or intransitively. However, the type of conjugation forces the interpretation of the first or main verb half if that verb is ambiguous (2002: 396).

Yamphu

Rutgers writes the same about the formal make up of auxiliary verbs in Yamphu, as what Opgenort wrote about Wämble. The main verb is represented by a bare root only and the vector carries all the flection.
However, his data suggest there is some alternation. In the following examples (Rutgers 1998: 164) the verb cama 'eat' seems to alternate between a conjugated and unconjugated root according to the form.

(155) co·dæk-pee·tt-u-ji-hi  
     eat-exhaust-RES-PF—3-3NS-PLNR  
     'They’ve quite finished eating [everything there was].'

(156) ca·so ca·dæk-ma-do.  
     eat-too eat-exhaust-INF-of_course  
     'Of course he’ll finish his food.'

In spite of this counter-example, in general the first verb in the compound seems to be oblivious to its wider context. Rutgers uses the terminology ‘auxiliary’ verb for the vector verb. This choice is understandable once we see that only the vector is conjugated while the main verb merely seems to serve as a semantic content holder for the entire construction, a morphologically inert complement.

However, the auxiliary verb construction in Yamphu now contains a host of constructions that are formally distinct in other languages. Not only motionalisers are analysed as compound verb, but also category-changing constructions such as the reflexive, causative and benefactive, aspectual constructions such as result and Aktionsart auxiliaries and imperfective auxiliaries, as well as and modal constructions, e.g. inceptive and potentiality auxiliaries.

Kulung

Formally, Kulung mostly patterns with its close kin Bantawa. Tolsma first writes that main verbs can be represented by simple roots only (157a). However, paradigmatically exactly parallel forms with dama ‘downward movement’ as in example (372) from (Tolsma 1999), and kʰaima ‘to go’ have full main verb forms, e.g. (157b).

(157) Kulung compound verbs

a. khap-bok-a  
   weep-INC-PT  
   'He started to cry' (Tolsma 1999: ex. 306)

b. yuː duː:a kʰat-a  
   millet.paste cook-PT go-PT  
   'The millet paste has become cooked.' (Tolsma 1999: ex. 385)

Example (157a) contains a modal complex verb, with a subordinated main verb, whereas example (157b) patterns with regular Kiranti compound verbs. For Kulung, Tolsma (1999: 76) reports an interesting relation between finite first and second verb

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*Rutgers (personal communication, 2007) confirmed that there are some examples of main verb stem selection that are not transparent, at least synchronically. Since these cases are very few, Rutgers considered them exceptions did not attempt to exhaustively list or analyse them.
forms. For all first person forms, we find past tense agreement morphology on the main verb, irrespective of the tense we find on the vector verb, e.g. (158)\(^{10}\).

Similar to what happens in Bantawa and Dumi, suffixes that come after the first few slots only appear on the vector verb, but are cut away from the main verb. Tolsma specifically mentions the exclusive marker <-ka>, but by browsing his examples, we find that second and third person plural morphemes <-ni> and <-ci> are also cut, e.g. (159). Longer morphemes are reduced.

(158) cups-u lat-o:
    load-1s → 3P.PT PER-1s.NPT
'I'll load it.' (Tolsma 1999: Ex.361)

(159) dil-o: po-ci-te
    roll-1s.NPT BNF-d-IMP
'roll it for me!' (Tolsma 1999: Ex.367)

In Kulung, compound verbs consist of two or more finite verbs of equal structure, except that the first must be in non-past tense without prefixation\(^{11}\).

**Discussion of compound verb morphology**

Theoretically, there is a range of possibilities for how compound verbs are realised. At the one end of the range, all full verb forms are retained and there is no fusion of the two verbal forms into a single word. On the other extreme, one would expect that only the bare root of the main verb is retained in the surface form. Of the languages considered here, Limbu is left-most, but still does have some reduction. In Thulung, only roots are retained, but roots still bear traces of affix affixation. For Wāmbule it has been reported that only bare roots remain of the main verb. Kulung and Bantawa share the same degree of reduction.

![Diagram of compound verb morphology]

If we understand the surfacing of compound verbs as a process, the rules would be as stated below.

(160) generation sequence for compound verbs

\[^{10}\text{We may speculate that the systematic preterite forms for the main verb in Kulung reflects something about the way these compound verbs are grammaticalised. Perhaps the reading of the complex is: 'after the main verb happened, the second event happens, reflected in a non-past form, or happened which reflects in past tense vector verb'. If the vector verb is the deictic centre with regard to tense, then the main verb is always preterite.}

\[^{11}\text{A generation rule for Kulung compound verbs would look similar to that of Bantawa, e.g. (503). The rule needs a slight adaptation in functional terms, but the idea remains the same, e.g. below.}

k. \(\alpha^V \text{a tense,}\beta\text{agreement} \rightarrow \alpha^V_{NPT}\text{tense,}\beta\text{agreement} \quad \alpha^V\text{a tense,}\beta\text{agreement}\)
D. Compound verbs across Kiranti

a. Limbu
- generate full forms
- drop all suffixes beyond the first on the main verb
- fuse, unless there is a prefix on the vector verb

b. Bantawa
- generate full forms
- drop all suffixes on the main verb except the first
- drop all prefixes on the vector verb
- fuse, unless there is a plural suffix on the main verb

c. Thulung
- generate full forms
- drop all suffixes on vector verb
- fuse

D.3 Kiranti compound verbs: function

In the section on the different types of vector verbs found in Bantawa (§7.2.4), we annotated the Bantawa classes of vector verbs in footnotes, comparing these aspectuals and motionalisers and other vector verbs to Kiranti cognates.

Vector verb correspondences

By this methodology, we found some non-trivial correspondences in vector verbs. Across South-Eastern Kiranti, for example, we found that cognate verbs of the <yuŋ> 'to sit, to put' family designate some shade of perfectivity or definitiveness. An even more widespread phenomenon is the usage of cognates of Bantawa cama12 'to eat' as a resultative or durative experiential. The most significant family trait, however, is the pervasive usage of all motion verbs that each language has as motionaliser vector verbs in compound verbs.

While some Kiranti languages, such as Wāmbule, have been described as lacking aspectual or coordinating compound verbs, none does without motionalisers. A Kiranti cross-linguistic investigation of what the constituting parts of compound verbs contribute to the meaning of the whole may reveal more generalisations. A research of this kind may also affirm or question proposed genetic relationships in the language family.

Symmetry

As noted previously, compound verbs are generally asymmetrical in Kiranti. Vector verbs have a semantic contribution related to aspect or direction, while the main verb denotes the event as such. The first verb in a compound is selected from an open large class, whereas vector verbs form a closed class.

12cama 'to eat', from a PTB root *dzya (Matisoff 2003: 588).
This picture holds true for Kiranti languages in general. Coordinate or one-off compounds that would be symmetrical are rare across Kiranti. Bantawa has the peculiarity of a single first verb, *lama* ‘to return’, that can be followed by any second verb (§7.2.5). These counterexamples do not change the picture of general asymmetry in compound verbs.

Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 47) note that ‘For asymmetrical SVCs, the basic verbs of motion, direction, posture and location occur most frequently (...) in the minor verb slot.’ Next in frequency, appear ‘other active intransitive verbs.’ On a third level in frequency, stative and process verbs are attested.

This finding is in line with what we see in Kiranti. Also Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 22) note that asymmetrical compound verbs tend to grammaticalise, and second verbs are reinterpreted as verbal suffixes to the head verb, whereas symmetrical compound verbs tend to lexicalise and become idiomatic collocations. This generalisation is illustrated by Belhare. For Belhare, Bickel (1996) describes aspect markers with obvious verbal history as verbal suffixes.
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Samenvatting


Hoofdstuk twee beschrijft de klinkers van het Bantawa. De fonologie van het Bantawa is betrekkelijk eenvoudig, met een regelmatige inventaris van klinkers en medeklinkers. De fonotactische regels van het kernvocabulaire, de werkwoorden, zijn zeer restrictief. In het Bantawa lexicon bestaat een lettergreep uit een beginmedeklinker, een klinker en, mogelijk, een eindmedeklinker uit de verzameling /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ/. Complexes onsets bestaan uit een plosief gevolgd door een van de approximanten /w/ en /j/. Complexes onsets komen niet in het kernlexicon voor en zijn indicatief voor ideofonische adverbiale uitdrukkingen. Door simultane occlusie van de glottis is het onderlinge contrast tussen finale stopconsonanten moeilijk waarneembaar, zelfs voor Bantawa sprekers. De onderliggende medeklinker kan vaak worden afgeleid uit de secundaire articulatorische bijzonderheden van de voorgaande klinker. Aan het woordeinde komt de glottisslag niet voor als eigenstandig foneem. De glottisslag in het Bantawa kan het best begrepen worden als een betekenisonderscheidende lettergreepgrens. Omdat de glottisslag alleen betekenisonderscheidend aanwezig is op morfeemgrenzen binnen het woord, is het zinvol om de glottisslag te beschrijven als een structureel onderscheidend foneem, in tegenstelling tot lexicaal onderscheidende fonemen. In een beperkte context kent het Hatuvāli Bantawa een tonaal contrast. Dit contrast gaat terug op een geëlideerde medeklinker die, zo suggereert de prosodische contour van het uitgesproken woord, wel werd geanticipeerd.

Hoofdstuk drie beschrijft de nominale klassen. In het Bantawa kunnen de hoofdwoordensoorten naamwoord, werkwoord, bijwoord betrekkelijk eenvoudig worden onderscheiden. De naamwoorden en werkwoorden kunnen niet alleen op syntactische en semantische gronden worden onderscheiden, maar kenmerken zich ook door een morfologie die specifiek is voor de woordsoort. Bantawa naamwoorden kunnen worden onderverdeeld in zelfstandige naamwoorden, eigennamen en pronomen. Het Bantawa telt elf pronominalen categorieën, bestaande uit de combinaties van de eerste, tweede en derde persoon en drie getallen, enkelvoud, tweevoud en meervoud. Binnen de niet-enkelvoudige eerste persoon worden inclusieve en exclusieve vormen onderscheiden. Van deze elf categorieën worden er slechts tien onderscheiden in de vorm van pronomen; het onderscheid tussen het tweevoud en meervoud in de derde
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Hoofdstuk vier is een inleiding op de klasse der werkwoorden, en behandelt de stamvorming en finiete morfologie van werkwoorden. Het Bantawa is een SOV-taal, hetgeen betekent dat het onderwerp of de agent van de zin vooraanstaat, gevolgd door het eventuele lijdend voorwerp, waarna het werkwoord volgt. Het verbuigende, strikt werkwoordelijke deel van het Bantawa werkwoord bestaat uit een stam van slechts anderhalve lettergreep, dwz. een enkele stam die bestaat uit een enkele lettergreep, en een variant op deze stam voor de pre-vocale vormen die bestaat uit een lexicale uitbreiding van deze stam met een lettergreep-initiële consonant of beginpositie. De pre-vocale en pre-consonantale stammen voor een enkel werkwoord zijn niet altijd voorspelbaar gerelateerd en moeten daarom samen geleerd worden. Het finiete werkwoord van het Bantawa correspondeert in vorm met zowel de agent als patiënt van de werkwoordelijke situatie. Deze congruentie volgt een gemengd ergatief patroon, maar is niet volledig: slechts 44 van de 75 combinatorische mogelijkheden worden uitgedrukt. Het gemengd ergatieve patroon is complex maar laat zich, op hoofdlijnen, uitdrukken in rangordes tussen personen en participanten. De participantenrol is bijvoorbeeld van belang daarin, dat het persoonsprefix van een finiet overdrachtelijk werkwoord altijd correspondeert met de persoon van de agent van het werkwoord. De correspondenties van de suffixen zijn ingewikkelder. De rangorde van personen onderling is onder meer van belang in de correspondenties van getalssuffixen. Deze rangorde komt er op neer dat de eerste en tweede persoon voorrang hebben op de derde. De ordening van alle uitgangen van het werkwoord wordt beschreven volgens een templaat dat beschrijft dat er slechts één prefixpositie is voor werkwoorden, terwijl er tien suffixposities te vergeven zijn voor finiete uitgangen. De positie van het negatieve prefix <man-> varieert per dialect; de plaatsing van dit prefix ten opzichte van de stam en andere prefixen schijnt...
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afhankelijk van de structurele interpretatie van betreffende werkwoordsvorm. De reflexievere werkwoordsvormen worden gevormd met het duale suffix <-ci>. In werkwoordsvormen die een uitgang op een klinker bevatten wordt ook het reflexievere suffix <-n> ingevoegd.

Naast de indicatieve wijze kent het Bantawa uitgangen die de aanvoegende en bevelende wijs uitdrukken. De irrealis wordt in het Bantawa uitgedrukt door de ondergeschikte zin te markeren met het partikel <de>. Het onderscheid tussen de verleden en toekomstige irrealis wordt uitgedrukt door de werkwoordstijd in de ondergeschikte zin. Opvallend is dat nominalisering van een toekomstige protasis is uitgesloten, hetgeen uitdrukt dat een toekomstige irreële situatie, net als de ontkennin daarvan, geen enkele feitelijkheid heeft.


Hoofdstuk zeven van deze grammatica behandelt in extenso de vorming en betekenis van samengestelde werkwoorden. Samengestelde werkwoorden in het Bantawa zijn betrekkelijk uniek van vorm, omdat twee finiet verbogen werkwoordvormen worden samengesteld. De precieze morfologie van samengestelde werkwoorden,
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De voegwoorden worden aangehecht aan het werkwoord, waardoor de aldus gemarkende zin een structureel ondergeschikte rol vervult met betrekking tot de daarop volgende zin. Deze zinskoppelingen vervullen de rol van voegwoorden in het Nederlands en drukken volgorde, causaliteit, conditionaliteit en dergelijke verbanden uit. De correlatieve constructie drukt middels gepaarde vragende en definitie pronomina uit welk verband bestaat tussen twee gekoppelde zinnen.

Het partikel <ni> verandert de evidentiële status van een propositie, namelijk zodanig dat deze wordt gekwalificeerd als 'van horen zeggen'.

Het partikel kʰa, ook behandeld in hoofdstuk 8, kent een groot aantal functies. Een aantal hiervan kan op één noemer worden gebracht door dit woord te analyseren als een 'indefiniet pronomens'. De functies van de vorm kʰa als nominaal en werkwoordelijk suffix kunnen worden begrepen als locatief en, misschien daarvan afgeleid, purposief. Deze functies kunnen in verband gebracht worden met mogelijke verwanten van dit woord in andere talen zoals het Lepcha.

Naast het beschrijvende gedeelte bevat deze grammatica ook een aantal appendices. In de eerste appendix zijn teksten opgenomen. Deze teksten zijn voorzien van morfeemglossen en een vrije vertaling per zin. De teksten omvatten een aantal narratieve, beschrijvende teksten, een lied en een recept.

De tweede appendix bevat volledige verbuigingstabellen voor een aantal intransitieve, reflexieve en transitieve werkwoorden, en tabellen voor een samengesteld reflexief en een samengesteld transitief werkwoord.

De derde appendix bevat een woordenlijst van het Bantawa. De nadruk in deze woordenlijst ligt op de werkwoorden, waarvan er meer dan 700 aanwezig zijn, en oorspronkelijke Bantawa nomina.

Curriculum vitae