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Marius Doornenbal

A Grammar of Bantawa

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

This dissertation provides a comprehensive overview of the grammar of Bantawa, a Kiranti (Rai) language spoken in Eastern Nepal. Bantawa is an SOV language featuring rich verbal morphology. In Bantawa we find both ergative and accusative alignment patterns in verbal affix agreement, and an ergative / absolutive pattern of case marking. The grammar treats the syntax of all major syntactical constructions, including the highly productive verb compounding process, embedding of converbial and finite clauses, nominalisations and evidentiality. The semantics of nominalisations and the aspectual nuances of verbal compounds are discussed in detail. An annotated text corpus, comprehensive paradigm tables and a glossary complete the grammar.

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A grammar of Bantawa

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

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Preface

From 2000 to 2006, I lived in Nepal. During those years, I became acquainted with some Bantawa Rai (Nepali *Rāī*) 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 Rāī took me with him to his homeland in Sindrāñ, 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 Kośī 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, GZB, 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.

()	optional elements	3A	third person agent (147)
(N)	Nepali, of Nepali origin	3AM	third person agent, marked form (147)
*	ungrammatical	3P	third person patient (136, 155)
.	syllable boundary	3pl	third person plural (147)
/	in the context of	A	agent
//	phonological representation	ABCD	applicative, benefactive, causative, directive
??	questionable utterance	ABL	ablative (89)
[.]	syllable boundary (as a feature)	ABS	absolutive (73)
[]	phonetic representation	ACR	across (104)
[+-feature]	(phonological) feature	ALL	allative (90, 104)
Σ	stem	also	(310)
~	related to	AntP	anti-passive (225)
<	derives from	AP	active participle
<>	morpheme representation	A _P	patient agreement
1	first person	APf	active participle feminine ending
12plA	first or second person plural agent (157)	APm	active participle masculine ending
12plSP	first or second person plural subject or patient (136, 157)	APpl	active participle plural ending
1e, e	first person exclusive	APpref	active participle prefix
1i, i	first person inclusive	A _S	subject agreement
1ns2	morpheme expressing first person non-singular and second person (155)	ATTN	attention (315)
1s	first person singular (155)	ATTR	attributive (104)
1sNP	(155)	BEN	benefactive
2AS	second person agent or subject (147)	C C _i C _f C _e	consonant (initial, final, extra)
2P	second person patient (155)	CAUS	causative (238)
2pl	second person plural (157)		

- COM comitative (91)
 COMe comitative form in e- (91)
 COMl locative comitative (91)
 COMP comparative (89)
 COMs comitative form in s- (91)
 COND conditional (320)
 CONT continuative (268)
 d dual
 DAT dative (76)
 DOUBT particle expressing
 uncertainty (313)
 DU dual (157)
 DUP dual patient (157, 173)
 e exclusive (155)
 EMPH emphatic (309)
 EQ equative
 ERG ergative (73, 89)
 GEN genitive (73)
 IM imperative
 INF infinitive (189)
 INFL inflection, flection markers
 intr intransitive(ly)
 IP 1st person inclusive plural
 LATTR attributive locative (104,
 110)
 like (301)
 LIKE 'like', similarity suffix (301)
 LOC locative (73, 83, 320)
 LOC.high, LOC.level, LOC.low (73, 83)
 LOCAT (104, 110)
 make.do (242)
 MAN manner (299, 320, 327)
 MIR mirative (314)
 N negative
 NAR narrative (330)
 NEG negative
 NEGn negative-n suffix (161)
 NEGPTp past tense negative prefix
 (163)
 NEGPTs past tense negative suffix
 (163)
 NEGtop negative topic switch (311)
 NOM nominaliser (78, 195)
 NP noun phrase
 NPT non-past tense
 NPC negative past converb (194)
 ns non-singular
 OPT optative (179)
 OR.what (315)
 p plural
 P positive, affirmative
 P patient
 PERF perfect
 perhaps (313)
 pfx prefixal slot
 PL plural (71)
 PNOM purposive nominaliser (187)
 PP passive participle (186)
 PRN pronominal suffix (101)
 PROG progressive (268)
 PT past tense (136)
 PTB Proto-Tibeto-Burman
 qhum human qualifier (113)
 qthing inanimate object qualifier
 (113)
 REF referential marker (301)
 REFL reflexive marker (173)
 REFLc (173)
 s singular
 S subject
 SEQ sequential (320)
 sfx suffixal slot
 SIM simultaneous converb (191)
 SIMp phrasal simultaneous
 marker (320)
 SUP supine (190)
 swTOP switch topic (308)
 TOP topicaliser (307)
 V vowel
 V1 first verb in a compound,
 serial verb construction
 (main verb)
 V2 second verb in a compound,
 serial verb construction
 (vector verb)
 vf finite verb
 vi intransitive verb
 VIA vialative (89)
 VOC vocative (73)
 VOCp vocative prefix (73)
 vt transitive verb

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^PI , 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. $\langle k^ho \rangle$, 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 Saṃvat*, 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 14th of April. *Vikram Saṃvat* 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 Kāṭhmāṇḍū, but Dhankuṭā and Choṭīḍāḍā.

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

Table 1: Devanāgarī Transliteration scheme

consonants					vowels								
क	k	ख	kh	ग	g	घ	gh	ङ	ṅ	अ	a	आ	ā
च	c	छ	ch	ज	j	झ	jh	ञ	ñ	इ	i	ई	ī
ट	ṭ	ठ	ṭh	ड	ḍ	ढ	ḍh	ण	ṇ	ऋ	r̄		
त	t	थ	th	द	d	ध	dh	न	n	ए	e	ऐ	ai
प	p	फ	ph	ब	b	भ	bh	म	m	ओ	o	औ	au
य	y	र	r	ल	l	व	v			ः	ḥ		
श	ś	ष	ṣ	स	s	ह	h						

‘Nepali’ is the name used to refer to the national language of Nepal, also known by the names *Khas* or *Parvatī*. The word *Nepālī* 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.

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

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. Bāntāvā (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 Hatuvā area, in Bhojpur district in eastern Nepal. More specifically, I focused on the language as it is spoken in Sindrāñ, an area in the southeast corner of Bhojpur. This area is the centre of Hatuvā, and the language is known as Hatuvālī. Hatuvā is arguably the centre of the Bantawa speaking area. An alternative title for this grammar could have been *A Grammar of Hatuvālī*.

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.

Mitra Rāī¹ introduced me to his language and family and aroused my interest in his language and culture. In Dharān, I was taught by Kṛṣṇa Bahādur Rāī² and Bhuvan Rāī³, who were very fast and effective language teachers. Kṛṣṇa is from the Bāsikhōrā area in Hatuvā, while Bhuvan hails from Āmcok. In Pokharā, I spent many hours with Viśvahān Rāī⁴. He is one of those rare Bantawa residents of Pokharā 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



Additional questions were answered by Rudra Rāī⁵, Ravin ‘Robin’ Rāī and Śyam Rasaili⁶, Prakāś Rāī⁷ and Thām Jīt Rāī⁸.

The narratives were told by Kājīmān Rāī⁹, 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 *Buñvākhā* in Devanāgarī script. This invaluable periodical is a real treasure trove of linguistic, anthropological and sociocultural

¹from Choṭīdāḍā, Sindrān, Bhojpur (educated up to SLC, School leaving certificate, 38 yrs.)

²from Bāsikhōrā, Bhojpur (Ed. IA, 29 yrs.)

³Prem Kumār ‘Bhuvan’ Rāī, from Devāntār, Bhojpur (24 yrs.)

⁴from Yañmākhā Ṭole, Sindrān (class 10, 31 yrs.), married to Vidyā Māyā Rāī, from Monten village. Trekking business: <http://www.rai.com.np>.

⁵from Ākhisallā, Dhankuṭā (32 yrs.)

⁶from Pāncā, Bhojpur.

⁷from Choṭīdāḍā, Sindrān (educated up to SLC, School leaving certificate, 23yrs)

⁸from Lākpurān, Homtān (educated up to SLC, School leaving certificate+2, 28 yrs.)

⁹from Choṭīdāḍā, 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 Rāī 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 Népal* (Hodgson 1857). Then, more than a century of silence followed. Since the 1980s, the major contributions have come from mother tongue speakers, Bāntāvā and Rai. Ḍik Bāntāvā published a grammar (V.S. 2055) and a dictionary (2001), both in Nepali. Prof. Dr. Noval Kiśor Rāī 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 Rāī (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 Ḍik Bāntāvā'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.

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

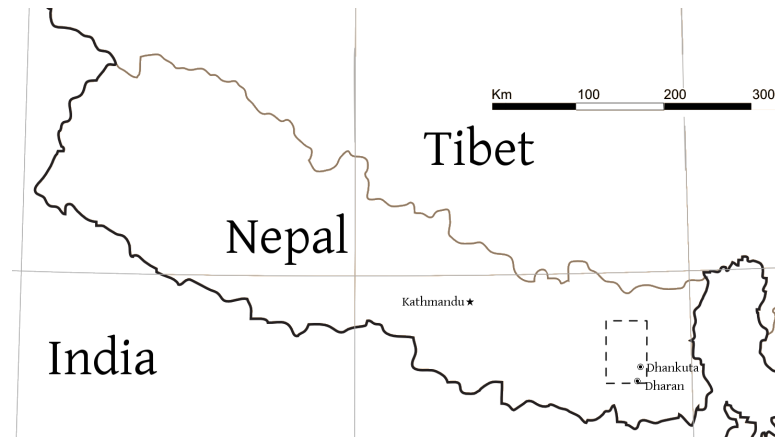
In this section, we discuss the historical, geographical and linguistic situation of the Bantawa language, i.e. where the language is spoken and what languages and people surround the Bantawa speakers.

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.

Figure 1.2: Overview map of Nepal



Overview map of Nepal
(Bantawa speaking area marked)

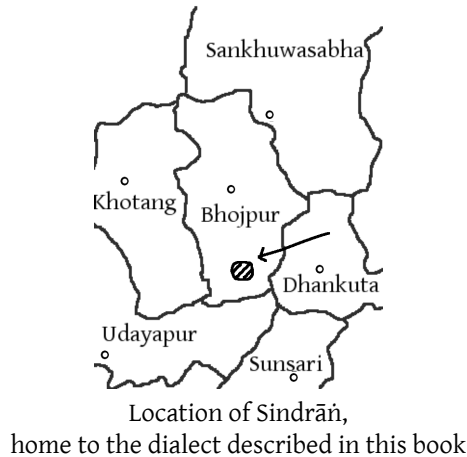
The chief Bantawa speaking areas are in the districts of Bhojpur, Dhankuṭā, Sunsarī, Udayapur and Khoṭāñ, all of which are in the Eastern Region.

The geographical centre of these five districts is Bhojpur. Bhojpur is the perceived heartland of the Bantawa people, cf. Hanson (1991: 6: ‘the recent main area’) and Epele *et al.* (2003). The Bantawa language is also spoken further east, in Morañ, Tehrathum, Pācṭhar and Ilām, and even beyond the border in India, i.e. Sikkim, and Bhutan, cf. Rai (1985: 15) and Epele *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 (Epele *et al.* 2003:

Figure 1.3: Location of Bhojpur district and Sindrāñ village



26), 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 Sindrāñ, 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 yij*. The term *kirawa* no doubt has some relationship with the Nepali word *kirātī* 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*¹⁰.

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 ‘Rāī’, as this word is of Nepali origin. Other groups recently started to shed the epithet *Rāī*, e.g. the Bahing people. In any case, currently most Bantawa people are known by the name *Rāī* 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, Chhingtáng and Wáling 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 *bantāvā*. In Devanāgarī script, the ‘a’ designates the ‘implicit’ vowel, short a, that is realised as [ɔ] or [ʌ]. As one walks down from Bhojpur to Dharān, this pronunciation is heard more often. The northern form [bantawa] is gradually replaced by the southern form [bantawa] or even [bantawa]. For his grammar (V.S. 2055), Bāntāvā chose the orthography *Bāntavā*, 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 *Chintāne Bāntāvā*. The etymology of the word *Bāntāvā* 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. Hatuvāgaḍhī, just above Sindrān’s central town Ghoḍeṭār, was the fortress of the last king of Hatuvā. Hatuvāgaḍhī is a heritage site that has lain in ruins for over a century. The ruins of Hatuvāgaḍhī were further destroyed by the Royal Nepalese Army. The Royal Nepalese Army set up their base in this safer spot after their base in Ghoḍeṭār was overrun by Maoist rebels. Hatuvā is found in many historical records and is mentioned amongst other Kiranti kingdoms, e.g. Vijayapur-Morañ and Cauḍāḍī, that fought against the *Śahī* 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 Pṛthvi Nārayaṇ Śāha. After Pṛthvi Nārayaṇ 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

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, Āmcok 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 Bāsikhorā, Rānībās, Homtāñ, Devāñṭār, Pātlepāñī, Khairāñ and Sindrāñ.

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 Khoṭāñ lies the Āmcok area, that lends its name to the Āmcok dialect. To the north, the Dilpālī dialect is spoken, which is the basis for the description by Bāntāvā (V.S. 2055). Towards the east lies the Dhankuṭā 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 Dhankuṭā 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 Dhankuṭā, 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 Rāī, 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 Magaric¹² and Newaric¹³ 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 Bodic¹⁴ branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family.

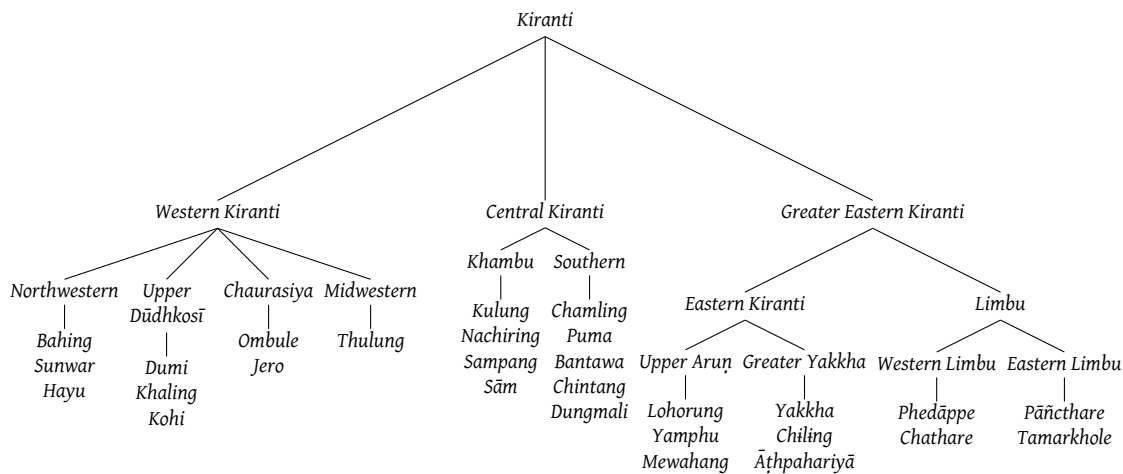
The position of Bantawa within the Kiranti language group There are some 30-odd different Kiranti languages, and several subgroupings have been proposed. Michailovsky (1994) established a major divide between Western Kiranti, comprising

¹²Kham, Magar and Chepong, (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’.

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



of Hayu, Bahing, Sunwar, 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^{15,16}, that these languages do

¹⁵The 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*, *namniṅ 'last year' vs. Limbu *metliṅ*, 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, transitive 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 haŋhon-ʔo ten-da ik-c^ha k^hokpa mina
 once NAR one-qual country-GEN village-LOC one-qhum old man man
 yuw-a-ŋ-a ni
 be-PT-PROG-PT NAR

paralleled 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).

‘Once, in a village in some country, there was an old man, it is told.’ [Om]

- (3) *hiŋ-yaŋ-sa yuŋ-yaŋ-sa mi-k^har-a-ŋ-a-hida ik-len mo k^hokpa*
 live-PROG-SIM sit-PROG-SIM 3pl-go-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp one-day that old.man
sarima-ʔa d^hir-u-ki im-k^ha-da-ŋa ims-a-ʔo; ims-a-lis-a
 disease-ERG find-3P-SEQ sleep-PNOM-LOC-EMPH sleep-PT-NOM sleep-PT-become-PT
ni
 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 <-hida> ‘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: *araŋ ni iktet haŋhonʔo tenda* ‘Once, in a village in some country...’ (2) or *hiŋyaŋsa yuŋyaŋsa mi^karaŋahida* ‘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 prenominal 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 haŋhon* one-qual country ‘one country’ or *ik-c^ha k^hokpa* 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), *hiŋyaŋsa yuŋyaŋsa mi^haraŋa* ‘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: *mi^haraŋa-hida ... sarima-?a^hiru-ki ... ims-a-?o* ‘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

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

manner		labial		alveolar		retroflex		palatal		velar		pharyngeal glottal
		-voice	+voice	-voice	+voice	-voice	+voice	-voice	+voice	-voice	+voice	(?)
stop	-asp	p	b	t	d	(ʈ)	(ɖ)			k	g	(ʔ)
	+asp	p ^h	[b ^h]	t ^h	[d ^h]	(ʈ ^h)	(ɖ ^h)			k ^h	[g ^h]	
affricate	-asp			ts	dz							
	+asp			ts ^h	dz ^h							
nasal			m		n					ŋ		
fricative				s								h
glide	-asp		w						j			
	+asp		(w ^h)						(j ^h)			
liquid trill/flap					l							
					r							

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. [b^h], [d] vs. [d^h], [g] vs. [g^h] and [dz] vs. [dz^h], 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. /b^h/, /d^h/, /dz^h/ and /g^h/ 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 Sindrāñ is taken as a yardstick. In Sindrāñ, 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 found¹.

p ~ p^h ~ b

potma	‘grope’ v	puŋma	‘begin’ v
p ^h otma	‘accuse’ v	p ^h uŋma	‘run away, send off’ v
p ^h opma	‘catch’ v	buŋma	‘sow’ v
popma	‘be unholy, defile’ v	p ^h iŋma	‘crack’ v
bopma	‘cover’ v	biŋma	‘blast’ v
pitma	‘put together’ v	p ^h anma	‘change’ v
p ^h itma	‘poison, shoot’ v	banma	‘come level’ v
patma	‘cry out, shout’ v	penma	‘order, fly’ v
batma	‘bloom, bring, reach’ v	p ^h enma	‘untie’ v
putma	‘boil over’ v		
p ^h utma	‘break’ v		

t ~ t^h ~ d ~ d^h

tama	‘come far’ v , ‘copper (N)’ n	tomma	‘support’ v
t ^h ama	‘split’ v	t ^h omma	‘dance, make dance’ v
dama	‘finalise’ v	domma	‘be senseless’ v
d ^h ama	‘fall down, go down’ v	tupma	‘understand, meet’ v
t ^h atma	‘be sufficient’ v	dupma	‘earn’ v
d ^h atma	‘hit’ v	duŋma	‘drink’ v
teŋma	‘make blunt’ v	d ^h uŋma	‘thresh, bump’ v
t ^h eŋma	‘push away with hand’ v	tukma	‘be ill, strike’ v
deŋma	‘weave’ v	t ^h ukma	‘spit at someone’ v
tipma	‘drain off’ v	dukma	‘flood’ v
dipma	‘cover’ v		
t ^h inma	‘pounce, wake up’ v		
dinma	‘lay eggs’ v		

¹In the lists of minimal pairs, the part of speech is given for each word by the following abbreviations: **v** verb, **n** noun, **adj** adjective and **adv** adverb.

ts ~ ts^h ~ dz

tsikma	'economise, dye' v	tsinma	'end, teach, finish' v
ts ^h ikma	'pinch' v	ts ^h inma	'wrap around' v
tsama	'eat' v	ts ^h aŋma	'stack up' v
ts ^h ama	'get a child' v , 'cook' v	dzaŋma	'construct on the ground' v , reach height' v
tsekma	'chop up, arrange marriage' v	tsoŋma	'please' v
ts ^h ekma	'block, lock in' v	ts ^h oŋma	'deliver' v
tsumma	'shrink, clean up, remove' v	dzonma	'reach height' v
ts ^h umma	'sink, tie up' v		

k ~ k^h ~ g

kikma	'hold' v	kuma	'heat' v
k ^h ikma	'be bitter' v	k ^h uma	'chew' v
ken	'large drum' n	kakma	'jump over, occupy' v
k ^h en	'wound' n	gakma	'make a hut' v
katma	'feel' v	k ^h aŋma	'look' v
k ^h atma	'go, take away' v	gaŋma	'make a hut' v
kepma	'sting' v	k ^h oŋma	'freeze' v
k ^h epma	'stick' v	goŋma	'stretch' v
kima	'be long' v	k ^h oma	'scrape' v
k ^h ima	'quarrel' v	goma	'belch' v
kopma	'surround' v	koŋma	'level' v
k ^h opma	'close, cut firewood' v	goŋma	'stretch' v

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

naŋ	'hail' n	anco	'our ^{di} ' pro
maŋ	'godhead' n	amco	'your ^d ' pro
nopma	'touch' v	canma	'feed' v
mopma	'lose sense' v	camma	'sharpen' v

ma	‘mother’ n	lam	‘way’ n
ɲa	‘fish’ n	laɲ	‘leg’ n
bama	‘weave’ v	ɲaɲma	‘rock’ v
baɲa	‘uncle’ n	ɲanma	‘snap’ v
c ^h una	‘aunt’ n	bamɲa	‘eel’ n
c ^h uma	‘be greasy’ v , ‘ <i>Shorea robusta</i> ’ n	bamna	‘Brahmin’ (Bāhun) n
moɲma	‘deceive’ v	ɲamma	‘stick in’ v
ɲomma	‘taste oily’ v	namma	‘smell, reek’ v
ɲoɲma	‘flounder’ v	k ^h eɲ	‘measurement basket’ n
		k ^h en	‘wound’ n

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.

wama	‘dry’ v	b ^h uwa	‘owl’ n
jama	‘tickle’ v	buja	‘previously’ adv
witma	‘collect’ v	dawa	‘water jug’ n
jitma	‘bring down’ v	kaja	‘rice plant’ n
winma	‘to grind’ v	dowa	‘officiant’ n
jinpa	‘downwards’ adv	soja	‘basket’ n

r ~ l

riɲma	‘spread the word’ v	ronma	‘pierce’ v
liɲma	‘hook up’ v	lonma	‘go outside’ v , ‘take outside, take out’ v
raɲ	‘plant’ n	ruɲma	‘shake’ v
laɲ	‘leg’ n	luɲma	‘liver’ n
rekma	‘rip’ v	hara	‘plough’ n
lekma	‘lick’ v	hala	‘red’ adj
rima	‘spread, scatter’ v		
lima	‘happen, become’ v		

s ~ t ~ ts ~ ts^h

saŋ	‘who’ <i>pro</i>	sakma	‘weed’ <i>v</i> , ‘breath’ <i>n</i>
taŋ	‘head’ <i>n</i>	cakma	‘bathe’ <i>v</i>
c ^h aŋ	‘also’ <i>part</i>	sutma	‘hide’ <i>v</i>
senma	‘ask’ <i>v</i>	cutma	‘tease’ <i>v</i>
tenma	‘uproot’ <i>v</i>	c ^h utma	‘send’ <i>v</i>
cenma	‘splice’ <i>v</i>	maksa	‘bear’ <i>n</i>
c ^h enma	‘select’ <i>v</i> , ‘urinate’ <i>v</i>	makc ^h a	‘son-in-law’ <i>n</i>
siŋ	‘wood’ <i>n</i>		
tiŋ	‘thorn’ <i>n</i>		
ciŋ	‘exit’ <i>n</i>		

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 /g^h/ and /dz^h/ from his Bantawa phoneme inventory, which suggests that the opposition is not old. For /b^h/ and /d^h/, Michailovsky simply lists two variants for some examples (1994: 772), without further elaboration. I maintain that /d^h/, /b^h/ and /g^h/ are real phonemes, for which enough contrasts can be demonstrated. For /dz^h/, 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 /dz^h/. This phonemic distinction is very real to the speakers.

b ~ b^h

At first sight, the phonemic status of /b^h/ 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. [b^hak] (Sindrāñ, author’s field notes)
 - b. [bak] (Rabi dialect, NK Rai)

- (5) crab
 a. [k^heβak] (Sindrāñ, author's field notes)
 b. [k^hebak] (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) biŋma 'blast'
 b^hiŋma 'blast', also: b^hiŋk^hawa vs. biŋk^hawa 'gun'
- (7) bekma 'fold'
 b^hekma 'fold'

However, for most other forms there generally is agreement on the proper form. There are some nouns showing the contrast /b/ vs. /b^h/. 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 b^hela 'gathering' vs. bela 'time, occasion'.

- (8) b ~ b^h minimal pairs
- a. batma 'bloom', 'bring', 'reach'
 b^hatma 'fetch water'
- b. bak 'flat, leaf'
 b^hak 'pig'

While there is a word initial contrast, /b^h/ 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 [k^heβak] '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 intervocalically.

d ~ d^h

The contrast between /d/ and /d^h/ is more frequent and well-established than that between /b/ and /b^h/. 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'
 d^hanma 'bring down'
- (10) dima 'make fall'
 d^hima 'lay'

²In fact, the one example of intervocalic /b^h/ from Rai *et al.* (1985), which represents the Rabi dialect, is yo-b^hi 'chin'. This entry in Rai *et al.* (1985) contains a footnote reading 'Koku: yo-bi'.

- (11)

din	‘egg’
d ^h in	’egg’

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 intervocalically. The phonemes /d/ or /d^h/ 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 /pād^hu ~ pād^u/ ‘dove’ (< *pərewa (N), parevā) the aspiration is truly uncertain. The form /badd^he ~ badde/ ‘many’ (< *bəd^hi (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 ~ dz^h/ below. Underlyingly, we must posit /badd^he/.

dz ~ dz^h

Voiced alveodental affricates are rare in Bantawa. Either [dz] or [dz^h] 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 ~ b^h opposition apply with more force to the opposition dz ~ dz^h.

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

- (12) Verbs with dz ~ dz^h
- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| a. dzaŋma | ‘construct on the ground’, ‘reach height’ |
| b. dzanma | ‘pile up’ (related to (a)?) |
| c. dzoŋma / d ^h oŋma | ‘reach height, be tall’ |
| d. d ^h onma | ‘make tall’ (derived from (c)?) |
| e. d ^h omma | ‘surround’ |
| f. d ^h umma | ‘gather’ |

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

- (13) Non-verbs with dz ~ dz^h
- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| a. dz ^h arak | ‘all’ |
| b. badzijonma | ‘cricket’ |

c.	ondzɔŋlo / undz ^h ɔŋlok	'much, many' (< <i>dzɔŋma</i>)
d.	gɔŋdzɔruŋ	'begonia'
e.	dz ^h idz ^h ema	' <i>Mussaenda macrophylla</i> flower' (Nepali <i>dhobinī</i>)
f.	dzəjgəla	'kind of flower'

Of these words, *dz^harak* is the most prominent and frequent. The low frequency of /dz/ and /dz^h/ does not mean that they are foreign³.

If we leave the flower names aside, the concept of size, mostly big, and the consonants /dz/ and /dz^h/ 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 /dz^harak/ and /dz^hɔŋma/ 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 [dz^h], the proficient speakers of this language have fixed intuitions about which one to choose for some words. The contrast between [dz] and [dz^h] is marginal, but phonemic.

g ~ g^h

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

- (14) gɔŋma ~ g^hɔŋma
 a. gɔŋma 'stretch'
 b. g^hɔŋma⁴ 'fuck'
- (15) gɔksu ~ g^hɔksu 'caterpillar'
- (16) gɔma ~ g^hɔma '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) gɔŋgɔŋluŋ 'very deep'
 g^hum '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

³*dz^harak* has possible cognates in at least Limbu: *sɔrək*, and Chamling: *j^harak*. Ebert (1997a) remarks that '*j^harak*' in Chamling is the only word she found with this onset. The verbs that indicate 'to be of size', *dzɔŋma*, *dz^hɔŋma*, *dz^hɔnma* also have apparent cognates in Limbu: *cəŋjən*, *cəŋjəj*: height, elevation. Bantawa *dzanma* may have a cognate in the Limbu verb *camma* (*cənd-*) '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. /g^h/ 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 ~ og^hi '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. saŋ-g^hen (NK Rai)
 b. saŋ-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. som.ʔa '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 ~ g^h/ 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 ~ g^h/ 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 Bāntāvā (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) $k \rightarrow ? / _ w$
- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|---------|
| a. /tsakwa/ | [tʂaʔwa] | ‘water’ |
| b. /akwa/ | [aʔwa] | ‘oil’ |
| c. /kint ^h okwa/ | [kint ^h ʔwa] | ‘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 <jan> 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 <*jan> ‘to be’, that does not occur independently, cf. example (22).

- (22) forms deriving from /jan/, with /ʔ/
- | | | |
|-------------|----------|--|
| a. /jakjan/ | [jaʔjan] | ‘it is’ (<jak-jan ‘be-PROG’) |
| b. /maan/ | [maʔan] | ‘it was not’
(<*man-jak-jan ‘NEGNpp-be-PROG’) |

In fact, the last form (22b) is an example where [ʔ] occurs intervocalically 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) $t \rightarrow ?$
- | | | | | |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| a. /pot/ | → [poʔt] | → [poʔʔ] | → [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

<i>Underlying</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Hatuvāli</i>	<i>Rai</i>	<i>Bāntāvā</i>
/utwa/	sugarcane	[utwa]	[uʔa]	[uʔwa]
/cakwa/	water	[cakwa]	[cakwa]	[caʔwa]
/akwa/	oil	[akwa]	[akwa]	[aʔwa]
/cikji/	rat	[cikji] / [ciʔji]	[cük-yü]	
/toŋwat/	basket	[toŋwa] / [toŋwaʔ]		[toŋwa]
/mirik/	tail	[mirik] / [miri]	[mirip] / [miri]	[miri]
/sibit/	bean	[sibit] / [sibi]		

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).

- ‘of the cucumber’ ?o ‘GEN’
- b. [iʔukniŋ]
i-uk-n-iŋ
NEGNPp-peel-NEG-1s
‘I did not peel it’ ukma ‘to peel’
- c. [k^hosaʔa]
k^ho-sa-ʔa
he/she-PRN-ERG
‘by him’ ʔa ‘ERG’
- d. [uʔu]
uʔ-u
peel-3P
‘he peeled it’ u ‘3P’
- e. [ciʔa]
ciʔ-a
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. haŋpo!
*^hhaŋpa-o
king-VOC
‘oh king!’
- b. haŋpaʔo
haŋpa-ʔo

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 Sindrāñ 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

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) > d^hu-
 - *h -da (LOC) > d^ha-

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

/i/	/i/ ⁷	/u/
/e/		/o/
	/a/	

- (29) Vowels
- a. kanma ‘identify’, ‘see’
 - b. kenma ‘keep animals’
 - c. kinma ‘scare’
 - d. kunma ‘choke’
 - e. konma ‘walk’
 - f. kinma ‘button up, sew’

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/
- a. k^həjsi ‘walnut’
 - b. ɬəjgəla ‘kind of flower’
 - c. pusəj ‘uncle’⁸
 - d. pəjri ‘stairs’ (< *b^hərjaŋ (N) ??)

Alternative analyses for this sound sequence must be discounted. To analyse the phoneme /əj/ 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

⁷In previous literature on Bantawa, several notations have been used for the vowel /i/. The vowel /i/ 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 /i/ in her descriptions (1994: 16). By default, and in contrast with the Nepali short /a/, realised as [ə], [ɔ] or [ʌ], the vowel /i/ is realised as a [+high] vowel. Later, in the section on allophony, we shall see that the vowel /i/ can be realised as any vowel in the central region.

⁸father’s younger sister’s husband

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)].

- (31) I frontness (or ‘acuteness’ or ‘sharpness’ or ‘palatality’)
 A lowness (or ‘compactness’ or ‘sonority’)
 U roundness (or ‘gravity’ or ‘flatness’ or ‘labiality’)

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 (§2.5.2) and Nepali loans (§2.4.2).

Table 2.4: Vowel feature definitions

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

Vowel length

As opposed to the neighbouring Kiranti languages Limbu (van Driem 1987), Kulung (Tolsma 1999) and Wāmbule (Ongenort 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. §2.3.2.

/e/ vs. /a/

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

(32)	/e/-form	/a/-form	gloss	notes
	/tet/	/tat/	-qual	iktat, iktet ‘one’
	/c ^h e/	/c ^h a/	-also	wac ^h in c ^h aŋ ‘beer also’ iŋ-biwa-c ^h e ‘my brother too’
	/ŋe/	/ŋa/	EMPH	emphatic marker
	/anken/	/ankan/	we ^{incl,pl}	also ‘ankenka’ (excl,pl)

For the alternations in (32), I have not been able to find patterns of phonological conditioning. The differences may be dialectal, 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) $C_1 (C_2) V (C_f)$

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. *CVC.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 <jaŋ> (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. k^ha.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

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 (C_o). This class includes the fricatives /s/ and /h/. Second strongest consonants are the nasals (C_n), followed by the liquids (C_l) and finally the approximants (C_a). Only the approximants can occur in the C_2 position, after obstruents.

(36) Consonant classes

C_o obstruents	/p/ /p ^h / /b/ /b ^h /, /t/ /t ^h / /d/ /d ^h /, /k/ /k ^h / /g/, /ts/ /ts ^h / /dz/, /s/ /h/
C_n nasals	/m/ /n/ /ŋ/
C_l liquids	/l/ /r/
C_a approximants	/w/ /j/

(37) consonant clusters

- a. sjau-sjau 'chirp-chirp' [DB]
- b. p^hjal-p^hjal 'flap-flap' [DB]
- c. c^hjamc^hjam 'with one stroke'

The examples are onomatopœic 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 C_a can occur in C_2 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/, /dz^h/ and /g^h/, 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. wik
 ‘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).

- e. jokma
 'to feel pain'
- f. jítma
 'to bring down'

Examples of /w/ before non-low back vowels /o/ and /u/ are impossible to find. Bāntāvā (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 Hatuvālī dialect however, there are no such examples. Instead, in all of the examples that Rai and Bantawa list, we found [ʔo] in the Hatuvālī 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 /jítma/ 'bring down', /jikma/ 'to mount (a horse)' and /jima/ 'come down' are all identified as Dilpālī dialect by Hatuvālī speakers. In the Hatuvālī, the canonical forms all have /i/ or /u/ where Dilpālī forms have /i/. The Hatuvālī dialect, apparently, has phonotactical constraints that are different from those of the Dilpālī 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 Wāmbule, Ongenort (2002: 60) posits a vowel length contrast for all vowels excepting the /e/ and /o/. Both in Wāmbule and in Bantawa, the /wa/ and /ja/ sequences can occur after the regular set of syllable onsets¹¹. 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

¹¹The regular onset inventory of Wāmbule includes complex onsets of the format C₁C₁, i.e. an initial consonant plus a liquid, e.g. /gl/ and /pr/, so that onsets as /glw/ and /prw/ are equally acceptable. In this respect, Wāmbule, 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
[mō]
'that'
 - b. mo-ko
that-REF
[mōkō]
'that one' (specifically)
 - c. m-wa-kko
that-LIKE-REF
[mōakō]
'one like that'

On the basis of this apparent alternation between /o/ and /wa/, we could jump to the conclusion that /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 /o/, [ō] is the preferred or even allowed realisation. For example, to pronounce *mokma* 'to hit' as [mōakmā] 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 /Cja/ onset are in the 'paralexemic' class, as proposed by Rai and Winter. The discussion of /ja/ in post-initial context can be brief. I know of no examples of morphophonological alternation between /e/ and /ja/. Also, for /j/ in C₂ position, the phoneme /a/ is not the only vowel that can follow. In locative expressions, both /hja-/ and /hju-/ function as base roots. Apparently, /CjV/ is simply a legal sequence in Bantawa, and nothing stops us from analysing the /j/ in those sequences as a C₂.

In terms of the vowel system, analysing /wa/ as short /o/ and /ja/ as short /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 /w/ occupies the C₂ position, then the phoneme /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, /wā/ and /jā/ are regular alternative perceptions and pronunciations of short /ɔ/ and /æ/. In transcribed English loans, one finds *ṭyāksi* /tjaksi/ for 'taxi', and I have even seen *pvāṭs* /pwaṭs/ for 'pots'.

The phoneme sequences /Cw/ and /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
- | | |
|-------|-------------|
| C_f | /p/ /t/ /k/ |
| | /m/ /n/ /ŋ/ |

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 /i/ in this context.

- (43) backing of high vowels before velars
 $i \rightarrow i / _ [+velar]$

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

- (44) kima 'to fear'
 a. || kima 'to fear' (Limbu)
 b. kitma 'to scare'
- (45) jima 'to descend'
 a. || jitma 'to bring down' (Dilpali)

There are many such correspondences of /i/ 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 *kima* ~ *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. [hɛnk^ham:a] /hen.k^ham.ma/ 'world'
 < *hen 'stay', *k^ham 'place', *ma 'big'
 b. [kad^hup:a] /ka.d^hup.pa/ 'blacksmith'
 < *APP-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. [het:s^hawa] /het.ts^ha.wa/ 'orphan'
 < *het (|| hen 'remain, be left behind'), *c^ha 'child', *wa 'male'

The important thing to note is that while the Nepali orthography would prescribe हेच्छावा *hecchāvā* 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-FEM¹² 'termite'
 - b. sud-da
< ? *sitə together (N) - *da 'locative'
'together with'
 - c. mad-diŋ
man-yiŋ
NEGPTp-be
'it's not there!'
 - d. k^his-sa
*deer-animal¹³ 'deer'
 - e. hissa (Bāntāvā 2001)
'frustration'

The first examples show voice assimilation on the first consonant ($p \rightarrow b, t \rightarrow d$). For (48a) my informant insisted that writing the phonemic form represented second was best, because the compounded structure of the word is perfectly transparent. However, for (48b) and (48c) the etymology is not readily accessible and writing /dd/ makes sense. Most voicing assimilations however, are like the *hetc^hawa* example above and have a transparent 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 /s/-initial suffixes.

- (49) [cakwa b^hassi k^hatma]
- cakwa b^hat-si k^hat-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 [b^hatsi]. In conclusion, in

¹²Feminine suffix, cf. §3.1.4.

¹³The 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 transparently 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. /p^hanta/ ‘young man’
 - d. /loŋga/ ‘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^s-GEN
‘your’
 - b. an-ko
our^{msi}-GEN
‘our’
 - c. am-ŋappa
your^s-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 Bantawa¹⁴.

- (52) The Bantawa syllable¹⁵
- a. C V
 - b. C_o C_a V

¹⁴V is the set of vowels, including the diphthong. All of the sets C, C_o, C_a and C_f have been defined before (36).

- c. C V C_f
- d. C_o C_a 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 onomatopœic 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 C₂), 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 C₂ 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 C₂ * 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] /tarak^huk/ 'a clan name'
 - b. [liϕu] /lip^hu/ 'sting (e.g. of a bee)'
 /p^h/ may be realised as [ϕ] anyway, cf.
 - c. [ϕintsiri] /p^hintsiri/ 'mushroom'

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

- (54) voiced fricatives as allophones for stops
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| a. | [saluβi] | /salubi/ | 'salubi root' |
| b. | [k ^h εβak] | /k ^h eb ^h ak/ | 'crab' |
| c. | [oyi] | /og ^h i/ | '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) $\eta \rightarrow \eta \begin{matrix} /n_ \\ /_ [i] \end{matrix}$
- | | | | |
|----|---------|---------|-----------------------------|
| a. | [munŋa] | /munŋa/ | 'that much, that much only' |
| b. | [ɲɛn] | /ɲɛn/ | '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/ → [e:] / _ [#]
 /e/ → [ɛ]
- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| a. | [lɛmlɛm:a] | /lɛmlɛmma/ | 'yeti' |
| b. | [dɛki:] | /dɛki/ | 'why' |
| c. | [b ^h e:] | /b ^h e/ | 'arrow, spear' |
- (58) /o/ → [o:] / _ [#]
 /o/ → [ɔ]
- | | | | |
|----|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| a. | [t ^h aklo:] | /t ^h aklo/ | 'stairs' |
| b. | [do:] | /do/ | 'mouth' |
| c. | [kɔmbi] | /kombi/ | 'grass knife' |

- (59) /i/ → [i:] / _ [#]
 /i/ → [i]
- | | | | |
|----|---------|-------|--------------|
| a. | [pi̯t̪] | /pit/ | ‘cow’ |
| b. | [ni:] | /ni/ | ‘it is said’ |

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

- (60) vowel realisation in open and closed syllables
 /V/ → [V:] / _ [#]
 /V/ → [+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 /ɨ/ 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. | [k ^{hw} o̯nki:] | /k ^h onki/ | ‘and then’ |
| b. | [ko̯nma] | /konma/ | ‘to walk’ |
| c. | [k ^h a̯t̪] | /k ^h at/ | ‘he goes’ |
| d. | [sa̯ŋk ^ɨ ɛn] | /sa̯ŋken/ | ‘star’ |

2.3.3 Allophony of the central vowel

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

There are some regular patterns of variation in realisation of the central vowel /i/. 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 /i/ as a vowel: <ti-> (2AS), <mi> (3PL), etc.

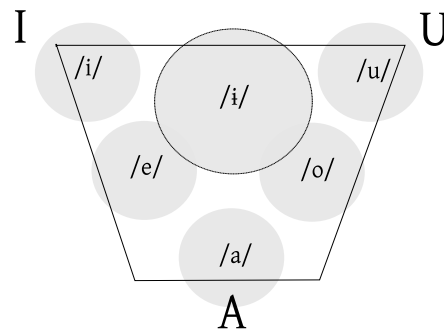
The quality of this vowel by and large correlates with the quality of the vowel of the following syllable, the verb root, in the following way:

- (62) /i/ → [ə] / _ C[+back]
 a. [mə̯mu] /m̩mu/ ‘they do’
- (63) /i/ → [ə] / _ C[+low]
 a. [ju̯ŋ mə̯lɑ̯t̪] /j̩ŋ milat/ ‘they pray’
- (64) /i/ → [u] / _ C[+velar]
 a. [is̩inu̯ŋnu̯ŋ] /is̩inn̩ŋn̩ŋ/ ‘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 /i/ coincide with another phonemic vowel. In other words, the allophony of /i/ 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 /i/ 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 /i/ 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.

Figure 2.1: Vowel Distribution



When we leave out the Nepali loans that have retained the short *a* from Nepali, most often realised as /ə/ or /ʌ/, the vowel /i/ never overlaps with the realisation of any other vowel present in Bantawa language. However, when the loans from Nepali are added to the picture, some contrasts with native vocabulary may become very subtle. My language informants were aware of the problematic vowel contrasts and pointed out the difficulties as in example (65).

- (65) Vowels that are different in one dialect, but the same in another
- a. [həŋsa] /hiŋsa/ ‘while living’ (Bantawa)
 - b. [hʌŋsa] /həŋsa/ ‘a creature, a spirit’ (< Nepali *haṅsā*)

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

As noted, the allophonic variability of the /i/ vowel demonstrates that the realisation of a phoneme not only depends of 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 /j/, a syllable-final consonant /n/ is pronounced as a nasalised alveolar approximant or semi-vowel. It is odd to put /s/ and /j/ together, but I surmise that /s/ and /j/ form a natural class of alveolar non-stop consonants. Before the alveodental stops /t/, /t^h/, /d/ and /d^h/, the change of /n/ is optional, but before /s/ and /j/ it is obligatory.

- (66) /n/ reduction
 [+nasal+anterior] → [-consonantal] / _ [+consonantal,+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. [maṯsetdo] | </mansetdo/ | ‘do not kill’ |
| b. [maṯjuṅdo] | </manjuṅdo/ | ‘do not place it’ |
| c. [weṯsi] | </wensi/ | ‘raspberry’ |
| d. [koṯsi] | </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

¹⁶There 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 *k^honki* ‘and then’ forms such as *k^hoinki* 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 /i/ 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 2.5: Nepali Coronals

	[-voice-asp][+voice-asp][+voice-asp][+voice+asp][+voice+nas][fric]				
alveodental	t̪ त	t̪ʰ थ	d̪ द	d̪ʰ ध	ɳ न (s)
retroflex, palatal	ɟ ट	ɟʰ ठ	ɟ̠ ड	ɟ̠ʰ ढ	ɳ̠ ण (ʃ)

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 area¹⁷, 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)	tara			
	a. tara	< Nep. <i>tār</i>	[ṭar]	‘wire’
	b. tara	< Nep. <i>tārā</i>	[ṭara]	‘star’
	c. tara	< Nep. <i>ṭār</i>	[ṭar]	‘level ground’
	d. tara	< <i>tatma</i>	[ṭara]	‘to bring’ (intr. conjugated)

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 /ṭ/, 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 /ṭ/ for Bantawa /t/, while Rai, from the east, simply posits a /t/ vs. /ṭ/ opposition in his phonology, and continues to assign the native Bantawa /t/ to the /ṭ/ slot. While he lists a few minimal pairs with regard to place of articulation (Rai 1985: 24-26), he does not offer /t/ vs. /ṭ/ 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 /ṭ/
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 /ṭ/ 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/ [ṭ] will not be marked, the retroflex /ṭ/ [ṭ] 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 /t/ 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 /त थ द ध न/ 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/ [əj] and /au/ [əu] are found. The Devanāgarī script used for Nepali permits writing length contrasts for /ū/ and /ī/ 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 [ə], [ɔ] or [ʌ], depending on context and individual choice. In Nepali transliterations, I shall write ‘a’, but in Bantawa words I shall write ‘ə’, even when ‘ɔ’ 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 /ə/ 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 /ā/, and /i/ and /ai/. Examples: *pakāunu* ‘to cook, transitive’ vs. *pāknu* ‘to cook, intransitive’, *rājnitī* ‘politics’ vs. *rājnitik* ‘political’.

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

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

contrasts for the obvious oppositions, he does not give examples of the less obvious vowel contrast /A/ vs. /ü/, in our notation: /ɔ/ 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 /ɔ/ 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 → i / _ [+velar]
- a. i as []
[I] → [] / _ [+velar]
- b. i as [I, U]
[I] → [I, U] / _ [+velar]

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

(70) /i/ ~ /ɔ/

- a. tiri 'you can'
- b. tɔrɔ 'but' (N)
- c. hiŋsa 'living'
- d. hɔŋsa 'spirit' (N)

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

	u	i	ü (i) ¹⁹	A (ɔ) ²⁰	a	o	e
high	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
mid	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
low	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
front	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
round	+	-	-	-	-	+	-

It is an orthographic challenge to represent this opposition in the Devanāgarī alphabet. In some dialects, viz. Bāsikhorā and Āmcok, 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 /i/ is phonemically equal to the Nepali short /a/ elsewhere, the /i/ before velars is audibly different [u] from the same phoneme in other contexts.

This leads to different intuitions regarding this phoneme's status and distributions. One finds spellings of /i/ [u] as an ऌ, i.e. u with low dot, e.g. in Bāntāvā (2001). In the monthly magazine *Bungwakha* (Rāī 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 community²¹.

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. | ak ^h ira | < ākhir [ak ^h ir] | 'last' |
| b. | k ^h ola | < khol [k ^h ol] | 'cover' |
| c. | dzuwapa | < javāph [dzowap ^h] | 'answer' |
| d. | lek ^h a | < lekh [lek ^h] | '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. | g ^h um | < ghum [g ^h um] | 'leaf umbrella' |
| b. | ɖet ^h ana | < jeṭhān [ɖet ^h an] | '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* (Rāī 2004) increasingly adopts the spelling अ. Some individual authors still prefer ऌ before velars.

- (73) g^hasa < ghās [g^hās] ‘grass’
 (74) natri < nāthrī [nat^hri] ‘nose-bone’

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

- (75) /a/ → /ɔ/
 a. sarasa < sārās [sarəs] ‘saras crane’
 b. lapsi < lapsī [lɔpsi] ‘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 [r] /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 *śimbaḥ*. 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) k^hapma
 a. k^hàpma
 'to cry'
 b. k^hápma
 'to thatch'
- (78) k^hokma
 a. k^hókma
 'to chop off'
 b. k^hòkma
 '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 (´). 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-sa-ʔa
 this-PRN-ERG
 'by this'
 b. o-so-ʔo
 this-PRN-GEN
 'of this'

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 *k^ho* ‘that’

- a. *k^hun-nuc^haŋ-ŋa*
that-even.though-EMPH
‘nevertheless...’
- b. *k^hun-ki-na* (*k^honkina*)
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 *k^ho* above are found in Sindrān only. There is some variation between speakers. In written Bantawa, e.g. (Rāi 2004), as well as in careful speech, the form *k^hun* is avoided. While the forms (80) and (81) are found in writing, Bāntāvā (2001) lists *ohjutni* 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 /c^h/, /j^h/ 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, [dz^h] is a very marginal phoneme as opposed to [dz], but I shall represent the opposition throughout. Similarly, I shall write either /b/ or /b^h/ intervocally, according to what my informants or I deemed best on the basis of known etymology or other intuitions.

Table 2.7: Consonant Inventory

<i>manner</i>		<i>labial</i>		<i>alveolar</i>		<i>palatal</i>		<i>velar</i>		<i>pharyngeal</i>
		-voice	+voice	-voice	+voice	-voice	+voice	-voice	+voice	
stop	-asp	p	b	t	d	c	j	k	g	
	+asp	p ^h	b ^h	t ^h	d ^h	c ^h	j ^h	k ^h	g ^h	
nasal			m		n				ŋ	
fricative				s						h
glide			w				y			
liquid					l					
trill					r					

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*

pronouns	first person pronouns	
	second person pronouns	
	third person pronouns	} - Third person nominals
nouns		
proper nouns (names)		

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^him* means ‘house’. In context, *k^him* may denote an individual house or a cardboard box, but as a free noun *k^him* 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^han-nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo,
 Paruhang-GEN-TOP his-skill (N) this.size COMPL-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
 i-pok detni kat-Ø-yaŋ-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 prith^hvi narayan saha-ʔa pūrva-ya kirāti haŋhon-ci
 before before NAR Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-ERG east-LOC.lev Kiranti kingdom-PL
 c^hin-yaŋ-sa tu-ʔa.
 push-PROG-SIM meet-PT
 ‘Before, long ago, it is said, Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha met the Kiranti kingdoms in conquest,’
 b. k^ho gəri prith^hvi narayan saha-ci-ʔa, i-sena-ci-ʔa, mo-ya
 that time Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-PL-ERG his/her-soldier-PL-ERG that-LOC.lev
 kirāti-ci badd^he mi-ser-u-ci ni.
 Kiranti-PL much 3pl-kill-3P-DU NAR
 ‘At that time, those of Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha, his soldiers, killed many Kirantis there, it is said.’ [R1]

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

c^hoŋwa-ci mi-han-yaŋ.
bird-PL 3pl-talk-PROG

‘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

j^harak-sa-ʔa k^hana nəu nəu siŋgə yak-yaŋ-ʔo k^hana rāga ni-pi.
all-PRN-ERG you nine (N) nine (N) horn be-PROG-NOM you buffalo 2P-give

‘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

<i>(determiner)</i>	<i>(modifiers)</i>	<i>(prefix-)</i>	<i>head</i>	<i>-(number)</i>	<i>-(case)</i>
pronominal adjective	quantifier	nominalised phrase	possessive- noun	-PL	...
			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-yaŋ-sa k^har-a-ŋ-a -heda ik-tet ten-da-ʔo
 ask-PROG-SIM go-PT-PROG-PT while one-qual village-LOC-GEN
 i-d^huwa-ʔo-da ta-∅-la-∅-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 $|x| \in Dom(N)$ and $|y| \in Dom(N)$, then $|f(x)|$ is a function from $Dom(N)$ 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-kusi
leg-finger
‘toe’
 - b. mik-miwa
eye-hair
‘eyebrow’
 - c. d^heŋ-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

- ‘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. *nihayhon* ‘foreign country’ and *nic^ha* ‘younger sibling’ (lit. other child), but does not appear independently with this meaning. *Ni* is an apparent cognate of Limbu *ni-* ‘two’ and Kulong *nitci* ‘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. | ɲen | ‘fight’ |
| | ɲe-ma | ‘to fight’ |
| b. | c ^h up | ‘handful’ |
| | c ^h up-ma | ‘to take a handful’ |
| c. | din | ‘egg’ |
| | din-ma | ‘to lay eggs’ |
| d. | b ^h op | ‘round, round object’ |
| | b ^h op-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-c ^h in | |
| | 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-c^hin: local beer is made in a process involving filtering. The full verb form relating to this is wa-c^hinma, 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.

- (95) am-d^hej-yiwa ot-na
 your^s-back-bone break-2P
 ‘I shall break your backbone’
- (96) am-k^him-hajma-ʔo i-nij di k^ha?
 your^s-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 $|x| \in Dom(N)$ and $|y| \in Dom(N)$, then $|f(x)|$ is a function from $Dom(N)$ 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-kuwa-ci-sudda b^hela mi-lis-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. laŋ-c^huk
 leg-hand
 ‘extremities’

- b. i-laŋ-i-c^huk k^hint-a-k^har-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 k^har-a-ci
 my-father-mother-PL go-PT-DU
 ‘my father and mother went’
- b. iŋ-pa-iŋ-ma-ci k^har-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. चिया-सिया *ciyā-siyā* ‘tea and all that’, कागज-सागज *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-स्थिती *ritī-sthiti* ‘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’.

³The 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. t^hapsiŋ-hili
tradition-*tradition
'traditions'
- b. o anko t^hapsiŋ-hili-da-ŋka lont-a-k^har-a
this our^{pi} tradition-*tradition-LOC-ABL come.out-PT-go-PT
'he left our traditions'
- c. an-t^hapsiŋ-an-hili
our^{pi}-tradition-our^{pi}-*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 *c^ha* 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. *yag^haŋ-ma*
'spider'
 - c. *poŋ-ma*
'cuckoo'
- (106) concepts apparently associated with femininity
- a. *henk^ham-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' PK **pã* (Starostin 1998-2003)

- b. *poŋpi-pa*
'buffalo bull'
- c. *saŋwa*
'buffalo'
- d. *but: (l) saŋwa-pa*
'buffalo-bull'
- e. *saŋwa-ma*
'buffalo-cow'

(108) The *-wa* ending

- a. *sun-wa*
'bee'
- b. *kuti-wa*
'dog'
- c. *saken-wa*
'Sakenwa'⁶

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, *c^ha* means 'child'⁷. This suffix is also used as a numeral classifier, cf. §3.6. The root *c^ha*, 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. | <i>bek^ha</i> | <i>bek^ha-c^ha</i> |
| | 'bag' | 'little bag' |
| b. | <i>yawa</i> | <i>yawa-c^ha</i> |
| | 'friend' | 'little friend' |
| c. | <i>upk^ha</i> | <i>upk^ha-c^ha</i> |
| | 'torch' | 'little torch' |

These forms contrast with words where *-c^ha* serves as an ordinary compound member, e.g. *goŋdok^ha* 'bull calf', or as a kind of category marker for nouns, e.g. *duwac^ha* 'boy' or *mec^hac^ha* '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)

Nouns in -mi: human

Many nouns referring to humans end in *-mi*⁸, but the morpheme as such does not appear in the meaning of ‘man, person’ or the like.

- (110) nouns in -mi
- a. k^haru-mi
wisdom-^{*}human
‘farmer’
 - b. taya-mi
head-^{*}human
‘leader, student’
 - c. c^hek-mi
imprison-^{*}human
‘prisoner’

This suffix is also found in words to which some degree of animacy is apparently ascribed, viz. *kuhupmi* ‘big storm’, *sakommi* ‘soul’. The general ‘human’ suffix <-mi> must not be confused with the morpheme <sup>*me ~ ^{*}mi >⁹. This specifically female suffix is sporadically found in fixed compounds, e.g. *mec^hac^ha* ‘girl’ and *nammi*, ‘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. c^hokwa-si
orange-fruit
‘orange’
 - b. naŋ-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.

- a. muk-wa
 'partridge'
 - b. bera-wa
 'parrot'
 - c. c^hoŋ-wa
 'bird'
 - d. wa
 'chicken'
- (113) wa 'water'¹¹
- a. nak^hi-wa
 'snot' (na- 'nose' (?), k^hi 'dirt', -wa 'liquid')
 - b. mik-wa
 'tear'
 - c. cak-wa
 'water'
 - d. wa
 'rain'
- (114) sa 'big animal, mammal'¹²
- a. k^his-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 *te:ʔphuŋ* 'garments,

¹¹'water'

¹²'flesh'

PK *wa

PTB *sya-n

(Starostin 1998-2003)

'animal/body/flesh/meat' (Matisoff 2003: 613)

Table 3.1: Types of nominal compounding in Bantawa

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

clothing', for instance, is *ku-de:ʔl-ku-bhuŋ* (van Driem 1987: 27), with the possessive marker *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 *tit-k^han* 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. *laŋcʰuk* 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 *iŋ-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).

- (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-∅
man-PL 3pl-come-PT
'the men came'
 - b. *mina mita
 - c. ??hwatet mina
- (118) Obligatorily marked plural (dual)
- a. pa-ma-ci k^hat-ci-ŋ-ci
father-mother-PL go-DU-PROG-DU
'our parents are going'
 - b. *pa-ma k^hatciŋci

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.

3.2.2 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.

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

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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
a-	VOCP	vocative prefix
-o	VOC	vocative suffix
-da	LOC	locative
-du	LOC.HIGH	locative (high)
-ya	LOC.LEVEL	locative (level)
-yu	LOC.LOW	locative (low)

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 <-∅> 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 <∅> 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-∅ son-∅-yaŋ-∅
water-ABS flow-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘the water is flowing’
- b. o-ko dum-∅ toŋ-a
this-PRN matter-ABS agree-PT
‘it was OK’ (lit. that matter agreed)

(120) transitive sentences

- a. abo iŋka-Ø məlok sumnima-ʔa watni-ŋa mollok kʰan
 now (N) I-ABS part Sumnima-ERG this.manner-EMPH part vcompl
 its-a-ŋ-lo i-kʰa-ŋ rəçʰə.
 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 haŋ-ci-ʔa mo-ko meçʰacʰa-lai nulok kʰanulok
 all king-PL-ERG that-PRN girl-DAT good beautiful
 i-kʰaŋ-a-ŋ-a-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-maya-ʔa.
 chants apply-3P, his/her-child, his/her-love (N)-ERG
 ‘She said the chants, her son’s, out of love.’ [Sm]
- (122) kʰon-ki-na moswa-ʔa dʰwäso-ʔa somt-a-n-ci-n
 then-SEQ-TOP soot-ERG soot (N)-ERG rub-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
 ‘then he rubbed himself with soot’ [Sm]
- (123) əni solonwa-ʔa kʰitt-u, tʰokt-u-dis-u i-do-da-tni jəmmə
 then gourd-ERG worship-3P, pour-3P-insert-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL total
 rept-u.
 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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-lai>	DAT	dative

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) *ɪŋka hyukko k^him-yu-ʔo ɪŋ-yawa-lai hor-u-ŋ-ʔo.*
 I lower house-LOC.low-GEN my-friend-DAT open-3P-1s-NOM
 ‘I let my friend of the house below go.’
- (125) *mo-ci-ʔa k^hana-lai k^howa ni-mett-a.*
 that-PL-ERG you^s-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 circumstances¹³. 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

¹³Pragmatically, 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.

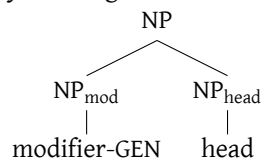
The genitive expresses almost every kind of relationship pertaining between two nouns. In fact, we observe that even in possessive and postposition constructions, the genitive-marked noun is just a modifier to the head noun from a syntactical point of view. The genitive merely signals the dependency 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 genitive¹⁴.

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.



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^he-ka com-ʔo t^hapsiŋ 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 relation 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. mec^hac^ha-ci-ʔo watmasi
girl-PL-GEN ornament
'ornaments of girls'
- d. duwac^ha-ʔo k^him-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 *duwac^ha-ʔo i-k^him* 'boy-GEN his/her-house' and *duwac^ha-ʔo k^him* '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

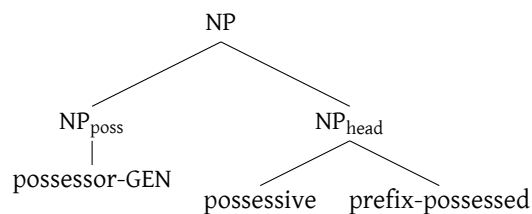
- a. mec^hac^ha-ci cilok k^him-da-ʔo kaci mi-mu
girl-PL often house-LOC-NOM work 3pl-do
'Girls often do the house work.' [Gr]
- b. mægər raja k^har-a-ki ik-tet purwa-ya-ʔo kirawa raja (...)
Magar king (N) go-PT-SEQ one-qual east (N)-LOC.level-GEN Kiranti king (N) (...)
mo-ya-ŋka ban-a-kina, ik-tet kirawa.
that-LOC.level-ABL come.level-PT-CAUS one-qual Kiranti
'When the Magar king had gone, at that time one Eastern Kiranti king (...)
(...) came from there, one Kiranti.' [Gr]

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:



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

subset of genitive constructions. The agreement marking by the possessive prefix on the head noun indicates both definiteness and the possessive relation.

(129) Possessive constructions

- a. *mina-ci-ʔo ico niŋa cit-∅-yaŋ-∅*
 man-PL-GEN their^p mind leave-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘the people are displeased’ (lit. the mind of people is leaving)
- b. *čhetkuma-ʔo i-čhenwa-ci*
 girl-GEN his/her-relative-PL
 ‘the relatives of the girl’ (now definite)
- c. *i-ma-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. *sumnima-ʔo i-cik-da i-yukt-a*
 Sumnima-GEN his/her-side-LOC 3AM-put-PT
 ‘They put him at the side of Sumnima’ [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. *k^hokli-ʔo b^hen-da liŋwak^ha č^hoŋ-da pit goŋdok mi-can-∅-yaŋ-∅.*
 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. *buktaŋ k^honki siŋraŋ-b^hen-da mi-yuw-a-ŋ-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 *k^hokli-ʔo b^hen-da* ‘at the foot of the forest’ is a transparent construction. By contrast, the genitive has dropped from the similar construction *siŋraŋ-b^hen-da* ‘at the foot of the trees’ in example (130b). The contrast

between the two examples show the progressive grammaticalisation of *b^hen-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^s-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 deŋ-da c^ha wa-caŋ-ma ni yiŋ-in.
five (N)-CNT day-GEN back-LOC child water-wash-INF NAR say-12plSP
‘after five days, we say, “we must wash the child”’ (lit. to wash the child)
- b. mi-tok-cin-ʔo deŋ-da
3pl-receive-finish-NOM back-LOC
‘after they are born...’

The complement of *deŋda* ‘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 / *(ʔ)ə / *ʔə / *ʔaŋ / *ʔak. 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.

- (133) haŋpo!
 *haŋpa-o
 king-VOC
 ‘oh king!’
- (134) c^hino!
 *c^hina-o
 aunt-VOC
 ‘aunt!’
- (135) nic^ho!
 nic^ha-o
 younger.brother-VOC
 ‘younger brother!’

Names are affixed with an epenthetic, possibly emphatic affix <-e> (EMPH_E) first¹⁶, 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 ([kɛʃaveʔo])
 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) abaŋo!
 a-baŋa-o

¹⁶The <-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.

VOCp-fathers.younger.brother-VOC
'uncle!'

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

- (141) *anic^ho
** 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 categorially 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.

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

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 demoted objects

- a. *ɪŋka-ʔa 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 ɪk-c^ha k^hokpa k^him-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
 mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
 'some are there, some are over there'
- c. *d^ha-ni-ŋka-c^haŋ i-maj^ha-da c^huk-Ø, hyu-ni-ŋka-c^haŋ*
 up-LOCAT-ABL-too his/her-middle-LOC be.down, down-LOCAT-ABL-too
 i-maj^ha-da c^huk-Ø
 his/her-middle-LOC be.down

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

- d. k^hada-ʔo k^hada-ʔo kuncikma-da t^hem-a-ŋ
 where-NOM where-NOM darkness-LOC lose.way-PT-1s
 ‘where, oh where, I lost my way in the darkness’
- e. k^him-koŋ-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-maj^ha-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 d^ha-∅-k^ha-∅
 down-floor-LOC.low descend-NPT-see-NPT
 ‘please, come down to the lower floor!’
- b. iŋka maŋkolen g^horetara-ya k^hat-ma-ki ik-tet gai k^hit-ma
 I tomorrow Ghodeṭār-LOC.level go-INF-SEQ one-qual cow buy-INF
 dot-∅-yaŋ-∅
 must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘Tomorrow I have to go to Ghodeṭār and buy a cow’
- c. yawa-ci iŋ-deŋ-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. yaŋsiŋraŋ cok-du
Schima.wallichii top-LOC.high
 ‘in the top of the *Schima wallichii* tree’
- e. nulok ci-∅-ʔo mina si-∅-ʔo i-d^heŋ paru-du
 well do-NPT-NOM man die-NPT-NOM his/her-back heaven-LOC.high
 k^hat-∅-ki yuŋ-∅
 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

<-ya> is selected in the construction *ij-deŋ-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) *ac^hosa i-bu-yu*
two.days.before his/her-before-LOC.low
‘two days ago’
- (146) *c^ha-yu-ŋka i-d^huwa 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-Ø-ʔo doŋ-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 k^haŋ-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 phrases¹⁸. 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

¹⁸Formatives ‘are different from words in that they cannot govern or be governed by words, cannot require or undergo agreement, and cannot head phrases: formatives are morphological entities, words syntactic’ (Bickel and Nichols 2006: 4). ‘Cases and adpositions differ little in syntactic functions; their primary difference lies in the fact that case markers are formatives (and therefore do not themselves govern cases) while adpositions are words (and, in languages with cases, typically govern cases)’ (Bickel and Nichols 2006: 94).

constructions. 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. *siŋ-ʔo i-b^hen-da*
tree-GEN his/her-foot-LOC
'at the foot of the tree'
 - b. *siŋ-ʔo b^hen-da*
tree-GEN foot-LOC
'at the foot of a tree'
 - c. *siŋ-b^hen-da*
tree-foot-LOC
'at the foot of the/a tree'

- (150) 'inside the house'
- a. *k^him-ʔo i-koŋ-da*
house-GEN his/her-heart-LOC
'inside the house'
 - b. *k^him-koŋ-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 *k^himkoŋ* 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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
-ʔo niki	-GEN for	benefactive, naming beneficiary of the event
-ʔo nimpaŋ	-GEN benefit	benefactive, for the benefit of, alternative
-ʔo lagi	for (N)	<i>idem</i> , of Nepali origin

The benefactive postpositions do not take further locative affixes, while most others require appropriate locative affixation.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
-ʔo b ^h en-da	-GEN foot-LOC	at the foot of, ‘subessive’
-ʔo duŋ-du	-GEN top-LOC	on top of, ‘superessive’
-ʔo d ^h eŋ-da	-GEN back-LOC	at the back of
/ -ʔo deŋda		
-ʔo pəc ^h i	-GEN back (N)	after, of Nepali origin
-ʔo bu-ya	-GEN before-LOC.level	ahead, before
-ʔo hut-da	-GEN hole-LOC	inside, into, ‘illative’
-ʔo t ^h en-da	-GEN bottom-LOC	at the bottom of
-ʔo koŋ-da	-GEN centre-LOC	inessive
-ʔo cik-da	-GEN side-LOC	at the side of
buŋk ^h a-da	outside-LOC	‘outside’
-ʔo com-du	-GEN top-LOC.high	on top of, superlative

- (151) t^hapsiŋ-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) gagityaŋ-ʔo i-t^hen-da
 distillation.vessel-GEN his/her-bottom-LOC
 ‘at the bottom of the distillation vessel’
- (154) b^hiri-ʔo i-com-du k^har-a, k^hon-ki hik ca-Ø.
 hill-GEN his/her-top-LOC.high 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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-ŋka>	ABL	ablative, stacks on locatives, elative
<-lama>	VIA	vialative
<-b ^h anda>	COMP (N)	comparative

- (155) sunk^ham-du-ŋka kalo kuiro yu-Ø-nalo j^həri
 goat.place-LOC.high-ABL black (N) mist (N) come.down-NPT-COND rain (N)
 c^hiŋo-ŋa o o-da ta-Ø.
 fast (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 t^haŋ-ŋo cahi mo-tni, mo-tni-ŋa mokko
 this-LOC.low-ABL t^haŋ-NPT-NOM spec.N that-ALL that-ALL-EMPH such
 luŋb^huŋ-da-ŋka mu-hyu-tni-ŋa la-Ø-k^hat-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 *luŋb^huŋdaŋka* ‘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-ŋo bayu-da-ŋka k^heŋ ba-ma
 bamboo-GEN bamboo.rope-LOC-ABL measurement.basket weave-INF
 ‘to make a basket out of bamboo’

The ablative *-da-ŋ-ka* apparently derives from the suffixation of the instrumental onto the locative with a, perhaps emphatic, nasal wedged in between, viz. <-da-ŋ-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 <-ŋa> is not found elsewhere in the language, but there are ample examples of other vowel-initial suffixes that have <-ŋV ~ -kV > allomorphs. The genitive <-ŋo> has a <-ko> allomorph in e.g. *maŋkolen* ‘tomorrow’, and the exclusive marker regularly alternates between <-ŋa ~ -ka >, cf. §4.5.2.

- 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-ŋka 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 leksaiɖ-da-ŋka
Pṛthvī chowk (N)-VIA come.up-PT-1s-NOM Lakeside-LOC-ABL
'I came via Pṛthvī Chowk, from Lakeside'
- (159) 'to send via someone'
- a. Syam-lama kʰāis-u-ŋ
Śyām-VIA send-3P-1s
'I sent it with Śyām'
- b. Syam-da-ŋka kʰāis-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^s I-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

marker	gloss	function
<-tni>	ALL	allative, stacks on locatives: 'direction towards'

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 maddij i-sam bahira k^hat-Ø-lon-Ø
 like.that not.there his/her-vapour outside (N) go-NPT-DIRup-NPT
 buŋk^ha-ya-tni lon-Ø-k^hat-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 k^hana de-tni-nalo mo-tni ti-yij-Ø-yaŋ-Ø mo-tni
 VOCp-father you^s what-ALL-COND that-ALL 2AS-say-NPT-PROG-NPT that-ALL
 man-yij-da
 NEGPTp-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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
-nin ~ -?enin	COM	base comitative
-?enan ~ -?enen	COME	comitative in -e-: associative case
-sudda	COMS	comitative of Nepali origin.
-?eda	COML	locative comitative

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 Wāmbule <-no> (Opgenort 2002: 157). The comitative <-nin> (COM) is the only form to appear with and without the interfix <-?e>, while the other forms require this specific marker. Even so, I have been unable to discern any functional difference between <-nin> (COM) and <-?enan> (COME).

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

These first three comitatives together differ from the locative comitative <-?eda> (COML), which has a definite locative meaning. The suffix <-?eda> (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 infix <*-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) k^ho-ʔeda ik-tet kitab yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 he/she-COM1 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 *iktet kitab k^hoʔeda 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) k^ho-ʔenan bəjara k^har-a-ci-a
 he/she-COMe market go-PT-DU-e
 ‘I went to the bazaar with him’

- (167) am-pa-ʔenan k^har-a-ci
 your³-father-COM 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) (iŋka) k^ho-ʔenan bəjara k^har-a-ŋ
 (I) he/she-COM market go-PT-1s
 ‘I went to the bazaar with him’
- (169) yawa-ci-ʔenan k^har-a-ŋ.
 friend-PL-COMe go-PT-1s
 ‘I went with friends’

These sentences focus on the first person speaker only and the verb, correspondingly, agrees with the subject *ijka* '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 <-?enan> 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) *paruhaj-nin-?o sumnima harjma-?o burjwa bar-a-hida...*
 Paruhaj-COM-GEN Sumnima queen-GEN flower flower-PT-SIMC...
 'while the flower of Sumnima the queen, who was with Paruhang, flowered...' [Bw]

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 Tabel 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 3.2: Personal Pronouns

<i>person / number</i>	<i>base form</i>	<i>possessive prefix</i>	<i>independent genitive pronoun</i>
1.s	ijka	ij-	ijko
1.d	ankaca / ankaci?a	ancu	anca?o (ancu?o)
1.p	ankanka	ancu	anka?o
i.d	ankaci	an-	ancu?o (anco)
i.p	ankan	an-	anko
2.s	k ^h ana	am-	amko
2.d	k ^h anaci	amcu	amcu?o (amco)
2.p	k ^h ananin	amnu	amnu?o (amno)
3.s	(k ^h o)	i-	iko
3.ns	(k ^h oci)	icu- (ici-)	icu?o

Morphologically the exclusive forms are marked by an exclusive morpheme <-?a ~ -ka> (E). 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 proximity²⁰ 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 *k^ho* ‘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 *k^ho* 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 *k^ho* 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

²⁰The marking for proximity in Bantawa is limited to the contrast between distal, for far objects and persons, and proximal, for near objects and persons.

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 /d^h/.

- (171) NOMloc
 *h -yu (LOC.below) > hyu-
 *h -ya (LOC.level) >hya-
 *h -du (LOC.up) > d^hu-
 *h -da (LOC) > d^ha-

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. *k^hon, 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 3.3: Third person pronouns

slot	form			spatial deictic			
	Invisible	Visible		low	level	up	neutral
		Distal	Proximal				
3.s	k ^h o	mo	o	hyu-	hya-	d ^h u-	d ^h a-
3.ns	k ^h oci	moci	ʔoci				
pre-suffixal forms	k ^h on-	mon-	on-				
	k ^h un-	mun-	un-				

(172) ‘your hand’ (singular and plural)

- a. amko am-c^huk
 your^s your^s-hand
 ‘your^{sg} hand’
- b. *amco am-c^huk
 your^d your^s-hand
 ** ‘your^{du} hand’
- c. amco c^huk
 your^d 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) abə, am-niŋ-da, o wakko pi-nin-y-in.
 now, your^s-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) c^ha c^hetkuma-ʔo i-c^henwa-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, ə raja-ʔo i-c^ha-ʔa dor-u, tə
 one-qual prince-ERG ask-3P, yes, king-GEN his/her-child-FOC ask-3P but
 mo-ko rajkumar-da k^hat-ma-ŋa c^hunt-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 ekdəməj k^har-a-ki k^har-a-ni lo-o
 his/her-father-ERG *very.much* (N) go-PT-SEQ go-PT-QUOT say.PT-NOM
 yu-wa-ŋ-a tərə c^hunt-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 <i-> ‘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 <i-> (HIS/HER) is used, however, the antecedent of the possessive prefix does not seem relevant at all. In these instances, the effect of <i-> is more like that of a definite marker on the noun. Consider the following examples.

(176) ‘something to chisel’

- a. i-^hak-k^ha batt-u-k^h-o.
 his/her-chisel-PNOM bring-3P-see-3P
 ‘get the chisel’
- b. c^hak-k^ha batt-u-k^h-o.
 chisel-PNOM bring-3P-see-3P
 ?? get something to chisel

Example 176b is not considered well-formed. The word *c^hak-k^ha* is too vague and aspecific. This deverbative in <-k^ha> 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-ɲaksi batt-u-k^h-o.
 his/her-banana bring-3P-see-3P
 ‘get his banana’
- b. ɲaksi batt-u-k^h-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 definiteness, 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) siɲraŋ-ci i-pelen mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 tree-PL his/her-line 3pl-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. *maŋkolen i-k^holen*
tomorrow his/her-afternoon
‘tomorrow afternoon’
- (180) evening
- a. *ayi i-nampik*
today his/her-evening
‘tonight’
 - b. *ak^homaŋ i-nampik*
yesterday his/her-evening
‘last night’
- (181) *form* *meaning*
- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>wajɪŋ</i> | morning, early morning |
| <i>k^holen</i> | afternoon, midday |
| <i>nampik</i> | evening, night |
| <i>k^hakut</i> | 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.

Body parts

All body parts are necessarily inalienably possessed. Therefore one only very rarely finds them without a prefix. Bāntāvā lists them in his dictionary (2001) with the third person possessive prefix <-i>. 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. iŋ-yam
my-body
'my body'
 - b. am-taŋ
your^s-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) iŋ-kima kat-Ø.
my-fear feel-NPT
'I am getting afraid.'
- (185) ... i-na-d^haw-a-ki ik-len tawaŋ 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-naŋwa huw-a k^har-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

i-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 unprefixated 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 kəp i-nuŋwa rəçhə
this cup his/her-new MIR
‘this cup appears to be new’

(189) *o kəp nuŋwa rəçhə

The adjective *d^{hi}waŋ* ‘big’ almost never occurs without its prefix. When the possessive prefix is missing, indefiniteness is markedly clear.

(190) i-d^{hi}waŋ hoŋku-da
his/her-big river-LOC
‘in a big river’

(191) icu deŋ-da waŋ-a-ki d^{hi}waŋ p^heŋwa ca-ma lis-a.
their^p 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 k^ha-dar-a lont-a-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 *k^him* ‘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) *ɪŋka kuncikma-da am-k^him ta-ŋ-la-ŋ.*
 I dark-LOC your^s-house come-1s-arrive-1s
 ‘I arrived at your house in the dark.’
- (194) *ɪŋka ɪŋ-p^hekwa c^hor-aŋ-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’ (*ɪŋko*) or ‘yours’ (*amko*) that way, as an instance of reification.

- (195) *ɪŋko he saŋ-ʔo?*
 my or who-GEN
 ‘mine or whose (is it)?’
- (196) *ɪŋko-na maddiŋ*
 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) *ɪŋka-na ɪŋ-pa-ʔa badd^he i-d^hiwaŋ-ko rāga*
 I-TOP my-father-ERG much his/her-big-GEN *buffalo* (N)
i-piw-aŋ-y-aŋ-ʔo t^hiyol
 3AM-give-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-NOM *auxPast* (N)
 ‘My 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)	o	this	'this'
	o-ci	this-PL	'these'
	o-sa-ʔa	this-PRN-ERG	'by this'
	o-so-ʔo	this-PRN-GEN	'of this'
(199)	di	what	'what?'
	di-ci	what-PL	'what things?'
	di-sa-ʔa	what-PRN-ERG	'by what'
	di-so-ʔo	what-PRN-GEN	'of what'

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)	kaŋs-a-ki	mo ɖola-da	i-pa-a-ki	hwa-paŋ-sa-ʔa
	obey-PT-SEQ	her <i>palanquin</i> (N)-LOC	3AM-put.in-PT-SEQ	two-qual-PRN-ERG
	i-kʰuy-a-c-u-kina	i-batt-a-c-u.		
	3AM-carry-PT-DU-3P-SEQ	3AM-bring-PT-DU-3P		
	'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)	o-ko	buŋwa nam-nulo	nam-∅-yaŋ-∅.
	this-REF	flower	smell-good smell-NPT-PROG-NPT
	'this flower smells good'		
(202)	o-ko-tet	kʰa-nulo yak-∅-yaŋ-∅.	
	this-REF-qual	see-good	be-NPT-PROG-NPT
	'this one looks good'		

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. | demka | ‘how many’ |
| d. | demk ^h a | ‘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 <k^ha->. The root <k^ha-> partakes in spatial derivations, as discussed in the next section, resulting in the following forms.

- (204) derived question words from k^ha-
- | | | |
|----|---------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | k ^h ada | ‘where’ |
| b. | k ^h atni | ‘where to, towards where?’ |
| c. | k ^h akko | ‘what sort of, which?’ |

The morpheme <k^ha-> 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

<i>form</i>	<i>meaning</i>
a(t)-c ^h iɲa	before, previously, a few days before
a-k ^h omaɲ	yesterday
a-yi	today, this day
maɲkolen	tomorrow
i-c ^h intuk	the day after tomorrow
i-summak	in three days time, three days from now
i-lummak	in four days' time, four days from now
a-c ^h imbaddoɲ	the year before last year (two years ago)
a-nemniɲ	last year
nammaɲ	next year
c ^h immaɲ	the year after next year
dommaɲ	in three years, three years later
a(t)-t ^h u	before, a bit earlier. earlier, previously today
a-raɲ	once, long ago, before
a-wet	later, later today
a-sen	somewhere before the day before yesterday, a while ago

Table 3.5: Derived (pronominal) locative and manner adverbs

<i>suffix</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>derived</i>		<i>gloss</i>		
-tni	wa-	watni	here, this way	allative, direction		
	o	otni	here			
	mo	motni	there (visible)			
	k ^h o	k ^h otni	there (referential)			
	d ^h u-	d ^h utni	upwards			
	hya-	hyatni	sideways, level			
	d ^h a-	d ^h atni	over there (up)			
	de	detni	why? how?			
	-kko	wa-	wakko		like this	attributive (nominalising)
		hyu	hyukko		lower, the lower...	
hya-		hyakko	over there			
-ni	d ^h a-	d ^h akko	over there (up)	location		
	d ^h a-	d ^h ani	above			
-na	hya-	hyani	across, far	location		
	hyu-	hyuna	over there, level			
	hyu-	hyuna	over there, below	location attributive		
-d ^h et	hya- +u	hyad ^h et, hyaudet	across			
-d ^h era	hya- +u	hyaud ^h era	across			

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) *ɪŋka watni cep-ma mi-ri.*
 me like.ALL talk-INF 3pl-can
 ‘They can speak like me.’

(206) *ɪŋ-ten-da-ʔo mina ɪŋko wakko 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 <-d^het ~-d^hera> (ACR) are obviously derivations of the verb *d^hetma*, 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. *k^hu-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 pronominals 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).

(211)	<u>/-n/-based adverbs / conjunctions</u>			
	Σ-nalo (CAUS) ‘cause’	k ^h on	k ^h onnalo	‘therefore’
		deki	dekinalo	because
		maʔaŋ	maŋnalo	unless
	Σ-ki (SEQ) ‘sequential’	mon	monki	after that
	‘temporal ordering’	k ^h on	k ^h onki	after that
	Σ-ʔosaʔa (REAS)	k ^h on	k ^h onʔosa	therefore

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-sa-ʔa> (REAS) is formed as in (212).

(212)	REAS
	a. -ʔo-sa-ʔa
	NOM-PRN-ERG
	REAS

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 described in §2.5.2 applies.

(213)	mo-ya
	that-LOC.level
	there (level)

(214)	mu-yu
	that-LOC.low
	there (below)

These derivations pattern with regular case marking on nominals.

3.4.9 Stacking of pronominal derivations

Similaritive 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 *mwakko* ‘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 3.6: Similaritive and attributive stacks derived from pronouns

suffix	source	derived	gloss	
-watni	o	owatni	like this	manner, similaritive SIMIL
		hwatni		
		watni		
		otni		
	mo	mwatni	like that	
		motni		
-wakko	k ^h o	k ^h watni	like that	
		k ^h otni		
		hwakko	this kind	‘this kind of’ — attributive LIKE.ATTR
	wakko			
	okko			
	mo	mwakko	that kind	
	mokko			
k ^h o	k ^h wakko	that kind		
	k ^h okko			

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 ^hwatni and ^hwakko.

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

- (215) ATTR vs. REF
- a. Ø-wakko batt-u-k^h-o
 this-LIKE.ATTR bring-3P-see-3P
 ‘bring one like that, please’
 - b. o-ko batt-u-k^h-o
 this-REF bring-3P-see-3P
 ‘bring me that one, please’
 - c. m-wako makacikcik kat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo
 that-LIKE.ATTR black feel-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
 ‘one that is black like that’
 - d. mo-ko mina
 that-REF person
 ‘that person’

Locational stacks

Similar to the <-wa> derivations, the locational adverbs in <-tni> and <-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 3.7: Allative stacks derived from spatial deictics

<i>Allative</i>	<i>neutral</i>	<i>high</i>	<i>level</i>	<i>low</i>
<i>proximal</i>	o-d ^h a-tni	u-d ^h u-tni	o-hya-tni	u-hyu-tni ²¹
<i>distal</i>	mo-d ^h a-tni	mu-d ^h u-tni	mo-hya-tni	mu-hyu-tni
<i>referential</i>	(k ^h o-d ^h a-tni)	(k ^h u-d ^h u-tni)	(k ^h o-hya-tni)	(k ^h u-hyu-tni)

The deictic forms of this set are far more frequent than the strictly referential forms based on *k^ho*. Forms based on *k^ho* are considered imaginary or abstract (Nep. *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 *k^hud^hutni k^hatcine* ‘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

²¹Bāntāvā offers the form *ohyutni* (2001)

direction is signalled by the second element. For example, the form *ud^hutni* must be glossed ‘in this direction, upwards’, i.e. towards the speaker, while *mud^hutni* 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-d^hutni t^haŋ-a!
this-upwards come.up-PT
‘come up towards here!’ (‘come to me’)
 - b. mu-d^hutni t^haŋ-a!
that-upwards come.up-PT
‘come up towards there’ (‘go to Rām!’)
 - c. ram-ʔo-du k^har-a!
Rām-GEN-LOC.high go-PT
‘go to Rām’s place!’
 - d. ram-ʔe-du k^har-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. mud^hutni lonta!
‘go up over there!’ (go up, towards that direction, upwards)
 - b. d^hana lonta!
‘go up over there!’ (go up, towards that direction)
- (218) Rām might say to Prem:
- a. ohyutni yīwa!
‘come down here!’ (towards me)
 - b. muhyutni yīwa!
‘come down over there!’ (towards Śyām)
 - c. syamʔo yutni k^hara!
‘go downwards to where Śyām is!’

Table 3.8: Attributive stacks derived from spatial deictics

Attributive	neutral	high	level	low
<i>proximal</i>	o-d ^h a-kko	u-d ^h u-kko	o-(h)ya-kko	u-yu-kko
<i>distal</i>	mo-d ^h a-kko	mu-d ^h u-kko	mo-(h)ya-kko	mu-yu-kko
<i>referential</i>	k ^h o-d ^h a-kko	k ^h u-d ^h u-kko	k ^h o-(h)ya-kko	k ^h u-yu-kko

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 o ‘this’, *mo* ‘that’ or *k^{ho}* ‘he/she’ with a spatially attributive form. A hill on the same level, but beyond this one, is *hya-kko b^hiri* (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 b^hiri* (this-LOC.level-ATTR hill), *mohyakko b^hiri* (that-LOC.level-ATTR hill), etc.

If speakers cannot be bothered with vertical deixis, which is not unusual, then forms as *mod^hakko* ‘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 adverbial expression indicating essive case at a location higher, yonder or lower.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
-ni	LOCAT	Locative marker, adverbial usage with phrasal scope
-na	LATTR	Locative marker, adverbial usage with modifier scope, ‘attributive’

- (219) *hyana b^hira*
‘the cliff over there’

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

- (220) ablative adverbs
- d^ha-ni-ŋka-c^haŋ i-maj^ha-da c^huk-Ø*,
up-LOCAT-ABL-too his/her-middle-LOC be.downNPT,
‘from up it is (also) in the middle,’
 - hyu-ni-ŋka-c^haŋ i-maj^ha-da c^huk-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
- d^hanaŋka*
‘from there’
 - hyunaŋka*
‘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. *k^himda*
‘in the house’
- b. *k^himdaŋka*
‘out of the house’

(223) LOC+GEN

- a. *k^himda*
‘in the house’
- b. *k^himdaʔo*
‘of the one in the house’ (e.g. of a chicken that just walked into the house)

(224) GEN+LOC

- a. *k^himʔo*
‘of the house’
- b. *k^himʔoda*
‘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 *k^himda* is an adverbial modifier, then affixing another case, e.g. ergative or genitive, will turn *k^himda* into an empty-headed noun phrase. If *k^himʔo* 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) *k^ho-sa-ʔa* *mu-∅*.
he/she-PRN-ERG do-3P
‘he did it’

Those are simple forms with a pronoun, to introduce the pattern.

(226) Stacks

- a. hyu-na-ʔo-sa-ʔa mu-∅
 below-LATTR-GEN-PRN-ERG do-3P
 ‘the man below did it’
- b. d^ha-na-ŋ-ko-sa-ʔa mu
 up-LATTR-EMPH-GEN-PRN-ERG do-3P
 ‘the man up there did it’
- c. hya-na-ʔo-sa-ʔa mu
 level-LATTR-GEN-PRN-ERG do-3P
 ‘the man from over there did it’
- d. hya-kko-sa-ʔa o dum mu-∅-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a
 level-ATTR-PRN-ERG this thing do-3P-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘those over there had been doing this thing’

Any location or attribute is eligible for further stacking and reification. The morphological quirk of these compound pronouns is that they are all subcategorised for insertion of the pronominal marker <-so ~ -sa> (PRN) before the ergative or genitive.

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:
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) nəu-ka-paŋ miŋa
 nine (N)-CNT-qhum man
 ‘nine people’

Table 3.9: Bantawa Numbers

<i>number</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>comments</i>	<i>alternative</i>
ik-	one		
hwa-	two	also: hiwa	
sum-ka-	three		
lek-ka-	four	(but cf. 8)	
c ^h uk-ka-	five	c ^h uk ‘hand’	
sek-ka-	six		
rek-ka-	seven		su-ka- (Bāntāvā 2001)
lek-ka-	eight	?questionable	rek-wa (Bāntāvā 2001)
nu-ka-	nine	(Bāntāvā 2001)	
ina-nam-	ten		

Classifiers

These are the most frequent classifiers.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-tet ~ -tat>	QTHING	Classifier for objects ²² .
<-c ^h a>	QHUM	Classifier for human referents, cognate to c ^h a ‘child’
<-paŋ ~ -waŋ>	QHUM	Classifier for human referents. <-waŋ> is selected after vowels, <-paŋ> occurs elsewhere.

Some classifier is required. If speakers are not particular about classifying in detail, they select <-tet ~ -tat> for non-human nouns, and <-paŋ ~ -waŋ ~ -c^ha> for human nouns. The distribution of <-c^ha> and <-paŋ ~ -waŋ> is complementary. The suffix <-c^ha> is used after *ik* ‘one’ only, for all other numbers <-paŋ ~ -waŋ> is used.

(229) ikc^ha
‘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’

²²Regarding the vowel variation, see §2.1.5. It has been suggested to me that this classifier might originate from Nepali *vaṭā*.

- (233) bak 'flat object'
 a. dem-ka bak cak^huŋ 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) t^hep 'drop'
 a. ik-t^hep cakwa
 one-drop water
 'one drop of water'
- (235) du 'step'
 a. syala-na ik-du hwa-du d^hir-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) d^haŋ 'part'
 a. ikd^haŋ
 '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) k^hepi 'time, turn'
 a. ik-k^hepi
 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 *j^harak* 'all' and *badd^he* '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) j^harak 'all'
 a. j^harak-ka-tet
 all-CNT-qthing

- ‘all things’
 b. j^harak mīna
 ‘all people’
- (242) badd^he ‘many’
 a. badd^he-ka com-ʔo pəs-u-ci
 many-CNT type-GEN *animal* (N)-PL
 ‘many kinds of animals’
 b. badd^he 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: *Udhaulī puḷā* 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 <∅> (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 saŋ ∅ ʔo?
 that-REF who EQ NOM?
 ‘Who is that?’

- (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.

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 rajyə mi-yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.
twenty-two (N) kingdom (N) 3pl-sit-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘There were twenty-two kingdoms’ [Gn]
- (246) əni iŋ-daju je^ha-enan yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci-ŋa.
and (N) my-elder.brother (N) firstborn (N)-COME sit-DU-PROG-DU-e
 ‘I and my oldest brother were together’ [Sm]
- (247) sədhəy-ŋo lagi k^hokli-ya-ŋa k^hana ti-yuŋ.
always (N)-GEN for (N) forest-LOC.level-EMPH you^s 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).

lima Where predication has an aspect of change, the verb *lima* ‘to become’ is preferably used. Consider the following examples.

- (248) k^hana haŋ [Ø]
 you^s 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) maŋkolen haŋ ti-li.
 tomorrow king 2AS-become
 ‘You will be king tomorrow.’
- (250) maŋkolen haŋ ti-li-ŋo 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.

- (251) k^hana haŋ ti-li-ʔo.
 you^s king 2AS-become-NOM
 ‘You are the king, for sure.’
- (252) k^hana haŋ ti-li-yaŋ-ʔo
 you^s king 2AS-become-PROG-NOM
 ‘You are the king, for sure’

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.

- (253) k^hana haŋ ti-li-ʔa
 you^s king 2AS-become-EXCL
 ‘You are the king, for sure.’

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.

c^hukma The verb *c^hukma* ‘to be down, to jump’ is used locatively and in comparative contexts.

- (254) o-ko dem c^huk-Ø?
 this-REF how.much be.down-NPT
 ‘how much is this?’
- (255) d^hakko c^huk-Ø.
 upwards be.down-NPT
 ‘It is up.’
- (256) iŋka bantawa rai c^huk-ŋa.
 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 yiŋ-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.’

- (260) wasiŋ-taŋ-du sikwa-ci mi-yaŋ-a-ʔo
 alder.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, *yakma* is used, e.g. for weight:

- (261) weight
- a. 50 kilo on-ŋa yak-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 50 k.g. this.much-EMPH be-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 *yaŋma* and habitual *yakma* 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 *yaŋma* (regular would have been *manyaŋ*)
- a. maʔaŋ!
 ‘No!’
- (263) negative of *yuŋma* (regular would have been *manyuŋ*)
- a. matdiŋ
 ‘It’s not there!’
- b. matdiŋ-ci
 not.there-PL
 ‘They are not there!’
- c. matdiŋ-yaŋ
 not.there-PROG
 ‘They are not there (currently)!’

The paradigms are defective. *Maʔaŋ* is a single form. For the verb *matdiŋ* 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) *naŋsi-ʔa i-catt-a-ŋ*
 hailstone-ERG 3AM-hit-PT-1s
 'A hailstone hit me.'
- (265) *mikmikmikwa k^haw-a*
 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) *c^hak-∅-yaŋ-∅*.
 be.hard-NPT-PROG-NPT
 'It is hard!'
- (267) *nu-∅!*
 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.

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) *i-naŋwa hu-ma mu-yaŋ-Ø*
 his/her-mind spin-INF do-PROG-NPT
 ‘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) *k^hat-ma dot-Ø*.
 go-INF must-NPT
 ‘One has to go (you must go)’

Ability *Rima* ‘can’ expresses ability in the sense of having the capacity, not in the sense of having the opportunity or permission.

- (270) *cep-ma i-ri-n-iŋ*.
 speak-INF NEGNPp-can-NEGn-1s
 ‘I cannot speak.’

Hurry *Diŋma* ‘hurry’ expresses a hurried manner of action and selects an infinitival complement.

- (271) *bəjara k^hat-ma diŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa*.
 bazaar go-INF hurry-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
 ‘I am hurrying to go to the bazaar.’

Desire The verb *sima* ‘to die’ has undergone a semantic shift to function as a modal verb in the figurative sense of ‘to die for, to wish’.

- (272) *badde cija duŋ-ma ti-si-yaŋ?*
 much tea drink-INF 2AS-die-PROG
 ‘Do you want to drink tea badly?’
- (273) *k^ho sa si-wa*.
 he/she meat die-PT
 ‘He is hungry.’

Collocating with *sa* ‘meat’ the verb *sima* simply means ‘be hungry’.

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 buŋwak^ha-ʔo puk-ma lis-a, sum-ka-don
 this.way think-INF-ERG-EMPH Bunwakha-GEN begin-INF become-PT three-CNT-year
 bu-ya.
 front-LOC.level
 ‘By such a thought the birth of Bungwakha happened, three years ago.’
 [Bw]
- (275) j^harak-s-a p^ha-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* ~ *pujma*, 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’, *p^hujma* ‘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 stems¹. 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. It appears that the s-conjugation and t-conjugation classes, at least historically,

¹In his grammar, Bāntāvā (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 transparent morphological transitivity operation (1987).

Table 4.1: Verbs of movement - by direction and level

<i>direction</i>	<i>up</i>	<i>level</i>	<i>down</i>	<i>neutral</i>
<i>come</i>	t ^h ajma	banma	yima	tama
<i>go</i>	lonma	bitma	d ^h ama	k ^h atma
<i>bring</i> (transitive)	t ^h akma	batma	yitma	tatma
<i>take</i> (transitive)	lonma		d ^h anma	k ^h atma, k ^h anma

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 conventions outlined in the section on abbreviations in this book. Subscripts indicate conjugation type membership, e.g. hin_{3a} is member of conjugation class 3a, thus conjugates as *hilu*, while hin_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. *k^ha-etma* ‘to tell’. However, in finite forms, the complement is split off from the verbal head of the stem and all flectional prefixes affix to the verbal head only: *k^ha miyttuci* ‘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 verb².

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 ŋ
 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 ŋ }

In short, the valid shape of the pre-consonantal stem is that of the Bantawa syllable, except that initial consonant clusters are not allowed.

²Sprigg (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 {Sprigg's (a)} 2) elsewhere {Sprigg'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. §2 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 Ø-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 [ɲ] or even [i], 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.’ (<itma ‘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 *Āmcoke* dialect only, and even so, this is an exception even for *Āmcoke*. 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 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 subgroups³.

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'
<ɲap ~ ɲapt>	e.g. ɲap-ma 'to snatch' vs. ɲapt-u 'he snatched'
<hot ~ hott>	e.g. hot-ma 'to be tired' vs. hott-a 'he was tired'
<kuɲ ~ kuɲt>	e.g. kuɲ-ma 'to bend' vs. kuɲt-a 'it bent'
<d ^h an ~ d ^h ant>	e.g. d ^h an-ma 'to bring down' vs. d ^h ant-u 'he brought it down'
<p ^h om ~ p ^h omt>	e.g. p ^h om-ma 'to get confused' vs. p ^h omt-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: { ɲ n 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.

<oɲ ~ oɲs>	e.g. oɲ-ma 'to give light' vs. oɲs-a 'it gave light'
<k ^h an ~ k ^h ans>	e.g. k ^h an-ma 'to send' vs. k ^h ans-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>.

³This 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 -p₃, -k₃ and -n₃ 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

- (286) hopma ~ homa
- | | | |
|---------------|---------|---------------------------------------|
| a. (wa)hop-ma | ~ hoʔ-a | ‘to get wet’, ‘he got wet’ |
| b. ho-ma | ~ ho-ʔa | ‘to burn (<i>intr</i>)’, ‘it burnt’ |

For these examples the third-person forms are different only by virtue of the consonant position for C_f 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 /i/ may fuse: $c^{hik} > c^{hu}$ (< c^{hi+u} > ‘to pinch’, $hip > hu$ (< $hi+u$ > ‘peel’. Similarly for the verb ‘to chew’, two different verbs, both of the third conjugation, are offered: $k^{hupma} > k^{hu}ʔu$: ‘he chews’ or $k^{huma} > k^{hu}$: ‘he chews’.

To get a full overview of the stem-consonant changes in this conjugation class, we list the stem consonant pairs in Table 4.2.

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’⁶ and < $k^{har} \sim k^{ha}$ > ‘to look’. The verb $k^{har}ma$ ‘to look, see’ is very frequent as a second verb in verb compounds, where it signals politeness. However, $k^{har}ma$ is apparently avoided in the past tense in its literal meaning. Instead forms of $copma$ ‘to see’ are used.

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 $\{n \emptyset\}$. 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 $\{p n k \emptyset\}$. 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 $\{p \emptyset\}$, and /y/ leads to either $\{n \emptyset\}$. 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

⁵Sprigg (1987) lists two verbs that show a <-t ~ -∅> pattern, viz. <lot ~ loy> ‘run’ and <lat ~ lay> ‘take out’. However, in our data these pattern with all other t_3 verbs, i.e. <lot ~ lor> and <lat ~ lar>.

⁶The 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 min_{3b} .

Table 4.2: Overview of consonant alternation in the \emptyset -conjugation
Stem-C = pre-consonantal stem, Stem-V = pre-vocalic stem

<i>Stem consonant pairs</i>			<i>Members and/or comments</i>
<i>Stem-C</i>	<i>Stem-V</i>	<i>Conj</i>	<i>(infinitive ~ third person sg. past)</i>
k	ʔ	3	sokma ~ soʔu 'kick'.
t	r	3	setma ~ seru 'kill'. The change r > t is also found in other languages, e.g. Limbu. We would expect /t/ to pattern with /k/ and /p/, but it does not ⁵ .
p	ʔ	3	There is no need for a sub-class. The epenthetic /w/ is conditioned by the following vowel
	w	3	if this is an /a/, /w/ is inserted. Bāntāvā (V.S. 2055) lists verb alternatives in his grammar using the -a verb ending only, consistently inserting /w/ also for -k ₃ stems.
∅	∅	3a	/∅/ here means 'no syllable boundary'. By consequence, the stem vowels is subject to the coalescence processes such as described in §4.3.6.
	w	3b	These glides are epenthetic unlike the /w/ ~ /y/ that replace /p/ in the \emptyset -conjugation. As the /w/ and /y/ distribute complementarily, conditioned by surrounding vowels, we assign them to one class (3b).
	y		
ŋ	ŋ	3	a stable stem
n	l	3a	Surprisingly, the /n/ class shows very unpredictable behaviour, while other nasals produce stable stems.
	n	3b	The l-forms are most frequent: konma ~ kola 'walk'.
	r	3c	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.
	y	3d	For each of the ʔ-, y- and r- consonant forms there are clues from the derivational relationship with -tt-stems, that they originally were *-t.
	ʔ	3e	However, the derivation history is not transparent from the current forms.
m	m	3	a stable stem

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 conjugational facts do not correspond to derivational rules⁷. 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 conjugational 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 satisfied⁸.

(287) sound change of liquids at syllable-final position

a. $l \rightarrow n / _ [.]$

b. $r \rightarrow t / _ [.]$

(288) deletion of extrasyllabic consonant before syllable boundary

a. $t \rightarrow \emptyset / [+consonantal] _ [.]$

b. $s \rightarrow \emptyset / [+consonantal] _ [.]$

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. *c^hor-u* ~ *c^hon-ma*, *wer-u* ~ *wen-ma*, *c^hir-u*

⁷Some \emptyset verbs from the second conjugation, as well as some \emptyset -verbs and *n*-verbs of the third, are roots for *-t* verbs of the first conjugation. Sprigg (1987: 22) assigns those items to the t_1 -class (*-tt*-transitives) that derive from a \emptyset_3 -class verb to a virtual \emptyset_1 -class. (But, he does not discuss the t_1 -examples that have a derivational relationship to \emptyset_2 - or n_3 - verbs.) There are two drawbacks to this approach. First, now the \emptyset -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

<i>Stem final</i>		<i>stem vowel</i>						<i>Conjugation</i>			Total per pair
-C	-V	a	e	i	o	u	i	1	2	3	
∅	∅	9			2	1	3			15	15
	w					3	3			6	6
	y			2						2	2
	ʔ	1		6	2	3	4			16	16
	s	12	9	8	8	7	12		56		56
p	w	2	2							4	4
	ʔ	6	3	3	7	12	2			33	33
	pt	13	16	9	16	14	7	75			75
t	r	11	9	4	6	2	4			36	36
	tt	19	13	17	13	19	13	94			94
k	ʔ	5	5		12	6	4			32	32
	kt	16	13		20	17	15	81			81
m	m	2	4	2	5	4				17	17
	ms	14	11	4	8	6	2		45		45
	mt	7	6	6	13	10	2	44			44
n	l	2	2	4	5	1	2			16	16
	n	1	4	1						6	6
	y				1	1				2	2
	ʔ		2	3						5	5
	r		1		2		1			4	4
	ns	4	4	2	1	3			14		14
	nt	19	9	10	15	11	9	73			73
ŋ	ŋ	8	3		4	4	6			25	25
	ŋs	12	11		10	15	9		57		57
	ŋt	11	7		11	2	4	35			35
<i>Totals</i>		174	134	81	161	141	102	402	172	219	793

~ *ch^hin-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/ alloforms. 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 flexion 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 \emptyset -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 / \emptyset / 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 monomorphemic bisyllabic forms containing exactly that sequence.

- (289) V-p-V, V-k-V
- a. t^hupi ‘scar’
 - b. diwapa ‘forefather’
 - c. deki ‘why’
 - d. jaŋc^hoku ‘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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
-a	PT	past tense marker, appears both on transitive and intransitive verbs
-u	3P	third person patient marker, appears on transitive verbs only
-in	12PLSP	first and second person plural marker, appears both on transitive and intransitive verbs

The following fusion processes occur:

- (290) stem vowel -a
- a. a + in → an
can
'we eat'
 - b. a + a → a
nica
'he eats you'
 - c. a + u → a
ca
'he eats'
- (291) stem vowel -i
- a. i + in → in
tama rinka
'we can come'
 - b. i + a → iwa
riwaj
'I could'
 - c. i + u → i
pij
'I gave'
- (292) stem vowel -o
- a. o + in → on
lon
'we say'
 - b. o + a → owa
ilowa
'they said to him'
 - c. o + u → o
lo
'he said'
- (293) stem vowel -u
- a. u + in → un
mun
'we do'

- 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> (12PLSP) 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 ~
	∅ / [+syllabic] _ ~
	yu / i _ >
PT	< a ~
	∅ / 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 *k^hatma* 'to take'.

	→3s NPT eat	→ 3s NPT take	→ 3s PT eat	→3s PT take
1.s	caŋ	k ^h attuŋ	coŋ	k ^h attuŋ
1.d	cacuʔa	k ^h atcuʔa	cacuʔa	k ^h attacuʔa
1.p	camka	k ^h attumka	comka	k ^h attumka
i.d	cacu	k ^h atcu	cacu	k ^h attacu
i.p	cam	k ^h attum	com	k ^h attum
2.s	tica	tik ^h attu	tico	tik ^h attu
2.d	ticacu	tik ^h atcu	ticacu	tik ^h attacu
2.p	ticam	tik ^h attum	ticom	tik ^h attum
3.s	ca	k ^h attu	co	k ^h attu
3.d	icacu	ik ^h atcu	icacu	ik ^h attacu
3.p	ica	ik ^h at	ica	ik ^h atta

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 → ca
b. $\Sigma + PT + 3P$
ca + a + u → 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 *k^hattu* (**k^hatto*) '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 *can* but not *cam*, etc., etc.

We are left with no alternative but to state allomorphy rules for all stems in -a (written as Σa), involving all three morphemes:

- (296) $\Sigma a \rightarrow \Sigma o / _ PT 3P$

We may stipulate that the <∅> 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 k_3 and p_3 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 ʔ, 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 from verb stems ending in vowels, as above, vowels coalesce. The syllable boundary

is part of the pre-vocalic stem allomorph of verbs of the k_3 and p_3 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-muŋwa
 *kus-muŋwa
 be.hot-source
 'hot spring'
- b. keŋ-muŋwa
 *keŋs-muŋwa
 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.

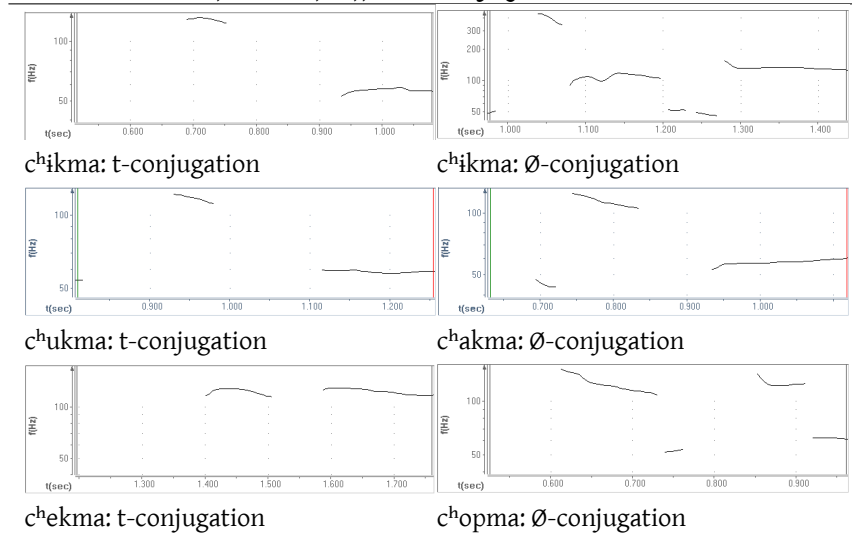
Tonal contrast is not a pervasive feature of the Bantawa language, and outside of this context no lexical or grammatical tonal contrasts are found. We can then best assume that this high tone is a subphonemic residue imposed on the intonational contour of the verbal form. The resulting forms seemingly 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 c^hVCma , 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.

(302) tonal minimal pairs

	t-conjugation		∅-conjugation	
a.	cátma	'hit the mark'	catma	'ferment'
b.	c ^h ákma	'be hard'	c ^h akma	'chisel'
c.	kájma	'obey, hide'	karjma	'heat up, warm up'
d.	k ^h ápma	'thatch'	k ^h apma	'cry'
e.	k ^h ókma	'chop off'	k ^h okma	'extract'
f.	k ^h ónma	'resurrect'	k ^h onma	'move'
g.	pónma	'divide'	pònma	'grow'
h.	tónma	'arrange'	tonma	'push away'
i.	kúmma	'hide'	kumma	'hide'
j.	kúpma	'sit on eggs'	kupma	'pick up'
k.	k ^h únma	'penetrate'	k ^h unma	'carry'
l.	t ^h ínma	'filter'	c ^h inma	'nudge'
m.	t ^h íjma	'spread out'	t ^h ijma	'be pregnant'

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 *k^hatma₁* 'to take' and *k^hatma₃* '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. *kúmma* ~ *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

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{anterior} \\ +\text{consonantal} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ -\text{voiced} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+high\ tone] / [+consonantal] _ [.]$$

In other words, the segment does not go to /∅/, 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.

syllable 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 theory¹⁰, 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 in 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 syllable¹¹, 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-k^ha
 bop-k^ha
 cover-PNOM
 ‘lid, cover’
 <bop- ~ bopt-> ‘to cover’
 - b. *lak-lù-k^ha
 lak-lu-k^ha
 dance-perform-PNOM
 ‘dancing place’
 <lak lu-> ‘to dance’

¹⁰For 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.

¹¹Low 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

		person →			
		1e	1i	2	3
↓ number	s		ijka	k ^h ana	k ^h o
	d	ankaca	ankaci	k ^h anaci	k ^h oci
	p	ankanka	ankan	k ^h ananin	k ^h oci

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,

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 $(9+9+6+9+9+6+9+9+9) = 75$. 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 *nihatci* means ‘he/she/they^{d,p} took us/you^d’. 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.

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.

slot	P NPT	N NPT	P PT	N PT	P IM	N IM
1s	Σ-ŋa	i-Σ-niŋ	Σ-aŋ	man-Σ-ŋa		
1d	Σ-ca	i-Σ-cinka	Σ-acia	man-Σ-daca		
1p	Σ-inka	i-Σ-iminka	Σ-inka	man-Σ-daŋka		
id	Σ-ci	i-Σ-cin	Σ-aci	man-Σ-daci		
ip	Σ-in	i-Σ-imin	Σ-in	man-Σ-dan		
2s	ti-Σ	ti-Σ-nan	ti-Σ-a	man-Σ tida	Σ-a	man-Σ-da
2d	ti-Σ-ci	ti-Σ-nanci	ti-Σ-aci	man-Σ tidaci	Σ-aci	man-Σ-daci
2p	ti-Σ-in	ti-Σ-naminin	ti-Σ-in	man-Σ tidanin	Σ-in	man-Σ-danin
3s	Σ	i-Σ-nin	Σ-a	man-Σ		
3d	Σ-ci	i-Σ-cin	Σ-aci	man-Σ-ci		
3p	mi-Σ	ni-Σ-nin	mi-Σ-a	man-Σ mida		

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 $1 \rightarrow 1$ and $2 \rightarrow 2$ are expressed by reflexive forms, so these are not found in the transitive paradigm table. For lack of plausibility, $i \leftrightarrow 1$ and $i \leftrightarrow 2$ forms are not found either. The paradigm table contains nine blocks of forms, viz. block $1 \rightarrow 2$ 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,

Figure 4.1: Format of the agreement matrix for the transitive verb

		→ Patient											
		s	d	p	d	p	s	d	p	s	d	p	
Agent ↑	s							1 → 2			1 → 3		
	d												
	p												
	d							i → 3					
	p												
	s	2 → 1							2 → 3				
	d												
	p												
	s	3 → 1		3 → i		3 → 2		3 → 3					
	d												
	p												

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.

slots	comments
1ns→2	all non-singular first person agent → second person patient forms are expressed by a single form, ending in <-ni>
2→1ns	all second person agent → non-singular first person patient are expressed by a single form, with prefix <ti-> and suffix <-ni>
3ns→1d	all non-singular third person agent → dual first person patient are expressed by a single form, with prefix <ni-> and suffix <-ci?a>
3ns→1p	all non-singular third person agent → plural first person patient are expressed by a single form, with prefix <ni-> and suffixes <-in-ka>
3→id	all third person agent → dual first person patient are expressed by a single form, with prefix <ni-> and suffix <-ci>
3→ip	all third person agent → plural first person patient are expressed by a single form, with prefix <ni-> and suffix <-in>
3→2s	all third person agent → singular second person patient are expressed by a single form, with prefix <ni->
3→2d	all third person agent → dual second person patient are expressed by a single form, with prefix <ni-> and suffix <-ci>

3→2p all third person agent → plural second person patient are expressed by a single form, with prefix <ni-> and suffix <-in>

Otherwise, all forms are unique, resulting in 40 unique forms. The patterns of identical forms are the same for all tense and polarity combinations¹². All of these forms are built by logical procedures from a limited number of building blocks.

In the appendix I have listed the unique forms for some transitive verbs. To print full paradigms is rather inefficient. For reference, the full simplex agreement tables are provided as Tables 4.5 and 4.6.

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 Hatuvālī Bantawa paradigm, as in the following table.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<ti->	2AS	second person subject or agent
<i->	3AM	third person agent in marked configurations
<ni->	3A	third person agent
<mi->	3PL	third person non-singular patient or subject

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

A/P	1S	1D	1P	ID	IP	2S	2D	2P	3S	3NS
1S						Σ-na	Σ-naci	Σ-nanin	Σ-up	Σ-upciŋ
1D							Σ-ni		Σ-cu?a	Σ-cuci?a
1P									Σ-umka	Σ-umcimka
ID									Σ-cu	Σ-cuci
IP									Σ-um	Σ-umcim
2S	ti-Σ-ŋa								ti+Σ-u	ti+Σ-uci
2D	ti-Σ-ŋaŋciŋ								ti+Σ-cu	ti+Σ-cuci
2P	ti-Σ-ŋaŋniŋ								ti+Σ-um	ti+Σ-umcum
3S	i-Σ-ŋa	(n)j-Σ-aci?a	ti-Σ-ni(n)						Σ-u	Σ-uci
3D	i-Σ-ŋaŋciŋ	ni-Σ-aci?a	(n)j-Σ-inka	ni-Σ-ci	mi-Σ	ni-Σ	ni-Σ-ci	ni-Σ-in	i-Σ-cu	i-Σ-cuci
3P	ni-Σ-ŋa		ni-Σ-inka						i-Σ	mi+Σ-uci

Non-past Affirmative Transitive Paradigm

A/P	1S	1D	1P	ID	IP	2S	2D	2P	3S	3NS
1S						i-Σ-nan	i-Σ-nancin	i-Σ-naminin	i-Σ-niŋ	i-Σ-niŋciŋ
1D							i-Σ-nin		i-Σ-cunka	i-Σ-cuncinka
1P									i-Σ-iminka	i-Σ-imincinka
ID									i-Σ-cun	i-Σ-cuncin
IP									i-Σ-imin	i-Σ-imincin
2S	ti-Σ-niŋ								ti+Σ-nan	ti+Σ-nancin
2D	ti-Σ-niŋciŋ								ti+Σ-nancin	ti+Σ-nancinan
2P	ti-Σ-niŋminin								ti+Σ-naminin	ti+Σ-naminincin
3S	i-Σ-niŋ								i-Σ-un	i-Σ-uncin
3D	i-Σ-niŋciŋ	ni-Σ-cinka	ni-Σ-iminka	ni-Σ-cin	mi-Σ-nin	ni-Σ-nan	ni-Σ-nancin	ni-Σ-naminin	i-Σ-cun	i-Σ-cuncin
3P	ni-Σ-niŋ								ni-Σ-un	ni-Σ-uncin

Non-past Negative Transitive Paradigm

Table 4.6: Transitive Agreement –Past forms

A / P	1 S	1 D	1 P	ID	IP	2 S	2 D	2 P	3 S	3 NS
1S						Σ-na	Σ-naci	Σ-nanin	Σ-up	Σ-upciŋ
1D							Σ-ni			
1P										Σ-umciŋka
1D										Σ-acuci
1P										Σ-umciŋ
2S	ti-Σ-aj									ti-Σ-uci
2D	ti-Σ-ajciŋ	ti-Σ-min								ti-Σ-acuci
2P	ti-Σ-ajniŋ									ti-Σ-umciŋ
3S	i-Σ-aj									Σ-u
3D	i-Σ-ajciŋ	ni-Σ-aciŋa	ni-Σ-inka	ni-Σ-aci	ni-Σ-a	ni-Σ-a	ni-Σ-aci	ni-Σ-in	i-Σ-acu	i-Σ-acuci
3P	ni-Σ-aj								i-Σ-a	ni-Σ-uci

Past Affirmative Transitive Paradigm

A / P	1 S	1 D	1 P	ID	IP	2 S	2 D	2 P	3 S	3 NS
1S						man-Σ-dana	man-Σ-danaci	man-Σ-dananin	man-Σ-doj	man-Σ-dojciŋ
1D							man-Σ-daciŋa			
1P							man-Σ-domka			
1D							man-Σ-domka			
1P							man-Σ-dacu			
2S	man-Σ-tidaŋ									man-Σ-domciŋ
2D	man-Σ-tidaŋciŋ	man-Σ-tidanin								man-Σ-tidoci
2P	man-Σ-tidaŋniŋ									man-Σ-tidacuci
3S	man-Σ-idaŋ									man-Σ-tidomeciŋ
3D	man-Σ-idaŋciŋ	man-Σ-nidaciŋa	man-Σ-nidanka	man-Σ-nidaci	man-Σ-nida	man-Σ-nida	man-Σ-nidaci	man-Σ-nidan	man-Σ-do	man-Σ-doci
3P	man-Σ-nidaŋ								man-Σ-idaŋ	man-Σ-idaŋciŋ
									man-Σ-ida	man-Σ-nidoci

Past Negative Transitive Paradigm

Third person agent in marked configurations The marked third person agent prefix <i-> (3AM) is present in the 3s→1, 3ns→1s, as well as in the 3ns→3s affirmative forms.

Occurrence of the 3AM prefix												
VT	1s	1d	1p	id	ip	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p	
1s												
1d												PT Only
1p											X	NPT Only
id											X	PT & NPT
ip												
2s												
2d												
2p												
3s	X	X	X									
3d	X								X	X	X	
3p									X			

The marked third person agent prefix <i-> 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. <ni-> (3A) or <mi-> (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 <i-> only. The forms in the paradigm that have the prefix <i-> (3AM) happen to be those forms where there is an apparent disparity in ranking and specificity between the agent and patient¹⁴.

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→1i2 forms that do not have the marked-configuration prefix <i-> 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 <i-> (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 <i-> (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 3s→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 <mi-> or the marked third person agent prefix <i->.

Table 4.7: Distribution of the third person agent prefix <ni-> and the third person plural prefix <mi->

VT	1s	1d	1p	id	ip	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p	VI
1s												
1d												
1p												
id												
ip												
2s												
2d												
2p												
3s												
3d												
3p												

<ni-> (3A)
 <mi-> (3PL)

Third person plural prefix <mi-> The third person plural prefix <mi-> (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 <ti->. Both prefixes agree with the agent of transitive and the subject of intransitive predicates.

Unexpectedly, the third person plural prefix <mi-> (3PL) also appears in 3→ip forms¹⁵. These forms correspond to the third person plural subject form in the intransitive paradigm. The appearance of the third person plural prefix <mi-> 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 <mi->.

¹⁵To be precise, I found two competing 3→ip forms.

a. <ni-Σ-in>

b. <mi-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> (NEGNPP). 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-> (NEGNPP) 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-> (NEGNPP) has a zero allomorph after a vowel-final prefix, or b) person prefixes block the single available prefix slot before <i-> (NEGNPP) 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 <mi-> 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.

A slot analysis of prefixes

In Bantawa verbs, there is only one prefixal slot.

<i>pfx1</i>		
2AS	<ti>	second person agent or subject
3A	<ni>	third person agent
3PL	<mi>	third person and plurality
3AM	<i>	third person agent in marked scenarios
N3PL	<ni>	third person plural agent or subject in non-past negative forms
NEGPP	<i>	negative non-past

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 $3s \rightarrow$ 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.

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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<ŋ ~ aŋ >	1S	first person singular marker.
<ŋa>	1SNP	This morpheme is the non-past variant of 1s. It appears in non-past intransitive forms and 2/3→1s.
<ni>	1NS2	first person non-singular and 2 nd person involvement
<a ~ ka>	E	exclusive marker, that contrasts first person exclusive forms from inclusive forms
<na>	2P	Second person patient in 1s→2 transitive forms, and second person subject and patient in negated non-past forms
<u>	3P	Third person patient

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 ~ aŋ> (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

<i>agent series</i>	1S→3S	1S→3NS	
P NPT	Σ-uj	Σ-ujciŋ	
P PT	Σ-uj	Σ-ujciŋ	
N NPT	i-Σ-nuŋ	i-Σ-nuŋciŋ	
N PT	man-Σ-dorŋ	man-Σ-dorŋciŋ	
<i>patient series</i>	S→1S	D→1S	P→1S
P NPT 2	ti-Σ-ŋa	ti-Σ-aŋciŋ	ti-Σ-aŋnuŋ
P NPT 3	i-Σ-ŋa	i-Σ-ŋaŋciŋ	ni-Σ-ŋa
P PT 2	ti-Σ-aŋ	ti-Σ-aŋciŋ	ti-Σ-aŋniŋ
P PT 3	i-Σ-aŋ	ni-Σ-aŋ	ni-Σ-aŋ
N NPT 2	ti-Σ-niŋ	ti-Σ-niŋciŋ	ti-Σ-niŋciŋniŋ
N NPT 3	i-Σ-nuŋ	ni-Σ-nuŋ	ni-Σ-niŋ
N PT 2	manti-Σ-daŋ	manti-Σ-daŋciŋ	manti-Σ-daŋniŋ
N PT 3	man-Σ-daŋ	manni-Σ-daŋ	manni-Σ-daŋ

Non-singular first ↔ second person agreement All 1ns↔2 forms in the transitive paradigm have the first and second person portmanteau suffix <-ni> (1NS2)¹⁷. The role of each participant is disambiguated by the second person agent or subject prefix <-ti> .

Exclusive marker The exclusive suffix <-a ~-ka> (E) tells apart exclusive and inclusive forms. First person exclusive verb forms are identical to the inclusive forms¹⁸, with the addition of the exclusive marker <ʔa ~ 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> (E) 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 <-ti-> (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> (NEGN) 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,

¹⁷The first and second person non-singular suffix <-ni> (1NS2) can be reconstructed from protomorphemes <*-na> (2) + <*-i> (1NS). The suffix has an unconditioned, idiolectal variant <-nin>.

¹⁸With the exception of the 3→ip forms, cf. the paragraph on <-mi-> (3PL).

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 ~ ∅> (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→3s 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 ∅ after 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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<ci ~ c>	DU	Dual agent
<ci ~ c>	DUP	Dual patient and subject
<nin ~ ni>	2PL	Second person plural participants
<in>	12PLSP	first and second person plural patient and subject
<m>	12PLA	first and second person plural agent

The dual patient suffix <-ci> 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 <ci ~ c> (DU). All transitive forms with a dual agent and a third person patient have the suffix <-ci> (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 <-ci> has a phonologically conditioned allomorph <-c>. Either of the dual markers <-ci> (DU) or (DUP) may coalesce with the exclusive <-a> (E) to /-cya/ or /-ca/.

Second person plural 2PL The second person plural suffix <nin ~ ni> (2PL) indicates second person plural agent or subject²⁰ in all positions of the paradigm where no other, less specific suffixes mark this category, i.e. transitive 2p→1s, 1s→2p

¹⁹An 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 the third person patient suffix <-u>. Cf. footnote 14.

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 <-in> (12PLSP) emerges. The suffix <-n ~ -in> (12PLSP) 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> (NEGN). 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 12PLN and leave unanalysed. Although this suffix superficially looks like a concoction of the plural suffixes <-in> (12PLSP) and <-n> (NEGN), 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> (12PLA) 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> (12PLSP). The form <-m> appears after the third person patient suffix <-u> (3P) while the form <-in> (12PLSP) 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 12PLA 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> (12PLSP). However, this analysis is not synchronically relevant: The sequence <-nanin> (2P 2PL) also appears in the paradigm as the 1s→2p form.

Table 4.9: Distribution and copying of the first and second person plural agent suffix

<i>patient series</i>		→3s	→3ns
affirmative non-past	ip	Σ-um	Σ-umcum
affirmative non-past	2p	ti-Σ-um	ti-Σ-umcum
negative non-past	ip	i-Σ-imin	i-Σ-imincin
negative non-past	2p	ti-Σ-naminin	ti-Σ-namininci
affirmative past	ip	Σ-um	Σ-umcum
affirmative past	2p	ti-Σ-um	ti-Σ-umcum
negative past	ip	man-Σ-yuktum	man-Σ-yuktum
negative past	2p	manti-Σ-yuktum	manti-Σ-yuktumcum

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

<i>suffix string</i>	<i>sfx</i>	-DUP	copy	<i>Comments</i>
-umcim	um	-ci	-m	first and second person plural
-(ŋ)añciŋ	aŋ	-ci	-ŋ	first person singular
-uŋcuŋ	uŋ	-cu	-ŋ	first person singular →third person)
-nancin	nan	-ci	-n	second person
-imincin	imin	-ci	-n	e.g. negative forms
-(c)uncin	(c)un	-ci	-n	third person NPT NEG
-(c)incin	(c)in	-ci	-n	e.g. reflexive forms
-cici	ci	-ci		reflexive forms

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: < -ci
 -cim / m _ ~
 -cuŋ / uŋ _ ~
 -ciŋ / aŋ _ ~
 -cin / 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> (PT). The past tense suffix is present in all imperative and past tense affirmative forms except transitive 1→2 and 2→1ns 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> (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→2s

ni-ca-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
 3A-eat-NPT-PROG-NPT
 'he is eating you'

b. PT 3s→2s

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, Wāmbule 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 ci-Ø-ʔo mina si-Ø-ʔo i-d^hej paru-du k^hat-Ø-ki
 well do-NPT-NOM man die-NPT-NOM his/her-back heaven-LOC.high go-NPT-SEQ
 yuŋ-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 equipollent²².

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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<n ~ nin>	NEGN	Non-past negation suffix ²³

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 *tikon* vs. *tikonnan* ‘you walk, you do not walk’. In third person forms, where there is no suffix at all, the negative suffix emerges as <-nin>, viz. *ikonnin*, as apparently **ikonn*.

(308)	form	affirm.	negat.	notes
	1. DU	<ci>	<ci-n>	
	2. 3P	<u>	<u-n>	
	3. 3P DUP	<u-ci>	<u-n-ci-n>	
	4. 3P	<u>	<nan>	(second person forms)
	5. 3P DUP	<uci>	<nan-ci-n>	(second person forms)
	6. 1s	<ŋ>	<n-iŋ>	note that the <-u> (3P) is not negated when <-ŋ> (1s) is present (*unnŋ)
	7. 3P 12pA	<u-m>	<nan-imin>	(second person forms)
	8. 3P 12pA	<u-m>	<imin>	
	9. 2P	<na>	<na-n>	
	10. 1ns2	<ni>	<ni-n>	but also: <minin ~ nimin>!

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 <ti-> (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-k^hatt-u-m* 2AS-take-3P-12plSP, ‘you took him’, the negative counterpart *ti-k^hatt-na-m-n* 2AS-take-2P-12plSP-NEGN would then result in *ti-k^hatt-na-m-nin*. However, this is not enough. The repetitive /m/ and /n/ evidently trigger further vowel epenthesis, resulting in the final form *ti-k^hat-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-k^hat-ni(n)* ‘you take us’ and *k^hat-ni(n)* ‘we take you’ is in the prefix only. In the negative paradigm however, the 2→1ns forms have a suffix string <-ninin ~ -naminin> that differs quite dramatically from the simple negated suffix <-nin> for 1ns→2 forms, cf. *ti-k^hat-naminin* ‘you do not take us’ and *t-k^hat-nin* ‘we do not take you’. The insertion

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-k^hat-ni(n)* ‘you take us’ vs. *ti-k^hat-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> (12PLSP) 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 Chintang, 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 .

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<man->	NEGTP	Negative past tense prefix, used in all non-finite and past tense verbal forms
<do ~ da>	NEGPTS	Negative past tense suffix, simple negative past
<yuk ~ yukt>	NEGTPF	Negative past tense perfect, perfect negative past

The one constant in the formation of the negative past is the prefix <man-> (NEGTP). 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> (NEGTPF), that appear after the verb root²⁴. 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> (NEGTPF) 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> (NEGTPF).

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.

Slot	px	Σ	sfx1	sfx2	sfx3	sfx4	sfx5	sfx6	sfx7	sfx8	sfx9
Affirmative non-past, 3s patient	TNS	2P	DU	3P	NEG	1s/12pl	SP	DUP	COPY	e	
1s k ^h attuŋ		k ^h att					u	ŋ			
1d k ^h atcuʔa		k ^h at		c			u				ʔa
1p k ^h attumka		k ^h att					u	m			ka
2s tik ^h attu	ti	k ^h att					u				
2d tik ^h atcu	ti	k ^h at		c			u				
2p tik ^h attum	ti	k ^h att					u	m			
3s k ^h attu		k ^h att					u				
3d ik ^h atcu	i	k ^h at		c			u				
3p ik ^h at	i	k ^h at					∅				
Negative non-past, 3s patient											
1s ik ^h atniŋ	i	k ^h at					n	ŋ			
1d ik ^h atcunka	i	k ^h at			c		u	n			ka
1p ik ^h attiminka	i	k ^h att						im in			ka
2s tik ^h atnan	ti	k ^h at		na				n			
2d tik ^h atnancin	ti	k ^h at		nan	ci			n			
2p tik ^h atnaminin	ti	k ^h at		na				min in			
3s ik ^h attun	i	k ^h att					u	n			
3d ik ^h atcun	i	k ^h at			c		u	n			
3p nik ^h attun	ni	k ^h att					u	n			
Affirmative non-past, 3ns patient											
1s k ^h attuŋciŋ		k ^h att					u	ŋ	ci	ŋ	
1d k ^h atcuciʔa		k ^h at			c		u		ci		ʔa
1p k ^h attumcimka		k ^h att					u	m	cu	m	ka
2s tik ^h attuci	ti	k ^h att					u		ci		
2d tik ^h atcuci	ti	k ^h at			c		u		ci		
2p tik ^h attumcum	ti	k ^h att					u	m	cu	m	
3s k ^h attuci		k ^h att					u		ci		
3d ik ^h atcuci	i	k ^h at			c		u		ci		
3p mik ^h attuci	mi	k ^h att					u		ci		
Negative non-past, 3ns patient											
1s ik ^h atniŋciŋ	i	k ^h at					n	ŋ	ci	ŋ	
1d ik ^h atcuncinka	i	k ^h at			c		u	n	ci	n	ka
1p ik ^h attimincinka	i	k ^h att						im in	ci	n	ka
2s tik ^h atnancin	ti	k ^h at		na				n	ci	n	
2d tik ^h atnancinan	ti	k ^h at		na				n	ci	nan	
2p tik ^h atnannimincin	ti	k ^h at		na				nim in	ci	n	
3s ik ^h attuncin	i	k ^h att					u	n	ci	n	
3d ik ^h atcuncin	i	k ^h at			c		u	n	ci	n	
3p nik ^h attuncin	ni	k ^h att					u	n	ci	n	

All forms of the negative past tense are built by the schema outlined in (309):

- (309) General form for the negative past
man-Σ {prefixes}-da-{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 <da> (NEGPTs) or <yuk> (NEGPTPF). 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 *dama* 'to effect' is a frequent second verb, appearing in many verb compound constructions. The suffix <-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 <-da> is inserted complying with the general rules of verbal compounding, for reasons of politeness or because 'it sounds nicer'.

- (310) p^has-u-do-Ø-ci
 help-3P-aux-3P-DUP
 'you^{sg} 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^hasucidoci*.

The analysis of the <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 <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. man-ca-Ø
 NEGPTp-eat-NPT
 (antipassive)
 b. man-ca-d-o
 NEGPTp-eat-NEGPTs-3P

- (312) 'I did not take'
 a. man-k^hat-ŋa
 NEGPT_p-take-1s
 (antipassive)
 b. man-k^hat-do-∅-ŋ
 NEGPT_p-take-NEGPTs-3P-1s
- (313) man-k^hat-∅
 NEGPT_p-take-NPT
 'he did not go'
- (314) man-ta-ŋa
 NEGPT_p-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.

<i>sfx1</i>	<i>sfx2</i>	<i>sfx3</i>	<i>sfx4</i>	<i>sfx5</i>	<i>sfx6</i>	<i>sfx7</i>	<i>sfx8</i>	<i>sfx9</i>
PT	2P	DU	3P	NEG _n	1s	2pl	copy	e
<a>	<na>	<c~ci>	<u>	<n~in>	<ŋ~aŋ>	<nin~ni>	slot	<ʔa~ka>
NEGPTs ²⁵	1ns2	12plSP		12plN	12plA	DUP		
<da~d>	<ni>	<in~im>		<minin>	<m>	<c~ci>		

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
 NEGPTP- Σ {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- Σ -NEGPTS-{suffixes}
 (Rai 1985: 114, Rabi dialect),
 - b. Ordering B: NEGPTP-{prefixes}- Σ -NEGPTS-{suffixes}
 (Rai 1985: 114, Rabi dialect), author's field notes, Sindrāñ (Hatuvālī)
 - c. Ordering C: NEGPTP- Σ {prefixes}-NEGPTS-{suffixes}
 author's field notes, Sindrāñ(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-ti-ban-da
 NEGPTp-2AS-come-NEGPTS
 'you did not come'
 - c. man-ban 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 <ti-> (2AS), <i-> (3AM), <ni-> (3A) or <mi-> (3PL). Those prefixes are assigned to a single prefix slot *px1* 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 re-orders 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 k^han-nin
2AS-lose-1ns2 send.away-1ns2
'you^s have forgotten us^{pe}'

- ii. * man-nin ti-k^han-nin
lose-1ns2 2AS-send.away-1ns2
'you^s have forgotten us^{pe}'
 - 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. k^ha mi-met
show 3pl-cause
'they showed us (made us see)'
 - ii. * mi-k^ha met
3pl-show cause
'they showed us (made us see)'
 - b. Chintang (Bickel *et al.* 2007: ex.38)
 - i. . . . khu 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-∅
water 2AS-wash-3P
'you will wash up'
 - ii. * ti-wa si-∅
2AS-water wash-3P
'you will wash up'
 - b. Chintang (Bickel *et al.* 2007: ex.3)
 - i. {kha-u-kha-ma}-siŋ-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 ω 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}

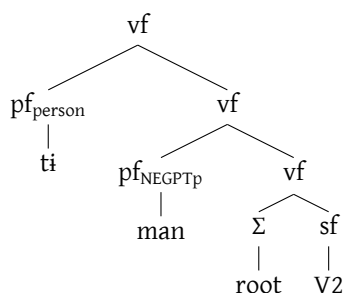
This ordering encapsulates the negative prefix in the person marking and represents the bound affix interpretation of the morphemes NEGPTP and NEGPTS.

²⁶Yamphu: <æ ~ ʔæn ~ mæn > (Rutgers 1998), Limbu: <mæn- ~ n- ~ mɛ-> (van Driem 1999), Thulung: <mi ~ me> (Allen 1975: 54). All of these languages have obvious cognates of proto-Tibeto-Burman <*ma ~ *may>. Ongenort (2002: 237) writes that Wāmbule <a-> is also cognate, but does not give an etymological history.

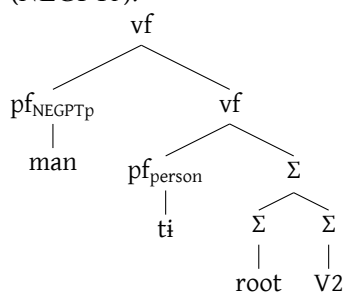
Yamphu and Kulung share the feature with Bantawa that *man-* only appears in the negative past, together with specific suffixes, while the non-past negative is formed with <-no> i.e. an /n/-based suffix (Tolsma 1999: 70). While the prefix shows different allomorphy, the distribution in Yamphu is the 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.

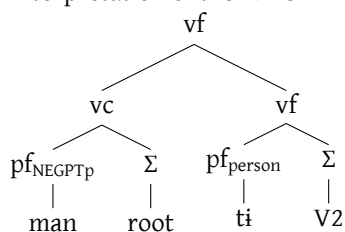
²⁷(Ebert 1994: 148): ‘The Khaling prefix marks a large area of the paradigm without obvious common functional denominator.’

**Ordering B:** NEGPTP-{prefixes}-Σ-NEGPTS-{suffixes}

This ordering projects the negative prefix out of the verbal finite morphology and represents the adverbial interpretation of <man-> (NEGPTP).

**Ordering C:** NEGPTP-Σ {prefixes}-NEGPTS-{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 NEGPTP-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'
- timank^hatda
[ti[man[[k^hat][da]]_Σ]_{vf}]_{vf}
 - mantik^hatda
[man[[ti]_{pref}[k^hat]_Σ[da]_{V2}]_{vf}]_{vf}
 - mank^hattida
[[mank^hat]_{vc}[tida]_{vf}]_{vf}

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^d did not forget him’
- a. man-man-k^han i-da-c-u
NEGPTp-lose-send 3AM-NEGPTS-DU-3P
‘They^d did not forget him’
- b. *man-man-k^haĩs-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 Hatuvālī 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.

(324)	tag	NPT	PT	NPT N
	1s	Σ-ŋaŋ-ciŋ	Σ-a-ŋ -ci-ŋ	i-Σ-niŋ -ciŋ
	1d	Σ-ci -ciʔa	Σ-a- -ci-ʔa	i-Σ-cin -cinka
	1p	Σ-in -cinka	Σ-∅-in -ci-n-ka	i-Σ-imin -cinka
	id	Σ-ci -ci	Σ-a-ci -ci	i-Σ-cin -cin
	ip	Σ-in -cin	Σ-∅-in -ci-n	i-Σ-imin -cin
	2s	ti-Σ-nan-cin	ti-Σ-a-n -ci-n	ti-Σ-nan -cinin
	2d	ti-Σ-ci -ci	ti-Σ-a-na-n-ci-n	ti-Σ-nan -cinin
	2p	ti-Σ-in -cin	ti-Σ-a-na-n-ci-n	ti-Σ-nanminin-cin
	3s	Σ-an -cin	Σ-a-n -ci-n	i-Σ-nin -cin
	3d	Σ-ci -ci	Σ-a-ci -ci	i-Σ-cin -cin
	3p	mi-Σ-nan-cin	mi-Σ-a-n -ci-n	ni-Σ-nin -cin

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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-nan ~ -n>	REFL	Reflexive marker for non-dual forms
<-ci>	DUP	Dual patient marker
<-n>	REFLC	Copy of the reflexive marker, triggered by DUP

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.

<i>sfx1</i>	<i>sfx2</i>	<i>sfx3</i>	<i>sfx4</i>	<i>sfx5</i>	<i>sfx6</i>	<i>sfx7</i>	<i>sfx8</i>	<i>sfx9</i>
				REFL <na ~ n>			REFLc <n>	

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) ciŋs-a-n ser-a-n-ci-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-ŋa
2AS-insult-1s
'you will insult me'
- b. ti-rimt-a-ŋ
2AS-insult-PT-1s
'you have insulted me'

(329) k^hon-ki watmasi-da cilok kirawa t^hapsiŋ-da-nalo mec^hac^ha-ci suna
he/she-SEQ jewellery-LOC many Kiranti ritual-LOC-COND daughter-PL gold
rupa-ʔo watmasi mi-wat-Ø-ʔo k^haŋ-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]

- (330) mo gagityaŋ-ŋo i-t^hen-da i-hut-ci mi-yak-Ø.
 that distillation.vessel-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 grammars²⁸.

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
- citt-a
 be.small-PT
 ‘it’s small’ (perfective: ‘it has become small’)
 - Un citt-a-ŋ-y-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-ŋ-o.
this 2AS-know-3P-PROG-3P
‘do you know this?’
- (334) c^hap-ma les-u-ŋ-y-u-ŋ.
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 *omma* ‘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 *yujma* ‘to sit’ and *yukma* ‘to put’, for intransitive and transitive forms respectively.

- (335) hyuna abi watatma ni-ʔo b^hi-hut-da heŋmawa
down now (N) collection.jug NAR-NOM earthen.vessel-hole-LOC liquor
tam-Ø-yuŋ-Ø-ʔo yuŋ-Ø.
fill.up-NPT-PERF-NPT-NOM sit-NPT
‘Below, now, in the vessel called ‘collecting vessel’ the liquor will be collected.’
- (336) ott-u-ŋ yuŋs-u-ŋ
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 different²⁹. Full paradigms can be elicited using either of the negative auxiliaries *da* or *yuk*, cf. example (337).

- (337) a. p^hon man-mu ti-da-ŋ
 phone NEGPTp-do 2AS-NEGPTs-1s
 ‘You did not call me (at all).’
 b. p^hon 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 transparent 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

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.

- a. k^ho k^him k^har-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-k^hat
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-k^hat-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-k^hat-do-∅-m
NEGPTp-take-NEGPTs-3P-12plA
'we did not take it, i.e. we never did anything of the kind' - Nepali
'लगेनौ'
- b. man-k^hat-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 छैनौ'

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-k^hat-da
NEGPTp-go-eff
'Don't go!'
- (342) p^has-u-do-∅-ci
help-3P-eff-3P-DU
'You^{sg} 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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-ne>	OPT	optative, hortative, subjunctive

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) p^heri 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-na-ʔo
 I be.good-MAN be.good-MAN do-2P-OPT REP-TOP remember-2P-PROG-2P-NOM
 t^hiyo...
 PPTaux
 ‘I had been thinking, “let me do you very well” ...’ [Gn]

(345) ankenka-sudda ti-k^hat-ne-para nəu sīge yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo
 we^{pe}-with 2AS-go-OPT-COND nine *horned (N)* be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
 k^hana-lai rāga ni-pi.
 you^s-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 <ti->, 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	tik ^h attu	k ^h attu
	2d→3s	tik ^h attacu	k ^h attacu
	2p→3s	tik ^h attum	k ^h attanum

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 <k^hama> (SEE) 'see'. Both verbs have the effect of reducing the directness, adding politeness³⁰.

(347) mo-da k^har-a!
that-LOC go-PT!
'go there!'

(348) i-cilok piw-a-ŋ-k^ha-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-Ø-ŋ-y-a-ŋ-ʔo ŋe
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 *k^hama* 'to see' is defective and irregular, such that it may not be a vector verb after all. See §7.2.6.

- (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 k^hwakko onj^honjlo g^hyu yuw-a-ŋ-a-ʔo de,
 this-LOC such big ghee (N) be-PT-PROG-PT-NOM IRR,
 co-m-y-u-m-ʔo.
 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) iŋka badde k^hipt-a-ŋ-ʔo de, id^hiwaŋ miŋa 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 miŋa o gəri leksaid-ya k^har-a de, nam-ʔa c^hos-u-ŋ-o.
 this man this time (N) Lakeside-LOC.level go-PT IRR sun-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 modifiers¹. 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:

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<ka-Σ>	APPREF-Σ	active participle, attributive and nominal use
<ka-Σ-pa>	(APPREF-Σ-APm)	active participle, neuter or male gender in fixed expressions
<ka-Σ-ma>	(APPREF-Σ-APf)	active participle, female gender, in fixed expressions only
<ka-Σ-ci>	(APPREF-Σ-APpl)	active participle, plural form

Across Kiranti languages, cognates of the Bantawa <ka-> prefix are found with the function of marking active participles, cf. Limbu <kε-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.

¹In 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.

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 kint^həkwa-ci-ʔenan
 APpref-kill rebels-PL-COM
 ‘together with the murderous rebels’
- b. ka-ta mukla
 APpref-come group
 ‘the coming group’
- c. ka-tok mīna
 APpref-receive man
 ‘a seen man, a respected man’
- (357) a. sakonɕ^hiŋ ka-pop-ʔa
 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) yɪŋk^han ka-yiŋ-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-d^huk-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
 AP_{pref}-pull-APf-REFL-DUP-REFL_c
 ‘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 <-yiŋ> (PP) to the infinitive of the verb. The infinitive denotes the verbal action itself as a nominal. The Bantawa independent word *yiŋ* means ‘word, thing’. The derivational history of the passive participle is quite transparent. The compound means the thing achieved by the verbal action.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<Σ -ma-yiŋ>	(Σ-INF-PP)	passive participle

Syntax The passive participle can be used attributively and independently as head noun.

- (362) o-so-ʔo i-tup-ma-yiŋ
 this-PRN-GEN his/her-understand-INF-PP
 ‘its meaning’
- (363) lo-ma-yiŋ
 speak-INF-PP
 ‘the command’
- (364) yiŋ-ma-yiŋ
 say-INF-PP
 ‘the word’, Nepali: *kurā कुरा*, lit. the thing said
- (365) o-na i-niŋwa cin-ma-yiŋ-wa e mu-Ø-yaŋ-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-yiŋ c^hoŋwa
 shoot-INF-PP bird
 ‘a shot-at bird’

5.1.3 Purposive nominaliser

Morphology In Bantawa, the purposive nominaliser suffix <-k^ha>, 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

reported for immediately neighbouring Kiranti languages, but the Thulung suffix *-khop* ‘functional suffix’ is an apparent cognate, considering the formal and functional correspondances².

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<Σ -k ^h a>	(Σ-PNOM)	purposive nominaliser, ‘in order to X’

Syntax The nominalising suffix <-k^ha> (PNOM) derives an adnominal modifier from a verb, i.e. a deverbal adnominal. The derived noun denotes something that serves to achieve the action denoted by the verb. Nouns in *-k^ha* 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 <-k^ha> are nominal or adnominal and grammatically pattern with participles. Deverbatives in <-k^ha> have a wider meaning, denoting a location, purpose or instrument, and when they are further affixed with the locative <-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^ha kəreli
his/her-mouth-LOC place-PNOM *bridle* (N)
‘a bridle to place in the mouth’
- b. cakawalawa-ci tiŋ-k^ha k^han-k^ha sawa
spirit-PL drive-PNOM send-PNOM power
‘the power to drive out spirits’
- c. sawa tom-k^ha len
power support-PNOM day
‘the resting day’
- d. mi-suw-a-da-Ø-ʔo-ci hiŋ-k^ha-lon-k^ha sawa
3pl-die-PT-eff-PT-NOM-PL save-PNOM-take.out-PNOM power
‘the power to make the dead live again’
- e. c^hek-k^ha k^him-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^ha maddiŋ-yaŋ.
leg stretch-PNOM NEG.be-PROG
‘there was no room to stretch the legs’

²Allen (1975: 60), Lahaussais (2002: 129). See also §8.6.

- b. im-k^ha
sleep-PNOM
'bed'
- c. yuŋ-k^ha
sit-PNOM
'place to sit'
- d. maŋ mu-k^ha-da dowa t^hom-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 *-k^ha* are most prominent and apparently relate to the homophonous locative nominal suffix. However, the verbal suffix *-k^ha* 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 *-k^ha* are listed here.

(369) Independent usage with instrumental reading

- a. i-c^hak-k^ha batt-u-k^h-o.
his/her-chisel-PNOM bring-3P-see-3P
'bring the chisel here'
- b. rin-k^ha
plane-PNOM
'a carpenter's plane'
- c. d^hok-k^ha
dig-PNOM
'something to dig with'
- d. duŋ-k^ha
drink-PNOM
'something to drink from'

The nominalisations of this kind are generic, i.e. unspecific, e.g. a *cat-k^ha* (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).

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<Σ-ma>	(Σ-INF)	infinitive, 'to X'
<Σ-ma-n-ci-n>	(Σ-INF-REFL-DUP-copy)	reflexive infinitive, 'to X oneself'
<Σ-ma-ci>	(Σ-INF-DU)	plural infinitive, 'to X (pl)'

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. ləuri tom-ma-ki ma-ʔaŋ mo-du
stick support-INF-SEQ NEGPTp-be that-LOC.high
ruŋ-ma-n-ci-n-ʔo?
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 im-ma da-ma ta i-tokt-im-in-ʔo.
today sleep-INF eff-INF FOC (N) NEGPTp-receive-12plSP-NEGn-NOM
'Today we shall not get to sleep.'
- e. mo-daŋka i-ki-ma kar-a-ŋ-a ni.
that-ABL his/her-fear-INF 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.

- (371) infinitives with plural marking
- a. maŋ mu-k^ha-da wa set-ma dot-Ø.
worship do-PNOM-LOC chicken kill-INF must-NPT
'While worshipping, a chicken must be killed.'
 - b. maŋ mu-k^ha-da wa-ci set-ma-ci mi-dot.
worship do-PNOM-LOC chicken-PL kill-INF-PL 3pl-must
'While worshipping, chickens must be killed.'
 - c. maŋ mu-k^ha-da dowa t^hom-ma dot-Ø.
worship do-PNOM-LOC shaman dance-INF must-NPT
'While worshipping, the shaman must dance.'
 - d. maŋ mu-k^ha-da dowa-ci t^hom-ma-ci mi-dot.
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.'
 - e. * maŋ mu-k^ha-da mi-na-ci ta-ma-ci mi-dot.
worship do-PNOM-LOC man-PL come-INF-PL 3pl-must
** 'While worshipping, people must come.'
 - f. maŋ mu-k^ha-da mi-na-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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<Σ -si>	(Σ-SUP)	Supine, 'in order to X'

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.

(372) Supine

- a. lap-si ka-ta mukla
 catch-SUP APpref-come group
 'The group that came to catch.'
- b. g^hoɖa k^hi-si k^har-a ni.
 horse (N) steal-SUP go-PT NAR
 'He went to steal a horse' [Tt]
- c. mo g^hoɖa ca-si ta-Ø-ʔo.
 that horse (N) eat-SUP come-PT-NOM
 'He had come to eat horses' [Tt]
- d. g^hasa hek-si k^har-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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<Σ -sa>	(Σ-SIM)	simultaneous converb

Syntax and semantics

Ebert (1997b: 79) calls the Athpahariya cognate <-sa> of this marker a simultaneous converb, which describes it adequately³. 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^hom-yaŋ-sa k^har-a
 dance-PROG-SIM go-PT
 ‘He went, dancing.’
- (374) ciya duŋ-yaŋ-sa yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa
 tea drink-PROG-SIM sit-1s-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^hom-a-ŋ-a t^hom-a-ŋ-a-heda d^hams-a.
 dance-PT-PROG-PT dance-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP fall.down-PT
 ‘While he was dancing, he fell.’
- b. *t^hom-yaŋ-sa d^hams-a
 dance-PROG-SIM fall.down-PT
 ?? ‘he fell while dancing.’
- (376) while walking down
- a. yiinpa d^ha-Ø-ŋ-a-hida leŋs-a-k^har-a.
 down descend-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP slip-PT-go-PT
 ‘He slipped while he was walking down.’
- b. *yiinpa d^ha-sa leŋs-a-k^har-a.
 down descend-SIM 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

- a. k^ho-sa-ʔa k^hata-da ims-a-ŋ-a-hida i-low-a-ŋ-ʔo.
 he/she-PRN-ERG bed (N)-LOC lie-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp 3AM-tell-PT-1s-NOM
 ‘He told me while he was lying on the bed...’
- b. k^ho-sa-ʔa k^hata-da im-sa i-low-a-ŋ-ʔo
 he/she-PRN-ERG bed (N)-LOC lie-SIM 3AM-tell-PT-1s-NOM
 ‘he told me, *during the time that he lay down* on the bed...’
- c. k^ho-sa-ʔa k^hata-da im-yaŋ-sa i-low-a-ŋ-ʔo
 he/she-PRN-ERG bed (N)-LOC lie-PROG-SIM 3AM-tell-PT-1s-NOM
 ‘He told me while he was laying himself down on the bed...’

The contrast between examples (377a) and (377c) is due to the inherent perfectivity 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

- a. mo-ko mina-ci madala mok-yaŋ-sa mi-t^hom-a-ŋ-a.
 that-REF man-PL drum (N) hit-PROG-SIM 3pl-dance-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘While they hit the drums, they were dancing’
- b. *moko minaci-ʔa madala mokaŋsa mit^homaŋa.
-ERG ...
 ‘invalid with ERG marking.’

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: *c^hapma-yakma*. However, the simultaneous suffix <-sa> is not repeated, for *c^hapsa-yaksa* would yield

a reading ‘while writing and while staying’, but not the intended ‘while (he) kept writing’. To arrive at that reading, the verb must first be compounded, and then affixed: *c^hapyaksa* ‘while keeping on reading’. Example (379) provides a further illustration.

- (379) *maŋkolen c^hintuk k^hip-sa c^hap-sa k^hatt-u-m-nalo appi-ŋe*
 tomorrow day.after.tomorrow read-SIM write-SIM take-3P-12plA-COND self-EMPH
o yij not-yaŋ-sa k^hat-Ø.
 this language be.easy-PROG-SIM go-NPT
 ‘If we keep reading and writing, tomorrow and later, the language will become easier by itself.’ [Bw]

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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<man-Σ -maŋ>	(NEGPTp-Σ-NPC)	negative perfect converb

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-c^hon-maŋ bəs-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 c^hon-ma-ki bəs-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.’

- 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 correspondance 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.

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).

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-ʔo>	NOM	General nominaliser

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. k^hun-nuch^haŋa o-da iŋka nepala-da-ʔo me^hac^ha-ci-ʔo watmasi
 he/she-even.though this-LOC I Nepal-LOC-GEN daughter-PL-GEN jewellery
 k^hon-ki hum-ma tit-ʔo dum lu-yaŋ-sa k^hat-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 he/she-SEQ put.on-INF clothes-GEN thing tell-PROG-SIM go-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
 ‘However, here I shall go talking of the ornaments and clothes that
 Nepal’s girls put on.’ [Gr]

- b. *nepala-da-ʔo* tʰapsiŋ nepali mecʰacʰa-ci cilok *kʰim-da-ʔo* kaci
 Nepal-LOC-GEN ritual Nepalese daughter-PL many house-LOC-GEN work
 mi-mu-∅ duwacʰa-ci *bunʰkʰa-da-ʔo* kaci mu-ma dot-∅.
 3pl-do-NPT son-PL outside-LOC-GEN work do-INF must-NPT
 ‘In Nepal’s tradition, Nepali girls often do the work in the house, the boys must do the outside work.’ [Gr]
- c. *duwacʰa-ci-nalo duwacʰa-ʔa mo-da mu-ma dot-∅-yaŋ-∅-ʔo*
 son-PL-COND son-ERG that-LOC do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
 kaci jʰarak mu-ma dot-∅
 work all do-INF must-NPT
 ‘If there are sons, the son must do all the jobs that need to be done in that case.’ [Dt]

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-∅-yaŋ-∅-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 somewhat confusing combination of the progressive perfect, cf. (Ebert 1997a: 27). 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** *t^hiyō*, a past tense form of Nepali ‘to be’ is added.
 - PF2** a third person progressive form of the verb *yukma*₃ ‘be’ is added.
 - PF3** a progressive form of either of the intransitive verbs *yuy^hma*₃ ‘sit’ or *yukma*₃ ‘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) * *k^hat-ŋa-ʔo 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 *c^ha*. 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 *t^{hi}yo*, as these are similar to Bantawa forms formed with *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. k^har-a-ŋ-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a
go-PT-1s-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
'I had gone'
- d. ott-u-ʔo yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
break-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 <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) k^ho i-ser-a-ʔo t^{hi}yo
he 3AM-kill-PT-NOM PERF.aux
'he had been killed' (lit. 'they had killed him')

(387) iŋka-ʔa i-ser-a-ʔo k^ha-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) k^har-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. k^har-a-ŋ-ʔo yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
go-PT-1s-NOM be-1s-PROG-1s
‘I have gone.’
 - b. k^har-a-ci-ʔo yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci.
go-PT-DU-NOM be-DU-PROG-DU
‘They^{du} have gone.’
- (390) Intransitive, past perfect, pluperfect
- a. ti-k^har-a-ci-ʔo ti-yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci.
2AS-go-PT-DU-NOM 2AS-be-PT-PROG-PT-DU
‘You^{du} had gone.’
 - b. ti-k^har-a-nin-ʔo ti-yuŋ-in-y-in.
2AS-go-PT-2p-NOM 2AS-be-2p-PROG-2p-DU
‘You^{pl} had gone.’
- (391) Transitive, present perfect
- a. ott-u-ŋ-pi-ŋ-ʔo yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
break-3P-1s-BEN-3P-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 aspectual 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 *yujma*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) i-c^huk ott-u-ŋ yuŋs-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: भाँचिदिएको छु ‘I have broken it for him’, भाँचेको छु ‘I have broken it’, भाँचिराखेको छु ‘I have put it into broken state’, the last claimed to be the most exact. In Nepali, the verb *rākhnu* ‘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 yujma
 ‘to finish breaking, to complete breaking, to finish breaking’
 Nepali gloss: भाँचेर राख्नु, ‘to put after breaking’.

The verbs *yujma* and *yukma* ‘to put’ can be inflected in the intransitive forms alike.

- (395) k^har-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 <-ŋo> 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 <-ŋo> (NOM) is used in three ways in combining clauses.

⁶The verb *yujma*₂ derives from *yujma*₃ by a regular derivation process, cf. §6.3.1. The relationship between *yukma*₁ and *yukma*₃ 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.

- (396) 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) [... e_i ...]-NOM_{relative clause} N_i

Extraction The coreferential index i signals that the noun N_i is understood as if this noun functioned in the empty position \emptyset_i in the relative sentence. In example (398) for instance, the relative sentence \emptyset *ram-lai kələm pi-∅-ʔo* ‘that gave Rām a pen’ can be reconstructed as *mina ram-lai kələm pi-∅-ʔo* ‘the man gave Rām 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 [e_i *ram-lai kələm pi-∅-ʔo*] $mina_i$ *saŋ?*
 that Rām-DAT pen give-3P-NOM man who
 ‘Who is the man that gave the pen to Rām?’
- (399) [e_i *j^harak-da-ŋka c^hi-∅-yaŋ-∅-ʔo*] $cakwa_i$
 all-LOC-ABL be.expensive-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM water
 ‘The most expensive water’
- (400) [*syam-ʔa Ram e_i pi-∅-ʔo*] $kələm_i$ *rato mu-∅-yaŋ-∅*
 Śyām-ERG Rām give-3P-NOM pen red be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘The pen that Śyām gave Rām is red.’
- (401) mo [*syam-ʔa e_i kələm pi-∅-ʔo*] $mina_i$ *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 k^har-a-ʔo maŋ-da i-k^hat-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 mi-na-ci-ʔa k^hotni mi-yiŋ-a-ʔo] i-en-a-ki
 that-LOC-GEN a.little man-PL-ERG that.way 3pl-say-PT-NOM 3AM-hear-PT-SEQ
 mi-yiŋ-a: "en-a-n-u-m ..."
 3pl-say-PT hear-PT-2P-3P-12pA . . .
 ‘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 kələm i-pu-ʔa-ʔo k^ha-Ø-ŋ.
 I Śyām pen (N) 3AM-give-PT-NOM see-PT-1s
 ‘I saw someone give Śyām a pen.’
- (405) iŋka Syam-ʔa kələm pi-Ø-ʔo k^ha-Ø-ŋ.
 I Śyām-ERG pen (N) give-PT-NOM see-PT-1s
 ‘I saw that Śyām gave a pen.’
- (406) iŋka Syam-ʔa kələm pi-Ø-ʔo mi-na k^ha-Ø-ŋ.
 I Śyām-ERG pen (N) give-PT-NOM man see-PT-1s
 ‘I saw the man that Śyām gave a pen to.’
- (407) ram-ʔa sarima-ʔa d^hir-u-ʔo bak^hra Syam-ʔeda in-u-ʔo iŋka k^ha-Ø-ŋ.
 Rām-ERG disease-ERG find-3P-NOM goat Śyām-COM1 sell-3P-NOM I see-PT-1s
 ‘I saw Rām sell a sick goat to Śyām.’

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 Śyām 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 *-ʔo deŋda* ‘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 yuŋs-a-ŋ-ʔo, həi. kʰwatni-cʰaŋ-ʔo iŋka*
 blacksmith-mother-COM (N) sit-PT-1s-NOM hey. that.way-ever-NOM I
kʰim-maŋ-da i-kʰat-ni-ŋ.
 house-godhead-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn-1s
 ‘I have stayed with a Kāmī 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) *lə iŋka kʰananin-ŋa nəu sīge rāga piw-a-nin-ne,*
 OK I you^P-EMPH nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) give-PT-2p-OPT
tī-low-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ-ʔo, lə abi piw-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ mo-ko-sa-ʔa dor-u.
 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. p^heri k^honki-na gagityaŋ-hut-da ik-tet b^hi
 again (N) and.then-TOP distillation.vessel-hole-LOC one-qual earthen.vessel
 yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
 put-INF must-NPT
 ‘after that, inside the gagityang one must put an earthen vessel.’ [Hm]
- b. i-do nikæi hamko mu-Ø-ʔo.
 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.

Factitive Rutgers (1998) labels free-standing nominalised verbs ‘factitive.’ 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 *raecha* [ræc^hə] is borrowed as Bantawa *ræc^hə* as a mirative marker. The mirative takes nominalised sentential complements.

- (411) am-c^ha badd^he i-k^haru mett-u-ŋ-o-ʔo ræc^hə.
 your^s-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. k^hat-ŋa
 go-1s
 ‘I shall go’

- b. k^hat-ŋa-ʔo
 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-k^he ham-si ti-k^har-a-ʔo?
 your^s-lice 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 nominaliser 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. k^hwatni lis-a.
 like.that become-PT
 ‘it is like that’
 b. ... kina k^hwatni lis-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) [k^hwatni lis-a-ʔo] [∅]_{copula}
 [like.that become-PT-NOM]_{NP} EQ
 ‘The fact is, it was like that.’⁸

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

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 subcategorised¹. 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

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.

- b. mina-lai i-law-a-ki i-c^hekt-a.
 man-DAT (N) 3AM-catch-PT-SEQ 3AM-lock-PT
 ‘Grabbing the man, they locked him in (jail)’

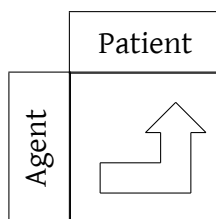
Transitive patients pattern with intransitive subjects and do not get overt case marking, cf. (415a) *haŋkaŋsi*, (415b) *kəreli, g^hoq̄a*, (416a) *kiwa*. However, in the instances where there may be potential confusion or where emphasis is felt to be necessary, the dative marker <-lai> (DAT) may be added 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.

<i>parameters</i>	<i>HIGH</i>	<i>LOW</i>
A. Participants	two or more participants, agent and object	1 participant
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
J. Individuation of object	object highly individuated	object non-individuated

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**

Subject_S-ABS Verb- A_S

(bi-) transitive clauses

Agent_A-ERG Patient_P-ABS (Recipient-DAT) Verb- A_A - A_P

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 verb³, and more patientive subjects will correspond to the patient⁴. Some verbs do not allow for a transitive conjugation, e.g. ‘to sleep’.

(418) eat

a. caŋ

‘I ate.’ antipassive: whatever I ate is not important.

b. coŋ

‘I ate it.’ transitive: something known, at a certain time, and I finished it.

(419) snap

³Intransitive verbs with a subject that corresponds to the agent of the verb in transitive conjugations can be called ‘antipassive’.

⁴Intransitive verbs with a subject that corresponds to the patient of the verb in transitive conjugations can be called ‘middle’.

- a. *samba kera*
‘the bamboo snapped’
- b. *samba keru*
‘he snapped the bamboo’
- (420) sleep
- a. *imsarj.*
‘I slept’
- b. **imsuj.*
**‘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 *pima* ‘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. *ɪŋka-ʔa ram badde-ka-tet c^hapdani-ci pi-ŋ.*
 I-ERG Rām many-NUM-QUAL pen-PL give-1s
 ‘I gave Rām many pens’
- b. **ɪŋka-ʔa ram badde-ka-tet c^hapdani-ci pi-ŋ-ci-ŋ.*
 I-ERG Rām many-NUM-QUAL pen-PL give-1s-DUP-1s
 ** I gave Rām many pens
- c. **ɪŋka-ʔa ram rə syam ik-tet c^hapdani pi-ŋ*
 I-ERG Rām and Śyām one-QUAL pen give-1s
 ** I gave Rām and Śyām one pen
- d. *ɪŋka-ʔa ram rə syam ik-tet c^hapdani pi-ŋ-ci-ŋ*
 I-ERG Rām and Śyām one-QUAL pen give-1s-DUP-1sc
 ‘I gave Rām and Śyām 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

- a. *ɪŋka-ʔa ram hwa-tet gadi-ci in-uŋ-ci-ŋ.*
 I-ERG Rām two-QUAL car-PL sell-1s-DUP-1s
 ‘I sold Rām two cars’
- b. *ɪŋka-ʔa ram-da hwa-tet gadi-ci in-uŋ-ci-ŋ.*
 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 *k^hatma* ‘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.

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^hej-yiwa ot-na.
 your^s-back-bone snap-2P
 ‘I shall break your backbone’
- b. am-k^homtaŋma-da mok-na
 your^s-cheek-LOC slap-2P
 ‘I shall slap you on the cheek’
- (425) a. anka-ʔo som tuk-nin.
 we^{pe}-GEN heart hurt-1ns2
 ‘we like you’ (lit. our heart hurts ‘to’ you)
- b. anka-ʔo som tuʔ-a.
 we^{pe}-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-ŋa?
 what 2AS-ask-1s
 ‘what will you ask me?’
- b. di sen-ma ti-mit-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 what ask-INF 2AS-think-1s-PROG-1s
 ‘what are you thinking of asking me?’
- c. di sen-ma ti-mitt-u-ŋ-o?
 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

	1s	1d	1p	id	ip	2s	2d	2p	3s	3d	3p
1s											
1d											
1p											
id											
ip											
2s											
2d											
2p											
3s											
3d											
3p											

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. *iŋka maŋd^hin i-mett-a-ŋ.*
 I fever 3AM-affect-PT-1s
 'I have a fever'

(428) get the hiccups

- a. saŋa-ʔa i-mitt-a-ŋ-ki hikdikpa i-met-ŋa-Ø-ŋa?
 who-ERG 3AM-remind-PT-1s-SEQ hiccups 3AM-affect-1s-PROG-1s
 ‘thinking of whom did I get the hiccups?’
 lit. ‘reminded by whom did the hiccups befall me’
- (429) get a cold
- a. k^hana k^halampa ni-pukt-a.
 you^s cold 3A-start-PT
 ‘you caught a cold’
- (430) sweat
- a. hakluŋwa i-mett-aŋ.
 sweat 3AM-affect-1s
 ‘I am sweating’
- (431) be surprised
- a. k^hanaci-na ni-domt-a-da-Ø-ci.
 you^d-TOP 3A-surprise-PT-eff-PT-PL
 ‘you^{du} were surprised’
- (432) be tired
- a. i-hott-a-ŋ
 3AM-tire-PT-1s
 ‘I got tired’

Intransitives with an object

To wish, to want badly: intransitive 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 *si*ma ‘to want badly’ is an intransitive verb that is homophonous with and related to the verb *si*ma ‘to die’⁵. In spite of this, *si*ma ‘to want badly’ requires an object. Both object and subject of *si*ma are in the absolutive case. Similarly, the verb *caha metma* ‘to want (to have)’ consists the intransitive conjugation of *metma* ‘to apply’, accompanied by a complementary noun *caha*, which is a loan from Nepali *cāha* ‘want, liking’. With this verb too, all nominals in the sentence are in absolutive case.

- (433) want
- a. k^hana c^hapdani caha ti-met-yaŋ?
 you pen wish 2AS-apply-PROG
 ‘Do you want a pen?’
- (434) to be hungry, to desire

⁵Compare the English idiom ‘to die for’.

- a. ogəri kʰananin 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-ma 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.
 your^s-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 you^s-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?
 you^s-ERG your^s-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
 you^s they^{ms}-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-> (YOUR^s) 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’.

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) *iŋ-lawa lok-∅.*
 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. *iŋka-ʔa som tuk-na.*
 I-ERG lung hurt-2P
 ‘I feel for you.’
 - b. *iŋ-som tuk-na*
 my-lung hurt-2P
 ‘I feel for you.’
 - c. *iŋka-ʔa k^ho-lai som tukt-u-ŋ*
 I-ERG he-DAT lung hurt-3P-1s
 ‘I feel for him.’
 - d. *k^ho-sa-ʔa som ni-tuk-yarŋ*
 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) *iŋ-cirpa kat-∅*
 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).

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’: *loqđiu* ‘it has boiled’ (Allen 1975: 42, 220)⁶.

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

⁶Also in Limbu, cf. (van Driem 1987: 451)

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'

- a. i-k^hot uʔ-u-k^ho.
his/her-skin peel-3P-see:3P
'peel off the skin' (lit. peel its skin and see, i.e. finish it)
- b. iŋka-ʔa uʔ-a-ŋ
I-ERG peel-PT-1s
'I peeled (it)'
- (446) *c^homa* 'to plough'
- a. c^hoʔ-u-ŋ
plough-3P-1s
'I ploughed it.'
- b. c^hoʔ-a-ŋ
plough-PT-1s
'I have been ploughing.'
- c. jəmma-ŋe wik c^hos-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 lapma* '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-ci-ʔa.
fish catch-PT-DU-e
'We (dual, excl) went fishing.'
- d. k^ho-sa-ʔa ŋa laʔ-u.
he-PRN-ERG fish catch-3P
'He caught a fish.'

- e. ? k^ho-sa-ʔa ɲa laʔ-a
 he-PRN-ERG fish catch-PT
 ? He went fishing.
- (448) *k^ha enma* ‘to listen, to hear’
- a. ik-tat kiwa mo-yu ta-ki k^ha-en-a-ɲ-a ni-ʔo rəç^hə.
 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 *k^ho ɲa laʔa* ‘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) *k^hima* ‘to steal’
- a. syam k^his-a
 Śyām steal-PT
 ‘Śyām steals.’
- b. * syam o pəisa k^his-a
 Śyām this money (N) steal-PT
 ‘Śyām stole this money.’
- c. syam-ʔa i-pa-ʔo i-yaŋ k^his-u
 Śyām-ERG his/her-father-GEN his/her-money steal-3P
 ‘Śyām stole his father’s money.’
- d. (k^hosaʔa yaŋ) k^his-a-ki i-law-a i-ç^hekt-a.
 ... steal-PT-SEQ 3AM-catch-PT 3AM-close-PT
 ‘... having stolen money, they caught him and locked him in.’

The verb *k^hima* ‘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 *kikta* would be translated as ‘he held it,’ suggesting that he has been holding it for a while. By contrast, the form *kiktu* 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 k^hanma* ‘to forget’ clearly denotes some loss of control. Both transitive and intransitive forms are acceptable for conjugating *manma k^hanma*.

(450) *manma k^hanma* ‘to forget’

- a. *mantuŋ k^haĩsuŋ*
‘I forgot’
- b. *mantəŋ k^haĩsaŋ*
‘I forgot’

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) no antipassive?

- a. **sera*
*he kills
- b. **k^hatta*
*he takes
- c. ?*d^hatta*
?he kicks

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 <k^ha> in the object position to signal that the object of the verbal situation is not relevant.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<k ^h a>	ANTP	Explicit antipassive, dummy object marker

The antipassive marker <k^ha> (ANTP) is very versatile and explicitly pre-empts any ambiguity to what argument structure is intended. Phonologically, the morpheme *k^ha* is a word, but this word always appears immediately in front of the verb form. Consider the following examples.

(452) *hitma* ‘to scorch’

- a. nam-ʔa mi-hit-yaŋ.
sun-ERG 3pl-scorch-PROG
'The sun is scorching us.'
- b. am-taŋ-miwa hitt-a?
your^s-head-hair burn-PT
'Did your hair get burnt?'
- c. nam-ʔa k^ha hit-yaŋ.
sun-ERG AntP scorch-PROG
'The sun is scorching.'
- d. k^ho-sa-ʔa k^ha hit-Ø.
he/she-PRN-ERG AntP scorch-NPT
'He burns.'
- e. k^ho-ci-ʔa k^ha hit-ci.
he/she-PL-ERG AntP scorch-DU
'They (du) burn.'
- f. k^ho-ci-ʔa k^ha 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 <k^ha> 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) k^ha mokma 'to hit around'
- a. han k^ha mok-ŋa.
now AntP hit-1s
'Now I shall hit, start hitting around'
- b. deki k^ha ti-mok-yaŋ.
why AntP 2AS-hit-PROG
'Why are you hitting?'
- c. deki k^ha 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 k^ha man-mok ti-da-n?
why AntP NEGPTp-hit 2AS-NEGsfx-12plSP
'Why have you (pl) not hit (someone)?'

Many perception verbs almost obligatorily take the *k^ha* object and are given with *k^ha* in their citation forms, as forms without an object sound unnatural.

(454) *k^ha k^haŋma*
‘to see’

(455) *k^ha enma*
‘to hear’

In regular usage though, verbs of perception are like any verb.

(456) *k^ha k^haŋ-ma si-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.*
AntP see-INF wish-1s-PROG-1s
‘I would like to see some.’

(457) *k^ha i-en-niŋ.*
AntP NEGNPp-hear-NEG1
‘I cannot hear a thing’

(458) *k^ho 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 object⁸. 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.

⁸Hopper and Thompson (1980) use the terminology ‘Individuation of the Object’ for specificity or perhaps definiteness of the object.

- (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. *k^ho-sa-ʔa samba ker-u*
 he-PRN-ERG bamboo break-3P
 ‘He broke the bamboo.’
- (462) *otma* ‘break, fracture’ (intransitive)
 a. *iŋ-c^huk or-a.*
 my-arm fracture-PT
 ‘My arm broke.’
 b. * *k^hosaʔa iŋc^huk oru*
 * ‘he broke my arm’
- (463) *otma* ‘break, fracture’ (transitive, causative)
 a. *k^ho-sa-ʔa iŋ-c^huk i-ott-a-ŋ.*
 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.

<i>infinitive</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>middle</i>	– <i>active</i>
ketma	break, snap (of sticks)	kerā	– keru
p ^h utma	break, snap (of wires)	p ^h utta	– p ^h uttu
buŋma	break down, destroy	buŋsa k ^h ara	– buŋsu
biŋma	explode	biŋsa k ^h ara	– biŋsuŋ
hutma	be pierced, pierce	hutta k ^h ara	– huttu

Middle verbs typically denote a process. As a class, state verbs also show middle derivation behaviour⁹. 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 *otma* ‘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 *k^hikma* ‘to be bitter’.

(464) *k^hikma* ‘to be bitter’ (intransitive and derived causatives)

- a. k^hik-yaŋ-ʔo pakt-u.
be.bitter-PROG-NOM make-3P
‘She made it bitter’ (of a mother and the food)
- b. seluwa-ʔa o ŋa-lai k^hikt-u.
bitter.herb-ERG this fish-DAT make.bitter-3P
‘The herbs numbed the fish.’
- c. seluwa-ʔa k^haŋ k^hik-mett-u.
bitter.herb-ERG vegetables be.bitter-CAUS-3P
‘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: *tītepātī*) ‘*Artemisia*’ is used for catching fish¹⁰. 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.

⁹Note that attributes and qualities, such as size, colour and taste are typically predicated by verbs in Bantawa.

¹⁰The piscicidal usage of *Artemisia indica* has also been reported by Joshi and Joshi (2006).

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-Burman¹¹.

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. *c^hetma* ‘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. *b^hetma* ‘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. *t^hopma* ‘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> transitivity 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).

$$(465) \text{ CAUS}(v) = v [+nasal] + s_2$$

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).

¹¹Cf. Michailovsky (1999), Matisoff (2003: 452, 471).

(466) $ABCD(v) = v + t_1$

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 be corrected into the form below.

(466) $ABCD(v) = v ([+nasal]) + t$

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 ~ *i?> 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 <əms>, 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_3 that are never audible, but only fill a slot (\emptyset_3) 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. *b^hepsa* 'sheep', and verb suffixes in -s- affix without problem to stems ending in -p, cf. the supine <-si> (SUP), see (467).

(467) Supine formation causing a /ps/ sequence

- a. am-nic^ha ip-si k^hatt-u
 your-younger.brother put.to.sleep-SUP bring-IMP
 'bring your younger brother to bed'
- b. im-si k^har-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 *ɲt* ~ *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. *c^hotma* (c^hottu) 'to pay' > *c^honma* (c^horu) 'to pay for someone else'. The verb *c^honma* 'to pay for (on behalf of) someone else' is obviously the benefactive for *c^hotma* 'to pay'. *C^hotma* 'to pay', however, conjugates according to class t₁, while *c^honma* 'to pay for' may have been in n₂, but now conjugates as n_{3c}.

Table 6.1: Verb Stem Alternations

Transitivity		Examples	# in data	effect	class change
Less	More				
ŋ/ŋ	k/kt	t ^h aŋma ~ t ^h akma (come up, bring up) waŋma ~ wakma (enter, put in)	[4]	APPL CAUS	ŋ ₃ -> k ₁
t/r	t/tt	k ^h atma ~ k ^h atma (go, take) c ^h itma ~ c ^h itma (leave, leave for someone else)	[2]	CAUS	t ₃ -> t ₁
n/l	t/tt	konma ~ kotma (walk, make walk) b ^h inma ~ b ^h itma (squeeze, make squeeze)	[2]	CAUS	n _{3a} -> t ₁
n/n	t/tt	banma ~ batma (come, bring) henma ~ hetma (remain, bind)	[2]	CAUS	n _{3b} -> t ₁
n/y	t/tt	k ^h unma ~ k ^h utma (carry, carry for someone)	[1]	BEN	n _{3d} -> t ₁
n/ns	t/tt	c ^h enma ~ c ^h etma (urinate, make urinate)	[1]	CAUS	n ₂ -> t ₁
∅/s	t/tt	b ^h ema ~ b ^h etma (fart, fart at someone) kuma ~ kutma (heat, heat for someone) rima ~ ritma (spread, make spread)	[13]	APPL BEN CAUS	∅ ₂ -> t ₁
∅/∅	t/tt	ima ~ itma [ittu ~ ia] (laugh, laugh at)	[5]	APPL	∅ ₃ -> t ₁
∅/w		kima ~ kitma (rot, make rot) tima ~ titma (guide, reach) numa ~ nutma (be auspicious, be good)		CAUS BEN	
∅/∅	t/r	tama ~ tatma (bring, come) lama ~ latma (take out, reach) setma ~ sima (kill, die) ¹²	[3]	CAUS	∅ ₃ -> t ₃
m/m	p/pt	t ^h omma ~ t ^h opma (dance for s.o. / dance) kumma ~ kupma (sit on eggs / hide (oneself))	[2]	BEN CAUS	m ₃ -> p ₁
m/ms	p/pt	imma - ipma (sleep, put to sleep)	[1]	CAUS	m ₂ -> p ₁
p/∅	p/pt	t ^h apma ~ t ^h apma (winnow, spread wide)	[4]	APPL, CAUS	p ₃ -> p ₁
∅/s	n/nt	p ^h ima ~ p ^h inma (break off)	[1]	CAUS	∅ ₂ -> n ₁
n/l	n/nt	p ^h inma ~ p ^h inma (get loose, unstitch)	[1]	CAUS	n _{3a} -> n ₁
n/ns	n/nt	lonma ~ lonma (go outside, take out)	[1]	CAUS	n ₁ -> n ₂
t/tt	n/nt	kitma ~ kinma (be afraid, frighten)	[1]	CAUS	t ₁ -> n ₁
m/m	m/mt	semma ~ semma (rest, make quiet) lemma ~ lemma (be sweet, flatter)	[2]	CAUS	m ₃ -> m ₁
p/∅	m/mt	mapma ~ mamma (grab, grab hair)	[1]	APPL	p ₃ -> m ₁
p/pt	m/mt	pupmu ~ pumma (get tangled, hold tightly)	[1]	CAUS	p ₁ -> m ₁
ŋ/ŋ	ŋ/ŋs	yuŋma ~ yuŋma (sit, put)	[3]	CAUS	ŋ ₃ -> ŋ ₂
k/∅	ŋ/ŋs	hokma ~ hoŋma (begin, begin)	[3]	CAUS	k ₃ -> n ₂
n/l	n/ns	hinma - hinma [hila ~ hinsu] (shake, shake)	[1]	CAUS	n _{3a} -> n ₂
t/r	n/ns	k ^h anma ~ k ^h atma (go, send)	[3]	CAUS	t ₃ -> n ₂

Table 6.2: Verb Stem Alternations *continued*

Transitivity		Examples	# in data	effect	class change
Less	More				
m/m	m/ms	kumma ~ kumma [kuma - kumsu] (hide, hide) namma ~ namma [nama - namsu] (reek, smell)	[2]	CAUS	m ₃ -> m ₂
p/∅	m/ms	apma - amma [au - amsu] (shoot, shoot at (aimlessly, if vi))	[5]	APPL	p ₃ -> m ₂
p/w		tupma ~ tumma [tuʔu ~ tumsu] (meet, join together) k ^h apma ~ k ^h amma [k ^h awa - k ^h amsu] (cry, make cry) epma ~ emma (stand, make stand)		CAUS	
p/pt	m/ms	tapma ~ tamma (fill, fill up)	[1]	CAUS	p ₁ -> m ₂
∅-∅	∅-s	muma ~ mima [mia ~ musu] (fight, fight one another) numa ~ numa [nua ~ nusu] (be good, make better)	[2]	CAUS	∅ ₃ -> ∅ ₂

Table 6.3: Irregular Verb Stem Alternations

Stem consonant pair	Examples
m/ms ↔ p/pt	m ₂ ↔ p ₁ kamma ~ kapma [kamsa ~ kapta] 'join, put together' remma ~ repma 'sprinkle around, sprinkle'
ŋ/ŋt ↔ k/kt	ŋ ₁ ↔ k ₁ aŋma ~ akma [aŋtu ~ aktu] 'tolerate, feel pain'
m/mt ↔ p/pt	m ₁ ↔ p ₁ bumma ~ bupma [bumtu ~ buptu] 'fold' momma ~ mopma 'lose sense, lose sense' bomma ~ bopma 'put on top, cover' domma ~ dopma 'be senseless, worship' pemma ~ pepma 'press, be timid' b ^h omma ~ b ^h opma 'make round, make bundle'

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>, that could be glossed as ABCD if we see it as an independent morpheme. The transitiviser <-t> 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 event¹³. The subject¹⁴ 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:

<i>d—d^h</i>		
<dam ~ dams>	<d ^h am ~ d ^h amsu>	‘thrash, throw to the ground’
<dan ~ dant>	<d ^h an ~ d ^h antu>	‘trip, bring down’
<di ~ dis>	<d ^h i ~ d ^h is>	‘reach, be tall’
<i>k—k^h</i>		
<kon ~ kola>	<k ^h on ~ k ^h olu>	‘walk, move’
<kum ~ kumsa>	<k ^h um ~ k ^h umtu>	‘hide, bury’
<i>p—b^h</i>		
<pin ~ pil>	<b ^h in ~ b ^h il>	‘squeeze, squeeze’

¹³Payne (1997: 176).

¹⁴The word ‘subject’ for verbs undergoing causativisation subsumes subject for intransitive verbs and agent for transitive roots. In causative derivations, verbs follow an accusative pattern.

$t-d^h$		
<ten ~ tens>	<d ^h en ~ d ^h el>	‘fall over / uproot, uproot’
$t-t^h$		
<tep ~ tept>	<t ^h ep ~ t ^h ept>	‘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 Wāmbule (Opgenort 2002: 255-256). This may be partially due to replacement of old causatives, e.g. Michailovsky lists the pair *pe:r* ‘fly’ ~ *p^hes* ‘cause to fly’ for Limbu, while in Bantawa the cognate verb *pinma*, *piʔa*, ‘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 flexion and agreement and indicates the type of causation, while the root verb brings the lexical meaning. The root verb functions as a deverbative 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 flexion.

(468) *muma* in Nepali loans

- a. bakəs watni bənya mu-ma-ki ...
 box (E) like make (N) do-1s-SEQ ...
 ‘Making it like a box, ...’
- b. jupe mu-ŋ-ki
 mutter (N) do-1s-SEQ
 ‘while I was muttering’

Any Nepali verb can be borrowed in the construction shown in (469):

(469) Syntax of Nepali verb loans

- Nepali second perfect participle¹⁵+ finite form of *muma*
<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

- yiŋ mi-lat-Ø 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
‘They pray, the priests do the ritual, they do the ritual.’
- heŋmawa mu-ma tərīka oŋa.
liquor do-INF *method* (N) only
‘This much only is the way to make liquor.’

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) ð iŋka abo o-ko pala-da-ŋka-ŋa k^hana-lai puja met-na-ne
yes I now (N) this-ref turn (N)-LOC-ABL-EMPH you^s-DAT *worship* (N) cause-2P-OPT
ni lo-Ø-ki-na mo-ko əməla-raŋ b^hen-da k^har-a-ki-na
NAR say-3P-SEQ-TOP that-ref lemon (N)-plant root-LOC go-PT-SEQ-TOP
i-pa-ʔa caḥī rāga-ci b^hale-ci
his/her-father-ERG *swTOP* (N) *buffalo.bull* (N)-PL *rooster* (N)-PL
t^hakt-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.’ [Gŋ]

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. *caha metma* ‘to want’, cf. §6.1.3, e.g. (433a). Impersonal examples are found in §6.1.3, e.g. (427a, 428a, 430a).

¹⁵The 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. *maymuma* ‘to worship’, *jupemunki* ‘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).

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<Σ> <metma>	<Σ> CAUS	analytical causative

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’

- (474) *iŋka-ʔa c^ha-ci belun mut-mett-u-ŋ-c-u-ŋ.*
 I-ERG child-PL balloon blow-CAUS-3P-1s-DUP-3P-1s
 ‘I let the children blow up the balloon’
- (475) *k^hat-met-ma¹⁶*
 take-CAUS-INF
 ‘to let take’
- (476) *k^hat 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 *k^hanma* ‘to send’ derives from *k^hatma* ‘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. *k^haŋ-met-ma*
see-CAUS-INF
 ‘to show’
 - c. *ca-met-ma*
eat-CAUS-INF
 ‘to make someone eat’ (*खान लगाउनु (N)*)
 - d. *k^hat-met-ma*
go-CAUS-INF
 ‘to make go’
 - e. *ram-ʔa i-ni^ha-ci-lai ka^hmaŋdu-ya kəmpyuṭər*
Rām-ERG his/her-younger.brother-PL-DAT (N) Kath.-LOC.level computer
k^hit-si k^hat-mett-u-ci
buy-SUP go-CAUS-3P-DUP
 ‘Rām 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’
म तपाईंलाई मःमः खुवाउनु विचार गर्छु (N)

¹⁶*k^hatmetma* is ambiguous between ‘let take’ and ‘let go’, but is usually understood as the first.

- 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. k^hatma₃ *root*
 'to go'
- b. k^hanma₂ *s-derivation*
 'to send'
- c. k^hatma₁ *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'.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<Σ> <muma>	(Σ) MAKE.DO	analytical causative with mus-

The resulting participant reorganisation of this causative contrasts with that of the causative formed with *metma* 'causative'.

- (483) k^haŋmuma
- a. k^haŋ-mu-ma
 see-make.do-INF
 'to display' (देखाउनु, प्रदर्शन गर्नु (N) 'to show, to display, to exhibit')
- b. o dum k^haŋ-mus-u-ŋ
 this thing see-make.do-3P-1s
 'I put that on display'
- (484) k^haŋmetma
- a. k^haŋ-met-ma
 see-CAUS-INF
 'to show' (देखाउनु (N) 'to show')

- b. ʔo dum k^haŋ-met-na
 this thing see-CAUS-2P
 ‘I show that to you’

Remarkably, the agreement the agent of *k^haŋmuma* is reflected as the displayer, and the patient is the object on display. The agent of *k^haŋmetma*, 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 subject¹⁴ 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 is 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) k^haŋ mumancin ‘to show oneself’

- a. k^haŋ mu-ma-n-ci-n
 see make.do-INF-REFL-DUP-REFL
 ‘To appear, to show oneself’
- b. k^haŋ mu-ŋaŋ-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 tok-t-in.
 guava receive-12plSP
 ‘You can get guavas.’
- (487) dekinalo ni yiŋ-in-nalo yiŋ-ma dat-Ø-nalo o cakwa
 because NAR say-12plSP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
 jətika kʰepi tatai li-Ø ʔa, 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’.

- (488) *nam-ʔa mi-hit-yaŋ*
 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-nucʰaŋa la-ma-hiŋ-ma topt-u-m-ʔo
 die-12plSP-eff-12plSP-even.though return-INF-live-INF receive-3P-12plA-NOM
rəcʰə.
 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 <mi-> (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 with complement and *muma*

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.

marker	gloss	function
Σ mu-	Σ RECIP-	Reciprocal root, 'to X one another'
Σ-ka-Σ mu-	Σ-RECIPP-Σ RECIP-	Reciprocal, emphatic: 'to X one another'

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 c^hok-muw-a-ci di b^həne jəigəla-burɣwa əni
gift (N) move-RECIP-PT-DU what saying (N) jəigəla-flower then (N)
 doŋ-k^hola doŋ.
 mouth.harp-cover mouth.harp
 'Sending presents, what to say, a *jaigala* flower and a mouth harp with a cover.' [Sm]
- b. masiŋ pasiŋ c^hit-muw-a-ci.
 wife husband leave.for.someone.else-RECIP-PT-DU
 'The couple split up.'
- c. k^hon-ki-na pi-muw-a-ci k^ho-da-ɲka cino pəhile
 he/she-SEQ-TOP give-RECIP-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL *gift (N) before (N)*
 pi-muw-a-ci-kina niŋa 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

- a. mok-ka-mok muw-a-ŋ-a.
 beat-RECIPP-beat do-PT-PROG-PT
 'He was in a fight' (beating and being beaten)

- b. lak lu-k^ha-da bihe mi-mu-Ø. niŋa
 religious.dance feel-PNOM-LOC marriage (N) 3pl-be.pred-NPT mood
 no-ka-no mi-mu-Ø, warisa t^haŋna-ci.
 be.happy-RECIPp-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. *nak^hoŋ-ci sakenwa mu-k^ha-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. *k^hananin saŋ-ʔa mowatni lam k^haŋ ni-mett-in?*
you^p 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 word¹.

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 affair². Some authors, esp. Payne, do not include compound verbs under the serial verb label³.

¹A 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.

²Tense 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.

³Payne 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 Kirantist literature⁴.

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 Kirantist literature, we find the terms ‘motionalisers’⁵ and ‘aspectivizers’⁶ 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.

⁴The term ‘compound verbs’ is used by Tolsma (1999: 60), Ebert (1994: 60); ‘aspectivised compound’ by Van Driem (1993b: 197). Ebert and Lahaussais (2002: 200) note that the term ‘compound verbs’ relates the Kiranti constructions to constructions in other South Asian languages that are called similarly.

⁵E.g. Opgenort (2002: 391).

⁶Lahaussais (2002: 200), van Driem (1987, 1993b).

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 than anything else, this feature identifies Kiranti compound verbs as lexical units.

- (497) V1 V2
- 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
- a. there are no suffixes on V1 that are not present on V2
there are no clausal suffixes on V1
there are no prefixes on V2⁸
 - b. there is agreement of valence: if V1 is transitive, then so is V2.

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 clause⁹ and is not nominalised, unless the vector verb is also marked in that way. This corresponds to the mono-clausal 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)¹⁰. 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.

⁸Across 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.

⁹'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.

¹⁰Pokharel observes this phenomenon in a well-defined gerund-type subset of Nepali compound verbs.

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-m-ʔo mamayiŋ man-k^han-sa k^har-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, *mank^hansa* ‘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) *j^harak bantawa rai-ci-ʔa o dum i-tupt-a yuŋs-a.*
 all Bantawa Rai-PL-ERG this matter 3AM-understand-PT put-PT
 ‘All Bantawa Rais have understood this matter.’ [Bw]

The compound *itupta 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 verbs¹¹

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.

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 n , 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.

ik ^h atnin	‘we do not take you’										
<i>phon</i>	i	k ^h at			ni		n				
<i>morph</i>	NEGNPp	take			1ns2		NEGn				
<i>slot</i>	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

kolinka	‘we shall walk’										
<i>phon</i>		kol			in						ka
<i>morph</i>		walk			12plSP						e
<i>slot</i>	-1	0	1	2	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^{pi} walk’ is a form that stretches from slot 0 to slot 3, whereas *kolinka* ‘we^{pe} 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 ⁰kolinka⁹, or ⁻¹ik^hatnin³. As a means of generalisation we can write ⁿV^m for any given verb form with slots n - m filled¹³. This notational convention allows us to formulate the rule for verb compounding in Bantawa (503).

¹²The 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.

¹³A verb form of type ⁿV^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.

- (503) ${}^0V^6 \rightarrow {}^0V^6 {}^0V^6$
 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).

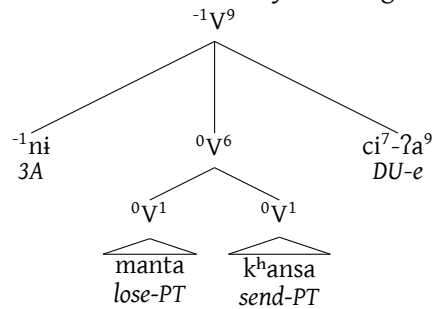
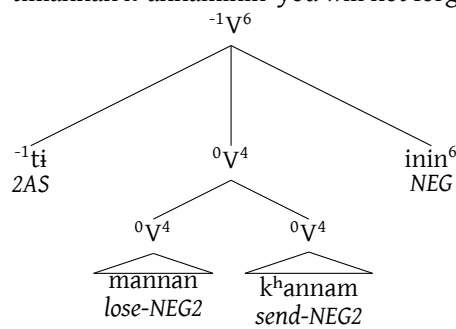
- (504) Suffixes before slot 6 must be duplicated.
- a. * i-lon-k^hat-nin
 NEGNPp-come.out-go-NEGn
 * 'He does not come out.'
 - b. i-lon-nin k^hat-nin
 NEGNPp-come.up-NEGn go-NEGn
 'He does not come out.'
- (505) Suffixes beyond slot 6 cannot be duplicated.
- a. * k^har-in-ka lont-in-ka
 go-12plSP-e come.out-12plSP-e
 * 'We shall rise again.'
 - b. k^har-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).

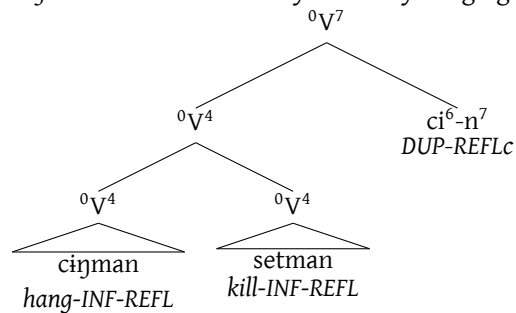
- (506) lon-∅-k^hat-∅
 come.out-NPT-go-NPT
 'He will come out.'
- (507) * lon-k^hat-ci
 come.out-go-DU
 'They will come out.'

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 ${}^0V^6$. 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.

(508) Some structures for compounded verbs.

a. nimanta k^hansaci?a ‘they have forgotten us’b. timannan k^hannaminin ‘you will not forget us’

c. cijman setmancin ‘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 <-∅ ~ -u> (3P) alternatively appears as /∅/ and /u/.

(509) saŋ-?a la-∅-da-∅-ŋ-u-ci-?o?
 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> (12PLSP) 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 <k^har>.

- (510) k^hada ti-ma-n-k^har-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 Bantawa¹⁴. 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 *pirak^hara* ‘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

¹⁴The 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.’

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

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	<i>Reflexive, Benefactive, Causative, Passive</i>	\$7.3.3
II.	Category-Preserving		
	i.	Category-Sensitive (Category-Selective)	\$7.2.5
		a.	Motionalisers
			* Directional/Telic <i>Subclassed by direction (go/come) and level (up/down)</i>
			* Undirected <i>(Imperfective)</i>
		b.	Coordinating <i>Coordinated semantics</i> \$7.2.6
		ii.	Category-Insensitive
			a.
			Aspectual <i>Progressives, Perfective, Resultative, Frustrative</i> \$7.2.6
			b.
			Modal <i>Potentiality, Conative</i> \$7.2.6

Compound verb constructions must firstly be divided between category changing and category preserving compound verbs. The distinction between category changing 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. Wāmbule and Yamphu, the difference does not emerge in form, as only the second verb (V2) is conjugated. For languages such as Bantawa, Kulung 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 verb¹⁸. 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).

¹⁸See §7.2.1, footnotes 5 and 6.

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*₃ as vector verb: motionaliser of going, ‘go away’ (DIRaway), telic aspect, derived from ‘to go’
- yawa rikt-a kʰar-a.*
friend twist-PT go-PT
‘the friend got angry.’
 - kanla al-a kʰar-a.*
ridge turn.over-PT go-PT
‘the terrace ridge toppled over.’
- (513) *kʰanma*₂ as vector verb: ‘completive’ aspect, derived from ‘to make go’
- (...) *tənə əni i-do cʰaŋ (...) 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.’
 - winma kʰanma*
ditch send
‘to ditch, to throw away, to dispose’
 - wetma kʰanma*
throw send
‘to throw away’
 - manma kʰanma*
lose send
‘to forget’
- (514) *kʰatma*₁ as vector verb: motionaliser of taking, ‘take away’ (DIRaway), (strong) telic aspect, derived from ‘to take’

- a. baca i-pakt-a-c-u-pəc^hi p^həile li-yaŋ-sa k^har-a-kina,
 charm 3AM-sow-PT-DU-3P-after (N) spread (N) become-PROG-SIM go-PT-CAUS
 d^hake mu-Ø-k^hatt-u.
 cover (N) do-3P-DIRaway-3P
 ‘After they put on the charm, having spread, it covered (the water).’

(515) *tama*₃ as vector verb: motionaliser of returning, ‘come’ (DIRback), derived from ‘to come’

- a. k^hwatni yiŋ-a. k^hon-da-ŋka 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 k^hont-a-ta-Ø ler-a-hiŋ-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 *k^hatma*₃ ‘to go’ has two transitive derivations, viz. *k^hatma*₁ ‘to take’ and *k^hanma* ‘to send’₂. The first form *k^hatma* ‘to take’ implies a more direct causation. The second, more transparent and productive causative formation *k^hanma* 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 *k^hatma*₃ ‘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 *kuy^hma* ‘to bend’ (516), we see that while the verb *kuy^hma* ‘to bend’, which is a middle verb, does not formally change, the verb *k^hatma*₃ ‘to go’ changes to its regular causative form *k^hanma*₂ ‘to send’. However, the choice of causative form is lexical. Note that the causative of *mama* ‘to get lost’ is *manma*₁ ‘to loose’, another causative formation than *k^hanma*₂ ‘to send’.

(516) ‘to bend’ - *k^hatma*₃ → *k^hanma*₂

- a. *kuy^ht-a k^har-a.*
 bend-PT go-PT
 ‘It bent.’

- b. *kuŋt-u k^hāis-u.*
 bend-3P send-3P
 ‘He bent it.’
- (517) ‘to get lost’ vs. ‘to lose’ - $k^{hat}ma_3 \rightarrow k^{han}ma_2$
- a. *ma-∅-k^har-a.*
 get.lost-PT-go-PT
 ‘It got lost.’
- b. *mant-u-k^hans-u.*
 lose-3P-let.go-3P
 ‘He lost it, he forgot it.’
- (518) ‘Abandon, release’
- a. *ler-u-ŋ k^hans-u-ŋ.*
 leave-3P-1s let.go-3P-1s
 ‘I left him behind.’
- b. *hor-u-m k^hais-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 $k^{hat}ma_1$ (k^{hattu}) ‘to take’ transitive derivation is more strictly aspectual in usage, whereas the form $k^{han}ma_2$ ‘to send’ always retains a connotation of ‘away’, disappearance and physical abandonment.

- (519) $k^{hat}ma_3 \rightarrow k^{hat}ma_1$
- a. *lint-u k^hatt-u!*
 attack-3P take-3P
 ‘attack!’
- b. *som-ma k^hat-ma*
 search-INF take-INF
 ‘to search thoroughly’
- c. *soms-u k^hatt-u.*
 search-3P take-3P
 ‘He searched thoroughly.’

Aspect and direction So far, we have mostly chosen the verb $k^{hat}ma$ ‘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 inchoative¹⁹ 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

¹⁹Also (Rai 1985: 119) ‘inceptive’

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) *jägge-da c^henwaraŋ-ci-ʔa behula behuli-ci ʔika wat-ma*
jägge (N)-LOC inlaw-PL-ERG groom (N) bride (N)-PL blessing.mark (N) apply-INF
mi-puŋs-u-ci.
 3pl-start-3P-DU

‘In the *jägge* 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 motionalisers 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. *k^hont-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. *k^hon-ma ta-ma*
 resurrect-INF come-INF
 ‘to rise and come, to resurrect’

- (522) *lonma*₂ as *telic* motionaliser

akwa t^ho-a-ki-na iŋ-c^huk-ʔa c^ho-u-ŋ-loĩs-u-ŋ.
 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 motionalisers 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 motionalisers and here it becomes important to pay proper attention to the aspectual 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 uŋ-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
- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Oriented verbs | go ↔ telic: ‘away’ |
| | come ↔ inchoative (telic): ‘come’ |
| Non-oriented verbs | walk ↔ non-telic, continuous |

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’.

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-∅-ci la-∅-ci-ki...*
 come-PT-DU return-PT-DU-SEQ
 ‘after they had reached...’
- b. *ta-∅-la-∅-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^hoŋs-a-ŋ-da-ŋ-ni-ŋ!* ni lo-∅-ci.
 I 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^hatt-a-n-u-m.*
 your^P Paruhang-TOP return-PT-DIRaway-PT-2P-3P-12plA
 ‘Take your Paruhang back again.’ [Sm]
- c. *iŋka ak^homaŋ matte trekiŋ kon-ma kaci-da-ŋka*
 I yesterday only (N) trekking walk-INF work-LOC-ABL
las-a-ŋ-ta-∅-ŋ yuŋs-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.

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 *dama* <da ~ do>, which never occurs independently, belongs to this class. The verb *dama* comes very close in meaning to the perfect *yukma* forms, see below. The subtle difference is that the forms augmented with *dama* are perfective, not perfect. *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 <yu? / yuk / yukt- ~ yuŋ / yuŋs> ‘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.

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’ *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.

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 yij-in-nalo yij-ma dat-Ø-nalo o cakwa
 because NAR say-12plSP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
 jətika k^hepi tatəi li-Ø-ya, mo *lat-ma* k^hat-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) ... paŋs-a-k^har-a-ci[?]-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, repetitiveness, 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

²³However, 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).

²⁴Ebert (1994: 60) uses the terminology ‘stative’.

²⁵Bickel (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. The 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 verbs²⁶. In Bantawa, we find the progressive and the continuous in the imperfective realm. These can be graded in force: the neutral zero verb form <∅> < progressive <yaŋ ~ ŋ ~ ∅> < 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 groupings²⁷.

For Dumi, van Driem (1993b: 199) describes the continuous <tho ~ thot>, often emerging as <thiŋ>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 *cama*²⁹ (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

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<yaŋ ~ ŋ ~ y ~ ∅>	PROG	progressive vector verb
<yak ~ yakt>	CONT	continuous vector verb

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. ɪm hempa lamthi:-thiŋ-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 *yukma*, 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-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo* *tit-ʔa* *hom-ma dot-Ø*.
 be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM cloth-ERG wrap-INF must-NPT.
 ‘We must wrap it in white cloth.’
- b. *c^hap-ma les-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. *ims-a-ŋ-a*.
 sleep-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘He was lying down.’
- b. *ims-a-yakt-a*.
 sleep-PT-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 mwatni jayc^hac^haŋ i-tokt-a-c-u-ci-ki-na* *mo-ci-c^haŋ*
 yes that.way glorious.child 3AM-receive-PT-DU-3P-DUP-SEQ-TOP that-PL-ever
mi-pon-Ø-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 were growing up there, continued to grow up.’

Morphology of the progressive

The Bantawa progressive construction that uses the allomorphs <yaŋ ~ 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).

Table 7.1: Comparison of simplex non-past affixes with progressive non-past affixes

Slot	NPT affixes	NPT PROG affixes	Endings	PROG allomorph
1s	Σ-ŋa	Σ-ŋaŋa	-ŋa -ŋa	-Ø
1d	Σ-ciʔa	Σ-ciŋciʔa	-ci -ci	-ŋ
1p	Σ-inka	Σ-inyinka	-in -inka	-y
id	Σ-ci	Σ-ciŋci	-ci -ci	-ŋ
ip	Σ-in	Σ-inyin	-in -in	-y
2s	ti-Σ	ti-Σ-yaŋ	-Ø -Ø	-yaŋ
2d	ti-Σ-ci	ti-Σ-ciŋci	-ci -ci	-ŋ
2p	ti-Σ-in	ti-Σ-inyin	-in -in	-y
3s	Σ	Σ-yaŋ	-Ø -Ø	-yaŋ
3d	Σ-ci	Σ-ciŋci	-ci -ci	-ŋ
3p	mi-Σ	mi-Σ-yaŋ	-Ø -Ø	-yaŋ

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 <yaŋ> 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 forms³⁰. 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^{du} 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. *tiikolinyan* 'you^{pl} are walking'. To accommodate the particular progressive allomorphy in these forms in the Rabi dialect we can assume that in these forms *-yaŋ* 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.

- c. *i-ciŋ-nin* *set-nin-ci-n*
 NEGNPp-hang-NEGn kill-NEGn-DUP-NEGc
 'He does not kill himself'
- d. *i-ciŋ-nin* *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 Rutgers'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 c^ha pon-ma-ca-ma* *he maʔaŋ?*
 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* *ims-ca-te*
 straw.mat-LOC sleep-CNT-IMP
 'sleep^s on the straw mat'

³⁴For Yamphu, Rutgers reports a middle effect.

- b. taŋkoŋ-da i-taŋ nant-u-ki ims-a-ca-Ø-ʔo
pillow-LOC his/her-head lean.back-3P-SEQ sleep-PT-eat-PT-NOM
yuuŋ-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 subcategorised 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 *k^hama* ‘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’

³⁵The 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.

³⁶This 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-do:-ma
question-put-INF
‘to ask’ (cf. Dutch: *vragen stellen* ‘to pose questions’)

- b. iŋka-na i-domt-a-ŋ-da-Ø-ŋ.
I-TOP 3AM-think.hard-PT-1s-eff-PT-1s
'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 imperatives³⁷. In Bantawa, adding an appropriate form of *k^hama* '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) *k^hama* - probative

- a. icilok piw-a-ŋ-k^ha-Ø-ŋ.
a.bit give-PT-1s-see-PT-1s
'Give me a little bit.'
- b. sampica yi-yaŋ-sa hik lant-u-k^ho.
millet shake-PROG-SIM wind winnow-3P-see.3P
'Winnow the millet, shaking it to the wind.'
- c. k^him k^har-a-k^ha-Ø-ci!
house go-PT-see-PT-DU
you^{du} go home, please!

³⁷In Limbu, there is a verb for 'to check' (van Driem 1987: 131), that comes in a construction like 'see and check, check and see, check by seeing'. For Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 180) there is the explorative *k^hayma*, a cognate of Bantawa *k^hayma*. In Yamphu, however, this vector verb seems to have retained some explorative connotation, while in Bantawa *k^hayma* has been reduced to a signal of politeness. All of these forms are similar to the way हेर्नु *hernu* 'to see' is used in the Nepali form चाखिहेर्नु 'taste and see', which simply means 'to taste'.

- d. *k^him k^har-a-ci-k^ha-Ø!*
house go-PT-DU-see-PT
'you^{du} go home, please!'
- e. *k^him k^har-a-nin-k^ha-Ø!*
house go-PT-2p-see-PT
'you^{pl} go home, please!'
- f. **k^him k^har-a-k^ha-Ø-nin!*

K^hama 'to see' also is category-insensitive and conjugates in whichever way the main verb conjugates. The verb *k^hama* seems to maintain a relationship with *k^haŋma* 'to see'. However, the stem velar nasal never occurs in compound forms. In addition, the paradigm of compound verbs with *k^hama* is defective. All singular forms with the root <*k^ha*> 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 <*k^ha*> may not have been a verb originally, but derives from another source. The frequent suffix <-*k^ha*> 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, cencikwa-ʔa walu-ʔe*
buffalo.bird walk-PT-CON-PT-SIMP buffalo.bird-ERG water.source-ATTR
d^hir-u-ŋ, mulu-ʔe d^hir-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 *pfiʔma* 'attempt' (Rutgers 1998: 180) might as well have been labelled as 'conative'.

³⁹There is, however, a modal auxiliary *puyma* ~ *pukma* '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 ci?a* ‘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 mortative⁴⁰ indicates an action ending in death.

- (542) ‘mortative’
- a. k^ho-lai makyi-?a i-ciŋs-a ser-a
he/she-DAT rope-ERG 3AM-hang-PT kill-PT
‘They killed him hanging him with a rope’
- b. rikt-u ser-u
strangle-3P kill-3P
‘He strangled it’

⁴⁰Van Driem (1987) labelled this aspect the ‘mechrithanatus’ aspect.

Mortatives⁴¹ 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 *hiŋma* ‘to live’ that indicates that an action results in revival, cf. (515a).

Relinquitive The relinquitive expresses that an action ends in abandonment⁴².

In Bantawa we see various verbs serve as a relinquitive. *Hanma* ‘to send’ is more of a dimittive, e.g. (543), while *k^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)⁴³.

(543) dimittive (‘to send off’)

- a. ri-na han-na
 chase-2P send-2P
 ‘I shall chase you away’

(544) relinquitive (‘throw away, abandon’)

- a. mant-u-kes-u
 lose-3P-throw.away-3P
 ‘He forgot it.’
 b. mit-ma ke-ma
 think-INF throw.away-INF
 ‘to decide’ (!)

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 *yuŋma* ‘to sit’ or *yukma* ‘to put’. The verbs *yuŋma* or *yukma* derive from the same root and form a transitive - intransitive pair that differ regularly in valency. In isolation the verbs *yuŋma* 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.

⁴¹Mortatives are found across Kiranti languages, e.g. in Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 166) and Kulung (Tolsma 1999).

⁴²Also Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 152), Dumi (van Driem 1993b: 202) ‘dispatch, dimittive’

⁴³Ebert (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.

- (545) icilok *kims-u-η-lar-u-η-yuηs-u-η*.
 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 *yuηma* 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. iηka k^hana juwapa c^hot-na-ʔo yuw-a-η-a.
 I 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-k^himhaηma saro-ηa riηri pi-∅-yuηs-u-η-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 k^hepi mo-da k^har-a-η yuηs-a-η.
 one time that-LOC go-PT-1s PERF-PT-1s
 ‘I have gone there once.’

- (548) icilok un-ηa iηka yiη-a-yuηs-a-η.
 a.bit this.much-EMPH I speak-PT-PERF-PT-1s
 ‘I only spoke this much.’

The verb *yukma* ‘to put’, that is related to *yuηma* ‘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,^{44,45} cf. §4.5.3.

The perfect usage of *yujma* is category-insensitive⁴⁶.

Conjunctive compound verbs

Finally, there is always the left over 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 k^hupt-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 well⁴⁷.

If every simultaneous interpretation fails, we must conclude that the coordination of verbs denotes consecutive events. The semantics of these compounds would be

⁴⁴Bickel (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.

⁴⁵Rutgers (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.

⁴⁶The vector verb usage of *yujma* is therefore formally different from the independently occurring verb *yujma*. There are two derivationally related independent verbs *yujma* ‘to sit’ and *yujma* ‘to put’. These verbs partake in two separate conjugations, viz. intransitive *yuja* ‘he sat’ vs. transitive *yujsu* ‘he put it’. However, as a vector verbs we find only find the s-conjugation form, conjugated both ways, e.g. *-yuj-s-a* (PERF-PT).

⁴⁷The 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 one⁴⁸.

In Bantawa, truly coordinated predicates in the sense that they refer to two events rather than one, are rare (550).

- (550) əni solonwa-ʔa k^hitt-u t^hokt-u-dis-u, i-do-da-tni jəmma
 then (N) gourd-ERG worship-3P spill-3P-reach-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL all (N)
 rept-u.
 sprinkle-3P.

‘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) pir-a-lar-a.
 graze-PT-get.off-PT
 ‘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 *d^hantaŋ* ‘brought down’ should appear.

- (552) ti-somt-a-ŋ d^hant-a-ŋ-nalo iŋka yaŋ pi-na.
 2AS-please-PT-1s bring.down-PT-1s-COND I money give-2P
 ‘If you make me happy, I shall give you money.’

- (553) lek-ma yak-ma si-n-lo.
 lick-INF hold-INF wish-12plSP-MAN
 ‘Let’s kiss.’ (lit. ‘it’s like we wish to kiss’)

In the fixed expression *lekma yakma* ‘to kiss’, the vector verb *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.

⁴⁸In 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

‘[we should] kill and eat this goat’ (Bickel 1996: ex.7.1.a)

Thulung has examples where it is hard to argue that the compound verb denotes a single event.

i. duŋ-bik-a
 drink-come-IMP2s
 ‘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) mɔmɔ 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) k^ho-so-ʔo i-niŋ c^hun-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

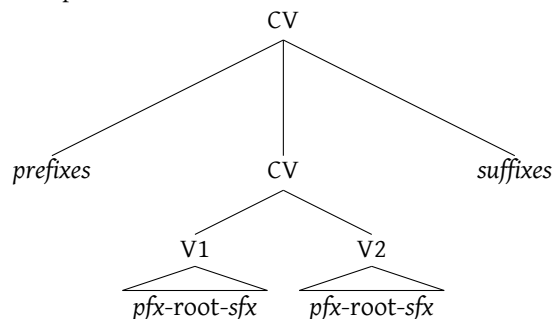
There are complex verb constructions where vector verbs seem to change the valency of the main verb by adding or deleting a participant position. These vector verbs affect the transitivity of the verb and turn a transitive into an intransitive, e.g. reflexive or passive, or the other way around, e.g. 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.

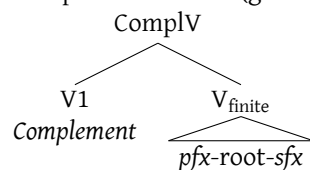
This type of complex verb has been labelled ‘grammatical complement verbs’. This label expresses that these vector verbs are second verbs in compound constructions that take an argument as an obligatory complement to form a valid verbal predicate. This is different from plain compounding in the sense 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. Compound verb



b. Complemented verb (grammatical)



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 benefactives⁴⁹, 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 *-tet*. 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*⁵⁰ '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.

⁴⁹And for other Kiranti languages, reflexives perhaps and passives.

⁵⁰The 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_{main}	<prefixes _A >	V_{operator}	<suffixes _A >
Main verb	Auxiliary verb, hosting all agreement		

We expect the agreement on the operator verb (V_{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 <-ci> or <-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.

tag	Bantawa (PT)		Limbu (PT)	Thulung
1s	Σ-a-ŋ	-ci-ŋ	Σ-siŋ-aŋ	Σ-si-ŋuro
1d	Σ-a	-ci-ya	Σ-n-εtc ^{hi} gya	Σ-si-coko
1p	Σ-in	-ci-n-ka	Σ-siŋ-igya / -siŋ-mōna	Σ-si-toko
id	Σ-a-ci	-ci	a-Σ-n-εtc ^{hi}	Σ-si-ci
ip	Σ-in	-ci-n	a-Σ-siŋ-(ε)	Σ-si-dj
2s	ti-Σ-a-n	-ci-n	kε-Σ-siŋ-(ε)	Σ-si-na
2d	ti-Σ-a-na-n-ci-n		kε-Σ-n-εtc ^{hi}	Σ-si-ci
2p	ti-Σ-a-na-n-ci-n		kε-Σ-siŋ-i	Σ-si-ni
3s	Σ-a-n	-ci-n	Σ-siŋ-(ε)	Σ-si-ɖa
3d	Σ-a-ci	-ci	Σ-n-εtc ^{hi}	Σ-si-ci
3p	mi-Σ-a-n	-ci-n	mε-Σ-siŋ-(ε)	Σ-si-miri

mīma (Tolsma 1999: 100), Yamphu *me?ma* (Rutgers 1998: 193), Wāmbule *pāccām* (Opgenort 2002: 388) and Thulung *beŋ* are also in the valence-changing verb class. They are nowhere compound verbs, but always verbs with deverbal verb-root complements.

⁵¹In Kulung, the reflexive is <-nci ~ ci>, distributed over the paradigm like in Bantawa (Tolsma 1999: 56, 181). In Wāmbule, the reflexive is <-si> but reported to be rare and found on third person singular forms only (Opgenort 2002: 286). Formally, the Wāmbule middle patterns with Thulung.

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

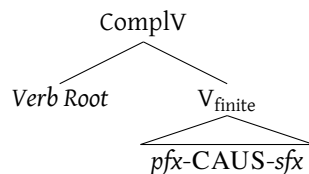
Some authors, such as Ebert (1994) and Lahaussais (2002) have proposed to treat valence increasing verbs on a par with compound verbs. However, any incongruity between valence of the first and second verb in the complex construction results in formal differences from ordinary verbal compounding.

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) Structure of causative



⁵²Lahaussais 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 flexion 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.

g. si-m-le-mri

die-3p-RES-3p.PST (cf si-mri, 3p past)

? ‘he died’ (Lahaussais 2002: 202)

h. mu-mij-ka uni-lwa su-be-mri

that-PLU-ERG 3POSS-story tell-do-3p.PST

‘They told each other their news.’ (Lahaussais 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 caŋma* 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 second 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 auxiliary⁵³. In Bantawa too, the verb *pima* ‘to give’ is the operator in the compound benefactive construction, e.g. (560-561).

- (559) *iŋ-ni^ha* *dima-ŋo* *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-ŋo* *niki g^hoḍeṭar k^har-a-ŋ*.
 grandmother-GEN for Ghodeṭār go-PT-1s
 ‘I went to Ghodeṭār for (the benefit of) grandmother.’
- b. * ... *g^hoḍeṭar k^har-a-ŋ-pi-Ø-ŋ*
 ... *Ghodeṭār go-PT-1s-BEN-3P-1s*
 (with a transitively conjugated benefactive)
- c. * ... *g^hoḍeṭar k^har-a-ŋ-pi-a-ŋ*
 ... *Ghodeṭār go-PT-1s-BEN-PT-1s*
 (with an intransitively conjugated benefactive)

- (561) *i-yuŋs-a-kina* *p^heri* *k^həi* *molok nəu siŋe* *rāga* *ni*
 3AM-put-PT-CAUS again (N) where (N) isn’t.it nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) NAR
i-low-a *tə* *mo b^hale-ŋo* *i-sira-ŋa* *k^haŋ*
 3AM-say-PT though (N) that rooster (N)-GEN his/her-cock.comb-EMPH show
i-ett-a-ki *i-k^hipt-a-piw-a:*
 3AM-tell-PT-SEQ 3AM-read-PT-BEN-PT

⁵³As an exception, (Lahaussis 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...’
[Gn]

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.

⁵⁴As 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-uŋ-bi-niŋ-ba
release-1s3s-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^ha badde *ij-niŋa nos-u*.
 that-REF girl much my-mind please-3P
 ‘She pleases me very much.’
- (564) k^ho-so-ʔo *i-niŋ c^hun-Ø-yaŋ-Ø*.
 he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-mind refuse-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘He does not trust me’ (his mind refuses)
- (565) k^ho-ci-ʔo ico *niŋa no-Ø*.
 he/she-PL-GEN their^{ms} mind be.good-NPT
 ‘they (pl) are happy’ (their mind is good)
- (566) am-dum-ʔa *ijko ij-niŋa c^hir-a-ŋ-a*.
 your^s-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 tukma* (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. *iŋka-ʔa som tuk-na.*
I-ERG heart hurt-2P
‘I feel for you’ (I hurt my heart for you)
- b. *iŋ-som tuk-na.*
my-heart hurt-2P
‘I care for you’ (my heart hurts for you)
- c. *ancoʔa som tuk-nin.*
our^{de} heart hurt-1ns2
‘We (du) feel for you’
- d. *ancoʔa som tuʔa.*
our^{de} 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-∅*
water-wash-NPT
‘he showers’
- (570) *c^ham lu-n-ne!*
song perform-12plSP-OPT
‘let’s sing a song!’

(571) ‘to need’ (intransitive conjugation with object complement and object)

- a. *ɪŋka cʰapdani 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.*
we^{di} water-shower-DU
 ‘we shower’
- b. *wa-caŋ-ma*
water-shower.APPL-INF
 ‘to shower, wash another’

- c. arəŋ iŋ-ma-ʔa wa i-caŋs-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 ta* ‘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
- syntactical objects are represented in agreement marking on the finite verb,
 - incorporated objects are not.
- (576) semantic difference between verb complements and nominal objects
- syntactical objects have a constant meaning over domains,
 - incorporated objects have, in combination with the verb, an idiomatic or untransparent meaning.

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 idiom 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) c^ham-ŋe lu-n-ne!
 song-EMPH perform-12plSP-OPT
 ‘let’s sing a song’
- (578) c^ham k^honki lak lu-n-ne!
 song and dance perform-12plSP-OPT
 ‘let sing and dance’
- (579) ya mi-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 describe 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 *kʰa* 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^hep-pa
 ear closed
 'deaf'
 c. nu-wak¹
 '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. d^hiwaŋ
 'big' < d^hi-ma 'to be big'
 b. kiwaŋ
 'tall' < ki-ma 'to be tall'

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 forms². 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) o citko mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
 this small do-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘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. *tawaŋ* ‘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 a adnominal modifier by a general nominalisation process with the nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM).

- (585) o-da mu-ma mi-dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo kaci-ci dem-ʔo
 this-LOC do-INF 3pl-must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work-PL how.many-NOM
 dem!
 how.many
 ‘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).

¹The suffix <-wa> is a regular alternative for <-pa> in older forms (§3.1.3). The final /k/ in *nuwak* is marginal and unpredictably appears in some suffixes (cf. §2.1.3).

²The allomorphy of the nominaliser is not completely irregular, e.g. Rai (1985) offers <-ko> as one of the allomorphs for the genitive.

- (586) adverb to adjective
- a. seŋ-seŋ-seŋ-wa
clean-clean-clean-ADV
'very clean'
 - b. seŋ-seŋ-seŋ-wa-ŋo k^him
clean-clean-clean-ADV-NOM house
'a very clean house'
- (587) adnominal time adverbs
- a. bu-da-ŋo on-ki ayi-doŋ-ŋo salam c^homasi kacipen-da
before-LOC-NOM this-SEQ today-year-NOM poem competition programme-LOC
di man-toŋ-ŋo dum yuŋ-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) laptik^hoŋ ka-hot mina-c^haŋ laptik^hoŋ 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-k^hip mina-ci-ŋa k^hananin nulok-ŋe ti-sint-u-m-y-o-m,
APpref-read man-PL-ERG you^p well-EMPH 2AS-know-3P-12plA-PROG-3P-12plA
onde.
maybe
'The readers may know you^p well, perhaps.'
- (590) write - specific and general

- a. iŋka c^hapt-u-ŋ-ʔo salam
 I write-3P-1s-NOM poem
 ‘the poem written by me.’
- b. salam ka-c^hap
 poem APpref-write
 ‘a poet’

However, there are many exceptions in the texts. We find nominalisations in use for long-lasting situations, e.g. *cit-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. *k^hannulo* in examples (591) and (605).

- (591) dosiwa-da mi-yak-yaŋ-ʔo k^hokwapa k^hokwama-ci-ʔa
 lip-LOC 3pl-be-PROG-NOM grandfather grandmother-PL-ERG
 mi-lu-Ø-ŋ-u-ci-ʔo sətəra on-ŋe
 3pl-perform-3P-PROG-3P-PL-NOM scripture (N) this.much-EMPH
 k^homs-u-m-ki c^haplab^huŋ lois-u-m-lo dem k^hannulo
 collect-3P-12plA-SEQ magazine bring.up-3P-12plA-MAN how.much good
 c^haplab^huŋ tyara li-Ø.
 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-nu-lo* ‘pleasingly’ and *keŋleŋleŋwa* ‘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-d^het-ya hi-waŋ me^hac^ha-ci dem en-nu-lo
 level-across-LOC.level two-qhum girl-PL how hear-be.good-MAN
 keŋleŋleŋwa c^ham lu-ma i-puŋs-a-c-u.
 sweet song perform-INF 3AM-start-PT-DU-3P

‘Over there, two girls started to sing so beautifully and sweetly.’

- b. dem-ni hya-ni k^har-a-ŋ, mon-ni-ŋe mo-ko keŋleŋleŋwa-ʔo c^ham
 how-NAR level-ALL go-PT-1s that-NAR-EMPH that-REF sweet-NOM song
 ka-lu-ci c^ham lu-sa hya-tni mi-k^har-a-ŋ-a.
 APpref-perform-PL song perform-SIM level-ALL 3pl-go-PT-PROG-PT

‘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 c^hapkami* ‘big writer’ is a subtype of *c^hapkami* ‘writer’.

In an adnominal role, the adjectives appear before the noun, e.g. (594a, 594b).³ 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. iŋ-yam on pokko lis-a.
 my-body this.much big become-PT
 ‘My body had become so big.’ [Bw]
- b. o buŋwak^ha c^haplawa sap^hi nuwak yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 this Bungwak^ha magazine very good sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘This Bungwak^ha magazine is very good.’ [Bw]

(594) Adjectives in adnominal position

- a. ka-kon-pa mina.
 APpref-walk-APm man
 ‘the walking man’
- b. sitmaŋ-ci-ʔa ik-tet toppo yaŋb^hak k^hokli-da ka-huŋ-ci hyatni
 dead-PL-ERG one-qual big boar forest-LOC APpref-wait-PL towards
 lor-a-ŋ-a-ʔo i-k^haŋ-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.

a construction where the first *comparandum* appears first, then the second, marked with either the Nepali comparative <b^hənda> (COMP (N)) or the Bantawa ablative <daŋka> (ABL), and finally the adjective phrase or verbal expression representing the subject or scale of the comparison.

- (595) comparative
NP₁ NP₂-COMP <property>
- a. k^hana iŋka-b^hənda ti-ki-yaŋ.
you^s I-COMP (N) 2AS-be.tall-PROG
'you are taller than me.'
 - b. j^harak-da-ŋka i-kiwaŋ batt-u.
all-LOC-ABL his/her-long take-3P
'Take the longest.'
 - c. j^harak-da-ŋka ki-yaŋ-ʔo mina
all-LOC-ABL be.tall-PROG-NOM man
'the tallest man'

A comparative construction that has *j^harak* '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 onomatopœic 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 transparently 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 *bədd^he* ‘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. *bədd^he kol-a-ŋ idəŋ...*
 much walk-PT-1s after
 ‘After I had walked for a long time...’ [Bw]
 - b. *bədd^he id^hiwaŋ mina yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.*
 much big man sit-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘He was a very important man.’
 - c. *bədd^he-ka len-da iŋ-ten ta-Ø-ŋ-la-Ø-ŋ-ʔo-sa-ʔa*
 many-CNT day-LOC my-village come-PT-1s-return-PT-1s-NOM-PRN-ERG
yawa-c^ha tup-ma suw-a-ŋ-ki kopkopkopwa yawa-ci lam-sa
 friend-DIM meet-INF wish-PT-1s-SEQ *intensely* friend-PL search-SIM
k^har-a-ŋ.
 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. Sindhiriwa-ʔo salam-ʔa-na bədd^he mina i-ma lis-a i,
Sindhiriwa-GEN poem-ERG-TOP many person laugh-INF become-PT ATTN,
ma-ʔaŋ?
NEGPTp-be
'Because of Sindhiriwa's poem, many people had to laugh, didn't they?'
[Bw]
- (599) All, completely
- a. j^harak-ka doŋ
all-CNT year
'every year' [Gn]
- b. mo-da di k^haŋ-ma lis-a-nalo j^harak ka-ta mina-ci-ʔa
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-a-ŋ-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. j^harak-s-a p^ha-ma li-Ø.
all-PRN-ERG help-INF become-NPT
'All must help.'

Phonologically both intensifiers *j^harak* 'all' and *bədd^he* 'many, much' are out of the ordinary. The adverb *bədd^he* clearly has a Nepali origin (*badhī* 'too much') and is therefore transphonologised with /ə/ rather than /i/. The vowel is still foreign. Some speakers and writers prefer the *badd^he* form and pronunciation. The geminate /dd/ is non-standard for Bantawa. The adverb *j^harak* has a rare onset /j^h/. 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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-lo ~ -lok ⁵ >	MAN	manner

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 *itma* '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. k^ha-nu-lo yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
see-be.good-MAN be-NPT-PROG-NPT
'It is beautiful.'
- b. en-nu-lo saŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
hear-be.good-MAN sound-NPT-PROG-NPT
'It sounds good!'
- c. o-ko buŋwa nam-nu-lo nam-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
this-REF flower smell-be.good-MAN smell-NPT-PROG-NPT
'This flower smells good.'
- d. ca-nu-lok d^hutt-u.
eat-be.good-MAN experience-3P
'He likes it.'

- (602) it-lo
 be.bad-MAN
 ‘bad’
- a. læu iŋko-na iŋ-larj or-a-k^har-a he detni k^ha-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. k^ha-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 derivations 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-k^ha-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 likeness. The manner or likeness of nominal phrases is expressed by adverbial derivations based on the related suffix <-wako> (LIKE).

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<Σ-wa>	(Σ-LIKE)	suffix, ‘like X’
<wako>	LIKE	word, ‘like’, postposition after any phrase.

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) ‘nuc^hya o-na taptape wako e rəc^hə’ni syala-c^he abo spəstə
 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 yayokk^ha-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-12plSP-PROG-12plSP
 ‘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) k^hokpa lis-a-ŋ-wa lu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 old.man become-PT-1s-LIKE feel-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
 ‘I feel like I’m an old man.’
- (607) o-na i-niŋwa cin-mayiŋ-wa e mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø!
 this-TOP his/her-new teach-PP-LIKE EMPHe be-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘Well, this is like a new teaching!’

Example (607) shows that the suffix <-wa> (LIKE) has scope over the entire noun phrase *iniŋwa cinmayiŋ* ‘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 rəc^hə.
 your^s-father like sit-NPT-PROG-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) makacikcikwa (< *mak ‘dark’, *?cik ‘color, dye’, <-wa> LIKE)
 ‘very dark’
- (610) potoktokwa (< *?potok ‘stiff??’, <-wa> LIKE)
 ‘very stiff, solid’ (as of liquid)

While the composition of (609) is quite transparent, 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.

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) | mükmükmükwa khap- | weep profusely: | mük ⁶ ‘eye’ |
| (b) | kakkakkakwa let- | burn with a red glow: | kak ‘live coal’ |
| (c) | cekcekcekwa wa ta- | rain continuously: | cek- ? |
| (d) | nunnunnunwa dutt- | feel soft touch: | nun- ? |

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

Even though this observation is based on the data from the Dhankuṭā 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 onomatopœic 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. */g^h/* or */j^h/*, 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.

⁶Winter and Rai’s (1997) */ü/* is written */i/* here.

- (611) *c^hyaŋc^hyaŋti*
 ‘clear’
- (612) *c^hyamc^hyami*
 ‘one stroke’

Iconicity of intensity

The paralexemic adverbs discussed above are strictly speaking not all adverbs of manner, although the last two *c^hyaŋc^hyaŋti* ‘clear’ and *c^hyamc^hyami* ‘one stroke’ certainly are. Paralexemic adverbs often also indicate degree.

- (613) *mikmikmik-wa k^ha-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) *anemniŋ bu-da-ʔo salam c^homasi kacipen-da iŋka*
 last.year before-LOC-NOM poem competition programme-LOC I
 d^harāna-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 temporally 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).

- (615) asen-yu-ŋka
a.few.days.before-LOC.low-ABL
'Since a few days.'
- (616) maŋkolen-da-ŋka
tomorrow-LOC-ABL
'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=Ḍik Bāntāvā).

Days				
three days ago	a	c ^h osa		
two days ago	a	sen		
yesterday		ak ^h omaŋ		
today	a	yì	M:	ai
tomorrow		maŋ kolen		
in two days	i	c ^h in tuk	M:	c ^h intolen
in three days	i	sum mak	M:	suyaŋkolen
in four days	i	lum mak	D:	sumaŋkolen
in five days			D:	domaŋkolen
Years				
two years ago	ac ^h imbaddoŋ		M:	acc ^h imbadnīŋ
last year	a	nem niŋ		
this year	a	yì doŋ		
next year		nam maŋ		
in two years		c ^h im maŋ	M:	c ^h inmaŋ
in three years		dom maŋ		

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 <maŋ> 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 <c^hin> means 'two years away', but also functions in days. Like

<maŋ>, these morphemes have cognates in all Kiranti languages except Western Kiranti (Michailovsky 2003). While <doŋ> 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 *ərko-yi* (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 *maŋkolen* ‘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.

⁷The word *sum* apparently derives from Proto-Kiranti /*sum/. For four, Proto-Tibeto-Burman /*b-ləy/ 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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-na>	TOP	Topicaliser

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) *ɪŋko-na maddiŋ-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 adverbial expression.

(618) *paŋtehon-ʔo itihəs 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-bəstər matte ŋaksi 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.’

- (620) mo-so-ʔo hisaba-ʔa-na ʔo bantawa-yiŋ ma-∅-kʰat-∅.
 that-PRN-GEN account (N)-ERG-TOP this Bantawa-language go.lost-NPT-go-NPT
 ‘By that account, the Bantawa language will go lost.’ [Bw]

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

- (621) mo-ci-na domt-u-do-∅-ci.
 that-PL-TOP think.hard-3P-eff-3P-DU
 ‘They (pl) were surprised.’

Nepali topicaliser <ta>

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
ta	TOP (N)	Nepalese topicaliser

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 be 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’?

- (622) otni kiwa-c^he ‘kʰakko bəliyo’ ni bicara mu-∅-ŋ-o ni ta.
 like.this tiger-ever which strong (N) NAR thought (N) do-3P-PROG-3P NAR TOP (N)
 ‘In the same way, the tiger also was thinking ‘Which one is strong?’ [Tt]

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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<tet>	swTOP	Topic Switcher
<cahĩ>	swTOP (N)	Nepalese Topic Switcher

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) i-nich^ha-tet min-Ø-yaŋ-Ø siŋ-raŋ-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) k^ho-tet on-j^hoŋ-lo mett-a-n-ci-n, iŋka-tet
that-swTOP this.size-be.big-MAN cause-PT-REFL-DUP-REFLc my-swTOP
cit-lok i-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 *cāhī* also widely appears in Bantawa discourse, in a function very similar to <-tet>. Often *cāhī* is phonologically reduced, either to adapt to Bantawa phonology or just because it occurs in fast speech.

- (625) ‘o kiwa cəy nikkəy lot-Ø-hida o-sa-ʔa i-sat-ŋa...’
this tiger swTOP (N) very (N) run-NPT-SIMc 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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<ŋa ~ ŋe ~ ŋ>	EMPH	emphatic marker
<e>	EMPHE	extra-emphatic marker

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 c^he bəliyo-ŋe c^hent-u ni.
now tiger also strong (N)-EMPH choose-3P NAR
‘Now, the tiger also selected a strong one’ [Tt]

- (627) k^ho-nuc^haŋ iŋka c^hapt-u-ŋ-ʔo salam-ŋa bu-ya
 he/she-though I write-3P-1s-NOM poem-EMPH front-LOC.level
 lont-a-ʔo yok-da nuŋa nu-ma-ŋe lis-a.
 come.up-PT-NOM time-LOC mood be.good-INF-EMPH become-PT
 ‘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 idiolectal 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).

- (628) k^hon-da-ŋka-ŋ p^heri-ŋa ik-pana bec^huk rə solonwa
 he/she-LOC-ABL-EMPH again (N)-EMPH one-leaf (N) ginger and (N) gourd
 k^hatt-u.
 take.away-3P
 ‘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 <-ŋa> (EMPH). Also, we do not find more than one emphatic marker <e> in a single clause, whereas that is not uncommon for <-ŋa> (EMPH).

- (629) iŋka-na i-d^hiwaŋ ʔe.
 I-TOP his/her-big EMPHe
 ‘It is I who am the biggest...’ [Tt]
- (630) let-ma k^han-ma ʔe dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 let.go-INF send-INF EMPHe must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘I have to let go...’ [Tt]

Inclusion

The form <-c^ha> ‘also’ functions as an inclusive marker ‘also, too’ and as an indefiniteness marker ‘ever’⁹.

marker	gloss	function
c ^h a	ALSO	inclusive marker, ‘also, ever’

The inclusive marker <-c^ha> ‘also’ is a clitic that attaches to constituents of any type. The clitic <-c^ha> signals that either contrary to expectation 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 <c^ha ~ c^he>, cf. §2.1.5. Frequently, the inclusive is further affixed with <-ŋ> (EMPH): in that case only the

⁹This double function is apparently universal, as it is also found in Nepali *pani* and Dutch *ook*.

form $-c^h a$ emerges, viz. $-c^h a\eta$, not $*-c^h e\eta$. Combined with $\langle \eta \rangle$ (EMPH), $-c^h a$ may also mean ‘as soon as’ or ‘if’, e.g. (632). In combination with *nu*, forming $\langle nuc^h e \sim nuc^h a\eta \rangle$, $-c^h a$ means ‘even though’, cf. §8.4.2.

- (631) *k^h on*-ki *ər*ko- $c^h a\eta$ *laŋ*ka- ηa *lis*-a-nalo...
 he/she-SEQ *another* (N)-also upright-EMPH become-PT-COND...
 ‘Then, if the other also is flat, ...’ [Rl]
- (632) *k^h issa*, *k^h irisa*, *b^h ik*-sa, *ca*n-sa *mi*-*k^h ar*-a, *nam*-puw-a- $c^h a\eta$
 deer deer elk feed-SIM 3pl-go-PT sun-set-PT-also
mi-las-a-ta- \emptyset .
 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 *k^h on* ‘that much’ is used in combination with the emphatic marker. Stories are typically ended by a statement similar to (634).

- (633) *mo*-da *ca*mayu *caucau* *on*- ηa *yur*-a- ηa .
 that-LOC food noodles this.much-EMPH sit-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘As for food, there were only noodles.’ [Bw]
- (634) *ayi* *on*- ηa *alaŋ*ne.
 today this.much-EMPH thanks.
 ‘For today, this much only. Thank you.’

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<i>maŋ</i>	NEG _{TOP}	Negative topicaliser, negating the proposition for a specific topic

By contrast, the particle *maŋ* specifically excludes the previous constituent from the proposition. The particle *maŋ* looks like a contraction of *ma?aŋ* ‘no’, which, in turn, is possibly derived from *man-yaŋ* (NEGPT_p-be) ‘no’.

- (635) *păc* *kusi* *maŋ* *maddiŋ*
five (N) finger NEG_{TOP} 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.

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 saŋwa ken-Ø-yaŋ-Ø appi-ŋa go^hala mu-Ø-yaŋ-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]
- (637) an-haŋhon-da-ŋa appi-ŋo laŋ-da ep-ma nipaŋ bəla pak-ma
 our^{pi}-country-LOC-EMPH self (N)-GEN leg-LOC stand-INF for power (N) put.in-INF
 dot-Ø.
 must-NPT
 ‘To stand on one’s own feet in our country, you must put in effort.’ [Bw]

The Bantawa form *appi* is a loan from Nepali *āphi* ‘self’. This form is perhaps an old and grammaticalised loan, as the aspiration has worn off and the Nepali genitive formation *āphno* is not present in Bantawa. The regular Bantawa genitive formation *appiŋo* 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 *mollok* (<*mo-lok*), but also forms with a reduced vowel, *milok* and even a maximally contracted form *mok* [mək]. 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 miłok sumnima-ʔa watni-ŋa mollok k^han its-a-ŋ-lo
 now (N) I isn’t.it Sumnima-ERG here-EMPH isn’t.it SEE be.bad-PT-1s-MAN
 i-k^ha-Ø-ŋ rəc^hə.
 3AM-see-PT-1s MIR
 ‘Now Sumnina 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 *b^ha* not so much emphasises the doubtfulness of the event itself, but stresses the speaker’s ignorance on the real state of events.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<men>	DOUBT	particle expressing doubt
<b ^h a>	PERHAPS	particle expressing possibility

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-c^hen-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) sitmaj-ci-ʔa mi-k^haŋ 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].

- (642) maŋkolen b^ha wa-d^hup-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 *b^ha* 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. *b^ha*: ‘who knows?!’

Mirative < rəc^hə >

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.

marker	gloss	function
<rəc ^h ə>	MIR	mirative, a Nepali loan

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 *rəc^hə* 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) k^honkina ik-len buq^hi-k^hokma-ʔo-da mina ta-Ø-la-Ø
 then one-day old.woman (N)-old.woman-GEN-LOC man come-PT-return-PT
 ni-ki, ‘a-dim-o! k^hana ap^həi-ŋa ti-yuŋ-yaŋ rəc^hə! am-kima
 NAR-SEQ VOCp-grandmother-VOC you^s self-EMPH 2AS-sit-PROG MIR your^s-fear
 i-kat-nin? ni lo-Ø ni ta.
 NEGNPp-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
 k^ha-en-a-ŋ-a-ni-ʔo rəc^hə.
 ANTPhear-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

verb root to form a mirative verb form. In (645), *k^ha rəc^hə* means: ‘it could be seen’. The verb is present as a root only, and apparently the mirative *rəc^hə* was perceived as the finite verb.

- (645) *k^har-a-ŋ-a-hida tamla k^hola-ʔo i-c^hoŋ-ya-ŋa*
 go-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP Tamla river (N)-GEN his/her-bank (N)-LOC.level-EMPH
suŋ-raŋ-cok-du ɕikara-wa k^ha rəc^hə kac^hukpa-wa k^ha rəc^hə.
 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/

marker	gloss	function
i	ATTN	Particle signaling a call for attention

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-k^han ti-yuk-nin rəc^hə i?*
 NEGPTp-lose-send 2AS-PERF-1ns2 MIR ATTN
 ‘you have not forgotten us, have you?’
- (647) *k^hwatni i?*
 like.that ATTN
 ‘like that, isn’t it?’

Dya - assertion

marker	gloss	function
dya	OR.WHAT	or what

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 *rəc^ha* is a contraction of a regular formation of *rahe+c^ha* ‘to remain’ + ‘is’.

¹¹The obvious cognate *i* in Kulung was labelled ‘emotion particle’ (EMO) by Tolsma (1999: 133).

- (648) From an interview with Kitab Singh [Bw]
- a. dem-ka doŋ ti-batt-in-y-en-heda tayak^him k^hat-ma
 how.many-CNT year 2AS-reach-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-SIMc school go-INF
 lis-a?
 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. k^hon-nuc^haŋ badd^he 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-ki!
 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) k^hana c^haŋ nulok-ŋe ti-nu-yaŋ on-de ni
 you^s also well-EMPH 2AS-be.good-PROG this.much-what NAR
 min-ŋa-Ø-ŋa. he ma?aŋ?
 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 Sindrāñ 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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<hola>	<i>maybe</i> (N)	Nepali ‘may be’
<ni>	<i>ASSERT</i> (N)	Nepali assertive marking, emphasising the proposition
<k ^h əy>	<i>hmm?</i> (N)	Nepali question particle, expressing ignorance
<hey>	<i>right?</i> (N)	Nepali particle, asking and supposing affirmation
<ləu>	<i>well</i> (N)	Nepali particle, suggesting to move on, to get on with it

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) matdiŋ.
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

class. Here, the word ‘conjunction’ is used as a syntactical and not as a semantic label¹².

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 join¹³.

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 *he* ‘or’ is of native origin, while *rə* ‘and’ is a loan from Nepali.

marker	gloss	function
<i>he</i>	OR	‘or’, the disjunction
<i>rə</i>	<i>and</i> (N)	‘and’, a Nepali conjunction that groups two phrases into a single phrase of the same type

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, *pa-ma* ‘father-mother’ means ‘father and mother’. The introduction of a conjunction from Nepali is a novelty with little added function.

The disjunction *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 *he* serves to separate constituents of any type, e.g. (657). Clause finally, *he* can be used without mentioning the other alternative or representing the other alternative by *maʔaŋ* ‘not?’. This adds an extra emphasis to questions, challenging

¹²In fact, a common conjunction may mean a logical disjunction, viz. ‘or’.

¹³Conjunctive 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) *ijko he saŋ-ko?*
 my or who-GEN
 ‘mine or whose?’ (said by someone holding a pen, wondering whose it was)
- (658) *mu-ma dot-∅ he ma-ʔaŋ?*
 do-INF must-NPT or NEGPTp-be
 ‘Must it be done, or not?’
- (659) *ayimit k^hana deki bəimani ti-lis-a k^har-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 *k^honki* (see below, §8.4.2) are regularly used as nominal conjunctions meaning ‘and’.

- (660) *ijka samjog-ʔa c^ham on-ki salam a-appi c^hapt-u-ŋ-c-u-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 frequent¹⁴.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<V-ki>	V-SEQ	Sequential marker, 'and then'
<V-ki-na>	V-SEQ-TOP	Sequential marking with a causal connotation, 'and then, because of...'
<V-pəc ^h i>	V-after (N)	'After this, ...'
<N-ʔo deŋ-da>	N-NOM BACK-LOC	'After this...'
<V ideŋ>	VAFTER	'Thereafter...'
<V-c ^h aŋ>	V-ALSO	'As soon as...'
<V-nuc ^h aŋ>	V-THOUGH	'even though'
<N-ʔo-da>	N-NOM-LOC	Temporal location: 'when ...'
<N-ʔo gəri-da>	N-NOM TIME-LOC	'at the time of'
<N-ʔo-sa-ʔa>	N-NOM-PRN-ERG	'because of...'
<V-hida>	V-SIMP	'while...'
<V-nalo>	V-COND	Conditional, 'if'
<V-lo>	V-MAN	'as if'

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.
- [clause]₁-conj [clause]₂ example (662)
 - [clause verb]₁. verb₁-conj [clause]₂ examples (663, 664)
 - [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) k^him k^har-a-ki lonŋa 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

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]

- a. *k^hon-ki-na ak^hira-da-na las-a-tu[?]-a-ci.*
 he/she-SEQ-TOP last (N)-LOC-TOP return-PT-meet-PT-DU
 ‘After that, at last, they met again.’
- b. *las-a-tu[?]-a-ci-ki-na ma-[?]aŋ watni lis-a-ci, e*
 return-PT-meet-PT-DU-SEQ-TOP NEGPTp-be.PTNEG here become-PT-DU hey
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-[?]a b^he-[?]a ta- \emptyset -na mo-na əni mollok*
 bow-ERG arrow-ERG come.far-NPT-TOP that-TOP then (N) isn’t.it
set-ma-[?]e k^ho-s-a-na pam-ma-set-ma [?]e mollok
 kill-INF-eEMPH he/she-PRN-ERG-TOP scratch-INF-kill-INF EMPHe isn’t.it
mitt-u-kes-u-ni-[?]o rəc^hə
 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-pəc^hi-na əni las-a-ta- \emptyset -ci i-tit-c^he*
 think-3P-after (N)-TOP then (N) return-PT-DIRback-PT-DU his/her-clothes-ever
matdiŋ- \emptyset i-nanŋa-ŋa ta- \emptyset -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]

- a. *k^him-da yuŋ-a-ci-[?]o c^haŋ sum-ka-len lis-a-ci-a.*
 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. *k^hon-ki* ayi sindraŋ-tari *k^hat-ci-ne* ni-ki lont-a-ci-a.
 that-SEQ today Sindrāñ-up.to go-DU-OPT NAR-SEQ come.up-PT-DU-e
 ‘Then, we went out, in order to go to Sindrāñ.’

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. **lonŋa-ki suncikwa*, **‘pepper and lemon’ cf. (662). Ordinary Bantawa pronouns are *o* ‘this’, *mo* ‘that’ and *k^ho* ‘that’. The pronouns referring to sentences have an <-n> augment, resulting in the forms <on->, <mon-> and <k^hon->. These pronouns do 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. *k^hon-ʔo-sa-ʔa*
 that-NOM-PRN-ERG
 ‘because of that...’
- b. *k^ho-sa-ʔa*
 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.

Nominal pronouns	Sentential pronouns	comment
<i>o</i>	on-	proximal
<i>mo</i>	mon-	distal
<i>k^ho</i>	k ^h on-	anaphoric, referential only

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 c^hos-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-ʔo c^ha-ci-ʔa-na cikni-ŋe 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-yiŋ-yaŋ, mon-ki-na o papa-mama
 or (N) mother 3pl-eat-DU NAR 3pl-say-PROG that-SEQ-TOP this father-mother
 ka-ca cikriŋ^hitma c^ha-ci j^harak-sa-ʔa id^hiwaŋ hoŋku-da son-ma
 APpref-eat demon child-PL all-PRN-ERG big river-LOC make.flow-INF
 k^han-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) k^ho-so-deŋ-da bəllə nakc^hoŋ ken saŋ-Ø-ki-na-na
 he/she-PRN.GEN-back-LOC *at.last* (N) shaman large.drum play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP
 ken mani saŋ-Ø-ki-na-na maŋ p^hoŋ-Ø.
 large.drum cymbal play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP godhead open-NPT
 ‘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).¹⁵ 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-pəc^hi> ‘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 <-pəc^hi>. The morpheme <-pəc^hi> only affixes after verbs and verbal pronouns, such that the canonical form for a pronominal conjunction is *k^hoŋpəc^hi*, e.g. (672). Example (671) shows that verbs must not be nominalised before <-pəc^hi>. However, <-ʔo deŋ-da> is a nominal postposition which attaches to nouns and verbs alike (670, also 669).

- (670) yari pek-Ø-cin-Ø-ʔo deŋ-da j^harak-ci-lai lo-Ø-ci.
 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* pəc^hi p^heri gərb^həwati lis-a.
 survive-PT-live-PT *after* (N) *again* (N) *pregnant* (N) become-PT
 ‘After she lived again, she was pregnant as well.’ [Sm]

¹⁵Ebert is uncertain whether, for Chamling, the sequentialiser <-na> and topicaliser /na/ are distinct or the same (1997b, 2003: 40).

- (672) *kʰon-pəçʰi* *kʰwatni yij-a-pəçʰi* *ə* *mi-tums-u-ci* *pəçʰi*
 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 <-pəçʰi> 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* *buŋwakʰa-da-ŋka* *kirawa-ci-ʔo* *nimpaŋ dya yij-ma ni*
 after-LOC *Bungwakha*-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 gərida> (-NOM *time* (N)-LOC) ‘at that time’ is more usual.

- (676) *nam len-Ø-ʔo gəri-da (...) kʰokli kʰat-Ø-yaŋ-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, <-gəri> is more flexible and may also affix straightaway to verb forms. As with nominals, the locative also freely combines with the ablative, yielding the conjunction <-daŋka> ‘since, as from’ (677).

- (677) *iwayiŋ tʰint-a-ŋ-da-ŋka-ŋe yiŋkʰan on-ki bantawa-yiŋ-da-ʔo*
 morning rise-PT-1s-LOC-ABL-EMPH news this-SEQ Bantawa-language-LOC-GEN
kacipen en-ma ni-ki iŋ-nabak 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 is 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>.

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) *kʰon-ʔo-s-a* *‘dya ci-sa nu^he kʰat-ma dot-Ø.’ ni*
 he/she-NOM-PRN-ERG what do-SIM even.though go-INF must-NPT NAR
min-a-ŋ-pʰutt-a-ŋ-ki lo-ŋ-ci-ŋ *‘lə, 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-ma ri-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,¹⁶ containing the same morpheme <lo>.

- (682) *som-ŋe siw-a, dekinalo khon-leka iŋka aʂa*
 heart-EMPH die-PT because that.much-approx I hope (N)
man-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ʔo tʰyo.
 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.

¹⁶Bantawa *de-ki-na-lo* (what-SEQ-TOP-COND) [‘why-if’] ‘because’ structurally parallels Nepali *kina-bʰane* (N) [‘why-if’].

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) *iŋ-niŋa noʔ-a-lo i-low-a-ŋ.*
 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) *iŋ-duk^{ha} k^{ha}ar-a-lo i-low-a-ŋ.*
 my-pain go-PT-MAN 3AM-speak-PT-1s
 ‘He hurt me.’
- (685) *att^u iwayiŋ wad^hupma k^{ha}ar-a-lo wa ta-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 based¹⁷.

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

¹⁷I have found <-lo> in this function in the speech of Dhankuṭā-area speakers, e.g. Rudra Rāi from Ākhisallā, Dhankuṭā. However, <-lo> 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 <-lo> is found as independent conjunction, e.g. in Kulung (Tolsma 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	— k ^h un	how many	— that many
demko	— k ^h unko	which	— such
detni	— k ^h watni	how	— that way
k ^h ada	— k ^h oda	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, k^hun-ŋa wadera k^har-a.
 how.much rain come-NPT that.much-EMPH flood go-PT
 ‘As much rain falls, that much it will flood.’

- (689) *dem* *turist-ci mi-ta, k^hun-ŋa ri-ma li-Ø*
 how.much tourist-PL 3pl-come that.much-EMPH earn-INF become-NPT
 ‘As many tourists come in, that much is earned.’
- (690) *k^hana detni ti-ci, k^hwatni-ŋa iŋka c^haŋ ci-ŋa.*
 you^s how 2AS-do that.way-EMPH I also do-1sNP
 ‘As you do, so I shall also do.’
- (691) *k^hana k^ha-da ti-k^hat, iŋka-c^haŋ k^ho-da-ŋa k^hat-ŋa.*
 you^s what-LOC 2AS-go I-also that-LOC-EMPH go-1sNP
 ‘Wherever you go, I shall also go there.’

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.

<i>marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<ni>	NAR	Direct speech marker

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-ŋo deŋ-da ‘c^ha 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) *‘k^hotni maŋaŋ! bəru ankenka k^hana-ŋa ti-rat-nin-ŋo,’ ni*
 like.that NO rather (N) we^{pe} you^s-ERG 2AS-save-1ns2-NOM NAR
 i-low-a *ni.*
 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^hana iŋko iŋ-yiŋ les-u,' ni yiŋ-ma si-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 you^s 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.¹⁸ 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.

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-k^him-da ta-∅ *ni*.
 Rām my-house-LOC come-NPT NAR
 ‘Rām came into my house, it is said’
- (696) ram *ni* iŋ-k^him-da ta-∅.
 Rām NAR my-house-LOC come-NPT
 ‘Rām, 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*.

¹⁹For 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 k^har-a-ʔo mo maŋ-da i-k^hat-nin ni-ʔo.
 other-caste (N)-LOC go-PT-NOM that god-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-k^hat-ma ni-ʔo appi-ŋe ma-ma-k^hat-ma lam
 our^{pl}-language get.lost-INF-go-INF NAR-NOM self-EMPH get.lost-INF-go-INF path
 yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘Our language is on the road to going extinct, I mean, to going extinct itself.’ [Bw]
- (699) on-ŋa kirawa-ʔo biha mu-ma t^hapsiŋ ni-ʔo 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) kuŋuŋje bibiła saptenkop-ʔo pitmire ni-ʔo ten-da...
 Kutunje Bubula area-GEN Pitmire NAR-NOM village-LOC...
 ‘In the village called “Pitmire” in the area of Kutunje Bubula...’ [Bw]

Forming compound subordinators The form *ni-ʔo* 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) k^honki k^hokpa-ʔo badd^he niŋa no-ma lis-a ni-ki-na ik-len
 then old.man-GEN much mood be.good-INF become-PT NAR-SEQ-TOP one-day
 j^harak 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 bənya mu-n-y-in-ka ni-ki-na-na, tyəhā
 we^{pe} road make (N) do-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-e NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP there (N)
 t^hapsiŋ-hili ənusa^r didi ci-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-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 rə kok ca-yaŋ-sa 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-thoughts²⁰, <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) jāc pi-ma ni-ki yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ʔo-c^he badd^he-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-c^ha-ko ni-ki.
 this-REF clothes my-child-GEN NAR-SEQ
 ‘These clothes are for my child.’ (Bāntāvā 2001: 123)

²⁰ ‘After-thought’ here means: a sentence added to a previous discourse, filling in missing information.

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 Hatuvālī. *Nimaŋ* can be analysed as a transparent compound of *ni* ‘other’ + *maŋ* ‘spirit, person’.

8.6 Something k^ha

k^ha is a morpheme with an amazing scope. The morpheme *k^ha* has been described with a great variety of grammatical functions in this grammar, including at least all those in (706).

(706) Functions of k^ha

- | | | | |
|----|---------|--|----------|
| 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. <i>buŋwa-k^ha</i> (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^ha as a pronoun

In both (706.1) and (706.2) it emerges that *k^ha* is a pronominal element of either an indefinite or interrogative nature.

(707) *k^ha* as interrogative root

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--|
| a. | <i>k^ha-ŋo-gəri</i> | (phonetically [k ^h augəri]) |
| | INTR-GEN- <i>time</i> (N) | |
| | ‘at what time?’ | |
| b. | <i>k^ha-da</i> | |
| | INTR-LOC | |
| | ‘where?’ | |

From what we see in (707), *k^ha* would have to mean ‘what’. However, *k^ha* as an interrogative root does not occur independently. For the independent interrogative ‘what’, the form *di* is used. The indefinite pronoun *k^ha* paradigmatically alternates with the definite anaphoric pronoun *k^ho* ‘he/she’, as in (457, 458), repeated here²².

²¹*ni* ‘other’: see §3.1.3, ex. (92c)

²²From these examples it should not be inferred that *k^ha* 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).

(457) *k^ha i-en-niŋ.*
 AntP NEGNP-hear-NEG1
 ‘I cannot hear a thing.’

(458) *k^ho i-en-niŋ.*
 he/she NEGNP-hear-NEG1
 ‘I cannot hear it.’

Previously, I labelled *k^ha* 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 *k^ha* to be a pronoun, it might be glossed as the indefinite pronoun ‘something’. In a pronominal function, *k^ha* only occurs as an object. The functions of *k^ha* as an explicit antipassive and interrogative can perhaps be captured in the indeterminate pronominal gloss ‘anything’.

***k^ha* as a locative**

In the other functions (706.3) and (706.4), *k^ha* 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. *yuŋk^ha* ‘a seat’, *riŋk^ha* ‘a woodworker’s plane’. In the nominal suffix *k^ha*, 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 *k^ha* forms nominalisations that denote any non-grammatical role, viz. purpose, location and occasion. The rather marked functional area of <-*k^ha*> (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 Lahaussais (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’.

***k^ha* as a suffix to finite verbs**

Function The function of *k^ha-* as a vector verb (706.5) is primarily that of a polite adhortative. Whether the *k^ha* 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 *k^ha*. This suggests that while *k^ha-* may pattern with vector verbs in some respects, it originally was a nominal suffix.

Morphology

The alternation of $k^ha \sim k^ho$ 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-∅*.
eat-NPT
‘he eats.’
- (709) *co (<*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 $<-?a>$ and verbal past tense morpheme $<-a>$. This analysis is very problematic,²³ 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 $k^ha \sim k^ho$ goes back to a transitivity opposition as expressed on a verb. The pronominal alternation corresponds to the transitivity alternation in conjugations of k^ha 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^ha . 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 $\text{ཚི} <-ká>$ 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

²³Gvozdanović writes about the $<-a>$ suffix: ‘it assigns an entity to a deictically disfocal region, i.e. ergative in the context of $<\text{nominal animate}>$, [...] past in the verbal context of $<\text{temporal inactuality}>$, and modal in the verbal context of $<\text{temporal inactuality}>$.’ (‘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 ‘-u 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 ཁར་ *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

***k^ha* 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 *k^ha* consistently denotes the first person inclusive person. We see that in these forms an indefinite pronoun *k^ha* 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 story-tellers 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 <i-> rather than <ti->. 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 proper name. However, *Ganya* is also used as a class name for different goddesses.

- (1) o-ko ganya ni-ʔo əbdə 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 k^ha-da-ŋka suru lis-a ni b^hanne hanlok.
this-ref where-LOC-ABL begin (N) become-PT NAR say.PTC today
'Where did it start from? we shall say now.'

- (3) uhiḷe uhiḷe o han-da nepala-da badd^he badd^he-ka-tet
long.ago (N) long.ago (N) this now-LOC Nepal-LOC many many-CNT-qual
 yiŋ-ci əthəwa haŋ-ci mi-yaŋ-a-ŋ-a.
language-PL or (N) king.root-PL 3pl-hold-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘Before, previously, in this land, in Nepal, there were many languages or kings.’
- (4) mo-ko han-da cəubise rajye ni baise rajye
that-ref now-LOC twenty-four (N) kingdom (N) NAR twenty-two (N) kingdom (N)
 mi-yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.
3pl-sit-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘In this country, it is said there were twenty-four and twenty-two kingdoms.’
- (5) k^ho-ko-da ik-tet haŋ yuw-a-ŋ-a t^heŋ mægər raja.
he/she-ref-LOC one-qual king.root be-PT-PROG-PT actually Magar king (N)
 ‘In that, there was one king, actually a Magar king.’
- (6) mo-ko mægər raja ik-tet i-^{ch}a mec^hac^ha əsade-ŋa
that-ref Magar king (N) one-qual his/her-child daughter extremely (N)-EMPH
 k^ha-nu-Ø-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a.
thing-be.good-NPT-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘This king had one daughter, who was exceptionally beautiful.’
- (7) rə mo-ko j^harak haŋ-ci-ʔa mo-ko mec^hac^ha nu-lok
and (N) that-ref all king.root-PL-ERG that-ref daughter be.good-MAN
 k^ha-nu-lok i-k^haŋ-a-ŋ-a-hida,
thing-be.good-MAN 3AM-see-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp
 ‘And that girl, while all the kings considered her a good, beautiful girl.’
- (8) ik-tet rajkumar-ʔa dor-u ə raja-ʔo i-^{ch}a-ʔa dor-u, tə.
one-qual prince (N)-ERG beg-3P yes king (N)-GEN his/her-child-ERG beg-3P though (N)
 mo-ko rajkumar-da k^hat-ma-ŋa c^hunt-a-ŋ-a-heda,
that-ref prince (N)-LOC go-INF-EMPH refuse-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp
 ‘one prince asked her, yes, asked for the king’s daughter. While she refused to come with that prince.’
- (9) i-pa-ʔa ekdəmi k^har-a-ki k^har-a-ni lo-Ø-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a
his/her-father-ERG very.much (N) go-PT-SEQ go-PT-NAR say-3P-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
 tərə c^hunt-a.
but (N) refuse-PT
 ‘her father very much said go, go, but she refused.’
- (10) pə^{ch}i əməla-raŋ b^hen-da k^har-a-ki mo-ko ciŋs-a-n-ci-n
after (N) lemon (N)-plant root-LOC go-PT-SEQ that-ref hang-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
 i-pot-da ɖori pakt-a-n-ci-n-kina ciŋs-a-n
his/her-neck-LOC rope (N) put-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-CAUS hang-PT-NEGN
 ser-a-n-ci-n.
kill-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
 ‘Later, having gone to the foot of a lemon tree she hung herself, putting a rope around her neck, she hung and killed herself.’

- (11) k^ho-so-ʔo i-niŋ-da ciŋs-a-n ser-a-n-ci-n-pəç^hi
 he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-name-LOC hang-PT-NEGn kill-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-after (N)
 mo-so-ʔo i-pa ekdəmi k^haw-a-ŋ-a yuw-a-ŋ-a.
 that-PRN-GEN his/her-father very.much (N) cry-PT-PROG-PT be-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘In her name, after she hung and killed herself, her father had wept, very much.’
- (12) k^haw-a-ŋ-a yuw-a-ŋ-a t^hiyō.
 cry-PT-PROG-PT be-PT-PROG-PT PPTaux
 ‘He kept crying.’
- (13) əni mi-k^har-a-kina mo-ko əməla-raŋ k^har-a-ki yuw-a-ŋ-a-kina
 then (N) 3pl-go-PT-CAUS that-ref lemon (N)-plant go-PT-SEQ be-PT-PROG-PT-CAUS
 i-pa-sudda mo-ko i-c^ha cew-a.
 his/her-father-with that-ref his/her-child talk-PT
 ‘And having gone, after he had gone to the lemon tree, the child talked to her father.’
- (14) cew-a-pəç^hi - a-pa k^hana detninalo motni ti-yiŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 talk-PT-after (N) - VOCp-father you^s why like.that 2AS-say-NPT-PROG-NPT
 motni man-yiŋ-da.
 like.that NEGPTp-say-NEGPTs
 ‘As she talked: father, why are you speaking this way. Do not speak in this way.’
- (15) abo-da-ŋka iŋka-sudda k^hana cep-ma i-tok-na-n iŋka
 now (N)-LOC-ABL I-with you^s talk-INF NEGNPp-receive-2P-NEGn I
 munŋa motni-ŋa lis-a-ŋ.
 that.much like.that-EMPH become-PT-1s
 ‘From now on, you will not get to talk with me. Only I have become like that.’
- (16) awet ərko junī-da ət^həwa pala-da jənma jənma
 later another (N) lifetime (N)-LOC or (N) turn (N)-LOC birth (N) birth (N)
 li-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo k^hana-sudda-ŋa yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-da
 become-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND you^s-with-EMPH sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-TEMP
 o-ko-da k^hotni-ŋa lis-a.
 this-ref-LOC that.way-EMPH become-PT
 ‘Later, in another lifetime, or if I shall be born another time, I will be with you, there it will be just like that.’
- (17) map^hi piw-a-ŋ a-pa ni yiŋ-a-ŋ-a tə.
 forgiveness (N) give-PT-1s VOCp-father NAR say-PT-PROG-PT though (N)
 ‘She said, forgive me, my father, please.’
- (18) o-ko i-pa ak^homaŋ-da-ŋka k^hana deki hwatni ti-muw-a-ŋ amko
 this-ref his/her-father yesterday-LOC-ABL you^s why this.way 2AS-do-PT-1s your^s
 bəisa-da. “amko iŋka nu-lok nu-lok mu-na-ne” ni-ki-na
 youth (N)-LOC your^s I be.good-MAN be.good-MAN do-2P-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP
 mit-na-ŋ-na-ʔo t^hiyō, tərə k^hana ti-ciŋs-a-n
 remember-2P-PROG-2P-NOM PPTaux but (N) you^s 2AS-hang-PT-REFL
 ser-a-n-ci-n.
 kill-PT-REFL-DUP-REFLc

'Her father: from yesterday, why have you done to me like this, in your youth. I have done you so well, I had been thinking, but you hung and killed yourself.'

- (19) abo iŋka k^hana-sudda-ŋa ayimit c^ha yuŋ-ma ni
 now (N) I you^s-with-EMPH nowadays child put-INF NAR
 min-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ŋo k^hana detni ti-yiŋ-Ø b^həne.
 think-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM you^s 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) k^ho-da-ŋka i-c^ha-ŋa lo-Ø:
 he/she-LOC-ABL his/her-child-ERG say-3P
'To that, his child said.'
- (21) iŋka a-pa k^hana-sudda-ŋa yuŋ-ma ni min-na-ŋ-na-ŋ-ŋo
 I VOCp-father you^s-with-EMPH sit-INF NAR think-2P-PROG-2P-1s-NOM
 hwatni-ŋa lis-a, abi həreka doŋ-da iŋka c^hə c^hə məhina-da
 this.way-EMPH become-PT now (N) every (N) year-LOC I six six month (N)-LOC
 ik-tet rāga b^hakala piw-a-ŋ-kina puja mett-a-ŋ.
 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 k^hana-sudda
 that-LOC worship (N) 2AS-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-SIMP I you^s-with
 am-sat^ha-da yuŋ-ŋa
 your^s-together (N)-LOC sit-1sNP
'While you worship me in that, I shall be together with you.'
- (23) iŋka iŋko mit-ma ti-siw-a-heda k^hana ici-nic^ha
 I my remember-INF 2AS-die-PT-SIMP you^s their^p-younger.brother
'I, my memory, while you die; you and your siblings.'
- (24) iŋka mo-ko puja muw-a-ŋ-a-heda-ŋa k^haŋ-na-ne ni
 I that-ref worship (N) do-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP-EMPH look-2P-OPT NAR
 luw-a-ŋ-c^haŋ
 say-PT-1s-also
'"Right while I do that worship, I shall watch you," tell me also.'
- (25) lə lə ni i-pa-ŋa lo-Ø həi. k^hon-ŋo pəc^hi kaŋs-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) ə iŋka abo o-ko pala-da-ŋka-ŋa k^hana-lai puja met-na-ne
 yes I now (N) this-ref turn (N)-LOC-ABL-EMPH you^s-DAT worship (N) cause-2P-OPT
 ni lo-Ø-kina mo-ko əməla-raŋ b^hen-da k^har-a-kina i-pa-ŋa
 NAR say-3P-CAUS that-ref lemon (N)-plant root-LOC go-PT-CAUS his/her-father-ERG
 caŋi rāga-ci, b^hale-ci t^hakt-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) əni i-c^ha-sudda hant-a-ci. ə k^hananin ə k^hana iŋka-sudda
 then (N) his/her-child-with talk-PT-DU yes you^p yes you^s I-with
 yuŋ-a-yakt-a, j^harak-ka doŋ j^harak-da-ŋa amko nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ni
 sit-PT-CONT-PT all-CNT year all-LOC-EMPH your^s be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-NAR
 sakoŋwa mit-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo saŋ-ci-c^haŋ jəmma-ŋa
 heart remember-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM who-PL-ever all (N)-EMPH
 mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo o-ko-da, ten-da k^hana-sudda.
 be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM this-ref-LOC village-LOC you^s-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) ekdəm nu-lok lis-a-ci-ni ka-min-ci matrə
 very (N) be.good-MAN become-PT-DU-NAR APpref-think-APpl only (N)
 mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø. k^hana ankenka-sudda yuw-a-yakt-a-nin ni lo-Ø.
 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT you^s we^{pe}-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) k^ho-tni-pəc^hi mo-ko raja mægər raja-da-ŋka k^har-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) k^har-a mægər raja k^har-a-ki, ik-tet pūrwa-ya-ŋo kirawa raja
 go-PT Magar king (N) go-PT-SEQ one-qual east (N)-LOC.level-GEN Kiranti king (N)
 mun c^heka baise cəubīse rajyə mi-yuw-a-ŋ-a-heda
 that.much ?time twenty-two (N) twenty-four (N) kingdom (N) 3pl-be-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP
 mo-ya-ŋka ban-a-kina, ik-tet kirawa.
 that-LOC.level-ABL come.level-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 d^huwa id^huwa-taŋ ban-a-kina ninamhaŋ butt-u.
 Kiranti-PL their^p big.man leader-head come.level-PT-CAUS God call-3P
 k^hatt-u-ŋ-o-hida butt-u, "k^hana deki o-da ti-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø?"
 take.away-3P-PROG-3P-SIMP call-3P you^s 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 duī sīge ni-pi-heda-ŋa k^hana
 one-qual that.much buffalo.bull (N) two (N) horned (N) 3A-give-SIMP-EMPH you^s
 b^hula ti-li-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 error (N) 2AS-become-NPT-PROG-NPT
'They give you only one buffalo bull, with two horns - you are mistaken.'
- (33) ankenka-sudda ti-k^hat-Ø-ne-para nəu sīge yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo
 we^{pe}-with 2AS-go-NPT-OPT-COND nine horned (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
 k^hana-lai rāga ni-pi ankenka-sudda ta-Ø-k^hat-Ø
 you^s-DAT buffalo.bull (N) 3A-give we^{pe}-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) ð iŋko-na iŋ-pa səd^həi ekdəm-ŋa ik-tet rāga matrə
 yes 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 k^hana di molok? nəu sīge rāga yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø ləu
 how you^s what isn't.it nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) sit-NPT-PROG-NPT well
 k^hat-ŋa-ne
 go-1sNP-OPT
'How, you have a what?! There is a nine-horned buffalo bull? Well, let me go.'
- (36) ni-ʔo lo-Ø-kina mo-ko c^hetkuma ɖola-da i-pa-ʔa-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) k^hotni-ŋa pəc^hi k^hon-pəc^hi mo-ko
 that.way-EMPH after (N) he/she-after (N) that-ref
 k^han-nuw-a-ŋ-a-ʔo mec^hac^ha caŋi 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 ɖola-da i-pa-ʔ-a-ki hwaŋ-sa-ʔa
 obey-PT-SEQ that palanquin (N)-LOC 3AM-put.in-PT-SEQ two-PRN-ERG
 i-k^huy-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 pəc^hi ik-tet mo siŋraŋ-b^hen-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) lə iŋka k^hananin-ŋa nəu sīge rāga piw-a-nin-ne,
 OK I you^p-EMPH nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) give-PT-2p-OPT
 ti-low-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ-ʔo, lə abi piw-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ mo-ko-sa-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.'

- (41) dor-u-pəc^{hi} i-pa-ŋa ta k^həi iŋka-na iŋ-pa-ʔa
 beg-3P-after (N) his/her-father-EMPH then (N) where (N) I-TOP my-father-ERG
 badd^{he} id^{hi}waŋko rāga i-piw-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ-ʔo t^{hi}yo.
 many big buffalo.bull (N) 3AM-give-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-NOM PPTaux
 ‘After she asked, her father, well, “as for me, my father used to give me a bigger buffalo
 bull.”’
- (42) amno nəu sīge rāga k^həi - k^haŋ ett-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ. ləu k^həi
 your^p nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) where (N) - show tell-PT-1s-2p-1sc well where (N)
 mo nəu sīge rāga matdīŋ-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 c^hoŋs-a-ŋ-da-ŋ-ni-ŋ! ni lo-Ø-ci.
 I return-PT-1s deliver-PT-PROG-NEGPTs-1s-2p-1sc NAR say-3P-DUP
 ‘Bring me back! she told them.’
- (44) ma-ʔaŋ! k^hana detni yiŋ-ma i-nu-nin k^hana
 NEGPTp-be.PTNEG you^s how say-INF NEGNPp-be.good-NEGn you^s
 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 k^hana yuŋ-ma dot-Ø j^harak-ka doŋ
 this-LOC-EMPH we^{pe}-with you^s sit-INF must-NPT all-CNT year
 j^harak-sa-ʔa k^hana nəu nəu sīg yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo k^hana
 all-PRN-ERG you^s nine nine horn (N) be.in-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM you^s
 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 j^harak k^him-da-ŋka k^hana ni-k^hut ni-ʔo
 we^{pe} all house-LOC-ABL you^s 3A-bring.for.someone NAR-NOM
 lo-Ø-kina p^heri 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 p^heri k^həi molok nəu sīge rāga ni
 3AM-put-PT-CAUS again (N) where (N) isn’t.it nine horned (N) buffalo.bull (N) NAR
 i-low-a tə mo b^hale-ʔo i-sira-ŋa k^haŋ
 3AM-say-PT though (N) that rooster (N)-GEN his/her-cock.comb-EMPH show
 i-ett-a-ki i-k^hipt-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.’

- (48) ik-tet hwa-tet sumka-tet ŋak-ka-tet p^hek-ka-tet sek-ka-tet
 one-qual two-qual three-qual four-CNT-qual four-CNT-qual six-CNT-qual
 rek-ka-tet lek-ka-tet ni i-low-a-kina mo-ci-ʔa
 seven-CNT-qual eight-CNT-qual NAR 3AM-say-PT-CAUS that-PL-ERG
 i-k^hipt-a-piw-a ni
 3AM-read-PT-BEN-PT NAR
 ‘One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, they said and counted for her.’
- (49) e! o-ko-ŋa nəu wəʔa sīga? ə, o o-ko-ŋa ni-ki-na
 hey this-ref-EMPH nine qual (N) horn (N) yes interr this-ref-EMPH NAR-SEQ-TOP
 k^ho-da-ŋka motni rajkumarī mægər raja-ʔo i-c^ha-da-ʔo
 he/she-LOC-ABL like.that princess (N) Magar king (N)-GEN his/her-child-LOC-GEN
 i-niŋ-da-ŋka kirawa yiŋ-da-ŋka giŋya 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 Rāī, is added here as a diversion. This song contains countryside romance and beautiful participles.

- (1) k^hokli-ʔo b^hen-da liŋwa-k^ha c^hoŋ-da pit goŋdok
 forest-GEN root-LOC lowland.grass-place top-LOC cow bull
 mi-can-Ø-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) yaŋsiŋ-raŋ cok-du dommak p^hop-ca-sa c^hoŋwa-ci
 Schima.wallichii-plant top-LOC.high grasshopper catch-eat.2-SIM bird-PL
 mi-han-Ø-yaŋ-Ø c^hoŋwa-ci mi-han-Ø-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-ma talik-c^haŋ c^hak-ma c^hoŋwa-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-yiŋ c^hoŋwa man-cat-maŋ-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’

- (5) dawa-buŋ bar-a hensin-buŋ bar-a saŋhokwa
 water.jug-flower bloom-PT phaledo-flower.root bloom-PT singing.bird
 pat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo.
 cry.out-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
 ‘the water jug flower flowers, the Erythrina stricta flowers, the haeso bird is singing out’
- (6) pat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo ch’oŋwa bar-a-ŋo buŋwa
 cry.out-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM bird bloom-PT-NOM flower
 k^ha-nu-Ø-lo dat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo k^ha-nu-Ø-lo
 thing-be.good-NPT-MAN be.seen-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM thing-be.good-NPT-MAN
 dat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo.
 be.seen-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
 ‘the singing bird, the flowering flowers are beautiful, they are beautiful’

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 iŋka heŋmawa bənya mu-ma-ŋo tərīka yīŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 now this-LOC I liquor make (N) do-INF-NOM method (N) say-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
 ‘Now here I am telling the way how to make *hengmawa*.’
- (2) mīna-ci heŋmawa detni bənya mi-mu-Ø ni-ki-na-na.
 man-PL liquor how make (N) 3pl-do-NPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP
 ‘That is, how people make *hengmawa*.’
- (3) o-da j^harak-sa-ŋa en-u-m-ne!
 this-LOC all-PRN-ERG hear-3P-12pA-OPT
 ‘Now, all listen.’
- (4) j^harak-da-ŋka bu-ya mi mu-ma dot-Ø.
 all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level fire do-INF must-NPT
 ‘Before all, one must make fire.’
- (5) k^honki hutluŋ-da ik-tet id^hiwaŋko k^hamma k^ham-ma dot-Ø.
 and.then fireplace-LOC one-qual big vessel make.sit-INF must-NPT
 ‘Then, in the fireplace, one big vessel must be placed.’

- (6) k^honki mo-da car-u-ʔo wach^hin k^haca pak-ma dot-Ø.
and.then that-LOC ferment-3P-NOM beer beer put.in-INF must-NPT
'Then, in that, fermented kodo beer must be put.'
- (7) k^haca sip pak-ma dot-Ø, b^hãḍa-hut-da.
beer pulp put.in-INF must-NPT pot (N)-hole-LOC
'The solid matter of the beer must be put into the vessel.'
- (8) k^honki hyuna-ŋka mi met-ma dot-Ø hutluŋ-yu-ŋka.
and.then down-ABL fire cause-INF must-NPT fireplace-LOC.low-ABL
'Then below that, the fire must be put, from the bottom of the fireplace.'
- (9) k^honki-na mo-ko b^hãḍo-da-ʔo wach^hin k^haca ku-Ø-kina lok-ma
and.then-TOP that-ref pot (N)-LOC-GEN beer beer heat-NPT-CAUS boil-INF
puŋs-u.
begin-3P
'Then the beer in the vessel, getting hot, will start to boil.'
- (10) lok-ma-b^hãnda bu-ya mo-so-ʔo i-duŋ-du ik-tet
boil-INF-COMP (N) front-LOC.level that-PRN-GEN his/her-top-LOC.high one-qual
gagityaŋ ni-ʔo b^hãḍo yuŋ-ma dot-Ø
distillation.vessel NAR-NOM pot (N) put-INF must-NPT
'Before it cooks, on top of that a vessel called gagityang must be placed.'
- (11) mo bak^ha-da-ŋka bənya mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo.
that soil-LOC-ABL make (N) be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
'That one is made of clay.'
- (12) mo gagityaŋ-ʔo i-t^hen-da i-hut-ci mi-yak-Ø.
that distillation.vessel-GEN his/her-bottom-LOC his/her-hole-PL 3pl-be.in-NPT
'There are holes in the bottom of the gagityang.'
- (13) mo i-hut-da-ŋka hyuna wach^hin-ʔo i-sam d^hana
that his/her-hole-LOC-ABL down beer-GEN his/her-vapour above
gagityaŋ hut-du lon-Ø.
distillation.vessel hole-LOC.high go.outside-NPT
'The steam of the beer below will come out upwards through that hole into the gagityang.'
- (14) p^heri k^honki-na gagityaŋ-hut-da ik-tet b^hi ət^həwa
again (N) and.then-TOP distillation.vessel-hole-LOC one-qual earthen.vessel or (N)
b^hãḍo yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
pot (N) put-INF must-NPT
'Again, after that, inside the gagityang one must put an earthen or other vessel.'
- (15) i-do nikəi hamko mu-Ø-ʔo.
his/her-mouth very (N) different be.pred-NPT-NOM
'The mouth of that one is very different.'

- (16) mo b^hãḍo-da i-cilok cakwa-c^hañ pak-ma dot-Ø
 that pot (N)-LOC his/her-little.bit water-also put.in-INF must-NPT.
 ‘You must put also a little water into that vessel.’
- (17) mo cakwa i-pa-im-in-nalo mo b^hi tatayi
 that water NEGNPp-put.in-12pn-NEGn-COND that earthen.vessel hot (N)
 li-Ø-kina ku-Ø-kina d^hana-ŋka wach^hin-o i-sam
 become-NPT-CAUS heat-NPT-CAUS above-ABL beer-GEN his/her-vapour
 c^hok-Ø-d^ha-Ø-nuch^hañja.
 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) hañ-Ø-k^hat-Ø-ni-kina i-cilok cakwa
 get.hot-NPT-DIRaway-NPT-NAR-CAUS his/her-little.bit water
 pa-u-m-nalo mo-da d^hana-ŋka wach^hin-ʔo i-sam d^ha-ʔo
 put.in-3P-12pA-COND that-LOC above-ABL beer-GEN his/her-vapour up-GEN
 hañ-ma k^hat-ma 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 gagityañ-ʔo i-c^hoŋ-du ərko 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.in-INF must-NPT
 ‘But on top of the gagityang, another vessel called bata must be put.’
- (20) mo bata-ʔo i-t^hen 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) k^honki mo bata-da bata rə gagityañ-ʔo
 and.then that pointed.vessel-LOC pointed.vessel and (N) distillation.vessel-GEN
 i-maj^ha-da ik-tet bihomma ni-ʔo kəpəḍa 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 maddiŋ i-sam bahira k^hat-Ø-lon-Ø
 like.that not.there his/her-vapour outside (N) go-NPT-DIRup-NPT
 buŋk^ha-ya-tni lon-Ø-k^hat-Ø.
 outside-LOC.level-ALL go.outside-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
 ‘If not, the steam will go out, it will go out.’
- (24) wac^hiŋ i-sam buŋk^ha-yatni i-k^hat-nin-ne ni-ki-na-na
 beer his/her-vapour outside-towards NEGNPp-go-3NEG-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP
 gagityaŋ rə bata-o i-maj^ha-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 gagityang.’
- (25) on-ki bata-du cakwa p^heri 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 yiŋ-in-nalo yiŋ-ma dat-Ø-nalo o cakwa
 because NAR say-12plSP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
 jətika k^hepi tatəi liy-a, mo lat-ma k^hat-ma yak-ma
 how.much (N) time hot (N) become-NPT that take.out-INF take.away-INF be.in-INF
 dot-Ø.
 must-NPT
 ‘Because, we say, one should say, every time that water gets hot, you must continuously
 throw it out.’
- (27) mo ik-tet-ŋa cakwa ku-Ø-kina lok-ma puŋs-u-nalo hyuna
 that one-qual-EMPH water heat-NPT-CAUS boil-INF begin-3P-COND down
 heŋmawa patalo li-Ø-k^hat-Ø.
 liquor thin (N) become-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
 ‘If once the water starts to cook, the heŋmawa below will go thin.’
- (28) mo heŋmawa patalo i-li-nin-ne ni-ki-na-na d^hana
 that liquor thin (N) NEGNPp-become-3NEG-OPT NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP above
 cakwa p^heri mu-ma yak-ma dot-Ø.
 water again (N) be.pred-INF be.in-INF must-NPT
 ‘In order let that heŋmawa not go thin, up there one must put water in.’
- (29) ku-Ø-lon-Ø cakwa ku-Ø-lon-Ø c^haŋ mo
 heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT water heat-NPT-DIRup-NPT also that
 lat-ma-k^han-ma-ki ərko cakwa pak-ma dot-Ø mo
 take.out-INF-COMPL-INF-SEQ another (N) water put.in-INF must-NPT that
 bata-da.
 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) k^honki-na-na mo ni-ʔo krəm, mo ni-ʔo kaci, pāc k^hepi-da-ŋka
 and.then-TOP-TOP that NAR-NOM krəm that NAR-NOM work five (N) time-LOC-ABL
 sat k^hepi-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 ni-ʔo b^hi-hut-da heŋmawa
 down now (N) collection.jug NAR-NOM earthen.vessel-hole-LOC 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) k^honki-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) k^honki-na bu-ya bata lat-ma k^han-ma dot-Ø.
 and.then-TOP front-LOC.level pointed.vessel take.out-INF send-INF must-NPT
 ‘And then, first, the bata must be taken off.’
- (34) k^honki gagityaŋ-hut-da-ʔo watatma lat-ma dot-Ø.
 and.then distillation.vessel-hole-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 d^ha-Ø mo lar-u-m
 that collection.jug-LOC liquor how.much go.down-PT that take.out-3P-12pA
 deŋ-da heŋmawa tøyari 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 tərīka onŋa.
 liquor do-INF method (N) only
 ‘This much only is the way to make hengmawa.’
- (39) alaŋne!
 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) bak^ha-ʔo-yu bak^ha hut-yu k^hum-ma dot-Ø
soil-GEN-LOC.low soil hole-LOC.low bury-INF must-NPT
'He must be buried in the ground.'
- (2) j^harak-da-ŋka bu-ya siw-a-da-Ø-c^haŋ saŋ k^hokpa siw-a-da he
all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level die-PT-eff-PT-also who old.man die-PT-TEMP or
k^hokma. k^hokpa k^hokma ico c^ha-ci, mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo,
old.woman old.man old.woman their^{ms} 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) duwac^ha-ci-nalo duwac^ha-ʔa mo-da mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo kaci
son-PL-COND son-ERG that-LOC do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work
j^harak mu-ma dot-Ø
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) k^hon-ki-na j^harak-da-ŋka bu-ya mo-ko mina si-Ø-da-Ø-c^haŋ
he/she-SEQ-TOP all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level that-ref man die-NPT-eff-NPT-also
k^himkoŋ-hut-da yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo buŋk^ha-da lon-ma dot-Ø.
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) k^hon-ki mina-ʔo i-taŋ hyatni laptik^hoŋ pətti hu-ma dot-Ø
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) k^hon-ki-na abi j^harak dik^ha 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-c^haŋ mi-ta-Ø api mi-ta-Ø but-ma-ŋa 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) j^harak mina b^hela li-ma-kina mo mina-lai om-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
 all man gathered (N) become-INF-CAUS that man-DAT be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT
 inuŋwa kəpəɖa tit-ʔa b^hom-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) b^hom-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) k^hon-ki-na i-c^ha-ci-ʔa k^hun-ma dot-Ø duwach^a-ci-ʔa
 he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-child-PL-ERG carry-INF must-NPT son-PL-ERG
 duwach^a-ci maddiŋ-ci-nalo c^hetkuma-ci-da-ʔo mak^ha
 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) b^hərsək k^ho-ci-c^haŋ ni-ta-nin-nalo dik^ha-da-ʔo dik^ha
 possibly (N) he/she-PL-ever N3pl-come.far-NEGn-COND brothers-LOC-GEN brothers
 buwa-ci-ʔa k^hun-ma dot-Ø
 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) k^hon-ki-na mo k^hatt-u-m-y-u-m k^hun-ma-b^hənda
 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-Ø
 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-Ø i-cici i-do-da i-ŋaliŋ
 money put.in-INF must-NPT his/her-little.bit his/her-mouth-LOC his/her-face
 d^hatni. (demka?) ik p^hek, ik yaŋ i-bidi - t^hapsiŋ-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 biɖi, for the tradition.’

- (14) (ərt^{hə} di?) o yaŋ? mo ni o abi mina siw-a-da-Ø-ʔo
meaning (N) what? this money? that other this now (N) man die-PT-eff-PT-NOM
 deŋ-da j^harak-da-ŋka inuwak cija nuwak jo-nuc^haŋa 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) j^harak-da-ŋka c^hi-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo cakwa cok^ho cakwa
 all-LOC-ABL be.expensive-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM water pure (N) water
 ni-ki-na suna-wa rupa-wa pak-ma dot-Ø i-do-da
 NAR-SEQ-TOP gold-rain silver-rain put.in-INF 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) k^hon-ki i-c^huk-da yaŋ pak-ma dot-Ø k^hon-ki-na k^hokli
 he/she-SEQ his/her-hand-LOC money put.in-INF must-NPT he/she-SEQ-TOP forest
 hyatni he wik-da k^hum-si k^hat-ma dot-Ø
 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) k^hum-si k^hat-ma-da mo para-ʔa samba-da k^hun-ma dot-Ø
 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) k^hon-ki layaca-ni lo-ma dot-Ø
 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) j^harak-da-ŋka bu-ya ka-kon-pa mina-ʔa kaya
 all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level APpref-walk-APm man-ERG rice.plant
 ri-yaŋ-sa k^hatt-u dya? 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) k^hada k^hum-ma ni min-in k^hada k^hum-ma k^hada yuŋ-ma anken
 where bury-INF NAR think-12plSP where bury-INF where put-INF we^{pi}
 min-in. ma-ʔaŋ-nalo k^ho mi-na-ci si-ma-da-ma
 think-12plSP NEGPTp-be.PTNEG-COND someone man-PL die-INF-eff-INF
 bu-ya k^ho-ci-ʔa niŋa i-no-Ø-ʔo yuŋ-k^ha yuŋ-Ø
 front-LOC.level he/she-PL-ERG mood 3AM-be.happy-NPT-NOM sit-PNOM 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 k^ho-da k^hatt-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) k^hon-ki-na mo-da k^hat-ma-ci k^hum-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-taŋ
 many DOUBT hole dig.in-INF-SEQ that-LOC man-GEN his/her-head
 pūrwa-hyatni mu-ma-ki k^hum-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 k^hum-ma-b^hənda bu-ya i-nuwa i-nuwak badde
 but (N) bury-INF-COMP (N) front-LOC.level his/her-good his/her-good many
 i-nuwak luŋ-ci tat-ma-ci-kina d^hak d^hak yuŋ-ma,
 his/her-good stone-PL bring.far-INF-DU-CAUS dhak.onom dhak.onom put-INF
 luŋ t^hiŋ-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) k^hon-ki-na mo d^huŋ-da tit-ci t^hiŋ-ma-ci gundrī
 he/she-SEQ-TOP that above-LOC clothes-PL spread.out-INF-DU straw.mat (N)
 t^hiŋ-ma mi-dot-Ø k^hon-ki tit-ci pak-ma k^hon-ki mo
 spread.out-INF 3pl-must-NPT he/she-SEQ clothes-PL put.in-INF he/she-SEQ that
 d^huŋ-da ip-ma dot-Ø
 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) p^heri i-d^huŋ-du-ŋka watni-ʔo məjja-ʔo luŋtak
 again (N) his/her-above-LOC.high-ABL like.this-NOM pleasure (N)-GEN stone
 badd^he id^hiwaŋ məjjale id^hiwaŋ luŋtak-ʔa i-tim-u-n
 many big pleasant (N) big stone-ERG NEGNPp-press.down-3P-NEGN
 watni si-Ø-da-Ø-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) bakəs watni bənya mu-ma-ki məjjale dip-ma dot-Ø. o deŋ-da
 box (E) here make (N) do-INF-SEQ pleasant (N) cover-INF must-NPT this after-LOC
 matrə bak^ha.
 only (N) soil
 ‘Making it like a box, he must be covered pleasantly. Only after that (comes) the soil.’

- (27) sum-ka tala t^hok-ma dot-Ø. sum-ka cok bənya 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) k^hon-ki mina-ʔo i-taŋ pətti-da-ŋka bicikilik-da kok
 he/she-SEQ man-GEN his/her-head side (N)-LOC-ABL earthen.vessel-LOC rice
 b^haŋ-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) k^hon-ki wa set-ma-ki, uncitko waic^het set-ma-ki-na-na
 he/she-SEQ chicken kill-INF-SEQ this.small chick 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.’
- (30) k^hon-ki i-laŋ pətti-da i-cik-da-tni wabuk-da wac^hin
 he/she-SEQ his/her-leg side (N)-LOC his/her-close-LOC-ALL bottle.gourd-LOC beer
 heŋmawa coŋge-da yuk-ma-da-ma-ki i-laŋ-pətti-ya
 liquor bamboo.cup-LOC mount-INF-eff-INF-SEQ his/her-leg-side (N)-LOC.level
 abi di-di-ci i-ləuro-ci.
 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 rə kok ca-yaŋ-sa yuŋ-a-ni-ki-na.
 chicken-meat and (N) rice eat-PROG-SIM sit-PT-NAR-SEQ-TOP
 ‘In order that you may be there, eating chicken and rice.’
- (32) (epma-ʔo i-d^huŋ-du)
 grave-GEN his/her-above-LOC.high
 ‘(on top of the grave).’
- (33) k^hon-ki duwac^ha-c^ha yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo k^him-da
 he/she-SEQ son-child sit-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND house-LOC
 la-ma-ta-ma-ki ju^th^o mina-ci maŋyij mi-lu-Ø
 return-INF-DIRback-INF-SEQ impure (N) man-PL prayer 3pl-feel-NPT
 i-d^huwa-ci.
 his/her-big.man-PL
 ‘Then, if there are sons, having gone home, the impure people say prayers, and the
 leaders.’
- (34) ayi-da-ŋka p^həlana mina ayi-da-ŋka o henk^hamma-da
 today-LOC-ABL such.and.such (N) man today-LOC-ABL this earth-LOC
 maddiŋ-Ø o anko t^hapsiŋ-hili-da-ŋka lont-a-k^har-a.
 not.there-NPT this our^{bi} 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^ha-yu waŋ-a-k^har-a ət^həwa paru-du k^hat-Ø. abi, han j^harak
soil-LOC.low enter-PT-go-PT or (N) heaven-LOC.high go-NPT now (N) now all
toŋ-ma-ki-na k^ho-so-ʔo i-niŋ-da i-c^ha-ci
match-INF-SEQ-TOP he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-name-LOC his/her-child-PL
mi-yuŋ-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 kəpəɖa rik-ma dot-Ø.
white (N) cloth (N) twist-INF must-NPT
'must be wrapped in white clothes.'
- (37) k^hon-ki-na-na di-sa-c^haŋ nop-ma i-nu-nin
he/she-SEQ-TOP-TOP what-PRN-ever touch-INF NEGNPp-be.good-NEGn
pəsu-ci ni-mina mina nop-ma i-nu-nin.
animal (N)-PL other-man man touch-INF NEGNPp-be.good-NEGn
*'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. paniwaŋ bamna-ci tehrə-ka
three-CNT day Kiranti-LOC three-CNT day Chetrī Bāhun-PL thirteen (N)-CNT
len. anko kirawa t^hapsiŋ-da sum-ka len.
day our^{pi} Kiranti ritual-LOC three-CNT day
*'Three days. In Kiranti, three days. Chetrīs and Bāhuns thirteen days. In our Kiranti
tradition three days.'*
- (39) pərsi bihan cəi j^harak mina b^hela li-ma
day.after.tomorrow (N) morning (N) swTOP (N) all man gathered (N) become-INF
dot-Ø nata gota c^hetkuma dik^ha biwa b^hela
must-NPT relation (N) family (N) girl brothers elder.brother gathered (N)
li-ma-kina 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-a-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) nak^hoŋ ma-ʔaŋ əru-c^haŋ dowa-ci mi-yuŋ-Ø k^ho-ci maŋ
shaman NEGPTp-be.PTNEG other (N)-also sorcery-PL 3pl-sit-NPT he/she-PL godhead
mi-mu-Ø k^hon-ki-na mo maŋ yiŋ-Ø-lat-Ø-ʔo deŋ-da
3pl-do-NPT he/she-SEQ-TOP that godhead say-NPT-DIROff-NPT-NOM after-LOC
la həi ya-da-ŋka j^harak 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 k^hana sitmaŋ
 this-LOC-ABL salt oil eat-INF receive-3P-12pA-e now (N) you^s 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 duk^ha man-pi-da ni.
 we^{pe}-DAT trouble NEGPTp-give-NEGPTs NAR
'Do not give us trouble.'
- (44) abi am-niŋ-da o wak wako pi-nin-Ø-nin
 now (N) your^s-name-LOC this such- such give-1ns2-PROG-1ns2
'In your name we are giving you such and such.'
- (45) yiŋ mi-lat-Ø dowa-ci puja mi-mu-Ø maŋ
 prayer 3pl-take.out-NPT sorcery-PL worship (N) 3pl-be.pred-NPT godhead
 mi-mu-Ø.
 3pl-do-NPT.
'They pray, the priests do the ritual, they do the ritual.'
- (46) k^hon-ki mo ka-si-da-pa-ʔo mina-ʔo i-niŋ-da mi-yiŋ
 he/she-SEQ that APpref-die-eff-APm-GEN man-GEN his/her-name-LOC 3pl-speak
 mo-ko len-ʔo b^haŋ-ma-yiŋ-ʔo camat^hoka an-debre c^huk owatni
 that-ref day-GEN boil-INF-PP-GEN food our^{pi}-left hand like.this
 k^hik-ma-ki owatni pi-ma dot-Ø wet-ma k^hat-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-c^huk-da mi-pak-Ø k^hon-ki dowa-ci mi-lat-Ø mogəri
 our^{pi}-hand-LOC 3pl-put.in-NPT he/she-SEQ sorcery-PL 3pl-take.out-NPT then
 yiŋ-lat-sa mi-k^hat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
 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-sida-pa-ʔo i-c^ha-ci duwach^a-ci jo
 that APpref-die.eff-APm-GEN his/her-child-PL son-PL whoever (N)
 g^humʔoma bəseko hunc^hə mo-ci-ʔo ico taŋ-miwa k^ho-ma
 impurity-LOC (N) seated (N) is (N) that-PL-GEN their^{ms} head-hair scrape-INF
 dot-Ø
 must-NPT
'That person's children, sons, whoever was observing impurity, their hair must be shaved.'

- (49) k^hon-ki mo-so-ʔo deŋ-da ab pəitalis-ka len da-ŋka hwa
 he/she-SEQ that-PRN-GEN after-LOC now (N) forty-five-CNT day LOC-ABL two
 məhina sum-ka məhina-hut-da p^heri mo ka-sida-pa-lai
 month (N) three-CNT month (N)-hole-LOC again (N) that APpref-die.eff-APm-DAT
 maŋ-da pak-ma ni-ʔo dum t^hapsiŋ yuŋ-Ø
 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 maŋ-da
 our^{pe} 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, həi.
 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) hiŋ-a-ŋ-a-hida mo mina ni-jata-sudda ims-a-ʔo həi,
 live-PT-PROG-PT-SIMc that man other-caste (N)-with sleep-PT-NOM hey
 ni-jata ma-tar-a-ʔo, ni-jata-da k^har-a-ʔo, mo
 other-caste (N) mother-bring.far-PT-NOM other-caste (N)-LOC go-PT-NOM that
 maŋ-da i-k^hat-nin ni-ʔo.
 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) k^hon-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) læu iŋka araŋ iŋ-t^haŋna-c^ha-da watni paniwaŋma-sudda həi
 well I once my-young.man-child-LOC here Chetrinī-with hey
 kami-ma-sudda yuŋs-a-ŋ-ʔo, həi k^hwatni-c^haŋ-ʔo iŋka
 blacksmith-mother-with sit-PT-1s-NOM hey. that.way-ever-NOM I
 k^him-maŋ-da i-k^hat-ni-ŋ maŋ 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 Chetrī woman, hey, I have stayed with a Kāmī 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) k^honunale k^hwatni lis-a-ki ab iŋka cəĩ k^hokli-hyatni
 k^honunale that.way become-PT-SEQ now (N) I swTOP (N) forest-across
 k^haĩs-a-ŋ-n-ŋ ni-ʔo ni yiŋ-Ø ka-sida-pa dowa-ci-ʔa
 send-PT-1s-2p-1sc NAR-NOM NAR say-NPT APPref-die.eff-APm sorcery-PL-ERG
 k^hon-Ø-pəc^hi ankan-lai mi-lo-Ø.
 resurrect-NPT-after (N) we^{pi}-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) k^ho-so-ʔo deŋ-da ab ankan k^hokli-hyatni pak-ma-lai dowa-ci
 he/she-PRN-GEN after-LOC now (N) we^{pi} forest-across put.in-INF-DAT sorcery-PL
 t^hom-yaŋ-sa ken mani saŋ-yaŋ-sa mi-t^hom-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) k^hokli-hyatni tiŋ-han-ma
 forest-across chase-send-INF
'To chase him to the jungle.'
- (61) abə-da-ŋka o-da han-da-ŋka k^hana ayi-da-ŋka o-da k^hana
 now (N)-LOC-ABL this-LOC now-LOC-ABL you^s today-LOC-ABL this-LOC you^s
 ta-ma ti-tok-na-n yuŋ-ma k^hana ti-tok-na-n
 come.far-INF 2AS-receive-2P-NEGn sit-INF you^s 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) k^hana səd^həĩ-ko lagi k^hokli-hyatni k^hat-ma dot-Ø. səd^həĩ-ʔo lagi
 you^s always-GEN (N) for (N) forest-across go-INF must-NPT always (N)-GEN for (N)
 k^hokli-ya-ŋa k^hana ti-yuŋ-Ø, k^hokli-ya-ŋa ti-can-Ø,
 forest-LOC.level-EMPH you^s 2AS-sit-NPT forest-LOC.level-EMPH 2AS-feed-NPT
 k^hokli-ya-ŋa ti-yuŋ-Ø, k^hokli-ya-ŋa ti-hiŋ-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) k^hana o-da man-ta-da, ankenka-lai man-pi-da
 you^s this-LOC NEGPTp-come.far-NEGPTs we^{pe}-DAT NEGPTp-give-NEGPTs
 ni-ki-na-na dowa-ci-ʔa i-lo-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.'

- (64) k^hon-kina-na tyəslai c^hun-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo (Nepali Text)
 he/she-CAUS-TOP that-DAT (N) refuse-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND (Nepali Text)
'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.'
- (65) b^həŋ-k^ha-wa-ʔa cəi kin-ma k^hat-ma dot-Ø, həi,
 blast-PNOM-LIKE-ERG swTOP (N) frighten-INF take.away-INF must-NPT hey
'With the gun they must scare it away, hey.'
- (66) uncitko hotlum mi-tu-Ø he hotlum hut-da camaci-ci mi-pak de
 small hole 3pl-dig.in-NPT or hole hole-LOC food-PL 3pl-put.in what
 wako yuk-na-ŋ-na mo-ko yuk-na-ŋ-na ca-si ta-Ø ni
 such mount-2P-PROG-2P that-ref mount-2P-PROG-2P eat-SUP come.far-PT NAR
 yij-Ø
 say-NPT
'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.'
- (67) mo ni man-c^hun-yuŋ-nalo mo cəi p^heri kul-da
 that other NEGPTp-refuse-IMPF-COND that swTOP (N) again (N) lineage (N)-LOC
 k^hat-Ø anko kul-da waŋ-Ø k^hon-ki mo kul-da
 go-NPT our^{pi} lineage (N)-LOC enter-NPT he/she-SEQ that lineage (N)-LOC
 waŋ-ŋa-lai waic^het wadin na-ki-na-na pura seŋ-ma
 enter-1sNP-DAT chick chicken.egg then-SEQ-TOP-TOP completely (N) clean-INF
'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.'
- (68) seŋ-ma-ki-na, lu, ayi-da-ŋka k^hana anko maŋ-ci-nin
 clean-INF-SEQ-TOP well (N) today-LOC-ABL you^s our^{pi} godhead-PL-COM
 diwa dima-ci, həi, sakudiwa sakudima-ci yuŋ-k^ha
 great.grandfather great.grandmother-PL hey forefather foremother-PL sit-PNOM
 k^ho-ci-sudda k^hana ti-tom-ki ti-yuŋ-Ø.
 he/she-PL-with you^s 2AS-support-SEQ 2AS-sit-NPT
'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.'
- (69) k^hana k^ho-ci-ʔo i-niŋa ni-no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 you^s he/she-PL-GEN his/her-mood 3A-be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT
'They are happy with you.'
- (70) k^ho-ci-ʔa ni-but-Ø-yaŋ-Ø k^ho-da k^ho-ci-sudda k^hat-ma
 he/she-PL-ERG 3A-call-NPT-PROG-NPT he/she-LOC he/she-PL-with go-INF
 dot-Ø. lu, k^ho-da k^hat-ma-lai ankenka lam bənya
 must-NPT well (N), he/she-LOC go-INF-DAT we^{pe} way make (N)

mu-n-y-in-ka ni-ki-na-na tyəhã tʰapsiŋ hili
 be.pred-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-e NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP there (N) ritual culture
 ənuser di-di ci-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 according (N) what-what do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘They have called you. You have to go there, with them. Well, after we have made a
 way to go there, what things must you do there according to the tradition.’

- (71) mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo kaci mu-Ø-m-ʔo deŋ-da mo api
 do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work do-3P-12pA-NOM after-LOC that self
 maŋ-da kʰat-Ø.
 godhead-LOC go-NPT
 ‘After we have done the things that need to be done, he will go to the gods by himself.’
- (72) di-cʰaŋ ci-ma dot-Ø ni mo maŋ mo-da kʰat-Ø o-ŋa
 what-ever do-INF must-NPT NAR that godhead that-LOC go-NPT this-EMPH
 mo-so-ʔo i-niŋa-da-ŋa mo-ci-ŋa ankenka maŋ ni
 that-PRN-GEN his/her-mood-LOC-EMPH that-PL-EMPH we^{pe} godhead NAR
 lo-Ø-m-cu-m. i-doŋ kon-Ø puja mu-ma-ci dot-Ø
 say-3P-12pA-DUP-12pAc his/her-year walk-NPT worship (N) do-INF-DU must-NPT
 maŋ mu-ma dot-Ø.
 godhead do-INF must-NPT
 ‘Whatever you must do, it is said. He goes to the gods, only of his own accord, we call
 them our gods. Each turn of the year we must worship them.’
- (73) ankenka maŋ mu-n-ka. diwa, maŋcʰama mu-n-ka.
 we^{pe} godhead do-12plSP-e great.grandfather godhead do-12plSP-e
 ‘We worship the forefather, do the house worship.’

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 *ubhaulī puja* ‘upward worship’ and *udhaulī puja* ‘downward worship’. These are performed during the full moons in the Nepali months Mañsir, i.e. November-December, and Vaiśākh, i.e. April-May, and mark the start of the

winter and spring seasons. The *ubhaulī pujā* marks the time that the shepherds bring their livestock up to the higher altitude meadows, the *udhaulī pujā* 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 (*nak^hoŋ*). 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 pujās* are prime occasions for young boys and girls to meet.

- (1) araŋ araŋ-ni prithwi narəyəŋ ɕaha-ʔa pūrwa-ya kirāti haŋhon-ci
once once-NAR Pṛthvī Nārāyaŋ Śāha-ERG east (N)-LOC.level Kiranti (N) country-PL
c^hin-yaŋ-sa tu-Ø-ʔo.
nudge-PROG-SIM meet-3P-NOM
'Before, long ago, it is said, Pṛthvī Nārāyaŋ Śāha met the Kiranti kingdoms in conquest.'
- (2) k^ho gəri prithwi narəyəŋ ɕaha-ci-ʔa o i-sena-ci-ʔa
he/she moment Pṛthvī Nārāyaŋ 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 Pṛthvī Nārāyaŋ Śāha, his soldiers, killed many Kirantis there.'
- (3) k^hon-ki mo-da hwa-tet undacitko hoŋku-ci yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci
he/she-SEQ that-LOC two-qual that.small river-PL be-DU-PROG-DU
k^hokli-hut-da.
forest-hole-LOC
'Then there were two small rivers, inside the forest.'
- (4) mo k^hokli-da mi-kum-a-ŋ-a-ʔo kirāti-ci d^het-yaŋ-sa
that forest-LOC 3pl-hide-PT-PROG-PT-NOM Kiranti (N)-PL cut-PROG-SIM
mi-ser-u-ci-ni bessəri, prithwi narəyəŋ ɕaha-ci-ʔo
3pl-kill-3P-DUP-NAR very.much (N) Pṛthvī Nārāyaŋ Śāha-PL-GEN
i-sena-ci-ʔa.
his/her-soldier (N)-PL-ERG
'Finding the Kirantis who were hiding in that forest, they slaughtered them, the soldiers of Pṛthvī Nārāyaŋ Śāha.'
- (5) k^hon-ki ico hi hoŋku-watni-ŋa sont-a-ni hoŋku-watni
he/she-SEQ their^{ns} blood river-SIMIL-EMPH flow-PT-NAR river-SIMIL
cakwa-watni sont-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 k^holso o-hya-kko k^holso-ci otni
SEQ-TOP-TOP that.lev stream this-level-ATTR stream-PL like.this
mi-tuʔ-a-ki-na-na hətuwa lis-a-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 nak^hoŋ sindraŋ-da-ʔo sakenwa nak^hoŋ-ni-ʔo anemnuŋ
 our^{pe} shaman Sindrāñ-LOC-GEN Sakenwa shaman-NAR-NOM last.year
 siw-a-da ni-ni
 die-PT-TEMP other-NAR
 ‘Our shaman, Sindrāñ’s ritual shaman died last year, they said, so.’
- (8) iŋka-na k^haŋ-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) tərə sindraŋ b^heplo-da sum-paŋ nak^hoŋ-ci mi-yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 but (N) Sindrāñ complete-LOC three-qspir shaman-PL 3pl-sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘but in all of Sindrāñ there are three shamans.’
- (10) sakenwa ayimit sindraŋ-da hwa-tet matte yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci.
 Sakenwa nowadays Sindrāñ-LOC two-qual only (N) be-DU-PROG-DU
 ‘Nowadays there are only two Sakenwa pujas in Sindrāñ, only two.’
- (11) d^hana lakturaŋ-du d^hana k^hyali b^hen-du k^hon-ki
 above Lakturang-LOC.high above K^hyali root-LOC.high he/she-SEQ
 hyana cyemk^ha sat nābər waɖ-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) sakenwa mu-k^ha-da j^harak mina-ci dik^ha j^harak dik^ha biwa-ci
 Sakenwa do-PNOM-LOC all man-PL brothers all brothers elder.brother-PL
 nata-ci j^harak anko nu-Ø-lok ka-mit mina-ci mo-da
 relative-PL all our^{pi} be.good-NPT-MAN APpref-remember man-PL that-LOC
 b^hela 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) k^hon-ki nak^hoŋ maŋ mu-Ø əru j^harak b^hela
 he/she-SEQ shaman godhead do-3P other (N) all gathered (N)
 mi-li-Ø-o mina-ci-ʔa k^ho-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) k^hon-ki yayok i-pi-Ø k^ho-so-ʔo i-deŋ-da k^ho badde
 he/she-SEQ advise 3AM-give-NPT he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-after-LOC he/she many
 maŋ yiŋ-Ø-lat-Ø.
 godhead say-NPT-DIRoff-NPT
 ‘Then they give him advise. After that he prays a lot.’
- (15) bec^huk pek-Ø k^hon-ki bec^huk pek-ki-na mo-da meʔen jok^hana
 ginger peel-NPT he/she-SEQ ginger cut-SEQ-TOP that-LOC DOUBT oracle (N)
 k^haŋ-ma ni yiŋ-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) be^huk pe-ʔu-ʔo-watni be^huk pek-ma dot-∅ o yiŋ-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-niŋa no-∅-yaŋ-∅-nalo mo be^huk meksiməm
Sakenwa his/her-mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND that ginger maximum
sum-ka k^hepi peʔ-u-m-hida sin-ma li-∅.
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-∅-yaŋ-∅ he it-∅-yaŋ-∅ ni-ki.
that be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT or be.bad-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR-SEQ
bu-ya-ʔo coŋi pe-ʔu-m-o laŋka lis-a-nalo
front-LOC.level-GEN time (N) peel-3P-12pA-NOM upright become-PT-COND
ərko coŋi bomko lis-a-nalo mo maŋ i-niŋa
another (N) time (N) round become-PT-COND that godhead his/her-mood
no-∅-yaŋ-∅.
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 k^hepi-da bu-ya laŋka lis-a ərko coŋi bomka
two time-LOC front-LOC.level upright become-PT another (N) time (N) round
lis-a-nalo mo maŋ i-niŋa no-∅-yaŋ-∅.
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 paruhaŋ-ci i-c-o-ni-ŋa
Sakenwa Sumnima Paruhang-PL NEGnpp-eat-3P-NEGn-EMPH
no-∅-yaŋ-∅ b^həwiŋyə nu-∅-yaŋ-∅ ni tup-ma
be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT future (N) be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR understand-INF
dot-∅.
must-NPT
'Sakenwa, Sumnima and Paruhang are pleased. We must understand that the future is good.'
- (21) hwa k^hepi-da laŋka lis-a bu-ya coŋi k^hon-ki
two time-LOC upright become-PT front-LOC.level time (N) he/she-SEQ
ərko-c^haŋ laŋka-ŋa lis-a-nalo Sakenwa-ʔa i-cirpa
another (N)-also upright-EMPH become-PT-COND Sakenwa-ERG his/her-anger
kat-∅-yaŋ-∅ni-ki tup-ma dot-∅.
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.'

- (22) k^hon-ki ərko coŋi ... pek-ma dot-Ø. k^hon-ki mo bom-sa,
 he/she-SEQ another (N) time (N) ... peel-INF must-NPT he/she-SEQ that bend-PT
 mo-ko caŋi boms-a-nalo, nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 that-ref sw^{TOP} (N) bend-PT-COND be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘Then another time, it must be peeled. Then, if that is round, if that one is round, it is good.’
- (23) sumnima paruhaŋ-ci bu-ya ici niŋa nuw-a-ŋ-a e
 Sumnima Paruhang-PL front-LOC.level their^p mood be.good-PT-PROG-PT hey
 c^hir-a-ŋ-a tərə han k^ho-ci ici niŋa no-Ø-yaŋ-Ø həi
 leave-PT-PROG-PT but (N) now he/she-PL their^p mood be.happy-NPT-PROG-NPT hey
 puja mu-n-y-in-ki maŋ mu-n-y-in-ki
 worship (N) be.pred-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-SEQ godhead do-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-SEQ
 ni-ki-na tup-ma dot-Ø.
 NAR-SEQ-TOP understand-INF must-NPT
 ‘Sumnima and Paruhang first were not pleased, but now they are pleased, hey, because we worshipped, we must understand.’
- (24) k^hon-ki-na mo-da-ŋka-c^haŋ cirpa kat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø səməy nu-ma
 he/she-SEQ-TOP that-LOC-ABL-ever anger feel-NPT-PROG-NPT time (N) be.good-INF
 i-mu-nin-Ø-in.
 NEG^{NP}-do-NEG-PROG-NEG
 ‘Then, if because of that too, their anger comes, the time will not start to be good.’
- (25) k^hon-ki sakenwa mu-k^ha-da motni nakc^hoŋ yari pek-ma.
 he/she-SEQ Sakenwa do-PNOM-LOC like.that shaman ginger.cutting peel-INF
 ‘Then, in doing Sakenwa, that way the shaman cuts the ginger, to divine the future.’
- (26) yari pek-Ø-cin-Ø-ŋo deŋ-da j^harak-ci-lai lo-Ø-ci.
 ginger.cutting peel-NPT-finish-NPT-NOM after-LOC all-PL-DAT say-3P-DUP
 ‘After the ginger has been cut, he tells everyone.’
- (27) duwac^ha si-ma mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø, he mec^hac^ha, həi.
 son die-INF be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT or daughter hey
 ‘If a man or a woman is about to die, or a small child, they can also tell.’
- (28) k^ho-s-o-deŋ-da bəllə nakc^hoŋ ken saŋ-Ø-ki-na-na
 he/she-PRN-GEN-back-LOC at.last (N) shaman large.drum play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP
 ken mani saŋ-Ø-ki-na-na maŋ p^hoŋ-Ø.
 large.drum cymbal play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP godhead open-NPT
 ‘Finally, after that, the priest, playing the drum, playing the big drum and cimbals, starts the worship.’
- (29) halok i-nampik nakc^hoŋ maŋ p^hoŋ-Ø.
 today his/her-evening shaman godhead open-NPT.
 ‘Tonight the priest starts to pray.’

- (30) maŋkolen lak lu-si k^hat-ma dot-Ø d^hana puja
 tomorrow religious.dance feel-SUP go-INF must-NPT above worship (N)
 k^ham-du maŋ mu-k^ha-da t^hoŋ-du.
 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) k^hon-ki-na-na lama-tama ərko-na y-Ø p^heri
 he/she-SEQ-TOP-TOP lama-copper (N) another (N)-TOP descend-NPT again (N)
 mu-du-ŋa la-ma k^hat-ma dot-Ø maŋ mu-si
 that-LOC.high-EMPH return-INF go-INF must-NPT godhead do-SUP
 ‘After that, to return, the other day we must go there again, to worship.’
- (32) k^hon-ki ərko yi ken mani-ci la-ma yuŋ-ma-ci
 he/she-SEQ another (N) day large.drum cymbal-PL return-INF put-INF-DU
 mi-dot-Ø.
 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-CNT evening
 ‘One night, one night, two nights, three nights.’
- (34) mu-n, mu-n-da j^harak dik^ha biwa nata gota
 do-12plSP do-12plSP-TEMP all brothers elder.brother relative (N) kin (N)
 kuŋumbə c^hetkuma kipmak^ha,
 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-k^ha-da bihe mi-mu-Ø. Niŋa
 religious.dance perform-PNOM-LOC marriage (N) 3pl-be.pred-NPT mood
 no-ka-no mi-mu-Ø warisa t^haŋna-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 Kājīmān Rāī, an elderly man of more than 60 years in Choṭīḍāḍā, Sindrāñ. 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 *Kirāt 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 Kirāt Yākthun Cumluṅ¹ is particularly active in publishing material, but is dominated by Limbu. Recently, Imānsiṃha Cemjoṅ's² very complete and well organised bilingual³ book has been republished, called *Kirāt Mundhum*⁴ as a 'Kiranti scripture'.

More relevant to the Bantawa is the less fancily printed *Kirāt-Rāi-Vāntavā ridum-mundhum* 'Kiranti Rai Bantawa oral tradition', by Jayaprasād Mukāruṅ (Vāntavā) Rāi. This book, published in Dharān 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.

¹Kirant Yakthung Cumlung, (किरात याक्थुङ चुम्लुङ.)

²इमानसिंह चेम्जोङ

³Here, 'bilingual' means Limbu and Nepali. In this context Limbu is named Kirāt bhāṣā 'Kiranti language'.

⁴*Kirāt Mundhum (Kirātko Ved)*, 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 Dumii speaker as in Van Driem (1993b: 285). The method of conception of the mother goddess Sumnima, named *Na:ye:m* in Dumii, 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.how-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 paruhaŋ 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 əni yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida sumnima paruhaŋ-eda tərə
water top-LOC then (N) be-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMp Sumnima Paruhang-COMI 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, Sumnima together with Paruhang, but
they were over the water, it is said.'
- (3) tərə p^hito p^hito yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci p^hito p^hito
but (N) different different be-PT-PROG-PT-DU different different
yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida i-k^heri-da-na meʔen c^hok-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 c^hok-muw-a-ci, di b^həne, jəigəla-buŋwa, əni doŋ-k^hola,
gift (N) move-RECIP-PT-DU what if (N) flower-flower then (N) mouth.harp-cover
doŋ.
mouth.harp
'Sending presents, what to say, a jaigala flower and a mouth harp with a cover.'
- (5) k^hon-ki-na pi-muw-a-ci k^ho-da-ŋka cino pəhile
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-pəç^hi: “o-ko-na mollok amno-na yawa keŋa-na
mood please-RECIP-DU-after (N) this-ref-TOP isn't.it your^p-TOP friend boy (N)-TOP
mok.”
isn't.it
'After they liked one another, "this has become your friend."'
- (7) paruhang o-na i-sipa on
Paruhang this-TOP his/her-skill (N) this.much
k^han-nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋo i-pok detni kat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
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) əni sumnima yij-a k^hon-ki-na: “ləu ankaŋo paruhang-na molok
then (N) Sumnima say-PT he/she-SEQ-TOP well our^{pe} Paruhang-TOP isn't.it
k^han-nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ŋe.”
handsome-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-EMPH
'And Sumnima said: Well, our Paruhang is looking very good.'
- (9) “o-ŋe k^haŋ-ma-ŋa ti-si-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo abo
this-EMPH see-INF-EMPH 2AS-want-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND now (N)
k^hut-ni-ŋe.” ni kekuwa yij-Ø. ka-c^hok
bring.for.someone-1ns2-EMPH NAR egret say-NPT APpref-move
kekuwa-da-ŋka k^hwatni yij a meŋen oha hyatni rə
egret-LOC-ABL that.way language that.1 DOUBT like.this that.way and (N)
o-hyatni meŋen yij c^hoŋs-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) yij c^hoŋs-u-ki-na ə k^hon-ki-na mo i-tar-a paruhang.
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) paruhang i-tar-a-kina sumnima-ŋo i-cik-da
Paruhang 3AM-bring.far-PT-CAUS Sumnima-GEN his/her-vicinity-LOC
i-yukt-a. tənə əni i-do c^haŋ baŋgo rikt-u-k^hais-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) k^hon-ki-na moswa-ŋa d^hwāso-ŋa somt-a-n-ci-n. “abo
he/she-SEQ-TOP soot (N)-ERG soot (N)-ERG rub.in-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL now (N)

sumnima-ʔa iŋka detni i-mit-ŋa-Ø-ŋa mollok rəcʰə. detni
 Sumnima-ERG I how 3AM-remember-1sNP-PROG-1sNP isn't.it MIR how
 i-lo-ŋa-Ø-ŋa rəcʰə,” ni-ki-na kʰaŋ mus-a-n-ci-n
 3AM-say-1sNP-PROG-1sNP MIR NAR-SEQ-TOP see CAUS2-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL
 ‘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 “lə 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 yiŋ-a.
 NAR say-PT
 ‘Then, ah! Him! Well, take him away, away, she said.’
- (14) amno paruhang-na las-a-kʰatt-a-n-u-m. amno
 your^p Paruhang-TOP return-PT-DIRaway-PT-2P-3P-12pA your^p
 cik-ya-tni-ŋa ni i-yuŋ-kʰa-ya-ŋa yiŋ-a.
 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 yiŋ-a-ki-na, ləu, paruhang-ʔo-na saro-ŋa
 Sumnima that.way say-PT-SEQ-TOP well Paruhang-GEN-TOP much (N)-EMPH
 i-niŋa cʰir-a.
 his/her-mood leave-PT
 ‘After Sumnima talked like that, well, Paruhang got very sad.’
- (16) abo iŋka mi-lok sumnima-ʔa watni-ŋa mollok kʰan its-a-ŋ-lo
 now (N) I that-MAN Sumnima-ERG here-EMPH isn't.it SEE be.bad-PT-1s-MAN
 i-kʰa-Ø-ŋ rəcʰə. abo de-ki mok iŋka watni mollok lis-a-ŋ
 3AM-see-PT-1s MIR now (N) what-SEQ isn't.it I here isn't.it become-PT-1s
 ʔuhura-ŋa he detni-ki ni-ki-na.
 orphan (N)-EMPH or how-SEQ NAR-SEQ-TOP
 ‘Now Sumnina 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 ma-ʔaŋ watni lis-a-ci e
 return-PT-meet-PT-DU-SEQ-TOP NEGPTp-be.PTNEG here become-PT-DU hey
 watni yakbak-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
 ə ik-tet cʰəl 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 c^həl mu-Ø-pəc^hi əb^həra c^hukt-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 k^ho-da-ŋka-na: "iŋka-na mollok walu ʔe sipt-u
SEQ-TOP he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP I-TOP isn't.it water.source EMPHe blink-3P
mulu ʔe sipt-u əni cakwa duŋ-ma si-ŋa-Ø-ŋa,"
water.source (N) EMPHe 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) cencikwa kol-a-lukt-a-hida cencikwa-ʔa walu ʔe d^hir-u-ŋ,
buffalo.bird walk-PT-CON-PT-SIMP buffalo.bird-ERG water.source EMPHe find-3P-1s
mulu ʔe d^hir-u-ŋ.
water.source (N) EMPHe find-3P-1s
'The pade bird, while it was walking around, and found a water source, found water.'
- (22) "k^hana sumnima ti-si-na-n, ti-let. iŋka k^hut-na." ni.
you^s Sumnima 2AS-die-2P-NEGN 2AS-survive I bring.for.someone-2P NAR
'"You, Sumnima, will not die, you will live. I shall bring it to you."'
- (23) k^hwatni yiŋ-a. k^ho-da-ŋka-na k^hutt-u.
that.way say-PT he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP bring.for.someone-3P
'He spoke like that. After that, he brought it.'
- (24) abo iŋka detni k^hut-na. iŋko iŋ-c^huk-c^haŋ matdiŋ-Ø. iŋ-laj
now (N) I how bring.for.someone-2P my my-hand-also NEG.be-NPT my-leg
matte yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø. ni cencikwa 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) cencikwa k^ho-da-ŋka-sa yiŋ-a pəc^hi sumnima-ʔa iremu abo
buffalo.bird he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN say-PT after (N) Sumnima-ERG ?? now (N)
am-do-da-ŋka ti-k^hut-ŋa-ne ni.
your^s-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) əni iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma i-si-nin əni am-jīu
then (N) my my-water drink-INF NEGNPp-die-NEGN then (N) your^s-body (N)
yakbak-da əni wa pokt-a-n-ci-n jəmma
arum.leaf-LOC then (N) rain get.wet-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL all (N)
wa-leŋs-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.'

- (27) k^hon-ki-na watni iŋ-do-da pakt-a-ŋ.
 he/she-SEQ-TOP here my-mouth-LOC sow-PT-1s
 rems-a-n-ci-n-ki-na k^hon-ki-na iŋko iŋ-cakwa duŋ-ma
 sprinkle-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ-TOP my my-water drink-INF
 si-Ø iŋ-sakma yuŋ-Ø ni-ni yŋ-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) k^hwatni yŋ-a k^hon-da-ŋka o-sa-na pakt-u, pakt-u-ta-na. mo
 that.way say-PT he/she-LOC-ABL this-PRN-TOP put.in-3P put.in-3P-TOP (N)-TOP that
 k^hont-a-ta-Ø ler-a-hiŋ-a.
 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-hiŋ-a pəçhi p^heri gərb^həwati lis-a.
 survive-PT-live-PT after (N) again (N) pregnant (N) become-PT
'After she lived again, she was pregnant as well.'
- (30) gərb^həwati lis-a-pəçhi saŋ-ko sumnima k^hana watni gərb^həwati
 pregnant (N) become-PT-after (N) who-GEN Sumnima you^s here pregnant (N)
 t-lis-a watni gərb^hə ti-k^huy-u ni. iŋka i-sin-ni-ŋ
 2AS-become-PT here pregnant (N) 2AS-carry-3P NAR I NEGNPp-know-NEGn-1s
 ni yŋ-a.
 NAR say-PT
'After she was pregnant, whose, Sumnima, did you get to be pregnant like that, and you carry a child, it is said. She said I do not know.'
- (31) paruhaŋ-ŋa bicara mu-Ø-ŋ-u - k^ho-da-ŋka-sa-na
 Paruhang-ERG thought (N) do-3P-PROG-3P - he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN-TOP
 ak^herī-da-na i-yawa i-kuwa-ci-sudda b^hela
 time (N)-LOC-TOP his/her-friend his/her-friend-PL-with gathered (N)
 mi-lis-a-ki i-sen-a əni jəmma-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,'
- (32) k^hon-ki-na i-sen-a-pəçhi paruhaŋ p^heri i-sen-a pic^he
 he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-ask-PT-after (N) Paruhang again (N) 3AM-ask-PT after (N)
 o-ko amko-ŋa i-watni sumnima-ŋa əni əg^hi-na helaŋ
 this-REF your^s-EMPH his/her-like.this Sumnima-ERG then (N) before (N)-TOP hate (N)
 ni-muw-a-ŋ-wa-ŋo t^hiyə watni ki-na watni əni amko ŋe
 3A-do-PT-EMPH-LIKE-NOM PPTaux 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) iŋka de-ki mollok k^haŋ mus-a-ŋ-ci-ŋ iŋ-duk^ha k^har-a-lo iŋ-som
I what-SEQ isn't.it show CAUS2-PT-1s-DUP-1s my-trouble go-PT-MAN my-love
tu?-a-lo i-low-a-ŋ iŋko-ŋe ni yŋ-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) k^hon-pəç^hi k^hwatni yŋ-a-pəç^hi ǎ mi-tums-u-ci pəç^hi
he/she-after (N) that.way say-PT-after (N) yes 3pl-join.together-3P-DUP after (N)
tu?-a-ci.
meet-PT-DU
'After that, after he said this, they made them meet one another. After that they met.'
- (35) pəç^hi meŋen u - sriŋti o-ko rita t^hapsiŋ abo detni ǎ
after (N) DOUBT he/she (N) - creation (N) this-ref ritual (N) ritual now (N) how yes
abo ankaci sumnima rə paruhaŋ lis-a-ci tu-ŋa-ci
now (N) we^{di} Sumnima and (N) Paruhang become-PT-DU be.ill-PT-DU
b^hela-li-sa-ci t^hapsiŋ hili detni o-ko ǎni puŋ-c-u detni
gathered (N)-ATTR-PRN-PL ritual culture how this-ref then (N) begin-DU-3P how
bəne-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) henk^hamma sumnima b^həne sumnima ǎ k^hun-ki-na k^hwatni
earth Sumnima saying (N) Sumnima yes he/she-SEQ-TOP that.way
yŋ-a-ci, k^hon-da-ŋka.
say-PT-DU he/she-LOC-ABL
'The earth, Sumnima said, then she spoke like this, after that.'
- (37) o-sa ǎ pəhilet k^hon-pəç^hi o-ko cakwa matte cakwa-mat^hi ǎni
this-PRN yes first (N) he/she-after (N) this-ref water only (N) water-on.top (N) then (N)
ǎ loha-ŋo k^həmba sumnima-ŋa adeɛ pi-Ø-ki-na e læ loha-ŋo
yes iron-GEN pole (N) Sumnima-ERG order (N) give-3P-SEQ-TOP EMPHe OK iron-GEN
k^hābo t^huŋ-ma-dot p^həlam-o k^hābo i-t^huŋs-a-c-u-ki-na ǎ
pillar (N) dig-INF-OBLIG iron (N)-GEN pillar (N) 3AM-dig-PT-DU-3P-SEQ-TOP yes
cakwa-hut-yu-ŋka-ŋ.
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) ǎ coke k^hābo-ki-na k^hon-ki coke k^hābo
yes flat (N) pillar (N)-SEQ-TOP he/she-SEQ flat (N) pillar (N)
i-t^huŋs-a-c-u-ki-na cakwa-hut-yu b^hen-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-u-ki-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-pəçhi ð 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 i-pakt-a-c-u-pəçhi phəile li-yaŋsa khar-a-kina
 charm 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P-after (N) spread (N) become-PROG.SIM go-PT-CAUS
 dʰake mu-Ø-khatt-u.
 cover (N) do-3P-DIRaway-3P
'Having put on the charm, having spread, it covered (the water).'
- (41) khon-ki mo-ci-ʔa əni bəndəna-ʔa i-chums-a-c-u bəndəna-çʰaŋ
 he/she-SEQ that-PL-ERG then (N) tie (N)-ERG 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P tie (N)-also
 caha dot-Ø-ʔo-ŋa rəçhə.
 need must-NPT-NOM-EMPH MIR
'Then they bound it with a rope, the rope also appeared to be required.'
- (42) ð çhum-ma-çʰaŋ çhum-ma-da khun-ki-na i-chums-a-c-u ð
 yes tie.up-INF-also tie.up-INF-TEMP he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-tie.up-PT-DU-3P yes
 pimaŋ-ʔa i-chums-a-c-u khayamaŋ-ʔa rəse 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-lōis-a-c-u ð anko muddum-lama
 soil he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-take.outside-PT-DU-3P yes our^{pi} chant-VIA
 bobboyongma bʰəncʰə dʰəmira.
 termite they say (N) termite (N)
'Then they took the mud out. Yes, according to our tradition, they say the "bobboyongma", the termite.'
- (44) dʰəmira-ʔa bakha lōis-u luŋ-ʔo i-duŋ dʰu-tni pa-ʔu ð
 termite (N)-ERG soil take.outside-3P stone-GEN his/her-top up-ALL put.in-3P yes
 khun-pəçhi ð mo rəse i-muw-a-c-u bəndana
 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-pəçhi calī jəmma 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,'

- (46) o cakwa dipt-u cakwa dipt-u-pəçhi abo əni di-c^he 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) səllaha muw-a-ci siŋraŋ-da-ŋka ubje mu-c-u-ne həi. ankaci ə abo
 advice (N) do-PT-DU tree-LOC-ABL grow (N) do-DU-3P-OPT hey we^{di} yes now (N)
 u sirk^həŋdə rə rəçəna ə mo-ko lit-c-u-ne ni yiŋ-a-ci.
 he/she (N) sirk^həŋdə and (N) creation (N) yes that-ref plant-DU-3P-OPT NAR say-PT-DU
 ‘They discussed, from the tree what will we take out, hey. We, er, now, let us plant the
 sirk^həŋda tree and creation, they said.’
- (48) k^hon-ki-na i-litt-a-c-u k^hon-ki-na o-ko ten b^heplok
 he/she-SEQ-TOP 3AM-plant-PT-DU-3P he/she-SEQ-TOP this-ref village completely
 o-ko jəmma-s-a i-yaŋ ni-ʔa ni-ki-na
 this-ref altogether (N)-PRN-ERG 3AM-hold NAR-EMPHa NAR-SEQ-TOP
 ‘And then they planted it. And then, that complete town, it held all.’
- (49) k^hon-ki mo i-litt-a-c-u-pəçhi k^hon-ki-pic^he-da dana
 he/she-SEQ that 3AM-plant-PT-DU-3P-after (N) he/she-SEQ-after (N)-LOC seed (N)
 riŋ^ha i-pa-ʔa-c-u.
 soap.nut (N) 3AM-put.in-PT-DU-3P
 ‘Then, after they planted that, after that they put in a rudraksha seed.’
- (50) mo-da-ŋka-sa bər pipola bər rə pipoli i-litt-a-c-u.
 that-LOC-ABL-PRN bar (N) pipal (N) bar (N) and (N) poplar 3AM-plant-PT-DU-3P
 ‘From there, they planted a bar-pipal tree, a bar tree and a pipal tree.’
- (51) mo-da-ŋka-sa ico jayjənmə c^ha-ci mo-da hurke mi-lis-a.
 that-LOC-ABL-PRN their^p 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 jayə-c^ha-ci-c^haŋ i-tokt-a-c-u-ci-kina mo-ci-c^haŋ
 yes that.way glory (N)-child-PL-also 3AM-receive-PT-DU-3P-DUP-CAUS that-PL-ever
 mi-pon-Ø-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) əni sumnima-ʔa səpəna-yu e senmaŋə-yu k^haŋ-u nimaŋ
 then (N) Sumnima-ERG dream (N)-LOC.low hey dream-LOC.low see-3P quotative
 a cikiwa ə jeŋ^ha i-c^hora 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 əni tumun ni ã ico-niŋ k^hwa-kko ni.
 then (N) bear then (N) Tumun NAR yes their^p-name that-ATTR NAR
 'And "bear" (maks), then, Tumun, is their name, like that.'
- (56) tumun maksa rə cikiwa ni ã maksa rə kiwa əni
 Tumun bear and (N) small.leopard NAR yes bear and (N) tiger then (N)
 k^ho-da-ŋka-ʔo-sa əni haŋc^hanuma mənusyə.
 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) haŋc^hanuma kanc^ha ankan ni
 Hangchanuma youngest (N) we^{pi} NAR
 'Hangchanuma, the youngest are we, it is said.'
- (58) k^ho-da-ŋka-na ã tumun o-tet əg^{hi}-ŋa jəgəla-ya-tni
 he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP yes Tumun this-swTOP before (N)-EMPH jungle-LOC.level-ALL
 waŋ-a-k^har-a ni.
 enter-PT-DIRaway-PT NAR
 'After that, yes, as for Tumun, he first went off into the forest.'
- (59) iŋka kama-c^haŋ i-mu-ni-ŋ
 I work (N)-also NEG^{NP}-do-NEGⁿ-1s
 "I shall not do work."
- (60) bənibasi-ŋa waŋ-ŋa k^hat-ŋa, jəgəl-ya-tni-ŋa
 jungle-house (N)-EMPH enter-1sNP go-1sNP jungle (N)-LOC.level-ALL-EMPH
 waŋ-ŋa k^hat-ŋa ni yij-a-ki, waŋ-a-k^har-a ni.
 enter-1sNP go-1sNP NAR say-PT-SEQ enter-PT-DIRaway-PT NAR
 'Saying, "I shall go off into the jungle," he went off into the jungle.'
- (61) jəgəl-ya k^hon-ki waŋ-a-k^har-a-pəc^{hi} mo mamarem
 jungle (N)-LOC.level he/she-SEQ enter-PT-DIRaway-PT-after (N) that Mamarem
 i-ma-ʔi-pa-ci-ʔa mamarem maya mare i-muw-a-c-u
 his/her-mother-his/her-father-PL-ERG Mamarem love (N) kill (N) 3AM-do-PT-DU-3P
 ni
 NAR
 'Into the jungle, and after he had gone off, that Mamarem, his mother and father stopped loving him (he was lost in Mamarem).'
- (62) mayarem i-muw-a-ci-pəc^{hi} ã cikiwa rə haŋc^hanuma matte
 mayarem 3AM-do-PT-DU-after (N) yes small.leopard and (N) Hangchanuma only (N)
 yuŋ-a-lar-a-ci ni
 sit-PT-DIRoff-PT-DU NAR
 'Having lost him in Mamarem, only Cikiwa and Hangchanuma were left.'

- (63) jeŋ^ha rə kanc^ha matte əco-c^ha-ci mo-ci
 eldest (N) and (N) youngest (N) only (N) their^p-child-PL that-PL
 yuŋ-a-lar-a-ci-pəc^hi ɕikara mu-si k^har-a-ŋ-a-ci ni
 sit-PT-DIROff-PT-DU-after (N) hunt (N) do-SUP go-PT-PROG-PT-DU NAR
 ‘The oldest and youngest children only were left, and they were going to hunt, it is said.’
- (64) ɕikara mu-si k^har-a-ŋ-a-ci-hida əni
 hunt (N) do-SUP go-PT-PROG-PT-DU-SIMP then (N)
 i-nic^ha-ʔo-tet i-dajyu-ʔa ɕikara-ci
 his/her-younger.brother-GEN-swTOP his/her-older.brother-ERG hunt (N)-PL
 ont-u-ci-ki tar-u-ci hola.
 chase.in.hunt-3P-DUP-SEQ bring.far-3P-DUP maybe (N)
 ‘While they were hunting, then, the younger “The elder will chase and bring some game, maybe.’
- (65) iŋ-cik-da ə b^he talik ap-ma-set-ma dot-Ø-yarj-Ø ni
 my-close-LOC yes arrow bow shoot-INF-kill-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR
 min-a-ŋa ni.
 think-PT-EMPH NAR
 ‘“In (my) side, yes, one must shoot an arrow and kill” he thought (the youngest).’
- (66) talik-a b^he-ʔa ta-Ø-na mo-na əni mollok set-ma-ʔe
 bow-ERG arrow-ERG come.far-NPT-TOP, that-TOP then (N) isn’t.it kill-INF-eEMPH
 k^ho-sa-na pam-ma-set-ma ʔe mollok mitt-u-kes-u ni-ʔo
 he/she-PRN-TOP scratch-INF-kill-INF EMPHe isn’t.it think-3P-throw-3P NAR-NOM
 rəc^hə.
 MIR
 ‘By a bow-and-arrow, he will come, he, then, whatever, will kill, tear me up and kill me, he was thinking.’
- (67) mitt-u-pəc^hi-na əni las-a-ta-Ø-ci i-tit-c^he
 think-3P-after (N)-TOP then (N) return-PT-DIRback-PT-DU his/her-clothes-ever
 matdiŋ-Ø i-nanŋa-ŋa 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.’
- (68) ə i-tit matdiŋ-Ø k^ho-da-ŋka-na a nat^he
 yes his/her-clothes not.there-NPT he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP EMPHa nathe
 iŋ-buwa-ʔa watni i-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa ni min-a ni
 my-elder.brother-ERG like.this 3AM-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR think-PT NAR
 k^hon-ki-na i-buwa-ʔa watni i-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ʔo
 he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-elder.brother-ERG here 3AM-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM
 de ci-Ø-ŋa? iŋka ki-na iŋ-jū let-ŋa hiŋ-ŋa.
 what do-3P-EMPH I SEQ-TOP my-body (N) let.go-1sNP live-1sNP
 ‘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-sakonɔwa c^ha-ɲa iŋ-biwa maila-na
 now (N) mother (N) your^s-heart child-EMPH my-elder.brother second.brother-TOP
 mollok abo aɕc^hə-ɲa k^har-a-lont-a jǎgəl-ya-tni.
 isn't.it now (N) truly-EMPH go-PT-DIRup-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) əni iŋ-daju jeɕ^ha-ʔenen 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 jeɕ^ha ʔa "o-ko ɕikara-ci əni c^hekt-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-Ø-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) ə iŋka e mollok iŋka ɕikara huŋ-ɲa-Ø-ɲa ta-na.
 yes I hey isn't.it I hunt (N) wait-1sNP-PROG-1sNP TOP (N)-TOP
 'Yes, I was waiting for the game (to arrive).'
- (73) k^ho-sa-ʔe mollok ə cikiwa mu-nan-ci-n-ki-na jəmma
 he/she-PRN-eEMPH isn't.it yes small.leopard do-REFL-DUP-REFL-SEQ-TOP all (N)
 i-pamt-a-ŋ kes-a-ŋ!
 3AM-tear-PT-1s throw.away-PT-1s
 'Now, as he is a leopard, he will tear me all up!'
- (74) iŋka detni ci-ɲa-ki mollok iŋka 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-1s-SEQ-TOP be.good-NPT NAR order (N)
 dor-a, i-ma-ʔeda kanc^ha.
 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) k^ho-da-ɲka-na kanc^ha i-c^hora ajna dor-a. əni "lə amco
 he/she-LOC-ABL-TOP youngest (N) his/her-son (N) order (N) must-PT then (N) OK your^d
 mina rə amco budd^hi-ʔa d^hir-u-ʔo-wa-ɲa ciw-a-ci aha," ni.
 man and (N) your^d 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 kanc^ha i-c^hora-laī ə ajna pi-Ø-pəc^hi lə
 order (N) give-3P youngest (N) his/her-son (N)-DAT (N) yes order (N) give-3P-after (N) OK
 b^həihalyo lə nu-Ø-ŋe ama ni yiŋ-a.
 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.'

- (78) i-c^ha kanc^ha k^hun-lo ã ik-topra kok met-Ø ni ik
his/her-child youngest (N) that-MAN yes one-leaf:plate (N) rice cause-NPT NAR one
lə^ha bec^huk ã solonwa-da-ŋka-ŋ wac^hin pak-Ø ni-ni lo-Ø
stick (N) ginger yes gourd-LOC-ABL-EMPH beer put.in-NPT NAR-NAR say-3P
muw-a-ci ã.
do-PT-DU yes
'She gave him one plate of rice and one stick of ginger. In a bottle gourd she put beer.'
- (79) ama-laī k^hwatni i-rem-u ni k^hon-ki-na ã ama-laī
mother (N)-DAT that.way 3AM-order-3P NAR he/she-SEQ-TOP yes mother (N)-DAT
i-rem-u-pəc^hi lə ni-ki-na kok-c^haŋ mett-u-ci-kina
3AM-order-3P-after (N) OK NAR-SEQ-TOP rice-also cause-3P-DUP-CAUS
topra-da-ŋka ã haŋc^hanuma-ʔa k^huy-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-c^ha kanc^ha-ʔa ni solonwa c^haŋ k^huy-u ni
his/her-child youngest (N)-ERG NAR gourd also carry-3P NAR
'Her youngest son also carried the bottle gourd.'
- (81) ik-pana bec^huk-c^haŋ k^huy-u ni kombi-c^haŋ k^huy-u ni talik-c^haŋ
one-leaf (N) ginger-also carry-3P NAR grass.knife-also carry-3P NAR bow-also
k^huy-a k^hun-ki-pəc^hi k^har-a-ci jəgəla-ya ɕikara mu-si.
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 k^hana ɕikara-ci jo-ʔo yaŋb^hak-ci k^hissa-ci
VOCp-elder.brother you^s hunt (N)-PL whoever (N)-GEN wild.boar-PL deer-PL
b^hiksa-ci mi-ta-Ø-ʔo ti-d^hir-u-ci-ʔo ont-u
elk-PL 3pl-come.far-NPT-NOM 2AS-find-3P-DUP-NOM chase.in.hunt-3P
batt-u-ci, iŋka 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-c^he lə ni yiŋ-a ni i-biwa ni
his/her-elder.brother-ever OK NAR say-PT NAR his/her-elder.brother NAR
i-biwa k^hwatni yiŋ-a-pəc^hi ni k^har-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 nəi ho.
our^{de}-e-GEN 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.'

- (84) iŋ-ma-ʔa abo-ya i-hant-a-ci-ʔa-ʔo amco budd^hi-ʔa
 my-mother-ERG now (N)-LOC.level 3AM-talk-PT-DU-e-NOM your^d wisdom (N)-ERG
 d^hir-u-ʔo səmmə ni i-low-a-ci-ʔa-ʔo ciw-a-ci ni.
 find-3P-NOM till (N) NAR 3AM-say-PT-DU-e-NOM do-PT-DU NAR
 ‘Now my mother had said to us two, to the extent of your wisdom, she had said, do it.’
- (85) abo iŋko-tet ŋaksi t^həmba d^het-ŋa-kina iŋ-swarupa
 now (N) my-swTOP banana stem cut-1sNP-CAUS my-form (N)
 mu-ma-n-ci-n-kina miŋa but-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 do-INF-REFL-DUP-REFL-CAUS man call-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘Now after I find a banana pole, and made it into my own shape, I must call (it) a man.’
- (86) iŋ-bəstər ki-na ŋaksi t^həmba-da em-ma-da-ma
 my-dress (N) SEQ-TOP banana stem-LOC make.stand-INF-eff-INF
 dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø talik b^he c^haŋ k^hik-met-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 must-NPT-PROG-NPT bow arrow also hold-CAUS-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘With my dress, I must make the banana pole stand. Also it must be made to hold the
 arrow-and-bow.’
- (87) o-ko iŋ-biwa detni mu-Ø-ŋ-u rəc^hə.
 this-ref my-elder.brother how do-3P-PROG-3P MIR
 ‘What is my brother doing?’
- (88) iŋ-bəstər ŋaksi t^həmba k^ho-da-ŋka detni mu-Ø-ŋ-u rəc^hə ni
 my-dress (N) banana stem he/she-LOC-ABL how do-3P-PROG-3P MIR NAR
 min-a-kina siŋ-raŋ cok-du waŋ-a-k^har-a
 think-PT-CAUS tree-plant top-LOC.high enter-PT-DIRaway-PT
 ‘In my dress banana-thamba from there how he does it, it appears, thinking he climbed
 up to the top of the tree.’
- (89) siŋraŋ-cok-du waŋ-a-k^har-a pəc^hi talik b^he c^haŋ
 tree-top-LOC.high enter-PT-DIRaway-PT after (N) bow arrow also
 mu-du-ŋa wakt-u mu-du-ŋa i-kok b^hom-ci-c^haŋ
 that-LOC.high-EMPH put.in-3P that-LOC.high-EMPH his/her-rice bundle-PL-also
 wakt-u-ci.
 put.in-3P-DUP
 ‘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.’
- (90) mu-yu-na i-bəstər matte ŋaksi t^həmba-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.’
- (91) wakt-u-ci pəc^hi haha rə huhu d^hana-ŋka ban-a-kina jəmma
 put.in-3P-DUP after (N) haha and (N) huhu above-ABL come.level-PT-CAUS all (N)
 cent-u-k^hāis-u-ci.
 splice-3P-COMPL-3P-DUP

'After he had gone up, he was screaming "haha and huhu" from there.'

- (92) i-nich^a-ʔo i-bəstər ɲaksi t^həmba.
his/her-younger.brother-GEN his/her-dress (N) banana stem
siŋraŋ-cok-da-ɲka "a-bi mo-ko de ti-ci-Ø-yaŋ-Ø? mwatni
tree-top-LOC-ABL VOCp-brother that-ref what 2AS-do-NPT-PROG-NPT that.way
a-biwa iŋka-na hasik^heli mu-ŋa-Ø-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) ə e ni i-biwa yiŋ-a ni.
yes hey NAR his/her-elder.brother say-PT NAR
'Ah! Right! said his elder brother.'
- (94) k^hana k^ha-da-ɲka han-ma ti-lam-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo? ni iŋka-na
you^s where-LOC-ABL talk-INF 2AS-look-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM NAR I-TOP
siŋ-raŋ cok-du yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa 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) k^hun-ki-na lə abo anco ama-ʔa k^haja mollok
he/she-SEQ-TOP OK now (N) our^{di} mother (N)-ERG snack (N) isn't.it
i-pakt-a-ci-ʔo duŋ-c-u-ne həi. kok b^hom ca-c-u-ne kok
3AM-put.in-PT-DU-NOM drink-DU-3P-OPT hey rice bundle eat-DU-3P-OPT rice
c^haŋ ca-c-u-ne wac^hin c^haŋ 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) lə k^hana iŋka abo i-d^han-ni-ŋ-ci-ni-ŋ. əni laŋka
OK you^s I now (N) NEGNPp-take.down-NEGn-1s-DUP-NEGn-1s then (N) flat
d^his-a-n-ci-n. am-do-da owatni hoʔ-u-ki tatt-u a! ni
lay-PT-REFL-DUP-REFL your^s-mouth-LOC like.this open-3P-SEQ add-3P that.1 NAR
lo-ma ni lo-Ø.
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-nich^a-ʔa lo-Ø ni, k^hun-ki i-biwa
his/her-younger.brother-ERG say-3P NAR he/she-SEQ his/her-elder.brother
kaŋs-a ni. k^hon-pəc^hi kok c^haniŋka pəhile lett-u-dis-u
obey-PT NAR he/she-after (N) rice c^haniŋka before (N) send-3P-reach-3P
k^hon-da-ɲka wac^hin t^hokt-u-dis-u. c-o, k^hiŋs-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 iŋ-budd^hi-ʔa d^hir-u səmma-ŋe iŋ-biwa-c^he 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^ha-tet min-Ø-yaŋ-Ø siŋ-raŋ-cok-du-ŋka
 his/her-younger.brother-swTOP think-NPT-PROG-NPT tree-plant-top-LOC.high-ABL
 ni. k^hon-pəc^hi ǝ lə am-mik sipt-u abo-lai caŋi iŋka
 NAR he/she-after (N) yes OK your^s-eye blink-3P now (N)-DAT swTOP (N) I
 i-rəhəlpəhəl yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-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) jəmma tatt-u-wa ni lo-Ø ni. k^hun-ki-na i-do ni lə ni
 all (N) add-3P-LIKE NAR say-3P NAR he/she-SEQ-TOP his/her-mouth NAR OK NAR
 kaŋs-a ni k^ho-da-ŋka-ʔo-sa-na i-do ho-ʔu-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-ʔu ni-tə-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 pəc^hi sw-a-da.
 arrow shoot-3P-reach-3P after (N) die-PT-TEMP
 ‘After he shot the arrow, he died.’
- (102) i-sakma k^har-a i-sakma k^har-a-pəc^hi ǝ i-muʔu d^humt-u
 his/her-breath go-PT his/her-breath go-PT-after (N) yes his/her-heart (N) trace-3P
 i-ma-ʔo-na i-muʔu d^humt-u.
 his/her-mother-GEN-TOP his/her-heart (N) trace-3P
 ‘He breathed his last. After he breathed his last, her heart felt it (traced it): his mothers
 heart felt it.’
- (103) iŋ-c^ha-ci əikara-da k^har-a-ci-ʔo detni ciw-a-ci ayi t^haŋ-a-ci
 my-child-PL hunt (N)-LOC go-PT-DU-NOM how do-PT-DU today come.up-PT-DU
 hola ni min-a ico-ma.
 maybe (N) NAR think-PT their^p-mother
 ‘“My children went to the hunt. How did they do, did they come up perhaps?” she was
 thinking, their mother.’
- (104) sumnima ni k^hon-da-ŋka-ʔo-sa-na k^hwatni min-a-pəc^hi
 Sumnima NAR he/she-LOC-ABL-GEN-PRN-TOP that.way think-PT-after (N)
 i-kanc^ha-ʔo-tet pəhilet ta-Ø.
 his/her-youngest (N)-GEN-swTOP first (N) come.far-PT

'That is Sumnima. As a consequence, after she thought that way, her youngest, for one, came first.'

- (105) kanch^ha am-biwa k^ha-ʔu k^hada ti-c^hir-u-d-o ni sen-u.
 youngest (N) your^s-elder.brother see-3P where 2AS-leave-3P-eff-3P NAR ask-3P
'Youngest, what about your brother? Where did you leave him?'
- (106) ǎ iŋ-biwa-na ǎ di ama ti-sen-u-ŋ mollok. ǎ
 yes my-elder.brother-TOP yes what mother (N) 2AS-ask-3P-1s isn't.it yes
 ɕikara-ŋe mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø mo-ya jǎgəla-ya-ŋe
 hunt (N)-EMPH be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT that-LOC.level jungle (N)-LOC.level-EMPH
 c^hir-u-ŋ-do-Ø-ŋ-ʔo ni yiŋ-a.
 leave-3P-1s-eff-3P-1s-NOM NAR say-PT
'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) ǎ i-c^ha kanch^ha sumnima-lai k^hwatni lo-Ø ni.
 yes his/her-child youngest (N) Sumnima-DAT that.way say-3P NAR
 k^hon-pəc^hi-na peri-ŋa las-u-sen-u hasik^helī mi-yaŋ 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) k^ho-da-ŋka-sa p^heri-ŋa tīn bakyə tīn k^hepi
 he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN again (N)-EMPH three (N) sentence three (N) time
 ta-Ø-la-Ø-pəc^hi, abo mollok iŋ-ma-ʔeda-ʔo watni
 come.far-PT-return-PT-after (N) now (N) isn't.it my-mother-COM1-GEN here
 i-biwa-ʔa i-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa ni tə amco
 his/her-elder.brother-ERG 3AM-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP NAR though (N) your^d
 budd^hi-ʔa d^hir-u-ʔo amco minma-ʔa d^hir-u-ʔosa cw-a-ci ni.
 your^s-wisdom (N) find-3P-NOM your^d 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) ǎni ti-lo-Ø ni-ʔo k^hon-ki-na hasik^helī mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
 then (N) 2AS-say-3P NAR-NOM he/she-SEQ-TOP jest (N) be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT
 mo-ya mo-da-ŋa ǎ ɕikara huŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø ni
 that-LOC.level that-LOC-EMPH yes hunt (N) wait-NPT-PROG-NPT NAR
 ma-ʔaŋ
 NEGPTp-be.PTNEG
'That was as you said. After that, in jest, over there, he waited for the game, right?'
- (110) k^hwatni man-yiŋ-da. d^hǎʔa man-mu-da. k^ha ett-a-ŋ
 that.way NEGPTp-say-NEGPTs lie (N) NEGPTp-be.pred-NEGPTs AntP tell-PT-1s

- am-buwa-ʔo ɔ̃ i-tuŋgo i-yuŋ-kʰa i-ɕikara
 your^s-elder.brother-GEN yes his/her-last (N) 3AM-put-PNOM his/her-hunt (N)
 mu-kʰa ni kʰatni kʰotni ti-lo-∅ 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-u-ŋ-do-∅-ŋ ni a-kʰeri-da caħĩ əni haŋcʰanuma-ʔa ɔ̃
 kill-3P-1s-eff-3P-1s NAR finally (N)-LOC swTOP (N) then (N) Hangchanuma-ERG yes
 i-cʰa-kancʰa sumnima-ʔo i-cʰa kancʰa-ʔa lo-∅
 his/her-child-youngest (N) Sumnima-GEN his/her-child youngest (N)-ERG say-3P
 i-ma-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-da-ŋka-ŋ pʰeri-ŋa ik-pana becʰuk rə solonwa
 he/she-LOC-ABL-EMPH again (N)-EMPH one-leaf (N) ginger and (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 iŋko-na sakoŋmi cʰa mollok cikoŋmi-cʰa kʰana watni ni-muw-a
 that-ref-TOP my-TOP heart child isn't.it cikoŋmi-cʰa you^s here 3A-do-PT
 iŋ-sakoŋwa-ya kʰana əni cikiwa-ŋa tʰiyo.
 my-heart-LOC.level you^s then (N) small.leopard-EMPH PPTaux
 'This mine heart-child, well, dear-heart-child, you did such to me, in my heart you
 were my leopard.'
- (114) əni tumun maksa-ʔo tʰiyo
 then (N) Tumun bear-VOC PPTaux
 'There was Tumun, the bear.'
- (115) haŋcʰanuma kancʰa əni amno bʰai nicʰa-ʔo
 Hangchanuma youngest (N) then (N) your^p younger.brother (N) younger.brother-GEN
 tʰiyo-ni əni lo-∅. kʰatni lo-∅ pəcʰi i-cʰati-da luŋ
 PPTaux-EMPH (N) then (N) say-3P where.dir say-3P after (N) his/her-chest-LOC stone
 yukt-u, cikma luŋ.
 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) əni solonwa-ʔa kʰitt-u tʰokt-u-dis-u i-do-da-tni jəmma
 then (N) gourd-ERG worship-3P spill-3P-reach-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL all (N)
 rept-u. kʰon-pəcʰi rept-u-pəcʰi əni 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 komnəŋa dipt-u-ki-na k^hwatni mu-Ø. k^hon-ki-na
 chicklet ??komnəŋa cover-3P-SEQ-TOP that.way do-3P. he/she-SEQ-TOP
 t^hint-u-k^haĩs-u. t^hint-u-k^haĩs-u-pəç^hi k^har-a, ya hant-u
 wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P wake.up-3P-COMPL-3P-after (N) go-PT prayer send-3P
 t^hin-loĩs-u-pəç^hi.
 wake-come.up-3P-after (N)
'Covering him with a chick and komnəŋa, 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-budd^hi un-səmmə-ŋa
 why isn't.it here 2AS-do-3P-LIKE your^s-wisdom (N) this.much-up.to (N)-EMPH
 rəç^hə.
 MIR
'Why, then, did you act like this? Your wisdom turns out to be up to this.'
- (119) am-nic^ha haŋç^hanuma-ŋo t^hiyo k^hana cikiwa-ŋo
 your^s-younger.brother Hangchanuma-NOM PPTaux you^s small.leopard-NOM
 t^hiyo.
 PPTaux
'Your brother was Hangchanuma. You were Cikiwa.'
- (120) abo o-ko i-budd^hi badd^he-ŋa rəç^hə, amko am-budd^hi
 now (N) this-ref his/her-wisdom (N) many-EMPH MIR your^s your^s-wisdom (N)
 i-cit t^hore-ŋa rəç^hə.
 his/her-little.bit little (N)-EMPH MIR
'Now his wisdom appeared to be great, your wisdom appears to be a bit less.'
- (121) c^hukt-a-ŋo rəç^hə am-budd^hi ni lo-Ø mo cikiwa
 jump-PT-NOM MIR your^s-wisdom (N) NAR say-3P that small.leopard
 t^hint-u-loĩs-u-pəç^hi.
 wake-3P-take.up-3P-after (N)
'Your wisdom now has gone down, she said, after she had woken up the tiger.'
- (122) lu əni am-nic^ha c^hib^hiri-du kon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo,
 well then (N) your^s-younger.brother hill.close-LOC.high walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND
 e, d^hib^hiri-yu kon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo, k^hana c^hib^hiri lont-a,
 hey hill.far-LOC.low walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND you^s hill.close go.outside-PT
 k^hana c^hib^hiri-du ti-kon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-nalo am-nic^ha
 you^s hill.close-LOC.high 2AS-walk-NPT-PROG-NPT-COND your^s-younger.brother
 d^hib^hiri-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 amko am-kəmaĩ-c^haŋ matdiŋ-Ø di-c^haŋ kama
now (N) your^s your^s-income (N)-also not.there-NPT what-ever work (N)
 ti-muw-a-ŋo-c^haŋ 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-nic^ha-ŋa-ŋa kent-u-ŋ-u-ci-ŋo jəmma
your^s-younger.brother-ERG-EMPH keep.animals-3P-PROG-3P-DUP-NOM all (N)
 əni k^hana k^his-u-co-Ø-ŋa
then (N) you^s steal-3P-eat-3P-EMPHa.
 ‘All that your younger brother is keeping, you steal and eat it, hey!’
- (125) k^hwatni lo-Ø-pəc^hi i-ma-ŋo 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) i-ma-ŋo i-som siw-a-pəc^hi k^hon-da-ŋka-sa abo
his/her-mother-GEN his/her-love die-PT-after (N) he/she-LOC-ABL-PRN now (N)
 t^hapsiŋ riti-da di b^həne ə
ritual ritual (N)-LOC what if (N) yes
 ‘After his mother was satisfied, now, from that what do we say about the traditions.’
- (127) maŋ mu-ma ca-ma-ŋo maŋ mu-ma ca-ma-ŋo əni detni b^həne,
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 əni yupuŋ-diwa əni epma-diwa ni
now (N) Sakenwa then (N) Yupung-grandfather then (N) grave-grandfather NAR
 yiŋ-in-y-in. ə epma k^hit-ma ni əg^hi-ŋo
say-12plSP-PROG-12plSP yes grave worship-INF NAR before (N)-GEN
 an-baje-ci an-diwa-ci an-pa-ci
our^{pe}-grandfather (N)-PL our^{pi}-grandfather-PL our^{pi}-father-PL
 mi-yuw-a-ŋ-a-ŋo t^hiyō.
 3pl-be-PT-PROG-PT-NOM PPTaux
 ‘Now we say Sakenwa and Yupungdiwa and Epmadiwa (god of the grave?). Er, worship at the grave means: they were our previous grandfathers, grandfathers and fathers.’
- (129) tərə sumnima-ŋa-ŋa k^hwatni yuŋs-u-do-Ø-ŋo huna-le
but (N) Sumnima-ERG-EMPH that.way put-3P-eff-3P-NOM being (N)-INSTR (N)
 epma-diwa k^hit-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
grave-grandfather worship-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘But as Sumnima has laid it down, the Epmadiwa must be paid honour.’
- (130) əni yupuŋ-diwa-c^haŋ mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
then (N) Yupung-grandfather-also do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘And Yupungdiwa also must be done.’

- (131) sampukədiwa-c^haŋ mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø sum-ka-tet luŋ-ci-c^haŋ
 Sampukdiwa-also do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT three-CNT-qual stone-PL-also
 an-dabya-k^ham-da t^huŋ-ma-ci dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 our^{pl}-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 əni c^hute lis-a.
 his/her-line (E) that-LOC-EMPH then (N) divided (N) become-PT
 ‘From the line there now there was the division’
- (133) əni sakenwa ni yiŋ-in-y-in sakenwa-c^haŋ əni mo
 then (N) Sakenwa NAR say-12plSP-PROG-12plSP Sakenwa-also then (N) that
 lain-da-ŋka c^hute lis-a luŋ-maj^ha-da lims-a-d^ha-Ø.
 line (E)-LOC-ABL divide (N) become-PT stone-middle (N)-LOC turn.over-PT-DIRdown-PT
 ‘What 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 caŋi yuŋuŋ-diwa
 one-line-LOC Sakenwa become-PT one-line-LOC swTOP (N) Yupung-grandfather
 lis-a, ik-lain-da, t^hin-wəʃa mo-da t^huŋ-ma dot-da-ŋ.
 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-k^him hut-ya luŋ-ci əni k^hon-ki-na mo-da bəl ɛak^ha
 our^{pl}-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 stone-PL-LOC
 ‘In our house’s stone hearth, there we must ask for strength, in those stones.’
- (136) ki-na k^hwatni lis-a-ʔo.
 SEQ-TOP that.way become-PT-NOM
 ‘Then, that is what it is like.’
- (137) əni ke gərne əni simnima-ʔo-na ləu iŋka-na
 then (N) what (N) to do (N) then (N) Sumnima-GEN-TOP well I-TOP
 mon-səmmə-ŋa, nati, jet^ha...
 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...’
- (138) abi mun-ŋa he ərko-ci c^haŋ
 now (N) that.much-EMPH or another (N)-PL also
 ‘Now, that much only, or others also?’
- (139) ərko-ci ərko-so abo di o-ko əni
 another (N)-PL another (N)-PRN now (N) what this-ref then (N)
 ‘Others? Another, now what? This, and then...’

- (140) b^həgəta-ʔo-na iŋka i-tat-ni-ŋ.
Bhagata-GEN-TOP I NEGNPp-bring-NEGn-1s
'The one from Bhagata I do not know.'

Figure 9.1: The temple complex of Barāhakṣetra on the Kośī river bank



B Paradigms

B.1 Intransitive agreement

The agreement tables listed below are based on data that are recorded in Sindrāñ 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.⁶

simple forms

slot	P NPT	N NPT	P PT	N PT	P IM	N IM
1s	Σ-ŋa	i-Σ-niŋ	Σ-aŋ	man-Σ-ŋa		
1d	Σ-ca	i-Σ-cinka	Σ-acia	man-Σ-daca		
1p	Σ-inka	i-Σ-iminka	Σ-inka	man-Σ-daŋka		
id	Σ-ci	i-Σ-cin	Σ-aci	man-Σ-daci		
ip	Σ-in	i-Σ-imin	Σ-in	man-Σ-dan		
2s	ti-Σ	ti-Σ-nan	ti-Σ-a	man-Σ tida	Σ-a	man-Σ-da
2d	ti-Σ-ci	ti-Σ-nanci	ti-Σ-aci	man-Σ tidaci	Σ-aci	man-Σ-daci
2p	ti-Σ-in	ti-Σ-naminin	ti-Σ-in	man-Σ tidanin	Σ-in	man-Σ-danin
3s	Σ	i-Σ-nin	Σ-a	man-Σ		
3d	Σ-ci	i-Σ-cin	Σ-aci	man-Σ-ci		
3p	mi-Σ	ni-Σ-nin	mi-Σ-a	man-Σ mida		

progressive forms

slot	P NP PROG	N NP PROG	P PT PROG	N PT PROG
1s	Σ-ŋaŋa	i-Σ-niŋniŋ	Σ-aŋyaŋ	
1d	Σ-ciŋci?a	i-Σ-cincinka	Σ-aŋaci?a	
1p	Σ-inyinka	i-Σ-imiminka	Σ-inyinka	
id	Σ-ciŋci	i-Σ-cincin	Σ-aŋaci	
ip	Σ-inyin	i-Σ-imimin	Σ-inyin	
2s	ti-Σ-yaŋ	ti-Σ-nanan	ti-Σ-aŋa	
2d	ti-Σ-ciŋci	ti-Σ-nanancin	ti-Σ-aŋaci	
2p	ti-Σ-inyin	ti-Σ-namininin	ti-Σ-inyin	
3s	Σ-yaŋ	i-Σ-ninin	Σ-aŋa	
3d	Σ-ciŋci	i-Σ-cincin	Σ-aŋaci	
3p	mi-Σ-yaŋ	ni-Σ-ninin	mi-Σ-aŋa	

⁶The description of Bantawa as found in Rai (1985) differs slightly from the data presented here. The morpheme <ni-> (3A) roughly corresponds to <im> 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'.

slot	P NP	N NP	P PT	N PT	P IM	N IM
1s	konɲa	ikonnɲ	kolaɲ	mankonɲa		
1d	konca	ikoncinka	kolacia	mankondaca		
1p	kolinka	ikoliminka	kolinka	mankondaɲka		
id	konci	ikoncin	kolaci	mankondaci		
ip	kolin	ikolimin	kolin	mankondan		
2s	tikon	tikonnan	tikola	mantikonda	kola	mankonda
2d	tikonci	tikonnananci	tikolaci	mantikondaci	kolaci	mankondaci
2p	tikolin	tikonnaminin	tikolin	mantikondanin	kolin	mankondanin
3s	kon	ikonnin	kola	mankon		
3d	konci	ikoncin	kolaci	mankonci		
3p	mikon	nikonnin	mikola	mankonmida		

B.3 'To walk, progressive'

Below the progressive paradigms are given of the non-past and past tense of the verb *konma* 'to walk'.

slot	P NP PROG	N NP PROG	P PT PROG	N PT PROG
1s	konɲayaɲ	ikonnɲɲɲ	kolaɲayaɲ	
1d	konciɲci?a	ikoncincinka	kolaɲaci?a	
1p	kolinyinka	ikolimiminka	kolinyinka	
id	konciɲci	ikoncincin	kolaɲaci	
ip	kolinyin	ikolimimin	kolinyin	
2s	tikonyaɲ	tikonnanan	tikolaɲa	
2d	tikonciɲci	tikonnanancin	tikolaɲaci	
2p	tikolinyin	tikonnamininin	tikolinyin	
3s	konyaɲ	ikonninin	kolaɲa	
3d	konciɲci	ikoncincin	kolaɲaci	
3p	mikonyaɲ	nikonninin	mikolaɲa	

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*.

slot	P NP	N NP	P PT	N PT	P IM	N IM
1s	taja	itaniḡ	taḡ	mantaja		
1d	taciʔa	itacinka	taciʔa	mantadaciʔa		
1p	tanka	itanminka	tanka	mantadanka		
id	taci	itacin	taci	mantadaci		
ip	tan	itanmin	tan	mantadan		
2s	tita	titanan	tita	mantatida	ta	mantada
2d	titaci	titanancin	titaci	mantatidaci	taci	mantadaci
2p	titan	titananimin	titan	mantatidan	tanin	mantadanin
3s	ta	itanin	ta	manta		
3d	taci	itacin	taci	mantaci		
3p	mita	nitandin	mita	mantamida		

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) *in*ka c^hapdani caha met-*n*ja-Ø-*n*ja
 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 flexion 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^halampa 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.

	P NP	N NP	P PT	N PT
1s	metja	imetnij	mettaj	manmetja
id	metci	imetcin	mettaci	manmetdaci
ip	mettin	imettimin	mettin	manmetdan
1d	metci?a	imetcinka	mettaci?a	manmetdaci?a
1p	mettinka	imettiminka	mettinka	manmetdanka
2s	timet	timetnan	timetta	manmettida
2d	timetci	timetnancin	timettaci	manmettidaci
2p	timettin	timetnaminin	timettin	manmettidan
3s	met	imetnin	metta	manmet
3d	metci	imetcin	mettaci	manmetci
3p	mimet	nimetnin	mimetta	manmetci
	P NP PROG	N NP PROG	P PT PROG	N PT PROG
1s	metjaja	imetnijnij	mettajaja	manmetjaja
id	metciŋci	imetcincin	mettajaci	manmetdajaci
ip	mettinyin	imettimimin	mettinyin	manmetdanyin
1d	metciŋci?a	imetcincinka	mettajaci?a	manmetdajaci?a
1p	mettinyininka	imettimiminka	mettinyininka	manmetdanyinka
2s	timetyaj	timetnanan	timettaja	manmettidaja
2d	timetciŋci	timetnanancin	timettajaci	manmettidanaci
2p	timettinyin	timetnamininin	timettinyin	manmettidanyin
3s	metyaj	imetninin	mettaja	manmetyaj
3d	metciŋci	imetcincin	mettajaci	manmetciŋci
3p	mimetyaj	nimetninin	mimettaja	manmetciŋci

B.6 Reflexive agreement

The reflexive verb agreement paradigm is as below. Only prefixes and suffixes are lists, for all persons, tenses and polarities.

REFL	NPT P	NPT N	PT	PT N
1s	Σ-ηαησιη	ι-Σ-ηησιη	Σ-αησιη	man-Σ-dαησιη
1d	Σ-cici?a	ι-Σ-cincinka	Σ-acici?a	man-Σ-dacici?a
1p	Σ-incinka	ι-Σ-imincinka	Σ-incinka	man-Σ-dancinka
1d	Σ-cici	ι-Σ-cincin	Σ-acici	man-Σ-dacici
1p	Σ-incin	ι-Σ-imincin	Σ-incin	man-Σ-dancin
2s	ti-Σ-nancin	ti-Σ-nancinin	ti-Σ-ancin	man-Σ-tidancin
2d	ti-Σ-cici	ti-Σ-nancinin	ti-Σ-acici	man-Σ-tidacici
2p	ti-Σ-incin	ti-Σ-nanminincin	ti-Σ-incin	man-Σ-tidanincin
3s	Σ-nancin	ι-Σ-nincin	Σ-ancin	man-Σ-dancin
3d	Σ-cici	ι-Σ-cincin	Σ-acici	man-Σ-dacici
3p	mi-Σ-nancin	ni-Σ-nincin	mi-Σ-ancin	man-Σ-midancin

REFL	NP PROG	NP N PROG	PT PROG	PT N PROG
1s	Σ-ηαηαησιη	ι-Σ-ηηηηησιη	Σ-αηαησιη	man-Σ-dαηαησιη
1d	Σ-ciηcici?a	ι-Σ-cincincinka	Σ-αηαcici?a	man-Σ-dαηαcici?a
1p	Σ-inyincinka	ι-Σ-imimincinka	Σ-inyincinka	man-Σ-dαηαyincinka
1d	Σ-ciηcici	ι-Σ-cincincin	Σ-αηαcici	man-Σ-dαηαcici
1p	Σ-inyincin	ι-Σ-imimincin	Σ-inyincin	man-Σ-dαηαyincin
2s	ti-Σ-nanancin	ti-Σ-nanancinan	ti-Σ-anyancin	man-Σ-tidancinyin
2d	ti-Σ-ciηcici	ti-Σ-nanancinan	ti-Σ-αηαcici	man-Σ-tidαηαcici
2p	ti-Σ-inyincin	ti-Σ-nanmininincin	ti-Σ-inyincin	man-Σ-tidaninyincin
3s	Σ-nanancin	ι-Σ-ninyincin	Σ-anyancin	man-Σ-dαηαyancin
3d	Σ-ciηcici	ι-Σ-ci(n)cincin	Σ-αηαcici	man-Σ-dαηαcici
3p	mi-Σ-nanancin	ni-Σ-inyincin	mi-Σ-anyancin	man-Σ-midanyancin

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.

	P NP	N NP	P PT	N PT
1s	nopᵛaᵛciᵛ	inopniᵛciᵛ	noptaᵛciᵛ	mannopdaᵛciᵛ
1d	nopciciʔa	inopcincinka	noptaciciʔa	mannopdaciciʔa
1p	noptincinka	inoptimincinka	noptincinka	mannopdancinka
1d	nopcici	inopcincin	noptacici	mannopdacici
1p	noptincin	inoptimincin	noptincin	mannopdancin
2s	tinopnancin	tinopnancin	tinoptancin	mannop tidancin
2d	tinopcici	tinopnancin	tinoptacici	mannop tidacici
2p	tinoptincin	tinopnanminincin	tinoptincin	mannop tidanincin
3s	nopnancin	inopnincin	noptancin	mannopdancin
3d	nopcici	inopcincin	noptacici	mannopdacici
3p	minopnancin	ninopnincin	minoptancin	mannop midancin
	P NP PROG	N NP PROG	P PT PROG	N PT PROG
1s	nopᵛaᵛaᵛciᵛ	inopniᵛniᵛciᵛ	noptaᵛaᵛciᵛ	mannopdaᵛaᵛciᵛ
1d	nopciᵛciᵛciʔa	inopcincincinka	noptaᵛaciciʔa	mannopdaᵛaciciʔa
1p	noptinyincinka	inoptimimincinka	noptinyincinka	mannopdanyincinka
1d	nopciᵛciᵛ	inopcincincin	noptaᵛacici	mannopdaᵛacici
1p	noptinyincin	inoptimimincin	noptinyincin	mannopdanyincin
2s	tinopnanancin	tinopnanancin	tinoptanyancin	mannop tidancinyin
2d	tinopciᵛciᵛ	tinopnanancin	tinoptacici	mannop tidaᵛacici
2p	tinoptinyincin	tinopnanmininincin	tinoptinyincin	mannop tidaninyincin
3s	nopnanancin	inopninyincin	noptanyancin	mannopdanyancin
3d	nopciᵛciᵛ	inopci(n)cincin	noptaᵛacici	mannopdaᵛacici
3p	minopnanancin	ninopinyincin	minoptanyancin	mannop midanyancin

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’ (*ciḡma*, root <*ciḡ* ~ *ciḡs*>) and ‘to kill’ (*setma*, root <*set* ~ *ser*>) are the root for these reflexive forms.

	P NP	N NP	P PT	N PT (I)
1s	ciḡaḡ setḡaḡciḡ	iciḡniḡ setniḡciḡ	ciḡsaḡ seraḡciḡ	manciḡsetdaḡciḡ
1d	ciḡci setciciʔa	iciḡcin setcincinka	ciḡsa seraciciʔa	manciḡsetdacici
1p	ciḡsin serincinka	iciḡsin serimincinka	ciḡsin serincinka	manciḡsetdancinka
id	ciḡci setcici	iciḡcin setcincin	ciḡsa seracici	manciḡsetdaciciʔa
ip	ciḡsin serincin	iciḡsin serimincin	ciḡsin serincin	manciḡsetdancin
2s	tiḡiḡnan setnancin	tiḡiḡnan setnancin	tiḡiḡsan serancin	manciḡset tidancin
2d	tiḡiḡci setcici	tiḡiḡna setnancinan / tiḡiḡna setnancinin	tiḡiḡsa seracici	manciḡset tidacici
2p	tiḡiḡsin serincin	tiḡiḡsin serinimincin	tiḡiḡsin serincin	manciḡset tidanimincin
3s	ciḡnan setnancin	iciḡnin setnancin	ciḡsan serancin	manciḡsetdancin
3d	ciḡci setcici	iciḡcin setcincin	ciḡsa seracici	manciḡsetdacici
3p	miḡiḡnan setnancin	niḡiḡnin setnancin	miḡiḡsan serancin	manciḡset midancin

B.9 ‘To take’

	<i>Non-past affirmative</i>		<i>Non-past negative</i>
1s→2s	k ^h atna	1s→2s	ik ^h atnan
1s→2d	k ^h atnaci	1s→2d	ik ^h atnancin
1s→2p	k ^h atnanin	1s→2p	ik ^h atnaminin
1s→3s	k ^h attuŋ	1s→3s	ik ^h atniŋ
1s→3ns	k ^h attuŋciŋ	1s→3ns	ik ^h atniŋciŋ
1d→2s	k ^h atni	1d→2s	ik ^h atnin
1d→3s	k ^h atcuʔa	1d→3s	ik ^h atcunka
1d→3ns	k ^h atcuciʔa	1d→3ns	ik ^h atcuncinka
1p→3s	k ^h attumka	1p→3s	ik ^h attiminka
1p→3ns	k ^h attumcimka	1p→3ns	ik ^h attimincinka
id→3s	k ^h atcu	id→3s	ik ^h atcun
id→3ns	k ^h atcuci	id→3ns	ik ^h atcuncin
ip→3s	k ^h attum	ip→3s	ik ^h attimin
ip→3ns	k ^h attumcim	ip→3ns	ik ^h attimincin
2s→1s	tik ^h atŋa	2s→1s	tik ^h atniŋ
2s→1d	tik ^h atni(n)	2s→1d	tik ^h atnininin
2s→3s	tik ^h attu	2s→3s	tik ^h atnan
2s→3ns	tik ^h attuci	2s→3ns	tik ^h atnancin
2d→1s	tik ^h atŋaŋciŋ	2d→1s	tik ^h atniŋciŋ
2d→3s	tik ^h atcu	2d→3s	tik ^h atnancin
2d→3ns	tik ^h atcuci	2d→3ns	tik ^h atnancinan
2p→1s	tik ^h atŋaŋniŋ	2p→1s	tik ^h atniŋminiŋ
2p→3s	tik ^h attum	2p→3s	tik ^h atnaminin
2p→3ns	tik ^h attumcum	2p→3ns	tik ^h atnannimincin
3s→1s	ik ^h atŋa	3s→1s	ik ^h atniŋ
3s→1d	(n)ik ^h attaciʔa	3s→1d	nik ^h atcinka
3s→1p	(n)ik ^h attinka	3s→1p	nik ^h attiminka
3s→id	nik ^h atci	3s→id	nik ^h atcin
3s→ip	mik ^h at	3s→ip	mik ^h atnin
3s→2s	nik ^h at	3s→2s	nik ^h atnan
3s→2d	nik ^h atci	3s→2d	nik ^h atnancin
3s→2p	nik ^h attin	3s→2p	nik ^h atnaminin
3s→3s	k ^h attu	3s→3s	ik ^h attun
3s→3ns	k ^h attuci	3s→3ns	ik ^h attuncin
3d→1s	ik ^h atŋaŋciŋ	3d→1s	ik ^h atniŋciŋ
3d→1d	nik ^h attaciʔa	3d→1d	nik ^h atcinka
3d→1p	nik ^h attinka	3d→1p	nik ^h attiminka
3d→3s	ik ^h atcu	3d→3s	ik ^h atcun
3d→3ns	ik ^h atcuci	3d→3ns	ik ^h atcuncin
3p→1s	nik ^h atŋa	3p→1s	nik ^h atniŋ
3p→3s	ik ^h at	3p→3s	nik ^h attun
3p→3ns	mik ^h attuci	3p→3ns	nik ^h attuncin

	<i>Past affirmative</i>		<i>Past negative</i>
1s→2s	k ^h atna	1s→2s	mank ^h atdana
1s→2d	k ^h atnaci	1s→2d	mank ^h atdanaci
1s→2p	k ^h atnanin	1s→2p	mank ^h atdananin
1s→3s	k ^h attuŋ	1s→3s	mank ^h atdoŋ
1s→3ns	k ^h attuŋciŋ	1s→3ns	mank ^h atdoŋciŋ
1d→2s	k ^h atni	1d→2s	mank ^h atdanin
1d→3s	k ^h attacu?a	1d→3s	mank ^h atdacu?a
1d→3ns	k ^h attacuci	1d→3ns	mank ^h atdacuci?a
1p→3s	k ^h attumka	1p→3s	mank ^h atdomka
1p→3ns	k ^h attumcimka	1p→3ns	mank ^h atdomcimka
id→3s	k ^h attacu	id→3s	mank ^h atdacu
id→3ns	k ^h attacuci	id→3ns	mank ^h atdacuci
ip→3s	k ^h attum	ip→3s	mank ^h atdom
ip→3ns	k ^h attumcim	ip→3ns	mank ^h atdomcim
2s→1s	tik ^h attaŋ	2s→1s	mank ^h at tidaŋ
2s→1d	tik ^h atnin	2s→1d	mank ^h at tidanin
2s→3s	tik ^h attu	2s→3s	mank ^h at tido
2s→3ns	tik ^h attuci	2s→3ns	mank ^h at tidoci
2d→1s	tik ^h attaŋciŋ	2d→1s	mank ^h at tidaŋciŋ
2d→3s	tik ^h attacu	2d→3s	mank ^h at tidacu
2d→3ns	tik ^h attacuci	2d→3ns	mank ^h at tidacuci
2p→1s	tik ^h attaŋniŋ	2p→1s	mank ^h attidaŋniŋ
2p→3s	tik ^h attum	2p→3s	mank ^h at tidom
2p→3ns	tik ^h attumcim	2p→3ns	mank ^h at tidomcim
3s→1s	ik ^h attaŋ	3s→1s	mank ^h at idaŋ
3s→1d	nik ^h attaci?a	3s→1d	mank ^h at nidaci?a
3s→1p	nik ^h attinka	3s→1p	mank ^h at nidanka
3s→id	nik ^h attaci	3s→id	mank ^h at nidaci
3s→ip	mik ^h atta	3s→ip	mank ^h at mida
3s→2s	nik ^h atta	3s→2s	mank ^h at nida
3s→2d	nik ^h attaci	3s→2d	mank ^h at nidaci
3s→2p	nik ^h attin	3s→2p	mank ^h at nidan
3s→3s	k ^h attu	3s→3s	mank ^h atdo
3s→3ns	k ^h attuci	3s→3ns	mank ^h atdoci
3d→1s	ik ^h attaŋciŋ	3d→1s	mank ^h at idaŋciŋ
3d→1d	nik ^h attaci?a	3d→1d	mank ^h at nidaci?a
3d→1p	nik ^h attinka	3d→1p	mank ^h at nidanka
3d→3s	ik ^h attacu	3d→3s	mank ^h at idacu
3d→3ns	ik ^h attacuci	3d→3ns	mank ^h at idacuci
3p→1s	nik ^h attaŋ	3p→1s	mank ^h at nidaŋ
3p→3s	ik ^h atta	3p→3s	mank ^h at ida
3p→3ns	mik ^h attuci	3p→3ns	mank ^h at midoci

Progressive paradigms

	<i>Non-past affirmative</i>		<i>Non-past negative</i>
1s→2s	k ^h atnaŋna	1s→2s	ik ^h atnanan
1s→2d	k ^h atnaŋnaci	1s→2d	ik ^h atnanancin
1s→2p	k ^h atnaŋnanin	1s→2p	ik ^h atnamininin
1s→3s	k ^h attunjuŋ	1s→3s	ik ^h atniŋniŋ
1s→3ns	k ^h attunjuŋciŋ	1s→3ns	ik ^h atniŋniŋciŋ
1d→2s	k ^h atniŋni	1d→2s	ik ^h atniŋnin
1d→3s	k ^h atcuŋcu?a	1d→3s	ik ^h atcuncunka
1d→3ns	k ^h atcuŋcuci?a	1d→3ns	ik ^h atcuncuncinka
1p→3s	k ^h attumyumka	1p→3s	ik ^h attimiminka
1p→3ns	k ^h attumyumcimka	1p→3ns	ik ^h attumiminka
id→3s	k ^h atcuŋcu	id→3s	ik ^h atcuncun
id→3ns	k ^h atcuŋcuci	id→3ns	ik ^h atcuncuncin
ip→3s	k ^h attumyum	ip→3s	ik ^h attimimin
ip→3ns	k ^h attumyumcim	ip→3ns	ik ^h attumimincin
2s→1s	tik ^h atŋaŋa	2s→1s	tik ^h atniŋniŋ
2s→1d	tik ^h atniŋni	2s→1d	tik ^h atnimininin
2s→3s	tik ^h attujo	2s→3s	tik ^h atnanan
2s→3ns	tik ^h attujoci	2s→3ns	tik ^h atnanancin
2d→1s	tik ^h atŋaŋaŋciŋ	2d→1s	tik ^h atniŋniŋciŋ
2d→3s	tik ^h atcuŋcu	2d→3s	tik ^h atnancinan
2d→3ns	tik ^h atcuŋcuci	2d→3ns	tik ^h atnanancin
2p→1s	tik ^h atŋaŋaŋniŋ	2p→1s	tik ^h atniŋniminiŋniŋ
2p→3s	tik ^h attumyum	2p→3s	tik ^h atnamininin
2p→3ns	tik ^h attumyumcum	2p→3ns	tik ^h atna(n)mininincin
3s→1s	ik ^h atŋaŋa	3s→1s	ik ^h atniŋniŋ
3s→1d	nik ^h atciŋci	3s→1d	nik ^h atcincinka
3s→1p	nik ^h attinyinka	3s→1p	nik ^h attinmiminka
3s→id	nik ^h atciŋci	3s→id	nik ^h atcincin
3s→ip	mik ^h atyaŋ	3s→ip	mik ^h atninin
3s→2s	nik ^h atyaŋ	3s→2s	nik ^h atnanan
3s→2d	nik ^h atciŋci	3s→2d	nik ^h atnanancin
3s→2p	nik ^h attinyin	3s→2p	nik ^h atnanimimin
3s→3s	k ^h attuju	3s→3s	ik ^h attunju
3s→3ns	k ^h attujuci	3s→3ns	ik ^h attunjuŋciŋ
3d→1s	ik ^h atŋaŋaŋciŋ	3d→1s	ik ^h atniŋniŋciŋ
3d→1d	nik ^h atciŋci	3d→1d	nik ^h atcincinka
3d→1p	nik ^h attinyinka	3d→1p	nik ^h attinmiminka
3d→3s	ik ^h atcuŋcu	3d→3s	ik ^h atcuncun
3d→3ns	ik ^h atcuŋcuci	3d→3ns	ik ^h atcuncuncin
3p→1s	nik ^h atŋaŋa	3p→1s	nik ^h atniŋniŋ
3p→3s	ik ^h atyaŋ	3p→3s	ik ^h attunju
3p→3ns	mik ^h attujuci	3p→3ns	ik ^h attunjuŋciŋ

	<i>Past affirmative</i>		<i>Past negative</i>
1s→2s	k ^h atnaŋna	1s→2s	mank ^h atdanaŋna
1s→2d	k ^h atnaŋnaci	1s→2d	mank ^h atdanaŋnaci
1s→2p	k ^h atnaŋnanin	1s→2p	mank ^h atdanaŋnanin
1s→3s	k ^h attuŋyuj	1s→3s	mank ^h atdoŋyuj
1s→3ns	k ^h attuŋyujciŋ	1s→3ns	mank ^h atdoŋyujciŋ
1d→2s	k ^h atniŋni	1d→2s	mank ^h atdaninin
1d→3s	k ^h attaŋacu?a	1d→3s	mank ^h atdaŋacu?a
1d→3ns	k ^h attaŋacuci?a	1d→3ns	mank ^h atdaŋacuci?a
1p→3s	k ^h attumyumka	1p→3s	mank ^h atdomyumka
1p→3ns	k ^h attumyumcimka	1p→3ns	mank ^h atdomyumcimka
id→3s	k ^h attaŋacu	id→3s	mank ^h atdaŋacu
id→3ns	k ^h attaŋacuci	id→3ns	mank ^h atdaŋacuci
ip→3s	k ^h attumyum	ip→3s	mank ^h atdomyum
ip→3ns	k ^h attumyumcim	ip→3ns	mank ^h atdomyumcim
2s→1s	tik ^h attaŋyaŋ	2s→1s	mank ^h at tidanyaŋ
2s→1d	tik ^h atniŋnin	2s→1d	mank ^h at tidaninin
2s→3s	tik ^h attuŋu	2s→3s	mank ^h at tidorju
2s→3ns	tik ^h attuŋuci	2s→3ns	mank ^h at tidorjuci
2d→1s	tik ^h attaŋyaŋciŋ	2d→1s	mank ^h at tidanyaŋciŋ
2d→3s	tik ^h attaŋacu	2d→3s	mank ^h at tidaŋacu
2d→3ns	tik ^h attaŋacuci	2d→3ns	mank ^h at tidaŋacuci
2p→1s	tik ^h attaŋyaŋniŋ	2p→1s	mank ^h at tidanyaŋniŋ
2p→3s	tik ^h attumyum	2p→3s	mank ^h at tidomyum
2p→3ns	tik ^h attumyumcum	2p→3ns	mank ^h at tidomyumcim
3s→1s	ik ^h attaŋyaŋ	3s→1s	mank ^h at idaŋyaŋ
3s→1d	(n)ik ^h attaŋaci?a	3s→1d	mank ^h at (n)idaŋaci?a
3s→1p	nik ^h attinyinka	3s→1p	mank ^h at nidanyinka
3s→id	nik ^h attaŋaci	3s→id	mank ^h at nidaciŋci
3s→ip	mik ^h attaŋa	3s→ip	mank ^h at midayaŋ
3s→2s	nik ^h attaŋa	3s→2s	mank ^h at nidaŋa
3s→2d	nik ^h attaŋaci	3s→2d	mank ^h at nidaŋaci
3s→2p	nik ^h attinyin	3s→2p	mank ^h at nidanyin
3s→3s	k ^h attuŋu	3s→3s	mank ^h atdorju
3s→3ns	k ^h attuŋuci	3s→3ns	mank ^h atdorjuci
3d→1s	ik ^h attaŋyanciŋ	3d→1s	mank ^h at idaŋyaŋciŋ
3d→1d	nik ^h attaŋaci?a	3d→1d	mank ^h at nidaŋaci?a
3d→1p	nik ^h attinyinka	3d→1p	mank ^h at nidanyinka
3d→3s	ik ^h atcuŋcu	3d→3s	mank ^h at idaŋacu
3d→3ns	ik ^h atcuŋcuci	3d→3ns	mank ^h at idaŋacuci
3p→1s	nik ^h attaŋyaŋ	3p→1s	mank ^h at nidaŋyaŋ
3p→3s	ik ^h attaŋa	3p→3s	mank ^h at idaŋa
3p→3ns	mik ^h attuŋuci	3p→3ns	mank ^h at midorjuci

B.10 'To eat'

	<i>Non-past affirmative</i>		<i>Non-past negative</i>
1s→2s	cana	1s→2s	icanan
1s→2d	canaci	1s→2d	icanancin
1s→2p	cananin	1s→2p	icananimin
1s→3s	caŋ	1s→3s	icanij
1s→3ns	caŋciŋ	1s→3ns	icanijciŋ
1d→2s	canin	1d→2s	icanin
1d→3s	cacuci?a	1d→3s	iacunka
1d→3ns	cacuci?a	1d→3ns	iacuncinka
1p→3s	camka	1p→3s	icaminka
1p→3ns	camcimka	1p→3ns	icamincinka
id→3s	cacuci	id→3s	iacun
id→3ns	cacuci	id→3ns	iacuncin
ip→3s	cam	ip→3s	icamin
ip→3ns	camcim	ip→3ns	icamincin
2s→1s	ticaŋa	2s→1s	ticanij
2s→1d	ticanin	2s→1d	ticanimin
2s→3s	tica	2s→3s	ticanan
2s→3ns	ticaci	2s→3ns	ticanancin
2d→1s	ticaŋaciŋ	2d→1s	ticanijciŋ
2d→3s	ticacu	2d→3s	ticanancin
2d→3ns	ticacuci	2d→3ns	ticanancin
2p→1s	ticaŋaniŋ	2p→1s	ticanijminiŋ
2p→3s	ticam	2p→3s	ticanaminin
2p→3ns	ticamcim	2p→3ns	ticanaminincin
3s→1s	icaŋa	3s→1s	icaniŋ
3s→1d	nicaci?a	3s→1d	nicacinka
3s→1p	nicanka	3s→1p	nicaminka
3s→id	nicaci	3s→id	nicacin
3s→ip	mica	3s→ip	micanin
3s→2s	nica	3s→2s	nicanan
3s→2d	nicaci	3s→2d	nicanancin
3s→2p	nican	3s→2p	nicananimin
3s→3s	ca	3s→3s	ican
3s→3ns	caci	3s→3ns	icancin
3d→1s	icaŋaciŋ	3d→1s	icaniŋciŋ
3d→1d	nicaci?a	3d→1d	nicacinka
3d→1p	nicanka	3d→1p	nicaminka
3d→3s	icacu	3d→3s	iacun
3d→3ns	icacuci	3d→3ns	iacuncin
3p→1s	nicariŋa	3p→1s	nicaniŋ
3p→3s	ica	3p→3s	nican
3p→3ns	micaci	3p→3ns	nicancin

	<i>Past affirmative</i>		<i>Past negative</i>
1s→2s	cana	1s→2s	mancadana
1s→2d	canaci	1s→2d	mancadanaci
1s→2p	cananin	1s→2p	mancadananin
1s→3s	coŋ	1s→3s	mancadoŋ
1s→3ns	coŋciŋ	1s→3ns	mancadoŋciŋ
1d→2s	canin	1d→2s	mancadanin
1d→3s	cacuci?a	1d→3s	mancadacua
1d→3ns	cacuci?a	1d→3ns	mancadacuci?a
1p→3s	comka	1p→3s	mancadomka
1p→3ns	comcimka	1p→3ns	mancadomcimka
id→3s	cacu	id→3s	mancadacu
id→3ns	cacuci	id→3ns	mancadacuci
ip→3s	com	ip→3s	mancadom
ip→3ns	comcim	ip→3ns	mancadomcim
2s→1s	ticarŋ	2s→1s	manca tidarŋ
2s→1d	ticanin	2s→1d	manca tidanin
2s→3s	tico	2s→3s	manca tido
2s→3ns	ticoci	2s→3ns	manca tidoci
2d→1s	ticarŋciŋ	2d→1s	manca tidarŋciŋ
2d→3s	ticacu	2d→3s	manca tidacu
2d→3ns	ticacuci	2d→3ns	manca tidacuci
2p→1s	ticarŋniŋ	2p→1s	manca tidarŋniŋ
2p→3s	ticom	2p→3s	manca tidom
2p→3ns	ticomcim	2p→3ns	manca tidomcim
3s→1s	icarŋ	3s→1s	manca idarŋ
3s→1d	nicaci?a	3s→1d	manca nidaci?a
3s→1p	nicanka	3s→1p	manca nidanka
3s→id	nicaci	3s→id	manca nidaci
3s→ip	mica	3s→ip	manca mida
3s→2s	nica	3s→2s	manca nida
3s→2d	nicaci	3s→2d	manca nidaci
3s→2p	nican	3s→2p	manca nidan
3s→3s	co	3s→3s	mancado
3s→3ns	coci	3s→3ns	mancadoci
3d→1s	icarŋciŋ	3d→1s	manca idarŋciŋ
3d→1d	nicaci?a	3d→1d	manca nidaci?a
3d→1p	nicanka	3d→1p	manca nidanka
3d→3s	icacu	3d→3s	manca idacu
3d→3ns	icacuci	3d→3ns	manca idacuci
3p→1s	nicarŋ	3p→1s	manca nidarŋ
3p→3s	ica	3p→3s	manca ida
3p→3ns	micoci	3p→3ns	manca midoci

Progressive paradigms

	<i>Non-past affirmative</i>		<i>Past affirmative</i>
1s→2s	canaḡna	1s→2s	canaḡna
1s→2d	canaḡnaci	1s→2d	canaḡnaci
1s→2p	canaḡnanin	1s→2p	canaḡnanin
1s→3s	caḡyurḡ	1s→3s	coḡyirḡ
1s→3ns	caḡyurḡciḡ	1s→3ns	coḡyirḡciḡ
1d→2s	caniḡni	1d→2s	caniḡni
1d→3s	cacuḡcu?a	1d→3s	caḡacu?a
1d→3ns	cacuḡcuci?a	1d→3ns	caḡacuci?a
1p→3s	camyumka	1p→3s	comyomka
1p→3ns	camyurḡcimka	1p→3ns	comyimcimka
id→3s	cacuḡcu	id→3s	caḡacu
id→3ns	cacuḡcuci	id→3ns	caḡacuci
ip→3s	camyum	ip→3s	comyom
ip→3ns	camyurḡcim	ip→3ns	comyimcim
2s→1s	ticaḡaḡa	2s→1s	ticaḡyaḡ
2s→1d	ticanirḡni	2s→1d	ticanirḡni
2s→3s	ticaḡu	2s→3s	ticoḡu
2s→3ns	ticaḡuci	2s→3ns	ticoḡuci
2d→1s	ticaḡaḡaḡciḡ	2d→1s	ticaḡyaḡciḡ
2d→3s	ticacuḡcu	2d→3s	ticaḡacu
2d→3ns	ticacuḡcuci	2d→3ns	ticaḡacuci
2p→1s	ticaḡaḡaḡniḡ	2p→1s	ticaḡyaḡniḡ
2p→3s	ticamyum	2p→3s	ticomyim
2p→3ns	ticamyumcim	2p→3ns	ticomyimcim
3s→1s	icaḡaḡa	3s→1s	icaḡyaḡ
3s→1d	nicaciḡci?a	3s→1d	nicaḡaci?a
3s→1p	nicanyinka	3s→1p	nicanyinka
3s→id	nicaciḡci	3s→id	nicaḡaci
3s→ip	micayaḡ	3s→ip	micaḡa
3s→2s	nicayaḡ	3s→2s	nicaḡa
3s→2d	nicaciḡci	3s→2d	nicaḡaci
3s→2p	nicanyin	3s→2p	nicanyin
3s→3s	caḡu	3s→3s	coḡu
3s→3ns	caḡuci	3s→3ns	icaḡacu
3d→1s	icaḡaḡaciḡ	3d→1s	icaḡyaḡciḡ
3d→1d	nicaciḡci?a	3d→1d	nicaḡaci?a
3d→1p	nicanyinka	3d→1p	nicanyinka
3d→3s	icacuḡcu	3d→3s	coḡuci
3d→3ns	icacuḡcuci	3d→3ns	icaḡacuci
3p→1s	nicaḡaḡa	3p→1s	nicaḡyaḡ
3p→3s	icaḡyaḡ	3p→3s	icaḡa
3p→3ns	micaḡuci	3p→3ns	micoḡuci

B.11 ‘To forget’

	<i>Non-past affirmative</i>		<i>Non-past negative</i>
1s→2s	manna k ^h anna	1s→2s	imannan k ^h annan
1s→2d	manna k ^h annaci	1s→2d	imannan k ^h annancin
1s→2p	manna k ^h annanin	1s→2p	imannan k ^h annanimin
1s→3s	mantuḡ k ^h aṣuḡ	1s→3s	imanniḡ k ^h anniḡ
1s→3ns	mantuḡ k ^h aṣuḡciḡ	1s→3ns	imanniḡ k ^h anniḡciḡ
1d→2s	manni k ^h anni	1d→2s	imannin k ^h annin
1d→3s	mancu k ^h ancu?a	1d→3s	imancun k ^h ancunka
1d→3ns	mancu k ^h ancuci?a	1d→3ns	imancun k ^h ancuncinka
1p→3s	mantum k ^h aṣumka	1p→3s	imantin k ^h ansiminka
1p→3ns	mantum k ^h aṣumcumka	1p→3ns	imantin k ^h aṣimincinka
id→3s	mancu k ^h ancu	id→3s	imancun k ^h ancun
id→3ns	mancu k ^h ancuci	id→3ns	imancun k ^h ancuncin
ip→3s	mantum k ^h aṣum	ip→3s	imantin k ^h aṣimin
ip→3ns	mantum k ^h aṣumcum	ip→3ns	imantin k ^h aṣimincin
2s→1s	timanḡa k ^h anḡa	2s→1s	timanniḡ k ^h anniḡ
2s→1d	timannin k ^h annin	2s→1d	timannan k ^h annaminin
2s→3s	timantu k ^h aṣu	2s→3s	timannan k ^h annan
2s→3ns	timantu k ^h aṣuci	2s→3ns	timannan k ^h annancin
2d→1s	timanḡa k ^h anḡaḡciḡ	2d→1s	timanniḡ k ^h anniḡciḡ
2d→3s	timancu k ^h ancu	2d→3s	timannan k ^h annancin
2d→3ns	timancu k ^h ancuci	2d→3ns	timannan k ^h annancinan
2p→1s	timanḡa k ^h anḡaḡniḡ	2p→1s	timanniḡ k ^h anniḡminiḡ
2p→3s	timantum k ^h aṣum	2p→3s	timannan k ^h annanminin
2p→3ns	timantum k ^h aṣumcum	2p→3ns	timannan k ^h annanminincin
3s→1s	imanḡa k ^h anḡa	3s→1s	imanniḡ k ^h anniḡ
3s→1d	nimanci k ^h anci?a	3s→1d	nimancin k ^h ancinka
3s→1p	nimantin k ^h aṣinka	3s→1p	nimantin k ^h aṣiminka
3s→id	nimanci k ^h anci	3s→id	nimannan k ^h annancin
3s→ip	mimank ^h an	3s→ip	mimannin k ^h annin
3s→2s	nimank ^h an	3s→2s	nimannan k ^h annan
3s→2d	nimanci k ^h anci	3s→2d	nimannan k ^h annancin
3s→2p	nimannin k ^h annin	3s→2p	nimannin k ^h anniminin
3s→3s	mantu k ^h aṣu	3s→3s	imantun k ^h aṣun
3s→3ns	mantu k ^h aṣuci	3s→3ns	imantun k ^h aṣuncin
3d→1s	imanḡa k ^h anḡaḡciḡ	3d→1s	imanniḡ k ^h anniḡciḡ
3d→1d	nimanci k ^h anci?a	3d→1d	nimancin k ^h ancinka
3d→1p	nimantin k ^h aṣinka	3d→1p	nimantin k ^h aṣiminka
3d→3s	imancu k ^h ancu	3d→3s	imancun k ^h ancun
3d→3ns	imancu k ^h ancuci	3d→3ns	imancun k ^h ancuncin
3p→1s	nimanḡa k ^h anḡa	3p→1s	nimanniḡ k ^h anniḡ
3p→3s	imank ^h an	3p→3s	nimantun k ^h aṣun
3p→3ns	mimantu k ^h aṣuci	3p→3ns	nimantun k ^h aṣuncin

	<i>Past affirmative</i>		<i>Past negative</i>
1s→2s	manna k ^h anna	1s→2s	manmank ^h andana
1s→2d	manna k ^h annaci	1s→2d	manmank ^h andanaci
1s→2p	manna k ^h annanin	1s→2p	manmank ^h andanenin
1s→3s	mantuŋ k ^h aīsuŋ	1s→3s	manmank ^h andoŋ
1s→3ns	mantuŋ k ^h aīsuŋciŋ	1s→3ns	manmank ^h andoŋciŋ
1d→2s	manni k ^h anni	1d→2s	manmank ^h andanin
1d→3s	manta k ^h aīsacu?a	1d→3s	manmank ^h andacu?a
1d→3ns	manta k ^h aīsacuci?a	1d→3ns	manmank ^h andacuci?a
1p→3s	mantum k ^h aīsumka	1p→3s	manmank ^h andomka
1p→3ns	mantum k ^h aīsumcimka	1p→3ns	manmank ^h andomcimka
id→3s	manta k ^h aīsacu	id→3s	manmank ^h andacu
id→3ns	manta k ^h aīsacuci	id→3ns	manmank ^h andacuci?a
ip→3s	mantum k ^h aīsum	ip→3s	manmank ^h andom
ip→3ns	mantum k ^h aīsumcim	ip→3ns	manmank ^h andomcim
2s→1s	timantaŋ k ^h aīsaŋ	2s→1s	manmank ^h an tidaŋ
2s→1d	timannin k ^h annin	2s→1d	manmank ^h an tidanin
2s→3s	timantu k ^h aīsu	2s→3s	manmank ^h an tido
2s→3ns	timantu k ^h aīsuci	2s→3ns	manmank ^h an tidoci
2d→1s	timantaŋ k ^h aīsaŋciŋ	2d→1s	manmank ^h an tidaŋciŋ
2d→3s	timanta k ^h aīsacu	2d→3s	manmank ^h an tidacu
2d→3ns	timanta k ^h aīsacuci	2d→3ns	manmank ^h an tidacuci
2p→1s	timantaŋ k ^h aīsaŋniŋ	2p→1s	manmank ^h an tidaŋniŋ
2p→3s	timantum k ^h aīsum	2p→3s	manmank ^h an tidom
2p→3ns	timantum k ^h aīsumcim	2p→3ns	manmank ^h an tidomcim
3s→1s	imantaŋ k ^h aīsaŋ	3s→1s	manmank ^h an idaŋ
3s→1d	nimanta k ^h aīsaci?a	3s→1d	manmank ^h an nidaci?a
3s→1p	nimantin k ^h aīsinka	3s→1p	manmank ^h an nidanka
3s→id	nimanta k ^h aīsaci	3s→id	manmank ^h an nidaci
3s→ip	mimanta k ^h aīsa	3s→ip	manmank ^h an mida
3s→2s	nimanta k ^h aīsa	3s→2s	manmank ^h an nida
3s→2d	nimanta k ^h aīsaci	3s→2d	manmank ^h an nidaci
3s→2p	nimantin k ^h aīsin	3s→2p	manmank ^h an nidan
3s→3s	mantu k ^h aīsu	3s→3s	manmank ^h ando
3s→3ns	mantu k ^h aīsuci	3s→3ns	manmank ^h andoci
3d→1s	imantaŋ k ^h aīsaŋciŋ	3d→1s	manmank ^h an idaŋciŋ
3d→1d	nimanta k ^h aīsaci?a	3d→1d	manmank ^h an nidaci?a
3d→1p	nimantin k ^h aīsinka	3d→1p	manmank ^h an nidanka
3d→3s	imantak ^h aīsacu	3d→3s	manmank ^h an idacu
3d→3ns	imantak ^h aīsacuci	3d→3ns	manmank ^h an idacuci
3p→1s	nimantaŋ k ^h aīsaŋ	3p→1s	manmank ^h an nidaŋ
3p→3s	imantak ^h aīsa	3p→3s	manmank ^h an ida
3p→3ns	mimantu k ^h aīsuci	3p→3ns	manmank ^h an midoci

<i>Past affirmative</i>		<i>Past negative</i>	
1s→2s	manna k ^h annaŋna	1s→2s	manmank ^h an danaŋna
1s→2d	manna k ^h annaŋnaci	1s→2d	manmank ^h an danaŋnaci
1s→2p	manna k ^h annaŋnanin	1s→2p	manmank ^h an danaŋnanin
1s→3s	mantuŋ k ^h aĩsunyuŋ	1s→3s	manmank ^h andoŋyuŋ
1s→3ns	mantuŋ k ^h aĩsunyuŋciŋ	1s→3ns	manmank ^h andoŋyuŋciŋ
1d→2s	manni k ^h anniŋni	1d→2s	manmank ^h an daninin
1d→3s	manta k ^h aĩsaŋacu?a	1d→3s	manmank ^h andaŋacu?a
1d→3ns	manta k ^h aĩsaŋacuci?a	1d→3ns	manmank ^h andaŋacuci?a
1p→3s	mantum k ^h aĩsumyumka	1p→3s	manmank ^h andomyumka
1p→3ns	mantum k ^h aĩsumyumcimka	1p→3ns	manmank ^h andomyumcimka
id→3s	manta k ^h aĩsaŋacu	id→3s	manmank ^h andaŋacu
id→3ns	manta k ^h aĩsaŋacuci	id→3ns	manmank ^h andaŋacuci
ip→3s	mantum k ^h aĩsumyum	ip→3s	manmank ^h andomyum
ip→3ns	mantum k ^h aĩsumyumcim	ip→3ns	manmank ^h andomyumcim
2s→1s	timantaŋ k ^h aĩsaŋyaŋ	2s→1s	manmank ^h an tiyukŋaŋa
2s→1d	timannin k ^h anninin	2s→1d	manmank ^h an tidaninin
2s→3s	timantu k ^h aĩsuŋu	2s→3s	manmank ^h an tidoŋu
2s→3ns	timantu k ^h aĩsuŋuci	2s→3ns	manmank ^h an tidoŋuci
2d→1s	timantaŋ k ^h aĩsaŋyĩŋciŋ	2d→1s	manmank ^h an tidoŋyaŋciŋ
2d→3s	timanta k ^h aĩsaŋacu	2d→3s	manmank ^h an tidaŋacu
2d→3ns	timanta k ^h aĩsaŋacuci	2d→3ns	manmank ^h an tidaŋacuci
2p→1s	timantaŋ k ^h aĩsaŋyaŋniŋ	2p→1s	manmank ^h an tidaŋyaŋniŋ
2p→3s	timantum k ^h aĩsumyum	2p→3s	manmank ^h an tidomyum
2p→3ns	timantum k ^h aĩsumyumcum	2p→3ns	manmank ^h an tidomyumcum
3s→1s	imantaŋ k ^h aĩsaŋyaŋ	3s→1s	manmank ^h an idaŋyaŋ
3s→1d	(n)imanta k ^h aĩsaŋjaci?a	3s→1d	manmank ^h an (n)idaŋjaci?a
3s→1p	niŋmantin k ^h aĩsinyinka	3s→1p	manmank ^h an niŋdanyinka
3s→id	niŋmanta k ^h aĩsaŋjaci	3s→id	manmank ^h an niŋdaciŋci
3s→ip	miŋmanta k ^h aĩsaŋa	3s→ip	manmank ^h an miŋdayaŋ
3s→2s	niŋmanta k ^h aĩsaŋa	3s→2s	manmank ^h an niŋdayaŋ
3s→2d	niŋmanta k ^h aĩsaŋjaci	3s→2d	manmank ^h an niŋdaciŋci
3s→2p	niŋmanta k ^h aĩsaŋjanin	3s→2p	manmank ^h an niŋdaninyin
3s→3s	mantu k ^h aĩsuŋu	3s→3s	manmank ^h andoŋu
3s→3ns	mantu k ^h aĩsuŋuci	3s→3ns	manmank ^h andoŋuci
3d→1s	imantaŋ k ^h aĩsaŋyĩŋciŋ	3d→1s	manmank ^h an idaŋyaŋciŋ
3d→1d	niŋmanta k ^h aĩsaŋjaci?a	3d→1d	manmank ^h an niŋdaŋjaci?a
3d→1p	niŋmantin k ^h aĩsinyinka	3d→1p	manmank ^h an niŋdanyinka
3d→3s	imancu k ^h ancuŋcu	3d→3s	manmank ^h an idaŋjacu
3d→3ns	imancu k ^h ancuŋcuci	3d→3ns	manmank ^h an idaŋjacuci
3p→1s	niŋmantaŋ k ^h aĩsaŋyaŋ	3p→1s	manmank ^h an niŋdayaŋ
3p→3s	imanta k ^h aĩsaŋa	3p→3s	manmank ^h an idaŋa
3p→3ns	miŋmantu k ^h aĩsuŋuci	3p→s3d	manmank ^h an miŋdoŋuci

Reflexive paradigms ('to forget oneself')

	NP P	NP N	PT P	PT N
1s	manja k ^h anrajaŋciŋ	imannŋ k ^h annŋciŋ	mantaj k ^h aŋŋciŋ	manmank ^h an dancŋ
1d	manci k ^h anciciŋa	imancin k ^h ancincinka	manta k ^h aŋŋciciŋa	manmank ^h an danciciŋa
1p	mantin k ^h aŋŋincinka	imantin k ^h aŋŋincinka	mantin k ^h aŋŋincinka	manmank ^h an dancinka
2s	timannan k ^h annancin	timannan k ^h annancin	timantan k ^h aŋŋancin	manmank ^h an tidancin
2d	timanci k ^h ancici	timannan k ^h annancin	timanta k ^h aŋŋancici	manmank ^h an tidancici
2p	timantin k ^h aŋŋincin	timannan k ^h annaminincin	timantin k ^h aŋŋincin	manmank ^h an tidanincin
3s	mannan k ^h annancin	imannin k ^h annincin	mantan k ^h aŋŋancin	manmank ^h an dancin
3d	manci k ^h ancici	imancin k ^h ancincin	manta k ^h aŋŋancici	manmank ^h an dancici
3p	mimannan k ^h annancin	nimannin k ^h annincin	mimantan k ^h aŋŋancin	manmank ^h an midancin

Progressive reflexive paradigms ('to forget oneself')

	NP	NP N	PT	PT N
1s	manja k ^h anrajaŋciŋ / manja k ^h anrajaŋciŋ	imannŋ k ^h annŋciŋ	mantaj k ^h aŋŋajaŋciŋ	manmank ^h an danyŋciŋ
1d	manci k ^h anciciŋa	imancin k ^h ancincinka	manta k ^h aŋŋajanciciŋa	manmank ^h an dajanciciŋa
1p	mantin k ^h aŋŋincinka	imantin k ^h aŋŋimincinka	mantin k ^h aŋŋincinka	manmank ^h an danyincinka
2s	timannan k ^h annancin	timannan k ^h annanancin	timantan k ^h aŋŋanyancin	manmank ^h an tidancin
2d	timanci k ^h anciciŋ	timannan k ^h annanancin	timanta k ^h aŋŋajancici	manmank ^h an tidajancici
2p	timantin k ^h aŋŋincin	timannan k ^h annaminincin	timantin k ^h aŋŋincin	manmank ^h an tidanincin
3s	mannan k ^h annancin	imannin k ^h annincin	mantan k ^h aŋŋanyancin	manmank ^h an danyancin
3d	manci k ^h anciciŋ	imancin k ^h anci(n)cincin	manta k ^h aŋŋajancici	manmank ^h an dajancici
3p	mimannan k ^h annancin	nimannin k ^h annincin	mimantan k ^h aŋŋanyancin	manmank ^h an midanyancin

Non-Finite forms (reflexive and simple)

INF refl	manman k ^h anmancin	to forget yourself
INF refl NEG	manmank ^h an damancin	to not forget yourself
	mank ^h anyancinsa k ^h ara	forgetting yourself, go!
SUP	mank ^h ansi k ^h ara	go forget!
IMP refl	mantan k ^h aĩsancin	forget yourself!
SIM	mank ^h anyaŋsa k ^h ara	forgetting, go
SIM refl	mank ^h ancinsa k ^h ara	go forgetting!
SUP refl	mank ^h ancinsi k ^h ara	go forget yourself!

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):

p-o-s	meaning	sub-categories
n	noun	
vi	verb (intransitive)	
vt	verb (transitive)	middle / antip / none
pro	pronoun	poss (possessive)
adj	adjective	
adv	adverb	
nm	proper name	
conj	conjunction	

The following types of cross reference are used:

Code	meaning
cf	compare
root	root, i.e. allofam root, derivational root
caus	causative
appl	applicative
ben	benefactive
syn	synonym
pair	paired item, e.g. husband and wife
opp	antonym, i.e. opposite
off	other relationship that is not otherwise qualified

ə

əlenci **n** *cardamom*. **N** अलैची.

əsuero **n** *Snapdragon plant*. **N** असुरो. **S** *Adhatoda vasica*.

a

a **-nfl** *ergative case ending*.

abi **adv** *now*.

- acc^hiŋa **adv** before, previously; a few days before. **N** अघि अस्ति.
- ac^himbaddon **n** the year before last year (two years ago). **N** परार साल.
- ac^hosa **n** the day before yesterday. **N** अस्तिको दिन. ac^hosa ibuyu 'before two days ago'.
- adeŋ **conj** later, after that. **N** पछि.
- ad^hiwaŋ **adj** big, particularly in the sense of 'important' - as applied to humans. **N** ठूलो; महत्वपूर्ण.
ad^hiwaŋ mina 'big guy (Nepali: 'thūlo mānche')'.
- akma (akta) **vi** to feel pain, strong pain; to suffer heavily; almost die. **N** सहनु.
- aktudolo **adv** like dead.
- akwa **n** oil. **N** तेल.
- ak^hira **n** finally, at last. **N** आखिर.
- ak^homaŋ **adv** yesterday.
- alaŋne **part** thanks, goodbye. **N** धन्यवाद; नमस्ते (छुट्टा). alaŋne sewa?o ne iŋnic^ha! 'thanks and bye, brother!'. bædd^he alaŋne 'thanks very much'.
- am **possfx-** your, 2nd person singular possessive noun prefix.
- amco **pro** (poss) your, of you (two persons); independent pronoun. **N** तिमीहरूको.
- amko **pro** (poss) your, of you (one person); possessive pronoun. **N** तिम्रो.
- amma (amsu) **vt** to shoot aimlessly. **N** हान्नु. **root** apma.
- amno **pro** (poss) your (plural).
- anca?o **pro** (poss) our (excl. dual).
- anco **pro** (poss) our (incl. dual).
- andolən **n** agitation, upheaval, tumult. **N** आन्दोलन.
- anemniŋ **n** last year. **N** पोहोर.
- ankaci **pro** we (incl. dual). **N** हामी (दुई जना). **syn** iŋkaci.
- ankan **pro** we (inclusive plural). **N** हामी (म अनि तिमीहरू).
- ankanin **pro** we (inclusive, plural).
- ankanka **pro** we (exclusive, plural).
- anka?o **pro** (poss) our, our (plural, exclusief). **N** हाम्रो.
- anko **pro** (poss) our (incl. plural).
- anma (alu) **vt** (middle) to turn over, to lie down. **N** पल्टिनु.
- anma (anta) **vi** to snap (by the wind, of bamboo). **N** फुट्नु. **cf** ŋanma.
- aŋma (aŋa) **vi** to tolerate. **N** सहनु. **syn** aŋma.
- aŋma (aŋsu) **vt** (antip) to tolerate. **N** सहनु. **syn** aŋma. aŋsaŋ 'I bore it'. aŋsu 'he bore it'.
- aŋma **n** pine tree. **N** सल्लो.
- apma (aptu) **vt** to shoot at (with arrow, gun), to hit. **N** हान्नु. **root** apma.
- apma (au) **vt** to shoot, shoot at (with arrow, gun). **N** हान्नु. **caus** amma. **appl** apma.
- appi **n** self; myself, yourself, himself. **N** आफै. api k^hatŋa 'I'll go myself'.
- araŋ araŋ **adv** long ago.
- araŋ **n** once, long ago, before. **N** उहिले. araŋ ik^ha k^hokpa k^himda yuwaŋa 'once there was an old man in a house'. araŋyũkaŋa 'from long ago...'.
asen **n** somewhere before the day before yesterday; a while ago, not specific. **N** अस्ति. asenyũka kaci maddiŋ 'for a couple of days there has been no work'.
- att^hu **n** before, a bit earlier; earlier, previously today; earlier, but just for today. **N** अघि. att^hu iwayiŋ 'earlier this morning'.
- awet **adv** later, later today. **N** भरे. awet inampik 'tonight'.
- ayi **n** today, this day. **N** आज. **cf** awet.

ayidoŋ **adv** *this year*. **N** यहीं वर्ष.
ayimit **n** *nowadays*. **N** आजभोलि.

b

bædd^he **adv** *many*.
bæða **n** *festival*. **N** चाड वा रितिरिवाज.
bægəra **n** *(dry) river bed*. **N** बगर.
baca **n** *magic charm; promise, pledge, oath*. **N** बाचा. baca ipaktacu 'they put on a charm'.
badd^he **adj** *many, much; more*. **N** धेरै; बढी. badd^he minaci 'many people'.
bajiyonjma **n** *cricket; cicada*. **N** झ्याउँकीरी.
bak **qual** *qualifier for flat things; as a noun signals a flat surface; not usual independently but frequent in combinations*. **N** चेप्तो. demka bak cak^huŋ batma? 'how many plates should I take?'.
bakuloŋ **n** *clay marble, clay pellet*. **N** मटेङ्गा.
bakwa **n** **S** 1. *porridge*. **N** खोले. bakwa hopma 'to eat porridge'. **S** 2. *leaf; used as a suffix rather than independent (in which case sumbakwa is used)*. **N** पात.
bak^ha **n** *clay, soil, mud; sand*. bak^hada k^hela muyaŋ 'he is playing in the sand'. bak^ha tuma 'to dig in the ground'. bak^ha b^hāḍa banemuma 'to make a clay pot'.
bak^hawensi **n** *Himalayan (wild) strawberries*. **cf** wensi.
balam **n** *window*. **N** झ्याल.
bama (bo) **vt** *to weave (socks, basket or a web, as by a spider)*. **N** बुन्नु. yag^haŋma t^hali bayəŋ 'the spider makes a web'. soya bama 'to make a basket'. iktet soya boŋ 'I made one basket (and it's finished)'. iktet soya baŋ 'I have been making one basket (and it's not sure whether it's finished)'.
bamna **n** *Bahun, Brahmin caste member*.
bamŋa **n** *eel*.
bamo **n** *bamboo shoots*. **N** कलिलो बाँस. **N** तामा.
ban **n** *weapon*. **N** हतियार.
banc^hu bic^hu **n** *hand weapon*. **N** हात हतियार.
banma (bana) **vi** *to come (level)*. **N** आउनु. yaniŋka ... banyaŋ / bana 'from there ... he comes / came'. **caus** batma.
bantawa **nm** *Bantawa*. **N** बान्तावा.
bant^heŋ **n** *thunderstorm; thunder and lightning*. bant^heŋ d^hakina guḍuŋ patyaŋ 'as the thunderstorm comes, it cries 'Gurung''.
baŋa **n** *uncle, father's younger brother*. **N** काका.
baŋga **n** *cotton*. **N** कपास.
baŋma (baŋtu) **vt** *to cross*. laŋ baŋma 'cross your legs'. siŋ baŋma 'to join wood'.
baŋma (baŋtu) **vt** *to weave, to make (e.g. of nests)*. **N** बुन्नु. yaŋ baŋma 'to make a nest'.
barasi **n** *jackfruit*. **N** कटहर.
bak^ha barasi **n** *pineapple*. **N** भुइँकटहर.
basij **n** *bamboo wood*.
bata **n** *a pointed vessel, put on top of the stack of vessels used in distilling liquor*. **N** सानो भाँडो.
batma (bara) **vi** *to bloom*. **N** फुल्नु.
batma (battu) **vt** **S** 1. *to bring*. **N** ल्याउनु. **cf** banma. **root** banma. **S** 2. *reach (as of age)*.
N पुग्नु. demka doŋ nubattiyeŋ 'how many years old are you?'. demka doŋ tibattu 'how

- many years old are you?'.
 bayi **n** spirit, particularly one affecting the stomach. **N** भूत.
 bayu **n** bamboo rope, the soft tissue that can be bent. sambaʔo bayudaŋka k^heŋ bama 'to make a basket out of bamboo'.
 bebbikik **n** flat basket for carrying small amounts of food; shopping bag, typically square cornered and carried as a handbag; made of bamboo strips. **N** पेरुङ्गो.
 becukkusi **n** ginger leaf. **cf** becuk kusi.
 bec^huk **n** ginger, ginger root. **N** अदुवा. k^hokli bec^huk 'wild ginger (Costus speciosus)'. bec^huk niʔo j^harakdaŋka id^hiwaŋ siŋsi 'the ginger is the most important fruit'.
 bekma (bektu) **vt** to fold (of clothes, and paper and folding stuff only). **syn** b^hekma.
 bek^ha **n** bag. **N** झोला. bek^ha^ha 'a small bag'.
 ben **n** hour, o'clock. **N** घडी; बजे.
 benc^hu **n** musical instrument. **N** चाँप.
 bendasi **n** tomato (the fruit of a tomato plant). **N** गोलभेंडा. **cf** k^hokli bendasi.
 beŋwa **n** left, left-hand side. moko beŋwa pətti yuŋna 'he sits on the left side'.
 berawa **n** parrot. **N** सुगा.
 besara **n** eagle. **N** चील.
 bibi **n** familiar form for elder brother. **pair** ni^ha.
 bicikilik **n** earthen vessel. **N** हाँडी. **cf** b^hi.
 bihomma **n** turban; also: cloth, used in the distillation process. **N** पगरी.
 bikbike **adv** delirious.
 bikma (biu) **vt** to sweep. **N** बदानु.
 biŋku **n** sorghum; a kind of large millet. **N** जुनेलो. **S** Sorghum vulgare.
 biŋk^hawa **n** gun. **N** बन्दुक.
 biŋma (biŋsu) **vt** (middle) to blast, explode. **N** पड्काउनु. biŋsa k^hara 'it exploded'. biŋsuŋ 'I blasted it'. **syn** b^hiŋma.
 bitma (bittu) **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 गर्नु.
 bihan **n** advice. **N** सल्लाह. yayok-bihan munne 'let's advise well'.
 bille **adj** faded (Nepali). **N** विलाइ. bille liyaŋ 'it is fading, wasting away'.
 bim **n** clip; pin. **N** हुपसियो.
 bitma (bitta) **vi** to walk, to go. iŋbuda / iŋbuya bitta 'go in front, go first'. bitma yakma 'to keep going'.
 bitma (bittu) **vt** to milk.
 boɕa **n** long bean, cowpea. **N** बोडी.
 bokma (bou) **vt** to plough. **N** जोत्नु. k^hatni tik^hatyaŋo? wik boksi 'where are you going? to plough the field'. **cf** d^hokma.
 boksi **n** spirit, witch. **N** भूत; बोक्सी. boksiʔa miŋeucikinalo 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** तिल.
 bombok **n** eggplant. **N** भ्यान्टा.
 bombolekma **n** butterfly, of the bigger kind (not a moth). **N** पुतली. **cf** p^hoptikiri.

- bomka **adj** round, with the round side up. **N** घोप्तो. **cf** bomma.
- bomma (bomsu) **vt** (middle) to bend, to warp; to make round. **N** बङ्ग्याउनु; बाङ्गिनु.
- bomma (bomta) **vi** to put on top, wear a cap or put on a lid.
- bonwa **n** watersource; well; permanent source. **N** इनार. **cf** wapun.
- boŋkoloŋ **n** apricot. **S** *Prunus armeniaca*.
- bop **qual** qualifier for counting round things. **N** दाना. ik bop lættəm 'One guava'.
- bopboyoŋma **n** termite. **N** धमिरा.
- bopk^ha **n** **S** 1. yeast to make millet ferment. **N** जाँड बनाउने औषधी; मर्चा. **S** 2. lid, cover. **N** ढकनी.
- 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** दौरा कपडा.
- boptoma **n** type of mouse that eats clothes. **N** पुरके मुसो. boptoma cikyi 'city mouse'.
- bopt^hirit **n** (unknown) type of root.
- bu **n** front. iŋbu iŋbu kola 'walk in front of me'. amco?o bubu kola. 'walk in front of us!'. buya bi?a! 'go first!'. buya kaŋmaŋdɔuda yuŋaŋ 'earlier, I lived in Kathmandu'.
- buduna **n** type of fish (approx. 20 cm long). **N** माछाको जात. buduna ŋa 'buduna fish'.
- buk **n** belly, stomach.
- bukk^hundima **n** pregnant, pregnant woman. **N** गर्भवती. əspətalda badd^he buk^hundimaci mitayan 'in the hospital many pregnant women come.'.
- bukluŋ **n** yard, the yard in front of the house. **N** आँगन. bukluŋ seŋsu! 'clean the yard!'.
bukma (buktu) **vt** to expose to heat. **N** ताप्नु. mi bukma 'expose to the fire'. **cf** b^hukma.
- bukma (buu) **vt** to request, ask for help. **N** अनुरोध गर्नु.
- bukpa **n** barbet bird. **N** चरा.
- buktaŋ **n** cave. **N** गुफा. mo minaci buktaŋda miyuwaŋa ni 'it is said that those people lived in caves'.
- bulaki **n** nose ring. **N** मुन्द्रो.
- bumbuli **n** pangolin, scaly anteater. **N** सालक. **syn** bwasa.
- bumma (bumtu) **vt** to fold. **cf** bupma.
- bumsuma **n** fly. **N** माखा.
- buŋk^ha **n** outside; the yard (outside of the house). **N** बाहिर; आँगन. **cf** bukluŋ. **cf** hutda.
- buŋma (buŋsa) **vi** to sow seed; prepare in the nursery.
- buŋwa **n** flower. **N** फूल. hile buŋwa 'mud flower, trumpet flowers: *Datura suaveolens*'.
- buŋwak^ha **n** flower garden, garden. **N** फूलबारी.
- buŋwase **n** flower bat, medium sized bat, reportedly eating from flowers. **N** फूल खाने चमेरो.
- bupma (buptu) **vt** to fold; huddle up, pull in the legs. **cf** bumma.
- busunima **n** sister-in-law, elder brother's wife. **N** भाउजू.
- butma (buttu) **vt** to call. **N** बोलाउनु. butma rinaŋna?o de, butnaŋna?o yuwaŋa. 'If I could have called you, I would have called you.'.
- but^huruppa **adj** grey, whitish. **N** सेतो; फुस्रो. but^huruppa ŋiura '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.

b^h

b^həgəta **nm** Bhagatā, a mythical follower of Milarepa in Sindrang. **N** भगत्ता.

- b^həl **n** endeavour, effort. **N** प्रयास; कोशिश. b^həl / bəl pakma 'to put in the effort'. **cf** b^hala.
 b^hak **n** pig.
 b^haktaŋ **n** shoulder.
 b^hala **n** practice; effort. **N** प्रयास. iŋkaʔa amyij lema b^hala paktunjuŋ 'I am practising to learn your language.'
 b^hala **n** spear. **N** भाला.
 b^hanija **n** nephew; (younger and elder) sister's son. **N** भान्जा.
 b^hanji **n** niece, sister's daughter. **N** भान्जी.
 b^hanma **vi** to be tall, to be high. **N** अग्लो हुनु. dem b^hanyaŋ 'how tall! how high!'.
 b^haŋma (b^haŋsu) **vt** (middle) to cook; to boil; also to prepare food. **N** उमाल्नु; पकाउनु. b^haŋsa 'it boils; it is cooked'.
 b^hatma (b^hattu) **vt** to fetch water. **N** पानी भर्नु. cakwa b^hatma 'to fetch water'. cakwa b^hassi k^hatma 'to go to fetch water'.
 b^haṭa **n** bamboo bar, rafter. **N** भाटा.
 b^he **n** arrow; spear, lance. **N** भाला. b^he d^hupma 'to pierce with an arrow'.
 b^hekma (b^hektu) **vt** to fold (sheets, clothes). **syn** bekma.
 b^hema (b^hesu) **vt** to fart. **N** पाद गर्नु. **appl** b^hetma.
 b^hemma (b^hemsu) **vt** to embrace (people also), carry (heavy things, as opposed to p^hama - light things). **N** अँगालो हाल्नु.
 b^hemma (b^hemsu) **vt** to fill (e.g. a glass with water). **N** भर्नु. b^hemsuk^ho 'fill it, please'. **root** b^hepma.
 b^hen **n** root, foot (of mountain). **N** जरा. b^hiriʔo ib^hen 'the foot of the hill'. ib^hen icaimin 'we do not eat its root'. **cf** com.
 b^hena **n** brother-in-law, elder sister's husband. **N** भिनाजु. **syn** p^heyabuŋ.
 b^heŋma (b^heŋtu) **vt** **S** 1. to eye someone (as a boy to a girl, or in despise). **N** चङ्गे आँखाले हेर्नु. **S** 2. to be crooked, to be tilted. **N** बाङ्गिनु; टेढिनु. ramʔa kələm b^heŋtu 'Ram bent the pen'.
 b^heplo **adv** all, full, completely. **N** भरि. haŋhon b^heplo 'all of our country'. **cf** b^hep.
 b^hepma (b^heptu) **vt** (middle) to fill. **N** भर्नु. **caus** b^hemma.
 b^hepsa **n** sheep.
 b^hetma (b^hettu) **vt** to fart at someone. **root** b^hema.
 b^hetma **n** a fart. **cf** b^hetma. iŋb^hetma lonyan 'my fart came out'.
 b^hewa **n** maggot. **N** कीरा.
 b^hi **n** earthen vessel. **N** हाँडी. **cf** wai b^hi^hma.
 b^hiksa **n** elk; a big type of deer. **N** जरायो.
 b^hi^hma **n** artificial pond: lit. 'big earthen vessel'; used in catching fish. **cf** wai b^hi^hma. **cf** b^hi.
 b^hiŋma (b^hiŋsu) **vt** to blast, fire. **N** पङ्किनु; पङ्काउनु. bənduk b^hiŋma 'fire a gun'. adiwo, nampaʔo it^hala b^heplo məkəi b^hiŋpa miyuŋyaŋ 'granddad! the sun father's plate is full of popcorn (i.e. the stars are out)'. **syn** biŋma.
 b^hircok **n** hilltop. **N** डाँडाको टुप्पो.
 b^hiri **n** hill. **N** डाँडा. b^hiri tola 'hill top village'.
 b^hinma (b^hihu) **vt** to squeeze (for juice). **N** निचोर्नु. kagəti b^hinma 'to squeeze a lemon'. **syn** pinma.
 b^hira **n** precipice; steep slope of rock. **N** भीर.
 b^hitma (b^hittu) **vt** to squeeze for someone else (for juice); milk. **N** दुध निकाल्नु; निचोरिदिनु. **cf** b^hinma. **root** b^hinma.

- b^hitta **n** wall around the fields, separating terraces from one another. **N** भिटो.
 b^hokma (b^hoktu) **vt** to mend, to patch. **N** टाल्नु.
 b^hom **n** bundle; in figurative sense: a packet, a packed lunch. **N** पोको; खाजा. **cf** b^homma.
 b^homma (b^homtu) **vt** (middle) to make bundle, parcel. **N** पोको पार्नु. iŋka b^homtaŋ k^haraŋ 'I got all stiff. to be round (of this size). **N** गोलो हुनु. unb^homko 'this round'.
 b^hoŋma (b^hoŋu) **vt** to make sheaves.
 b^hop **n** circle, round. **N** बाटुलो; चक्कर.
 b^hopkorop **n** toad (frog). **N** पाहा. **cf** b^horop paŋtok.
 b^hopma (b^hoptu) **vt** to make round. **N** डल्याउनु.
 b^horop **n** frog. **cf** b^horok.
 b^hukma (b^huktu) **vt** to bury, to cover with mud or stones; as in landslide, but also by human action. **N** पुर्नु.
 b^hukma **vt** bask. nam b^huksa cepma hāima 'talking and chatting while basking in the sun'. **cf** nam.
 b^hunma (b^hunsu) **vt** to reject, to be dissatisfied (hoping to get better). **N** टुस्किनु.
 b^hunma (b^huntu) **vt** to husk. **N** धान, कोदो कुट्नु; खोस्ट्याउनु.
 b^huŋma (b^huŋsu) **vt** to heap, to pile up. **N** थुपार्नु.
 b^huŋma (b^huŋsu) **vt** (middle) to destroy, break down. tib^huŋsu 'you broke it'. b^huŋsa k^hara 'it was destroyed'. **N** भत्काउनु.
 b^husa **n** chaff; dandruff. **N** भुस.
 b^hutma (b^huttu) **vt** to go white (of hair). to go mouldy (by fungus).
 b^huwa **n** owl, bigger type (N ullu). **N** उल्लु.

C

- cəppərə kiŋ **n** front teeth. **N** अगाडिको दाँत. **cf** kiŋ.
 caconk^hey **n** a round winnowing tray (made of bamboo). **N** नाइलो.
 caha **n** a need, a wish or want. **N** चाहना. caha metma 'to wish for'. caha dotma 'to be required, to be necessary'.
 caitlo **adj** stricken, troubled, suffering. sarima?a caitlo 'suffering a disease'.
 caka **n** honeycomb. **N** चाका. cunwa caka bille liyaŋ 'the honeycomb is melting'. **cf** sunwa.
 cakab^ha **n** demon, fiend; giant, monster. **N** राक्षस.
 cakawalawa **n** spirits (bad spirits).
 cakkomaluy **n** flint. **N** चकमक.
 cakma (caa) **vi** to bathe. **N** नुहाउनु. wacakma 'to bathe'. waca?a 'he bathed'. **caus** caŋma.
 cakwa **n** water. **N** पानी. cakwa piwaŋk^haraŋ 'please, give me water'. cakwa lonk^ha 'water source'.
 cakwakalek **n** Chetrī, 'water-licker'. **N** क्षेत्री.
 cakwak^ham **n** pit, well. **N** इनार.
 cakwalam **n** pipe, irrigation canal. **N** नली.
 cak^haraŋ **n** millet paste. **N** ढिंडो.
 cak^huy **n** utensils (plates and bowls). **N** थालबटुका.
 cali **n** greed. **N** लोभ. iŋcali kara 'I feel greedy'. k^ho cali muyaŋ 'he is greedy'.
 cama **vt** to eat. **N** खानु. **off** catma.
 camaŋwa **n** right, right hand side. **N** दायाँ. camaŋwa c^huk 'the right hand'.
 camac^huk **n** the right hand, the 'eating hand'. **N** खाने हात.
 camma (camsu) **vt** to listen attentively; to sharpen (a blade). **N** उद्याउनु; तिखो पार्नु.

- canampot **n** gullet. **S** oesophagus.
- canma (canta) **vt** to feed, graze. **N** चराउनु. **root** cama. pit gojdok micanyaŋ 'the cows and bulls are grazing'. pit caisi k^harinne 'let's go graze the cows'.
- cara **n** festival. **N** चाड.
- casukuk **n** kitchen. **N** भान्सा.
- casum **n** grain, corn. **N** अन्न.
- casumla **n** the name of a month. **N** एक महिनाको नाउँ.
- catma (caru) **vt** to ferment; to dye. **N** छिनु; पाक्नु. caru?o k^haca 'fermented millet pulp'.
- catma (cattu) **vt** to eat habitually; to be fit for drinking. **N** खानु. **root** cama.
- catma (cattu) **vt** to hit, to hit the mark. **N** हान्नु; लागनु. naŋsi?a icattaŋ 'I was hit by a hailstone'.
- cekcuri **n** starling bird, N rupi bird. **N** रुपी; डाङ्ग्रे.
- cekma (cektu) **vt** to arrange the marriage, to ask and fix the time for getting the bride. **N** दुलही दिनु.
- cekma (cektu) **vt** to cut, chop up. **N** ताच्छनु.
- cemma (cemtu) **vt** to grind; to hit with rocks in order to kill. **N** पिस्नु.
- cencikwa **n** type of bird (Nepali: pāde bird). **N** पादे चरा.
- cenma (centu) **vt** to splice (firewood). **N** चिर्नु.
- ceŋma (ceŋsu) **vt** to warn, to counsel. **N** सुझाव गर्नु.
- cepma (cewa) **vi** to talk, to speak. **N** बोल्नु. **cf** hanma. cewine 'let's talk'.
- cetma (ceru) **vt** to be clever. **N** चलाख हुनु. **root** cetma.
- cetma (cettu) **vt** to be clever, strong. **N** चलाख हुनु; तगडा हुनु. **root** cetma.
- cibuŋ **n** koiralo tree, which has edible flowers. **N** कोइरालो. **S** Bauhinia variegata.
- cik **n** side, vicinity; close by, close to. **N** नजिक. dabyacikda 'close to the fireplace'. amcik 'next to you'. -?o icikda yuŋma 'to sit at the side of...'
- cikak **n** horse chestnut. **S** Aesculus indicus. **N** नारु.
- cikiyaŋ **n** ant. **N** कमिला. cikiyaŋ?a bak^ha tuŋu 'the ant digs in the soil'.
- cikk^han **n** a type of plant (N tāki). **N** ताँकीको बोट. cikk^hanraŋ 'tanki plant'.
- cikma (ciktu) **vt** to economise, to save. **N** साँच्नु.
- cikma (ciktu) **vt** (antip) **S** 1. to dye. **S** 2. to bind, to strap. **N** टुना बाँध्नु. tūna ciktu 'bind your strap'. cikta k^hara 'it became a hard knot'.
- cikni **adv** fast, immediately; jerkily. **N** जरुरक, तरुन्तै.
- cikroŋ **n** demon, incorporeal being (not a spirit as of the deceased). **N** भूत. cikroŋ dipma 'to be possessed by a demon'.
- ciktaŋ **n** muskrat, shrew, mole. **N** छुचुन्द्रो.
- cikiyi kiŋ **n** front teeth, 'rat teeth'.
- cikiyi **n** rat. **N** मुसा. cikiyi kiŋ 'incisors'.
- cilok **adv** many; more. **N** धेरै. nepalada?o cilok t^haŋna warisaci nihaŋhon mik^hatyaŋ 'Nepal's many boys and girls are going abroad'.
- cima (cuwu) **vt** (antip) to do. **N** गर्नु. de ticiyaŋ 'what are you doing?'.
- cinma (cinta) **vi** to wrinkle, curl up. **N** खुम्चिनु. cintudo?o k^hokpa badd^he patyaŋ 'the wrinkled old man is screaming a lot'.
- ciŋ **n** exit point, as in k^hiciŋ: anus.
- ciŋma (ciŋsu) **vt** **S** 1. to hang up (also: to hang someone else). **N** झुण्ड्याउनु. ciŋma setma 'to kill someone by hanging him'. k^holai makyi?a iciŋsa sera 'they killed him hanging him with a

- rope'. **S 2.** to string. **N** उन्नु.
- cirpa **n** anger. **N** रिस. badd^hej iŋcirpa kara 'I am very angry'.
- cikiwa **n** small leopard. **N** चितुवा. **cf** kiwa.
- cilitarj **n** squirrel. **N** लोखर्के.
- cilok **n** a little bit. icilok 'a little bit'.
- cim **n** scales, slivers. **N** कत्ला. ŋa^o icim; pi^o icim 'fish, snake scales'.
- cima (cia) **vi** (antip) to finish, to end. **N** सिद्धिनु. iŋka kama ciuj 'I finished my job'. yaŋ cia k^hara 'the money is finished'. **cf** waŋma talama. **caus** citma.
- cinma (cia) **vi** to end. **N** सिद्ध्याउनु.
- cinma (cintu) **vt** to teach. **N** सिकाउनु. c^haci cinmaci midot 'children must be taught'. cinmancin dora 'to have to learn'.
- cinma (ciu) **vt** to finish. **N** सिद्ध्याउनु.
- cipma (cip^tu) **vt S 1.** to pinch, to cut with tongs. **N** च्याप्नु. boka^o id^hin 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** घिन. k^hoso^o icipma kara 'he is disgusted'.
- cit **-qual** qualifier for humans.
- citko **adj** small. **N** सानो. o citko muyaŋ 'that one is smaller'.
- citma (cittu) **vt** to finish, to finalise. **N** सिद्ध्याउनु. to be small; collocates with un-. uncittayaŋhida 'when I was small'. unmicittayaŋhida 'when they (pl) were small'. uncittayaŋhida 'when they (du), or we (du) were small'.
- codum **n** talk.
- cok **n S 1.** top. **N** शिखर; टुप्पो. yaŋsiŋraŋ cokdu 'in the top of the cilaune tree'. **S 2.** level; floor in a house; step in a stairwell. **N** तला.
- cokma (cokta) **vi** to leak. **N** चुहिनु. cokd^ha 'it will leak and go out'.
- cokma (coktu) **vt** to join, to attach. **N** गाँसु.
- com **n S 1.** top, peak of a hill or mountain. **N** टुप्पो. b^hiri^o icomdu 'on the top of the hill'. **cf** b^hen. **S 2.** kind, type (of). **N** खाल, किसिम. badd^heka com^o pəsuci 'many kinds of animals'.
- comcuri **n** mountain, snow mountain. **N** हिमाल.
- comma (comsu) **vt** to make sharp, to make pointed. **N** तिखो पानु. como lima dot 'it must be pointed'.
- con **n** chin.
- conma (contu) **vt S 1.** to stick up; to pick up with a hook. **N** उन्नु. to flatter, praise. **S 2.** **N** फुकाउनु.
- coŋge **n** bamboo cup, cut out of a thick bamboo pole. **N** ढुङ्गो.
- coŋma (coŋsu) **vt** to please, accommodate.
- copma (cou) **vt** to see; to look at, to watch. **N** हेनु. cowu 'he looked'. k^hana^o tisenan^o yiŋci^o juwapa hyuna co^uu həy! 'See the answers to the questions that you asked me below, hey.'.
- coppe **n** drongo, a kind of bird (N cibhe carā). **N** चिभे चरा.
- cota **n** wound. **N** चोट. b^hala^o id^huwaki cota lisa 'striking a spear, he was wounded'.
- cotma (cotta) **vi** to move. **N** सानु.
- cuklo **n** few, less; shortage. **N** कम्ती; कम.
- cukma (cukta) **vi** to be small. **N** सानो हुनु. cuktaŋa 'he was small'. **opp** d^hima.
- cukten **n** a smaller village (in comparison). **N** सानो गाउँ. **opp** d^hiten.
- culo **n** more. **N** धेरै.

- cumma (cumsu) **vt** to shrink. **N** चाउरिनु.
 cumma (cumsu) **vt** **S** 1. to clean up, to terminate, to remove. **N** हटाउनु. **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 d^{ha} 'it snowed'.
 cunma (cuntu) **vt** to shrink, to wrinkle. **N** चाउरिनु. injaliŋ cuntudoʔo k^hokpa badd^he patyaŋ
 'an old man with a wrinkled face is screaming loudly'.
 cuŋ **n** the cold, winter; as of weather (not of liquids). **N** चिसो. ai badd^he cuŋluyaŋ 'today it's very
 cold'.
 cuŋwa **n** the cold, coldness. **N** जाडो. cuŋwa yam 'the cold season'. **cf** cuŋma.
 cupma (cuptu) **vt** to interrupt, to close up, e.g. to stop defaecating. **N** बाधा गर्नु.
 cuptaŋ **n** left.
 curi **n** small knife, one that comes with a khukuri (stuck in the handle). **N** कर्द.
 cutma (curu) **vt** to tease. **N** जिस्काउनु.
 cuwa **n** heart, the physical heart. **N** मुटु.
 cuwaraŋ **n** type of plant.

ch

- ch^a -**nfl** ever, also, too. **cf** ch^aŋ.
 ch^a -**qual** person qualifier. ikc^ha 'one person'.
 ch^a **n** child. **N** बच्चा. ch^a tokma 'to give birth'.
 ch^aabak **n** larvae house; place where the bee's larvae are in a honeycomb. **N** मौरिको घर. sunwa
 ch^aabak 'part of beehive'.
 ch^aadima **n** mother-in-law. **cf** ch^aadiwa. **cf** dima.
 ch^aadiwa **n** father-in-law. **cf** ch^aadima. **cf** diwa.
 ch^aadiwaraŋ **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** ससुराली. inj^hadiwaraŋci 'my in-laws'.
 ch^aakma (ch^aakta) **vi** to be hard, to be difficult. **N** गाह्रो हुनु; साह्रो हुनु. luŋ ch^aak 'stone is hard
 (general fact)'.
 ch^aakma (ch^aau) **vt** to chisel into shape. **N** ताछ्नु. talik ch^aakma 'to cut a bow'. luŋ ch^aakma 'to cut
 a stone'.
 ch^aam **n** song. **N** गीत.
 ch^aam luma **vt** sing. **N** गाउनु. injkaʔa ch^aam lusa k^himda k^haraŋ 'I went home, singing'.
 k^hosaʔa ch^aam luma manrido 'he can't sing'. injkaʔa ch^aam manlummaŋ k^himda k^haraŋ
 'not singing, I went home'.
 ch^aama (ch^aasa) **vi** to get a child. **N** बिहाउनु.
 ch^aama (ch^aasu) **vt** to cook, to bring to the boil (of porridge). **N** खोले पकाउनु. **ben** ch^aatma.
 ch^aamalek **n** smooth, black lizard; loses tail when growing mature. **N** कालो चिल्लो छेपारो.
 ch^aamla **n** voice. **N** स्वर.
 ch^aamma (ch^aamsu) **vt** to splice (with an axe). **N** चिर्नु (बञ्चरोले). siŋ ch^aamma 'to splice the
 firewood'.
 ch^aamma (ch^aantu) **vt** to pile, stack up (of stones or books). **N** खण्टनु.
 ch^aŋ **part** also, too; a particle indicating inclusion of the previous phrase, or, when used in
 correlatives or negation, indefiniteness. **N** पनि.
 ch^aŋch^aŋti **adv** clear. **N** छर्लङ्ग. ch^aŋch^aŋti datyaŋ 'it is clearly visible'. **cf** ch^ayaŋga.

- c^hanma (c^han^tu) **vt** to stack up disorderly, pile unequal things onto one another. **N** खण्टनु.
 c^hapdani **n** pen. **N** कलम.
 c^hapkami **n** writer. **N** लेखक.
 c^hapla **n** letter, writing; something in writing. **N** चिठी.
 c^haplak^ha **n** book.
 c^haplatwa **n** letter, notice; brief piece of text. **N** चिठी.
 c^hapma (c^hap^tu) **vt** to write. **N** लेख्नु. c^hapma lesun^yu^y 'I can write'.
 c^hatma (c^hat^tu) **vt** to benefactive for heat water. **N** पकाइदिनु. **cf** c^hama. **root** c^hama.
 c^hatma (c^hat^tu) **vt** to carry a load with a heap on top of it (as in a doko full with grass). **N** डोकोमा भारी बोक्नु.
 c^hayuk **n** youth, childhood. **N** बालक काल.
 c^hek^helemma **n** paradise flycatcher, jungle bird with long tailfeathers. **N** लामपुच्छरे.
 c^heklabu^y **n** mulberry. **N** धोवीका फूल.
 c^hekma (c^hek^ta) **vi** to be blocked, to be locked in. **N** बन्द हुनु.
 c^hekma (c^hek^tu) **vt** (middle) to block, lock up. **N** बन्द गर्नु. lam c^hekma 'to block the road'.
 minalai ilawaki ic^hek^ta 'grabbing the man, they locked him in'. **cf** lapma.
 c^hekmi **n** prisoner. **N** इयालखानामा परेको व्यक्ति.
 c^hema (c^hesa) **vi** to wish for, to want; to strongly desire. **N** रहर लाग्नु.
 c^hema **n** interest. **N** रहर. c^hapdani tokma ic^hema kat 'he likes to get that pen'. kat^hman^ḍu
 k^hatma ic^hema katya^y 'He wants to go to Kathmandu'. **cf** c^hema.
 c^hemma (c^hemsu) **vt** to taste. **N** चाख्नु.
 c^hemma (c^hem^tu) **vt** to attract, to call. **N** डाक्नु. lem^hokwa k^ha^y metsa c^haci c^hem^tu^yci^y
 'showing sweet things, I attracted the children'.
 c^henbi **n** property, possession, wealth. **N** सम्पत्ति.
 c^hencikik **n** storage basket, hung to the walls of houses to store utensils and the likes; woven from
 bamboo strips. **N** राख्ने डालो.
 c^hengara **n** goat. **N** बाररा. c^hengarapa 'billy-goat'.
 c^henk^had^ham **n** toilet; a place to urinate. **N** पिसाब फेर्ने ठाउँ. ek^had^ham c^henk^had^ham 'toilet'.
 c^henma (c^hensu) **vt** to urinate. **N** पिसाब गर्नु. **caus** c^hetma.
 c^henma (c^hentu) **vt** to select, to pick, to choose. **N** छान्नु.
 c^hennak **n** Amaranthus. **S** Amaranthus.
 c^henwa **n** siblings, one's one family (N māitī). **N** माइती.
 c^henwaray **n** the father's house, the parent's family for a married woman (N māitī). **N** माइती.
 c^hepa **n** urine. **N** पिसाब. c^hepad^ham 'toilet'. i^ych^hepa badd^he yīya^y 'my pee comes down (i.e. I
 need to pee)'.
 c^hepi **n** onion. **N** प्याज.
 c^hepma (c^he^ptu) **vt** to roast meat or maize. **N** सेकाउनु.
 c^here **n** diarrhoea. **N** पखाला. i^yka c^here lija^ya 'I have diarrhoea'.
 c^heska **n** splinter. **N** छेस्को.
 c^hetkuma **n** female kin; sisters, daughters. **N** चेली. i^ych^hetkuma mita 'my sisters are coming'.
 c^hetkuma c^haci 'daughters'.
 c^hetma (c^hettu) **vt** to make urinate; causative for to urinate. **N** पिसाब गरिदिनु. **root** c^henma.
 c^heu **adv** side, aside. **N** छेउ. c^heu k^him 'the house at the side'.
 c^hib^hiri **n** the hill closer by. **N** वल्लो डाँडा. **cf** d^hib^hiri.
 c^hik **n** poison. **N** विस.

- c^hikma (c^hiu) **vt** to pinch. **N** चिमोटनु.
 c^hik^ha **n** knot, lace (for fastening a garment). **N** तुना.
 c^hima (c^hisa) **vi** to be expensive. **N** महंगो हुनु. **opp** notma.
 c^hima (c^hisu) **vt** to bind, to tie someone to something. **N** बाँध्नु. **ben** c^hitma.
 c^hina **n** aunt, father's younger sister or father's younger brother's wife. **N** काकी; फूपू.
 c^hinma (c^hintu) **vt** to filter, to purify (as of beer). **N** छान्नु. wac^hin c^hinma 'filter local beer'.
 nak^hiwa c^hinma 'blow your nose'.
 c^hinma (c^hiru) **vt** to nudge (as someone off a chair); to thrust, to poke. **N** टेल्नु.
 c^hiŋ **n** deal. **N** तथ्य. ic^hiŋ mimuwa 'they made a deal'.
 c^hiŋma (c^hiŋta) **vi** to get blocked. **N** अड्किनु.
 c^hiŋma (c^hiŋtu) **vt** to block, to stop. **N** अड्काउनु.
 c^hipma (c^hiptu) **vt** to suck (to chew until you get the juice). **N** चुस्नु (चबाउनु).
 c^hitma (c^hittu) **vt** to bind for someone else; causative for c^hima. **N** बाँधिदिनु. **cf** c^hima. **root**
 c^hima. to not fit. **N** न अड्नु. manwaŋ, c^hitta 'it does not go in, it does not fit'.
 c^hiwa **n** uncle, mother's younger brother. **N** मामा.
 c^himma (c^himtu) **vt** to wrap around, to fix (of a sari). **N** कम्मर बाँध्नु.
 c^himmaŋ **adv** the year after next year. **N** पराघौ. **cf** nammaŋ.
 c^hinma (c^hintu) **vt** to wrap around, fix (as of sari). **N** कम्मर बाँध्नु. **cf** c^himma.
 c^hipmayar **n** girdle, cloth tied round the hips. **N** पटुका.
 c^hitma (c^hiru) **vt** (antip) to leave alone, to part (of food, places or people); also to break with habits.
N छोड्नु. amdum?a iŋko iŋniŋa c^hirara 'your words made me angry'. ak^homaŋ modu
 badde minaci j^hagaḍa mimuki hiwaŋ minaci iciniŋa c^hirara 'as yesterday up there many
 people fought, two people were angry'. iŋsoma karaki iŋka hara bokma c^hiruŋ 'being lazy,
 I stopped ploughing'. **ben** c^hitma.
 c^hitma (c^hittu) **vt** **S** 1. to leave (for someone else). **N** छोड्नु. niŋa c^hitma 'to hate someone'.
 ibuwacia ico nic^ha niŋa ic^hittacu 'the older brothers hated their younger brother'. iŋka
 k^hanalai iŋniŋa c^hitnaŋna 'I hate you'. k^hana?a amniŋa tiŋosaŋ he tic^hittar 'do you like
 me or not like me?'. masiŋ pasiŋ c^hit muwaci 'the couple have split up'. **root** c^hitma. **cf**
 c^hitma. **S** 2. to wrap (for someone else). **N** लपेटिदिनु. **root** c^hinma. **cf** c^hinma.
 c^hokc^ha **n** nephew; (elder and younger) brother's sons. **N** भतिजा.
 c^hokc^hama **n** niece, (younger and elder) brother's daughter. **N** भतिजी.
 c^hokc^hen **n** sieve, made of bamboo strips, used for sieving beer. **N** छपनी.
 c^hokma (c^hoktu) **vt** to present, give (in person!); to hand. **N** पुऱ्याउनु. oko kitab ram c^hoktuŋdon
 'I handed that book to Ram'. asenŋa c^hoknadana?o 'earlier already, I have given it to you'.
 c^hokma (c^hou) **vt** to collect by scraping it off; to take off the top layer, e.g. of oil (on water) or cream.
N जम्माउनु. akwa t^hoakina iŋc^huka c^houŋlōisur 'the oil spilt, and I collected it up again'.
 c^hokma (c^hou) **vt** to move, to be contagious (of disease). **N** सार्नु. saŋko isarima c^ho?utaru 'whose
 disease did he bring (who did he get it from?)'. **caus** c^hoŋma.
 yiŋ c^hokma **vt** to deliver a message, to pass on the message. **cf** c^hoŋma. yiŋ kac^hok 'the
 messenger'.
 c^hokma **vi** to evaporate. **N** हावा हुनु. c^hokd^ha 'it will evaporate'. wac^hok 'dew'.
 c^hokuma **n** nettle, stinging nettle. **N** सिस्नु. **S** Urtica dioca.
 c^hokwasi **n** orange, mandarin. iŋtenda c^hokwasi siyaŋ / kuŋyaŋ 'in my village, oranges are
 grown (lit. gives fruit / hangs)'.

- c^homa (c^hosa) **vi** to be strong. **N** जित्नु. c^hoyan 'he is strong'. nam c^hosa 'the sun is burning'.
- c^homa (c^hosu) **vt** (antip) to plough. **N** जोत्नु. jəmmanje wik c^hongsuciuŋ 'I finished ploughing all of the land'.
- c^homa (c^hou) **vt** (antip) to plough. **N** जोत्नु. nulok c^howa əi 'plough well, hey!'.
- c^homasi **n** competition, match. **N** प्रतिस्पर्धा.
- c^homma (c^homa) **vi** to romp, to play with (physically); to stir. **N** झिस्कनु.
- c^homma (c^homsu) **vt** to make dry; to let something dry (e.g. in the sun). **N** सुकाउनु. hikʔa namʔa c^homsu 'the wind and sun dried it up'. **root** c^hopma.
- c^honma (c^horu) **vt** to pay. **N** तिनु. c^honsi k^hara 'go to pay for me'.
- c^honma (c^horu) **vt** to sting, give a burning sensation (as of salt in a wound). **N** चहय्याउनु.
- c^hoŋ **n** above - not physical right on top of things, but 'at a higher elevation'. **N** माथि. lamʔo ic^hoŋda 'above the road'.
- c^hoŋ **n** top. yuŋaŋaʔo ic^hoŋda 'on top of where he was...'.
c^hoŋ **n** wheat, grain. **N** गहु.
- c^hoŋma (c^honsu) **vt** to deliver, make sure that it reaches the person (whether or not in person). **N** पुऱ्याउनु. ramʔo ik^himya c^hoŋsuŋdoŋ 'I delivered it at Ram's house (but not in his hands)'.
root c^hokma.
yiŋ c^hoŋma **vt** to deliver a message, to pass on the message. **cf** c^hoŋma.
- c^hoŋwa **n** bird (generic term).
- c^hoŋwalak **n** dance movements; ritual dance. **cf** sili.
- c^hopma (c^hoa) **vi** to dry (intr); to be dry, to go dry; to wither. **N** सुक्नु. **caus** c^homma.
- c^hosapa **n** a strong man, a healthy man. **N** बलियो.
- c^hotma (c^hottu) **vt** to pay for someone else; to pay. **N** तिराइदिनु. iŋka k^hana juwapa c^hotnaʔo yuwaŋa 'I had given you an answer'.
- c^huk **adj** five. **N** पाँच.
- c^huk **n** hand. **N** हात.
- c^hukkusi **n** finger. **cf** kusi.
- c^hukma (c^hukta) **vi** **S** 1. to jump, land (birds, planes). **N** बस्नु; उफ्रेर झनु. d^hodroyu c^hukta 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** पनु. oko dem c^hukta? 'How much does this cost?'. d^hakko c^huk 'it is up'. k^hakko jillada tic^huk 'in which district do you live?'. iŋka bantawa rai c^hukŋa 'I am a Bantawa Rai'. k^hana bibi tic^hukta 'you are my older brother'.
- c^huma (c^husa) **vi** to be fat, greasy. **N** बसिल्लो स्वाद आउनु. **cf** ŋomma. to grease someone; to flatter; to stir up. **N** सर्काउनु; फुर्काउनु. iŋka iŋyawacia mina mokma nic^husaŋ 'my friends stirred me up to beat that man'.
- c^huma **n** 'saal' tree, Shorea robusta. **N** साल. **S** Shorea robusta.
- c^humasij **n** main pillar in the house. **N** मूल खम्बा. **cf** mulok^hābo.
- c^humbulik **n** navel, umbilical cord. **N** नाइटो.
- c^humma (c^humsu) **vt** to bind, to tie up. **N** बाँधनु.
- c^humma (c^humtu) **vt** to dip, sink, drown. **N** डुबाउनु.
- c^huna **n** father's sister; wife of father's brother. **N** काकी.
- c^hunma (c^hunta) **vi** to refuse, disobey, not agree to the suggestion. **N** न मान्नु. ram bæjar k^hatma c^hunta 'Ram refuses to go to the bazaar'. battunuch^haŋ c^huntaʔa 'even if he calls, don't listen'.
- c^huŋma (c^huŋsa) **vi** to cough. **N** खोक्नु.

- chup (*chuptu*) **vt** to dip, sink; to make wet. **N** भिजाउनु. *in*ka wachuptuŋ 'I sank it in the water'.
 wa chuptasiwa 'he drowned (khumma is better, though)'. **cf** khumma.
 chup **n** handful, fist. **N** मुठी. *ik*chup 'one handful (e.g. of rice)'.
 chupma (*chuu*) **vt** to take out (in the hand, or fist). **N** मुट्याउनु.
 chutma (*chuttu*) **vt** to send (a man, not letters), to order. **N** अराउनु.
 chyamchiami **adv** with one stroke, cutting with one big stroke. **N** एकै चोटमा काट्ने काम.
 chyamchyam d^heru 'cut it in one stroke'.
 chyan^hyan^{ti} **adv** clearly, distinctly. **N** छलङ्ग.
 chyan^g **adv** clearly, obviously. **N** स्पष्ट. *ch*yan nu 'he is clearly better'. *awet chyan* khadat 'today,
 it will be clear'.

d

- dəŋdə **n** punishment.
 da **-nfl** locative, case ending after noun and pronoun.
 dabi **n** khukuri, big knife. **N** खुकुरि. *in*ka dabi k^hisi banarj 'I came to buy a khukuri'.
 dabya **n** fireplace. **N** अगेनो. *dabyacikda yurjma dot* 'one must put it close to the fireplace'.
 dak **n** **S** 1. rhododendron. **N** लालिगुराँस. **S** 2. warp, weaving instrument. **N** तान.
 dakbuŋ **n** rhododendron. **N** लालिगुराँस. **S** Rhododendron arboreum.
 dala **n** lentil. **N** दाल.
 dama (*da*) **vi** to finalise, to effect. **N** राख्नु. *sima* dama 'to die'. *imma* dama 'to fall asleep'.
 k^hatma dama 'to bring'. *in*ma dama 'to sell'. *setma* dama 'to kill'. *senma* dama 'to ask'.
 dambararj **n** mimosa. **N** बुहारी (बोट). **S** Mimosa rubicaulis.
 damca **n** bark, of a banana tree; layers of bark. **N** थम्बा.
 damma (*damsu*) **vt** to thrash. **N** पछार्नु. **cf** d^hamma. **syn** d^hamma.
 dani **n** vessel, pot; thing. **N** भाँडो. **cf** ch^hapdani.
 danma (*dantu*) **vt** to make fall, trip. **N** खसाउनु. **cf** d^hanma. **root** d^hanma.
 darjma (*darju*) **vt** to organize in order. **N** हार लगाउनु.
 dare **n** punishment. **N** दण्ड.
 datma (*dara*) **vi** to be seen. **N** देखिनु. *icit* k^hadara 'it became bright, clear'. k^hadara 'it got bright'.
 sankenci midatyarj 'the stars can be seen'. **cf** kutma.
 k^ha datma **vi** rise, sunrise. *nam* k^hadatki kama musi k^hatŋa 'I will go to do work right after
 sunrise'. *nam* k^hadara 'the sun rose'. **cf** namma.
 dawa **n** water jug. **N** चैटो.
 dawabuŋ **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* kəp dem ch^hukta? 'how much does this cup cost?'.
 dema **n** paternal aunt, father's elder sister or wife of father's elder brother. **N** ठुली आमा. **pair**
 dewa.
 demka **adj** how many. *demka* bəje 'what time is it?'. k^hana demka sale 'how old are you?'.
 demko **pro** how much, in exclamations: how big is he!. **N** कति. *demko* wa ta, k^hunkorja
 wadupma k^hara 'as much rain falls, that much it will flood'.
 demk^ha **pro** when. **N** कहिले. *demk^hac^harj* 'whenever'.

- deŋ **n** **S** 1. after, afterwards. **N** पच्छि. mum?o deŋda 'after we have done that'. **S** 2. back; with locative: at the back, behind, after. **opp** buk.
- deŋma (deŋtu) **vt** to weave. **N** बुन्नु.
- deŋsa **adv** reverse, backwards. **N** उल्लो. ik^hainmin; deŋsa 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** ठूलो बट. adewa 'o, uncle'. **pair** dema.
- dik^ha **n** (younger) brothers; brothers as a group; a clan. **N** भाइहरू. dik^habiwa 'younger and older brothers'. **pair** c^hetkuma.
- dima (disu) **vt** to make fall, to lie down. **N** लडाउनु.
- diŋma (diŋa) **vi** to be in a hurry. **N** हतारमा हुनु. bæjara k^hatma diŋŋa 'I was in a hurry to go the bazaar'.
- dipma (diu) **vt** to make clay; to knead. **N** माटो बनाउनु.
- di **pro** what?. **N** के.
- dibu **n** (Indian) chestnut. **N** कटुस. **S** Castanopsis indica.
- dicc^haŋ **pro** anything, whatever.
- dici **pro** what (non-singular).
- dic^haŋ **pro** anything; in negated contexts: nothing. mosa?a dic^haŋ itoktuŋ 'he will get nothing'. mosa?a dic^haŋ mantokyuktu 'he received nothing'. dic^haŋ atta! 'oh, whatever!'.
- dida **adv** in what?. **N** केमा?.
- dikku **n** uncle, mother's older brother. **N** मामा.
- dima (disa) **vi** to reach. **N** आइपुगनु. tadisa 'he reached'. c^hukta disani 'he threw himself in'.
- dima (disu) **vt** to reach. **N** आइपुगनु. imiri k^huntu 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. adimo! 'my grandmother! oh old woman!'.
- din **n** egg (generic); also used for testicle. **N** अण्डा.
- dini **n** aunt; mother's older brother's wife. **N** माइजू.
- dinma (dintu) **vt** to lay eggs. **N** अण्डा फुल्लु. wa d^hinta 'the chicken laid eggs'.
- dipma (diptu) **vt** to cover. **N** छोप्नु.
- diwa **n** grandfather, father's father or mother's father. **cf** dima. adiwa 'o grandfather!'.
- diwa **n** great-grandfather.
- diwama **n** foremother. **N** पितृ. **cf** diwapa.
- diwapa **n** forefather. **N** पितृ.
- do **n** mouth.
- docikirok **n** snail. **N** सङ्कीरा.
- dokek **n** beak, bird's beak. **N** चुच्चो.
- domiwa **n** beard, hair around the mouth.
- domma (domta) **vi** to be senseless, think without direction, be amazed. **N** टोलाउनु. domma dama 'think very hard'.
- domma **vt** to surprise, to amaze. **N** अचम्म लाग्नु. iŋkana idomtaŋdaŋ 'I was surprised'. k^hanacina nidomtaŋdaci 'you (pl) were surprised'. **middle** domma.
- dommak **n** grasshopper. **N** फटेङ्गो.
- dommaŋ **n** in three years, three years later. **N** तीन वर्ष पछि. **cf** c^himmaŋ.
- donma (dontu) **vt** to fish with a rod. **N** माछा मार्नु.

- doᅇ **n** musical instrument. **N** बिनयो; बीन.
- doᅇ **n** year; a year. **N** साल; वर्ष. iᅇ^ha toppotet nəuka doᅇ battu 'my oldest son is nine years old'.
- doᅇdikitma **n** firefly. **N** जूनकीरी.
- doᅇma (doᅇsu) **vt** to spin (thread). **N** दागो बनाउनु.
- dopma (doptu) **vt** to worship. **N** पूजा गर्नु.
- dosiwa **n** lip. **N** ओठ.
- dot **n** request. **N** मागन. **cf** dot.
- dotma (dora) **vi** to must, obligation. **N** पर्नु. tama dora 'we have to go'. cama dotyaᅇ 'we should eat, will have to eat'.
- dotma (doru) **vt** to beg, ask for. **N** माग्नु. **middle** dotma.
- dowa **n** religious officiant; shaman, sorcerer; also: sorcery. **N** धामि. dowa muᅇane 'let me do sorcery...'
- du **-qual** step; quantifier of distance, operates are a numeral qualifier. **N** पद. ikdu hwaᅇdu 'one, two steps'.
- du **n** moment; time, turn. **N** छिन; चोटि, पल्ट. ikdu huᅇyaᅇ 'wait a moment for me'. ikdukina 'after a moment'. ik duniya 'a moment please, hey'. **cf** k^hepi.
- duda **n** milk (human, cows, any); also: used for breast. **N** दूध. **cf** yamsi. duda duᅇyaᅇo 'he drinks milk'.
- dukcip **n** mint tree. **N** भुसुरे. **S** *Leukosceptum canum*.
- dukdeᅇhaᅇ **nm** Dukdeᅇhang, a Bantawa clan. **N** दुकदेडहाड, बान्तावा थरको एउटा पाछा (हाँगा).
- dukma (duu) **vt** to flood. **N** भेल हुनु.
- duk^ha **n** trouble, give trouble. **N** दुःख.
duk^ha piᅇma **vt** trouble, give trouble.
- duk^ha **n** trouble.
- duk^hup **n** drowsiness, sleepiness. **N** निन्द्रा. iduk^hup yiyay 'he got sleepy (lit: his sleepiness came down)'.
dum **n** thing, language, speech; in general, an item, business, act. **N** कुरा.
- duma (dusa) **vi** to collect, gather. **N** भेला गर्नु.
- dunma (duntu) **vt** to to make short. **N** छोट्याउनु.
- duᅇ **n** top, head. **N** माथि. moso?o iduᅇdu 'on top of that...'.
duᅇgribuᅇ **n** pink daisy. **N** दुङ्ग्रि फूल.
- duᅇma (duᅇu) **vt** (antip) to drink. **N** पिउनु.
duᅇmetma **vt** to feed (as for a mother her child: give a drink), to drench. **N** पिउनु दिनु.
- duᅇtim **n** pride, arrogance. **N** घमण्ड. duᅇtim k^hunma 'behave with pride, arrogantly'. **cf** duᅇtim.
- dupk^hawa **n** landslide (as a consequence of flood). **N** पहिरो.
- dupma (duu) **vt** **S** 1. to make a utensil, ornament. **N** कमाउनु. **S** 2. to wrap (e.g. around the head).
N बेनु.
- dutma (duttu) **vt** to sense, feel. **N** चार्लु; सहनु. detni duttu 'how does it feel (taste)'.
duwac^ha **n** son, boy, male person. **N** छोरा. duwac^hac^ha 'little boy'. **pair** mec^hac^ha.
duwarik^ham **n** doorway; doorposts. **cf** duwari k^ham.
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*.

d^h

- d^həmira **n** termite. **N** धमिरा.
d^hərməç^ha **n** adopted child. **N** धर्मपुत्र.
d^hakko **adj** the upper, the one above. d^hakko tola 'the upper village'. **cf** hyukko.
d^hakma (d^haktu) **vt** to be constipated. **N** अङ्काउनु. k^holai ik^hia d^haktu 'he got constipated'.
iŋk^hia id^haktaŋ 'I got constipated'.
d^hama **vi** to go down, to climb down; to fall down. **N** झर्नु. yutni d^hayaŋ 'he goes down'. ak^homaŋ
yutni d^ha 'yesterday he went down'.
d^hamma (d^hamsa) **vi** to tumble down. **N** लड्नु.
d^hamma (d^hamsu) **vt** (middle) to throw to the ground. **N** पछ्यानु. **syn** damma.
d^hana **adv** up there, above. **N** माथि. **cf** hyuna.
d^hanase **n** fruit bat, small bat. **N** सानो चमेरो.
d^haniŋka **adv** from up. **cf** d^hani ŋka.
d^hanma (d^hantu) **vt** to take sth down; to drop. **N** झार्नु. **caus** danma.
d^haŋ **n** part; half. **N** भाग. ik d^haŋ k^hana k^hattu, ik d^haŋ iŋka yuŋsuŋ 'you take one part, I'll
keep one part'.
d^haŋ **vt** to stack, to pile. **N** थाक लाउनु.
d^haŋma (d^haŋsu) **vt** to divide; to break. **N** बाँड्नु.
d^hapma (d^haptu) **vt** to wash clothes usually beating with a club. **N** धुनु. wad^hapma 'to wash'.
d^hapma (d^hau) **vt** to kick with the leg. **N** कुट्नु. iŋlaŋʔa d^hapnaki amb^husa lonna 'I will bring
your dandruff out by kicking you'.
d^hara **n** tap. **N** धारा.
d^hatk^ha **n** beating, pummeling. **N** कुटपिट. **cf** d^hatma.
d^hatma (d^hattu) **vt** to hit; to beat, to strike (e.g. with stick). **N** पिटनु.
d^hatni **adv** up there, in upwards direction; upwards. **N** उ मासतिर. **opp** hyutni.
d^haucok **n** upper floor. **N** माथिल्लो तल्ला. **opp** hyucok.
d^hekma (d^hektu) **vt** to block, to close (e.g. the door). **N** छेक्नु. lam d^hektu 'close the door'.
d^henma (d^helu) **vt** to uproot; to pull out. **N** उखेल्नु. **syn** tenma.
d^heŋ **n** back, behind. amd^heŋ, iŋd^heŋ 'your back, my back'. yawaci iŋdenya mibanyaŋ 'our
friends are coming behind'.
d^heŋyiwa **n** backbone. **N** ढाड. amd^henyiwa otna 'I'll break your backbone'.
d^hera **n** across, at the other side; suffix indicating 'side of a hill', cf. compounds with this suffix. **N**
पट्टि. **cf** d^hetma.
d^hetma (d^heru) **vt** to cut object; to cross river/road; to hack, cut with a khukuri. **N** काट्नु; तर्नु.
saŋwaʔo id^hikcerikda d^heruŋ 'I cut the buffalo's neck'.
d^hetma (d^hettu) **vt** to cut something for someone else, to cut off (a path or road to someone else). **N**
काटदिनु; तरदिनु. anko an lap mid^hetta 'They cut off our wing'. **root** d^hetma.
d^hi **n** vagina, female genitals. **N** भग.
d^hikcerik **n** neck, back side. **N** गर्धन. saŋwaʔo id^hikcerikda d^heruŋ 'I cut the buffalo's neck'.
d^hikma (d^hikta) **vi** to perimeter; to be as big as in perimeter. **N** मोटो हुनु. und^hikyaŋ 'it is this
big (in diameter)'. icit d^hikyaŋ 'it is a bit bigger (in diameter)'. to chop; to cut off. **N** काट्नु.
d^hikma setma 'to cut and kill'.

root epma.

- emma (emsu) **vt** (middle) to cool off (as of something else, i.e. to chill something). **N** सेलाउनु.
 emma **vi** to cool off, to chill. **N** सेल्लु. ema k^hara 'it went cold (as of tea)'. **caus** emma.
 emsu **n** pretext, cause (for fighting). **N** निहुँ. emsu lamyaj 'he is looking for a fight'.
 enma (entu) **vt** to lift with a handle, to turn over. **N** टेल्नु. tokpa luŋ enmakinana limma
 k^hanma dot 'lifting a big stone, it must turn over and away'.
 enma (enu) **vt** (antip) to hear. **N** सुन्नु. encune 'let's listen later'. k^haenaja 'he was listening'.
 ennulo **adj** good, good to hear. ennulo saŋyaj 'it sounds good'. **cf** en nulo. **cf** k^hanulo namnulo.
 eŋma (eŋsu) **vt** (middle) **S** 1. to pour from a big vessel. **N** सानु (एक गाग्रोबाट अर्कोमा). **S** 2. to
 change the water course (e.g. of a river). **N** खोला तर्काउनु.
 epma (eptu) **vt** to feed the wind; to make wind to a heap of grain, for example, to blow away the
 peel. **N** हावा खुवाउनु. kaya hik eptu 'feed wind to the rice'. **cf** hikma.
 epma (ewa) **vi** to stand, be upright. **N** उभिनु. **caus** emma. **cf** kaepa ewajao kahuŋpa.
 epma **n** grave, tomb. **N** चिहान.
 etma (ettu) **vt** to make defecate (e.g. to make a child do that); causative of emma. **N** दिसा गराउनु.
cf emma. **root** emma.
 etma (ettu) **vt** to tell; collocates with -k^ha-. **N** सुनाउनु. k^ha etma 'to tell, to make hear'. **root**
 enma.

g

- gəhək **adj** heavy. **N** गुरु; गहकिलो.
 gəhəna **n** ornament. **N** गहना.
 gəira **n** deep valley, 'down there'. **N** गहिरो. gəirada yuŋja 'I live in the deep'.
 gəri **n** moment, time. **N** बेला, घडी. oğarida 'at this moment'.
 gagityaj **n** a distillation vessel, used to distill alcohol from beer; a vessel with holes in the bottom
 to let the steam in. **N** रक्स बनाउने भाँडो.
 gahū **n** wheat. **N** गहुँ.
 gakma (gaktu) **vt** (antip) to make a hut on the ground, structure s.th. without digging. **N**
 नगाडिकन टड्याउने काम गर्नु (बनाउँदा).
 gakwa **n** crow. **N** काग.
 gaŋma **vt** to make a hut on the ground, structure s.th. without digging. **N** नगाडिकन टड्याउने
 काम गर्नु (बनाउँदा). ak^homaŋ uncitko go^ha gaŋtuŋ 'I made a small stable yesterday'. **cf**
 gakma.
 gedi **n** hip.
 goku **n** caterpillar. **N** झुसिलकीरो. goku iŋtitda waŋakina ihaŋtaŋ 'as the caterpillar got into
 my clothes, it itched'.
 goməne **n** Cobra plant, a very colourful and striped aroid. **N** गोमने फूल. **S** Arisaema griffithii.
 goməne buŋ 'the cobra plant'.
 goma (gosa) **vi** to belch. **N** डकार्नु; डकार. **cf** g^hotma.
 goŋdok **n** ox; bull, cow's bull (not of buffalo!). **N** गोरु.
 goŋjoruŋ **n** begonia. **N** चुलेसि. **S** Begonia picta.
 goŋma (gaŋta) **vi** to be of size, to be big. **N** ठूलो हुनु. cit goŋyaj 'it is small'. ak^homaŋ cit
 goŋtana ayi un goŋyaj 'yesterday it was small, today it is like this'.
 goŋma (goŋtu) **vt** to stretch, to make tense, to bind up (of a bow).

goprachata **n** amanita mushroom. **N** च्याउ. **S** Amanita.
 gulenci **n** plumeria.
 guṅṅunluṅ **adv** very deep, as of a gorge or deep valley.

g^h

g^hāsa **n** grass. **N** घाँस.
 g^hāsala **n** grass land; a meadow. **N** खर्क.
 g^hokro **n** throat. **N** घोक्रो; घिच्रो. iṅg^hokro 'my throat'.
 g^hoksu **n** caterpillar. **N** झुसिलकीरो.
 g^hoksu^hok **n** cocoon; a pupa with a hairy skin. **N** कीराको छाला.
 g^hoṅma (g^hoṅtu) **vt** to fuck (slang). **N** चिक्नु. ma g^hoṅma 'to fuck a girl'.
 g^hum **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** घुम.

h

həṅsə **n** spirit (ghost?). **N** आत्मा. miṅaʔo ihəṅsə k^haralonta iyam oṅṅa yuṅṅa 'his spirit has gone out, only his body is left'.
 hərdi **n** turmeric (from Nepali). **N** बेसार. **S** Curcuma domestica.
 hətuwa **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.
 hāsa **n** duck. **N** हाँस.
 hakla **n** warm season. **N** वर्षा. hakla yamda 'in the warm season'.
 hakluṅwa **n** sweat. **N** पसिना.
 hakma (hakta) **vi** to be warm, to be hot. **N** गर्मि हुनु. hakta lonta 'it has become warm'.
 hakma (haktu) **vt** to measure, to weight. **N** नाप्नु.
 hala **adj** red. **N** रातो.
 halabuṅ **n** poinsettia. **N** लालुपाते. **S** Poinsettia.
 hale **adv** fast, right now. **N** अहिले नै; छिटो. hale p^huṅsanin 'start right now!'.
 hama (hasu) **vt** to divide, to distribute. **N** बाँड्दिनु.
 hamko **adj** different. **N** फरक; फरकिलो.
 hamma (hamtu) **vt** to hang, to entangle. **N** अल्झाउनु; अल्काउनु.
 han **adv** now. **N** अब; अहिले.
 hanlok **adv** now; today, later today. **N** भरे; अहिले. awet inampik 'tonight'. **cf** awet.
 hanma (hanta) **vi** to talk, in a continuous sense; to speak. **N** बोल्नु; गोफ सोफ गर्नु. **cf** cepma. ak^homaṅ iṅkaʔa hantaṅ 'yesterday I talked'. hantinne 'let's talk'. hantaciʔaʔo yuwaṅa 'we had talked (previously)'.
 hanma (hantu) **vt** to send. **N** पठाउनु. o kitap k^hana hannane. 'Let me send you this book'.
 ya hanma **vt** to pray, to incantate; to send a message. **N** प्रार्थना गर्नु; खबर पठाउनु. **cf** yiṅ latma. **cf** ya hatma.
 haṅ **n** king. **N** राजा.
 haṅc^ha **n** prince; son of a king. **N** राजकुमार.
 haṅc^hanuma **nm** Hangchanuma; name of a girl; also used for mankind in religious language. **N**

हाङ्छानुमा.

- haṅhon **n** land, our land; country, nation. **N** राष्ट्र. haṅhon b^heplo anyiṅ luma dot 'in all of our country our language must be spoken'.
- haṅhonla **adj** national, pertaining to our land. **N** राष्ट्रिय. **cf** haṅhon.
- haṅkaci **n** government. **N** सरकार.
- haṅkaṅsi **n** hangkangsi, a local plant used to make oil. **N** घोडाखरि. **S** Viburnum coriaceum, Viburnum mullaha.
- haṅkop **n** country. **N** देश.
- haṅk^ha **n** kingdom.
- haṅma **vi** to heat up, to get hot. **N** ताल्नु. haṅma k^hatma 'to heat up, to get hot'. **root** hakma.
- haṅma **vt** to itch. **N** चिलाउनु; कोक्याउनु. **cf** goku. goku iṅtitda waṅakina ihaṅtaṅ 'as the caterpillar came into my clothes, it itched'.
- haṅpa **n** king. **cf** haṅ.
- hapma (hapta) **vi** to be stuck, be entangled, be stuck. **N** अल्झिनु; अङ्कनु. amg^hokroya hapta 'it got stuck in your throat'.
- hara **n** plough. **N** हलो.
- hatdeuri **n** rope, string. **N** डोरी.
- hatma (hattu) **vt** (antip) to hurry. **N** हतार गर्नु. deki tihatyaṅ 'why do you hurry?'.
- hatma **vt** to share, to share amongst one another; to make share. **N** बाँडिनु. **root** hama.
ya hatma **vi** to pray. **N** मन्त्र-तनत्र गर्नु. nak^hoṅci sakenwa muk^hada ya mihat 'The priests pray during Sakenwa worship'. ya ihattacu 'they (d) pray'. ya ihatta 'they (pl) pray'.
- hatp^huroṅ **n** glutton, gluttonous person, ravenous eater. **N** खन्चुवा.
- hekma (hektu) **vt** to cut grass, to cut with a saw. **N** रेट्नु; काट्नु.
- helaṅ **n** hatred, hate. **N** हेला. k^hosa?a helaṅ imuwaṅ / imuṅaṅa 'he hated me / hates me'.
- helawa **n** red monkey, Rhesus monkey. **S** Macaca mulatta. **N** बाँदर.
- hemma (hemsā) **vi** to be intoxicated, to be drunk. **N** लडबडिनु. hemma k^hatma 'be drunk, swing'.
- henka **adj** bent, crooked; uneven. **N** टेढो; बाङ्गो. k^hana deki henka henka ticiyaṅ 'why are you so off- (so difficult)'. **cf** henma.
- henkop **n** kingdom.
- henk^hamma **n** world, earth. **N** धर्ति; संसार. **cf** hen-k^ha-ma. **cf** ninamma.
- henma (hena) **vi** to remain, to be left over. **N** बस्नु; रहनु. icilok sa hena 'A little bit of meat is left.'. **caus** hetma.
- hensiṅ **n** phaledo tree, a tree with red flowers. **N** फालेदो. **S** Erythrina stricta.
- heṅma (heṅa) **vi** to hurry. **N** हतार गर्नु.
- heṅma (heṅta) **vt** (middle) to purify; to distill; intransitive: to evaporate. **N** खार्नु.
- heṅmawa **n** liquor, local hard drink. **N** रक्सी. **cf** heṅma.
- hepma (heptu) **vt** to hug (out of love). **N** अँगालो हाल्नु.
- hetc^hakuwa **n** orphan boy. **N** तुहुरो छोरा.
- hetc^hama **n** orphan girl. **N** तुहुरो छोरी.
- hetc^hawa **n** orphan. **N** तुहुरो.
- hetma (hettu) **vt** to bind, to tie. **N** बाँध्नु. **root** henma.
- hewa **n** sin. **N** पाप.
- hi **n** blood. **N** रगत. ihi 'his blood'.
- hik **n** wind, air. **N** हावा. hik banyaṅ 'the wind is blowing'.

- hikdikpa **n** hiccough, the hiccups. **N** बाङ्गली. saṅa?a imittan̄ki hikdikpa imetṅaṅa? 'thinking of who did I get the hiccups?'.
 hikma (hiktu) **vt** to fan. **N** हावा खुवाउनु. **cf** epma.
 hilla **n** ghost, roaming spirit (of a man). **N** भूत-प्रेत (केटाको). **pair** mamaṅ.
 hima (hisu) **vt** to block, by plug. **N** छेक्नु.
 himaṅ **n** blood swelling.
 hiṅk^ha **n** life, the life as a concept. **cf** hiṅma.
 hiṅma (hiṅa) **vi** to live, be safe. **N** बाच्नु; जिउनु.
 hiṅma (hiṅsu) **vt** (middle) to save. **N** बचाउनु. hiṅk^halonk^ha sawa 'the power to save'. **middle** hiṅma.
 hiṅma **n** life; the infinitive of 'to live'. **N** जीवन.
 hiṅmaṅ **n** living person, creature; living soul. **N** जीवित मान्छे. **opp** sitmaṅ.
 hipma (hiu) **vt** to peel the bark of bamboo or tree. **N** खुर्किनु.
 hitma (hittu) **vt** (antip) to burn. **N** पोल्नु. nama k^ha hityaṅ 'the sun is burning'. nama k^ha hitta 'the sun was burning yesterday'. amaṅ miwa hitta 'did your hair burn?'.
 hiwa **adj** two. **N** दुई.
 hiyakma **n** sister of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. **N** ज्वाइँ कि बुहारीको दिदी-बहिनी. **pair** hiyakpa.
 hiyakpa **n** brother of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. **N** ज्वाइँ कि बुहारीको दाइ-भाइ. **pair** hiyakma.
 hida **vsuf** 'while,' simultaneous clause conjunctive marker.
 hili **n** culture. **N** संस्कृति. t^hapsiṅ-hili 'tradition-culture'. anko t^hapsiṅ-hilida sakenwa ni?o j^harakdaṅka id^hiwaṅ maṅ 'In our culture, Sakenwa is the most important divinity'.
 hima (hisu) **vt** to shake, stir a liquid (with the vessel). **N** हल्लाउनु. **caus** hinma.
 himma (himsa) **vi** to be mad. **N** बहुलाउनु. moko himsa lonta 'he went crazy'.
 himsale **adj** mad, insane, crazy; madman. **N** बहुलाएको. **cf** himma. ayimit tenda badd^he himsale kutiwaci mikonyaṅ 'nowadays in the village many crazy dogs walk about'.
 hinma (hila) **vi** to be stirred. **N** मस्किनु. **S** 1. to stir, as of food. **N** मस्काउनु. **S** 2. to break down lumps; divide. **N** खुड्नु. **root** hinma. **root** hima.
 hinma (hinsu) **vt** to shake, to stir. **root** hinma. **root** hima.
 hiṅ **n** snow; ice. **N** हिउँ; बरफ.
 hip **n** generation, age. **N** उमेर; दौतरी. iṅhip?o yawaci tenda saṅc^haṅ maddiṅci 'there are no friends of my age in the village'.
 hipma (hiptu) **vt** to shake through sieve.
 hipma (hiu) **vt** to cut down; clear an area in the jungle. **N** फाड्नु; सोहर पटार गर्नु.
 hitamma **n** mountain, himalaya. **N** हिमाल.
 hogaṅma **n** praying mantis.
 hokma (hou) **vt** to open door or mouth. **N** खोल्नु. **caus** hoṅma.
 hokwa **n** skin. **N** छाला. ihokwa raṅta k^hara 'he got a suntan'.
 hola **n** bottle gourd. **N** लौका.
 holasi **n** bottle gourd (the fruit, specifically). **N** लौका.
 homa (hoa) **vi** to burn. **N** पोल्नु.
 homa (hosu) **vt** to burn, to make burn. **N** पोल्नु. k^hosa?a hosu 'he burnt it'. **root** homa.
 homa (ho) **vt** to burn, to make burn. **N** पोल्नु. k^hosa?a ho 'he burnt it'. homa.

- homma (homa) **vi** to swell. **N** दाडिनु. homa lonta 'it had swollen'. **caus** hopma. **off** hopma.
- homma (homtu) **vt** to wrap (in clothes). **N** वेनु. omyaṅ?o tit?a homma dot. 'one must wrap it in white clothes'. to be wrapped (in clothes). **N** बेरिनु.
- honma (holu) **vt** to mix. **N** मिसाउनु.
- hoṅa **n** small type of fish (5cm long, 1cm diameter). **N** सानो माछा.
- hoṅku **n** river; smaller river that grows and shrinks significantly with the season. **N** खोला.
- hoṅma (hongsu) **vt** to open, to uncover. **N** खोल्नु. **root** hokma.
- hopma (hoa) **vi** to be wet. **N** भिज्नु. wahopma 'to be wet'. wa takina wa ho?aṅ 'because of the rain, I got wet'. **caus** hopma.
- hopma (hoptu) **vt** to swell; to get wet. **N** रुइनु. wahopma 'to get wet, to swell'. **root** homma.
- hopma (hoptu) **vt** to drink; usage for specific liquids; preferably one says "k^habat hopma" (drink beer) but rather heṅmawa duṅma (drink liquor).. **N** खानु; खोले पिउनु. **cf** bakwa.
- hotlum **n** hole, gap; cave. **N** प्वाल. hotlumya k^hara '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** थाक्नु. hottu 'he got tired'. ihottaṅ 'I became tired ('it wore me out)'.
hotma **vt** (middle) to open, release; to let go. **N** खोल्नु; छोडीदीनु. iṅka hyuko k^himyu?o iṅyawalai horu?o 'I let my friend of the house below go'. horum k^haisum 'we opened it and let it go (the water)'. **cf** chitma.
- hot^hi **n** spot.
- hucukiyaṅ **n** a whistle; collocates with 'luma' to mean: to whistle. **N** सुसेलो. k^ho hucukiyaṅ luwaṅa 'he is whistling'.
- hukma (hukta) **vi** to bark. **N** भुक्नु.
- huma (husu) **vt** to turn, to make turn. **N** घुमाउनु. **root** huma.
- huma (huwa) **vi** S 1. to turn, to spin; to come up (of dizziness). **N** घुम्नु. nam?a inaṅwa huwa k^hara 'by the sun he got dizzy'. **cf** naṅwa. **caus** huma. S 2. to roll. **N** घुम्नु.
- humma (humsu) **vt** to put on (of clothes); to wear. **N** ओढनु.
- humma **n** eagle owl. **N** हुचील.
- hunma (hulu) **vt** to shake a pole to pull it out. **N** फुकाल्नु.
- huṅma (huṅu) **vt** to wait, to wait for someone. **N** पर्खिनु. huṅaṅ 'wait for me'. badde huṅaṅna 'I have waited a long time for you'. badde ihuṅaṅ ciaṅ 'he has already waited a lot for me'.
- hupma (hupta) **vi** to cover in a blanket, or, e.g. by sinking in dirt. **N** ओढाउनु.
- hut **n** hole, inside. **N** दुलो प्वाल. ciky?ⁱ?o ihut 'a mouse's hole'. mo gagityaṅ?o it^henda hutci miyak. 'There are holes in the bottom of that gagityaṅ.'
- hutda **postp** inside. **N** भित्र. **cf** koṅ.
- hutluṅ **n** fireplace, stove. **N** चुलो.
- hutma (huru) **vt** to loosen; to take off. **N** फुकाल्नु.
- hutma (hutta) **vi** to be pierced, to have holes. **N** प्वाल पर्नु.
- hutma (huttu) **vt** (middle) to bore, to drill, to pierce. **N** प्वाल पार्नु. **middle** hutma.
- hwa **adj** two. **N** दुई.
- hwaṅ **adj** two persons; (two fused with qualifier pang). **N** दुईजना.
- hwatni **adv** this way, in this manner. **N** यसरी. hwatni ca 'do it this way...'. **cf** mwatni.
- hyakko **adj** that one over there, further away (on the same vertical level). **N** तेस्रो; उता. hyakko k^him 'that house over there'.

- hyana **adv** over there, far away (as far as the eye can see) (attributive). **N** पर (तेस्रो). hyana b^hira 'the cliff over there'.
- hyanana **adv** far away, over there, (further than the eye can see). **N** उ पर. **cf** hyana.
- hyani **n** there, in that location, at the same vertical level. **N** पर. hyani k^hara 'go there, to that place'.
- hya[?]o **adj** yonder, of over there (attributive). **N** पल्लो. hya[?]o tenya[?]o simma 'the girl from the village over there...'
- hyatni **n** over there, in that direction (at the same vertical level). **N** उतातिर. hyatni k^hara 'go in that direction'.
- hyaud^hera **adv** on the other side, across (the river, the valley). **N** पारि.
- hyaud^het **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). hyuna 'down below'.
- hyucok **n** lower floor, ground floor. **N** तल तल्ला. hyucokyu d^hak^ha 'come down to the lower floor!'
- hyukko **adj** the lower, the one below. hyukko tola 'the lower village'. **cf** d^hakko.
- hyuna **adv** down there. **N** तल. hyuna d^hanne 'let's go down'. hyuna d^hama 'to go down'.
- hyunanjka **adv** from down there.
- hyutni **adv** over there, in downwards direction (at a lower vertical level, e.g. in the valley). **N** उ तलतिर. **opp** d^hatni. d^hani^hka^hanj imaj^hada c^huk, 'from up it is in the middle'. hyuni^hka^hanj imaj^hada c^huk 'from down it is in the middle'.

ï

- icilosa **n** almost; a little. **N** थोरै; झण्डै. icilosa titon^hnanan 'you're almost right (a little - you did not match it)'. **cf** icilo.
- icilok **adv** a little, a little bit only. **N** थोरै. icilok cakwa 'a little bit of water'.
- icit **adv** a little, slightly; adverb of degree. **cf** cit.
- ico **pro** (poss) their (non-singular 3rd person possessive pronoun). **N** उन्को.
- ic^hintuk **n** the day after tomorrow. **N** पर्सि.
- idi **pro** what - possessive form, 'his what', what of him?. k^hosa?a idi cinma? 'what knowledge does he have?'
- id^hiwanj **adj** big. **N** ठूलो. **cf** d^hima; ad^hiwanj.
- id^huwa **n** leader.
- ik **adj** one. **N** एक.
- ikcit **adv** a little, a few. **N** अलि अलि; अलिकति. **cf** citma.
- ikc^hani **n** one another. **N** एक अर्कोलाइ. **cf** ik c^ha ni.
- ikc^hanja **adv** alone. ikc^hanja yu^hma 'stay alone, sit alone'. ikc^hanja k^hat^hja 'I will go alone'.
- ikiwanj **adj** long, tall. **N** लामो; अग्लो. **cf** kima.
- iklenhwalen **adv** one or two days.
- ikni **adv** together. **N** संगै. ankaci ikni yu^hcine 'let's sit together'. ikni ikni yu^hma 'sit together'.
- iko **pro** (poss) his, her (singular 3rd person possessive pronoun). **N** उस्को. iko iyanj maddij 'he has no money (lit. his money is not)'
- ilenkon **adv** day-by-day, daily. **N** दिन-दिनै; दिनै पिच्छे. ilenkon b^hanj^hsinka 'we cook it daily'.
- ilummak **n** in four days' time; four days from now. **N** चार दिन पछाडि.
- ima (isa) **vi** to be bad. **N** नराम्रो हुनु.

- imantumpa **adj** unripe. **N** नपाकेको. imantumpa suntala sun 'an unripe orange is sour'.
 inampik **n** darkness, night; sunset, evening. **N** बेलुका. **cf** nam. **cf** iwayiŋ. inampik 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 (दुई जना).
 iŋko **pro** (poss) mine, my; possessive pronoun for the first person singular.
 irokwa **adj** old (of things, not people), worn. **N** पुरानो. irokwaci yuŋciŋci 'they're old'. **cf** inijwa.
 issawa **adj** bad, evil.
 isummak **n** in three days time; three days from now. **N** निकोपर्सि. **cf** ilummak.
 itakane **part** never mind; let's leave it alone, let's not bother; lit: let's not come. **N** जे होस्.
 itlo **adj** bad.
 itma (itsa) **vi** to be bad, to be not good. issa 'it is bad...'. badde cait 'it is not tasty'. k^{han} issa?o 'bad, useless'. nuwa he itsa 'is it good or bad?'.
 k^{han} itma **vi** to look bad, ugly. **N** नराम्रो देखिनु.
 it^{han}pa **adv** upwards. **N** उकालो. it^{han}pa k^{hat}ma dot 'one must go up'. **cf** itemma.

i

- i **part** excl.
 iderj **n** after. **N** पछि.
 ik^hip **n** number; (for magazines:) edition. **N** अंक, गन्ति.
 ima (iya) **vi** to laugh. **N** हाँस्नु. **appl** itma.
 imk^{ha} **n** bed, sleeping place. **N** खाट, सुत्ने ठाउँ. **cf** imma.
 imma (imsa) **vi** to sleep. **N** सुत्नु. **caus** ipma.
 inma (inu) **vt** (antip) to sell. **N** बेच्नु. ankaciya anco?o hwatet gai incuwa 'we (d) will sell our two cows'. kima karaki manindacu?a 'out of fear we (d) did not sell'. **opp** k^hitma.
 ipma (iptu) **vt** (antip) **S** 1. to deceive. **N** छल्नु. to put to sleep. **N** सुताउनु. **root** imma. **S** 2. to cover, to hide (from view). **N** ढाक्नु.
 isara **nm** Isara, a Bantawa clan. **N** इसारा, बान्तावा थरको एउटा पाछा (हाँगा).
 isara **n** signal.
 isi **n** ciuri tree, a tree with edible fruits; used for oil extraction. **N** च्युरि. **S** Bassia butyracea.
 itma (ittu) **vt** to laugh at. **N** हसाउनु. **root** ima.

j

- jəigəla **n** flower, with small seeds and flowers that can be dried and stored for a long time.
 jamməy **adv** all.
 jaŋma (jaŋtu) **vt** to construct on the ground. **N** भुइँमा बनाउनु. **cf** gakma.
 jaŋma (joŋtu) **vt** to reach some height. **N** यत्रो हुनु. onj^haŋko lisa 'it got this big'.
 jato **n** hand mill (for maize). **N** जातो.
 je^hana **n** brother-in-law (wife's elder brother). **N** जेठान.
 joŋma (joŋtu) **vt** to reach some height. **N** यत्रो हुनु. on joŋma 'to reach a certain height'. onjoŋko

lisa 'it got this big'.
 jora **n** pair (of shoes), couple. **N** जोडा.
 juwapa **n** answer. **N** जवाफ; उत्तर. juwapa c^hotna 'I gave you the answer'.

jh

jhəmpəla **n** lever, crowbar. **N** गल.
 jhanma **vi** to pile up. **N** खप्टनु.
 jharak **n** all, every. **N** सबै.
 jhijhema **n** dhobini plant and flower. **N** धोबिनी. **S** *Mussaenda macrophylla*. jhijhema buɣwa 'dhobini flower'.
 jhimoŋmoŋwa **n** mourning. **N** गज्याडगुजुड. jhimoŋmoŋwa miciwaŋa 'they were crowding together'.
 jhomma **vt** to surround; crowd round. **N** घेनु. **cf** jhumma.
 jhonma (j^honta) **vi** to be high. **N** अग्लो हुनु. jhontajaʔo b^hircok 'a high hill'.
 jhonma (j^hontu) **vt** to make tall. **N** अग्लो बनाउनु.
 jhoŋma (j^hoŋta) **vi** (middle) to be tall; to make tall. **N** यत्रो हुनु.
 jhora **n** shrub, thicket. **N** झाडी. jhorala 'thicket'. jhorak^ha 'a densely grown place'.
 jhumma (j^humta) **vi** to gather; to meet together, be packed. **N** गुजु मुजु भएर भेला हुनु.
 jhamsanincin yuwanin 'we were packed together'.

k

kədəm **n** fodder plant, of the euphorbia family. **N** कदम. **S** *Jatropha curcas*.
 kəpti **n** lazy. **N** अल्छी.
 kərəŋ **n** rib. **N** करड.
 kabitpa **n** a person who is qualified to perform religious duties.
 kaci **n** job, work. **N** काम. ʃuristci dem miɬa, k^huŋŋa iŋka kaci toktuŋ 'as much tourists come in, that much work I get'.
 kacinlupa **n** disciple, someone who wants to learn from a master.
 kacipen **n** a programme, a festival. **N** कार्यक्रम.
 kac^hukpa **n** alternative term for Rhesus monkey, lit. a 'jumper'. **N** बाँदर. **cf** helawa.
 kad^huppa **n** blacksmith, member of the Kami caste, lit: 'hitter'. **N** कामी.
 kaepa **n** guard, sentry; someone standing. **cf** kahuppa.
 kahuppa **n** guard, sentry; someone standing.
 kakma (kaktu) **vt** to occupy; to have little room, be cramped. **N** ओगटनु. yuŋk^ha kakyəŋ 'the place was occupied'.
 kakma (kaktu) **vt** (antip) to jump over. **N** नाघनु.
 kalekasinci **n** the people who know, the knowledgeable people. **N** जान्नेहरू.
 kaletna **n** forgiver. **cf** let.
 kama (kasa) **vi** to have free time, off. **N** फुर्सद हुनु. ai tikayaŋ 'are you free today?'.
 kamduŋ **nm** Kamduŋ, a Bantawa clan. **N** कामडुड, बान्तावा थरको एउटा पाछा (हाँगा).
 kamec^ha **n** girl; young woman. **N** जवानी केटी.
 kamma (kamsu) **vt** to join. **N** जोडनु.
 kanco **n** tobacco. **N** तमाखु. kancoraŋ 'tobacco plant'.

- kanla **n** terrace; a step in the fields. **N** कान्लो.
- kanma (kala) **vi** to get stuck (as in the throat). **N** अङ्किनु. nulok ik^huiminalo mikan 'if you don't chew it well, it'll get stuck'.
- kanma (kansu) **vt S 1.** to identify, to ascertain; to see in the future. **N** भविष्यवाणी झैँ हेनु. dowā?a kainsu 'the seer sees into the future'. **root** katma.
- kaṅma (kaṅsu) **vt** to accept, to obey. **N** मान्नु.
- kaṅma (kaṅsu) **vt** (middle) to hide, of feet; to tuck in; to move your steps. **N** चाल्नु; पाइला चाल्नु. laṅ kaṅsu 'pull in your feet!'
- kaṅma (kaṅta) **vi** to warm (indirectly). **N** सेक्नु.
- kaṅma (kaṅtu) **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** सेकाउनु; तताउनु. b^hərkhərʔo c^haci b^hərkhər jənma lisaʔo c^hacilai mida kaṅma cima dot 'new-born babies must be warmed at the fire'.
- kap **n S 1.** a pair, a complement; an accompaniment. **N** जोडी. 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** बिच; हाँगा.
- kapma (kaptu) **vt** to put together (things that are related). **N** जोड्नु.
- kaptana **n** captain, officer.
- kasatmancin **n** a reptile, a 'crawling' insect, lit. 'one that drags itself'. **N** घमि हँडने. **cf** satma.
- katma (kara) **vi** to feel. **N** लाग्नु. **caus** kanma. kima kat 'fear'. petma kat 'belch'. ima kat 'smile'. iṅsoma karaki iṅka hara bokma c^hirun. 'being lazy, I stopped ploughing'. k^hana amsoma karaki hara bokma ti^hiru ʔo? 'Did you stop ploughing out of lazyness?'
- katok **n** respected, respectable, venerable. **N** मान्य. **cf** tokma.
- katuk **n** ill person, sick man. **N** बिरामी.
- kat^huppa **n** tailor, member of the Damain caste; also musicians. lit. 'he who sews'. **N** दमाई.
- kaya **n** rice plant, paddy. **N** धान. kayaʔo bala 'rice ear'.
- kayaraṅ **n** rice paddy, rice plant. **N** धान.
- kekma (kekta) **vi** to construct a roof; to join the rafters. **N** छाना बनाउनु. **N** डाडा र भाटा जोडने काम गर्नु.
- kekuwa **n** lapwing (white bird, eating small fish; roaming rice fields and warm areas). **N** हुटिट्याउँ.
S Vanellus indicus.
- kem **n** river bank, shore. **N** किनार. hoṅkuʔo ikem 'the river bank'.
- kema (kesu) **vt** to throw away. **N** फ्याक्नु; फाल्नु. manma kema 'to forget'. mitma kema 'to decide'.
- ken **n** a large drum (bigger than maadal). **N** ढोल.
- kenma (kentu) **vt** to feed, to keep (domesticate animals). **N** पाल्नु.
- kenwa **n** the keeping or fostering of animals; maintenance. **N** पालन.
- keṅma (keṅa) **vi** to be cold, to be wet (and cold). **N** चिसो हुनु. keṅyaṅ 'it is cold'. keṅma wa 'cold water'. keṅyaṅʔo cakwa 'cold water'.
- keṅma (keṅsu) **vt** (anti-passive middle) to make cold (in Sindrang also to get cold). **N** चिसो हुनु; चिसो पार्नु.
- keṅmuṅwa **n** cold spring, cold water source. **N** चिसोपानी. **pair** kumuṅwa.
- keṅtaṅ **n** buttocks, hindquarters. **N** चाक.
- kepma (keptu) **vt** to sting. **N** खिल्नु; चिलाउनु.
- kera **n** crack, burst.
- ketma (keru) **vt** (middle) to break, to snap (splice with a knife). **N** फुटाउनु; फुट्नु. samba kera

- 'the bamboo snapped'.
ketma (kettu) **vt** to break, to snap (causative and benefactive; to break for someone else). **N** फुटाउनु; फुटाइदिनु. kettuṅ 'I broke it to him (e.g. his arm)'. **root** ketma.
kikma (kiktu) **vt** (antip) to hold (small things), to grab, to take. **N** समाउनु. ic^hukda kiktuki "holding her hand".
kima (kisa) **vi** to be afraid. **N** तर्सिनु; डराउनु. kima idotnin 'you do not have to fear'. **off** kitma.
kima (kiwu) **vt** to rot. **N** कुहिनु. **caus** kitma.
kima **n** fear, fright. **N** डर. ikima katyaṅ 'he is afraid'. **cf** kima.
kimma (kimsu) **vt** to decrease, to make less; to save, set apart. **N** साँच्नु. icilok kimsuṅ laruṅyuṅsuṅ 'I am saving a bit'.
kinma (kilu) **vt** to button up; to sew. **N** खिल्नु; टाँक लाउनु.
kiṅ **n** tooth, teeth.
kiṅma (kiṅsu) **vt** (middle) to hang, to hang up. **N** झुण्डिनु; झुण्डियाउनु. kiṅsaṅa?o t^hyo; ai maddiṅ 'I had hung it there - now it's not here?!'. kiṅyaṅ 'it's there (hanging)'.
kipma (kiptu) **vt** (middle) to cut off, to split (with effect, not trying, but succeeding); also: to split the money. **N** काट्नु. kiptancin 'he cut himself (reflexive)'. demka k^hepida tikiptu? 'in how many times did you split it'.
kitma (kittu) **vt** (none) to make rot. **N** कुहाउनु. **root** kima. **cf** kima.
kiwa **n** mute; dumb, stupid. **N** लाटो. iṅka kiwa lisaṅki kaci mantuṅ k^haisuṅ 'being stupid, I forgot about things'.
kiyaṅpa **n** mother's relative, some male person in the mother's house. **N** मामाघर.
ki **conj** and.
kima (kiya) **vi** to be long; to be tall. **N** अग्लो हुनु; लामो हुनु. kiyaṅ?o 'it is long'. k^hana iṅkab^handa tikiyaṅ 'you are taller than me'. j^harakdaṅka ikiwaṅ battu 'take the longest'. j^harakdaṅka kiyaṅ?o mina 'the tallest man'.
kina **conj** causal, consequential clause chainer; the main clause is explained as a result of the embedded clause; by virtue of ...; There may also be a more simple temporal reading (see example) but in any case, the embedded clause is necessary for the matrix verb to happen. g^hora yuktukina hyatni k^hattuni 'mounting the horse, he took it away - it is said'.
kinma (kintu) **vt** (middle) to frighten. **N** तर्साउनु; हप्काउनु. **root** kitma.
kint^hokwa **n** rebel, nowadays used and almost synonymous for maoist.
kipmak^ha **n** the in-laws of a brother or sister. **N** सोलि्ट.
kippa **n** flea. **N** उपियाँ.
kirawa **n** Kiranti, the autonym for the Kiranti grouping of people groups; also used in a narrower sense for Bantawas as a subgrouping. **N** किराँत; बान्तावा राई.
kitap **n** book.
kitma (kittu) **vt** (middle) to scare; to be afraid, scared of. **N** तर्सिनु. 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* cituwā). **N** चितुवा.
koiiso **adj** any, some. **N** कसैको. kuiso yak, kuiso iyaknin 'of some people there are, of some there aren't'. koi moda miyuṅyaṅ, koi moya miyuṅyaṅ 'some are there, some are over there'.
kok **n** rice; cooked rice, also used as a generic word for 'food'. **N** भात.
kokcom **n** ladle, flat spoon used for serving out rice. **N** पन्युँ.
kokma (kou) **vt** to throw with stones. **N** ढुङ्गा हान्नु; बर्साउनु.

- kokolok **n** maize. **N** मकै. kokolokma 'maize plant'. kokolokk^{ha} 'maize field'. **cf** k^{ha}. kokolokca 'maize'.
- kokoṅwetma **n** eagle, big eagle (N garuda). **N** गरुड.
- kom **vt** to surround (s.o.). **N** घेनु. ikomta 'they surrounded him'. cuṅwa luyañnalo dabya kōmmakina j^harak yuṅma dot 'if it's cold, all should sit around the fire and sit'.
- kombi **n** sickle; grass cutting knife (used by women). **N** खुपी.
- konco **n** calf. **N** छेपाडी.
- konma (kola) **vi** to walk, to move about, to walk around, wander. **N** हिँडनु. abədaṅka konma mandot 'from now on you don't need to walk'. **caus** k^honma. **caus** kotma.
- koṅ **n** heart, the inner being of a human. **N** मन.
- koṅkōna **n** Butea plant. **N** सानो पलाँस. **S** Butea minor.
- koṅkoṅma **n** mosquito. **N** मच्छर. koṅkoṅwa?a iṅe?aṅ 'a mosquito bit me'.
- koṅk^{hi} **n** forest bhyākur (N); type of root found in the forest. **N** एकप्रकारको बन भ्याकुर.
- koṅma (koṅtu) **vt** **S** 1. to level. **N** आड दिनु. **S** 2. to dam, to protect by surrounding it. **N** घेनु.
- koṅpi **n** a marriage mediator, someone who goes asking for a bride. **N** कलिया.
- koṅtukma somtukma **n** mourning. **N** अलाप बिलाप. koṅtukma somtukma mimuyaṅ 'they were mourning'.
- koṅt^hok **n** fern. **N** उनिउँ.
- kop **n** gorge, a deep valley; inside of a bowl. **N** बटुकोको भित्र. mo kopda 'in that gorge'.
- kopma (koptu) **vt** to surround, protect. **N** घेनु.
- kotma (kottu) **vt** to accompany, to make walk. **N** डुल्लु. **cf** konma. **root** konma.
- kuhikma **n** storm. **N** आँधी.
- kuhip **n** shadow, shade. **N** छायाँ. kuhip muma 'sit in the shade'.
- kuhupma **n** singing bird. **N** न्याउली.
- kuhupmi **n** big storm (lasting longer, not a hurricane). **N** आँधी.
- kuina **n** elbow. **N** कहिना.
- kukma (kuktu) **vt** (middle anti-passive) to cook, to prepare food. **N** पकाउनु; खाने कुरा बनाउनु. ca kukta 'prepare the food!'.
ca kukta 'prepare the food!'.
ca kukta 'prepare the food!'.
- kukuni **nm** Kukuni; a local goddess. **N** कुकुनि. kukuni budḍ^{hi} datyaṅ 'one can see the Kukuni Buddhi'.
- kuluydippa **n** thunder. **N** गडगडाउनु; चट्याङ्ग.
- kuma (kusu) **vt** to heat. **N** तात्नु; तताउनु. **ben** kutma. kusa 'it got hot'. kusu 'he heated it'.
- kumma (kuma) **vi** to hide. **N** लुक्नु. **caus** kumma.
- kumma (kumsu) **vt** to hide. **N** लुकाउनु. **root** kumma.
- kumuṅwa **n** hot spring, spring with hot water. **N** तातोपानी. **pair** keṅmuṅwa.
- kuncikma **n** darkness. **N** अँध्यारो. k^hada?o k^hada?o kuncikmada t^hemaṅ 'where where in the darkness I lost my way'. iṅka kuncikmada amk^him taṅlaṅ 'I arrived at your house in the dark'.
- kunma (kuntu) **vt** (antip) to choke on food (but not lethally so); to swallow the wrong way. **N** अड्किनु; घाँटि लाग्नु.
- kunyama **n** **S** 1. witch, black magician. **N** बोक्सी. **S** 2. the dark, darkness. **N** अँध्यारो. **cf** kum.
- kuṅma (kuṅtu) **vt** (middle) to bend. **N** बाँड्नु; बाँड्याउनु. kuṅta k^hara 'it bent'. kuṅtu k^hāisu 'he bent it'.
- kupma (kuptu) **vt** to sit on the eggs, to brood (by a hen); to hatch. **N** ओथार बस्नु. **root** kumma.
- kupma (kuu) **vt** (antip) to pick up from the ground. **N** टिप्नु. kua?o t^hyo (yuwaṅa) 'it was picked

- up'. luŋ kuu 'pick up the stone'.
 kurinaluŋ **n** a stone with red chips.
 kusi **n** branch, leaf.
 kutiwa bak **n** poppy. **S** Papaver.
 kutiwa c^hemma **n** Kantakari; with thorns only (not with fruit); different from k^hibupma. **N** कण्टकारि. **S** Solanum Jacquini. **cf** k^hibupma.
 kutiwa **n** dog. **N** कुकुर.
 kutma **vi** (none) to be dark. k^hakutta 'it got dark'. **cf** datma.
 kuwa **n** friend. **N** साथि-भाइ. yawa-kuwa 'friends and all...'

k^h

- k^həisi **n** walnut. **N** ओखर.
 k^hak^hakko **pro** whosoever (plural). **N** जस-जस. k^hak^hakkosa?a 'by whomsoever'.
 k^ha **nfl** place, suffix of location (when added to nouns); a thicket. **N** ठाउँ; घारी. g^hāsak^ha 'grass land'. sagak^ha 'vegetable garden'. sampicak^ha 'a millet field'.
 k^ha **pro**
 k^habat **n** local beer. **N** जाँड.
 k^haca **n** local beer, made of fermented millet; also: the fermented dregs of beer. **N** जाँड; जाँडको थिग्रो.
 k^hada **pro** where, at what location?. **N** कहाँ. k^hana k^hada tik^hat, iŋkac^haŋ k^hodaŋa k^hatŋa 'wherever you go, I will also go there'.
 k^hadampa **n** porcupine. **N** दुम्सी.
 k^hakinwa **adj** scary, fearsome, dreadful. **N** डर लाग्दो.
 k^hakko **pro** which. k^hakko c^haŋ 'whichever'. p^hekwa k^hakko titumsum 'what sort of money is accepted?'. oko k^hakko? 'which one is this?'.
 k^hakut **n** night, darkness. **N** रात. ladipma maddin?o k^hakut 'a moonless night'. ak^homaŋ ik^hakut 'yesterday night'.
 k^hakwa **n** birdlime. **N** लिसो.
 k^hak^hut **n** **cf** k^hakut.
 k^halak **n** sort, type; from Nepali, but Bantawa-ised by addition of a /k/. **N** खाल.
 k^halampa **n** the common cold, a cold. **N** रुघा. iŋka k^halampa ipuktari 'I've got a cold'. iŋka k^halampa imettaŋ 'I have caught a cold'.
 k^ham **n** place, for specific purposes (mostly in compounds). **N** ठाउँ. cakwa-k^ham 'water-hole, small well'. puja-k^ham 'place for religious dancing'. dabya-k^ham 'fireplace'.
 k^hama **vi** to be satisfied, to be well fed. **N** अघाउनु. iŋbuk k^hasa 'my belly is satisfied'. icobuk man^hayuk 'they have not had enough'.
 k^hamank^haŋma **n** a blind woman. **N** अन्धी. **cf** k^hamank^haŋpa.
 k^hamank^haŋpa **n** a blind man, a blind person. **N** अन्धो. **cf** k^hamank^haŋma.
 k^hambopi **n** small woodpecker. **N** सानो लाहाँचे.
 k^hamma (k^hamsu) **vt** to make weep. **N** रुवाउनु. **root** k^hapma.
 k^hamma (k^hamsu) **vt** to put a vessel on the fire. **N** बसाउनु (भाँडो बसाउनु). k^hamma k^hamma dot 'one must put a vessel on the fire'.
 k^hamma **n** vessel, metal pot; also used for all vessels together. **N** भाँडो; सामान.
 k^hamukla **n** world.
 k^han **vobj** handsome, good; collocates with "nu" - the verb "to be good" to make the expression "to

- be good, to be handsome". dem k^hannu 'how good!'.
k^hana **pro** you (sg.). **N** तिमी.
k^hanaci **pro** you two.
k^hananin **pro** you all.
k^hanitdo **adj** bad, no good, useless. **N** नराम्रो.
k^hani **n** mine; source, place. **N** खानी.
k^hanma (k^hansu) **vt** to send, to take out. **N** पठाउनु. **root** k^hatma.
k^hanulo **adj** good, pretty (good to see). **cf** k^ha nulo. **cf** namnulo ennulo.
k^haṅ **vobj** see, show (needs causative).
k^haṅma (k^ha) **vt** to look, to watch; to see. **N** हेनु. mosa?a k^ha 'he watched'. mik^haci 'they look'.
k^haṅyunsaj 'I kept watching'. iṅka k^haṅ 'I watched'. k^holai k^haṅ 'I watched him'. aṅkacia
k^holaī k^hacia 'we (excl) watched him'.
k^haṅma (k^ha) **vt** to see, to look. **N** हेनु. oko di k^ha? moko di k^ha? 'What is this? What is that?'.
k^ham! k^hamne! 'let's look!'.
k^haṅma **n** female caretaker, someone who looks after someone else, e.g. children.
k^haṅpa **n** caretaker; witness. k^haṅpa nik^ha ni?o 'a witness saw you, it is said...'.
k^hapa **n** diagonal roofbeam. **N** धुरी.
k^hapicik **n** ornaments, jewels; ornamental stone. **cf** picik.
k^hapma (k^haptu) **vt** to thatch a roof. **N** खर राख्नु. tik^haptin 'you thatch the roof'.
k^hapma (k^hawa) **vi** to cry, to weep. **N** रुनु. mik^hawaṅa?o; tik^hawinyen 'they weiled; you are crying'.
caus k^hamma.
k^harekla **n** dry season, drought; desert, dry place. k^harekla bana 'the dry season has come'.
k^haru **n** mind, understanding; wisdom; senses. **N** दिमाग. **cf** mama k^hatma. iṅk^haru mak^hara
'my mind was lost (I lost my mind, went unconscious)'. k^haruma mak^hatma 'to lose your
mind'. amc^ha badde ik^haru mettunjo?o rəc^hə 'your son appears to be very wise'.
k^haruṅpa **n** wise man, a knowledge man. **N** ज्ञानी; बुद्धि.
k^haruma **n** mind, wisdom. **N** दिमाग. **syn** k^haru.
k^harumi **n** farmer. **N** किसान.
k^hatma (k^hara) **vi** to go. **N** जानु. **caus** k^hanma. **caus** k^hatma.
k^hatma (k^hattu) **vt** to take away. **N** लग्नु. hanyāṅsa k^hatyaṅ 'while he talks, he is walking'.
kaṭmandu yatni k^hara 'he went to Kathmandu'. **root** k^hatma.
k^hatni **pro** where (directional: where to?). **N** कता.
k^hawa **n** hoopoe; small bird, that hammers the bark off wood to get the insects out. **N** काठफरुवा.
k^hayamaṅ **nm** Khayamang, a godhead; a god that causes sores and allergies. **N** खायामाङ.
k^he **n** louse on the body (not on the head). **N** जुम्रा. amk^he / ik^he hamsi tik^hara?o? 'did you go to
swap your / his lice (i.e. to have sex)'.
k^hebak **n** crab. **N** गंगता.
k^hebakbuṅ **n** clerodendron (lit: crab flower). **N** चितु; चुवा (?). **S** Clerodendron.
k^hekma (k^hektu) **vt** **S** 1. to hatch, to come out of an egg; to sprout. **N** कोरल्लु. **S** 2. to take a bite.
k^hemma (k^hemsu) **vt** to get close, make friends. **N** साथि हुनु.
k^hen **n** wound, caused by some trauma; also: disease (in compounds). **N** घाउ.
k^hej **n** basket for measurement, containing one pāthī (N). **N** पाथी.
k^hejma (k^hejsu) **vt** to copy, imitate. **N** सिक्नु; नकल गर्नु.
k^hepi **n** time, turn. **N** चोटि. ik k^hepi moda k^haraṅ yunsaj. 'I have gone there once'. **cf** du.
k^hepma (k^heptu) **vt** to stick (to a wall). **N** टाँस्नु.

- k^herek **n** skull. **N** खोपडी. tan^kherek 'skull'.
k^hi **n** excrement, manure, stool. **N** दिसा.
k^hibupma **n** Kantakari. **N** कण्टकारि.
k^hicij **n** anus. **cf** k^hihut.
k^hihut **n** anus. **cf** k^hicij.
k^hikma (k^hikta) **vi** to be bitter (also: to feel bitter). **N** तितो हुनु. k^hikyanʔo paktu 'she made it bitter (e.g. the food)'.
k^hima (k^hisu) **vt** (antip) to steal, to be a thief. **N** चोर्नु.
k^hinma (k^hinta) **vi** to stretch. **N** तान्नु; तन्काउनु.
k^hinma (k^hintu) **vt** (middle) to pull. **N** तान्नु. **middle** k^hinma.
k^hijma (k^hij^su) **vt** to swallow. **N** निल्लु.
k^hijma (k^hijtu) **vt** to cover. **N** छोप्नु; ढाक्नु.
k^hissa **n** deer. **N** हरिण; मृग.
k^hitma (k^hittu) **vt** **S** 1. to comb. **N** कोर्नु. **S** 2. to steal for someone else. **N** चोरदिनु. **S** 3. to worship, to pay honour. **N** पूजा गर्नु. epma k^hitma 'worship for a grave; to do a religious exercise in front of grave'. ca k^hitma 'worship grain'.
k^him **n** house. **N** घर. **cf** bak-k^him. **cf** c^hekk^ha-k^him. **cf** haŋ-k^him.
k^hima (k^hiya) **vi** to quarrel. **N** वाइनु.
k^himhaŋpa **n** housewife, the mother in the house; wife. **N** श्रिमाति, बुढि. **cf** k^himhaŋpa.
k^himhaŋpa **n** husband, the man in the house. **N** श्रिमान्.
k^himkoŋ **n** the interior of a house; inside the house. **N** भित्र; चारभित्र. k^himkoŋda 'inside the house'.
k^himtaŋsuri **n** gecko. **N** माउसुली. **N** माउसुली.
k^hipma (k^hiptu) **vt** to read. **N** पढनु. iŋka badde k^hiptaŋo de, id^hiwaŋ mina lisanyanʔo. 'Had I learned a lot, I would have been a big man'.
k^hitma (k^hiru) **vt** to buy. **N** किन्नु. ai iŋkaʔa iktet gai k^hiruŋ / hwatet gai k^hiruŋcu 'Now I buy one cow / two cows'. iŋka dabi k^hisi bananʔ 'I came to buy a big knife'.
k^hiyiŋma **n** horse. **N** घोडा.
k^ho **pro** he, she, it.
k^hocori **n** funnel. **N** सोली.
k^hokcale buŋ **n** orchid (lit: lizard flower). **N** सुनाखरि.
k^hokcale **n** lizard. **N** छेपारो.
k^hokli bendasi **n** lantern plant. **S** Physalis peruviana.
k^hokli **n** (small) jungle, wooded place; forest. **N** जङ्गल; वन. **cf** t^huŋnam.
k^hokma (k^hoktu) **vt** to chop off. **N** काटनु.
k^hokma (k^hou) **vt** to extract oil; to press, squeeze. **N** पेल्लु; खाँदनु. akwa k^hokma 'to extract oil'.
k^hokma **n** old woman. **pair** k^hokwa.
k^hokpa **n** old man. **N** बुढि. **pair** k^hokma.
k^hokwa **n** old man. **pair** k^hokma.
k^hola **n** cover, covering. **N** खोल.
k^holen **n** afternoon, midday. **N** दिउँसो. ayi ik^holen 'this afternoon'. **cf** k^ho len.
k^homa (k^hosu) **vt** to shave oneself; to dig with kodalo; scrape off. **N** खौरनु.
k^homma (k^homsu) **vt** to collect. **N** जम्माउनु.
k^homma (k^homsu) **vt** to play cymbals. **N** झ्याम्टा बजाउनु.

- k^homtaŋma **n** cheek. **N** गाला. amk^homtaŋmada mokna 'I will slap you on your cheek'. amk^hoŋtaŋma cunta 'your cheeks have wrinkled'.
- k^hon **vpro** that, verbal pronoun; pronoun used as referring to verbal or sentential antecedent only. **N** त्यो; त्यस. k^hon?osa 'therefore, for that reason'. **cf** mon on.
- k^honki **conj** and then. **N** अनि. **cf** monki.
- k^honma (k^holu) **vt** to move, to transport. **N** ओसार्नु. **root** konma.
- k^honma (k^honta) **vi** (middle) to rise, to resurrect. **N** बौरिनु. k^honta lonta 'he resurrected'. k^honma tama 'to rise and come; to resurrect'.
- k^honnalo **adv** therefore. **cf** dekinalo maŋnalo.
- k^hoŋma (k^hoŋtu) **vt** to freeze. **N** जम्नु.
- k^hoŋsiŋ **n** soybean. **N** भटमास.
- k^hopma (k^hoptu) **vt** to close (as of door). **N** बन्द गर्नु.
- k^hopma (k^hou) **vt** to cut (firewood). **N** दाउरो काटनु.
- k^hoppa **n** saddle between two hills, small valley. **N** भञ्ज्याड.
- k^hot **n** peel, skin of a fruit. ik^hot u?uk^ho! 'peel it!'
- k^hotet **part** that one, specific. **N** त्यो चाहिँ. k^hotet onj^hoŋlo mettancin, iŋkatet citlok imettaŋ 'That one he made big for himself, for me he made a small one.'. **cf** otet tet.
- k^hotma (k^hottu) **vt** **S** 1. to point. **N** औलाउनु. **S** 2. to shave someone else. **N** खौरनु. iŋtaŋ k^hottaŋk^haŋ 'please, shave my head'. **root** k^homa.
- k^hotni **pro** that way, in that way. **N** त्यसरी. k^hana detni tici, k^hwatniŋa iŋkac^haŋ ciŋa 'as you do, such I will also do'. k^hwatni minaŋki... 'thinking that way, ...'. **cf** k^ho. **cf** watni.
- k^howa **n** wound, particularly a sore (coming from inside). **cf** k^hen. mosa?a k^howa mettaŋpiwaŋ 'he wounded me'. moci?a k^hanalai k^howa ni mettaŋpiwa 'they wounded you'.
- k^huigæiri **adv** then, at that moment. k^huigæri k^hoko banaki 'at that moment he came, and...'
- k^hukma (k^huktu) **vt** to attack with horn. **N** गोरुले हान्नु.
- k^huma (k^hu) **vt** to chew (soundless, as for rice). **N** चबाउनु. k^huŋ 'I chew it'. ik^huiminnalo miŋan 'if you don't chew it well, it gets stuck'.
- k^humma (k^humtu) **vt** to bury; to plant. **N** गाडनु. **root** kumma.
- k^hunma (k^huntu) **vt** to enter, to penetrate. **N** छिराउनु. imiri k^huntu disu 'he stuck his tail in'.
- k^hunma (k^huyu) **vt** to carry. **N** बोक्नु. **ben** k^hutma. duŋtim k^hunma 'to be arrogant'.
- k^huŋ **n** shell; plate, pot, pan. **N** थाल. k^hebak k^huŋ 'a crab's shell'.
- k^huŋma (k^huŋu) **vt** to shelter. **N** ओढनु.
- k^hupma (k^huptu) **vt** to chew (with sounds). **N** टोक्नु; चबाउनु. kuuki k^huptuconi 'picking it up, he chewed and ate it'.
- k^hupma (k^huu) **vt** to chew. **N** चबाउनु.
- k^hura **n** hoof. **N** खुर.
- k^hutma (k^huttu) **vt** to bring for someone. **N** बोकिदिनु. **root** k^hunma.
- k^huwarāŋ **n** fish that lives in the mud (eel?), (black, round head, approx. 20 cm long, 5 cm diameter). **N** हिल्ले माछा. k^huwarāŋ?o ilap yak 'the khuwarāŋ has fins'. k^huwarāŋ?o ilap icitko mu. 'the khuwarāŋ's fins are small'. k^huwarāŋ?o nab^hak hwatet yakci. 'the khuwarāŋ has two gills'.
- k^huyle **adj** bald (Nepali). **N** तालुखुइले, खुइले.

- lættəm **n** guava. **N** बेलौती; अम्बा. lættəm toktin 'you can get guavas'.
 labuwa **n** bat. **N** चमेरो.
 ladip **n** moon. ladipma 'moon'.
 lak **n** religious dance, danced only during sakenwa occasions. **N** चण्डि नाच्नु. lak luma 'to dance'.
 lakluk^ha **n** dancing place, place where ritual dances are performed. **N** चण्डि नाच्ने ठाउँ.
 lakma (laktu) **vt** to stick, to fall on; of dirt or colour, stains. **N** लागनु; अल्झाउनु.
 lakuwa **n** tuber, type of root; (giṭhā 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 k^hatma 'to return, going'. lasak^hara 'he returned home (away)'. **caus** latma.
 lama **vt** to pick, to pick up. **N** टिप्नु. iṅka bak^hawensi lama dot 'I must pick strawberries'. laṅyuy 'I am picking (present continuous)'. laṅyay 'I was picking (past continuous)'. loṅ 'I have picked (simple past)'.
 lamma (lamu) **vt** to seek, to search. **N** खोज्नु. lamuk^ho 'search for it!'. hanma lamyay 'he tries to talk'. nihū lamyay 'he is looking for a fight [pretext]'. **appl** lapma.
 lanma (lantu) **vt** to winnow, to feed to the wind. **N** हावा खुवाउनु. hik lantu 'he fed it to the wind'.
 laj^huk **n** foot-and-hand, extremities.
 laj **n** leg; foot. **N** खुट्टा.
 lajka **adj** flat, stretched, with the flat side up; upright; steep. **N** ठाडो.
 lajkubak **n** foot. **N** पाउ; खुट्टा.
 lajkusi **n** toe, toes. **N** खुट्टाको औंला. **cf** kusi.
 lajma (laja) **vi** to make a joke.
 lajma (lajsu) **vt** to wipe, to smear; to apply paint. **N** फोहोर चिज वा नराम्रो कुरा दल्नु ।
 lap **n** wing; fin (of a fish). **N** पखेटा.
 lapma (laptu) **vt** to try; to try to do something. **N** खोज्नु. hanma laptuy 'I tried to talk with him'. hanma ilaptay 'He tried to talk with me'. **root** lamma.
 lapma (lau) **vt** to catch, to arrest. to grab, to take hold of. **N** समात्नु.
 lapsi **n** sour fruit. **S** malia dubia. **N** लप्सी.
 laptik^hoṅ **n** doorway. **N** दैलो.
 latli **n** centipede (of a poisonous kind). **N** खजुरो.
 latma (laru) **vt** to take out. **N** झिक्नु. **root** lama. piralara 'it was grazed off and went'.
 yiṅ latma **vi** (antip) to pray, to invoke. yiṅ milat 'they pray'.
 latma (lattu) **vt** **S** 1. to take out. **N** झिक्नु. **root** latma. **S** 2. to be enough; a dative verb. 'to be enough for someone'; agreeing with the recipient, the experiencer of the sufficiency). ilattay 'it's enough for me'. lattu 'it's enough for him'.
 lawa **n** shadow; shade. **N** छायाँ. iṅlawā 'my shadow'.
 lawa **n** spirit, soul. **N** आत्मा; हंस. bom b^hiṅsakina minaci?o icolawa lo?a. 'after the bomb exploded, people got scared'.
 lawac^hami **n** shadow.
 layaca **n** food stuffs, flowers and rice that is spread around by those heading a burial procession. **N** खानेकुरा.
 lek **adj** eight (in Homtang). **N** आठ.
 lek **n** four. **cf** lekka. **cf** lippa.
 lekka **adj** four. **cf** lek.

- lekka **adv** approximately. **N** जती. 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 g^həŋtʃa leka yakyaŋ. ‘It’s about 4,5 hours. (Bungwakha 23)’.
- lekma (lea) **vi** to lick. **N** चाट्नु. lekma yakma sinlo ‘let’s kiss’. **caus** leŋma.
lekwasī **n** orange, mandarin. **N** सुन्तला.
- lek^ha **n** highland, a high hilly area. **N** लेख.
- lem **n** tongue. **N** जिब्रो.
- lema (lesu) **vt** to know how to do something; to learn (how to do something). **N** जान्नु. lesuŋo ‘he knows (is knowing)’. iŋkaʔa amno b^hasa lema isiniŋnu ‘I do not want to learn your language’. c^hapma lesuŋyuŋ ‘I can write (note the progressive aspect)’.
- lem^hokwa **n** sweet, sweets, candy. **N** मिठाइ. lem^hokwa k^haŋmetsa c^haci c^hemtuŋsuŋ ‘showing the sweets, I attracted the children’.
- lemlemma **n** yeti, a legendary creature. **N** यती.
- lemma (lema) **vi** to be sweet. **N** गुलियो हुनु. **caus** lemma.
- lemma (lemtu) **vt** to flatter, make sweet. **N** फकाउनु. **root** lemma.
- len **n** day, a day (of time, or as a date). **N** दिन; बार; गते. **cf** lenta.
- lenkolen **n** day by day, every day. **N** दिन-दिनै.
- lenk^ha **n** replacement; place to pour something in; a match to make fire. **N** सार्ने ठाउ; बाल्ने चिज.
- lenma (lensu) **vt** to light, to make bright; to ignite. **N** बाल्नु.
- lenma (lensu) **vt** to save (protect is not a good gloss). **N** बचाउनु. **root** lenma.
- lenma (lentu) **vt** to pour in. **N** खनिनु; खन्याउनु.
- lenma (lenu) **vt** to rip. **N** चिर्नु.
- lenma **vi** to burn, to be lighted, to be alive (non-human). **N** बल्नु. kupa lera ‘the little light burnt’.
- lenmi **n** lamp, wick; little oil lamp. **N** बत्ती, टुकी.
- lenta **n** day of the week. **N** बार.
- leŋma (leŋsa) **vi** to slip; slide. **N** चिप्लिनु. iŋma leŋsa k^hara ‘my mother slipped’. **root** lekma.
- leŋma (leŋsu) **vt** to smear, to plaster. **N** लिप्नु. iŋmaʔa k^him leŋsuʔo ‘my mother smeared the house’.
- letma (leru) **vt** to leave, to let go, to release. **N** छोड्नु.
letma k^hanma **vt** to leave behind. leruŋ k^haisuŋ ‘I left him behind’.
- letmancin **vi** to shed a skin (as for a snake). hokwa c^hirudiki 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.
- likwaharj **nm** Lukwahang, a Bantawa clan. **N** लक्वाहाङ, बान्तावा थरको एउटा पाछा (हाँगा).
- lima (lisu) **vt** to have intercourse. **appl** litma.
- liŋma (liŋsu) **vt** to hook; to hang up. **N** झुण्ड्याउनु.
- liŋwa **n** lowland grass; straw, long sturdy grass. **N** पहाडी खर. **S** Themeda.
- litma (littu) **vt** to have intercourse with. **root** lima.
- liwa **n** ball, round object; grain. **N** दाना. miikliwa ‘eyeball’. sampica liwa ‘a grain of millet’.
- li **n** penis. **N** लिङ्ग.
- lim **n** shoot, sprout. **N** मुना; टुसो.
- lima (lisa) **vi** to happen, to become; to be. **N** हुनु.
- limma (lima) **vi** to bud; to sprout.
- limma (limsa) **vi** to turn over. limsa k^hara ‘it turned over’.
- limma (limsu) **vt** to turn over.

- limma (limta) **vi** to parboil.
- linma (lintu) **vt** to attack, to press on. **N** थिच्नु. lintu k^hattu 'attack!'. saŋwaʔa mi^hukhida mi^hlink^hatnalo setma miri 'The buffalo, if he strikes and presses on, can kill (1st incl plural object)'. **cf** timma.
- lipa **-adv** in the direction of...; directional marker for location nouns. buŋk^halippa 'outside'.
- lip^hu **n** sting (of wasp, bee). **N** खील.
- lita **n** down, fluff.
- litma (littu) **vt** to plant, to sow. **N** रोप्नु. k^hana dem tilittu, k^honŋa iŋkac^haŋ littuŋ 'As much as you plant, that much I will also plant'. littu; i^hlitcu; ilit 'he plants; they (du) plant; they plant (habitually)'.
 loha **n** iron. **N** लोहा; फलाम.
- loka **n** part. **N** भाग; अंश. loka hama dot 'one must divide the shares'.
- lok^hum **n** Nepali coat. **N** दौरा.
- lokma (loktu) **vt** to boil. **N** उम्लिनु. 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** खेल्नु.
 lawa lokma **vi** to be scared. **N** तसिनु. iŋlawa lok 'I'll be scared'.
- lokma (loktu) **vt** to take a loan, to ask for a loan of someone specific. **N** काढनु.
- lokma (lou) **vt** to take a loan, to ask for a loan. **N** काढनु.
- loma (lo) **vt** to tell; to say sth. to so.; to relate. **N** भन्नु.
- lomayij **n** command, commandment.
- lonma (lonsu) **vt** to take outside; to make come out, move. **N** निकाल्नु. lonsuŋ 'I'll take it out'.
root lonma.
- lonma (lonta) **vi** to go outside. **N** निस्कनु. iŋyamda k^howa lonta 'a sore developed in my body'. yuniŋka d^hatni k^hatyaj (k^hara) / lonta 'from down, upwards, he goes (went) / goes up'.
caus lonma.
- lonŋa **n** spicy pepper, red or green. **N** खुर्सनी.
- lonk^him **n** temple. **N** मन्दिर.
- lonŋma (loŋsu) **vt** (middle) **S** 1. to light, to light a lamp; brighten up. **N** बाल्नु; सल्काउनु. saya lonŋma 'to show respect'. **S** 2. to increase (in size), to grow; to praise, to lift up. **N** बढाउनु; बढनु; उफार्नु.
- lopma (loptu) **vt** to palpitate; to tremble; as in eyes or skin. **N** काँप्नु.
- lose **n** slope; an arable area, but not with an oxen; temporary farming land. **N** पखेरो.
- lotma (lora) **vi** to run. **N** दौडनु; दगुनु; कुदनु. detni watni cilok apət tilotciŋciʔo? 'why are you running so fast?'. cakwa lotyaj 'the water runs away'.
- lukma (lukta) **vi** to be finished. **N** सिद्धिनु. iŋwaci mi^hlukta 'my chickens are finished (they're up)'.
 lukma (luktu) **vt** point, point at. **N** औल्याउनु.
- lukma (luktu) **vt** to finish. **N** सिद्ध्याउनु.
- lulli **n** earthquake. **N** भुइँचालो. lulli t^harja 'there was an earthquake'. lulliʔa iŋk^him b^huŋsu 'the earthquake destroyed my house'.
- luma (luwa) **vi** **S** 1. to feel, as of taste; to experience, to have effect, make feel. **N** लागनु. yum luwa 'it tastes salty (not too salty - it's OK)'. oda yuŋma watni luyaj 'It feels like to I'd want to live here'. **S** 2. to speak, to sing; to perform. **N** बोल्लु; गाउनु. k^ho c^ham luwa 'he sang a song'. k^hana c^ham tiluwa 'you sang a song'. marjyij mi^hlu 'to pray'.
- lumma (lumtu) **vt** to sink, to drown (someone or something). **N** डुबाउनु.

lunma (luntu) **vt** to sink; to set (as for the sun). **N** डुनु. nam lunta 'the sun has set'.
 luṅ **n** price. **N** मोल. oso iluṅ dem c^huk? 'what is its price?'.
 luṅ **n** stone; generic term (mass). **N** ढुङ्गा. k^him k^hap^ha luṅ 'slate (stone to roof the house)'.
 luṅk^ha **n** rocky place, rock bed, rock face. **N** धेरै ढुङ्गा भएको ठाउँ. **cf** luṅ.
 luṅk^hawa **n** rocky place, such as a steep hilly desert area or a dry river bed. **N** धेरै ढुङ्गा भएको ठाउँ.
 luṅma (luṅsu) **vt** to finish. **N** सिद्ध्याउनु. **root** lukma. oko samuc^he sambala k^hana onṅa
 deki tiluṅsu? 'why did you finish the straight bamboo bush on your own?'.
 luṅmak **n** liver. **N** कलेजो.
 luṅtak **n** stone, individual rock; single stone. **N** ढुङ्गा. **cf** luṅ.
 lupma (luptu) **vt** **S** 1. to point. **N** तिखार्नु. **S** 2. dip, plunge, sink. **N** चोबु.
 lupmit **n** needle, pin. **N** सियो.
 lurka **n** earlobe. **N** लोती.
 lutma (luttu) **vt** to tell (of a story). **N** बताउनु.
 lutma **n** bamboo mat, wicker mat (made of bamboo strips). **N** मान्द्रो.
 luwa **n** seed, grain. **N** गेडा. iluwa 'his seed'.

m

ma **n** mother. **N** आमा. ama 'o, mum!'. amo 'mother!'. **cf** mama. **pair** pa.
 ma **part** no. **N** होइन.
 ma **vobj** 'woman' - a verbal complement, that together with tatma - ('to bring') renders the
 meaning (politely) 'to have intercourse with'.
 maan **part** no, as a sentence-negation; the 3rd person negative for yakma.
 mad^hitma **n** flu, influenza. **N** रुघाखोकी.
 mahada **n** Sumac's red leaves; a fodder plant. **N** धाइरो; भकिम्लो.
 majjū **n** aunt, mother's younger brother's wife. **N** माइजू.
 maj^ha **n** middle (Nepali). **N** माझ. maj^ha k^him 'the house in the middle'.
 makacikcikwa **adv** **cf** makacikwa.
 makacikwa **adv** dark. **cf** makacikcikwa.
 makcikpa **n** dark, black. **N** अँध्यारो. k^hokli makcikpa yuṅyaṅ 'the forest is dark'.
 makc^ha **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** ज्वाइँ.
 makiwa **adj** black. **N** कालो.
 makma (makta) **vi** to be black, to be dark. **N** अँध्यारो हुनु. makta k^hara 'it became dark'.
 makyay[?]o mina 'a dark skinned man'. **cf** omma.
 makma (maktu) **vt** to see in a dream. **N** सपनामा देख्नु. **root** maṅma.
 maksa **n** bear. **N** भालू.
 makwa **n** fishing bird; a bird that dives into the water and jumps out again. **N** माछा मार्ने चरा.
 makyi **n** rope. **N** डोरी.
 malaybopi **n** splintbone; the round ball at the end of the calf bone.
 mama (masu) **vt** to lose. **N** हराउनु. iṅbek^ha masuṅ '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** हान्नु; हराउनु. **cf** k^hatma. **cf** mama. iṅk^haru mak^hara 'I lost my
 mind (went unconscious)'. hwatet gai mimak^hara 'two cows were lost'. ak^homaṅ k^hanaci
 timak^haraci 'you (two) were lost yesterday'. k^hada timank^harin 'where were you (pl) lost?'.
caus mama.

- mamaŋ **n** ghost, roaming spirit (of a woman). **N** भूत-प्रेत (केटीको). **pair** hilla. hilla-mamaŋ 'the ghosts, the spirits'.
- mamarem **nm** Mamarem, a far place, where one gets lost: oblivion (religious language). **N** हराएको मान्छेको बसाइ । **cf** mamak^hatma.
- mamma (mamtu) **vt** to grab (as in a fight). **N** सोहोनु. **appl** mapma.
- mani **n** cymbal, brass drum. **N** झ्याम्टा.
- manma **vt** to forget. manma kema 'to forget'. inka k^ho dum mantuŋ kesuŋ 'We forgot that thing'. mantuŋ k^hansuŋ 'I forgot it'. **cf** kema. **cf** k^hanma.
- maŋ **n** godhead; spirit. **N** देवता. maŋci 'the gods'. maŋ munyinka '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** चाहिँ. pāc kusi maŋ maddiŋ 'there are not five fingers (there may be four)'. ikc^ha oda banaci hwaŋ maŋ maʔaŋ 'please, one person, come here; not two people'.
- maŋc^hama **nm** godhead; house god (particular to a house, purpose or locality). **N** देवता.
- maŋc^hik **n** wart. **N** मुसो.
- maŋd^hin **n** fever. **N** ज्वरो.
- maŋhim **n** curse. **N** सराप.
- maŋkolen **n** tomorrow. **N** भोलि. maŋkolen-c^hintuk 'tomorrow, or the day after'.
- maŋkup **n** garlic. **N** लसुन.
- maŋma (maŋa) **vi** to dream. **N** सपना देख्नु. **appl** makma.
- maŋnalo **conj** if not, unless. **cf** k^honalo.
- maŋt^hoŋ **n** diarrhoea. **N** पखला. k^hana maŋt^hoŋ niŋetyaŋ? 'do you have diarrhoea?'. badd^he akwa k^han caŋkina maŋt^hoŋ imetŋaŋa 'have eaten a lot of oily vegetable, I am having diarrhoea'.
- maŋyiŋ **n** prayer, vow. **N** प्रार्थना; भाकल; पित्र. maŋyiŋ luma 'to say a vow'.
- mapma **vt** to grab, snatch (as if in a hurry). **N** सोहोनु; सोहोरिदिनु. itaŋmiwa mapma dot. 'One must grab him by the hair.'. mapma k^hanma '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** सोहोनु. amc^hapdani mapna k^hatna 'I will snatch away your pen'. moko miŋa o dum maptuk^hattu 'that man took that thing away'. **appl** mamma. **root** mapma.
- masiŋ **n** wife, old woman (affectionately used for wife). **N** बुढी. **pair** pasiŋ.
- masit **n** black gram, black lentil. **N** मास. **S** Vigna mungo.
- matdiŋ **vi** singular form for negative 'to be'; it's not there, no.
- matma (mattu) **vt** to lose for someone else. **N** हराइदिनु. **root** mama.
- mayayŋ **n** womb. **N** आइमाइको गुँड. **cf** yaŋ.
- mayiŋ **n** later, in the (distant) future. **N** पछि. mayiŋ k^hana id^hiwaŋ miŋa lisa 'may you be a big man later'. **cf** neklo.
- mecc^hac^ha **n** girl, daughter. **cf** mec^ha-c^ha.
- mech^hac^ha **n** **S** 1. daughter, female person. **N** छोरी. **pair** duwac^ha. **S** 2. girl.
- mekma (mekta) **vi** to sleep (in child language). **N** सुत्नु (बच्चाको भाषामा).
- mek^hara **n** sheep. **N** भेडा. mek^harat^humba '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 presumedly

- known. **N** "उ गर्नु".
- metma (*mettu*) **vt** to cause, root for causative formation; also: to play a game. **N** गराउनु, खेलाउनु. kaṅ-metma 'to persuade (<kaṅma 'agree')'. sin-metma 'to identify (<sinma 'know')'. pak-metma 'to impose on, put on (<pakma 'to put')'.
- k^haṅ metma **vt** to show, to make someone see. **N** देखाउनु.
- ya metma **vt cf** ya matma. to pray. **N** प्रार्थना गर्नु. **cf** ya matma.
- mik **n** eye.
- mik **n** finger joints (two per finger; described as eyes).
- mikkun **n** eyebrow. **N** आँखाभाँ.
- mikma (*miktu*) **vt** to covet, to like. **N** आखा लगाउनु.
- mikmiwa **n** eyebrow. **N** आँखाभाँ.
- mikwa **n** tear, tears. **N** आँसु.
- 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 नि. camne həi məlok 'let's eat, OK?'.
 mima (*miu*) **vt** to fight (physical - not with the mouth [*k^hima*]).
 mima (*musu*) **vt** to fight one another (physical - not with the mouth [*k^hima*]). **N** लड्नु. musuci 'they fight one another'. k^hoduṅka muma dot 'we must fight him (e.g. in a match)'. **cf** k^hima.
 mimma (*mimtu*) **vt** to bundle (clothes, etc.); wrap up. **N** पोको पार्नु.
 mina **n** man, person. **N** मान्छे.
 mipma (*miptu*) **vt** to deceive, lie. **N** ढाँट्नु.
 miwa **n** hair. hear, feathers. amtaṅmiwa 'your head's hair'. c^honwa?o miwa 'bird's feathers'.
 mi **n** fire. **N** आगो.
 micuṅkuyik **n** coal, used for fire. **N** कोईला.
 minawa **n** a friendly, thoughtful person. **N** दयालु मान्छे. **cf** minma.
 minbup **n** mushroom, a thinner type of amanita. **N** एक खालको च्याउ.
 minma (*mittu*) **vt** to think, remember. **N** सम्झनु; विचार गर्नु; सोच्नु. ḡa setmani mininnalo ... 'if we plan to catch fish...'.
 minma **n** thought; mind. **N** विचार. dida amminma yuṅyaṅ? 'what do you believe (hold to be true)?'.
 miri **n** tail.
 mirik **n** tail. **N** पुच्छर. c^hoṅwamiri 'bird's tail'. saṅwamiri 'buffalo's tail'.
 mitma (*mitta*) **vi** to remember. timitu 'you remembered'. mantimitdo 'you did not remember'. canulok badde mitnaṅna 'I have remembered you very well'.
 mitma **n** memory. **N** सम्झना.
 mo **pro** that.
 modatni **adv** that.side.
 mogəri **adv** at that time, then. **N** तब.
 mohara **n** just like that. **N** त्यतिकै. deki tita?o? mohara. 'why did you come? just like that.'
 mohatni **adv** that way. **N** त्यसरि.
 mohyatni **adv** over there (directional). **N** उतातिर.
 mokma (*mou*) **vt** (antip) to hit, to thresh; to strike (with hand), to slap. **N** कुट्नु.
 momma (*momtu*) **vt** to lose sense. **N** बेहोस हुनु; सातो हराउनु.
 mon **vpro** that, verbal pronoun; pronoun used as referring to verbal or sentential antecedent only. **N** त्यो; त्यस. monheda 'while that happened, ...'. **cf** k^hon on.

- monaŋka **adv** from there (deictic).
 monki **adv** after that, and then. **cf** k^honki.
 monko **adv** **N** त्यति; त्यत्रो. **cf** onko.
 monŋa **adv** that much. **N** त्यति.
 moŋma (moŋtu) **vt** to deceive. **N** ढाँट्नु.
 mopma (moptu) **vt** to lose sense. **N** बेहोस हुनु.
 motni **adv** to there (allative) (exodeictic, referential). **cf** k^hotni otni.
 mowatni **adv** like that. **cf** watni.
 moyu **adv** there (down from here). **N** त्यहाँ, तल. **cf** yu.
 muddum **n** traditional chant; incantation; scripture. **N** किराँती वेद; मन्त्र.
 mukla **n** crowd, group.
 mukma (muktu) **vt** to echo. **N** प्रतिध्वनि गर्नु.
 mukwa **n** partridge. **N** तित्रो.
 mulok^hābo **n** main pillar in the house. **N** मूल खम्बा. **cf** c^humasij.
 muma **vi** to be, predication of quality or behaviour (not existential or equative).
 muma **vi** to do to one another; reciprocal agreement host. **N** गर्नु. c^hokmuwaci 'they sent one another'.
 muma **vt** to cause (second form); to make. **N** गराउनु. k^haŋmusancin 'he showed himself'.
 muma **vt** (middle) to do (most generic); to make. **N** गर्नु. didaŋka muma 'from what is it made'.
 hewa manmuda 'do not sin!'. dowa muma 'to do sorcery'. isara mu 'make a gesture'.
 munda **pro** that size. **N** त्यत्रो. munda mu 'it's that size'. **cf** unda munko.
 munima **n** cat.
 munko **pro** like that, that size. **N** त्यत्रो. munko mu 'it is that size'. **cf** munda unko.
 munma (munsu) **vt** to create (as of a god), give birth. **N** सृष्टि गर्नु.
 munŋa **adv** that much, that much only; adverb of measure. **N** त्यति. **cf** onŋa.
 muŋma (muŋtu) **vt** to give a rest; if the fire does not burn give it a moment of rest. **N** आराम दिनु.
 mupma (muptu) **vt** to cheat, lie, deceive. **cf** mopma. **N** लट्पटाउनु.
 muruk^hen **n** epilepsy. **N** छारारोग (मिर्गी).
 mutma (muttu) **vt** to blow. **N** फुक्नु. mi muttuk^ho 'could you blow the fire'.
 mwatni **adv** that way, in that manner. **N** त्यसरी. mwatni heŋmawa muma dot. 'that way, one must make heŋmawa.'. **cf** mwatni.

n

- nanic^ha **n** sisters; elder and younger sister. na-nic^haci 'sisters'. **cf** nana. **cf** nic^ha.
 na **part** topicaliser (TOP).
 nabak **n** ear.
 nabu **n** nose. **N** नाक.
 nad^hapma (nad^hawa) **vi** (in collocation with na-) to be more than satisfied, to be pleased, to be spoiled; to be lazy, bored. mohatniŋe iktet mina k^himdaŋe yuŋma yakma^ʔa inad^hawaki iklen tawaŋ mucasi ni ki 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** ऋण. nak lokmakina konsi k^hatma dot 'After making a debt, you must walk away.'. mosa^ʔa k^hoso^ʔo inak louki k^hara 'he went after he took a loan from him'. ayidoŋ iŋka badde nakda waŋaŋ k^haraŋ 'this year I have run into a big debt'.
 nakbelek **n** cactus. **N** सिउँडी.

- nak^hoŋ **n** shaman; traditional healer. **N** झाँकी.
- nakimaŋ **n** rainbow. **N** इन्द्रेणी.
- nak^hiwa **n** snot; mucus. **N** सिंचान. nak^hiwa sonyaŋ 'the snot is running out'. **cf** k^hi.
- nam **n** sun. nam lonta 'the sun rose'. nam k^hadara 'the sun rose'. nam hukta 'the sun burnt, scorched'. nam lunta 'the sun sets'. **cf** k^hadat.
- namb^huŋ **n** sunflower. **N** घामफूल.
- namcimpilek **n** lightning. **N** बिजुली; बिद्युत्.
- namc^hirik **n** sky, firmament. **N** आकाश.
- namd^huruŋ **n** the sky, firmament. namd^huruŋ ayi nilo katyaŋ 'the sky is blue today'. **cf** nam.
- namlen **n** Sunday.
- namma (nama) **vi** to reek, stink. **N** गनाउनु.
- namma (namsu) **vt** to smell. **N** गनाउनु.
- nammaŋ **adv** next year. **N** आबुँ. **cf** c^himmaŋ.
- nammi **n** daughter-in-law; younger brother's wife. **N** बुहारी. **syn** paŋten.
- namnulo **adj** good (of smell), smelling good. oko buŋwa namnulo namyay 'this flower smells good'. **cf** nam nulo. **cf** k^hanulo ennulo.
- nampik **n** evening, night. **N** रात. awet inampik 'tonight'. **cf** awet.
- namsam **n** sun ray.
- namtuŋlekma **n** Tarai cricket, cricket occurring in warmer regions only. **N** किश्रो.
- nana **n** elder sister; also: sister-in-law (wife's elder sister, wife's elder brother's wife). **N** दिदी; जेठीसासुलाई पनि यसो भन्छ. ana 'older sister (vocative, form of address)'.
nana **n** elder sister.
- nani **n** apple of the eye. **N** नानी. iŋmikʔo nani 'the apple of my eye'.
- nanma (nantu) **vt** to lean back, take a rest from carrying a load. **N** बिसाउनु.
- naŋ **n** hail. **N** असिना.
- naŋsiliŋwa **n** rain water, collected water that has come down from the eaves. **N** बलेसीको पानी.
- naŋsi **n** hail; a single hailstone. **cf** naŋ. naŋsiʔa icattaŋ 'I was hit by a hailstone'. naŋsi d^hayaŋ 'it is hailing'. naŋsibop 'a hailstone'.
- naŋwa **n** dizziness, giddiness. **N** रिगटा. naŋwa huma 'to get dizzy'. namʔa inaŋwa huwa k^hara 'by the sun he got dizzy'.
- napma (napta) **vi** to be related, to have ties. **N** नाता हुनु. **cf** napma.
- napma (naptu) **vt** to tie up the oxen. **N** जोड्नु. hwatet kəm̥pyuʔəraci napciŋci 'two computers are connected'.
- naraŋk^hoŋ **n** shin. **N** पाँसुला.
- nari **n** wrist. **N** नाडी.
- narokorok **n** crane. **N** ठूलो सारस.
- narokwa **n** type of bird (dove / pigeon?). **N** एक खाल्को चरा.
- nati **n** grandson. **N** नाती.
- natini **n** granddaughter. **N** नातिनी.
- natri **n** nose bone, septum. **N** नाथ्री. natri kera 'the nosebone broke'.
- nawa **n** 'lampate' plant and flower. **N** लामपाते. **S** Duabanga grandiflower.
- neklo **n** later; but only a bit (within some time - not indefinite). **N** पछि. demk^ha li? neklo. 'when will it be? later.'.
- nemma (nemsu) **vt** to stretch, put your foot down; to tread, to trample. **N** टेक्नु.
- neŋma (neŋtu) **vt** to trample, to flatten (e.g. a mud floor). **N** खुँदनु.

- nepma (*neptu*) **vt** to step on. **N** टेक्नु. mo kələm mannepdo ‘don’t step on the pen’.
- netma (*nettu*) **vt** to disturb, irritate, annoy. **N** चलाउनु. mannetdaŋ ‘don’t disturb me’.
- nic^ha **adv** for sure, surely.
- nikma (*nikta*) **vi** to cover, be buried. **N** पुनु. nikta k^hara ‘it was completely covered’.
- niŋ **n** name.
- niŋa **n** mood, wish. **N** मन. iŋniŋa c^hun ‘he won’t listen to me (lit: he disobeys my wish)’. k^hosoo iniŋ c^hunyaŋ ‘he does not trust me (lit: his mood does not obey)’. ibuwacia ico nic^ha niŋa ic^hittacu ‘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’.
- niŋcon **n** type of tree, *N* khirra. **N** खिरी.
- niŋk^han **n** toadstool, inedible type of fungus. **N** नखाने च्याउ. niŋk^handa mic^huk ‘these are inedible mushrooms’.
- ni **adj** other.
- ni **npref** other. niwaptelaci ‘other boats’.
- nic^ha **n** younger brother; also used for all younger male cousins and the wife’s younger brother’s wife.
- nieda **adv** to the other. ik c^ha nieda ‘one to one another; to each other’.
- nihanŋhon **n** foreign country, abroad. **N** विदेश. **cf** haŋhon.
- 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** लागि.
- ninamhaŋ **nm** God; god. **cf** ninamma.
- ninamma **n** sky, firmament. ninamma iserŋninin ‘the sky is not clear (cloudy)’. ninamma serŋyaŋ ‘the sky is clear’. **cf** henk^hama. **cf** ninamhaŋ.
- nisana **n** target, aim, mark (in shooting). **N** निसाना.
- noma **vi** to be happy; to be good (of mood, collocating with niŋa only). **N** खुशि हुनु (यस्को प्रयोग ‘नडा’ सामेत मात्रै हुन्छ). ankaci niŋa nomuci ‘we like one another’. anken niŋa nomun ‘we like one another’. ankacia niŋa nomuciŋcia ‘we like one another (PROG)’. k^hanaci niŋa notimuciŋci ‘do you like one another?’. **cf** niŋa. to please, to be liked; always collocating with niŋa; the possessor of niŋa is the one please. **N** मन पराउनु. moko kamec^ha badde iŋniŋa nosu ‘that girl pleases me very much (lit: she pleases my mood)’. iŋniŋa inosuncin ‘I do not like them’.
- nopma (*noptu*) **vt** to touch. **N** छुनु.
- notma (*notta*) **vi** to be soft, be tender. **N** सस्तो हुनु. **opp** c^hima.
- nucc^hya **adv** certainly. nucc^hya?oŋe ‘most certainly’.
- nuc^haŋ **vsuf** even though, even if (verbal suffix). **N** ता पनि. battunuc^haŋ, c^hunta. ‘even if he calls, don’t listen’. iŋka lam mank^haŋŋa nuc^haŋ kolaŋ ‘although I did not see the road, I walked’. iŋka iŋnic^halai mand^hatŋa nuc^haŋŋa k^hawa ‘even though I had not beaten my younger brother, he cried’.
- nuc^he **n** true, truthful; the truth. **N** सत्य; सत्यता. **opp** soje.
- nukma (*nuktu*) **vt** to rub, knead. **N** निचोर्नु. **cf** nukma.
- nukma (*nuu*) **vt** to rub, knead; to roll spices to get the flavor out. **N** निचोर्नु. **cf** nukma.
- nukonŋla **adj** heartfelt, from the heart. **N** शुभ; मेरो मनदेखी. amno j^harakso?o nulok line niki nukonŋla saya ‘for all of you to be well, is my heartfelt wish’.

nulok **adj** good, well, in a happy way; happy. **N** राम्रो; राम्ररी. nulok yuṅma 'live happily'.
 numa **vi** to be good. **N** राम्रो हुनु. **ben** nutma. canuyaj 'it tastes good'. k^hako k^him k^hanuyaj
 'which house is better'. ennulo c^ham 'a nice song'. nuwa 'it's OK'.
 numa **vt** to make better. **N** निको पार्नु. **off** nutma.
 numma (numtu) **vt** to be nutritious, be beneficial. **N** पोष्नु.
 nunu **n** small child (affectionate, in calling). **N** बच्चा; नानि / बाबु.
 nunuma **n** bog bean; little girl (in calling). **N** एक खालको सिमि; सानो नानी. **S** *Menyanthes trifoliata*. **cf** saṅwalem.
 nunut **n** spoiling; forgiveness. **N** प्याउलो; क्षमा. nunut muma 'to be spoilt'.
 nuṅwa **adj** new. **N** नायाँ. o kəp inuṅwa rəc^hə 'this cup appears to be new'.
 nupma (nuu) **vt** to knead. **N** माड्नु. **cf** nukma.
 nusumpenta **adj** easy.
 nutma (nuttu) **vt** to be good, to be fitting, be auspicious. **N** फान्नु. **root** numa.
 nuwak **adj** good, good-natured. **N** असल. badd^he inuwak mina 'a very good man'.
 nuwaṅgi **n** worship ceremony performed in the field before sowing and harvesting. **N** कृषि पूजा.

ṅ

ṅa **-adv** emphatic clitic particle. owatniṅa 'just like this'.
 ṅa **n** fish. **N** माछा. undacitko ṅaci 'little fish'.
 ṅahiṅ **n** face, facial features; looks. **N** अनुहार कृति.
 ṅak **adj** four (in Homtang). **N** चार.
 ṅaksi **n** banana, plantain. **N** केरा.
 ṅaktaṅkapok **n** Indian cuckoo. **N** कोइली; आँप पाकेको कराउने चरा.
 ṅaliṅ **n** forehead, face; in some areas specifically cheek. ṅaliṅ tepma 'to wash your face'. **cf** tepma.
 ṅaluṅ **n** price of fish.
 ṅamma (ṅamsa) **vi** to stick in. **N** चाट्नु. do ṅamma 'to stick into the mouth'. kutiwa?a iṅamsaṅ
 la?aṅ 'the dog bit me'.
 ṅamsi **n** cheek. **N** गाला.
 ṅanma (ṅanta) **vt** (middle) to snap (by the wind, of bamboo, of soft material); to splice. **N** भाँच्नु.
 ṅanma k^hatma 'to snap off'. ṅanta k^hara (ṅantu k^haṅsu) 'it snapped'.
 ṅaṅma (ṅaṅsu) **vt** to rock (in a korko). **N** हल्लाउनु.
 ṅapma (ṅaptu) **vt** to snatch. **N** खोस्नु.
 ṅapma **n** child's mother-in-law, mother-in-law of a son or daughter. **N** सम्बिनी. **pair** ṅappa.
 ṅappa **n** child's father-in-law, father-in-law of a son or daughter. **N** सम्धी. **pair** ṅapma.
 ṅekma (ṅeu) **vt** (antip) to bite. **N** टोक्नु. mina kaṅekma 'witch'.
 ṅema (ṅesu) **vt** to beat up, to hit systematically (as opposed to mokma); to fight. **N** कुट्नु; कसेर
 कुट्नु. ṅesuk^ho 'hit him!'.
 ṅen **n** fight, war. **N** झगडा, लडाइँ. k^hanac^haṅ tilasumo?unalo id^hiwaṅ ṅen puktu 'if you would
 hit back, a big fight would start'.
 ṅepma (ṅepta) **vt** to dry fry (using no or little oil). to burn someone else, to scorch. **N** पोल्नु. roṅi
 ṅepma 'bake bread'.
 ṅima (ṅiwa) **vt** (antip) to fry (vegetables or meat). **N** पकाउनु (भुटेर). k^han ṅima 'fry vegetables'.
 sa ṅisinka 'we fried the meat'.
 ṅitma (ṅittu) **vt** to cook grain to make beer, make beer. **N** जाँड पकाउने.

ŋka **-nfl** 'from', ablative case.

ŋoma (ŋosu) **vt** to dry fry. **N** भुट्नु. mikəi ŋoma 'fry maize'. **caus** ŋotma.

ŋomma (ŋoma) **vi** to taste oily. **N** तेल झस्तै स्वाद हुनु.

ŋoŋma (ŋoŋsa) **vi** to flounder, to be drowsy. **N** निन्द्रा लाग्नु; झुलिनु. **cf** oŋma. ŋoŋsancinki yuŋa 'floundering, he sat'.

ŋotma (ŋottu) **vt** to fry for someone else. **N** भुटेर दिनु. **cf** ŋoma. **root** ŋoma.

O

o **pro** this; proximal referential pronoun. **N** यो.

odatni **adv** around this side; here. **N** यहाँतिर.

od^hera **n** this side of the valley, this side of the hill. **N** यता पट्टि.

ogəri **n** this.time. **cf** o gəri.

ogi **n** sweet potato. **N** सखरखण्ड.

og^hi **n** sweet yam. **N** सुठनी.

oha **pro** like this. **N** यस्तो. **cf** o.

ohyatni **n** over here, in this direction, on the same vertical level. **N** यता तिर. ohyatni k^hat, cakwa ... 'over here it goes, the water...'. ohyatni bana 'come over here'.

okma (oa) **vi** to crow (as of cockerel). **N** ओक्नु. **cf** okma.

okma (okta) **vi** **S** 1. to crow (as of cockerel). **N** वास्नु. **cf** okma. **S** 2. to be sick. **N** वाक्नु; वाक्क हुनु. okta 'he is sick'. mo okma kara 'he feels sick'.

okma (oktu) **vt** to fold. **N** दोब्रिनु.

oko **pro** this. **N** यो.

okotet **part** this one, specifically. **N** यो चाहिँ. **cf** k^hotet.

omma (oma) **vi** to be white. **N** सेतो हुनु. omyaŋʔo mina 'a white (skinned) man'. **opp** makma.

ompiwa **n** milk, as a liquid. **N** दूध.

on **pro** this much; a modifier of adjectives. **N** यति.

on **vpro** this; proximal referential verbal pronoun; this pronoun has the form /on/ before clause-chaining (verbal) suffixes. **N** यो; यस. **cf** k^hon mon.

onale **n** type of Arum (Nep.: sangharo). **S** Arisaema tortuosa. **N** साँघारो.

onjoŋlo **adv** **cf** onj^hoŋlo.

onj^hoŋlo **adv** very; much. **N** यति धेरै. onjoŋlo kam muaŋki ihottaŋ 'doing much work I got tired'.

onko **adv** this.much. **N** यति. **cf** monko.

onma (onta) **vt** to chase in a hunt. **N** हच्काउनु.

onŋa **adv** only. **N** मात्र; मात्रै.

oŋma (oŋsu) **vt** to light, to start a light. **N** बाल्नु. **syn** loŋma.

oŋma (oŋta) **vi** to be drowsy, to drowse. **N** उँघ्नु; झुल्नु. **syn** ŋoŋma.

opma (ou) **vt** (none) to scoop, to get water out. **N** उघाउनु.

otma (ora) **vi** (intransitive) to break, to fracture, to snap (as of bones, and wood). **N** भाँच्नु. **caus** otma. ora 'it broke'.

otma (ottu) **vt** to fracture. **N** भाँचदिनु. **root** otma. k^hosaʔa iŋc^huk iottaŋ 'he broke my arm'.

otma **vt** to splash. **N** छ्याप्नु. ici! cakwa manʔotdaŋk^haŋ 'do not splash water on me'. cakwa ottu! 'do splash water!'.

otni **adv** here. **cf** odatni.

otototwa **n** wailing.
 owako **pro** like this. **N** यस्तो.
 owatni **adv** like this.

p

pəiri **n** stairs, ladder; also steep mountain path. **N** भय्याड. pəiridaŋka d^hamsaŋkina iŋ^huk ora
 'falling from the stairs I broke my arm'. **cf** t^haklo t^hakok.
 pa **n** father. **N** बाबा, बुवा. apa 'o, dad!'. apo 'father!'. **pair** ma. **cf** papa.
 pac^ha **n** mist (from the river). **N** बाफ. **cf** sam.
 padu **n** dove, turtledove. **N** तामे ढुकुर; कुले ढुकुर.
 pad^hu **n** turtledove. **N** तामे ढुकुर; कुले ढुकुर.
 paitala **n** sole, footsole. **N** पैतालो.
 pakma (paktu) **vt** to sow (seeds). **N** लगाउनु. məkəi paktu 'he planted maize'.
 pakma (pau) **vt** to put in, to put on. **N** हाल्नु; राख्नु. cakwa paʔu 'he put in water'. pauk^ho 'put it
 in, please'.
 pak^hura **n** wrist, pulse; lower arm. **N** नाडी; पाखुरो.
 pamma (pamtu) **vt** (antip) to scratch, to tear (at the wall); to grab (with claws). **N** गाँज्नु.
 pampurokma **n** barn owl, a smaller type of owl. **N** लाटोकोसेरो.
 paniwaŋ **n** Chetrī, member of the second caste in the Hindu caste system (also: Kśatriya). **N**
 क्षेत्री. **cf** cakwakalek. paniwaŋci anyiŋ mitup 'Chetrīs understand our language'. **pair**
 paniwaŋma.
 paniwaŋma **n** Chetrīni, Chetrī woman. **N** क्षेत्रीनि. **pair** paniwaŋ.
 panma (pansu) **vt** to make cry. **N** कराउनु लाउनु. **root** patma.
 panti **n** pipe, tube; cilinder. **N** ढुङ्ग्रो.
 paŋ -**qual** numeral qualifier for persons (spirits). **N** जना. ikpaŋ cakawalawa 'a spirit'. **cf** tat c^ha.
 paŋma (paŋsa) **vi** to be late. **N** ढिलो हुनु.
 paŋtehon **n** region. **N** क्षेत्र.
 paŋten **n** daughter-in-law, son's wife. **N** बुहारी. **syn** nammi.
 paŋtok **n** frog. **N** भ्यागुतो.
 papa **n** father (term of address). **cf** mama.
 papapma **n** slug. **N** चिप्लेकीरो.
 para **n** method, way; kind. **N** प्रकार, तरिका.
 paru **n** heaven. **N** स्वर्ग. nulok ciʔo miŋa siʔo id^heŋ parudu k^hatki yuŋ '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** पारुहाड; महादेव.
 paŋiŋ **n** husband; old man (affectionately used for husband). **N** बुढो. **pair** masiŋ.
 pata **n** part, piece. **N** खण्ड; टुक्रा. nabuʔo ipata 'nosewing'.
 patma (para) **vi** to cry out, to shout. **N** कराउनु. parinne 'let's cry out!'. **caus** panma.
 patma (pattu) **vt** to cry for someone. **N** कराइदिनु.
 pekma (peu) **vt** to peel. **N** ताच्छुनु.
 pelele **adv** line, string. **N** लहर, लहरे.
 pelelewa **adv** in line. **N** लहरै; लस्करै. **cf** penma. pelelewa miim 'they sleep in a line'.
 pelen **n** line. **N** लाइन; क्रम. siŋraŋci ipelen miyuŋyaŋ 'the trees are in a line'.
 pema (pesa) **vi** to vomit. **N** वाक्नु. **appl** petma.
 pemma (pemsu) **vt** to take out of the mouth.

- pemma (pemtū) **vt** to press. **N** थिच्नु.
- pempak **n** bread, flat bread of all types. **N** रोटी.
- penma (pelu) **vt** to put in order. **N** क्रम मिलाउनु. pelanincinki yujanin 'you (pl) sit and stay in line!'
- penma (pia) **vi** to fly. **N** उड्नु. **cf** pinma.
- pensuri **n** aeroplane (Am. airplane). **N** हवाईजहाज. pensuri c^hukkh^a 'airport'.
- peṅma (peṅsu) **vt** to slash. **N** तछार्नु.
- pepma (pepta) **vi** to be timid. **N** कातर, लाछि हुनु. k^hosa?o isaya pepta 'he was discouraged'.
pepmancin 'to be discouraged, be timid'.
- petma (peru) **vt** (middle) to tear, to rip; to decompose (of metal plates etc.). **N** च्यात्नु. kagəj peruk^haiṣu 'rip up the paper!'. o nuṅwa tit detniki pera? 'how did these new clothes get torn?'
- petma (pettu) **vt** to vomit to or on someone else. to wash away. **root** pema.
- pi **n** snake. **N** सर्प.
- picakiṅ **n** tooth decay, the bug that eats away the tooth. **N** कुहिएको दाँत, दाँत खाने कीरा. iṅkiṅ picikiṅ?a icaṅ 'a bug has eaten my tooth'.
- picik **n** precious stone; ornamental stone.
- pihok **n** snake skin, or a cocoon with a smooth skin. **N** सर्पको छाला.
- piḱma (piḱtu) **vi** to set (of the sun). nam piḱk^hat. 'the sun goes down'. to dominate, to be strict; to be aggressive. **N** कडा हुनु. prəhəri miṅpiḱyaṅ 'the police are aggressive'.
- pima (pi) **vt** to give. **N** दिनु. səhayəta piṅciṅne 'I will help them'.
- pimma (pimtu) **vt** to be bumpy. **N** कुचिनु.
- pinma (pintu) **vt** to wash the dishes. **N** माइनु.
- piṅma (piṅtu) **vt** to duck for fear, or shrink, implode. **N** डराउनु; खुम्चिनु.
- pitma (pira) **vi** to graze, to be abraded. **N** खुइलिनु. pira k^hara 'it was grazed (wound)'.
- pitma (pira) **vi** to pass the thumb and the forefinger formed as a crescent over the face by way of insult; to dishearten. **N** लोपार्नु.
- pima (pia) **vi** to fly. **N** उड्नु. **cf** pinma.
- pimma (pimtu) **vt** to press. **N** थिच्नु.
- pinma (pia) **vi** to fly. **N** उड्नु. c^hoṅwa pia k^hara 'the bird flew away'. **caus** pinma.
- pinma (pilu) **vt** to squeeze. **N** निचोर्नु. **syn** b^hinma.
- pinma (pinsu) **vt** to make fly. **N** उडाउनु. siṅraṅlai ṅaṅsuṅki c^hoṅwa pinsuṅ k^haiṣuṅ 'I made the bird fly away by shaking the tree'. **root** pinma.
- pinyiwa **n** collarbone.
- pipoli **n** fig tree (N pīpal). **N** लेख पीपल. **S** Ficus religiosa.
- pira **n** low wooden seat. **N** पिर्का.
- piri **n** spinning-wheel. **N** चर्खा.
- pit **n** cow; cattle. **N** गाइ.
- pitma (pittu) **vt** to put together, to stack, to squeeze together. **N** निचोरिदिनु.
- pok **n** body. **N** जिउ.
- pokko **adj** big, tall. dem pokop puyup 'what a big cucumber!'. **cf** pokma.
- pokma (pokta) **vi** to be of size. **N** यत्रो हुनु. amc^ha dem pokyaṅ 'what size is your son?'
- pokma **vi** to get wet. **N** भिज्नु. wapokta 'he got wet'. wa takina wa poktaṅ 'after the rain, I got wet'.

- pomma (pomsa) **vi** to stoop, to droop. **N** झुक्नु.
- pomma (pomsu) **vt** (middle) to bend down, to droop. **N** झुकाउनु. **root** pamma.
- ponma (pontu) **vt** to divide, to give away. **N** दिनु; बाँड्नु; पाँज्नु. yaŋ pontu 'share the money!'. mo c^ha ponmacama he maʔaŋ? 'should we give this child or not (for a wedding arrangement)'.
ponma (poya) **vi** to grow, to wax (of the moon). **N** बड्नु. mo badd^he poyaʔo 'he has grown a lot'.
ladipma poya 'the moon is full (fully grown, completed growing)'.
ponok **adv** thick, sticky (of viscosity). **N** बाक्लो. ponok ponok lisa 'it has become thick'.
poŋk^han **n** siris tree. **N** सिरिस रुख. **S** Albizzia mollis.
poŋma **n** cuckoo. **N** कोइली.
poŋpipa **n** buffalo bull, male buffalo. **N** राँगो. **cf** saŋwapa.
popma (popta) **vi** to be unclean, be unholy (also sexually), impure. **N** जुटो हुनु. maŋ popta 'the forefathers are defiled (ritually, by defiling the worship area)'.
ni popma **vt** to commit adultery.
popma (poptu) **vt** to defile, make unclean, unholy, impure (also sexually). **N** अशुद्ध पार्नु.
pori **n** a load of grain in a carrying basket. **N** अन्ना हालेको बोरा; बोराको भारि. kaya pori k^huīsi k^harinne 'let's go to carry the paddy'.
pot **n** neck, throat (outside, front of the neck). **N** घाँटी.
potma (poru) **vt** to feel your way around. **N** छामछुम गर्नु.
potoktokwa **adv** stiff; solid (as of a liquid turned solid). potoktokwa lisa 'it has become very thick'.
pukma (pua) **vi** to give birth; particularly for animals, for humans it is not polite. **N** बिहाउनु ; उठाउनु. **cf** c^ha tokma. **caus** puŋma. **caus** pukma.
pukma (pua) **vi** to stand up, to rise. **N** उभिनु. pukma lonma 'to stand up'. pua lonta 'he stood up'. puwalonta 'he stood up'.
pukma (puktu) **vt** to begin, to start (something else). **N** थाल्नु; सुरु गर्नु. **root** pukma.
pumma (pumtu) **vt** to hold tightly (in the fists). **root** pupma.
punma (punsu) **vt** to dig up with the hand or a small vessel - but not by instruments. **N** उदिनु.
puŋk^haci **n** start, beginning; reflexive nominalization of puŋma.
puŋma (puŋsu) **vt** to begin, to start. **root** pukma.
pupma (pupta) **vi** to get tangled. **N** लट्पटिनु. **caus** pumma.
pusəi **n** uncle, father's younger sister's husband. **N** फुपाजु.
putma (puttu) **vt** to boil over, steam. **N** उम्लिनु.
puyup **n** cucumber.

p^h

- p^hakama **n** **S** 1. flat basket or shovel, woven of bamboo strips, used for moving soil. **S** 2. female helper. **N** सघाउने केटी. **cf** p^hama.
p^hakawa **n** helper. **N** सघाउने मान्छे; खेताला. **cf** p^hama.
p^hakma (p^hau) **vt** to dig out with feet or hands (like a chicken for food). **N** खोप्पिनु.
p^hama (p^hasu) **vt** to help, assist. **N** सघाउनु. iŋkaʔa k^hocilai ak^homaŋ maŋp^hadoŋciŋ 'I did not help them yesterday'. iŋkaʔa k^hocilai maŋk^holen p^hasiŋciŋ 'I will help them tomorrow'.
p^hamma (p^hamsu) **vt** to imitate (jokingly).
p^hamma (p^hamtu) **vt** to embrace with wide arms.
p^han **n** exchange, place; substitution. k^hosoʔo ip^handa 'in his place...'.

- p^hanma (p^hantu) **vt** to change.
p^hanta **n** young adult, adolescent; lover; a bit slang. **N** जवानी. **cf** t^hanma.
p^hanma (p^hantu) **vt** to pile up.
p^hapra **n** buckwheat. **N** फापर.
p^hek **adj** **S** 1. four. **N** चार. **S** 2. five (in Homtang). **N** पाँच.
p^hekcem **n** earring, rings, golden ornament worn in the ear, covering quite a bit of the ear. **N** कान
ढुङ्ग्री.
p^hekwa **n** money. **N** पैसा.
p^hema (p^hesu) **vt** (middle) to spread out.
p^henma (p^hentu) **vt** to untie. **N** फुकाउनु. **root** p^hetma.
p^hengiyunbuŋ **n** marigold. **N** सयपत्री.
p^henma (p^hesju) **vt** to slap.
p^hepma (p^heptu) **vt** to wrap. **N** पोको पार्नु.
p^heta **n** turban, a cloth around the head. **N** पगरी.
p^hetma (p^heru) **vt** to pull back the foreskin. **off** p^henma.
p^heyabuŋ **n** brother-in-law, elder sister's husband; lit. a flower. **N** भिनाजु. **syn** b^hena.
p^hinma (p^hila) **vi** to get loose (inadvertently). p^hila k^hara 'it went loose'. **caus** p^hinma.
p^hinma (p^hintu) **vt** to unstitch, tear apart. **root** p^hinma.
p^hiŋma (p^hiŋsa) **vi** to crack.
p^hipma (p^hiptu) **vt** to suck, to absorb.
p^hilaj **n** thigh. **N** फिलो.
p^hima (p^hisa) **vi** to break off of a chip of ceramic or glass. **caus** p^hinma.
p^hima (p^hisu) **vt** (middle) to break off of a chip of ceramic or glass. **N** बिगानु; बिग्रिनु. manp^hido
'don't break it'. **caus** p^hinma.
p^hinciri **n** mushroom (any edible species). **N** खान सकिने च्याउ.
p^hinma (p^hinta) **vi** (middle) to break off of a chip of ceramic or glass. **N** पिटिक्क भाँच्नु. p^hinta
k^hara 'it went on with a click'. **root** p^hima.
p^hitma (p^hitta) **vi** to poison (both tra. and itr.). **N** बिसाउनु.
p^hitma (p^hittu) **vt** to shoot something, hit.
p^hito **adv** different. **N** फरक. p^hito matdiŋ 'It's not different'.
p^homma (p^homta) **vi** to get confused. **N** अलमलिनु.
p^honma (p^holu) **vt** to dig up, dig out.
p^hoŋma (p^hoŋsa) **vi** to open, of a bag, of something that was closed, wrapped; be unwrapped; be
disclosed. buŋwa p^hoŋsa 'the flower opened'.
p^hoŋma (p^hoŋsu) **vt** to open a bag, something that was closed, wrapped; unwrap; disclose. dum
p^hoŋsinne 'let's start our matter'.
p^hopma (p^hopta) **vi** to catch (from out of the air, after it was thrown).
p^hoppe **n** oil plant, plant used to extract oil from. **N** नाकेश्वर.
p^hoptikiri **n** moth, small butterfly. **N** पुतली.
p^hotma (p^hottu) **vt** to accuse.
p^huli **n** nose ornament. **N** फूली.
p^huŋma (p^huŋsa) **vi** to escape, to run away. hale p^huŋsanin 'escape quickly!'.
p^huŋma **vt** (middle) to make someone run away, to release; to send off. **N** भगाउनु. iktet miŋa?a
moko miŋalai p^huŋsu 'one man sent that man away'.
p^hurkuj^humci **n** Orion constellation. **N** मृग तारामण्डल. p^hurkuj^humci datyaŋ 'the Orion is

visible'.

p^hususupma **n** measles. **N** दादुरा. p^hususupma ipuktaŋ 'I got the measles'.
p^hutma (p^hutta) **vi** to break by overstretching. d^hago p^hutta 'the thread broke'. yij p^hutta 'the case was closed; the decision was reached'. ilaŋ p^huttabanani 'his leg broke (it was pulled off)'. **cf** p^hutma.
p^hutma (p^huttu) **vt** (middle) to break by overstretching.

R

ræbi **n** Sunday.
rækkæb^hæl **adv** at last, finally (after long effort). **N** बल्ल बल्ल, सकि नसकि.
ræko **n** torch, flare. **N** राँको.
rakabuŋ **n** godavari *N* (flower). **N** गोदावरी.
ranka **adj** diagonal, crooked. **N** छङ्के; बाङ्गो.
raŋ **n** plant, stalk; usually only in combinations. **N** बोट. **cf** siŋraŋ kayaraŋ.
raŋma (raŋta) **vi** to dry strongly, parch; tan. **N** सुक्नु. ihokwa raŋta k^hara 'he got a suntan'.
rapma (rau) **vt** to dig out; widening a hole.
ratk^hami **n** soldier, policeman; security personnel. **N** सुरक्षाकर्मि.
ratma (rattu) **vt** to protect, to interfere.
rek **adj** seven (in Homtang). **N** सात.
rekma (reu) **vt** to rip. **N** च्याल्नु.
remma (remsu) **vt** to sprinkle around.
renma (rentu) **vt** to tell off, to rebuke. **N** गाली दिनु.
renma **n** a rebuke, a telling off; scolding. **N** गाली. renma pima 'to tell off, to rebuke'.
repma (reptu) **vt** to sprinkle (of liquids only) someone (to another). **N** छर्किनु. **cf** remma.
retma (rettu) **vt** to file; make a fissure by filing.
rikb^hak **n** madness. **N** मुखंता. **cf** rikma.
rikma (rikta) **vi** to be angry (a meaning derived from 'be twisted'). **N** रिसाउनु. yawa rikta k^hara. 'he got angry'. **cf** rikma.
rikma (rikta) **vt** to twist, to sprain; to braid. **N** बटानु. raktu seru 'he strangled it'. to be twisted, to be strangled. **N** बटारिनु.
rima (risu) **vt** **S** 1. to chase, to drive away (e.g. cattle). **N** खेदनु. rina hanna 'I'll chase you away'.
S 2. to mill; to make a trench; to fissure. **caus** ritma.
rima (ruu) **vt** (antip) **S** 1. can, to be able to. **N** सक्नु. **S** 2. to earn, to make money. **N** कमाउनु.
rimma (rimsu) **vt** to turn, as of a lid of a bottle. **N** घुमाउनु; बिकोले बन्द गर्नु.
rinma (rintu) **vt** to file, to shape; to plane. **N** घोटनु. rink^ha 'file, plane'.
riŋma (riŋa) **vi** to spread (of a word); be heard. **N** सुनिनु.
riŋri **n** pain, suffering, trouble. **N** दुःख.
ripma (riptu) **vt** to choke. **N** सास फेर्न नपाउनु. ripma k^hatma 'to choke (completely)'.
ritma (rittu) **vt** to walk around, roundabout. **N** घुम्नु; डुल्लु. **root** rima.
rima (risu) **vt** to spread (not seed, though); to scatter, disperse, strew. **N** छर्नु. **caus** ritma.
rimma (rimtu) **vt** **S** 1. to bear, to endure. **N** सहनु. **S** 2. to insult, to offend. **N** हेप्नु. tirimja 'you will insult me'. tirimtaŋ 'you have insulted me'.
rimrim **adv** early. nam lonma æg^hi rimrim 'early, before the sun came out'. **cf** iwayaŋ.
ripma (riptu) **vt** to twist.
ritma (rittu) **vt** to spread, make spread. **N** छरिदिनु. **root** rima.

- rokma (rokta) **vi** to be wasted away. **cf** rokma.
 rokma (roktu) **vt** to waste away by disease. roktancin 'he is glutting himself'.
 rokt^hok **n** a bamboo net used in fishing. **cf** wai b^hima.
 romma (romta) **vi** to be very hot and dry; die of drought. **N** खरिन्नु.
 romma (romtu) **vt** to dry fry.
 romponk^ha **n** city. **cf** səhəra.
 romponponjwa **adv** in crowds, multitudes.
 ronma (rontu) **vt** to pierce.
 roŋma (roŋsa) **vi** to sting, to recur, relapse (of an old wound). **N** बल्लिन्नु.
 roŋma (roŋsu) **vt** (antip) **S** 1. to ring with a loud voice or sound. **N** हल्लाउनु. **S** 2. to search, frantically, in a hurry. **N** अव्यवस्तित खोज.
 ropma (rou) **vt** to break into pieces (intentionally, as of firewood; especially by hand).
 rukma (ruktu) **vt** to rinse (but the mouth only!). do warukma 'rinse the mouth'.
 ruŋma (ruŋsu) **vt** to shake. **N** हल्लाउनु.
 rupa **n** silver. **N** चाँदी.
 rupi **n** rupi bird. **N** रुपी.
 rupma (ruu) **vt** **S** 1. to separate by twisting. **N** बटारेर छिनाउनु. k^hosaʔa saga ruʔu 'He pulled off the spinach'. **S** 2. to complain, to whine. **N** बेखुशि हुनु. deki c^haci mirupyaŋ. sa misiyaŋ he? 'why are the children complaining - are they hungry?'.
 ruwa **n** down, cotton fluff. **N** कपास.
 ruwama **n** the Evening Star, Venus. **N** शुक्र.

S

- səhəra **n** **N** सहर. city.
 sa **n** meat, flesh, muscles; a nominal suffix for animals. **N** मासु.
 sacoŋmi **n** hurricane; strong, sudden storm. **N** हुरी.
 sak **n** hunger, starvation. **N** भोक. sak pukma 'to get hungry'. sak ipuktaŋ '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), sakewa (Dilpali), sakle (Dumi) and tosi (Sunwar). Also: a goddess. **N** नाच.
 sakenwa nakc^hoŋ **n** religious officiant at the Sakenwa occasions; the. **N** चण्डिको पूजाहारि.
 saki **n** potato; yam, tuber. **N** तरुल; आलु. k^hokli saki 'jungle potato'.
 sakma (saktu) **vt** to weed. **N** गोदनु.
 sakma **n** breath; life, soul. **N** सास. amsakma namyaŋ 'your breath smells'. sakma sonma 'to breathe'.
 sakonj **n** spirit, the immaterial part of a human. **N** आत्मा.
 sakonjmi **n** living soul, heart; inner core. **N** आत्मा; मनुष्य.
 sakonjwa **n** heart, inner mind.
 sakudima **n** forefather, great grandmother. **N** बराज्यू. **pair** sakudiwa.
 sakudiwa **n** forefather, great grandfather. **N** बराज्यू. **pair** sakudiwa.
 salam **n** poem. **N** कविता.
 sali **n** sister-in-law (wife's younger sister). **N** साली.
 salikoŋpi **n** mongoose (Indian mongoose). **N** न्याउरी.
 salo **n** younger in-law's, pertaining to people married to the wife's sisters. **N** सालो. salo biwa

- 'wife's elder sister's husband'. salo nic^{ha} 'wife's younger sister's husband'.
 salubi **n** salubi root; *inedible but used for religious purposes.*
 saluŋ **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** बाफ. hoŋkuʔo isam t^{ha}ŋa 'the mist came up from the river'.
 sama (sasa) **vi** to be enough. **N** पुग्नु.
 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 घन.
 sambaraŋ **n** bamboo pole or stem.
 samleŋ **adv** runny, liquid. samleŋ samleŋ lisa 'it has become very runny'.
 samma (samtu) **vt** to spread, to part. **N** फैलनु.
 sampica **n** millet. **N** कोदो.
 sampuk **n** village, larger community. **N** गाउँ, क्षेत्र. **cf** saptēn.
 samriŋ **n** worship song, hymn. **N** गित, भजन.
 samuc^{he} **adj** straight. **N** सीधा.
 samyok **n** church, congregation.
 samyuklik^{ha} **n** meadow. **N** चौर.
 sanamburup **n** polypore, a type of mushroom. **N** एक खालको च्याउ.
 sanapapa **n** uncle, mother's younger sister's husband. **N** सानाबा.
 sanima **n** aunt, mother's younger sister. **N** सानि आमा.
 sanla **n** word. **N** शब्द.
 sanma (santu) **vt** to stroke; as of a fiddle or of an iron file. **N** हान्नु; बजाउनु; प्रहारुं.
 saŋ **pro** who (singular). **N** को.
 saŋci **pro** who (non-singular). **N** को-को.
 saŋhokwa **n** singing bird, onomatopoeic; cries 'saŋho! saŋho!' from Phalgun till Baisakh-Jesth (in spring time). **N** हल्लेसो.
 saŋken **n** star. **N** तारा.
 saŋma (saŋa) **vi** to sound, to play (a sound), to ring. **N** बज्नु. **caus** saŋma.
 saŋma (saŋsu) **vt** to play (an instrument). **N** बजाउनु. **root** saŋma.
 saŋraŋkuwa **n** cockerel, rooster. **N** भाले.
 saŋwa **n** buffalo. **N** भैसी. **cf** poŋpipa.
 saŋwalem **n** bog bean (lit: buffalo's tongue). **S** *Menyanthes trifoliata*. **cf** nunuma.
 saŋwapa **n** buffalo bull, male buffalo. **N** राँगो. **cf** poŋpipa.
 saŋwaraŋma **n** *Ainsliaea*, 'buffalo tree'.
 sapma (saptu) **vt** to sound, make audible. **N** सुनाउनु.
 sappasi **n** buckwheat. **N** फापर.
 saptēn **n** region, area; countryside, e.g. Hatuwali. **N** क्षेत्र.
 sap^{hu} **n** bladder.
 sarasa **n** saras crane, smaller and local type of crane. **N** सारस.
 sarima **n** disease. **N** रोग. sarima banyaŋ 'a disease came (e.g. to the village)'. iŋka sarimaʔa id^{hi}raŋ 'I caught a disease'.
 sarima **n** disease. **cf** sariharŋ.
 satma (saru) **vt** to pull, to draw. **N** तान्नु.
 sawarik **n** cartilage, soft bone; tendon, sinew. **N** नसो.

- sawatomk^ha **n** resting. sawatomk^ha len 'resting day'. **cf** sawa toŋma.
 saya **n** head, particularly the immaterial notion of it (N śir). **N** शिर. sayabuŋ 'a flower on the head: idiom for daughters and sisters'.
 saya pima **vt** to honour, to pay respect. **N** इज्जत गर्नु.
 nukonja saya **part** best wishes, I wish you the best. **N** शुभ कामना.
 sek **adj** six (in Homtang). **N** छ.
 sekb^ha **n** bedbug. **N** उडुस.
 sekma **vt** to clean thoroughly, make clean; e.g. to take out the bits that do not fit from food.
N सफा पार्नु.
 sekma **vi** to finish, to end cleanly, peacefully. **N** सिद्धिनु. ŋen sek 'the war finishes'. ŋen sea / sekta 'the war finished'.
 sela **n** sel bread, ring-shaped fried bread. **N** सेलरोटि.
 selle **n** broom grass. **N** आम्रिसो. **S** *Thysanolaena maxima*.
 seluwa **n** mugwort; a bitter herb (used for catching fish). **N** तितेपाती. **S** *Artemisia Indica*.
 sema (sesu) **vt** to not eat the hard bits; to clear out. **N** हटाउनु. sesu co 'it ate the plant but left the hard bits'.
 semma (sema) **vi** to rest, be quiet. **N** शान्ति हुनु. ŋen sema / semta 'the fight is over'. **cf** semma.
caus semma.
 semma (semtu) **vt** to make peace. **N** शान्ति पार्नु; बाँड्नु. k^hosaʔa mik^hiyanaʔo c^haci semtuci 'He made peace of the children who were quarrelling'. semtinne 'let's divide it'. **cf** semma.
root semma.
 senma (senu) **vt** to ask, inquire. **N** सोध्नु.
 senmaŋ **n** dream. **N** सपना. **cf** senmi senmuyu senci. senmaŋyu k^haŋu 'she saw it in a dream'.
 seŋma (seŋsa) **vi** to be clean, to be clear. **N** चोखो हुनु; सफा हुनु. ninama seŋyaŋ 'the sky is clear'.
 seŋyaŋo cakwa 'clear water'. **caus** seŋma.
 seŋma (seŋsu) **vt** to clean. **N** सफा पार्नु. **root** seŋma. bukluŋ seŋsum 'you (pl), clean the yard!'.
 seŋtaŋpa **n** holy person.
 sepma (sea) **vt** to wither. **N** ओइलनु. to wither. **N** ओइलिनु.
 sepma (septu) **vt** to sharpen. **N** उद्याउनु.
 setma (sera) **vi** to kill; when in middle conjugation, 'to be killed' used figuratively for 'to be drunk'.
N मार्नु.
 seula **n** branch, stalk; a piece of a tree usually comprising a small branch with attached leaves. **N** सेउला.
 sewa mune **part** greeting (sewa derives from Nepali 'service'). sewa mune 'hello!'.
 sikma (siktu) **vt** to fill forcefully. **N** खुवाउनु.
 sikwa **n** black hornet. **N** अरिङ्गाल.
 sima (sia) **vi** to die, to go out (of fire). **N** मर्नु; निम्नु. siada 'he died (note the obligatory -da)'.
 misuwadaʔoci 'those that have died...'.
 sima (sia) **vi** to want, to have a strong urge for; to wish, to desire. **N** चाहनु. oda yuŋma siyaŋ 'he would want to live here'. iŋka amno yiŋ lema siŋaŋa 'I want to learn your language'. k^hana iŋko iŋyiŋ lesuni yiŋma siŋaŋa. 'I would like you to learn my language'.
 sa sima **vi** to be hungry. **cf** luma.
 sima **n** death. **N** मृत्यु.
 siŋsiwa **n** fruit. **cf** si-wa.
 siŋ **n** wood, tree.

- sijb^hom **n** cocoon, pupa. **N** कोयो.
 sijc^ha **n** sprout, bud, shoot. **N** बिरुवा, पालुवा.
 sijkad^hokd^hok **n** woodpecker. **N** लाहाँचे.
 sijraj **n** tree. **N** रुख. **cf** sij. **cf** raj.
 sijsi **n** fruit; any kind of fruit from a tree. **N** फल; रुखको फल.
 sipma (siptu) **vt** to pull on (of shoes or gloves). **N** भिर्नु; लाउनु. **cf** sipma.
 sipma **n** shoes. **cf** sipma.
 sitma (siru) **vt** to strip (tear leaves of a plant). **N** ताच्छुनु.
 si **n** fruit; as a classifier noun. **cf** ŋak-si. **cf** biro-si. **cf** sij-si-wa.
 sibi **n** bean, beans. **N** सिमि.
 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** अभिनय.
 sima (sia) **vi** to bear fruit. **N** फल्लु. badde saki siya de, iŋniŋa nowaŋaʔo 'If the potatoes had given more fruit, I would have been happy'. jəti wa ta, k^hun saki siwa. 'As much as it rains, that much the potatoes will bear fruit'.
 simboli **n** simal flower. **S** *Salmalia malabaricum*. **N** सिमल.
 simma (simtu) **vt** (none) to numb. **N** ठिहियाउनु. 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** थाहा हुनु. oko dum sinŋaŋa. 'I know that'. disaʔo sinma. 'to know of what?'. sintinyinka 'we know that'. sintuŋo 'he knows that'. sintuʔo 'he has gotten to know that'.
 sip **n** pulp; dregs, lees; solid matter. **N** थिग्रो; ठोस कुरा.
 sipma (siu) **vt** to cut, to slice; with back-and-forth movements. **N** काट्नु.
 sipma **vt** (middle) **S** 1. to blink, to close (e.g. of eyes). **N** चिम्लिनु. ammik siptuk^ho 'please close your eyes'. **S** 2. to dry up, to close up. **N** सुख्नु. mulu siptu 'he closed up the water'. hik siptak^hara 'the wind stopped'.
 sira **n** a cock's comb; a head (the higher part of it). **N** सिर.
 sit **n** louse; headlouse, hairlouse. **N** जुम्रा.
 sitd^huŋwa **n** cockroach. **N** साङ्लो.
 sitma (sittu) **vt** to store safely, put in a hole. **N** लुकाउनु.
 sitmaŋ **n** dead person, some who has died. **N** मरेको मान्छे. **opp** hiŋmaŋ.
 siwa **n** **S** 1. fruit, produce of trees and plants. **N** फल. **S** 2. meaning. **N** अर्थ.
 siwahaŋ **nm** Siwahang, a former Bantawa Rai king. **N** सिवाहाङ.
 soje **n** false, untrue; a lie. **N** असत्य; ढाँटेको. **opp** nuc^he.
 soj^he **adv** just this way, straight. **N** त्यसै, सोझो. iklen ayi soj^heŋa k^hara 'one day has now gone like this'.
 sokma (sou) **vt** **S** 1. to kick with foot. **N** गोदनु. **S** 2. to husk; to polish (rice). **N** फल्लु.
 solonwa **n** gourd, calabash; to drink beer from; bottle gourd. **N** चिन्डो.
 som **n** **S** 1. love, as between friends; care, compassion. **N** दया; प्रेम; माया. yawaciʔa som nimetyaŋ '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** फोक्सो.
 som tukma **vt** to have compassion; to hurt for, to love. **N** दया गर्नु. mo mina siwaʔo d^heŋda iŋsom tuʔa 'after that man died, my heart aches'.
 som sima **vi** to be satisfied. **N** चित्त बुझ्नु.
 som numa **vt** to love. **N** माया गर्नु. k^hociʔa somnuma metciŋci 'they love one another'.

- soma (sosa) **vi** to be lazy. **N** अल्छि हुनु.
- soma **n** lazyness; infinitive of 'to be lazy'. **cf** katma.
- somma (somsu) **vt** to rub in, to apply by rubbing; to search thoroughly. **N** पछ्याउनु. somma k^hatma 'search thoroughly'. somsu k^hattu 'he searched thoroughly'.
- somma d^hanma **vt** to encourage, to make happy. **N** सर्काउनु; फुर्काउनु. tisomtanj d^hantaɲnalo iŋka yaŋ pina 'If you make me happy, I will give you money'.
- sonma (solu) **vt** to slide down; to flatter, coax. **N** फकाउनु; चिप्लेर झनु.
- sonma (sontu) **vt** (middle) to pacify, please. **N** फकाउनु.
- sonma **vi** to flow. **N** बग्नु. cakwa sonyaŋ 'the water is flowing'. nak^hiwa sonyaŋ 'the snot is running out'. to draw (of breath); to breathe. **N** सास फेर्नु. sakma sonma 'to breathe'. iŋka?a iŋsakma sontuŋ 'I breathe'.
- soɲma (soɲtu) **vt** to wither, to die (of trees and plants). **N** औइलिनु.
- sopma (soptu) **vt** to rub, feel your way around in the dark; to frisk, search. **N** छाम्नु. yam sopma 'to frisk the body'.
- sosawa **n** lazybones, a lazy and gluttonous man. **N** अल्छे. **cf** soma.
- sotma (sottu) **vt** to move. **N** सार्नु.
- soya **n** basket for carrying, *N* doko. **N** डोको.
- sudda **postp** with; comitative postposition. **N** संग. **cf** enan. iŋkasudda yaŋ maddiŋ 'I have no money'. iŋkasudda icilok yaŋ yuŋyaŋ 'I have a little bit of money'.
- sukbe **adv** well, as in well wishing; 'blessing'. **N** शुभ. sukbe lisa 'let it be well'.
- sukma (suktu) **vt** to lie in wait, peek, peer, peep; watch. **N** चियाउनु.
- suma (susa) **vi** (middle) to itch, to be spicy. **N** चिलाउनु. badd^he susa 'it itches a lot; it stings'.
- sumbak **n** leaf. **N** पात.
- sumbakwa **n** leaf, foliage.
- sumka **adj** three; root sum-. **N** तीन.
- summa (sumtu) **vt** to make ferment, in an airtight place. **N** गुम्साउनु.
- sunā **n** gold. **N** सुन.
- sunabuŋ **n** golden ornament. **N** सुन्को फूल. **cf** taŋbuŋ.
- sunma (sunta) **vi** to be sour.
- sunwa **n** bee. **N** माहुरी. sunwa caka 'honeycomb'. sunwa c^habak 'larvae comb'.
- suŋ **n** (domestic) goat.
- supma (suu) **vt** to take a little rice from pot. **N** सोहर्नु.
- suptiŋk^ha **n** prosperity, successfulness. **N** फलिफाप.
- sup^hep **n** bag, cloth bag. **N** पोका.
- sutma (suttu) **vt** to enter into; to hide. **N** घुसाल्नु.
- suwa **n** edible tuber. **N** भ्याकुर. **S** Dioscorea.
- syala **n** jackal. **N** स्याल.

t

- takma (taksa) **vi** to fill (needs k^ha- verbal argument). **N** भरनु. k^ha takma 'to fill'. k^ha taksa 'it filled up'.
- takma (takta) **vt** (middle) to be occupied, be filled up. **N** ओगटनु. yuŋk^ha takta k^hara 'the place is already full'. **cf** kakma.
- talik **n** bow, pellet bow. **N** गुलेली.

tama **n** copper.

tama **vi** to come far. **N** आउनु. tama riṅanalo taṅa. 'If I can come, I will'. tama riṅyaṅ ni?o de, taṅyaṅ?o ŋe. 'I would have come, if I could.'. wa ta de, məkəi raṅ id^{hi}waṅ liṣaṅa?o. 'If water had fallen, the maize would have grown big.'. **caus** tatma.

tama lama **vi** to return, to arrive; to reach. **N** पुगनु. taci laciki 'after they had reached...'.
 tamma (tamsu) **vt** to fill up, to collect. **N** जम्म गर्नु. **root** tapma.

tanma (tanta) **vi** to jump. **N** उफ्रनु.

taṅ **n** head. **N** टाउको.

taṅbop **n** cap, hat; headwear. **N** टोपी.

taṅbuṅ **n** ornament (lit: head-flower). **N** गहना.

taṅkoṅ **n** pillow. **N** सिरानी.

taṅmiwa **n** hair (of the head). **N** कपाल.

tapma (tapta) **vi** to fill. **N** भरनु. wa tapta 'it filled with water'. **caus** tamma.

tara **n** bull's eye, butt. **N** तारो.

tarak^huk **nm** Tarakhuk, a Bantawa clan. **N** ताराखुक, बान्तावा थरको एउटा पाछा (हाँगा).

tari **-nfl** up till, to, till; until; affixes to both nominalised verbs and nouns. **N** सम्म. sat k^hepitari 'up till seven times'. ithenyutari 'up to the bottom'.

tat **-qual** qualifier for objects, things; the generic qualifier.

tatma (taru) **vt** to bring, to bring from afar (unspecific w.r.t. vertical orientation). **N** ल्याउनु. **root** tama. matara 'he had intercourse'.

tatma (tattu) **vt** (antip) to add, to fill up. **N** थाप्नु. cakwa tattuk^ho 'fill up the water'. **root** tatma.

tawa **n** Moonal pheasant; also; peacock. **N** मुनाल.

tawaṅ **n** guest, visitor. **N** पाहुना.

taya **n** **S** 1. respect. **N** मान. saya taya pima 'to give respect'. **S** 2. brain, head; wisdom. **N** ज्ञान, बुद्धि.

tayami **n** leader, politician. **N** राजनैतिक, अगुवा.

tayami **n** student, scholar. **N** विद्यार्थी.

tema (tema) **vi** to be quiet. **N** शान्ति हुनु. j^həgəda tema 'the fight was over'. **cf** sema.

temma (temsu) **vt** (middle) to flatten, to make flat; intransitively: to be flat. **N** सम्म पार्नु. temyaṅ 'it is flat'. dem temsuṅo yuṅk^ha 'what a flat area!'.
 temma (temtu) **vt** to quieten, to make quiet; to pacify. **N** शान्ति पार्नु.

ten **n** village, place.

tencipa **nm** Tencipa, a Bantawa clan. **N** तेनचिपा, बान्तावा थरको एउटा पाछा (हाँगा).

tenma (tea) **vi** to fall over; to slip. **N** ढल्नु; लड्नु. hila te?a 'shaking, it fell over'. iṅnaṅwa huwak^haraki bak^hada ti?aṅ 'I felt over being dizzy'. **root** d^henma.

tenma (tensu) **vt** to uproot. **N** ढाल्नु. **root** tenma.

tenpaṅ **n** neighbour.

teṅma (teṅtu) **vt** to make blunt; to compress, to press hard; to cram it in. **N** खाँदनु.

tepma (teptu) **vt** to add. **N** थाप्नु. **root** t^hepma.

tepma (teu) **vt** to wash face. **N** अनुहार धुनु. ṅaliṅ tepma 'to wash your face'.

tet **-qual** numeral qualifier, general form (non-human, non-round).

tetma (tettu) **vt** to pick, dig out little things (as in nose or out of holes). **N** कनाउनु.

ti^hoṅ **n** wheat, grain. **N** जहूँ.

- tikma (tiu) **vt** to collect, rub off. **N** तान्नु; पोख्नु.
tikma (tiu) **vt** to thread, to string, to make a garland. **N** उन्नु. bujwa tikma 'to make a garland'.
tikwa **n** red jungle fowl, forest fowl (wild chicken). **N** लुइँचे.
tintirit **n** heel. **N** कुकुँचो.
tiŋk^hokwa **n** thorn; prickly plant.
tiŋ **n** thorn. **N** काँडा.
tiŋbulik **n** **S** 1. nail. **N** नड. **S** 2. claw (of bird). **N** पञ्जा. **cf** tumbuluk.
tiŋk^hokwa **n** thorn. **N** काँडा. tiŋk^hokwa id^huwaŋ 'the thorn stung me'.
tiŋma (tiŋtu) **vt** to follow someone else; to chase. **N** पछाडि लागनु; धपाउनु, खेदाउनु.
tiribuk **n** forehead. **N** निधार.
tiyi **n** cane. **N** बेत.
tiyi buŋ **n** flower (N betlauri). **N** बेतलौरी. **cf** yi.
tima (tia) **vi** to reach (archaic). **N** पुगनु. tyarŋ daŋ 'I went there and got back'. **caus** titma.
timma (timu) **vt** to press down. **N** थिच्चु.
tipma (tiu) **vt** to drain off (the beer). k^haca tipma 'drain'.
tit **n** clothes; cloth, dress.
titiri taŋ **n** tamarind tree. **N** तित्री. **S** Tamarindus indica.
titma (tittu) **vt** to guide. **N** अधि लागनु. **root** tima.
tokma (toktu) **vt** to receive, to get; to be allowed. **N** पाउनु. k^ha tokma 'to see, to get to see something'. mosa?a dic^haŋ mantokyuktu 'he received nothing'.
c^ha tokma **vt** to get a child, to have a child. **N** बच्चा पाउनु, जन्माउनु. hwatet c^haci titoktacuci? 'Do you have two children?'.
tokpa **n** big, heavy, sizeable. **N** ठूलो. tokpa luŋ enmakinaŋa limma k^hanma 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** टोल.
tomma (tomtu) **vt** **S** 1. to support. **N** तलबाटा ठेल्नु. **S** 2. to push. **N** घचेट्नु.
tonma (tonsu) **vt** to push away. **N** ठेल्नु.
tonma (tontu) **vt** to arrange. **N** मिलाउनु. amno k^him dem k^hannulo tontulo k^hapta?o 'how nicely you have roofed your house'.
toŋkola **n** meteor, meteorite; anything that shows as a streak of light against the night sky. **N** उल्का.
toŋma (toŋa) **vi** to match, to meet. **N** मिल्नु.
toŋma (toŋsu) **vt** to put together, to match, to agree. **N** मिलाउनु. dum toŋma 'to agree (on some matter)'. **cf** toŋma. **root** toŋma.
toŋwat **n** close-meshed wicker basket. **N** थुन्चे.
toppo **adj** big, e.g. of rivers.
topra **n** a plate made of leaves (tapari N). **N** टपरी.
totma (tottu) **vt** to help raise the load. **N** ठेलदिनु.
totola **n** bignonia tree. **N** तातेलो. **S** Oroxylum indicum.
tukma (tuktu) **vt** touch; strike against. amtenpaŋ soma tuktanum 'love your neighbour'.
tukma (tua) **vi** to be ill, hurt. **N** दुख्नु; बिमार हुनु; अशारीरिक कष्ट हुनु; लागनु. ak^homaŋ tituwa? 'were you ill yesterday?'. iŋka itukniŋniŋ 'I am not ill'. b^hut?a mitu?aŋa?o minaci 'people stricken by spirits'. som tukma 'to have compassion, to feel love for'.
tukwa **n** subject.

- tuma (tu) **vt** to dig in (like for potatoes or to bury). **N** खन्नु. tuṅu 'he is digging'. tuwaṅ 'I dug'.
 tucune 'let's dig (du)'. tumne 'let's dig (pl)'.
 tumbuluk **n** nail, fingernail. **N** नड. **cf** tiṅbulik.
 tumma (tuma) **vi** to be ripe; to become ripe, to ripen. **N** पाक्नु.
 tumma (tumsu) **vt** to join together e.g. make a boy and girl match. **N** वेटाइदिनु. **root** tupma.
 tumpasa **n** wild cat, jungle cat. **N** वनधारे.
 tumpic^hik **n** knee. **N** वुंडा.
 tumpu **n** type of tree (kāulo N). **N** काउलो.
 tumpuc^hik^hik **n** game, where children pinch the top of each other's hands. **N** चिमुसिचि (हात
 चिमोटने खेल).
 tun **n** pimple.
 tuṅbu **n** grey monkey (with a long tail). **N** लङ्गूर.
 tuṅk^hu **n** smoke. **N** धुंवा.
 tuṅma (tuṅsa) **vi** to move, to drive (e.g. a car). **N** चलाउनु. duṅmaki tuṅma inunin. 'It's not good
 to drink and then drive.'
 tupma (tuṅtu) **vt** to understand. **N** बुझ्नु. **root** tupma.
 tupma (tuu) **vt** to meet. **N** भेट्नु. p^heri tuncine 'let's meet again'. **caus** tumma. **caus** tupma.
 tupma **n** meaning. **cf** tup.
 tuppī **n** crown of the head. **N** टुप्पी.
 tupyij **n** meaning. **cf** tupma.
 tutma (tuttu) **vt** to leak. **N** झोला आदिबाट खस्ने वा छिर्ने आदि.

th

- t^habut **n** ash, ashes. **N** खरानी.
 t^haklo **n** stairs, stairwell; ladder. **N** भञ्याड. **cf** piri t^hakok.
 t^hakma (t^haktu) **vt** to bring up. **N** माथि ल्याउनु. **root** t^haṅma.
 t^hakok **n** stairs, stairwell; ladder. **N** भञ्याड. **cf** piri t^haklo.
 t^hakri **n** cloud. **N** बादल.
 t^hala **n** **N** थाल. plate.
 t^hali **n** net (e.g. for fishing); web (spiderweb). **N** जाली.
 t^hama (t^hasu) **vt** to split, divide, manage, distribute. **N** पुऱ्याउनु. otyaṅsa t^hama dora 'we had to
 divide it by breaking it up'.
 t^hanma (t^hantu) **vt** to make stand. **N** उठाउनु.
 t^haṅma (t^haṅa) **vi** to come up. **N** माथि पुऱ्याउनु. yutniṅka ... t^haṅyaṅ 'from down ... he comes'.
caus t^hakma.
 t^haṅma (t^haṅsu) **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; हावा खुवाउनु. ca t^haṅsu 'shake the dust out!'.
cf epma yima.
 t^haṅma **n** ascent, climb; also: steepness, steep. **N** उकालो. demko t^haṅma 'how steep!'. **opp**
 yinpa. **cf** t^haṅ.
 t^haṅna **n** young man, adolescent. **N** युवा. **pair** warisa.
 t^hapma (t^haptu) **vt** to winnow. **N** निफन्नु. **cf** yima. **root** t^hapma.
 t^hapma (t^hawa) **vi** to spread wide. **N** फार्नु; च्यात्नु. **caus** t^hapma.
 t^hapsiṅ **n** culture, ritual. **N** संस्कार.

- t^hatma (t^hattu) **vt** to be sufficient. **N** पुगनु; पुज्याउनु.
 t^hekluŋwa **n** spit, saliva. **N** थुक. **cf** t^huŋ.
 t^hekma (t^hektu) **vt** to push away with feet. **N** लात मानु. t^hekma dima 'kick it in (Bantawa's dictionary)'.
 t^hekma **n** deaf, a deaf woman. **N** बहिरी. **pair** t^hekpa.
 t^hekoloŋ **n** nightingale. **N** जुरेली.
 t^hekpa **n** deaf, a deaf man. **N** बहिरो. **pair** t^hekma.
 t^hem **n** creeper; disorder. **N** बेली; लहरो. i^hem pakma 'to hang in a clump'.
 t^hemk^ha **n** block, curtain, hindering. **cf** t^hej. t^hemk^hatit 'curtain'.
 t^hemma (t^hema) **vi** to be lost. **N** बिराउनु.
 t^hen **n** bottom, floor. **N** चाक; जग; पीध; तल. mo gagityaŋʔo i^henda hutci miyak. 'There are holes in the bottom of that gagityaŋ'.
 t^henma (t^hentu) **vt** to lift up. **N** उचाल्नु.
 t^hejma (t^hejtu) **vt** to push away with hand. **N** हातले चङ्काउनु.
 t^hep **n** fat, grease; animal's fat. **N** बोसो. saŋwaʔo i^hep 'a buffalo's fat'. b^hakt^hep 'pig's fat'.
 t^hep **qual** a drop; a qualifier for counting. **N** थोपो. ikt^hep cakwa, hwat^hep cakwa 'one drop of water, two drops of water'.
 t^hepma (t^heptu) **vt** **S** 1. to add to cooking food. **N** दाउन लगाउनु. **appl** tepma. **S** 2. to cover, to close. **N** ढाक्नु. **cf** dipma.
 t^heppa **adj** closed, deaf. **N** बहिरो. nabak t^heppa 'deaf'.
 t^heppasa **n** big bat (spanning up to 70 cm). **N** ठूलो चमेरो.
 t^hetmo **n** spit.
 t^hetma (t^hettu) **vt** to lift up for someone else (benefactive). **N** उचालदिनु.
 t^hetnuŋwa **n** spit, saliva. **N** थुक.
 t^hikma (t^hiktu) **vt** to prepare bed for another. **N** ओछ्याइ दिनु.
 t^himba **n** pillar, stem of a banana plant. **N** थाम.
 t^hinma (t^hintu) **vt** to pour out completely. **N** सिद्धाउनु.
 t^hiŋma (t^hiŋa) **vi** to be pregnant, to give birth; to grow in numbers. **N** सुत्केरि हुनु. mo t^hiŋa 'she delivered a baby'. k^ho mina t^hiŋa 'that person had his family extended'. **cf** c^ha tokma.
 t^hiŋma (t^hiŋsu) **vt** to spread a bed. **N** ओछ्याउनु.
 t^hinma (t^hilu) **vt** to attack, to pounce. **N** झम्टिनु.
 t^hinma (t^hinta) **vi** to rise, to wake up (from sleep); to stand up (from chair). **N** बिउँझनु.
 t^hinma (t^hintu) **vt** (middle) to make rise: to wake up (someone else, from sleep); to stand up (from chair). **N** बिउँझनु; बिउँझनु.
 t^hok **n** entrails; intestines, bowels. **N** आन्द्रा.
 t^hokma **vt** to make a wall. **N** पर्खाल लाउनु; भिटा बनाउनु. kanla t^hoktu 'make that wall!'.
 t^hokma **vt** **S** 1. to spill; to pour. **N** पोखाउनु, पोख्नु. cakwa t^hokma 'pour s.o. else water'. cakwa t^hou 'spill the water'. **S** 2. to rinse, to wash, to clean. **N** पखाल्नु. t^houki co 'eat after you washed (your mouth)'.
 t^homma (t^homa) **vi** to dance. **N** नाच्नु. **ben** t^hopma.
 t^homma (t^homsu) **vt** to make dance, to make someone else dance. **N** नचाउनु. **root** t^homma.
 t^hoŋ **n** place, location. **N** ठाउँ.
 t^hoŋbi **n** sir, good gentlemen; respectful expression to address a meeting. **N** भद्र भलादमी.
 t^hopma (t^hoptu) **vt** to dance for some one. **N** नाच दिनु. **root** t^homma.

- t^hotma (t^hottu) **vt S** 1. to bring up sins of the past to add to the current argument. **N** फत्तुर लगाउनु. **S** 2. to add on top of what there (more than the receiver wants); to mix. **N** थप्नु; मिसाउनु.
- t^hukma (t^huktu) **vt** to spit at someone. **N** थुक्नु.
- t^humba **n** ram, male sheep. **N** थुमा.
- t^hujma (t^huj̥su) **vt** to dig in, to raise (after digging). **N** गाड्नु.
- t^huj̥ma (t^huj̥su) **vt** to spit (in general, at the ground). **N** थुक्नु.
- t^huj̥nam **n** big jungle, woods; primæval forest. **N** विशाल जङ्गल. **cf** k^hokli.
- t^hupi **n** scar. **N** दाग. t^hupi yuŋa 'there is a scar'.
- t^hupma (t^huptu) **vt** to hang up in a clump; make a stand for plants. **N** झाड लगाउनु.
- t^hupma (t^huu) **vt S** 1. to sew (clothes). **N** सिउनु. **S** 2. to make a great feast. **N** भोज राम्रो हुनु. **cf** t^hupma.

t^h

- t^hulima **n** aunt, mother's older sister. **N** ठुली आमा.
- t^hulopapa **n** uncle, mother's older sister's husband. **N** ठूलोबा.

u

- ud^hutni **n** up here, upwards; in this direction, upwards. **N** यता मासतिर. icilok ud^hutni 'a bit higher'.
- uh^hutni **n** down here, down this way; downwards. **N** यता तल तिर. uh^hutni yiwak^ha 'come down this way'.
- ukma (uu) **vt** (antip) to peel. **N** बाक्रो फ्याँक्नु. ik^hot u?uk^ho 'peel it (pa)!' u?aŋ 'I peeled (it)'.
- umma (umtu) **vt** (middle) to close (mouth). **N** बन्द गर्नु. amdo umtu 'close your mouth'.
- un **pro** like that, that way. **N** यस्तो. un maddiŋ... 'if it's not like that...'
- uncitko **adj** small. **N** सानो. un citko hoŋku 'a small river'. unda citkoci 'that small'. **cf** citko.
- unda **pro** this size. **N** यत्रो. unda mu 'it's this size'. **cf** munda unko.
- unko **pro** this size. **N** यत्रो. **cf** unda. **cf** munko.
- unma (untu) **vt** (antip) to dig for food (by pig). **N** खन्नु.
- unni **n** a little; less, comparatively less. **N** थोरै. unni piwaŋ 'give me less'. unni onŋa piwaŋ 'give me just a little'.
- uŋpokok **adv** very big, huge. uŋpokok luŋtak yuŋyaŋ 'there was a very big stone'.
- upma (uptu) **vt** (middle) to shine with light. **N** बल्नु. upta 'it burned'. **cf** lenma.
- utwa **n** sugarcane. **N** उखु. utwa duŋma '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** धुनु. k^hamma waswak^ha 'wash up the dishes...'. k^hamma wasuk^hoci 'wash up the dishes & utensils!'. att^hu (iwayiŋ) wasiŋciŋ 'I already washed it in the morning'.
- wacaŋma (caŋsu) **vt** to bathe another, to wash someone. **N** नुहाइदिनु. araŋ iŋma?a wa icaŋsaŋyaŋ '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 **vobj** water. wapoktuʔo 'soaked'. wad^hapma 'to wash'. wahopma 'to get wet'. wapokta 'he got soaked'.
 wa **vsuf** like, similar. **N** जस्तै. maddiŋwa luwaŋ 'it seems like it's not there'. cintinwa 'like as we teach'. cinmayiŋwa 'like a teaching'.
 wabuk **n** bottle gourd. **N** चिण्डो.
 wach^hin **n** beer, local beer. **N** जाँड.
 wadera **n** mud pool. **N** जलाम्मे; भेलवाडी धमिलो पानी. dem wata, k^hunŋa wadera k^hara 'as much as it rains, that much it will be flooding'.
 wadin **n** egg, chicken's egg. **N** अण्डा. **cf** din wa.
 wad^hupma **n** flood. **N** ठूलो भेल; जलाम्मे.
 wai b^hima **n** a fish pond, created by diverting the course of a river in order to catch fish. **N** ढुवालि फर्काउनु. **cf** rokt^hok. **cf** b^hi. **cf** wataplunŋma.
 waic^het **n** chick, baby chicken. **N** चल्ला.
 waiwet **n** silent, peaceful, quiet. **N** चुप. waiwet yuŋa 'keep silent'.
 wakma (waktu) **vt** to make enter; enter someone. **N** भित्रनु. **cf** waŋma. **root** waŋma.
 wako **postp** like, as used in comparison. **N** जस्तो. cakwa wako 'like water'. di wako tipiwaŋ? 'what are you giving me?'.
 wakulen **n** waterplant. **N** पानीमा फुल्ले बिरुवा.
 wak^hi **n** wakhi, white root (edible). **N** खाने सेतो जरा.
 walempac^hik **n** earthworm. **N** गँड्यौलो. **S** annelida.
 waliŋhaŋ **nm** Walinghang, the nephew of Shivahang, one king of Sindrang. **N** वालिङहाङ.
 walu **n** water source, . **N** पानीको स्रोत.
 wama (wasu) **vt** to dry. **N** सुकाउनु.
 wamma (wamtu) **vt** to scratch on an itchy place. **N** कन्याउनु.
 wank^ha **n** **S** 1. ladle, big spoon. **N** चलाउने, डाडु. kok wank^ha 'rice ladle'. **S** 2. ornament.
 wanma (walu) **vt** to stir, to apply. **N** चलाउनु. k^hen wanma 'to hurt someone or something else'.
 wanma (wansu) **vt** to waste time. **N** खेर फाल्नु.
 waŋma (waŋa) **vi** to enter, arrive, come; reach (at); to climb. **N** पस्नु. mo sətrə bəŋsada waŋa 'he just arrived at his seventeenth year'. mo sətrə bəŋsada tala. 'he is seventeen years old (fully completed the seventeenth year)'. dŋŋgada waŋaki talko c^heuda lasa. 'going in the boat he returned to the side of the lake'. b^hiriʔo ico^kdu waŋinne '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 खियाउनु.
 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** t^haŋna.
 wasiŋ **n** alder-tree. **N** उत्तिस. **S** *Alnus nepalensis*.
 wasuri **n** water trough, the gutter below the eaves, where the water comes down when it runs from the roof. **N** बलेंसी.
 watamk^ha **n** lake. **N** झील.
 wataplunŋma **n** natural pond; a deeper area in a river. **N** दह.
 watatma **n** jug used for the collection of the hengmawa in the distillation process. **N** थाप्ने भाँडा.

- watma (waru) **vt** (antip) to put on (as of ornaments), to wear jewelry; to give (as of names) generally: to apply; to befall. **N** लाउनु. k^hen waraŋ 'I got hurt'. k^hana di tiwaru 'what have you put on?'.
 watma (wattu) **vt** to make wear (as of ornaments, not clothes); to give (as of names) generally: to apply. **N** लाइदिनु. niŋ watma 'to give a name'. saŋaʔa iniŋ wattu 'who gave him that name?'.
 watmasi **n** jewellery, ornaments. **N** गहना.
 watni **adv** like this. **cf** k^hotni motni.
 watni **nfl** similaritive, 'like this'. **N** जस्तै.
 watup **n** confluence of two rivers. **N** दोभान.
 wayiŋ **n** morning. **N** बिहान. ayi iwayiŋ 'this morning'.
 wayitaŋ **n** type of tree.
 wenma (weru) **vt** to throw a stone. **N** ढुङ्गा हान्नु.
 wensi **n** berry, berries; raspberry. **N** ऐसेलु.
 weŋma (weŋu) **vt** to chop by layers. **N** कछुर काट्नु.
 wetma (wettu) **vt** **S** 1. to hang up. **S** 2. to throw (away, seeds). **N** फ्याँक्नु. wetma k^hanma 'to throw away'.
 wik **n** dry ground, garden. **N** बारी.
 winma (wintu) **vt** to grind. **N** पिस्नु.
 winma **vt** to throw away (of trash), to throw. **N** फ्याँक्नु. winma k^hanma 'to ditch, to throw away; to dispose'. **cf** wetma.
 witma (wiru) **vt** to gather up, arrange. **N** बटुल्लु. biskuna wiruk^ho 'please, collect the corn (from the field)'.

y

- ya matma (ya mara) **vt** to pray. **N** प्रार्थना गर्नु. **cf** metma.
 yag^haŋma **n** spider. **N** माकुरो. yag^haŋma t^hali bayarŋ 'the spider makes a web'.
 yak **n** a type arum of which the root or tuber is eaten. **N** पिंडालु.
 yakbak **n** arum leaf. **N** पिनालोको पात.
 yakma (yaa) **vi** to be (existentially, locationally). **N** हुनु. iŋgojida sumka yarŋ yakyarŋ. 'in my pocket there are three rupees'. oda di yakyarŋ 'what is this here?'. demkatet yiŋci miyakyarŋ? 'how many words are there?'. 50 kilo onŋa yakŋaŋa 'I weigh only 50 kgs.'.
 yaksa **n** store, shelter. **N** अन्न बाली रुङ्गे गोठ; सानो कटेरा, झुप्रा, छाप्रा.
 yam **n** body, torso; lap. **N** जिउ; शरीर. yam sopma 'to frisk the body'. iŋyamda tiyuŋ? 'will you sit on my lap?'.
 yam **n** season. **N** मौसम. hakla yamda 'in the hot season'. c^hiŋacinen d^hit muma c^haŋ sumka yam k^hara cia. 'Before we met with my father's sisters, three seasons had already past. (Bungwakha 23)'.
 yama (yasu) **vt** to tickle. **N** काउकुती गर्नु.
 yamma (yamta) **vi** to rot, to decay; particularly of wood. **N** मकाउनु.
 yamsi **n** breast-feeding, milk; used for milk that is drunk from the breast or udder, not for the white fluid as such. **N** दूध. **cf** ompiwa.
 yanarŋka **adv** from there (level).
 yaniŋka **adv** from there. **opp** d^haniŋka yutniŋka. **cf** yani.
 yanma (yantu) **vt** to help, in the material sense of the word; support financially. **N** सहायता दिनु.

- yaŋ **n** money, general term; coin, coins. **N** पैसा. **cf** p^hekwa.
yaŋ **n** nest. **N** गुँड. c^hoŋwayaŋ 'bird's nest'. mayaŋ 'womb'.
yaŋb^hak **n** wild boar. **N** बनेल.
yaŋc^hoku **n** hill nettle. **N** काउसो. **S** *Girardinia palmata*. **cf** c^hokuma.
yaŋk^ha **n** the interior of the house. **N** घर भित्र. yaŋk^ha bikma 'sweep the house'.
yaŋk^habik **n** broom. **N** कुचो.
yaŋlok **adj** light, of weight; lightweight. **N** हलुको. **cf** yaŋ.
yaŋma (yaŋsa) **vi** to be lightweight. **N** हलुका हुनु. yaŋsa 'it was light'.
yaŋma (yaŋu) **vt** **S** 1. to hold; to embrace, to hug. **N** अङ्गाल्नु. c^ha yaŋma 'to hug a child'. **S** 2. to use. abiwa amdab^hi yaŋma piwaŋ e! 'brother, give me your khukuri to use it, hey!'.
yaŋsiŋ **n** cilaune tree; a very common tree used for wood. **N** चित्लाउने. **S** *Schima wallichii*.
yaŋwama **n** big river, sea. **N** नदी; समुद्रा.
yapma (yaptu) **vt** to ladle out; to scoop. to row a boat. **N** पस्काउनु.
yari **n** ginger cutting, for divination purposes; done during Sakenwa puja. **N** अदुवा काट्ने काम.
yari pekma dot. 'we must cut the ginger'.
yatma (yatta) **vi** to get worn. **N** खिनु.
yatma (yattu) **vt** to wear out. **N** खिनु. **cf** yatma.
yawakuwa **n** friends and all. **N** साथि-भाइ.
yawa **n** friend. yawayawa som mituk 'friends love one another'. yawac^ha 'little friend'.
yawayok **n** a gathering, a meeting. **N** संगत; संगति. yawayok muma 'to gather, to make a meeting'.
yayok **n** advice. **N** सल्लाह.
yayokk^ha **n** meeting place; council. **N** सलाह गर्ने ठाउँ.
yihup **n** whip. **N** कोरा.
yikicikma **n** typhus. **N** टाइफस.
yima (yia) **vi** to come down. **N** ओर्लिनु. **caus** yitma.
yima (yisu) **vt** to whack someone, e.g. with a stick; to hit. **N** हिकाउनु. sampica yiyaŋsa hik lantuk^ho 'winnow the millet, shaking it to the wind'. yisuk^haisu 'he hit him'.
yiŋpa **adv** downwards. **N** ओरालो. **opp** t^haŋma.
yiŋ **n** language, speech, matter. amno yiŋda hanma iŋc^hema katyaŋ 'I'm interested in speaking your (pl) language'. amyiŋ 'your (s) language'. yiŋ latma 'to pray'.
yiŋk^han **n** news, message. yiŋk^han piwaŋ 'give me the message...'.
yiŋma (yiŋa) **vi** to say, to tell. **N** भन्नु; बोल्नु.
yiŋsi **n** word, a single word. **N** शब्द.
yitma (yiru) **vt** to bring down, to take from above (and bring down). **N** माथिबाट तल ल्याउनु.
saŋa yiriŋuci?o 'who will bring them down?'. **root** yima. **caus** yitma.
yitma (yittu) **vt** to bring down. **N** माथिबाट तल ल्याउनु. **root** yima.
yiwa **n** bone. **N** हाँड.
yikma (yiktu) **vt** to ride a horse. **N** चढ्नु. **cf** yukma.
yima (yua) **vi** to come down, to descend. **N** ओर्लिनु. **cf** yima. ak^homaŋ ikc^ha mina d^haniŋka yia 'yesterday one man came from above'.
yiŋma **vt** to tell. **cf** yiŋma.
yitma (yittu) **vt** to bring down.
yok **n** time. sawatomk^ha len taŋa?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** धपाउनु.
- yon **n** chin. **N** च्यापु.
- yoŋma (yoŋu) **vt** to not do work, have a holiday; take a break; to avoid. **N** वार्नु; नचलाउनु. didi cama k^hosa yoŋma dot. 'what kinds of food he must avoid'.
- yopma **vt** to take out the grain. **N** छोडाउनु. moko miŋa məkəi yoʔu 'that man peeled out the maize'. **syn** letma k^hanma.
- yotma (yottu) **vt** to add. **N** थप्नु.
- yukma (yuktu) **vt** **S** 1. to put; to place something at some location; to put for someone else, to put (benefactive). **N** राख्नु; राखिदिनु. **S** 2. to mount; to ride a horse. **N** चढ्नु. **root** yuŋma.
- 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** राख्नु. mancinyuk 'he did not finish'. mancayuk 'he did not finish eating'.
- yum **n** salt.
- yumbuŋ **n** everlasting flower. **N** बुकि. **S** *Anaphalis nepalensis* (nubigena).
- yumma **vi** to be salty. **N** नुनिलो हुनु.
- yumpaima **n** big red field mouse.
- yunma (yunta) **vi** to be weak, be thin. **N** दुब्लाउनु.
- yuŋma (yuŋa) **vi** to sit. **N** बस्नु. **caus** yuŋma.
- yuŋma (yuŋsu) **vt** to put; to cause to sit. **N** राख्नु; बसाल्नु. **root** yuŋma. yuŋma dama 'to put, to place'.
- yupma (yuptu) **vt** to poke in; to fix by inserting. **N** ठेल्नु.
- yupuŋ **nm** Yupung, the god or worship for crops and agriculture. **N** बालीपूजा.
- yutma (yuttu) **vt** to tie; to bind (the grass together). **N** बाँध्नु.

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 *-tət* in Limbu deserves discussion⁷, e.g. (142, 143).

- (142) *k^ho-mɛ-dət-nɛn*
 get-3pl-PASS-NEG.3pl
 ‘they are not available’
- (143) *suk-tət-∅*
 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 unequal 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 nest⁸.

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.

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 *tet* 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) t^haps-u-d^hɔ-aŋ
knock.down-U-COMPL-PT.3s>3/1s
'he knocked him down'
- (146) natt-u-lɔtt-usi
drive-U-TAKE-PT.3s>3ns
'he drove them out'
- (147) lɔtt-εmmeʔ a-bir-εmmeʔ natt-εmmeʔ a-bir-εmmeʔ
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) piʔl natt-uŋ-des-uŋ
cow drive-1s>3s-send-1s>3s
'I drove the cow away'
- (149) ɔ:kt-ε nε:s-ε
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. Nε:ma ('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 nε:s-ε
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.

$$(151) \quad V_{\alpha \text{ tense}, \beta \text{ agreement}}^f \rightarrow V_{\alpha \text{ tense}, \beta \text{ agreement}}^f \quad V_{\alpha \text{ tense}, \beta \text{ agreement}}^f$$

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.

- (152) krib-Ø-jöl-ci
cut-X-put.down-PT.DU
PAST we/you/they (dual) cut down
- (153) krim-Ø-jöl-ci
cut-X-put.down-NPT.DU
NON-PAST we/you/they (dual) cut down

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 Lahaussis, who studied this language more recently (Lahaussis 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).

Wāmbule

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) syāk-khā-cā-me (*underlying*: syāt-khā-cā-me)
kill-come/bring-PUR-RES
‘to come or bring up and kill something’

Wāmbule 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 Wāmbule, 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 Wāmbule. 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-pe·-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-example⁹, 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 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 *k^haima* '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. yu: du:-a k^hat-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

⁹Rutgers (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.

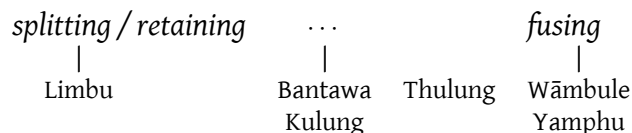
(158) cups-u lat-o:
load-1s→3P.PT PER-1s.NPT
'I'll load it.' (Tolsma 1999: Ex.361)

(159) dil-o: po-ci-te
roll-1s.NPT BNF-d-IMP
'roll^d 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 prefixation¹¹.

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.



If we understand the surfacing of compound verbs as a process, the rules would be as stated below.

(160) generation sequence for compound verbs

¹⁰We 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.

¹¹A 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. ${}^0V_{\alpha}^m \text{ tense, } \beta \text{ agreement} \rightarrow {}^0V_{NPT}^m \text{ tense, } \beta \text{ agreement} \quad {}^0V_{\alpha}^m \text{ tense, } \beta \text{ agreement}$

- 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 <yuj-> ‘to sit, to put’ family designate some shade of perfectivity or definitiveness. An even more widespread phenomenon is the usage of cognates of Bantawa *cama*¹² ‘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.

¹²*cama* ‘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

Dit proefschrift geeft een overzichtsgrammatica van het Bantawa. Hoofdstuk één beschrijft de positie van het Bantawa in geografische, historische, culturele en taalkundige zin. Het Bantawa wordt hoofdzakelijk gesproken in Oost-Nepal, in het bergachtige district Bhojpur. In de laatste volkstelling van Nepal noemden meer dan 350.000 mensen ‘Bantawa’ als hun etniciteit. Binnen het Bantawa taalgebied kunnen tenminste vier dialecten worden aangewezen, nl. het noordelijke Dilpālī, het westelijke Āmcoke, de oostelijke dialecten die rond Dhankuṭā worden gesproken en tenslotte het centrale Hatuvālī dialect. Het Hatuvālī is het onderwerp van deze beschrijving. Het Bantawa maakt deel uit van het ‘Centraal Kiranti’ taxon van de Himalayaanse Kiranti-talen. De Kiranti-talen maken deel uit van de Tibeto-Burmaanse taalfamilie, waartoe ook o.a. het Chinees en Burmaans behoren. Binnen de familie van Kiranti-talen neemt het Bantawa een centrale plaats in, niet alleen geografisch maar ook doordat verschillende omliggende talen zijn geassimileerd aan het Bantawa.

Hoofdstuk twee beschrijft de klankleer 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/. Complexe *onsets* bestaan uit een plosief gevolgd door een van de approximanten /w/ en /j/. Complexe *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 wordeinde 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 Hatuvālī 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 hoofdwoordsoorten 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 pronomina. Het Bantawa telt elf pronominale 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 pronomina; het onderscheid tussen het tweevoud en meervoud in de derde

persoon wordt slechts uitgedrukt in de werkwoordsvorm. De naamvalsmarkering van werkwoordsargumenten volgt het absolutief-ergatieve systeem. Alle nominale categorieën kunnen gemarkeerd worden met de ergatieve/instrumentele naamval, de genitivus en de verschillende locatieve, vocatieve en comitatieve naamvallen. Het Bantawa kent verschillende locatieven, die grammaticaal de verticale component van de locatie of richting uitdrukken. Directionele en ablatieve naamvallen zijn samengesteld uit een locativus met een vervolgsuffix. Bezitsrelaties in het Bantawa worden uitgedrukt door middel van pronominale prefixen aangehecht aan naamwoorden. Het vocatieve prefix <a-> 'mijn' moet ook worden begrepen als een pronominaal prefix. Voor bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en sommige onbepaalde deelwoorden kan het derde-persoons bezittelijk prefix <i-> een grammaticale rol vervullen als markering van bepaaldheid. De samengestelde naamwoorden in Bantawa worden ingedeeld in samenstellingen van gelijke delen en samenstellingen van ongelijke delen. Bij de laatste staat het hoofd altijd rechts. Deze indeling wordt semantisch gemotiveerd door te laten zien dat de gecombineerde betekenis van een samenstelling van de eerste soort neerkomt op een optelling van de betekenis van de samenstellende delen, terwijl de betekenis van een samenstelling met ongelijke delen neerkomt op een aanpassing van de betekenis van het hoofd. Dit betekenisonderscheid vindt ook uitdrukking in de syntaxis van de bezittelijke vormen van samengestelde naamwoorden.

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 templaar 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

afhankelijk van de structurele interpretatie van betreffende werkwoordsvorm. De reflexieve werkwoordsvormen worden gevormd met het duale suffix <-ci>. In werkwoordsvormen die een uitgang op een klinker bevatten wordt ook het reflexieve 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 ontkenning daarvan, geen enkele feitelijkheid heeft.

Het vijfde hoofdstuk gaat in op de niet-finiete vormen van het werkwoord in Bantawa. Het Bantawa kent een aantal nominale werkwoordsvormen, die elk een bepaalde grammaticale rol van het werkwoordargumenten uitdrukken. Het actieve deelwoord kent een logische afleiding, maar een groot deel van deze vormen heeft een lexicaal gespecialiseerde betekenis. Naast het actieve deelwoord kent het Bantawa ook een passieve en een, betrekkelijk ongebruikelijk, purposief deelwoord, dat het doel, instrument of de locatie uitdrukt van de werkwoordelijke actie. Het Bantawa kent ook twee converbiale werkwoordsvormen, nl. het simultane en negatief perfecte converbium. Converbia vervullen een bijwoordelijke rol ten opzichte van de bovengeschikte matrixzin en delen noodzakelijk het onderwerp en tijdsframe van de matrixzin. Hoofdstuk vijf beschrijft ook de infinitieve en supiene vormen van het werkwoord. Naast gespecialiseerde niet-finiete vormen kent het Bantawa ook een generieke nominalisator <?o>. Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft ook de toepassing van deze nominalisator op finiete werkwoordsvormen. Genominaliseerde finiete werkwoordsvormen maken onderdeel uit van de samengestelde voltooidde tijdsvormen van het werkwoord en betrekkelijke bijzinnen, maar komen ook zelfstandig voor in factitieve, assertieve en vragende zinnen.

Het zesde hoofdstuk behandelt het onderwerp overdrachtelijkheid of transitiviteit van werkwoorden. Het begrip transitiviteit in het Bantawa houdt meer in dan slechts ariteit, zijnde het aantal participanten in de werkwoordelijke actie, maar heeft ook betrekking op voltooidheid en definitie van de werkwoordelijke situatie. Een aantal transitieve patronen wordt behandeld om toe te lichten welke actantenrollen corresponderen met de finiete werkwoordsvorm. Vervolgens worden de verschillende betekenissen van intransitieve verbuigingen van transitieve werkwoorden beschreven als medio-passieve en anti-passieve vormen. In hoofdstuk zes worden ook de morfologische, derivationele verbanden tussen transitieve en intransitieve werkwoorden in het lexicon beschreven. Naast derivationele transitiviteitsoperaties, kent het Bantawa ook grammaticaal transparante vorming van causatieven, van reflexieven en van wederkerige werkwoorden.

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 werkwoordsvormen worden samengesteld. De precieze morfologie van samengestelde werkwoorden,

dwz. welke suffixen behouden blijven op het eerste en tweede deel van de samenstelling, wordt beschreven in termen van templaat-morfologie. De semantiek van samengestelde werkwoorden wordt beschreven in termen van aspect en *Aktionsart*. Het tweede deel van een samengestelde werkwoordsvorm, het vectorwerkwoord, voegt altijd aspectuele informatie toe aan het complex. De meest frequente vectorwerkwoorden zijn de werkwoorden van beweging, die naast perfectiviteit soms ook een deel van hun oorspronkelijke directionaliteit uitdrukken. Werkwoorden die een wijze van zijn of verblijven uitdrukken, daarentegen, voegen vrijwel altijd slechts een strikt aspectuele betekenis toe aan het werkwoordelijk complex. De progressieve vormen gebaseerd op het werkwoord *yanma* zijn zo verregaand gegrammaticaliseerd, dat ze moeilijk als samenstellingen herkenbaar zijn. Andere vectorwerkwoorden drukken *Aktionsarten* uit die minder gemakkelijk te generaliseren zijn, zoals de *experiential*, de probatief en een kleine klasse resultatieven. De vectorwerkwoorden kunnen vruchtbaar worden ingedeeld naar vormelijk gedrag, nl. of zij zich in de stamselectie aanpassen aan het hoofdwerkwoord. Het blijkt dat strikt aspectuele vectorwerkwoorden hun stam niet aanpassen, terwijl de andere werkwoorden wel de stamvorm aanpassen aan de transitiviteit van de linkerhelft van samenstellingen. Het onderscheid tussen samengestelde werkwoorden waarvan beide delen wel of niet corresponderen in transitiviteit is fundamenteel. In complexe werkwoorden met een rechterdeel dat een andere ariteit heeft dan het linkerdeel, wordt het linkerdeel nooit verbogen. Deze werkwoordscomplexen hebben een werkwoordelijke stam als hoofd dat een grammaticaal argument ter linkerzijde selecteert. Deze structuur correspondeert met lexicale werkwoorden met twee stamdelen, waarvan het complement zich op dezelfde positie bevindt en een gelijke rol speelt. Werkwoorden met een complement dat een pseudo-objectsrol vervult vormen een geheel woord, maar werkwoorden met een complement dat een pseudo-subjectsrol vervult vallen prosodisch uiteen in twee woorden.

Hoofdstuk acht beschrijft de numeriek kleinere categorieën van het Bantawa. Er zijn maar heel weinig bijvoeglijke naamwoorden in het Bantawa, en vrijwel alle oorspronkelijke bijvoeglijke naamwoorden zijn transparant afgeleid van andere woordsoorten. De rol van adjectiva in predicaatspositie wordt vrijwel altijd vervuld door werkwoordsvormen die een toestand of hoedanigheid uitdrukken. Genominaliseerde werkwoordsvormen vervullen, desgelijks, meestal de rol die adnominale adjectiva in andere talen spelen. Adverbia, daarentegen, zijn een grotere en betrekkelijk zelfstandige klasse. Menig adverbium is afgeleid van een werkwoordsstam, bijvoorbeeld met het versteende suffix <-lo> dat 'wijze' uitdrukt. Er zijn echter ook specifieke morfologische reduplicatieve procedures om expressieve bijwoorden te vormen met het suffix <-wa>, dat eveneens 'wijze' uitdrukt. Adverbia van tijd, plaats en intensiteit zijn veelal lexicaal. De lexicale inventaris van temporele uitdrukkingen als 'vorig jaar' en 'morgen, overmorgen' in het Bantawa is opvallend uitgebreid en kent een eigen systematiek. Het Bantawa kent een verscheidenheid aan *clitics* die het discours of een narratief organiseren in pragmatische zin. Het suffix <-na> wijst het *topic* van het discours aan, terwijl het suffix <-ŋa> juist de nadruk verlegt naar de constituent waarop het is aangehecht. Het Bantawa kent tevens modale partikels, die betekenissen als 'misschien', 'toch' of mirativiteit uitdrukken.

De voegwoorden worden aangehecht aan het werkwoord, waardoor de aldus gemarkeerde 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 definiëte 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 *k^ha*, 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 ‘indefiniët pronomén’. De functies van de vorm *k^ha* 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 narratieven, 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.

De laatste appendix bevat een vergelijking van samengestelde werkwoorden in het Bantawa met samengestelde werkwoorden in andere Kiranti-talen. Het blijkt dat talen met betrekking tot het gedrag van samengestelde werkwoorden kunnen worden ingedeeld op een continuüm, variërend van sterk samenstellend tot sterk analytisch. Opvallend is dat de gelijkheid of ongelijkheid van transitiviteit tussen de samenstellende delen zoals beschreven in hoofdstuk zeven, in alle talen een vormelijke uitdrukking vindt. Samengestelde werkwoorden in alle Kiranti-talen zijn asymmetrisch, dat wil zeggen dat slechts een deel van werkwoorden regelmatig voorkomt als vectorwerkwoord. Over alle Kiranti-talen heen zien we dat directionele werkwoorden overal voorkomen in de tweede positie, terwijl aspectuele, statieve werkwoorden minder frequent zijn. Coördinerende samenstellingen, tenslotte, zijn het minst algemeen.

Curriculum vitae

Marius Doornenbal werd geboren op 3 augustus 1970 te Harmelen. Hij doorliep het VWO (Gymnasium-B) aan het Dr. F.H. de Bruijnlyceum te Utrecht, waarvan hij op 10 juni 1988 het diploma ontving. Na de propædeuse Slavische taal- en letterkunde aan de Leidse universiteit (1989) legde hij het doctoraal examen Algemene Taalwetenschap af op 10 juni 1994 aan dezelfde universiteit. Hoewel zijn hoofdvak computationele linguïstiek was, deed hij gedurende zijn studie ook op kleine schaal veldwerk in Kenia en studeerde hij culturele antropologie in Amsterdam aan de Vrije Universiteit. Na zijn studie werkte hij zes jaar voor het bedrijf Human Inference te Arnhem, waar hij zich wijdde aan het vervaardigen van computerprogrammatuur voor de analyse en verwerking van naam- en adresgegevens. In 2000 vertrok hij voor zes jaar naar Nepal. Aldaar verrichtte hij in toenemende mate taalkundige werkzaamheden. Aanvankelijk gaf hij technische ondersteuning aan daar werkzame collega-taalkundigen, maar later deed hij allengs meer eigen veldwerk. Na het verzamelen van enige gegevens over de taal gesproken door de Raute, een zwervende stam rond zijn toenmalige standplaats Surkhet, verhuisde hij naar Pokhara, gelegen in centraal Nepal. Aldaar wijdde hij zich vrijwel meteen aan de studie van het Bantawa. Van 2005 tot 2006 verbond hij zich aan de Tribhuvan Universiteit te Kathmandu in het kader van een studieprogramma ingericht voor buitenlandse onderzoekers. Na terugkeer in Nederland in 2006 voltooide hij zijn beschrijving van het Bantawa waarvan de huidige grammatica het resultaat is. Sinds 2007 is hij werkzaam bij Collexis, een bedrijf dat zich richt op de extractie van gegevens uit vrije tekst.