A Grammar of Bantawa : grammar, paradigm tables, glossary and texts of a Rai language of Eastern Nepal

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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. *kʰim* means 'house'. In context, *kʰim* may denote an individual house or a cardboard box, but as a free noun *kʰim* 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 ɨ-sipa on kʰan-nu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo,
Paruhang-GEN-TOP his-*skill (N)* this.size COMPL-be.good-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
ɨ-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 pritʰvi narayan saha-ʔa pūrva-ya kirāti haŋhon-ci
before before NAR Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-ERG east-LOC.lev Kiranti kingdom-PL
cʰɨn-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. kʰo gəri pritʰvi narayan saha-ci-ʔa, ɨ-sena-ci-ʔa, mo-ya
that time Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇ Śāha-PL-ERG his/her-soldier-PL-ERG that-LOC.lev
kirāti-ci baddʰe mɨ-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.' [Rl]

Nouns

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

(86) Countable nouns

cʰoŋwa-ci mɨ-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

jʰarak-sa-ʔa kʰana nəu nəu siŋgə yak-yaŋ-ʔo kʰana rãga nɨ-pɨ.
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

(determiner)	*(modifiers)*	*(prefix-)*	*head*	*-(number)*	*-(case)*
pronominal quantifier	adjective nominalised phrase	possessive-	noun proper noun pronoun	-PL	...

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

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

3.1.3 Noun compounding

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

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

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

Head-modifier compounding

The most regular and well-known type of compounding is head-modifier compounding, which is also common in European languages. The right hand member of this

type of compound is the head that determines the major semantic and syntactic parameters of the compound. Where the features 'animate' and 'human' matter, for instance in selecting counting qualifiers, these are obviously inherited from the right-hand member.

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

(90) **Specifier interpretation** If $|x| \in Dom(N)$ 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. mɨk-mɨwa
eye-hair
'eyebrow'

c. dʰeŋ-yɨwa
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-yɨwa
fly-bone

‘collarbone’ (verb-noun)

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

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

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

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

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

a.	ŋen	‘fight’
	ŋe-ma	‘to fight’
b.	cʰup	‘handful’
	cʰup-ma	‘to take a handful’
c.	din	‘egg’
	din-ma	‘to lay eggs’
d.	bʰop	‘round, round object’
	bʰop-ma	‘to make round’

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

(94) noun-verb compounds resulting in nouns

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

b. wa-cʰɨn
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.

[1] Proto-Tibeto-Burman: *g/s-ni-s ‘two’ (Matisoff 2003: 604)

[2] wa-cʰɨn: local beer is made in a process involving filtering. The full verb form relating to this is wa-cʰɨnma, 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-dʰeŋ-yɨwa ot-na
your^{s}-back-bone break-2P
'I shall break your backbone'

(96) am-kʰim-haŋma-ʔo ɨ-niŋ di kʰaʔ
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. ɨ-yawa-ɨ-kuwa-ci-sudda bʰela mɨ-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-cʰuk
leg-hand
'extremities'

b. i̵-laŋ-i̵-cʰuk kʰi̵nt-a-kʰar-a-ʔo mi̵na
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. i̵ŋ-pa-ma-ci kʰar-a-ci
my-father-mother-PL go-PT-DU
'my father and mother went'

b. i̵ŋ-pa-i̵ŋ-ma-ci kʰar-a-ci
my-father-my-mother-PL go-PT-DU
'my father and mother went'

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

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

(101) -bu -bu 'ahead'

a. i̵ŋ-bu-i̵ŋ-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-sthitī* 'rituals and all that'. The form of the second member of these compounds is more important than its meaning, if any. In some cases, this second half is strictly grammatical and merely expands the meaning of the first compound member to 'everything like that, all that'.

[3] The non-singular <-ci> on *pa-ma-ci* is really a dual, as signalled by the verb agreement.

Bantawa has a very similar process, and the lexicon contains a considerable number of these rhyme compounds. These compounds mostly behave as additive compounds, but do not appear in plural forms, as by the operation of repetition plurality is expressed already.

(102) traditions

a. tʰapsɨŋ-hili
tradition-*tradition
'traditions'

b. o anko tʰapsɨŋ-hili-da-ŋka lont-a-kʰar-a
this our[pi] tradition-*tradition-LOC-ABL come.out-PT-go-PT
'he left our traditions'

c. an-tʰapsɨŋ-an-hili
our[pi]-tradition-our[pi]-*tradition
'our traditions'

(103) respect

a. saya-taya
head-brain
'respect'

b. saya-taya pɨ-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 transparant 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 *cʰa* 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^{h}aŋ-ma
'spider'

c. poŋ-ma
'cuckoo'

(106) concepts apparently associated with femininity

a. henk^{h}am-ma
'the world'

b. ninam-ma
'the sky'

c. yɨkɨcɨk-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 *pâ (Starostin 1998-2003)

b. poŋpi-pa
'buffalo bull'

c. saŋwa
'buffalo'

d. but: (!) 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, *cʰa* means 'child'[7]. This suffix is also used as a numeral classifier, cf. §3.6. The root *cʰa*, however, also serves as a diminutive noun suffix, i.e. it operates as a compound but cannot be taken to signal a 'child' in any biological meaning.

(109) diminutive

a.	bekʰa 'bag'	bekʰa-cʰa 'little bag'
b.	yawa 'friend'	yawa-cʰa 'little friend'
c.	upkʰa 'torch'	upkʰa-cʰa 'little torch'

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

[6] Sakenwa 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. kʰaru-mi
wisdom-*human
'farmer'

b. taya-mi
head-*human
'leader, student'

c. cʰek-mi
imprison-*human
'prisoner'

This suffix is also found in words to which some degree of animacy is apparently ascribed, viz. *kuhupmi* 'big storm', *sakoŋmi* 'soul'. The general 'human' suffix <-mi> must not be confused with the morpheme <*me ~ *mi >[9]. This specifically female suffix is sporadically found in fixed compounds, e.g. *mecʰacʰa* '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. cʰokwa-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. cʰoŋ-wa
'bird'

d. wa
'chicken'

(113) wa 'water' [11]

a. nakʰɨ-wa
'snot' (na- 'nose' (?), kʰɨ 'dirt', -wa 'liquid')

b. mɨk-wa
'tear'

c. cak-wa
'water'

d. wa
'rain'

(114) sa 'big animal, mammal' [12]

a. kʰɨs-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:ʔlphuŋ* 'garments,

[11] 'water' PK *wa (Starostin 1998-2003)
[12] 'flesh' PTB *sya-n 'animal/body/flesh/meat' (Matisoff 2003: 613)

Table 3.1: Types of nominal compounding in Bantawa

	Semantic behaviour XY	*Morphological behaviour*
Head-modifier compounding	XY' ⊆Y' interpretation of the whole is a subset of the interpretation of the head	Behaves as normal noun
Additive compounding	XY' = X' ∪ 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.
Rhyme / grammatical compounding	XY' = X' ∪ 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-kʰan* for the Limbu form has a similar structure and equally means 'clothes and all'. What we need is a typology of compounding constructions to clarify where languages differ or are equal. The Bantawa facts can be described as in Table 3.1.

To say that the formation of possessed forms of additive compounds is an entirely different process, viz. interposition, than possessive formation for simplex

nouns is unnecessarily confusing. An analysis in terms of interposition may be motivated by the tacit assumption 'derivation precedes inflection', that states that once a noun has undergone a process such as compounding, this noun cannot normally be further augmented with governed agreement markers, e.g. inflection or possessive prefixation. However, once we abandon that assumption, the different behaviour of additive and head-modifier compounds becomes understandable and even predictable. The interpretation of additives corresponds to that of ordinary conjunctions, i.e. *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. mɨna-ci mɨ-ta-Ø
man-PL 3pl-come-PT
'the men came'
b. *mɨna mɨta
c. ??hwatet mɨna

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2 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.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
-Ø	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.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
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 <-Ø> is assumed, nor is an absolutive label (ABS) written for each and every noun not marked otherwise.

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

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

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

The absolutive is selected as

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

Ergative and instrumental <-ʔa>

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

(119) intransitive

a. cakwa-Ø son-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
water-ABS flow-NPT-PROG-NPT
'the water is flowing'

b. o-ko dum-Ø toŋ-a
this-PRN matter-ABS agree-PT
'it was OK' (lit. that matter agreed)

(120) transitive sentences

a. abo ɨŋka-Ø məlok sumnima-ʔa watni-ŋa mollok kʰan
now (N) I-ABS part Sumnima-ERG this.manner-EMPH part vcompl
ɨts-a-ŋ-lo ɨ-kʰa-ŋ rəcʰə.
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 mecʰacʰa-lai nulok kʰanulok
all king-PL-ERG that-PRN girl-DAT good beautiful
ɨ-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, ɨ-cʰa, ɨ-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 dʰwãso-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 kʰɨtt-u, tʰokt-u-dis-u ɨ-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 *-lāī*, 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.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
<-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) ɨŋka hyukko kʰim-yu-ʔo ɨŋ-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 kʰana-lai kʰowa 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 circumstances[13]. The genitive <-ʔo> (GEN) is found on nominal phrases in the following constructions.

(126) Genitive constructions
a. adnominal modifier constructions
b. possessive constructions
c. postposition constructions

[13]Pragmatically, I consider a case 'governed' when the case ending on a noun phrase reflects the role of the phrase at hand and is called for by other constituents in the syntactic structure. By this definition, the absolutive and ergative cases are clearly governed whereas the genitive is a case for doubt. Other cases form phrases out of nominals that are functionally adverbial. The genitive suffix <-ʔo> partly qualifies as a grammatical case for the following reasons: a) the genitive functions as an adnominalising functor, syntagmatically connecting two phrases, b) in its guise as nominaliser, the genitive functions as a sentence complementiser that is required by the complementising verb, §5.2.5.

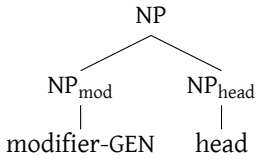
The genitive expresses almost every kind of relationship pertaining between two nouns. In fact, we observe that even in possessive and postposition constructions, the genitive-marked noun is just a modifier to the head noun from a syntactical point of view. The genitive merely signals the dependency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

The genitive as a modifier marker

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

The genitive construction has a wide range of meanings. The genitive sometimes is interpreted as possessive. For example, in 'John's car' the genitive expresses ownership. Generally, the most eye-catching of the range of meanings of a genitive construction is this possessive relationship. However, the example 'John's dog' expresses a relationship of association. The 'Duke of York' has yet another relation with York. In 'the last minute of the day' the genitive expresses a part-of relationship. In sum, any positive relationship can be expressed by a genitive[14].

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^{h}e-ka com-ʔo *t^{h}apsɨŋ* yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
Nepal-LOC many-CNT type-GEN *tradition* be-NPT-PROG-NPT
'in Nepal there are traditions of many kinds'

[14]The 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. mecʰacʰa-ci-ʔo watmasi
girl-PL-GEN ornament
'ornaments of girls'

d. duwacʰa-ʔo kʰim-da-ŋka
boy-GEN house-LOC-ABL
'out of the boy's house'

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

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

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

(128) General nominalisation: modifier construction

a. mecʰacʰa-ci cɨlok kʰim-da-ʔo kaci mɨ-mu
girl-PL often house-LOC-NOM work 3pl-do
'Girls often do the house work.' [Gr]

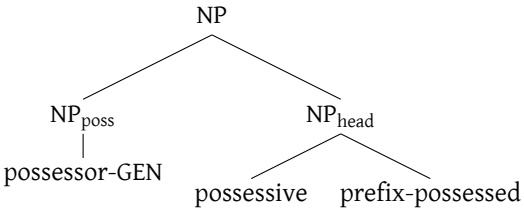
b. məgər raja kʰar-a-ki ɨk-tet purwa-ya-ʔo kirawa raja (...)
Magar *king (N)* go-PT-SEQ one-qual *east (N)*-LOC.level-GEN Kiranti *king (N)* (...)
mo-ya-ŋka ban-a-kina, ɨk-tet kirawa.
that-LOC.level-ABL come.level-PT-CAUS one-qual Kiranti
'When the Magar king had gone, at that time one Eastern Kiranti king (...) came from there, one Kiranti.' [Gn]

The nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM) can be used to subordinate phrases of all categories, cf. §5.2. In other words, the nominaliser turns a phrase of any category into a modifier. In example (128a), the locative *kʰimda* is turned into an adnominal modifier. The modifier nouns in genitive constructions are nouns-turned-modifier by the general nominaliser <-ʔo>. Excepting host category, the genitive case shares both form and function with the nominaliser suffix <-ʔo>. I shall gloss the suffix <-ʔo> as a genitive (GEN) when it occurs as a noun case, but as a nominaliser (NOM) for all other categories. Further discussion is found in the chapter on verb nominalisation and subordination (§5.2).

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

Possessive constructions

The possessive construction has the following format:



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. mɨna-ci-ʔo ɨco nɨŋa cit-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
man-PL-GEN their[P] mind leave-NPT-PROG-NPT
'the people are displeased' (lit. the mind of people is leaving)

b. cʰetkuma-ʔo ɨ-cʰenwa-ci
girl-GEN his/her-relative-PL
'the relatives of the girl' (now definite)

c. ɨ-ma-ʔo ɨ-som sɨ-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 ɨ-cɨk-da ɨ-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. kʰokli-ʔo bʰen-da lɨŋwakʰa cʰoŋ-da pit goŋdok mɨ-can-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
forest-GEN foot-LOC meadow top-LOC cow bull 3pl-feed-NPT-PROG-NPT
'at the foot of the forest, up in the meadow, the cows and bulls are grazing' [Sg]

b. buktaŋ kʰonki sɨŋraŋ-bʰen-da mɨ-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 *kʰokli-ʔo bʰen-da* 'at the foot of the forest' is a transparent construction. By contrast, the genitive has dropped from the similar construction *sɨŋraŋ-bʰen-da* 'at the foot of the trees' in example (130b). The contrast

between the two examples show the progressive grammaticalisation of *bʰen-da* 'at the foot of' as a postposition in its own right.

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

(131) postpositions without explicit antecedent

a. am-cɨk-da
your^{s}-side-LOC
'at your side'

b. ɨŋ-bu ɨŋ-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. pãc-ka len-ʔo deŋ-da cʰa wa-caŋ-ma ni yɨŋ-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. mɨ-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-Burman[15].

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 <ɨ->, verbal inverse marker <ɨ-> 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) cʰɨno!
*cʰɨna-o
aunt-VOC
'aunt!'

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

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

(136) syameʔo ([sjamɛʔo])
syam-e-o
Śyām-ATTN-VOC
'Hey, Śyām!'

(137) kesaveʔo ([kɛʃavɛʔo])
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

[16]The <-e> prefix is found on several cases, cf. §3.3.5. The emphatic <e> is discussed in §8.3.2. I am inclined to think that the epenthetic -e in vocative forms for names has more to do with the emphatic marker than with the comitatives.

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

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

(141) *anic^{h}o
** 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 group[17]. The following table lists the locatives.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
-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

[17] Cf. 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 transparant.

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

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

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

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

d. kʰada-ʔo kʰada-ʔo kuncɨkma-da tʰem-a-ŋ
where-NOM where-NOM darkness-LOC lose.way-PT-1s
‘where, oh where, I lost my way in the darkness’

e. kʰim-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 *ɨ-maj*ʰ*a-da* ‘in the middle’ and *kuncɨkma-da* ‘in the dark’ is figurative. In figurative locative expressions, except for temporal location only the neutral form is used.

(144) Vertically explicit locatives

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

b. iŋka maŋkolen gʰoretara-ya kʰat-ma-ki ik-tet gai kʰit-ma
I tomorrow Ghoḍeṭār-LOC.level go-INF-SEQ one-qual cow buy-INF
dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
must-NPT-PROG-NPT
‘Tomorrow I have to go to Ghoḍeṭār and buy a cow’

c. yawa-ci ɨŋ-deŋ-ya mɨ-ban-yaŋ
friend-PL my-back-LOC.level 3pl-come.level-PROG
‘our friends are following’ (lit. the friends are at my back)

d. yaŋsɨŋraŋ cok-du
Schima.wallichii top-LOC.high
‘in the top of the *Schima wallichii* tree’

e. nulok cɨ-Ø-ʔo mɨna sɨ-Ø-ʔo ɨ-dʰeŋ paru-du
well do-NPT-NOM man die-NPT-NOM his/her-back heaven-LOC.high
kʰat-Ø-ki yuŋ-Ø
go-NPT-SEQ sit-NPT-SEQ
‘a well-behaved man will live in heaven after he dies’

The same-level locative <-ya>, lower-level locative <-yu> and higher-level locative <-du> explicitly state the level of location relative to the speaker or the point of reference. The level mentioned mostly is simply a physical level. The act of following someone in example (144c) happened at the same level, thus the same-level locative

<-ya> is selected in the construction *iŋ-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) acʰosa ɨ-bu-yu
two.days.before his/her-before-LOC.low
'two days ago'

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

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

(147) ta-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 kʰaŋ-u
dream-LOC.low look-3P
'she saw it in a dream'

3.3.2 Complex postpositions

Adpositions contrast with cases in the sense that adpositions are words, not formatives. Adpositions are words and syntactically the head of phrases[18]. 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

[18]Formatives '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 ɨ-bʰen-da
tree-GEN his/her-foot-LOC
'at the foot of the tree'

b. siŋ-ʔo bʰen-da
tree-GEN foot-LOC
'at the foot of a tree'

c. siŋ-bʰen-da
tree-foot-LOC
'at the foot of the/a tree'

(150) 'inside the house'

a. kʰim-ʔo ɨ-koŋ-da
house-GEN his/her-heart-LOC
'inside the house'

b. kʰim-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 *kʰimkoŋ* itself means 'the inside of the house' and is used in contrast with the house as a whole or even for the more private area of the house in contrast with the rest of it.

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

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

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

marker	*gloss*	*function*
-ʔo bʰen-da	-GEN foot-LOC	at the foot of, 'subessive'
-ʔo duŋ-du	-GEN top-LOC	on top of, 'superessive'
-ʔo dʰeŋ-da / -ʔo deŋda	-GEN back-LOC	at the back of
-ʔo pəcʰi	-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 tʰen-da	-GEN bottom-LOC	at the bottom of
-ʔo koŋ-da	-GEN centre-LOC	inessive
-ʔo cɨk-da	-GEN side-LOC	at the side of
buŋkʰa-da	outside-LOC	'outside'
-ʔo com-du	-GEN top-LOC.high	on top of, superlative

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

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

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

(154) bʰɨrɨ-ʔo ɨ-com-du kʰar-a, kʰon-ki hɨk 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.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
<-ŋka>	ABL	ablative, stacks on locatives, elative
<-lama>	VIA	vialative
<-bʰanda>	*COMP (N)*	comparative

(155) suŋkʰam-du-ŋka kalo kuiro yu-Ø-nalo jʰəri
goat.place-LOC.high-ABL *black (N) mist (N)* come.down-NPT-COND *rain (N)*
cʰiʈo-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 tʰaŋ-ʔo cahi mo-tni, mo-tni-ŋa mokko
this-LOC.low-ABL tʰaŋ-NPT-NOM spec.N that-ALL that-ALL-EMPH such
luŋbʰuŋ-da-ŋka mu-hyu-tni-ŋa la-Ø-kʰat-Ø.
Lungbhung-LOC-ABL that-below-ALL-EMPH return-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
'The one that comes up from below, it will return downwards, just like that, that way, like that, via Lungbhung.'

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

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

(157) samba-ʔo bayu-da-ŋka kʰeŋ ba-ma
bamboo-GEN bamboo.rope-LOC-ABL measurement.basket weave-INF
'to make a basket out of bamboo'

The ablative *-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'

[19]The /k/-initial form of the ergative case <-ʔa> is not found elsewhere in the language, but there are ample examples of other vowel-initial suffixes that have < -ʔV ~ -kV > allomorphs. The genitive <-ʔo> has a <-ko> allomorph in e.g. *maŋkolen* 'tomorrow', and the exclusive marker regularly alternates between < -ʔa ~ -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. prit^{h}wī cok-lama t^{h}aŋ-a-ŋ-ʔo leksaiɖ-da-ŋka
Pr̥thvī *chowk (N)*-VIA come.up-PT-1s-NOM Lakeside-LOC-ABL
'I came via Pr̥thvī Chowk, from Lakeside'

(159) 'to send via someone'

a. Syam-lama k^{h}aĩs-u-ŋ
Śyām-VIA send-3P-1s
'I sent it with Śyām'

b. Syam-da-ŋka k^{h}aĩs-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 *b^{h}ənda*. The latter is increasingly popular, which may be because the Nepali loan *b^{h}ənda* is less ambiguous, at least in the context of Bantawa.

(160) k^{h}ana ɨŋka-b^{h}ənda tɨ-ki-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
you^{s} I-*COMP (N)* 2AS-be.long-NPT-PROG-NPT
'you are taller than me'

(161) j^{h}arak-da-ŋka ɨkiwaŋ 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 maddɨŋ ɨ-sam bahira kʰat-Ø-lon-Ø
like.that not.there his/her-vapour *outside (N)* go-NPT-DIRup-NPT
buŋkʰa-ya-tni lon-Ø-kʰat-Ø
outside-LOC.level-ALL go.outside-NPT-DIRaway-NPT
'If not, the steam will go out, it will go out.' [Hm]

(163) a-pa kʰana de-tni-nalo mo-tni tɨ-yɨŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø mo-tni
VOCp-father you^{s} what-ALL-COND that-ALL 2AS-say-NPT-PROG-NPT that-ALL
man-yɨŋ-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.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
-nin ~ -ʔenin	COM	base comitative
-ʔenan ~ -ʔenen	COME	comitative in -e-: associative case
-sudda	COMS	comitative of Nepali origin.
-ʔeda	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 <-ʔe>, while the other forms require this specific marker. Even so, I have been unable to discern any functional difference between <-nin> (COM) and <ʔenan> (COME).

Aside from origin and form, I have found no difference between the comitatives <-sudda> and <-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 <-ʔeda> (COML), which has a definite locative meaning. The suffix <-ʔeda> (COML) expresses that a property, e.g. a skill, or object is 'with someone', i.e. in someone's immediate possession. The locative comitative is not used for something that is in someone's

house if the person is not in his house. The possessed item would have to be on his body, for example.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(167) am-pa-ʔenan kʰar-a-ci
your^{s}-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) (ɨŋka) kʰo-ʔenan bəjara kʰar-a-ŋ
(I) he/she-COM market go-PT-1s
'I went to the bazaar with him'

(169) yawa-ci-ʔenan kʰar-a-ŋ.
friend-PL-COMe go-PT-1s
'I went with friends'

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

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

(170) paruhaŋ-nin-ʔo sumnima haŋma-ʔo buŋwa bar-a-hida...
Paruhaŋ-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

person / number	*base form*	*possessive prefix*	*independent genitive pronoun*
1.s	ɨŋka	ɨŋ-	ɨŋko
1.d	ankaca / ankaciʔa	ancu	ancaʔo (ancuʔo)
1.p	ankanka	ancu	ankaʔo
i.d	ankaci	an-	ancuʔo (anco)
i.p	ankan	an-	anko
2.s	kʰana	am-	amko
2.d	kʰanaci	amcu	amcuʔo (amco)
2.p	kʰananin	amnu	amnuʔo (amno)
3.s	(kʰo)	ɨ-	ɨko
3.ns	(kʰoci)	ɨcu- (ɨcɨ-)	ɨcuʔo

Morphologically the exclusive forms are marked by an exclusive morpheme <-ʔa ~ -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 proximity[20] or visibility. The pronouns *mo* and *o* are used mainly in an exophoric meaning. A degree of proximity is expressed in deictic contexts. This does not exclude usage in purely textual discourse, where the proximal opposition can be effectively put to use to separate two otherwise equal referents. In any case, even in narrative contexts, the opposition is analogous with spatial proximity. The pronoun *kʰo* '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 *kʰo* 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 *kʰo* 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.2 Possessive prefixes and pronouns

Possessive prefixes

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

Table 3.3: Third person pronouns

slot	*form*			*spatial deictic*			
	Invisible	*Visible*					
		Distal	*Proximal*	*low*	*level*	*up*	*neutral*
3.s	kʰo	mo	o	hyu-	hya-	dʰu-	dʰa-
3.ns	kʰoci	moci	ʔoci				
pre-suffixal	kʰon-	mon-	on-				
forms	kʰun-	mun-	un-				

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

a. amko am-cʰuk
your[s] your[s]-hand
‘your[sg] hand’

b. *amco am-cʰuk
your[d] your[s]-hand
** ‘your[du] hand’

c. amco cʰuk
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 pɨ-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) cʰa cʰetkuma-ʔo ɨ-cʰenwa-ci.
child girl-GEN his/her-relative-PL
‘the relatives of the young girl’

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

(175) reference back to the previous sentence

a. ɨk-tet rajkumar-ʔa dor-u, ə̃ raja-ʔo ɨ-cʰa-ʔa dor-u, tə
one-qual prince-ERG ask-3P, yes, king-GEN his/her-child-FOC ask-3P but
mo-ko rajkumar-da kʰat-ma-ŋa cʰunt-a-ŋ-a-heda.
that-REF prince-LOC go-INF-EMPH refuse-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp
‘One prince came to ask for her, for the king’s daughter, but she refused to go with the prince’

b. ɨ-pa-ʔa ekdəməj kʰar-a-ki kʰar-a-ni lo-o
his/her-father-ERG *very.much (N)* go-PT-SEQ go-PT-QUOT say.PT-NOM
yu-wa-ŋ-a tərə cʰunt-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-cʰak-kʰa batt-u-kʰ-o.
his/her-chisel-PNOM bring-3P-see-3P
'get the chisel'

b. cʰak-kʰa batt-u-kʰ-o.
chisel-PNOM bring-3P-see-3P
?? get something to chisel

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

(177) 'a banana'

a. i-ŋaksi batt-u-kʰ-o.
his/her-banana bring-3P-see-3P
'get his banana'

b. ŋaksi batt-u-kʰ-o.
banana bring-3P-see-3P
'get a banana'

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

Even while the possessive prefix primarily indicates 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) siŋraŋ-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 *kʰolen* 'afternoon' and *nampɨk* 'evening', these roots are never used in isolation, thus the canonical forms are as follows.

(179) afternoon

a. ɨ-kʰolen
his/her-afternoon
'afternoon'

b. maŋkolen ɨ-kʰolen
tomorrow his/her-afternoon
'tomorrow afternoon'

(180) evening

a. ayɨ ɨ-nampɨk
today his/her-evening
'tonight'

b. akʰomaŋ ɨ-nampɨk
yesterday his/her-evening
'last night'

(181)

form	*meaning*
wajɨŋ	morning, early morning
kʰolen	afternoon, midday
nampɨk	evening, night
kʰakut	night, darkness

Almost without exception, time nouns start with a prefix <a-> or <ɨ->. 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 <ɨ->, 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 <ɨ->or <a-> is clear. Prefixing the third person possessive prefix <ɨ-> 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 <-ɨ>. In the glossary, I shall list body parts by their root form without prefix, as body parts may take any prefix.

(182) Body parts

a. ɨŋ-yam
my-body
'my body'

b. am-taŋ
your^{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) ɨŋ-kɨma kat-Ø.
my-fear feel-NPT
'I am getting afraid.' .

(185) ... ɨ-na-d^{h}aw-a-ki ɨk-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 ɨ-naŋwa huw-a k^{h}ar-a
sun-ERG he/she-*equilibrium* spin-PT go-PT
'By the sun he got dizzy.' ('his head spun') .

Adjectives of degree

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

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

(187) adjective in head position

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

'they are old, they are the old ones' (about shoes)

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

(188) o kəp ɨ-nuŋwa rəcʰə
this cup his/her-new MIR
'this cup appears to be new'

(189) *o kəp nuŋwa rəcʰə

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

(190) ɨ-dʰiwaŋ hoŋku-da
his/her-big river-LOC
'in a big river'

(191) ɨcu deŋ-da waŋ-a-ki dʰiwaŋ pʰeŋwa 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) ɨ-cit kʰa-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 *kʰim* 'house' that does not denote the full set of houses, any house or the generic notion of 'houseness' will likely have a prefix.

3.4.4 Possessive pronouns

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

(193) iŋka kunciɨkma-da am-kʰim ta-ŋ-la-ŋ.
I dark-LOC your^{s}-house come-1s-arrive-1s
'I arrived at your house in the dark.'

(194) iŋka iŋ-pʰekwa cʰor-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' (iŋko) or 'yours' (amko) that way, as an instance of reification.

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

(196) iŋko-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) iŋka-na iŋ-pa-ʔa baddʰe i-dʰiwaŋ-ko rãga
I-TOP my-father-ERG much his/her-big-GEN *buffalo (N)*
i-piw-aŋ-y-aŋ-ʔo tʰiyo!
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 ɨ-pa-a-ki hwa-paŋ-sa-ʔa
obey-PT-SEQ her *palanquin (N)*-LOC 3AM-put.in-PT-SEQ two-qual-PRN-ERG
ɨ-kʰuy-a-c-u-kina ɨ-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-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
this-REF flower smell-good smell-NPT-PROG-NPT
'this flower smells good'

(202) o-ko-tet kʰa-nulo yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
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.	demkʰa	'when'
e.	saŋ	'who'

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

(204) derived question words from *kʰa-*

a.	kʰada	'where'
b.	kʰatni	'where to, towards where?'
c.	kʰakko	'what sort of, which?'

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

3.4.7 Pronominal morphology: Derived deictic adverbials

Affixes on pronouns and spatial deictics

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

Aside from the set of pronouns and the spatial deictic roots, there is the bound root <wa->.This morpheme is a dependent prononominal 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

form	*meaning*
a(t)-cʰɨŋa	before, previously, a few days before
a-kʰomaŋ	yesterday
a-yɨ	today, this day
maŋkolen	tomorrow
ɨ-cʰintuk	the day after tomorrow
ɨ-summak	in three days time, three days from now
ɨ-lummak	in four days' time, four days from now
a-cʰimbaddoŋ	the year before last year (two years ago)
a-nemnɨŋ	last year
nammaŋ	next year
cʰimmaŋ	the year after next year
dommaŋ	in three years, three years later
a(t)-tʰu	before, a bit earlier. earlier, previously today
a-raŋ	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

suffix	*source*	*derived*		*gloss*
-tni	wa-	watni	here, this way	
	o	otni	here	allative, direction
	mo	motni	there (visible)	
	kʰo	kʰotni	there (referential)	
	dʰu-	dʰutni	upwards	
	hya-	hyatni	sidewards, level	
	dʰa-	dʰatni	over there (up)	
	de	detni	why? how?	
-kko	wa-	wakko	like this	
	hyu	hyukko	lower, the lower...	attributive (nominalising)
	hya-	hyakko	over there	
	dʰa-	dʰakko	over there (up)	
-ni	dha-	dʰani	above	
	hya-	hyani	across, far	location
-na	hya-	hyana	over there, level	
	hyu-	hyuna	over there, below	location attributive
-dʰet	hya- +u	hyadʰet, hyaudet	across	
-dʰera	hya- +u	hyaudʰera	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) ɨŋka watni cep-ma mɨ-rɨ.
me like.ALL talk-INF 3pl-can
'They can speak like me.'

(206) ɨŋ-ten-da-ʔo mɨna ɨŋko 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 <-dʰet ~-dʰera> (ACR) are obviously derivations of the verb *dʰetma*, meaning 'to cut across, to cross over, e.g. to the other end of a valley'.

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

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

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

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

(210) Affixation of <-ha> (MANNER) forms a manner pro-adverb
a. o-ha
this-manner
'this way'

The attributive and adverbial 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) /-n/-based adverbs / conjunctions

Σ-nalo (CAUS) 'cause'	kʰon	kʰonnalo	'therefore'
	deki	dekinalo	because
	maʔaŋ	maŋnalo	unless
Σ-ki (SEQ) 'sequential'	mon	monki	after that
'temporal ordering'	kʰon	kʰonki	after that
Σ-ʔosaʔa (REAS)	kʰon	kʰonʔosa	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 decribed 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 hwatni watni otni	like this	manner, similaritive SIMIL
	mo	mwatni motni	like that	
	kʰo	kʰwatni kʰotni	like that	
-wakko	o	hwakko wakko okko	this kind	'this kind of' — attributive LIKE.ATTR
	mo	mwakko mokko	that kind	
	kʰo	kʰwakko kʰokko	that kind	

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-kʰ-o
this-LIKE.ATTR bring-3P-see-3P
'bring one like that, please'

b. o-ko batt-u-kʰ-o
this-REF bring-3P-see-3P
'bring me that one, please'

c. m-wako makacɨkcɨk kat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo
that-LIKE.ATTR black feel-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM
'one that is black like that'

d. mo-ko mɨna
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

Allative	*neutral*	*high*	*level*	*low*
proximal	o-dʰa-tni	u-dʰu-tni	o-hya-tni	u-hyu-tni[21]
distal	mo-dʰa-tni	mu-dʰu-tni	mo-hya-tni	mu-hyu-tni
referential	(kʰo-dʰa-tni)	(kʰu-dʰu-tni)	(kʰo-hya-tni)	(kʰu-hyu-tni)

The deictic forms of this set are far more frequent than the strictly referential forms based on *kʰo*. Forms based on *kʰo* 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 *kʰudʰutni kʰatcine* '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

[21] Bāntāvā offers the form *oɦyutni* (2001)

direction is signalled by the second element. For example, the form *udʰutni* must be glossed 'in this direction, upwards', i.e. towards the speaker, while *mudʰutni* is 'in that direction, upwards,' i.e. away from the speaker.

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

(216) Śyām can say to Prem:

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

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

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

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

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

(217) Rām might say to Śyām:

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

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

(218) Rām might say to Prem:

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

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

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

Table 3.8: Attributive stacks derived from spatial deictics

Attributive	*neutral*	*high*	*level*	*low*
proximal	o-dʰa-kko	u-dʰu-kko	o-(h)ya-kko	u-yu-kko
distal	mo-dʰa-kko	mu-dʰu-kko	mo-(h)ya-kko	mu-yu-kko
referential	kʰo-dʰa-kko	kʰu-dʰu-kko	kʰo-(h)ya-kko	kʰu-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 *kʰo* 'he/she' with a spatially attributive form. A hill on the same level, but beyond this one, is *hya-kko bʰɨrɨ* (LOC.level-ATTR hill) 'the hill on the same level'. The hills, houses or anything on the same level can further be divided in those close by and those further out: *ohyakko bʰɨrɨ* (this-LOC.level-ATTR hill), *mohyakko bʰɨrɨ* (that-LOC.level-ATTR hill), etc.

If speakers cannot be bothered with vertical deixis, which is not unusual, then forms as *modʰakko* '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.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
-ni	LOCAT	Locative marker, adverbial usage with phrasal scope
-na	LATTR	Locative marker, adverbial usage with modifier scope, 'attributive'

(219) hyana bʰira
'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

a. dʰa-ni-ŋka-cʰaŋ ɨ-majʰa-da cʰuk-Ø,
up-LOCAT-ABL-too his/her-middle-LOC be.downNPT,
'from up it is (also) in the middle,'

b. hyu-ni-ŋka-cʰaŋ ɨ-majʰa-da cʰuk-Ø
down-LOCAT-ABL-too his/her-middle-LOC be.down-NPT
'from down it is also in the middle.'

The resulting meaning of the entire phrase is that the object is located right in the middle with respect to the vertical parameter.

(221) Ablatives based on <-na> forms

a. dʰanaŋka
'from there'

b. 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. kʰimda
'in the house'

b. kʰimdaŋka
'out of the house'

(223) LOC+GEN

a. kʰimda
'in the house'

b. kʰimdaʔo
'of the one in the house' (e.g. of a chicken that just walked into the house)

(224) GEN+LOC

a. kʰimʔo
'of the house'

b. kʰimʔoda
'in the one of the house' (e.g. in the window of the house as opposed to the window of the shed)

We can assume that the ablative in the first example stacks naturally onto the locative without introducing some extra interpretative structure: The reading is not 'out of the one in the house'. However, this is not so for the latter two stacking examples that bring extra structure with them. I shall not enter into a formal notation of this phenomenon with superscripts, but simply observe that nouns do not so much have morphological slot positions where cases can land. Rather, nominal suffixes impose a category on their host. If *kʰimda* is an adverbial modifier, then affixing another case, e.g. ergative or genitive, will turn *kʰimda* into an empty-headed noun phrase. If *kʰimʔo* is a genitive-marked modifier, then affixing another case will cause exactly the same effect. Stacking is particularly prolific in pronouns, cf. (225-226).

(225) kʰo-sa-ʔa mu-Ø.
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-Ø
below-LATTR-GEN-PRN-ERG do-3P
'the man below did it'

b. dʰa-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-Ø-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 mɨna
nine (N)-CNT-qhum man
'nine people'

Table 3.9: Bantawa Numbers

number	*gloss*	*comments*	*alternative*
ɨk-	one		
hwa-	two	also: hɨwa	
sum-ka-	three		
lek-ka-	four	(but cf. 8)	
cʰuk-ka-	five	*cʰuk* '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.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
<-tet ~ -tat>	QTHING	Classifier for objects[22].
<-cʰa>	QHUM	Classifier for human referents, cognate to *cʰa* '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 ~ -cʰa> for human nouns. The distribution of <-cʰa> and <-paŋ ~ -waŋ> is complementary. The suffix <-cʰa> is used after *ɨk* 'one' only, for all other numbers <-paŋ ~ -waŋ> is used.

(229) ɨkcʰa
'one person'

(230) hɨwaŋ
'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. ɨk-bop lɨttɨm
one-round guava
'one guava'

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

(233) bak ‘flat object’
  a. dem-ka bak cak^{h}uŋ 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^{h}ep ‘drop’
  a. ɨk-t^{h}ep cakwa
  one-drop water
  ‘one drop of water’

(235) du ‘step’
  a. syala-na ɨk-du hwa-du d^{h}ir-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. ɨklen hwalen
  ‘one or two days’

(237) d^{h}aŋ ‘part’
  a. ɨkd^{h}aŋ
  ‘one half’

(238) cit ‘a bit’
  a. ɨk-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^{h}epi ‘time, turn’
  a. ik-k^{h}epi
  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^{h}arak* ‘all’ and *badd^{h}e* ‘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^{h}arak ‘all’
  a. j^{h}arak-ka-tet
  all-CNT-qthing

‘all things’

b. jʰarak mɨna
‘all people’

(242) baddʰe ‘many’

a. baddʰe-ka com-ʔo pəsu-ci
many-CNT type-GEN *animal (N)*-PL
‘many kinds of animals’

b. baddʰe himsale kutiwa-ci
many crazy dog-PL
‘many mad dogs’

In sum, we observe that while the native numeral lexicon of Bantawa is in decay, the Bantawa language still has an elaborate grammatical system for the construction of quantified noun phrases.

Figure 3.1: *Udhaulī pujā* in Pokhara (cf. Appendix A.5)