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

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Chapter 7

Complex Verbs

7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with two types of complex verbs. The first, very frequent type involves the concatenation of two sometimes partially conjugated verb forms that serves as a single verb in every other respect. See example (494).

(494) hakt-a-lont-a.
be.warm-PT-come.up-PT
'It has become warm.'

In sentence (494), we see two conjugated verbs that are both valid finite verbs in their own right, fused into a single word. No other words can intervene and the complex as a whole forms the entire predicate, denoting a single event. In this type of construction, both parts are verbal and similarly conjugated, but this does not imply that the constituent parts are semantically on an equal footing. This type of complex verb will henceforth be called a compound verb, and will be discussed in §7.2.

The other type of complex verb involves the composition of a single verbal predicate or even word out of an argument morpheme and a finite, conjugated verb form, as in examples (495). The relevant words are italicised.

(495) Complex verbs, composed of a root and a conjugated verb

a. nakcʰoŋ-ci sakenwa mu-kʰa-da *ya* *mi-hat*.
priest-PL Sakenwa do-PNOM-LOC prayer 3pl-share
'The priests pray during Sakenwa worship.'

b. dem *ca-nu-Ø-lo!*
how eat-be.good-NPT-MAN
'How tasty!'

c. kʰananin saŋ-ʔa mowatni lam *kʰaŋ ni-mett-in*?
you^{p} who-ERG like.that road see 3A-cause-12plSP
'Who showed you the road like that?' [Bw]

In this construction type, the argument element may be either nominal as in example (495a) or verbal, e.g. (495b, 495c). The common denominator in constructions of this type is that the compounding parts are unequal in status. The verbal head at the right hand side is conjugated, while the dependent element appears left in its root form. The left hand element may be either verbal or nominal, but in each case the entire complex is verbal. For lack of better terminology, I shall call the left-hand element in this type of compound a complement. This type of complex verb is extensively discussed in §7.3. The afore-mentioned forms both serve as a verbal predicate in clauses. They are compounds because they form a single predicate, often even a single prosodic word[1].

7.2 Compound verbs

This section first describes the typological position of compound verbs. Then, we shall concentrate on the formal characteristics of compound verbs. Finally we shall classify the types of compound verbs by semantic content.

7.2.1 Compound verb typology

Compound verbs as serial verb constructions Compound verbs (CVs) are perhaps best understood as a subspecies of serial verb constructions (SVCs). Compound verbs are a type of serial verb constructions that are contiguous, form single grammatical words and have single or concordant marking of grammatical categories. Serial verb constructions are defined by the following criteria (496) of Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 4-20, 339-344).

(496) Features of serial verb constructions
- a. serial verb constructions are single predicates,
- b. serial verb constructions are monoclausal,
- c. serial verb constructions are prosodic units,
- d. serial verb constructions share tense, aspect and polarity,
- e. serial verb constructions denote one event
- f. serial verb constructions share participants

Bantawa compound verbs certainly comply with all of the criteria in (496), perhaps with the proviso that tense and aspect (496d) are not primarily a matter of sharing, but rather a compositional affair[2]. Some authors, esp. Payne, do not include compound verbs under the serial verb label[3].

[1] A single predicate has at least the features that the predicate a) denotes a single event, b) has a single tense and aspect value and c) has one set of participants: if there are two verbs, they share all participants.

[2] Tense and aspect are a result of composition. The compound has a tense and aspect semantics that is not necessarily found in each individual member. The expressed aspect is a function of the compound rather than present in each member.

[3] Payne writes (1997: 307):

A serial-Verb construction contains two or more verb roots that are neither compounded nor

Compound verb terminology As noted in footnote 3, the term 'compound verb' is perhaps inapt for the Bantawa serial verb construction. However, the term is common in Kirantist literature[4].

A compound verb obviously consists of two or more verbs. The first verb is called the main verb, while subsequent verbs are called vector verbs, second verbs or light verbs. Below, these parts of compound verbs are sometimes referenced by the abbreviations V1 'first verb' and V2 'second verb'. The distinction between V1 and V2 is based on the division of semantic labour. Main verbs generally express the bulk of the content of the compound, while vector verbs primarily add aspectual or directional information. In spite of this general correspondence of function and position, there are also compounds with reverse (§7.2.5) or equal (§7.2.6) division of labour.

In other Kirantist literature, we find the terms 'motionalisers'[5] and 'aspectivizers'[6] in use to designate vector verbs. This terminology is not incorrect as such, but as these labels are semantically motivated rather than by form, they are not helpful to designate a formal class. I shall use these terms for vector verbs of a certain semantic type only. The term 'auxiliary' as employed by Tolsma (1999: 76), Rutgers (1998: 137) and Weidert and Subba (1985: 85) I reserve for those finite verbs that function in complex predicates containing a non-finite main verb.

Features of compound verbs

Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 3) define some parameters that account for much of the cross-linguistic variation in serial verb constructions.

Composition Serial verbs constructions may be either symmetrical, i.e. with equal and interchangeable parts, or asymmetrical. Most Bantawa compound verbs are asymmetrical in the sense that the second verbs in the construction are from a restricted class, viz. motion or 'to be' verbs. However, compound verbs that have a semantics that boils down to the coordination of the constituents are arguably

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members of separate clauses. Serial verbs occur in all types of languages, but may be more common in languages that have little or no verbal morphology. (...) Typically, verbs in a series will express various facets of one complex event. For example, the concept expressed by the English verb *bring* is divisible into at least two components, the picking up or taking of an object and the movement toward a deictic center. In many languages, this complex concept is embodied in a serial-verb construction ...

By any account, Bantawa compound verbs formally do not fit this description. a) Verbs are certainly compounded, in the sense that they are built from two or more distinct constituting parts with identifiable meaning and also in the sense that they form one grammatical or even phonological word. b) Bantawa has a lot of verbal morphology. c) Bantawa compound verbs do not allow different participants for different parts of the compound.

On the semantic side of things, Bantawa compound verbs partly fit the serial verb description of Payne, as they embody exactly that type of conceptual complexity that he describes.

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

[5]E.g. Opgenort (2002: 391).

[6]Lahaussois (2002: 200), van Driem (1987, 1993b).

symmetrical. At least syntactically, there is no constraint on the selection of any second verb.

Contiguity Secondly, verbs that form a serial verb construction may either have to be next to one another or other constituents may intervene. In Bantawa, intervening constituents are not grammatical. Compound verbs are coherent, contiguous phrases[7].

Word-hood As a corrollary of the contiguity of the verbal compound construction, Bantawa compound verbs always form a single lexical unit, even when the construction spans two prosodic units with a clear two-word intonational contour.

Marking of grammatical categories The final variation in serial verb constructions relates to the marking of grammatical categories. Aikhenvald and Dixon note that verbal categories such as agreement and tense parameters 'may be marked just once per construction ('single marking'); or can be marked on every component ('concordant marking')' (2006: 4). We shall see in §7.2.3 that agreement categories are marked in a distinct way in Bantawa and other Kiranti languages.

In sum, by Aikhenvald and Dixon's terminology and classification, Bantawa compound verbs are a subtype of serial verb constructions. As there are more fine-grained defining features of the construction, I shall write compound verbs (CV) in the remainder.

A note on serial verbs and multiple clauses It is not helpful to describe Bantawa compound verbs as derived from multiple clauses that have grammaticalised into one predicate. Even if we can associate the semantics of some second verb with the meaning of this verb in isolation, a rephrasing of a compound verb in two predicates has a meaning that is different from the original compound.

7.2.2 Morphosyntax

In this section, we shall draw the general picture of the morphosyntax of Bantawa compound verbs.

Compound verb composition

In compound verb constructions, one of the verbs determines the primary semantics and the argument structure. The second verb provides fine distinctions, usually marking both direction and aspect or one of these. Both verbs in a compound are inflected for tense, person and number agreement.

Compound verbs are those sequences as in (497).

[7]The requirement that compound verbs be contiguous is a property of all Kiranti languages that feature compound verbs. Perhaps more then anything else, this feature identifies Kiranti compound verbs as lexical units.

(497) V1 V2

a. in which the first verb (V1) gives the main semantic content of the expression, and

b. the second verb (V2) adjusts the meaning by giving additional information.

The different types of additional information as mentioned in (497b) will be discussed. Verb compounds may still show a great degree of variation in form. More often than not, the formal variation corresponds exactly to semantic correlates.

Syntactic constraints

Given that compound verbs are the head of a single clause in that they replace a simplex verb, there are syntactic constraints on the compound verb construction.

We can define compound verbs as complex verbs that have constituent parts that are verbs and have congruent forms. What we see below is that compound verbs have the property that the compounding parts are two congruent correspondingly suffix inflected verb forms. In summary, the extra formal properties as in (498) apply.

(498) specific properties of compound verbs as opposed to other complex verbs

a. there are no suffixes on V1 that are not present on V2
there are no clausal suffixes on V1
there are no prefixes on V2[8]

b. there is agreement of valence: if V1 is transitive, then so is V2.

Property (498a) expresses that there is no unique morphology in between V1 'first verb' and V2 'second verb'. Morphology of various types is affixed to the verb, such as finite agreement or clause-level morphology applying to the verb as the last member in the clause. However, we expect that morphology a) to affix to either the compound verb as a whole, i.e. on its fringes, rather than in between V1 and V2, or b) to distribute over both members of the compound verb, as they are equal parts.

In any case, V1 is not the head of a subordinated clause[9] and is not nominalised, unless the vector verb is also marked in that way. This corresponds to the mono-clausal constraint on serial verb constructions formulated by Dixon, which says that there ought to be 'no syntactic linkage' (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006: 339).

The second constraint (498b) is called 'Transitivity Harmony' by Pokharel (1999: 193)[10]. I conjecture that the valence agreement constraint (498b) is not just an areal influence, but a reflex of some universal rule that expresses the impossibility to code conflicting participant agreement in a single clause.

[8] Across Kiranti languages, the rule is: 'There are no prefixes on V2 that are not present on V1.' In Bantawa, there are no prefixes on V2 at all.

[9] 'not the head of a subordinated clause,' i.e. the main verb is not a converb, has no marking for manner, temporal or other type of subordination.

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

7.2.3 Morphology

In the past, several scholars have noted the abundant verbal compounding in Bantawa (Foltan 1992, Rai 1985). However, previous analyses suffered from a lack of data. The limited availability of data is remedied by the full paradigms for compound verbs in the Appendix. The basic form of a compound verb is simply a sequence of inflected verb forms. We find two compound verbs in sentence (499).

(499) *hant-u-m tar-u-m-ʔo* mamayɨŋ *man-kʰan*-sa kʰar-in.
speak-3P-12plA bring-3P-12plA-NOM mother.tongue lose-send-SIM go-12plSP
'We keep losing the mother tongue that we have spoken so far.' [Bw]

The example illustrates several things. The first compound *hantum tarum* 'we have spoken so far' shows that multiple suffixes <-u-m> '3P-12plA' are present on both parts of the compound. Moreover, example (499) shows that further affixation through nominalisation by <-ʔo> (NOM) happens only once. The second compound in this sentence, *mankʰansa* 'while losing', is a concatenation of two roots. Apparently, the converb suffix <-sa> (SIM) is a type of affix that differs from inflectional categories such as on *hantum tarum* 'we have spoken so far'. We must infer that clausal suffixes are never marked on both parts of the compound, whereas flectional suffixes are marked.

Example (500) adds another fact to the picture.

(500) jʰarak bantawa rai-ci-ʔa o dum *ɨ-tupt-a* *yuŋs-a*.
all Bantawa Rai-PL-ERG this matter 3AM-understand-PT put-PT
'All Bantawa Rais have understood this matter.' [Bw]

The compound *ɨtupta yuŋsa* 'have understood' shows that while suffixes such as preterite <-a> are marked on both parts of the compound, the marked third person prefix <ɨ-> appears only once. While the basic picture shows that both parts of a compound verb are inflected, the resulting form may be reduced by a process of affix reduction. Rule (501) describes the distribution of flection affixes over the constituting verbs in a compound verb.

(501) Rule for affix retention on Bantawa compound verbs[11]

Affix reduction: prefixes appear on the head verb (V1) only,
suffixes up to suffix slot five appear on both verbs, and
suffixes in slots six and beyond only appear on the second verb (V2).

This type of affix retention is not at all unusual in Kiranti perspective.

[11] Foltan (1992: 51) previously gave a more limited version of this rule. Before she set out on her treatment of Bantawa compounds, she limited the discussion to these constructions that meet the following requirement:

Affix reduction: prefixes appear on the head verb (V1) only,
the PT [past tense] affix comes on both verbs, and
if the compound is in PT [past tense], then the number suffixes come on the V2 [second verb] only.

The way the affix reduction rule was formulated was based on limited data and on past tense forms only. Also, nothing is explicit on whether compounds break up in separate words or are fused into one. It is not so much only the past tense marker that survives on the first verb but rather all suffixes up to and including slot five.

Formal description of morphology

A formal description of morphology should be based on structural rules, rather than on rules operating on phonological form. The morphology of compound verbs is functionally determined.

Affix reduction The verb forms that take part in Bantawa verb compounding are conjugated forms, not roots. However, only suffixes up to suffixal slot six (sfx6) are allowed at the point of compounding, thus finite verbs with agreement beyond that slot or involving prefixes will have defective compounded forms.

Slot morphology Some central slot morphology concepts are that a) all affixes are assigned to a slot and only appear in that assigned slot, b) in word forms only one affix goes into one slot, c) once something has gone into slot *n*, no affix assigned to a slot closer to the root can be assigned, i.e. affixes appear in increasing order.

In summary, slot morphology is a method to describe linear morpheme ordering. Slot assignments of morphemes are well known (§4.5.4). We can represent finite forms as in (502)[12].

(502) Slot filling in finite verb forms.

ɨkʰatnin 'we do not take you'

phon	ɨ	kʰat			ni		n				
morph	NEGNPp	take			1ns2		NEGn				
slot	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

kolinka 'we shall walk'

phon		kol			in						ka
morph		walk			12plSP						e
slot	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Based on slot membership of the root or affixes, we could say on the basis of these examples, that *kolin* 'we^{pi} walk' is a form that stretches from slot 0 to slot 3, whereas *kolinka* 'we^{pe} walk' fills slots 0 up to 9.

To represent the morphological status of a verbal form, we can use a left superscript number to denote the left-most filled slot, and a right superscript for the right-most filled slot. We could then write ^{0}kolinka^{9}, or $^{-1}$ɨkʰatnin^{3}. As a means of generalisation we can write ^{n}V^{m} for any given verb form with slots *n*-*m* filled[13]. This notational convention allows us to formulate the rule for verb compounding in Bantawa (503).

[12]The slot line numbers the slots, with negative numbers for prefixal slots and 0 for the root. The morph line labels the morphemes and the phon line represents the actual phonetic content.

[13]A verb form of type ^{n}V^{m} may or may not be a valid finite form. There may be internal dependencies between affixes or restrictions on the affix syntax beyond simple affix ordering, that govern the syntax of any verb type.

(503) $^{0}V^{6} \rightarrow {}^{0}V^{6}\ {}^{0}V^{6}$
if: the suffix string forms zero or one syllable and the contents of the suffix strings are equal

This rule means that verb forms can only be compounded without prefixes and possibly with suffixes filled up to slot 6. The resulting form has the combinatory properties of a simplex verb with suffix slots 1 to 6 filled, with the same person and number parameters as each of the compounding elements. A rule such as this is very strong and predicts that only sequences of verbs that meet these formal constraints may compound. This rule predicts that a compound verb cannot have a singular instance of suffixes before suffix slot 6 (504), nor can the compound have duplicate suffixes beyond slot 6 (505).

(504) Suffixes before slot 6 must be duplicated.

a. * i-lon-kʰat-nin
NEGNPp-come.out-go-NEGn
* 'He does not come out.'

b. i-lon-nin kʰat-nin
NEGNPp-come.up-NEGn go-NEGn
'He does not come out.'

(505) Suffixes beyond slot 6 cannot be duplicated.

a. * kʰar-in-ka lont-in-ka
go-12plSP-e come.out-12plSP-e
* 'We shall rise again.'

b. kʰar-in lont-in-ka
go-12plSP come.out-12plSP-e
'We shall rise again.'

Verb compounding does not operate on roots. On the surface it may well be that two roots compound (506), but the resulting form cannot take any suffix in the slot range from 0 to 6 (507).

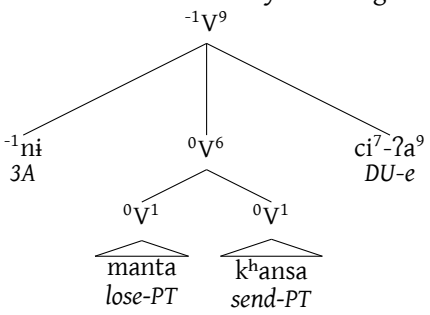
(506) lon-Ø-kʰat-Ø
come.out-NPT-go-NPT
'He will come out.'

(507) * lon-kʰat-ci
come.out-go-DU
'They will come out.'

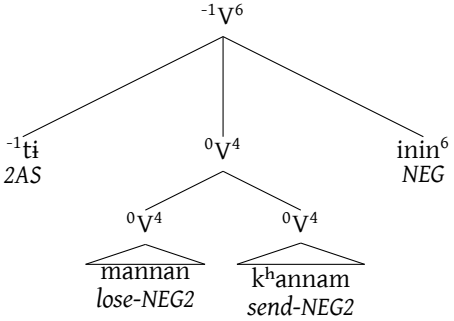
Reading a compound verb, we search for two equal finite verbs that combine into one as by rule (503). We can now see how rule (503) operates. If we represent the compound verbs as trees, we see that the middle section always is a verb of type $^{0}V^{6}$. The formal compounding rule only applies inasmuch as the result makes sense, and the semantic constraints were left out of the equation. The rule is agnostic about the composition of the resulting semantics and does not prescribe whether the semantics of the vector verb are embedded into that of the main verb or the other way around. This rule says that syntactically, the main and vector verbs are equal.

(508) Some structures for compounded verbs.

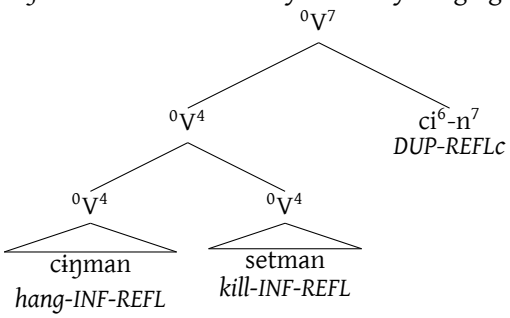
a. nɨmanta kʰansaciʔa ‘they have forgotten us’



b. tɨmannan kʰannaminin ‘you will not forget us’



c. ciŋman setmancin ‘to kill yourself by hanging’



The repetition of suffixes on the first and second verbs is not phonological copying, but rather a functional equivalence of the two forms that apparently is dictated by the syntactic constraints above. This can be seen from the simple fact that the phonological form of the two verbs can be different, while the morpheme make-up is the same, cf. (509), where the morpheme <-Ø ~ -u> (3P) alternatively appears as /Ø/ and /u/.

(509) saŋ-ʔa la-Ø-da-Ø-ŋ-u-ci-ʔo?
who-ERG return-3P-eff-3P-PROG-3P-DU-NOM
‘Who is getting them?’

Also, in example (510), we see that the suffix <-in ~ -n> (12PLSP) fuses regularly with the vowel-final stem <ma> 'to go lost' to form <man>, whereas in the second half of the compound the full suffix <-in> appears after the stem <kʰar>.

(510) kʰada ti-ma-n-kʰar-in?
where 2AS-go.lost-12plSP-go-12plSP
'Where did you[pl] get lost?'

Grammatical words and phonological words Compound verbs constitute a single grammatical unit in Bantawa[14]. The way the compounds break up into prosodic units is another matter. In all syntactic respects, compound verbs operate in the same way as non-compound verbs, i.e. compound verbs are grammatically single words. However, while forms such as *pɨrakʰara* 'it was grazed off' are undoubtedly a single phonological word, verb compounds from other parts of the conjugational paradigms are not.

The rules for phonological word-hood for Bantawa have to do with the weight of the repeated string of suffixes. If there are no suffixes on the first verb or if this suffix string ends in a vowel, the compound is pronounced like a single word would be pronounced. If the suffix string is heavy and adds an extra syllable to the first verb that ends in a consonant, the word breaks up into two phonological units. Compare examples (511a) and (511b).

(511) a. ims-a-yakt-a
sleep-PT-CONT-PT
'He continued sleeping'

b. las-a-ŋ pɨw-a-ŋ!
return-PT-1s give-PT-1s
'Give it back!'

Non-flectional suffixes are appended to the second verb only.

Typological ramifications

This elaborate formal exercise allows me to review some remarks on serial verbs as made by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006). The issue is about the parameter of marking. Marking relates to whether compound verbs are marked singly, i.e. each grammatical category such as agreement marking appears only once, or concordantly, each marking appears multiple times. As we see, in Bantawa both happen at the same time. Some markers appear once, whereby some appear in concordance. Moreover, which marking strategy happens is primarily determined by a strictly formal feature, viz. slot ordering.

Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 40): 'SVCs which form one grammatical word allow single marking only.' If compound verbs are serial verb constructions, then

[14]The term 'grammatical word' means 'grammatical or lexical unit' in this thesis. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002: 18): 'A grammatical word consists of a number of grammatical elements which a) always occur together, rather than scattered through the clause (the criterion of cohesiveness); b) occur in a fixed order; c) have a conventionalised coherence and meaning. .'

this statement may need some qualification. None of the generalisations made on concordant and singular marking made by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 44) seems to apply to Bantawa or even to Kiranti languages in general.

Bantawa compound verbs are hard to position between morphology and syntax. Traditionally, inflection is seen as a syntactic category and not included in the lexicon of the language. Derivation, on the other hand, is a lexical process. What we see in Bantawa compound verbs is the distribution of flection over different parts of a compound as a strictly morphological process fed by syntax. There is no easy escape hatch for the traditional lexicon vs. syntax opposition. It cannot be maintained that the constituent members of compound verbs are grammatical words as such. Parts of compound verbs may be ungrammatical or incomplete as long as the morphological constraints are met. The left-hand member of the compound in example (508c) demonstrates this. Compound verbs are equally hard to categorise as compounds or serial verb constructions.

7.2.4 Semantic typology

Verbal compounding as discussed here is extremely frequent in Bantawa, particularly if we analyse the progressive forms as compounds. Bantawa is a big user of compound verbs[15]. Surveying the semantic field that compound verbs cover amounts to charting the functional area that is covered by compound verb constructions.

Bantawa compound verbs are mostly asymmetrical. This means that most often, but not always, vector verbs come from a limited set of verbs and have another contribution to the semantics of the whole than main verbs. The focus here is on the distribution and semantics of the vector verb in the construction. The vector verb generally functions as a modifier to the first verb so that compound verbs can be grouped or classified according to the vector verb.

In the definition of serial verb constructions (SVCs) by Aikhenvald and Dixon, verbal complexes that involve category changing[16], i.e. causatives and passives, would be included in the general class of serial verb constructions. However, for Bantawa, we have singled these constructions out, as a) they are formally different from ordinary compound verbs, i.e. there is no copying of agreement markers, and b) they are functionally very different from other compound verbs. Valency-changing compound verbs pattern with complement verb constructions (§7.3) rather than with compound verbs.

This issue with valence agreement has an important effect on how we functionally subgroup compound verb constructions.

Functional subclassification The functional area covered by compound verbs is charted in Figure 7.1. This subclassification is valid, at least for Bantawa. The

[15] Similarly, Rutgers (1998: 137) reports for Yamphu, that 'it has proved difficult to elicit verbal forms which are unmodified by any verbal auxiliary.'

[16] Category changing or valency changing. The word 'category' is related to 'valency' but focuses on the morphological conjugation type, i.e. transitive or intransitive. The morphological category does not unambiguously correspond to syntactical valency, i.e. the possible number of arguments to the verb (cf. §6).

undirected motionalisers section in this chart is found in other Kiranti languages but not in Bantawa. Even though this function seems to be absent from Bantawa, it was included here to complete a picture that covers most of the functional areas of vector verbs across Kiranti languages.

Figure 7.1: Functional subclassification of compound verbs

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

Compound verb constructions must firstly be divided between category changing and category preserving compound verbs. The distinction between category changing and preserving compound verbs is primarily morphological, but corresponds transparantly to differences in functional categories[17].

In category changing compound verbs, only a bare root emerges as the first verb (V1). In these constructions the first verb functions as an argument to the second, not unlike subordinated infinitives to modals. In category preserving compound verbs, both the main verb and vector verb conjugate. In these constructions the first and second verbs are coordinate equal-level verbs, not unlike serial verbs.

With category-sensitive compound verbs, I mean those constructions that have second verbs that formally correspond to differences in the first verb with regard to valency, or that only appear with compounding verbs that agree in valency. There may be no intransitive counterpart for a transitive verb compound combination. This class of compound verbs might as well be labelled category-selective, as the second verbs in these constructions seem to be selected to agree in category with the first verb. The selection of the vector implies that from a transitive-intransitive pair of verbs, only the corresponding form emerges.

With category-insensitive compound verbs, I mean those constructions in which the second verb conjugates just as the first, irrespective of its independent, inherent valency. Superficially the distinction between category sensitive and insensitive compound verbs seems more formal than functional. However, there is a correlation

[17]For languages where the first verb in verbal compound (V1) is only present as a bare root, e.g. Wāmbule and Yamphu, the difference does not emerge in form, as only the second verb (V2) is conjugated. For languages such as Bantawa, Kulung and Limbu, where both verbs are conjugated, there is a clear difference in form between category changing and category preserving compounds.

between the type of vectors and the formal properties of the construction. Irrespective of their origin, second verbs that have aspectual import in compounds conjugate in agreement with the transitivity category of the first verb. By contrast, other vectors are selected with sensitivity to their original transitivity parameter.

Comparative classification In this section, I shall repeatedly refer to grammars of neighbouring Kiranti languages. This is done for the following reasons. First, the terminology used by other descriptivists can help understand what is going on in Bantawa. Similarly, to contrast the Bantawa phenomena to those in neighbouring languages highlights common patterns and correspondences or may highlight Bantawa-specific aspects in the system. Finally, the cross-linguistic comparison has a value in itself in demonstrating the close kinship of Kiranti languages. As I do not want the cross-language comparisons to clutter the Bantawa description, I have tucked away many correspondences in the footnotes.

7.2.5 Category-selective compound verbs

Ordinary compound verbs can be divided by a single formal property, i.e. the way second verbs vary according to transitivity for the compound verb. There are vectors that are the same for either transitive or intransitive compound verbs, and there are vectors that come in pairs, one for transitive and intransitive conjugation.

Frequently, where Kiranti languages have lexical pairs for verbs for either transitive and intransitive independent usage, these same pairs appear in the second verb position in compounds.

Motionalisers and aspectivisers In the Kirantist linguistic literature, we find the terminology 'motionaliser' and 'aspectiviser' in use for verb compounding constructions, in particular to designate the second verb[18]. Wherever this terminology is used, it never quite fits the entire set of second verbs. Not all vectors add aspect or aspect only to the verbal complex and this holds true for motionalisers as well. The motionaliser-aspectiviser terminology can be used fruitfully in a survey of the semantic types of vector verbs, but does not cover the entire formal category of compounding verbs. We find that in Bantawa, the category selective behaviour is primarily found in motionaliser vector verbs. By contrast, aspectiviser verbs, e.g. progressive and perfect vectors, adapt to their main verb with regard to valency.

Motionalisers (§7.2.5) and aspectivisers (§7.2.6) form the bulk of Bantawa compound verbs. However, a significant number of vector verbs remain that do not fit these two classes. There are vector verbs that are conatives or experientials. These vector verbs are neither motionalisers or aspectivisers. Many verbal compounds render coordinate readings of the compounded parts, designating a complex event with two sub-events. Some vector verbs are idiosyncratic or grammatically required without obvious clue (§7.2.6).

[18] See §7.2.1, footnotes 5 and 6.

Motionalisers

Motionalisers are second verbs in verbal compounds that derive from verbs of movement.

Semantics Motionalisers modify the meaning of the verb complex in two ways at the same time: a) Motionalisers add a usually telic aspect to the verb semantics. This means that as an aspectual marker, motionalisers select the process and final boundary of the verbal action. In other words, motionalisers focus on the completion of the action, without restricting the aspectual information to the completion. b) Motionalisers indicate the direction in which the event ends. The event ends in the direction indicated by the verb that the motionaliser is derived from.

For some combinations of main and vector verb (V1-V2), the telic aspect is dominant and it is hard to imagine a directional reading for the vector verb, as in examples (512), (513a) and (519a). For other main and vector verb combinations, the directional aspect dominates and the meaning of the total verb complex almost amounts to pure coordination of the semantics of the two compounding verbs, as in the examples (513b) and (512b). However, for the majority of verb compounds involving a motionaliser, the motionaliser brings both components to the overall meaning, viz. the examples (515a) and (516).

(512) *kʰatma*$_3$ as vector verb: motionaliser of going, 'go away' (DIRaway), telic aspect, derived from 'to go'

a. yawa *rɨkt-a kʰar-a.*
friend twist-PT go-PT
'the friend got angry.'

b. kanla *al-a kʰar-a.*
ridge turn.over-PT go-PT
'the terrace ridge toppled over.'

(513) *kʰanma*$_2$ as vector verb: 'completive' aspect, derived from 'to make go'

a. (...) tənə əni ɨ-do cʰaŋ (...) *rɨkt-u-kʰais-u.*
but.then (N) then (N) his/her-mouth also (...) twist-3P-COMPL-3P
'Then, however, Paruhang's mouth also was twisted.'

b. *winma kʰanma*
ditch send
'to ditch, to throw away, to dispose'

c. *wetma kʰanma*
throw send
'to throw away'

d. *manma kʰanma*
lose send
'to forget'

(514) *kʰatma*$_1$ as vector verb: motionaliser of taking, 'take away' (DIRaway), (strong) telic aspect, derived from 'to take'

a. baca ɨ-pakt-a-c-u-pəcʰi pʰəile li-yaŋ-sa kʰar-a-kina,
charm 3AM-sow-PT-DU-3P-*after (N) spread (N)* become-PROG-SIM go-PT-CAUS
dʰake *mu-Ø-kʰatt-u.*
cover (N) do-3P-DIRaway-3P
'After they put on the charm, having spread, it covered (the water).'

(515) *tama*$_3$ as vector verb: motionaliser of returning, 'come' (DIRback), derived from 'to come'

a. kʰwatni yiŋ-a. kʰon-da-ŋka o-sa-na pakt-u. pakt-u-ta-na
that.way say-PT he/she-LOC-ABL this-PRN-TOP put.in-3P put.in-3P-*FOC (N)*-TOP
mo *kʰont-a-ta-Ø* ler-a-hiŋ-a.
that resurrect-PT-DIRback-PT burn-PT-live-PT
'Like that she spoke. After that, like that, now, she put it in. She put it in, recovered consciousness and lived again.'

Vector verb selection by direction, valency and level Bantawa has a symmetrical system of motion verbs such as that found in all Kiranti languages. Motion verbs are marked for direction, i.e. coming or going, transitivity (valency) and level, i.e. up, down, level, or neutral (cf. §4.2.2).

All motion verbs are possible vector verbs in verbal compounds. The motion verbs that are neutral with respect to the vertical level are used most frequently and, as may be expected, are used by default if only the aspect of telicity is sought. Vertically marked verbs always bring the directional meaning aspect and are never strictly aspectual, but otherwise have the same aspectual effect as their neutral counterparts.

As described in §6.3.1, most verbs that come in transitive-intransitive pairs have a clearly discernible derivational relationship. For instance, the intransitive verb *kʰatma*$_3$ 'to go' has two transitive derivations, viz. *kʰatma*$_1$ 'to take' and *kʰanma* 'to send'$_2$. The first form *kʰatma* 'to take' implies a more direct causation. The second, more transparent and productive causative formation *kʰanma* regularly means 'to make go, to send', i.e. a more mediated causation.

Many verbs have regular transitive derivations and by extension, verb forms that are used intransitively in compounded forms are also likely to be used transitively in compounded form.

For verbs such as *kʰatma*$_3$ 'to go' the question arises which transitive alternative is used in transitive conjugation. There is no definite answer to this question, as the choice of vector verb is mostly lexically determined. If we compare the forms for *kuŋma* 'to bend' (516), we see that while the verb *kuŋma* 'to bend', which is a middle verb, does not formally change, the verb *kʰatma*$_3$ 'to go' changes to its regular causative form *kʰanma*$_2$ 'to send'. However, the choice of causative form is lexical. Note that the causative of *mama* 'to get lost' is *manma*$_1$ 'to loose', another causative formation than *kʰanma*$_2$ 'to send'.

(516) 'to bend' - *kʰatma*$_3$ → *kʰanma*$_2$

a. *kuŋt-a kʰar-a.*
bend-PT go-PT
'It bent.'

b. *kuŋt-u kʰaĩs-u.*
bend-3P send-3P
'He bent it.'

(517) 'to get lost' vs. 'to lose' - kʰatma$_3$ → kʰanma$_2$

a. *ma-Ø-kʰar-a.*
get.lost-PT-go-PT
'It got lost.'

b. *mant-u-kʰans-u.*
lose-3P-let.go-3P
'He lost it, he forgot it.'

(518) 'Abandon, release'

a. *ler-u-ŋ kʰans-u-ŋ.*
leave-3P-1s let.go-3P-1s
'I left him behind.'

b. *hor-u-m kʰais-u-m.*
open-3P-12plA let.go-3P-12plA
'We opened it and let it go (the water).'

In general, it is fair to say that the *kʰatma*$_1$ (*kʰattu*) 'to take' transitive derivation is more strictly aspectual in usage, whereas the form *kʰanma*$_2$ 'to send' always retains a connotation of 'away', disappearance and physical abandonment.

(519) *kʰatma*$_3$ → *kʰatma*$_1$

a. *lint-u kʰatt-u*!
attack-3P take-3P
'attack!'

b. *som-ma kʰat-ma*
search-INF take-INF
'to search thoroughly'

c. *soms-u kʰatt-u.*
search-3P take-3P
'He searched thoroughly.'

Aspect and direction So far, we have mostly chosen the verb *kʰatma* 'to go' and its derivatives as example verbs. However, any motion verb, however specified for vertical direction, transitivity or other parameters, can be a vector verb. To give examples of each one would be rather unwieldy, but some more examples may help to reveal patterns in the aspectual side-effects or associations of motionalisers. It turns out that verbs of approaching motion 'to come' are associated with an inchoative[19] aspect 'to begin, to start', whereas verbs of the 'go' family express a more telic aspect 'to end'.

In a grammatical, analytical inchoative construction, formed as infinitive + modal (520), the inceptive is focussed on as a separate part of the proposition, whereby the

[19] Also (Rai 1985: 119) 'inceptive'

inception is only loosely connected to the main event. For example, in line (520) most in-laws would be awaiting their turn, but still the statement as a whole would be true.

(520) jəgge-da cʰenwaraŋ-ci-ʔa behula behuli-ci ʈika *wat-ma*
jagge (N)-LOC inlaw-PL-ERG *groom (N) bride (N)*-PL *blessing.mark (N)* apply-INF
mɨ-puŋs-u-ci.
3pl-start-3P-DU
'In the *jagge* compound, the in-laws start to give blessing marks to the bride and bridegroom.' [Mr]

However, inceptive aspect as expressed by compound verbs with approaching motion verbs as vector verb is different. In compound verbs, the inception is an aspect of the event as such, whereby the event itself is qualified as a type of inception. However, approaching motion vector verbs do not necessarily express aspect only. Example (522) shows a clear directional reading for an approaching motionaliser verb. The telic aspect that is inherent to normal motionalisers is still available.

In any case, the motionaliser *lonma* 'to come up' has more or less grammaticalised to become an inchoative aspectualiser (521a). Some verbs necessarily select a 'come' motionaliser and are not grammatical without it (521c).

(521) Other motion verbs as V2.

a. *kʰont-a lont-a.*
resurrect-PT come.out-PT
'He resurrected.'

b. *puw-a lont-a*
rise-PT come.out-PT
'He rose, he stood up.'

c. * puw-a
rise-PT
'*he rose'

d. *kʰon-ma ta-ma*
resurrect-INF come-INF
'to rise and come, to resurrect'

(522) lonma$_2$ as *telic* motionaliser

akwa tʰo-a-ki-na iŋ-cʰuk-ʔa *cʰo-u-ŋ-loĩs-u-ŋ.*
oil spill-PT-SEQ-TOP my-hand-ERG collect-3P-1s-bring.up-3P-1s
'The oil spilt, and I collected it with my hand.'

Some motionalisers are undirected and do not denote a motion with a clear direction, but rather a roundabout or wandering motion. These motion verbs also function as vector motionalisers and here it becomes important to pay proper attention to the aspectual connotations of motionaliser vector verbs. While at first we emphasised the direction part of the semantics of vector verbs deriving from

motion verbs, we can also see clear patterns of association of type of motion with type of aspectual information contributed. It seems sensible to split independent motion verbs in two major groups according to the factor oriented (Bickel 1996: Ch.6). The oriented verbs can further be subdivided by direction, viz. go or come, and vertical level, viz. up, down, level or neutral.

Motion Verbs
I. Oriented Verbs
   i. come *up, down, level and neutral*
   ii. go *up, down, level and neutral*
II. Not-oriented
   i. wander, walk

The prototypical non-oriented verb is *konma* 'to walk'. In Bantawa, *konma* 'to walk' does not function as a vector verb, but cognates of *konma* are attested in Belhare (Bickel 1996: Ch.8) and in Limbu (van Driem 1987: 187). Bickel labels the effect of this verb as 'spatially distributed temporary aspect'. Van Driem describes the Limbu cognate of this verb as a 'spatially defocused continuous'. This non-oriented vector verb translates as 'to go around X-ing'. The probably most prototypical usage is found in the Belhare example (523).

(523) gaũ-gaũ rʌksi iŋa uŋ-gon-u
village-village brandy beer drink-SDT-3U
'He is going around drinking brandy and beer' (Bickel 1996: 8.2.b.B)

Bickel insists that the spatially distributed vector does not of necessity imply motion. Like other motionalisers, the vector verb may lose its meaning of movement altogether and reduce to a strict aspectualiser. As aspectualisers, then, the non-oriented motion verbs clearly have an atelic effect. They are a specialised subclass of continuous aspect forms. The continuous is a special form of the imperfective[20].

While Bantawa does have the root *konma* 'to walk', this root is not used as a vector verb. This is remarkable as such, but probably not significant enough to warrant a lot of discussion. I have included the spatially distributed aspect here in order to later extend this discussion of motionalisers to a review of Kiranti vector verbs. We are now able to summarise the association of aspect with motion as in (524).

(524) association of direction with aspect

Oriented verbs	go	↔ telic: 'away'
	come	↔ inchoative (telic): 'come'
Non-oriented verbs	walk	↔ non-telic, continuous

The selection of transitive or intransitive forms as well the vertical level part of motion verbs are left out of the equation, since with regard to aspect these are less important.

[20] While Belhare and Limbu have only these obviously cognate forms attested, Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 152) has an entire class of roundabout motionalisers, each with different aspectual details, e.g. 'there and back', 'circumvagant'.

***Lama* 'to return'** The verb *lama* 'to return, to reach' is an ordinary motion verb in that it duly serves as a vector verb (525) and is even quite frequent in that role. Some informants allow for forms that have further reduced suffix strings, missing suffixes that normally are retained in compounded verbs, viz. example (525a) vs. (525b).

(525) *lama* 'to return' as vector verb

a. *ta-Ø-ci* la-Ø-ci-ki...
come-PT-DU return-PT-DU-SEQ
'after they had reached...'

b. *ta-Ø*-la-Ø-ci-ki...
come-PT-return-PT-DU-SEQ
'after they had reached...'

However, the verb is also a frequent main verb and then, exceptionally, only brings the meaning 'again' to the entire verb complex. In this type of compound, it seems that any verb may serve as vector, and *lama* 'to return' only brings directional information. Combined with motion verbs, *lama* 'to return' translates as 'back', viz. 'go back', 'come back', with other verbs, *lama* translates as 'again'.[21]

(526) *lama* 'to return' meaning 'back', or 'again'

a. ɨŋka *las-a-ŋ-cʰoŋs-a-ŋ-da-ŋ-nɨ-ŋ*! ni lo-Ø-ci.
I return-PT-1s-deliver-PT-1s-eff-1s-2p-1s NAR say-3P-DUP
'Bring me back! she told them.' [Gn]

b. amno paruhaŋ-na *las-a-kʰatt-a-n-u-m.*
your[p] Paruhang-TOP return-PT-DIRaway-PT-2P-3P-12plA
'Take your Paruhang back again.' [Sm]

c. ɨŋka akʰomaŋ matte trekiŋ kon-ma kaci-da-ŋka
I yesterday *only (N) trekking* walk-INF work-LOC-ABL
las-a-ŋ-ta-Ø-ŋ *yuŋs-a-ŋ.*
return-PT-1s-come-PT-1s COMPL-PT-1s
'Only yesterday I have returned from my trekking job.'

d. *la-ci tup-ci-ne*!
return-DU meet-DU-OPT
'Let us meet again!'

7.2.6 Category-insensitive compound verbs

In form, motionalisers are usually different for transitive and intransitive verb compounds. Different forms, usually derivatives of the same family, are selected for forms with different valency. This categorial selection is a strategy to mark a transitivity parameter that is consistent between the parts of the compound verb. The alternative to categorial selection is to ignore the valency of the compounding verbs or to allow compounding with one type of vector verb only. The vector verbs that are not selected by valency come in exactly these classes.

[21] The verb *lama* <la- ~ las-> 'return' is of the s-conjugation class and conjugates both transitively and intransitively, according to context.

Aspectuals

Introduction First, there is a group of aspectual vector verbs. There are not many vector verbs that mark aspect, but they are very heavily used. Aspectual vector verbs conjugate with both transitive and intransitive inflection markers. Historically or even synchronically, aspectuals derive from typical intransitive verbs, i.e. members of the 'to be' family of verbs, from 'to sit' and 'to lie'.

Aspectuals not only formally stand out as 'category-insensitive'[22], but they also form a functionally distinct group of vector verbs.

Semantic subclasses As aspect markers, aspectual vector verbs usually are members of some 'family' of aspect.

Cursive The group of cursive aspects includes the imperfective, progressive, continuous, and perhaps the 'inceptive' aspect. In Bantawa, the most frequent vector verb is the progressive, that is well underway of being grammaticalised, but still discernible as a vector verb. Many compound verbs can be seen as subcategories of the imperfective, e.g. durative, iterative or progressive.

Perfective Another group of vector verbs denote or focus the *perfective* aspect or a subtype of the perfective, viz. 'inceptive', 'completive' or 'resultative'. The verb *dama* <da ~ do>, which never occurs independently, belongs to this class. The verb *dama* comes very close in meaning to the perfect *yukma* forms, see below. The subtle difference is that the forms augmented with *dama* are perfective, not perfect. *Dama* focuses on the inceptive aspect of the form. The 'motionalisers' also typically focus on, or enhance, the perfective aspect of the verbal construction.

Perfect For all Central Kiranti languages, we also find vector verbs based on the root family <yuʔ / yuk / yukt- ~ yuŋ / yuŋs> 'to sit, to be''. These vectors typically denote perfect aspect. Bickel (1996: 103) calls it a definitive aspect, about which more later.

Aspect and *Aktionsart* together form one of the most complicated subjects of any grammar, particularly as the aspect of a proposition is dependent of so many factors. Aspect not only depends of the marking on the verb, by either a vector verb or other marking, but also of the inherent *Aktionsart* of the verb. On top of marking in the verbal predicate, there are other parts of propositions, viz. participants, adverbs, etc., and pragmatic factors that come into play.

The description and classification of aspectual vector verbs here is not a final word on their semantics. At least, for every vector verb we give the gist of the aspectual contribution of that verb to the verb complex as a whole and its distribution.

[22]These vector verbs are labelled 'category-insensitive' here. For the aspectual vectors based on 'to be'-verbs, we might as well have labelled them 'intransitive' and just say that the compound verb conjugates according to the highest number of participants (arguments) in the complex (Klamer 1994: 272). The difference would be in wording only. However, in Kiranti languages, we also find *transitive* verb roots figure in the 'aspectual' class of vector verbs. A clearly transitive verb such as 'to eat' *cama* also conjugates both transitively and intransitively. This means that the conjugation and valency of a compound verb does not follow the 'highest number of participants' but is determined by the main verb, at least, for 'category-insensitive' vector verbs.

Ordering As we can expect, there is a distinct pattern of ordering between V2s when there is more than one in a compounded verb form. The ordering is consistently as in (527).

(527) Relative ordering of vector verbs in compound verbs

<main verb><motionaliser><aspectiviser>
V1 V2 V2

Generally this ordering works out such that we only find one verb from each class. This constraint is primarily pragmatic. Adding a vector verb with an aspectual meaning that is included in a previous vector is pointless, and so is expressing two conflicting aspects. This works out in strong limitations on the ordering and appearance of vector verbs[23]. Verb chains longer than three verbs usually reflect either a) coordinated semantics for two main verbs or b) verbs subcategorised for a vector verb, together operating as a single main verb.

(528) dekinalo ni yɨŋ-in-nalo yɨŋ-ma dat-Ø-nalo o cakwa
because NAR say-12plSP-COND say-INF be.seen-NPT-COND this water
jətika kʰepi tatəi li-Ø-ya, mo *lat-ma* *kʰat-ma*
how.much (N) time *hot (N)* become-NPT-EMPH that take.out-INF take.away-INF
yak-ma dot-Ø.
be.in-INF must-NPT
'Because, we say, one should say, every time that water gets hot, you must continuously throw it out.' [Hm]

(529) *... paŋs-a-kʰar-a-ciʔ-a.*
... be.late-PT-go-PT-finish-PT
'It already has become too late.' [Bw]

Imperfective aspects

The first and most widely used class of aspectual vector verbs are those expressing the imperfective or cursive aspects[24]. This class also includes vector verbs that express a distinct static meaning, also grouped in the imperfective and continuative realm of semantics. As vectors, these verbs yield aspects such as habituality, repetitivity, durativity, iterativity, progression and continuity. These vector verbs are part of a cursive aspect field[25], and are all some kind of imperfective. Often the semantics of one specific vector verb encompasses that of a less specific vector verb, such that

[23]However, perfect and perfective aspectuals do incidentally combine with strict motionalisers. When the verb *lama* is used in a 'return' kind of sense (cf. §7.2.5), the ordering constraint moves one place left, i.e. then the V2 can be considered as V1 (cf. 509).

[24]Ebert (1994: 60) uses the terminology 'stative'.

[25]Bickel (1996) extensively details how the aspects of Belhare, a language closely related to Bantawa, can best be classified and subclassified. He treats aspect markers as part of the suffix string on the main verb, even though they clearly have a verbal origin. This does not affect comparison between languages, as the matter of distribution of vector verbs is really the same. They way Bickel presents his data, it seems that throughout, in Belhare, vector verbs are more grammaticalised as verb suffixes, showing more and more unpredictable allomorphy. To understand the distribution of aspect markers in Belhare, Bickel

the durative implies imperfective and excludes perfect vector verbs[26]. In Bantawa, we find the progressive and the continuous in the imperfective realm. These can be graded in force: the neutral zero verb form <Ø> < progressive <yaŋ ~ ŋ ~ Ø> < continuous <yak ~ yakt>.

The experiential *cama* 'to eat' is grouped with the imperfectives. This vector implies that the verbal situation is of ongoing nature. Considering that the inceptive or effective verb *dama* (EFF) is almost aspect-neutral, some types of usage of this vector suggest that it would fit both the imperfective and the perfective groupings[27].

For Dumi, van Driem (1993b: 199) describes the continuous <tho ~ thot>, often emerging as <thiŋ>[28], which comes close to the Bantawa progressive. In the same realm we find the durative <dza-dzuy~ dzu-dzi-dzo> and the perseverative <bok ~ bhok>. Kulung also features a perseverative <la ~ lat> (infinitive *lama*), and a continuous *cama*[29] (Tolsma 1999: 83). The forms for the Dumi durative and the Kulung continuous are mentioned, as they both are homophonous with the verb *dzuni* (Dumi) or *cama* (Kulung) 'to eat' in their respective languages. This is no coincidence, as the verb 'to eat' also serves as vector verbs in Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 166) and Bantawa. This vector is discussed with the resultatives, though it perhaps fits equally well with the imperfective aspectuals.

The progressive

marker	*gloss*	*function*
<yaŋ ~ ŋ ~ y ~ Ø>	PROG	progressive vector verb
<yak ~ yakt>	CONT	continuous vector verb

introduces the concept of *Horn scales*. Markers or vector verbs that are higher on some Horn scale, imply the semantics of the members ranking lower on the scale. Members lower on the scale would be used when no more specific meaning is intended or called for, members higher on the scale are more specific. Typically, the least informative form on a scale is a zero form.

[26]Rutgers (1998: 188) mentions an imperfective group of vector verbs that includes the continuous, the protracted continuous and the perseverative continous. In this group, apparently, each next member is more informative than the previous.

[27]The verb *dama* (EFF) is hard to classify. This vector approximates the perfective aspect that is inherent to every finite verb form. Indeed, many verbs are lexically subcategorised for *dama* without obvious reason.

[28]A Dumi example of a progressive, continuous aspect follows here. The form demonstrates that it is not continuous in the sense that *duration* is emphasised in any way. This contrasts with the other Dumi forms mentioned.

c. Ɨm hempa lamthi:-thiŋ-t-a
he where be.off.to-CNT-NPT-23S

'Where is he heading off to?'

[29]The vector verb *yukma*, which is a cognate of Bantawa *yukma*, was labelled as a 'durative' by Tolsma (1999: 82). However, Kulung *yukma* is more properly labelled a 'perfect', since it is not in the cursive family. The notion of duration can only apply to the definitive nature of the result and completeness of the verbal action. This vector does not signal an ongoing action, as Tolsma's examples amply show.

Introduction The progressive is by far the most frequent vector verb in Bantawa. In fact, the progressive is so frequent and shows so much allomorphy that it might be considered part of the suffix string. However, the progressive clearly behaves as a compound verb in form and semantics. The progressive is significantly different in form: Under some conditions even a zero allomorph emerges (see examples 533, 640, 426b). In meaning, the Bantawa progressive differs from the English *-ing* forms, as the progressive also is used on typical stative verbs, cf. (530).

(530) Stative predicates in the progressive

a. *om-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo* tit-ʔa hom-ma dot-Ø.
be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM cloth-ERG wrap-INF must-NPT.
'We must wrap it in white cloth.'

b. cʰap-ma *les-u-ŋ-y-u-ŋ.*
write-INF be.able-3P-1s-PROG-3P-1s
'I can write.'

The progressive is not a simple imperfective. The progressive is not used to express habituality or repetition, for which the zero, unmarked verb forms may be used. The progressive also must not be called continuous, as it is used to show a process or an action in progress. To express that states pertain continuously, Bantawa has an etymologically closely related specific continuous form, cf. (531).

(531) Contrast between progressive and continuous

a. *ims-a-ŋ-a.*
sleep-PT-PROG-PT
'He was lying down.'

b. *ims-a-yakt-a.*
sleep-PT-CONT-PT
'He continued to sleep.'

(532) Example of the contrast between progressive and continuous in a single sentence from the Sumnima narrative

a. ə̃ mwatni jaycʰacicʰaŋ ɨ-tokt-a-c-u-ci-ki-na mo-ci-cʰaŋ
yes that.way glorious.child 3AM-receive-PT-DU-3P-DUP-SEQ-TOP that-PL-ever
mɨ-pon-Ø-yaŋ-Ø, *mɨ-poy-a-yakt-a.*
3pl-grow-NPT-PROG-NPT, 3pl-grow-PT-CONT-PT
'Er, like that, after they got their children, they also were growing up there, continued to grow up.'

Morphology of the progressive

The Bantawa progressive construction that uses the allomorphs <yaŋ ~ ŋ ~ y ~ Ø> is a compound construction (Ebert 1994). If we take a glance at the table for intransitive progressives though, there are some major diversions from the general pattern in Bantawa. The first column in Table 7.1 shows the affix strings of the simple non-past and the affix strings of the corresponding progressive forms. By comparing these affix strings we can infer the progressive allomorphs (fourth column).

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

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

We know from the general pattern of verbal compounding (§7.2.3) that the suffix sequence following the first verb is repeated after the second. Analysing the intransitive forms in Table 7.1, we find that the only difference between a normal vector verb and the progressive is the allomorphy of the latter. The progressive always aligns with the first syllable of suffixes on the main verb. If there is no agreement suffix or only zero-marked agreement, a full root <yaŋ> will emerge, witness the second and third person singular forms. If the sequence of suffixes up to suffix slot 6 ends in a vowel, the *ya*-part of the progressive will elide, and only <-ŋ> surfaces, viz. the dual forms in the non-past, but also all past tense forms. Should a geminate /ŋŋ/ result, then this geminate is degeminated. If the sequence of suffixes starts in a vowel and ends in a consonant, then the <y> allomorph will surface as in the first and second person plural forms[30]. Should the sequence of suffixes start and end in a consonant, the zero allomorph appears, cf. the negative or reflexive progressive forms as in (533)[31].

(533) zero allomorph for the progressive

a. tɨ-kon-na-n-ci-n.
2AS-walk-2P-NEGn-DU-NEGc
'You don't walk'

b. tɨ-kon-na-n-Ø-na-n-ci-n. ([tɨkonnanancin])
2AS-walk-2P-NEGn-PROG-2P-NEGn-DU-NEGc
'You^{du} don't walk'

[30]In the data presented by Rai (1985) and reworked by Ebert (1994), we find that that the first and second person plural forms show a progressive ending in <-yan>, e.g. *tükolinyan* 'you^{pl} are walking'. To accommodate the particular progressive allomorphy in these forms in the Rabi dialect we can assume that in these forms *-yaŋ* plus *-in* fuse into *-yan*.

[31]The zero allomorph of the progressive has led Rai (1984: 16) to analyse the progressive as an instance of reduplication. However, as we show amply, it is clearly an instance of verbal compounding.

c. ɨ-ciŋ-nin set-nin-ci-n
NEGNPp-hang-NEGn kill-NEGn-DUP-NEGc
'He does not kill himself'

d. ɨ-ciŋ-nin set-nin-Ø-nin-ci-n
NEGNPp-hang-NEGn kill-NEGn-PROG-NEGn-DUP-NEGc
'He is not killing himself'

Full paradigms of progressive forms are given in the appendices. The allomorphy of the progressive seems to be aimed at reducing the prosodic weight of the compound verb construction. As a result, the most salient feature of the progressive is that the compounded verb never breaks up into two prosodic words, which contrasts with ordinary compounds. The progressive does not occur in the infinitive. These facts suggest that the progressive is gradually becoming a separate grammatical category instead of a special instance of verbal compounding.

Experiential *cama* 'to eat' Across Kiranti languages, we find that 'to eat' frequently serves as a vector verb. The Bantawa verb *cama* 'to eat' is a cursive vector verb. However *cama* 'to eat' is also similar to the experience verbs or probatives on the one hand, and to the category-changing verbs described as 'middle' on the other hand. *Cama* is a cursive vector verb in the sense that it implies that the action is ongoing. The focus is on the fact that the subject of the event gets to enjoy or 'eat' the benefit. As a result, in all tested languages that have cognates to *cama* 'to eat' these typically collocate with verbs such as 'to laugh'[32] and 'to sleep'[33].

Probably it is best to follow Rutger's terminology 'experience' as this verb focuses on the fact that the subject, which is often the agent of the verbal action, gets to 'eat' the action as well. While the terminology varies widely in the literature, ranging from 'durative,' 'continuous', 'auxiliary of experience', the distribution and semantics are really quite similar. The verb *cama* 'to eat' most usually occurs as a vector verb on experience verbs that apply to the subject. As a corollary, if the main verb is not of that nature, this vector verb creates the effect of experience, either to the self[34] or to someone else, cf. the Bantawa example (534a).

(534) Experiential

a. mo cʰa *pon-ma-ca-ma* he maʔaŋ?
that child give.away-INF-eat-INF or no
'Should we give this child or not (for a wedding arrangement)?'

[32]Yamphu (Rutgers 1998):

d. yiˑt-cas-iŋ-ma.
laugh-eat-EXPS-12NS
'We laughed'

[33]Kulung (Tolsma 1999: Ex.341):

e. gundri-pu ims-ca-te
straw.mat-LOC sleep-CNT-IMP
'sleep^S on the straw mat'

[34]For Yamphu, Rutgers reports a middle effect.

b. taŋkoŋ-da i̵-taŋ nant-u-ki *ims-a-ca-Ø-ʔo*
pillow-LOC his/her-head lean.back-3P-SEQ sleep-PT-eat-PT-NOM
yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.
sit-PT-PROG-PT
'leaning his head on a pillow, he was fast asleep.'

Perfective and perfect

It is said of most Kiranti languages that finite verb forms have an inherent perfective aspect in that verb forms that are not explicitly marked for aspect typically denote a resultative or inceptive. Simple verbs mean that some boundary, either of starting or finishing the action, has been crossed.[35] Bantawa simplex verb forms are inherently perfective. The inherent aspect is most prominent in past tense forms, but also transpires in non-past forms. Non-past forms are used for future time reference or generic statements where time reference is irrelevant. Non-past forms only express present tense if there are other clues.

If an action is ongoing, either in the past or present, a cursive aspect marker must be added, as in the previous paragraph. In spite of the inherent verb aspect, there are also explicit perfective aspectual vector verbs. As subclasses of these perfective vector verbs we can distinguish the general perfective and several resultatives.

The simple perfective *dama* In Bantawa, some verbs are grammatically subcategorised for the perfective aspectual *dama* 'effect'[36]. *Dama* does not seem to add any specific aspectual semantics to a verb form that is perfective anyway, but rather emphasises perfectivity. Some informants maintain that *dama* may also be added because it 'sounds better' or more polite. In imperatives, adding either inspective *kʰama* 'see' or *dama* 'effect' makes a form less direct.

The verb *domma* 'think hard' never occurs without *dama*. When used as an impersonal verb, *domma* means 'to be surprised'. The verb *si̵ma* 'to die' also never occurs without *dama* (535). In (536) the vector verb is not used obligatorily, but to indicate the resultative. The emphasis is on the crossing of a boundary.

(535) *dama* as obligatory vector verb.

a. dom-ma da-ma.
think.hard-INF eff-INF
'to think very hard'

[35] The Bantawa inherent verb aspect contrasts with the inherent aspect of Dutch verb forms. In Dutch, the past tense of *gaan* 'to go' is the verb form *ging*. This form does not denote the result or inception of the action. The sentence *ik ging daarheen* 'I went that way' does imply that 'I was headed in that direction' but does not imply that 'I reached there' or 'I started going there,' which would have been resultative or inceptive respectively.

[36] This verb *dama* never occurs independently. Sometimes, *dama* is glossed in Nepali with equivalents of 'to put'. It is a possible cognate of the Limbu root <*ta ~ *da> as in the example below and perhaps of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ʔ-da 'put/place' (Matisoff 2003: 586).

f. se:n-do:-ma
question-put-INF
'to ask' (cf. Dutch: *vragen stellen* 'to pose questions')

b. iŋka-na *i-domt-a-ŋ-da-Ø-ŋ.*
I-TOP 3AM-think.hard-PT-1s-eff-PT-1s
'I was surprised.'

c. si-ma da-ma
die-INF eff-INF
'to die'

(536) *dama* as perfective auxiliary.

a. im-ma da-ma
sleep-INF eff-INF
'to fall asleep'

b. yuŋ-ma da-ma
put-INF eff-INF
'to place'

Dama is category-insensitive and conjugates whichever way the main verb conjugates. *Dama* serves in a reduced form in Bantawa past tense negation as an empty verb that serves to host agreement. In Bantawa there are two competing paradigms for past tense negation. One paradigm is based on *dama* and is the default perfective negation. The other past tense negation paradigm is based on *yukma* and is best understood as perfect negation, cf. §4.5.3.

Witness vector verbs Across Kiranti languages, we also find probatives, i.e. vector verbs that signal that the action described in the main verb must be checked, experienced or witnessed. These vector verbs do not change aspect, but are typically used for the imperatives[37]. In Bantawa, adding an appropriate form of *kʰama* 'to see' to imperative forms only signals politeness and perhaps an aspect of ease, such as 'do this and you'll see it's easy'.

(537) *kʰama* - probative

a. icilok *piw-a-ŋ-kʰa-Ø-ŋ.*
a.bit give-PT-1s-see-PT-1s
'Give me a little bit.'

b. sampica yi-yaŋ-sa hik *lant-u-kʰo.*
millet shake-PROG-SIM wind winnow-3P-see.3P
'Winnow the millet, shaking it to the wind.'

c. kʰim *kʰar-a-kʰa-Ø-ci*!
house go-PT-see-PT-DU
ỳou[du] go home, please!'

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

d. kʰim *kʰar-a-ci-kʰa-Ø*!
house go-PT-DU-see-PT
'you[du] go home, please!'

e. kʰim *kʰar-a-nin-kʰa-Ø*!
house go-PT-2p-see-PT
'you[pl] go home, please!'

f. *kʰim *kʰar-a-kʰa-Ø-nin*!

Kʰama 'to see' also is category-insensitive and conjugates in whichever way the main verb conjugates. The verb *kʰama* seems to maintain a relationship with *kʰaŋma* 'to see'. However, the stem velar nasal never occurs in compound forms. In addition, the paradigm of compound verbs with *kʰama* is defective. All singular forms with the root <kʰa-> pattern regularly with all other compound verbs, as in examples (537a, 537b), but some plural markers do not appear on the vector verb, while these markers must appear on parallel forms with other verbs. As examples (537c, 537d) show, the position of the dual marker is variable. Examples (537e, 537f) show that the second person plural suffix can only appear before the suffix, not after. This irregular pattern suggests that <kʰa-> may not have been a verb originally, but derives from another source. The frequent suffix <-kʰa> will be discussed further in §8.6.

Other resultatives There is a very varied group of vector verbs that are resultative and add to or emphasise one or another part of the total verbal action much in the way that motionalisers add or emphasise the motion part. Some but not all resultatives add a telic aspect. Some resultatives do not so much tell of the completion of the action, but give the benificiary of the action or the manner of completion.

Conative Metaphorically, the conative is in the class of resultatives, as we know the action did not end or is an ongoing attempt. The Bantawa vector verb *lukma* may be classified as a conative. If we look at example (538), we see that it must be grouped with the probatives and the cursive durative aspects.

(538) cenciɨkwa *kol-a-lukt-a*-hida, cenciɨkwa-ʔa walu-ʔe
buffalo.bird walk-PT-CON-PT-SIMp buffalo.bird-ERG water.source-ATTR
dʰir-u-ŋ, mulu-ʔe dʰir-u-ŋ.
find-3P-EMPH *water.source (N)*-ATTR find-3P-EMPH
'The pade bird, while it was walking around, and found a water source, found water.' [Sm]

Lukma 'conative' also is category-insensitive and conjugates in whichever way the main verb conjugates[38].

Inceptive Bantawa does not have a dedicated inceptive vector verb,[39] but other languages do. However, there are perfective vector verbs that emphasise the fact that the verbal action as a whole is an initiative to a new state, a new state arising,

[38] Yamphu *pʔiʔma* 'attempt' (Rutgers 1998: 180) might as well have been labelled as 'conative'.
[39] There is, however, a modal auxiliary *puŋma* ~ *pukma* 'to start', selecting infinitival complements.

and completed. Perhaps the term 'inceptive' fits this process-and-result meaning, as these vector verbs can also intentionally focus the inception of a new state.

Firstly, the Bantawa verb *dama* serves as an intentional marker of perfectivity, not adding much to the inherent perfective meaning of a simplex verb form. The directional verb *lonma* 'to come up' functions as a more precise inceptive vector verb and has become almost completely grammaticalised to signal inception. This inceptive signals the start of the new situation as described in the main verb. While ordinarily *lonma* 'to come up' retains something of its directional meaning, e.g. (539), the meaning contribution may be entirely aspectual in other sentences, e.g. (540).

(539) puw-a-lont-a
get.up-PT-come.up-PT
'he got up'

(540) mo-ko hims-a-lont-a.
that-PRN go.crazy-PT-come.up-PT
'he went crazy.'

The inceptives as mentioned here are a subtype of the perfective aspect.

Finality Where the inceptive focuses on the emergence of an event and the result, the vector verb *cima* 'to finish' emphasises the closure or the completion of an event. The verb *cima* usually translates as 'to end doing...' or 'to complete doing ...', but may also merely focus on the finality of the event to put emphasis on the fact that the verbal action has taken a long time and that the resources have been exhausted.

As an independent verb, *cima* 'to finish' may take nominal arguments as in *len ci?a* 'the day finished'. However, this verb combines with verbs in compounding constructs and does not take infinitival complements. Cf. also (529, 446c).

(541) badde ɨ-huŋ-a-ŋ ci-a-ŋ.
much 3AM-PT-1s finish-PT-1s
'He has already waited a lot for me.'

The vector verb *cima* 'to finish' conjugates both ways, agreeing with the main verb.

'Till death' The mortative[40] indicates an action ending in death.

(542) 'mortative'

a. kʰo-lai makyɨ-ʔa ~~ɨ-cɨŋs-a~~ *ser-a*
he/she-DAT rope-ERG 3AM-hang-PT kill-PT
'They killed him hanging him with a rope'

b. rɨkt-u ser-u
strangle-3P kill-3P
'He strangled it'

[40] Van Driem (1987) labelled this aspect the 'mechrithanatous' aspect.

Mortatives[41] are category-sensitive vector verbs, i.e. a vector verb of equal transitivity, viz. 'to die' or 'to kill', is selected for different main verbs. Bantawa also has a positive counterpart *hiŋma* 'to live' that indicates that an action results in revival, cf. (515a).

Relinquitive The relinquitive expresses that an action ends in abandonment[42].

In Bantawa we see various verbs serve as a relinquitive. *Hanma* 'to send' is more of a dimittive, e.g. (543), while *kʰanma* 'to send' is a motionaliser, not specifically a relinquitive. By contrast, the verb *kema* 'to throw away' only appears in compounds denoting events ending in final abandonment, e.g. (544)[43].

(543) dimittive ('to send off')

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

(544) relinquitive ('throw away, abandon')

a. mant-u-kes-u
lose-3P-throw.away-3P
'He forgot it.'

b. mit-ma ke-ma
think-INF throw.away-INF
'to decide' (!)

Relinquitives are category-sensitive.

Perfect, definitive or completive *yukma* As mentioned in the introduction above, aspectual vector verbs are often based on 'to be' verbs, denoting different ways of being. Bantawa has two ways of expressing the perfect or pluperfect aspect. a) The perfect can be expressed by periphrastic verb construction of inequal parts, combining a nominalised verb phrase with a *yukma*-based auxiliary. This construction only serves for past tense perfects. b) The other method of forming a perfect is to compound the main verb by regular verbal compounding with the verb *yuŋma* 'to sit' or *yukma* 'to put'. The verbs *yuŋma* or *yukma* derive from the same root and form a transitive - intransitive pair that differ regularly in valency. In isolation the verbs *yuŋma* or *yukma* mean 'to sit' or 'to put' respectively. The original meanings of these vector verbs may be relevant to the interpretation of compounded forms, e.g. (545). However, most often, the prominent and only meaning component is that of aspect.

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

[42] Also Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 152), Dumi (van Driem 1993b: 202) 'dispatch, dimittive'

[43] Ebert (1994: 64) mistakes Bantawa *dama* for a relinquitive. However, it is rather an almost neutral aspectiviser (§7.2.6). In languages where the 'to put' meaning of *dama* is still apparent, the label 'relinquitive' may serve to highlight the motion of 'putting it down' as a part of the whole verbal action. The first Bantawa example that Ebert gives is badly glossed. In the other and the Chamling examples the 'abandonment' meaning component derives solely from the main verb. For 'relinquitives' her text contains a valid Limbu example *yuksu dho* 'he left it behind', which, however, derives from another root.

(545) ɨcilok *kɨms-u-ŋ-lar-u-ŋ-yuŋs-u-ŋ.*
a.bit save-3P-1s-take-3P-1s-PERF-3P-1s
'I have been saving a bit'

It would be most easy to say that the vector *yuŋma* just indicates perfect aspect. The perfect reading is most prominent and compatible with the fact that these perfect vector verbs combine well with the progressive. Both the periphrastic perfect and the verb compound perfect signal a state resulting from a verbal action. This state may be predicated over any subject with separate time reference and cursive, generic or any other aspect.

(546) progressive forms of perfect sentences

a. ɨŋka kʰana juwapa cʰot-na-ʔo *yuw-a-ŋ-a.*
I you answer give-2P-NOM be.PERF-PT-PROG-PT
'I had given you an answer' ('I was in a state that I had given you an answer')

b. ɨ-kʰimhaŋma saro-ŋa rɨŋri *pɨ-Ø-yuŋs-u-ŋ-u.*
his/her-housewife *much (N)*-EMPH trouble give-3P-PERF-3P-PROG-3P
'He had given his wife a lot of trouble.'

The combination of the perfect and progressive aspect may seem counterintuitive, but is logical in Bantawa. A periphrastic perfect with a non-progressive auxiliary refers to generic or future situations. Current states must be expressed with a progressive form, cf. (530). A perfect form expresses a state: If this state is a current state, the auxiliary must be in the progressive. Still, the verb compound perfect is not exactly equal to the periphrastic perfect. The verb compound perfect primarily focuses on the result of the action. This construction intentionally emphasises that the action is over, rather than simply denoting a stable state. In that sense, the verb compound is a resultative rather than a full perfect, cf. example (548).

(547) ɨk kʰepi mo-da *kʰar-a-ŋ yuŋs-a-ŋ.*
one time that-LOC go-PT-1s PERF-PT-1s
'I have gone there once.'

(548) ɨcilok un-ŋa ɨŋka *yɨŋ-a-yuŋs-a-ŋ.*
a.bit this.much-EMPH I speak-PT-PERF-PT-1s
'I only spoke this much.'

The verb *yukma* 'to put', that is related to *yuŋma* 'to sit', serves in a reduced form in one of the two Bantawa past tense negation paradigms as a complementiser verb to host agreement. The negation paradigm based on *yukma* 'to put' is best understood

as perfect negation, as it denies that the state described in the verb applies to the alleged subject,[44,45] cf. §4.5.3.

The perfect usage of *yuŋma* is category-insensitive[46].

Conjunctive compound verbs

Finally, there is always the left over class of vector verbs that are hard to classify. Vector verbs that are situationally chosen typically do not just express the aspect of the verbal complex, but rather the verb complex semantics amounts to a simple coordination of the compounding parts. This coordination does not usually reflect a consecutive order of events in time, although the interpretation of the verb complex may require that on pragmatic grounds.

The verb *cama* 'to eat' compounds with a number of other verbs, to express different ways of eating (549a).

(549) Eating in verb compounds

a. ses-u co-Ø
selectively.eat-3P eat-3P
'it ate (the plant) but left the hard bits'

b. kuʔ-u-ki kʰupt-u-co ni.
pick.up-3P-SEQ chew-3P-eat.3P NAR
'He picked it up, and ate it chewing.' [Tt]

Using a compound verb to coordinate two separate but simultaneous parts of a single event is found in other Kiranti languages as well[47].

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

[44]Bickel (1996: 103) describes the Belhare cognate *yukt-* of this Bantawa resultative as the 'definitive'. This terminology is of course primarily motivated by the specific usage of this marker in the Belhare language, but should not obscure the close relationship between the two cognates. In Belhare, the marker *yukt-* is only used in the non-past, and most frequently points forward in time, signalling that something will definitely happen. This is what happens in Bantawa as well, except that future usage is rare. To understand this as a 'future perfect' makes perfect sense.

[45]Rutgers (1998: 169) explains the Yamphu cognate 'auxiliary of placement' in strictly physical terms ('this situation (...) involves a putting down'). This meaning component may be more prominent for Yamphu, but from his examples and the fact that he groups this verb under 'effect auxiliaries' I derive that there is an aspectual connotation as well.

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

[47]The following Thulung example parallels (549a). The single event reading is required.

g. sal-pe-mu
pick-eat-INF
'pick and choose while eating' from (Allen 1975)

rendered best by a conjunction of both constituent parts. These constructions are apparently common coordinated predicates conflated into one[48].

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

(550) əni solonwa-ʔa kʰɨtt-u tʰokt-u-dis-u, ɨ-do-da-tni jəmma
then (N) gourd-ERG worship-3P spill-3P-reach-3P his/her-mouth-LOC-ALL *all (N)*
rept-u.
sprinkle-3P.
'Then, with the gourd she worshipped and poured in water, she sprinkled it all towards his mouth.' [Sm]

For most ordinary verb compounds with idiosyncratic or rare vector verbs, however, the starting point for an interpretation is to understand the form as describing two simultaneous actions.

(551) pɨr-a-lar-a.
graze-PT-get.off-PT
'It was grazed and stripped off.'

Idiomatic collocations The vector verbs discussed so far may also appear obligatorily. Some verbs for no obvious reason just require these vector verbs in order to be grammatical. In example (552), there is no obvious reason why *dʰantaŋ* 'brought down' should appear.

(552) tɨ-somt-a-ŋ dʰant-a-ŋ-nalo ɨŋka yaŋ pɨ-na.
2AS-please-PT-1s bring.down-PT-1s-COND I money give-2P
'If you make me happy, I shall give you money.'

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

In the fixed expression *lekma yakma* 'to kiss', the vector verb *yakma* 'to be, to stay' does not denote a continuous as it usually does as a vector verb, but rather serves in the meaning 'to stay, to hold' which derives from its independent form.

[48] In Belhare, coordinate readings of 'eat' compound verbs are found, e.g. describing a procedure of arriving at a meal.

h. na meri set-ca-ma
DEM goat kill-eat-INF
'[we should] kill and eat this goat' (Bickel 1996: ex.7.1.a)

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

i. ɖuŋ-bik-a
drink-come-IMP2s
'drink and then come'

7.3 Verb complements

Complemented verbs come in two types.

Grammatical complements The first type are the verbs with grammatical complements. There is a small set of verbal roots that take verbal roots as grammatical complements, resulting in a complex verb. Alternatively, these can be called 'category-changing compounds'. Examples include analytical causatives (554, §6.3.3) and reciprocal constructions (§6.4.3). The incorporated verbal element *ca-* in (554) is an argument to the verb *met-* 'to cause'.

(554) mɔmɔ ca-met-na
momo eat-CAUS-2P
'I shall make you eat the momos'

Lexical complements The second class are verbs that lexically collocate with a fixed set of complements. These complements are incorporated and a lexical part of the verbal predicate. The close structural integration may be formally visible in the fact that lexical complements form a single word with the verb for some parts of the paradigm. Examples include verbal predicates expressing experience and emotion(555, §6.1.3, §7.4). The lexical complement to the verb appears in the same position as the grammatical complements mentioned above, but are often of nominal origin.

(555) kʰo-so-ʔo *i-niŋ* *cʰun-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.*
he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-mind refuse-NPT-PROG-NPT
'He does not trust me' (his mind refuses)

7.3.1 Compound verbs with valency effects

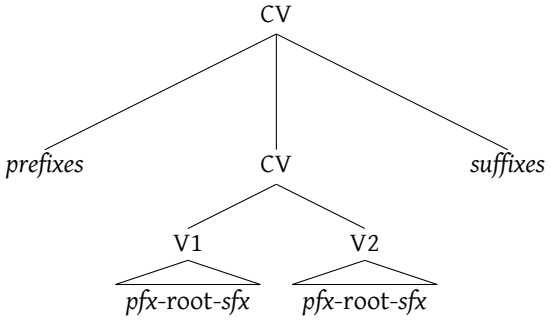
There are complex verb constructions where vector verbs seem to change the valency of the main verb by adding or deleting a participant position. These vector verbs affect the transitivity of the verb and turn a transitive into an intransitive, e.g. reflexive or passive, or the other way around, e.g.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

These complex verbs are of an entirely different class than ordinary verb compounds, because both their semantics and their structure are very different.

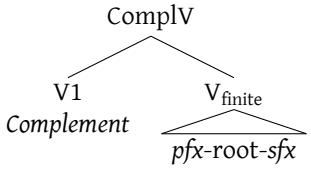
This type of complex verb has been labelled 'grammatical complement verbs'. This label expresses that these vector verbs are second verbs in compound constructions that take an argument as an obligatory complement to form a valid verbal predicate. This is different from plain compounding in the sense that in these complement verbs the left hand verb (V1) does not conjugate and is not on equal footing with the vector verb (V2). The structural differences between these two construction types are obvious from the trees as in (556).

(556) Two types of complex verb

a. Compound verb



b. Complemented verb (grammatical)



A complication of analysing these complement verbs as compound verbs is that by the very nature of these verbs, there is a clash of valency between the first and second verbs, whereby rule (498b) would be violated. Logically, these verbs do not allow actant agreement flection on the main verb, as that would result in two types of agreement within one complex verb. What happens is that the main verb is present as a bare root, and if it is marked at all, it is only marked for tense.

Valency-changing vector verbs, then, are henceforth regarded as verbs that are subcategorised for a grammatical deverbal complement in contrast with verbs that take a lexical complement idiomatically expressions, or are bi-morphemic verbs, cf.§7.4.

Valence changing vector verbs

Category-changing complex verbs (556b) are based on a select class of vector verbs, i.e. causatives and benefactives[49], that select verb roots as grammatical arguments. Depending on the type of operation, we label them valence-decreasing or valence-increasing. Candidates for the valence-decreasing class are the reflexives and the passives. The Thulung reflexive can be explained this way, as well as the Limbu passive *-tɛt*. However, Bantawa does not feature a passive, and we show below that the reflexive paradigm is not helpfully re-analysed in these terms.

Candidates for the valence-increasing class are causatives of various types, and benefactives. The grammatical causative using *metma*[50] 'to cause' is not a compound verb but a complement-verb combination. However, the other major valence increasing verb, the benefactive *pima*, does formally pattern with general verb compounding.

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

[50] The grammatical causative is found all of the Central and Eastern Kiranti language area. Kulung

Morphology

The morphology of category-changing compounds is uncomplicated. Finite verbs all across Kiranti are conjugated significantly different for transitive and intransitive forms. Since the very nature of a category or valency changing verb root is to change the valency of the original verb, we do not expect the halves of a valency changing compound to agree. In fact, the first root in valency changing verbal constructs is never conjugated at all, as in Bantawa causatives (§6.3.3).

The pattern is as in (557).

(557) Verbal agreement pattern on category-changing compounds

V_{main}	<prefixes$_A$->	$V_{operator}$	<-suffixes>$_A$
Main verb	Auxiliary verb, hosting all agreement		

We expect the agreement on the operator verb ($V_{operator}$) to follow a transitive paradigm for valence increasing compounds, and an intransitive paradigm for valence decreasing compounds.

7.3.2 Valence decreasing auxiliaries

Reflexives

Reflexivisation is a category-decreasing operation. The reflexive marker that is generally found across Kiranti languages is <-ci> or <-si>[51].

Ebert (1994: 54) suggests that the reflexive was originally a verb. Rai (1985: 137) actually says it *is*, in Bantawa. It would not be a normal compound construction though. For Limbu, Bantawa and Thulung, the constructions are as in the table below.

tag	Bantawa (PT)		Limbu (PT)	Thulung
1s	Σ-a-ŋ	-ci-ŋ	Σ-siŋ-aŋ	Σ-si-ŋuro
1d	Σ-a	-ci-ya	Σ-n-ɛtcʰigya	Σ-si-coko
1p	Σ-in	-ci-n-ka	Σ-siŋ-igya / -siŋ-mɔna	Σ-si-toko
id	Σ-a-ci	-ci	a-Σ-n-ɛtcʰi	Σ-si-ci
ip	Σ-in	-ci-n	a-Σ-siŋ-(ɛ)	Σ-si-ɖi
2s	ti-Σ-a-n	-ci-n	kɛ-Σ-siŋ-(ɛ)	Σ-si-na
2d	ti-Σ-a-na-n-ci-n		kɛ-Σ-n-ɛtcʰi	Σ-si-ci
2p	ti-Σ-a-na-n-ci-n		kɛ-Σ-siŋ-i	Σ-si-ni
3s	Σ-a-n	-ci-n	Σ-siŋ-(ɛ)	Σ-si-ɖa
3d	Σ-a-ci	-ci	Σ-n-ɛtcʰi	Σ-si-ci
3p	mi-Σ-a-n	-ci-n	mɛ-Σ-siŋ-(ɛ)	Σ-si-miri

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

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

Bantawa reflexives At first glance, the variation in the reflexive paradigms is quite wild. However, as we saw in §4.5.6, the morphology of the reflexive patterns with the general rules that govern the simplex paradigm. The reflexive marker apparently doubles with the dual patient marker <-ci> (DUP), and the copying effect in the form of the repetition of markers appearing before the dual suffix <-ci> after it is part and parcel of the ordinary conjugational paradigm. This fact does not in any way negate or affirm the idea that the reflexive originated in a compound verb construction. However, for Bantawa, synchronically the reflexive simply is a part of the conjugation paradigms.

7.3.3 Valence increasing auxiliaries

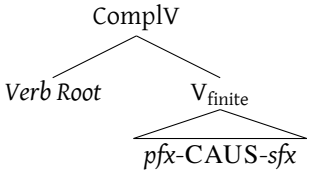
Some authors, such as Ebert (1994) and Lahaussois (2002) have proposed to treat valence increasing verbs on a par with compound verbs. However, any incongruity between valence of the first and second verb in the complex construction results in formal differences from ordinary verbal compounding.

Causative formation

Bantawa causatives based on either *metma* 'to apply' or *muma* 'to do' follow the morphological schema as outlined in (557). In spite of suggestions otherwise[52], I have not found a Kiranti language where the causative formation is a compound verb in the sense that the first and second verbs agree in conjugation.

The structure of causatives is as in (558), which is a specific instantiation of a complement-verb structure.

(558) Structure of causative



[52]Lahaussois suggests that the Thulung causative is a vector verb as any other (2002: 203). However, the examples she offers contradict this. As pointed out elsewhere (§D.2), the main stem (V1) in a Thulung compound verb shows some remnant flection or root alternation, e.g. the compounded form of die+RES (to die + resultative) would read as in (g) for the third plural person. However, a completely parallel form with the causative in the position of the resultative (h) does not show the stem alternation of the ordinary compound. It follows that causatives are different from ordinary compounds. The Thulung examples suggest that causatives simply have a structure that differs from that of ordinary compounds. Thulung compound verb and verbal complement examples are listed below.

g. si-m-le-mri
die-3p-RES-3p.PST (cf si-mri, 3p past)
? 'he died' (Lahaussois 2002: 202)

h. mɯ-miŋ-ka uni-lwa sɯ-be-mri
that-PLU-ERG 3POSS-story tell-do-3p.PST
'They told each other their news.' (Lahaussois 2002: Ex.272).

The productive causative in Limbu utilises a perhaps nominalising optative on the first verb with an auxiliary 'to do' (van Driem 1987: 268) and is not a compound in the sense discussed here.

Benefactives

A benefactive is a vector verb that adds a participant to the clause matrix, viz. the participant that benefits from the action or is the intended benificiary or recipient. This operation is largely covered by other causative formations as well and in many respects amounts to an applicative. For example, *wa cakma* 'to wash' in the regular applicative form *wa caŋma* means 'to wash someone else'.

The benefactive is no doubt a valence-increasing operation. In that respect, we would expect the benefactive to behave as a causativiser, and to select a verb root as a grammatical complement. However, in Bantawa the benefactive behaves as an ordinary verbal compound, conjugating both first and seconds halves of the compound. There is a restriction, however, that the benefactive only applies to transitive verbs and that only transitive verbs can be put in the benefactive (560). By this move, rule (498) is upheld, and the agreement structure of the verb compound remains clear. Across Kiranti and perhaps even universally, benefactives are invariably constructed with 'to give' as auxiliary[53]. In Bantawa too, the verb *pɨma* 'to give' is the operator in the compound benefactive construction, e.g. (560-561).

(559) ɨŋ-nicʰa dima-ʔo ɨ-pit *bitt-u-pɨ-Ø*.
my-younger.brother grandmother-GEN his/her-cow milk-3P-BEN-3P
'My younger brother milked her cow for grandmother.'

(560) The benefactive is ungrammatical on intransitive verbs

a. dimo-ʔo niki gʰoɖeṭar kʰar-a-ŋ.
grandmother-GEN for Ghoḍeṭār go-PT-1s
'I went to Ghoḍeṭār for (the benefit of) grandmother.'

b. * ... gʰoɖeṭar kʰar-a-ŋ-pɨ-Ø-ŋ
... Ghoḍeṭār go-PT-1s-BEN-3P-1s
(with a transitively conjugated benefactive)

c. * ... gʰoɖeṭar kʰar-a-ŋ-pɨ-a-ŋ
... Ghoḍeṭār go-PT-1s-BEN-PT-1s
(with an intransitively conjugated benefactive)

(561) ɨ-yuŋs-a-kina pʰeri kʰəi molok nəu sĩge rãga ni
3AM-put-PT-CAUS *again (N) where (N)* isn't.it nine *horned (N) buffalo.bull (N)* NAR
ɨ-low-a tə mo bʰale-ʔo ɨ-sira-ŋa kʰaŋ
3AM-say-PT *though (N)* that *rooster (N)*-GEN his/her-cock.comb-EMPH show
ɨ-ett-a-ki *ɨ-kʰipt-a-pɨw-a*:
3AM-tell-PT-SEQ 3AM-read-PT-BEN-PT

[53] As an exception, (Lahaussois 2002: 212) reports that that she cannot find confirmation for the independent meaning 'to give' for the Thulung benefactive auxiliary <sa->. In his grammatical sketch for Thulung, dating from the early '70s of the last century, Allen (1975) mentioned that *samu* 'give' was still in use independently.

'And after they put her down, well, this way, they said a nine horned buffalo-bull, they showed her the crown of a rooster and counted for her...' [Gn]

In the exceptional case of the benefactive, the related Limbu language allows the coding of a third participant in the verb agreement.[54]

Summarising the findings on the benefactive, we should conclude that while the benefactive behaves as an ordinary compounding vector verb in Bantawa, it has the unique feature of introducing an extra actant. The benefactive construction is a special instance of the general pattern of verbal compounding.

7.3.4 A typological note

A review of causative and other valency-changing complex verbs must lead to the conclusion that valency-changing compound verbs are something fundamentally different from ordinary verb compounds —cross-linguistically.

It appears that the compound verb construction can be defined formally, and very precisely so, as a well-defined subtype of serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006). The typology can be fruitfully further refined with the exclusion of valency-changing constructs from the set of proper compound verbs. There are real concomitant formal and semantic differences between the two constructions. Valency-changing constructs are best understood as a grammatical subtype of verb complementation.

7.4 Verbs with lexical complements

As opposed to verbal constructions with grammatically incorporated arguments (cf. above, 7.3.1), there are complex verbs involving a root with a lexical complement. These verbs are idiomatic lexical units, standard collocations of complement and verb. The complements involved often occur independently as nouns.

7.4.1 Subclassification

In §7.1, some typological features of bimorphemic verb stems were already mentioned. In the class of verbs with left-wardly projected complements, there are many grammatical constructions that can be regarded this way, e.g. causatives. The bimorphemic verbs are best considered as lexically complemented verbs.

[54] As the Limbu example (j.) shows, one extra actant may be coded on the first verb in the compound, introducing a discrepancy between the agreement on the first and second verb. The construction is very effective and elegant. One way to understand it is as two predicates rather than one, i.e. as a conjunctive compound (§7.2.6).

j. lɛr-uŋ-bi-niŋ-ba
release-1s3s-give-1s2s-IMPF
'I release him for you'

While it is true of all complex verbs that more than a single morpheme is involved, the defining feature of bimorphemic verbs is that these verbs have a lexically complex stem and that the semantics of the entire verb depends on more than a single morpheme in contrast with monomorphemic verbs. Based on the semantic structure of these verbs, some complements are best regarded as subject complements, viz. the experiencer verbs. The agreement of the verb complex as a whole is expressed by the possessor on the subject noun.

7.5 Subject verb complements

Complex verbs with a lexical argument that has an interpretation as subject are not very special from a morphological point of view. The subject noun is not usually prosodically incorporated into the verb complex and maintains grammatical relations by a possessive prefix. Syntactically and semantically the construction is interesting. A description of this construction has already been given in §6.1.3. Bickel (1997) dedicated an article to the phenomenon in Belhare, much of which applies to Bantawa as well.

The structure mostly expresses an experience or feeling. Two structures are found. The intransitive structure only describes the feeling happening to an experiencer, while the transitive structure designates a source or target of the feeling in the verbal agreement, e.g. (562).

(562) experience construction structure

a. possessive-body part verb-3.s
prefix-noun verb-*agreement*
experiencer-location.of.experience experience

b. possessive-body part verb-A→P
prefix-noun verb-*agreement*
experiencer-location.of.experience experience-*Experiencer-Source*

Examples are as below.

(563) mo-ko kamec^{h}a badde *i̵ŋ-ni̵ŋa nos-u.*
that-REF girl much my-mind please-3P
'She pleases me very much.'

(564) k^{h}o-so-ʔo *i̵-ni̵ŋ c^{h}un-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.*
he/she-PRN-GEN his/her-mind refuse-NPT-PROG-NPT
'He does not trust me' (his mind refuses)

(565) k^{h}o-ci-ʔo i̵co *ni̵ŋa no-Ø.*
he/she-PL-GEN their^{ns} mind be.good-NPT
'they (pl) are happy' (their mind is good)

(566) am-dum-ʔa i̵ŋko *i̵ŋ-ni̵ŋa c^{h}ir-a-ŋ-a.*
your^{s}-matter-ERG my my-mind leave-PT-PROG-PT
'because of your matter, I am upset.' (my mind is leaving)

Typical of *verba sentiendi* across the world is the location of emotions in some place in the body such as in the mind, cf. (563-566). The agreement in the verb is not very stable. For the verb *som tukma* (heart hurt-INF) 'to care for, to feel for' informants accept forms with and without a possessed heart and with or without transitive verb agreement (567).

(567) Transitive structures: possessed or not, agreeing or not

a. ɨŋka-ʔa *som tuk-na.*
I-ERG heart hurt-2P
'I feel for you' (I hurt my heart for you)

b. *ɨŋ-som tuk-na.*
my-heart hurt-2P
'I care for you' (my heart hurts for you)

c. ancoʔa *som tuk-nin.*
our[de] heart hurt-1ns2
'We (du) feel for you'

d. ancoʔa *som tuʔa.*
our[de] heart hurt-PT
'we (du) feel for you'

This variation in structure does not always reflect variation in the participant structure of the event. However, the structure is always predictable, as the basics of the construction are not challenged. These basics are that the emotion resides in a designated body part and that this body part is pictured as moving or undergoing some predication.

7.6 Object verb complements

Object verb complements are more complicated than subject verb complements. Firstly, verbs with object complements never agree with their idiomatic object in the sense of agreement marking on the verb. Rather, many verbs with object complements are intransitive, e.g. (569, 570), suggesting that the object is effectively lexically incorporated in the complex verb. Complement objects do not maintain any relationship outside the verb complex (571a).

(568) wa-cak-ma
water-wash-INF
'to shower'

(569) wa-cak-Ø
water-wash-NPT
'he showers'

(570) c[h]am lu-n-ne!
song perform-12plSP-OPT
'let's sing a song!'

(571) 'to need' (intransitive conjugation with object complement and object)

a. ɨŋka cʰapdani caha met-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
I pen want apply-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
'I need a pen'

For by far the most object complements the origin is readily accessible. Most complements also function independently and their collocation as an incorporated verb complement in some idioms is just an extension of their ordinary usage.

7.6.1 Position of complement

The complement of the verb remains the left-most morpheme in the verbal complex, irrespective of any other agreement morphology. In any morphological process involving a complement to the verb root or a complex verb root, both parts of the construction are required in all paradigmatic forms, but the complement remains left and outside of the agreement morphology. The complement constructions that show this behaviour include lexical causativisation as exemplied in (cf.§6.3.1) and example (572c), reflexive formation as in example (572e) and analytical causativisation, e.g. (572d).

(572) idioms based on *wahopma* 'get wet'

a. wa-hop-ma
water-get.wet-INF
'to get wet'

b. wa-hom-ma
water-make.wet-INF
'to make someone else wet'

c. wa-homs-u
water-make.wet-3P
'he made him wet'

d. wa-hop met-ma
water-get.wet CAUS-INF
'to soak someone else, let him be soaked' (someone outside, for example)

e. wa-hom-nan-ci-n
water-make.wet-REFL-DUP-REFLc
'he makes himself wet, he wets himself'

(573) idioms based on *wacakma* 'to shower'

a. ankaci wa-cak-ci.
we^{di} *water*-shower-DU
'we shower'

b. wa-caŋ-ma
water-shower.APPL-INF
'to shower, wash another'

c. araŋ iŋ-ma-ʔa wa i̵-caŋs-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ.
before my-mother-ERG *water* 3AM-shower.APPL-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s
'previously, my mother used to shower me.'

7.6.2 Semantics of the complement

There are some very frequent complements such as *wa* 'liquid', the root for 'water' that appears in many verbs having to do with water (see above), and *ya*, a root that roughly means 'speech', e.g. (574). Neither of these appear independently, except perhaps *wa*, as a subject in the idiom *wa ta* 'water came', meaning 'it rained'.

(574) Complemented verb idiom based on *ya* 'speech'

a. ya ka-yok
speech APpref-counsel
'an advisor, counsellor'

b. ya mat-ma
speech apply-INF
'to pray'

c. ya mar-a
speech apply-PT
'he prayed', or: 'you pray' (IM)

d. ya lat-ma
speech take.out-INF
'to pray, to chant'

Most complements, however, are completely transparent. For example, the expression *haŋ muma* (king do-INF) 'to rule', literally 'to do king', has a structure that is the same all over Kiranti and also happens to be colloquial Nepali.

7.6.3 Syntax, morphology or lexicon?

Considering the general transparency of object-complemented verbs, it would seem that the differences between incorporated objects (object complements) and syntactical objects would be summed up by (575) and (576).

(575) morphosyntactic difference between verb complements and nominal objects

a. syntactical objects are represented in agreement marking on the finite verb,

b. incorporated objects are not.

(576) semantic difference between verb complements and nominal objects

a. syntactical objects have a constant meaning over domains,

b. incorporated objects have, in combination with the verb, an idiomatic or untransparant meaning.

Generally, these two factors co-occur, nicely re-uniting form and meaning. However, there is also an aspect of phonological word-hood. Informants and speakers consider some complement constructions to form single words in contrast with ordinary object-verb sequences. Bantawa writers tend to write *yalatma* 'to pray' instead of *ya latma*, in Devanāgarī script. This orthography reflects the Bantawa speaker's intuition about phonological word-hood, and corresponds to the prosody of the predicate. However, there is considerable variation and disagreement on two points. Opinions vary on grammatical word-hood of composite verbs. It is not always clear when to write a compound as one or two words, viz. what forms in the paradigm break up into two prosodic units and what forms are contiguous. Similarly, opinions diverge on lexical word-hood: which construction is an 'idiom' and which is not. The variability in grammatical word-hood can be solved fairly easily. If there is no intervening morphology between the stem and the verb's incorporated object, they form a single phonological word. Otherwise, the two parts of the verb form two words. The issue of lexical word-hood has to do with the extent to which speakers assess each specific construction to be idiomatic. Obviously, this cannot be resolved by a simple rule.

There are some tests that indicate how closely the two parts of the bimorphemic verb are tied in to one another. If they can be the host for an emphatic clitic <-ŋe>, e.g. (577) or be coordinated, e.g. (578), this is a sign that the degree of structural integration is not very high: there is no constraint of contiguity. If both parts of the bimorphemic verb do not occur outside of their collocation idiom e.g. *ya-matma* 'to pray', this is a strong clue that this bi-morphemic stem is an unseparable lexical unit. For these lexical units, the word split in those parts of the conjugational paradigm where an agreement prefix intervenes between two verb stem parts is merely a matter dictated by the rule that the root of a conjugated Bantawa verb only has a single syllable (579).

(577) cʰam-ŋe lu-n-ne!
song-EMPH perform-12plSP-OPT
'let's sing a song'

(578) cʰam kʰonki lak lu-n-ne!
song and dance perform-12plSP-OPT
'let sing and dance'

(579) ya mɨ-mat.
speech 3pl-apply
'they pray'

Even for the opaque idiom in (579), we can safely conjecture that *ya* has nominal origins and *mat* is verbal. While the meanings of the individual parts are subject to conjecture, the structure of these lexical units is not completely impregnable and some elements can intervene. For instance, the emphatic clitic <ŋa> (EMPH) needs some type of grammatical constituent as a host. It does not matter whether the constituent is not a syntactic constituent or an element that operates *below* the level of the grammatical word. Not every element can host a clitic: Instead, an affix must be at least a complement or root to host a clitic.