A Grammar of Bantawa : grammar, paradigm tables, glossary and texts of a Rai language of Eastern Nepal
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Chapter 8

Other Word Classes

The major lexical categories of Bantawa are nominals and verbals, but there are also a few minor word classes. These classes are minor in the sense of morphological complexity, certainly not in the sense of frequency or importance.

Firstly, there are two modifier word classes, the adjectives and the adverbs.

Adjectives are traditionally nominal modifiers, restricted to a fixed, pre-nominal position in the noun phrase, and also occurring in predicate position. Adverbs are modifiers that operate on the clause level. Adverbs of degree or magnitude may also operate within the noun phrase as modifiers to adjectives, such as *very* in *very big*, or as quantifiers to the noun phrase such as *many* in *many men.* These content classes are discussed in §8.1 and §8.2.

As quite another matter, there are two groups of more or less grammatical constituents, viz. particles and clitics, and conjunctions. The particles and clitics discussed in §8.3 typically have a discourse and information structuring function. Particles either have a free position or a fixed position. Some emphatic or contrastive particles affix to whatever constituent needs focus or contrast. Some particles appear in fixed locations only, for example, clause-finally in the case of clause-type markers.

We shall see that the set of particles has some overlap with that of conjunctions. Conjunctions are operators that link either nominal phrases or entire clauses. In section §8.4, first the conjunctive or disjunctive operators effectuating grammatical coordination of nominal constituents are introduced. Then the subject of clause linkage is treated in more detail. In §8.5, we shall described the Bantawa quotative or narrative marker. This particle has a special function as an evidential, which gives it a semantically and syntactically special status. Finally, the element k^ha is discussed that appears as a grammatical marker in many positions (§8.6).

8.1   Adjectives

Adjectives are traditionally adnominal modifiers that are restricted to a fixed prenoun position in the noun phrase or occur in predicate position. Syntactically, it is both plausible and possible to delineate a class of constituents with this distribution.

8.1.1   Derivation and morphology

Time and again it has been observed that the Kiranti languages of Nepali or even the languages in the wider group that contains the Kiranti languages, Mahakiranti or Himalayish, do not have a proper lexical category of adjectives (Watters 1998: Ch.6). So, while the category 'adjective' is syntactically relevant, lexically the class is very small. In Bantawa, most functions of adnominal and predicate adjectives are covered by deverbal derivations or verbs. Colours and states are mostly covered by verbs such as *kima* 'to be tall', *omma* 'to be white' and *makma* 'to be dark' or by deverbatives.

(580)   om-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
        be.white-NPT-PROG-NPT
          'It is white.'

8.1.2   Lexical adjectives

Bantawa has a small number of native adjectives, most of which show have formal traces of a derivational history. Suffixes such as <-wa>, <-pa ~ -po>, and others relate these adjectives to verbal roots.

(581)   with -pa/-po/-wa
      a. top-po
           'big'
      b. nabak tʰep-pa
         ear   closed
           'deaf'
      c. nu-wak[1]
           'good'

(582)   with -ko/-ka
      a. ran-ka
           bent, crooked, < ran-?
      b. hen-ka
           difficult, obstinate, < hen-ma 'to remain'
      c. bom-ka
           round, < bom-ma 'to bend, to be on top'
      d. laŋ-ka
           upright, < laŋ- ?
      e. ham-ko
           different, < ham- ?

(583)   with -waŋ
      a. dʰiwaŋ
           'big' < dʰi-ma 'to be big'
      b. kiwaŋ
           'tall' < ki-ma 'to be tall'

The forms in <-pa> or variations thereof are apparently archaic forms of participial derivations, e.g. (581). The regular derivation of active participial deverbatives can also be used in all adjective roles, e.g. (594a).

The forms in <-ka> are reminiscent of regular nominalisation formation of intransitive verb forms, e.g. (582). Where in ordinary nominalisation the nominaliser has the form <-ʔo>, it surfaces as <-ko> in these forms[2]. In present-day Bantawa both variants are attested for a limited number of verbs, e.g. *citʔo* (be.small-NPT-NOM) vs. *citko* (584).

(584) o   citko mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
       this small do-NPT-PROG-NPT
          'This one is smaller.'

The forms in <-waŋ> quite regularly derive from verbs, e.g. (583). There are not enough adjectives in <-waŋ>, however, to call this a productive derivation. Also, not all derivations of this type are adjectives, e.g. *tawaŋ* 'guest'.

8.1.3   Regular adjective formations

The adjectives mentioned so far show traces of older derivational processes. Bantawa also has productive processes in the language that prepare or modify words of different lexical classes to serve in an adnominal or predicate position. The relative scarcity of adjectives as such is countered by a wealth of other strategies to form predicates and adnominal modifiers.

General nominalisation

In §3.2.4 on the genitive and §5.2 on general nominalisation, we saw that any constituent can be turned into a adnominal modifier by a general nominalisation process with the nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM).

(585) o-da   mu-ma mɨ-dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo   kaci-ci dem-ʔo
       this-LOC do-INF 3pl-must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work-PL how.many-NOM
       dem!
       how.many
          'Oh! How many things need to be done here!' (lit. 'The things that must be done, how many!' [Bw])

This formation of adnominals is a very general procedure with universal application to all word classes. The denominal adnominal formative is labelled the 'genitive', cf. §3.2.4. The deverbal adnominal derivation is called 'nominalisation', cf. §5.2.

By the same means, de-adverbial adnominal modifiers can be formed. In English, adverbs may be derived from adjectives by adding a suffix *-ly*, viz. *happy > happily*. In Bantawa, by contrast, there is adverb-to-adjective derivation with <-ʔo> (NOM).

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

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

(586)   adverb to adjective

    a. seŋ-seŋ-seŋ-wa
       clean-clean-clean-ADV
       'very clean'

    b. seŋ-seŋ-seŋ-wa-ʔo   kʰim
       clean-clean-clean-ADV-NOM house
        'a very clean house'

(587)   adnominal time adverbs

    a. *bu-da-ʔo*   on-ki *ayɨ-doŋ-ʔo*   salam cʰomasi   kacipen-da
       before-LOC-NOM this-SEQ today-year-NOM poem competition programme-LOC
       di   man-toŋ-ʔo   dum yuŋ-a-ŋ-a?
       what NEGPTp-agree-NOM thing be.sit-PT-PROG-PT
        'What was not correct, in the poetry competition of this year and last
       year?' [Bw]

This type of nominalisation happens on ordinary adverbs (586) as well as on time or locative adverbs (587).

Participles

Participles are adnominals that result from a productive deverbal derivation. Examples are plentiful, cf. §5.1.1.

(588)   laptikʰoŋ *ka-hot*   mɨna-cʰaŋ laptikʰoŋ ɨ-hott-a-ŋ-ki
       door   APpref-open man-also   door   3AM-open.BEN-PT-EMPH-SEQ
       las-a   ims-a.
       return-PT sleep-PT
        'Even the man who opened the door went back to sleep after opening the
       door for me.' [Bw]

All participles are used in nominal and in adnominal function. Active participles differ in meaning from general nominalisations of fully finite verb forms. Participles by their nature are not marked for tense and as a result have no time reference. Participles are preferably used to ascribe attributes to a noun that last and are stable and not specific to the situation. Nominalised clauses or finite verbs are used to denote situations or attributes that are grounded in time and have aspect and tense and perhaps are specific to the situation, cf. examples (589, 590) taken from [Bw].

(589)   ka-kʰip   mɨna-ci-ʔa kʰananin nulok-ŋe tɨ-sint-u-m-y-o-m,
       APpref-read man-PL-ERG you^p   well-EMPH 2AS-know-3P-12plA-PROG-3P-12plA
       onde.
       maybe
        'The readers may know you^p well, perhaps.'

(590)   write - specific and general

a. iŋka cʰapt-u-ŋ-ʔo salam
I write-3P-1s-NOM poem
'the poem written by me.'

b. salam ka-cʰap
poem APpref-write
'a poet'

However, there are many exceptions in the texts. We find nominalisations in use for long-lasting situations, e.g. *cit-da-ʔo* (be.small-eff-NOM) 'small' whereas *ʔka-cit* 'APpref-be.small' is unusual. On the other hand, we find participles used in a situation that is transient, unique and singular, cf. (588).

Adjectives in *-lo*

There are several adverb-forming morphemes in Bantawa. The first adverb formative is a suffix expressing likeness, <-wa> (LIKE) with a very general, wide applicability. The other adverb formative, <-lok> (MAN), expresses manner and is hosted by verbs only. They will be discussed in the next section (§8.2).

To function as a proper adnominal or adjective, adverbs must to be nominalised with <-ʔo>, see below. By contrast, adverbs in <-lok> can be used in strictly adjective positions without nominalisation, e.g. *kʰannulo* in examples (591) and (605).

(591) dosiwa-da mɨ-yak-yaŋ-ʔo kʰokwapa kʰokwama-ci-ʔa
lip-LOC 3pl-be-PROG-NOM grandfather grandmother-PL-ERG
mɨ-lu-Ø-ŋ-u-ci-ʔo səstəra on-ŋe
3pl-perform-3P-PROG-3P-PL-NOM *scripture (N)* this.much-EMPH
kʰoms-u-m-ki cʰaplabʰuŋ lois-u-m-lo dem kʰannulo
collect-3P-12plA-SEQ magazine bring.up-3P-12plA-MAN how.much good
cʰaplabʰuŋ tyara li-Ø.
magazine *ready (N)* become-NPT
'If only we collected the oral scriptures that are sung by the old people, and brought them out in a magazine, what a beautiful magazine we would have.' [Bw]

Adjectives derived from adverbs

The adnominal use of adverbs requires nominalisation, as in example (592b). Examples (592a, 592b) are from the same story about a journey through a dark jungle in *Bungwakha*. It would seem that the first line (592a) has two adverbs in adnominal position, viz. *en-nu-lo* 'pleasingly' and *keŋleŋleŋwa* 'sweetly'. However, the lack of adnominal marking by <-ʔo> (NOM) and the context make it clear that these words are modifiers to the verb, thus adverbs.

(592) A sweet song [Bw]

a. hyau-dʰet-ya hɨ-waŋ mecʰacʰa-ci dem en-nu-lo
level-across-LOC.level two-qhum girl-PL how hear-be.good-MAN
keŋleŋleŋwa cʰam lu-ma ɨ-puŋs-a-c-u.
sweet song perform-INF 3AM-start-PT-DU-3P

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

b. dem-ni hya-ni kʰar-a-ŋ, mon-ni-ŋe   mo-ko keŋleŋleŋwa-ʔo cʰam
   how-NAR level-ALL go-PT-1s that-NAR-EMPH that-REF sweet-NOM   song
   ka-lu-ci   cʰam lu-sa   hya-tni mɨ-kʰar-a-ŋ-a.
   APpref-perform-PL song perform-SIM level-ALL 3pl-go-PT-PROG-PT
      'So, then, I went over there, the singers that sung that sweet song went
      there too, while they were singing.'

The morphology of deverbative manner adverbs in <-lo> is described in §8.2.

8.1.4   Syntax and semantics

The syntactic distribution of adjectives can be summarised as adnominal and pred-
icative. The most prominent function of adjectives is as an adnominal modifier. Most
usually, the adnominal adjective narrows down the reference of the head noun. For
example, *toppo cʰapkami* 'big writer' is a subtype of *cʰapkami* 'writer'.

   In an adnominal role, the adjectives appear before the noun, e.g. (594a, 594b).[3]
In predicative function, adjectives appear after the noun and before the copula,
e.g. (593). Adjectives typically represent a single property only, e.g. color, size,
quality.

(593)   Adjectives in predicate position

   a. ɨŋ-yam *on*   *pokko* lis-a.
      my-body this.much big   become-PT
         'My body had become so big.' [Bw]

   b. o   buŋwakʰa cʰaplawa *sapʰi nuwak* yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
      this *Bungwakha* magazine very   good   sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
         'This *Bungwakha* magazine is very good.' [Bw]

(594)   Adjectives in adnominal position

   a. *ka-kon-pa*   mɨna.
      APpref-walk-APm man
         'the walking man'

   b. sitmaŋ-ci-ʔa ɨk-tet   *toppo* yaŋbʰak kʰokli-da ka-huŋ-ci   hyatni
      dead-PL-ERG one-qual big   boar   forest-LOC APpref-wait-PL towards
      lor-a-ŋ-a-ʔo   ɨ-kʰaŋ-a.
      run-PT-PROG-PT-NOM 3AM-see-PT
         'The dead saw one wild boar in the forest, running at those that were
         waiting.' [Bw]

Comparative

Gradable adjectives can be used to compare two objects or persons. There is no
comparative morphology on adjectives in Bantawa. The comparative construction is

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[3]Adjectives appear before simple nouns and not before pronouns, nor before proper nouns unless the
latter downgrade to a nominal interpretation.

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

(595)   comparative
      NP₁ NP₂-COMP *<property>*

    a. kʰana iŋka-bʰənda *ti-ki-yaŋ.*
        youˢ I-*COMP (N)*   2AS-be.tall-PROG
          'you are taller than me.'

    b. jʰarak-da-ŋka *i-kiwaŋ*   batt-u.
        all-LOC-ABL   his/her-long take-3P
          'Take the longest.'

    c. jʰarak-da-ŋka *ki-yaŋ-ʔo*   mina
        all-LOC-ABL   be.tall-PROG-NOM man
          'the tallest man'

A comparative construction that has *jʰarak* 'all' as the first *comparandum* can be translated as a superlative, e.g. (595b, 595c).

8.2   Adverbs

Syntactic label   The word 'adverb' here is used primarily as a syntactic label. An adverb is a constituent that functions as a modifier to the verb. Adverbs operate on the clause level, qualifying the verbal action in some way. Adverbs are not selected by a verb. There is no agreement on the verb, nor is the sentence ungrammatical if the adverb is left out. Adverbs appear left of the verb.

Morphology   Taking adverbs primarily as a syntactic class, we notice that this class of adverbs is morphologically and lexically very diverse. Many nouns are simply used in an adverbial role, particularly nouns denoting time and location (§8.2.5). Adverbs that are derived or formed by mimetic processes have a distinct form and can be said to be lexically adverbial, and these adverbs do not enter into morphological processes typical of nouns.

Semantics   Adverbs can be grouped either by form, source and derivation or by content and function. Semantically, at least the following subgroups can be identified:

(596)   Adverbs by meaning

    a. adverbs of measure, magnitude and degree (intensifier)
    b. adverbs of manner
    c. adverbs of time
    d. adverbs of location
    e. adverbs of epistemic import ('apparently', 'certainly')

However, it makes just as much sense to start from the source of each type of adverb and look at the formation.

(597)   Adverbs by form

    a. lexical adverbs, either quantificational, intensifying or epistemic

    b. deverbal derivations by the manner suffix <-lo> (MAN)

    c. adverbs formed by reduplication: expressive adverbs that are onomatopœic or mimetic, usually of manner or degree and intensity

    d. adverbs derived by a generic process with the likeness suffix <-wa> (LIKE), usually of manner

    e. lexical and nominal adverbs, usually temporal or locative adverbs

To some degree there is a correspondence between form and function in that time and location adverbs generally are nominal or derived from nouns. Manner adverbs are often transparantly derived from verbs or by another derivation process that forms manner adverbs expressing similarity. Intensifiers are a limited lexical class. We shall discuss adverbs starting from the formal angle.

8.2.1   Lexical adverbs

Lexical adverbs are mostly quantifiers. We discuss *bəddʰe* 'many, much' and *jʰarak* 'all' here, but quantifiers indicating a lesser degree, e.g. *icici* 'a little bit' are likewise quantifiers. Quantifiers serve in adverbial roles, e.g. (598a) and quantificational roles, e.g. (598c, 599a). Moreover, quantifiers function as intensifying modifiers to adjectives, e.g. (598b), as adnominals, e.g. (599b, 598d) and by extension even as nominals, e.g. (599c).

Considering the morphological valency of these quantifiers, they are morphologically nominal.

(598)   Many, much

    a. bəddʰe kol-a-ŋ   ideŋ...
       much   walk-PT-1s after
         'After I had walked for a long time...' [Bw]

    b. bəddʰe ɨdʰiwaŋ mɨna yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.
       much   big   man sit-PT-PROG-PT
         'He was a very important man.'

    c. bəddʰe-ka len-da ɨŋ-ten   ta-Ø-ŋ-la-Ø-ŋ-ʔo-sa-ʔa
       many-CNT day-LOC my-village come-PT-1s-return-PT-1s-NOM-PRN-ERG
       yawa-cʰa tup-ma suw-a-ŋ-ki   kopkopkopwa yawa-ci lam-sa
       friend-DIM meet-INF wish-PT-1s-SEQ *intensely*   friend-PL search-SIM
       kʰar-a-ŋ.
       go-PT-1s
         'Because I returned many days later to my village, I was dying to see my friends, and searched very intensely to find them.'

     d. Sindʰiriwa-ʔo salam-ʔa-na bəddʰe mɨna i-ma   lis-a   i,
       Sindhiriwa-GEN poem-ERG-TOP many   person laugh-INF become-PT ATTN,
       ma-ʔaŋ?
       NEGPTp-be
         'Because of Sindhiriwa's poem, many people had to laugh, didn't they?'
       [Bw]

(599) All, completely

     a. jʰarak-ka doŋ
       all-CNT year
         'every year' [Gn]

     b. mo-da di kʰaŋ-ma lis-a-nalo   jʰarak ka-ta   mɨna-ci-ʔa
       that-LOC what see-INF   become-PT-COND all   APpref-come person-PL-ERG
       le-sa   man-le-sa   bantawa-yɨŋ-da   han-ma
       be.able-SIM NEGPTp-be.able-SIM Bantawa-language-LOC talk-INF
       dor-a-ŋ-a.
       must-PT-PROG-PT
         'If we had to see anything there, all people who came, whether they
       could or not, had to speak in the Bantawa language.'

     c. jʰarak-s-a pʰa-ma li-Ø.
       all-PRN-ERG help-INF become-NPT
         'All must help.'

Phonologically both intensifiers *jʰarak* 'all' and *bəddʰe* 'many, much' are out of
the ordinary. The adverb *bəddʰe* clearly has a Nepali origin (*baḍhī* 'too much') and
is therefore transphonologised with /ə/ rather than /ɨ/. The vowel is still foreign.
Some speakers and writers prefer the *baddʰe* form and pronunciation. The geminate
/dd/ is non-standard for Bantawa. The adverb *jʰarak* has a rare onset /jʰ/. We find
phonological markedness as a means to add to intensity in the language elsewhere
too (see below).

8.2.2 Manner adverbs

Deverbal adverbs in <-lok> (MAN)

Eastern Kiranti languages reportedly have a morpheme <-lok> that is labelled as a
comitative or something similar[4]. Bantawa does not have a cognate of this morpheme
on nominals, but <-lok> is in wide use as a formative on verbs.

marker	gloss	function
<-lo ~ -lok[5]>	MAN	manner

In its most common usage, the manner suffix <-lok> suffixes to bare verb roots.
An analysis as in (600a) seems to be most straightforward. However, while this type

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[4]Ebert (1994) mentions a cognate of this morpheme for Athpahariya and Chamling, Bickel (1993: 25)
gives a Belhare cognate.

[5]The end consonant is uncertain, as in more words (cf.§2.1.3).

of usage is most frequent, it is analytically more sound to consider <-lok> (MAN) as a clause subordinator. The manner suffix is a sentential marker that suffixes to finite verbs rather than to verb roots.

(600)   analysis: the manner suffix <-lok> is affixed to finite verbs

    a.   * n
        u-lok
        be.good-MAN
          'good'

    b. [nu-Ø] -lok
        [be.good-NPT] –MAN
          'good'

    As we shall see in the section on conjunctions and clause subordinators, the manner suffix <-lok> also affixes to verbs that are overtly marked for tense and person agreement (§8.4.4, examples 683,684). In other constructions, <-lok> functions as a conditional and rarely as a topicaliser. Functionally, this type of usage is quite remote from the straightforward adverbial usage described here. However, since there is no reason to suppose that the conditional marker is another morpheme than the simple manner marker discussed here, I retain the analysis that <-lo ~ -lok> (MAN) affixes to finite verbs only. This analysis, that explains both uses of the marker, results in the structural analysis as in (600b), containing a non-past suffix. Simple third person singular non-past forms are formally identical to verb roots. In glossed texts, I sometimes left the zero non-past suffix out in manner derivations these forms. Manner adverbs of this type, derived from intransitive verb stems, may serve as adjectives unmodified, since they may modify both nouns and verbs, cf. 8.1.

    If a verb stem is bimorphemic, e.g. *en-nu-* (hear-be.good-) 'sound well', both parts are retained in derivations with <-lo>. The stem complement in a bimorphemic stem is very frequent in the common adjectives that typically denote quality. There are two series of adjectives, one based on *numa* 'to be good', the other on *itma* 'to be bad.' Leftward-projected verbal complements of these verbs specify in what way things are good or bad.

(601)   manner derivations with verb stem complements and <-lok>

    a. kʰa-nu-lo   yak-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
        see-be.good-MAN be-NPT-PROG-NPT
          'It is beautiful.'

    b. en-nu-lo   saŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
        hear-be.good-MAN sound-NPT-PROG-NPT
          'It sounds good!'

    c. o-ko buŋwa nam-nu-lo nam-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
        this-REF flower smell-be.good-MAN smell-NPT-PROG-NPT
          'This flower smells good.'

    d. ca-nu-lok dʰutt-u.
        eat-be.good-MAN experience-3P
          'He likes it.'

(602) ɨt-lo
be.bad-MAN
'bad'

  a. ləu ɨŋko-na ɨŋ-laŋ or-a-kʰar-a he detni kʰa-Ø? ca-ɨt-lo
    well my-TOP my-leg break-PT-go-PT or how see-PT eat-be.bad-MAN
    tuk-ma puŋs-u.
    hurt-INF start-3P
      'Well, did my leg break or what? It starts to hurt badly.'

  b. kʰa-n-ɨt-lo
    see-[epenthetic N]-be.bad-MAN
      'ugly'

As adjectives, these derivations can have an independent interpretation as noun phrases. For that to happen, these derivation are preferably prefixed with a third person possessive prefix, which more or less functions as a definite determiner, e.g. (603), cf. §3.4.2. The word *cɨlok* 'much' has no obvious derivation and does not require this prefix.

(603) a. ɨ-ci-lo pɨw-a-ŋ-kʰa-Ø-ŋ!
    his/her-be.small-MAN give-PT-1s-see-PT-1s
      'give me a little bit'

  b. cɨlok tɨ-pɨ-Ø-ŋ.
    much 2AS-give-PT-1s
      'you gave me too much'

8.2.3 Adverbs of manner

We can discern some more derivation processes for other adverbs. The manner of situations can be expressed by adverbial derivations formed by the suffix <-wa> (LIKE) that denotes alikeness. The manner or alikeness of nominal phrases is expressed by adverbial derivations based on the related suffix <-wako> (LIKE).

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

The morphemes <-wa> (LIKE) and <wako> (LIKE) are quite similar in function. The most general formation method is to add the suffix <-wa> (LIKE) to a phrase. This conveys the meaning of 'just like'. The morpheme *wako* is a full word that can serve as a nominal. The word *wako* can be analysed as <wa-ko> (LIKE-REF), cf.3.4.

(604) 'nuccʰya o-na təptəpe wako e rəcʰə' ni syala-cʰe abo spəʈə
    certainly this-TOP Taptape like hey MIR NAR *jackal (N)*-ever *now (N) clear (N)*
    payo-ni ca-ɨt-lo lis-a.
    got (N)-EMPH (N) eat-be.bad-MAN become-PT
    ' "This really is Taptape! He is such a fierce one!" The jackal now also realised, with pain.' [Tt]

(605) Kirat rai yayokkʰa-ʔa kirawa yɨŋ   on-ki   ridum-padum, canuca
       Kirant Rai society-ERG   Kiranti language this-SEQ ritual-tradition ʔwell
       rat-ma-dum-da   dem-leka   nu-lok   lam-da kon-yaŋ-wa
       save-INF-thing-LOC how.many-approx. be.good-MAN road-LOC walk-PROG-LIKE
       tɨ-lu-n-y-en?
       2AS-feel-12plSP-PROG-12plSP
          'Do you feel as if the Kirant Rai Society is on the right road in saving the
          Kiranti language and traditions?' [Bw]

The collocation of adverbs formed with <-wa> (LIKE) with *luma* 'to feel' is
common and translates as 'to feel as if'.

(606) kʰokpa lis-a-ŋ-wa lu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
       old.man become-PT-1s-LIKE feel-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
          'I feel like I'm an old man.'

(607) o-na   ɨ-niŋwa   cin-mayɨŋ-wa e   mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø!
       this-TOP his/her-new teach-PP-LIKE   EMPHe be-NPT-PROG-NPT
          'Well, this is like a new teaching!'

Example (607) shows that the suffix <-wa> (LIKE) has scope over the entire noun
phrase *ɨniŋwa cinmayɨŋ* 'a new teaching', rather than over 'teaching' alone. While
the suffix <-wa> (LIKE) affixes to any type of constituent or phrase, <-wako> (LIKE)
makes a nominal expression. The morpheme *wako* may appear without or with a
geminated /k/, as *wakko*, without obvious difference in meaning. The gemination
may be associated with emphasis on the likeness.

(608) am-papa   wakko yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   rəcʰə.
       yourˢ-father like   sit-NPT-PROG-NPT MIR
          'He could be your father.'

8.2.4   Reduplication in adverbs

Bantawa has a distinct class of adverbs that are formed by duplication or triplication
of a single syllable. Adverbial forms of this class are also obligatorily suffixed with
the suffix <-wa> (LIKE).

(609) makacɨkcɨkwa   (< *mak 'dark', *ʔcɨk 'color, dye', <wa> LIKE)
          'very dark'

(610) potoktokwa   (< *ʔpotok 'stiff??', <wa> LIKE)
          'very stiff, solid' (as of liquid)

While the composition of (609) is quite transparant, this is not the case for example
(610). In general, not all adverbs based on replicated syllables can be understood in
terms of their parts. Rai in his dissertation on the Rabi dialect (1985) lists a very fine
collection of these adverbs, and Winter and Rai (1997) additionally provide a good
analysis of these adverbs.

Derivation

Winter and Rai (1997) dedicated an article to this phenomenon. They write:

> ... forms deserve special attention in which a nucleus (kernel) K is repeated twice so that a triplet KKK (followed by a suffix -wa) results. Examples are:
>
> (a) mükmükmükwa khap- weep profusely: mük[6] 'eye'
> (b) kakkakkakwa let- burn with a red glow: kak 'live coal'
> (c) cekcekcekwa wa ta- rain continuously: cek- ?
> (d) nunnunnunwa dutt- feel soft touch: nun- ?
>
> The nuclei differ in status: in the case of (a) and (b) they exist as free forms or as monolexemic stems as part of the lexicon of contemporary Bantawa, in the case of (c) and (d), they do not. Only the triplets extended by <-wa> are found as actually attested words.

Even though this observation is based on the data from the Dhankuṭā dialect and not from Hatuvālī, this observation applies equally to the dialect under scrutiny here. However, why Winter and Rai should call <-wa> a 'deverbative suffix' is unclear to me. Above in §8.2.3, we found that this suffix can be affixed to any part of speech. The varied categories of the reduplicated kernel of the adverbs formed this way is problematised by Winter and Rai. Once we see that <-wa> has a very wide applicability, much of the mystery surrounding the apparently unselective formation of this type of adverbs vanishes.

Some roots for this type of adverb are known from independent forms of other word classes. Some are not known, and some seem to be selected for their expressive or onomatopœic qualities only. In each case, the structure of the adverb is the same: a triplicated syllable, suffixed with <-wa> (LIKE).

Mimetics and paralexemes

Another interesting point is that some of the adverbs with this replication pattern employ a wider rule set for phonotactics and allow for different syllable structures than is usual in the core lexicon. This has been discussed in the section on phonology (§2). Some of the more expressive adverbs in this class have complex syllable onsets in /Cya-/ or syllable onsets, e.g. /gʰ/ or /jʰ/, that are not found in the core lexicon of verbs and nouns of Bantawa. Winter and Rai (1997) label the set of words with this formal property 'paralexemes'. The phonological peculiarity of this group of adverbs is associated with a distinct aspect of emphasis, intensity and expressiveness in function. The paralexemic class of words typologically are on a par with mimetics, as described by Itô and Mester (1995).

Not only adverbs of the triple-root plus <-wa>-form show this association of phonological structure and expressiveness. There is also a class of manner adverbs in <-mi> and <-ti> that are similarly mimetic (611, 612). Likewise, the intensifier adverbs also formally stand out, cf. §8.2.1.

---

[6]Winter and Rai's (1997) /ü/ is written /ɨ/ here.

(611)   cʰyaŋcʰyaŋti
      'clear'

(612)   cʰyamcʰyami
      'one stroke'

Iconicity of intensity

The paralexemic adverbs discussed above are strictly speaking not all adverbs of manner, although the last two *cʰyaŋcʰyaŋti* 'clear' and *cʰyamcʰyami* 'one stroke' certainly are. Paralexemic adverbs often also indicate degree.

(613)   mɨkmɨkmɨk-wa kʰa-wa.
     *eye.x3-LIKE   cry-PT
       'he cried incessantly, very profusely.'

For adverbs formed by replicated syllables, speakers have the option of stopping at two syllables, resulting in simple duplication. Bāntāvā (2001) mostly lists duplicated root adverbs in his dictionary. In those adverbs the number of reduplications very iconically expresses the degree. Two-syllable adverbs are less emphatic.

8.2.5   Adverbs of time and location

There are a great number of adverbial expressions that position an event in time and space. Locative expressions are uniformly formed from nominal or pronominal roots affixed with locative morphology. Locative morphology has been discussed in §3.3.1.

While temporal adverbs fulfill a typically adverbial role, they morphologically operate as nouns. Many English adverbs behave as nouns as well, as in 'tomorrow's world'. Simply mentioning a temporal adverb will locate the event at that mentioned time.

(614)   anemnɨŋ bu-da-ʔo   salam cʰomasi   kacipen-da   iŋka
     last.year   before-LOC-NOM poem   competition programme-LOC I
     dʰərana-ya   yuŋ-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ.
     Dharān-LOC.level sit-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s
       'Last year, during the previous poetry competition, I was in Dharān.' [Bw]

Time adverbials are nouns used as adverbials. Temporal expressions affixed with a locative locate an event at a point in time. Affixation of an ablative expresses a stretch of time starting at the mentioned point in the sense of 'as of, since', while the suffix <-tari> 'until' expresses a stretch of time lasting to the mentioned point. Any other nominal relationship can be expressed by ordinary genitive suffixation.

In §3.3.1, it was pointed out how Bantawa locative suffixes express the vertical level of a location in a system distinguishing high, level, low and neutral levels. It is of interest here that temporally past starting points are perceived as down, while present and future events are perceived as neutral. Thus the proper selection of locatives is as in examples (615, 616).

(615) asen-yu-ŋka
     a.few.days.before-LOC.low-ABL
       'Since a few days.'

(616) maŋkolen-da-ŋka
     tomorrow-LOC-ABL
       'As of tomorrow'

Regularity in time ordinals

In a very interesting article, Michailovsky (2003) compared the so-called time ordinals of a group of Kiranti languages. Like other Kiranti languages, Bantawa is very rich in time ordinals. Time ordinals express relative, counted temporal notions such as 'four years ago' or 'three years ago' in a single word. Michailovsky shows that there is a surprising variety in Kiranti time ordinals. This variety is unexpected in such a limited semantic domain and interestingly, many morphemes occur within that domain only. While ordinal and cardinal numbers are often replaced by a contact language's numbers under pressure of trade, the time ordinals are retained and less quickly lost.

    In a method parallel to Michailovsky's, I have listed the Bantawa facts. These data are my own recording. Wherever data from other sources are relevant, I have marked these data (M=Michailovsky, D=Ḍik Bāntāvā).

Days				
three days ago	a	cʰosa		
two days ago	a	sen		
yesterday	akʰomaŋ			
today	a	yɨ	M:	ai
tomorrow		maŋ	kolen	
in two days	ɨ	cʰin	tuk	M: cʰintolen
in three days	ɨ	sum	mak	M: suyaŋkolen
in four days	ɨ	lum	mak	D: sumaŋkolen
in five days				D: domaŋkolen

Years				
two years ago	acʰimbaddoŋ			M: accʰimbadnïŋ
last year	a	nem	nɨŋ	
this year	a	yɨ	doŋ	
next year		nam	maŋ	
in two years		cʰim	maŋ	M: cʰinmaŋ
in three years		dom	maŋ	

Lexical elements   Several remarks can be made on the basis of these data. We can infer some meaning for the constituting parts of these expressions. The morpheme <maŋ> means 'future year' apart from or related to its other lexical meanings 'spirit, godhead'. This element has cognates in all Kiranti languages except Western Kiranti (Michailovsky 2003: 11). The morpheme <nam ~ nem> means 'one year away' and <cʰin> means 'two years away', but also functions in days. Like

<maŋ>, these morphemes have cognates in all Kiranti languages except Western Kiranti (Michailovsky 2003). While <doŋ> also independently means 'year', <niŋ> only functions in these compounds. The morpheme <niŋ> has cognates in Southern and Eastern Kiranti only (Michailovsky 2003).

There are two words for 'day'. The word *len* appears independently as the ordinary word for 'day'. In the above list, the morpheme *yɨ* is restricted to 'today' and 'this year'. However, the word *yɨ* does have a wider distribution, viz. in *ɘrko-yɨ* (*other (N)*-day) 'another day'. The prefix <a-> in *a-yɨ* appears in all temporal adverbs relating to 'now' and previous time slots. Regarding the <ɨ-> prefix in future day-words some observations have been made in §3.4.3.

Difference in data and dialects   Future days in my data are significantly different from Michailovsky and Bāntāvā's data, but I have no explanation to offer why that should be so. Michailovsky's future day terminology is morphologically more transparant. The ending <-kolen ~ -tolen> clearly is a composite of '-GEN-day', so that his words read 'X's day', 'Y's day' and pattern with *maŋkolen* 'tomorrow'. My data on future days do not pattern with any other language that Michailovsky lists. However, *sum* 'three' is also used for three elsewhere, and *lum* 'four' likely originates from proto-Tibeto-Burman[7].   The year numeral *dommaŋ* 'in three years' that is missing from Michailovsky's data patterns neatly with Kulung and Khaling data.

8.3   Particles

> The proper use of discourse particles in a foreign language is among the most difficult things to master. Along with tones, it is one of those aspects of grammar which leads the traditional grammarian to advise the learner to get hold of a native speaker and imitate him; always good advice in any case! (Mazaudon 2003: 2)

Particles are those elements in the sentence that do not have a grammatical function in the sense that sentence or clause syntax is dependent on them or directly impacts these particles. The particles known as focus markers structure the discourse by marking the topic of the sentence or by signaling new information, while the particles known as intensifiers add emphasis to, or signal the relevance of, a constituent. Discourse particles usually apply to a single constituent and appear as clitics and suffix to a phonological host. These particles are discussed as topic and focus markers, cf. §8.3.1.

Bantawa also features particles that express the speaker's attachment to the proposition or convey epistemic information, e.g. hearsay, newness, etc. These particles usually appear as full words. Modal and epistemic particles are discussed in §8.3.3.

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[7]The word *sum* apparently derives from Proto-Kiranti /*sum/. For four, Proto-Tibeto-Burman /*b-ləy/ is mentioned by Matisoff (2003: 599). Bantawa seems to be the only non-Western or Central language that has retained a reflex of this etymon in time ordinals. Limbu has a reflex of this etymon in ordinary ordinals.

8.3.1   Topic and focus markers

Topic and focus markers do not interfere with the grammatical structure at sentence level. Rather, these markers structure the information flow. Topicalisers explicitly identify the topic of the discourse, while focus markers signal new and significant information.

Topicaliser <-na>

The clitic <-na> (TOP) is a topicaliser. Prosodically the topicaliser is a clitic, affixing to the last word of the phrase that is marked. 'Topicalisation' means the explicit marking of the constituent that is the subject matter, not necessarily the grammatical subject, of the sentence, or the constituent that is the given information, i.e. the known information which will be built upon.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
<na>	TOP	Topicaliser

   The morpheme <-na> (TOP) attaches to constituents of any type. When the topicaliser <-na> affixes to a verbal constituent or to a pronoun referring to a proposition, this morpheme can be rendered in English as 'given that...'. When <-na> is hosted by a nominal constituent, the morpheme can be explicitly rendered as 'as for ...'

   Most often, leaving <-na> untranslated would be just fine. The topicaliser <-na> explicitly structures the information flow, which is not always necessary in translation. This clitic does not alter the grammatical structure of the clause. The marker <-na> (TOP) has a slightly contrastive connotation and it selects one topic at the expense of others, e.g. (617).

(617)   iŋko-*na* maddɨŋ-Ø.
    my-TOP   NEG.be-NPT
     'As for me, I do not have one' (lit. 'mine, however, is not there', in a conversation on whether the informant had a wife)

   Topicalisers usually affix to the first constituent in the sentence. This element is usually understood as the topic anyway, and the functional load of <-na> (TOP) is then limited to demarcation of the topic (618). The topicaliser is insensitive to the category of its host, as can be seen in (619, 620), where it affixes to a locative and adverbial expression.

(618)   paɳtehon-ʔo itihas   sin-ma-*na*   nu-lok   ɨ-sin-nɨ-ŋ.
    region-GEN   *history (N)* know-INF-TOP be.good-MAN NEGNPp-know-NEGn-1s
     'I do not know the region's history that well.'

(619)   mu-yu-*na*   ɨ-bəstər   matte ŋaksi tʰəmba-da
    that-LOC.low-TOP his/her-*dress (N) only (N)* banana stem-LOC
    hum-mett-u-do-Ø   ni.
    dress-CAUSE-3P-eff-3P NAR
     'Below, he only had dressed up a banana pole with his clothes.'

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

As the topicaliser only flags the starting point of the rest of the proposition, <-na> also figures prominently in clause linkage. In §8.4.2, we shall see that the topicaliser <-na> conspires with both the sequential linker <-ki> (SEQ) to form the standard sequencer <-kina>, as well as with the manner marker <-lo> (MAN) to form the conditional.

In some impersonal clauses that have no explicit causer or source, the subject or the experiencer is almost obligatorily marked by <-na>, cf. (621) and (535b). This usage, however, does not make the topicaliser a case marker.[8]

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

Nepali topicaliser < ta >

marker	gloss	function
ta	*TOP (N)*	Nepalese topicaliser

The Nepali particle <ta> is a topicaliser that we frequently find in Bantawa narratives. It seems that particles are very prone to loaning. For almost every native Bantawa particle, parallel Nepali loans are also found in texts. The function and distribution of the particle <ta> is very similar to that of the clitic <-na> (TOP). However, the Nepalese topicaliser <ta> is a free-standing particle that does not cliticize to a host word. The particle <ta> seems to be more free in distribution than <-na>. As in Nepali,<ta> can placed clause-finally in order to draw attention to the fact that this is a bit of background that the hearer should know. In the function of marking known information, <ta> roughly translates as 'right', 'you see'?

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

Explicit topic switching

If the topic of the discourse changes unexpectedly or if the speaker wants to draw attention to a specific new topic, then he may resort to stronger measures and explicitly switch the topic.

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

---

[8]It is unclear to me whether there is a relation between the topicaliser <-na> (TOP) and the homophonous attributive locative <-na> (LATTR). If there is any relationship, it is not transparent.

For this purpose, the counting classifier <-tet> (§3.6) doubles as contrastive topicaliser, e.g. (623). While this suffix applies to topics only, the contrastive function goes beyond merely structuring the discourse (624).

(623) ɨ-nicʰa-tet   min-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   sɨŋ-raŋ-cok-du-ŋka
       his/her-younger.brother-swTOP think-NPT-PROG-NPT tree-plant-top-LOC.high-ABL
       ni.
       NAR

       'As for the younger brother, he was thinking up in that tree.' [Sm]

(624) kʰo-tet   on-jʰoŋ-lo   mett-a-n-ci-n,   iŋka-tet
       that-swTOP this.size-be.big-MAN cause-PT-REFL-DUP-REFLc my-swTOP
       cit-lok   ɨ-mett-a-ŋ.
       be.small-MAN 3AM-cause-PT-1s

       'That one he made big, for himself. For me, he made a small one.'

While in these samples the morpheme <-tet> was labelled sᴡTOP, there is no reason to distinguish it from the counter or classifier <-tet>. The switch-topic marker only applies to nominal constituents and even preferably appears on genitive-marked nouns. The examples above were selected to show that this is not an obligatory selective restriction. In a vivid narrative such as *Sumnima*, as in the appendix, we see the frequent usage of this device to direct the hearer's attention.

The Nepali topic switcher *cāhĩ* also widely appears in Bantawa discourse, in a function very similar to <-tet>. Often *cahĩ* is phonologically reduced, either to adapt to Bantawa phonology or just because it occurs in fast speech.

(625) 'o kiwa cəy   nikkəy lot-Ø-hida   o-sa-ʔa   ɨ-sat-ŋa...'
       this tiger *swTOP (N) very (N)* run-NPT-SIMc this-PRN-ERG 3AM-pull-1sNP

       'Now, this tiger, as it runs very fast, it will drag me...'

8.3.2   Emphasis and focus markers

Bantawa features an entire set of emphasis markers that affix to words or any type to signal that the information conveyed by the marked word is new or deserves the hearer's special attention.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
<ŋa ~ ŋe ~ ŋ>	EMPH	emphatic marker
<e>	EMPHᴇ	extra-emphatic marker

The marker <-ŋa ~ -ŋe> (EMPH) is very frequent in narratives and conversation. The emphasis marker draws the attention of the hearer to the marked constituent. The marker <-ŋa ~ -ŋe> attaches to constituents of all categories with the exclusion of strictly grammatical particles.

(626) abo kiwa cʰe bəliyo-ŋe   cʰent-u ni.
       now tiger also *strong (N)*-EMPH choose-3P NAR

       'Now, the tiger also selected a strong one' [Tt]

(627) kʰo-nucʰaŋ iŋka cʰapt-u-ŋ-ʔo salam-ŋa bu-ya
       he/she-though I   write-3P-1s-NOM poem-EMPH front-LOC.level
       lont-a-ʔo   yok-da nuŋa nu-ma-ŋe   lis-a.
       come.up-PT-NOM time-LOC mood be.good-INF-EMPH become-PT
          'Even so, the first poem that I wrote was pleasing at the time it first came
          out.' [Bw]

The variation between allomorphs <ŋa ~ ŋe> seems to be free. I have not been
able to find patterns of phonological conditioning. However, there are idiolectical
preferences, and one speaker may prefer /e/ forms over /a/ forms, cf. §2.1.5. The
distribution of the reduced allomorph <-ŋ> is limited to post-vowel, word-final
positions only. While reduction is optional, it is more or less obligatory after ablatives
(628).

(628) kʰon-da-ŋka-ŋ   pʰeri-ŋa   ik-pana becʰuk rə   solonwa
       he/she-LOC-ABL-EMPH again (N)-EMPH one-*leaf (N)* ginger *and (N)* gourd
       kʰatt-u.
       take.away-3P
          'After that, again, she took one leaf of ginger and a gourd.' [Sm]

The <e> emphatic marker is a separate word. Usually, there is a clear hiatus
between the previous, emphasised phrase and the particle. The emphatic <e> seems
to lend some more emphasis to the marked constituents than <-ŋa> (EMPH). Also,
we do not find more than one emphatic marker <e> in a single clause, whereas that
is not uncommon for <-ŋa> (EMPH).

(629) iŋka-na i-dʰiwaŋ ʔe.
       I-TOP   his/her-big EMPHe
          'It is I who am the biggest...' [Tt]

(630) let-ma   kʰan-ma ʔe   dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
       let.go-INF send-INF EMPHe must-NPT-PROG-NPT
          'I have to let go...' [Tt]

Inclusion

The form <-cʰa> 'also' functions as an inclusive marker 'also, too' and as an indefi-
niteness marker 'ever'[9].

marker	*gloss*	*function*
cʰa	ALSO	inclusive marker, 'also, ever'

The inclusive marker <-cʰa> 'also' is a clitic that attaches to constituents of any
type. The clitic <-cʰa> signals that either contrary to expectation or in an emphatic
function in line with expectations, the marked constituent should be included in
the proposition. The form of this morpheme varies between <cʰa ~ cʰe>, cf. §2.1.5.
Frequently, the inclusive is further affixed with <-ŋ> (EMPH): in that case only the

---

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

form *-cʰa* emerges, viz. *-cʰaŋ*, not *-cʰeŋ*. Combined with <ŋ> (EMPH), *-cʰa* may also mean 'as soon as' or 'if', e.g. (632). In combination with *nu*, forming <nucʰe ~ nucʰaŋ>, *-cʰa* means 'even though', cf. §8.4.2.

(631) kʰon-ki ərko-cʰaŋ laŋka-ŋa lis-a-nalo...
    he/she-SEQ *another (N)*-also upright-EMPH become-PT-COND...
      'Then, if the other also is flat, ...' [Rl]

(632) kʰɨssa, kʰɨrisa, bʰɨk-sa, can-sa mɨ-kʰar-a, nam-puw-a-cʰaŋ
    deer deer elk feed-SIM 3pl-go-PT sun-set-PT-also
    mɨ-las-a-ta-Ø.
    3pl-return-PT-come-PT
      'All type of deer went on feeding, and as soon as the sun set, they returned.'
    [Bw]

Exclusion and other intensifiers

In order to explicitly exclude other possibilities from a statement, in Bantawa one of the delimitative intensifiers *on* 'this much' and *kʰon* 'that much' is used in combination with the emphatic marker. Stories are typically ended by a statement similar to (634).

(633) mo-da camayu caucau on-ŋa yuŋ-a-ŋ-a.
    that-LOC food noodles this.much-EMPH sit-PT-PROG-PT
    'As for food, there were only noodles.' [Bw]

(634) ayɨ on-ŋa alaŋne.
    today this.much-EMPH thanks.
      'For today, this much only. Thank you.'

marker	gloss	function
maŋ	NEGTOP	Negative topicaliser, negating the proposition for a specific topic

By contrast, the particle *maŋ* specifically excludes the previous constituent from the proposition. The particle *maŋ* looks like a contraction of *maʔaŋ* 'no', which, in turn, is possibly derived from *man-yaŋ* (NEGPTp-be) 'no'.

(635) pãc kusi maŋ maddɨŋ
    five (N) finger NEGtop not.there
      'No, there are not five fingers. (i.e. there may be four)

Strictly speaking, this particle should be listed under the topicalisers. Other intensifiers are better treated as adverbs, as they generally have scope over the entire clause or over the adjective or nominal that follows. By contrast, the exclusive particles treated here have scope over the previous constituent.

Non-reflexive self

As in European languages, the Nepali loan *appi* 'self' serves as an intensifier that emphasises the notion that the implicit subject or agent of the clause or the preceding noun phrase takes part in the event himself. This emphasis on one participant implies the exclusion of other possibilities. The Bantawa form *appi* then serves as an explicit exclusive marker, e.g. (636).

(636)   pit saŋwa ken-Ø-yaŋ-Ø   appi-ŋa   goʈʰala mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
        cow buffalo keep-NPT-PROG-NPT *self (N)*-EMPH *herding (N)* do-NPT-PROG-NPT
           'She herds the cow and buffalo. She is a herdsman herself.' [Bw]

(637)   an-haŋhon-da-ŋa   appi-ʔo laŋ-da ep-ma   nipaŋ bəla   pak-ma
        our^pi-country-LOC-EMPH *self (N)*-GEN leg-LOC stand-INF for   *power (N)* put.in-INF
        dot-Ø.
        must-NPT
           'To stand on one's own feet in our country, you must put in effort.' [Bw]

The Bantawa form *appi* is a loan from Nepali *āphi* 'self'. This form is perhaps an old and grammaticalised loan, as the aspiration has worn off and the Nepali genitive formation *āphno* is not present in Bantawa. The regular Bantawa genitive formation *appiʔo* serves as an exclusive adjective 'own' (637).

8.3.3   Epistemic and modal particles

Aside from the particles that have scope over a single constituent, Bantawa features a set of particles that give information about the epistemic status of the entire sentence. Epistemic and modal particles may also express the speaker's expectations or the speaker's attitude towards the statement.

Molok **'like that'**

When speakers of neighbouring languages who have limited or no knowledge of Bantawa try and mimic Bantawa speakers, they will often say *detni molok!* 'why - like that!' Indeed, this particle is heavily used. It is very hard to delineate either a clear communicative function or distributional restrictions. Although this etymology was questioned by my informants, I figure that *molok* derives from the morphemes shown in (638).

(638)   mo-lok
        that-MAN
           'like that'

The interjection *molok* appears in all degrees of contraction and extension. We find an emphatic form with a geminated middle consonant *mollok* (<*mo-lok*), but also forms with a reduced vowel, *milok* and even a maximally contracted form *mok* [mɔk]. The exact semantics of *molok* are hard to pin down, but considering the etymology here and its distribution, *molok* seems to function as a point in a conversation, where

the speaker resumes what he said before (… like that, …), breathes, and continues. *Molok* lends some emphasis to what was said before without being very prominent. In that sense, *molok* functions like the English 'isn't it,' so that choice for a gloss seems to render some of the impact of the particle.

(639) abo   iŋka mɨlok sumnima-ʔa watni-ŋa   mollok kʰan ɨts-a-ŋ-lo
      now (N) I   isn't.it Sumnima-ERG here-EMPH isn't.it   SEE   be.bad-PT-1s-MAN
      ɨ-kʰa-Ø-ŋ   rəcʰə.
      3AM-see-PT-1s MIR
        'Now Sumnina has seen me in such a bad way, it appears.' [Sm]

Modal particles - 'perhaps'

In pauses, indicating doubt or uncertainty as to how to proceed, Bantawa speakers usually insert the word *men*. The interjection *bʰa* not so much emphasises the doubtfulness of the event itself, but stresses the speaker's ignorance on the real state of events.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
<men>	DOUBT	particle expressing doubt
<bʰa>	PERHAPS	particle expressing possibility

The word *men* can be understood as a modal particle expressing doubt. *men* is often glossed as Nepali *holā* 'maybe'. *Men* is the third singular person non-past form of the unique verb *menma*. This verb means 'to be something' in the intransitive and 'to do something' in the transitive conjugation. The 'something' is usually understood between the speaker and hearer. In a rather verbose translation, *menma* can be rendered as 'to do or be something that you and I understand implicitly'. *Men* then means 'it is what you and I understand implicitly', and more freely 'well, you know'.

(640) sumnima paruhaŋ men   sakenwa ɨ-cʰen-ŋa-Ø-ŋa
      Sumnima Paruhang DOUBT Sakenwa 3AM-select-1sNP-PROG-1sNP
      un-de-na.
      this.much-what-TOP
        'Sumnima and Paruhang, or, rather, Sakenwa is choosing me, this is what you know.' [Dw]

This example was taken from an explanation of how a *dowa* 'shaman' is selected, i.e. by a dream. A future religious officiant, Bantawa *dowa*, will know in a dream that he is selected. By what godhead is the source of doubt in example (640).
    The particle *men* also functions as a sentence conjunction in Bantawa. When *men* separates two alternatives, it translates best as 'however', or simply 'but.'

(641) sitmaŋ-ci-ʔa mɨ-kʰaŋ men   nop-ma   mɨ-rɨ-nin.
      dead-PL-ERG 3pl-see   DOUBT touch-INF 3pl-can-NEGn
        'The dead can see but they cannot touch.' [Bw]

To emphasise the hesitation, speakers may insert a glottal stop in the middle, resulting in the realisation [mɛʔɛn].

(642)   maŋkolen bʰa   wa-dʰup-Ø-lo   wa   ta-Ø.
        tomorrow perhaps water-flood-NPT-MAN water come-NPT
           'Tomorrow, maybe rain will fall like a flood.'

About the origin of *bʰa* I have nothing to offer. The breathy initial consonant perhaps points to a mimetic background. The length of the vowel is used to emphasise the ignorance on the part of the speaker, e.g. *bʰa::* 'who knows?!'

Mirative <rəcʰə>

The mirative is a grammatical category that expresses newness of information. The mirative indicates that the information in the sentence is new to the speaker.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
<rəcʰə>	MIR	mirative, a Nepali loan

The mirative category is a loan from Nepali. It is doubtful whether the expression of this function is original to Bantawa. As the mirative is new, the mirative has had to integrate in Bantawa grammar. This integration may have happened in different ways for different speakers. Mostly, it seems that *rəcʰə* is a more or less blind sentence-final particle that has scope over the entire previous sentence, and that all of the information in the matrix clause is new. In sentence-final position, structurally the mirative is similar to the evidential <ni> (NAR). The mirative prefers nominalised sentences as a host, cf. (644). However, this is not a fixed rule, cf. (643). The selection of nominalised sentences can be explained by the fact that nominalisation on sentences is generally used to express that the information is either known or old. Miratives typically express the recent discovery of old facts. The categories 'known' and 'mirative' thus do not exclude one another. Rather, the mirative wants a nominalised sentence.

(643)   kʰonkina ɨk-len   budʰi-kʰokma-ʔo-da   mɨna ta-Ø-la-Ø
        then   one-day *old.woman (N)*-old.woman-GEN-LOC man come-PT-return-PT
        ni-ki,   'a-dim-o!   kʰana apʰəi-ŋa tɨ-yuŋ-yaŋ rəcʰə! am-kɨma
        NAR-SEQ VOCp-grandmother-VOC youˢ self-EMPH 2AS-sit-PROG MIR   yourˢ-fear
        ɨ-kat-nin?'   ni lo-Ø ni ta.
        NEGNPp-feel-NEGn NAR say-3P NAR *TOP (N)*
           'And then, one day, a man arrived at the old woman's place, and said,
        "grandmother! you live all by yourself! Are you not afraid?" ' [Tt]

(644)   mo yok-da-ŋa   ɨk-tat kiwa mu-yu   ta-Ø-ki
        that time-LOC-EMPH one-qual tiger that-LOC.low came-PT-SEQ
        kʰa-en-a-ŋ-a-ni-ʔo   rəcʰə.
        ANTp-hear-PT-PROG-PT-NAR-NOM MIR
           'At that very moment, a tiger arrived below there, and was listening.' [Tt]

The mirative generally remains an opaque loan that does not interact morpho-logically with other elements[10]. However, there are examples where it attaches to a

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[10]The Bantawa mirative is not a morphological category, very unlike the Nepali mirative. The Nepali

verb root to form a mirative verb form. In (645), *kʰa rəcʰə* means: 'it could be seen'. The verb is present as a root only, and apparently the mirative *rəcʰə* was perceived as the finite verb.

(645) kʰar-a-ŋ-a-hida   tamla kʰola-ʔo   i-cʰoŋ-ya-ŋa
      go-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp Tamla *river (N)*-GEN his/her-*bank (N)*-LOC.level-EMPH
      suŋ-raŋ-cok-du   ɕikara-wa   kʰa rəcʰə kacʰukpa-wa kʰa rəcʰə.
      tree-stalk-top-LOC.high *game (N)*-LIKE see MIR   monkey-LIKE see MIR
         'While he walked along the Tamur river bank, up in the tree tops he saw shapes like game, like monkeys.' [Sn]

Attention particle /i/

marker	gloss	function
i	ATTN	Particle signaling a call for attention

The attention particle *i* occurs sentence-finally and draws the hearer's attention to the fact that the speaker wants a question answered. The function of *i* is primarily rhetorical. The particle *i* suggests that the speaker expects an affirmative answer and has invested some emotion in the marked message.[11]

(646) man-man-kʰan   ti-yuk-nin   rəcʰə i?
      NEGPTp-lose-send 2AS-PERF-1ns2 MIR   ATTN
         'you have not forgotten us, have you?'

(647) kʰwatni i?
      like.that ATTN
         'like that, isn't it?'

Dya - assertion

marker	gloss	function
dya	OR.WHAT	or what

The normal form of the question word 'what' is *di* or *de*, cf. §3.4.6. However, if the question word 'what' is added at the end of a sentence, it serves to elicit confirmation. This may be a normal conversational alternation, but in an argumentative context, the hearer is discouraged from questioning the proposition. The hearer is challenged, whether he would dare to say otherwise 'or what?'

In the section on the phonology of syllable onsets, §2.2.1, it was mentioned that there is an ideophonic association of emotive value with complex syllable onsets. We find confirmation of this in the form *dya* when it occurs sentence-finally as an alternative to *di* or *de* to assert the speaker's conviction of the statement. *Dya* also appears in other positions with similar emotive value, e.g. (648d).

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mirative is formed by affixing the present tense auxiliaries to the first perfect gerund forms. The form *racʰa* is a contraction of a regular formation of *rahe+cʰa* 'to remain' + 'is'.

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

(648)   From an interview with Kitab Singh [Bw]

    a. dem-ka   doŋ tɨ-batt-in-y-en-heda   tayakʰim kʰat-ma
       how.many-CNT year 2AS-reach-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-SIMc school   go-INF
       lis-a?
       become-PT
         'At what age did you start to go to school?'

    b. 6-ka   doŋ-da.
       6-CNT year-LOC
         'At six years.'

    c. kʰon-nucʰaŋ   baddʰe riŋri   tok-yaŋ-sa   dya!
       he/she-even.though much   trouble get-PROG-SIM OR.what!
         'And even so, getting so much trouble!'

    d. dya   cɨ-ma-ki!
       OR.what do-INF-SEQ
         'And then, what to do!?' (exasperated sigh - what to do?)

The question word *de* 'what' may combine with *on* 'this.much' to form a particle *onde*, that signals both closure of a statement and the presupposition on the speaker's part that the hearer agrees. Literally *onde* translates 'this much, what?'

(649)   kʰana cʰaŋ nulok-ŋe tɨ-nu-yaŋ   on-de   ni
       youˢ   also   well-EMPH 2AS-be.good-PROG this.much-what NAR
       min-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.   he maʔaŋ?
       think-1sNP-PROG-1sNP or no
        ' "You are also doing well," I think. Or not?' [Bw]

The word *onde* was also glossed to me as 'may be.' However, *onde* suggests agreement from the hearer rather than uncertainty on the part of the speaker (cf. also 589) *De* also fills an important grammatical role in the formation of irrealis constructions, marking the protasis or condition (cf. §4.7.3).

Nepali particles

Rai (1985) lists a host of particles that are of Nepali origin. Many of these I did not find in use in central Bantawa. The Sindrāṅ dialect apparently differs from the Rabi dialect that Rai described. The relevance of Nepali words in a Bantawa grammar is limited, but for the sake of comprehensiveness I shall list the most frequent.

marker	gloss	function
<hola>	*maybe (N)*	Nepali 'may be'
<ni>	*ASSERT (N)*	Nepali assertive marking, emphasising the proposition
<kʰəy>	*hmm? (N)*	Nepali question particle, expressing ignorance
<hey>	*right? (N)*	Nepali particle, asking and supposing affirmation
<ləu>	*well (N)*	Nepali particle, suggesting to move on, to get on with it

The details of these particles are not particularly interesting. The particles <hola> and <ni> are sentence-final. The other particles are interjections that can be

interjected at will. The particle *ni* deserves some attention as it certainly is not the same as the narrative *ni*, even though the assertive *ni* preferably occurs in the same position, viz. sentence finally.

8.3.4 Sentence particles

There is a host of expressions that serve as full sentences or as full statements on their own. To some extent, some can be analysed into their constituting parts and in some expressions some structure is still discernible, but as a rule these particles must just be learnt by a new speaker of Bantawa. Sentence particles serve as full statements or interjections.

(650) atakane!
       whatever
          'Ah, well, whatever, who cares!'

(651) alaŋne!!
       Thanks
          'Thanks!'

(652) sewa   mu-Ø-ne!
       service (N) do-3P-OPT
          'Hello!' (in meeting)

(653) la-ci-tup-ci-ne!
       return-DU-meet-DU-OPT
          'Let's meet again!'

(654) ə̃!
       yes
          'Yes.' (affirmative nod)

(655) maʔaŋ.
       no
          'No.' (denying a statement or request)

(656) matdɨŋ.
       not.there
          'No, it's not there.' (in answer to a question whether someone or something is present)

This list is not at all exhaustive, but to my subjective judgment these interjections are both frequent and important.

8.4 Conjunctions

Definition   Conjunctions are those parts of speech that connect two words, phrases, or clauses. What constitutes a conjunction must be defined for each language. A conjunction is an invariable grammatical particle. Conjunctions form a small, closed

class. Here, the word 'conjunction' is used as a syntactical and not as a semantic label[12].

Function   The function of a conjunction is to explicitly mark coordination. Nouns or noun phrases that are simply juxtaposed are generally interpreted as either appositions or compounds. Nominal compounds may also have additive readings, cf. §3.1.3. Juxtaposed verbs without connecting morphology are either compounds, or ungrammatical.

Syntax and morphology   The most general conjunctions are not sensitive to the type of constituent they conjoin. However, many Bantawa conjunctions serve to link clauses and bring a distinct subordinating, temporal or evaluative meaning component with them. Conjunctions are positioned in between the constituents they join[13].

  Generally, Bantawa conjunctions are clitics and are phonologically dependent on the last word of the first of the two phrases they conjoin. However, for the conjunction of noun phrases, full word conjunctions are selected. These conjunctions may also be used for sentential conjunctions as clause linkers.

This section   We first discuss those conjunctions that are both nominal and clausal conjunctions. Then we discuss those conjunctions that connect only sentences or clauses and then the syntax of clause linkage.

8.4.1   Nominal conjunctions

Bantawa has two simple conjunctions that can be used to join noun phrases. The conjunction *he* 'or' is of native origin, while *rə* 'and' is a loan from Nepali.

marker	gloss	function
he	OR	'or', the disjunction
rɔ	*and (N)*	'and', a Nepali conjunction that groups two phrases into a single phrase of the same type

  The absence of a native 'and' operator is not a defect in the language, but points to the related fact that ordinarily concatenated noun groups would be interpreted in an additive sense. For example, *pa-ma* 'father-mother' means 'father and mother'. The introduction of a conjunction from Nepali is a novelty with little added function.

  The disjunction *he* 'or' is used to separate two alternatives rather than to conjoin them, or to link them in any other temporal, conditional, rhetorical sense. The disjunction *he* serves to separate constituents of any type, e.g. (657). Clause finally, *he* can be used without mentioning the other alternative or representing the other alternative by *maʔaŋ* 'not?'. This adds an extra emphasis to questions, challenging

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[12]In fact, a common conjunction may mean a logical disjunction, viz. 'or'.

[13]Conjunctive elements that associate a noun phrase with a previous noun phrase are called comitatives. Comitatives may also serve to form an adverbial expression, cf. §3.3.5. Comitatives are not treated here.

the hearer to offer an alternative. However, *he* 'or' does not occur only with yes-no questions, e.g. (658), but also with general questions, e.g. (659). In this way, *he* has slightly shifted from a simple disjunction to become a question-final focus marker.

(657) ɨŋko he saŋ-ko?
       my   or who-GEN
          'mine or whose?' (said by someone holding a pen, wondering whose it was)

(658) mu-ma dot-Ø   he ma-ʔaŋ?
       do-INF must-NPT or NEGPTp-be
          'Must it be done, or not?'

(659) ayɨmit   kʰana deki bəimani   tɨ-lis-a   kʰar-a he?
       nowadays you   why *dishonest (N)* 2AS-become-PT go-PT   or?
          'Why have you become so mean these days?' [Bw]

The conjunction *rə* does not show any unexpected behaviour as an ordinary coordinator. In the next sections, I shall only mention other conjunctions of Nepali origin in passing, as they are neither very frequent nor relevant.

Composite conjunctions *onki* and *kʰonki* (see below, §8.4.2) are regularly used as nominal conjunctions meaning 'and'.

(660) ɨŋka samjog-ʔa   cʰam *on-ki*   salam a-appi cʰapt-u-ŋ-c-u-ŋ.
       my   *accident (N)*-ERG song this-SEQ poem *self (N)* write-3P-1s-DUP-3P-1s
          'I just write both songs and poems myself' [Bw]

Conjoined noun phrases may result in singular agreement, e.g. (662) or plural (object) agreement, e.g. (660). This is associated with the perception of the resulting nominal conjunction. Conjunctions may be interpreted as a single matter such as 'pepper and lemon' as in (662). In other situations, the plurality of the conjunction may receive emphasis, e.g. (660).

8.4.2   Sentence conjunctions

In this section, we shall first list the most frequent sentence conjunctions. Starting from there, I shall outline the grammatical realisation of sentence conjunction. After this, we shall review some of the conjunctions and their precise functionality.

Sentence subordination often is clause linkage   The relationship between combining clauses is usually cast in terms of a superordinated and a subordinated clause. The subordinated clause is called 'embedded' and the superordinated one 'matrix clause'. Subordination does not always present as a clear-cut grammatical and semantical operation. In many instances, conjunctions such as the marker <-ki> (SEQ) are not used in a real subordinating sense. In discourse or narratives, sequence markers serve to guide the flow of time or thought. This type of subordination might well be tagged discourse organisation. These conjunctions mark the relationship between two equal sentences. In this section, therefore, 'conjunction' can often be understood as 'clause linkage.'

Sentence conjunctions

The following sentence conjunctions are frequent[14].

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

No doubt there are more sentence conjunctions (that are not as frequent). In any case, more examples are not required to investigate the syntax of sentence conjunctions.

Morphology and syntax

Patterns of clause linkage.   The basic patterns of sentence conjunction or clause chaining are as follows.

(661)   Patterns of clause linkage.

  a.   [clause]$_1$-conj [clause]$_2$ example (662)
  b.   [clause verb$_i$]$_1$. verb$_i$-conj [clause]$_2$ examples (663, 664)
  c.   [clause]$_1$. pronoun-conj [clause]$_2$ example (665b)

Examples are easy to find. To simplify the examples, we concentrate on the most frequent clause chainer <-ki> (SEQ). The sequencer <-ki> occurs in all constructions.

(662)   kʰim *kʰar-a-ki* loŋga on-ki   suncɨkwa ca-Ø.
        house go-PT-SEQ pepper this-SEQ lemon   eat-PT
          'Having gone home, he ate pepper and lemon.' [Bw]

In example (662), the subordinated clause 'he went home' shares the subject with the matrix clause. This is not required, however: It is possible for the two clauses to have different participants. The clause marked by <-ki> (SEQ) is finite, and in this respect the sentence coordinators discussed here are different from nominalisers, purposives or other operators that embed a

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[14]In the table, the affixes that require a verbal host, i.e. a finite verb, are prefixed by *V-* 'verb'. The affixes that require a nominal host are prefixed by *N-* 'noun'. The nominalisation marker <-ʔo> (NOM) that turns a finite verb into a nominal host is included in the presentation of nominal suffixes.

non-finite verb or clause in a matrix clause. Example example (662) shows that attaching *-ki* to the first sentence is enough to express the relationship between two sentences.

(663) Tail-head linkage (full) [Sm]

  a. kʰon-ki-na   akʰira-da-na   las-a-tuʔ-a-ci.
     he/she-SEQ-TOP *last (N)*-LOC-TOP return-PT-meet-PT-DU
      'After that, at last, they met again.'

  b. *las-a-tuʔ-a-ci-ki-na*   ma-ʔaŋ   watni lis-a-ci,   e
     return-PT-meet-PT-DU-SEQ-TOP NEGPTp-be.PTNEG here   become-PT-DU hey
     watni yakbak-da.
     here   arum.leaf-LOC
      'Meeting again, isn't it, they were like this, in an Arum leaf.'

(664) Tail-head linkage (partial) [Sm]

  a. talɨk-ʔa bʰe-ʔa   ta-Ø-na   mo-na   əni   mollok
     bow-ERG arrow-ERG come.far-NPT-TOP that-TOP *then (N)* isn't.it
     set-ma-ʔe   kʰo-s-a-na   pam-ma-set-ma ʔe   mollok
     kill-INF-eEMPH he/she-PRN-ERG-TOP scratch-INF-kill-INF EMPHe isn't.it
     mitt-u-kes-u-ni-ʔo   rəcʰə
     think-3P-throw-3P-NAR-NOM MIR
      'By a bow-and-arrow, he will come, then, whatever, will kill, tear me up and kill me, he was thinking.'

  b. *mitt-u-pəcʰi-na*   əni   las-a-ta-Ø-ci   i-tit-cʰe
     think-3P-*after (N)*-TOP *then (N)* return-PT-DIRback-PT-DU his/her-clothes-ever
     matdɨŋ-Ø   i-naŋga-ŋa   ta-Ø-ni
     not.there-NPT his/her-*naked (N)*-EMPH come.far-PT-NAR
      'After thinking then when they had come back his clothes were not there, he came naked, it is said.'

Perhaps the most interesting strategy to link clauses is the so-called tail-head linkage, whereby the tail of the first clause is repeated, affixed with a bit of conjunction morphology and used as the first constituent in the new clause.

> 'The predicate or the last part of the predicate of a sentence, i.e. its 'tail', is repeated at the beginning of the next sentence, constituting its topic in the sense of known information and starting point.' (Ebert 2003: 39)

This strategy does not always obey strict rules, such as 'repeat the last predicate as a whole'. The italicised parts in examples (664, 663) are the repeated 'tails'. Example (664) contains partial repetition, whereas example (663) repeats the full verb. Tail-head linkage is frequent in narratives, but also in ordinary conversation.

(665) Clause linking by pronominal reference [Bw]

  a. kʰim-da yuŋ-a-ci-ʔo   cʰaŋ sum-ka-len lis-a-ci-a.
     house-LOC sit-PT-DU-NOM also three-CNT-day become-PT-finish-PT
      'Three days had already passed, while we sat in the house.'

b. *kʰon-ki* ayɨ   sindraŋ-tari kʰat-ci-ne ni-ki   lont-a-ci-a.
   that-SEQ today Sindrāṅ-up.to go-DU-OPT NAR-SEQ come.up-PT-DU-e
      'Then, we went out, in order to go to Sindrāṅ.'

Finally, in Bantawa we find frequent examples of pronominal reference to the previous clause. This results in structures similar to European conjunctions, such as 'then' and 'after this', that are typically positioned at the start of the clause. We find an example of it in (665b) but also, incidentally, in line (663a).

Morphological type   Clause chainers attach both to pronouns and finite verbs. Comparing the alternative strategies to link clauses, we see that pronouns can replace finite verbs or rather entire clauses. The fact that pronouns can replace verbs is morphologically of interest. Sentential conjunctions or clause linking morphemes are clitics, as first suggested. However, they are not entirely type-insensitive. Sentential conjunctions do not affix to strictly nominal phrases. In line (662) the scope of the sequencer <-ki> was be extended to join noun phrases in a form such as *onki*. However, <-ki> cannot affix to noun phrases without further morphology, e.g. **loŋga-ki suncɨkwa*, **'pepper and lemon' cf. (662). Ordinary Bantawa pronouns are *o* 'this', *mo* 'that' and *kʰo* 'that'. The pronouns referring to sentences have an <-n> augment, resulting in the forms <on->, <mon-> and <kʰon->. These pronouns to not appear as independent sentential pronouns as in English 'I said that', but only before clause linking morphology.

Clearly, the augment <-n> is not phonologically conditioned. This can be shown by the derivation of the clause linker <-ʔosaʔa> (REAS) that marks a clause as the cause or reason for the following clause. This causal or consequential clause linker is an instrumental or ergative case affixed to a clause or pronoun. The clause linker <-ʔosaʔa> does not affix as a simple ergative <ʔa> (ERG), however, but selects an nominalised augmented clausal pronoun as its host.

(666)   the contrast between expressing ergative or instrumental and expressing the cause or reason.

   a. kʰon-ʔo-sa-ʔa
      that-NOM-PRN-ERG
         'because of that...'
   b. kʰo-sa-ʔa
      that-PRN-ERG
         'by him, he...'

Bantawa, then, has two series of pronouns, based on one set of roots, that are specific to the type of antecedent.

Nominal pronouns	Sentential pronouns	comment
o	on-	proximal
mo	mon-	distal
kʰo	kʰon-	anaphoric, referential only

In sum, the clause-linking morphemes selectively require a sentential host and are strictly speaking not clitics, in spite of the fact that clause-linking morphemes attach to words from a number of categories.

8.4.3 Review of some clause linkers

We shall now review some clause linkers.

Sequential: temporal ordering

The most neutral clause linker is <-ki> (SEQ). The sequencer <-ki> expresses that the events described in two clauses are somehow linked. By default, <-ki> signals that the events occurred in sequence, i.e. in the order they are mentioned. However, many interpretations are possible, such as when a causal relationship is implied, or even a contrastive relationship, e.g. (662-665b). There are also examples where an interpretation of temporal ordering is impossible, e.g. (667). Everything depends on context.

(667) nam cʰos-a-*ki*   mɨna kon-ma man-rɨ-Ø.
       sun burn-PT-SEQ man walk-INF NEGPTp-can-NPT
          'When the sun is shining, a man cannot walk.' [Bw]

Combination of <-ki> (SEQ) with <na> (TOP)   Frequently, <-ki> (SEQ) is combined with the topicaliser <-na>. Technically, this only achieves the effect that the preceding clause is the given of the next clause, i.e. background information or the point of departure. This gives a connotation of causality.

(668) 'wako doŋ-da mɨ-lis-a-ʔo   cʰa-ci-ʔa-na   cɨkni-ŋe   ki   papa
       such   year-LOC 3pl-become-PT-NOM child-PL-ERG-TOP early-EMPH *or (N)* father
       ki   mama mɨ-ca-ci' ni   mɨ-yiŋ-yaŋ, *mon-ki-na*   o   papa-mama
       or (N) mother 3pl-eat-DU NAR 3pl-say-PROG that-SEQ-TOP this father-mother
       ka-ca   cɨkriŋdʰitma cʰa-ci jʰarak-sa-ʔa ɨdʰiwaŋ hoŋku-da son-ma
       APpref-eat demon   child-PL all-PRN-ERG big   river-LOC make.flow-INF
       kʰan-ma-ci mɨ-dot-Ø.
       send-INF-DU 3pl-must-NPT
          'The children born in such a year, now, soon eat their father or mother, it is said, therefore all people must drown these father-mother-eating demon-children in a big river.' [Bw]

There is quite some interaction between the topicaliser <-na> (TOP) and the various sentence conjunctions. This interaction is natural, as both morphemes define the relationship of the preceding information with the new information. Combined with <-ki>, topicalisation has little impact. The topicaliser may appear in all three types of clause linkage after <-ki>, resulting in a sequence <-kina>, e.g. (661) .
    The topicaliser <na> presents the preceding clause as the background to the next, and in that way stresses that the preceding clause is temporally ordered before the

next, e.g. (669), suggesting a causal reading of the first clause, e.g. (668). Frequently, we also find <-na> (TOP) reduplicated.

(669) kʰo-so-deŋ-da   bəllə   nakcʰoŋ ken   saŋ-Ø-ki-*na-na*
       he/she-PRN.GEN-back-LOC *at.last (N)* shaman   large.drum play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP
       ken   mani saŋ-Ø-ki-na-na   maŋ   pʰoŋ-Ø.
       large.drum cymbal play-NPT-SEQ-TOP-TOP godhead open-NPT
          'Finally, after that, the priest, playing the drum, the drum and cimbals, starts the worship.'

Why the topicaliser <-na> should be reduplicated is a bit mysterious. We could suggest that semantic impact of the topicaliser has suffered from the frequency of usage, so much so that it has become an almost obligatory part of the conjunction <-kina>. As a response, to regain the temporal ordering effect of the topicaliser, speakers may reduplicate, considering <-kina> as a single suffix. The alternative explanations are either (*a*) phonology: rhythmic reduplication or iconic stressing of the topicalising function of <-na> by reduplication, or (*b*) etymology: a different etymological origin of *na* in <-kina> and <-na> (TOP).[15] In any case, the reduplicated <-na-na> stresses the temporal ordering of the joined clauses. With the neutral sequencer <-ki> (SEQ) no specific temporal relationship between the joined clauses is expressed.

Temporal ordering

Posteriority   While <-ki> (SEQ) does not express temporal ordering, there is also a set of clause linkers that very explicitly express posteriority. There are quite a few of these. First, the regular formations are the Nepali loan <*V*-pəcʰi> 'after' and the native <-ʔo deŋ-da> (back-LOC) 'after' located at the end of the first clause. The regular affixation of nominal postpositions to verb forms requires nominalisation on the verb, as in (670). Frequently, however, we find that nominalisation is left out in sloppy and rapid speech. There is a difference between the construction with <-ʔo deŋ-da> and the construction with the Nepali <-pəcʰi>. The morpheme <-pəcʰi> only affixes after verbs and verbal pronouns, such that the canonical form for a pronominal conjunction is *kʰonpəcʰi*, e.g. (672). Example (671) shows that verbs must not be nominalised before <-pəcʰi>. However, *-ʔo deŋ-da* is a nominal postposition which attaches to nouns and verbs alike (670, also 669).

(670) yari   pek-Ø-cin-Ø-*ʔo*   *deŋ-da* jʰarak-ci-lai lo-Ø-ci.
       ginger.cutting peel-NPT-finish-NPT-NOM after-LOC all-PL-DAT   say-3P-DUP
          'After the ginger has been cut, he tells everyone.' [Rl]

(671) *ler-a-hiŋ-a*   *pəcʰi* pʰeri   gərbʰəwati lis-a.
       survive-PT-live-PT *after (N)* again (N) pregnant (N) become-PT
          'After she lived again, she was pregnant as well.' [Sm]

_____

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

(672) *kʰon-pəcʰi* kʰwatni *yiŋ-a-pəcʰi* ə̃ *mi-tums-u-ci* *pəcʰi*
he/she-*after (N)* that.way say-PT-*after (N)* yes 3pl-join.together-3P-DUP *after (N)*
tuʔ-a-ci.
meet-PT-DU

   'After that, after he said this, they made them meet one another. After that they met.' [Sm]

This difference between <-pəcʰi> and <-ʔo deŋ-da> is paradigmatic for many clause chaining linkers. Some clause linkers are of verbal affixes, requiring no nominalisation on the verb, some are nominal affixes and grammatically require nominalisation. In the posterior group of sentence conjunctions there are two more independent conjunctions, viz. *ideŋ* and *adeŋ* 'after this'. These are synonymous. *Adeŋ* patterns with the class of temporal expressions with the adverbialiser prefix <a->, but *ideŋ* is more common.

(673) *ideŋ-da* buŋwakʰa-da-ŋka kirawa-ci-ʔo nimpaŋ dya yiŋ-ma ni
after-LOC *Bungwakha*-LOC-ABL Kiranti-PL-GEN for what say-INF NAR
ti-min-yen?
2AS-think-12plSP

   'After this, what do you think you that *Bungwakha* must say for the Kirantis?'

Anteriority Anteriority of two connected clauses is expressed by the composite clause linker <-ʔo bu-ya> (-NOM front-LOC.level) 'before'. This clause linker is formally equal to <-ʔo deŋ-da> (-NOM back-LOC) 'after', but not used as frequently.

Contrast: 'Even though'

In isolation, <nucʰe ~ nucʰaŋ> means insistence, 'truly, verily'. However, the by far more common usage is verb-final or clause-final, and *nucʰaŋ* 'truly' can also be used after simultaneous converbs in <-sa> (SIM), in the meaning 'even though, though.'

(674) *batt-u-nucʰaŋ*, cʰunt-a.
call-3P-though refuse-PT

   'even if he calls, don't listen.'

The obvious derivation of <-nucʰaŋ> seems to be a combination of *nu-* 'to be good' and *cʰaŋ* 'ever, too'. The suffix <-cʰaŋ> itself, when affixed to verbs, renders the meaning of 'immediately after'.

(675) jʰarak-da-ŋka bu-ya *siw-a-da-Ø-cʰaŋ ...*
all-LOC-ABL front-LOC.level die-PT-eff-PT-also ...

   'First of all, immediately after death ...' [Dt]

Temporal location

The locative <-ʔo -da> (LOC) can be used to express the notion that one event occurred at the same time as the other. However a more circuitous expression <-ʔo gərida> (-NOM *time (N)*-LOC) 'at that time' is more usual.

(676)   nam len-Ø-ʔo   *gəri-da*   (...) kʰokli kʰat-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
      sun   burn-NPT-NOM *moment (N)*-LOC (...) forest go-NPT-PROG-NPT
        'When the sun starts to shine, she goes to the forest...' [Bw]

    While <-da> (LOC) mostly needs a nominal host, <-gəri> is more flexible and may also affix straightaway to verb forms. As with nominals, the locative also freely combines with the ablative, yielding the conjunction <-daŋka> 'since, as from' (677).

(677)   ɨwayɨŋ tʰint-a-ŋ-*da-ŋka*-ŋe   yɨŋkʰan on-ki bantawa-yɨŋ-da-ʔo
      morning rise-PT-1s-LOC-ABL-EMPH news   this-SEQ Bantawa-language-LOC-GEN
      kacipen   en-ma ni-ki   ɨŋ-nabak cam-sa   yuŋ-a-ŋ-yakt-a-ŋ.
      programme listen-INF NAR-SEQ my-ear   sharpen-SIM sit-PT-1s-CONT-PT-1s
        'Ever since I woke up, I am sitting, sharpening my ear to hear news and the programme in the Bantawa language.' [Bw]

Simultaneity: 'While'

The simultaneous marker <-hida> (SIMP) needs more attention than the momentanous temporal locative <-da> (LOC) or its kin as in the above paragraph. Obviously we can recognise the locative <-da> (LOC) element in <-hida> 'while'. However, the prefix <hi-> or <he-> '*while' is specifc to this marker. The phrasal simultaneous suffix <-hida> is not a nominal affix and requires a verbal host.

    While temporal locatives pick a point of time, the suffix <-hida> 'while' selects a period, i.e. a stretch of time, which has obvious aspectual implications. The simultaneous <-hida> translates as 'while' rather than 'when', and resists affixation to a finite verb that denotes an instantaneous action (678).

(678)   ? kʰar-a-hida
      go-PT-SIMp
       'while he went'

(679)   kʰar-a-ŋ-a-hida
      go-PT-PROG-PT-SIMp
       'while he was going'

    The phrasal simultaneous <-hida> is functionally very different from the simultaneous converb suffix <-sa> (SIM) (cf.§5.1.6). The morpheme <-hida> affixes to fully finite verbs, which has the effect that more aspectual possibilities become available. The converb <-sa> always must be interpreted as 'while the [verbal] action happened...', whereas <-hida> (SIMP) can be affixed to verbs with a specific aspect. Usually the progressive is selected, to create a reading for the verb such that is it understood to last some time, which is a requirement for grammatical affixation of <-hida>. Usage of <-hida> does not require that the time frame of the embedded and matrix clause be the same, while usage of <-sa> (SIM) does require this.

    For a few examples and explanation, see §5.1.6. Examples (375, 377) neatly demonstrate the contrast in interpretation between <-sa> and <-hida>.

Causal

The causal linker <-ʔosaʔa> is a complex ergative or instrumental case that signals that the marked constituent is the source, originator or instrument of the event that follows. However, by explicitly selecting a verbal host, this marker turns into a causal suffix that is sometimes glossed REAS as 'reason', linking clauses (see §3.4.7). In pronominal form <-ʔosaʔa> translates as 'therefore.' (680).

(680) *kʰon-ʔo-s-a*   'dya cɨ-sa nucʰe   kʰat-ma dot-Ø.'   ni
       he/she-NOM-PRN-ERG what do-SIM even.though go-INF   must-NPT NAR

       min-a-ŋ-pʰutt-a-ŋ-ki   lo-ŋ-cɨ-ŋ   'lə, ɨŋka ban-ŋa.'
       think-PT-1s-cut-PT-1s-SEQ say-1s-DUP-1s well I   come.level-1sNP

          'Therefore, deciding "whatever I do, I must go," I told them, "OK, I shall come." ' [Bw]

8.4.4   Sentential subordinator <lo>

Conditional

Conditional clauses are marked by a conditional suffix marker <-lo> (COND). The suffix <-lo> attaches clause-finally only, most usually onto the finite verb. Most frequently, the marker surfaces in the composite form <-nalo>, e.g. (681, 682). The essential part of the conditional is <-lo>. The ending <-na> (TOP) in this composite marker is the topicaliser. Although it does not happen frequently, it is not wrong to use <-lo> in isolation as a conditional marker, cf. (591).

(681) ta-ma   *ri-ŋa-nalo*   ta-ŋa.
       come-INF can-1sNP-COND come-1sNP
          'If I can come, I shall come.'

The word *dekinalo* 'because', which is a very 'un-Kiranti' sentence-initial conjunction, is an apparent calque from Nepali,[16] containing the same morpheme <lo>.

(682) som-ŋe   sɨw-a, *dekinalo* khon-leka   ɨŋka aşa
       heart-EMPH die-PT because   that.much-approx I   *hope (N)*

       man-mu-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ʔo   tʰyo.
       NEGPTp-do-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM aux
          'I was satisfied, as I had not been hoping that much.' [Bw]

The conditional <-nalo> is not complicated with regard to usage, and can be used for past tense conditions as well as future tense conditions. The marker affixes to the protasis or condition as an ordinary conjunction, and then the result or consequence follows.

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

Subordinating with <-lo>: manner

Related to the use of <lo> as a manner adverb formative (MAN), Bantawa also features <-lo> (MAN) independently as a full sentence subordinator. In this function, <-lo> translates into English as 'as if...' (683-685).

(683)　ɨŋ-niŋa　*noʔ-a-lo*　　　ɨ-low-a-ŋ.
　　　 my-mood　be.good-PT-MAN　3AM-speak-PT-1s
　　　　'She made me happy.' (lit. '[my happiness was there]-MAN she spoke to me')

(684)　ɨŋ-dukʰa *kʰar-a-lo*　ɨ-low-a-ŋ.
　　　 my-pain　go-PT-MAN　3AM-speak-PT-1s
　　　　'He hurt me.'

(685)　attʰu　ɨwayɨŋ　wadʰupma *kʰar-a-lo*　wa　ta-Ø.
　　　 earlier morning flood　　　 go-PT-MAN water come-PT
　　　　'Earlier this morning, it rained like a flood.'

This conjunction suffix easily combines with a conjugated form of the verb *loma* 'to tell,' which suggests that the marked sentence is a sentential complement to a *verbum dicendi*. The manner marker here serves to mark indiscriminate generalised subordination, marking a sentence almost as a direct speech marker. The marked sentences fill an adverbial role in the sentence and can be left out without loss of grammaticality.

Manner marker, conditional, topicaliser

The marker <-lo> (MAN) has already been analysed as a manner adverb formative, cf. §8.2.2). However, <-lo> has a much wider range of use and serves in conditional and less distinct subordinating functions as well. This subsection attempts to relate these functions in a unifying analysis. There are two more puzzling facts related to the clause subordinator <-lo>.

1) First, Ebert (2003: 41) labelled *-lo* a topic marker for Bantawa. This may be true for the dialect on which she based her work (Rai 1985), but not for the central dialect on which this study is based[17].

2) Second, it is not uncommon for clause subordinators to combine with the common topicaliser <-na> (TOP). However, other subordinators order before <-na> (TOP), whereas the conditional orders as <-na-lo> (TOP-MAN) 'if'. Given that the topicaliser <-na> marks the first constituent in a sentence, functionally we expect it to be the last suffix on the previous sentence.

These facts can be reconciled if we assume that <-lo> (MAN) originally was a more general topicaliser. This former topicaliser has now become specialised in two functions, i.e. manner marker and conditional. Topics and conditionals are well

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[17]I have found <-lo> in this function in the speech of Dhankuṭā-area speakers, e.g. Rudra Rāī from Ãkhisallā, Dhankuṭā. However, <-lo> does not have this function in the central Bantawa dialects and is not found in this function in the monthly Bantawa-language magazine *Bungwakha*. In adjacent languages, the marker <lo> is found as independent conjunction, e.g. in Kulung (Tolsma 1999: 113).

known to be related, as has been pointed out by Haiman (1978), while the manner specialisation is more specific.

A note on the origin of <-lo> As mentioned in §8.2.2, other authors relate cognates of <-lo> 'manner' to a nominal comitative marker. For Bantawa, there is no evidence for a nominal marker <-lo>. In fact, <-lo> selects strictly verbal hosts. This fact in itself does not negate the nominal marker etymological origin, however. My language teachers maintained that <-lo> derives from *lo-Ø* (say-3P) 'he said'. This is in keeping with the grammaticalisation of speech verbs into conditionals found elsewhere, e.g. Nepali *bhane* 'saying that'.

8.4.5 Correlative clauses

Syntax A correlative construction ties two clauses together in a dependency relation such that one clause depends on the other. A correlation is a non-local strategy of relativisation in which a quantifying relative clause is found left of the clause that contains the constituent it belongs to. This constituent may be either a pronoun or pro-adverb, i.e. an adverbial pronoun. In general, the structure is as in (686), where *IndPro* stands for indefinite or relative pronoun, *DemPro* stands for a demonstrative, definite pronoun, which refers back to the relative pronoun.

(686)   structure of correlative clauses in Bantawa
         [... *IndPro* ...]$_{\text{subordinate clause}}$ [... *DemPro* ...]$_{\text{main clause}}$

The relative pronoun in Bantawa is always an interrogative pronoun, cf. §3.4.6. Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns come in corresponding pairs that share type and scope, e.g. (687).

(687)   *Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns*
         dem   — kʰun   how many — that many
         demko — kʰunko   which   — such
         detni — kʰwatni   how   — that way
         kʰada — kʰoda   where   — there
                            etc. etc.

Although leaving out the emphatic suffix <-ŋ> is technically not illegal according to my language teachers, the demonstrative pro-element in the main clause is always marked with the emphatic suffix <-ŋ>,

Semantics A correlative construction states that the relative pronominal entity in the subordinate clause correlates with, predicts or determines a definite pronominal counterpart in the main clause.

(688)   *dem*   wa ta-Ø,   *kʰun*-ŋa   wadera kʰar-a.
         how.much rain come-NPT that.much-EMPH flood   go-PT
             'As much rain falls, that much it will flood.'

(689) *dem*   ʈurist-ci mɨ-ta,   *kʰun-ŋa*   rɨ-ma li-Ø
       how.much tourist-PL 3pl-come that.much-EMPH earn-INF become-NPT
            'As many tourists come in, that much is earned.'

(690) kʰana *detni* tɨ-cɨ,   *kʰwatni-ŋa*   iŋka cʰaŋ cɨ-ŋa.
       youˢ   how 2AS-do that.way-EMPH I   also do-1sNP
            'As you do, so I shall also do.'

(691) kʰana *kʰa-da*   tɨ-kʰat, iŋka-cʰaŋ *kʰo-da-ŋa*   kʰat-ŋa.
       youˢ   what-LOC 2AS-go I-also   that-LOC-EMPH go-1sNP
            'Wherever you go, I shall also go there.'

8.5   Narrative and direct speech marker <ni>

Basic features of <ni> (NAR)   The narrative or direct speech marker <ni> (NAR) is used to flag any sentence or part thereof that is not uttered by the speaker. This marker serves two purposes that both originate from a single function, viz. to indicate that the proposition marked by <-ni> does not originate from the speaker.

marker	*gloss*	*function*
<ni>	NAR	Direct speech marker

The speaker or narrator can use this device a) as a direct speech marker, e.g. (692, 693), or b) to explicitly mark second-hand information, e.g. (693).

(692) pãc-ka-len-ʔo   deŋ-da 'cʰa wa-caŋ-ma' *ni* yɨŋ-in.
       five (N)-CNT-day-GEN back-LOC child water-wash-INF NAR say-12plSP
            'After five days [after birth] "to wash the child," we say.' [Bt]

(693) 'kʰotni maʔaŋ! bəru   ankenka kʰana-ʔa tɨ-rat-nin-ʔo,'   *ni*
       like.that NO   *rather (N)* weᵖᵉ   youˢ-ERG 2AS-save-1ns2-NOM NAR
       ɨ-low-a   *ni.*
       3AM-tell-PT NAR
            ' "Not like that! Rather you have rescued us," they said, it is said.' [Om]

8.5.1   Function

The functions of the direct speech marker *ni* all derive from the single function that <ni> labels information from someone else, whether explicitly mentioned, known or unknown. As a means of direct speech marking, the marker *ni* is merely a syntactical device to mark the end of the quotation.

The narrative *ni* is extremely frequent in narratives, following almost every single sentence as the entire narrative originates from hearsay. Although the label 'hearsay' suggests that the information is slightly discredited by the speaker, this is not necessarily the case. In legends or traditional stories, the element occurs in almost every line and serves no other purpose than to keep the listeners aware that this is what is being told, and so is worthy of attention.

In conversation, however, <ni> (NAR) may indicate the speaker's attitude towards the information given if he does not explicitly mention the source. The hearsay meaning is more prominent in ordinary statements. Often, a speaker uses *ni* to dissociate himself from what he says and to indicate that the statements he relates are not his own.

Manner subordination

While <ni> (NAR) primarily marks direct speech, it is also a means of simple subordination. Where other subordinating devices fail or are deemed complicated, speakers often choose to express concepts or feelings by *ni*-marked phrases, not unlike English expressions such as 'He was like "Turn down the music!" '.

(694) 'kʰana iŋko iŋ-yiŋ les-u,'   ni   yiŋ-ma si-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
      youˢ   my   my-language be.able-3P NAR say-INF wish.for-1sNP-PROG-1sNP

     'I would wish for you to learn my language' (lit. I wish to say, learn my language)

Evidentiality and epistemics

***Ni* as an evidential**   The particle <ni> (NAR) can be characterised as an evidential, in the sense that it is a grammatical means to mark the source of information.[18] Even though it might be disputed whether <ni> (NAR) is a truly grammatical rather than lexical evidential, it is clearly of the evidential category.

The marker *ni* is an evidential, because a) *ni* clearly marks the source of information, b) the frequency of *ni* is extremely high and the occurrence of *ni* indicates the narrative genre, c) the marker *ni* has a unique, singular category and does not pattern with other clitics, particles or conjunctions, d) and the marker *ni* enters into non-trivial grammatical relations with other categories, such as the nominaliser and sentential subordinators.

Aikhenvald classifies evidential systems into groups (2004). According to Aikhenvald's classification (2004: 23), Bantawa has an A3-system: a system with two choices, marking 'reported, hearsay' information against 'everything else'. In Bantawa there is an evidential opposition between sentences marked by *ni* that signal 'hearsay', i.e. reported knowledge and unmarked sentences. The hearsay particle signals the marked form. There are no grammatical requirements for *ni*, and sentences are equally grammatical with or without *ni*. However, *ni* is indicative of the narrative genre and, in ordinary discourse, required on statements originating from a third source. Informants regularly offered *ni* as an addition to my Bantawa statements, when I endeavoured to speak the language. Obviously, leaving *ni* out where it is expected is considered weird and a sign of poor command of the language.

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[18]For an introduction to, and a definition of evidentiality, see Aikhenvald (2004). For now, suffice it to say that evidentiality is not a modal category, modifying the propositional status of a sentence. Evidentiality in the linguistic sense of the word only signals information source.

8.5.2   Syntax

Position in the clause   The particle <ni> (NAR) is an independent word and not a clitic, though it may cliticise in rapid or even ordinary speech. The particle *ni* is very free in its position. Even parts of sentences can be marked with the effect that the last constituent is pushed back in the evidential hierarchy, in the sense that the constituent comes from 'hearsay'.

Most frequently, *ni* marks sentences, and lands straight after the sentence-final verb. The particle *ni* has the interesting property, however, that it is not entirely clause-final, which puts it in a category different from clause conjunctions. The particle *ni* is not a clause linker. Whether *ni* is an evidential operator or a direct speech marker, it is free with regard to position.

Scope   The scope of <ni> (NAR) is determined by its syntactic position. The operator *ni* has scope over its preceding constituent or clause. If *ni* follows an entire sentence, its prototypical usage in an evidential role, it qualifies the entire sentence as of a different origin. However, if *ni* follows a smaller constituent, most usually a noun phrase, then the scope of the operator is limited to that last constituent only. The effect is that the marked noun phrase is singled out as reported. Contrary to intuition, marking a noun phrase with *ni* adds emphasis to the function of the noun phrase's referent in this position. Marking a single constituent as hearsay has the effect of clarifying its status. By contrast, marking an entire sentence as hearsay often is a way of putting the proposition in doubt. At least, this procedure dissociates the speaker from the proposition. The contrast is evidently clear from sentences (695) and (696). The free translations render the difference[19].

(695)   ram iŋ-kʰim-da   ta-Ø   *ni.*
        Rām my-house-LOC come-NPT NAR
            'Rām came into my house, it is said'

(696)   ram *ni*   iŋ-kʰim-da   ta-Ø.
        Rām NAR my-house-LOC come-NPT
            'Rām, for sure, came into my house.'

Interactions of *ni* with other categories

The scope of <ni> (NAR) is a function of its position. The particle interacts with other epistemic categories according to its position. In the remainder of this section, some frequent usage patterns of *ni* will be outlined. The above examples (695, 696) minimally show the contrast where <ni> (NAR) was used in its evidential function. In various positions, however, one function of *ni* is more prominent, or another may not be available at all.

Combining with the nominaliser   The particle <ni> (NAR) interacts with the nominaliser <-ʔo> (NOM) in a way, that demonstrates the scopal properties of *ni*.

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[19]For scope-sensitive use of evidential marking, cf. also the Sumnima narrative, e.g. line 83.

In its factitive function the nominaliser <-ʔo> is an epistemic category that turns a statement into known information, background information to the discourse. The only marker that can meaningfully intervene between the clause-final verb and the morpheme <ni> (NAR) is the nominaliser <-ʔo>, resulting in a final sequence *-ʔo ni*. The sequence of the nominaliser and evidential has a regular, computable meaning, viz. 'this is a fact, reportedly' or 'this is a fact, narrative'. Placing the nominaliser after <ni> (NAR) signals that a reported fact is supposedly known, whereas placing <ni> after <-ʔo> (NOM) signals that a supposedly known fact is reported.

The clause nominalisation marker frequently follows <ni>. As we saw in §5.2, nominalisation of clauses has the effect of labelling the previous statement as background information, i.e. something that is known or indisputable. In narratives or in conversations, something that has been told or something that comes from a third-party source is very likely to serve as background information.

Often, <ni> (NAR) combines with <-ʔo> (NOM) to form a single sentence-final particle that both dissociates the speaker from the proposition, as well as explicitly marks the statement as known, background, e.g. (697). Facts discussed so far by the speaker himself are also labelled with this particle <niʔo>, often contracted to <nyo>, e.g. (699). This compound particle <nyo> often serves to explicate things further, should they be unclear. In (698), this particle marks the verb compound, that is then repeated with an explicitly intransitive particle *appi* 'self' to eliminate the ambiguity with regard to transitivity.

While these are free standing nominalisations, <niʔo> (NAR-NOM) also marks simple adnominal expressions, in the meaning of 'the so-called', e.g. (700).

(697) ni-jata-da   kʰar-a-ʔo mo maŋ-da ɨ-kʰat-nin   *ni-ʔo.*
       other-*caste (N)*-LOC go-PT-NOM that god-LOC NEGNPp-go-NEGn NAR-NOM
          'It's known that someone who went with another caste, will not enter into the realm of gods.' [Dt]

(698) an-yɨŋ   ma-ma-kʰat-ma *ni-ʔo*   appi-ŋe ma-ma-kʰat-ma lam
       our^pi-language get.lost-INF-go-INF NAR-NOM self-EMPH get.lost-INF-go-INF path
       yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
       sit-NPT-PROG-NPT
          'Our language is on the road to going extinct, I mean, to going extinct itself.' [Bw]

(699) on-ŋa   kirawa-ʔo biha   mu-ma tʰapsɨŋ *ni-ʔo*   ohwatni
       this.much-EMPH Kiranti-GEN marriage do-INF tradition NAR-NOM this.way
       yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
       put-INF must-NPT
          'This much is the Kiranti tradition of doing a marriage, it must be done this way.' [Mr]

(700) kuʈuŋje bɨbɨla saptenkop-ʔo pitmire *ni-ʔo*   ten-da...
       Kutunje Bubula area-GEN   Pitmire NAR-NOM village-LOC...
          'In the village called "Pitmire" in the area of Kutunje Bubula...' [Bw]

Forming compound subordinators   The form *ni-ʔo* functions as a compound particle, with a specific scope, cf. above. The particle <ni> (NAR) obviously can occur before <-ʔo> (NOM). Similarly, *ni* orders before <-ki> (SEQ) to form a conjunction *niki*. This compound subordinator *niki* is very common, but often hardly adds anything to the ordinary subordination by <-ki> (SEQ). Roughly, <niki> translates as 'saying that,' or 'given that'. Those phrases in English do not add content to an utterance, but rather form the punctuation of a discourse. In addition, <niki> freely combines with the topicaliser <-na> (TOP), forming <nikina> 'and'.

   Extending the usual conjunction pattern (§8.4), the conjunctive morpheme <-ki> not only attaches to the verb or verbal pronoun, but also to <ni> (NAR). In examples (701) and (702), the compound conjunction does not signal anything that <-ki> 'sequentialiser' could not mean.

(701)   kʰonki kʰokpa-ʔo baddʰe niŋa no-ma   lis-a   *ni-ki-na*   ɨk-len
        then   old.man-GEN much   mood be.good-INF become-PT NAR-SEQ-TOP one-day
        jʰarak mɨna-ci   butt-u-ci...
        all   person-PL call-3P-DU

           'Then, as that man had become very happy, one day he called all people...' [Om]

(702)   ankenka lam bənya   mu-n-y-in-ka   *ni-ki-na-na*,   tyəhã
        we^pe   road *make (N)* do-12plSP-PROG-12plSP-e NAR-SEQ-TOP-TOP *there (N)*
        tʰapsɨŋ-hili   ənusar   didi   cɨ-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
        tradition-tradition *according (N)* what.PL do-INF must-NPT-PROG-NPT

           'After we have prepared the road, there we must do the things according to the traditions.'

(703)   wa-sa   rə   kok ca-yaŋ-sa   yuŋ-a *ni-ki-na.*
        chicken-meat *and (N)* rice eat-PROG-SIM sit-PT NAR-SEQ-TOP

           'In order that you sit eating rice and chicken meat.'

   On imperatives and after-thoughts[20], <nikina> 'and' may serve as an independent subordinator, that translates as 'in order to,' cf. the imperative in (703). This usage of <niki> has grammaticalised, perhaps via infinitives as in (704), to become, surprisingly, a nominal suffix meaning 'on behalf of, in order to' (705).

(704)   jãc   pɨ-ma *ni-ki*   yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa-ʔo-cʰe   baddʰe-ka-len
        test (N) give-INF NAR-SEQ sit-1sNP-PROG-1sNP-NOM-also many-CNT-day
        ɨ-batt-a-ŋ.
        3AM-bring-PT-1s

           'Also, when I sit in order to give a test, it will take me many days.' [Bw]

(705)   o-ko   tit   ɨŋ-cʰa-ko   *ni-ki.*
        this-REF clothes my-child-GEN NAR-SEQ

           'These clothes are for my child.' (Bāntāvā 2001: 123)

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[20]'After-thought' here means: a sentence added to a previous discourse, filling in missing information.

Etymology

In form, *ni* (NAR) is equal to the Bantawa prefix <ni-> 'other'[21]. There is a lot of shared functionality in that both morphemes signal that there is a second party, either as another entity or as another source of information. There is ample scope to conjecture that the narrative and direct speech marker *ni* and the prefix <ni> 'other' come from the same source. The hypothesis of a shared etymology for both morphemes is affirmed by the Rabi dialect narrative marker <nimaŋ> as reported by Rai (1985). This marker is not found in this form in Hatuvālī. *Nimaŋ* can be analysed as a transparant compound of *ni* 'other' + *maŋ* 'spirit, person'.

8.6   Something kʰa

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

(706)   Functions of kʰa

1.	ANTP	explicit antipassive marker	(§6.2.3)
2.	INTR	interrogative root	(§3.4.6)
3.	PNOM	purposive nominaliser	(§5.1.3)
4.	'place'	as a noun suffix 'place', e.g. buŋwa-kʰa (flower garden)	
5.	V2	verbal suffix or witness vector verb 'to see'	(§7.2.6)

These functions may not all be related, but there is enough common semantic ground to see the relationships.

kʰa as a pronoun

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

(707)   *kʰa* as interrogative root

     a.   kʰa-ʔo-gəri   (phonetically [kʰaugəri])
         IntR-GEN-*time (N)*
           'at what time?'

     b.   kʰa-da
         IntR-LOC
           'where?'

From what we see in (707), *kʰa* would have to mean 'what'. However, *kʰa* as an interrogative root does not occur independently. For the independent interrogative 'what', the form *di* is used. The indefinite pronoun *kʰa* paradigmatically alternates with the definite anaphoric pronoun *kʰo* 'he/she', as in (457, 458), repeated here[22].

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[21]*ni* 'other': see §3.1.3, ex. (92c)

[22]From these examples it should not be inferred that *kʰa* only occurs in a negative context. The opposition (457) vs. (458) is the same in affirmative forms and for all transitive verbs (6.2.3).

(457)   kʰa   ɨ-en-niŋ.
      AntP NEGNP-hear-NEG1

        'I cannot hear a thing.'

(458)   kʰo   ɨ-en-niŋ.
      he/she NEGNP-hear-NEG1

        'I cannot hear it.'

Previously, I labelled *kʰa* as anti-passive, because the word figures in verbal conjugation paradigms as a left-hand complement to the verb in antipassive predicates. However, if we take *kʰa* to be a pronoun, it might be glossed as the indefinite pronoun 'something'. In a pronominal function, *kʰa* only occurs as an object. The functions of *kʰa* as an explicit antipassive and interrogative can perhaps be captured in the indeterminate pronominal gloss 'anything'.

kʰa as a locative

In the other functions (706.3) and (706.4), *kʰa* serves as a suffix to either verbs or nouns, with a locative or purposive meaning for verbs and a locative meaning for nominals. The use of a noun to form participles is also seen in the passive participle, cf. §5.1.2. Purposive nominalisations always translate as 'something to …', e.g. *yuŋkʰa* 'a seat', *rinkʰa* 'a woodworker's plane'. In the nominal suffix *kʰa*, only the locative reading is present. The common denominator between the verbal and nominal derivational suffix is the locative meaning. When used as a verbal nominaliser, it seems that the locative suffix *kʰa* forms nominalisations that denote any non-grammatical role, viz. purpose, location and occasion. The rather marked functional area of <-kʰa> (PNOM) corresponds to the function of the Thulung suffix *-khop* 'functional suffix'. Allen (1975: 60) reports that, used to form verbal adjectives, this suffix means 'performing such and such a function', while used to form nouns it means 'objects used for performing such and such an activity', or 'place for performing it'. Since this suffix expresses both functional and locative meanings, Allen chooses to label this suffix the 'functional suffix,' while Lahaussois (2002: 129) labels it the 'locative' and then excepts the evident non-locative formations such as *khlysi-khop* 'shoes' from *khlymsimu* 'to wear on feet'.

kʰa as a suffix to finite verbs

Function   The function of *kʰa-* as a vector verb (706.5) is primarily that of a polite adhortative. Whether the *kʰa* allomorph of the verb 'to see', as in use as a witness vector verb is related to the other uses of this sequence of two phonemes, would seem to be a matter of speculation. However, we observe below that in Lepcha, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Sikkim, there is a morpheme with a functional range similar to that of *kʰa*. This suggests that while *kʰa-* may pattern with vector verbs in some respects, it originally was a nominal suffix.

Morphology

The alternation of $k^h a \sim k^h o$ is very reminiscent of the alternation between transitive and antipassive forms for /a/-final transitive verbs, such as *ca-* 'to eat', e.g. (708-709).

(708)   ca-Ø.
       eat-NPT
         'he eats.'

(709)   co (< *ca-u).
       eat–3P
         'he eats it.'

    In an article, Gvozdanović (2004) reinterprets the data from Rai (1985). In this article, she collates the nominal instrumental case <-ʔa> and verbal past tense morpheme <-a>. This analysis is very problematic,[23] but I would not discard the possibility that verbal categories have left traces in other areas of the language. In chapter 6, we saw that the concept of transitivity means more than number of participants. Transitivity also expresses definiteness and identifiability of the verb object. I would then consider it entirely possible that the alternation of pronominal $k^h a \sim k^h o$ goes back to a transitivity opposition as expressed on a verb. The pronominal alternation corresponds to the transitivity alternation in conjugations of $k^h a$ as a vector verb.

A possible cognate

Interestingly, the Lepcha language also features a morpheme that expresses locative and purposive meanings on nouns and verbs, and adhortativity on finite verbs, similar to the functions of $k^h a$. The Lepcha morpheme <-ká> 'may be attached to nominals, verbs and entire clauses'. Plaisier (2006) assigns a primarily locative *Gesamtbedeutung* to this formative: 'The supine, adhortative and locative senses of the Lepcha locative morpheme ᤀᤠ *-ká* are all functions of the same meaning, i.e. the goal toward which the action or situation is directed'. Plaisier (2006) further observes that the Dzongkha

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[23]Gvozdanović writes about the <-a> suffix: 'it assigns an entity to a deictically disfocal region, i.e. ergative in the context of <nominal animate>, [...] past in the verbal context of <temporal inactuality>, and modal in the verbal context of <temporal inactuality>.' ('modal' refers to the usages of <-a> in imperatives). This analysis is very problematic, as we see from simple verb paradigms that the alternation of <-a> vs. <-u> as a verbal suffix is mostly a matter of the participant combination that needs to be expressed in the verb agreement. For the forms she quotes to corroborate her point, the speaker of the language has no *choice* to select either or other form. Rather, forms are dictated by the paradigm. In fact, there are parts of the paradigm where <u> represents past tense rather than <a>, viz. the past tense forms of /a/-final verbs!. These alternations represent the opposite of the above conjecture. To associate intentional semantical discourse categories such as focus, disfocus or inactuality with this morpheme is therefore inaccurate.

    However, where there is a choice by the speaker, it is not only possible, but even necessary to explain the choice for either <-u> or <-a>. The only place where choice is obligatory, is between transitive and antipassive conjugations of transitive verbs. See also §6.2.1. Gvozdanović (2004: 346) expresses this choice as '-*u* in Bantawa denotes that the goal pertains to the focal region.' I leave it undecided whether this suffix has a function in information structuring, as the term focal suggests, rather than in simple grammar.

    Gvozdanović must be credited for the attempt to make sense of the <-u> vs. <-a> alternation on verbs. I shall not point out the other minor errors in her data.

locative suffix ཁར་ *khar* might as well be cognate. As little is known about the history of these morphemes, it unclear at this point whether an etymological relationship obtains. For the moment, I just observe that the functional area covered by the respective morphemes is strikingly similar.

A cross-linguistic note on indeterminate objects

$k^h a$ in the verbal paradigm   It is reported for Chintang, a close neighbour of Bantawa (Bickel *et al.* 2007), that there are two competing paradigms for first person inclusive plural forms. In one of these paradigms, a prefix *$k^h a$* consistently denotes the first person inclusive person. We see that in these forms an indefinite pronoun *$k^h a$* has grammaticalised to mean 'us'.

Inclusive first person forms in Bantawa can also be used to denote impersonal forms (§6.4.1). In conclusion, we see a lot of traffic between inclusive first person forms and forms that have an impersonal, indefinite or absent object.

Interestingly, we see exactly the same pattern in formally more remote languages such as Limbu. In Limbu, almost all transitive forms expressing first person patient use *yapmi*, that apparently serves as a first person patient marker. In isolation, this word simply means 'person', which is used impersonally here to denote the first person. These facts lead to the conclusion that the grammaticalisation of impersonal nouns or pronouns to first person markers is a widespread phenomenon.