

A grammar of Yakkha

Diana Schackow

■ Studies in Diversity Linguistics 7



A grammar of Yakkha

This grammar provides the first comprehensive grammatical description of Yakkha, a Sino-Tibetan language of the Kiranti branch. Yakkha is spoken by about 14,000 speakers in eastern Nepal, in the Sankhuwa Sabha and Dhankuta districts. The grammar is based on original fieldwork in the Yakkha community. Its primary source of data is a corpus of 13,000 clauses from narratives and naturally-occurring social interaction which the author recorded and transcribed between 2009 and 2012. Corpus analyses were complemented by targeted elicitation. The grammar is written in a functional-typological framework. It focusses on morphosyntactic and semantic issues, as these present highly complex and comparatively under-researched fields in Kiranti languages. The sequence of the chapters follows the well-established order of phonological, morphological, syntactic and discourse-structural descriptions. These are supplemented by a historical and sociolinguistic introduction as well as an analysis of the complex kinship terminology. Topics such as verbal person marking, argument structure, transitivity, complex predication, grammatical relations, clause linkage, nominalization, and the topography-based orientation system have received in-depth treatment. Wherever possible, the structures found were explained in a historical-comparative perspective in order to shed more light on how their particular properties have emerged.

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Diana Schackow

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Diana Schackow

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List of abbreviations

Linguistic abbreviations

1,2,3	person (1>3: first acting on third person, etc.)
SG/DU/PL/NSG	numerus: singular, dual, plural, nonsingular
A	most agent-like argument of a transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ADD	additive focus
AFF	affirmative
ALT	alternative
AUX	auxiliary verb
BEN	benefactive
B.S.	Bikram Sambat calender, as used in Nepal
CAUS	causative
CL	clause linkage marker
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPAR	comparative
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
CTMP	cotemporal (clause linkage)
CTR	contrastive focus
CVB	converb
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
EXCLA	exclamative
G	most goal-like argument of a three-argument verb
GEN	genitive
GSR	generalized semantic role
HON	honorific

List of abbreviations

HORT	hortative
REP	reportative marker
IGN	interjection expressing ignorance
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INIT	initiative
INS	instrumental
INSIST	insistive
INT	interjection
IRR	irrealis
ITP	interruptive clause linkage
LOC	locative
MDDL	middle
MIR	mirative
NATIV	nativizer
NC	non-countable
n.a.	not applicable
n.d.	no data
NEG	negation
Nep.	Nepali
NMLZ	nominalizer
NPST	non-past
OPT	optative
P	most patient-like argument of a transitive verb
POL	politeness
PLU.PST	plupast
PRF	perfect tense
POSS	possessive (prefix or pronoun)
PROG	progressive
PST	past tense
PST.PRF	past perfect
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
PURP	purposive
Q	question particle
QUANT	quantifier
QUOT	quotative
RC	relative clause
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication

REFL	reflexive
REP	reportative
RESTR	restrictive focus
S	sole argument of an intransitive verb
SBJV	subjunctive
SEQ	sequential (clause linkage)
SIM	simultaneous
SUP	supine
T	most theme-like argument of a three-argument verb
TAG	tag question
TEMP	temporal
TOP	topic particle
TRIPL	triplication
V2	function verb (in complex predication)
VOC	vocative

Abbreviations of kinship terms

B	brother
BS	brother's son
BD	brother's daughter
BW	brother's wife
e	elder
D	daughter
F	father
FB	father's brother
FF	father's father
FM	father's mother
FZ	father's sister
H	husband
M	mother
MB	mother's brother
MF	mother's father
MM	mother's mother
MZ	mother's sister
S	son
W	wife
y	younger

List of abbreviations

Z	sister
ZS	sister's son
ZD	sister's daughter
ZH	sister's husband

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1 Pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, interrogatives

This chapter describes the elements that can be found in the noun phrase, modifying or replacing a head noun. It is structured as follows: §1.1 deals with the personal pronouns, §1.2 discusses the possessive pronouns, and §1.3 the demonstratives. Section 1.4 shows how indefinite reference is expressed, §1.5 deals with numerals and other quantifying elements. Section 1.6 then focusses on interrogative forms, including non-nominal interrogatives.

1.1 Personal pronouns

Yakkha personal pronouns are used to refer to persons, typically to participants whose reference has already been established in discourse. They can take the structural position of a noun phrase (of any participant role) or they can function as heads of noun phrases, although the possibilities to be modified are restricted; relative clauses and demonstratives are not possible, for instance. Possible modifiers are quantifiers and numerals, but they follow the pronominal head, in contrast to noun phrases with nominal heads, which are mostly head-final. Pronouns, like noun phrases in general, are not obligatory, and they are frequently dropped in Yakkha.

The pronouns distinguish person and number. Clusivity, which is found in possessive pronouns, possessive prefixes and in the verbal inflection, does not play a role in the personal pronouns (compare (1a) and (1b)). An overview of the personal pronouns is provided together with the possessive pronouns in Table 1.1 below. The first and second person

pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural number. The morpheme *-ci* conveys a dual meaning in the first and second person pronouns, as opposed to *-ni* for plural. In the third person, *-ci* simply has a nonsingular meaning.¹

- (1) a. *kaniŋ khe-i-ŋ=a*
 1PL go[PST]-1PL-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (without you) went.’
 b. *kaniŋ khe-i=ha*
 1PL go[PST]-1PL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (all) went.’

1.2 Possessive pronouns and nominal possessive inflection

1.2.1 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns modify a head noun, indicating the possessor of the thing that is referred to by the noun (see (2a)). Since the head noun can be omitted when its reference has been established already, the possessive pronoun can also be the sole element in a phrase (see (2b)).

The possessive pronouns resemble the personal pronouns slightly, but they are sufficiently different and irregular so that they establish a separate paradigm. Except for the third person nonsingular form, the roots all look slightly different from the corresponding personal pronouns. They all host the genitive enclitic *=ga*, though. The possessive pronouns distinguish number and person, including clusivity, a category that is absent from the personal pronoun paradigm. The inclusive forms have no parallel in the personal pronouns. Table 1.1 provides an overview of personal and possessive pronouns and possessive prefixes. The capital /N/ stands for an unspecified nasal that assimilates to the following consonant in place of articulation.

¹ Note that in contrast to the pronominal paradigm, the verbal inflection distinguishes dual number also in the third person (cf. §5.2).

- (2) a. *ak=ka* *kucuma* *sy-a-ma=na*
1SG.POSS=GEN dog die[3SG]-PST-PRF=NMLZ.SG
‘My dog has died.’
- b. *ak=ka=ca* *sy-a-ma=na*
1SG.POSS=GEN=ADD die[3SG]-PST-PRF=NMLZ.SG
‘Mine has died, too.’

Table 1.1: Personal and possessive pronouns, possessive inflection

	PERSONAL PRONOUN	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN	POSSESSIVE PREFIX
1SG	<i>ka</i>	<i>akka</i>	<i>a-</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>kanciŋ</i>	<i>anciŋga</i>	<i>anciŋ-</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kaniŋ</i>	<i>aniŋga</i>	<i>aniŋ-</i>
1DU.INCL	<i>kanciŋ</i>	<i>enciŋga</i>	<i>enciŋ-</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>kaniŋ</i>	<i>eŋga</i>	<i>eN-</i>
2SG	<i>nda</i>	<i>ŋga</i>	<i>N-</i>
2DU	<i>njiŋda</i>	<i>njiŋga</i>	<i>njiŋ-</i>
2PL	<i>nniŋda</i>	<i>nniŋga</i>	<i>nniŋ-</i>
3SG	<i>uŋ</i>	<i>ukka</i>	<i>u- ~ o-</i>
3NSG	<i>uŋci</i>	<i>uŋciga</i>	<i>uŋci-</i>

1.2.2 Possessive prefixes

Alternatively to using possessive pronouns, relationships of possession can also be expressed by attaching a possessive prefix to the head noun, that refers to the possessee. The prefixes index the number and person of the possessor. Their form is similar to the possessive pronouns, which suggests that they have developed out of them. The nasals in the 1PL.INCL prefix *eN-* and in the 2SG prefix *N-* assimilate in place of articulation to the first consonant of their nominal host (see (3)). The third person singular prefix *u-* has the allomorph *o-* before stems containing /e/ or /o/. The possessee can also be nouns referring to sensations, as in (3a).

The difference between using a pronoun or a prefix lies in the information structure. If the possessive relationship is focussed on, the

pronoun has to be used.

- (3) a. *n-yupma*
2SG.POSS-sleepiness
'your sleepiness'
b. *m-ba*
2SG.POSS-father
'your father'
c. *eŋ-gamnibak*
1PL.INCL.POSS-friend
'our friend'

Possessive prefixes only attach to nouns, and thus, they are affixes, not clitics. In co-compounds (see (4a)), and if two nouns are conjoined in a noun phrase (see (4b)), both nouns host the possessive prefix.²

- (4) a. *u-ppa* *u-ma=ci=ca*
3SG.POSS-father 3SG.POSS-mother=NSG=ADD
'her parents, too' [01_leg_07.152]
b. *a-ma=nun* *a-na=ŋa*
1SG.POSS-mother=COM 1SG.POSS-sister=ERG
y-yog-a-n-niŋ=bi
NEG-search-SBJV[1.P]-NEG-NEG.PL=IRR
'If my mother and sister had not searched for me, ...'
[42_leg_10.052]

1.2.3 Obligatory possession

Certain nouns nearly always appear with possessive prefixes, even when no clear possessor has been mentioned in the preceding discourse. They can hardly be expressed without belonging to another entity or person. The semantic domains which are relevant for obligatory possession are consanguineal kinship, spatial relations (relational nouns), body parts and other part-whole relations that are not body parts in the strict sense, such as *otheklup* 'half' or *ochon* 'splinter'. So far, 118 obligatorily pos-

² Admittedly, all examples of co-compounds or coordinated nouns with possessive marking in the current data set are from the domain of kinship terms.

sessed nouns could be found, which makes up roughly 9% of the nominal lexicon.³ Some of the obligatorily possessed nouns are listed in Table 1.2. Since obligatory possession is also found in the expression of spatial relations, several adverbs and relational nouns originate in obligatorily possessed nouns (cf. §3.3).

With kinship terms, the first person singular possessive prefix is the default option, e.g., in the citation forms in elicitation, in general statements and in vocatives (as using names to address people is considered impolite). There are some lexicalized terms like *a-mum* ‘grandmother’, *a-pum* ‘grandfather’, *a-na* ‘elder sister’, characterized by a shift of stress to the first syllable. Recall that prefixes generally do not belong to the domain to which stress is assigned. In words like *a.paŋ* ‘my house’, the domain of stress excludes the prefix, but several monosyllabic kin terms clearly have the stress on the first syllable: *‘a.mum*, *‘a.pum*, *‘a.na*, *‘a.ni*. Even though the stress does not treat the prefixes like prefixes any more, the words are still transparent, as ‘his grandmother’ is *u.‘mum*, not **u.‘a.mum*.

Terms for non-consanguineal family relations like *namba* ‘father-in-law’ or *taŋme* ‘daughter-in-law’ do not fall within the domain of obligatory possession (see example (5a)).⁴ This does not mean that possessive prefixes are prohibited, they are just less frequent. The difference is nicely illustrated in (5b), from a wedding description that contains many kinship terms.

- (5) a. *tabhaŋ* *he?ne* *tas-wa-ga=na*
 male_in-law where arrive-NPST-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Where will (your) husband arrive?’
 b. *nhaja* *jammai* *jammai* *jammai*
 and_then all all all

³ In Bickel & Nichols (2005: 242) on obligatorily possessed nouns, this phenomenon is defined as “words for which an inflectional category of possession is obligatorily present”. In the current Yakkha data at least some exceptions can be found, so that I conclude that obligatory possession is rather a gradual phenomenon in Yakkha. More data would be necessary in order to explain apparent exceptions and thus to paint a clearer picture of obligatorily possessed nouns in Yakkha.

⁴ I thank Ram Kumar Linkha for pointing this out to me.

Table 1.2: Some obligatorily possessed nouns

		BODY PARTS	
		<i>unabhak</i>	‘ear’
		<i>umik</i>	‘eye’
		<i>unamcyan</i>	‘cheek’
		<i>unacik</i>	‘face’
		<i>utamphwak</i>	‘hair’
		<i>umuk</i>	‘hand’
		<i>uʔaŋ</i>	‘horn’
		<i>ulaŋ</i>	‘leg’
		<i>uya</i>	‘mouth, opening’
		<i>ophok</i>	‘stomach’
		<i>osenkhwak</i>	‘bone’
		<i>uʔiŋ</i>	‘thorn, fishbone’
CONSANGUINEAL KINSHIP			
<i>acya</i>	‘child’		
<i>aphu</i>	‘elder brother’		
<i>ana</i>	‘elder sister’		
<i>aphaŋ</i>	‘father’s younger brother’		
<i>akoŋma</i>	‘mother’s younger sister’		
SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL RELATIONS		PART-WHOLE RELATIONS	
<i>ucumphak</i>	‘day after tomorrow’	<i>opongalik</i>	‘bud’
<i>ulum</i>	‘middle, center’ (relational noun)	<i>uchuk</i>	‘corner’
<i>oʔemma</i>	‘plains’	<i>upusum</i>	‘crust’
<i>uyum</i>	‘side’ (relational noun)	<i>uyin</i>	‘egg’
<i>okomphak</i>	‘third day after today’	<i>otheklup</i>	‘half’
		<i>okhop</i>	‘husk of rice’
		<i>uhup</i>	‘knot’
		<i>ukhuppa</i>	‘lid, cover’
		<i>ophetrak</i>	‘petal’
		<i>ochon</i>	‘thorn, splinter’
		<i>oyok</i>	‘place’
		<i>uwha</i>	‘wound’

lokondi, [...] *u-chim*
companion_of_bride [...] 3SG.POSS-FyBW
u-phan=ci
3SG.POSS-FyB=NSG
'and then, they all, the bride's companions, her paternal aunts
and uncles ...' [25 tra 01.091]

While the default option for kin terms is the first person prefix, for the other obligatorily possessed nouns it is the third person singular, as for instance in *u-tiŋ* ‘thorn’. We find some lexicalized instances here as well, for instance *usa* ‘fruit’, stressed on the first syllable and lexicalized from the more general noun *sa*, translating as ‘flesh, meat’ and ‘fruit flesh’. Another instance is *uwa* ‘nectar, honey, (any) liquid’, also stressed on the first syllable, with the original meaning ‘water’ or, more generally, ‘liquid’.

The obligatory possessive marking is also known from other Kiranti languages. Camling also has obligatory possessive marking on inherently relational nouns (Ebert 1997b: 41). Similarly, Doornenbal (2009: 98-100) lists classes of nouns that necessarily occur with possessive marking. In her grammar of Thulung, Lahaussais (2002: 72) mentions that an otherwise rare combination of possessive prefix and genitive marking is frequently found with inalienably possessed nouns such as nouns from the domains of kinship and body parts.

1.3 Demonstratives

The functional core of demonstratives is deixis. Demonstratives (just like pronouns and temporal adverbs such as ‘tomorrow’) are deictic; their reference depends on a center that is established in the particular utterance context and that may thus change with that particular utterance context (Bühler 1934; Fillmore 1971 (1997)). The point of reference is typically, but not necessarily, the speaker.

There are two sets of demonstratives in Yakkha, one set based on proximity and distance to the deictic center (spatial as well as anaphoric, see §1.3.1) and one set based on the inclination of the landscape, called *geomorphic* in Bickel (1997b)). The latter are treated separately in §4.2

on the topography-based orientation system. The roots of the former set are pronominal in their nature, but they can become adverbial via derivations (see §1.3.2).

1.3.1 Proximal, distal and anaphoric deixis

Table 1.3 shows the forms expressing the three-fold distinction between proximal, distal and anaphoric demonstratives. The proximal forms are used to refer to objects or people that are close to the speaker and can be touched or pointed at, while the distal forms are used for objects or people further away and also for referents that are not present in the speech situation. Narratives mostly use the distal forms, except in direct quotations. The anaphoric demonstratives are used to take up reference to some participant that had already been activated at a previous time in discourse, best translated as ‘that very (person/thing/event)’. The members of this set of demonstratives are also found in correlative clauses (see §??). Demonstratives can be used adnominally (i.e., modifying a head noun) and pronominally (i.e. replacing a noun phrase) in Yakkha. Furthermore, demonstratives may replace personal pronouns in the third person, as the use of personal pronouns is considered somewhat rude.

Table 1.3: Proximal, distal and anaphoric demonstratives

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	ANAPHORIC
SG	<i>na</i>	<i>nna</i>	<i>honna</i>
NSG/	<i>kha</i>	<i>ηkha(ci) ~</i>	<i>hoηkha(ci)</i>
NON-COUNT		<i>nnakha(ci)</i>	

Let us first take a look at the proximal-distal distinction. In example (6), the demonstratives are used in attributive function. The number distinction is encoded by the base forms for proximal deixis *na* (singular) and *kha* (nonsingular and non-countable reference).⁵ Distal deixis

⁵ The distinction between singular on the one hand and nonsingular/non-countable on the other hand is fundamental and robust in Yakkha, found not only in the

is expressed by adding either a prefix *nna* or just a homorganic nasal to these roots (not segmented in the glosses).⁶ No semantic difference between *nnakha* and *ŋkha* could be determined, and the latter seems like a contracted form of the former. In terms of stress assignment, these demonstratives may cliticize phonologically when they are used attributively, but they are generally able to carry their own stress. They naturally carry stress when they occur on their own, e.g. *khaci* ‘these’.

- (6) a. *na babu*
 this boy
 ‘this boy’
 b. *nna babu*
 that boy
 ‘that boy’
 c. *kha babu=ci*
 these boy=NSG
 ‘these boys’
 d. *ŋkha babu=ci*
 those boy=NSG
 ‘those boys’
 e. *kha kham*
 this mud
 ‘this mud/soil’
 f. *ŋkha kham*
 that mud
 ‘that mud/soil’

As example (6) shows, all demonstratives can appear as nominal modifiers (see also (7)). The non-countable reference of *kha* can be illustrated by the difference between *tonba* ‘beer served in a small barrel and drunken with a pipe’ and *cuwa* ‘beer’. While the first has countable reference, the latter is treated as a substance and hence has non-countable reference. The demonstrative *kha* may thus refer to nonsin-

demonstratives but also in nominalizations and in verbal agreement.

⁶ In Belhare (Bickel 2003: 548), the lexeme corresponding to *nna* is *ina*. The same sound correspondence (between nasal prefix and prefix *i-*) is found between the Tumok and the Kharang dialects of Yakkha.

gular instances of count nouns (see (7b)) or to mass nouns (see (7c)). This distinction of number and countability is also reflected in the sentence-final nominalizers in these examples, which are etymologically related to the demonstratives (discussed at length in §??).

- (7) a. *na tonba imin et-u-ga=na?*
 this beer_in_barrel how like-3.P[PST]-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘How do you like this tongba?’
- b. *kha tonba=ci khumdu=ha=ci*
 these beer_in_barrel=NSG tasty=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘These tongbas are tasty.’
- c. *kha cuwa(*=ci) khumdu=ha*
 these beer(*=NSG) tasty=NMLZ.NC
 ‘This beer (beer of this house/area) is tasty.’

The demonstratives may also head noun phrases, hosting the phrasal morphology and triggering agreement (see (8)). They are more restricted than nominal heads of noun phrases, as they cannot take adnominal modifiers.

- (8) a. *kha=ci ucun=ha=c=em, nkha=ci*
 these=NSG nice=NMLZ.NSG=NSG=ALT those=NSG
ucun=ha=c=em?
 nice=NMLZ.NSG=NSG=ALT
 ‘Are these better, or those?’
- b. *na=go ucun=na*
 this=TOP nice=NMLZ.SG
 ‘This one is nice.’

The anaphoric demonstratives identify referents that have already been activated in discourse, and are taken up again, as in (9), from a pear story. The speaker introduces her narrative with the fact that she has seen a film. Then, the listener makes a joke, distracting away from the film (not included in the example). The speaker re-introduces the topic with *honna*.

- (9) a. *ha, imin ka-ma=ha? ka khem*
 yes, how say-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.NSG 1SG before
eko philm so-η, men=na=i?
 one film watch[3.P;PST]-1SG.A NEG.COP=NMLZ.SG=Q
 ‘Yes, how to start? I saw a film before, right?’
 [34_pea_04.005]
- b. *honna=be=jhen, eko jangal=we eko yapmi*
 that_very=LOC=TOP one jungle=LOC one person
khy-a-masa, men=na=i? paghyam.
 go[3SG]-PST-PST.PRF NEG.COP=NMLZ.SG=Q old_man
 ‘In that (film), a man had gone into a jungle, right? An old
 man.’
 [34_pea_04.011]

In (10), a written narrative, the protagonist wants to go fishing to surprise his sick father. What happens is that he loses the fishing net in the strong currents of the river. The following is said about the net after narrating how he lost it:

- (10) *honna eko=se jal wa-ya-masa=na*
 that_very one=RESTR net exist[3SG]-PST-PST.PRF=NMLZ.SG
 ‘There had been only that very net.’
 [01_leg_07.214]

Human reference is possible with *honna* as well, exemplified by (11).

- (11) *nnakha?la cok-saη honna yapmi bhirik=phaη*
 like_that do-SIM that_very person cliff=ABL
lond-uks-u
 take_out-PRF-3.P[PST]
 ‘In this way, he rescued that (afore-mentioned) man from the
 cliff.’
 [01_leg_07.330]

In (12), also a written narrative, the referent taken up from the previous clause is a cradle.

- (12) a. *uη=ηa hoηma=ηa eko mina yon*
 3SG=ERG river=INS one small cradle

- yaŋ-khe?-ma-si-me?=na*
 flush-V2.CARRY.OFF-INF-AUX.PROG-NPST=NMLZ.SG
nis-uks-u
 see-PRF-3.P[PST]
 ‘She saw a little cradle being carried off by the river.’
 [01_leg_07.288]
- b. *nhaŋ* *uŋ=ŋa* *hattapatta* *honna* *yoŋ*
 and_then 3SG=ERG hastily that_very cradle
lab-uks-u
 grab-PRF-3.P[PST]
 ‘And hastily she grabbed that cradle.’ [01_leg_07.289]

The singular form *na* could be etymologically related to a topic particle of the same form, as it is still found in Belhare or Puma, for instance (Bickel 2003; Bickel et al. 2009: 559). Furthermore, the demonstratives *na* and *kha* have developed into the nominalizers *=na* and *=ha* which show exactly the same distribution with regard to number and the count/mass distinction as the demonstratives (cf. §??). On a final note, clause-initial coordinators like *nhaŋ*, *nnhaŋ*, *khon* and *ŋkhon* (all paraphrasable with ‘and then’ or ‘afterwards’) are demonstratives with ablative marking historically.

1.3.2 Demonstrative adverbs and quantifiers

The proximal-distal-anaphoric distinction is also present in a set of demonstrative adverbs and quantifiers, as summarized in Table 1.4. In (13) we can see some examples of anaphoric demonstrative adverbs based on the root *hon*. The sentence in (13a) is uttered at the end of a narrative, and the adverbs refer to the content and amount of the events just told.⁷ In (13b), *honkha?niŋ* refers to the time at which the events took place (specified in a previous sentence), and in (13c), *honnhe* refers to the place just mentioned in the conversation.

⁷ Quantifying expressions (both for amount and size) are the topic of §1.5 below.

- (13) a. *liŋkha=ci=ga* *lagi*, *hoŋkhaʔla=oŋ*,
 Linkha_clan_member=NSG=GEN for like_that=SEQ
hoŋkhiŋ=se
 that_much=RESTR
 ‘For the Linkhas, like that, that much only.’ [11_nrr_01.042]
- b. *hoŋkhaʔniŋ* *ten=beʔ=na*
 that_very_time village=LOC=NMLZ.SG
yalumma *a-mum=ŋa* *so-saŋ*
 talkative_granny 1SG.POSS-grandmother=ERG look-SIM
ka-ya:
 say[3SG]-PST
 ‘At that time, a talkative old lady, watching, it said: ...’
 [41_leg_09.041]
- c. *honnhe=maŋ* *khe-me-ŋ=na*
 right_there=EMPH go-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I will go right there.’ (in a talk about Mamling village, a
 new person shows up and states that she will go right to
 that village)

Table 1.4: Demonstrative adverbs and quantifiers

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	ANAPHORIC
LOCATION	<i>nhe</i> ‘here’	<i>nnhe</i> ‘there’	<i>honnhe</i> ‘where mentioned before’
TIME	<i>khaʔniŋ</i> ‘this time, now’	<i>ŋkhaʔniŋ ~ nnakhaʔniŋ</i> ‘that time, then’	<i>hoŋkhaʔniŋ</i> ‘right at that time’
MANNER	<i>khaʔla</i> ‘like this’	<i>ŋkhaʔla ~ nnakhaʔla</i> ‘like that’	<i>hoŋkhaʔla</i> ‘like mentioned before’
AMOUNT/ SIZE/ DEGREE	<i>khiŋ</i> ‘this much’/ ‘this big’	<i>ŋkhiŋ ~ nnakhiŋ</i> ‘that much’/ ‘that big’	<i>hoŋkhiŋ</i> ‘as much as mentioned before’/ ‘as big as mentioned before’

1.4 Indefinite reference

Yakkha does not have a morphologically distinct class of indefinite pronouns; all pronouns and demonstratives are definite. There are, how-

ever, several strategies to convey indefinite reference, including the use of simple nouns. Occasionally, the numeral *eko* ‘one’ is also used for this purpose. In example (14a), *eko* refers to an object in a future and hence irrealis statement; in (14b), *eko* refers to a specific (i.e., known to the speakers), but still indefinite person (i.e., not determined in a way that the hearer can identify the referent).

- (14) a. *uŋ mit-a: haku eko paŋ cok-ma*
 3SG think[3SG]-PST: now one house make-INF
ta-ya=na
 come[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He thought: Now the time has come to build a house.’
 [27_nrr_06.006]
- b. *aniŋ=ga eko mamu*
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=GEN one girl
mas-a-by-a-ma=na
 get_lost[3SG]-PST-V2.GIVE-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘One of our girls got lost.’ [22_nrr_05.076]

Interrogatives can also function as indefinite pronouns, particularly in contexts where the referent is unknown to the speaker, as in (15). Interrogatives as indefinite pronouns may head noun phrases and can be modified (see (15a)); they may also modify nouns themselves (see (15b)). Using interrogatives for indefinite reference is a very common strategy cross-linguistically, which can be explained by the functional similarity of the two. Both express an information gap and vagueness at the utterance level (Haspelmath 1997: 170).

- (15) a. *uŋci yuncamakekek i ŋ-ga-ya-masa*
 3NSG funny what 3PL-say-PST-PST.PRF
 ‘They had said something funny.’ [41_leg_09.029]
- b. *nhana desan-masan n-da-me*
 and_then malicious_ghost 3PL-come-NPST
i=ha
 what=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘And then, some scary ghosts will come.’ [28_cvs_04.266]

As (16) shows, information that is known to the speaker, but that she does not want to disclose, is also covered by the interrogative-indefinite polysemy.

- (16) *khy-a-η=na=le, pheri kha?la=maη=ba,*
 go-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG=CTR again like_this=EMPH=EMPH
sala i=ha i=ha ta-me
 talk what=NMLZ.NC what=NMLZ.NC come[3SG]-NPST
 ‘I just went, again, just like this, one talks about a little bit of this, a little bit of that.’ (the speaker explains why she had gone, i.e., to talk, without specifying what they talked about)
 [28_cvs_04.319]

Exhaustive reference, i.e., including all imaginable referents in a given context, is expressed by attaching the additive focus particle =*ca* to an interrogative pronoun (see (17)). This works with affirmative and with negated statements, in the latter case with the effect of exhaustive negation (see (17c)).

- (17) a. *i=ha camyonba=ca a-sap*
 what=NMLZ.NC food=ADD 1SG.POSS-[STEM]
thakt-wa-η=ha
 like-NPST[3.P]-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘I like any (kind of) food.’
 b. *eη=ga niη=be uηci i=ha*
 1PL.INCL.POSS=GEN name=LOC 3NSG what=NMLZ.NC
cok-ma=ca tayar n-leη-me
 do-INF=ADD ready 3PL-become-NPST
 ‘They will be ready to do anything in our name.’
 [01_leg_07.084]
 c. *ηkha?la bhon lop ka i=ha=ca*
 like_that COND now 1SG what=NMLZ.NC=ADD
n-nakt-a-ηa-n,
 NEG-ask_for-IMP-1SG.P-NEG
 ‘If it is like that, do not ask me for anything right now.’
 [27_nrr_06.025]

Occasionally, the interrogative pronoun can also be doubled, often in combination with markers of focus or emphasis (see (18)).

- (18) a. *chippakekek=na* *i=na=i*
disgusting=NMLZ.SG what=NMLZ.SG=EMPH
i=na *lo?wa=na*
what=NMLZ.SG like=NMLZ.SG
‘like some disgusting, undefinable (thing)’ [40_leg_08.054]
- b. *eh, ikhiŋ* *mam=ha* *i=ya*
oh, how_much big=NMLZ.NC what=NMLZ.NC
i=ya=le *naŋ-me-c-u=ha*
what=NMLZ.NC=CTR ask-NPST-DU-3.P=NMLZ.NC
baŋniŋgo *ha?lo*
TOP EXCLA
‘Oh, (we had thought that) they would ask for something big!’
(instead, they asked for a minor favor) [22_nrr_05.129]

Another strategy to express indefinite reference is to use an interrogative pronoun and to reduplicate the fully inflected verb (see (19)). Additionally, the interrogative phrase may host a topic marker =*ko*, which is not possible in interrogative utterances, since the inherent focus of interrogative phrases rules out topic marking on them. Both strategies help to disambiguate indefinite statements and interrogative utterances.

- (19) a. *a-yaŋ* *he?ne*
1SG.POSS-money where
mas-a-by-a=ha
get_lost[3SG]-PST-V2.GIVE-PST=NMLZ.NC
mas-a-by-a=ha
get_lost[3SG]-PST-V2.GIVE-PST=NMLZ.NC
‘My money got lost somewhere.’
- b. *surke=ŋa* *isa=ge=ko* *khus-u-co-ya*
Surke=ERG who=LOC=TOP steal-3.P-V2.EAT-PST

- khus-u-co-ya*
steal-3.P-V2.EAT-PST
'Surke (a dog) stole (food) from someone's house.'
- c. *na inimma=be a-ppa*
this market=LOC 1SG.POSS-father
a-ma=ci he?ne
1SG.POSS-mother=NSG where
m-phaps-a-khy-a
3PL-entangle-PST-V2.GO-PST
m-phaps-a-khy-a
3PL-entangle-PST-V2.GO-PST
'My parents got lost somewhere in this market.'⁸
[01_leg_07.163]

In practice, indefinite reference is often just realized by the omission of overt arguments, since overt personal pronouns are not required for accessible referents, not even for mentioning them for the first time. In (20), the referent talked about is only introduced by the verbal agreement: people talk about someone they saw walking away, without recognizing who it was.

- (20) *churuk un-san khy-a-ma=na. isa=?lo?*
cigarette drink-SIM go[3SG]-PST-PRF=NMLZ.SG who=EXCLA
'He has gone, smoking a cigarette. But who was it?'

1.5 Quantifiers, numerals and numeral classifiers

1.5.1 Quantification, size and degree

Yakkha has several quantifiers to indicate the amount, size, degree or intensity of the concepts expressed by nouns, adjectives or verbs. They are listed in Table 1.5, with the word classes with which they combine. The form *manpha* 'much/very' is special insofar as it may also express the degree of another quantifier, such as in *manpha pyak* 'really much'. The table also includes deictic quantifiers and degree words.

⁸ The word *inimma* is a neologism not widely in use.

Table 1.5: Quantifiers

YAKKHA	GLOSS	DOMAIN
<i>mi</i>	‘a little’	A
<i>miyaŋ</i>	‘a little’	N, V, A
<i>mimik</i>	‘a little’	N, V
<i>ghak</i>	‘all/whole’	N
<i>tuknuŋ</i>	‘completely’	V, A
<i>pyak</i>	‘much/ many/ very’	N, V, A
<i>maŋpha</i>	‘much/very’	A, QUANT
<i>ibibi</i>	‘very much/many’	N
<i>khin</i>	‘this much/this big’ (deictic)	N, V, A
<i>ŋkhin</i>	‘that much/that big’ (deictic)	N, V, A
<i>hoŋkhin</i>	‘as much/big as stated before’ (deictic)	N

The difference between *mimik* and *miyaŋ* (both: ‘a little’) is subtle. Both can be found with nouns (see (21)) or verbs (see (22)), but *miyaŋ* is the typical choice with nouns, while *mimik* is found more often with verbs. Both words may also appear as proforms heading noun phrases, as (21a) and (21c) show.

- (21) a. *nda=ca miyaŋ=se uŋ-u!*
 2SG=ADD a_little=RESTR drink-3.P[IMP]
 ‘You too, drink, just a little!’
- b. *ka miyaŋ cama py-a-ŋ-eba*
 1SG a_little rice give-IMP-1SG.P-POL.IMP
 ‘Please give me a little rice.’
- c. *mimik, ŋ-khot-a-n bhoŋ=se*
 a_little NEG-be_enough-PST-NEG COND=RESTR
kaniŋ mimik
 1PL[ERG] a_little
in-u-ca-wa-m-ŋ=ha
 buy-3.P-V2.EAT-NPST-1PL.A-EXCL=NMLZ.NC
 ‘A little, only if is not enough we buy a little.’

- [28_cvs_04.038]
- (22) a. *kam=ca cok-ma haʔlo, mimik,*
 work=ADD do-INF[DEONT] EXCLA a_little
 ‘One also has to work a little, ...’ [28_cvs_04.326]
- b. *miyaŋ ucun*
 a_little nice
ŋ-get-u-ŋa-n=na *loppi*
 NEG-bring_up-3.P[PST]-EXCL-NEG=NMLZ.SG perhaps
 ‘Maybe I did not recall it (a story) so well.’ (lit. ‘I slightly
 did not recall it nicely, perhaps.’) [11_nrr_01.038]
- c. *miyaŋ taŋkhyā mopmop*
 a_little sky covered
cok-t-a-by-a
 make-BEN-IMP-V2.GIVE-IMP
 ‘Please make the sky a little cloudy.’ [37_nrr_07.100]

Furthermore, *miyaŋ* is also found with adjectives and adverbs (see (23)).

- (23) *hoŋ=bhaŋ miyaŋ yoʔyorok*
 hole=ABL a_little across
 ‘a little further away from the hole’ [04_leg_03.011]

The quantifier *pyak* is used with count and mass nouns, and also with an intensifying function when it is combined with verbs and adverbs/adjectives. It signifies a high amount or degree of whatever is expressed by the head that it modifies. Thus, it can be rendered with English ‘much’, ‘many’ and ‘very’. Examples are provided below in (24) for the nominal domain and in (25) for verbal and adverbial/adjectival uses. In (25a), *pyak* is further emphasized by the deictic degree particle *khiŋ*, yielding the exclamative ‘how much!’.

- (24) a. *pyak sakheʔwa=ci*
 many pigeon=NSG
 ‘many pigeons’ [01_leg_07.013]
- b. *pyak ŋ-geŋ-me-n*
 much NEG-bear_fruit[3SG]-NPST-NEG
 ‘Not much will ripen.’ [01_leg_07.122]

- c. *pyak yaŋ ub-wa-ŋ*,
much money earn-NPST[3.P]-1SG.A
‘I will earn much money, ...’ [01_leg_07.190]
- (25) a. *ka khiŋ pyak a-ma=ŋa*
1SG this_much much 1SG.POSS-mother=ERG
u-luŋma tuŋ-me-ŋ=na
3SG.POSS-liver pour-NPST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
‘How much my mother loves me!’ [01_leg_07.079]
- b. *suku pyak cond-a-sy-a-ma*
Suku much be_happy[3SG]-PST-MDDL-PST-PRF
‘Suku was very happy.’ [01_leg_07.151]
- c. *eko pyak thuŋdu=na yapmi*
one very rich=NMLZ.SG person
‘a very rich man’ [04_leg_03.014]

Examples with *ibibi* (referring to an unspecific high quantity) are few; one is shown below in (26).

- (26) *wathan=be ibibi yapmi=ci ta-san*
water_tap=LOC many_many person=NSG come-SIM
wasi-san khe-san n-jok-ma-sy-a
wash-SIM go-SIM 3PL-do-INF-AUX.PROG-PST
‘At the watertap, many, many people kept coming, bathing, going.’
[40_leg_08.049]

The exhaustive quantifier *ghak* ‘all, whole’ can refer to an exhaustive number or amount, as in (27a), or to a complete unit, as in (27b) and (27c). The potential ambiguity is resolved by the verbal number agreement, which has to be plural in the exhaustive reading.

- (27) a. *ghak limbu m-bog-a-ma-ci=hoŋ*,
all Limbu_person 3PL-get_up-PST-PRF-NSG=SEQ
‘As all the Limbus woke up, ...’ [22_nrr_05.027]
- b. *ghak ce?ya*
whole matter
‘the whole matter’ [01_leg_07.024]

- c. *ghak ten mag-a-khy-a,*
whole village burn[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST
‘The whole village burned down.’ [22_nrr_05.026]

The deictic quantifier *khij* has to be interpreted with respect to the utterance context, and it can refer to amount or size. In most cases, its use is accompanied by gestures that indicate the size or the amount of some entity. Occasionally, the nominal comitative can be found attached to *khij* (see (28c)).

- (28) a. *khij tukkhi η-and-u,*
this_much pain 3PL.A-endure-3.P[PST]
‘They endured so much troubles, ...’ [14_nrr_02.07]
- b. *mi=na chun-d-e?=na,*
small=NMLZ.SG shrink[3SG]-V2.GIVE-NPST=NMLZ.SG
khij leη-d-e?=na,
this_big become[3SG]-V2.GIVE-NPST=NMLZ.SG
‘It shrinks, it becomes so small, ...’ [36_cvs_06.228]
- c. *khij=nun em-ma=niηa lak=nun*
this_much=COM insert-INF=CTMP salty=COM
leks-a=bi
become[3SG]-SBJV=IRR
‘If one inserted this much, it would become salty.’

In parallel to the demonstratives described in §1.3, *ηkhij* may express distal reference, i.e., ‘that much’ (compare (29a) and (29b)). In (29b), instead of indicating the size with his own hands, the speaker points to a piece of wood laying nearby. The distal reference is also used in general statements, as in (29c).

- (29) a. *puchak khij=na sa=na!*
snake this_much=NMLZ.SG COP.PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
‘The snake was this big!’ (The speaker is showing with own hands how big it was.)
- b. *puchak ηkhij=na sa=na!*
snake this_much=NMLZ.SG COP.PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
‘The snake was that big!’ (The speaker is pointing to a piece

- of wood laying nearby.)
- c. *cun=be ŋkhiŋ ucun*
cold=LOC that_much nice
m-phem-me-n=ha
NEG-bloom[3SG]-NPST-NEG=NMLZ.NSG
‘In winter, it does not bloom so nicely.’ (=ha being used because of mass reference, blossoms in general, not a countable plurality of blossoms)

Anaphoric deixis is possible as well, using *hoŋkhiŋ*. The sentence in (30) follows a long enumeration of particular things the protagonist had to do, and *hoŋkhiŋ* refers back to them.

- (30) *nhaŋ nam wandik=ŋa lom-meʔ=nin̩a*
and_then sun next_day=INS come_out[3SG]-NPST=CTMP
hoŋkhiŋ cok-ni-ma paŋne
that_much do-COMPL-INF[DEONT] having_to
sa=bu
COP.PST[3SG]=REP
‘And then, at the dawn of the next day, all that work had to be finished, people say.’ [11_nrr_01.010]

1.5.2 Numerals and classifiers

1.5.2.1 Cardinal numerals

The inherited Tibeto-Burman numerals have largely gotten lost in Kiranti (Ebert 1994). In Yakkha only the numerals *i* ‘one’, *hiC* ‘two’⁹ and *sum* ‘three’ are known. Another numeral for ‘one’ is found, which is the Nepali loan *eko*. It already replaces the Yakkha numeral *i* in several contexts. In counting, for instance, *eko* prevails in the majority of cases. Some fixed expressions, like *i len* ‘one day’, however, contain the Yakkha form. It is quite likely that the numeral *i* and the interrogative root *i* share a common origin.

⁹ The capital /C/ stands for a plosive. As the numeral does not occur independently, and as it always assimilates to the following consonant, its place of articulation could not be determined.

Unlike in some Newari varieties,¹⁰ numeral classification does not play a prominent role in Kiranti languages. Yakkha has one numeral classifier *-paŋ* for human reference (cognate, e.g., with Belhare *-baŋ*, Athpare *-paŋ*, Camling *-po*, Bantawa *-pok*, Hayu *-pu*). It is used only with the Yakkha numerals ‘two’ and ‘three’ (see (31)). Nonsingular marking of the head noun is frequent, but optional (discussed in §2.2.1). For numerals above ‘three’, borrowed Nepali numerals, as well as the Nepali classifiers *jana* for humans and (*w*)*ota* for things are used (see (32a)). Some words for measuring units or currency may also function as classifiers (see (32b)).

- (31) a. *eko yapmi*
one person
‘one man/person’
b. *hip-paŋ babu(=ci)*
two-CLF.HUM boy(=NSG)
‘two boys’
c. *sum-baŋ mamu(=ci)*
three-CLF.HUM girl(=NSG)
‘three girls’
- (32) a. *bis ora khibak=ca*
twenty CLF rope=ADD
‘twenty ropes’ [11_nrr_01.012]
b. *ah, pāc, chasay rupiya*
yes five six_hundred rupee
‘five, six hundred rupees’ [28_cvs_04.075]

Since there is no classifier for non-human reference in Yakkha, the non-singular marker *=ci* has undergone reanalyzation in order to fill the position of the classifier (see (33)). This is the only instance where non-singular *=ci* may occur inside a noun phrase.

- (33) a. *hic=ci yaŋ=ci*
two=NSG coin=NSG

¹⁰ For instance, in Dolakha Newari (Genetti 2007: 220) and the Newari spoken in Dulikhel (own observations).

- ‘two coins’ [26_tra_02.032]
 b. *sum=ci ce?ya*
 three=NSG word
 ‘three words’ [36_cvs_06.345]

Numeral expressions may also occur without a head noun; i.e., they can fill the structural position of a noun phrase (see (34)).

- (34) a. *hip-paŋ=se*
 two-CLF.HUM=RESTR
 ‘only two people’ [36_cvs_06.578]
 b. *hip-paŋ=ŋa ni-me-c-u=ha*
 two-CLF.HUM=ERG know-NPST-DU-3.P=NMLZ.NC
 ‘The two of them know it (how to divinate).’ [22_nrr_05.081]

1.5.2.2 Counting events

Yakkha has a marker *-ma* to individuate and count events, i.e., to express ‘once’, ‘twice’, ‘three times’. It only occurs with the inherited (Tibeto-Burman) Yakkha numerals.

- (35) a. *ka i-ma pukt-a-ŋ=na*
 1SG one-COUNT jump-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I jumped once.’
 b. *minuma=ŋa hip-ma sum-ma u-muk*
 cat=ERG two-COUNT three-COUNT 3SG-hand
hoŋ=be end-uks-u=ca mima lap-ma
 hole=LOC insert-PRF-3.P=ADD mouse catch-INF
n-yas-uks-u-n
 NEG-be_able-PRF-3.P-NEG
 ‘Although the cat tried to put its paw into the hole two or three times, it could not catch the mouse.’ [04_leg_03.009]

1.6 Interrogative proforms

Yakkha interrogatives are based on the roots *i* and *he?*. Table 1.6 provides an overview. While *i* may also occur independently, with the

meaning ‘what’ (referring to events, see (36)), *he?* always occurs with further morphological material. Some interrogatives are easily analyzable into a base plus case marker, nominalizer or clause linkage marker, but others are not transparent. Interrogatives may also function as indefinite pronouns (see §1.4 above).

- (36) *i* *leks-a?*
 what happen[3SG]-PST
 ‘What happened?’

Table 1.6: Interrogatives

YAKKHA	GLOSS
<i>i ~ ina ~ iya</i>	‘what’
<i>isa</i>	‘who’
<i>imin</i>	‘how’
<i>ikhin</i>	‘how much’, ‘how many’, ‘how big’
<i>ijaŋ</i>	‘why’
<i>he?na ~ hetna</i>	‘which’ (INT=NMLZ)
<i>he?ne ~ hetne</i>	‘where’ (INT=LOC)
<i>he?naŋ ~ he?nhaŋ ~ hetnaŋ ~ hetnhaŋ</i>	‘where from’ (INT=ABL)
<i>he?niŋ ~ hetniŋ</i>	‘when’ (INT=CTMP)

When the requested bit of information has a nominal nature, the base *i* occurs with the nominalizers =*na* or =*ha* ~ =*ya* (see §??). For example, food is expected to consist of several different items, and will be requested with the nonsingular/non-countable form =*ha* ~ =*ya* (see (37a)). Interestingly, these nominalized forms can also occur inside a noun phrase (see (37b)). In this example, *ina* does not request the identification of one item out of a set, as *he?na* ‘which’ would. It rather implies that nothing is presupposed. The sentence is from a dowry negotiation, and here the speakers imply that there is nothing more to

give to the bride. Similarly, when the identity of a person is requested but the speaker has no set of possible answers in mind, *isa* can occur inside a noun phrase (see (37c)). The context of this example was that some people were talking about the newly arrived researcher, and some other people who did not know about this fact (and did not see the researcher sitting around the corner) requested to know whom they were talking about.

- (37) a. *i=ya* *ca-ma*
 what=NMLZ.NSG eat-INF
 ‘What to eat?’
 b. *nani*, *i=na* *yubak?* *n-chimd-uks-u*
 child, what=NMLZ.SG property 3PL.A-ask-PRF-3.P
 ‘“Child, what property?” they asked her.’ [37_nrr_07.006]
 c. *isa* *mamu?*
 who girl
 ‘What girl (are you talking about)?’

The interrogatives *ina/iya* and *isa* may also head noun phrases (without modifiers), host nominal morphology and appear as predicates of interrogative copular clauses (see (38)). When a noun phrase is headed by an interrogative, modifying material is not allowed, except for clauses in which the interrogatives have an indefinite interpretation (discussed above in §1.4). The quantifying/degree interrogative *ikhiŋ* (derived from the demonstrative base *khiŋ* discussed in §1.5) may also occur in noun-modifying position (see (39)).

- (38) a. *i=ga* *lagi* *ta-ya-ga=na?*
 what=GEN for come-PST-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘What did you come for?’
 b. *na* *i=ŋa* *hab-a=na*
 this what=INS cry[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘What made her cry?/Why does she cry?’ [13_cvs_02.050]
 c. *piccha=be* *isa=ŋa* *ghak*
 child(hood)=LOC who=ERG all
 nis-wa=ha?
 know[3A;3.P]-NPST=NMLZ.NSG

‘Who knows everything in childhood?’ [40_leg_08.079]
(a rhetorical question)

- d. *kha yapmi=ci isa=ci?*
these person=NSG who=NSG
‘Who are these people?’

- (39) a. *a-konma=ga biha ikhiŋ sal=be*
1SG.POSS-MyZ=GEN marriage how_much year=LOC
leks-a=na?
happen[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
‘In which year was your (i.e., my aunt’s) marriage?’
[06_cvs_01.031]

- b. *ikhiŋ mi?wa*
how_much tear
hond-end-u-g=ha!
uncover-V2.INSERT-3.P[PST]-2.A=NMLZ.NSG
‘How many tears you have shed!’¹¹ [37_nrr_07.111]

Naturally, the same applies to *he?na* ‘which’ (see (40)); it always requests the identity of some item from a presupposed set.

- (40) a. *he?na des wei-ka=na?*
which country live[NPST]-2=NMLZ.SG
‘In which country do you live?’ [28_cvs_04.080]
b. *he?na nis-u-ga=na?*
which see-3.P[PST]-2.A=NMLZ.SG
‘Which one did you see?’

The interrogative *ikhiŋ* is furthermore often found in exclamations about size, amount or degree, lacking the interrogative function (see (41) and (39b)).

¹¹ The V2 *-end* indicates transitive motion downwards here.

- (41) a. *lambu ikhiŋ mi=na, ammai*
road how_much small=NMLZ.SG oh_my!
ikhiŋ mi=na lambu lai!
how_much small=NMLZ.SG road EXCLA
‘How narrow the road is, oh my, what a narrow road!’
[36_cvs_06.223]
- b. *nna dewan-dhunga baŋna luŋkhwak sahro*
that Dewan-stone so-called stone very
cancan sa-ma=na, pyak cancan,
high COP.PST-PRF=NMLZ.SG very high,
ikhiŋ cancan!
how_much high
‘That rock called Dewan stone was really high, it was very
high, how high it was!’ [37_nrr_07.042]
- c. *ikhiŋ khumdu nam-my=a!*
how_much tasty smell[3SG]-NPST=NMLZ.NC
‘How good it smells!’

Examples of the other interrogatives are shown in (42).

- (42) a. *qaktar=ci=be kheʔ-ma paryo, hetniŋ,*
doctor=NSG=LOC go-INF[DEONT] having_to when,
hetne kheʔ-ma=na=lai?
where go-INF=NMLZ.SG=EXCLA
‘He has to go to the doctor; when, and where to go?’
[36_cvs_06.179]
- b. *sondu khaʔla=na cuŋ=be tek*
sondu like_this=NMLZ.SG cold=LOC clothes
me-waʔ-le jal kapt-uks-u-g=hoŋ
NEG-wear-CVB net carry-PRF-3.P[PST]-2.A=SEQ
hetnaŋ tae-ka=na?
where_from come[NPST]-2=NMLZ.SG
‘Sondū, where do you come from, in this cold, without clothes,
and carrying this net?’ [01_leg_07.232]
- c. *ka ijaŋ cem-me-ŋ-ga=na?*
1SG why cut-NPST-1SG.P-2.A=NMLZ.SG

- ‘Why do you cut me?’ [27_nrr_06.013]
d. *kisa saŋ-khek-khuwa, hetne*
deer lead_by_rope-V2.CARRY.OFF-NMLZ where
sa-het-u=na ha?lo?
lead_by_rope-V2.CARRY.OFF-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG EXCLA
‘The one who led the deer away, where did he lead it, by
the way?’ [19_pea_01.024]
- e. *aniŋ=ga ten imin*
1PL.EXCL.POSS=GEN village how
et-u-ga=na?
perceive-3.P[PST]-2.A=NMLZ.SG
‘How do you like our village?’

2 The noun phrase

The class of nouns is defined by the following structural features in Yakkha: nouns may head noun phrases and function as arguments of verbs without prior morphological derivations. Morphological categories typically associated with nouns are number and case. But since in Yakkha these operate on the phrasal level, the only category identifying lexical nouns is possessive inflection, marked by prefixes. Nouns typically refer to time-stable concepts like living beings, places or things, but also to some abstract or less time-stable concepts like *sakmaŋ* ‘famine’ or *ceʔya* ‘language, matter, word’.

The sections of this chapter deal with the formation of nouns and some properties of lexical nouns (see §2.1), nominal morphology (see §2.2), relational nouns (see §2.3), and with the structure of the noun phrase (see §2.4).

2.1 Noun formation and properties of lexical nouns

2.1.1 Lexical nominalizations

Yakkha has three basic nominalizing devices, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter ???. The common Tibeto-Burman nominalizers *-pa* and *-ma* are employed in lexical nominalization, deriving nouns that typically refer to types of persons, food, plants, animals and objects of material culture, e.g., *khikpa* ‘roasted feather dish’ (literally: be bitter-NMLZ; see Table ?? in Chapter ??? for more examples).¹ These markers attach to verbal roots (as far as one can tell since many such nouns are opaque). Occasionally, the marker can also attach to nominal roots, deriving nouns that are semantically associated with the meaning of the root, such as *Yakkhaba* ‘Yakkha man, Yakkha person’.

¹ This dish consists of roasted chicken feathers that are mixed with cooked rice.

As is common among Tibeto-Burman languages, Yakkha does not have a gender system; the nouns are not grouped into classes receiving distinct marking or triggering agreement across the noun phrase or the clause. In lexical nouns referring to persons, *-pa* marks default and male reference, and *-ma* marks female reference. This is particularly prominent in occupational titles (e.g., *thukkhuba/thukkhuma* referring to male and female tailors, respectively) and in kinship terms (e.g., *namba* and *namma* for male and female in-laws, respectively). The marker *-pa* is also the default choice when a group contains members of both sexes, although another frequent option is to use co-compounds in such cases, e.g., *yakkhaba-yakkhamaci* ‘the Yakkha men and women (~ the Yakkha people)’. In the current nominal lexicon (with 930 entries) there are 47 nouns ending in *-pa* and 120 nouns ending in *-ma*, mostly without being etymologically transparent, though.

Various zoological and botanical terms have lexicalized the markers *-ma* and *-pa*, so that such nouns invariably take one or the other marker. The lexeme for mouse is *mima*, for instance, and the lexeme for ‘tiger’ is *kiba*, regardless of whether it is a tiger or a tigress.

There are also 73 nouns that end in *-wa*, a morpheme most probably cognate with *-pa*. These nouns are largely opaque; their roots cannot be determined any more. Examples are *hi?wa* ‘wind’, *chi?wa* ‘nettle’, *lagwa* ‘bat’, *takwa* ‘long needle’, and *lupliwa* ‘earthquake’. Many of them are, again, botanical and zoological terms.²

Some nouns in Yakkha are lexicalized instances of headless relative clauses, e.g., *khuncakhuba* ‘thief’ (steal-eat-NMLZ), *hiŋkhuma* ‘wife’ (support-NMLZ), and *chemha* ‘liquor’ (be transparent-NMLZ), *tumna* ‘senior’ (ripen-NMLZ), *pakna* ‘junior’ (be raw-NMLZ). The nominalizers employed in these examples usually result in syntactic nominalizations, since they derive noun phrases, not nouns. They may either link attributive material to a head noun, or construct headless relative clauses (see Chapter ?? for a detailed description and abundant examples).

² Nouns ending in *wa* can also be related to the lexeme for water or liquid in general, as it is the case in *kiwa* ‘oil’, see below.

2.1.2 Compounding

Some kinds of nouns, particularly toponyms and nouns referring to kinship relations, botanical items, and objects of material culture tend to be multimorphemic. The most common pattern found is nominal compounding. Verb-noun compounds are found marginally, but the verbal roots always show some additional morphological material which can be traced back to nominalizations or infinitives.

2.1.2.1 Co-compounds and sub-compounds

Both co-compounds (symmetric compounds, *dvandva* compounds) and sub-compounds (hierarchical compounds, *tatpurusha* compounds) can be found in Yakkha.³ In sub-compounds, the first noun modifies the second, e.g., *laŋ-sup* ‘sock’ (literally: foot-sheath). In co-compounds, two conceptually close nouns stand as representatives of a concept or group that is more general than these two nouns, e.g., *pa-pum* for ‘male ancestor’ (literally: father-grandfather). The co-compounds generally refer to kinship relations or other groups of people. Table 2.1 and 2.2 provide more examples of each type.⁴ Nepali nouns may also participate in nominal compounding (marked by [NEP] in the table).⁵ Only sub-compounds combine Nepali roots with Yakkha roots.⁶

Co-compounds are common in the languages of the eastern regions of Eurasia. The structural difference between co-compounds and sub-compounds is also reflected in their prosody: while sub-compounds constitute one stress domain, in co-compounds each component carries its

³ The terms *dvandva* and *tatpurusha* come from the Sanskrit grammatical tradition.

⁴ In current activities of language promotion, many neologisms are coined by some engaged speakers, like *mitniŋwa* ‘belief’ (literally: think-mind). It cannot be said with certainty which of them will become established in the language. So far, they are only used in written materials. Nevertheless these neologisms show that nominal compounding is a productive strategy to create new lexemes in Yakkha as it is spoken today.

⁵ The lexeme *macchi* most probably has a Maithili origin: *marchāi* ‘chili plant’. But it has undergone a substantial semantic shift, meaning ‘chili plant’, ‘chili powder’, and ‘hot sauce or pickles’ in Yakkha. In Belhare, its form is *marci* (Bickel 1997a).

⁶ The nouns *muk* and *laŋ* refer to arm/hand and leg/foot, respectively.

Table 2.1: Co-compounds

YAKKHA	GLOSS	COMPONENTS
<i>cottu-kektu</i>	‘ancestors’	great-grandfather great-great-grandfather
<i>pa-pum</i>	‘male ancestor’	father-grandfather
<i>ma-mum</i>	‘female ancestor’	mother-grandmother
<i>na-nuncha</i>	‘sisters’	elder sister-younger sibling
<i>yakkhaba-yakkhama</i>	‘Yakkha people’	Y. man-Y. woman

Table 2.2: Sub-compounds

YAKKHA	GLOSS	COMPONENTS
<i>yanchalumba-aphu</i>	‘third-born elder brother’	third-born-eB
<i>laŋ-sup</i>	‘socks’	foot-sheath
<i>laŋ-yok</i>	‘step, footprint’	foot-place
<i>maŋme-muŋ</i>	(a kind of mushroom)	eagle-mushroom
<i>luŋme-muŋ</i>	(a kind of mushroom)	needle-mushroom
<i>macchi-luŋkhwak</i>	‘mortar, grinding stone’	chili-stone
<i>maksa-khambo?maŋ</i>	‘blackberry’	bear-raspberry
<i>laŋ-khe?wa</i>	‘toe’	leg-finger
<i>laŋ-hup</i>	‘knee’	leg-thickening
<i>luŋpta-kham</i>	‘landslide’	disperse/bury.NMLZ-ground
<i>hamma-tek</i>	‘blanket’	cover/spread.INF-cloth
<i>laŋ-phila</i>	‘thigh’	leg-thigh[NEP]
<i>laŋ-tapi</i>	‘sole’	leg-hoof (probably [NEP])
<i>muk-tapi</i>	‘palm of hand’	arm-hoof (probably [NEP])
<i>dude-cheŋi</i>	‘milky onion’	milk[NEP](-e)-onion

own stress.⁷ The components of either type of compound are treated as one phrase morphologically; case and number (both phrasal affixes in Yakkha) attach only once. Example (1a) shows a co-compound, (1b) shows a sub-compound. In cases of obligatorily possessed nouns, the possessive prefix attaches to both components of a co-compound, as in (1c). Since most co-compounds are from the domain of kinship, no instances of non-obligatorily possessed nouns with possessive marking in co-compounds could be found.

- (1) a. *tukkhuba tukkhuma=ci=ga sewa*
sick_man sick_woman=NSG=GEN service
‘service for sick men and women (i.e., medical service)’
[01_leg_07.300]
- b. *kaniŋ loʔa wempha-babu=ci*
1PL like male_teenager-boy=NSG
‘lads like we (are)’ [41_leg_09.075]
- c. *u-ppa u-ma=ci=ca*
3G.POSS-father 3G.POSS-mother=NSG=ADD
‘her parents, too’ [01_leg_07.152]

Some sub-compounds appear in a fossilized possessive construction, such as *phakkusa* ‘pork’, literally ‘pig’s meat’ or *wagusa* ‘chicken meat’, literally ‘chicken’s meat’.

In the rather complex kinship system with frequent instances of obligatory possession (cf. §1.2.3), the prefixes marking possession usually attach to the first noun, as in *a-cya-mamu* ‘daughter (my child + girl)’ and *a-yem-namma* ‘father-in-law’s elder brother’s wife’ (my father’s elder brother’s wife + female in-law). Exceptions are found in the terminology for in-laws on the cousin level, e.g., *khoknima-a-ŋoŋeŋma* ‘father-in-law’s sister’s daughter who is younger than EGO (father’s sister’s younger daughter + my-female-in-law)’.

⁷ Cf. also Wälchli (2005) on the intermediate position of co-compounds between words and phrases: “There are very few languages where co-compounds are undoubtedly words.” Wälchli 2005: 3

Among the toponyms, oronyms usually end in *luŋ* (PTB *r-luŋ for ‘stone’, Matisoff 2003: 50). Examples are *Taŋwaluŋ* (Mt. Makalu), *Comluŋ* (Mt. Everest), *Phaktaŋluŋ* (shoulder-rock, Mt. Kumbhakarna) or *Namthaluŋma* (locally important rocks, connected to a mythical story).

Another syllable appearing in toponyms is *liŋ*. It is most probably related to PTB *b-liŋ for ‘forest/field’ (Matisoff 2003: 280) and occurs in names of Yakkha villages, e.g., *phakliŋ* (pig-field) or *mamliŋ* (big field), as it does in toponyms of other Tibeto-Burman languages, too.

Tibeto-Burman languages often have locational nominalizers referring to a place connected to some noun, e.g., in Classical Tibetan (Beyer 1992: 300). In Kiranti languages, one finds e.g., *-khom* ~ *-khop* in Thulung (cognate to Yakkha *kham* ‘ground’), and *-den* in Limbu (cognate to Yakkha *ten* ‘village’, Ebert 1994: 89). Yakkha employs another noun for this strategy, namely *lan*, with the lexical meaning ‘foot’. It is, however, not a nominalizer; *lan* cannot be used to nominalize propositions, as in ‘the place where he cut the meat’. In compounds, *lan* designates the area surrounding an object or characterized by it, as e.g., in *khibulan* ‘area around walnut tree’ or *tonalan* ‘uphill area’. One also finds lexicalized instances, such as in (2), or metaphorical extensions, as in *pheksanlan* ‘malicious wizard’ (left-foot/left-side). It does not come as surprise that toponyms contain this marker, e.g., *lokphalan* ‘grove of lokpha bamboo (a huge kind of bamboo)’. However, the number of examples in the existing data do not allow conclusions about the productivity of *lan*.

- (2) *manɕwalaŋ=be khy-a-ŋ*
 water_tap=LOC go-PST-1SG
 ‘I went to the public water tap.’ [40 leg 08.048]

This compounding strategy has developed from a relational noun construction (see (3) and §2.2.3 below). The relational noun *lan* locates an object (the FIGURE) next to the lower part of another object (the GROUND).

- (3) *sin*=*ga* *u-lan*=*be*
tree=GEN 3SG.POSS-foot=LOC

‘below the tree’ (the area around the tree, not right below its roots, and not right next to the stem either)

2.1.2.3 Botanical terms and nouns referring to liquids

Many botanical terms end in *siŋ* for ‘tree’ or in *phuŋ* for ‘flower’, e.g., *likliŋphuŋ* ‘mugwort’ and *kekpusiŋ* ‘bull oak’. Above, in §2.1.1, nouns in *-wa* were discussed as fossilized nominalizations. A homophonous morpheme with the etymological meaning of ‘water’ is found in 14 lexemes referring to liquids, such as *cuwa* ‘beer’, *naŋwa* ‘glacier’ (snow-water), *casakwa* ‘water in which uncooked rice has been washed’ (rice-water), *lithu?wa* ‘sperm’ and *mikwa* ‘tear’ (eye-water).

2.1.2.4 Lexical diminutives

Diminutive markers have been reported for various Kiranti languages (see Doornenbal (2009: 67) on Bantawa; Ebert (1997a: 95) on Athpare; Rutgers (1998: 85) on Yamphu). Yakkha, too, has a class of nouns ending in a morpheme *-lik* ~ *-lek* (without any independent meaning) and referring to small things or animals, e.g., *siblik* ‘bedbug’, *taŋcukulik* ‘pigtail, tuft of hair’, *yaŋlik* ‘seed’, *khelek* ‘ant’, *phokcukulik* ‘navel’, *mongalik* ‘garden lizard’, *makchiŋgilek* ‘charcoal’ and *poŋgalik* ‘bud’. This is not a productive derivation process, for two reasons: firstly, independent nouns like *sib* or *yaŋ* do not exist, and secondly, *-lik* it cannot attach to any noun to indicate small size.

Another diminutive-like marker, occurring only with animate nouns, is *cya* ~ *cyak* ‘child’, and it is found in terms for young animals in a fossilized possessive construction, e.g., *phakkucyak* ‘piglet’ (historically: *phak=ka u-cya*) or *wagucya* ‘chick’ (historically: *wa=ga u-cya*).

2.1.2.5 Rhyming in compounds

Yakkha has a few nominal compounds that are built with rhymes and so-called echo words as they are known in Nepali, where this is quite a productive strategy to express associative plurality (e.g., *biskuṭ-siskuṭ* ‘cookies and the like’). In Yakkha, there is, for instance, the name of

a mythological bird, *Selele-Phelele*.⁸ Further examples are *kamnibak-chimnibak* ‘friends’ (no independent meaning for *chimnibak* could be established), *yubak-thingak* ‘goods, property’ (no independent meaning for *thingak* either) or *sidhak-pandhak* ‘traditional, herbal medicine’ (*sidhak* refers to medicine in general, *pandhak* could have been derived from *pan* ‘house’). Rhyme-based morphology like reduplication and also triplication is very productive in adjectives and adverbials in Yakkha (see §3.4).

2.1.3 Proper nouns and teknonymy

Proper nouns identify a unique person, a place or some other entity, such as *Missan* (a female name), *Hombon* (the name of a village) or *Kirant Yakkha Chumma* (the name of a social association). They differ from other nouns in that they rarely form compounds, and when marked as nonsingular, they only allow associative interpretations (X and her/his folks, X and the like).

One subgroup of proper nouns are teknonyms, i.e., names of adults derived from the name of their child, usually their first child. Referring to someone as father or mother of their eldest child is the respectful way to address or refer to older people, instead of using their names. The more frequent choice is, apparently, the name of the eldest son, but exceptions in favor of the eldest daughter’s name are possible. Etymologically, teknonyms are possessive phrases, with the genitive =*ga* and the third person singular possessive prefix *u-* merged into a single syllable [gu], and the head nouns *ma* ‘mother’ and (*p*)*pa* ‘father’ (with geminated /p/ because of the possessive prefix).⁹ The resulting word constitutes a single stress domain, with the first syllable carrying main stress. In case the child’s name does not end in a vowel, an epenthetic element *-e* is inserted. Examples are provided in (4).

- (4) a. *Ram-e-guppa*
Ram-EPEN-TEK.GEN.M

⁸ Cf. file 21_nrr_04 of the corpus.

⁹ The nasal in the noun *ma*, in contrast, does not undergo gemination. The geminated *umma* that was offered by me in an elicitation earned the comment that this sounded like Limbu, not Yakkha.

- ‘Father of Ram’
 b. *Bal-e-guma*
 Bal-EPEN-TEK.GEN.F
 ‘Mother of Bal’

2.1.4 The count/mass distinction

Mass nouns in Yakkha usually allow both readings, either referring to a concept as such, or to a unit or bounded quantity of that concept. Hence, the same lexeme may occur in different syntactic contexts without any morphological change or the addition of some classifying element. The verbal person marking, however, distinguishes the feature ‘mass’ from both singular and nonsingular. Mass nouns trigger the marker =*ha* on the verb (which is also found with nonsingular number). But with regard to all other verbal markers, the mass nouns trigger singular morphology. Neither the nonsingular marker -*ci* nor the singular clitic =*na* are possible on the verb when the nouns have a mass interpretation.

Compare the two uses of the words *yaŋ* ‘money, coin’ and *chem* ‘music, song’ in (5) and (6). In the (a) examples, these nouns have countable reference, as is evident from the presence of numerals and from the fact that they trigger number agreement on the verb (nonsingular -*ci* in (5a) and singular =*na* in (6a)). In the (b) examples, the nouns have mass reference, and hence do not take the nonsingular marker =*ci*. In fact, adding =*ci* would change the interpretation to nonsingular. The quantifier *pyak* in (5b) is of no help in determining semantic or structural differences, as it may have both a mass reading ‘much’ and a nonsingular reading ‘many’.

- (5) a. *hic=ci yaŋ=ci n-yuks-wa-ci=hoŋ*,
 two=NSG coin=NSG 3PL.A-put_down-NPST-NSG.P=SEQ
 ‘After they will put down two coins, ...’ [26_tra_02.032]
 b. *pyak yaŋ ub-w=ha*
 much money earn-NPST[3SG.A>3.P]=NMLZ.NC
 ‘She earns a lot of money.’
 (6) a. *ka chem chept-wa-ŋ=na*
 1SG[ERG] song write-NPST[3.P]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG

- ‘I will write a song.’
- b. *chem*(*=*ci*) *end-u-g=ha=i?*
music(*=*nsg*) *apply-3.P[PST]-2.A=NMLZ.NC=Q*
 ‘Did you turn on the music?’
 (It is clear from the context that the speaker did not refer to a plurality of songs, but to the sound coming out of the radio.)

As stated above, Yakkha does not have to add classifiers to distinguish between mass and count reference. There are, however, two markers that may convey this distinction, namely the nominalizers =*na* and =*ha* in attributivizing function (etymologically related to the verb-final markers shown in (6)). In (7), while =*na* implies a bounded quantity, =*ha* implies mass reference. This distinction is parallel to the distinction in the demonstratives discussed in §1.3.

- (7) a. *to=na* *cuwa*
 uphill=NMLZ.SG *beer*
 ‘the (bowl of) beer standing uphill’
- b. *to=ha* *cuwa*
 uphill=NMLZ.NSG *beer*
 ‘the beer uphill (i.e., the beer of the uphill households)’

A non-exhaustive list of nouns that allow both count and mass reference is provided in Table 2.3.

2.1.5 Inherent duality

Nouns that typically denote pairs, like legs, eyes, buttocks (but not inner organs like lungs and kidneys), usually occur with the nonsingular marker =*ci*. With regard to verbal agreement, they trigger plural instead of the expected dual marking. Apparently there is no need to maintain the plural/dual distinction with referents typically occurring in sets of two (see (8)).

- (8) *a-tokcali=ci* *n-dug=ha=ci* (**tugaciha*)
 1SG.POSS-buttock=NSG 3PL-hurt-NMLZ.NSG=NSG

Table 2.3: Nouns with both count and mass reference

YAKKHA	GLOSS
<i>cama</i>	‘(portion of) cooked rice’
<i>ceʔya</i>	‘matter, language, word’
<i>chem</i>	‘music, song’
<i>chemha</i>	‘(glass of) liquor’
<i>cuwa</i>	‘(glass/bowl of) beer’
<i>kham</i>	‘ground, mud, (plot of) farm land’
<i>khyu</i>	‘(portion of) cooked meat or vegetables’
<i>maŋcwa</i>	‘(container with) water’
<i>sa</i>	‘(portion of) meat’
<i>yaŋ</i>	‘money, coin’
<i>siŋ</i>	‘wood, tree’
<i>tamphwak</i>	‘hair’

* ‘My bottom hurts.’

2.2 Nominal inflectional morphology

Nominal inflectional categories in Yakkha are (i) number, (ii) case and (iii) possession.¹⁰ Number and case are generally encoded by clitics (phrasal suffixes). They do not trigger agreement across the noun phrase. The case markers may also attach to nominalized phrases or to anything else in nominal function (see §?? for examples). The only case that may appear phrase-internally is the comitative case, coordinating two nominal heads to form a noun phrase. Since case and number markers operate on the phrasal level, the third category, possessor agreement, is the only category that applies exclusively to lexical nouns. It is encoded by prefixes attaching directly to nouns (discussed together with the pronouns in §1.2).

¹⁰ *Inflectional* in the sense of ‘regularly responsive to the grammatical environment’ (Bickel & Nichols 2007).

Further markers (particles) are possible on noun phrases, but since they pertain to information structure, the reader is referred to Chapter ?? for their discussion.

2.2.1 Number

Yakkha distinguishes singular, dual and plural in the verbal domain and in pronouns, but only singular and nonsingular in nouns. Singular number is unmarked. The nonsingular marker is the phrasal suffix =*ci*, denoting that there are multiple instances of the item in question, or that the item/person in question is accompanied by similar items/person (associative plurality). It attaches to the rightmost element of the noun phrase (usually the nominal head), and thus has scope over the whole noun phrase. The marker does not appear inside the noun phrase, with the exception of numerals (see §1.5.2). Case markers follow the number marker (see (9)).

- (9) a. *kucuma*
dog
'a/the dog'
b. *ghak kucuma=ci=be*
all dog=NSG=LOC
'at/to all the dogs'

The status of *=ci* as a phrasal clitic is clearly confirmed when looking at headless noun phrases or noun phrases where the order of head and modifier is reversed for reasons of information structure. The nonsingular marker may follow a genitive marker (see (10a)) or (syntactic) nominalizers (see (10b)), devices that would link modifying material to a head noun if there was one. In (10c), attributive material follows the head noun, and since it is the rightmost element, the nonsingular marker attaches to it.

- (10) a. *heko=na paʔi=ga=ci*
 other=NMLZ.SG side=GEN=NSG
 ‘those (children) from the other side (i.e., the other wife)’
[06_cvs_01.054]

- b. *hau, kha=go, eη=ga yapmi*
EXCLA these=TOP 1PL.INCL.POSS=GEN person
lo?a=ha=ci=ca
like=NMLZ.NSG=NSG=ADD
‘Oh, these guys, they are like our people, too.’
[22_nrr_05.044]
- c. *pahuna ta-khuba=ci*
guest come-NMLZ=NSG
‘the guests who are coming’
[25_tra_01.063]

2.2.1.1 Omission of nonsingular =ci

Number marking on nouns is not obligatory. With non-human reference it is frequently omitted. In (11a), it is clear from the context, from the demonstrative *ηkha* and from the verbal agreement that *luηkhwak* refers to more than one stone. With human referents, number marking cannot be omitted so easily (see (11b)). Another factor interacts with animacy/humanness here, namely generic vs. specific reference. In (11c), there is nonsingular human reference, but in a generic sense, referring to abstract classifications of people (those with whom one is/is not allowed to eat, in accordance with Hindu social law).¹¹ Here, the number marking can be omitted, in contrast to (b) where the noun refers to a specific group of people, namely the speaker’s friends. With specific human reference, nonsingular marking was omitted only in songs, a genre which is expected to show deviations from spoken language, due to other constraints like rhythm and rhyming.

- (11) a. *ηkha mamu=ci=ηa ηkha luηkhwak*
those girl=NSG=ERG those stone
n-leks-u-ci=ha=bu
3PL.A-turn_over-3.P[PST]-3NSG.P=NMLZ.NSG=REP
‘Those girls have turned around those rocks, it is said.’
[37_nrr_07.118]

¹¹ The Yakkha belong to the Kiranti cultural sphere, but the past centuries of Hindu dominance have left their mark on the social organization of many Tibeto-Burman groups in Nepal.

- b. **a-kamnibak*
 1SG.POSS-friend
chimd-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ=ha
 ask-3.P[PST]-1SG.A-NSG.P-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 Intended: 'I asked my friends.'
- c. *ca-m=ha* *yapmi*
 eat-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.NSG people
men-ja-m=ha *yapmi, kha*
 NEG-eat-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.NSG people these
imin=ha=ci?
 how=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 '(Are they) people with whom we should eat, or with whom
 we should not eat, of what kind (are they)?' [22_nrr_05.040]

Number marking can also be omitted when a numeral is present in the noun phrase (see (12a) and (12b)). However, instances with overt nonsingular marking, as in example (12c), are far more frequent.

- (12) a. *hip-paŋ* *babu*
 two-CLF.HUM boy
 'two boys'
- b. *hip-paŋ* *paghyam-maghyam*
 two-CLF.HUM old_man-old_woman
 'an old couple' [01_leg_07.280]
- c. *sum-baŋ* *phak-khuba* *yapmi=ci*
 three-CLF.HUM help-NMLZ person=NSG
 'three servants' [04_leg_03.015]

2.2.1.2 Associative interpretations of nonsingular marking

Nonsingular marking can be interpreted associatively, referring to people who can be associated to the respective noun (see (13a) and (13b)), a feature that is also found in other languages spoken in this area, e.g., in Newari Genetti 2007: 98 and in Nepali (own observations). Occasionally, objects with nonsingular marking can also be found with an associative interpretation (see (13c)), but this is rare at least in the current corpus; one rather finds enumerations of various objects than associa-

tive plural marking if a plurality of items is given.

- (13) a. *a-korɲma=ci=nun=le* *wɛʔ=naʔ*
1SG.POSS-MyZ=NSG=COM=CTR exist[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
‘Oh, she lives with my aunt and her people?’
[06_cvs_01.074]
- b. *Lila didi=ci*
Lila elder_sister=NSG
‘Sister Lila and her family’
[13_cvs_02.059]
- c. *i=ha* *i=ha* *yuncamakekek*
what=NMLZ.NC what=NMLZ.NC funny
ceʔya *chumma=ci* *n-leks-a*
matter assembly=NSG 3PL-happen-PST
‘Various funny incidents, meetings and the like occurred there.’
[41_leg_09.008]

2.2.2 Core case markers (Group I)

Case, in the classical sense, is understood as the morphological marking on a noun or a noun phrase that indicates its syntactic relatedness either to a predicate (arguments or circumstantial participants) or to another noun (in the case of the genitive and the comitative). Yakkha distinguishes case clitics that operate on the noun phrase level, marking verbal arguments (Group I, discussed in this section), and markers that are functionally more flexible, and also less dependent phonologically (Group II, discussed in §2.2.3).

Case marking (ergative, genitive, comitative, equative) may also appear on dependent clauses that are often, but not necessarily, nominalized, as will be shown below and in Chapter ?? on adverbial clause linkage as well as in Chapter ?? on complementation. The parallelism between case markers and clause linkage markers is well-known in Kiranti and Tibeto-Burman in general (Genetti 1986; DeLancey 1985; Ebert 1993).¹²

¹² It is, however, not clear yet whether there was a historical development from nominal case markers to clause linkage markers, or whether this parallelism is original to the system.

Group I distinguishes seven cases, as shown in Table 2.4. Case, like number, is marked by enclitics in Yakkha, except for the nominative, which is the functionally and morphologically unmarked case in Yakkha. Since the case suffixes operate on the phrasal level, they attach to the rightmost element of the noun phrase. The case markers that start in a plosive have voiced allomorphs intervocalically and after nasals.

Table 2.4: Case markers (Group I)

CASE	MARKER	FUNCTION
nominative	Ø	intransitive subject, transitive patient, ditransitive theme and goal, citation form, location (restricted use), copular topic and predicate
ergative	= <i>ŋa</i>	transitive subject
instrumental	= <i>ŋa</i>	instrument, ditransitive theme, temporal reference
genitive	= <i>ka</i>	possession, material
locative	= <i>pe</i>	location, ditransitive recipients and goals, temporal reference
ablative	= <i>phaŋ</i>	source arguments
comitative	= <i>nun</i>	coordination, associated referents, source arguments of some verbs

We know from other Kiranti languages that case markers can be stacked to yield more specific functions (e.g., Ebert (1994: 81); Dirksmeyer (2008: 6); Schikowski (2013: 26)). Generally, composite case markers are common in Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 1985: 60). In Yakkha, the locative or the ablative case marker can be added to the genitive of a proper noun to yield the meaning ‘at/from X’s place’. The ablative is also historically complex (see §2.2.2.6 below).

Several Kiranti languages have a (generally optional) dative marker *-lai* (e.g., Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009), Puma (Bickel et al. 2007b), Camling, Athpare and Thulung (Ebert 1994)), which is homonymous with the Nepali dative marker *-lāi* and probably a loan. Yakkha, however, does not employ this marker. It uses other strategies to mark semantic roles typically associated with dative marking: recipients and goals

are either in the nominative or in the locative, and experiencers appear in various frames of argument realization, most prominently the Experiencer-as-Possessor frame.

In the following, the cases of Group I and their functions will be introduced. More detailed information on argument realization and transitivity is found in Chapter 8.

2.2.2.1 The nominative (unmarked)

The nominative is morphologically and functionally the unmarked case in Yakkha.¹³ Participants in the nominative appear in their citation form, without any further marking. Intransitive subjects (S), transitive patients (P), ditransitive theme (T) and goal arguments (G), topic and comment of copular clauses, and to a certain extent locations, too, can be in the nominative and thus unmarked in Yakkha.¹⁴ Example (14) shows S, P, T and G arguments in the nominative.¹⁵

- (14) a. *ka maŋcwa=be khe-me-ŋ=na*
1SG water=LOC go-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
'I go to fetch water.'

¹³ Functional unmarkedness does not imply morphological unmarkedness, as research on marked-S languages has shown (Hands Schuh 2011; Brown 2001). In the Yakkha case system, morphological and functional unmarkedness coincide.

¹⁴ With the discovery of ergativity, the term 'absolutive' came into use relatively recently to refer to the case of intransitive subjects and transitive objects when these have the same case (see McGregor (2009) and Haspelmath (2009) for summaries of the historical gestation of the term 'ergative'). Since then, research on ergativity has revealed that the system is far from uniform, and optional in many languages, other factors such as reference and information structure playing a greater role than had been expected. Haspelmath mentions the problem that the terminology nominative-accusative-ergative-absolutive refers to an ideal system which is rarely found (Haspelmath 2009: 513). Both nominative and absolutive refer to the functionally unmarked case in a system, and their application usually extends well beyond marking S and P arguments. Therefore, I do not see the need to maintain the distinction between the terms 'nominative' and 'absolutive', since the unmarked case in an ergative system and the unmarked case in an accusative system have probably more shared properties than properties distinguishing them. Since 'nominative' is the older term, it will be used in this work.

¹⁵ To keep the glosses as short and straightforward as possible, the nominative is generally not glossed.

- b. *nasa=ci ŋ-und-wa-ci*
 fish=NSG 3PL.A-pull_out-NPST-3NSG.P
 ‘(They) pull out the fish.’
- c. *ka nda cakleŋ pi-me?-nen=na*
 1SG[ERG] 2SG sweet give-NPST-1>2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I will give you a sweet.’

Yakkha shows a typologically common nominative/ergative syncretism: transitive subjects that are represented by a first or second person pronoun always appear unmarked (cf. §2.2.2.2).

Furthermore, both topic and comment in identificational copular constructions (see (15)), and the figure in existential/locative copular constructions (see (15c)) are in the nominative.

- (15) a. *na ak=ka paŋ (om)*
 this 1SG.POSS=GEN house (COP)
 ‘This is my house.’
- b. *ka=go arsale le?lo!*
 1SG=TOP person_from_year_eight CTR.EXCLA
 ‘I was born in the year eight (B.S.), man!’ [06_cvs_01.027]
- c. *nnakha=e maŋcwa=ca m-ma-ya-n*
 that=LOC water=ADD NEG-be-PST[3SG]-NEG
 ‘There was no water, too.’ [42_leg_10.009]

Nominative arguments are also found in motion verb constructions, where a locative would be expected on the goal of the movement (see (16)). This option exists only for typical and frequent goals of movement, such as villages, work places, a school, a weekly market etc. The respective nouns are never modified (see (17a), which was elicited in analogy to a sentence from the corpus, and which is well-formed only with a locative). Complements of verbs stating existence or location (‘be at X’) can generally not occur unmarked, but exceptions in the colloquial register are possible (see (17b)). The nouns in the nominative thus share features with incorporated nouns, although on other grounds they are not incorporated. Since the nouns mostly refer to names of places or landmarks, they refer to highly individuated participants, while incorporated nouns are often rather generic.

- (16) a. *Poklabun tas-a-ma-c-u=hoŋ*,
Poklabung[LOC] arrive-PST-PRF-DU-3.P=SEQ
‘When they arrived in Poklabung, ...’ [22_nrr_05.017]
- b. *ka tħunħha khy-a-ŋ=nin*,
1SG steep_slope[LOC] go-PST-1SG=CTMP
‘When I was heading to the steep slopes, ...’ [40_leg_08.036]
- (17) a. *uŋci=ga ten*(=be) khy-a-ma-ci*,
3NSG=GEN village*(=LOC) go-PST-PRF-DU
‘They went to their village, ...’ [22_nrr_05.037]
- b. *tumok wai?-ŋa=na*
Tumok[LOC] be[NPST]-1SG=NMLZ.SG
‘I am in Tumok.’ (said on the phone)

2.2.2.2 The ergative =ŋa

Transitive and ditransitive A arguments are marked by the ergative =ŋa (see (18)), except when they are first or second person pronouns, which display an ergative/nominative syncretism (see (19)).

- (18) a. *na, jaba, na mamu=ŋa luŋħhwak pok-ma*
this when this girl=ERG stone raise-INF
n-yas-u-n,
NEG-be_able-3.P[PST]-NEG
‘This one, when this girl could not raise the stone, ...’
[37_nrr_07.039]
- b. *ka a-ma=ŋa kha?la*
1SG 1SG.POSS-mother=ERG like_this
ly-a-ŋ:
tell[3SG.A]-PST-1SG.P
‘Mother told me the following: ...’ [42_leg_10.011]
- (19) a. *jeppa nna len ka a-ma=nun*
really that day 1SG[ERG] 1SG.POSS-mother=COM
a-na=ga ce?ya
1SG.POSS-eZ=GEN matter
y-yen-u-ŋa-n=na=ŋa,
NEG-obey-3.P[PST]-1SG.A-NEG=NMLZ.SG=ERG.CL

- ‘Really, that day, because I did not listen to my mother’s
and my elder sister’s warnings, ...’ [42_leg_10.051]
- b. *iya nniŋda, eh, njiŋda*
what 2PL[ERG] oh 2DU[ERG]
yoŋ-me-c-u-ga,
search-NPST-DU-3.P-2.A
‘Whatever you (dual) look for, ...’¹⁶ [22_nrr_05.084]

In Yakkha, first or second person reference can also be instantiated by full nouns instead of pronouns, which is unusual from the perspective of Indo-European languages. One may have a sentence with first or second person verbal person marking, but the structural position of the pronoun is occupied by a noun, as shown in (20).¹⁷ In such participant configurations, there is overt ergative marking on the noun. To make a long story short, the differential agent marking is mainly determined by word class, but also by reference.

- (20) a. *phu=na mamu=ŋa yakkha ce?ya*
white=NMLZ.SG girl=ERG Yakkha language
nis-wa-g=hoŋ
know-NPST-2=SEQ
maŋ-di-me-ŋ=na!
be_surprised-V2.GIVE-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
‘I am surprised since you, a white girl, know Yakkha!’
- b. *a-pharŋ=ŋa men=na,*
1SG.POSS-MyZH=ERG NEG.COP[3]=NMLZ.SG
a-korŋma=ŋa=le ta-ga=na
1SG.POSS-MyZ=ERG=CTR bring[PST;3.P]-2.A=NMLZ.SG
raecha
MIR
‘Not the uncle, but you, auntie, really brought her here (the
second wife)!’ [06_cvs_01.042]

¹⁶ The speaker is correcting himself from plural to dual pronoun.

¹⁷ Flexible agreement is discussed in §??. On the principles behind agreement in Tibeto-Burman see Bickel (2000).

The examples in (21) show that the ergative marker attaches to the final element of the phrase, whether two nouns are conjoined by a comitative (see (21a) and (b)) or whether the final element is a participle, as in (21c).¹⁸

- (21) a. *lalubaŋ=nun phalubaŋ=ŋa mamliŋ*
 Lalubang=COM Phalubang=ERG Mamling
tas-a-ma-c-u
 arrive-PST-PRF-DU-3.P
 ‘Lalubang and Phalubang arrived in Mamling.’
 [22_nrr_05.041]
- b. *a-ma=nun a-na=ŋa*
 1SG.POSS-mother=COM 1SG.POSS-sister=ERG
y-yog-a-n=niŋ=bi,
 NEG-search[3A;1.P]-SBJV-NEG=CTMP=IRR
 ‘If my mother and sister had not searched for me, ...’
 [42_leg_10.052]
- c. *beuli=ga=ca u-nuncha parne=ŋa*
 bride=GEN=ADD 3SG.POSS-younger_sibling falling=ERG
chata ham-met-wa
 umbrella spread-CAUS-NPST[3A;3.P]
 ‘Someone who is a younger sister of the bride, too, spreads an umbrella over her.’
 [25_tra_01.053]

For several Tibeto-Burman languages, ergative marking has been described as ‘optional’ and depending on pragmatic factors (see e.g., LaPolla (1995) for a comparative account; Tournadre (1991) on Lhasa Tibetan; Coupe (2007) on Mongsen Ao; Hyslop (2011) on Kurtöp). Yakkha, however, has a strictly grammaticalized system of ergative marking; the ergative is obligatory on A arguments (under the above-mentioned conditions), which is in line with the findings on other Kiranti languages. Doornenbal (2009: 74) notes the same for Bantawa. Bickel (2003: 549)

¹⁸ The comitative marker may function as a coordinator, much like English ‘and’. The verbal person marking is triggered by the collective number features of both nouns (dual in (a), and nonsingular in (b)). The negated form *yyogan* is found in all scenarios with third person acting on first, except for 3SG>1SG.

mentions an alignment split in Belhare that leaves first person singular pronouns unmarked.¹⁹ The differential marking found on first and second person pronouns in Yakkha is determined by reference and word class, not by pragmatics.

On a final note, the ergative marker is also employed in adverbial clause linkage (see Chapter ??).

2.2.2.3 The instrumental $=\eta(a)$

Yakkha exhibits an ergative-instrumental syncretism, which is not unusual, especially not in Kiranti. By formal criteria, except for one exception discussed below, the two cases cannot be distinguished. Functionally, though, they are distinct: the ergative marks animate agent arguments, while the instrumental typically marks inanimate participants like instruments (22a), effectors, forces and causes (22b).

- (22) a. *chom=na* *phiswak=ŋa*
pointed=NMLZ.SG knife=INS
hot-haks-u=na
pierce-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
'He pierced it with a pointed knife.'
- b. *kisi?ma=ŋa* *solop* *miyaŋ*
fear=INS immediately a_little
eg-haks-uks-u
break-V2.SEND-PRF-3.P[PST]
'Out of fear, he immediately broke off a little (from the stick).'
- [04 leg 03.023]

The medium for communication is also marked by the instrumental (23). In this usage, an allomorph =*η* is possible.²⁰ In other East-

¹⁹ Also non-Kiranti languages like Newari, Chepang and Kham have ‘stable’ grammaticalized ergative marking (LaPolla 1995), while this is not as clear for Classical Tibetan (DeLancey 2011c).

²⁰ Note the employment of exclusive vs. inclusive morphology in example (a). The speaker narrates the event from the perspective of the person who made the deontic statement, thus choosing the exclusive pronoun, despite the fact that the person she addresses is included. This shows that clusivity in Yakkha is not necessarily de-

ern Kiranti languages like Belhare, Chintang or Limbu, this function is taken over by a mediative/perlative marker *-lam* (Bickel 2003: 549; Schikowski 2012: 83; van Driem 1987: 51). A perlative case is not attested in Yakkha, at least not in the variety spoken in Tumok.

- (23) a. *aniŋ=ga* *ceʔya=ŋ=bu* *chem*
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=GEN language=INS=REP song
lum-biʔ-ma=na=lai
 tell-V2.GIVE-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.SG=EXCLA
 ‘She says we have to sing a song in our language.’ (reporting
 on the deontic statement of a person not included in the
 group) [06_cvs_01.102]
- b. *eŋ=ga* *ceʔya=ŋ* *sarab*
 1PL.INCL.POSS=GEN language=INS curse
pi-ci=ha *leks-a*
 give-3NSG.P[3A;PST]=NMLZ.NSG become[3SG]-PST
 ‘It happened that it (the sun) cursed them (the Linkha clan
 members) in our language.’ [11_nrr_01.031]

The instrumental also indicates temporal reference (see (24)). On a side note, it is very likely that the adverbial clause linkage markers *-saŋ* and *=niŋ(a)* (both marking cotemporality) are based on the ergative/instrumental case etymologically.

- (24) a. *wandik=ŋa* *ta-meʔ=na*
 next_day=INS come[3SG]-NPST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He will come tomorrow.’
- b. *khinbelaʔ=ŋa*
 this_time=INS
 ‘at this time’

2.2.2.4 The genitive =*ka*

The genitive case is marked by the suffix *=ka* (mostly realized as [ga] as result of the voicing rule, see §??). It is used for possessive constructions,

terminated by including or excluding the addressee, but also by other people present in the speech situation.

linking a possessor to a head noun (see (25)). As mentioned in §1.1 on possessive pronouns, the possessee may be inflected by a possessive prefix, as in (25b) and (25c). The possessive inflection may occur in addition to a genitive-marked possessor, or may replace it, as in (25c).

- (25) a. *limbukhim=ci=ga taŋme*
a_clan=NSG=GEN daughter-in-law
‘a daughter-in-law of the Limbukhims’ [37_nrr_07.002]
- b. *isa=ga u-chya?*
who=GEN 3SG.POSS-child
‘Whose child (is it)?’
- c. *m-ba m-ma=ci*
2SG.POSS-father 2SG.POSS-mother=NSG
‘your parents’

The head noun can also be omitted. The structure shown in (26a) is similar to a headless relative clause. Genitive-marked attributes may also be linked recursively to a head noun (see (26b)).²¹

- (26) a. *heko=na patti=ga=ci*
other=MMLZ.SG side=GEN=NSG
‘those (children) from the other one (i.e., the other wife)’
[06_cvs_01.033]
- b. *aniŋ=ga liŋkha=ga uŋhile utpati*
1SG.EXCL.POSS=GEN a_clan=GEN long_ago origin
mamliŋ=be leks-a=na=bu
Mamling=LOC happen[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG=REP
‘Our Linkha clan originated long ago in Mamling, they say.’
[11_nrr_01.002]

Relational nouns functioning as spatial adpositions also require the genitive, illustrated by (27). They are used in a possessive construction to which a locative must be added (see (27b); cf. also §2.2.3).

²¹ The example also shows that, at least in spoken language, discontinuous phrases are possible, since the adverb *uŋhile* belongs to the verb, but occurs inside the noun phrase.

- (27) a. *tebul=ga mopparik*
table=GEN under
‘under the table’
b. *saptakosi=ga u-lap=pe*
a_river_confluence=GEN 3SG.POSS-wing=LOC
‘on the shores of the Saptakosi’ [37_nrr_07.044]

The genitive is also employed to mark nominal modifiers referring to the material which the head noun is made of, as shown in (28).

- (28) a. *kolenlun=ga cu?lumphi*
marble=GEN stele
‘a/the stele made of marble’ [18_nrr_03.001]
b. *siŋ=ga sangon*
wood=GEN stool
‘a/the wooden stool’
c. *plastik=ka jhola=be*
plastic=GEN bag=LOC
‘in a plastic bag’ [13_cvs_02.045]
d. *chubuk=ka caleppa*
ashes=GEN bread
‘bread of ashes’²² [40_leg_08.056]

2.2.2.5 The locative =pe

Yakkha has only one locative case marker =pe ([be] when voicing applies; it can be further reduced to [we] or simple [e]). Kiranti languages typically exhibit a four-fold distinction of deictic locative case markers that respond to the hilly topography of the environment.²³ Such a case system consists of (i) one generic locative and three further markers to locate items (ii) above, (iii) below or (iv) on the same level as the deictic origin.²⁴ While other Eastern Kiranti languages such as Limbu and

²² A punishment for children: smearing ashes on their cheeks and slapping them.

²³ E.g., Camling, Bantawa, Puma, Thulung, Khaling (Ebert 1994); Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 72); Belhare (Bickel 2001: 226).

²⁴ Termed ‘vertical case’ in Ebert (1994: 94); ‘altitudinal case’ in Dirksmeyer (2008: 62).

Athpare also lack those altitudinal cases (Ebert 1997a: 118, van Driem 1987: 49), Belhare, seemingly the closest relative of Yakkha, displays them (Bickel 2001: 226). The locative marks the spatial coincidence of an entity defined as FIGURE with an environment or landmark defined as GROUND (Levinson & Wilkins 2006: 3). It has a very general meaning, covering relations of containment, proximity and contact, translatable as ‘in’, ‘at’ and ‘on’. Examples are provided in (29).

- (29) a. *khorek=pe cuwa*
bowl=LOC beer
‘There is beer in the bowl.’
b. *nwak=ka o-hop=pe*
bird=GEN 3SG.POSS-nest=LOC
‘in the nest of the bird’
c. *o-thok=pe tor-me?=na*
3SG.POSS-body=LOC fit[3SG]-NPST=NMLZ.SG
‘It suits/fits on her body.’

The basic locative construction Levinson & Wilkins 2006: 15, the answer to the question ‘Where is F?’ is a copular construction with *wama* (with the suppletive nonpast stems *wai?*, *wε?*, *wei*) ‘be, exist’ (see (30a)). The same construction (with different information structure) is generally used to introduce topics in the beginning of narratives (see (30b) and (30c)).

- (30) a. *wa=ci kanyon=be*
chicken=NGS chicken_basket=LOC
η-wai?=ya=ci
3PL-be[NPST]=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
‘The chicken are in the chicken basket.’ (a basket with small opening, to transport chicks)
b. *panckapan=ga kerabari=be eko māḍa*
a_region=GEN banana_plantation=LOC one huge
luṅkhwak wε?=na
stone exist[3SG;NPST]=NMLZ.SG
‘In the banana plantations of Päckapan, there is a huge rock.’
[39_nrr_08.01]

- c. *eko ten=be eko maghyam*
 one village=LOC one old_woman
wei-sa=na
 exist[3SG;NPST]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘In a village, there was an old woman.’ [01_leg_07.060]

Destinations of motion verbs and verbs of caused motion are generally marked by the locative, illustrated by (31). As explained above in §2.2.2.1, in certain scenarios the locative marking on the destinations of motion verbs can be omitted.

- (31) a. *khali punḍa=we khe?-m=ha*
 only jungle=LOC go-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Their only option was to go to the forest.’ [22_nrr_05.045]
- b. *ṅkhiṇbelak=pe phopciba=ca ok-saṇ hop=pe*
 that_time=LOC owl=ADD shriek-SIM nest=LOC
pes-a-khy-a-ma
 fly[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST-PRF
 ‘That time, the owl flew back to its nest, shrieking.’
 [42_leg_10.042]
- c. *khokpu=ga siṇ=be thaṇ-ma=ga cog-a-ṇ*
 fig=GEN tree=LOC climb-INF=GEN do-PST-1SG
 ‘I tried to climb the fig tree.’ [42_leg_10.020]
- d. *beula=ga paṇ=be beuli*
 groom=GEN house=LOC bride
ṇ-ghet-u=hoṇ,
 3PL.A-take_along-3.P[SBJ]=SEQ
 ‘They take the bride into the groom’s house and ...’

Example (32) shows three-argument constructions with locative-marked G arguments. Both inanimate and animate G arguments (i.e., goals and recipients) can be in the locative. Depending on the frames of argument realization, the locative is obligatory for some verbs, but optional for others (cf. §?? for a discussion of three-argument frames, alternations and differential object marking).

2 The noun phrase

- (32) a. *ka a-cya=ci iskul=be*
 1SG[ERG] 1SG.POSS-child=NSG school=LOC
paks-wa-η-ci-η=ha
 send-NPST-1SG.A-NSG.P-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘I send my children to school.’
- b. *uη=ηa ka=be mendhwak*
 3SG=ERG 1SG=LOC goat
haks-wa=na
 send[3SG.A;3.P]-NPST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He sends me a goat.’

Ownership can be expressed by a verb of existence and the possessor in the locative (see (33)). The existential verb has a suppletive form *ma* for negated forms (33b).

- (33) a. *ηga=be yaη wai?=ya?*
 2SG.POSS=LOC money exist[3SG;NPST]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Do you have money?’
- b. *eη=ga=be yaη*
 1PL.INCL.POSS=GEN=LOC money
m-ma-n=ha
 NEG-exist[3;NPST]-NEG=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We do not have money.’ (said among own people)

It is not surprising to find the locative marking extended to temporal reference. However, the more frequent marker in this function is the instrumental =*ηa*. The locative in (34) might well be a Nepali calque, since, except for *na*, all words in (34) are Nepali loans.

- (34) a. *na tihar din=be*
 this a_hindu_festival day=LOC
 ‘on this Tihar day’ [14_nrr_02.026]
- b. *uncas sal=be*
 thirty-nine year=LOC
 ‘in the year thirty-nine’ [06_cvs_01.013]

There are also some fixed expressions with the locative, shown in (35).

- (35) a. *maŋcwa=be khe-me-ka=na=i?*
 water=LOC go-NPST-2=NMLZ.SG=Q
 ‘Do you go to get water (from the well)?’ [13_cvs_02.066]
- b. *daura=be khe-me-ŋ=na*
 fire_wood=LOC go-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I go to get fire wood.’

There is a secondary locative marker =*ge* ~ =*ghe*,²⁵ used only with human reference, to express the notion ‘at X’s place’ (see (36)).²⁶ The morpheme =*ge* is a contraction of the genitive =*ga* and the locative =*pe*, a structure calqued from Nepali, where one finds e.g., *tapāi-ko-mā* ‘at your place’ (you-GEN-LOC), *mero-mā* ‘at my place’ (mine-LOC).

- (36) a. *isa=ge?*
 who=LOC
 ‘At whose place?’
- b. *bagdata nak-se khe?-ma*
 marriage_finalization ask_for-SUP go-INF[DEONT]
paryo, mapaci=ghe, maiti=ci=ghe
 have_to.3SG.PST, parents=LOC natal_home=NSG=LOC
khe?-ma=hoŋ,
 go-INF[DEONT]=SEQ
 ‘One has to go and ask for the Bagdata (ritual), one has to go to the parents, to the wife’s family, and ...’
 [26_tra_02.013]

2.2.2.6 The ablative =*phaŋ*

The ablative =*phaŋ* (or [bhaŋ] due to voicing) marks the source of movement or transfer (see (37)). Etymologically it could be the result of stacking an older ablative =*haŋ* upon the locative marker =*pe*. Various other Kiranti languages have such complex ablative markers based on the locative marker, too (Ebert 1994: 81). In this light it might also be noteworthy that Grierson lists an ablative -*bohun* for a Yakkha dialect spo-

²⁵ Both forms are equally acceptable, and semantic differences could not be detected.

²⁶ The word *maiti* in (b) is a Nepali loan and refers to the natal home of a married woman.

ken in the beginning of the 20th century in Darjeeling (Grierson 1909). A possible cognate to the older marker =*haŋ* is the Belhare ablative =*huŋ* ~ =*etnahuŋ* (Bickel 2003: 549).²⁷

- (37) a. *taŋkheŋ=bhaŋ tuknuŋ perco?wa*
 sky=ABL thoroughly lightning
uks-a-ma,
 come_down[3SG]-PST-PRF
 ‘Strong lightning came down from the sky.’ [21_nrr_04.017]
- b. *nna=be ŋ-hond-u-n-ci-n=on nna*
 that=LOC NEG-fit-3.P-NEG-3NSG.P=SEQ that
lupluŋ=bhaŋ tumhaŋ
 cave=ABL Tumhang
lond-a-khy-a=na
 come_out-PST[3SG]-V2.GO-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘As they did not fit there anymore, Tumhang came out of that cave.’ [27_nrr_06.005]

The ablative is also used to signify the starting point for a measurement of distance, as in (38).

- (38) *i let u-cya=ŋa u-ma*
 one day 3SG.POSS-child=ERG 3SG.POSS-mother
paŋ=bhaŋ maŋdu ta-me?-ma mit-uks-u
 house=ABL far arrive-CAUS-INF think-PRF-3.P[PST]
 ‘One day, the son wanted to bring his mother far away from the house.’ [01_leg_07.067]

The medium of motion and the technical medium of communication can also be marked by the ablative, in parallel to the functions of the Nepali ablative *bāṭa*.

²⁷ The form =*etnahuŋ* is most probably also combined of a locative and an ablative marker.

- (39) a. *kanin nawa=bhan hoŋma*
 1PL[ERG] boat=ABL river
kakt-wa-m-ŋa=na
 cross-NPST-1PL.A-EXCL=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We will cross the river by boat.’
- b. *kithrikpa=ŋa solop maik=phan*
 policeman=ERG immediately microphone=ABL
lu-ks-u-ci
 call-PRF-3.P[PST]-3NSGP
 ‘The policeman immediately called out their names with the microphone.’ [01_leg_07.166]
- c. *thawa=bhan to ŋ-khy-a-ma=nin=go mamu*
 ladder=ABL up 3PL-go-PRF=CTMP=TOP girl
nnhe=man weʔ=na=bu
 there=EMPH exist[3SG]=NMLZ.SG=REP
 ‘When he climbed up on the ladder, the girl was right there (they say)!’ [22_nrr_05.111]

It is not unusual for Tibeto-Burman languages to display syncretisms between locative, allative and ablative (DeLancey 1985). In the majority of the Yakkha data, the Yakkha ablative marks the source, but there are quite a few examples with an ablative form (or an adverb derived by an ablative) marking the goal of a movement. Thus, Yakkha shows a syncretism between ablative and allative, to the exclusion of the locative.

- (40) a. *heʔnang khe-ks-a-ga=naʔ*
 where[ABL] go-V2.CUT-PST-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Where are you about to go?’
- b. *yondhan khy-a*
 across[ABL] go-IMP
 ‘Go there.’
 ‘Go from there.’

Just like the secondary locative =*ge* ~ =*ghe*, the ablative shows a secondary form =*ghan* that is used only with human reference, illustrated by (41a). Furthermore, the sentences in example (41) show that the ab-

lative is not sensitive to topographic information. There is just one marker, used irrespective of directions and elevation levels with respect to the deictic center.

- (41) a. *lumba=ghaŋ ukt-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ,*
 Lumba=ABL bring_down-3.P[PST]-1SG.A-3NSG.P-1SG.A
lumbapasal=bhaŋ
 shop_of_Lumba=ABL
 ‘I brought them down from Lumba (a person), from the
 Lumba shop.’ [36_cvs_06.049]
- b. *yaŋliham=bhaŋ=jhen, koi.*
 lowland=ABL=TOP some
 ‘From the lowlands (local lowlands, not the Tarai), some
 people.’ [36_cvs_06.465]

In some interrogative words and adverbs one can still see that they were composed of some root and an older ablative marker, e.g., in *nhaŋ* ‘from here/and then’ and *he?naŋ* ~ *he?nhaŋ* ‘where from’.²⁸

- (42) a. *he?naŋ tae-ka=na, mamu?*
 where_from come[NPST]-2=NMLZ.SG, girl
 ‘Where do you come from, girl?’
- b. *mondaŋ ky-a-ŋ=na*
 below[ABL] come_up-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I came up from below.’

The ablative is generally not used for temporal reference. There is a postposition *nhaŋto* that covers this function (cf. §2.2.3 below).

2.2.2.7 The comitative =*nuŋ*

The comitative marker =*nuŋ* is cognate to Limbu -*nu*, Thulung -*nuŋ* (Ebert 1994: 81), Wambule -*no* (Opgenort 2004: 157), Bantawa -*nin* (Doornenbal 2009: 91), Chintang -*niŋ* (Schikowski 2012: 80). It can be used as a nominal coordinator, functionally similar to English *and* (symmetri-

²⁸ Both forms *he?naŋ* and *he?nhaŋ* are equally acceptable to the speakers, and semantic differences could not be detected.

cal, with nouns of the same status, as defined in Haspelmath (2004a: 3)). An example is given in (43a), a story title of the commonly found pattern ‘X and Y’. Thus, by its very nature, this case marker can be found inside noun phrases, coordinating two nominal heads. The other case markers attach to the coordinate structure as a whole (see (43b)). The marker is phonologically bound to the first component of the coordinate structure.

Examples (43c) and (43d) serve to show that both parts of the coordinate structure contribute features to the person and number marking on the verbs. In (43c) the verb is marked for dual number, determined by the proper noun *qiana* and by the omitted pronoun *ka* ‘I’. In (43d) the first person inclusive verbal marking is triggered by both *nninda* and *kaniŋ*.

- (43) a. *suku=nun kithrikpa*
 Suku=COM policeman
 ‘Suku (a girl’s name) and the policeman’ [01_leg_07.143]
- b. *a-ma=nun a-na=ga ce?ya*
 1SG.POSS-mother=COM 1SG.POSS-sister=GEN matter
 ‘the warnings of my mother and sister’ [42_leg_10.051]
- c. *hakhok=ŋa am-me-ŋ-ci-ŋ=ba,*
 later=INS come_over-NPST-EXCL-DU-EXCL=EMPH
 qiana=nun am-me-ŋ-ci-ŋ,
 Diana=COM come_overNPST-EXCL-DU-EXCL
 asen=ca
 yesterday=ADD
 ‘Later, we will come of course, Diana and I, we will come;
 yesterday (we came), too.’ [36_cvs_06.376]
- d. *la, nninda=nun kaniŋ haku*
 alright 2PL=COM 1PL now
 cuŋ-i!
 wrestle-1PL[INCL;SBJV]
 ‘Well, now let us wrestle!’ [39_nrr_08.12]

The comitative is also used to mark peripheral participants that somehow accompany the main participants or that are associated with them

(see (44)).

- (44) a. *tabek, kacyak, mina kondarik, caprak*
khukuri_knife, sickle, small spade, spade
nhan chomlaki=nun punđa=be
and_then split_bamboo=COM jungle=LOC
lab-a-cog-a-ŋ-ci-ŋ
 hold-PST-V2.MAKE-PST-EXCL-DU-EXCL
 ‘Carrying khukuri, sickle, spades and split bamboo, we went
 into the jungle.’ (literally: ‘made into the jungle’)²⁹
 [40_leg_08.008]
- b. *ka=nun khe?-ma=na kamnibak*
 1SG=COM go-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.SG friend
 ‘a friend who has to walk with me’

Some frames of verbal argument realization (both intransitive and transitive) require the comitative on their arguments, such as *cekma* ‘talk’, *tonjma* ‘fit/agree/belong to’, *kisi?ma* ‘be afraid’, *nakma* ‘ask’ and *incama* ‘buy (from)’ (see (45)).

- (45) a. *mimik, ka=nun seppa,*
a_little 1SG=COM RESTR.EMPH
u-ppa=nun=go banda,
3SG.POSS-father=COM=TOP closed
n-jen-me-n=na
 NEG-talk[3SG]-NPST-NEG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘A little, just with me – with her father, nothing, she does
 not talk to him.’ [36_cvs_06.278]
- b. *limbu=ci=ga=nun*
 Limbu_ethnic.group=NSG=GEN=COM
ton-di-me=ppa, en=ga=go
 agree-V2.GIVE-NPST[3SG]=EMPH 1PL.INCL.POSS=GEN=TOP
 [...] *aru=ga=nun n-don-men*
 [...] other=GEN=COM NEG-agree[3SG]-NPST-NEG

²⁹ This V2 is only found in this one example so far, and thus, it is not treated in Chapter 7 on complex predicates.

‘It is like the language of the Limbus, our (language). [...] It does not fit to the others.’ [36_cvs_06.256-58]

The comitative also plays a role in the derivation of some adverbs, as shown in (46) (cf. §3.3). Furthermore, it is also found in clause linkage (cf. §??).

- (46) *khumdu=nun nam-ma*
 tasty=COM smell-INF
 ‘to smell tasty’

2.2.3 Further case markers (Group II)

The markers of Group II are quite heterogeneous; they do not define a class as such. They can appear bound to their host or independently, i.e., stressed like a separate word. Their phonological weight is also greater than that of the markers of Group I; all of them are at least disyllabic. The case markers of Group II have a greater flexibility with regard to hosts they can select. Not only nominals are possible, but also adverbials. Some markers of Group II are not attested with nominal complements at all, like *kha?la* ‘towards’. Furthermore, a number of the markers of Group II have hybrid word class status; they can also be used as adverbs. Some markers were borrowed into the language from Nepali, like *samma* ‘until’ or *anusa* ‘according to’. Table 2.5 provides a summary of all Group II markers and their functions, described in detail in the following sections.

2.2.3.1 The direction and manner marker *kha?la*

The directional/manner marker *kha?la* ‘towards, in the way of’ is not attested with nouns, it only attaches to deictic adverbs. The directional reading is found when *kha?la* attaches to demonstrative adverbs typically occurring with motion verbs (see (47)). Etymologically, it is a combination of a demonstrative *kha* with an older allative or directional case marker. Cognates of such a marker are attested in several Kiranti languages: *-tni* in Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 84) and Puma (Sharma (Gautam) 2005), *-bai?ni* ~ *-?ni* in Chintang (Schikowski 2012: 83).

Table 2.5: Case markers (Group II)

MARKER	FUNCTION
<i>kha?la</i>	directional, ‘towards’; manner ‘like’
<i>nhaŋto</i>	temporal ablative, ‘since, from X on’
<i>haksan</i>	comparative, ‘compared to’
<i>ha?niŋ</i>	comparative, ‘compared to’
<i>lo?a</i>	equative, similitive, ‘like’
<i>hiŋ</i>	equative (size) ‘as big as’
<i>ma?niŋ</i>	caritive, ‘without’
<i>bahek</i> [NEP]	exclusive, ‘apart from’
<i>samma</i> [NEP]	terminative, ‘until, towards’
<i>anudar</i> [NEP]	‘according to’
<i>lagi</i> [NEP]	benefactive, ‘for’

- (47) a. *to=kha?la ky-a!*
 up=towards come_up-IMP
 ‘Come up!’ [01_leg_07.329]
- b. *ŋkha limbu=ci yo=kha?la*
 those Limbu_person=NSG across=towards
ŋ-khy-a
 3PL-go-PST
 ‘Those Limbus went away (horizontally).’ [22_nrr_05.017]
- c. *nninga=go, mo, mo=kha?la=ca*
 2PL.POSS=TOP down down=towards=ADD
nis-uks-u-ŋ=ha
 see-PRF-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Your (home), below, downwards, I have seen it, too.’³⁰
 [28_cvs_04.334]

The manner reading is found when *kha?la* attaches to demonstratives (see (48)).

³⁰ ‘Downwards’ could be any location outside the Himalayas.

- (48) a. *ijəŋ bhasa n-jiŋ-ghom-me=ha?*
 why language 3PL-learn-V2.ROAM-NPST=NMLZ.NSG
hoŋ=khaʔla=maŋ baʔlo!
 that_very=like=EMPH EMPH.EXCLA
 ‘Why do they walk around learning languages? Just like that!’ [28_cvs_04.324]
- b. *nna=khaʔla, mamu, i cok-ma=ʔlo, hamro*
 that=like girl what do-INF=EXCLA our
des?
 country
 ‘(It is) like that, what to do, girl, with our country?’ [28_cvs_04.163]

The marker *khaʔla* also has a homonymous adverbial counterpart³¹ with a purely manner reading: ‘like this’, e.g., *khaʔla om* ‘It is like this.’

2.2.3.2 The temporal ablative marker *nhaŋto*

The marker *nhaŋto* (occasionally also *bhaŋto*) usually attaches to nouns or adverbs with temporal reference and marks the beginning of time intervals, regardless of whether they extend from a point in the past, present or future, as the examples in (49) illustrate. Example (49d) shows that it may also attach to demonstratives. The etymology of this marker is still transparent. It is composed of a demonstrative *na* with an (older) ablative *-haŋ* and the deictic adverb *to* ‘up’, yielding a phrase ‘up from here’. This points towards a conceptualization of time as beginning below and flowing upwards. So far, this is just an educated guess, supported by the uses of some complex predicates, such as a combination of ‘see’ and ‘bring up’, best translated as ‘having remembered’.

- (49) a. *asen=nhaŋto*
 yesterday=TEMP.ABL
 ‘since yesterday’

³¹ Adverbial in the sense that it occurs independently, without nominal complements, and in the function of modifying verbs.

2 The noun phrase

- b. *mi wandik=nhan̄to*
 a_little later=TEMP.ABL
 ‘from a bit later on’
- c. *lop=nhan̄to=man̄*
 now=TEMP.ABL=EMPH
 ‘from now on’ [01_leg_07.030]
- d. *nna=nhan̄to sumphak cillen̄ n-leks-u*
 that=TEMP.ABL leaf face_up 3PL.A-turn-3.P[PST]
 ‘From that (event) on, they turned around the leaf plate to
 the proper side.’ [22_nrr_05.132]

This marker is occasionally also found as clause-initial coordinator used similarly to (50), which reflects the historical stage prior to becoming a bound marker. The previous clause is referred to by a demonstrative (not in these, but in plenty of other examples), resulting in a structure *nna, nhan̄to* ‘that, and then upwards’, and eventually the clause-initial coordinator got reanalyzed as requiring a complement of some kind.

- (50) a. *nhan̄to, garo*
 and_then wall
n-chen̄d-et-wa=na, to=kha?la
 3PL.A-mason-V2.CARRY.OFF-NPST=NMLZ.SG up=towards
 ‘And then they mason the wall, upwards.’ [31_mat_01.093]
- b. *nhan̄to phuna=chen*
 and_then white=TOP
seg-haks-u-η=hoŋ
 choose-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=SEQ
 ‘And then, I sorted out the white (bread), and ...’
 [40_leg_08.060]

Marginally (in one case, to be precise), a synonymous marker *nhan̄khe*, paraphrasable as ‘from then on hither’, was found with the same function.

- (51) *nhaŋkhe u-ma heʔniŋ=ca issisi*
 and_then 3SG.POSS-mother when=ADD bad
n-jog-uks-u-n
 NEG-do-PRF-3.P[PST]-NEG
 ‘And then, he never did his mother bad again.’ [01_leg_07.082]

2.2.3.3 The comparative marker *haksan/haʔniŋ*

The two comparative markers *haksan* and *haʔniŋ* mark the standard in comparative and in superlative constructions. They are used interchangeably without any functional difference. Since they are treated in detail in Chapter 3, three examples shall suffice here. Examples (52a) and (52b) show comparative constructions, (52c) shows a superlative construction. The comparative markers can attach to all kinds of hosts, even to verbs. Etymologically they must have been converbal forms, since Yakkha has the converbal and adverbial clause linkage markers *-san* and *=niŋ*, both indicating cotemporality. The structure of the Yakkha comparative markers could be calqued upon the structure of the Nepali comparative marker *bhanda*, which is a converbal form of the verb *bhannu* ‘to say’. The identity of a possible verbal stem *hak* in Yakkha, however, could not be determined. Synchronically, the meaning of ‘compare’ is expressed by a complex verb *themnima*. A likely candidate could be the verbal stem *haks*, which basically means ‘send/send up’, but is also used with the meaning ‘weigh’.

- (52) a. *nda haʔniŋ pak=na?*
 2sg COMPAR be_unripe=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Is he younger than you?’
- b. *heko=ha nwak=ci haksan miyaŋ*
 other=NMLZ.NSG bird=NSG COMPAR a_little
alag (...) sa=na=bu
 different (...) COP.PST=NMLZ.SG=REP
 ‘He was a bit different from the other birds, they say.’
 [21_nrr_04.002]
- c. *ghak haʔniŋ mi=na mima*
 all COMPAR small=NMLZ.SG mouse

‘the smallest mouse (of them all)’

[01_leg_07.003]

2.2.3.4 The equative and similative marker *loʔa*

The equative/similative *loʔa* marks the standard of an equation. It can have adverbial (53a) and nominal complements (a numeral in (53b)), even clausal, when they are embedded to verbs of perception or cognition. Example (53c) shows that the resulting equative phrase can be “fed” into a nominalization itself and thus made a referential phrase. The equative/similative marker is cognate to the comitative and adverbial clause linkage marker *-lo ~ lok ~ loʔ* in Belhare (Bickel 1993). The same marker is known as ‘manner suffix’ in Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009). There is one lexicalized instance of *loʔa*, the adverb *pekloʔa ~ pyakloʔa* ‘usual(ly)’, still morphologically transparent: its literal meaning would be ‘like much/like many’.

- (53) a. *khem loʔa*
 before like
 ‘like before’
- b. *kaniŋ ka-i-wa=nin̩a eko loʔa*
 1PL say-1PL-NPST=CTMP one like
 kheps-wa-m
 hear-NPST[3.P]-1PL.A
 ‘When we say it, it sounds the same!’ [36_cvs_06.478]
- c. *khem loʔa=na mekan!*
 before like=NMLZ.SG NEG.COP.2SG
 ‘You are not like someone from just before!’ (said to someone who was a little tipsy but claimed to come right from work)

In a manner typical for Tibeto-Burman languages, this marker extends its function to clauses.³² In (54) it takes over the function of a complementizer.

- (54) *ka luʔ-meʔ-nen-in=ha loʔa cog-a-ni*
 1SG[ERG] tell-NPST-1>2-2PL=NMLZ.NSG like do -IMP-PL.IMP

³² See also DeLancey (1985) and Genetti (1991).

‘Do as I tell you.’

[14_nrr_02.019]

2.2.3.5 The equative marker for size *hiŋ*

The equative case for size is etymologically related to the deictic adverb *khiŋ* (which is etymologically composed of the demonstrative *kha* and *hiŋ*). Attached to a noun phrase that functions as standard of comparison, this case marker indicates that an object is as big as the object referred to by the noun to which *hiŋ* attaches, as shown in (55). In this example, the whole phrase is nominalized and functions as the nominal predicate of a copular clause.

- (55) *m-muk* *a-lan* *hiŋ=na* (om)
 2SG.POSS-hand 1SG.POSS-foot as_big_as=NMLZ.SG (COP)
 ‘Your hand is as big as my foot.’

2.2.3.6 The privative marker *maʔniŋ*

The privative *maʔniŋ* is historically complex, similar to *haʔniŋ* above. It is composed of the negative existential copular stem *ma* (in third person singular, zero-marked) and the cotermporal adverbial clause linkage marker *=niŋ* (see (56)). In the same way as we have seen above for *loʔa* already, the privative phrase can be nominalized to serve as a nominal modifier, as shown in (56b).

- (56) a. *i=ŋa cama niʔ-m=ha,*
 what=INS rice cook-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.NSG
maŋcwa maʔniŋ?
 water without
 ‘How (in what) shall we cook rice, without water?’
 [13_cvs_02.108]
- b. *warinba maʔniŋ=ha khyu*
 tomato without=NMLZ.NSG curry_sauce
 ‘curry sauce without tomatoes in it’

2.2.3.7 Postpositions from Nepali

The benefactive/purposive postposition *lagi* (from Nepali *lāgi*), like in its source language, requires the genitive case. It can attach to proper nouns or to nominalized clauses like the infinitive in (57b). The genitive is, however, also found on purposive infinitival clauses without the postposition (see §??); it might well precede the point in time when *lagi* entered the Yakkha language.

- (57) a. *hoʔi! ak=ka lagi iya=ca tuʔkhi*
 enough! 1SG.POSS=GEN for what=ADD trouble
n-jog-a-n
 NEG-do-IMP-NEG
 ‘No, thanks. Do not bother about me (at all).’ [01_leg_07.186]
- b. *heʔniŋ-heʔniŋ=go yuncama=le cok-ma*
 when-when=TOP laughter=CTR do-INF[DEONT]
haʔlo
 EXCLA
 ‘Sometimes one just has to joke around, man!’
 [36_cvs_06.263]

Another postposition from Nepali is *anuser* ‘according to’ (from Nepali *anusār*). It is typically found with nominalized clauses (see (58)).

- (58) a. *ka-ya=na anuser*
 say[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG according_to
 ‘according to what was said/promised’ [11_nrr_01.012]
- b. *ka nis-u-ŋ=ha anuser*
 1SG[ERG] see-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.NC according_to
 ‘according to what I know/saw’ [25_tra_01.169]

The terminative postposition *samma* is used to specify the endpoint of an event (see (59)). This postposition is also found in clause linkage, in combination with native adverbial subordinators.

- (59) *aniŋ=ga* *ceʔya* *hen* *samma*
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=GEN language now until
man=ha=bu
 NEG.COP=NMLZ.NC=REP
 ‘Our language has not been established until now (they say).’
 [07_sng_01.06]

The exclusive postposition *bahek* ‘apart from’ serves to single out a referent to which the predication made in the sentence does not apply (see (60)).

- (60) *taŋcukulik* *bahek=chen*,
 pig-tail apart_from=TOP
heŋ-nhak-ni-ma, *jammai*, *kha*
 cut-V2.SEND-COMPL-INF[DEONT] all this
ya-muŋ=ca, *ghak* *heŋ-nhaŋ-ma*
 mouth-hair=ADD all cut-V2.SEND-INF[DEONT]
 ‘Apart from the pig-tail one has to cut it off, all, this beard too,
 all has to be cut off.’ (context: funeral description)
 [29_cvs_05.058]

In all the postpositions from Nepali, the phonological contrast between open-mid /ʌ/ and open /a/, which is present in the source language, is neutralized to open and long /a/.

2.3 Relational nouns

Yakkha has a class of relational nouns, in which specific meanings like ‘root’ are metaphorically extended to indicate more general spatial relations like ‘under’. Usually, they occur in a possessive construction with the complement noun in the genitive and a possessive prefix attaching to the relational noun, which also hosts a locative case marker, as in (61a) and (61b). Relational nouns expressing spatial relations are a common source for case markers and postpositions in Tibeto-Burman (DeLancey 1985: 62).

- (61) a. *phakʔaŋluŋ=ga* *u-sam=be*
 Mount_Kumbhakarna=GEN 3SG.POSS-root=LOC
 ‘at the foot of Mount Kumbhakarna’ [18_nrr_03.001]
- b. *caram=ga* *u-lap=pe* *camokla=nun*
 yard=GEN 3SG.POSS-wing=LOC banana=COM
ambibu=ga *u-thap* *ŋ-weʔ-ha*
 mango=GEN 3SG.POSS-plant 3PL-exist[NPST]=NMLZ.NSG

‘At the edge of the yard there are some banana trees and mango trees.’ [01_leg_07.176]

Relational nouns can also be found without the inflectional morphology between complement and relational noun, in a compound-like structure, as in (62a).³³ It is not only the locative but also the ablative which may attach to a relational noun, as shown in (62b). In this particular example, the ablative marking indicates a movement along a trajectory above the table.

- (62) a. *hakhok=ŋa ka*
 later=INS 1SG
cend-a-ky-a-ŋ=hon
 wake_up-PST-V2.COME_UP-PST-1SG=SEQ
so-ŋ=niŋa=go ka luŋkhwak-choŋ=be
 look-1SG=CTMP=TOP 1SG stone-top=LOC
ips-a-masa
 sleep[3SG]-PST-PST-PRF
 ‘Later, when I woke up and looked around, (I realized that) I had been sleeping on a rock.’ [42_leg_10.043]
- b. *chalumma=ŋa phuaba*
 second_born_girl=ERG last_born_boy

³³ The person marking for third person on the main verb here is exceptional, since it refers to a first person participant. The expected regular first person inflection (*ipsamasanŋa*) would be possible as well. We know that such impersonal inflection is an alternative and frequent way to express first person nonsingular patients in Yakkha. This example is, however, the only instance in the corpus where this strategy is used for first person singular subject of an intransitive verb.

tebul-choŋ=bhaŋ bol lept-u-bi=na
 table-top=ABL ball throw-3.P[PST]-V2.GIVE=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Chalumma threw the ball over the table to Phuaba.’

Table 2.6 provides a summary and the original lexical nouns that are the bases for each relational noun. In (63), the relational noun is reduplicated, since the relation described is not one of location at the riverside, but one of movement along the river.

Table 2.6: Relational nouns

RELATIONAL NOUN	GLOSS	LEXICAL MEANING
<i>choŋ</i> ~ <i>chom</i>	above, on, on top of	‘top, summit’
<i>sam</i>	below	‘root’
<i>lum</i>	in, between	‘middle’
<i>yum</i>	next to	‘side’
<i>hoŋ</i>	inside	‘hole’
<i>lap</i>	next to (upper part)	‘wing’
<i>laŋ</i>	next to (lower part)	‘leg’
<i>heksaŋ</i>	behind, after	‘backside’
<i>ondaŋ</i>	in front of, before	‘frontside’
<i>chuptaŋ</i>	to the right of	‘right side’
<i>pheksaŋ</i>	to the left of	‘left side’

- (63) *hoŋma=ga u-lap-ulap lukt-a-ma*
 river=GEN 3SG.POSS-wing-REDUP run[3SG]-PST-PRF
 ‘He ran along the shore of the river.’ [01_leg_07.216]

The two relational nouns *heksaŋ* and *ondaŋ* can, additionally, occur as adverbs. In the current corpus, they are mainly used adverbially (see (64)). As these examples show, *heksaŋ* and *ondaŋ*, in contrast to the other relational nouns, can also be used with a temporal interpretation.

- (64) a. *n-heksaŋ=be* *cuwa* *ta=ya*
2SG.POSS-behind=LOC beer come[3SG;PST]=NMLZ.NSG

'Some beer has arrived behind you.'

b. *tabhaŋ* *panc* *hapta* *heksaŋ*
son-in-law five week behind
ta-meʔ=na
come[3SG]-NPST=NMLZ.SG
'The son-in-law comes five weeks later.'

c. *heksaŋ* *so-ŋ-ci-ŋ* *uŋci*
later look[PST]-1SG.A-3NSG.P-1SG.A 3NSG
n-nis-u-n-ci-ŋa-n
NEG-see-3.P[PST]-NEG-3NSG.P-1SG.A-NEG
'Later, when I looked for them, I did not see them.'
- [41 leg 09.050]

Furthermore, there are spatial adpositions, presenting an orientation system that is based on the uphill/downhill distinction. They are treated in §4.4, together with the other word classes that are based on this topography-based system.

Yakkha does not have a perlocative/mediative *lam* or *lamma* case or postposition which is found in many of the surrounding languages.³⁴ There is also no postposition for the relation ‘around’. This can only be expressed adverbially with *ighurum* (65).³⁵

- (65) *mi em-saŋ huŋ-ca-saŋ ighurum*
 fire get_warm-SIM bask-V2.EAT-SIM around
yuŋ-i-misi-ŋ
 sit-1PL-PRF.PST-EXCL
 ‘[...], we had sat around the fire, getting warm.’ [40_leg_08.033]

³⁴ E.g., in Chintang (Schikowski 2012); Belhare (Bickel 2003); Limbu (van Driem 1987), Athpare, Yamphu, Camling, Thulung (Ebert 2003c).

³⁵ This adverb has its origin in a noun *ighurum* ‘round’, which still exists synchronically in Yakkha.

2.4 The structure of the noun phrase

The basic function of noun phrases is to establish reference. They occur as arguments of verbs, as complements of postpositions and as predicates in copular constructions. They may host morphology such as case and number markers and various discourse particles. Noun phrases are potentially complex; both coordinate and embedded structures can be found inside the noun phrase. Noun phrases can be headed by a lexical noun or by a pronoun, a demonstrative, a numeral, a quantifier or an adjective. Noun phrases that are not headed by a lexical noun are more restricted in the kind of modifying material they may contain. Noun phrases can also be headless, consisting just of some non-nominal material and a nominalizing device. Hence, no element in a Yakkha noun phrase is obligatory.

The default structure for headed noun phrases is head-final. Deviations from this pattern reflect discourse requirements, as will be discussed below. In noun phrases that are headed by personal pronouns or demonstratives, modifiers follow the head. Noun phrases with more than two modifying elements are exceedingly rare.

2.4.1 Possessive phrases

Possessive phrases minimally consist of a noun (referring to the possessee) which is marked by a possessive prefix (indexing the possessor, see (66a)). If there is an overt possessor, marked by the genitive, the possessive prefix is generally optional (see (66b)), except for inherently possessed nouns such as core family terms and some other nouns implying part-whole relations. The possessive prefix may, however, also co-occur with a possessive pronoun, but only when the possessor has singular reference (see unacceptable (66c)). Recursive embedding is possible as well, but not found beyond two levels of embedding in the currently available data (66e).

- (66) a. (ak=ka) a-cya=ci
(1SG.POSS=GEN) 1SG.POSS-child=NSG
'my children' [21 nrr 04.027]

- b. *ghak=ka dʌŋgak=ci*
all=GEN stick=NSG
'everyone's sticks' [04_leg_03.024]
- c. *eŋ=ga (*en-)na-nuncha=ci*
1PL.INCL.POSS=GEN (*1PL.INC.POSS-)eZ-yZ=NSG
'our sisters' [41_leg_09.015]
- d. *beuli=ga u-kamnibak*
bride=GEN 3SG.POSS-friend
'a friend of the bride' [25_tra_01.089]
- e. *eko khokpu=ga u-thap=ka*
one fig=GEN 3SG.POSS-plant=GEN
u-sam=be
3SG.POSS-root=LOC
'below a fig tree' [42_leg_10.015]

2.4.2 Other modifiers: adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, demonstratives

Below, examples with numerals (see (67a)), demonstratives (see (67b) and (67c)), adjectives (see (67d) and (67e)) are shown. The examples also illustrate nominal morphology such as case markers, attaching to the rightmost element of the phrase, and optionally followed by discourse particles like the additive focus marker =*ca* or the restrictive focus marker =*se*.

- (67) a. *eko a-muk=phan*
one 1SG.POSS-hand=ABL
'from one of my hands' [40_leg_08.022]
- b. *na tumna=ŋa*
this elder=ERG
'this elder one' [40_leg_08.055]
- c. *ŋkha u-hiru?wa=ci*
those 3SG.POSS-intestine=NSG
'those intestines' [40_leg_08.039]
- d. *onek=ha ce?ya=ca*
joking=NMLZ.NSG matter=ADD

- e. 'jokes, too' [40_leg_08.057]
heko=na whak=pe
 other=NMLZ.SG branch=LOC
 'on another branch' [42_leg_10.032]
- f. *honna=ga=se dɔŋgak*
 that_very=GEN=RESTR stick
 'only that person's stick' [04_leg_03.025]

When the head noun is a pronoun or a demonstrative, the modifier is usually a quantifier or a numeral, and it follows the head. Occasionally other material elaborating on the identity of the pronominal referent is found as well, as in (68d).

- (68) a. *iya-iya nis-u-ga=na, ŋkha ghak*
 what-what see-3.P[PST]-2.A=NMLZ.SG that all
yok-met-a-ŋ=eba
 search-CAUS-IMP-1SG.P=POL.IMP
 'Please tell me everything you saw.' [19_pea_01.005]
- b. *kaniŋ ghak chups-i-ŋ=hoŋ*
 1PL all gather-1PL-EXCL=SEQ
 'As we all had gathered, ...' [41_leg_09.054]
- c. *uŋci hip-paŋ*
 3NSG two-CLF.HUM
 'the two of them'
- d. *kaniŋ yakkhaba yakkhama=ci*
 1PL Yakkha_man Yakkha_woman=NSG
 'we Yakkha people'

2.4.3 Relative clauses

In (69) and (70), examples of relative clauses are given, constructed with the nominalizers *-khuba* and *=na/=ha* (treated in Chapter ??). They can be of considerable length and internal complexity. In (69c), three coordinated relative clauses serve to modify the same head noun, *whaŋsa* 'steam'.³⁶ They are joined by apposition and a comitative between the

³⁶ Enumerations of coordinated items, with the comitative marker functioning as a coordinator (between the last two items if there are more than two), are common

latter two relative clauses. This pattern of coordination is common. In (69d), the relative clause is preceded by an adjective and contains a complement-taking verb with an embedded infinitive.

- (69) a. *ka haksan tum=na yapmi*
 1SG COMPAR elder=NMLZ.SG person
 ‘a person senior to me’ [40_leg_08.078]
- b. *kha?la otesran=ha pachem=ci!*
 like_this reverse=NMLZ.NSG young_boy=NSG
 ‘Such naughty boys!’ [40_leg_08.075]
- c. *caleppa leps-a=ha,*
 bread deep_fry[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.NC
ni-ya=ha macchi=nun khi
 fry[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.NC chili_sauce=COM yam
whand=ha whansa
 boil[3SG;PST]=NMLZ.NC steam
 ‘the steam of deep-fried bread, fried chili and boiled yams’³⁷
 [40_leg_08.046]
- d. *issisi, khem-ma=i me-ya-m=ha ce?ya*
 ugly hear-INF=FOC NEG-be_able-INF=NMLZ.NC talk
 ‘ugly talk that one cannot listen to’ [36_cvs_06.600]

Headless noun phrases, identical to headless relative clauses, are presented in (70).

- (70) a. *khi khon-khuba=ci*
 yam dig-NMLZ=NSG
 ‘people digging yam’ [40_leg_08.009]
- b. *to=na*
 up=NMLZ.SG
 ‘the upper one’

in Yakkha. These relative clauses are not embedded into one another; there are three different smells (or ‘steams’), not the smell of yams that are cooked together with fried bread and sauce, which also would not make sense semantically, since *whanma* can only refer to boiling something solid in water.

³⁷ The lexeme *macchi* is a loan from the Nepali source word *marej* ‘pepper’. In Yakkha, it refers to chili peppers, but also to hot pickles and sauces.

Some nouns take clausal complements (see §??).

2.4.4 Coordination

If nouns are coordinated in a noun phrase, they can either be juxtaposed (see (71a)), or, by means of the comitative case marker, be attached to the penultimate noun (see (71b)). The comitative may also coordinate adjectives. Example (71c) shows again that several levels of embedding are possible: the coordinated nouns may themselves be modified and these modifiers may also be coordinated by =*nun*. Apposition is used comparatively often; instead of using some more general term, one often finds long enumerations of things. This could be a stylistic device to create suspense in narratives, as exemplified in (71d).

- (71) a. *yarepman, liklinphun nam-ma=niη=ca*
 fern, mugwort smell-INF=CTMP=ADD
ibibi sokma ta-ya=na
 very_much breath come[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘When we sniffed at fern and mugwort plants, we regained
 quite some energy.’ [40_leg_08.018]
- b. *paŋkhi=nun puŋdakhi*
 cultivated_yam=COM wild_yam
 ‘cultivated yam and wild yam’ [40_leg_08.025]
- c. *paŋ=be phu=ha=nun makhur=ha*
 house=LOC white=NMLZ.NC=COM black=NMLZ.NC
caleppa, macchi, khicalek=nun cuwa py-a
 bread, pickles, rice_dish=COM beer give-PST[1.P]
- ‘At home, they gave us white and black bread, pickles, khichadi
 and beer.’ [40_leg_08.051]
- d. *uŋci=ŋa tabek, siŋ, phendik, lom-ma*
 3NSG=ERG khukuri wood axe take_out-INF
n-darokt-u
 3PL.A-start-3.P[PST]
 ‘They started to take out khukuri knives, wooden clubs and

axes’

[41_leg_09.038]

Modifying material, too, can be coordinated by juxtaposition. Interestingly, when two sub-compounds are in apposition, the head noun of the first compound can be omitted, as shown in (72c).

- (72) a. *phu-nuncha*
 elder_brother-younger_sibling
na-nuncha=be *pak=na*
 elder_sister-younger_sibling=LOC be_unripe=NMLZ.SG
 ‘the youngest among the brothers and sisters’
 [40_leg_08.052]
- b. *honkha?la* *khi-ma=ha*
 like_that_very fight-INF=NMLZ.NC
tu-ma=ha *ce?ya*
 wrestle-INF=NMLZ.NC matter
 ‘the issue of fighting and wrestling like just told’
 [41_leg_09.072]
- c. *tondigangma* *linkhacama-punḍa=ci*
 a_forest_name a_forest_name-forest=NSG
 ‘the Tondigangma and Linkhacama forests’ [40_leg_08.011]

2.4.5 Combinatory possibilities

Concerning the combinatory potential inside the noun phrase, there seem to be only few restrictions. The average noun phrase, however, shows maximally two modifying elements, as illustrated below: NUM-ADJ-N in (73a), DEM-NUM-N in (73b), DEM-ADJ-N in (73c), POSS-NUM-N in (73d), POSS-DEM-N in (73e), DEM-QUANT in (73f). Other possibilities found are POSS-ADJ-N, ADJ-RC-N, NUM-RC-N, DEM-RC-N, POSS-NUM-N. The only recognizable tendency found was that of putting demonstratives first, although this is not a categorical rule.

- (73) a. *eko maḍa ti?wa*
 one big pheasant
 ‘one big pheasant’
 [40_leg_08.036]

- b. *na eko lunxhwak=chen*
 this one stone=TOP
 ‘as for this one stone’ [37_nrr_07.007]
- c. *na makhruk=na caleppa*
 this black=NMLZ.SG bread
 ‘this black bread’ [40_leg_08.053]
- d. *chubuk=ka hic=ci caleppa*
 ashes=GEN two=NSG bread
 ‘two breads of ashes’ [40_leg_08.071]
- e. *paghyam=ga nkha sala*
 old_man=GEN that talk
 ‘that talk of the old man’ [40_leg_08.076]
- f. *kha ghak casak*
 this all uncooked_rice
 ‘all this uncooked rice’ [01_leg_07.016]

When the noun phrase is headed by a pronoun, only quantifiers or numeral modifiers are possible, and they follow the head, as has been shown above in example (68).

From these possibilities, the following (idealized) schema for a maximal noun phrase can be inferred (see Figure 2.1). As it was said above, the noun phrase is rather unrestricted, so that it is highly conceivable that noun phrases with an internal structure deviating from this schema can be found.

DEM	POSS	NUM	ADJ	RC	N	
					PRON/	NUM/
					DEM	QUANT

Figure 2.1: Schema of the maximal noun phrase

2.4.6 Information structure inside the noun phrase

When the order of head and attribute is reversed in a noun phrase, one can notice an increase in assertiveness to the right end of the phrase.

In (74a), for instance, an assertion is made about an old man who has the habit of making jokes, a fact which sets the scene for what is to come: the old man plays a prank at the protagonist of the story. In (74b), the asserted information is not so much the fact that a market takes place, because the narrative is temporally embedded in a season known for events such as markets and fun fairs, but rather the fact that it is a comparatively big market. Modifying material to the right of the head noun is restricted to one element (as in Belhare, see Bickel (2003: 562)).

- (74) a. *nna ighurum=be a-pum*
 that round=LOC 1SG.POSS-grandfather
laktange=ca wa-ya=na
 humorous=ADD exist[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘In that round, a humorous old man was there, too.’
 [40_leg_08.034]
- b. *inimma manpha ma=na pog-a-ma*
 market quite big=NMLZ.SG rise[3SG]-PST-PRF
 ‘Quite a big market took place.’³⁸
 [01_leg_07.145]

Elements inside the noun phrase can also be focussed on or topicalized, as the following examples show. In (75a) *akkago* is a contrastive topic, in a (hypothetical) argument where one person brags about how many friends he has in contrast to the other person. In (75b), there is a contrastive focus marker inside the noun phrase, added because the assertion is made in contrast to a presupposition claiming that the opposite be true.

- (75) a. *ak=ka=go* *ibebe=ha* *ghak*
 1SG.POSS=GEN=TOP everywhere=NMLZ.NSG all
kamnibak=ci kha?la=hoŋ
 friend=NSG like_this=SEQ
ŋ-wai?=ya=ci
 3PL-exist[NPST]=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘As for mine, I have friends everywhere, like this.’

³⁸ The noun *inimma* is a neologism and not widely in use.

- [36_cvs_06.355]
- b. *na=go* *aniŋ=ga=le* *kham,* *nniŋda*
 this=TOP 1PL.EXCL.POSS=GEN=CTR ground 2PL[ERG]
 nhe *wa-ma* *n-dokt-wa-m-ga-n=ha*
 here live-INF NEG-get-NPST-2PL.A-2-NEG=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘This is our land, you will not get the chance to live here.’
[22_nrr_05.012]

3 Adjectives and adverbs

Adjectives are lexical items specifying some property of a referent, while adverbs specify characteristics of an event such as cause, degree and manner, and ground it in space and time. They are treated in one chapter because they are often derived from the same roots, mostly of verbal origin.

The number of lexical adjectives and adverbs, i.e. those that cannot be traced back to verbal stems, is rather small. Nevertheless, adjectives and adverbs show some characteristics that motivate a separate lexical class. Most prominently, these are ideophonic patterns and the morphological processes of reduplication and triplication, which are highly productive in this class, but only marginally found in other word classes. The derivational morphology attached to the mostly verbal bases determines which structural position in the clause they will occupy, and hence, whether they have adjectival or adverbial function.

This chapter is structured as follows: adjectives are treated in §3.1. Comparative and equative constructions and the expression of degree are treated in §3.2. The derivations leading to the various types of adverbs are the topic of in §3.3. Reduplication, triplication and ideophonic patterns are so rich that they deserve their own section (§3.4).

Adjectives and adverbs that are employed for spatial orientation, involving a topography-based orientation system, will be discussed in Chapter 4.

3.1 Adjectives

3.1.1 Kinds of adjectives

The function of adjectives is the modification of nouns, either inside the noun phrase or as predicates of copular clauses. Many adjectives

are based on verbal stems historically, but not all of these stems behave like full-fledged verbs synchronically, for instance in not showing the full range of inflectional possibilities that are known from verbs.

The major strategy for the derivation of adjectives is attaching the nominalizers =*na* (when the head noun has singular number) and =*ha* ~ =*ya* (when the head noun has nonsingular number or non-countable reference) to verbal roots, which results in a minimal relative clause (see (1a) and (1b), and Chapter ??). The bases of adjectives are not necessarily verbs, however. These nominalizers can link any modifying material to a noun, regardless of its word class (see (1c)). This example also shows that adjectives may head noun phrases, like minimal headless relative clauses. Such headless relative clauses are different from lexical nouns; case and number marking are allowed on them, but possessive marking is restricted to lexical nouns.

- (1) a. *ci=ha* *maṇcwa*
 get_cold=NMLZ.NC water
 ‘cold water’ (verbal: *maṇcwa cisabhya* ‘The water got cold.’)
 b. *haṇ=ha* *macchi*
 be_spicy=NMLZ.NC pickles
 ‘hot pickles’
 c. *nna cancan*(=na)=bhaṇ*
 that tall*(=NMLZ.SG)=ABL
 ‘from that tall one’ (referring to a rock) [38_nrr_07.040]

Some adjectives look like lexicalized inflected transitive verbs, like *cat-tuna*, meaning ‘fat/strong’ (no verbal root of this form attested) or the adjective in (2).¹

- (2) *cend-u=na* *a-na*
 wake_up-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NSG 1SG.POSS-eZ
 ‘my witty elder sister’ [40_leg_08.057]

Not all adjectival bases are synchronically found as verbs, though they show the typical augmented structure of a verbal stem. Some ad-

¹ The example also illustrates how the lexical meaning of ‘be awake’ has been extended metaphorically to mean ‘witty, sprightly’.

jectives show hybrid behavior, illustrating their verbal origin. For instance, *khumdu* ‘tasty’ does not have a corresponding verb with the citation form *khumma*. Yet, the adjective can be inflected for number and negation like a verb. Person and TAM marking are not possible though.² The same behavior is found for *ngolemninna* ‘not smooth’, *llininna* ‘not heavy’.

- (3) a. *khumdu=ha caleppa*
 tasty=NMLZ.NC bread
 ‘tasty bread’
 b. *kha cuwa ŋ-khumdi-n=ha!*
 this beer NEG-tasty-NEG=NMLZ.NC
 ‘This beer is not tasty!’

Some bases with unclear origin are *heko* ‘other’, *ucun* ‘good’ and *mam* ‘big’.

- (4) a. *mi=na khesup*
 small=NMLZ.SG bag
 ‘a/the small bag’
 b. *māḍa luṅkhwak*
 huge[NMLZ.SG] stone
 ‘a/the huge rock’³

There are only very few adjectives that do not take the nominalizers *=na* and *=ha*. Another nominalizer, *-pa*, is found lexicalized in *ulippa* ‘old’. Other adjectives appearing without prior nominalization are *maṇḍu* ‘far’ and *upunge* ‘free’. Lexemes with initial *u-* are occasionally found among adjectives, but more frequently so in adverbs. They originate from obligatorily possessed nouns (see §3.3).

Many roots can serve as adjectival or as adverbial bases (see also §3.3). A common marker for adverbial derivation is the comitative *=nuṅ* (also functioning as nominal case marker). Compare the use of *cattu* in (5a)

² The affirmative forms always display *-u*, while the negative forms always display *-i*.

³ This adjective has undergone a sound change: the nonsingular form is *mamha*, but the singular form became *māḍa*, as a result of former **mamna*.

and (5b).

- (5) a. *cattu=na* *pik* *apt-u!*
 strong=NMLZ.SG cow bring_across-3.P[IMP]
 ‘Bring a fat/strong cow!’
- b. *ka* *tondaŋ* *um-meʔ-nen*, *nda*
 1SG[ERG] from_above pull-NPST-1>2 2SG
 cattu=nun *lab-u-g=hon* *tokhaʔla*
 strong=COM hold-3.P[IMP]-2.A=SEQ upwards
 ky-a
 come_up-IMP
 ‘I will pull you up, grab it firmly and come up!’
 [01_leg_07.329]

3.1.2 Color terms

The system of Yakkha color terms⁴ is worth mentioning because it only has four basic color terms, with a privative distinction of *phamna* ‘red’ and *phimna* ‘non-red’, in addition to the two terms at both ends of a monochrome lightness-scale, *makhurna* ‘black’ and *phuna* ‘white’. Such an economical system is rather rare crosslinguistically, but the prominence of red conforms to the distributional restrictions discovered in the seminal study of Berlin & Kay (1969: 2-3):

- All languages contain terms for white and black.
- If a language contains three terms, then it contains a term for red.
- If a language contains four terms, then it contains a term for yellow or green, but not both.

Via several derivations and combinations of the terms for red and non-red with the terms for black and white, one arrives at eleven color terms, shown in Table 3.1 (in their singular forms with =*na*). The term *phamna* comprises red, brown red and orange, and the term *phimna*

⁴ The following discussion of color terms relies on the natural stimuli in the environment, and on my observations of natural speech.

covers everything non-red, from yellow over green to blue. There is another word *phiriryaṇna* for ‘yellow’, but it is only used for food items, and could be derived from the same root as *phimna*. Nowadays, a Nepali loan for ‘yellow’ has entered the language, replacing *phimna* in this usage: *besareṇa*, derived from Nepali *besār* ‘turmeric’. The monochrome terms can be used to specify the color terms with regard to their brightness or darkness, e.g. *maklup-maklupna phimna* for ‘dark blue, dark green’, or *maklup-maklupna phamna* for ‘dark red, bordeaux red’.

Table 3.1: Color terms

STEM	GLOSS
<i>phamna</i>	‘red’
<i>phimna</i>	‘(yellow), green, blue’
<i>phuna</i>	‘white’
<i>makhurna</i>	‘black’
<i>phalik-phalikna</i>	‘reddish, pink, violet (dark and light shades)’
<i>phiṭlik-phiṭliṇna</i>	‘greenish, blueish (sky blue, petrol, light green)’
<i>phiriryaṇna</i>	‘yellow (food)’
<i>besareṇa</i> [NEP]	‘yellow’
<i>phutiṅgirik</i>	‘bright white’
<i>phutlek-phutlekna</i>	‘light grey, light yellow, light pink, beige’
<i>maklup-maklupna</i>	‘dark brown/grey/blue/green/red’

In order to distinguish the colors on the large scale of what is covered by *phimna*, further modifications or comparisons can be made (see (6)).

- (6) a. *sumphak loṭa=na phim=na*
leaf like=NMLZ.SG non-red=NMLZ.SG
‘as green as a leaf’
- b. *besar loṭa=na phim=na*
turmeric like=NMLZ.SG non-red=NMLZ.SG
‘as yellow as turmeric’
- c. *massi loṭa=na phim=na*
ink like=NMLZ.SG non-red=NMLZ.SG

‘as blue as ink’

It is very likely that the bases of the color terms are also verbs historically. (Doornenbal 2009: 292) mentions a verb *makma* ‘be dark’ for Bantawa, which must be cognate to *makhurna* ‘black’ in Yakkha. Yakkha has a verbal stem *phut* referring to the process of becoming white, which has only been found in connection with hair so far. The syllables *-lik* and *-lek* occurring in the derivations are also known as lexical diminutives and from the derivation of adverbs. In addition to color terms, there are the lexemes *om(na)* ‘bright, light’, *kuyum(na)* ‘dark’ and *chyanychyany(na)* ‘transparent’.

3.1.3 Adjectives in attributive and in predicative function

In attributive function, the adjectives always appear in their nominalized form (i.e. as relative clauses), apart from the few exceptions mentioned above.

- (7) a. *su=ha* *cuwa*
 be_sour=NMLZ.NC beer
 ‘sour beer’
 b. *lag=ha* *nasa=ci*
 be_salty=NMLZ.NSG fish=NSG
 ‘the salty fish’

In predicative function in copular clauses, some adjectives may appear simply in non-nominalized form. Compare the adnominal and predicative functions of *cancan* ‘high’ and *ucun* ‘good/nice’ in (8).

- (8) a. *nna* *cancan=na* *luṅkhwak*
 that high=NMLZ.SG rock
 ‘this high rock’ [38_nrr_07.044]
 b. *nna* *dewan-qḥuṅga* *baṅna* *luṅkhwak* *sahro* *cancan*
 that Dewan-stone called rock very high
 sa-ma=na
 COP.PST[3SG]-PRF=NMLZ.SG
 ‘That rock called Dewan stone was very high.’

[38_nrr_07.039]

- c. *ucun=na paŋ*
 good=NMLZ.SG house
 ‘a nice house’
- d. *purba patti dailo yuŋ-ma=niŋ ucun*
 east side door put-INF=CTMP good
n-leŋ-me-n
 NEG-become[3SG]-NPST-NEG
 ‘If they (the Linkha clan members) put the door to the east,
 it will not be good.’ [11_nrr_01.016]

Other adjectives have to appear in nominalized form in the copular predicate, too. The nominalizers cannot be omitted in (9). While the base *mi* from (9a) is attested independently as a degree particle ‘a little’, the base *heko* is not attested independently.

- (9) a. *nhaŋ=go lambu=ca=le mi=na*
 and_then=TOP road=ADD=CTR small=NMLZ.SG
leŋ-d-eʔ=na
 become-V2.GIVE-NPST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘And then, the road, too, becomes narrow (unexpectedly)!’
 [28_cvs_04.011]
- b. *kaniŋ haksan heko=na om*
 1PL COMPAR other=NMLZ.SG COP
 ‘He is different from us.’ [21_nrr_04.009]
- c. *uŋci=be=ca niŋwa heko=na*
 3NSG=LOC=ADD mind other=NMLZ.SG
leks-a=ha,
 become[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.NC
 ‘They also changed their mind.’ [41_leg_09.068]

3.2 Comparison, equation and degree

3.2.1 Degree

Adjectives can be modified by degree adverbs like *tuknuŋ* ‘completely’, *pyak* ‘a lot’, *mi/mimik/miyaŋ* ‘a little’, a deictic series of *khiŋ*, *ŋkhiŋ* and *hoŋkhiŋ* (‘this much’, ‘that much’, ‘as much as mentioned before’). Most of them are not restricted to adjectives, but may also be used with nouns or verbs (see Chapter 1.5 for an overview). Furthermore, there are some Nepali loans like *sahro* or *ekdam*, both best rendered as ‘very’. In (10a), the interrogative *ikhiŋ* ‘how much’ is used in an exclamative utterance.

- (10) a. *pyak cancan, ikhiŋ cancan!*
 very high, how_much high
 ‘(It was) very high, how high!’ [38_nrr_07.039]
 b. *uŋ=ci=go miyaŋ mam=ha n-sa=ba*
 3NSG=TOP a_little big=NMLZ.NSG 3PL-COP.PST=EMPH

‘They were a little older (than me).’ [13_cvs_02.051]

There is no grammatical means to mark the excessive in Yakkha, which means that there is no regular way of stating that some property is beyond a certain tolerable measure, as expressed by the English particle *too*. Excessiveness is expressed by the quantifiers *pyak* ‘(very) much’ or *tuknuŋ* ‘completely’, *ibebe* ‘(very/too) much’ and consequently it is not possible in Yakkha to contrast ‘very much’ and ‘too much’. Some adjectives have lexicalized the notion of excessiveness, all from the domain of taste so far: *khikcok* ‘quite bitter’, *lakcok* ‘quite salty’, *limcok* ‘quite sweet’. Although it is always the same morpheme *-cok* that is involved, it is restricted to a very small semantic domain (at least according to the current data set), and thus it lacks the productivity that would be expected of a grammatical marker.

3.2.2 The equative

Equation is expressed by attaching the equative case *loʔa* ‘like’ to the standard of comparison (see (11)). The marker *-lo ~ lok ~ loʔ* is also known from Belhare as a comitative and an adverbial clause linkage marker (Bickel 1993) and as ‘manner suffix’ (deriving manner adverbs) from Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 299). In Yakkha, these functions are covered by the comitative marker *=nuŋ*. The equative *loʔa* may also be employed in complement clauses and equative clauses (‘seem like [proposition]’, ‘do as told/do as if [proposition]’).

- (11) a. *gumthali loʔa*
 swallow like
 ‘like a swallow’
 b. *anar loʔa et-u-ŋ=ha*
 pomegranate like perceive-3.P.PST-1SG=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘It seemed like pomegranate to me.’ [19_pea_01.011]

If properties are compared, the same structure is employed (see (12) and §3.1.2 for examples). The comparee may additionally be marked by an additive focus marker.

- (12) a. *na loʔa nna=ca māq̣a*
 this like that=ADD big
 ‘That one is as big as this one.’
 b. *phuama chalumma loʔa kengeʔ=na*
 last_born_girl second_born_girl like tall=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Phuama is as tall as Chalumma.’⁵

The following example shows that the resulting postpositional phrase may also be nominalized, yielding a headed relative clause in (13a), and a headless relative clause in (13b).

- (13) a. *lupluŋ loʔa=na luŋdhaŋ=be*
 den like=NMLZ.SG cave=LOC
 ‘in a cave like a den’ [22_nrr_05.095]

⁵ Terms based on birth rank are commonly used to address/refer to people, also outside the family context.

3 Adjectives and adverbs

- b. *u-ma* *loʔa=na*
 3SG.POSS-mother like=NMLZ.SG
sa=na=i
 COP.PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG=EMPH
 ‘It was like a female.’ [19_pea_01.079]

The comparee is hardly ever expressed overtly in natural discourse. The following two examples were found in a narrative (14). Since comparees have a strong tendency to be topical, they mostly precede the standard of comparison.

- (14) a. *hau, kha=go, eŋ=ga yapmi*
 EXCLA these=TOP 1INCL.POSS=GEN person
loʔa=ha=ci=ca
 like=NMLZ.NSG=NSG=ADD
 ‘Oh, these guys, they look like our people, too.’ [22_nrr_05.044]
- b. *ŋkha=ci=go kaniŋ=nun saħro toŋ-kħuba loʔa*
 those=NSG=TOP 1PL=COM very fit-NMLZ like
men=ha=ci
 NEG.COP=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘As for those (guys), they do not seem particularly similar to us!’ [22_nrr_07.046]

3.2.3 The comparative and the superlative

The comparative and the superlative are covered by a construction in which either *haʔniŋ* or *ħaksan* have to be attached to the standard of comparison, which is a noun or a pronoun in the majority of cases (see (15)). Both comparative markers can be used interchangeably. The parameter of comparison does not receive any comparative marking; it appears in its basic form. Both markers have their origin in a converbal form (see also Chapter 2.2.3).

- (15) a. *heko=ha=ci=ga haʔniŋ pharak*
 other=NMLZ.NSG=NSG=GEN COMPAR different
 ‘different from the others people’s (language)’

- b. *heko=ha nwak=ci haksan miyan alag*
 otherNMLZ.NSG bird=NSG COMPAR a_little different
 [...] *sa=na=bu*
 [...] COP.PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG=REP
 'He was a bit different from the other birds, they say.'
 [21_nrr_04.002]

Often, the parameter of comparison is not expressed by an adjective, but by an inflected verb (see (16)). Not only stative or ingressive-stative verbs are possible, as (16b) with an embedded clause clearly shows.

- (16) a. *ka un ha?nin tum-ŋa=na*
 1SG 3SG COMPAR be_ripe-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 'I am older than he is.'
- b. *ka nda ha?nin lam-ma*
 1SG 2SG COMPAR walk-INF
ya-me-ŋ=na
 be_able-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 'I can walk (better/more) than you.' (Lit.: 'Compared to you, I can walk.')

The standard of comparison may also be an adverb, as in (17).

- (17) *u-lan=ci encho ha?nin*
 3SG.POSS-leg=NSG some_time_ago COMPAR
n-sas-a-ma
 3PL-COP.PST-PST-PRF
 'Her legs got stronger than last time.' (Lit.: 'They became (something), compared to the last time.')

In the superlative, the standard of comparison is always the exhaustive quantifier *ghak* 'all' (18).

- (18) a. *ghak ha?nin mi=na mima*
 all COMPAR small=NMLZ.SG mouse
 'the smallest mouse' [01_leg_07.003]
- b. *ghak haksan tum=na pan*
 all COMPAR old=NMLZ.SG house

‘the oldest house’

[27_nrr_06.039]

3.3 Adverbs

Adverbs cover a wide range of functions, from grounding an event in time and space to specifying its manner, intensity, cause and other characteristics of an event. Adverbs in Yakkha can be grouped as follows:

- manner adverbs derived by the comitative =*nun*
- temporal adverbs, mostly derived by the clause linkage marker =*nin*
- adverbs originating from obligatorily possessed nouns
- adverbs derived by *-lik* ~ *-lek* ~ *-rik*
- marginal derivations by *-llen* and *-ci(k)*
- non-derived adverbs
- adverbs based on reduplication, triplication and ideophones (§3.4)
- adverbs used in spatial orientation, most of them embedded in a system of topography-based orientation (see Chapter 4.3)

The most common base for these derivations are verbal roots (most of them attested synchronically), but other bases, such as demonstratives, are possible as well. Some bases do not exist as independent words, so that their word class and independent semantics cannot be reliably established.

3.3.1 Manner adverbs derived by the comitative =*nun*

The major strategy to derive manner adverbs is attaching the comitative case clitic =*nun* to roots of verbs with stative or ingressive-stative semantics (commonly both, which is evident from their interaction with tense-aspect morphology). The functions of the comitative marker range

from nominal case marking to marking subordinate clauses, so that this type of adverb is strictly speaking a minimal adverbial clause.

Table 3.2 provides some examples of this adverbial derivation. The same roots can be turned into adjectives via the nominalizers *=na* and *=ha* (see (19), further examples in §3.1.1).⁶ One adverb that was derived by the comitative, namely *tuknuŋ* (hurt=COM) has further developed into a degree marker with the meaning ‘completely’.

Table 3.2: Manner adverbs derived by *=nuŋ*

VERBAL ROOT	ADVERB
<i>chak</i> ‘be/get hard/difficult’	<i>chaknuŋ</i> ‘hard, difficult’
<i>cis</i> ‘be/get cold’	<i>cinuŋ</i> ‘feeling cold’
<i>khikt</i> ‘be/get bitter’	<i>khiknuŋ</i> ‘tasting bitter’
<i>li</i> ‘be/get heavy’	<i>linuŋ</i> ‘heavily’
<i>limd</i> ‘be/get sweet’	<i>limnuŋ</i> ‘tasting sweet’
<i>lakt</i> ‘be/get salty’	<i>laknuŋ</i> ‘tasting salty’
<i>nek</i> ‘be/get soft’	<i>neknun</i> ‘softly, gently’
<i>nu</i> ‘be/get well’	<i>nunuŋ</i> ‘well, healthy’
<i>tuk</i> ‘hurt’	<i>tuknuŋ</i> ‘painfully’ ~ ‘completely’

- (19) a. *khun-khe?-ma=niŋa*
 carry_on_back-V2.CARRY.OFF-INF=CTMP
li-nuŋ=ca *n-leŋ-me-n*
 be_heavy=COM=ADD NEG-become[3SG]-NPST-NEG
 ‘It will not get heavy when we carry it, too.’ [01_leg_07.044]
- b. *li=na* *babu*
 be_heavy=NMLZ.SG boy

⁶ Other Kiranti languages, e.g. Bantawa, Athpare, Chamling and Belhare, use the ‘manner suffix’ *-lo?* for the derivation of manner adverbs, which is also known as comitative case marker in some of them, e.g. in Belhare (Bickel 2003: 549) and in Athpare (Ebert 1994: 81). The cognate form in Yakkha has developed into an equative postposition. The only adverb derived by *lo?a* in Yakkha is *pyaklo?a* ‘usually’, etymologically ‘like many/like much’.

‘a/the heavy boy’

3.3.2 Temporal adverbs

Many of the temporal adverbs, including the interrogative *hetniŋ* ~ *heʔniŋ* ‘when’ involve the particle =*niŋ*, which is also found as a clause linkage marker for contemporaneous events. In contrast to the manner adverbs, the base for temporal adverbs is not verbal. Some roots are adverbs by themselves, some are demonstratives. The deictic roots *nam*, *chim* and *khop*, denoting distances counted in years (with the utterance context as zero point), do not occur independently. In these adverbs, =*niŋ* is employed for past reference, while for future, the same roots end in *-ma*, e.g. *namma* ‘next year’, *chimma* ‘two years later’. Table 3.3 provides an overview of the temporal adverbs.

Table 3.3: Temporal adverbs derived by =*niŋ*

ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>heʔniŋ</i>	‘when’
<i>asenniŋ</i>	‘(during) yesterday’
<i>enchoʔniŋ</i>	‘on the day before yesterday’
	‘recently’
<i>onchoʔniŋ</i>	‘long time ago’
<i>khaʔniŋ</i>	‘this time’
<i>ŋkhaʔniŋ</i>	‘that time’
<i>hoŋkhaʔniŋ</i>	‘right at that time’
<i>heniŋ</i>	‘(during) this year’
<i>namniŋ</i>	‘last year’
<i>chimniŋ</i>	‘two years ago’
<i>khopniŋ</i>	‘three years ago’
<i>namniŋ-chimniŋ</i>	‘some years ago’

Other temporal adverbs count the days before(i.e., in the past) or ahead (i.e., in the future) of the point of speaking. They are listed in Table 3.4 below, together with further temporal adverbs. Note that not

all of them necessarily have the time of speaking as their point of reference. For instance, *wandikŋa* can mean ‘tomorrow’ or ‘next day’. Two temporal adverbs can be compounded, yielding terms with less specific reference.

Table 3.4: Further temporal adverbs

ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>wandik-ucumphak</i>	‘some days/time ahead’
<i>okomphak</i>	‘two days after tomorrow’
<i>ucumphak</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
<i>wandikŋa</i>	‘tomorrow, next day’
<i>hen-wandik</i>	‘these days’
<i>hensen</i>	‘nowadays’
<i>hen</i>	‘today’
<i>wandik</i>	‘later’
<i>lop</i>	‘now’
<i>khem</i>	‘shortly before’
<i>asen</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>encho ~</i>	‘day before yesterday’
<i>achupalen</i>	
<i>asenlek</i>	‘some days ago’
<i>asen-encho</i>	‘some time ago’

3.3.3 Adverbs based on obligatorily possessed nouns

A completely different etymological source for adverbs (and a few adjectives) are obligatorily possessed nouns. The possessive prefix can show agreement with the subject of the verb that is modified by the adverb, as in (20), but mostly, the third person form is used. The shift from a noun to an adverb is evident from the fact that these words do not have any nominal properties other than taking the possessive prefix. Further nominal modification or case and number marking, for instance, are not possible, and they are not arguments of the verbs; one would

expect agreement morphology if this was the case. Table 3.5 shows some examples. To my knowledge, similar lexicalizations have not been described for other Kiranti languages, except for a few examples from Belhare mentioned by Bickel (2003: 563), who e.g. provides a cognate to *ochon̥na* ‘new’. In *uhingilik* ‘alive’, not a noun, but a verb *hiŋma* ‘survive’ was the base for the derivation process, and the possessive prefix was probably added later, in analogy to the other adverbs.

- (20) a. *a-tokhumak yep-ma*
 1SG.POSS-alone stand-INF
n-ya-me-ŋa-n=na
 NEG-be_able-NPST-1SG-NEG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I cannot stand alone.’ [27_nrr_06.017]
- b. *o-tokhumak nin-ca-meʔ=na*
 3SG.POSS-alone cook-V2.EAT-NPST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He cooks and eats alone.’
- c. *eh, na nniŋ=ga piccha=go u-hingilik*
 oh this 2PL=GEN child=TOP 3SG.POSS-alive
wet=na, haku=ca
 exist[3SG]=NMLZ.SG now=ADD
tups-wa-m-ga=na,
 meet-NPST-2PL.A-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Oh, your child is alive, you will meet her again.’ [22_nrr_05.087]
- d. *lambu o-tesraŋ ikt-wa-m=na*
 road 3SG.POSS-opposite chase-NPST-1PL.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We follow the road in the opposite direction (i.e. we run in the wrong direction).’ [28_cvs_04.024]

3.3.4 Adverbs derived by *-lik ~ -lek*

Another marker that is frequently found in adverbs (and in some adjectives) is the lexical diminutive *-lik ~ -lek* (occasionally also *-rik ~ -rek*), as shown in Table 3.6. It is also used in the derivation of lexical nouns that are characterized by their small size (see §2.1.2). Cognates of this marker

Table 3.5: Adverbs and adjectives originating in obligatorily possessed nouns

ADVERB/ADJECTIVE	GLOSS
<i>uhingilik</i>	‘alive’
<i>ollobak</i>	‘almost’
<i>otokhumak</i>	‘alone’
<i>ohoppalik</i>	‘empty’
<i>ochon</i>	‘new’
<i>ulippa</i>	‘old’
<i>ole?wa</i>	‘raw, unripe’
<i>otesran</i>	‘reversed’
<i>uimalan</i>	‘steeply down’
<i>uthamalan</i>	‘steeply up’

exist in other Kiranti languages, e.g. *-let* in Athpare Ebert 1997a and *-cilet* in Belhare (Bickel 2003). All of these adverbs have verbal stems as their base, and often the resulting adverbs occur with just these verbs, thus merely adding emphasis to the result of the verbal action, such as *iplik* ‘(properly) twisted’. Some forms in the table may also occur reduplicated. One ideophonic adverb ending in *-lek* was found, too: *pi-cingelek*, imitating a high-pitched voice, like the calls of eagles or owls. Some examples can be found below in (21).

- (21) a. *manɕwa phoplek lept-haks-u*
 water at_once throw-V2.SEND-3.P[IMP]
 ‘Pour out the water at once.’
- b. *pektungulik pekt-u=hon*
 properly_folded fold-3.P[PST]=SEQ
u-lum=be kaici=na
 3SG.POSS-middle=LOC scissors=INS
yub-haks-u=na
 cut-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He folded it properly and cut it through in the middle with

Table 3.6: Adverbs derived by *-lik* (and allomorphs)

VERBAL ROOT	ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>caks</i> ‘overturn’	<i>cicanḡalik(-cicanḡalik)</i>	‘tumbling, overturning’ (in somersaults, bulky objects)
<i>hiks</i> ‘turn’	<i>hiklik</i>	‘turned around, upside down’
<i>ipt</i> ‘twist, wring’	<i>iplik(-iplik)</i>	‘properly [twisted]’
<i>kaks</i> ‘fall’	<i>kakkulik(-kakkulik)</i>	‘tumbling or rolling down’ (round objects, smooth movement)
<i>pekt</i> ‘fold’	<i>pektungulik</i>	‘[folded] properly, many times’
<i>phopt</i> ‘spill, pour’	<i>phoplek</i>	‘[pouring out] at once’
<i>si</i> ‘die’	<i>siklik</i>	‘[dying] at once’
<i>sos</i> ‘lie slanted’	<i>sontrik</i>	‘[manner of] sliding, falling’
<i>wakt</i> ‘bend forcefully’	<i>wakurik</i>	‘bent, crooked’
<i>hop</i> ‘rot’	<i>hobrek</i>	‘[rotten] completely’

scissors.’

[Cut and Break Clips (Bohnemeyer, Bowerman & Brown 2010)]

3.3.5 Marginal derivations

Two further derivations were found, but each only with a handful of lexemes. One derivation creates adverbs based on verbal roots and a suffix *-ci(k)*,⁷ and a reduplication of this complex of root and suffix. Three such adverbs were found, all from the semantic domain of experience: *hapcik-hapcik* ‘whinily, weepily’, *chemci-chemci* ‘jokingly, teasingly’, *yunciyunci* ‘smilingly’.

Another morpheme that is occasionally found in adverbs is *-llei*. The currently known forms are: *cilleḡ* ‘lying on back’, *walleḡ* ‘lying on the front’, and *cilleḡ-kholleḡ* ‘rocking, swaying’ (like a bus on a bad road or a boat in a storm). There is a directional case marker *-lei* in Belhare (Bickel 2003; the notion expressed by *kha?la* in Yakkha), and thus it is very likely that this derivation has the same source, although such a marker does not exist in Yakkha synchronically.

⁷ Closing open syllables by /k/ is common in Yakkha and also known from the treatment of Nepali loans see §??.

3.3.6 Non-derived adverbs

Finally, there are also a few adverbs that have no transparent etymology, such as *hani* ‘fast’, *swak* ‘secretly’, *tamba* ‘slowly’,⁸ *pakha* ‘outside’ and *sori* ‘together’. Interestingly, these adverbs cannot be turned into adjectives by nominalizing them; one could, for instance, not say **soriha yapmici* ‘the people who are together’.

3.4 Reduplication, triplication and ideophones

Rhyming patterns as well as ideophones are very common in Yakkha adverbs and adjectives, and often both are combined. Since they are exceedingly rare in the other word classes, they can be taken as an indicator (albeit rather statistic than categorical) for adverb-hood or adjective-hood. The bases for reduplication can be of verbal, adverbial or ideophonic nature. As always, there are some bases with obscure origin, too. The bases for triplication are always monosyllabic and lack independent meaning. Ideophonic adverbs are based on a similarity relation between their phonetic form and the concept they express. This is not necessarily a relation based on acoustic similarities (as in onomatopoeia); other senses such as sight, taste or smell can as well be involved in ideophonic expressions. Hence, the relation between signifier and signified is more iconic than in “core” lexemes, where the semantics and the phonological form are in an arbitrary relationship.

The phonological behavior of reduplicated/triplicated forms and that of ideophones often shows deviations from the core lexicon, such as peculiar stress patterns or unusual segments that do not occur in nouns or verbs of the language (such as /gh/ or /bh/ in Yakkha). This has already been noted for Bantawa by Rai & Winter (1997), who label them ‘paralexemes’, relating the exceptional behavior of such forms to their emphatic or expressive function (expressing feelings or the attitude of the speaker).

Reduplicated adjectives and adverbs are always stressed on the second syllable (*can.‘can*). This suggests an analysis of reduplication as a

⁸ The final syllable *-ba* is a nominalizer, but the origin of the stem *tam* is not known.

prefixation. Bisyllabic words are generally stressed on the first syllable in Yakkha (cf. Chapter ??), but since prefixes are not part of the stress domain in Yakkha, words consisting of a prefix and a monosyllabic stem are stressed on the second syllable. Triplicated forms are always stressed on the last syllable, which is exceptional for Yakkha stress assignment.

3.4.1 Reduplication in adjectives

The reduplicated adjectives mostly relate to physical features like size, form or texture. Another group are adjectives based on experienter verbs. The above-mentioned pattern of nominalization to indicate attributive or nominal usage (cf. §3.1.1) also holds for adjectives derived by reduplication (see (22)).

- (22) a. *u-yabulu?a ikhin jonjon=na!*
 3SG.POSS-lips how_much elevated=NMLZ.SG
 ‘How bulging his lips are!’
- b. *chainpur cancan=na=be wai?=na*
 Chainpur high=NMLZ.SG=LOC exist[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Chainpur is in a high (place).’
- c. *a-phok gangan*
 1SG.POSS-stomach burstingly_full
leks-a=na
 become[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘My stomach is now full as a tick.’

Table 3.7 shows the verbal roots serving as bases (as far as they can be reconstructed) and the corresponding reduplicated adjectival forms. Generally, post-nasal voicing of unaspirated consonants applies, and is copied to the first syllable to yield maximal identity between base and reduplicated syllable. Thus, forms like *bumbum* or *jonjon* emerge, which are unusual from the perspective of Yakkha phonological rules, because they display voiced initial obstruents in a language that has largely lost the contrast between voiced and unvoiced obstruents. The only exception is *cancan*, which retains its unvoiced obstruents, but the affricate behaves exceptional also in other lexemes with respect to the voicing

rule. With regard to the verbal bases, augmented stems (i.e. with a CVC-t structure) omit the augment /-t/ before reduplicating. Stems alternating between a CVC-s and a CVN structure (such as *caks ~ caŋ*), generally choose the CVN stem form as base for the reduplication (see §5.1 for stem formation). If the base has CVC structure and the consonants have the same place of articulation, this does not result in gemination in the reduplicated form. Rather, the coda consonant is omitted in the first syllable (e.g. *pha.phap*). Some of these adjectives can be combined to yield further meanings, e.g. *chekchek-bonboŋ* (low-elevated) ‘zig-zag, uneven’.

Some adjectives derived from experiential verbs are shown in Table 3.8. They always have causative semantics, as shown in (23). Their bases are from those experiential verbs that code the experiencer as possessor (cf. §8.1.10). These verbs consist of a noun (denoting a sensation or a body part) and a verb, often a motion verb. The reduplication only involves the verbal stem of these compounds. In attributive position, they host the usual nominalizers =*na* or =*ha*. Since the stem *ke?* ‘come up’, that is involved in many of these compounds, ends in a glottal stop, which never occurs word-finally in Yakkha, it is replaced by /k/ at the end of the word.

- (23) a. *batti* *chik-ʔekek* *leks-a=na!*
 electricity causing_hate become[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The power cuts drive me mad already!’
- b. *hakamba-kekeʔ=na* *ceʔya*
 making_yawn=NMLZ.SG matter
 ‘talk that makes me sleepy’

3.4.2 Reduplication in adverbs

Table 3.9 shows adverbs derived by reduplication. Their number is far lower than that of reduplicated adjectives. The verbs that provide the base for the adverbs may occur together with the adverbs that are derived out of them, see e.g. (24a). In such cases, it is hard to say what the semantic contribution made by the adverbs is, apart from emphasis. In the same example the adverb also serves as base for a rhyme *miŋmiŋ*,

Table 3.7: Adjectives derived by reduplication

VERBAL BASE	ADJECTIVE	GLOSS
<i>cand</i> ‘rise up’	<i>cancan</i>	‘tall, high’
<i>chekt</i> ‘close’	<i>chekchek</i>	‘deep, low, narrow’
-	<i>chenchen</i>	‘with longer side in horizontal position’ ‘sidesleeping’
<i>chiks</i> ~ <i>chin</i> ‘tighten, tie off’	<i>chinchin</i>	‘tight’
<i>chuks</i> ~ <i>chun</i> ‘be wrinkled’	<i>chunchun</i>	‘wrinkled’
<i>cos</i> ‘push’	<i>jonjon</i>	‘sticking out, bulging’
-	<i>gangang</i>	‘[belly] full as a tick’
<i>hupt</i> ‘tighten, unite’	<i>hubhub</i>	‘buxom, compact’
<i>kept</i> ‘stick, glue’	<i>kepkep</i>	‘concave, sticking to’
-	<i>lenlen</i>	‘horizontally huge, lying’
<i>mopt</i> ‘cover, close’	<i>mopmop</i>	‘covered’
-	<i>nepnep</i>	‘short in height’
-	<i>pakpak</i>	‘hollow, bowl-shaped’
<i>pekt</i> ‘fold’	<i>pekpek</i>	‘flat, thin, folded’
<i>phaps</i> ~ <i>pham</i> ‘entangle’	<i>phaphap</i>	‘[hair] entangled, scraggy’
<i>phopt</i> ‘spill, turn over’	<i>phophop</i>	‘face-down, overturned’
<i>pok</i> ‘get up, rise’	<i>pokpok</i>	‘in heaps, sticking out’
<i>poks</i> ~ <i>pon</i> ‘explode’	<i>bonbon</i>	‘elevated, convex’
<i>pups</i> ~ <i>pum</i> ‘tuck up, roll in fist’	<i>bumbum</i>	‘[plastering of a house] thickly’/ ‘[body parts] swollen’/ ‘[teeth] sticky’
-		
<i>pur</i> ‘cut off, break off’	<i>pupup</i>	‘chubby, short and fat’
-	<i>sepsep</i>	‘thin, not healthy’
<i>sos</i> ‘lie slanted’	<i>sonson</i>	‘[sliding] slanted, horizontally’
<i>yok</i> ‘search, look for’	<i>yokyok</i>	‘carefully, balancing’

Table 3.8: Adjectives derived from experiential verbs

VERBAL BASE	ADJECTIVE	GLOSS
<i>lok-khot</i> ‘get furious’	<i>lok-khokhok</i>	‘causing fury’
<i>chik-ek</i> ‘get angry/hateful’	<i>chik-ekek</i>	‘causing anger/hate’
<i>hakamba-ke?</i> ‘yawn’	<i>hakamba-kekek</i>	‘making yawn, making tired’
<i>luṇma-tukt</i> ‘love’	<i>luṇma-tuktuk</i>	‘loveable, pitiable’
<i>pomma-ke?</i> ‘get lazy’	<i>pomma-kekek</i>	‘making lazy’
<i>yuncama-ke?</i> ‘have to laugh’	<i>yuncama-kekek</i>	‘funny, ridiculous’
<i>chippa-ke?</i> ‘be disgusted’	<i>chippa-kekek</i>	‘disgusting’

which adds further emphasis. For *lumlum* ‘loudly’, it is not quite clear whether it may also have an onomatopoeic component.

Table 3.9: Adverbs derived by reduplication of verbal roots

VERBAL BASE	ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>cend</i> ‘wake up’	<i>cencen</i>	‘[sleeping] lightly’
<i>chups</i> ‘gather’	<i>chumchum</i>	‘gathered, economically, sparing’
<i>chuṇ</i> ‘wrap, pack’	<i>chuṇchuṇ</i>	‘sadly, sunken’
<i>lus</i> ‘roar, deafen’	<i>lumlum</i>	‘loudly, powerfully’
<i>maks</i> ‘wonder’	<i>maṇmaṇ</i>	‘wondering’
<i>sips</i> ‘twinkle, squint’	<i>simsim</i>	‘squinting, blinking’

- (24) a. *maṇmaṇ-miṇmiṇ*
wondering-RHYME
m-maks-a-by-a-ma,
3PL-be_surprised-PST-V2.GIVE-PST-PRF
‘They were utterly surprised.’ [22_nrr_05.028]
- b. *lumlum mokt-u-ga=i!*
loudly beat-IMP[3.P]-2.A=FOC
‘Beat (the drum) loudly!’

Reduplication of independent adverbs (and adjectives) is also possible, expressing intensity or iterativity (see (25)).⁹

- (25) a. *sakhi iblik-iblik ipt-a=na*
 thread twisted-REDUP twist-PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The thread is properly twisted.’
 b. *batti simik-simik hand-u=na*
 light blinking-REDUP burn-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The (electric) torch is blinking.’

Some of the reduplicated adverbs add /e-/ to each component, without further change of meaning (see Table 3.10). This is attested for Belhare, too, analyzed as marking extension (Bickel 1997a).

Table 3.10: Reduplication of adverbs

VERBAL BASE	ADVERB
<i>ipt</i> ‘twist, wring’	<i>iblik-iblik</i> ‘twisted’
<i>sips</i> ‘close [eyes]’	<i>simik-simik</i> ‘blinking’
<i>khik</i> ‘be bitter’	<i>ekhik-ekhik</i> ‘tasting bitter’
<i>khumdu</i> ‘tasty’	<i>ekhumdu-ekhumdu</i> ‘tasting good’
<i>manḍu</i> ‘far’	<i>emanḍu-emanḍu</i> ‘far away’
-	<i>esap-esap</i> ‘swiftly’
-	<i>elok-elok</i> ‘from far away’

3.4.3 Triplication

Triplication patterns, similar to those found in Bantawa and Chintang (cf. Rai (1984); Rai & Winter (1997); Rai et al. (2005)) were also found in Yakkha (see Table 3.11). Triplicated forms in Yakkha differ from those in the two languages mentioned above in three ways:

- they are not derived from stems that have an arbitrary, lexical, non-iconic meaning; most of them have an ideophonic compo-

⁹ See Doornenbal (2009: 304) for a similar point on Bantawa triplicated adverbs.

ment (i.e., an iconic relationship between the concept expressed and the phonological form)

- they never host the suffix *-wa* (which is a property of Chintang and Bantawa triplicated adverbs)¹⁰
- they always change the initial consonant in the syllables of the rhyme, i.e. only the vowel of the base is retained

The triplication pattern in Yakkha involves a syllable CV (occasionally CV-ŋ) functioning as the base, and two suffixed syllables building a rhyme, changing the initial consonant to /r/, /l/, or (rarely) to /t/, /c/, /k/ or /b/. Occasionally, the syllables building the rhyme are closed by a velar stop or nasal, as in *seleŋleŋ* or *siliklik*. The vowel remains the same in all three syllables. This process has to be analyzed as triplication and not simply as recursive reduplication, because bisyllabic words such as *huru* or *phili* do not exist.¹¹ Triplicated adverbs show a divergent stress pattern; it is always the last syllable that is stressed.

Some examples of triplicated adverbs are provided in (26). As (26b) illustrates, adjectives may be derived from these adverbs via the nominalizers *=na* and *=ha*.

- (26) a. *o-heli* *tururu* *lond=ha*
3SG.POSS-blood flowing come_out[PST]=NMLZ.NSG
‘He was bleeding profusely.’
- b. *hiwiwi=na* *hi?wa*
blowing_gently=NMLZ.SG wind
‘a gentle wind’
- c. *ka* *caram=be* *khiriri* *is-a-ŋ=na*
1SG yard=LOC spinning revolve-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
‘I was spinning around in the yard.’

¹⁰ The suffix is an adverbializer in these languages.

¹¹ The same was found in Chintang (Rai et al. 2005), while in Bantawa, some forms may also appear with just one repeated syllable, suggesting an analysis of triplication as recursive reduplication with the function of emphasis in Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 304).

Table 3.11: Adverbs involving triplication

ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>bhututu</i>	‘farting sound’
<i>gururu</i>	‘[coming] in flocks, continuously (e.g. at festivals)’
<i>haŋcaŋcaŋ</i>	‘dangling’
<i>hibibi</i>	‘[wind] blowing gently’
<i>hururu</i>	‘[wind] blowing strongly’ (also in NEP)
<i>khiriri</i>	‘spinning, revolving’
<i>lututu</i>	‘[dough, soup] being too thin’
<i>pelele</i>	(i) ‘pulling something heavy or blocked’ (ii) ‘[shawl, clothes] come undone’
<i>phelele</i>	‘[bird flying] up high’
<i>philili</i>	‘[butterfly] jittering’
<i>phururu</i>	‘[manner of] strewing, dispersing’
<i>pololo</i>	‘[bamboo, construction materials] being too long to handle’
<i>pururu</i>	‘[flowing] in streams’
<i>selenlen</i>	‘[wind] blowing strongly such that leaves start to rustle’
<i>siŋliŋ</i>	‘shaking’
<i>siliklik</i>	‘fuming with anger’
<i>serere</i>	‘[drizzling] thinly, [morning sunbeams] thinly’
<i>sototo</i>	‘[walking, moving] one after the other’
<i>thokokok</i>	‘shaking heavily [from fever, earthquake]’
<i>tholoklok</i>	‘[boiling] vigorously’
<i>tururu</i>	‘[blood, tears] flowing, dripping’
<i>walaŋlaŋ</i>	‘bursting out in laughter’
<i>yororo</i>	‘[fire wood heap, rice terrace] falling and tearing along’

- d. *heko=na whak=pe a-tek*
other=NMLZ.SG twig=LOC 1SG.POSS-clothes
het-u=hon ka haŋcaŋcaŋ chu-ya-ŋ
get_stuck-3.P[PST]=SEQ 1SG dangling hang-PST-1SG
‘My clothes got caught on another branch, and then I was
dangling there.’ [42_leg_10.032]

3.4.4 Ideophonic adverbs

Several adverbs have ideophonic quality, i.e. there exists an iconic relationship between their form and some aspect of their meaning. The similarity relation may be based on sound as in onomatopoeia, but it may also be based on the visual, olfactory or haptic senses (Caughley 1997). Table 3.12 provides an overview; some examples from natural language are shown in (27). The adverbs that modify processes or activities have a reduplicated structure; only those that modify punctual events do not occur in reduplicated form. The bases for the reduplication can consist of up to three syllables. Ideophones often show some deviating behavior with regard to the general phonological outlook of a language. The same can be said about Yakkha ideophones. Initials such as /g^h/ or /j^h/ are not found beyond ideophones, and voiced initials like /b/ are rare, too.

- (27) a. *na picha khoʔluk-khoʔluk*
this child coughing-REDUP
hot-a-s-heks-a=na
cough-PST-V2.DIE-V2.CUT-PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
‘This child is about to die, having a coughing fit.’
b. *u-larj men-da-le=na picha*
3SG.POSS-leg NEG-come-NEG=NMLZ.SG child
khobak-khobak lam-meʔ=na
crawling-REDUP walk-NPST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
‘The child that cannot walk (yet) moves crawling.’
c. *boʔle-boʔle ceŋ-meʔ=na*
stammering talk-NPST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
‘He is stammering.’

Table 3.12: Ideophonic adverbs

ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>boʔle-boʔle</i>	‘[manner of] stuttering, stammering’
<i>chok</i>	‘suddenly [piercing]’
<i>ebbebe</i>	‘trembling’
<i>ghok-ghok</i>	‘pig grunts’
<i>ghwa-ghwa</i>	‘bawling’
<i>hesok-hesok</i>	‘[manner of] breathing with difficulty’
<i>hobrok</i>	‘[falling, dropping] at once’
<i>honghak-honghak</i>	‘[walking] with sudden steps (like drunken people)’
<i>jhellek</i>	‘flashing’
<i>kai-kai</i>	‘[sound of] weeping’
<i>kerek-kerek</i>	‘chewing hard things (like bones)’
<i>khobak-khobak</i>	‘[manner of] crawling’
<i>khoblek</i>	‘[manner of] finishing the plate’
<i>khoʔluk-khoʔluk</i>	‘[sound of] coughing’
<i>kurum-kurum</i>	‘chewing hard, crunchy things (like chocolate)’
<i>kyan-kyan</i>	‘barking lightly’
<i>lak</i>	‘being dropped’
<i>oenk-oenk</i>	‘buffalo grunts’
<i>phorop-phorop</i>	‘[sound of] slurping (e.g. tea, soup)’
<i>phutruk-phutruk</i>	‘[manner of] jumping around’
<i>syaj</i>	‘[flying] like a rocket, by being thrown or shot’
<i>sukluk</i>	‘dozing off for a short moment (like in a boring meeting)’
<i>tanpharan-tanpharan</i>	‘staggering’
<i>thaʔyan-thaʔyan</i>	‘[manner of] walking with difficulty’
<i>thulum-thulum</i>	‘wobbling (like fat or breasts)’
<i>thek</i>	‘[manner of] hitting lightly’
<i>thwan</i>	‘sudden bad smell’
<i>tuk-tuk</i>	‘[sitting] squatted, crouching’
<i>whan-whan</i>	‘[barking] loudly’
<i>wop</i>	‘[manner of] slapping with full hand’
	‘(producing a deep, loud sound)’
<i>yakcik-yakcik</i>	‘[sound of] squeezing, chewing (e.g. chewing gum)’
<i>yakpuruk-yakpuruk</i>	‘[sound of] squeezing (e.g. millet mash for beer)’
<i>yangaj-yangaj</i>	‘[manner of] toppling over (humans and objects)’

- d. *sukluk* *ips-a-khy-a=na*
dozing_off sleep[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST=NMLZ.SG
‘She dozed off.’
- e. *ka* *ebbebe* *kisit-a-ŋ* *khon*
1SG trembling be_afraid-PST-1SG so_that
ghwa-ghwa *hab-a-ŋ*
bawling cry-PST-1SG
‘I was scared, so that I bawled out loudly.’ [42_leg_10.047]
- f. *uŋci=ga* *sokma* *thwan* *nam-ma*
3NSG=GEN breath smelling_awfully smell[3]-PRF
‘Their breath smelled awfully.’ [41_leg_09.045]

4 The geomorphic orientation system

4.1 Introduction

*Geomorphic*¹ spatial expressions present an absolute system, relying on the features of the landscape. The anchor of this system is the inclination of the steep hills that shape so many aspects of life in the Kiranti area (see also Figure 4.1). The system is absolute, as the directions of uphill and downhill are grounded in the environment and do not depend upon the orientation of the speaker or any other object. It can also be deictic, however, because these directions are in many cases defined from the perspective of the utterance context.

As a distinctive feature of Kiranti languages, geomorphic systems have been the subject of a number of studies, for example by Allen (1972) for Thulung, Bickel (1994, 1999a, 1997b, 2001) for Belhare, Gaenszle (1999) for Mewahang, Dirksmeyer (2008) for Chintang.² What makes Kiranti languages special is that this topography-based deixis is also used for micro-location, for instance for distinguishing two glasses on a table or two branches on a tree.

There are two mapping systems, large-scale, defined by the global inclination of the Himalayas (roughly, ‘uphill’ can be equated with ‘north’ in this mapping system), and small-scale, defined by the cline of individual hills. As also pointed out for Belhare by Bickel (1997b: 55), the large-scale abstraction ignores the cline of individual hills, and the small-scale abstraction ignores horizontal planes on a hill. To give an example for the large-scale abstraction: speakers refer to any location outside the

¹ Terminology following Bickel (1997b).

² Geomorphic orientation systems are, however, not unique to Kiranti languages. Another famous example is the Mayan language Tzeltal (Brown & Levinson 1993).

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Himalayas (even as far away as Europe or America) as ‘downhill’. To give an example for the small-scale abstraction: rooms on the same level of the house are divided into ‘uphill’ and ‘downhill’ rooms, depending on which side of the house faces the hill on which it is located. The latter can be extended to refer to ‘up’ and ‘down’, too (as in ‘up into the sky’).



Figure 4.1: A typical trail in Tumok

Geomorphic deixis permeates Yakkha grammar; it features in a number of word classes and grammatical subsystems, in demonstratives, adverbs, postpositions, verbs and even interjections.³ This shows how deeply rooted the geomorphic system is in the grammar of Yakkha, and how strongly environmental factors may shape a language.⁴ Bickel &

³ Other Kiranti languages like Belhare, Bantawa or Khaling furthermore distinguish altitude in their locative case systems (Ebert 1994; Bickel 1997b).

⁴ The Yakkha system (and Kiranti languages in general) also shows that spatial orientation is by no means universally egocentric (based on the body of the speaker), as had been claimed before the discovery of geomorphic deixis.

Gaenszle (1999) also point out the salience of the ‘hill’ conception in cultural domains such as architecture, rituals and mythology in the Kiranti cultural sphere. For Yakkha, this connection remains to be studied.

In the following, I will briefly lay out the system, before illustrating its application in each word class. Geomorphic forms in Yakkha are based on two sets of roots, called /u/-forms and /o/-forms in the following discussion. They indicate a threefold distinction: words based on *tu* and *to* for ‘uphill’, on *mu* and *mo* for ‘downhill’ and on *yu* and *yo* for ‘across (at the same altitude)’. The distinction between the /u/-forms and the /o/-forms is one of deictic transposition, as in Belhare (see Bickel 1997b, 2001).

The schematic diagrams in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 provide a bird’s eye view on the deictic field, and the black dots indicate the speaker. In both sets, the deictic field is partitioned into four quadrants. In the /u/-forms, the point of reference for projecting the four quadrants (indicated by ‘ø’) is located within the speech situation. Objects located uphill from the interlocutors are indicated by forms based on *tu*, objects located downhill from the interlocutors are indicated by forms based on *mu*, and objects on the same level (to either side of them) are indicated by forms based on *yu* (see Figure 4.2). Contrasts like left/right or front/back do exist in Yakkha, but they are rarely used in the expression of spatial orientation. The speakers are able to provide the lexemes when they are asked, but I have no instance of recorded natural speech using *pheksaŋ* ‘left’ and *chuptaŋ* ‘right’. From the available lexical information, the left side is connoted negatively; it is used metaphorically in a term for a malicious wizard, for instance. This also fits with the widespread perception of the left hand as impure in South Asian societies. The terms *ondaŋ* ‘front’ and *heksaŋ* ‘back’ are used more frequently than ‘left’ and ‘right’.

In the /o/-forms, the point of reference for projecting the four quadrants is transposed to a location that is not identical to the speech situation. The distinctions between ‘uphill’, ‘downhill’ and ‘across’ are now determined from the perspective of this transposed point of reference (see Figure 4.3; positioning the speaker on the left side of the diagram

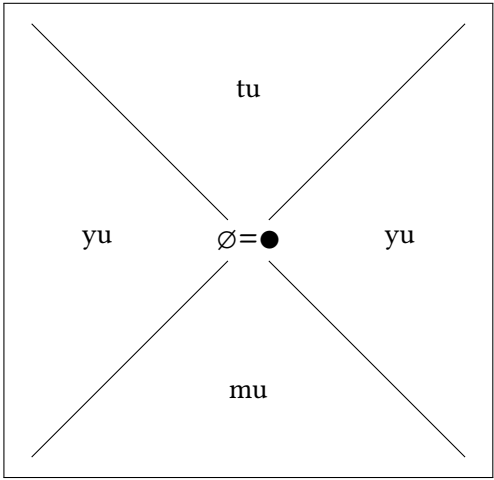


Figure 4.2: The deictic mapping system of the /u/-forms

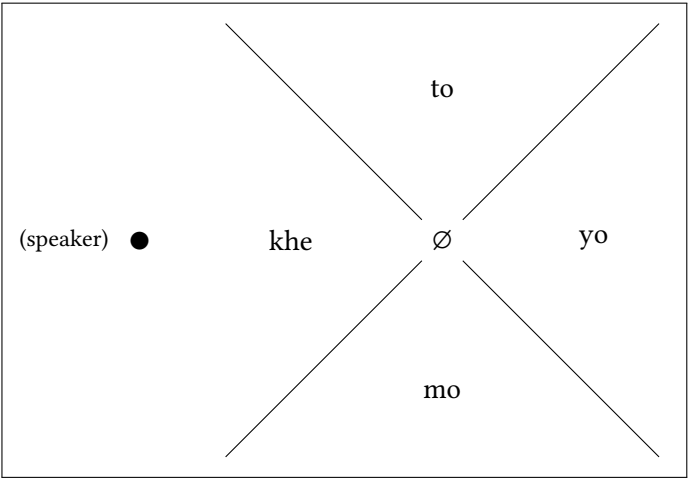
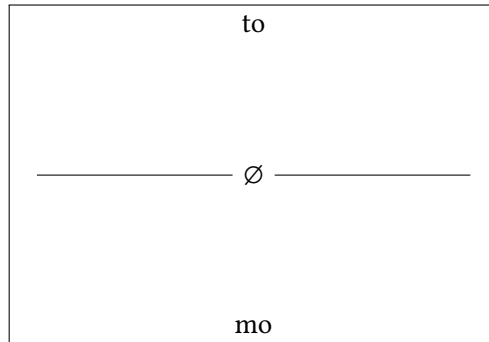


Figure 4.3: The transposed mapping system of *khe* and the /o/-forms

Figure 4.4: Object-centered usage of *mo* and *to*

was an arbitrary choice, he could as well have been posited on the right side; of course with a consequent reversal of *yo* and *khe*). Furthermore, if the transposed zero point is on the same elevation level as the interlocutors, a fourth root *khe* comes into play, indicating the field between this new zero point and the speech situation. This field opens up only in the transposed system. The transposed zero point is important for generic statements and when the speaker talks about events he saw in movies, for instance. Given the transposed zero-point, it is only natural that there are more adverbs derived from the /o/-forms than from the /u/-forms. The /o/-forms also serve as bases for spatial postpositions. Postpositions derived from the /u/-forms would only have the potential to locate objects with respect to the speech situation, not with respect to other objects.

The /o/-forms are also used to locate objects, or parts of objects, in relation to one another, for instance in order to determine the upper and the lower floor of a house, or in statements like 'I climbed up the tree', where one abstracts away from the topography. In this object-centered system of spatial orientation, the location of the speech situation is irrelevant. This is outlined in Figure 4.4. There are some fixed expressions like *mokha?la-tokha?la* 'up and down' (lit.: 'down and up'). Similarly, *yo* and *khe* are used to convey contrasting directions on the same level (regardless of where the speaker is located), for instance in expressions like *yokha?la-khekha?la* 'to and fro, back and forth'.

After this rather abstract characterization of the geomorphic orientation system of Yakkha, the remaining sections will illustrate how it is applied in each grammatical subsystem. Demonstratives (together with the interjections), are discussed in §4.2, adverbs in §4.3, postpositions in §4.4 and verbs in §4.5.

4.2 Demonstratives

There are two sets of demonstratives, one featuring the the deictic /u/-forms and one featuring the transposed /o/-forms, as summarized in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Structurally, these subsets are different from each other, too. The /o/-forms are inherently adverbial and become nominal through nominalization with =*na* (SG) or =*ha* ~ =*ya* (NSG/NC). This is illustrated for *to* in example (1). These demonstratives can be used adnominally or pronominally. The /u/-forms are essentially adverbs, too, but they can also be used as interjections, i.e. as proforms for clauses (see example (2)). In this function they have a characteristic intonation. Uttered to attract the hearer’s attention and to make him look in a particular direction, they are often accompanied by pointing gestures. The /u/-forms always locate an object with respect to the speech situation, i.e., the zero point is identical to the utterance context. This explains why the /u/-forms can combine with the proximal demonstratives, *na* and *kha* (cf. §1.3), to yield the topography-specific demonstratives shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Geomorphic demonstratives, /u/-forms

DIRECTION	ROOT (ADV/INTERJ)	DEMONSTRATIVE (SG/NSG, NC)
UP	<i>tu</i>	<i>tunna/tukha</i>
ACROSS	<i>yu</i>	<i>yunna/yukha</i>
DOWN	<i>mu</i>	<i>munna/mukha</i>

Table 4.2: Geomorphic demonstratives, /o/-forms and *khe*

DIRECTION	ROOT (adv.)	DEMONSTRATIVE (SG/NSG, NC)
UP	<i>to</i>	<i>tona/toha</i>
ACROSS (BEYOND)	<i>yo</i>	<i>yona/yoha</i>
ACROSS	<i>khe</i>	<i>kheha/kheha</i>
DOWN	<i>mo</i>	<i>mona/moha</i>

- (1) a. *to khy-a!*
uphill go-IMP
‘Go up!’
- b. *to=na paŋ*
uphill=NMLZ.SG house
‘the upper house’
- (2) a. *mu! puchak!*
INT snake
‘Look, down there! A snake!’
- b. *tu! maŋme!*
INT eagle
‘Look, up there! An eagle!’

Examples of /u/-demonstratives are shown in (3). In (3a), the home of the person referred to by *buddhini* is located on the same level as the speaker’s home, where she is sitting at the time of speaking. Example (3b) is from a mythical story that takes place in the environment and the array of villages as they are today, and the place called Manglabare is uphill from the speech situation (in Tumok village). The /u/-forms are also used for microlocation, such as pointing out a spider to the downhill side of the speaker, even if it is located on the same elevation level (see Figure 4.5).

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- (3) a. *nhaŋ yunna buddhini=ca eko*
 and_then this_across buddhist_woman=ADD one
pi-ŋ
 give[PST]-1SG.A
 ‘And I gave one to the buddhist woman (living) over there.’
 [36_cvs_06.387]
- b. *ŋ-ikt-uks-u-ci=hoŋ tunna*
 3PL.A-chase-PRF-3.P[PST]-3NSG.P=SEQ this_uphill
manlabare n-da-ya-by-a-ma
 Manglabare 3PL-come-PST-V2.GIVE-PST-PRF
 ‘As they (the Limbus) chased them (Lalubang and Phalubang),
 they (the Limbus) already came up to Manglabare.’ (lit. ‘to
 Manglabare uphill’) [22_nrr_05.029]

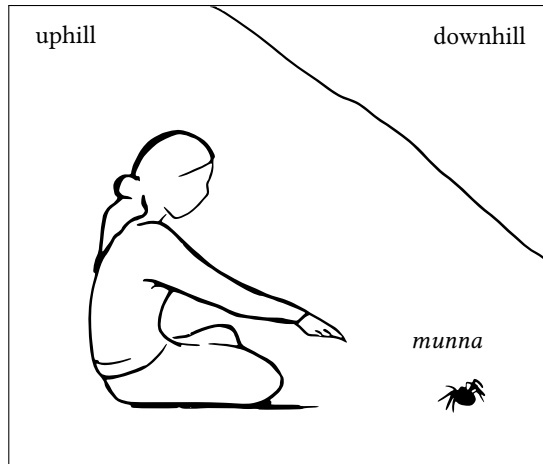


Figure 4.5: The /u/-forms in practice

In contrast, the /o/-forms are found in generic statements (see (4a)), and in procedural descriptions, that are detached from the here and now of the speech situation (see (4c)). They are also found in contexts that open up a secondary deictic field, such as in movies (see example (4b) from a pear story).

- (4) a. *nhaŋ eko=bu, mo=na tala=ca*
 and_then one=REP downhill=NMLZ.SG floor=ADD
me-wa-m=ha=bu
 NEG-live-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.NSG=REP
 ‘And one more thing: the Linkhas shall not live on the ground
 floor, too, it is said.’ [11_nrr_01.040]
- b. *nhaŋa hon=na mamu=nun,*
 and_then that_very=NMLZ.SG girl=COM
saikal=be ta-yatasa=na
 bicycle=LOC come[3SG]-PST.PROG=NMLZ.SG
yo=na mamu=ca, nhaŋa kha?la
 across=NMLZ.SG girl=ADD and_then like_this
lukt-a-sy-a-ci, men=na=i?
 bump_into-PST-MDDL-PST-DU COP.NEG=NMLZ.SG=Q
 ‘And that earlier girl and the girl that was coming on the
 bike, they collided like this, right?’⁵ [34_pea_04.025]
- c. *to=na paŋ=be ku-nun-ma,*
 up=NMLZ.SG house=LOC guard-V2.SIT-INF[DEONT]
sin-di-me, mo=na paŋ=be
 die-V2.GIVE[3SG]-NPST downhill=NMLZ.SG house=LOC
tha n-leŋ-me-n,
 knowledge NEG-happen[3SG]-NPST-NEG,
ka-ma paŋyo ai?
 say-INF[DEONT] have_to TAG
 ‘In the upper house, people keep sitting at the sickbed, some-
 one dies eventually – in the lower house, they have no idea,
 one has to tell them, right?’⁶ [29_cvs_05.028]

⁵ The verb form *tayatasa* could not be analyzed, as no corresponding paradigm could be elicited. According to the Nepali translations, I tentatively labelled it ‘past progressive’.

⁶ This example refers to another Yakkha custom: firing rifles for announcements, in pairs to announce marriages, and in single shots to announce the death of a member of the household. The choice of *tona* and *mona* in this example is arbitrary, it could as well be the other way round, as this is just an example made by the speaker to illustrate the custom; the sentence does not refer to any particular constellation of houses.

As pointed out in the introduction, the /o/-forms are also used when two objects are located with respect to each other, as in such cases the zero point is also not identical to the speech situation, but located between the related objects, such as in (5). In this example, two people look downhill, seeing two swallows sitting on a parallel wires (as illustrated in Figure 4.6). Interlocutor A points out something about one of the swallows and interlocutor B wants to reconfirm whether he got the reference right. The zero point for the projection is located between the two birds. The demonstrative *tona* refers to the bird closer to the hill on which the interlocutors are located and serves as the anchor of the relation, and *mona* refers to the bird on the wire further away from that hill. If the swallows had been located uphill from the interlocutors, the question would have been exactly the same as the one uttered in (5); the speech situation is irrelevant for the interpretation of this utterance.

- (5) *to=na=em* *mo=na=em?*
 uphill=NMLZ.SG=ALT downhill=NMLZ.SG=ALT
 ‘(Do you mean) the upper one or the lower one?’

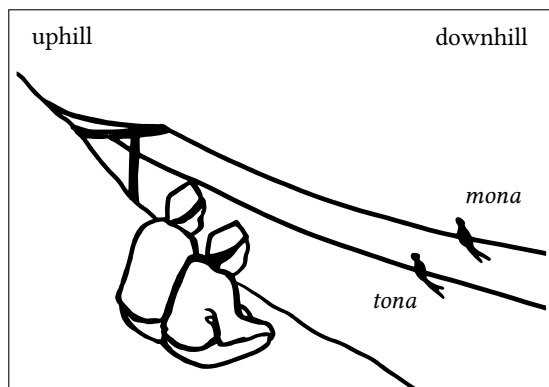


Figure 4.6: Illustration for example (5)

The uphill-downhill distinction can also be mapped onto the human body, as in (6). These designations are used regardless of the orientation of a person, thus instantiating an exception to the topography-based

system.

- (6) a. *mo=ha* *keη=ci*
 downhill=NMLZ.NSG tooth=NSG
 ‘lower teeth’
 b. *to=ha* *keη=ci*
 uphill=NMLZ.NSG tooth=NSG
 ‘upper teeth’

Things look slightly different on the horizontal plane: in example (7a), two houses are identified that are both on the same altitude level as the interlocutors. The house further away is referred to as *yona*, the closer one is *khe**na*, a distinction most closely rendered by ‘there, thither’ and ‘here, hither’ in the English translation (see also Figure 4.7, which features *mo* and *to* as well). In Figure 4.7, the couple in the foreground represents the speech situation.

- (7) a. *eh, khe=na* *paη menna,*
 oh across_here=NMLZ.SG house NEG.COP=NMLZ.SG
yo=na=le
 across_there=NMLZ.SG=CTR
 ‘Oh, not the closer house, the next one!’
 b. *mela=be yo khe*
 market=LOC across_there across_here
son-ca-saη
 look-V2.EAT-SIM
 ‘Looking around in the market, ...’ [01_leg_07.152]

The quadrant indicated by *yo* is always beyond some (real or imagined) boundary on the horizontal level, i.e. it is projected from a zero point that must be distinct from the speech situation. The space between that boundary and the speech situation is the field indicated by *khe*.⁷ In example (7a), the utterance context is relevant for the interpre-

⁷ In this light, it also makes sense that *khe* is never used in opposition to *yu*. A *khe*-quadrant opens up only when the zero point for the projection is transposed, while the field indicated by *yu* projects directly from the speech situation.

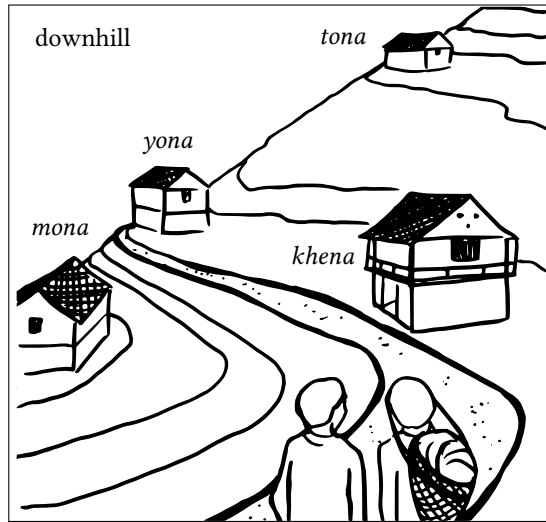


Figure 4.7: The transposed system in practice

tation of *yo* and *khe*,⁸ while this is not the case for the *mo/to* distinction in (6b), for instance. As mentioned above, the *yo/khe* contrast can also be used generically, independent of any particular utterance context, as in example (7b).

As the /u/-forms always rely on information that is retrievable from the utterance context, they are not compatible with the reportative marker =*bu*. Thus, while (8a) is perfectly fine, (8b) is pragmatically awkward.⁹ Another example for /o/-forms combining with =*bu* is (4a) above.

- (8) a. *to=na* *minuma*
 uphill=NMLZ.SG cat
lukt-a-khy-a=na=bu?
 run[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST=NMLZ.SG=REP

⁸ Note that it is not the case that *yona* always refers to the object between an upper and a lower object (the same is true for Belhare, see Bickel (2001)). If the speakers were standing on the level of the lower house, the demonstrative referring to it would change from *mona* to *yona*.

⁹ The reportative marker can also be found on embedded speech, both direct and indirect; see also §?? and §??.

‘It was said that the upper cat ran away?’

- b. ?*tu-nna* *minuma*
 this_uphill cat
 lukt-a-khy-a=na=bu?
 run[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST=NMLZ.SG=REP
 Intended: ‘It was said that the cat up there ran away?’

The examples in (9) show that the proximal/distal demonstratives (see §1.3.1) and the ‘uphill’/‘downhill’ demonstratives are not mutually exclusive; they can be used together in one syntagm. The former indicate proximity or distance to the speaker, while the latter locate the objects with respect to each other and the cline of the hill. In (9a), the zero point is located between the upper and the lower rocks of a group of rocks, and in (9b), the zero point is located in the middle of the road.¹⁰

- (9) a. *na* *mo=na* *luŋkhwak*
 this downhill=NMLZ.SG stone
 ‘this lower rock (of a group of rocks)’ [37_nrr_07.031]
- b. *mo=na* *u-lap,* *to=na*
 downhill=NMLZ.SG 3SG.POSS-wing uphill=NMLZ.SG
 u-lap, *na* *lambu* *ghak* *ak=ka=i!*
 3SG.POSS-wing this road all 1SG.POSS=GEN=EMPH

‘The uphill side, the downhill side, this road is all mine!’

[36_cvs_06.206]

The examples in (10) illustrate abstractions away from the closest hill as the anchoring element. In (10a), *mu* refers to a place outside the hills and far away (Germany). In (10b), via reduplication of the initial CV-cluster, the root intensifies its meaning, i.e. *tutunna* refers to an object further away than *tunna*. These reduplications are also found in the corresponding adverbs (see §4.3 below).

¹⁰ As the proximal/distal demonstratives *na/na* show a functional overlap with *khen* and *yona*, these two sets are not expected to occur together.

- (10) a. *mu*, [...] *nniŋ=ghe* *i=ha*
downhill [...] 2PL.POSS=LOC what=NMLZ.NSG
cog-wa-m-g=ha?
do-NPST-2PL.A-2=NMLZ.NSG
‘Downhill, where you live, what do you do (when someone dies)?’ [29_cvs_05.008]
- b. *tunna* *cokcoki=nun* *tu-tunna* *cokcoki*
that_uphill star=COM REDUP-that_uphill star
‘the star up there and the star even further up’

4.3 Adverbs

This section discusses the adverbs that belong to the geomorphic orientation system. In §1.3 a set of adverbs has been introduced that is based on a proximal/distal/anaphoric distinction. The adverbs discussed in the following are based on the same distinctions between /o/-forms and /u/-forms as the demonstratives discussed in §4.2 above. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 provide an overview of all geomorphic adverbial expressions in Yakkha.

Table 4.3: Geomorphic adverbs, the /u/-forms

	UP	ACROSS	DOWN
LOC/INTERJ	<i>tu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>mu</i>
LOC-PROX	<i>tunhe</i>	<i>yunhe</i>	<i>munhe</i>
LOC-DIST	<i>tunnhe</i>	<i>yunnhe</i>	<i>munnnhe</i>
LOC-DIST-EMPH	<i>tutunnhe</i>	<i>yuyunnhe</i>	<i>mumunnhe</i>

The adverbs based on the proximal/distal distinction are *nhe* ‘here’ (see (11a)) and *nnhe* ‘there’ (with initial gemination of the nasal). The adverb *nnhe* is used to refer to distant locations and to locations in another deictic field, as it is opened up by a movie, for instance (see (11b) from a pear story) or by talking on the phone. The anaphoric form is *honnhe* ‘just there, at a location mentioned earlier’ (see also §1.3.2).

Table 4.4: Geomorphic adverbs, /o/-forms and *khe*

	UP	ACROSS PROX	DIST	DOWN
LOC/DIR	<i>to</i>	<i>khe</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>mo</i>
DIR	<i>tokha?la</i>	<i>khekha?la</i>	<i>yokha?la</i>	<i>mokha?la</i>
ABL/DIR	<i>tondaŋ</i>	<i>khendaŋ</i>	<i>yondaŋ</i>	<i>mondaŋ</i>
LEVEL	<i>topparik</i>	<i>khepparik</i>	<i>yopparik</i>	<i>mopparik</i>
LEVEL-ABL	<i>topparindaŋ</i>	<i>khepparindaŋ</i>	<i>yopparindaŋ</i>	<i>mopparindaŋ</i>
QUANT	<i>torok</i>	<i>kherek</i>	<i>yorok</i>	<i>morok</i>
QUANT-EMPH	<i>to?torok</i>	<i>khe?kherek</i>	<i>yo?yorok</i>	<i>mo?morok</i>
LOC-PROX	<i>na?to</i>	<i>na?khe</i>	<i>na?yo</i>	<i>na?mo</i>
LOC-DIST	<i>nna?to</i>	<i>nna?khe</i>	<i>nna?yo</i>	<i>nna?mo</i>
LOC-PROX-QUANT	<i>na?torok</i>	<i>na?kherek</i>	<i>na?yorok</i>	<i>na?morok</i>

- (11) a. *imin=na, haku nhe, hen=se; haku*
how=NMLZ.SG now here today=RESTR now
so?-ma=na=lai!
look-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.SG=EXCLA
‘How is he; now he (the prospective groom) is here, only
today; now we have to look at him!’ [36_cvs_06.374]
- b. *qhakani=be s-wa, nnhe eko*
basket=LOC look-NPST[3SG.P] there one
man=na
COP.NEG=NMLZ.SG
‘He looks into the basket, and there is not even one.’
[34_pea_04.040]

These proximal and distal adverbs can be specified further by combining them with the /u/-forms of the geomorphic set, in the same way as it has been shown above for the demonstratives. Both sets rely on the utterance context, and are, therefore, compatible. Altogether, one arrives at three more forms for each ‘here’ and ‘there’: *tunhe/tunnhe* ‘up here/there’, *munhe/munnhe* ‘down here/there’ and *yunhe/yunnhe*

‘across here/there’. The resulting complex forms are illustrated by the examples in (12).

- (12) a. *ηkha=nun* *nhe* *gobar*, *pik=ka* *u-hi*,
that=COM here cow_dung cow=GEN 3SG.POSS-shit
bachi=ga, *goru=ga* *men=na*, *munhe*
cow=GEN ox=GEN NEG.COP=NMLZ.SG down_here
kha?la *yun-ma=hoη* *tika*
like_this put-INF=SEQ blessing
wa?-me?-ma
wear-CAUS-INF[DEONT]
‘With this (*dubo* grass), here, cow dung, from a female cow,
not from an ox, one has to place it down here like this and
apply a blessing (at the main door of the house).’
[31_mat_01.089]
- b. *munne* *sombare* *daju=ge*
down_there Sombare eB=LOC
η-wa?=ya=ci=bu, *hau* *jeppa!*
3PL-exist=NMLZ.NSG=NSG=REP EXCLA really
‘Oh! Sombare brother down below has some (mushrooms),
they say, really!’
[13_cvs_02.079]
- c. *ka=go* *tunne* *bhitta=be*
1SG=TOP up_there wall=LOC
he?-ma-sy-a-η=na=le,
cut-INF-AUX.PROG-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG=CTR
a-na=ηa, *uks-a-ga=i*,
1SG.POSS-eZ=ERG come_down-IMP-2=EMPH
uks-a *ly-a-η=hoη*
come_down-IMP tell-PST-1SG=SEQ
‘I was cutting (grass) up there at the wall, but my elder sister
said: please come down, come down, ...’
[28_cvs_04.315]

As example (13) shows, the /u/-forms can also be used independently, in adverbial function.

- (13) *mu jetha=ηa biha cog-a*
 down first_born_male=ERG marriage do[3SG]-SBJV
bhoη, mu jetha=ηa
 COND down first_born_male=ERG
hiη-ma=na
 support-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘If Jetha down here marries a girl, he has to care for her.’ (point-
 ing to someone sitting in the same room as the speaker, but in
 the corner pointing downhill) [28_cvs_04.127]

A natural example of a reduplicated form is shown in (14). Typically, the reduplicated forms contrast an object further away with a closer object. In this example, however, the emphasis usually connected to this reduplication is not very strong; in the afterthought at the end of the sentence, the simple form *tunnhe* is used.¹¹ For instance, if the speaker points downhill towards two houses, the closer location is indicated by *munne* ‘down there’ and the one further down is indicated by *mu-munne* ‘further down there’.

- (14) *ka ηkha?la bhoη tu-tunnhe*
 1SG like_that COND REDUP-there_uphill
bhauju=ghe wa-ya-masa-η=na raecha,
 sister-in-law=LOC be-PST-PST.PRF-1SG=NMLZ.SG MIR
tunnhe=ba
 there_uphill=EMPH
 ‘If it is like that, I had been uphill at my sister-in-law’s house,
 just up there.’ [36_cvs_06.399]

The /o/-forms are used when the zero point is not located within the speech situation. Thus, they cannot combine in one word with the deictic forms *nhe* and *nnhe*. They can combine with other morphology, e.g. with case markers, to convey a variety of spatial notions, such as ablative and directive, shown in (15). The roots *mo*, *to* and *yo* are inherently locative, so that they cannot combine with the locative *=pe* (for

¹¹ The mirative (see §??) is used here because the speaker finally remembers where she had been at a particular day some weeks prior to this conversation.

instance, **mobe* is ungrammatical). Forms as in (15a) can be used both with an ablative and a directive reading.

- (15) a. *mondan ky-a=na.*
 from_below come_up[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He came up from below.’
- b. *yondan eko mamu a-cya*
 from_over_there one girl 1SG-child
we=ppa=ʔlo!
 exist[3SG;NPST]=EMPH=EXCLA
 ‘(But) I have a daughter from (my ex-husband) over there!’
 [06_cvs_01.018]
- c. *tokhaʔla khy-a!*
 upwards go-IMP
 ‘Go upwards!’

The contrast between *yo* and *khe* (see also Figure 4.3 above) can be illustrated by the following context: the two villages Madi Rambeni and Madi Mulkharka are both located on a hill next to the hill on which Tumok is situated (see also the Map in Figure ?? in §??). These two hills are separated by a river (the Maya Khola), and thus both Madi Rambeni and Madi Mulkharka qualify as *yo* ‘across’ from Tumok. Both villages are roughly on the same altitude level as Tumok, but while Madi Mulkharka is right across (one can see its houses), Madi Rambeni is further away and out of sight. Thus, in a conversation (in Tumok) contrasting the two villages, Madi Mulkharka would be indicated by *khe*, while Madi Rambeni would be referred to by *yo*, since it is further away from Tumok than Madi Mulkharka.

Another set of adverbs is instantiated by adverbs such as *mopparik* ‘right below’ in (16). It refers to a place that is right below the point of reference, like a lower floor or a lower step on a ladder (*-parik* comes from the Nepali noun *paṭī* ‘side’).¹² This set of adverbs, like the forms in (15), can also be used as postpositions (see §4.4 below).

¹² The change of coronal plosives to rhotics in intervocalic position is also attested elsewhere in the language, and closing a word-final CV syllable with /k/ is a common process in the ‘Yakkhification’ of lexical material from Nepali, see §??.

- (16) *honna sem-khuba babu, pheri, i=?lo*
 that_very pluck-NMLZ boy again what=EXCLA
mopparik jhar-a
 right_below descend-NATIV
cok-ma-sy-a=na
 do-INF-AUX.PROG-PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘That guy who was plucking, he was climbing down (the ladder).’
 [34_pea_04.036]

Furthermore, there are forms ending in the syllable *-rok ~ -rek*, i.e. *morok*, *torok*, *yorok* and *kherek*. They convey that something is located (or moving) a bit more in the respective direction than had been presupposed, thus quantifying the distance (see (17)). Example (18) illustrates the same with ablative forms.

- (17) a. *honkha?ninŋa na?masek khi-khuwa yapmi=ci*
 that_very_time night fight-NMLZ person=NSG
yorok torok ŋ-wa-ya-masa
 a_bit_further a_bit_up 3PL-be-PST-PST.PRF
 ‘At that time, those fighting people had been (scattered) a bit further away and a bit further uphill.’ [41_leg_09.057]
- b. *nna ten=be=jhen, mo, yondan*
 that village=LOC=TOP down from_across
morok=ŋa limbu=ci=ca
 a_bit_down=INS Limbu_person=NSG=ADD
ŋ-wa-ya-ma
 3PL-be-PST-PRF
 ‘In that village below, across and then a bit below from there, Limbu people were living, too.’ [22_nrr_05.009]
- (18) a. *mondan kham ket-u-eba*
 from_below ground bring_up-3.P[IMP]-POL.IMP
 ‘Bring up mud from below.’
- b. *miyan morondan*
 a_little from_further_below
ket-u-eba
 bring_up-3.P[IMP]-POL.IMP

‘Bring it up from a bit further below.’ (Context: the mud is better further downhill.)

The adverbs ending in *-rok~ -rek* can also be partly reduplicated, yielding forms like *mo?morok* or *to?torok*. Tentatively, in analogy to the reduplications discussed above, I conclude that this amplifies the distance, too, but there are not enough examples in my data for any strong claims. The reduplicated forms are also used when nothing has been presupposed (cf. also §4.4 on postpositions).

- (19) *beuli singara* *cok-se miyaŋ yo?yorok*
 bride a_wedding_custom do-SUP a_little a_bit_further
ŋ-ghet-wa
 3PL.A-take-NPST[3.P]
 ‘To dress the bride with the sari that the groom got her, they take
 her a bit further away.’ [25_tra_01.043]

The last set of adverbs introduced here has the forms *na?mo*, *nna?mo*, *na?yo*, and so on. They are composed of the singular forms of the proximal/distal demonstratives and the /o/-forms, conveying ‘down here’, ‘down there’, ‘across here’ and so on (see Table 4.4). The cognate forms in Belhare are demonstratives that are marked for environmental case (see Bickel 2001: 226-27). The environmental case system was probably present in earlier stages of Yakkha, too, but apart from these adverbial forms, there is no trace of such a system synchronically. The forms have characteristic stress, i.e. on the first syllable. They locate the utterance context from the perspective of another location. In (20a), the zero point is Manglabare, a place above Tumok (the place of speaking, referred to by *na?mo* ‘down here’). In (20b), the point of reference is the sky, mentioned in the adverbial clause. The sentence in (20c) was uttered by someone who confused two roads, and the point of reference is the point of departure of the speaker’s movement, before she confused the roads.

- (20) a. *haku nnakha lalubaŋ=nun phalubaŋ=ga*
 now those Lalubang=COM Phalubang=GEN

- ten=go naʔmo=man sa,*
 village=TOP down_here=EMPH COP.PST[3SG]
eŋ=ga=e
 1PL.INCL.POSS=GEN=LOC
 ‘Now, that village of Lalubang and Phalubang, though, was
 down here, in our area.’ [22_nrr_05.034]
- b. *na tanʔkheŋ=be pes-a-khy-a-ma=ninʔa*
 this sky=LOC fly-PST-V2.GO-PST-PRF[3SG]=CTMP
naʔmo heko=ha nwak=ci=ŋa haku
 down_here other=NMLZ.NSG bird=NSG=ERG now
nda nhe uŋ-ma
 2SG here come_down-INF
n-dokt-wa-ga-n=na
 NEG-get_to_do-NPST-2.A[3.P]-NEG=NMLZ.SG
n-lu-ks-u
 3PL.A-tell-PRF-3.P[PST]
 ‘When he flew up into the sky, down here the other birds
 told him: Now you will not get the chance to come down
 here any more.’ [21_nrr_04.034-5]
- c. *naʔyo=le sa-ŋ=na, nnaʔyo=le*
 over_here=CTR COP.PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG over_there=CTR
khy-a-ŋ=na?
 go-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘But I was over here, did I go over there?’ [28_nrr_04.030]

With the introduction of these forms, one arrives at two sets that are translatable as ‘down/up/across here’ and ‘down/up/across there’, for instance *naʔmo* and forms like *munhe* for ‘down here’. The contrast between forms like *naʔmo* and *munhe* is, of course, the zero point. While *naʔmo* implies a perspective from a location outside the speech situation (see (20) and (21)), *munhe* refers to a location in the downhill quadrant, as projected from the perspective of the speaker (see e.g. examples (12a)–(c) above). The speaker can choose whether he wants to locate objects from his own perspective or from someone else’s perspective, and sometimes this is fixed by sociolinguistic conventions. In imperatives, for instance, it would be inappropriate to use one’s own perspective,

they are always expressed with /o/-forms, as in (21).

- (21) a. *naʔyo* *ab-a*
 over_here come_across-IMP
 ‘Come over here (from where you are).’
 b. *naʔmo* *uks-a*
 down_here come_down-IMP
 ‘Come down here (from where you are).’

The ‘quantifying’ or ‘degree’ derivation via *-rok* that was introduced above is also possible with *naʔto* (and the related forms), yielding forms like *naʔtorok* ‘a bit closer up here’.

4.4 Postpositions

The geomorphic postpositions are formally identical to the adverbs described in §4.3. They take nominal complements that are marked by the genitive case (see §2.2.2.4). The possessive prefix is, however, not possible on these postpositions, which distinguishes them from relational nouns (cf. §2.3). Table 4.5 provides an overview on the postpositions.

The postpositions *mopparik* and *topparik* indicate a relation of parallel planes located above/below each other, such as stacked books or floors of a house (see (22a)). Example (22b) shows a corresponding adverbial in a (semi-transparent) ablative form.¹³ The same is possible with *yopparik* and *khepparik* on the horizontal level.

If the speaker wants to express that an object is oriented towards a particular direction, the directional forms *tokhaʔla*, *mokhaʔla*, *yokhaʔla* and *khekhaʔla* are used; orientation away from another object is indicated by the ablative forms *tondaŋ*, *mondaŋ*, *yondaŋ* and *khendaŋ* (see (23)).

- (22) a. *tebul=ga* *mopparik*
 table=GEN right_below

¹³ In analogy to these examples, one could assume that there is also a directional *topparikhaʔla/mopparikhaʔla* to indicate directedness towards an upper/lower level, but such forms do not exist. Probably, *topparik* (and related forms) also have a directional meaning.

Table 4.5: Geomorphic postpositions

POSTPOSITION	GLOSS	INTERNAL STRUCTURE
<i>mopparik</i>	right below	‘downhill-side[Nep.]’
<i>topparik</i>	right above	‘uphill-side[Nep.]’
<i>yopparik</i>	right across	‘across-side[Nep.]’
<i>mokha?la</i>	below, downwards	‘uphill-DIR’
<i>tokha?la</i>	above, upwards	‘uphill-DIR’
<i>yokha?la</i>	across, away	‘across-DIR’
<i>mondaŋ</i>	from below	‘downhill-ABL’
<i>tondaŋ</i>	from above	‘uphill-ABL’
<i>yondaŋ</i>	from the same level	‘across-ABL’
<i>mo?morok</i>	a bit below	
<i>to?torok</i>	a bit above	
<i>yo?yorok</i>	a bit further away	
<i>khe?kherek</i>	a bit closer	

‘below the table (on a lower level, e.g. on the ground)’

- b. *kanciŋ mopparindaŋ ky-a-ci=ha*
 1DU from_right_below come_up-PST-DU=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We came up from the lower floor.’

- (23) a. *tebul=ga tokha?la*
 table=GEN upwards
 ‘above the table (e.g. a lamp installed on the wall)’
 b. *tebul=ga mondaŋ chwigam*
 table=GEN from_below chewing_gum
kept-u=na
 glue-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Someone stuck chewing gum below the table.’

The partly reduplicated forms *mo?morok*, *to?torok* and *yo?yorok* convey that an object is located a bit in the respective direction, from the perspective of the object referred to by the complement noun (see (24)).

- (24) a. *uŋci-paŋ=ga moʔmorok eko hoŋma*
 3NSG.POSS-house=GEN bit_downhill one river
wei-sa=na
 exist-PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘A bit downhill from their house there was a river.’
 [01_leg_07.283]
- b. *hon=na yuktham=ga yoʔyorok*
 that_very=NMLZ.SG place=GEN bit_further
kheʔkherek
bit_closer
 ‘around that place/the surroundings of that place’
 [01_leg_07.269]

4.5 Motion verbs

Several motion verbs have also lexicalized the uphill/downhill distinction, as shown in example (25) and in Table 4.6. Event specification with regard to the topography is highly frequent. Even though neutral forms are available (also included in the table), the pragmatically expected forms are those specifying the event for the *mo/to/yo* distinction. This specificity reaches well beyond ‘classical’ motion events. Small-scale motions, too, like putting, repairing, stacking, looking, turning or calling are often precisely specified with respect to their spatial orientation. This is achieved by means of complex predicates with different function verbs (see (25b) and Table 7.1 in Chapter 7). Motion away from a point of reference is not specified with respect to the topography, there are only the neutral verbs ‘go’ and ‘carry off’. This is unexpected pragmatically: in motion events towards a point of reference, the speaker and the hearer are usually identifiable, and with them, the direction of the movement. In motion events away from a point of reference, as in ‘go’ and ‘carry off’, the direction of the movement is less predictable, and therefore, it would be more important pragmatically to specify events of going with regard to the topography-based distinctions.

Table 4.6: Geomorphic distinctions in motion verbs

	COME	BRING
NEUTRAL	<i>ta</i> ‘come’ (from a greater distance)	<i>ta?</i> ‘bring’
NEUTRAL	<i>khe?</i> ‘go’	<i>khet</i> ‘carry off’
UP	<i>ke?</i> ‘come up’	<i>ket</i> ‘bring up’
ACROSS	<i>ap</i> ‘come’ (same level, small distance)	<i>apt</i> ‘bring’
DOWN	<i>uks ~ uŋ</i> ‘come down’	<i>ukt</i> ‘bring down’

- (25) a. *kanciŋ to tub-i=hoŋ*
 1PL up meet-1PL=SEQ
uks-a-ŋ-ci-ŋ=hoŋ *yo*
 come_down-PST-EXCL-DU-EXCL=SEQ across
tas-a-ŋ-c-u-ŋ=ba
 arrive-PST-EXCL-DU-3.P-EXCL=EMPH
 ‘Having met uphill (many people), we (two) came down
 (home) and arrived across (at a neighbour’s house on the
 same level as the speaker’s home).’ [36_cvs_06.395]
- b. *na eko=ŋa=go*
 this one=ERG=TOP
thend-u-get-uks-a=ba, *nna, om*
 lift-3.P-V2.BRING_UP-3.P-PRF-PST=EMPH that bright
leks-a=nin̩a
 become-PST[3SG]=CTMP
 ‘One of them lifted it (the rock) and carried it up (holding
 in his hands, not carrying on his back), while the sun came
 out.’ [37_nrr_07.086]

These topography-specific verbs are only compatible with suitable adverbial expressions. For instance, *apma* ‘come over’ can only be used with *yondaŋ* ‘from a location on the same altitude level’. Interestingly, this verb is also used when ‘coming over’ implies climbing down 800 meters, crossing a river and then climbing up on the other side again.

5 Verbal inflection

This chapter deals with the inflectional morphology of the Yakkha verb. Word formation on the verb level is treated in Chapter 7 on complex predicates, and in §?? on transitivity operations.

The verbs can be grouped according to their stem forms and alternations (treated in §5.1). Most verbal roots have a pre-vocalic and one or more pre-consonantal forms. There are lexical alternations and those that can be explained with morphophonological processes such as elision, voicing and assimilation.

Yakkha verbal inflection is highly polysynthetic and overwhelmingly suffixing; the verb can carry up to seven suffixes, while there is only one prefix slot. The finite verb is inflected for person and number of subject and object (treated in §5.2), polarity (§5.3), tense/aspect (§5.4) and mood (§5.5). Politeness or honorific distinctions are not grammaticalized in the Tumok dialect, except for the imperative, which has an additional politeness register. In the Dandagaun dialect, there is an honorific construction which is calqued upon the Nepali honorific verbal inflection (§5.6). The inflection of the copular verbs slightly deviates from the regular verbal inflection; it is treated in §5.7. Two further verbal markers that do not fit elsewhere (the nativizer *-a* and the knowledge marker *-les*) are treated in §5.8. The finite verb stands in opposition to infinitives, converbs and nominalizations that are restricted to polarity and, occasionally, number inflection (see §5.9).

Table 5.1 shows an overview of the most important verbal affixes in the regular verbal paradigm, and Table 5.2 shows schematically how all markers are distributed over the inflectional slots. Except for some idiosyncrasies in the inflection of copulas, there are no inflectional classes; all differences in inflectional behavior can be explained by morphophonology.

Table 5.1: Overview of the major verbal inflectional markers

PERSON-NUMBER	
<i>-ŋ</i>	1
<i>-ka</i>	2
<i>-u</i>	3.P
<i>-nen</i>	1>2
<i>-i</i>	1/2 plural
<i>-ci</i>	dual or 3 nonsingular P
<i>N-</i>	3 plural S/A
<i>=na</i>	singular
<i>=ha</i>	nonsingular or non-countable
TENSE-ASPECT	
<i>-meʔ/-wa</i>	nonpast
<i>-a</i>	past
<i>-ma/-uks</i>	perfect
<i>-masa/-uksa</i>	past perfect
<i>-siʔ</i>	progressive
NEGATION	
<i>N-...-n</i>	
<i>-nin</i>	plural negation
MOOD	
<i>-a</i>	imperative/subjunctive
<i>-ni</i>	optative
INFINITIVE	
<i>-ma</i>	infinitive

5.1 Stem formation

Yakkha verbal roots either have the simple shape (C)V(C), or a complex shape (C)V(C)-s or (C)V(C)-t, carrying one of the coronal augments -s and -t (~ -d ~ -r ~ -ʔ), which can be traced back to valency-increasing suffixes. Such augments can be found throughout Kiranti, but they also have cognates in e.g. Jinghpo, Written Tibetan, Magar, Chepang, some West Himalayaish languages and Qiangic languages (Matisoff 2003: 457-59).¹

From a synchronic perspective, except for a handful of stems,² the distribution of the augments is not relatable to valency change, and hence they cannot be analyzed as synchronic grammatical suffixes. The augment -s surfaces only in inflected verb forms, and only before vowels and /w/ (see (1a)). The augment -t is also found before vowels and /w/ (see (1b)). When the pre-augmented root has CV structure, this augment may surface before other consonants as well, apparently having been re-analyzed as part of the stem (always as [ʔ] before C, compare (1c) with its citation form). Yakkha verbal stems never start with consonant clusters, which supports the analysis of complex onsets as originating in bisyllabic structures.

- (1) a. *khem-ma yas-u=na*
 hear-INF be_able-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He could hear it.’ (citation form: *yama*)
- b. *chimd-u=na*
 ask-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He asked her.’ (citation form: *chimma*)
- c. *thur-u=na*
 sew-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He sewed it.’ (citation form: *thuʔma*)

Yakkha verbs can formally be grouped into intransitively and transitively inflected verbs. Several verb pairs are homophonous, but they

¹ The term (*stem*) *augment* is well established in the Kiranti descriptive tradition, so I decided to keep with it in this work.

² See §??.

have different valencies, e.g. *hot* ‘cough’/‘pierce’, or *ap* ‘come’/‘shoot’. In §5.1.1, the different root types will be presented; §5.1.2 deals with the morphophonological behavior of the stems (for a detailed account of the morphophonology see §??).

A few stems in Yakkha are not monosyllabic. Historically they were bimorphemic (with both noun-verb and verb-verb combinations), but their etymology is at most partially transparent. Examples are *ta-rokt* ‘start’ and *ya-rokt* ‘get to know, get informed’, both containing the stem *tokt* ‘get’ (its word-internal allomorph [rokt]). Other examples are *na-hend* ‘be jealous’, where *na* could be ‘nose’ (but *hend* is not attested as independent verb), *themd-(n)i* ‘compare’ and *hes-ca* ‘defeat’.³ The structure of the morphemes clearly reveals that they are verbal stems historically, but an independent meaning could not be established.⁴

5.1.1 Stem types

5.1.1.1 Unaugmented roots

Unaugmented roots can have open ((C)V) or closed ((C)VC) structure, with CV? roots behaving exceptionally. Table 5.3 lists some verbs with unaugmented roots. Note that in most cases the stem surfaces as it is in the citation form (except for CVn stems, which change to CVm). This is not the case with augmented stems, as will be discussed in the following section.

The consonants in the underlying forms of the roots may undergo voicing and regular assimilations when inflectional morphology attaches to them (discussed in §5.1.2). Verbs of the underlying structure /CV?/ behave exceptionally, since the root-final /ʔ/ gets deleted in the inflection, and the root vowels are less resistant to deletion, too. They may change into glides (/kheʔ-a/ becomes [khyə], /piʔ-a/ becomes [pyə]) or be deleted (/soʔ-wa/ becomes [swa]). Comparison with the closely related Chintang and Belhare languages shows that the Yakkha /CV?/

³ The stems are written with dashes to indicate the former morpheme boundary, which is still transparent since in all verbs one component is still relatable to an existing morpheme.

⁴ For transparent noun-verb predicates and verb-verb predicates see Chapters 6 and 7, respectively.

Table 5.3: Unaugmented roots (CV, CV?, CVC)

ROOT	CITATION FORM	GLOSS
<i>ca</i>	<i>cama</i>	‘eat’
<i>khi</i>	<i>khima</i>	‘quarrel’
<i>u</i>	<i>uma</i>	‘enter’
<i>a</i>	<i>ama</i>	‘descend’
<i>soʔ</i>	<i>soʔma</i>	‘look’
<i>hap</i>	<i>hapma</i>	‘cry’
<i>cok</i>	<i>cokma</i>	‘do’
<i>uŋ</i>	<i>uŋma</i>	‘drink’
<i>um</i>	<i>umma</i>	‘suck’
<i>cen</i>	<i>cemma</i>	‘chop, cut’

roots originate in *CVt historically. In Belhare, cognates to Yakkha /CVʔ/ roots have the form /CVr/ (Bickel 1997a); in Chintang, they have the form /CVd/ (CVɖ in Rai et al. (2011)).

When open roots are followed by a vowel in the verbal inflection, either a glide [y] is inserted or the vowel of the suffix gets deleted (for details see §??). The verb *cama* behaves exceptionally in showing ablaut (with the suppletive root [co]).

5.1.1.2 Augmented roots

The two coronal augments *-s* and *-t* (~ *-d* ~ *-r* ~ *-ʔ* in Yakkha) are typical of Kiranti stem structure. Historically, they had a transitivizing function (Sprigg 1985; Michailovsky 1985; van Driem 1989; Matisoff 2003; Bickel 2003; Bickel et al. 2007a), but synchronically, they are not productive anymore, except for *-t*, which plays a role in the benefactive derivation.⁵ Synchronically, only a handful of verbs still show correspondences between augmentation and increased valency (cf. Table ??

⁵ The benefactive is formed by a complex predicate, with the augment *-t* attached to the lexical root, followed by the V2 *-piʔ* ‘give’, see §??.

in §??).⁶

Four groups of augmented roots have to be distinguished:

- (i) open roots with augment -s
- (ii) closed roots with augment -s, alternating between CVCs and CVN
- (iii) open roots with augment -r ~ -ʔ (*-t)
- (iv) closed roots with augment -t ~ -d

The roots of group (i) have the structure /CV-s/ (see Table 5.4). The augment surfaces only before vowels and /w/, e.g. *nisuna* ‘he saw it’ and *niswana* ‘he will see it’.

Table 5.4: Augmented roots (CV-s)

ROOT	CITATION FORM	GLOSS
<i>nis</i>	<i>nima</i>	‘see, know’
<i>yas</i>	<i>yama</i>	‘be able (to do)’
<i>cis</i>	<i>cima</i>	‘cool down’
<i>us</i>	<i>uma</i>	‘boil, be cooked’
<i>es</i>	(<i>hi</i>) <i>ema</i>	‘defecate’
<i>chus</i>	<i>chuma</i>	‘shrink’

Roots of group (ii) have the underlying structure /CVC-s/, and before consonants they have an alternant CVN, the nasal having the same place of articulation as the underlying consonant (see (2) and Table 5.5). While the deletion of the augment in group (i) above can be explained by phonology alone (no syllable boundaries of the shape [s.C] are allowed in Yakkha), the alternation in group (ii) between CVC and corresponding CVN is lexical, although it is triggered phonologically, too.

⁶ In van Driem (1994) and Gvozdanović (1987), the stem-final -t was analyzed as part of a past suffix (such a suffix indeed exists in some Western Kiranti languages). This was not confirmed by my data, and not even by the data in these sources (collected by Gvozdanović), since -t also appears in the nonpast paradigms there.

This group contains only two types of roots: those ending in /ks/ and those ending in /ps/. Stems ending in a nasal and the augment -s, as they are, e.g., known in Chintang and Belhare (Schikowski 2012; Bickel 1997a), do not occur in Yakkha.⁷

- (2) a. *a-cya* *ips-a-khy-a=na*
 1SG.POSS-child sleep-PST-V2.GO-PST[3]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘My child fell asleep.’
 b. *im-khuba*
 sleep-NMLZ
 ‘sleeper’

Table 5.5: Augmented roots (CVC-s ~ CVN)

ROOT	CITATION FORM	GLOSS
<i>ips ~ im</i>	<i>imma</i>	‘sleep’
<i>tups ~ tum</i>	<i>tumma</i>	‘meet, find, get’
<i>ceps ~ cem</i>	<i>cemma</i>	‘recover, get well’
<i>sops ~ som</i>	<i>somma</i>	‘stroke’
<i>uks ~ uŋ</i>	<i>uŋma</i>	‘come down’
<i>paks ~ paŋ</i>	<i>paŋma</i>	‘send (people)’
<i>kaks ~ kaŋ</i>	<i>kaŋma</i>	‘accept, fall down’
<i>keks ~ keŋ</i>	<i>keŋma</i>	‘bear fruit, ripen’
<i>hiks ~ hiŋ</i>	<i>hiŋma</i>	‘turn around’

The roots of group (iii) have the structure /CV-r/, originating in *CV-t roots (cf. Table 5.6). In this group, the augments have been reanalyzed as part of the root. They surface (as [ʔ]) before nasal and lateral consonants, the verb *hema* ‘dry up’ being an unmotivated exception (see (3a) and Table 5.6).⁸ Before obstruents, the augment /r/ does not surface,

⁷ I could not detect regular correspondences between the CVNs stems found in Belhare, for instance, and any particular stem type in Yakkha: *haŋs* ‘send (things)’ corresponds to Yakkha *haks*, *homs* ‘swell’ corresponds to *homd*, and *hums* ‘bury’ corresponds to *hum* in Yakkha.

⁸ This behavior stands in contrast to the other groups of roots, where augments never

which is the expected behavior. The augment *-r* surfaces before vowels and /w/, in the first case resyllabified as onset of the first syllable of the suffix string (see (3b)). This group shows that roots with augmented *-t* and root-internal *-t* (cf. above) have undergone different developments historically, the first having become /CV-r/, and the second having become /CV-ʔ/ in present-day Yakkha. Thus, an infinitive of the shape CVʔ-ma can have the underlying roots /CVt/, /CVʔ/ or /CV-r/.

- (3) a. *men-niʔ-le*
 NEG-count-CVB
 ‘without counting’
- b. *ikhin ucun=ha tephen*
 how_much nice=NMLZ.NC clothing
thur-uks-u=ha!
 sew-PRF-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NC
 ‘He made such nice clothing!’

Table 5.6: Augmented roots (CV-r)

ROOT	CITATION FORM	GLOSS
<i>her ~ he</i>	<i>hema</i>	‘dry up’
<i>hor ~ hoʔ</i>	<i>hoʔma</i>	‘crumble, fall apart’
<i>nir ~ niʔ</i>	<i>niʔma</i>	‘count’
<i>por ~ poʔ</i>	<i>poʔma</i>	‘topple, fall, fell’
<i>pher ~ pheʔ</i>	<i>pheʔma</i>	‘open widely’
<i>thur ~ thuʔ</i>	<i>thuʔma</i>	‘sew’

The roots of group (iv) have the structure CVC-t ~ CVC-d, with either a plosive or a nasal preceding the augment (see Table 5.7). The augment, as expected, surfaces only before vowels and /w/, being resyllabified as onset of the first syllable of the suffix string (see (4)). Roots ending in /-nd/ are more prone to assimilation processes than the other roots. They assimilate in place of articulation to the following material, as the

surface before consonants.

infinitives and (4c) show.

- (4) a. *chim-nen?*
ask-1>2
'May I ask you?'
- b. *chimd-a-ŋ!*
ask-IMP-1SG.P
'Ask me!'
- c. *uŋ-khuba yapmi*
pull-NMLZ person
'the pulling man' (root: /und/)

Table 5.7: Augmented roots (CVC-t)

ROOT	CITATION FORM	GLOSS
<i>ukt</i>	<i>ukma</i>	'bring down'
<i>tupt</i>	<i>tupma</i>	'light up'
<i>hokt</i>	<i>hokma</i>	'bark'
<i>cheŋd</i>	<i>cheŋma</i>	'stack, raise'
<i>und</i>	<i>umma</i>	'pull'
<i>hond</i>	<i>homma</i>	'fit into'
<i>chumd</i>	<i>chumma</i>	'shrink (clothes)'
<i>chimd</i>	<i>chimma</i>	'ask'
<i>homd</i>	<i>homma</i>	'swell'

There is one exception among the CVC-t roots, and these are roots of the form /CVt/, originating in *CVt-t roots historically. The final /t/ of unaugmented /CVt/ roots got reduced to a glottal stop (see §5.1.1.1), and the augment got reanalyzed as part of the root, yielding a root of the shape CVʔ-t, which became CVt. In closely related languages like Chintang and Belhare, these roots show a geminate /t:/ (Bickel 1997a; Bickel et al. 2007a, 2010).⁹ Although synchronically there is only one consonant /t/ in Yakkha, the roots still show reflexes of their historical

⁹ In Rai et al. (2011) these roots are listed as ending in /t:/ (<ṭṭ>).

complexity. For instance, they do not undergo voicing between vowels (see (5)). In the citation forms, these roots surface as CV?, like the CV? roots (*CVt) and the CVr roots (*CV-t). Table 5.8 shows Yakkha /CVt/ roots and their cognates in Chintang and Belhare.

- (5) a. *ka phat-a-ŋ!* (not: **phadaŋ*)
 1SG help-PST-1SG
 ‘Help me!’
 b. *ka mit-a-ŋ!* (not: **midan*)
 1SG remember-PST-1SG
 ‘Remember me!’

Table 5.8: Chintang and Belhare cognates of Yakkha CVt roots

YAKKHA	GLOSS	CHINTANG	BELHARE
<i>khut</i>	‘bring to’	<i>khutt</i>	<i>khutt</i>
<i>khet</i>	‘carry off’	<i>khatt</i>	<i>khatt</i>
<i>ket</i>	‘bring up’	<i>katt</i>	n.d.
<i>met</i>	‘CAUS’	<i>mett</i>	<i>mett</i>
<i>mit</i>	‘think of, remember’	<i>mitt</i>	<i>mitt</i>
<i>lit</i>	‘plant’	<i>lett</i>	n.d.
<i>phat</i>	‘help’	<i>phatt</i>	<i>phatt</i> (‘exchange’)

The root types and their basic alternation patterns are schematically summarized in Table 5.9. In this table, “CV” should read “(C)V” in all instances. For assimilations see Table 5.10.

5.1.2 Morphophonological behavior of stems

The previous section has introduced the root alternations in their basic forms, grouped according to pre-vocalic and pre-consonantal behavior. Depending on which consonant or vowel follows the root, further processes such as assimilation, gliding and voicing may apply (see Table 5.10). Except for the alternation between CVC-s and CVN, and the somewhat exceptional behavior of CV? roots, all alternations can be ascribed

Table 5.9: Representation of the basic root allomorphy

	UNDERLYING FORM	BEFORE V/-wa	BEFORE C
UNAUGMENTED ROOTS			
(a)	CV(C) CVʔ (<*CVt)	CV(C) CV	CV(C) CV(C)
AUGMENTED ROOTS			
(b)	CV-s	CV-s	CV
(c)	CVC-s ~ (C)VN	CVC-s	CVN
(d)	CV-r	CV-r	CV (before obstr.) ~ CVʔ (before nas./liq.)
(e)	CVC-t CVt (<* (C)Vt-t)	CVC-t CVt	CVC CVʔ (before liq.) ~ CVC (elsewhere)

to phonological processes.

The following processes can be noticed (cf. also §??): assimilation of root-final /n/, /p/ and /pt/ to a bilabial nasal (triggered by a bilabial nasal), assimilation of root-final /k/ and /kt/ to a velar nasal (also triggered by a bilabial nasal), intervocalic and postnasal voicing (e.g. in /cok/ and /ap/). CV roots with an augment (e.g. /pes/, /her/ and /thur/) show that the augment almost never surfaces before consonants. Root-final /t/ and /ʔ/ easily assimilate to the following consonant.

Not only the quality of the subsequent sound, stress, too, plays a role in determining the allomorphs. If one compares roots followed by either *-khuba* (a nominalizer, not stressed) or *-kheʔ* (a function verb, stressed in the citation forms), we can see that the stressed *-kheʔma* has greater phonological impact on the preceding verbal root, since all root-final consonants become nasals before *-kheʔma*. The forms in brackets represent unconditioned variations.

Table 5.10: Examples of stem allomorphs, mostly phonologically conditioned

Σ	Σ - <i>khuba</i>	Σ - <i>khe?</i>	Σ - <i>me?</i>	Σ - <i>saŋ</i>	<i>meN</i> - Σ - <i>le</i>	Σ - <i>ci/-cu</i>	Σ - <i>wa</i>	Σ - <i>V</i>
<i>khe?</i>	khe(k)	-	khe(m)	khe	khe?	khe	-	khy (/ _a) khe (/ _i)
<i>so?</i>	so(k)	soŋ	so(m)	so(s)	so?	so	s	so
<i>cok</i>	cok	coŋ	coŋ	cok	jok	cok	cog	cog
<i>in</i>	in	iŋ	im	in	in	in	in	in
<i>ap</i>	ap	am	am	ap	ap	ap	ab	ab
<i>pes</i>	pe	peŋ	pe	pe	be	pe	pes	pes
<i>thur</i>	thu	thuŋ	thu	thu	thu?	thu	thur	thur
<i>her</i>	he	heŋ	he	he	he	he	her	her
<i>haks</i>	haŋ	haŋ	haŋ	haŋ	haŋ	haŋ	haks	haks
<i>hops</i>	hom	hom	hom	hom	hom	hom	hops	hops
<i>hakt</i>	hak	haŋ	haŋ	hak	hak	hak	hakt	hakt
<i>chimd</i>	chim	chim	chim	chim	chim	chim	chimd	chimd
<i>chept</i>	chep	chem	chem	chep	chep	chep	chept	chept
<i>mit</i>	mik	miŋ	mim	mis	mi?	mi?	mit	mit

5.2 Person, number and syntactic role marking

Intricate person marking systems are the hallmark of Kiranti languages. Yakkha is a “well-behaved” Kiranti language; the verb exhibits a complex indexing system, where person (1, 2, 3 and clusivity for first person), number (singular, dual and plural, sometimes neutralized to non-singular) and syntactic role marking interact. The system is simply referred to as *person marking* in the following for the sake of readability. The person marking is overwhelmingly suffixing; there is only one prefix slot, which is filled by a homorganic and non-syllabic nasal (see (6)). In transitive scenarios, generally both arguments are marked on the verb, and hence the verbal inflection provides a clue about the transitivity of the verb.¹⁰ Due to morphophonological processes such as vowel elision to avoid hiatus, some morphemes undergo changes or are rarely overtly realized. Example (6) also illustrates a further morphophonological process in Yakkha and many other Kiranti languages, known as *suffix copying* or *nasal copying* (Bickel 2003; Doornenbal 2009; Ebert 2003c; Schikowski 2012). Nasal suffixes in Yakkha can be copied regressively and thus may appear up to three times in one suffix string (see §??).

- (6) *m-bi-me-n-c-u-n-ci-ŋa-n=na*
 NEG-give-NPST-[COPY]-DU-3.P-[COPY]-NSG.P-EXCL-NEG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We (dual, exclusive) will not give it to them.’

The verbal inflection is the most complicated part of Yakkha morphology, not just because of the number of affixes, but also because there is no one-to-one mapping of form and function.¹¹ This asymmetry holds for both directions: one functional slot (i.e. the reference to one participant or one scenario) can be marked by a combination of affixes. The first person plural exclusive, for instance, is expressed by *-i*, *-ŋ* and (optionally) *=ha*. At the same time, many markers encode more than one category. The aforementioned *-i* contains the information that the co-

¹⁰ Although there are mismatches between semantic and morphological valency, see Chapter 8.

¹¹ From a comparative Kiranti perspective, however, the Yakkha verbal inflection looks fairly simple and regular.

nominal of the marker is a first or second person plural subject of an intransitive verb or a second person plural object of a transitive verb. Some markers encode only one category, like *-ka* for ‘second person’ or *-ŋ* for ‘exclusive’. Other markers are homophonous, like *-ci*, encoding either dual (any syntactic role) or nonsingular (only third person patients). These are two different markers, since they occupy separate slots in the suffix string. In a few other Kiranti languages, they have different shapes.¹² Ambiguities of affixes can usually be resolved via the morphological context in which the markers appear. Furthermore, a few person-number-role configurations have different markers depending on whether they are in the indicative, imperative or subjunctive mood.

Table 5.11 gives an overview of the person marking affixes in intransitive and transitive (indicative) inflection. Most affixes are restricted to certain syntactic roles. Some markers do not just encode the referential properties of one argument, but stand for whole scenarios, such as the portmanteau morphemes *-nen* marking first person acting on second, and *-m* marking first or second person plural acting on third person. A reference factor that shapes the person paradigm is the dominance of second person in scenarios with third person acting on second (3>2). Two examples for the influence of role must be mentioned here, too: firstly, the dual is not distinguished as consistently in the object marking as it is in the subject marking (both transitive and intransitive) and secondly, the loss of first person nonsingular object marking (from a historical perspective, discussed below).

Thus, the paradigm of person marking does not exhibit one particular alignment type but combinations of role-based (ergative, accusative, neutral) and reference-based or even scenario-based alignment, to be determined for each marker separately.¹³ In one scenario, two inflec-

¹² Limbu, for instance, has *-si/-chi* for dual and *-si* for nonsingular patient (van Driem 1987: 75).

¹³ An alternative view would be to say that languages like Yakkha lack alignment altogether, following a definition of alignment as a property of a whole language instead of as a property of one construction or even one marker. However, the person forms do not appear randomly in the paradigm; one can discern certain groupings and patterns that are pretty consistent across the whole language family, and

tions are possible, namely 1PL.EXCL>2DU, where the suffix string *-nen-cin=ha* was regarded equally acceptable as *-nen-in=ha* by all speakers consulted.

Furthermore, the person inflection interacts with polarity, mood and tense/aspect markers, discussed further below. The cliticized markers *=na* and *=ha* ~ *=ya*, ~ *=a* are nominalizers. In a manner that is common in Sino-Tibetan languages, they are frequently attached to the inflected verb, lending authority to assertions, or emphasis to questions (see Chapter ?? for a detailed analysis). Since they also encode number and role information, they are included in the discussion of person marking.

these would not be acknowledged by dubbing the language as ‘lacking alignment’ or ‘lacking grammatical relations’.

Table 5.11: Indicative person/number marking (intransitive and transitive)

A>P	TRANSITIVE							INTRANSITIVE
	1SG	1NSG	2SG	2DU	2PL	3SG	3NSG	
1SG			-nen(=na)			-u-ŋ(=na)	-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ(=ha)	-ŋ(=na)
1DU,EXCL			-nen-cin(=ha)			-ŋ-c-u-ŋ(=na)	-ŋ-c-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ(=ha)	-ŋ-ci-ŋ(=ha)
1PL,EXCL				-nen-in(=ha)		-u-m-ŋa(=na)	-u-m-ci-m-ŋ(=ha)	-i-ŋ(=ha)
1DU,INCL						-c-u(=na)	-c-u-ci(=ha)	-ci(=ha)
1PL,INCL						-u-m(=na)	-u-m-ci-m(=ha)	-i(=ha)
2SG		-ŋ-ka(=na)				-u-ka(=na)	-u-ci-ka(=ha)	-ka(=na)
2DU						-c-u-ka(=na)	-c-u-ci-ka(=ha)	-ci-ka(=ha)
2PL		-ka(=ha)				-u-m-ka(=na)	-u-m-ci-m-ka(=ha)	-i-ka(=ha)
3SG		-ŋ(=na)	-ka(=na)			-u(=na)	-u-ci(=ha)	(=na)
3DU				-ci-ka(=ha)	-i-ka(=ha)	-c-u(=na)	-c-u-ci(=ha)	-ci(=ha)
3PL		(=ha)	N'...-ka(=na)			N'...-u(=na)	N'...-u-ci(=ha)	N'...(=ha=ci)

The verbal morphology is templatic, with one prefix slot and eleven suffix slots for person and number, established according to the sequences in which the affixes occur relative to each other (see Figure 5.1). The longest suffix string found in the person inflection refers to the scenario 1DU.EXCL>3NSG and contains seven affixes, counting only the person suffixes (see (7a)); the shortest is third person singular (intransitive) and has only one optional slot, since third person singular subject indexing (both transitive and intransitive) does not have a dedicated marker (see (7b)).¹⁴

The schematic representation includes the slots for the nasal copying (-N). Slots no. 1, 3, 6, 13 and 14 are reserved for negation and TAM-marking; Slot 2 may contain either a person marker or a TAM marker.

- (7) a. *tund-a-η-c-u-η-ci-η(=ha)*
understand-PST-N-DU-3.P-N-3NSG.P-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
'We (dual, excl.) understood them.'
- b. *khy-a(=na)*
go-PST(=SG)
'He went.'

2	4	5	7	8	9	10	11	12	(15)	(16)
-nen	-N	-ci ~ -cin	-u	-N	-ci	-m	-η(a)	-ka	(=na)	(=ci)
1>2	(copy)	DUAL	3.P	(copy)	3NSG.P	1/2PL>3	EXCL	2	NMLZ.SG	NSG
		-i ~ -in							(=ha)	
		1/2PL							NMLZ.NSG/	
									NMLZ.NC/	

Figure 5.1: Templatic representation of indicative person/number suffixes

In the following, proceeding from left to right, the individual affixes will be discussed. In general, the labels for the morphemes stand for a maximal extension, since it is often the case that a morpheme is not

¹⁴ The parentheses signalling the optionality of these markers will not be written in the following, except for where their optionality is explicitly discussed. They are optional from a morphological perspective, but not from an information-structural perspective, since under certain conditions they have to occur.

found in all the expected slots.

The prefix slot can only be occupied by an unspecified nasal, which either marks third person plural (in S and A roles) or negation (see §5.3). As it is unspecified with regard to the place of articulation, it assimilates to the place of the initial consonant of the verb stem (see (8)). Before vowels and the glide /w/, it is realized as a velar nasal.

- (8) a. *ŋ-khy-a=ha=ci*
 3PL-go-PST=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘They went.’
 b. *m-bi-a-ga=na*
 3PL.A-give-PST-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘They gave it to you.’
 c. *n-chimd-a-ga=na*
 3PL.A-ask-PST-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘They asked you.’
 d. *n-yog-a-ga=na*
 3PL.A-search-PST-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘They searched for you.’

In the transitive paradigm, the prefix is not found in all expected scenarios; more precisely, it marks 3PL.A>2SG.P and 3PL.A>3.P. The only Kiranti language with a similar marker is Belhare, but there, the marker partly has NSG and 3>2 distribution (Bickel 2003: 551).¹⁵ The prefix domain is surprisingly compact in Yakkha, compared to most of the surrounding languages: Limbu has four prefixes (van Driem 1997), Belhare has five prefixes (Bickel 2003), Chintang has eight prefixes (Schikowski 2012) and Bantawa has six (Doornenbal 2009). In this respect, Yakkha resembles its northern neighbors Yamphu and Kulung (Rutgers 1998; Tolsma 1999) and many Western Kiranti languages (Jacques 2012a: 93).

¹⁵ Functionally similar markers in other Kiranti languages have been analyzed as inverse markers by Ebert (1991). In Yakkha, the distribution of this marker does not support such an analysis. According to this reasoning, inverse scenarios would be those with 3PL>2SG and 3PL>3, which would imply that 2DU and 2PL are lower-ranking arguments than 3SG. This is not confirmed by the alignment found in other constructions, where speech-act participants generally outrank third person participants in Yakkha.

Among the suffixes, the first person marking slot (Slot 2) is occupied by the marker *-nen*, coding all and only those scenarios where the first person acts on the second person (see (9)). A speaker from Hombong village consistently pronounced this marker as *-nan*, and also the Omruwa (Angbura) materials in van Driem (1994) and Gvozdanović (1987) show *-nan*, so that there may be some dialectal variation towards the western fringes of the Yakkha speaking area (the villages closer to the Arun river). This morpheme is unexpected from a comparative Kiranti perspective, since the cognate of this marker is generally *-na*, at least in Central and Eastern Kiranti. The most plausible explanation for the addition of /n/ is a preference for syllables being closed by nasals, as it is found elsewhere in the verbal inflection and in complex predication. This reasoning also explains why *-ci* and *-i* have the allomorphs *-cin* and *-in* in the 1>2 forms. Unfortunately, I have no explanation for why such a process is restricted to 1>2 scenarios, since open syllables are not completely ruled out in other inflectional forms.

- (9) a. *piʔ-nen=na*
 give[PST]-1>2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I gave it to you.’
 b. *piʔ-nen-in=ha*
 give[PST]-PL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘I gave it to you (plural).’ OR
 ‘We (dual) gave it to you (plural).’ OR
 ‘We (plural) gave it to you (singular/dual/plural).’

The functional distribution for scenarios of 1>2 is pan-Kiranti, although in some languages, *-na* can be found as a second person marker, for instance in Thulung (Lahaussais 2002: 148). The change from /a/ to /e/ seems to be a Yakkha innovation; it is also found in other Yakkha lexemes and affixes. Compare for instance the Belhare negation marker *man-* with Yakkha *men-*, or Belhare/Chintang *khatt* (‘carry off’) with Yakkha *khet*.

Slot 4 is reserved for a nasal copy (glossed as [COPY] in this section), coming after the past marker *-a* or the nonpast marker *-meʔ* in Slot 3 (discussed below). This nasal copy is licensed by the dual marker *-ci*;

it only appears when *-ci* is there, too. In the affirmative paradigm this slot is only filled in the forms for 1DU.EXCL>3.P (see (10)). Although this marker never co-occurs with *-nen*, it is clear from its interaction with the tense marking that it does not occupy the same slot as *-nen*: the past marker *-a* occupies the same slot as *-nen*, and *-a* precedes the nasal copy.

- (10) a. *tund-a-η-c-u-η=na*
 understand-PST-[COPY]-DU-3.P-EXCL=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We (dual, excl.) understood him.’
 b. *tum-me-η-c-u-η=na*
 understand-NPST-[COPY]-DU-3.P-EXCL=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We (dual, excl.) understand him.’

Slot 5 is occupied either by *-i* ~ *-in* (coding 1/2PL.S and 2.P) or by *-ci* ~ *-cin* ~ *-c* (coding dual) in the indicative, and by a second person plural suffix *-ni* in the imperative (see §5.5). The suffix *-i* ~ *-in* will be examined first. Intransitive examples can be found in (11). The ambiguity of the marker is resolved by the addition of further morphological material: *-η(a)* for exclusive and *-ka* for second person. If no further material is added, the forms have an inclusive reading (see (11c)).

- (11) a. *khe-i-g=ha*
 go[PST]-2PL-2=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘You went.’
 b. *khe-i-η=ha*
 go[PST]-1PL-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (excl) went.’
 c. *khe-i=ha*
 go[PST]-1PL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (incl) went.’

In transitive verbs, the distribution of this marker is conditioned by the respective participant scenarios, i.e. by the referential properties of both argument and co-argument. In scenarios with third person acting on second, the alignment is role-based; *-i* clearly marks second person plural patients. In scenarios with first person agents, though, the marker

(its allomorph *-in*) appears as soon as one participant has plural number (cf. Table 5.11 and example (9b)). Thus, its alignment in 1>2 scenarios is reference-based (number-based, to be precise), since the marker occurs regardless of which participant has plural number.

The dual marker *-ci* ~ *-cin* also has a very peculiar distribution. It marks dual subjects of intransitive verbs, and in transitive verbs its distribution depends on the person of the patient. It does not occur with first person patients, as this category got neutralized to zero marking (evidence for the former presence of first person patient marking is presented below). In the 1>2 paradigm cells it behaves analogously to *-in*: as soon as one argument has dual number (and no argument has plural number), *-cin* occurs (see (12)).

In the 3>2 paradigm cells, *-ci* is aligned with the patient. In all cells with third person patients, it is aligned with the agent, since the dual distinction is not made for third person patients. To sum up, this marker indexes all intransitive dual arguments, second person dual patients and agents, and transitive dual agents of all persons when the patient is a third person. Thus, one arrives at a combination of accusative (third person), neutral (second person) and reference-based (number-based, in 1>2 scenarios) alignment for the dual marker. When *-ci* is followed by the suffix *-u*, its vowel is omitted, yielding the fused form [cu].

- (12) *chim-me?-nen-cin=ha*
 ask-NPST-1>2-DU=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘I will ask you (dual).’ OR
 ‘We (dual) will ask you (sing., dual).’

Historically, the two suffixes *-i* and *-ci* used to mark first person patients, too, but the forms for first person nonsingular patients got lost, probably due to a face-preserving strategy equating first person patients with vague/indefinite reference (cf. §??). Luckily, the old forms are preserved in Gvozdanović (1987) (re-arranged and provided with an alternative analysis in van Driem (1994)). Table 5.12 contrasts the contemporary forms from the Tumok dialect with those recorded by Gvozdanović in 1984 with a male speaker of 51 years from Omruwa (Angbura) village. The orthography used in this source was slightly adjusted here; <ng>

was replaced by <ŋ>. In the original sources, the data contain tense markers, which are omitted here for better comparison.

Table 5.12: Comparison of old and new first person patient forms

OMRUWA DATA (1984)					
A>P	1SG.P	1DU.EXCL.P	1PL.EXCL.P	1DU.INCL.P	1PL.INCL.P
2SG.A	-ŋgana	-gaha	-gaha	-	-
2DU.A	-ŋciŋaha	-ŋciŋaha	-gaha	-	-
2PL.A	-ŋiŋana	-gaha	-gaha	-	-
3SG.A	-ŋna	-ŋciŋaha	-ŋciŋaha	-ciha	-ha
3DU.A	-ŋna	-ciha	-ha	-ciha	-ha
3PL.A	N- ŋna	-ciha	-ha	-ciha	-ha
TUMOK DATA (2012)					
A>P	1SG.P	1DU.EXCL.P	1PL.EXCL.P	1DU.INCL.P	1PL.INCL.P
2SG.A	-ŋgana	-gaha	-gaha	-	-
2DU.A	-gaha	-gaha	-gaha	-	-
2PL.A	-gaha	-gaha	-gaha	-	-
3SG.A	-ŋna	-ha	-ha	-ha	-ha
3DU.A	-ha	-ha	-ha	-ha	-ha
3PL.A	-ha	-ha	-ha	-ha	-ha

The 1984 data are puzzling, which can partly be ascribed to inconsistent orthography. In the forms with second person agents for instance, one would expect the second person marker *-ga*. This can probably be attributed to a writing inconsistency (writing <ng> instead of <ngg>) or a hearing mistake. The form *-ŋciŋaha* in 3SG acting on 1PL.EXCL is unexpected, too, and cannot be explained. The nasal prefix coding 3PL.A had a greater distribution than nowadays, since it is found in the paradigm cell for 3PL acting on 1SG, too. Even though the 1984 data are rather sketchy and apparently not completely reliable, they show that first person patients were marked more elaborately on the verb once than they are now. The dual number marker *-ci*, for instance, is found in

almost all cells with first person dual patients.

Slot 7 is filled by *-u*, marking third person patients. When it follows the dual marker, both suffixes fuse into [cu], due to a strategy to avoid vowel hiatus. The suffix *-u* does not only cause vowel elision, it may itself be deleted, e.g. in the underlying sequence */-wa-u-m/*, which is realized [wam] (see (13a)).

Slot 8 is filled by another nasal copy, which can be filled by *-ŋ* (see (13b)), *-m* (see (13c)) or *-n* (a negation marker).

- (13) a. *pi-wa-m=na*
give-NPST[3.P]-1PL.A=NMLZ.SG
'We (pl., incl.) give it to him.'
- b. *tund-a-ŋ-c-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ=ha*
understand-PST-[COPY]-DU-3.P-[COPY]-3NSG.P-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
'We (dual, excl.) understood them.'
- c. *tund-u-m-ci-m=ha*
understand[PST]-3.P-[COPY]-3NSG.P-1PL.A=NMLZ.NSG
'We (pl., incl.) understood them.'

Slot 9 is filled by the marker *-ci* for third person nonsingular patients (see examples (13b) and (13c)). As mentioned above, third person patient marking does not distinguish dual and plural number. This marker is optional; it is omitted when the patient is low on the referential hierarchy, e.g. when it is inanimate (see (14a)) or when it has a rather vague reference (see (14b)).

- (14) a. *kho-het-u*, [...] *saikal=be*
steal-V2.CARRY.OFF-3.P[PST] [...] *bicycle=LOC*
thend-het-u, [...], *phopt-haks-u*
lift-V2.CARRY.OFF-3.P[PST] [...] *spill-V2.SEND-3P[PST]*
- ‘He stole them (the pears) [...] he lifted them onto the bike,
[...] he spilled them [...]...’ [23_pea_03.019-028]
- b. *yakpuca* *yog-a-ma-c-u*, *phusa*
porcupine search-PST-PRF-DU.A-3.P, pangolin

yog-a-ma-c-u

search-PST-PRF-DU.A-3.P

‘They (dual) looked for porcupines, they looked for pangolins.’ (context: They did not hunt any.)

[22_nrr_05.015]

Slot 10 is filled by *-m*, coding first and second person plural agents acting on third person (also illustrated by (13a) and (13c)). Like the suffix *-nen*, it marks a whole scenario, not just the features of one participant. The suffix *-m* can be copied regressively, but maximally once, since the suffix combinations preceding *-m* never open up two copy slots.

The exclusive *-η ~ -ηa* in Slot 11 codes the non-inclusive, strictly speaking, because the first person singular is marked by this suffix, too. Although it is morphologically the marked form, it is the semantically unmarked form, defined by the exclusion of the addressee or some other person saliently present in the utterance context.¹⁶ The morpheme is glossed ‘1SG’ in singular and ‘EXCL’ in nonsingular forms (see (15)). The allomorph *-ηa* is found in the first person singular subjunctive, e.g. *khe?ηa* ‘I would go’, *aηηa* ‘I would come’. It is also found when the exclusive marker is followed by the negation marker *-n*. As for its distribution across the paradigm, it is found marking intransitive and transitive subjects. In the first person patient forms it got lost, except for scenarios with 1SG.P and an agent that has singular number (see also Table 5.12). As we have already seen, the exclusive suffix can be copied regressively (maximally twice). The inclusive/exclusive distinction present in the verbal inflection got lost in the personal pronouns, but it is maintained in the possessive pronouns and in the possessive inflection (see §1.2).

- (15) a. *chimd-wa-η=na*
 ask-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I will ask him.’

¹⁶ In other Kiranti languages, the inclusive forms are the functionally unmarked choice, since they are also used with generic reference. In Yakkha, first person forms are rarely used in this way; rather, the opposite development took place: a strategy to express generic reference (syntactically a detransitivization) became the standard way to indicate first person nonsingular patients, and the same is optionally possible with agents, too, see §??.

- b. *chim-me-η-c-u-η-ci-η=ha*
 ask-NPST-[COPY]-DU-3.P-[COPY]-3NSG.P-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (dual, excl.) will ask them.’

The marker *-ka* ([ga] before vowels and [g(a)] before *=ha*) for second person fills Slot 12, illustrated by (16). It is unrestricted with regard to syntactic role, it appears in all paradigm cells with second person, except for 1>2, since there, the portmanteau suffix *-nen* applies. Example (16b) shows that it is not in the same slot as *-η(a)*.

- (16) a. *chim-me-c-u-ci-g=ha*
 ask-NPST-DU-3.P-3NSG.P-2=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘You (dual) will ask them.’
 b. *chim-me-η-ga=na*
 ask-NPST-1SG-2.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘You will ask me.’

Slots number 13 and 14 are reserved for mood and negation suffixes. Finally, in slots 15 and 16 we find two clitics, but since they encode person as well, they are included in the discussion here. Both are optional morphologically, but certain discourse contexts require them (discussed in §?? for *=na* and *=ha*, and in §?? for *=ci*). The clitics *=na* and *=ha* originate in a nominalization of independent main clauses, but they also code number, partly ergatively (matching with the number of S and P), partly following reference-based alignment, with nonsingular outranking singular (see Table 5.11 on page 159 for their exact distribution).

The marker *=ci* is found occasionally on intransitive verbs with 3PL subjects. Its occurrence depends on the occurrence of *=ha*, and since this is a nominalized structure, *=ci* can be identified as the nominal nonsingular marker. It is optional, and only found when its co-nominal is salient in discourse or referentially high. The exact conditions have yet to be determined, though. The main, non-optional marker for 3PL subjects is the nasal prefix discussed in the beginning of this section. Example (17) contrasts forms with and without *=ci*.

- (17) a. *pheri sum-baη n-leks-a=ha=ci*
 again three-CLF.HUM 3PL-become-PST=NMLZ.NSG=NSG

- ‘They became three again.’ [19_pea_01.048]
- b. *limbu=ci* *nhaŋ*
 Limbu_person=NSG and_then
n-las-a-khy-a-ma
 3PL-return-PST-V2.GO-PST-PRF
 ‘The Limbus went back afterwards.’ (The story is not about
 the Limbus, they are referred to as a group, no particular
 individual is singled out.) [22_nrr_05.040]

In the person marking of Yakkha, both reference and role condition the distributions and functions of the markers. Speech act participant arguments are treated differently from third person arguments. For instance, several markers refer to the category speech-act participant as a whole, e.g. *-nen*, *-m* and *-i*. Number is another referential factor; as we have seen for *-i* and *-ci*, number is more salient than role in several scenarios. Role, in particular the patient role, is important as a condition for alignment splits. Reference-based systems and/or inverse marking are not unknown in Kiranti and other Tibeto-Burman languages (see e.g. Ebert (1991) for Belhare and Athpare, LaPolla (2007) for Rawang). Although reference is an important factor in Yakkha too, any attempt to generate one referential hierarchy from these intertwined conditions must fail, and none of the Yakkha person markers should be analyzed as an inverse marker. Figure 5.2 summarizes the alignment of the single markers. The single tables are organized like paradigms, with all possible participant scenarios. To take an example, the cell combined of 1A and 3P stands for scenarios where a first person agent acts on a third person patient. The shaded cells show which scenarios are marked by a particular marker. The last column (labelled S) stands for intransitive person marking. The crossed-out cells represent reflexive or partly reflexive scenarios, which cannot be expressed by the verbal person marking alone.

Two final notes are in order. Firstly, the third person singular (S and A arguments) marking is zero, in parallel to other Kiranti languages, and also in line with universal expectations (Siewierska 2008). Secondly, partial coreferentiality, e.g. propositions like ‘you saved us (incl)’ or ‘I saw us (in the mirror)’ cannot be expressed by the Yakkha person

inflection.¹⁷ Complete coreferentiality can be expressed by the reflexive construction (see §??).

5.3 Polarity

There are two sets of negation markers, one for nonfinite forms like converbs, participant nominalizations and infinitives, and one for finite inflected verbs. The first set is instantiated by the prefix *men-*.

In finite verbs, negation is marked by an underspecified nasal prefix and a suffix (*N...-n*). In forms with 3PL.A and with 1PL.INCL.A, *-n* has the allomorph *-nin*.¹⁸ By means of nasal copying *-n* can occur up to three times in one inflected form (see (18a)). Comparing this form to (18b), one can see that *-n* has replaced *-ŋ* in the copy slots; now it is the negation suffix that is copied. There is a hierarchy for the choice of which suffix to copy, consistently followed throughout the paradigms: *-m* > *-n* > *-ŋ* (see also §??).

- (18) a. *n-chim-me-n-cu-n-ci-ŋa-n=ha*
 NEG-ask-NPST-[COPY]-DU-3.P-[COPY]-3NSG.P-EXCL-NEG=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (dual, excl.) will not ask them.’
 b. *chim-me-ŋ-c-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ=ha*
 ask-NPST-[COPY]-DU-3.P-N-3NSG.P-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (dual, excl.) will ask them.’

The unspecified nasal prefix assimilates in place to the first consonant of the verbal stem, as has been shown above for the nasal prefix coding third person plural subjects. For some forms, especially in the forms for first person acting on the second person, it is the only negation marking device (see (19)). Among related languages, only Belhare has this unspecified nasal prefix, too (Bickel 2003: 554).

¹⁷ Jacques (2012a) notes the same for Rgyalrongic languages.

¹⁸ This allomorph has a slightly larger distribution in the inflection of the copulas, see §5.7.

	1P	2P	3P		S		1P	2P	3P		S
1A					1A						
2A					2A						
3A					3A						

-ka '2' (neutral, except 1>2)

-η(a) 'excl, 1sg' (neutral,
except 1>2)

	1P	2P	3P		S		1P	2P	3P		S
1A					1A						
2A					2A						
3A					3A						

-i '1/2pl.S' & '2P' (ergative
for 2, except 1>2)Historical forms (recent loss
of 1nsg.P forms): -i
'1/2pl.S/P' (ergative)

	1P	2P	3P		S		1P	2P	3P		S
1A					1A						
2A					2A						
3A					3A						

-u '3P', -ci '3nsg.P'
(accusative)N- '3pl.S/A', zero '3sg.S/A'
(accusative)

	1P	2P	3P		S		1P	2P	3P		S
1A					1A						
2A					2A						
3A					3A						

-m '1/2pl>3'
(scenario-portmanteau)-nen '1>2'
(scenario-portmanteau)

	1P	2P	3P		S		1P	2P	3P		S
1A					1A						
2A					2A						
3A					3A						

-ci 'dual' (mixed:
acc./neutral/ref.-based)=na 'sg'; =ha 'nsg' (mixed:
erg./ref.-based)

Figure 5.2: The alignment of individual person/number markers

- (19) a. *chim-me?-nen=na*
ask-NPST-1>2=NMLZ.SG
'I will ask you.'
- b. *n-chim-me?-nen=na*
NEG-ask-NPST-1>2=NMLZ.SG
'I will not ask you.'

Examples of the suffix *-nin* are provided in (20). As a comparison between (20a) and (20b) shows, it may trigger the nasal copying too, if no higher ranking nasal suffix is available. In forms with third person plural agents, the homophony between *N-* marking person and *N-* marking negation makes this prefix ambiguous in these particular forms. Functionally, it would make sense to say that the task of *-nin* is to disambiguate between affirmative and negative in those forms. But for the forms coding 1PL>3 this explanation does not make sense.

- (20) a. *n-chimd-wa-m-ci-m-nin=ha*
NEG-ask-NPST-[COPY]-3NSG.P-1PL.A-NEG=NMLZ.NSG
'We (incl.) will not ask them.'
- b. *n-chimd-wa-n-ci-nin=ha*
NEG/3PL.A-ask-NPST-[COPY]-3NSG.P-NEG=NMLZ.NSG
'They will not ask them.'

Paradigm tables can be found in §5.4.6, with the upper forms showing the affirmative and the lower forms showing the negative inflections.

5.4 Tense and aspect marking

The inflected verb is marked for tense in both the indicative and the subjunctive mood. Tensed forms stand in opposition to the non-tensed imperative mood. This section only treats tense and aspect in the indicative mood, where tense also shows more elaborate distinctions. The subjunctive is treated below in §5.5.

The basic distinction in tense marking is between nonpast and past tense, partly cross-cut by aspectual distinctions (progressive and continuative aspect, both expressed periphrastically). As predicates with

inceptive semantics are quite widespread in Yakkha (as in Belhare, cf. Bickel 1996), past inflections often have a ‘present’ interpretation, referring to the inception of a state or event, e.g. *tugama* (hurt.PR[3SG]) ‘it started to hurt/it hurts’). Another consequence of this is that nonpast marking often gets a future or a general interpretation (i.e. not referring to a particular event, as in the nonpast *tujme?na* ‘it will hurt/it generally hurts’).

An overview of the tense/aspect distinctions and their markers is provided in Table 5.13. The relative simplicity of this overview is misleading, though, since further aspectual/Aktionsart distinctions, such as specifications for telicity and irreversibility, are indicated by complex predication (see Chapter 7). The tense/aspect analysis and labels presented here have to be understood as tentative, since no in-depth analysis of the lexical semantics of the verbs has been undertaken yet.

Table 5.13: Tense and aspect inflection

NONPAST	PAST
NONPAST	SIMPLE PAST
<i>-me?/</i>	<i>-a</i>
<i>-wa</i>	
	PERFECT
	<i>-ama ~ -imi</i>
	<i>-uks</i>
	PAST PERFECT
	<i>-amasa ~ -imisi</i>
	<i>-uksa</i>
PROGRESSIVE	PROGRESSIVE
INF + AUX. <i>si?NPST</i>	INF + AUX. <i>si?PST</i>
CONTINUATIVE	CONTINUATIVE
SIM.CVB + AUX. <i>khe?NPST</i>	SIM.CVB + AUX. <i>khe?PST</i>

5.4.1 The Nonpast

Yakkha overtly marks the nonpast in the indicative but not in the subjunctive. The nonpast is indicated by the two suppletive markers *-me?* and *-wa*, occurring in different slots of the verbal inflection. While *-me?* comes immediately after the stem and before the person marking (Slot 1), *-wa* follows the suffix *-i* ‘1/2pl’ (Slot 6).

Historically, both markers are function verbs that got further grammaticalized to tense markers. They are different from function verbs in not triggering the double inflection that is found in complex predication, and also in not showing up in the citation forms, as function verbs generally do. The lexical verb *wama* ‘sit, stay, live’ still exists in Yakkha, but *me?ma* only exists with the stem *met* and the meaning ‘put around the waist’. In Belhare and Bantawa, though, cognates with the meaning ‘make, do, apply, cause’ can be found (Bickel 1997a; Doornenbal 2009). The Yakkha causative marker *-met* is also cognate to the nonpast marker, and in analogy to the stems and augments treated in §5.1 above, *me?* originates in an unaugmented stem and *met* is the corresponding augmented stem. The final /ʔ/ is often omitted (the omission being triggered by the following material), but it still has an impact on the following material: if *-ka* follows *-me?*, it does not get voiced, for instance. The sequence becomes [mekə], not [mega], because more than one consonant stands between the vowels in the underlying structure.

The distribution of these two allomorphs is not random, but grammatically conditioned (see Table 5.14). In the intransitive paradigm, mostly *-me?* is found, except for first and second person plural, which take *-wa*. The picture is slightly more complex in the transitive paradigm. Again, the more common allomorph is *-me?*, but *-wa* occurs in the forms of third person acting on second person plural (‘3>2pl’), and in the forms with a non-dual agent and a third person patient. Thus, the distribution of the markers can be seen as a secondary device to mark different scenario classes, albeit not according to a particular referential hierarchy. Example paradigms can be found in §5.4.6.

As for the development of this system I can only speculate but it is worth mentioning that in Yakkha complex predication, some function verbs (V2s) are employed to specify the transitivity features of a verb. It

is possible that the historical V2 stems *-me?* and *-wa* have also been distributed according to transitivity features, and that via this stage their distribution was re-arranged so that they became markers of participant scenarios.

Table 5.14: Distribution of nonpast allomorphs

	INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE			
		1	2	2PL	3
1SG	-me?		-me?		-wa
1DU					-me?
1PL	-wa				-wa
2SG	-me?	-me?			
2DU					-me?
2PL	-wa				-wa
3SG		-me?		-wa	
3DU	-me?				-me?
3PL					-wa

Let us now turn to the functional distribution of the category nonpast. As mentioned above, verbs marked by the nonpast often acquire a future reading (see (21)). Furthermore, the nonpast is found in general statements and in procedural texts, i.e. when the speaker does not have a particular temporal reference in mind (see (22)).

- (21) a. *sombar=ŋa ta-me?=na*
Monday=INS come[3SG]-NPST=NMLZ.SG
‘He will come on Monday.’
b. *wandik=ŋa nam phem-me?=na*
next_day=INS sun shine[3SG]-NPST=NMLZ.SG
‘Tomorrow the sun will shine.’
- (22) a. *nhanto, garo*
afterwards terrace
n-chenɟ-et-wa=na, tokha?la
3PL.A-build-V2.CARRY.OFF-NPST=NMLZ.SG upwards

‘And then they build the terrace, upwards.’¹⁹

[31_mat_01.093]

- b. *panca=ci, bhaladmi=ci*
 an_official_rank=NSG respected_elder=NSG
n-yuks-wa-ci=hoŋ ceʔya n-jekt-wa,
 3PL.A-put-NPST-3NSG.P=SEQ matter 3PL.A-talk-NPST
 ‘They summon the officials and respected men, and they
 discuss the matter.’ (a marriage description) [25_tra_01.008]

The nonpast is also possible in adverbial clauses, such as sequential (22b), cotemporal or conditional clauses, if the proposition is true or likely to become true (cf. Chapter ??).

5.4.2 The Past Tenses

The past tenses stand in complementary distribution to each other (and to the nonpast). Yakkha has the simple past, the perfect, and the past perfect. Morphologically, the perfect is a specification of the simple past, and the past perfect is a specification of the perfect, since in each form, some morphological material is added (see Table 5.13).

5.4.2.1 The simple past

The simple past is marked by *-a*, in the same slot as *-meʔ*. The two markers behave alike in preceding the second person marker *-ka* and they never co-occur (see (23)). The suffix is homophonous with the imperative and the Past Subjunctive (see §5.5), but ambiguities are resolved by context and partly by alternative person or negation marking suffixes in the non-indicative moods.

- (23) a. *py-a-ga=na*
 give[3.A]-PST-2.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He gave it to you.’
 b. *pi-meʔ-ka=na*
 give[3.A]-PST-2.P=NMLZ.SG

¹⁹ The example is from a description of the construction of houses, referring to the stabilization of terraced fields around the house by means of field stones.

‘He gives it to you.’

As for the morphophonology of this marker, it may cause the insertion of glides after vowels, as in *uyana* /u-a=na/ ‘he entered’, or *tayana* /ta-a=na/ ‘he came’. In CV? stems, it causes the elision of /ʔ/, and the stem vowels /i/ and /e/ become [y], resulting in forms like *khyana* /kheʔ-a=na/ ‘he went’ (see also (23a)). When -a precedes the third person patient marker -u, the former gets deleted (see (24a)). The same happens when -a precedes -i, as in (24b). If such sequences occur after an open stem or a CV? stem, both suffixes are deleted (see (24c) and (e)). Another pair illustrating these processes is shown in (25). In (a) both suffixes undergo elision; in (b), since only two vowels are adjacent, a glide is inserted.²⁰ Interestingly, the underlying sequence /iʔ-a-i-/ is realized [iʔi], a sequence that is not found elsewhere in the language (cf. paradigm of *piʔma* ‘give’ on page 191). For more on morphophonology see §??. Paradigms of past inflections are provided in §5.4.6.

- (24) a. *chimd-u-ŋ=na*
 /chimd-a-u-ŋ=na/
 ask-PST-3.P-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I asked him.’
 b. *khe-i=ha*
 /kheʔ-a-i=ha/
 go-PST-1PL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (incl.) went.’
 c. *ta-ŋ=na*
 /taʔ-a-u-ŋ=na/
 bring-PST-3.P-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I brought him.’
 d. *pi-ga=na*
 /piʔ-a-u-ga=na/
 give-PST-3.P-2.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘You gave it to him.’

²⁰ In Puma, a Kiranti language of the Southern Central branch, a similar vowel elision in the suffix string results in vowel lengthening and low tone (Bickel et al. 2006). For Yakkha, this could not be detected.

5 Verbal inflection

- (25) a. *ca-m=na*
 /ca-a-u-m=na/
 eat-PST-3.P-1PL.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We (plural) ate it.’
 b. *ca-ya-c-u=na*
 /ca-a-c-u=na/
 eat-PST-DU-3.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We (dual) ate it.’

The simple past refers to past events that are not specified further, for instance in truth value questions, such as in inquiries about whether a certain event happened or not, illustrated by (26).

- (26) a. *cek-met-u-m-ci-m-ga=m*,
 speak-CAUS-3.P-N-3NSG.P-2PL.A-2=ALT
 n-jek-met-u-m-ci-m-ga-n=ha=m?
 NEG-speak-CAUS-3.P-N-3NSG.P-2PL.A-2-NEG=NMLZ.NSG=ALT
 ‘Did you make them speak or did you not?’ (talking about
 prospective bride and groom) [36_cvs_06.323]
 b. *khokt-a-ga=na?*
 chop_off-PST-2.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Does it taste pungent?’ [36_cvs_06.011]

As mentioned above, many verbs in Yakkha (and generally in Kiranti, Ebert (2003c: 512)) have ingressive-phasal Aktionsart, emphasizing the inception of the event, so that past inflection refers to the ongoing state or activity, e.g. in (26b). A common expression is shown in (27a), also rendered as ‘it’s done’ (Nep. *bhayo*), the past suffix being hardly audible in fast speech. Another example of the numerous verbs with such a temporal profile is shown in (27b).

- (27) a. *leks-a=ha* [leksha]
 become[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.NC
 ‘That’s it.’
 b. *o-pomma=ci*
 3SG.POSS-laziness=NSG

ŋ-gy-a=ha=ci [ŋghyaci]
 3PL-come_up-PST=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘He feels lazy.’

Habitual past statements can also be made using the simple past (28). There is no dedicated marker or construction for habitual aspect in Yakkha.

- (28) *encho, a-ppa wa-ya=niŋa*
 long_ago 1SG.POSS-father exist[3]-PST=CTMP
lit-u-m-ŋa=ba
 plant[PST]-3.P-1PL.A-EXCL=EMPH
 ‘Long ago, when my father was still alive, we used to plant it.’
 [36_cvs_06.086]

In (29), the simple past refers to iterative events of reaching various places, which is conveyed by the duplicated question word.

- (29) *didi, ŋkhon he?ne he?ne*
 sister, afterwards where where
tas-u-ga=na la?lo?
 reach[PST]-3.P-2.A=NMLZ.SG CTR.EXCLA
 ‘Sister, where have you been?/Sister, which places did you reach?’
 [36_cvs_06.183]

The simple past indicative cannot be distinguished from the past subjunctive in most person configurations, and thus, it is often not clear whether adverbial clauses are in the indicative or in the subjunctive, as can well be perceived in (28). However, since other tenses like the present, the perfect and past perfect (discussed below) are also possible in certain adverbial clauses, I assume that the simple past is possible as well.

Based on the past forms, two more tenses can be constructed, namely the perfect and the past perfect (discussed in the following sections).

5.4.2.2 The perfect

Roughly, the perfect tense, with the allomorphs *-ma* and *-uks*, marks events for the past, but with continuing relevance for the time of the utterance, again with interpretations depending on the internal temporal structure of the verbs. In (30a) the verb has a telic structure, so that the perfect expresses the successful accomplishment, while in (30b) and (30c) the verbs have ingressive-phasal semantics, so that the perfect expresses a state. In (30c), the function verb ‘give’ adds a semantic shade of completeness, translatable as ‘already’, sometimes also as ‘certainly, inevitably’.

- (30) a. *nhaŋ* *ca-ma*, *i=ʔlo*, *lop*
 and_then eat-INF[DEONT] what=EXCLA now
 whaŋd-uks-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ
 boil-PRF-3.P-N-3NSG.P-1SG.A
 ‘And we have to eat them, I have just boiled them.’
 [36_cvs_06.037]
- b. *lop* *sak=ŋa* *n-sy-ama-ŋa-n=na*
 now hunger=INS NEG-die-PRF-1SG-NEG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am not hungry now.’ (‘I did not get hungry.’)
- c. *u-laŋ=be* *yeb-a-by-ama=na*
 3SG.POSS-foot=LOC stand[3SG]-PST-V2.GIVE-PRF=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She became independent already.’ (‘She already stands on
 her own feet.’)

A typical constraint on the perfect crosslinguistically is that this tense marking is not compatible with specifying events in the past (see (Bickel 1996: 176) for the same point on Belhare). In (31), for instance, the adverb *asen* is part of the adverbial clause only. The main clause (‘... bad things have happened’) implies that the things that happened still bear a certain relevance for the present, which is true, because the speakers utter an excuse for their rude behavior in the previous night when they were drunk.

- (31) *kanij asen men-ni=nun*
 1PL[ERG] yesterday NEG-know=COM.CL
men-ni=nun=ca isisi
 NEG-know=COM.CL=ADD ugly
leks-a-ma=ha
 happen[3SG]-PST-PRF=NMLZ.NC
 ‘Even though we did not notice it yesterday, something bad has happened.’ [41_leg_09.064]

Contrary to the statement that the perfect expresses events that still have a certain relevance for the present, this tense form also figures prominently in narratives. It seems that this is a strategy to connect the content of the story told to the here and now of the utterance context and thus to make it more ‘real’ and create suspense. More research is needed to reveal the exact application of the perfect.

As for the conditions of the perfect allomorphy, in the intransitive inflection, the form marked by the simple past suffix *-a* serves as base to which the suffix *-ma* for the perfect is attached. In forms with the suffix *-i* (i.e., where *-a* surfaces as [i]), the marker has an allomorph *-mi*, i.e. the suffix *-i* for 1/2PL regressively influences the vowel quality of the two suffixes *-a* and *-ma* (see (32)).

- (32) a. *khy-a-ma-ci-η=ha*
 go-PST-PRF-DU-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (dual) have gone.’
 b. *khe-i-mi-η=ha*
 go-1PL-PRF-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We (plural) have gone.’

In the transitive paradigm, a suppletive allomorph *-uks* ~ *-nun* (pre-vocalic vs. pre-consonantal alternants) comes into play. This allomorph never co-occurs with *-a*. As has been shown above for the allomorphy of the nonpast markers, this allomorphy is conditioned by scenario classes, i.e. by participant configurations, albeit with a slightly different distribution than in the nonpast allomorphy. Again, it is not possible to find one particular principle or hierarchy triggering the allomorphy.

The perfect allomorphy is less complex than the nonpast allomorphy: it partly indicates inverse vs. direct scenarios (with a 3>1, 3>2 and 2>1 scenarios being inverse and marked by *-ma*), but it also indicates number of the agent in all scenarios with a third person patient, since in those forms all dual agents trigger *-ma*, while singular and plural agents trigger *-uks*. In the suffix string, *-uks* ~ *-nuŋ* shares Slot 1 with NPST *-me?* and *-a*, and *-ma* ~ *-mi* follows *-a* (which surfaces as [i] in 1/2PL forms) in Slot 2.

Table 5.15 shows the distribution of the allomorphs across the inflectional paradigms (intransitive and transitive). Paradigm tables can be found on page 190 for the intransitive inflection and on page 194 for the transitive inflection.

Table 5.15: Distribution of perfect allomorphs

	INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE		
		1	2	3
1SG	<i>-ma</i>		<i>-nuŋ</i>	<i>-uks</i>
1DU				<i>-ma</i>
1PL				<i>-uks</i>
2SG				<i>-ma</i>
2DU				
2PL				
3SG				<i>-ma</i>
3DU				
3PL				
		<i>-ma</i>		<i>-uks</i>

The etymological sources of these markers are also function verbs. At least *-uks* has the unmistakable structure of a verbal stem. Its lexical origin could either be the verb *uks* ‘come down’ or *yuks* ‘put, keep’. The pre-consonantal variant *-nuŋ* of *-uks* is also reminiscent of morphophonological processes in complex predicates. The origin of *-ma* could not be traced. These markers differ from function verbs in not appearing in the infinitival forms (citation forms, for instance) and in not licensing the recursive inflection that is typical for complex predication (cf. Chapter 7).

5.4.2.3 The past perfect

The perfect marking, in turn, serves as base to which *-sa* ~ *-si* is attached (*-si* being triggered by suffix *-i*, in analogy to the perfect allomorphy of *-ma* ~ *-mi*). Thus, one arrives at the complex past perfect markers *-amasa* ~ *-imisi* and *-uksa*, with the same distribution across the participant scenarios as found in the perfect. The suffix *-sa* might be etymologically related to the past copular stem *sa*.

This tense form expresses events that happened prior to another event that has been activated in discourse, as shown in (33).

- (33) a. *hakt-a-ŋ-ga-ni* *bhon*
 send-SBJV-1SG.P-2.A-OPT COMP
mit-amasa-ŋ=na
 think-PST.PRF-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I had hoped that you would send me something.’ (said either after receiving a parcel or after realizing that nothing was sent)
- b. *he?ne* *khy-amasa-ga=na?*
 where go-PST.PRF-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Where had you gone?’ (it was clear from the context that the person was on the way back to her village)
- c. *u-mik* *encho=ba* *homd-uksa=na*,
 3SG.POSS-eye long_ago=EMPH swell-PST.PRF=NMLZ.SG
hensen=go *nu-yama=na*
 these_days=TOP get_well-PRF=NMLZ.SG
 ‘His eye had been swollen before, but these days it got well.’

5.4.3 The progressive

The progressive is constructed from an infinitival form of the lexical verb and the auxiliary *si?*, which can carry person markers and either Present or simple past inflection. This construction resembles infinitival complement constructions and has probably developed out of such a construction. But here, the two predicates are fused at a lower level. This is also reflected by the morphology and by stress assignment, which treat the whole complex as one unit. The auxiliary, unlike matrix verbs

in complement constructions, does not carry main stress; it forms one domain for stress assignment with the lexical verb. The auxiliary does not have an infinitival form (in contrast to complement-taking verbs, which may appear in the infinitive and thus be embedded recursively into other complements). Inflectional prefixes, which attach to the matrix verb in complement constructions, attach to the infinitive of the lexical verb in the progressive (compare (34a) with (34b) and (c)). This leads to the unusual situation of an infinitive marker standing between the prefix and the suffixes of an inflected verb.²¹

- (34) a. *haku nda nhe uŋ-ma*
 from.now.on 2SG here come_down-INF
 n-dokt-wa-ga-n=na
 NEG-get_chance-NPST[3.P]-2SG.A-NEG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Now you will not get the chance to come down here any
 more.’ [21_nrr_04.035]
- b. *nna seʔni=ŋa caleppa*
 that night=INS bread
 l-lem-ma-sy-a=ha
 3PL-fry-INF-AUX.PROG-PST=NMLZ.NC
 ‘That night they were frying bread.’ [40_leg_08.032]
- c. *uŋ=ŋa pyak sakheʔwa=ci=ŋa casak*
 3SG=ERG many pigeon=NSG=ERG uncooked_rice
 ŋ-gom-ca-ma-sim-me=ha
 3PL-pick_up-V2.EAT-INF-AUX.PROG-NPST=NMLZ.NSG
 nis-uks-u-ci
 see[3SG.A]-PRF-3.P-3NSG.P
 ‘He saw many pigeons who were picking up (pecking with
 their beaks) and eating the rice.’ [01_leg_07.013]

Semantically, the progressive generally marks events as ongoing at the point of speaking (present progressive) or at a point prior to the

²¹ This construction is best characterized as a hybrid between synthetic and analytic (periphrastic) marking, since the auxiliary behaves like a verbal stem at least with regard to the suffixes it may host. Thus, it is not treated with regard to the slot analysis.

speech situation (past progressive). However, looking at (34c), it becomes clear that the speech situation is not the only possible temporal anchor for the present progressive, since in this example, the point of reference is the event denoted by the main verb ‘see’, and the progressive marking of the embedded clause has to be interpreted with respect to the main clause.

The progressive is also commonly found in adverbial clauses with *-niη*, the marker for the cotemporality of two linked clauses (see (35)).

- (35) *u-sa* *sem-saη* *u-sam=be*
 3SG.POSS-fruit pluck-SIM.CVB 3SG.POSS-root=LOC
ca-ma-sy-a-η=niη,
 eat-INF-AUX.PROG-PST-1SG=CTMP
 ‘As I was plucking and eating the fruits under the tree, ...’²²
[42_leg_10.017]

Interestingly, the progressive auxiliary is sensitive to the speech-act-participant (SAP/non-SAP) distinction. It is inflected like an intransitive verb when third person P arguments are involved, also when the semantic head is a transitive verb (see (36a)). The auxiliary verb shows agreement with the S or the A of the lexical verb. A transitive example as in (34c) also shows that despite the intransitive person marking the lexical verb is still able to assign the ergative case to the subject (*sakhe?waciηa*). When the object is a speech act participant, it shows transitive person marking, as exemplified in (36b) and (c). This process is not surprising given the abundance of differential marking that is triggered by the referential properties of arguments in Yakkha.

- (36) a. *ka* *kucuma*
 1SG[ERG] dog
 yok-ma-si-me-η=na
 search-INF-AUX.PROG-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am looking for the dog.’ (**yokmasiwaηna*)

²² The noun *sam* is a relational noun, with the metaphorical meaning ‘under/at the bottom of’.

- b. *ka nda yok-ma-si-me?-nen=na*
 1SG[ERG] 2SG search-INF-AUX.PROG-NPST-1>2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am looking for you.’
- c. *photo=ci*
 photo=NSG
so?-me?-ma-sy-a-η-ga=na
 look-CAUS-INF-AUX.PROG-PST-1SG.P-2.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘You were showing me the photos.’

5.4.4 The periphrastic continuative

This construction has developed out of a converb construction, in analogy to a similar construction in Nepali. The lexical head is marked by the converbal marker *-saη* and the main verb is invariably *khe?ma* ‘go’, but it has undergone grammaticalization to an auxiliary, from motion verb semantics to the expression of continuous events, similar to the English expression ‘go on doing’. A formerly biclausal construction has become monoclausal.

The continuative expresses that an event goes on over a longer stretch of time. It applies regardless of whether the verb has active, volitional semantics (37a) or rather change-of-state semantics (see (37b)). Example (37a) also shows that the auxiliary is compatible with the perfect tense. Example (37b) shows that in contrast to the periphrastic progressive, prefixes attach to the auxiliary. In (37c), the construction is shown with a transitive lexical verb. The auxiliary is still inflected intransitively, showing agreement with the A argument of the lexical verb.

- (37) a. *nakha?la luk-khusa ca-saη*
 like_that tell-RECIP EAT.AUX-SIM.CVB
khy-ama-ci=nin̥a...
 go-PRF-DU=CTMP
 ‘As the two went on arguing (lit: with each other) like that,
 ...’ [01_leg_07.340]
- b. *yapmi=ci pu-saη η-khy-a*
 person=NSG grow-SIM.CVB 3PL-go-PST
 ‘The number of the people grew continuously, ...’

- [27_leg_06.003]
- c. *iŋ-nhaŋ-saŋ* *ik-saŋ* *khy-a-ci=niŋa*,
 chase-V2.SEND-SIM chase-SIM go-PST-DU=CTMP
 ‘As they (dual) went on chasing them away, ...’
[22_nrr_05.015]

5.4.5 The transitive completive

The marker *-i ~ -ni* for completive events is only found in transitive verbs. It surfaces as [i] before vowels and as [ni] before consonants (see (38) and (39)).

- (38) a. *mend-i*
 finish-COMPL[3A;3P]
 ‘It is finished.’
 b. *chimd-i-ŋ=na*
 ask-COMPL[3P;PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I finished asking him.’

The marker partly behaves like a function verb, and is thus not treated in the slot analysis (see also §7.2.2): it precedes Slot 1 in the inflection, and it stands in complementary distribution with the V2 *-pi?* ‘give’, which (among many other functions) indicates completive notions in intransitive predicates. The marker *-i ~ -ni* also surfaces in the citation forms, like a function verb. There is, however, no lexical verb (at least not synchronically) that it relates to. The two markers often create lexicalized pairs of intransitive and causative verbs (see (39), repeated from Chapter 7, where more examples can be found). Roots like *maks* never occur independently; either *-i ~ -ni* or *-pi?* have to attach to them and specify their valency.

- (39) a. *maŋmaŋ-miŋmiŋ* *m-maks-a-by-a-ma*
 surprised-REDUPL 3PL-surprise-PST-V2.GIVE-PST-PRF
 ‘They were utterly surprised.’ [22_nrr_05.026]
 b. *ka* *nda* *mak-ni-me?-nen=na*
 1SG[ERG] 2SG[NOM] surprise-COMPL-NPST-1>2=NMLZ.SG

‘I will surprise you.’

5.4.6 Tense/aspect paradigm tables

Table 5.16: Nonpast paradigm of *khe?ma* ‘go’ and *apma* ‘come’ (affirmative and negative)

	<i>khe?ma</i> ‘go’	<i>apma</i> ‘come’
1SG	<i>khemeyna</i> <i>ηkheme?ηanna</i>	<i>ammeyna</i> <i>ηammenanna</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>khemenciηha</i> <i>ηkhemenciηanha</i>	<i>ammenciηha</i> <i>ηammenciηanha</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kheiwaiηha</i> <i>ηkheiwaiηanha</i>	<i>abiwaiηha</i> <i>ηabiwaiηanha</i>
1DU.INCL	<i>khemeciya</i> <i>ηkhemencinha</i>	<i>ammeciya</i> <i>ηammencinha</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>kheiwaha</i> <i>ηkheiwanha</i>	<i>abiwaha</i> <i>ηabiwanha</i>
2SG	<i>khemekana</i> <i>ηkhemekanna</i>	<i>ammekana</i> <i>ηammekanna</i>
2DU	<i>khemecigha</i> <i>ηkhemenciganha</i>	<i>ammecigha</i> <i>ηamenciganha</i>
2PL	<i>kheiwagha</i> <i>ηkheiwaganha</i>	<i>abiwagha</i> <i>ηabiwaganha</i>
3SG	<i>kheme?na</i> <i>ηkhemenna</i>	<i>amme?na</i> <i>ηamenna</i>
3DU	<i>khemeciha</i> <i>ηkhemencinha</i>	<i>amme?ciya</i> <i>ηamencinah</i>
3PL	<i>ηkheme(haci)</i> <i>ηkhemen(haci)</i>	<i>ηamme(haci)</i> <i>ηamen(haci)</i>

Table 5.17: Nonpast paradigm of *tumma* ‘understand’ (affirmative and negative)

	1SG		1NSG	2SG	2DU	2PL	3SG	3NSG
1SG				tumme?nenna ndumme?nenna			tundwajpa ndundwajpanha	tundwajciha ndundwajcipanha
1DU EXCL					tumme?nencina ndumme?nencinha		tummejcupa ndummencupanna	tummejcupiha ndummencupianha
1PL EXCL						tumme?neninha ndumme?neninha	tundwamijana ndundwamijanha	tundwamiciha ndundwamicijanha
1DU INCL							tummeana ndummencunna	tummeuciha ndummencucinha
1PL INCL							tundwamina ndundwamininna	tundwamiciha ndundwamicihinna
2SG	tummejgana ndummejganna						tundwagana ndundwaganna	tundwaciha ndundwaciganha
2DU							tummeucigana ndummencuganna	tummeucigaha ndummencuciganha
2PL							tundwamigana ndundwamiganna	tundwamiciha ndundwamicijanha
3SG	tummejna ndummejnanna			tummekana ndummekanna			tundwana ndundwana	tundwaciya ndundwacinha
3DU					tummeucigaha ndummenciganha	tundwagha ndundwaganha	tummeana ndummencunna	tummeuciha ndummencucinha
3PL				ndumme-kana ndummekanninna			ndundwana ndundwaninna	ndundwaciha ndundwacininna

Table 5.18: Simple past, perfect and past perfect paradigm of *apma* ‘come’

	PST	PST.NEG	PRF	PRF.NEG	PST.PRFX	PST.PRFX.NEG
1SG	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
1DU.INCL	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
2SG	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
2DU	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
2PL	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
3SG	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
3DU	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>
3PL	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>	<i>abanna</i>	<i>ηabanna</i>

Table 5.19: Simple past paradigm of *piʔma* ‘give’ (affirmative and negative, with singular T argument)

	1SG		1NSG	2SG	2DU	2PL	3SG	3NSG
1SG				<i>piʔnenna</i> <i>mbiʔnenna</i>	<i>piʔnencina</i> <i>mbiʔnencina</i>		<i>piʔna</i> <i>mbiʔnanna</i>	<i>piʔcippha</i> <i>mbiʔcipjanha</i>
1DU.EXCL							<i>pyaŋcuŋna</i> <i>mbyaŋcuŋanna</i>	<i>pyaŋcuŋcippha</i> <i>mbyaŋcuŋcipjanha</i>
1PL.EXCL							<i>piŋpana</i> <i>mbiŋpanna</i>	<i>piŋcimŋpha</i> <i>mbiŋcimŋpanha</i>
1DU.INCL							<i>pyacuna</i> <i>mbyaŋcunna</i>	<i>pyacuciha</i> <i>mbyaŋcuncinha</i>
1PL.INCL				<i>piŋma</i> <i>mbiŋminna</i>			<i>piŋcimha</i> <i>mbiŋcimminha</i>	
2SG	<i>pyaŋgana</i> <i>mbyaŋganna</i>						<i>piŋana</i> <i>mbiŋanna</i>	<i>piŋcipha</i> <i>mbiŋcipganha</i>
2DU			<i>pyaŋpha</i> <i>mbyaŋphanha</i>				<i>pyacugana</i> <i>mbyaŋcuganna</i>	<i>pyacuciŋha</i> <i>mbyaŋcuncigjanha</i>
2PL							<i>piŋgana</i> <i>mbiŋganna</i>	<i>piŋcimŋgna</i> <i>mbiŋcimŋganha</i>
3SG	<i>pyaŋna</i> <i>mbyaŋnanna</i>			<i>pyaŋana</i> <i>mbyaŋanna</i>		<i>piŋpha</i> <i>mbiŋanha</i>	<i>piŋa</i> <i>mbiŋna</i>	<i>piŋciya</i> <i>mbiŋcinha</i>
3DU			<i>piya</i> <i>mbyanpha</i>	<i>pyacigha</i> <i>mbyaŋcigjanha</i>			<i>pyacuna</i> <i>mbyaŋcunna</i>	<i>pyacuciya</i> <i>mbyaŋcuncinha</i>
3PL					<i>mbyaŋganha</i> <i>mbyaŋganinna</i>			<i>mbina</i> <i>mbiŋinna</i>

Table 5.20: Simple past paradigm of *chimma* ‘ask’ (affirmative and negative)

	1SG	INSG	2SG	2DU	2Pl.	3SG	3NSG
1SG			chimmenna	chimmenncinha nchimmenncinha	chimmenin nchimmenin	chimdunpa	chimdunçipha
1DU.EXCL			nchimmenna			nchimdunpanna	nchimdunçipanha
1PL.EXCL						nchimdancunpanna	nchimdancunçipanha
1DU.INCL				chimdunpana		chimduncimpha	
1PL.INCL				nchimdunpanna		nchimduncimçipanha	
2SG	chimdapana nchimdapanna	chimdagha nchimdaganha				chimdacuna	chimdacuiha
2DU						nchimdancunna	nchimdancuncinha
2PL						chimdumna	chimduncimha
3SG	chimdapna nchimdapanna					nchimdumminna	nchimduncimminha
3DU						chimdugana	chimdaciha
3PL						nchimdunciganna	nchimdunciganha
						chimdungana	chimduncingha
						nchimdunganna	nchimduncinganha
						chimduna	chimduciya
						nchimdunna	nchimduncinha
						chimdacuna	chimdacuiha
						nchimdancunna	nchimdancuncinha
						nchimduna	nchimduncininha
						nchimdumna	nchimduncininha

Table 5.21: Simple past paradigm of *cama* ‘eat’ (affirmative and negative)

	1SG		1SG	2SG	2DU	2PL	3SG	3SG
1SG				<i>caʔhenna</i> <i>njaʔhenna</i>			<i>capna</i> <i>njapanna</i>	<i>capciŋha</i> <i>njancipanna</i>
1DU.EXCL					<i>caʔhencina</i> <i>njaʔhencina</i>		<i>cayapciŋna</i> <i>njayancuŋanna</i>	<i>cayapciŋciŋha</i> <i>njayancuŋciŋanna</i>
1PL.EXCL						<i>caʔhenna</i> <i>njaʔhenna</i>	<i>campa</i>	<i>camciŋha</i>
1DU.INCL							<i>njampanna</i>	<i>njamciŋciŋanna</i>
1PL.INCL							<i>cayacuna</i> <i>njayancunna</i>	<i>cayacuciŋha</i> <i>njayancunciŋha</i>
2SG	<i>cayapŋana</i> <i>njayapŋana</i>						<i>cama</i> <i>njamina</i>	<i>camciŋha</i> <i>njamciŋciniŋha</i>
2DU							<i>cogana</i> <i>njoganna</i>	<i>cociŋha</i> <i>njociŋanna</i>
2PL							<i>cayacugana</i> <i>njayancuganna</i>	<i>cayacuciŋciŋanna</i> <i>njayancuciŋciŋanna</i>
3SG	<i>coyapna ~</i> <i>cayapna</i> <i>njayapanna</i>	<i>coya ~</i> <i>caya</i> <i>njayanna</i>		<i>coyagana ~</i> <i>cayagana</i> <i>njayaganna</i>	<i>coʔyacigŋa ~</i> <i>cayacigŋa</i> <i>njayancigŋanna</i>	<i>coigŋa ~</i> <i>caigŋa</i> <i>njaigŋa</i>	<i>cona</i> <i>njonna</i>	<i>cociŋa</i> <i>njociŋanna</i>
3DU				<i>cayagana</i> <i>njayaganna</i>	<i>cayacigŋa</i> <i>njayancigŋanna</i>	<i>caigŋa</i> <i>njaigŋanna</i>	<i>cayacuna</i> <i>njayancunna</i>	<i>cayacuciŋa</i> <i>njayancunciŋanna</i>
3PL				<i>caya</i> <i>njayanna</i>	<i>njayagana</i> <i>njayaganna</i>		<i>njona</i> <i>njoninna</i>	<i>njociŋa</i> <i>njociŋinna</i>

Table 5.22: Perfect paradigm of *chirma* ‘ask’ (affirmative and negative)

	1SG	1NSG	2SG	2DU	2PL	3SG	3NSG
1SG			<i>chinnuupienna</i> <i>nehinnuupienna</i>			<i>chinduksupna</i> <i>nchinduksupna</i>	<i>chinduksupciha</i> <i>nchinduksupciha</i>
1DU.EXCL				<i>chinnuupnencin</i> <i>nchinnuupnencin</i>		<i>chindamaucupna</i> <i>nchindamaucupna</i>	<i>chindamaucupciha</i> <i>nchindamaucupciha</i>
1PL.EXCL					<i>chinnuupnenin</i> <i>nchinnuupnenin</i>	<i>chinduksumjana</i> <i>nchinduksumjana</i>	<i>chinduksumciha</i> <i>nchinduksumciha</i>
1DU.INCL						<i>chindamacuna</i> <i>nchindamacuna</i>	<i>chindamacuciha</i> <i>nchindamacuciha</i>
1PL.INCL						<i>chindamancuna</i> <i>nchindamancuna</i>	<i>chindamancuciha</i> <i>nchindamancuciha</i>
2SG	<i>chindamaana</i> <i>nchindamaana</i>					<i>chinduksugana</i> <i>nchinduksugana</i>	<i>chinduksugciha</i> <i>nchinduksugciha</i>
2DU						<i>chindamacugana</i> <i>nchindamacugana</i>	<i>chindamacuciha</i> <i>nchindamacuciha</i>
2PL						<i>chindamancugana</i> <i>nchindamancugana</i>	<i>chindamancuciha</i> <i>nchindamancuciha</i>
3SG	<i>chindamaana</i> <i>nchindamaana</i>					<i>chinduksungana</i> <i>nchinduksungana</i>	<i>chinduksungciha</i> <i>nchinduksungciha</i>
3DU			<i>chindamaana</i> <i>nchindamaana</i>	<i>chindamacigana</i> <i>nchindamacigana</i>	<i>chindimigana</i> <i>nchindimigana</i>	<i>chinduksuna</i> <i>nchinduksuna</i>	<i>chinduksuciha</i> <i>nchinduksuciha</i>
3PL			<i>chindamaana</i> <i>nchindamaana</i>	<i>chindamancigana</i> <i>nchindamancigana</i>		<i>chindamancuna</i> <i>nchindamancuna</i>	<i>chindamancuciha</i> <i>nchindamancuciha</i>
						<i>chinduksuna</i> <i>nchinduksuna</i>	<i>chinduksuciha</i> <i>nchinduksuciha</i>

5.5 Mood

Apart from the indicative, Yakkha distinguishes subjunctive, optative and imperative mood. These mood inflections generally do not allow the nominalizing clitics *=na* and *=ha*, since they are functionally connected to assertions and questions (but see below for an exception).

5.5.1 The subjunctive

The subjunctive mood is crosscut by what is best described as a tense distinction (nonpast/past). The nonpast subjunctive does not have a dedicated marker, it is simply characterized by the absence of tense marking. It is used for hypothetical statements, hortatives, warnings, threats, and permissive questions ('May I ...?'). The past subjunctive is found in counterfactual statements, but also in adverbial clauses, especially in conditionals, when the speaker assesses the chances for the condition to come true as rather low (see §?? and §??). The past subjunctive is marked by *-a*, and hence, the forms of the past subjunctive paradigm are, in most cases, identical to the past indicative forms, without the clitics *=na* and *=ha*, however.²³ In third person plural forms of intransitive verbs, the negation in the past subjunctive looks different from the past indicative (e.g. *ŋkhyanhaci* 'they did not go' vs. *ŋkhyanin* 'they might not go').

The negated forms are built in analogy to the indicative negated forms, i.e. either with *N-...-n* or *N-...-nin*. Here, one can note a slight extension of the domain of *-nin*: the form *chim*, for third person acting on first, has the negative counterpart *nchimnin*, since monosyllabic **n-chim-n* would not be a well-formed syllable in Yakkha. Surprisingly, some negated forms of the nonpast subjunctive are marked by *=na* in the intransitive paradigm, which is the only exception to the rule that the nominalizing clitics do not occur in the mood paradigms.²⁴ It is unusual,

²³ Alternatively, one could propose that Yakkha has no mood distinction in the past, but the clitics *=na* and *=ha* instead, which overtly mark the indicative. However, first of all, these clitics are optional also in the indicative, as they fulfill a discourse function. Secondly, a few forms in the inflectional paradigms of past indicative and past subjunctive indeed look different from each other (see right below in the text).

²⁴ An ad-hoc explanation is that negations are more assertive than affirmative forms

however, that the singular form =*na* occurs invariably, and never =*ha*. Alternatively, this marker =*na* could be analyzed as a dedicated marker for nonpast subjunctive negative forms.

Intransitive subjunctive paradigms are provided in Table 5.23, exemplified by *khe?ma* ‘go’, with a few forms not attested. Since the suffix -*a* is deleted in the presence of the suffix -*i*, the forms with first and second person plural are identical in the nonpast subjunctive and the past subjunctive. A transitive paradigm for the nonpast subjunctive is shown in Table 5.24. In the form for 2SG>1SG, *chimdanga*, an /a/ gets epenthesized to resolve the impossible sequence of consonants in the underlying form /chimd-ŋ-ga/, making this form identical to the past subjunctive form.

Some typical examples of the nonpast subjunctive are provided in (40): questions, hortatives, warnings, threats and permissive questions.

- (40) a. *he?ne khe-i?*
 where go-1PL[SBJV]
 ‘Where should we go?’
 b. *imin cog-u-m?*
 how do-3.P-1PL.A[SBJV]
 ‘How should we do it?’
 c. *ciya hops-u-m?*
 tea sip-3.P-1PL.A[SBJV]
 ‘Shall we have tea?’
 d. *sori khe-ci-ŋ*
 together go-1DU-EXCL[SBJV]
 ‘May we go together?’ (asking someone who is not coming
 with the speaker)

and thus allow this marker. The question why only the present negated forms take =*na* can be answered similarly. The present forms are more ‘real’ and thus more assertive. They denote rather likely events, while the past subjunctive denotes events that are more detached from the speech situation, such as highly hypothetical and counterfactual events. The syncretism of past and irrealis forms is not unusual crosslinguistically and can be attributed to a semantic feature of ‘dissociativeness’ that they have in common (see, e.g., Bickel (1996: 88) for the same point on the Belhare system).

Table 5.23: Subjunctive paradigm of *khe?ma* ‘go’

	NONPAST SBJV.		PAST SBJV.	
	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
1SG	<i>khe?ηa</i>	<i>ηkhe?ηanna</i>	<i>khyar</i>	<i>ηkhyarar</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>kheciŋ</i>	<i>ηkheciŋanna</i>	<i>khyarciŋ</i>	<i>ηkhyancinŋ</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kheiŋ</i>	<i>ηkheiŋanna</i>	<i>kheiŋ</i>	<i>ηkheiŋan</i>
1DU.INCL	<i>kheci</i>	<i>ηkhecinna</i>	<i>khyaci</i>	<i>ηkhyancin</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>khei</i>	<i>ηkheinna</i>	<i>khei</i>	<i>ηkhein</i>
2SG	<i>kheka</i>	<i>ηkhekanna</i>	<i>khyaga</i>	<i>ηkhyagan</i>
2DU	<i>kheciga</i>	<i>ηkheciganna</i>	<i>khyaciga</i>	<i>ηkhyancigan</i>
2PL	<i>kheiga</i>	<i>ηkheiganna</i>	<i>kheiga</i>	<i>ηkheigan</i>
3SG	<i>khe</i>	—	<i>khya</i>	<i>ηkhyar</i>
3DU	<i>kheci</i>	—	<i>khyaci</i>	<i>ηkhyancin</i>
3PL	<i>ηkhe(ci)</i>	—	<i>ηkhyaci</i>	<i>ηkhyarin</i>

- e. *lem-nhar-nen?*
throw-V2.SEND-1>2[SBJV]
‘Shall I throw you out?’
- f. *kar-khe-ka!*
fall-V2.GO-2[SBJV]
‘You might fall down!’
- g. *ur-u-m!*
drink-3.P-1PL.A[SBJV]
‘Let’s drink!’
- h. *haku im-ci*
now sleep-DU[SBJV]
‘Let’s sleep now (dual).’

Some examples of the Past Subjunctive are provided in (41). Mostly, they are found in counterfactual clauses (with the irrealis clitic =*pi* ~ =*bi*), but also in vague statements about the future, i.e. when the realis status cannot be confirmed yet. The overwhelming majority of conditional clauses are in the past subjunctive.

5 Verbal inflection

- (41) a. *manuŋ=go heco=bi*
 otherwise=TOP win[3SG;SBJV]=IRR
 ‘If not, he would have won!’
- b. *casowa n-jog-a-n bhon*
 Casowa_festival NEG-do[3SG]-SBJV-NEG COND
punɖaraŋma=ga o-lok khom-me
 forest_goddess=GEN 3SG.POSS-anger scratch[3SG]-NPST
 ‘If Casowa is not celebrated, the forest goddess will get an-
 gry.’

[01_leg_07.119]

A very nice contrastive example of Nonpast and past subjunctive is shown in (42). The speaker considers doing something and first is un-
 sure, using the past subjunctive. Then, as she is more determined, she
 uses the nonpast subjunctive.

- (42) a. *ki nhe=le ips-a-ŋ?*
 or here=CTR sleep-SBJV-1SG
 ‘Or should I sleep right here?’ [36_cvs_06.220]
- b. *nhe im-ŋa haʔlo*
 here sleep-1SG[SBJV] EXCLA
 ‘I could sleep here anyway.’ [36_cvs_06.221]

Table 5.24: Nonpast subjunctive paradigm of *chimma* ‘ask’ (affirmative and negative), becomes optative by addition of *-ni*

	1SG	1NSG	2SG	2DU	2PL	3SG	3NSG
1SG			<i>chimnen</i> <i>nychimnen</i>			<i>chimdun</i> <i>nychimdun</i>	<i>chimduncin</i> <i>nychimduncin</i>
1DU.EXCL				<i>chimmencin</i> <i>nychimmencin</i>		<i>chimcu</i> <i>nychimcu</i>	<i>chimcuncin</i> <i>nychimcuncin</i>
1PL.EXCL					<i>chimnenin</i> <i>nychimnenin</i>	<i>chimdunga</i> <i>nychimdunga</i>	<i>chimduncinga</i> <i>nychimduncinga</i>
1DU.INCL						<i>chimcu</i> <i>nychimcu</i>	<i>chimcui</i> <i>nychimcui</i>
1PL.INCL						<i>chimdum</i> <i>nychimdum</i>	<i>chimdumcin</i> <i>nychimdumcin</i>
2SG	<i>chimdanga</i> <i>nychimdangan</i>					<i>chimduga</i> <i>nychimduga</i>	<i>chimduga</i> <i>nychimduga</i>
2DU		<i>chimga</i> <i>nychimgan</i>				<i>chimcu</i> <i>nychimcu</i>	<i>chimcuga</i> <i>nychimcuga</i>
2PL						<i>chimdunga</i> <i>nychimdunga</i>	<i>chimduncinga</i> <i>nychimduncinga</i>
3SG	<i>chimpa</i> <i>nychimpan</i>		<i>chinga</i> <i>nychimgan</i>	<i>chimeiga</i>		<i>chindu</i> <i>nychindu</i>	<i>chinduci</i> <i>nychinduci</i>
3DU		<i>chim</i> <i>nychimin</i>		<i>chimeiga</i> <i>nychimeigan</i>	<i>chimdiga</i> <i>nychimdigan</i>	<i>chimcu</i> <i>nychimcu</i>	<i>chimcui</i> <i>nychimcui</i>
3PL			<i>chimga</i> <i>nychimganin</i>			<i>chindu</i> <i>nychindu</i>	<i>chinduci</i> <i>nychinducin</i>

5.5.2 The Optative

The Optative is morphologically marked by the suffix *-ni*, which is attached to the nonpast subjunctive forms described above. It expresses the speaker's wish for an event to be realized, while its realization is beyond the speaker's reach, as in the examples in (43). The expression *leŋni*, the third person singular optative of *leŋma* 'be, become' is also used to state agreement on the side of the speaker when he is asked or encouraged to do something.

- (43) a. *o-chom=be* *tas-u-ni*
 3SG.POSS-summit=LOC reach-3.P-OPT
 'May she reach the top./ May she be successful.'
- b. *ucun leŋ-ni*
 good become[3SG]-OPT
 'May it (your work) turn out nicely.'
- c. *miʔ-ŋa-ni*
 think-1SG.P-OPT
 'May he remember me.'
- d. *mit-aŋ-ga-ni*
 think-1SG.P-2.A-OPT
 'May you remember me.'

The optative is also found in purposive adverbial clauses with the purposive/conditional conjunction *bhoŋ*, discussed in §?? (see also (44)).

- (44) *ap-ŋa-ni* *bhoŋ* *ka-ya-ŋ=na*
 come-1SG-OPT COND call-PST-1SG=SG
 'She called me, so that I would come.'

Negation is marked by *N-...-n*, and by *N-...-nin* when there is no vowel preceding the suffix. Table 5.25 illustrates this by means of the third person intransitive forms.

5.5.3 The Imperative

The Imperative expresses orders and requests. It is coded by the morpheme *-a*, like the Simple Past and the past subjunctive. The conflation

Table 5.25: Optative, third person (intransitive)

OPTATIVE		
3SG	<i>kheʔni</i>	<i>ŋkheʔninni</i>
3DU	<i>khecini</i>	<i>ŋkhecinni</i>
3PL	<i>ŋkheʔni</i>	<i>ŋkheʔninni</i>

of past and imperative morphology is also known from other Kiranti languages (Bickel 2003; Ebert 2003a) and apart from that it is crosslinguistically common, too. Thus, imperative forms are almost identical to the past forms, except for a new plural morpheme *-ni*.

The negated imperative expresses negative requests and negative orders (i.e., prohibitions). It is also used in implorations like e.g. *nsisaŋan!* ‘Do not kill me!’. Paradigms can be found in Table 5.26 for intransitive and in Table 5.27 for transitive verbs.

Imperatives directed at more than one person show dual or plural morphology (see (45)). Imperatives can be intensified by adding person inflection and the emphatic marker *=i* (see (45b) - (45d)).

- (45) a. *ab-a*
come-IMP
‘Come.’
- b. *ab-a-ga=i!*
come-IMP-2=EMPH
‘Come!’
- c. *ab-a-ci-ga=i!*
come-IMP-DU-2=EMPH
‘Come!’ (dual)
- d. *ab-a-ni-ga=i, nakhe omphu=be*
come-IMP-PL-2=EMPH, hither verandah=LOC
yuy-a-ni-ga=i!
sit-IMP-PL-2=EMPH
‘Come, and sit down here on the verandah!’ (plural)

The imperatives show a second register, increasing the politeness of the order or request. The marker *=eba* (historically probably a combination of the two emphatic markers *=i* and *=pa*) can be added to the imperative forms to make them more polite, similar to the function of the particle *na* in Nepali (46). This politeness, however, can be countered ironically by adding *=?lo* to these polite imperatives, an exclamative particle which usually signals that the patience of the speaker is getting low (see (46c), *ca* has ablaut).²⁵

- (46) a. *ab-a=eba*
come-IMP=POL.IMP
'Please come.'
- b. *η-ab-a-n=eba*
NEG-come-IMP-NEG=POL.IMP
'Please do not come.'
- c. *co=eba=?lo!*
eat[IMP]=POL.IMP=EXCLA
'Eat already!'

Table 5.26: Imperative paradigm, intransitive verbs

	IMPERATIVE	NEGATED	IMPERATIVE	NEGATED
	<i>khe?ma</i> 'go'		<i>apma</i> 'come'	
2SG	<i>khya</i>	<i>ηkhyan</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>ηaban</i>
2DU	<i>khyaci</i>	<i>ηkhyancin</i>	<i>abaci</i>	<i>ηabancin</i>
2PL	<i>khyani</i>	<i>ηkhyanin</i>	<i>abani</i>	<i>ηabanin</i>

²⁵ Combinations of emphatic particles and information-structural clitics with *=?lo* result in a word with regard to stress (e.g. [co.e 'ba.?lo] in (46c)). According to the voicing rule, this complex of two stress domains is still one word, however. Other examples of this phonological fusion of particles are *'le?.lo*, *'ha?.lo*, *'ca?.lo* (see Chapter ??).

Table 5.27: Imperative paradigm, transitive verbs

	1SG	1NSG	3SG	3NSG	DETRANS
	<i>pi?ma</i> ‘give’				
2SG	<i>pyaŋ</i> <i>mbyaŋan</i>		<i>pi</i> <i>mbin</i>	<i>pici</i> <i>mbincin</i>	<i>pya</i> <i>mbyan</i>
2DU	<i>pya</i> <i>mbyan</i>		<i>pyacu</i> <i>mbyancun</i>	<i>pyacuci</i> <i>mbyancuncin</i>	<i>pyaci</i> <i>mbyancin</i>
2PL			<i>pyanum</i> <i>mbyanumnin</i>	<i>pyanumcim</i> <i>mbyanumcimnin</i>	<i>pyani</i> <i>mbyanin</i>
	<i>chimma</i> ‘ask’				
2SG	<i>chimdaŋ</i> <i>nchimdaŋa</i>		<i>chimdu</i> <i>nchimdun</i>	<i>chimduci</i> <i>nchimduncin</i>	<i>chimda</i> <i>nchimdan</i>
2DU	<i>chimda</i> <i>nchimdan</i>		<i>chimdacu</i> <i>nchimdancun</i>	<i>chimdacuci</i> <i>nchimdancuncin</i>	<i>chimdaci</i> <i>nchimdancin</i>
2PL			<i>chimd anum</i> <i>nchimd anumnin</i>	<i>chimd anumcim</i> <i>nchimd anumcimnin</i>	<i>chimdani</i> <i>nchimd anin</i>

5.6 Periphrastic honorific inflection

Honorific inflection in indicatives is not found in the Tumok dialect, but during a short stay in Dandagaun village I noticed a honorific construction which is similar to the Nepali honorific construction in its form and function. The construction uses an infinitival form of the lexical verb and a copular auxiliary. The function of the auxiliary is carried out up by the verb *leŋma* ‘be, become’. It is inflected intransitively and shows agreement with the subject (S or A) of the semantic head. The Nepali source construction is built by adding an inflected form of a copula (always third person, *huncha/hunna/bhayo/bhaena* ‘is/is not/was/was not’) to the infinitival form of the semantic head, which is used for both addressing people and talking about people. For instance, *garnuhuncha* is the honorific way of saying both ‘he does’ and ‘you do’ in Nepali. In Yakkha, it is not a fixed third person form of *leŋma* that is added to the infinitive, but the verb is inflected for second person, too, showing agreement with the S argument (see (47), I have no data for transitive forms). Naturally, the first person is impossible with honorifics.

5 Verbal inflection

- (47) a. *heʔne kheʔ-ma leks-a-ga=na*
where go-INF be-PST-2SG=SG
'Where did you go?'
- b. *heʔnaŋ ta-ma leks-a-ga=na*
where.from come-INF be-PST-2SG=NMLZ.SG
'Where do you come from?'

This construction also has a corresponding imperative, again analogous to the Nepali construction, with the infinitive and the third person optative form of the auxiliary verb *leŋma*, which is *leŋni* in Yakkha (see (48)), and *hos* in Nepali.²⁶

- (48) a. *toŋba piʔ-ma leŋ-ni=ba*
beer suck-INF be[3SG]-OPT=EMPH
'Please drink the beer.'
- b. *kinama ca-ma leŋ-ni=ba*
fermented_soybean_dish eat-INF be[3SG]-OPT=EMPH
'Please eat the *kinama*.'

The functional domain of the honorific inflection in Yakkha slightly differs from the source language. While in Nepali the honorific pronouns and verb forms are also used to address elders within the family and other respected, but very close people like the husband (not the wife), the Yakkha honorific inflection rather signals respectful behavior that is connected to social distance (as far as could be told after my short stay in Dandagaun).

5.7 The inflection of the copulas

In this section, the inflection of two copular verbs will be discussed. The inflectional categories are similar to those in the regular verbal inflection, i.e. person, polarity and TAM, but they show some formal and functional peculiarities. For instance, two prefix slots can be found in the copular inflection. Furthermore, some forms make a nonpast/future

²⁶ *Toŋba* is millet beer that is served in a small wooden or nowadays aluminum barrel, with a lid and a pipe, hence the verb 'suck'.

distinction, which is not found in the regular verbal inflection. As for the semantics of the inflectional forms presented here, I can only present tentative conclusions. Further examples of the use of the copulas are shown in §8.1.11.

5.7.1 The identificational copula (with a zero infinitive)

The identificational copula is used to express identification, equation and class inclusion (see (49)). It does not have an infinitival form. The stem of this copula is zero in the present tense and *sa* in the past tenses. In the affirmative present forms, the copula has overt forms only for speech-act participants, and even there it is optional. In the other tenses and in negated clauses, the copula is obligatory.

- (49) a. *ka, ka kha?la ŋan=na=ba!*
 1SG 1SG like_this COP.1SG.NPST=SG=EMPH
 ‘I, I am just like this!’ [21_nrr_04.006]
- b. *nda isa=ga u-cya gan?*
 2SG who=GEN 3SG.POSS-child COP.2SG.NPST
 ‘Whose child are you?’
- c. *ka=ca chalumma ŋan*
 1SG=ADD second_born_daughter COP.1SG.NPST
 ‘I am also a second-born daughter.’

An overview of the person and tense/aspect inflection of the identificational copula is provided in Table 5.28. In the present tense, the copular inflection consists of suppletive forms that resemble the person markers. Deviations from the verbal person marking are, however, the dual forms starting in *nci-* instead of *-ci*, the plural forms starting in *si-* instead of *-i* and of course the complete zero marking for the third person in the affirmative. No stem could be identified in these forms; it probably had little phonological weight and got lost.²⁷ A further idiosyncrasy of all present forms (affirmative and negative) is that they

²⁷ The development of identificational or equational copulas out of inflectional material is not unknown in Tibeto-Burman; it is also found e.g. in Northern Chin DeLancey 2011b: 9.

end in /n/, which does not seem to carry any semantic load. It is unlikely that this is a stem, because the person markers usually come as suffixes; at least one would have to explain why the order of stem and suffixes is reversed here. Note that, due to the absence of specific markers, the dual forms of the third person and the first person inclusive are identical.

Negation in the present forms is marked by the prefix *me(N)-*, which is also found as negation marker in nonfinite forms like infinitives and converbs. In the past, negation is marked as in the regular verbal inflection, by the combinations of prefix and suffix *N...-n* or *N...-nin*. The nasal copying known from the verbal inflection is found in the copular inflection too, with the same constraints applying as described in §??. The third person singular nonpast form *menna* also functions as interjection ‘No’.

Table 5.28: Person and tense/aspect inflection of the identificational copula

	NPST.AFF	NPST.NEG	PST.I.AFF	PST.I.NEG	PST.II.AFF	PST.II.NEG
1SG	<i>ŋan</i>	<i>meʔ-ŋan</i>	<i>sa-ŋ=na</i>	<i>n-sa-ŋa-ŋ=na</i>	<i>sa-ya-ŋ=na</i>	<i>n-sa-ya-ŋa-n=na</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>nciŋan</i>	<i>me-nciŋan</i>	<i>sa-ŋ-ci-ŋ=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-n-ci-ŋa-n=na</i>	<i>sa-ya-ŋ-ci-ŋ=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-ya-n-ci-ŋa-n=na</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>siŋan</i>	<i>me-siŋan</i>	<i>s-i-ŋ=ha</i>	<i>n-s-i-ŋa-n=ha</i>	<i>sa-i-ŋa-n=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-i-ŋa-n=ha</i>
1DU.INCL	<i>ncin</i>	<i>me-ncin</i>	<i>sa-ci=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-n-ci-n=ha</i>	<i>sa-ya-ci=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-ya-n-cin=ha</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>sin</i>	<i>me-sin</i>	<i>s-i=ha</i>	<i>n-s-i-n=ha</i>	<i>sa-i=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-i-n=ha</i>
2SG	<i>kan</i>	<i>me-kan</i>	<i>sa-ga=na</i>	<i>n-sa-ga-n=na</i>	<i>sa-ya-ga=na</i>	<i>n-sa-ya-gan=na</i>
2DU	<i>ncigan</i>	<i>me-cigan</i>	<i>sa-ci-g=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-n-ci-ga-n=ha</i>	<i>sa-ya-ci-g=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-ya-n-ci-gan=ha</i>
2PL	<i>siŋan</i>	<i>me-siŋan</i>	<i>s-i-g=ha</i>	<i>n-s-i-ga-n=ha</i>	<i>sa-i-g=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-i-ga-n=ha</i>
3SG	—	<i>men</i>	<i>sa=na</i>	<i>n-sa-n=na</i>	<i>sa-ya=na</i>	<i>n-sa-ya-n=na</i>
3DU	—	<i>mencin</i>	<i>sa-ci=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-n-ci-n=ha</i>	<i>sa-ya-ci=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-ya-n-ci-n=ha</i>
3PL	—	<i>men(-ha=ci)</i>	<i>n-sa=ha=ci</i>	<i>n-sa-nin=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-ya=ha</i>	<i>n-sa-ya-nin=ha</i>

The person marking in the past tense forms is more regular than in the nonpast, since they have a stem to which the regular person markers can attach. The identificational copula distinguishes five inflectional series in the past tenses. There is the the Simple Past ('Past I'), expressed by the past stem *sa* and the regular person inflection (*sa* is reduced to *s* when followed by *-i* for 1/2PL). This past stem can also host the past marker *-a* ~ *-ya*, and it is not clear yet what the semantic effect of this is, hence this category is simply called 'Past II' here (see Table 5.28). Furthermore there is the perfect (not included in the table), which is marked regularly by the already familiar perfect marker *-ma* ~ *-mi* preceding the person inflection of the Past II forms (e.g. *sayamaṇna* for first person singular). What is different from the regular intransitive marking is the occurrence of the negation marker *-nin* in third person negated past forms, which is otherwise only found in the transitive paradigms. The fourth and fifth inflectional series are only attested in negated forms; they are discussed below.

The Simple Past forms are the most frequently used tense forms of the identificational copula in the current corpus. Unfortunately, the analysis of the past tenses cannot be corroborated by much natural data, so that the precise answer to the question of their application has to be left for a later stage (but see (50) for a few examples).

- (50) a. *uṇci=go miyaṇ mam=ha n-sa*
 3NSG=TOP a_little big=NMLZ.NSG 3PL-COP.PST
 'They were a bit older.'
- b. *uṇ tuknuṇ luṇmatuktuk=na*
 3SG completely loving=NMLZ.SG
sa-ya-ma
 COP.PST[3SG]-PST-PRF
 'She was a very loving person.'²⁸ [01_leg_07.061]
- c. *pyak encho ka miya sa-ya-ṇ=niṇa*
 much long_ago 1SG small COP.PST-PST-1SG=CTMP
 'Long ago, when I was a child, ...' [42_leg_10.002]

²⁸ This example also shows the narrative function of the Perfect tense; it frequently occurs in stories (see §5.4.2.2).

A further negated inflectional paradigm can be found for the present tense (only 1/2PL forms are attested, see (51)) and for Past I and II (see Table 5.29). These forms are marked by attaching a prefix *ta-* ~ *ti-* to the copular stem, to the right of the negation prefix, which is *me-*, (not *N-* as in the past forms shown above). This is the only instance of a second prefixal slot in the entire verbal inflection.²⁹ Corresponding affirmative forms are not attested. Superficially, the semantics of these forms are equivalent to the forms shown in Table 5.28, see (51a); so the tentative conclusion is that this prefix only has an emphatic function.

- (51) a. *kaniŋ hironi me-ti-siŋan?*
 1SG bollywood_heroine NEG-EMPH-COP.NPST.1PL
 ‘Aren’t we Bollywood heroines?’ (same: *mesinjan*)
- b. *elaba=ci=ŋa n-lu-ks-u-ci: nniŋda*
 a_clan=NSG=ERG 3PL.A-tell-PRF-3.P-3NSG.P 2PL
yakkhaba me-ti-sigan=ha
 Yakkha_person NEG-EMPH-COP.NPST.2PL=SG
 ‘The Elabas told them: you are not Yakkhas.’ [39_nrr_08.07]

5.7.2 The existential verb *wama*

The verb *wama* is a verb of being or existence, and perhaps the only verb that has a purely static temporal profile, i.e., without containing the notion of the inception of the state (exactly as in Belhare, see Bickel (1996: 212)). It may translate as ‘be, exist, live, stay’ and is found in copular frames expressing location, existence and also in clauses with adjectival predicates (see (52) for examples). In many other Kiranti languages, a cognate of the verb *yumma* ‘sit, live, exist’ has this function. In Yakkha, *yumma* is restricted to the meaning ‘sit (down)’. A paradigm of various tense inflections of *wama* is provided in Table 5.30 on page 214.

²⁹ A further puzzle is that the attested nonpast forms are identical to the corresponding forms in Past I, but it can be explained by the absence of a dedicated nonpast marker and the deletion of PST *-a* due to 1/2PL *-i*.

Table 5.29: Alternative past and negation inflection of the copula

	NEG.PST.I.EMPH	NEG.PST.II.EMPH
1SG	<i>me-ta-sa-ŋa-n=na</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-ya-ŋa-n=na</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>me-ta-sa-n-ci-ŋa-n=ha</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-ya-n-ci-ŋa-n=ha</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>me-ti-s-i-ŋa-n=ha</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-i-ŋa-n=ha</i>
1DU.INCL	<i>me-ta-sa-n-ci=ha</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-ya-n-ci-n=ha</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>me-ti-s-i-n=ha</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-i-n=ha</i>
2SG	<i>me-ta-sa-ga-n=na</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-ya-ga-n=na</i>
2DU	<i>me-ta-sa-n-ci-ga-n=ha</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-ya-n-ci-ga-n=ha</i>
2PL	<i>me-ti-s-i-ga-n=ha</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-i-ga-n=ha</i>
3SG	<i>me-ta-sa-n=na</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-ya-n=na</i>
3DU	<i>me-ta-sa-n-ci-n=ha</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-ya-n-ci-n=ha</i>
3PL	<i>me-ta-sa-nin=ha</i>	<i>me-ta-sa-ya-nin=ha</i>

- (52) a. *uhingilik weʔ=na*
 alive be[NPST;3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She is alive.’
- b. *n-na n-nuncha*
 2SG.POSS-elder_sister 2SG.POSS-younger_sibling
ŋ-waiʔ=ya=ciʔ
 3PL-exist[NPST]=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘Do you have sisters?’

The stem *wa* of this verb has several allomorphs. There are the non-past allomorphs *wai(?)* ~ *weʔ*, which have resulted from a contraction of the stem and the nonpast marker (/wa-meʔ/), diachronically. Such processes are also found in other verbs; take e.g. the underlying form /leŋdimeʔna/ which is also found as [leŋdeʔna] in fast speech. In the verb of existence, however, this contraction is lexicalized, since it may also host the nonpast marker. Marked by nonpast *-meʔ*, these forms have continuative or future semantics, extending the state beyond the time of the utterance context, as shown in (53). Furthermore, the verb

has an allomorph *wai* (bisyllabic) in the past forms.

- (53) *nna tas-wa=na=be* *yog-a-n-u-m*,
 that reach-NPST=NMLZ.SG=LOC search-IMP-PL-3.P-2PL.A
nna=be, nniŋ=ga mamu wa-me?=na
 that=LOC 2PL.POSS=GEN girl be[3SG]-NPST=SG
 ‘Search there where it lands (a clew of thread), your girl will
 (still) be there.’ [22_nrr_05.095]

Since with the absence of *-me?* in the nonpast the 1/2.PL forms (marked by the suffix *-i*) became identical in the present and in the simple past, they have received further marking: instead of the expected *wa-i=ha* for 1PL.INCL.NPST or *wa-i-g=ha* for 2PL.NPST one finds *wa-i-niti-ha* and *wa-i-niti-gha*, respectively. The marker *-niti* is not attested elsewhere in the verbal morphology.³⁰

In the negation paradigm, forms with a suppletive stem *ma* exist alternatively to forms with *wai*, throughout all tense forms (*mai* in the plupast, in analogy to affirmative *wai*). The most commonly heard form is the third person *manna/manhaci*, stating the absence of something (see (54a)).³¹ As in the affirmative forms, attaching the nonpast marker results in a future reading (see (54c)). I have one contrastive example suggesting that *ma*-forms are not interchangeable with *wa* (and its allomorphs), and thus that *ma* is not simply an allomorph of *wa* (compare (54b) and (c)). Unfortunately, the current data set is not sufficient to determine the exact difference between these two negated stems. The *ma*-series is more frequent in my Yakkha corpus.

³⁰ There is a second person plural suffix *-ni* in the imperative paradigm, and we have seen above that there is a prefix *ta- ~ ti-* in some forms of the past inflection of the identificational copula. It is possible that there is an etymological link between *-niti* and these affixes, but any claims in this regard would be highly speculative.

³¹ Since the other person forms show an initial geminate, I assume that the third person underwent formal reduction due to frequent use. The form *ma(n)* is also the base for postpositions and conjunctions. Combined with the adverbial clause linkage marker *=niŋ* it has developed into the privative case *ma?niŋ* ‘without’, and combined with the clause linkage marker *=hoŋ* it yields the clause-initial conjunction *manhoŋ* ‘otherwise’.

- (54) a. *sambakhi=ci ma-n=ha=ci*
 potato=NSG exist.NEG-NEG=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘There are no potatoes.’
 b. *η-wa-me?-ηa-n*
 NEG-stay-NPST-1SG-NEG
 ‘I will not stay.’
 c. *nda ta-me-ka=niη ka m-ma-me-ηa-n*
 2SG come-NPST-2=CTMP 1SG NEG-be-NPST-1SG-NEG
 ‘I will not be here when you come.’

In addition to the nonpast inflections, three past series were found, formed similarly to the regular verbal inflection: a simple past formed by *-a*, a perfect formed by adding *-ma ~ -mi* to the simple past, and another past tense (‘Past II’, yet unanalyzed) formed by adding *-sa ~ -si* to the simple past forms. This Past II has no parallel forms in the regular verbal inflectional paradigm. The simple past again seems to be the default choice (see (55a)), and the other two are more specific. The perfect is found in narratives, relating to events that have some relevance for the story, i.e., in sentences setting the stage for further information to come (see (55b) and (55c), from the beginning of a narrative and from childhood memories, respectively). The Past II forms refer to events that preceded another salient event in the past. In (55d), the speaker refers to the time when people came to propose a marriage to her daughter, but the conversation takes place already after the wedding, which was the main topic of the conversation.

- (55) a. *ηkha?niη eko paη=ca*
 that_time one house=ADD
m-ma-ya-n=nija tumhaη=ηa paη
 NEG-exist[3SG]-PST-NEG=CTMP Tumhang=ERG house
cog-uks-u
 make-PRF-3.P
 ‘Back then, when there was not a single house, Tumhang made a house.’ [27_nrr_06.038]
 b. *uηci=nun pyak yaη m-ma-ya-ma-n*
 3NSG=COM much money NEG-exist[3SG]-PST-PRF-NEG

- ‘They did not have much money.’ [01_leg_07.304]
- c. *bun̥ga-bic=pe* *wa-i-mi-ŋ*
 Bunga-beach=LOC live-1PL-PRF-EXCL
 ‘We lived at Bunga Beach (a place in Singapore).’
 [13_cvs_02.062]
- d. *njin̥da* *m-mai-sa-n-ci-ga-n=ha*
 2DU NEG-exist-PST-NEG-DU-2-NEG=NSG
 ‘The two of you had not been here (when they came).’
 [36_cvs_06.306]

Subjunctive forms can be found as well, both in the nonpast subjunctive (56a), e.g. for hortatives, and in the past subjunctive (56b), e.g. for irrealis clauses. The past subjunctive is identical to the simple past. Table 5.30 shows the inflections with a few forms marked by ‘(?)’, which means that they have been reconstructed, but not attested.

- (56) a. *kaniŋ* *wa-i*
 1PL be-1PL[SBJV]
 ‘Let us live/stay (here).’
- b. *a-ma=nun̥* *a-na=ŋa*
 1SG.POSS-mother=COM 1SG.POSS-eZ=ERG
y-yog-a-n=nin̥=bi *ka* *hensen*
 NEG-search-SBJV-NEG=CTMP=IRR 1SG nowadays
ŋ-wa-ya-ŋa-n=bi
 NEG-exist-SBJV-1SG-NEG=IRR
 ‘If my mother and sister had not looked (for me), I would not be alive now.’ [42_leg_10.052]

5.8 Further markers

Two further markers that do not fit in the previous sections have to be mentioned. First, there is a suffix *-a*, attached to Nepali verbal roots when they occur as loans with Yakkha light verbs, as shown in (57).

- (57) a. *khic-a* *cog-u*
 press-NATIV do-3.P[IMP]

Table 5.30: Person and tense/aspect inflection of *wama* ‘be, exist, live’

	NFST.AFF	NFST.NEG	PST.AFF	PST.NEG	PST.I.AFF	PST.I.NEG
1SG	<i>waiʔ-ɣa-na</i>	<i>ɣ-waiʔ-ɣa-n-na</i> <i>m-ma-ɣa-n-na</i>	<i>wə-yə-ɣa-na</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-yə-ɣa-n-na</i> <i>m-ma-yə-ɣa-n-na</i>	<i>wai-sə-ɣa-na</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-sə-ɣa-n-na</i> <i>m-mai-sə-ɣa-n-na</i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>wai-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-ɣi-ci-ɣa-n-na</i> <i>m-ma-ɣi-ci-ɣa-n-na</i>	<i>wə-yə-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-yə-ɣi-ci-ɣa-n-na</i> <i>m-ma-yə-ɣi-ci-ɣa-n-na</i>	<i>wai-sə-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-sə-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i> <i>m-mai-sə-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>wai-niti-ɣa</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-niti-ɣa-n-na</i> <i>m-ma-niti-ɣa-n-na</i>	<i>wə-i-ɣa</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-i-ɣa-n-na</i> <i>m-ma-i-ɣa-n-na</i>	<i>wə-i-ɣa</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-i-ɣa-n-na</i> <i>m-ma-i-ɣa-n-na</i>
1DU.INCL	<i>wai-ci-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i> <i>m-ma-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i>	<i>wə-yə-ci-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-yə-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i> <i>m-ma-yə-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i>	<i>wai-sə-ci-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-sə-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i> <i>m-mai-sə-ɣi-ci-ɣa</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>wai-niti-yə</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-niti-ɣa</i> <i>m-ma-niti-ɣa</i>	<i>wə-i-yə</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-i-ɣa</i> <i>m-ma-i-ɣa</i>	<i>wai-s-i-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-i-ɣa</i> <i>m-ma-i-ɣa</i>
2SG	<i>wai-ka-na</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-ka-n-na</i> <i>m-ma-ka-n-na</i>	<i>wə-yə-ka-na</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-yə-ka-n-na</i> <i>m-ma-yə-ka-n-na</i>	<i>wai-sə-ka-na</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-sə-ka-n-na</i> <i>m-mai-sə-ka-n-na</i>
2DU	<i>wai-ci-g-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-ɣi-ci-g-ha</i> <i>m-ma-ɣi-ci-g-ha</i>	<i>wə-yə-ci-g-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-yə-ɣi-ci-g-ha</i> <i>m-ma-yə-ɣi-ci-g-ha</i>	<i>wai-sə-ci-g-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-sə-ɣi-g-ha</i> <i>m-mai-sə-ɣi-g-ha</i>
2PL	<i>wai-niti-g-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-niti-g-ha</i> <i>m-ma-niti-g-ha</i>	<i>wə-i-g-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-i-g-ha</i> <i>m-ma-i-g-ha</i>	<i>wai-s-i-g-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-s-i-g-ha</i> <i>m-mai-s-i-g-ha</i>
3SG	<i>waiʔ-na</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-na</i> <i>m-ma-na</i>	<i>wə-yə-na</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-yə-na</i> <i>m-ma-yə-na</i>	<i>wai-sa-na</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-sa-n-na</i> <i>m-mai-sa-n-na</i>
3DU	<i>wai-ci-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-ɣi-ci-ha</i> <i>m-ma-ɣi-ci-ha</i>	<i>wə-yə-ci-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-yə-ɣi-ci-ha</i> <i>m-ma-yə-ɣi-ci-ha</i>	<i>wai-sə-ci-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-sə-ɣi-ci-ha</i> <i>m-mai-sə-ɣi-ci-ha</i>
3PL	<i>ɣ-waiʔ-ha-ci</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-niti-ha</i> <i>m-ma-niti-ha</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-yə-ci</i>	<i>ɣ-wə-yə-ɣi-ci</i> <i>m-ma-yə-ɣi-ci</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-s-ha-ci</i>	<i>ɣ-wai-s-ɣa-ci</i> <i>m-mai-s-ɣa-ci</i>

- ‘Record it!’
- b. *i=ha=ca* *im-ma* *por-a*
 what=NMLZ.NC=ADD buy-INF have_to-NATIV
n-joŋ-me-ŋa-n
 NEG-do-NPST-1SG-NEG
 ‘I do not have to buy anything.’ [28_cvs_04.187]

Another marker functions like a complement verb, despite being a bound morpheme. The marker *-les* states that the subject has knowledge or skills and is able to perform the activity denoted by the lexical verb. As the suffix has the typical structure of a verbal stem, it has probably developed out of a verb. However, there is no verb with the stem *les* synchronically.

- (58) a. *phuama=ŋa=ca* *cek-les-wa,*
 last_born_girl=ERG=ADD speak-know-NPST[3A;3.P]
hau!
 EXCLA
 ‘Phuama also knows how to speak, ha!’ [36_cvs_06.503]
- b. *phen-les-wa-m-ci-m-ŋa,*
 plough-know-NPST-1PL.A-3NSG.P-1PL.A-EXCL
 ‘We know how to plough (with oxen).’ [28_cvs_04.152]

5.9 Non-finite forms

Non-finite forms in Yakkha include the infinitive marked by *-ma* and occasionally *-sa* (attested only in negated complement constructions with *yama* ‘be able to’), a nominalization in *-khuba* (which constructs nouns and participles with S or A role) and several converbal forms, all attached directly to the stem: the supine converb in *-se*, the simultaneous converb in *-saŋ* and the negative converb marked by *meN-...-le* (discussed in Chapter ??).

The infinitive occurs in infinitival complement constructions and in the deontic construction (all discussed in Chapter ??). The latter allows for some further marking such as negation by *men-*, the nominalizing clitics *=na* and *=ha*, and the nonsingular marker *=ci* to indicate nonsin-

gular objects (cf. §??). From a functional perspective, the infinitive with a deontic reading is finite, as it can stand independently as an utterance and does not rely upon another syntactic unit.

Occasionally, the infinitive is also found in infinitival adverbial clauses and in adverbial clauses that usually contain inflected verbs, i.e. clauses marked in =*niŋ(a)* (cotemporal events), =*hoŋ* (sequential events) and *bhoŋ* (conditional clauses). This is the case when the reference of the arguments is not specified, i.e. in general statements, best rendered with ‘when/ if one does X, ...’ (see Chapter ??).

Note that there is a special negation marker *me(N-)* which is only found in nonfinite forms and in the inflection of the copula, i.e. in infinitives, the nominalization in *-khuba* and the negative converb. Except for this negation marker and the clitics on the deontic infinitives, no tense/aspect, mood or person marking is found on non-finite forms.

6 Noun-verb predicates

This chapter deals with idiomatic combinations of a noun and a verb. These predicates occupy a position somewhat between word and phrase. Lexically, a noun-verb predicate always constitutes one word, as its meaning is not directly predictable from its individual components (with varying degrees of metaphoricity and abstraction). But since the nouns enjoy considerable morphosyntactic freedom, speaking of noun incorporation here would be misleading. About 80 noun-verb predicates are attested so far, with roughly two thirds referring to experiential events.

There are two main morphologically defined patterns for noun-verb predicates. In the first pattern (Simple noun-verb predicates) the predicate consists of a noun and a verb that are juxtaposed in N-V order, such as *lam phakma* ‘open way, give turn’ or *tukkhu?wa lamma* ‘doze off’ (discussed in §6.1).¹ The second pattern (the experiencer-as-possessor construction) is semantically more restricted and also different morphologically. It expresses experiential events, with the experiencer coded as possessor, as for instance *hakamba ke?ma* ‘yawn’ (lit.: (someone’s) yawn to come up). This pattern is discussed in §6.2.

6.1 Simple noun-verb predicates

Most of the simple noun-verb predicates are relatively transparent but fixed collocations. They denote events from the semantic domains of natural phenomena, e.g. *nam phemma* ‘shine [sun]’, *taṅkhyañ kama* ‘thunder’ (lit. ‘sky—call’), some culturally significant actions like *kei lakma* ‘dance the drum dance’ and also verbs that refer to experien-

¹ The same pattern is also used as a strategy to incorporate Nepali nouns into the Yakkha morphology, with a very small class of light verbs, namely *cokma* ‘make’, *wama* ‘exist, be’ and *tokma* ‘get’, cf. §8.1.11.

tial events and bodily functions, such as *whaŋma tukma* ‘feel hot’ (literally: ‘sweat/heat—hurt’). Experiential concepts are, however, more frequently expressed by the experiencer-as-possessor construction.²

Table 6.1 provides some examples of simple noun-verb predicates. Lexemes in square brackets were not found as independent words beyond their usage in these compounds. Some verbs, like weather verbs (e.g., *nam phemma* ‘shine [sun]’ and *wasik tama* ‘rain’) and some experiential predicates (e.g., *wepma sima* ‘be thirsty’ and *whaŋma tukma* ‘feel hot’), for instance, do not allow the expression of additional arguments; their valency is zero (under the assumption that the nouns belonging to the predicates are different from full-fledged arguments). If overt arguments are possible, they behave like the arguments of standard intransitive or standard transitive verbs. They trigger agreement on the verb, and they take nominative or ergative case marking (see §8.1).

The predicates vary as to whether the noun or the verb carries the semantic weight of the predicate, or whether both parts play an equal role in establishing the meaning of the construction. In verbs like *wepma sima* ‘be thirsty’ (lit. ‘thirst—die’) or *wasik tama* ‘rain’ (lit. ‘rain—come’), the noun carries the semantic weight,³ while in verbs like *kei lakma* ‘drum—dance’, *cabhak lakma* ‘paddy—dance’, the nouns merely modify the verbal meaning. The nouns may stand in various thematic relations to the verb: in *wepma sima* ‘be thirsty’, the noun has the role of an effector, in predicates like *hi?wa phemma* ‘wind—blow’ it is closer to an agent role. In *saya pokma* ‘head-soul—raise’,⁴ it is a patient.

There are also a few constructions in which the noun is etymologi-

² There is no clear explanation why some verbs expressing bodily functions, like *chipma chima* ‘urinate’ belong to the simple noun-verb predicates, while most of them belong to the experiencer-as-possessor frame. Some verbs show synonymy across these two classes, e.g., the two lexemes with the meaning ‘sweat’: *whaŋma lomma* (literally: ‘sweat—come out’, an experiencer-as-possessor predicate, with the experiencer coded as possessor of *whaŋma*) and *whaŋmaŋa lupma* (literally: ‘sweat-INS—disperse’, a simple noun-verb predicate).

³ This is the reason why noun-verb collocations have also become known as light verb constructions (after Jespersen (1965), who used this term for English collocations like *have a rest*).

⁴ ‘Raising the head soul’ is a ritual activity undertaken by specialists to help individuals whose physical or psychological well-being is in danger.

Table 6.1: Simple noun-verb predicates

PREDICATE	GLOSS	LITERAL TRANSLATION
<i>cabhak lakma</i>	‘do the paddy dance’	(paddy – dance)
<i>chakma pokma</i>	‘troubled times to occur’	(hardship – strike)
<i>chipma chima</i>	‘urinate’	(urine – urinate)
<i>cun tukma</i>	‘feel cold’	(cold – hurt)
<i>himbulumma cama</i>	‘swing’	(swing – eat)
<i>hi?wa phemma</i>	‘wind blow’	(wind – be activated [weather])
<i>hongpa phayma</i>	‘crawl’	([STEM] – [STEM])
<i>kei lakma</i>	‘do the drum dance’	(drum – dance)
<i>lan phakma</i>	‘make steps’	(foot/leg – apply)
<i>lam phakma</i>	‘open way, give turn’	(way – apply/build)
<i>lambu lembi?ma</i>	‘let pass’	(way – let-give)
<i>muk phakma</i>	‘help, serve’	(hand – apply)
<i>nam ama</i>	‘sit around all day’	(sun – make set)
<i>nam phemma</i>	‘be sunny’	(sun – be activated [weather])
<i>phi?ma phima</i>	‘fart’	(fart – fart)
<i>sak tukma</i>	‘be hungry’	(hunger – hurt)
<i>setni ke?ma</i>	‘stay awake all night’	(night – bring up)
<i>sokma soma</i>	‘breathe’	(breath – breathe)
<i>susuwa lapma</i>	‘whistle’	([whistle] – call)
<i>tukkhu?wa lapma</i> (~ lamma)	‘doze off’	([STEM] – call)
<i>taṅkhyar kama</i>	‘thunder’	(sky – call)
<i>uwa cama</i>	‘kiss’	(nectar/liquid – eat)
<i>wa lekma</i>	‘rinse’	(water – turn)
<i>wasik tama</i>	‘rain’	(rain – come)
<i>wepma sima</i>	‘be thirsty’	(thirst – die)
<i>wepma tukma</i>	‘by thirsty’	(thirst – hurt)
<i>wha pokma</i>	‘septic wounds to occur’	(septic wound – infest)
<i>whayma tukma</i>	‘feel hot’	(heat/sweat – hurt)
<i>yak yakma</i>	‘stay over night’	([STEM] – stay over night)
<i>yaychan chi?ma</i>	‘regret’	([STEM] – get conscious)
<i>chemha=ṅa sima</i>	‘be intoxicated, be drunken’	(be killed by alcohol)
<i>cun=ṅa sima</i>	‘freeze’	(die of cold)
<i>sak=ṅa sima</i>	‘be hungry’	(die of hunger)
<i>whayma=ṅa lupma</i>	‘sweat’	(heat/sweat – disperse/strew)

cally related to the verb, such as *chipma chima* ‘urinate’, *sokma soma* ‘breathe’ and *phi?ma phima* ‘fart’ (cognate object constructions). The nouns in these constructions do not contribute to the overall meaning of the predicate.⁵

Concerning stress assignment and the voicing rule (see §?? and §??), noun and verb do not constitute a unit. Both the noun and the verb carry equal stress, even if the noun is monosyllabic, resulting in adjacent stress, as in *‘sak.tuk.ma*. As for voicing, if the initial stop of the verbal stem is preceded by a nasal or a vowel, it remains voiceless. This stands in contrast to the verb-verb predicates (see Chapter 7), which are more tightly fused in other respects, too. Compare, for instance, *cun tukma* ‘be cold’ (N+V, ‘cold—hurt’) with *ham-bi?ma* ‘distribute among people’ (V+V, ‘distribute—give’).

There are different degrees of morphological fusion of noun and verb, and some nouns may undergo operations that are not expected if they were incorporated. They can be topicalized by means of the particle =*ko* (see (1a)), and two nouns selecting the same light verb may also be coordinated (see (1b)). Such examples are rare, though. Note that (1a) is from a collection of proverbs and sayings, in which rhythm and rhyming constraints could lead to the insertion of particles such as =*ko*. In most cases the noun and verb occur without any intervening material. The noun may also be modified independently, as the spontaneously uttered sentence in (1c) shows. Typically, the predicates are modified as a whole by adverbs, but here one can see that the noun may also be modified independently by adnominal modifiers. The modifying phrase is marked by a genitive, which is never found on adverbial modifiers.

- (1) a. *makkai=ga cama, chi?wa=ga khyu,*
 maize=GEN cooked_grains nettle=GEN curry_sauce
 cabhak=ko lak-ma, a-ŋoŋeŋma=jyu
 paddy=TOP dance-INF 1SG.POSS-female_in-law=HON
 ‘Corn mash, nettle sauce, let us dance the paddy dance, dear
 sister-in-law.’ [12_pvb_01.008]

⁵ Semantically empty nouns are also attested in the experiencer-as-possessor construction (cf. below). They are called ‘eidemic’ in Bickel (1995, 1997c); and “morphanic” (morpheme orphans) in Matisoff (1986).

- b. *kei=nun cabhak lak-san ucun n-joŋ-me*
 drum=COM paddy dance-SIM nice 3PL-do-NPST
 ‘They have a good time, dancing the drum dance and the
 paddy dance.’⁶ [01_leg_07.142]
- c. *a-phok tuk=nun=ga sak*
 1SG.POSS-stomach hurt=COM=GEN hunger
tug-a=na
 hurt-PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am starving.’ (Lit.: ‘A hunger struck (me) that makes my
 stomach ache.’)

Some of the nouns may even trigger agreement on the verb, something which is also unexpected from the traditional definition of compounds, which entails that compounds are one unit lexically and thus morphologically opaque (see e.g. Fabb 2001). Example (2a) and (2b) are different in this respect:⁷ while predicates that contain the verb *tukma* ‘hurt’ are invariably inflected for third person singular (in other words, the noun *whaŋma* triggers agreement; overt arguments are not possible), predicates containing *sima* ‘die’ show agreement with the overtly expressed (experiencer) subject in the unmarked nominative (2b).⁸ Some meanings can be expressed by either frame (compare (2b) and (2c)), but this is not a regular and productive alternation.

- (2) a. *whaŋma tug-a=na*
 sweat hurt[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I/you/he/she/it/we/they feel(s) hot.’
- b. *ka wepma sy-a-ŋ=na*
 1SG thirst die-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am thirsty.’
- c. *wepma tug-a=na*
 thirst hurt[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG

⁶ The interpretation of ‘dancing the paddy dance with drums’ can be ruled out here, because the drums are not played in the paddy dance.

⁷ Many Yakkha verbs have inchoative-stative Aktionsart so that the past inflection refers to a state that still holds true at the time of speaking.

⁸ The same argument realization is found in the Belhare cognates of these two verbs (Bickel 1997c). For the details of argument realization in Yakkha see Chapter 8.

‘I/you/he/she/it/we/they is/are thirsty.’

Note that if *wepma* in (2b) were a regular verbal argument, an instrumental case would be expected, since it is an effector with respect to the verbal meaning. And indeed, some noun-verb predicates require an instrumental or an ergative case on the noun (see (3)).⁹

- (3) a. (*chemha*=*ηa*) *sis-a-ga=na=i?*
 (liquor=ERG) kill-PST-2.P=NMLZ.SG=Q
 ‘Are you drunk?’
 b. *sak=ηa n-sy-a-ma-ηa-n=na*
 hunger=INS NEG-die-PST-PRF-1SG-NEG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am not hungry.’

Some verbs participating in noun-verb predicates have undergone semantic changes. Note that in (3) the nouns *sak* and *chemha* do not have the same status with regard to establishing the semantics of the whole predicate. The verbal stem *sis* ‘kill’ in (a) has already acquired a metaphorical meaning of ‘be drunk, be intoxicated’ (with the experiencer coded like a standard object). The noun is frequently omitted in natural speech, and if all arguments are overt, the experiencer precedes the stimulus, just like in Experiencer-as-Object constructions (see (4) and Chapter 8.1.6).¹⁰ In contrast to this, the stem *si* in (b) is not polysemous; the noun is required to establish the meaning of the construction.

- (4) *ka macchi=ηa haηd-a-η=na*
 1SG pickles/chili=ERG taste_hot-PST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The pickles/chili tasted hot to me.’

Despite a certain degree of morphosyntactic freedom, the nouns are not full-fledged arguments. It is not possible to demote or promote the noun via transitivity operations such as the causative or the passive, or to extract it from the noun-verb complex via relativization (see ungram-

⁹ Yakkha has an instrumental/ergative syncretism. Therefore, in intransitive predicates *=ηa* is interpreted as instrumental; in transitive predicates it is interpreted as ergative.

¹⁰ The same development has taken place in Belhare (Bickel 1997c: 151).

matal (5)).

- (5) a. **lakt-i=ha* *cabhak*
 dance-1PL[PST]=NMLZ.NSG paddy
 Intended: ‘the paddy (dance) that we danced’
 b. **tug-a=ha* *sak*
 hurt[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.NSG hunger
 Intended: ‘the hunger that was perceivable’

To sum up, simple noun-verb predicates behave like one word with respect to lexical semantics, adjacency (in the overwhelming majority of examples), extraction possibilities for the noun (i.e. the lack thereof). They behave like two words as far as clitic placement (including case), coordination, modifiability, stress and voicing are concerned. Thus, they are best understood as lexicalized phrases.

6.2 Experiencer-as-possessor constructions

Following a general tendency of languages of South and Southeast Asia, Yakkha has a dedicated construction for the expression of experiential concepts, including emotional and cognitive processes, bodily functions, but also human character traits and their moral evaluation. In Yakkha, such concepts are expressed by predicates that are built from a noun and a verb, whereby the noun is perceived as the location of this concept, i.e. the “arena” where a physiological or psychological experience unfolds (Matisoff 1986: 8). These nouns are henceforth referred to as psych-nouns, but apart from referring to emotions and sensations, they can also refer to body parts and excreted substances. Example (6) illustrates the basic pattern:

- (6) *u-niŋwa* *tug-a=na*
 3SG.POSS-mind hurt[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He was/became sad.’

The verbs come from a rather small class; they denote the manner in which the experiencer is affected by the event, many of which refer to motion events. The experiencer is morphologically treated like the

possessor of the psych-noun; it is indexed by possessive prefixes. The expression of experiential concepts by means of a possessive metaphor is a characteristic and robust feature of Kiranti languages (cf. the ‘possessive of experience’ in Bickel (1997c), ‘emotive predicates’ in Ebert (1994: 72), and ‘body part emotion verbs’ in Doornenbal (2009: 219)), but this is also found beyond Kiranti in South-East Asian languages, including Hmong-Mien, Mon-Khmer and Tai-Kadai languages (Matisoff 1986; Bickel 2004b). In other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Newari, Balti and Tibetan, for instance, experiencers are marked by a dative (Beyer 1992; Genetti 2007; Read 1934), an option which is not available, at least not by native morphology, in most Kiranti languages.

Experiencer-as-possessor constructions are not the only option to express experiential events. The crosslinguistic variation that can be found within experiential predicates is also reflected in the language-internal variation of Yakkha. We have seen Simple Noun-Verb predicates in §6.1 above. Other possibilities are simple verbal stems like *haŋma* ‘taste hot/have a spicy sensation’ (treating the experiencer like a standard P argument), *eʔma* ‘perceive, like, have an impression, have opinion’ (treating it like a standard A argument) and the historically complex verb *kisiʔma* ‘be afraid’ (treating it like a standard S argument). Verbs composed of several verbal stems may also encode experiential notions, such as *yoŋdiʔma* ‘be scared’ (shake-give). It is the possessive experiencer verbs though that constitute the biggest class of experiential predicates. About fifty verbs have been found so far (cf. Tables 6.2 and 6.3), but probably this list is far from exhaustive.

This section is organized as follows: the various possibilities of argument realization within the experiencer-as-possessor frame are introduced in §6.2.1 introduces, §6.2.2 looks at the principles behind the semantic composition of possessive experiential predicates, and §6.2.3 deals with the morphosyntax of these predicates and with the behavioral properties of experiencers as non-canonically marked S or A arguments.

6.2.1 Subframes of argument realization

A basic distinction can be drawn between predicates of intransitive valency and transitive or labile¹¹ valency (see Tables 6.2 and 6.3 at the end of the section). Within this basic distinction, the verbs can be further divided into various subframes of argument realization. In all classes, the experiencer is marked as possessor of the psych-noun, i.e., as possessor of a sensation or an affected body part.

In the class of intransitive verbs, the psych-noun triggers third person marking on the verb, as in (6) and (7). Intransitive verbs usually do not have an overt noun phrase referring to the experiencer; only the possessive prefix identifies the reference of the experiencer. When the experiencer has a special pragmatic status, and is thus marked by a discourse particle, it can be overtly expressed in either the nominative or in the genitive (compare example (16c) and (17d) below). As this is quite rare, the reasons for this alternation are not clear yet.

In some cases, the noun is conceptualized as nonsingular, triggering the according number markers on the verb as well (see (7a)). One verb in this group is special in consisting of two nouns and a verb. Both nouns take the possessive prefix (see (7b)). Their respective full forms would be *niṇwa* and *lawā*. It is not uncommon that the nouns get reduced to one syllable in noun-verb predicates.

- (7) a. *a-pomma=ci* *ṇ-gy-a=ha=ci*
 1SG.POSS-laziness=NSG 3PL-come_up-PST=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘I feel lazy.’
- b. *a-niṇ* *a-la* *sy-a=na*
 1SG.POSS-mind 1SG.POSS-spirit die[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am fed up/annoyed.’

The transitive group can be divided into five classes (cf. Table 6.3 on page 232). In all classes, the experiencer is coded as the possessor of the psych-noun (via possessive prefixes), and hence this does not need to be explicitly stated in the schematic representation of argument realization in the table.

¹¹ See also §??.

In Class (a) the experiencer is realized like a standard transitive subject (in addition to being indexed by possessive prefixes): it triggers transitive subject agreement and has ergative case marking (only overtly marked if it has third person reference and is overt, which is rare). The stimulus is unmarked and triggers object agreement (see (8a)).

Class (b) differs from class (a) in that the psych-noun triggers object agreement, invariably third person and in some cases, third person plural (see (8b)). No stimulus is expressed in class (b). This class has the highest number of members.

- (8) a. *uŋ=ŋa u-ppa u-luŋma*
3SG=ERG 3SG.POSS-father 3SG.POSS-liver
tukt-uks-u=na
pour-PRF-3.P=NMLZ.SG
‘He loved his father.’ (lit.: ‘He poured his father his liver.’)
- b. *a-yupma=ci*
1SG.POSS-sleepiness=NSG
cips-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ=ha
complete-3.P[PST]-1SG.A-3NSG.P-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
‘I am well-rested.’ (lit.: ‘I completed my sleep(s).’)

Predicates of class (c) show three possibilities of argument realization. One possibility is an unexpected pattern where the stimulus triggers object agreement, while the psych-noun triggers subject agreement, which leads, oddly enough, to a literal translation ‘my disgust brings up bee larvae’ in (9a). Despite the subject agreement on the verb, the psych-nouns in this class do not host an ergative case marker, an option that is available, however, for verbs of class (d). The experiencer is indexed only by the possessive prefix in this frame; overt experiencer arguments were not found. The stimulus can be in the nominative or in the ablative in class (c), but if it is in the ablative, the verb is blocked from showing object agreement with the stimulus, showing 3>3 agreement instead (see (9b)). The third option of argument realization in class (c) is identical to class (a) (cf. the comments in (9a) and (b)). Reasons or conditions for these alternations, for instance in different configurations of the referential properties of the arguments, could not be de-

tected.

- (9) a. *thaŋsu=ga u-chya=ci a-chippa*
 bee=GEN 3SG.POSS-child=NSG 1SG.POSS-disgust
ket-wa-ci=ha
 bring_up-NPST-3NSGP=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘I am disgusted by the bee larvae.’
 (same: *thaŋsuga ucyaci achipa ketwaŋcinha* - (1SG>3PL, class (a)))
- b. *njiŋda=bhaŋ a-sokma*
 2DU=ABL 1SG.POSS-breath
hips-wa=na!
 whip-NPST[3A>3.P]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I get fed up by you.’
 (same: *njiŋda asokma himme?nencinha!* - 1SG>2DU, class (a))

In class (d), the psych-noun also triggers transitive subject agreement, and it exhibits ergative marking. The object agreement slot can be filled either by the stimulus or by the experiencer argument (see (10a)).¹²

Class (e) is exemplified by (10b). Here, the experiencer is the possessor of a body part which triggers object agreement on the verb. Some verbs may express an effector or stimulus overtly. Others, like *ya limma* ‘taste

¹² There are (at least) two concepts, *saya* and *lawā*, that are related to or similar to ‘soul’ in Yakkha and the Kiranti metaphysical world in general. Gaenszle (2000) writes about these two (and other) concepts in Mewahang (also Eastern Kiranti, Upper Arun branch):

The concept of *saya* is understood to be a kind of “vital force” that must be continually renewed (literally: “bought”) by means of various sacrificial rites. [...] The vital force *saya* makes itself felt [...] not only in subjective physical or psychic states but also, and in particular, in the social, economic, religious and political spheres - that is, it finds expression in success, wealth, prestige and power. The third concept, *lawā* (cf. Hardman (1981: 165), Hardman (1990: 299)) is rendered by the Nepali word *sāto* (‘soul’). This is a small, potentially evanescent substance, which is compared to a mosquito, a butterfly or a bee, and which, if it leaves the body for a longer period, results in loss of consciousness and mental illness. The shaman must then undertake to summon it back or retrieve it. (Gaenszle 2000: 119)

sweet' cannot express an overt A argument, despite being inflected transitively (see (10c)). This pattern is reminiscent of the transimpersonal verbs (treated in §8.1.7).

- (10) a. *a-lawa=ŋa* *naʔ-ya-ŋ=na*
 1SG.POSS-spirit=ERG leave-V2.LEAVE-PST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
 'I was frozen in shock.' (lit.: 'My spirit left me.')
- b. (*cuŋ=ŋa*) *a-muk=ci*
 (cold=ERG) 1SG.POSS-hand=NSG
khokt-u-ci=ha
 chop-3.P[PST]-3NSG.P=NMLZ.NSG
 'My hands are tingling/freezing (from the cold).' (lit.: 'The cold chopped off my hands.')
- c. *a-ya* *limd-u=na*
 1SG.POSS-mouth taste_sweet-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 'It tastes sweet to me.'

Many of the transitive verbs are attested also with intransitive inflection without further morphological marker of decreased transitivity, i.e. they show a labiality alternation (see (11)).

- (11) a. *n-lok* *khot-a-ŋ-ga=na=i?*
 2SG.POSS-anger scratch-PST-1SG.P-2.A=NMLZ.SG=Q
 'Are you angry at me?'
- b. *o-lok* *khot-a=na*
 3SG.POSS-anger scratch[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 'He/she got angry.'

For two verbs, namely *nabhuk-lemnhaŋma* 'dishonor (self/others)' (lit.: 'throw away one's nose') and *nabhuk-yuŋma* 'uphold moral' (lit.: 'keep one's nose'), there is one more constellation of participants, due to their particular semantics. The experiencer can either be identical to the agent or different from it, as the social consequences of morally transgressive behavior usually affect more people than just the agent (e.g. illegitimate sexual contacts, or an excessive use of swearwords).¹³

¹³ This concept is particularly related to immoral behavior of women. It is rarely, if ever, heard that a man 'threw away his nose'.

The morphosyntactic consequences of this are that the verbal agreement and the possessive prefix on the noun may either have the same conominal or two different conominals. Taken literally, one may ‘throw away one’s own nose’ or ‘throw away somebody else’s nose’ (see (12)). Note that due to the possessive argument realization it is possible to have partial coreference, which is impossible in the standard transitive verbal inflection (cf. §5.2).

- (12) a. *u-nabhuk lept-haks-u=na*
 3SG.POSS-nose throw-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She dishonored herself.’
- b. *nda eŋ=ga nabhuk(=ci)*
 2SG[ERG] 1PL.INCL.POSS=GEN nose(=NSG)
lept-haks-u-ci-g=ha!
 throw-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]-3NSG.P-2.A=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘You dishonored us all (including yourself)!’

In §6.1 cognate object constructions like *chipma chima* ‘urinate’ were discussed. In these cases, the noun is cognate to the verb and does not actually make a semantic contribution to the predicate. Such developments are also found in the experiencer-as-possessor frame. Example (13a) and (13b) are two alternative ways to express the same propositional content. Note the change of person marking to third person in (b). The noun *phok* ‘belly’ is, of course, not etymologically related to the verb in this case, but it also does not make a semantic contribution. Further examples are *ya limma* ‘mouth-taste sweet’ and *hi ema* ‘stool-defecate’.

- (13) a. *ka khas-a-ŋ=na*
 1SG be_full-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am full.’
- b. *a-phok khas-a=na*
 1SG.POSS-belly be_full[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am full.’

All frames of argument realization with examples are provided in Tables

6.2.2 Semantic properties

The experiencer-as-possessor predicates are far less transparent and predictable than the simple noun-verb predicates. The nouns participating in this structure refer to abstract psychological or moral concepts like *lok* ‘anger’, *yupma* ‘sleepiness’ and *pomma* ‘laziness’, or they refer to body parts or inner organs which are exploited for experiential metaphors. The lexeme *luṇma* ‘liver’, for instance, is used in the expression of love and greed, and *nabhuk* ‘nose’ is connected to upholding (or eroding) moral standards. The human body is a very common source for psychological metaphors, or as Matisoff observed:

[...] it is a universal of human metaphorical thinking to equate mental operations and states with bodily sensations and movements, as well as with physical qualities and events in the outside world. (Matisoff 1986: 9)

In Yakkha, too, psychological concepts are treated as concrete tangible entities that can be possessed, moved or otherwise manipulated. Many verbs employed in experiencer-as-possessor predicates are verbs of motion and caused motion, like *keʔma* (both ‘come up’ and ‘bring up’, distinguished by different stem behavior), *kaṇma* ‘fall’, *haṇma* ‘send’, *lemnhaṇma* ‘throw’, *pokma* ‘raise’ or *lomma* (both ‘take out’ and ‘come out’). Other verbs refer to physical change (both spontaneous and caused), such as *khonʔdiʔma* ‘break down’, *himma* ‘whip/flog’ or *kipma* ‘cover tightly’. Most of the predicates acquire their experiential semantics only in the particular idiomatic combinations. Only a few verbs have intrinsic experiential semantics, like *tukma* ‘hurt/be ill’.

¹⁴ Stems in square brackets in the tables were not found as independent words beyond their use in these collocations.

Table 6.2: Intransitive experiencer-as-possessor predicates

PREDICATE	GLOSS	LITERAL TRANSLATION
{(S[EXP]-NOM/GEN) V-s[3]}		
{(S[EXP]-NOM/GEN) V-s[3]}		
<i>chipma lomma</i>	‘have to pee’	(urine – come out)
<i>hakamba ke?ma</i>	‘yawn’	(yawn – come up)
<i>hakchinba ke?ma</i>	‘sneeze’	(sneeze – come up)
<i>heli lomma</i>	‘bleed’	(blood – come out)
<i>hi lomma</i>	‘have to defecate’	(shit – come out)
<i>lan minma</i>	‘twist/sprain leg’	(leg – sprain)
<i>lan sima</i>	‘have paraesthetic leg’	(leg – die)
<i>mi?wa unma</i>	‘cry, shed tears’	(tear – come down)
<i>niŋ-la sima</i>	‘be fed up’	([mind] – [spirit] – die)
<i>niŋwa kanma</i>	‘give in, surrender’	(mind – fall)
<i>niŋwa khon?di?ma</i>	a) ‘be mentally ill’ b) ‘be disappointed/sad’	(mind – break down)
<i>niŋwa ima</i>	‘feel dizzy’	(mind – revolve)
<i>niŋwa tama</i>	‘be satisfied, content’	(mind – come)
<i>niŋwa tukma</i>	‘be sad, be offended’	(mind – be ill/hurt)
<i>niŋwa wama</i>	‘hope’	(mind – exist)
<i>phok kama</i>	‘be full’	(stomach – be full/saturated)
<i>pomma ke?ma</i>	‘feel lazy’	(laziness – come up)
<i>saklum phemma</i>	‘be frustrated’	(frustration – be activated)
<i>tan pokma</i>	‘be arrogant, naughty’	(horn – rise)
<i>yuncama ke?ma</i>	‘have to laugh, chuckle’	(laugh – come up)
<i>yupma yuma</i>	‘be tired’	(sleepiness – be full)

Table 6.3: Transitive/labile experiencer-as-possessor predicates

PREDICATE	GLOSS	LITERAL TRANSLATION
Class (a): {A[EXP]-ERG P[STIM]-NOM V-a[A].p[P]}		
<i>chik ekma</i>	'hate'	(hate – make break)
<i>lok kho?ma</i>	'be angry at'	(anger – scratch)
<i>luŋma kipma</i>	'be greedy'	(liver – cover tightly)
<i>luŋma tukma</i>	'love, have compassion'	(liver – pour)
<i>na hemma</i>	'be jealous'	([jealousy] – [feel])
Class (b): {A[EXP]-ERG P[NOUN]-NOM V-a[A].p[3]}		
<i>hi ema</i>	'defecate'	(stool-defecate)
<i>iklam saŋma</i>	'clear throat, harrumph'	(throat – brush)
<i>khaep cimma</i>	'be satisfied, lose interest'	([interest] – be completed)
<i>mi?wa saŋma</i>	'mourn (ritually)'	(tear – brush)
<i>nabhuk lemnhaŋma</i>	'dishonor self/others'	(nose – throw away)
<i>nabhuk yuŋma</i>	'uphold own/others' moral'	(nose – keep)
<i>niŋwa chi?ma</i>	'see reason, get grown up'	(mind – [get conscious])
<i>niŋwa cokma</i>	'pay attention'	(mind – do)
<i>niŋwa hupma</i>	'unite minds, decide together'	(mind – tighten, unite)
<i>niŋwa lapma</i>	'pull oneself together'	(mind – hold)
<i>niŋwa lomma</i>	'have/apply an idea'	(mind – take out)
<i>niŋwa pi?ma</i>	'trust deeply'	(mind – give)
<i>niŋwa yuŋma</i>	'be careful'	(mind – put)
<i>saya pokma</i>	'raise head soul (ritually)'	(head soul – raise)
<i>semla saŋma</i>	'clear throat, clear voice'	(voice – brush)
<i>sokma soma</i>	'breathe'	(breath – breathe)
<i>yupma cimma</i>	'be well-rested'	(sleepiness – be completed)
Class (c): {P[STIM]-NOM V-a[3].p[P]} ~ {P[STIM]-ABL V-a[3].p[3]} ~ {Class (a)}		
<i>chippa ke?ma</i>	'be disgusted'	(disgust – bring up)
<i>niŋsaŋ puŋma</i>	'lose interest, have enough'	([interest] – [lose])
<i>sokma himma</i>	'be annoyed, be bored'	(breath – whip/flog)
<i>sap thakma</i>	'like'	([STEM] – send up)
Class (d): {A[NOUN]-ERG P[STIM]-NOM V-a[3].p[A/P]}		
<i>niŋwa=ŋa cama</i>	'feel sympathetic'	(mind=ERG – eat)
<i>niŋwa=ŋa mudi?ma</i>	'forget'	(mind=ERG – forget)
<i>hop=ŋa khamma</i>	'trust'	([STEM]-ERG – chew)
<i>niŋwa=ŋa apma</i>	'be clever, be witty'	(mind=ERG – bring)
<i>law=ŋa na?nama</i>	'be frozen in shock, be scared stiff'	(spirit=ERG – leave)
Class (e): {P[STIM]-ERG V-a[3].p[3]}		
<i>muk khokma</i>	'freezing/stiff hands'	(hand-chop)
<i>mi?wa saŋma</i>	(part of the death ritual)	(tear – brush off)
<i>ya limma</i> (transimp.)	'taste good'	(mouth – taste sweet)

6.2.3 Morphosyntactic properties

6.2.3.1 Wordhood vs. phrasehood

Experiencer-as-possessor predicates host both nominal and verbal morphology. A possessive prefix (referring to the experiencer) attaches to the noun, and the verbal inflection attaches to the verb. The verbal inflection always attaches to the verbal stem, so that the verbal prefixes stand between the noun and the verb (see (14)). It has been shown above that some of the psych-nouns can be inflected for number as well as trigger plural morphology on the verb, and that others may show case marking (see (8b) and (10a)).

- (14) *a-luŋma* *n-duŋ-me?-nen=na*
 1SG.POSS-liver NEG-pour-NPST-1>2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I do not love you./I do not have compassion for you.’

The experiencer argument, which is always indexed by the possessive prefix on the noun, is rarely expressed overtly. It may show the following properties: it is in the nominative or in the genitive when the light verb is intransitive, and in the ergative in predicates that show transitive subject agreement with the experiencer argument (class (a) and (b)).

Noun and verb have to be adjacent, as shown by the following examples. Constituents like degree adverbs and quantifiers (see (15a) and (15b)) or question words (see (15c)) may not intervene.

- (15) a. *tuknuŋ* *u-niŋwa* (**tuknuŋ*)
 completely 3SG.POSS-mind (*completely)
 tug-a-ma, [...] *hur*
 hurt[3SG]-PST-PRF
 ‘She was so sad, ...’ [38_nrr_07.009]
- b. *ka* *khin* *pyak* *a-ma=ŋa*
 1SG so_much much 1SG.POSS-mother=ERG
 u-luŋma (**khin* *pyak*)
 3SG.POSS-liver (*so_much much)

- tun-me-η=na*
 pour[3SG.A]-NPST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘How much my mother loves me!’ [01_leg_07.079]
- c. *ijan n-lok (*ijan)*
 why 2SG.POSS-anger (*why)
khot-a-η-ga=na=i?
 scratch-PST-1SG.P-2SG.A=NMLZ.SG=Q
 ‘Why are you angry at me?’

Information-structural clitics, usually attaching to the rightmost element of the phrase, may generally stand between noun and verb, but some combinations were judged better than others (compare (16a) with (16b)). Compare also the impossible additive focus particle =*ca* in (16a) with the restrictive focus particle =*se* and the contrastive particle =*le* in (17). Overtly expressed experiencer arguments may naturally also host topic and focus particles, just like any other constituent can. This is shown e.g. by (16b) and by (17c) and (d).

- (16) a. *a-yupma=ci(*=ca)*
 1SG.POSS-sleepiness=NSG(*=ADD)
n-yus-a=ha=ci
 3PL.A-be_full-PST=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 Intended: ‘I am tired, too (in addition to being in a bad mood).’
- b. *u-tan=ca* *pog-a-by-a=na*
 3SG.POSS-horn=ADD rise[3SG]-PST-V2.GIVE-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She is also naughty.’
- c. *ka=ca a-yupma=ci*
 1SG=ADD 1SG.POSS-sleepiness=NSG
n-yus-a=ha=ci
 3PL.A-be_full-PST=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 Only: ‘I am also tired (in addition to you being tired).’ (not e.g. ‘I am tired in addition to being hungry.’)

- (17) a. *a-saklum=ci=se*
 1SG.POSS-need=NSG=RESTR
m-phen-a-sy-a=ha=ci
 3PL-be_activated-PST-MDDL-PST=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘I am just pining for it.’
- b. *uŋ=ŋa u-ma u-chik=se*
 3SG=ERG 3SG.POSS-mother 3SG.POSS-hate=RESTR
ekt-uks-u-sa
 make_break-PRF-3.P[PST]-PST.PRF
 ‘He had nothing but hate for his mother.’ [01_leg_07.065]
- c. *ka=go a-sap=le*
 1SG=TOP 1SG.POSS-[stem]=CTR
thakt-wa-ŋ=na
 send_up-NPST[3.P]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘But I like it.’ (said in contrast to another speaker)
- d. *uk=ka=se o-pomma=ci*
 3SG=GEN=RESTR 3SG.POSS-laziness=NSG
ŋ-gy-a=ha=ci
 3PL.A-come_up-PST=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
 ‘Only he was lazy (not the others).’

The noun can even be omitted, in case it was already active in discourse, such as in the question-answer pair in (18). It is, however, not possible to extract the noun from the predicate to relativize on it, neither with the nominalizer *-khuba* nor with the nominalizers *=na* and *=ha* as shown in (19) (cf. Chapter ??). Furthermore, in my corpus there is not a single example of a noun in a possessive experiential construction that is modified independently. The predicate is always modified as a whole, by adverbial modification. A certain degree of morphological freedom does not imply that the noun is a full-fledged argument.

- (18) a. *ŋkha mamu=ci n-sap*
 those girl=NSG 2SG.POSS-[STEM]
thakt-u-ci-g=ha=i?
 send_up-3.P[PST]-3NSG.P-2.A=NMLZ.NSG=Q
 ‘Do you like those girls?’

- b. *thakt-u-η-ci-η=ha!*
 send_up-3.P[PST]-1SG.A-3NSG.P-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 'I do!'
- (19) a. **kek-khuba (o-)pomma*
 come_up-NMLZ[S/A] (3SG.POSS-)laziness
 Intended: 'the laziness that comes up'
- b. **ky-a=na (o-)pomma*
 come_up-PST=NMLZ.SG (3SG.POSS-)laziness
 Intended: 'the laziness that came up'

The noun-verb complex as a whole may serve as input to derivational processes, such as the creation of adjectives by means of a reduplication and the nominalizer =*na* or =*ha*, shown in (20).

- (20) a. *uη tuknuη luηma-tuk-tuk=na*
 3SG completely liver-REDUPL-pour=NMLZ.SG
sa-ya-ma
 be[3]-PST-PRF
 'She was such a kind (loving, caring) person.' [01_leg_07.061]
- b. *ikhin chippa-ke-ke?=na*
 how_much disgust-REDUPL-come_up=NMLZ.SG
takabaη!
 spider
 'What a disgusting spider!'
- c. *nna chik-?ek-?ek=na babu*
 that hate-REDUPL-make_break=NMLZ.SG boy
 'that outrageous boy'

Wrapping up, just as we have seen above for the simple noun-verb predicates, the noun and the verb build an inseparable unit for some processes, but not for others; the predicates show both word-like and phrasal properties. Semantically, of course, noun and verb build one unit, but they can be targeted by certain morphological and syntactic processes: the nonsingular marking on psych-nouns, psych-nouns triggering agreement, the possibility of hosting phrasal clitics, and the partial ellipsis. The ambiguous status of these predicates is also reflected

in their phonology: noun and verb are two units with respect to stress and voicing.

Another feature distinguishes the possessive experiencer predicates from compounds: nouns in compounds are typically generic (Fabb 2001: 66, Haspelmath (2002: 156)). As the noun in the possessive experiential predicates hosts the possessive prefix, its reference is made specific. The contiguity of noun and verb, the derivation of adjectives and the restrictions on extraction and modification also clearly show that noun and verb are one unit. All these conflicting properties of Yakkha add further support to approaches that question the notion of the word as opaque to morphosyntactic processes (as e.g. stated in the Lexical Integrity Principle). The possessive experiential predicates may best be understood as lexicalized phrases, such as the predicates discussed in §6.1 above.

6.2.3.2 Behavioral properties of the experiencer arguments

Experiencers as morphologically downgraded, non-canonically marked subjects do not necessarily have to be downgraded in other parts of the grammar. As observed by Bickel (2004b), Tibeto-Burman languages, in contrast to Indo-Aryan languages, show a strong tendency to treat experiencers as full-fledged arguments syntactically. Yakkha confirms this generalization. In syntactic constructions that select pivots, the experiencer argument is chosen, regardless of the fact that it is often blocked from triggering verbal agreement. The nominalizer *-khuba* (S/A arguments) selects the experiencer, because it is the most agent-like argument in the clause (see (21)). As the ungrammatical (21c) shows, the stimulus cannot be nominalized by *-khuba*.

- (21) a. *takabaŋ u-chippa kek-khuba mamu*
 spider 3SG.POSS-disgust come_up-NMLZ girl
 ‘the girl who is disgusted by spiders’
 b. *o-pomma kek-khuba babu*
 3SG.POSS-laziness come_up-NMLZ boy
 ‘the lazy fellow’
 c. **chippa kek-khuba camyoŋba*
 disgust come_up-NMLZ food

Intended: ‘disgusting food’ (only: *chippakeke?na*)

Another process that exclusively selects S and A arguments is the con-verbal clause linkage, which is marked by the suffix *-saŋ*. It implies that two (or more) events happen simultaneously, and it requires the referential identity of the S and A arguments in both clauses. Example (22) illustrates that this also holds for experiencer arguments.

- (22) a. *o-pomma kes-saŋ kes-saŋ kam*
 3SG.POSS-laziness come_up-SIM come_up-SIM work
cog-wa
 do-NPST[3.P]
 ‘He does the work lazily.’
 b. *uŋ lok khos-saŋ*
 3SG anger scratch-SIM
lukt-a-khy-a=na
 run[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He ran away angrily.’

In causatives, the experiencer is the causee, as is evidenced by the verbal marking in (23). There is no overt marking for 1.P, but the reference is retrieved from the opposition to the other forms in the paradigm – with third person object agreement, the inflected form would have to be *himmetugha*.

- (23) *khem=nun manoj=ŋa a-sokma*
 Khem=COM Manoj=ERG 1SG.POSS-breath
him-met-a-g=ha!
 whip-CAUS-PST-2.A[1.P]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Khem and Manoj (you) annoy me!’

The last syntactic property discussed here is the agreement in complement-taking verbs that embed infinitives, as for instance *yama* ‘be able’ or *tarokma* ‘begin’, shown in (24). Basically, the complement-taking verb mirrors the agreement that is found in the embedded verb. Those predicates whose experiencer arguments do not trigger agreement in the verb do not show agreement in the complement-taking verb either. Other

restrictions are semantic in nature, so that, for instance, ‘I want to get lazy’ is not possible, because being lazy is not conceptualized as something one can do on purpose. Thus, the agreement facts neither confirm nor contradict the generalization made above. A more interesting case is the periphrastic progressive construction, with the lexical verb in the infinitive and an intransitively inflected auxiliary *-si?* (infinitial form and auxiliary got fused into one word). The auxiliary selects the experiencer as agreement triggering argument (see (24b)).

- (24) a. *ka nda a-luŋma tuk-ma*
 1SG[ERG] 2SG 1SG.POSS-liver pour-INF
 n-ya-me?-nen=na
 NEG-be_able-NPST-1>2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I cannot love you./I cannot have pity for you.’
- b. *nda ka ijaŋ n-lok*
 2SG[ERG] 1SG why 2SG.POSS-anger
 kho?-ma-si-me-ka=na?
 scratch-INF-AUX.PROG-NPST-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Why are you being angry at me?’

7 Complex predication

This chapter deals with complex predication, i.e. with predicates that consist of multiple verbal stems. Yakkha follows a common South Asian pattern of complex predication where the verbs do not combine freely, but where a class of function verbs (cf. Schultze-Berndt (2006)) has undergone grammaticalizations and lexicalizations (since not all verb-verb combinations are transparent).¹

They are employed in various semantic domains; they specify the temporal structure or the spatial directedness of an event, they change the argument structure of a predicate, and they may also pertain to other kinds of information, such as modality, intentionality or the referential properties of the arguments. Notably, there are semantic restrictions; the function verbs select lexically defined subsets of verbal hosts, a matter which leaves potential for a deeper investigation. The two simple examples below show the verb *pi?ma* ‘give’ functioning as a benefactive marker (see (1a)), and the verb *khe?ma* ‘go’ functioning as a marker of directedness away from a reference point (see (1b)).

- (1) a. *ka katha lend-a-by-a-ŋ*
1SG story exchange-IMP-V2.GIVE-IMP-1SG.P
‘Tell me a story.’
b. *kisa lukt-a-khy-a=na*
deer run-PST-V2.GO-PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
‘The deer ran away.’

Both lexicalized and grammaticalized instances can be found among

¹ The concatenation of verbs to specify the verbal semantics is a frequent pattern in South Asia and beyond; see for instance Butt (1995); Hook (1991); Masica (2001); Nespital (1997); Pokharel (1999) on Indo-Aryan languages, and Matisoff (1969); DeLancey (1991); Bickel (1996); Ebert (1997a); Doornenbal (2009); Kansakar (2005) on other Tibeto-Burman languages, and Peterson (2010) on a Munda language.

the complex predicates in Yakkha, and the line between lexicalizations and grammaticalizations is not always easy to draw. Most of the function verbs (V2s) display multiple functions, which are in close interaction with the lexical semantics of the verbal base they combine with. The expressive potential of function verbs is vast, and the productivity and transparency of complex predicates shows great variability, a fact that supports the view that the boundary between grammaticalization and lexicalization cannot always be drawn sharply.

This chapter is organized as follows: §7.1 introduces the formal properties of the Yakkha CPs and §7.2 discusses the functional range of each V2.

7.1 Formal properties

Complex predicates (CPs) are basically defined as expressing one event in a monoclausal structure that contains a sequence of verbs (Givón 1991). This makes complex predication similar to the definition of serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald 2006; Durie 1997), and yet there are significant differences, as we shall see below.

In Yakkha, usually two (and maximally four) verbal roots may be combined to yield a more specific verbal meaning.² The basic structure of a CP in Yakkha is as follows: the first verbal stem carries the semantic weight, and the second stem (the function verb or ‘V2’) takes over the “fine-tuning” of the verbal semantics, as in (2),³ where the function verb *-nes*, with the lexical meaning ‘lay’, contributes aspectual (continuative) information. The class of V2s in Yakkha is closed (synchronically) and relatively small; it comprises just twenty-five verbs.⁴ Most of the V2s have a corresponding lexical verbal stem, but there are also three morphemes that behave like function verbs without having a transpar-

² I have no evidence for predicates consisting of more than four stems in my Yakkha corpus, but I do not have negative evidence either.

³ As several stems have more than one function, depending on their lexical host, I have decided to gloss them with their lexical meaning.

⁴ There are a few V2 that only occur once in my data, and that are not treated further here, as generalizations about their function in complex predication are not possible yet: *yukt* ‘put down (for)’, *cok* ‘make’ and *rokt* (**tokt*) ‘get’.

ent verbal etymology (treated here as well, because of their similarity to “proper” function verbs. Complex predicates (including transparent and non-transparent CPs) roughly make up one third of the verbal lexicon. In the recorded data of natural discourse, CPs make up only 17% (across genres), but the current size of the corpus does not allow any strong statistical claims.

- (2) *ka* *yog-u-nes-wa-ŋ=ha*
 1SG[ERG] search-3.P-V2.LAY-NPST[3.P]-1SG.A=NMLZ.NC
 ‘I (will) keep searching for it.’ [18_nrr_03.008]

As mentioned in the introduction, Yakkha has both grammaticalized and lexicalized CPs; one and the same V2 may have simultaneously developed a regular and productive function and an unpredictable, idiomatic meaning, which is not too surprising, as both developments have their origin in the metaphorical extension of verbal meanings. The distinction between lexicalized and grammaticalized forms is gradual, which has long been acknowledged in the typological literature (Lehmann 2002; Diewald 2010; Lichtenberk 1991; Himmelmann 2004) and in methodological approaches to grammar writing and lexicography (Schultze-Berndt 2006; Mosel 2006; Enfield 2006).⁵ Structurally, there is no way to distinguish lexicalized and grammaticalized CPs; they show completely identical behavior. Thus, although it may hold on the level of individual tokens, the distinction between symmetrical and asymmetrical complex predicates that is made in Aikhenvald (2006), is not useful in determining the different types of CPs in Yakkha. There is, however, a tendency towards grammaticalization in the function verbs. All of the V2s have a grammaticalized function, and just some of them appear in idiosyncratic verb combinations as well. In order to capture the correspondences between the lexical semantics of the V2s on the one hand and their lexicalized and grammaticalized occurrences on the other hand, an excursus into the lexicon is inevitable in this chapter.

The CPs in Yakkha roughly match criteria (a)–(e) of the definition of serial verb constructions in Aikhenvald (2006: 1):

⁵ Cf. also the distinction between ‘collocation’ and ‘construction’ in Svensén (2009).

- (a) The verbs act together to refer to one single event.
- (b) No overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency may occur.
- (c) CPs are monoclausal (clause-final markers occur only after the last verb).
- (d) CPs share tense, aspect and polarity values (i.e. these values can only be specified once).⁶
- (e) CPs share core (and other) arguments.
- (f) Each component of the construction must be able to occur on its own.

Criterion (a) and the question what constitutes one event is not trivial; most events one can think of are inherently complex and consist of several subevents. The criterion developed in Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) proved to be useful in answering this question. It refers to the tightness of packaging of subevents that constitute one complex event. Bohnemeyer et al. call this criterion the *Macro-Event-Property (MEP)*:

A construction has the MEP if it packages event representations such that temporal operators necessarily have scope over all subevents. (Bohnemeyer et al. 2007: 504-5)

This criterion applies to all CPs in Yakkha, regardless of their individual functions.

Criterion (b) distinguishes Yakkha CPs from infinitive constructions with auxiliaries, from complement-taking verbs and from periphrastic tense forms involving converbal markers.

Monoclausality, criterion (c), usually correlates with eventhood.⁷ As the CPs even constitute one word (by the criteria of stress, morphophonological rules and clitic placement), the question of monoclausality is

⁶ However, tense and aspect interact with the meanings of the V2 independently of the lexical verbs, and some V2 block certain tense/aspect markers, e.g. the immediate prospective V2 *-heks* 'be about to' is not possible with imperfective aspect.

⁷ But cf. Foley (2010) for a different view and counterexamples.

trivial in Yakkha. Further formal criteria are clause-final markers such as nominalizers, converbs; they are never found inside a CP.

Criterion (d) is restricted to modal and polarity markers in Yakkha, while the V2s interact with tense and aspect markers in their own ways.

Most definitions of serial verbs have the requirement that at least one argument should be shared. In nearly all of the Yakkha CPs in my data, all arguments are shared; the CPs are formed by nuclear juncture in the sense of Foley & Van Valin (1984: 190).

Yakkha CPs differ from serial verbs as defined above, and also from function verbs as they are defined by Schultze-Berndt (2006: 362) in criterion (f): not all function verbs can be found synchronically as independent lexical verbs. One morpheme (the middle marker *-siʔ*) looks and behaves like a verbal stem, but can be traced back to a Proto-Tibeto-Burman suffix.⁸ The fact that suffixes even got reanalyzed as V2s show how salient complex predication is in the organization of the Yakkha verbal system. Another hybrid marker is *-i ~ -ni*, tentatively called *transitive completive* here. It occurs in paradigmatic opposition to another V2 *-piʔ ~ -diʔ* ‘give’ which is found on intransitive verbs, yielding causative-inchoative correspondences like *maʔnima* ‘lose’ - *mandiʔma* ‘get lost’. This marker (*-i ~ -ni*) has no corresponding lexical verb either, and it does not license the typical double inflection that is found on CPs (see the discussion of the morphological structure of the CPs that follows this paragraph). But its occurrence in infinitives and its opposition to another V2 make it look like a V2 itself. Note that these two markers *-siʔ* and *-i ~ -ni*, although discussed here along with V2s, are not labelled ‘V2’ in the glosses.

In what follows I will outline the morphological structure of the CPs. The Yakkha pattern (and generally the Kiranti pattern) of complex predication differs from what we know from its Indo-Aryan sister construction (mostly termed (*explicator*) *compound verbs* in the Indo-Aryan descriptive tradition). In Indo-Aryan CPs, the inflection typically applies only to the V2 (Montaut 2004; Butt 1997; Hook 1991). In Yakkha, both verbs take inflectional material, though their inflection is subject to cer-

⁸ The cognate Belhare reflexive marker *-chind* is a result of exactly the same development (Bickel 2003: 560).

tain rules. They are laid out below, similar to Doornenbal's analysis of Bantawa CPs (Doornenbal 2009: 251).

- Prefixes attach to the first verb (V.lex).
- The full suffix string attaches to the final, typically the second, verb (V2).
- The V.lex takes maximally one inflectional suffix, and only if it has purely vocalic quality (i.e. *-a* 'PST/IMP/SBJV', *-i* '1/2PL' or *-u* '3.P').
- There is no morphology on the first verb that is not underlyingly present in the complete suffix string, i.e. no morphologically empty 'dummy elements' are inserted.
- Only inflectional suffixes, but not phrasal clitics,⁹ clause-level particles or clause linkage markers attach to the V.lex.
- Marked vowel or consonant sequences may block the inflection of the V.lex (for details see further below).

This pattern is henceforth called *recursive inflection* (following the terminology and analysis in Bickel et al. 2007a on Chintang). As these rules show, the recursive inflection is both phonologically and morphologically informed. A prosodic constraint requires a disyllabic host for the V2, but the fulfillment of this requirement is conditioned by the availability of inflectional material, i.e. no dummy material is inserted. Example (2) above and example (3) illustrate the recursive inflection: the first verb hosts the prefix and maximally one inflectional suffix, while the full suffix string and further material attach to the second verb. The V2 *-khe?* 'go' indicates the directedness of the movement away from a point of reference, and the V2 *-nes* 'lay' indicates continuative aspect in (2).

⁹ Placing clitics between the verbal stems is indeed possible, for instance in Chintang (Bickel et al. 2007a).

- (3) *asen lukt-i-khe-i-η=ha*
 yesterday run-1PL-V2.GO-1PL-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Yesterday we ran away.’

Suffixes containing consonants cannot stand between lexical verb and V2. The infinitive marker *-ma*, for instance, only attaches to the second verb, hence the verb in (3b) has the citation form *khun̄khe?ma*. In this respect, Yakkha is different from closely related languages such as Bantawa and Puma, where the infinitive marker attaches to both verbs in a CP (Doornenbal 2009; Bickel et al. 2006).¹⁰ Yakkha CPs seem to be more tightly fused than the corresponding constructions in neighbouring languages, also with respect to other features such as stress and clitic placement (cf. §??).

Certain phonological conditions may block the inflection of the first verb, too, namely V2 stems that start in /h/ or in a vowel (or stems that consist merely of a vowel). This is exemplified for /h/-initial V2 in (4), and for vowel-initial V2 in (5).

- (4) a. *so-haks-u-ci se=ppa*
 look-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]-3NSG.P RESTR=EMPH
 ‘He just glanced at them (his eyes following them as they went).’ [34_pea_04.044]
 b. *yun̄-heks-a!*
 sit-V2.CUT-IMP
 ‘Sit here (while I go somewhere else).’
- (5) a. *u-laη=ci*
 3SG.POSS-leg=NSG
le?-end-u-ci=ha
 drop-V2.INSERT-3.P[PST]-3NSG.P=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘It (the plane) lowered its landing gear.’
 b. *jhyal peg-end-u=na*
 window shatter-V2.INSERT-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He (accidentally, unfortunately) shattered the window.’

¹⁰ Doornenbal (2009: 255), for instance, provides the infinitive of ‘forget’: *man-makhanma*.

Furthermore, when certain stem combinations result in phonologically marked sequences like CV-V(C) and CV?-V(C), [n] may be inserted (see (6) and §?? for the exact conditions, e.g. for the reason why this does not happen in cases like (5a)).

- (6) a. *le?-nen-san*
 /le?-end-san/
 drop-V2.INSERT-CVB
 ‘dropping’
 b. *pin-nhan-san*
 /pi?-haks-san/
 give-V2.SEND-CVB
 ‘marrying off (one’s daughter)’

The first verb and the function verb do not necessarily have the same valency, as several of the previous examples and (7) show. In (7a), the sequence is transitive-intransitive, yielding an intransitive predicate; the sequence in (7b) is notably labile-ditransitive, yielding an intransitive predicate. Thus, either verb can be relevant for the argument structure of the whole predicate. However, the components of a CP are nearly always synchronized with respect to their valency; in general, the inflectional morphology attaching to the CP must be either from the transitive or from the intransitive paradigm.

The two predicates shown in (7) both have non-transparent, lexicalized semantics, but there is a difference in the relations between first verb and V2. In (7a), the verb *khus* with the independent meaning ‘steal’ acquires a new meaning in combination with a V2 with motion verb semantics. Apart from ‘go’, other V2s are possible as well, such as *-ra* ‘come’, that can indicate that someone came fleeing. The verb *maks* in (7b) does not occur independently, only in combination with various V2s. The V2 here mainly specifies the intransitive valency.¹¹

- (7) a. *khus-a-khy-a-na*
 steal-PST-V2.GO[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG

¹¹ It might seem anti-intuitive, but the function of the V2 ‘give’ is indeed detransitivization, similar to so-called ‘give’ passives (more below).

- ‘He escaped.’
- b. *maks-a-by-a=na*
 be_surprised-PST-V2.GIVE[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He was surprised.’

V2s can also be further grammaticalized to become suffixes and lose their verbal qualities. For instance, the etymological source of the two nonpast allomorphs *-meʔ* and *-wa* are most certainly the two verbal stems *meʔ* ~ *me* ‘do, apply’¹² and *wa* ‘exist’ (their choice depending on the participant scenario, see §5.4.1). These two morphemes occupy different slots in the verbal inflection, they do not occur in the infinitives, and they do not license the recursive inflection, which shows that they are not treated as V2s any more. In a similar way, the perfect tense markers *-ma* and *-uks* seem to have developed from verbal stems.¹³

7.2 The functions of the V2s

Table 7.1 provides an overview of the various V2 stems, their productive functions and their lexical origin, as far as it could be determined. As one can see, it is rather the norm that the V2s have more than one meaning or function; they are multi-faceted, which reflects the degree of their grammaticalization. Instances of lexicalizations will be discussed in the corresponding sections on each V2. The grammatical functions and the occurrence of a V2 in a lexicalized CP usually show some semantic parallels.

¹² At least diachronically, as evidence from neighbouring languages shows. In Yakkha, this verb only means ‘put (waistband) around the waist’.

¹³ Butt (2010: 66) makes a point that function verbs (‘vector verbs’ in Butt (2010) and most works from the Indo-Aryan descriptive tradition) are a class distinct from, e.g., auxiliaries. This is confirmed by the Yakkha data as well as data from neighbouring languages such as Chintang (Bickel et al. 2007a), as function verbs and auxiliaries can co-occur in one clause. However, her claim that vector verbs are not subject to historical change as much as auxiliaries are cannot be confirmed in light of the verbal origin of some verbal suffixes in Yakkha and other Kiranti languages. The grammaticalization path proposed in Hopper & Traugott (1993: 108), namely: *lexical verb* (>*vector verb*) > *auxiliary* > *clitic* > *affix* is unlikely, as the CPs are already one word phonologically, and the historical change towards an affix apparently took place without the intermediate stage of an auxiliary.

As the table shows, many V2s are motion verbs; they are used to specify events with respect to their relation to the surrounding landscape, along the two parameters of (i) the cline of the hill and (ii) the directedness towards or away from a point of reference, which is often, but not necessarily, the speech situation.

For the V2s whose functions are mostly related to argument structure (*-pi?*, *-i*, *-ca*, *-si?*) the reader is also referred to §??. Some V2s, especially those specifying the spatial orientation, can only attach to a host that matches in transitivity, while others are not constrained regarding transitivity. They inflect intransitively when their lexical host verb is intransitive, and transitively when the lexical verb is transitive. The valency values in the table have to be understood as maximally possible values.

The functions of the V2s pertaining to the temporal structure of a predicate have to be understood as tentative labels; since in-depth analysis of the verbal semantics, tense and aspect in Yakkha goes beyond the scope of this work and deserves a study in its own right.

7.2.1 The V2 *-pi?* (benefactive, affected participants)

Verbs of giving are often found grammaticalized as benefactive markers crosslinguistically. In Yakkha, the verb *pi?ma* ‘give’ has acquired the following grammatical functions: benefactive/malefactive, indicating affected participants (without necessarily expressing a causer), and a completive notion, translatable as ‘already’, ‘inevitably’ or ‘definitely’. Furthermore, it is found as a marker of intransitive valency in intransitive-causative pairs of lexicalized CPs.

In the benefactive function, the argument structure of the predicate changes, and a beneficiary participant is added as G argument to the verbal argument structure (note the agreement with the first person patient in (8b)). The morphosyntactic properties of the benefactive derivation are discussed in §??.

- (8) a. *end-u-bi-η=ha*
 insert-3.P[PST]-V2.GIVE-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘I poured her (some sauce).’

Table 7.1: Yakkha V2s, their functions and their lexical origins

V2	FUNCTION	LEXICAL MEANING	VALENCY
-pi?	(a) benefactive/malefactive (b) affected participants	'give'	3
(-pi? ~ -di?)	(c) telic, completive (intrans.)		1
-i ~ -ni	completive (trans.)	(only V2)	2
-ca	(a) reflexive, (b) autobenefactive, (c) middle (intentional)	'eat'	2 (but often detransitivized)
-si?	middle (unintentional)	(only V2)	1
-khe?	(a) motion away (b) telic (S/P arguments)	'go'	1
-ra (*ta)	motion towards	'come (from further away)'	1
-ra? (*ta?)	caused motion towards	'bring (from further away)'	3
-uks	motion down towards	'come down'	1
-ukt	caused motion down towards	'bring down'	3
-ap	motion towards	'come (from close nearby)'	1
-apt	caused motion towards	'bring (from close nearby)'	3
-ris (*tis)	caused motion to a distant goal	'invest, place'	3
-bhes	caused horizontal motion	'send, bring here'	3
-end ~ -neN	(a) caused motion downwards, (b) accidental actions, regret	'insert, apply'	3
-ket	caused motion up and towards	'bring up'	3
-haks ~ -nhaŋ	(a) caused motion up and away (b) irreversible caused change-of-state	'send'	3
-khet ~ -het	(a) caused motion away (b) telic, excessiveness (transitive)	'carry off'	3
-a ~ -na	do X and leave object behind	(only V2)	3
-nes	continuative	'lay'	3
-nuŋ	continuative	(probably yuŋ 'sit')	1
-bhoks	punctual, sudden events	'split'	2
-heks	(a) immediate prospective (b) do separately	'cut'	2
-ghond	spatially distributed events	'roam'	2
-si?	prevent, avoid	(probably sis 'kill')	2
-so?	find out, experience	'look'	2

- b. *ka katha lend-a-by-a-ŋ*
 1SG story exchange-IMP-V2.GIVE-IMP-1SG.P
 ‘Tell me a story.’

The effect on the ‘beneficiary’ is not necessarily a desirable one; the V2 can also be employed to convey malefactive or at least undesirable events, as shown by (9). Beneficiaries and also negatively affected participants gain syntactic properties that are typical of arguments; they trigger agreement in the verb and they qualify as antecedents of reciprocal derivations (see §??).

- (9) a. *yakkha ce?ya cek-ma=nin̩a limbu ce?ya*
 Yakkha language speak-INF=CTMP Limbu language
ceŋ-bi-me=ha!
 speak-V2.GIVE-NPST[1.P]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘While talking in Yakkha, they answer in Limbu!’
- b. *khus-het-i-bi*
 steal-V2.CARRY.OFF-COMPL-V2.GIVE[3.P;PST]
 ‘He stole it (the basket) from him and carried it away.’
 [34_pea_04.024]
- c. *a-nuncha a-namcyan=be*
 1SG.POSS-younger_sibling 1SG.POSS-cheek=LOC
thokt-a-by-a-ŋ=na!
 spit-PST-V2.GIVE-PST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘My little brother spat on my cheeks!’

The V2 *-pi?* ‘give’ can also indicate that some participant is affected by the event in undesirable ways, a common function in East Asian languages, also known as *adversative passive* or ‘give’ *passive* (Keenan & Dryer 2007; Yap & Shoichi 1998). This usage differs from the benefactive in semantic and in formal ways. In the benefactive derivation the lexical verb can be marked by a suffix *-t* under certain conditions (see §??). This is not possible in non-benefactive functions of *-pi?*. Furthermore, the resulting CP is always intransitive. A volitional agent and an intentional action are not necessarily implied. The affected participant is often non-overt, and its reference is retrieved from the context or from possessive marking (see (10c)-(10d)). The affected-participant usage of *-pi?* can be

distinguished from the benefactives also by a special infinitival form of this V2, the suppletive stem *-di?*, which is only found in the intransitive usage of ‘give’.

- (10) a. *wasik n-da-ya-n, nnakha ghak*
rain NEG-come[3SG]-PST-NEG that all
her-a-by-a=hoŋ
dry-PST-V2.GIVE[3SG]-PST=SEQ
‘It did not rain, (and) after all that (i.e. their crops) dried up,
...’ [14_kth_02.005]
- b. *ka tug-a-by-a-ŋ=na*
1SG get_ill-PST-V2.GIVE-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
‘I got ill.’
- c. *a-khon thot-a-by-a=na*
1SG.POSS-neck get_stiff-PST-V2.GIVE[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
‘My neck got stiff.’
- d. *a-yaŋ mas-a-by-a=ha*
1SG.POSS-money lose-PST-V2.GIVE[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.NSG
[*masabhya*]
‘My money got lost.’

The following semantic minimal pair also illustrates the semantic nuance added by *-pi?* in contrast to *-khe?*. Example (11a) is a statement about food that has been rotten for some time past, while in (11b) this fact is a new discovery that forces people to change their plans for the meal.

- (11) a. *kind-a-khy-a=na*
decay-PST-V2.GO[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
‘It is rotten (since long ago.)’
- b. *kind-a-by-a=na*
decay-PST-V2.GO[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
‘It is rotten (but we had the plan to eat it now).’

The V2 *-pi?* ~ *-di?* is also found in lexicalized CPs, contributing transitivity information. Certain lexical stems never occur independently;

they have to be in a complex predicate construction. Their valency is not specified; different V2s may combine with them to specify their transitivity. There are two corresponding sets of predicates: one intransitive, built by adding the V2 *-pi?* ~ *-di?* ‘give’, and one transitive, built by adding the marker *-i* ~ *-ni* (see §7.2.2 below) to the lexical verb. This alternation is illustrated by (12) and (13). The alternations do not always have the same direction in terms of argument structure. In (12), the intransitive subject corresponds to the P argument in the corresponding transitive predicate, while in (13), it corresponds to the A argument. Table 7.2 provides further examples of this symmetrical alternation.

- (12) a. *maŋmaŋ-miŋmiŋ m-maks-a-by-a-ma*
 surprised-REDUPL 3PL-wonder-PST-V2.GIVE-PST-PRF
 ‘They were utterly surprised.’ [22_nrr_05.026]
 b. *ka nda mak-ni-me?-nen=na*
 1SG[ERG] 2SG wonder-COMPL-NPST-1>2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I will surprise you.’
- (13) a. *ka mund-a-by-a-ŋ=na*
 1SG forget-PST-V2.GIVE-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I was forgetful.’
 b. *mu?-ni-nen=na*
 forget-COMPL-1>2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I forgot you.’

Table 7.2: Transitivity alternations indicated by *-pi?* ~ *-di?* and *-(n)i*

intransitive		transitive	
<i>mundi?ma</i>	‘be forgetful’	<i>mu?nima</i>	‘forget’
<i>maŋdi?ma</i>	‘be surprised’	<i>maknima</i>	‘surprise’
<i>mandi?ma</i>	‘get lost’	<i>ma?nima</i>	‘lose’
<i>phomdi?ma</i>	‘spill, get spilled’	<i>phopnima</i>	‘spill’
<i>himdi?ma</i>	‘(be) spread’	<i>hipnima</i>	‘spread’

A different kind of lexicalization is shown in (14). Here, the lexical

verb has an independent meaning (see (14a)), but it changes in unpredictable ways in the CP. However, the notion of an affected participant remains valid in this example, too.

- (14) a. *khap yon-ma tarokt-uks-u*
 roof shake-INF start-PRF-3.P[PST]
 ‘The roof started shaking.’ [27_nrr_06.031]
- b. *pik yon-a-by-a=na*
 cow shake-PST-V2.GIVE[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The cow got scared.’

Furthermore, the V2 *-pi?* may emphasize the orientation towards an end point or to the completion of an event, best translatable with the adverb *already* in English (see (15)).

- (15) a. *mi=go sy-a-by-a-ma* [sebyama]
 fire=TOP die-PST-V2.GIVE[3SG]-PST-PRF
 ‘But the fire has gone out already.’ (said to indicate that there is no need to extinguish it)
- b. *makai end-i-bi-g=ha?*
 corn insert-2PL-V2.GIVE-2=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Did you already plant the corn?’ [06_cvs_01.080]
- c. *ca-ya-by-a-η=na*
 eat-PST-V2.GIVE-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I already finished eating (the whole procedure is done, including washing hands).’

Finally, *-pi?* ~ *-di?* can also express that something happens immediately, inevitably, without delay or with certainty. Such a function, again, is only found with intransitive verbs (see (16)).

- (16) a. *duru nam-ma=hon a-chippa*
 cow_milk smell-INF=SEQ 1SG.POSS-disgust
η-gen-di-me
 3PL-come_up-V2.GIVE-NPST
 ‘Smelling milk, I will certainly get disgusted.’

- b. *am-di-me-η=na*
 come-V2.GIVE-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I will come without delay.’

To conclude, this V2 shows an immense variety of functions (the Nepali translations need as much as three different verbs to cover the range of this marker: *dinu* ‘give’, *hālnu* ‘insert’ and *saknu* ‘finish’), and a deeper understanding of the interactions of this V2 with the respective lexical hosts would require more research.

7.2.2 The quasi-V2 *-i* ~ *-ni* (completive)

The marker *-i* ~ *-ni* partly behaves like a V2,¹⁴ although it does not correspond to a lexical verb. It marks completed transitive actions (see (17) and §5.4.5). As it codes transitivity information, it stands in complementary distribution with the intransitive completive use of the V2 *-pi?* ‘give’, as examples (12) and (13) and Table 7.2 in §7.2.1 above have illustrated. The alternation between *-i* and *-ni* is phonologically conditioned: the allomorph *-ni* surfaces before consonants (see §??). If *-i* is followed by a vowel, it may also become a glide, as in (17c).

- (17) a. *uŋci-camyoŋba η-geks-a-n, nam=ηa*
 3NSG.POSS-food NEG-ripen[3SG]-PST-NEG SUN=ERG
ghak her-i
 all dry-COMPL[PST;3.P]
 ‘Their food did not ripen, the sun dried up everything.’
 [14_nrr_02.004]
- b. *nhaŋ pik=ci=ca chu?-ni-ma*
 and_then COW=NSG=ADD tie-COMPL-INF[DEONT]
paŋne=bu, luŋkhwak=ca ho?-ni-ma
 have_to=REP stone=ADD pierce-COMPL-INF[DEONT]
paŋne
 have_to

¹⁴ Like V2 stems, it appears in the infinitival form of a CP, in contrast to inflectional affixes that never occur in infinitives, even when they have V2 origin (cf. Section 7.1). It does not license the recursive inflection pattern, though.

‘And he both had to tie the cows, they say, and he had to
hole out a (grinding) stone.’¹⁵ [11_nrr_01.005]

c.

n-chimd-y-uks-u-n-ci-ŋa-n=ha

NEG-ask-COMPL-PRF-3.P[PST]-NEG-3NSG.P-1SG.A-NEG=NMLZ.NSG

‘I have not finished asking them.’

There are also some lexicalized instances of this marker. In *toknima* ‘touch’, for instance, the interpretation is holistic and cannot be achieved by analytic decomposition of the predicate into its components. The verbal stem *tok(t)* means ‘get’ when it occurs independently. Another example is *themnima* ‘compare’, with a stem *themd* that is not attested independently.

7.2.3 The V2 *-ca* (reflexive, middle, autobenefactive)

The polysemous V2 *-ca* ‘eat’ covers both grammatical and lexical functions. It has grammaticalized into a reflexive marker, characterized by detransitivizing effects on the syntax. Related to these functions, but semantically distinct, is the employment in autobenefactive derivations and in lexical compounding. The lexicalized CPs are verbs of grooming and social interaction: what they all have in common is the typically intended and beneficial affectedness of the subject. In this function, *-ca* does not necessarily have a detransitivizing effect.

The reflexive is constructed by attaching *-ca* ‘eat’ to the lexical verb (see (18)). The resulting CP is always intransitively inflected. The A and P arguments have identical reference and thus they are expressed by a single noun phrase, which is in the nominative case and triggers agreement on the verb. See §?? for a detailed discussion of the reflexive function of *-ca*.

- (18) *babu=ci n-jond-a-ca-ya-ci*
 boy=NSG 3PL-praise-3.P-V2.EAT-PST-NSG
 ‘The boys praised themselves.’

¹⁵ Context: the protagonist has to finish tasks within one night in order to win a bet.

In the following, the autobenefactive effect of *-ca* will be described. Example (19a) shows the stem *pha?* ‘knit, weave, plait’, which is typically transitive, with the result of the activity as object. However, the addition of *-ca* changes the interpretation to ‘knit something for oneself’ shown in (19b). The verbal person marking also changes to intransitive, but a P argument can still be expressed; semantically this is still a transitive verb.

- (19) a. *tamphwak pha?-uks-u-g=ha*
 hair weave-PRF-3.P[PST]-2.A=NMLZ.NC
 ‘Did you plait (your) hair?’
 b. *ka phurlun phan-ca-me-η=na*
 1SG little_box weave-V2.EAT-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I weave a *phurlung* (little box out of bamboo stripes) for myself.’

The verb *so?* ‘look’ in (20) is also transitive. It changes to intransitive inflection when *-ca* is attached, and the former P argument is now marked with a locative (20b). This is not a reflexive construction, the semantics do not entail that the A argument looks at photos of herself. Rather, the V2 alters the semantics to the effect that a specific P argument is not necessary. If it is overtly expressed, it hosts a locative case marker. Omitting overt arguments is fine in both clauses, as all arguments can be dropped easily in Yakkha, but in (a) a P argument is still implied, which is not the case for (b). The typical situation here is that someone is looking at nothing in particular, but enjoying a nice view, or someone who dreams with his eyes wide open.

As already mentioned, the valency of the lexical verb is not necessarily changed in the autobenefactive. In contrast to the reflexive and the reciprocal, intransitive verbs can serve as input to this derivation, as the verb *khe?ma* ‘go’ in (21). The V2 here indicates an action that is intended for one’s own enjoyment, i.e. going to the police post without a particular reason, but just to have a chat with the policemen.

- (20) a. *so-ks-u-ga=na=i?*
 look-PRF-3.P[PST]-2.A=NMLZ.SG=Q
 ‘Have you looked at it?’

- b. *ka* (*photo=be*) *son-ca-me-η=na*
 1SG (*photo=LOC*) *look-V2.EAT-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG*
 ‘I look dreamily (at the photos).’
- (21) *a-ppa* *pulis=be* *khen-ca-me?=na*
 1SG.POSS-father *police=LOC* *go-V2.EAT[3SG]-NPST=NMLZ.SG*

‘Father goes to the police (to have a chat).’

Another verb illustrating the use of the V2 *-ca* is *koncama* ‘take a walk’, derived from the transitive verb *kot* ‘walk (around, from place to place)’ in (22a), from a poem about a butterfly.¹⁶ The underived verb *kot* is transitively inflected and takes the respective stations as objects, but never the goal of a movement. As (22b) shows, the V2 adds the notion of ‘consuming’ and enjoying a walk.

- (22) a. *phun* *phun* *kos-san*
 flower flower walk-SIM
 ‘walking from flower to flower’ [04_leg_03.038]
- b. *kon-ca-se* *khe-i?*
 walk-V2.EAT-SUP go-1PL[SBJV]
 ‘Shall we go for a walk?’

To wrap up, the self-benefactive use of the V2 *ca* may, but does not have to result in detransitivization. The P argument can still be expressed, but it is typically less central to the event.

The V2 *-ca* is also found in verb-verb sequences with holistic, unpredictable meanings, where the V2 interacts individually with the respective verbal meanings. Occasionally *-ca* refers to the literal eating in verb-verb sequences, as in *sincama* ‘hunt, i.e. kill and eat’, *ηoncama* ‘fry and eat’, *komcama* ‘pick up and eat’ and *hamcama* ‘devour, bite and eat’. This transparent usage is possibly the etymological source from which the various grammaticalized functions and metaphorical meanings have emerged. A few examples suggest that *-ca* may also convey

¹⁶ The stem is realized as [kos] due to assimilation to the following sibilant.

adversative contexts, pretty much the opposite of the autobenefactive notion.

- (23) *moŋ-ca-khuba* *babu*
 beat-V2.EAT-S/A.NMLZ boy
 ‘the boy who gets beaten up (regularly)’
- (23) *cun=ŋa* *n-laŋ=ci*
 cold=ERG 2SG.POSS-leg=NSG
khokt-u-co-ci=ha?
 chop-3.P[PST]-V2.EAT[3.P;PST]-NSG=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Did your legs get stiff from the cold?’ (Lit.: ‘Did the cold chop off and eat your legs?’)

The lexicalized predicates with *-ca* are presented in Table 7.3. Their semantics are non-compositional and non-transparent. They cover bodily functions and sensations, social interactions and actions performed for one’s own benefit or enjoyment. Formally, they are not different from the reflexive and autobenefactive examples shown above, but transitive predicates are more frequent within the lexicalized predicates. Examples of the metaphorical predicates are provided in (24).

Table 7.3: Some lexicalizations with the V2 *-ca* ‘eat’

VERB	GLOSS	LEX. STEM	GLOSS
<i>chemcama</i>	‘tease’	<i>chemd</i>	‘tease’
<i>hencama</i>	‘defeat’	<i>hes</i>	-
<i>lemcama</i>	‘cheat, deceive’	<i>lem</i>	‘flatter, persuade’
<i>luncama</i>	‘backbite’	<i>lu?</i>	‘tell’
<i>incama</i>	‘sell’	<i>in</i>	‘buy’
	‘buy and eat’	<i>in</i>	‘buy’
<i>oncama</i>	‘overtake, outstrip’	<i>ond</i>	‘block’
<i>hunɕama</i>	‘bask’	<i>hun</i>	-
<i>incama</i>	‘play’	<i>is</i>	‘rotate, revolve’
<i>suncama</i>	‘itch’	<i>sus</i>	‘get sour’
<i>yuncama</i>	‘laugh, smile’	<i>yut</i>	‘sharpen’

- (24) a. *haiko=ha=ci*
 other=NMLZ.NSG=NSG
lem-u-ca-η-ci-η=ha
 flatter-3.P[PST]-V2.EAT-1SG.A=NSG.P-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 'I cheated the others.'
- b. *ka mi huη-u-ca-η=na*
 1SG[ERG] fire bask-3.P[PST]-V2.EAT-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 'I basked in the heat of the fire.'
- c. *ka uη luk-ma=be*
 1SG[ERG] 3SG run-INF=LOC
ond-u-ca-η=na
 block-3.P[PST]-V2.EAT-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 'I outstripped him in running.'

The most transparent use of *ca* is shown in (25): the V2 retains its lexical meaning. The same content could as well be expressed in two independent clauses. The verbs participating in the CP share all arguments, which motivates the choice of a CP instead of two clauses.

- (25) *ka makkai ηo-c-wa-η=ha*
 1SG[ERG] corn fry-V2.EAT-NPST[3.P]-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 'I make popcorn and eat it.'

Having looked at the whole range of functions of the V2 *-ca* 'eat', it is obvious that perceiving this marker merely as a syntactic valency-decreasing device is not justified. Rather, the common core of all the uses of this V2 is the volitionally and beneficially affected agent (with the exception of a few adversative usages).

The affectedness of the agent is also a property of the literal meaning of the verb *eat*. As pointed out in Næss (2009: 37), it is central to the semantics of *eat* and *drink* verbs. Næss argues that this semantic property of the event also makes it less prototypically transitive, as the agent shares the property of affectedness with patient arguments. Thus, the A and the P are not maximally distinct in *eat* and *drink* verbs. Verbs of eating often exhibit properties typical of intransitive verbs crosslinguistically, which possibly also gave rise to the grammaticalization of *-ca* into detransitivizing markers of reflexivity, autobenefactive, adver-

sative notions and reciprocity (see §??) in Yakkha.

The extreme polysemy of the V2 *-ca* is not at all surprising, as the activity of eating is universal to human existence, and is thus expected to be a rich source for metaphors (Newman 2009). The use of ‘eat’ in the expression of experiential events is a prominent pattern in Central and South Asia generally, that is thus found in other Tibeto-Burman languages, and in Indo-Aryan languages (Hook & Pardeshi 2009: 154, Pramodini 2010). While the grammaticalization to passive markers is also found elsewhere (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 122), the use of ‘eat’ as marker of reflexivity is, to my best knowledge, not yet reported for other languages, although such a development is, for the reasons laid out above, very plausible.

7.2.4 The quasi-V2 *-si?* (middle, unintentional)

The marker *-si?* is not a verb historically, but it behaves according to the V2 pattern, triggering the recursive inflection and being part of the infinitives, which is why it is mentioned here as well (see below for its historical development). The morpheme is found with detransitivizing function as a middle marker (see (26) and §??), but also in less transparent intransitive verb-verb combinations, that will be shown in this section. The grammatical and lexical functions of *-si?* all share the semantic feature of indicating unintentional or involuntary actions. All verbs derived by the middle involve animate or human subjects.

- (26) a. *kamala=ŋa sakhi phaps-u=na*
 Kamala=ERG thread entangle-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Kamala entangled the thread.’
 b. *mendhwak=ci phaps-a-sy-a-ci*
 goat=NSG entangle-PST-MDDL-PST-[3]DU
 ‘The two goats lost their way.’

The component of unintentional actions is best illustrated in (27). The simple verb *tupma* ‘meet’ is intransitive and inherently reciprocal (see (27a)). The middle specifies that the event happened spontaneously and unintentionally (see (27b)). The examples in (28) show further middle verbs.

- (27) a. *wandik tub-i?*
tomorrow meet-1PL[SBJV]
'Shall we meet tomorrow?'
- b. *tub-a-sy-a-η-ci-η=ha*
meet-PST-MDDL-PST-EXCL-[1]DU-EXCL=NMLZ.NSG
'We (dual) ran into each other.'
- (28) a. *cuwa=ηa hipt-a-sy-a-ga=na=i?*
beer=INS choke-PST-MDDL-PST-2=NMLZ.SG=Q
'Did you choke on the beer?'
- b. *ka kōlem=na=be*
1SG slippery=NMLZ.SG=LOC
sos-a-sy-a-η=na
slide-PST-MDDL-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
'I slipped on the slippery ground.'
- c. *chimd-a=nur chimd-a=nur*
ask-PST[3SG]=COM ask-PST[3SG]=COM
tops-a-sy-a-η=na
confuse-PST-MDDL-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
'As she asked and asked, I got confused.'

Example (29) shows lexicalized predicates containing *-si?*, all from the experiential domain. A look at the independent meanings of the lexical roots here shows that the semantics of these predicates are non-compositional, and non-transparent.

- (29) a. *cond-a-sy-a=bi=ba*
praise[3SG]-PST-MDDL-PST=IRR=EMPH
'She would have been happy.' [13_cvs_02.056]
- b. *ηond-a-sy-a-ga=na=i?*
remain-PST-MDDL-PST-2=NMLZ.SG=Q
'Do you feel shy?'

The middle marker is also used in imperatives, with the function of turning commands into implorations. By using the middle, the speaker acknowledges the affectedness of the addressee, or he implies that it is against the addressee's will (e.g. in (30b)). In this function, the volition

of the subject is allowed and even required, as (30b) and (30c) show.

- (30) a. *pog-a!*
stand_up-IMP
'Stand up!'
- b. *pog-a-sy-a*
stand_up-IMP-MDDL-IMP
'Please, stand up.' (to a person who was not willing to stand up)
- c. *yok-t-a-by-a-sy-a*,
search-BEN-IMP-V2.GIVE-IMP-MDDL-IMP,
so-t-a-by-a-sy-a
look-BEN-IMP-V2.GIVE-IMP-MDDL-IMP
'Please search her (the missing girl) for us, look for us.'
- [22_nrr_05.084-5]

As for the etymology of the marker, it behaves like a V2 in the Kiranti languages, but it is a reconstructed suffix already in Proto-Tibeto-Burman. A sibilant suffix with middle semantics is well attested in many Tibeto-Burman languages, e.g. in Dulong-Rawang and Padam (LaPolla 1996: 1944) and in languages of the West Himalayish branch (Matisoff 2003: 471). The verbal behavior of the marker is a Kiranti innovation, resulting from reanalysis of a suffix to a verbal stem, under the pressure to have a structure that is analogous to the other verbal operations that are marked by V2s in Kiranti languages (see Bickel (2003: 560) for the same development in Belhare).¹⁷ The middle marker in Yakkha does not have a stativizing effect on the temporal structure of the verb (reconstructed as a proto-function of this morpheme, Matisoff (2003: 471)). Most of the verbs have ingressive-stative Aktionsart, which is why they are usually marked for past while referring to present (stative) events.

¹⁷ In some Kiranti languages the marker has reflexive and reciprocal semantics, e.g. in Limbu (van Driem 1987: 86), in Kulung (Tolsma 1999: 61) and in Chintang (Bickel et al. 2010: 300). In Thulung and Wambule it is found as a detransitivizer or 'stativizer' (Lahaussais (2003: 209), Opgenort (2004: 351)).

7.2.5 The V2 *-khe?* (motion away, telicity)

The V2 *khe?* ‘go’ is found with intransitive telic verbs, emphasizing their orientation towards an end point, or the irreversibility of an event. Example (31a), for instance, was uttered to emphasize that the subject is already fast asleep, implying that it is useless to try and wake up that person. The other examples in (31) illustrate the application of this V2 to indicate irreversible intransitive events.

- (31) a. *ips-a-khy-a=na*
 fall_asleep-PST-V2.GO[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She has fallen asleep (better not wake her up).’
- b. *a-ma sy-a-khy-a,*
 1SG.POSS-mother die-PST-V2.GO[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
i cok-ma=na?
 what do-INF=NMLZ.SG
 ‘My mother has died, so what to do?’ [06_cvs_01.020]
- c. *wa bhale ka-ya-khy-a*
 cock cock call-PST-V2.GO[3SG]-PST
 ‘The cock crowed already.’¹⁸ [11_nrr_01.011]
- d. *ulippa paṇ hor-a-khy-a=na*
 old house crumble-PST-V2.GO[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The old house crumbled down.’

The development of a motion verb into a marker of telicity is common; the motion semantics get extended to a movement in time and changes-of-state in general. Examples that involve literal motion events are, however, also fairly frequent with *-khe?*, as the verbs in (32) illustrate. In these examples, the lexical verb denotes the kind of motion, and the V2 specifies the direction away from a point of reference.

- (32) a. *chemha phom-khem-me=ha*
 liquor spill[3SG]-V2.GO-NPST=NMLZ.NC
 ‘The liquor will spill.’
- b. *uimalaṇ=be*
 steep_slope_downwards=LOC

¹⁸ Context: the time is over and the protagonist loses his bet.

- sos-a-khy-a=na*
 lie_slanted[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He slipped on the steep slope (landing on his back and sliding off).’
- c. *kakkulik kaks-a-khy-a=na*
 rolling fall[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She tumbled down (in somersaults).’ [06_cvs_01.020]
- d. *nhan pes-a-khy-a-ma*
 and_then fly[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST-PRF
 ‘And then he has flown away.’ [21_nrr_04.030]
- e. *limbu=ci nhan*
 Limbu_group=NSG after_that
n-las-a-khy-a-ma
 3PL-return-PST-V2.GO-PST-PRF
 ‘The Limbus went back afterwards.’ [22_nrr_05.035]

Lexicalized complex predicates are possible as well. In (33), the combination of *khus* ‘steal’ and V2 *-khe?* ‘go’ has acquired the meaning *escape*, without an action of stealing being implied. As in the examples in (32), the V2 specifies also the direction away from a point of reference. The same is possible with the V2 *-ra* ‘come’ to indicate that someone comes fleeing from a location further away.

- (33) *η-khus-a-khy-a-n=na*
 NEG-escape-PST-V2.GO[3SG]-PST-NEG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He did not escape.’

In some instances, the V2 *-khe?* retains its original lexical meaning, and simply means ‘go’, as in the sequence of events shown in (34). The transitive verbs ‘fry’ and ‘eat’ have been detransitivized to synchronize the argument structure with the final verb ‘go’. So far, this is the only instance where the participants do not bear equal relations to the verb, as the location where the frying and the eating take place is in a source relation to the action of going.

- (34) *camraŋ=be cama i=ya*
 Camrang=LOC food what=NMLZ.NC
n-ni-ca-ya-khy-a-ma=hon
 3PL-fry-V2.EAT-PST-V2.GO-PST-PRF=SEQ
 ‘After they have fried and eaten some food in Camrang and gone away, ...’ [22_nrr_05.034]

The whole range of *-khe?* in CPs, thus, represents a continuum from the lexical meaning of ‘go’, via unspecific motion away from a point of reference, to a grammaticalized and regular telic function, by metaphorically extending a movement in space to a movement in time.

7.2.6 The V2 *-ra* (motion towards)

The V2 *-ra* (**ta*) ‘come (from further away)’ specifies an event in terms of a motion towards a point of reference, while being unspecified for the uphill/downhill distinction. The lexical source verb is *tama*, but initial /t/ becomes [r] intervocalically in all V2 stems.

- (35) a. *arap=phaŋ*
 Arab_countries=ABL
khus-a-ra-ya=na
 escape[3SG]-PST-V2.COME-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He came escaping from (working in the) Arab countries.’
- b. *cuncula [...] ten=be*
 Cuncula [...] village=LOC
las-a-ra-ya-ma
 return[3SG]-PST-V2.COME-PST-PRF
 ‘Cuncula has returned home.’ [01_leg_07.307]
- c. *dharan men-da-le*
 Dharan NEG-reach-CVB
hiks-a-ra-ya=na
 turn_around[3SG]-PST-V2.COME-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Without reaching Dharan, he turned around and came back.’

An actual movement in space is not implied here either, equal to *-khe?* discussed above. The function of *-ra* can also be metaphorically ex-

tended, just as in the English translation (see (36)).

- (36) *hiŋ-a-ra-ya=na*
 survive[3SG]-PST-V2.COME-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He came back to life.’

7.2.7 The V2 *-raʔ* (caused motion towards)

The lexical source verb of *-raʔ* (**taʔ*) refers to bringing something from further away, and this meaning component is preserved in the CPs, too. It specifies transitive events for directedness towards a point of reference. As such, the V2 can either modify a motion verb (see (37a)) or express a sequence of events (see (37b)).

- (37) a. *nhaŋ ak=ka kamnibak=ci hip-paŋ*
 and_then 1SG.POSS=GEN friends=NSG two-CLF.HUM
tikt-u-ra-wa-ŋ-ci-ŋ
 lead-3.P-V2.BRING-NPST-1SG.A-3NSG.P-1SG.A
 ‘And I will bring along two of my friends.’ [14_nrr_02.24]
- b. *eko phuŋ chikt-u-ra=na*
 one flower pluck[3SG.A;PST]-3.P-V2.BRING=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She plucked a flower and brought it.’

It is also possible to turn a transitive verb into a motion verb by adding *-raʔ* (see (38)). Since the stem *momd* ‘cover’ is transitive, the V2 has to be transitive, too.

- (38) *eŋ=ga ten khibrumba=ŋa*
 1PL.INCL=GEN village fog=ERG
momd-u-ra=na
 cover[3SG.A;PST]-3.P-V2.BRING=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The fog came (lit.: brought) covering our village.’

7.2.8 The V2 *-uks* (motion down towards)

If intransitive motion is directed downwards and towards a point of reference, the V2 *-uks* ‘come down’ is used to specify this path.

- (39) *taŋkhyan ka-ya=na=hau. ikhiŋ=na!*
 sky speak[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG=EXCLA such=NMLZ.SG
hor-uks-heks-a=na
 burst-V2.COME.DOWN-V2.CUT-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘It thundered, indeed. Such a loud one! It (the sky) is about to
 break down on us.’ [13_cvs_02.088-89]

7.2.9 The V2 *-ukt* (caused motion down towards)

The V2 *-ukt* ‘bring down’ denotes caused motion down and towards the deictic center, both with monotransitive and ditransitive verbs. The resulting CP has the argument realization of the indirective frame, showing agreement with the T argument (cf. Chapter 8). This verb is compatible with the adverb *mo* ‘downhill’ (versus *yo* and *to*), although this would be a somewhat redundant expression. Note that in combination with CV or CV? stems that also have /u/ as stem vowel, the stems fuse into one syllable, as shown in (40b).

- (40) a. *ŋ-gamnibak (mo)*
 2SG.POSS-friend (down)
tikt-ukt-u
 guide-V2.BRING.DOWN-3.P[IMP]
 ‘Bring your friend down here.’
 b. *thuŋkha=bhaŋ siŋ*
 steep_slope=ABL wood
khu-kt-u-m-ŋ=ha
 carry-V2.BRING.DOWN-3.P[PST]-1PL.A-EXCL=NMLZ.NC
 ‘We brought down fire wood from the steep slopes.’

7.2.10 The V2 *-ap* (motion towards, from close nearby)

The V2 *-ap* ‘come’ denotes intransitive motion towards a point of reference, crucially from close nearby and from the same level with respect to the inclination of the hill, e.g. from a neighbouring house which is on the same elevation level. Such predicates are compatible with the adverb *yondaŋ*, which refers to sources on the same level.

- (41) *yo=na* *paŋ=bhaŋ*
 across=NMLZ.SG house=ABL
 las-a-ab-a=na
 return-[3SG]-V2.COME-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She came back from the house across.’

7.2.11 The V2 *-apt* (caused motion towards, from close nearby)

The V2 *-apt* ‘bring’ expresses caused motion towards a point of reference, from nearby and from the same elevation level with respect to the hill, in analogy to the intransitive *-ap* above. The resulting CP has the argument realization of the indirective frame (cf. §8.1.9). As example (42b) illustrates, this V2 is also used for small-scale movements.

- (42) a. *ŋ-gamnibak* *tikt-apt-u*
 2SG.POSS-friend guide-V2.BRING-3.P[IMP]
 ‘Bring your friend here.’
 b. *jhola* *peʔleʔle* *und-apt-u-ga=i*
 bag IDEOPH pull-V2.BRING-3.P[IMP]-2=EMPH
 ‘Pull out the bag (from behind the heap of clothes, towards oneself).’

The transitivity of the two verbal stems has to match. In (43), no literal ‘bringing’ of the substance is involved, at least not if bringing is understood as carrying something in a container outside one’s own body.

- (43) *nhaŋ* *chemha=ca*
 and_then liquor=ADD
 uŋ-apt-a-ŋ-c-u-ŋ=ba
 drink-V2.BRING-PST-EXCL-DU-3.P-EXCL=EMPH
 ‘We drank liquor and came (lit.: brought it) here.’[36_cvs_06.398]

7.2.12 The V2 *-ris* (caused motion to a distant goal)

The V2 *-ris* (**tis*), with the lexical meaning ‘place, invest’ (e.g. place a pot on the fire, invest money in some project), indicates caused motion towards a distant goal, implying that the object will remain there. The resulting predicate again exhibits the argument realization of the indirective frame (cf. Chapter 8). This V2 is not specified for the vertical dimension, and it is compatible with adverbial specifications for either *mo* ‘down’, *to* ‘up’ or *yo* ‘across’, but naturally not with adverbials expressing proximity to the deictic center.¹⁹

- (44) a. *ŋ-gamnibak u-paŋ=be*
 2SG.POSS-friend 3SG.POSS-house=LOC
tikt-u-ris-o
 lead-3.P-V2.PLACE-V2.LEAVE[3.P;IMP]
 ‘Deliver your friend at his home.’
- b. *uŋci-ten=be*
 3NSG.POSS-village=LOC
ikt-u-ris-o
 chase-3.P-V2.PLACE-V2.LEAVE[3.P;IMP]
 ‘Chase them to their village.’

7.2.13 The V2 *-bhes* (caused horizontal motion towards)

The V2 *-bhes* has the lexical meaning ‘send [towards]’, ‘bring [towards]’. It signifies that caused motion takes place on the same elevation level and towards the point of reference, for either small-scale or large-scale movements. Example (45a) shows transfer from a very short distance, the application of the blessing on the forehead (by sticking cooked rice on the forehead). Example (45b) shows the employment of this V2 for a large-scale movement. This V2 is only compatible with adverbs derived from the root *yo* ‘across’.

¹⁹ In both examples, two V2 are involved. The V2 *-a ~ -na* ‘leave’ fuses with the inflectional material (/u-a-u/) to result in [o].

- (45) a. *tika* *tal-a*
 blessing_on_forehead stick-NATIV
n-jog-u-bhes-u=hoŋ
 3PL.A-make-3.P-V2.BRING-3.P[PST]=SEQ
 ‘After they applied the blessings, ...’ (as remembered by a
 bride who got blessed) [25_tra_01.049]
- b. *nhaŋ*, *nna*, *lalubaŋ=nun* *phalubaŋ*
 and_then that Lalubang=COM Phalubang
ŋ-ikt-a-bhes-uks-u-ci
 3PL.A-chase-PST-V2.BRING-V2.PRF-3.P-3NSG.P
 ‘And then, they chased Lalubang and Phalubang here.’
 [22_nrr_05.023]

7.2.14 The V2 *-end* (caused motion downwards)

The V2 *-end* (~ *-nen* before consonants)²⁰ has the lexical meaning ‘apply, insert’. As a V2, it indicates caused motion downwards, as shown by the examples in (46). Here, the motion is not specified for the direction towards or away from a point of reference.

- (46) a. *u-laŋ=ci*
 3SG.POSS-leg=NSG
leʔ-end-u-ci=ha
 drop-V2.INSERT-3.P[PST]-3NSG.P=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘It (the plane) lowered its landing gear.’
- b. *nhaŋ* *phoʔ* *n-lept-end-wa*
 and_then IDEOPH 3PL.A-throw-V2.INSERT-NPST[3.P]
 ‘They throw it down swiftly (the fishing net).’
 [13_cvs_02.009]
- c. *hut-end-u-ŋ=na*
 push-V2.INSERT-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I pushed him down.’

The V2 *-end* can also express caused motion downwards as a result of another action (see (47)). Furthermore, using this V2 may also convey

²⁰ Cf. the citation forms *leʔnemma*, *lepnemma* and *huʔnemma* for the examples in (46).

- (49) *maŋkhu seps-u-get-u=ha*
 garlic pluck-3.P-V2.BRING.UP-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘She plucked and brought up the garlic.’

Furthermore, at least one example suggests that ‘bring up’ can also be understood metaphorically, as referring to a movement in time, where the past is equated with lower altitude.²²

- (50) *nna namda ka piccha nhaŋto*
 that festival 1SG[ERG] child since
nis-u-get-u-ŋ=na.
 see-3.P-V2.BRING.UP-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I have been attending this festival since childhood.’
 [41_leg_09.006]

7.2.16 The V2 *-haks* (caused motion away, irreversibility)

The V2 *-haks* ~ *-nhaŋ* ‘send (things)’ expresses caused motion away from a point of reference (see (51)), and away from the agent (in contrast to *-khet* ‘carry off’ described below). Although its lexical meaning is ‘send (things)’, as a V2 it is also used with animate T arguments, including human referents.

- (51) a. *ka mima o-hoŋ=be*
 1G[ERG] mouse 3SG.POSS-hole=LOC
hut-haks-u-ŋ=na
 push-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I pushed the mouse (back) into her hole.’
 b. *tebul=be cuwa tug-haks-u=ha*
 table=LOC beer wipe-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘She wiped the beer from the table.’²³

²² The postposition *nhaŋto* ‘since’ in this example literally means ‘and then up’, providing support to this hypothesis. Further support for the hypothesis that the past is conceptualized as ‘below’ comes from an idiomatic Noun-Verb Predicate, *setni ke?ma*, literally ‘bring up the night’, which refers to staying awake until the morning.

²³ Despite the ablative semantics of the verbs, the locative is the standard case choice

- c. *luŋkhwak luŋkhwak seg-haks-u*
 stone stone chose-V2.SEND-3.P[IMP]
 ‘Sort out stone by stone (from the grains).’
- d. *wasik ta-ya=hoŋ hoŋma*
 rain come[3SG]-PST=SEQ river
uks-a, ŋkhoŋ yokha?la
 come_down[3SG]-PST and_then across
chekt-haks-a=na
 block-V2.SEND-PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘After the rain, a river came down, and we redirected it.’²⁴

Like the V2s *-khe?* ‘go’ and *-khet* ‘carry off’, *-haks* also conveys telicity and actions with irreversible consequences, as illustrated by the examples in (52). This V2 was particularly prominent in the data elicited with the cut-and-break clips (Bohnemeyer, Bowerman & Brown 2010).

- (52) a. *solop miyaŋ eg-haks-u-su*
 immediately a_little break-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]-PST.PRF
 ‘Immediately he broke off a little.’ [04_leg_03.079]
- b. *a-yaŋ cum-haks-u-ŋ=ha*
 1SG.POSS-money hide-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.C
 ‘I mislaid my money.’
- c. *hu-haks-u=na*
 accuse-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He accused her.’²⁵
- d. *a-phu=ŋa cekt-haks-u=ha*
 1SG.POSS-eB=ERG talk-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NC
 ‘My elder brother did/finalized the talking.’²⁶
 [36_cvs_06.363]
- e. *a-niŋwa=be=ha ce?ya*
 1SG.POSS-mind=LOC=NMLZ.NC matter

with this verb.

²⁴ The verb *chekthaksana* is detransitivized and passive-like structurally, but this structure can also express first person nonsingular agents (see §??).

²⁵ This is probably a metaphorical use of *hu?* ‘burn’.

²⁶ Context: wedding negotiations.

lu-haks-u=ha
 tell-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NC
 ‘She blabbered out my secret thoughts.’

The V2 *-haks* may also attach to the lexical verb *haks*, an option that has not been found with other V2s so far. It implies that something was sent via an intermediate station, e.g. another house where the addressee has to go and get his things, or via a post office.

- (53) *salen haks-haks-u=na*
 message send-V2.SEND-3.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He sent the message (via some institution).’

Furthermore, this V2 is frequently used when the P or T argument of a verb is human (discussed in detail in §??). This is surprising because the lexical verb *haks* ‘send’ implies inanimate T arguments. There is a strong tendency for referentially high objects (mostly P and T; as G arguments are expected to be referentially high anyway) to occur in a complex predicate construction, and one V2 choice for this is obviously *-haks*.

- (54) a. *i=ca n-lu-n-ci-n=ha,*
 what=ADD NEG-tell-NEG-3NSG.P-NEG=NMLZ.NSG
so-haks-u-ci se=ppa
 look-V2.SEND-3.P[PST]-3NSG RESTR=EMPH
 ‘He did not say anything to them, he just glanced at them.’
 [34_pea_04.044]
- b. *kaniŋ na=haŋ*
 1PL[ERG] this=ABL
iŋ-nhaŋ-ma=na
 chase-V2.SEND-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We have to chase him away from here (this place).’
 [21_nrr_04.010]
- c. *kaniŋ lon-nhaŋ-ma sin*
 1PL take_out-V2.SEND-INF[DEONT] COP.1PL.INCL
 ‘He has to expel us.’

7.2.17 The V2 *-khet* (caused motion along with A)

The V2 *-khet* ~ *-khe?* ~ *-(h)et* indicates that the object is carried off or is in some way separated from its original location, remaining with the A argument. The lexical source verb is *khet* ‘carry off’. In the infinitives, the form is always *-khe?*, while in the inflected forms, the V2 surfaces as *-het* or even *-et*. These predicates either express a manner of caused motion away from a reference point, as in (55a) and (55b), or a sequence of doing something and literally carrying off the object, as in (55c) and (55d).

- (55) *ghak yan-het-i=nun=ga* wasik
 all flush-V2.CARRY.OFF-COMPL=COM=GEN rain
 ‘a rain that flushed away everything’ [38_nrr_07.076]
- (55) *janjal=be sa-het-u=hon*
 forest=LOC lead_by_rope-V2.CARRY.OFF-3.P[PST]=SEQ
 ‘He led it (the goat) into the jungle, ...’ [20_pea_02.026]
- (55) *yubak con-khe?-ma*
 goods shift-V2.CARRY.OFF-INF[DEONT]
 ‘The goods have to be unloaded and carried off.’
- (55) *khus-het-uks-u=ha* hola
 steal-V2.CARRY.OFF-PRF-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NSG probably
 ‘He probably stole it and carried it off.’ [20_pea_02.014]

Like *-ra?* ‘bring’ described above, *-khet* ‘carry off’ can also be used metaphorically, carrying various interpretations. In (56a), it is employed to satisfy the requirement of matching valency within a CP. The verb *-khe?* ‘go’ would be impossible here because it is intransitive, while *un* ‘drink’ is transitive. The same holds for transimpersonal verbs (see (56b) and (c)).²⁷ With such verbs the V2 has to be transitive. In these examples, *-khet* has a telicizing effect, similar to the effect of *-khe?* ‘go’ in intransitives. The lexical stems *lokt* and *hand* have ingressive semantics, i.e. when they are inflected for past, they refer to ongoing events. After *-khet* has been added, they are oriented towards the end point, as these examples show.

²⁷ Transimpersonal verbs always show transitive person marking, but an overt A argument cannot be expressed.

- (56) a. *khem uŋ-het-u-ŋ=na*
 before drink-V2.CARRY.OFF-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I had drunken it before and left.’
 b. *maŋcwa lokt-het-u=ha*
 water boil-V2.CARRY.OFF-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The water boiled down.’
 c. *micu?wa hand-het-u=na*
 bamboo_torch burn-V2.CARRY.OFF-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The bamboo torch burned down.’

Another interpretation of *-khet* was found e.g. with cognition verbs such as *mi?ma* ‘think, hope, want, remember’, but also with other verbs. In (57) the V2 functions as a marker of degree, intensity or excessiveness.

- (57) a. *nna hoŋ=be iha=le we?na bhon*
 that hole=LOC what=CTR exist[3SG]=NMLZ.SG COMP
so?ma mit-het-u-ŋ
 look-INF think-V2.CARRY.OFF-3.P[PST]-1SG.A
 ‘I badly wanted to see what was inside that hole.’
[42_leg_10.024]
 b. *maŋpha tas-het-u=ha*
 very_much arrive-V2.CARRY.OFF-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NC
 ‘It became very/too much.’

7.2.18 The quasi-V2 *-a ~ -na* (do X and leave object)

The marker *-a ~ -na* expresses that the action was carried out at a location not identical to the point of reference and that the subject has returned, leaving the object there, like for instance in *phe?nama* ‘drop someone at X’ and *e?nama* ‘enroll someone’ (e.g. in a boarding school). There is no corresponding independent simple verb *ama* or *nama*, but there is the complex verb *na?nama* with the meaning ‘to leave’, which looks as if the first verb and the V2 are identical.

This marker, due to its limited phonological content, undergoes several morphophonological operations, like ablaut and the insertion of consonants, so that it is not always easy to distinguish *-a* from other

morphological material in the verbal inflection. When the first suffix following the stem contains a consonant, the V2 surfaces as *-na*, e.g. in *naʔnanenna* 'I left you'. If the stems are followed by the suffix *-u*, the sequence *-u-a-u-* will be realized as *[-u(ʔ)o]*, *[-o(ʔ)o]* or simply *[o]* (see (58)). If there is the underlying sequence */-a-a/*, it will either be realized as *[aya]* or as *[aʔa]* (see (59)). Furthermore, the ablaut (*/a/* to *[o]*) triggers a change of *[-unha]* in the suffix string to *[-onha]*.

- (58) a. *tisuona*
 /tis-u-a-u=na/
 place-PST-V2.LEAVE-1SG.P-2.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘You delivered him (and returned).’
 b. *nyubak kamalabe*
 /n-yubak kamala=be/
 2SG.POSS-goods Kamala=LOC
hakto?oksoŋha
 /hakt-u-a-uks-u-ŋ=ha/
 send-3.P-V2.LEAVE-PRF-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘I have sent your goods to Kamala (so you can get them there).’
 c. *umanjachen* (...) *lambu lambu*
 /u-ma=ŋa=chen (...) *lambu lambu*
 3SG.POSS-mother=ERG=TOP (...) *road road*
yaksanŋun seula eksan
yaksan=nuŋ/ /seula ek-san
grass=COM green_stalk break-SIM
yukso?okso
yuks-u-a-uks-u/
put-3.P-V2.LEAVE-PRF-3.P[PST]
 ‘His mother (...) broke off some gras and stalks along the road and left them (to help the son orient himself back home).’ [01_leg_07.072]
- (59) a. *tisayangana*
 /tis-a-a-ŋ-ga=na/
 place-PST-V2.LEAVE-1SG.P-2.A=NMLZ.SG

- ‘You delivered me (and returned).’
- b. *pasupatinathpe*
 /pasupatinath=pe
 Pashupatinath=LOC
phesaʔaŋna
 phes-a-a-ŋ=na/
 bring-PST-V2.LEAVE-PST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He brought me to Pashupatinath (and returned without me).’

7.2.19 The V2 *-nes* (continuative)

The V2 *-nes* ‘lay’ marks continuative events, i.e., events that are ongoing for longer than expected, and which are not oriented towards an end point. It is found with both transitive and intransitive verbs (see (60).) Examples (a) to (c) show the combination of *-nes* with activity verbs, and example (60d) shows that in ingressive-stative verbs, the continuative applies to the resulting state.

- (60) a. *wasik n-da-me-n=niŋa nam*
 rain NEG-COME-NPST-NEG=CTMP sun
phen-a=na phen-a=na,
 shine[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG shine[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
phen-a-nes-a=na
 shine-PST-V2.LAY-[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘While there is no rain, the sun was shining and shining, it kept shining.’ [38_nrr_07.075]
- b. *leʔnamcuk kei*
 whole_day drum
m-mokt-u-nes-uks-u=ha
 3PL.A-beat-3.P-V2.LAY-PRF-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘They have kept playing the drums the whole day long.’
- c. *whaŋma=ŋa lupt-u-nes-u=na*
 sweat=ERG disperse-3.P-V2.LAY-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She kept sweating (e.g. after a long run).’

- d. *ka=ca hiŋ-a-nes-a-ŋ=na*
 1SG=ADD survive-PST-V2.LAY-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I have survived, too.’

7.2.20 The V2 *-nuŋ* (continuative)

The V2 *-nuŋ* adds a continuative reading, similar to the function of *-nes* described above. I tentatively suggest the verb *yuŋ* ‘sit’ as the etymological source of this V2. Firstly, the grammaticalization of ‘sit’ into a continuative marker would be a very common development historically, and secondly, I have shown that the insertion of a nasal occurs in vowel-initial and /h/-initial V2s, so that replacing /y/ with [n] seems plausible, too. So far, all examples found with this V2 were intransitive or detransitivized (see (61)).

Punctual events, like in (61a), get an iterative reading when *-nuŋ* is added. States and activities can also be extended by means of *-nuŋ* (see (61b), (61c)). In several instances, the two V2s *-nuŋ* and *-nes* seem to be interchangeable without any change in meaning. However, while *-nes* is more frequently combined with past tense, *-nuŋ* is typically found in nonpast contexts. The exact difference between *-nuŋ* and *-nes* cannot be established with certainty yet.

- (61) a. *a-laŋ=ci*
 1SG.POSS-leg=NSG
ŋ-aŋ-khe-nuŋ-me=ha
 3PL-descend-V2.GO-V2.SIT-NPST=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘My legs keep falling down (from the seat).’
 b. *he?niŋ=ca ŋonsi-nuŋ-me?=na*
 when=ADD feel_shy-V2.SIT[3SG]-NPST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She is always shy.’
 c. *tek leŋ-nuŋ-me?=na*
 clothes exchange-V2.SIT[3SG]-NPST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She keeps changing her clothes.’

7.2.21 The V2 *-bhoks* (punctual, sudden events)

The function of the V2 *-bhoks* has developed from the lexical meaning ‘split’. Adding this V2 to a lexical verb results in a punctual reading, or in the implication that an event happens suddenly and unexpectedly (see (62)).

- (62) *a-nabhak* *yokt-u-bhoks-u-η=na*
 1SG.POSS-ear prick-3.P-V2.SPLIT-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Suddenly I pierced through my ear (after trying some time and then applying too much pressure).’

With telic verbs, the event is distilled to an end point (see (63)), while with activities and ingressive-stative verbs, like in (64), the initial point of an event is emphasized by *-bhoks*.

- (63) a. *luŋkhwak* *thend-u-bhoks-u-η=na*
 stone lift-3.P-V2.SPLIT-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I lifted the stone (with great difficulties, at once).’
 b. *mi* *mi=na* *et-u-η=na*,
 fire small=NMLZ.SG perceive-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
khatningo *ma* *leks-a-bhoks-a=na*
 but big become[3SG]-PST-V2.SPLIT-PST=NMLZ.SG

‘It seemed to me that the fire was small, but suddenly it flamed up.’

- (64) a. *cumabya=ha* *ce?ya* *haku*
 hidden=NMLZ.SG language now
khom-bhoŋ-ma
 dig-V2.SPLIT-INF[DEONT]
 ‘We have to start digging out the (our) hidden language now.’
 b. *okt-a-bhoks-a-ma-η=ba*,
 shriek-PST-V2.SPLIT-PST-PRF-1SG=EMPH
hab-a-bhoks-a-ma-η=ba
 cry-PST-V2.SPLIT-PST-PRF-1SG=EMPH

‘Suddenly I shrieked, I broke out in tears.’ [13_cvs_02.034]

7.2.22 The V2 *-heks* (immediate prospective, do separately)

The V2 *-heks* is used when the event denoted by the main verb is about to begin, as shown in (65). Its literal meaning is ‘cut, saw’. Note, again, that because of the inceptive semantics of many verbs, it is usually the past form that is used. The V2 may attach to verbs of any temporal structure, and restrictions on the semantics of the arguments (e.g. animacy or volition) were not encountered. With activities and states, the V2 conveys that the activity or state is about to start. With telic verbs, the V2 conveys that the end point is approaching. Example (66b) shows a combination of a completive notion and the ‘immediate prospective’ notion.

- (65) a. *o-theklup leks-heks-a=na*
 3SG.POSS-half become-V2.CUT[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Almost half (of the book) is finished.’
- b. *sabun mend-heks-a=na*
 soap finish-V2.CUT[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The soap is about to be finished.’
- c. *ucun=na lambu(=be)*
 nice=NMLZ.SG way(=loc)
tas-heks-u-m=na
 arrive-V2.CUT-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We are about to get to the nice road.’
- (66) a. *la toṇnuṇ leks-heks-a=na*
 moon full become-V2.CUT[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The moon is about to be full.’
- b. *hops-i-heks-u-ŋ=ha*
 sip-COMPL-V2.CUT-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.NC
 ‘I am about to finish (the soup).’

This V2 has a second meaning, translatable as ‘do separately’. The corresponding construction in Nepali is *[V.STEM]-dai garnu*. This usage of *-heks* is often found in commands, for instance when the speaker

encourages the hearer to start or go on with some activity while the speaker leaves the speech situation (see (67)).

- (67) a. *yη-heks-a*
sit-V2.CUT-IMP
'Sit down (while I leave for a moment).'
- b. *co-heks-u*
eat-V2.CUT-3.P[IMP]
'Keep eating (without me).'
- c. *thukpa hops-heks-wa-η=ha*
soup sip-V2.CUT-NPST[3.P]-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
'I am sipping soup (noone else does).'

7.2.23 The V2 *-ghond* (spatially distributed events)

The V2 *-ghond* has the literal meaning of 'roam, wander around'. This marker refers to actions and events that happen distributed over various locations, in the same manner as has been analyzed for the cognate Belhare marker *-kon* ~ *-gon* (Bickel 1996: 163). This V2 may attach to intransitive and transitive stems, and can be inflected either way, too (see (68)).

- (68) a. *he?ne maṇḍu maṇḍu kha luplum=ci=be*
somewhere far far those den=NSG=LOC
wa-ya-ghond-a
exist-PST-V2.ROAM-PST
i-ya-ghond-a=nin=ca, ...
revolve-PST-V2.ROAM[3SG]-PST=CTMP=ADD
'While he also used to live and walk around somewhere far,
far away, in those caves, ...' [18_nrr_03.013]
- b. *na maghyam he?nin=ca*
this old_woman when=ADD
sis-u-ghond-wa=na
kill-3.P-V2.ROAM-NPST=NMLZ.SG
'This old woman always walks around drunken.' (lit. she
walks around being killed)

- c. *ijaŋ yoniŋ-kheniŋ*
 why thither-hither
n-jiŋ-ghom-me=ha?
 3PL-learn-V2.ROAM-NPST=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Why do they walk around learning (languages)?’

Note that in (68b), the experiencer is treated like a standard P argument by case and the verbal person marking (indexed by the ‘3.P’ suffix). This does not prevent the experiencer argument from taking part in complex predication, which usually synchronizes the argument structure of the single components of one CP. This again shows the importance of generalized semantic roles as parameter along which the syntax of Yakkha is organized.

Example (69) from a conversation clearly shows that the first verb is the semantic head, and that *-ghond* has lost its lexical meaning ‘walk around’. It merely adds the notion of spatial distribution. In the answer (69b), the speaker refers to the event in question without using the V2.

- (69) a. *ŋkha i=ya het-u-ghond-wa-ga?*
 that what=NMLZ.NSG cut-3.P-V2.ROAM-NPST-2
 ‘What are you cutting (at various places)?’ (said reproachfully)
 [28_cvs_04.321]
- b. *are haʔlo, ijaŋ me-heʔ-ma? abbui!*
 hey EXCLA why NEG-cut-INF[DEONT] EXCLA
 ‘Goodness, why not to cut? Holy crackers!’ [28_cvs_04.323]

7.2.24 The V2 *-siʔ* (avoid, prevent)

The V2 *-siʔ* is always inflected transitively. It is probably etymologically connected to *sis* ‘kill’.²⁸ In a CP, *-siʔ* means ‘avoid, prevent’. The lexical verb denotes an action that prevents something else from happening, like ‘catch’ in (70a) and (70b), and ‘scold’ in (70c). The event which shall be avoided is not necessarily expressed overtly; it is usually obvious from the utterance context.

²⁸ In the Nepali translations, the predicates were paraphrased using *māṛnu* ‘kill’.

- (70) a. *picha kaŋ-kheʔ-ma n-dokt-u-n=na,*
 child fall-V2.GO-INF NEG-get-3.P[PST]-NEG=NMLZ.SG,
u-ma=ŋa
 3SG.POSS-mother=ERG
lab-i-si=na
 catch-COMPL-V2.PREVENT[3.P;PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The child could not fall down because its mother held it.’
- b. *lukt-heks-a=na,*
 run-V2.CUT-PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
lam-siʔ-ma=na
 catch -V2.PREVENT-INF[DEONT]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘She is about to run away, we have to hold her.’
- c. *mokt-heks-uksa=na, nhaŋ*
 beat-V2.CUT-PST.PRF[3.P]=NMLZ.SG and_then
thind-i-si-ŋ=na
 scold-COMPL-V2.PREVENT[3.P;PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He was about to beat him, so I scolded and stopped him.’

7.2.25 The V2 -soʔ (experiential)

The V2 -soʔ means ‘look’, and it is used as experiential marker, translatable with ‘try X and find out oneself’ (see (71)). Note that this is not a complementation strategy, as one cannot express clauses like ‘I found out that X did Y’ or ‘I tried to X’ by means of this V2. Yakkha utilizes complement taking predicates to convey such meanings. The V2 is also not a means to express a conative, since it neither reduces the valency nor implies that the attempt fails (see Vincent (2013) for an overview of the different usages of the term ‘conative’). The crucial meaning component of -soʔ is ‘experiencing something by trying out oneself’. The grammaticalization of perception verbs to such a marker is common in South Asian and South East Asian languages.

- (71) a. *liŋmi=ŋa chapt-u-so!*
 straw=INS thatch-3.P-V2.LOOK[3.P;IMP]
 ‘Try and thatch (the roof) with straw!’ (said as advice against tin roofs)

- b. *kheps-u-so!*
listen-3.P-V2.LOOK[3.P;IMP]
'Listen and find out!'
- c. *chimd-u-η-so-η?*
ask-3.P-1SG-V2.LOOK-1SG.A[3.P;SBJV]
'May I ask and find out?'

This V2 behaves exceptional with regard to the material that can stand between the verbal stems. Usually the first verbal stem can be inflected only by one suffix, and only if the suffix consists of a vowel. However, as shown in (71c), the inflection on the first stem can include a nasal, if a nasal is available in the inflection.

8 Transitivity

This chapter deals with argument structure, valency alternations and transitivity operations in Yakkha. The term argument structure is understood here as ‘the configuration of arguments that are governed by a particular lexical item’ (Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004: 1130). In §8.1, the different verb frames of argument realization are identified by the number of possible arguments and their case and agreement properties. Several verbs occur in more than one frame; their alternations are treated in §??.¹ Apart from those alternations that result in straightforward classes, there are also transitivity operations that are more productive and not related to certain verb classes (see §??). One has to distinguish between operations that change the argument structure by adding or removing argument roles, and those that merely change the argument realization by changing the case or person marking properties for an argument.

Many markers of transitivity operations have been verbs historically. They are also found as parts of lexically complex predicates, and the grammatical functions are often related to the lexical meanings of these markers. This multiplicity of functions can be viewed as a result of simultaneous grammaticalization and lexicalization processes of certain verbs (see also Chapter 7).

8.1 Frames of argument realization

8.1.1 Theoretical preliminaries

Before starting with the description of the argument frames, some methodological and terminological remarks are in order. The argument frames

¹ Only predicates with nominal arguments are discussed in this chapter. For predicates taking clausal complements see Chapter ??.

are identified by three parameters: agreement, case and the question of how the verbal semantics interact with these two formal means. For this purpose, generalized semantic roles (GSRs) are identified for each predicate. Following Bickel (2010b), these roles are labelled as follows: ‘A’ stands for the most agent-like argument of a transitive predicate,² ‘P’ stands for the most patient-like argument of transitive predicates, ‘S’ stands for the sole argument of intransitive predicates. For three-argument verbs, the most theme-like argument has the label ‘T’ and the most goal-like argument has the label ‘G’. By relying on generalized semantic roles to identify the arguments of a predicate, one does not imply that these roles build coherent classes of arguments that are characterized by some common semantic or formal property. For example, locative-marked arguments can have the semantic role of a goal, a recipient, a location, a source or a stimulus). Crucially, GSRs make sense only in relation to the particular predicates or predicate classes. No further morphosyntactic consequences, e.g. pivots in some construction, can be inferred from these terms, as different types of pivots may occur in Yakkha syntax (see Chapters ??, ?? and ??). The argument realization does not always match with the semantic transitivity, e.g. in transimpersonal verbs (see §8.1.7). Nevertheless, a “standard” intransitive and a “standard” transitive frame could be identified, which are the most common frames of argument realization. As arguments are frequently dropped in Yakkha, many examples in this chapter come from elicited data.

In the following, I will outline the two parameters of argument realization in Yakkha, which are person marking and case marking. As for person marking, Yakkha distinguishes intransitive and transitive inflectional paradigms (compare the marking of the verbs with regard to the role of the argument *kanij* in (1)). Thus, there are three possible values: arguments may trigger intransitive (subject) agreement, transitive subject agreement or object agreement (the latter two being indicated as A or P in the glosses).³

² Yakkha does not exhibit differences between A arguments of two-argument and three-argument predicates, so that they do not have to be distinguished.

³ For the function of the frequently occurring main clause nominalization see §??. For the conditions of the nominative-ergative syncretism see §2.2.2.2.

- (1) a. *kanij khe-i=ha*
 1PL go-1PL[PST]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘We went.’ (S)
- b. *kanij kei kheps-u-m=na*
 1PL[ERG] drum hear-3.P[PST]-1PL.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘We heard the drum.’ (A)
- c. *uŋci=ŋa kanij kheps-a=ha*
 3NSG=ERG 1PL hear-PST[1.P]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘They heard us.’ (P)

The agreement markers are not uniformly aligned, so that, for the purposes of this chapter, person marking is presented as tripartite, i.e. agreement with S is different from agreement with A and also different from agreement with P.⁴ The reader should bear in mind that the indications in the glosses (‘A, P’) refer only to the type of person marking, following a common labelling tradition for languages where the verbs show agreement with more than one argument. These labels facilitate reading the glosses, but they should not be conflated with the semantic roles of the verbal arguments, which can be ‘S, A, P, T, G’.⁵

Arguments can be marked with an ergative, a nominative, a genitive, a locative, an instrumental and, albeit less commonly, with a comitative or an ablative. Yakkha has an ergative/instrumental syncretism; the case marking does not distinguish between agent and instrument, but subsumes both roles under the umbrella category ‘effector’ (Van Valin & Wilkins 1996). In the following sections, schematic diagrams will illustrate the mapping of the semantic roles to the case and agreement properties for each argument frame. Altogether, 22 verb frames can be established. They can roughly be divided into intransitively inflected verbs, transitively inflected verbs, three-argument verbs, experiencer-as-possessor predicates, copular verbs and light verbs.

⁴ The person marking on the Yakkha verb combines accusative, ergative, neutral and hierarchical alignment, see Chapter 5.2 on the verbal morphology.

⁵ To illustrate this with an example: the verb *cimma* ‘learn’ is semantically transitive; it has an A argument (the learner) and a P argument (the thing learned, the knowledge acquired). The verb is, however, inflected with intransitive morphology (triggered by the semantic A argument, the learner), thus behaving like the verb in (1a) with respect to person marking.

In the schematic diagrams of the frames of argument realization, capital letters stand for the respective GSRs of a predicate. Labels like ‘ERG’ indicate the case marking. The agreement is indicated with ‘s’, ‘a’ and ‘o’, with the corresponding GSR following in square brackets.⁶

8.1.2 The standard intransitive frame

{S-NOM V-s[S]}

In the standard intransitive frame, the subject is in the unmarked nominative case (not written in the glosses) and triggers agreement on the verb. Verbs such as *imma* ‘sleep’, *posi?ma* ‘vomit’ and *numa* ‘get well, recover’ belong to this frame.

- (2) a. *ka posit-a-η=na*
 1SG vomit-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I vomited.’
 b. *nda nu-ga=na?*
 2SG get_well[PST]-2=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Are you fine?’
 c. *n-yag-a-sy-a-ga-n=na=i?*
 NEG-feel_exhausted-PST-MDDL-PST-2-NEG=NMLZ.SG=Q
 ‘Are you not exhausted?’

8.1.3 The intransitive experiencer frame

{A-NOM P-LOC/INS/ABL/COM V-s[A]}

Some experiencer verbs allow the expression of overt stimulus arguments, despite being identical to the standard intransitive frame in all other respects. The stimulus can be marked by various peripheral cases like the ablative, the locative, the instrumental and the comitative, as illustrated by example (3a) and (3b). These experiencer verbs are typically etymologically complex (both Noun-Verb and Verb-Verb compounds), as they often have bisyllabic stems, and Kiranti languages, following a broader tendency in Southeast Asian languages, are typically characterized by monosyllabic morphemes (Matisoff 1990a). Some verbs of this

⁶ The same notational convention is employed e.g. in Schikowski, Bickel & Paudyal (2015).

frame have metaphorical meaning: ‘to be hungry’ is expressed as in (3c), without the intention to exaggerate or to be ironic.

- (3) a. *ka nda=bhaŋ/nda=nun kisit-a-ŋ=na*
 1SG 2SG=ABL/2SG=COM be_afraid-PST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I was afraid of you.’
- b. *ka coklet=pe kam-di-me-ŋ=na*
 1SG sweets=LOC pine_over-V2.GIVE-NPST-1SG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I pine over sweets.’
- c. *sak=ŋa n-sy-a-ma-ŋa-n=na*
 hunger=INS NEG-die-PST-PRF-1SG-NEG=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I am not hungry.’

8.1.4 The motion verb frame

{A-NOM P-LOC V-s[A]}

Motion verbs are intransitively inflected, but they have two arguments, as they entail a mover (A) and the location or goal of the movement (P) in their conceptualization. This is also borne out by the natural language data: most of the motion verbs express the location overtly, marked by a locative. In a language that has generally more covert than overtly realized arguments, this can be counted as a strong indicator for the entailment of the locative argument in the verbal semantics. The location or goal can be expressed by an adverb, as in (4a), or by a noun phrase (see (4b) - (4d)).

- (4) a. *kucuma he?ne khy-a=na?*
 dog where go[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Where did the dog go?’
- b. *konɣu=be thaŋ-a=na*
 hill=LOC climb[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He climbed on the hill.’
- c. *saŋgoŋ=be yun-a=na*
 mat=LOC sit_down[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He sat down on the mat.’
- d. *taŋkheŋ=be pes-a-khy-a=nin*
 sky=LOC fly[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST=CTMP

‘When he (the bird) flew into the sky, ...’ [21_nrr_04.031]

Under certain circumstances the locative on the goal argument can be omitted, e.g. when the location is a specific place with a name, or if it is a place that one typically moves to, such as villages, countries, the school, the work place and the like (see (5) and Chapter 2.2.2.1).⁷ Only unmodified nouns can appear without the nominative; if the reference of the noun is narrowed down and made definite, e.g. by a possessive or demonstrative pronoun, it has to take the locative case (see (5c)).

- (5) a. *liŋkha=ci=ga teʔma bagdata*
 a_clan=NSG=GEN clan_sister finalization_of_marriage
nak-se mamliŋ ta-ya-ma
 ask_for-SUP Mamling come[3SG]-PST-PRF
 ‘A Linkha clan sister came to Mamling to ask for her *bagdata*
 (ritual).’ [37_nrr_07.002]
- b. *hiʔwa pes-a=na*
 wind fly[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He flew (up) into the air.’ [21_nrr_004.051]
- c. *nna*(=be)=go imin thaŋ-ma?*
 that*(=LOC)=TOP how climb-INF
 ‘But how to climb to that (place)?’ [22_nrr_05.098]

8.1.5 The standard monotransitive frame

{A-ERG P-NOM V-a[A].o[P]}

This frame characterizes the majority of the monotransitive verbs, such as *nima* ‘see’ and *mokma* ‘beat’. The verb shows agreement with both A and P. The A argument is marked by an ergative case =*ŋa* (see (6a)), except for first and second person pronouns, which exhibit an ergative/nominative syncretism (see also Chapter 2.2.2.2).⁸ The condition for the ergative/nominative syncretism is identical to this frame through-

⁷ Example (a) refers to a marriage custom called *bagdata*, see Chapter ??.

⁸ Note that nouns with first and second person reference are possible in Yakkha (as if saying ‘An old woman AM tired’; see also §??). If they are A arguments of transitive verbs, they are marked by an ergative, other than the first and second person pronouns.

out all the transitively inflected frames. The P arguments are in the nominative case.

- (6) a. *isa=ŋa chemha tuks-u=ha?*
 who=ERG liquor spill-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NC
 ‘Who spilled the liquor?’
 b. *ka iya=ca*
 1SG[ERG] what=NMLZ.NC=ADD
ŋ-kheps-u-ŋa-n=ha
 NEG-hear-3.P[PST]-1SG.A-NEG=NMLZ.NC
 ‘I did not hear anything.’

8.1.6 The experiencer-as-object frame

{A-NOM P-ERG V-a[P].o[A]}

Experiential events often show deviations from the standard marking patterns of argument encoding (Bhaskararao & Subbarao 2004; Malchukov 2008). There is one frame in Yakkha that is identical to the standard monotransitive frame, but the marking of A and P is reversed; the experiencer triggers object agreement on the verb, while the stimulus triggers subject agreement (zero for third person singular) and hosts the ergative case clitic. Notwithstanding the non-canonical agreement and case properties, the preferred constituent order is A-P-verb, and constructions with an S/A pivot, for instance, select the experiencer. The majority of the verbs belonging to this frame are related to the ingestion of food or to the consumption of other supplies, illustrated in (7).

- (7) a. *ka macchi=ŋa haŋd-a-ŋ=na*
 1SG pickles=ERG taste_spicy-PST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The pickles tasted hot to me.’⁹
 b. *ka haŋha=ŋa khot-a-ŋ=na*
 1SG hot_spices=ERG have_enough-PST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I have enough spice (in my food).’

⁹ The Maithili loanword *macchi* has developed several meanings in Yakkha, namely ‘chili plant’, ‘chili powder’ and ‘hot pickle or sauce’.

- c. *nasa=ga ηai=ηa khikt-a-η=na*
 fish=GEN stomach=ERG taste_bitter-PST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The fish stomach tasted bitter to me.’

Verbs that refer to being affected by natural or supernatural powers also follow the object-experiencer frame, e.g. *te?nima* ‘be possessed, suffer from evil spirit’ in (8). The verb ‘be drunk’ is expressed as shown in (8). The stem *sis* literally also means ‘kill’ with an animate, intentional A argument, but as the example shows, metaphorical meanings are possible as well. Notably, in this predicate, the stimulus is often omitted; *sis* has undergone a metaphorical extension towards the meaning of ‘being drunk’.

- (8) a. *punḍaraṇma=ηa teps-y-uks-u=na*
 forest_goddess=ERG be_posessed-PRF-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘He is possessed by the forest goddess.’
 b. *(raksi=ηa) sis-a-ga=na=i?*
 liquor=ERG kill-PST-2.P=NMLZ.SG=Q
 ‘Are you drunk?’

8.1.7 The transimpersonal frame

{S-NOM V-a[3].o[S]}

The transimpersonal frame is similar to the object-experiencer frame. The verbs inflect transitively, but there is no overt A argument, the verbs show default third person singular subject agreement (zero). The sole argument is in the nominative and triggers object agreement on the verb. Diachronically there probably was an overt A, but the only remnant found synchronically is the agreement; all attempts at producing an overt A were regarded as ungrammatical. Malchukov (2008) notes that such constructions tend to be experiencer constructions crosslinguistically. In Yakkha, however, transimpersonal verbs are not experiencer verbs, as the subjects of these verbs are not typically animate, sentient beings. Verbs belonging to this frame often have change-of-state semantics, e.g. *cikma* ‘ripen’, *lokma* ‘boil’, *homma* ‘swell’, *hu?ma* ‘be blocked’, *ηomma* ‘remain’, shown in (9).

- (9) a. *a-nabhuk hut-u=na*
 1SG.POSS-nose be_blocked-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I have a blocked nose.’
- b. *a-laŋ=ci homd-u-ci=ha*
 1SG.POSS-leg=NSG swell-3.P[PST]-NSG.P=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘My legs are swollen.’
- c. *cama ŋond-u=ha*
 rice remain-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NC
 ‘(Some) rice remained.’
- d. *cuwa cikt-u=ha*
 beer ripen-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NC
 ‘The beer is well-fermented.’

An agent or cause can only be expressed indirectly, via adverbial clauses such as in (10).

- (10) *tumbuk poks-a=niŋa ten*
 gun explode[3SG]-PST=CTMP village
lus-u=na
 deafen-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘When the gun exploded, the village was deafened (by the noise).’

A transitive structure, with an overt A argument can be achieved by a causative derivation (11).

- (11) a. *maŋcwa lokt-u=ha*
 water boil-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘The water boiled.’
- b. *kamala=ŋa maŋcwa lok-met-wa=ha*
 Kamala=ERG water boil-CAUS-NPST[3.P]=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Kamala boils water.’

Transimpersonal verbs are a solid class in Kiranti languages, found e.g. in Limbu (van Driem 1987: 451), in Thulung (Allen 1975: 42) and in Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 222). In Yakkha, 29 transimpersonal verbs have been found so far.¹⁰

¹⁰ The following transimpersonal verbs have been found so far in Yakkha: *chamma*

8.1.8 Marginally occurring frames

8.1.8.1 The locative object frame

{A-ERG P-LOC V-a[A].o[3]}

One verb, *tama* ‘arrive (at)’, differs from the standard monotransitive frame in marking the P argument with the locative case. The object agreement slot is always filled by default third person object agreement: speech-act participants cannot be the objects of this verb. Rather, one would express such content as ‘arrive at your place’, with a third person object agreement.

- (12) *lalubaŋ=nun* *phalubaŋ=ŋa* *mamliŋ=be*
 Lalubang=COM Phalubang=ERG Mamling=LOC
 tas-a-ma-c-u
 arrive-PST-PRF-DU-3.P
 ‘Lalubang and Phalubang have arrived in Mamling.’
[22_nrr_05.041]

8.1.8.2 The semi-transitive frame

{S-ERG V-a[S].o[3]}

In the semi-transitive frame, the verb is transitively inflected and the sole argument receives ergative marking, but overt objects are suppressed. The verb shows default 3sg object agreement, as in (13). The expression of the P (the excreted substance) is not just considered redundant, but unacceptable.¹¹ This frame is like the mirror-image of the transimpersonal frame discussed above. So far, however, the verb *oma* ‘vomit’ in (13) is the only member of this frame.

‘spread, increase’, *cemma* ‘get well, recover’, *choma* ‘tingle’, *cikma* ‘ripen’, *cipma* ‘rise’ (only for water), *hekma* ‘get stuck, choke’, *he?ma* ‘be entangled, hang, snag’, *homma* ‘swell’(stem: *homd*), *homma* ‘fit into’ (stem: *hond*), *hu?ma* ‘be blocked’, *keŋma* ‘bear fruit’, *khakma* ‘freeze’, *khekt* ‘freeze, harden’, *khopma* ‘fit around something’, *le?ma* ‘flourish, be prosperous’, *lokma* ‘boil’, *mopma* ‘be clouded, be dull’, *ŋomma* ‘remain’, *o?ma* ‘hatch’, *phe?ma* ‘bloom’, *phiŋma* ‘get clear’, *pu?ma* ‘spill, overboil’, *sipma* ‘evaporate’, *suncama* ‘itch’, *tapma* ‘last long’, *wemma* ‘get intoxicated, be insolent’, *yeŋma* ‘be strong, be tough’.

¹¹ See Li (2007: 1480) for a similar class of verbs in Nepali.

- (13) *tug-a-by-a=na* *yapmi=ŋa*
 get_sick-PST-V2.GIVE-PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG person=ERG
os-u=ha
 vomit-3.P=NMLZ.NC
 ‘The sick person vomited.’

8.1.8.3 The double nominative frame

{A-NOM P-NOM V-s[A]}

This frame was found only for one verb, but it is listed for the sake of completeness. The verb *cimma* ‘learn’ is inflected intransitively, although it takes two arguments. Both A and P are in the nominative, and A triggers the verbal person marking (see (14a)). With transitive agreement morphology the verb becomes the ditransitive verb ‘teach’ (see (14b)). Except for the additional argument, this alternation is identical to the labile alternation discussed in §??.

- (14) a. *hari inlis cind-a=na*
 Hari English learn[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Hari learned English.’
 b. *kamala=ŋa hari inlis cind-u=na*
 Kamala=ERG Hari English teach-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Kamala taught Hari English.’

8.1.9 Three-argument verbs

The case and agreement properties of the subjects of three-argument verbs are not different from those of monotransitive verbs. The argument realization of the T and G arguments, however, deserves a closer look. It is determined by both semantic roles and the referential properties of the arguments. The choice of the agreement triggering argument for the nominalizing clitics *=na* and *=ha* need not be the same as for the verbal agreement. The nominalizers are partly aligned according to the referential properties of the arguments and partly according to their role. This is discussed in detail in §5.2 and §?? and will not figure prominently in the following treatment of three-argument frames.

8.1.9.1 The double object frame

{A-ERG G-NOM T-NOM V-a[A].o[G]}

In the double object frame, both T and G arguments are in the nominative case. The verb agrees with the A and usually with the G argument, except for some pragmatically marked scenarios where T becomes the agreement trigger (see §??). The choice of the nominalizer on the finite verb depends on T when T has third person reference: singular T triggers =*na*, and nonsingular or non-countable T triggers =*ha* (compare (15b) and (15c)). The verbs belonging to this frame are typically verbs of caused possession and benefactives (both derived and underived), and thus, the G arguments are typically animate in this frame.

- (15) a. *ka a-ni mendhwak*
 1SG[ERG] 1SG.POSS-aunt goat
hakt-wa-ŋ=na
 send-NPST[3.P]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 'I send my aunt a goat.'
- b. *ka nda eko coklet piʔ-nen=na*
 1SG[ERG] 2SG one sweet give[PST]-1>2=NMLZ.SG
 'I gave you a sweet.'
- c. *ka nda pyak coklet piʔ-nen=ha*
 1SG[ERG] 2SG many sweet give[PST]-1>2=NMLZ.NSG
 'I gave you many sweets.'

8.1.9.2 The indirective frame

{A-ERG G-LOC/ABL/COM T-NOM V-a[A].o[T]}

The indirective frame is more frequent than the double object frame, i.e. there are more verbs that follow this frame. The G argument may have goal or source role and is marked by a locative (see (16)) or, occasionally, by an ablative or comitative case (see (17)), while the T argument is in the nominative and triggers object agreement on the verb (including the nominalizers). Mostly, caused motion is expressed by verbs of this frame.

- (16) a. *ka a-cya=ci iskul=be*
 1SG[ERG] 1SG.POSS-child=NSG school=LOC
paks-wa-η-ci-η=ha
 send-NPST-1SG.A-NSG.P-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘I send my children to school.’
- b. *ak=ka khorek cula=ga u-yum=be*
 1SG.POSS=GEN bowl hearth=GEN 3SG.POSS-side=LOC
yuks-uks-u-η=na
 put-PRF-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I have put my bowl next to the hearth.’
- c. *ama=ηa a-nuncha netham=be*
 mother=ERG 1SG.POSS-younger_sibling bed=LOC
nes-u=na
 lay-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Mother laid my younger sister on the bed.’
- (17) a. *kha?niŋgo tu?khi leŋ-me?=niŋa*
 but trouble happen[3SG]-NPST=CTMP
heko=ha=ci=nun yan naŋ-ca-ma
 other=NMLZ.NSG=NSG=COM money beg-V2.EAT-INF
ucun men
 nice NEG.COP
 ‘But in difficult times, it is not good to ask others for money.’
 [01_leg_07.257]
- b. *haku nhaŋto m-ban=uŋ nasa*
 now TEMP.ABL 2SG.POSS-father=COM fish
η-in-wa-n-ci-ηa-n=ha
 NEG-buy-NPST-NEG-3NSG.P-EXCL-NEG=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘From now on I will not buy fish from your father.’
 [01_leg_07.208]

The locative can also mark adjuncts, yielding clauses that look superficially identical to the indirective frame. However, the adjuncts have to be distinguished from locative-marked arguments. In (18), for instance, it is straightforward that the locative-marked noun phrases refer to circumstances (time, place, manner, quantity (Tessière 1959: 108)) and are

thus adjuncts. The decision whether a participant is an argument or an adjunct is, however, not that trivial for all the predicates.

- (18) a. *a-ppa=ŋa ka omphu=be*
 1SG.POSS-father=ERG 1SG verandah=LOC
nis-a-ŋ=na
 see-PST-1SG.P=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Father saw me on the veranda.’
 b. *a-ma=ŋa tan=be tek*
 1SG.POSS-mother=ERG loom=LOC fabric
akt-u=na
 weave-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Mother wove (a piece of) fabric on the loom.’

8.1.9.3 The secundative frame

{A-ERG G-NOM T-INS V-a[A].o[G]}

The verbs of the secundative frame denote events of throwing, hitting, covering, applying, exchanging, events of creative or destructive impact. The T argument is marked by an instrumental case, but it is not always an instrument in the classical sense of “used by the agent to act on the patient” (Andrews 1985), as (19a) shows. The G argument is in the unmarked nominative and triggers agreement on the verb (including the nominalizers). Some verbs of this frame may alternate with the indirective frame (the ‘spray-load alternation’, see §??).

- (19) a. *ka cabak=ŋa pange*
 1sg rice=INS millet
lend-u-ŋ=ha.
 exchange-3.P[PST]-1SG.A=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘I exchanged rice for millet.’
 b. *u-ppa=ŋa hammana=ŋa picha*
 3SG.POSS-father=ERG blanket=INS child
ept-u=na
 cover-3.P[PST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘The father covered his child with a blanket.’

- c. *eko phiswak=ŋa sum=ci tukra*
 one knife=INS three=NSG piece
yub-u-ci=ha
 cut-3.P[PST]-3NSG.P=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘He cut it into three pieces with a small knife.’ (Cut-and-break clips, Bohnemeyer, Bowerman & Brown (2010))

8.1.10 The experiencer-as-possessor frame

{S-GEN/NOM POSS-N V-s[3]} ~

{A-GEN/ERG P-NOM POSS-N V-a[A].o[3]}

Experiential predicates are characterized by the core participant being emotionally or sensationally affected by the event. This makes the thematic role ‘experiencer’ less agent-like, which is often reflected in the treatment of experiencer arguments as non-prominent (“downgrading” in Bickel 2004b), e.g. by non-canonical case marking or by deviating agreement patterns (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005: 22, Næss 2007: 185). We have already seen a class of experiential predicates in Yakkha that code their A arguments like standard objects. However, downgrading of an argument in one part of grammar, for instance, in case marking, does not necessarily imply downgrading in other domains, for instance access to pivothood or reflexivization (Bickel 2004b: 77).

Most experiential events in Yakkha, and generally in Kiranti languages, are expressed by complex predicates consisting of a noun and a verb, and the experiencer (i.e., the A argument) is coded as the possessor of the noun (see §6.2).¹² The nouns that belong to such predicates denote sensations, feelings, character traits, moral qualities or affected body parts (hence, the term *psych-noun*). Noun-verb compounds for the expression of experiential events are not unique to Yakkha or Kiranti languages; they belong to a broader Southeast Asian pattern (Matisoff 1986).

Morphosyntactically, the psycho-noun hosts a possessive prefix that refers to the experiencer. The noun may also trigger agreement on the verb (see (20) for examples). Some psycho-nouns are conceptualized as

¹² See Bickel (1997c) for Belhare.

nonsingular and thus trigger nonsingular verbal agreement. The predicates can be grouped into intransitively and transitively inflected verbs. Some verbs show alternations. The two schematic diagrams above only show the most common frames of the experiencer-as-possessor predicates, corresponding to (20a) and (20b), respectively. In (20c), the stimulus triggers object agreement. For a detailed description of the subframes and alternations see §6.2.1.

- (20) a. $\eta=ga$ $yupma(=ci)$ $n-yus-a(=ci)?$
 2SG.POSS=GEN sleepiness(=NSG) 3PL-be_full-PST(=NSG)
 ‘Are you tired?’
- b. $\eta-khaep$
 2SG.POSS-interest/wish
 $cips-u-ga=na=i?$
 complete-3.P[PST]-2.A=NMLZ.NSG=Q
 ‘Are you satisfied?’
- c. nda ka $ija\eta$ $n-lok$
 2SG[ERG] 1SG why 2SG.POSS-anger
 $khot-a-\eta-ga=na?$
 have_enough-PST-1SG.P-2SG.A=NMLZ.SG
 ‘Why are you mad at me?’

8.1.11 Copular and light verb frames

Copular clauses are different from the other clauses insofar as the predicate is a not verb but a nominal, adjectival or locative constituent (Dryer 2007: 225). The constituents in copular clauses do not have semantic roles. Yakkha has two copular frames which can roughly be characterized as the identificational and the existential frame.¹³ While the equational frame is expressed by a copular verb (that is lacking an infinitival form) or by a copular particle *om* that is not found elsewhere in simple clauses, the existential frame is expressed by two standard intransitive

¹³ Such a two-way distinction in the copular frames is common in languages of the Himalayan region (see, e.g., Genetti (2007) on Newari, and Matthews (1984) on Nepali), but the exact distribution of the copular verbs probably differs from language to language.

verbs: *wama* ‘be, live, exist’ and *leŋma* ‘become, happen, come into being’.

8.1.11.1 Frame (a): Identification, equation, class inclusion

Two different forms participate in Frame (a): a copular verb that shows the expectable inflectional categories of person, number, tense/aspect and polarity, and a copular particle *om* that can also refer to any person, but is not inflected, apart from the nonsingular marker =*ci* (see (21c)). They are used to equate or identify two entities, and to state class inclusion (see (21)). The forms of the copular verb are suppletive in the nonpast; in the past forms it has a stem *sa* (see §5.7 on the morphology of the copulas). The copular verb and the particle are optional, and thus they are often omitted. The particle is also used as affirmative interjection *om* ‘yes’. The domains of these two copular devices overlap, and in one instance they were found combined, too (see (21d), where this combination seems to yield emphasis).

- (21) a. *ka khasi ŋan*
 1SG castrated_goat COP.1SG
 ‘I am a castrated goat.’ [31_mat_01.074]
- b. *ka isa om?*
 1SG who COP
 ‘Who am I?’
- c. *susma=nun suman na nuncha om=ci*
 Susma=COM Suman eZ yB COP=NSG
 ‘Susma and Suman are (elder) sister and (younger) brother.
 , [01_leg_07.035]
- d. *ka na punɖa=ga khuncakhuwa ŋan om!*
 1SG this jungle=GEN thief COP.1SG COP
 ‘I am the thief of this jungle!’ [01_leg_07.335]

8.1.11.2 Frame (b): Existence, attribution, location, possession

Two verbs occur in Frame (b): the verb *wama* ‘be, live, exist’ is a stative verb expressing existence. Its stem shows irregular behavior: the basic stem form is *wai?* ~ *wae?* ~ *we?*, and additionally *ma* can be found in

some negated forms (see §5.7 for the inflection of the copulas). This verb can occur in the motion verb frame, expressing location or possession (see (22a)). It can also be used to express a property of the copular topic, with an adjective as the predicate (see (22b) and (22c)).

- (22) a. *ibebe pyak encho paŋ=ci*
 somewhere much long_time_ago house=NSG
m-ma-ya-nin=ha
 NEG-exist-PST-PL.NEG=NMLZ.NSG
 ‘Once upon a time there were no houses.’¹⁴ [27_nrr_06.001]
- b. *bani man=na*
 habit exist.NEG.NPST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘There is no (such) habit.’
- c. *nna cu?lumphi haku=ca cengacen*
 that stele now=ADD straight_upright
wae?=na
 be[3SG;NPST]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘This stele stands straight upright even now.’
 [18_nrr_03.030]
- d. *piccha=go uhingilik we?=na*
 child=TOP alive existNPST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘But the child is alive.’ [22_nrr_05.087]

The second verb of frame (b) is the ingressive-phasal verb *leŋma* (stem: *leks*) ‘become, come into being, happen’, shown in (23). Apart from this meaning it is also used to express non-permanent properties, as in (23c).¹⁵

- (23) a. *na=ga suru imin leks-a=na*
 this=GEN beginning how become[3SG]-PST=NMLZ.SG
baŋnin
 as.for
 ‘As for how she came into being...’ [14_nrr_02.002]

¹⁴ The adverbial phrase *ibebe* is a fixed expression that originates in *ibe-ibe* ‘somewhere-somewhere’.

¹⁵ In (c), the property as such is of course permanent, but the subordinate clause puts the property in the perspective of a specific time.

- b. *hoŋkaʔla leks-a=hoŋ*
 like_that become[3SG]-PST=SEQ
 ‘As it became like that, ...’ [11_nrr_01.019]
- c. *limlim lim=nun leŋ-me.*
 sweet sweet=COM become[3SG]-NPST
khun-kheʔ-ma=niŋa li=nun=ca
 carry-V2.CARRY.OFF-INF=CTMP heavy=COM=ADD
n-leŋ-me-n
 NEG-become[3SG]-NPST-NEG
 ‘The sweet will be tasty. While carrying, it also will not be heavy.’ [01_leg_07.044]

Example (24) from a pear story shows a nice minimal pair between the identificational and the existential copula (*sana* and *waisa*). The identificational copula only takes nominal predicates. The question word *imin* ‘how’ is nominalized, and combined with the identificational copula. The existence of the snow is, however, expressed by the existential verb *wama*.

- (24) *i=na, la, thoŋ=ca imin=na*
 what=NMLZ.SG, FILLER, place=ADD how=NMLZ.SG
sa=na, hiun=le wai-sa,
 COP.PST[3SG]=NMLZ.SG snow=CTR exist-PST[3SG]
i=ya?
 what=NMLZ.NC
 ‘What, well, what kind of place was it, there was snow, what was it?’ (Context: the speaker is unsure, because she is trying to understand what happens in the pear story film. Her interpretation of the distorted quality of the footage is that it must be a snowy place.) [19_pea_01.002]

8.1.11.3 Light verbs

The light verb strategy is commonly used to introduce Nepali verbs or light verb constructions into Yakkha. The construction is parallel to the Nepali source construction, but the Nepali light verbs are replaced by

the Yakkha lexemes *wama* ‘exist, be’ and *cokma* ‘do’.

The resulting structure also gets formally adjusted to the Yakkha morphosyntax. In Nepali, some S/A arguments (e.g. of knowledge and experiential predicates) are marked by the dative *-lāi* (the Nepali translation of (25a) would be *ma-lāi ali-ali thāhā cha*), and the verb shows third person agreement with the noun in the nominative. But as there is no dative case in Yakkha, the result of the calquing is a nominative-marked subject and a light verb that triggers third person agreement. In light verb constructions which are not calques from experiential predicates, the verb agrees with the subject (S or A, see (25b)). Although overt P arguments are possible, as *nam* ‘sun’ in (25b), the light verbs found so far are always inflected intransitively, and A arguments in the ergative case were not found.

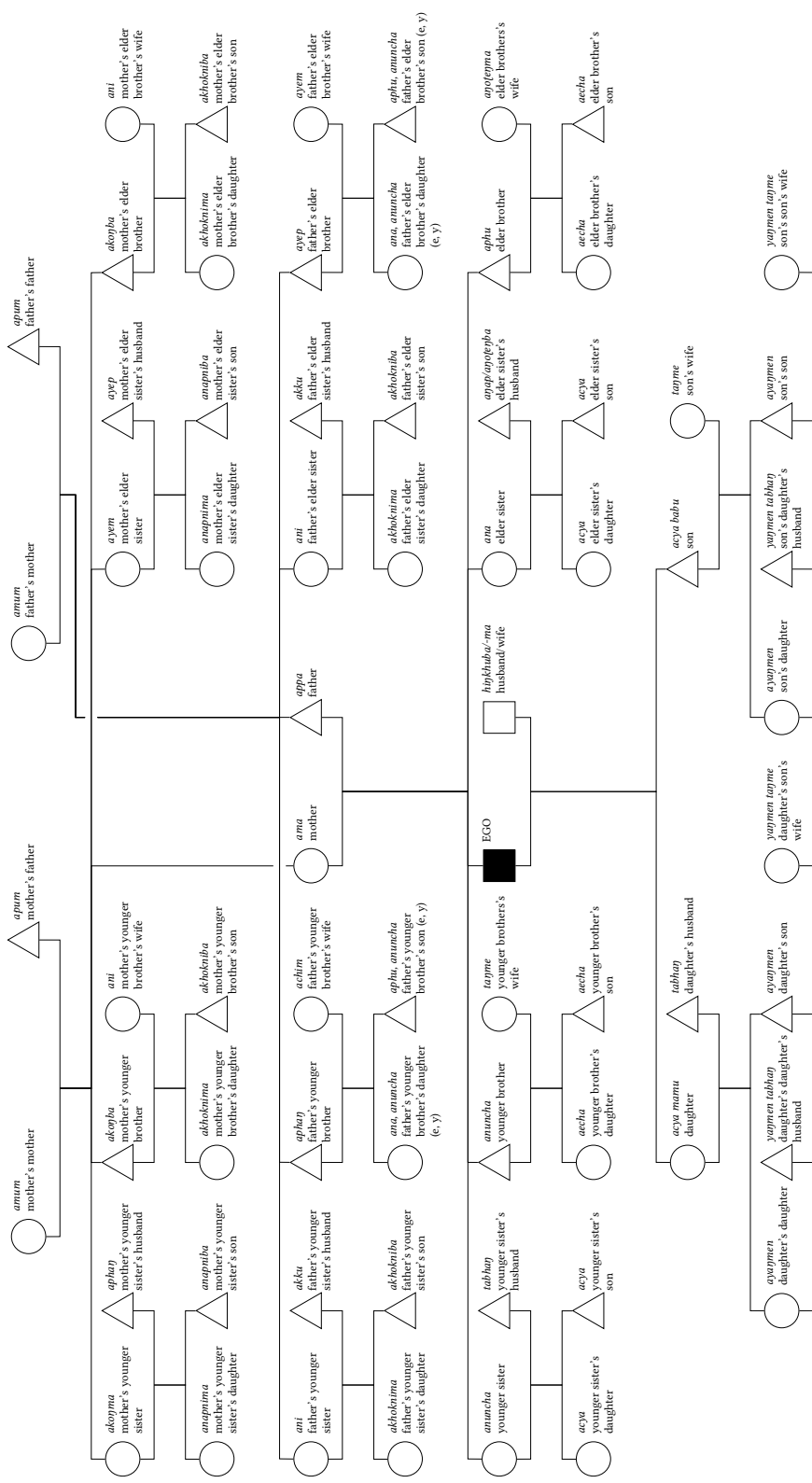
- (25) a. *ka mimik thaha wae?=na*
 1SG a_bit knowledge exist[3SG]=NMLZ.SG
 ‘I know a little bit.’ [13_cvs_02.022]
- b. *liṅkha=ci nam=nun b_Λg_Λri n-jog-a*
 a_clan=NSG sun=COM bet 3PL-do-PST
 ‘The Linkhas had a bet with the sun.’ [11_nrr_01.003]

The same strategy is also used for borrowing Nepali verbal stems into Yakkha (see (26), with the Nepali verb *haraunu* ‘lose’). The Nepali stems are integrated into Yakkha by means of the suffix *-a* (also found in related languages, e.g. *-ap* in Belhare, Bickel (2003: 559)). The resulting lexeme *hara* is then treated like any other noun by the light verb.

- (26) *ṅkhoṅ liṅkha baji=be har-a*
 and_then a_clan bet=LOC lose-NATIV
cog-a-khy-a
 do[3SG]-PST-V2.GO-PST
 ‘And then the Linkha man lost the bet.’ [11_nrr_01.012]

YAKKHA KINSHIP TERMS

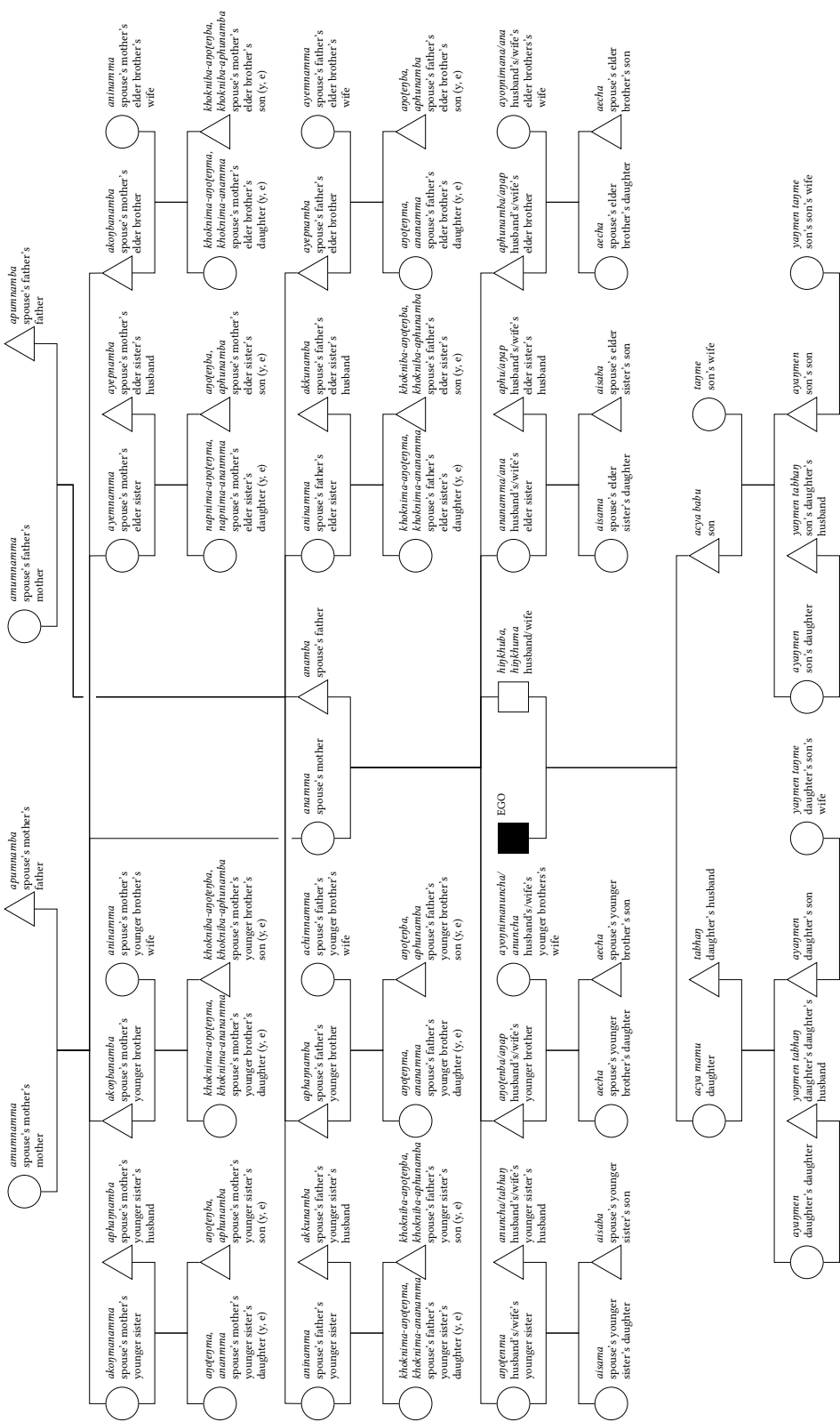
– own family –



Further terms: great-grandparents: *cottu*; great-grandchildren: *sapsik*, *khopsik*; great-great-grandchildren: *po'lon*; great-great-great-grandchildren: *jo'lon*

YAKKHA KINSHIP TERMS

– in-laws –



Index of Yakkha formatives

MARKER	FUNCTION	SECTION
<i>a-</i>	possessive prefix, 1SG	1.2
<i>-a</i>	past	5.4
<i>-a</i>	imperative, subjunctive	5.5
<i>-a</i>	nativizer on loans	5.8
<i>-a ~ -na</i>	function verb, 'leave'	7.2.18
<i>-ap</i>	function verb, 'come'	7.2.10
<i>-apt</i>	function verb, 'bring'	7.2.11
<i>anciŋ-</i>	possessive prefix, 1DU.EXCL	1.2
<i>aniŋ-</i>	possessive prefix, 1PL.EXCL	1.2
<i>au</i>	initiative particle	??
<i>baŋna</i>	complementizer	??
<i>baŋha</i>	complementizer	??
<i>baŋniŋ</i>	textual topic, quotative	??
<i>-bhes</i>	function verb, 'deliver'	7.2.13
<i>-bhoks ~ -bhoŋ</i>	function verb, 'split'	7.2.21
<i>bhoŋ</i>	conditional, complementizer, quotative	??, ??, ??
<i>-ca</i>	function verb, middle, reflexive	7.2.3, ??
<i>ca</i>	auxiliary, reciprocal	??
<i>=ca</i>	additive focus	??, ??
<i>=chen</i>	topic	??
<i>-ci ~ -cin</i>	dual (verbal)	5.2
<i>-ci</i>	3 nonsingular P (verbal)	5.2
<i>=ci</i>	nonsingular (nominal)	2.2.1
<i>-eba</i>	polite imperative	5.5
<i>=em</i>	alternation particle	??
<i>eN-</i>	possessive prefix, 1PL.INCL	1.2
<i>-end</i>	function verb, 'insert'	7.2.14

MARKER	FUNCTION	SECTION
<i>enciŋ-</i>	possessive prefix, 1DU.INCL	1.2
<i>=ge ~ =ghe</i>	locative	2.2.2
<i>-get</i>	function verb, ‘bring up’	7.2.15
<i>=gaŋ ~ =ghan</i>	ablative	2.2.2
<i>-ghet ~ -het</i>	function verb, ‘carry off’	7.2.17
<i>-ghond</i>	function verb, ‘roam’	7.2.23
<i>=ha ~ =ya</i>	nominalizer, NSG/NC	??
<i>-haks ~ -nhan</i>	function verb, ‘send’	7.2.16
<i>haksan</i>	comparative	2.2.3
<i>ha?nin</i>	comparative	2.2.3
<i>-heks</i>	function verb, ‘cut’	7.2.22
<i>=hon</i>	sequential clause linkage	??, ??
<i>=honca</i>	concessive clause linkage	??
<i>hau</i>	exclamative	??
<i>=i</i>	sentential focus	??
<i>i</i>	question marker	??
<i>-i ~ -ni</i>	completive	5.4.5, 7.2.2
<i>-i ~ -in</i>	1PL, 2PL (verbal)	5.2
<i>-ka</i>	2nd person (verbal)	5.2
<i>=ka</i>	genitive	2.2.2, ??
<i>=kha?la</i>	directional, manner	2.2.3
<i>-khe?</i>	function verb, ‘go’	7.2.5
<i>-khuba</i>	nominalizer	??
<i>-khusa</i>	reciprocal marker	??
<i>=ko</i>	topic	??
<i>=lai</i>	exclamative	??
<i>=le</i>	contrastive focus	??
<i>-les</i>	suffix of knowledge or ability	5.8
<i>-lo</i>	interruptive clause linkage	??
<i>loppi</i>	probability	??
<i>-lo?a</i>	equative	2.2.3
<i>-m</i>	1PL.A>3, 2PL.A>3	5.2
<i>-ma</i>	infinitive	5.9, ??, ??, ??
<i>-ma</i>	event numeral, ‘times’	1.5.2

MARKER	FUNCTION	SECTION
<i>-ma</i>	nominalizer	??
<i>-ma ~ -mi</i>	perfect	5.4
<i>=maŋ</i>	emphatic particle	??
<i>-masa ~ -misi</i>	past perfect	5.4
<i>maʔniŋ</i>	privative	2.2.3
<i>meN-</i>	negation	5.3
<i>meN...-le</i>	negative converb	??
<i>-met</i>	causative	??
<i>-meʔ</i>	nonpast	5.4
<i>N-</i>	negation (verbal)	5.3
<i>N-</i>	3PL	5.2
<i>N-</i>	possessive prefix, 2SG	1.2
<i>-n</i>	negation	5.3
<i>=na</i>	nominalizer, sg	??
<i>-nen</i>	1>2 (verbal)	5.2
<i>-nes</i>	function verb, 'lay'	7.2.19
<i>-nhaŋto</i>	temporal ablative	2.2.3
<i>-ni</i>	optative	5.5
<i>-nin</i>	plural and negation (verbal)	5.3, 5.2
<i>njiŋ-</i>	possessive prefix, 2DU	1.2
<i>=niŋ ~ =niŋa</i>	cotemporal clause linkage	??
<i>=niŋgobi</i>	counterfactual clause linkage	??
<i>nniŋ-</i>	possessive prefix, 2PL	1.2
<i>=nuŋ</i>	comitative case and clause linkage	2.2.2, ??
<i>-ŋ ~ -ŋa</i>	1SG, EXCL	5.2
<i>=ŋa</i>	ergative case and clause linkage	2.2.2, ??
<i>-pa</i>	nominalizer	??
<i>=pa</i>	sentential focus	??
<i>-paŋ</i>	numeral classifier	1.5.2
<i>=pe</i>	locative	2.2.2
<i>=phaŋ</i>	ablative	2.2.2
<i>=pi</i>	irrealis	??
<i>-piʔ</i>	function verb, 'give'	7.2.1, ??
<i>=pu</i>	reportative marker	??

MARKER	FUNCTION	SECTION
<i>rahecha</i>	mirative	??
<i>-raʔ</i>	function verb, ‘come’	7.2.6
<i>-raʔ</i>	function verb, ‘bring’	7.2.7
<i>-ris</i>	function verb, ‘place’	7.2.12
<i>-sa</i>	infinitive	5.9, ??
<i>-saŋ</i>	simultaneous converb	??
<i>-se</i>	supine converb	??
<i>=se</i>	restrictive focus	??
<i>-siʔ</i>	progressive	5.4.3
<i>-siʔ</i>	middle	7.2.4, ??
<i>-siʔ</i>	function verb, ‘avoid’	7.2.24
<i>-soʔ</i>	function verb, ‘look’	7.2.25
<i>-t</i>	benefactive	??
<i>u-</i>	possessive prefix, 3SG	1.2
<i>-u</i>	3.P (verbal)	5.2
<i>=u</i>	vocative	??
<i>-uks</i>	function verb, ‘come down’	7.2.8
<i>-uks ~ -nuŋ</i>	perfect	5.4
<i>-uks ~ -nuŋ</i>	function verb, continuative	7.2.20
<i>-uks ~ -uksa</i>	past perfect	5.4
<i>-ukt</i>	function verb, ‘bring down’	7.2.9
<i>uŋci-</i>	possessive prefix, 3NSG	1.2
<i>-wa</i>	nonpast	5.4
<i>=ʔlo</i>	exclamative	??

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