

NOMINALIZATION IN BANTAWA*

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The Bantawa language is not only a central Kiranti language in the geographical sense: Bantawa is also linguistically central and showcases many participle and converb constructions known from related Kiranti languages, and the general nominalization procedure that is found across the region.

This paper is an attempt at an overview description of nominalization and, for the sake of comprehensiveness, other deverbal forms in the Bantawa dialect of Sindrang, Bhojpur, Nepal. Bantawa has a set of participles that reflect all major verb roles: the verb subject or agent (active participle), patient or object (passive participle), the infinitive and locative/purposive nominalizer. Three more deverbal forms (supine, simultaneous and negative perfect converb) are not nominal but complete the picture of non-finite deverbals. The other means of nominalizing verbs is by suffixation of Bantawa's most versatile operator, the general nominalizer *-ʔo* (NOM). By nominalization verbal forms can be embedded in other grammatical constructs.

The latter construct is also used to form 'free-standing' nominalizations. Free-standing nominalizations have a factitive function in sentences, representing 'background knowledge,' and are used to mark mirative clauses, questions, and assertions.

Keywords: Nominalization, participles, converbs, subordination, Bantawa, Kiranti

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper offers a comprehensive, descriptive overview of the derivational processes in Bantawa that form non-verbal forms out of verbal forms. Some of these deverbatives are not nominal in their syntactic function but function as verbal adjuncts: These will be called converbs. The nomenclature 'nominalization' is too narrow anyway, as even the forms resulting from application of the most generic and widely applicable general nominalizer *-ʔo* (NOM) are perhaps better understood as 'adnominal' rather than nominal.

The aim of this paper is to shed some light on strategies to use and embed nominalized verbs, non-finite verb forms or fully finite clauses in a wider context. The primary goal is to represent the facts for the central dialect of Bantawa as spoken in Sindrang, Bhojpur.

Under the heading 'deverbatives' are subsumed a number of derivations of verbs or verb roots that somehow have lost the primary verbal character of their

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roots. The syntactic function of heading a clause may have been lost, or ‘finiteness’ in terms of tense marking and person agreement has been reduced or lost.

There are different strategies in Bantawa to embed verbs or full clauses into another phrase or clause. The first strategy is to form nominalizations from the verb root. The instances of this strategy are discussed in §2. The different syntactic properties of these non-finite deverbatives and the way they are embedded are discussed as well.

Another, entirely different strategy is to apply the procedure of ‘general’ nominalization to finite verb forms or rather, full clauses. Nominalized verb phrases function in sentence subordination and serve as nominal constituents, while they maintain their internal structure, tense and valence. As an areal feature, nominalized clauses also appear ‘free-standing,’ without an obvious subordinated function. This phenomenon is discussed in §3.

The description of converbal forms was included in this paper primarily in order to be comprehensive in the description of all deverbal forms. However, this section can also serve to show some differences in usage between converbal fully inflected (and then affixed...) phrases embedded in matrix clauses.

2. NON-FINITE VERB FORMS

This section describes the morphology of non-finite verb forms. These verb forms are non-finite in the sense that they cannot form the nucleus of a clause, i.e. only occur in a subordinated, embedded clause or as a modifier. The distribution of non-finite verbs corresponds to the fact that they are not marked for tense, nor have they any implied tense associated with them. Thus, while non-finite verbs do not ground an event in time, these forms otherwise express other verbal categories, viz. polarity, number and degree of transitivity, but not person marking.

I distinguish the following groups of non-finite verb forms: (a) participles, which are primarily nominal, (b) the infinitive, which can be subordinated to verbs that subcategorize for the infinitive and can also be considered nominal, and (c) converbs, which only occur in embedded positions and are limited in distribution.

Bantawa has three different participles: the active (§2.1), the passive (§2.2) and the purposive nominalizer (§2.3). Participles are nominal: they may fill a nominal argument position and accept nominal morphology. Participles can also be used adnominally to modify a noun.

The infinitive (§2.4) is used (a) as citation form, (b) as a noun to denote the verbal activity itself and (c) as main verb in modal complex verb constructions.

The supine (§2.5) forms a category of its own. The supine differs from converbs, e.g. it selectively collocates with verbs of movement and location only. However, supine clauses, like converb clauses, are not nominal, are optional modifiers and obligatorily share the subject (that may be the agent in transitive clauses) of the matrix clause.

Converbs differ from infinitives in that converbs cannot occur as arguments of higher matrix verbs, and from participles in that they are not nominal. No nominal morphology attaches to converbs, and converbs do not fill adnominal or nominal grammatical positions. Converbs form embedded sentences and function in the matrix clause in a role that is syntactically similar to that of adverbial modifiers.¹

Ebert (2003) gives a handy overview of converbs and participles in Kiranti languages. There are two converbs in Bantawa, viz. the simultaneous converb (§2.6) and the negative perfect converb (§2.7).

2.1 Active participles

Morphology

Active participles are nominals that are derived from verb stems that can be used as independent nouns or attributively in noun phrases. Active participles are morphologically derived from verb stems, using the ante-consonantal stem, by the following affixes:

<ka- Σ >	APpref	active participle, attributive and nominal use
<ka- Σ -pa>	APpref-APm	active participle, neuter or male gender in fixed expressions
<ka- Σ -ma>	APpref-APf	active participle, female gender, in fixed expressions only
<ka- Σ -ci>	APpref-PL	active participle, plural form

Across Kiranti languages, cognates of the Bantawa *ka-* prefix are found with the function of marking active participles, cf. Limbu *kε- Σ -pa*. Similarly, cognates of the Bantawa *-pa*, *-ma* and *-ci* suffix markers for male, female and plural are found all over the Tibeto-Burman area.²

Active participle forms that have both a prefix and suffix could be called full forms. Full forms are somewhat marked and sometimes indicative of fixed idiom. The productive derivation of active participles is with the prefix only.

Active participles function in this form in attributive position, as in examples (1-3). Active participles without the participle male suffix *-pa* (APm), female suffix *-ma* (APf) or plural suffix *-ci* (PL) may also function as an independent head noun, as in examples (4-5), but less frequently so.

Syntax

- (1) ka-set kint^həkwa-ci-ʔenan
 APpref-kill rebels-PL-COM
 ‘together with the murderous rebels’

¹ In linguistic tradition, ‘converbs’ have conventionally been called ‘gerunds’. For some deverbal forms I chose the converb terminology, as this terminology expresses more clearly that these deverbal derivations contribute a verbal sub-predicate to the matrix clause.

² Rai (1985) reports the suffix *-kaba* as an active participle for Bantawa. This suffix was not recognized by my language teachers, and is also unknown in literary Bantawa as found in the monthly Bantawa language magazine *Bungwakha*, and may be specific to the Rabi dialect that Rai described.

- (2) ka-ta mukla
 APpref-come group
 ‘the coming group’
- (3) ka-tok mina
 APpref-see man
 ‘a seen man, a respected man’
- (4) sakon^hiŋ ka-pop-ʔa
 heart APpref-betray-ERG
 ‘by the traitor’
- (5) ka-tuk
 APpref-be.ill
 ‘ill person’

The participle suffixes are usually not dropped in participle forms that have a lexicalized meaning, but this is not a fixed rule. Sometimes the participle suffixes are dropped in this type of idiom as well.

When the plural ending *-ci* (AP) suffixes to an active participle, the ending *-pa* (APm), if present in the singular, can be dropped. However, even the retention of the participle suffix in plural forms varies lexically, resulting in alternative forms for plural active participles.

- (6) yin^khan ka-yiŋ-ci mi-ban-a-ki
 message APpref-say-AP 3pl-come.level-PT-SEQ...
 ‘after the messengers came...’

Full participles usually have a fixed meaning and therefore cannot be used in attributive or modifier position. These retain the gender suffix even in plural forms.

- (7) ka-sen-pa
 APpref-ask-AP m
 ‘interviewer’ (lit. ‘the asker’)
- (8) ka-d^huk-pa-ci
 APpref-hit-APm-PL
 ‘blacksmiths’

Reflexive active participles are formed regularly and have a predictable interpretation.

- (9) ka-sat-ma-n-ci-n
 APpref-pull-APf-REFL-DUP-REFLC
 ‘reptile’ (lit. ‘one that drags itself’)

2.2 Passive participle

Morphology

The passive participle is a deverbal nominal that denotes the thing done in the verbal action, or the object of the verbal action. The passive participle is formed by affixing the passive participle suffix *-yiŋ* (PP) to the infinitive of the verb. The infinitive denotes the verbal action itself as a nominal. The Bantawa independent word *yiŋ* means ‘word, thing’. The derivational history of the passive participle is quite transparent. The compound means the thing achieved by the verbal action.

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

Syntax

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

- (10) o-so-ʔo i-tup-ma-yiŋ
 this-PRN-GEN his/her-understand-INF-PP
 ‘its meaning’
- (11) lo-ma-yiŋ
 speak-INF-PP
 ‘the command’
- (12) yiŋ-ma-yiŋ
 say-INF-PP
 ‘the word’, Nepali: *kurā*, lit. the thing said
- (13) o-na i-niŋwa cin-ma-yiŋ-wa e
 this-TOP his/her-new teach-INF-PP-LIKE EMPHe
 mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø.
 be-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘Now, this is like a new teaching!’
- (14) ap-ma-yiŋ c^hoŋwa
 shoot-INF-PP bird
 ‘a shot-at bird’

2.3 Purposive participle

Morphology

In Bantawa, the purposive participle suffix *-k^ha*, affixed to the ante-consonantal verb stem, derives purposive or locative nominalizations of the verb. Purposive or locative nominalizations have to my knowledge not been reported for immediately neighbouring Kiranti languages, but the Thulung suffix *-khop*

‘functional suffix’ is an apparent cognate, considering the formal and functional correspondences.³

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

Syntax

The nominalizing suffix *-k^ha* (PNOM) derives an adnominal modifier from a verb, i.e. a deverbal adnominal. The derived noun denotes something that serves to achieve the action denoted by the verb. Nouns in *-k^ha* can be translated as ‘somewhere where the verb happens’, ‘in the event of the verb happening’ or ‘something to perform the verb’. These nominalizations share functions with the supine, but there are significant differences. Unlike the supine, deverbatives in *-k^ha* are nominal or adnominal and grammatically pattern with participles. Deverbatives in *-k^ha* have a wider meaning, denoting a location, purpose or instrument, and when they are further affixed with the locative *-da*, can come to mean ‘in the occasion, event of’. Examples include the following.

(15) Purposive nominalizer, modifier usage:

- a. *i-do-da* *pak-k^ha* *kəreli*
his/her-mouth-LOC place-PNOM bridle (*N*)
‘a bridle to place in the mouth’
- b. *cakawalawa-ci* *tiŋ-k^ha* *k^han-k^ha* *sawa*
spirit-PL drive-PNOM send-PNOM power
‘the power to drive out spirits’
- c. *sawa* *tom-k^ha* *len*
power support-PNOM day
‘the resting day’
- d. *mi-suw-a-da-Ø-?o-ci* *hiŋ-k^ha-lon-k^ha* *sawa*
3pl-die-PT-eff-PT-NOM -PL save-PNOM-take.out-PNOM power
‘the power to make the dead live again’
- e. *c^hek-k^ha* *k^him-da*
block-PNOM house-LOC
‘in jail’

The above are all examples of modifier usage. It is clear that the modified noun serves the purpose of the verb that is nominalized in an instrumental or locative function.

³ Allen (1975: 60), Lahaussis (2002: 129).

(16) Independent usage, locative reading:

- a. laŋ nem-k^{ha} maddiŋ-yaŋ.
leg stretch-PNOM NEG.be-PROG
'there was no room to stretch the legs'
- b. im-k^{ha}
sleep-PNOM
'bed'
- c. yuŋ-k^{ha}
sit-PNOM
'place to sit'
- d. maŋ mu-k^{ha}-da dowa t^hom-ma dot.
worship do-PNOM-LOC shaman dance-INF must-NPT
'While worshipping, the shaman must dance.'

In the examples of independent usage (16a-c), the locative reading is evident. The nominalized verb denotes the place of action. The locative semantics of *-k^{ha}* are most prominent and apparently relate to the homophonous locative nominal suffix. However, the verbal suffix *-k^{ha}* covers a more diffuse functional area that can be described as the nominalization of all non-grammatical roles, i.e. the roles of location, purpose, instrument and occasion.

The event reading of this nominalization seen in (16d) is repeated in the examples of (19) below. Strictly instrumental nominalizations with *-k^{ha}* are listed here.

(17) Independent usage with instrumental reading:

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

The nominalizations of this kind are generic and unspecific. For instance, a *cat-k^{ha}* (make eat-PNOM) 'utensil' may be any eating utensil, or anything at all.

2.4 Infinitives

The Bantawa infinitive is a verb nominalization that denotes the verbal action as such. The infinitive functions as the verb's citation form and occurs in a subordinated position.

Morphology

The infinitive is formed by adding the infinitive suffix *-ma* (INF) to the ante-consonantal verb stem. Further affixes found are:

- the negation prefix *man-* (NEGpfx)
- the reflexive morphology *-ncin* (REFL-DUP-REFLC)
- a non-singular marker *-ci* (DU), corresponding to the *object* of transitive infinitives only

<i>Marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
< Σ -ma>	(Σ -INF)	infinitive, 'to X'
<man- Σ -ma>	(NEGpfx- Σ -INF)	negated infinitive, 'to not X'
< Σ -mancin>	(Σ -INF-REFL-DUP- <i>copy</i>)	reflexive infinitive, 'to X oneself'
< Σ -maci>	(Σ -INF-DU)	plural infinitive, 'to X (pl)'

Syntax

Infinitives can enter into clausal relations, such as temporal or sequential relations, with other infinitives by suffixation of clausal morphology. For instance, it is valid to say 'to do this and then to do that' using the sequential morpheme *-ki* (SEQ) affixed to the sequentially first infinitive, as in example (18c).

(18) Infinitives

a. set-ma
kill-INF
'to kill'

b. man-set-da-ma
NEGpfx-kill-NEGPTS-INF
'to not kill, not to kill'

c. ləuri tom-ma-ki ma-ʔaŋ mo-du
stick support-INF-SEQ NEGpfx-be that-LOC.high
ruŋ-ma-n-ci-n-ʔo?
shake-INF-REFL-DUP-REFLC-NOM
'It should be shaken, supported on a stick, shouldn't it?'
lit. a stick to support and then, isn't it, on top of that, to shake ...?

- d. ai im-ma da-ma ta
 today sleep-INF eff-INF FOC (N)
 i-tokt-im-in-?o.
 NEGNP-get-12plsp-NEGN-NOM
 ‘Today we will not get to sleep.’
- e. mo-daŋka i-ki-ma kar-a-ŋ-a ni.
 that-ABL his/her-fear-INF feel-PT-PROG-PT NAR
 ‘Her fear of that came to grow...’

Infinitives are used:

- for citation, as in examples (18a–b),
- as nominalized verb forms, as in example (18e),
- as a complement to verbs that take infinitival complements such as *rima* ‘can’, *lamma* ‘seek’ or *tokma* ‘get’, as in example (18d),
- in deontic modal constructions expressing that something simply must be done (you must..., one must...), as in example (18c).

The plural marker *-ci* on the infinitive agrees with the understood patient of the verb only, never with the subject. The plural suffix *-ci* therefore never appears on intransitive infinitives. Once a plural marker appears on an infinitive, the infinitive is immediately understood as transitive. Compare the following sentences.

(19) infinitives with plural marking:

- a. maŋ mu-k^ha-da wa set-ma dot-Ø.
 worship do-PNOM-LOC chicken kill-INF must-NPT
 ‘While worshipping, a chicken must be killed.’
- b. maŋ mu-k^ha-da wa-ci set-ma-ci mi-dot.
 worship do-PNOM-LOC chicken-PL kill-INF-PL 3pl-must
 ‘While worshipping, chickens must be killed.’
- c. maŋ mu-k^ha-da dowa t^hom-ma dot.
 worship do-PNOM-LOC shaman dance-INF must-NPT
 ‘While worshipping, the shaman must dance.’
- d. maŋ mu-k^ha-da dowa-ci t^hom-ma-ci mi-dot.
 worship do-PNOM-LOC shaman-PL dance-INF-PL 3pl-must
 ‘while worshipping, the shamans must be made to dance’
 **‘while worshipping, the shamans must dance.’
- e. *maŋ mu-k^ha-da mi-na-ci ta-ma-ci mi-dot.
 worship do-PNOM-LOC man-PL come-INF-PL 3pl-must
 **‘While worshipping, people must come.’
- f. maŋ mu-k^ha-da mi-na-ci ta-ma dot-Ø.
 worship do-PNOM-LOC man-PL come-INF must-NPT
 ‘While worshipping, people must come.’

For the obligatory things to be done here, the infinitives that describe them must agree in number with the patients, e.g. examples (19a–b). If an infinitive is ambiguous with respect to transitivity, the presence of the plural marker forces the transitive reading, and then intransitive readings are not possible, as in example (19d).

Number marking on infinitives cannot agree with the subject of intransitive clauses (see examples 19e–f). The infinitive forms a nominal phrase together with its patient or subject arguments, of which the number again must agree with the verb of the matrix clause.

2.5 Supine

Morphology

The supine is formally marked by the supine suffix *-si* (SUP), affixed to the ante-consonantal verb stem.

<i>Marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<Σ-si>	(Σ-SUP)	Supine, ‘in order to X’

Syntax

The supine or purposive infinitives are used as complements to finite verbs of direction. Supine forms indicate the purpose of the movement or action described in the matrix verb. While supine clauses may have their own nominal patient arguments, their agent or subject always is one and the same as that of the matrix clause.

(20) Supine

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

Traditionally, the supine is considered akin to the infinitive because the relationship obtaining between supine and infinitive clauses and their host matrix verb is more intimate than the relationship obtaining between gerund or converb

clauses and their respective matrix verb host. In Bantawa, however, the supine does not syntactically differ from the simultaneous converb, apart from the restriction that the matrix verb of supine constructions must be a verb of movement or location.

2.6 Simultaneous converb

Morphology

The simultaneous converb is a non-finite verb form, affixed with the simultaneous suffix *-sa* (SIM), that indicates that the described action goes on at the very same time as the matrix verbs. The simultaneous suffix *-sa* selects the ante-consonantal stem of verbs.

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

Syntax and semantics

Ebert (1997b: 79) calls the Athpahariya cognate *-sa* of this marker a simultaneous converb, which describes it adequately.⁴ The simultaneous marker forms an embedded clause that serve as a subordinate modifier to the matrix verb. Similar to negative perfect converb clauses, simultaneous clauses are placed before the verb in the main clause. The subject or agent of the action may be mentioned first as argument to the simultaneous clause and be left out of the matrix clause, thus encapsulating the simultaneous clause in the main clause. The subject or agent of the simultaneous clause always coindexes with that of the main clause, i.e. not with the patient. Also, the object of the action described by the embedded clause cannot be referenced in the matrix clause in any way. In summary, as with the supine, the subject patterns with the agent. The simultaneous clause inherits the time reference from the main clause. For this reason, Bickel (2004: 147) labels the Belhare cognate of this marker **SS** ‘same subject/same tense’.

Because of the simultaneous nature of the marker, the progressive marker of the verb, which operates much like a compounding verb in finite clauses, is often inserted in simultaneous converb forms.

- (21) t^hom-yaŋ-sa k^har-a
 dance-PROG-SIM go-PT
 ‘He went, dancing.’
- (22) ciya duŋ-yaŋ-sa yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa
 tea (N) drink-PROG-SIM sit-1s-PROG-1s
 ‘I will be sitting, drinking tea...’

⁴ The alternative, traditional terminology for this deverbal form is ‘present gerund’. In the traditional label ‘present gerund’, ‘present’ conventionally means ‘simultaneous with the matrix clause event’.

Simultaneous verb forms seem to be synonymous with finite verb forms embedded with the alternative simultaneous marker *-hida* (SIMP). However, there are situations where the *-sa* converb is not possible, while the alternative formation with the phrasal simultaneous marker *-hida* is. The point is that any activity described by a simultaneous clause marked with *-sa* is supposed to continue as long as the matrix clause verb lasts. This contrasts with finite clauses marked by the simultaneous marker *-hida* (see Doornenbal 2008).

With verbs in the matrix clause that express a perfective, resultative event, such as ‘to fall down’, the sentence becomes downright ungrammatical if the embedded clause is a simple simultaneous converb, cf. (23) and (24).

(23) The difference between the phrasal simultaneous marker *-heda* ~ *-hida* and the simultaneous converb in *-sa*:

- a. t^hom-a-ŋ-a t^hom-a-ŋ-a-heda d^hams-a.
 dance-PT-PROG-PT dance-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP fall.down-PT
 ‘While he was dancing, he fell.’
- b. *t^hom-yaŋ-sa d^hams-a
 dance-PROG-SIMP fall.down-PT
 ?? ‘He fell while dancing.’

(24) While walking down:

- a. yiinpa d^ha-Ø-ŋ-a-hida leŋs-a-k^har-a.
 down descend-PT-PROG-PT-SIMP slip-PT-go-PT
 ‘He slipped while he was walking down.’
- b. *yiinpa d^ha-sa leŋs-a-k^har-a.
 down descend-SIM slip-PT-go-PT
 ?? ‘He slipped while he was walking down.’

Example (23a) is grammatical and means that at some point, the subject fell down, while he or she had been dancing continuously, as expressed by the repeated progressive verb form. Example (23b) is considered funny because what is said is that someone fell and still continued dancing, both continuously. The contrast between examples (24a) and (24b) is the same.⁵

While the progressive naturally fits well with the simultaneous, the progressive is not required and can actually render contrasting meanings.

⁵ Editor’s comment: An alternative approach could analyze a converb in *-sa* as encoding a non-presuppositional meaning; this accounts for the fact that the simultaneous converb falls under the scope of its matrix clause illocutionary mood. Conversely, a stem formed with *-heda* ~ *-hida* expresses a temporal presupposition as a separate state of affairs, thus rendering it impervious to matrix clause illocutionary mood. Under this analysis only the latter construction would be considered embedded.

staying’, but not the intended ‘while (he) kept writing’. To arrive at that reading, the verb must first be compounded, and then affixed: *c^hapyaksa* ‘while keeping on reading’. Example (27) provides a further illustration.

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

2.7 Negative perfect converb

Morphology

The negative perfect converb is a non-finite verb form that loosely translates as ‘not having done X’. The negative perfect converb is formed by prefixing the negative prefix to the infinitive of the verb and suffixing the negative perfect converb suffix *-maŋ* (NPC).

The negative perfect converb suffix can be analyzed as a compound of the infinitive suffix *-ma* and the emphasis marker *-ŋ* (EMPH). Even though the derivation of the form may be transparent, we will give the suffix a single gloss to avoid the idea that this is an emphasized negative infinitive.

<i>Marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>Function</i>
< man-Σ-maŋ >	(NEGpfx-Σ-NPC)	negative perfect converb

Syntax

The negative perfect converb can be the head of embedded clauses that function as subordinate modifiers to the matrix verb. Subordinate clauses are placed before the head verb of the main clause. The subject or agent of the action may be mentioned first as an argument to the embedded negative perfect converb, thus properly encapsulating the embedded clause in the main clause. The subject or agent of the embedded converb coindexes with that of the main clause, and not with the patient. The positive counterpart of the negative perfect converb is a fully finite form expanded with a sequential marker *-ki*, as shown below.

- (28) *yaŋ man-c^hon-maŋ bəs-da kon-ma*
 money NEGpfx-pay-NPC bus-LOC walk-INF
i-nu-nin.
 NEGNP-be.good-NEG
 ‘It’s not good to ride on the bus not having paid money.’

- (29) yaŋ c^hon-ma-ki bəs-da kon-ma dot-Ø.
 money pay-INF-SEQ bus-LOC walk-INF must-NPT
 ‘One must ride on the bus after paying money.’
- (30) kok man-ca-maŋ i-ri-niŋ.
 rice NEGpfx-eat-NPC NEGNP-can-NEG1s
 ‘I cannot do it, not having eaten.’
- (31) kok ca-ŋa-ki-na ri-ŋa.
 rice eat-1s-SEQ-TOP can-1s
 ‘I can do it after I eat.’

The positive and negative pairs in examples (28-29) and (30-31) demonstrate the function of the negative perfect converb construction. While there is functional and formal correspondence between the negative perfect converb and the infinitive, the infinitive needs additional morphology to signal the sequence of events in (29). Therefore, the negative perfect converb is a distinct morpheme.

3. NOMINALIZATION

3.1 *Verb nominalization*

In the previous section, we reviewed a number of non-finite verb forms. Non-finite forms only appear in a position subordinated to and embedded in a matrix clause or in an otherwise subordinated or modifier position. Apart from the specialized non-finite verb forms, Bantawa has a marker to nominalize finite verbs, i.e. verb forms fully marked for tense that can be the head of a sentence. With respect to nominalization with the general nominalizer it is therefore more correct to speak of nominalized clauses rather than verbs. This nominalization is morphologically marked by the very general nominalizer suffix *-ʔo* (NOM).

<i>Marker</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>function</i>
<-ʔo>	(NOM)	General nominalizer

This nominalizer has a very wide applicability, nominalizing adverbial, nominal⁶ and verbal phrases.

⁶ When the general nominalizer *-ʔo* nominalizes noun phrases, we refer to it by its classical name *genitive*.

(32) Nominalization across categories

- a. *k^hun-nuc^haŋa* *o-da* *iŋka* *nepala-da-ʔo*
 he/she-even.though this-LOC I Nepal-LOC-GEN
mec^hac^ha-ci-ʔo *watmasi* *k^hon-ki* *hum-ma*
 daughter-PL-GEN jewellery he/she-SEQ put.on-INF
tit-ʔo *dum* *lu-yaŋ-sa* *k^hat-ŋa-Ø-ŋa*.
 clothes-GEN thing tell-PROG-SIM go-1SNP-PROG-1SNP
 ‘However, here I will go talking of the ornaments and clothes that
 Nepal’s girls put on.’ [Gr]
- b. *nepala-da-ʔo* *t^hapsiŋ* *nepali* *mec^hac^ha-ci cəlok*
 Nepal-LOC-GEN ritual Nepalese daughter-PL many
k^him-da-ʔo *kaci* *mi-mu-Ø* *duwac^ha-ci*
 house-LOC-GEN work 3pl-do-NPT son-PL
bun^hk^ha-da-ʔo *kaci* *mu-ma* *dot-Ø*.
 outside-LOC-GEN work do-INF must-NPT
 ‘In Nepal’s tradition, Nepali girls often do the work in the house,
 the boys must do the outside work.’ [Gr]
- c. *duwac^ha-ci-nalo* *duwac^ha-ʔa* *mo-da* *mu-ma*
 son-PL-COND son-ERG that-LOC do-INF
dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo *kaci* *j^harak* *mu-ma* *dot-Ø*
 must-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM work all do-INF must-NPT
 ‘If there are sons, the son must do all the jobs that need to be done
 in that case.’ [Dt]

Functions of the nominalizer

All of these examples show the function of the nominalizer *-ʔo* as an operator that turns phrases of any type into adnominal modifiers. In example (32a), we see the nominalizer function as a genitive (*not* a possessive!). In example (32b) the nominalizer operates on locative adverbial expressions. In example (32c) the nominalizer turns the gapped phrase *mo-da mu-ma dot-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo* ‘that need to be done there’ into a modifier for the extracted noun *kaci* ‘the work’.

Nominalized phrases of any kind also appear as independent noun phrases. From the way that independent nominalized clauses translate we see that these are headless noun phrases. The examples show that while we call the suffix under scrutiny a nominalizer, its essential function is to turn phrases into adnominal modifiers⁷.

In the remainder of this chapter, we will review the various uses of the general nominalizer. In §3.3, we will highlight the complementizer function. In §3.4, we will discuss the function of *-ʔo* as a free-standing sentence nominalizer. First we will deal with a more modest function of the nominalizer, viz. the formation of the periphrastic perfect.

⁷ The nominalizer might well be called an adnominalizer. However, we stick to the term ‘nominalizer’, as it ties in with terminology used for other languages of the area.

3.2 Perfect and pluperfect

Perfect forms

Preterite, perfective forms are turned into perfect forms by means of an auxiliary. There are two perfects: a present and a past perfect, also known as pluperfect.

The present perfect describes a current state of events, viz. that the event described has occurred in the past and is now a fact. In that sense, a present perfect represents a state: a present perfect signals an action in the past that has relevance in the present. The past perfect or pluperfect describes a state that was true at a time of reference that lies in the past. This combination of tense and aspect is commonly used for backgrounding in narratives put in the past tense.

Both progressive and simple forms can be put in the perfect. This leads to the somewhat confusing combination of the progressive perfect (cf. Ebert 1997a: 27). The concept of a progressive perfect makes sense if we keep in mind that the perfect is used for backgrounding; of course, it is quite possible that an event that was progressive forms the background to some situation.

Morphology

In Bantawa, the perfect aspect is formed analytically by combining a main verb with an auxiliary. The perfect aspect is disjoint from tense: one can express perfect aspect for past and non-past events alike.

- (33) The perfect is formed by the following procedure:
- a. the clause has a finite verb form in the past tense.
 - b. this verb is nominalized with the general nominalizer *-ʔo*
 - c. either of these three
 - i. PF1 *t^hiyɔ*, a past tense form of Nepali ‘to be’ is added.
 - ii. PF2 a third person progressive form of the verb *yukma₃* is added.
 - iii. PF3 a progressive form of either of the intransitive verbs *yujma₃* or *yukma₃* is added, and fully inflected in agreement with the subject.

In summary, the perfect is formed analytically by nominalizing the verb and adding an auxiliary. There is considerable variation in the auxiliary. The auxiliary may be a loan from Nepali, a form inflected for third person singular, or a form agreeing with the subject or agent. For reference, it can be noted that this is one of the several instances where the subject and agent pattern with one another syntactically.

Tense: The tense of the auxiliary determines the tense of the whole construction. The nominalized verb in perfect forms cannot be in the present tense. Example (34) is not acceptable, as the main verb is a non-past form.

- (34) *k^hat-ŋa-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a
 go-1SNP-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
 ** 'I have gone'

In the first perfect formation only the past perfect is expressed. The first perfect formation does not have a non-past form, which would have been formed with the Nepali auxiliary *cha*. The absence of this non-past perfect formation is not surprising, as the pluperfect forms are the most common anyway, and there are other means of expressing present perfect.

Perfect forms with an uninflected auxiliary: I will not dwell on the perfect forms with the Nepali auxiliary *thiyo*, as these are similar to Bantawa forms formed with *yukma*, except that the auxiliary is replaced.

(35) PF2 Forms

- a. siw-a-da-Ø
 die-PT-eff-PT
 'he died'
- b. siw-a-da-Ø-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a
 die-PT-eff-PT-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
 'he had died'
- c. k^har-a-ŋ-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a
 go-PT-1s-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
 'I had gone'
- d. ott-u-ʔo yuŋ-Ø-yaŋ-Ø
 break-3P-NOM be-NPT-PROG-NPT
 'he has broken it'

The thing of note is that the auxiliary is obligatorily in the progressive aspect, which one might not expect in perfect forms. However, the progressive is required in those forms, which is not all strange: The perfect describes an event that has passed and is currently the situation.

In agreement with the nominalizing usage of the nominalizer suffix *-ʔo*, the event is seen as a property of some participant in the event or situation described. The perfect merely ascribes the event by means of the auxiliary to the subject or agent of the nominalized clause.

The fact that the auxiliary can only reference subject and agent participants in the nominalized clause reflects the discourse reference properties of the nominalized clause: only the last argument of the verb can be referenced. If we wish to say that someone had been killed, which requires a passive in English, this cannot be done using the perfect nominalization, e.g. with an alternative auxiliary, as in English. However, if the nominalized verb belongs to the middle class of verbs, where intransitive conjugation immediately renders the passive or rather intransitive reading, the passive reading follows necessarily. In order to

express in Bantawa that someone had been killed, the agent must be left out from the nominalized clause.

- (36) k^ho i-ser-a-ʔo t^hiyo
 he 3AM-kill-PT-NOM PERF.aux
 ‘he had been killed’ (lit. ‘they had killed him’)
- (37) iŋka-ʔa i-ser-a-ʔo k^ha-ŋ.
 I-ERG 3AM-kill-PT-NOM see-1s
 ‘I saw a man that was killed’ (‘I saw a man that they killed’)

Perfect forms can be formed from simple and progressive forms alike. Perfect forms based on progressive finite verbs are progressive perfectives, denoting a fact that had progressively occurred before the time of reference.

- (38) k^har-a-ŋ-y-a-ŋ-ʔo yuw-a-ŋ-a
 go-PT-1s-PROG-PT-1s-NOM be-PT-PROG-PT
 ‘I had been going’

Perfect forms with an inflected auxiliary: In the last or third perfect formation, the auxiliary agrees with the agent or subject of the nominalized clause.

- (39) Intransitive, present perfect
- a. k^har-a-ŋ-ʔo yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 go-PT-1s-NOM be-1s-PROG-1s
 ‘I have gone.’
- b. k^har-a-ci-ʔo yuŋ-ci-ŋ-ci.
 go-PT-DU-NOM be-DU-PROG-DU
 ‘They^{du} have gone.’
- (40) Intransitive, past perfect, pluperfect
- a. ti-k^har-a-ci-ʔo ti-yuw-a-ŋ-a-ci.
 2AS-go-PT-DU-NOM 2AS-be-PT-PROG-PT-DU
 ‘You^{du} had gone.’
- b. ti-k^har-a-nin-ʔo ti-yuŋ-in-y-in.
 2AS-go-PT-2p-NOM 2AS-be-2p-PROG-2p-DU
 ‘You^{pl} had gone.’
- (41) Transitive, present perfect
- a. ott-u-ŋ-pi-Ø-ŋ-ʔo yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 break-3P-1s-BEN-3P-1s-NOM be-1s-PROG-1s
 ‘I have broken his arm.’
- b. ot-na-ʔo yuŋ-ŋa-Ø-ŋa.
 break-2P-NOM be-1s-PROG-1s
 ‘I have broken yours.’

The different patient marking on the first verbs in examples (41a) and (41b), but the similar subject marking on the auxiliary in both, illustrates the agent participant agreement on the auxiliary for transitive perfect forms.

(42) Transitive, past perfect

- a. ot-na-ʔo yuŋ-aŋ-y-aŋ.
 break-2P-NOM be-1S-PROG-1S
 ‘I had broken yours.’

Perfect formed by verbal compounding

The other strategy for adding aspectual semantics to verbs is to compound them. Verbal compounding is discussed in detail in Doornenbal (2008). The compounding strategy is also available to explicitly mark perfect or completive aspect on verbs: For the non-past tense, compounding is the only strategy.

The verbs *yuŋma*₂ or *yukma*₁ ‘to be, to sit, to put’⁸ indicate a perfect aspect of the previous action when used in the second position of a serial verb construction. The verb compound has a distinctly completive semantics that could also be labelled ‘stative’. In isolation, the vector verbs of perfect compounds mean ‘to sit, to put’, but in combinations such as these, they denote that the action has now turned into a situation, a state of affairs that is stable.

- (43) i-c^huk ott-u-ŋ yuŋs-u-ŋ
 his/her-arm break-3P-1S put-3P-1S
 ‘I have broken his arm’ (lit. ‘I broke him, I put him’)

For example (43), the following Nepali translations were offered: बाँचिदिएको छु ‘I have broken it for him’, बाँचेको छु ‘I have broken it’, बाँचिराखेको छु ‘I have put it into broken state’, the last claimed to be the most exact. In Nepali, the verb *rākhnu* ‘to put’ is similarly used to indicate completion of the action and to emphasize the continuity of the resulting state. As this construction is a compound verb, all compound constructions are available, including infinitive formation.

(44) to finish breaking

- a. ot-ma yuk-ma
 break-INF put-INF
 ‘to finish breaking’
- b. otma yuŋma
 ‘to finish breaking, to complete breaking, to finish breaking’
 Nepali gloss: बाँचेर राखनु ‘to put after breaking’.

⁸ The verb *yuŋma*₂ derives from *yuŋma*₃ by a regular derivation process. The relationship between *yukma*₁ and *yukma*₃ is similar, as these two differ only in conjugation type. The difference in transitivity that is frequently associated with the difference in conjugation type is not relevant in this particular compounding context.

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

- (45) k^har-a-ŋ yuŋs-a-ŋ.
 go-PT-1s put-PT-1s
 ‘I have gone.’

3.3 The general nominalizer as subordinator and relativizer

The nominalizer *-ʔo* as used in the examples of (32) has a clear-cut nominalizing effect. When suffixed to a clause, the nominalizer forms a relative or complement clause that functions as an adjunct, for instance to a noun, or an argument of a verb.

The general subordinator or nominalizer *-ʔo* (NOM) is used in three ways in combining clauses.

- (46) the general nominalizer as a subordinator:
- a. forms an adnominal or nominal phrase, viz. a relative clause by relativization,
 - b. forms a sentential complement to *verba dicendi*,
 - c. subordinates a sentence by independent nominalization, i.e. ‘backgrounding’.

The general nominalizer as a relativizer: The nominalizer *-ʔo* serves as a regular noun relativizer, embedding a clause in a noun phrase as a modifier to the noun. For a sentence to serve as a relative clause, the nominal element that is modified must be extracted from the sentence. The structure of a relative construction is as below.

- (47) [... \emptyset_i ...]-NOM_{relative clause} N_{*i*}

Extraction: The coreferential index *i* signals that the noun N_{*i*} is understood as if this noun functioned in the empty position \emptyset_i in the relative clause. In example (48) for instance, the relative clause \emptyset *ram-lai kələm pi- \emptyset -ʔo* ‘that gave Rām a pen’ can be reconstructed as *mina ram-lai kələm pi- \emptyset -ʔo* ‘the man gave Rām a pen’. The modified noun in this type of relativization can be called an external head, if contrasted with a construction with an internal head, where the noun remains *in situ* while the construction is still interpreted as a noun phrase. An internal head construction is not possible in Bantawa.

Any type of grammatical constituent in the relative clause can become a head in a relativization construction. In the examples below we see agent (48), subject (49), patient (50) and indirect object, i.e. recipient (51) extraction.

- (48) mo ram-lai kələm pi- \emptyset -ʔo mina saŋ?
 that Rām-DAT pen (N) give-3P-NOM man who
 ‘Who is the man that gave the pen to Rām?’

- (49) *j^harak-da-ŋka c^hi-Ø-yaŋ-Ø-ʔo cakwa*
 all-LOC-ABL be.expensive-NPT-PROG-NPT-NOM water
 ‘The most expensive water’
- (50) *syam-ʔa Ram pi-Ø-ʔo kələm rato mu-Ø-yaŋ-Ø*
 Śyām-ERG Rām give-3P-NOM pen (N) red (N) be.pred-NPT-PROG-NPT
 ‘The pen that Śyām gave Rām is red.’
- (51) *mo syam-ʔa kələm pi-Ø-ʔo mina saŋ?*
 that Śyām-ERG pen (N) give-3P-NOM man who
 ‘Who is the man that Śyām gave the pen to?’

While there is no case marking to tell apart the indirect object and patient constituents between utterances (51) and (50), pragmatically these are distinguished by animacy. An animate object is more likely a recipient than a patient.

External head: Noun phrases that have relative clause adjuncts are headed by the modified noun. The modified noun is never contained inside the relative clause. The relative clause is a modifier to the noun.

Sentential adjuncts can also serve as the head of a noun phrase, in which case the phrase will be understood as ‘the one who...’, cf. (52).

- (52) *ni-jata-da k^har-a-ʔo maŋ-da i-k^hat-nin,*
 other-caste (N)-LOC go-PT-NOM godhead-LOC NEGNP-go-NEGN
ni-ʔo.
 NAR-NOM
 ‘Who joined another caste will not enter the realm of the forefathers.’

The general nominalizer marking sentential complement

Finally, the nominalizer *-ʔo* serves as a sentential complementizer. Verbs of perception or speech are subcategorized for both phrasal and nominal complements. Complement phrases must be marked with *-ʔo* (NOM), as in example (53).

- (53) *Mo-da-ʔo ikcit mina-ci-ʔa k^hotni mi-yiŋ-a-ʔo*
 that-LOC-GEN a.little man-PL-ERG that.way 3pl-say-PT-NOM
i-en-a-ki mi-yiŋ-a: “en-a-n-u-m ...”
 3AM-hear-PT-SEQ 3pl-say-PT hear-PT-2P-3P-12pA
 ‘Some of the people there heard him speak like that and said,
 “Listen...”’

The nominalizer is also suffixed to sentential complements to verbs of perception. For verbs of cognition or utterance it may also be used, but for these verbs, the direct speech subordinator *ni* (NAR) is the marker of choice.

- (54) *in*ka syam kələm *i-pi-a-ʔo* k^ha-Ø-ŋ.
 I Śyām pen (N) 3AM-give-PT-NOM see-PT-1s
 ‘I saw someone give Śyām a pen.’
- (55) *in*ka Śyam-ʔa kələm pi-Ø-ʔo k^ha-Ø-ŋ.
 I Śyām-ERG pen (N) give-3P-NOM see-PT-1s
 ‘I saw that Śyām gave a pen.’
- (56) *in*ka Śyam-ʔa kələm *pi-Ø-ʔo* mina k^ha-Ø-ŋ.
 I Śyām-ERG pen (N) give-3P-NOM man see-PT-1s
 ‘I saw the man that Śyām gave a pen to.’
- (57) ram-ʔa sarima-ʔa d^hir-u-ʔo bak^hra Śyam-ʔeda
 Rām-ERG disease-ERG find-3P-NOM goat (N) Śyām-COM1
*in-u-ʔo in*ka k^ha-Ø-ŋ.
 sell-3P-NOM I see-PT-1s
 ‘I saw Rām sell a sick goat to Śyām.’

Grammatically, incomplete sentences such as utterances (54) and (55) are ambiguous. In these sentences, one of the participants is not explicitly mentioned in the embedded clause. For that reason, these embedded sentences can also be interpreted as noun phrases with an empty head. For sentence (54), this means that technically the reading ‘I saw who gave Śyām a pen’ is possible. However, this structural ambiguity does not cause problems when the pragmatic context is understood. The possibility of inserting an explicit noun to avoid any ambiguity, as in example (56), precludes ambiguity in the less-marked constructions.

Stand-alone sentences marked with the nominalizer

The nominalizer could be considered a syntactic subordinator in those instances where the nominalized sentence

- is not an adnominal modifier, i.e. not followed by a modified noun, and
- ends the discourse or narrative or is followed by another full sentence without further morphology.

However, stand-alone nominalization is different from compound subordinators such as *-ʔo deŋda* ‘after’, as described in Doornenbal (2008), and different from other adnominal or complement usage of the nominalizer, as discussed previously.

Stand-alone nominalization marks background information and known facts, as discussed in §3.4.

- (58) kami-ma-sudda yuŋs-a-ŋ-ʔo, həi.
 blacksmith-mother-COM (N) sit-PT-1s-NOM hey.
 k^hwatni-c^haŋ-ʔo inka k^him-maŋ-da i-k^hat-ni-ŋ.
 that.way-ever-NOM I house-godhead-LOC NEGNP-go-NEGN-1s
 ‘I have stayed with a Kāmī woman, hey. Like that too, I cannot go into the realm of the house gods.’

In the midst of a discourse or narrative, this usage of independent nominalization can be construed as sentence conjunction. This analysis would be further corroborated by the fact that the nominalizer *-ʔo* is in paradigmatic opposition to other conjunctive operators, such as the sequentializer *-ki*, (see Doornenbal 2008). Co-occurrence with any other sentence conjunction is ruled out.

However, the understood relationship of a nominalized clause with a successive sentence is a result of the functions of stand-alone nominalization rather than the other way around.

3.4 Stand-alone nominalization

The nominalizer *-ʔo* also appears independently as a marker in free-standing sentences. This phenomenon is widespread throughout the region. Watters (this volume) cites a host of grammars and grammarians in an attempt to identify typological common denominators and pinpoint the functional core of this type of nominalization.⁹ Even if the function is uncertain, syntactically this type of nominalization is clearly delineated. Clauses can be nominalized even when they are not overtly subordinated. I will follow Watters in calling this phenomenon ‘free-standing’ nominalization.

Known facts: Free-standing nominalization marks known facts, i.e. knowledge that hearer and speaker share. In the following example from the Ganya narrative, this function is explicit in the form ‘you said to me...’. Using the nominalizer, the speaker intentionally implies: You know it, and there is no denying it.

- (59) lə ɪŋka k^hananin-ŋa nəu sɪŋe rāga
 OK I you^p-EMPH nine (N) horned (N) buffalo.bull (N)
 piw-a-nin-ne, ti-low-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ-ʔo, lə abi (N)
 give-PT-2p-OPT 2AS-say-PT-1s-2p-1sc-NOM OK now
 piw-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ mo-ko-sa-ʔa dor-u.
 give-PT-1s-2p-1s that-ref-PRN-ERG beg-3P
 ‘Well, let you give me a nine-horned buffalo bull, you said so, well,
 now give it, she asked.’ [Gn]

Backgrounding: The nominalizer also marks background information, which is perhaps akin to marking known facts.

The statements that move a storyline forward in a narrative are normally put in unmarked forms, while background information is marked by nominalized forms. The usage of nominalization is clearly illustrated in the recipe for ‘Hengmawa’. In this recipe, the things that people are expected to know, e.g. facts about the utensils, are put in the nominalized form.

⁹ Watters: ‘The nominalization of independent, non-subordinated clauses is a phenomenon that has been reported all across Tibeto-Burman, both within Himalayish and outside it.’

- (60) p^heri k^honki-na gagityaŋ-hut-da ik-tet
 again (N) and.then-TOP distillation.vessel-hole-LOC one-qual
 b^hi yuŋ-ma dot-Ø.
 earthen.vessel put-INF must-NPT
 ‘after that, inside the gagityang one must put an earthen vessel.’ [Hm]
- (61) i-do nikəi hamko mu-Ø-ʔo.
 his/her-mouth very (N) different be.pred-NPT-NOM
 ‘The mouth of that one is very different.’ [Hm]

As we see, the second clause is nominalized. This states a fact that is not part of the progressing story.

Factitive: Rutgers (1998) labels free-standing nominalized verbs ‘factitive.’ This label nicely sums up the ‘backgrounding’ and ‘known facts’ readings mentioned above, and I will use it to refer to these two functions.

Mirative: Nominalized clauses also serve as complements to miratives. The mirative functional category is a regional phenomenon. Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language, and many Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal have simple grammatical means to mark new information. The Nepali auxiliary *raecha* [ræc^hə] is borrowed as Bantawa *rəc^hə* and used as a mirative marker. The mirative takes nominalized sentential complements.

- (62) am-c^ha badd^he i-k^haru mett-u-ŋ-o-ʔo rəc^hə.
 your^s-child very his/her-mind apply-3P-PROG-3P-NOM MIR (N)
 ‘your son appears to be very clever’

Controversy and assertion: The nominalization marker has a quite different effect on the non-past forms. Indicative nominalized forms are either understood as assertive such that the speaker expects controversy, but is ready to stand up against it, or they turn the inherent future reading into a proper present tense reading: ‘this is going to happen right now.’

- (63) Effect of nominalization of non-past forms
- a. k^hat-ŋa
 go-1s
 ‘I will go’
 - b. k^hat-ŋa-ʔo
 go-1s-NOM
 ‘I go’ (or ‘certainly will go’, ‘am going right now’)

Questions: Finally, to conclude our survey of different uses for this nominalizer, we must note that questions or instructions are often marked with the nominalizer. This has also been observed for a multitude of languages of the area (Watters 2008: 22).

- (64) am-k^he ham-si *ti-k^har-a-ʔo?*
 your^s-lice swap-SUP 2AS-go-PT-NOM
 ‘Did you go to swap lice?’ (meaning: did you go to have sex?)

However, this is not so much a matter of politeness, as in Newar (Watters 2008: 22), but simply a matter of correct language. Inquiring questions that inform after a statement of fact and would translate as ‘is it the fact that...?’, are normally put in the nominalized form. Imperatives are not nominalized.

Imperfective

Van Driem (1987) offers the label ‘imperfective’ for the nominalized forms in Limbu as well as for the parallel forms in Dumi (1993b). The choice for this label is further clarified in Van Driem (1993a), where the author points out the similarities in function of the Limbu nominalizer on one hand and the Russian imperfective on the other. While the nominalizer of Limbu is formally different from the Bantawa nominalizer, in many respects the Limbu nominalizer functions similarly: the nominalizer affixes to finite verbs and appears in similar contexts.

The label ‘imperfective’ originates from the Slavic linguistic tradition and has a well defined meaning in that context. However, it seems more common now to use the aspectual term imperfective for verbal categories that express an inside, cursive aspect, as in contrast with perfective aspect of the verb. In contrast with imperfective categories, perfective categories denote that the verbal action is delimited, i.e. has a beginning or end. This notion approximates the definitions given by Payne (1997: 239), i.e. as describing a process ‘from the inside’, as an ongoing process. This functional area of verb aspect is covered in Bantawa by the progressive and continuative verb compound forms. The progressive in particular is so frequent that petrified forms are grammaticalizing to form a fixed paradigm.

To call the nominalizer an imperfective is infelicitous because all verbs, regardless of their aspect, both progressive and perfective, can be nominalized. Apparently, the categories of aspect and *Aktionsart*, viz. imperfective, progressive and perfective on one hand and factitive or nominalization on the other hand are functionally disjoint. Moreover, unlike the Russian imperfective, the nominalizer is not a verbal category but a cross-category suffix that primarily turns clauses of any type into nominals or nominal modifiers. For this reason, Bantawa nominalized forms are not described as imperfective.

An account for free-standing nominalization

Empty copula: Watters (2008: 22-26) attributes the assertive and contrastive interpretations of nominalized clauses to the fact that, under the surface, these nominalized clauses are the complement or predicate of an empty equative verb.

A sentence such as the following, that concludes a narrative, must then be translated as a cleft sentence. Sentence (65) would translate as ‘it is like that’, while example (66) would, more precisely and emphatically, be rendered as ‘The fact is, it was like that’.

- (65) k^hwatni lis-a.
like.that become-PT
'it is like that'
- (66) ...kina k^hwatni *lis-a-ʔo*.
...SEQ like.that become-PT-NOM
'... then, that is what it is like.'

Under this analysis, the statements in (65, 66) are structurally very different from backgrounding or factitive sentences. Sentence (65) gets the structure of an equative predicate, where the nominalized clause is the single argument of an empty monovalent copula. The nominalized clause in (66) is interpreted as embedded to an implied, monovalent equative verb.

- (67) [k^hwatni lis-a-ʔo [Ø]_{copula}
[like.that become-PT-NOM]_{NP} EQ
'The fact is, it was like that.'¹⁰

It is clear that Bantawa has an empty equative copula, so assuming a monovalent reading for this copula is not far-fetched:

- Zero verbs are well established in simple equations¹¹ and, more importantly,
- some other copula verbs of the 'to be' class are seen to form constructions with a nominalized clause complement, e.g. perfect constructions¹², but also, in the same vein, the mirative.

In summary, this account by Watters (this volume) explains the differences in interpretation between two types of stand-alone nominalizations by positing an empty copula for those sentences that have a contrastive or assertive reading.

Even if this analysis is hard to prove or falsify, since it involves an inaudible element, this way of describing this structure offers some insight into the semantic effect of nominalization.

Making an object of a sentence: The factive and backgrounding use of nominalized sentences are quite different from contrastive and assertive sentences. To understand the non-contrastive usage of nominalized sentences, we may keep in mind that these sentences, by virtue of nominalization, are technically no longer propositions but noun phrases.

A sentence, as a proposition, would normally be associated with the logical Boolean type, i.e. a sentence may have a truth value and can be evaluated as true or false. The effect of stand-alone nominalization on a sentence, is that the sentence is turned into an entity, an object. This sentential object can be an

¹⁰ This analysis is parallel to ex.(54) in Watters (2008).

¹¹ Cf. Doornenbal (2008: Ch. 4)

¹² As a footnote, we might well observe that in many or all Indo-European languages, perfect participles are adnominal. In many languages, the formation of perfect aspect is the process of turning the perfect participle into a predicate.

argument to a verb as a sentential complement or become one half of a predication, even with a zero copula, or a circumstance, a general fact providing background information to a story. The general nominalization in Bantawa has the semantic effect of changing sentences into noun phrases. This procedure spawns all these different possibilities for interpretation and manipulation.

ABBREVIATIONS

12pA	1 st or 2 nd person plural agent suffix	INF	Infinitive
12plSP	1 st or 2 nd person plural subject or patient suffix	LIKE	similarity particle
1s	1 st person singular suffix	LOC	locative
1sNP	1 st person singular non-past	MIR	mirative
2AS	2 nd person agent or subject prefix	(N)	Nepali origin
2p	2 nd person plural suffix	NAR	narrative
2P	2 nd person patient suffix	NEGn	negative suffix
3AM	third person agent (marked scenario)	NEGNP	negative prefix (Non-Past Tense only)
3P	3 rd person patient suffix	NEGpfx	negative prefix
3pl	3 rd person plural prefix	NEGPTS	negative suffix (Past Tense only)
ABL	ablative	NOM	general normalizer
AP	active participle	NP	noun phrase
APf	feminine active participle suffix	NPC	negative perfect converb
APm	male active participle suffix	NPT	non-past
Appref	active participle prefix	OPT	optative
BEN	benefactive	PERF	perfect
COM	comitative	PL	plural
COMl	locative comitative	PNOM	purposive nominalizer
COND	conditional	PP	past participle
DAT	dative	PRN	pronominal marker
DU	dual	PROG	progressive
DUP	dual patient	PT	past tense
eff	'to effect'	REF	referential suffix
EMPH	emphatic clitic	REFL	reflexive
EMPHE	emphatic particle	REFLc	reflexive suffix (copy)
EQ	Equative	SEQ	sequential
ERG	ergative case	SIM	simultaneous converb
FOC	focus particle	SIMP	simultaneous marker (phrasal)
GEN	Genitive	SUP	supine
		TOP	topicalizer

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