

Kiranti-Bayung Grammar, Texts and Lexicon

A report

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by

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Unit I

Research setting

1 Introduction

1.1 Geography and language

Kiranti-Bayung as one of the vanishing and minority languages of eastern Nepal is primarily spoken by about 900 adult and less young speakers mainly in some Kiranti villages of *Wallo Kirant* ‘Hither/Near Kirāt’ viz., Okhaldhunga and Solukhumbu (see Appendix II) districts. The term ‘Bayung’ [>Kiranti-Bayung; plus five other sub-group names: Rumda(li), Pai, Necha(li), Roke and Hangu cf. Lee (2005: 11 ff)] refers to ethnonym and glossonym as well whereas ‘Kiranti’ is a hypo-ethnonym of more than two dozens of distinct linguistic and several divergent cultural groups of indigenous people residing in the eastern part of the country from *Wallo, Majh* to *Pallo Kirant*. The number of Bayung population recorded is 2,765 (CBS 2001 see Appendix II Table 1) all over the country. Okhaldhunga among others is the only district of their core area, where the highest number of 1,957 populations is recorded in the recent census report. Overall, they occupy 0.01% facing identity and survival crisis in their ‘logosphere’ because of adverse and discriminative language policy atmosphere of the country.

During the short research period, I have discovered one major achievement among the speakers is literary or creative writings which is one of the key elements in supporting language maintenance procedure and for producing pedagogical materials in order to support multilingual inclusive education. It obviously helps for enriching its lexicon as well. I have incorporated lexemes from their creative writings also. Collection and comparison of their clanonyms or clan nomenclature based on their mother tongue is significant historically for their identity as mentioned in § 1.2 below.

1.2 Kiranti-Bayung clanonyms

The Bayungs are divided into five main groups, e.g. Rumda(li), Pai or Rinamsa(o)cha, Necha(li), Hangu(cha) and Roke(cha) speaking the same language. However, some regional or idiolectal variations can be observed. Their clanonym (*docha* or *patsa*) systems in their Mother Tongue are: Kharayulcha (also Kharailcha cf. Awoicha-Bantawa 2058: 39), Dilingpacha, Thamrocha, Gelarcha, Ralecha, Sechacha (cf. Vansittart 1896: 173), Hajupacha, Diburcha, Tolo(a)cha, Moblocha, Ripo(a)cha, Nambersacha (Vansittart's spelling Namersa), Rallacha, Radolcha, Luticha, Yumpacha, Yun(m)bucha, Kharadiburcha, Mupucha (cf. Khambu 2000 and Vansittart 1896 and 1909 also) and so on. These clanonym nomenclature have meaningful importance in their cultural or socio-anthropological practice and identity, e.g. clan-exogamy.

1.3 Ethno-historical milieu

A group of Kirānti ethno-indigenous people (presently divided in four different groups viz. Kōits (Sunuwar/Mukhia), Rai, Yakkha and Yakthung (Limbu)) of eastern Nepal contribute a unique multiplicity of linguistic and cultural diversity in the ethno-linguistic mosaic of Nepal. Accordingly, they add amazing folktales too as a part of Nepalese folk literature. So do the Kiranti-Bayung people also. They are the only ethno-indigenous community in the country amazingly diverse and divided in more than two dozens of unintelligible ethno-mother tongues¹ having their several other idiolects, regional and social dialects.

Traditionally, after the so-called “political unification” during the Gorkhali hegemony, the Kirānti ethno-indigenous people were confined to the main three Kirāt areas viz. *Wallo* ‘near’,

¹ See Appendix A for the genetic tree of these interrelated Kiranti languages in terms of their proximity.

Majh ‘Mid/Central’ and *Pallo* ‘far’ Kirat of eastern Nepal in the past two centuries. According to Dhungel (2006: 52-56), “...the Gorkhalis ultimately divided the Limbu Kirāntis into two groups, the *sampriti* and the *niti*: the former were those who had surrendered to Gorkhali power and cultural traditions, while the latter maintained their own traditions. The Gorkhali authorities naturally favoured the *sampritis*, killing the *niti* Limbus or forcing them to flee their lands. As a result, much of the *niti* population migrated towards Sikkim and Bhutan.”² After all, this bloody history of suppression and hegemonization in eastern Nepal helped develop rifts among the same linguistic and cultural group of Kirāntis. Whereas many more horrible anecdotes of history remains unearthed and obscure till this date from *Wallo* and *Majh* Kirat areas, where most of the Kirānti speakers other than Kirānti-Yakthung (auto-ethnonym of Limbu) are scattered in the present-day eastern hills from Janakpur to Mechi zones. Since then these suppressed linguistic groups as a glorious past as well as present of the ethno-linguistic history of Nepal remained marginalized for several decades and most of them are on the verge of extinction from the multi-linguistic, ethno-literary and ethno-genetic map of Nepal leaving no traces of ethno-linguistic identity and oral literary heritage.

However, those linguistic groups known as Kirānti (most of them are vanishing soon), are still spoken with lesser viability in those hilly areas of eastern Nepal. They are: Kirānti-Hayu, Kirānti-Kōits (Sunuwar/Mukhia, Surel), Kirānti-Ba'yung, Kirānti-Jerung, Kirānti-Wambule (RaDhu), Kirānti-Kulung, Kirānti-Thulung, Kirānti-Khaling, Kirānti-Dumi, Kirānti-Rodung (Camling), Kirānti-Sampang, Kirānti-Puma, Kirānti-Tilung, Kirānti-Koyu, Kirānti-Yamphu, Kirānti-Lohorong, Kirānti-Mewahang, Kirānti-Kirawa (Bantawa), Kirānti-Newahang, Kirānti-Chhintang, Kirānti-Dungma(li), Kirānti-Belhare, Kirānti-Athpare, Kirānti-Yakkha and Kirānti-Yakthung (Limbu includes four dialects e.g., Panthare, Phedappe, Tamarkhole and Chathare) (See Kirānti Languages' Genetic Tree in Figure A, also cf. Rapacha 2005). Most of these bilingual or polyglot mother tongue speakers have very common oral literature, history and ethnicity manifested in one male and two other female characters known as Hechhakuppa, Tawama and Khiyama (cf. Rapacha 2006: 13-15, Rapacha 2007: 33-37) respectively.

These three characters from historical linguistic point of view and other evidence such as ethno-clanonyms and linguistic-typological features from linguistic-paleontological perspective connect these Kirānti speakers each other reconstructing their assassinated glory in the pages of Nepal's 18th, 19th and 20th century history and folk literary history as well.

1.4 Ethno-literary and historical connections

1.4.1 Common themes in Kirānti oral traditions

The Kirānti constitute a subgroup of the Kōits (Sun(u)war/Mukhia), Rai, Yakkha and Limbu in Eastern Nepal. Subsumption under Kirānti, which is a loose geographical grouping rather than an ethnic classification according to Ebert (2000), is not always uncontroversial. Whereas all Kirānti of Majh Kirāt belong to the Rai, some small groups east of the Arun, e.g. the Athpare and Belhere, are also sometimes called Rai, which is a title given to them by the Shah invaders. They do not, however, exactly share the same Kirānti mythology. And in this study I have explored as many similar characters as possible for finding out their literary and ethno-historical connection in the contemporary identity movement of the Kirānti people. Their post-90 revival of identity has direct relationship with their oral traditions as well.

According to Ebert (2000) Kirānti oral traditions can be divided into four major themes such as- a) the myth of creation, b) the Khocilipa cycle, c) the migration of the ancestors, and d) the foundation of the local settlements (cf. Allen 1976, Gaenzle 1991). There are several versions of the same Hechhakuppa or Khachelipa tale or Kuktisala in Bayung and three similar

²See also Dhungel's (VS 2062: 60-62) similar article originally written in Nepali entitled 'Limbuka 'Sampriti' ra 'niti' samuha: Gorkha shasanko den' for a clearer picture of historical savagery of the past by conquerors.

versions of the Khocilipa cycle, which is the most popular of the Kirānti mythological tales (cf. also Hardman n.d.: 204). In the following, I provide a summary of the story liking different linguistic groups (cf. Figure A) to be compared several versions of the same Khachelipa tale.

Kirānti languages

MT. Everest

	Khaling	Chukwa	Mewahang	Yamphu
		Kulung Saam Lohorong		
	Kōits (Sunwar)	Thulung	Nachereng	
		SW		
Hayu	Kiranti-Bayung	Dumi	Koi Sangpang	Yakkha
			Lumba	
	UmbuleTilung	Rodung (NW)	Dungmali Muga(li)	Limbu
		Rodung (SE)	Bantawa	
	Jerung	Puma	Belhare	Athpare
			Chintang	Chulung
			(Ebert 2000: 3)	

Some parts of the mythological cycles are still recited- often in ritual language- at occasions like marriages, house building, or the shaman's leading the dead soul. However, this is no longer regularly the case, and most of the oral tradition is slowly falling into oblivion. It was not possible to get a full account from a single informant, but together the two versions from the north-western Kirānti-Rodung area are quite elaborate- also in comparison to what could be collected from other Kirānti groups.

The texts as I have collected and studied during the short period of this study here clearly reveal the those linguistic groups of people known as Kirānti have had their common glorious past in terms of language, culture, history and single identity. Until today, the historically changed nomenclature of the same character provide clues of their glorious past as shown in this study.

1.5 Kirānti-Bayung oral literary texts

As in many other Kiranti linguistic groups, the male character's nomenclature in Kirānti-Bayung's oral texts is Kaktisala and Dzauma-Khliuma (Mugamaya Rai 2055: 62-65) and the same name in its neighbourhood and sister language Kirānti-Kōits spoken in Okhaldhunga, Ramechhap and Dolakha districts (*Wallo Kirant*) is Solethocha (Uttam K Sunuwar p/c November 2006) or Khakchere and the female characters are Tebam and Khībam (Lal-Shyākarelu Rapacha forthcoming). Both of these linguistic groups are sister languages. Their closeness is a clear evidence for ethno-linguistic-historical connections amongst the Kiranti linguistic groups.

1.5.1 Characters' nomenclature

Like Kaktisala and Dzauma-Khliuma other characters' nomenclature in many Kiranti folktales or narratives (as in § 1.5.2 and § 1.5.3) from east Nepal shows that there is a strong link or connection amongst these multi-linguistic communities. While comparing and analyzing the characters' nomenclature in the texts collected has clearly shown linguo-cultural connections of the linguistic group under study.

1.5.2 Female characters

One of the most interesting and challenging facts in this research while collecting the texts is the names of the female characters how they get changed from one linguistic group or locality to the other. The same text with narrative differences with similar themes has differences in female character's name, e.g., Tawama, Tangwama, Tōwama, Tebam, Toma Khiyama, Khliyama, Khliumo, Kheyangna, Kheyongna, Khliyama, Khībam, Khewama, Khema, Kheu, Grom, Dzaumo, Dzauma, Khliuma, Lassu, Lhos, Meena, Ninamyang> Nanammang> Nalungma> Sumnima and Rinakha. There are, from the sound and lexeme changes perspective directions of change amongst these nomenclature.

1.5.3 Male characters

Like female characters, male characters' nomenclature varies widely as Koktisala, Khakchere, Solethocha, Khakchilupa, Khakchilik, Khachilippu > Khachuluppa, Khachilippa > Khachile, Khochilipa, Khokchilipa, Khakchalap, Khakchulukpa, Khakchulukpa, Khopsilikpa, Khokchilip, Khakchrikpa, Khakchhuruppa > Yechhakuppa, Khakchulukpa, Khokyulukpa, Khokchilipa > Kokchilip, Hechhakuwa, Hecchakuppa, Hechhākupā, Hechhakuppa, Hetchhakuppa Rachakule, and Rochakupa in those linguistic groups including Bayung called Kiranti of east Nepal.

1.6 Historical connections and direction of sound change

Those characters' nomenclature, their roles, contents and themes connect those linguistic groups one another historically through folktales or narratives.

1.6.1 Roles

Those male and female characters in some texts collected and compared here have their roles of brothers and sisters and in some other they are narrated as the ancestors of the speakers' family genesis in terms of human evolution and civilization.

1.6.2 Direction of change

When I closely observed and analyzed the direction of sound changes of the nomenclature of characters (as in § 1.5.2 and § 1.5.3) in those adapted tales in this study, it is found that the un-aspirate /k/ changes to aspirate /k^h/ and finally /k^h/ changes into velar-fricative /h/ sound in male characters with considerable vowel shifts and predominantly vowel shifts or nomenclature shifts in female characters' nomenclature. Female characters also have similarities in many respects in those linguistic groups.

1.7 Pan-Kirānti culture

The texts of Koktisala or Hechhakuppa links and connects the Kiranti people of more than two dozen linguistic communities of east Nepal from *Wallo* to *Pallo* Kirant in terms of their religious texts called Mudhum, cultural agents, characters and practice.

1.7.1 Tribal religious text

Their religious text called *Mundum~Mukdum~Mundhum* is mostly in oral forms and one of the sources of such *Mundum* lies in their folk narratives, e.g. Hechhakuppa as well as in incantations.

1.7.2 Tribal priest

The *Mundum* as an oral text is recited or practiced by their tribal priest called *Nāzso*, *nokso*, *nakso*, *nochung*, *nakchong*, *nagchong*, *nokcho* etc in multi Kirānti linguistic and cultural group of *Wallo*, *Majh* and *Pallo Kirant* areas eastern Nepal. They are the main socio-cultural agents who frequently play roles in their folktales also.

1.7.3 Tribal shaman

Along with *Nokso* 'priest', *Pōibo* ['shaman' related to *Bonbo* of Bonism] is also another soci-cultural agent to play an important role in the Kiranti people's oral traditions and practices of daily life.

1.7.4 Tribal festival

Nāzso and *Pōibo* in Kiranti oral traditions are directly linked to their cultural practice known as *Shyādar Shyil* or *sakela sili*, *sakewa*, *sakle*, *sakhewa sili*. The practice of this *sili* 'dance' emanates from the Hechhakuppa or Kaktisala tales of several localities collected for this study is the genesis of Kiranti culture in contemporary society and identity as well.

1.8 Linguistic-paleontological connections

From the linguistic-paleontological point of view, the Kiranti people's connections is found in their sub/clanonym morphemes which link them in pan-Kirānti linguistic features, e.g. *-cha* and *-hang-ng* or other variations of *-cha* include *-cho*, *-chha*, *-che*, *-chu*, *-chi*, *-chung*, *-ku*, *-su*, *-pu*. These forms are very close to each other in phonological, morphological, verbal lexemic, grammatical and syntactic similarities. Such forms, structures and characters frequently appear in their oral traditions elsewhere in *Mundum* or folktales.

1.9 Folk literary ancestors

Pan-Kirānti folk literary connections can easily observed in and amongst characters like Hechhakuppa, Tawama and Khyama in folk literary oral traditions and moreover non-literary folk narrative traditions as well link them in all the three Kiranti areas of east Nepal through historical characters like Khinchihang, Harkabung, Wakudung, Langlewa, Lilimhang, Suhacheppang etc. They are also common folk literary ancestors quite often mentioned in the Kiranti people's intangible folk literary heritage.

2 Literature

During the course of our short research period within three months from August-October 2007, we have discovered some representative works simply on four thematic areas e.g., descriptive, classificatory including comparative and sociolinguistic. Among them include: Hodgson (1857, 1858), Shafer (1966-74), Konow (in Grierson 1909), Michailovsky (1975a), Driem (1991b), Thokar (2005a and b), Thokar (2006a and b), Rapacha (2006). Their work is mainly introductory or descriptive such as collection of basic vocabulary and grammatical analysis including verbal paradigm. Amongst them Hodgson is the first such Tibeto-Burmanist, who has had introduced the Kiranti-Bayung language to a considerable detail. George van Driem (2004) evaluates Hodgson's work as exemplary in treating the intransitive, reflexive and transitive conjugations of the Kiranti-Bayung verb. This agreement system has ever been attested showing as many different inflected forms as Bayung and Hodgson's rigorous description renders the Bayung conjugational system readily analyzable within a modern morphological conceptual framework.

Some classificatory works are also available mainly by Shafer (1955), Glover (1974), Hanßon (1991), Bickel (1996: 22), Driem (1997, 2001, 2003 and 2004) and so forth.

Comparative including descriptive works on Kiranti-Bayung by Shafer (1953) prominently deals on reconstruction, Michailovsky (1988) deals on phonology, Kiranti-Bayung-Sunuwar "Chitra" (1994) deals on comparative study, Rapacha (2002c and 2006) on comparative study are worthy for corpus and historical study.

Sociolinguistic survey and analysis by Lee (2005a, 2005b, 2003), Lee, Rai, Rai and Boone (2005) and Yalungcha (2004: 32-33) are helpful for language recognition in its respective

vicinity and hopefully a language of inclusion for peace and nation building procedures. Those works form a major part of relevant literature available in this language till today.

There are some related works on specific research area of indigenous knowledge of language, literature, culture, socio-anthropology and on social exclusion and inclusion in terms of ethno-language/mother tongue education recently. Dr Maureen Lee, a Sinomeric sociolinguist is devoting much more towards producing the pedagogical materials like textbooks since the Curriculum Development Centre, Sanothimi has its limitations in producing such materials in minority languages like Kiranti-Bayung.

3 Objectives

The first and foremost objective of the project is to collect maximum number of lexicon from the native speakers' local inclusive of socio-cultural perspective and also from the existing previous works. More than two thousand words have been collected during the research period helpful for building its corpora. However, I have not included them all here. Secondly, it is urgent to record maximum texts on folklore viz. folktales, mythology, narratives and discussion texts in the language. I have for this purpose collected more than twenty-two texts. Thirdly, it is necessary to analyze the grammatical features of the collected and recorded texts for producing pedagogical materials and after all provide basis for theoretical linguistic science. Lastly, for language revival and revitalization, it is imperative to prepare a reference grammar of the language under research for producing pedagogical materials for children and adult learners as well and for further research maintaining the language in use.

4 Problems and issues

Having based on the survey of available literature elsewhere the language under investigation is facing a serious problem of endangerment and probably will disappear within a short span of time if not documented urgently in the pretext of linguistic atrocity at the language policy level in the country. Thus, while carrying out this research the following three main issues have been considered:

- a) What does the language possess in its overall grammatical structures for instance, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantic-pragmatics in a comparative perspective with its sister language Kiranti-Kõits?
- b) What is the range of its lexicon available?
- c) What is its potentiality or viability of texts, e.g., folktales, mythology, narratives, discussions etc ?

Address of these issues obviously contribute as background preparation for producing pedagogical materials for children. Furthermore, it is vital to supply a rich collection of lexicon from several genres including folk texts and cultural discourses to creative writers so that its written literature starts growing.

5 Data collection

We have mainly given preference for the collection of secondary data or library works first because of transportation unavailability due to the national festival(s) and political upheavals to our research destination in a remote villages of Okhaldhunga. During this period, we consulted and visited many libraries in the capital city and collected Xerox copies of available literature for analysis. Additionally, I frequently kept in touch with the native speakers of Kiranti-Bayung here in the capital city as our native consultants e.g. Sancha Bayung via telephone and internet. We attended their poetry consortium as well for closer observations of language vitality.

I myself set for my fieldwork and field visits during the month of December. I rectified the collected data and information during my fieldwork or visit and also translated the Kiranti-

Bayung people's mythology with my main consultant Popo Buddhi Hangucha of Gorumare Bhanjeng, Okhaldhunga district.

Translations of available folk narratives in mother tongue and lingua franca Nepali has also contributed a great deal of vocabulary in Kiranti-Bayung corpora linguistically, culturally and historically important. Data are also obtained through audio recordings of folktales, mythology, narratives and discussions etc.

Unit II

Kiranti-Bayung Grammar: Historical-comparative Sketch

2.1 Phonological Sketch

Kiranti-Bayung in its phonological system has the following consonant phonemes as shown in its minimal or contrastive pairs:

Table 1: Consonant Phonemes

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	v- p p ^h	t t ^h			k g	
	v+ b b ^h	d d ^h			g g ^h	
affricates	v-		c c ^h			
	v+		dz dz ^h			
fricatives	v-	s				
	v+				ɸ	
nasals	v+ m		n		ŋ	
lateral	v+		l			
trill	v+		r			
glide	v+ w			y(j)		
implosive	v+ ɓ					

There are twenty-six consonant phonemes in total and their minimal pairs are as shown below:

Bilabial Phonemes

/p/ vs /p^h/

pa:co	'to tie' (Kiranti-Kõits <i>paic-ca</i>)
p ^h a:co	'to change' (Kiranti-Kõits <i>p^haic-ca</i>)
pyarco	'to tear/split'
p ^h yarco	'to sew' (Kiranti-Kõits <i>p^herc-ca</i>)

/p/ vs /w/

caimi	'daughter-in-law' (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits)
caiwa	'son-in-law' (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits)

/p/ vs /m/

k ^h lyapco	'to rub'
k ^h lyamco	'to peel'
po	'father'
mo	'mother/worship'
epa	'father-in-law'
ema	'mother-in-law'
papa	'father-in-law'
mama	'mother-in-law'
hopo	'king'
homo	'queen'

/b/ vs /ɓ/

bar	'grow'
ɓar	'wound'

/b/ vs /b^h/

bla	'arrow'
b ^h la	'come to take'
busa	'snake'
b ^h usa	'tobacco'

Dental Phonemes

/t/ vs /t^h/

tap-co	'to play'
thap-co	'to weigh'

/d/ vs /d^h/

daco	'to say'
d ^h aco	'to set pot (for water)'

Alveolar-affricate Phonemes

/c/ vs /c^h/

cip-co	'to press something with something'
c ^h ip-co	'to suck something'

/dz/ vs /dz^h/

dzwa-co	'to make bright with light'
dz ^h wa-co	'to make sth/sb beautiful'

/s/ vs /dz/

sa-co	'to separate bark (self)'
dza-co	'to eat'

Velar Stops

/k/ vs /k^h/

ka	'be bitter'
k ^h a	'axe'

/g/ vs /g^h/

gu	'I'
g ^h u	'nine'

Fricatives

/s/ vs /fi/

sa-co	'to separate bark (self)'
fia-co	'to taste pungent'

Nasals

/m/ vs /n/

ma	'no, not'
na	'already'

/m/ vs /ŋ/

ma	'no, not'
ŋa	'fish'
mo	'worship'
ŋo	'five'

Laterals/Trills

/l/ vs /r/

la-co 'to go'
ra-co 'to come'

Vowels

The inventory of Kiranti-Bayung vowels is as follows:

Table 2: Vowel Phonemes

	front	central	back
high	i y		ɯ u
high mid	e ø		F o
low mid	ɛ		ʌ
low		a	

The contrastive or minimal pairs are given below:

/i/ vs /y/

pi 'come'
py 'utensil'

/u/ vs /ɯ/

gu 'I'
ɯ 'hand'

/o/ vs /F/

po 'pig'
pF 'father (derogatory)'

/e/ vs /ø/

ne 'Take it!'
nø 'nose'

/e/ vs /ɛ/

septa 'S/he sharpened it.'
septa 'S/he harvested it.'

/ʌ/ vs /a/

ʌke 'my'
ake 'his'

Observation on the Distribution of Phonemes

- The alveolar stop sounds are not available in Kiranti-Bayung whereas in Kiranti-Kõits they are phonemic though not very productive.
- The initial stops of the velar and bilabial series may be followed by /r/ or /l/ to form initial consonant clusters.
- The system of syllable- final consonants in Kiranti-Bayung is /p/, /t/, /k/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /r/, /l/, /s/, zero.
- There are eleven vowels, as shown in Table 2.
- Syllables may also begin with a vowel (zero consonant initail).

- (f) In word-initial position, /y/ -occurs only before non-front vowels, and/w/- only before /a/.
- (g) In this language, golttal stop /ʔ/ is allophone of the bilabial implosive voiced sound /b/. It occurs only in the intervocalic position whereas in Kiranti-Kõits it is phonemic in place of Bayung velaric /k/, e.g.
/laʔa/ → [loʔa] 'brother'

The velar nasal /ŋ/ occupies both syllable initial and final position, for instance,
ŋo → 'five'
kwaŋ → 'one'
The glottal fricative /h/ occurs only in the syllable initial position.

Syllable Structure

Kiranti-Bayung language has the following syllable structure-

C³.VC¹
or
(C)(C)(C)V(C)

Kiranti-Bayung, basically is a monosyllabic language. In a syllable, the nucleus position is always occupied by one or two vowels. The onset position may be occupied by three consonants, of which the second or third member of the cluster in syllable is one of the glides. In this language, the minimum syllable is found only in the syntactic structure. On the other hand, open-syllable, closed-syllable and syllable with onset and coda are found too. The examples are given below:

Bound Minimum-Syllable

ʌ 'my'
i 'your'
a 'his/her'

The bound minimum-syllable are used in syntactic structures as follows:

ʌ-k^him 'my house'
i-k^him 'your house'
a-k^him 'his/her house'

It is to be noted that ʌ-,i-,a- bear no meaning in isolation.

Open-Syllable

Some syllables have an onset (that is, they have more than just silence preceding the center of the syllable), e.g.

mo 'worship'
lo 'language'
gu 'I'
dzu 'cold'
mi 'fire'
ma 'not,no'
le 'four'
ja 'eight'
la 'mouth'
po 'pig'
ŋa 'fish'
ŋo 'five'

Closed-Syllable

Syllable may have no onset but have a coda, e.g.

am 's/he'

Some syllables have onset and coda

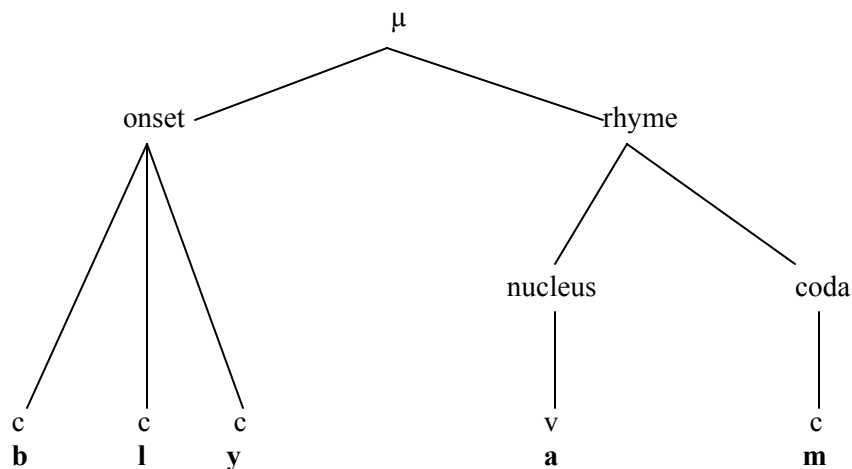
The syllables with onset and coda are given below:

luŋ	'stone'
cam	'hair'
lam	'way'
nam	'sun'
lyam	'tongue'
thym	'heart'
ɸar	'hurt/wound'
riŋ	'louse'
gyaŋ	'nail (of finger)'
niŋ	'name'

Some other examples of Kiranti-Bayung syllable structures are given below:

CV	mo	'worship'
VC	am	's/he'
CCV	k ^h li	'faeces'
CVC	cam	'hair (of head)'
CCVC	lyam	'way'
CCCVC	blyam	'palm (of hand)'

Formally, one can present the canonical structure of the syllable in the word 'blyam' in Kiranti-Bayung as follows:



This basic syllable structure exactly resembles to its sister language Kiranti-Koits (cf. Rapacha 2005) spoken in their respective linguistic community.

2.2 Morphological Sketch

Kiranti-Bayung's basic lexemes are monosyllabic. Particularly, the verb roots are monosyllabic. Moreover, the verbs are the basic words through which a considerable number of nouns and adjectives are derived. The examples of the simple words are given below.

Monosyllabic lexemes

gu	'I'	ŋa	'fish'
am	'he/she'	lo	'language'
lam	'way'	kwaŋ	'one'
nam	'sun'	se	'meat'
niŋ	'name'	luŋ	'stone'
po	'pig'	k ^h a	'axe'

Bisyllabic lexemes

rewa	'rain'	ŋaku	'river'
ŋari	'well'	kiki	'grandpa'
hopo	'king/boss'	tawa	'son'
tami	'daughter'	rica	'nephew'
mara	'what'	homo	'queen'

Trisyllabic lexemes

k ^h liculi	'porridge'	kyakyame	'black'
bubume	'white'	ŋelewa	'lap'
biyinti	'honeyhunter'	k ^h əmalci	'peach'
swaŋgara	'goat'	saβala	'forest'
santala	'leopard'	k ^h alamba	'influenza'

Multisyllabic lexemes

silodamlo	'blessing'
syuŋguruŋma	'caterpillar'
suŋguluŋma	'caterpillar'
βajoriŋma	'spider'
cwaŋkyalyaŋma	'wasp'
cwaŋkaliŋma	'wasp'
phyaphyariŋma	'butterfly'
tuŋkuluŋma	'cockroach'
tuŋkiliŋma	'cockroach'

Complex Words

Adjectives and nouns are derived from verbs by suffixing /βa/. These nouns refer to the action-related things and persons, e.g.

Verb Root/Lexeme	Verbs	Verbal Adjectives/Adjectives
MING	miŋ-co 'to ripen'	miŋ-βa 'ripe/mellow'
BRO:	bro:-co 'to be tasty'	bro-βa 'tasty'
DUK	dik-co 'to drink'	duk-βa 'intoxicated/drunk'
NGI	ŋi-co 'to be frightened'	ŋi-βa 'coward'

Verb Root	Action-Related noun/adjectives		
BYAR	'fly'	byarβa	'one that flies'
SWALS	'creep/crawl'	səsiβa	'one that creeps'
KOK	'sting'	kokβa	'one that stings'
KRA	'bite'	kraβa	'one that bites'
DZA	'eat'	dzaβa	'one that eats or eater'
PA	'do'	paβa	'one that does or doer'
DUK	'drink'	dukβa	'drunkard'

The suffix /ba/ is common attached to the verb root to denote the participle, e.g.

BO	bo:-co	'to bloom'	bo-ḃa	'bloomed'
SI	si-co	'to bear fruits'	siḃa	'born (fruits)'
CYUR	cyur-co	'to wrinkle'	cyur-ḃa	'wrinkled'
NGAL	ḡal-co	'to wither'	ḡal-ḃa	'withered'
NAM	nam-co	'to stink'	nam-ḃa	'stunk'
JIK	jik-co	'to break'	jik-ḃa	'broken'
BUK	buk-co	'to crack'	buk-ḃa	'cracked'
DU	du-co	'to be fit'	du-ḃa	'fitted'
SO	so-co	'to be dry'	so-ḃa	'dried'

Nominals

Noun Classes

Gender

As in Kiranti-Kõits and other Kiranti languages, grammatical gender in Kiranti-Bayung is not marked. The natural gender is distinguished by using different by adding suffixes or qualifying words. The Kiranti-Bayung language marks natural gender with kinship terms and with some animal names either by a separate lexical item distinguishing the gender of the particular noun or by lexical suppletion. /p/, /w/ and /k/ sounds change into /m/ and /p/ respectively to indicate feminine nouns. Instead, Suffix-nima is also used to indicate feminine nouns. On the other hand, for non-human nouns *apo* is used to indicate male *amo* for female, e.g.

Kinship Terms

po	'father'	mo	'mother'
epa	"	ema	"
papa	"	mama	"
apo	"	amo	"
hopo	'king'	homo	'queen'
kiki	'grandpa'	pipi	'granny'
tawa	'son'	tami	'daughter'
caiwa	'son-in-law'	caimi	'daughter-in-law'
dyalca	"	dyalmi	"
wali	'male-servant'	wali-nima	'female-servant'
wanca	'husband'	miḡ	'wife'
papa-jetha	'father's e.b.'	mama-jethi	'mum's elder brother'
pap-jetha	"	mam-jethi	"
papa-kancha	'uncle'	ma-kanchi	'auntie'
pap-kancha	'uncle'	mam-kanchi	'auntie'
helpo	'daughter-in-law's father'	helmo	'daughter-in-law's mother'
papa	'father-in-law's	mama	'mother-in-law'
epa	"	ema	"
rica	'nephew'	ica-nima	'niece'
caca	'grandson'	caca-nima	'grand-daughter'
wainsa	'husband'	minca	'wife'
tawa	'son'	tami	'daughter'
lica	'bowman'	limica	'female-bowman'
twɔrokpa	'man/human'	nam-nami	'woman'

Animal Names

apo biḡ	'bull'	amo biḡ	'cow'
apo cikḃa	'male bird'	amo cikḃa	'female bird'
apo mesu	'male buffalo'	amo mesu	'female buffalo'

apo k ^h lica	'male dog'	amo k ^h lica	'bitch'
apo po	'male pig/hog'	amo po	'female pig/hog'
apo swaŋgara	'he-goat'	amo swaŋgara	'she-goat'

Numerals

Kiranti-Bayung language possesses both cardinal and ordinal number system. There are few native words available for cardinal number and most of them resemble to Kiranti-Kõits (cf. Rapacha 2005). The examples of both are given below:

Cardinals

kwaŋ	'one'
niksi	'two'
sam	'three'
le	'four'
ŋo	'five'
rukba	'six'
canni	'seven'
ya	'eight'
g ^h u	'nine'
kwaddyum	'ten'
kwaddyum kwaŋ	'eleven'
kwaddyum niksi	'twelve'
kwaddyum sam	'thirteen'
kwaddyum le	'fourteen'
kwaddyum ŋo	'fifteen'
kwaddyum rukba	'sixteen'
kwaddyum canni	'seventeen'
kwaddyum ya	'eighteen'
kwaddyum ghu	'nineteen'
asim	'twenty'
kwaŋ asim kwaŋ ap ^h lo	'thirty'
niksi asim	'forty'
niksi asim ap ^h lo	'fifty'
sam asim	'sixty'
sam asim ap ^h lo	'seventy'
le asim	'eighty'
le asim ap ^h lo	'ninety'
ŋo asim	'hundred'
niksi ŋo asim	'two hundred'
sam ŋo asim	'three hundred'
le ŋo asim	'four hundred'
ŋo ŋo asim	'five hundred'
rukba ŋo asim	'six hundred'
canni ŋo asim	'seven hundred'
ya ŋo asim	'eight hundred'
ghu ŋo asim	'nine hundred'
ŋo ŋo aphlo	'one thousand'

(b) Ordinal Numbers

ŋal-lam	'first'
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no-t ^h am	'second'
no:-t ^h am	'third'

Number

There are three numbers (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits cf. Rapacha 2005)- singular, dual and plural. The suffix of the plural is *-dwa* and that of the dual *-dwa-si*. The duality of nouns and pronouns in Kiranti-Bayung is marked with the suffix *-si*. But, in first person and second person pronouns possess different types of marking system to indicate duality and plurality, as *-su* and *-si* for duality and *-ku*, *-ki* and *-yi* and *-ni* for plurality respectively. This is shown in detail in the chapter Verb Morphology. Most of the uncountable nouns in Kiranti-Bayung do not have dual and plural marking system. The examples of these are presented below.

Singular		Plural
ta	'child'	ta-dwa
p ^h uŋ	'flower'	phuŋ-dwa
ŋa	'fish'	ŋa-dwa
hopo	'king'	hopo-dwa
warca	'friend'	warca-dwa
busa	'snake'	busa-dwa
dhyaksi	'tree'	dhyaksi-dwa
swaŋgara	'goat'	swaŋgara-dwa
luŋ	'stone'	luŋ-dwa
k ^h lica	'dog'	khlica-dwa
tawa	'son'	tawa-dwa
gupsa	'tiger'	gupsa-dwa
wam	'bear'	wam-dwa
rebe	'potato'	rebe-dwa
sabala	'forest'	sabala-dwa

Singular		Plural	Dual
ta	'child'	ta-dwa	ta-dwa-si
hopo	'king'	hopo-dwa	hopo-dwa-si
busa	'snake'	busa-dwa	busa-dwa-si
tawa	'son'	tawa-dwa	tawa-dwa-si
gupsa	'tiger'	gupsa-dwa	gupsa-dwa-si

Kiranti-Bayung has only few uncountable nouns which can have plural form, but most of the uncountable nouns can have no plural form. The examples of these are given below.

Singular		Plural
cam	'hair (of head)'	cam-dwa
wa	'cloth'	wa-dwa
bura	'paddy'	bura-dwa
k ^h opiluŋ	'money'	k ^h opiluŋ-dwa
suŋ	'fur or hair of arm/leg'	suŋ-dwa

But, uncountable plural forms are odd or unacceptable, e.g.

Singular		Plural
yuksi	'salt'	*yuksi-dwa
gyawa	'oil'	*gyawa-dwa
dzu	'wind, air'	*dzu-dwa
mi	'fire'	*mi-dwa
seri	'rice'	*seti-dwa

husi	'blood'	*husi-dwa
kuksel	'cloud'	*kuksel-dwa
ḃəku	'water'	*ḃəku-dwa

Pronouns

Pronouns are in most respects inflected like nouns. The pronouns of the first person have double set of the dual and the plural, one including and the other excluding the person or person addressed. The dual suffix marker is *-si*; the plural suffix marker is *-dwa*; the genitive suffix marker is *-ke*; and the accusative suffix marker in Kiranti-Bayung is zero, but instead, *-lai* (native vocabulary used in Kiranti-Kōits is *-kəli*) is used. In the second person pronoun, *-ni* is a suffix used for honorific as well as plural marker, and it gives two meanings- honorific and non-honorific. The third person distinguishes for proximal, near distal and far distal as in the simple pronominal form. There is no gender distinction in the third person pronoun. The ergative suffix marker is *-mi*.

First Person

Singular	Dual	Plural
gu	gu-su (exc) gə-si (inc)	gu-ku (exc) gə-yi (inc)

Second Person

Singular	Dual	Plural
g Λ g Λ -ni (honorific)	g Λ -si	g Λ -ni/gə-ni-dwa g Λ -ni/g Λ -ni-dwa (hono)

Third Person

Singular	Dual	Plural
yam (proximal)	yam-dwa-si	yam-dwa
am (all genders) (s/he)	am-dwa-si	am-dwa
myam (far distal)	myam-dwa-si	myam-dwa

Conjunct and Disjunct Possessive Pronouns

Kiranti-Bayung's possessive pronouns possess conjunct and disjunct forms. They are presented below.

First Person

Singular	Conjunct:	Λ	'my'
	Disjunct:	Λ -ke	'mine'
Dual	conjunct:	i-si (inc) Λ -si (exc)	
	Disjunct:	i-si-ke (inc) Λ -si-ke (exc)	
(c) Plural	Conjunct:	i-ke (inc) Λ -ke (exc)	
	Disjunct:	ik-ke (inc) Λ k-ke (exc)	

Second Person

Singular	
Conjunct:	i 'your'
Disjunct:	i-ke 'yours'
	i-ni-ke (hono) 'yours'
Dual	
Conjunct:	i-si
Disjunct:	i-si-ke
	i-ni-si-ke (hono)
Plural	
Conjunct:	i-si
Disjunct:	i-ni-ke
Third Person	
Singular	
Conjunct:	yam-ke 'its (proximal)'
	a 'his/her'
Disjunct:	yam-ke-meke 'its'
	a-ke 'his/hers'
	myam-ke-meke 'far distal'
Dual	
Conjunct:	yam-dwa-si-ke
	a-si
	myam-dwa-si-ke
Disjunct:	yam-dwa-si-ke
	a-si-ke
	myam-dwa-si-ke
Plural	
Conjunct:	yam-dwa-ke
	a-ni-ke
	myam-dwa-ke
Disjunct:	yam-dwa-ke
	a-ni-ke
	myam-dwa-ke

Demonstrative Pronoun

Demonstrative pronouns in Kiranti-Bayung as in Kiranti-Kõits (cf. Rapacha 2005) have three way distinctions as follows:

yam	'this'	(proximal)
am	's/he'	(near distal)
myam	'that'	(far distal)

These three forms may be followed by ergative, instrument, locative, ablative cases and other adverbial markers.

Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns in Kiranti-Bayung are given below.

sy/su	'who'
gyem/gyam	'which'
mara	'what'
gokso	'why'
gyala	'where'
gyana	'when'

geso 'how much/many'

Most of these interrogative pronouns resemble to Kiranti-Kõits (cf. Rapacha 2005).

Reflexive Pronouns

In Kiranti-Bayung, the reflexive pronoun suffix marker is - ʌdʌbʌŋ/ - dʌbʌŋ, e.g.

First Person

Singular

gu gu-ʌdʌbʌŋ

Dual

gu-su (exc) ə-si-dʌbʌŋ
gə-si (inc) i-si-dʌbʌŋ

Plural

gu-ku (exc) ʌ-ke-dʌbʌŋ
gu-ki (exc) ʌ-ke-dʌbʌŋ
gʌ-yi (inc) ik-ke-dʌbʌŋ

Second Person

Singular

gʌ i-dʌbʌŋ

Dual

gʌ-si i-si-dʌbʌŋ

Plural

gʌni (hono/n-hono) i-ni-dʌbʌŋ

Third Person

Singular

yam (proximal) a-dʌbʌŋ
am (near distal) a-dʌbʌŋ
myam (far distal) a-dʌbʌŋ

Dual

yam-dwa-si a-si-dʌbʌŋ
am-dwa-si a-si-dʌbʌŋ
myam-dwa-si a-si-dʌbʌŋ

Plural

yam-dwa a-ni-dʌbʌŋ
am-dwa a-ni-dʌbʌŋ
myam-dwa a-ni-dʌbʌŋ

It is to be noted that the reflexive pronominal suffix -ʌdʌbʌŋ/-dʌbʌŋ can be directly added in the nominative pronoun, e.g.

gu-dʌbʌŋ 'myself'
am-dʌbʌŋ 'him/herself'

Case Marking

The following are the cases and corresponding case markers found in Kiranti-Bayung. Markers from its sister language Kiranti-Koits has also been given on the right handside in small brackets.

Table: 3 Case Markers in Kiranti-Bayung
Case Marker

Case	Case Marker
Ergative/Instrumental	- <i>mi</i> , - <i>cam(i)</i> (Kiranti-Kõits - <i>mi</i>)
Dative	- <i>lai</i> (Kiranti-Kõits - <i>kəli</i>)
Genitive	- <i>ke</i> , - <i>dim</i> (Kiranti-Kõits - <i>ke</i> , - <i>a</i>)
Locative	- <i>di</i> , - <i>gware</i> , - <i>ag^hola</i> (Kiranti-Kõits - <i>mi</i> , - <i>di</i>)
Commutative	- <i>nuŋ</i> (Kiranti-Kõits - <i>nu</i>)
Ablative	- <i>laŋ</i> , - <i>diŋ</i> (Kiranti-Kõits - <i>la</i>)
Allative	- <i>la</i> (Kiranti-Kõits - <i>la</i>)

Ergative or instrumental

The ergative case marker in Kiranti-Bayung is -*mi*/, -*cam(i)*. The ergative suffix marker -*mi* is common to all the nominals, but -*cam(i)* is used only with third person singular pronouns, e.g.

- a. Bengene-*mi* dzaco dzap-*ta*
Bengene-ERG rice eat-PT3s
"Bengene ate rice."
- b. Phene-*mi* dzaco dza-*wa*
Phene-ERG rice eat-NPT3s
- c. am-*cam(i)* ɓaku tu-*ta*
he-ERG water drink-PT3s
"He drank water."
- d. *Tsentse-*cam* ɓaku tu-*ta* (unacceptable)
Tsentse-ERG water drink-PT3s
"Tsentse drank water."

The case marker -*mi*, marks instrumental case in Kiranti-Bayung. A common oblique case is the instrumental, which as its name implies, marks a noun phrase denoting some entity which is used to perform the action indicated by the verb (Katamba, 1993: 241), e.g.

- e. gu-*mi* betho-*mi* se cwar-*teŋ*
I-ERG big knife-INS meat cut-PT1s
"I cut meat with a big knife."
- f. am-*mi* cəkku-*mi* bryapco cwar-*ta*
he-ERG knife-INS finger cut-PT3s
"He cut finger with knife."

Dative

The dative case marker in Kiranti-Bayung is -*lai*. It is probably borrowed from Nepali.

- a. am-*mi* gu-ku-*lai* wabara yok-*ta*
he-ERG I-*lp* exc-DAT mango share-PT3s
"He shared mango to us."
- b. gu-*mi* am-*lai* wabara gi-*taŋ*
I-ERG he-DAT mango give-PT1s
"I gave him a mango."

Genitive

The genitive case in Kiranti-Bayung is *-ke/-dim*. The genitive case marker *-ke* is commonly used with animate and inanimate nouns, but *-dim* is not used with human beings, and it denotes a slight different context from *-ke*, e.g.

- a. wainsa-ke k^him
man-GEN house
"Man's house"
- b. am-ke k^him (Kiranti-Kõits k^hĩ)
he-GEN house
"His house"
- c. warca-ke salama
friend-GEN bag
"Friend's bag"
- d. birma-ke mici (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits)
cat-GEN eye
"Cat's eye"
- e. ravi-ke sikə
Ravi-GEN book
"Ravi's book"
- f. ru-ke hopo
land-GEN owner
"Owner of the land"
- g. amo biŋ-ke meri
cow-GEN tail
"Cow's tail"
- h. birma-ke gyaŋ
cat-GEN claw
"Cat's claw"
- i. cikba-ke p^hlyam
bird-GEN wing
"Bird's wing"
- j. cikba-ke suŋ
bird-GEN feather, leg/arm hair
"Bird's feather"
- k. ru-dim hopo
land-GEN owner
"Owner (probably one) of the land"
- l. kokte-ke suŋ
skn-GEN hair, leg/arm hair
"Skin hair (hair may be somewhere out of the skin or in response)"

- m. kokte-dim suŋ
 skin-GEN hair
 "Skin hair (hair grown on arm/leg)"
- n. k^him-ke c^hana
 house-GEN roof
 "Roof of the house (not actually on the top of the house, possessive)"
- o. k^him-dim c^hana
 house-GEN roof
 "Roof of the house (actual roof of the house on the top)"

Locative

The locative case is marked by the postposition *-di/-gware/-ag^hola*. It marks the inanimate spatial location and goals, e.g.

- a. Koktisala k^him-di bwa/bΛ
 Koktisala house-LOC be.NPT
 "Koktisala is in the house."
- b. sikΛ salama-di bΛ
 Book bag-LOC be.NPT
 "Book is on/in the bag."
- c. gu-mi sikΛ salama-gware pik-tΛŋ
 I-ERG book bag-LOC put-PT1s
 "I put the book into the bag."
- d. botΛl-ag^hola
 bottle-LOC
 "Into the bottle"
- e. k^him-gware la-wø
 house-LOC go-IMP
 "Go into the house."

Comitative

The comitative case is marked by *-nuŋ*, e.g.

- 5.a. am-nuŋ la-wø
 he-COM go-IMP
 "(You) Go with him."
- b. am gu-nuŋ la-ta
 he I-COM go-PT.3s
 "He went with me."

Ablative

There are two ablative case markers in Kiranti-Bayung: *-laŋ* and *-diŋ*. The ablative suffix *-laŋ* is mostly used to indicate of 'coming from' and *-diŋ* for 'going from', e.g.

- 6.a. Dzaumo America-laŋ eke ra-ta
 Dzaumo America-ABL here come-PT3s
 "Dzaumo came here from America."

- b. am Hetauda-laŋ Kathmandu pi-ta
 he Hetauda-ABL Kathmandu come-PT.3s
 "He came to Kathmandu from Hetauda."
- c. am khim-laŋ la-ta
 he hoise-ABL come-PT.3s
 "He came from house."
- d. am Kathmandu-diŋ atola la-ta
 he Kathmandu-ABL out go-PT.3s
 "He went out from Kathmandu."
- e. **Khliumo eke-diŋ meke la-ŋa**
 Khliumo here-ABL there go-PT3s
 " Khliumo went there from here."
- f. Tawama eke-diŋ Japan la-ta
 Tawama here-ABL Japan go-PT3S
 "Tawama went to Japan from here."

Alltative

The allative case marker in Kiranti-Bayung is *-la*. It expresses the meaning of motion 'to' or 'towards' a place, e.g.

- a. gu sabala-la la-ti
 I/s forest-ALL go-PT3s
 " I went to/towards forest."
- b. am k^him-la ra-ŋa
 he house-ALL come-PT3s
 "He come to/towards house."

Adjectives

The majority of adjectival and verbal roots are common. They are separated by only the adjectivizing suffix *-ba* or the infinitive marker *-co*. So most of the adjectives are derived from verb roots. Some examples are presented below.

Root/Lexeme	Verbs	Verbal Adjectives/Adjectives
miŋ	miŋ-co 'to ripen'	miŋ-ba 'ripe/mellow'
bro:	bro:-co 'to be tasty'	bro-ba 'tasty'
so	so-co 'to dry'	so-ba 'dried'
duk	duk-co 'to drink'	duk-ba 'intoxicated/drunk'
ŋi	ŋi-co 'to be frightened'	ŋi-ba 'coward'

The suffix *-ba* is common to denote verbal participle.

dzik	dzik-co 'to break'	dzik-ba 'broken'
buk	buk-co 'to crack'	buk-ba 'cracked'
du	du-co 'to be fit'	du-ba 'fitted'
cyur	cyur-co 'to wrinkle'	cyur-ba 'wrinkled'
ŋal	ŋal-co 'to wither'	ŋal-ba 'withered'

nam	nam-co 'to stink'	nam-ŋa 'stunk'
no	bo:-co 'to bloom'	bo-ḥa 'bloomed'
si	si-co 'to bear fruits'	si-ḥa 'borne' (esp fruits)

The other most common suffixes applied to form adjectives are *-wa*, *-ca*, *-me(m)*, *-na*, *-ke*, e.g.

ŋa-wa	'old'
ŋa:-ca	'big'
gi-ca	'alone'
ã-ca	'small'
lico-me	'saleable'
kico-m	'cookable'
dzaco-m	'eatable'
p ^h e:-ma	'served (rice)'
tu:-na	'drunk'
bim-na	'sucked'
k ^h ri:-na	'ground'
cyar-na	'cut'
gi-na	'given'
bla-ma	'taken'
slyal-na	'cleaned'
kram-na	'husked'
ram-ke	'bodily'
siŋ-ke	'wooden'
gigim	'green'
lalam	'red'
bubum	'white'
kyakyam	'black'
gegem	'blue'
əm-əḿ/ə-əḿ	'yellow'

Some canonical (not derived) adjectives are as follows:

ŋa-wa	'old'
ŋa:-ca	'big'
gi-ca	'alone'
ã-ca	'small'
pit ^h a	'straight'
a-pit ^h a	'straight (emphatic)'
ninta	'new'
a-ninta	'new (emphatic)'
maisam	'old'
ŋolo	'big'
a-ŋolo	'big (emphatic)'

Adverbs

Adverb is a 'catch-all' category. Any word with semantic content (i.e. other than grammatical particles) that is not clearly a noun. A verb or an adjective is often put in to the class of adverb. Semantically, forms that have been called adverbs cover an extremely wide range of concepts (Thomas 1997: 69).

Temporal Adverbs

Some temporal adverbs found in Kiranti-Bayung are as follows:

dilla	'tomorrow'
sanamti/sāti	'yesterday'
not ^h a	'after'
ŋalla/ŋallam	'before'
myak ^h ana	'meantime/meanwhile'
metiŋ-bela	'at that time'

Locational/ Directional Adverbs

Some Locational/ Directional Adverbs found in Kiranti-Bayung are as follows.

ek (proximal)	'here' (Kiranti-Kõits <i>ε̃k</i>)
meke/myamenŋ (distal)	'there' (Kiranti-Kõits <i>mekε</i>)
ge:t ^h a/hutu	'above' (Kiranti-Kõits <i>geɫ^h</i>)
a-ge:t ^h a (emphasis)	'above'
həyu, huyu	'below/under' (Kiranti-Kõits <i>həyu, huyu</i>)
lukcu	'below/under' (Kiranti-Kõits <i>luɾtsu</i>)
a-d ^h uyu/a-d ^h oi	'below(in land level)
not ^h a-la	'backside/towards back'
aŋalla-la	'in front of'
jyame-la/həppe-la	'in this side'
okar-la/ok ^h ar-la	'in this side'
hambare	'in far side'

Manner Adverbs

Some manner adverbs found in Kiranti-Bayung are as follows:

d ^h Λ	'fast'
gokso-k ^h edai	'anyway/anyhow'
mokso-mam	'in that way'
yam-cam-ko	'so'
yam-cam-ko-diŋ	'hence'
ma-k ^h eda	'otherwise'
gokso-mam	'how'
ap ^h ana-ap ^h ana	'seldom'
amarkana	'suddenly'
sΛjilΛŋ	'easily'
ŋa	'only'

Adverb of Frequency

Frequency of adverb Kiranti-Bayung is indicated through *-pala*. The example are given

below.	
kwa-pala	'once'
nip-pala	'twice'
sap-pala	'thrice'
lep-pala	'four times'
no-pala	'five times'
ru-pala	'six times'
ca-pala	'seven times'
ya-pala	'eight times'
g ^h u-pala	'nine times'
kwaddyum-pala	'ten times'

Verb

Copula

Kiranti-Bayung as a sister language of Kiranti-Kõits (cf. Rapacha 2005) possesses only 'existential copula' verb. The identificational copula verbs is not available in this language, whereas Kiranti-Koits has one morpheme in question as *mε* and declarative sentences can occur as in Kiranti-Bayung.

Zero Identificational Copula

Identificational coupla in Kiranti-Bayung is not available, it is unmarked or covert, e.g.

(a) λ ke niŋ Khakcere
my name Khakcere
"My name is Khakcere"

(b) jam λ ke k^him
this my house
"This is my house"

(c) Khincihang ake tawa
Khincihang his son
" Khincihang is his son."

(d) i-ni-ke niŋ mara
you-hono-GEN name what
"What is your name?"

Existential Copula

Existential copula verb is available in Kiranti-Bayung. The lexicon *b λ* denotes the existential meaning in Kiranti-Bayung as in Kiranti-Kõits (cf. Rapacha 2005), e.g.

(a) Nayuma k^him-di b λ
Nayuma house-LOC be.NPT3s
" Nayuma is in the house."

(b) eke-dij Kathmandu geso b λ
here-ABL Kathmandu how far be.NPT3s
"How far is Kathmandu from here?"

The lexeme *b λ* (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits) is alone used as an auxiliary, and it is compounded with the (apparent) participle or gerund in order to make a definite present (or future) and past tenses of any and every verb, e.g.

(a) dza-soŋo b λ -ŋa
eat-PROG be-NPT1s
"I am eating it."

(b) dza-soŋo b λ k-ti
eat- PROG be-NPT1s
"I was eating it."

(c) pi- soŋo b λ -ŋa
come-PROG be-NPT1s
"I am coming"

(d) pi-soŋo b λ k-ti

come-PROG be-NPT1s
 "I was coming."

(e) bre- sojo bʌ-ŋa
 summon-PROGbe-NPT1s
 "I am summoning him."

(f) bre-sojo bʌk-ti
 summon-PROGbe-PT1s
 "I was summoning him."

Verb Morphology

Morphology contains mainly two areas- inflectional morphology and derivational morphology. "Inflectional morphology studies the way in which words vary (or inflect) in order to express grammatical contrast in sentences such as singular/plural or past/present tense...Derivational morphology, however, studies the principles governing the construction of new words" (Crystal 1987: 90). Person and number marking suffixes mark the finite verb forms of Kiranti-Bayung. Since Kiranti-Bayung as Kiranti-Kõits is a pronominal language, the personal pronouns are suffixed to the finite verb form. The third person pronouns are not pronominalized. Pronominalization in this language shows agreement with the first and second person pronouns in the subject position. Either a pronominal suffix or a number-marking suffix denotes both the person and the number agreement.

Person and Number Affixes

'Person' in Asher's (1997: 5155 and 5150) word is a grammatical category used to identify the participants in a situation: first person, second person, third person referring respectively to the speaker (and associates) (I, We): hearer(s) (you): persons and things other than the speaker and hearer (it, they, someone, etc). The number is also a grammatical category dealing with the analysis of word forms in so far as they express singularity. Plurality or duality.

In Kiranti-Bayung, there are no cases to denote the direct and indirect objects. Both are, however, marked in the verb by means of pronominal suffixes. The same is the case in with the subject, and Kiranti-Bayung conjugation therefore presents a rather complicated appearance.

Person and number marking suffixes mark the finite verb forms in Kiranti-Bayung. Since it is a pronominal language, the personal pronouns are suffixed to the finite verb forms. Either a pronominal suffix or a number marking suffix represent both the person and the number agreement. The paradigm of person and number affixes in the finite verb form *dza-* 'eat' is as follows.

Singular of Agent/ Plural of Object	Dual of Agent/ Plural of Object	Plural of Agent/ Plural of Object
	First Person	
(a) dza-ŋa-mi (I eat them all.)	dza-sa-mi (inc) dza-su-ku	dza-ya-mi (inc) dza-ka-mi (exc)
	Second Person	
(b) dza-(y)i-mi dza-ni-mi (hono)	dza-si-mi	dza-ni-mi
	Third Person	
(c) ja-wa-mi	dza-se-mi	dza-me-mi

In order to conjugate a Kiranti-Bayung verb, it is therefore necessary to know the pronominal suffixes indicating the subject and the object. If more than one suffix is added to one

and the same form, the suffix of the first person comes before that of the second, that of the second before that of the third. The suffixes of the subject and object are sometimes different, and sometimes also identical. It will therefore be most convenient to deal with them together.

A subject of the first person singular is indicated by means of different suffixes. In the present tense of intransitive verbs-*ŋa* is added to the base.

The examples are as follows:

- (a) pi-*ŋa*
come-NPT1s
"I come."
- (b) la-*ŋa*
go-NPT1s
"I go."
- (c) bre:-*ŋa*
cry-NPT1s
"I cry."
- (d) boŋ-*ŋa*
rise-NPT1s
"I get up."
- (e) glu:-*ŋa*
exit-NPT1S
"I exit."
- (f) ra-*ŋa*
come-NPT1s
" I come."

The same is the case in some transitive verbs ending in a vowel, e.g.

- (a) dza-*ŋa*
eat-NPT1s
"I eat it."
- (b) pa-*ŋa*
do-NPT1s
"I do it."
- (c) gi-*ŋa*
give-NPT1s
"I give it."
- (d) cyaisi-*ŋa*
learn-NPT1s
" I learn it."

However, in some verb roots, suffix *-u* also added in present tense with first person singular pronoun subject, e.g.

- (a) p^hu-du
sow/scatter- NPT1s
"I sow/scatter it."

A subject of the second person, in the present tense of intransitive verb, is indicated by the suffix *-e*, and *-I* is added in the transitive verb. But to denote honorificity, the second person singular or plural, the suffix *-ni* is added in the verb root.

- (a) p^hu-di
sow-NPT2s
"You saw it."
- (b) dza-(y)i
eat-NPT2s
"You ate it."
- (c) bre-ne
cry-NPT2s
"You cry out."
- (d) bro-ŋe cry-NPT2s
"You cry out."
- (e) dza-ni
eat-NPT2s hono
"You eat it."
- (f) la-ni
go-NPT2S hono
"You go."

Singular third person and number marking in present tense in the intransitive verb is zero marking (ϕ) and 'a' is added in the transitive verb root to denote the singular third person and number.

The examples are given below:

- (a) la- ϕ
go-NPT3s
"S/he goes."
- (b) pi- ϕ
come- NPT3s
"S/he comes."
- (c) ra- ϕ
come-NPT3S
"S/he comes."
- (d) dza-wa
eat-NPT3s
"S/he eats it."
- (e) p^hu-da
sow-NPT3s
"S/he sows it."
- (f) sa:-wa

kill-NPT3s
"S/he kills him."

- (g) bla -wa
take-NPT.3s
"S/he takes it."

The dual agent markers are differently marked for the first person, the second person and the third person. The first person dual agent markers are- *sa* for inclusive and *-su* for exclusive. The suffix *-si* is for the second person dual agent and, the suffix- *se* is for the third person dual agent. The examples are as follows.

First person dual agent marker *-sa,-su*

- (a) la-sa
go-ld exc
"We two go."
- (b) la-su
go- ld exc
"We two go."
- (c) ja-sa
eat-ld inc
"We two eat it."
- (d) dza-su
eat-ld exc
"We two eat it."

Second person dual agent marker *-si*

- (a) la-si
go-2d
"You two go."
- (b) dza-si
eat- 2d
"You two eat it."

Third person dual agent marker *-se*

- (a) la-se
go-3d.
"They two go."
- (b) dza-se
eat- 3d
"They two eat it."

As dual agent markers, the plural agent markers are differently suffixed to denote the first person, the second person and the third person and number to the verb root. The first person plural agent markers are-*ya* for inclusive and *-ka* for exclusive. The suffix- also denotes honorific singular and plural sense. And, the suffix marker for the third plural agent is *me*. The examples are given below:

First person plural agent marker *-ya* and *-ka*

- (a) la-ya
go-1pl inc

"We all go."

(b) la-ka
go-1pl exc
"We all go."

(c) ja-ya
eat-1pl inc
"We all eat it."

(d) ja-ka
eat-1pl exc
"We all eat it."

Second person plural agent marker *-ni*

20. (a) la-ni
go-2pl hono/n-hono
"You all go."

(b) dza-ni
eat-2s/pl hono/n-hono
"You all eat it."

Third person plural agent marker *-me*

(a) la-me
go-3pl
"They all go."

(b) dza-me
eat-3pl
"They all eat it."

In the case of object, the suffix marker is zero (ϕ) for singular object. On the other hand, the dual and plural object markers in the verb root are differently marked. The dual object suffix is *-si* and the plural object suffix is *-mi*. The examples are presented below.

Singular object suffix $-\phi$

(a) dza-ŋa
eat-1s
"I eat it."

(b) gi-ŋa
give-1s
"I give it."

The dual object suffix *-si*

(a) dza-ŋa-si
eat-1s/d obj
"I eat them two."

(b) dza-sa-si
eat-1d inc-d obj
"We two eat them two."

- (c) dza-suku-si
eat-1d exc-d obj
"We two eat them two."
- (d) dza-ya-si
eat-1pl inc-d obj
"We all eat them two."
- (e) dza-ka-si
eat-1pl exc d-obj
"We all eat them two."
- (f) dza-(y)k-si
eat -2s-d obj
"You eat them two."
- (g) dza-ni-si
eat-2s/pl hono/n-hono-d obj
"You eat them two."
- (h) dza-si-si
eat-2s-d obj
"You two eat them two."
- (h) dza-wa-si
eat -3s-d obj
"He eats them two."
- (k) dza-me-si
eat-3p-d obj
"They two eat them two."

The suffix-mi is added in the verb to denote the plural object.

The plural object suffix *-mi*, e.g.

- (a) ja-ŋa-mi
eat-1s-p1 obj
"I eat them."
- (b) dza-sa-mi
eat-1d inc-pl obj
"We two eat them."
- (c) dza-suku-mi
eat-1d exc-pl obj
"We two eat them."
- (d) dza-ya-mi
eat-1pl inc-pl obj
"We eat them."
- (e) dza-ka-mi

- eat-1pl exc-pl obj
"We eat them."
- (f) dza-(y)k-mi
eat -2spl obj
"You eat them."
- (g) dza-ni-mi
eat-2s/pl hono/n-hono-pl obj
"You eat them."
- (h) dza-si-mi
eat-2d-pl obj
"You two eat them."
- (i) dza-wa-mi
eat-3s-pl obj
"He eats them."
- (j) dza-se-mi
eat-3s-pl obj
"They two eat them."
- (k) dza-me-mi
eat-3pl-pl obj
"They eat them."

In order to conjugate a Kiranti-Bayung verb it is therefore necessary to know the pronominal suffixes indicating the subject and the object. If more than one suffix is added to one and the same form, the suffix of the first person comes before that second, that of the second before that of the third. The suffixes of the subject and the object are sometimes different, and sometimes also identical. It will therefore be most convenient to deal with them together. For example, that dual suffixes for the first person are *-sa* and *su* and, for the second person *-si*, and *-se* for the third person. So, the dual subject suffixes are different for each person. But the dual object suffix is *-si*. Which is similar and identical with/to the second person dual subject/agent.

Tense Marking Suffixes

The Kiranti-Bayung verb possesses only two tenses - a present and a past. The present is also used as a future. The past is formed by adding a suffix *-ta* or, before suffixes beginning with vowels, *t*, to the base. A preceding sound is changed in various ways.

Past Tense Marker

In intransitive verb, the tense suffix marker is *-ti* if the subject is first person, singular of agent, and another past suffix marker is *-te* if the subject is second person, singular of agent. On the other hand, in transitive verb, the past suffix marker is *-tɪ/2ŋ* if the agent is of first person, singular, and *-ti* if the agent is of the second person, singular. And, with other persons whether dual or plural, the past tense marking suffix is *-ta*, e.g.

- (a) rap-ti
stand-PT 1s
"I stood up."
- (b) bɔk-ti

- sit-PT1s
"I sat down."
- (a) le:-te
return-PT 2s
"You returned."
- (b) ip-te
sleep-PT 2s
"You slept."
- (c) dza-tʌŋ
eat-PT.1s.
"I ate it."
- (d) dzap-ti
eat-PT 2s
"You ate it."
- (e) dza-ta-sa
eat-PT-1d
"We two ate it."
- (f) dzap-ta
eat-PT 3s
"He ate it."
- (g) sa:-ta-si-si
kill-PT-3d-2d
"You two were killed by them two."
- (h) dzam-ta-me
eat-PT-3pl
"they ate it."

In third person, singular of agent, the past suffix marker *-ta* is added (see number (h)), that is to say the suffix- *ta* is third person singular past marker.

Non-Past tense Marker

In Kiranti-Bayung, the present is also used as a future. The present habitual sentence in Kiranti-Bayung also refers to future action. So, the term non-past to both present and future action. The transitive and intransitive verbs inflect the suffix *-ŋa* to denote non-past tense if the agent is of first person singular, e.g.

- (a) dza-ŋa
eat-NPTIs
"I eat it."
- (b) pi-ŋa
come-NPTIs
"I come."

The suffix *-u* is also added in the verb to denote non-past with the first person singular of agent, e.g.

(a) p^hu-du
sow-NPT1s
"Isow it."

(b) bre-tu
cry-NPT1s
"I cry out."

The transitive verb inflects the suffix *-i* and intransitive *-e* to denote non-past if there is second person singular of agent, e.g.

(a) dza-(y)i
eat- NPT2s
"You eat it."

(b) bro-ŋe
cry-NPT2s
"You cry out."

In the third person singular of agent in transitive verb the non- suffix marker is *-wa*.but in intransitive verb, the verb root is not inflected rather remains zero marked, e.g.

(a) dza-wa
eat-NPT3s
"He eats it."

(b) sa:-wa
kill-NPT3s
"He kills him."

(a) la-φ
go-NPT3s
"He goes."

(b) ra-φ
come-NPT3s
"He comes."

Tense, Aspect and Mood

The Kiranti-Bayung verb has only two tenses, a present and a past. The present is also used as a future. Therefore, the term non-past is applied to denote present or future tense here.

Tense

For Asher (1997: 5179) the category of the verb that places the action or state referred to in time, past present or future in relation to the utterance. The Kiranti-Bayung verb grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered (cf. Payne 1997: 236). It possesses only two tenses- a present and a past. The present is also used as a future. The past is formed by adding a suffix *-ta* (Kiranti-Kõits *-ta~ŋ*) or before suffixes beginning with vowels, t, to the bare. A preceding sound is changed in various ways.

Past Tense

The past tense locates the situation prior to the present moment. Its marking suffix in Kiranti-Bayung is *-ta*. However, in the first person singular of agent, the past tense marking suffix is *-taŋ* and *-ti* (Kiranti-Kõits *-ti*) for the second person singular of agent. With other persons

whether dual or plural, the past tense marking suffix *-ta* is commonly added to the verb root. The following example shows the paradigm for the past tense. The past tense markers *-taŋ*, *-ti* and *-ta* with person and number affixes in the finite verb *dza-* 'eat'

Singular of Agent	Dual of Agent	Plural of Agent
(a) dza-taŋ "I ate it."	First Person dza-ta-sa (inc) dza-ta-su (exc)	dzan-ta-ya (inc) dzak-ta-ku (exc)
(b) dzap-ti dzan-ta-ni (hono)	Second Person dza-ta-si	jan-ta-ni (hono/n-hono)
(c) dzap-ta	Third Person dza-ta-sa	dzam-ta-me
Singular of Agent and Dual of Object	Dual of Agent and Dual of Object	Plural of Agent and Dual of Object
First Person		
(a) dza-taŋ-si "I ate them two."	dza-ta-sa-si (inc) dza-ta-suku-si (exc)	jan-ta-ya-si (inc) jak-ta-ku-si (exc)
(b) dzap-ti-si dzap-ti-ni-si (hono)	Second Person dza-ta-si-si	dzan-ta-ni-si (hono/n-hono)
(c) dzap-ta-si	Third Person dza-ta-se-si	dzam-ta-me-si
Singular of Agent and Plural of Object	Dual of Agent and Plural of Object	Plural of Agent and Plural of Object
First Person		
(a) dza-taŋ-mi "I ate them all."	dza-ta-sa-mi (inc) dza-ta-suku-mi (exc)	dzan-ta-ya-mi (inc) dzak-ta-ku-mi (exc)
(b) dzap-ti-mi	Second Person dza-ta-si-mi	dzan-ta-ni-mi
(c) dzap-ta-mi	Third Person dza-ta-se-mi	dzam-ta-me-mi

From above examples, it is clear that the interrelated *p* and *n* are devious. In the first person, singular agent, the suffix marker for past is *-taŋ*, and *-ti* for the second person singular agent. The root verb is *dza-* but *p* is inserted in the singular agent of the second person and, that *p* changes into *n* when the second person plural agent marker is added in the past tense. Likewise, *p* is added in the root verb *dza-* in the third person singular agent and, that *p* changes into *m* while the third person plural agent suffix is added. It seems that *m* is added to show the euphony sound. In the first person plural agent, *n* is added in the root verb *dza-* in inclusive and *k* in exclusive.

In intransitive verb, the past tense suffix marker is **-ti** if the subject is first person, singular. And, another past suffix marker is **-te** if the subject is second person, singular, e.g.

- (a) gu rap-ti
I 1s stand-PT1s
"I stood (up)."
- (b) gu bɔk-ti
I 1s sit-PT1s
"I sat (down)."
- (c) dok-ti
fall-PT1s
"I fell down."
- (d) gwak-ti
walk-PT1s
"I walked."
- (e) ruk-ti
tremble-PT1s
"I trembled."
- (f) byak-ti
die-PT1s
"I died."
- (g) la-ti
go-PT1s
"I went."
- (h) ris-ti (Kiranti-Kõits rit-ti and resembles to most of the examples)
laugh-PT1s
"I laughed."
- (i) ŋi-ti
frighten-PT1s
"I frightened."
- (j) ip-te
sleep-PT2s
"You slept."
- (k) le:- te
return-PT2s
"You returned."

Non-Past Tense

In Kiranti-Bayung, the present is also used as a future. The present habitual sentence in Kiranti-Bayung also refers to future action. So, in this work the term non-past is used to both present and future action. The non-past tense markers **-ŋa**, **-(y)i** and **-wa** with person and number affixes in the finite verb **dza-** 'eat' are shown below.

Paradigm of the person and number affixes in the finite verb dza-'eat'

Singular of Agent	Dual of Agent	Plural of Agent
	First Person	
(a) dza-ŋa "I eat/will eat it."	dza-sa (inc) dza-su (exc)	dza-ya (inc) dza-ka (exc)
	Second Person	
(b) dza-(y)i dza-ni (hono.)	dza-si	dza-ni (hono/n-hono.)
(c) dza-wa	dza-se	dza-me
Singular of Agent and Dual of Object	Dual of Agent Dual of Object	Plural of Agent and Dual of Object
	First Person	
(a) dza-ŋa-si "I eat them two."	dza-sa-si (inc) dza-suku-si (exc)	dza-ya-si (inc) dza-ka-si (exc)
	Second Person	
(b) dza-(y)i-si dza-ni-si (hono)	dza-si-si	dza-ni-si (hono/n-hono)
	Third Person	
(c) dza-wa-si	dza-se-si	dza-me-si
Singular of Agent and Plural of Object	Dual of Agent and Plural of Object	Plural of Agent and Plural of Object
	First Person	
(a) dza-ŋa-mi "I eat them all."	dza-sa-mi (inc) dza-suku-mi (exc)	dza-ya-mi (inc) dza-ka-mi (exc)
	Second Person	
(b) dza-(y)i-mi dza-ni-mi(hono)	dza-si-mi	dza-ni-mi
	Third Person	
(c) dza-wa-mi	dza-se-mi	dza-me-mi

The non-past tense markers in Kiranti-Bayung are differently marked according to the person. The non-past tense marker if the first person singular of agent is *-ŋa*; *-(y)i* if the second person singular of agent; and *-wa* if the third person singular of agent. However, with dual and plural of agent, the non-past tense markers are omitted. Instead, the person and number suffixes are added in the verb root.

The examples are as follows.

37. (a) dza-ŋa
eat-NPT1s
"I eat/will eat it."
- (b) dza-(y)i
eat-NPT2s
"You eat it."
- (c) dza-wa

eat-NPT3s
"He eats it."

(d) dza-sa
eat-1d inc
"We two eat it."

(e) dza-su
eat-1d exc
"We two eat it."

(f) dza-ya
eat-1 pl inc
"We eat it."

(g) dza-ka
eat-1 pl exc
"We eat it."

(h) dza-si
eat-2d
"You two eat it."

(i) dza-ni
eat-2s/pl.hono/n-hono.
"You (all) eat it."

(j) dza-se
eat-3d
"They eat it."

(k) dza-me
eat-3pl
"They eat it."

The honorific suffix is added in the verb root instead of non-past tense marker. The honorific suffix is only -ni to denote the second person singular as well as plural of agent, e.g.

(a) dza-ni
eat-2s/pl hono
You (all) eat it."

The transitive and intransitive verbs inflect the suffix -ŋa to denote non-past tense if there is singular first person of agent, e.g.

(a) dza-ŋa
eat-NPT1s
"I eat it."

(b) pi-ŋa
come-NPT1s
"I come."

(c) la- ŋa
go-NPT1s

"I go."

(d) gi-ŋa
give-NPT1s
"I give it."

(e) pa-ŋa
do-NPT1s
"I do it."

(f) bre:-ŋa
cry-NPT1s
"I cry out."

But in some verbs, the suffix *-u* is also added to denote non-past with the first person singular of agent, e.g.

(a) p^hu-du
sow-NPT1s
"I sow it."

(b) bre-tu
summon-NPT1s
"I summon him."

The transitive verb inflects *-i* and intransitive *-e* to denote non-past tense if there is second person singular of agent, e.g.

(a) p^hu-di
sow-NPT2s
"You sow it."

(b) ja-(y)i
eat-NPT2s
"You eat it."

(c) bro-ŋe
cry-NPT2s
"You cry out."

(d) bre-ne
summon-NPT2s
"You summon him."

The transitive verb roots have zero suffix or have no inflection to denote non-past tense if there is third person singular of agent, e.g.

(a) la-∅
go-NPT3s
"S/he goes."

(b) ra-∅
come-NPT3s
"S/he comes."

(c) pi-∅
come-NPT3s

"S/he comes."

In the examples given above, there is *-su* suffix to denote dual marker of first person, for example, *dza-su* for 'we two eat it', because our informants prefer to use *-su*. Hodgson (1880:366) writes that *dza-su-ku* stands for 'we two eat it' in which the first person dual marker is *-suku*.

In order to conjugate a Kiranti-Bayung verb, it is, therefore, necessary to know the pronominal suffixes indicating the subject and object. If more than one suffix is added to one and the same form, the suffix of the first person comes before that of the second, that of the second before that of the third. The suffixes of the subject and object are sometimes different, and sometimes also identical. It will therefore be most convenient to deal with them together.

Aspect

Aspect describes the temporal shape of events or state. "Aspect is a category of description referring to the way in which the performance of action, especially its duration or completion, is denoted by the verb" (Asher, 1997: 5094).

Comrie (1976: 2) writes up that aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation. He further says, "Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of situation."

Kiranti-Bayung aspects can be broadly classified into two types:

- (i) Perfective and
- (ii) Imperfective

The perfective aspect does not have any aspectual suffix, and indicates the completion of an action in the past without any further temporal sub-division (Pokharel, 2054 V.S.). This aspect, therefore, equals to the past tense. Imperfective aspect includes all other aspects that describe the action of the verb in process.

Perfective

Comrie (1976: 18) mentions that the perfective indicates a situation which has an end..." In perfective aspect the situation is viewed in it's entirely, independent of tense. The term "preterit" and "aorist" usually refer to past plus perfective aspect. Asher (1997:5154) observes that perfective is an aspect of the verb indicating completion of an action.

The past tense forms are similar to the perfective aspect. So, the past tense morphemes *-t* Λ *ŋ* for the first person singular of agent, *-ti* for the second person singular of agent and, *-ta* for the third person singular of agent and whether dual or plural , are glossed as PERFV to denote the perfective aspect, e.g.

- (a) dza-t Λ *ŋ*
eat-PERFV1s
"I ate it."
- (b) bre-t Λ *ŋ*
call-PERFV1s
"I called him."
- (c) dzap-ti
eat-PERFV2s
"You ate it."
- (d) dzap-ta
eat-PERFV3s
"S/he ate it."

(e) dza-ta-sa
eat-PERFV3s-1d inc
"We two ate it."

(f) dzam-ta-me
eat-PERFV3s-3pl
"They ate it."

But, in intransitive verb, the perfective suffixes are **-ti** if the first person is singular of agent and, **-te** if the second person is singular of agent, e.g.

(a) rap-ti
stand-PERFV1s
"I stood (up)."

(b) bək-ti
sit-PERFV1s
"I sat (down)."

(c) le:-te
return-PERFV2s
"You returned."

(d) ip-ti
sleep-PERFV2s
"You slept."

The verbs in the examples given above just show the completion of the action and the feature of perfectivity.

Imperfective

'Imperfective' accordance to Asher (1997: 5132) is an aspect of the verb indicating non-completion or continuation of an action". Comrie (1976: 16) writes up that perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of various separate phases that make up that; while the imperfectives pay essential attention to the internal structure of the situation.

In imperfective aspect the situation is viewed from 'inside', as an ongoing process. Habitual and progressive aspects are subtypes of imperfectives.

Habitual

Habitual aspect expresses an assertion that a certain type of event regularly takes place from time to time. "Habituality is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is view not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period" (Comrie, 1976: 28). Habituality in Kiranti-Bayung can be expressed into two temporal references -present and past habitual aspect.

Present Habitual

The habituality aspect in present tense equals to the non-past tense. So, this aspect denotes imperfectivity of an action in the present, e.g.

(a) gu ʌŋɡredzi cyaisi-ŋa
I1s English learn-NPT1s
"I learn English."

- (b) gu te pa-ŋa
 I_s work do-NPT1_s
 "I do work."

The above sentences ((a) and (b)) indicate the habit of learning and doing respectively in the present as well as the imperfective situation of learning and doing in the present.

Past Habitual

To denote the habituality in the past in Bayung, the use of the 'be verb' is obligatory and, the past tense suffix *-ta* is added in it, e.g.

- (a) gu iskul la-co pa-ŋa-m(e) b_Λk-ta
 I school go-INF do-1_s-PP be-PT
 "I used to go to school."

- (b) g_Λ-yi iskul la-co pa-ya m(e) b_Λk-ta
 I-pl inc school go-INF do-1_{pl} inc-PP be-PT
 "We used to go to school."

Progressive

Continuative or progressive aspect implies an ongoing, dynamic process. This is opposed to stative aspect, which implies no change over time. Continuous or progressive aspect is distinguished from habitual in that continuative or progressive refers to actual events, whereas habitual expresses the general truth that some event takes place from time to time.

The progressive aspect in Kiranti-Bayung is expressed by the suffix *-soŋ* attached to the verb root. Progressive aspect can be sub-divided as present progressive and past progressive. They are discussed below.

Present Progressive

The present progressive aspect in Kiranti-Bayung expressed by the suffix *-soŋ* in the verb root is followed by the 'be verb'. Except the third person singular of agent, the first person and the second person singular of agent suffix markers with tense are inflected in the 'verb be'. But, if the first and second and third person agents are in dual and plural number, only the pronominal suffixes are inflected in 'be verb' instead of non-past tense, e.g.

- (a) gu dzaco dza-soŋ b_Λ-ŋa
 I rice eat-PROG be-NPT1_s
 "I am eating rice."

- (b) g_Λ-ni g^hera kok-soŋ b_Λ-ni
 you-hono. field dig-PROG be-NPT2_s hono.
 "You are digging up the field."

- (c) am dzaco dza-soŋ b_Λ
 he rice eat-PROG be.NPT3_s
 "S/he is eating rice."

- (d) gu-su dzaco dza-soŋ b_Λk-su
 I-d exc rice eat-PROG be-1_d exc
 "We two are eating rice."

- (e) g_Λ-yi dzaco ja-soŋ b_Λ-ya
 I-pl inc rice eat-PROG be-1_{pl} inc
 "We are eating rice."

- (f) am-dwa dzaco dza-soŋ bɔme
 he-pl rice eat-PROG be-3pl
 "We are eating rice."

The progressive morpheme -soŋ followed by the 'be verb' makes the present progressive aspect (see (a) to (f) above), which shows the action that is going on continuously in the moment of speaking.

Past Progressive

The past progressive aspect is indicated by the suffix *-soŋ* as same in the present progressive aspect which is followed by the 'be verb', and, the past tense marker *-ta* is added in it, e.g.

- (a) gɔ-ni dzaco dza-soŋ bɔk-ta-ni
 you-hono. rice eat-PROG be-PT-2s hono.
 "You were eating rice."
- (b) gu dzaco dza-soŋ bɔk-ti
 I rice eat-PROG be-PT1s
 "I was eating rice."
- (c) gɔ dzaco dza-soŋ bɔk-te
 you rice eat-PROG be-PT2s
 "You were eating rice."
- (d) am-mi dzaco dza-soŋ bɔk-ta
 he-ERG rice eat-PROG be-PT3s
 "He was eating rice."

In the first person singular of agent, the past suffix -ti is added in the 'be verb' and, in the second person non-honorific, the past suffix -te is added in the 'be verb'. The past suffix marker *-ta* in the 'be verb' is common to all person and number if there are added pronominal and honorific suffixes.

Periphrastic Perfect Aspect

Perfect "tells us nothing directly about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation" (Comrie, 1976: 52). The perfect aspect in Kiranti-Bayung is expressed periphrastically. The main verb with pronominal suffixes is inflected for the tense and person/number agreement forms the perfect aspect. The perfect aspect can be divided present perfect and past perfect.

Present Perfect

The present perfect aspect is expressed by the sequence of two verb forms. The main verb is inflected for the tense and person/number agreement with pronominal suffixes. The auxiliary/'be verb' follows the main verb, but does not inflect. In the present perfect, the main verb is inflected with the suffix *-m(e)*, e.g.

For example-

- (a) gu-mi dzaco dza-taŋ-me bɔ
 I-ERG rice eat-PT1s-PERF be.NPT
 "I have eaten rice."
- (b) gɔ-mi dzaco dzap-ti-m(e) bɔ
 you-ERG rice eat-PT2s-PERF be.NPT

"You have eaten rice."

- (c) g Λ -ni-mi dzaco jan-ta-ni-m(e) b Λ
you-hono-ERG rice eat-PT-2s hono-PERF be.NPT
"You have eaten rice."

- (d) am-mi dzaco dzap-ta-m(e) b Λ
he-ERG rice eat-PT-PERF be.NPT
"He has eaten rice."

Past Perfect

Past perfect denotes the perfect in the past. The term pluperfect is relevant to refer to past perfect. Pluperfect like 'preterit' refers to a combination of an aspect and a tense. Pluperfect combines perfect aspect and past tense. Comrie (1976: 16) asserts the meaning of the pluperfect is that there is a reference to point in the past, and that the situation in question is located to prior to that reference point, i.e. the pluperfect can be thought of as past in the past. The term pluperfect in Bybee's (1985: 160) words signals past event that is relevant to some other past event.

To denote the past perfect, the main verb is inflected with the tense and person/number agreement along with the pronominal suffixes and perfect suffix -m(e) is added. The auxiliary/'be verb' which follows the main verb is also inflected with past tense suffix -ta to denote past perfect, e.g.

- (a) gu-mi dzaco dza-t Λ η -me b Λ k-ta
I-ERG rice eat-PT1s-PERF be-PT
"I had eaten rice."
- (b) gu-ku-mi dzaco dzak-ta-ku-me b Λ k-ta
I-pl exc-ERG rice eat-PT-1pl exc-PERF be-PT
"We had eaten rice."
- (c) gu-su-mi dzaco dza-ta-su-me b Λ k-ta
I-d exc-ERG rice eat-PT-d-PERF be-PT
"You had eaten rice."
- (d) g Λ -mi dzaco dzap-ti-me b Λ k-ta
you-ERG rice eat-PT2s-PERF be-PT
"You had eaten rice."
- (e) g Λ -ni-mi dzaco dzan-ta-ni-me b Λ k-ta
you-hono-ERG rice eat-PT-2hono-PERF be-PT
"You had eaten rice."
- (f) am-mi dzaco dzap-ta-me b Λ k-ta
he-ERG rice eat-PT-PERF be-PT
"He had eaten rice."

Mood

Mood according to Asher (1994: 5147) is the category whereby the attitude of the speaker towards what is said (uncertainty, etc) is expressed by verbal inflections or the use of modal (auxiliary) verb (M) forms, e.g., would, should, ought, etc.

Actually, mood describes the speaker's attitude towards a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood. It sometimes describes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to him/herself.

In Kiranti-Bayung, declarative and interrogative moods are inflected for all tenses, persons and numbers. The optative mood can be sub-divided as imperative, optative and hortative. Imperative mood is restricted to the second person, optative mood is related to the third person and hortative mood shows the relation only with the first person dual and plural.

The Kiranti-Bayung modality is also expressed by periphrastic ways using different modal verbs and modal particles. In this section, a short description of morphologically marked moods, and the modality expressed by the different modal verbs and modal particles has been discussed.

Declarative Mood

Declarative denotes the sentence type or verb form typically used in making a statement. In Kiranti-Bayung, the regular form of verb in statement or assertative sentences indicates declarative mood, where the verb inflects for person, number and for the tense, e.g.

- (a) gu bajar la-ŋa
I market go-NPT1s
"I go/will go to market."
- (b) am bajar la
he market go.NPT3s
"He goes/will go to market."
- (c) gu dzaco dza-ŋa
I rice eat-NPT1s
"I eat/will eat rice."
- (d) g^Λ-yi dzaco dza-ya
I-pl inc rice eat-pl inc
"We eat/will eat rice."
- (e) gu dzaco dza-t^Λŋ
I rice eat-PT1s
"I ate rice."
- (f) am-dwa-si dzaco dza-ta-se
he-pl-d rice eat-PT-d
"They two ate rice."

The declarative verbs are negativized with the prefix *ma-*, e.g.

- (a) am-mi dzaco ma-dza-wa
he-ERG rice NEG-eat-NPT3s
"He does not eat rice."
- (b) gu jaco ma-dza-ŋa
I rice NEG-eat-NPT1s
"I do not eat rice."

The third person past verb changes into non-past if the negative prefix *ma-* is added in the main verb, e.g.

- (a) Khinchihang-mi dzaco dzap-ta

- Khinchihang -ERG rice eat-PT3s
"Khinchihang ate rice."
- (b) Khinchihang-mi dzaco **ma**-dza-wa
Khinchihang-ERG rice NEG-eat-NPT3s
"Khinchihang did not eat rice." or "Bishow does not eat rice."
- (c) *Chalimhang-mi dzaco ma-dzap-ta (unacceptable)
Chalimhang-ERG rice NEG-eat-PT3s
"Chalimhang did not eat rice."

Interrogative Mood

The declarative sentences can be changed into interrogatives by means of question words or with rising intonation. In interrogative sentences the verb gets the meaning of interrogative mood. The yes/no types of questions are marked by the intonation given to the part of a sentence where the speaker wants to be clear about the information required. Interrogative is the sentence type or verb form typically used in asking a question, e.g.

- (a) g Λ -ni-mi tut-ta-ni
 you-hono-ERG hear-PT-2hono
 "Did you hear?"
- (b) am-mi kwan kokco-mi busa **sa-ta**
 he-ERG one sick-INST snake kill-PT3s
 "Did he kill a snake with stick?"
- (c) g Λ -ni-mi mar-mar ŋin-ni
 you-hono-ERG what-what hear-2hono
 "Did you hear anything?"
- (d) g Λ -ni myam bəku ty-ta-ni
 you-hono that water drink-PT-2hono
 "Did you drink that water?"
- (e) g Λ -mi dzaco dza-(y)i
 you-ERG rice eat-NPT.2s.
 "Do you eat rice?"

The parts of the sentence in the given examples above (54 (a) to (e)) in bold face are marked by the intonation denoting the interrogative mood. Adding different question words before the verb forms the referential interrogatives. The question words used to make an interrogative are as follows.

mara	'what'
su/syu	'who'
gyala	'where'
gena/gyana	'when'
geso	'how much/many'
gokso	'why'
gyem/gyam	'which'

Other examples are:

- (a) i-ni-ke niŋ **mara**
 you-hono-GEN name what
 "What is your name?"

- (b) g Λ -ni yam k Λ mij **syu**-mi le-ta
 you-hono this shirt who-ERG sell-PT
 "Who sold this shirt to you?"
- (c) i-ni-ke k^him **gyala**
 you-hono-GEN house where
 "Where is your house?"
- (d) Dhiren-mi dzaco **gyana/gena** dzap-ta
 Dhiren-ERG rice when eat-PT.3s.
 "When did Dhiren eat rice?"
- (e) yam meso-mi **geso** b Λ ku ty
 this buffalo-ERG how much water drink.NPT
 "How much water does this buffalo drink?"
- (f) i-ni-ke k^him-di **geso** tawa-dwa b Λ -me
 you-hono-GEN house-LOC how(many) son-pl be-3pl
 "How many sons are there in your house?"
- (g) am-dwa-mi wə-wa **gokso** cyom-ta-me
 he-pl-ERG my-cloth why burn-PT-3pl
 "Why did they burn my cloth?"
- (h) i-ni-ke k^him **gyam**
 you-hono-GEN house which
 "Which is your house?"
- (i) eke-dij Okhaldhunga **geso** b Λ
 here-ABL Okhaldhunga how far be.NPT
 "How far is Okhaldhunga from here?"
- (j) i-ni-ke dyal-di **geso** k^him-dwa b Λ -me
 you-hono-GEN village-LOC how many house-pl be-3pl
 "How many houses are there in your village?"
- (k) meke **syu/su** ip-soŋ b Λ
 there who sleep-PROG be.NPT
 "Who is sleeping there?"
- (l) meke g Λ **mar** pa-soŋ b Λ -ŋe
 there you what do-PROG be-2s
 "What are you doing there?"

The question word *mara* 'what' (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits) is sometimes pronounced as *mar*. The examples given above (55 (a) to (l)) show the type of question words used in Kiranti-Bayung interrogative sentences.

Imperative Mood

Imperative is the sentence type or verb form typically used in commands, exhortations, entreaties, etc. The imperative mood is restricted to the second person. The imperative, though

tenseless, shows the number agreement and honorificity. The second person singular ends in 'o' before which a preceding single consonant is doubled. An object of the third person dual and plural is expressed in the usual way. The suffix of the second person dual of the imperative is *-se*, and that of the second person plural *-ne*. The suffix *-ne* plays two roles -first it gives the meaning of second singular, honorificity and second it denotes the second it denotes the second person plural along with honorificity and non-honorificity.

The imperative mood in Kiranti-Bayung with number agreement of subject and object has been shown in the example given below.

Kiranti-Bayung imperative verb form with number of agent and object

Singular of Agent dza-wo	Dual of Agent dza-se	Plural of Agent dza-ne
Dual of Object dza-wo-si	Dual of Object dza-se-si	Dual of Object dza-ne-si
Plural of Object ja-wo-mi	Plural of Object dza-se-mi	Plural of Object dza-ne-mi

The second person plural suffix *-ne* also denotes the singular or plural honorificity as shown here.

- (a) dza-wo
eat-2s.
"(You) Eat!"
- (b) dza-se
eat-2d
"(You two) Eat!."
- (c) dza-ne
eat-2s/pl hono/n-hono
"(You all)Eat!"
- (d) dza-wo-si
eat-2s-3d
"(You)Eat them two!"
- (e) dza-se-si
eat-2d-3d
"(You two) Eat them two!"
- (f) dza-ne-si
eat-2pl-3d
"(You all) Eat them two!"
- (i) dza-wo-mi
eat-2s-3pl.
"(You) Eat them!"
- (j) ja-se-mi
eat-2d-3pl
"(You two) Eat them!"

The suffix *-ko* is also added in the imperative verb to show entreaty. Three kinds of imperative sentences such as command, suggestive and request with entreaty are presented below. And, the prefix *ma-* adding to the verb stem negativizes the imperative verbs, e.g.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (a) | dza-wo →
NEG-eat-2s
"(You) Eat!" (Command) | ma-dza-wo
NEG-eat-2s
"(You) Don't eat!" |
| (b) | dza- ne→
eat-2s/pl hon/n-hono
"(You) Eat! (Suggestive) | ma-dza-ne
NEG-eat-2s/pl hono/n-hono
"(You) Don't eat!" |
| (e) | dza-ne-ko→
eat-2s/pl.hono/n-hon-EMPH
"(You) Eat, please! (request) | ma-dza-ne-ko
NEG-eat-2s/pl.hon/n-hon-EMPH
"(You) Don't eat, please!" |
| (a) | ip-wo→
sleep-2s
"(You) Sleep!" | ma-ip-wo
NEG-sleep-2S
"(You) Don't sleep!" |
| (b) | im-ne
sleep-2s/pl hono/n-hono
"(You) Sleep!" | ma-im-ne
NEG-sleep-2s/pl hono/n-hono
"(You) Don't sleep!" |
| (c) | im-ne-ko
sleep-2s/pl.hon/n-hon-EMPH
"(You) Seep, please!" | ma -im-ne-ko
NEG-sleep-2s/pl hono/n-hono-EMPH
"(You) Don't slee', please!" |
| (a) | pa-wo
do-2s
"(You) Do it!" | ma-pa-wo
NEG-do-2s
"(You) Don'y do it!" |
| (b) | pa-ne
do-2s/pl hon/n-hono
"(You) Do it!" | ma-pa-ne
NEG-do-2s/pl hon/n-hono
"(You) Don't do it!" |
| (c) | pa-ne-ko
do-2s/pl hono/n-hono-EMPH
"(You) Do it, please!" | ma-pa-ne-ko
NEG-do-2s/pl.hono/n-hono-EMPH
"(You) Don't do it, please!" |

Optative Mood

Optative is the inflectional **mood** expressing **counterfactivity** and remote possibility. Optative mood in Kiranti-Bayung is marked by the suffix *-la* (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits, cf. Rapacha 2005) in order to express desire and wish. The optative mood is restricted to the third person referents. The number, person of duality and plurality are inflected in the main verb root, e.g.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (a) | pa-wa-la
do-NPT3s-OPT
"May s/he do it!" |
| (b) | gi-wa-la |

- give-NPT3s- OPT
"May s/he give it!"
- (c) ra-la
cp,e-OPT
"May s/he come!"
- (d) kur-la
carry-OPT
"May s/he carry it!"
- (e) ryaga-la
write-OPT
"May s/he write it!"
- (f) camse-la
play-OPT
"May he/she pay!"
- (a) la-wa-la
go-NPT.3s-OPT
"May s/he go!"
- (b) la-se-la
go-3d-OPT
"May they (two) go!"
- (c) la-me-la
go-3pl-OPT
"May they go!"
- (d) dza-se-la
eat-3d-OPT
"May they (two) eat it!"
- (e) dza-me-la
eat-3pl-OPT
"May they eat it!"
- (f) dza-wa-la
eat-NPT3s-OPT
"May he/she eat it!"
- (m) am-mi i-ni-lai k^hla-ti-ni-m-la
he-ERG you-hon-ACC help-PT-hono-PERF-OPT
"May he/she help you!"
- (n) am-mi i-lai~kəli k^hla-te-la
he-ERG you-ACC help-PT-OPT
"May he/she help you!"

Hortative Mood

Hortative is the grammatical category of mood, which expresses exhortation. To denote hortative mood, the special suffix is not added in the verb root. Instead, the first person dual and plural pronominal suffix is added. The hortative mood in Kiranti-Bayung is restricted to the first person dual/plural, e.g.

- (a) camsi-ya
play-1pl inc
"Let's play!"
- (b) la-ya
go- 1pl inc
"Let's go!"
- (c) dza-ya
eat-1pl inc
"Let's eat!"
- (d) gwaŋ-ya
walk-1pl inc
"Let's walk!"
- (e) ki-ya
cook-1pl inc
"Let's cook!"
- (f) wan-ya
run away-1pl inc
"Let's run away!"
- (g) ko-ya
look-1pl inc
"Let's look!"
- (h) la-sa
go-1d exc
"Let's go!" (=we two go)
- (i) la-ka
go-1pl exc
"Let's go!" (=we go)
- (j) dza-sa
eat-1d exc
"Let's eat!" (=we two eat)
- (k) dza-ka
eat-1pl exc
"Let's eat!" (=we eat)

2.3 Syntactic Sketch

Kiranti-Bayung sentences are simple as well as complex. They are described with examples in the sub-sections that follow.

Simple Sentences

Each simplex sentence a single predicate. This predicate may be simple and complex. It may be of the following types.

Intransitive Sentences

In Kiranti-Bayung, the intransitive sentence is in the absolutive case and the verb agrees with the subject, e.g.

- (a) gu la-ŋa
I go-NPT1s
'I go.'
- (b) gu-su la-su
I-1d exc go-d exc
'We two go.'
- (c) gu-ku la-ka
I-1d exc go-1pl
'We go.'
- (d) gΛ-yi la-ya
I-1pl inc go-1pl inc
'We all go.'

Monotransitive Sentence

In monotransitive sentence. the subject is ergative or absolutive because ergative is not obligatory in this language whether that is past or non-past, but usual ergative marker is found in the past tense, and the direct object is in absolutive (objective) case form, e.g.

- a. Rokong-mi jaco ja-wa
Rokong-ERG rice eat-NPT3s
'Rokong eats/will eat rice.'
- b. Tsotlung jaco ja-wa
Tsotlung rice eat-NPT3S
'Tsotlung eats/will eats rice.'
- c. gu Λŋgredzi cyaisi-ŋa
I.1s English learn-NPT1s
'I learn/will learn English.'
- d. gu yam te pa-ŋa
I.1s this work do-NPT1s
'I do/will do this work.'

Ditransitive Sentence

In a ditransitive sentence, the subject is in the ergative case, direct object is absolutive (objective) case and indirect object in dative case and instrumental case, e.g.

- (a) gu-mi nəini-mi gyaŋ kok-təŋ
I.1s-ERG nail cutter-ERG nail cut-PT1s
'I cut the nail with the nail cutter.'
- (b) gu-mi am-lai ciŋt^hi rayk-təŋ
I-ERG he-DAT letter write-PT1s

'I wrote him a letter.'

Copular Sentences

In Bayung, only the existential copula verb is available. Identificational copula verb does not exist in this language, it is merely semantically realized.

I. Existential Copular Verb

The existential copular verb is *b Λ* , e.g.

- (a) Ripocha k^him-di b Λ
 Ripocha house-LOC be.NPT
 " Ripocha is in the house."

II. Zero Identificational Copular Verb

The identificational copular verb is covert, e.g.

- a. yam Λ k^him
 this my house
 "This is my house."

b. Λ niŋ Hangucha
 my name Hangucha
 "My name is Hangucha."

Constituent Order

SOV is the basic word order of the major constituents of a monotransitive sentence in Kiranti-Bayung. However, various permutations of these constituents are used in discourse. Here, SOV stands for Subject, Object and Verb. Consider the sentences presented below, e.g.

- a. gu dzaco dza-ŋa
 I rice eat-NPT.1s.
 'I eat/will eat rice.'

b. dzaco gu dza-ŋa
 rice I eat-NPT1s
 'Rice I eat or I eat rice.'

Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are formed in two ways-coordinate sentences and compound sentences. Joining two simple sentences by the help of a coordinator forms coordinate sentences. Embedding a subordinate clause within another clause forms compound sentences.

Coordinate Sentences

Verbs of the all constituent in a coordinate sentence are finite. The order of these clauses depends upon the order of the actions. Coordination allows deletion of coreferential subject of the second clause, e.g.

68. (a) gu dzaco dza-ŋa ko k^him la-ŋa
 I rice eat-NPT1s and house go-NPT1s
 'I eat rice and go home.'

 (b) *gu jaco ja-ŋa nuŋ k^him la-ŋa
 I rice eat-NPT1s and house go-NPT1s
 'I eat rice and go home.'

 (c) wə-ka-di kwaŋ sikə nuŋ kwaŋ ryakcom b Λ

my-exc-POSS one book and one pen be.NPT3s
 'I have a book and a pen.'

From the examples given above, it is to be noted that the coordinator **ko** 'and' is used to coordinate two simple sentences and another one **nuŋ** 'and' is used to coordinate two lexicons.

Compound Sentences

In compound sentence, one of the constituent clauses is finite. The subordinate clause may precede the finite (major) clause or it may embed within it. The compound sentences are dealt below.

Infinitive Clause

Infinitive clauses are complements to volitional modal or evaluative verbs, and to certain nouns, e.g.

a. Tolocha dzaco dza-co dwak-ta syam (Kiranti-Kõits *śyã*)
 Tolocha rice eat-INF want-PT3s may be
 'Tolocha may like/want to eat rice.'

b. myak^hana kwaŋ-cam a-kwaŋ-me-lai lam gi-co
 meantime one-ERG EMPH-one-GEN-DAT way give-INF
 ma-bi-se
 NEG-agree-3d
 'Meantime, they do not want to give way each other.'

Purposive Clause

Purposive clauses are formed with the suffix *-t^ha* (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits) following the verb stem. They express that someone is or has moved somewhere in order to do something, e.g.

(a) syal a-ke sek^hli pa-t^ha atola g^hlo-me dyum
 jackal his-GEN prey do-PURP out come-PERF be.NPT
 'A jackal goes out for prey or hunting in order to hunt.'

Converb Clauses

The converb clauses are dealt in the sub-topic below.

Simultaneous Converb

The simultaneous Converb (marked by *-soŋ* and *-na*) is used together with a motion verb in a directional verb construction. It indicates an action that is happened simultaneously with other action, e.g.

(a) gu Nalungma-nuŋ lo pa-soŋ k^him le-ti
 I Nalungma-COM talk do-CONV house return-PT1s
 "While talking with Nalungma, I returned home."

(b) gu p^had^h-e pa-ŋa-na bre-ŋa
 I^s read-PT1s do-NPT1s-CONV cry-NPT1s
 "While reading I cry out."

(c) dza-t^hŋ-na pi-ti
 eat-PT1s-CONV come-PT1s
 "Eating it I came."

- (d) gu pʌd^h-e pa-tʌŋ-na ryak-tʌŋ
 I1s read-PT1s do-PT1s-CONV write-PT1s
 "While reading I wrote."

Sequential Converb

The sequential converb (marked by *-so or -somam(i)* and *-ko*) is used to combine clauses, with the event of the first clause prior to that the second. It corresponds in function to the so-called 'conjunctive participle' in Nepali and other South Asian languages, e.g.

- (a) gu sikʌ dzap-somam k^him le-ti
 I1s book buy-CONV house return-PT1s
 "Having bought a book, I returned home."
- (b) gu yam te pa-ŋa-ko bre-ŋa
 I1s this work do-NPT1s-CONV cry-NPT.1s.
 "Having done this work, I cry out."
- (c) bre-ta-ko mo-ta
 summon-PT3s-CONV say-PT3s
 "Having summoned him, he told him."
- (d) gu pʌd^h-e pa-tʌŋ-ko ryak-tʌŋ
 I1s read-PT1s do-PT1s-CONV write-PT1s
 "Having gone through, I wrote."
- (e) gu nyba pa-somami pəriksha gi-ŋa
 I1s good do-CONV exam give-NPT1s
 "Having prepared well, I take exam."

The verb with converbs and the following another verb are also inflected for tense and person/number agreement.

Negativization

In Kiranti-Bayung, a simple clause employs the strategy of morphological negation like in Kiranti-Kõits. The negative prefix *ma-* (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits) attaching to the verb negativizes the verb forms. The following sentences show the contrast of negation to the corresponding positive sentences, e.g.

- (a) am dzaco dza-wa
 he rice eat-NPT3s
 "S/he eats rice."
- (b) am dzaco **ma**-dza-wa
 he rice NEG-eat-NPT3s
 "S/he does not eat rice."
- (c) am ŋa le
 he fish sell.NPT3s
 "S/he sells fish."
- (d) am ŋa **ma**-le
 he fish NEG-sell NPT3s
 "S/he does not sell fish."

(e) dza-se-si
eat-2d-3d.
"(You two) Eat (them two)!"

(f) **ma**-dza-se-si
NEG-eat-2d-3d.
"(You two) Don't eat (them two)!"

The negative prefix *ma-* (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits) affects the verb root. The past form of the verb changes into non-past when negative prefix *ma-* is added in the verb, e.g.

(a) Tsursi-mi dzaco dzap-ta
Tsursi-ERG rice eat-PT.3s.
"Tsursi ate rice."

(b) Tsentsi-mi dzaco **ma**-dza-wa
Tsentsi-ERG rice NEG-eat-NPT3s
" Tsentsi did not eat rice."

(c) dza-tʌŋ
eat-PT1s
"I ate it."

(d) **ma**-dza-ŋa-wa
NEG-eat-NPT1s-NPT3s
"I did not eat it."

(e) dza-ta-su
eat-PT3s-1d exc
"We (two) ate it."

(f) **ma**-dza-su-wa
NEG-eat-1d exc-NPT3s
"We (two) did not eat it."

(g) dza-ta-se
eat-PT.3s-3d.
"They (two) ate it."

(h) **ma**-dza-se-wa
NEG-eat-3d-NPT3s
"They (two) did not eat it."

(i) la-tʃi
go-PT1s
"I went."

(j) **ma**-la-ŋa-wa
NEG-go-NPT.1s-NPT.3s
"I went."

Question

The declarative sentences can be changed into interrogatives by means of question words or with rising intonation. In interrogative sentences the verb gets the meaning of interrogative mood. The yes/no types of questions are marked by the intonation given to the part of a sentence where the speaker wants to be clear about the information required. Interrogative is the sentence type or verb form typically used in asking a question, e.g.

- (a) gΛ-ni-mi **tut-ta-ni**
 you-hono-ERG hear-PT-2hono
 "Did you hear?"
- (b) am-mi kwanj kokco-mi busa **sa-ta**
 he-ERG one sick-INST snake kill-PT.3s.
 "Did he kill a snake with stick?"
- (c) gΛ-ni-mi mar-mar **ŋin-ni**
 you-hono-ERG what-what hear-2hono.
 "Did you hear anything?"
- (d) gΛ-ni myam ɓaku tyu-ta-ni
 you-hono that water drink-PT-2hono
 "Did you drink that water?"
- (e) gΛ-mi dzaco dza-(y)i
 you-ERG rice eat-NPT2s
 "Do you eat rice?"

The parts of the sentence in the given examples above (a) to (e) in bold face are marked by the intonation denoting the interrogative mood. Adding different question words before the verb forms the referential interrogatives. The question words used to make an interrogative are as follows.

mara	'what'
su/syu	'who'
gyala	'where'
gena/gyana	'when'
geso	'how much/many'
gokso	'why'
gyem/gyam	'which'

Other instances are:

- (a) i-ni-ke niŋ mara
 you-hono-GEN name what
 "What is your name?"
- (b) gΛ-ni yam kΛmidz syu-mi le-ta
 you-hono this shirt who-ERG sell-PT
 "Who sold this shirt to you?"
- (c) i-ni-ke k^him gyala
 you-hono-GEN house where
 "Where is your house?"
- (d) Dhiren-mi dzaco gyana/gena dzap-ta
 Dhiren-ERG rice when eat-PT3s

"When did Dhiren eat rice?"

- (e) yam meso-mi geso bʌku ty
 this buffalo-ERG how much water drink NPT
 "How much water does this buffalo drink?"
- (f) i-ni-ke kʰim-di geso tawa-dwa bʌ-me
 you-hono-GEN house-LOC how many son-pl be-3pl
 "How many sons are there in your house?"
- (g) am-dwa-mi wə-wa **gokso** cyom-ta-me
 he-pl-ERG my-cloth why bur-PT-3pl
 "Why did they burn my cloth?"
- (h) i-ni-ke kʰim **gyam**
 you-hono-GEN house which
 "Which is your house?"
- (i) eke-dij Okhaldhunga **geso** bʌ
 here-ABL Okhaldhunga how far be NPT
 "How far is Okhaldhunga from here?"
- (j) i-ni-ke dyal-di **geso** kʰim-dwa bʌ-me
 you-hono-GEN village-LOC how many house-pl. be-3pl.
 "How many houses are there in your village?"
- (k) meke syu/su ip-soŋ bʌ
 there who sleep-PROG be.NPT
 "Who is sleeping there?"
- (l) meke gʌ **mar** pa-soŋ bʌ-ŋe
 there you what do-PROG be-2s.
 "What are you doing there?"

The question word *mara* 'what' is sometimes pronounced as *mar* (resembles to Kiranti-Kõits). The examples given above (a) to (l) show the type of question words used in Kiranti-Bayung interrogative sentences.

Reflexivization

In Kiranti-Bayung, the reflexive pronoun suffix marker is -dʌbʌŋ/-dʌbʌŋ, e.g.

- (a) gʌ yam te i-dʌbʌŋ pap-wo
 you this work your-REFL do-IMP
 "Do this work yourself."
- (b) gʌ-ni-mi myam te i-ni-dʌbʌŋ pan-ta-ni
 I-hon-ERG that work your-hono-REFL do-PT3s-hono
 "You did that work yourself."
- (c) am-dwa-si myam te a-si-dʌbʌŋ pa-se
 he-pl-d that work him-d-REFL do-3d
 "They two do that work themselves."

Causativization

Two types of causative construction are available in Kiranti-Bayung. One type of causative construction is often formed from intransitive bases by devoicing the initial consonants- and likewise, adding **t** and **d** to the base in some verbs, causal verbs are formed. The other type of causative construction are exemplified below.

Type A

One type of process of causativization is from the intransitive bases by hardening the initial consonants, i.e. the initial consonants b, d and g of intransitive bases becomes **p**, **t** and **k**, e.g.

- | | | |
|-----|------|-----------------|
| (a) | boko | 'get up' |
| | poko | 'raise' |
| (b) | doko | 'fall' |
| | toko | 'cause to fall' |
| (c) | giko | 'be born' |
| | kiko | 'beget' |

Adding *t* or *d* to the base forms other causal, e.g.

- | | | |
|-----|-------|------------------|
| (a) | piwø | 'come' |
| | pitø | 'bring' |
| (b) | rawø | 'come' |
| | ratø | 'bring' |
| (c) | tunø | 'drink' |
| | tundø | 'cause to drink' |
| (d) | ni:sø | 'sit' |
| | ni:tø | 'set' |

Type B

Bandhu (1985) says that in morphological construction causative is expressed in terms of morphological devices such as affixation and internal modification. Thus, in Kiranti-Bayung, morphological causativisation is very simple and productive. Adding the morpheme **-pa** in the root of the main verb forms the causativisation³. Every verb in Kiranti-Bayung can be made causative by adding this morpheme, e.g.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (a) | ɲino | 'Listen!' |
| | ɲin- ap -to | 'Cause him to listen' |
| (b) | ryako | 'Write!' |
| | ryaɲ- pa -to | 'Cause him to write' |
| (c) | am-mi yam | te pat-ta |
| | he-ERG | this work do-PT3s |

³ *paco* in Kiranti-Bayung and *paca* in Kiranti-Kõits is the causative of all verbs, and is derived from the root *pa*. 'do or make'. All verbs in Kiranti-Kiranti-Bayung and Kiranti- Kõits whatever can be made causal by adding to their root the transitive verb *patø* from *pa* 'do or make'.

"He did this work."

- (d) am-mi a-lai yam te pa-pat-ta
he-ERG him-DAT this work do-CAUS-PT3s
"He made him do this work."
- (e) am-mi kura kur-ta
he-ERG load carry-PT3s
"He carried a load."
- (f) gu-ki a-lai kura kur-pa-tak-ku
I-plexc him-ACC load carry-CAUS-PT3s-1pl exc
"We made him carry load."
- (g) am-mi dzaco dzap-ta
s/he-ERG rice eat-PT3s
"S/he ate rice."
- (h) am-mi am-lai/a-lai dzaco dza-pat-ta
he/she-ERG him-DAT rice eat-CAUS-PT3s
"He/She made him/her eat rice."
- (i) am rap-ta
s/he stand-PT3s
"He/She stood up."
- (j) gu am-lai ram-pat-təŋ
I1s him/her-DAT stand-CAUS-PT1s
"I made him/her stand up."

Almost the same process exists in Kiranti-Kõits (cf. Rapacha 2005) grammar also. In this sketchy grammatical description of less than six months, we observed on phonology, morphology and syntax in comparative perspective. A comprehensive analysis would help to find out linguistic, socio-anthropological and genealogical facts of Kiranti-Bayung and Kiranti-Kõits people which would obviously revitalize, preserve, promote and develop their glorious linguistic and socio-cultural identity.

Unit III

Texts in Kiranti-Bayung: Genesis of Socio-anthropology

As discussed in Unit I, Koktisala, Dzuma and Khliuma are the main mythological characters who link the Kiranti people divided into more than two dozen languages from *Wallo* to *Pallo* Kirant, east Nepal. In course of data collection, I have collected more than twenty-two stories ranging from myths, legends, anecdotes to narratives. I have here included limited texts for the purpose of finding out the structures of Kiranti-Bayung narratives. I propose to publish the rest of the stories or texts in a separate volume.

TEXT A

Kwóng múryeu hópo ke di brétha* látá. Gyékhopáso brétha dáyána. Wa khyim di kwóng múryeu, rásogno bwaktako, wa ming nung dwángmóse. Gó harem gyánaiyo má tágna, syú, syú. íke nyau ársa jajulso, myem sícho, láma, dáso, binti †pápta.

Mokoding hópomi harem kwóng rí nyúba gyáwa dyampattame sisi giptako chyanta, yem sísí í ming giptako, syuyo má giwo, dáso, lópáso, giwo. Hárem múryeumi myem khógno páta. Hópomi yo chíwacha dau brétamiko chyantámi. syuke di rínyuba gyáwa rinám, myem rácho.

Mékeding ryamnipo béla kwósomami ming ke dí dita. Myem mingmi wádi rínyúba gyáwa khlyákti giptáko mócho préusta, mára dáyana, wa wancha mi syú (or sú) má giwo mótime bwá. Naka ga wa ram khome bwagne, I kamdi mára khéda syu ke kam di ra data (or mota). Mékeding ryamnipo khyim ding glutana chíwachadaúmi á rí tamtameko, myem simtámeke hópo ke di chótha dimtame.

Mékeding hópomi á wancha brétako, móta, yem í ryamnipo, dwákti khedda chyáro, dwakti khedda plyénti giwo (or pleyenotako) dáso dáta.

We have interlinearized the same Hodgsonian text here from historical perspective.

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. | kwaŋ | muru | hopo-ke-di | bre-t ^h a | la-ta. |
| | one | man | king- GEN-LOC | complain- PURP | go-PT3s |
| 2. | gyekho-pa-so | bre-t ^h a | daya-na? | Λ | k ^h im-di |
| | How-do-CONV | complain-PURP | my | house- LOC | |
| | kwaŋ | muru | ra-soŋo | bak-tako | miŋ-nuŋ |
| | one | man | come-PROG | be-PT3s-CONV | wife-with |
| | <i>dwaŋ-mo-se.</i> | | | | |
| | love each other-3d | | | | |
| 3. | gu | harem | gyanaiya | ma-ta-ŋa | syu syu |
| | Ils | him | ever | NEG-PT3s | who who |
| 4. | <i>i-ke</i> | <i>nyayΛ</i> | <i>asra</i> | <i>dzadzul-sa</i> | <i>myam si-co</i> |
| | you-GEN | justice | confidence | put-CONV | that seize-INF |
| | <i>lam</i> | <i>d-so</i> | <i>binti</i> | <i>pap-ta.</i> | |
| | Let-me-go | say-CONV | request | make-PT.3s | |
| 5. | <i>moko-diŋ</i> | <i>hopo-mi</i> | <i>harem kwaŋ</i> | <i>ri</i> | <i>nyuba gyawa</i> |
| | there-ABL | king-ERG | him one | smell | good oil |
| | <i>Dyampattame</i> | <i>sisi</i> | <i>gip-ta-ko</i> | <i>cyan-ta.</i> | <i>'yem sisi i</i> |
| | filled | bottle | give-PT3s-CONV | say-PT3s | this bottle your |

- miŋ gip-ta-ko. "syuyo ma-gi-wø." da-so*
 wife give-PT3sCONV anyone neg-GIVE-IMP say-CONV
lo-pa-so gi-wø!
 talk-do-CONV give-IMP
6. *myam muru-mi k^hoŋo pap-ta.*
 that man-ERG manner do-PT3s
7. *hopo-mi yo ciwaca-dwa^Λ bre-ta-mi-ko cyan-ta-mi*
 king-ERG also spy-pl call -PT.3s-CONV say-PT3s-3pl
syu-ke-di ri nyuba gyawa rinam myem ra-co.
 who-GEN-LOC smell good oil smelling him bring-ING
8. *meke-diŋ ryamnipo bela kwoso-mami miŋ-ke-di di-ta.*
 there-ABL adulterer time seeing wife-GEN-LOC go-PT3S
9. *myem miŋ-mi wa-di ri nyuba gyawa k^hlyakti*
 that wife-ERG cloth-LOC smell good oil anointing
gip-ta-ko mo-co prens-ta mara da-ya-na.
 give-PT.3s-CONV say-INF begin-PT3s what say-3pl inc-CONV
'^Λ wanca-mi syu ma-gi-wø motime ba'
 my husband-ERG anyone NEG-give-IMP said beNPT3s
10. *naka ga ^Λ ram-khome bwaŋ. i te-di ma-ra-k^heda*
 but you my body-like art. your work-LIC NEG-come-if
syu-ke te-di ra?
 Who-GEN work-LOC comes
11. *meke-diŋ ryamnipo k^him-diŋ glu-ta-na ciwaca-d^Λw-mi*
 there-ABL adulterer house-ABL issue-PT3s spy-pl-ERG
a ri tam-ta-me-ko myem sim-ta-me-ko
 his smell find-PT3s-3pl-CONV him size-PT3s-3pl-CONV
hopo-ke-di co-t^ha dim-ta-me.
 King-GEN-LOC bring-PURP go-PT3s-3pl
12. *meke-diŋ hopo-mi a wanca bret-ta-ko*
 there-ABL king-ERG her husband call-PT.3s-CONV
mo-ta. 'yem i ryamnipo: dwakti k^heda.
 say-PT.3s this your wife's-lover wished if
sat-tø: dwakti k^heda. plyenti giwø,
 kill-IMP wished if release give-IMP
da-so da-ta.
 say-CONV say-PT3s

Free Translation of the Narrative Text

A man went to his king for complaining. An unknown person is in habit of coming to my house to make love to my life, and I can never contrive to indentify him. I rely on your justice to have that person arrested. The king then gives a phial filled with scented oil and said to him, "give this phial to your wife and caution her not to give it to anyone". The man did so, and the king instructed his spies to seize any person whose clothes had the scent of attar.

By and by, the lover, finding an opportunity, went to his mistress. She rubbed the attar on his clothes and said, "my husband desired me to give this attar to no one, but you are my life; to whom should I give it if not to you?" Then, the lover left the house, and the spies, smelling the attar, seized him and brought him to the king. The king sent for the husband and said, "This is your wife's lover. If you wish, kill him, or if you wish, let him go".

Vocabulary used in the text

murū	'man, person, mankind'
hopo	'king'
k ^h im	'house'
rosoŋo	'coming'
miŋ	'wife'
ma	'not'
syu	'who'
ike	'your'
myem	'that'
sico	'to seize'
daco	'to say'
moko	'there'
gyawa	'oil'
cyanta	'said'
giwø	'Give!'
bretta	'called'
ri	'smell'
raco	'to bring'
meke	'there'
wa	'cloth'
wanca	'husband'
gΛ	'you'
te	'work'
khedda	'if'
paco	'to do;to make'
nyuβa	'good'
gipta	'gave'
jem	'this'
lo	'talk speech'
jo	'also'
di	'in'
dita	'went'
prensta	'began'
bΛ	'is'
ram	'body'
ra	'comes'
sattø	'Kill!'

The above text collected during the Hodgsonian era is evident that the spoken Kiranti-Bayung language of that time was less influenced by lingua franca Nepali whereas other translated Kiranti-Bayung texts in modern period seem much more influenced by Nepali. We propose to publicize the rest of the twenty-two texts separately.

Unit IV

Kiranti-Bayung Lexicon: Nature and Need for Documentation

During the course of this research project, we have collected about 5000 lexicon ranging from daily conversation to ritual performance. The collected lexicon has been digitally stored for building its corpora and producing dictionary aimed at learners in the future. Therefore, we have presented here some vocabulary for tracing out Kiranti-Bayung's possible sounds and lexemes starting from those sounds. They are:

ə

əm, əməmme adj. 'yellow'
əmbiri n. 'sunkhari plant'
əkərlam adj. 'next'
ək^harj adv. 'slowly'
əncə] v. 'to run'

ā

āka n. 'grain (of crops)'
ākrimcipaβa adj. 'bolssomed'

i

ipdik^ha n. 'bed'
ipco v. 'to sleep'

u

upco v. 'to collect'
ubla n. 'ray (of sun)'

o

okco v. 'to cover out'
apo-capo n. 'male pig'

e

ema n. 'mother'
eli n. 'chin'

b

boldo n. bug
bla:na adj. spread

b^h

b^hapco v. 'to stop'
b^hara n. 'jack-fruit'

β

βa n. 'fowl, rooster, cock'
βapco v. 'to scratch'

c

cəŋkaleŋma n. 'wasp'

cəŋka n. 'hen'

c^h

c^haŋakosi n. 'a type of frog'

c^həpəte adj. 'the youngest son'

g

gəkco v. 'walk'

gələ n. 'wine'

g^h

g^həca n. 'stick'

g^hro n. 'horn'

fi

fiilo n. 'question'

fiwa n. 'spirit'

dz

dzəmu n. 'sister of father'

dzaco v. 'to eat'

dz^h

dz^həkco v. 'reach'

dz^hira adj. 'good'

k

kico v. 'to cook'

kicom adj. 'cookable'

kina adj. 'cooked'

k^h

k^həmalci n. 'peach'

k^həkco v. 'jump over'

l

ləkco v. 'to cross'

lam n. 'path'

ŋ

ŋəkco v. weep

ŋa n. fish

m

məsi n. 'a kind of cereal, pulse'

manima(o) n. 'cymbal'

n

nəkco v. 'chew'

nəkso n. 'Bayung priest'

p

paco v. 'to do something, have sex'

pərk^hlica n. 'wolf'**p^h**p^huŋp^huksara n. 'yeast'**r**

rəkco v. 'to tease'

rabdzi n. 'body'

s

sobumale n. 'hill and forest'

sələŋ n. 'song'

ttuŋk^hro n. 'grain holder'

təsala n. 'moon'

t^ht^həloram n. 'echo't^hapco v. 'to weight, compare'**d**

dəkco v. 'to like'

duk^haca adj. 'poor'**d^h**d^hə adj. 'quick, fast'd^haco v. 'rise'**D^h**D^hjaŋgro**j(y)**

jəkpe n. 'leach'

juksi n. 'salt'

w

wa n. 'cloth'

waŋkar n. 'jealousy'

Our observation in these examples and in our corpus, shows that Kiranti-Bayung's lexicon is very limited to its kitchen, conversation, ritual, songs, story-telling and lacks

vocabulary for education, science and technology, politics, bureaucracy, diplomacy, literature and so on. However, the speakers have a lot of indigenous vocabulary related to their indigenous knowledge which needs urgent documentation. The speakers and the government policy thus have to go a long way home to preserve, promote and develop Kiranti-Bayung along with other indigenous languages spoken in the country.

Unit V

Measures for Language Vitality-policy-planning

5.1 Socio-eco-political background

After decades of socio-economic exclusion and one decade of armed conflicts in the country, the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) had set its programmes in order to resolve the problem of exclusion. The Tenth Plan thus aims provide opportunities by empowering the backward people and people of indigenous and ethnic groups who are unable to participate actively in the development mainstream. Keeping this in mind, the Ninth Plan incorporated special policy and programs related indigenous people and ethnic groups.

Some of the indigenous people and ethnic groups are far behind the mainstreaming of modern development because of geographic remoteness, harsh climatic condition and conservative traditional social values. It is possible to make concrete contribution in the promotion of social justice by undertaking the works like capability enhancement, individually and in the group as well as their active participation in the social and political process for mainstreaming them into development process. It will help even to sustain development of social and economic sectors of the country.

Its major strategies are:

- A. Assist to create egalitarian society by making all-round development of indigenous people and ethnic groups through the programs related to social, educational, economic and cultural development as well as uplift indigenous people and ethnic groups.
- B. Protect and promote the language, scripts, culture/literature, art, history of indigenous people and ethnic groups.
- C. Protect and promote traditional skill, technology and specialized knowledge and assist to utilize them in commercial purpose.
- D. Indigenous people and ethnic groups will be made partners in the mainstreaming of overall development by fostering good relationship, goodwill and respect among the various indigenous people, ethnic groups, castes and communities.

The tenth plan in consonance with its strategies to mainstream the ethno-indigenous people has the following working policy for all-round development and egalitarian society:

Related to Strategies A

- I. Arrangement will be made to implement the on-going targeted programs of indigenous and ethnic groups making necessary structural and institutional reforms effective
- II. Priority will be given to persons of highly backward and endangered indigenous people and ethnic groups for admission in technical and non-technical subjects under higher education. Similarly, the scholarship program will be extended for the children of that community in the schools and it will be made effective.
- III. In order to make active participation in the development activities, awareness among economically backward indigenous people and ethnic communities in the matter of education, health, economic and social will be increased. The employment and profession oriented programs will be implemented with the intention of minimizing economic and social imbalances existed between the indigenous people/ethnic groups and the advanced ethnic communities.
- IV. Women of indigenous/ethnic groups will be empowered by extending women development programs.
- V. The capacity of women of indigenous/ethnic group will be developed by providing legal protection of their traditional development friendly rights.

VI. Mandatory arrangement will be made to analyze the status of indigenous people and ethnic groups of the district in the time of formulation of district plan by the local institutions particularly District Development Committees.

Related to strategy B

Conservation of cultural heritage

- I. Steps will be taken to establish model village or museums to enable the identification of multi-lingual, multi-religious, and multi-culture of the country.

Related to strategy C

Traditional skills and specialization

- I. Indigenous people and ethnic groups will be made partner in the process of national development through condition research, conservation and promotion of diverse culture, knowledge and skills inherent in them.
- II. The National Academy for Development of Indigenous Nationalities Act, 2058 BS with the objectives of protecting the rights of indigenous culture, language and diverse knowledge has been promulgated. The Academy will be established and strengthened.

Related to strategy D

Mainstreaming

- I. The indigenous people and ethnic groups will be empowered through decentralization, local community development, human resource development and mobilization, efforts of poverty alleviation and lingual and cultural institutions.
- II. The programs of various agencies of His Majesty's Government (now Government of Nepal) will be targeted to those groups and to those areas where majority of indigenous people and ethnic groups reside. Special arrangement will be made for monitoring and evaluation to investment programs launched by the non-governmental organizations to uplift indigenous people and ethnic groups.

During this plan period, the government had included the following programs for ethno-indigenous peoples as its positive initiatives:

- I. Providing access to suitable agricultural technologies and products.
- II. Forming distinct Janajati Groups after identifying them.
- III. Food for work program and providing proper training by forming women's groups from ultra-poor Janajatis.
- IV. Assisting Janajatis in setting up appropriate small rural industries.
- V. At least 25 percent of the total participants in various rural programs will be Janajatis.
- VI. Scholarship for the poor and bright Janajati children.
- VII. Finding out why Janajati children drop out of school and adopting the measures to check it.
- VIII. Conducting special health camps for Janajatis.
- IX. Housing arrangement for homeless Janajatis.
- X. Grants to be awarded to poor Janajati for micro-irrigation.
- XI. Arrangement of leasehold forest within community forests for Janajatis forest users.
- XII. Providing financial assistance to poor Janajatis through NGOs for poverty alleviation programs and mobilizing Janajatis to conduct such programs.
- XIII. Loan assistance to Janajati seeking jobs abroad.
- XIV. Arrangement of special grants to Janajatis.

Finally, none of the above points mention any initiative for language preservation, promotion and development of those ethno-indigenous peoples. So is the case of Kiranti-Bayung also. Until no fund has been allocated for producing pedagogical materials like textbooks, grammars, reference materials, story books and so on. Because of this reason children are rarely

learning the language. Kiranti-Bayung is no more the medium of education yet. Therefore, availability of written literature also is very few.

As far as the linguistic history of Kiranti-Bayung is concerned, it actually lacks its literary development. The language is just oral and the children learn from their parents and have been passing from generation to generation. This situation is essentially leading to language shrinkage and endangerment since the domain of language use is kitchen and secrecy.

5.2 Language Use in the Past

In the past the language was used as their main language of communication. It was the only means to share their feelings, thoughts and other expressions. Of late, it has remained among the village people and old persons only. Previously, the language was used in the all domain of life; children, adults and the old all used to use the language. At present, only old and aged ones use the language fluently. Younger ones use Khas or Nepali language as the means of communication. These days, the language is mainly used in the festivals, in worshipping their family deities and other gods and goddesses and in several rituals.

5.3 Language Maintenance

When a language lacks its written texts or rich literature, it cannot be preserved, developed or finally standardized. In fact, written forms are the means of inception of language development. Therefore, it is difficult for its maintenance. Recently, the Kiranti-Bayung people themselves have started some significant programmes of producing literature and pedagogical materials for revitalizing their linguistic heritage.

Unit VI

Summary and Findings

Kiranti-Bayung as one of the vanishing and minority languages of eastern Nepal is primarily spoken by about 900 adult and less young speakers mainly in some Kiranti villages of *Wallo Kirant* 'Hither/Near Kirat' viz. Okhaldhunga and Solukhumbu districts. The term 'Bayung' [>Kiranti-Bayung; plus five other sub-group names: Rumda(li), Pai, Necha(li), Roke and Hangu cf. Lee (2005: 11 ff)] refers to ethnonym and glossonym as well whereas 'Kiranti' is a hypo-ethnonym of more than two dozens of distinct linguistic and several divergent cultural groups of indigenous people residing in the eastern part of the country from *Wallo, Majh* to *Pallo Kirant*. The number of Bayung population recorded is 2,765 (CBS 2001) all over the country. Okhaldhunga among others is the only district of their core area, where the highest number of 1,957 populations is recorded in the recent census report. Overall, they occupy 0.01% facing identity and survival crisis in their 'logosphere' because of adverse and discriminative language policy atmosphere.

During this period of research we have discovered one major achievement among the speakers is literary or creative writings which supports for language maintenance procedure and for producing pedagogical materials to support multilingual inclusive education. It obviously helps for enriching its lexicon. We have incorporated lexemes from their creative writings also. However, the colossal problem is that the government irrespective of its efforts taken in the Tenth Plan has not invested or allocated a single penny for the preservation, promotion and development of Kiranti-Bayung language including for the rest of the languages spoken in the country. NFDIN's initiation is very very insignificant in this regard.

Kiranti-Bayung as one of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Sino-Tibetan family has some peculiar features of its own besides the characteristics of Tibeto-Burman languages. Unlike its sister language Kiranti-Koits, Kiranti-Bayung has very productive lexemes amongst b, b^h, ɓ, c, c^h, g, g^h, dz, dz^h, d and d^h. The language has thirty-seven phonemes out of which eleven are vowels and twenty-six are consonants. This language possesses greater frequency of velar nasal /ŋ/ and bilabial voiced implosive sound /ɓ/. The implosive is similar to Kiranti-Wambule and historically rediscovered however unproductive in Kiranti-Koits also. Kiranti-Bayung has contrast between aspiration and voicing. It has four well-defined sets of voiceless unaspirated, voiced unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced aspirated contrastive sounds. The alveolar stop sound pattern is not found in this language. Both open-syllable and closed-syllable are possible in Bahing.

Kiranti-Bayung lacks grammatical gender. The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding suffixes or qualifying words, such as *apo* 'father, male'; *amo* 'mother, female', etc. There are three numbers- singular, the dual, and the plural. The suffix of the plural is *dwA*, and that of the dual *dwA-si*. The subject of intransitive verbs and the direct and indirect object are not distinguished by adding any suffix. The genitive is expressed by putting the common suffix *ke* and *dim* in same context. The most common suffixes used to form adjectives are *ba*, *wa*, *ca*, *me* (or *m*), *na* and *ke*. It will be seen that most of them can be considered as participles. The language lacks classifiers.

Kiranti-Bayung has its own lexical item of counting numerals. The higher numbers are counted in twenties, and prefixing the multiplier indicates that multiplication. Adding the smaller after the higher number indicates addition. Pronouns are in most respects inflected like nouns. The pronouns of the first person have double sets of the dual and the plural, one including and the other excluding the person or persons addressed. The honorificity is restricted to the second person, which is used to the in-laws relation. The second and third person pronouns lack the inclusive and exclusive system. In Bahing there are temporal, locational/directional, manner adverbs along with adverbs of frequency.

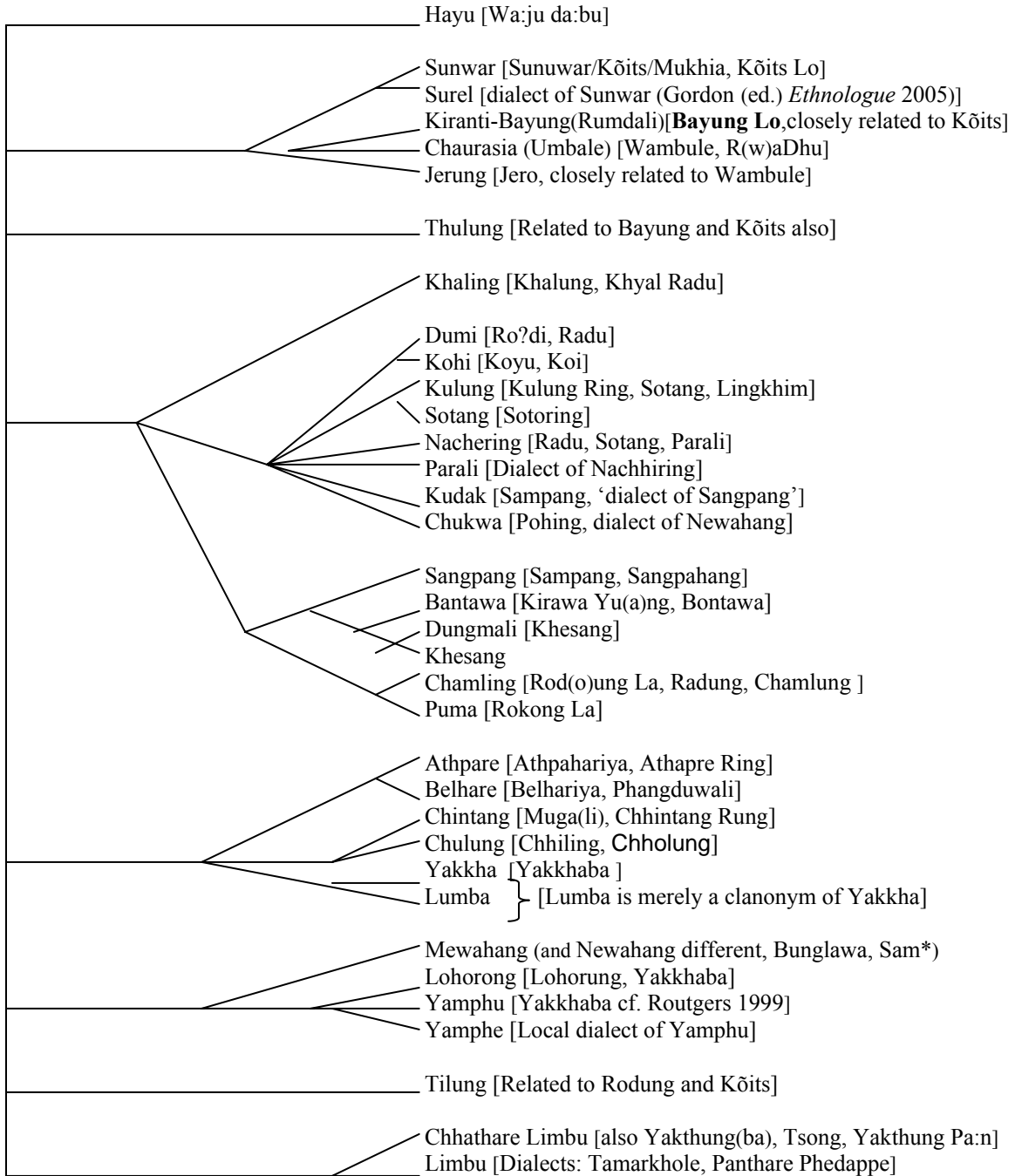
The verbs in Kiranti-Bayung have a rich inflectional system (cf. Hodgson 1857, van Driem 1991b). The verb stems can be classified into three classes on the basis of the structure. They are primitive, derivative and complex. Most of the primitive stems are monosyllabic. The derivational stems are causative and negatives ones. The complex stems, through internally complex, form a single unit and takes tense morpheme and other verbal suffixes. The morphophonological processes that give rise to alternations in the root-final consonants of verbs are lenition, nasal assimilation, and deletion with compensatory lengthening. The last two processes in particular make it impossible to identify the root with certainty from particular verbal form and thus to predict the rest of the paradigm. Verbs in *-p/* conjugate entirely as those in *-k/* (with */p/* becomes */m/* where */k/* becomes */ŋ/*), and verbs in *-m/*, *-r/*, and *-l/* conjugate as verbs in *-n/* (i.e. with the root final remaining invariable). Root-final */t/* and */ŋ/* are deleted before suffix initial consonants or word-boundary. In compensation, the vowel of the root syllable is lengthened.

The Kiranti-Bayung verbs show different-inflected forms. As a pronominalized language, the first person dual, plural with inclusive and exclusive, and second person singular (with honorific), dual and plural (with honorific-cum-non-honorific), and third person dual forms are marked for the pronominal subject. The first person singular, second person singular and third person singular, plural pronouns are not suffixed onto the verb. Tense system in Bahing shows the two-way contrast, namely, past and non-past. Bahing verb shows the different morphological aspect marking system like progressive, habitual and some other periphrastic aspects viz. present perfect and past perfect. The mood system in Bahing shows the distinction of declarative, interrogative, imperative, optative and hortative moods.

The process of negativization is simple, i.e. the negative prefix *ma-* negates the positive verb forms throughout. Bahing language possesses but existential copula verb */bʌ/* and identificational copula verb is covert and but semantically realized. The causative suffix *-pa* changes the non-causative verb into the causative one. In lexical causatives, the causals are formed from intransitive bases by hardening the initial consonant, i.e., the initial consonants *b*, *d* and *g* of intransitive bases become *p*, *t* and *k* while they are causativized. Its syntactic structures have both simplex and complex processes in discourse.

Its folklore provides a source of history, culture, socio-cultural anthropology related to the glorious past of the Kiranti people indicating how the people were divided linguistically and politically in the past. Kiranti-Bayung vocabulary is rich in its indigenous culture, knowledge and indigenous technology rather than that of modern education, science and technology.

Appendix I: Genetically related Kiranti languages of eastern Nepal

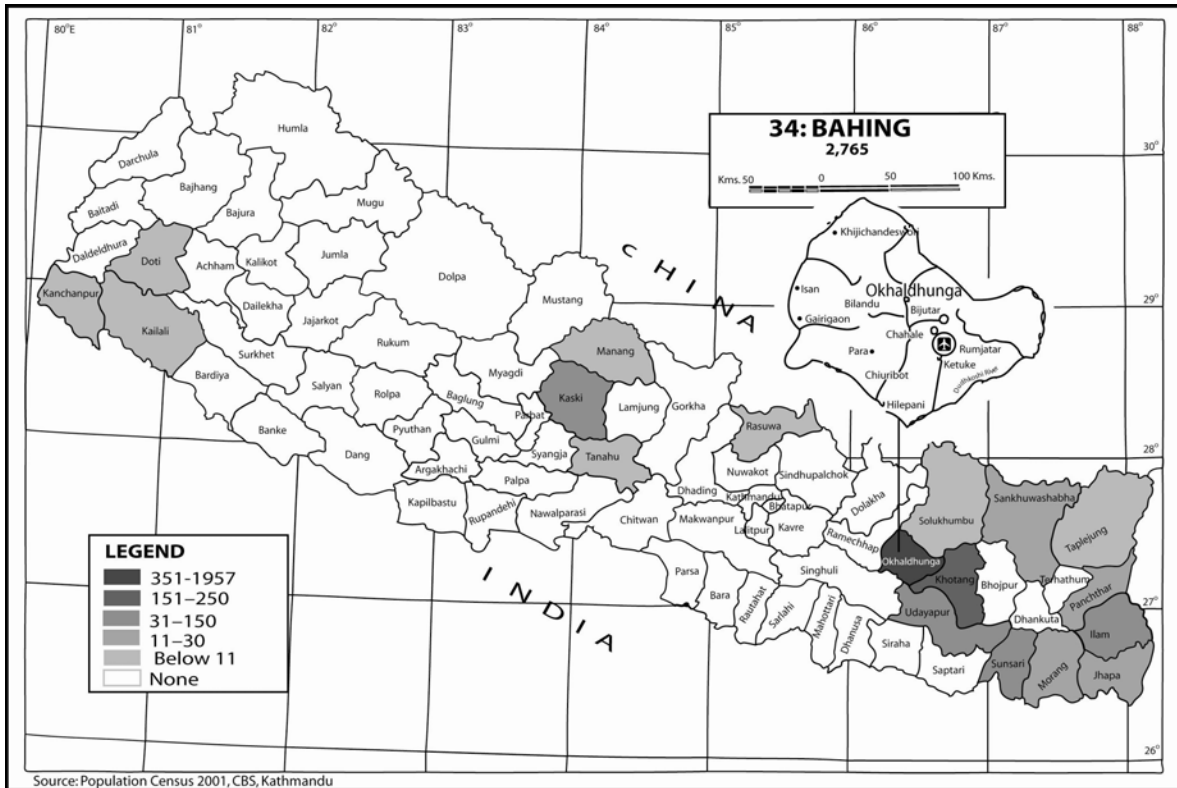


(Source: Bradley (1997: 16) and Rapacha (2005: 3-4) I have added extra information in [] brackets from several other sources)

* is an abusive term rather than dialect by Kulung or some other neighboring Kiranti speakers

Note: The language [**Bayung Lo**] under proposed documentation here is in boldface.

Appendix II: Kiranti-Bayung homeland



(Gurung, Gurung & Childi 2006:99)

Appendix III

TABLE 1: BAHING MOTHER TONGUE BY DISTRICT

FAR WEST			MID WEST		WEST			CENTRAL			EAST			Total	
DISTRICT	N	%	DISTRICT	N%	DISTRICT	N	%	DISTRICT	N	%	DISTRICT	N	%	N	%
MOUNTAIN															
					26 Manang	1	0.04	41 Rasuwa	1	0.04	60 Solu-Khumbu	4	0.14		
											61 Sankhuwa-Sava	22	0.80		
											62 Taplejung	1	0.04		
					Total	1	0.04	Total	1	0.04	Total	27	0.98	29	1.05
HILL															
6 Doti	1	0.04			33 Kaski	12	0.43	50 Kathmandu	15	0.54	63 Okhaldhunga	1,957	70.78		
					35 Tanahu	1	0.04	51 Lalitpur	7	0.25	64 Khotang	343	12.41		
											66 Udayapur	85	3.07		
											69 Panchthar	16	0.58		
											70 Ilam	100	3.62		
Total	1	0.04			Total	13	0.47	Total	22	0.80	Total	2,501	90.45	2,537	91.75
TARAI															
8 Kanchanpur	1	0.04									73 Sunsari	143	5.17		
9 Kailali	1	0.04									74 Morang	30	1.08		
											75 Jhapa	24	0.87		
Total	2	0.07									Total	197	7.12	199	7.20
Total	3	0.11			Total	14	0.51	Total	23	0.83	Total	2,725	98.55	2,765	100.00

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