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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF KIRĀNTI-KŌITS

A Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in fulfillment of the requirements for the
award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in
Linguistics

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tsema Ex-Teacher Purnakala Ngawocha-Mukhia (1938-2004 AD) and
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love my mother tongue, blessed me abundantly to carry out this
research and supported me morally even after
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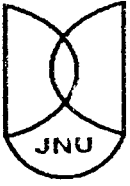
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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
List of Figures	xx
Photo plates	xx
Maps	xx
List of Tables	xxi
Diagrams	xxii
List of abbreviations, symbols and notational conventions	xxxii

Chapter One

A short introduction	1-54
1.1 General overview	1
1.1.1 Etymological accounts on nomenclature	5
1.1.1.1 An outline in general	5
1.1.1.2 The Exo-glonym 'Sun(u)war'	8
1.1.1.3 Meaning as hydronym	9
1.1.1.4 Shadows of misconceived meanings	10
1.1.1.5 Ethnic identity lumped with Mangar/Gurung tribe	10
1.1.1.6 Linguistic identity lumped with Mangar/Gurung tribe	12
1.1.1.7 Meaning as 'low caste' Kshetriya Hindu	12
1.1.1.8 Identity lumped with Kinnar	13
1.1.1.9 Meaning as Kshetriya or Khas	13
1.1.1.10 Meaning as Suryavamshi 'solar dynasty'	14
1.1.1.11 Meaning as 'Kirat dynasty'	14
1.1.1.12 The term 'Mukhia' for 'Sun(u)war'	14
1.1.1.13 The equivalent term 'Marpache'	15
1.1.2 Ethno-clanonyms and their R-G orthography	15
1.1.3 Ethno-clanonyms: A morpho-semantic interpretation	21
1.1.4 Summing up	25

1.2 A corrective look on ethnonym orthography	26
1.3 Genetic affiliation/classification	29
1.4 Geographical distribution and demographic details	36
1.5 A critical appraisal of literature	36
1.5.0 General	36
1.5.1 Vocabulary collection	37
1.5.2 Phonological/grammatical sketches	39
1.5.3 Anthro-linguistic and cultural descriptions	40
1.5.4 Comparative studies	41
1.5.5 Pedagogical materials	42
1.6 Linguistic diversity and multiplicity	45
1.7 Current research objectives	49
1.8 Scope of the study	51
1.9 Methodology	51
1.10 Organization of this study	54

Chapter Two

Mechanisms of sound and writing systems	55-116
2. Phonology	55
2.1 A preliminary outline	55
2.1.1 Segmental phonemic inventory	56
2.1.1.1 Vowel phonemes	57
2.1.1.1.1 Classification/distribution of vowels	57
2.1.1.1.2 Vowel clusters	60
2.1.1.1.3 Nasality contrast/nasal assimilation	64
2.1.1.1.4 Minimal/near-minimal pairs	67
2.1.1.1.5 Deletion of final vowels	68
2.1.1.2 Consonant phonemes	68
2.1.1.2.1 Classification/distribution of consonants	70
2.1.1.2.1.1 Bilabial stops	70

2.1.1.2.1.2 Dental stops	71
2.1.1.2.1.3 Alveolar stops	73
2.1.1.2.1.4 Retroflex Stops	74
2.1.1.2.1.5 Velar stops	74
2.1.1.2.1.6 Glottal Stop	76
2.1.1.2.1.7 Dental fricative	76
2.1.1.2.1.8 Palatal fricative	77
2.1.1.2.1.9 Glottal fricative	77
2.1.1.2.1.10 Velar nasal	78
2.1.1.2.1.11 Alveolar nasal	78
2.1.1.2.1.12 Bilabial nasal	79
2.1.1.2.1.13 Alveolar liquids	79
2.1.1.2.1.14 Palatal glide	80
2.1.1.2.1.15 Bilabial glide	80
2.1.1.3 Aspiration contrast	81
2.1.1.4 Free variation	81
2.1.1.5 Breathy voiced as ideolectal variation	82
2.1.1.6 Allophonic variation and sound change	83
2.1.1.6.1 Dark /ɹ/	83
2.1.1.6.2 Epenthesis	83
2.1.1.7 Consonant and syllable drop	84
2.2 Phonotactics	84
2.2.1 Consonant clusters	84
2.2.1.1 Initial cc- clusters	85
2.2.1.2 Medial -cc- clusters	87
2.2.1.2.1 Voiceless stop + consonant/glide	88
2.2.1.2.2 Voiced + consonant/trill	89
2.2.1.2.3 Nasal + consonant/trill	90
2.2.1.2.4 Continuant + consonant	91
2.2.1.3 Final -cc clusters	92

2.2.1.3.1 Nasal + consonant	92
2.2.1.3.2 Voiceless + consonant	93
2.2.1.3.3 Continuant + consonant	93
2.2.1.4 Geminates	94
2.2.1.5 Inverse geminates plus other processes	97
2.3.1.2 Syllabic structures	98
2.3.1.2.1 Monosyllabic structure	99
2.3.1.2.2 Disyllabic structure	100
2.3.1.2.2.1 Open second syllable	100
2.3.1.2.2.2 Closed second syllable	101
2.3.1.2.3 Trisyllabic structure	101
2.3.1.2.3.1 Third syllable is open	101
2.3.1.2.3.2 Third syllable is closed	102
2.3.1.2.4 Tetrasyllabic structure	102
2.3.1.2.4.1 Fourth syllable is closed	102
2.3.1.2.1 Syllable initials	103
2.3.1.2.2 Syllable finals	104
2.3.1.2.3 Syllable nuclei	104
2.4 Supra-segmental feature	105
2.4.1 Tone	105
2.5 Graphology or the writing system	109
2.5.1 A brief survey	110
2.5.2 Origin of the Kirānti-Kōits script	111
2.5.3 Jeṭicha script and orthography	113
2.5.4 A comparison of scripts	114
2.6 Summing up	116

Chapter Three

Morphological processes of word-formation	117-223
3. Word Structures	117

3.1 Inflection, derivation, reduplication and compounding	117
3.1.2 Nominal morphology	117
3.1.2.1 Noun	117
3.1.2.2 Semantic gender	119
3.1.2.3 Number/person	122
3.1.2.4 Pronouns	124
3.1.2.4.1 Personal pronouns	125
3.1.2.4.2 Reflexive pronouns	126
3.1.2.4.3 Possessive pronouns	127
3.1.2.4.5 Demonstrative pronoun	128
3.1.2.4.5.1 Proximate pronouns	128
3.1.2.4.5.2 Remote pronouns	129
3.1.2.4.5.3 Elevational pronouns	129
3.1.2.4.6 Interrogative pronoun	129
3.1.2.4.7 Indefinite pronoun	130
3.1.2.4.7.1 Positive indefinite	131
3.1.2.4.7.2 Negative indefinite	131
3.1.2.4.8 Relative pronoun	131
3.1.2.5 Case	132
3.1.2.5.1 Case markers	132
3.1.2.5.1.1 Agent-ergative case <-mi~m>	133
3.1.2.5.1.2 Ablative case <-lā>	136
3.1.2.5.1.3 Dative case <-kālī~kāl>	137
3.1.2.5.1.4 Comitative case <-nu>	138
3.1.2.5.1.5 Allative case <-ge>	140
3.1.2.5.1.6 Genitive case <-A~ -ke~ -ngA>	141
3.1.2.5.2 A comparative look	144
3.1.2.5.3 Summary	145
3.1.2.5.4 Case collocation	146
3.1.2.6 Postpositions	147

3.1.2.6.1 Postposition ‘without’	147
3.1.2.6.2 Associative postposition <- <i>nu</i> >	148
3.1.2.6.3 Postposition <- <i>hōiti</i> >	148
3.1.2.6.4 Postposition < <i>nolē~mer(ē)</i> >	149
3.1.2.6.5 Postposition < <i>dāte</i> >	149
3.1.2.6.6 Postposition < <i>ātār(i)~geth~ir(i)</i> >	150
3.1.2.6.7 Postpositions of side	150
3.1.2.6.8 Postpositions of level	151
3.1.2.6.9 Postposition <- <i>gā</i> >	151
3.1.2.6.10 Postposition <- <i>tsi</i> >	152
3.1.2.6.11 Postposition < <i>ne?thā</i> >	152
3.1.2.6.12 Postposition <- <i>ge</i> >	152
3.1.2.6.13 Postposition <- <i>sam</i> >	152
3.1.2.6.14 Postposition <- <i>nu, kātha>kāth</i> >	153
3.1.2.6.15 Postposition < <i>duli</i> >	153
3.1.2.6.16 Postposition <- <i>keṅā</i> >	153
3.1.2.6.17 Postposition <- <i>kāli</i> >	154
3.1.2.7 Discourse markers	154
3.1.2.7.1 The Marker < <i>yo</i> >	154
3.1.2.7.2 The marker <- <i>n</i> >	155
3.1.2.7.3 The marker < <i>lā</i> >	155
3.1.2.7.4 The theme/topic marker < <i>də</i> >	157
3.1.2.7.5 The contrastive topic marker <- <i>cən</i> >	158
3.1.3 Adjectival and adverbials	158
3.1.3.1 Adjectives	160
3.1.3.1.1 Derivational adjectives	160
3.1.3.1.2 Derivational adjective intensifiers	161
3.1.3.1.3 Lexical adjectives	162
3.1.3.1.4 Adjectives of shape or size	163
3.1.3.1.5 Colour adjectives	163

3.1.3.1.6 Taste adjectives	164
3.1.3.2 Adverbs	164
3.1.3.2.1 Temporal	166
3.1.3.2.1.1 Generic adverbs of time	166
3.1.3.2.1.2 Specific adverbs of time	167
3.1.3.2.1.3 Spatial	168
3.1.3.2.1.4 Locational	168
3.1.3.2.1.5 Adverbs of manner	169
3.1.3.2.1.6 Quantity and quantifiers	170
3.1.4 Numerals and classifiers	171
3.1.4.1 Basic cardinal numerals	171
3.1.4.1.1 Compound cardinal numerals	172
3.1.4.1.2 Ordinals	174
3.1.4.1.2.1 Ordinals Distributive numerals	174
3.1.4.1.3 Frequency numerals	175
3.1.4.1.4 Approximate numerals	175
3.1.4.1.5 Fractional numerals	176
3.1.5 Measurements	176
3.1.5.1 Measurement of money	176
3.1.6 Division of time	177
3.1.6.1 Days in a week	177
3.1.6.2 Months	178
3.1.6.3 Seasons	178
3.2 Verb morphology	179
3.2.1 Roots	180
3.2.1.1 Open root verbs	180
3.2.1.2 Closed root verbs	181
3.2.2 <-ti/-tā> ending class of verbs	183
3.2.2.1 <-ti> ending class of verbs	183
3.2.2.2 <-tā.ŋ> class of verbs	184

3.2.3 Deictic verbs	185
3.2.4 Copula verbs	186
3.2.5 Semantic classification of verbs	188
3.2.5.1 State verbs (A.1)	189
3.2.5.2 Process verbs (A.2)	189
3.2.5.3 Action verbs (A.3)	189
3.2.5.4 Action process verbs (A.4)	190
3.2.5.5 State experiencer verbs (B.1)	190
3.2.5.6 Process experiencer verbs (B.2)	191
3.2.5.7 Action experiencer verbs (B.3)	191
3.2.5.8 Action process experiencer verbs (B.4)	191
3.2.5.9 State benefactive verbs (C.1)	192
3.2.5.10 Process benefactive verbs (C.2)	192
3.2.5.11 Action benefactive verbs (C.3)	193
3.2.5.12 Action process benefactive verbs (C.4)	193
3.2.5.13 State locative verbs (D.1)	194
3.2.5.14 Process locative verbs (D.2)	194
3.2.5.15 Action locative verbs (D.3)	194
3.2.5.16 Action process locative verbs (D.4)	195
3.2.6 Transitivity	195
3.2.7 Verb paradigms	200
3.2.8 Verb forms	201
3.2.9 Tense-aspect-mood	203
3.2.9.1 Tense	203
3.2.9.2 Aspect	204
3.2.9.2.1 Perfective	204
3.2.9.2.2 Imperfective	205
3.2.9.2.3 Habitual	205
3.2.9.2.4 Progressive/durative	206
3.2.9.3 Mood	206

3.2.9.3.1 Imperative	206
3.2.9.3.2 Indicative	208
3.2.9.3.3 Optative	208
3.2.9.3.4 Hortative	209
3.2.9.3.5 Probability/dubitative	209
3.2.9.3.6 Entreative	210
3.2.9.3.7 Potentiality /cāp-cā/	210
3.2.9.3.8 Desiderative /mālnuṅ/	210
3.2.9.3.9 Obligatory, necessitative /mālbə/	211
3.3 Voice	211
3.4 Causative structure	212
3.5 Reciprocal	213
3.6 Negative prefix	213
3.6.1 Double negative prefixes	214
3.6.2 Negation in emphatic denial	215
3.7 Conditional structure	215
3.8 Nominal and verbal compounding	216
3.9 Discourse Particles	217
3.9.1 Mirative /nɛ/	217
3.9.2 Doubt /kō/	218
3.9.3 Emphatic /kəkā/	218
3.9.4 Method /cō/	218
3.9.5 Rather /də/	219
3.9.6 Certainty /šyā/	219
3.9.7 Choice /cən/	220
3.9.7 Alternative /dɛ/	220
3.9.8 Confirming question /ṅā/	220
3.9.9 Special emphasis /-i, -n/	221
3.9.10 Declarative /lo/	222
3.10 Summing up	

Chapter Four

Syntactico-semantic structures	224-279
4. Syntactic structure	224
4.1 General overview on T-B syntactic typology	224
4.2 Phrases	225
4.2.1 Noun phrase	226
4.2.2 Verb phrase	229
4.2.3 Adjective phrase	231
4.2.4 Adverb phrase	233
4.3 Sentence	235
4.3.1 Classification of sentences	236
4.3.1.1 Simple sentences	236
4.3.1.1.1 Basic word order	236
4.3.1.1.2 Interrogative sentences	237
4.3.1.1.3 Copula sentences	240
4.3.1.1.4 Ergativity	241
4.3.1.1.4.1 Conceptual framework	242
4.3.1.1.4.2 The patient	247
4.3.1.1.4.3 Inanimate vs. animate patients	248
4.3.1.1.4.4 <-mi> and the tense/aspect system	248
4.3.1.1.4.5 <-mi> and the perfective	249
4.3.1.1.4.6 Summary on ergativity	251
4.3.1.1.5 Comparative and superlative	252
4.3.1.1.6 Nominalized sentences	253
4.3.1.2 Complex sentences	254
4.3.1.2.1 Non-finite clauses	255
4.3.1.2.1.1 Infinitive clauses	255
4.3.1.2.1.2 Purposive clauses	256
4.3.1.2.2 Converb clauses	257

4.3.1.2.2.1 Negative converb	258
4.3.1.2.3 Participial clauses	259
4.3.1.2.2 Finite clauses	260
4.3.1.2.2.1 Nominalized clauses	261
4.3.1.2.2.1.1 Adnominal/Relative clauses	261
4.3.1.2.2.1.2 Temporal clauses	262
4.3.1.2.2.1.3 Complement clauses	263
4.3.1.2.2.1.4 Sequence clauses	263
4.3.1.2.2.1.5 Adverbial/Manner/-pā clauses	265
4.3.1.2.2.1.6 Conditional clauses	265
4.3.1.2.2.1.6 Concessive clauses	266
4.3.1.2.2.1.7 Quote clauses	267
4.3.1.2.2.1.7 Reason clauses/Causal linking	267
4.3.1.2.2.1.8 Correlative clauses	268
4.3.1.2.3 Coordination	269
4.3.1.3 Anaphora	270
4.3.1.4 Gyapping/Elipsis	271
4.3.2 Other minor sentences	271
4.3.2.1 Verbless sentences	271
4.3.2.2 Exclamatory/declarative sentences	272
4.3.2.3 Vocative sentences	276
4.3.2.4 Obligatory sentences	276
4.3.2.5 Prohibitive sentences	276
4.3.2.6 Double object sentences	277
4.3.3 Direct and Indirect speech	278
4.4 Summing up	278

Chapter Five

Socio-linguistic aspects	280-320
5. General purpose	280

5.1 Nepal's linguistic situation	281
5.2 Kinship terms	285
5.2.1 Non-affinal	286
A. Great grand kinsmen	
B. Grand kinsmen	
C. Parents and children	
D. Siblings and cousins	
5.2.2 Affinal kinsmen	287
A. Own generation	
B. First ascending generation	
C. First descending generation	
5.3 Forms of address	288
A. Direct address	
I. Names	
II. Kin's address forms	
III. Second person pronoun	
B. Indirect address	
5.4 Politeness strategies	290
A. Lexical	
B. Prosodic features	
C. Socio-linguistic features	
5.5 Survey on endangerment	291
5.5.1 Language shift and retention	302
5.5.1.2 Domains of use	305
5.5.1.3 Language attitudes	308
5.5.2 Linguistic materials	312
A. Body parts	
B. Objects of nature/surroundings	
5.5.3 Language death	313
5.6 Voicing for socio-politico-linguistic rights	315

5.7 Summing up	319
Chapter Six	
Summary of research findings	321-328
Appendices	329-602
Appendix A: Mythological interlinear texts	329-393
1. Kirānti-Kōits nu Bā?yung Yā?sits	329-356
‘Kirānti-Kōits and Bā?yung Migration’	
Free translation	356-363
2. Sida Pidar	363-370
‘The worship of Sida’	
Free translation	370-371
3. MatAĩsib K ^h ek ^h ep ^h u	371-384
‘The invisible holy flower’	
Free translation	384-387
4. Binicha SalAphaĩs Hopo	387-392
‘The atrocious King Binicha’	
Free translation	392-393
Appendix B: Lexicon in use	394-559
Appendix C: The Sun(u)wār materials	560-568
Appendix D: Sikkim gazettes	569-570
Appendix E: Survey questionnaire	571-576
Appendix F: Sample of Je˘ticha Bre:se	576-577
Appendix G: Toni Hagen’s Sunuwar	578-579
References	580-602
Curriculum vitae/Profile	602-603

List of Figures

Figure 1: Affiliation of Kirānti-Kōits in the Sino-Tibetan family

Figure 2: The Kirānti languages of *Wallo* ‘near’, *Majh* ‘Middle and *Pallo* ‘far’ Kirat, east Nepal

Figure 3: Glover’s classification and the place of Sunwar

Figure 4: Glover’s Classification and the place of Rai Stock

Figure 5: Glover’s classification of the Rai Stock and the place of Sun(u)war

Figure 6: The number of Nepal’s languages

Figure 7: The number of Nepal’s indigenous languages and their speakers, 2001

Photo plates

Plate 1: Kirānti-Kōits people’s cultural performance known as *Šyādar Šyilōi* cognate to *Sākelā Sili*

Plate 2: A Kirānti-Kōits *pōibio*, ‘shaman’ center on scarf around his head (male) whereas a female shaman is known as *gyāmi* in the native tongue

Maps

Map 1: The three Kirat areas known as *Wallo* ‘near’, *Majh* ‘Mid Central’ and *Pallo* ‘far’ Kirat in east Nepal

Map 2: The major Kirānti tribal locations east Nepal during the late 1970s in Charles McDougal’s study period

Map 3: A group of Kirānti languages related to each other

Map 4: A rough sketch of Sino-Tibetan with its six divisions (Based mainly on Map XII in *Langues du Monde*. Prepared through the courtesy of Prof. Carl O. Sauer and the Department of Geography, University of California)

Map 5: Sikkim, where Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war/Mukhia] as one of the regional languages was recognised in 1996

Map 6: Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war/Mukhia] language area. Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap districts East Nepal

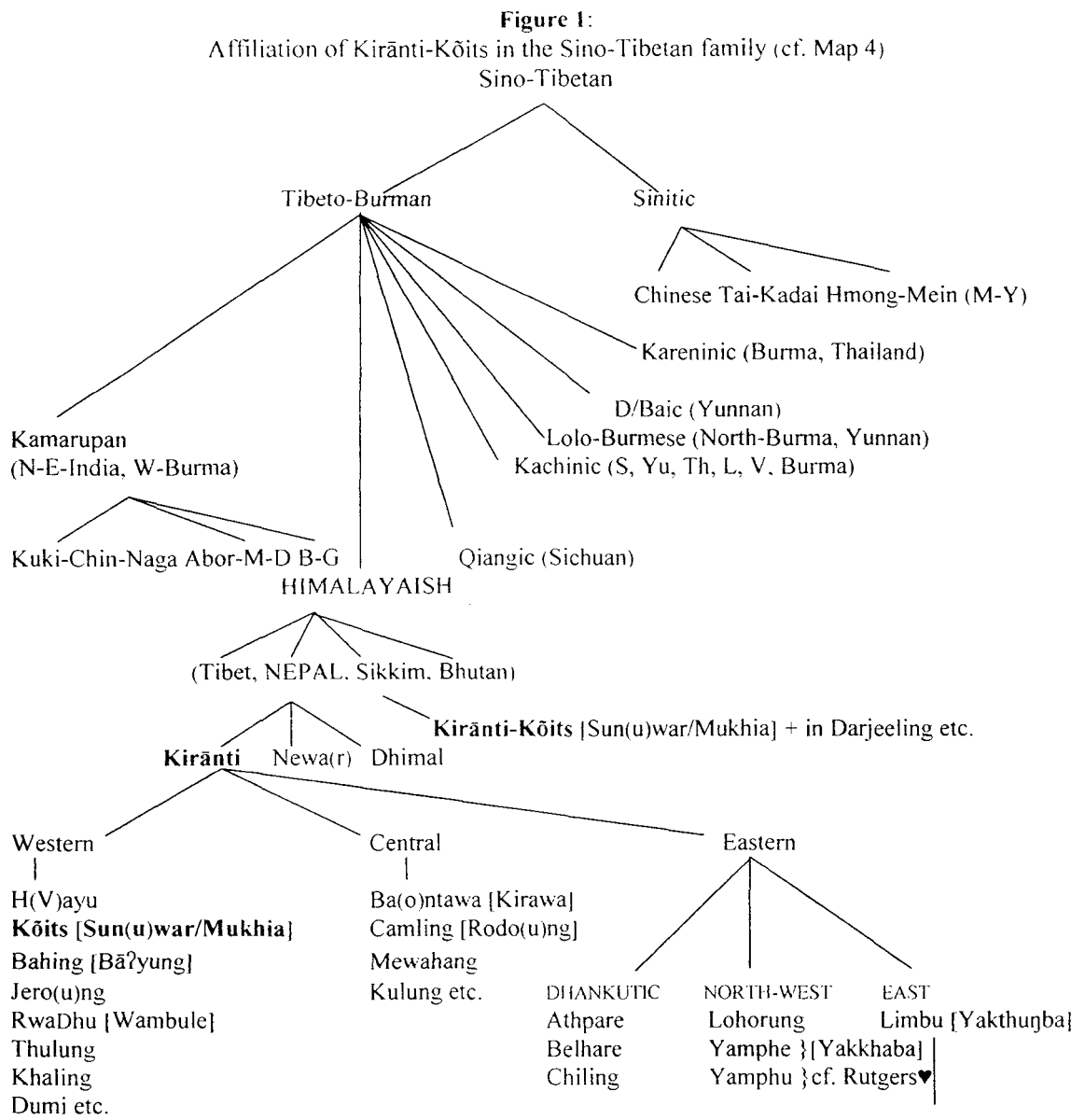
List of Tables

- Table 2.1: Oral/nasal vowel phonemes
- Table 2.2: Vowel clusters and their distribution
- Table 2.3: Consonant phonemes Boxes
- Table 2.4: Initial two consonant clusters
- Table 2.5: Medial two consonant clusters
- Table 2.6: Final two consonant clusters
- Table 2.7: Jeṛticha script specimen with transliteration: a modified and reformed version
- Table 2.8: Schulze's (1995: 2, 1997: 2) Devanagari chart of consonants for Kirānti-Kōits orthography
- Table 3.9: Person in Kirānti-Kōits
- Table 3.10: A synopsis of case markers in Kirānti-Kōits
- Table 3.11: Case marking suffixes in Sun(u)war (Kōits)
- Table 3.12: The conjugation of the copula *na-*
- Table 3.13: The case frame matrix
- Table 5.14: Respondents' name
- Table 5.15: Respondents' clan
- Table 5.16: Respondents' Sex
- Table 5.17: Respondents' Age
- Table 5.18: Respondents' age group
- Table 5.19: Respondents' occupation
- Table 5.20: Respondents' parents' occupation
- Table 5.21: Respondents' address: Districts
- Table 5.22: Respondents' address: VDCs
- Table 5.23: Respondents' Mother Tongue
- Table 5.24: Respondents' parent and grandparents' MT
- Table 5.25: Skill wise mono-bi-multilingual speakers
- Table 5.26: Respondents' number of knowledge of languages
- Table 5.27: Domains, where Nepali was learnt

- Table 5.28: Children's medium of education
- Table 5.29: MT fluency and respondents' age group in cross tabulation
- Table 5.30: MT fluency and respondents' Sex in cross tabulation
- Table 5.31: Domains of language use I
- Table 5.32: Domains of language use II
- Table 5.33: Domains of language use III
- Table 5.34: Kirānti-Kōits prestigious/embarrassed neutral
- Table 5.35: MT rating
- Table 5.36: MT's suitability
- Table 5.37: Encouraging younger generation to speak the M1
- Table 5.38: Problems of being a M1 speaker
- Table 5.38.A: Types of problems being a M1 speaker
- Table 5.39: Choice of MT
- Table 5.39.A: Reasons why Kirānti-Kōits as M1
- Table 5.39.B: Reasons why Nepali as MT
- Table 5.39.C: Reasons why English as MT
- Table 5.40: Choice of the language of children's education
- Table 5.40. A: Reasons educating in Kirānti-Kōits
- Table 5.40. B: Reasons educating in Khas-Nepali
- Table 5.40. C: Reasons educating in English
- Table 5.41: Language vitality
- Table 5.42: Children's language of the playground

Diagrams

- Diagram 2.1: The syllable structure in Kirānti-Kōits
- Diagram 3.2: Human biological/natural gender in Kirānti-Kōits
- Diagram 3.3: Non-human biological/natural gender in Kirānti-Kōits
- Diagram 4.4: An NP in K-K
- Diagram 4.5: A VP in K-K
- Diagram 4.6: An ADJPH in K-K
- Diagram 4.7: An ADVPH in K-K



Note: The language under description is in bold face

Abbreviations:

M-Y	Miao-Yao	S	Sichuan
Yu	Yuannan	Th	Thailand
B	Bodo	G	Garō
M	Miri	D	Dafla
N	North	E	East
W	West		

♥Routgers (1998: 4)

Source: after Matisoff (1991: 470 and 481), Bickel (1996: 22) *LNED* (2002: 10) and Rapacha (2003: 2); also cf. Shafer (1953 and 1966), Benedict (1972), Bright (ed. 1992: 277), Thurgood (2003), Bradley (1997), Hale (1982), Vogelin & Vogelin (1977), Grierson (ed. 1909), Egerod (1973), Nishi (1992) DeLancey (1990: 801-802))

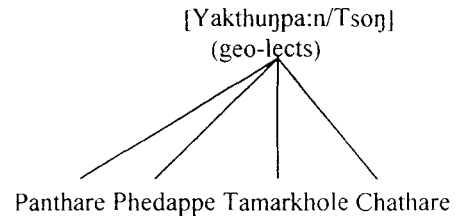




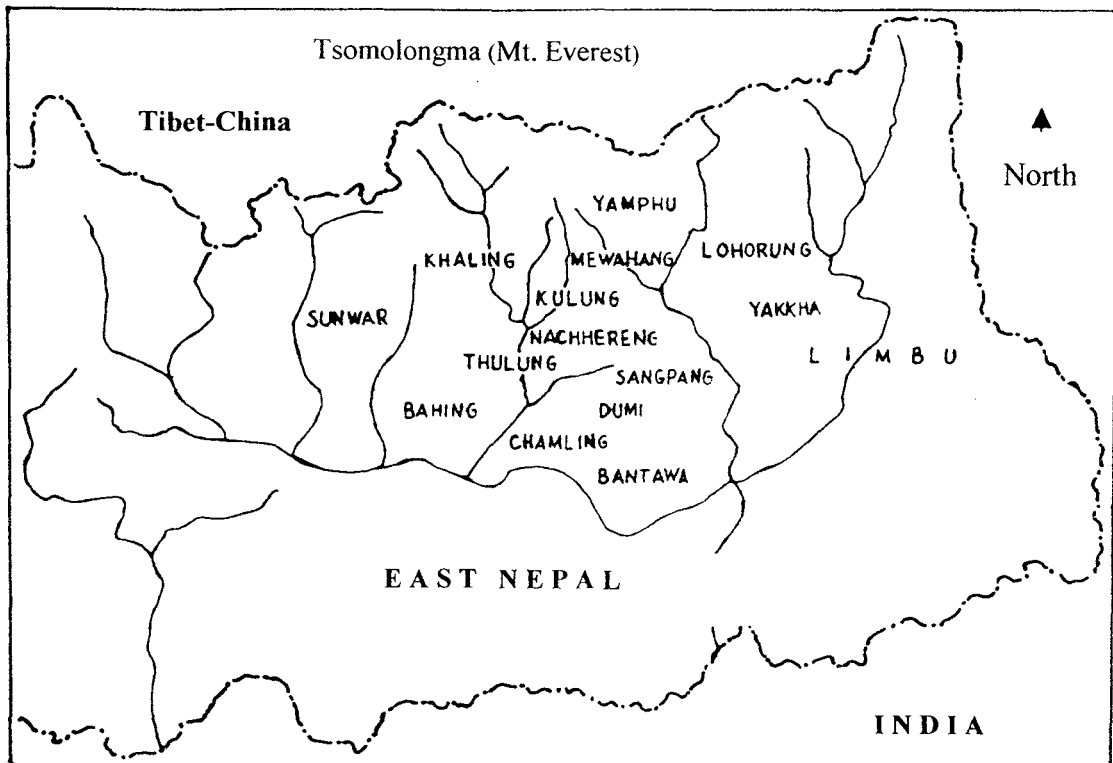
Plate 1: Kirānti-Kōits people's cultural performance known as Šyādar Šyil(i) cognate with Sākelā Sili



Plate 2: A Kirānti-Kōits *pōib(o)* 'shaman' center on red-scarf around his head (male) whereas a female shaman is known as *gyām(i)* in the native tongue

The Kirānti-Kōits people/tribe are the followers of Bonism-Shamanism

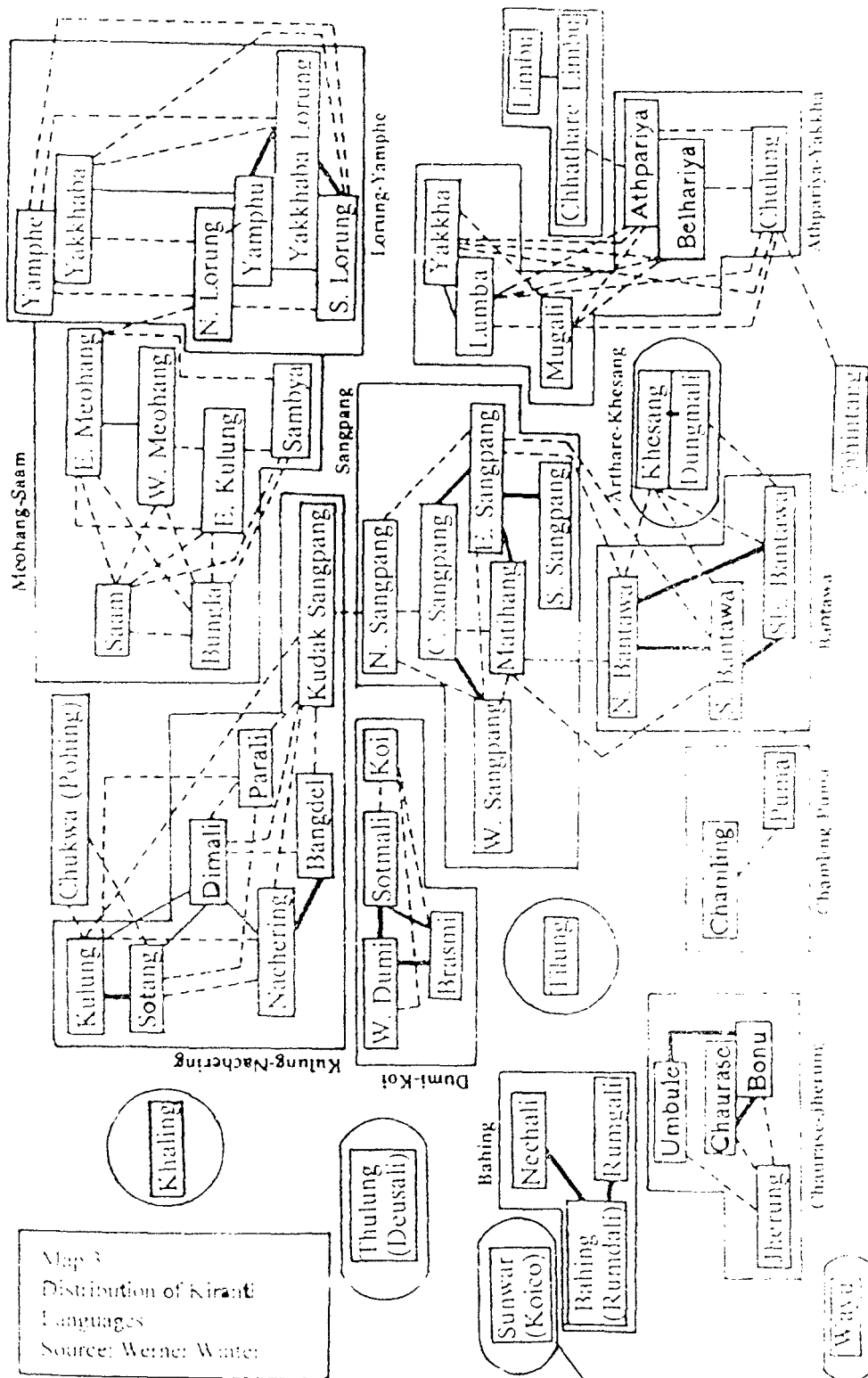
Photo courtesy: Mokusu Kormocha, General Secretary of the Kirat Sunuwar Welfare Society (*Susesa*) in Kathmandu, N E P A L



Map 2: The major Kirānti tribal locations east Nepal during the late 1970s in Charles McDougal's study period (also cf. Figure 1, 2 and Map 3)

Source: Traced and scanned from Charles McDougal's (1979: 13) *The Kulung Rai: A Study in Kinship and Marriage Exchange* through the courtesy of Kirat Rai Yayokkha Library, Bansbari, Ring Road, the Nepal valley

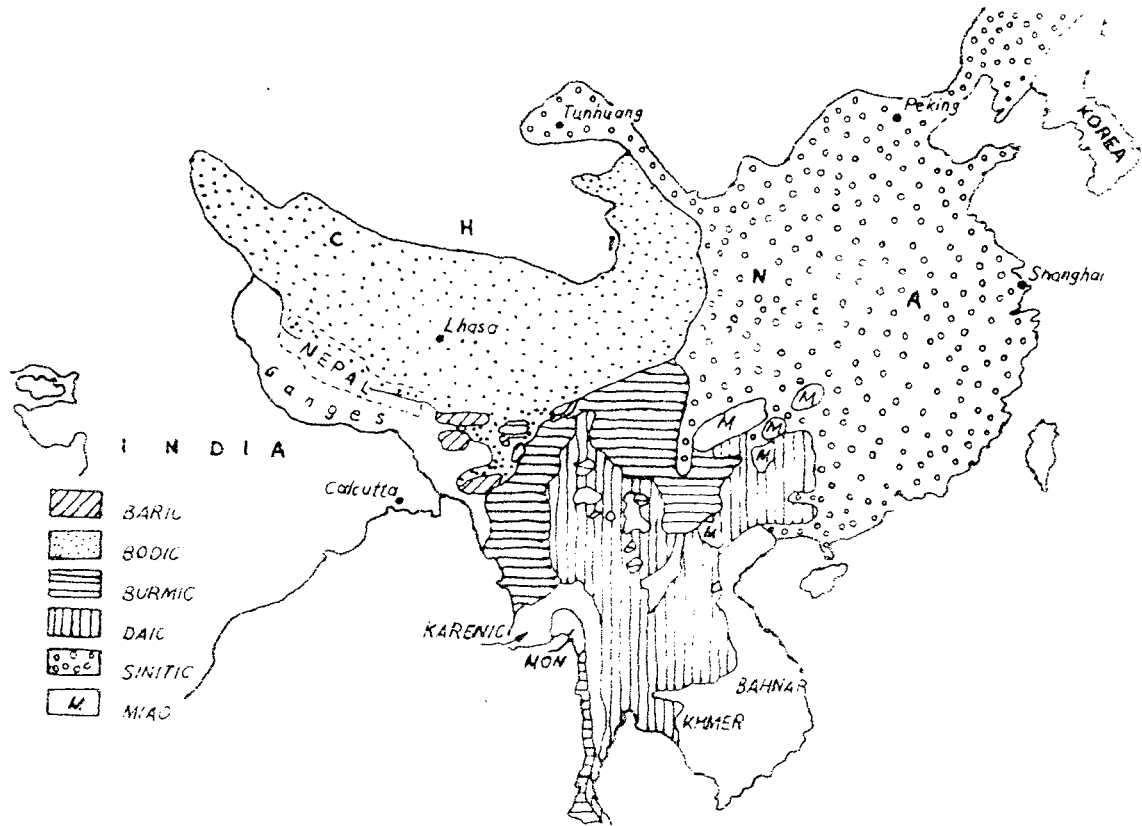
Note: The content of the map has slightly been changed from its original version.



Map 3: A group of Kiranti languages related to each other
Source: Scanned from Gaenszle (1999: 39)

Its accurate orthography is Kõits and Mukhia also

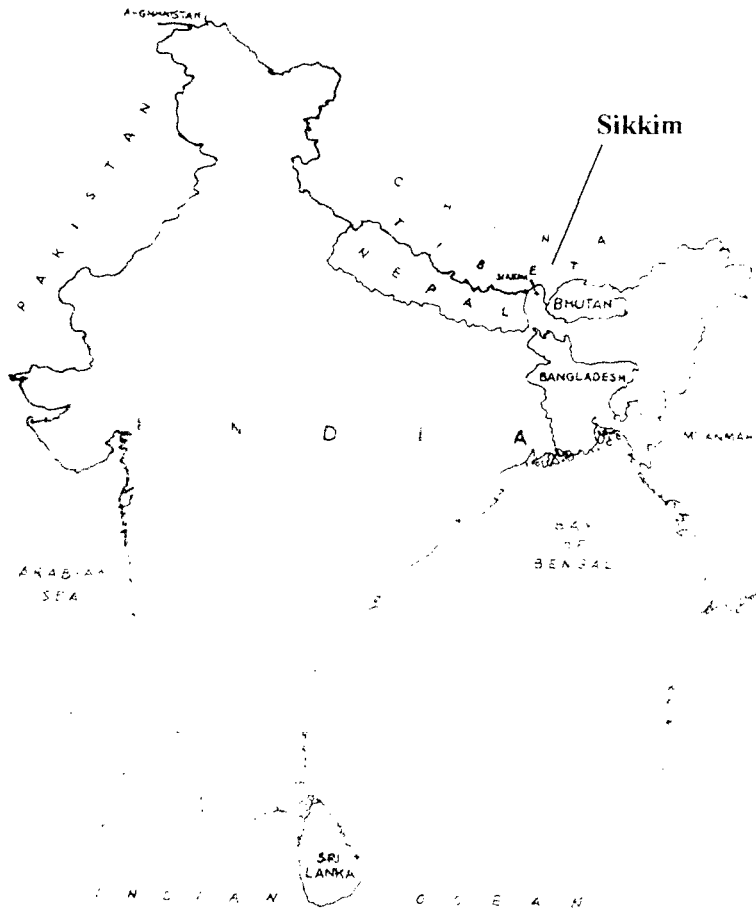
Map 4: A rough sketch of Sino-Tibetan with its six divisions¹



Based mainly on Map XII in *Langues du Monde*. Prepared through the courtesy of Prof Carl O. Sauer and the Department of Geography, University of California

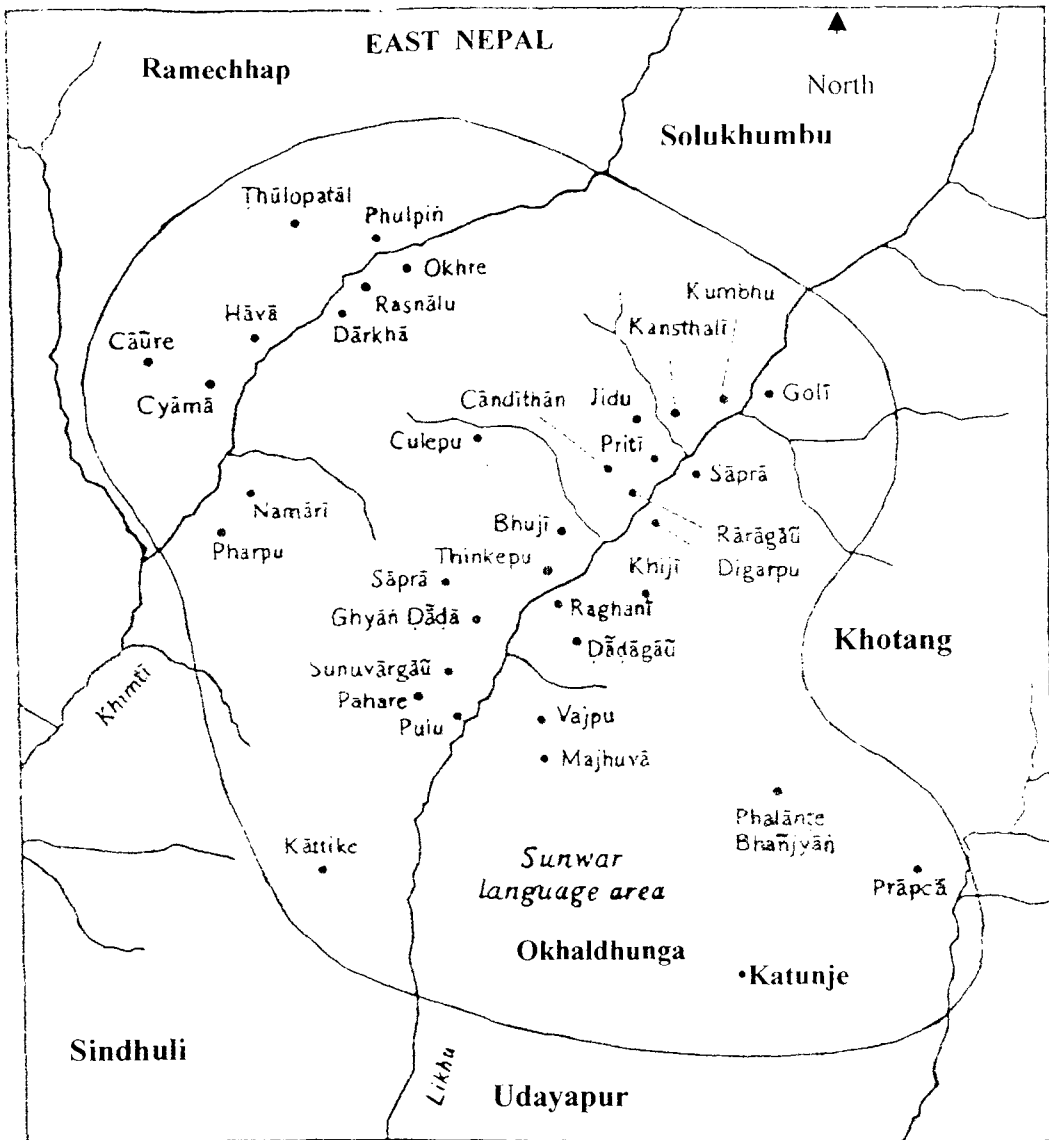
¹ Miao is not Sino-Tibetan, but may be Sino-Tibetoidic i.e. distantly related.

Source: Traced and scanned from Robert Shafer's *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan* through the courtesy of Visiting-Prof Sueyoshi-Ingrid Toba (23 September 2004).



Map 5: Sikkim (in bold), where Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war/Mukhia] as one of the Official/Regional Languages, was recognised in 1996 (See Appendix D for Sikkim Government's Gazettes)

Source: Traced and scanned from the map of Survey of India ©Government of India, 2001



Map 6: Kiranti-Köits (Sun(u)war/Mukhia) language area, Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap districts East Nepal
 (Source: Driem 2001: 729 [I have added extra information to the original version])

INST = instrumental	INT = intensity
INTER = interrogative	K-Ha = Kirānti-Hayu
K-Du = Kirānti-Dumi	K-K = Kirānti-Kōits [<i>N Sun(u)war</i> exoglotonym]
K-Th = Kirānti-Thulung	K-Ban = Bantawa [<i>Kirāwā</i> autoglotonym]
K-Ath = Kirānti-Athpare	K-Kh = Kirānti-Khaling
LOC = locational/locative	K-Bā = Kirānti-Bā?yung [<i>N Bahing</i>]
lit. = literal	K-Lim = Kirānti-Limbu [also <i>Yākthum(η)bā, tsoŋ</i>]
M = male	K-Wam = Kirānti-Wambule [also <i>RwaDhu</i> autonym]
MIR = mirative	K-Rod. = Kirānti-Rodu(ong) [<i>Cāmling</i> exoglotony]
MOD = modifier	LNED = <i>Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary</i>
MV = middle voice	MAN/INTF = manner/intensifier (expressives)
<i>N</i> = Nepali (I-A/Indic)	n. = noun
NML = nominaliser	nat. = nativized
NPST = non-past	num = number
ono. = onomatopoeia	orig. = original
OPT = optative	PAS = passive
PAT = patientive	p/PST = past
p/c = personal communication	par/PAR = emphatic/discourse particle
pl/PL = plural	POS = positive
PR = perfective	PROG = progressive
PP/PCPL = participle	POSS/PSN = possessive/possession
PUR = purposive	POSTP = postposition
PT-B = proto-Tibeto-Burman	Q = question
pron. = pronoun	RES = resultative
REC = reciprocal/reciprocity	R-G = Roman Gorkhali [Anglicized as Gurkha]
RED = reduplication	REP = report particle
REQ = request	rpt. = reprint
S = source	Sans. = Sanskrit
SG/sg = singular	SIM = simultaneous
spec. = specific	sb = somebody

SEQ = sequential	smn = someone
sth = something	T-B = Tibeto-Burman
SYN = synonym	tab. = taboo
TEMP = temporal	TRM = Tikaram Mulicha
u = uncountable	UR = unknown root
-v/+v = ±voice	vi. = verb intransitive
vt. = verb transitive	VR = verb root
VS = Vikram Samvat	=> becomes
Σ = stem or root of the verb	ã = \tilde{a} /AN (अँ)
§ = section	~ = repeated and alternate form
' = stress	- = morpheme break
ˈ = rise tone	˜ = nasalization (ँ) e.g. Jeṅticha /जेँतचा
? = glottal stop	ˋ = fall tone
= syllable break	> = is derived from
broad or phonemic transcription	š = sh
ɾ = flap	ɫ = T
~ = morpheme	ŋ = ng
ɛ = e	A/A = ā
c = ts	c ^h = ts ^h
ə = a	() = optional element
∅ = zero	* = proto or ungrammatical form, special note
? = uncertain or doubtful	
[] = narrow or phonetic transcription, extra-information	

Chapter One

A short introduction

1.1 General overview

Genetically, Kirānti-Kōits (cf. Figure 2: 3-4 for a group of Kirānti languages and Figure 1: xxiii *Stammbaum*) is one of the Tibeto-Burman (Grierson (ed.) 1909, Shafer 1953, 1955, 1966-74, Benedict 1972a, Voegelin and Voegelin 1977, Hale 1982, Zograph 1982, Ruhlen 1987, Bright (ed.) 1992, Grimes (ed.) 2000, Toba et al 2002, 2005) sub-family languages under Sino-Tibetan family (cf. Figure 1: xxiii and Map 4: xxviii) spoken by a meager ethnic ‘minority’ (underprivileged, dominated and subservient (Abbi 2000: 13)) of eastern Nepal plus north-eastern India, viz, Sikkim and Darjeeling (See Maps 1: xxv and 5: xxix). The language is also known as ‘Sun(u)war’ (sub-grouped under Kirānti but not a dialect of Indo-Aryan Khas-Nepali as Singh (1998: 3384-3386) claims, “The Konicha (sic) [Kōits]¹ language is their [Kirānti-Kōits or Sun(u)war or Mukhia] mother tongue...The Sunwar speak their own language which is a dialect of Nepali.”) in its exoglotonym or hydronym (cf. § 1.1.1.3), whereas the term ‘Kōits’ is autonym of the tribe, which is used as nomenclature (or linguonym) of the mother tongue also. Moreover, the generic sub-group eastern ‘Kirānti’ in the Himalayan group, Tibeto-Burman sub-family, includes more than two dozens (See Figure 2 below; also cf. Rai 1985, Hanßon 1991, Nishi 1992, Pokharel 1994, Dahal 2000) scarcely described and documented languages. Or most of these languages are ‘in urgent need of documentation and analysis’ (Kansakar and Turin (eds.) 2003: vii) in any form of grammar or dictionary in order to maintain ‘linguistic, phylogenetic and structural diversity’ (Nettle 1999) of the world’s languages.

Kirānti-Kōits is one of such exhaustively undescribed ‘lesser-known indigenous’ (Kansakar and Turin 2003: vii) languages whose demographic figure of speakers is only 26, 611 out of their 95, 254 population (CBS 2001) in Nepal, whereas in India according

¹ The additional information added in big brackets is my own.

to the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson (ed.) 1909), it was 4, 435 in Darjeeling, 555 Sikkim, 259 Assam (on the contrary Allen (1901: 143) has mentioned 54 in 1891 and 1602 in 1901), 52 Lakhimpur, 43 Lushai Hills and 36 in Jalpaiguri (cf. also Subba 1089: 42). It is surprising to note that the number of native speakers has been declining gradually leading to ‘the erosion of the world’s linguistic diversity’ (Maffi 2002: 386) instead of increment and maintenance. According to Krauss’ (1992) and Crystal’s (2000) definition, the language is one of the potentially endangered languages of the Himalayan-belt. There are three main factors responsible for this tendency of language loss. First, minority linguistic groups are victimized of discrimination (also cf. Kaila 2005), oppression, domination, exclusion and marginalization (Lawoti 2002) by indifferent language policy of the mainstream polity. Secondly, there lacks policy and investment on bilingual education for the survival of the local/regional languages like Kirānti-Kōits.

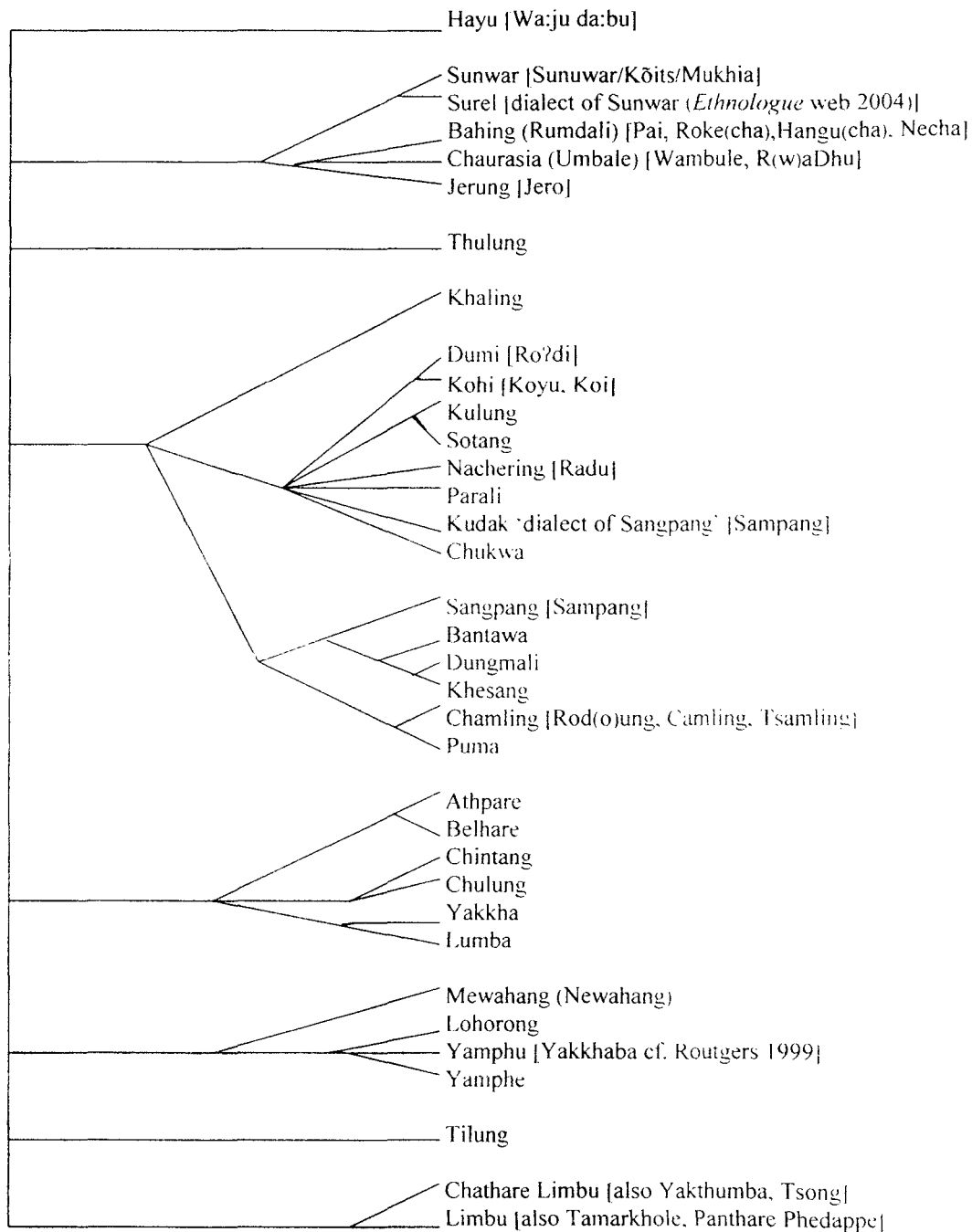
As a result, the language is ‘threatened by social and economic pressure, displacement, demographic submersion, language suppression in forced assimilation, assimilatory education and media’ (Krauss 1992: 4) in actual sense of the term. In fact, but most importantly in the case of Kirānti-Kōits speech community, caste politics (cf. Morris 1927, Hagen 1961, Bista 1967, Chemjong 1967, Parajuli (ed.) 1985, Ananda (ed.) 1987, Subedi et al. 1994, Adhikary 1999, Sharma 2001) has played a foul and negative role in their decreasing demographic figure and speakers’ mentality as well regarding their exonym. However, Kirānti-Kōits speakers fall outside the hierarchical ‘caste’ or any ‘*jāti*’ [I-A or Indic] system (Abbi forthcoming, Joshi 2003: 334, Gurung 2003 [but ironically Vansittart (1896, 1906) and Driem (2001: 725-726 and 863) mention that the tribe is divided into twelve clan ‘high caste’ and ten clan ‘low caste’]), they are forced to be humiliated having been defined and categorized as ‘untouchable/goldsmith’ (cf. § 1.1.1.4, § 1.1.1.6 and § 1.1.1.8) in the Indo-Aryan (Hindu) framework of social stratification in terms of caste.

Thus, the tribe/people are doomed to conversion and their native tongue is ‘doomed to extinction’ (Krauss 1992: 4) menacingly. The western Kirānti (sub-groups:

viz., Midwestern- Thulung, Chaurasiya-Ombule and Jero, Upper Dudhkosi- Dumi, Kohi and Khaling and Northwestern Bahing, Sunwar, Hayu (Driem's (2001: 615; cited in Opgenort 2002: 3)) languages are close relatives of Kōits (Sun(u)war/Mukhia), but most closely related ethnolinguistic relative is the eastern neighbouring mother tongue Bāryung (*N* बाहङ Bāhing) spoken in Okhaldhunga (See Map 6: xxx) district, east Nepal; whereas Pandey's (2003 [vs 2060: 118]) claim "Magar language use" by the K-Kōits speech community is shocking and unreliable. Hamill et al. (2002: 66-67) paraphrasing Fournier observe thus, "The Sunwar [Kirānti- Kōits in this study] ethnic group is relatively small, numbering approximately twenty thousand individuals. Sunwars live throughout the study area, but their traditional tribal lands have gradually been lost to other groups and they are no longer major landlords in Jiri. They are becoming increasingly Hinduized, relying on Brahmans rather than their own traditional priests for more and more of their religious ceremonies." Truly, they are one of the vanishing tribes day by day linguistically, culturally, religiously, and ethno-anthropologically. I have discussed several factors responsible for this predicament elsewhere in the present study.

Figure 2: The Kirānti/Rai² languages of Wallo 'near', Majh 'Middle and Pallo 'far' Kirat, east Nepal

² Toba (1983: 11) regarding the terms 'Rai' and 'Kirānti' writes thus, "The name 'Rai' is given to a number of tribes or clans in the area as a generic term. 'Rai' means 'chief' or 'headman' (Bista 1972: 32, Vansittart (1992: 177 [orig. 1896]) [If the meaning of 'Rai' is 'chief or headman', it cannot represent and signify 'ethnonym' (also cf. Leewine 2004: 67) at any degree. Another synonym for the same term is Jimdar (Konow (in Grierson (ed.) 1990 and 1994: 58 [orig. 1909]) *My comment added*). Under the term Rai the following languages and dialects are included (to name the more representative ones): Athpare, Bahing (Rumdali), Bantawa, Chamling, Khaling (Dumi), Kulung (Sotang), Lohorong, Thulung, and Yamphu (Ketra). This is a traditional grouping; however, from a linguistic standpoint, Sunwar has to be included with the Rai languages also (Glover 1974)... Some Tibeto-Burmanists use the term 'Kirānti' as a cover term to include Rai as well as Limbu and some other languages in the area. I decided against the use of this term because it is used both by historians and anthropologists in a very broad and general sense to refer to the mountain people, so that it would be misleading in the framework of this thesis." Contrary to Toba's framework, I preferably have used the generic hyphenated specific nomenclature 'Kirānti-Kōits' in order to specify the Tibeto-Burman tribe (ethnonym) and language (glossonym) of Wallo 'near/hither' Kirat, eastern Nepal along with the majority of Tibeto-Burman linguists (e.g. Bradley 2003: 122, 2002: 81-82; Driem 2004: 413-416, 2001, 1997, 1992; Thurgood 2003: 15-16; Ebert 2003: 505-532), historians and anthropologists (cf. Gaenszle 2000: 2-15) use this ethnonym 'Kirānti' particularly for the tribes of the eastern hills of *Wallo* [*N*] 'Near/Hither' Kirat, *Majh* [*N*] 'Mid/Central' Kirat and *Pallo* [*N*] 'Far' Kirat, Nepal and also taking the post-90's movement of the indigenous peoples of Nepal into consideration. During the survey period of



(Source: Bradley 1997: 16; I have added extra information in [] brackets from several other sources, see also Maps 2: xxvi and 3: xxvii or Figure 1: xxiii for the distribution of some Kiranti neighboring languages)

Grierson (1909), the traditional term 'Khambu' also was in use, where 16 dialects have been mentioned/listed.

Therefore, the term Kirānti³ (also cf. § 1.1.1.1, Gurung 2003: 10) has been used as a generic term for Tibeto-Burman tribes (Mongoloid speech communities: more than two dozen) and languages (linguistic groups: more than two dozen) of the eastern hills of Nepal.

1.1.1 Etymological accounts on nomenclature

In this §1.1.1, we shall provide a survey of etymology and other related semantic aspects of the Kirānti-Kōits tribe and their mother tongue nomenclature available in the past literature. We shall discuss both ethno-auto-glonym and clanonyms of the tribe also here. Regarding this ‘Kirānti-Kōits’ or Sun(u)war clans and kindreds Morris (1933: 86 [orig.1927] self-criticizes to his writing thus,

“One peculiarity of the language is the constant confusion between *t* and *d*; *p* and *b*; *k* and *g*, together with their corresponding aspirates. This confuses spelling and in the preparation of the lists of clans kindreds has undoubtedly resulted in error and duplication.”

Here Morris is accurate in his personal realization/observation on “error and duplication” as one of the foreigner/Birtish Queen’s Gurkha Officers (henceforth QGOs) while eliciting data from his Gurkha recruits (cf. Vansittart 1896, 1906, Northey 1937, Northey and Morris 1927, Morris 1927, Ministry of Defense 1965) obviously has its shortcomings (cf. for such errors in Prapannacharya1994 [vs 2051: 475], Chemjong 1967, Acharya 2003 [vs 2060: 36-37], Pandey (2003 [vs 2060: 118]), See §1.1.2 and 1.1.3 for their actual version) due to orthographic or editing errors.

³ Toba (1992: 14) regarding this term explains, “Rai languages are related to the Limbu and the Sunwar, the neighbouring languages to the east and west. Together with the Hayu, another language in the area, all these languages comprise a language group commonly called the Kirati language group. This group shares one especial feature in that verbs take an affix resembling the pronoun of subject or object depending on the sentence structure. There is, however, a great deal of variation in the manifestation of this common feature in these languages. Another commonly shared point is lexical similarity, that is, a fair number of words are very similar in all these Kiranti languages (e.g. the word for ‘eye’ is /mi/ or its variations, ‘stone’ is /luŋ/ or its variations, and such is the case with other common words).”

1.1.1.1 An outline in general

Kirānti-Kōits (auto-glonym and glossonym; spoken in *Vallo Kirat*, ‘Hither/Near Kirat’ eastern Nepal) as one of the Tibeto-Burman (T-B) languages (See Figure 1 *Stammbaum*), has a large number of indigenous clanonyms still overlooked by anthropo-linguists, are morpho-semantically significant, which richly contribute to its lexicon. Most of these clanonyms, unfortunately scarcely heed to the native speakers of Kirānti-Kōits themselves except in occasional functions as in marital ceremony (usually less often these days) only because of clan-exogamous practice among the community members, are almost obsolete and threatened of extinction. We shall here describe and explain morpho-semantic structures and etymological links of the Kirānti-Kōits nomenclature of clanonyms mainly based on the structural symmetry of these morphemes. As in Thangmi (Shneiderman and Turin 2000c), one of the ‘Greater Kirānti’ (Driem 1992, 2001, 2004, Turin 2004 or elsewhere, Shneiderman and Turin 2000 or elsewhere) members of the T-B languages, Kirānti-Kōits also has at least three morpheme combinations in their ethnonym and clanonyms.

The blanket term *Kirānti* has developed from the Sanskrit “Kirata” according to Chatterji (1998: 27-38 [orig. 1951]) and Driem (1993: XXI, 2) etymologically. However, there is another possibility of its accidental development from “Oirat” (cf. Rupen 1983: 359-360 [EAC 1924], Rapacha 2004) a Mongoloid⁴ tribe elsewhere in Mongolia, Inner Mongolia (China) and other parts of China) to “Kirāt > Kirānti” (also a Mongoloid/Tibetonoid tribe), which is discussed moderately in Rapacha (2004: 21-25. See also Gaenszle 2000: 2-15) regarding its genesis.

⁴ Regarding the Mongoloid tribes, Chatterji (1974: 20 [orig. 1951]) paraphrasing Grierson notes that they “represent at least three distinct physical types- the primitive long-headed Mongoloids, who are found in the sub-Himalayan tracts, in Nepal and mostly in Assam; the less primitive and more advanced short-headed Mongoloids, who are found mostly in Burma and have expanded from Burma through Arakan into Chittagong; and finally the Tibeto-Mongoloids, who are fairly tall and have lighter skins and appear to be the most highly developed type of the Mongoloids, who came to India. These Tibeto-Mongoloids are the linguistically characterized Tibetans and their various off-shoots who arrived in India through the Himalayas, in comparatively recent times, spreading from Bhotan and Sikkim to Ladakh and Baltistan.”

The ethnonym, i.e. ‘the name used by members of an ethnic group to refer to themselves or their language’ (Shneiderman and Turin 2000c: 5) *kōits* is more commonly known by an exonym or glotonym (UNESCO-term; Toba et al 2002; hereafter exo-glotonym) and a hydronym “Sun(u)war” [*N* सुनुवार *Sunuṽār*] (mainly Hodgson, Konow (in Grierson), Schulze, Bieri and Hale, Egli (1999) and so on or its offensive interpretation as *Sunar* (in I-A or Indic *N*) ‘gold-smith, untouchable’ (Hagen 1961 [1980: 123 Indian rpt. English version] and so on); whereas “Kōits” is an autoglotonym for the people themselves and their language. Another common exonym for the same is “Mukhia” (or less common is “Mārāpāche”) widely used in Darjeeling, Sikkim and further in Bhutan.

The auto(gloto)nym *kōits* as noun means ‘a guide, leader’ has been derived from *Kōitsā* (v.t) ‘to show, guide, lead’ (cf. Rapacha 2002). This verb can be dissected in two free morphemes as *kō* ‘probability particle’ and *itsā*<*hitsā* (v.i) ‘to come down from the upper level, verticality’ in which [-tsā चा] or /-cā, चा/ is ‘infinitive marker’, whose conventional Roman-Gorkhali (hereafter R-G) orthography popularly written, at least amongst the South Asian layman-spelling is ‘-chā चा’ and its minimal pair ‘-chhā छ’ right down from QGO Lt Col Vansittart’s (1896) writing for Kirānti-Kōits and other Kirānti tribes like Bāṽyung (exo-glotonym Bahing), Rodung (exo-glotonym Camling) and Kirawa or Bo(a)ntawa (exo-glotonym Bantawa). So in ‘-chā’ of *-hichā*>*ichā* [-hitsā>itsā], the prefix <-hi>*i*-> is a reduced stem of the verb meaning ‘to come down (especially from up level, verticle)’.

Clanonyms, such as “rapacha” (/rā:-pə-cā/) ‘make/cause something rot’, while in spoken form “rapach” /rā:-pəc/ means ‘a catalyst’ is the combination of two verb roots and /-cā चा/ as infinitive marker, which is a near cognate of Kirānti-Bāṽyung (Nepalized Bahing) /-co चो/ (Rapacha 2000 and Michailovsky 1975, Kirānti-RwaDhu or Wambule /-cām चाम/ (Opgenort 2002 and Dwarangcha 2000 [VS 2057]), /-co चो/ ‘person’ in e.g. /cāco चाचो/ ‘grandson, one’s son or daughter’s son’ (Opgenort 2002: 456) and Early Classical Newari /-cə; च/ (Tamot 2002: 13-26 and 169-184) infinitival suffix morpheme.

Other ethnonyms like Jirel (Gurung and Salter 1996: 59) and Surel (a branch of Tibeto-Burman Kirānti-Kōits speech community) also have this /-cā चा/ suffix in their clanonyms whereas Kirānti-Kirāwā (Bāntawā) and Kirānti-Rodung (Cāmling) in their clanonyms have [-tshā] /-chā/ <-chā> in place of Kirānti-Kōits [-tsā] /-cā/ <-cā> morpheme. All these varied forms, which, in turn, are homonymic with each other and are closely related cognates in Tibeto-Burman proto-form *tsa ‘child, grandchild’ (Benedict 1972: 208) socio-historically and linguistically, which signifies as ‘+male /person’ marker (e.g. *sərə-chā* ‘son’, *māri-chā* ‘daughter’ and *mə-chā* ‘daughter’s husband’) in Kirānti-Rodung’s modern vocabulary too.

1.1.1.2 The Exo-glonym ‘Sun(u)war’

The term ‘Sun(u)war’ is an exo-glonym [*N* सुनुवार *Sunuwār*] having several other implications (§ 1.1.1.3-§ 1.1.1.10), which sprang out of the blanket term ‘Kirānti-’ hyphenated with ‘Kōits’ (also known as Mukhia and Marapache) when the tribe started settling on the east or west bank of the Sunkoshi river (cf. §1.1.1.3), is a twice Nepalized i. e. Indo-Aryanized glonym signifying the T-B speakers/tribes autochthonous to *Pallo* ‘Far’ Kirāt, *Majh* ‘Middle’ Kirāt and *Wallo* ‘Hither/Near’ Kirāt eastern Nepal. Obviously, for a member of the International Bible Society (*New Testament* in Sunuwar 1992) or for a hardcore linguist such as a phonetician or a syntactician or historian or a layman, the use of the exo-glonym ‘Sun(u)war’ (auto-ethnonym ‘Kirānti-Kōits’ definition as cited earlier) may not really matter (cf. § 1 for the theme of humiliation in the Hindu caste system) in a real sense of the term. But from interdisciplinary point of view, for instance socio-anthropo-linguistics, the exo-glonym ‘Sun(u)war’ [*N* सुनुवार *Sunuwār*] has several other problems as in Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member). Anthropo-linguists like Shneiderman and Turin (2000: 4) on the Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member) tribe observe,

“...many Thangmi pass themselves off as belonging to other more prominent ethnic groups such as Tamang, and less frequently, as Gurung or Rai. The reason that they give for this is simply that since few people in administrative positions have ever heard of the ethnic group admitting to being Thangmi may unwittingly result in a stream of questions

about who they are and where they come from, such as inquiring whether Thangmi are **low caste Hindus** or **indigenous Kirānti** people. Moreover, when Thangmi introduce themselves to strangers, they are often mistaken for undesirable groups such as *kami* [N] ‘blacksmiths’ or [*dhami* N] ‘folk-healer’, due to similar sounding nature of their name.”

Turin (2003: 71) evaluating the previous literature later on comments, “Sadly, much of the early writing on the Thangmi is erroneous and betrays the ignorance and prejudices of the writers more than it informs the reader about features of this important Himalayan population and their little-known language”.

This problem (1980: 123 [1961, first edition in German] cited in the beginning) is quite more serious in ‘Sun(u)war’ [N सुनुवार *Sunuwār*] than it is in Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member). Then, we shall below (§ 1.1.1.3-§ 1.1.1.9) provide a semantic survey of the exo-glonym ‘Sun(u)war’ and its anthropo-sociological traits described in its earlier literature.

1.1.1.3 Meaning as hydronym

It was QGO Lt Col Vansittart (1896 and 1909), who for the first time explained/mentioned the etymology of the term ‘Sunuwar’ as follows,

“Sunuwars or Sunpars, also called Mukhias: The names Sunuwar and Sunpar are said to be derived from the fact of these men residing either on the west or east of Sun Kosi river- Sunuwar ... West of Sun Kosi, Sunpar ... East (or across) Sun Kosi” (1992: 177 [1st edition 1896]).

Note that the two morphemes *-wār* [-वार~वारी ‘nearer side’] and *-pār* [-पार~पारी ‘farther side’] suffixed to *Sun-* [सुन- ‘gold’] are of I-A (Indic) Nepali origin associated with the so-called hydronym ‘Sun(u)war’ derived from Sunkoshi [सुनकोशी] when the tribe came to settle either on the west or east bank of the river (cf. also Yadava 2003: 144, Dahal 1985). Tikaram Mulicha and Tankaraj Susucha (1987 [vs 2044: 33 and 45]) also have supported the idea of this derivation without any further critical comments. Ghatak’s (1993: 161-171) explanation of its (Sun(u)war) etymology (cf. Adhikari and

Bhattarai 2005: 1021. Bam Rai 2001 [2058: 39-40]) also does not differ from Vansittart, Mulicha and Susucha.

1.1.1.4 Shadows of misconceived meanings

There are quite often many available misconceived meanings of the exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ such as *Sunar*, *Kami*, and *Sornakar* (cf. § 1.2 for many misspelt orthography) The Indo-Aryan *Khas-Nepali* (See Ch 5 § 5.1 for its etymology) word *Sunar/Kami or Sornakar* means ‘goldsmiths, blacksmiths, untouchable caste’ and also for the exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ Hagen (1980: 123; [1st edition in German 1961]) over-generalizes,

“...the principal settlement area of the Sunuwar lie on the upper course of the Sunkwa river. They have made a name for themselves as excellent smiths and goldsmiths. ... they have been associated to for a special smiths caste calling themselves the Kamis.”

Following Hagen’s (See Rapacha 2000: 8-10, 2002 and 2003 [VS 2060] (also in Appendix G) for a critical reading) erroneously-misinformation description of the Kirānti-Kōits tribe, J.P. Ananda (1987), Raja R. Subedi et al (1998: 88 [VS 2055]; 1999 1st edition [VS 2051), K.P. Parajuli et al. (eds.1983: 1359 and 1392), Acharya (1994), S. Prapannacharya (1993: 471-475; who does not discriminate between the two spellings Sunuwar vs. Sunar, which is reiterated by Aryal (2003: 91-94 [VS 2060]), Shrestha and Bhattarai (2004) also have repeated the same misinformation. This I-A (Indic) Khas-Nepali caste *Kami or Sunar/Sornakar* as an overgeneralized exoglotonym for the Kirānti-Kōits people/tribe is either obviously unwarranted or unjustified information as for Thangmi analogically discussed earlier in § 1.1.1.2.

1.1.1.5 Ethnic identity lumped with Mangar/Gurung tribe

The exo-glotonym ‘Sunuwar’ [*N* सुनुवार *Sunuvār*], furthermore mistakenly has been associated with other more prominent ethnic groups such as Gurung and Manger (Sikkim spelling; See Appendix D) by QGO Lt Col Vansittart (1896 [rpt 1909]). He notes:

“In appearance and physique they (Sun(u)war) very much resemble the ordinary Magar and Gurung. They are most undoubtedly of Mongolian descent ... The Magars, Gurungs, and Sunuwars are often called in Nepal “Duwal bandi”, “two bound together”, and sometimes “Okhar Pangro”, viz. “Walnut and chestnut”, the intention being to convey thereby that they are as closely related as one nut to another” (1992: 177-179 [1st edition 1896]).

Undoubtedly, the author in both of his works *Notes on Nepal* and *Gurkhas: A Handbook*, was tricked and misinformed (or his impressionistic observation was erroneous) when he describes Sunuwar, Gurung and Magar ambiguously as “*okharpangro baldyangro*” [N] which may mean that all these three tribes are of similar category. On the contrary, these tribes are of different linguistic and cultural T-B groups, for instance linguistically, the Kirānti-Kōits language (cf. Figure 2), which is one of the T-B Kirānti languages and culturally the Magars and Gurungs celebrate *Ghātu Nach* ‘Ghātu Dance’ whereas the Sun(u)war celebrate *Shyādar Shyil* equivalent to *Sakela Sili* ‘Sakela Dance’ in other Kirānti speech communities.

Two other QGOs, W. B. Northey and C.J. Morris (1987: 257 [orig.1927]) have continued the same tradition of Vansittart. They note thus,

“...the *Bara thar* [fallacious because no Tibeto-Burman tribes have such caste/class hierarchy as in Hinduism as pointed out earlier; *my personal note added*], or twelve tribes, have become almost entirely of the Hindu faith, and the priests who officiate at their religious ceremonies are said to be, nowadays, exclusively composed of Brahmans, of the Upaddhe class, although some of their tribes of the Magars and Gurungs, and are considered to resemble those tribes in many respects. The resemblance to the Magars and Gurungs is not strong, however, and the Sunwars retain, to a large extent, the characteristics and manners of the other main races of Eastern Nepal, the Limbus and Rais, into the latter of which many of their subdivisions are, it is said, rapidly being absorbed.”

Then in the mid sixties, Bista (1967), who is credited as the founder-father of Nepalese socio-anthropology, also has without acknowledgement paraphrased those

Gurkha officers' impressionistic observations (to such an extent that "...they (Sunuwar) are offshoots of the Magars...Sunuwar language seems only slightly different from the Magar dialect...1967: 64) and even the Kirat historian and culture specialist Chemjong (1967) has adapted the same meaning as Bista. Following them, T Ukyab and S. Akhikari (2000: 57; translated version from Nepali into English) misleadingly have noted exaggerating,

"Because of their adherence to the Kirant religion, they are considered closer to the Rais. However, sociologists opine that they are more akin to the language and culture of the Magars with whom they also share similar physical resemblance."

Contrary to their exaggerated claim, the term 'Rai' (See in Figure 2, footnote 2), as an exonym having imperio-political implication, does not connote or even denote ethnonym of the multiple Kirānti tribes and Vansittart's (1992: 177-179 [orig. 1896]), Northey and Morris's (1987: 257 [orig.1927]), Bista's (1967) and Chemjong's (1967) impressionistic generalization seems to be a priori conclusion (See also Rapacha (2002) for linguistic and cultural details).

1.1.1.6 Linguistic identity lumped with Mangar/Gurung tribe

Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Ministry of Defense in 1965 published a book entitled *Nepal and the Gurkhas* from London. The author of the book so far is anonymous. This book claims that the Sunuwar *kura (N)* 'Sunuwar talk/speech/language' is said to resemble the Gurung and Magar *kura (N)*. Ukyab and Adhikari (2000) have inclined towards this generalization without acknowledging the source. If one compares linguistic descriptions available on those languages, s/he may not find validity of this claim (cf. also Rapacha (2002) for a basic interdisciplinary ethno-linguistic concepts among the Sunuwar, Jirel and Manger [Sikkim spelling; cf. Appendix D]).

1.1.1.7 Meaning as 'low caste' Kshetriya Hindu

Adhikary (1999: 860) has claimed unusually that the Sunuwar(s) belong to one of the Hindu low castes, thus,

...Sunuwar Bahun purohit calaune Kshetriya bargakai ek nimna shrenika hun.

“...सुनुवार बाहुन पुरोहित चलाउने क्षेत्रिय वर्गकै एक निम्न श्रेणीका हुन् ।”

(...The Sunuwar are one of the low status Kshetriya classes employing the Bahun [Brāhmin] priest *My translation*)

Neither any anthropological nor socio-cultural research until today to my mind has classified the Sun(u)war [Kirānti-Kōits] people/tribe [one of the Tibeto-Burman speakers] as low status Kshetriya class.

1.1.1.8 Identity lumped with Kinnar

Pokharel (1994[VS 2051: 43-44]) relying upon his late father Sharada Pokharel's verbatim opines that the word 'Sunuwar' (does not discriminate between Sunuwar vs. *Sunar*) has been derived from 'Kinnar>Kunar>Sunar'. Additionally, *Sunu dalit* (but the *Sanskrit-Nepali Brihat Shabadadosh* (2000: 1423 [VS 2057]) defines the 'Sunu' word as *paani* or *jal* 'water'), *Sundas* and *Suncikri* later developed as Sunuwar according to his random a priori presupposition.

On the contrary, he has not provided a single clue about Kinnauri/Kanwari (cf. Anju Saxena (1992)) tribe, who speak their own Mother Tongue genetically classified to Tibeto-Kinnauri, one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Himachal Pradesh. Kinnauri, here can be one of the best clues for this association with Kinnar because some recent anthropological surveys/studies viz., Sarkar (1996:336; in S.K. Singh, Gen.ed.) has mentioned referring legends that those Kinnauris were “born from Brahma's [a Hindu deity] toe”, which obviously seems to be a purely mythological rather than anthropological description of those people. Therefore, Pokharel's guesswork is hardly justifiable regarding the genesis of the term 'Sunuwar' from 'Kinnar>Kunar >Sunar'.

1.1.1.9 Meaning as Kshetriya or Khas

Some other authors, for instance, Prapannacharya (1993 [VS 2050], 2000 [VS 2056]) and Pokharel (ibid., also cf. Adhikary 1999: 860) without providing ethno-

anthropolinguistic facts (cf. Turner 1987: 64 [orig. 1927], Northey 1998: 93-94 [orig. 1937], Gurung and Salter 1996: 59, *Hutichinson Encyclopedia* 2001: 642, Gurung 2004 [VS 2061]) claim generalizing that the Sun(u)war are Kshetriya or Khas, which hardly holds ground as discussed in § 1.1.0.6 earlier.

1.1.1.10 Meaning as *Suryavamshi* ‘solar dynasty’

Unfortunately, some of the Kirānti-Kōits tribe members like Katicha-Sunuwar (1999: 70-71[VS 2056]), Sunuwar (1953 [VS 2010]) and Sunuwar (1956 [VS 2013]) themselves have reiterated the ‘Sunuwar’ as *Suryavamshi* सूर्यवंशी ‘solar dynasty’, whereas Kirānti-Kōits (*Kirathamshi* किरातवंशी cf. Pradhan 1999) as one of the members of Mongoloid stock (cf. Turner 1987: 64 [orig. 1927], Northey 1998: 93-94 [orig. 1937], Grunung and Salter 1996: 59, *Hutichinson Encyclopedia* 2001: 642, Gurung 2004 [VS 2061]) anthropo-sociologically do not fit into this ‘solar dynasty’ definition/classification.

1.1.1.11 Meaning as ‘Kirat dynasty’

There are other groups of scholars like Sunuwar (1990: 23-32 [VS 2017]), Hanßon (1991) Rai (1992 [VS 2049]), Khambu (1995 [VS 2052]), Yakkha-Rai (1998 [VS 2055]), Yakkha-Rai (2002 [VS 2059]), Pradhan (1999), Camling-Rai (1998 [VS 2055]), Rai (2001 [VS 2058]), Camling-Rai (2004 [VS 2061]) and Kandangwa (2050: iv) opine that the Sunuwar(s) belong to the Kirat dynasty. Linguistic, cultural, religious, historical, anthropo-sociological and toponymic (cf. Rapacha 1999) evidence(s) prove this classification authentic (also cf. Gaenszle 2000: 2-15, Gurung 2003: 10).

1.1.1.12 The term ‘Mukhia’ for ‘Sun(u)war’

Another equivalent exo-glonym used for ‘Sun(u)war’ [X सनुवार Sunuṅār] is ‘Mukhia’. Regarding this ‘Mukhia’ term, Lt Col Vansittart (1896) indicating its political implication writes,

“Mukhia is the name given by the Gurkha conquerors, and corresponds exactly with Subah, or Rai, meaning chief” (1992: 177 [orig. 1896]).

Contrary to the above-mentioned emperio-political implication of the exoglotonym ‘Mukhia’, Driem (2001: 724) has observed its social implication as ‘used by or applied to the Sunwar hypocoristically’, however for Vansittart (*ibid.*), it has political implication of the Gurkha imperialist-conquerors. As ‘Subba’ and ‘Rai’, the equivalent term ‘Mukhia’ instead of Sun(u)war has been popularly used in Bhutan, Darjeeling, Sikkim, Dehradun and possibly in some other parts of India and eastern Nepal (also cf. Adhikari 1999). During my fieldwork in Sikkim, I found that the nomenclature(s) such as ‘Pirthwar’ and ‘Bhujuar’ are also in use instead of ‘Mukhia’. Both of these assumed ethnonyms are merely coinages in analogy with the ambiguous ethnonym ‘Sun(u)war’.

1.1.1.13 The equivalent term ‘Marpache’

Fundamentally, the term ‘marapache’ [obviously Nepalized form from *mār* ‘what’+*pə+tsā* (K-K) ‘to do’] implies an outsider’s (mainly Bahun-Chetri Khas-Nepali speakers) joking phraseology to the Sun(u)war(s) currently. As suggested by its compounded etymology in the big brackets, a K-K speaker utters the phrase, *mar patsā* /*mār pə.cā*/ (मार ~ मर पचा) ‘what to do?’ when s/he is in dilemma or in such confusing or troublesome situation. In course of time, the common K-K people started themselves identifying as ‘Marapache’ unknowingly.

Contrary to the above aspects of several generalized, degenerated and falsified meanings, Kirānti-Kōits people have their own language internal systems of nomenclature, which we shall provide along with morpho-phonemic details as follows and their morpho-semantic details of interpretation will be discussed in § 1.1.3 later.

1.1.2 Ethno-clanonyms and their R-G⁵ orthography

⁵ R-G stands for Roman-Gorkhali. It has to do the system of education among Gurkhas (comprises “Paleo-Mongoloians/ancient tribes (Mongoloids): Gurungs, Rais, Magars and Limbus” (Gurung 2003: 226)) at the British regiments while learning to transcribe/transliterate Devanagari script into Roman in the past and even at present historically. The Anglicized term for Gorkhali is ‘Gurkha’ and in Indic Nepali

a) Written form	b) Spoken form	c) Morphemes
01. Binicha /बिनिचा/ [bin'itsā] /bin'icā/	[bin'its] /bin'ic/	bi-n'i-cā cow-V-INF
02. Bigyacha /बिग्याचा/ [bigyātsā] /bigyācā/	[bigyāts] /bigyāc/	bi-gyā-cā cow-V-INF
03. Bujicha ⁶ /बुजिचा/ [budz'itsā] /budz'icā/	[budz'its] /budz'ic/	bu-dz'i-cā V.INT-V-INF
04. Bramlicha /ब्रम्लिचा/ [brəmlitsā] /brəmlicā/	[brəmlits] /brəmlic/	brəm-li-cā buckwheat-V-INF
05. Darkhacha /दारखाचा/ [dārkhā:tsā] /dārkhā:cā/	[dārkhā:ts] /dārkhā:c/	dār-khā:cā UR-V-INF
06. Dasucha /दसुचा/ [dās'utsā] /dās'ucā/	[dās'uts] /dās'uc/	dā-s'ū-cā PAR-V-INF
07. Debbacha /देव्याचा/ [debbātsā] /debbācā/	[debbāts] /debbāc/	deb-bā-cā UR-V-INF
08. Digarcha /दिगरचा/ [digərtsā] /digərcā/	[digərts] /digərc/	di-gər-cā below-UR-INF
09. Durbicha /दुर्बिचा/ [durbichā] /durbicā/	[durbich] /durbic/	dur-bi-cā

the term Gorkhali is an adjective compounded of Gorkha (n) + li (adj). Regarding the etymology of this term, Gurung (ibid.) explains, "the Gurkhas as a distinct race came into being from 26 July 1559 when Prince Dravya Shah of Lamjung wrested the throne from a Khadka ruler and declared himself the king of a small tribal principality 80 km west of Kathmandu. The word "Gurkha" may have been derived from Garka, Kharka or Gerkhu or Kharga- words for pastureland in the local dialects of the indigenous people in the northern region. One hundred and eighty-three years later i.e. from the time of the 10th Shah ruler, the Sanskritized version states that the word Gurkha was derived from the word Gorakh Nath, an ascetic from Assam believed to be the patron deity of the kings from Prithivi Narayan Shah onwards."

⁶ The Bujicha clan has been divided into four sub-groups viz., Gaurocha, Mulicha, Nasocha and Nomlicha according to Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar (2004, cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)). The morpheme '*-cha /*-ca/' in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms.

			UR-V-INF
10. Fatica /फतिचा/			
	[p ^h ət'itsā] /p ^h ət'icā/	[p ^h ət'its] /p ^h ət'ic/	p ^h ə-t'ī-cā UR-V-INF
11. Gongrocha /गोड्रोचा/			
	[gɔŋrotsā] /gɔŋrocā/	[gɔŋrots] /gɔŋroc/	gɔŋ-ro-cā UR-V-INF
12. Jespucha /जेस्पुचा/			
	[dzɛsp'utsā] /dzɛsp'ucā/	[dzɛsputs] /dzɛspuc/	dzɛs-p'u-cā V-V-INF
13. Jijicha /जिजिचा/			
	[dzidz'itsā] /dzidz'icā/	[dzidz'its] /dzidz'ic/	dzi-dz'ī-cā UR-V-INF
14. JyeNticha ⁷			
	[dzyɛ̃t'itsā] /dzyɛ̃t'icā/	[dzyɛ̃t'its] /dzyɛ̃t'ic/	dzyɛ̃-t'ī-cā UR-V-INF
15. Katicha /कातिचा/			
	[kā:t'itsā] /kā:t'icā/	[kā:t'its] /kā:t'ic/	kā:-t'ī-cā one-V-INF
16. KhuNlīcha /खुलिचा/			
	[k ^h ūl'itsā] /k ^h ūl'icā/	[k ^h ūl'its] /k ^h ūl'ic/	khū-l'ī-ca UR-V-INF
17. Kyabacha ⁸ /क्याबाचा/			
	[kyābātsā] /kyābācā/	[kyābāts] /kyābāc/	kyā-bā-cā UR-V-INF
18. Khyom(N)patīcha /ख्योपतिचा/			
	[k ^h yōpətitsā] /k ^h yōpətīcā/	[k ^h yōpətits] /k ^h yōpətīc/	khyōpət-i-cā book-V-INF
19. KyuiNtīcha~ChuiNtīcha /क्युइतिचा/			
	[kyūĩt'itsā] /kyūĩt'icā/	[kyūĩt'its] /kyūĩt'ic/	kyūĩ-t'ī-cā UR-V-INF

⁷ The JyeNtīcha clan has been divided into six sub-groups viz., P/Halwa(cha), Hambacha, Mulīcha, Namadī(cha) and Ratwa(cha) and Satwa(cha) according to Lokpriya Mulīcha-Sunuwar (2004; cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)). Additionally, Mukhia (1998: 128) mentions some other sub-group clan-nyms such as Sabracha, Kholma(cha), Dinu(cha), Dalwa(cha) Palwa(cha) and Baruwa(cha). On the contrary, Vansittart (1896: 181) has listed thirteen different sub-groups, which are hardly accurate, as the author himself believes them to be inaccurate or incomplete. The morpheme '*-cha /-ca/' in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms.

⁸ The Kyaba(cha) clan has been divided into two sub-groups viz., Ralalī(cha) and Bagalē(cha) according to Lokpriya Mulīcha-Sunuwar (2004, cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)). The morpheme '*-cha /-ca/' in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms.

20. Kormocha /कोरमोचा/			
[kormotsā] /kormocā/	[kormots] /kormoc/	kor-mo-cā	landslide-UR-INF
21. Laspacha /लस्पाचा/			
[ləspātsā] /ləspācā/	[ləspāts] /ləspāc/	ləs-pā-cā	V-V-INF
22. Linocha /लिनोचा/			
[linotsā] /linocā/	[linotsā] /linocā/	li-no-cā	bow-V-INF
21. LoNkucha /लॉकुचा/			
[lō:kutsā] /lō:kucā/	[lō:kuts] /lō:kuc/	lō:-ku-cā	UR-V-INF
23. LuNk ^(h) icha /लुकिचा/			
[lūk ^(h) itsā] /lūk ^(h) icā/	[lūk ^(h) its] /lūk ^(h) ic/	lū-k ^(h) i-cā	UR-V-INF
24. Mulicha /मुलिचा/			
[mulitsā] /mulicā/	[mulits] /mulic/	mu-li-cā	time-V-INF
25. Nasocha /नासोचा/			
[nāso:tsā] /nāso:cā/	[nāso:tsā] /nāso:cā/	nā-so:-cā	sun-V-INF
26. Ngawocha /डावचा/			
[ŋāwotsā] /ŋāwocā/	[ŋāwots] /ŋāwoc/	ŋā-wo-cā	LOC-V-INF
27. Nomlicha /नोम्लिचा/			
[nomlitsā] /nomlicā/	[nomlits] /nomlic/	nom-li-cā	UR-V-INF
28. Pargacha /परगाचा/			
[pərgātsā] /pərgācā/	[pərgāts] /pərgāc/	pər-gā-cā	UR-V-INF
29. Pretticha /प्रेत्तिचा/			
[prett'itsā] /prett'icā/	[prett'its] /prett'ic/	prett-t'i-cā	V-V-INF
30. Rapacha /रापचा/			
[rā:pətsā] /rā:pēcā/	[rā:pəts] /rā:pēc/	rā:-pə-cā	

			V-V-INF
32. Rapicha ⁹ /रापिचा/ [rā:pitsā] /rā:picā/	[rā:pitsā] /rā:picā/		rā:-pi-cā V-V-INF
33. Rawacha /रवाचा/ [rəwātsā] /rəwācā/	[rəwāts] /rəwāc/		rə-wā-cā UR-V-INF
34. Rudicha or Ruticha /रुदिचा वा रुतिचा/ [ruditsā] /rudicā/	[rudits] /rudic/		ru-di-cā field/land-V-INF
35. Rujicha /रुजिचा/ [rudzitsā] /rudzicā/	[rudzits] /rudzic/		ru-dzi-cā field/land-V-INF
36. Rupacha /रुपाचा/ [rupā:tsā] /rupā:cā/	[rupā:ts] /rupā:c/		ru-pā:-cā land-V-INF
37. Shyochu(l)cha /श्योचुल्चा/ [šyotsu(l)tsā] /šyocu(l)cā/	[šyotsu(l)ts] /šyocu(l)c/		šyo-cu(l)-cā mouth-UR-INF
38. Susucha /सुसुचा/ [susutsā] /susucā/	[susuts] /susuc/		su-su-cā UR-who/V-INF
39. Teppacha /तेप्पाचा/ [təppātsā] /təppācā/	[təppāts] /təppāc/		təp-pā-cā V-V-INF
40. Thangracha /ठाङ्ग्राचा/ [T ^h āṅrātsā] /T ^h āṅrācā/	[T ^h āṅrāts] /T ^h āṅrāc/		T ^h āṅ-rā-cā UR-V-INF
41. Tholocha /थोलोचा/ [tholotsā] /tholocā/	[tholots] /tholoc/		tho-lo-cā UR-V-INF
42. ToNkucha /तोंकुचा/ [tō:kutsā] /tō:kucā/	[tō:kuts] /tō:kuc/		tō:-ku-cā meeting-V-INF
43. ThuNgucha /थुंगुचा/ [thū:gutsā] /thū:gucā/	[thū:guts] /thū:guc/		thū:-gu-cā wisdom-V-INF
44. Turshucha /तुरशुचा/ [turšutsā] /turšucā/	[turšuts] /turšuc/		tur-šu-cā N-V-INF

⁹ Information on this clanonym is based on B.B. Jeṅticha-Mukhia (personal communication 2002, cf. Eden Vansittart 1896: 180; Egli 1999: 78-9).

45. Wangdecha¹⁰ /वाङ्देचा/
 [wəŋdetsā] /wəŋdēcā/ [wəŋdets] /wəŋdēc/ wəŋ-dɛ-cā
 V-V-INF
46. Yatacha¹¹ /याताचा/
 [y'ātātsā] /yā'tācā/ [y'ātāts] /y'ātāc/ y'ā-tā-cā
 V-V-INF

(Cf. also Vansittart (1896,1909), Morris (1933), Sunuwar and Kormocha (1990: 16-17), Mukhia (1998: 127-129), Rapacha (1996, 1999), Egli (1999: 78-9), Khambu (2000), Sunuwar (2004), Sunuwar (2004: 44) [VS 2057])

The same Kirānti-Kōits <-cā: चा> ethno-clan-nyms' morpheme (cf. Gurung and Salter 1996:59) above frequently occur providing cognate-relationship in other T-B Kirānti tribes such as Kirānti-Ba?yung/Bahing (*Wallo Kirat*) as <-cā: चा>, Kirānti RwaDhu/Wambule (*Wallo Kirat* 'Hither Kirat'; cf. Opgenort 2002: 15-16) as <-ca: चा> or <-co; चो> (also in Kirānti-Kulung), Kirānti-Rodung/Camling (*Majh Kirat* 'Middle Kirat') as <-cha छ>, Kirānti-Bantawa (*Pallo Kirat* 'Far Kirat') as <-chā छ> or <-ca चा> and <-cho छे> less frequently in some other ethno-clanonyms (cf. E. Vansittart 1896 and 1909, C.J. Morris 1933, G. Khambu 2000 [VS 2057]). There is an obvious remote relationship with <-cā; च> of Early Classical Newari (Tamot 2002: 13-26 and 169-184), one of the members of Greater-Kirānti.

These ethno-clanonyms in Kirānti-Kōits as in Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member) as one of the T-B tribe particularly having the bilineal male clan (viz., *akal, kyangpole, areng, dumlam dhungguri, mosan thali* and *jaidhane*) and female clan (viz., *būdati, yantesiri, khatasiri, caltasiri, altasiri, bampasiri, khasasiri* and *apansiri*) structure; whereas in Kirānti-Kōits it is only male, is very interesting in its semantic

¹⁰ The Wangde(cha) clan has been sub-grouped under "ten clan Sunuwar(s)" by Eden Vansittart (1896; cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)) but this grouping as "ten and twelve" clan is a later development when the Kirānti-Kōits people came in contact with the Indo-Aryans. The morpheme '*-cha /-ca/' in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms.

¹¹ The Yata(cha) clan has been divided into five sub-groups viz., Garshi(cha), Bamna(cha), Okhy(cha), Gutka(cha) and Namadi(cha) according to Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar (2004; cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)). The morpheme '*-cha /-ca/' in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms. However, the term like 'garshi' has its own meaning in Kirānti-Kōits related to botany. Other terms except for 'Gutka' are related to toponyms or most of them are meaningless in K-K and Gutka in K-K simply means 'coop'.

aspects of the oral history in Thangmi. Shneiderman and Turin (2000c: 15; website print page number) write:

“The male clan names are said to have derived from the archery contest among the original seven Thangmi brothers and are largely related to tree or plant names. The first seven female clan names are based upon the work implements which the original seven Thangmi sisters are said to have used, while the eighth name, *apansiri*, derives from the word *apan* (T), (*ban Mānche N*), ‘jungle person’, and refers to a baby girl found abandoned in the woods by the seven Thangmi brothers and adopted as the eighth and youngest Thangmi sister.”

By way of analogical meaning of the language internal oral history of Thangmi (a Greater-Kirānti member), we shall here explore several ethno-clanonyms and their morpho-semantic aspects through interpretative approach in the mother tongue as in Thangmi (ibid.) related to several conceptual meanings in Kirānti-Kōits relying upon the morphological structures of the ethno-clanonyms and their relevance as follows:

1.1.3 Ethno-clanonyms: A morpho-semantic interpretation

01. bi-n’i-cā /वि-नि-चा/

cow-V-INF (v.t) ‘to squeeze something, e.g. cow for milking’ (n.) ‘milk-man, legendary king’

02. bi-gyā-cā /वि-ग्या-चा/

cow-V-INF (v.t) ‘to look after cows’ (n.) ‘a cow-herder’ (p/c with Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar)

03. bu-dz’i-cā /बु-जि-चा/

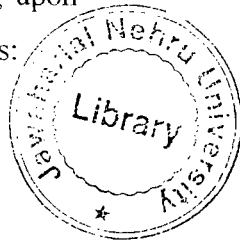
V.INTF-V-INF (v.t) ‘to break something abruptly’ (n.) ‘one who breaks something abruptly’

04. brəm-li-cā /ब्रम्-लि-चा/

buckwheat -V-INF (v.t) ‘to remain, decorate the buckwheat’ (n.) ‘one who performs such action’

05. dār-khā:-cā /दार-खा:-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) ‘to tear noisily’ (n.) ‘one who tears noisily’



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06. dā-s'u-cā /द-सु-चा/

PAR-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, repair, mend' (n.) 'one who darns'

07. dēb-bā-cā /देब-बा:-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.i) 'to stay, sit' (n.) 'a settler'

08. di-gār-cā /दि-गर-चा/

below-soil-pot-INF (v.t) 'to be friendly, toponym' (n.) 'one who is friendly'

09. dur-bi-cā /दुर-बि-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to be full' (n.) 'one which becomes full'

10. p^hā-t'i-cā /फ-ति-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to separate, filter' (n.) 'one who filters'

11. goṅ-ro-cā /गोङ्-रो:-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to open noisily' (n.) 'one who opens noisily, title/post'

12. dzēs-p'u-cā /जेस् -'पु-चा/

V-V-INF (v.t) 'to blast having burnt' (n.) 'one who blasts having burnt'

13. dzi-dz'i-cā /जि-जि-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to break violently' (n.) 'one who break violently, sweet, polite'

14. dz(j)yē-t'i-cā /ज्ये-ति-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to separate, filter' (n.) 'one who separates'

15. kā:-t'i-cā /का:-ति-चा/

one-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, mend' (n.) 'one who darns, remains aloof' (p/c with Uttan Katicha-Sunuwar)

16. khū-l'i-ca /खु-लिँ-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to put on, wear' (n.) 'one who puts on'

17. kyā-bā-cā /क्या-बा:-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.i) 'to stay, sit' (n.) 'one who stays or sits'

18. k^hyōpā-ti-cā /ख्यौप-ति-चा/

book-V-INF (v.t) 'to cover with a book, separate, filter' (n.) 'one who covers with a book or hides under the pile of books (p/c with Ganga Katicha [married to a Je'ticha

clan]; narrated to me a war story in Tibet during the prehistoric time, where one hid himself under the piles of books and that is how the clanonym has been derived)

19. kyuĩ-t'i-cā /क्युई-ति:-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to separate, filter' (n.) 'one who separates'

20. kor-mo-cā /कोर-मो-चा/

landslide-so-INF (v.t) 'to take place a landslide' (n.) 'one who dwelt in a landslide taking area' [korom yolšo tsuŋ(n)tsimi bāʔšo pətikem kormots dumšo (p/c with Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar)]

21. ləs-pā-cā /लस-पा:-चा/

V:go:2DU-VR-INF (v.t) 'to open up' (n.) 'one who opens up for himself or herself'

22. li-no-cā /लि-नो-चा/

bow-V-INF (v.t) 'to prepare a bow' (n.) 'one who prepares a bow'

21. lō:-ku-cā /लौ-कु-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to come up' (n.) 'one who comes'

23. lū-k^(h)i-cā /लुँ-कि-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to burn' (n.) 'burn'

24. mu-li-cā /मु-लि-चा/

time-V-INF (v.t) 'to remain something after use' (n.) 'one who dwells in the first ancestral family house' (Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar, p/c)

25. nā-so:-cā /ना-सो:-चा/

sun-V-INF (v.t) 'to set the sun' (n.) 'one who sets like the sun'

26. ŋā-wə-cā /ङा-व:-चा/

LOC-V-INF (v.t) 'to enter' (n.) 'one who enters first, elder brother'

27. nom-li-cā /नोम्-लि-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to remain, put on' (n.) 'one who puts on, remains'

28. pər-gā-cā /पर-गा:-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to walk' (n.) 'one who walks'

29. pret-t'i-cā /प्रेत-ति-चा/

V-V-INF (v.t) 'to jump, separate, filter' (n.) 'one who jumps'

30. rā:-pə-cā /रा:-प-चा/

- V-V-INF (v.t) 'to make something rot' (n.) 'a catalyst'
32. rā:-pi-cā /रा:-पि-चा/ (See footnote 4 above)
V-V-INF (v.t) 'to come' (n.) 'one who comes'
33. rā-wā-cā /र-वा:-चा/ (< ruwātsā 'to plough the land'; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar)
UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to plough' (n.) 'one who ploughs'
34. ru-di-cā /रु-दि-चा/
field/land-V, (below)-INF (v.t) 'to go for bringing' (n.) 'one goes for bringing'
35. ru-dzi-cā /रु-जि-चा/
field/land-V-INF (v.t) 'to break sth' (n.) 'one who divides property'
36. ru-pā:-cā /रु-पा:-चा/
land-V-INF (v.t) 'to open' (n.) 'one who used to dwell in a cave known as Rupāpūṣ
(Bed Rupacha-Sunuwar and Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar, p c)
37. šyo-cu(l)-cā /श्यो-चुल्-चा/
mouth-UR/V: thrash-INF (v.t) 'to thrash' (n.) 'one who thrashes'
38. su-su-cā /सु-सु-चा/
UR/who-who/V-INF (v.t) 'to seal, pack' (n.) 'one who seals'
39. tɔp-pā-cā /तेप-पा:-चा/
V-V-INF (v.t) 'to open, e.g. a bag' (n.) 'one who opens'
40. T^hāṅ-rā-cā /ठाङ्-रा:-चा/
fence-V-INF (v.t) 'to rot' (n.) 'one who provides support'
41. tho-lo-cā /थो-लो-चा/
place/V.INTF-V-INF (v.t) 'place/to turn gently' (n.) 'a settler, dweller' [kyuī-t'í-cāla
thušā ləšo pətíkem tho-lo-cā dumšo; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar]
42. tō:-ku-cā /तौ-कु-चा/
meeting-V-INF 'to come in the meeting' (n.) 'one who presides the meeting'
43. thū:-gu-cā /थुँ-गु-चा/
mind, (fig) wisdom-V-INF (v.t) 'to appear' (n.) 'one who is wise'
44. tur-su-cā /तुर-सु-चा/
turs 'grave'-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, mend' (n.) 'one who darns' [also one who is born on
the grave; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar]

45. wəŋ-dɛ-cā /वङ्-दे-चा/

enter-V-INF (v.t) ‘to say’ (n.) ‘one who says’

46. y’ā-tā-cā /या-ता:-चा/

V-V-INF ‘to take something away swiftly’ (n.) ‘one who takes something away swiftly’

These language internal systems of nomenclature and their morpho-semantic details and provenance in the Kirānti-Kōits clanonyms suggest that these clanonyms are very genuine clues for their linguistic, cultural, historical, ethnological and anthropo-sociological identity as Oirat>Kirat (cf. Rapacha 2004: 21-25) rather than all other messy meanings of their nomenclature discussed earlier.

1.1.4 Summing up

In § 1.1.1, we examined and discussed several problematic meanings and classification of the ethnoexoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ as opposed to the ancient Kirānti-Kōits tribe classified in Mongoloid stock (cf. Northey 1998: 94, Gurung 2004) anthropo-sociologically. By way of analogy, we have cited examples of the problematic meanings from Thangmi (Shneiderman and Turin 2000: 4), another member of the Greater-Kirānti family. From the cultural and linguistic point of view based on the earlier stated evidence, Kirānti-Kōits tribe are very closer to Kirānti-Baʔyung, Wambule [RaDhu], Jerung and others¹² and vice versa. We have hinted other Kirānti ethno-clanonyms also by providing morphoetymological relationships among <-cā; चा>, <-cā; चा> or <-co; चो> (also in Kirānti-Kulung of *Wallo Kirat* ‘Near/Hither Kirat’), Kirānti-Rodung/Camling (*Majh Kirat* ‘Middle Kirat’) as <-cha छा>, Kirānti-Bantawa (*Pallo Kirat* ‘Far Kirat’) as <-chā छा> or <-cā चा> and <-cho छो>. These ethno-morphological

¹² Lokpriya Mulicha (Sunuwar) and Uttam Katicha (Sunuwar) informed me that all the Kirānti tribes claiming Rai such as Baʔyung (Rumdali [clans: Thamrocha, Dilingpacha, Hajupacha, Diburcha], Pai/Rinamsacha [clans: Tolacha, Moblocha, Ripa(o)cha, Nambarsacha, Sechacha, Rallacha, Luticha], Necha(li), Hangu and koke cf. Lee 2005), Wambule and Jerung of Wallo Kirat at present were Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war) in the past (p/c). However, the Bāʔyung origin story as narrated by Buddhi Hangucha relates their proximity with Kirānti-Rodung of Majh Kirat (cf. Maureen Lee and Bagdevi Yalungcha (2001) adapted by Rapacha (2002) cf. also Appendix A; Text 1). Bhupadhoj Thomros-Kulung claims that the illiterate Sun(u)wars still today claim themselves to be Rais but the learned ones only identify themselves as Sun(u)wars (p/c June 2005).

variations of clanonyms do have very close relationship also with Early Classical Newari <-ca; च> as well and is a closely related cognate of Tibeto-Burman proto-form **t̪sa* ‘child, grandchild’ (Benedict 1972: 208) having socio-historical and linguistic relationship, which signifies as ‘±male /person’ marker (e.g. *sarə-chā* ‘son’, *māri-chā* ‘daughter’ and *mə-chā* ‘daughter’s husband’) in Kirānti-Rodung’s modern vocabulary.

The ethno-exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ as presupposed to be derived from the hydronym ‘Sunkoshi’ found in my investigation not to be developed/derived earlier than the 14th century (i.e. 1325 AD; See Egli 1999, cf. Yakkha-Rai 2002 [VS 2059]: 85¹³) in the ethnological literature and history of Nepal available until recently. Their ethnic or linguistic identity lumped in Gurung and Magar, irrespective of their same Mongoloid¹⁴ or Tibetonoid stock, has been found false while comparing linguistic data and cultural facts (cf. Rapacha 2002). Similarly, the rest of the meanings: Mukhia, *Suryavamshi* ‘solar dynasty’, *Kshetriya* or *Khas* ‘Indo-Aryan tribe’, Kinnar, ‘low caste Kshetriya Hindu and Sunar/Kami ‘goldsmith’ except for *Marpache* [Kirānti-Kōits origin], are all misnomers of the Kirānti-Kōits people/tribe.

As on Thangmi (Turin 2003), much of the earlier writing on the Kirānti-Kōits is “erroneous and betrays the ignorance and prejudices of the writers more than it informs the reader about features of this important Himalayan population [Oirat > Kirat, belonging to the Mongoloid stock [cf. Turner 1987: 64 [orig. 1927], Northey 1998: 93-94 [orig. 1937], Gurung and Salter 1996: 59, *Hutichinson Encyclopedia* 2001: 642, Gurung 2004 [VS 2061]; *information added*] and their little-known language”. Their

¹³ Yakkha-Rai (2002 [VS 2059]: 85) paraphrasing Panta (VS 2045-2050: 850 Part 3) notes that the term ‘Sun(u)war’ for the first time, was documented officially on 27 August 1797.

¹⁴ Nesturkh (1966: 26) notes that “Among the specific features of the many anthropological types of this race [Mongoloid] are the following: a broad face that projects moderately, the broad, projecting cheekbones giving it a flat appearance, the eyes are brown, the eye slit is medium in the majority but narrow in many cases; in some individuals external angle of the eye is disposed higher than the internal angle; there is a well-developed fold on the upper eyelid that in many cases extends to the cilia and crosses the lower lid, completely or partially covering the internal angle of the eye, including the lacrimal bay, to form the epicanthus; the nose is of medium width, slightly projecting and usually with a low bridge; in the majority of cases the nostrils are in the medium with their long axes at an angle of about 90° to each other; the lips are thin or medium; ...the chin ridge has medium development’ in very many individuals the head is mesocephalous. The skin is lighter in colour and the hair is black and not always stiff. The beard is scanty” (Cited in Toba 1992: 8).

ethnonym ‘Kōits’ in their own Mother Tongue and those morpho-semantically significant auto-clanonyms genuinely make them different from any other misinterpreted-meanings mentioned earlier related to the Indo-Aryan sociology handed down from Manu because Kirānti-Kōits as one of the Tibeto-Burman language speakers fall outside the hierarchical ‘caste’ or any ‘*jāti*’ [I-A or Indic] system (cf. Abbi forthcoming, Joshi 2003: 334). Their language internal auto-ethno-clanonyms (cf. § 1.1.3) are meaningfully significant for their own ethnicity and identity rather than other falsified, ‘ignorant and prejudiced’ (as in Thangmi (Turin 2003) meanings.

1.2 A corrective look on ethnonym orthography

Earlier in § 1.1.3, we analyzed several morpho-semantic aspects of clanoethnoyms in Kirānti-Kōits or Sun(u)war and here in this § 1.2, we shall examine the Kirānti-Kōits ethnonym inconsistencies in orthography described in the past literature. We shall also observe their (ethnonyms) problematic spellings below, which are meaningless in their cultural and semantic contexts at least for a fluent native speaker of Kirānti-Kōits.

SANWAR (sic; Beams 1867 [rpt. 1960: 20-21])

SANWAR (sic; Bezruchka 1985: 325 [5th edition; 1st 1972]) appeared for the first time in a photograph caption: ‘A Sanwar woman wearing *Cheptisun* (*N*) ‘earring’ and two types of nose ornaments. (Photo: Dave Hardenbergh)

SUNAWAR, (sic) census year: 1881; earlier distribution: Bengal (Singh 1996: 928)

SUNUWAR – POI Equivalent: SUNUWAR

Census years: 1891, 1901, 1911, 1941; earlier distribution: Assam, Bengal, Sikkim, Elsewhere; present distribution: Sikkim: throughout the state, Uttar Pradesh: Dehradun, West Bengal: Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, West Dinajpur

(Singh 1996: 929)

SUNUWAR (SUNWAR), census year: 1931; earlier distribution: Sikkim

(Singh 1996: 930)

SUNUWAR, **Synonyms:** Mukhya (Chief), Sonwar* [(sic) Sikkim] Groups/sub-groups:

Barathare, Dasthare¹⁵, Jirel [Sikkim; now Jirel has been classified as a separate Indigenous group in Nepal, *my information*]

Barathare, Dasthare [Uttar Pradesh]; [is a false classification in suppression and imitation of the Hindu rulers in the past and even at present some orthodox people think it to be so; *My comment added*]

Titles: Mukhya [Sikkim], Mukhia [Uttar Pradesh]

Surnames: Mukhya, Sunuwar [Sikkim]

Exogamous units/clans: Aditya, Bisu, Busyabisu, Bomyany, Chabbalich, Dongan, Durbic, Goma, Gorya, Grangden, Gyan, Gyapok, Hem, Himal, Jayatic, Jhumba, Jyoitishi, Kanshi, Kaumourch, Kusya, Laspach, Linoch, Lukhich, Moktan¹⁶, Mulich, Negi, Phatic, Porophan, Pukrin, Rawach, Rujich, Shyam, Siliry, Sree Srim, Suchich, Surjya, Syangbo, Thing, Thokar, Waiba, Yonjan [Sikkim]

Exogamous units/clans (thar): Kari Lasa, Seni [Uttar Pradesh]

Septs (thar): Brahmilcha*, Shhapaticha*, Durbicha, Jashkucha*, Jespucha, Jijicha, Jireli*, Katicha, Khyongpoticha, Kinticha, Kyohbohcha*, Loikicha, Pargacha, Rahpacha*, Rajicha*, Shushicha*, Thoholacha*, Thureucha*, Wangdecha, Yaktacha*, Yeti* in Darjeeling and Nepal [H.H. Risley]

(Singh 1996: 1798-1799)

Alternate names: SUNUWAR, SUNBAR (sic), SUNWARI (sic)¹⁷, MUKHIYA, KWOICO (sic) LO [SONOWAR (sic)*, SONOWAL (sic)* in *Ethnologue* 2005: 479] (www.ethnologue.com/showlanguage.asp?code=SUZ)

* I suggest them as problematic spellings including all other asterisked [I did it to the original author's version] ones and the *Ethnologue's* (Gordon 2005: 479) additional names SONOWAR*, SONOWAL.* [in *Ethnologue* 2005: 479] are also problematic as discussed in § 1.1.1.4 earlier.

¹⁵ All underlined words [I did it to the original author's version] are either of Indo-Aryan [Indic] Nepali stock or corrupted form and do not exist in Kirānti-Kōits lexicon; and there is no system of clanonyms as such in Kirānti-Kōits to my knowledge until today. The underlined and italicized clans are either of Rajput e.g. Negi or of Tamang/Murmi, e.g. Thokar and also cf. else where in § 1.2.

¹⁶ Moktan, Thing, Thokar, Waiba and Yonjan are Tamang/Murmi clanonyms, which are underlined and italicized as well. One cannot be sure why these clans have been lumped into the Kirānti-Kōits clanonyms.

¹⁷ 'Sunwari' is a twice Nepalized [Indo-Aryanized or Indicized] name of the T-B language, which first appeared in Shafer (1953) and later in Genetti (1988 and 1992) and cf. Sunuwar (2003 [VS 2060]). Genetti might have added the Inod-Aryan Nepali -i suffix while generalizing from Newa (based on Prof.

Sunwari (sic): Shafer (1953) (See footnote 4)

Sunwari (sic): Genetti (1988 and 1992) (See footnote 4)

Sunuwari (sic): Sunuwar (See footnote 4)

Sunuwar: *Sikkim Government Gazette* (1994) Explanation II- ‘The expression ‘Sunuwar’ includes Koincha (sic)/Mukhia’ [actually the alternative term ‘Koincha (sic)’ must correctly be spelt as Kōits; cf Appendix D, Gazette 2].

As discussed in § 1.1, most of these ethnonyms and ethno-clanonyms in § 1.2 are problematic in their orthography except for three terms “Kirānti-Kōits or Sun(u)war/Mukhia” (cf. § 1.1), which apparently diversified from language contact situation (cf. Abbi 1992: 39-49) especially with the Inod-Aryan languages like either Nepali in Nepal or Hindi in Inida (also cf. footnote 11) on Kirānti-Kōits.

1.3 Genetic affiliation/classification

After pointing out many inconsistencies of orthography regarding ethnonyms earlier, we shall now in this § 1.3 examine the genetic classification of Kirānti-Kōits available in the past and recent literature.

During the research period of Hodgson and later of Grierson, one of the classical methods of classification of the Himalayan languages was based on the grammatical feature known as ‘pronominalization’ both nominal and verbal. The term ‘pronominalization’ by its characteristics is “abbreviated form(s) of personal pronouns, acting as a subject of object of a verb, are prefixed, suffixed or infixes in the verb form itself to denote the particular person as the subject or the object of the verb concerned” (Sharma 1997). A recent study by Sharma (ibid.) shows that the Himalayan languages

T.R. Kansakar’s e-information (2004) →Newar→Newari, another T-B language of the Nepal valley, Dolakha district etc. The other alternate name ‘Sunbar’ is the first one in its (Kiranti-Kōits) written history, which I never heard in my boyhood or in adulthood. It might be purely an auditory error of the occidental linguists. So is the case with the last alternate name ‘Kwoico [actually Kōits] Lo’. Whereas it’s appropriate representation is Kōits Lo: which can be [kōits l^wo:] phonetically. The other alternate name MUKHIYA nowadays is written without ‘Y’ in Sikkim’s official documents (cf. Appendix D) and all speakers who have adapted this name write without it.

of Himachal and Uttar Pradesh like Kinnauri, Pattani, Gari, Chhitkali and Kanashi have this feature.

According to Konow (in Grierson 1909: 56) regarding the genetic affiliation of Kirānti-Kōits in terms of ‘pronominalization’ feature comments, thus.

“In Hodgson’s days it [Kirānti-Kōits] was a pronominalized language, but, if the specimens received for the *Survey* are to be trusted, it is so no longer. Hodgson’s *Essay* was written in 1847, so that, allowing for the date when the specimens for the *Survey* were received, this change took place in little more than half a century. As we know how rapidly Tibeto-Burman languages which have no literature to act as a conservative influence do change, this short period need not surprise us, and it is pretty certain that in all these languages the Munda characteristics were much stronger two or three centuries ago than they are now. On the other hand we also see in these non-pronominalized languages links connecting them with the Bodo Group.”

However, he admits that the materials collected for the Survey were very unsatisfactory. They seem to show that Sunwar is now a dialect of the simple non-pronominalized type. He hopefull notes, “...it is, however possible that better materials would show that it is still, as Hodgson described it, a complex pronominalized, form of speech/dialect, and the remarks made above are given with great diffidence”. In order to support Hodgson’s findings of the Kirānti-Kōits as a pronominalized language, Konow has not cited a single example from Hodgson (but he has collected some vocabulary only) and his data as such for the *Survey* lack such pronominalized (one example (reproduced below) from Kirānti-Limbu has been given) grammatical feature. However, the Kirānti-Kōits speakers still have such simplex form of nominal pronominalization as compared to another Kirānti-Limbu language such as,

“When a Limbu wishes to say ‘I strike him’ he turns both the ‘I’ and the ‘him’ into suffixes added to the verb. ‘Strike’ is *hip*, ‘him’ is *-tu*, and ‘I’ is *-ng*, so he says *hiptung*, which it will be remembered is exactly parallel to the Santali example...” (ibid. 57).

For the same Kirānti-Limbu lexeme *hiptung*, Kirānti-Kōits also has *tupnung*, ‘strike’ <*tup*>, ‘NPST:1sg’ <*-nu*> and ‘I’ is <*-ng*>, where the subject has been incorporated in the verb form as a suffix (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.2.2). Therefore, Konow’s classification does not seem appropriate since the native speakers might drop out the final syllable while in real life speech situation.

Morris (1933: 118 [orig. 1927]) after Hodgson and Konow observes,

“The Sunwar language is said to be spoken by the whole tribe and not to differ to any extent from place to place. It is to be distinguished from the complex pronominalized languages spoken by the Rais and Limbus and belongs to the same group of the Tibeto-Burman family as do Magar and Gurung a fact which certainly lends some colour to the story of migration from the West.”

As discussed above, Kirānti-Kōits is obviously one of the ‘pronominalized languages’ of the Kirānti group since we have provided linguistic evidence earlier whereas “the story of migration from the west” like any other Tibeto-Burman speakers such as Magar and Gurung, is purely a guesswork since linguistic, cultural, historical and mythological (cf. Text 1 in Appendix A, § 1.1.1-§ 1.1.4) evidence(s) available (cf. Rapacha 2002) have proved them as one of the Kirānti tribes known as Kōits in their own mother tongue [autoglotonym].

Similarly, Glover (1974) citing Morris’s comments writes,

“Following Hodgson (1847), Konow divides the Himalayan languages (excluding Sherpa and other Bhotia dialects, which he treats under Tibetan) into two groups, simple (or non-pronominalized) and complex (or pronominalized), depending on whether the subject pronoun is (redundantly) repeated as a verb suffix (p. 177). He placed (p. 274) Gurung, along with Magari, Newari, and Murmi, in the former group, and Rai and Limbu languages (except Sunwar) in the latter.”

Based on data provided earlier, Kirānti-Kōits as Kirānti-Limbu and Kirānti-Rodung is one of the pronominalized languages according to Glover’s criterion “whether the subject pronoun is repeated as a verb suffix.” Kirānti-Kōits obviously and certainly does this feature as in Kirānti-Limbu as stated and cited an example above.

Shafer (1953, 1955, 1966-74) has divided Sino-Tibetan into 'six main divisions: Sinitic (Chinese), Daic (Thai), Bodic (Tibetan, etc.), Burmic (Burmese, etc.), Baric (Bodo, etc.), and Karenic (Karen)' (1966: 1). He rejects the term Tibeto-Burman because the Sino-Tibetan family does not divide into two sub-families, Tibeto-Burman and Chinese-Siamese. Rather, it is on the basis of a tally of vocabulary comparisons based on phonetic equations between the languages he regards Tibetan as 'genetically closer to Chinese than to Burmese' and Chinese as considerably closer to Tibetan than to Thai (1955: 97). For Sunwar [Kirānti-Kōits], Shafer (1966-74: 3 and 145-157, 1953) has placed in East Himalayish Section (E Nepal), Western Branch, Bahing Unit in which there are other Kirānti languages like Bahing, Thulung and Tsaurasya.

Two other independent scholars, Voegelin and Voegelin (1965: 3) according to Glover (ibid) have described Sino-Tibetan as phylum containing nine families- Chinese-Kam-Thai, Mia-Yao, Burmese-Lolo, Karen, Bodo-Naga-Kachin, Naga-Chin, Gyarung-Mishmi, and Tibetan. Their last two families are jointly coextensive with Shafer's Bodic Division, but exclude his admittedly dubious Dzorgaish. However, the choice of a dividing line between the two families is curious: their Tibetan family comprises all but two Branches (Rgyarung and Gurung) of Shafer's Bodish Section, while their Gyarung-Mishmi family comprises those two Branches plus the other nine sections of Shafer's Bodic Division (Voegelin and Voegelin 1965: 33, Shafer 1955:100-2). Voegelin and Voegelin set up three groupings within their Gyarung-Mishmi family: a western complex, a pronominalized group, and a non-pronominalized group. Sunwar Kirānti-Kōits is included in a western complex, pronominalized group, and Gyarung-Mishmi family.

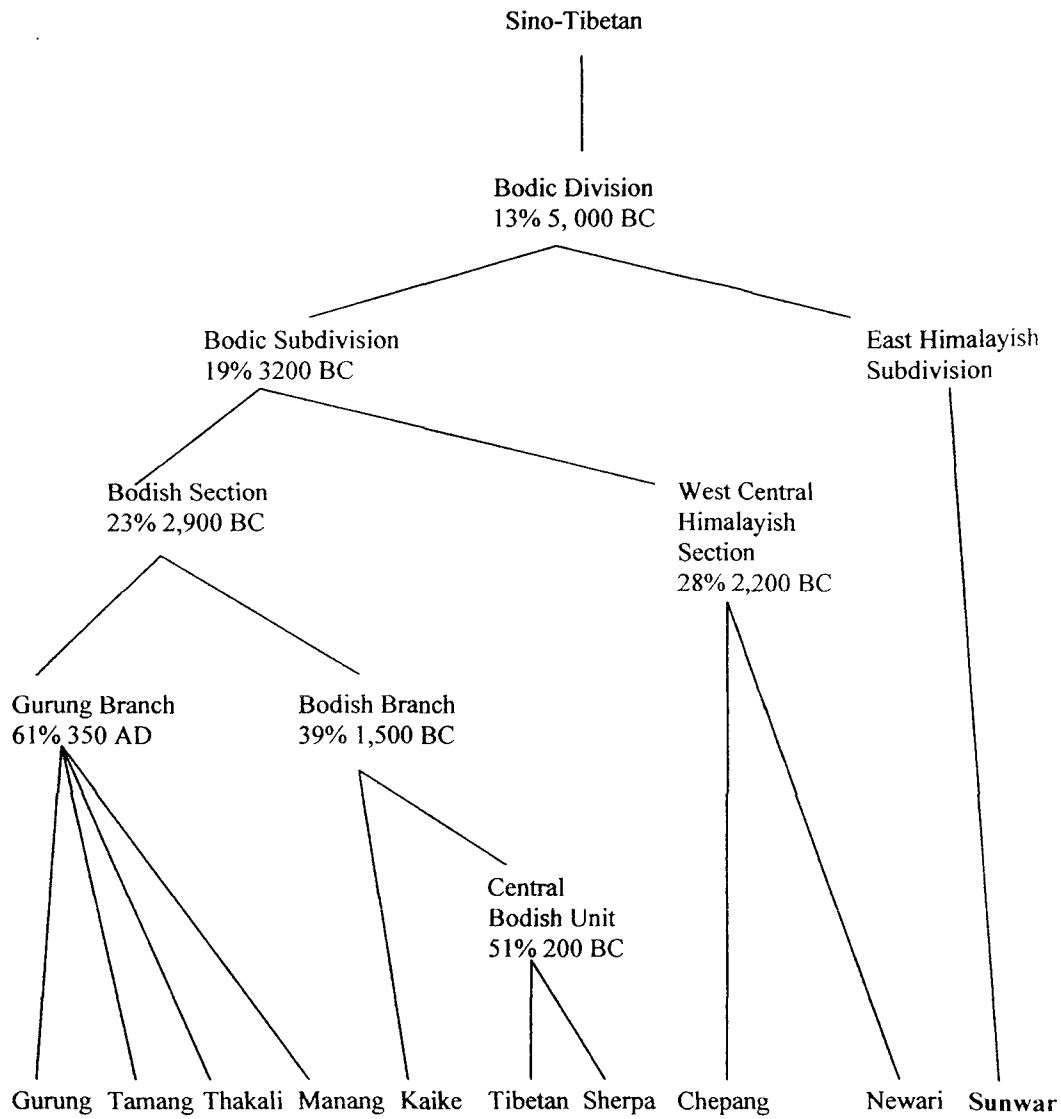
After Voegelin and Voegelin, Glover (1974) in his grammar of Gurung has classified some selected Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal including the Kirānti languages by using lexicostatistical analysis. In the *Linguistic Survey of India* Sten Konow noted that (Grierson 1967 [orig. 1909]: 10 and 12) 'on the whole, it is impossible to classify the Tibeto-Burman dialects satisfactorily' but that a dialect chain

can be traced, *inter alia*, ‘from the Tibetan, through the Himalayan languages, into Bodo and further into Kuki-Chin. Those latter dialects then gradually merge into Burmese.’

Then, Glover (*ibid*) in his footnote five has introduced the terms such as family, division, section, branch, unit, microphylum, mesophylum, microphylum, stock, family, and language thus,

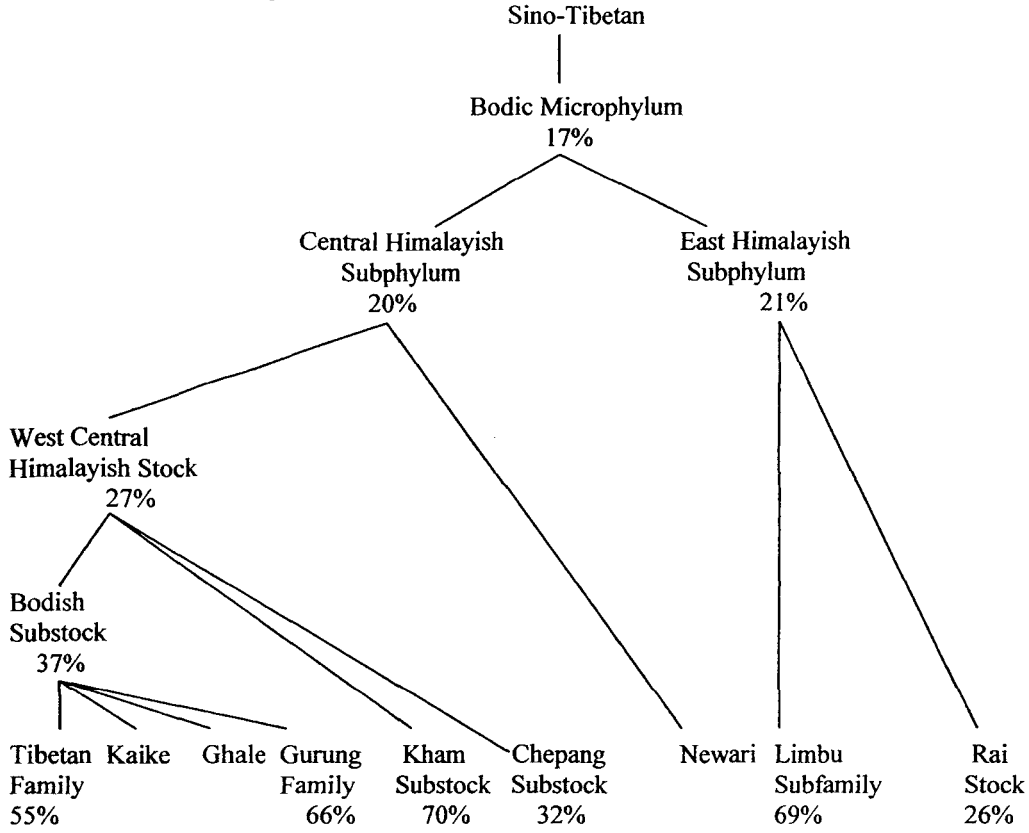
“Shafer sought to establish a hierarchy of terms- family, division, section, branch, unit- to describe groupings of languages in a ‘descending scale of importance’ (1955: 99). I prefer the system proposed by Swadesh (1954: 326) where the terms used denote more or less absolute degrees of relationship of constituent languages (in terms of percentage of shared vocabulary), and, hence, the relative degree of inclusiveness of the terms. The terms Swadesh proposed, and appropriate to each term, are: macrophylum (less than 1%), mesophylum (1-4%), microphylum (4-12%), stock (12-36%), family (36-81%), and language (81-100%). Lexicostatistical analysis supports Shafer’s classification as against Konow’s and Voegelin and Voegelin’s. Using Swadesh 100-word lists, supplied mostly by members of the SIL members in Nepal, for thirty-six Sino-Tibetan languages I arrived at the relationships represented in the accompanying tree (Figures 3, 4 and 5) diagrams.”

Figure 3: Glover's classification and the place of Sunwar



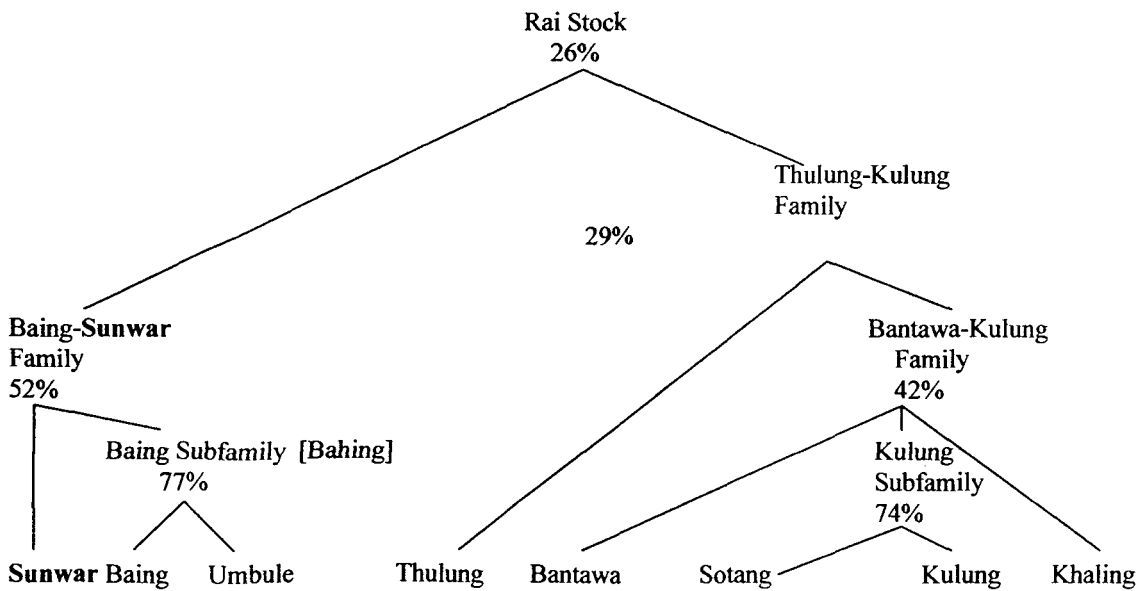
(Glover 1974: 25)

Figure 4: Glover's Classification and the place of Rai Stock



(Glover 1974: 9)

Figure 5: Glover's classification of the Rai Stock and the place of Sun(u)war



(Glover 1974: 10; cf. Footnote 2 for the exoglotonym 'Rai' and § 1.1.1 for the exoglotonym 'Sunwar')

Glover's classification thus in Figure 3 shows the place of Sunwar [Kirānti-Kōits] directly in East Himalayish subdivision as Shafer's under Sino-Tibetan family, Bodic division of which the time-depth of separation is 5, 000 BC.

Glover in Figures 4 and 5 classifies Sunwar [Kirānti-Kōits] in Baing [rather it is Ba?yung, Bahing N]-Sunwar family, Rai Stock, East Himalayish Subphylum, Bodic Microphylum, Sino-Tibetan family.

Regarding the above classification, Glover (*ibid*) notes,

“In labeling groupings of languages I have modified Swadesh's definition of terms, following Wurm (1961) and others who have worked in Papua New Guinea, by setting the boundary between stock and family at 28% instead 36%, and I have adjusted the percentages for equivalent time-depths to correspond to the apparently less mutable 100-word list which Swadesh proposed (1955) in place of his earlier 200-word list. The lower limit (of cognate percentage) figures for each term are, on the basis of the 100-word list: language (500 years) 86%, family (3000 years) 40%; stock (5000 years) 22%; microphylum (7500 years) 11%; mesophylum (10,000 years) 5%; macrophylum (more than 10,000 years) less than 5%. To gain flexibility in a hierarchy of terms I have also used the intermediate terms (with approximate boundary figures as shown) of subfamily (1500 years) 64%; substock (4000 years) 30%; subphylum (6000 years) 16%. The lexicostatistical analysis finds all the languages as members of a microphylum, called, after Shafer, the Bodic Microphylum”.

Glover (*ibid*), then in his footnote seven reveals the limitations of lexicostatistics as scientific methodology pointing out thus,

“Time depth are calculated on the assumption (from Swadesh 1954, 1955) that a language retains 86% of the 100-word list over one millennium, but only 80.5% of the 200-word list. The time depth figures must be treated with caution, however, across languages, in Swadesh's own data, nor constant within any one language, as evidenced by Pulleybank (1972) for Chinese. Lexicostatistics gives only a rough first approximation to linguistic groupings: it is not a precision tool. However this does not gainsay, the fact that the relative percentages of shared vocabulary within a set of

classificatory groupings, which hypotheses can serve to suggest probably fruitful areas for detailed comparative study”.

Lexicostatistics, however is not a precision tool of inquiry whereas Kirānti-Kōits and Kirānti-Bāʔyung [Bahing *M*] languages seem very similar in their lexical and grammatical structures (cf. Sun(u)war, 1995: 1-5, Rapacha 2002c, Lee 2005) comparatively.

Bickel (1996: 22) points out regarding the Kirānti group thus, “...on the basis of verbal agreement morphology, the Kirānti family has been compared to the Quiangic and Nungish groups spoken, respectively, in Sichuan and the China-Burma border area (Thurgood 1984), but the level of genetic relation is far from clear.” Expanding on recurrent speculations in the literature, Driem (1993c) discusses morphological evidence for a close genetic relationship of Kirānti with Newar (Nepal Bhasha), constituting a major division (Mahakiranti) within the Bodic family.

Hanßon (1991) in his survey and classificatory study has classified Sunuwar as one of the Kirānti languages of western Kirānti (also cf. Bickel 1996: 22, Rapacha 2003, Yadava et al 2004: 18) group from linguistic and ethnic point of view.

Driem (2001: 724-725) has classified Sunwar [Kirānti-Kōits] as “...the most northwesterly of the Kirānti languages (See Map 6: xxx), and its closest affinity is believed to be with Bahing, its nearest Kirānti neighbour... is a pronominalised Rai (cf. explanation at the bottom of Figure 2) language but not inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in the first person has been reported in the pronominal system.” We shall compare his claim with DeLancey (1992) in Ch 3.

The most interesting and challenging classification of Kirānti [in which Kōits~Sunuwar/Mukhia is one of them] is in the Rung branch by Thurgood (2003: 14; Ch 1) and LaPolla (2003: 30; Ch 2). This Rung group consists of the rGyalrong languages, the Dulong languages (Tʼrung, Rawang), the Kirānti languages, the west

Himalayan languages (Kinauri, Almora), Kham, and less probably, Magar and Chepang.

The term ‘Rung’ is also important because there exist ethnonymic (autonyms of the ethno-indigenous group) terms like ‘Rodung, Radu, RwaDhu and Rūku’ in Kirānti language/s speakers “that migrated down along the eastern edge of the Himalayas and then across Burma and into Northern India and Nepal” (LaPolla 2003: 30) in pre-historical times.

1.4 Geographical distribution and demographic details

In a general survey discussed in §1.0 earlier, there are only 26, 611 (27%) speakers (out of their 95, 254 population (Census Report 2001) in the eastern hills of Nepal (See Maps1: xxv, 2: xxvi and 5: xxix), whereas in India according to the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson (ed.) 1909), it was 4, 435 in Darjeeling, 555 Sikkim, 259 Assam (on the contrary Allen (1901: 143) has mentioned 54 in 1891 and 1602 in 1901)), 52 Lakhimpur, 43 Lushai Hills and 36 in Jalpaiguri (cf. also Subba 1089: 42, Pradhan 2004: 30 and 32). There are about 550 members out of 65 household families in Bhutan according to Prabhat Kumar Mukhia’s e-mail information sent to me on Feb 4, 2005, which was first written to Dr Laxman Sunuwar. This number whether in India or Bhutan or Nepal is fluctuating and dwindling distressingly leading to their eventual extinction.

1.5 A critical appraisal of literature

1.5.0 General

In this § 1.5, we shall mainly describe the vocabulary collection, phonological and grammatical sketches, cultural descriptions, comparative studies, and pedagogical materials available on the Kirānti-Kōits people and language in thematic approach (also cf. § 1.2). Before we turn on these themes, we shall briefly discuss Hodgson’s contribution as its (§ 1.5) background.

Hodgson for the first time in the history of these lesser-known tribes has appended twelve word lists for the ten (one of them is Kirānti-Kōits) races, (giving three- written Tibetan, spoken Tibetan, and Sherpa- for his first ‘race’ of ‘Cis-Himalayan Bhotias’), containing 194 vocabulary items for each. There is no distinction of retroflex versus dental stops, no treatment of tone, or a consistent marking of vowel nasalization as comments Glover.

Hodgson, according to Glover (1974) marked a length contrast on all vowels, but this is of doubtful validity phonologically. There is no indication for any of his lists what dialect is represented, and many of the items of the Gurung list are markedly different from the modern Ghacok dialect or, more generally, western Gurung. However, Hodgson’s work remains a landmark, and served as the source for many who dealt with the area later but for whom Nepal was more or less inaccessible. Glover in his footnote fourteen reveals that much of his (Hodgson) article is included practically verbatim, but without acknowledgement. His word lists formed the primary source for Hunter (1868), and his material was drawn on as late as Shafer (1967: 124).

Konow’s observation on Sunwar was based on a written word and phrases list and a translation of the parable of ‘The Prodigal Son’ supplied by the Nepalese Government office [Nepal Durabr] in Kathmandu. There is still no treatment of tone and Konow (1990 and 1994: 182 rpt. [orig. 1909]) notes that “it is often difficult to decide whether a vowel is long or short, the spelling of the specimens being inconsistent’. He attempts a Latinized description of the morphology, but his is marred by the inadequacy of phonetic representation and by errors in translation (cf. Appendix C with additional information) for which his “materials are not sufficient for a full description of the Sun(u)wār dialect” (1909: 198-205). The reason given for such inaccuracy is- “original manuscript being very indistinct.”

1.5.1 Vocabulary collection

Hodgson (1847) apart from writing an essay ‘On the aborigines of the sub-Himalayas’ or later *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and*

Tibet (Indian rpt. 1874), has recorded some limited vocabulary of Kirānti-Kōits in isolation without providing a basic information on his consultants, along with other Himalayan languages with gloss in English. His work however, has become helpful for reconstruction amongst the Kirānti languages.

Beams (1867) has included in his 'purely elementary work', designed as a guide to the non-linguist wishing to record local dialects. He has collected some numerals from one to ten in the language reflecting the oldest vocabulary of the language but they seem inappropriate slightly. There are twenty-three dialects of the Himalayic class in his study, including Sunwar. Unfortunately, he has misspelt the linguonym Sunwar as 'Sanwar' (cf. § 1.2).

Several decades after Beams, Bieri and Schulze (1988) have prepared a mimeographed version of the *Sunuwar Dictionary Format Specification*, which is yet to be published in the form of a dictionary. Hale et al (1972) also have collected vocabulary from Sabra, Ramechhap district, Nepal. Lohani's (ed., 1973) *Paryayavachi Shabdakosh* is a collection of about 3000 words of fourteen languages (e.g. Gurung, Chepang, Tamang, Tharu, Danuwar, Newari, Bhojpuri, Magar, Maithili, Rai, Limbu, Lepcha and Sunuwar) each with translation into Nepali. Sunuwar [Kirānti-Kōits] is one of them. It was a first step taken at the government level to collect vocabulary of those languages other than Nepali. Similarly, Jeṭicha-Sunuwar and Thuṅgucha-Mukhia (1991) have collected some hundreds of Sunuwar [Kirānti-Kōits] vocabulary. One of the native speakers like Mulicha-Mukhia (1994) has collected inflectional vocabulary claiming to have included about 7000 words of his mother tongue in his work *Kirat-Sunuwar Bhasha Shabdakosh*, however it lacks the art as well as science of lexicography in itself.

Bhattarai's (1998) multilingual dictionary *Sankshipta Nepali Rastriya Shabdakosh* is a collected vocabulary from fifteen spoken languages of Nepal including the lingua franca Nepali. All the vocabulary in his collection for other fourteen languages, are taken from Joshi's (1973) work. Another native speaker Laspacha-

Sunuwar (2001) from Lispu, Okhaldhunga to his credit has a slim vocabulary collection, which still lacks the true art of lexicography. Mulicha-Sunuwar (2003) from Likhu Khola, Okhaldhunga also has contributed a trilingual (*SāN Wāṅ DurdāpuN*: Nepali-Sunuwar-English) glossary of the language (cf. Rapacha 2003 for its review).

1.5.2 Phonological/grammatical sketches

Grierson's ((ed.) 1903-1927) magnum opus, the *Linguistic Survey of India (LSI)* in its third volume, has described an outline of the Sunuwar/Sunwar grammar including pronunciation (III, Part I: 1909: 199-203, See Appendix C) based upon the classical framework of 'parts of speech'. Data for this outline has been drawn from 'The prodigal son', *New Testament*, translated into the individual mother tongues. The same text has been used for all other tribal languages as a source of their grammatical features.

The *LSI* not only provided the grammatical outlines of the languages, but also proved to be a fundamental work for genetic classification. There are some generalized grammatical concepts like definite/indefinite articles in Kirānti-Kōits described as *meko* and *kā* (See Appendix C), which have demonstrative and numerical function. Bieri (1975, 1978, 1988) has discussed whether Kirānti-Sun(u)war is a pronominalized language (also cf. § 1.3). Moreover, she has analyzed three types of covariant relations viz, condition, result and reason. These relations differ in four different ways. Bieri to her credit has prepared a format specification of Sunuwar dictionary also which is to appear in co-authorship with M. Schulze in the near future. They have studied on the phonology and discourse of Kirānti-Kōits (viz, 1971a, 1971b, 1971c, 1973).

Schulze (1978, 1987, 1995a, 1995b) has analyzed and described two types of rhetorical questions viz, topical and characterizing, which are used to the description of the language include: 'Intense action adverbials in Sunuwar: A verbal intensifier system' (1986), 'Report of a seminar on Sunuwar verbs of Nepali origin' (1995a), 'Local words and directionals in Sunuwar' (1995b) and some unpublished reports submitted to the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), Tribhuvan University

include: ‘An hypothesis for the investigation of verb system alternation in Sunuwar’ (November 1995), ‘Devanagari script velar segmental in Sunuwar orthography’ (May 1995) and ‘Nominalization of Sunuwar Verbs’ (December 1996). Her proposal of the Devanagari script for Sunuwar orthography in writing has some technical problems (See Table 8, § 2.5.4).

DeLancey (1992) in his article ‘Sunuwar copulas’ has described four etyma of recognizably copular function in the language. Particularly, the data have been analyzed on person and number agreement

Genetti also has contributed two papers on Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war). In her first paper (1998b), Genetti has described transitive verbs comparing with Bāṅyung [Bahing N] suffixal morphology. Her next paper (1992) has described segmental alternations of verb stem based on Feature Analysis.

Pokharel (1999) has described and compared reciprocity in fifteen Kirānti languages from typological perspective. Among them Kōits~Sunuwar *-mumtās(e)* and Bahing *-motāse* ‘each other’ seem closely related languages phylogenetically.

Rapacha (1995, 1996, 1997a, 1997b) in his papers and Master’s Thesis, has discussed the linguistic situation of the speech community from sociolinguistic point of view. In his next Master’s Thesis (1999), he has investigated clause types of the language.

Upadhyay (1998) in her Mater’s Thesis has collected 100 verbs of Kirānti-Kōits in order to compare with Sanskrit middle voice. Most Kirānti languages including Sunuwar have middle voice as in Sanskrit according to her findings.

Borchers (1998, 1999) has described nominal morphemes and personal pronouns in Sunuwar. Similarly, Ebert (1999a, 1999b) in her papers has carried out typological study of nonfinite verbs and conjugative particles of the Kirānti languages amongst which Kōits (Sunuwar) also has been included.

1.5.3 Anthro-linguistic and cultural descriptions

Based on the literature available, the first published material on the Sunwar language and tribe is Hodgson (1847), a corrected and enlarged version being included in Hodgson (1971[1874]: II. 29-36). According to Glover's (cited earlier) assessment, Hodgson lists (1847: 1237) ten 'races as they occur, intolerably regular series, from west to east'. He correctly locates the Gurung west of the valley of Kathmandu, but has apparently erred in placing the Sunwar also west of the valley and north of the Gurung.

Today the Sunwar inhabit the eastern hills (His Majesty's Government 1966, See Maps1: xxv and 2: xxvi) and there is no evidence in their permanent settlements there that they migrated from 200 miles to the northwest within the last century whereas Risley (1891: 20-21) has provided very investigative evidence on the migratory route of the tribe originally from Kashmir. Actually, the Indo-Nepal Himalayas' small tribes and their tongues were discovered during this century.

Fournier (1974, 1976) in his articles 'The role of the priest in Sunuwar society' and 'A preliminary report on the pōib(o) and the gyami: The Sunuwar shamans of Sabra', has analyzed and interpreted some sociolinguistic and cultural (cf. Rapacha 2003d) concepts found in the native speech community. Recently, Borchers (2003: 71-84) has studied on shrines, religious ceremonies and ancestor-cult of the Kirānti-Kōits tribe. Her study shows that the tribe is still practicing their tribal culture completely different from the Hinduised (§ 1.1) predicament, however one of my consultants, Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar rejected whether the shrine *dun laga* as such existed among other shrines for worshipping ancestors.

1.5.4 Comparative studies

As in § 1.3, we shall here discuss some comparative works available on Sunuwar [Kirānti-Kōits]. Shafer (1953) has established a number of phonetic equations for Sunuwar [Kirānti-Kōits] with Bahing. His work appears to be based entirely on Hodgson and Konow's data.

According to Glover (1974), Hale (1970a, b) has compared the phonological systems of Gurung, Western Tamang, Thakali, and four other languages of the Bodic Microphylum- Newari, Sherpa, Chepang and Sunwar – and published word-lists the seven languages of Nepal.

Benedict (1972) has provided an overview of Sino-Tibetan reconstruction, with special attention to Tibeto-Burman (where K-K has been lumped in the Bahing-Vayu group) but not apparently citing any forms from the Kirānti-Kōits language in particular.

Glover's (1970c cited earlier) work is also related to classification of Sunuwar [Kirānti-Kōits]. He has classified the language in the East Himalyish sub-division under the Bodic division, Sino-Tibetan family (cf. Figures 3-5). Furthermore, Glover as a lexicostatistician, has collected 100 Swadesh word lists of the language lumped in the Bodic division in order to calculate cognate words by percentage.

Rai (1990) has collected some vocabulary of Kirānti-Kōits and has pointed out common origin of Kirānti-Kōits and Bā'yung [Bahing N]. His proposal is to reconstruct Kirānti-Kōits and Bahing as one rather two different languages. Furthermore, he has suggested on the need of a common lingua franca amongst the Kirānti group of languages and speakers as well.

Ebert (1999a, 1999b) in her papers has carried out typological study of nonfinite verbs and conjugative particles of the Kirānti languages amongst which Sunuwar [Kirānti-Kōits] also has been included.

Rapacha (2002c) is a comparative study of Sunuwar-Bahing languages, which mainly discusses cognate and near cognate pairs at the lexical and syntactic levels.

1.5. 5 Pedagogical materials

Roughly after Bieri's study, the post-1978 Era particularly in Sikkim, the 22nd State of India, gave rise to linguistic and social hope by recognizing and declaring the

tribe as an OBC [Other Backward Community] Group (*Sikkim Government Gazette* 1994; See Appendix D; Gazette 2) and linguistic identity of the speech community by recognizing the Kirānti-Kōits (Sunuwar) as one of the Official/Regional/Second languages of the State (*Sikkim Government Gazette* 1996; See Appendix D; Gazette 1).

This has proved to be a watershed event in the tribe's linguistic history albeit Ellis and a'Ghobhainn opine that "a language cannot be saved by singing a few songs or having a word printed on a postage stamp. It cannot, even be saved by getting "official status" for it, or getting it taught in schools. It is saved by its use (no matter how imperfect by its introduction and use in every walk-of-life and at every conceivable opportunity until it becomes a natural thing, no longer laboured or false. It means in short period of struggle and hardship. There is no easy route to the restoration of a language" (quoted in Nettle and Romaine 2000: 176).

Nevertheless, language maintenance is context-sensitive in the multilingual societies like South Asia. Nettle and Romaine (2000: 198) consider that varied natural system is inherently more stable than monoculture. Ecolinguistics is part of the natural system. All dying out minority tribal languages are part of that greater ecolinguistics without exaggeration.

In the dawn of new millennium, Kirānti-Kōits is on its threshold of extinction. However, the Sikkim Kōitsbu (Sikkim Sunuwar Association), Gangtok, Sikkim has published the first *Elementary Grammar of Kirānti-Kōits~Sunuwar*. Rapacha (2001d also two more revised versions) in his paper 'Remodification, reformation and systematization of Je'ticha Brese' has provided solutions of writing system in their indigenous script with improvements in its orthography.

In his two other papers Rapacha (2002a, 2002b) has provided an in-depth account of the present-day literature available on the language and a comparative study on Kirānti-Sunuwar and Bā?yung [Bahing *N*] languages. To add some most recent works are: *Kirānti-Kōits-a Bleletheke* (2003a) (Kirānti-Sunuwar Alphabet), *Kirānti-*

Kõits-a Thesi Tarando (2003b) (Elementary Grammar of Kirānti-Sunuwar) and *Kirānti-Kõits-a Khyōpat* (2004) [Elementary Reader of Kirānti-Sunuwar] by Rapacha, Rujicha-Mukhia and Ngawacha-Mukhia published by Sikkim Kõitsbu.

Sunuwar (2003) also has contributed a trilingual glossary of the language, the author of *Kõits Lo Losi* (1997) and translator of *Mulkem* (1997). Yata-Mukhia and Tonkucha (2000) also have contributed a useful publication for pedagogical purpose but the language that has been employed in its text is very unusual than other common standard dialects. All these works, which have been used for teaching/enriching their mother tongue at different levels among them, are normally helping language retention.

Until the year 1978, most of the Minority Tribal Languages (hereafter MTLs) of North-eastern India and Nepal were under investigation by the SIL linguists. They carried out their studies on those languages in pre-Chomskyan framework of linguistic description especially that of Leonard Bloomfield, Kenneth Pike, Morris Swadesh and so on. These studies have assisted textbook writers to produce pedagogical materials at various levels either formal or informal.

Lehman ((ed.) 1970) under the Wolfenden Society of Tibeto-Burman Linguistics has studied on tonal system and collected some folklore narratives with free translation in English. This era normally is noted for Bieri and Schulze's fragmentary description of Kirānti-Kõits in general. Later both of them initiated translation of the *New Testament* in the mother tongue entitled as *Yabe-a Lo* (1992). It is also one of the most helpful texts for initiating mother tongue education for children.

Similarly, Hale, Bieri and Schulze (1973a) have analyzed discourse types of the language, which helps to analyze the basic syntactic structures for producing text materials.

Only after three decades of study on Sunuwar [Kirānti-Kõits] by Bieri and Schulze, the International Bible Society in collaboration with Samdan Books and Stationers, Kathmandu was able to bring out the *New Testament* in Sunuwar entitled

Yabe-a Lo (1992). This is the sole translated literature available on the mother tongue besides short creative writings. It can be a helpful source of discourse analysis and pedagogical materials production leaving aside its misrepresented Nepali orthography at the phonological level.

1.6 Linguistic diversity and multiplicity

Nepal as one of the South Asian countries like India for centuries in the past and until recently is famous for its linguistic diversity. In Nepal, out of four language families (i.e. Tibeto-Burman, Indo-European, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian) and one unidentified Kusunda (Indo-Pacific family?), mainly the languages from Tibeto-Burman family contribute linguistic diversity and multiplicity of the region. We shall now here observe the number of languages of Nepal in a bird's eyeview from different sources.

Figure 6: The number of Nepal's languages

Census Reports	1952/54	1961	1971	1981	19991	2001
Total Nos. of Languages	44	33	17	17	20	92+
Nos. of indigenous languages	29	26	12	13	15	70+

(Source: Yadava, Bhadra and Parajuli 2004: 15)

Contrary to the Census Reports given in Figure 6, the *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (2005; 15th edition edited by Gordon, Jr.) mentions that there are 127 languages spoken throughout the country. To be hopeful, the latest Census Report 2001 has dared to show a bit clearer picture of linguistic diversity and multiplicity in the country after several decades of slumber and unwillingness to expose the linguistic situation to the external world. We shall show the indigenous languages other than Khas-Nepali and some other from Indo-Aryan group (Indo-European Family) in Figure 7 below in general and the position of Sunuwar [Kirānti-Kōits] (See the double-tick marked one S. No. 15) in particular.

Figure 7: The number of Nepal's indigenous languages and their speakers, 2001

S. No.	Mother Tongue	Number	%
1.	Tharu	1331546	5.86
2.	Tamang	1179145	5.19
3.	Newar	825458	3.63
4.	Magar	770116	3.39
5.	Bantawa	371056	1.63
6.	Gurung	338925	1.49
7.	Limbu	333633	1.47
8.	Rajbamshi	129829	0.57
9.	Sherpa	129829	0.57
10.	Chamling	44093	0.19
11.	Santhali	40260	0.18
12.	Chepang	36807	0.16
13.	Danuwar	31849	0.14
14.	Jhangad/Dhangad	28615	0.13
15.	Sunuwar√√	26611√√	0.12√√
16.	Majhi	21841	0.10
17.	Thami [Thangmi]	18991	0.08
18.	Kulung	18686	0.08
19.	Dhimal	17308	0.08
20.	Yakkha	14648	0.06
21.	Thulung	14034	0.06
22.	Sangpang	10810	0.05
23.	Bhujel/Khawas	10733	0.05
24.	Darai	10210	0.04
25.	Khaling	9288	0.04
26.	Kumal	6533	0.03
27.	Thakali	6441	0.03

28.	Chhantyal/Chhantel	5912	0.03
29.	Tibetan	5277	0.02
30.	Dumi	5271	0.02
31.	Jirel	4919	0.02
32.	Wambule/Umbule	4471	0.02
33.	Puma	4310	0.02
34.	Hyolmo	3986	0.02
35.	Nachhiring	3553	0.02
36.	Dura	3397	0.01
37.	Meche	3301	0.01
38.	Pahari	2995	0.01
39.	Lepcha	2826	0.01
40.	Bote	2823	0.01
41.	Bahing	2765	0.01
42.	Koi/Koyu	2641	0.01
43.	Raji	2413	0.01
44.	Hayu	1743	0.01
45.	Byansi	1734	0.01
46.	Yamphu/Yamphe	1722	0.01
47.	Ghale	1649	0.01
48.	Khadiya	1575	0.01
49.	Chhiling	1314	0.01
50.	Lohorung	1207	0.01
51.	Mewahang	904	0.00
52.	Kaike	794	0.00
53.	Raute	518	0.00
54.	Kisau	489	0.00
55.	Churauti	408	0.00
56.	Baram/Bhramu	342	0.00
57.	Tilung	320	0.00

58.	Jerong/Jerung	271	0.00
59.	Dungmali	221	0.00
60.	Lingkhim	97	0.00
61.	Kusunda	87	0.00
62.	Koche	54	0.00
63.	Sam	23	0.00
64.	Kagate	10	0.00
65.	Chhintang	8	0.00
66.	Lhomi	4	0.00

 (Source: Yadava, Bhadra and Parajuli 2004: 16-18)

Yadava et al (2004: 18) point out that those languages like Athpare, Baragaule, Belhare, Dolpo, Kham, Manangba, Mugali and Nar-Phu have either been left out or not mentioned in the Census Report of the year 2001. The linguistic situation presented in Figure 7 shows a grim scenario of the dwindling number of speakers and their bleak future except for some seven languages or so.

There are several reasons (cf. Toba, Toba and Rai 2005, Rapacha 2005) for endangerment of these languages and the most important of all is political factor “One-Nation-One-Language” (i.e. Khas-Nepali) policy (also cf. Toba, Toba and Rai 2005: 20 and 23, Gurung 2003: 84, Kañla 2005, Gurung 2003) of the Rana Oligarchic and Panchayat Regimes during the post-1990 era. In order to make this point clear, here is an example of language planning policy of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission,¹⁸

“And it should be emphasized that if Nepali is to become the true national language, then we must insist that its use be enforced in the primary school... Local dialects and tongues, other than standard Nepali, should be vanished [banished] from the school and playground as early as possible in the life of the child.”

¹⁸ *Education in Nepal: Report of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission*. Kathmandu: College of Education, 1956: 97 (cited in Gurung (2004: 92), Rai and Rai (2003: 514))

Because of this indifferent and suppressive language-policy of the government, the linguistic diversity and multiplicity of Nepal has been endangered including Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war), one of the endangered (cf. Rapacha 1997, Toba et al 2005: 24, Yadava et al 2004: 21) Kirānti languages of east Nepal. We will discuss the issue from a comparative perspective in § 5.1 later.

1.7 Current research objectives

Some of the most fundamental objectives of the study are:

- (a) explore and survey some possible semantic aspects of autonym and exoglotonym of the Kirānti-Kōits tribe/people and their language,
- (b) discuss and describe the writing system of the language and its orthography,
- (c) provide a comprehensive synchronic descriptive analysis of the present-day Kirānti-Kōits according for all the items noted in previous sketchy papers and incorporate them in their proper place and level them within a total grammar in relation to other Kirānti languages,
- (d) provide an exhaustive description of the sound system at the phonological level: its segmental phonemes and their distribution, classification, principal allophones, syllable and tone features,
- (e) describe the morphological structure such as inflection, derivation, and compounding of morphemes,
- (f) provide a description of the phrase level syntactic structures: nominal, adjectival and sentential structure, and
- (g) trace some social aspects regarding maintenance, shift, retention or death of the language.

These objectives are directly targeted at six main problematic and empirical research questions as follows:

- (a) Does the presupposed and misinterpreted ethnonym (See § 1.1.1) hold accurate ground for its semantic dynamics provided in literature?

- (b) Is Kirānti-Kōits a dialect of Indic Khas-Nepali as claimed by Singh and Manoharan (See § 1.1) and does the Kirānti-Kōits speech community ‘use Magar language’ as claimed by Pandey’s (2003 [VS 2060: 118])?
- (c) What is the accurate mechanism of the sound system of Kirānti-Kōits, which is described inconsistently in its earlier research and does there exist any graphology (See Ch 2) of the language?
- (d) What is its morphological (See Ch 3) mechanism?
- (e) What is its syntactic typology (See Ch 4) comparatively in the T-B sub-family?
- (f) What are its socio-linguistic (See Ch 5) aspects like domains of use, language policy and planning of the country, states of human linguistic rights, language loss, retention or death?

1.8 Scope of the study

Most importantly, this study will have further scope in the following main areas:

- (a) linguistic typology,
- (b) lexicography,
- (c) learning including primary education,
- (d) teaching including pedagogy,
- (e) creative and textbooks writing,
- (f) anthropo-ethno-linguistics,
- (g) historical linguistics, and
- (h) further research etc.

1.9 Methodology

In this study we shall employ ‘first language’ i.e. mentalist approach and inductive methodology trying to describe the native speaker-learners’ competence in a descriptive framework (based on Dixon 1980: 97, Ebert 1994, 1997, 1997b, 2003, Rai 1984, 1985, Toba (1984), Driem 1987, 1993b, Chelliah 1997, Rutgers 1998, Abbi 2001, Opgenort 2002, Rai 2003) since Kirānti-Kōits is my mother tongue. However, extensive

fieldwork will be inevitable part of data collection and analysis based on the techniques (Samarin 1967, Burling 1984, Bouquiaux and Thomas 1992, Abbi 2001) of field linguistics.

The source of data will be the contemporary forms of usage of the language as is reflected in formal-informal speeches. Data will be mainly be collected and cross-checked as much as possible from informants of other dialects utilizing the field methodology viz, questionnaires, interviews, translation, examples and illustrations, observations and so on.

I have verified my judgement with various dialects of eastern Nepal and Sikkim as well. In short, I have used various approaches and theories required by the research. For the purpose of describing ethnographic-etymological note on the tribe, I have used historico-comparative methodology by providing several linguistic facts ‘logo-fossils or word-archaeology’ related to culture and rituals of the Kirānti-Kōits tribe available until this date.

Four varied folklore texts have been used in order to describe the basic grammatical structures of the language besides all available methodology employed (e.g. recording, note making, memoirs, diary writing, anecdotes etc.) for collecting data on every aspects of the language. I have used my data in this study collected since the year 1996.

The first text, Kirānti-Kōits nu Bā?yung Yā?sits ‘Kirānti-Kōits and Bā?yung Migration’ is an adapted-version of the first adapted-version entitled ‘The Bahing-Sunuwar Ancestor’ by me, which was first recorded by Dr Maureen Lee and her assistant Bag-Ayagyami Yalungcha (May 2001) in Gorumare Bhanjyang, Okhaldhunga district both in Kirānti-Bā?yung and Nepali. The narrator of this text is Buddhi K Hangucha-Ba?yung-Rai (ca 56 years). I have/had transcribed the text myself and revised and adapted several times in Nepali and Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar (ca 52 years) first and second I myself revised translation into Kirānti-Kōits since both Kirānti-Bā?yung

and Kirānti-Kōits are very near cognate languages plus have similar ancestors related to each other anthropologically and culturally as well.

I had collected the second text, Sida Pidar ‘The worship of Sida’ in Bhusuk, east Sikkim during my field trip there in August 2001 through listening and note making methodology. Jit Gongrocha-Mukhia, who is also a Kirānti-Kōits pōib(o) ‘a shaman’ has a better understanding of the cultural aspects his shaman culture/practice. I have revised the text several times in order to reorganize its plots and made it readable for any common-readers. I have taken translation help from Lokpriya Mulicha (Sunuwar) (age 52 ca) for this text too.

Mataĩsib K^hek^hep^hu ‘The invisible holy flower’ is narrated and jotted in my request around in March 2000 by Atit Kōits-Mukhia (Ishworkiran Kyuĩticha-Sunuwar), a poet and advocate who originally comes from Ragani, Okhaldhunga district. I have restructured this text since it has culture-sensitive content in it. As usual, Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar has contributed his invaluable time with me to render this text. I have revised this text too no less than four or five times.

The last text, Binicha SalAphaĩs Hopo ‘The atrocious King Binicha’ is the oldest text, which I have used for this research. It was in 1995 when I first recorded it with Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar. He was the sole narrator of this text. I still have the recorded text very safe from which I have transcribed it. Since then, I have revised the text several times without distorting the theme of the story as such. An earlier version of this text has been used in my two masters theses also. Texts linearization of all four texts done for this research purpose is no other than MS Word XP for which the only simplest thing I could do is rigorous use of tabs and spaces to suit their glosses.

Finally, the questionnaire for finding out language attitudes in socio-linguistic contexts like maintenance, shift, retention and death is prepared from pioneering works of field linguistics including a fairly recent work by Abbi (2001) in general and Epele (2003) for Kirānti-Bantawa in particular. Survey areas chosen for this purpose was the

Nepal valley, the capital of Nepal due to severe socio-political insecurities all over the country and only 100 respondents were selected for response from different age groups, sex, profession and so on. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, Version 12) has been utilized for analyzing respondents' response for the purpose of the present study.

1.10 Organization of this study

This study consists of six chapters, viz. Ch 1: A short introduction, Ch 2: The sound system 3: Morphological processes 4: Syntactico-semantic structures Ch 5: Social aspects and Ch 6: Summary of findings. Chapter 1 is a general introduction regarding this research and the problematic misinterpretations of the exoglotonym Sun(u)war [ethnonym/autonym Kirānti-Kōits]. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 mainly describe the Kirānti-Kōits phonology, morphological processes and syntactico-semantic structures. Chapter 5 deals mainly with language attitudes, maintenance, shift, retention or death and Chapter 6 summarizes the research findings.

I have adopted a general descriptive technique from linguistics mentioned earlier in presenting data of the structures of a lesser-known languages like this Kirānti-Kōits and in arguing points of analysis. Except for "classical phonemic analysis", we have not adopted any other theoretical frameworks at least for this study. Rather, we have hope to have provided accurately transcribed and analyzed data, which will serve as a source for theoreticians, comparative and historical linguists and those interested in language typology or pedagogical materials producers in the future.

Chapter Two

Mechanisms of sound and writing systems

2. Phonology

Phonology or phonemics is concerned with semantically relevant speech sounds ‘phoneme’, and their pertinent characteristics, relations, and systems viewed synchronically and diachronically (Bussmann 1996: 363) of a particular language.

2.1 A preliminary outline

This chapter is divided into two main parts, dealing firstly with ‘phonemic analysis’ or ‘taxonomic phonology’ (Lass 1984) of Kirānti-Kōits, which essentially is ‘an inventory, together with realization rules for its members, and statements of distribution, that characterizes exhaustively the substantial structure of its morphemes’. According to Lass (ibid), ‘phonemic analysis’ is of three major types. They are: (i) phonemic inventory (ii) allophonic rules/variations and (iii) phonotactics. Accordingly, we shall examine these three major types of ‘phonemic analysis’ of the language under description.

Then, secondly we shall discuss some historical dimensions of the graphology of the language generally known as Kirānti-Kōits (K-K) Bre:se /bɾɛs(ɛ)/ ‘script’ (specifically named as *Jẽticha Bre:se* (K-K) /dʒɛ̃tɪcā bɾɛs(ɛ)/; See § 2.5.2) and its orthography in a comparative perspective with Shrestha (1980: 63-69), Jẽticha-Sunuwar (1982/3: 39-41), Rai (1982/3: 39-41), Dahal (1995), Sunuwar (1998: 20-32, 1999: 365-376), Mukhia (1998: 113-131), Pradhan (1999) and Schulze’s (1971-1990s) rigorous study for the applicability of the Devanagari alphabets/letters (See § 2.5.3, Table 2.8) for writing the language. A transliterated version of the aforesaid letters/alphabets will also be provided for showing its practical writing system; now available in computerized fonts for facilitating documentation of the language in its own indigenous script, for instance in Sikkim (See Appendix D for two Sikkim Official Documents) since its recognition in 1996 as one of the State Languages.

2.1.1 Segmental phonemic inventory

This phonemic inventory (as summarized in Tables 2.1 and 2.2; based mainly on the classical phonemic approach i.e. minimal/contrastive pairs (cf. Lass 1984)) is primarily based on my own Katunje dialect/variety (See Map 6: xxx) of Okhaldhunga district, traditionally a part of *Wallo* (*N*) ‘near/hither’ Kirāt, east Nepal (See Maps 1: xxv and 2: xxvi), where other Kirānti languages (See Map 3: xxvii and Figures 1:xxiii and 2: 3-4) like Hāyu, Bāṅyung [(*N*) exoglotonym Bāhing], Wāmbule [autonym Rwādhu], Jerung and Tilung are also spoken (also cf. van Driem 2001, Opgenort 2002).

However, I have taken other dialects or even idiolects of my senior and contemporary ‘consultants’ (in the sense of Munro (2001)) into account along with the previous studies by the SIL linguists Bieri and Schulze (1970 and 1971b), who for the first time had described the sound system of Kirānti-Kōits under its exoglotonym ‘Sunwar’ [derived from the Indo-Aryan hydronym; [cf. Ch. 1, § 1.1.1.3 also] in most of their works (See Ch 1, § 1.3 and § 1.5 also), Schulze (1987: 83), Genetti (1992: 326ff), Schulze (1995) Rapacha (1996, 1997b [vs 2054/5], 1999) comparatively, wherever its changes have taken place since the language is still in its spoken form lacking sufficient written documents or records or standardization. In general, regarding the number of Tibeto-Burman vowels and consonants, Zograph (1982: 188) notes,

“The inventory of vowels varies from one member language to another, while the consonants fall basically into the same localization series as we find in Indo-Aryan. Aspirates are present. The high frequency of the velar nasal is particularly striking.”

Obviously, there may occur variations in the number of segmental phonemes (cf. Bieri and Schulze (1971: 2 and 14) 26 consonants and 10 vowels, Schulze (1987: 81) 28 consonants and 13 vowels including diphthongs, Genetti (1992: 326) 37 consonants and 12 vowels, Rapacha (1997b: 111) 24 consonants and 8 vowels) that have been described in the past literature so far.

2.1.1.1 Vowel phonemes

In this section, we will describe the Kirānti-Kõits vowel phonemes, their distribution and variants. Table 2.1 below summarizes the number of vowels available in the language after a rigorous analysis of the data (also cf. Bieri and Schulze (1970), (1971b), Schulze (1987), Genetti (1992), and Michailovsky (1975 mainly based on Bieri and Schulze's data)). Six basic oral vowels have been discovered and five out of six are contrastive in their nasal pairs according to their distribution and minimal/near-minimal pairs.

Table 2.1: Oral/nasal vowel phonemes

	front		central	back	
	-round	+round		-round	+round
high	i (:)*/ĩ			u (:)/ũ	
mid	ε/ε̃		ə/(̃)	o (:)/õ	
low			ā(:)/ã		

* (:) The colon in small brackets implies that lengthening is optional either resulting from tonoloss or glottal stop or at its best it represents a level tone (̃) since some dialects of Kirānti-Kõits are tone-prone/tonal (cf. § 2.4.1 below). Therefore, length contrasts are rare in the dialect area of this description or it can be a level tone. (̃) means nasality and is contrastive in Kirānti-Kõits unlike in some other Kirānti languages (cf. Ebert 1994, also cf. Abbi 2001: 96 for other common vowel sounds in Indian languages).

2.1.1.1.1 Classification/distribution of vowels

We shall below consider some examples of these vowel phonemes listed in Table 2.1 earlier (whose classificatory features are provided immediately after each individual vowel phoneme) in terms of their distribution in word initial, medial and final positions first and minimal pairs in § 2.1.1.4 later.

/i(:)/ = high, front -round

(1) a. *ir*

/ir/

maitSA

↑
/məiçā/

iri

/iri/

‘above’	NEG-come-INF	above-INT
	‘not to come’	‘far above’
b. <i>ila</i>	<i>ripiki</i>	<i>pAiniki</i>
/ilə~l/	/ripiki/	/pāiniki/
come-3SG	louse-PL	do-1:NPST-PL
‘may it come down’	‘lice’	‘we do’
(vertical)		
c. <i>iptsa</i>	<i>itsiitsi</i>	<i>m’i</i>
/ipcā/	/icici/	/m’i/
sleep-INF	‘a little’	‘fire’
‘to sleep’		

/ɛ/ = mid-low, front -round

(2) a. <i>er</i>	<i>ker</i>	<i>koNite</i>
/ɛr/	/kɛr/	/kōite/
‘far away’	‘black’	‘ankle’
(horizontal)		
b. <i>etsphu</i>	<i>meke</i>	<i>tetere</i>
/ɛcp ^h u/	/mɛkɛ~mɛk/	/TɛTɛrɛ/
‘rose’	‘there’	‘camel’
c. <i>enkere</i>	<i>kek</i>	<i>tsule</i>
/ɛ~kɛrɛ>ɛ~kɛr>ɛ~k/	/kɛk ^h /	/culɛ/
‘here’	‘raw’	‘nettle, <i>girardinia heterophylla</i> ’

/a(:)/ = low, central -round

(3) a. <i>Al</i>	<i>gAr</i>	<i>kaLA</i>
/āl/	/gār/	/kəlā/
‘child’	‘wound’	‘ethnonym’ (Manger tribe)
b. <i>AtAr</i>	<i>mangAng</i>	<i>kA</i>
/ātār/	/məŋāŋ/	/kā/
‘on, above’	NEG-weep-3SG:IMP	‘one’
	‘do not weep’	

	<i>c. Ammur</i>	<i>makhAʔtsA</i>	<i>oNpA</i>
	/āmmur/	/mæk ^h āʔcā/	/ōpā/
	‘relatives’	NEG-tear-INF	‘thus, in this way’
		‘not to tear’	
/o(:)/ = mid, back + round			
	(4) a. <i>omu</i>	<i>groltsA</i>	<i>blosho</i>
	/omu/	/grolcā/	/blošo/
	‘mushroom’	lie-INF	sweet:ADJ
		‘to lie’	‘tasty’
	b. <i>obis</i>	<i>proltsA</i>	<i>rimsho</i>
	/obis/	/prolcā/	/rimšo/
	‘cucumber’	break-INF	‘good, fine, beautiful’
		‘to break’	
	c. <i>oNso</i>	<i>moso</i>	<i>kumso</i>
	/ōso/	/moso/	/kumso/
	‘this much’	‘that much’	‘song’
/u(:)/ = high, back + round			
	(5) a. <i>uttha</i>	<i>tsumlu</i>	<i>su</i>
	/utthə/	/cumlu/	/su/
	‘thither’	‘mortar’	‘who’
	b. <i>usher</i>	<i>ts’ubu</i>	<i>pulu</i>
	/ušɛr/	/c’ubu/	/pulu/
	‘butterfly’	‘Gurkha knife’	‘ash’
	c. <i>ugeng</i>	<i>tultsA</i>	<i>tsuplu</i>
	/ugɛŋ/	/tulcā/	/cuplu/
	‘germination’	pluck-INF	‘fireplace’
		‘to pluck out, uproot’	
/ə/ = mid, central, -round			
	(6) a. <i>atingal</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>lata</i>
	/əTiŋəl/	/gər/	/lətə/
	‘joint’ (of bones)	‘soil-pot’	go-PST:3SG
			‘went’

b. <i>aiNthe</i>	<i>malatsA</i>	<i>jAintaka</i>
/əĩT ^h ɛ/	/mələcā/	/dzāĩtəkə/
‘alpine tree’	NEG-go-INF	eat-PST:1PL
	‘not to go’	‘we ate’
c. <i>aretsA</i>	<i>madoro</i>	<i>bAʔta</i>
/ərəcā/	/mədoro/	/bāʔtə/
order-INF	NEG-run:3SG:IMP	‘is’(narrative existential)
‘to order’	‘do not run’	

2.1.1.1.2 Vowel clusters

There are maximum ten oral plus oral vowel combinations (7-16) a-c meaningfully contrastive in the language. Combinations of nasal or nasalized plus oral or oral plus nasal are illustrated in (17) a-b and (18) a-c.

Table 2.2: Vowel clusters and their distribution

oi	ui	əi	əɛ	āi
ɛi	ɛu	əu	āu	iu

Consider the following data:

Oral + oral

/oi/ = back + front, high

(7)	a. <i>oi</i>	<i>soitstsA</i>	<i>roi</i>
	/oi/	/soiccā/	/roi/
	‘let us enter’	send-INF	‘sick, ill’
		‘to send’	
	b. <i>oirAt</i>	<i>hoitstsA</i>	<i>joi</i>
	/oirāt/	/hoiccā/	/dzoi/
	‘Mongoloid tribe/race’ boil-INF		‘tiger’
		‘to heat’	
	c. ---	<i>roitstsA</i>	<i>goi</i>
		/roiccā/	/goi/
		snatch-INF	‘you’

			‘to grab’	
/ui/ = back + front, high				
(8)	a. <i>ui</i>	<i>huitstsA</i>		<i>gui</i>
	/ui/	/huiccā/		/gui/
	‘far below’	scold-INF		‘hand’
	b. ---	<i>tuitstsA</i>		<i>khui</i>
		/tuiccā/		/k ^h ui/
		know-INF		‘thief’
		‘to know’		
	c. ---	<i>khuitstsA</i>		<i>sui</i>
		/k ^h uiccā/		/sui/
		hide-INF		‘no one’
		‘to hide’		
/əi/ = central + front, high				
(9)	a. <i>aidi</i>	<i>mait</i>		<i>pai</i>
	/əidi/	/məit/		/pəi/
	‘below’	‘before’		do:1PL:INCL
				‘let us do’
	b. <i>ainthe</i>			<i>sai</i>
	/əi ^h ε/	---		/səi/
	‘alpine tree’			‘in the past’
	c. ---	---		<i>jai</i>
				/dzəi/
				eat:1PL:INCL
				‘let us eat’
/əε/ = central + front, mid-low				
(10)	a. ---	---		<i>jAinaye</i>
				/dzāinəε/
				eat:NPST:3SG
				‘will you eat?’
	b. ---	---		<i>lAinaye</i>
				/lāinəε/

			go:NPST:3SG
			‘do you go?’
	c. ---	---	<i>soinaye</i> /soinəye/
			send:NPST:3SG
			‘do you send?’
/āi/ = low, central + front			
(11)	a. <i>AitthA</i>	<i>sAitstsA</i>	<i>khAi</i>
	/āitthā/	/sāiccā/	/k ^h āi/
	‘up’	kill-INF	‘curry’
		‘to kill’	
	b. <i>Aitstsi</i>	<i>khAitstsA</i>	<i>gAi</i>
	/āicci/	/k ^h āicca/	/gāi/
	‘across’	ache-INF	walk:1PL:INCL
		‘to ache’	‘let us walk’
	c. <i>Aits</i>	<i>thAitstsA</i>	<i>phAi</i>
	/āic/	/thāiccā/	/p ^h āi/
	‘young’(+human)	beat-INF	exchange:1PL:INCL
		‘to beat’	‘let us exchange’
/ɛi/ = mid-low, front + high			
(12)	a. <i>ei</i>	<i>teitei</i>	<i>mei</i>
	/ɛi/	/teitei/	/mei/
	‘hello’	‘everywhere’	(discourse filler at the end of a sentence as in <i>tek mei</i> ? ¹⁹)
	b. ---	---	<i>hei</i>
			/hei/
			(word for chasing a buffalo)
	c. ---	---	<i>tekei</i>
			/tekei/
			‘no where’
/ɛu/ = mid-low, front + back			
(13)	a. <i>eu</i>	---	<i>seu</i>

¹⁹ ‘where?’ is normally used with slow and lengthy voice when the speaker is feeling tedious.

	/ɛu/	---	/sɛu/
	‘discourse starter’		‘greeting’
	b. ---	---	<i>reu</i>
			/rɛu/
			‘rain’
	c. ---	---	<i>geu</i>
			/gɛu/
			give:NPST:3SG:IMP
			‘give’
	/əu/ = mid, central + back		
(14)	a. <i>audi</i>	---	<i>gau</i>
	/əudi/		/gəu/
	‘too much’		‘ten’
	b. ---	---	<i>sau</i>
			/səu/
			‘hornet’
	c. ---	---	<i>tau</i>
			/təu/
			‘son’
	/āu/ = low, central + back		
(15)	a. <i>Audi</i>	---	<i>mapAu</i>
	/āudi/		/məpāu/
	‘too much’		NEG-do:NPST:do:3SG:IMP
			‘do not do’
	b. <i>Aul</i>	---	<i>dzAinsAu</i>
	/āul/		/dzāĩsāu/
	‘malaria’		eat-MV:PST
			‘was eaten’
	c. ---	---	<i>soittAu</i>
			/soittāu/
			send-PST:3SG
			‘s/he sent’
	/iu/ = front, high + back		
(16)	a. <i>iu</i>	---	<i>siu</i>

/iu/	---	/siu/
come:NPST:3SG:IMP		'father-in-law'
'come'(vertical)		
b. ---	---	<i>riu</i>
		/riu/
		'brother-in-law'
c. ---	---	<i>piu</i>
		/piu/
		come:NPST:2SG:IMP
		'come'(horizontal)

Also compare (Bieri and Schulze 1970: 343-344)

nasal + oral:

(17) a. /ði/	<i>koNite</i>	/kõite/	[kõite] 'ankle'
	<i>koNitsA</i>	/kõi.cā/	[kõitsā] 'to show'
	<i>hoNitstsA</i>	/hõiccā/	[hõitstsā] 'to climb up'
b. /ãi/	<i>wANis</i>	/wãis/	[wãis] 'husband'
	<i>ANike</i>	/ãikε/	[ãikε] 'ours'

Also compare (Bieri and Schulze 1970: 344)

Oral + nasal:

(18) a. /əĩ/	<i>aiNthe</i>	/əĩ ^h ε/	[əĩ ^h ε] 'alpine tree'
b. /uĩ/	<i>guiNduwA</i>	/guĩduwā/	[guĩduwā] 'drum' (K-K C'ul)
c. /bui/	<i>buiNduwA</i>	/buĩduwā/	[buĩduwā] 'black hornet'

Also compare (Bieri and Schulze 1970: 344)

2.1.1.1.3 Nasality contrast/nasal assimilation

Nasality is a typical feature to Kirānti-Kõits from a broader Kirānti phonological perspective. Historically, the contrast between oral and nasality between /ā/ vs. /ã/ seems to have been developed through phonologization from other Kirānti bilabial-nasal /m/ given in (19 a-f) for instance,

- (19) a. *nAN* /nã/ ‘sun’ [nām in some other Kirānti languages]
 b. *khiN* /kʰi/ ‘house’ [kʰim in some other Kirānti languages]
 c. *tsAN* /cã/ ‘hair’ [cām in some other Kirānti languages]
 d. *rAN* /rã/ ‘body’ [rām in K-Du; rwām K-Kh (Driem 1990: 83)]
 e. *leN* /lɛ̃/ ‘tongue’ [lyām in some other Kirānti languages]
 f. *IAN* /lã/ ‘path, road’ [lām in some other Kirānti languages]

Interestingly, there is one reverse process in this phonological process, e.g. *āb* => *ām* in (53) b § 2.1.4 and *kʰi* + *gā* ‘house’ + ‘inside’ => *kʰiŋgā* ‘inside the house’ assimilating nasality (̃) into velaric nasal /ŋ/ in compounded fast speech. Five nasal vowels e.g., *ã*, *ɛ̃*, *õ*, *ĩ*, *ũ* as in (20) a-e below are contrastive in meaning exhibiting grammatical difference unlike English (cf. Durand 1990: 40) between oral and nasal vowels. Consider the following examples of minimal/near-minimal pairs.

- (20) a. <*ā*> vs. <*ã*>

A /-ā/ or /ã-/ ‘his, theirs’

AN /ã-/ ‘my, mine’

meko /meko-ā/ ‘his/her’

AN deNsho lo: /ã dẽšo lo:/ ‘my advice’

Am /ã-m/ ‘own, mother’

ANKali /ã-kəli/ ‘to/for me’

IA /-lā/ ‘from’, *IA* /lā/ ‘only’ [cf. Kirānti-Lim (Yakthungba) *-lam*

(Ebert 1994: 81)]

IAN /lã/ ‘path, road’ [*lAm* in some other Kirānti languages and *l’əm* in Meithei (Chelliah 1997: 204)]

WA /wā/ ‘cloth’

wAN /wã/ ‘bear’ [in Kirānti-Wam *wAm* (Opgenort 2002: 13)]

-CA /-cā/ ‘INF marker’

CAN /cã/ ‘hair’ [in other Kirānti languages *cAm* also PT-B]

-shA~shyA /-šã~šyã/ ‘converb’

SAN /sã/ ‘three’ [*sAm* in K-Ba (Konow (in Grierson (ed.) 1990/94: 329)]

-shyA>-shA /-šyã>šã/ ‘converb’

shyAN /šyã/ ‘INTJ par’

rA- /rã-/ ‘rot’

rAN /rã/ ‘body’

wAtser /wācɛr/ ‘seed’

wANtser /wācɛr/ ‘poison’

b. <i> vs. <ĩ>

ike /ikɛ/ ‘thy’

iNke /ĩkɛ~ãĩkɛ/ ‘ours’

c. <o> vs. <õ>

hoitstsA /hoiccã/ ‘to boil up’

hoiNtstsA /hõiccã~ñõiccã/ ‘to climb up’

d. <ɛ> vs. <ɛ̃>

le /lɛ/ ‘four’

leN /lɛ̃/ ‘tongue’ [Kirānti-Wam *lyAm* (Opgenort 2002: 88)]

re~le /-rɛ ~ -lɛ/ ‘from’

reN /rɛ̃/ ‘spider’

shyetsA /šyɛcã/ ‘to clean’

shyeNtsA /šyɛ̃cã/ ‘to teach’

proltsA /pr(ɾ)lɛcã/ ‘to cut’

preNtsA /pr(ɾ)lɛ̃cã/ ‘to forget’

e. <u> vs. <ũ>

-thu /-thu/ ‘purposive’

thuN /thũ/ ‘heart/mind, (fig.) wisdom’

Nasality may occur phonetically as a result of nasal assimilation as in *kõits* [kõĩts] ‘one of the Kirānti tribes’ (auto)ethnonym’, *wãis* [wãĩs] ‘husband’ *kõite* [kõĩtɛ] ‘ankle’, *aĩ^he* [ə̃ĩ^hɛ] ‘alpine tree’ etc <ə̃> ‘yes’ is inherently nasal but it lacks its minimal or near-minimal pairs whereas /ɛ̃/ remains neutralized before voiced nasal /n/ as in *dɛ̃nãdɛ̃n* [Text source: 1.127] ‘saying’ morphologically inflected from *dɛ̃cã* ‘to say’.

2.1.1.1.4 Minimal/near-minimal pairs

This § 2.1.1.4 mainly observes the available minimal or near-minimal pairs of vowels in Kirānit-Kōits, e.g. from (21) a-l to (26) a-b.

- /ə/ vs. /ā/ (21) a. *gar* /gər/ ‘soil-pot’
 b. *gAr* /gār/ ‘wound’
 c. *gas(u)* /gəsu/ ‘fog’
 d. *gAs* /gās/ ‘let us^{DU} walk’
 e. *khal* /k^həl/ ‘guard’
 f. *khAld-* /k^hald-/ ‘mix’
 g. *tatsA* /təcā/ ‘to get, see’
 h. *tAtsA* /tācā/ ‘to take’
 i. *taslA* /təslā/ ‘utensil made up of bronze or alloy’
 j. *tAslA* /tāslā/ ‘moon’
 k. *dzatsA* /dzəcā/ ‘to eat’
 l. *dzA ḥsA* /dzā[?]cā/ ‘to arrive’
- /ā/ vs. /ε/ (22) a. *gA* /gā/ ‘inside’
 b. *ge* /gε, -gε/ ‘thou, towards’
 c. *-tA* /-tā/ ‘on’
 d. *te* /tε/ ‘where’
- /u/ vs. /ε/ (23) a. *su* /su/ ‘who’
 b. *-se* /-sε/ ‘-2DU’
- /i/ vs. /ε/ (24) a. *ir* /ir/ ‘up’
 b. *er* /εr/ ‘far (horizontal)’
 c. *g’itsA* /g’icā/ ‘to give birth (of animal)’
 d. *getsA* /gεcā/ ‘to give’
- /o/ vs. /u/ (25) a. *kotsA* /kocā/ ‘to look’
 b. *kutsA* /kucā/ ‘to come up (three other different verbs)’
- /i/ vs. /ε/ (26) a. *himtsA* /himcā/ ‘to shake, (fig.) challenge/threat’
 b. *hemtsA* /hemcā/ ‘to thrash’

2.1.1.1.5 Deletion of final vowels

The deletion of final vowels ‘apocope’ (almost all six *i*, *u*, *ə*, *o*, *ɛ*, *ā*) in grammatical suffixes as well as in free lexemes optionally (in fast vs. relaxed speech) can take place in Kirānti-Kōits, for instance, *-tike* > *tek* /*tikɛ* > *tek*/ ‘nominalizer suffix’ as in:

(27) a. <i>pa-tike</i> > <i>pa-tik</i>	/pətike > pətik/ ‘doer’ [also cf. <-b>]
b. <i>kyort-tike</i> > <i>kyort-tik</i>	/kyorttikɛ > kyorttik/ ‘cutter’ [also cf. <-b>]
c. <i>kurt-tike</i>	/kurttikɛ > kurttik/ ‘porter’ [also cf. <-b>]
d. <i>-kali</i> > <i>kal</i>	/kəli > kəl/ ‘for, to’ [also cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1]
e. <i>-mi</i> > <i>m</i>	/mi > m/ ‘at or in, with, by’ [cf. 3.1.2.5.1]
f. <i>-puki</i> > <i>puk</i>	/puki > puk/ ‘pl’ [also cf. Appendix B]
g. <i>-piki</i> > <i>pik</i>	/piki > pik/ ‘pl’ [also cf. Appendix B]
h. <i>mina(u)</i> > <i>min</i>	/minā(u) > min/ ‘then’
i. <i>munu</i> > <i>mun</i>	/munu > mun/ ‘then’
j. <i>shyANbu</i> > <i>shyANb</i>	/syābu > syāb/ ‘millet beer (K-K Cul)’
k. <i>ts’ubu</i> > <i>ts’ub</i>	/c’ubu > c’ub/ ‘Gurkha-knife’
l. <i>tami</i> > <i>tam</i>	/təmi > təm/ ‘daughter’
m. <i>gyAmi</i> > <i>gyAm</i>	/gyāmi > gyām/ ‘female shaman (K-K Cul)’
n. <i>kyor-ba</i> > <i>kyor-b</i>	/kyorbə > kyorb/ ‘cuts, one who cuts’
o. <i>pAi-ba</i> > <i>pAi-b</i>	/pāibə > pāib/ ‘does, one who does’
p. <i>omo</i> > <i>om</i>	/omo > om/ ‘adjQ (of size)’ [cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.3.1.4]
q. <i>doro</i> > <i>dor</i>	/doro > dor/ ‘run’
r. <i>rApatsA</i> > <i>rApats</i>	/rāpəcā > rāpəc/ ‘catalyst’ [also cf. Ch 1 § 1.1.2 and 1.1.3]

This phonological process takes place not only in vowels but also in consonants or even the whole syllable can be dropped out (also cf. § 2.1.7).

2.1.1.2 Consonant phonemes

Kirānti-Kōits has 30 phonemes in total, out of which 6 (except for five nasal vowels e.g. *ã*, *ɛ̃*, *õ*, *ĩ*, *ũ* (See § 2.1.1.3 above) and ten oral diphthongs/v-clusters, e.g., *oi*,

ui, əi, əɛ, āi, ɛi, ɛu, əu, āu, iu (See § 2.1.1.2 (7-16) a-c and (17) a-b nasal + oral diphthongs, e.g., ōi, āi, əĩ or oral + nasal diphthongs, e.g., əĩ and uĩ (18) a-e) are vowels and 24 are consonants (also cf. Bieri and Schulze (1970), (1971b), Schulze (1987: 83), Genetti (1992: 326ff), Rapacha (2002)); of the latter, 17 are obstruents (stops, and fricatives), and 7 are sonorants or non-obstruents (nasals, liquids, glides, and vowels; cf. Chomsky and Halle 1968 and Lass 1984). We shall in § 2.1.2.1 below, describe these phonemes in terms of their classification, distribution and minimal or near-minimal pairs.

Table 2.3: Consonant phonemes*

Type	Manner of Articulation	Points of Articulation						
		Bl	Dl	Al	Rx	Pl	Vr	Gl
stops,	-voice	p	t	c (ts)	T		k	ʔ
	+asp	p ^h	th	-	T ^h		k ^h	
	+voice	b	d	dz	-		g	
		-	-	-	-		-	
fricatives		s				ʃ	h	
nasals		m		n			ŋ (ng)	
liquids				r l				
glides/semi-vowel		w				y(j)		

Abbreviations:

Bl= bilabial, Dl= dental, Al= Alveolar, Rx= retroflex, Pl= palatal, Vr= velar, Gl= glottal (cf. Abbi 2001: 97 for other common consonant sounds in Indian languages)

* Phonemes like /c/ vs. /ch/ or [ts^h], /b/ vs. /b^h/, /d/ vs. /d^h/, /g/ vs. /g^h/, and /dz/ vs. /dz^h/ lack minimal pairs and may occur only in loan words from I-A (Indic) Khas-Nepali. These phonemes occurring in any three positions of a word can be written in their nativized version (See Rapacha 2002 and 2003) without any difficulty. Native speakers like Uttam Katicha and some of his followers claim (and also have used in orthography but one is hardly convinced to agree with them) that the palato-nasal /ñ/ (ऩ) is a phoneme of Kirānti-Kōits but in the data of

Katunje dialect (See Map 6: xxx) and daily speech it does not occur at all. Historically, one implosive or preglottalised bilabial stop /ɓ/ has been traced (cf. Rapacha 2002, Opgenort 2004: 3-8, Opgenort 2004: 1-27) as in Kirānti-Wambule (cf. Toba 1995: 7-9, Opgenort 2002 Ch 2, 2004: 3-8, Pokharel 2004: 52²⁴, also cf. Henderson (1965: 431) for ‘preglottalized’ consonants in South East Asian languages). Only a few examples include: *bwArde* /bārde/ ‘hawk’, *bwA* /bā/ ‘rooster’ and *bward-(o)* /bārd(o)/ ‘throw away’. Letters in brackets outside the phonemic slashes on the right hand side imply optional orthography and inside the phonemic slashes imply IPA symbol but later in examples we have used only /y/ to mean /j/.

Following the above twenty-four consonant inventory in Kirānti-Kōits, their classification in terms of manner and place of articulation, distribution in terms of position and minimal or near-minimal pairs in terms of meaningful contrast have been presented below.

2.1.1.2.1 Classification/distribution of consonants

In the following from § 2.1.2.1.1 to § 2.1.2.1.15, we shall observe the classification, distribution and minimal and near-minimal pairs possibly available in the language under description.

2.1.1.2.1.1 Bilabial stops

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. All three bilabial stop /p/, /p^h/, /b/ phonemes occur in all three positions productively.

		<i>perA</i>	<i>tsapo</i>	<i>gurip</i>
/p/	(28) a.	/pērā/	/cəpo/	/gurip/
		‘right’	‘piglet’	‘plough’
		<i>paiNrum</i>	<i>phapirAgi</i>	<i>kalp̥ip</i>
	b.	/pəĩrum/	/p ^h əpi.rāgi/	/kəlpip/
		‘spinning wheel’	‘desert’	‘ancestor’
		<i>po</i>	<i>prupse</i>	<i>gup</i>

²⁴ He claims that he has himself heard the ingressive (implosive or preglottalised) sound in Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war), however no instances have been provided.

	c.	/po/	/pr(ɾ)upsɛ/	/gup/
		‘pig’	‘comb’	pick up-3SG:IMP ‘you pick up’
		<i>pherb</i>	<i>gyulphe</i>	<i>kuph</i>
/p ^h /	(29) a.	/p ^h ɛrb/	/gyulp ^h ɛ/	/kup ^h /
		‘tailor’	‘liar’	‘forehead, fate’
		<i>phuN</i>	<i>yAphe</i>	<i>byAph</i>
	b.	/p ^h ũ/	/yāp ^h ɛ/	/byāp ^h /
		‘snow’	‘leech’	‘ox’
		<i>phoro</i>	<i>baphu</i>	
	c.	/p ^h oro/	/b(w)əp ^h u/	---
		‘walnut’	‘egg’	
		<i>b’i</i>	<i>thoibi</i>	<i>kurb</i>
/b/	(30) a.	/b’i/	/thoibi/	/kurb/
		‘cow’	‘poet’	carry-NOM ‘porter’
		<i>bre:se</i>	<i>mabA</i>	<i>ts’ib</i>
	b.	/breɛ/	/məbā/	/c’ib/
		‘script’	NEG-is, have’ ‘in, have not’	‘bird’
		<i>bermo</i>	<i>beNber</i>	<i>gyArb</i>
	c.	/bɛrmo/	/bɛ̃bɛɾ/	/gyārb/
		‘cat’	‘toponym’ (in K-K)	play-NOM ‘player’
		<i>ketsA</i>	<i>maketsA</i>	<i>mek</i>
		/kɛ.cā/	/məkɛcā/	/mek/
		‘to cook’	‘not to cook’	‘there’

2.1.1.2.1.2 Dental stops

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. All three dental stop /t/, /th/, /d/ phonemes occur in all three positions productively.

		<i>tikkus</i>	<i>mateʔtsA</i>	<i>shyet</i>
/t/	(31) a.	/tikkus/	/mətɛʔcā/	/ʃyɛt/
		‘rabbit, hare’	NEG-barricade-INF	‘difficulty’
			‘to barricade’	
		<i>tAbLA</i>	<i>so:tang</i>	<i>lat</i>
	b.	/tāblā/	/so:tāŋ/	/lət/
		‘palm’	cross-PST-1SG	go-PST:3SG
			‘I crossed...’	‘s/he went’
		<i>tAmrA</i>	<i>kretete</i> (TRM)	<i>glut</i>
	c.	/tāmrā/	/kɾɛtɛtɛ/	/glut/
		‘beaten rice’	‘yogurt’	appear-PST:3SG
				‘s/he, it appeared’
		<i>thoŋGA</i>	<i>mathAptsA</i>	<i>getth</i>
/th/	(32) a.	/thōŋā/	/məthāpcā/	/getth/
		‘net’(for fishing)	NEG-pay-INF	‘up, above’
			‘not to pay’	
		<i>thoʔplA</i>	<i>neʔhA</i>	<i>shyeth</i>
	b.	/thoʔplā/	/nɛʔthā/	/ʃyɛth/
		‘wave’	‘near’	‘empty’
		<i>thAtLA</i>	<i>su:thi</i>	<i>kAth</i>
	c.	/thāt.lā/	/su:thi/	/kāth/
		‘bat/racket’	‘marigold’	‘along’
		<i>durDA</i>	<i>madortstsA</i>	<i>khad</i>
/d/	(33) a.	/durdā/	/mədorccā/	/kʰəd/
		‘word’	NEG-run-INF	‘crow’
			‘to not run’	
		<i>dAilu</i>	<i>doleb</i>	<i>kad</i>
	b.	/dāilu/	/dodɛb/	/kəd/ ²¹

²¹ It is used as in “koŋ kəd; bɛʔŋɛ” when the interlocutor is furious, “kəd kəd; go ɛʔk bāʔnuŋ” where the interlocutor wants his/her addressee to vacate the seat for sitting and “Sunuwar dɛʔshā mɛdɛʔcā həi bābu, tupther dɛʔnim kəd” [from a satirical cartoon caption published in a monthly four-page magazine

	‘light’	‘what type’	PAR
	<i>doso</i>	<i>modeb</i>	<i>pod</i>
c.	/doso/	/modeb/	/pod/
	‘how much’	‘such type’	‘earthworm’

2.1.1.2.1.3 Alveolar stops

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. Both alveolar stop /ts/, /dz/ phonemes occur in all three positions productively.

	<i>tsAN</i>	<i>gyAitstsA</i>	<i>ruwAts</i>
/c/ (ts) (34) a.	/cã/	/gyãiccã/	/ruwãc/
	‘hair’	catch-INF ‘to catch, hold’	‘farmer’
	<i>tsotso</i>	<i>roʔtsA</i>	<i>rApats</i>
b.	/coco/	/roʔcã/	/rãpãc/
	‘cheek’	open-INF ‘to open’	‘catalyst’
	<i>tsaimi</i>	<i>huitstsA</i>	<i>thuNguts</i>
c.	/cəim(i)/	/huiccã/	/thũguc/
	‘daughter-in-law’	scold-INF	‘wise’
	<i>jil</i>	<i>sANjil</i>	<i>samj</i>
/dz/ (35) a.	/dzil/	/sãdzil/	/sãmdz/
	‘oil, ghee’	‘auto-rickshaw’	‘Sherpa tribe’
	<i>jimnAts</i>	<i>gujil</i>	<i>kerj</i>
b.	/dzimnãc/	/gudzil/	/kerdz/
	‘May’	‘bicycle’	‘uncle’
	<i>jatek</i>	<i>mojil</i>	<i>koj</i>
c.	/dzətɛk/	/modzil/	/kodz/
	eat-NOML	‘motorbike’	‘stomach’

Lolishyākā (1995 [VS 2052]) edited by Mohan Sunuwar and Dilip Sunuwar. This volume/number is the first and last issue in the Kirānti-Kõits mother tongue published from Kathmandu available so far.

2.1.1.2.1.4 Retroflex Stops

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. Both retroflex stop /ʈ/, /ʈʰ/ phonemes occur in all three positions productively whereas /ʈʰ/ in the medial position seems rare except for negative prefix.

		<i>TeTere</i>	<i>maTitsA</i>	<i>kyeT</i>
/ʈ/	(36) a.	/ʈɛ.ʈɛ.rɛ/	/məʈicā/	/kyɛʈ/
		‘camel’	NEG-obey-INF	‘money’
			‘not to obey’	
		<i>Temu</i>	<i>laTu</i>	<i>phoT</i>
	b.	/ʈɛ.mu/	/ləʈu/	/pʰoʈ/
		‘elbow’	‘firefly’	‘testicle’
		<i>Tigeng</i>	<i>aTingal</i>	
	c.	/ʈigɛŋ/	/əʈiŋgəl/	---
		‘colour’	‘joint’ (of bones)	
		<i>ThiNber</i>	<i>maʈʰoʈsA</i>	<i>koʈʰ</i>
/ʈʰ/	(37) a.	/ʈʰiʈɛʈ/	/məʈʰoʈcā/	/koʈʰ/
		‘donkey’	NEG-hit-INF	‘store house’
		<i>Th’otsi</i>		<i>soNʈʰ</i>
	b.	/ʈʰoci/	---	/sõʈʰ/
		‘hammer’		‘shirt’
		<i>Tʰeb</i>		<i>daloNʈʰ</i>
	c.	/ʈʰɛb/	---	/dəlõʈʰ/
		‘big’ (-/+human)		‘camel’

2.1.1.2.1.5 Velar stops

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. All three velar stop /k/, /kʰ/, /g/ phonemes occur in all three positions

productively whereas /g/ in the final position seems not so common except for the final vowel is deleted optionally (also cf. 2.1.1.5 above).

		<i>ketsA</i>	<i>maketsA</i>	<i>mek</i>
/k/	(38) a.	/kɛcā/	/mækɛcā/	/mɛk/
		cook-INF	NEG-cook-INF	‘there’
		‘to cook’	‘not to cook’	
		<i>kutsu</i>	<i>kaiNtsikA</i>	<i>tek</i>
	b.	/kucu/	/kəɪcɪkā/	/tɛk/
		‘chest’	‘alone’	‘where’
		<i>kutsum</i>	<i>koʔke</i>	<i>nak</i>
	c.	/kucum/	/koʔkɛ/	/nək/
		‘dog’	‘stick’	‘new’
		<i>khetsA</i>	<i>makhetsA</i>	<i>nekh</i>
/k ^h /	(39) a.	/k ^h ɛcā/	/mæk ^h ɛcā/	/nɛk ^h /
		peel off-INF	NEG-peel off-INF	‘mucus’
		‘to peel off’	‘not to peel off’	
		<i>khoili</i>	<i>kurmidokhA</i>	<i>kekh</i>
	b.	/k ^h oili/	/kurmidok ^h ā/	/kɛk ^h /
		‘leg’	‘present, gift’	‘raw’
		<i>khruī</i>	<i>makhetsA</i>	<i>dokh</i>
	c.	/k ^h r(ɪ)l/	/mæk ^h ɛrccā/	/dok ^h /
		‘tooth’	NEG-chase-INF	‘food poisoning’
			‘not to chase’	
		<i>gupsu</i>	<i>rAgi</i>	<i>mug(i)</i>
/g/	(40) a.	/gupsu/	/rāgi/	/mu:g(yə)/
		‘lion’	‘country’	‘banana’
		<i>guye</i>	<i>kolgi</i>	<i>gig(i)</i>
	ò.	/guyɛ/	/kolgi/	/gig/
		‘sickle’	‘soybean’	‘green’
		<i>gumlik</i>	<i>phalgi</i>	
	c.	/gumlik/	/p ^h əlgi/	---

'bangle'

'food variety' (maize)

2.1.1.2.1.6 Glottal Stop

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. The only glottal stop /ʔ/ phoneme occurs mainly productively in medial position whereas in its initial and final positions, it may lose ground because of geolectal variations of the language.

	<i>ʔphu</i>	<i>WAʔSA</i>	<i>meʔ</i>
(41) a.	/ʔp ^h u ²²	/wāʔcā/	/mεʔ/
	'egg'	speak-INF	
		'to speak'	'that, s/he'
	<i>ʔku</i>	<i>proʔSA</i>	
b.	/ʔku ²³	/pr(ɾ)ʔ cā/	---
	'water'	escape-INF	
		'to escape, get away'	
	<i>ʔwkye~wAKi</i>	<i>hoʔSA</i>	---
c.	/ʔkyε~wāki/	/hoʔ cā/	
	'jungle'	bark-INF	
		'to bark'	

2.1.1.2.1.7 Dental fricative

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. The dental fricative /s/ phoneme occurs productively in all three positions.

	<i>sAber</i>	<i>pasi</i>	<i>bu:s</i>
(42) a.	/sāber/	/pəsi/	/bu:s/
	'the day before yesterday'	'exercise'	'snake'
	<i>sAN</i>	<i>dzɛspu:sA</i>	<i>su:s</i>
b.	/sã/	/dzɛspucā/	/su:s/
	'three'	'clan name (in K-K)	'many'
	<i>sAng</i>	<i>sosmAl</i>	<i>hos</i>

²² It rarely occurs in the initial position but it is heard only in some idiolects instead of implosive. See also in the lexicon for its variation.

²³ The same case is applicable here as in (40a) in the initial position. See also in the lexicon for its variation.

c.	/sāj/ 'consonant'	/sosmāl/ 'grass'	/hos/ 'hot'
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2.1.1.2.1.8 Palatal fricative

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. The palatal fricative /š/ phoneme occurs productively in all three positions.

	<i>shyo</i>	<i>shyArthAs</i>	<i>bush</i>
(43) a.	/šyo/ 'mouth'	/šyāρθās/ 'government'	/buš/ 'white'
	<i>shyANbu</i>	<i>ushyer</i>	<i>hush</i>
b.	/šyābu/ 'millet beer'	/ušyer/ 'butterfly'	/huš/ 'blood'
	<i>shyANKA</i>	<i>masyACA</i>	<i>rush</i>
c.	/šyākā/ 'leopard'	/məšyācā/ NEG-tease-INF	/ruš/ 'bone'

2.1.1.2.1.9 Glottal fricative

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. The glottal fricative /h/ phoneme does not occur in the final position exceptionally.

	<i>hemAtsiri</i>	<i>hirhir</i>	
/h/ (44) a.	/hemāciri/ 'golden dove'	/hirhir/ 'sharp, roaming'	---
	<i>haudzidz</i>	<i>mahimtsA</i>	
b.	/həudzidz/ 'orange'	/məhimcā/ NEG-shake-INF 'not to shake'	---
	<i>hAsots</i>	<i>dz'ihots</i>	
c.	/hāsoc/ 'November'	/dz'ihoc/ 'August'	---

2.1.1.2.1.10 Velar nasal

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. The velar nasal /ŋ/ phoneme productively occurs in all three positions, which is true as observes Zograph (1982: 188) in the beginning of this chapter.

		<i>ngoro</i>	<i>ngAnngAn</i>	<i>monking</i>
/ŋ/	(45) a.	/ŋoro/	/ŋānŋān/	/monkiŋ/
		‘dumb’	‘weep:PROG ‘weeping’	‘telephone’
		<i>ngAtsA</i>	<i>konglots</i>	<i>onung</i>
	b.	/ŋā:cā/	/koŋloc/	/onuŋ/
		weep-INF ‘to weep’	‘gizzard’	enter-NPST:1SG ‘I enter’
		<i>ngo</i>	<i>kongo</i>	<i>pAinung</i>
	c.	/ŋo/ ²⁴	/koŋo/	/pāinuŋ/
		‘fish’	look-NPST:3SG:IMP ‘you look’	do-NPST:1SG ‘I do’/c/ [ts]

2.1.1.2.1.11 Alveolar nasal

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. The alveolar nasal /n/ phoneme productively occurs in all three positions.

		<i>n'irA</i>	<i>nene</i>	<i>kun</i>
/n/	(46) a.	/n'irā/	/nɛ nɛ/	/kun/
		‘stink, smell’	‘pus’	‘smoke’
		<i>naknAt</i>	<i>monking</i>	<i>dutskun</i>
	b.	/nəknāt/	/monkiŋ/	/duckun/
		‘Monday’	‘telephone’	‘swallow’
		<i>nA</i>	<i>monin</i>	<i>sin</i>
	c.	/nā/	/monin/	/sin/
		‘sun’	far-EMP ‘very far’	‘moth’

²⁴ Historically, the lexeme *ngo* /ŋo/ might have changed into the lexeme [*go* and *go* or *gu* in Kirānti-Bā?yung] ‘I’ in Kirānti-Kōits or it can be due to semantic change.

2.1.1.2.1.12 Bilabial nasal

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. The bilabial nasal /m/ phoneme productively occurs in all three positions.

		<i>muru</i>	<i>himAkem</i>	<i>wAmgyAm</i>
/m/	(47) a.	/mur(u)/	/himākem/	/wāmgyām/
		‘man’	‘wailing’	‘confusion’
		<i>mek</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>rApam</i>
	b.	/mɛk/	/məmā/	/rāpəm/
		‘there’	‘mother’	‘a lady married to a Rapacha clan in K-K’
		<i>mAr</i>	<i>himtsA</i>	<i>mulkem</i>
	c.	/mā(ə)r/	/himcā/	/mulkem/
		‘what’	shake-INF	‘culture’
			‘to shake’	

2.1.1.2.1.13 Alveolar liquids

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. Both these alveolar liquids /r, l/ phonemes productively occurs in all three positions. The phonemes /r/ and /l/ sometimes occur in free (See § 2.1.1.4) variation and /r/ also has /ɾ/ as its allophonic variation (e.g. (48) b mid position, See § 2.1.1.6).

		<i>roNpe~rab</i>	<i>kereng</i>	<i>ker</i>
/r/	(48) a.	/rõpɛ~rəb/	/kɛ rɛŋ/	/kɛr/
		‘sheep’	‘frying pan’	‘black’
		<i>roi</i>	<i>kiNrA</i>	<i>kyoNkur</i>
	b.	/roi/	/kĩ r(ɾ)ā/	/kyõkur/
		‘sick, ill’	‘bamboo’(small one)	‘cub’
		<i>rawA</i>	<i>tserbi</i>	<i>khyur</i>
	c.	/rəwā/	/cɛrbi/	/k ^h yur/
		‘tree’	‘wheat’	‘diarrhoea, dehydration’
		<i>lispu</i>	<i>wAplemb</i>	<i>lal</i>
/l/	(49) a.	/lispu/	/wāplemb~cipsi/	/ləl/

	‘toponym’ (in K-K)	‘iron n.’	‘red, may s/he go’
	<i>lAptso</i>	<i>killo</i>	<i>tserelil</i>
b.	/lāpco/	/killo/	/cɛrelil/
	‘door’	‘black bird’	‘thanks’
	<i>lo:</i>	<i>milu</i>	<i>klil</i>
c.	/lo:/	/milu/	/klil/
	‘speech, language’	‘tail’	‘mustard’

2.1.1.2.1.14 Palatal glide

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. The palatal glide /y/ phoneme does not occur in the final position exceptionally.

	<i>yAN</i>	<i>shyer</i>	
/y/ (50) a.	/yã/	/šyer/	---
	‘nine’	‘rice’ (uncooked one)	
	<i>yoili</i>	<i>shyARA</i>	
b.	/yoili/	/šyār(ɔ̃)/	---
	‘chin’	‘horse’	
	<i>yo</i>	<i>shyAtsA</i>	
c.	/yo/	/šyācā/	---
	‘also’	tease-INF	
		‘to tease’	

2.1.1.2.1.15 Bilabial glide

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. The bilabial glide /w/ phoneme rarely occurs in the final position.

	<i>wArtstsa</i>	<i>mawAtsA</i>	<i>ngAw(a)</i>
/w/ (51) a.	/wārccə/	/məwācā/	/ŋāw(ə)/
	‘friend’	NEG-plough-INF	‘elder brother’
		‘not to plough’	
	<i>wAN</i>	<i>mawoltsA</i>	

b.	/wã/	/məwolcā/	---
	‘bear’	NEG-stir-INF	‘not to stir’ (N <i>maskAunu/madArnu</i>)
	<i>wANis</i>	<i>mawAitstsA</i>	
c.	/wāis/	/məwāiccā/	---
	‘husband’	NEG-keep-INF	‘not to keep’

2.1.1.3 Aspiration contrast

Aspiration is contrastive in Kirānti-Kōits phonology as presented in (52) a- below:

(52) a.	/k/ vs. /k ^h /	<i>ketsA</i>	/kɛcā/ ‘to cook’
		<i>khetsA</i>	/k ^h ɛcā/ ‘to peel off’
b.	/p/ vs. /p ^h /	<i>pAitstsA</i>	/pāiccā/ ‘to tie (e.g., cattle)’
		<i>phAitstsA</i>	/p ^h āiccā/ ‘to exchange’
c.	/t/ vs. /t ^h /	<i>tAitstsA</i>	/tāiccā/ ‘to throw’
		<i>thAitstsA</i>	/thāiccā/ ‘to beat (gen)’
d.	/T/ vs. /T ^h /	<i>TitsA</i>	/Ticā/ ‘to obey’
		<i>T^hiNtsA</i>	/T ^h icā/ ‘to fall down’

There are distinctive phonological asymmetries between /c/ vs. /ch/ or [t^h], /b/ vs. /b^h/, /d/ vs. /d^h/, /g/ vs. /g^h/, and /dz/ vs. /dz^h/ unlike in some other Kirānti languages (also cf. the earlier note in Table 2.3).

2.1.1.4 Free variation

Apart from aspiration, the following free variation in (53) a-g, in the initial position and (54) a-e, mid and final position or as dialectal variation has been observed:

(53) a.	d~g	<i>dis~gis</i>	/d(g)is/ ‘how much’
b.	g~l	<i>gr(l)utsA</i>	/gr(l)ucā/ ‘to appear, rise (of sun, moon)’ [also cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970:337]
c.	h~ŋ	<i>hanAiyō~nganAiyō</i>	/h(ŋ)ənāiyō/ ‘although/however’
d.	k~ts(c)	<i>kyortstsA~tsortstsA</i>	/ky(c)orc cā/ ‘to cut’

		<i>tsuitstsA~kyuitsstsA</i>	/c(ky)uiccā/ ‘to insert sth on the head’
		<i>kyAbAts~cyABA</i>	/k(c)yābā/ ‘clan name (I observed in some speakers from Darjeeling)’
e.	m~h	<i>moiti~hoiNti</i>	/moiti~hoīti/ ‘before, in front’
f.	r~ɽ~l	<i>khreptsA</i>	/k ^h r(ɽ/l)εpcā/ ‘to clip something’
g.	w~h	<i>wobis~hobis</i>	/w~hobis/ ‘cucumber’
(54)	a.	<i>sh~h</i>	<i>lasho~laho</i> /ləšo~lə ho/ ‘go-PP, adj’ <i>jasho~jaho</i> /dzə šo~dzəho/ ‘eat-PP, adj’ <i>rimsho~rimho</i> /rimšo~rimho/ ‘wait-PP, adj’
	b.	b~m	<i>shyANb~shyAm</i> /šyāb~šyām/ ‘millet-beer (K-K Cul)’
	c.	l~n	<i>munAt~mulAt</i> /mun(l)āt/ ‘today’
	d.	ts~g	<i>koltsi~kolgi</i> /kolc(g)i/ ‘soybean’
	e.	d~l	<i>dodeb~doleb</i> /dod(l)εb/ ‘of what type’ <i>oNdeb~oNleb</i> /ōd(l)εb/ ‘of this type’ <i>modeb~moleb</i> /mod(l)εb/ ‘of such type’ <i>khoNdeb~khoNleb</i> /k ^h ōd(l)εb/ ‘like’
	f.	p~b	<i>oNdep~oNleb</i> /ōdεp(b)/ ‘of this type’ <i>modep~moleb</i> /modεp(b)/ ‘of that type’ <i>khoNdep~khoNleb</i> /k ^h ōdεb(p)/ ‘like this’ <i>tApLA~tAbLA</i> /tāplā~tāblā/ ‘palm’ [possible only in the mid and final syllable position]

2.1.1.5 Breathy voiced as ideolectal variation

We have also discovered some breathy voiced sounds without phonemically distinctive pairs in some spoken ideolects of our consultants like Uttam Katicha, Atit KyuiNticha-Mukhia and Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar but not frequently in writing, which obviously may have arisen from language contact or this feature has been lost in the language historically.

- (55) a. l~lh { *lAissho* /lāisšo/
 { *lhAissho* /lhāisšo/ ‘tall’
- b. r~rh { *rAtSA* /rā cā/

- rhAtsA* /rhācā/ ‘to rot’
- { *reN* /rɛ̃/
rheN /rhɛ̃/ ‘spider’
- c. n~nh { *nAʔso* /nāʔso/
nhAʔso /nāʔso/ ‘tribal priest (K-K Cul)’
- { *nA* /nā/
nhA /nhā/ ‘sun’
- { *nAt* /nāt/
nhAt /nhāt/ ‘day’

In other Kirānti languages like Rod(o)ung [Camling] (See Ebert 1994, 1997) exceptionally, has this breathy voiced feature as minimal pair. Other TGTM (Mazaudon 1978) languages closely related to Tibetan, also have this feature in common. This feature, for example *nhasa* [Kirānti-Kōits *nop^hā*] ‘ear’ (Tamot 2002: 18) has also been traced in Early Classical Newari, another member of the Greater-Kirānti group.

2.1.1.6 Allophonic variation and sound change

In this § 2.1.6, we shall observe some allophonic variation and sound change in the language such as the phoneme /r/ is phonetically realized as /r̥/ idio-geolectally (e.g (53) f and elsewhere in this chapter).

2.1.1.6.1 Dark /l/

Like in English, /l/ is phonetically realized as dark /l/ in geminate mid position preceding the syllable final /l/ as in;

- (56) a. *dello* /dɛllo/ [dɛɭ.lo] ‘buttock’
 b. *hillo* /hilllo/ [hiɭ.lo] ‘question’ [Text source:1.19, 89]
 c. *killo* /killo/ [kiɭ.lo] ‘a species of black bird’ (See § 2.2.1.3.1 for more examples)

2.1.1.6.2 Epenthesis

‘Epenthesis’ also known prothesis, anaptyxis or *svarabhakti* is the ‘insertion of a vowel between two consonants’ (Bussmann 1996: 23). The following (57) a-b example has been discovered in Kirānti-Kõits (See Genetti 1988: 76 for vowel harmony):

- (57) a. *tekme* /tekme/ → *tekem* /tekeme/ ‘where’
 b. *mArme* /mārmε/ → *maram* /mərəm/ ‘what’

2.1.1.7 Consonant and syllable drop

Earlier in § 2.1.1.5, we observed the environment of the final vowels deletion and here in this § 2.1.1.7, we shall provide examples, where consonant loss ‘apocope’ or even the whole syllable gets dropped out as Matisoff suggested the possible mechanism of “syllable reduction through human laziness” (quoted in Watters (1985: 37). The first person pronominal singular /-ŋ/²⁵ gets dropped out optionally at the final position of a given verb in non-past (also in some classes of the verb in the past form cf. Ch 3 § 3.2.2.1 and § 3.2.2.2) form both in positive and negative forms as illustrated in (58) a-c and even the syllable itself as in (58) d-g (See Genetti 1988: 76 for syncope).

- (58) a. *jAi-nu-ng* /dzāinuŋ/ ‘I eat’
 b. *pAi-nu-ng* /pāinuŋ/ ‘I do’
 c. *thAi-nu-ng* /thāinuŋ/ ‘I beat’
 d. *nelle* > *nel* /nelle > nel/ ‘all’
 e. *meko* > *me?* /meko > me?/ ‘s/he, that’
 f. *eNko* > *eN* /ε̃ko > ε̃/ ‘this’
 g. *tekere* > *te* /tekerε > tε/ ‘where’ [two steps in between are: > *teker* > *tek*
 /teker > tek/]

2.2 Phonotactics

This § 2.2 observes phonotactics ‘a syntax of phonology’ (Lockwood 2002: 1 and 358), or ‘study of the sound and phoneme combinations allowed in a given language’ (Bussmann 1996: 364) of Kirānti-Kõits (also cf. § 2.1.1.1-2, § 2.1.2.1) vis-à-vis its characteristic meaningful arrangements of basic units or phonemes.

²⁵ This optional drooping of the consonant phoneme /-ŋ/ at the final position has tricked Hodgson and Konow to conclude that the Kirānti-Kõits as one of the non-pronominalized Himalayan languages (also cf. Ch 1 § 1.3) for a simple pronominalized one. The consonant phoneme /-ŋ/ is not present on the surface structure in none of their data.

2.2.1 Consonant clusters

This § 2.2.1, in its first part deals with the pattern and sequence of consonant clusters and syllabic structures in the second part. Abbi and Mishra (1984) observing Greenberg's universals conclude that his universals refer only to initial and final clusters; whereas in Meithei (a T-B language spoken in Manipur, north-east India; See also Chelliah (1997) and Thoudam (1980)) permits consonant clusters in its medial position also. Interestingly, Kirānti-Kõits, the language under description tolerates consonant clusters word initially, medially and finally. A maximum number of two consonant is allowed in all three positions.

2.2.1.1 Initial cc- clusters

Like in Meithei, Kirānti-Kõits clusters also do not allow more than two consonants word initially. The Kirānti-Kõits combination of the second member cluster (Table 2.4) is coincidentally exactly alike (except glide/semi-vowel /w/ [cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337(6)]) with that of Meithei. Its first members, clustering in the initial position are: /b, g, k, k^h, dz, p, p^h, š/. Also consider Bieri and Schulze's (1970: 337) data (1-18), where (6) *bwa*: 'rooster' is purely phonetic realization (historically bilabial preglottalized/implosive /ɓ/ [cf. Table 2.3's explanatory note above, Opgenort 2004, Rapacha 2003, Michailovsky 1988]), (14) *kwotsa* 'to look' is also purely phonetic realization rather than clusters, (8) is doubtful, (10) is without glide and (15) and (17) are in free variation in their examples not clusters.

Table 2.4: Initial two consonant clusters

First Members	Second Members		
	l	r	y
b	+	+	+
g	+	+	+
k	+	+	+
k ^h	+	+	
dz		+	
p	+	+	

$\begin{matrix} p^h \\ s \end{matrix}$
+
+

+

There is no any trace of borrowed vocabulary in the occurrence as the first member. Consider the following instances in (59) and (60):

Stop + liquid or semi-vowel/glide:

- (59) a. *bl(r)-* *bl(r)εptso* /bl(ɾ/r)εpco/ ‘finger’
 blA /blā/ ‘arrow’ [**bla* T-B (Tamot 2002: 18)]
- b. *br(ɾ/l)-* *brołtsA* /br(ɾ/l)olcā/ ‘to break itself’
 bratsA /br(ɾ)əcā/ ‘to lay e.g. a mat’ [N *bicchaunu*]
- c. *by-* *byAphpo* /byāp^h(po)/ ‘ox’
- d. *gy-* *gyAptsA* /gyāpcā/ ‘to buy’
 gyAitstsA /gyāiccā/ ‘to catch, (fig.) rape’
 gyol /gyol/ ‘winnowing tray’
 gyosho /gyošo/ ‘long’ [cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337]
- e. *gl-* *glakditsA* /gləkdicā/ ‘to block’
 glaktiŋdumtsA /gləktiŋdumcā/ ‘to get frightened’
 glAʔtsA /glāʔcā/ ‘to win’
 glumAts /glumāc/ ‘family’ [Text source: 1.17]
 glusho /glušo/ ‘appeared’ [Text source: 1.62]
- f. *gr-* *grON* /grō/ ‘horn’
 groltsA /gr(ɾ)olcā/ ‘to lay’
- g. *kl-* *klil* /klil/ ‘mustard’
 klełts /klełc/ ‘younger’ [Text source: 1.82, 4.7]
 klonA /klonā/ ‘room’
 klAtori /klātori/ ‘waist-band/belt’ (K-K Cul)
- h. *ky-* *kyONkur* /kyō.kur/ ‘cub’
 kyAʔtsA /kyāʔcā/ ‘to carry’
 ky’ATA /ky’ātā/ ‘lotus, did s/he carry?’
- i. *kr(ɾ)-* *kromtsA* /kr(ɾ)omcā/ ‘to hit’

	<i>khreptsA</i>	/k ^h r(ɾ/l)ɛp.cā/ ‘to clip’
	<i>khraTsA</i>	/k ^h r(ɾ)ācā/ ‘to stir whey’
	<i>khroltsA</i>	/k ^h rolcā/ ‘to fell’
j. k ^h l-	<i>khLANte</i>	/k ^h lāte/ ‘troublesome’
	<i>khletstsA</i>	/k ^h lɛccā/ ‘to move e.g. a plate of rice’
k. dzy-	<i>dzyAu</i>	/dzyāu/ ‘manner of laughing’
	<i>dzyetstsA</i>	/dzyɛc.cā/ ‘to light up e.g., a cigar’
	<i>dzy’etstsA</i>	/dzy’ɛc.cā/ ‘to get worn out’
l. pl-	<i>pl(r)upse</i>	/pl(r)upse/ ‘comb’
m. pr-	<i>pr(D)ɛNk</i>	/pr(ɾ)ɛ [~] k/ ‘tear’
n. p ^h l-	<i>phlAtsA</i>	/p ^h lācā/ ‘to separate’
o. pr(ɾ)-	<i>proltsA</i>	/pr(ɾ)olcā/ ‘to break’
p. p ^h y-	<i>phyANArephu</i>	/phyānāreɾp ^h u/ ‘net-kerchief’ (K-K Cul)

Fricative + semi-vowel/glide:

(60) a. šy-	<i>shyobtsA</i>	/šyobcā/ ‘to filter out the millet beer (K-K Cul)’
	<i>shyAtsA</i>	/šyātsā/ ‘to tease’
	<i>shyANKArelu</i>	/šyākāreɾlu/ ‘creator/destroyer’
	<i>shyAr(ɾ)Aru</i>	/šyār(ɾ)āru/ ‘object made up of bamboo for storing salt’

2.2.1.2 Medial -cc- clusters

The medial two consonant clusters are more productive than the initial and the final ones. Table 2.5 is the summary of such possible consonant combinations in the languages.

Table 2.5: Medial two consonant clusters

First Members	Second Members																
	b	ts	d	g	k	k ^h	l	m	n	p	p ^h	r	s	š	th	y	dz
b	+						+		+			+					
ts(c)		+			+	+											
k					+		+										+
ŋ							+					+		+			

l	+	+		+	+	+				+				
m		+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
n				+					+					
p		+					+			+		+		
t							+							
r	+	+	+					+			+	+		
š														+
s		+					+	+		+	+			
th										+				
g														+
?													+	

2.2.1.2.1 Voiceless stop + consonant/glide

- (61) a. -ck- *dutskun* /duckun/ ‘swallow’
 b. -ck^h- *klutskhAi* /kluck^hāi/ ‘broccoli’
 c. -kk^h- *mAkkho* /mākk^ho/ ‘garlic, *allium sativum*’
 preNkhAi /pr(ɽ)ε~kk^hāi/ ‘onion’
 d. -kl- *sekle* /sekle/ ‘25 paisa/cent coin’
 e. -kn- *naknAt* /nəknāt/ ‘Monday’
 f. -ky- *kyAtsA* /kyācā/ ‘to carry’
 kyAtA /kyātā/ ‘lotus’
 kyArsh /kyārš/ ‘goat’
 g. -pc- *khreptsA* /k^hr(ɽ)εpcā/ ‘to clip’
 khAptsA /k^hāpcā/ ‘to pile up one by one’
 sAptsA /sāpcā/ ‘to cover up’
 thAptsA /thāpcā/ ‘to pay back’
 huptsA /hupcā/ ‘to be hot’
 suptsA /supcā/ ‘to drink’
 guptsA /gupcā/ ‘to pick up’
 ruptsA /rupcā/ ‘to understand’
 ruphtsA /rup^hcā/ ‘to collect dried clothes etc.’
 tuptsA /tupcā/ ‘to beat’
 lAptso /lāpcō/ ‘door’ [Text source: 1.16, 17, 18]
 luptsA /lupcā/ ‘to smear’

h. -pl-	<i>wAplemb</i>	/wāplɛmb/ ‘iron’
	<i>plApsalA</i>	/plāpsəlā/ ‘helpless’
	<i>plANKatuli</i>	/plā:kātuli/ ‘umbrella’
	<i>tsahiplA</i>	/tsəhiplā/ ‘camera’ [See Appendix B]
	<i>sisplApa</i>	/sisplāpə/ ‘ruin’ [Text source: 1.66]
	<i>tsuplu</i>	/cuplu/ ‘fireplace’
i. -ps-	<i>plApsalA</i>	/plāpsəlā/ ‘helpless’
	<i>gupsu</i>	/gupsu/ ‘lion’
j. -pš-	<i>prupse</i>	/pr(ɪ)pse/ ‘comb’
	<i>lupsho</i>	/lup šo/ ‘smear-PP, adj’
	<i>tsupsho</i>	/cupšo/ ‘over-flown’
	<i>dupsho</i>	/dupšo/ ‘burnt’
k. -tl-	<i>thAtlA</i>	/thātīlā/ ‘bat/racket’
l. -thr-	<i>tsuthri</i>	/cuthri/ ‘husk:NML’
	<i>kothri</i>	/kothri/ ‘see:NML’
	<i>bethri</i>	/bethri/ ‘die:NML’
m. -ʔth-	<i>ne ʔthA</i>	/neʔthā/ ‘near’
n. -ʔc-	<i>tsu ʔsA</i>	/cuʔcā/ ‘to lift up’
	<i>nA ʔsA</i>	/nāʔcā/ ‘to weight’
	<i>dA ʔsA</i>	/dāʔcā/ ‘to light up’

2.2.1.2.2 Voiced + consonant/trill

(62) a. -bl-	<i>tAbLA</i>	/tāb(p)lā/ ‘palm’
	<i>wAbletstsA</i>	/wābleccā/ ‘to shout’
	<i>sibLA</i>	/siblā/ ‘serpent’
	<i>kable</i>	/kəble/ ‘villager’ [2.21, 2.25, 2.29, 2.34, 2.38]
b. -bn-	<i>tsibnA</i>	/cibnā/ ‘drop’
c. -br-	<i>phebre</i>	/p ^h ɛbrɛ/ ‘50c coin’
d. -lb-	<i>tulba</i>	/tulb(ə)/ ‘uproots’
	<i>thulba</i>	/thulb(ə)/ ‘serves’

	<i>sulba</i>	/sulb(ə)/ ‘cuddles’
	<i>khulba</i>	/k ^h ulb(ə)/ ‘one who escorts animal’
e. -lk-	<i>mulkem</i>	/mulkem/ ‘culture’
f. -lk ^h -	<i>kilkhAi</i>	/kil ^h āi/ ‘tomato’
g. -lg-	<i>kolgi</i>	/kolgi/ ‘soybean’
	<i>bulgyets</i>	/bulgyɛc/ ‘problem’
h. -lp-	<i>kalpip</i>	/kəlpip/ ‘ancestor’
	<i>khalpi</i>	/k ^h əlpɪ/ ‘old woman’
	<i>helpo</i>	/hɛlpɔ/ ‘bride/groom’s father’ (<i>N samdhi</i>)
	<i>helpom</i>	/hɛlpom/ ‘bride/groom’s mother’ (<i>N samdhini</i>)
i. -lp ^h -	<i>gyulphe</i>	/gyulp ^h ɛ/ ‘liar’
j. -lc-	<i>groltsA</i>	/gr(ɾ)olcā/ ‘to lie’
	<i>reltsi</i>	/rɛlci/ ‘garland’
	<i>koltsi</i>	/kolc(g)i/ ‘soybean’
k. -gy-	<i>gyAptsA</i>	/gyāpcā/ ‘to buy’
	<i>gyArtstsA</i>	/gyārccā/ ‘to play’
	<i>gyAitstsA</i>	/gyāiccā/ ‘to catch, hold, (fig.) rape’

2.2.1.2.3 Nasal + consonant/trill

(63) a. -ŋl-	<i>kinglo</i>	/kiŋlo/ ‘radio’
	<i>konglots</i>	/koŋloc/ ‘gizzard’
b. -ŋr-	<i>kongrets</i>	/koŋrɛc/ ‘maize’
c. -ŋš-	<i>porongsho</i>	/poroŋšo/ ‘nomadic’
d. -md-	<i>himd</i>	/himd(o)/ ‘shake’ (also cf. Winter 2004)
	<i>rimd</i>	/rimd(o)/ ‘wait’ (also cf. Winter 2004)
	<i>hamd</i>	/hāmd(o)/ ‘dry’ (also cf. Winter 2004)
	<i>sAmd</i>	/sāmd(o)/ ‘place’ (also cf. Winter 2004)
	<i>kromd</i>	/kromd(o)/ ‘hit’ (also cf. Winter 2004)
e. -mdz-	<i>plumdza</i>	/plumdzā/ ‘fist’
f. -ml-	<i>dimlA</i>	/dimlā/ ‘foot’
	<i>tsumlu</i>	/cumlu/ ‘mortar’

g. -mth-	<i>gAthuN</i>	/gāmthũ/ ‘inner-feeling’
	<i>themli</i>	/themli/ ‘hillock’
h. -mn-	<i>dzimnAts</i>	/dzimnāc/ ‘May’
	<i>sAmnung</i>	/sāmnun/ ‘lose: NPST:1sg’
	<i>hAmnung</i>	/hāmnun/ ‘dry: NPST:1sg’
	<i>thAmnung</i>	/thāmnun/ ‘taste: NPST:1sg’
	<i>kromnung</i>	/kromnun/ ‘hit: NPST:1sg’
	<i>khrumnung</i>	/k ^h rumnun/ ‘plant: NPST:1sg’
	<i>himnung</i>	/himnun/ ‘shake: NPST:1sg’
i. -mp-	<i>thampA</i>	/thəmpā/ ‘in a true manner’
	<i>rimpA</i>	/rimpā/ ‘in a beautiful manner’
j. -mr-	<i>themru</i>	/themru/ ‘hill’
k. -mc-	<i>thAmtsA</i>	/thāmcā/ ‘to taste’
	<i>sumtsA</i>	/sumcā/ ‘to cover’
	<i>thumtsA</i>	/thumcā/ ‘to finish’
	<i>khrumtsA</i>	/k ^h rumcā/ ‘to plant’
	<i>pumtsA</i>	/pumcā/ ‘to put soil around the plants’
	<i>homtsA</i>	/homcā/ ‘to swell’
l. -ms-	<i>thumsitsA</i>	/thumsicā/ ‘to be over’
	<i>nAmsits</i>	/nāmsic/ ‘time’
	<i>brukumsalA</i>	/bru kumsälā/ ‘delight’
m. -nk-	<i>monking</i>	/monkiŋ/ ‘telephone’

2.2.1.2.4 Continuant + consonant

(64) a. -rb-	<i>pherba</i>	/p ^h erb(ə)/ ‘tailor’
b. -rd-	<i>durda</i>	/durdā/ ‘word’
b. -rm-	<i>kurmidokhA</i>	/kurmidok ^h ā/ ‘gift, present’
c. -rc-	<i>hirtstsA</i>	/hirccā/ ‘to turn around, visit’
	<i>wArts</i>	/wārc/ ‘friend/supporter/companion’
d. -rš-	<i>gyursho</i>	/gyuršo/ ‘sour’
	<i>shyersho</i>	/šyeršo/ ‘wine’

	<i>kyArsshye</i>	/kyārsšye/ ‘goat’
	<i>tsArssho</i>	/tsārsšo/ ‘urinate/adj’
	<i>murssho</i>	/mursšo/ ‘wash/adj’
e. -rth-	<i>gyArth</i>	/gyārth/ ‘play:PUR’
	<i>kyorth</i>	/kyorth/ ‘cut:PUR/INF’
	<i>murth</i>	/murth/ ‘wash:PUR/INF’
	<i>kerthuN</i>	/kerthũ/ ‘conspiracy’
f. -šy-	<i>dzashyA</i>	/dzəšyā/ ‘eat-CONV’
	<i>pashyA</i>	/pəšyā/ ‘do- CONV’
	<i>breshyA</i>	/brešyā/ ‘write- CONV’
g. -sl-	<i>taslA</i>	/təslā/ ‘utensil made up of bronze or alloy’
	<i>tāslA</i>	/tāslā/ ‘moon’
h. -sc-	<i>ostsAN</i>	/oscā/ ‘wool’
i. -sr-	<i>wAsrelu</i>	/wāsrelu/ ‘rainbow’

The medial clusters seem to be very productive in the language and no linguists have described them before.

2.2.1.3 Final -cc clusters

Exceptionally, no final consonant clusters in Limbu (Michailovsky 1985: 363) another Kirānti language of the *Pallo* (N) ‘far’ Kirāt, East Nepal is available but Kirānti-Kōits has a considerable size of final -cc cluster as follows:

Table 2.6: Final two consonant clusters

First Members	Second Members								
	c	b	d	g	s	š	t	dz	n
ŋ				+	+				
l	+	+							
m	+	+	+				+	+	
p	+						+		+
r	+	+		+	+	+			+

2.2.1.3.1 Nasal + consonant

(65) a.	-ŋg	<i>kongg(u)</i>	/kɔŋg(u)/ ‘hook’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)	
	b.	-ŋs	<i>Angs</i>	/ãŋs/ ‘parental property’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)
	c.	-mb	<i>wAplemb</i>	/wãplemb/ ‘iron, n.’
			<i>dumb</i>	/dumb/ ‘becomes, okay’
			<i>khrumb</i>	/k ^h r(ɾ/l)umb/ ‘one who plants, s/he plants’
			<i>grumb</i>	/gr(ɾ/l)umb/ ‘one who meets, s/he meets’
			<i>tsemb</i>	/cemb/ ‘one who earns, s/he earns’
	d.	-md	<i>rimd</i>	/rimd(o)/ ‘wait’
			<i>himd</i>	/himd(o)/ ‘shake’
			<i>temd</i>	/tɛmd(o)/ ‘add’
	e.	-mdz	<i>samdz</i>	/sãmdz/ ‘Sherpa tribe’
	f.	-mc	<i>hAmts</i>	/hãmc/ ‘yawn’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337)
	g.	-mt	<i>dumt</i>	/dumt/ ‘became:PST:3SG’
			<i>dzAmt</i>	/dzãmt/ ‘lose:PST:3SG’
			<i>homt</i>	/homt/ ‘swell:PST:3SG’

2.2.1.3.2 Voiceless + consonant

(66) a.	-pc	<i>Albrepts</i>	/ãl brɛpc/ ‘small children’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337)	
	b.	-ps	<i>gups</i>	/gups(u)/ ‘lion’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337)
	c.	-pt	<i>nupt</i>	/nup t/ ‘end:PST:3SG’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337)
			<i>dupt</i>	/dupt/ ‘burn:PST:3SG’
			<i>lupt</i>	/lupt(o)/ ‘smear:NPST:3SG’
			<i>kApt</i>	/kãpt(o)/ ‘extinguish:NPST:3SG (also cf. Winter 2004)

2.2.1.3.3 Continuant + consonant

(67) a.	-lb	<i>relb</i>	/rɛlb/ ‘one who hangs, hang:3SG’	
		<i>helb</i>	/hɛlb/ ‘one which becomes heavy’	
		<i>thulb</i>	/thulb/ ‘one who tames, host:3SG (fig)’	
		<i>brolb</i>	/br(ɾ)olb/ ‘it breaks’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)	
	b.	-lc	<i>klelts</i>	/klɛlc/ ‘younger’

	<i>dults</i>	/dulc/ ‘vagabond’
	<i>groltsA</i>	/grolcā/ ‘to lie down’
c. -rb	<i>tserb(i)</i>	/cɛrb(i)/ ‘wheat’(also in Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)
	<i>dorb</i>	/dorb/ ‘run:NPST:3sg
	<i>kurb</i>	/kurb/ ‘carry:NPST:3sg
d. -rc	<i>wArts</i>	/wārc/ ‘friend’(cf.36a and Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)
e. -rdz	<i>kerdz</i>	/kerdz/ ‘uncle’
f. -rg	<i>bArg</i>	/bārg/ ‘trap’
g. -rn	<i>kyornAkyorn</i>	/kyornākyorn/ ‘cut:PROG’ (possible cluster of /-n/ with other different verb roots e.g. <i>dzanAdzan</i> /dzənādzən/ ‘eat: PROG’ cf. also Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)

The final clusters /-lc/, /-md/, /-mdz/, and /-rdz/ have not been noticed by them. Their one /-gy/ in *gigy* ‘green’ is doubtful in pronunciation and its phonetic transcription.

2.2.1.4 Gemimates

Gemimates in Kirānti-Kōits, seem to be quite productive. Following is the example of gemimates where -bb-, -cc-, -kk-, -ll-, -mm-, -nn-, -pp-, -ss-, and -tt- are very common.

(68) a. -bb-	<i>sibba</i>	/sibbə/ ‘bear fruit:NPST:3sg’
	<i>hubba</i>	/hubbə/ ‘become hot:NPST:3sg’
	<i>tubba</i>	/tubbə/ ‘beat:NPST:3sg’
	<i>rubba</i>	/rubbə/ ‘to collect, e.g. dried grains in the sun:NPST:3sg’
	<i>r’ebba</i>	/r’əbbə/ ‘read:NPST:3sg’
	<i>sebbā</i>	/səbbə/ ‘call:NPST:3sg’
	<i>bebbā</i>	/bəbbə/ ‘call:NPST:3sg’
	<i>lubba</i>	/lubbə/ ‘smear:NPST:3sg’
	<i>ibba</i>	/ibbə/ ‘sleep: NPST:3sg’
	<i>gubba</i>	/gubbə/ ‘pick up:NPST:3sg’
	<i>hubba</i>	/hubbə/ ‘become hot:NPST:3sg’
	<i>tubba</i>	/tubbə/ ‘beat:NPST:3sg’
	<i>rubba</i>	/rubbə/ ‘understand:NPST:3sg’

	<i>r'ebba</i>	/r'ɛbbə/ 'read:NPST:3sg'
	<i>rebbā</i>	/rɛbbə/ 'scratch:NPST:3sg'
	<i>thAbba</i>	/thābbə/ 'pay:NPST:3sg'
	<i>lubba</i>	/lubbə/ 'smear:NPST:3sg'
b. -cc-	<i>tsuitstsA</i>	/c(ky)uiccā/ 'to insert, decorate'
	<i>dAitstsA</i>	/dāiccā/ 'to get sth with open hands (<i>N thApnu</i>)'
	<i>detstsA</i>	/dɛccā/ 'to paste, cover'
	<i>dortstsA</i>	/dɔrccā/ 'to run'
	<i>khAitstsA</i>	/k ^h āiccā/ 'to ache'
	<i>khuitstsA</i>	/k ^h uiccā/ 'to hide'
	<i>khertstsA</i>	/k ^h ɛrccā/ 'to chase'
	<i>khroitstsA</i>	/k ^h roiccā/ 'to cut into pieces'
	<i>gAitstsA</i>	/gāiccā/ 'to pass away'(fig.)
	<i>gyArtstsA</i>	/gyārccā/ 'to play'
	<i>gyAitstsA</i>	/gyāiccā/ 'to catch, (fig.) rape'
	<i>ngAitstsA</i>	/ŋāiccā/ 'to defecate'
	<i>hoNitstsA</i>	/hōiccā/ 'to climb up'
	<i>hoitstsA</i>	/hoiccā/ 'to boil up'
	<i>huitstsA</i>	/huiccā/ 'to scold'
	<i>hurtstsA</i>	/hurccā/ 'to drink e.g. semi-liquid'
	<i>khroitstsA</i>	/khr(ɾ/)oic.cā/ 'to chop into pieces'
	<i>lAitstsA</i>	/lāiccā/ 'to take away'
	<i>letstsA</i>	/lɛccā/ 'to return'
	<i>maitstsA</i>	/māiccā/ 'to tell'
	<i>murtstsA</i>	/murccā/ 'to wash'
	<i>muītstsA</i>	/muiccā/ 'to blow up'
	<i>nAitstsA</i>	/nāiccā/ 'to rest'
	<i>nitstsA</i>	/niccā/ 'to sit'
	<i>pAitstsA</i>	/pāiccā/ 'to tie' (e.g. cattle)
	<i>phAitstsA</i>	/p ^h āiccā/ 'to exchange'
	<i>puītstsA</i>	/puiccā/ 'to unlock'

	<i>r'etstsA</i>	/r'eccā/ 'to read'
	<i>roitstsA</i>	/roiccā/ 'to snatch'
	<i>sitstsA</i>	/sicā/ 'to bear fruit'
	<i>sAitstsA</i>	/sāiccā/ 'to kill'
	<i>setstsA</i>	/seccā/ 'to call'
	<i>soitstsA</i>	/soiccā/ 'to send'
	<i>suitstsA</i>	/suiccā/ 'to start the fire burning (<i>Njhosnu</i>)'
	<i>thAitstsA</i>	/thāiccā/ 'to beat'
	<i>thitstsA</i>	/thiccā/ 'to meet'
	<i>ThitstsA</i>	/T ^h icca~T ^h i.cā/ 'to fall down'
	<i>thuitstsA</i>	/thuiccā/ 'to take loan'
	<i>tAitstsA</i>	/tāiccā/ 'to throw away'
	<i>toitstsA</i>	/toiccā/ 'to make someone get off'
	<i>tetstsA</i>	/teccā/ 'to beat'
	<i>tuitstsA</i>	/tuiccā/ 'to know'
	<i>wAitstsA</i>	/wāiccā/ 'to keep'
	<i>wArtstsA</i>	/wārccə/ 'friend/supporter/companion'
c. -kk-	<i>tikkus</i>	/tikkus/ 'hare/rabbit'
	<i>kikkun</i>	/kikkun/ 'bat, a bird-like mammal' (cf. Appendix B)
	<i>dakka</i>	/dək kā/ 'one thousand' [Rapacha, Kormocha and Katicha 2003:18]
d. -ll-	<i>dello</i>	/dello/ 'buttock, anus'
	<i>hillo</i>	/hillo/ 'query, question' [Text source:1.19, 89]
	<i>killo</i>	/killo/ 'a species of black bird'
	<i>phullu</i>	/p ^h uflu/ 'stone' [Text source:1.69; cf. Lexicon]
	<i>nelle</i>	/nellɛ/ 'all' [Text source:1.16, 59, 82, 89; 2.11, 19, 34; 3.9, 19, 26, 35, 47; 4.8]
	<i>olli</i>	/olli/ 'kind/type' [Text source: 1.140]
e. -mm-	<i>rennummama</i>	/rennumməmā/ 'step-mother'
	<i>dumma</i>	/dummā/ 'did they become?'
	<i>summa</i>	/summā/ 'did they cover?'

f. -nn-	<i>rennummama</i>	/rennumməmā/ ‘step-mother’
g. -pp-	<i>sAppA</i>	/sāppā/ ‘too much’
h. -ss-	<i>pussu</i>	/pussu/ ‘lid’
	<i>lAissho</i>	/lāisšo/ ‘tall’
	<i>thAissho</i>	/thāisšo/ ‘beaten’
	<i>hoNissho</i>	/hōisšo/ ‘climbed up, climb up:IMP:3sg’
	<i>soissho</i>	/soisšo/ ‘sent’
	<i>muissho</i>	/muisšo/ ‘blown’
	<i>hoissho</i>	/hoisšo/ ‘heated’
	<i>tsurssi</i>	/curssi/ ‘personal name’
i. -tt-	<i>huitto</i>	/huitto/ ‘scold:IMP:3sg’
	<i>khuitto</i>	/k ^h uitto/ ‘hide:IMP:3sg’
	<i>roitto</i>	/roitto/ ‘snatch:IMP:3sg’
	<i>soitto</i>	/soitto/ ‘send:IMP:3sg’

2.2.1.5 Inverse geminates plus other processes

Some classes of verbs in NPST:3sg forms given in (68) a above get geminated as -bb- and the same geminate -bb- gets degeminated as -b in other classes of verb NPST:3sg forms as in (69) a. below:

(69) a.	<i>huiba</i>	/huibə/ ‘scold:IMP:3sg’
	<i>relba</i>	/rɛlbə/ ‘hang:IMP:3sg’
	<i>khuiba</i>	/k ^h uibə/ ‘hide:IMP:3sg’
	<i>suiiba</i>	/suibə/ ‘start the fire:IMP:3sg’
	<i>tuiba</i>	/tuibə/ ‘know:IMP:3sg’
	<i>muiba</i>	/muibə/ ‘blow:IMP:3sg’
	<i>tulba</i>	/tulbə/ ‘uproot:IMP:3sg’
	<i>khulba</i>	/k ^h ulbə/ ‘escort animal:IMP:3sg’
	<i>sulba</i>	/sulbə/ ‘caress:IMP:3sg’
	<i>thulba</i>	/thulbə/ ‘tame:IMP:3sg’
	<i>lAiba</i>	/lāibə/ ‘go:IMP:3sg’
	<i>pAiba</i>	/pāibə/ ‘do:IMP:3sg’

<i>thAiba</i>	/thāibə/ ‘beat:IMP:3sg’
<i>ko:ba</i>	/ko:bə/ ‘look, bite:IMP:3sg’
<i>ngAba</i>	/ŋābə/ ‘weep:IMP:3sg’
<i>rAiba</i>	/rāibə/ ‘understand:IMP:3sg’

All -cc- [tsts] geminates change into -ss- [ss] geminates as in (70) a. below and all verbs given in (68) b. are liable to such change while deriving participial or adjective.

- (70) a. *huitstsA* /huiccā/ ‘to scold’ → *huissšo* /huisšo/ ‘scold:PP, adj’ [also cf. (68) h. above]

All -cc- [tsts] geminates change into -tt- geminates as in (71) a. below and all verbs given in (68) b. are liable to such change while deriving imperative third person singular number.

- (71) a. *letstsA* /leccā/ ‘to return’ → *letto* /letto/ ‘return:IMP:3sg’ [also cf. (68) i. above]

All verb stems ending in /p/ such as *tup-* ‘beat’ change into the geminate -bb- [bb] as in (72) a. below while deriving assertive non-past third person singular number.

- (72) a. *tuptsA* /tupcā/ ‘to beat’ → *tubba* /tubbə/ ‘beat:NPST:3sg’

2.3.1.2 Syllabic structures

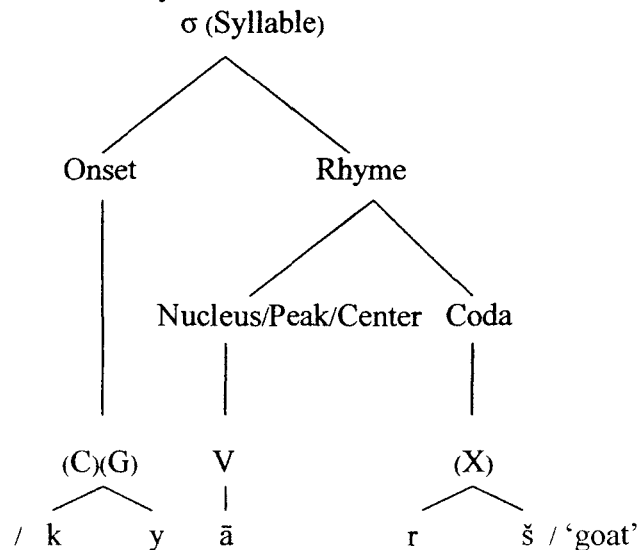
A syllable is a sequence of phonemes (CVs) with one peak of sonority. It is first divided into two parts; viz., ‘onset’ (the opening/initial segment of a syllable) and rhyme (See Diagram 1). Rhyme is further divided into ‘peak’ (nucleus/center; the central or middle segment of the syllable) and ‘coda’ (the closing/final segment of the syllable); where the opening and closing segments of a syllable can be termed as margins. Kirānti-Kōits syllables at a time do not necessarily contain all three parts in them. They may consist of just the nucleus (as in *-a* ‘his/her’, just the onset and nucleus (as in *mi* ‘fire’) or all three (as in *shyor* ‘star’). Thus, as we see in those examples, a Kirānti-Kōits syllable consists of a peak with or without an onset and with or without coda. The nucleus/peak/center is always a vowel. Like Meitei (Abbi and Mishra 1985; also cf. Chelliah 1997, Thoudam 1980) Kirānti-Kōits roots are normally monosyllabic. They are of the following

types (also cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 170ff and *Ethnologue* website 2004, see its syllable structure in Tree Diagram 1 below).

2.3.1.2.1 Monosyllabic structure

(73)	a. V	<i>oN</i>	/õ/ ‘yes’
		<i>ANiN>iN</i>	/ãĩ > ĩ/ ‘our’
		<i>A</i>	/a/ ‘his/her’
	b. VC	<i>ir</i>	/ir/ ‘up’
		<i>ong</i>	/oŋ/ ‘enter:NPST:3sg:IMP’
		<i>er</i>	/ɛr/ ‘far-thither (horizontal)’
	c. CV	<i>kA</i>	/kã/ ‘one’ [cf. <i>kwong</i> Kirānti-Ba; Konow (1909: 329)]
		<i>go</i>	/go/ ‘I’ [cf. <i>go</i> Kirānti-Ba; Driem (1991: 337)]
		<i>lo:</i>	/lo:/ ‘language, talk, speech’ [cf. <i>lo</i> Kirānti-Ba, <i>lA</i> Kirānti-Rod and <i>ron</i> > <i>lon</i> Meithei; Chelliah (1999: 2)]
	d. γV	<i>wA</i>	/wã/ ‘cloth’ [γ stands for semi-vowle or glide /y/]
		<i>yaN</i>	/yã/ ‘nine’
	e. CVC	<i>gAl</i>	/gãl/ ‘sweat’
		<i>bur</i>	/bur/ ‘paddy (esp. un-husked; cf. <i>Lexicon</i>)’
		<i>sang</i>	/sãŋ/ ‘consonant’
	r. CCV	<i>groN</i>	/grõ/ ‘horn’
	g. CVV	<i>joi</i>	/dzoi/ ‘tiger’
		<i>roi</i>	/roi/ ‘sick, disease’
		<i>khAi</i>	/k ^h ãi/ ‘curry’
		<i>sau</i>	/səu/ ‘red hornet’
	h. CγVC	<i>gyol</i>	/gyol/ ‘winnowing tray’
		<i>gyosh</i>	/gyoš/ ‘long’
		<i>gyom</i>	/gyom/ ‘utensil’

The above basic or monosyllabic structures are presented in the following Tree Diagram:

Diagram 2.1: The syllable structure in Kirānti-Kōits

As in Kham-Taka (Watters 2004: 4-5), Kirānti-Kōits has (C) (G) V (X) as its basic syllable structure, where (G) is a glide and (X) is consonant or a vowel. Only the peak is obligatory as in (73) a. For its verb stems the canonical pattern is c(c) v (v) (c) (Genetti 1988: 64, 1992: 328).

In addition to the basic monosyllabic patterns (73) a-h above, other polysyllabic patterns also occur as shown below in (74) a-g, (75) a-d, (76) a-i, (77) a-b, (78) a-j and (79) a-b below.

2.3.1.2.2 Disyllabic structure

Here onwards semi-vowels/glides are written as C for convenience.

2.3.1.2.2.1 Open second syllable

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| (74) a. VCV | <i>omu</i> | /o.mu/ 'mushroom' |
| | <i>uyu</i> | /u.yu/ 'far down' |
| | <i>iri</i> | /ir.i/ 'far up' |
| b. CVCV | <i>muyu</i> | /mu.yu/ 's/he (esp. down, lowLOC)' |

	<i>huyu</i>	/hu.yu/	's/he (esp. down, very lowLOC)'
	<i>ts'eko</i>	/c'ε.ko/	'cut-NPST:3SG:IMP
c. CCVCV	<i>shyele</i>	/šyε.lε/	'thread'
	<i>shyAtsA</i>	/šyā.cā/	'to tease'
	<i>glAtsA</i>	/glā.cā/	'to win'
d. VC CV	<i>ostsAN</i>	/os.cā/	'wool'
	<i>thAptsA</i>	/thāp.cā/	'to pay'
	<i>teltsA</i>	/tel.cā/	'to pile up'
e. CVC CV	<i>yumpi</i>	/yum.pi/	'the last daughter'
	<i>lAptso</i>	/lāp.co/	'door'
	<i>tsurssi</i>	/curs.si/	'personal name, one who gets angry'
f. CCVC CV	<i>khreptsA</i>	/k ^h r(ɽ)εp.cā/	'to clip'
	<i>glAtsA</i>	/glā.cā/	'to win'
g. CCVC CV	<i>gyoNbli</i>	/gyōb.li/	'bag'
	<i>gyulphe</i>	/gyul.p ^h ε/	'liar'

2.3.1.2.2 Closed second syllable

(75) a. CVC CVC	<i>lunggir</i>	/luŋ.gir/	'heart'
	<i>dutskun</i>	/duc.kun/	'swallow'
b. CCVC CVC	<i>glakting</i>	/glək.tiŋ/	'manner of fear'
c. CVCVC	<i>dANkin</i>	//dā.kin/	'heap, pile'
	<i>khiNreb</i>	/k ^h i.ɾεb/	'potato (esp. a domestic species)'
	<i>saring</i>	/sə.riŋ/	'sky'
d. CCVCVC	<i>kyoNkur</i>	/kyō.kur/	'cub'
	<i>tholots</i>	/tho.loc/	'settler' [Text source: 1.112]

2.3.1.2.3 Trisyllabic structure

2.3.1.2.3.1 Third syllable is open

(76) a. CVC CVV CV	<i>tsArnAilu</i>	/cār.nāi.lu/	'a place for rest in the hilly areas'
b. CV CVC CV	<i>nAremsi</i>	/nā.ɾεm.si/	'umbrella'

c. CVC CV CV	<i>gersili</i>	/gɛr.si.li/ ‘happiness’ [Text source: 1.60]
d. CV CVV CV	<i>nepAiNsi</i>	/nɛ.pāi.si/ ‘order’ [Text source: 1.55]
e. CVC CV CV	<i>bissilo:</i>	/bis.si.lo:/ ‘agreement’ [Text source: 1.111, 112]
f. VC CV CV	<i>oktoto</i>	/ok.to.to/ ‘dumbstruck’ [Text source: 1.63]
g. CCV CV CV	<i>klAtori</i>	/klā.to.ri/ ‘waist-band/belt’ (K-K Cul)
h. CVC CV CV	<i>wAsrelu</i>	/wās.rɛ.lu/ ‘rainbow’
i. CVC CV CV	<i>pirsuli</i>	/pir.su.li/ ‘weev:l’

2.3.1.2.3.2 Third syllable is closed

- (77) a. CV CVC CVC *dzatekdzat* /dzə.tɛk.dzət/ ‘food’
 b. CV CCV CVC *kikyakun* /ki.kyə.kun/ ‘swallow’

2.3.1.2.4 Tetrasyllabic structure

Fourth syllable is open:

- (78) a. CV CV CV CV *tsasimasi* /cə.si.mə.si/ ‘family’ [Text source: 1.138]
 b. CVC CV CV CV *kurmidokhA* /kur.mi.do.k^hā/ ‘gift, present’
 c. CCV CV CV CV *plANKAtuli* /plā.kā.tu.li/ ‘umbrella’
 d. CV CV CVC CV *gadzetsephTe* /gə.dzɛ.cɛp^h.Tɛ/ ‘a personal name’
 e. CV CV CVC CV *tsomolongmA* /co.mo.loŋ.mā/ ‘the highest peak, Mt. Everest’ [cf. Rapacha, Kormocha and Katicha 2003:7]
 f. CCVC CVC CVC CV *glaktingdumtsA* /glək.tiŋ.dum.cā/ ‘to get frightened’
 g. CCV CVCVC CV *phyANArephu* /p^hyā.nā.rɛl.p^hu/ ‘net-kerchief’ (K-K Cul)
 h. CCV CV CV CV *syANKArelu* /šyā.kā.rɛ.lu/ ‘creator/destroyer’
 i. CVC CVC CV CV *rennummama* /rɛn.num.mə.mā/ ‘step-mother’
 j. CCV CVC CV CV *brukumsalA* /bru.kum.sə.lā/ ‘delight’

2.3.1.2.4.1 Fourth syllable is closed

- (79) a. CV CVC CV CVC *dzatektutek* /dzə.tɛk.tu.tɛk/ ‘food and drink’
 b. CVC CVC CV CVC *damkimpatik* /dəm.kim.pə.tik/ ‘competition’
 [Text source: 1.105]

2.3.1.2.1 Syllable initials

All twenty-four consonant phonemes can begin a word-initial syllable and serve as margins.

/p/	<i>pod</i>	/pɔd/	‘earthworm’
/t/	<i>teitei</i>	/tɛi.tɛi/	‘everywhere’
/c/ (ts)	<i>tsapo</i>	/cə.pɔ/	‘piglet’
/T/	<i>TitsA</i>	/Ti.cā/	‘to obey’
/k/	<i>kal</i>	/kəl/	‘porridge (esp. made up of millet-flour)’
/ʔ/	<i>ʔphu</i> ²⁶	/ʔp ^h u/	‘egg’
/p ^h /	<i>phare</i>	/p ^h ə.rɛ/	‘thunder-bolt’
/th/	<i>thiN</i>	/thĩ/	‘price’
/T ^h /	<i>Theb</i>	/T ^h ɛb/	‘big’
/k ^h /	<i>khop</i>	/k ^h ɔp/	‘space’
/b/	<i>bulnu</i>	/bul.nu/	‘spirit’
/d/	<i>dermA</i>	/dɛr.mā/	‘utensil’ (also cf. <i>gyom</i> in the lexicon)
/dz/ (j)	<i>jitsA</i>	/dzi.cā/	‘to quarrel’
/g/	<i>gis</i>	/gis/	‘how much’
/s/	<i>seu</i>	/sɛu/	‘greeting’
/š/	<i>shyer</i>	/šyɛr/	‘rice (esp. uncooked one)’
/h/	<i>hush</i>	/huš/	‘blood’
/m/	<i>mesh</i>	/mɛš/	‘buffalo’
/n/	<i>nam</i>	/nəm/	‘love, aux’
/ŋ/(ng)	<i>ngoro</i>	/ŋɔ.ro/	‘dumb’
/r/	<i>reu</i>	/rɛu/	‘rain’
/l/	<i>lA</i>	/lā/	‘from’
/w/	<i>wA</i>	/wā/	‘cloth’
/y/	<i>yAp^he</i>	/yāp ^h ɛ/	‘leach’

²⁶ Other variations are: > bwap^hu > bəp^hu, where bw- stands for /b/ also cf. the explanatory note in Table 2.3.

2.3.1.2.2 Syllable finals

Except /ts, h, y/ all other consonants like /b, d, g, k, k^h, l, š, ŋ, th, m, n, p, p^h, ʔ, r, t, T, T^h, dz, s, w/ occur in syllable final position as margins.

<i>khad</i>	/k ^h əd/	‘crow’
<i>kekh</i>	/kək ^h /	‘raw’
<i>jil</i>	/dzil/	‘oil, ghee’
<i>rush</i>	/ruš/	‘bone’
<i>rong</i>	/roŋ/	‘cliff’
<i>reb</i>	/rɛb/	‘potato’
<i>gig</i>	/gig/	‘green’
<i>shyeth</i>	/šɛth/	‘empty’
<i>kun</i>	/kun/	‘smoke’
<i>gyom</i>	/gyom/	‘utensil’
<i>tikkus</i>	/tik.kus/	‘rabbit, hare’
<i>meʔ</i>	/mɛʔ/	‘that, s/he’
<i>sus</i>	/sus/	‘many’
<i>phoT</i>	/p ^h oT/	‘testicle’
<i>ngAw</i>	/ŋāw/	‘elder-brother’
<i>gyAp(o)</i>	/gyāp(o)/	‘buy’
<i>kAphsA</i>	/kāp ^h .cā/	‘to extinguish’
<i>ker</i>	/kɛr/	‘black’
<i>shyet</i>	/šɛt/	‘difficulty, trouble’
<i>koj</i>	/kodz/	‘stomach’
<i>koTh</i>	/koT ^h /	‘store house’

2.3.1.2.3 Syllable nuclei

Any of the six vocalic phonemes with their nasalized minimal pairs /i(:)/ĩ, ɛ/ɛ̃, u(:)/ũ, ə/ (̃), ā(:)/ã, o(:)/õ/ can occur as nucleus of a syllable.

2.4 Supra-segmental feature

This § 2.4 discusses prosodic feature(s) in Kirānti-Kōits, mainly pitch distinction between the two dialects as mentioned below.

2.4.1 Tone

On Tibeto-Burman tone, Zograph (1982: 188) in general observes,

“The most noteworthy phonological feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages in general is their use of tones to convey phonemic distinction. These tones are not observed with equal rigor in all the member languages; in many of the Himalayan languages they are in fact hardly noticeable, while so little is known about the phonetic properties of many other Tibeto-Burman languages that it is difficult to come to any hard and fast conclusions”.

Thus, tone as a phonological feature is common in Kirānti-Kōits; particularly in the Sabra dialect of East No.2, Ramechhap district (*Wallo* ‘Near’ Kirāt; See Maps 1: xxv and 2: xxvi), Nepal. Furthermore, it is also true in the Saraban dialect of East No.3, Okhaldhung district (*Wallo* ‘Near’ Kirāt; See Maps 1 and 2), Nepal. As Driem (2001: 725) observes, “Sunwar is reported to be a tonal language, but analyses differ on whether there are two or four distinctive tones”. Schulze and Bieri (1970, 1971b) first, have described tone in the Sabra dialect of Kirānti-Kōits and nearly a decade later Genneti (1988, 1992) described in the Saraban dialect (data collected in California from Tankaraj Susucha-Sunuwar); whereas in the further southeastern dialect of Katunje (on which this description is based on), Okhaldhunga (See Map 6: xxx), East No. 3, (*Wallo* ‘Near’ Kirāt, See Map 1: xxv) Nepal, it is a matter of polysemy rather than tonemics or tonology.

On a broader perspective in other Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas, it is relevant here to note Mazaudon’s (1978: 157) observation:

“Tone is often believed by non-specialists to be a fundamental feature of a language, almost a peculiar turn of mind of its speakers. It is assumed that a language either is tonal or is not, nothing in between, and that tonal languages have always be tonal. These are all

fallacious. The Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, which we will describe here, are what we could call semi-tonal or marginally tonal. They also exemplify how languages can become tonal from being non-tonal, or more precisely in this case, more tonal from being slightly tonal.”

Both of them (Gogroph and Mazaudon) come to agree in one point, where the former observes that ‘tone’ is the most noteworthy phonological feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages in general is their use of tones to convey phonemic distinction. Whereas these tones are not observed with equal rigor in all the member languages; in fact in the Himalayan languages, it (tone) is hardly noticeable and the latter concludes this feature to be either ‘semi-tonal or marginally tonal.’

Thus, Mazaudon’s (1978) study of TGTM (Tamang, Gurung, Thakali and Managba or the Tamang sub-family (also cf. Thurgood 2003:10); spoken mainly in the mid and western Hills of Nepal) group reveals that these languages are marginally tonal distinguished by pitch and melodic features only. Compare also Watters (2004) for tone in Kham-Taka, one of the Tibeto-Burman languages classified under a Central Himalayish node (Proto-Kham-Magar-Chepong).

Amongst other more than two dozens of Kirānti languages spoken in the eastern hills (all three Kirāt areas) of Nepal, tone has, until the recent studies, been reported and described only in Kirānti-Khaling by Toba (1984) besides Kirānti-Kōits. Bieri and Schulze (1970: 108ff) reporting tone in Kirānti-Kōits [in their use the exoglotonym/hydronym ‘Sunwar’; particularly Sabra dialect of East No. 2, Ramechhap district] observe,

“There is a clear contrast between contour tone and register tone. The contour tone occurs as high falling and low falling. The register tone contrasts as high and low... Tone does not influence or condition the contrasts of the phonemes...”

Following the year 1970, they confirm their claim thus, “In Sunwar there is a contrast between high tone words and low tone words. A word consists of one to four syllables. Each word is a pitch unit manifesting either a high or low pitch contour. The pitch level of the first syllable determines the shape of the pitch contour of the whole

unit. Contrast has been observed in disyllabic and polysyllabic words. In monosyllabic words the contrast is neutralized.” (1971: 5). Genetti (1988: 63) has discovered the fact that Sunwar (See Ch 1 § 1.1.1; footnote 4 for its orthography) or Kirānti-Kōits has four tones, which are divided by two independent binary parameters: a high/low contrast and level versus falling contour distinction. Her example includes:

- (80)
- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--|
| a.1 | daatsa ^{HF} | (high tone with falling contour) ‘to like’ |
| .2 | daatsa | LF (low falling) ‘to swallow’ |
| .3 | daatsa | HL (high and level contour) ‘to wait for a chance to do sth’ |
| .4 | daatsa | LL (low level) ‘to light a lamp or candle’ |

Genetti (1988: 63) further explains on her above example thus,

“The facts of tone are actually more complicated than this in Sunwar . For one thing, the above set is arguably not a true minimal set, since examples are taken from different inflectional verb classes. While the Sunward verbs for ‘to like’ and ‘to swallow’ are from the class of verbs with /k/ finals, the other two, ‘to wait for a chance’ and ‘to light a lamp or candle’ are members of the class of verbs with /ŋ/ finals consistently have level contour. However, as far as I follow inflectional patterns such that the final never surfaces in the inflectional paradigm. In such cases, it is morphophonemic behaviour, which allows us to establish the class of the verb. And in the majority of the forms, such as the infinitives above, tone contour is the most salient clue that differentiates the countless minimal pairs. Therefore, we have decided to consistently mark tone contour as well as the high/low distinction through out this paper. There are apparently alternations in contour and, at a lesser extent, in pitch, throughout paradigms or certain verb classes. Full exposition of these changes must await further analysis”.

On the contrary, contrastive tone either in disyllabic or in polysyllabic lexemes of the study area of my own dialect is either neutralized or tonemes are realized as polysemy or say there is tonoloss (‘the death of tone’ coined in analogy with Yip’s ‘tonogenesis’) rather than tonogenesis ‘the birth of tone’ (also cf. Yip 2002: 35-38, Light 1978: 115-131). In most examples, especially verbs infinitive (disyllabic ones) cited elsewhere in this chapter, seem to preserve the level tone (ˉ) only in the Katunje dialect (See Map 6: xxx) of this study. In the case of monosyllabic lexemes their observation has been

challenged by a lexeme like *ne* /nɛ/ given in (81) a.1-4. Whereas the disyllabic lexemes are concerned, they simply belong to the verb category having poly-semantic aspects (or are polysemy), which are context-sensitive rather than tone as distinctive feature. At least one of such pairs of verbs would have glottal stop or level tone. Consider the following monosyllabic example:

- (81) a.1 *ne* /n'ɛ/ 'uncertainty particle' (wanting to make sure again)
 .2 *ne* /nɛ'/ 'mirativity (hearsay knowledge, with main verbs [cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.1])
 .3 *ne* /nɛ̄/ 'nose' (fig. prestige, reputation)
 .4 *ne* /nɛ/ 'name' (lit. sense)

(Source: Rapacha 2003)

Speakers hardly differentiate the examples (81) a.1-4 while in speech pragmatically at the phrase or syntactic level such as in (82) a-d (also cf. Abbi: 2001: 94)

- (82) a. *meko mAr pAib ne?* /mɛko mār pāib nɛ/ 'What does s/he do?'
 b. *tam(i) ressikhiN lAib ne* /təm rɛssi kʰɪ lāib nɛ/ 'The daughter goes to the school. It is said'.
 c. *meko Alke ne lAissho bA ŋa* /mɛko ālkɛ nɛ lāisʂo bāʔtə/ 'The child has a tall nose'.
 d. *goimi ne wAitstsA mAlnaye* /goimi nɛ wāiccā mālɲəyɛ/ 'You have keep a good reputation'.

As in these (82) a-d sentences, the following pairs of lexemes also get neutralized or no tone is prominent while in speech for speakers. They make sense without high or low tone at all.

- (83) a. *r'etstsA* /r'ɛccā/ 'to read'
retstsA /rɛccā/ 'to scratch'
 b. *rimtsA* /rimcā/ 'to be beautiful/handsome'
r'imtsA /r'imcā/ 'to wait'
 c. *ri* /ri/ 'louse'
r'i~rhi /r'i~rhi/ 'shaman's drum (K-K Cul)' [elicited from Moku su to

whom Senkantsi, a *gyāmi* ‘K-K female shaman’ informed
its own native vocabulary in place of *Dhengro* (*N Dhengro*)

- d. *tutsA* /tucā/ ‘to drink’
t’utsA /t’ucā/ ‘to lick’ (also /tuʔcā/ or /tūcā/ is possible)
- e. *mitsA* /mi:cā/ ‘to get cooked’ [loss of glottal stop; compensatory
lengthening]
- f. *m’itsA* /m’icā/ ‘to comb’
muitstsA /muiccā/ ‘to blow’
- g. *muitstsA* /muiccā/ ‘to wear (differs with /p^hε?cā)’
putsA /pucā/ ‘to measure’ (e.g. grains)
- h. *p’utsA* /p’ucā/ ‘to blast’ (e.g. gun)
putsA /pucā/ ‘to weigh’
- i. *jitsA* /dzicā/ ‘to fight’
dz’itsA /dz’icā/ ‘to break’ (also /dziʔ.cā/ is possible)
- j. *dotsA* /docā/ ‘to dig’
d’otsA /d’ocā/ ‘to fall’ (also /doʔ.cā/ is possible)
- k. *tAitstsA* /tāiccā/ ‘to throw’
t’AitstsA /t’āiccā/ ‘to kick’

Above all, Genetti’s (1988: 63) data elicited from Tankaraj Susucha-Sunuwar in California as in (80) a.3 is hardly convincing for a native speaker and the rest of the examples are neutralized or tone as such dies while in speech in the dialect area of the research.

All these analyses on tone in Kirānti-Kōits until today are impressionistic rather than instrumental. Even I, myself in this study have not included and used any SIL software or ‘Gold Wave’ as such mentioned in Abbi (2001: 104) but hopefully one can see spectrographic analysis of fundamental frequency (fo) for three sets of Kirānti-Kōits verbs²⁷ in Rapacha (2002).

²⁷ This analysis has been done in an MPhil term paper entitled ‘The sound systems of Kirānti-Kōits and English: A probe into learners’ problems at the phonological level’. It was carried out at the Language

2.5 Graphology or the writing system

In this § 2.5, we shall investigate the writing system of the language and discuss or compare some available scripts to opt for adopting in writing.

2.5.1 A brief survey

This § 2.5.1 mainly surveys the available writing system for the languages of Nepal and her neighboring state Sikkim, India. Toba, Toba and Rai (2002: 254) on the writing system of the languages of Nepal observe, "...the languages of Nepal's indigenous peoples are for the most part unwritten ones". Only a few languages out of 93 (Census Report 2001) or 125 (*Ethnologue* 2004) have writing systems of their own. They mention the following scripts in general use for their (the languages') purpose of writing:

Devanagari *lipi* (Script): Most Indic languages like Nepali, Maithili, Awadhi, Bhojpuri [also Hindi; *I added*], Newari [also Ranjana script; *extra information added are my own*] have adopted the Devanagari script in writing. Some other Tibeto-Burman languages like Limbu (Yakthungba, Tsong), has been using the Kirānti Srijanga Script in Nepal as well as in Sikkim. The Lepcha language is written in the Rong Script. Similarly, the Tamang and Sherpa languages are written in the Tibetan script. A new script known as Akkha Script is in use for writing the Magar [used in Sikkim (and spelt as Manger) also; *extra information added is my own*] language.

What Toba, Toba and Rai (2002, 2005) yet have to notice is Gurung's (autoglotonym *Tamu*) Khema *lipi* (script) in their discussion. Glover's (2002) paper is a well-discussed debate whether to adopt the Devanagari, Roman, Tibetan script or *Khema lipi* for writing the language.

In my 2001 fieldtrip to Gangtok the capital of Sikkim, I discovered that another Tibeto-Burman Kirānti language known as Bantawa [antonym *Kirawa*] is using its own *Rai Bhashako lipi* (script) based on Tikaram Rai and Kripasalyan Rai. Then, B.B. Rai,

Tikpur, West Sikkim, has prepared some primary level textbooks also (See *Paruhang Sawanam* (Sakewa Angka) May-June 2003, Akhil Kirāt Rai Sangh, Sikkim for detail).

In the same fieldtrip, I was able to elicit the information [provided by K.D. Hangchen (Gangtok, East Sikkim)] on another script known as Satlotli Hang Chammari (Script). It is, firstly propounded by Dr Lal Rumdali-Rai (Topgachi, Sano Kerkha, Kerkha, Mechi, Nepal). No any other authentic written texts have been found yet. Sampang, another Tobeto-Burman Kirānti language recently has used Kiran *lipi* for documenting its dictionary (2004), which was confirmed in a daily newspaper²⁸ published from Kathmandu.

The trios (2002: 254 and 256, 2005: 16-17) have hopefully confirmed the existence of a script for the Kirānti-Kōits language also known as Sunuwar/Je~ticha *Bre:se* ‘script’ (cf. Rapacha, Ngawocha-Mukhia and Rujicha-Mukhia 2003). The script has been in use for producing *Sikkim Herald* (2001 onwards) in Sikkim and primary level textbooks are, also written in the same (Rapacha, Ngawocha-Mukhia and Rujicha-Mukhia 2003, 2004). In the following § 2.5.2, we shall briefly discuss its [Sunuwar/Je~ticha *Bre:se*] historical aspects available in the past literature.

2.5.2 Origin of the Kirānti-Kōits script

In the preceding § 2.5.1, we surveyed the writing systems of the research area and its surroundings in general and here we shall discuss on the origin of the Kirānti-Kōits or Sunuwar/Je~ticha *Bre:se* ‘script’ in particular. It was Shrestha (1980 [vs 2037]), who for the first time in its [Sunuwar/Je~ticha *Bre:se* ‘script’] history opened up new avenues by writing on the ‘Koing [actually should be Kōits; *my note*] Bres (Sunuwar *lipi*)’ in a literary periodical²⁹ of the Nepali language popularly or widely read. His main presentation is based on Karna Je~ticha-Sunuwar’s information on the script. A critical reading of his presentation can be found in Rapacha (2001, 2002). We shall presented our practical comment with comparison for exploring the possibilities of writing in § 2.5.3 later.

²⁸ *Kantipur* daily, July 20, 2004, published from Kathmandu

²⁹ *Madhupark* a literary publication of Gorkhapatra Sansthan, published from Kathmandu

Je'ticha-Sunuwar (1982/3 [vs 2039/40]) himself had provided his information regarding this (Je'ticha *Bre:se*) script to another editor of a periodical named *Kongpi* in which the 'Sunuwar lipi' was publicized widely. Thus, the editor [Rai (1982/3: 39-40)] of the periodical providing the introductory remarks writes:

“माझ किरांतका राईहरूले यिनीहरु (सुनुवार) लाई “राई” नै भन्ने गर्दछन् र कतिपय सुनुवारहरूले पनि आफूलाई ‘सुनुवार-राई’ नै भन्ने गरेका छन् । बालचन्द्र शर्मा लिखित *नेपालको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा* मा पनि सुनुवार-राई भनेर नै परिचय दिएको पाइन्छ। यति हुँदा हुँदै पनि ‘सुनुवार’ ‘मुखिया’ बहादुर लेख्ने चलन नै अधिक रहेको बुझिन्छ । प्रस्तुत लिपिका ज्ञाता कृष्ण [कर्ण (?)] सुनुवारका अनुसार सुनुवार भनौं वा सुनुवार राईहरूले परम्परादेखि आफ्नो समाजमा आफ्नै प्रकारको लिपि प्रयोग गर्दै आएका छन् भन्ने सुनुवारजीको दाबी छ ...समाजबाट दिनदिनै लोप हुन, हराउन लागेका अथवा सानो घेराभित्र किञ्चिपर रहेका यस्ता अनेकौं ऐतिहासिक निधिहरु छन्, तिनीहरुको संरक्षण, सम्बर्द्धन हुनुपर्छ भन्ने आवाज बोकी जन्मेको *कोङ्पी* को यो उद्देश्यगत सामग्री हुँदा जेहतिच कृष्णबहादुर [कर्णबहादुर (?)] सुनुवारले दिनु भएको नमूना बमोजिमको प्रस्तुत लिपि “सुनुवार लिपि” नामबाट पाठकहरु समक्ष राखेकाछौं ।” [*brackets' question mark is my own*]

Roman-Gorkhali (as in Ch 1 § 1.1.2) transliteration:

“Majh Kiraantkaa Raaiharule yiniharulaai (Sunuwaarharu) “Rai” nai bhanne gardachhan ra katipaya Sunuwaarharule pani aaphulaai Raai nai bhanne garekaa chhan. Balchandra Sharma likhit *Nepalko Aitihāsik Ruprekha* maa pani Sunuwar Rai-bhanera nai parichaya diyeko paainchha. Yeti hundaa hundai pani ‘Sunuwar’ ‘Mukhia’ bahaadur lekhne chalan nai adhik raheko bujhinchha. Prastut lipikaa gyaantaa Krishna [Karna (?)] Sunuwaarkaa anusaar Sunuwar bhaun waa Sunuwar Raiharule paramparaadekhi aaphno samaajmaa aaphnai prakaarko lipi prayog gardai aayekaa chhan bhanne Sunuwaarjiko daabi chha...samaajbaata dindinai lop huna, harauna laagekaa athawaa saano gheraabhitra kichriyera rahekaa yestaa anekaaun aitihāsik nidhiharu chhan, tiniharuko sanrakshan. sambardhan hunuparcha bhanne aawaaj boki janmeko *Kongpi* ko yo uddeshyagat saamagri gundaa JeNtich Krishnabhadur [Karnabhadur (?)] Sunuwaarle dinu bhayeko namunaa bamojimko prastut lip “Sunuwar Lipi” nambaata paathakharu samaksha raakhekachhaun”.

Translation into English:

The Rais of the Mid Kirāt definitely call them (Sun(u)war) and most them call themselves Rai. They are, also identified as Rais in the *Nepalko Aitihāsik Ruprekha* [Historical Outline of Nepal] by Balchandra Sharma. However, it is understood that the tradition of adopting ‘Sunuwar’, ‘Mukhia’, ‘Bahadur’ is excessive. The present script, according to

the scriptologist Krishna [Karna (?)], the Sun(u)war or say Rai are using their own tribal script since time immemorial in their society, he claims...this material, which is one of the endangered or limited historical asset(s) has been presented here to the readers since *Kongpi*'s main objective is to preserve such disappearing assets from our access accordingly as its specimen provided by JeNtich Krishnabhadur [Karna-bahadur (?)] having named "Sunuwar lipi (script)".

This publicity was, lately taken up by Dahal (1995), Sunuwar (1998: 20-32, 1999: 365-376), Mukhia (1998: 113-131) and Pradhan (1999). A complete historical survey and assessment of these writers concerning the topic can be found in Rapacha (2001, 2002). The recent paper entitled *Kirānt-Kōits lipiko prayog ra vikas* (किराँती-कोइच लिपिको प्रयोग र विकास) by Rapacha (2005) is a comprehensive overview on the prospects of this script. Whereas Schulze [elsewhere] is silent on the existence and use of Je~ticha *Bre:se* 'script' until recently.

2.5.3 Je~ticha script and orthography

We shall now present Rapacha's (2001/2) revised and modified version of the Je~ticha *Bre:se* 'script' in the light of the earlier studies along with Schulze's (1995: 2, 1997: 2) proposal chart from the Devanagari script.

Table 2.7: Je~ticha script specimen with transliteration: a modified and reformed version from Rapacha (2001/2)

Consonants					Vowels	
-----					-----	
क	ख	ग	ङ	ञ	१	२
k,क	k ^h ,ख	g,ग	ŋ,ङ	ɟ,ञ	i,इ	u,उ
च		ज			३	०३*
c,च		dz,ज			ə,अ	o,ओ
ट		ठ			४	५
ɽ,ट		ʈ ^h ,ठ			ɛ,ए	ā,आ
द	थ	द		न	-----	
t,त	th,थ	d,द		n,न	*means optional and /ɛ, ā, i, u/ are also	
प	फ	ब		म	subject to have such lengthening	
p,प	p ^h ,फ	b,ब		m,म	phonetically only	

ॠ	ॡ	ॢ	ॣ
y,य	r,र	l,ल	w,व
	ॠ	ॡ	ॢ
	s,स	ॣ,श	h,ह

(cf. Rapacha 2002d revised version, Rapacha 2002d, Rapacha 2003a and Rapacha 2005 for a detailed practical and historical discussion, See Appendix F for a sample of writing in the Jẽticha Bre:se and the numeral writing system has been given in Ch 3 § 3.1.4.1)

Table 2.8: *Schulze's (1995: 2, 1997: 2) Devanagari chart of consonants for Kirānti-Kõits orthography

क	ख	ग	(घ)	ङ
च	छ	ज	झ	(ञ)
ट	ठ	(ड)	(ढ)	(ण)
त	थ	द	(ध)	न
प	फ	ब	(भ)	म
य	र	ल	व	
	श	(ष)	स	ह

*Schulze (1995: 2) notes that “consonants in brackets are those found in loanwords from Indic Nepali” and she (1997: 2) further observes, “ष or /ʃ/ is not used in Kirānti-Kõits orthography”
The vowel sounds and glottal stop are missing in her chart.

2.5.4 A comparison of scripts

As said earlier in § 2.5.2, we shall now here compare the Jẽticha Bre:se ‘script’ within its several versions and between the Jẽticha Bre:se ‘script’ and the Devanagari script as proposed in Table 2.8 . In my observation, Schulze (1995: 2, 1997: 2) in both of her letters/alphabets’ charts, has neither mentioned glottal stop (?) [written as /ʔ/ in the Devanagari orthography; but she has hinted its omission for technical reason in her 1996 report on page 9] nor provided small brackets for छ (Roman-Gorkhali spelling/ orthography *chha* (छ), /ch/ or [ts^h]). Here she has not also provided any data for the existence of the phoneme छ /ch/ in her discussion. It rarely has its minimal pair with /c/

at least in Kirānti-Kōits (also cf. Table 2.2 and § 2.1.3) whereas in other Kirānti languages like Rodung [i.e. Camling; spoken in Mid (*Majh N*) Kirāt] can be found such minimal pairs (See Ebert 1994, 1997, Rai 1999, Rai 2001, Rai 2003:16). Some salient differences between the two systems or within the system are noted as follows:

First, there is no differentiation between /t/ vs. /T/ in [Je~ticha-Sunwar (1982/3 [vs 2039/40]), Shrestha (1980 [vs 2037])] whereas the revised and modified version has discovered near-minimal pairs between the two phonemes and their separate script/letter has been made available, e.g. ᳵ᳚᳚᳚᳚ *tAslA* /tāslā/ ‘moon’ vs. ᳵ᳚᳚᳚ *Temu* /Temu/ ‘elbow’.

Second, the Je~ticha Bre:se is neither ‘spelling-follower’ (cf. Shrestha 1980: 64) nor ‘cuneiform’ (cf. Dahal 1995, Sunuwar 1998:30, 1999). It is based clearly on alphabetic writing system.

Third, the number of letters/alphabets (also cf. Table 2.3 and 2.1.2.1) is inconsistent elsewhere in Sunuwar (1998: 32), in his first description, there are 56 combinations of letters whereas in the second (ibid: 1999: 371), there are 35 such combinations. The Kirānti-Kōits phonemes such as /T(᳚), T^h(᳚) and ŋ(᳚)/ are missing in his chart.

Fourth, in the *Congpi* (Je~ticha-Sunuwar 1982/3 [vs 2039/40], Rai 1983/2: 39-40 [vs 2039/40]) version, a total number of 22 letters/alphabets has been mentioned and out of which 5 are vowels (/i, ε, ə, u, o/) and 17 (/d, t, r, k, m, p, g, h, c, n, b, dz, l, s, y, w, wh/ provided in his own order) are consonants. Technically, his version has missed out the /k^h, ŋ, ʔ, th, p^h, T, T^h, š/ phonemes for which we have minimal or near-minimal pairs present in the phonology of the language (also cf. Table 2.3 and 2.1.2.1) and there is an ambiguous combination of /w+h/ which lacks genuine data for its possibility.

Lastly, but most importantly Schulze’s (1995: 2, 1997: 2) proposal in Table 2.8, has not mentioned the vowel sounds of Kirānti-Kōits for adopting the Devanagari orthography whereas Table 2.7 has precisely listed the required number of letters/alphabets including both vowels and consonants (based on the principle of

economy Rapacha 2002) after a rigorous minimal or near-minimal test of the sufficient phonological data (also cf. Table 2.3 and § 2.1.2.1) of the language providing all three alternative scripts at the hand of the Kirānti-Kõits speakers to opt for the purpose of writing their sacred and secret tongue.

2.6 Summing up

In this chapter, we dealt with two major themes i.e. phonology ‘the sound system’ and the writing system of the language chosen for investigation. In the first half of the first part, we described the inventory of phonemes in Kirānti-Kõits by looking at their distribution (i.e. word initial, medial and final), classification (place and manner of articulation, voicing, aspiration) and minimal/near-minimal pair test (based on contrastive meaning). We also examined some phonological rules also for instance, free variation, nasal assimilation, allophonic variation (cf. § 2.1.1.6), and consonant and vowel deletion. Then, in the second half, we discussed its phonotactics revealing consonant clusters in all three positions and very productive and interesting rules of geminates.

In the beginning of the second part of this chapter, we presented a general survey of the writing systems (scripts used for writing) in the neighbouring Kirānti and other languages, areas or state in general. Then, in the second half we discussed some historical aspects of the Jẽticha *Bre:se* used for writing the Kirānti-Kõits language. Additionally, we presented practical alphabets/letters from the Jẽticha *Bre:se* and the Devanagari script in a comparative perspective by evaluating their compatibility for its use in establishing the tradition of writing in the future.

Chapter Three

Morphological processes of wordformation

3. Word Structures

The study of word structures is morphology. The term ‘morphology’ according to Trask’s (1993: 176) definition is “the branch of grammar dealing with the analysis of word structure, conventionally divided into derivational morphology ‘the study of word formation’ and inflectional morphology ‘the study of the variation in form of single lexical items for grammatical purposes’.

3.1 Inflection, derivation, reduplication and compounding

This chapter mainly describes nominal, verbal morphology and particles of Kirānti-Kōits in the light of morphological processes like inflection, derivation (cf. Trask *ibid.*), reduplication and compounding in relation to some other T-B Kirānti languages based on their available grammatical descriptions so far. Typologically, Tibeto-Burman languages, as observed by Zograph (1982: 188) are of the agglutinative type. His generalization mostly applies to the language under description here. Kirānti-Kōits, except for the only negative prefix <-*mə*>, is a predominantly suffixing language.

3.1.2 Nominal morphology

3.1.2.1 Noun

Nouns in Kirānti-Kōits (also cf. Appendix C) are marked for case (cf. § 3.1.4) by case markers and postpositions. There is one nominal suffix <-*pikya~piki*> /pikyə~piki/ ‘plural, collectivity’ (having six different variations; cf. Lexicon in Appendix B). There are a number of derivational affixes to mark the formation of a new morpho-lexeme such as <-*po*> ‘± human, male’ and <-*m(i)*> [cf. -*mi* Kirānti-Ha; Michailovsky (2003: 523)] ‘±human, female’ (cf. also § 3.1.2.2).

The only morpheme <-*nuk*> as suffix is an exception in (84) *tsAr-nuk* /cār.nuk/ urinate-NOM ‘urine’ derived from *tsArtstsA* /cārccā/ (cf. *cārcām* ‘to pour or drop liquid on on certain place’ Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 458) ‘to urinate.’ Another exceptional prefix morpheme <*tsə*> as in *tsa-po* /cə.po/ (cf. *cuppā* Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 139) ‘pig-let’ derived from/prefixed to a free lexeme *po* /po/ ‘pig’ (cf. *pok* Kirānti-Ha; Shakya (1971: 92) has been discovered so far. It cannot be interpreted as diminutive marker since there are no other lexemes available productively. The first class of affixes like <-*si*> or <-*ci*> is a common and limitedly rare morpheme (as in examples (85) a-b and (86)) used as suffix for deriving nouns from verbs.

(84) *mekom ranphu dumsho mišhyemuruke tsArnuk tsibnA bluinsho bA*.

meko-m rāp^hu dum-šo mišyemuru-ke tsārnuk tsibnā bluī-šo
that-LOC menstruation become-PCPL woman-GEN urine drop sprinkle-PR:PCPI
bā
AUX/EXT:is

‘In those flowers some drops of urine of a menstruated woman is sprinkled.’

[Text source: 3.15]

(85) a. *ruptsi /rupci/* ‘understanding, introduction’

b. *tulsi /tul.si/* ‘uprooting’

(86) a. *deNsdesimin Tawa likh dzAʔ*.

dε̃:s-dε̃:-si-mi-n Tāwā lik^h dzāʔ-tə-t
say-RED-NML-LOC-PAR T rivulet come-PST:3SG

‘Quarreling in the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet.’ [Text source: 1.29]

The morpheme <-*ci*~*si*> in (85) a-b and (86) a. except for verbal noun can function as second person dual (dual marking in some other Kirānti languages, e.g., Kirānti-Rodung (Ebert 1994 as well as in K-K) also which shows a hardly distinction between noun and verb (cf. § 3.1.3.1 for adjectives) in Kirānti-Kōits. There is another category of clanonym nominals (See Ch 1 § 1.1.2 and § 1.1.3), which are derived from verbs, e.g., (87) a, ‘catalyst’ (88) a ‘porter’ and ‘intoxicant’ in (89).

(87) a. [rā:pəts] /rā:pəc/ (n.) ‘a catalyst’ derived from rā:-pə-cā = v-v-INF (v.t) ‘to make something rot’ (See Ch 1 § 1.1.3 and Appendix B) and finally, the third and last class of nominal(s) derived from verbs are <-tikε~tik/teke~tek, -b> as in,

(88) a. kur-tik~kur-b = v + NML ‘porter, one who carries’ derived from *kurtstsA* /kurc.cā/ = v+INF ‘to carry’, and in (89) d’u:-teke = v + NML ‘alcohol’ also obviously derived from d’u:tsā ‘to get intoxicated’ figuratively.

(89) *meko taNge budin d’u:tekem suspa oshyer khAlsha tuiNTAme.*

meko	tāge	budi-n	d’u:-teke-m	sus-pā	ošyer	k ^h āl-šā
that	plan/plot	like-PAR	beer (fig.)-NML-LOC	much-ADV	poison	mix-CONV
tūi-tā-me~tā-m						
make.drink-PST-3PL						

‘According to their conspiracy, they made him drink the poison-mixed alcohol.’

[Text Source: 2.22]

The general process for noun derivation from those clanonyms is by dropping /-ā/ at the end of the syllable and for verbs by dropping the infinitive marker and in place of the dropped marker by adding <-teke~tik> and <-thri> (cf. example (61) l) or <-b> to the root of the verb.

3.1.2.2 Semantic gender

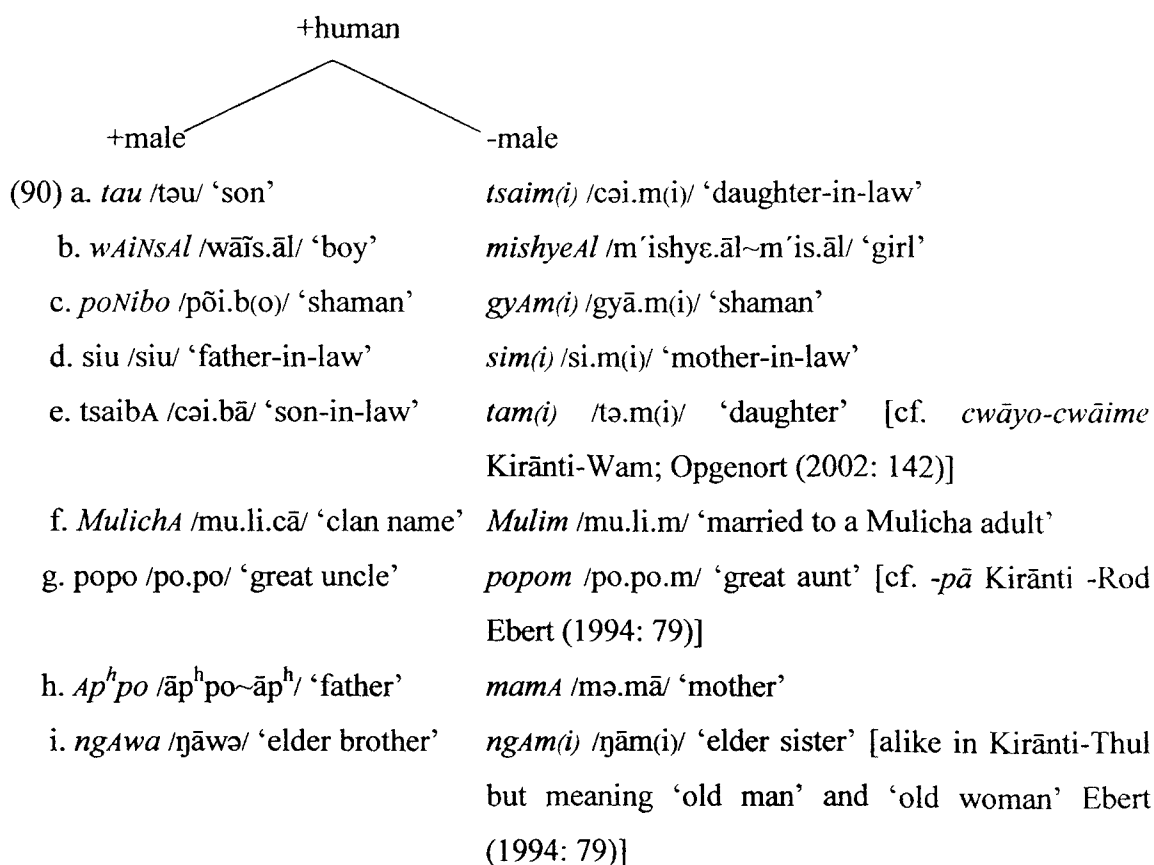
Gender in Kirānti-Kōits (also cf. Appendix C) is unmarked both in human and non-human (cf. (89) a-i and (90) a-e) nouns as Zograph (1982: 188) claims that in Tibeto-Burman languages, “...grammatical gender, special forms for the plural and the various cases for the plural and the various cases, are all missing, where necessary, natural gender as well as number can be expressed with the help of special words, which tend to function as postpositions. It is by means of postpositions that case relations are expressed.”

In Hockett’s observation, ‘genders’ are the “classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words” (quoted in Corbett 1991: 1). Thus, gender as one of the

classes of nouns is broadly and generally classified into ‘grammatical (“...an important role in signaling grammatical relationships between words in a sentence” (Rai 2003: 62)) and natural’ in terms of its behavior associated with other words. According to Corbett (1991: 1), “A language may have two or more such classes of genders. The classification frequently corresponds to a real-world distinction of sex, at least in part, but often too it does not.”

He thus has reported up to twenty genders in one of the languages like Fula (West Atlantic language, having 10 million speakers spoken mainly across West Africa and Nigeria). However, Kirānti-Kōits as one of the Tibeto-Burman languages lacks such varied feature (cf. Zograph 1982: 188-189) except some natural (also ‘semantic’ Chelliah 1996 or ‘biological/lexical’) gender system along with other Kirānti languages as in examples 90 a-i and 91 a-d (Diagrams 2 and 3).

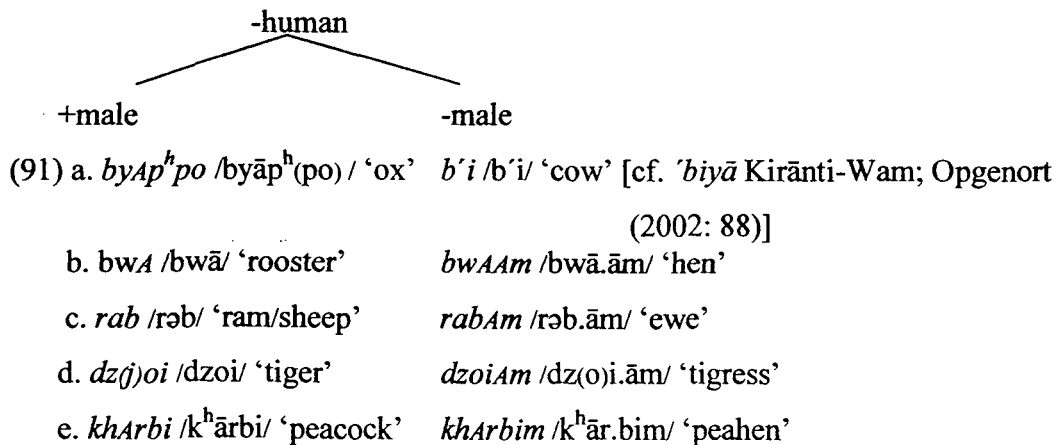
Diagram 3.2: Human biological/natural gender in Kirānti-Kōits



These biological/natural gender distinctions in (90 a-i) however, do not show any distinction between human and non-human verbal (e.g., like Hindi/Nepali) agreement (cf. § 3.1.2.3, (91) a-b) whatsoever (cf. Thoudam (2000) footnote 53 in Ch 4). The example in (90) b *wAiNsAl* /wāĩs.āl/ ‘boy’ is a compounded form of *wAiNs* ‘husband’ (literally) and *Al* /āl/ ‘child’ (literally) and the same morphological process has undergone to its female counterpart on its right hand side as *mishye* /m’ishye/ ‘wife’ and *Al* /āl/ ‘child’ to mean ‘a girl’, where no separate lexemes (as in Kirānti-Rod (cf. Ebert 1994, 1997) are available.

In examples (91) b, c, d, *Am* /ām/ ‘mother’ (cf. (90) h) has been compounded with its male counterpart to mean a female *bwAAm* /bwā.ām/ ‘a hen’, *rabAm* /rəb.ām/ ‘ewe’ and *dzoiAm* /dz(o)i.ām/ ‘tigress’, whereas the case of (90) e is similar to (90) f and g exactly and (90) a, c, d, e and i partially. In addition to (90) f, *rūku* ‘adult male Kirānti’ Rūkum ‘adult female Kirānti’ is common with <-m> (a reduced form of <-m(i)> ‘female marker’ is cognate of other K(irānti) languages like K-Ba <-mi> in e.g. *tāmi* ‘girl/daughter’ (Hodgson 1857: 353), K-Wam <-me> in e.g. *nāksome* ‘nākso’s wife’ (Opgenort 2002: 142), K-Du <-me> in e.g. *so:lāme* ‘young woman, woman of child bearing age’ (Driem 1993b: 419), K-Ha <-mi> in e.g. *tami* ‘fille’ (Michailovsky 1988: 118) for a married couple, whereas the bracketed optional (i) in (91) a, c, d and e seems to be a recent development due to language contact situation or as Abbi (1990: 171) observes this development “affected by a strong areal pull”.

Diagram 3.3: Non-human biological/natural gender in Kirānti-Kōits



- send-NPST-1DU ‘we two send’
- d. dzāʔ-tā-se~s
arrive-PST-3DU ‘They two arrived’ [Text source: 1.9]
- (93) a. go-pik dzā-ini-ki
1:SG-PL eat-NPST-1PL ‘we eat’
- b. meko-pik dzā-ini-m(i)
s/he-PL eat-NPST-3 PL ‘They eat’

Table 3.9: Person/number in Kirānti-Kōits (also cf. Appendix C)

p/n	lexeme	gloss
1 SG	<i>go</i>	/go/ ‘I’ [cf. Kirānti-Bā <i>go</i> Driem 1991: 337; some Bahing speakers tend to use <i>gu</i> also]
1 DU	<i>gonimpha~ās</i>	/gonimp ^h ā/ ‘we (two)’ [cf. <i>nimpha</i> Kirānti-Wam and <i>nimpho</i> Kirānti-Bā]
1 PL	<i>gopik</i>	/go.pik/ ‘we’
2 SG	<i>goi~ge</i>	/goi~gɛ/ ‘you, thou’
2 DU	<i>goinimpha~ās~niʔsi</i>	/goi~gɛnimp ^h ā~ās~niʔsi/ ‘you (two)’
2 PL	<i>goi~gepik</i>	/goi~gɛpik/ ‘you’
3 SG	<i>meko>meʔ>me</i> ³²	/meko>mɛʔ>mɛ/ ‘s/he, it’
3 DU	<i>meko>meʔnimpha~ās~niʔsi</i>	/meko>mɛʔnimp ^h ā~niʔsi/ ‘s/he (they two)’
3 PL	<i>meko>meʔpik</i>	/meko>mɛʔpik/ ‘they’

(Cf. also Borchers (1999: 25-30) for Saipu Ramechhap Saipu (1999: 27), Kūbu, Buji, Pletti Ramechhap (1999: 28) and Khītsi Chandeswori, Okhaldhunga dialects (1999: 28), Konow’s (1909: 254-256) data from Darjeeling (cited in Borchers (1999: 33), Hodgson’s

³² All these forms are distal. Like in Kirānti-Bāʔyung, there are other distal forms like *həɾɛ* ‘s/he (singular)’ *həɾɛnimphā* ‘they (dual)’ *həɾɛpik* ‘they (plural)’ and proximate forms like *eko* ‘s/he’ *ekonimphā* ‘they (dual)’ *ekopik* ‘they (plural)’ in Kirānti-Kōits also.

(1847) data from Darjeeling (cited in Borchers (1999: 33), also cf. Bahing, Hayu and Dumi persons (1999: 34, all in German version))

Other distal forms are given in § 3.1.2.4 and (94) m-o and the proximate forms for third person are given in § 3.1.2.4 below.

3.1.2.4 Pronouns

Pronouns, morphologically in inflectional languages like K-K have a complex inflectional pattern and are subject to agreement with their antecedents, viz., number, person (cf. § 3.1.2.3, also cf. Appendix C) and T(ense)A(spect)M(odality/ood), which will be discussed later. Syntacto-semantically, pronouns are divided into several subgroups including, personal, reflexive, possessive, demonstrative, indefinite, interrogative, and relative pronouns as well as pronominal adverbs. They are lexical categories whose members typically function as nouns or noun phrases in isolation, not requiring or permitting normally the presence of determiners or other adnominals, and whose members typically have little or no intrinsic meaning or reference. Like nouns, pronouns also permit case and number suffixes. They function as a subject or an object of a verb, but unlike nouns, they are a small closed class of nominals (Victor 1997).

They are typically small and closed set of lexical items with the principal function of distinguishing among individuals in terms of the deictic category of person such as 1st, 2nd 3rd. All persons in the language have singular (1st inclusive vs. exclusive (cf. DeLancey 1992: 31), dual and plural numbers and take the various case suffixes and post-positions or post-nominal morphemes without changing their bases at all.

Kirānti-Kōits fundamentally is a person-number agreement marking (as Kirānti-Bahing; Driem (1991: 341)) but not gender-marking (cf. § 3.1.1) language. ‘Person’, then, in Bussmann’s (1996: 357) definition is the “Morphological category of the verb used to mark the singular and plural finite verb forms as ‘speakers’ (first person), ‘addressees’ (second person), or a ‘person, state or thing’ referred to in the utterance (third person). In the first person plural, two different interpretations are possible: an

inclusive interpretation, in which the speaker is included, and an exclusive interpretation, in which the speaker is not included.”

Driem (1991: 337) on Kirānti-Bāṅyung pronominal quoting Hodgson observes that there are eleven Bahing personal pronouns, viz.,

“*go* ‘I’, *gósi* ‘we’ (dual inclusive), *gosúkú* ‘we’ (plural exclusive), *gó-i* ‘we’ (plural inclusive), *goku* ‘we’ (plural exclusive), *ga* ‘you’ (singular), *gasi* ‘you’ (DU), *gani* ‘you’ (plural), *harem* ‘s/he’, *harem dausi* ‘they’ (dual). The third person pronouns have distinct proximal forms, viz. *yam* ‘s/he’ *yam dausi* ‘they (dual), and *yam dau* ‘they’ (plural) and distal forms, viz. *myam/myem* ‘s/he’, *myam/myem dausi* ‘they’ (dual), and *myam/myem dau* ‘they’ (plural).”

Although Table 3.9 does not explicitly indicate varieties of pronouns including exclusive vs. inclusive meanings, main verbs and copulas (cf. § 3.2.1 and § 3.2.4) certainly do have such markings for the first person only according to DeLancey (1992: 31; See Table 3.12).

Like Bahing, Kirānti-Kõits also has distinct proximal forms in the third person pronouns, viz. *eNko* /ɛ̃ko/ ‘s/he’ *eNko nimpha~niʔsi* /ɛ̃ko nimp^hā~niʔsi/ ‘they two (dual), and *eNkopik* /ɛ̃kopik/ ‘they’ (plural) and distal, viz. *hare mere* /həɛ məɛ/ ‘s/he’, *hare mere nimpha~niʔsi* /həɛ məɛ nimp^hā~niʔsi/ ‘they two’ (dual), and *hare merepik* /həɛ məɛpik/ ‘they’ (plural) and cf. also deictic verbs in § 3.2.3.

3.1.2.4.1 Personal pronouns

As discussed in the previous § 3.1.2.4, the following personal pronouns (94) a-o distinctly function in the pronominal system of Kirānti-Kõits. While discussing the genetic classification of Kirānti-Kõits earlier in Ch 1 § 1.3, we claimed that the language is a pronominalized one with evidence against Konow’s classification of the language under ‘non-pronominalized’ one (also cf. Appendix C). We have cited the example from Kirānti-Limbu in § 1.3 and provided the equivalent Kirānti-Kõits example *tupnung*, /tup-nu-ŋ/ ‘strike/beat’ <*tup*>, ‘NPST:1SG’ <-*nu*> and ‘I’ is <-*ng*> ‘I beat/strike (you) I’. Such

pronominal suffixes according to number and person are attached with verbs for dual and plural (cf. (92) a-d and (93) a-b) numbers also.

(94) a. <i>go</i>	/go/ 1SG	‘I’
b. <i>go-nimpha</i>	/go.nimp ^h ā/ 1DU	‘we two’
c. <i>gopik</i>	/go.pik/ 1PL	‘we’
d. <i>goi~ge</i>	/goi~gε/ 2SG	‘you, thou’
e. <i>goinimpha</i>	/goi~gε.nimp ^h ā/ 2DU	‘you two’
f. <i>goi~ge-pik</i>	/goi~gε.pik/ 2PL	‘you’
g. <i>meko > me?</i>	/meko > mε?/ 3 SG	‘s/he, it’
h. <i>meko > me?</i>	/meko > mε?.nimp ^h ā/ 3DU	‘s/he two’
i. <i>meko > me?</i>	/meko > mε?.pik/ 3 PL	‘they’
j. <i>eNko</i>	/ε [~] ko/	‘s/he’ (proximate)
k. <i>eNko nimpha~ni?si</i>	/ε [~] ko nimp ^h ā~ni?si/	‘they two (dual, proximate)’
l. <i>eNko-pik</i>	/ε [~] ko.pik/	‘they’ (plural, proximate)
m. <i>hare mere</i>	/hære mεre/	‘s/he’ (distal)
n. <i>hare mere nimpha~ni?si</i>	/hære mεre nimp ^h ā~ni?si/	‘they two’ (dual, distal)
o. <i>hare merepik</i>	/hære mεrepik/	‘they’ (plural, distal)

The proximate and distal (but only +visual) pronoun forms obviously have not been in use in the text source given in Appendix A and the rest of the personal pronouns have frequently been in use in the texts (See elsewhere in Appendix A).

3.1.2.4.2 Reflexive pronouns

There are two processes of deriving reflexive meanings in Kirānit-Kōits. Firstly, reduplicated forms of pronouns express reflexive meaning e.g., *go gonun gāitspāinuṅ* ‘I’m angry with myself’ and secondly there is an independent ‘frozen’ (cf. Ebert 1994: 52) morpheme *āmin* means ‘self’.

The lexeme *Ammin* /āmin/ ‘self’, which has also another synonymous reflexive *ANmai* /āmāi/ and the reflexive marker *-si* (cf. *-siṅ* Kirānti-Lim and *-si* Kirānti-Kh; Ebert

(1994: 52-54) inserted after the verb root, but before any final number suffix, for example, (95) a-b,

(95) a. *go Ammin ts'i-si-ti* /go āmmin ts'i.si.ti/

I:1SG REFL bathe-REFL-PST:1SG 'I bathed myself.'

b. *meko-pik Ammin ts'i-si-ta-me* /meko.pik āmmin c'i.si.tā.mε/

s/he:3PL REFL bathe-REFL-PST-3PL 'They bathed themselves.'

3.1.2.4.3 Possessive pronouns

Like Kirānti-Wambule (Opgenort 2002: 115-116), possessive pronouns (provided in (96) a-h, also cf. Appendix C) are to some extent phonological words. Possessive forms of pronouns are made by suffixing the genitive case ending <-kε> usually (±human) and <-ā> usually (+human) to the personal pronouns.

(96) a. *ā k^hi* [*ā-kε k^hi* also is okay]

my house 'my house' [cf. *ā* Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 2002:115-116]

b. *ā-kəl(i)*

my-PAT 'to me'

c. *ā-kε*

my-GEN 'mine'

d. *go-ās-kε*

1SG -DU-GEN 'our^{DU},

e. *go-āi-kε*

1SG-PL-GEN 'our^{PL}, (āi-kε 'ours')

f. *goi nimp^hā~ās~ni?si-kε*

you DU 'of you two'

g. *meko nimp^hā~ās~ni?si-kε*

s/he DU 'of the two'

h. *meko AN-kε ru me`* /meko ā.kε ru mε`/ 'That is my field.'

(97) a. *ā-kε k^hyōpət nək bā*

my-GEN book new is:AUX/EXT:3SG ‘My book is new.’

b. go-ās-kε kyupthe dzām-tə
I-DU-GEN cap get.loss-PST:3SG ‘Our^{DU} cap got lost.’

c. āī-kε rāgi rimšo bā
our-GEN country good is:AUX/EXT:3SG ‘Our country is beautiful.’

The possessive prefixes are as follows:

	singular	dual	plural
1st person	ā-	ās-	āī-
2nd person	in-	goiās-	goiān-
3rd person	mεko-	mεkoās-	mεkoān-

The second and third person SG, DU and PL can also be suffixed with the genitive morpheme <-kε> as in the first person shown above in (97) a-c.

3.1.2.4.5 Demonstrative pronoun

Like Tankhul-Naga (T-B, spoken in northeast India) demonstratives (Victor 1997), Kirnāti-Kōits has a three-way distinction in respect of demonstrative pronouns. e.g., (1) proximate, (2) remote and (3) elevational (also cf. Appendix C). All these pronouns can take the plural marker. Unlike in Tankhul-Naga (T-B, spoken in northeast India), they can take dual marker or can be modified by the numeral. They also can take all the case suffixes.

3.1.2.4.5.1 Proximate pronouns

The lexeme *eNko* /ε̃ko/ ‘this’ [cf. *uko* Kirānti-Cam; Ebert (1999:117)] refers person or thing(s), which is/are within sight or ‘near’ in the mind of the speaker as shown in examples (98) a-b below.

(98) a. *eNkopik* /ε̃ko.pik/ ‘these’

b. ε̃ko mur də mərimšo rināpāibā?tə ‘This man stinks very bad.’

3.1.2.4.5.2 Remote pronouns

The lexeme *hære* or *meko* /mɛko > mɛʔ/ ‘that’ [cf. Kirānti-Thu *mö* (Ebert 1999: 110 and 117)] refers person or thing(s), which is/are very far in the mind of the speaker, for instance, (99) a-c.

(99) a. *mekopik* /mɛkopik > mɛʔ~/ ‘these’

b. *hare* /hərə/ ‘that’

c. *meko mur də tɛk dzāmmɛʔ*

that man TOP:PAT where get.loss-PST:3SG ‘Where did that man disappear?’

(only ‘that = s/he’ (intended by the addressor) not Y)

3.1.2.4.5.3 Elevational pronouns

These pronouns are subdivided into high positional, level positional and low positional (100) a-c. Like proximate and remote demonstrative prons, the elevational pronouns also can take case or plural markers.

	+Animate, ±Human		Space, Location	
(100) a. high	<i>hari meri</i>	/həri mɛri/	vs. <i>hari iri</i>	/həri iri/ ‘very up’
b. level	<i>hare mere</i>	/hərə mɛrɛ/	vs. <i>hare ere</i>	/hərə ɛrɛ/ ‘very far’
c. low	<i>hayu muyu</i>	/həyu muyu/	vs. <i>hayu uyu</i>	/həyu uyu/ ‘very down’

3.1.2.4.6 Interrogative pronoun

The following interrogative pronouns are discovered in the Kirānti-Kōits grammar:

- (101) a. *teke* /tɛk(ɛ)/ ‘where’
 b. *tek-la* /tɛklā/ ‘from where’ [also *telā* in daily use]
 c. *teker-la* /tɛkɛrlā/ ‘from around where’
 d. *teko* /tɛko/ ‘which one’
 e. *doth* /doth/ ‘which way’ [also *dotthə* in daily use]

g. <i>doth-ge</i>	/dothgɛ/	‘in which direction’ [literal: ‘where’, ‘towards’]
h. <i>doth-sam</i>	/dothsəm/	‘where to’ [literal: ‘where’, ‘until’]
i. <i>su</i>	/su/	‘who’ [cf. ‘ <i>sū</i> Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
j. <i>su-nu</i>	/sunu/	‘with who(m)’
k. <i>su-lA</i>	/sulā/	‘from who(m)’
l. <i>su-ke</i>	/sukɛ/	‘whose’ [cf. <i>sūpo</i> Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
m. <i>doso</i>	/doso/	‘how many/much’
n. <i>su-kali</i>	/sukəl(i)/	‘to whom’
o. <i>mA(a)r</i>	/mār > mər/	‘what’ [cf. <i>maang</i> Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
p. <i>mAr-mi</i>	/mārmi/	‘with what’ (instrumental, using something)
q. <i>mAr-mi</i>	/mārnu/	‘with what’ (associative, in the company or presence of somebody/soemething)
r. <i>dopA</i>	/dopā/	‘how/in what way’
s. <i>mA-rLA</i>	/mārLā/	‘from what’
t. <i>mArde</i>	/mā(ə)rdɛ/	‘why’ [cf. ‘ <i>maane</i> Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
u. <i>marA</i>	/mārā/	‘of what’
v. <i>markal(i)</i>	/mərəkəl(i)/	‘what for’ [cf. ‘ <i>maabi</i> Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
w. <i>genA</i>	/genā/	‘when’
x. <i>genA-lA</i>	/genālā/	‘from when’ [also <i>-lā</i> = <i>lɛ~rɛ</i> in daily use]

All these root interrogative pronouns can fully reduplicate for creating a special semantic effects in the sentence, e.g.,

(102) *goi mulāt tək tək lə-yɛ?*

you today where where go-PST:3SG ‘Where (where) did you go today? (...for specifying the number places that an addressee visited)’

3.1.2.4.7 Indefinite pronoun

Indefinite pronouns are derived by reduplication. They can be further divided into two parts, viz., positive and negative. They are illustrated in (103) a-e and (104) a-e.

3.1.2.4.7.1 Positive indefinite

The indefinite positive pronouns are:

- (103) a. *maraimari* /mərəimərəi/ ‘anything’
 b. *teitei* /teitei/ ‘anywhere’
 c. *suisui* /suisui/ ‘anybody’
 d. *genAigenAi* /genāigenāi/ ‘anytime’
 e. go teitei lə-šā bā?-ti hənāiyo goi-mi mār pāi-nə-yε?
 I anywhere go-CONV dwell if:COND you-ERG what do-NPST-3SG
 ‘What will you do wherever I go and dwell?’

3.1.2.4.7.2 Negative indefinite

The indefinite negative pronouns in (104) a-e are not derived by reduplication.

- (104) a. *mAraiyo* /mārəiyo/ ‘nothing, not at all’
 b. *suiyo* /suiyo/ ‘nobody’
 c. *tekeiyo* /tekeiyo/ ‘nowhere’
 d. *genAiyo* /genāiyo/ ‘never’
 e. go modeb k^hrislo: mārəiyo mə-tui-nu-ŋ
 1SG such secrets nothing NEG-know-NPST-1SG
 ‘I do not know anything about such secrets.’

3.1.2.4.8 Relative pronoun

Unlike Tankhul-Naga (T-B, spoken in northeast India) *ci* ‘that’ (Victor 1997), there is no separate distinctive marker (cf. Zograph 1982: 188-189) for relative pronouns in the language, however, the demonstrative/3rd person-lexeme, *meko-n* /meko.n/ ‘that’ can serve to link a relative clause in the sense of ‘which/that’ to the noun phrase (104) a and the lexeme *IA* /lā/ ‘only’ functions as specifier or definitizer as in (105) b provided below.

- (105) a. goi-mi māl-šo dzət meko-n mε`
 you-ERG need-ADJ thing that-EMPH is:AUX

‘That is the thing that/which you want.’

b. go lā gyākosi lāi-nu-ŋ

1SG only market go-NPST-1SG

‘I only go the market.’ (not X or Y in this case)

3.1.2.5 Case

‘Case’ is a grammatical category, which is established on two counts, viz., syntactic correlation between the nominal(s) and the verb, and between two or more nominals in a syntactic unit. The latter is that relationships, such as genitive, are expressed between a nominal and another nominals and are accepted as case relationship in a given natural language X.

3.1.2.5.1 Case markers

Thus, this § 3.1.2.5.1 mainly provides the description of Kirānti-Kôits case markers (also cf. Appendix C) and compares or contrasts them with the previous descriptions available so far regarding its historical source as well.

All six major types (apart from vocative and sometimes nominative) of case marking suffixes (See Table 3.10 and cf. with Table 3.11) invented/discovered in the language have lexical functions as well and obviously have poly-semantic role-functions, in addition to grammatical ones. This lexical function of those grammatical markers/suffixes has neither been noticed nor described in the past literature (cf. Konow (in Grierson 1909: 200), DeLancey 1984, LaPolla 1995, Borchers 1998) however, has modestly been discussed in Rapacha (1999: 56-58). Interestingly, those case suffixes’ lexical multiple-functions are independent ones as opposed to Starosta’s (1988: 205) suggestion “...no longer have independent lexical status...” whereas LaPolla’s (1995: 190, 196) observation of these case suffixes in T-B as ‘isomorphism’, a single form used to mark different semantic roles is true to K-K too.

Like some other Kirānti languages (Ebert 1994: 107), K-K is also ergative morphologically, whereas syntactic processes are usually organized according to a

nominative-accusative principle (See examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c, Busmann 1996: 152, Rapacha 2003). Thus the case types in Kirānti-Kōits, are mixed form of the nominative vs. ergative type. I will hence in the course of description, explore the ‘beauty in the system’ (Blake 1994: xiv) of case markers (See Table 3.10) accounting them as copiously as possible comparatively in the light of the available past literature. The following six major types of case markers/suffixes have been observed in the language and the most interesting aspect of those bound morphemes are their free lexico-semantic category in either phrases or sentences.

3.1.2.5.1.1 Agent-ergative case <-mi~m>

I have here adopted the compounded term agent-ergative in order to maintain Toba’s (1984: 16) position ‘Agentive-ergative’ in Khaling [Kirānti-Kh] as opposed to Gvozdanović’s (2004: 341-346; See examples (106) a-b argument for ergative against agentive in Bantawa [Kirānti-Ban]. The case marker <-mi~m> /-mi~m/ (cf. Rung **mi*, Idu *me* and Nocte *ma/me* (LaPolla 1995: 203) plays different isomorphy semantic roles such as ‘by’ (agent-ergative ±human), ‘with’ (instrumental ±animate), ‘at/in’ (locative), 3sg/pl and ±human/-male as homophonous morpheme. For the same morpheme <-mi~m>, there exists another equivalent morpheme <-ŋā> /-ŋā/ playing its roles as ‘of’ (loco-possessive), SEQ and honorific. Consider the following instances.

- (106) a. *guye-mi sosmAl kyorts-tSA* /guyɛ.mi sosmāl kyorc.cā/
 sickle-INST grass cut-INF ‘to cut the grass with a sickle’
- b. *go-mi ble-tik-mi breʔtA-ng* /gomi bletikmi breʔtāŋ/
 1SG-AGT write-NOM-INST write-PST-1SG
 ‘I wrote with a pen.’

In (106) b, the suffix <-mi~m> /-mi~m/ as in *go-mi* has played the role of agentive (cf. Gvozdanović (2004: 341-346; See examples (107) a-d, *go-mi* and *mere-mi* Konow (1909: 200), LaPolla (1995: 195; Sabra dialect data taken from Bieri et al. 1973) whereas the same bound morpheme <-mi> /-mi~m/ in (106) a-b *guye-mi* and *ble-tik-mi* respectively have played the semantic role of instrumental as well.

Comparatively, Konow's (in Grierson 1909: 200) data *-me* to mean agentive *-mi* is slightly different from my mother tongue intuition. This *me* /mɛ/ as a free morpheme in Kirānti-Kōits apparently means existential auxiliary/copula (e.g., *meko mur su mɛ*? 'Who is that man?' cf. *-me* /-mɛ/ and as a bound morpheme in *meko mur kʰi lə-mɛ*? 'Did the man go home?'). Additionally, the morpheme <mɛ> is also a number marker (3SG) rather than denoting 'agent'.

(107) a. ...*mur-piki-m*... /mur.piki.m/

man-PL- AGT/ERG '...by the men...' [Text source: 3.22]

b. *meko wANisAl-mi aN-kali tup-tu* /mɛ.ko wāi.sāl.mi ā.kəli tup.tu/

s/he boy- AGT/ERG I-DAT beat-PST:3SG

'The boy beat me.'

c. *loab-ø dzAm-ta* /loəb dzām.tə/

younger.brother loose-PST:3sg 'The younger brother (got) lost.'

d. *ngAWa-mi loab sAm-tu* /ŋāwə.mi loab sām.tu/

e.b-ERG y.b loose-PST:3SG

'The elder brother (e.b) lost his younger) brother (y.b).'

Similarly in (108) a-b below, the same bound morpheme <-mi~m> /-mi~m/ plays the role of locative and its equivalent bound morpheme <-ŋā> /-ŋā/ in (108) c-d (cf. also (123) a-c) plays the roles of locative/possessive/genitive (108) c and event connector as sequential (108) d marker (cf. Tables 3.10 and 3.11 and Konow's (1909: 200) data *-ngā* mistranslated (?) as ablative).

(108) a. ...*rong-mi* /roŋ.mi/

cliff-LOC 'at the cliff...' [Text source: 2.26]

b. *go khiN-mi bA?nu-ng* /go kʰi.mi bā?.nu.ŋ/

1SG house-LOC live-NPST-1SG 'I live in the house.'

c. *eNko khiN-nga mur-pik tek la-mA?* /ɛ˜ko kʰi.ŋā mur tɛk lə.mā/

this house-LOC/GEN man-PL where go-PST:INTER:PL

‘Where did the owner of this house go?’

d. *go khame dZA-shA-ngA dumkhiN la-ti* /go k^hə.mε dzə.šā.ŋā dum.k^hi lə.ti/

1SG rice eat-CONV-SEQ office go-PST

‘I went to the office having eaten rice.’

The sequential marker <-ŋā> /-ŋā/ followed by the converbal pattern <-shA> /-šā / in (108) d can function as conjunction when it is used as a reduced alternative pattern of the same converb. For instance, it is appropriate to say, *gom khame dZA-tA-ng ngA dumkhiN la-ti* /gom k^hə.mε dza.tā.ŋ ŋā dum.k^hi lə.ti/ ‘I ate rice and went to the office’. Another important semantic role this bound morpheme <-mi> /-mi~m/ [cf. -mi Kirānti-Ba; Driem (1991: 343)] plays is that of a socio-pragmatic meaning ‘honorific third person plural’ given in example (108) a, and ‘third person singular’ in example (109) b.

(109) a. *meko-piki-m- khame dzAi-ni-mi(i)* /meko.piki.m k^hə.mε dzāi.ni.mi/

s/he-PL-AGT rice eat-NPST-3PL ‘They eat rice.’

b. *Ap^hpo-mi tsirs hil-ni-m(i)* /āp^hpo.mi cirs hil.ni.mi/

father-AGT millet grind-NPST-3sg:HON

‘The father grinds the millet.’

On the contrary, the same morpheme remains unmarked (cf. § 3.1.2.5.1 morphologically ergative’) usually for non-past first person singular (See Rapacha 2003, 1999) as in (109) c and marked for all persons in the transitive past events of a syntactico-semantic utterance (See Ch 4 for some detailed data).

c. *go-ø khame dzAi-nu-ng* /go k^hə.mε dzāi.nu.ŋ/ ‘I eat rice.’

1SG-ø rice(cooked) eat-NPST-1SG

d. *go-mi blespat kA breʔ-tA-ng* /gomi brəs.pat kā brεʔ.tā.ŋ/ ‘I wrote a letter.’

1SG-ERG letter one write-PST-1SG

The last role <-mi~m> plays is that of semantic/biological gender marker (‘±human, -male’) as in (110) a -human/-male and (110) b +human/-male.

(110) a. *bwA-A-m-mi...* /bw(β)ā.ām.mi/ ‘by a hen’

rooster-GEN-mother-AGT

b. *tam(i)-mi...* /təm(i).mi/ ‘by the daughter’

daughter-AGT

Additionally, <*-mi~m*> besides having poly-semantic roles, is also a free lexeme *m’i* /m’i/ or *mi* quite often occurs without a high tone, which means ‘fire’ as in (111) a-c where *mi* has occurred in the subject or can occur in object position in (111) c as well. This is the most interesting fact of the Kirānti-Kōits grammar yet to be pinpointed by linguists. The only difference between the two (*mi* ‘fire’ and <*-mi~m*>) is that native speakers do not tend to drop out the final vowel /i/ (and appropriately cannot be dropped) in the former, whereas they/we usually do drop it out in the latter while communicating.

(111) a. *mi pi-t(o)* /mi pit.(o)/ ‘Bring the fire.’

fire bring-3sg:IMP

b. *mi-m(i) tso-b* /mi.m(i) co.b/ ‘The fire burns (for its experiencer).’

fire-AGT burn-NPST:3sg

c. *go mi bra-th gAʔ-ti* /go mi brə.th gāʔ.ti/

1SG fire bring-INF:PUR walk-PST:1SG

‘I went to bring fire.’

3.1.2.5.1.2 Ablative case <-lā>

The morpheme <*-lā*>, which has two more other variants (e.g. <*-lε*> (also means ‘four’ as a lexeme) and <*-rε*>; is cognate of *-lam* Kirānti-Lim or Yakthungba; Ebert (1994: 81)) means ‘from’ and plays the role of ablative as path or source of the referent in nominal phrases or sentences, e.g. (112) a-e.

(112) a. *...lAptso-lA...* /iapco.la/

door-ABL ‘from the door’ [Text source: 1.16]

b. *mek-lA ...* /mek.lā/

there-ABL ‘from there’

- c. *goi te-**LA** pi-ye?* /goi tɛ.lā pi.yɛ/
 2SG where-ABL come-2SG ‘Where did you come from?’
- d. *saring-**LA** reu i-**b*** /sə.rɪŋ.lā reu i.b/
 sky-ABL rain come-NPST:3sg ‘It rains from the sky.’
- e. *go k^hiN-**LA** pi-ti* /go k^hɪ.lā pi.ti/
 1SG house-ABL come-PST:1SG ‘I came from the house’

The bound case morpheme *-ngā /-ŋa/* mistranslated (?) as ‘ablative’ in Konow (1909: 200) and LaPolla (1995: 196; Sabra dialect) is actually *<-lā>* instead of *-ngā /-ŋa/* as shown in examples (112) a-e.

Like *m’i /m’i/* or *mi* in (111) a-c, *LA /lā/* carries its lexico-semantic load, which means ‘only’ in examples (113) a-d.

- (113) a. *oNsho LA /õšo lā/*
 ‘this much only’
- b. *go LA /go lā/*
 1SG only ‘me only’ (cf. *go-lā* ‘from me’)
- c. *mur-pik LA /mur lā/* (cf. *mur-lā* ‘from/by the man’)
 man-PL ‘men only’
- d. *go-m bWA LA thul-so bA?ti* /go.m bwā lā thul.so bā?.ti/
 1SG fowl only tame- PCPL be-N/PST:1SG
 ‘I have tamed fowl only.’

3.1.2.5.1.3 Dative case *<-kəli~kəl>*

Dative case in Kirānti-Kōits is marked by the morpheme *<-kəli~kəl>* */-kəli~kəl/* (cf. Konow’s (1909: 200) datum *-kale* and also DeLancey’s (1984: 73) datum *-kale* slightly differs from contemporary speech) means ‘for, to’ (purposive, benefactive, undergoer/experiencer or patientive) as in (114) a-d.

- (114) a. *meko-kal(i)* /meko.kəl(i)/
 him/her-DAT ‘to him/her’

- b. *AN-kal(i)* /ã.kəl(i)/ ‘to/for me’
- c. *go-mi meko-kal(i) poskard soit-ta-ng* /go.mi mɛko.kəl(i) poskãrd soit.tã.ŋ/
 1SG-ERG her-DAT pk send-PST-1SG
 ‘I sent her a postcard.’
- d. *meko laptso-kal(i)* .../mɛko lãp.co-kəl(i) /
 that door-DAT ‘...to that door’ [Text source: 1.15]

Like in (111) a-c and (113) a-d, *kal* /kəl/ without its morphemic break (-) or without suffixing to any other lexeme is a free lexeme, which means ‘porridge (especially made up of the millet-flour)’. Consider the examples (115) a-b.

- (115) a. *AN-kal itsikhio kal ge-yi-ni* /ã.kəl ici.k^hoi kəl gɛ.yi.ni/
 my-DAT little porridge give-NPST:1SG:PL
 ‘Please give me a little porridge.’
- b. *meko-kal kal ge-u(o)* /mɛ.ko.kəl kəl gɛu(o)/
 s/he-DAT porridge give-NPST:IMP:3SG
 ‘Give the porridge to him/her.’

3.1.2.5.1.4 Comitative case <-nu>

The bound morpheme <-nu> /-nu/ ‘with’ (cognate of Kirānti-Thu; Allen (1976: 319) quoted in Ebert (1999: 117)) marks comitative case. It also has neither been mentioned by Borchers (1998: 5; See Table 3.11) nor examples have been provided in Konow (1909: 200) however, *nu* has been mentioned once in the final paragraph in his description. This <-nu> as a bound morpheme, which expresses possession of something with somebody/something, e.g. (116) a-d and furthermore it conveys ‘temporality’ (as its <-nu> meaning) suffixed with verbs as in (116) e-f.

- (116) a. *go-nu* /go.nu/
 1SG-COM (PSN) ‘with me’
- b. *meko-pik-nu* /mɛko.pik.nu/
 s/he-PL-COM (PSN) ‘with them’

- c. ...eNko-nu... /ɛ̃ko.nu/
 this-COM (PSN) 'with this' [Text source: 2.3]
- d. *go-nu kyet ma-bA* /go.nu kyet mə.bā/
 1SG-COM (PSN) 'money NEG-is:AUX
 'I don't have money (with me).'
- e. *go-m khame ja-sho-nu kumso-pA-tA-ng*
 /go.m k^hə.mɛ dzə.šo.nu kum.so.pā.tā.ŋ/
 1SG-ERG rice eat-PCPL-TEMP song-do-PST-1SG
 'I sang (a song) while eating.'
- f. *meko Al-mi gyAkosi la-sho-nu khyoNpat kA khui-pAp-tu*
 /meko əl.mi gyākosi lə.šo.nu k^hyöpət kə k^hui.pāp.tu/
 that/the child-AGT market go-PCPL-TEMP book one/a thief-do-PST:3SG
 'The child stole a book while going to the market.'

The same *nu* /nu/ as a free morpheme, like in earlier examples, plays the semantic role of conjunction 'and' to connect nouns or noun phrases in sentences as illustrated in (117) a-b. Furthermore, there is another conjunction constituent *ngA* /ŋā/ particle equivalent of <*nu*> for linking two different phrases as in (117) c-d.

- (117) a. *Aphpo nu tau ji-mum-tA-se*
 /əp^hpo nu təu dzi.mum.tā.sɛ/
 father and son fight-REC-PST-DU
 'The father and the son fought each other.'
- b. *goi kumso nu shyil-pa-tSA lA dzo-na-ye*
 /goi kumso nu šyil.pə.cā lā dzo.nə.yɛ/
 2SG song and dance-do-INF only know-NPST-3SG
 'What you know is that singing and dancing only.'
- c. *dumkhiN lA-uo ngA am-ke ge pAu-o*
 /dum.k^hɪ lā.uo ŋā əm.ke ɡɛ pāu.o/
 office go-3sg:IMP and own-GEN work do-3SG:IMP
 'Go to the office and do your work.'

d. *mek lau-o nga meko Al-kali gakingpa h'in-pat-o*

/mek lāu.o ŋā meko āl.kəli gək.tiŋ.pā h'ĩ.pət.o/

there go-3SG:IMP that child-PAT MAN frighten-CAUS-3SG:IMP

'Go there and frighten that baby terribly.'

In examples (117) c-d, *ŋā* can precede *min* as its constituent to mean 'and then, sequential' in the same string of sentences, e.g. *go dumkhiN latingamin Am ge pAtAng* /go dum.k^hĩ lə.ti.ŋā.min ām ge pā.tā.ŋ/ 'I went to the office and then did my work'.

3.1.2.5.1.5 Allative case <-ge>

The bound morpheme <-ge> /-gɛ/ (no data for this marker has been recorded in Konow (1909: 200) and Borchers (1998: 5; see Table 3.11) plays the role of allative case in the language to mean 'to or towards' suggesting destination and goal, for example in (118) a-d.

(118) a. *goi tek-ge gAʔ-ng-e?* /goi tɛk.gɛ gāʔŋɛ/

2SG where-ALL walk-NPST-3SG 'Where are you going (to)?'

b. *go pith-ge gAʔ-ti* /go pith.gɛ gāʔ.ti/

1SG thither-ALL walk-PST 'I am going (to/towards) thither.'

c. *pisAng-ge...* /pi.sāŋ.gɛ/

direction-ALL '...to/towards the direction' [Text source: 3.26]

d. *go gyAkosi-ge gAʔ-ti* /go gyā.ko.si.gɛ gāʔ.ti/

1SG market-ALL walk-PST

'I walked to/towards the market.'

Moreover, (<*ge~goi*> /gɛ~goi/ 'you, thou, thee') instead of case marker is also as a free morpheme and conveys the meaning of second person singular (119) a, and it further conveys another layer of meaning e.g. 'work, job' as well. Compare (119) b.

(119) a. *ge~goi su na-ye* /gɛ~goi su nəyɛ/

2SG who be-AUX:2SG 'Who are you?' (*nəyɛ* 'impolite' *nəni* 'polite')

- b. *goi tek ge pAi-na-ye?* /goi tɛk gɛ pāinəyɛ/
 2SG where work do- NPST-3SG
 ‘Where do you work?’

3.1.2.5.1.6 Genitive case <-A~ -ke~ -ngA>

There are three different markers (<-A~ -ke~ -ngA> /-ā~ -kɛ~ -ŋā/ meaning ‘of’, where DeLancey’s (1984: 63) *-ke* to mean ERG/INST is semantically missing the point) for employing genitive case. All these markers have a slightly different use pragmatically for the same meaning of possessiveness. First of all, <-A> or <-A-> /-ā-/ ‘can normally be used with +human as in (120) a-c.

- (120) a. *meko muru-A* /mɛko muru.ā/
 that man-GEN ‘of the/that man’
 b. *A-m- A* /ā-m-ā/
 GEN-mother/femininity-GEN
 ‘of the mother’
 c. *AN-ke Am k^hiN-mi ma-bA?ma* /ã-kɛ ām k^hĩ.mi mə.bā?.mə/
 my-GEN mother house-LOC NEG-be-NPST
 ‘My mother is/was not in the home.’

Sometimes in usages like (121) a *Am* /ām/ ‘own’ is a separate free morpheme to which *-ke* ‘genitive’ (121) b can be suffixed to.

- (121) a. *Am mamAlo genAiyo ma-pr(l/ŋeN-den*
 /ām mamā.lo gɛ.nāi.yo mə.pr(ɾ/l)ɛ̃.dɛn/
 own mother.speech never NEG-forget-NPST:3pl
 ‘Never forget your own mother tongue.’
 b. *goi-mi Am-ke ble-tik tek o-di?* /goimi ām.kɛ bletik tɛk odi/
 2SG-AGT own-GEN write-NOM where keep-PST:3sg
 ‘Where did you keep your own pen?’

In our examples (122) a-c, the genitive case marker <-ke> /-kɛ/ (usually ±human) in place of <-A> /-ā/ also delivers the meaning of possessiveness.

- (122) a. *meko-ke* /mɛ.ko.kɛ/
 s/he-GEN ‘of his or her’
- b. *Sida kinya-ke...* /si.dā ki.kyə.kɛ/
 Sida grandfather-GEN
 ‘Sida grandfather’s...’ [Text source: 2.27]
- c. *kyarsh-ke milu* /kyārš.kɛ mi.lu/
 goat-GEN tail ‘the goat’s tail/the tail of the goat’

Another alternative genitive case marker normally implying location is <-ŋā /-ŋā/ in place of <-A> /-ā/ as in (123) a-c, cf. also (108) d above.

- (123) a. *eNko khiN-nga* /ɛ̃ko kʰi.ŋā/
 this house-LOC/GEN ‘of this house’
- b. *...kolsho Nepal-nga...* /kolšo nepāl-ŋā/
 big:ADJ N-LOC/GEN ‘...of the huge/big Nepal...’ [Text source: 4.23]
- c. *eNko kʰiN-nga mur tek la-mA?* /ɛ̃ko kʰi ŋā mur tek ləmā/
 this house-LOC:GEN man where go-NPST:3SG:HON
 ‘Where did the men (murpik = mur *intended*) of this house go?’

Finally, <A> /ā/ (3sg ‘his/her’ in (124) a and c) vs. <AN> /ã/ (1SG ‘my’ possessive pronoun in (124) b as free morphemes are missing in Borchers’ (1998: 5) recent description and in Konow’s (1909: 200) twentieth century data as well.

- (124) a. *A mama* /ā məmā/
 3SG mother ‘his/her mother’
- b. *AN deN-sho bis-sho* /ã dẽ.šo bis.šo/
 1SG say-PCPL obey-IMP ‘Obey my advice.’
- c. *go-m A ne ma-tuit-tu* /go.m ā nɛ mə.tuit.tu/
 1SG-ERG 3SG name NEG-know-PST:1SG

‘I did not know her/his name.’

We will now here summarize our discussion on the Kirānti-Kōits case markers in Table 3.10 and Borchers’ (1998: 5) summary has also, been provided in Table 3.11 for a comparative look in § 3.1.2.5.2 later.

Table 3. 10: Case markers in Kirānti-Kōits

Types of suffixes	gloss	Types of cases
1. <i>-mi>m, -ngA /mi>m, -ŋā/</i>	‘by, with, at, honorific, 3sg/pl, ±human/-male, connective/subordinator/SEQ	{ Instrumental Locative, loco-genitive (-animate), Agentive/ergative
2. <i>-lA~ -le~ -re /lā~ε~rε/</i>	‘from’	
3. <i>-kali>kal /-kəli>kəl/</i>	‘for, to’	Dative/accusative (purposive)
4. <i>-nu /-nu/</i>	‘with, and, TEMP’	Comitative <i>-nu</i> ‘with’
5. <i>-ge /-gε/</i>	‘to/towards, you’	Allative (elative/illative as in Finnish)
6. <i>-A~ -ke~ -ngA /-ā~ -kε~ -ŋā/</i>	‘of’	Genitive, locative (-animate)

(Cf. also Rapacha (1999: 58), Rapacha, Ngawacha-Mukhia and Rujicha-Mukhia (2003: 99-109))

In Kirānti-Kōits, the nominative-accusative (stated earlier ‘split/morphological-ergative; cf. examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c,) case particle is also marked with *-mi*, for instance, *go-mi...* (1SG-AGT) ‘by me’ or *Tsursi-mi...* (tsursi-AGT) ‘...by Tsursi’ with all past transitive verbs, whereas NPST as in *go-ø k^həmə dzāi-nu-ŋ* (1SG rice eat-NPST-1SG) ‘I eat rice’ remains unmarked. The vocative markers are: /εi/ and /εu/ as illustrated in (125) a-b,

(125) a. oi ðth nε-n dε εi
 INTJ here listen-IMP TOP VOC
 ‘Hey! Listen (to me) here.’

b. mēmā tek gā?-ni εu

mother where go-PST:3SG:HON VOC

‘Mom! Where are you going?’

Table 3. 11: Case marking suffixes in Sunwar (Kõits) from Borchers (1998: 5)

Case	form(s) of suffix
1. Genitive	-ke, -ya ³³
2. Object case/ “accusative”	-kali
3. Subject case/ “instrumental”	-mi, -m, -ami ³⁴
4. Locative	-mi, -am, -ami, -m, -ṅā
5. Inessive	-wina
6. Ablative	-le
7. Vocative	-yau, -au, -u, -ei
8. Dative	-mla ³⁵

3.1.2.5.2 A comparative look

Now in this section, I will briefly discuss and compare or contrast the present depiction with the past descriptions available. We will first then look at the sources of data where they come from. Borchers’ (1998) data were mainly collected in the beginning of her research period from Kūbu Kasthel, Ramechhap district, East No. 2, Nepal and mine comes from my own dialect area of Katunje-2, Okhaldhunga district (See Map 6: xxx), East No.3, Nepal, where only a few elderly speakers speak the language proper and is vanishing soon in the near future. As far as Konow’s (1909: 200) data are concerned, it has been informed that the translated text was received from the Nepal Durbar. Thus, we do not know the area of speakers where they migrated from to the Nepal valley in the past and so is the case in Hodgson’s (1874 [orig. 1847) wordlist too.

³³ -ya must actually might be -ā only

³⁴ *go-āmi* (rather *go-āmin*) ‘I myself’ [I added]

³⁵ Cf. *meko-m-lā* ‘by him/her only’. This information is my own as a native speaker of Kirānti-Kõits. Another way of expressing -m-lā is -āmin as in *go āmin* ‘I myself’ and *meko āmin* ‘s/he himself/herself’.

Borchers' (1998: 5) *-ya* is only <-ā> in my dialect area. The *-ami* suffix (instrumental and locative probably as in *go-āmi* (rather *go-āmin*) 'I myself' *I added*) needs reanalysis. Her object case/ "accusative"-*kali* and dative *-mla* [probably as in *meko-m-lā* 'by him/her only' *I added*] in Table 3.11, serial number 3, where all these variations mean the same grammatical meaning not different. Number 5's *-wina* [probably must be *həyu uyu-ui-ηā*³⁶: below-LOC:POSS/GEN 'of below down'] presumed to be inessive or adessive (like in Finno-Urgic) is loco-genitive (-animate) in my dialect area.

The allative (destination, goal; elative/illative as in Finnish) marker <-ge> /-gε/ 'to/towards' has neither been suggested in Konow (1909: 200) nor in Table 3.11, which would require further data to establish its existence as one of the case suffixes in Kirānti-Kōits. Most of the analyses by Konow (1909) are a little different or deviant from my modern dialect. Table 3.10 has discovered two more varieties of ablative suffix *-le~ -re* /lε~rε/ 'from' besides *-la* only in Table 3.11. Suffixes such as *-nu* and *-ηā* in Table 3.10, have temporal as in (116) f and sequential as in (108) d converb roles respectively.

3.1.2.5.3 Summary

Among six main types of case markers in K-K, like in other Kirānti languages, there is a three-way ergative/agentive-instrumental-locative isomorphy of *-mi* (cf. LaPolla's (1995: 190, 196), Ebert's (1994: 81) two-way isomorphy. Additionally, *-mi* functions as poly-semantic lexeme as in (108) a-b, (109) a-b and (110) a-c. The locative suffix *-ηā* also has a near isomorphic relationship with genitive and sometimes functions as *-mi* and sometimes as *-kε* or *-ā* (cf. (107) c-d, (120) b, (121) a-c and (122) a-c).

Apart from genitive <-ke> /-kε/ '±human', all other case suffixes have fully independent lexical status and even poly-semantic roles, which suggests 'grammaticalization of nouns, particularly of nouns having some kind of locative sense' (DeLancey 1984: 62) regarding its (suffix) historical source. However, the

³⁶ Cf. other deictic expressions; *həri iri* > *ir* (high:LOC: vertical), *həyu uyu* > *ui* (low:LOC: vertical), *həre* *ere/mere* (level:LOC: horizontal) and *həyu muyu* (low:LOC: vertical)

grammaticalization of the Kirānti-Kōits case particles such as (111) a-c *mi* (n) ‘fire’ (113) a-d *lA* (adj, adv, conj) ‘only’, (115) a-b *kəl* (n) ‘porridge’, (117) a-b *nu* (conj) ‘and’, (117) c-d *ngA* (conj) ‘and’³⁷, (119) a *ge~goi* (prn) ‘you, thou, thee’ (119) b *ge* (n) ‘work, job’ (124) a and c *A* (pron.) ‘his/her’ go beyond DeLancey’s general etymological observation on Tibeto-Burman case particles.

3.1.2.5.4 Case collocation

Some case markers, except for nouns (e.g., N + *kəli* in (126) a-b) and pronouns (e.g., Pro + *-kəli* + *-nu* in (127) a-c), in the language can further attach to verbs and nominalized (e.g., V+ *kəli* and the nominalized form *kur-b-kəli*) category as shown in (128) a-c.

(126) a. *paku-kali* /pəku.kəli/

P-DAT ‘to Paku’

b. *khonide-kali* /k^hōi.də.kəli/

K-DAT ‘to Khōide’

(127) a. *meko-kali* /meko.kəli/

s/he-DAT ‘to him/her’

b. *goi-kali* /goi.kəli/

you-DAT ‘to you’

c. *go-nu* /go.nu/ ‘with me’ [cognate of Kirānti-Th *-nuŋ* (Allen 1976: 319
quoted in Ebert 1999: 117)]

(128) a. *dza-tSA-kali* /dzə.tsā.kəli/

eat-INF-DAT ‘for eating’

b. *ko:-tSA-kali* /ko:.tsā.kəli/

look-INF-DAT ‘for looking’

c. *rim-sho-pa-tSA-kali* /rim.šo.pətsā.kəli/

good-ADJ-do-INF-DAT ‘for doing well’

³⁷ *ŋā* also means ‘five’ in some dialects instead of *ŋə*

3.1.2.6 Postpositions

Postpositions constitute a class of morpho-syntactically bound as well as free morphemes in the Kirānti-Kõits grammar.

3.1.2.6.1 Postposition ‘without’

Kirānti-Kõits does not have a separate lexeme for ‘without’ but it undergoes a process through negative morpheme *-m(ə)* <-m(ə)> (T-B in origin cf. § 3.6) prefixed (and sometimes infixes) such as *rəkməsutsā* ‘not to itch’, *k^həlməpətsā* ‘not to guard’ and *wāleməpətsā* or *tsorməpəmtsā* ‘not to keep quiet’) to verbal nouns. Let us consider the following examples in (129) a-e.

- (129) a. *ma-ja-thu* /mə.dzə.thu/
 NEG-eat-NML:PUR ‘without eating’
- b. *ma-pa-thu* /mə.pə.thu/
 NEG-do-NML:PUR ‘without doing’
- c. *ma-gA?-thu* /mə.gā?.thu/
 NEG-walk-NML:PUR ‘without walking’
- d. *ma-la-thu* /mə.lə.thu/
 NEG-go-NML:PUR ‘without going’
- e. *ma-soit-thu* /mə.soit.thu/
 NEG-send-NML:PUR ‘without sending’

There is a semantically related nominal *kaiNtsika* /kəĩ.ci.kā/ ‘alone, without anything or anyone else’ is also used to indicate that the event or action performed without anything or anyone else.

3.1.2.6.2 Associative postposition <-nu>

The associative postposition *-nu* <-nu> (also cf. (11) a-f) is used in relation to \pm human arguments to convey the sense of ‘in the company of’.

(130) a. go-nu itsik^hoi kyet bā

1SG-ASS a little money is:AUX

‘I do not have money with me.’

b. ā-kε tami go-nu dumk^hī lāi-bə

1SG-GEN daughter 1SG-ASS office go-NPST:3SG

‘My daughter goes to the office with me.’

3.1.2.6.3 Postposition <-hōiti>

The postposition *hoiNti*, *moiti* or *oNitti* /hōiti~ōiti~moiti/ ‘in front of, before (cf. Text source: 3.46) expresses the spatial sense of ‘in front’ more often temporal sense of ‘before, previously, formerly, firstly’ and functions as a noun (e.g., *āke hōiti* ‘at my front’), adverb (also used as separate adverb) and postposition. Consider (131) a-c below

(131) a. meko k^hī-kε hōiti bā?-bə

3SG house-GEN in front sit-NPST:3SG

‘He sits in front of the house.’

b. go in-kε hōiti-lā gā?-ti

1SG your-GEN

‘I walked in front of you.’

c. *khin dzaʔsa tsishonu khin mo(hō)iti wāshrelu nu ne ʔha-gu:thā ʔwā/bwā tAʔAse.*

k^hī dzā?-cā tsi-šo-nu k^hī mo(hō)iti wāšrelu nu

house arrive-INF dare-PR:PCPL-TEMP house in.front rainbow and

neʔthā-gu:thā ʔwā/bwā tā?-tās~tās

near-RED fowl see-PST:2DU

‘They saw rainbow and fowl in front of the house at the time of reaching their house.’ [Text source: 1.79]

3.1.2.6.4 Postposition <nolε~mεr(ε)>

The Postposition (also adverb) *nole* or *mere* /nolε~mεr(ε)/ ‘behind, after’ expresses the posterior or something or the anatomical back or spatial coding such as *ANkenole* /ã.kε.nolε/ ‘on my back’ and the temporal sense of ‘after, later’ *goi ANkenole laU-o* /goi nolε lāu.o/ ‘You go later or you go after me’. It can also occur with abletive, e.g., (132) b, time adverbial (132) c, and a possessor taking role marker (132) d and can occur in reduplicated construction (132) also.

- (132) a. nolε nolε k^hois-šā lə-tsā
 after after follow-CONV go-INF
 ‘to go having followed on the back of someone’
- b. nolε-la p^huilu āp-tsā
 behind-ABL stone shoot-INF
 ‘to shoot stone from behind’
- c. tsinkā-nolε go ŋā-tsā ploĩ-tā-ŋ
 while/moment after 1SG weep-INF leave-PST-1SG
 ‘After a while I stopped weeping.’
- d. ā-kε-nolε su pi-m’ε?
 1SG-GEN-after who come-PST:3SG
 ‘Who came after me?’ (Who is following me?)

3.1.2.6.5 Postposition <dāte>

The postposition (also adverb) *dāte* ‘in the middle of, among’ indicates something located in the middle of or among something, for instance,

- (133) a. mur-ān-kε dāte-mi bā?-tsā nε
 man-PL-GEN middle-LOC sit-INF HRS
 ‘...should sit in the middle of men’, it is said.

3.1.2.6.6 Postposition <ātār(i)~gēth~ir(i)>

Lexemes like ātār(i) ~ ‘near, on top of’ ~ gēth ~ ir(i) ‘, above, far above’ mark a place on top of something or higher point of something, e.g.,

- (134) a. mεko lāptso-kε ātār(i)
 that door-GEN up/on ‘on the top of that window’
- b. hāri ir(i)-lā rεu i-tə
 far.up-ABL rain come-PST:3SG
 ‘It rained from very far up/above.’ (...but not exactly for the sky)

3.1.2.6.7 Postpositions of side

There are a series of adverbs and postpositions, which point to a place of a particular side of the location given by the context in the given examples (135) a-n

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (135) a. <i>tsi</i> | /ci/ | ‘on the side, next to’ |
| b. <i>ekere</i> ³⁸ | /εkεrε/ | ‘on this side’ |
| c. <i>eke nu meke</i> | /εkε nu mεkε/ | ‘hither and thither’ |
| d. <i>oNth</i> | /ōth/ | ‘hither’ |
| e. <i>oNth-gε nu pith-gε</i> | /ōth.gε nu pith.gε/ | ‘towards hither and towards thither’ |
| f. <i>er-oNth~nelle-gε</i> | /εr-ōth ~nelle-gε / | ‘roundabout’ |
| g. <i>mekere</i> ³⁹ | /mεkεr/ | ‘there’ |
| h. <i>moth</i> | /moth/ | ‘thither, if so’ |
| i. <i>ir</i> | /ir/ | ‘up, above’ |
| j. <i>ir-i</i> | /ir.i/ | ‘very up’ |

³⁸ Other reduced forms of *ekere* are *eker* and *ek* and *e* is nasalized (ε̃) quite often in spoken form.

³⁹ Other reduced forms of *mekere* are *meker* and *mek*, however there is a regional dialect *mekye* also.

- k. həri iri /həri ir.i/ ‘on the far ‘upper side’
 l. luts /luc/ ‘below, down’
 m. l’uts-u /l’uc.u/ ‘very below’
 n. *AN-kə məkər wAis-sho obis su-mi ba-wA?* /ãkə məkere wāisšo obis su.mi bəwā/
 my-GEN there keep-PCPL cucumber who-ERG eat-NPST:3SG
 ‘Who ate my cucumber kept over there?’

3.1.2.6.8 Postpositions of level

Other postpositions of level denoting ‘horizontalily, upward and down’ level are given in (136) a-d.

(136) a. pitthə~pith ‘thither, horizontally at the same level’

[cf. *pyāttho~pyāt* Kirānti -Wam; Opgenort (2002: 178)]

b. gətthə~gəth ‘above, up, upwards; at a higher level’

[cf. *gāttho~gāt* Kirānti -Wam; Opgenort (2002: 178)]

c. ui ‘far below’

d. həyu uyu ‘very far below, downwards; at a lower level’

[cf. *hyāttho~hyāt* Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 178)]

3.1.2.6.9 Postposition <-gā>

The marker *-gA* /-gā/ conveys the meaning of ‘inside’, ‘outside’ suffixed to *khin-* /k^hi-/ ‘house’ and *lang-* /ləŋ-/ something like ‘out’. Compare the examples (134) a-b.

(137) a. *reu i-ta ngana go lan-ga ma-lai-nu-ng*

/ɾeu i.tə ŋənə go lən.gā mə.lāi.nu.ŋ/

rain come-PST:3 SG if I out-side NEG-go-NPST-1SG

‘If it rains, I will (do) not go outside.’

b. *tsilA pAp-tu-ngana khin-gA ong-o* /cilā pāp.tu. ŋənā k^hiŋgā oŋ.o/

lightning do-PST:3SG-if:COND house-inside enter-3SG:IMP

‘Get inside the house if the lightning occurs.’

3.1.2.6.10 Postposition <-tsi >

The bound morpheme *-tsi* /-ci/, which as a noun means ‘on the side, next to, side, edge, end’ and as a postposition conveys the sense of ‘on the side, next to’ as an example provided below.

(138) a. *goi khiN-tsi-m bAʔ-shA mAr pa-n-pa-n bAʔ-nge?*

/goi k^hi.ci.m bāʔ.sā mār pə.n.pə.n bāʔ. ŋɛ/

2SG house-side-LOC stay-CONV what do-PROG(RED) stay-3SG

‘What are you doing by sitting on the side of/next to the house?’

3.1.2.6.11 Postposition <ne ʔhā>

The postposition *ne ʔhA* /neʔthā/ indicates a location near something else, or it may follow a possessed word and be marked with the locative marker. Consider (139) a. as an example.

(139) a. *meko-ke khiN aN-ke ne ʔhA-n bA* /meko.ke k^hi ā.ke neʔthā.n bā/

3SG-GEN house my-GEN near-EMPH is

‘His/her house is near by my house.’

3.1.2.6.12 Postposition <-ge>

The direction postposition marker *-ge* <-ge> (cf. § 3.1.2.5.1.5) functioning as noun, pronoun and postposition indicates a direction ‘towards or side’ as shown in (140) a below.

(140) a. *go khiN-ge dort-ti* /go k^hi.ge dort.ti/

1SG house-towards run-PST:1SG

‘I ran towards the house.’

3.1.2.6.13 Postposition <-səm>

The postposition marker *-sam* <-səm> ‘as far as, until’ is probably a nativized term from Indic Nepali means a destination i.e. a place until which something moves or a moment until which the action is carried out that period. Consider (141) a.

- (141) a. *go goi-kali dzoʔ-sho-sam shyen-nu-ng* /go goi.kəli dʒiʔ.ʃo.səm ʃyɛ.nu.ŋ/
 1SG 2SG-DAT know-PCPL-as.far.as teach-NPST-1SG
 ‘I teach you as far as I know.’

3.1.2.6.14 Postposition <-nu, kāthə>kāth>

The alternative bound morphemes *-nu, kAtha>kAth* /-nu, kāthə>kāth/ ‘together with, with’ conveys the meaning of accompaniment, a meaning which can also be conveyed by means of the comitative marker (cf. § 3.1.2.5.1.4) and consider the following.

- (142) a. *go-nu goi kAtha-n la-sa* /go-nu goi.kāthə.n lə.sə/
 1SG-2SG-ASS-EMPH go-1DU:INCL
 ‘Let us go you and I together.’

3.1.2.7.15 Postposition <duli>

The free *duli* /duli/ as adjective and postposition ‘against, opposed to’ follows a possessed word for the locative case, e.g., (143) a.

- (143) a. *meko mur-piki ANke duli-m boʔ-te-me* /meko mur.pik āke duli.m boʔ.te.m/
 that man-PL my against-LOC rise-PST-3PL
 ‘They arose against me.’

3.1.2.6.16 Postposition <-kəŋā>

The bound suffix *-kengA* /-kəŋā/ ‘than’ is an expression of a comparison between two or more entities like (144) a.

- (144) a. *rentse-kenga sentse lais-sho ba* /rɛncɛ.kəŋā sɛncɛ lāis.so bā/
 Resce-than Sence tall:ADJ is:AUX/EXT

‘Rence is taller than Sence.’

3.1.2.6.17 Postposition <-kəli>

The postpositional bound suffix *-kali* /-kəli/ ‘for the sake of, patient of a verbal event’ (cf. § 3.1.2.5.1.3) marks the entity for the sake of which the action is carried out. In K-K grammar it treats benefacted or malefacted participants as patients of verbs like *dzatsAkali ge patsA* /dzə.cā.kəli ge.pəcā/ ‘to work for eating’. Consider (145) a.

(145) a. *go-m goi-kali wAk pit-tA-ng* /go-m goi-kəli wāk pit.tā.ŋ/

1SG 2SG-DAT water bring-PST-1SG

‘I ran towards the house.’

3.1.2.7 Discourse markers

Now, in this § 3.1.2.7, we will discover some discourse markers used in the Kirānti-Kōits grammar as a whole.

3.1.2.7.1 The Marker <yo>

This phrasal suffix and (also) a free lexeme *yo* /yo/ ‘also, too, even’ (cf. *ya* *i* Kirānti-Wam; Ogenort 2002: 191, *ye* ~ *ya* ~ *yə* Kirānti-Du; Driem 1993: 434) links two different participants in discourse, e.g., (146) a-b, and is most frequently used in the discourse of the collected text in Appendix A such as 1.22, 25, 28, 50, 53, 62, 65, 68, 73, 81, 90, 91, 92, 94, 99, 104, 112, 116, 125, 135, 2.1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 23, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, 37, 3.8, 13, 17, 23, 25, 26, 34, 36, 37, 40, 4.20, and 4.21.

(146) a. *go yo pa-tSA-ma-dzoʔ-nu-ng* /go yo pə.cā.mə.dzoʔ.nu.ŋ/

1SG also do-INF NEG-know-NPST-1SG

‘Even I also do not know how to do it.’

b. *mekerlAi yo Tharmalung-Tharsilung, mekerlA Yarmalung dzAʔAse.*

meker-lā-i *yo* *Thārmālun-ŋ Thārsilun* *meker-lā* *Yārmālun dzāʔ-tā-se~s*

there-SRC-PAR also T T there-SRC:ABL Y arrive-PST-2DU

‘Also from Jammu-Kashmir, they arrived to Tharmalung-Tharsilung, and from there to Yarmalung.’ [Text source: 1.11]

3.1.2.7.2 The marker <-n>

This phrasal suffix *-n /-n/* (See Text source: 1.23, 24, 29, 37, 40, 46 etc.) is normally suffixed with the similaritive marker <modeb-> or <k^hodēb-> yielding ‘exactly, precisely and also emphatic particle’, like

(147) a. *go yo modeban phurkal gyAp-nu-ng* /go yo mo.dēbən p^hur.kəl gyāp.nu.ŋ/

1SG also such football buy-NPST-1SG

‘I also buy a football exactly like that one.’

b. *kalēngA solum kaleka la roʔsib masogenngA lAptso Paiwa nu Dunglewake glumAts glumeken tsoʔsime bAʔ.*

kālē-ŋā solu-m kālē-kā lā roʔ-sib māsogen-ŋā lāptso Pāiwā nu

once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and

Duŋlēwā-ke glumāts glu-mēke-n tsoʔ-si-mē bāʔ-tə-t

D-GEN family come.out: INF-PAR close-MV:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The only once opening door of virtue for one time’s sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out.’ [Text source: 1.17]

3.1.2.7.3 The marker <lā>

This phrasal suffix or free lexeme *la /lā /* is Kirānti-Kōits discourse is used to exclude other participants as shown in (148) a-c.

(148) a. *go la gyAkosi lati* /go lā gyā.kosi lə.ti/

1SG only market go-PST:1SG

‘I only went to the market (excludes others).’

b. *gAits sAMtik thunpA rippAngAmin moshO soshyo bakyapat/bospat shyoklo gupshA rAbgyobbikali blengngAbleng y'utsA lA mAr gosho bA?me bakyapata/bospatke shyoklo blo:lshA peperu nelle blalAtsilA dumshA pinda bub'u dumta.*

gāits sām-tik thūpā rip-pā-ŋā-min mošo sošyo
 anger loose-NML mind.do:ADV intend-do:CONV-SEQ-then that.much dry:ADJ
 bākyəpət šyoklo gup-šā rəbgyombi-kəli bləŋ-ŋā-bləŋ y'u:-tsā
 trumpet.flower pod pick up-CONV shepherd-ACC ONO:manner.of.beating beat-INF
 lā mər go-šo bā?-mε bākyəpət/bospət -ā šyoklo
 only what start-PR:PCPL AUX:PST:3SG trumpet.flower-GEN pod
 blol-šā peperu nelle bləlātsilā dum-šā pindā bub'u
 break(itself)- CONV white/flower all scattered:ADJ become-CONV floor white
 dum-tə
 become-PST:3SG

‘Intending to pacify his (the priest’s) anger, he started beating up the shepherd heavily picking up the sword-shaped and dried trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*); meanwhile it broke and the floor became full of scattered white trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) flower.’ [Text source: 3.47]

c. *kAlengA solum kAleKA lA roʒsib masogenngA lAptso PaiwA nu Dunglewake glumAts glumeken tsoʒsime bAʒ.*

kālε-ŋā solu-m kālε-kā lā roʒ-sib məsogen-ŋā lāptso Pāiwā nu
 once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and
 Duŋlewā-kε glumāts glu-mεke-n tsoʒ-si-mε bāʒ-tə-t
 D-GEN family come.out: INF-PAR close-MV:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The only once opening door of virtue for one time’s sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out.’ [Text source: 1.17]

3.1.2.7.4 The theme/topic marker <də>

The theme or topic marker *da* <də> provides a background information or point of departure for the following piece of information and indicates a slight contrastive nuance as in examples (149) a-e.

(149) a. *mekere da LAN-n dzAM-ta* /mɛkɛ.rɛ də lã.n dzãm.tə/

there-EMPH TOP path-EMPH lose-PST:3sg

‘There was no path (means there is no option).’

b. *go da malAinung* /go də mə.lãi.nu.ŋ/

1SG TOP NEG-go-NPST-1SG

‘I do not go (you go).’

c. *mothad eNko ge patsA madumba* /moth də ɛ̃ko gɛ pə.cã mə.dum.bə/

so TOP this work do-INF NEG-become-3SG

‘If so we should not do this work.’

d. *mekokali thinneken nA?somi thunthunmi mimtAu, “on shyAn! Eko rabgyombim da getsiri nu lutssiri pawAnu tsuintsephurki tholongAsam er-ottha paib mur me. eko madzdam tasho bAme mai modeb phu! kaleka hillopasha kongu”.*

mɛko-kəli thin-nɛ-ken nã?so-mi thũ-thũ-mi mim-tāu,

s/he-PAT meet-INF-PAR priest-AGT mind-RED-LOC think-PST:3SG

“ō šyã! ɛ̃ko rəbgyombi-m də getsiri nu lutssiri pə-wā-nu

“O yeah! this shephard-AGT PAR up.summer and down.winter do-NPST:3SG-TEMP

tsuĩtsep^hurki tholongã-səm ɛr-õtthə pãi-b mur mɛ̃. ɛ̃ko mədzdã-m

high.altitude inner.plain-till thither-hither do-NML man is. this fucker-AGT

tə-šo bā-mɛ məi modeb p^hu! kãɛ-kã hillo-pə-šã

see-PR:PCPL AUX-NPST:3SG Q:PAR⁴⁰ such flower time-one ask-do-CONV

ko-ŋu”

⁴⁰ Question particle as in (a) *meko muru k^hi lebbã mæi ?* ‘Will that man return home?’ (uncertainty/probability)

see-NPST:1SG

‘While meeting him (the shepherd) the priest immediately thought, “ O yeah! This fucker shepherd goes to the jungle (high altitude) during summer and down in the inner plain during winter. He certainly might have seen such flower! Let me ask him once.”

[Text source: 3.30]

e. *yAmka ngakodzisho tellep rabgyombim denta, “go tuitstsA da tuinung shyeng moshyed dentsA magArba.”*

yām-kā	ŋəkodz’išo	təlləp	rəbgyombi-m	dɛ̃-tə,	“go tuits-tsā
while-one	confused:ADJ	cunning	shepherd-AGT	say-PST:3SG	I know-INF
də	tui-nuŋ	ʃyeŋ	mɔʃyed	dɛ̃ː-cā	mə-gār-bə”
PAR	know-NPST:1SG	but	in.vain	say-INF	NEG-agree-NPST:3SG

‘The cunning and confused shepherd having after a while said, “I know but it cannot be revealed without any charge.’

[Text source: 3.32]

3.1.2.7.5 The contrastive topic marker <-cən>

The contrastive topic marker *-tsan* <-cən> probably a nativized term form Indic Nepali *-cahi*, sometimes alternatively with *da* /də/ describes the contrastive activities by two different doers as examples provided in (150) a-b.

(150) a. *go tsan ma-lai-nu-ng* /go.cən mə.lāi.nu.ŋ/

1SG PAR NEG-go-NPST-1SG

‘I do not go (you go).’

b. *Phenetsan kumso paiba munu Renetsa shyilpaiba*

/phɛnɛ.cən kumso.pāi.bə munu rɛnɛ.cən ʃyil.pāi.bə/

Phene-CT song-do-NPST-1sg then Rene- CT dance-do-NPST-3sg

‘Phene sings then Rene dances.’

3.1.3 Adjectivals and adverbials

Both adjectives and adverbs (§ 3.1.3.1 and § 3.1.3.2, also cf. Appendix C) are modifiers. A ‘modifier’ is any category, which serves to add semantic information to that provided by the head of the category within which it is contained, such as an adjectival within an N(oun) P(hrase) or an adverbial within a V(erb) P(hrase) i.e. adjectivals and adverbials are two main modifiers.

There are several languages like English in which adjective, as a word class, are quite different from nouns and verbs. However, what is being disputable, is distinction, and the criteria that can be used for defining or describing it. Victor (1997: 103) paraphrasing Lyons (1966) addresses the problem that the exact relationship between adjectiveness on the one hand, and other categories like nouns, verbs and adjectives on the other, has thus been one of the highly disputed issues in linguistics and other related studies. While Plato and Aristotle treated adjs as a subclass of verbs, Alexandrians regarded them as subclass of nouns.

Logicians have generally retained the former view, but a dispute yet, persists among them, viz., as to whether adjectives are to be regarded as predicates proper or only as truncated NPs, which function as predicates. Moreover, Bhat (1994: 18) observes, “Indians grammarians like Panini and Patanjali...found it unnecessary (or rather impossible) to differentiate between modifiers (viśeṣaṇas) and the modified (viśeṣyas) in the NPs...in Sanskrit” (cited in Victor *ibid*).

Zograph (1982: 188-189) on Tibeto-Burman adjectives in general observes thus,

“As a rule, attributive connection is expressed syntactically only, i.e. by juxtaposition of the qualifier with the qualified. Adjectives are not formally distinguished from nouns. The pronominal system is simple (an exception here is provided by the Himalayan languages); there are no relative pronouns.”

Whatever theoretical problems for defining adjectives as grammatical categories may persist as Zograph has pointed out, like Kirānti-Khaling (Toba 1984), adjectives in Kirānti-Kōits are derived from verb stems mainly with the participle suffix morpheme <-*šo~šyo*> as shown in examples (§ 3.1.3.1.1) besides lexical adjectives (§ 3.1.3.1.3). These

derivational adjectives can mainly be preceded by intensifier particles like *omo* /omo/ ‘this much (proximate)’ and *momo* /momo/ ‘that much (distal)’ for describing the size of the referent objects (§ 3.1.3.1.2).

3.1.3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives as we discussed earlier in § 3.1.3, display their grammatical characteristics often are “attributive position (a big house), predicate position (That house is big), comparison (bigger, biggest) and inflection for gender, number and case as required by agreement with, or government by” (Trask 1993: 8), however, in Kirānti-Kōits, attributive position (kā T^hɛb k^hɪ ‘a big house’ (lit. big house one)) to some extent is okay, but not predicate position because it is a verb final language. Instead, it occupies the subject position (*rimšo āl kā šyil-pā-ptu* ‘A beautiful baby danced.’ (lit. beautiful child one dance-do-PST:3SG)), and so on.

3.1.3.1.1 Derivational adjectives

In Ebert’s (1994: 106) observation Kirānti languages have very few basic adjectives and in Kirānti-Kōits, adjectives are normally derived from verbs by suffixing <-šo~šyo> which is also the participle form of verbs. Consider the examples (151) a-h

- (151) a. *sisisho* /si.si.šo/ cold:ADJ [Text source: 1.27]
 b. *gyosho* /gyo.šo/ ADJ:long [Text source: 1.32]
 c. *horsho* /hor.šo/ trouble:ADJ [Text source: 1.72]
 d. *soshyo* /so.šyo/ dry:ADJ [Text source: 3.47]
 e. *rimsho* /rim.šo/ ‘good, clean, beautiful’
 f. *d’usho* /d’u.šo/ ‘drunk, drunkard’
 g. *tsinuyo helsho thebsendAm temtu*, “*enko Anke ‘pAimakh’ me*”; *go Rumdali nang.*”

tsinu-yo hɛl-šo thebsẽdā-m tɛm-tu, “ɛ̃ko ã-kɛ ‘pāimək^h’ me ;
 again/still-also heavy-ADJ big.voice-LOC add-PST:3SG this I-GEN area is:AUX
 go Rumdāli⁴¹ nə-ŋ”
 1SG R AUX-1SG

‘He still added loudly, “This is my area; I am Rumdali.’ [Text source: 1.92]

h. *meko sus barssho salaphains baʔ.*

meko sus bārs-šo səlāp^hāis bāʔ-tə-t
 3SG much grow:ADJ atrocious:ADJ AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He was very much atrocious.’ [Text source: 4.3]

Another process of deriving adjectives in the language, like in Kirānti-Kh (Toba 1984: 31) is from negation as in (152) a.

(152) a. *marimsho* /mə.rim.šo/ ‘not good i.e. bad’

3.1.3.1.2 Derivational adjective intensifiers

To most of the derivational and usually lexical adjectives (except for colour adjectives), intensifiers like *omo* and *momo* are added before them for emphasis as shown in examples (153) a-i.

- (153) a. *omo kol-sho* /omo kol.šo/
 INTS big:VR-ADJ ‘this much big’ [4.23]
 b. *omo domsho* /omo dom.šo/
 INTS fat:VR-ADJ ‘this much fat’
 c. *omo lais-sho* /omo lais.šo/
 INTS tall:VR-ADJ ‘this much tall’
 d. *momo gyo-sho* /mo.mo gyo.šo/

⁴¹ The third morpheme ‘-li’ (sometimes <-ge>; as in Bahinge also) of 1.92 and elsewhere in this text is also an adjectivizer morpheme of the I-A (Indic) Khas>N, is widely used in the word-formation of the Kirānti languages such as *Dilpali*, *Nechali*, *Phangduwali*, *Sun(u)wari*, *Bahinge*, *Chamlinge* etc. which obviously is one of the examples of language shrinkage (Abbi 1992: 39-49) emerged from language contact and areal pressure.

	INTS long:VR-ADJ	‘that much long’
e.	<i>momo rim-šho</i>	/mo.mo rim.šo/
	INTS good:VR-ADJ	‘that much beautiful’
f.	<i>momo ma-rim-šho</i>	/mo.mo mə.rim.šo/
	INTS NEG-good:VR-ADJ	‘that much bad’
g.	<i>momo gyurs-šho</i>	/mo.mo gyurs.šo/
	INTS sour:VR-ADJ	‘that much sour’
h.	<i>momo so:-šho</i>	/mo.mo so:.šo/
	INTS dry:VR-ADJ	‘that much dry’
i.	<i>momo sus kyet</i>	/mo.mo sus kyet/
	INTS money:ADV N	‘that much money’

These intensifier particles in phrases can undergo reduplication for extra emphasis. Moreover, all derivational and lexical adjectives are subject to reduplication for semantic purposes. Exceptionally, there is a lexeme having /so/ as in *kumso* (n) ‘song’ (See lexicon), which is homophonous to <-šo> of *rimšho* ‘good’ but not a separate bound adjective morpheme. The colour adjectives will be illustrated in § 3.1.3.5 later with their intensifiers.

3.1.3.1.3 Lexical adjectives

Besides derivational adjectives illustrated earlier (See § 3.1.3.1.1), there are a number of core lexemes used as adjectives. They are given in (154) a-k whereas the examples in (154) a-b are used as adverb as well.

(154) a.	<i>mon</i>	/mon/	‘far’
b.	<i>monin</i>	/monin/	‘very far’
c.	<i>Theb</i>	/T ^h ɛb/	‘big’
d.	<i>imitstsili</i>	/imi.cci.li/	‘small’
e.	<i>ker mur</i>	/kɛr mur/	‘a dark man’
f.	<i>lal khap</i>	/ləl k ^h əp/	‘red soil’
g.	<i>syetthi > shyeth</i>	/šyɛthi > šyeth/	‘empty’

h. <i>khadits</i>	/k ^h ə.dic/	‘clever’	[Text source: 1.102]
i. <i>lo:li</i>	/lo:li/	linguistic:ADJ	[Text source 1.5]
j. <i>thirmAkhet</i>	/thir.mā.k ^h et/	tired:ADJ	[Text source 3.28]
k. <i>salAphAiNs</i>	/səlāp ^h āĩs/	atrocious:ADJ	[Text source 4.3]

3.1.3.1.4 Adjectives of shape or size

Adjectival intensifiers (See § 3.1.3.1.2) function as shapes or sizes of an object such as *omo kolshyo reb* /mo.mo kolšyo rɛb/ ‘this much big potato’. Consider the examples (155) a-d.

(155) a. <i>omo</i>	/o.mo/	‘related to size’
b. <i>momo</i>	/mo.mo/	‘realted to size’
c. <i>imitstsili ~ i(o)mtsili</i>	/i.mic.ci.li ~ i(o).mci.li/	‘small’
d. <i>Thebe > Theb</i>	/T ^h ɛbɛ > T ^h ɛb/	‘big’

3.1.3.1.5 Colour adjectives

There are basically, six colour names in Kirānti-Kõits. The term *Tigeng* /Tigɛŋ/ is a synonymus generic word of *phur* /p^hur/ and *j(dz)ir* /dzir/, which signifies ‘colour’ and the following specific colour names and their intensifiers have been found in the language.

- (156) a. *lal* /ləl/ ‘red’
lal-A /ləl.ā/
 red- INTF ‘very red’
- b. *ker* /kɛr/ ‘black’ [cf. *kekem* Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 31)]
ker-A /kɛr.ā/
 black- INTF ‘very black’
- c. *gig* /gig/ ‘green’ [cf. *gigim* Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 31)]
gig-i: /gig.i:/
 green- INTF ‘very green’
- d. *bus* /bus/ ‘white’ [cf. *bubum* Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 31)]

bu-bu: /bu.bu:/

white-INTF ‘very white’

e. pulu /pulu/ ‘grey’ (lit. ‘ash’)

f. hau /həu/ ‘yellow’ (lit. ‘gold’)

3.1.3.1.6 Taste adjectives

The following adjectives of taste (157) a-j have been discovered in the language and an adverbial particle *sappa* /sāppā/ ‘something like very’ can be prefixed to the words describing taste in almost all instances as follows.

(157) a. <i>milomilo</i>	/mi.lo.mi.lo/	‘delicious taste’
b. <i>blosho</i>	/blošo/	‘tasty’
c. <i>sappa blosho</i>	/sāppā blošo/	‘too much tasty’
d. <i>kasho</i>	/kəšo/	‘bitter’
e. <i>kaka</i>	/kəkā:/	‘bitter’ (used also as a particle <i>kaka</i> [Text source: 1.25])
f. <i>gy(dz)urssho</i>	/gyu(dz)rs.šo/	‘sour’ [cf. <i>jujur</i> Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 31)]
g. <i>itsiitsi gyurssho</i>	/i.ci.i.ci gyurs.šo/	‘a little bit sour’
h. <i>sappa gyurssho</i>	/sāppā gyurs.šo/	‘very sour’
i. <i>dzidz</i>	/dzidz/	‘sweet’
j. <i>dzidz-i</i>	/dzi.dzi/	
	sweet-INTF	‘very sweet’

All these lexical and derived adjectives can fully be reduplicated, e.g., *lal lal* /ləl ləl/ ‘red red’ (excludes *ker* /kər/ ‘black’) and *rimsho rimsho* /rimso rimso/ ‘good good’ (excludes *marimsho* /mərīmšo/ ‘bad’ for semantic purposes).

3.1.3.2 Adverbs

Of all the word categories, adverbs constitute the least homogenous class and the hardest to define. Victor (1997: 127) further quoting Nilsen (1972: 179) discusses, “there

seems to be a general consensus of opinion among grammarians (no matter what model they represent) that the most heterogeneous, and the least understood of the traditional part-of-speech categories is, without question, the category of adverb.” Traditionally, an adverb is a lexical category whose members are usually grammatical adjuncts of a verb.

Most typically, adverbs express such semantic notions as time, place, manner, degree, cause, result, condition, concession, purpose, means, instrumental, or circumstances. In Kirānti-Kōits, all these notions are expressed by affixes, which are added to the roots/stems occurring in appropriate sentential constructions.

The heterogeneity of adverbials is evident in their semantics, syntax and morphology. Many semantic sub-classes of adverbials in the language are coded either by derived ‘one-word’ stems, particles e.g., -pā, -nu, dopāiyo, -ṅā, -səm etc. in Kirānti-Kōits are affixed to nominal or verbal roots, or by more complex syntactic (or sentential) constructions as shown below.

(158) a. rimšo-pā gā?-ko

good-ADV walk-IMP ‘walk carefully’

b. rip-pā dor-o

quick-ADV run-IMP ‘run quickly’

Other related forms of adverbs are: *nganAiyo* /ṅənāiyo/ ‘though’, *sAppA* /sāppā/ ‘very’ *mulaiyo* /mulaiyo/ ‘still, yet’, *dopAiyo* /dopāiyo/ ‘anyway, anyhow’, *dopA* /dopā/ ‘how’ [Test source: 3.33], *teko* /teko/ ‘which’, *mopatike* /mopətike/ ‘therefore’ (introduces the logical result of something that has just been mentioned [Text source: 3.16]), *gis* /gis/ (also /došo/) ‘how much’, *domo kolsho* /domo kolšyo/ ‘how big’, *khodesho* /k^hodešo/ (also *budi* as in *tsentsebudi kolsho* ‘As big as Tsentse...’) ‘like, as’ and *tekere*⁴² /tekerε/ ‘where’, *teitei* ‘everywhere’, *suisui* ‘everyone/every being’.

There is an infix morpheme *-ngA* /-ṅā/, which helps to derive adverbial continuation of action infixed between the two verb roots, e.g., *lasngAlasi* /ləsṅāləsi/

⁴² Other reduced forms are *teker* > *teke* > *tek* > *te* /teker > teke > tek > te/.

‘going without pausing’, *pasngApasi* /pəsŋāpəsi/ ‘doing without pausing’, *gasngAgasi* /pāsŋāgāsi/ ‘walking without pausing’ and so on. Moreover, *-sam* /-səm/ (cf. § 3.1.2.6.13) ‘until’ can be suffixed to time adverbials for deriving ‘duration’ such as *mulsam* /mulsəm/ ‘until now’, *sinAtsam* /sinātsəm/ ‘until yesterday’, *disAsam* /disāsəm/ ‘until tomorrow’, *nithnAtsam* /nithnātsəm/ ‘until the following day’, *sAithotsesam* /sāithocesəm/ ‘until the last year’.

Comparative and superlative adverbials can be expressed through *rippA* /rippā/ as in *itsA rippA* /icā rippā/ ‘more quickly’, *go ittsi nole lAinung* /go icci.nole lāi.nu.ŋ/ ‘I go after some time’, and *go tsentse pihonole lAinung* /go icci.nole lāi.nu.ŋ/ ‘I will go as/after Tsentse comes back.’ The morpheme /-keŋā/ (*go meko-keŋā lāisšo bā?ti* ‘I am taller than him’) also is used for comparison. Adverbials can be made emphatic by affixing *-n* and *-ma* morphemes to verb roots as in *dza-si-n-ma-dzAi-nu-ng* /dzə.si.n.mə.dzāi.nu.ŋ/ ‘I really don’t eat’. Now, we will list temporal, spatial and locational adverbs in § 3.1.3.2.1 below.

3.1.3.2.1 Temporal

Temporal and spatial adverbs include: ‘today, tomorrow, yesterday, just a while ago, after some time, up above, down below, outside, inside’ etc. and illustrations are given in (159) a-i.

3.1.3.2.1.1 Generic adverbs of time

Generic adverbs of time are:

- | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|-----------------------|---|
| (159) a. | <i>kAleka</i> | /kā.lɛ.kā/ | ‘once upon a time’ |
| b. | <i>sAinesmoitin</i> | /sāi.nes.moi.tin/ | ‘many years ago’ |
| c. | <i>hoNiti~moiti</i> | /hōiti~moiti/ | ‘before’ |
| d. | <i>nAkan</i> | /nākən/ | ‘sometime before’ [cf. <i>nā:nāŋ</i> Kirānti-Wam;
Opgenort 2002: 230] |
| e. | <i>nAphke</i> | /nāp ^h kɛ/ | ‘previously, formerly’ [cf. <i>nā</i> Kirānti-Wam;
Opgenort 2002: 230] |
| f. | <i>mul</i> | /mul/ | ‘now, at the time’ [cf. <i>māŋ</i> Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort
2002: 231] |

g. <i>mulre</i>	/mul.rɛ/	‘from now on’
h. <i>mulaiyo</i>	/mu.ləi.yo/	‘yet’
i. <i>mu</i>	/mu/	‘time’

3.1.3.2.1.2 Specific adverbs of time

Specific adverbs of time are illustrated in (160) a-t.

(160) a. <i>tsimikkAnole</i>	/ci.mik.kā.nolɛ/	‘a moment (some time) later’
b. <i>mulAt~munAt</i>	/mu.lāt~mu.nāt/	‘today’
c. <i>itstsina</i>	/ic.ci.nā/	‘just now, presently, recently’
d. <i>itstsin</i>	/ic.ci.n/	‘immediate right now’
e. <i>sinAt</i>	/si.nāt/	‘yesterday’
f. <i>ungku</i>	/uŋ.ku/	‘time, turn’
g. <i>mulAt-sinAt</i>	/mu.lāt-sināt/	‘nowadays’
h. <i>nAt</i>	/nāt/	‘day’
i. <i>sun’ikan</i>	/sun’ikən/	‘early morning’
j. <i>suni</i>	/su.ni/	‘morning, daybreak’
k. <i>nAti</i>	/nā.ti/	‘daytime, afternoon’
l. <i>nAdo</i>	/nā.do/	‘night’
m. <i>nArits</i>	/nā.ric/	‘evening, twilight’
n. <i>nupho</i>	/nu.p ^h o/	‘week’
o. <i>sin</i>	/sin/	‘month’
p. <i>thotse</i>	/tho.cɛ/	‘year’
q. <i>mudi</i>	/mu.di/	‘year’
r. <i>noras</i>	/no.rəs/	‘minute’
s. <i>kumuk</i>	/ku.muk/	‘hour’
t. <i>ludz</i>	/ludz/	‘second’
u. <i>yAmka</i>	/yāmkā/	‘a while’

3.1.3.2.1.3 Spatial

To express directional or spatial adverb, the suffix *-ge* /-gɛ/ can usually be added to locational adverbs, e.g., *onth-ge piuo* /õth-gɛ pi.uo/ ‘Come this side (and not that side) or hither (not thither)’.

3.1.3.2.1.4 Locational

Locational adverbs are as follows:

(161) a. <i>eNkere</i> ⁴³	/ɛ̃kɛɛ/	‘here’
b. <i>mekere</i> ⁴⁴	/mekɛɛ/	‘here’
c. <i>geththa</i> > <i>geth</i>	/gɛtthə > gɛth/	‘up here’(vertical)
d. <i>ir</i>	/ir/	‘up there’(vertical)
e. <i>həri ir</i>	/həri ir/	‘up there’(vertical)
f. <i>həri iri</i>	/həri iri/	‘very far up there’
g. <i>luts</i>	/luc/	‘down’
h. <i>di</i>	/di/	‘near down’
i. <i>uyu</i>	/uyu/	‘far down’
j. <i>həyu ui~hui ui</i>	/həyu~hui ui/	‘very far down’ [cf. <i>hui(do)</i> , <i>yu(mi)</i> ‘down at/to’ K-Rod and Ban; Ebert (1999: 109)]
k. <i>həyu uyu</i>	/həyu uyu/	‘very far down’
l. <i>er</i>	/ɛɾ/	‘far’ (horizontal)
m. <i>hare ere</i>	/hərə ɛɾɛ/	‘very far’ (horizontal)
n. <i>onttha</i> > <i>onth</i>	/õtthə > õth/	‘hither’
o. <i>pittha</i> > <i>pith</i>	/pitthə > pith/	‘thither’
p. <i>AgA</i>	/āgā/	‘(of) inside’
q. <i>langA</i>	/ləŋgā/	‘outside’
r. <i>onthge</i>	/õthgɛ/	‘this way’ (lit. hither towards)
s. <i>pithge</i>	/pithgɛ/	‘that way’ (lit. thither towards)
t. <i>er-onth</i>	/ɛɾ-õth/	‘to and fro’ (lit. this way and that way)

⁴³ Other reduced forms are: *eNker* > *eNke* > *eNk* /ɛ̃kɛɾ > ɛ̃kɛ > ɛ̃k/

⁴⁴ Other reduced forms are: *meker* > *meke* > *mek* /mekɛɾ > mekɛ > mek/

3.1.3.2.1.5 Adverbs of manner

Syntactically, verbs may co-occur with unbound, invariable and mostly monosyllabic lexemes (cf. Victor's (1992) description in Tankhul-Naga also), which specify the manner or way in which the action is performed. e.g., *dok rāpcā* 'to stand with out moving', where the unbound morpheme *dok* 'manner of standing' modifies the verb *rāp.cā* 'to stand' and *puT nic.cā* 'manner of sitting'. Such adverbial lexemes in recent literature are referred to as ideophones, onomatopoeic, expressives and even phonaesthetic forms (Caughley 2002: 16).

Caughley in his description of Chepang (T-B, spoken in south-central Nepal) ideophones calls them "onomatopoeia or onomatopoeic" adverbs also. Kirānti-Kōits also has very rich vocabulary of such category of words sufficiently described by linguists like Schulze (1987), Caughley (1997) and Winter (2004). For these traditionally known as 'manner adverbs' in Kirānti-Kōits, Winter (2004: 239-272) calls them "preverbal modifiers" as opposed to Caughley's varied terms mentioned earlier, whereas Schulze calls them "intense action adverbials" or "verb intensifier system" and Abbi and Victor (1997) have included 'ideophones, onomatopoeics, mimics, imitatives, sound symbolism, interjections, descriptive adverbs, picture words, onomatopoeic adverbials, intensives, emphatics, impressifs' within the generic term 'expressive(s)'.

In order to generalize some salient characteristic features of this class of words, Caughley (2002: 16) has provided the following parameters.

- (a) common use of reduplication or partial reduplication
- (b) phonemes or phoneme clusters that are not found in other categories
- (c) a tendency to be absent from more formal, less emotive speech
- (d) some correlation between the sound (or form) of the word and the object referred to-- more common for ideophones than for words of other categories.

Except for my single example *puT nic.cā* (*puT* preverbal modifier; Caughley's parameter (c)) provided earlier, most of the examples are provided in Schulze and Winter

(See Caughley (2002) for their semantic aspects like ‘something of the size of the object’ etc.). I will not repeat them here in this description anymore and certainly mention one single example in (162) a, *səsu* (which is not mentioned in both Schulze and Winter’s previous description) from my text source for concluding this sub-section.

(162) a. *thum khalpAke gil pidArmi dzaditstsAkali tsuissho nA?som somkempA bakyapatke shokle nu phupikya sesu ruptu.*

thum k^həlpā-ke gil pidār-mi dzədits-cā-kəli tsuisšo nāʔso-m
 thum old.man-GEN g worship-LOC reach-INF-PAT hurried:ADJ priest-AG1
 somkəm-pā bəkyəpət-ke šoklə nu p^hu-pikyə səsu rup-tu
 rustle:RED-ADV trumpet.flower-GEN pod and flower-PL MAN collect-PS1 3SG

‘The priest who was hurried to reach to the Thum Khalpa’s *Gil* worship; hurriedly collected the trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) in rustle.’ [Text source: 3.50]

3.1.3.2.1.6 Quantity and quantifiers

In most languages, numerals, quantifiers and determiners belong morphologically (and less syntactically) to noun, verb, adjective, and adverb classes. Thus, their semantic description forms a part of the characterization of various sub-classes of the language’s lexicon. These quantifiers Kirānti-Kōits in sentential constructions precede the head verbs and head nouns. The following quantity-quantifiers in (163) a-g are available in the Kirānti-Kōits language:

- (163) a. *itsik^hε* ‘a little’
 b. *itsik^hoi* ‘about a little’
 c. *tsiṇuyo* ‘somemore, still, again’
 d. *susi > sus* ‘many, much, very, too’
 e. *nelle > nε!* ‘all, whole’
 f. *ōso* ‘this much’
 g. *moso* ‘that much’

3.1.4 Numerals and classifiers

The basic Kirānti-Kōits numerals (1-10), after Hodgson's pioneering study, were propbaly first recorded by Beams (1867; provided in (164) § 3.1.4.1) historically. We will below present these numerals usually occasionally used by native speakers along with Beams' data (also cf. Appendix C) immediately after gloss on the right handside. The language, unlike any other Tibeto-Burman Kirānti languages in general and Kirānti-Rodung (cf. Ebert 1994, 1997, Rai 2001) in particular, has neither numeral nor nominal classifiers (cf. Rapacha (1997b [VS 2054/5: 117]) for a vague lexeme $p^h\vare\tilde{g}\bar{a}$ classifying banana) exceptionally.

3.1.4.1 Basic cardinal numerals

As discussed about the Je~ticha Bre:se 'script' for documenting the Kirānti-Kōits language in § 2.5-§ 2.5.4 in Chapter 2, we will below on two rows left handside provide basic numerals upto 10 in the script proper for the sake of further investigation and development of the the writing system in the language.

(164)		Modern usage	Beams' data
0	𑌕𑌖𑌗	<i>sum</i> /sum/ 'zero'	--- 'not recorded (?)'
1	𑌕𑌘	<i>ka</i> /kā/ 'one'	ka 'one'
2	𑌕𑌙𑌚𑌛	<i>ni?si</i> /ni?si/ 'two'	nishi 'two'
3	𑌕𑌜	<i>sAN</i> /sā/ 'three'	sang* 'three'
4	𑌕𑌝	<i>le</i> /lɛ/ 'four'	le 'four'
5	𑌕𑌞	<i>nga</i> /ŋə/ 'five'	gno* 'five'
6	𑌕𑌟	<i>raku</i> /rə.ku/ 'six'	ruk* 'six'
7	𑌕𑌠	<i>tsani</i> /cə.ni/ 'seven'	chani 'seven'
8	𑌕𑌡	<i>sasi</i> /sə.si/ 'eight'	yoh* 'eight'
9	𑌕𑌢	<i>yAN</i> /yā/ 'nine'	guh* 'nine'
10	𑌕𑌣	<i>gau</i> /gəu/ 'ten' <i>guh</i>	sashi* 'ten'

The asterisk for ‘three’, ‘five’ and ‘six’ indicates some phonemic changes between the two systems and the same for ‘eight’, ‘nine’ and ‘ten’ suggests mismatch between the modern usage and Beams’ data, which might have occurred due to typographic or editing errors in the latter.

3.1.4.1.1 Compound cardinal numerals

The following compound-cardinals in (165) are occasionally used in daily conversations among native speakers are available in the language:

(165)					
<i>kAk</i>	/kāk/	‘eleven’	<i>nik</i>	/nik/	‘twelve’
<i>sANk</i>	/sāk/	‘thirteen’	<i>lek</i>	/lɛk/	‘fourteen’
<i>ngok</i>	/ŋok/	‘fifteen’	<i>rok</i>	/rok/	‘sixteen’
<i>tsek</i>	/tsek/	‘seventeen’	<i>sask</i>	/sæsk/	‘eighteen’
<i>yANk</i>	/yāk/	‘nineteen’	<i>nisum</i> ⁴⁵	/ni.sum/	‘twenty’
<i>nikA</i>	/ni.kā/	‘twenty-one’	<i>nis</i>	/ni.nis/	‘twenty-two’
<i>nisAN</i>	/ni.sā/	‘twenty-three’	<i>nile</i>	/ni.lɛ/	‘twenty-four’
<i>ningo</i>	/ni.ŋo/	‘twenty-five’	<i>nirak</i>	/ni.ræk/	‘twenty-six’
<i>nitsan</i>	/ni.cən/	‘twenty-seven’	<i>nisas</i>	/ni.səs/	‘twenty-eight’
<i>niyAN</i>	/ni.yā/	‘twenty-nine’	<i>sANsum</i>	/sā.sum/	‘thirty’
<i>sANk</i>	/sāk/	‘thirty-one’	<i>sANnis</i>	/sā.nis/	‘thirty-two’
<i>sANsas</i>	/sā.səs/	‘thirty-three’	<i>sANle</i>	/sā.lɛ/	‘thirty-four’
<i>sANnga</i>	/sā.ŋə/	‘thirty-five’	<i>sANrak</i>	/sā.ræk/	‘thirty-six’
<i>sANtsan</i>	/sā.cən/	‘thirty-seven’	<i>sANsas</i>	/sā.səs/	‘thirty-eight’
<i>sANyAN</i>	/sā.yā/	‘thirty-nine’	<i>lesum</i>	/lɛ.sum/	‘forty’
<i>lekA</i>	/lɛ.kā/	‘forty-one’	<i>lenis</i>	/lɛ.nis/	‘forty-two’
<i>lesAN</i>	/lɛ.sā/	‘forty-three’	<i>lele</i>	/lɛ.lɛ/	‘forty-four’
<i>lenga</i>	/lɛ.ŋə/	‘forty-five’	<i>lerak</i>	/lɛ.ræk/	‘forty-six’
<i>letsan</i>	/lɛ.cən/	‘forty-seven’	<i>lesas</i>	/lɛ.səs/	‘forty-eight’

⁴⁵ Cf. *khalkA* /k^həl.kā/ also in measurement of money in § 3.1.5.1 and example (170) i.

<i>leyAN</i>	/lɛ.yã/	‘forty-nine’	<i>ngasum</i>	/ŋə.sum/	‘fifty’
<i>ngakA</i>	/ŋə.ka/	‘fifty-one’	<i>nganis</i>	/ŋə.nis/	‘fifty-two’
<i>ngasAN</i>	/ŋə.sã/	‘fifty-three’	<i>ngale</i>	/ŋə.lɛ/	‘fifty-four’
<i>nganga</i>	/ŋə.ŋə/	‘fifty-five’	<i>ngarak</i>	/ŋə.rək/	‘fifty-six’
<i>ngatsan</i>	/ŋə.cən/	‘fifty-seven’	<i>ngatsan</i>	/ŋə.səs/	‘fifty-eight’
<i>ngayAN</i>	/ŋə.yã/	‘fifty-nine’	<i>raksum</i>	/rək.sum/	‘sixty’
<i>raknis</i>	/rək.nis/	‘sixty-two’	<i>raksAN</i>	/rək.sa/	‘sixty-three’
<i>rakle</i>	/rək.lɛ/	‘sixty-four’	<i>raknga</i>	/rək.ŋə/	‘sixty-five’
<i>rarak</i>	/rə.rək/	‘sixty-six’	<i>raktsan</i>	/rək.can/	‘sixty-seven’
<i>raksas</i>	/rək.səs/	‘sixty-eight’	<i>rakyAN</i>	/rək.yã/	‘sixty-nine’
<i>tsansum</i>	/cən.sum/	‘seventy’	<i>tsankA</i>	/cən.kā/	‘seventy-one’
<i>tsannis</i>	/cən.nis/	‘seventy-two’	<i>tsansAN</i>	/cən.sã/	‘seventy-three’
<i>tsanle</i>	/cən.lɛ/	‘seventy-four’	<i>tsannga</i>	/cən.ŋə/	‘seventy-five’
<i>tsanrak</i>	/cən.rək/	‘seventy-six’	<i>tsatsan</i>	/cə.cən./	‘seventy-seven’
<i>tsansan</i>	/cən.səs/	‘seventy-eight’	<i>tsanyAN</i>	/cən.yã/	‘seventy-nine’
<i>sassum</i>	/səs.sum/	‘eighty’	<i>saska</i>	/səs.kā/	‘eighty-one’
<i>sasnis</i>	/səs.nis/	‘eighty-two’	<i>sassAN</i>	/səs.sã/	‘eighty-two’
<i>sasle</i>	/səs.lɛ/	‘eighty-four’	<i>sasnga</i>	/səs.ŋə/	‘eighty-five’
<i>sasrak</i>	/səs.rək/	‘eighty-six’	<i>sastsan</i>	/səs.cən/	‘eighty-seven’
<i>sasas</i>	/sə.səs/	‘eighty-eight’	<i>sasyAN</i>	/səs.yã/	‘eighty’
<i>yANsum</i>	/yã.sum/	‘ninety’	<i>yANkA</i>	/yã.kā/	‘ninety-one’
<i>yANnis</i>	/yã.nis/	‘ninety-two’	<i>yANsAN</i>	/yã.sã/	‘ninety-three’
<i>yANle</i>	/yã.lɛ/	‘ninety-four’	<i>yANnga</i>	/yã.ŋə/	‘ninety-five’
<i>yANrak</i>	/yã.rək/	‘ninety-six’	<i>yANtsan</i>	/yã.cən/	‘ninety-seven’
<i>yANsas</i>	/yã.səs/	‘ninety-eight’	<i>yANYAN</i>	/yã.yã/	‘ninety-nine’
<i>poNrka</i> ⁴⁶	/põrp ^h .kā/	‘one hundred’			

(Cf. Sunuwar 2003: 410-413 and Rapacah, Ngawoca-Mukhia & Rujicha-Mukhia 2003)

⁴⁶ Cf. also *giNrka* /gĩr(ɽ)kã/ and *gigka* /gigkã/ for ‘one hundred’

3.1.4.1.2 Ordinals

An ordinal is a number defining position in a series. According to Victor (1997) ordinals in Tankhul-Naga (T-B, spoken in northeast India) are formed by affixing the nominalizer or non-finite marker and suffixing the agentive or attributive adjective marker to the numerals, whereas in Kirānti-Kõits, there is only one ordinal marker <-səm> as in (166) used as postpositional suffix (cf. § 3.1.2.6.13) semantically denoting a destination i.e. a place until which something moves or a moment until which the action is carried out.

(166)

<i>kA-sam</i>	/kā.səm/	‘first’	<i>ni-sam</i>	/ni.səm/	‘second’
<i>sAN-sam</i>	/sā.səm/	‘third’	<i>le-sam</i>	/lɛ.səm/	‘fourth’
<i>nga-sam</i>	/ŋə.səm/	‘fifth’	<i>ruk-sam</i>	/ruk.səm/	‘sixth’
<i>tsani-sam</i>	/cəni.səm/	‘seventh’	<i>sas-sam</i>	/səs.səm/	‘eighth’
<i>yAN-sam</i>	/yā.səm/	‘ninth’	<i>gau-sam</i>	/gəu.səm/	‘tenth’

There are some irregular random suffixes denoting ordinals (See Sunuwar 2003) for greater numerals also.

3.1.4.1.2.1 Ordinals Distributive numerals

These numeral in Tankhul-Naga (T-B, spoken in northeast India) are formed by reduplicating the last syllable of the numeral (Victor 1997) whereas in Kirānti-Kõits, it is formed by reduplicating the whole syllable with <-pā> originally form pəšyā~pəšā ‘having done (lit.)’ a coverbal clitic/suffix, e.g.,

- (167) a. *kā kā pā* ‘one by one, one at a time’ (lit. one one having done)
 b. *niʔsi niʔsi pā* ‘two by two, two at a time’ (lit. one one having done)
 c. *sā sā pā* ‘three by three, three at a time’ (lit. one one having done)
 d. *kā kā pā h’iko* ‘Count one by one.’

3.1.4.1.3 Frequency numerals

These numerals in the language are formed by suffixing usually /kā/ ‘one (lit.)’ to the cardinals like niʔsikā ‘twice’ sākā ‘thrice’ lekā ‘four times’, however, kālekā (cf. e.g., (168) a-b and Text sources [1.119] and [3.30] ‘once’ (can also be reduced to kālē in conversation as in (168) a is an exception. Another term synonymously used for kālekā ‘once’ is kāb-nāt ‘once’ (lit. one day [See Text source: 2.21]) as in example (168) b below.

(168) a. *kalenga solum kaleka la roʔsib masogennga laptso Paiwa nu Dunglewake glumats glumeken tsoʔsime baʔ.*

kālē-ŋā solu-m kālē-kā lā roʔ-sib māsogen-ŋā lāptso Pāiwā nu
 once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and
 Dunglewā-ke glumāts glu-mēke-n tsoʔ-si-me bāʔ-tə~t
 D-GEN family come.out: INF-PAR close-MV:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The only once opening door of virtue for one time’s sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out.’ [Text source: 1.17]

b. *kabnat shyetsib panpan lashonu Tsisankhu (Kuibir, Serna, Diyale nu Pokharenga sirwa) dzadimmabaʔ.*

kāb-nāt šye-tsib pə-n-pə-n lə-šo-nu Tsisənkhu (Kuibir, Sernā,
 one/once-day meat-bird do-PROG-RED-PROG go-PR:PCPL-TEMP Ts (K, S,
 Diyālē nu Pokhərə-ŋā sirwā) dzə-dimmā-bāʔ-tə~t
 D and P-GEN boarder) reach-PST:3PL-AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Once upon a time, they reached to Tsisankhu (boarder of Kuibir, Serna, Diyale and Pokhare) while hunting.’ [Text source: 1.52]

3.1.4.1.4 Approximate numerals

The approximate numerals can be expressed by using the morpheme <k^hoi> ‘about’, e.g.,

(169)			
<i>kA khoi</i>	/kā k ^h oi/		‘about one’
<i>ni?si khoi</i>	/ni?si k ^h oi/		‘about two’
<i>sAN khoi</i>	/sā k ^h oi/		‘about three’

3.1.4.1.5 Fractional numerals

The following two fractional numeral names (169) a-b are available in Kirānti-Kōits and further investigation may discover other nomenclature too.

(169) a. <i>lekal</i>	/ləkəl/	¼	‘one fourth, a quarter’
b. <i>phekyo</i>	/p ^h ɛkyo/	½	‘half’

3.1.5 Measurements

For our present description here, we have included monetary units or measurements only excluding other details of land, liquid measurements etc.

3.1.5.1 Measurement of money

There are some generic terms like *kyet* /kyɛT/ ‘cash’, *ketos* /kɛTos/ ‘currency’ and *khru~khur(D)u* /k^hur(D)u/ ‘rupee/s’ in Kirānti-Kōits and other specific units are provided in (170) a-o.

(170) a. <i>sekle</i>	/sɛklɛ/	‘25 paisa/cent coin’
b. <i>phebre</i>	/p ^h ɛbrɛ/	‘50 paisa/cent coin’
c. <i>khurka</i>	/k ^h ur(D).kā/	‘one rupee coin’
d. <i>khurnga</i>	/k ^h ur(D).ŋə/	‘five rupees coin’
e. <i>khur</i>	/k ^h ur(D)/	‘one rupee paper-note’
f. <i>khurni ?si</i>	/k ^h ur(D) ni?si/	‘two rupees paper-note’
g. <i>phANka</i> ⁴⁷	/p ^h ākā/	‘five rupees paper-note’

⁴⁷ Cf. also *tAplAkaA* /tāplākā/ for ‘five rupees paper-note’

h. <i>phAniʔsi</i>	/p ^h āniʔsi/	‘ten rupees paper-note’
i. <i>khalkA</i>	/k ^h əl.kā/	‘ ¹ twenty rupees paper-note, ² one score’
j. <i>poNrphekyo</i>	/põr.p ^h ekyo/	‘fifty rupees paper-note’
k. <i>poNrka</i> ⁴⁸	/põr.kā/	‘one hundred’
l. <i>dzoika</i>	/dzoi.kā/	‘five hundred rupees paper-note’
m. <i>dakka</i>	/dæk.kā/	‘one thousand rupees paper-note’
n. <i>poNrnnga</i>	/põr.ŋə/	‘five thousand’
o. <i>puiNka</i>	/puĩ.kā/	‘one hundred thousand’

(See Sunuwar (2003 [VS 2060: 409]) for more than ‘one hundred thousand’ counting as nəŋ.kā, doŋ.kā, diri.kā, biri.kā, ɛ.ri, pi.ri, ɕ.ri)

3.1.6 Division of time

Some specific adverbs of time division have already been described in § 3.1.3.2.1.2 examples (160) a-u earlier. The generic term indicating ‘time’ is *muN* /mũ/ and its synonymous term is *nəyer*. Other concepts of time are: *nAmsits* /nāmsits/ ‘era’ and /thems/ ‘span’. In the following examples (171) and (172), we will provide the names of days and months.

3.1.6.1 Days in a week

The generic term used for denoting ‘week’ in the language is *nupho* /nup^ho/ and *tsem* /cem/ is its synonymy. There are two different names for the days of the week used in Sikkim (Set A) and in Nepal (Set B), however in the lexicon, the entry has been indicated as synomous. They are given below in (171).

(171)

	Set A		Set B	
<i>rubnAt</i>	/rub.nāt/	<i>tserenAʔt</i>	/ɕɛɛ.nāʔt/	‘Sunday आइतवार’
<i>naknAt</i>	/næk.nāt/	<i>tAsnAʔt</i>	/tas.nāʔt/	‘Monday सोमवार’

⁴⁸ See footnote 46

<i>ribnAt</i>	/rib.nāt/	<i>rimsn Aʔt</i>	/rims.nāʔt/	‘Tuesday मङ्गलवार’
<i>tipnAt</i>	/tip.nāt/	<i>dumsnAʔt</i>	/dums.nāʔt/	‘Wednesday बुधवार’
<i>rubnAt</i>	/rub.nāt/	<i>relphnAʔt</i>	/relp ^h .nāʔt/	‘Thursday विहिवार’
<i>hasnAt</i>	/hās.nāt/	<i>holphnAʔt</i>	/holp ^h .nāʔt/	‘Friday शुक्रवार’
<i>suknAt</i>	/suk.nāt/	<i>gilphn Aʔt</i>	/gilp ^h .nāʔt/	‘Saturday शनिवार’

3.1.6.2 Months

The generic term *sin* /sin/ in Kirānti-Kōits implies ‘month’. Egli (1999) has collected the name of months in the language borrowed from Indic Nepali in his ethnographic study of the tribe, however, there still exists indigenous vocabulary for months as given in (172) a-l here.

(172) a. <i>ngarits</i>	/ŋəric/	डरिच	‘January, माघ’
b. <i>syAbrats</i>	/kyābrāc/	क्याब्राच	‘February, फागुन’
c. <i>phurots</i>	/p ^h uroc/	फूरोच	‘March, चैत्र’
d. <i>gigits</i>	/gigic/	गिगिच	‘April, वैशाख’
e. <i>dzimnats</i>	/dzimnāc/	जिम्नाच	‘May, जेठ’
f. <i>hubnats</i>	/hubnac/	हुब्नाच	‘June, असार’
g. <i>khubnats</i>	/khubnāc/	खुब्नाच	‘July, साउन’
h. <i>dz’ihots</i>	/dz’ihoc/	जिहोच	‘August, भदौ’
i. <i>burots</i>	/buroc/	बुरोच	‘September, असोज’
j. <i>gyurots</i>	/gyuroc/	ग्युरोच	‘October, कार्तिक’
k. <i>hA:sots</i>	/hā:soc/	हा:सोच	‘November, मङ्सिर’
l. <i>gilots</i>	/giloc/	गिलोच	‘December, पुस’

3.1.6.3 Seasons

Victor (1997) has described eight seasons in Tankhul-Naga (T-B spoken in Northeast India), whereas in Kirānti-Kōits such rich nomenclature has been replaced by language contact situation in the Himalayas. The Kirānti-Kōits people’s new season

begins in *hA:songosyu* /hā:soŋosyu/ ‘a tribal festival’, which falls in the month of January. The following seasons (173) a-c have been recorded in the language.

(173) a. <i>kagyawAtseri</i>	/kəgyəwāceri/	‘spring season’
b. <i>reusotshyem</i>	/rɛusotšɛm/	‘rainy season’
c. <i>gyu~dz(j)u</i>	/gyu~dzu/	‘winter season’

3.2 Verb morphology

This § 3.2 describes the verbal system and their classification in Kirānti-Kōits- the nucleus parts of speech. Traditional grammars often define ‘verb’ notionally as a ‘doing’ word. Such a notional definition has generally been considered inadequate for a number of reasons. Modern grammars prefer a more syntactical definition.

A more exhaustive definition of verb (Victor 1997: 149) is that it constitutes a major word class that is normally essential to clause tense-aspect-mood, number, person and voice. Verbs tend to code less time-stable experiences, primarily transitory states, events or actions. They may code either extremely rapid changes, or processes that may have certain duration, or even relatively more stable states. In other words, they cover a certain range from one extreme end of the time-stability scale.

Verbs are also most obviously distinguished by the fact that each verb typically requires the presence in its sentence of a specified set of NP arguments syntactically (cf. Zograph 1985), each of which may be required to appear in some particular grammatical form, e.g. particular case marking, particular pre or postposition etc. Additionally, Tibeto-Burman verbs in Zograph’s (1982: 188-189) observation is,

“The verb is, as a rule, invariable, and hardly distinguishable from other classes of words. By virtue of its position in the sentence, it might be compared to the nominal predicate of the Indo-European languages. The verb can either stand alone, or it can take on special affirmative particles which amount in most cases to rudimentary forms of a verbal copula. Tense is usually expressed by the addition of supplementary focusing words. Anything that could be called a conjugation system is found only in certain members of the Naga sub-

group, and up to a point, in the pronominalised Himalayan languages, where pronominal suffixes play the part of personal endings.”

Truly, all Kirānti-Kōits verbs (also cf. Appendix C) as one of the pronominalised Himalayan languages have such pronominal suffixes.

3.2.1 Roots

Like most Kirānti (Athpare, Bantawa, Camling Thulung, Khaling and Limbu) verbs (Ebert 1994:19), Kirānti-Kōits also has two different stems. The first full stem is used before vowels, the second (weakened) stem before consonant and word final. The stem is often predictable. The transitivizing or causative suffixes *-t/-d* and *-s* are elided in stem II; stems ending in sonorants and some vowel stem remain unchanged. Yet, there remains verbal roots obscurity in Kirānti languages as observed by Michailovsky (1985:363) thus,

‘The flamboyant verbal agreement morphology of Limbu (T-B, spoken in east Nepal and adjacent India, 200,000 speakers) and of the rest of the East Himalayish (or Bahing-Vayu [Hayu]) group of Tibeto-Burman partly obscures the verbal roots, which themselves preserve traces of an older, no longer productive morphology.’

The obscurity of verbal roots in K-K also preserves traces of an older, no longer productive morphology (cf. § 3.2.1.1 and § 3.2.1.2).

3.2.1.1 Open root verbs

Minimum two verbs have been provided for each open roots based on their basic infinitival form *-tsA /-cā/* as word final syllable such as *le-tsA /lɛ.ca/* ‘to sell’. Some more examples are presented in (174). There are five productively different imperative (also cf. Appendix C) suffix morphemes, viz., *<-o>*, *<-ko>*, *<-lo>*, *<-do>*, *<-šo>* and *<-to>* in (174) and (175) of whose detailed phonological rules has been left out for further investigation.

Basic Roots	Root Final	Infinitive Σ-INF	Imperative/ Directive	Finite forms (Σ)-NPST-1SG(vi/t)	Gloss of Σ-INF
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(174)

lə-	zero	lə-cā	lāu-o	lāi-nu-η	‘to go’
tə-	zero	tə-cā	tāu-o ⁴⁹	tāi-nu-η	‘to see/get’
k ^h ā:-	zero	k ^h ā:-cā	k ^h ā:k-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to tear’(agent active)
gā:-	zero	gā:-cā	gā:k-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to tear’(object itself)
ŋā-	zero	ŋā-cā	ŋāk-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to weep’
thi-	zero	thi-cā	thiu-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to touch’
(h)i-	zero	(h)i-cā	(h)iu-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to come’
pi-	zero	pi-cā	piu-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to come’
m’i-	zero	m’i-cā	m’ik-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to plait’
glu-	zero	gl(ɾ/l)u-cā	gluŋ-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to come out, appear’
tu-	zero	tu-cā	tuŋ-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to drink’
t’u-	zero	t’u-cā	t’uk-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to lick’
ku-	zero	ku-cā	ku-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to come’
lɛ-	zero	lɛ-cā	lɛʔ-ko	Σ-nu-η	‘to sell’
gɛ-	zero	gɛ-cā	gɛu-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to give’
dɛ̃-	zero	dɛ̃-cā	dɛn-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to say’
ko(:)-	zero	ko(:)-cā	koŋ-o	Σ-nu-η	‘to look/see’
T ^h oʔ-	zero	T ^h oʔ-cā	T ^h oʔ-ko	Σ-nu-η	‘to hit’

3.2.1.2 Closed root verbs

Minimum three verbs have been provided for each closed roots based on their basic infinitival form *-tsA /-cā/* as word final syllable such as *le-tSA /lɛ.ca/* ‘to sell’. Some more examples are presented in (175).

Basic Roots	Root Final	Infinitive Σ-INF	Imperative/Directive	Finite form (Σ)-NPST-1SG(vt)	Gloss of Σ-INF
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⁴⁹ This imperative/directive form is a bit unusual and its finitive form now has one more meaning something like ‘I kick you.’ Its imperative form for kicking is *təto* ‘kick’.

				Σ-bə (vi.)	
(175)					
k ^h āl-	l-	k ^h āl-cā	k ^h āl-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to mix up’
k ^h ul-	l-	k ^h ul-cā	k ^h ul-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to care/look after’
māl-	l-	māl-cā	mə-lo	Σ-nu-η	‘to need/search’
gr(ɾ)ol-	l-	gr(ɾ)olo-cā	gr(ɾ)o-lo	Σ-nu-η	‘to lie on’
rēl-	l-	rēl-cā	rēl-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to hang’
sul-	l-	sul-cā	sul-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to tickle’
tul-	l-	tul-cā	tul-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to uproot’
tēl-	l-	tēl-cā	tēl-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to pile up’
pr(ɾ)ol-	l-	pr(ɾ)ol-cā	pr(ɾ)l-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to break’ (A active)
br(ɾ)ol-	l-	br(ɾ)ol-cā	br(ɾ)ol-o	Σ-bə (vi.)	to ‘break’ (O itself)
šyel-	l-	šyel-cā	šyel-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to make/build’
hām-	m-	hām-cā	hām-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to dry’
hīm-	m-	hīm-cā	hīm-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to shake’
sām-	m-	sām-cā	sām-do	Σ-nu-η	‘to lose’
cārc-	rc-	cārc-cā	cār-do	cār-nu-η	‘to urinate’
k ^h erc-	rc-	k ^h erc-cā	k ^h er-do	k ^h er-nu-η	‘to chase’
hirc-	rc-	hirc-cā	hir-do	hir-nu-η	‘to roam’
kirc-	rc-	kirc-cā	kir-do	kir-nu-η	‘to braid’ (rope)
kyorc-	rc-	kyorc-cā	kyor-do	kyor-nu-η	‘to cut’
lāic-	c-	lāic-cā	lə-to	lāi-nu-η	‘to take away’
k ^h roic-	c-	k ^h r(ɾ)oic-cā	k ^h r(ɾ)o-do	k ^h r(ɾ)oi-nu-η	‘to chop’
soic-	c-	soic-cā	soit-to	soi-nu-η	‘to send’
roic-	c-	roic-cā	roit-to	roi-nu-η	‘to snatch’
k ^h uic-	c-	k ^h uic-cā	k ^h uit-to	k ^h ui-nu-η	‘to hide’
muic-	c-	muic-cā	muit-to	mui-nu-η	‘to blow up’ (fire)
hōic-	c-	hōic-cā	hōis-šo	hōi-nu-η	‘to climb up’

nic-	c-	nic-cā	nis-šo	nissi-nu-ŋ	‘to sit’
kic-	c-	kic-cā	kiŋ-o	ki-nu-ŋ	‘to pull’
gāʔ-	ʔ-	gāʔ-cā	gāʔ-ko	Σ-nu-ŋ	‘to walk’
tɛʔ-	ʔ-	tɛʔ-cā	tɛʔ-ko	Σ-nu-ŋ	‘to block’
thɛʔ-	ʔ-	thɛʔ-cā	thɛʔ-ko	Σ-nu-ŋ	‘to tread’
thāp-	p-	thāp-cā	thāp-o	Σ-nu-ŋ	‘to pay’
tup-	p-	tup-cā	tup-o	Σ-nu-ŋ	‘to beat’
yup-	p-	yup-cā	yup-o	Σ-nu-ŋ	‘to beat’
lup-	p-	lup-cā	lup-o	Σ-nu-ŋ	‘to smear’
k ^h āp-	p-	k ^h āp-cā	k ^h āp-o	Σ-nu-ŋ	‘to pile up in layer’

Non-finite forms of both open and closed roots are: Σ-INF (Σ-cā; is cognate of Σ-co K-Ba, Σ-cām K-Wam and in other Kirānti languages; Σ-maʔLim, Σ-ma Ath, Σ-ma Ban, Σ-ma Rod, Σ-mu Th, Σ-nā Kh (Ebert 1994: 55)) Σ-PUR (Σ-th), Σ-CONV:SIM, Σ-NEG:CONV(Σ-šā-ŋā is cognate of Σ-sa Ath, Σ-sa Ban, Σ-sa Rod (Ebert Ibid)).

3.2.2 <-ti/-tā> ending class of verbs

Two separate classes of verbs ending in <-ti> and <-tā> for first person singular past (cf. Ch 1 § 1.3) have been discovered in the language when a native speaker speaks to himself/herself (Agent-Patient relationship, 1SG) and then also 2SG agent-1SG and 3SG patient. Most intransitive verbs like ‘come, go, return, and weep’ etc. always end in <-ti> suffix (176) a-l, whereas the remaining transitive and ditransitive verbs end with <-tā> suffix (177) a-e.

3.2.2.1 <-ti> ending class of verbs

The following intransitive verbs end in <-ti> ‘past’, where the relationship between agent-patient shown is- 1SG PST agent-patient and 2SG→1SG /3SG e.g. *soitti* /*soit.ti* ‘send (lit.)’ imperative past.

(176) a. <i>la-ti</i>	/lə.ti/
go-PST:1SG	'I went'
b. <i>gAʔ-ti</i>	/gāʔ.ti/
walk-PST:1SG	'I walked'
c. <i>ngA-ti</i>	/ŋā.ti/
weep-PST:1SG	'I swept'
d. <i>pi-ti</i>	/pi.ti/
come- PST:1SG	'I came'
e. <i>dzAʔ-ti</i>	/dzāʔ.ti/
come/arrive- PST:1SG	'I arrived'
f. <i>bAʔ-ti</i>	/bāʔ.ti/
be- PST:1SG	'I was, remained' (narrative verb plus AUX)
g. <i>dum-ti</i>	/dum.ti/
become- PST:1SG	'I became'
h. <i>beʔ-ti</i>	/beʔ.ti/
die- PST:1SG	'I died'
i. <i>li-ti</i>	/li.ti/
remain- PST:1SG	'I remained'
j. <i>grol-ti</i>	/gr(ɾ/l)ol.ti/
lie.down- PST:1SG	'I lied down'
k. <i>gri-ti</i>	/gr(ɾ/l)i.ti/
cry- PST:1SG	'I cried'
l. <i>brup-ti</i>	/br(ɾ/l)up.ti/
climb.down- PST:1SG	'I climbed down'

3.2.2.2 <-tā.ŋ> class of verbs

The following transitive verbs end in <-tā.ŋ> 'past' (ŋ = 1SG in -tā.ŋ), where the relationship between agent-patient shown is- 1SG PST agent-patient and 1SG → 2SG/DU/PL, 3SG/DU/PL e.g. *soit-tA-ŋg* /soit.tā.ŋ/ 'I sent...' Consider other examples given in (177) a-e.

(177) a. <i>dzA-tA-ng</i>	/dzā.tā.ŋ/
eat-PST-1SG	‘I ate...’
b. <i>pA-tA-ng</i>	/pā.tā.ŋ/
do-PST-1SG	‘I did...’
c. <i>sol-tA-ng</i>	/sol.tā.ŋ/
take out-PST-1SG	‘I took out...’
d. <i>let-tA-ng</i>	/let.tā.ŋ/
return-PST-1SG	‘ ¹ I returned something ² turned cattle from one direction to another’
e. <i>breʔ-tA-ng</i>	/brɛʔ.tā.ŋ/
write-PST-1SG	‘I wrote’ [cf. <i>-tā</i>] SG:PST Kirānti-Ha; Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1973: 140)]

The morpheme <-tā> ‘past’ changes according to person, number and T(ense) A(spect) M(ood), e.g. *soit-ta-sku* /soit.tə.sku/ ‘We ^{DU}sent...’, *soit-te-se* /soit.tɛ.sɛ/ ‘You ^{DU}send...(IMP)’ etc.

3.2.3 Deictic verbs

We have already listed some Kirānti-Kõits locational adverbs in § 3.1.3.2.1.4 earlier. These locational adverbs are also known as deictics code space in most Kirānti languages in terms of distance vertically or horizontally, e.g. *həyu muyu* (also *hui ui* is cognate of *hui (lo)* ‘down at/to’ K-Rod, *yu(ni)* ‘down at/to’ K-Ban, *huilo-ka* (cf. *hui-lā* K-K) ‘from below’ K-Rod, *yuni-ŋka* ‘from below’ *hui-ni* (cf. *hui-gɛ* K-K) ‘down to’, *yu-t-nin* K-Ban ‘down to’; Ebert (1999: 109)) ‘very far down’ (±animate object, vertical), *uyu~ui* (<*həyu uyu*>*ui*) ‘below down’ (location, distance, vertical), *hərə mərə* ‘level, distal’ (±human object, horizontal), *hərə ɛɛ~ɛr* ‘far, distal’ (level:LOC, distance, horizontal), *həri məri* ‘far up’ (±human object, vertical) and *həri iri~ir* ‘far up’ (distance, vertical). Besides these deictic adverbs, there are some sets of deictic verbs also for coding space for how the same action is referred differently.

The Kirānti-Kõits deictic verbs (178) a-d and (179) a-d like in other Kirānti languages- Thulung, Camling, Bantawa, Limbu (Ebert 1999: 114) and (Rai 2002) Bantawa, Chamling, Khaling Thulung Chintange Wambule Jerong (Jero), Koyee (Koyu), Sunuwar and Limbu describe a trajectory from a higher, lower or same-level place to the place of orientation specifying motion towards the place of reference. Ebert (ibid: 113) notes, "...the most exact English translations sound somewhat pleonastic, I shall gloss simply by 'come up'".

(178) a.	<i>hitsA</i>	/hi.cā/	'to come down'(vertical)
	b. <i>kutsA</i>	/ku.cā/	'to come up'
	c. <i>pitsA</i>	/pi.cā/	'to come' (level, horizontal) [cf. <i>pi-cām</i> Kirānti Wam; Rai (2002)]
	d. <i>dzAʔsA</i>	/dzāʔ.cā/	'to come/arrive (neutral)'
(179) a.	<i>h(p)itstsA</i>	/hic.cā/	'to bring, fetch down' [cf. <i>hyāc-cām</i> Kirānti-Wam. Rai (2002)]
	b. <i>kuiʔstsA</i>	/kuiʔc.cā/	'to bring, fetch up' (vertical)
	c. <i>pitstsA</i>	/pic.cā/	'to bring, fetch (level, horizontal)' [cf. <i>p^hic-cām</i> K. Wam; Rai (2002)]
	d. <i>tsAʔsA</i>	/cāʔ.cā/	'to bring, fetch (neutral)'

Like these deictic verbs, there are other verb classes e.g. *thAicca* /thāic.cā 'to beat', *kyortstsA* /kyorc.cā/ 'to cut' etc specifying at least four ways of performing the same action.

3.2.4 Copula verbs

There are two basic copula/auxiliary verbs (See Ch 4 § 4.3.1.1.3 also) in Kirānti-Kõits. viz., *-bā* < *-bāʔ-t(ə)* 'locative auxiliary; is:3SG' or *mε* 'defining auxiliary' and <nə-> 'am'. DeLancey (1992) has described the second copula where inclusive and exclusive for 1DU and 1PL has been invented (See Table 3.12) and both of them can be prefixed to

negative (also cf. Appendix C) prefix, <nə-> e.g., *mə-bā* ‘is not’ and *mə-mε`* ‘no, not at all’.

Except for *mε`* (statement) and *mε'* (interrogative), both <-bā> and <nə-> inflect according to number, person and TAM, e.g. *bā?-ti* ‘am/was:1SG’, *bā?-tə-sku* ‘were-PST:1DU’, *bā?-tə-kə* ‘were-PST:1PL’, *bā?-tε* ‘were-PST:2SG’, *bā?-ti-si* ‘were-PST:2DU’, *bā?-ti-ni* ‘were-PST:2PL’, *bā?-t(ə)* ‘were-PST:3SG’, *bā?-tā-sε* ‘were-PST:3DU’, and *bā?-tε-mε* ‘were-PST:3PL’ and so on (cf. § 3.2.7 (201) g) and Table 3.12 shows the inflected forms for <nə-> (cf. (180) a and (181) a also).

The copula morpheme *-/bā* ‘is’ cognate of *bu* in Kirānti-Thu (Ebert 1994: 257, Ebert 1999: 124).

(180) a. *go su nə-ŋA?* /go su nə.ŋ(ā)/
1SG who am-1SG ‘Who am I?’

(181) a. *go mur nang* /go mur nə-ŋ/
1SG man am-1SG ‘I am a man.’

Table 3.12: The conjugation of the copula *nə-* (DeLancey 1992: 31)

		DUAL		PLURAL	
		INCLUSIVE	EXCLUSIVE	INCLUSIVE	EXCLUSIVE
1st	<i>nə-ŋ</i>	<i>nə-sε</i>	<i>nə-sku</i>	<i>nə-i</i>	<i>nə(i)-ki</i>
2nd	<i>'nə-yε</i>	<i>'nə-si</i>		<i>'nə-ni</i>	
3rd	<i>ho</i> ⁵⁰	<i>nə-sε</i>		<i>nə-m</i>	

Some other copula or auxiliary/modal verbs are: *c'itāu* ‘to be about, going to (e.g. *rεu i-cā c'itāu* ‘about or going to rain’), *bā?-cā* ‘continuous auxiliary (e.g. *dzə-n-dzə-n bā?-cā* ‘stay eating’), *plōi-cā* ‘terminative auxiliary (*pə-cā plōi-cā* ‘to stop doing’), *thum-cā* ‘egressive auxiliary (*dzə-šā thum-cā* ‘to finish eating’), *soic-cā* ‘dispatch

⁵⁰ The native vocabulary is *mε`/mε'* and *ho* is a loan from the Indic Nepali.

auxiliary (*brɛʔ-sā soic-cā* ‘to send having written’), *cāp-cā* ‘capacity auxiliary (*pə-cā cāp-cā* ‘to be able to do something’), *ge-cā* ‘to give auxiliary’, *bic-cā* ‘to agree auxiliary (*pi-cā bic-cā* ‘to agree for coming’), *māl-cā* ‘explorative auxiliary (*hillo-pə-cā māl-cā* ‘to want for asking’), *pə-pə-cā~pə-pāic-cā* ‘causative auxiliary (*ge pə-pə-cā* ‘to cause working’), *mālbə* ‘necessity auxiliary (*wāĩs-kʰoic-cā mālbə* ‘to elope with a husband’)’ and so forth (cf. and § 3.2.8.3 also).

3.2.5 Semantic classification of verbs

Now, in this § 3.2.5, we will classify some basic verb types along semantic paradigms in a ‘case frame matrix’ (Table 3.13) suggested by Cook (1972b) and adapted by Prakasham and Abbi (1986: 35-38) and Abbib (2001: 140, 253). I have slightly paraphrased in the following definitions presented by Chafe and Cook (cited in Prakasham and Abbi (1986: 35-38).

Table 3.13: The case frame matrix

A Basic verb types	B +Experiencer	C +Benefactive	D +Locative
1. State [+Ps]	1.State Experiencer [+Ps, E]	1.State Benefactive [+Ps, B]	State Locative [+Ps, L]
2. Process [+Ps]	2.Process Experiencer [+P, E]	2.Process Benefactive [+P, B]	2.Process Locative [+P, L]
3. Action [+A]	3. Action Experiencer [+A, E]	3. Action Benefactive [+A, B]	3. Action Locative [+A, L]
3. Action Process [+A,P]	3. Action Process Experiencer [+A, P, E]	3. Action Process Benefactive [+A, P, B]	3. Action Process Locative [+A, P, L]

(Source: Prakasam and Abbi (1986: 35-38) and (2001: 140, 253)). All Os (for object) has been changed in P (for patient).

3.2.5.1 State verbs (A.1)

These verbs specify that an object is in a certain state or condition. They are accompanied by a patient noun, which specifies what it is that it is in that state, e.g.,

- (181) a. *so:-tsA* /so:.cā/ 'to be dry'
 b. *dz'isi-tSA* /dz'isi.cā/ 'to be broken'
 c. *AN-ke sonTh dze?met* /āke sōT^h dze?met/
 1SG-GEN shirt tear-PST:3SG:FRF 'My shirt has been torn (itself).'

3.2.5.2 Process verbs (A.2)

They specify that objects undergo a change of state or condition. They are accompanied by a patient noun, which specifies what it is that changes its state or condition, e.g.

- (182) a. *be?-tsA* /be?.cā/ 'to die'
 b. *do?-tsA* /d'o?.cā/ 'to fall'
 c. *hAlsi-tSA* /hālsi.cā/ 'to widen'
 d. *buits-tSA* /buic.cā/ 'to boil'
 e. *s'ishyidum-tSA* /s'ishyidum.cā/ 'to be cold'
 f. *eNko laring laringraw-lA do?-met* /ε~ko ləriŋ ləriŋrəwālā do?met/
 this ap ap-tree-ABL fall-3SG:FRF 'This apple has fallen from the apple-tree.'

3.2.5.3 Action verbs (A.3)

They express an activity, something, which someone does. They are accompanied by an agent noun, which specifies the instigator of the action and a patient noun, which specifies the object affected or affected by that activity e.g.,

- (183) a. *tup-tSA* /tup.cā/ 'to beat' (thāiccā, y'ucā)

- b. *t'o-tSA* /t'o.cā/ 'to fell'
 c. *sAits-tSA* /sāic.cā/ 'to kill'
 d. *shyel-tSA* /šyel.cā/ 'to make, build'
 e. *khA:-tSA* /k^hā:.cā/ 'to tear'
 f. *prol-tSA* /pr(ɾ)ol.cā/ 'to beak'
 g. *lalpiyA-mi khui-kali sAit-tu* /ləlpiyā.mi k^hui.kəli sāit.tu/
 police-AGT thief-DAT kill-PST:3SG 'The police killed a thief.'

3.2.5.4 Action process verbs (A.4)

They simultaneously express an action and a process. They are accompanied by agent nouns, which specify the instigator of the action and patient nouns, which the object effected or affected by that activity, e.g.,

- (184) a. *shyel-tSA* /šyel.cā/ 'to make/build'
 b. *kyorts-tSA* /kyor.ccā/ 'to cut' (±animate objects of solid and big size)
 c. *tseʔ-tSA* /tseʔ.cā/ 'to cut' (±animate objects into smaller pieces)
 d. *r'i-tSA* /r'i.cā/ 'to cut' (grass and crops while harvesting)
 e. *khroits-tSA* /k^hr(ɾ)oi.cā/ 'to cut' (firewood, log etc. only into three or four pieces) (Source: Rapacha 2003)
 f. *go guye-mi sosmAl r'i-nu-ng* /go guye.mi sosmāl r'i.nu.ŋ/
 1SG sickle-INST grass cut-NPST-1SG 'I cut grass with a sickle.'

3.2.5.5 State experiencer verbs (B.1)

These verbs specify that an experiencer is in a certain state or condition with respect to a given object. They are accompanied by experiencer nouns, which specify the one who is in the psychological state of sensation, emotion and cognition. These are, also accompanied by patient nouns, which specify the stimulus for or the content of the experience, e.g.,

- (185) a. *dA-tSA* /dā.cā/ 'to ¹like ²swallow, ³light'
 b. *mAltsA* /māl.cā/ 'to ¹want, ²search'

- c. *khaldingpatsA* /k^hādīŋ.pə.cā/ ‘to doubt’ [Text source: 4.12]
 d. *go m’ishyeAl kA-nu nam-pAi-nu-ng* /go mi’syēāl kā.nu nəm.pāi.nu.ŋ/
 1SG girl one-ASS love-do-NPST-1SG ‘I am in love with a girl.’

3.2.5.6 Process experiencer verbs (B.2)

These verbs specify that an experiencer undergoes a change of state with respect to a given object. They are well accompanied by an experiencer noun, which specifies the one, who undergoes the change of psychological state, and a patient noun, which specifies stimulus for or the state, the content of the experience, e.g.,

- (186) a. *shyetge-tSA* /šyētge.cā/ ‘to annoy’
 b. *shye-tSA* /šyā.cā/ ‘to annoy’ (different pragmatico-semantic sense)
 c. *rippAits-tSA* /rippāic.cā/ ‘to amuse/please’ (lit. make laugh)
 d. *goi aN-kali mopA ma-shyAk-o* /goi ā.kəli mopā mə.šyāk.o/
 2SG my/I-DAT ADV NEG-trouble-IMP:3SG ‘You do not trouble me in that way.’

3.2.5.7 Action experiencer verbs (B.3)

These verbs express an activity, which result in a change of psychological state for someone else. They are accompanied by an agent noun, which specify the instigator of the action, an experiencer noun, which species the one who undergoes the psychological experience, e.g.,

- (187) a. *dzemlAthuNge-tSA* /dzəmlāthū.ge.cā/ ‘to congratulate’
 b. *bubuthAthApa-tSA* /bubuthāthā.pə.cā/ ‘to praise’
 c. *go in-kali gyArssi glA-sho-pa-tike-m dzemlAthuN-ge-nu-ng*
 /go goi in.kəli gyārssi glašo.pə.tikε.m dzəmlāthūgeŋuŋ/
 1SG 2SG POSS-DAT match win-PCPL-do-NML-LOC congratulate-give-NPST-1SG
 ‘I congratulate you for winning the match.’

3.2.5.8 Action process experiencer verbs (B.4)

These verbs express an activity, which places an object as a stimulus or content for someone else's psychological experience. They are accompanied by an agent noun, which specifies the instigator of the action, a patient noun, which specifies the content or stimulus for the experience, and an experiencer noun, which specifies the one who undergoes the psychological experience, e.g.,

- (188) a. *hillopa-tsa* /hillopə.cā/ 'to ask' (lit. ask to do)
 b. *thAits-tsa* /thāic.cā/ 'to beat'
 c. *deN-tsa* /dɛ̃.cā/ 'to tell'
 d. *goi-mi meko Al-kali mArde thAit-ti* /goi.mi meko āl.kəli mārde thāit.ti/
 2:SG-AGT that child-DAT why beat-PST:2SG
 'Why did you beat the child?'

3.2.5.9 State benefactive verbs (C.1)

These verbs specify that a benefactor is in a certain state or condition with respect to a given object. They are accompanied by a benefactive noun, which specifies the possessor of the object and a patient noun, which specifies the object possessed. e.g.

- (189) a. *go-nu phurkal ka bA* /go.nu p^hurkəl kə bā/
 1SG-ASS football one is:AUX 'I have a ball with me.' (lit. I with ball one is)
 b. *eNko khiN aN-ke me`* /ɛ̃ko k^hi ãkɛ mɛ`/
 this house 1SG-GEN is:AUX 'I own this house.' (lit. this house my is)

3.2.5.10 Process benefactive verbs (C.2)

These verbs specify that a benefactor undergoes a change of state or condition with respect to a given object. They are accompanied by a benefactive noun, which specifies the one, who undergoes gain or loss. Moreover, a patient noun, which specifies the object is gained or lost, e.g.,

- (190) a. *glA-tsa* /glā.cā/ 'to win'
 b. *blu-tsa* /blu.cā/ 'to lose, get defeated'

- c. *khA:-tsA* /k^hā:.cā/ ‘to tear’
- d. go-piki-m mēko p^hurkəl gyārssi glā-cā mə-cāb-ni-ki
 1-PL-ERG that/the football game win-INF NEG-can-NPS-1PL
 ‘We cannot win the football match.’

3.2.5.11 Action benefactive verbs (C.3)

These verbs specify that an agent has caused a gain or loss to a benefactor with respect to a given object. They are accompanied by an agent noun, which specifies the cause of the gain or loss. Then, a benefactive noun, which specifies the one who undergoes the loss or gain, for instance,

- (191) a. *kophele-ge-tsA* /kop^hlɛ.gɛ.cā/ ‘to give bribe’
 b. *coheNc-pa-tsA* /cohɛ̃c.pə.cā/ ‘to supply’
 c. *tsubglob-ge-tsA* /cubglob.gɛ.cā/ ‘to arm’
 d. go-m tebām-kəli cirssi cohɛ̃c-pā-tā-ŋ (A/S) (DO: P, B) IO (V, Predicate)
 1SG-ERG Tebam-DAT millet supply-do-INF-PST-1SG
 ‘I supplied the millet to Tebam.’

3.2.5.12 Action process benefactive verbs (C.4)

These verbs specify that an agent has caused a gain or loss to a benefactor with respect to a given object. They are first accompanied by an agent noun, which specifies the cause of the gain or loss and second a benefactive noun, which specifies the one who undergoes the gain or loss, for example,

- (192) a. *gyAp-tsA* /gyāp.cā/ ‘to buy’
 b. *le-tsA* /lɛ.cā/ ‘to sell’
 c. *b’its-tsA* /b’ic.cā/ ‘to obey’
 d. *tA:-tsA* /tā:.cā/ ‘to accept i.e. ideas, goods etc.’
 e. *tAʔ-tsA* /tāʔcā/ ‘to take something’
- e. go-m dɛ̃-šo goi-mi bit-tyi-ŋənā go goi-kəli ɛ̃ko p^hurkəlɛ-nu-ŋ

1SG-ERG say-PCPL you-AGT obey-NPST-3sg if 1SG 2SG-DAT this ball give-PST-1SG
 ‘I will give you this ball if you obey me.’ (A/S) (DO: P, B) IO (V, Predicate)

3.2.5.13 State locative verbs (D.1)

These verbs specify that an object is in a certain location. They are accompanied by a patient noun, which specifies what it is that is in that place. Next, a locative noun specifies the place where the object is located. For instance,

- (193) a. *bA-tSA* /bā.cā/ ‘to dwell, sit’
 b. *li-tSA* /li.cā/ ‘to remain’
 c. *rAp-tSA* /rāp.cā/ ‘to stand up’
 d. *eNko khiN-mi su su bAʔ-na-mi* /ε̃ko k^hĩ.mi su su bāʔnəmi/
 this house-LOC who who live-NPST-3PL
 ‘Who are the people living in this house?’

3.2.5.14 Process locative verbs (D.2)

These verbs specify that an object changes its location. They are accompanied by a patient noun, which specifies what it is that has changed its location, and a locative noun, which specifies the change of location, e.g.,

- (194) a. *pi-tSA* /pi.cā/ ‘to come’ four types (See §3.2.3)
 b. *la-tSA* /lə.cā/ ‘to go’
 c. *yA:-tSA* /yā:.cā/ ‘to shift’ (with inanimate subjects)
 d. *go-m aN-ke wA eNko khiN-lA meko khiN-mi yA:-tA-ng*
 /go.m ā.ke wā ε̃ko k^hĩ.lā m εko k^hĩ.mi yā:.tā.ŋ/
 1SG-AGT my-GEN cloth this house-ABL that house-LOC shift-PST-1SG
 ‘I shifted my cloth from this house to that house.’

3.2.5.15 Action locative verbs (D.3)

These verbs express an activity resulting in change of location. They are accompanied by an agent noun, which specifies the instigator of the action and

simultaneously expresses the object being moved when agent and patient are coreferential. They are also accompanied by a locative noun, which specifies the change of location, e.g.,

- (195) a. *berts-tSA* /bɛrc.cā/ ‘to fly’
 b. *dorts-tSA* /dɔrc.cā/ ‘to run’
 c. *pi-tSA* /pi.cā/ ‘to come’ four types (See § 3.2.3)
 d. *la-tSA* /lə.cā/ ‘to go’ (with animate subjects)
- e. *enko lAN-mi dok rAp-shA-bAʔ-sho mur tek la-meʔ*
 /ɛ̃ko lã.mi dok rãpšãbãʔšo mur tek læm'ɛ/
 this road-LOC ADV stand-CONV-stay-PCPL man where go-PST:3SG
 ‘Where did the standing man on this road go?’

3.2.5.16 Action process locative verbs (D.4)

These verbs express an activity involving the change of place of an object as distinct from the agent. They are accompanied by an agent noun, which specifies the instigator of the action, a patient noun, which specifies the object, which specifies the change of location, e.g.,

- (196) a. *pits-tSA* /pic.cā/ ‘to bring’
 b. *CAʔ-tSA* /cãʔ.cā/ ‘to bring’
 c. *IAʔ-tSA* /tãʔ.cā/ ‘to take i.e. something’
- d. *go-mi gyAkosi-la laring nu phengse gyAp-shA pit-tA-ng*
 /go.mi gyãkosi.lã læriŋ nu pʰɛŋsɛ gyãp.sã pit.tã.ŋ/
 1SG-AGT market-ABL papaya and apple buy-CONV bring-PST-1SG
 ‘Having bought I brought papaya and apple from the market.’

3.2.6 Transitivity

Borchers’ (2003) paper entitled ‘Transitivity and “increased activity”’ is perhaps the first discussion on Kirānti-Kõits (Sun(u)war) verb ‘transitivity’. In her three-

paragraphed abstract of the 9th Himlayan Language Symposium, Mysore paper, she unfolds that “animate and non-animate participants of transitive clauses are treated morphologically differently. An agent or patient marker marks animate participants. Inanimate patients show no patient marker. Inanimate participants are prototypical patients that in many langages are not morphologically marked as such”. She further raises a question to be explained why even animate participants do not always show agent and patient markers. She observes,

“It turns out that the agent and patient marking suffixes in Sunwar convey the additional notion of “increased activity” or increased effort” to perform the activity denoted by the verb of the very clause. A morphological marking of “increased activity” can be found in the verbal morphology of Sunwar as well. In certain constructions, the reflexive marker is employed to express this notion. In the preterite, the first person singular can show an additional person and number suffix that conveys the meaning of “increased activity”

Borchers (2003) based on Hopper and Thompson’s framework of ‘transitivity parameters: whether or not a clause is affirmative, volitional and where the agent of the clause is placed on the agentivity heirarchy’ reveals that ‘a morphologically expressed notion of “increased activity” as found in Sunwar is not mentioned by Hopper and Thomson as a feature of transitivity but still fits into their framework”. Before providing examples on Borchers observation, we will first observe the notion of ‘transitivity’ in one of the neighbouring Kirānti languages (See Ch 1 § 1.1) of Kirānti-Kōits Near Kirat known as Wambule here.

In Opgenort’s (2002) study, the Wambule (one of the neighbouring languages of Kirānti-Kōits; cf. Ch 1 § 1.1) verbs have been classified into three main types (intransitive, middle and transitive), based on formal and semantic criteria that involve the inflectional category of transitivity. Then, the notion of ‘transitivity’ “has bearing on the core arguments that are cross-referenced in the finite verb and involves a conceptualisation of the way in which the arguments initiate the verbal action or are affected by it”.

The Kirānti-Kōits intransitive verbs, as in Wambule show agreement with one argument, e.g. *go ṅā:-ti* ‘I wept’, which functions as the intransitive subject. The ‘intransitive subject’ either in its own will or through ‘lack of volition’ initiates the action expressed by the verb such as *lə-cā* ‘to go’ (194) b, *bərc-cā* ‘to fly’ (195) a, *pi-cā* ‘to come’ (194) a, *bɛʔ-cā* ‘to die’ (182) a, *bā:-cā* ‘to dwell, sit’ (193) a *rāp-cā* ‘to stand up’ (193) c, *gāʔ-cā* ‘to walk’ and so on.

Similarly, transitive verbs in the language show agreement with two arguments, which function as the ‘agent’ and the ‘patient’ both animate and inanimate participants (Borchers 2003). The ‘agent’ is the instigator of action, whereas the ‘patient’ is affected by the instigator’s action such as *tāic-cā* ‘to throw, kick’, *gyāp-cā* ‘to buy’ (192) a, *murc-cā* ‘to wash’, *thi-cā* ‘to touch’, *dzoʔ-cā* ‘to know’, *thic-cā* ‘to find out’, *dzə-cā* ‘to eat’ *tucā* ‘to drink’, *hʼI-cā* ‘to count’, *thum-cā* [cf. *tum.cām* K-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 258)] ‘to finish’, *cāʔ-cā* ‘to bring, fetch (neutral)’ (179) d, and so forth.

Like Wambule, Kirānti-Kōits middle verbs (cf. Upadhyaya (1998: 8-10, 25-30) show person and number agreement with one argument, which functions as the middle subject. Opgenort (2002: 238) interprets middle marking as a signal that middle verbs belong to a lower area on the scale of transitivity than transitive verbs, which cross-reference two core arguments. They convey reflexive, benefactive and passive meanings as illustrated below.

(197) a. *məko-mi myešyɛ ām-kəli-n cim-tu*
 s/he-AGT buffalo s/he-for.the.sake.of-EMPH milk-PST:3SG
 ‘She milked the buffalow for herself.’

b. *myešyɛ nākən cim-si-tāu*
 buffalo previously milk-MID-PAS
 ◦ ‘She milked the buffalo for herself previously.’
 ◦◦ ‘The buffalo milked itself previously.’
 ◦◦◦ ‘The buffalo was/got milked previously.’

Example (197) a, has three overtly expressed arguments: the human *məko* ‘s/he’ and milked the *myəšyε* ‘buffalo’ for her won benefit. The middle subject *məko* ‘s/he’ is both instigator of and affected by the verbal action. Nevertheless, contrary to Wambule, the middle subject is left unmarked for showing agentivity. The postposition marker <*kəli*> ‘for the sake of’ is co-referential with benefacted argument. Lastly, the argument *myəšyε* ‘buffalo’ is both left unmarked verbally and nominally.

By contrast, like in Wambule, b lacks two overtly expressed arguments and can have three interpretations. Firstly, self-benefactive reading is identical to the meaning expressed by example (197) a, in which the middle subject has human referent. Secondly, its reflexive reading can be plausible in stories, fables or myths, involves two co-referential arguments. The middle subject *myəšyε* ‘buffalo’ is both initiator of and affected by the verbal action. It could have been marked with the source marker to stress that the action is indeed self-initiated.

Thirdly, passive interpretation cannot be analysed in terms of co-referentiality between an initiator and an affected entity because the initiator of the action is presented as unknown or the speaker leaves its identification open. The middle subject *myəšyε* ‘buffalo’ is affected by the action but did not initiate it and cannot take the source marker for marking its agentivity.

In addition, Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) parameters of ‘kinesis’, e.g. *go-mi tsursi-kəli cucu-pā-tā-ŋ* ‘I kissed Tsursi’ vs. *go-ø tsursi-kəli dā-nu-ŋ* ‘I like Tsursi’ ‘telic aspect’ *go-mi nəllε obis bā-tā-ŋ* ‘I ate all the cucumber up’ vs *go-ø obis bə-n-bə-n-bāʔ-ti* ‘I am eating the cucumber’ are fully applicable for transitivity of K-K verbs. Their generalization, “the ergative has the hallmarks of high Transitivity, the antipassive those of low Transitivity; in the ergative, the action is more intense; the involvement of the A(gent) is more deliberate; the O(bject) is specified, and more completely affected” is true to K-K examples provided as follows:

(198) a. *go-ø əl-kəli thāi-nu-ŋ*

1SG child beat-NPST-1SG

‘I beat the child.’

b. go-mi āl-kəli mə-rimšo-pā thāit-tā-ŋ

1SG-ERG child-DAT NEG-good ADV beat-PST-1SG

‘I beat the child severely.’

There are examples like *go-ø k^hyōpat-ø kā ren-nu-ŋ* (1SG-ø book-ø one read-NPST-1SG) ‘I read a book’, where both agent (+animate, +human) and patient (-animate) are unmarked. What actually triggers the agent leaving ‘unmarked’ as an answer to Borchers’ (2003) question stated earlier is- tense i.e. non-past apparently. Therefore, Kirānti-Kōits non-past transitive subject and inanimate patient is always unmarked for agentive and patientive.

Like Tankhul-Naga’s (T-B, spoken in northeast India) transitivization examples such as,

Intransitive

su ‘(to) burn’

sar ‘(to) light’

mathot ‘wake (somebody up)’

phak ‘widen’

Transitive

cui ‘(to) burn’

hor ‘(to) shine’

mathuk ‘be wake’

pak ‘be wide’ (Victor 1997), Kirānti-Kōits also has

a limited pairs of intransitive verb stems, which undergo morphophonemic changes yielding transitive verbs by a morphophonemic rule called devoicing. This process also helps transitivity in K-K verbal morphology. Consider the following instances (199) a-f.

	Step 1	Step 2
Morphophonemic changes	Intransitive	Transitive
	(Causee N ⁵¹ : self)	(Causee Y: agent)
(199)		
a. b => p-, s-	= bo?-cā ‘to get up’	vs. po?-cā ‘to get up’

⁵¹ N stands for ‘No’, where causee is absent as an instigator and similarly Y stands for ‘Yes’, where causee is the main instigator of the action.

	=	bɛʔ-cā ‘to die’	vs.	sāic-cā ‘to kill’
	=	br(ɾ)ol-cā ‘to be broken’	vs.	pr(ɾ)ol-cā ‘to break’
	=	buic-cā ‘to get undone’	vs.	puic-cā ‘to undo’
b. dz => s-, c-	=	dzām-cā ‘to get lost’	vs.	sām-cā ‘to loose’
	=	dzɛʔ-cā ‘to get torn’	vs.	ɛɛʔ-cā ‘to tear’
c. g => k ^h -	=	gā:-cā ‘to get torn’	vs.	k ^h ā-cā ‘to tear’
	=	grol-cā ‘to lie down’	vs.	k ^h rol-cā ‘to knock down’
d. d => t-, c-	=	doʔ-cā ‘to fall’	vs.	toʔ-cā ‘get fallen’
	=	dup-cā ‘to be burn’	vs.	co-cā ‘to burn/inflame’
e. n => th	=	nup ^h -cā ‘to be finished’	vs.	thum-cā ‘to finish’
f. l => s	=	lə-cā ‘to go’	vs.	soic-cā ‘to send’

(Cf. also Rapacha 1997b [VS 2054/5: 115-116])

The transitivized verb e.g. poʔ-cā (199) b in the sentence; ā-kəl təu-mi poʔ-ti ‘The son helped me get up’ vs. boʔ-cā; go (āmin) boʔ-ti ‘I got up(myself)’ differ in terms of the absence or presence of the agent/causee, who affects the patient.

3.2.7 Verb paradigms

The verbal paradigm of K-K like some Kirānti languages (Ebert 1994: 22) is characterized by agreement with speech act participants, person and number agreement in principle with both participants. K-K is characterized as pronominalized language as discussed with illustration in Ch 1 § 1.3 (cf. § 3.1.2.4.1), e.g. -ŋ(ə), which is cognate of other Kirānti languages such as -ŋ(a) Lim, -ŋ(a) Ath, -ŋ(a) Ban, -uŋ(a) Rod, -ŋi, -ŋu Th, -ŋa; Ebert (1994: 22).

Agent	Patient		
-mi>m	-kəli>kəl		
↓	↓		
(200) a. 2SG → 1SG/3SG/DU/PL		-IMP	gloss
		soit-to	‘send’
b. 2DU → 1SG/3SG/DU/PL		soit-tɛs(ɛ)	‘send ^{DU} ’

c. 2PL → 1SG/3SG/DU/PL	soit-tin(ε)	‘send ^{PL} ,’
d. 1SG → 2/3SG/DU/PL	-NPST brε?-nu-ŋ	gloss ‘write’
e. 1DU → 2/3SG/DU/PL	brε?-nə-sku	‘write ^{DU} ,’
f. 1PL → 2/3SG/DU/PL	brε?-nik(i)	‘write ^{DU} ,’
g. 3SG → 1SG/DU/PL	thāi-b(ə)	‘beats’
h. 3DU → 1SG/DU/PL	thāi-nis(i)	‘beat ^{DU} ,’
i. 3PL → 1SG/DU/PL	thāi-nim(i)	‘beat ^{PL} ,’
j. 1SG → 2/3SG/DU/PL	-PST huit-tā-ŋ	gloss ‘scolded’
k. 1DU → 2/3SG/DU/PL	huit-tə-sku	‘scolded ^{DU} ,’
l. 1PL → 2/3SG/DU/PL	huit-tə-k(ə)	‘scolded ^{PL} ,’
m. 2SG → 1SG/DU/PL	huit-tiyi	‘scolded’
n. 2DU → 1SG/DU/PL	huit-tisi	‘scolded ^{DU} ,’
o. 2PL → 1SG/DU/PL	huit-tini	‘scolded ^{PL} ,’
p. 3SG → 1SG/DU/PL	huit-tu	‘scolded’
q. 3DU → 1SG/DU/PL	huit-tε-sεt	‘scolded ^{DU} ,’
r. 3PL → 1SG/DU/PL	huit-tεm(ε)	‘scolded ^{PL} ,’

3.2.8 Verb forms

The following sketchy Kirānti-Kōits verb forms’ inventory is illustrated based on Clark’s Nepali verb forms cited in Opgenort (2002: xxv). Compare § 3.2.8.1 also.

- (201) a. Absolutive participle (Converb). Suffix: -šyā ~ šā, e.g. *pə-šā-thum-cā* ‘to do completely’, *brε?šā-thum-cā* ‘to write completely’ and *k^hā?šā-thum-cā* ‘to tear completely’

- b. Aoristic/perfective future (probability) tense. Suffix: *-wā* (1SG only), e.g. *pə-ŋ-wā* ‘I would do...’ *dzə-ŋ-wā* ‘I would eat...’ and *lə-ŋ-wā* ‘I would go...’ [e.g. *-wā*, *citāu* suffixed to main verbs as in *dzə-cā-citāu* (3SG) ‘going to eat’ etc. occurs with all person and number, and also there is a small range of verbs suffixing *-dən(ə)* as in *prol-dən(ə)* ‘will hit/break’, *hir-dən* ‘will help visiting’, *kir-dən(ə)* ‘will help braiding’ and so forth.
- c. Aoristic/perfective injunctive tense. Suffixes: *-ŋ*, *-ŋu*, *-g/tu*, e.g. *dzə-ŋ* ‘May/shall I eat...’ (further examples: *pə-ŋ de~šo mə-dum*, *ko-ŋu de~šo mə-tāi-se*, *go k^həme dzə-ŋ kō*), *ko:-ŋu* ‘May/shall I look ...’, *pāu-o* ‘do it’, *brɛʔ-g/tu* ‘May/shall I write...’ (further examples: *sold-u* (1SG) *de~šo mə-glu*, *ble-tu* (1SG) *de~šo mə-dum*, *soit-tu* (1SG) *de~šo mə-lə*, *təmi-m blespət soit-tu* (p), *tsentse-m k^hyōpət kā ble-tu* (p)) *pə-wəl(ə)* ‘May s/he do it’, *pām-sel(ə)* ‘May they^{DU} do it’ etc.
- d. Aoristic/perfective tense. Suffixes: *-tā*, *-ti* (1SG; cf. *-tā-ŋ* and *-ti* § 3.2.2), e.g. *soit-tā-ŋ* ‘I sent...’, *gāʔ-ti* ‘I walked ...’, *-yi* (2SG) *soit-tiyi* ‘You sent...’, *tu* (3SG) *soit-tu* ‘s/he sent...’ etc.
- e. Conjunctive participle prefixed with converb. Suffix: *-ŋā*, *-lisāŋā*, e.g. *pə-ša-ŋā* and *pə-s-li-šā-ŋā* ‘after doing, after having done’
- f. First perfective participle. Suffix: *-šyo ~ šo* e.g. *pə-šo* ‘done’
- g. First perfective tense. First perfect participle plus the locative auxiliary *bā* or the auxiliary of defining *mɛ* ‘is’ *pə-šo-bā(-tə)* ‘has done’
- h. Perfective participle. Suffix: *-nu*, *pə-šo-nu* ‘while doing’
- i. Infinitival non-past tense. Suffix: *-ŋ* (1SG), *-bə* (3SG), *-sku* (2DU), e.g. *pāi-nu-ŋ* ‘I do...’, *pāi-bə* ‘s/he does...’ *pāi-nə-sku* ‘we^{DU} do...’
- j. Infinitival participle. Suffix: *-tikɛ > tik ~ bə > b*, e.g. *pə-tikɛ > pə-tik ~ pāi-bə > pāi-b* ‘the one doing’

- k. Infinitives. Suffixes: *-cā*, *-th* (purposive), and *-nε* prefixed with *mā-cā-bu*, e.g. *pā-cā* ‘to do’, *pā-th-gā?cā* ‘to walk for doing’ and *pā-nε-mā-cā-bu* ‘could not do...’
- l. Second perfective participle. Suffix: *-tu*, *-tεmε...* ‘if one does’ (inflection according to person and number), *pāp-tu* ‘s/he did...’, *pām tεmε* > *pām tεm* ‘they^{PL} did...’ etc.
- m. Second perfective tense. Second perfect participle plus the paradigm *bā* ‘is’ (locative) *pāwābā?ā* ‘s/he does’ (has already started and the effect can be seen)
- n. Simple indefinite tense. Suffixes: *-nu-η*, *-nā-sku*, *-nim*, *-bā*, *-niki* ‘I (will) do’, ‘We^{DU} do’, ‘They^{PL} do’, ‘S/he does’, and ‘We^{PL} do’.

3.2.9 Tense-aspect-mood

Tense-aspect-mood comprises the complex system of morpho-semantic and ‘discourse-pragmatic’ features clustering the various categories. As morphological features, they tend to cluster around the verb Victor (1997:167). As semantic features, they are intimately involved in the meaning-structure of verbs (‘predicate’). They code various facets of the state, event or action. Moreover, as discourse-pragmatic features, they play a crucial role in the sequencing of propositions in discourse, in ‘foregrounding’ or ‘backgrounding’ them, and in indicating their time, truth/certainty/probability modalities vis-à-vis the speaker-hearer contact.

3.2.9.1 Tense

Comrie (1985: vii) takes tense “to be defined as the grammaticalisation of location in time”. Unlike Tankhul-Naga future vs. non-future (T-B, spoken in northeast India) Victor (1997), Kirānti languages have two basic tense forms, which may be called past (PST) and non-past (NPST) according to Ebert (1994: 29). Tense can be marked in two positions: a) after the stem, b) after the personal suffixes.

In her observation, those languages that mark tense after the stem, about 50% of the verb forms are not distinguished in the past and non-past (Limbu and Bantawa). Her

parameter (a) can usually apply to Kirānti-Kõits verbs for tense marking given in (202). The base form of the verb such contrast provided is- pə-cā (do-INF) ‘to do’.

	NPST		PST	
(202) a. 1SG	pāi-nu-ŋ	‘I do...’	pā-tā-ŋ	‘I did...’
b. 1DU	pāi-nə-sku	‘We ^{DU} do...’	pāi-tə-sku	‘We ^{DU} did...’
c. 1PL	pāi-nik(i)	‘We ^{PL} do...’	pāi-tək(ə)	‘We ^{PL} did...’
d. 2 SG	pāi-nəyε	‘You do...’	pāp-təyi	‘You did...’
e. 2 DU	pə-sε	‘You ^{DU} do...’	pāi -tisi	‘You ^{DU} did...’
f. 2 PL	pāi-nini	‘You ^{DU} do...’	pāi -tini	‘You ^{DU} did...’
g. 3SG	pāi-b(ə)	‘S/he does...’	pāp-tu	‘S/he did...’
h. 3DU	pāi-nis(i)	‘They ^{DU} do...’	pām-tās(ε)	‘They ^{DU} did...’
i. 3PL	pāi-nim(i)	‘They ^{DU} do...’	pām-təm(ε)	‘They ^{DU} did...’

3.2.9.2 Aspect

Aspect “relates to the internal temporal structure of a situation” (Trask 1993: 21). Aspect in Kirānti-Kõits encompasses a group of heterogeneous semantic and pragmatic categories. Some involve temporal properties such as progressive or durative or perfective. Others involve purely pragmatic notions such as habitual.

3.2.9.2.1 Perfective

Perfective is also known^{as} ‘telic’ (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252) action. The K-K perfective involves an auxiliary verb; cluster of features, some semantic, others more pragmatic. This is probably used much more frequently in oral narrative, often indicating the tense, truth, certainty, or probability vis-à-vis the speaker-hearer contact, e.g.

- (203) a. meko-m wā murs-šyo~šo bā?-tə
 3SG-AGT cloth wash-PCPL be-3SG
 ‘S/he has/had washed the cloth.’

3.2.9.2.2 Imperfective

Imperfective is also known as 'atelic' (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252) action. It involves an auxiliary verb while describing an incomplete ongoing performance such as,

(204) a. mɛko-mi dzə-si-n mə-dzāu

3SG-AGT eat- PROG-EMPH NEG-eat

'S/he didn't have anything.'

b. mɛko.pik k^həmɛ dzə.n.dzə.n bā?.təm(ɛ)

3-PL eat-PROG-eat-PROG:RED rice be-3PL

'They are eating rice.'

3.2.9.2.3 Habitual

Habitual expresses a regular or consistent performance or occurrence of an action or a state as shown in (205) a-c.

(205) a. āl-kā-mi ribdo tu-nɛ-pāi-bā?-tə

child-one-AGT wine drink-INF-do-be-3SG

'A child used to drink wine.'

b. ā-kɛ bəɣɛ pi-nɛ la-nɛ pāi-nim

my-GEN g-m come-INF go-INF do-3SG:HON

'My grandmother (g-m) keeps coming and going.'

c. go ip-šo-ŋā ip-si bā?.ti

'I was always sleeping.'

1SG sleep-PCPL-SIM sleep-NML be-1SG

d. mɛko-m ribdo tu-si-ŋā-tu-s pāi-bā?-tə

3SG-AGT wine drink-PROG-SIM-drink-RED be-3SG

'He used to drink wine continuously.'

3.2.9.2.4 Progressive/durative

Progressive construes an event as having no initial or terminal boundaries. From the speaker's point of view, it implies an event or a state described in the middle of happening or existence, with its boundaries disregarded and its temporal span accentuated, e.g.

(206) a. *goi mār pə-n-pə-n bā?- ηε?*

2SG what do-PROG-RED be-3 SG

'What are you doing?'

b. *go dzə-n-dzə-n bā?-ti*

1SG eat-PROG-RED be-1SG

'I am eating.' (lit. I eating exist) *bā?ti* = both past non-past in K-K

3.2.9.3 Mood

Mood "expresses the degree or kind of reality of a proposition, as perceived by the speaker. Mood distinctions appear to be universally present in languages; they are variously expressed, often by inflection of the verb or by the use of specialized lexical items called modals" (Trask 1993: 174-175). Like Tankhul-Naga (T-B spoken in northeast India), mood distinctions (Victor 1997) in K-K often tend to shade off almost imperceptibly into expression of the speaker's attitude and into clearly pragmatic factors, such as the speaker's perceived relationship to other participants in discourse. Mood in the language is variously expressed with 'modal auxiliaries' appended to various finite and non-finite verbal forms, quite often with the expression of tense or aspect. We will here consider those morphologically distinguishable moods, e.g. imperative, interrogative, hortative, optative, subjunctive, dubitative, permission, obligatory etc.

3.2.9.3.1 Imperative

Various suffix markers (also cf. Appendix C), in accordance with the number and person, mark imperative in K-K. It also conveys the meaning of advisability or suggestive and prohibitive as given in (207) a-g.

(207) a. *ngAWa ONth pi-ne* /ŋāwə ðth pi.nɛ/

e.b here come-2 SG:IMP:HON

‘Come here brother (e.b = elder one).’

b. *goi khiN lAu-o* /goi k^hĩ lāu.o/

you house go-2SG:IMP

‘You go home.’

c. *aN-ke lo: bis-so* /ã.ke lo: bis.so/

my-GEN speech.talk obey-2sg:IMP

‘Obey my advice.’

d. *eNko lo: appho-kali ne-pa-tine* /ɛ̃ko lo: āp^hpokəli nɛpətine/

this speech.talk father-DAT listen-CAUS-3sg:IMP:HON

‘Make dad listen this point.’

e. *langA su pi-sho ba?me ko-ngo* /ləŋgā su pi-šo bāʔmɛ koŋo/

outside.house who come-PCPL be-is:EXT look-2SG:IMP

‘Look, who has come outside the house?’

f. *hir-th la-tSA-mAlb deN-shA de-nene* /hirth ləcā mālɓə dɛ̃ šā dɛ.nɛ.nɛ/

visit-PUR go-INF-must say-CONV say-2/3sg:IMP:HON

‘Tell them to go for a visit.’

g. *i-ke mama khiN lA-mela* /i.ke məmā k^hĩ lāmɛlə/

you-GEN mother house go-3SG:IMP:OPT

‘Your mother should go home.’ (May your mother go home)

3.2.9.3.2 Indicative

The morpheme <mə-> in negative (also cf. Appendix C) constructions, e.g. negative declarative or negative yes/no-question conveys the mood of indicative or declarative such as (208) a-c.

(208) a. go mə-lāi-nu-ŋ

1SG NEG-go-NPST-1SG

‘I will not (don’t) go’

b. goi mə-lə-yi?

2SG NEG-go-3SG:Q

‘Didn’t you go?’

c. modeb mə-məi

such/so NEG-POS:PAR

‘It is not so.’ (‘It is not like that.’)

3.2.9.3.3 Optative

The verb stem <dum-> with two suffixes <-cā> and <-lə> expresses realizable wishes or hopes as in (209) a-c.

(209) a. *Thebmur* *dum-tsa* /ɽ^hɛb.mur dum.cā/

big:ADJ:man be-INF:OPT

‘Be a man of substance.’

b. *modeba-n* *dum-la* /mo.dɛbɛ.n dum.lə/

so:like-EMPH be-OPT

‘Let it be so, Amen’

c. *bisAsai* *dum-tsa* /bisāsəi dum.cā/

age(fig.) be-INF:OPT

‘Live long.’

3.2.9.3.4 Hortative

The morpheme <-yə> is suffixed to verb roots for expressing exhortation as illustrated in (210) a-b.

(210) a. *eNk palA-pik khrum-ya* /ɛ̃k pəlä k^hrum.yə/
 here:ADV bamboo-PL plant-HOR
 ‘Let us plant the bamboo here.’

b. *aiN mamAlo: shyen-si-ya* /āi mə.mālo: sɛ̃.si.yə/
 our mother.tongue learn-MV-HOR
 ‘Let us learn our mother tongue.’

3.2.9.3.5 Probability/dubitative

The modal auxiliary phrase /dum-cā cāb-bə/ and the indeclinable particle /kō/ express the probability or dubitative meanings ‘perhaps it is so’ and ‘it is likely to’ respectively as illustrated in (211) a-c.

(211) a. *mo dum-tsa tsAb-bA?* /mo dumcā cābbā/
 that/such become-INF can-NPST
 ‘Perhaps that can be so?’

b. *disA tsemA dzaʔ-nim-koN* /disā də cəmā dzāʔnim kō/
 tomorrow:ADV auntie arrive-PST:3sg:HON-PROB
 ‘It is likely that auntie might arrive tomorrow.’

c. *mul da phu boi-me-koN* /mul də p^hu boime kō/
 now:ADV TOP:PAR flower blossom- PST: PROB
 ‘The flower might bloom now.’ (Until yesterday, it was not)

3.2.9.3.6 Entreative

The request suffix <-ni> and request particle <nāilə> express request or offering etc. as examples provided in (212) a-b.

(212) a. *AN-kali la-tSA ge-yi-ni* /ākəli ləcā ɡeyini/
 my-DAT give-REQ-HON
 ‘Let me go.’

b. *eNk dzaʔ-shA bAʔ-tSA nAila* /ε̃k dzāʔšā bāʔcā nāilə/
 ADV come-CONV sit-INF HON
 ‘Come here and sit down.’

3.2.9.3.7 Potentiality /cāp-cā/

The K-K modal verb /cāp.cā/ ‘can’ expresses potentiality, capability, permission or ability of a doer in respect of an action. The root <cāp-> can have several different inflections according to person and number. It also expresses impudency ‘dare’ as illustrated in (213) a-b.

(213) a. *go oNsosam dza-tSA tsAb-nu-ng* /go ɔ̃sosəm dzəcā cābnuŋ/
 1SG this.much eat-INF can-NPST-1SG
 ‘I can eat this much.’

b. *goi gYAkosi la-tSA tsAb-naye* /go ɔ̃sosəm dzəcā cābnuŋ/
 2SG market go-INF can-2SG
 ‘You can go to the market.’

3.2.9.3.8 Desiderative /mālnuŋ/

The auxiliary verb /mālnuŋ/ ‘want’ is suffixed to verbal stem/base/roots for expressing the sense of ‘wanting’ or ‘desire’.

(214) a. *go la-tSA mālnung* /go ləcā mālnuŋ/

1SG go-INF AUX:want

‘I want to go.’

3.2.9.3.9 Obligatory/necessitative /mālbə/

The auxiliary verb /mālbə/ ‘must’ expresses obligation or compulsion (also see § 4.3.2.4). Thus, consider the following example given in (215) a.

(215) a. *go-mi kumso-pa-tsa-n mālbə* /gom kumso-pəcān mālbə/

1SG-AGT song-do-INF-EMPH AUX:must

‘I must sing anyhow.’

3.3 Voice

Voice expresses “the relationship between, on the one hand, the participant roles of the NP arguments of a verb and, on the other hand, the grammatical relations borne by those NPs” (Trask 1993: 299). Like English, Kirānti-Kōits does not have active vs. passive voice constructions as such in its syntactic construction. On the contrary, morphologically, there are notably two suffixes <-sib> (cf. Rapacha (1997) expressing non-past tense something like *dzāĩ-sib* ‘is eaten (approximately)’, e.g. (216) a-c and <-sāu> (also cf. Rapacha (1997)) *dzāĩ-sāu* expressing past ‘had been eaten (perfective tense approximately)’, e.g. (217) a-c.

Another single middle marker infix <-si-> (which is cognate of *-siŋ-* K-Lim and *-si-* K-Th; cf. Upadhyaya (1998: 8-10, 25-30) is used for expressing middle/reflexive voice in some set of verbs as illustrated in (218) a-c.

(216) a. *šyoplɛ dzāĩ-sib*

bread eat-PAS ‘bread is eaten’ (the speaker is ready with the bread to be eaten)

b. *rimso-pā šyil-pāĩ-sib*

good-ADV dance-do-PAS ‘is danced beautifully’ (the speaker is ready to dance)

c. *ɛ̃ko gɛ thum-šo-nolɛ gyākosi lāĩ-sib*

this work finish-PCPL-POSTP market go-PAS

‘After finishing this work, I’ll be going to the market.’ (hardly translatable, the speaker has not yet gone to the market)

(217) a. *lāmdz dzāi-sāu*

snacks eat-PAS ‘snacks was eaten’

b. *tsibbudi kumso-pāi-sāu*

bird.like song-do-PAS ‘was sung like a bird’

c. *sināt gyākosi lāi-sāu*

yesterday market go-PAS ‘yesterday had been to the market’

(218) a. *ric-ø-cā* ‘to laugh’ vs. *him-si-cā* ‘to be shaken’

b. *plɛ-ø-cā* ‘to jump’ vs. *thum-si-cā* ‘to be finished’

c. *boic-ø-cā* ‘to bloom’ vs. *ro:-si-cā* ‘to be opened’

3.4 Causative structure

Causativization in Kirānti-Kōits is a morpho-lexical process. The infix morpheme <-pāic-> is the sole causativizing element in the language. It changes its inflectional forms with its basic root <-pə-> with the root of the main verb, e.g. *āl-kāli k^həmə dzə-pə-to* (eat-CAUS-IMP:2SG) ‘Make the baby have the rice’ and other examples are:

(219) a. *pa-pāits-tsa* /pə.pāic.cā/

do-CAUS-INF ‘make someone do something’

b. *pa-pa-to* /pə.pə.to/

do-CAUS-IMP:2SG ‘you make him/her do something’

c. *pa-pāit-tu* /pə.pāit.tu/

do-CAUS-PST:3SG ‘s/he made him/her/they do’

d. *pa-pāit-ta-sku* /pə.pāit.tə.sku/

do-CAUS-PST:2DU ‘we^{DU} made him do’

- e. *pa-pAm-teme* /pə.pām.tɛm(ɛ)/
do- CAUS-PST:3SG ‘they made them do’

All other inflectional forms differ according to person, number and TAM as well.

3.5 Reciprocal

Reciprocity in K-K is expressed by an affix <-*mum*-> (*mumtās*DU K-K cf. *motāse*DU Kirānti-Ba; Pokharel (1999: 33-40) always followed by a verb root and preceded by infinitive. Syntactically, in general reciprocity is that two like events, which are at issue with subject of the first being the object of the second, and vice versa. Thus, the two participants’ act upon each other reciprocally. Examples are:

- (220) a. *tu-mum-tsa* /tu.mum.cā/
beat-REC-INF ‘to beat each other’
b. *t’u-mum-tsa* /t’u.mum.cā/
lick-REC-INF ‘to lick each other’
c. *ko-mum-tsa* /ko.mum.cā/
look-REC-INF ‘to look each other’
d. *dzi-mum-tsa* /dzi.mum.cā/
fight-REC-INF ‘to fight each other’
e. *su-mum-tsa* /su.mum.cā/
cover-REC-INF ‘to cover each other’
f. *tai-mum-tsa* /tāi.mim.cā/
kick-REC-INF ‘to kick each other’

3.6 Negative prefix

Kirānti-Kōits grammar utilizes only one negative prefix <*mə*-> (also cf. Appendix C) for contradicting the meaning of a given verb. This morpheme <*mə*-> is a cognate of the Tibeto-Burman simple negative **ma*, which is often prefixed, or negative imperative **ta* (Benedict 1972: 76), the Bahing negative particle *má* (Hodgson 1857: 500), the Hayu negative particle *ma*, *makhi*, *maang* or *tha*, which occur in preverbal position

(Michilovsky 1988: 161), the Dumi suffixes <-*mə*> and <-*nə*> (Driem 1993b: 121-122), the Yamphu negative markers <*mæn*->, <*æʔ*->, <-*n*> (Rutgers 1998: 110, 211), Kirānti-Wam negative marker <*ā*-> (Opgenort 2002: 237), the Lahu negative particle <*mā*> (Matisoff 1991: 495), the Kirānti-Athpare <*mi*-> (Neupane 2001 [VS 2058: 130]) or <*ni*-> elsewhere in Ebert (1997) and the Tankhul-Naga (T-B) negative prefix <*mə*-> (Victor 1997). Normally, the morpheme <*mə*-> as negative marker is prefixed (cf. § 3.1; almost a single prefix morpheme) to verbs or adjective roots, e.g. *mə-dzə-cā* ‘to not eat’ and *mə-rimšo* (lit. not good) ‘bad’.

This negative (also cf. Appendix C) prefix can be attached to all types of finite/non-finite verb forms such as, simplicia, optatives, indefinitives, imperatives and gerunds, and also to several types of deverbatives, such as imperfectives and verbal adjectives. Unlike some Kirānti languages, there is a separate negative marker, for instance, *mamai~mame* /*mə.məi~mə.mə*/ simply means ‘no, not at all’ in the Kirānti Kōits negative system (See § 3.6.1 and § 3.1.2.6.1).

3.6.1 Double negative prefixes

The use of double negative (also cf. Appendix C) prefixes in Kirānti-Kōits grammar suggests emphasis or obligation in meaning, e.g. (221) a-e.

- (221) a. *ma-la-thu ma-dum-ba* /*mə.lə.thu mə.dum.bə*/
 NEG-go-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must go anyhow/at any cost’
- b. *ma-dza-thu ma-dum-ba* /*mə.dzə.thu mə.dum.bə*/
 NEG-eat-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must eat anyhow/at any cost’
- c. *ma-ko:-thu ma-dum-ba* /*mə.ko:.thu mə.dum.bə*/
 NEG-look-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must look/see anyhow/at any cost’
- d. *ma-rit-thu ma-dum-ba* /*mə.rit.thu mə.dum.bə*/
 NEG-laugh-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must laugh anyhow/at any cost’
- e. *ma-gl(r/D)A-thu ma-dum-ba* /*mə.lə.thu mə.dum.bə*/
 NEG-win-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must win anyhow/at any cost’

There is an alternative construction for all these obligatory or emphatic (double negative prefixes) aspects of meaning in the language e.g., (221) a can be expressed as *go latsAn maAlba* /go læcān māl̥bə/ ‘I have to/must go anyhow/at any cost’.

3.6.2 Negation in emphatic denial

Negation in semantico-pragmatic use conveys the meaning of emphatic denial as illustrated in (222) a.

- (222) a. *go la-si-n ma-lai-nu-ŋ* /go lə.sɪ.n mə.lāi.nu.ŋ/
 1SG go-MV-EMPH NEG-go-NPST-1SG ‘I do not go.’ (...whatever the case may be)

3.7 Conditional structure

The nominal lexeme *ŋənā* (223) a-d ‘if’ is used as conjunction to link two contradictory or cause and result clauses, which will be dealt in some detail in chapter four.

- (223) a. *ruili dzā-t ŋənā ɛ̃ko wā mur-pāi-nu-ŋ*
 R arrive-PST:3SG COND this cloth wash-CAUS-NPST-1SG
 ‘I shall make Ruili carry this cloth if she arrives.’
- b. *immā-m huit-təm ŋənā go gyākosi mə-lāi-nu-ŋ*
 mother-AGT scold-3SG:HON COND 1SG market NEG-go-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will not go the market if the mother scolds.’
- c. *dor-sāu ŋənā T^hī-sib*
 run-PAS COND fall-PAS
 ‘One falls if s/he runs.’ (Literal: is run if is fallen)
- d. *təu pi-t(ə) ŋənā rimšo mə-pāi-b*
 son come-PST:3SG COND good NEG.do-NPST:3SG
 ‘The son does not behave well if he comes.’

3.8 Nominal and verbal compounding

The Kirānti-Kōits transitive verb *pə-cā* ‘to do’ is an exceptionally productive verb, which is compounded with nouns (224) a-x and with stems or roots (225) a-g for generating other transitive verbs. The *pə-cā* verb is a cognate of *pā-co* in Kirānti-Ba and *pā-cām* in Kirānti-Wam. Its other polysemantic spheres are: ‘to act, behave, treat’ and figurative meanings are: ‘to copulate, have sexual intercourse, rape’ and another equivalent term is- *šukul-pə-cā* (See lexicon in Appendix A also).

Noun	+	verb
(224) a. dzitsk ^h ets	pə-cā ‘to do’	‘to quarrel’
b. cimik	Σ-~	‘to wink’
c. dzol	Σ-~	‘to lie’
d. hē~thē	Σ-~	‘to be careless’
e. kāil	Σ-~	‘to persuade’
f. kop ^h le	Σ-~	‘to make noise or be uncontrolled’
g. kumso	Σ-~	‘to sing a song’
i. k ^h əlo	Σ-~	‘to invoke the spirits of the ancestors’
j. k ^h āldiŋ	Σ-~	‘to doubt’
k. k ^h əl	Σ-~	‘to guard’
l. k ^h ui	Σ-~	‘to steal’
m. gāits	Σ-~	‘to be angry’
n. lo:	Σ-~	‘to talk, discuss’
o. mon	Σ-~	‘to grieve’
p. mune	Σ-~	‘to be shy’
q. nəm	Σ-~	‘to love’
r. pidār	Σ-~	‘to worship’
s. pul	Σ-~	‘to invoke’
t. p ^h əs	Σ-~	‘to blow the wind’
u. roi	Σ-~	‘to be sick’
v. səu	Σ-~	‘to greet’

w. šukul	Σ~	‘to fornicate’
x. th’usu	Σ~	‘to cough’

	stem/root +	verb
(225) a. b̄er	pə-cā ‘to do’	‘to make fly by the wind’
b. bloī	Σ~	‘to save’
c. gā	Σ~	‘cause to walk’
d. r̄atu	Σ~ (fig.)	‘to steal in a small quantity’
e. rā	Σ~	‘cause to rot’
f. rāp	Σ~	‘cause to stand’
g. rinā	Σ~	‘to smell’

3.9 Discourse Particles

Discourse particles are small closed set of uninflected or indeclinable forms. They do not obviously show any characteristic lexical morphology, and occur in a syntactically independent way in phrase and sentences. These particles are characterized by their having no dependents. However, they naturally do not appear alone in a sentence, but can precede or succeed nominals and verbs e.g. the underlined ones in *goi də mo pāi-bā? tē cō?* ‘You did (have done) so?’. These particles in the literature are also known as “attitudinal particles, unspecified particles, emphasis particles, and specification Hari 1973) and Abadie (1974) particles”, which ‘nuance’ the lexical and emotional import of clauses (Acharya 1991). Such particles in Kirānti-Kōits are: *kō*, *kəkā*, *cō*, *də*, *šyā*, *cən*, *dε*, *ŋā*, *nε*, *-i* and *-n*. Their use is illustrated as follows:

3.9.1 Mirative /nε/

The mirative /nε/ has two types of usages. First, it declares something about ‘hearsay knowledge’ as reportive (they say... in reporting speech), e.g. (226) a, and second, it is used as conforming the informantion (a sort of question form) when the hearer is unclear or wants it to be reconfirmed again as in (226) b.

(226) a. mɛko puĩlāte bɛʔ-t nɛ`
 that beggar die-PST:3SG MIR
 ‘The man died.’ (I discover, heard from someone else)

b. goi-mi mār dɛ~nɛ n’ɛ?
 2SG-AGT what say-INF MIR
 ‘What did you say?’ (I did not hear it properly; Rapacha (2003))

3.9.2 Doubt /kõ/

The particle /kõ/ is used for expressing doubts or possibility while some uncontrollable circumstances are going to happen as illustrated in (227) a.

(227) a. mulāt mɛko roi-pə-šo mur bɛʔ-bā kõ
 today that sick-do-PCPL die-NPST PAR
 ‘The sick person may die today.’ (I doubt)

3.9.3 Emphatic /kəkā/

The particle /kəkā/ is used to emphasise when the hearer is obstinate and does something different as opposed to the speaker as in (228) a. The example can also be found in § 3.1.3.1.6 (157) e [Text source: 1.25].

(228) a. go-m mə-pāu-o dɛ~nā-dɛn mo kəkā pə-yi?
 go-AGT NEG-do-IMP say-PROG-RED so PAR do-3SG:Q
 ‘Did you do so when I was telling you not to do so?’

3.9.4 Method /cõ/

The particle /cõ/ is of declarative type and it is used in delivering some methods or ways of doing things as illustrated in (229) a.

(229) a. goi-mi p^hurkəl õpā tāic-cā mālɓ cõ
 2SG-AGT ball this way kick-INF must PAR
 ‘You must kick the ball in this way.’ (way of doing things in one manner...)

3.9.5 Rather /də/

The particle /də/ is used in the sense of ‘rather’ and pragmatically is a topic marker of excluding some participants in the discourse such as *go də mə-lāi-nu-ŋ* ‘I do not go’ (rather you go) and the similar meaning is conveyed in example (230) a, and one more example can be found in the Text source [1.23] also.

(230) a. *mekyengA me gAishngAmin ubnaubna hillo pAaptu, “mame e... dAgyu! inke da loab selan bA?t shyAn? Ankali mARde kyorsshA-dzArs-shA piu densho?”*

məkʏɛ-ŋā mɛ	gāiʃ-ŋā-min	ubnəubnə	hillo-pā-ptu,	“məmə ɛ...dāgyu!
there-ABL s/he	anger-SIM-then	mutter	ask-do-PST:3SG	INTJ hey...e/b
in-kɛ	də	loəb	sɛlə-n	bā?-tə~t
your-GEN PAR	y/b	along.with-PAR	AUX:EXT-3SG	INTJ:PAR
ā-kəli mərde	kyors-šā-dzārs-šā	pi-u	dɛː-šo?”	
I-ACC why	cut-CONV-RED-CONV	come-IMPR	say-PR:PCPL	

‘Then furiously asked, “Hey elder brother (e/b)! You have your younger brother (y/b) with you. Why did you ask my younger brother to sacrifice?”

[Text source: 1.24]

3.9.6 Certainty /šyā/

The particle /šyā/ is used for confirming some knowledge of something of a speaker to his/her hearer in certainty or confidentiality as illustrated in (231) a, and another example can be found in the Text source [1.24] as well.

(231) a. *Khintsi plApsalA dumnAdumna Paiwakali hillo pAptu, “e... dAgyu! gopikyA dopA pitsA shyAn?”*

K ^h intsi plāpsəlā	dum-nā-dum-nə	Pāiwā-kəli	hillo-pāp-tu,	“e...
K	helpless	be-PROG-RED-PROG	P-GEN	ask-do-PST:3SG
dāgyu!	go-pikyə dopā pi-cā	šyā?”		“hello
brother!	I-PL	how come-INF	PAR	

‘Khintsi asked Paiwa being helpless, “Hello brother! How shall we come?”’
[Text source: 1.19]

3.9.7 Choice /cən/

The particle /cən/ is used for the meaning of ‘choice/option or ‘this particular one’ such as *go goi-kəli ɛko blɛ-tik-cən mə-gɛ-nu-ŋ* ‘I do not give you this pen’ (you take another one) and as shown in example (232) a.

(232) a. *Khintsitsan Ngakumake perA gadgepa mulngA Okhaldhunga nu Ramechhappa
Likhu nu Khimtige kainsAu.*

K^hintsi-tsən ŋākumā-kɛ perā gad-kɛ-pā mul-ŋā Okhəldhungā nu Rāmɛchhāp-pā
K-PAR N-GEN right bank-GEN-POSTP today-GEN O and R-POSTP
Likhu⁵² nu Khimti-gɛ kāĩ-sāu
L/rivulet and K-POSTP follow route-PAS

‘Khintsi journeyed from the right bank of the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) towards Likhu and Khimti via today’s Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap.’ [Text source: 1.39]

3.9.8 Alternative /dɛ/

The particle /dɛ/ is used for showing alternative action (meaning ‘or’) in a form of question as illustrated in (233) a.

(233) a. mɛko mur k^hĩ lāi-bā dɛ mə-lāi-bā?
that man house go-NPST:3SG PAR NEG-go-NPST:3SG
‘Does that man go home or not?’

3.9.9 Confirming question /jā/

⁵²The word Likhu >Likh (means ‘River/rivulet’ in Kirānti-Kōits) is of Tibeto-Burman origin (cf. Malla 1981:12) and at present is Nepalified (i.e. Indo-Aryanized or Indicized) as a hydronym and the speakers tend to speak Likhu Khola (N *K^hola*) means ‘Rivulet Rivulet’ twice in word to word translation.

The particle /ŋā/ syntactically must occur in the final position of the phrase or sentence to deliver its meaning as confirming question about ideas such as *moth me ŋā?* ‘Is that so?’ and in example (234) a.

(234) a. *Paiwami yo tsu:tsupanpan denta, “hatteri! gom gena loab kyorsshAdzArsshA piu densho nangA ngA? ts’ibrub kyorsshA-dzArsshA piu kaka densho nang shyan”.*

Pāiwā-mi	yo	tsu:tsu-pə-nā-pə-n		dɛ̃:-tə~t,	hatteri!	go-m	genā	loab
P-AGT	also	regret-do-PROG-RED-PROG	say-PST:3SG	INTJ	I-ERG	when	y/b	
kyors-šā-dzārs-šā		pi-u		dɛ̃:-šo		nəŋā~nəŋ		
cut.CONV-RED-CONV		come-IMPR	say-PR:PCPL	AUX:1SG				
ŋā?	ts’ibrub	kyors-šā-dzārs-šā	pi-u	kəkā	dɛ̃:-šo			
Q:PAR	bird/animal	cut.CONV-RED-CONV	come-IMPR	PAR	say-CONV			
nəŋ	šyā							
AUX:1SG	PAR							

‘Paiwa also expressed regretting, “When did I tell you to come having sacrificed your younger brother (y/b)? I told you to come having sacrificed a bird or an animal.’

[Text source: 1.25]

3.9.10 Special emphasis /-i, -n/

The phonemic particles /-i/ and /-n/ are used for showing a special emphasis in a discourse as illustrated in (235) a-b and other examples can be found in the Text source [1.11], and [1.5, 17, 19, 20, 29, 37] also.

(235) a. *mekelAi yo mekopikya hamaihAm udingge lAmteme.*

mɛkɛ-lā-i	yo	mɛko-pikyə	hāmə-i-hām	uding-gɛ	lām-temɛ~tɛm
there-ABL-PAR	also	s/he-PL	bank-PAR-bank	north-POSTP	go-PST:3PL
‘From there too they went towards the north through the bank.’					

b. *deNsdesimin Tawa likh dZA?t.*

dɛ̃:-s-dɛ̃:-si-mi-n	Tāwā	lik ^h	dzā?-tə~t
---------------------	------	------------------	-----------

say-RED-NML-LOC-PAR T rivulet come-PST:3SG

‘Quarreling in the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet.’

[Text source: 1.28]

3.9.11 Declarative /lo/

The particle /lo/ is used for declaring something by a speaker in front of his/her hearer for implying ‘granted that... or okay’ as illustrated in (236) a-b. which syntactically occurs in the subject position far left.

(236) a. lo ðth piu-o dɛ

PAR hither come-IMP PAR

‘You now come hither.’

b. lo mul goi-nimp^hā m’išyɛ-wāĩsyɛ dum-tisi

PAR now 2SG-DU wife-husband become-PST:DU

‘I declare now you are man and woman.’

3.10 Summing up

In this chapter, we mainly focused our description on three main parts viz., nominal, verbal morphology and particles. The key morphological processes we observed here include- inflection, derivation, reduplication and compounding. Nominals are those grammatical categories, which are marked for case suffixes but gender remain unmarked grammatically (See § 3.1.2.2). Person and number (See § 3.1.2.3) need a special attention to be analyzed in Tibeto-Burman Kirānti languages. All Kirānti languages including Kirānti-Kōits have dual marker. Most of the nominals morphologically are derived, reduplicated and compounded ones.

The Kirānti-Kōits verb morphology is normally agglutinative and inflecting. It inflects for person, number (See § 3.2.6) and TAM (elsewhere). There is a high frequency of nominal and verbal compounding yielding nominals from verbs. Like many other Kirānti languages, Kirānti-Kōits verb roots/stems are highly monosyllabic. The language

both in nominal and verbal morphology investigated here is a suffixing except for its negative suffix <mə->. This negative suffix is pragmatically used for emphatic denial in an utterance too. Verbs undergo all morphological processes stated earlier in § 3.1.

The particles described at the end part here (See § 3.9) tend to have more pragmatic force (i.e attitude and emphasis in discourse) than morphological, syntactic and semantic one. These particles rarely influence the morpho-syntactic constructions. Interestingly, most of these particles occur at the phrase or sentence final position and are rarely reduplicated or compounded in them. They ‘nuance’ the lexical and emotional import of clauses.

Chapter Four

Syntactico-semantic structures

4. Syntactic structure

This chapter mainly concentrates on the description of some fundamentals of Kirānti-Kōits syntax or sentence structures. Syntax in its Greek etymology means “the study of arrangements”, and to linguists, this means the study of arrangements in language specifically. The term syntax in modern usage signifies “the study and description of how words combine to form” (Lockwood 2002: 1) particular kinds of structures in a given language. Thus, we will here describe those possible phrase, clause and sentence structures of Kirānti-Kōits vis-à-vis their meaning.

4.1 General overview on T-B syntactic typology

Kirānti-Kōits as one of the T[ibeto]-B[urman] languages of the Nepal Himalayas and Sikkim is a verb final, e.g. (270) a, language. In all T-B languages with the exception of Karen (DeLancey 1990: 806), the normal word order is S(ubject), O(bject) and V(erb) (also cf. Kansakar 1993, Park (1994) for Kirānti-Hayu, (also cf. Appendix C) albeit this is not always observed everywhere rigorously. Zograph (1982: 189-190) observes,

“The normal order of words in the Tibeto-Burman sentence is SOV⁵³ – subject, object, predicate, though this is not always and everywhere rigorously observed. The qualifier

⁵³ Thoudam (2000: 155-156) also notes some general characteristics shared by the Tibeto-Burman languages such as “1. Most of these languages are tonal. The tone system varies from simple to complex, 2. Most of these languages are monosyllabic, 3. Most of these languages are agglutinative, 4. In these languages, the affixes play the most important role, thereby making it difficult to have a clearcut demarcation between morphology and syntax, 5. The root in these languages, do not change easily, 6. The word order in most of the languages is subject-object-verb (SVO), 7. In most of the languages the affixes are found in the modifiers which normally occur after the nouns in noun phrases but this is quite opposite in the case of verbs in verb phrases where the modifier precedes the verb forms and the affixes are attached to the verbs only, 8. In these languages, it is difficult to distinguish between nouns, derived nouns, adjectives and adverbs and sometimes even verbs, 9. In most of these languages there is particle attached only to the nouns or nominal forms which functions as the main verb and the absence of which make the sentences incomplete, 10. The absence of grammatical gender is another characteristics of these languages, 11. There are no tense markers in these languages, showing that there is no grammatical marking of time. Time if at all is to be indicated, is with the help of time adverbials. Hence, there is no tense in these languages, 12. No distinction can be made between active and passive voice, 13. Pronominal agreement between the possessor and possessed is seen in the case of kin terms and intimate or personal belongings with agreement between the subject and object, 14. In these languages the *PTB ma- ~a is retained indicating

always accompanies the qualified closely, whether preceding or following it, and such collocations have a great measure of syntactic cohesion, being treated as single words when postpositions have to be added. Subordinate clauses are not properly typical of Tibeto-Burman syntax, but, under the influence of Indo-Aryan neighbors, are widely used in certain individual members of the family. Basically, Tibeto-Burman words are monosyllables. In most of the member languages, we find a wealth of words for close definition of concrete objects, coupled with an almost complete absence of terms for abstract and general concepts. The amount of borrowing from the NIA languages, is great and continually growing.”

This SOV word order typology according to Matisoff (1991:386) and Masica (1976: 27-30) is ‘undoubtedly the original Sino-Tibetan word order’. This word order of Kirānti languages satisfies Greenberg’s “non-absolute/implicational” universals 5 and 21⁵⁴ (Song 2001: 6-7) and (Comrie 1981: 19) by having, postpositions and NP order string (Ebert 1994:100) such as,

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{DEM+GEN} \\ \text{Poss (pron)} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Num} + \text{ADJ/ATTR} + \text{POSS} + \text{N}$$

We will in the succeeding § 4.2 examine phrase word orders of Kirānti-Kōits syntax, e.g. *meko ni ʔsi rimšo wāĩsāl-nimp^hā* (that two good boy-DU) ‘those two handsome boys^{DU}, and *meko-ke ni ʔsi rimšo təu bāʔtā-sɛ* (his/her-GEN two good son be-PST:EX1 2DU) ‘S/he has two handsome sons’, in which Ebert’s general observation to a greater extent can satisfactorily justify its (Kirānti-Kōits syntax) structural features.

4.2 Phrases

A phrase is a relatively low rank of syntactic structure typically involving patterns of word combination of units smaller than the clause (Lockwood 2002: 358), where a

the 3rd person or the generic form is not related to words like ‘me’ or ‘you’, 15. In most of the languages numerals are counted in tens and the rule for formation of higher numerals is the prefixation or suffixation of the numerals one, two, three, etc to the numerals counted in tens, 16. The verbs in these languages are not inflected for number, gender and person, 17. Most of the languages do not exhibit differences for number in nouns also, 18. These languages have fixed word order differing from language-to-language, and 19. These languages have a large number of one word sentences.”

⁵⁴ Greenberg’s (1963b) Universal 5: “if a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun” and his Universal 21: “if some or all adverbs follow the adjective they modify, then the language is one in which the qualifying adjective follows the noun and the verb precedes its nominal object as the dominant order” (cited in Song 2001: 7).

minimal phrase sometimes be a single word and lacking subject and predicate structure. Four types of phrase, viz., noun, adjective, verb and adverb phrases are distinguished in Kirānti-Kōits (also cf. Kirānti-Rod; Rai 2003).

4.2.1 Noun phrase

A noun phrase (NP) is such a construction, where nouns most commonly appear as a headword. The NP in Kirānti-Kōits, mainly consists of a noun or pronoun as illustrated in (237) a-c, where a single noun (N) serves as the head of NPs and in (238) a-c, a pronoun occurs in place of (N) and therefore it also serves the purpose of the NP.

- (237) a. mur(u) ‘man’ b. dzoi ‘tiger’ c. rəwā ‘tree’
 (238) a. go ‘I’ b. goi ‘you’ c. məko ‘s/he’ (also demonstrative)

Like Kirānti-Rod (Rai 2003), those Ns in (237) a-c can form an NP usually followed (occasionally preceded) by a determiner (DET + N) yielding the NPs, e.g.

- (239) a. dzoi kā (also *kā dzoi*; normally frequent use is *dzoi kā*) ‘a/one tiger’
 b. ε̃ko dzoi ‘this tiger’
 c. məko rəwā ‘the/that tree’
 d. məko-kε k^hī ‘his/her house’

Adjectives as attribute and nouns as the head (ADJ + N) can form NPs and function as an NP as illustrated in (240) a-c,

- (240) a. blošo p^hε̃ŋse ‘tasty papaya’
 b. rimšo mur(u) ‘handsome man’
 c. k^hədīc āl ‘clever child’

A determiner and adjectives as the pre-modifying attribute and the nouns as a head (DET + ADJ + N) can form NPs, e.g.

- (241) a. ε̃ko blošo mugye ‘this tasty banana’
 b. məko rimšo m’isyemur(u) ‘that beautiful woman’

c. məkō k^hədīc āl ‘that clever child’

NPs can also be formed by adding a determiner followed by an adverb and an adjective as the pre-modifying attribute to a noun as a head (**DET + ADV + ADJ + N**) as in (242) a-c.

- (242) a. ɛ̃ko iciici blošo p^hɛŋsɛ ‘this slightly tasty banana’
 b. məkō sāppā rimšo m’isyɛāl ‘that very beautiful girl’
 c. məkō sāppā k^hədīc āl ‘that very clever child’

The last combination of string for NPs with determiners, adverbs and adjective is- (**DET + ADV + ADV + ADJ + N**), where a determiner followed by double adverbs and an adjective as the pre-modifying attribute to a noun as a head. The examples are:

- (243) a. məkō sināt-ŋā sāppā rimšo m’isyɛmur(u) ‘that yesterday’s very beautiful woman’
 b. məkō sināt-ŋā sāppā hoʔšo bwāk ‘that yesterday’s very hot water’

As pointed out above, Kirānti-Kōits NPs are formed with particles (cf. Ch 3 § 3.9) also. In this string, a noun as a head is followed by a particle (**N + PAR**) as an attribute. e.g.

- (244) a. po nɛ ‘pig’ (not a cat)
 b. kucum yo ‘dog also’
 c. bletik cən ‘pen’ (not book)

NPs can also consist of two nouns as heads joined by a co-ordinate particle (**N + PAR + N**) as an attribute, e.g.

- (245) a. po dɛ bwā ‘pig or rooster’
 b. kucum nu bɛrmo ‘the dog and the cat’

NPs can also consist of noun as a head followed by a co-ordinate particle and another noun again followed by the same particle (**N + PAR + N + PAR**) e.g.

- (246) a. wāismur(u) yo m’isyɛmur(u) yo ‘both man and woman’
 b. kucum yo bɛrmo yo ‘both the dog and the cat’

NPs in (246) a-b can further be extended with two nouns head each preceded by a pronoun and joined by a co-ordinate (PRON + N + PAR + PRON + N) particle, e.g.

(247) a. mɛko-kɛ ŋāwə nu mɛkokɛ loəb
 his/her-GEN e.b PAR his/her-GEN y.b
 ‘his/her elder-brother and his/her younger brother’

b. i-kɛ ru nu ā-kɛ kʰɪ
 2SG-GEN field PAR my-GEN house
 ‘your field and my house’

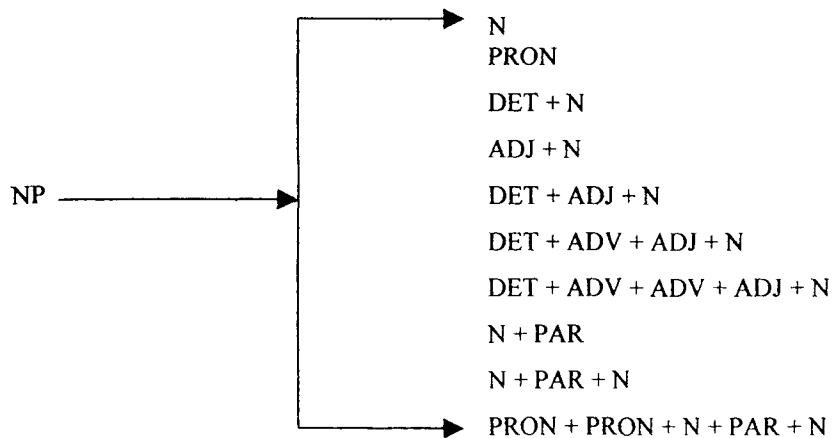
In some noun phrases, two pronouns may precede a noun head, then another head may be preceded by a pronoun, and then both noun heads can be joined by a co-ordinate (PRON + PRON + N + PAR + PRON + N) particle as illustrated in (248) a-b.

(248) a. go ā-kɛ kʰɪ nu i-kɛ šyōpu
 1SG my-GEN house PAR 2SG-GEN property
 ‘my house and your property’

b. mɛko ān-kɛ āpʰpo nu mɛko ān-kɛ məmā
 his/her they- GEN father PAR his/her they-GEN mother
 ‘their father and their mother’

The NPs illustrated above in (237)-(248) are summarized in Diagram 1 below.

Diagram 4.4: An NP in K-K



An NP functions as the S of a sentence (249) a, and O (249) b of a sentence and a complement of a sentence (249) c.

- (249) a. *tɛbām-mi (ām) cā m'í-tu*
 Tebam-AGT hair comb-PST:3SG
 'Tebam combed her hair.'
- b. *sɛmli kɛ-b kʰəmɛ* (verb in the mid position is also used occasionally)
 Semli cook-NPST:3SG rice
 'Semli cooks rice.'
- c. *məmā blɛspət brɛ-n-brɛ-n bāʔ-tɛm(ɛ)*
 mother letter write-PROG-RED is-3SG:HON
 'The mother is writing a letter.'

4.2.2 Verb phrase

A verb phrase (VP) is "the syntactic category consisting of a verb and its complements and also, in most analyses, its adjuncts; this category most typically functions as a predicate" (Trask 1993: 297). Traditionally, a VP refers to a group of verbs e.g. *i-n-i-n bā* (come-PROG-come-PROG AUX), where 'come' is the main verb and 'is' an auxiliary. The VP construction in Kirānti-Kõits is described in the preceding paragraphs

A single verb (V) can form and function as a VP e.g.

- (250) a. *dzāu-o* (eat-IMP:3SG) 'eat'
 b. *lə-t(ə)* (go-PST:3SG) 'went'
 c. *dor-(ə)* (run-NPST:3SG) 'runs'

A VP is formed by a verb followed by a particle (V+ PAR) and it serves as a VP, e.g.

- (251) a. *lāi-bā kō* (go-NPST:3SG) 'may go' [cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.2 (227) a]
 b. *b'ɛ-b nɛ'* (go-PST:3SG) '(s/he) dies' [cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.1(226) a-b]

A VP is formed by two verbs joined by a particle (V + PAR + V), e.g.

- (252) a. *dzə-šo mɛrɛ ip-o*

- eat-PCPL PAR sleep-IMP:3SG 'sleep after eating'
- b. lāi-bā dε mə-lāi-bā
go-NPST:3SG PAR NEG-go-NPST:3SG 'does s/he go or not'
- c. ko:-ŋo ŋā min dε-no
look-IMP PAR then tell-IMP 'look and then tell'

A VP is formed by a main verb followed by an auxiliary/modal or copula (V + AUX/COP), e.g. consider (253) a-d.

- (253) a. dzāi-nə-sku (eat-NPST:COP-DU) 'eat-AUX-2DU'
b. dzə-cā māl(ə) (eat-INF must) 'must eat'
c. ŋā-n-ŋā-n bā (weep-PROG-weep-PROG) 'is weeping'
d. i-cā c'īātāu (come-INF going to) 'going to come'

A VP is formed by reduplication (V + RED), in which it suggests the certainty of an action, e.g.

- (254) a. lāu-o lāu-o (go-NPST:IMP RED) 'certainly go'
b. soit-to soit-to (send-NPST:IMP RED) 'certainly send'
c. k^hāl-do k^hāl-do (mix- NPST:IMP RED) 'certainly mix'

All verbs after reduplication followed by adverb and another verb (V + RED + ADV + V) also form and function as a VP, e.g.

- (255) a. dzə-cā dzə-cā min ip-cā
eat-INF RED then sleep-INF 'You eat and sleep doing nothing.' (i.e. satiric)
b. hām-do hām-do min sām-do
dry-NPST:IMP RED then store-NPST:IMP 'You dry and dry and store...'

A VP is also formed by a noun, followed by a postposition and then followed by a verb (N + POSTP + V) e.g.

- (255) a. k^hī-mi lə-ti
house-POSTP go-PST:1SG '(I) went home'

b. k^hĩŋ-gā o-tə

house- POSTP enter-PST:3SG ‘(s/he) entered inside the house’

Very often, an adverb followed by a verb (**ADV + V**) forms and functions as a **VP**, e.g.

(256) a. rippā dorc-cā

fast/quickly run-INF ‘to run quickly’

b. sāppā blo-cā

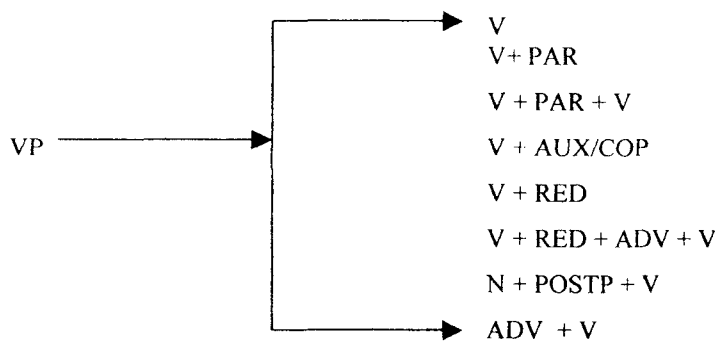
very to be tasty-INF ‘to be very tasty’

c. icik^hoi gε-cā

little give-INF ‘to give a little’

The VPs in Kirānti-Kõits illustrated above in (249)-(256) are summarized in Diagram 2 below.

Diagram 4.5: A VP in K-K



4.2.3 Adjective phrase

An adjective phrase (**ADJPH**) in Kirānti-Kõits qualifies an **N** or an **NP** in a sentence. Its structures can be described as follows.

A single **ADJ** can form and function as an **ADJPH** as shown here, e.g.

(257) a. blošo ‘tasty’

b. T^heb ‘big’

c. imiccili ‘small’

An **ADJPH** in a sentence can consist of an **ADJ** preceded by an **ADV** (**ADV + ADJ**), e.g.

(258) a. sāppā rimšo

‘very beautiful’

- b. omo T^hεb ‘very big’
 c. domo imiccili ‘how small’

An **ADJPH** can, also be formed by a noun followed by postposition and then by an **ADJ** (**N + POSTP + ADJ**), for instance,

- (259) a. p^hu k^hodεb rināpəšo
 flower like smell-do-ADJ ‘flower-like smelling’
- b. themli k^hodεb lāiššo
 hill like tall ‘hill-like tall’
- c. k roku k^hodεb pləšo
 frog like jump ‘frog-like jumping’

In place of *k^hodεb*, there is another synonymous term *budi* in daily use.

Some **ADJ** phrases can combine as far as four words in their string such as an **ADV** preceded by an **N** and a **POSTP**, and followed by an **ADJ** (**N + POSTP + ADV + ADJ**), e.g.

- 260) a. TεTεre keŋā yo šyus lāiššo
 camel than also much tall ‘very taller than a camel’
- b. həbsi keŋā yo šyus kεr
 African than also much black ‘very blacker than an African’

An **ADJ** phrase can also have an **ADJ** (those **ADJ**s can reduplicate here; cf. also Ch 3 § 3.1.3.1) followed by particle (**ADJ + PAR**), e.g.

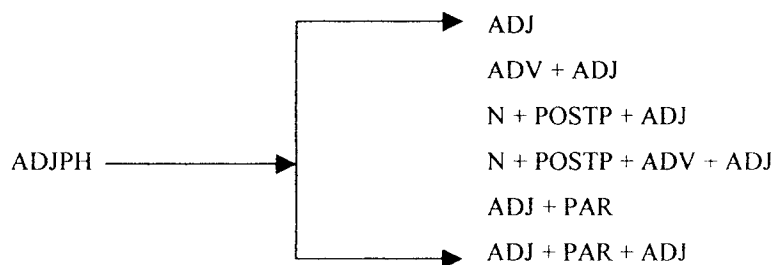
- (261) a. rimšo rimšo cō
 good good PAR ‘only good ones’ (excludes bad; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.4 (229) a)
- b. ip-šo nε’
 sleep-PCPL/ADJ PAR ‘slept’ (it is said, hearsay; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.1 (226) a-b)
- c. imcili cən
 small PAR ‘small’ (choice/emphatic; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.7 (232) a)

Some other **ADJ** phrases can have two adjectives in the string joined by a coordinate particle (**ADJ + PAR + ADJ**), e.g.

- (262) a. rimšo nu mə-rimšo
 good PAR NEG-good ‘good and bad’
- b. ləl dε kεr
 red PAR black ‘red or black’
- c. imcili dε T^hεb
 small PAR big ‘small or big’ (alternative; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.8 (233) a)

These adjective phrases illustrated in (257) a-c - (262) a-c are summarized in Diagram 3 below.

Diagram 4.6: An ADJPH in K-K



4.2.4 Adverb phrase

Adverb phrase (**ADVPH**) is a construction, whose ‘lexical head is an adverb’ (Trask 1993: 10), e.g. *sāppā rip* ‘very fast’ and *disā lε* ‘from tomorrow’. The structural descriptions of Kirānti-Kōits **ADVPH**s are as follows.

A single **ADV** can act and function as an **ADVPH** in the language, e.g.

- (263) a. munāt ‘today’ b. dεsən ‘slowly’ c. sināt ‘yesterday’

An **ADV** can be preceded by a determiner (**DET + ADV**) to form and function as an **ADVPH** in the language as illustrated in (264) a-c.

- (264) a. meko nāt ‘on that day’
 b. mulā thocε ‘this year’

c. sāines moitin ‘many years ago’

An **N** followed by **POSTP** (**N + POSTP**) can form and function as an **ADVPH** in the language as illustrated in (265) a-c.

- (265) a. k^hiŋ-gā ‘inside the house’
 b. rəwā-kε nε?thā ‘near the tree’
 c. k^hī hōiti ‘in front of the house’

An **ADVPH** can be formed by an **NP** consisting of an **ADV** followed by a **POSTP** (**NP + ADV**) as illustrated in (266) a-c.

- (265) a. mεko lāpco-gε ‘towards that door’
 b. ε~ko lā nε?thā ‘near this path/road’
 c. ε~ko lāpco-āgā ‘inside this door’

Some other **ADVPHS** can be formed by an **ADV** followed by a particle (**ADV + PAR**) as illustrated in (266) a-c.

- (266) a. nithnāt yo ‘the following day also’
 b. disā cō ‘certainly tomorrow’
 c. munāt de ‘how about today’

An **ADVPH** can be formed by an **ADV** followed by an **ADJ** (**ADV + ADJ**) as illustrated in (267) a-c.

- (267) a. sāppā gešo ‘very thin’
 b. sāppā domšo ‘very fat’
 c. sus kεr ‘very black’

An **ADVPH** can be formed by an **ADJ** followed by an **ADV** (**ADJ + ADV**) as illustrated in (268) a-b.

- (268) a. rimšo pā... ‘...beautifully’

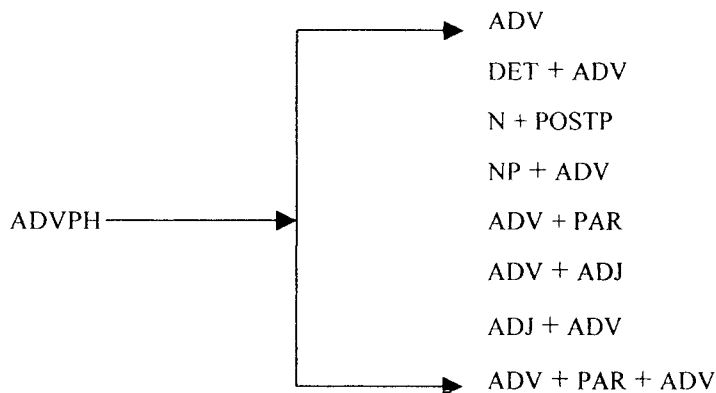
b. mərimošo pā... ‘...badly’

Some **ADVPHs** can have two **ADVs** joined by a conjunctive particle (**ADV + PAR + ADV**) as illustrated in (269) a-c.

- (269) a. sināt nu mulāt ‘yesterday and today’
 b. sus de icik^hoi ‘much or less’
 c. munāt de disā ‘today or tomorrow’

These adverb phrases illustrated in (263) a-c - (269) a-c are summarized in Diagram 4 below.

Diagram 4.7: An ADVPH in K-K



4.3 Sentence

A sentence is the “rank of syntactic structure conventionally understood as its upper limit” (Trask 1993: 362) and it incorporates at least one clause, e.g. (270) a. but grammatical devices may be used to allow a single sentence to incorporate more than one clause in various ways. Kirānti-Kōits as an unwritten, lesser-known or scarcely-described T-B language is basically spoken. A single Kirānti-Kōits spoken utterance/sentence is generally unified intonationally, whereas some dialects contrast tonologically (See Ch 2 § 2.4.1), while in some written samples/documents using its own indigenous script (see Ch 2 § 2.5) and the Devanagari script, Kirānti-Kōits like English is marked by its final punctuation via full stop (.), question mark (?) or exclamation point (!). We will in § 4.3.1 below describe the sentence types of the Kirānti-Kōits language.

- (270) a. go p^hɛŋsɛ bāi-nu-ŋ
 1SG papaya eat-NPST-1SG
 ‘I eat papaya.’
 S O V

4.3.1 Classification of sentences

Ebert (1994) has classified Kirānti sentences mainly in two types, viz., (i) simple and (ii) complex based on structure. Rai (2003: 140) has classified the Kirānti-Rodung (Camling) sentences into three types such as (i) major (simple) sentences (ii) verb-less sentences and (iii) minor sentences. We will here describe the Kirānti-Kōits sentences mainly based on Ebert’s framework of structural description rather than based on function, e.g. imperative, optative etc., which has more or less been illustrated in Ch 3 § 3.2.9.3 while describing mood in the language. We will also consider some pertinent instances from Rai’s (2003) description of K-Rodung in comparative perspective.

4.3.1.1 Simple sentences

4.3.1.1.1 Basic word order

A simple sentence in Kirānti-Kōits at least in this description is limited to the illustration of basic SOV structure as illustrated in (271) a-b. However, other possible structures like OSV is also acceptable when the S is stressed like in K-Rodung (Rai 2003).

- (271) a. go k^həmə dzāi-nu-ŋ
 1SG rice eat-NPST-1SG
 ‘I eat rice.’
- b. go bwāk di-th lə-ti
 1SG water fetch-PUR go-PST:1SG
 ‘I go for fetching the water.’
 S O V
- c. *gAitsm A m’its tsilA dApta.*
 gāits-m ā m’its tsilā dāp-tə~t

anger-AGT his eye lightning dazzle/glare-PST:3SG

‘His eyes turned into lightning with anger.’

[Text source: 3.42]

The illustrations above in (271) a or b can be re-ordered as in (272) a, replacing **O** into S’s position and S can be reduplicated to emphasize the S or agent pragmatically, e.g.

(272) a. k^həmə go dzāi-nu-ŋ go
 rice 1SG eat-NPST-1SG 1SG
 rice I eat I ‘I eat rice.’ (means no other else)
 S O V O

4.3.1.1.2 Interrogative sentences

Normally, the interrogative sentences in Kirānti-Kōits can be constructed in the following order as illustrated in (273) a-c.

(273) a. goi tək lə-n-lə-n bā?-ŋε?
 2SG where go-PROG-go-PROG be-3SG
 ‘Where are you going?’

b. tək bā?-nə-yε goi?
 where live-COP-3SG
 ‘Where do you live?’

c. ε̃ko i-kε mε’?
 this 2SG-GEN AUX:is
 ‘Is this yours?’

In the illustration (273) a above, however there occurs a question word *tək* ‘where’, it normally cannot be moved in the position of the S(pron) as it is in English and in (273) b, the same question word can be moved in place of S(pron) immediately followed by verb for its pragmatic force or S(pron) in the left-most position is also acceptable. In (273) c, *mε’* ‘is’ never ever can occur in the S position in place of *ε̃ko*

‘this’ demonstrative pronoun. There exists a negative particle <məməi> usually used as a short negative question, e.g. ... *mo məməi de* ‘...isn’t it so?’ in everyday conversation.

Like Bagri, one of the Indic languages spoken in India (Gusain 1999) there are two principal types of interrogative sentences based on the type of reply expected in K-K: (i) those that expect a positive or negative answer to the question statement are ‘Yes-No questions’ based on rising intonation as in (274) a-b; and (ii) those that expect a reply from an open-ended range of replies are ‘Question-word questions’ based on optional question lexeme rarely as in (275) a.

(274) a. $\overset{1}{\text{goi}} \overset{1}{\text{mulāt}} \overset{1}{\text{kumso}} \overset{2}{\text{pāi-nə-yε?}}$

2 SG today song do-COP-2SG

‘Do you sing today?’

b. (mār) goi mulāt kumso pāi-nə-yε?

(what) 2 SG today song do-COP-2SG

‘Do you sing a song today?’

In the process of interrogative sentence formation, the question words do not induce any word order changes in the statement. By inserting, a question word, in place of the questioned constituent in the statement, forms those interrogative sentences. The main question words in Kirānti-Kōits are: *mār* ‘what’, *su* ‘who’, *teko* ‘which’, *teke* ‘where’, *dopā* ‘how, in what way’, *mārde* ‘why’, *dodeb* ‘what kind, type’, *doso* ‘how much’ *tek-ge* ‘in what direction’ and *genā* ‘when’ (See § 3.1.2.4.6). The question word in a sentence in Kirānti-Kōits is always stressed as shown in (275) a-g.

(275) a. i-kε nε 'mār m'ε?

2SG-GEN name what AUX:is

‘What is your name?’

b. mεko 'tek bā?-mε

s/he where be- AUX:is

‘Where is s/he?’

c. məkɔ 'su m'ɛ?

s/he who AUX:is

'Who is s/he?'

d. (goi) 'dodɛb bā?-ni

(you) how be-2SG:HON

'How are you?'

e. ɛ̃ko bwā-kɛ 'gis dɛ̃-ni?

this rooster-GEN how.much say-HON

'What is the cost of this rooster?'

f. goi mək 'mārde læ-yɛ?

2SG there why go-2SG

'Why did you go there?'

g. goi-mi ɛ̃ko k^hyöpət 'mārde bre?-ti?

2SG-AGT this book why write-2SG

Why did you write this book?'

In colloquial speech, those question words alone can be used shortly without nouns, pronouns and verbs and answers also can be made in the same way. Despite those question words mentioned above, question particles, e.g. *ŋā* with rising intonation also form interrogative sentences as illustrated in (276) a.

(276) a. *Paiwami yo tsu:tsupanpan denta, "hatteri! gom genA loab kyorsshAdzarssHA piu densho nanga nGA? ts'ibrub kyorssHA-dzarssHA piu kaka densho nang shyan".*

Pāiwā-mi yo tsu:tsu-pə-nā-pə-n dɛ̃:-tə~t, hatteri! go-m genā loab

P-AGT also regret-do-PROG-RED-PROG say-PST:3SG INTJ I-ERG when y/b

kyors-šā-dzārs-šā pi-u dɛ̃:-šo nəŋā~nəŋ

cut.CONV-RED-SIM come-IMPR say-PR:PCPL AUX:1SG

ŋā? ts'ibrub kyors-šā-dzārs-šā pi-u kəkā dɛ̃:-šo

Q:PAR bird/animal cut.CONV-RED-SIM come-IMPR PAR say-PR:PCPL

nəŋ šyā

AUX:1SG PAR

‘Paiwa also expressed regretting, “When did I tell you to come having sacrificed your younger brother (y/b)? I told you to come having sacrificed a bird or an animal.’ [Text source: 1.25]

The question words employed above in (275) a-g and (276) a, can function as rhetorical questions in Kirānti-Kõits discourse (See Schulze 1978).

4.3.1.1.3 Copula sentences

Kirānti-Kõits has three verbs corresponding to English ‘be’ such as <-bā?-> ‘locational, existential’ (cf. Ch 3 § 3.2.8), *mε`* (statement) and *mε´* (interrogative), and <nə-> ‘identificational’ and there is only one negative prefix <mə-> (See Ch 3 § 3.2.4; Table 12), which can be prefixed to all three copulas and other modal auxiliaries (also there exists a tag negative particle with <mə-> such as *məməi* as in *mo məməi de* ‘Is not it so?’), e.g.

(277) a. i-ke loəb-pik bā?-mā de mə-bā?-mā?
 2SG-GEN y.sibling-PL exist-Q:3SG PAR NEG-exist-Q:3SG
 ‘Do you have younger siblings or don’t you?’

b. mεko luc bā(-tə~t)
 s/he below be
 ‘S/he is below.’

c. ε̃ko šyārori-mi h’isi` mə-bā
 this salt.pot-LOC salt NEG-be
 ‘There is no salt in this salt-pot.’

The copula <-bā?- or <-bā?-tə~t> as first perfective participle is most dynamic and inflects differently with all person and number in use such as *pə-šo-bā(-tə)* ‘has done’ and further examples include,

(278) a. *mekopikya AngAm hushke nams bAb.*

meko-pikyə ān-gā-m huš-kε nəms bā-bə~bāb
 that-PL their:PRO-inside-LOC blood-GEN relatives be:AUX-EXT:3SG

‘They have blood relationship among them.’ [Text source: 1.3]

b. *mekopikim prAg-neslosits nAmsitsmer porong gimthepA bAʔsho bAʔteme.*

meko-piki-m prāg-neslosits nāmsits-mer poroŋʂo gimthe-pā bāʔ-šo
 s/he-PL-AGT pre-historical time-LOC nomadic living-ADV stay-PR:PCPL
 bāʔ-tεmε~tem
 AUX-EXT:PST:3PL

‘They had been living a nomadic life in the pre-historical time.’ [Text source: 1.4]

Similarly, the copula <nə-> is also very dynamic in its inflection with person and number (279) a-b, whereas the copula *mε*˘ (statement) and *mε*˘ (interrogative) is static as opposed to the former.

(279) a. *mekopiki loli kangAn gepHINGA muru nami.*

meko-piki lo:li kā-ŋā-n gep^hi-ŋā muru nə-mi~nə-m
 s/he-PL language:ADJ one-GEN-PAR group-GEN man AUX:3PL

‘They are members of the same linguistic community.’ [Text source: 1.5]

b. *mekyengA Kōits lo nu Baʔyung lo kA lolingA niʔsi phetsngA lo khodeb nast*

mεkεyε-ŋā Kōits lo: nu Bāʔyung lo: kā lo:-li-ŋā niʔsi p^hets-ŋā lo:
 there-ABL K language and B language one language-LOC two part-GEN language
 k^hodeb nə-si~nə-s
 ADJ:like AUX:2DU

‘Similarly, Kōits and Baʔyung are like two dialects of the same single language.’
 [Text source: 1.6]

4.3.1.1.4 Ergativity

An ‘ergative construction’ by definition is “a grammatical case that indicates the agent or instrument of an action. In an ergative type of sentence construction, the subject of transitive verbs is indicated by and ergative case marker, while the subject of

intransitive verbs is indicated by the same case as that of the direct object” (*New Encyclopedia Britannica* 1977: 941). Crystal (1980: 124-125) observes that the term ‘ergative’ refers to grammatical description of some languages, e.g. Eskimo and Basque, where there is a formal parallel between the object of a transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive one i.e. they display the same case.

Thus, the subject of the transitive verb is referred to as ‘ergative’ whereas the subject of the intransitive verb, along with the object of the transitive verb, is referred to as ‘absolutive’. The same ‘ergative construction’ for DeLancey (1981a: 627) is “a transitive clause in which a special case form or ad-position marks are semantic agent”. Similarly, ‘ergativity’ according to Dixon (1979) is “Morphological marking, whether realized by nominal case inflections or cross-referencing on the verb, can be either (i) ergative, marking transitive subject (A) function, vs. absolutive, marking intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O); is always the unmarked term in an absolutive/ergative opposition. Nominative is most frequently the unmarked term in a nominative/accusative system, but there are some languages in which accusative is unmarked. A language whose morphology mixes accusative and ergative marking has the split determined by (a) the semantic content of verbs, (b) the semantic content of NP’s, (c) aspect/tense choice, or (d) a combination of these.” Kirānti-Kōits morphology obviously mixes accusative and ergative (See § 4.3.1.1.4.1 - § 4.3.1.1.4.5) marking determined by aspect/tense choice and other factors.

4.3.1.1.4.1 Conceptual framework

In this § 4.2.1.1.4.1, we will adopt conceptual framework first from Lyons (1968) and compare with Mithun and Chafe (1999). Second, we will adopt Abadie’s (1974) framework of description of ergativity from his paper ‘Nepali as an ergative language’ in order to compare phenotype influence since the two families of languages, i.e. “Tibeto-Burman family, both the Bodish and the Hamalayish branches” (Abadie 1974: 156) and Indic-Nepali are in close contact for 800 years.

In a question for deciding on which of the two nominal(s) is the subject of a two-place verb, Lyons (1968: 315) asserts that the ‘actor-goal’ criterion is in systematic

conflict with criteria of case and concord languages with an ergative construction. For instance, there are many verbs in English such as ‘move, change, open’ etc. which may combine with either one or two nominal(s) in sentence nuclei. Consider Lyons’ classic examples as illustrated in (238) a-c.

- (280) a. The stone moved
 b. John moved
 c. John moved the stone

The explanations of those three examples provided by Lyons (*ibid*: 352) are:

- (I) ‘move’ in (238) a and b is intransitive; whereas in (238) c transitive.
 (II) An important relationship between (238) a, and (238) c with reference to the action of (238) a when asked, ‘done by whom? Who is the ‘actor’ or ‘agent’ of the movement of ‘action’? The obvious answer is ‘John’.
 (III) Therefore, the syntactic relationship that holds between (238) a, and (238) c is ‘ergative’: the subjects or an intransitive verb becomes the object of a corresponding transitive verb, and a new ergative subject is introduced as the ‘agent’ or ‘cause’ of the action referred to.
 (IV) It implies that a transitive sentence like (238) a by means of an ergative or causative transformation.
 (V) Another point to be noted is that the causative, or ergative or agent in (238) c is +animate (n). The condition for subjects of transitive verb must be +animate, however in Kirānti-Kōits ±animate in some instances such as *p^has-mi lāpco roʔ-tu* (air/wind-ERG/AGT door open-PST:3SG) ‘The wind opened the door’ is acceptable.

Contrary to Lyons, Mithun and Chafe (1999) have pointed out serious disadvantages of the schema ergative-absolutive vs. nominative-accusative for the understanding of individual grammars and even more for broad typological work, because it obscures the incommensurability of the schema. This first is the ‘starting point function, reflected in grammatical subjects’, the next consists of the ‘semantic roles that are reflected in grammaticized agent-patient marking’, and the third is ‘immediacy of

involvement reflected in absolutive marking’. To some extent, DeLancey (1981a) and Ebert (1987) had already discussed Mithun and Chafe’s three points in some Tibeto-Burman languages.

Morpho-syntactically, most other Tibeto-Burman languages (like Gyarong, Newar, Lhasa-Tibetan, Kham, Sherpa, Chepang, Gurung, and Kirānti languages such as Limbu, Bantawa, Athpare, Rodung (Camling), Thulung, Khaling, Belhare and Hayu (See Rapacha 2003) have split ergative marking on the 3rd person noun or demonstrative pronoun. DeLancey (1981) terms this phenomenon as ‘empathy hierarchy and aspectual split pattern’. Kirānti-Kõits exhibits a complicated ‘split ergative’ (i.e. ergative morphologically, whereas syntactic process is usually organized according to a nominative-accusative principle; See Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1; examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c) pattern sensitive to ‘aspect and empathy pattern’, where the 3rd person and demonstrative pronoun is marked always everywhere except for 1st, 2nd person intransitive (DeLancey 1990: 807) verbs such as,

(280) a. go-ø məko-kəli hui-nu-ŋə~ŋ

1SG 3SG-DAT scold-NPST-1SG

‘I scold him/her.’

b. goi-ø məko-kəli hui-nə-yə

2SG 3SG-DAT scold-NPST:COP-2SG

‘You scold him/her.’

c. go-nimp^hā-ø məko-kəli hui-nə-sku

1SG-DU 3SG-DAT scold-NPST:COP-1DU

‘We^{DU} scold him/her.’

d. məko-mi ā-kəli hui-bə

3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT scold-NPST-3SG

‘You scold him/her.’

e. məko-nimp^hā-mi ā-kəli hui-nə-si

3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT scold-NPST:COP-3DU

‘You scold him/her.’

f. məkə-nimp^hā-mi ā-kəli hui-nə-si

3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT scold-NPST:COP-3DU

‘You scold him/her.’

The above morpho-syntactic phenomenon of Kirānti-Kōits resembles to Gyarong. According to DeLancey’s (1990: 806-807) investigation, a number of case marking typologies occur in the family, including consistently ergative marking (Gunung), aspectually split ergative or active/stative patterns (Newar and various Tibetan dialects), split ergative marking in which third person transitive subject take ergative case while first and second person do not (Kirānti, Gyarong) and variations on a more or-less nominative-accusative topic marking scheme (most Lolo-Burmese languages).

We will now take up Abadie’s (1974: 156-77) frame of Indic-Nepali in order to examine the ergative marking system in Kirānti-Kōits as copiously as possible. Abadie (ibid.) adopting a broad definition of ergativity from Bernard Comrie reveals that the grammatical notion of ergativity applies to such widely scattered languages as Chukchee (Siberia), Basque, Walbiri (Australia), Vejnakhian, and Georgian-- to languages, which are divergent from one another genetically and typologically. S/he states the following characteristics of ergative languages:

(i) The subject of an intransitive verb and the direct object of a transitive verb get the same mark (which may be $-\emptyset$, as in Basque; e.g. in K-K, *loəb- \emptyset dzām-tə* (y.brother lose-PST:3SG) ‘The younger-brother lost’ and *ŋāwə-mi loəb- \emptyset sām-tə* (e.brother-ERG y.brother lose-PST:3SG) ‘The elder-brother lost the younger-brother’ (See Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1; examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c) also. This has been called the patient and its case the “nominative”.

(ii) The subject (or agent) of a transitive verb gets a different mark; its case is the “ergative”. The ergative mark is often the same as the instrumental mark (See Ch 3 §

3.1.2.5.1 for K-K). Beyond these two main characteristics, Abadie (ibid.) has given three more characteristics. They are:

(iii) Some ergative languages do not have passive constructions; some, such as Georgian, do. So does K-K.

(iv) Some, such as Georgian and Punjabi, mark ergative noun phrases only with certain forms of the verb, with certain tenses or aspects; others mark them throughout. Kirānti-Kōits marks according to transitive verbs, tense and aspect.

(v) In some ergative languages, Punjabi for example, the verb agrees only with the nominative marked patient noun phrase, never with the ergative marked one. In others, the verb agrees with its subject, and a subject may be in the ergative case. Kirānti-Kōits resembles the later characteristics.

Like Nepali, Kirānti-Kōits possesses many features of ergativity, chief among them being the agentive/ergative case marker <-mi>, which is used to mark the subject of a transitive verb as illustrated earlier. For a sentence like ‘I sneezed’ in English would be as shown in (281) a-c in K-K,

- (281) a. *ã-kəli ciŋ-ø pi-t(ə)*
 1SG-DAT sneeze come-PST
 ‘A sneeze came to me.’ (‘I sneezed’)
- b. *go-m ciŋ-ø pā-tā-ŋ*
 1SG-ERG sneeze come-PST-1SG
 ‘I did a sneeze.’ (‘I sneezed’)
- c. *ã-kəli ciŋ-mi šyət-gε-ti*
 1SG-DAT sneeze-ERG trouble-give-PST
 ‘A sneeze caused me to suffer.’ (‘I sneezed’)

Although *ciŋ* in (281) a is the subject of an intransitive verb and in (281) b is the object of a transitive verb, in both sentences it is in the same unmarked case-- the

nominative. Sentence (281) c however, is framed in such a way that *ciŋ* is the agent (the sentence is causative); and it is marked with the ergative marker.

Thus, as in Nepali (*ibid.*) the agent of a transitive verb in Kirānti-Kōits takes the ergative case marker <-mi>. There is no accusative case. The direct object of a transitive verb, like the sole argument or subject of an intransitive verb, is in the nominative case--unmarked in K-K. As stated earlier, the ergative marker is the same as the instrumental, locational marker and so on (cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1).

4.3.1.1.4.2 The patient

In Kirānti-Kōits like Nepali, one way to look at the phenomenon of transitivity (See Ch 3 §3.2.6) is to say that the presence of a direct object or patient noun phrase triggers appearance of the ergative marker on subject or agent NP. However, Abadie's (*ibid.*) investigation shows that many sentences in Nepali, where there exists an ergative marked NP and no patient NP at all. S/he considers them direct objectless sentences to be the result of two kinds of deletion -- indefinite and anaphora.

In Kirānti-Kōits like English and Nepali, indefinite or unspecified objects are frequently deleted as illustrated in (282) a-b

(282) a. go-m dzā-tā-ŋ
 1SG-ERG eat-PST-ŋ
 'I ate (something).'

b. hopo-m dzā-tu
 Hopo-ERG eat-PST:3SG
 'Hopo ate (something).'

Often an object is deleted anaphorically, because it has been previously mentioned in the discourse, e.g.

(283) a. pidār pə-šo-nu suiyo mə-bā-m ŋənāiyo pōib-mi lā pāi-b
 worship do-PCPL-TEMP nobody NEG-be-3PL although shaman only do-NPST:3SG

‘Although there are no one while worshipping, the shaman alone does it.’

The patient *pidār-ø*, which appears at the beginning of the sentence, is deleted anaphorically at the end, though it triggers the appearance of <-mi> on ‘shaman’ (*pōib-mi*).

4.3.1.1.4.3 Inanimate vs. animate patients

Most inanimate direct object of a transitive verb is in the nominative case (-ø), e.g. *meko-mi p^hurkəl gyāp-tu* (s/he-ERG book buy-PST:3SG) ‘S/he bought a book’. Thus, for inanimate nouns the morphological identification of subject of intransitive verb and object of transitive verb is (ø). Animate pronouns are unmarked when they are subjects of intransitive verbs, e.g. *go-ø ηā-ti* (1SG- weep-PST:1SG) ‘I wept’. They may never be unmarked when they are objects of transitive verbs. Goal or dative marking <-kəli> is mandatory as illustrated in (284) a-b.

(284) a. $go-mi \left\{ \begin{array}{l} m\acute{e}ko-k\acute{e}li \\ r\acute{e}ntse-k\acute{e}li \text{ } g\acute{e}-t\acute{a}-\eta \\ m\acute{e}ko-\emptyset^* \end{array} \right. \quad (* \text{ unacceptable})$

1SG-ERG $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3SG-DAT \\ R\acute{e}ntse-DAT \text{ give-PST-1SG} \\ 3SG-\emptyset \end{array} \right. \quad \text{‘I gave him/to Restse.’}$

b. $mul\acute{a}t \text{ } go-mi \left\{ \begin{array}{l} m\acute{e}ko-k\acute{e}li \\ r\acute{e}ntse-k\acute{e}li \text{ } t\acute{a}-t\acute{a}-\eta \\ m\acute{e}ko-\emptyset^* \end{array} \right. \quad (* \text{ unacceptable})$

today 1SG-ERG $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3SG-DAT \\ R\acute{e}ntse-DAT \text{ see-PST-1SG} \\ 3SG-\emptyset^* \end{array} \right. \quad \text{‘Today I saw him/to Restse.’}$
 (* unacceptable)

There are numerous impersonal constructions, where an ergative noun phrase is present, e.g. *ā-kəl ε̃ko cən māl-bə* (1SG-DAT this PAR search/want) ‘I want this one.’

4.3.1.1.4.4 <-mi> and the tense/aspect system

Generally, perfective constructions are marked by <-mi> but show up with imperfective and with certain modals in any or all tenses with regard to the entire verb

morphology. In the case of Nepali tense/aspect system (also applicable to K-K), Abadie (ibid.) notes,

(i) “-le” (K-K; <-mi>) is associated with perfective aspect, though not excluded from non-perfective aspect.

(ii) In certain constructions in semantic area of permission/obligation, “-le” (K-K; <-mi>) is marked in any tense: *parnu* (K-K; *māl-cā, mālba* ‘must’), *cha* (K-K; *bā* ‘is’), *-na* (K-K; *-th* ‘purposive:INF), *dinu* (K-K; *ge-cā* ‘to give’), and the *-ne* (K-K; *-cā, -th, -ne* INF) infinitive.

(c) “-le” (K-K; <-mi>) is excluded from the non-perfective more adamantly in multi-verbal concatenations than it is in single verb non-perfective constructions. We will illustrate examples in § 4.2.1.1.4.5 later.

4.3.1.1.4.5 <-mi> and the perfective

In this § 4.2.1.1.4.5, we will illustrate examples of ergativity, where they occur or do not occur in each verb forms outlined in Ch 3 § 3.2.8 earlier.

<-mi> obligatory

(285) Aoristic/perfective tense (-tā, -ti, -tu, -sku, -se, -tem, -tiyi) as in *meko-nimp^hā-m prol-tā-se* (s/he-DU-ERG break-PST-3DU) ‘S/he broke something.’ However, the intransitive *-ti* as in *go-θ lə-ti* (1SG go-PST:1SG) ‘I went’ remains unmarked

(286) First perfective participle (-šyo ~ šo and paradigm *bā*) as in *meko-nimp^hā-m dumkhī kā-mi ge pə-šo bāʔ-tā-se* (s/he-DU-ERG office one-LOC job do-PR:PCPL be-PST-DU) ‘They^{DU} have done a job in an office.’

(287) Second perfective participle (-tu, -temε...) as in *ā-kε təu-mi T^heb ge-kā pāp-tu* (1SG-GEN son-ERG ADJ job-one do-PST:3SG) ‘My son did a great job.’

(287) Second perfective tense (Second perfect participle *-te* ... and paradigm *bā* ‘is’ (locational)) as in *goi-mi ε[~]ko pə-šo-bāʔ-te* (2SG-ERG this do-PR:PCPL-be-PST:2 SG)

‘You have done this’ and *meko-mi ð pə-wā-bāʔ-t(ə)* (3SG-ERG so do-PST-be-3 SG)
 ‘S/he has done so’.

- (288) First perfective participle/tense (-šo, -bā or *mε* ‘is’) as in *go-m blespət breʔ-šā thum-šo-nu goi-mi mār mār pə-yi?* (1SG-ERG letter write-SIM finish-PCPL-TEMP 2SG-ERG what what do-2SG) ‘What did you do (wants specifications) while I finished writing a letter?’

Other constructions with <-mi>

There are some other peculiar constructions, where <-mi> occurs obligatorily, e.g. *goi-mi mə-pə-šā su-mi pāi-b’ā?* (2SG-ERG NEG-do-SIM who-ERG do-3SG) ‘Who does ... if you do not do?’, *go-mi mə-dzāi-nu-ŋ de~šā su-mi de~mε?* (1SG-ERG NEG-eat-NPST-1SG say-SIM who-ERG say-3SG) ‘Who said that I do (will) not eat?’ *goi-mi suiyo m’išyε-āl mə-thi-di?* (2SG-ERG anyone wife-child; NEG-find-3SG) ‘Did not you find even a single girl?’ and *meko-mi biloci dzə-wə-l(ə)* (s/he-ERG guava eat-3SG-OPT) ‘May/Let him/her eat guava’.

<-mi> excluded

- (289) Absolutive participle/converb (-šyā ~ šā, e.g. *pə-šā-thum-cā* ‘to do completely’ etc. as in *go-ø blespət kā breʔ-šā-thum-nu-ŋ* (1SG letter one write-SIM-finish-NPST-1SG) ‘I have to finish writing a letter.’

- (290) Aoristic/perfective future (probability) tense (-wā only with 1SG, e.g. *pə-ŋ-wā* ‘...would do’; and *citāu* suffixed to main verbs only with 3SG, DU, PL) as in *go-ø obis dzə-ŋ-wā* (1SG cucumber eat-1SG-PR:FUT) ‘I would eat cucumber’ and *meko-ø kʰi lə-cā-citāu* (3SG house go-INF-going to) ‘S/he is going to go home’ but *go-m obis bə-cā-c’itāŋ* (1SG-ERG cucumber eat-INF-going to) ‘I am going to eat cucumber’ (applicable also in 1 and 2SG, DU, PL; cf. Rapacha 2003).

- (291) Aoristic/perfective injunctive tense (-ŋ, -ŋu, -g/tu, -l(ə)) as in *go-ø ko:-ŋu de~šo mə-tāĩ-sε* (1SG look/see-PR/I say-PCPL NEG-see-PR) ‘I wanted to look but was not visible’

- (292) Conjunctive participle prefixed with converb (-ṅā, -lisāṅā) as in *go-ø dumkhin-mi ge pə-s-li-šā-ṅā kʰi let-ti* (1SG office-LOC work do-PR-remain-SIM-PAR house return-PST:1 SG) ‘I returned home after completing the work at the office’.
- (293) Simple indefinite tense (-nu-ṅ, -nə-sku, -nim, -bə, -niki) as in *go-ø kʰyōpət kā brɛ ʔ nu-ṅ* (1SG book one write-NPST-1SG) ‘I write a letter’.
- (294) Infinitival non-past tense (-ṅ, -sku, -ye, -si, -ni) as in *go-pik-ø rɛb dzāi-ni-ni* (1SG-PL potato eat-NPST-3PL) ‘You^{PL} eat potato’.

The progressive forms in all person and number of both transitive and intransitive verbs are unmarked as in *go-ø mugyə dzə-n-dzə-n bāʔ-ti* (1SG banana eat-PROG-eat-PROG be-PST:1SG) ‘I am/was eating banana’.

<-mi> variable

- (295) Infinitival non-past tense (-bə) as in *meko-mi/-ø kəl dzāi-bə* (3SG-ERG/-ø porridge eat-NPST:3SG) ‘S/he eats porridge’ (applicable to 3DU and 3PL also but marked in past)
- (296) Infinitival participle/infinitives (-tike > tik ~ bə > b, -cā, -th, -nɛ) as in *go-mi ɔ lə-cā mālb* (1SG- go-INF must) ‘I must (have to) go’.

4.3.1.1.4.6 Summary on ergativity

We previously provided copious illustrations, where <-mi> usually can occur and does not occur at II or occurs optionally. Kirānti-Kōits exhibits a complicated ‘split ergative’ (i.e. ergative morphologically (Ebert 1994), whereas syntactic process is usually organized according to a nominative-accusative principle; see Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1; examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c) pattern sensitive to ‘aspect and empathy pattern’, where the 3rd person and demonstrative pronoun is marked always everywhere except for 1st, 2nd person intransitive (DeLancey 1990: 807) verbs phenotypically closer to Indic Nepali (we translated and compared analogical examples from Abadie (1974)) and even with Indic

Hindi (See Abbi⁵⁵ 2001, also Thompson and Hopper 1980). Furthermore, ergativity in Kirānti-Kõits mostly depends on animacy, perfectivity and transitivity as well.

4.3.1.1.5 Comparative and superlative

Ebert (1994: 106) observes that Kirānti languages have few basic adjectives and most words that correspond to adjectives in English are participles and nominalizations. It is true that Kirānti-Kõits also has very few lexical adjectives and most forms of adjectives are derived participles or nominalizations. In Ch 3 § 3.1.3.1.1 and § 3.1.3.2, we have already discussed some processes of derivation and here we will provide its word order elements (*ibid.*) such as,

comparandum + comparatum + ABL/-keṅā + ADJ

(297) a. go meko-keṅā lāisšo bā?-ti

1SG s/he-COMP tall:ADJ be-1SG

‘I am taller than him/her.’

b. goi rence-keṅā rimšo bā?-te

1SG Rentse-COMP handsome:ADJ be-1SG

‘You are more handsome than Rentse.’

There is another one more process of comparative construction by using a separate lexeme-adjective of quantity as illustrated in (298) a.

(298) a. goi icā rippā dor-o

2SG COMP quick:ADV run-IMP

‘You run (a bit) more quickly.’

Superlative constructions are formed in the same word order string of comparative by prefixing the lexeme *nelle* ‘all’ as illustrated in (299) a.

(299) a. rence nelle-keṅā rippā dor-b(ə)

⁵⁵ Abbi’s (2001: 146) first observation on Hindi ergativity is- “Unmarked object governs only in the past tense. A case of split ergativity. If the object is case marked in the past tense then the default agreement applies, i.e. 3msg” and second “Absolute-ergative distinction is maintained in the past tense only if the object noun is non-animate but in future and present the distinction is nominative vs. accusative.

rentse all-COMP quick:ADV run-3SG

‘Rentse runs fastest of all.’

4.3.1.1.6 Nominalized sentences

Like other Kirānti languages (Ebert 1994: 110) nominalized forms in Kirānti-Kõits often stand as finite verbs, especially in short sentences in a dialogue as illustrated in (300) a-f.

(300) a. tɛk-gɛ lə-ʃyo?

where-ALL go-PCPL:NML

‘Where are you going?’

b. tɛk-lā dzāʔ-ʃyo?

where-ABL come-PCPL:NML

‘Where have you come from?’

c. ɛ̃ko lā tɛk lə-tɛkɛ mʻɛ?

this road where go-NML AUX

‘Where does this road go?’

d. *deNsdesimin Tawa likh dzaʔ.*

dɛ̃:s-dɛ̃:-si-mi-n Tāwā lik^h dzāʔ-tə~t

say-RED-NML-LOC-PAR T rivulet come-PST:3SG

‘Quarreling in the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet.’ [Text source: 1.29]

e. *Tawakelanpa Sinduli nu Udayapur sirwam bāʔb Kakaru likhmi dzadittase.*

Tāwā-kɛ-lā-pā Sinduli nu Udəyəpur sirwā-m bāʔ-b Kəkəru lik^h-mi

T-GEN-path-ADV S and U boarder-LOC live-NML:3SG K rivulet-LOC

dzədīt-tāɛ~tās

reach-PST:3DU

‘They reached to the Kakaru rivulet via the way of Tawa located on the boarder of Sinduli and Udayapur.’ [Text source: 1.30]

f. *Paiwa nu mekoke loab Dunglewa mithots dumshopatke meko lāptsokali dzArīSA mālbə de tuitāt.*

Pāiwā nu meko-ke loəb Duŋlewā mithots dum-šo-pə-tkε meko lāptso-kəli dzārts-cā
 P and he-GEN brother D Tantric be-PCPL-do-NML that door-DAT sacrifice-INF
 mālbə de tuit-tāt.
 must say:CONV know-PST:3SG

‘Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the door because of being a Tantric.’ [Text source: 1.15]

These nominalized sentences are used analogously to participial sentences also, which characterize lively speech. In place of *-šyo* in the above example (300) a-b *-teke>tek* of (300) c and f (*-tkε~tεkε*) can also be used interchangeably with slightly different English gloss. Another equivalent nominalizing morpheme *-b* in (300) e and *-si-* in d have the same function as other nominalized sentences.

4.3.1.2 Complex sentences

A sentence, which is composed of a main clause and one or more dependent clauses introduced by a subordinating conjugation (such as *because, since, although*) and more broadly a sentence that contains two or more clauses joined either by subordination or co-ordination, i.e. by a coordinating conjunction (such as *and, or*) is defined as a complex (Bussmann 1996: 88) sentence (also cf. § 4.5). In transformational grammar, it is defined as a sentence consisting of a matrix sentence as well as one or more embedded constituent clauses.

According to Ebert (1994: 112), there are two basic types of clause combining systems in Kirānti languages based on the degree of reduction. They are:

(i) maximally reduced clauses: the verb is non-finite, i.e. it carries no finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted (even in case of non-identity; cf. negative converb examples (304)a-b in § 4.3.1.2.2.1).

(ii) minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses: the verb in the non-reduced clause is finite, i.e. it could stand in an independent sentence. In such K-K clauses, the verb is marked for person and number or unlike K-Ath, K-K marks TAM as well.

As opposed to Ebert's claim, there is coordination of sentences in K-K syntax (See § 4.3.1.2.3) like English with a linker, however K-K lacks the complex NP of English such as "NPs containing relative clauses, such as *the man who came to dinner*, and those containing noun-complement clauses, such as *the rumour that she's about to resign*" (Trask 1993: 52) in its clause combining or syntactico-semantic process.

4.3.1.2.1 Non-finite clauses

As mentioned above, non-finite clauses are maximally reduced clauses.

4.3.1.2.1.1 Infinitive clauses

Like other Kirānti languages, K-K infinitive clauses constitute complement to modal, evaluative or phrasal verbs, or to certain nouns (301) a-c.

(301) a. k^hāl-cā rimšo mə-dum-bə

mix-INF good NEG-become-NPST

'It is not good to mix.'

b. b'i-ke šye dzə-cā mə-dum-bə

cow-GEN meat eat- INF NEG-become-NPST

'Cow's meat should not be eaten.'

c. *Paiwa nu mekoke loab Dunglewa mithots dumshopatke meko lāptsokali dzArtsA mālbā de tuittāt.*

Pāiwā nu meko-ke loab Duᅅlewā mithots dum-šo-pə-tke meko lāptso-kəli dzārts-cā

P and he-GEN brother D Tantric be-PCPL-do-NML that door-DAT sacrifice-INF mālbə de tuittāt.

must say:CONV know-PST:3SG

‘Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the door because of being a Tantric.’ [Text source: 1.15]

As in K-Lim, K-Ath and K-Th, K-K infinitives do not agree in number with a nonsingular patient (Ebert 1994: 113).

4.3.1.2.1.2 Purposive clauses

The Kirānti-Kōits purposive clauses are complements to mainly transitive verbs of motion and are marked by the suffix <-th> (302) a-c.

(302) a. go-pik šyer gyāp-th gyākosi læ-yi
 1SG- PL rice buy-PUR market go-NPST:1PL
 ‘Let’s go to the market to buy rice.’

b. *nAʒsoi yo ponibom koisho pisAngge phu malth glut.*

nāʒso-i yo pōiʒbo-m kōi-šo pisāŋ-ge mēko
 priest-PAR also shaman-AGT show-PR:PCPL direction-towards:POSTP that
 mē-tē-tik p^hu māl-thē~th glu-tē~t
 NEG-see-NML flower search-PUR exit/set out-PST:3SG

‘The priest also set out towards the direction shown by the shaman for searching the unseen flower.’ [Text source: 3.26]

c. *Khaluwami Amkali tuipaissha det, “gopikya tsaniwAbu naki. gonga laʒsha wek rak ngAu-loabpikya mas soth lamtem. enko ragimi go moiti dzaʒsho nang”.*

Khāluwā-mi ām-kāli tui-pāis-šā de~:-t, “go-pikyə tsāniwā-bu
 K-AGT self-PAT identify-CAUS-SIM say-PST:3SG 1SG-PL seven.brother-PL
 nē-ki. go-ŋā lāʒ-šā wek rək ngāu-loəb-pikyə mās so-th (fig.)
 AUX-1PL 1SG-GEN cross-SIM other six e/b-y/b-PL pulse sow-PUR
 lām-tem. e~ko rāgi-mi go moiti dzāʒ-šo nē-ij”
 go-PST:3PL this country-LOC 1SG first/before com-PR:PCPL AUX-1SG

‘Khaluwa told introducing himself, “We are seven brothers. Other six brothers passed away except me. I came in this place for the first time.” [Text source: 1.98]

Like K-Ath, K-Ban and K-Kh, there is no possessive prefix in K-K to indicate the patient as in K-Lim, K-Rod and K-Th.

4.3.1.2.2 Converb clauses

The simultaneous converb (303) a-c (and majority of the sentences in Appendix A) in Kirānti-Kōits is not limited to “verbs of motion and posture, expressing an accompanying action of the same subject” (Ebert 1994: 114) and can occur with all verbs whether transitive or intransitive e.g. ...*lāʔ-šā* (cross-SIM ‘crossing/having crossed’) in (302) c above and *ḡā-šā-ḡā* (weep-SIM-SEQ ‘crying/having cried), where <-ḡā> as sequential marker of simultaneity is optional. This can often be reduplicated, indicating duration or iteration of the accompanying action. The simultaneous converb maker <-šā> is cognate of K-Rod, K-Ath and K-Ban <-sā> whereas K-Lim has no simultaneous converb and its function is taken over by a finite simultaneous clause with the suffix <-lɔ> (ibid.).

(303) a. *hare ɛr wāisāl kā T^hī-sā beʔ-šo tə-yi?*

DS LOC boy one fall-SIM die-PR:PCPL see-3SG

‘Did you see a boy, who died falling/having fallen?’

b. *masogenke laptso/lhaptsokali kubts’ib kyorsshAdzArsha lA roʔne tsAbsib bAʔ.*

māso-gen-ke lāptso-kāli kubts’ib kyors-šā-dāzrs-šā lā roʔ-ne tsāb-sib

virtue-GEN door-PAT:DAT a/b cut-SIM-sacrifice-SIM only open-INF can-PAS

bāʔ-tə~t

AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The door of virtue could be opened only by sacrificing animals or birds (a/b).’ [Text source: 1.14]

c. *meko mekom saittimi auuu” denden pleshA doʔsha panpan Khlisi rongngA lAnlA khinge dortta.*

mε̃ko mεko-m sãit-timi əuuu” dε-n-dε-n ple-šã-do?-šã
 so.and.so-AGT kill-PST:3PL excl say-PROG-RED jump-SIM-RED-SIM
 pə-n-pə-n Khlisi roŋ-ŋã lã-lã k^hɪ-ge dort-tə~u
 do-PROG-RED-PROG K cliff-GEN path-ABL house-POSTP run-PST:3SG

‘Having jumped and exclaiming so and so killed me, he ran towards the house through the path of Khlisi cliff.’ [Text source: 2.24]

4.3.1.2.2.1 Negative converb

The Kirānti-Kōits negative converb as in other Kirānti languages has “a wide range of interpretations” (Ebert 1994: 116) such as a conditional (304) a, and a causal interpretation (304) b. In most cases subject identity is not required (cf. Text source: 1.45, 1.50, 2.39, 3.2, 3.34, 3.53 and Rapacha 1999 also).

(304) a. gyopsi mə-pə-thu sui-mi yo mə-ge-b(ə)
 registration NEG-do-CONV no one-ERG also NGE-give-NPST:3SG
 ‘Without having registered on one gives you.’

b. *khusho Khaluwami khalding panapan “goi su naye?” densha khingala hillo paptu. “goi ain tau madumthu wek sukai dumtsa malba. Ain taun me ngana bla Apsa laptola gluindo minu go meko blami to?sha genung. minu mekokali t’u:shanga min khinga onisha geu” Khaluwa grit.*

k^hušo Khāluwā-mi k^hāldiŋ pə-nā-pə-n “goi su nə-yε?” dε̃:-šã
 old.man K-ACT doubt do-PROG-RED-PROG 2SG who AUX-3SG say-SIM
 k^hiŋgā-lā hillo pāp-tu. “goi āi təu mə-dum-thu wek sukəi
 house.inside-ABL ask do-3PST you our son NEG-become-CONV other someone
 dum-cā mālba. āi təu-n mε ŋənā blā āp-šã lāptso-lā
 become-IMP must our son-PAR is if:COND arrow shoot-SIM door-ABL
 soit-to minu go mεko blā-mi to?-šã ge-nu-ŋ. minu
 send-IMP then 1SG that arrow-LOC spit-SIM give-NPST-1SG then
 mekokəli t’u:-šã-ŋā min k^hiŋgā ōi-šã ge-u” Khāluwā
 that-PAT lick-SIM-SEQ then house.inside insert-SIM give-PST K

gri-tə~t

shout-PST:3SG

‘The old man doubting asked, “Who are you?” from the house inside. “You must be some other aliens without being my son. If you are our son, shoot an arrow from the door sending it inside and then I shall give you the arrow back having spat on it. Then insert inside the house having licked the arrow”, Khaluwa thundered.’ [Text source: 1.128]

These negative converbs can be suffixed by another negative particle <mədumbə> for emphasis such as məpəθu mədumbə ‘must do’, məkoθu mədumbə ‘must see’, mələθu mədumbə ‘must go’, mədzəθu mədumbə ‘must eat’, məbrəθu mədumbə ‘must write’, məglāθu mədumbə ‘must win’ and so on (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.6.1).

4.3.1.2.3 Participial clauses

Participial (also adnominal and relative) clause by definition is “a construction containing a participle which functions like a relative but which lacks both a relative pronoun and a finite verb” (Trask 1993: 200), e.g. *The woman [wearing the white miniskirt] is John’s wife* and *The vegetables [sold here] are not very fresh* and in Kirānti-Kōits, there is no pure relative clause like ‘...man who...’ and ‘...rumour that...’ mentioned in § 4.3.1.2 earlier. However, obviously there are constructions containing a participle which function like relative clauses as illustrated in (305) a-c.

(305) a. hois-šo bwāk lā tu-cā māl̥bə
 boil-PCPL:ADJ water only drink-INF must
 ‘One should drink only boiled water.’

b. məkə m’ishyɛmur [buʃ miniskirt p^hɛʔ-šo] John-kɛ m’ishyɛ mɛ`
 the woman white miniskirt wear-PCPL John-GEN wife AUX:is
 ‘The woman [wearing the white miniskirt] is John’s wife.’

c. *Sida kikyake pidar pasha isshe genare goise densha neslonāmsi baslo: mabaŋ nganai yo ekomu blipšobudzipšo k^hisā baʔba.*

Sidā	kikyə-kε	pidār	pə-šā	is-šo	genā-rε	go-ise	dẽ-šā
S	g/f-GEN	worship	do-SIM	come-PR:PCPL	when-ABL	start-NML	say-SIM
neslonāmsi	bāslo: mə-bāʔ-t	ŋənāiyo	eko-nu	blip-šo-			
historical	fact	NEG-AUX:be-PST	although	this-ASSO	relate-PR:PCPL		
budzip-šo	k ^h isā	bāʔ-bə					
RED-PR:PCPL	legend	AUX: EXT-3SG					

‘Although there is no historical evidence on worshipping of the Sida grandfather when it started, there is a legend related to it.’[Text source: 2.3]

Participial clauses (one type of reduced relative clause) in K-K, are basically role-oriented and multi-functional. The participle *-šo*, at least functions in two different ways as the manner nominal with the manner verb *-pā* (Ebert 1999a: 378) and as adjectives (cf. Rapacha 1996: 50).

4.3.1.2.2 Finite clauses

As mentioned earlier, finite clauses are minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses. Ebert (1994: 120) subsumes that finite clauses in Kirānti languages contain a verb carrying person and tense-aspect (cf. Ch 3 §3.2.9.1 and § 3.2.9.2.1) markers or even mood (cf. Ch 3 § 3.2.9.3). K-K clauses have the final tense (PST) markers such as Σ-tā (1SG, transitive), Σ-ti (1SG, intransitive), Σ-tε (2SG), Σ-tu (3SG) etc and NPST are marked differently (cf. § 3.2.9.1) as illustrated in (306) a-c.

(306) a. dzoi-kəl k^hert-tu-ŋā āp-tu

tiger-DAT chase-PST:3SG-SEQ shoot-PST:3 SG

‘S/he chased the tiger and shot.’

b. go mεko āl-kəli thāi-nu-ŋ-ŋā-min ŋā-pāi-nu-ŋ

1SG the child-DAT beat-NPST-1SG-SEQ-then weep-do:CAUS-NPST-1SG

‘I beat the child and then make him/her cry.’

c. *meko hopom sAines moitin oNttha KirAtmi Khintsi dyAlnga Kothdimmi hopothem wAisšA mekomi thAkthAksam hopothem pAptu.*

meko hopo-m saines moitin oththə Kirāt-mi K^hitsi dyāl-ŋā Kothdim-mi
 that king-AGT many. years ago hither K-LOC k village-LOC:POSS K-LOC
 hopothem wāis-šā meko-mi thākthāksəm hopothem pāp-tu
 capital keep-SIM he-AGT generation to generation capital do-PST:3SG

‘Many years ago, he (the king) established his kingdom at Kothdim of Khintsi village, hither or near (*N Wallo*) Kirat and ruled there for many generations.’

[Text source: 4.2]

4.3.1.2.2.1 Nominalized clauses

A nominalized clause in K-K like K-Ath (Ebert 1997: 144) can be subordinated as a relative, temporal and a complement clause.

4.3.1.2.2.1.1 Adnominal/Relative clauses

Kirānti-Kōits usually lacks the English types of adnominal or relative clauses as mentioned in § 4.3.1.2.3 earlier. However, there exist clauses marked with *-teke tik -b* and *-ne* the language as illustrated in (307) a-c.

(307) a. wā murt-tek lə-tek lā-mi kyet tāis-šo bā?-tə
 cloth wash-NML go-NML path-LOC money throw-PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG
 ‘Money was thrown over the path on which you go to the washing place.’

b. goi-mi i-ke k^hi-mi dzā?-teke nimp^hā-kəli mār ge-yi?
 2SG-ERG 2SG-GEN house-LOC come-NML DU-DAT what give-2SG
 ‘What did you give to the two who came to your house?’

c. *Khintsike glumats itsAnole dumshomi lAptso tso žsinegen lAptso ne žhA dZA žeme.*
 k^hintsi-ke glumāts itsā-nole dum-šo-mi lāptso tso?-si-ne-gen lāptso nežt^hā
 K-GEN family a.little-after become-PR:PCPL-AGT door close-MV-NML-soon door near
 dzā?-te-me~m

arrive-PST:3SG

‘Immediately after the closing of the door, Khintsi’s family members arrived there.’
[Text source: 1.18]

4.3.1.2.2.1.2 Temporal clauses

In Kirānti-Kōits a ‘while’-clause is formed with suffix *-nu* usually preceded by *-šo/-mε*, which is nominalized clause serving as temporal clauses. If the clause refers to an emphatic event, it is marked by a topic.

(308) a. *go-m āl-kəli huis-šo-nu-də diu plε-tu*
1SG-ERG child-DAT scold-PCPL-TEMP-TOP MAN jump-PST:3SG
‘The child jumped abruptly while (I scold him/her) scolding.’

b. *langga glumenu da memi dAgyu Paiwake loab Dunglewa kAthkan tAbtu.*

langgā glu-mε-nu də mε-mi dāgyu Pāiwā-kε loab Dunḡlewā
outside come.out-NPST-TEMP PAR he-AGT e/b P-GEN y/b D
kāth-kā-n tā-btu
together-one-PAR see-PST: 3SG

‘While coming out, he saw Paiwa’s (e/b ‘elder brother’) brother (y/b ‘younger brother’) Dunglewa together.’ [Text source: 1.23]

c. *kAbnAt shyetsib panpan lashonu Tsisankhu (Kuibir, Serna, Diyale nu Pokharenga sirwa) dzAdimmAbA?t.*

kāb-nāt šyε-tsib pə-n-pə-n lə-šo-nu Tsisənkhu (Kuibir, Sernā,
one/once-day meat-bird do-PROG-RED-PROG go-PR:PCPL-TEMP Ts (K, S,
Diyāle nu Pok^hərə-ŋā sirwā) dzə-dimmā-bā?-tə~t
D and P-GEN boarder) reach-PST:3PL-AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Once upon a time, they reached to Tsisankhu (boarder of Kuibir, Serna, Diyale and Pokhare) while hunting.’
[Text source: 1.52]

4.3.1.2.2.1.3 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a finite or non-finite clause, which serves as a complement to some lexical item (Trask 1993: 51) such as in the NP *the report that war has broken out*, the clause *that war has broken out* is a complement of the noun *report* (it is a ‘noun complement clause’), whereas like K-Ath (Ebert 1997: 148), Kirānti-Kõits cognitive verbs and verbs of perception take nominalized clauses as complements.

- (309) a. go-mi wārc-piki-m šyi co-n-co-n-pə-šo tā-tā-ŋ
 1SG-ERG friend-PL-ERG firewood burn-PROG-RED-do-PCPL:NML see-PST-1SG
 ‘I saw my friends burning the firewood.’

b. *Paiwa nu mekoke loab Dunglewa mithots dumshopatke meko lāptsokali dzARTSA mālbə de tuit-tāt.*

Pāiwā nu meko-ke lo(ə)b Duŋlewā mithots dum-šo-pə-tke meko lāptso-kāli dzārts-ca
 P and he-GEN brother D Tantric be-PCPL-do-NML that door-DAT sacrifice-INF
 mālbə de tuit-tāt.
 must say:CONV know-PST:3SG

‘Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the door because of being a Tantric.’ [Text source: 1.15]

4.3.1.2.2.1.4 Sequence clauses

The function of verb:PCPL plus sequential marker *-ŋā* (also cf. Noonan 1999, Ebert 1999) suffixed usually by *min(ā/u)* ‘then’ in Kirānti-Kõits is equivalent of converbs or conjunctive participles as illustrated in (310) a-c. As in other Kirānti languages (Ebert 1994: 127), the connection between K-K sequence clauses is translated by “and (then)” but often a temporal interpretation (“when”, “after”) is just as adequate. The *-ŋā* as a sequential marker has poly-semantic functions (cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1), which usually occurs with attached converb preceded by *min(ā/u)* and independently too. Most of these conjoined/sequence clauses have identical subject, however it is not necessary condition in the K-K narratives.

- (310) a. go k^həmə dzə-sā-ŋā-min dumk^hi lə-ti
 1SG rice eat-SIM-SEQ-then office go-PST:1SG
 ‘I went to the office after having rice.’

b. *gAits sAmik thunpA rippAngAmin moshō soshyo bakyapat/bospat shyoklo
 gupshA rabgyobbikali blengngAbleng y’utsAlA mAr gosho bA?me bakyapata
 /bospatke shyoklo blo:lshA peperu nelle blalAtsilA dumshA pindA bub’u dumta.*

gāits sām-tik thūpā rip-pā-ŋā-min mošo sošyo
 anger loose-NML mind.do:ADV intend-do:CONV-SEQ-then that.much dry:ADJ
 bākyəpət šyoklo gup-šā rəbgyombi-kəli bləŋ-ŋā-bləŋ y’u:-cā
 trumpet.flower pod pick up-SIM shepherd-DAT ONO:manner.of.beating beat-INF
 lā mər go-šo bā?-mə bākyəpət/bospət -ā šyoklo
 only what start-PR:PCPL AUX:PST:3SG trumpet.flower-GEN pod
 blol-šā peperu nelle bləlātsilā dum-šā pindā bub’u
 break(itself)- CONV white/flower all scattered:ADJ become-SIM floor white
 dum-tə
 become-PST:3SG

‘Intending to pacify his (the priest’s) anger, he started beating up the shepherd heavily picking up the sword-shaped and dried trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*); meanwhile it broke and the floor became full of scattered white trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) flower.’ [Text source: 3.47]

c. *mekyengA me gAishngAmin ubnaubna hillo pAaptu, “mame e... dAgyu! inke da
 loab selan bA?t shyAn? Ankali mArde kyorsshA-dzArs-shA piu densho?”*

məkyɛ-ŋā mə gāiš-ŋā-min ubnəubnə hillo-pā-ptu, “məmə ɛ...dāgyu!
 there-ABL s/he anger-SEQ-then mutter ask-do-PST:3SG INTJ hey...e/b
 in-kɛ də loəb sɛlə-n bā?-tə~t šyā?
 your-GEN PAR y/b along.with-PAR AUX:EXT-3SG INTJ:PAR
 ā-kəli mərde kyors-šā-dzārs-šā piu-o dɛ~:~šo?”
 I-DAT why cut-SIM-RED-SIM come-IMP say-PR:PCPL

‘Then furiously asked, “Hey elder brother (e/b)! You have your younger brother (y/b) with you. Why did you ask my younger brother to sacrifice?’

[Text source: 1.24]

4.3.1.2.2.1.5 Adverbial/Manner/-pā clauses

The adjectival and nominal qualifying marker, e.g. -pā (311) a-c in Kirānti-Kōits marks manner or quality clauses. Like K-Ath (Ebert 1997: 150), the cause is inserted immediately before the verb it modifies, where the subject of the embedded clause need not be identical with that of the main clause.

(311) a. go-m rup-tek-pā lo-pə-cā māl-nə-ye
 1SG-ERG understand-NML-MAN talk-do-INF need-COP-NPST:3SG
 ‘You must speak in such a way that I understand.’

b. go-m de~šo lo rimšo-pā ne-cā māl-nə-ye
 1SG-ERG say-PCPL talk good-ADV:MAN listen-INF need-COP-NPST:3SG
 ‘You must listen my suggestion thoroughly what I said.’

c. mo-pā mə-dorc-cā T^hi-sib
 that-MAN NEG-run-INF fall-PAS
 ‘One falls down when s/he runs in such a manner.’

4.3.1.2.2.1.6 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses (cf. Bieri 1978) are expressed sometimes with the help of a topic maker preceded by a conditional particle *ɲənə(ā)* ‘if’ (also *mo hənā* ‘if so’) as shown in (312) a-c.

(312) a. gε-tε-m ɲənə də tu-nu-ɲ
 give-PST-3PL if:COND TOP drink-NPST-1SG
 ‘If they give it to me, I (will) drink it.’

b. dopā pə-cā de~šā tuis-šo ɲənə də mə-piki-m pāi-nim(i)
 how do-INF say-SIM know-PCPL if:COND TOP s/he-PL-ERG do-PS:PL

‘They would do it if they knew how.’

c. *onsosam kon nAʒsomi gimnga haruiyo saittek lo: puinapuin rabgyombim lenkhlo:psho neʒso sendam dent, “eee shyAnka! mul goimi yi tami Ankali getik koki pAinaye ngana lA suimi matasho phu koninung. mame ngana be:tsA geu go matuinung phu-su.”*

õso-səm	kõ	nāʒso-mi	gim-ŋā	hərui	yo	sāit-tek	lo:	
this.much-till	COMP	priest-AGT	body-GEN	lust	also	kill-NML	talk	
pui-nā-pui-n	rəbgyombi-m	leː	kʰlo:pšo	nelās	seːdā-m			
beg-PROG-RED-PAR	shepherd	tongue	staggered:ADJ	nasal	sound-LOC			
dεː-t,	“eee	ʒyākā!	mul	goi-mi	yi	təmi	ā-kəli	ge-tik
say-PST:3SG	hey	leopard!	now	you-AGT	thy	daughter	me-DAT	give-NML
koki	pāi-nəyε	ŋənā	lā	sui-mi	mə-tə-šo	pʰu		
promise	do-NPST:3SG	if:COND	only	no.one-AGT	NEG-see-PR:PCPL	flower		
kõĩ-nuŋ.	məme	ŋənā	bε-cā	ge-u	go	mə-tui-nu-ŋ		
show-NPST:1SG	not	if:COND	die-INF	give-IMP	1SG	NEG-know-NPST-3SG	such	
mod(l)εb	pʰu-su”							
such	flower-RED							

‘To such an extent that the shepherd having staggered his tongue in a nasal voice asking to fulfill his sexual lust to the priest said, “Hey Leopard! (addressing the priest). Now if you promise to sacrifice your daughter to me, I’ll show you the flower, which no one can see. If not let it go to the hell; I don’t know such flower etc.’

[Text source: 3.40]

4.3.1.2.2.1.6 Concessive clauses

Like in K-Ban, K-Rod and K-Ath, Kirānti-Kõits concessive clauses are marked by COND plus “also/even” as illustrated in (313) a.

(313) a.	mulātsināt	nellε	ì-io-ia	wāʔ-tε-m	ŋənā	yo	kεŋerlo
	nowadays	all	1SGPOSS-language-ABL	speak-NPST:HON	if:COND	also	Nepali
	kʰāl-ni-m(i)						
	mix-3PST:PL						

‘Nowadays all, even if they speak our language, mix with Nepali.’

4.3.1.2.2.1.7 Quote clauses

Reported speech or thought in Kirānti-Kōits like other Kirānti languages is embedded by a quote particle, which most often has the form: “say” plus SIM/SEQ (*dε̃-šā* ‘having said’ or a sequence like *dε̃-šā dε̃-tu ŋā min*) in a sentence that ends with *-nε* particle as in (314) a.

- (314) a. *meko-mi yo ām-kε kerdz dε̃šā mə-tuit-tā-t nε, ŋā-min*
 3SG-ERG also 1SG-POSS uncle QUOTE NEG-know-PST-3SG REP SEQ-then
Sosole-mi yo ām-mur dε̃šā mə-tuit-tā-t nε
 S-ERG also 1SG-man QUOTE NEG-know-PST-3SG REP

‘She did know that Sosole was her maternal uncle, and he also did not know that she was his relative, it is said.’

Moreover, another possible way of the formation of quote clauses is to repeat a question in dialogues in the form of answer, e.g.

- (315) a. A: *goi-mi dopā/mārpā tuit-nə-ye?*
 2SG-ERG how know-COP-NPST:3SG
 ‘How do you know?’
 B: *go-m dopā tuit-tā-ŋ ŋənā dε̃sā dε̃-šo-nu hoīti niʔsi*
 1SG-ERG how know-PST-1SG QUOT EQUOTE say-PCPL-TEMP earlier two
murū-m siwār-m klāis-šo tā-tā-se
 man-ERG jackal-AGT bite- PCPL see-PST-2DU
 ‘How I know is that earlier two men saw the jackal biting it.’

4.3.1.2.2.1.7 Reason clauses/Causal linking

Reason clauses (also cf. Bieri 1978) in Kirānti-Kōits, are quite often marked by *mārdεh(ŋ)ənā* ‘because’ as illustrated in (316) a, and *mopātike* ‘therefore’ (322) a.

- (316) a. mulāt go ləŋgā mə-lə-ŋ mārdeh(ŋ)ənā go roi-pā-tā-ŋ
 today 1SG outside NEG-go-1SG because 1SG sick-do-PST-1SG
 ‘I did not go out today because I was sick.’

4.3.1.2.2.1.8 Correlative clauses

A correlative clause is “a construction in which the relative clause precedes the main clause and both are overtly marked, the relative clause by a WH-item and the main clause by a demonstrative, the whole thus being characterized by a structure along the line of ‘which one...that one’” (Trask 1993: 65) whereas in Kirānti-Kõits like other Kirānti languages (Ebert 1994: 133) and unlike English, these clauses are rare and most often they occur with question words, expressing ‘WH-ever...that/then’, e.g.

- (317) a. tək lāi-nə-yɛ mək ɛ̃ko k^höypət kur-o
 where go-COP-NPST:3SG there this book carry-3SG:IMP
 ‘Wherever you go, there you carry this book.’
- b. məko-mi mərəi puĩ-šo-nu yo modɛb gɛ-b nɛ
 s/he-AGT whatever beg-PCPL-TEMP also such give-NPST:3SG REP
 ‘He would give whatever we ask for.’
- c. ſyɛŋ məko-puki disā-səm rɛs-si-sɛs-si pə-cā mə-cāb-ni-m
 but s/he-PL tomorrow-until write-NML-read-NML do-INF NEG-can-NPST-3PL
 mārdeh(ŋ)ənā məʔ-piki k^həlpā-k^həlpām dum-tɛ-m(ɛ).
 because s/he-PL old man old woman become-PST-3PL
 ‘But they cannot read and write until tomorrow because they became old.’
- d. go təkɛ lāi-nu-ŋ məkɛ məkɛ k^hoit-to
 1SG where go-NPST-1SG there RED follow-3SG:IMP
 ‘Wherever I go, follow me there!’
- e. doso doso dzāi-nə-yɛ moso moso tɛm-nu-ŋ
 how.much RED eat-COP-NPST:3SG that.much RED add- NPST-1SG
 ‘As much as you eat, that much I provide.’

4.3.1.2.3 Coordination

In § 4.4.1.2, we stated that a sentence in Kirānti-Kõits contains two or more clauses joined either by subordination, i.e. subordinating conjugation or ‘coordinands’ (such as *because*, e.g. (316) a, *since*, *although*, e.g. (318) a, *therefore*, e.g. (322) a) or coordination, i.e. by a co-ordinating conjunction (such as *and*, e.g. (319) a/(321) a; verbs as well, and *or*, e.g. (320) a). In recent literature, according to Haspelmath (2000) coordination has been defined as “syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements” (cited in Abbi 2001: 213). Subordinators or coordinands in many Kirānti languages according to Ebert (1994: 135) go back to case markers (is also applicable in K-K syntax) and are grammaticalized to subordinators (cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1), which actually originate from free lexemes through grammaticalization in those languages including the language under investigation/description.

Gusain (1999: 29-30) discusses that subordination involves the conjunction of two clauses with the help of subordinators or subordinating conjunctions. The subordinators assign unequal rank to the conjoined clauses and render one of the clauses subordinate to other. Subordination involves finite and non-finite verbs. Finite clauses are not distinct from main clauses in terms of their structure. They exhibit different behaviour in two important respects: (i) word order: subordinate finite clauses generally follow the main clause; if they precede the main clause ((319) a, e.g. *go mim-nu-ŋ...* (1SG think-NPST-1SG) ‘I think...’) the marked order is due to focus considerations. The only exceptions are relative clauses and adverbial relative clauses, (ii) the subordinate marker or complementizer (whereas K-K has no complementizer ‘*that*’ as such in English or Indic languages like Hindi or Nepali ‘*ki*’) generally occupies initial position in the subordinate clause. Instead, the conjunction *nu* ‘and,’ adversative conjunction *šyεŋ* ‘but’ and disjunction *dε* are used in coordination.

(318) a. *go mək mə-dzā-ŋ ŋənāiyo məkə gε pə-cā go-cā*

1SG there NEG-arrive-PST:1SG although that work do-INF start-INF

‘Although I do not arrive, start doing that work.’

(319) a. go-m mim-šo nu meko k^hĩ lāi-bə
 1SG-ERG think-PCPL TEMP s/he house go-NPST:3SG
 ‘I think that s/he will go (goes) home.’

(320) a. goi k^hĩ lāi-nə-yε dε go i-kəl tu-bu?
 2SG house go-COP-NPST:3SG or 1SG 2SG beat-NPST:1SG
 ‘Do you go home or shall I beat you?’

(321) a. rentse nu sentse kathmandu dzā?-tā-se
 rentse and sentse kathmandu arrive-PST-3DU
 ‘Rentse and Sentse arrived to Kathmandu.’ (conjunction)

(322) a. go hir-th lə-cā māl-nu-ŋ mopətike go-m γε ploi-tā-ŋ
 1SG visit-PUR go-INF need-NPST-1SG therefore 1SG-ERG work leave-PST-1SG
 ‘I want to visit therefore I left the work.’ (causal co-ordination)

4.3.1.3 Anaphora

‘Anaphora’ as defined in Abbi (2001: 208) is a process by which a word derives its interpretation from previously expressed linguistic units. It refers to a type of NP that has no obviously independent reference but derives it from some other constituent, its antecedent. Thus, anaphors include among others, reflexive pronouns, reciprocal (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.5) pronouns, and personal pronouns used in discourse that have antecedents existing in previous clauses.

Gusain (1999) paraphrasing Haegeman (1995: 211) points out that ‘anaphora’ is a label to refer to the referentially dependent NP types: reflexives and reciprocal. Anaphors receive a referential interpretation by virtue of being bound by an antecedent. There are several devices of expressing anaphora- (I) deletion, e.g. (323) a-b, (II) deletion where element is marked on the verb morphology, (III) ordinary personal (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.4.1) pronoun, and (IV) reflexive (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.4.2) pronouns. They will be illustrated in § 4.7 below.

4.3.1.4 Gyapping/Elipsis

Abbi (2001: 217) notes that phrasal coordination necessarily involves ellipsis of identical repeated elements. Thus, Kirānti-Kõits sentence (324) a, is a derivation of (324) b and c respectively. Such ellipsis transforms an underlying biclausal structure into a monoclausal one, which is known as conjunction reduction also and can gap coreferential nouns. This gap or ‘deletion’ (Gusain 1999) is the most prominent device for expressing anaphora in discourse (also cf. Bieri 1978 for anaphoric and cataphoric reference).

- (323) a. *kālɛkā, kā šyɛ̃b_i-mi kā ālj-kəli glum-šā ø_iø_j dɛ-tu, ‘goi su
 once one teacher-ERG one child-DAT meet-SIM ø_iø_j say-PST:3SG 2SG who
 nə-yɛ?’
 COP-2SG
 ‘Once upon a time a teacher having met a child, ø(He) said ø(to him). ‘who are you?’*

- b. *go ip-cā dā-ti ŋāmin ø ip-ti
 1SG sleep-INF like-PST:1SG and/then ø(1SG) sleep-PST:1SG
 ‘I felt sleepy and went off to sleep.’*

Anaphoric subject (the teacher) and object (the boy) become accessible by means of deletion/zero anaphora (ø).

- (324) a. *āl-piki-m sisdzidz dzā-mtɛ-m ŋāmin T^hɛbmur-piki-m kɛk ø
 child-PL-ERG ice-cream eat-PST-PL and/then adult-PL-ERG cake ø
 ‘The children ate the ice-cream and the adults the cake.’ (ellipsis of the identical verb ‘ate’)*
- b. *āl-piki-m sisdzidz dzā-mtɛ-m* ‘children ate the ice-cream’
- c. *T^hɛbmur-piki-m kɛk dzā-mtɛ-m* ‘adults ate the cake’

4.3.2 Other minor sentences

4.3.2.1 Verbless sentences

Like in Kirānti-Rod (Rai 2003), Kirānti-Kõits has verbless sentences.

Most of them, in fact, occur in colloquial speech and are verbless. Verb in such sentences is optional and verb ‘to be’ need not be present in equational sentences as illustrated in (325) a-c.

(325) a. A: məkō mār?

that what ‘What’s that?’

B: məkō rəwā.

that tree ‘That’s a tree.’

C: məkō rəwā məmāi

that tree NEG ‘That’s not a tree.’

b. A: in-kε nε mār (əṃ)

2SG-POSS name what ‘What’s your name?’

B: ā-kε nε šyākāreḷu

1SG-POSS name S ‘My name’s Shyākarelu.’

C: ā-kε nε šyākāreḷu məmāi

1SG-POSS name S NEG ‘My name’s not Shyākarelu.’

c. A: məkō su-kε k^hī?

that who-POSS house ‘Whose house is that?’

B: məkō ā-kε k^hī

that 1SG-POSS house ‘That’s my house.’

C: məkō i-kε k^hī məmāi

that 1SG-POSS house NEG ‘That’s not your house.’

4.3.2.2 Exclamatory/declarative sentences

Exclamatory sentences are utterances serving to express human emotions such as surprise, happiness, disgust etc., regardless of its grammatical form, which is often merely that of a word or a phrase such in (326) a-c.

(326) a. tsentse-mi dε̃-tə, “yabre-gubre-mi i-kε rimšo pə-wələ!”

tsentse-ERG day-PST:3SG god-RED-ERG 2SG-POSS good do-OPT:INTJ

‘Tsentse said, “May God bless you!”’

b. ĩ mo:ro! pə-rɛ̃sɛ
 2SG INTJ get/be-2SG
 ‘Go to hell!’

c. jā! mɛko-m mār pə-wā?
 INTJ s/he-ERG what do-NPST:3SG
 ‘Oh! What did s/he do?’

An exclamatory sentence differs from a declarative sentence in more than one syntactical aspect, where the declarative is incomplete or truncated such as (327) a-c.

(327) a. k^hui dzā?-tə (Declarative)
 thief come-PST:3SG ‘The thief came.’

b. k^hui ! ‘Thief!’

The exclamatory sentence is formed by the use of exclamatory particle /jɑ/ ‘Oh!’, e.g.

(328) a. goi gyākosi lə-tɛ. (Declarative)
 2SG market go-PST:2SG
 ‘You went to the market.’

b. jā! goi gyākosi lə-yi? (Exclamatory)
 INTJ 2SG market go-PST:2SG
 ‘Oh, you went to the market!’

Like in Bagri (an Indic language spoken India, Gusain 1999), exclamatory sentences in Kirānti-Kōits are overlaid with some expressive, attitudinal meaning whereas declaratives are plainly informative. Both types present a statement as being true, but in an exclamatory sentence, the speaker adds a strong emotional reaction to when s/he presupposes to be true as illustrated in (329) a, and b.

(329) a. mɛko tami rimšo bā. (declarative)

the daughter good AUX:is
 ‘The daughter is beautiful.’

- b. meko tami dopā rimšo bā?-mē! (exclamatory)
 the daughter how good be-AUX:is
 ‘How beautiful the daughter is!’

An exclamatory clause resembles an interrogative clause in form in that it uses question word such as *dopā* ‘how’ (330) a-c. In exclamatory clauses, the question words are syntactically different in that they occupy a determiner position and function as degree modifiers to a noun, adjective or adverb as shown below.

- (330) a. dopā gyošo nop^{hā}!
 how long ear ‘How long ear!’
 b. dopā rimšo!
 how good ‘How beautiful!’
 c. jā! meko be?-mēt šyā!
 INTJ s/he die-PST:3SG ‘Alas, he died!’

A declarative sentence “is typically used to make a statement; an interrogative sentence is typically used to ask a question; an imperative sentence is typically used to express and order, a request, or a warning; and an exclamative sentence is typically expressing a more or less emotional comment on something and often characterized by a grammatically distinctive form” (Gusain 1999:14). The declarative sentences in Kirānti-Kōits are the least marked, the most basic, and the most widespread form of clause of which the following characteristics are observed:

I. ...has the unmarked word order SOV

- (331) a. go šē~ysib nə-ŋ
 1SG student be:COP-1SG
 S Complement (O) V

‘I am a student.’

- b. məkɔ rəsšik^hɪ lə-tə
 s/he school go-PST:3SG
 S O V
 ‘S/he went to school.’

II. ...the subject controls the verb agreement in a declarative sentence

- (332) a. go-m goi-kəli k^hyōpət gɛ-tā-ŋ
 1SG-AGT 2SG-DAT book give-PST-1SG
 S IO O V
 ‘I gave you the book.’

- b. goi-mi məkɔ-kəli tup-tiyi
 2SG-AGT s/he-DAT beat-PST:2SG
 S O V
 ‘You beat him.’

III. ...has the same form as the subordinate clause

- (333) a. məkɔ-mi disā pi-nu dɛ̃-šā dɛ̃-tə
 s/he-ERG tomorrow come-NPST say-SIM say-PST:3SG
 ‘S/he said the s/he would come tomorrow.’

IV. ...has a falling intonation

- (334) a. go lāi-nu-ŋ
 1SG go-NPST-1SG
 ‘I go.’
- b. goi disā piu-o
 2SG tomorrow come-IMP:2SG
 ‘You come tomorrow.’

V. ...serves as the basis on which other sentence types are formed

- (335) a. goi lāi-nə-yɛ?

2SG go-COP-2SG

‘Do you go?’ (Are you going?)

b. lāu-o ‘Go!’

4.3.2.3 Vocative sentences

Vocative (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1 (125) a-b for vocative case) is an NP used for direct address containing not more than a couple of words with or without a verb yet functioning as a sentence as in (336) a-b.

(336) a. oi tsentse eu! ‘Hello, Cence!’

b. ei āp^hpo ou! ‘Hello, father!’

c. immā! ‘Mother!’

4.3.2.4 Obligatory sentences

Obligatory sentences express both moral and epistemic obligations (also see § 3.2.9.3.9), formed by compound verbs/serial verbs (337) a-b. Compound verbs are formed by adding to the non-finite form of a verb (usually its stem, conjunctive in stem form present or past participle, or infinitive) as an ancillary/auxiliary/modal verb. The auxiliary/modal/ancillary is conjugated for the various tenses and moods, while the main verb remains unchanged. The ancillary verbs used are pə-cā ‘to do’, dum-cā ‘to be’, mālba ‘should/must’.

(337) a. go mul k^hī lə-cā mālba
 1SG now house go-INF must/should
 ‘Now I should go home.’

b. goi rimšo gε pə-cā
 2SG good work do-INF
 ‘Do good deeds.’

4.3.2.5 Prohibitive sentences

In prohibit sentences, the negative particle <mə-> ‘not’ is employed with

imperative sentence and it is prefixed to the verb and the verb form changes according to person and number as illustrated in (338) a-d.

- (338) a. lə-cā mə-nāilə (go-INF NEG-HON) ‘Please do not go.’
 b. mə-lāu-o (NEG-go-IMP:2SG) ‘You do not go.’
 c. mə-lə-nε (NEG-go-IMP:3PL) ‘You^{PL} do not go.’
 d. mə-lə-sε (NEG-go-2DU) ‘You^{DU} do not go.’

4.3.2.6 Double object sentences

Like English, the Kirānti-Kōits language also has sentences with two or double objects (O₁ and O₂) as illustrated in (339) a-d.

- | S | O ₁ | O ₂ | V |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| (339) a. go-mi | pəku-kəli | k ^h yōpət | ge-tā-ŋ |
| 1SG-ERG | paku-DAT | book | give-PST-1SG |
| ‘I gave a book to Paku.’ (...not s/he, you, they) | | | |
| b. paku-mi | k ^h yōpət | go-kəli | gep-tu |
| paku-ERG | book | 1SG-DAT | give-3SG |
| ‘Paku gave a book to me.’ (...not to Yumpi) | | | |
| c. go-kəli | paku-mi | k ^h yōpət | gep-tu |
| 1SG-DAT | paku-ERG | book | give-PST-3SG |
| ‘Paku gave a book to me.’ (...not by Rentse) | | | |
| d. go-kəli | k ^h yōpət | paku-mi | gep-tu |
| 1SG-DAT | book | paku-ERG | give-PST-3SG |
| ‘Paku gave a book to me.’ (...not a pen) | | | |

In a way, the illustrations in (339) a-d show that the S, O₁, O₂ in a double object sentence can normally fill its slots interchangeably with a slightly different semantic implications rather than a verb. However, there are verbs occupying the S or O₁, and O₂ slots in every day speech.

4.3.3 Direct and Indirect speech

The overt syntactic device such as a quotative or reportive marker or particle *dε̃-šā* ‘having said’, *nε* ‘reportive/mirative’ and *bāʔ-tə* ‘reportive’ are utilized to distinguish between direct and indirect speech in Kirānti-Kōits. Frequently quoted as well as reported material is contained in an embedded sentence linked by *dε̃-šā* (i.e. *dε̃-šā min dε̃-tu* ‘having said said’) and the embedded sentences ending *bāʔ-tə* and *nε* which is subordinate relative to a higher verb of the sentence as illustrated in (340) a-c.

(340) a. *blεspət-mi rip-pā piu-o dε̃-šā brε-si-šo bāʔ-tə*
 letter-LOC quick-ADV come-IMP say-SIM write-MV-PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG
 ‘It was written in the letter, ‘come quickly’.’

b. *mār dum-mε dε̃-šā mεko-mi hillo-pāp-tu*
 what become-Q say-SIM s/he-ERG ask-do-PST:3SG
 ‘He asked, “What has happened?”’

c. *go-m nε-šo-nu mεko p’i-b nε*
 1SG-ERG hear-PCPL-SEQ s/he come-NPST:3SG REP
 ‘I heard that he would come.’

4.4 Summing up

In this chapter, we have described the rudiments of Kirānti-Kōits syntax. The language as one of the Tibeto-Burman members shares very similar syntactic features of the sub-family. Its normal word order as in other T-B members in a sentence is SOV – subject, object, predicate. We illustrated NP, VP, ADJPH and ADVPH at its basic phrase structure level. At the NP level, K-K is a head final language.

At the sentence level, we have divided the K-K sentences mainly in two major parts, viz., simple and complex. However, some minor types of sentences are also dealt in the last part of this description. In simple sentences, we illustrated possible word order, interrogative, copula, ergativity, comparative/superlative and nominalized sentences. Ergativity (§ 4.3.1.1.4 and cf. also Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5 examples (109) c-d, (116) e) as

morpho-syntactic process has been dealt in a considerable detail. Based on copious illustrations we came to a *prima facie* conclusion that Kirānti-Kōits exhibits split ergative marking on the 3rd person noun or demonstrative pronoun for which DeLancey (1981) has termed as ‘empathy hierarchy and aspectual split pattern’.

Complex sentences in Kirānti-Kōits according to Ebert (1994: 112), are classified into two basic types of clause combining systems based on the degree of reduction, viz., (i) maximally reduced clauses: the verb is non-finite, i.e. it carries no finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted (even in case of non-identity, and (ii) minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses: the verb in the non-reduced clause is finite, i.e. it could stand in an independent sentence. In such Kirānti-Kōits clauses, the verb is marked for person and number or unlike K-Ath, Kirānti-Kōits marks TAM as well.

Such clauses based on reduction are divided into Non-finite and Finite clauses further. Under Non-finite, there are infinitive, purposive converb, negative and participial clauses syntactically organized in the language. While Finite clause includes nominalized, adnominal/relative, temporal, complement, sequence, adverbial/manner *-pā*, conditional, concessive, quote, reason/causal and correlative. Some other minor sentences also have been accounted to unfold the syntactic structures of Kirānti-Kōits in particular and in a wider perspective of T-B syntax in general comparatively.

Chapter Five

Socio-linguistic aspects

5. General purpose

This chapter's main concern is to discuss socio-linguistic aspects such as linguistic human rights with reference to Kirānti-Kōits, find out language vitality in terms of its use in several domains, language attitudes among speakers towards their mother tongue, and further find out the bilingual-multilingual situation after all leading to 'language shrink, contraction and semantic conflation' (Abbi 1992) then, at last mother tongue extinction (?) in a multi-linguistic but unfortunately a monolithic-language-policy-adapted Nepal. The reason behind this purpose is simply because today most field-linguists like Abbi (2001: 221) emphasizes,

“No grammar is complete unless it tells us about how the language used as a vehicle for social interaction. The grammar must be explicit about the use of the language in a particular society. After all, language is a viewfinder of the social patterns and social behaviour of a given society. The linguistic terminology and linguistic structures expose the cultural, social, cognitive and religious aspects of a community. This is the reason why linguists are so concerned about preserving linguistic diversity. When a language dies, along with it dies a whole system of human history of cultural and civilization. When a mother tongue ceases to be anybody's tongue, it wipes away completely the possibility of reconstructing the past. A history of civilization is wiped out from the face of this earth.”

Therefore, we will here explicitly state the use of the Kirānti-Kōits language in their respective community and discuss its future extinction or retention depending upon either protective or discriminatory language policy adapted by the country. Moreover, kinship terms will also be presented to show the range of basic vocabulary (still remain indigenous or borrowed one (?)) as they exhibit the composition of the society and the role relationship between various interlocutors including the terms of address and reference and verbal politeness strategies.

5.1 Nepal's linguistic situation

Nepal as one of the South Asian nations like India is a multi-linguistic country indubitably, where 92 (CBS 2001) and 125 (*Ethnologue* edited by Gordon, 2005) languages are spoken. However, the country's linguistic policy unlike India has remained a monolithic and discriminatory since the national unification by Prithivi Narayan Shah prolonging until today for about 233 years of modern Nepalese history. Lawoti (2001) notes,

“Article 6 (1) of the Constitution [of Nepal, 1990] declares *Khas-Nepali* as the official and ‘language of the nation’ whereas more than 100 other native languages are termed ‘national languages’. By categorizing Nepali differently, it bestows special importance to it. The Supreme Court nullified [or banned on 1 June 1999 (VS 2056 Jeth 18) and every year, June 1 is observed as Black Day against language attrition by the Country and Court towards the minority indigenous languages, *I added*; cf. Tamang 2000, Kařla 2005] the declaration of local languages as additional languages by three local jurisdictions. Article 18 (2) of the Constitution does not sanction native instructions in schools beyond primary level. The State does not support native language instructions even at the primary level. It does not even recognize education conducted at *madrassas* and Buddhist monasteries. On the other hand, the government spends millions of rupees for the Sanskrit *pathshalas* [schools] and the Sanskrit University whose beneficiaries are male Brahmins. In addition, by imposing compulsory Sanskrit all over the country, the State is systematically imposing Hindu values and ways on non-Hindu communities. The *Khas* [Kshetriya] language has been treated as the ‘Nepali’ language while other native languages are not called Nepali. Likewise only the *Devanagari* script has been treated as the Nepali script while other scripts of the country are not.”

The above factual Lawoti-narrative dates recently back to the post-1990s era known as the so-called Restoration of Democracy by Peoples' Popular Movement in the country, whereas on the other side of Indian-story by Annamalai (2001: 131) is totally different from that of Nepal. He states, “It is multilingualism that symbolizes India. This is important from the point of view of language planning. The Constitution [of India] does not consider one language is required for transforming the new country into a nation. Indian nationhood or national identity is not tied to one language, as it is not tied to one religion.” The problem in Nepal is: Nepalese nationhood or national identity as

such is tied to only one language i.e. *Khas-Nepali*⁵⁶ [cf. also Lawoti 2001, Kaïla 2005, Gurung 2003], as it is tied to only one religion i.e. Hinduism. If we look back to the history of language policies in Nepal during the pre-1990s, it clearly shows that there was/is a ruthless violation of human linguistic rights. There is neither Constitutional nor racial equality and equity to its fellow citizens until recently, e.g. Gurung (2004: 92) cites two such ruthless (See also Ch 1 § 1.6) instances thus,

“अभ्रसम्म एक ही “गोरखा भाषा” को सर्व व्यापकता हुन सकेको छैन ।
किन्तु नेवार, भोटे, मगर, गुरुङ, लिम्बू, सुनुवार,
दनुवार, थारु, प्रवृत्तिका जंगली भाषाहरुले पनि आफ्ना
जन्मस्थानलाई एकदम छान्न सकेको छैनन् ।
जहाँसम्म एक मात्र “गोरखा भाषा” ले अरु सबै भाषालाई
अर्ध चन्द्र (गलहत्ती) लगाउन्न, त्यहाँसम्म “गोरखा भाषाको उन्नति हुन्छ” भन्नु र
“मुख्य भाषा कहिन योग्य छ” भन्नु केवल मनोलड्डु मात्र हो ।”

कृष्णचन्द्र अर्याल एवं वैद्यनाथ जोशी (सेढाइ)
गोरखा भाषा, गोर्खा एजेन्सी कार्यालय, नेपाल, वैशाख १९४७ (सन् १९१७)

Roman-Gorkhali (as in Ch 1 § 1.1.2, Ch 2 § 2.5.2) transliteration:

“Ajhasamma ek hi “Gorkha bhasha” ko sarba vyapakata huna sakeko chhaina.
Kintu Newar, Bhote, Magar, Gurung, Limbu, Sunuwar,
Danuwar, Tharu, prvritika jangali bhashaharule pani aphna
Janmasthanlai ekdam chhadna sakeko chhainan.
Jahansamma ek matra “Gorkha Bhasha” le aru sabai bhashalai
Ardha chandra (galahatti) lagaunna, tyanhasamma “Gorkha bhashako unnati hunchha” bhannu ra
“Mukhye bhasha kahina yogye chha” bhannu kewal manoladdu matra ho.”

Translated into English by Rai and Rai (2003: 513):

“Gorkha bhasha is not widespread yet. The language of barbarians such as Newar, Magar, Gurung, Limbu, Sunuwar [Kirānti-Kōits], Danuwar, and Tharu etc are still in use. Until and unless Gorkha Bhasha pushes other barbarian languages out, it can neither develop nor become the chief language.”

-Krishnachandra Aryal and Vidhyanath Joshi (Sedhai)

⁵⁶ Malla (1989: 456) citing Bandhu regarding the etymology of the term ‘Nepali’ writes, “...was used and made popular by the missionaries and British scholars... The feeling of Nepali linguistic nationalism that grew in India was able to replace the terms like *Khasa Kura*, *Parbatiya* or *Gorkhali* by *Nepali* in India. It also influenced the authorities in Nepal and the first word of *Gorkha Bhasha Prakashini Samiti* [Gorkha Language Publication Committee] was changed to Nepali.” Cf. also Gurung (1997: 175).

Gorkha Bhasha, Gorkha Agency Office, Nepal, April (1917)

Briefly discussing on linguistic diversity and multiplicity of Nepal in § 1.6 (Ch 1), we tried to reveal the adverse and atrocious linguistic policy towards indigenous minority languages adopted by the country citing one of the worst examples from Gurung (2004: 92). From the same *Report of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission* (Malla 1989: 461) also cites its recommendation thus,

“Nepali should be the medium of instruction from the 3rd grade on and, as much as possible, in the first two grades. No other language should be taught, even optionally, in the primary school, because few children will have need for them, they would hinder the teaching of Nepali.”

It is needless to say that the country’s past linguistic policies (even the contemporary one does not differ from the past one) seem discriminatory towards all indigenous minority languages other than *Khas-Nepali*, which obviously has knocked all those indigenous minority ethnic/tribal languages on their “death bed” (Malla 1989: 463) many decades ago and now letting them in coma at present.

To make the Nepalese situation clearer, virtually all speakers of Kirānti-Kōits are bilingual in Nepali [where most of the speakers have shifted to Nepali due to politico-economic imposition or pressures⁵⁷, cf. also Borchers 2002, Kaïla 2005, Gurung 2003], the national Indo-Aryan lingua franca that has had wider currency at least since the unification of Nepal. Although this bilingualism has resulted in frequent code mixing and a large amount of Nepali loanwords, the grammar of Kirānti-Kōits has maintained its distinct Kirānti characteristics and continues to exert a strong influence on the Nepali spoken by Kirānti-Kōits people. This fact confirms Turner’s early observation that Nepali is deeply affected by Tibeto-Burman grammar but is strongly resistant against such influences on its vocabulary (Bickel 1996), however in the case of Kirānti-Kōits the situation is very critical.

⁵⁷ Sharma (2003: 85) clarifies concerning the issue of ethnicity and language thus, “...it is not language alone that can keep the lamp of ethnicity burning; economic and political considerations also often work hand in hand to enforce changes in the linguistic profile of an ethnic community.”

Toba and Toba (2003) observe promptly that "...the socio-linguistic situation in Nepal which is characterized by unprecedented migration to urban centers. Small language groups are especially affected but speakers of larger groups also are forced to communicate in Nepali once they live in the cities. While there has been enormous progress in providing schools throughout Nepal even in the most remote villages, this also affects languages since education is given in Nepali. The more students are in the habit of reading writing and therefore thinking in Nepali, their proficiency in their mother tongue declines. This is aggravated by the fact that there are few if any, books in the vernacular languages. Literature in indigenous languages is predominantly oral, therefore the collection of stories, myths, songs, history, description of customs etc is an urgent task." Whereas no policy as such to preserve and protect these minority indigenous languages, has been formulated by the Government of Nepal until recently as observed by Lawati (2001) cited earlier (cf. Kaila 2005, Gurung 2003).

Phillipson, Rannut and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995: 22) have put forward the following questions regarding linguistic human rights, which are very relevant in Nepalese socio-linguistic contexts to be reiterated:

"Have you, dear reader, always been able to do the following in your mother tongue:

- address your teachers in school?
- deal with the tax office?
- answer a query from a police constable on the street?
- explain a medical problem to a nurse or a doctor?
- write to a national newspaper?
- watch the local and national news on television?
- ask a political question at a political meeting?"

An answer for all these seven questions concerning linguistic human rights (also cf. Yonjan-Tamang 2005) for the minority indigenous Kirānti-Kōits people is: "No, we don't. We do everything more in the State-imposed *Khas-Nepali* rather than in our own mother tongue". This is another most pertinent example of language attrition and endangerment in Nepal lacking proper language policy and language planning, which

thus is an obvious violation of human linguistic rights of Kirānti-Kōits speakers and many others. Broadly, in Tyagi's (2003: 23) phrase, "linguistic fascism" has been imposed on the most Tibeto-Burman minority indigenous languages of Nepal, where more than 40 languages of Tibeto-Burman origin contribute the multi-linguistic heritage. We will discuss this issue in § 5.5 later with some analytic responses from the respondents of the survey conducted for the purpose of this study.

5.2 Kinship terms

A 'kinship term' according to Sheffler's definition, "is employed to designate a category of kinsmen; a kinsman is an individual to whom one (Ego) is related by genealogical connection, and genealogical connections are those culturally-positated relations among individuals which are presumed to be established by processes of conception and birth and which are held to be inalienable and congenital" (cited in Davids and Driem 1985: 115). On kinship terms, Abbi (2001: 221) suggests her reader stating that "...is one area, where linguists should tread with some caution, as the field of kinship belongs to anthropology. Linguists may find a society a complete mystery to them. The social organization and the people living in the society may all be new to them. One of the ways that a linguist can look into the new society is by studying its kinship terms. Language, after all, is a window through which we can see into the society." Anthropologists like Lévi-Strauss (2004: 145) on the other hand, stresses on interdependency amongst both anthropologists and linguists benefiting from each other. He succinctly points out,

"The linguist provides the anthropologist with etymologies which permit him to establish between certain kinship terms relationships that were not immediately apparent. The anthropologist, on the other hand, can bring to the attention of the linguist customs, prescriptions, and prohibitions that help him to understand the persistence of certain features of language or the instability of terms or groups of terms."

Moreover, Strauss (ibid. 146) compares between phonemes (e.g. Kirānti-Kōits phonemes in Ch 2) and kinship terms thus, "Like phonemes, kinship terms are elements of meaning; like phonemes, they acquire meaning only if they are integrated into

systems. “Kinship systems”, like “phonemic systems”, are built by the mind on the level of unconscious thought.” Although our sole purpose in this study is not to provide anthropological details of the Kirānti-Kōits kinship terms, we will illustrate (in § 5.2.1 and § 5.2.2) available and possible kinship terms as suggested by Abbi (2001: 223-226) to rectify whether there exists the process of semantic conflation due to language contact situation in the ‘speech community’ under investigation.

5.2.1 Non-affinal

The following common non-affinal kinship terms have been elicited from the respondents during the survey period and other related literature:

A. Great grand kinsmen

dikiāp^hpo ‘great-grandfather’ (father’s side) also cf. šyerkikyə

dikiāmmo ‘great-grandmother’ (father’s side) also cf. šyerkikyəm, ~pip, ~yumā,
~bəgε

rušyēāp^hpo ‘great-grandfather’ (mother’s side)

homokāmmo ‘great-grandmother’ (mother’s side)

dikicəc ‘man’s great-grandchild’ (male) also cf. šyercəc

dikicəcəm ‘man’s great-grandchild’ (female) also cf. šyercəcəm

B. Grand kinsmen

kikyə ‘grandfather’ (father’s side)

kikyəm ‘grandmother’ (father’s side) also cf. pip, yumā, bəgε

rušyekikyə ‘grandfather’ (mother’s side)

rušyekikyəm ‘grandmother’ (mother’s side)

cəc ‘man’s grandchild’ (male)

cəcəm ‘man’s grandchild’ (female)

C. Parents and children

āp^hpo ‘father’ [also pəpo]

popo ‘father’s elder brother’ FEM popom [nativized bədzeThā N]

sārumpo ‘father’s second brother’ FEM sārumpom [nativized bəmāilā N]

iŋsumpo ‘father’s third brother’ FEM iŋsumpom [nativized *bəsāilā N*]
 bəkāilā ‘father’s fourth brother’ āmsāilim [nativized *-kāilā N*]
 bəāntre ‘father’s fifth brother’ āmāntrim [nativized *-āntre N*]
 kerdz ‘father’s younger brother’ FEM kerdzəm [nativized *bəkəncā N*]
 tselpum ‘father’s elder sister’ [celpo(u) ‘father’s sister’s husband’]
 immā ‘mother’ [also mēmā or ām]
 timmā ‘mother’s elder sister’ M tippo [S: Kirānti-Rod]
 cēmā ‘mother’s younger sister’ [also sumā] M kəncō, p^həŋā
 kuku ‘mother’s brother’ (maternal uncle) FEM kukum
 təu ‘son’ FEM cəim(i) ‘son’s wife’
 təm(i) ‘daughter’ M cəibā ‘son-in-law’
 gyāp^hec ‘twin’ (±male)

D. Siblings and cousins

[cross cousin marriage is restricted]

ŋāwə ‘elder brother’ FEM ŋāwəm ‘elder brother’s wife’ [nativized *bogyu* ^]
 ŋām(i) ‘elder sister’ M enā, p^hup^hudre ‘elder sister’s husband’ [See Appendix B
b^henā N]
 pəku ‘middle sister’ [S: Kirānti-Rod]
 limde ‘third sister’ [S: Kirānti-Rod]
 k^husyā(ε) ‘youngest sister’ [S: Kirānti-Rod, also kəlcəm]
 yāc ‘nephew; of maternal’ FEM yācəm
 lāmsā ‘nephew; of fraternal’ [S: Kirānti-Lim] FEM lāmsām
 kəlc ‘the youngest brother’ FEM kəlcəm

5.2.2 Affinal kinsmen

The following affinal kinship terms are used in day-to-day life amongst the Kirānti-Kōits community members:

A. Own generation

wāise ‘husband’
 āwā ‘husband’s elder brother’ FEM āwām

riu ‘husband’s younger brother’ FEM riwom
 āmgyu ‘husband’s elder sister’ M āmgyupo
 m’imi ‘husband’s younger sister’ M m’impo
 m’išye ‘wife’
 dzɛT^hu ‘wife’s elder brother’ FEM dzɛT^hum
 kuŋpo ‘wife’s younger brother’ FEM sumipmā [M *sālā* FEM *sālim* N]
 dzɛT^hsāsu ‘wife’s elder sister’ M dəgyu [nativized N]
 sumipmā ‘wife’s youngest sister’ M lo(ə)b [elder sister’s husband can marry her]

B. First ascending generation

siu ‘spouse’s father, father-in-law’
 sim(i) ‘spouse’s mother, mother-in-law’
 popom ‘father’s elder brother’s wife’
 kerdzəm ‘father’s younger brother’s wife, aunt’
 celpo(u) ‘father’s elder sister’s husband’ [can marry his dzɛT^hān’s daughter]
 kəncə ‘father’s youngest sister’s husband, uncle’
 kukum ‘mother’s brother’s wife, aunt’
 celpo ‘mother’s youngest sister’s husband, uncle’
 helpo ‘son/daughter’s wife/husband’s parents’ FEM helpom

C. First descending generation

cəim(i) ‘son’s wife, daughter-in-law’
 cəibā ‘daughter’s husband, son-in-law’

5.3 Forms of address

There are two types of forms of address in Kirānti-Kōits, such as direct and indirect. The direct form of address is acceptable only for juniors or contemporaries. Even a husband does not address his wife directly by name and vice versa. When they have children, then they address by calling the child’s name + mother/father (e.g. X’s mother/father). Fathers and mothers can address their offspring commonly by names, adjectives, or nicknames often.

A. Direct address

The following forms of introductions among participants in a discourse is used commonly with the title names and possessive pronouns such as āke...‘my’ and mēkoke... ‘his/her’

wāise ‘husband’

m’išye ‘wife’

təm(i) ‘daughter’

təu ‘son’

bublu ‘a form of address for children’ and so on, e.g. ε̃ko āke təu mē` ‘This is my son’ and full, first or last name is dropped out unless the addressee takes interest in it

I. Names

Names and nicknames are sometimes or quite often used for juniors and intimate ones. The use of nicknames suggests sometimes fun-making too.

II. Kin’s address forms

All relatives are formally address with the kinship terms everywhere and every time. Addressing them by either first or last name is supposed to impolite, e.g.

cemā ‘aunt’

siu ‘father-in-law’

sim ‘mother-in-law’

III. Second person pronoun

Kirānti-Kōits as one of the Tibeto-Burman members lacks honorific form for second person pronoun. Both in formal and informal situations ordinary and intimate forms are used such as,

goi i-ke ‘yours’

goi in-ke ‘yours’

B. Indirect address

All members of the community according to their social strata use the following forms of indirect address whether they are senior or junior by age makes no difference, e.g.

õth nənən də ‘Listen hither’

gom õ də̃ti ‘I said so’

õth kocā nāilə ‘Please look hither’

õth nēcā nāilə ‘Please listen hither’

5.4 Politeness strategies

There are several strategies of politeness forms in Kirānti-Kõits, such as speakers can use lexical forms, prosodic features and socio-linguistic forms.

A. Lexical

Greeting words such as *seu*, *nəmsewal*, *ceredum*, *bərithū*, *dzəmlāgābi* are very common as a mark of politeness. Two honorific markers, e.g. -ni suffixed with verb roots and *nāilə* as a separate morpheme also show the degree of respect among participant in a discourse usually for one who is senior in age and respectable person. Only two types of personal pronouns like *goi i-kə* ‘yours, juniors’ and *goi in-kə* ‘yours, seniors’ (but the speakers do not pay too much attention between *i-kə* and *in-kə*) is used for one who is in lower status by age or contemporaries. The use of kin terms as a form of address to respectable relatives also means politeness of the addressor towards his/her addressee.

B. Prosodic features

In a general form of conversation, falling intonation and long vowel mark politeness as prosodic features whereas a common confirmation-tag *məmāi də* ‘something like is not that so (See Lexicon in use; Appendix A)’ is used as syntactic features repeatedly in discourse.

C. Socio-linguistic features

Normally, inclusion of other participant speakers in discourse like *pə-sə* ‘do-1DU/INCL, *pəi* ‘do-1PL/INCL are commonly used rather than *pāu* ‘You do it’ as imperative.

5.5 Survey on endangerment

One of the main purposes of this § 5.5 survey was/is to discover the mother tongue respondents/speakers’ domains of use of their mother tongue (See Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.33) since the country has adapted ‘one-language-one-nation’ sort of assimilative language or mono-linguistic (also cf. Yonjan-Tamang 2005) policy in Nepal in defiance with International Societies and Universal Laws such as the charter of the United Nations; the International Bill of Rights; the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities; the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); the ILO Conventions concerning Indigenous and Tribal Populations to mention a few, which are devoted to the promotion and protection of the rights of minorities. Therefore, it is thus here relevant to reproduce Article 1 (2) of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, which states⁵⁸:

State shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity.

Similarly, Article 2 of the Declaration enumerates a number of minority rights, including the following:

1. Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities...have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and

⁵⁸ Extracted in Philipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Rannut (eds. 1995: 379) and Tyagi (2003: 16)

to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination...

4. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain their own associations.
5. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain without any discrimination, free and peaceful contracts with other members of their group and with persons belonging to other States to whom they are related by national or ethnic, religious or linguistic ties.

Whereas in Ch 1 § 1.1, we stated three main factors responsible for language endangerment and language loss in the context of Nepal in general and with special reference to Kirānti-Kōits in particular. The first one, we stated is the minority linguistic groups are victimized of discrimination, oppression, domination, exclusion and marginalization (also cf. Lawoti 2002, Gurung 2003, Kaīla 2005) by the state machinery. Secondly, there lacks language-policy-planning and investment on bilingual/multilingual education for survival as well as revival of the local/regional languages like Kirānti-Kōits. As a result, the language is ‘threatened by social and economic pressures (See Tables 5.38.A and 5.40.B) for reasons to choose either Nepali or English as Mother Tongue rather Kirānti-Kōits), displacement, demographic submersion, language suppression in forced assimilation, assimilatory education and media’.

Lastly, especially in the case of Kirānti-Kōits speech community, caste politics has played a foul and negative role in their decreasing demographic figure and the number of speakers’ mentality as well regarding their exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ irrespective of their own auto-ethnonym ‘Kōits’ (cf. § 1.1.1.1) and their classification in a larger Kirānti (cf. § 1.1.1.1) group. Tyagi’s (2003: 8) egalitarian proposal “legal safeguards for linguistic minorities are instrumental in removing the fear of cultural or linguistic assimilation from the citizens’ minds” would trigger the improvement of gloomy and deteriorating linguistic situation of Nepal if ‘legal protection’ as such incorporated in the Constitution of the country like that of India, viz., Articles 29, 30, 347, 350, 350.A and 350.B along with Articles 32 and 226 (ibid: 9) seeking the protection of the rights of linguistic minorities with built-in institutional arrangements.

A special mention of ‘Personal names and human rights’ (Jernudd 1995: 121-132) after discussing three pertinent factors leading to endangerment in the preceding paragraph, should be made here in order to investigate several other factors like nomenclature (cf. Ch 1 § 1.1.1-§ 1.1.4) in the M[other] T[ongue] relating to their personal names ‘ethnonym’ in their MT (autonym cf. § 1.1.1.1), clanonyms in MT (autonym cf. § 1.1.2 and § 1.1.3) and human rights as discussed by Jernudd (*ibid.*). Jernudd in his paper (mentioned earlier) discussing the issues of personal names with individual cases of Bulgaria, Indonesia, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Sweden defends that naming an individual’s name in his/her own MT is the matter of human rights. By Jernuddian analogy, this section’s (cf. § 5.5) another objective besides language vitality, attitudes and usage is to investigate respondents’ personal names (See Table 5.14), clanonyms (See Table 5.15) and even loconyms (See Table 5.22) of their locality in their own Mother Tongue.

Thus, this § 5.5 also aims to record the respondents’ profile on names, clans, sex (See Table 5.16), age (Table 5.17), profession/occupation (Table 5.19), mother tongue (See Table 5.23), bi-multilingualism (See Table 5.25, Burchers 2002), parents’ mother (See Table 5.24), and their locality (See Table 5.22) fearing that they may be the last generation of the Kirānti-Kōits speaking population of the 21st century and also to observe whether their personal names are christened in their own mother tongue as compared to their clanonyms.

Our discussion now will be focused on the respondents’ some selected/relevant socio-linguistic response (See Appendix E for Questionnaire, Ch 1 § 1.9) on whether they encourage their younger generation to speak their native language or what language they would choose as their Mother Tongue if they had a choice at hand or what language they would you like to educate their children in and so forth. We will start right from the respondents’ socio-linguistic profile along with general comparison and conclusion of their response as follows:

Table 5.14: Respondents' name

Name (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Adarsha	1	1.0%	1.0%
Ajnabi	1	1.0%	2.0%
Amardip	1	1.0%	3.0%
Arati	1	1.0%	4.0%
Ashish	1	1.0%	5.0%
Bed	1	1.0%	6.0%
Beena	1	1.0%	7.0%
Bhagat	1	1.0%	8.0%
Bhawana	1	1.0%	9.0%
Bhim	2	2.0%	11.0%
Bikram	1	1.0%	12.0%
Bimala	1	1.0%	13.0%
Bir	1	1.0%	14.0%
Birat	1	1.0%	15.0%
Bishal	1	1.0%	16.0%
Bishnu	1	1.0%	17.0%
Bishow	1	1.0%	18.0%
Bishwa	1	1.0%	19.0%
Champadevi	1	1.0%	20.0%
Champak	1	1.0%	21.0%
Chandramaya	1	1.0%	22.0%
Dal	1	1.0%	23.0%
Dambar	1	1.0%	24.0%
Devibahadur	1	1.0%	25.0%
Durgamaya	1	1.0%	26.0%
Fanindra	1	1.0%	27.0%
Gunja	1	1.0%	28.0%
Haribhakta	1	1.0%	29.0%
Hom	1	1.0%	30.0%
Indra	1	1.0%	31.0%
Janaki	1	1.0%	32.0%
Jiban	1	1.0%	33.0%
Kamal	1	1.0%	34.0%
Keshav	1	1.0%	35.0%
Khados	1	1.0%	36.0%
Kiran	1	1.0%	37.0%
Kuldeep	1	1.0%	38.0%
Lalmaya	1	1.0%	39.0%
Laxmi	3	3.0%	42.0%
Lila	1	1.0%	43.0%
Lilamaya	1	1.0%	44.0%
Lokpriya	1	1.0%	45.0%
Man	2	2.0%	47.0%
Manorama	1	1.0%	48.0%
Mira	2	2.0%	50.0%
Mohan	2	2.0%	52.0%

Nabin	1	1.0%	53.0%
Nandamaya	1	1.0%	54.0%
Nani	1	1.0%	55.0%
Naresh	1	1.0%	56.0%
Narmaya	1	1.0%	57.0%
Nirjala	1	1.0%	58.0%
Nirmala	1	1.0%	59.0%
Nitesh	1	1.0%	60.0%
Om	1	1.0%	61.0%
Padam	1	1.0%	62.0%
Padevi	1	1.0%	63.0%
Prakash	1	1.0%	64.0%
Prem	1	1.0%	65.0%
Prema	1	1.0%	66.0%
Purna	1	1.0%	67.0%
Pushpa	1	1.0%	68.0%
Rabin	1	1.0%	69.0%
Rajan	1	1.0%	70.0%
Ram	1	1.0%	71.0%
Ramesh	1	1.0%	72.0%
Rampyari	2	1.0%	73.0%
Ratna	1	2.0%	75.0%
Reshma	1	1.0%	76.0%
Rewat	1	1.0%	77.0%
Rudra	1	1.0%	78.0%
Rupa	1	1.0%	79.0%
Samardhoj	1	1.0%	80.0%
Sameer	1	1.0%	81.0%
Sarmila	1	1.0%	82.0%
Shiva	1	1.0%	83.0%
Shivaraj	1	1.0%	84.0%
Shova	1	1.0%	85.0%
Som	1	1.0%	86.0%
Srijana	1	1.0%	87.0%
Sujan	1	1.0%	88.0%
Sukhi	1	1.0%	89.0%
Sumitra	1	1.0%	90.0%
Suroj	1	1.0%	91.0%
Surya	1	1.0%	92.0%
Tej	1	1.0%	93.0%
Tek	1	1.0%	94.0%
Tikaram	2	1.0%	95.0%
Toran	2	2.0%	97.0%
Uttam	1	1.0%	99.0%
Total	100	100.0%	100.0%

The above Table 5.14 out of hundred names does not show a single name in Kirānti-Kōits (I-B) even by accidental resemblance. All these names originate in Indic

Khas-Nepali. This process of Hinduization of a people/tribe belonging to Mongoloid stock bearing Khas-Nepali names is not only limited to Nepal but in the whole Indian sub-continent (cf. Chatterji 1998 [orig. 1951; revised 2nd edition 1974]) e.g. the Khasi people/tribe (anthropologically of Mongoloid stock and Austro-Asiatic linguistically cf. Gurdon 2002 [orig. 1906]) in North-east India and other northern parts in the Himalayan range of India, where Nepal is no such exception (cf. Bista 1982, Malla 1981). Whereas their clanonyms (See Ch 1 § 1.1.2 and § 1.1.3, Table 5.15) are deep-rooted in their [Kirānti-Kōits] own mother tongue having several interesting semantic layers in them.

Table 5.15: Respondents' clan

Respondent's clan (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Bujicha	3	3.0%	3.0%
Digarcha	2	2.0%	5.0%
Gaurocha	2	2.0%	7.0%
Jespucha	6	6.0%	13.0%
Jẽticha	7	7.0%	20.0%
Jijicha	5	5.0%	25.0%
Katicha	2	2.0%	27.0%
Khyōpaticha	2	2.0%	29.0%
Kormocha	19	19.0%	48.0%
Kyabacha	7	7.0%	55.0%
Kyuīticha	11	11.0%	66.0%
Laspacha	3	3.0%	69.0%
Lōkucha	2	2.0%	71.0%
Mulicha	15	15.0%	86.0%
Ngawocha	2	2.0%	88.0%
Rapacha	1	1.0%	89.0%
Rupacha	4	4.0%	93.0%
Teppacha	1	1.0%	94.0%
Thanggracha	1	1.0%	95.0%
Tōkucha	2	2.0%	97.0%
Yatacha	3	3.0%	100.0%

In our survey sample illustrated in Table: 5.15, merely **twenty-one** (See Ch 1 § 1.1.2 and § 1.1.3 where a minimum of forty-six ethno-clanonyms have been recorded and interpreted) different clanonyms out of hundred respondents are recorded in which Kormocha, Mulicha and Kyuīticha form a majority of the clanonym groups. These clanonyms were purposely elicited irrespective of their exoglotonym (See Ch 1 § 1.1.1)

in order to explore and revive their forgotten heritage of language-internal semantic aspects (See § 1.1.3).

Table 5.16: Respondents' Sex

Sex (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	62	62.0%	62.0%
Female	38	38.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

The sex ratio between male and female as shown in Table 5.16 indicates a vast difference of sex representation in the survey. However, door-to-door survey was conducted in the site and it was intended to include more female respondents in order to observe whether mothers are transmitting the linguistic culture to their offspring.

Table 5.17: Respondents' Age

Age (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
10	1	1.0%	1.0%
13	1	1.0%	2.0%
15	3	3.0%	5.0%
16	3	3.0%	8.0%
18	1	1.0%	9.0%
19	5	5.0%	14.0%
20	5	5.0%	19.0%
21	4	4.0%	23.0%
22	4	4.0%	27.0%
23	4	4.0%	31.0%
24	2	2.0%	33.0%
25	7	7.0%	40.0%
26	3	3.0%	43.0%
27	1	1.0%	44.0%
28	2	2.0%	46.0%
29	2	2.0%	48.0%
30	1	1.0%	49.0%
31	2	2.0%	51.0%
33	2	2.0%	53.0%
34	2	2.0%	55.0%
35	2	2.0%	57.0%
36	1	1.0%	58.0%
37	2	2.0%	60.0%
39	1	1.0%	61.0%
42	1	1.0%	62.0%
43	2	2.0%	64.0%

47	1	1.0%	65.0%
48	2	2.0%	67.0%
50	3	3.0%	70.0%%
51	1	1.0%	71.0%
52	2	2.0%	73.0%
53	1	1.0%	74.0%
54	2	2.0%	76.0%
55	2	2.0%	78.0%
56	1	1.0%	79.0%
60	2	2.0%	81.0%
61	1	1.0%	82.0%
65	2	2.0%	84.0%
66	2	2.0%	86.0%
67	1	1.0%	87.0%
68	1	1.0%	88.0%
70	1	1.0%	89.0%
71	1	1.0%	90.0%
72	1	1.0%	91.0%
73	2	2.0%	93.0%
75	1	1.0%	94.0%
77	1	1.0%	95.0%
80	1	1.0%	96.0%
81	3	3.0%	99.0%
86	1	1.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

In Table 5.17, we notice that only 19 respondents belong to the age group 10-20 (although Table 5.18 shows the highest percentage of age group between 10-30) in which I found only one respondent aged 10 as a fluent speaker of the language under description in the survey area of the Nepal valley. This trend of ‘children beginning increasingly not to learn the MT, the youngest speakers are young adults and the youngest speakers are middle aged or past middle age’ according to UNESCO’s definition is ‘potentially endangered, endangered and seriously endangered’ language (See also Tyagi 2003: 7) where Kirānti-Kōits fits into all there definitions respectively.

Table 5.18: Respondents’ age group

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
10-30	49	49.0%	49.0%
31-60	32	32.0%	81.0%
61 and above	19	19.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

Table: 5.19 Respondents' occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agrarian	5	5.0%	5.0%
Artist	1	1.0%	6.0%
Business	1	1.0%	7.0%
Contractor	2	2.0%	9.0%
Ex-British Army	7	7.0%	16.0%
Ex-Indian Army + Nepalese DSP	1	1.0%	17.0%
Ex-Nepalese Army	1	1.0%	18.0%
Ex-Nepal Police	1	1.0%	19.0%
Ex- QGO	2	2.0%	21.0%
Gyam(i)	1	1.0%	22.0%
Home-maker	15	15.0%	37.0%
Lawyer	1	1.0%	38.0%
Martial Arts	1	1.0%	39.0%
Media	1	1.0%	40.0%
Nurse	1	1.0%	41.0%
Optics	1	1.0%	42.0%
Politician	3	3.0%	45.0%
Sales	1	1.0%	46.0%
Service	14	14.0%	60.0%
Social Service	1	1.0%	61.0%
Student	29	29.0%	90.0%
Teaching	4	4.0%	94.0%
Technician	1	1.0%	95.0%
Unspecified/undecided	5	5.0%	100.0%

Table 5.20: Respondents' parents' occupation

Occupation/profession	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agrarian	56	56.0%	56.0%
Bidder	1	1.0%	57.0%
Business	1	1.0%	58.0%
Collector	2	2.0%	60.0%
Contractor	3	3.0%	63.0%
Ex-B Army	10	10.0%	73.0%
Ex-I Army	6	6.0%	79.0%
Ex-Nepalese Army	1	1.0%	80.0%
Indian Army	1	1.0%	81.0%
Politics	1	1.0%	82.0%
Service	7	7.0%	89.0%
Teaching	1	1.0%	90.0%
Unspecified/undecided	10	10.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

Comparatively between the respondents' occupation/profession in Table 5.19 and their parents' occupation/profession in Table 5.20, there is a noticeable difference in their occupation of agriculture. The older generation had a 56% share as agrarians for their livelihood, who used to use their MT in every domains of their day to day life (cf. Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.41), where the mid-generation sharply fell into a 5% share in agriculture and diverted to other sectors like service and studentship, who gradually dropped out their MT from their day to day life-routine (cf. Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.41). The shift towards various occupations from the older generation to the newer generation also indicates in language shift from MT to opportunity-based languages (cf. Table 5.39.B and 5.39.C).

Table 5.21: Respondents' address: Districts

Districts	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Dhanusha	1	1.0%	1.0%
Hong Kong (China)	1	1.0%	2.0%
Kathmandu	2	2.0%	4.0%
Khotang	1	1.0%	5.0%
Lalitpur	1	1.0%	6.0%
Okhaldhunga	46	46.0%	52.0%
Panchthar	1	1.0%	53.0%
Ramechhap	43	43.0%	96.0%
Taplejung	1	1.0%	97.0%
Terathum	1	1.0%	98.0%
Udayapur	2	2.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

Out of ten districts mostly of east Nepal in Table 5.21, only two toponyms, for instance, Khotang and Taplejung seem to be originated in Sino-Tibetan family including 1% exception of Hong Kong (China). It also shows that most of the native speakers are densely populated in Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap districts occupying first (46%) and second (43%) position respectively. Similarly, fifteen loconyms (e.g., Angdim, Buj, Diktel, Kaat, Kasthel, Khichi (represents 26.0% of respondents), Khimti, Nangkholyang, Phot, Pletti, Ragan, Rasnal, Sabra, Saipu (represents 33.0% of respondents), and Wachpu, excluding Hong Kong (China) in which most of them are Khas-Nepalized) out

of 25, where the respondents come form originally seem to be originated in the Sino-Tibetan family and the rest belong to the Indic Khas-Nepali.

Table 5.22: Respondents' address: VDCs

VDCs	Nos. of respondents	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Angdim	1	1.0%	1.0%
Buj	7	7.0%	8.0%
Dhapasi	1	1.0%	9.0%
Diktel	1	1.0%	10.0%
Gupteswor	2	2.0%	12.0%
Hong Kong	1	1.0%	13.0%
Janakpurdham	1	1.0%	14.0%
Kaat	6	6.0%	20.0%
Kasthel	6	6.0%	26.0%
Khasgaon	1	1.0%	27.0%
Khichi	26	26.0%	53.0%
Khimti	1	1.0%	54.0%
Lekhark	1	1.0%	55.0%
Nakhipot	1	1.0%	56.0%
Nangkholyang	1	1.0%	57.0%
*Illegibly written	1	1.0%	58.0%%
Phalate	3	3.0%	61.0%
Phot	4	4.0%	65.0%
Pletti	8	8.0%	73.0%
Ragan	3	3.0%	76.0%
Rasnalu	10	10.0%	86.0%
Sabra	3	3.0%	89.0%
Saipu	33	33.0%	92.0%
Sotreni	1	1.0%	93.0%
Taraghari	2	2.0%	95.0%
Thapathali	1	1.0%	96.0%
Wachpu	4	4.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

(VDCs = Village Development Committees)

Table 5.23: Respondents' Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	Frequency	Valid Percent
Kirānti-Kõits	74	74.0%
Nepali	4	4.0%
Kirānti-Kõits and Nepali	21	21.0%
Other	1	1.0%
Total	100	100.0%

Now, we come to notice a very interesting fact about the new generation of Kirānti-Kōits speakers, who start preferring to declare their MT (Table 5.23) either Khas-Nepali (4%) or both Khas-Nepali and Kirānti-Kōits (21%) which comprises 25% including 1% other than Khas-Nepali and Kirānti-Kōits, a process indicating of the Khasis of northeast India stated earlier. On the contrary, 86% excluding 9% Kirānti-Kōits and Khas-Nepali of their parents (Table 5.24) have/had Kirānti-Kōits as their MT still holding better position of their grandparents' 89% excluding 8% bilingualism.

Table 5.24: Respondents' parent and grandparents' MT

Respondents'...	Kirānti-Kōits	Nepali	K-K and Nepali
Parent's MT	86.0%	4.0%	9.0%
Grandparent's MT	89.0%	3.0%	8.0%

Table 5.25: Skill wise mono-bi-multilingual speakers

Languages known	Understand	Speak	Read	Understand, speak	Understand, speak, read	Understand, speak, read & write	Total
1. One language (n = 100)				1%	1%	3%	5%
2. Two language (n = 100)			2%	13%	3%	24%	42%
3. More than two language (n = 100)	2%	2%		4%	3%	50%	61%

Tables 5.25 and 5.26 illustrate that the majority of respondents are multilingual by number and skill wise also. Monolingual speakers belong to that of the older generation and the mid-generation are mostly bilingual. The new generations are shifting to other powerful languages of bread and butter (cf. also Table 5.29).

Table 5.26: Respondents' number of knowledge of languages

MT's fluency (n = 99)	Frequency	Valid Percent
One	2	2.0%
Two	35	35.0%
More than two	63	63%
Total	100	100.00%

5.5.1 Language shift and retention

In this § 5.5.1, we will focus our discussion on the Kirānti-Kõits language shift and retention based on the respondents' response. Tables 5.23, 4.25 and 5.26 normally show that the new generations of the Kirānti-Kõits speakers are gradually shifting to the language of bread and butter as stated in the preceding section. This trend after all leads to language extinction disastrously rather than language retention very soon at least in Nepal than in India. Abbi (1992: 47-48) observes,

“The tribal languages are passing through a paradoxical situation today. On the one the hand, they are shrinking, manifested in gratuitous borrowing and reduction of original lexicon and syntax; and contracting manifested in the reduction of the total number of speakers, and reduction of contexts of real usage. On the other hand, the sense of identity and language contact situation have enriched these languages by conflating them

However, in the case of Nepal the linguistic situation is very dismal as we considered in the preceding section. There is no legal provision seeking these fast dying minority languages irrespective of the speakers 'sense of identity and language contact situation', where no other languages except Khas-Nepali have privileges within the national boundary of the country. Abbi's oscillating-dream-reality is not even possible after some decades in the Nepalese context because of brutal linguistic atrocity as discussed elsewhere in this chapter because of 73% language loss (CBS 2001) among the speech community members.

Now, we will observe the language shift scenario from Kirānti-Kõits to Khas-Nepali, where the native speakers of Kirānti-Kõits start learning the Khas-Nepali language. Table 5.27 shows that in all domains provided the native speakers of Kirānti-Kõits have very high chances of learning the State-imposed language.

Table 5.27: Domains, where Nepali was learnt

I learnt the Nepali language (n = 100)	Number of respondents	Frequency	Percentage
... at home	95	66%	69.5%
... at school	91	63%	69.2%

... at other institutions	85	28%	28.6%
... market place	70	27%	38.6%
... with friends	78	50%	64.1%
... at the playground	69	26%	37.7%
... in the religious ceremonies	69	19%	27.5%
... in the political discussions	70	21%	30%
... in the hospital	69	12%	17.4%

When children do not learn a MT anymore, the MT is defined as ‘seriously endangered’ according to UNESCO as discussed earlier. Educational institutions, in the modern world are also one of the most important domains of learning a language. Therefore, one of the survey questionnaires was aimed at finding out what medium of instruction do the respondents’ offspring (if any) go for education. Table 5.28 illustrates that the highest percentage (38.8%) of children go to English medium schools nearing 37.8% both in Nepali and English in the urban areas whereas in the rural 1% Kirānti-Kōits means 99% children’s medium of education is Nepali. It is only in the urban area, where 19.4% children receive their education in Nepali. What this tendency shows is that urban area is more fascinated towards English medium education than the Khas-Nepali monolingual rural area.

Table 5.28: Children’s medium of education

Medium of instruction in school (n = 98)	Frequency	Valid percentage
Kirānti-Kōits	1	1.0%
Nepali	19	19.4%
English	38	38.8%
Kirānti-Kōits and Nepali	2	2.0%
Kirānti-Kōits, Nepali and English	1	1.0%
Nepali and English	37	37.8%

The following two cross tabulations illustrated in Tables 5.29, 5.30. The first depicts that middle aged, and the old aged speakers are quite fluent in Kirānti-Kōits as MT speaker whereas the new generations are steadily decreasing about one third of them are loosing the command over their MT, which is of serious concern for the speech community. The second reveals the females irrespective of their low representation have

better command of their MT since their occupation is confined to ‘home-making’ (Table 5.19) or within the four walls of kitchen.

Table 5.29: MT fluency and respondents’ age group in cross tabulation

MT fluency	Respondents’ age group			Total
	10-30	31-60	61 and above	
fluent	28	25	17	70
	58.3%	78.1%	89.5%	70.7%
	14	4	2	20
okay but not fluent	29.2%	12.5%	10.5%	20.2%
	6	3	0	9
have difficulty in speaking but not understanding	12.5%	9.4%	.0%	9.1%
	48	32	19	99
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5.30: MT fluency and respondents’ Sex in cross tabulation

MT fluency		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
fluent	Count	46	24	70
	% within Sex	74.2%	64.9%	70.7%
	Count	9	11	20
okay but not fluent	% within Sex	14.5%	29.7%	20.2%
	Count	7	2	9
have difficulty in speaking but not understanding	% within Sex	11.3%	5.4%	9.1%
	Count	62	37	99
Total	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

5.5.1.2 Domains of use

In this § 5.5.1.2, we will mainly observe the domains of Kirānti-Kōits MT use. In order to explain the respondents’ response, we have divided the questionnaire into three parts as given in Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.33 (cf. also § 5.5.3). The first type of questionnaire (Table 5.31) is related with the respondents’ individual life and his/her home environments such as thinking, praying or with pets or relatives. The most noteworthy point is the Kirānti-Kōits speakers now are increasingly adopting Khas-Nepali as their main language of social and personal interaction.

The second type of questionnaire is mainly related with the respondents' social life other than his family surroundings such as with doctors, in the market place, community gatherings, discussing political matters, discussing religion and so forth. The result in Table 5.32 reveals that Kirānti-Kōits plus Khas-Nepali and and Khas-Nepali alone is the sole language of social interaction in their speech community.

The third type of domain that the survey questionnaire seeking to elicit their response is related with their neighborhood intercalation with their neighbors, who are linguistically similar as well as dissimilar. Table 5.33 distinctly shows that even when the neighborhood members are linguistically similar i.e. Kirānti-Kōits speakers only 26.0% of the respondents prefer to interact in their MT which means they have less compassion for their own MT. The rest is 28% solely in Khas-Nepali and 40% both in Kirānti-Kōits plus Khas-Nepali whereas majority of the respondents (i.e. 73.3%) prefer to use Khas-Nepali and the second position goes to Khas-Nepali plus English (i.e.12.2%).

Table 5.31: Domains of language use I

What Language do you use while...	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, English	K-K, N, Eng others	N, Eng	Others
thinking? (n = 99)	26.3%	35.4%		28.3%		7.1%	3.0%	
praying? (n = 95)	15.8%	36.8%		34.7%		7.4%	4.2%	
cursing? (n = 96)	13.5%	39.6%	1.0%	34.4%		6.3%	5.2%	
joking? (n = 96)	10.4%	34.4%		39.6%		7.3%	8.3%	
singing? (n = 96)	4.2%	39.6%	3.1%	36.5%		7.3%	9.4%	
scolding? (n = 96)	14.6%	31.3%	1.0%	38.5%		8.3%	6.3%	

[K-K = Kirānti-Kōits, N = Nepali, Eng = English]

Table 5.32: Domains of language use II

What Language do you use ...	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, Eng	K-K, N, Eng others	N, Eng	Others
with doctor? (n = 99)		67.7%	1.0%	6.1%	3.0%		22.2%	
while asking time/directions? (n = 99)	5.1%	32.3%	2.0%	31.3%	12.1%		17.2%	
in the market place? (n = 96)	7.0%	40.0%		30.0%	4.0%		19.0%	
in community gatherings? (n = 99)	18.2%	32.3%	1.0%	41.4%	4.0%		3.0%	
in community prayer? (n = 99)	23.2%	36.4%		34.0%	4.0%		1.0%	1.0%
with your village friends? (n = 99)	35.4%	18.2%		39.4%	3.0%		4.0%	
while discussing political matters? (n = 99)	3.0%	55.6%		31.0%	3.0%		7.0%	
while discussing deep-feelings? (n = 99)	21.2%	37.4%		33.3%	2.0%		6.1%	
when you are angry? (n = 99)	14.1%	32.3%		41.4%	6.1%		6.1%	
while discussing religion with friends? (n = 99)	16.2%	32.3%		42.4%	4.0%		5.1%	

[K-K = Kirānti-Kōits, N = Nepali, Eng = English]

Table 5.33: Domains of language use III

What Language do you use with your neighbours...	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, Eng	K-K, N, Eng others	N, Eng	Others
who are linguistically	26.0%	28.0%		40.0%	6.0%			

similar? (n = 100)								
who are linguistically dissimilar? (n = 90)		73.3%	1.1%	10.0%	3.3%		12.2%	

[K-K = Kirānti-Kōits, N = Nepali, Eng = English]

5.5.1.3 Language attitudes

This § 5.5.1.3 mainly focuses on the respondents' attitudes towards their own MT. Questionnaires like whether they feel prestigious/embarrassed/neutral to speak in their MT in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language, whether their MT is rich, sweet and so on compared to Khas-Nepali and etc. Table 5.34 gives a hopeful result that the respondents feel prestigious to speak their MT in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language, i.e. Khas-Nepali. Only 9% have an embarrassed feeling while speaking their MT in the presence of the dominant language.

Table 5.34: Kirānti-Kōits prestigious/embarrassed/neutral

Attitudes (n = 98)	Frequency	Valid Percent
prestigious	59	70.4%
embarrassed	9	9.2%
neutral	20	20.4%

In another questionnaire, how the respondents would rate their MT compared to the dominant Indo-Aryan (Indic) language Nepali spoken in their locality, Table 5.35 exposes that their MT is anyway significant compared to the dominant language spoken in their locality.

Table 5.35: MT rating

Compared to Nepali your MT is...	Yes	No	Unspecified
rich (n = 100)	77.0%	18.0%	5.0%
sweet (n = 100)	88.0%	4.0	8.0%
harsh (n = 99)	14.1%	73.7%	12.1%
powerless (n = 100)	24.2%	66.7%	9.1%
non-prestigious (n = 100)	17.3%	70.4%	12.2%
useful (n = 100)	84.0%	9.0%	7.0%

The questionnaire on the respondents' MT usefulness or suitability in Table 5.36 shows one of the most important hidden facts about the language vitality that the Kirānti-Kōits speakers now gradually are internalizing their MT as 'the language of secrecy'. When the generation of speakers using their MT as the language of secrecy dies, their language will be totally gone with their ultimate death and dead memory. 22% of the respondents still think that their MT is useful as a means of communication whereas 20% of the respondents are not able to decide what the use of their MT is actually.

Table 5.36: MT's suitability

MT's suitable use in/for... (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent
a. secret talk	25	25.0%
b. all purposes	9	9.0%
c. communication	22	22.0%
d. learning and teaching	1	1.0%
e. literary writing	5	5.0%
f. linguistic identity	4	4.0%
g. usage at home	2	2.0%
h. preserving tradition and culture	9	9.0%
i. writing books	1	1.0%
j. education	2	2.0%
k. unspecified/undecided	20	20.0%

After all the respondents' attitude, whether they encourage their younger generation to speak their MT in Table 5.37 is massively positive. Nevertheless, the question is of the country's monolithic language policy that depreciates all native speakers' dilemma 'to speak or not to speak the M1' as discussed earlier elsewhere in the chapter.

Table 5.37: Encouraging younger generation to speak the MT

Parent's/guardian's encouragement for speaking... MT	Frequency	Valid percentage
Yes	97	97.0%
No	3	3.0%

In a questionnaire series like whether they ever had any problem because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue, 69.0% of the respondents responded 'No' and those who responded 'Yes' (Table 5.38) in addition in an auxiliary question "If 'yes', what type?" (Table 5.38.A) most of the responses reveal that socio-politico-economic discrimination and pressures as main hindrances and there is discrimination in the access of education too.

Table 5.38: Problems of being a MT speaker

Problems because of being the native speaker of MT... (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	31	31.0%
No	69	69.0%

Table 5.38.A: Types of problems being a MT speaker

Types of problems...(n = 30)	Frequency	Valid Percent
socio-politico-economic discrimination	7	23.3%
discrimination in education	5	16.7
hostile confrontation	1	3.3%
socio-politico-economic pressures	6	20.0%
others	7	23.3
all three except hostile confrontation	4	13.3

If provided the linguistic freedom of MT choice, majority of the respondents, i.e. 68.4% would choose Kirānti-Kōits as their MT (Table 5.39). The reason for this choice is simply because for linguistic identity, linguistic rights, preservation and development (Table: 5.39.A) of their MT. Whereas 9% (Table 5.39.B) of the respondents would choose Khas-Nepali as their MT for higher education and 9% of the respondents would choose English as their MT for opportunity and international relations.

Table 5.39: Choice of MT

Choice of MT (n = 98)	Frequency	Valid percentage
Kirānti-Kōits	67	68.4%
Nepali	7	7.1%
English	5	5.1%

Kirānti-Kōits and Nepali	2	2.0%
Kirānti-Kōits, Nepali and English	4	4.1%
Kirānti-Kōits, Nepali and English	13	13.3%

Table 5.39.A: Reasons why Kirānti-Kōits as MT

Reason K-K MT (n = 84)	Frequency	Valid percentage
children can understand well	7	8.3%
linguistic identity	21	25.0%
linguistic rights	10	11.9%
preservation and development	22	26.2%
linguistic identity, right, preservation and development	24	28.6%

Table 5.39.B: Reasons why Nepali as MT

Reasons Nepali MT (n = 21)	Frequency	Valid percentage
opportunity	3	14.3%
higher education	9	42.9%
science and technology	7	33.3%
all four	2	9.5%

Table 5.39.C: Reasons why English as MT

Reason English (n = 22)	Frequency	Valid percentage
opportunity	2	9.1%
higher education	5	22.7%
science and technology	2	9.1%
international relations	3	13.6%
opportunity and higher education	1	4.5%
opportunity and international relations	9	40.9%

If provided the linguistic freedom for children's education, a feeble majority, i.e. 33% (Table 5.40) of the respondents would choose Kirānti-Kōits to educate their children in their MT and the reason for this is again linguistic identity, right, preservation and development (Table 5.40.A). Whereas 10% (Table 5.40) of the respondents would choose Khas-Nepali as their MT simply because for opportunity and socio-politico-economic advantage (Table 5.40.B, also cf. Burchers 2002). There is a dramatic rise in the percentage of respondents, i.e. 26.0% (Table 5.40) most of who would choose English

(also cf. Burchers 2002) as their MT for opportunity and higher education. This means that the language of children's education is purely need-based.

Table 5.40: Choice of the language of children's education

Choice of language of children's education (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid percentage
Kirānti-Kōits	33	33.0%
Nepali	10	10.0%
English	26	26.0%
Kirānti-Kōits and Nepali	6	6.0%
Kirānti-Kōits and English	2	2.0%
Nepali and English	7	7.0%
Kirānti-Kōits, Nepali and English	16	16.0%

Table 5.40.A: Reasons educating in Kirānti-Kōits

Reason K-K (n = 57)	Frequency	Valid percentage
children can understand well	7	12.3%
linguistic identity	16	28.1%
linguistic rights	6	10.5%
preservation and development	6	10.5%
linguistic identity, right, preservation and development	22	38.6%

Table 5.40.B: Reasons educating in Khas-Nepali

Reason Nepali (n = 37)	Frequency	Valid percentage
opportunity	14	37.8%
higher education	8	21.6%
socio-politico-economic advantage	13	35.1%
linguistic integration as chauvinism	2	5.4%

Table 5.40.C: Reasons educating in English

Reason English (n = 52)	Frequency	Valid percentage
opportunity	10	19.2%
higher education	8	15.4%
science and technology	4	7.7%
Higher education and international relations	5	9.6%
opportunity and higher education	13	25.0%
opportunity and international relation	9	40.9%

5.5.2 Linguistic materials

In this § 5.4.1.2.3, we will illustrate some basic linguistic materials regarding body parts and objects in nature in order to find out whether the language is highly affected by bilingualism due to language contact. We have already illustrated basic cardinal numerals in § 3.1.4.1 since the time of Beams. In § 5.2.1 and § 5.2.1 earlier, we illustrated kinship terms in which Kirānti-Kōits lexicons show language conflation.

A. Body parts

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. dimlā ‘foot’ | 2. kōite ‘ankle’ | 3. k ^h oil(i) ‘leg’ |
| 4. poʔci ‘knee’ | 5. klāto ‘waist’ | 6. kodz ‘stomach’ |
| 7. səpu ‘navel’ | 7. kucu ‘chest’ | 9. gui ‘hand’ |
| 10. bləpco ‘finger’ | 11. tēmu ‘elbow’ | 12. tāplā ‘palm’ |
| 13. gēʔ(c) ‘nail, claw’ | 14. solic ‘leg or body hair’ | 15. cā ‘hair’ |
| 16. šyur ‘neck’ | 17. yoili ‘chin’ | 18. šyo ‘mouth’ |
| 19. nop ^h ā ‘ear’ | 20. nē ‘nose’ | 21. m’ici ‘eye’ |
| 22. piyā ‘head’ | 23. lē~ ‘tongue’ | 24. sūigi ‘lip’ |
| 25. k ^h l(ɾ/r)ui ‘tooth’ | 26. polpol ‘calf’ | 27. kušyul ‘skin’ |
| 28. rā ‘body’ | 29. sulu ‘male genital’ | 30. sonā ‘female genital’ |
| 31. p ^h ot ‘testicles’ | 32. gos ‘pubic hair’ | 33. bəp ^h əl ‘armpit’ |
| 34. ky’i ‘intestine’ | 35. lungir ‘heart’ | 36. nips ‘brain’ |
| 37. sorb ‘lungs’ | 38. əidi ‘liver’ | 39. yobi ‘kidney’ |
| 40. k ^h āil ‘gall, bile’ etc. | | |

B. Objects of nature/surroundings

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. nā ‘sun’ | 2. tāslā ‘moon’ | 3. šyor ‘star’ |
| 4. səriŋ ‘sky’ | 5. p ^h uilu ‘stone’ | 6. k ^h əp ‘soil’ |
| 7. gəs(u) ‘cloud’ | 8. kun ‘smoke’ | 9. p ^h ū ‘snow’ |
| 10. cunci ‘hill’ | 11. lik ^h u ‘river’ | 12. wāki ‘jungle’ |
| 13. ru ‘field’ | 14. comlu ‘mountain’ | 15. rəwā ‘tree’ |
| 16. bwāku ‘water’ | 17. p ^h əs(i) ‘air’ etc. | |

Since these lexicons enumerated here are very limited in number, it will be unreliable to calculate and predict the degree of semantic conflation in the present study.

5.5.3 Language death

In order to observe the process of language death of a minority speech community, once again it is necessary to see the respondents' domains (cf. also § 5.5.1.2) of language use. Earlier in § 5.5.1.2, we analyzed the domains of Kirānti-Kōits language use is increasingly and worriedly replaced by Khas-Nepali. In this § 5.5.3, we will demonstrate what language do children actually use while playing with friends in the playground, where they naturally start learning a language and we will also demonstrate what language is being used within the family members at home since individuals learn any language at home as their first school (cf. also Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.33). The highest percentage, i.e. 47.3% (Table 5.41) of respondents uses only K-K with their grandparents whereas the percentage of Khas-Nepali users is increasing amazingly. Kirānti-Kōits as children's language of the playground is contracted down to 22% only. Either Khas-Nepali only or Khas-Nepali plus Kirānti-Kōits bilingualism (also cf. Borchers 2002) is preferred by most of the respondents. This is an indicator of very low vitality of Kirānti-Kōits as a MT of the minority speech community, which very obviously implies its bizarre death.

Table 5.41: Language vitality

What Language do you speak with...	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, Eng	K-K, N, Eng, others	N, Eng	Others
parents? (n = 99)	42.4%	17.2%		34.3%	1.0%	3.0%	1.0%	1.0%
er-brother? (n = 93)	40.9%	23.7%		28.0%	1.1%	4.3%	1.1%	1.1%
er-sister? (n = 93)	35.5%	21.5%	1.1%	33.3%	2.2%	4.3%	1.1%	1.1%
grandparents? (n = 93)	47.3%	20.4%		31.2%			1.1%	
spouse? (n = 71)	36.6%	26.8%		33.8%		1.4%	1.4%	
servant/s?	30.7%	41.3%		25.3%			1.3%	1.3%

(n = 75)								
pets? (n = 80)	32.5%	37.5%		28.8%			1.3%	
relatives? (n = 97)	21.6%	28.9%		40.2%		7.2%	2.1%	

[er = elder, K-K = Kirānti-Kōits, N = Nepali, Eng = English]

Table 5.42: Children's language of the playground

What Language do K-K children use... (n = 100)	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, Eng	K-K, N, Eng others	N, Eng	Others
while playing?	22.0%	31.0%		35.0%	6.0%		6.0%	

[K-K – Kirānti-Kōits, N – Nepali, Eng = English]

5.6 Voicing for socio-politico-linguistic rights

In the preceding section, we demonstrated that Kirānti-Kōits as a Member of a minority and indigenous speech community is waiting for its 'bizarre death'. We also stated the factors responsible for this shameful violation of Human Rights by the State polity in the past and continuing even at present day (cf. Lawoti 2001, 2002 and Gurung 2003: 82-101, Kañla 2005, Gurung 2003, Yonjan-Tamang 2005) linguistic scenario. This suppressive act by the so-called dominant mainstreams monopolizing 'power and welfare' in one way or the other has resulted in 'social, cultural and linguistic conflicts' all around the globe including the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal.

As a result, the Himalayan paradise is in incessant unrest and turmoil, which is the direct manifestation of worldwide phenomenon since "...the re-articulation of identities (in terms of class, gender and race/ethnicity for instance) and the emergence of new emancipatory forces, forms and sites of resistance in a globalizing world are challenging persistent patterns of unequal distribution of power and welfare" (Holman et al 2002: x) these days. Therefore, many minorities indigenous nationalities suffered of discrimination in every walk of their lives now are seeking emancipation voicing their socio-politico-linguistic rights in Nepal. Of course, the situation is very critical for

concerned Human Rights activists, international communities, and social scientists including political scientists and linguists as well. We have reproduced here one of such representative voices (Lawoti 2001) with minor re-adjustments and additions in five parts as follows:

A. Demands by the Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities Group

1. Adoption of the Draft Declaration of the Indigenous Peoples Rights by the International community
2. Apology by the Nepali State for past discrimination and internal colonization
3. Compensation for the past discrimination by the Nepali State
4. Immediate halt to the current discrimination in cultural and socioeconomic matters
5. Equality and Justice to all marginalized groups, and especially for women within Indigenous Peoples
6. Group rights of Indigenous Peoples, based on equality and justice, should be recognized by the State
7. Promotion and preservation of all cultures by the State
8. Equality between all native languages and all native religions
9. End to Constitutional and Legal discrimination of Indigenous Peoples and nationalities
10. Autonomy for the Indigenous Peoples and nationalities
11. Rights of self-determination to the Indigenous Peoples and nationalities
12. Affirmative actions for women within the Indigenous Peoples should be made

B. Government's responsibility on necessary steps to be initiated for Eliminating of Racial Discrimination

1. Offer apology for past discrimination, internal colonization and cultural imperialism
2. Declare the Nepali State as secular or multi-religious
3. Ratify the ILO Convention 169⁵⁹
4. Implement the International Human Rights Instruments ratified by Nepal such as Minority Rights Declarations, Universal Human Rights Declaration and so on in spirit and word

⁵⁹ See Lawoti (2003) for its detailed Articles related to minority indigenous ethnic peoples' linguistic and cultural preservation.

5. Adopt accommodative and power sharing political institutions
6. Treat all native languages equally
7. Recognize customary practices of Indigenous Peoples
8. Recognize right to traditional homeland of Indigenous Peoples
9. Ensure equal distribution and access to State and societal resources
10. Promote and preserve Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities culture, language and tradition
11. Establish Academy of Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities to preserve and promote their languages and cultures
12. Initiate proportionate affirmative action policies for Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities
13. Ensure protection of Minority Rights constitutionally
14. Declare public holidays on Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities' festival
15. Include Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities' symbols in the 'national' symbols and heroes' lists
16. Transmit Radio programmes in native languages
17. Initiate education in native languages
18. Eliminate compulsory Sanskrit in schools
19. Remove restriction on registration of political parties based on ethnicity, caste and gender
20. Remove restriction on registration of organizations', magazines', newspapers and others' name in the Indigenous Peoples' own Mother Tongue
21. Take scientific census of different Indigenous Peoples, their languages, traditions and cultures
22. Include positive description of Indigenous Peoples in school textbooks
23. Initiate public policies targeted specifically at socio-economic promotion of Indigenous Peoples
24. Establish a Commission on Indigenous Peoples, composed of Indigenous Peoples
25. Establish a media network of Indigenous Peoples
26. Legislate laws empowerment of Indigenous Peoples and implement those that exist
27. Implement the directive principle of the Constitution that deals with Nationalities

C. Steps to be taken by Civil Society, especially National Human Rights (HR) Groups and Media

1. Recognize diversity of society in letter and spirit, and not only in speeches
2. Respect Indigenous Peoples' culture and practices
3. Support and fight for discrimination towards Indigenous Peoples and Nationalities
4. Initiate campaigns in eliminating stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples
5. Abstain and discourage use of derogative proverbs, morals, songs and attitudes
6. Encourage egalitarian values in the society
7. Make empowerment of Indigenous Peoples a national agenda
8. Fight for collective/group rights of Indigenous Peoples by HR groups
9. While fighting for individual, civil and political rights, take account of vulnerable group members
10. Fight for cultural rights of dominated cultural groups
11. Sensitize human rights activists and media members of Indigenous Peoples' issues
12. Remove intolerance of dominant group members towards other languages, religions and cultures
13. Initiate awareness programmes regarding rights of Indigenous Peoples
14. Give proper coverage to Indigenous Peoples issues in the media, and avoid misrepresentation

D. Global and UN Organization and International Human Rights Groups

1. Ratify Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples
2. Pressure the Nepali State to protect and promote Indigenous peoples' rights
3. Pressure the Nepali State to stop assimilative politics
4. Request/persuade the Nepali State to become secular
5. Establish regional and national level human rights monitoring agencies

E. Multilateral and Bilateral Donor Agencies

1. Put conditional ties on foreign aid and loans; they have to reach Indigenous Peoples as well
2. Stop aid and programmes that do not benefit Indigenous Peoples and other marginal communities

3. Provide assistance specifically targeted toward the Indigenous Peoples and other marginalized groups
4. Initiate advocacy programmes on behalf of the Indigenous Peoples and other marginalized groups
5. Stop aid and programmes that harm Indigenous Peoples and their habitats and cultures
6. Increase awareness, extend and expand organizations
7. Increase advocacy movements
8. Initiate alliances with other oppressed groups
9. Spread organizations at all levels of the society
10. Stop discrimination conducted by the Hinduized Indigenous Peoples such as untouchability
11. Lessen intra-group differences and broaden intra-group alliances
12. Get rid of inferior complex and internalization of dominant values
13. Increase a culture of education

As stated above, fulfilling the 71 points of demands of the minority indigenous peoples by state polity ('if and only if') would probably assist in harvesting peace in the Himalayan paradise based on equality and equity as Holman et al (2003) hint towards the "patterns of unequal distribution of power and welfare" responsible for 'conflicts and unrest' at its core around the globe.

5.7 Summing up

In this chapter, we discussed the socio-linguistic aspects of Kiranti-Koits by analyzing respondents' response on a set of questionnaires based mainly on socio-linguistic patterns stated in the beginning of this chapter and in Ch 1 § 1.9 as well. We stated and discussed several factors responsible for language endangerment and language death. It is not, only the native speakers' loyalty, linguistic identity and the availability of basic linguistic materials (§ 5.5.2) that really matters but the State policies and legal provisions also are equally important for revival and survival of a Mother Tongue.

As a whole, the native speakers are positive and hopeful (but unfortunately they are unable to respond 'Yes' for questions regarding linguistic rights asked by Phillipson

et al (1995: 22) towards their MT irrespective of being bilinguals or even multilingual or losing their MT vitality. But what is hopeless is the planning commission's language policy (See § 5.1, Ch 1 § 1.6) and scarcity of Constitutional and legal provisions for these minority and vanishing indigenous (also cf. Ch 1 § 1.6) languages. This critical condition of Nepal is a matter of great concern for all national and international communities believing in open and democratic culture. These vanishing peoples' desire for emancipation viz., political, social, economic and linguistic (also cf. Kařla 2005, Gurung 2003) stated within 71 points in § 5.6 deserves special mention and attention nationally and internationally.

Chapter Six

Summary of research findings

This work is only a rudimentary description and exploration of the possibilities of Kirānti-Kōits grammar ranging from its phonological and morphological to syntactic structures including socio-linguistic aspects.

While undertaking this research topic in the beginning, we had six main problematic and empirical questions in mind along with objectives (See § 1.7) regarding the Kirānti-Kōits people/tribe, language and its grammatical structures such as,

-Does the presupposed and misinterpreted ethnonym (See § 1.1.1) hold accurate ground for its semantic dynamics provided in literature?

-Is Kirānti-Kōits a dialect of Indic Khas-Nepali as claimed by Singh and Manoharan (See § 1.1) and do the Kirānti-Kōits speech community 'use Magar language' as claimed by Pandey (2003 [vs 2060: 118])?

-What is the accurate mechanism of the sound and writing systems of Kirānti-Kōits, which is described inconsistently in its earlier research and does there exist any graphology (See Ch 2) of the language?

-What is its morphological (See Ch 3) mechanism? What is its syntactic typology (See Ch 4) comparatively in the Sino-Tibetan, T-B sub-family?

-What are its socio-linguistic (See Ch 5) aspects like domains of use, language policy and planning of the country, states of human linguistic rights, language loss, retention or death?

In order to answer the question on ethnological facts, in the course of the current research in Ch 1, we have examined and argued several problematic meanings and classification of the ethno-exoglotonym 'Sun(u)war' as opposed to the ancient Kirānti-Kōits tribe classified in Mongoloid (also Tibetonoid used by some scholars) stock anthropo-sociologically. By way of analogy, we have compared related examples of the problematic meanings from Thangmi, another member of the Greater-Kirānti family. From cultural and linguistic point of views based on several empirical evidence, Kirānti-

Kōits people/tribe are interrelated sub-tribes with Kirānti-Ba?yung, Wambule [RaDhu], Jerung and others⁶⁰ and vice versa. Another best hint and evidence of this claim is the morpheme <-cā> of the tribe related to other Kirānti ethno-clanonyms. By providing morphoetymological relationships among <-cā; चा>, <-cā; चा> or <-co; चो> (also in Kirānti-Kulung of *Wallo Kirat* ‘Near/Hither Kirat’), Kirānti-Rodung/Camling (*Majh Kirat* ‘Middle Kirat’) as <-cha छा>, Kirānti-Bantawa (*Pallo Kirat* ‘Far Kirat’) as <-chā छा> or <-cā चा> and <-cho छो>. These ethno-morphological variations of clanonyms do have very cognate relationship also with Early Classical Newari <-cō; च> as well and is a closely related cognate of Tibeto-Burman proto-form **tsa* ‘child, grandchild’ (Benedict 1972: 208) having socio-historical and linguistic relationships, which signifies as ‘±male/person’ marker (e.g. *sarā-chā* ‘son’, *māri-chā* ‘daughter’ and *mā-chā* ‘daughter’s husband’) in Kirānti-Rodung’s modern vocabulary implies a very strong linguistic-anthropological ties amongst these peoples/tribes.

Their [of Kirānti-Kōits] ethno-exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ as presupposed to be derived from the hydronym ‘Sunkoshi’ found in my investigation not to be developed/derived earlier than the 14th century (i.e. 1325 AD Egli 1999, cf. also Yakkha-Rai 2002) in the ethnological literature and history of Nepal available until recently. Their ethnic or linguistic identity lumped in Gurung and Magar, irrespective of their same Mongoloid⁶¹ or Tibetonoid stock, has been found false while comparing linguistic data

⁶⁰ Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar and Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar informed me that all the Kirānti tribes claiming Rai such as Bā?yung (Rumdali [clans: Thamrocha, Dilingpacha, Hajupacha, Diburcha], Pai/Rinamsacha [clans: Tolacha, Moblocha, Ripa(o)cha, Nambarsacha, Sechacha, Rallacha, Luticha], Necha(li), Hangu and Roke cf. Lee 2005), Wambule and Jerung of Wallo Kirat at present were Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war) in the past (p/c). However, the Bā?yung origin story as narrated by Buddhi Hangucha relates their proximity with Kirānti-Rodung also of Majh Kirat (cf. Maureen Lee and Bag-Ayagyami Yalungcha (2001) adapted by Rapacha (2002) cf. also Appendix A; Text 1). Bhupadhoj Thamros-Kulung claims that the illiterate Sun(u)wars still today claim themselves to be Rais but the learned ones only identify themselves as Sun(u)wars (p/c June 2005).

⁶¹ Nesturkh (1966: 26) notes that “Among the specific features of the many anthropological types of this race [Mongoloid] are the following: a broad face that projects moderately, the broad, projecting checkbones giving it a flat appearance, the eyes are brown, the eye slit is medium in the majority but narrow in many cases; in some individuals external angle of the eye is disposed higher than the internal angle; there is a well-developed fold on the upper eyelid that in many cases extends to the cilia and crosses the lower lid, completely or partially covering the internal angle of the eye, including the lacrimal bay, to form the epicanthus; the nose is of medium width, slightly projecting and usually with a low bridge; in the majority of cases the nostrils are in the medium with their long axes at an angle of about 90° to each other: the lips are thin or medium; ...the chin ridge has medium development’ in very many individuals the head is

and cultural facts (cf. Rapacha 2002). Mythology (cf. also Appendix A Text A) is another best supporting evidence for proving the Kōits people/tribe as Kirāntis since “Every mythology is fundamentally a classification” (cited in Gaenzle 2000: 30 from Needham 1979: 36 [orig. Durkheim and Mauss 1963: 77]). Similarly, the rest of the meanings: Mukhia, *Suryavamshi* ‘solar dynasty’, *Kshetriya* or *Khas* ‘Indo-Aryan tribe’, Kinnar, ‘low caste’ Kshetriya Hindu and *Sunar/Kami* ‘goldsmith’ except for *Marpache* [Kirānti-Kōits in origin], are all misnomers ignorantly used for the Kirānti-Kōits people/tribe, which insult and humiliate the Mongoloid/Tibetonoid tribal ethos of them.

As on Thangmi (Turin 2003), much of the earlier writing on the Kirānti-Kōits is “erroneous and betrays the ignorance and prejudices of the writers more than it informs the reader about features of this important Himalayan population [Oirat > Kirat (accidental development; cf. § 1.1.1.1); belonging to the Mongoloid stock [cf. Turner 1987: 64 [orig. 1927], Northey 1998: 93-94 [orig. 1937], Gurung and Salter 1996: 59, *Hutichinson Encyclopedia* 2001: 642, Gurung 2004 [vs 2061]] and their little-known language”.

We have discovered that their ethnonym ‘Kōits’ in their own Mother Tongue (autonym) and those morpho-semantically significant auto-clanonyms genuinely make them different from any other misinterpreted-meanings available in the past literature related to the Indo-Aryan sociology handed down from Manu since because Kirānti-Kōits as one of the Tibeto-Burman language speakers fall outside the hierarchical ‘caste’ or any ‘*jāti*’ [I-A or Indic] system (cf. Abbi forthcoming, Joshi 2003: 334). Their language internal auto-ethno-clanonyms (cf. § 1.1.3) based on interpretive methodology are meaningfully significant for their own ethnicity and identity rather than other falsified, ‘ignorant and prejudiced’ meanings as in Thangmi (Turin 2003) labeled in the past literature.

The other most important fact we discovered and issues we have discussed regarding the Kirānti-Kōits ethnology in Chapter 1 is on ‘several deviated and misrepresented orthographic “forms” of the ethnonym Sun(u)war and Kirānti-Kōits. In

mesocephalous. The skin is lighter in colour and the hair is black and not always stiff. The beard is scanty” (Cited in Toba 1992: 8).

Ch 1 § 1.2, we have cited all the deviated meaningless words at least in Kirānti-Kōits in asterisk or underline' to contrast with the standard and generally in common use are three: 'Kirānti-Kōits, Sun(u)war and Mukhia' only but not all the deviated and mismatched forms with other tribes for instance Tamang and others (cf. Ch 1 § 1.2). Therefore, either one of these three common orthography systems has been adopted elsewhere in this research narrative. Furthermore, we have briefly examined the unfavourable State-policy for the diverse linguistic minorities in Nepal (cf. Ch 1 §1.6), which is discussed in a considerable detail in Ch 6.

In Chapter 2, we dealt with two major themes i.e. phonology 'the sound system' and graphology 'the writing system of the language' chosen for investigation. In the first half of the first part, we have described the inventory of phonemes in Kirānti-Kōits by looking at their distribution (i.e. word initial, medial and final), classification (place and manner of articulation, voicing, aspiration) and minimal/near-minimal pair test (based on contrastive meaning). We have examined some phonological rules for instance free variation, nasal assimilation, nasalization, allophonic variation, and consonant and vowel deletion. Based on those phonological rules like minimal pair test, 24 consonant (Table 2.2) and 6 basic vowel (See Table 2.1) phonemes have been discovered in the language

Phonemic asymmetries have been found in the sound system of the language such as phonemes like /c/ vs. /ch/ or [t^h], /b/ vs. /b^h/, /d/ vs. /d^h/, /g/ vs. /g^h/, and /dz/ vs. /dz^h/ lack minimal pairs and may occur only in loan words from I-A (Indic) Khas-Nepali whereas all six vowels are contrastive in terms of nasalization. This process historically has developed from the drop of the bilabial-nasal phoneme /m/ which still exists in Proto-Tibeto-Burman and the rest of the Kirānti languages of east Nepal, for example **tsām* (P-T-B), *tsām* (some other Kirānti languages) and *tsā* (Kirānti-Kōits) for 'hair'.

Then, in the second half, we have illustrated its phonotactics revealing consonant clusters in all three positions (See Table 2.4 consonants permitting clusters word initially bl, br, by, gl, gr, gy, kl, kr, ky, k^hl, k^hr, dzy, pl, pr, p^hl, p^hy and šy, Table 2.5 consonants permitting clusters word medially bb, bl, br, cc, ck, ck^h, kk, kl, ŋl, ŋr, ŋš, lb, lc, lg, lk, lk^h, lp, mc, md, ml, mm, mn, mp, mr, ms, mš, mth, mdz, nk, nn, pc, pl, pp, ps, pth, tl, rb, rc.

rm, rš, rth, šy, sc, sl, sm, ss, sš, thr, gy and ʔth and Table 2.6 consonants permitting clusters word finally ng, ŋs, lc, lb, mc, md, mt, mdz, pc, pt, pn, rc, rb, rs, rš and rn) more productively as compared to Meithei (Abbi and Mishra 1984) and very interesting and productive rules of geminates like bb, cc, kk, ll, mm, nn, pp, ss and tt. Minimum syllabic structures of words (where majority of them) are monosyllabic whereas maximum structure of combination is tetrasyllabic.

Similarly, in the beginning of the second part of this chapter, we have illustrated a general survey of graphology ‘the writing systems’ (scripts used for writing) in the neighbouring Kirānti and other languages, areas or state in general. Then, in the second half we discussed some historical aspects of the Jeṛticha *Bre:se* used for writing the Kirānti-Kōits language. Additionally, we have presented practical alphabets/letters from the Jeṛticha *Bre:se* and the Devanagari script in a comparative perspective by evaluating their compatibility for its use in establishing the tradition of writing in the future.

Chapter 3 mainly has focused on the description of three main morphological parts viz., nominal, verbal morphology and particles. The key morphological processes we have observed here include: inflection, derivation, reduplication and compounding. Nominals are those grammatical categories, which are marked for case suffixes but gender remain unmarked grammatically (See § 3.1.2.2). Person and number (See § 3.1.2.3) need a special attention to be analyzed in Tibeto-Burman Kirānti languages. All Kirānti languages including Kirānti-Kōits have dual marker, e.g. *-sku* (See (92) c in the language under description. Most of the nominals morphologically are derived (See (87) a and (88) a, reduplicated (See § 3.1.2.2) and compounded (See (90) b ones.

Like other Kirānti languages, Kirānti-Kōits also has deictic category for all three levels such as high, level and low (See § 3.1.2.4.5.3). The verb ‘come’ is also of four types depending on the addressee’s level of movement (See § 3.2.3 and Appendix B for Lexicon in use). Case markers *lik -ni > m*, *-ŋā* ‘by, with, at’ (instrumental, locative, locogenitive, agentive, ergative), *lā~ε~re/* ‘from’ (ablative), *-kəli > kəl* ‘for, to’ (dative/accusative, purposive), *-nu* ‘with, and, TEMP’ (comitative *-nu*) ‘with’, *-gε* ‘to/towards, you’ (allative (relative/illative as in Finnish), and *ā~ -kε~ -ŋā* ‘of’ (genitive,

locative) have multiple semantic layers developed through grammaticalization. There are separate postposition lexemes besides the case markers' role as postposition (See § 3.1.2.6).

The Kirānti-Kōits verb morphology is normally agglutinative and inflecting (See § 3.2). Normally, it inflects for person, number (See § 3.2.6) and TAM (elsewhere). There is a high frequency of nominal and verbal compounding yielding nominals from verbs. Like many other Kirānti languages, Kirānti-Kōits verb roots/stems are highly monosyllabic *lə-* 'go', *tə-* 'see/get', *k^hā-* 'tear', *ŋā-* 'weep' and so on. The language both in nominal and verbal morphology investigated here is a suffixing except for its negative suffix <*mə-*>. This negative suffix is pragmatically used for emphatic denial in an utterance too. Verbs undergo all morphological processes such as reduplication, compounding and inflection.

The discourse particles described at the end part here (See § 3.9) tend to have more pragmatic force (i.e. attitude and emphasis in discourse) than morphological syntactic and semantic one. These particles, e.g. *kō*, *kəkā*, *cō*, *də*, *šyā*, *cən*, *dε*, *ŋā*, *nə* and *-n* rarely influence the morpho-syntactic constructions. Interestingly, most of these discourse particles occur at the phrase or sentence final position and are rarely reduplicated or compounded in them. They 'nuance' the lexical and emotional import of clauses.

Chapter 4 has concentrated on the description of the rudiments of Kirānti-Kōits syntax. The language as one of the Tibeto-Burman members shares very similar syntactic features of the sub-family (See also Ch 4 footnote 53). Its normal word order as in other T-B members in a sentence is SOV – subject, object, predicate, e.g. *go k^həme dzāi-nu-ŋ* (I rice eat) 'I eat rice'. We have illustrated NP, VP, ADJPH and ADVPH at its basic phrase structure level. At the NP level, Kirānti-Kōits is a head final language such *rimšo mur* 'a good person'.

At the sentence level, we have divided the Kirānti-Kōits sentences mainly in two major parts, viz., simple and complex. However, some minor types of sentences are also

dealt in the last part of this description. In simple sentences, we have illustrated possible word order, interrogative, copula, ergativity, comparative/superlative and nominalized sentences (See § 4.3.1.1). Ergativity (See § 4.3.1.1.4 and cf. also Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5 examples (109) c-d, (116) e) as morpho-syntactic process has been dealt in a considerable detail. Based on copious illustrations we came to a *prima facie* conclusion that Kirānti-Kōits exhibits split ergative marking (cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1 onwards) on the 3rd person noun or demonstrative pronoun for which DeLancey (1981) has termed as ‘empathy hierarchy and aspectual split pattern’.

Complex sentences in Kirānti-Kōits like in other Kiranti languages according to Ebert (1994: 112), can be classified into two basic types of clause combining systems based on the degree of reduction, viz., (i) maximally reduced clauses: the verb is non-finite, i.e. it carries no finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted (even in case of non-identity, and (ii) minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses: the verb in the non-reduced clause is finite, i.e. it could stand in an independent sentence (See § 4.3.1.2). In such Kirānti-Kōits clauses, the verb is marked for person and number or unlike K-Ath, Kirānti-Kōits marks TAM as well.

Such clauses based on reduction are divided into Non-finite and Finite clauses (See § 4.3.1.2.1 and § 4.3.1.2.2) further. Under Non-finite, there are infinitive, purposive converb, negative and participial clauses syntactically organized in the language. While Finite clause includes: nominalized, adnominal/relative, temporal, complement, sequence, adverbial/manner/ *-pā*, conditional, concessive, quote, reason/causal and correlative. Some other minor sentences (See § 4.3.2) also have been accounted to unfold the syntactic structures of Kirānti-Kōits in particular and in a wider perspective of T-B syntax in general comparatively.

In the last chapter (i.e. Ch 5), we have discussed the socio-linguistic aspects of Kirānti-Kōits by analyzing respondents’ response on a set of questionnaires based mainly on socio-linguistic patterns stated in the beginning of this chapter and in Ch 1 § 1.9 as well. We have stated and discussed several factors responsible for language endangerment and language death in the case of Nepal. It is not, only the native speakers’

loyalty, linguistic identity and the availability of basic linguistic materials (See § 5.5.2) that really matters survival of any minority languages in a linguistic geography but also the State policies and legal provisions (See Tyagi (2003) for positive appraisal of legal provisions and Gupta and Abbi (1995) for a critical understanding of legal provisions and effects of the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution) also are equally important for revival and survival of a particular Mother Tongue like Kirānti-Kōits. CBS (2001) census report shows the language retention only by 27% (26, 611) among 95, 245 (0.42% of total population 2, 27, 36, 934) speakers among which 73% is language loss. Its implication is far deeper than we can imagine the hurrying death of the language.

As a whole, the native speakers are positive and hopeful (but unfortunately they are unable to respond 'Yes' for questions regarding linguistic rights asked by Phillipson et al (1995: 22) towards their Mother Tongue irrespective of being bilinguals or even multilingual or losing their Mother Tongue vitality. Nevertheless, what is hopeless is the planning commission's language policy (See § 5.1, Ch 1 § 1.6) and scarcity of Constitutional and legal provisions for these minority and vanishing indigenous (also cf. Ch 1 § 1.6) languages.

This critical condition of Nepal is a matter of great concern for all national and international communities of linguists and other social scientists believing in open and democratic culture. These vanishing peoples' desire for emancipation viz., political, social, economic and linguistic stated within 71 points (See § 5.6) deserves a special mention and attention nationally and internationally to protect their linguistic human rights among others.

Appendix A
Mythological interlinear texts

1. Kirānti-Kōits nu Bāʔyung Yāʔsits

‘Kirānti-Kōits and Bāʔyung Migration’

- 1.1 *BA ʔyungke dikipurkhi Paiwa>Pwai>Pai nu Kōitske dikipurkhi Khinchi Hang nasi.*
 bāʔyung-ke dikipurk^hi pāiwā>pwāi nu kōits-ke dikipurk^hi k^hintsi hāŋ nəsi~nəs
 B -GEN ancestor P>P and K-GEN ancestor K H AUX:2/3DU

‘The ancestor of Kōits and Bāʔyung are Khinchi Hang and Paiwa respectively.’

- 1.2 *Khinchi nu Paiwa ka kikyεke tsatspikya nasi.*
 k^hintsi nu pāiwā kā kikyε-ke tsəts(ə)-pikyə nəsi~nəs
 K and P one grandfather-GEN grandchildren-PL AUX:2/3DU

‘Khinchi and Paiwa are grandchildren of the same grandfather.’

- 1.3 *mekopikya AngAm hushke nams ba ʔb(a).*
 məko-pikyə ān-gā-m huš-ke nəms bāʔ-bə~bāb
 that-PL their:PRO-inside-LOC blood-GEN relatives be:AUX-EXT:3SG

‘They have blood relationship among them.’

- 1.4 *mekopikim prag-neslosits namsitsmer porong gimthepa ba ʔsho ba ʔeme.*
 məko-piki-m prāg-neslosits nāmsits-mer poroŋšo gimthε-pā bāʔ-šo
 s/he-PL-AGT pre-historical time-LOC nomadic living-ADV stay-PR:PCPL
 bāʔ-tεmε~tεm
 AUX-EXT:PST:3PL

‘They had been living a nomadic life in the pre-historical time.’

- 1.5 *mekopiki loli kangAn gepHINGA muru nami.*
 məko-piki lo:li kā-ŋā-n gεp^hi-ŋā muru nə-mi~nə-m
 s/he-PL language:ADJ one-GEN-PAR group-GEN man AUX:3PL

‘They are members of the same linguistic community.’

- 1.6 *mekyenga Kōits lo nu Bāʔyung lo ka lolinga niʔsi phetsnga lo khodeb nasi.*
 məkeyε-ŋā Kōits lo: nu bāʔyung lo: kā lo:-li-ŋā niʔsi p^hets-ŋā lo:
 there-ABL K language and B language one language-LOC two part-GEN language
 k^hodeb nə-si~nə-s
 ADJ:like AUX:2DU

‘Similarly, Kōits and Baʔyung are like two dialects of the same single language.’

1.7 *mekoAs datenga ne ʔhAg'uthAkali Mun(k)dum khisAmi tham tuipAiba.*

meko-ās dāte-ŋā neʔthā-g'ūthā-kəli Mun(k)dum k^hisā-mi thəm
s/he-DU between-GEN near-RED-PAT M legend-LOC true/clear
tui-pā-ibə~ib
know-do:CAUS:3SG

‘The legend of Mundum~Mukdum clarifies the kinship between them.’

1.8 *poroŋšo gim thesimi Paiwa nu Khintsi TimridzonglA Paitip dzaʔAse.*

poroŋšo gim t^hemsi-mi Pāiwā nu K^hintsi timridzoŋ-lā Pəitip dzāʔ-tā-se~s
nomadic life span-ADV P and K T-ABL P arrive-PST-2DU

‘During the nomadic life span Paiwa and Khintsi arrived to Paitip from Timridzong

1.9 *ondeb pashangAmin PaitiplA Dzaujila nu DzaujilalA Khayarpas dzaʔAse.*

ōdeb pə-šā-ŋā-min Pəitip-lā dzəujilā nu dzəujilā-lā K^həyər pās dzāʔ-tā-se~s
thus do-SIM-SEQ-then P-ABL D and D-ABL K arrive-PST-2DU

‘In this way, then both of them arrived to Dzaujila from Paitip and to Khayarpas from Dzaujila.’

1.10 *mekengA Jammu-Kashmirm bAʔAse.*

mekε-ŋā Jammu-Kāshmir-m bāʔ-tā-se~s
there-SRC:LOC J-K-LOC live-PST-2DU

‘From there, they lived in Jammu-Kashmir.’

1.11 *mekerlAi yo Tharmalung-Tharsilung, mekerlA Yarmalung dzaʔAse.*

meker-lā-i yo Thārmālun-Thārsilun meker-lā Yārmālun dzāʔ-tā-se~s
there-ABL-PAR also T-T there-SRC:ABL Y arrive-PST-2DU

‘Also from Jammu-Kashmir, they arrived to Tharmalung-Tharsilung, and from there to Yarmalung.’

1.12 *ekokali Halkabung-Phalehungmi Phalekhrāmmi desib bAʔa.*

eko-kəli həlkəbuŋ-p^hələhuŋmi p^hələkhrāmmi deː:sib bāʔ-tə~t
this-PAT/DAT H-P P say-PAS AUX:EXT-3SG

‘This (Y) was called Halkabung-Phalehungmi Phalekhrāmmi.’

1.13 *eko rAgimi sogen nu masogenke niʔsi lAptso/lhAptso bAʔa.*

ε̃ko rāgi-mi sogen nu māsogen-ke niʔsi lāptso bāʔtə~t
 this country-LOC sin and virtue-GEN two door AUX:EXT-3SG
 ‘In this country, there were two doors of sin and virtue.’

1.14 *masogenke lAptso/lhAptsokali kubtsʔib kyorsshAdzArsha lA roʔne tsAbsib bAʔ.*

māsogen-ke lāptso-kāli kubtsʔib kyors-šā-dāzrs-šā lā roʔ-ne tsāb-sib
 virtue-GEN door-PAT:DAT a/b cut-SIM-sacrifice-SIM only open-INF can-PAS
 bāʔ-tə~t
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The door of virtue could be opened only by sacrificing animals or birds (a/b).’

1.15 *Paiwa nu mekoke loab Dunglewa mithots dumshopatke meko lAptsokali dzArtsA mAlba de tuitat.*

Pāiwā nu meko-ke loāb Duŋlewā mithots dum-šo-pə-tke meko lāptso-kāli dzārts-cā
 P and he-GEN brother D Tantric be-PCPL-do-NML that door-DAT sacrifice-INF
 mālba de tuit-tāt.
 must say:CONV know-PST:3SG

‘Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the door because of being a Tantric.’

1.16 *minu ker kiriwari tsʔib kyorsshA-dzArsshA nelle glumAts rimshopA lAptsoLA langA gluteme.*

minu ker kiriwāri tsʔib kyors-šā-dzārs-šā nelle glumāts
 then black nightingale bird cut-SIM-RED-SIM all family
 rimšo-pā lāptso-lā glū-tēme~tēm
 good-do:ADV door-ABL come out-PST:3PL

‘Then by having sacrificed a black nightingale, all the family members came out of the door of virtue successfully.’

1.17 *kAlenga solum kalekA lA roʔsib masogennga lAptso Paiwa nu Dunglewake glumAts glumeken tsoʔsime bAʔ.*

kāle-ŋā solu-m kāle-kā lā roʔ-sib māsogen-ŋā lāptso Pāiwā nu
 once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and
 Duŋlewā-ke glumāts glu-mēke-n tsoʔ-si-me bāʔ-tə~t
 D-GEN family come.out: INF-PAR close-MV:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The only once opening door of virtue for one time’s sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out.’

1.18 *Khintsike glumAts itsAnole dumshomi lAptso tsoʔsinegen lAptso neʔha dZAʔeme.*

Khintsi-ke glumāts itsā-nole dum-šo-mi lāptso tso?-si-nε-gen lāptso nε?t^hā
 K-GEN family a.little-after become-PR:PCPL-AGT door close-MV-NML-soon door near
 dzā?-tε-mε~m
 arrive-PST:3SG
 ‘Immediately after the closing of the door, Khintsi’s family members arrived there.’

1.19 *Khintsi plāpsalā dumnādumna Paiwakali hillo paptu, “e... dāgyu! gopikya dopa pitsa shyan?”*

K^hintsi plāpsalā dum-nā-dum-nə Pāiwā-kəli hillo-pāp-tu, “e...
 K helpless be-PROG-RED-PROG P-GEN ask-do-PST:3SG “hello
 dāgyu! go-pikyə dopā pi-cā šyā?”
 brother! I-PL how come-INF PAR

‘Khintsi asked Paiwa being helpless, “Hello brother! How shall we come?”’

1.20 *dāgyu Paiwami demebāʔ, “bu?A lo?A tsartongo ekeng ghluti”.*

dāgyu Pāiwā-mi dε~:-mε-bā?-t, “bu?-ā lo?-ā
 elder.brother P-AGT say-INF-AUX:EXT-3SG bird-GEN animal-GEN
 tsār-to-ŋo εkε-ŋ glu-ti”
 cut-SIM-TEMP here-PAR come.out-1PST

‘The elder brother Paiwa said, “I came out here by sacrificing birds and animals

1.21 *shyeng/tarnā Khintsim “lo?bA tsartongo ekeng ghluti” lA nena bAʔa.*

šyεŋ/tərnā K^hintsi-m “lo?b-ā tsār-to-ŋo εkε-ŋ g^hlu-ti”
 but K-AGT “younger.brother-GEN cut-SIM-TEMP here-PAR came.out-PSI
 lā nε-nā bā?-tə~t
 only hear-NML:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘But Khintsi heard, “lo?ba tsartongo ekeng g^hluti” (I came out here having sacrificed my younger brother) only.’

1.22 *minu mekoke pAnmi yo Am loabke solu geshA langga glume bAʔ.*

minu meko-ke pā-mi yo ām loəb-ke solu gε-šā
 then s/he-GEN turn-LOC also own younger.brother-GEN sacrifice give-SIM
 ləŋgā glu-mε bā?-tə~t
 outside come.out AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Then in his turn, he also came out having sacrificed his own younger brother.’

1.23 *langga glumenu da memi dāgyu Paiwake loab Dunglewa kathkan tabtu.*

langgā glu-mε-nu də mε-mi dāgyu Pāiwā-ke loəb Dunglewā
 outside come.out-NPST-TEMP PAR he-AGT e/b P-GEN y/b D
 kāth-kā-n tā-btu

together-one-PAR see-PST: 3SG

‘While coming out, he saw Paiwa’s (e/b ‘elder brother’) brother (y/b ‘younger brother’) Dunglewa together.’

- 1.24 *mekyenga me gaishngAmin ubnaubna hillo pAaptu, “mame e... dAgyu! inke da loab selan bAʔ shyAN? Ankali marde kyorssHA-dzArs-shA piu densho?”*

mekyε-ŋā me	gāiš-ŋā-min	ubnəubnə hillo-pā-ptu,	“məme ε...dāgyu!
there-ABL s/he	anger-SEQ-then	mutter ask-do-PST:3SG	INTJ hey...e/b
in-kε də	loəb selə-n	bāʔ-tə-t	šyā?
your-GEN PAR	y/b along.with-PAR	AUX:EXT-3SG	INTJ:PAR
ā-kəli mərde	kyors-šā-dzārs-šā	piu-o	dε̃:-šo?”
I-DAT why	cut-SIM-RED-SIM	come-IMP	say-PR:PCPL

‘Then furiously asked, “Hey elder brother (e/b)! You have your younger brother (y/b) with you. Why did you ask my younger brother to sacrifice?”

- 1.25 *Paiwami yo tsu:tsupanpan denta, “hatteri! gom gena loab kyorsshAdzArssHA piu densho nanga nGA? ts’ibrub kyorssHA-dzArssHA piu kaka densho nang shyAN”.*

Pāiwā-mi yo	tsu:tsu-pə-nā-pə-n	dε̃:-tə-t, hatteri!	go-m genā loəb
P-AGT also	regret-do-PROG-RED-PROG	say-PST:3SG	INTJ I-ERG when y/b
kyors-šā-dzārs-šā	piu-o	dε̃:-šo	nəŋā~nəŋ
cut. SIM -RED-SIM	come-IMP	say-PR:PCPL	AUX:1SG
ŋā? ts’ibrub	kyors-šā-dzārs-šā	piu-o	kəkā dε̃:-šo
Q:PAR bird/animal	cut.CONV-RED-SIM	come-IMP	PAR say-PCPL
nəŋ	šyā		
AUX:1SG	PAR		

‘Paiwa also expressed regretting, “When did I tell you to come having sacrificed your younger brother (y/b)? I told you to come having sacrificed a bird or an animal.’

- 1.26 *mul Khintsi nu PaiwaAs gamthu madumtek goisAu.*

mul K ^h intsi nu	Pāiwā-ās	gāmthū	mə-dum-tək	goi-sāu
now K and	P-DU	inner.feeling	NEG-become-NML	know-PAS

‘Now, the family ties between Khinchi and Paiwa was in trouble.’

- 1.27 *sisisho thun pashA ga:tikem me niʔsi Sinduli nu Udayapurnga sirwA mer Kamala likh jadittAse.*

sisišo thū	pə-šā	gā:tike-m	mε? niʔsi	Sinduli nu	Udəyəpur	sirwā-mər
cold:ADJ heart	do-SIM	journey-LOC	he two S	and U	boarder-to:DIR	
Kəmälā lik ^h	dzədi-t-tāse~tās					
K rivulet	arrive-PST-3DU					

‘Both of them in their journey arrived to the boarder of the Kamala rivulet cold-heartedly.’

1.28 *mekelai yo mekopikya hamaiham udingge lamteme.*

mekε-lā-i yo meko-pikyə hāmə-i-hām uding-ge lām-tεmε~tεm
 there-ABL-PAR also s/he-PL bank-PAR-bank north-POSTP go-PST:3PL
 ‘From there too they went towards the north through the bank.’

1.29 *deNsdesimin Tawa likh dzaʔ.*

dε̃:s-dε̃:-si-mi-n Tāwā lik^h dzāʔ-tə~t
 say-RED-NML-LOC-PAR T rivulet come-PST:3SG

‘Quarreling in the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet.’

1.30 *Tawakelanpa Sinduli nu Udayapur sirwam baʔ Kakaru likhmi dzadittase.*

Tāwā-ke-lā-pā Sinduli nu Udayapur sirwā-m bāʔ-b Kəkəru lik^h-mi
 T-GEN-path-ADV S and U boarder-LOC live-NML:3SG K rivulet-LOC
 dzədīt-tāse-tās
 reach-PST:3DU

‘They reached to the Kakaru rivulet via the way of Tawa located on the boarder of Sinduli and Udayapur.’

1.31 *Kakaru sho ʔsha Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) gluteme.*

Kəkəru šoʔ-šā ŋākumā (N Sunkosi) glu-tεmε~tεm
 K cross-SIM N appear-PST:3PL

‘Having crossed Kakaru, they appeared in the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi).

1.32 *gyoŝo ga ʔsim dasho sendam Paiwaim denta, “lo mul Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) sho ʔsha themruge lai”.*

gyoŝo gāʔsi-m dāŝo sẽ:dā-m Pāiwāi-m dε̃:-tə, “lo mul ŋākumā
 ADJ:long walk-LOC ADJ:tired sound-LOC P-AGT say-PST:3SG, “let now N
 šoʔ-šā themru-ge lə-yi”.
 cross-SIM hill-POSTP go-3INCL

‘After a long journey Paiwa said in a tired voice, “Now let us cross the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) and go towards the hill.’

1.33 *Khintsim mulngamere dagyuke lo: madzAib dumta.*

K^hintsi-m mul-ŋā-mere dāgyu-ke lo: mə-dzā-i-b
 K-AGT now-POSS-from elder.brother-GEN language NEG-eat-NPST:3SG-NML
 dum-tə~t
 become-PST:3SG

‘From now on Khinchi became disobedient to his elder brother’s advice.’

- 1.34 *Paiwa nu mekoke glumats Dudkosi nu Ngakuma lipu ne ?thanga Tokselgatla so ?sam.*
 Pāiwā nu mekoke glumats Dudkosi nu ŋakumā lipu ne?thā-ŋā Tokselgāt-lā
 P and s/he-GEN family D and N estuary near-LOC:POSS T-ABL
 so?-sāme~sām
 cross-PST:3PL

‘Paiwa and his family members crossed Tokselgat near the Dudkosi river and Ngakuma estuary.’

- 1.35 *meko mum p’asher ?wakya wa ?sho pala khu:sha likh so ?sitsa malba ba ?shyan.*
 meko mu-m p’āšer ?wākyə-m wā?-šo pələ k^hu:-šā lik^h
 that time-LOC dense jungle-LOC grow-PCPL bamboo pull.down-SIM rivulet
 so?-si-cā mālbə bā?-t šyā
 cross-MV-INF must/is.necessary AUX:EXT-PST PAR

‘The rivulet should be crossed having pulled down the bamboos since there was a dense jungle that time.’

- 1.36 *gat so ?sha Paiwa Molong likhke punge lanpa Ketuke merla Moblo dzadissau.*
 gāt so?-šā Pāiwā Molong lik^h-ke pū-ge lā-pā Ketuke mer-lā
 gat cross-SIM P M rivulet bank-POSTP way-ADV K there:LOC-ABL
 Moblo (N Andheri) dzādis-sāu
 M reach:3SG-PAS

‘Having crossed the gat Paiwa reached to Moblo (N Andheri) via the bank of Molong rivulet from Ketuke.’

- 1.37 *me?meken ?wakya kyorsša khinru selpa ba ?.*
 me? mekε-n ?wākyə kyors-šā k^hiru sel-pā
 s/he there-PAR jungle deforest-SIM house.farm make-do:SIM
 bā?-tə~t
 be/live-PST:3SG

‘He settled there having deforested the jungle.’

- 1.38 *Paiwa moit unku ekore dzashom eko ragike ne Am lo:m Payaru (Pai+A+ru) daine-dumta.*
 Pāiwā moit unku eke-ke dzā-šo-m e~ko rāgi-ke ne
 P first/before time here-PAR come-PCPL-AGT this country-GEN name
 ām lo:-m Pāyāru (Pāi+ā+ru) dāine-dum-tə~t
 own language-LOC P okay-become-PST:3SG

‘The loconym (or toponym ‘name of the place’) remained Payaru in his mother tongue when Paiwa came here for the first time.’

1.39 *Khintsitsan Ngakumake perA gadgepa mulnga Okhaldhunga nu Ramechhappa Likhu nu Khimtige kainsAu.*

K^hintsi-tson ŋākumā-ke perā gad-ke-pā mul-ŋā Okhaldhungā nu Rāmechhāp-pā
 K-PAR N-GEN right bank-GEN- SIM today-GEN O and R-SIM
 Likhu¹ nu Khimti-ge kã-sāu
 L/rivulet and K-POSTP follow route-PAS

‘Khintsi journeyed from the right bank of the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) towards Likhu and Khimti via today’s Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap.’

1.40 *meko mumi Ramechhap nu Sindulikali Okhaldhungamin boinsisho baŋa.*

meko mu-mi Rāmechhāp nu Sinduli-kāli Okhaldhungā-mi-n boĩ-si-šo
 that time R and S-PAT O-LOC-PAR annex-MV-PR:PCPL
 bā?-tə~t
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘At that time Ramechhap and Sindhuli were annexed to Okhaldhunga.’

1.41 *Khintsim nellekengA moiti k^hinru shyelsho rAgyakali mulAt-sinat Khitsi > Khiji densib.*

K^hintsi-m nelle-ke-ŋā moiti k^hĩ-ru šyel-šo rāgyā-kāli mulāt-
 K-AGT all-GEN-LOC first house-land make-PR:PCPL country-PAT today-
 sināt K^hĩtsi>K^hiji de~:-si-bə~b
 yesterday K>K^hiji say-MV-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The country Khintsi for the first time settled is known as Khĩtsi>Khiji² nowadays.’

1.42 *shyeng/tarna ‘Khiji’ durda Khitsi (Khĩ+tsi)la blimsisha dumsisho me.*

šyeng/tarnā ‘Khiji’ durdā K^hĩtsi (K^hĩ+tsi)-lā blim-si-šā dum-si-šo
 but K word K-ABL change-MV-SIM become-MV-PR:PCPL
 me`
 AUX:is

‘But the word ‘Khiji’ is developed through the change from Khĩtsi.

¹ The word Likhu >Likh (means ‘River/rivulet’ in Kirānti-Kõits) is of Tibeto-Burman origin (cf. Malla 1981:12) and at present is Nepalified (i.e. Indo-Aryanized or Indicized) as a hydronym and the speakers tend to speak Likhu Khola (N *K^hola*) means ‘Rivulet Rivulet’ twice.

² The loconym *Khiji* is a Nepalified one; whereas *K^hĩtsi* (Kirānti-Kõits) is an indigenous vocabulary meaning ‘on the side of the house.’

- 1.43 *Payaru khodeb KhĩtsingA Am lo:like neslonamsi dumser bAʔba.*

Pāyāru k^hōdeb K^hĩtsi-ŋā ām lo:li-ke neslonāmsi dumser bāʔ-bə
P like K-GEN own language:ADJ-GEN historical importance AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Like Payaru Khĩtsi has its own historical importance.’

- 1.44 *Khĩtsi nu mekoA tsasimasi Ngakuma mamenan Sunkosi gadge lasho mere Sunuwar>Sunwar maisisho nami.*

K^hĩtsi nu meko-ā tsāsīmāsī ŋākumā māmēnən Sunkosi gəd-ge lə-šo mēre
K and s/he-GEN family N or/if not so S bank-POSTP go-PR:PCPL after
Sunuwār>Sunwār mēi-si-šo nēmi~nəm
S>Sunwar name/call-MV-PR:PCPL AUX:3PL

‘Khĩtsi and his family are named Sunuwar>Sunwar after going towards the bank of the Ngakuma or Sunkosi (N).’

- 1.45 *Paiwa nu Dunglewa Moblo kimge bAʔshonganaiyo eko kimgeke gyu nu hubsi khane matsApthu loab Dunglewa dimru toissad.*

Pāiwā nu Duŋlēwā Moblo kim-ge bāʔ-šo-ŋənāiyo ɛ̃ko
P and D M region-POSTP live-PR:PCPL-although this
kim-ge-ke gyū~dzu nu hubsi k^hə-nē mə-cāp-thu loəb duŋlēwā dimru
region-POSTP-GEN cold and moist resist-INF NEG-can-CONV y/b D Terai
tois-səd
get.down-PST:3SG

‘Although Paiwa and Dunglewa lived in the Moblo (N Anderi-Narayansthan) region, the younger brother Dunglewa migrated to the Terai because of unresistable chill and moisture.’

- 1.46 *nganaiyo me:mi meken khinru khloptAu.*

ŋənāiyo mɛ:-mi məkɛ-n k^hĩ-ru k^hlop-tāu
however s/he-AGT there-PAR house-land settle-PST:3SG

‘However, he (Paiwa) settled there (at Moblo).’

- 1.47 *nole lasha tholongngA kimmi khinrupA bAʔb Dunglewapikya Danwar densisAm.*

nolɛ lə-šā tholonḡā kim-mi k^hĩ-ru-pā bāʔ-b Duŋlēwā-pikyə
after go-SIM inner Terai region-LOC house-land live:NML D-PL
Dānwār dẽ:-si-sām
D say/call-MV-1PL

‘The Dunglewas became Danwar³ after many years settling in the Dun/Inner Terai region.’

1.48 *mulaiyo mekopikya Anke mulkem Ba?yungpikyanu gArba.*

mul-əiyo meko-pikyə ān-ke mulkem bā?yuŋ-pikyə-nu gār-bə~b
now-still.also s/he-PL their-GEN culture B-PL-ASSO resemble-AUX:EXT:3SG

‘Till today their (Dunglewas’) culture resembles to the Bā?yungs.’

1.49 *Paiwake tsan tau-tsatspikim Samriwa, Nayanggo, Waripsawa, Timriwa, Dhimriwa, Dhyanggo nu Khaluwa nambaʔ.*

Pāiwākε tsəni təu-tsəts-piki-m Sāmriwā, Nāyəŋgo, Wāripsəwā, Timriwā, Dhimriwā,
P-GEN seven son-grandson-PL-LOC S N W T D
Dhāyəŋgo nu K^hāluwā nəm(i) bā?-tə~t
D and K AUX:PL AUX:EXT:3PL

‘The seven sons of Paiwa were Samriwa, Nayanggo, Waripsawa, Timriwa, Dhimriwa, Dhyanggo and Khaluwa.’

1.50 *mepikiyo gyu khane matsApthu Rumjatar yAsisha baʔem.*

mε-piki-yo gyu/dzu k^hə-ne mə-cāp-thu Rumjətār yā-si-šā
s/he-PL-also cold resist-INF NEG-can-CONV R move-MV-SIM
bā?-təmε~təm
be/live- PST:3PL

‘They also could not resist the coldness and lived having moved to Rumjatar.’

1.51 *Rumjatar m khinru selsha baʔpikim mu glesha lamenu dzAtsa mAlsim shyets'ib panpan e:ronthha hirtstsA gomtem.*

Rumdzətār-m k^hī-ru sel-šā bā?-b-piki-m mu dil-šā
R-LOC house-land make-SIM be/live-NML-PL-AGT time pass-SIM
lə-mε-nu dzə-cā māl-si-m šyε-ts'ib pə-n-pə-n
go-NPST-TEMP eat-INF search-NML-LOC meat/bird do-PROG-RED-PROG
ε:r-ōtt^hə hirts-cā gom-təmε~təm
thither and hither roam-INF start-PST:3PL

‘Those who dwelled in Rumjatar started roaming hither and thither hunting in search of food when time passed on.’

1.52 *kAbnAt shyetsib panpan lashonu Tsisankhu (Kuibir, Serna, Diyale nu Pokharenga sirwa) dzAdimmABAʔ.*

³ The Danwar(s) today do not speak the Kirānti-Bā?yung/Bahing language, one of the languages affiliated to the Tibeto-Burman family but speak one of the Indo-Aryan languages known as Danuwar.

kāb-nāt šyε-tsib pə-n-pə-n lə-šo-nu Tsisənkhu (Kuibir, Sernā,
 one/once-day meat-bird do-PROG-RED-PROG go-PR:PCPL-TEMP Ts (K, S,
 Diyālē nu Pok^hərə-ŋā sirwā) dzə-dimmā-bā?-tə~t
 D and P-GEN border) reach-PST:3PL-AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Once upon a time, they reached to Tsisankhu (boarder of Kuibir, Serna, Diyale and Pokhare) while hunting.’

1.53 *mekei wek yo shasthem bAm kon densha khading pamebaʔ.*

məkε-i wək yo šast^hem bā-m kō dε~šā k^hādiŋ pā-mε
 there-PAR other also living.place AUX:is PAR say-SIM doubt do-AUX:3PL
 -bā?-tə~t
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘They suspected whether there were other settlements too.’

1.54 *malnAmAlna lashonu thamthama bumker thinsAu.*

māl-nā-māl-nə lə-šo-nu t^həm-t^həmā bumkεr thī-sāu
 search-PROG-RED-PROG go-PR:PCPL-TEMP true-RED tunnel find-PAS

‘While searching a tunnel was found in a true sense.’

1.55 *meʔpikim nepAinsi gemtem, “gepikya tela dzʔAšo nani? langga glungen”.*

mεʔ-piki-m nepāisi gε-mtεm, “gε-pikyə tε-lā dzāʔ-šo
 s/he-PL-AGT order give-PST:3PL you-PL where-ABL come-PR:PCPL
 nə-ni? ləŋgā glu-ŋεn”
 AUX:3PL outside appear-NPST:3PL

‘They ordered, “Where did you come from? Come out”.

1.56 *shyeng/tarna bumkerGAbAʔikepikyake hʔintsAm giwat dzAm.*

šyεng/tərnā bumkεr-gā-bāʔ-tikε-pikyə-kε h ʔitsā-m giwət dzām-tə~t
 but tunnel-inside-live-NML-PL-GEN fear-INST soul lose-PST:3SG

‘But they (who lived inside the tunnel) lost their consciousness because of fear.’

1.57 *Paiwa A taupikim, “ekopikya thamAn in ribbits dumtsA mAlb” deNshA mimsithuN pAmtem.*

Pāiwā-ā təu-piki-m, “εko-pikyə t^həmā-n ʔi ribbits/kyāki dum-cā mālB”
 P-GEN son-PL-AGT this-PL true-PAR our enemy be-INF must
 dε~šā mimsithū pām-tεmε~tεm
 say-SIM guess do-PST:3PL

‘Paiwa’s sons guessed having said, “Certailny they must be our enemy.’

1.58 *minu bumker-gāmi omokolšo blemšyi ne žA m' i muite(thA)me bA ž.*

minu bumker-gā-mi omo-kolšo blemšyi ne?-šā m' i mui-ttε(thā)me
 then tunnel-inside-LOC MOD-big log insert-SIM fire blow-PST:3PL
 bā?-tə~t
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Then they blew up the fire having inserted a big log inside the tunnel.’

1.59 *ga žngA nelle murpiki pulu dummat.*

gā?-rjā nelle muru-piki pulu dum-mātə~t
 inside-LOC:POSS all man-PL ash become-PST:3PL
 ‘All the people inside turned into ashes.’

1.60 *mekonole mekopiki gersili panpan khī lemma bA ž.*

meko-nolε meko-piki gersili pə-n-pə-n k^hī lε-mmā-
 that-after s/he-PL happiness do-PROG-RED-PROG house return-PST:3PL
 bā?-tə~t
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘After that they returned home being happy.’

1.61 *phapindo dumnegen bumker-gāmi sAissisho m' ismur nu AlbleptspikyaAnke wainsh
 appho nu ngAwa-loab žwAkyala mekye kyAdalumi dzAtem.*

p^həpindo dum-nε-gε-n bumker-gā-m sāis-si-šo
 accident be-NML-in.no.time-PAR tunnel-inside-LOC kill-MV-PR:PCPL
 m' išyεmur nu ālblepts-pikyə-ān-ke wāis, āpp^ho nu ngāwə-loəb
 woman and child-PL-their-GEN husband father and e/b-y/b
 žwākyə-lā mekyə kyādalu-mi dzā-tεmε~tεm
 jungle-ABL there spot-LOC arrive-PST:3PL

‘Immediately after the accident occurred, husbands and brothers (e/b, y/b) of the tunnel victims arrived on the spot.’

1.62 *mekopiki yo umtsA/dzatekdzat mAltekem glu:sho bA žtem.*

meko-piki yo um-cā/dzə-tεk-dzə-t māl-tεkε-m glu:-šo
 s/he-PL also feed-INF/eat-NML-eat-NML search-NML-DAT exit-PR:PCPL
 bā?-tεmε~tεm
 AUX:EXT-3PL

‘They also had been out for searching the food.’

1.63 *am shasthem nu Ammurpikya pulum phAinsisho tasha oktoto dumtem.*

ām šəst^hεm nu ām-mur-pikyə pulu-m p^hāi-si-šo tə-šā

own living-place and own-man-PL ash-LOC change-MV-PR:PCPL see-SIM
 oktoto dum-tɛmɛ~tɛm
 dumbstruck become-PST:3PL

‘They were dumbfounded having seen their living place and relatives turned into ashes.’

1.64 *enko beb Kirāntipikya Handi nam bAteme densha thama dApsib.*

ɛˈko bɛ-b(ə) Kirānti-pikyə Hāndi nəm bā-tɛmɛ dɛn-šā thəmā
 this die-3SG K-PL H AUX:3PL be/sit-PST:3PL say-SIM true/belief
 dāp-sib
 believe-PAS

‘It is believed that those dying Kirāntis were Handis.’

1.65 *minu Handi Khamtsake tsasimasipikya mulai yo banim densib.*

minu Hāndi Khamtsā-ke tsəsiməsi-pikyə mulai yo bā-nim dɛː-sib
 then H K-GEN generation-PL now:still also be/sit-3PLsay- PAS

‘It is said that Handi Khamtsa’s generations still exist then.’

1.66 *shisplapam b’isho Handipikim shisplapke thamalo tuitstsAkali Ponibo wAittem.*

šisplāpə-m b’i-šo Hāndi-piki-m šisplāpə-ke thəmālo tuits-cā-kəli
 ruin-LOC full-PR:PCPL H-PL-AGT ruin-GEN truth/fact find out-INF-PAT
 Poībo wāi-ttɛmɛ~tɛm
 shaman keep-PST:3PL

‘The ruined Handis consulted a shaman to find out the cause of devastation.’

1.67 *Ponibom meko saissishoke galo: tuinsemere ribbits/kyaki s’imtsAkali thulimtoktso papAittem.*

Pōibo-m meko sāis-si-šo-ke gālo: tuĩ-se-mɛrɛ ribbits/kyāki
 shaman-AGT that kill-MV-PR:PCPL secrecy find out-PR-after enemy
 s’im-cā-kəli thulimtok-tso pə-pāit-tɛm
 destroy-INF-PAT exorcise-INF do/order-CAUS:PST:3PL

‘When they found out the secrecy of their destruction, they permitted the shaman to exorcise those enemies for destroying them.’

1.68 *Ponibomi yo dokhɛpikim ploinsha lasho dimlabonge nu wapiki dasithamalola pa thulimtokyopaptu.*

Pōibo-mi yo dok^hɛ-piki-m ploĩ-šā lə-šo dimlabōge nu
 shaman-AGT also guilty-PL-AGT leave-SIM go-SIMfootprint and
 wā-piki dəsithəmālo-lā pā thulimtokyopā-ptu
 cloth-PL evidence-ABL do:CONV exorcise-do-PST:3SG

‘The shaman also exorcised those guilty on the evidence of their footprint and clothes they left.’

- 1.69 *phunbike milu nu liphe guyum kurssha shyilpanpan lessho Paiwake taupiki TsarkhungA therthere phullum susansam shyilpamtem.*

p^hūbi-kε milu nu lip^hε guyu-m kurs-šā šyil-pə-n-pə-n
yak-GEN tail and stick hand-LOC carry-SIM dance-do-PROG-RED-PROG
les-šo tail Pāiwā-kε təu-piki Tsārk^hu-ngā therthere p^hullu-m
return-PR:PCPL tail P-GEN son-PL Ts-LOC:POSS adj.tsəpleti stone-LOC
susə-n-səm šyilpā-mtεmε~tεm
much-PAR-till dance-do:CONV-PST:3PL
‘The dancing sons of Paiwa returned with yak’s tail and stick in their hands: danced for a long hours on the Chapleti stone at Charkhu.’

- 1.70 *ngawa Waripsawam shyilpasho kyadalumin phunbitsan/buli nu liphe plonishopatikem meko mAltsakali ni?si loab lessabaʔ.*

ngāwə Wāripsəwā-m šyil-pə-šo kyādəlu-mi-n p^hūbitsā nu
e/b W-AGT dance-do-PR:PCPL spot-LOC-PAR yak’s tail and
lip^hε plōi-šo-pə-tike-m meko māl-cā-kəli ni?si loəb
small.stick leave-PR:PCPL-do-NML-AGT that search-INF-PAT two y/b
les-sā-bā?-tə~t
return-DU:PST-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The two younger brothers (y/b) went back to the dancing spot in order to find out the yak’s tail and the stick because the elder brother (e/b) Waripsawa had left them there.’

- 1.71 *mekopikim ploinsho buli nu liphe da ʔwakyaponibom kaka lada baʔ.*

meko-piki-m ploī-šo buli nu lip^hε də ʔwākyəpōibo-m
s/he-PL-AGT leave-PR:PCPL yak’s tail and small.stick PAR jungle.shaman-AGT
kəkā lə-dā-bā?-tə~t
PAR take.away-PST-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The ʔwakyapōibo (*N Banjhankri* ‘jungle-shaman or a supernatural creature’) had taken away their yak’s tail and stick which they had left over there.’

- 1.72 *ʔwakyaponimi horsho sendam, “pion Waripsawa! pion Timriwa!” kumsho panpan shyilpatsA gow:15.1ʔ.*

ʔwākyəpōibo-mi horšo sēdā-m, “pi-o-n Wāripsəwā! pi-o-n Timriwā!”
jungle.shaman-AGT trouble:ADJ sound-LOC “come-3IMP-PAR W come-3IMP-PAR T
kumso-pə-n-pə-n šyil-pə-cā go-wā-bā?-tə~t
song-do-PROG-RED-PROG dance-do-INF start-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The supernatural creature in his troubled voice started dancing by singing, “Come Waripsawa! Come Dhimriwa!”

1.73 *Waripsawa ngAwa loabaio ?wAkyaponibnun basharisaissha shyilpatsA go ?omeba ?.*

Wāripsəwā nāwə loəbə-i-yo ?wākyəpōibo-nu-n bəšāri-sāis-šā
 W e/b y/b-PAR-also jungle.shaman-ASSO-PAR pleasing-kill-SIM
 šyil-pə-cā go?-mε-bā?-tə~t
 dance-do-INF start-PST-AUX:-3SG

‘The Waripsawa brothers also started dancing pleasingly with the supernatural creature.’

1.74 *mekopikya kengA ?wAkyapoibo sotits dumshom mekopikya Ankali buli nu liphe usurupA gui blane matsabem.*

meko-pikyə kε-ŋā ?wākyəpōibo sotits dum-šo-m meko-pikyə
 s/he-PL among-GEN jungle.shaman powerful become-PR:PCPL -AGT s/he-PL
 ān-kəli buli nu lip^hε usuru-pā gui blə-nε mə-tsə-bemε~bem
 their-PAT yak’s tail and stick easy-do:CONV hand take-NML NEG-can-PST:3PL

‘They were unable to take back the yak’s tail and stick easily because the supernatural creature was more powerful among them.’

1.75 *shyilpatik taNpanpan wAitem.*

šyil-pə-tik tā pə-n-pə-n wāit-tεmε~tεm
 dance-do-NML turn/sequence do-PROG-RED-PROG keep-PST:3PL

‘They kept on dancing in turn.’

1.76 *?wAkyaponibom shyilpanpan ε:ronthə lessho tAlAm sumsha buli nu liphe gui blasha plonitAs.*

?wākyə-pōibo-m šyil-pə-n-pə-n ε:rōthə lεs-šo tālām
 jungle-šaman-AGT dance-do-PROG-RED-PROG hither.thither turn-PR:PCPL chance
 sum-šā buli nu lip^hε gui blə-šā plōi-tāse~tās
 cover-SIM yak’s tail and stick hand take-SIM leave-PST: 2DU

‘They were anyhow able to take back the yak’s tail and stick while the supernatural creature went on dancing hither and thither.’

1.77 *?wAkyaponibom am guilA buli nu liphe plonisisho tsunggummi “thaiyA tsipāyu” denshA tsile paptu.*

?wākyəpōibo-m ām gui-lā buli nu lip^hε plōi-si-šo tsunggum-mi
 jungle.shaman-AGT own hand-ABL yak’s tail and stick leave-MV- PR:PCPL fury-AGT
 “thəiyā tsipāyu” de~:-šā tsile pā-ptu
 “thəiyā tsipāyu” say-SIM curse do-PST:1SG

‘The supernatural creature cursed saying, “t^həiyā tsipāyu” (cursing expression; “Fie on you”) while loosing the yak’s tail and stick from his own hand.’

- 1.78 *glumsho Am patikdzat guim blasha Waripsawa ngAwa-loab gerssha khin lettAse.*
 glum-šo ām pətikdzət gui-m blə-šā Wāripsawā n̄āwə-loəb
 lose-PR:PCPL own material hand-LOC get-SIM W e/y brother
 gers-šā k^hī lət-tāse~tās
 happy-SIM house return- PST: 2DU

‘Both Waripsawa brothers returned home being happy while getting their lost materials (Liphhe and Buli).

- 1.79 *khin dzaʔsa tsishonu khin mo(hō)iti washrelu nu ne ʔha-gu:thā ʔwā/bwā lAʔAse.*
 k^hī dzā?-cā tsi-šo-nu k^hī mo(hō)iti wāšrelu nu
 house arrive-INF dare-PR:PCPL-TEMP house in.front rainbow and
 neʔthā-gu:thā ʔwā/bwā tāʔ-tās~tās
 near-RED fowl see-PST:2DU

‘They saw rainbow and fowl in front of the house at the time of reaching their house.’

- 1.80 *gaisshAmin mu(tsu)r-sisha “suke balAm tsiptso” denaden khertemeBAʔ.*
 gāis-šā-mi-n mu(tsu)r-si-šā “su-ke bālām tsiptso
 angry-SIM-AGT-PAR anger-MV-SIM “who-GEN cursing.expression”
 de-nā-de-n k^her-teme-bāʔ-tə~t
 say-PROG-say-PAR chase-PST:3PL-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘They chased away them angrily saying and cursing, “Suke balam tsiptso”

- 1.81 *thisshosam balma robnArom tsoshAiyo dzaʔme BAʔ.*
 this-šo-səm bəlmā rob-nā-rom tso-šā-i-yo
 find-PR:PCPL-till quantity pluck-PROG-RED burn-SIM-PAR-also
 dzāʔ-me bāʔ-tə~t
 eat-PST:3PL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘They ate also having plucked and burning those fowls whatever its number they could find.

- 1.82 *klelts loab Khaluwa nu mekoke glumats lAʔsha nelle ngAwa-loabpikya pho-phopho kaidameBAʔ.*
 klelts loəb K^hāluwā nu meko-ke glumāts lāʔšā nelle n̄āwə-loəb-pikyə
 youngest brother K and s/he-GEN family except(fig.) all e/b-y/b-PL
 p^hop^ho kāi-dəme-bāʔ-tə~t

INTS die-PST:PL-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Except the youngest brother and his family, all other elder and younger brothers passed away.’

- 1.83 *mArdengana meko wasrelu nu ?wA/bwA Handi Khamtsake ponibom thulimtoktso pasho ?wAlshil bAʔ.*

mārdeŋənə meko wāsrelu nu ?wā/bwā Hāndi K^hāmtsā-ke pōibo-m
 because that rainbow and fowl H K-GEN shaman-AGT
 thulimtoktso-pə-šo ?wālšil bā?-tə~t
 exorcize-do-PR:PCPL ghost/spirit AUX:EXT-3SG

‘It was because the rainbow and fowl were the exorcised ghost/spirits by Handi Khamcha’s shaman.’

- 1.84 *?wAkyaponiboke tsileiyo mekopikyankali bAʔ.*

?wākyəpōibo-ke tsile-i-yo meko-piki-ān-kəli bā?-tə~t
 ‘jungle-shaman-GEN curse-PAR-also s/he-PL-they-PAT AUX:EXT-3SG

‘They had curse of the supernatural creature also upon them.’

- 1.85 *Khaluwa kaitsika dumt.*

K^hāluwā kəitsikā dum-tə~t
 ‘K alone become-PST:3SG

‘Khaluwa became alone.’

- 1.86 *kaitsika Khaluwa Amke mishye Lungtsyarminu Rumjatarla Moblo yASAU.*

kəitsikā K^hāluwā ām-ke m’išyē Lungtsyārmi-nu Rumjətār-lā Moblo yā-sāu
 alone K own-GEN L (wife)-ASSO R-ABL M move-PAS:3SG

‘The lonely Khaluwa moved to Moblo from Rumjatar with his wife Lungtsyarmi.’

- 1.87 *maraihotse nole lasha Khaluwam Rumjatarm m’i blasho tAptu.*

mərəi-thotse-nolē lə-šā K^hāluwā-m Rumjətār-m m’i blə-šo tāp-tu
 some-year-after go-SIM K-AGT R-LOC fire burn-PR:PCPL see-PST:3SG

‘After some years Khaluwa saw the fire burning at Rumjatar.’

- 1.88 *nAdo ni?sisam meko tasta le~šā tAptu.*

nādo ni?si-səm meko təstā lē~šā tāp-tu
 night two-till that scene repeat-SIM see-PST:3SG

‘He saw the same scenery repeated till two nights.’

- 1.89 *Khaluwam thunthunmin Anmin Amkali hillo paptu, “mame, gopikim nelle ribbets/kyaki Ankali nel simsha pisho. Mame meke dopa m’i blame?”*

Khāluwā-m thū-thū-mi-n ā-mi-n ām-kəli hillo
 K-AGT heart/mind-RED-LOC-PAR he-AGT-PAR own-PAT ask
 pāp-tu, “məmə, go-piki-m nelle ribbets/kyāki ān-kəli nel sim-šā
 do-PST:3SG no I-PL-AGT all enemy their-PAT all destroy-SIM
 pi-šo. Tsinu məkə dopā m’i blə-mε’?”
 come-PR:PCPL again there how fire burn-Q

‘Khaluwa thought and asked himself, “Impossible! We came here having killed all our enemies. Again how did the fire burn there?”

- 1.90 *sAn nadoiyo meko tastAn tAisishom handisha, “meko m’iphlaib mur sumeooo?” Khaluwa ontthahAmlA wabletta.*

sā nādo-i-yo meko tāstā tāi-si-šo-m bāndi-šā, “meko m’i
 three night-PAR-also that scene see-MV-PR:PCPL-LOC surprise-SIM that fire
 p^hlāi-b mur su-meooo?” Khāluwā ōtthahām-lā wāblet-tə~t
 make/burn-NML man who-Q K hither.side-ABL shout-PST:3SG

‘While there was the same scene on the third night also, Khaluwa shouted surprisingly from the hither side, “Who is that man burning fire over there?”

- 1.91 *AitstsihAmlaiyo “eko Anke kimmi goipikya s’u naniooo?” densho hillo h’isike gunun nesAu.*

āitstsihām-lā-i-yo “ε̃ko ā-kε kim-mi goi-pikyə s’u naniooo?”
 thither.side-ABL-PAR-also this I-GEN area-LOC you-PL who AUX:2PI
 dẽ-šo hillo-h’isi-kε gunun nẽ-sāu
 say-PR:PCPL ask-RED-GEN noise hear-PAS

‘From thither side also a protesting noise was heard saying, “Who are you in my area here.’

- 1.92 *tsinuyo helsho thebsendAm temtu, “enko Anke ‘pAimakh’ me’; go Rumdali nang.”*

tsinu-yo hel-šo thebsē̃dā-m tēm-tu, “ε̃ko ā-kε ‘pāimək^h’ me’;
 again/still-also heavy-ADJ big.voice-LOC add-PST:3SG this I-GEN area is:AUX
 go Rumdāli⁴ nə-ŋ”
 1SG R AUX-1SG

‘He still added loudly, “This is my area; I am Rumdali.’

⁴ The third morpheme ‘-li’ (sometimes <-ge>; as in Bahinge also) of 1.92 and elsewhere in this text is also an adjectivizer morpheme of the I-A (Indic) Khas>N, is widely used in the word-formation of the Kirānti languages such as *Dilpali*, *Nechali*, *Phangduwali*, *Sun(u)wari*, *Bahinge*, *Chamlinge* etc. which obviously is one of the examples of language shrinkage (Abbi 1992: 39-49) emerged from lanaguage contact and areal pressure.

- 1.93 *'Rumdali' durda sAn phlasišo kulimpikim rau (noun) da (verb root) nu li (traveller) ke nigrumLA selsisho bA.*

'Rumdāli'	durdā sā	p ^h lā-si-šo	kulim-piki-m	rəu (n) dā (v/r)
R	word	three	different-MV-PR:PCPL morpheme-PL-LOC	r d
nu li (traveller)	-kε	nigrum-lā	səl-si-šo	bā
and I	-POSS	compound-ABL	make-MV-PR:PCPL	AUX/EXT:is

'The word 'Rumdali' is made up of three different compounded morphemes where 'rau' is a noun (n), 'da' verb root (v/r) and 'li' means a traveller.'

- 1.94 *mopAd Bāʔyung lo:mi 'rau' densha gab murkalin Rumdali densisho me'; Rumdalimiyo tsautsau moittAu/hoittAu, "gopikya susan moitrenga ekyem bAʔsho naki; gepikya nole dzAb s'u nani eei?"*

mopā-d	Bāʔyung lo:-mi	'rau' de~:-šā	gā-b	mur-kəli-n	Rumdāli
thus-PAR B	language-LOC	r say-SIM	walk-NML	man-PAT-PAR	R
de~si-šo me';	Rumdāli-mi-yo	tsəutsəu moit-tāu/hoit-tāu,	"go-pikyə		
say-MV-PR:PCPL is	R-AGT-also	curiosity express-PST:3SG	I-PL		
susə-n	moit-rε-ŋā	ekyə-m	bāʔ-šo	nə-ki;	gε-pikyə nole
many-PAR	ago-ABL-LOC	here-LOC	be/live-PR:PCPL	AUX-1PL	you-PL
dzā-b	s'u	nə-ni	εεei?"		
come-NML	who	AUX-2PL	PAR		

'Thus the man who goes calling himself 'rau' is Rumdali in the Bahing language. Rumdali also expressed his curiosity saying, "We have been living here for many years; who are you the new comer?"

- 1.95 *itskA musam mekopikyānu khakeng dumt.*

itskā mu-səm	mεko-pikyə-nu	k ^h əkεŋ	dum-tə~t
a little while-till	s/he-PL-ASSO	discussion	become-PST

'They had a discussion for a little while.'

- 1.96 *nimphAren nole lasha he:Nslo ple:tsA glumtik lo: dumt.*

nimp ^h ā-rε-n	nole lə-šā	he ~slo:	plε:-cā glum-tik lo:
both:DU-ABL-PAR	after go-SIM	conclusion	end-INF
dum-tə~t			meet-NML
become-PST			debate

'Both of them decided to meet for concluding their debate.'

- 1.97 *AdishAsuni nimphAN grumumtAse.*

ā-dišā	suni	nimp ^h ā-n	gru-mum-tā-se
his-tomorrow	morning	two:DU-PAR	meet-REC-PST-DU

‘The next morning both of them met each other.’

- 1.98 *Khaluwami Amkali tuipaissha det. “gopikya tsaniwabu naki. gonga laʒsha wek rak ngAu-loabpikya mas soth lamtem. enko ragimi go moiti dzaʒsho nang”.*

Khāluwā-mi ām-kəli tui-pāis-šā de~:-t, “go-pikyə tsəniwā-bu
 K-AGT self-PAT identify-CAUS-SIM say-PST:3SG 1SG-PL seven.brother-PL
 nə-ki. go-ŋā lā?-šā wək rək ngāu-loəb-pikyə məs so-th (fig.)
 AUX-1PL I-GEN cross-SIM other six e/b-y/b-PL pulse sow-PUR
 lām-tem. ɛ~ko rāgi-mi go moiti dzā?-šo nə-ŋ”
 go-PST:3PL this country-LOC 1SG first/before com-PR:PCPL AUX-1SG

‘Khaluwa told introducing himself, “We are seven brothers. Other six brothers passed away except me. I came in this place for the first time.’

- 1.99 *Rumdalike pAniyo nipsAu, “mame, gon ekyanga moit tholots nang”. Lo: dumme dumme lo: da maples.*

Rumdāli-ke pā-i-yo nip-sāu, məmɛ, go-n ɛkyə-ŋā moit tholots
 R-GEN turn-PAR-also roar-PAS NEG:no I-PAR here-GEN first/before settler
 nə-ŋ” lo: dum-mɛ-dum-mɛ lo: də mə-plɛ-s
 am-1SG discuss become-TEMP-RED-TEMP discuss PAR NEG-conclude-3SG

‘In turn Rumdali also roared, “No, I’m the first settler.” They couldn’t conclude even after a long discussion.’

- 1.100 *Rumdali itsA tsilAwala paišom patke tang waišsha den:ta, “kongo Khaluwa, suku k^hinmi sus pulu nu pokhri bAʒb; mekon ekyanga moit dzaʒsha bAʒb tholots de tuisib lo: rub’i?”*

Rumdāli itsā tsilāwəḷā/k^hədits dum-šo-m pə-tike təŋ wāis-šā
 R a.little.bit clever become-PR:PCPL-AGT do-NML condition keep-SIM
 de~:-tə, “ko-ngo! Khaluwā, sukā k^hi-mi sus pulu nu pok^hri
 say-PST:3SG look-IMP:3SG K whose house-LOC ash and pig.dung
 bāʒ-b; meko-n ɛkyə-ŋā moit dzā?-šā
 become-NPST:3SG s/he-PAR here-LOC first/before come-SIM
 bāʒ-b tholots; de-ø tui-sib lo: ru-b’i
 live-NML:3SG settler say-SIM know-PAS talk understand-NPST:3SGQ

‘Since Rumdali was a bit clever, he proposed a condition saying, “Look! Khaluwa, the person will be known as the first settler of this place in whose house there is much more ash and cow-dung; did you understand?’

- 1.101 *nimphAm eko k^hrislo:kali dAits waišsha khin lettase.*

nimph^hā-m ɛ~ko k^hrislo:-kəli dāits wāis-šā k^hi lət-tāse
 both-AGT this agreement-PAT bet keep-SIM house return-PST:2DU

‘Both of them returned home having bet this condition.’

- 1.102 *khadits/tsilAwəLA Rumdalim omomo kolsho blemshyi māshA dA?tu(a).*
 khədits/tsilāwəlā Rumdāli-m omomo kolšo blemšyi māl-šā dā?-tu(ə)
 clever R-AGT RED:INTS ADJ:big log search-SIM light-PST:3SG

‘The clever Rumdali burnt having searched very very big log of wood.’

- 1.103 *pokali sus dzatsA geshA pokhrike dankur teltu.*
 po-kəli sus dzə-cā gɛ-šā pok^hri-kɛ dākur tɛl-tu
 pig-PAT a.lot eat-INF give-SIM pig.dung-GEN heap accumulate-PST:3SG

‘He accumulated a heap of pig-dung having fed a lot of food to the pig.’

- 1.104 *kalA, shokot lopshaiyo pokhlinu ?wAittAu/khAltAu.*
 kəlā, šokot lop-šā-i-yo pok^hri-nu ?wāit-tāu/k^hāltāu
 wild potato boil-SIM-PAR-also pig.dung-ASSO mix-PST:3SG

‘He mixed the wild potato also having boiled with the pig-dung.’

- 1.105 *damkimpatikke nat b'ushA pulu nu pokhri nAshonu Raumin glAt.*
 dəmkipətik-kɛ nāt b'u-šā pulu nu pok^hri n'ā-šo-nu
 competition-GEN day meet-SIM ash and pig.dung weigh-PR:PCPL-TEMP
 Rəu-mi-n glā-tu~tə~t
 R-AGT-PAR win-PST:3SG

‘Having met on the day of competition Rau won the bet when weighed the ash and pig-dung.’

- 1.106 *thampA Khaluwatsan am moitngan tholots dumsho lo:mi beldu:shA bA?.*
 thəm-pā Khāluwā-tsən ām moit-ŋā-n tholots dum-šo lo:-mi
 true-ADV K-PAR own first-GEN-PAR settler become-PR:PCPL talk-LOC
 beldū-šā bā?-tə~t
 confident:CONV AUX:EXT:3SG

‘In fact, Khaluwa was truly confident to be the only first settler.’

- 1.107 *meko “dAitsmi anken pulu nu mol sus dumba” densho lo:mi thamAdapsho bA?.*
 meko “dāits-mi ā-kɛ-n pulu nu tsiduk sus dum-bə” dɛ~:-šo
 s/he bet-LOC I-GEN-PAR ash and fertilizer much become-3SG say-PR:PCPL
 lo:-mi thāmā-dāp-šo bā?-tə~t
 talk-LOC true assume-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He was cocksure that he would have much ash and fertilizer in the bet.’

1.108 *shyeng/tarna mo madum.*

šyɛŋ/tərnā mo mə-dum
but so NEG-become
'But it didn't happen so.'

1.109 *Rauken sus dumta.*

Rau-kɛ-n sus dum-tə~t
rau-GEN-PAR much become-PST:3SG

'Rau's (ash and pig-dung) became much in quantity.'

1.110 *Khaluwamin blusho bisša den:ta, "on shyan goin eko runga moit tholots bAngebaŋ.*

Khāluwā-mi blu-šo bis-šā de~:-tə, "ō šyā goi-n ɛ`ko
K-AGT defeat-PR:PCPL accept-SIM say-PST:3SG oh yeah you-PAR this
ru-ŋā moit tholots bā-ŋɛ-bā?-tə~t
field/place-GEN first/before settler live-NPST:3SG-AUX EXI 3SG

'Khaluwa having accepted his defeat said, "Oh, yes you're the first settler of this place.'

1.111 *tsinu bissilo: waittik pan Khaluwake dzaŋ.*

tsinu bissilo: wāit-tik pā Khāluwā-kɛ dzā?-tə~t
again agreement keep-NML turn K-GEN come-PST:3SG

'Again it was Khaluwa's turn to keep the agreement (of being the first settler)

1.112 *Khaluwami yo bissilo: waišša dent, "kongen Rumdali, suke moiti unikum tau dumba; meko eko ru:ke moit tholots densha tunisib".*

Khāluwā-mi yo bissilo: wāis-šā de~:-t, "ko-ŋɛ-n
K-AGT also agreement keep-SIM say-PST:3SG look-NPST:3PL-PAR
Rumdāli, su-kɛ moiti unku-m təu dum-bā; meko ɛ`ko ru:-kɛ
R who-GEN first time-LOC son become-EXT s/he this field/place-GEN
moit tholots de~:-šā tūi-sib"
first settler say-SIM know-PAS

'Khaluwa also said having kept condition, "Look Rumdali! One who'll have a son for the first time, he'll be known as the first settler of this place.'

1.113 *meko tauke ne Hasalu minu tamike ne Ninamkhumma wainsib.*

meko təu-kɛ ne Həsālu minu tami-kɛ ne Nināmkhummā wāi~-sib
s/he son-GEN name H then daughter-GEN name N keep-PAS

‘The son’s name will be Hasalu then the daughter’s name will be Ninakhumma.’

1.114 *mekyanga meko niʔsi gyunbeno:them p^hlensinis.*

mekyə-ŋā meko niʔsi gyūbeno:the-m p^hlɛ̃-si-nis
there-from/then s/he two marriage.knot-LOC tie-MV-NPST:3DU

‘They two will then be tied into the wedlock.’

1.115 *eN unkungu dAitstsan Khaluwake kAthm p’ita.*

ɛ̃ unku-ŋā dāits-tsən Khāluwā-ke kāth-m p’i-tə̃-t
this time-GEN bet-PAR K-GEN side(fig.)-LOC come-PST:3SG

‘Khaluwa won this time’s bet.’

1.116 *tauke neiyo Hasalu l’ita.*

təu-ke ne-i-yo Həsālu l’i-tə̃-t
son-GEN name-PAR-also H remain-PST:3SG

‘The son’s name also was christened Hasalu.’

1.117 *RumdaliA tami Ninamkhumma dumta.*

Rumdāli-ā tami Nināmkhummā dum-tə̃-t
R-GEN daughter N become-PST:3SG

‘Rumdali’s daughter became (was christened) Ninamkhumma.’

1.118 *Khaluwa Rumjatar phering/kimngA moit tholots ingboʔsi dumta.*

Khāluwā Rumjətār kim-ŋā moit tholots ingboʔsi dum-tə̃-t
K R region-GEN first settler declaration become-PST:3SG

‘Khaluwa was declared the first settler of the Rumjatar region.’

1.119 *nAt yolnAyolnA lame nole kaleka Khuluwake tau shyets’ibpath lamenu Rumdalinu
ʔwakim grumshA bAʔ.*

nāt yol-nā-yol-nā lə-mɛ nolɛ kālɛ-kā Khāluwā-ke təu
day pass-PROG-RED-PROG go-PST after once-one K-GEN son
šyets’ibpəth lə-mɛ-nu Rumdāli-nu ʔwāki-m grum-šā
meat.bird.do.PUR go-NPST-TEMP R-ASSO jungle-LOC meet-SIM:DU
bāʔ-tə̃-t
AUX:EXT-2DU

‘Long after once upon a time, Khaluwa’s son, who had been out for hunting met with Rumdali in the jungle.’

1.120 *Rumdali m hillo pAptu, “goi suke tau naya”?*

Rumdāli-m hillo-pāp-tu, “goi su-ke t̄əu nə-ye”
 R-AGT ask-do-PST:3SG you who-GEN son AUX:EXT-3SG
 ‘Rumdali asked, “Whose son are you?”

1.121 *Hasalum Khaluwake tau dumsho lo: shotu.*

Həsālu-m K^hāluwā-ke dum-šo lo: šo-tu
 H-AGT K-GEN become-PR:PCPL fact(fig.) reveal-PST:3SG

‘Hasalu revealed the fact that he was Khaluwa’s son.’

1.122 *“mothngana anke nu ike APA datem ka sake ba. meko sakebud goimi an taminu gyunbeno:the-m phlensitsA malba”, Rumdalimi Hasalukali thunnupAittu.*

“mothn̄ənā ā-ke nu ike āpā dāte-m kā sāke bā. meko sāke-bud
 so.if I-GEN and your father between-LOC one oath AUX/EXT:is that oath-like
 goi-mi ā t̄əmi-nu gyūbeno:the-m p^hlē:-si-cā mālbē”, Rumdāli-mi
 you-AGT my daughter-ASSO marriage.knot-LOC tie-MV-INF must R-AGT
 Həsālu-kəli thū-nu-pāit-tu
 H-PAT mind-remind-CAUS-PST:3SG

‘Rumdali reminded to Hasalu, “If it is so, there is an oath (promise) between your father and me. According to the promise, you have to be tied into the wedlock with my daughter.”’

1.123 *minu mekokali khin laissha gyunbepasha geptu.*

minu meko-kəli k^hī lāis-šā gyūbe pə-šā gep-tu
 then he-PAT house take-SIM marriage do-SIM give-PST 3SG

‘Then he made him marry (with his daughter) having brought in his house.’

1.124 *sus munsam tau khin lessha madzashopatke Khaluwake thunmi sis o:t.*

sus mū-səm t̄əu k^hī lēs-šā mə-dzā-šo-pə-tk̄ə Khāluwā-ke
 many time-till son house return-SIM NEG-come-PR:PCPL-do-NMI. K-GEN
 thū-mi sis o:-t
 mind-LOC cold enter-PST:3SG

‘Khaluwa was suspicious because of his son’s disappearance for a long time.’

1.125 *Rumdali m moitiyo shyet geshom mulaiyo mon pAptu densha dApt mekom.*

Rumdāli-m moiti yo šyēt ge-šo-m mul-əi yo mo-n pāp-tu
 R-AGT before also trouble give-PR:PCPL now-PAR also so-PAR do-PST:3SG
 dē:-šā dāp-t meko-m
 say-SIM suppose-PST:3SG s/he-AGT

‘He (Khaluwa) supposed that Rumdali troubled him again in the same way as he did before.’

- 1.126 *marai tsem/nuphonole Rumdalimi tami-tsaiwAkali khi soittu~Au*
 mərəi tsem/nup^ho-nole Rumdāli-mi tami-tsəiwā-kəli k^hɪ soitt-tāu
 some week-after R-AGT daughter-son.in.law-PAT house send-PST:3SG

‘After some weeks Rumdali sent his daughter and son-in-law back to home.’

- 1.127 *Hasalumi laptso mi dzaʔsha “epa! epa!” deNaden blettAu.*
 Həsālu-mi lāptso-mi dzāʔ-šā “e-pā! e-pā!” dɛ̃-nā-dɛ̃-n
 H-ACT door-LOC come-SIM hello-father! hello-father! say-PROG-RED-PROG
 blət-tu~āu
 call-PST:3SG

‘Hasalu having come in front of the door called his father, “Hello papa! Hello papa!”

- 1.128 *khusho Khaluwami khalding panapan “goi su naye?” densha khingala hillo paptu.*
“goi ain tau madumthu wek sukai dumtsa malba. Ain taun me ngana bla Apsha
laptsoA gluindo minu go meko blami toʔsha genung. minu mekokali tʔu:shanga min
khinga onisha geu” Khaluwa grit.
 k^huʂo Khāluwā-mi k^hāldiŋ pə-nā-pə-n “goi su nə-ye?” dɛ̃:-šā
 old.man K-AGT doubt do-PROG-RED-PROG 2SG who AUX-3SG say-SIM
 k^hiŋgā-lā hillo pāp-tu. “goi āi təu mə-dum-thu wek sukai
 house.inside-ABL ask do-3PST you our son NEG-become-CONV other someone
 dum-cā mālba. āi təu-n mɛ ŋənā blā āp-šā lāptso-lā
 become-INF must our son-PAR is if:COND arrow shoot-SIM door-ABL
 soitt-to minu go meko blā-mi toʔ-šā gɛ-nu-ŋ. minu
 send-IMP then 1SG that arrow-LOC spit-SIM give-NPST-1SG then
 mekokəli tʔu:-šā-ŋā min k^hiŋgā ōi-šā gɛ-u” Khāluwā
 that-PAT lick-SIM-SEQ then house.inside insert-SIM give-PST K
 gri-tə~t
 shout-PST:3SG

‘The old man doubting asked, “Who are you?” from the house inside. “You must be some other aliens without being my son. If you are our son, shoot an arrow from the door sending it inside and then I shall give you the arrow back having spat on it. Then insert inside the house having licked the arrow”, Khaluwa thundered.’

- 1.129 *Khaluwam mon paptu.*
 K^hāluwā-m mo-n pāp-tu
 K-ACT so-PAR do-PST:3SG

‘Khaluwa did the same.’

1.130 *minu la Khaluwam laptso ro?tu.*

minu lā Khāluwā-m lāptso ro?-tu
 then only K-AGT door open-PST:3SG

‘Then only Khaluwa opened the door.’

1.131 *laptso ro?sha koshonu da thamAn tau-tsaimi dza?ase ba?.*

lāptso ro?-šā ko:-šo-nu də thəmā-n təutsəimi
 door open-SIM look-PR:PCPL-TEMP PAR true-PAR son.daughter-in-law
 dzā?-tāse bā?-tə~t
 come-PST:3DU AUX:EXT-3SG

‘While opening the door, he couldn’t believe his eyes that his son and daughter-in-law had come.’

1.132 *Khaluwake gerssimi sirwa mali.*

Khāluwā-ke gerssi-mi sirwā mə-li
 K-GEN happiness-AGT boundry NEG-remain

‘Khaluwa’s happiness knew no bounds.’

1.133 *Khaluwake Rumdalinu nams bonisishom Khaluwa thungAlen gerssAu.*

Khāluwa-ke Rumdali-nu nāms bōi-si-šo-m Khaluwa
 K-GEN R-ASS relative connect-MV-PR:PCPL-LOC K
 thū-gā-le-n gers-sāu
 mind-inside-ABL-PAR be.happy-PST:PAS:3SG

‘Khaluwa was happy from within his heart since there was familial connection with Rumdali.’

1.134 *Rumdalike le tau batemm ngana Khaluwake Hasalu ka la.*

Rumdāli-ke le təu bā-tem ḡnā Khāluwā-ke Həsālu kā lā
 R-GEN four son be-PL if.so:COND K-GEN H one only

‘Rumdali had four sons; whereas Khaluwa had Hasalu only.’

1.135 *Hasalukeiyo kaAn tauRinamsocha dumtanganA Rinamsochake tsan le taupiki Tolo:cha, Moblocha, Ripocha nu Sesocha dumteme.*

Həsālu-ke-I yo kā lā-n təu Rinamsocha dum-tə
 H-GEN-PAR also one only-PAR son R become-PST:3SG
 ḡnā Rināmsochā-ke tsən le təu-piki Tolo:chā, Moblo:chā, Ripochā nu Səsochā
 if.so:COND R-GEN PAR four son-PL T M R and S
 dum-təme~təm
 become-PST:3PL

‘Hasalu also has had one son Rinamsocha⁵; whereas Ronamsocha had four sons namely Tolocha, Moblocha, Ripocha and Sesocha.’

1.136 *Rumdalike taupiki Thamrocha, Dilingbacha, Hijocha nu Diburichan mulAtngA Rumdalipikya nami.*

Rumdāli-ke təu-piki Thamrochā, Dilingbachā, Hijochā nu Diburichā-n mulāt-ŋā
 R-GEN son-PL T D H and D-PAR today-GEN
 Rumdāli-pikyə nə-mi
 R-PL AUX-3PL

‘Rumdali’s sons Thamrocha, Dilingbacha, Hijocha and Diburicha are today’s Rumdalis.’

1.137 *mekyengA Am mamAlo: BAʔyung lo:n ʔwAnimi.*

mekyɛ-ŋā ām məmā lo: Bāʔyung lo:-n ʔwā-nimi
 there-from:ABL own mother language B language-PAR speak-NPST:3PL

‘Then they speak their own mother tongue Baʔyung.’

1.138 *Tolocha, Moblocha, Ripocha nu Ralichake tsasimasipiki mulAt BAʔyung/Bahing nemi tunisinim.*

Tolochā, Moblochā, Ripochā nu Ralichā-ke tsəsiməsi-piki mulāt
 T M R and R-GEN family- PL today
 Bāʔyung/Bāhiŋ nɛ-mi tūi-si-nimi~nim
 B name-AGT know-MV-NPST:3PL

‘Tolocha, Moblocha, Ripocha and Ralicha’s generations are known with the name Baʔyung/Bahing today.’

1.139 *minu BAʔyung lo:n Amlo: A kosim blAsho baʔem.*

minu Bāʔyung lo:-n ām lo:-ā ko:si-m blā-šo
 then B language-PAR own language-GEN form-LOC adopt-PR:PCPL
 bāʔ-temɛ~tem
 AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Then they adopted their mother tongue as Baʔyung.’

⁵ The spelling of the morpheme ‘-cha’ (also cf. Lee 2005), in all clanonyms as in Baʔyung (is also an infinitive marker in Kirānti-Kōits) has been written according to the conventional Roman-Gorkhali (related to the British Gurkhas’ education system) orthography for the sake of the South Asian readers’ convenience. In accordance with the IPA transcription, linguists for the same morpheme use either /-cā/ or [-cā].

1.140 *onpa BA?yung lo: Pai, Necha, Rumdali, Roke(cha) nu Hangucha pasha ngo olliRunku/Radupikyake dAtedunga lo: me ngana Likhum ba?ba Khinchi Hangke tsasimasi Mulicha, Kormocha, Thanggracha, Tholocha, Rapacha, Susucha, Rupacha modeb-modebpikya Am-Am mama lo: ko:si-m Kirānti-Kōits lo: (Sunuwar>Sunwar⁶ language) blānim.*

öpā Bā?yuṅ lo: Pāi, Nechā, Rumdāli, Roke nu Hānguchā pə-šā ṅo olli
 thus B language P N R R and H do-SIM five kind/type
 Rūku/Rādu-pikyə-kε dāte-du-ṅā lo: me` ṅənā Likhu-m bā?-bā
 R/R-PL between-common-GEN language is if.so:COND L-LOC live-NML
 Khinchi Hāng-kε tsəsiməsi Mulichā, Kormochā, Thāngrāchā,
 K H-GEN family M K T
 Tholo:chā, Rāpəchā, Susuchā, Rupāchā modeb-modeb-pikyə ām-ām mēmā
 T R S R etc.etc.-PL own-RED mother
 lo: Kirānti-Kōits lo: (Sun(u)war language) blāi-nim
 tongue K-K language/speech S adopt-NPST:3P

‘Thus Ba?yung is a common language among five types of RuNkus/RaDhus⁷ viz Pai, Necha, Rumdali, Roke and Hangucha, whereas Khinchi Hang’s generation such as Mulicha, Kormocha, Thanggracha, Tholocha, Rapacha, Susucha, Rupacha and so on dwelling on the bank of the Likhu rivulet adopt a common language known as Kirānti-Kōits lo: (K-K language).’

 Free Translation

Kirānti-Kōits and Bā?yung Migration

The ancestor of Kōits and Bā?yung are Khinchi Hang and Paiwa respectively Khinchi and Paiwa are grandchildren of the same grandfather. They have blood relationship among them. They had been living a nomadic life in the pre-historical time.

⁶ The term ‘Sunwar’ is a hydronym basically, rather than ethnonym (Cf. Vansittart 1992: 177 [1st edition 1896], Mulicha and Susucha 1987 [VS 2044: 45 and 33], Ch 1 §1.1.0- §1.1.3).

⁷ The term ‘Rūku’ is a Kirānti-Kōits autonym and ethnonym whereas ‘Rādu [Cāmling, Dumī, Nachering], Rodung [Cāmling], RāDhu [Wāmbule]’ etc. are autonyms and ethnonyms of the Kirānti tribes/races dwelling in the Central and Hither/Near Kirant Region, east Nepal. They often write their ethnoexoglotonym as ‘Rai’ [rājənəm>rājā>rāya>rāi] in the I-A (Indic-Khas>N term and the term ‘Rāi’, obviously of Indo-Aryan origin (cf. also RC Rai 1997 and 2005) is commonly used for a land-tax collector or headman or meaning ‘king’ since the rise of the Shah dynasty (means Gurkha conquest) in the late 18th century Nepal or even before this period but not an ethnonym.

They are members of the same linguistic community. Similarly, Kōits and Baʔyung are like two dialects of the same single language.

The legend of Mundum~Mukdum clarifies the kinship between them. During the nomadic life span, Paiwa and Khintsi arrived to Paitip from Timridzong. In this way, then both of them arrived to Dzaujila from Paitip and to Khayarpas from Dzaujila. From there, they lived in Jammu-Kashmir. In addition, from Jammu-Kashmir, they arrived to Tharmalung-Tharsilung, and from there, to Yarmalung. This (Y) was called Halkabung-Phalehungmi Phalekhrampi. In this country, there were two doors of sin and virtue.

They could open the door of virtue only by sacrificing animals or birds (a/b). Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the door because of being a Tantric. Then by having sacrificed a black nightingale, all the family members came out of the door of virtue successfully. The only once opening door of virtue for one time's sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out. Immediately after the closing of the door, Khintsi's family members arrived there.

Khintsi asked Paiwa being helpless, "Hello brother! How shall we come?" The elder brother Paiwa said, "I came out here by sacrificing birds and animals." But Khintsi heard, "loʔba tsartongo ekeng g^hluti" (I came out here having sacrificed my younger brother) only. Then in his turn, he also came out having sacrificed his own younger brother. While coming out, he saw Paiwa's (e/b 'elder brother') brother (y/b 'younger brother') Dunglewa together. Then furiously asked, "Hey elder brother (e/b)! You have your younger brother (y/b) with you. Why did you ask my younger brother to sacrifice?" Paiwa also expressed regretting, "When did I tell you to come having sacrificed your younger brother (y/b)? I told you to come having sacrificed a bird or an animal. Now, the family ties between Khinchi and Paiwa was in trouble.

Both of them in their journey arrived to the boarder of the Kamala rivulet cold-heartedly. From there too, they went towards the north through the bank. Quarreling in

the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet. They reached to the Kakaru rivulet via the way of Tawa located on the boarder of Sinduli and Udayapur. Having crossed Kakaru, they appeared in the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi).

After a long journey Paiwa said in a tired voice, “Now let us cross the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) and go towards the hill. From now on Khinchi became disobedient to his elder brother’s advice. Paiwa and his family members crossed Tokselgat near the Dudkosi river and Ngakuma estuary. The rivulet should be crossed having pulled down the bamboos since there was a dense jungle that time. Having crossed the gat Paiwa reached to Moblo (N Andheri) via the bank of Molong rivulet from Ketuke.

He settled there having deforested the jungle. The loconym (or toponym ‘name of the place’) remained Payaru in his mother tongue when Paiwa came here for the first time. Khintsi journeyed from the right bank of the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) towards Likhu and Khimti via today’s Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap. At that time Ramechhap and Sindhuli were annexed to Okhaldhunga. The country Khintsi for the first time setteled is known as Khĩtsi>Khiji⁸ nowadays.

While, the word ‘Khiji’ is developed through the change from Khĩtsi. Like Payaru Khĩtsi has its own historical importance. Khintsi and his family are named Sunuwar>Sunwar after going towards the bank of the Ngakuma or Sunkosi (N). Although Paiwa and Dunglewa lived in the Moblo (N Anderi-Narayansthan) region, the younger brother Dunglewa migrated to the Terai because of unresistable chill and moisture. However, he (Paiwa) settled there (at Moblo).

The Dunglewas became Danwar⁹ after many years settling in the Dun/Inner Terai region. Till today their (Dunglewas’) culture resembles to the Bā?yungs. The seven sons of Paiwa were Samriwa, Nayanggo, Waripsawa, Timriwa, Dhimriwa, Dhyanggo and

² The loconym *Khiji* is a Nepalified one; whereas *Khĩtsi* (Kirānti-Kōits) is an indeginous vocabulary meaning ‘on the side of the house.’

⁹ The Danwar(s) today do not speak the Kirānti-Bā?yung/Bahing language, one of the laguages affiliated to the Tibeto-Burman family but speak one of the Indo-Aryan languages known as Danuwar.

Khaluwa. They also could not resist the coldness and lived having moved to Rumjatar. Those who dwelled in Rumjatar started roaming hither and thither hunting in search of food when time passed on. Once upon a time, they reached to Tsisankhu (border of Kuibir, Serna, Diyale and Pokhare) while hunting. They suspected whether there were other settlements too. While searching, a tunnel was found in a true sense. They ordered, "Where did you come from? Come out." Moreover, they, who lived inside the tunnel, lost their consciousness because of fear. Paiwa's sons guessed having said, "Certainly they must be our enemy. Then they blew up the fire having inserted a big log inside the tunnel. All the people inside turned into ashes.

After that, they returned home being happy. Immediately after the accident occurred, husbands and brothers (e/b, y/b) of the tunnel victims arrived on the spot. They also had been out for searching the food. They were dumbfounded having seen their living place and relatives turned into ashes. It is believed that those dying Kirāntis were Handis. It is said that Handi Khamtsa's generations still exist then. The ruined Handis consulted a shaman to find out the cause of devastation.

When they found out the secrecy of their destruction, they permitted the shaman to exorcise those enemies for destroying them. The shaman also exorcised those guilty on the evidence of their footprint and clothes they left. The dancing sons of Paiwa returned with yak's tail and stick in their hands; danced for a long hours on the Chapleti stone at Charkhu. The two younger brothers (y/b) went back to the dancing spot in order to find out the yak's tail and the stick because the elder brother (e/b) Waripsawa had left them there.

The ?wakyapōibo (*N Banjhankri* 'jungle-shaman or a supernatural creature') had taken away their yak's tail and stick which they had left over there. The supernatural creature in his troubled voice started dancing by singing, "Come Waripsawa! Come Dhimriwa! The Waripsawa brothers also started dancing pleasingly with the supernatural creature. They were unable to take back the yak's tail and stick easily because the supernatural creature was more powerful among them.

They kept on dancing in turn. They were anyhow able to take back the yak's tail and stick while the supernatural creature went on dancing hither and thither. The supernatural creature cursed saying, "t^həiyā tsipāyu" (cursing expression; "Fie on you") while loosing the yak's tail and stick from his own hand. Both Waripsawa brothers returned home being happy while getting their lost materials (Liphhe and Buli). They saw rainbow and fowl in front of the house at the time of reaching their house. They chased away them angrily saying and cursing, "Suke balam tsiptso".

They ate also having plucked and burning those fowls whatever its number they could find. Except the youngest brother and his family, all other elder and younger brothers passed away. It was because the rainbow and fowl were the exorcised ghost/spirits by Handi Khamcha's shaman. They had curse of the supernatural creature also upon them. Khaluwa became alone. The lonely Khaluwa moved to Moblo from Rumjatar with his wife Lungtsyarmi. After some years, Khaluwa saw the fire burning at Rumjatar. He saw the same scenery repeated until two nights.

Khaluwa thought and asked himself, "Impossible! We came here having killed all our enemies. Again how did the fire burn there?" While there was the same scene on the third night also, Khaluwa shouted surprisingly from the hither side, "Who is that man burning fire over there?" From thither side also a protesting noise was heard saying, "Who are you in my area here. He still added loudly, "This is my area; I am Rumdali." The word 'Rumdali' is made up of three different compounded morphemes where 'rau' is a noun (n), 'da' verb root (v/r) and 'li' means a traveller.

Thus, the man who goes calling himself 'rau' is Rumdali in the Bahing language. Rumdali also expressed his curiosity saying, "We have been living here for many years; who are you the new comer?" They had a discussion for a little while. Both of them decided to meet for concluding their debate. The next morning both of them met each other. Khaluwa told introducing himself, "We are seven brothers. Other six brothers

passed away except me. I came in this place for the first time. In turn Rumdali also roared, “No, I’m the first settler.”

They could not conclude even after a long discussion. Since Rumdali was a bit clever, he proposed a condition saying, “Look! Khaluwa, the person will be known as the first settler of this place in whose house there is much more ash and cow-dung; did you understand?” Both of them returned home having bet this condition. The clever Rumdali burnt having searched very very big log of wood. He accumulated a heap of pig-dung having fed a lot of food to the pig. He mixed the wild potato also having boiled with the pig-dung. Having met on the day of competition, Rau won the bet when weighed the ash and pig-dung. In fact, Khaluwa was truly confident to be the only first settler.

He was cocksure that he would have much ash and fertilizer in the bet. Nevertheless, it did not happen so. Rau’s (ash and pig-dung) became much in quantity. Khaluwa having accepted his defeat said, “Oh, yes you’re the first settler of this place. Again, it was Khaluwa’s turn to keep the agreement (of being the first settler). Khaluwa also said having kept condition, “Look Rumdali! One who will have a son for the first time, he will be known as the first settler of this place.

The son’s name will be Hasalu then the daughter’s name will be Ninakhumma. They two will then be tied into the wedlock. Khaluwa won this time’s bet. The son’s name also was christened Hasalu. Rumdali’s daughter became (was christened) Ninamkhumma. Khaluwa was declared the first settler of the Rumjatar region. Long after once upon a time, Khaluwa’s son, who had been out for hunting met with Rumdali in the jungle. Rumdali asked, “Whose son are you?” Hasalu revealed the fact that he was Khaluwa’s son. Rumdali reminded to Hasalu, “If it is so, there is an oath (promise) between your father and me. According to the promise, you have to be tied into the wedlock with my daughter.”

Then he made him marry (with his daughter) having brought in his house. Khaluwa was suspicious because of his son’s disappearance for a long time. He

(Khaluwa) supposed that Rumdali troubled him again in the same way as he did before. After some weeks, Rumdali sent his daughter and son-in-law back to home. Hasalu having come in front of the door called his father, “Hello papa! Hello papa!” The old man doubting asked, “Who are you?” from the house inside.

“You must be some other aliens without being my son. If you are our son, shoot an arrow from the door sending it inside and then I shall give you the arrow back having spat on it. Then insert inside the house having licked the arrow”, Khaluwa thundered. Khaluwa did the same. Then only Khaluwa opened the door. While opening the door, he could not believe his eyes that his son and daughter-in-law had come. Khaluwa’s happiness knew no bounds. Khaluwa was happy from within his heart since there was familial connection with Rumdali.

Rumdali had four sons; whereas Khaluwa had Hasalu only. Hasalu also has had one son Rinamsocha¹⁰; whereas Ronamsocha had four sons namely Tolocha, Moblocha, Ripocha and Sesocha. Rumdali’s sons Thamrocha, Dilingbacha, Hijocho and Diburicha are today’s Rumdalis. Then they speak their own mother tongue Baʔyung. Tolocha, Moblocha, Ripocha and Ralicha’s generations are known with the name Baʔyung/Bahing today. Then they adopted their mother tongue as Bāʔyung.

Thus Baʔyung is a common language among five types of RuNkus/RaDhus¹¹ viz., Pai, Necha, Rumdali, Roke and Hangucha, whereas Khinchi Hang’s generation such as Mulicha, Kormocha, Thanggracha, Tholocha, Rapacha, Susucha, Rupacha and so on

¹⁰ The spelling of the morpheme ‘-cha’ (also cf. Lee 2005), in all clanonyms as in Bāʔyung (is also an infinitive marker in Kirānti-Kõits) has been written according to the conventional Roman-Gorkhali (related to the British Gurkhas’ education system) orthography for the sake of the South Asian readers’ convenience. In accordance with the IPA transcription, linguists for the same morpheme use either /-cā/ or [-cā].

¹¹ The term ‘Rūku’ is a Kirānti-Kõits autonym and ethnonym whereas ‘Rədu [Cāmling, Dumi, Nachering], Rodung [Cāmling], RāDhu [Wāmbule]’ etc. are autonyms and ethnonyms of the Kirānti tribes/races dwelling in the Central and Hither/Near Kirant Region, east Nepal. They often write their ethnoexoglotonym as ‘Rai’ [rājənəm > rājā > rāya > rāi] in the I-A (Indic~Khas > N term and the term ‘Rāi’, obviously of Indo-Aryan origin (cf. also RC Rai 1997 and 2005) is commonly used for a land-tax collector or headman or meaning ‘king’ since the rise of the Shah dynasty (means Gurkha conquest) in the late 18th century Nepal or even before this period but not an ethnonym.

dwelling on the bank of the Likhu rivulet adopt a common language known as Kirānti-Kōits lo: (K-K language).

2. Sida Pidar

‘The worship of Sida’

2.1 *Kirānti-Kōits mulkemmi patikyā pidārpikim Sida kikyake pidārai yo kā me.*

Kirānti-Kōits mulkem-mi pə-tikyə pidār-piki-m Sidā kikyə-ke pidār-əi yo
K-K culture-LOC do-NML worship-PL-LOC S g/f-GEN worship-PAR also
kā me`
one is

‘Sida grandfather (g/f) pidar (worship) is one of the worships done in the Kirānti-Kōits culture.’

2.2 *meʔke pulpashonu “sida bāʔni, gibda bāʔni” denden khalo: painsib.*

mεʔ-ke pul-pə-šo-nu “sidā bāʔ-ni, gibdā bāʔ-ni”
s/he-GEN invoke-do-PR:PCPL-TEMP s be: AUX-1SG g be:AUX-1SG
de-n-de-n k^həlo:-pāi-sib
say-PROG-RED-PROG incantaion-do-PAS

‘While invoking him, incantations are invoked saying, “If you’re Sida, if you’re Gibda”’.

2.3 *Sida kikyake pidar pasha issho genAre goise densha neslonāmsi baslo: mabaʔ nganAi yo ekonu blipšobudzipšo k^hisā bāʔba.*

Sidā kikyə-ke pidār pə-šā is-šo genā-rε go-isε de~šā
S g/f-GEN worship do-SIM come-PR:PCPL when-ABL start-NML say-SIM
neslonāmsi bāslo: mə-bāʔ-t ŋənāiyo εko-nu blip-šo-
historical fact NEG-AUX:be-PST although this-ASSO relate-PR:PCPL
budzip-šo k^hisā bāʔ-bə
RED-PR:PCPL legend AUX: EXT-3SG

‘Although there is no historical evidence on worshipping of the Sida grandfather when it started, there is a legend related to it.’

2.4 *sainesam Dol: mergonga Kirānti-Kōits kipotnga Bramlits patsnga ka Gaurots bāʔ.*

sainesə-m Dolu mεr-ge-ŋā Kirānti-Kōits kipot-ŋā one G AUX:EXT-3SG
once.upon.a.time-LOC D to-DIR-GEN K-K communal.land-GEN
Bləmlits pāts-ngā kā Gəurots bāʔ-tə~t
B clan-GEN one G be:AUX- NPST:3SG

‘Once upon a time, there was a Gaurots (village headman) of the Kōits Kipat (communal land) clan- named Bramlicha around Dolu.’

2.5 *meoA ne Sida kikyā bAʔa.*

meko-ā ne Sidā kikyə bāʔ-tə~t
s/he-GEN name S grandfather AUX:EXT-3SG

‘His name was Sida grandfather.’

2.6 *Am mukheli ragyamer mekoke giphphAk hibbets hopothem bAʔa.*

ām muk^hε-li rāgyə-mēr meko-ke gip^hp^hāk hibbets hopothem
own lord-ADJ (N) zone-LOC s/he-GEN monopoly feudal/absolute kingdom
bāʔ-tə~t
AUX:EXT-3SG

‘During his rule, his own lordship zone was in absolute monopoly.’

2.7 *Sida kikyā g’i:ruyami yo sappan sotits bAʔa.*

Sidā kikyə g’i:ruyā-mi yo sāppā-n sotits bāʔ-tə~t
S g/f health-LOC also very.much clever/strong:ADJ AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Sida grandfather was very strong physically also.’

2.8 *mekoke laissi yo susan bAʔa.*

meko-ke laissi yo susə-n bāʔ-tə~t
s/he-GEN height also very.much-PAR AUX:EXT-3SG

‘His height also was very gigantic.’

2.9 *gimbon nun dzatsatutsAi yo sappan malbaʔa.*

gimbō nu-n dzə-cā-tu-cā-i yo sāppā-n
physique along.with-PAR eat-INF-drink-INF-PAR also very.much-PAR
mɛl-bāʔ-tə~t
need- AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He needed a lot of food and drink also according to his physique.’

2.10 *meʔke sendAi yo horssho debranga bAʔa.*

mɛʔ-ke sɛːdā-i yo horsšo olli-ŋā bāʔ-tə~t
s/he-GEN voice-PAR also rough/atrocious kind/type-GEN AUX:EXT-3SG

‘His voice was also of a hoarse type.’

2.11 *meko wAʔblemmeŋA mere nelle khirAgya/yeklak kurb bAʔta.*

meko wāʔblēm-mē-ŋā mere nelle kʰrāgyə/yeklāk kur-b bāʔ-tə~t
 s/he shout-PR-SIM after all vicinity carry-NML AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The whole vicinity got disturbed while shouting.’

2.12 *yeklak nu himdzedzumŋA dzAintuin tsumludzApikim me ʔkali marupAisshAngana marimshon dumsisho nAisib bAʔ.*

yeklāk nu himdzedzum-ŋā dzā-ī-tu-ī tsumludzā-piki-m
 vicinity and neighbourhood-LOC eat-NML-drink-NML feast/party-PL-LOC
 mēʔ-kəli mə-ru-pāis-šā-ŋənā mə-rim-šo-n
 s/he-PAT NEG-satisfy-CAUS-SIM-if.so:COND NEG-good-PR:PCPL-PAR
 dum-si-šo nāi-sib bāʔ-tə~t
 become-MV-PR:PCPL suppose-PAS AUX:EXT-3SG

‘It would be supposed to be omen if he was not satisfied in feast and party of the vicinity and neighbourhood.’

2.13 *poshye gombal da A giphphan khondeb dumbAʔ; woimi da kulsirssha kone matsAbnim bAʔ.*

pošye gombəl də ā gip^hp^hān k^hōdəb dum-bāʔ-t; woi-mi
 pork fat.pork PAR monopoly like become-be:AUX-PST other-AGT
 də kul-sirs-šā ko-nē mə-cāb-nim bāʔ-tə~t
 PAR face-turn-SIM look-INF NEG-be.able-PST:3PL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The pork gombal (a soft white part of pork esp. of the upper part of the neck) would be like his own monopoly; and other couldn’t even turn their face looking to it.’

2.14 *rAnkungA rAnku shyAnbu da tsimik kamin yubbaʔ.*

rāku-ŋā rāku šyābu də tsimik kā-mi-n
 wooden.pot-GEN wooden.pot millet.beer PAR wink one-LOC-PAR
 yub-bāʔ-tə~t
 drink-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He used to drink (esp. without stopping) the millet-beer within winks one wooden-pot after another.’

2.15 *thun manume kanan plawAtsiwA po ʔbAʔ.*

thū mə-num-mē kənən pləwātsiwā poʔ-bā-ʔtə~t
 heart NEG-satisfy-NML:NPST unless disturbance raise- AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He used to start disturbing unless he was satisfied.’

2.16 *khushomi the ʔsA geungA da marngAʔ*

k^hušo-mi the?-cā ge-u-ŋā də mār ŋā ?
old.man-AGT tread-INF give-3SG-GEN PAR what PAR

‘The oldman never let chances to others.’

2.17 *suimi yo granun dentsA mamAlbAʔ.*

suimiyo gr(ɾ)a-nu-ŋ de~:-cā mə-māl bā?-tə~t
no.body win-NPST-1SG say-INF NEG-need AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Nobody could dare of winning him.’

2.18 *me ʔmi da tsiwalpaibAʔ.*

mε?-mi də tsiwəl-pāi-bā?-tə~t
s/he-AGT PAR defeat-do- AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He used to defeat all.’

2.19 *mekoke hibbets blukumsalAm nelle kabungA muru upsho baba ʔeme.*

meko-ke hibbets blukumsālā-m nelle kābu-ŋā muru up-šo
s/he-GEN feudalistic delight-LOC all control-GEN person disappoint ADJ
bā-bā?-tēm~tēm
AUX:EXT-3PL

‘All villagers over his control were disappointed in his feudalistic delight.’

2.20 *nigummi phlenkyo la ʔne thumsho baʔ.*

nigum-mi p^hlenkyo lā?-ne thum-šo bā?-tə~t
oppression-AGT boundary(fig.) cross-INF finish-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘His oppression went beyond limitations.’

2.21 *kāb nAtngA lo: me- kablepiki gArsshA hibbets mukheke nash tulteke tAnge selteme*

kāb nāt-ŋā lo: mε- kablε-piki gārs-šā hibbets muk^hε-ke nāš tul-tεke tāge
once day talk is- villager-PL ally-SIM feudal lord-GEN root pluck-NML plot
sel-tēm~tēm
make-PST:3PL

‘Once upon a time, the villagers having allied each other plotted to murder the feudal lord.’

2.22 *meko tanGe budin d’u:tekem suspa oshyer khalsha tuiNtame.*

meko tāge budi-n d’u:-tεke-m sus-pā ošyer k^hāl-šā
that plan/plot like-PAR beer (fig.)-NML-LOC much-ADV poison mix-SIM
tūi-tā-mε~tā-m

make.drink-PST-3PL

‘According to their plot, they made him drink the poison-mixed alcohol.’

2.23 *oşyer khālsisho shyAnbu tusAiyo Sida kikyā mabe.*

oşyer khāl-si-šo şyābu tu-šā-i-yo Sidā kikyā mə-be
poison mix-MV-PR:PCPL millet.beer drink-SIM-PAR-also S g/f NEG-die

‘Sida grandfather did not die even after drinking the poison mixed millet-beer.’

2.24 *meko mekom saittimi auuu” denden plesha do ŷsha panpan Khlisi rongnga lanla khinge dortta.*

mε̃ko meko-m sāit-timi əuuu” de-n-de-n plε-šā-do?-šā
so.and.so-AGT kill-PST:3PL excl say-PROG-RED jump-SIM-RED-SIM
pə-n-pə-n Khlisi roŋ-ŋā lā-lā k^hɪ-ge dort-tə~u
do-PROG-RED-PROG K cliff-GEN path-ABL house-POSTP run-PST:3SG

‘Having jumped and exclaiming so and so killed me, he ran towards the house through the path of Khlisi cliff.’

2.25 *kəbulepikim yo mekoA nole khoitteme.*

kəbule-piki-m yo meko-ā nole k^hoit-temε~təm
villager-PL-AGT also s/he-GEN after follow-PST:3PL

‘The villagers also followed after him.’

2.26 *mekenga Khlisi rongmi dzadinne meren mekopikimi tsupa sumteme.*

mεke-ŋā Khlisi roŋ-mi dzə-di-nne mεre-n meko-piki-mi
there-from K cliff-LOC reach-NML:INF as.soon.as-PAR s/he-PL-AGT
tsupā sum-tεme
chance veil-PST:3PL

‘From there, as soon as they reached the Khlisi cliff, they took advantage of it.’

2.27 *Sida kikyake ngalo:pulo:bo ŷta.*

Sidā kikyā-ke ŋəlo:pulo:-bo?-tə~t
S g/f-GEN life (fig.)-get.up-PST:3SG

‘Sida grandfather’s life was was over.’

2.28 *menun mekoA hibbets paiske bilbil dumta.*

mε-nu-n meko-ā hibbets pəis-ke yo bilbil-dum-tə
he-ASSO-PAR s/he-GEN feudal rule-GEN also end-become-PST:3SG

‘With him ended his feudal rule also.’

2.29 *Sida kikyake sarawali nupshomi kabulepikya suspaN gerssha somsame.*

Sida kikyə-ke sərəwəli nup-šo-mi kəbulɛ-pikyə sus-pā-n
 S g/f-GEN death finish-PR:PCPL-LOC villager-PL very-do-PAR
 gers-šā som-sāme~sām
 be.happy-SIM become-PST:3SG

‘The villagers thus became very happy on Sida grandfather’s end of his life.’

2.30 *thibtsAbbi yo dumteme.*

thib-cāb-bi yo dum-təme~təm
 get-can (fig.)-NML also become-PST:3PL

‘They became prosperous also.’

2.31 *šyeng mekopikimi rissingA sottsān laiššo musam yo k’i:tsA matAme.*

šyɛŋ məkɔ-piki-mi rissi-ŋā sot-tsən lāis-šo mu-səm yo
 but s/he-PL-ACT laughter-GEN breath-PAR tall-PR:PCPL time-ADV:till also
 k’i:-cā mə-tāme~tām
 breathe-INF NEG-get:PST:3PL

‘But they could not breath their breath of happiness for a long time.’

2.32 *sukai Anke khinmi yo po kyorssha otsān madumbdumta.*

sukəi ān-ke k^hi-mi yo po kyors-šā wo/bə-cā-n
 nobody their-GEN house-LOC also pig slaughter-SIM eat-INF-PAR
 mə-dum-b-dum-tə~t
 NEG-become-INF-become-PST:3SG

‘Nobody could have pork having butchered the pig in his or her house.’

2.33 *roi-mait nu beʔsA dzAmtsAm maplo:na.*

roi-məit nu beʔ-cā dzām-cā-m mə-plo:-nə
 sick-RED and die-INF loss-INF-AGT NEG-leave-NEG:NPST:3SG

‘The villagers were not free from frequent sickness and death or loss.’

2.34 *nelle kabulepikya blitame suītame.*

nelle kəbulɛ-pikyə bli-tāme~tām suī-tāme~tām
 all villager-PL trouble-PST:3PL RED-PST:3PL

‘All the villagers were in trouble.’

2.35 *geplemtekke kAN nilAm ponib-gyAmi lA l’isho bAʔase.*

geplemtekk-ke kā-n nilām pōib-gyām(i) lā l’i-šo

solution-GEN one-PAR way/method shaman(m)-shaman(f) only remain-PR:PCPL
 bā?-tāse~tās
 AUX:EXT-2DU

‘The only way of solution had remained shamans (m/f).’

- 2.36 *tsannAdonAt ponib-gyAmi shyil papAisshonga merelA shyet dzatek lan tuinsAu.*
 tsənnādonāt pōib-gyām(i) šyil pə-pāis-šo-ŋā mərə lā
 seven.night.day shaman(m)-shaman(f) dance CAUS-do-PR:PCPL-LOC after only
 šyet dzə-tək lā tuĩ-sāu
 difficulty eat-NML path know-PAS

‘Only after seven days and nights, they came to know the crux of the trouble while making the shamans (m/f) dance or function (i.e. through their oracle).’

- 2.37 *Sida kikyēke bulnumi meko Ankali yo shyetgetsA gonethumsho bA ŋa.*
 Sidā kikyə-kε bulnu-mi meko-ān-kəli yo šyet-gε-cā
 S g/f-GEN spirit-AGT s/he-them-DAT also trouble-give-INF
 go-nε-thum-šo bā?-tə~t
 start-INF-finish-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Sida grandfather’s spirit had already started troubling them (including the shamans) also.’

- 2.38 *mekoA bulnumi lo:lishyAnka sho:tu, “ankali kabulepikimi kerthun pasha saittimi. mulngA mere po kyorsshonu sagun pidAr-nAmdAr pAintininganALA An pargimi bA ŋung.”*
 meko-ā bulnu-mi lo:lišyākā-šo:-tu, “ā-kəli kəbulε-piki-mi kεr-thū
 s/he-his spirit-AGT discuss-reveal-PST:3SG I-DAT villager-PL-AGT black-heart
 pə-šā sāit-timi. mul-ŋā mərə po kyors-šo-nu səgun
 do-SIM kill-PST:3PL now-GEN after pig slaughter-PR:PCPL-TEMP offer
 pidār-namdār pāi-tini-ŋənā lā ā pərgi-mi bā?-nu-ŋ”
 worship-RED do-PST:3PL-if.so:COND only my shrine-LOC be/live-NPST-1SG

‘His spirit spoke revealing, “The villagers murdered me by plotting. Now on I’ll live in my own place, only if you worship me with the offer (i.e. gombal) while slaughtering the pig.’

- 2.39 *onpA lo:lishyAnka pashom patike mekorengA po kyorsshonu sagun pidAr-nAmdAr mapathu madumtik dumta.*
 ōpā lo:lišyākā pə-šo-m pə-tikε meko-rε-ŋā po
 thus conversation do-PR:PCPL-ERG do-NML that-ABL-GEN pig
 kyors-šo-nu səgun pidār-nāmdār mə-pə-thu mə-dum-tik
 slaughter-PR:PCPL-TEMP offer woršip-RED NEG-do-CONV NEG-become-NML

dum-tə~t
become-PST-3SG

‘Since their discussion of the offer, a compulsory worship should be offered while slaughtering the pig.’

2.40 *mul-sam e~ko pidār Kirānti-Kōits mulkemke mablatike phets dumsha pisho bAʔ.*
mul-səm e~ko pidār Kirānti-Kōits mulkem-ke mə-blā-tike p^hets
now-till this worship K-K culture-GEN NEG-separate-NML part/section
dum-šā pi-šo bāʔ-tə~t
become-SIM come-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘This worship has become the inseparable part of Kirānti- Kōits culture till now.’

Free Translation

The worship of Sida

Sida grandfather (g/f) pidar (worship) is one of the worships done in the Kirānti-Kōits culture. While invoking him, incantations are invoked saying, “If you’re Sida, if you’re Gibda”. Although there is no historical evidence on worshipping of the Sida grandfather when it started, there is a legend related to it. Once upon a time, there was a Gaurots (village headman) of the Kōits Kipat (communal land) clan- named Bramlichā around Dolu. His name was Sida grandfather.

During his rule, his own lordship zone was in absolute monopoly. Sida grandfather was very strong physically also. His height also was very gigantic. He needed a lot of food and drink also according to his physique. His voice was also of a hoarse type. The whole vicinity got disturbed while shouting. It would be supposed to be omen if he was not satisfied in feast and party of the vicinity and neighbourhood. The pork gombal (a soft white part of pork especially of the upper part of the neck) would be like his-own monopoly; and other could not even turn their face looking to it.

He used to drink (esp. without stopping) the millet-beer within winks one wooden-pot after another. He used to start disturbing unless he was satisfied. The oldman never let chances to others. Nobody could dare of winning him. He used to defeat all. All

villagers over his control were disappointed in his feudalistic delight. His oppression went beyond limitations. The villagers, once upon a time, allied each other and plotted to murder the feudal lord.

According to their plot, they made him drink the poison-mixed alcohol. Sida grandfather did not die even after drinking the poison mixed millet-beer. Having jumped and exclaiming so and so killed me, he ran towards the house through the path of Khlisi cliff. The villagers also followed, after him. From there, as soon as they reached the Khlisi cliff, they took advantage of it. Sida grandfather's life was over. With him ended his feudal rule also. The villagers thus became very happy on Sida grandfather's end of his life. They became prosperous also. However, they could not breath their breath of happiness for a long time. Nobody could have pork having butchered the pig in his or her house. The villagers were not free from frequent sickness and death or loss. All the villagers were in trouble.

The only way of solution had remained shamans (m/f). Only after seven days and nights, they came to know the crux of the trouble while making the shamans (m/f) dance or function (i.e. through their oracle). Sida grandfather's spirit had already started troubling them (including the shamans) also. His spirit spoke revealing, "The villagers mudedered me by plotting.

Now on I shall live in my own place, only if you worship me with the offer (i.e. gombal) while slautering the pig. Since their discussion of the offer, a compulsory worship should be offered while slaughtering the pig. This worship has become the inseparable part of Kirānti- Kōits culture till now.'

3. MatAīsib K^hεk^hεp^hu

'The invisible holy flower'

3.1 *sainesren Kirānti-Kōits mulkemmi Salaku Mundumke suspa dumser lisha pisho ba.*

saines-rε-n		Kirānti-Kōits	mulkem-mi	Sālāku	Mundum-kε	
many.years.ago-ABL-PAR	K-K		culture-LOC	S	M-GEN	
sus-pā	dumser	li-šā		pi-šo	bā	

a lot-do:ADV importance remain-SIM come-PR:PCPL is

‘Salaku Mundum¹² in the Kirānti-Kōits culture, has a special importance since time immemorial.’

3.2 *SalAkuke semi/selmi thumpatsAkali ponib/gyAmi nu naʔsoAnkali mabAʔthu madumtek phu me bogyapat.*

Səlāku-ke semi/selmi thum-pə-cā-kəli pōib/gyām(i) nu
S-GEN method/process finish-do:CAUS-DAT shaman(m)/shaman(f) and
nāʔso-ān-kəli mə-bāʔ-thu mə-dum-tək p^hu mɛʔ bogyəpət/bospət
priest-their-DAT NEG-be-CONV NEG-become-NML flower is trumpet flower

‘In the ritual process of performing Salāku, trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) is a very necessary flower to the shaman (m/f) and priest.’

3.3 *naʔso nu ponibo/gyamim Salaku pAmenu “amarpatimi, bimarpatimi, igirek^himi. dumArekhimi, igi mulimi, duma mulimi, igi laptsoni, duma laptsoni, igi taltsami. duma taltsami...” denAden honmaselelkalī shyilnim.*

nāʔso nu pōib/gyāmi-m Səlāku pā:-mɛ-nu “əmərətī-mi,
priest and shaman (m)/shaman (f)-ACT S do-NPST:3PL-TEMP a-LOC
bimərətī-mi, igirekhi-mi, dumārekhi-mi, igi muli-mi, dumā muli-mi, igi lāptso-mi,
b-LOC ir-LOC dr-LOC im-LOC dm-LOC il-LOC
dumā lāptsoni, igi tāltsāmi, dumā tāltsāmi...”de-nā-dɛ-n honmāselel-kəli
dl-LOC it-LOC dt-LOC say-PROG-RED-PROG spirit (cul)-DAT
šyil-nimi~nim
escort-NPST:3PL

‘While performing the Salaku, the priest (mainly) and shaman (m/f) invoke saying, “amarpatimi (a), bimarpatimi (b), igirekhimi (ir), dumarekhimi (dr), igi mulimi (im), duma mulimi (dm), igi laptsoni (il), duma laptsoni (dl), igi taltsami (it), duma taltsami (dt)...”¹³

3.4 *oNpa Salaku tAngela honmaselel pul patikyā KoNits mulkemke Thebthunkos me ngana eko pulpatikyā tAngem tsesi Aptek phu bogyapat me.*

ōpā Səlāku tāgɛ-lā honmāselel pul-pə-tikyə Kirānti-Kōits mulkem-kɛ
thus S plan-ABL spirit (cul) worship (cul)-do-NML K-K culture-GEN
T^hebthūkos mɛʔ ŋənā ɛʔko pul-pə-tikyə tāgɛ-m tsesi āp-tək

¹² It refers to the Kirant philosophy of life in their religion.

¹³ Kirānti-Kōits ritual mantra incantations in which tribal Deities residing in several places are invoked such as *əmərətīmi* = ‘at a type of leaf’ (Atit Kōits-Mukhia informed me that the name *əmərətī* is named to the blooming *bospətī* towards the east direction and *bimərətī* on the west), *bimərətīmi* = ‘at a type of leaf’ (the *bospətī* blooming towards the west direction), *igi rekhimi* = ‘at the creator’s border’, *duma rekhimi* = ‘at the border of female’, *igi mulimi* = ‘at the main creator’, *dumā mulimi* = ‘at the main female’, *igi lāptsoni* = ‘at the creator’s door’, *dumā lāptsoni* = ‘at the female’s door’, *igi tāltsāmi* = ‘the creator’s lock’ and *dumā tāltsāmi* = ‘at the female’s lock.’

main.purpose is if.so:COND this woršip-do-NML plan-LOC use shoot-NML
 p^hu bogyæpət/bospət mɛ`
 flower trumpet flower is

‘Worshipping the spirit of the deceased through the Salaku Mundum in this way, is the main purpose of the Kirānti-Kōits culture whereas trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) is the main flower for use in this worship.’

3.5 *saisainesam Binitsa hopoke paNmi ka thumnga khusho/khalpAkali gil pidAr patsA mAlDA bAʔ.*

səisəines-m Binitsa hopo-ke pā-mi kā thum-ŋā k^hušo/k^həlpā-kəli
 many.years.ago-in B king-GEN ruling.time-LOC one thum-GEN old.man-DAT
 gil pidār pə-cā māl-dā bāʔ-tə-t
 gil worship do-INF need-PST AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Many years ago an old man of a thum (village/area) wanted to do Gil Pidar (a type of tribal worship) during the king Binicha’s ruling time.’

3.6 *eko gil patsakali sangigrakngo ʔwapopikya, sangigrakngo tormA mekenga sAngigrakngo pAtsngA phupikya mAlba.*

ɛ̃ko Gil pə-cā-kəli sāgigrəkŋo bwā po-pikyə, sāgigrəkŋo solmā meke-ŋā min
 this G do-INF-DAT 365 fowl pig-PL 365 s there.from then
 sāgigrəkŋo pāts-ŋā p^hu-pikyə māl-bə
 365 type-GEN flower-PL need-is:EXT

‘In order to perform this Gil, 365 fowl and pigs, 365 solma/torma (an idol/image made out of cooked rice) and then 365 types of flower is necessary.’

3.7 *khushom onsho ollingA dzatpikya tsA ʔsha telshongA mere nA ʔso, ponib/gyAmiAnkali blettAu.*

k^hušo-m ʔšo olli-ŋā dzətəkdzət-pikyə tsāʔ-šā
 old.man-AGT this.much type-GEN edible.thing-PL bring-SIM
 təl-šo-ŋā mere nāʔso, pōib-gyām(i)-ān-kəli blet-tāu
 pile-PR:PCPL-SIM then/after priest shaman(m)/shaman(f)-they-DAT call-PST:3SG

‘The old man called the priest and shamans (m/f) having brought and piled up the types of that much needed materials.’

3.8 *nA ʔso, ponib/gyAmimi yo thammuršo sendAm, “sangso...sang...sang...sang... tsuplu hopo, duplu hopo, muso hopo, thalo hopo” denAden yAbre-gubre Ankali pidArpatsA gomteme.*

nāʔso, pōib/gyām(i)-mi yo thəmmuršo sẽdā-m, “səŋso...
 priest shaman(m)/shaman(f)-ACT also loud:ADJ voice-LOC sangso...
 səŋ...səŋ...səŋ... tsuplu hopo, duplu hopo, muso hopo, thəlo hopo” de-nā-de-n

sang...sang...sang... ts god d god m god t god say-PROG-RED-PROG
 yabrɛ-gubrɛ-ān-kəli pidār-pə-cā gom-tɛmɛ~tɛm
 god/goddess-PL-DAT worship do-INF start-PST:3PL

‘The priest and shaman (m/f) also in a loud voice saying, “sangso... sang... sang... sang...”¹⁴ tsuplu hopo, duplo hopo, muso hopo, thalo: hopo” started invoking gods and goddesses to worship.’

3.9 *pidAr pashonu nelle hopopikyala nAʔso, ponib/gyAmiAnkali Amai pidarpatek kere dzadissho ne:so dumba.*

Pidār-pə-šo-nu nelle hopo-pikyə-lā nāʔso, pōib/
 worship do-PR:PCPL-TEMP all ancestral god-PL-ABL priest shaman (m)
 gyām(i)-ān-kəli āmāi pidār-pə-tɛk-kɛɛ dzədis-šo nɛso
 shaman (f)-they-DAT themselves worship-do-NML-place:there reach-PR:PCPL signal
 dum-bə
 become-3 SG

‘While performing their worship, the priest and shaman (m/f) are signalled from all ancestral gods and goddesses.’

3.10 *kuphphdurshipA meko nAdo moitin dzaʔsa mAlsho tsuplu hopomi Ami dzaʔsipasho neso magewa.*

kup^hp^hdurši-pā meko nādo moiti-n dzāʔ-cā māl-šo tsuplu
 unfortunate-ADV that night first-PAR come-INF need:NOM fire place
 hopo-mi āmi dzāʔ-si-pə-šo nɛso
 guardian.angel-ACT himself arrive-MV-do-PR:PCPL signal
 mə-gɛ-wə
 NEG-give-NPST:3SG

‘Unfortunately, on that night the fire-place god, who needed to come first, didn’t signal his arrival himself.’

3.11 *tsuplu hopomin pidAr blane mabisengAmere nAʔsonu ponib/gyAm(i)m khalo: panpan Am pidAr-namdar pA wAittem.*

tsuplu hopo-mi-n pidār blə-nɛ mə-bi-sɛ-ŋā
 fire.place god (g/a)-AGT-PAR worship accept-INF NEG-obey-INF-SIM
 mɛɛ nāʔso, pōib/gyāmi-m kʰəlo:-pə-n-pə-n ām
 after priest shaman(m)/shaman(f)-AGT invite-do-PROG-RED-PROG own
 pidār -nāmdār pā wāit-tɛmɛ~tɛm
 worship-RED do:CONV keep-PST:3PL

¹⁴ This is the manner of invoking gods and goddesses requesting to take incense in the beginning of their worship in Kirānti-Kōits culture. So no word for word translations can be provided into English.

‘The priest and shamans (m/f) went on keeping their worship inviting (i.e. envoking) them although the god of the fire place didn’t accept offer.’

3.12 *pidār patik ge sAN n(h)At nu sAN nh/nA?do pasngApas bA?tem.*

pidār pə-tik ge sã n(h)āt nu sã n(h)ā?do pəs-ŋā-pəs
 worship do-NML work three day and three night do-CONT-do
 bā?-təmə~təm
 live:PST-3PL

‘The worship continued for three days and three nights.’

3.13 *ololngA nipskArsshA pashAiyO tsuplu hopomi pidār blane mabissengA mere mekonkali shetgot dumt.*

olol-ŋā nipskārspə-šā-i yo tsuplu hopo-mi pidār
 different-GEN solution-do-SIM-PAR also fire.place god-AGT worship
 blə-ne mə-bis-sə-ŋā mere meko-ān-kəli šyetgot dum-tə~t
 accept-INF NEG-obey:NPST-3SG-SIM after s/he-they-DAT trouble become-PST:3SG

‘They were troubled when the fire-place god refused accepting the worship even after having applied different solutions.’

3.14 *kuphphahirshipA le nA?dom DzatnA Mulim nA?okali ngammi tAninsishA denta, “goipikim r’isho phupikim kA ni?si phupikyA daint bA?teme.*

kup^hp^həhirši-pā le nā?do-m Dzətnā Muli-m nā?so-kəli ŋəm-mi
 fortunate-ADV four night-LOC Dz M-AGT priest-DAT dream-LOC
 tāi-si-šā də~tə, “goi-piki-m r’išo p^hu-piki-m kā ni?ši
 appear-MV-SIM say-PST:3SG you-PL-AGT offered:ADJ flower-PL-LOC one two
 p^hu-pikyə dəit bā?-təmə~təm
 flower-PL impure AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Fortunately, on the fourth night Dznatna Muli¹⁵ appearing in the priest’s dream said, “some of the flowers that you have offered are impure/unholy.’

3.15 *mekom ranphu dumsho mishyemuruke tsArnuk tsibnA bluinsho bA.*

meko-m rāp^hu dum-šo mišyemuru-kə tsārnuk tsibnā bluī-šo
 that-LOC menstruation become-PCPL woman-GEN urin drop sprinkle-PCPL
 bā
 AUX/EXT:is

‘In those flowers some drops of urine of a menstruated woman is sprinkled.’

3.16 *mopatke tsuplu hopom inke pidār mablasho nami.*

¹⁵It refers to a name of the ancestral god (guardian angel) in Kirānti-Köits culture.

mo-pə-tkɛ tsuplu hopo-m inke pidār mə-blə-šo nəmi~nəm
 so-do-NML fire.place god-AGT your worship NEG-accept-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-1PL

‘For that reason (therefore) the fire-place god hasn’t accepted your worship.’

3.17 *meko daiNt dumsho phupikya tAitten minu meko panmi akhkhAgamin boib watserei yo mekogAmin wAɓ mekengA boimenu sukaimi matatik phu ringen.*

meko dəit dum-šo p^hu-pikyə tāit-tɛ-n minu meko-ke
 that impure become-PR:PCPL flower-PL throw-PST:3PL then that-GEN
 pā-mi ək^hk^hā-gā-mi-n boi-b wātsere-i yo meko-gā-
 place-LOC fruit-inside-LOC-PAR blossom-NML seed-PAR also that-inside-
 mi-n wā?-b məkɛ-ngə boi-mɛ-nu sukəi-mi
 LOC-PAR germinate-NML there-from:ABL blossom-NPST:3SG-TEMP no one-AGT
 mə-tə-tik p^hu r’i-ŋɛnɛ~riŋɛn
 NEG-see-NML flower offer-NPST:3PL

‘Remove and throw those impure/unholy flowers and then in their place, offer such a flower which blooms inside the fruit, whose seed is also inside it, and then no one can see while blooming.’

3.18 *on pane tsaptiningana tsuplu hopomi goipikya inke pidar blane bibba.*

ō pə-nɛ tsāp-tini-ŋənā tsuplu hopo-mi goi-pikyə in-ke
 PAR do-INF can-PST:3PL-if.so:COND fire.place god-AGT you-PL your-GEN
 pidār blə-nɛ bib-bə
 worship have/accept-INF obey-NPST:3SG

‘If you are able to do so the fire-place god can obey having your worship.’

3.19 *d’ishAsuni nAɓomi Am ngamrits nellekəli shotu/nepAittu*

d’išā suni nā?so-mi ām ŋəmrits nelle-kəli šo-tu
 tomorrow morning priest-AGT own dream.anecdote all-DAT reveal-PST:3SG

‘The next morning the priest narrated his dream-anecdote to all.’

3.20 *nebpikim naɓhoA ngamrits nel neɓhA baridzəmdA dumtem.*

nɛ-b-piki-m nā?so-ā ŋəmrits nel nɛ?-šā bəridzəmdā
 listen-NML-PL-AGT priest-GEN dream.anecdote all listen-SIM happy
 dum-tɛmɛ~tem
 become-PST:3PL

‘All listeners were happy having listened the priest’s dream-anecdote.’

3.21 *shyeng “bomenu sukaimi matatik phu” ke khapslo:mi shyet getsAsam geptu.*

šyeng “boi-mɛ-nu sukəi-mi mə-tə-tik p^hu” -kɛ k^hāpslo:-mi

but bloom-NPST:3SG-TEMP no.one-AGT NEG-see-NML flower-GEN mystery-AGT
 šyet gε-cā-səm gε-ptu
 trouble give-INF-till give-PST:3SG

‘But the mystery of “the invisibly blooming flower” troubled them in a great deal.’

3.22 *mekya rAlba murpikim meko khapslo: maraipA tuine matsabem.*

mekyə rālbə mur-piki-m meko k^hāpslo: mārəipā tui-nε
 there present man-PL-AGT that mystery not.at.all reveal-INF
 mə-tsə-bem
 NEG-can-PST:3SG

‘All the people present there couldn’t reveal the mystery at all.’

3.23 *thum khalpAke panmi yo BinitsA hopokali lo:lishyAnkApAptu.*

thum k^hālpā-ke pā-mi yo Binitsā hopo-kəli lo:lišyākā-pāp-tu
 thum old.man-AGT turn-LOC also Binitsā king-DAT inform/discuss-do-PST:3SG
 ‘The thum (village/area) oldman in turn informed also to the Binicha king.’

3.24 *Binits hopo/pipim ponibokali linkyu ko:shAngAmin modeb phu tuitik hoplo: geptu.*

Binits hopo/pipi-m pōiḃo-kəli līkyu ko:-šā-ŋā-min modeb p^hu
 B king-AGT shaman-PAT oracle see-SIM-SEQ-then such flower
 tuit-tik hoplo:/nepāisi gεp-tu
 know-NML order give-PST:3SG

‘The king (Binicha) having made him (the shaman) see oracle and ordered to find out such flower.’

3.25 *ponibomi yo modeb phu uding-tseringenga ?wAkim tatik linkyu kyutu.*

pōiḃo-mi yo modeb p^hu udiŋ-tseriŋ-gε-ŋā ?wāki-m tə-tik
 shaman-AGT also such flower north-east-towards-GEN jungle-LOC get-INF
 līkyu-kyu-tu
 oracle-prophecy-PST:3SG

‘The shaman also prophesied that such flower would be available in the jungle towards the northeast direction.’

3.26 *nA?soi yo ponibom koisho pisAngge phu mAlth glut.*

nā?so-i yo pōiḃo-m kōi-šo pisāŋ-gε meko
 priest-PAR also shaman-AGT show-PR:PCPL direction-towards:POSTP that
 mə-tə-tik p^hu māl-thə~th glu-tə~t
 NEG-see-NML flower search-PUR exit/set out-PST:3SG

‘The priest also set out towards the direction shown by the shaman for searching the unseen flower.’

3.26 *memi meko phukem lo:mi thisshosam t' sib, rab, b'i, mesh, rokos, kis nu mur nellekali hillopAptu.*

mɛʔ-mi mɛko p^hu-kɛ-m lo:-mi this-šo-səm tsib, rəb, b'i,
s/he-AGT that flower-GEN-LOC talk-LOC meet-PR:PCPL-till bird, sheep, cow,
mɛʃ, rokos, kis nu mur nelle gubɛbbə-kəli hillo:-pāp-tu
buffalo, rocky-deer, deer and man all animal-DAT ask-do-PST:3SG

'He asked regarding such invisible flower to all the birds, animal and men whoever he could meet.'

3.27 *shyeng/tarna marai ge malApta.*

ʃyɛŋ/tərnə mərəi gɛ mə-lā-ptə
but nothing work NEG-be useful-PST:3SG

'But nothing could work.'

3.28 *me thirmakhet dumt minu khī lettik thu paptu.*

mɛʔ thirmāk^hɛt-dum-t(ə) minu k^hī lət-tik thū-pāp-tu
s/he tired:ADJ-become-PST:3SG then house return-NML mind-do-PST:3SG

'He got tired and thought of returning home.'

3.29 *khin le-nna-le-n pa-wa-nu lan-mi thunsaisho nāʔsomi ka rābgyombikali thit-tu*

k^hī lɛ-nnā-lɛ-n pə-wā-nu lā-mi thūsāišo
house return-PROG-RED-PROG do-NPST:3SG-TEMP path-LOC hopeless:ADJ
nāʔso-mi kā rābgyombi-kəli thit-tu
priest-AGT one shepherd-DAT meet-PST:3SG

'The hopeless priest while returning home met a shepherd on the way.'

3.30 *mekokali thinneken nāʔsomi thunthunmi mimtāu, "on shyAn! Eko rābgyombim da gethsiri nu lutssiri pawAnu tsuintsephurki tholonggAsam er-ottha paib mur me. eko madzdam tasho bame mai modeb phu! kaleka hillopasha kongu".*

mɛko-kəli thin-nɛ-kɛn nāʔso-mi thū-thū-mi mim-tāu,
s/he-PAT meet-INF-PAR priest-AGT mind-RED-LOC think-PST:3SG
"ō ʃyā! ɛ̃ko rābgyombi-m də gɛthsiri nu lutssiri pə-wā-nu
"O yeah! this shephard-AGT PAR up.summer and down.winter do-NPST:3SG-TEMP
tsuītsep^hurki tholongā-səm ɛr-ōtthə pāi-b mur mɛ. ɛ̃ko mədzdā-m
high.altitude inner.plain-till thither-hither do-NML man is. this fucker-AGT
tə-šo bā-mɛ məi modeb p^hu! kālɛ-kā hillo-pə-šā
see-PR:PCPL AUX-NPST:3SG Q:PAR¹⁶ such flower time-one ask-do-SIM

¹⁶ Question particle as in (a) meko muru k^hī lebbā məi ? 'Will that man return home?' (uncertainty/probability)

ko-ŋu”
see-NPST:1SG

‘While meeting him (the shepherd) the priest immediately thought, “O yeah! This fucker shepherd goes to the jungle (high altitude) during summer and down in the inner plain during winter. He certainly might have seen such flower! Let me ask him once.”

3.31 *nA ʔsom rabgyombikali Am khare lA ʔsho por plA ʔtu*

nāʔso-m rəbgyombi-kəli ām kʰəɾɛ lāʔ-ʂo por-plāʔ-tu.
priest-AGT shepherd-DAT own curiosity think-ADJ INTF-narrate-PST:3SG

‘The priest narrated his curiosity to the shepherd.’

3.32 *yAmka ngakodzisho tellep rabgyombim denta, “go tuitstsA da tuinung shyeng moshyed dentsA magArba.”*

yām-kā ŋəkodz’išo tɛlɛp rəbgyombi-m dɛ̃-tə, “go tuits-cā
while-one confused:ADJ cunning shepherd-AGT say-PST:3SG I know-INF
də tui-nu-ŋ ʂyɛŋ moʂyɛd dɛ̃:-cā mə-gār-bə”
PAR know-NPST-1SG but in.vain say-INF NEG-agree-NPST:3SG

‘The cunning and confused shepherd having after a while said, “I know but it cannot be revealed without any charge.’

3.33 *mul mekokali dopa bippAitstsA deNsho lo:mi nA ʔsokali yorbetu.*

mul mɛko-kəli dopā bip-pāits-cā dɛ̃-ʂo lo:-mi nāʔso-kəli
now s/he-PAT how obey-do:CAUS-INF say-PR:PCPL talk-AGT priest-PAT
yorbe-tu
trouble/disturb-PST:3SG

‘Now the priest was disturbed by the fact that how to make him (the shepherd) obey.’

3.34 *kail mapathu yo madum.*

kāil-mə-pə-thu yo mə-dum
persuade-NEG-do-CONV also NEG-become

‘He (the priest) couldn’t also do without persuading him (the shepherd).’

3.35 *Amikali denshA kurssho nelle lAmdz mekokalin dzatsA geptu.*

āmi-kəli dɛ̃:-ʂā kurs-ʂo nelle lāmdz mɛko-kəli-n dzə-cā
self-DAT say-SIM carry-PR:PCPL all snack s/he-DAT -PAR eat-INF
gɛp-tu
give-PST:3SG

‘He (the priest) gave to him (the shepherd) his entire snack carried to himself.’

3.36 *onsomi yo khlimahise.*

ōso-mi yo k^hli-mə-him-se
 this.much-AGT also expose-NEG-shake-PST

‘He could not extract information with this much also.’

3.37 *khlmahisenga mere thelmi saishsa tsaʔsha nāʔsomi Amnu baʔsho ribdoi yo tunitawa.*

k^hli-mə-him-se-ŋā mere thelmi sāis-šā tsāʔ-šā nāʔso-mi
 expose-NEG-shake-NPST-SIM after pheasant kill-SIM bring-SIM priest-AGT
 ām-nu bāʔ-šo ribdo-i yo tūi-tāwə
 self-ASSO have-PR:PCPL wine-PAR also drink-CAUS:PST:3SG

‘Having failed knowing the secrecy, he made him drink the wine which he had with him by bringing a pheasant having hunted.’

3.38 *mekokali ribdo d’uts d’utsapa geptu.*

meko-kəli ribdo d’uts d’u-cā-pā gε-ptu
 s/he-DAT wine intoxicant intoxicate-INF-ADV give-PST:3SG

‘He gave him a lot of wine (i.e. intoxicant) till he got intoxicated.’

3.39 *ribdoA renep^henε-m rəbgyombim ololŋa thokya punitsA goptu.*

ribdo-ā rεnε^henε-m rəbgyombi-m olol-ŋā thokya
 wine-GEN intoxication:MAN-AGT shepherd-AGT impossible.type-GEN thing
 pūi-cā gop-tu
 beg-INF start-PST:3SG

‘The wine-intoxicated shepherd started asking for some other impossible demands.’

3.40 *onsosam kon nāʔsomi gimŋa haruiyo saitek lo: puinapuin rəbgyombim lenkhlo:psho ne ʔso sendam dent, “eee shyAnka! mul goimi yi tami Ankali getik koki pAinaye ngana la suimi matasho phu koninung. mame ngana be:tsA geu go matuinung phu-su.”*

ōso-səm kō nāʔso-mi gim-ŋā həri yo sāt-tək lo:
 this.much-till COMP priest-AGT body-GEN lust also kill-NML talk
 pui-nā-pui-n rəbgyombi-m lεː k^hlo:pšo nelās seːdā-m
 beg-PROG-RED-PAR shepherd tongue staggered:ADJ nasal sound-LOC
 deː-t, “eee šyākā! mul goi-mi yi tami ā-kəli gε-tik
 say-PST:3SG hey leopard! now you-AGT thy daughter me-DAT give-NML
 koki pāi-nəye ŋənā lā sui-mi mə-tə-šo p^hu
 promise do-NPST:3SG if:COND only no.one-AGT NEG-see-PR:PCPL flower
 kōi-nuŋ. məmə ŋənā bε-cā gε-u go mə-tui-nu-ŋ
 show-NPST:1SG not if:COND die-INF give-IMP 1SG NEG-know-NPST-3SG such

mod(l)εb p^hu-su”
such flower-RED

‘To such an extent that the shepherd having staggered his tongue in a nasal voice asking to fulfill his sexual lust to the priest said, “Hey Leopard! (addressing the priest). Now if you promise to sacrifice your daughter to me, I’ll show you the flower, which no one can see. If not let it go to the hell; I don’t know such flower etc.’

3.41 *nA ṣokali bo ṣasamngA gAits bo ṣ.*

nāṣo-kəli boṣ-cā-səm-ṅā gāits boṣ-tə~t
priest-PAT rise-INF-till-GEN anger rise-PST:3SG

‘The priest had uncontrollable anger.’

3.42 *gAitsm A m’its tsilA dApta.*

gāits-m ā m’its tsilā dāp-tə~t
anger-AGT his eye lightning dazzle/glare-PST:3SG

‘His eyes turned into lightning with anger.’

3.43 *lepA lettik gAitsmi pulu-selu khodeb dumt.*

lepā let-tik gāits-mi pulu-selu pə-ṅ k^hodəb dum-
revenge return-NML anger-INST ash-RED do-1SG like become-
tə~t
PST:3SG

‘With revenge he wished he could finish him at once.’

3.44 *memi akhantSPA plumdzA plA ṅu.*

mε-mi ək^hāts-pā plumdzā plāṅ-tu
s/he-AGT slow-ADV fist open-PST:3SG

‘He slowly undid his fist.’

3.45 *m’its plA ṅu.*

m’its plāṅ-tu.
eye open-PST:3SG

‘Opened his eyes.’

3.46 *me ṅmi m’its plAGAnu Am moiti rashikhushikh’u:sha sissho gemdzo khodensho bakyapat/bospat tAptu.*

mεṅ-mi m’its plā-gā-nu ām moiti rāṣyik^huṣik^hu-ṣā-
s/he-AGT eye wide.open-PST-TEMP own in.front many:MAN-SIM

sis-šo gəmdzo k^hode~:šo bəkyəpət/bospət tāp-tu
 bear.fruit-PR:PCPL dagger like:ADJ trumpet.flower see-PST:3SG

‘While opening his eyes, he saw many fruit bearing dagger-shaped trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) in front of him.’

- 3.47 *gāits sām-tik thunpA rippAngamin mosho soshyo bakyapat/bospat shyoklo gupshA rabgyobbikali blengngAbleng y’utsAlA mAr gosho bA ʔme bakyapata/bospatke shyoklo blo:lshA peperu nelle blalatsilA dumshA pinda bub’u dumta.*

gāits sām-tik thūpā rip-pā-ŋā-min mošo sošyo
 anger loose-NML mind.do:ADV intend-do:CONV-SEQ-then that.much dry:ADJ
 bəkyəpət šyoklo gup-šā rəbgyombi-kəli bləŋ-ŋā-bləŋ y’u:-cā
 trumpet.flower pod pick up-SIM shepherd-DAT ONO:manner.of.beating beat-INF
 lā mər go-šo bāʔ-me bəkyəpət/bospət -ā šyoklo
 only what start-PR:PCPL AUX:PST:3SG trumpet.flower-GEN pod
 blol-šā peperu nelle bləlātsilā dum-šā pindā bub’u
 break(itself)- CONV white/flower all scattered:ADJ become-SIM floor white
 dum-tə
 become-PST:3SG

‘Intending to pacify his (the priest’s) anger, he started beating up the shepherd heavily picking up the sword-shaped and dried trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*); meanwhile it broke and the floor became full of scattered white trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) flower.’

- 3.48 *eko tastanke lopanpan rawam bA ʔsho gigyotsirim deNt, “on mekon me tsoN goimi mAlsho phu”.*

ε~ko təstā-kε lo-pə-n-pə-n rəwā-m bāʔ-šo gigyociri-m de~:-tə~t,
 this scene-GEN talk-do-RED tree-LOC live-PR:PCPL green.dove-AGT say-PST:3SG
 ō meko-n mε` tsō goi-mi māl-šo p^hu
 yea that-PAR is PAR you-AGT search-PR:PCPL flower

‘Describing this scenery, the green-dove sitting on the tree said, “Yeah! That is the flower you’re looking for.”

- 3.49 *eko nε ʔmekan nA ʔso gershA lANmatAninse.*

ε~ko nε?-nε-kə-n nāʔso ger-šā lā-mə-tāi-se
 this hear-INF-ADV-PAR be.happy-SIM path-NEG-see-NPST:3SG

‘His (the priest’s) happiness knew no bounds while immediately hearing this (i.e. finding).’

- 3.50 *thum khalpAke gil pidArmi dzaditstSAkali tsuisssho nA ʔsom somkempA bakyapatke shokle nu phupikya sesu ruptu.*

thum k^həlpā-ke gil pidār-mi dzədits-cā-kəli tsuisšo nāʔso-m
 thum old.man-GEN g worship-LOC reach-INF-PAT hurried:ADJ priest-AGT
 somkəm-pā bəkyəpət-ke šoklə nu p^hu-pikyə səsə ru-p-tu
 rustle:RED-ADV trumpet.flower-GEN pod and flower-PL MAN collect-PST:3SG

‘The priest who was hurried to reach to the Thum Khalpa’s *Gil* worship; hurriedly collected the trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) in rustle.’

3.51 *minu nāʔso “bakyapat thittAng, amarpat thittAng, bimarpat thittAng” denAden plenplen salAk khalopanpan gil pidAr kyAdalumi dzaditta.*

minu nāʔso “bəkyəpət thit-tā-ŋ, əmərpət thit-tā-ŋ, bimərpət thit-tā-ŋ”
 then priest t.f.¹⁷ find-PST-1SG t.f.type find-PST-1SG t.f.type find-PST-1SG
 də-nā-də-n plə-n-plə-n sələk(u) k^həlo:-pə-n-pə-n gil pidār
 say-PRO-RED jump-PRO-RED mundum recite-do-PRO-RED *gil* worship
 kyādəlu-mi dzədīt-tə
 spot-LOC reach-PST:3SG

‘Then the priest reached to the *gil* worship spot saying, jumping and reciting Mundum, “I found bakyapat, I found amarpat, I found bimarpat.”’

3.52 *ōpā nāʔso-kəli dzətnā muli-m ŋəm-mi gə-šo suyāl-mi k^hrislo: gyorb dumta.*

ōpā nāʔso-kəli dzətnā muli-m ŋəm-mi gə-šo suyāl-mi k^hrislo:
 thus priest-PAT dz m-AGT dream-LOC give-PR:PCPL message-AGTmystery:speech
 gyorb dum-tə
 solution become-PST:3SG

‘Thus the message given by Dzatna Muli to the Naʔso in his dream would solve the mystery.’

3.53 *mekorengA Kirānti-Konits mulkemke gil nu shyAndar pidArmi bakyapat/bospat mabA ŋthu madumtik khekhephu densha tuinsAu.*

meko-rə-ŋā Kirānti-Kōits mulkəm-ke gil nu šyādar pidār-mi bəkyəpət
 that-ABL-GEN K-K culture-GEN g and s worship-LOC totala
 mə-bāʔ-thu mə-dum-tik k^hək^hep^hu/bospəti dəː-šā tuĩ-sāu
 NEG-be-CONV NEG-become-NML holy.flower say-SIM recognize-PAS

‘Since that time trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) became the most necessary holy flower in *Gil* and *Shyādar* worship of the Kirānti-Kōits culture.’

3.54 *gilam mAltek thapopat šerphApikim gilphA, holphA, lo:spA, hopA, beNdzipikya nami.*

gilə-m māl-tək thəpopat šerp^hā-piki-m gilphā, holp^hā, lo:spā, hopā,
 g-LOC need-NML tp sp-PL-LOC gp hp lp hp

¹⁷ t.f stands for trumpet flower

bɛ̃ːdzi-pikyə nəm~i
 b -PL AUX:1PL

‘The necessary leaves and flowers in gil are gilpha, holpha, lospa, hopa and bendzis¹⁸.’

3.55 *eko khekhephu bakyapatke karwAm tseringge boishhokali amarpat minu peringge boiššokali bimarpat denshA neya patikya painimi.*

ɛ̃ːkɔ̃ kʰɛkʰɛpʰu bəkyəpət-kɛ kɑ̃ rəwā-m tseriŋ-ge boiš-šo-kəli əmərpat minu
 this holy.flower t.f-GEN one tree-LOC east-POSTP bloom-PR:PCPL-PAT ap then
 perin-ge boiš-šo-kəli bimərpat dɛ̃ː-šā neyā-pə-tikyə pāi-nim~i
 west-POSTP bloom-PR:PCPL-PAT bp say-SIM naming-do-NML do-NPST:3SG

‘The naming of the same holy flower blooming on the same tree towards the east direction is amarpat and towards the west is bimarpat.’

 Free Translation

The invisible holy flower

Salāk(u) Mundum¹⁹ in the Kirānti-Kōits culture, has a special importance since time immemorial. In the ritual process of performing Salāku, the trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) is a very necessary flower to the shaman (m/f) and priest. While performing the Salaku, the priest (mainly) and shaman (m/f) invoke saying, “amarpatimi (a), bimarpatimi (b), igirekhimi (ir), dumarekhimi (dr), igi mulimi (im), duma mulimi (dm), igi lāptsomi (il), duma lāptsomi (dl), igi tāltsami (it), duma tāltsami (dt)...”.²⁰ Worshipping the spirit of the deceased through the Salaku Mundum in this way, is the main purpose of the Kirānti-Kōits culture whereas trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) is the main flower for use in this worship. Many years ago an old man of a thum

¹⁸ These are typical botonyms (i.e. botanical names) of flowers in Kirānti-Kōits.

¹⁹ It refers to the Kirant philosophy of life in their religion.

²⁰ Kirānti-Kōits ritual mantra incantations in which tribal Deities residing in several places are invoked such as *əmərpəti* = ‘at a type of leaf’ (Atit Kōits-Mukhia informed me that the name *əmərpəti* is named to the blooming *bospəti* towards the east direction and *bimərpat* on the west), *bimərpatimi* = ‘at a type of leaf’ (the *bospəti* blooming towards the west direction), *igi rekhimi* = ‘at the creator’s border’, *duma rekhimi* = ‘at the border of female’, *igi mulimi* = ‘at the main creator’, *dumā mulimi* = ‘at the main female’, *igi lāptsomi* = ‘at the creator’s door’, *dumā lāptsomi* = ‘at the female’s door’, *igi tāltsāmi* = ‘the creator’s lock’ and *dumā tāltsāmi* = ‘at the female’s lock.’

(village/area) wanted to do Gil Pidar (a type of tribal worship) during the king Binicha's ruling time.

In order to perform this Gil, 365 fowl and pigs, 365 solma/torma (an idol/image made out of cooked rice) and then 365 types of flower is necessary. The old man called the priest and shamans (m/f) having brought and piled up the types of that much needed materials. The priest and shaman (m/f) also, in a loud voice saying, "sangso... sang... sang... sang..."²¹ tsuplu hopo, duplo hopo, muso hopo, thalo: hopo" started invoking gods and goddesses to worship. While performing their worship, the priest and shaman (m/f) are signalled from all ancestral gods and goddesses.

Unfortunately, on that night the fireplace god, who needed to come first, did not signal his arrival himself. The priest and shamans (m/f) went on keeping their worship inviting (i.e. envoking) them although the god of the fireplace did not accept offer. The worship continued for three days and three nights. They were troubled when the fireplace god refused accepting the worship even after having applied different solutions. Fortunately, on the fourth night Dznatna Muli²² appearing in the priest's dream said, "some of the flowers that you have offered are impure/unholy.

In those flowers some drops of urine of a menstruated woman is sprinkled. For that reason (therefore) the fireplace god has not accepted your worship. Remove and throw those impure/unholy flowers and then in their place, offer such a flower, which blooms inside the fruit, whose seed is also inside it, and then no one can see while blooming. If you are able to do so, the fireplace god can obey having your worship.

The next morning the priest narrated his dream-anecdote to all. All listeners were happy having listened the priest's dream-anecdote. Nevertheless, the mystery of "the invisibly blooming flower" troubled them in a great deal. All the people present there could not reveal the mystery at all. The thum (village/area) oldman in turn informed also to the Binicha king. The king (Binicha) having made him (the shaman) see oracle and

²¹ This is the manner of invoking gods and goddesses requesting to take incense in the beginning of their worship in Kirānti-Kōits culture. So no word for word translations can be provided into English.

²²It refers to a name of the ancestral god (guardian angel) in Kirānti-Kōits culture.

ordered to find out such flower. The shaman also prophesied that such flower would be available in the jungle towards the northeast direction.

The priest also set out towards the direction shown by the shaman for searching the unseen flower. He asked regarding such invisible flower to all the birds, animal and men whoever he could meet. However, nothing could work. He was tired and thought of returning home. The hopeless priest while returning home met a shepherd on the way. While meeting him (the shepherd) the priest immediately thought, “O yeah! This fucker shepherd goes to the jungle (high altitude) during summer and down in the inner plain during winter. He certainly might have seen such flower! Let me ask him once.”

The priest narrated his curiosity to the shepherd. The cunning and confused shepherd having after a while said, “I know but it cannot be revealed without any charge. Now the priest was disturbed by the fact that how to make him (the shepherd) obey. He (the priest) could not also do without persuading him (the shepherd). He (the priest) gave to him (the shepherd) his entire snack carried to himself. He could not extract information with this much also. Having failed knowing the secrecy, he made him drink the wine which he had with him by bringing a pheasant having hunted.

He gave him a lot of wine (i.e. intoxicant) until he got intoxicated. The wine-intoxicated shepherd started asking for some other impossible demands. To such an extent that the shepherd having staggered his tongue in a nasal voice asking to fulfill his sexual lust to the priest said, “Hey Leopard! (addressing the priest). Now if you promise to sacrifice your daughter to me, I shall show you the flower, which no one can see. If not let it go to the hell; I do not know such flower etc. The priest had uncontrollable anger. His eyes turned into lightning with anger. With revenge, he wished he could finish him at once. He slowly undid his fist. Opened his eyes.

While opening his eyes, he saw many fruit bearing dagger-shaped trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) in front of him. Intending to pacify his (the priest's) anger, he started beating up the shepherd heavily picking up the sword-shaped and dried trumpet flower

(*oroxyllum indicum*); meanwhile it broke and the floor became full of scattered white trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) flower. Describing this scenery, the green-dove sitting on the tree said, “Yeah! That is the flower you’re looking for.”

His (the priest’s) happiness knew no bounds while immediately hearing this (i.e. finding). The priest who was hurried to reach to the Thum Khalpa’s *Gil* worship; hurriedly collected the trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) in rustle. Then the priest reached to the *gil* worship spot saying, jumping and reciting Mundum, “I found bakypat, I found amarpat, I found bimarpat.”

Thus the message given by Dzatna Muli to the Na?so in his dream would solve the mystery. Since that time trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) became the most necessary holy flower in *Gil* and *Shyādar* worship of the Kirānti-Kōits culture. The necessary leaves and flowers in *gil* are *gilpha*, *holpha*, *lospa*, *hopa* and *bendzis*²³. The naming of the same holy flower blooming on the same tree towards the east direction is *amarpat* and towards the west is *bimarpat*.

4. Binicha SalAphAiNs Hopo

‘The atrocious King Binicha’

4.1 *onttha KirAtnga Kirat-KōitsA hopo Binits bA?shobA?*

ōtthə Kirāt-ŋā Kirāt-Kōits-ā hopo Binits bā?-šo bā?-tə~t
hither K-LOC:POSS K-K-POSS king B exist-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The king of hither or near (*N Wallo*) Kirat was Binicha.’

4.2 *meko hopom sAines moitin onttha KirAtmi Khintsi dyAlngA Kothdimmi hopothem wAisšA mekomi thAkthAksam hopothem pAptu.*

meko hopo-m sāines moitin ōtthə Kirāt-mi K^hitsi dyāl-ŋā Kothdim-mi
that king-AGT many. years ago hither K-LOC k village-LOC:POSS K-LOC
hopothem wāis-šā meko-mi thākthāksəm hopothem pāp-tu
capital keep-SIM he-AGT generation to generation capital do-PST:3SG

‘Many years ago, he (the king) established his kingdom at Kothdim of Khintsi village, hither or near (*N Wallo*) Kirat and ruled there for many generations.’

²³ These are typical botonyms (i.e. botanical names) of flowers in Kirānti-Kōits.

4.3 *meko sus barssho salAphAins bAʔ.*

meko sus bārs-šo səlāp^hāīs bāʔ-tə~t
 s/he much grow:ADJ atrocious:ADJ AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He was very much atrocious.’

4.4 *Am muruA dumskena sušihopokhinga muruke lA dums koʔbAʔ.*

ām muru-ā dums-kε-ŋā sušihopok^hī-ŋā muru-kε lā dums
 own man-GEN progress-3SG-SIM many.family-GEN man-GEN only progress
 koʔ-bāʔtə~t
 look-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He was partial and worried about his own family and relatives’ progress.’

4.5 *mopA mekoke horssho hopogem/paiske diptshirtsWAM glumešo murupikim meko Anken dumsimi glongoth glutem.*

mopā meko-kε hors-šo hopogem/pāis-kε diptshirtsWā-m glumε-šo
 in.that.way he-POSS trouble-ADJ rule-POSS injustice-LOC suffer-PR:PCPL
 muru-piki-m meko ānkε-n dum-si-mi glōgoth glu-tεmε~tεm
 man-PL-AGT s/he PL-POSS-PAR progress-MV-LOC against appear-PST:3SG

‘In this way, many suffered people rose for their own progress against the king’s unjust rule.’

4.6 *onpA hopom Am diptshirtsWAM Am muruA tau-tsats sAittik tAnge shyeltABAʔ.*

ōpā hopo-m ām diptširtsWā-m ām muru-ā tēu-tsəts sāit-tik tāge
 thus king-AGT own injusti-LOC own man-POSS son-grandson kill-NML plot/relation
 šyel-tā bāʔ- tē~t
 make-PST AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Thus, the unjust king conspired to murder all including their sons and grandchildren.’

4.7 *shyeng meko lo:A Al kA tselpummi tuisshAngA min sAngwAbake tau-tsats dzAmtsA h'intsAm Am klelts lamsAkali Tsapleti punkhinmi khuissha odABAʔ.*

šyεŋ meko lo:-ā āl kā tselpum-mi tuis-šā-ŋā min sāŋwābā-kε
 but that secret-POSS child one aunt-AGT know-SIM then b(ef²⁴)-POSS
 tēu-tsəts dzām-cā h'ī-cā-m ām klelts lāmsā-kāli Tsəpleti
 son-grandson lose-INF fear-INF-LOC own younge nephew-DAT Ts
 pūk^hī-mi k^huis-šā o-dā-bāʔ-tə~t
 cave-LOC hide-SIM keep-PST-AUX:EXT-3SG

²⁴ Where ‘b’ stands for brother and (ef), when the ego is female and loab or ngAwa when the ego is male.

‘But such conspiracy was revealed to one of the boys’ aunt and hse was afraid of the fact that her brother’s future generation was in danger and she hid her nephew (of fraternal) in a cave of the Tsapleti cliff.’

- 4.8 *meko tselpumA nelle sangwAbApik meko Binits hopom saissha thumABAʔ.*
 meko tselpum-ā nelle sāṅwābā-pik meko Binits hopo-m sāis-šā thum-ā
 s/he aunt-POSS all fraternal-PL that B king-AGT kill-SIM finish-PST
 bāʔ-tə~t
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The king finished killing all the fraternal brothers of the aunt.’

- 4.9 *mopatke meko lamsAkali blopaitstsAkali khiittAt.*
 mo-pə-tkε meko lāmsā-kəli blo-pāits-cā-kəli k^huit-tā-tə~t
 so-do-NML that nephew-DAT escape-do-INF-DAT hide-PST-3SG

‘For that reason she hid the nephew (of fraternal) in order to save him.’

- 4.10 *mekoke khiittik punkhina ne Kirānti-Kōits lo:mi rupApunkhin denimi.*
 meko-ke k^huit-tik pūk^hin-ā ne Kirānti-Kōits lo:-mi rupāpunk^hi dē~nimi
 he-GEN hide-NML cave-GEN name K-K language-LOC R say-NPST:1/3PL

‘His (nephew’s) hiding place is known as Rupapūkhī.’

- 4.11 *tselpummi rupApunkhinmi sukaimiyo matuittekpA dzatsA tso:tSA pAibaʔ.*
 tselpum-mi rupāpunk^hi-mi sukāimiyo mə-tuit-tək-pā dzə-cā tso:-cā
 aunt-AGT R-AGT no one NEG-know-NML:ADV eat-INF errand-INF
 pāi-bāʔ-tə~t
 do-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The aunt used to supply the food secretly in the cave.’

- 4.12 *tsinu marai thosenole hopom khAding pashA meko tselpum bAʔtikem lo:rAibmur soittAt.*
 tsinu mərəi thosē-nole hopo-m k^hādiṅ pə-šā meko tselpu-m
 again time:IND year-after king-AGT doubt do-SIM s/he aunt-LOC
 bāʔ-tikε-m lo:rāibmur soit-tāt
 live-NML-LOC spy send-PST:3SG

‘After some years, the king doubted and sent his spy at the aunt’s (of fraternal) dwelling place.’

- 4.13 *meko rAgI wAkI wAkim blisho bAʔ.*

meko rAgi wāki-wāki-m bli-šo bā?-tə~t
 that place jungle RED-INST fill-PCPL:ADJ AUX:EXT-3SG

‘That place (lit. country) was filled with jungle.’

4.14 *lamsake nadonad wakim lanegot.*

lāmsā-ke nādo-nād wāki-m lə-nε-go-t
 nephew-GEN night-RED jungle-LOC go-INF:NOM-start-PST

‘The nephew’s days and night started passing in the jungle.’

4.15 *nātpik dilsha lamēnole Am lamsakali the:tsa konitsa mulkema dewa-deyi Ankali
 yo:shasosha pulpa wakila lamsakali leppaissha waṛsa, gaṛsa, tutsa nu lo:pik
 shyēntau.*

nāt-pik dil-šā lə-mε-nolε ām lāmsā-kəli the:-cā kōi-cā mulkεm-ā
 day-PL pass-SIM go-PST-after own nephew-DAT tread-INF show-INF culture-GEN
 dewā-deyi ān-kəli yo:-šā-so-šā pul-pā wāki-lā
 god-goddess their-DAT share-SIM-RED-SIM worship (Mun²⁵) jungle-ABL
 lāmsā-kəli ləp-pāis-šā wā?-cā, gā?-cā, tu-cā nu lo:-pik
 nephew-DAT return-CAUS-SIM speak-INF walk-INF drink-INF and language-PL
 šyē~tu~āu
 teach-PST:3SG

‘While the days passed on, she wanted her nephew (of fraternal) return from the jungle and she worshipped god and goddesses in accordance with the Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(uywar/ Mukhia) culture and got him back at home; nurtured and taught the language as well.’

4.16 *minu gyube-tube pa mulatnga Pokali dyalnga Watspum gyaittik thetik shyelsha
 waittu.*

minu gyube-tube pā mulāt-ṅā Pokəli dyāl-ṅā Wātspu-m gyāit-tik
 then marriage-RED having done today-GEN P village-GEN W-LOC catch-NML
 the-tik šyēl-šā wāit-tu
 tread-NML make-SIM keep-PST:3SG

‘Then she arranged for his marriage and helped him to settle down at Wachpu in recent Pokali village.’

4.17 *mekoa lamsakali rupāpunkhinm baṛsha bloinsho patike mekoā pats rupats l’it.*

meko-ā lāmsā-kəli rupāpūk^hī-m bā?-šā bloī-šo pə-tikε meko-ā
 s/he-GEN nephew-DAT R-LOC live-SIM survive-SIM do-NML s/he-GEN pāts
 rupāts l’i-tə~t

²⁵ It stands for Mundum, which is the Kirānti peoples’ scriptures and theology as well.

clan Rupacha remain-PST:3SG

‘Her nephew’s (of fraternal) clan was named Rupacha because of his survival in the Rupapūkhī.’

4.18 *hopoke tau-tsats dzAmsha lamtemngana rupatske tau-tsats soinshAphoinsha lamteme.*

hopo-ke t̄əu-tsəts dzām-šā lām-t̄em-ŋənā rupāts-ke t̄əu-tsəts
king-GEN son-grandson disappear-SIM go-PST:3PL-if so R-GEN son-grandson
soī-sā-p^hoī-šā lām-t̄eme
increase/progress-SIM-RED-SIM go-NPST:3PL

‘The king’s generation disappeared today, whereas Rupacha’s generations are increasing/progressing.’

4.19 *šyeng mekoAs dAtemi serkikke kyAKi bartik tAinsisho patke gArsilo:si dumt.*

šyɛŋ meko-ās dāt̄e-mi serkik-ke kyāki bār-tik t̄āi-si-šo p̄ə-tke
but s/he-DU between-LOC g-f-GEN enemy increase-NML see-MV-PR:PCPL do-NML
gār-si-lo:si dum-t̄ə~t
treaty-MV-talk become-PST:3SG

‘But there was a treaty between the two (both party’s great-grandfathers (g-f)) because of increasing enmity.’

4.20 *mekoLA mekopik ngosiloab dumtAsngA gyube-t’ube patsA madumtek dumtAs minu be žshonu yo monhointtek tAnge dumta.*

meko-lā meko-pik ŋosiloəb dum-tās-ŋā gyube-t’ube p̄ə-cā
from-ABL s/he-PL k̄in-brother become-DU-SIM marriage-RED do-INF
m̄ə-dum-t̄ek dum-tās minu beʔ-šo-nu yo monhōit-t̄ek t̄āge
NEG-become-NML become-DU then die-PR:PCPL-TEMP also morun-NML relation
dum-t̄ə~t
become-PST:3SG

‘For this reason, both of them agreed to be kin-brothers and could not have marital relationship between them and they should observe death rituals.’

4.21 *mul yo meko tAnge lishon bA?b.*

mul yo meko t̄āge li-šo-n bāʔ-b(ə)
now also that relation remain-PR:PCPL-PAR AUX-NPST:3SG

‘This relation has remained till today.’

4.22 *Nepal rAgī gyAphe kA dumshomere Binits hopo mali.*

Nepal rāgi gyāp^hekā dum-šo-mere Binits hopo m̄ə-li

N country whole.one become-PR:PCPL-after B king NEG-remain

‘The king Binicha didn’t rule after the unification of the country of Nepal.’

4.23 *mopatke omo kolsho NepalngA hopo RajendraA lalphebri (Red Seal) dainepA Mukhia (K-K Mukhe) kormaphA tamteme.*

mo-pə-tkɛ omo kolšo Nepal-ŋā hopo Rajendra-lā ləp^hɛbrɛ (Red Seal)
 so-do-NML QUL big:ADJ N-LOC:POSS king R-ABL lph (R S)
 dāine-pā Mukhi(y)a (K-K Mukhe) korməp^hā tām-tɛmɛ
 okay-do:CONV M (K-K M) title get-PST:3PL

‘Thus the Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war) were awarded ‘Mukhi(y)a’ title with the lalphebri (Red Seal = Official Authority) by Rajendra the king of unified Nepal.’

4.24 *munu KirAnti-Kōits kipat ontha KirAtmi KōitsAnke batslits dumt.*

munu Kirānti-Kōits kipət ōth(ə) Kirāt-mi Kōits-ān-ke
 then K-K c/l hither/near K-LOC K-thier-GEN
 bā-ts-li-ts dum-tə~t
 live-NML-remain-NML become-PST:3SG

‘Then the Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war)’s habitat became their communal land (c/l) in Wallo (N) ‘hither/near’ Kirat.’

 Free Translation

The atrocious King Binicha

The king of hither or near (N *Wallo*) Kirat was Binicha. Many years ago, he (the king) established his kingdom at Kothdim of Khintsi village, hither or near (N *Wallo*) Kirat and ruled there for many generations. He was very much atrocious. He was partial and worried about his own family and relatives’ progress. In this way, many suffered people rose for their own progress against the king’s unjust rule. Thus, the unjust king conspired to murder all including their sons and grandchildren.

However, such conspiracy was revealed to one of the boys’ aunt and she was afraid of the fact that her brother’s future generation was in danger and she hid her nephew (of fraternal) in a cave of the Tsaplet cliff. The king finished killing all the

fraternal brothers of the aunt. For that reason she hid the nephew (of fraternal) in order to save him. His (nephew's) hiding place is known as Rupapūkhī. The aunt used to supply the food secretly in the cave. After some years, the king doubted and sent his spy at the aunt's (of fraternal) dwelling place. That place (lit. country) was filled with jungle. The nephew's days and night started passing in the jungle.

While the days passed on, she wanted her nephew (of fraternal) return from the jungle and she worshipped god and goddesses in accordance with the Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war/Mukhia] culture and got him back at home; nurtured and taught the language as well. Then she arranged for his marriage and helped him to settle down at Wachpu in recent Pokali village. Her nephew's (of fraternal) clan was named Rupacha because of his survival in the Rupapūkhī. The king's generation disappeared today, whereas Rupacha's generations are increasing/progressing.

There was however a treaty between the two (both party's great-grandfathers (g-f)) because of increasing enmity. For this reason, both of them agreed to be kin-brothers and could not have marital relationship between them and they should observe death rituals. This relation has remained until today. The king Binicha did not rule after the unification of the country of Nepal. Thus the Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war) were awarded 'Mukhi(ya)' title with the lalphebre (Read Seal = Official Authority) by Rajendra the king of unified Nepal. Then the Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war)'s habitat became their communal land (c/l) in *Wallo* (N) 'hither/near' Kirat.

Appendix B
Lexicon in use

§ а /ə/

əɪ̯T^hɛ n. (c/u) ‘oak’ a kind of tree, *quercus oxyodon*, *lāmellose lineata* (c) ~piki (pl)
 əɪ̯T^hɛpiki ‘oaks’
 (u) əɪ̯T^hɛkɛ šyi ‘the wood of the oak tree’
 əɪ̯T^hɛ məkyortstsā ‘not to cut the oak’
 əɪ̯T^hɛ k^hr(ɫ)oitstsā ‘to chop the oak’
 əɪ̯T^hɛ tiltsā ‘to fell the oak’
 əɪ̯T^hɛkɛ šyi brəth lətsā ‘to go for fetching the firewood of oak’
 əɪ̯T^hɛkɛ lāptso ‘door made up of the oak’
 əɪ̯T^hɛ k^hɪ šyeltsā gɛ lābbə ‘Oak is useful to build a house.’
 əɪ̯thɛ ɔ̯tth pito ‘Fetch the oak tree hither.’

əidi n. (c) ‘liver’
 əidimi gɛ məpətsā ‘liver-failure’
 bwākɛ əidi dzətsā ‘to have the liver of fowl’

əkk^hə n. [S: Kirānti-Lim+nat.] ‘weather’ cf. SYN thi
 gəsupəšo əkk^hə ‘a cloudy weather’
 mulāt əkk^hə rīmšo mədum ‘The weather is bad today.’

ək^hāts adj. ‘slow’ ANT ālɛk
 ək^hāts nɪpsəšo wāisāl ‘a slow-minded boy’
 mul ək^hāts dumša məbāyə ‘Let us not be slow now.’

ərətsā (S: N+Nat) vi. ‘to order’ ərəptu (p, 3sg) ‘ordered’ ərəšo (pp, adj.) ‘ordered’ cf.
 SYN p^hliptsā, p^hlitsā (indigenous vocabulary) NEG mə-ərətsā ‘tonot order’
 ərətsā ts’išo ‘going to order’
 ərətsā mālɓə ‘must order’
 lo:(ə)bmi yumpikəli gɛ ərəptu ‘The brother ordered the sister to work.’
 goi ərəšo gɛ pāuo ‘Do the ordered job.’
 āp^hpomi ākəli gɛ ərəmtɛmɛ ‘The father ordered me the job.’

əkk^hā n. (c) ‘fruit’ ~pik (pl) ‘fruits’
 mɛ? həu əkk^hā bətsā ‘to have the yellow fruit’
 gom əkk^hā gyāptsākəli kyɛtn məthidu ‘I did not find money for buying the fruit.’

ətətɪŋəl n. (c) ‘bone-joint’ ~pik (pl) ‘bone-joints’
 ətətɪŋəl k^hāitstsā ‘to ache the bone-joint’
 ətətɪŋəl rək sutsā ‘to itch the bone-joint’
 ətətɪŋəlmi gyāitstsā ‘to catch in the bone-joint’
 ətətɪŋəl k^hāittə hənā hirdo ‘If the bone-joint aches, shake round and round.’

əTəTiŋəl hirššonu rimšo dumbə ‘It is better while shaking the bone-joint.’

əTiŋəl n. (c) -puki (pl) ‘joints’

əTiŋəlke k^həlkobə ‘orthopedic surgeon’

əTiŋəl k^hāitstsā ‘to ache the joint’

əTiŋəl rək sutsā ‘to itch the joint’

əTiŋəl ‘dzitsā ‘to break the joint’

āke əTiŋəl k^hāiššo məšā ‘My aching joint has not been recovered.’

əyāsā n. [S: Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar 2002: 11] ‘trident’ cf. SYN sātsu, libsā

𑌒 आ /ā/

-ā POSS. (+human) ‘of’ cf. SYN -ke [±human] ‘of, my, his’ [cf. ā Kirānti -Ath; Neupane (2001: 291)]

kyārsšyεke milu ‘tail of the goat’

āmke ‘own’

mεkoke ‘his or her’

təmiā k^hī ‘house of the daughter’

āmā nəm ‘love of the mother’

kōits-ā ‘of the Kōits’

rəwāke gurip/koŋšyi ‘plo: ugh made up of the lo: g of wood’

muruā plεku ‘tears of man’

gom mεkoā kul kotsā mətsəbu ‘I cannot tolerate him.’

ā pron. [ā-ke; POSS form of ‘I’ and no exact equivalent form for ‘mine’] ‘I, me, my mine’ [cf. ā Kirānti -Ath; Neupane (2001: 291)]

ākəli ‘to me’

ā dẽšo bisšo ‘Obey me what I said.’

āke ‘my’

āi-ke-ī-ke ‘ours’

āke mukots dzāmtε ‘My watch got lost.’

gomi āke mukots sām̄tāŋ ‘I lost my watch.’

āke nəm ‘my love’

āke rāgi ‘my country’

āke murunāms ‘my relatives’

āke luŋgir ‘my heart’

āke yāts ‘my cousin’

āke m’itsimin təšo nəŋ ‘I saw with my own bare eyes.’

goimi modeb pəšonu āke thū k^hāittə ‘I am hurt when you did so.’

ākekupp^himin brəsišo məbā ‘I am not so fortunate.’

goimi ākelo: bitstsān māl̄nəye ‘You have to obey what I say.’

āī-kε (> āī > ī) pron. 'ours'

āīkε lā 'our path'

āīkε lā 'only ours, from ours'

āīkε səriŋ 'our sky'

āīkε tēmi-təu 'our daughter and son'

āīkε nεʔthāŋā murupiki 'our neighbours'

āīkεtsəimi 'our daughter-in-lāw'

āīkε murunāmskəli nəm pətsā mālba 'We have to lo: ve our people.'

āīkε k^hī āmmin səlŋiki 'We build our home ourselves.'

āīkε dε̃tsā mārəiyo məbābə 'We have nothing to possess as ours.'

āīkεwārts dε̃šo murunāmspiki nəmi 'Our friends means are our people.'

āidi adv. 'below'

āidi k^hī 'the house below'

āidige 'towards below'

āidi mələtsā 'not to go below'

āidi ləšyā 'having gone below'

goi āidi k^hī lāuo 'You go to the house below'

meko āidi mār b'āmε? 'What is down there?'

āidi k^hīŋa muru tək ləmā? 'Where did the people of that house down there go?'

āidi āitthā mədoro 'Don't run up and down.'

āitthā adv. 'up, above, towards or in higher position' cf. SYN ātār

k^hāi āitthā yā:tsā 'to move the curry up above'

āits adj. [+human] 'young, small, little'

meko āits āl 'that little child'

āitstsi postp. 'across'

āitstsi yās'itsā 'to be moved across' (self)

āŋ n. (u) 'maize, corn, sweet corn' cf. SYN koŋrets

koŋrets nu kolgi 'maize and soybeans'

āŋ kārtstsa 'to parch/fry corn'

koŋrets so:tsā 'to sow the maize seeds'

āŋ ro:tsā 'to weed around the corn plānt'

āŋ tultsā 'to up root the maize plant'

kārsšo āŋ nu koltsi brobə 'The parched corn and soybeans will be tasty.'

gomi āŋ hiltsā mālba 'I have to grind the corn.'

āŋkə n. (c) 'crop' ~pikyə (pl) 'crops' cf. SYN nətbəs, nətdelts

āl n. 'child, baby'~piki (pl) 'children, babies'

āl kā 'one/a child'

wāisāl 'boy'

m'isyēāl 'girl'
 āl thitek dumtsā 'to be pregnant'
 āl k^hālpətsā 'to care a child'
 ālkob 'nanny'
 ālməthišo adj. 'childless'
 ālk^hodešo adj. 'child-like'
 dodeb rimšo āl ! 'What a beautiful child!'
 εko āl theb dumbə 'This child will be a great one'.

ālek adj. 'fast' ANT ək^hāts
 ālek dortstsā 'to run fast'
 šyākā ālek dorbə 'A leopard runs fast.'

ām n. (c) ¹'mother' ~pəki (pl) 'mothers' ²'own' cf. SYN māmā, immā
 ālām 'mother of a child'
 māmā lo: 'mother tongue'
 immā tek lāmā? 'Where did your mother go?'

āmin pron. 'self (myself)' cf. SYN āmāi
 gom ε~ko gε āmin~āmāi pātāŋ 'I did this work myself.'

āmke pron. [> ām] 'own'
 āmke gāl 'own perspiration'
 āmke muru 'own relatives'
 āmke lā 'own path'
 ām dumtek lā kotsā 'to be selfish'
 āmke wā 'own cloth'
 āmke lā məple~tsā 'not to forget your own duty/path'
 āmke k^hyōpət mək^hātsā 'not to tear your own book'
 āmke murukəli nəm pəne 'Love you own relatives'.
 āmke gāl blo: ba 'Your own hard work is worthwhile'.
 āmkelā māmāi āmmuru ānke yo lo: netsā mālba 'You have to listen to others'. view
 also.'

āmnus adj. 'pleasure' ANT šyet
 šyetmi āmnus 'pleasure in trouble'

āmrāgi adj. [also k^hī (fig.)] 'native country' ANT turkirāgi
 āmrāgikəli nəmpətsā 'to love one's own country'

-ān n., adj. (+human; pikyə ±human) 'plural; in the sense of -pik'
 tsāibānkəli 'to the young ones' (esp. -human)
 ālānkəli 'to the children' (esp. +human)
 muruānke 'of the people'
 meānke 'of them'

mēānke bwā siwārmi yoltāu ‘The jackal devoured their fowl.’
gomi ālānkēli huittāṅ ‘I scolded to the children.’

āntre n. (c) [S: N+nat] ‘fifth son’ ~piki (pl) ‘fifth son’
āke āntre tōu dzāmtō ‘My fifth son got lost.’

āp^htsā vt. ‘to shoot, strike’ āp^htu (p, 3sg) ‘shot’ āp^hšo (pp, adj.) ‘shot’ NEG mō~ ‘not to shoot, strike’
kisšye āp^htsā ‘to shoot a deer’

āp^htek n. (c) [< āp^htsā] cf. SYN put^hek, peṅ tēbu
āp^hsi, āp^hteke n., adj. ‘striking, striker, shooter’
puthe āp^htsā ‘to shoot a gun’
p^huilumi āp^htsā ‘to strike with a stone’
meko ālmi gokāl p^huilumi āp^htu ‘The child shot me with a stone.’
meko bērsšo tsibkēli p^huilu āpāšāṅā to:ko ‘Fell that flying bird having struck with a stone.’
meko byāp^hkēli p^huilum āpšā k^hrolo: ‘Fell that ox by striking with a stone.’

āp^hər n. (c) ‘profit’ ~pik (pl) ‘profits’
āp^hər tsemtsā ‘to earn profit’

āp^hpo n. ‘father’ -piki (pl)
āp^hpo k^hodešo adj. ‘father-like’
dodeb āp^hpo modēb tōu ‘Like father like son.’
āp^hpo mēthišo ‘father-less’
āp^hpoā nāt ‘father’s day’
āp^hpo dumtsā ‘to father’
āp^hponu ‘with the father’
āp^hpokēli ‘to the father’
goimi āp^hpoā lo: bitstsā mālnāye ‘You have to obey your father’s advice.’
ike āp^hponu hillo pāuo ‘Ask with your father.’
āke āp^hpomi blespāt bretāme ‘My father wrote a letter.’

āp^htsi n. ‘flap’
āptsi sē~dā ‘flap sound’

-ās PAR ‘dual [abbreviated as DU in morpheme break]

āssek intj. ‘no idea’
A: ε~ko lā tek lāibā? ‘Where does this road go?’
B: āssek go dā mētuiṅ ‘No idea! I do not know.’

āudi adv. [N+Nat; occurs before adj..] ‘extremely, in a high degree, very much’
āudi rimšo āl ‘a very good child’

āul n. (u) [N+Nat] ‘malaria’
 āulmi thitsā ‘to suffer from malaria’

ārək^hā (S: Kirānti-Rod) n. (u) ‘wine’ cf. SYN ribdo, šyeršo
 šyeršo t’utsā ‘to drink the wine’
 ribdomi pidār patsā ‘to worship with wine’
 mulkəm nu ārək^hā ‘culture and wine’
 kirānti mulkəmmi šyeršo ‘wine in the Kirānti culture’
 kirānti mulkəmmi ribdo mədumthu mədumbə ‘Wine is the integral part of the
 Kirānti Culture.’
 sus šyeršo mətušon rimšo dumbə ‘It is better not to drink too much.’

āssek excl., ‘no idea’ ¹used to give a negative reply or statement ²used to express shock
 or surprise at what somebody has said
 āssek mēko āl tək ləmə go mətuinuḡ ‘I have no idea where the child did go’.

ātār adv. [āalso āitthā] ‘above, up, on’

† ३ /i/

iḡboʔtsā vt. [S: Kirānti-Lim + nat] ‘to declare’ iḡboʔtu (p, 3sg) ‘declared’ iḡboʔšo (pp)
 ‘declared’ n. iḡboʔtsi ‘declaration’

itsā vi. [< hitsā; marked for spatial deixies] ‘to come down’ (verticality) itə (p, 3sg) ‘came
 down’ išo (pp, adj.) ‘come down’ NEG mə~ ‘to not come’ cf. SYN kutsā, pitsā.
 dzāʔtsā
 itsā tsō ‘better (used as INDL) come’
 irlā itsā ‘to come down from above’
 rēu itu(ə) ‘It rained.’
 rēu itsā tsitāu ‘It’s going to rain.’
 rēu ibā kō ‘It might rain.’
 k^hubnātsm rēu ibə ‘It rains in July.’
 go rēu išo dānuḡ ‘I like raining.’
 rēu ilə ‘Let there be rain.’
 rēu išo mēre thi rimšo dumbə ‘The weather improves while it rains.’

itsā adv. ‘some more’ (used with unspecified quantity of things esp. to make sure)
 itsā tēmtsā ‘to add some more’ (in question and assertion)
 itsā k^hāi tēndu? ‘Should I add some more curry to you?’
 itsā kretete tēmsā geḡə? ‘Should I add some yogurt to you?’
 go də itsā k^həmə dzāinuḡ ‘I want to have some more rice.’
 go itsā yo dornuḡ ‘I want to run some more minutes.’
 goi itsā dzāinəyε? ‘Do you want to have some more?’

go nimp^hā itsā k^həmε dzāinəsku ‘We two have some more rice.’

itsi-itsi adv. (qty) cf. itsā, itsikā, itsik^hε ‘a little bit, less’
 go itsiitsi roi pātāŋ ‘I am a little bit unwell.’
 go itsiitsi sātāŋ ‘I recovered a little bit.’
 itsik^hoi le^hbrots ‘a little bit pickle’
 itsiitsi t’uko ‘lick a little bit’
 itsiitsi k^hoili thəko ‘Tread a little/Progress a little’
 itsiitsi denden suš dzayi? ‘Did you eat that much telling a little bit?’

itsikā adv. (qty), itsik^hε [> itskā~itsk^hε] ‘a little’
 itsikā tēmtsā ‘to add a little’
 itsikā dzətsā ‘to eat a little’
 luŋgirmi itsikā nəm ‘a little bit of love at heart’
 itsikā k^hāi tēmdu? ‘Should I add a little curry?’
 boitsākəli itsikā nəm məltāwə ‘It needs a little bit of love to survive.’
 itsikā dzəŋ dε ‘Let me have a little.’
 itsikā thāmšā koŋ ‘Taste a little.’

itsik^hε adv. See itsā, itsikā, itsik^hoi

itsstinā ‘expression used while scolding’
 koŋ kəd itsstinā bεŋε

itsu n.(c) [> yits,] ‘rat, mouse’ ~pəki (pl) ‘mice’ cf. SYN hitsu
 itsukəli bərmomi sāitstsā ‘to kill the rat by the cat’
 nətbəs nu itsu ‘crops and mouse’
 itsuke milu ‘tail of the mouse’
 gom itsuke milum gyāittāŋ ‘I caught in the rat’s tail.’
 itsukəli bərmomi sāittāt ‘The cat killed the rat.’
 itsum wa k^hr(ɾ)odāt ‘The rat cut the cloth.’
 āke kodzm itsu dorttu/go solu bε?ti ‘I am hungry.’
 itsu nu bermo wārtstsə mədumnim ‘Cat and rat cannot be friends.’
 hitsu imitstsili bā?b ‘A rat is small.’

ike det., pron. ‘thy, thine, your(s)’
 ike tsotso ‘your cheek’
 ike wārts ‘your friend, companion’
 ike rəŋsε məkōido ‘Don’t show your disorderly manner.’
 ike k^hoili ts’išo ‘Clean up your leg.’
 ike bləspət dzammətə ‘Your letter has been lost.’
 ikemuru tək ləmā? ‘Where did our relatives go?’
 ike nε mārmi’ε? ‘What is your name?’

iklā n. (c) (S: Kirānti-Lim) ‘voice’ ~piki (pl) ‘voices’

kumso pətik iklā ‘singing voice’
 iklā nu kumso ‘voice and song’
 misyeälke iklā ‘voice of the girl’
 kumso pətsākəli rimšo iklā māl̥bə ‘A pleasant voice is needed for singing a song.’
 məkoke iklā gāšo bāʔtə ‘S/he has a horse voice.’

immā n.(c) cf. SYN ām, məmā
 immākəli nəmpətsā ‘to love the mother’
 āke immā thebmur nəmi ‘My mother is a big boss.’

imitstsili adj.[~imtsili] ‘small’ ANT theb ‘big’
 imitstsili tsitoli ‘a small chick’
 imitstsili bwā ‘a small fowl’
 imitstsili lo: ‘insignificant talk, fact’
 imitstsili gār ‘a small wound’
 imitstsili m’itsi ‘a small eye’
 məkə imitstsili muru pDotu ‘The small man ran away.’
 məkə imitstsili āl šyil pāibə ‘The small baby dances.’

imk^həpkyu n.(c) [S: blending] ‘car’ cf. SYN p^hō
 rimšo kā imk^həpkyu ‘a beautiful car’
 gom gig kā imk^həpkyu gyāptāŋ ‘I bought a green car.’

iptsā v. ‘to sleep’ iptu (p, 3sg) ‘slept’ ipšo (pp, adj.) ‘slept’ NEG mə ‘to not sleep’
 ipsi/iptəke n. ‘the way of sleeping/sleeper’
 go ipnuŋ ‘I sleep.’
 go iptsā māl̥tāwə ‘I have to sleep.’
 məkə āl iptu ‘The child slept.’
 məkə āl də ipšo məbā ‘The baby hasn’t slept.’
 iptsā māl̥šo mədum ‘I tried to sleep but I could not.’
 mul ipine ‘Please sleep now.’
 məipšā mār košo? ‘What’re you looking at without sleeping?’
 goi nimp^hā ipese ‘You two sleep.’
 gopik iptəkə ‘We slept.’
 go ipti ‘I slept.’

i:r’i [> ir] adv. ‘up above, far above’
 irŋā ‘of above’
 irlā ‘from above’
 həri ir ‘up’
 i:r’i (usu. emphatic meaning) ‘up’
 irlā rəu itu ‘It rained.’
 irlā konuŋ ‘I watch you from heaven/above.’
 irlā iti ‘I came from above.’
 itsp^hres n. (c) ‘clause’

itsp^hres rətstsā ‘to read a clause’
 itsp^hres bretsā ‘to write a clause’
 itsp^hres šyeltsā ‘to make a clause;
 itsp^hreslā ‘from the clause’
 itsp^hres l’ā ‘only a clause’
 durdəpikilā itsp^hres šyelsib ‘A clause is made out of words.’
 gomi p^hrespiki məbrethu itsp^hreslā bretāŋ ‘I wrote only phrases without writing a sentence.’
 p^hreske hōiti itsp^hres pib ‘A clause comes before a sentence.’

itsā vi. [< hitsā] ‘to come’ (vertical; Mokuśu as consultant in NK Rai (2002) itə (p, 3sg)
 ‘came’ išo (pp, adj.) ‘come’ NEG mə~ ‘not to come’

itsā adv. (quantity) [also itsi] ‘a little bit’
 goi itsā k^həm tēmšā dzāinəye ‘Do you want to have adding some rice?’

२ उ /u/

ubnəubnə n. ‘mutter, a quiet sound or words that are difficult to hear’ ~pətsā (v) ‘to mutter’
 məko ālke ubnəubnə nə:šā go mərimšo lā?ti ‘I felt bad having heard the child’s mutter.’

udiŋ n. उदिङ्ग ‘north’
 udiŋge ‘towards the North’
 gom udiŋmi šyor kā tātāŋ ‘I saw a star in the North.’

ugeŋ ‘germination, small plant’
 ugeŋ mətultsā ‘not to uproot the small plant’
 go ugeŋ mətulnuŋ ‘I do not uproot the small plant.’

uŋku adv. par. ‘frequency indicator (e.g. how my times), as soon as’
 šyus uŋku ‘many times’
 došo uŋku ‘how many times’
 təšyo uŋkumin ‘while seeing immediately/right at the moment of seeing’
 grumdəlmi došo uŋku ləni? ‘How many times did you go to the meeting?’
 šyādər šyusən uŋku šyil pātāŋ ‘I danced Shyadar Shyil many times.’
 šyople təšo uŋkumin dzātāŋ ‘I ate the bread immediately while seeing.’

umtsā vt. ‘to feed’ umtu (p, 3sg) ‘fed’ umšo (pp) ‘fed’ NEG mə~ ‘to not feed’
 k^həmeumtsā ‘feeding ceremony’
 k^həme umtəke nāt ‘the feeding day’
 ālkəli k^həme umtsā ‘to feed rice to the baby’
 suš məumtsā ‘not to feed too much’

gomi b'ikəli h'isi` umtāŋ 'I fed salt to the cow.'
 mɛʔmi ālkəli dzətəkdzət umtāwə 'S/he fed the food to the baby.'
 mɛko mārde umšo? 'Why did you feed that?'

utsitu adj. 'short' ANT gyošo

utthə adv. 'thither'
 utthə lətsā 'to go thither'

ušyer n. (c) 'butterfly' ~puk (pl) 'butterflies' cf. SYN burbu
 rimšo ušyer 'a beautiful butterfly'
 ušyer buđi šyil pətsa 'to dance like a butterfly'
 ušyer bərbə 'The butterfly flies.'
 ušyer k^hodeːšo āl 'a beautiful child/baby'
 burbu nu dzirber hərəlā kān nəsi 'Butterfly and moth are almost the same.'
 ušyer p^hukɛ ɛr-ōtthə gərbə 'A butterfly flies around the flower.'
 dzirber dāilukɛ ɛr-ōtthə hirbə 'A moth flies around the light.'

usuru adj. 'easy' ANT mətsābbi

ui adv.[< uyu] 'below, down'
 həyu uyu~hui ui 'far down'
 uigɛ 'downwards'
 ui ui doʔtu 'fell something very down'
 ui luts dorɔ 'Run below.'
 ui ləšā koŋo 'Go down and see.'
 mɛko muru də həyu ui l'imətə 'That man has been left far below.'

± ɛ /ɛ/

ɛi excl. 'hello, hi'
 ɛi tekləyi? 'Hey where did you go?'

ɛrɛ>ɛr adv. 'thither'
 hərə ɛrɛ koŋo 'Look thither.'

ɛ̃kɛrɛ adv. [> ɛ̃kɛ > ɛ̃k] 'hither, here'
 ɛ̃k nu mək 'here and there'
 ɛ̃klā 'from here'
 ɛ̃kɛrɛ! 'Here!'
 ɛ̃k piu minu ɛkɛr bāʔko 'Come here then sit here.'
 ɛ̃k wāiššo obis sumi k^huipəwā? 'Who stole the cucumber kept here?'
 mɛko k^hyōpət ɛkɛrɛ oto 'Put that book here.'

ε̃ko det. pron. [> ε̃] ‘this’ ~pəki (pl) ‘these’
 ε̃ko nu mēko ‘this and that’
 ε̃ko mur(u) ‘this man’
 ε̃ko murupiki ‘these people’
 ε̃ko bermo ‘this cat’
 ε̃ko de mēko? ‘This or that?’
 ε̃ko bermo itsu kā yo gyāitstsā mətšābbə ‘This cat cannot catch even one rat.’
 ε̃ko mur tək lāibā?mε koŋo...i ‘Look, where does that man go?’

enā n. (c) ‘elder sister’s spouse’ [S: first pronounced by a 3 year old child named Ruksha Walemrungcha and is quite natural in T-B Kirānti languages since most of them lack the aspirated /b^h/ as a minimal pair of /b/] ~pəki (pl)

enimon n. [spelt as Animon = एनिमोन] ‘respect, hospitality’

etstsə n. [N tsiuri = चिउरी] ‘a kind of butter fruit, *madhuca butyracea*
 etstsə bətsā ‘to have the madhuca butyracea’

etstsā ‘to beat’ cf. SYN yup^htsā, tətstsā, thāitstsā
 mēko murkəli etstsā ‘to beat that man’

ermā n. [> εrəm] ‘xanthoxylum’ (N बोके टिमुर)
 blošo ermā ‘a tasty xanthoxylum’

etsp^hu ‘rose’ cf. SYN lortsep^hu
 rimšo etsp^hu ‘a beautiful rose’

0 ओ /o/

obis n. [< hobis] ‘cucumber’
 obis bətsā ‘to eat cucumber’
 hobis sitsā ‘to bear cucumber’
 obiskε lε̃brots ‘pickle of cucumber’
 tol gyušo obis ‘hanging cucumber’
 obis sus s’išo mərimšo (folk belief) ‘to bear lots of cucumber is omen’
 obismi sus ?wāk > bāku dumbə ‘The cucumber is full of water.’
 gomi hobis k^hrumtāŋ ‘I planted the cucumber.’

oditsā ‘go to enter’ oditu (p, 3sg) ‘went for entering’ odišo (pp, adj.) ‘gone for entering’
 NEG mə~ ‘to not go for entering’
 ākε təu k^hiŋgā oditu ‘My son went to enter the house.’

ōdeb adj. [āalso ōleb/p] ‘of this type’
 ōdeb mur ‘a man of this type’

go òðeb mærimšo lo: mæðānuŋ ‘I do not like this type of bad talk.’

oirāt n. [probable proto-form of Kirāt through accidental development since Sanskrit does not tolerate /oi-/ in initial position] ‘Mongoloid tribe/race’
go Oirāt nəŋ ‘I am an Oirat’.

oktoto ‘dumbstruck’

rimšo lo: nɛ:ša go oktoto dumti ‘I was dumbstruck having heard a good news.’

olli n. [S: Kirāanti-Lim+nat] ‘kind, type, category, variety’
òðeb olli ‘of this type’

omu n. ‘mushroom’ ~piki (pl) ‘mushrooms’ cf. SYN šyik^hāi
sus omu tətsā ‘to get, see lots of mushroom’
šyik^hāi māltsā ‘to look for mushroom’
go omu dānuŋ ‘I like mushroom’.
omukɛ k^hāi brob ‘The mushroom curry tastes good’.

ošyer n. ‘poison’

ošyer k^huitstsā ‘to hide the poison’

āke m’išyem ošyer tuŋā bā?t ‘My wife has drunk the poison.’

òpā adv. ‘thus, in this way, like this’ cf. SYN òðəppā, òpān

òpā šyil pətsā ‘to dance like this’

òpā brɛ?tsā ‘to write in this way’

òpā pətɛk tso ‘doing in this way’

mopā kumšo pətsā ‘to sing that way’

òpā mar pəšo? ‘What have you done in this way?’

òpā rāpšonu mærimšo dumbə ‘It won’t be better while standing in this way’

goi òpā məŋāko ‘Don’t cry in this manner.’

òšo adv. (quantity) ‘this much’ vs. ošo [See otsā]

òšo l’ā? ‘only this much?’

òšomi də mæ pətsāŋā? ‘What to do with this much?’

òšomi r’unəyɛ? ‘Will you be satisfied with this much?’

òšomin dzədittə ‘This much satisfied me.’

òšomin dzədibbə? ‘Will this much be sufficient?’

òšolā dzəšā tɛk dumbā tsinu yo dzətsā mālbbə ‘You ate very little, you have to have some more.’

o:tsā vt. ‘to enter’ otə (p, 3sg) ‘entered’ ošo (pp, adj.) ‘entered’ NEG mæ- ‘to not enter’
k^hŋgā o:tsā ‘to enter into the house’

ludzɛmi šyɛlɛ o:tsā ‘to enter thread into the needle’

bwā k^hŋgā otə ‘The rooster entered into the house.’

məko muru k^hŋgā olə ‘Let the man enter into the house.’

go k^hĩngā ošonu suiyo mabāmə ‘There was no one when I entered into the house.’
 goi tēko mumi māñhim/yābrək^hĩ oŋe ‘What time did you enter the temple?’

ostsā n. [< os-tsām] ‘wool’ cf. SYN bos
 rōpeā ostsā ‘wool of sheep’
 ostsāke lukni ‘coat made up of wool’
 ostsā murtstsā ‘to was up wool’
 ostsāke kyupthe guptsā ‘to wear a cap made up of wool’
 ostsāke kārpet rimbə ‘The carpet made up of wool becomes beautiful.’

ōtthā⁴dv. [> ōth] ‘hither’
 er ōtthə ‘hither and thither/yon’
 ōth koŋo ‘look hither’
 ōth neno ‘listen to me hither’
 ōth hirsšo ‘turn hither’
 ōth lesšo ‘come back hither’
 ōth nissine ‘Please sit here.’
 ōth lesšo munu doro ‘Turn hither and run.’
 āke təu er ōth mēpāibə ‘My son is honest.’
 āl kā ōth pim’ε? ‘Did a child come hither?’

olo:l n. ‘mischief, slander’
 olo:lpətsā ‘mischief-making’
 olo:lpāib ‘mischief-maker’
 olo:lməpətsā ‘not to do mischievous things’
 meko olo:lpāib sum’ε? ‘Who is that mischief-maker?’
 goimi olo:l pəsin məpətsā ‘You never make a mischievous tricks.’
 goi olo:l pāinəyeŋənā yupsi dzāinəye ‘You will be punished (corporeal) if you do mischievous tricks.’
 olo:l pəšā məkōido~d’i ‘Don’t show having done any mischievous deeds.’
 olo:l pəšā məkōid’i? ‘Didn’t you show having done any mischievous deeds?’

𑀓 𑀓 k /kə/

kəble n. (c) ‘villager’ ~pik (pl) ‘villagers’

kəd par. koŋ kəd; be’ŋe (the interlocutor is furious)
 “kəd kəd; go ε~k bā’nuŋ” (the interlocutor wants his/her addressee to vacate the seat for sitting)

kəgi n. (c) [> kəg] ‘yam’
 kəgi dotsā ‘to dig up the yam’
 kəgi loptsā ‘to boil up the yam’

kəgyəwācəri n. 'spring season'

kəitsikā adj. (not after noun), adv. 'alone'

kəitsikā dumtsā 'to be alone'

kəitsikā khəlpā 'an old man alone'

kəitsikā ŋātsā 'to weep alone'

meko kəitsikā bāʔbə 'S/he lives alone.'

goi kəitsikā k^himi mər pənpən bāŋe? 'What are you doing alone in the house?'

kəitsikā dumtsā yo rimšo mədumbāʔt 'It's not better to be alone.'

kək'ā adj. [> kək; emph. kək'ā] 'bitter' (of taste) ANT dzidz'i or blošo

kək'ā rəbe 'a bitter potato'

kəkā PAR. 'while confirming sth'

məkomi mo kəkā de~m'ε? 'Did s/he say so?'

gom goikəli k^himin bāʔtsā de~šo ləŋgā kəkā ləyi 'Did you go out when I told you to stay inside the house?'

kəl n. (u) 'porridge'

kəl wāłtsā 'to stir the porridge'

kəlmi wolsitsā 'to be tempted by porridge'

bl(r)ošo kəl 'a tasty porridge'

kəl nu gundruk dzətsā 'to have porridge and gundruk (dried green vegetable)'

go kəl dānuŋ 'I like porridge.'

go məkō mišyeālkəl dā:nuŋ/nəmpāinuŋ 'I love that girl.'

murunāmskəli kəl gešonu mune mədumbə 'It won't be shameful while serving porridge to the guests.'

kəlā n. ¹ 'ethnonym; a Tibeto-Burman tribe/race; Məŋgər (Sikkim spelling 'Manger').

Məgər (Nepal spelling 'Magar')' ² 'a kind of (wild) airpotato, potato yam (esp bitter in taste suitable for food while boiling with ash)' *dioscorea bulbifera*

-kəli c. [> kəl] məkəkəli 'to him/her'

gokəli 'to me'

məkōānkəli 'to them'

nelle muruānkəli 'to all men'

təu-təmkəli 'to the children' (lit. son-daughter)

gomi ā:kə təmikəli k^hyōpət gyāptāŋ 'I bought a book to my daughter.'

āp^hpokəli seu pāuo 'Greet your father.'

ām məmālokəli nəm pəne 'Love your mother tongue.'

āke təumi ā:kəli brəspət brəʔtāwə 'My son wrote a letter to me.'

kəlpip n. (u) [K-K cul] 'ancestor' cf. SYN dikipurk^hi

kənən conj. ‘unless’

kənTi n. (c) ‘pan, utensil, cauldron, (esp. for cooking, frying, boiling) ~puki (pl) ‘pans’
cf. SYN kereŋ

kəṛā n. (c) ‘toy’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘toys’

kəsi n. (u) ‘wrestling cf. SYN tsuŋ

kā num., det., pron. ‘one’ [cf. *kwālo~kwāl* Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 498) and *koŋ*
Kirānti-Ba-Jerong]
muru kā ‘a/one man’
k^hyōpət kā ‘a/one book’
kā lā ‘only one’
gui kā (fig.) ‘a five rupee note/coin’; see gui
k^həl kā (fig.) ‘one score’; see k^həl
meko kā lā ‘only that one’
kā k^hyōpət gyāptsā ‘to buy a/one book’
gomi kā lā gər pr(ɾ)oltāŋ ‘I broke only one soil-pot.’
mekopikimi kā kyārsšyε gyāptεmε ‘They bought a/one goat.’

kābu n., adv. ‘control’ cf. adv. kālε

kāilpətsā vt. ‘to persuade’ kāilpāptu (p, 3SG) ‘persuaded’ kāilpəšo (pp, adj.) ‘persuaded’
NEG ~mə~ ‘to not persuade’

kāītsā vt. ‘to follow the route’

kāitstsā vi. ‘to pass away’

kāiyo adv. ‘(not) at all’

gomi ε̃ko sinimā kāiyo mədāgu ‘I didn’t like this cinema at all.’
āke taumi ākəli kāiyo mət’ibə ‘My son doesn’t obey me at all.’
ε̃ko misin kāiyo gε malābba ‘This machine is not useful at all.’

kāp^hεs n. (c) ‘uniform’ ~pəki (pl)

kāp^hεs p^hertstsā ‘to sew uniform’

kāp^hεs gyāptsā ‘to buy uniform’

kāp^hεs p^hε:tsā ‘to put on uniform’

bumir~bubelmi k^hāp^hεs p^hεrbə ‘The tailor sews the uniform.’

ap^hpomi ālkəli k^hāp^hεs gyāptεmε ‘The father bought the uniform for the child.’

āke k^hāp^hεs dzε?tu ‘My uniform tore away (itself).’

kārə n. (c) ‘toy’ ~piki(pl) ‘toys’

kārpēt n. (c) [S: Eng; K-K generic term bləti/ək] ‘carpet’ ~pəki (pl) cf. SYN bləti/ək

kātsā vt. ‘to place (especially a frying-pan)’ kātu (p, 3sg) ‘placed’ kāšo (pp, adj.) ‘placed’ NEG mə~ ‘to not place’

kāptsā vi. ‘to extinguish’ kāptə (p, 3sg) ‘extinguished’ kāpšo (pp, adj.) ‘extinguished’
NEG mə~ ‘to not extinguish’
meko nāsəl kāptə ‘The lamp extinguished.’

kāth adv. [~ kāthā; emph. kāthən] ‘¹along, together, ²side’
kāthən baʔtsā ‘to live/stay along’
kāthən lətsā ‘to go along’
kāthən šyil pətsā ‘to dance along’
go nip^ha kāthən gyākosi lāītəsku ‘We two went to the market together’
cəimi nimp^hā kāthən bwāk(u) dith lāmtəsə ‘The two daughter-in-laws went to fetch the water together.’
gəuroŋ nu gomi kāthən tərəndo kā brəʔtəsku ‘Gaurong and I wrote a grammar together.’

kā:t’itsā n. ‘Katicha clan in K-K’ ‘one-V-INF (v.t) ‘to darn, mend’ (n.) ‘one who darns remains aloof’ (p/c with Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar)

-kə Ca. POSS [±human] ‘of’
āke ‘my, mine’
mekokə ‘his/her’
āke k^hi məbā ‘I have no home.’

kək^hi adj. [> kək^h] ‘raw, unripe, not cooked’ cf. SYN məm’išo ANT m’išo
kək^h mug(i) ‘unripe banana’
kək^h wāīsāl (fig.) ‘immature boy, naughty one’
meko kyākikəli go kək^h in dzāinuŋ (fig.) ‘I finish the enemy at once.’
kək^h k^həmə dzəšo mərə āke kodz k^hāittə ‘My stomach pained after having the uncooked rice.’
kək^h həudzidz gyursšo bāʔb(ə) ‘The unripe orange is sour.’

kəmərā n. (c) [S: Eng+nat.] ‘camera’ cf. SYN tsəhiplā

kenāŋ adj. [S: Kirānti-Lim] ‘mad, insane’ ANT məkenāŋ ‘sensible’
kenāŋ b’i ‘mad cow’
kenāŋ dumtsā ‘to be mad’
kenāŋ nu thoibi ‘mad and poet’
phoktās kenāŋ dumtə ‘Phoktas became mad.’
thoibi nu kenāŋ kān nəmi ‘Poet and mad are alike.’
kenāŋ murukəli tsoʔsib (fig.) ‘Mad man is shackled.’

kęptsā vt. ‘to stick, adhere’ kęptu (p, 3sg) ‘stuck’ kępšo (pp, adj.) ‘stuck’ NEG mǎ~
 kup^hpimi kęptsi kęptsā ‘to stick the kęptsi on the forehead’
 tsotsomi pulu kęptsā ‘to stick the ashes on the cheek’
 go goikǎli kęptsi kępnuŋ ‘I adhere the kęptsi to you.’
 tǎmikǎli kęptsi kępšonu rimšo tǎĩsǎu ‘The daughter is seen beautiful while
 sticking the kęptsi.’

kępsitsā vt. ‘to be/get stuck, adhered, clung itself’ kępsitu~tǎu (p, 3sg) kępsišo (pp, adj.)
 NEG mǎ~ ‘to not adhere’
 yǎ:p^hǎ budi kępsitsā ‘to get stuck like leech’
 go ammin pulu kępsiti ‘I adhered the ashes myself.’
 ǎ~ko yǎ:p^hǎ sǎppǎ kępsitǎu ‘This leech stuck very fixedly.’

kǎrǎ adj. [> kǎr] ‘black’
 kǎr byǎp^h ‘the black ox’
 kǎr nu bus ‘black and white’
 kǎr mišyǎǎl ‘the dark girl’
 kǎr p^hur/tigęŋ ‘black colour’
 go kǎrbreswǎmi br(l)ęnuŋ ‘I write with blank.’
 kǎrsilet gyǎpo ‘Buy a blackboard.’
 sus murumi kǎr tigęŋ mǎdǎnim ‘Many people don’t like black colour.’

kǎrdz n. (c) ‘uncle’ [esp fraternal; *kuku* maternal] ~piki (pl) ‘uncles’ (cf. *kwǎro* ‘maternal
 uncle’ Kirǎnti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 142, 498))
 mǎkoke kǎrdz ‘his/her uncle’
 ǎkǎ kǎrdzke nǎ sǎriŋ mǎ ‘My uncle’s name is Saring.’

kǎręŋ n. (c) ‘pan, utensil, cauldron, (esp. for cooking, frying, boiling) ~puki (pl) ‘pans’
 cf. SYN kǎnTi
 kǎręŋmi thokporo/kyoŋ loptsǎ ‘to boil the christophine in the cauldron’
 kǎnTi šyetsǎ ‘to wash the pan’
 kǎręŋ proltsǎ ‘to break the pan’
 kǎręŋmi rǎ:be lopo ‘Boil the potato in the pan.’
 gom kǎnTi šyētǎŋ ‘I washed the pan.’

kǎrmots n. (u) ‘iron’ cf. SYN thǎ~kǎr
 kǎrmots nu lǎlmots ‘iron and copper’

kętsǎ vt. ‘to cook’ kętu ‘cooked’ kęšo ‘cooked’ NEG mǎ~ ‘to not cook’
 k^hǎmǎ k^hǎi kętsǎ ‘to cook rice and curry’
 tǎwǎmǎmi k^hǎmǎ kętu ‘Tawama cooked the rice.’
 go nǎlle dzǎtǎkdzǎt kętsǎ dzo?nuŋ ‘I know how to cook all varieties of food.’
 gomi kęšo k^hǎmǎ bl(r/r)obǎ ‘The rice I’ve cooked will be tasty.’

- kērthū n. (c) ‘conspiracy’ ~pik (pl) ‘conspiracies’ ~pətsā v. ‘to conspire’
 məkoke kērthūmi ‘in his/her conspiracy’
 go kērthūdopā dē~šā mədzonuŋ ‘I do not know how to conspire.’
- kətsərkhī n. (c) ‘kitchen’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘kitchens’
- kīr(R/D)ā n. [N निगालो] ‘a variety of bamboo esp small in size’
- kikməs n. (c) ‘rabbit’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘rabbits’ cf. SYN tikkus
 imitstsili kikməs ‘a small hare’
 kər tikkus ‘a black rabbit’
- kikyə n. (c) [> kik] ‘grandfather’ cf. SYN koppo
- kikyəkun n. (c) [~ kitskun, kikkun] ‘swallow’ see cf. SYN dutskun
- kiŋ n. (c) [< wonkiŋ, monkiŋ] ‘telephone’ ~piki (pl) ‘telephones’
 kiŋpətsā ‘to phone’
 kiŋmi lopətsā ‘to talk on the phone’
 məkō kiŋ ōth kiŋo ‘Pull that telephone here.’
 go kiŋpəšo kyet thāpətsā mətsābnuŋ ‘I cannot pay the money of the call I made.’
 kiŋpo?kəne ‘Please receive the phone.’
 kiŋmi bləp^h kāl dzābə ‘There are bluff calls on the phone.’
- kiŋlo n. (c) ‘Radio, wireless’ ~puki (pl)
 kiŋlo nɛ:tsā ‘to listen to the radio’
 kiŋlo proltsā ‘to break the radio’
 kiŋlo broltsā ‘to crack the radio (itself)’
 thisunu gomi kiŋlo pɾ(D)oltāŋ ‘I broke the radio while falling down.’
 ākə bəgɛ~yumāmi səiŋā kiŋlo lətɛmɛ ‘My grandmother sold the old radio.’
 go nunikān kiŋlo nɛnuŋ ‘I listen to the Radio early in the morning.’
- kilk^hāi n. (u) ‘tomato’
 kilkhāi k^hr(ɾ/l)umtsā ‘to plant tomato’
 kilkhāi kilkhāi kurpatsā ‘to put tomato in the curry’
 gyursšo kilkhāi ‘sour tomato’
 m’išo kilkhāi ‘ripen tomato’
 məkō kilkhāi ləl dumšā m’imɛt ‘The tomato has ripen having become red.’
 k^hāimi kilkhāi kurpəšonu bl(ɾ/r)obə ‘The curry becomes tasty while mixing tomato.’
 gom kilkhāi gyāpətsā mālšo bā ‘I have to buy tomato.’

killo n. (c) 'a kind of blackbird which goes in pair' *myiophoneus caerulens* (N कल्लुडो
kAlcūDo)

kim n. 'region, area' cf. SYN pāimək^h, p^hero

kipsur n. 'waist-belt' cf. klātori (cul.)
kipsur p^hre^htsā 'to bind a waist-belt'
gom āke kipsur murttang 'I washed my waist-belt.'

kirip n. (c) 'germ'
kirip nu māikroskop 'germ and microscope'
māikroskopmi kirip kosib 'The germ is observed with the microscope.'

kiriwəri n. (c) 'nightingale' ~pik (pl) 'nightingales'
kiriwərike kumso 'a song of the nightingale'

kisšye n. (c) [> kis] 'deer' ~puki (pl)
kimitspašo 'deer-eyed'
kiske tsāib 'baby deer'
kis budi rimšo 'beautiful like a deer'
kiskəli dzoimi sāitstsā 'to kill the deer by the tiger'
kisāptsā 'to shoot a deer'
kis sāitstsā mədumbə 'One is not allowed to kill the deer.'
goimi kis kā tōi? 'Did see a deer?'
məko kis doth ləmə? 'Where did the deer go?'

k'itsā vt. ¹'to breathe' k'itu (p, 3sg) 'breathed' k'išo (pp, adj.) 'breathed' NEG ~mə 'to not breathe' ²'to pull'

kitsā vt. 'to pull' kitu (p, 3sg) 'pulled' kišo (pp, adj.) 'pulled' NEG mə~ 'to not pull'

ki?tsā vt. 'to get burnt' [e.g., curry in the cooking pan]

kl(ɾ/r)āto n. 'waist'

kl(ɾ/r)āto k^hāitstsā 'to ache the waist'

kl(ɾ/r)āto p^hr(l)etsā 'to tie the waist'

kl(ɾ/r)āto himtsā 'to shake the waist'

kl(ɾ/r)āto nu kodz 'waist and stomach'

āke kl(ɾ/r)ātomī gār kā glut 'I have a wound on my waist.'

tamike kl(ɾ/r)āto sāppā k^hāittə nɛ 'The daughter's waist ached unbearably, they say.'

klātori n. 'tribal belt to be tied on the waist' [only of the Kirānti-Kōits tribe residing in
Wallo(N) 'near/hither' Kirāt] cf. kipsur

klonā n. (c) ‘room’ ~piki (pl) ‘rooms’
dzikr’isho klonā ‘a dark room’

klutsk^hāi n.(u) ‘broccoli’
gigi klutsk^hāi ‘green broccoli’
klutsk^hāi k^hr(ɬ/l)umtsā ‘to plant broccoli’
klutsk^hāi nu bitāmin ‘broccoli and vitamin’
klutsk^hāi gigi dumbə ‘Broccoli is green.’
ruwātspikimi klutsk^hāi k^hr(ɬ/l)umnimi ‘The farmers plant broccoli.’
klutsk^hāi nu burk^həmə sāppān blobə ‘The rice is very tasty with broccoli.’
klutsk^hāi gyāptsā maltawa ‘Let me buy broccoli.’

kō PAR ‘doubt, possibility particle’

kōits n. [< kōitsā vt.] ‘guide, head, leader’
kōits muru ‘Kōits man’
kōits k^həlpā ‘Kōits oldman’
kōitske āl ‘child of a Kōits’
kōits k^hodešo ‘like a Kōits’
ge yo kōits nəni? ‘Are you also a Kōits?’
go yo kōits nəŋ ‘I’m also a Kōits.’
kōits murupiki Mongoloid boʔtsŋā nəmi ‘The Kōits people are of Mongoloid stock.’

kōitsā vt. [> kōits n.] ‘to show, guide, lead’ kōitu~kōitāwə (p, 3sg) kōišo (pp, adj.) NT-C
mə~ ‘to not show’
lā kōitsā (lit./fig.) ‘to show a path/to guide’
tserεge kōitsā (lit./fig) ‘to show towards the sunrays/to lead towards the light’
kul kōitsā (lit./fig.) ‘to show the face/appear’
go ε̃ko ge pəšā kōiɲuŋ ‘I’ll show by doing something.’
ākəli rimšo ge pā kōido ‘show me by doing something good.’
gomi āke təkəli rimšo lā kōitāŋ ‘I guided my son well.’
menimp^hām rimšo pā kōitāse ‘They two did something exemplary.’

kōisi n. (c) ‘symbol’ -piki (pl)
kōisim ko:tsā ‘to look at the symbol’
lā:ke kōisi ‘symbol of the road’
kōisi ko:šālā lā k^hoitstsā ‘to follow the road only after looking at the symbol’
k^hyōpətmī br(l)əsišo kōisi koŋcɛ ‘Look at the symbol written in the book.’

kōite n. (c) ‘ankle’ ~pik (pl) ‘ankles’
kōite k^hāitstsā ‘to have the ankle-ache’
kōite ts’itsā ‘to clean the ankle’
kōitemi thositsā ‘to get bumped in the ankle’

kōitemi gār kutsā ‘to have a wound on the ankle’
mekoke kōitemi gār kut ‘S/he has a wound on his/her ankle.’
āke tāmimi kōite ts’isāu ‘My daughter cleaned her ankle.’
p^hendzekom n. [S: Kirānti-Lim] cf. SYN kom

koki n. ‘promise’ ~pətsā vt. ‘to promise’

koksidāli n. (u) ‘fern’
koksidālike p^hu mətāisib ‘Fern’s flower is not seen.’

kodzi n. (c) [> kodz] ‘stomach, tummy’ ~piki (pl) ‘tummies’
kodz thultsā (fig.) ‘to survive’
bārsšo/kolšo/T^heb kodz ‘a big stomach’
meko muruā kodz kolšo bā?tə ‘The man’s stomach is big.’
āke kodz kolšo dumtike go gā?tsān mətəbu ‘I cannot walk because of my big stomach.’
goi dopāiyo āmmin āmke kodz thultsā mālnəye ‘You have to survive yourself anyhow.’

kolgi n. [~ koltsi] ‘soybean’
kolgi kārstsā ‘to roast the soybean’
dopā blošo koltsi! ‘How delicious soybean!’

koŋlots n. (c) ‘gizzard’ ~piki (pl) ‘gizzards’
sāppā T^heb koŋlots ‘very big gizzard’

koŋrets n. ‘maize’ cf. SYN āŋ
koŋrets k^hetsā ‘to peel off the maize’

koŋšyi n. (c) ‘plough’ cf. SYN gurip

kom n. [S: Kirānti-Lim] ‘a kind of harp made up of reed’ ~piki (pl) ‘harps’
p^hendzekom ‘a kind of harp made up of iron’
kom tāptsā ‘to play a reed-harp’
p^hendzekom mətāptsā ‘not to play an iron-harp’
meko m’isyēālmī kom nu p^hendzekom tāptsā dzobə ‘The girl knows how to play the reed and iron-harp.’

koppo n. (c) [Kirānti-Rod + nat] ‘grandfather’ ~pik (pl) ‘grandfathers’ FEM koppom, bəge
cf. SYN kikyə~kiki (grandpa’s father)

kop^hletās adj. [CMP kop^hle+tā:tsā>tās] ‘selfish’ cf. SYN kuide ANT mārītās
kop^hletās muru dumtsā ‘to be a selfish man’
kop^hletās hoŋonāmsi mādumtsā ‘not to be a selfish politician’
kuide təu kā ‘a selfish son’

āke t̄ou s̄appā kuid̄edumt̄ə ‘My son became very much selfish.’
 nell̄e hoṇonāmsipiki kop^hlet̄ās m̄edumnimi ‘All politicians are not selfish.’

koʔke n. (c) ‘stick’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘sticks’

k^həlp̄ā/k^huʃyoke koʔke ‘stick of the old man’

āke koʔke ‘my stick’

koʔke the:tsā ‘to tread with the help of stick’

koʔkemi thāit̄tsā ‘to beat with the stick’

gomi āke koʔke s̄āmt̄āŋ ‘I lost my stick.’

āke koʔke rim̄šo b̄ā ‘My stick is beautiful.’

ko:tsā vt. ‘to look, see, watch’ ko:tu (p, 3sg) ko:šo (pp, adj.) NEG m̄ə~ ‘not to look’

l̄ā ko:tsā (fig.) ‘to wait somebody’

kul̄mi ko:tsā ‘to look at the face’

ko:tsā min komumtsā ‘to look then to look at each other’

gonimp^hām kā sinimā k̄otasku ‘We two watched a film.’

āk̄əli m̄əkōŋo ‘Don’t look at me.’

Yāluŋmi b̄‘i-byāp^h ko:tu ‘Yalung looked after the cattle.’

koʔtsā vt. ‘to peck, bite’ koʔtu (p, 3sg) koʔšo (pp, adj.) NEG m̄ə~ ‘not to bite’

koʔtsā ‘tsitau ‘going to peck’

p^həbusmi koʔtsā ‘to bite by a cobra’

busmi muruk̄əli koʔb̄ə ‘The snake bites man.’

m̄eko alk̄əli bus k̄āmi koʔtu ‘A snake bit the child.’

p^həbusmi koʔšo m̄ere bl̄ōitsān m̄ətsābsib ‘One cannot survive the cobra-bite.’

kormotsā ‘Kormocha clan in K-K ‘landslide-so-INF (vt.) ‘to take place a landslide’ (n.)
 ‘one who dwelt in a landslide taking area’ [korom yol̄šo tsuŋ(n)tsimi b̄āʔšo
 p̄ətikem kormots dum̄šo (p/c with Lp. Mulicha-Sunuwar)]

koro n. ‘landslide, landfall’

korom yol̄tsā ‘to be flooded by landslide’

kormāp^hā n. ‘title, rank, profession’

kos n. (c) ‘illustration’ ~piki(pl)

kosmi ko:tsā ‘to look at the illustration’

kos koŋene minu lessi br̄eʔtine ‘Look at the illustration and answer.’

kosp^hu n. (c) ‘orchid’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘orchids’

kr(ʔ)ait̄tsā vt. ‘to bite’ kr(ʔ)āittu /kr(ʔ)āittāwə (p, 3sg) kr(ʔ)āis̄šo (pp, adj.) NEG m̄ə~ ‘not to bite’

kutsummi kr(ɾ)āitstsā ‘to bite by a dog’
 kenāṅ kutsummi kr(ɾ)āitstsā ‘to bite by a mad dog’
 mēko kutsummi kr(ɾ)ibā ‘The dog bites.’
 k^hui kākəli kutsummi kr(ɾ)āittu ‘The dog bit a thief.’
 mēko ālnimp^hā kr(ɾ)āimuntās ‘The two children bit each other.’
 mēko ker kyārsšyemi āke pērāgui kr(ɾ)āittāwə ‘The black goat bit my left hand.’

kr(ɾ)etete n. (u) ‘yogurt’ cf. SYN huluk

kr(ɾ)omtsā vt. ‘to strike with an object’ kr(ɾ)omtu (p, 3sg) ‘stroke’ kr(ɾ)omšo (pp, adj.)
 ‘stricken’
 NEG mə~ ‘not to strike’ see cf. SYN āptsā (gen.) ‘shoot, strike’
 p^huilum kr(ɾ)omtsa ‘to strike with a stone’
 p^huthem āptsā ‘to shoot with a gun’
 mēko k^huikəli puthemi āpo ‘Shoot the thief with a gun.’
 b^hi-byāp^hkəli p^huilum kr(ɾ)omdo ‘Strike the cattle with a stone.’

kuku n. (c) ‘toad, frog’ ~pikyə ‘toads, frogs’
 kuku k^hodəb pr(ɾ/l)etsā ‘to jump like a toad’
 kuku nu domli ‘toad and pool’
 kuku gyāitstsā ‘to catch a frog’
 mēko domliṅā kuku māsətens ‘Don’t kill the frog of that pool.’
 kuku domlimi thisib ‘Toad is found in the pool.’
 mēko āl kuku k^hodəbpā pl(ɾ/r)etu ‘The child jumped like a frog.’

kud n. ‘millet-bread esp thick in size’
 kud tsotsā ‘to cook a thick millet-bread’

kugyā n. (c) ‘prize’ ~piki (pl) ‘prizes’
 kugyā glātsā ‘to win a prize’

kuide adj. cf. SYN kop^hletās

kuitstsā vt. [marked for spatial deixis; Moku as a consultant in NK Rai (2002)] ‘to bring down (vertical)’ kuittu (p, 3sg) ‘brought down’ kuisšo (pp, adj.)
 ‘brought down’ cf. SYN hitstsā, pitstsā, tsā?tsā NEG mə~ ‘not to bring up’

kukər n. [S: Eng] ‘pressure cooker’ ~piki (pl)
 kukər kā gyāptsā ‘to buy a pressure cooker’
 kukər šyetsā ‘to clean the pressure cooker’
 kukər nu gyās ‘pressure cooker and gas’

mulāt āke ketsār^himi kukər br(D)oltə ‘A pressure cooker broke (itself) in my kitchen today.’

gomi nək kā kukər gyāptāṅ ‘I bought a new pressure cooker.’

kūkubulu n. (c) ‘pigeon’ ~piki (pl) ‘pigeons’ cf. SYN k^himberbi
kūkubulu nu tsorpəmsi ‘pigeon and peace’

kuli n. [> kul] ‘face’ [cf. *kulī* Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 131, 497)]

kul kōitsā (fig.) ‘to appear’

kul nu gāsdu ‘face and manner’

kul k^huitstsā (fig.) ‘to hide’

yehāṅmi munəmi kul k^huittāwə ‘Yehang hid himself because of shame.’

goi ike kul ts’iso ‘Wash your face.’

Kirānti-Kōits mulkəmmi misyemurupikim kul sumtsā məmālbə ‘The women should not veil their face the the Kirānti-Kōits culture.’

kulim n. (c) ‘morpheme’ ~pik(pl) ‘morphemes’

kulim nu durdā ‘morpheme and word’

kumso n. (c) ‘song’ ~piki (pl) ‘songs’

kumso nu šyil ‘song and dance’

kumsopaib ‘singer’

kumsopətsā vt. ‘to sing’ kumsopāptu (p, 3sg) ‘sang’ kumsopəšo (pp, adj.) ‘sung’

goi kumsopāuo~pāu ‘You sing a song.’

go kumsopətsā mədzonuj ‘I don’t know how to sing.’

goimi dopāiyo kumsopətsā mālnəye ‘You have to sing anyhow.’

gonimp^hām kumsopāitəsku ‘We two sang a song.’

suman muk^hiām kumsopəšā ākəli ṅāpāitti ‘Suman Mukhia made me cry singing a song.’

kun n. (u) ‘smoke’ ~pətsā (vt.) ‘to be smokey’

sāppā kunpətsā ‘to be smokey very much’

ε̃ko k^himi də sāppā kunpāibāt ‘This house is very smokey.’

kupp^hi n. [> kup^h] ‘forehead, brow’

rimšo kupp^hi (fig.) ‘fortunate’

kupp^himi brəʔsišo adj. (fig.) ‘predestined’

kupp^himi pulu keptsā (fig/lit) ‘to be a fakir/paste ashes on the forehead’

kupp^himi məbrəʔsišosəm marəiyo pətsā mətsābsib (fig fatalistic) ‘One cannot do anything unless s/he is fortunate.’

kurmidok^hā n. (c) ‘gift, present’

gyubəmi lāittək kurmidok^hā ‘the gift to be taken in the marriage’

kutsā vi. [< hitsā; marked for spatial deixies (Mokusu as consultant in NK Rai (2002)) ‘to come up’ (verticality) kutə (p, 3sg) ‘came up’ kušo (pp, adj.) ‘come up’ cf. SYN itsā, pitsā, dzāʔtsā

kutsu n. (u) ‘chest’ [of male/female]
 kutsu thotsā ‘to beat/bit the chest’
 kutsumi tʔāitstsā ‘to kick on the chest’
 kutsu pʔutsā ‘to measure the chest’
 āke kutsu kʰāisšo mašā ‘My chest pain has not been recovered.’
 gonu kutsu sumtek wāsam mabā ‘I do not have even a piece of cloth to cover my chest.’

kutsutuṗtsi n. [< kutsutuṗtsā (fig.)] cf. SYN ləppe ‘gambling’

kutsum n. ¹(c) ‘dog’ ~piki (pl)
 kutsum nu bərmə ‘dog and cat’
 kutsum ho:bə ‘A dog barks.’
 kutsummi kʰī kʰəl pāibə ‘A dog guards the house.’
²(c) tab. kutsum kʰodešo ‘a bad behavior’
 kutsum kʰoipā məhirsšo ‘Don’t roam aimlessly.’
 məko muru də kutsum kʰodešon bāʔtə ‘That man is really bad.’

kuro n. (c) ‘load’
 həšo kuro kurtstsā ‘to carry a heavy load’

k urtstsā vt. ‘to carry’ kurttu ‘carried’ (p, 3sg) kursšo ‘carried’(pp, adj.) NEG mə~ ‘to not carry’
 kʰyöpət a kurtstsā ‘to carry a book’
 al kurtsā (fig./lit.) ‘to be pregnant/to carry the child’
 lo: kurtstsā (fig.) ‘to spy’
 məko misyemurumi āl kurssšo bāʔtə ‘The woman has become (is) pregnant.’
 gomi rəssikʰī lašonu sā kʰyöpət kurttāŋ ‘I carried three books while going to the school.’
 gom āke loəbkəli bəlām kurttāŋ ‘I carried my younger brother on the shoulder.’

kurpətsā vt. ‘to put’ kurpāptu (p, 3sg) ‘put’ kurpəšo (pp, adj.) ‘put’ NEG -mə- ‘to not put’
 gərmi šyābu kurpətsā ‘to put millet-liquor in the soil-pot’
 gyābimi bletike kurpətsā ‘to put a pen in the bag’
 tsuŋdzābimi gui kurpətsā ‘to put hand in the pocket’
 āke məmāmi gərmi dzirmā kurpətmə ‘My mother stored the millet-liquor in the soil-pot.’
 gomi gyābimi kʰyöpət kurpātāŋ ‘I put the book in the bag.’

kusul n. (u) ‘skin, leather’

kusul rəksutsā ‘to itch the skin’

āke kusul rəksut ‘My skin itched.’

kyābrāts n. ‘name of a month i.e. February’

kyābrāts sin ‘the month of February’

p^hasi nu kyābrāts ‘wind and February’

kyābrāts sinmi səp^hāpik d’onimi ‘Leaves fall in the month of February.’

kyābrātsmi gyube patsā rimšon dumbə ‘It’s suitable to get married in February.’

kyābrātsmi sāppā p^həs pāibə ‘It’s windy in February.’

kyā-bā-tsā n. ‘Kyabacha clan in K-K’ ‘UR-V-INF (v.i) ‘to stay, sit’ (n.) ‘one who stays or sits’

go kyābātsā nəŋ ‘I am Kyabacha.’

kyādəlu n. ‘meeting point, place’

kā kyādəlumi ‘in a meeting point’

kyāitstsā vt. [< kyuitstsā, tsuitstsā] ‘to insert into, fasten, fix, tuck, thrust in’ kyāittu (p,

3sg) ‘inserted’ kyāiššo (pp, adj.) ‘inserted’ NEG mə~ ‘not to insert’

piyāmi p^hu(ŋ) kyāitstsā ‘to thrust in flower on the head’

tsāmi ribin kyāitstsā ‘to tuck ribbon in the hair’

təumi lāptsomi p^hu(ŋ) kyāttāwə ‘The son fixed the flower on the door.’

gomi təmiā piyāmi kyət kyāittāŋ ‘I thrust money on the daughter’s head.’

kyāki n. (c) ‘enemy’ ~pik (pl) ‘enemies’ cf. SYN ribbets

murke kyāki mur ‘man’s enemy man’

āke kyākimi herālā sāitti ‘My enemy almost killed me.’

kyāmtsā vt. ‘to erase’ kyāmtu (p, 3sg) ‘erased’ kyāmšo (pp, adj.) ‘erased’ NEG mə~ ‘to not erase’

rimšopā kyāmtsā ‘to erase properly’

kyātsā vt. ‘to carry from one place to another, move sth from one place to another’ kyātu (p, 3sg) ‘carried from one place to another’ kyāšo (pp, adj.) ‘carried from one place to another’ NEG mə~ ‘not to carry from one place another’

šyi kyātsā ‘to carry, move firewood’

p^huilu kyātsā ‘to carry, move stone’

kəgi ləŋgālā k^hiŋgā kyātsā ‘to carry, move the yam from outside to inside’

wākilā sosmāl kyātsā ‘to carry, move grass from the jungle’

məko ālnimp^hāmi rəbe ləŋgālā k^hiŋgā kyātāse ‘They (two) children moved the potato from outside to inside.’

ŋāmimi bōtherelā bwāku kyātu ‘The elder sister carried water from the tap.’

- kyāršyε n. (c) [> kyārš] ‘goat’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘goats’
 kyāršyεpik thultsā ‘to tame goats’
 kyāršpik k^həlpətsā ‘to shepherd goats’
 gomi kyārš k^həlpātāŋ ‘I shepherded the goat.’
 nərumi mekoā kyārš letu ‘Naru sold his goat.’
 sināt siwārkāmi kyārš kā sāittu ‘A jackal killed a goat yesterday.’
- kyātā n. (c) ‘lotus’ cf. SYN lormip^hu(ŋ)
 lebwāk nu kyātā ‘mud and lotus’
 rimšo kyātā ‘a beautiful lotus’
 lormip^hukε rəlp^hu ‘a garland of the lotus’
 kyātāke tsu məbābə ‘Lotus has no thorn.’
 lormip^hu lebwākmi boibə ‘Lotus blooms in the mud.’
 meko kyātā dopā rimšo bā?mei! ‘How beautiful the lotus is!’
- kyet n. (gen.) ‘money’
 sus kyet tsemtsā ‘to earn a lot of money’
 gonu kyet məbā ‘I don’t have any money.’
- kyoŋ n. (c) ‘christophine’ cf. SYN thokporo
- kyortstsā vt. [> tsortstsā] ‘to cut into pieces’ (esp. in/animate objects of big size, solid e.g. potato, goat etc.) cf. SYN (other similar verbs, k^hr(ɾ/l)oitstsā, tse?tsā, pr(ɾ)etsā, ‘ritsā) kyorttu (p, 3sg) kyorsšo (pp, adj.) NEG mə~ ‘to not cut’
 gomi meko rεbe imitstsilipā kyorttāŋ ‘I cut that potato into small pieces.’
 tsentsimi šyε kyorttu ‘Centsi cut the meat.’
- kyutsā ¹‘to prophesize, ²‘lift up’ cf. SYN ²ts’utsā
- kyuitstsā vt. [> tsuitstsā] See tsuitstsā
- kyuĩ-t’i-tsā n. ‘KyuiNtcha clan in Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war/Mukhia tribe)’ ‘UR-V-INF (v.t)
 ‘to separate, filter’ (n.) ‘one who separates’
- П 𑂔 k^h /k^hə/
- k^hə n. ‘axe’
 k^hə nu šyi ‘the axe and the firewood’
 gom k^həm šyi kyorttāŋ ‘I cut the firewood with the axe.’
- k^həd n. (c) ‘crow’ ~pikyə (pl)
 kerā k^həd kā ‘a black crow’
 k^həd nu kəlots’ib ‘crow and cuckoo’

k^hədke ʔp^hu k^huipətsā (fig.) ‘to be very clever’
 k^həd kā ts’ib me ‘Crow is a bird.’
 k^həd nu kəlo ts’ib məgrānəsi ‘Crow and cuckoo cannot be friends.’
 nēlle k^hədpiki kər mədumnimi ‘All crows aren’t black.’

k^hədits adj. ‘clever’ cf. SYN tsilāwəlē
 siwarbudi k^hədits ‘clever like a jackal’

k^həkəŋ ‘discussion’ ~pətsā ‘to discuss’ cf. lo:lišyākā
 rimšopā k^həkəŋ pətsā ‘to discuss well’

k^həl n. (c) ‘mortar’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘mortars’

k^həlo: ‘invocation’ ~pətsā (v) ‘to invoke’

k^həlpā n. (c) ‘old man’ ~pikyə (pl) ¹ ‘old men’ FEM k^həlpi (col. esp. spoken by teens in
 informal situation) cf. SYN (fig.) k^hušyo FEM k^hušyom
 k^həlpā nu k^həlpi ‘the old man and the old woman’
 k^həlpāmi ‘by the old man’
 məko k^həlpā kāp^htə (fig.) ‘The old man passed away.’
 məsruŋā k^həlpā genā bəʔm’ε? ‘When did the old man of Masru die?’
 ε̃ko k^həlpāmi ākəl tuptu ‘This old man beat me.’
² ‘pun, wordplay’
 ε̃k ε̃ko k^həlpakəl k^həlpā bāʔti ‘I’ve been staying here by guarding this old
 man.’

k^həlpətsā vt. ‘to guard’ k^həlpāptu (p, 3sg) ‘gurded’ k^həlpəšo (pp, adj.) ‘guarded’ NEG -m.ə
 ‘to not guard’
 kutsummi k^hi k^həlpāibə ‘A dog guards the house.’

k^həmə (c, u) ‘cooked rice’
 k^həm nu k^hāi ‘rice and curry’
 gom k^həmə dzətsā mālba ‘I must have the rice.’
 burk^həmə dzən dzən šyil pənpən (rhy.)

k^həpkyu n. (c) ‘bus’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘buses’
 k^həpkyu dorpətsā ‘to drive a bus’
 k^həpkyu p^həpindo ‘bus accident’
 k^həpkyu gyāptsā ‘to buy a bus’
 sus murupiki k^həpkyu p^həpindomi bətəmə ‘Many people died in the bus
 accident.’
 rəŋpo k^həpkyu dorpāib ‘Rengpo is a bus driver.’
 gomi k^həpkyu kā gyāptāŋ ‘I bought a bus.’

k^hərə n. ‘curiosity’

āke k^həre ‘my curiosity’

k^hərsšo adj. ‘expensive’ ANT mək^hərsšo
k^hərsšo sōth ‘an expensive shirt’

k^hətsā vt. ‘to resist’

k^hāldiŋ n. [S: Kirānti-Lim +nat] ‘doubt’ v. ~pətsā (See pətsā)
gom k^hāldiŋpəšo budin dumtə ‘It happened the same what I doubted.’

k^hāi n. (c, u) ‘curry’

k^həme nu k^hāi ‘cooked rice and curry’
k^hāi kətsā ‘to cook the curry’
k^hāi loptsā ‘to boil the curry’
go homoknu k^həme-k^hāi dzāinuŋ ‘I eat cooked rice-curry with milk.’
gig k^hāi keu ‘Cook the green vegetable.’
kətek k^hāi mārəiyo məbā ‘There is no curry to cook.’

k^hāitstsā vi. ‘to ache, pain’ k^hāittə (p, 3sg) ‘ached’ k^hāisšo ‘ached’ NEG mə~ ‘not to ache’
piyā k^hāitstsā ‘to have a headache’
luŋgir k^hāitstsā (lit./fig.) ‘to have a heartache/to feel sad emotionally’
āke k^hāisšo k^hoili məsā ‘My leg-pain hasn’t recovered.’
limdəmi məkoā kodz k^hāittə də~šā də~tu ‘Limde said that she had a stomachache.’

k^hā?tsā vt. ‘to tear’ k^hā?tu (p, 3sg) ‘tore’ k^hā?šo (pp, adj.) ‘torn’ NEG mə~ ‘not to tear’

k^hā:ltsā vt. ‘to mix, blend, mingle sth (non-living) together’ k^hāltu (p, 3sg) ‘mixed’ k^hālšo
(pp, adj.) ‘mixed’ NEG mə~ ‘not to mix’
k^həme nu k^hāi k^hā:ltsā ‘to mix cooked rice and curry’
šyerמי nāmsi k^hā:ltsā ‘to mix perilla in uncooked rice’
gomi šyerמי tsirsp^həs k^hāltāŋ ‘I mixed the millet-flour in the rice.’
homokmi h’is`i mak^hāldo ‘Don’t mix salt in the milk.’

k^hālsi n. (c) ‘syllable’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘syllables’

k^hālsitsā vt. ‘to get mixed itself’ k^hālsisāu (p, 3sg) ‘got mixed itself’ k^hālsišo (pp, adj.)
‘got mixed itself’
bwākumi k^hāpdzil k^hālsitsā mətsābbə ‘Petrol cannot get mixed in the water
itself.’

k^hāptsā vt. ‘to pile up’ k^hāptu (p, 3sg) ‘piled up’ k^hāpšo (pp, adj.) ‘piled up’ NEG mə~ ‘to
not pile up’

k^hāpslo: n. (c) ‘mystery’ ~pik (pl) ‘mysteries’ cf. SYN k^hrislo:

k^hrislo: mǝpǝtsǎ ‘not to talk indirectly (fig.)’

k^hārbi n. (c) ‘peacock’ ~pikyǝ (pl) ‘peacocks’ FEM k^hārbim
 k^hārbi nu wāsrelu ‘peacock and rainbow’
 k^hārbimkǝ šyil ‘dance of the peahen’
 k^hārbimkǝ p^hur/Tigeŋ ‘colour of the peahen’
 wāsrelu tašonu k^hārbim šyil pāib ‘The peahen dances while seeing the
 rainbow.’
 k^hārbim ts’ibpikimi sāppā rimšo dumbǝ ‘Peahen is the most beautiful
 amongst birds.’
 k^hārbi mur k^hode~šopā ŋābǝ ‘Peacock weeps like man.’

k^hε’ par. (esp. used for warning)
 dzāmsǎ lǝni k^hε’ (used by Tankram Sunuwar in a K-K song)

k^hek^hε adj. ‘pure, holy’ ANT dǝit

k^hetsǎ vt. ‘to peel’ k^hεptu (p, 3sg) ‘peeled’ k^hεpšo (pp, adj.) ‘peeled’ NEG mǝ~ ‘not to
 peel’
 lopšo rǝb k^hetsǎ ‘to peel off the boiled potato’
 koŋrǝts/āŋ k^hetsǎ ‘to peel off the maize, corn’
 Tsɛŋrimi rǝb k^hεptu ‘Tsengri peeled off the potato.’
 gomi mugi k^hetāŋ ‘I peeled off the banana.’
 mǝko mišyemur āŋ k^henk^hen bā/bā?tǝ ‘The woman is/was peeling off the
 maize.’

k^hlo:ptsǎ vt. ‘to stagger’ k^hlo:ptu (p, 3sg) ‘staggered’ k^hlo:pšo (pp, adj.) ‘staggered’ NEG
 mǝ~ ‘to not stagger’

k^hr (r/l)ε?tsǎ vt. ‘to oil’

k^hr (r/l)εptsǎ ‘to clip’

k^hertstsǎ vt. ‘to chase’ k^hertu (p, 3sg) ‘chased’ k^heršo (pp, adj.) ‘chased’ NEG mǝ~ ‘not to
 chase’
 myǝs k^hertstsǎ ‘to chase the buffalo’
 tistoli k^hertstsǎ ‘to chase the chick’
 bwā k^hertstsǎ ‘to chase the fowl’
 gomi p^hurulā kyārs k^hertāŋ ‘I chased the goat from the garden.’
 mǝko ts’ibi k^hero ‘Chase that bird.’

k^hrislo: n. ‘agreement’ cf. SYN bissilo:

k^hĩ n. (c) ‘house’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘houses’ [cf. *k^him*; in other Kirānti languages e.g. Rod., Ban., Wam., Lim. *siŋk^him*, *him* (my own data) and *kem* Kirānti-Ha; Shakya (1971: 92)]
 bāʔtike k^hĩ ‘a house for living’
 k^hĩ ſyeltsā ‘to build a house’
 k^hĩ dzətsā (fig esp. for women) ‘to succeed in marriage’
 k^hĩ mədumtsā (fig. for both men and women) ‘not to succeed in marital life, e.g. not to be able to give birth to a child’
 cālimke k^hĩ lāisšo bāʔtə ‘Calim’s house is tall.’
 sothe məko nək k^hĩmi bāʔbə ‘Sothe lives in that new house.’
 cursimi k^hĩmi mədzāu ‘Cursi’s marital life is not successful.’
 k^hĩrāgyə n. ‘vicinity’ cf. SYN yeklāk

k^hĩmberbi n. (c) ‘pigeon’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘pigeons’ cf. SYN kūkubulu
 k^hĩmberbi gyaitsta ‘to catch a pigeon’
 kūkubulu nu tsorpəmsi (fig.) ‘pigeon and peace’
 kūkubulu nu k^hĩ ‘pigeon and house’
 k^hĩmberbi kəli tsorpəmsike kōisi denimi ‘Pigeon is known as the symbol of peace.’
 k^hĩmberbi khodebpa nam pətsā malbə ‘One should love like a couple of pigeon.’

k^hĩŋā n. adj., postp, adv. [~ āgā] ‘inside’ ANT ləŋgā

k^hĩrāgyā n. ‘vicinity’ (N टोल) cf. SYN eklāk

k^hĩwā n. (u) ‘thatch, straw, reeds’
 k^hĩwā r’itsā ‘to cut the reeds’
 k^hĩwāmi k^hĩ sāpsib ‘A house is thatched with reeds.’
 k^hĩwā sōsmāl yo dumbə ‘Reeds are used as grass also.’
 b’ibyāp^hmi k^hĩwā dzāinimi ‘Cattle munch the thatch/reeds.’

k^hĩntsi hang pers. n. ‘Kirānti ancestor of Bāʔyung and Kōits’

k^hĩsā n. (c) ‘legend, story, tale’ ~piki (pl) ‘legends’

k^hĩlāte adj. ‘troublesome’ ANT rimšo, mək^hĩlāte
 k^hĩlāte al ‘troublesome child’
 k^hĩlāte murupikyə ‘troublesome people’
 k^hĩlāte b’ibyāp^h ‘troublesome cattle’
 k^hĩlāte mədumtsā ‘not to be a troublesome’
 ɛ̃ko al sappa k^hĩlāte baʔtə ‘This child is very troublesome.’
 ɛ̃ko k^hĩlāte kyārśyemi thəmpān ſyət geti ‘This troublesome goat troubled me truly.’

k^hlihimtsā vt. (fig.) ‘to expose’

k^hrislo: k^hlihimtsā ‘to expose a secret/mystry’

k^hloptsā vt. ‘to settle’ k^hloptu ‘settled’ (p, 3sg) k^hlopšo (pp) ‘settled’ NEG mə~ ‘to not settle’

k^hoili n. [> k^hoil] ‘leg’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘legs’

k^hoil theʔtsā (lit./fig.) ‘to trample/to be independent’

k^hoil nu gui ‘hand and leg’

k^hoil k^haitstsā ‘to have a leg-pain’

k^hoil theʔtsā mətsābtsā ‘not to be able to be independent’

gom sāppā šyət dzəšālā k^hoil th’etāŋ ‘I was able to independent only after undergoing much trouble.’

āke k^hoili k^hāittə ‘My leg ached.’

k^hodā n. ‘rhino’

T^heb k^hodā kā ‘a big rihno’

tsāib k^hodā kā ‘a baby rihno’

k^hōdēb adj. [~ k^hōdēšo, budi] ‘like, similar to, for example’

šyākā budi dortstsā ‘to run like a leopard’

gom de~šo k^hōdēb ‘as, like I said’

... k^hōdēšo ‘...for instance, example’

meko āl siwār budi hoʔtu ‘The baby howled like a jackal.’

gom de~šo k^hōdēb pāptəiŋənə šyət mədzāinəye ‘You’ll not be in trouble if you do as I advised.’

Kirānti- Kōits lo:mi nišwāʔtsi dumbə, k^hōdēšo: brəʔnuŋ brəʔnəsku nu

brəʔniki. ‘There is dual number in the Kirānti-Kōits language, for instance. I write, we two write and we write.’

k^hop n. (c) ‘place, space’ ~puk (pl) ‘places’

gom kōišo k^hop ‘the place I showed’

məbl’išo~šyeth k^hop ‘the blank space’

məbl’išo k^hopmi brəʔtine ‘Fill in the blank space.’

gomi ε~ko k^hop mədātu ‘I didn’t like this place.’

ε~ko k^hop rimšo bāʔtə ‘This place is beautiful.’

k^hopletās adj. cf. SYN kuide

k^h(r)roitstsā vt. ‘to cut, chop into pieces’ (esp. a log of wood, branches etc.) cf.

SYN (similar other verbs, kyortstsā, tseʔtsā, ‘ritsā, pr(D)etsā)

k^hotse (fig. expression) See dāitstsā

k^hrislo: n. (c) ‘mystery’ ~pik (pl) ‘mysteries’ cf. SYN k^hāpslo:

k^hr(ɽ/l)oitstā vt. ‘to cut’ (e.g., firewood, log into several small pieces; for other ways of cutting see kyortstsā, tseʔtsā, r’itsā, pr(ɽ/l)etsā) k^hr(ɽ/l)oittu (p, 3sg) ‘cut’ k^hr(ɽ/l)oisšo ‘cut’ NEG mə~ ‘not to cut’
 šyi k^hr(ɽ/l)oitstsā ‘to cut the firewood’
 k^huikε gui k^hr(ɽ/l)oitstsā ‘to cut the hand of a thief’
 ləlpīyāmi k^huikāke gui k^hr(ɽ/l)oittāt ‘The police cut the hand of a thief.’
 gom šyi k^hr(ɽ/l)oittāŋ ‘I cut the firewood.’

k^hr(ɽ/l)umits n. ‘strawberry’
 həu k^hr(ɽ/l)umits ‘yellow strawberry’

k^hr(ɽ/l)ui n. (c) ‘tooth’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘teeth’
 k^hrui tultsā ‘to uproot, pluck out the tooth’
 k^hrui himtsā ‘to shake the tooth’
 k^huikε kirip ‘germ of the tooth’
 gomi k^hrui tultāŋ mārdehənā ε~ko k^hāisšo bāʔt ‘I uprooted the tooth because it ached.’

k^hr(ɽ/l)umtsā vt. ‘to plant’ k^hr(ɽ/l)umtāu~tu ‘planted’ k^hr(ɽ/l)umšo ‘planted’ NEG mə~ ‘not to plant’
 tsirs k^hrumtsā ‘to plant the millet’
 ruwātspikyəmi koŋrɛts k^hrumtāmε ‘Farmers planted the corn.’
 gomi p^hu(ŋ)kε lin k^hrumtāŋ ‘I planted the seedling of a flower.’

k^hr(ɽ/l)oltsā vt. ‘knock down’ k^hr(ɽ)oltu (p, 3sg) ‘felled, knocked down’ k^hr(ɽ)olšo (pp, adj.) ‘felled, knocked down’ NEG mə~ ‘not to fell, knock down’
 rəwā k^hr(ɽ)oltsā ‘to fell the tree’
 gyārssimi muru k^hr(ɽ)oltsā ‘to knock down a man in the game’
 tsuŋmi kyākikəli k^hr(ɽ)oltsā ‘to knock down an enemy in wrestling’
 tsemkumi ritsemkəli tsuŋmi k^hr(ɽ)oltu ‘Cemku knocked down Ricem in wrestling.’
 ribemmi omo kolso rəwā k^hr(ɽ)oldāt ‘Ribem has felled a big log.’

k^hr(ɽ/l)ui n. (c) ‘tooth’ ~piki (pl) ‘teeth’
 buš k^hr(ɽ/l)ui ‘white tooth’

k^hubnāts n. ‘July’ (is the seventh month)
 k^hubnāts nu rεu ‘July and rain’
 k^hubnātsmi koro ‘landslide in July’
 k^hubnātsmi k^hrumsi ‘plantation in July’
 k^hubnātsmi rεu ib ‘It rain in July.’

k^hubnātsmi bur k^hrumsib ‘Paddy is planted in July.’
k^hubnātsm koro laib mardehənā sāppā rəu ib ‘Landslide occurs in July
because it rains heavily.’

k^hu n. (u) [S: Kirānti-Lim+nat] ‘syrup, a thick juice of raw sugarcane, treacle, honey’ (cf.
k^hu esp. of sugarcane) See surbu
sāppā dzidz k^hu ‘very sweet syrup’
k^hu lətsā ‘to sell the syrup’
k^hu dzətsā (fig.) ‘to get punishment, beaten’
ε̃ko bədəlmi wāissō k^hu sumi dzəwā? ‘Who ate the syrup kept/stored in this
bottle?’
thoktsenemi gunderi gyākosimi sāppā k^hu dzəwāt (fig. and ridiculed)
‘Thoktsene was deadly beaten up in the Gunderi bazar.’

k^hũru n. (u) [~ k^hũru] ‘paper money, rupee’

k^hui n. (c) ‘thief’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘thieves’
k^huimi ‘by the thief’
k^hui pətsā ‘to steal’
k^huilā ‘from the thief’
k^hui nu ləlpiyā ‘the thief and the police’
k^huikə bətsu ‘punishment of the thief’
k^huimi k^hurmi yoldāt ‘The thief has stolen the sickle.’
k^hui pəsin məpāuo ‘Don’t steal.’
k^hui pəšo mərə bətsu thāptsā malnəye ‘You’ve to pay fine while stealing.’

k^huīsi n. ‘pretence’
k^huīsi m’altsā ‘to pick up a quarrel’ (See m’altsā for use)

k^huitstsā vt. ‘to hide, conceal’ k^huittāwə (p, 3sg) ‘hid’ k^huisšo (pp, adj.) ‘hidden’ cf. SYN
k^hl(ɾ/r)uitstsā NEG mə~ ‘not to hide’
kyet k^huitstsā ‘to hide the money’
lo:k^huitstsā (fig.) ‘to be secret’
məko wāilimi kyet k^huittāt ‘The servant has hidden the money.’
murupikim hopom bəʔšo lo k^huittāmət ‘The people kept secret about the death
of the queen.’
mopā lo mak^huitto ‘Don’t be secret that way.’

k^huissitsā vt. ‘to be hidden, concealed oneself’ cf. SYN k^hr(ɾ/l)ussitsā k^huissisāu (p, 3sg)
k^huissišo (pp, adj.)

k^hultsā vt. ‘to escort animal’ k^hultu (p, 3sg) ‘escorted animal’ k^hulšo (pp, adj.) ‘escorted
animal’ NEG mə~ ‘to not escort animal’
h’ibyāp^h k^hultsā

k^hũ-l'i-ca n. 'KhuNlicha clan in K-K' 'UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to put on, wear' (n.) 'one who puts on'

k^husyo n. (c) [euph., see k^həlpā] 'old man' FEM k^husyom ~pikyə (pl) 'old men'
 k^husyomi 'by the old man'
 k^husyomkəli 'to the old woman'
 məkə k^husyo nu k^husyom ŋātāse 'The old man and woman wept.'
 K^husyomi pissāu dopā hənā mərimšo rināpāptu 'The old man farted how because it smelt bad.'

k^hyol n. [-dzol] 'lie' See gyulp^hε ANT thəmā 'true'
 dzolpətsā 'to lie'
 k^hyol məpāuo 'Don't lie.'
 Dzolpəšonu mərimšo dumbə 'It won't be better while lying.'
 K^hyolpətsā yo dzo:tsā mālba 'One should also know how to lie.'

k^hyōpət n. (c) 'book, primer' ~pikyə (pl) 'books, primers'
 k^hyōpət brəʔtsā 'to write a book'
 k^hyōpət nu blətik 'book and pen'
 k^hyōpətke nəm 'love of a book'
 k^hyōpətpikkə dākin 'a heap of books'
 məkə k^hyōpət āke m`ε 'That red book is mine.'
 tsəpendzimi sus k^hyōpət ba:nimi 'There are many books in the library.'

k^hyōpəthem n. (c) 'library' ~piki (pl) 'libraries' cf. SYN tsəpendzi

k^hyōpə-ti-tsā n. 'KhyoNpaticha clan in K-K' 'book-V-INF (v.t) 'to cover with a book, separate, filter' (n.) 'one who covers with a book or hides under the pile of books (p/c with Ganga Katicha [married to a Je~ticha clan]; narrated to me a war story in Tibet during the prehistoric time, where one hid himself under the piles of books and that is how the clanonym has been derived)

k^hyur n.(u) 'dehydration'
 k^hyur pətsā 'to dehydrate'
 go k^hyur pātāŋ 'I'm suffered of dehydration.'
 k^hyur pəšā herālā beʔti 'I nearly died of dehydration.'
 k^hyur pəšonu sāppā hosbwāk tutsā mālba 'One should drink a lot of water while suffering from dehydration.'
 k^hyur pəšo ālkəli h'isi-bitsdzidz-bwāk umtsā mālba 'Salt-sugar- water should be fed to a child suffered from dehydration.'

ㄣ ㄎ g /gə/

gāidā n. (c) ‘hoe’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘hoes’

gəsu n. (c, u) [> gəs] ‘fog’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘fogs’

gəsuŋā k^həd dumtsā (fig.) ‘to be in confusion, directionless’

gəsu nu rəu ‘fog and rain’

gəsumi ‘in/by the fog’

gəsumi mətətsā ‘not to see in/by the fog’

gəsumi sumtsā ‘to veil by the fog’

go gəsuŋā k^həd budi dumti ‘I am/was confused.’

gom gəsu pətikəm lā mətəŋ ‘I couldn’t see the path because of fog.’

gərbu adj. big, elder cf. SYN T^heb

gəri n. (c) [> gər] ‘soil pot’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘soil-pots’

gəršyi n. ‘a species of tree’ (N घुरमिसो)

gəu num. [*guh* John Beams’ (1867) data]

yānolə gəu ‘ten after nine’

gəu kyət ‘ten rupees’

gəu bləptso ‘ten fingers’

ākəli gəu kyət gəyini ‘Please give me ten rupees.’

ni?si guimi gəu bləptso bā?nimi ‘There are ten fingers in two hands.’

gomi gəu bwā gyāptāŋ ‘I bought ten fowls.’

gəul n. see cf. SYN səu ‘hornet’

-gā postp. ‘inside’

k^hiŋgā ‘inside the house’

ləŋgā ‘outside’

āgā ‘of inside’

polāgā ‘inside the hole’

sonāgā ‘inside the vagina’

k^hiŋgā oŋɛnɛ/otsā nāilə ‘Please get inside the house.’

rəkmits polāgā otu ‘The ant entered inside the hole.’

ləŋgā su pim’ɛ? (a speaker utters when s/he is inside the house) ‘Who came outside the house?’

gāits n. ‘anger’ ~pətsā v. (See pətsā)

gāitstsā vi. ‘to be angry’

gāl n. (u) ‘sweat, perspiration’ [cf. gā:li Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 475]

gālo: n. ‘secrecy’

gālo: mətuitstsā ‘to not understand the secrecy’

gāmthū n. ‘inner feeling’
muruā gāmthū ‘man’s inner feeling’

gār n. (c) ‘wound’ ~piki (pl) ‘wounds’
gār nu nene ‘wound and pus’

gārtstsā vt. ‘to be alike, (fig.) ally’

gārssi n. (c) [~ gartekε] ‘rhyme, pair’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘rhymes’
gārssi kumsopətsā ‘to sing a rhyme’
gārssi br:ətsā ‘to compose a rhyme’
ālpiki gārssipikyə kumsopətsā dānimi ‘Children prefer singing rhymes.’

gārtstsā vt. ‘to be similar, match’ gārttə (p, 3sg) ‘became similar, matched’ garsšo
‘become similar, matched’ NEG mə~ ‘not be similar, not to match’
lo gārtstsā (fig.) ‘come to the same conclusion’
gyomli nu gyomle gārtstsā (fig.) ‘to be an ideal couple, match’
goike nu āke lo gartta ‘Both of us thought in the same line.’
mekonimp^ha sappa garttase ‘They two matched perfectly.’

gāsdus n. ‘manner’

gātsā vi. [~ cf. k^hātsā] ‘to be torn’ (itself) gāt (p, 3sg) ‘tore’ gāšo (pp, adj.) ‘torn’ NEG
mə~ ‘to not be torn’
gāšo iklā (fig.) ‘hoarse voice’
ε~ko wa gāt ‘This cloth tore away.’
go ε~ko gāšo wā məp^henuj ‘I don’t wear this torn shirt.’
ε~ko gyupthe/kyupthe āmin gāt ‘This cap tore away itself.’

gā?tsā vi ‘to walk on foot’ gā?tə (p, 3sg) ‘walked’ gā?šo (pp, adj.) ‘walked’ NEG mə~ ‘not
to walk’
rippā gā?tsā ‘to walk quickly’
erōth konkon gā?tsā ‘to walk looking hither and thither’
gā?šonu lā ko:šālā gā?tsā mālba ‘One should look at the path while walking.’
lo mul tək gā?tsā? ‘Now where to move/walk?’
ek məbāi lo gāi ‘Let’s not stay here; let’s walk.’

gā?tsi~gā?si n. (u) ‘walking’

ge n. (c) ‘job, work, service’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘jobs, works’

ge n. (c) ‘nail’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘nails’

bleptsokε ge ‘nail of the finger’
 ge kyortε(i)ke ‘nail-cutter’
 ge nu šye ‘nail and flesh’
 ge milkəl ‘nail varnish’
 gyošo ge wāitstsā ‘to keep a long nail’
 gyošo ge mæodo ‘Don’t keep a long nail.’
 wεk murupikinu ge nu šye k^hodešopā bāʔtsā mālba ‘We have to live having
 good relationship with other people.’

-ge adv., POSTP. ‘to, towards, thither’ (See also in *pith*) cf. SYN pith adv.
 pithge dorο ‘Run thither.’

gεmdzo n. (c) ‘dagger’
 imitstsili gεmdzo kā ‘a small dagger’

genāiyo adv. ‘never’
 ε̃ko ālmi genāiyo mærimšo mæwāʔbā ‘This child never speaks filthy things.’
 genāiyo mælətsā ‘never to go’
 gom genāiyo dzol lo mæpəŋ ‘I never spoke untrue facts.’
 goi genāiyo mopā theb lo: mæpāuo (fig.) ‘Never be a impolite in that manner.’

gεpləmtək n. ‘solution’ cf. SYN gyorb
 gεpləmtək gluītsā ‘to find out a solution’

gεp^hi n. (c) ‘group’ ~pik (pl) ‘groups’
 gεp^himi bāʔtsā ‘to stay in group’

gerεre n. ono. ‘a sound of fog rush, landslide etc.’
 gerεrepā ‘the sound in that manner’
 gerεrepā koro lətsā ‘to landslide with such a unpleasant sound’

gerb n. (pl) ‘alms’

gersili n. ‘happiness’
 gersili gyāptsā mətāīsib ‘Happiness cannot be bought.’

getsā vt. ‘to give’ gεptu (p, 3sg) ‘gave’ gεšo (pp, adj.) ‘given’ NEG mæ~ ‘not to give’
 gerb getsā ‘to give alms’
 puībkəli kyət getsā ‘to give money for the beggar’
 ālkəli sāppā dzidzmidz mægetsān rimšo dumbā ‘It’s better not to give much
 sweets to the children.’
 āke kerdzmi gokəl gigkā getεmε ‘My uncle gave me a hundred rupees note.’

getthə adv.[> getth; cf. iri > ir] ‘up, above, to or at a higher level’[cf. gāttho Kirānti-Wam;
 Opgenort 2002: 150, 475]

gigi adj.n. [> gig] ‘green’

gigk^hāi ‘green vegetable’

gig p^hur/Tigeŋ ‘green colour’

gigkā ‘one hundred’

kā gig rəwā ‘a green tree’

gigi wā (gigi; EMP meaning) ‘very green cloth’

āke sōth gigi bā ‘My shirt is very green.’

gom gigk^hāi ketāŋ ‘I cooked the green vegetable.’

go gig p^hur/tigeŋ rimšo mādānuŋ ‘I don’t like green colour.’

gigits n. (c, u) ‘April’

gigitsmi ‘in April’

gigits nu nək mudi ‘April and new year’

gigitsmi gig ‘green in April’

gigitsmi p^hu(ŋ)piki boinimi ‘Flowers bloom in April.’

sinpikim gigits rimšon dumbə ‘April is beautiful among other months.’

ε̃ko gigitsmi gyubə paīsib ‘Marriage will be done in this April.’

gigyotsiri n. ‘green dove’ (*N हल्लेसो*)

gigyotsiri nu gomātsiri ‘the green-dove and the golden-dove’

məko rəwām bāʔšo gigyotsiri berttə ‘The green-dove sitting on the tree flew away.’

gilots n. (c, u) ‘December’

gilotsmi ‘in December’

gilots nu gyū~dzu ‘December and cold’

gilots utsitu dumbə ‘December is short’

gilotsnu gyū~dzu dumbə ‘It is cold in December.’

gilotsmi p^hū ‘ibə ‘It snows in December.’

gim n. (c) ¹‘body’ ²(fig.) ‘life’ (See also bōitsi) ~pikyə (pl) ‘bodies’

āke gim ‘my body’

inke gim ‘your body’

gim nu giwət ‘body and soul’

gim šyeltsi ‘body-building’

boitsākəli gim nu giwət kāthən dumtsā māl̄bə ‘Body and soul must exist together for survival.’

āmke gimkəli rimšopā koŋo ‘Take care of your body well.’

āke təu giŋ šyeltsimi lāibə ‘My son goes for a body-building.’

gimbō n. ‘physique’

āke gimbō ‘my physique’

gip^hp^hāk n. ‘monopoly’

g'i:ruyə n. 'health'

gis adv. cf. SYN dis, doso

ε̃ko k^hyōpətke thī gis mε? 'How much does this book cost?'

giwət n. (c) 'soul'

giwət bətstsā 'to call the soul'

gl(D/r)utsā vt. 'to appear, come out' glut(u) (p, 3sg) 'appeared' glušo (pp, adj.) 'appeared'

NEG mə~ 'to not appear'

k^hingālā laŋgā grutsā 'to come outside from inside the house'

lālā k^himi grutsā 'to appear (at someone's house) on the way'

go Mokuuā k^himi gruti 'I appeared at Mokuu's house.'

bwāklā rəkmits glutə 'The ant came out of the water.'

gl(ɾ/r)uītsā vt. 'to take sth out' gl(ɾ/r)uītu (p, 3sg) 'took sth out' gl(ɾ/r)uīšo 'taken sth out'

CF.SYN p^hetstsā, soltsā

glumāts n. (c) 'family' ~pik (pl) 'families' cf. SYN tsəsiməsi

glumtsā '1to lose, 2meet' cf. SYN 1sāmtsā, dzāmtsā

go pron. [< ŋo historically] 'I'

gonu 'with me'

golā 'from me'

gomi 'by me'

āke āl nu go 'my child and me'

gomi təkəli br(ɾ/l)εspət soittāŋ 'I sent a letter to my son.'

go gyākoši ləti 'I went to the market.'

go məkəkəli huinuŋ 'I scold him/her.'

~pikyə pron. [go (sg)+ pikyə (pl)] 'we'

gopiki nu goi 'we and you'

gopikinu 'with us'

gopiki nu āi rāgi 'we and our country'

gopikimi ε̃ko k^hyōpət brətəkə 'We wrote this book.'

gopiki ε̃ko rāgikəli gəth lāiniki 'We develop this country.'

gopiki āike lo: plənplən lāitəkə 'We're forgetting our mother tongue.'

goīde n. (c) 'donkey, ass' cf. SYN t^hīber

imitstsili goīde 'a small donkey'

gor n. (c) 'line' ~pikyə (pl) 'lines'

kup^hpikε gor 'the line of the forehead'

gotsā vt. ‘to start, begin’ gotu (p, 3sg) ‘started, began’ gošo (pp, adj.) ‘started, begun’
 NEG mǎ~ ‘to not start’
 gē gotsā ‘to start a job’
 mul gotsā ‘to start now’
 ōpān gotsā ‘to start in this manner’
 meko wāisāłmi gē gotu ‘The boy started a job.’
 ɛ̃ko gē dopāiyo rip gotsā mālba ‘We have to start this job fast anyhow.’
 blɛspət br(ɾ/l)ɛšonu mopā mǎgouo ‘Don’t start in that manner while writing a letter.’

gr’itsā vi. ‘to croak, shout’ gr’itu (p, 3sg) ‘croaked’ gr’išo (pp, adj.) ‘croaked’ NEG mǎ~
 ‘not to croak’ cf. SYN wābletsā
 sāppā gr’itsā ‘to croak very much’
 mopā mǎgr’itsā ‘not to croak that way’
 kuku budi mǎgr’itsā ‘not to croak like a frog’
 ĩke mukotsmi došo gr’ime ‘What time is it in thy (your) watch?’
 meko kuku dopā gr’ime! ‘How disgustingly the frog croaked!’
 goimi mopā gr’išo gom mǎdā:gu ‘I didn’t prefer your shouting in such a manner.’

grō n. (c) ‘horn’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘horns’
 byāp^hke grō ‘horn of the ox’
 gyošo grō ‘a long horn’
 utsituk grō ‘a short horn’
 hirsšo grō ‘a rounded horn’
 gomi myeske grō dz’itāŋ ‘I broke the buffalo’s horn.’
 grō mǎtāpo ‘Don’t blow up the horn.’
 kisyεke grō hirsu k^hōdɛb bā?bə ‘The deer’s horn is like a blade.’

gr(ɾ)oltsā vi. ‘to lie down’ groltu ‘lay down’ grolšo ‘lay down’ NEG mǎ~groltsā ‘not to lie down’
 kālekā groltsā ‘to lie down once’
 šyet dzəšā groltsā (fig.) ‘to have a rest after difficult hours’
 go grolti hānā po?ko ‘Wake me if I lay down.’
 mǎrupšo k^hopmi ōpā groltsā mǎdumbə ‘You should not lie down in this manner in unknown place.’
 goi ɛ̃k gr(ɾ)olo ‘You lie down here.’

gr(ɾ)ulmā n. ‘cymbal’

grumsi n. (c) ‘cluster’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘clusters’

gubəbbə n. ‘animal’

gudzil n. (c) ‘bicycle’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘bicycles’

gudzil nu hirtswāts ‘bicycle and wheel’
 gudzilke dzil ‘oil of the bicycle’
 go gudzil tsāleth dzonuṅ ‘I know bicycling.’
 meānke t̄au gudzillā t^hīsāu ‘Their son fell from the bicycle.’
 ālkəli gudzirmi ts’iptu ‘The bicycle knocked down the baby.’

gui n. (c) ‘hand’ ~pikyə ‘hands’

gui ts’itsā (lit./fig.) ‘to wash the hand/give up’
 gui dāitstsā ‘to be (fig.)’
 gui tsāletsā (lit./fig.) ‘to move the hand/work fast’
 gui bāʔšo mēre pāšā dzətsā šyā ‘Survive yourself by working.’
 ləlpīyāmi lətiklā gom gui ts’itāṅ ‘I gave up the idea of enrolling in the police.’
 kəd, go gui ts’inuṅ ‘I wash my hand.’

guḍduwā n. (cul) ‘drum’ (*N* ढोल)

guḍduwā tāptsā ‘to play the drum’

guipɛ n. ‘pumpkin’ cf. SYN p^hət^hāi

gumlik n. (c) [blending; guimi l’itek] ‘bangle, bracelet’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘bangles, bracelets’

gumlik nu tsāšyēle ‘bangle and hair-band/thread’
 gumlik māl’itsā ‘not to put on the bangle’
 gumlik sāmstsā ‘to lose the bangle’
 āke gumlik dzāmtə ‘My bangle got lost.’
 go gumlik l’itsā mādānuṅ ‘I don’t like putting on the bangle.’

gunɛ n. (c) [S: N+nat.] ‘sari’

gunun n. (c) ‘noise’ ~pik(pl) ‘noises’ v. ~pətsā ‘to make a noise’ gunun n. ‘noise’

gupsu n. (c) [> gups] ‘lion’ ~pikyə ‘lions’

gupsu nu siwar ‘lion and jackal’
 theb nu imitstsili gupsu ‘big and small lion’
 gupsukəli pu:the āptsā ‘to hunt a lion’
 ko:tsāmi gupsu rimšon dumbə ‘The lion is beautiful to look at.’
 gupsunu siwārkəli sāibə ‘The lion kills the jackal.’
 gupsu šyɛ dzəšā lā bloībə ‘The lion survives only on flesh.’

guptsā vt. ‘to pick up, lift’ guptu (p, 3sg) ‘picked, lifted’ gupšo (pp, adj.) ‘picked, lifted’

NEG mə~guptsā ‘not to pick up, lift’
 k^hyōpət guptsā ‘to pick up the book’
 məkə ālmi bl(r)ɛtik guptu ‘The child picked up the pen.’
 murum tāiššo kyɛt mægupo ‘Don’t pick up the money thrown by other people.’

gup^hthe n. (c) [~ kyupthe] ‘cap, hat’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘caps, hats’
 piyāmi gup^hthe ‘cap on the head’
 ker gup^hthe ‘black hat’
 dzešo kyupthe ‘worn out hat’
 mərimšo gup^hthe ‘a bad cap’
 go gup^hthe guphtsā mādānuŋ ‘I don’t like wearing a cap.’
 meko wāisālke gup^hthe ləl bā ‘The boy’s hat is red.’
 piyāmi gup^hthe məbāʔšo pətike āke piyā k^hāittə ‘I have a headache because of
 no hat on my head.’

gup^htsā vt. ‘to put on, cover’ (esp. hat, cap or muffler) gup^htu (p, 3sg) ‘put on’ gup^hšo
 (pp, adj.) ‘put on’ NEG mə~ ‘not to put on’ (usage; see gup^hthe) cf. SYN
 p^hetsā, liʔtsā, muičtsā, reltsā, pāitstsā (differ in manner)

gurip n. (c) ‘plough’ see cf. SYN koŋšyi ~pikyə (pl) ‘ploughs’
 guripdām ‘beam of a plough’
 theker/kermotske gurip ‘plough of the iron’
 bləmšyike gurip ‘plough of the log’
 ruwātspikkəli gurip mādumthu mādumbə ‘Plough is a must for the farmers.’
 gomi koŋšyi kā gyāptāŋ ‘I bought a plough.’
 theker/kermotske yo koŋšyi šyelsib ‘A plough is made up of iron also.’

gutkā n. ‘coop’
 gutkāmi bwā ‘rooster in the coop’
 gutkālā siwāirmi bwā yoldāt ‘The jackal snatched a rooster from the coop.’

guyə n. (c) ‘sickle’ ~piki (pl) ‘sickles’

gyābli n. (c) ‘bag, satchel’ ~pəki (pl) ‘bags’
 gyāblimi k^hyōpət ‘book in the satchel’
 gyāblilā ‘from the bag’
 gyāblike ‘of the satchel’
 gyāblimi wā kur pāuo ‘Put the clothes in the bag.’
 ōdɛp rimšo gyābli tek gyābi? ‘Where did you buy such a beautiful satchel?’

gyāil n. (c) [< gyāitstsā] cf. SYN thōgā

gyāitstsā vt. ‘to catch, hold sth’ (fig.) ‘to rape, ravish’ gyāittu (p, 3sg) ‘caught’ gyāiššo
 ‘caught’ NEG mə~ ‘not to catch, hold’
 guimi k^hurmi gyāitstsā ‘to catch the sickle with hand’
 k^huikəli gyāitstsā ‘to catch/capture a thief’
 gui gyāitstsā (fig.) ‘to propose’
 ləlpiyāmi k^huikəli gyāittu ‘The police caught the thief.’
 meko wāisālmi kā m išyeālkəli gyāittu ‘The boy raped a girl.’
 rentsemī meko m išyeālkəli gui gyāittu ‘Rentse proposed the girl.’

gyāptsā vt. 'to buy, purchase' gyāptu (p, 3sg) 'bought' gyāpšo (pp, adj.) 'bought' NEG
 mǎ~ 'not to buy'
 wāpikyə gyāptsā 'to buy clothes'
 k^hikā gyāptsā 'to buy a house'
 ākε ap^hpomi plākātuli/nāmremsi kā gyāpteme 'My father bought an umbrella.'
 mekomi gār kā gāyptu 'S/he bought a soil-pot.'
 gonimp^hā k^hyōpətpikyə gyāpnəsku 'We two buy books.'

gyārts n. (c) 'game' ~pikyə (pl) 'games'

gyārtstsā vt. 'to play' gyārttu (p, 3sg) 'played' gyārššo (pp, adj.) 'played' NEG mǎ~ 'not
 to play'
 kārə gyārtstsā 'to play the toy'
 gyārts gyārtstsā 'to play a game'
 ālnu gyārtstsā 'to play with the baby'
 ləppe məgyārššon rimšo dumbə 'It is better not to gamble.'
 bwā gyārts gyārššonu sǎppā rissibə 'One can laugh enough in a cock-fight.'
 goi ālnu gyārššā bā?ko 'You stay havin' played with the baby.'

gyertstsā vi. 'to be happy' gyerttu (p, 3sg) 'became happy' gyersšo (pp, adj.) 'become
 happy' NEG mǎ~ 'not to be happy'
 sǎppā gyertstsā 'to be very happy'
 modeb rimšo lo nešā go sǎppā gyerssiti 'I became very happy while hearing
 such good news.'
 ākε təmimi gokəli gyerpāitti 'My daughter made me happy.'
 gonimp^hā sinimā ko:šā gyertəsku 'We two became happy having watched the
 cinema.'

gyo n. (c) [~ dzyo] 'nest'
 ts'ibkε gyo 'the nest of the bird'

gyōbli n. (c) 'bag' ~pik (pl) 'bags'

gyol n. (c) 'winnowing tray' ~pikyə (pl) 'winnowing trays' cf. SYN dolesi
 gyolmi kāp^htsā 'to winnow with a winnowing tray'
 pəlākε gyol 'winnowing tray of the bamboo'
 dzešo gyol 'torn winnowing tray'
 gyolmi bur kāp^htsā mǎlbə 'You have to winnow the with the winnowing tray.'
 ketserk^himmi gyol madumthu mādumbə 'The winnowing tray is a must in the
 kitchen.'

gyom n. 'utensil' cf. SYN dərēmā

gyopsi n. 'registration'

gyorb n. 'solution' cf. SYN gēplēmtek

gyošo adj. [~ gyoš] 'long' ANT utsitu
 sāppā gyošo tsā 'a very long hair'
 gyošo lā 'a long way/path'
 gyošo nu utsitu 'long and short'
 Curssike tsā gyošo bā?tə 'Curssi has a long hair.'
 gomi gyošo blespət br(ɾ/r)ɛ:tāŋ 'I wrote a long letter.'
 ɛ~ko gyošo lā genāiyo məthumɛ 'We hardly could walk this long path.'

gyu adj. [~ dzu] 'cold' ¹winter season' ANT hups
 gyu pətsā 'to be cold'
 dzumi be?tsā 'to die of cold'
 ālānke dzu kyārššyemi dzāibə (fig.) 'Children can adj.ust the cold season.'
 āmrikām yo murupiki dzumi be?nimi 'People die of cold even in America.'
 dzumi ləŋgā məbāko 'Don't stay outside the house in cold.'

gyubɛ n. (n, u) 'marriage' ~təmrā 'marriage ceremony'
 gyubɛ pətsā 'to marry'
 gyubɛ nu be?tsi 'marriage and death'
 rimšo gyubɛ 'a happy marriage'
 gyubekɛ kurmidok^hā 'gift of marriage'
 gyubɛ muru mulkəmke p^hets kā mɛ 'Marriage is a part of human culture.'
 ākɛ gyubɛ sāppā rimšo dumtə 'My marriage was a very successful one.'
 gyubɛmi rɛu hit ŋənā rimšon dumbə 'It 'll be better if it rains in marriage.'

gyulp^hɛ n. (c)[~ dzolpāib<dzolpətsā] 'liar' ANT dzolməpāib
 k^horos k^hodeb gyulp^hɛ mədumtsā 'not to be a liar like Khoros'
 k^huibudi gyulp^hɛ 'liar like a thief'
 dzol məpətsā 'not to lie'
 meko dzolpāib mur su m'ɛ? 'Who is that liar man?'
 ākɛ təum ākəli dzol pāptu 'My son lied to me.'
 goi də sāppā kəkā gyulp^hɛ bā?te də 'You are a big liar.'

gyur n. (c) 'tamarind' ~pikyə (pl) 'tamarinds' cf. SYN dzyur

gyurssu n. (c) 'lemon' ~pikyə (pl) 'lemons'
 gyurssu bətsā 'to have the lemon'
 gyurssu gyāptsā 'to buy the lemon'
 gyurssu nu həudzidz p^hāitstsā 'to exchange lemon and orange'
 k^hiyāmāmi gyurssu gyāptu 'Khiyama bought the lemon.'
 bwākumi gyurssu kurpəšā tutsā rimšon mɛ 'It is good to drink having mixed the lemon in water.'

gyurtstsā vt. 'to be sour' gyurttā (p, 3sg) 'became sour' gyursšo (pp, adj.) 'become sour'
 ANT mǎ~ 'not sour', dzidz'i 'sweet'
 gyursšo pirsir 'sour whey'
 ɛ̃ko k^həmə gyursšo bā?tə 'This rice is sour.'
 go gyursšo kretetə/huluk dā:nuŋ 'I like sour curds.'
 gom gyurssu budi gyursšohuluk tutāŋ 'I had curds sour like lemon.'
 goi gyursšo šyābu mətunjo 'Don't drink the sour millet-beer.'

gyurots n. (c, u) 'October'
 gyurotsmi 'in October'
 kər gyurots 'black October'
 gyurots nu šyārā 'October and horse'
 gyurotsmi šyārātsāib dzərmesāu ŋənā mərīmšo dumbə 'If a colt borns in October, it is a bad omen.'
 gyurotsmi rimšo gɛ mǎpətsā 'It is better not to start doing any good functions in October.'

gyūbeno:the n. 'marriage-knot'

gyūpšo adj. 'easy, simple' ANT mǎ~, hartsindo
 gyūpšo bulgyets 'a simple problem'
 gyūpšo nu hartsindo 'easy and difficult'
 gyūpšo gɛ pətsā 'to do a simple job'
 ɛ̃ko gɛpətsā gyūpšo bā 'This job is easy to work.'
 goikəli gyūpšo gɛ sumi gɛb'ā? 'Who gives you an easy job?'

⊗ ʒ ŋ /ŋə/

ŋə num. 'five'
 ŋə blətikpik 'five pens'
 ŋə blətsopik 'five fingers'
 ŋə šyopik 'five mouths'
 gui kām ŋə bləptsopik bā?nimi 'There are five fingers in one hand.'
 ākɛ ŋə k^hyōpət dzāmtə 'My five got lost.'
 lənolɛ ŋə p'ibə 'Five comes after four.'

ŋəkodz'išo adj. 'confused' ANT tuisšo
 ŋəkodz'išo mur 'a confused man'

ŋəlo:pulo: n. 'life (fig.)'
 ŋəlo:pulo: bo?tsā (bɛ?tsā) 'to die'

ŋəm n. (c) 'dream' ~pik (pl) 'dreams' ~rits n. 'dream anecdote' ~tətsā vt. 'to dream'
 go ākɛ ŋəmmi dorti 'I ran in my dream.'

ηənə conj. ‘if’

ākəli mətinəye ηənə go ikəl thāinuη ‘If you don’t obey me, I’ll beat you.’
mopā dori ηənə goi thinəye ‘You’ll fall down if you run in that manner.’
rimšo ge paptəyi ηənə go gyersinuη ‘I’ll be happy if you perform a good deed.’

ηənāiyo ‘although, however’

ηərets n. (c) ‘end point, e.g. of a niddle’~pikyə (pl) ‘end points’

gyošo ηərets ‘a long end point’
utsituk ηərets ‘a short end point’
āke blətikke ηərets dzi?tə ‘My pen’s nib broke.’

ηərits n. ‘January’

gəsu nu ηərits ‘fog and January’
ηəritsmi gyū ‘cold in January’
ηəritsmi phū ‘ib ‘It snows in January.’
ηəritsmi sāppā gyū dumbə ‘It’s very cold in January.’
ηəritsmi p^hε?tek wā məthišomere be?sib ‘One can die of cold in January if there are no sufficient cloths to wear.’

ηā conj. [v. conj.; cf. nu n. conj.]

dumk^hī lāuo ηā āmkε ge pāu(o) ‘Go to the office and do your work.’
mek lāuo ηā meko ālkəli gəktingpā h^hīpəto ‘Go there and frighten to that baby terribly.’

ηā par. [interrogative]

moleb me ηā? ‘is that so?’
ōdeb yo dumbā ηā? ‘Will it be like this?’
goimi āke dzāmsō bletik thidi ηā? ‘Did you find my lost pen?’

-/ηā conj. [also followed by minu > min; ηāmin] ‘and, sequential marker’

k^həme dzəslišānā go hirth gā?ti ‘Having eaten the rice, I went to roam.’
āke təu ipšānā bo?tə ‘My son got up having slept.’
meko wāīsāl sāptske ātāri hōissāo ηāmin k^hīngā o(ə) ‘The boy climbed up the roof and then he entered the house.’

-ηā postp. ‘of’ (esp. with place) LOC

rāgiηā ‘of the country’
Raganηā ‘of Ragan (toponym in Kirānti-Kōits)’
ir k^hīηā ‘of the above house’
luts/āidi k^hīηā ‘of the house below’

k^h k̄āṅā murnu mēdzitsā ‘not to quarrel with the family members of the same house’

ε̄ko k^hṅā kurupiki tēk lāmā? ‘Where did the householders of this house go?’

ṅāmi n. (c) [ṅām] ‘elder sister’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘elder sisters’

āke ṅāmi ‘my sister’

mēkoke ṅāmi ‘his/her elder sister’

mēānke ṅāmi ‘their elder sister’

āke sā ṅāmi nəm(i) ‘I have three elder sisters.’

goimi ike ṅāmikəli t’itsā mālnəye ‘You must obey your elder sister.’

ṅāmikəli seu pāuo ‘Greet the elder sister.’

ṅā:tsā vi. ‘to weep’ ṅāt(u) (p, 3sg) ‘wept’ ṅāšo (pp, adj.) ‘wept’ NEG mə~ ‘not to weep’

mā(ə)rde ṅātsā? ‘why to weep?’

sunu ṅātsā? ‘with whom to weep?’

go kāitsikā ṅāṅṅān bā?ti ‘I was weeping alone.’

ε̄ko ālmi gokəli ṅāpāittu ‘This baby made me cry.’

mopā məṅāko ‘Don’t weep in that manner.’

ṅāwə n. (c) [~ dāgyu nat. from N] ‘elder brother’

ṅo n. (n, u) [proto-form of /go/ ‘I’ historically] ‘fish’ [cf. Meithei ṅá (Chelliah 1997: 19)

Kirānti-Yamphu ṅā (Rutgers 1998: 362)] ~pikyə (pl) ‘fishes’ (esp. several varieties)

ṅo gyaittsā ‘to catch a fish’

ṅo nu koṅtsu ‘fish and hook’

mekom kontsumi ṅopik saittu ‘S/he killed the fishes with a hook.’

ε̄ko ṅo br(ɾ)obə ‘This fish will be tasty.’

ṅomi gimkəli rimšon pāibə ‘Fish is a healthy food for humans.’

ṅoili n. (c) ‘tip, new shoot of a plant’ (e.g. pumpkin)

ṅol n. (c) ‘vowel’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘vowels’

ṅol sēdā ‘vowel sound’

Kirānti-Kōitsā ṅol sēdāpiki ‘vowel sounds of the Kirānti-Kōits’

ṅol nu sāṅ ‘vowel and consonant’

ṅol nu sāṅke k^hālsi ‘syllable of the vowel and consonant’

nelle lo ānke ṅol nu sāṅ sēdāpiki dumnimi ‘All languages have vowel and consonant sounds.’

ṅol sēdā madumthu durdā məšyelsib ‘A word cannot be formed without a vowel sound.’

ṅon n. (u) [~ mon] ‘sorrow, mourning’ cf. SYN thūgāts

ṅon nu ritstsi ‘sorrow and laughter’

ṅonmi ‘in sorrow’

bɛʔtsimi ŋon ‘sorrow in death’
hopo bɛʔtikɛm ŋon dumtə ‘There is sorrow because of king’s death.’
nɛthotspiki ŋon pəʂo bāʔtɛm ‘The neighbours are in sorrow.’

ŋoro n. (c) ‘dumb’ ~piki (pl) ‘dumbs’

ŋāitstsā vt. ‘to defecate’ ŋāittu (p) ‘defecated’ ŋāisʂo (pp, adj.) ‘defecated’ NEG mə~ ‘to not defecate’
go ŋāitstsā dāʔti ‘I like to defecate.’

ŋāwotsā n. ‘Ngawocha clan in K-K’ [LOC-V-INF (v.t) ‘to enter’ (n.) ‘one who enters first, elder brother’

◀ च ts /cə/

tsəts n. [< tsətsə] (c) ‘grand-son/daughter’ ~piki (pl) ‘grand-son/daughters’
āke tsətspək ‘my grand-sons/daughters’ [cf. *cāco* Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 142, 456, *tsā ‘child, grandchild’ (Benedict (1972: 208))]

tsəimi n. (c) ‘daughter-in-law’ ~piki (pl) ‘daughter-in-laws’ M təu
təm(i) nu tsəim(i) ‘daughter and daughter-in-law’

-tsən par. (contrastive marker/particle)

tsəni num., adj. ‘seven’

tsəni kyɛt ‘seven rupees’
rəkunolɛ tsəni ‘seven after six’
tsəni popikyə ‘seven pigs’
mɛkomi ākəli tsəni kyɛt gɛptu ‘S/he gave me seven rupees.’
rəkunolɛ tsəni p’ib ‘Seven comes after six.’

tsəhiplā n. (c) [S: Kirānti-Lim] ‘camera’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘cameras’ cf. SYN kɛmərə
tsəhiplā gyāptsā ‘to buy a camera’
imitstsili tsəhiplā ‘a small camera’
thɛb tsəhiplā ‘a big camera’
tsəhiplā tɛskul gr(t/l)uitsākəli gɛ lābbə ‘Camera is useful for producing photographs.’
goimi ɛˊko tsəhiplā dosomi gyābi? ‘How much did you pay for this camera?’

tsəpo n. (c) [tsə+po] ‘piglet’ ~piki (pl) ‘piglets’ [cf. tsuppā Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 139]

kɛr tsəpo kā ‘a black piglet’

tsəiwā ‘son-in-law’ FEM təm(i) ‘daughter’

tsəiwā māltsā 'to look for a son-in-law'

tsəutsəu n. 'curiosity' v. ~dumtsā 'to be curious'
go tsəutsəudumti 'I am curious.'

-tsā inf. [e.g. Σ-cā in all verbs; in Kirānti-Bāʔyung -co, Kirānti-Wāmbule -cām] cf. -nε, -
thu

tsā n. (c, u) [proto T-B tsām > tsā] 'hair' ~pikyə (pl) 'hairs'
gyošo tsā 'a long hair'
bus tsāpik 'grey hairs'
kirsšo tsā 'plaited hair'
meko m'ışyeälke tsā gyošo bā 'The girl's hair is long.'
təm(i)mi āke tsā kirsšā geti 'The daughter plaited my hair.'
gom āke tsā pləpātāŋ 'I had my hair cut.'

tsāšyεle n. (c) 'hair-thread/band' ~pikyə (pl) 'hair-thread' (used esp. to bind the plaited
hair of females)
tsāšyεle kirtstsā 'to twist/plait the hair-thread'
tsāšyεlenu tsā kirtstsā 'to plait hair with the hair-thread'
gom təmiā tsā tsāšyεlenu kirttāŋ 'I plaited the daughter's hair with the hair
thread.'

tsāib n. (c) 'baby, young' (for almost all animate being) ~pikyə (pl) 'babies' ANT
k^hușyo/k^həlpā
muruā tsāib 'human baby'
dzoike tsāib 'cub'
șyārā/sərāke tsāib 'colt'
gom mulāt bərmoke tsāib tātāŋ 'I saw a kitten today.'
dzoike tsāib kotsām rimšo dumbə 'A cub is beautiful to look at.'

tsāp^htsā vt. 'to be able to do sth, can' tsāp^htu 'could, became able' tsāp^hšo 'could, become
able' NEG mə~ 'not be able to do sth, cannot'
dzolpətsā tsāp^htsā 'to be able to lie'
k^huipətsā tsāp^htsā 'to be able to steal'
mətsāp^htik ge pətsātsāp^htsā 'be able to do a difficult job'
pəšo mərə pətsāmətsāptek ge mārəyo məbāʔbə 'This is nothing impossible if
we try.'
go ε̃ko ge pətsā tsābnuŋ 'I can do this job.'
mekonu lopətsā su tsābbəʔ 'Who can talk with her/him?'
tsursi imitstsili bāʔtəhənāiyo omo kolšo p^huilu tsuʔtsā tsābbə 'Although Cursi
is thin, she can lift up this big stone.'

- tsāʔtsā vt. [marked for spatial deixies; Mokusu Kormocha as a consultant in NK Rai (2002)] ‘to bring down (vertical)’ tsāʔtu (p, 3sg) ‘brought down’ tsāʔšo (pp, adj.) ‘brought down’ cf. SYN hitsā, pitsā, kuitsā NEG mǝ~ ‘not to bring up (neutral)’
 gēth tsāʔtsā ‘to fetch up/above’
 ekɛɛ tsāʔtsā ‘to fetch here’
 meko nelle šyi ɛ̃k gēth tsāko ‘Fetch all that firewood up here.’
- tsārtstsā vt. [tsārnuk n. ‘urine’] ‘to urinate, piss’ tsārtu (p, 3sg) ‘urinated’ tsārsšo (pp, 3sg:IMP) ‘urinated, urinate’ NEG mǝ~ ‘to not urinate’
 gom tsārttāŋ ‘I urinated.’
- tselep adj. ‘cunning’ cf. SYN tēlep
- tseriŋ n. ‘east’
 tseriŋɛ hirtstsā ‘to turn towards the east’
 nā tseriŋlā glub ‘The sun rises from the east.’
- tserpendzi n. (c) ‘library’ ~piki (pl) ‘libraries’ cf. SYN k^hyōpəthəm
 tserpendzimi k^hyōpətpik ‘books in the library’
- tsets n. (u) ‘garbage, rubbish’
 tsets tāitstsā ‘to throw the garbage’
- tseʔtsā vt. ‘to cut, chop into pieces’ (esp. a lump of meat or animate/inanimate objects)
 tseʔtu (p, 3sg) ‘chopped’ tseʔšo (pp, adj.) ‘chopped’ cf. SYN k^hr(ɾ/l)oitstsā, r’itsā, kyortstsā, pr(ɾ/l)etsā NEG mǝ~ ‘not to chop’
 wā tseʔtsā ‘to cut cloth into pieces’
 šye tseʔtse ‘to cut meat into small pieces’
 šye ketsā hōiti tseʔtsā mālba ‘The meat must be chopped into pieces before cooking.’
- tsetser n. ‘medicine’ cf. SYN sidāk
 tsetser gyāptsā ‘to buy medicine’
 tsetser nu kyet ‘medicine and money’
- tse~m n. (c) ‘week’ ~piki (pl) ‘weeks’ cf. SYN nup^ho
 niʔsi tse~m ‘two weeks’
 nup^ho kām thumtsā ‘to finish within a week’
- tsemtsā vt. ‘to earn’ tsemtu (p, 3sg) ‘earned’ tsemšo(pp, adj.) ‘earned’ NEG mǝ~ ‘to not earn’
 sus kyet tsemtsā ‘to earn a lot of money’

gom dumk^himi gē pəšā sus kyet tsemtāŋ ‘I earned a lot of money having worked in the office.’

tsere n. (u) ¹‘sun ray, sunrise, ² hope (fig)’ nā tsere ‘sunshine’
 tsere^{mi} ‘in the sunrise’
 tsereke ‘of the sunrise’
 tsere^{mi} tek gā?ŋe? ‘Where’re you going early in the morning?’
 mulāt nā tsere pāptu ‘It’s sunny today.’
 tsere k^hīŋā o:tə ‘The sunray entered inside the house.’

tsesi n. ‘use’ vt. ~pətsā ‘to use’
 durdāpikike tsesi ‘use of words’

ts’ib n. (c) [< ts’ibi] ‘bird’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘birds’
 ts’ibkē kumso ‘the song of a bird’
 ts’ib budi bərtstsā ‘like fly a bird’
 ts’ibkəli bārg dāitstsā ‘to set a trap for the bird’
 mēko ləl ts’ib bərttə ‘The red bird flew away.’
 āke phurumi ts’ibpiki bənim ‘Birds fly in my garden.’

tsibnā n. (c) ‘drop’ ~pik(pl) ‘drops’
 bwākke itsik^hoi tsibnā ‘some drops of water’

ts’ibrubwāittekk^hī n. (c) ‘zoo’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘zoos’
 ē~ko ts’ibrubwāittekk^hī ‘this zoo’

tsiduk n. (u) [S: Kirānti-Lim + nat.] ‘manure, compost, fertilizer’
 rumi tsiduk kurpətsā ‘to put fertilizer in the field’

tsilā n. ‘lightning’
 səriŋmi tsilā ‘lightning in the sky’

tsilāwəlā adj. ‘clever’ cf. SYN k^hədits
 tsilāwəlā āl kā ‘a clever child’

tsile n. (u) ‘curse’ ~ pətsā (v) ‘to curse’
 tsilepətsā rimšo mədumbə ‘It is not good to curse.’

tsimik n. ‘wink’ v. ~pətsā ‘to wink’ (also See pətsā)
 kā tsimik ‘a wink’
 tsimik kā ‘a brief wink’

tsimtsā vt. ‘to milk’ tsimtu (p, 3sg) ‘milked’ tsimšo (pp, adj.) ‘milked’ NEG mə~ ‘not to milk’
 b’i tsimtsā ‘to milk the cow’

tsitoli n. (c) ‘chick’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘chicks’
 tsitoli nu bwā ‘chick and fowl’
 tsitolike šye ‘chicken i.e. meat’
 tsitoli thultsā ‘to tame the chick’
 tsitolike šye bətsā ‘to have chick’s meat’
 tsitolikəli bwārdem yoltu ‘The falcon devoured on the chick.’
 Tsungulimi tsitoli ləša itsikhoi kyet tsemtu ‘Cungguli earned some money by selling the chick.’
 meko imitstsili tsitoli berttə ‘The small chick flew.’

tsipsi n. (c) ¹‘iron, press’ (an electrical device with a flat metal base) ~pikyə cf. SYN
 wāpləmb ‘irons’ ²v. tsipsi ‘did you two clip?’
 tsipsi pətsā ‘to iron, press’
 wāpləmb gyāptsā ‘to buy an iron’
 tsipsi hoitstsā ‘to heat the iron’
 gomi āke sōth tsipsi pātāŋ ‘I ironed my shirt.’
 wāpləmb pəšo mərə āke kəp^hes rimtə ‘My uniform became beautiful after ironing.’

tsirs n. (mass) [< tsirsi] ‘millet’ *eleusine coracana, paspalum scrobiculatum* [cf. tsārdzā
 in Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 92002: 136, 458)]
 meko tsirs (euph. for a səmdzə tribe ‘Jirel’)
 tsirske šyoplə ‘bread made up of millet’

ts’itsā vi. ¹‘to bathe, ²dare’ ts’itu ‘bathed’ ts’išo ‘bathed’ NEG mə~ ‘not to bathe’
 rimšopā ts’itsā ‘to bathe well’
 ālnimp^hāmi mul suni ts’itāse ‘The two baby bathed this morning.’
 āp^hpo gyākosilā lesšonu go ts’intš’in bā?ti ‘I was bathing when the father returned from the market.’
 goimi nup^ho kāmi uŋkukā ts’itsān mālnoyε ‘You’ve to bathe once in a week anyhow.’

tsiwəl n. ‘defeat’ v. ~pətsā ‘to defeat’
 gom āke kyākikəli tsiwəlpātāŋ ‘I defeated my enemy.’

tsō PAR ‘confirmation’

tsoil n. (u) ‘chin’ cf. SYN yoili
 lāiššo tsoil ‘a tall chin’

tsoilu n. (c) [~ tso?tel < tso?tsā ‘to shut, imprison, block’] ‘lock’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘locks’ cf.
 SYN thāmko ANT roilu/ro?tel
 tsoilu ro?tsā ‘to open the lock’

tsoilu nu roilu 'lock and key'
 k^huimi tsoilu dz'igāt 'The thief has broken the lock.'
 māmāmi roilumi tsoilu ro?temε 'The mother opened the lock with a key.'
 gom tsoilu thidinmæthidu 'I didn't find lock.'

tsomoloŋmā n. [~ tsomlu] 'Mt. Everest'
 nellεkεŋā lāisšo tsomlu 'the highest Mt. Everest'

tsorpæmtsā vi. 'to keep quiet' tsorpæmtu (p, 3sg) 'kept quiet' tsorpæmšo (pp) 'kept quiet'
 NEG tsormapæmtsā 'not to keep quiet' cf. SYN wālεpætsā

tsorpæmsi n. 'peace'
 murkæli tsorpæmsi mædumthu mædumbə 'Peace is necessary for man.'

tsotsā vt. 'to burn, roast' tsoptu 'burnt, roasted' tsošo 'burnt, roasted' NEG mæ~ 'not to
 burn, roast'
 m'imi tsotsā 'to roast by the fire'
 rεb tsotsā 'to roast the potato (as a way of cooking)'
 āŋ tsotsā 'to roast the maize/corn (as a way of cooking)'
 tsošo rεb br(ɾ/l)obə 'The roasted potato is tasty.'
 ākε gui m'imi tsoptu 'The fire burnt my hand.'
 āmke wā mopā mætsouo 'Don't burn your own cloth in that manner.'

ts'otsā vt. 'to hand over' ts'otu (p, 3sg) 'handed over' ts'ošo (pp, adj.) 'handed over' NEG
 mæ~ 'to not hand over'

tso:tsā vt. 'to errand'

tso?tsā vt. 'to shut, imprison, block' tso?tu (p, 3sg) 'shut' tso?šo (pp, adj.) 'shut' NEG mæ
 'not to close'
 tso?bik^himi k^hui tso?tsā 'to imprison a thief in the jail'
 lāptso tso?tsā 'to shut the door'
 kutsumtso?bigā kutsum tso?tsā 'to close the dog inside the kennel'
 ləlpiyami k^huikæli tso?tu 'The police imprisoned the thief.'
 tso?bik^himi tso?šo k^hui pl(ɾ/r)omεt 'The thief has run away from the jail.'

tso?sitsā mv. 'to be locked, imprisoned'
 go k^hiŋgā tso?siti 'I am locked inside the house.'

tsotso n. (c) 'cheek' ~pikyə (pl) 'cheeks'
 ākε tsotso 'my cheek'
 mεkoā tsotso 'his/her cheek'
 ləl tsotso 'a red cheek'
 goimi ākε tsotsomārde tub'í? 'Why did you beat on my cheek?'

ākəl məbinnəyεḡənə ike tsotso pr(ɾ/l)olnuḡ ‘I’ll beat you on your cheek if you do not obey me.’

āke tsotsomi mār bā?mε? ‘What is there on my cheek?’

ts’ubε n. (c) ‘flea’ ~piki (pl) ‘fleas’

ts’ubu n. (c) [> tsub] ‘Kirānti-Kōits knife, Gurkha knife’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘K-K knives’

ts’ub nu k^hot ‘K-K knife and sheath’

ts’ubkε hirtsu ‘blade, edge of K-K knife’

ts’ubmi kyortstā ‘to cut with a K-K knife’

hirhir ts’ub ‘a sharp K-K knife’

bitle ts’ub ‘a blunt K-K knife’

ε̃ko ts’ub bitle bā ‘This K-K knife is blunt.’

mεko ts’ub khotgā oto ‘Keep that K-K knife inside the sheath.’

ε̃ko ts’ubmi də rimšopa makyorbāt šyā ‘This K-K knife doesn’t cut properly.’

tsuigəm n. (u) [S: Eng+nat.] ‘chewing gum’

tsuigəm letsā ‘to sell chewing gum’

tsuigəm k^huitstsā ‘to hide chewing gum’

k’imi tsuigəm kepsitsā ‘to get stuck (self) chewing in the intestine’

tsuigəm məbəšonu rimšon dumbə ‘It is better not to have chewing gum.’

tsuisšo adj. ‘hurried’ ANT mətsuisšo

tsuisšo mur ka ‘a hurried man’

tsuḡ n. (u) [S: Kirānti-Lim] ‘wrestling’ cf. SYN kesi

tsuḡ gyārtstsā ‘to play wrestling’

kesi ko:tsā ‘to watch wrestling’

go tsuḡ ko:tsā dānuḡ ‘I prefer watching wrestling.’

kesi gyārbpikim sāppā kyet tsemnimi ‘The wrestlers earn a lot of money.’

tsuḡtsi n. (c) [~ tsuntsi] ‘hillock, hill’ cf. SYN thepul, dā:kin, themli, themru

irḡā tsuḡtsi ‘the hillock of up above’

āke tsuḡtsi ‘my hillock’

mεko nu ε̃ko tsuḡtsi ‘that and this hillock’

nelle tsuḡtsipiki ‘all the hillocks’

həri ir tsuḡtsimi nā gr(ɾ/l)utu ‘The sun shone up above the hillock.’

eklā mεko tsuḡtsi doso moni bā?mε? ‘How far is the hillock from here?’

tsuitstsā vt. [~ < kyuitstsā] ‘to tuck, fix, thrust in/insert into’ tsuittu (p, 3sg) ‘tucked in’

tsuisšo (pp, adj.) ‘inserted into’ NEG mə~ ‘not to insert’

piyāmi phu(ḡ) tsuitstsā ‘to fix flower on the head’

lāptso ātāri rēlp^hu(ḡ) tsuitstsā ‘to fix a garland on the door’

Animonmi kosp^hu piyāmi tsuittāu ‘Animon inserted the orchid on the head.’

tsungum n. (S: Kirānti-Lim] ‘fury’

tsule n. ‘nettle’ *girardinia heterophylla*
 tsulemi tsotsā ‘to sting by the nettle’
 tsulek^hai ‘curry of the nettle’

tsumlu n. (c) ‘mortar’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘mortars’
 tsumlumi l’išo ‘remained in the mortar’
 tsumluke šyer ‘rice of the mortar’
 tsumlumi buru tsutsā ‘to husk paddy in the mortar’
 gomī tsumlumi bur tsutāŋ ‘I husked paddy in the mortar.’
 ε̃ko tsumluke tuli t ε k bā?mε ‘Where is the pestle of this mortar?’

tsumludzā n. ‘feast, party’
 gyube tsumludzā ‘marriage party’

tsuplu n. (c) ‘fireplace’ ~piki (pl) ‘fireplaces’
 tsuplu hopo ‘a saviour of the fireplace’

tsutsā vt. ‘to mill, pound, husk’ tsutāu (p, 3sg) ‘husked’ tsušo (pp, adj.) ‘husked’ NEG
 mǎ~ ‘not to husk’
 bur tsutsā ‘to husk the paddy’
 tām(b)rā tsutsā ‘to mill beaten-rice’
 tsumlumi bur tsuib ‘Rice is husked in the mortar.’
 sople tsotsākəli p^həs tsutsā mālba ‘Flour should be milled for cooking bread’

tsu?tsā vt. ‘to lift up’ tsu?tu (p, 3sg) ‘lifted up’ tsu?šo (pp, adj.) ‘lifted up’ NEG mǎ ‘not
 to lift up’
 k^həplā k^hyōpət tsu?tsā ‘to lift up the book from the floor’
 p^huilu tsu?tsā ‘to lift up the stone’
 mεko ālmi momo kolšo mur tsu?tāu ‘The child lifted up such a big man.’
 Hāŋmi āmke təkəli tsu?šā p^huru kōitāu ‘Hang showed the garden to his own
 son having lifted up.’

tsu:tsu n. ‘regret’ ~pətsā (v) ‘to regret’
 gom nεritsu sāisšopətikem tsu:tsu dumti ‘I regretted on killing a mongoose.’

tsummu n. (c) ‘housefly’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘houseflies’
 tsummu nu tsets ‘the fly and the garbage’

ts’utsu n. ‘regret, repentance’

tsyolthe n. (c) ‘city’ ~pəki (pl) ‘cities’

† ज dz /dzə, j/

dzəditsā vi. ¹‘to reach’ ²‘to be enough’ dzədittə (p, 3sg) ‘reached’ dzədisšo (pp, adj.)
‘reached’ NEG mə~ ‘to not reach’

dzəditsāṅā adj. ‘accessible’ dzəditsāṅapa adv. ANT monkhon ‘inaccessible’
dzəditsāṅā them/k^hop ‘accessible place’
dzəditsāṅā tsomoloṅmā ‘accessible Mt. Everest’
sus murukəli mul tsomoloṅmā dzəditsā dzəditsāṅā them dumtə ‘Nowadays
Mt. Everest has become an accessible place for many people.’

dzətsā vt. ‘to eat’ dzāptu (p, 3sg) ‘ate’ dzəšo (pp, adj.) ‘eaten’ NEG mə~ ‘not to eat’
sople dzətsā ‘to eat the bread’
mārəiyo mədzətsā ‘not to have anything’
dzətsā dumbə ‘okāy to eat/have’
ālmī sus k^həmə dzāptu ‘The child had a lot of food.’
go nimp^hām āṅ kārśśā dzāitəsku ‘We two^{DU} had corn having roasted.’
mopā sus mədzāuo ‘Don’t eat much in that way.’

dzətəkdzət n. (mass) ‘food’ See dzətsā
dzətəkdzət kurtstsā ‘to carry the food’

dzətkutək n. [< dzətsātutsā] (mass) ‘food and drink’
meko k^himi dzətkutək mārəiyo məbā ‘There was no food and drink in that
house.’
go dzətkutək gyāpth ləti ‘I went for buying food and drink.’
əkə dzətkutək mār thīsibā? ‘What food and drink can be found here?’

dzətnā n. (c) ‘god’ ~pik (pl) ‘gods’ cf. SYN yābre
dzətnāmi ‘by the god’

dzəru n. (c) ‘ladle’ ~piki(pl) ‘ladles’
dzəru dzi?tsā ‘to break the ladle’

dzāmtsā vi. ‘to be, get lost’ (itself) dzāmtə (p, 3sg) ‘got lost’ dzāmsō (pp, adj.) ‘got lost’
NEG mə~ ‘to not get lost’
āke loəb dzāmtə ‘My younger brother got lost.’
go dzāmti ‘I got lost.’
āke bletik dzāmtə ‘My pen got lost.’
āke āp^hpo nu ṅāwə dzāmtəse ‘My father and elder brother got lost.’

dzāʔtsā vi. [spatial deixis (Mokusu as consultant in NK Rai (2002))] ‘to come (neutral)’
 dzāʔtə (p, 3sg) ‘came up (neutral)’ dzāʔšo (pp, adj.) ‘come up (neutral)’ NEG
 mə~ ‘not to arrive’ cf. SYN related verbs; (h)itsā, kutsā, pitsā

dzemlāthū n. ‘greetings, congrats’ vt. dzemlāthūgetsā ‘to congratulate’
 go inkəli dzemlāthū genuŋ ‘I congratulate you.’

dzərb n. (c) ‘debt, loan’

dzərb th’utsā ‘to take loan’

tsā budi dzərb (fig.) ‘a lot/non-count debts’

dzərb məth’utsā ‘not to take loan’

thāptsā mətsāptikpā mārde momo dzərb thu’i? ‘Why did you take so much of
 loan unable to pay back?’

āke təkə də tsā budi dzərb thāptsā bāʔtə ‘My son has a lot of debt to pay

dzēʔtitsā n. [dzēʔtitsā > dzēʔtits; also spelt as Jeʔticha] ‘one of the clanonyms of the
 Kirānti-Kōits tribe/race’

dzēšo adj. See məit, səisəiŋā ANT nək

dzēšo sōth ‘a worn out shirt’

dzetstsā ‘to light’ (itself)

dāilu dzetstsā ‘to light up the lamp’

dzetsā vt. ‘to be torn/worn out’

āke sōth dzet ‘My shirt tore away (itself).’

dz’ihots n. (c, u) [~ dzilots] ‘August’

dz’ihotsmi ‘in August’

dz’ihotske ‘of August’

k^hubnatsnoɛ dz’ihots ‘August after July’

dz’ihotsmi wāsɛɛlukɛ pidar pāisib ‘The rainbow worship is performed in
 August.’

mulāthotse dz’ihotsmi itsiitsi rɛu itə ‘It rained slightly in August this year.

dzitsk^hets n. ‘querrel’ vi. ~pətsā (See pətsā)

dzidz adj. [< dzidz’i emph.] ‘sweet’ [cf. dzidzi Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 78, 488)]

dzii n. (liquid) [< dzili] ‘oil, fuel’

k^həpdzil ‘kerosene, petroleum’

klildzil ‘mustard oil’

b’idzil (compounding) ‘ghee of cow’

gomi b’idzilnu k^həmə dzātāŋ ‘I ate rice with ghee.’

Rukumi āmkɛ nop^hāmi dzil kurpāptu ‘Ruku oiled her ear.’

k^həpdzilke thī bārttə ‘The price of petroleum hiked.’

dzilil n. cf. SYN thoplā

dzimnāts n.(c, u) [~ gimnāts] ‘May’

dzimnātsmi ‘in May’

dzimnātske ‘of May’

gigits nolē dzimnāts ‘May after April’

dzimnātsmi rēu (h)itsā gob ‘It starts raining in May.’

lāšo dzimnātsmi sāppā p^həs pāptu ‘Last May was windy heavily.’

dzir n. (c) ‘colour, hue’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘colours’ cf. SYN Tigēŋ, p^hur

dzirber n. (c) ‘moth’ ~piki (pl) ‘moths’ cf. SYN ušyer, burbu

dzitsā vt. ‘to quarrel, dispute, fight’ dziptu (p, 3sg) ‘fought’ dzišo (pp, adj.) ‘fought’ NEG
mə~ ‘not to fight’

mārde dzitsā? ‘Why to quarrel?’

mārimšopā dzitsā ‘to dispute badly’

mulre go nimphā mēdzināsku ‘We two (d incl) don’t fight now on.’

gom tāšonu mēko nimphā dzindzin bā?tāse ‘They two were fighting when I saw them.’

dzišo mēre dzi?šib ‘To fight means to be divided.’

dz’i?tsā vt. ‘to break’

dzimdā n. (c) ‘medal’ ~pik (pl) ‘medals’

dzimdā glātsā ‘to win a medal’

gom dorssimi dzimdā kā glātāŋ ‘I won a medal in running.’

dzoī n. (c) [~ kuk^hi dzoī] ‘tiger’ *neofelis nebulosa* ~pikyə (pl) ‘tigers’ FEM dzoīām

dzoī tāšā h’itsā ‘to fear having seen a tiger’

dzoī māsāitstsā ‘not to kill the tiger’

dzoī nu wā ‘tiger and bear’

dzoīmi šye bāibə (fig.) ‘Tiger is carnivorous.’

dzoīkəli ts’ibrubwāittēkk^himi wāšib ‘Tiger is kept in the zoo.’

dzoīmi mur sādāt ‘The tiger has killed a man.’

dzol n. ‘liar’ vt. ~pətsā ‘to lie’ cf. SYN gyulp^hε, k^hyol

goi də gyulp^hε bā?te de ‘You are a liar.’

goīmi mārde dzolpəyi? ‘Why did you lie?’

dzolpāib n. (c) [dzolpətsā > dzolpāib] cf. SYN dzol, gyulp^hε, k^hyol

go də k^hyol pətsā mēdzonuj ‘I do not know how to lie.’

dzu adj. 'cold' vt. dzupətsā 'to be cold' See gyu ANT hu:ps
mulāt sāppā dzu pāptu 'It is very cold today.'

dz'utsā vi. 'to flock together (esp birds)' dz'utu (p, 3sg) 'flocked' dz'ušo (pp, adj.)
'flocked' NEG mǎ~ 'to not flock'
mēko m'išo ləlmits rəwāmi ts'ibpik dz'unimi 'Birds flock in that ripen kaphal
tree.'

dzyo n. (c) [also gyo] 'nest' ~pikyə (pl) 'nests'
ts'ibkε dzyo 'the nest of a bird'
dzyolā ts'ibphu rətupətsā 'to steal the bird's egg from the nest'
dutskunkε dzyo məthitsā 'not to touch the nest of the swallow'
gom dzyo kā tātāŋ 'I saw a nest.'
dzyomi ts'ibp^hupik bā?təmə 'There are eggs in the bird's nest.'
k^hədke dzyo rimšo mədumbə 'Crow's nest won't be beautiful.'

dzjur n. (c) 'tamarind' ~pikyə (pl) 'tamarinds' cf. SYN gyur
dzjur gyurssšo dumbə 'Tamarind is sour.'
go dzjur mədānuŋ 'I don't like tamarind.'
ālthitek dumšo m'išyemurmi dzjur suspā dānim 'Pregnant women like tamarind
very much.'

⌘ ɾ ɾ /Tə/

Titsā vt. 'to obey' Titu (p, 3sg) 'obeyed' Tišo (pp, adj.) 'obeyed' NEG mǎ 'to not obey'
theb murkəli Titsā 'to obey the senior' cf. SYN bitstsā
gom mār dəŋā goimi Titsān mālŋəyε 'You have to obey what I said'

Tigeŋ n. (c) 'colour, hue' ~pikyə (pl) 'colours' cf. SYN p^hur, dzir
ləl Tigeŋ 'red colour'
gig p^hur 'green colour'
dzirpətsā 'to paint'
Tigeŋpəšā thumtsā 'to finish colouring'
gomi təsre kā Tigeŋ pātāŋ 'I painted a picture.'
ruitsimi həudzidz p^hur dāb 'Ruichi likes orange colour.'
mēko murkε dzir ləl bā 'The man's colour is red.'

Təmu n. (c) 'elbow' ~pikyə (pl) 'elbows'
ākε Təmu 'my elbow'
Təmu nu gui 'elbow and hand'
Təmu tho:sitsā 'to get the elbow dashed'
Təmu k^hāiššo pətikem gom gui hirnen mətsəbu 'I could not turn around my
hand due to elbow pain.'
p^huilumi akε Təmu Tho:tāu 'The stone dashed my elbow.'

ləlpiyāke səlmimi Təmumi thətsā mālba ‘One should tread by elbow in the police training.’

Təbəl n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] ‘table’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘tables’

Təbəllā ‘from the table’

Təbəlke k^hoil ‘leg of the table’

meko Təbəlke k^hoil sumi dz’igā? ‘Who broke the leg of that table?’

āke k^hyōpət Təbəllā doʔtə ‘My book fell from the table.’

Tətərə n. (c) ‘camel’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘camels’ cf. SYN dəlōt^h

lāiššo Tətərə ‘a tall camel’

Tətərə thultsā ‘to tame a camel’

p^həpirāgimi Tətərəpik ‘camels in the desert’

dəlōt^hkəli p^həpirāgike syuŋ yo də~nimi ‘Camel is known as the ship of the desert.’

dəlōth kotsāmi rimšo mədumbə ‘Camel is not beautiful to look at.’

Turuŋ n. ‘shaman-drum’ cf. SYN r’i

Turuŋ tāptsā ‘to play the shaman-drum’

nəl murum Turuŋ thitsā mədumbə ‘All people should not touch the shaman-drum.’

go Turuŋ dopā tāptsā də~šā dzonuŋ ‘I know how to play the shaman-drum.’

Z ɔ T^h/T^hə/

T^həbe adj. [> T^həb] ‘big, elder’ (fig.) ‘honourable’ ~thūkos ‘main purpose’

T^həb təu ‘the elder son’

T^həb mur ‘a man of significant, influential, honourable post’

T^həb letstsā (fig, disapproving) ‘to be very proud’

T^həb mur dumtsākəli sāppā gə pətsā mālba ‘One needs to work hard for being a great man.’

meko mur genai yo t^həb mələbbə ‘He is never proud.’

T^həbbleptso n. (c) ‘thumb’ ~piki (pl) ‘thumbs’ cf. SYN bōge

goi ike T^həbbleptso himdo də ‘You move your thumb.’

T^h’iber n. (c) ‘donkey, ass’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘donkeys, asses’ SYN goīde

th’iber nu kuro ‘donkey and load’

goīde budi dortstsā ‘to run like an ass’

th’iber by šyārā herālā kān nāmi ‘Donkey and horse are almost similar.’

th’ibermk həlšo kuro kurtstsā tsābbə ‘Donkey can carry a heavy load.’

T^h’itsā vi. ‘to fall, roll down’ t^h’itā~t^h’isāu (p, 3sg) ‘fell down’ t^h’išo (pp, adj.) ‘fallen down’ NEG mə~ ‘not to fall down’

mopā məT^h’itsā ‘not to fall down that way’

ribdo tušo mərə go T^h’iti ‘I fell down after drinking the wine.’

lā košā mægāʔšo mere t^hĩsib ‘One falls down while walking carelessly.’

t^huŋ yāsitsā (cul.) ‘hereditary transfer of shamanic knowledge’

ε̃ko ālkəli t^huŋ yāsimət ‘This child has hereditary quality of shaman.’

T^hāŋrācā n. ‘clan name’ fence-V-INF (v.t) ‘to rot’ (n.) ‘one who provides support’

go T^hāŋrācā nəŋ ‘I am Thangracha.’

t^holuts n. (c) ‘nail’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘nails’

t^holutsmi ‘by a nail’

s’išyir nu t^holuts ‘nail and rust’

ε̃ko t^holutskəli s’išyirmi dzəwāt ‘This nail has been rusted.’

goi məkə lāptsomi t^holuts t^hoko ‘Hit the nail on the door.’

t^holuts t^hotsākəli tuptək mālba ‘Hammer is needed to hit the nail.’

t^hots n. ‘help’ [See use in pūitsā]

t^hotsi n. (c) [< thotsā] ‘hammer’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘hammers’ cf. SYN tuptək [< tuptsā]

t^hotsimi thotsā ‘to hit with a hammer’

t^holuts nu tuptək ‘nail and hammer’

t^holutskə piyāmi t^hotsimi t^hotsā ‘to hit on the head of the nail by the hammer’

gom t^holutskə piyāmi t^hotəkmi t^hotāŋ ‘I hit on the head of the nail with the hammer.’

tā:tsā vt. ‘to take something’ tā:tu (p, 3sg) ‘took’ tā:šo (pp, adj.) ‘taken’ NEG mə~ ‘to not

take’ n. tā:tek~tā:b mur vs. tā:b ‘flour made up of roasted maize, soybean, wheat etc.’

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təŋ n. ‘condition’

kyεTosi təŋ ‘economic condition’

āke kyεTosi təŋ məbā ‘My economic condition is bad.’

təmi n. (c) [> təm; the insertion of the syllable final /i/ historically is a later development]

‘daughter’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘daughters’ M təu

təmi nu tsəimi ‘daughter and daughter-in-law’

āke təmimi rimšopā šyilpāptu ‘My daughter danced well.’

āike təmi dumk^hi lāibə ‘Our daughter goes to the office’

mēānkə təmimi yo rimšopā kumšopāptu ‘Their daughter also sang well.’

təstā n. (c) ‘scene’ ~pik(pl) ‘scenes’

rimšo təstā ‘a beautiful scene’

gom moləb rimšo təstā mətəšonəŋ ‘I had not seen such a beautiful scene.’

tərnā conj. [S: I-A k^həs/N+nat] ‘but’ cf. SYN šyεŋ (native lexicon; cf. Konow in Grierson (1909) See further use in šyεŋ
go tsursiā k^hī ləti šyεŋ məthidu ‘I went to Tsursi’s house I did not meet.’

təs n. (c) ‘picture, drawing, caricature’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘pictures, caricature’
təs šyeltsā ‘to draw a picture’
təske di ‘under the picture’
kul konkon təs šyeltsā ‘to draw a picture by looking at the face’
rikəpāmi rimšo təs šyeltāt ‘Rikapa drew a beautiful picture.’
goi āke təs məpāu ‘Don’t imitate me.’

təšpətsā vt. ‘to imitate, caricature (esp. for the sake of teasing)’
ām dəyuā mopā təsməpətsā ‘Better not to tease your own elder brother in that way.’

təšye n. (u) ‘magic’
təšye koīsi ‘magic show’

təskul n. (c) ‘photo’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘photos’
kəmərā nu təskul ‘camera and photograph’
rimšo kəmərālā rimšon təskul p’ib/gl’ub ‘Quality camera produces quality photograph.’
məko hopoke təskul səppā rimšo bā?tə ‘This king’s/god’s photo is very beautiful.’

təspəsin n. (c) [S: blending] ‘Xerox machine’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘Xerox machines’
təspəsinmi ‘by/at the Xerox/photocopy machine’
təspəsinkəli ‘to the Xerox machine’
təspəsinmi təs pā’ib ‘A Xerox machine produces photocopy.’
Jāpānke təspəsin səppān rimšo dumbə ‘A Japanese photocopy machine is of very good quality.’

tətsā vt. ¹‘to get, obtain’ ²‘to see’ tātāu ‘saw, obtained’ (p, 3sg) ‘got, obtained, seen’ təšo (pp, adj.) ‘gotten, seen, botained’ NEG mə~ ‘not to get, obtain, see’

təsre n. (c) ‘picture’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘pictures’
go təsre kā tigeŋ pāinuŋ ‘I (will) paint a picture.’

tətte n. (c) [Kirānti-Lim.+nat] ‘omen’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘omens’ cf. SYN dāil ANT rimšo
tətte/dāil mədumlə ‘Let it not be omen or happen something bad.’

təu n. (c) ‘son’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘sons’ FEM tsəim(i), təm(i)
təuke of the son’
təunu ‘with the son’
təumi ‘by the son’

təu nu tsəimi 'son and daughter-in-law'
 āke niʔʂi təu nəsi 'I have two sons.'
 məko murke təu dzāmtə 'That man's son went missing.'
 āke təumi rimšo ge pātptu 'My son did a good job.'
 ge suke təu nəye 'Whose son are you?'

tāge n. (c) 'relation, plot, conspiracy' ~piki (pl) 'relations'
 murke murnu tāge 'man's relation with man'

tāb n. (mass) 'a white/brown powder/flour that is made by grinding grain' (also 3sg form of the verb tāʔtsā)
 kārsšo āngke tāb hiltsā 'to grind the powder/flour of the roasted maize'
 tāb nu homok 'flour/powder and milk'
 dzətəkdzətkəli tāb kurtstsā 'to carry flour/powder for breakfast/lunch'
 homoknu tāb dzəʂonu sāppā bl(r/D)obə 'While eating flour/powder with milk, it is very tasty.'

tāblā n. (c) 'palm' ~pikyə (pl) 'palms'
 gui nut tāblā 'hand and palm'
 tāblāke gor 'a line of the palm'
 brolšo tāblā 'a broken palm'
 āke tāblāke gor rimʂon bā 'The line of my palm is good.'
 ruwātske tāblā sāppā ge pəʂo pətike brolbə 'A farmer's palm gets cleft because of heavy work.'

tāitstsā vt. 'throw away' tāitāu (p, 3sg) 'threw away' tāisšo (pp, adj.) 'thrown away' NEG mə~ 'not to throw away'
 wā mətāitstsā 'not to throw away the cloth'
 ne tāitstsā (fig.) 'to lose honour'
 mulkem nu məmālo tāitstsā (implied) 'to be proselytized, alienated'
 Sergimi ām ne tāittu (fig.) 'Sergi lost her honour.'
 ām məmālo mətāitten/məpləden (fig.) 'Don't forget your mother tongue.'

t'āitstsā vt. 'to cick' t'āittu (p, 3sg) 'kicked away' t'āisšo 'kicked away' NEG mə~ 'not to kick'

tālām n.[S: Kirānti-Lim+nat] 'chance'
 āke də genāiyo tālām məpyi 'My chance did not come ever.'

tāmrā n. [also tābrā] (u) 'beaten-rice'
 sāppā blošo tāmrā 'very tasty beaten-rice'

tāptsā vt. [n. tāptəke, təpo] 'to play' (esp. a musical instrument) tāptu (p, 3sg) 'played a musical instrument' tāpšo (pp, adj.) 'played a musical instrument' NEG mə~ 'not to play a musical instrument'

kom tāptsā ‘to play a reed harp’
meko bēngēnē mētāpo ‘Don’t play the plate.’
kiŋlomi rimšo kumšo tāptu ‘The Radio played a beautiful (melodious) song.’

tāslā n. (sg) ‘moon’ cf. SYN loTās, toselā
tāslā nu šyor ‘moon and star’
husnā nādōmi tāslā tatsā ‘to see the moon in the full-moon night’
tāslākēli pidār pətsā ‘to worship the moon’
tāslāmi hāgu gēb ‘The moon provides light.’

təbu n. (c) ‘gun’ see for use in p’uthe cf. SYN p’uthe [< p’utsā], pɛŋ, āp^htək [< āp^htsā]

təkere adv. [> təkɛr > tək > tɛ] ‘where’
goi tɛ lainəyɛ ‘Where do you^{3sg} go?’

tɛitei adv. ‘everywhere’
k^huipiki tɛitei bā?nimi ‘Thieves are everywhere.’

təllɛp adj. ‘cunning’ cf. SYN tsɛlɛp
təllɛp k^həlpā kā ‘a cunning oldman’

təltsā vt. ‘to pile up’ təltu (p, 3sg) ‘piled up’ təlšo (pp, adj.) ‘piled up’ NEG mə~ ‘to not pile up’

təmtsā vt. ‘to add’ təmtu (p, 3sg) ‘added’ təmšo (pp, adj.) ‘added’ NEG mə~ ‘to not add’
k^həmə-k^hāi təmtsā ‘to add rice and curry’

tɛptsi n. (c, u) [< tɛptsā] ‘pickle’ SYN lɛ~brots
ɛ~ko tɛptsi məkɛ m’ɛ? ‘What is this pickle made up of?’

tɛs adj. ‘short, dwarf’ ANT lāisšo

tətsā vi. ‘to beat’ tɛttu (p, 3sg) ‘bit’ təsšo (pp, adj.) ‘beaten’ NEG~ ‘not to beat’

tikkus n. (c) ‘rabbit’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘rabbits’ cf. SYN kikkməs
rimšo tikkus ‘a beautiful rabbit’
tikkuskɛ tsā ‘hair of the rabbit’
kikkməs sāppā dorbə ‘Rabbit runs very fast.’
tikkuskɛ šyɛ yo dzətsā dumbə ‘Rabbits’ meat is suitable to eat.’
tikkus k^him yo thulsib ‘Rabbit is tamed also as a domestic animal.’

tipnāt n.[~ dumsnāt] ‘Wednesday’
tipnātmi ‘on Wednesday’
ribnātnole tipnāt ‘Wednesday after Tuesday’
tipnātlā ‘from Wednesday’

go tipnāt k^hi lāinuŋ ‘I go hom on Wednesday.’
tipnātlā reu itsā got ‘It started raining since Wednesday.’

-tkε ~ tik~ tεkε NML marker

titsā (vt.) ‘to separate, filter’

toselā n. (sg) ‘moon’ cf. SYN loTās, tāsłā
səringmi tāsłā ‘the moon in the sky’
gom tāsłā tātāŋ ‘I saw the moon.’

toʔšyil n. (var) ‘rhododendron, *R. arboreum, barbartum, grande*’
ləl toʔšyil ‘red rhododendron’
toʔšyil yo p^hupikimi kā mε ‘Rhododendron is also one of the flowers.’
tsungtsimi toʔšyil boibə ‘Rhododendron blossoms on the hill.’
boisšo toʔšyilmi Tsomolongmā mimpāibə ‘The blooming rhododendron
reminds of Mt. Everest.’

toʔtsā vt. ‘cause/force to fall smn/sth down’ toʔtu (p, 3sg) ‘felled down’ toʔšo (pp, adj.)
‘felled down’ NEG mə~ ‘not to fell down’
p^hoto āp^hšā toʔtsā ‘to fell having shot the bullet’
p^huilumi āp^hšā toʔtsā ‘to fell having shot with stone’
gom təkəli huisšā rəwālā toʔtāŋ ‘I forced the son to get off from the tree
having scolded him.’

tuitstsā v. ‘to know’ tuittu (p, 3sg) ‘knew’ tuisšo (pp, adj.) ‘known’ NEG mə~ ‘not to
know’, tuisemere ‘after knowing’
lo tuitstsā ‘to know secrecy’
gom mε khuiānkε lo mətuittu ‘I didn’t know the secrecy of the thieves’
kyākiānkε lo dopāiyo tuitstsā mālba ‘We’ve to know the enemy’s secrecy
anyhow.’

t’uŋur n. [~ tho:tsi] ‘Kirānti-Lim, Yākthum(ŋ)bā or tsong tribe’

tuli n. (c) ‘pestle’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘pestles’
tsumlu nu tuli ‘mortar and pestle’
tulimi ‘by the pestle’
rəwāke tuli ‘a pestle made up of the log’
but tsu:tsākəli tsumlu nu tuli mālba ‘Mortar and pestle are needed to husk
paddy.’
meko ālmi ākəli tulimi kr(ɾ/l)omtāu ‘The child hit me with a pestle.’

tultsā vt. ‘to uproot, root out’ tultu (p, 3sg) ‘uprooted’ tultšo (pp, adj.) ‘uprooted’ NEG
mə~ ‘not to uproot’

lābək tultsa ‘to uproot the radish’
 khr(ɾ/ɿ)ui tultsā ‘to uproot the tooth’
 gom ālke khduit tultāŋ ‘I uprooted the child’s tooth.’
 mulāt rumi āike lābək tultsā mālba ‘We’ve to uproot our radish in the field today.’

tulsitsā vi. ¹‘to get up rooted’ (itself) ² (fig.) ‘to be destroyed, exterminated’ tulsitāu (p, 3sg) ‘became destroyed/got up rooted’ tulsišo (pp, adj.) ‘become destroyed/got up rooted’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to be up rooted/destroyed’
 āi murupiki āmmin tulsinim ‘Our people get exterminated themselves.’
 mopā matulsišo mēre geth lətsā tsābsib ‘We can progress if we do not destroy ourselves (in that manner).’
 āi murupiki āmmin tulsinim; sukaimi yo tultsā māmālbə ‘None should destroy our people; they get destroyed themselves.’

tutsā vt. ‘to drink’ (liquid like water, wine, milk) tutu (p, 3sg) ‘drank’ tušo (pp, adj.) ‘drunk’ SYN yuptsā, hurtstsā NEG mǎ~ ‘not to drink’
 bwāk tutsā ‘to drink water’
 ribdo mətutsā ‘not to drink wine’
 hos bwāk tutsā ‘to drink hot water’
 gom ləlbwāk tutāŋ ‘I drank tea.’
 gyāptsā tsāpšo mēre nāt kām gilās kā homok tutsā mālba ‘One must drink one glass of milk if one can afford.’

t’utsā vt. ‘to lick’ t’utu (p, 3sg) ‘licked’ t’ušo (pp, adj.) ‘licked’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to lick’
 bēngēnē t’utsā ‘to lick the plate’
 blēptso t’utsā ‘to lick the finger’
 khāme dzəšā thumšonolē bēngēnē t’utsā mālba ‘One must lick the plate after having finished the rice.’
 mopā genāiyo ām blēptso mət’uko ‘Never lick your own finger (in that way).’

tuptsā vt. ‘to beat’ tuptu (p, 3sg) ‘beat’ tupšo (pp, adj.) ‘beaten’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to beat’ cf. SYN thāitstsā, yuptsā (differ in manner)
 k^huikəli tuptsā ‘to beat to the thief’
 təm(i)kəli mətuptsā ‘not to beat to the daughter’
 goi ām wārtstsəkəli mopā mətupo ‘Don’t beat to your friend in that way.’
 sē~sibkəli sāppā tuptsā mādumbə ‘It isn’t better to beat to a learner severely.’

tuptek n. (c) [< tuptsā] see T^h’otsi
 tuptek mur ‘the man who beats/beater’
 tuptek ko?kə ‘the stick to be beaten with’
 tuptek təu ‘the son who beats/beater’

tuptil n. (c) [also tupther] ‘goldsmith’ ~pəki (pl) ‘goldsmiths’

turki adj. 'foreign' ANT k^hi, āmrāgi

turs n. (c) 'grave' ~piki (pl) 'graves'
turs dotsā 'to dig a grave'

tursutsā n. [R-G spelling; Tursucha] 'clan name' [turs 'grave'-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, mend'
(n.) 'one who darns' [also one who is born on the grave; p/c Lokpriya
Mulicha-Sunuwar]

थ थ th /thə/

thəkpo n. (c) [s: Kirānti-Lim] 'weevil' ~pikyə (pl) 'weevils' SYN pirsuli
tserb nu thəkpo 'the wheat and the weevil'
pirsulimi koṅrets dzətsā 'to eat/destroy maize by the weevil'
thəkpokəli wātsər wāitstsā 'to put poison to the weevil'
ε̃ko koT^hom wāisšo nel bur də pirsulimi kəkā dzəwābāʔt 'All the paddy
stored in this store is eaten up by the weevil.'
go ε̃ko thəkpokəli wātsərmi sainung 'I kill this weevil by poison.'

thəmā n., intj. [> thəm] 'true, real, exact, clear' ANT dzol
thəmā məl'i?
thəmā šyā!
thəmthəmā!
thəmā den'ε?
go thəmāpā mətuiṇuṇ 'I don't know truly.'

thāitstsā vt. 'to beat, strike, hit' thaittu (p, 3sg) 'beat' thāisšo (pp, adj.) 'beaten' NEG mə
'not to beat' cf. SYN tuptsā,yup^htsā

thāk n. (c) [S: Kirānti-Lim] 'generation' ~pik (pl) 'generations'
nək thāk 'new generation'
nək thākmī nelle gε rimšo pətsā mālba 'The new generation should progress
well.'

thāmtsā vt. 'to taste' thāmtu (p, 3sg) 'tasted' thāmsho (pp, adj.) 'tasted' NEG mə~ 'to not
taste'
k^hāimi h'isi` thāmtsā 'to taste the salt in the curry'

thātlā n. (c) 'a cricket, baseball, table tennis bat' ~pikyə (pl) 'bats'
thātlā nu p^hurkəl 'bat and ball'
thātlāmi p^hrukəl āp^htsā 'to hit the ball with a bat'
thātlā dziʔtsā 'to break the bat'
gom thātlā dziʔtāṇ 'I broke the bat.'

gyāršonu thātlā rimšopā gyāitstsā mālba ‘You should hold the bat strongly while playing.’

thāmko n. (c) ‘lock’ cf. SYN tsoilu

thāmtsā vt. ‘to taste’ thāmtu ‘tasted’ thāmšo ‘tasted’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to taste’
 lɛ̃brots thāmtsā ‘to taste the pickle’
 khāingā h’isi thāmtsā ‘to taste the salt of curry’
 khəməkhai pəšo mərə thāmtsā tāisib ‘One can taste the food while cooking.’
 gom k^hai thāmtāŋ ‘I tasted the curry.’

thāptsā vt. ‘to pay’ thāptu (p, 3sg) ‘paid’ thāpšo (pp, adj.) ‘paid’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to pay’
 kyetk^hike dzerb thāptsā ‘to pay the bank’s loan’
 məmāke homokke thī thāptsā ‘to pay the price of the mother’s milk’
 gom sus dzerb thāptsā bā ‘I have to pay a lot of loan.’
 meko mur āke dzerb məthāptu bəʔtu ‘The man died without paying my loan.’
 dzerb dzəšonole thāptsā də mältāwən ‘You must pay after taking loan.’

thelmi n. (c) ‘pheasant’ ~pik (pl) ‘pheasants’
 ker thelmi kā ‘a/one black pheasant’

therther adj. ‘a special shape of stone’ (N tsəpleti चप्लेटी)
 therther p^huilu ‘therther stone’

thi n. ‘wealth’

thī n. (c) ‘price’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘prices’
 kusulnobke thī ‘price of the shoes’
 thī thāptsā mətsābtsā ‘not to be able to pay the price’
 āike gimke thī ‘the price of our body’
 thī bārsšo pətike gom kusulnob kā yo gyāptsā mətsəbu ‘I couldn’t buy even a pair of shoes because of price hike.’
 bōitsike thī mədumbə ‘Life is priceless.’
 ɛ̃ko nobke thī doso m’ɛ? How much does this head-strap cost?’

thimtsā vt. ‘to bury’ thimtu (p, 3sg) ‘buried’ thimšo ‘buried’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to bury’
 bəʔšomur thimtsā ‘to bury a corpse’
 thānrā thimtsā ‘to bury a wooden support’
 gom thāngrā kā thimtāŋ ‘I buried a wooden support.’
 Kirānti-Kōits mulkəmmi bəʔšomur thimsib ‘A corpse is buried in the Kirānti-Kōits culture.’

thirmāk^het n. adj. ‘tired’ ~dumtsā ‘to be tired’

thitsā vt. ‘to touch’ thitu (p, 3sg) ‘touched’ thišo (pp, adj.) ‘touched’ NEG mə~ ‘to not touch’

thēķer n. (u) ‘iron’ cf. SYN ķermots

thepul n. (c) ‘mound’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘mounds’ cf. SYN tsuņtsi, dākin, themli
 k^həp nu p^huiluke thepul ‘a mound of soil and stone’
 bəmirpikmi šyelšo thepul ‘a mound made by termites’
 gom bəmirpikmi šyelšo ōdeb rimšo thepul genāiyo mətəšo nəŋ ‘I never had seen such a beautiful mound made by termites.’
 ɛ~ko thepul lāʔtsā tsābsib ‘ā? ‘Can this mound be crossed?’

thelmi n. (c) ‘pheasant’; *catreus wellichi* ~pik (pl) ‘pheasants’

themli n. (c) ‘hill’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘hills’ SYN thepul/thəmru, tsuņtsi, dākin
 lāiššo themli ‘a tall hill’
 themli hōīttsā ‘to climb a hill’
 themlige kotsā ‘to look towards the hill’
 themlimi bōītsā sāppā šyet dumbə ‘It is very difficult to survive in the hill’
 mēko themlimi k^həpkyu məlibə ‘Bus doesn’t go the hill.’
 gopik mēko themlimi mārde lətsā ŋā? ‘Why should we go to the hill?’

themsī n. ‘span’ cf. SYN nəyer [also cf. nāmsits ‘era’, yāmkā ‘a while’]

thēʔtsā vt. ‘to tread’ thēʔtsā (p, 3sg) ‘trod’ thēʔšo (pp, adj.) NEG mə~ ‘not to tread’

thertstsā vt. ‘to make, become warm; warm up’ therttu (p, 3sg) ‘made warm’ thersšo (pp, adj.) ‘made warm’ [*N tapnu*] NEG mə~ ‘not to warm up’
 m’i thertstsā ‘to become warm by fire’
 nā thertstsā ‘to become warm by sun’
 gom āmmin m’i therttāŋ ‘I made myself warm by fire.’
 sus m’i məthersšo ‘Don’t take much fire-heat.’

thōgā n. (c) ‘net, snare, trap’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘nets, snares, traps’ cf. SYN gyāil [<gyāitstsā]
 thōgā dāitstsā ‘to set a net, trap’
 thōgāmi ŋo gyāitstsā ‘to catch fish in a net’
 gyāil dzeʔtsā ‘a net to be torn itself’
 mur kāmi ŋokəli thōgā dāittu ‘A set the net for fish.’
 mēko th’ib thōgā thosāu ‘The bird got dashed in the net.’

thoibi n. (c) ‘poet’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘poets’
 thoibiā bōītsi ‘life of a poet’
 thoibi nu mimsbrə ‘poet and poetry’
 thoibi k^hodeb muru ‘a poet-like man’
 rāgikob thoibi (fig.) ‘a nationalist poet’

thoibipikim ām rāgikəli sāppā nəm pāinimi ‘Poets lover their country very much.’

meko thoibimi mimsbrēpik brēʔsā nē tsemṭāu ‘The poet became famous by writing poetry.’

thoibipikmi boitsimi sāppā šyēt dzāinimi (fig.) ‘Poets survive a difficult life.’

thokporo v. (c) [S: Kirānti-Lim simplified] ‘christohine, chayote, *sechium edule*’ (esp edible fruits and roots) ~pikyə (pl) ‘christophines’ cf. SYN kyoŋ
 thokporo loptsā ‘to boil the christophine’
 kyoŋkə k^hāi ketsā ‘to cook curry of the christophine’
 thokporokə tsu ‘thorn of the christophine’
 gom loṗšo kyoŋ sus bātāŋ ‘I ate a lot of boiled christophine.’
 kyoŋk^hāi blobə ‘The christophine curry will be tasty.’

tholoŋā n. [Text source: 1.47] ‘plain land, Terai (esp. inner one)’

tholots n. ‘settler’

thoʔplā n. (c) ‘wave’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘waves’ cf. SYN dzilil
 bwākke thoplā ‘the wave of water’
 thūmi thoplā boʔtsā (fig.) ‘to have thoughts in mind’
 dzililmi kotsā ‘to look at the wave’
 meko ālmi thoplāmi kotu ‘The child looked at the wave.’
 go dzilil kotsā dānuŋ ‘I preper watching the wave.’

thorssi n. (c) ‘poem’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘poetry’ cf. SYN mimsbrē [See in thoibi]
 thorssi brēʔtsā ‘to write a poem’
 mimsbrē setstsā (fig.) ‘to recite a poem’
 gomi thorssi kā brēʔtāŋ ‘I wrote a poem.’
 meko mimsbrēpik retstsā dāb ‘S/he likes reading poetry.’
 thoibimi thorssi brēʔtāu ‘The poet wrote a poem’
 gomi thoibiglumlomi mimsbrē kā settāŋ ‘I recited a poem at the symposium.’

thotse n. (c,u) cf. SYN mudi

thū n. (c) ¹‘feeling’, ²‘emotions’, ³‘heart’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘feelings’ cf. SYN lungir
 thū k^hāitstsā (fig.) ‘to feel bad’
 thū dzāmtsā (fig.) ‘to be forgetful’
 thū gārtstsā (fig.) ‘to be close/intimate’
 thū bārtstsā (fig.) ‘to get encouraged’
 ruilimi āke thū k^hāpāittu ‘Ruili hurt my heart.’
 k^həlpā dumšo mēre thū dzāmbə ‘Memory gets decreased while getting old.’
 goimi mo deʔšonu āke thū bārttə ‘I am encouraged when you say so.’

thūguts n., adj. (c, u) ‘clan name, wise’ [esp. spoken form thūguts; written form thūgutsā= thū+gu+tsā ‘heart+to appear’]

thūṅāts n. (u) [See ṅon]

thūkeneslo n. (c) ‘autobiography’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘autobiographies’
go āke thūkeneslo brɛʔnuŋ ‘I write my autobiography.’

thūsāišo adj. (fig.) ‘hopeless’

thulimtoktso vt. [S: Kirānti-Bāʔyung] ‘to exorcize’ [Text source: 1.67, 1.83]

thultsā vt. ¹‘to tame’ ²(fig.) ‘to serve guests or others’ thultu (p, 3sg) ‘tamed, served’
thulšo (pp, adj.) ‘tamed, served’ NEG mə~ ‘to not tame, serve’
b’ibyāp^h thultsā ‘to tame cattle’
murnāmpiki thultsā ‘to serve guests’
kyārs thulšā yo itsiitsi kyɛt tsemtsā tsābsib ‘A little bit of money also can be earned by taming goats.’
gom sināt ām murnāmpikkəli thultāŋ ‘I served my guests yesterday.’

thumtsa vt. ‘to complete, finish’ thumtu (p, 3sg) ‘completed’ thumšo (pp, adj.)
‘completed’ NEG mə~ ‘not to complete’ cf. SYN nup^htsā
dzəšā thumtsā ‘to finish having eaten’
pəšā thumtsā ‘to finish having done’
meko ālmi ritslo brɛʔšā thumtu ‘The child finished writing the story.’
gom nelle ge pəšā thumtāŋ ‘I finished doing all the job.’
goi meko ge dopāiyo thumo ‘You finish the job anyhow.’

thurssi n. (u) ‘trilling’
thurssi sɛ̃dā ‘the trilling sound’

ㄩ ɖ d /də/

də Top. par. (emphasis in a sentence)
meko də k^hɪ lət ‘S/he went home.’

dəit adj. ‘impure, unholy’ ANT k^hɛk^hɛ

dəkkā n. ‘one thousand’
dəkkā k^huipətsā ‘to steal one thousand rupees’
gom āke bəp^həlmi dəkkā kurpātāŋ ‘I put one thousand rupees in my pocket.’

dəlōth n. (c) ‘camel’ SYN tətɛɛ

- dəmkimpətik ‘competition’
dəmkimpətik glātsā ‘to win a competition’
- dəmrā n. (c) ‘termite’ cf. SYN bəmil
- dəsithəmālo n. ‘evidence’
- dā n. (c) ‘shape ~piki (pl) ‘shapes’
- dāgyu n. (c) [S: nativized from N; native lexicon also available] ‘elder brother’ cf. SYN
ŋāwə
- dāits n. ‘bet’ ~wāitstsā/dāitstsā (vt.) ‘to bet’
- dāitstsā vt. ‘to get, receive’ [N thApnu थाप्नु] dāittu (p, 3sg) ‘received’ dāsšo (pp, adj.)
‘received’ NEG ‘to not receive’
k^hotse~ (fig.) ‘to tell puzzle/riddle, pick a quarrel’
guimi dāitstsā ‘to receive at the hand’
dzətəldzət ām guimi dāittine ‘Receive the food in your own hand.’
- dāil n., adj. ‘omen’ cf. SYN tətte ANT rimšo
- dāilu n. (c) ‘lamp, light’ cf. SYN nāsəl, hāgo, hām
dāilu kurtstsā ‘to carry a lamp’
dāilu nu dzikr’išo ‘light and dark’
hāmke šyo mətətək klonā ‘a room without light’
ε̃ko k^himi nāsəl məbā ‘There is no lamp in this house.’
go hām mətətək klonā mādānuŋ ‘I don’t like the room, where no light enters
at all.’
- dāine adv. ‘okay’
- dāptsā ‘¹to believe, ²assume, ³suppose, ⁴dazzle, ⁵glare’
- dākin n. (c) ‘pile, heap’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘piles, heaps’ cf. SYN themli, thəpul, tsuŋtsi
bur nu tserbike dākin ‘a pile of paddy and wheat’
dākinpətsā ‘to pile up’
tsətske dākin ‘a heap of garbage’
omo theb tsirske dākin suke mε? ‘Whose is this much big pile of millet?’
εk ε̃ko tsətske dākin məoto ‘Don’t put this heap of rubbish here?’
ε̃ko bur εk dākinpā oto ‘Pile up and keep this paddy here.’
- dāluts n. (c) ‘firefly’ ~pəki (pl) ‘fireflies’ cf. SYN ləTu

dātsā vt. 'to prefer, like' dātu (p, 3sg) 'liked' dāšo (pp, adj.) 'liked' NEG mə~ 'not to prefer, like'

rimšo wā dātsā 'to prefer a beautiful cloth'

gyāptsā dātsā 'prefer to purchase'

gom meko kusulnob gyāptsā dāti 'I liked buying that shoes.'

āke tāmimi meko ribin dātu 'My daughter liked that ribbon.'

goimi āke kyet rətu pəšo go mədāŋ 'I don't like you stealing my buck.'

dāʔtsā vt. 'to swallow' dāʔtu (p, 3sg) 'swallowed' dāʔšo (pp, adj.) 'swallowed' NEG mə~ 'not to swallow'

dzətəkdzət dāʔtsā 'to swallow the food'

tsuigəm mədāʔtsā 'not to swallow the chewing gum'

dzətəkdzət rimšopā nāšo mərə dāʔtsā tsābsib 'One can swallow food easily while chewing well.'

tsuigəm dāʔtsā mədumbə 'One shouldn't swallow the chewing gum.'

d'ātsā vt. 'to light' d'ātu (p, 3sg) 'lit' d'āšo (pp, adj.) 'lit' NEG mə~ 'not to light'

dāilu d'ātsā 'to light a lamp'

nār'isonole nāsəl d'ātsā mālba 'One should light the lamp after it gets dark.'

odeb dzikr'išo k^himi dāilu məd'āthu mər pəšā bāʔŋe? 'What are you doing without lighting the lamp in this (such) dark house?'

dāte postp., adv. 'between'

dε conj. par. (in given clear choice, option or contradiction not as discourse conj. par.)

goi k^hi lāinəye dε məlāinəye? 'Do you go home or not?'

goi k^həme dzāinəye dε mədzāinəye? 'Do you eat rice or not?'

goi sinimā konəye dε məkonəye? 'Do you watch cinema or not?'

goi ipnəye dε məipnəye? 'Do you sleep or not?'

goi blespət brəʔnəye dε məbrəʔnəye? 'Do you write a letter or not?'

dεbrā n. 'habit, behaviour'

rimšo dεbrā 'good habit'

goi ike dεbrā rimšo məbā 'Your habit is not good.'

dello n. 'anus, buttock'

dello rāʔtsā (fig.) 'to fart' (See pitstsā)

suke dello rāʔmε...ooo? (fig.) 'Who farted?'

dərmā n. 'utensil' cf. SYN gyom

dε̃tsā vt. 'to tell, say, narrate' dε̃tu (p, 3sg) 'said, told' dε̃šo (pp, adj.) 'said, told' NEG mə~ 'not to say, tell'

thəmā dε̃tsā 'to tell truly'

ritslo dɛ̃tsā ‘to narrate a story’
 thəmā dɛ̃n’ɛ?
 ɔ̃th nənən go lo kā dɛ̃nuŋ ‘Listen to me; I’ll tell you a fact.’
 ām murukəli modɛb mərimšo lo mədə̃no ‘Don’t tell such rubbish thing to
 your own relatives.’

dɛtstsā vt. ‘to paste’

digərtsā n. ‘clan name’ [Roman-Gorkhali spelling; Digarcha whose possible etymological
 connections; digarpu, digarbu; below-soil-pot-INF (v.t) ‘to be friendly,
 toponym’ (n.) ‘one who is friendly’

dikipurk^{hi} n. (c) ‘ancestor’ ~pəki (pl) ‘ancestors’

diltsā ‘to pass away esp. time’

dimlā n. (c) ‘sole’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘soles’ ~bōgɛ n. ‘footprint’
 ākɛ dimlā ‘my sole’
 ām dimlā ‘won sole’
 dimlā k^haitstsā ‘to ache the sole’
 dimlāmi tsumi thoʔtsā ‘to prick by thorn in the sole’
 təukɛ dimlāmi tsumi thoʔtu ‘The thorn pricked on the son’s sole.’
 ākɛ dimlāmi gār glut/kut ‘There appeared a wound in my sole.’

dimru n. ‘Terai’

diptsā vt. ‘to suppress, crush, over power’ diptu (p, 3sg) ‘suppressed’ dipšo (pp, adj.)
 ‘suppressed’ NEG mə~ ‘not to suppress’
 tsābmurmi mətsābkəli diptsā ‘to over power by the powerful people to the
 powerless’
 ām murkəli mədiptsā ‘not to suppress one’s own relatives’
 goimi ām murukəli diptsā mədumbə ‘You shouldn’t suppress your relatives.’
 rāgyəkulmi tsābmurmi mətsābmurkəli dipšo tɛk məbābā ŋā? ‘Where in the
 world are not the powerless people suppressed by the powerful ones?’

dipsi n.(u) [also diptsi < diptsā] ‘suppression’
 dipsimi pətik ‘due to suppression’
 məkəkɛ dipsi ‘his/her suppression’
 hopəkɛ diptsi ‘suppression of the king’
 ākɛ āp^hokɛ diptsimi pətikɛm go gɛthlətsā mətsəbu ‘I couldn’t progress due to
 my father’s suppression.’
 mod(l)ɛb dipsi də gomi mətəšo nəŋ ‘I had not seen such suppression.’

dis adv. [See gis, doso]

goi ε̃ko bwāke dis tānəye? ‘How much do you charge of this rooster?’

dok^h n. ‘food poisoning’

məko dok^h dumšā be?tə ‘The man died of food poisoning.’

dok^hε adj. ‘guilty’ ANT mətuittek

dolebe adj. [> dodēb~doleb] ‘of what kind/type’ ANT modeb~moleb

dolebe lā ‘path/road of what kind’

goimi dodēb lo: pəšo mopā ‘What are you talking in that manner?’

doleši n. (c) ‘winnowing tray’ ~piki (pl) ‘winnowing trays’ cf. SYN gyol [See gyol for its usage]

domli n. ‘pool, pond’

domlimi ŋo ‘the fish in the pond’

thəb domli ‘a big pool’

ε̃ko domliŋā wāk somet ‘The water of this pond has dried.’

domtsā vi. ‘to be fat’ domtu (p, 3sg) ‘became fat’ domšo (pp, adj.) ‘become fat’ NEG

mə~ ‘to not be fat’

domtsā nu homtsā kān dumtə (rhy.)

domšo adj. [< domtsā] ‘fat’ ANT mədomšo, be?tsāts ‘išo

domšo mur ‘a fat man’

domšo šye ‘a fat meat’

domšo ‘a healthy baby’

məko domšo šye məgyāpo ‘Don’t buy that fat meat.’

gyāptekmurpikim domšon šye dānimi ‘The customers prefer fat meat.’

dopā adv. ‘how, in what way, manner’ cf. SYN mārpā POS mopā

dopā kumšo pətsā ‘how to sing’

goimi ε̃ko tsirs dopā hildi? ‘How did you grind this millet?’

momo k^həme dopā dzəšā thumi? ‘How did you finish eating that much of rice?’

ākəl dopā dzol pəyi? ‘How did lie me?’

go dopā šyilpətsā ‘How should I dance?’

goimi momo kyet mārpā thumi? ‘How did you finish that much of money?’

dortstsā vi. ‘to run’ dorttu (p, 3sg) ‘ran’ dorsšo (pp, adj.) ‘run’ NEG mə~ ‘not to run’

ālnu dortstsā ‘to run with the child’

šyākā budī dortstsā ‘to run like a leopard’

lāmi məkothu dorsšonu th’īsib ‘One falls down while running without looking on the path.’

moko āl tek dorā/dormε? ‘Where did the child run?’

doso adv. [also gis, dis] ‘how much, how many’

doso thāptsā ‘how much to pay’

k^himi doso mur ‘how many people in the house’

goimi ε̃ko k^hyōpətkəli doso thāpti? ‘How much did you pay for this book?’

meko k^himi doso mur bā?mā? ‘How many people are/were there in that house?’

kg kā kəgkε doso mε? ‘How much is the yam per KG?’

dotsā vt. ‘to dig’ do:tu (p, 3sg) ‘dug’ do:šo (pp, adj.) ‘dug’ NEG mə~ ‘not to dig’

ru dotsā ‘to dig the land’

gəidāmi dotsā ‘to dig with a spade’

āŋ so?tsākəli ru dotsā māl̩bə ‘One must dig the land to sow the maize.’

āmke ru āmin douo ‘Dig your land yourself.’

do?tsā vt. ‘to fall’ do?tə (p, 3sg) ‘fell’ do?šo (pp, adj.) ‘fallen’ NEG mə~ ‘to not fall’

do?tsā nu to?tsā (rhy.)

do?berā n. (c) ‘zebra’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘zebras’

do?berā nu šyārā ‘zerba and horse’

do?berā budi dortstsā ‘to run like a zebra’

do?berā ātāri hōitstsā ‘to climb on the zebra’

do?berā k^hlātsi ‘zebra-crossing’

do?berā k^hlātsilā ‘from the zebra-crossing’

mε do?berā rimšo bā ‘The zebra is beautiful.’

lā k^hlāšonu do?berā k^hlātsilā k^hlātsā māl̩bə ‘While crossing the road one should cross from the zebra-crossing.’

do?tsā vt. ‘to fall down, drop’ do?tu ‘fell’ do?šo ‘fallen’ NEG mə~ ‘not to fall down, drop’

təbəl̩lā k^hyōpət do?tsā ‘to fall the book from the table’

bilotsikε rəwālā bilotsi do?tsā ‘to fall guava from the guava-tree’

ε̃ko dopā do?gā/mε? ‘How did it fall?’

āke bəp^həl̩lā bl(D)etik do?mεt ‘The pen fell from my pocket (existential narration).’

dotthə adv., conj. [> doth] ‘where’ cf. SYN tek ‘where’

goi doth ləyε? ‘Where did you go?’

goi doth doth lāinəyε go yo moth moth lāinuŋ ‘I also go there wherever you go.’

dumtsā vt. ‘to become’ dumtə (p, 3sg) ‘became’ dumšo (pp, adj.) ‘become’ NEG mə~ ‘not to become’

rimšo mur dumtsā ‘to be a good person’

theb mur dumtsā ‘to be a man of honour’
 goi rimšo mur dumo ‘Be a good person.’
 mopā k^hui mādumtsā ‘Don’t be a thief (in that way/manner).’

dums n. ‘progress’

āi dums ‘our progress’

dumsɛr n. ‘importance’

ɛ̃ko k^hikɛ dumsɛr ‘the importance of this building’

durdā n. (c) ‘word’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘words’

sɛ̃dālā durdā ‘from sound to word’

durdākɛ ‘of the word’

durdā dātɛmi ‘between the word’

durdāpikilā p^hrɛ̃spik šyɛlsib ‘Sentences are made out of words.’

ām māmāloke durdāpikikəli nəm pətsā mālba ‘One should not forget the words of his/her mother tongue.’

durdālos n. (c) ‘translation’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘translations’

Kiranti-Kōits lo:kɛ durdālos ‘translation of the Kiranti-Kōits language’

durdālospāib ‘a translator’

durdāloskɛ gɛpətsā ‘to work as a translator’

durdālos thumtsā ‘to complete the translation’

go durdāloskɛ gɛpāinuɟ ‘I work as a translator’

ɛ̃ko thorssikɛ durdālos pāu ‘Translate this poem.’

durdāpū n. (c) ‘dictionary’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘dictionaries’

ākɛ durdāpū k^huimi yoldāt ‘A thief has stolen my dictionary.’

dus adj. [< d’utsā] ‘naughty’ cf. SYN rəkrəkɛ ANT rimšo, mimitis

dus mišyɛāl ‘a naughty girl’

dus mādumtsā ‘not to be a naughty’

rəkrəkɛ ālpik ‘naughty children’

ākɛ āl suspā dus bā ‘My child is very naughty.’

ālpiki dus bā?nimi ‘Children are naughty.’

mulɛ dus āl mādumtsā ‘Don’t be a naughty child now on.’

d’u:tɛk ‘alcohol, beer, wine (fig.)’ cf. SYN ārək^hā, ribdo, sersšo

d’utsi n. (c) [> duts] ‘chilly’ ~pik (pl) ‘chillies’

dutskun n. (c) [< kikyəkun] ‘swallow’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘swallows’ cf. SYN kitskun

imitstsili dutskun ‘a small swallow’

dutskun məgyāitstsā ‘not to catch a swallow’

k^hɪŋā dutskun (fig.) ‘domestic swallow’

dutskumi āmkε dzyo k^həpkε šyεlbə ‘The swallow builds its nest out of soil.’
 dutskunε dzyo thitsā mādumb dē~nimi ‘It is said that one should touch the
 nest of a swallow.’

୩ ନ n /nə/

nək adj. ‘new, modern, right now, recent’ ANT mait, sāsaiḡeḡā, dz’εšo

nək mudi ‘new year’

nək k^hī ‘a new house’

nəknəkḡā ‘of recent time’

nək thotsenḡa tseredum! ‘Happy new year!’

mεko āl nək k^hī lətə ‘The child went home right now.’

ε~ko sōt^h gom nək gyāpšo nḡ ‘I’ve bought this shirt recently.’

mopā sus nək mādumtsā ‘Don’t be too much modern (in that manner).’

nətsi n. ‘weather’

ḡasupəšo nətsi ‘a bad weather’

nəknāt n. (var) ‘Monday’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘Mondays’

rubnātnole nəknāt ‘Monday after Sunday’

nəknātla ‘from Monday’

nəknātimi lətsā ‘to go on Monday afternoon’

ε~ko nəknātlā go k^hyōpət brε?tsā gonuḡ ‘I’ll start writing the book from this
 Monday.’

mεko nəknāti ləḡḡā rāḡi lətə ‘S/he went to overseas on Monday afternoon.’

nḡ aux. ‘am’ NEG mə~ ‘am not’ ‘are’

nḡ (1sg) go mur nḡ ‘I am a man.’

nəmi~nəm (1pl.e) mεpiki mur nəmi ‘They are men.’

nəki (1pl.i) gopiki mur nəki ‘We’re men.’

nəyε (3sg) goi mur nəyε ‘You are a man.’

nəsku (1d.i) go nimp^hā mur nəsku ‘We two are men.’

nəni (3sg.hon) ḡε mur nəni ‘You’re a man.’

nəsi (2d.e) goi nimp^hā mur nəsi ‘You two are men.’

nəmi aux. [> nəm] (1pl.e) See nḡ

nəm n. (u) ‘love’

āke nəm ‘my love’

məmāke nəm ‘love of the mohter’

rāḡike nəm ‘love of the nation’

nəm gyāptsā mətsābsib ‘Love cannot be purchased.’

go ām rāḡikəli nəm pāinuḡ ‘I love my country.’

məmāke nəm märtās dumbə ‘Mother’s love is selfless.’

nəmpətsā vt. 'to love' nəmpāptu (p, 3sg) 'loved' nəmpəšo (pp, adj.) 'loved' NEG
 nəmməpətsā 'not to love'
 nəmpəmumtsā (reciprocity) 'to love each other'
 nellə muruānkəli nəmpətsā 'to love all mankind'
 nəmpəmumtāsku 'we two loved each other'
 go ākə məmākəli nəmpāinuŋ 'I love my mother.'
 gopikimi nellə murkəli nəmpətsā mālba 'We must love all mankind.'

nəms n. 'relatives' cf. SYN murnāms
 ākə nəms 'my relatives'
 gom ām murnāmskəli bləspət brəʔtāŋ 'I wrote letters to my relatives.'

nəmsəwəl n. (var) 'greeting(s)' cf. SYN səu (See pətsā)
 ɽ^heb murkəli nəmsəwəlpətsā 'to respect the senior'

nəps n. 'whip'
 gyošo nəps kā 'a long whip'
 ləlpiyāmi k^huikəli nəpsmi thāittu 'The police beat the thief with a whip.'

nəš n. (c) ¹'vein, ²rope, ³root'

nəsi aux. [> nəs] 'are:DU'
 məko nimp^hā wāisāl nəsi 'They two are boys.'

nətbəs n. (c) 'crop' ~pikyə (pl) 'crops' cf. SYN nətdelts, āŋkə
 b'itsi, buru nu tsirsi nətbəspiki nəmi 'Sugarcane, paddy and millet are crops.'
 ruwātsmi nətbəs ləbə 'A farmer sells the crop.'

nətdelts n. (c) cf. SYN nətbəs, āŋkə
 nətdelts gyāptsā 'to buy the grain'

nəyer n. (c,u) 'time' cf. SYN mū, cf. nəmsits 'era'

nā n. (sg) [< nām esp. in some other Kirānti languages; nā~nhā in some idiolects and
 geolects of Krānti-Kōits] 'sun'
 nāmi 'in the sun'
 nā nu rəu 'the sun and the rain'
 nā tsere (See tsere)
 nā pətsā 'to be sunny'
 nā r'itsā 'to be dark'
 mul nā r'it 'Now it is dark.'
 ɛ̃ko mursšo wā nāmi hāmo 'Dry this washed cloth in the sun.'
 mulāt də nātsere yo dzāmtəooo 'There is no sunshine today.'

- nāp^hu n. (c) ‘sunflower’
 nāp^hu dzil ‘oil of the sunflower’
 həu nāp^hu ‘yellow sunflower’
 nāp^hu k^hr(ɾ/l)umtsā ‘to plant the sunflower’
 meko nāp^humi burbu bā?tu ‘A butterfly sat on the sunflower.’
 āke məmāmi nāp^huke dzil gyāptemε ‘My mother bought the sunflower oil.’
 gom nāp^hu tultāŋ ‘I uprooted the sunflower.’
- nākən adv. ‘early’
 meko ālmi nākən tsārsāu ‘The baby urinated earlier (before the moment of inspection).’
- nāilə par. (hon.) [used only in some geolects]
 mul dzətsā nāilə ‘Please do have now.’
 tsinu yo br(ɾ/l)εspət br(ɾ/l)εtsā nāilə ‘Please do write a letter again.’
 ākəli pr(ɾ/l)εtsā mənāilə ‘Please don’t forget me.’
- nāmtsā vt. ‘to smell’
- nāmsi n. [> nāms] ‘perilla’
- nāremsi n. (c) [S: compounding] ‘umbrella’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘umbrellas’ cf. SYN plākātuli
 k^hubnāts nu nāremsi ‘July and umbrella’
 p^hurblišo plākātuli ‘a colourful umbrella’
 nāremsi dz’isitsā ‘umbrella to be broken’
 reu išonu plākātuli mālba ‘Umbrella is needed while raining.’
 gom āke nāremsi dz’itāŋ ‘I broke my umbrella.’
 āike təmimi nāremsi sāmtu ‘Our daughter lost the umbrella.’
- nāmsits n. ‘era, time’ cf. mū
- nāsəl n. (c) ‘lamp’ cf. SYN dāilu hāgo, hām
 imitstsili nāsəl ‘a small lamp’
 nāsəl gyāptsā ‘to buy a lamp’
 goi nāsəl dako ‘You lit the lamp.’
- nā?so n. ‘K-K priest’ cf. SYN nhāso
- nāt n. (c) [nhāt; in some idiolects] ‘day’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘days’
 āke məit nātpik ‘my olden days’
 doso nāt ‘how many days’
 sāber nāt ‘the day before’
 nith nāt ‘the following’ ‘the following day’
 gomi āke məit nātpik mimitāŋ ‘I remembered my olden days.’

meko nāt goi tək ləi? ‘Where did you go on that day?’
 āke nāt mon lətə ‘My days passed in vain.’

nāti n. ‘afternoon’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘afternoons’
 nāti nu nādo ‘evening and afternoon’
 goi nāti tək lāinəyε? ‘Where do you go in the afternoon?’

nādo n. ‘evening, night’
 meko nādo ‘that night/evening’
 go nādoṅā sinimā konuṅ ‘I watch the evening cinema.’

nātsā vt. ‘to chew’ nātu (p, 3sg) ‘chewed’ nāšo (pp, adj.) ‘chewed’ NEG mə~ ‘to not
 chew’
 tsuigəm nātsā ‘to chew the chewing-gum’

n’ātsā vt. [also nh’ātsā in some idiolets] ‘to weigh’ n’āšo (p, 3sg) ‘weighed’ n’āšo (pp
 adj.) ‘weighed’ NEG mə~ ‘to not weigh’
 reb n’ātsā ‘to weigh the potato’

nigrum n. ‘compound’ ~dumšo adj. ‘compounded’ ~pətsā vt. ‘to compound’
 nigrumlā durdā šyeltsā ‘to construct word from compounding’

nilām n. (c) ‘way, method, process’ ~pik (pl) ‘methods’ cf. SYN səmi
 ε~ko nilām ‘this method’
 sus selmipik ‘many methods’
 ε~ko gəpətke nilām mārme dε~šā gom mətuittu ‘I did not know how to do this job’

nimp^hā n. (d; esp. for human) ‘two’ cf. ās, ni?si
 go nimp^hā ‘we two’
 mε? nimp^hā ‘they two’
 tsəimi nimp^hā ‘the two daughter-in-laws’
 go nimp^hā gyākosi lāinəsku ‘We two go to the market.’
 āke təu nimp^hāmi rimšo gε pəšā kōitāse ‘My two sons showed having done an
 exemplary job.’
 mε mur nimp^hā də k^hui k^hōdεb tāisib šyā ‘The two men look like a thief.’

niptsā vi. ¹‘to roar proudly’ niptu (p, 3sg) ‘roared’ nipšo (pp, adj.) ‘roared’ NEG mə~ ‘to
 not roar’ ²‘to squeeze’ nip^htu (p, 3 sg) ‘squeezed’ nip^hšo (pp, adj.) ‘squeezed’
 NEG mə~ ‘to not squeeze’

nirā n. ‘stink, smell’
 mərimšo nirā ‘a bad stink’
 goimi p’ise kō mārme mərimšopā nirā šyā ‘Did you fart; it stank very badly.’

nithnāt adv. (also see nāt) ‘the following day’

goi nithnāt tek lāinəyε? ‘Where do you go on the following day?’
 mū thinnəyεɣənə nithnāt piuo ‘Come on the following day if you have time.’
 go nithnāt k^hi lāinuɲ ‘I’ll go home on the following day.’

ni?si num. [ni?ši; nimp^hā] ‘two’
 ni?si bletso ‘two fingers’
 mur ni?si/nimp^hā ‘two men’
 gom ni?si kyārš letāɲ ‘I sold two goats.’

n’ε par. ‘uncertainty (wanting to make sth. sure)’
 mār nε? ‘what?’
 mār dεnε nε? ‘What did you say?’

nε- par. ‘mirativity (hearsay knowledge)’
 serēmi k^hi lāib nε ‘Seremi goes home (as I heard).’
 meko disā p’ib nε ‘S/he comes tomorrow (as I heard).’

nε n. (c) ¹‘name’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘names’ ²(fig.) ‘reputation, prestige’ [cf. *niɲ* Kirānti -Ath; Neupane (2001: 291)]
 ālā nε ‘name of the child’
 mekoā nε ‘his/her name’
 inke nε mārme? ‘What is your name?’
 āke nε Ruili me ‘My name is Ruili.’
 nε wāitstsā (fig.) ‘to have repute, glorify’
 nε tsemtsā (fig.) ‘to earn reputation’

nε n. (c) ‘nose’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘noses’ nεlās adj. ‘nasal’
 lāisšo nε ‘a tall nose’
 nε k^hl(ɾ/l)oitstsā (fig.) ‘to disrepute’
 nεlās se~dā ‘nasal sound’ (phonetics)
 nεlās sāɲ ‘nasal consonant’

nε?nekən adv. ‘immediately after hearing’
 go suyāl nε?nekən k^hige dorti ‘I ran towards my house immediately after hearing the news.’

nek^h n. (u) ‘mucus’
 nemi nek^h ‘mucus in the nose’

nεlās adj. ‘nasal, nasalization’
 nεlās se~dā ‘a nasal sound’

nelle adv., det., pron. [> nɛl] ‘all’
 nelle āl ‘all children’

nelle murupik rimšo mādumnim ‘All people are not good.’

nene n. (u) ‘pus’

gār nu nene ‘wound and pus’

āke gārlā nene glut ‘Pus out flowed from my wound.’

nepāisi n. ‘order’ cf. SYN hoplo: ~pətsā vt. ‘to order’

nepsā vt. ‘to push’ nepu (p, 3sg) ‘pushed’ nepšo (pp, adj.) ‘pushed’ NEG mə~ ‘to not push’

mopā mārde nepšo ālkəli? ‘Why did you push the baby in that manner?’

neritsu n. (c) ‘mongoose’ ~pik (pl) ‘mongooses’

neritsu nu itsu ‘mongoose and rat’

neritsumi buš kā sāittu ‘A mongoose killed a snake.’

neslo n. (c) ‘news, information’ cf. SYN suyāl

neslo de~tsā ‘to narrate some news’

meko suyāl sumi de~mē? ‘Who told that news?’

neslosi n. ‘history’

āike neslosi ‘our history’

neslosi brə?tsā ‘to write the history’

gom rimšo neslosi kā rəttāŋ ‘I read a fine history.’

neslonāmsi adj. ‘historical’

neslonāmsi k^hi kā ‘a historical building’

neso n. ‘signal’ ~getsā vt. ‘to signal’

mekoke neso ‘his signal’

lāke neso rupən ‘Understand the road’s signal.’

ne?thā post., adv. [-g’ūthā RED] near’ ANT moni

nethots n. (c) ‘neighbour’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘neighbours’

ne?tsā vt. ‘to thrust in, stuff into, put in forcibly’ ne?tu (p, 3sg) ‘thrust in’ ne?šo (pp, adj.)

‘thrust in’ NEG mə~ ‘not to thrust in’

k^həpkyugā murpik ne?tsā ‘to stuff men inside the bus’

bək^həlmi kyət ne?tsā ‘to thrust money into the pocket’

ike bək^həlmi nelle dzət öpā mənə?ko ‘Don’t stuff everything in your pocket (in this manner).’

netsā vt. ‘to hear, listen’ netu (p, 3sg) ‘heard, listened’ nēšo (pp, adj.) ‘heard, listened’
 NEG mǎ~ ‘not to hear’
 kiŋlo netsā ‘to listen the Radio’
 āp^hpoke lo netsā ‘to listen to the father’s advice’
 goi kiŋlo neno ‘Listen the Radio.’
 āke lo binnəyənənə ðth neno ‘Listen to me hither if you obey my advice.’
 meko murmi mār dẽmē mənəŋu ‘I didn’t hear what the man said.’

n’etsā vt. ‘to finish eating’ n’etu (p, 3sg) ‘finished eating’ n’ēšo (pp, adj.) ‘finished eating’
 NEG mǎ~ ‘not to finish eating’
 k^həme n’etsā ‘to finish eating the rice’
 moso k^həme yo dopā mən’etsā ‘How not to finish eating that much of rice also?’
 meko ālmi də momo khəme nellē kəkā n’etu ‘The child finished eating that much of rice.’

nelle det., pron., adv [> nɛl; also nellə] ¹det. ‘all’
 nellē šyārāpiki gubəbbāpiki nəmi; šyeŋ nellē gubəbbāpiki šyārāpuki mənəmi
 ‘All horses are animal, but not all animals are horses.’
²pron. ‘the whole number of amount’
 mēpikimi nellē k^həme dzāmtəme ‘They ate all the rice.’
³adv. ‘completely’
 gom nellē ge pəne thumtāŋ ‘I completely finished doing the job.’

nəp^htsā vt. ‘to push’ nəp^htu (p, 3sg) ‘pushed’ nəp^hšo (pp, adj.) ‘pushed’ NEG mǎ~ ‘to not push’

neyā n. ‘naming’

ālke neyāpətsā ‘to conduct a naming ceremony of the child’

-nole/nole postp., conj., adv. ‘after, later than sth, following’ SYN -mərə [also myer in fast speech]
 postp. ‘later than sth’
 gopik k^həme dzəšonole lāiniki ‘We will leave after lunch.’
 conj. ‘at a time later than sth; when sth has finished’
 mēpikinu lo:pəšo nole go ĩkəli kiŋlopāinuŋ ‘I’ll call you after speaking to them.’
 adv. ‘later in time; afterwards’
 sāithotse thisšo nole meko be?tə ‘After we met many years back, s/he passed away.’

nop^hā n. (c) [Meithei *na* (Chelliah 1997: 19)] ‘ear’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘ears’
 nop^hā himtsā ‘to shake the ear’
 nop^hā porsolipətsā ‘to pierce the ear’
 nop^hāk^hr(ɾ/l)i ‘wax of the ear’

nop^hā sumtsā (fig.) ‘to refuse to listen to sth’
 nop^hā dāitstsā ‘to pay attention, listen sb else’s conversation’
 mēkoke nop^hā theb bā ‘His/Her ear is big.’
 mēānke lomi gom nop^hā dāittā ‘I paid attention to their conversation/talk.’
 goi āmke nop^hā mōhimdo ‘Don’t shake your ear.’

no:the n. (c) ‘knot’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘knots’
 nāške no:the ‘knot of the rope’
 no:bke no:the ‘knot of the head straps’
 gyubekē no:the ‘knot of marriage’
 gom mēko nobke no:the puittāŋ ‘I undid the knot of the head straps.’
 mēko nāške no:the puitto ‘Undid the knot of the rope.’

nu conj. ‘and’ [cf. *nin* Kirānti-Ban; Rai (1985: 205, 231)]
 sāphəpte nu go ‘Saphapte and me’
 tēmi nu tēu ‘son and daughter’
 goi nu go ‘you and me’
 kutsum nu bermo wārtstsə dumtsān mādumnəsi ‘Dog and cat never can be friends.’
 sāp^həpte nu go hoŋkoŋ lāitəsku ‘Saphapte and I went to Hong Kong’

-nu postp. ‘with’ (commutative, associative)
 gonu kyet ‘money with me’
 mēkonu ‘with him/her’
 ikē mēmānu hillo pāuo ‘Ask with your mother.’
 gonu kyet mēbā ‘I haven’t money with me.’
 ŋāwənu ‘with the elder brother’
 mēko ālnu ts’ub bā?tə ‘The child has a Gurkha-knife with him/her’

nup^ho n. (c) ‘week’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘weeks’ cf. SYN tse~m
 nup^ho kā ‘one week’
 sus tse~mpik ‘many weeks’
 go nup^ho ni?si k^hoi ləŋgārāgi lāinuŋ ‘I go to overseas for about two weeks.’
 ɛ~ko tse~mmi sāppā rēu itə ‘It rained heavily this week.’
 lē nup^hopikmi sin kā dumbə ‘Four weeks make one month.’

nup^htsā vt. ‘to finish, be over, satisfy’ (itself) nup^htə (p, 3sg) ‘completed, finished’ nup^hšo (pp, adj.) ‘completed, finished’ NEG mə~ ‘not to complete, finish’ cf. SYN thumtsā (by an actor)
 kiŋlomi kumso nup^htsā ‘the song to be over on the Radio’
 gəŋgā bwāk yupsišā nup^htsā ‘the water of the pot to be finished having leaked’
 kiŋloke ritslo nup^ht The story over the Radio is over.’

pəĩrum n. (c) ‘spinning wheel’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘spinning wheels’ SYN hirmā, šyelepāitek
 pəĩrum hirtstsā ‘to round up the spinning wheel;
 ostsā nu pəĩrum ‘wool and spinning wheel’
 pəĩrummi ostsā pāitsā ‘to spin the wool in the spinning wheel’
 mēmāmi ostsā pəĩrummi pāitemε ‘The mother spun the wool in the spinning
 wheel.’
 go pəĩrum hiruŋ ‘I round up the spinning wheel.’

pəis n. [Text source: 2.28] ‘rule, government/control’ cf. SYN hopogem
 hopokε pəis ‘the king’s rule’

pərgi n. (c) [K-K cul.] ‘shrine’ ~pik(pl) ‘shrines’
 ləgəpərgimi yābrəpik wāitstsā ‘to keep ancestors in the shrine’

pət n. (c) [< pəti] ‘leaf’ (spec. in culture) ~piki (pl) ‘leaves’ cf. SYN səp^hā (gen.)
 pətke¹ ‘of the leaf’ ²‘because of...(grammar)’ ³‘paper’

pətikdzət n. (c) ‘material’ ~pik(pl) ‘materials’
 ε^hko pətikdzət suke m^hε? ‘Whose material is this?’

pətsā vt. [pātsō in Kirānti-Bā; pātsām in Kirānti-Wām] ¹‘to do, act, behave, treat’ paptu
 (p, 3sg) ‘did’ pəšo (pp, adj) ‘done’ NEG mə~ ‘to not do’ ²(fig.) ‘to copulate,
 have sexual intercourse, rape (also šukulpətsā; cf. šukul)’
 (n+v)
 dzitsk^hets~ ‘querrel’
 gonu dzitsk^hets məpāuo ‘Do not quarrel with me.’
 dzol~ ‘to lie’
 goimi mopā dzolpətsā mədumbə ‘You should not lie in that manner.’
 dzol pəšonu rimšo mədumbə ‘It won’t be better while lying.’
 hε^hthe~ ‘to be careless’
 muru dumšo mεε hε^hthe pəsin məpətsā ‘One should not be careless while
 being a man.’
 kāil~ ‘to persuade’
 gom mεko k^huikəli kāilpātāŋ ‘I persuaded the thief.’
 kop^hle~ ‘to make noise or be uncontrolled’
 kumso~ ‘to sing a song’
 goi kumso kā pāuo ‘You sing a song.’
 k^həlo~ ‘to invoke the spirits of the ancestors’
 pōib(o)-gyāmpikimi k^həlo pānim ‘The shamans (male-female) invoke the
 spirit of the ancestors.’
 k^hāldiŋ~ ‘to doubt’ goimi lo: k^huisšo pətike gom k^hādiŋpātāŋ ‘I doubted you
 because you’ve hidden the fact.’
 k^həl~ ‘to guard’
 go ε^hko k^hi k^həlpāinuŋ ‘I guard this house.’

k^hui~ ‘to steal’ k^huipətsā mədumbə ‘It is not better to steal.’
 k^huipətsā məməi puĩtsā məi (rhy.)
 gāits~ ‘to be angry’
 goimi gāits məpəyiŋənə rimšo dumbə ‘It is better for if you do not get angry.’
 lo:~ ‘to talk, discuss’
 goi ɛ̃k piu mul lo:pəi ‘You come here; now let us talk.’
 mon~ ‘to grieve’
 mopā sus monpəšo mədərbə ‘It is not fruitful to grieve so much in that manner.’
 munɛ~ ‘to be shy’
 məkə dzətsākəli yo munɛ pāibə ‘S/he is shy even for eating.’
 nəm~ ‘to love’
 go ākə immākəli nəmpāinuŋ ‘I love my mother.’
 pidār~ ‘to worship’
 pul~ ‘to invoke’
 p^həs~ ‘to blow the wind’
 roi~ ‘to be sick’
 sɛu~ ‘to greet’
 tsimik~ ‘to wink’
 th’usu~ ‘to cough’
 (stem/root+v)
 bɛr~ ‘to make fly by the wind’
 bloĩ~ ‘to save’
 gā~ ‘cause to walk’
 rətu~ (fig.) ‘to steal in a small quantity’
 rā~ ‘cause to rot’
 rāp~ ‘cause to stand’
 rinā~ ‘to smell’
 məkə wāĩsāl lɛppɛ gyārɛ pāibāt ‘The boy used to gamble.’
 məkomi kumso pəwābāt ‘S/he has sang a song.’
 məkomi mār pāibā?mɛ? ‘What does s/he do?’

pəlā n. (c) ‘bamboo’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘bamboos’
 pəlā kyortstsā ‘to cut the bamboo’
 gom pəlā kā ŝyikəli kyorttāŋ ‘I cut a bamboo for firewood.’

pələ n. (c, u) ‘species of nettle (esp having large leaves)’ *girardinia heterophylla*

pəsi n. (c) ¹‘exercise’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘exercises’ ²(v) [from pətsā] ‘did you two do?’
 brəsi pəsi ‘writing exercise’
 pəsimi ko:tsā ‘to look at the exercise’
 pəsi thumtsā ‘to complete the exercise’
 gomi brəsi pəsi thumtāŋ ‘I completed the writing exercise.’
 məkopik pəsi pəšo ko:nko:n bā?təmɛ ‘They are looking at the exercise performance.’

-pā adv. par. ‘way, manner’

rimšopā pətsā ‘to do well’

goi ām gε rimšopā pāuo ‘Do your job well.’

pā n. (c) ‘place’ ~pik(pl) ‘places’ cf. SYN k^hop

meko pā rimšo məbā ‘The place is not beautiful.’

pāitstsā vt. ‘to wear, put on, tie’ (esp. jewelry) pāittu (p, 3sg) ‘put on’ pāiššo (pp, adj) ‘put on’ cf. SYN gup^htsā, p^hetsā, liʔtsā, muitstsā, rəltsā (differ in manner) NEG mə~ ‘not to put on’

p’āitstsā vt. ‘to fasten, girdle, tie’ (esp. for animal) p’āittu~p’aittau (p, 3sg) ‘girdled’ p’āiššo (pp, adj) ‘girdled’ NEG mə~ ‘not to fasten’

pāitsā vt. to spin’ pāitu (p, 3sg) ‘spun’ pāišo (pp, adj) ‘spun’ NEG mə~ ‘not to spin’
šyele pāitsā ‘to spin the thread’

pəirummi pāitsā ‘to spin by the spinning wheel’

bossep^h protsākəli ostsō pāitsā mālba ‘The wool must be spun for weaving the woolen-blanket.’

āke məmāmi bossep^h protsākəli šyele pāinim ‘My mother spins the thread for weaving the woolen-blanket.’

pāiwā n. [pāi < pwāi] ‘Kirānti-Bāʔyung’s ancestor of Wallo Kirat’

p’āšer adj. ‘^ldense, remains of boiled millet after distilling wine’

pārkot n. [~ pālk^huti; cf. pārkuti in Kirānti-Bā] ‘sweet-potato’

pārkot dotsā ‘to dig out the sweet-potato’

pārkot loptsā ‘to boil the sweet-potato’

pārkot nu rebe ‘sweet-potato and potato’

gom pārkot dotāŋ ‘I dug out the sweet-potato.’

mekom pārkot lopšā dzāptu ‘S/he ate the sweet-potato having boiled.’

pārkotke Tigeŋ ləl yo bāʔbə ‘The colour of the sweet-potato is also red.’

p’ātsā vt. ‘to open’ [~ plāʔtsā] (esp. the mouth of ±animate including human) p’ātu (p, 3sg) ‘opened’ p’āšo (pp, adj) ‘opened’ NEG mə~ ‘not to open’

šyo p’ātsā ‘to open the mouth’

gyāblike šyo p’ātsā ‘to open th mouth of the bag, satchel’

gyāblimi k^hyōpət kurpətsākəli gyāblike šyo p’ātsā mālba ‘The mouth of the satchel must be opened to put the books.’

šyo p’āko ‘Open your mouth.’

pā n. ‘turn’

mul āke pā ‘now my turn’

mul äke pã dzã?tə 'Now it's my turn.'

pɛŋ n. (c) 'gun' ~piki (pl) 'guns' [See for use in p'ut^hɛ] cf. SYN p'ut^hɛ, tɛbu, pɛŋ, āp^htɛk
pɛŋ gyãitstsã 'to catch the gun'

pɛnmār'itsã vt. 'to be in rows'
rækmits budi pɛnmār'isã gã?tsã mälbə 'We should walk in rows like ants.'

pɛrã n. 'right' ANT gyurã
pɛrã hirsšo 'Right turn.'
go pɛrãgɛ bã?nuŋ 'I sit on the left.'

pɛriŋ n. 'west'
pɛriŋ pisãŋ 'west direction'
pɛriŋgɛ 'towards the west'
nã pɛriŋgã ob 'The sun sets in the west.'

pidār n. 'worship' (partial RED *pidār-nāmdār*)
pidār pətsã 'to worship'
pidārkalɪ šyãbu 'the millet beer for worship'
kirãntiãnkɛ pidār 'worship of the Kirantis'
kirãntiãnkɛ pidārmi šyãbu mädumthu mädumbə 'The millet beer is necessary
in the worship of the Kirantis.'
pidār šyer pito 'Bring the rice for worship.'

-pikyə pl. suffix [~ piki > pik, puki > puk, pəki > pək] 'plural' (See also -ãn)
murpiki 'men'
bɛrmopik 'cats'
ãlpək 'children'
mɛ?piki 'they'
gopəki 'we'
goipəki 'you'
ãlpəki rɛssik^hɪ lãmtɛmɛ 'The children went to the school.'
murupəki dumk^hɪlã glutɛmɛ 'Men came out of the office.'

pindã n. [S: Kirãnti-Lim] 'floor'
pindãmi rãptsã 'to stand on the floor'

pip n. (c) [< pipi] ¹'king' ~pik(pl) 'kings' cf. SYN hopo as in tsuplu hopo; also cf. yãbre
FEM pipim ²'god' SYN hopo FEM hopom

pirsir n. 'whey'
pirsir tutsa 'to drink the whey'
pirsis buš dumbə 'Whey is white.'

pisāŋ n. (c) [S: Kirānti-Lim] ‘direction’ ~pik(pl) ‘directions’

pit^h adv. [~pit^hgɛ or hərəgɛ] ‘thither, directional’
 pit^hgɛ ko:tsā ‘to look thither’
 pit^hgɛ dortstsā ‘to run thither’
 meko wāĩsāl pit^hgɛ dorttu ‘The boy ran thither.’
 goi pit^hgɛ lāuo ‘You go towards that direction.’
 go də pit^hgɛ ləti ‘I went thither.’

pitsā vi. [< hitsā; marked for spatial deixies (Mokusu as consultant in NK Rai (2002)) ‘to come up (level)’ (verticality) dzāʔtə (p, 3sg) ‘came up (level)’ dzāʔšo (pp, adj) ‘come up (level)’ cf. SYN itsā, dzāʔtsā, kutsā

pitstsā vt. [marked for spatial deixies; Mokusu as a consultant in NK Rai (2002)] ‘to bring down (vertical)’ pittu (p, 3sg) ‘brought up’ pisšo(pp, adj.) ‘brought up’
 cf. SYN hitstsā, tsāʔtsā, kuitstsā NEG mə~ ‘not to bring up (level)’
 ɔ̄th pitstsā ‘to bring hither’
 nethā pitstsā ‘to fetch near’
 meko blətik ɔ̄th pito ‘Bring that pen hither.’
 meko k^hyöpət nethā pitene ‘Please fetch the book near.’
 meko k^hyöpət oth məpito məken oto ‘Don’t bring the book hither; keep it there.’

p’itstsā vi. ‘to fart’ p’ittu (p, 3sg) ‘farted’ p’isšo (pp, adj) ‘farted’ NEG mə~ ‘not to fart’
 [cf. p^hitstsām (across a horizontal line) Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 150] cf. SYN dello rāʔtsā (fig. suke dello rā:məooo?) ‘Who farted?’
 sus dzəšomere p’itstsā ‘to fart while eating a lot’
 kārššo koltsi nu āŋ dzəšā p’itstsā ‘to fart having eaten the roasted soybean and maize’
 ām thebmuruā nethā p’itstsā mune dumbə ‘It is shameful to fart in front of one’s own respectable person(s).’
 goimi p’iseʔ? ‘Did you (thou) fart?’

pirsuli n. (c) ‘weevil’ cf. SYN thəkpo
 pirsulimi āŋ dzāibə ‘The weevil destroys the maize.’

pisāŋ n. [S: Kirānti-Lim] ‘direction’
 pisāŋ kōitsā ‘to show the direction’
 pisāŋ hillopətsā ‘to ask the direction’

piyā n. (c) ‘head’ ~piki (pl) ‘heads’
 t^heb piyā (lit./fig.) ‘a big head/chief, boss (also see ləpiyā)’
 piyā k^hāitstsā ‘to have a headache’

piyā bətsā (fig.) ‘to trouble’
 ākε piyā məbāu ‘Don’t trouble me.’
 piyā k^huitstsā (fig.) ‘to be timid’
 ε̃ko ālā piyā domo T^heb bāmēiii? ‘How big head this baby has!’
 ākε piyā k^hāittə ‘My head ached.’
 goi piyā ts’išo ‘You bathe your head.’

pləwātsiwā n. ‘disturbance’ ~pətsā vt. ‘to disturb’
 gom pləwātsiwā pətikem bləspət brε?tsā mətsəbu ‘I could not write the letter because of disturbance.’

plāpsəlā adj. ‘helpless’
 go plāpsəlā dumti ‘I became helpless.’

plā?tsā vt. ‘¹to narrate, ²open, reveal’ plā?tu (p, 3sg) ‘revealed’ plā?šo (pp, adj.) ‘revealed’
 NEG mə~ ‘to not reveal’

plākātuli n. (c) ‘umbrella’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘umbrellas’ SYN nāremsi

plumdzā n. ‘fist’
 ākε plumdzā ‘my fist’
 gom təkəli ākε plumdzāmi tuptāŋ ‘I bit the son with my fist.’

pl(ɾ/r)ε̃k n. (ms) [< pl(ɾ/r)ε̃ku] ‘tears’
 pl(ɾ/r)ε̃k nu r’issi ‘tears and laughter’
 muruā pl(ɾ/r)ε̃k ‘tears of man’
 ŋāšo mεre pl(ɾ/r)ε̃k ‘tears after weeping’
 mεko ālke m’itsimi pl(ɾ/r)ε̃k tāīsāu ‘Tears appeared on the eyes of the child.’
 mārde ŋāšā pl(ɾ/r)ε̃k t’ogi? ‘Why did you shed tears having wept?’

pl(ɾ/r)ε̃kk^hāi n. [pl(ɾ/r)ε̃k+k^hāi] ‘onion’
 pl(ɾ/r)ε̃kk^hāi nu mākkho ‘onion and garlic’
 ləl pl(ɾ/r)ε̃kk^hāi kyortstsā ‘to cut the red onion’
 pl(ɾ/r)ε̃kk^hāi nu mākk^ho kyorsšā k^hāłtsā ‘to mix onion and garlic having cut’
 pl(ɾ/r)ε̃kk^hāi k^hāłšo k^hāi blobə ‘The onion mixed curry will be tasty.’
 gom ε̃ko pl(ɾ/r)ε̃kk^hāi gyāptāŋ ‘I bought this onion.’

pl(ɾ/r)ε̃tsā vt. ‘to forget’ pl(ɾ/r)ε̃tu~āu (p, 3sg) ‘forgot’ pl(ɾ/r)ε̃šo (pp, adj) ‘forgotten’ NEG
 mə~ ‘not to forget’ ANT mimitsā ‘to remember’
 dopāiyō məpl(ɾ/r)ε̃tsā ‘not to forget anyhow’
 sāppā pl(ɾ/r)ε̃tsā ‘to forget frequently’
 ākəli pl(ɾ/r)ε̃tsā mənāilə ‘Please forget me not.’
 pl(ɾ/r)ε̃tsā də pl(ɾ/r)ε̃tsā bənkāpā pl(ɾ/r)ε̃tsā ‘to forget wonderfully’

gom dā neslo de~tsān pl(ɾ/r)ε~dubāt ‘I forgot to tell the news.’

pl(ɾ/D)ε?tsā vi. ‘to jump’ pl(ɾ/r)ε?tu~āu (p, 3sg) ‘jumped’ pl(ɾ/r)ε?šo ‘jumped’ NEG mə~
 ‘not to jump’
 āl budi pl(ɾ/r)ε?tsā ‘to jump like a child’
 sāppā pl(ɾ/r)ε?tsā ‘to jump very much’
 goi mārde āl budi pl(ɾ/r)ε?giooo? ‘Why did you jump like a child?’ (EMP)
 mipā pl(ɾ/r)ε?šonu t^hisib ‘One falls down while jumping like that.’

pl(ɾ/D)εtsā vt. ‘to cut (esp. thin objects like hair etc.)’ pl(ɾ/r)εtu (p, 3sg) ‘cut’ pl(ɾ/r)εšo (pp,
 adj) ‘cut’ cf. SYN kyortstsā, k^hroitstsā, tse?tsā NEG mə~ ‘not to cut’
 tsā pl(ɾ/r)εtsā ‘to have a hair cut’
 gom sināt āke tsā pl(ɾ/r)εpāittāŋ ‘I had had my hair cut yesterday.’

pletsā vt. ‘to conclude’ pletu (p, 3sg) ‘concluded’ plešo (pp, adj.) ‘concluded’ NEG mə~
 ‘to not conclude’

pl’itsā vt. ‘to fill’ (vs. bl’itsā) pl’itu (p, 3sg) ‘filled’ pl’išo (pp, adj.) ‘filled’ NEG mə~ ‘to
 not fill’

pl(ɾ/r)upse n. (c) ‘comb’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘combs’
 pələke plupse ‘a comb made up of bamboo’

po n. (c) [< pwā; historically implosive /pw/; (See gen. ~šyε)] ‘pig’ ~piki (pl) ‘pigs’
 pošye ‘pork’
 pošye məbətsā ‘not to have pork’
 tsəpo ‘piglet’
 go pošye bətsā mādāŋuŋ ‘I do not like having pork.’
 ε~ko imitstsili tsəpo sāppā rimšo bā?tə ‘This small piglet is very beautiful.’
 surup nu keŋgərmī po t^hitsā mādumbə denim(i) ‘It is said that the Brahmin
 and Chetri should not touch the pig.’

pod n. (c) ‘earthworm’ ~piki (pl) ‘earthworms’
 reu nu pod ‘rain and earthworm’
 gyošo pod ‘a long earthworm’
 reu išonu pod tāisib ‘Earthworm is seen while raining.’
 pod k^həpmi bā?bə ‘Earthworm lives in the soil.’
 pod lobi bā?bə ‘Earthworm is soft.’

po?tsā vt. (use force, order etc.) ‘to wake up, get/stand up (cf. bo?tsā)’ po?tu~au (p, 3sg)
 ‘woke up’ po?šo (pp, adj) ‘woken up’ NEG mə~ ‘not to wake up’

po?tsi n. (c) ‘knee’ ~piki (pl) ‘knees’

poʔtsimi theʔtsā ‘to tread by knee’
 poʔtsi nu k^hoili ‘knee and leg’
 āke poʔtsimi p^huilumi t^hotāu ‘My knee is hit by the stone.’
 āke poʔtsimi k^hāisšo mulsəm məšā ‘My knee-pain has not recovered yet.’
 sunikən ĩke poʔtsi rimšopā himdo ‘Shake you knee well early in the morning.’

polā n. (c) ‘hole’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘holes’ cf. SYN porsoli
 nop^hāke porsoli ‘the hole of the ear’

polē n. (c) ‘sexual/reproductive organ’ (of M/FEM; generic tab.)
 goi polē (tab.)
 ā polē deneʔ (tab.)
 ā polē dzāu (tab.)
 goi polēmi mār pāinəyε (tab.)
 āke polē rəksutə (tab.)

polpol n. (u) ‘calf’
 k^hoili nu polpol ‘leg and calf’
 polpol loʔsitsā ‘the calf to be overturned itself’ (esp. as a sign of weakness)
 polpol k^hāitstsā ‘to ache the calf’
 āke polpol k^hāittə ‘My calf ached.’
 polpol k^hāittə ɲənə dzil k^hεʔtsā mālba ‘If the calf aches, one should oil it.’

por exp. par. [Text source: 3.31] INTF/MAN por pl’ātsā ‘to open widely’

poroŋ n. ‘nomad’ adj. poroŋšo ‘nomadic’
 məko poroŋ ‘the/that nomad’
 məko poroŋ tek ləməʔ ‘Where did the nomad go?’

poʔtsā vt. ‘to make someone wake up, (fig.) raise’ cf. boʔtsā poʔtu (p, 3sg) ‘made wake’
 poʔtsā (pp, adj.) ‘made wake’ NEG mə~ ‘to not make wake’

porsoli n. ‘hole’ (c) ~pikyə (pl) ‘holes’ cf. SYN polā
 rəkmitske porsoli ‘the hole of the ant’

porsolipətsā vt. ‘to make a hole’ porsolipāptu (p, 3sg) ‘made a hole’ porsolipəšo (pp)
 ‘made a hole’ NEG porsoliməpətsā

prāgnəslo: n. [S: Sans.+nat] ‘pre-history’ ~sits adj. ‘pre-historical’
 prāgnəslo: breʔsišo məbāʔbə ‘what is pre-historical is unwritten’

pr(ʔ/l)ε̃tsā vt. ‘to forget’ prε̃tu (p) ‘forgot’ prε̃šo (pp, adj.) ‘forgotten’ NEG mə~ ‘to not forget’
 də̃təklo: pr(ʔ/l)ε̃tsā ‘to forget the message to be told’

pr(ɾ/l)etsā vt. 'to cut' (esp. non/human hair) cf. SYN k^hr(ɾ/l)oitstsā, kyortstsā, tseʔtsā, r'itsā)

pr(ɾ/l)otsā vt. 'to knit, weave' pr(ɾ/l)otu~āu (p, 3sg) 'knitted, wove' pr(ɾ/l)ošo (pp, adj.)
 'knitted, woven' NEG mə~ 'not to knit, weave'
 ostsāke suitər pr(ɾ/l)otsā 'to knit sweater of the wool'
 kārpet pr(ɾ/l)otsā 'to weave carpet'
 inkə məmāmi kārpet pr(ɾ/l)otəmε 'Your mother wove a carpet.'
 go suitər pr(ɾ/l)otsā mədānuŋ 'I don't like weaving the carpet.'

pr(ɾ/l)'otsā vi. 'to escape' pr(ɾ/l)'otu (p, 3sg) 'escaped' pr(ɾ/l)'ošo (pp, adj) 'escaped' NEG
 mə~ 'not to escape'
 k^hui budi pr(ɾ/l)'otsa 'to escape like a thief'
 mətuittekpā pr(ɾ/l)'otsā 'to escape secretly'
 məko wāisāl də k^hui budin pr(ɾ/l)'otu 'The boy escaped like a thief.'
 goi mārde mətuittekpā pl(ɾ/l)ogi? 'Why did you escape secretly?'

pr(ɾ/l)oltsā 'to break, shatter' (vs. cf. broltsā) pr(ɾ/l)oltu (p, 3sg) broke pr(ɾ/l)olšo (pp, adj.)
 'broken' NEG mə~ 'not to break'
 eko beŋeŋε sumi pr(ɾ/l)olā? 'Who broke this plate?'
 gonimp^hām belun pr(ɾ/l)oltəsku 'We two broke the balloon.'

pr(ɾ/l)oiṡsā vt. 'to release, free, unbind, unfetter, let, loose, pardon, leave, give up (esp.
 cattle, man, place etc.)' pr(ɾ/l)oiṡtu (p, 3sg) 'gave up something' pr(ɾ/l)oiṡšo
 'given up something' NEG mə~ 'not to free'
 kyārš yotsākəli pr(ɾ/l)oiṡsā 'to set free the goat for grazing'
 bəirāgmi k^hī pr(ɾ/l)oiṡsā 'to desert the house in melancholy'
 təumi b'I yo:tsākəli pr(ɾ/l)oiṡtu 'The son released the cow for grazing.'
 āke āp^hpomi bairāgmi k^hī pr(ɾ/l)oiṡtāme
 gom məko k^huikəli mon pr(ɾ/l)oiṡtāŋ 'I pardoned the thief without punishing.'

pr(ɾ/l)upse n. (c) 'comb' ~piki (pl) 'combs'
 pr(ɾ/l)upse nu tsā 'comb and hair'
 pr(ɾ/l)upsemi tsā m'itsā 'to comb hair with a comb'
 pr(ɾ/l)upse pit^h tāitstsā 'to throw the comb thither'
 āke pr(ɾ/l)upse nak gyāpšo me 'My comb is bought recently.'

pūib n. (c) 'beggar' ~piki (pl) 'beggars' cf. SYN pūitek, pūibmur, pūilāte
 pūib nu geb 'a beggar and a giver'
 lāmi pūitek 'a beggar in the street'
 pūibkəli 'to the beggar'
 pūiteknu khui 'a thief with the beggar'

gom pūibkəli ɣerb ɣetāŋ 'I gave alms to the beggar.'
 məkə pūimur mārde ŋāmɛ? 'Why did the beggar cry?'

pūibmur n. (c) [pūib+mur] cf. SYN pūitek, pūib, pūilāte
 go məkə pūibmurkəli k^hūd kə ɣenuŋ 'I give one rupee to that beggar.'

pūitek n. (c) cf. SYN pūib, pūibmur, pūilāte
 goi pūitek dumo 'Be a beggar.'

pūilāte n. (c) cf. SYN pūib, pūibmur, pūitek

pūitsā vt. 'to beg, ask for, demand' pūitu (p, 3sg) 'begged' pūišo (pp, adj) 'begged' NEG
 mə~ 'not to beg'
 məmānu kyet pūitsā 'to ask for money with the mother'
 busbwāk yo pūitsā məšu yo k^huitstsā (prov.) 'to hesitate while begging'
 ikɛ məmānu blɛtik kə puno 'Ask for a pen with your mother.'
 gom goinu t^hots pūitāŋ 'I asked for a help with you.'

pulpətsā vt. 'to invoke, worship'
 yābrɛ-gubrekəli pulpətsā 'to invoke the ancestral god'

pulu n. (c,u) 'ash, ashes' '
 pulu dumtsā (euph.) 'cursing someone'
 šyi tsošomɛɛ pulu dumbə 'The ash is made after burning the firewood'

pumtsā vt. 'to burry' pumtu (p, 3sg) 'buried' pumšo (pp, adj.) 'buried' NEG mə~ 'to not
 burry'

p'utsā vt. 'to fire (esp. a gun), cause something to explode (vs. see b'utsa 'to blast itself')'
 p'utu (p, 3sg) 'caused something to explode' p'ušo (pp, adj) 'caused
 something to explode'
 NEG mə~ 'to not cause to explode'
 šyenmāmi p'uthe p'utāu 'A soldier fired the gun.'
 Hāŋmi p'ut^hɛ p'utsā də p'utāu šyeŋ məkə ammin b'utāu 'Hang blasted the
 gun but he himself burst.'

putsā vt. 'to measure'
 tsirs putsā 'to measure the millet'

p'ut^hɛ n. (c) 'gun' ~piki (pl) 'guns' cf. SYN tɛbu, pɛŋ, ap^htɛk
 p'ut^hɛ p'utsā 'to fire a gun'
 p'ut^hɛ taitstsā 'to throw the gun'
 p'ut^hɛnu ɣyārtstsā 'to play with the gun'
 šyenmāmi p'ut^hɛ ɣyāitstsā mālbo 'A soldier must hold the gun.'
 goi p'ut^hɛnu məɣyāro 'Don't play with the gun.'

puitstsā vt. 'to untie, undo, unfold' (esp. knot, cloth, bangle etc.) puittu (p, 3sg) 'undid'
 puisšo (pp, adj.) 'undone' NEG mə~ 'not to untie'
 gumlik puitstsā 'to undo the bangle'
 gunɛ puitstsā 'to undo the sari'
 not^hɛ puitstsā 'to untie the knot'
 goi mɛko gunɛ puittu 'You undo the sari.'
 āke təmimi gumlik puittu~āu 'My daughter undid the bangle.'

ㄨ ㄝ p^h/p^hə/

p^həlgi n. (u) 'food variety' (of boiled maize)
 blošo p^həlgi 'a tasty phalgi'
 mulāt p^həlgi ketsā mālba 'Phalgi must be cooked today.'

p^həlo n. (c) [< p^hələktsuŋ] 'spear' ~pik (pl) 'spears'
 p^həlom thoʔtsā 'to pierce with a spear'

p^həpirāgi n. (c) 'desert' ~pikyə (pl) 'deserts'
 p^həpirāgmi wāk məthisib 'Water cannot be found in the desert.'

p^həs n. (u) [< p^həsyɛ] 'air'
 p^həsmi bərpətsā 'to make fly by the wind'
 p^həspətsā see pətsā
 mulāt mərimšo p^həs pāptu 'The wind blew up badly today.'
 āke k^hyōpət p^həsmi bərpāptu 'The wind caused my book flew away.'

p^həs n. (ms) [< p^həsi] 'flour'
 šyɛrp^həskɛ šyoplɛ 'bread made up of the rice-flour'
 ts'irp^həskɛ kəl 'porridge made up of the millet-flour'
 p^həs hiltā 'to grind the flour'
 məkoke məmāmi tsɛrbp^həskɛ šyoplɛ tso:tɛmɛ 'His/Her mother cooked the bread of the wheat-flour.'
 gom mulāt ts'irsp^həskɛ kəl dzātāŋ 'I had porridge of the millet-flour today.'
 təmimi p^həs hiltu 'The daughter grinded the flour.'

p^həskyu n. (c) 'airplane/aero-plane' ~piki (pl) 'airplanes'
 p^həskyu bərpāib nu p^həskyu 'pilot and the airplane'
 p^həskyumi bertsā 'to fly in the airplane'
 p^həskyu bərpətsā 'to fly an airplane'
 Sukhrunpā p^həskyu bərpāib dumtə 'Sukhrungpa became a pilot.'
 gom pətke p^həskyu šyeltāŋ 'I made a paper airplane.'

p^hāitstsā vt. ‘to exchange’ p^hāittu (p, 3sg) ‘exchanged’ p^hāiššo (pp) ‘exchanged’ NEG mǎ~
‘to not exchange’

p^hēbrē n. (c) ‘a unit of money’ (esp. ½ rupee coin as 50 pence in Britain)
p^hēbrē kǎ gētsā ‘to give a fifty paisa coin’
p^hēbrē kǎ letstsā ‘to return a fifty paisa coin’
p^hēbrē kǎmi dǎ mārēi yo mǎp’ibǎ ‘Fifty paisa cannot buy anything.’
ākē p^hēbrē kǎ dzāmtǎ ‘My fifty paisa got lost (itself).’

p^hēṅṣe n. (c) ‘papaya’ *carica papaya* ~pik (pl) ‘papayas’ cf. SYN mǎu
hǎu p^hēṅṣe ‘the yellow papaya’

p^hēmsi n. (c) [< p^hēmtsā] ‘spendthrift’ ~pik(pl) spendthrifts’
meko p^hēmsi wāišsāl ‘the spendthrift boy’
go p^hēmsi mǎnǎṅ ‘I am not a spendthrift.’

p^hērbǎ n. (c) [> p^hērb; < p^hertstsā] ‘tailor, one of the untouchable Hindu castes’ cf. SYN
bumir, būber
wǎ nu p^hērbǎ ‘the cloth and the tailor’
meko p^hērbǎ su m’ē? ‘Who is that tailor?’

p^hēro n. (c) ‘area’ ~piki (pl) ‘areas’
ē~ko ākē p^hēro mǎ ‘This is my area.’

p^hēts n. (c) ‘part’ ~piki (pl) ‘parts’
p^hēts kǎ ‘part one’
nǎlle p^hētspiki ‘all parts’
k^hyōpǎkē p^hēts ‘part of the book’
ē~ko k^hyōpǎkē p^hēts kǎ k^hāiššo bǎ?tǎ ‘One part of this book is torn.’
gom mǎko k^hyōpǎkē p^hēts kǎlǎ gyāptǎṅ ‘I bought only one part of that book’
ē~ko k^hyōpǎtmi sus p^hētspiki bǎ?tǎmǎ ‘This book has many parts.’

p^hē~ts n. (c) ‘share’ ~piki (pl) ‘shares’
p^hē~ts gyāptsā ‘to buy a share’
t^hēb p^hē~ts ‘a big share’
p^hē~tsmi āphǎr tǎtsā ‘to get profit in the share’
gom p^hē~ts gyāpšo kyētk^hīmi sǎppǎ āp^hǎr tǎmtu ‘The bank whose share I
bought, earned a lot of profit.’
gom ākē p^hē~ts letǎṅ ‘I sold my share.’
goi kyētk^hīkē p^hē~ts gyāpnǎyǎ? ‘Do you want to buy share of a bank?’

p^hē?tsā vt. ‘to put on, wear, get dressed’ p^hē?tu (p, 3sg) ‘wore’ p^hē?šo (pp, adj) ‘worn’ NEG
mǎ~ ‘not to wear’ cf. SYN gup^htsā, li?tsā, muitstsā, rǎltsā, pǎitstsā (differ in
manner)

sõt^h p^hε?tsā ‘to wear a shirt’
 sungebā p^hε?tsā ‘to wear a coat’
 gom sungebā p^hesiti ‘I wore a coat.’
 loābmi sōt^h p^hesāu ‘The coat is worn by the brother.’

p^hetstsā vt. ‘to bring, take sth out, extract’ (cf. gen. SYN soltsā, gluītsa) p^hettu ‘took out’
 p^hesšo ‘taken out’ NEG mǝ~ ‘not to take sth out’
 kereŋlā lopšo t^hokporo p^hetstsā ‘to bring out he boiled christophine from the pan’
 m’ilā tsošo rēbe p^hetstsā ‘to bring out the burnt potato from the fire’
 gom kukərlā lopšo kəgi p^hettāŋ ‘I took out the boiled yam from the cooker.’

p^hendzekom n. [S: Kirānti-Lim] cf. SYN kom
 p^hendzekomtāptsā ‘to play the harp’

p^hene n. ‘ear-rim, regarding this shape’
 Tolgyušo p^hene ‘a hanging ear-rim’

p^herere n. onomat. ‘a sound of wind and rainfall’
 p^hererepətsā ‘to make a sound of wind or rainfall’
 p^hererepa rəu itə ‘It rained noisily.’
 p^hererepā p^həs pāptu ‘It winded noisily.’

p^herb(ə) n. (c) [< p^hertstsā] cf. SYN bumir [See also būber]
 p^herbke ge ‘profession of the tailor’
 mekomur p^herb mē ‘He is a tailor.’

p^hetstsi n. ‘a kind of wild fruit, strawberry, *myrica esculenta/nagi*’ (esp. sweet and sour taste but hard like nut and not exactly like strawberry) cf. SYN ləlmits
 p^hetstsi māltsā ‘to look for the strawberry’
 go p^hetstsi sāppā dānuŋ ‘I like strawberry very much.’

p^hD(r/l)ε̃tsā ‘to tie, bind’ p^hlε̃tu (p, 3sg) ‘tied’ p^hlε̃šo (pp, adj.) ‘tied’ NEG mǝ~ ‘to not bind’
 ri’šo sosmāl p^hr(ɾ/l)ε̃tsā ‘to bind the collected (fig.)grass’
 gom b’ikəli p^hr(ɾ/l)ε̃tāŋ ‘I bound the cow.’

p^h’itsā vt. ‘to sweep’ p^h’itu (p, 3sg) ‘swept’ p^h’išo (pp, adj.) ‘swept’ NEG mǝ~ ‘to not sweep’
 klonā p^h’itsā ‘to sweep the room’
 goi klonā p^h’iko ‘You sweep the room.’

p^hlātsā vt. ‘to differ’ p^hlātu (p, 3sg) ‘differed’ p^hlāšo (pp, adj.) NEG mǝ~ ‘to not differ’
 tsentse nu k^hintsi p^hlāmumnis ‘Tsentse and Khintsi differ each other.’

p^hliptsā vi. ‘to order’ p^hliptu (p, 3sg) ‘ordered’ p^hlipšo (pp, adj.) ‘ordered’ cf. SYN, p^hlitsā, əreṭsā (S: N+Nat) NEG mə~ ‘to not order’

p^hlekšyi n. ‘piece of wood’
p^hlekšyi guptsā ‘to pick up the piece of wood’

p^hlenkyo n. (c) ‘boundary (fig.)’ ~ pik (pl)
rāgikε p^hlenkyo ‘boundary of the nation’

p^ho: n. (c) ‘car’ ~piki (pl) ‘cars’ cf. SYN imk^həpkyu
p^ho:kε hirtswārts ‘wheel of the car’
p^ho: dorpətsā ‘to drive a car’
ε~ko p^ho: tek gyābi? ‘Where did you buy this car?’
p^ho:gā otsā ‘to enter inside the car’
məkoke āp^hpo p^ho: p^həpindomi bε?tə ‘His/her father died in a car accident.’
goi p^ho: hoissā tek lāinəyə? ‘Where do you go by using the car.’

p^horo n. ‘walnut’
p^horo pr(ɾ)lɔltsā ‘to break the walnut’
p^horo bətsā ‘to have the walnut’
go p^horo bətsā dānuŋ ‘I like to have walnut.’

p^hošyi ‘tree used as grass for animal; *ficus roxburghii*’ (N नेवरा)

p^hoɾ n. ‘testicles’
p^hoɾ rəksutsā ‘to itch the testicles’
p^hoɾmi k^hāitstsā ‘to have pain in testicles’

p^hoti n. [spoken > p^hot] ‘toponym in Kirānti-Kōits (exoglotonym Sun(u)war)’
āke k^hi p^hoti me ‘My house is in Photi.’

p^hrε~s n. (c) ‘sentence’ ~piki (pl) ‘sentences’
itsp^hrε~s nu p^hrε~s ‘phrase and sentence’
durdāpikilā itsp^hrε~s munu itsp^hrε~slā p^hrε~s ‘phrase from the words then sentence from the phrase’
p^hrε~spiki brε?tsā ‘to write sentences’
durdāpiki kurpəšā p^hrε~s šyelsib ‘Sentence is made out of words.’
goimi brε?šo p^hrε~s mədum ‘The sentence you’ve written is incorrect.’

p^hr(ɾ)uptsā vt. ‘to defeat’ p^hr(ɾ)uptu (p, 3sg) ‘defeated’ p^hr(ɾ)upšo (pp, adj.) ‘defeated’ NEG
‘to not defeat’

p^hu n. (c) [PT-B and in other Kirānti languages *p^huŋ] ~piki (pl) ‘flowers’

boiššo p^hu ‘the blossomed flower’
 p^hu kε rēltsi ‘garland of the flower’
 rēltsi l’itsā ‘to thread (insertesp. in the needle’s eye, beads, flowers) the
 garland’
 mēko p^hu mēgupo ‘Don’t pluck the flower.’
 dōdēb/dōlēb/dopā rimšo p^hu! ‘What a beautiful flower!’
 mēko ləl p^hu geyini ‘Please give me the red flower.’

p^hũ n. (u) ‘snow’ ~tsā ‘yak’s tail/hair’ cf. SYN buli
 s’isi p^hũ ‘cold snow’
 p^hũmi bəšo ‘snowbite’
 p^hũ doʔtsā ‘to snow’
 p^hũmi gyārtstsā ‘to play in the snow’
 tsmoloŋmāmi p^hũ doʔtə ‘It snowed on the Mt. Everest.’
 p^hũmi mēgāʔko ‘Don’t walk on the snow.’
 p^hũ bub’u dumbə ‘Snow is white.’

p^huk^hāi n. (u) ‘cauliflower’
 p^huk^hāikε k^hāi ketsā ‘to cook the cauliflower curry’
 p^huk^hāi k^hrumtsā ‘to plant the cauliflower’
 p^huk^hāi nu rēbε ‘cauliflower and potato’
 p^huk^hāi kεuo ‘Cook the cauliflower.’
 mēko p^huk^hāi boimetā ‘The cauliflower has blossomed.’
 lopšo p^huk^hāi tək odi? ‘Where did you keep the boiled cauliflower curry?’

p^humb’i n. (c) ‘yak’ ~piki (pl) ‘yaks’
 p^humb’ikε homok nu dzil ‘yak’s milk and ghee’
 p^humb’i nu səmdz/səmin ‘yak and Sherpa tribe’
 p^humb’i tsimtsā ‘to milk the yak’
 p^humb’i šyisi T^hemmi T^hisib ‘Yak is found in a cold place.’
 p^humb’ikε homok nu dzil blobə ‘Yak’s milk and ghee is tasty.’

p^hu n. (c) [<p^huŋ in Kirānti-Lim, buŋ in Kirānti-Rod] ‘flower’ ~piki (pl) ‘flowers’
 sāppā rimšo p^hu(ŋ) ‘a beautiful flower’

p^hur n. (c) ‘colour’ hue’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘colours’ cf. SYN Tigεŋ, dzir
 p^hurpətsā ‘to paint’
 gom ākε k^hikəli ləlp^hur buittāŋ ‘I painted my house red.’

p^hurkəl n. (c) [Eng+nat.] ‘ball, football, a round object’ ~piki (pl) ‘balls’
 p^hurkəl tāitstsā ‘to kick the ball’
 p^hurkəl gyārtstsā ‘to play football’
 p^hurkəl sāmstsā ‘to loose the football’
 dišā go p^hurkəl kā gyāpnuŋ ‘I’ll buy a football tomorrow.’
 ākəl yo p^hurkəl gyārtstsā geini ‘Let me also allow to play the football.’

p^hurots n. ‘March’

p^hurotsmi p^həs ‘wind in March’

ləlmits p^hurotsmi miʔtsā ‘to ripe strawberry (N काफल *myrica esculenta*) in March’

p^hurotsmi hubtsi ‘hot/summer in March’

p^hurotsmi p^həs pāib ‘March is windy.’

p^hurotsmi p^hetstsi miʔbə ‘Strawberry ripens in March.’

p^hurotsmi hubtsi gob ‘summer starts in March.’

p^huru n. (c) [blending; p^hu+ru] ‘garden’ ~piki(pl) ‘gardens’

p^hurumi p^hu k^hrumtsā ‘to plant the flower in the garden’

p^hurumi ušyɛpiki ‘butterflies in the garden’

p^hurukɛ p^hu ‘the flower of the garden’

p^hurumi p^hupik boimāt ‘The flowers in the garden have blossomed.’

p^hukɛ nɛʔthāguʔt^hā burbu hirhir bāʔtɛmɛ ‘The butterflies are roaming around the garden.’

gomi p^huru do:tāŋ ‘I dug the garden.’

p^huru n. ‘a small pot used by shaman for doing *cekk^huye* in Kirānti-Kōits culture’

p^hurumi bwāk kurpətsā ‘to fill the phuru with water’

p^huʔsu n. (c) ‘a sacred place near the fire-place in a Kirānti-Kōits house’

p^huʔsumi lətsā mədumbə ‘One cannot go to the p^huʔsu place.’

‡ ब b /bə/

bə n. (c) [< ɓwā, ʔwā; implosive historically] ‘fowl, rooster’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘fowls’

bwā nu bārde ‘rooster and hawk’

bwāšyɛ ‘chicken (esp. meat)’

kɛr bə ‘a black rooster’

bwā thultsā rimšo dumbə ‘It is better to run poultry.’

bə kā gyāpo ‘Buy a rooster.’

bə thulo minu lešā kyɛt tɛmo ‘Keep poultry and then earn money having sold them.’

bədəl n. [S: Eng+nat] ‘bottle’ ~piki (pl) ‘bottles’

bədəlke pussu ‘lid of the bottle’

bədəlmi ribdo ‘wine in the bottle’

bədəlke sidāk ‘medicine of the bottle’

ɛ̃ko bədəlke ribdo sumi tuŋā? ‘Who drank the wine of this bottle?’

goimi ɛ̃ko bədəlke pussu mətəyi? ‘Didn’t you see the lid of this bottle?’

gom tsetser wāisšo bədəl proltāŋ ‘I broke the bottle which contained medicine.’

- bəirāg adj., n.~i (Sans.+nat) 'melancholy'
 bəirāg dumtsā 'to be melancholic' ANT gyārsišo
 bəirāgmi 'in melancholy'
 bəirāg pətikem 'because of melancholy'
 bəirāg pənpən 'being melancholic'
 mopā bəirāgi mādumo 'Don't be melancholic in that manner.'
 goi bəirāgi dumšā mār pāinəye nā? 'What will you do being a melancholic?'
 gom bəirāgmi k^hi ploitāŋ 'I left home in melancholy.'
- bək^həl n. (c) 'pocket' ~pəki (pl) 'pockets'
 sōt^hkε bək^həl 'pocket of the shirt'
 bək^həlmi 'in the pocket'
 bək^həlke 'of the pocket'
 Tsurtsimi kyet bək^həlmi wāittu 'Cursi kept the money in the pocket.'
 gomi āke blətik bək^həlmi məthidu 'I did not find my pen in the pocket.'
 āke sōt^hkε bək^həl gāt 'My shirt's pocket tore away.'
- bəlā n. (c) 'shoulder' ~pəki (pl) 'shoulders'
 bəlāmi bəlā 'shoulder on shoulder'
 bəlā getsā (fig.) 'to assist'
 bəlāmi bəlā wāitstsā (fig.) 'to unite'
 dzākinε munu bəlāmi bəlā wāittine 'Come then unite/help.'
 bəlā k^hāiššo pətεke gom ε̃ko pəlā kurtstsā mətšəbu 'I'm unable to carry this bamboo because of shoulder-pain.'
 loəb dumtsā dε̃šo bəlā budi mε 'To be a brother means is support.'
- bəlmā n. (c) 'quantity'
 k^hyōpətke bəlmā 'quantity of the book'
- bəm n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] 'bomb' ~pik (pl) 'bombs'
 bəm buʔtsā (See buʔtsā)
- bəmil n. (c) 'termite' ~pəki (pl) cf. SYN dəmrā
 imitstsili bəmil 'a small termite'
 k^həpmi bəmil 'the termite on the soil'
 rəwā nu bəmil 'the tree and the termite'
 bəmilmi k^həpke dākin šyelbə 'The termite builds heap out of the soil.'
 bəmilpəkim rəwā bāinimi 'Termites destroy the log of trees.'
- bəp^həl n. [< bwopp^həl] 'underarm, armpit'
 bəp^həl rəksutsā 'to itch the armpit'
 bəp^həlke tsā 'underarm-hair'
 āke bəp^həl rinā pāptu 'My underarm smelt.'
 gom āke bəp^həl ts'itāŋ 'I washed my armpit.'

bəp^həlmɪ nəmsɪ bluisʃonu mərimʃo rinā məpāib ‘The armpit doesn’t smell bad while sprinkling perfume.’

bəp^hu n. (c) [~?p^hu < bwāp^hu] ‘egg’ ~piki (pl) ‘eggs’
bəp^hu loptsā ‘to boil the egg’

bəridzəmdā adj. ‘happy’
bəridzəmdā dumtsā ‘to be happy’

bəriθū n. (sg) ‘greetings’
gyube pəʃo pətikəm bəriθū lil ‘Greetings on your happy marriage’

bəʃārisāitstsā vt. ‘to please’
gom gyomrokəli bəʃārisāittāŋ ‘I pleased the officer.’

bətsā vt. ‘to eat’ (spec. vs. gen. dzətsā) bāptu (p, 3sg) ‘ate’ bəʃo (pp. adj.) ‘eaten’ NEG.
mə~ ‘to not eat’
(h)obis bətsā ‘to eat cucumber’
bilotsi bətsā ‘to eat guava’
məko āidi k^hiŋā (h)obis k^hui pəʃā sumi bəwā? ‘Who ate the cucumber of the house below having stolen?’
ε̃ko bilotsi bāuo ‘Eat this guava.’

bā aux. ‘is’ (infl. ~təme, ~tāse, ~təsku, bānbān, ~m’ε, ~tə, ~lə, ~bə ~nəy’ε, ~nuŋ,
~nəsi, ~kəse, ~kinε, ~b’ā, ~bātə>bāt, -niki)
āke k^hyōpət tək bā mε? ‘Where is my book?’
ε̃ko k^himi kutsum məbā ‘There is no dog in this house.’

bā?tə aux. [> bāt] kumsopā bābātə ‘used to live singing’

bā?yuŋ n. [~ (N) Bahing] ‘one of the Kirānti tribes of *Wallo* ‘near’ Kirat neighbouring with Kirānti-Kōits’

bārg n. (c) ‘trap’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘traps’
itsubārg ‘mouse trap’

bārde n. (c) [~ < bwārde; also see kuhi, sik^hrε] ‘hawk, vulture, eagle, *aquila*’ ~pəki (pl)
‘hawks’
bārde nu bwā ‘hawk and cock’
bārdemi bwā yoltsā ‘to attack (esp. take away) rooster by the hawk’
bārde nu šye ‘hawk and meat’
bārdepik bernimi ‘Hawks fly.’
bārdemi ts’ib yo sāibə ‘The hawk kills a bird also.’

bāʔtsā vi. ‘to stay, sit down, have a seat, reside, dwell in, be located at/in’ bāʔtu (p, 3sg)
 ‘sat, dwelt in etc.’ bāʔšo (pp, adj) ‘sat, resided etc.’ NEG mə~ ‘to not stay’
 ōth bāʔtsā ‘sit hither’
 kʰimi lo:pəšā bāʔtsā ‘to stay at home having a talk’
 okʰəldhuṅām bāʔtsā ‘to be located in Okhaldhunga’
 mārəi məpəthu məbāʔtsā ‘not to stay aimlessly’
 šyeth bāʔtsā ‘to live doing nothing’
 kʰruisšā bāʔtsā ‘to remain underground, hidden’
 go təkəi məmānu kʰimi bāʔti ‘I stayed at home without going anywhere.’
 ɛ̃kə məbāʔko ‘Don’t sit here.’
 goi UKmi bāʔko ‘Live in the UK.’

bārśśithū n. (var.) ‘acknowledgement(s)’
 bārśśithū pətsā ‘to acknowledge’
 bārśśithū brəʔtsā ‘to write acknowledgement’
 kʰyōpətmi brəʔsišo bārśśithū ‘acknowledgements written in the book’
 ɛ̃ko bārśśithūmi ākə nɛ wāissišo məbā ‘My name has not been mentioned in
 this acknowledgement.’
 gom ɛ̃ko bārśśithū rəttāṅ ‘I read this acknowledgement.’

bāslo: n. (c) ‘fact’ ~pik (pl) ‘facts’
 goimi bāslo: də̃tsā māl̥bə ‘You should tell the truth.’

bə̃ber n. ‘a toponym in Kirānti-Kōits mother tongue’ (presently located at
 Khijichandeshwori VDC)

belun n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] ‘balloon’ ~piki (pl) ‘balloons’
 ālpuki nu belun ‘children and balloon’
 belun gyārtstsā ‘to play the balloon’
 belun berpāitstsā ‘to fly the balloon’
 ālpuki belunpuk gyārtstsā dānimi ‘Children like to play balloons.’
 ɛ̃ko belun kʰərsšo bā ‘This balloon is expensive.’

bəṅɛnɛ n. (c) ‘plate’ ~piki (pl) ‘plates’
 bəṅɛnɛmi šyer wāitstsā ‘to put rice (esp. uncooked one) in the plate’
 bəṅɛnɛ pr(ɾ/l)oltsā ‘to break the plate’
 bəṅɛnɛ šyetsā ‘to clean the plate’
 məkə bəṅɛnɛmi wāisšo kʰəmə sumi dzəwā? ‘Who ate the rice (esp. cooked
 one) put in the plate?’

bermo n. (c) [berāmā, birāmā etc. in other Kirānti languages] ‘cat’ ~piki (pl) ‘cats’
 bermo nu itsu ‘cat and rat’
 bermoke gɛ̃ts ‘cat’s claws’

bermomi dzoike kul ‘tiger’s face in the cat’
 bermomi itsu sāittu ‘The cat killed the rat.’
 bermo dzoi budin dumbə ‘The cat is similar to tiger.’
 meko bermo blēmdiātāri bā?tu ‘The cat sat on the mat.’

bertstsā vi. ‘to fly’ berttə (p, 3sg) ‘flew’ bersšo (pp, adj) ‘flown’ NEG mə~ ‘not to fly’
 ts’ib budi bertstsā ‘to fly like an bird’
 lo beryə (fig.) ‘Let us hurry up.’
 āke thū tek bertstsā k^hōdēb dumtə (fig.) ‘I am melancholic.’
 koŋ koŋ meko killo mārpa bēme? ‘Look! Look at the black-bird how it flew?’

berpāitstsā vt. [~ berpətsā] ‘cause to fly’ berpāittu (p, 3sg) ‘caused to fly’ berpāiššo (pp, adj) ‘caused to fly’ NEG mə~ ‘not to cause to fly’
 p^haskyu berpətsā ‘to fly airplane’
 p^huilu āpšā ts’ibkəli berpətsā ‘cause to fly the bird having stoned’
 meko p^haskyuberpāibmi p^haskyu berpāittu ‘The pilot flew the airplane.’
 šyets’ibpaibmi ts’ibpuki berpāittu ‘The hunter caused the birds to fly.’

bē?tsā vi. ‘to die’ bē?tu/ə (p, 3sg) ‘died’ bē?šo (pp, adj) ‘died’ NEG mə~ ‘not to die’
 dzərmetsā nu bē?tsā ‘to born and to die’
 bē?tsi nu dzərmetsi ‘death and birth’
 meko mārpa bē?m’ε? ‘How did s/he die?’
 ε~ko kutsum bē?tsā ts’itāu ‘This dog is going to die.’
 nēlle mur bē?nimi ‘All men die.’

bē?šo adj. ‘dead’
 bē?šo mur ‘the dead man’
 bē?šo nu bōišo ‘dead and living’

bē?tsi n. [~ bē?si] ‘death’
 muruā bē?si ‘death of a man’
 bē?tsi nu bōiši ‘life and death’
 āke bē?si rimšo dumlə (fig.) ‘May my death be honourable.’
 go bē?tsi nu bōitsi dumti (fig.) ‘I am much troubled.’
 gom bē?tsiā kumso brē?tāŋ ‘I wrote an elegy.’

b’i n. (c) ‘cow’ ~piki (pl) ‘cows’ M byāp^h
 b’i nu byāp^h ‘ox and cow’
 b’ike homok ‘cow’s milk’
 b’i yotsā ‘to graze the cow’
 go b’ike homok t’unuŋ ‘I drink cow’s milk.’
 āke sā b’ipik bā?tēme ‘I have three cows.’

āke təumi b'i yo:tu 'My grazed the cow.'

bilbil n. 'end'

mekoke bilbil 'his/her end'

bilotsi n. (c) 'guava' ~pikyə (pl) 'guavas'

bilotsi mitsā 'to ripen the guava'

biri n. (c) 'cockroach' ~pik (pl) 'cockroaches'

biri k^hertstsā 'to chase the cockroach'

bitthi n. (c) [> bith] 'marten, red panda' ~piki (pl) 'martens'

bitthi nu bwā 'marten and rooster'

bitthi nu tətə (folk belief) 'marten and ill-omen'

imitstsili bitthi 'a small marten'

bitthimi bwā sāibə 'The marten kills the fowl.'

lā k^hoisšonu bitthi təšo mərə tətə dumbə 'It is ill-omen to see a marten while going somewhere.'

bitle adj. 'blunt' ANT hirhir (also v. PROG)

bitle ts'ubu 'a blunt Gurkha knife'

b'itsi n. [> b'its] 'sugarcane'

b'itsi bətsā 'to eat sugarcane'

b'itsi nipšā k^hudo 'syrup having pressed the sugarcane'

gom āke rumi b'itsi k^hrumtāj 'I planted the sugarcane in my land.'

b'itsikəli kyetos əŋkə yo dē'nimi 'Sugarcane is also known as cash-crop.'

bitsdom n. (u) 'molasses, treacle, tart'

bitsdzidz n. 'sugar' cf. SYN b'itsi

homokmi bitsdzidz 'milk in the sugar'

gyursšo hulokmi bitsdzidz k^hālsā 'to mix sugar in the sour curd'

dzitsi nu h'isi 'sugar and salt'

roŋmi itsik^hoi bitsdzidz gyāptu 'Rong bought a little sugar.'

sus bitsdzidz dzətsā rimšo mədumbə 'It is not good to have much sugar.'

bitstsā vt. 'to accept, agree, approve' n. bissilo: 'agreement'

biTāmin n. [S: Eng+nat] 'vitamin'

gim nu biTāmin 'body and vitamin'

āi gimkəli biTāmin mədumthu mədumbə 'Vitamin is necessary for our body.'

bləlātsilā adj. 'scattered'

bləlātsilā dumšo səp^hāpik 'the scattered leaves'

blātsā ¹‘to burn, light itself’ [Text source: 1.87] ²‘to accept’ [Text source: 3.36]

blātsā vt. ‘to adopt’

blēmdi n. (c) ‘mat’ ~piki (pl) ‘mats’

blēmdimi bāʔtsā ‘to sit on the mat’

blēmdimi šyeltsā ‘to make a mat’

kārpetərmi šyike blēmdimi kā šyeltu ‘The carpenter made up a mat of the wood.’

blēmšyi n. (c) ‘log’ ~pik (pl) ‘logs’

T^heb blēmšyi kā ‘a big log of wood’

bleptso n. (c) [also in other Kirānti languages like Bāʔyung] ‘finger’ ~piki (pl) ‘fingers’

gui kāmi ŋə bleptso ‘five fingers in one hand’

bōgε (T^hebbleptso)mi ‘by the thumb’

bōgεblesel (fig.) ‘illiterate’

āke mēmā də bōgεblesel kəkā nēmi ‘My mother is illiterate.’

niʔši guimi gəu bleptso bānimi ‘There are ten fingers in two hands.’

mekoke bleptso dzʔitə ‘His/her finger broke.’

blešet^hēkā n. (c) ‘alphabet’ ~piki (pl) ‘alphabets’ cf. SYN morsi

Kirānti-Kōits lo:ke blešet^hēkā/morsi ‘alphabet of the Kirānti-Kōits language’

blimtsā vt. ‘to change’

gyāpšo wā blimtsā ‘to change the cloth bought previously’

bliptsā vt. ‘to relate’

blʔitsā vi. ‘to get filled (itself vs. plʔitsā) blʔitu (p, 3sg) ‘got filled’ blʔišo ‘got filled’ NEG

mə~ ‘not to get filled (itself)’

gər blʔitsā ‘to get filled the soil-pot’

blʔišo bədəl ‘the filled bottle’

bōthermi dāiššo meko gər blʔimetə ‘The soil-pot put at the tap has been filled.’

blitsā vt. ‘to get trouble’ cf. SYN yorbetsā

blʔišyi n. (c) ‘content’ ~piki (pl) ‘contents’

k^hyōpətke blʔišyi ‘content of the book’

blʔišyi šyeltsā ‘to make a content’

blʔišyimi ko:tsā ‘to look at the content’

meko k^hyōpətke blʔišyimi kojo ‘Look at the content of the book.’

mārde ε̃ko k^hyōpətmi bl'išyi wāisšo məbā šyā ? 'Why does not this book have content?'

goimi bl'išyimi koyi? 'Did you look at the content?'

blošo adj. [< blošyo] 'tasty' sāppā blošo 'too much tasty'
blošo k^həmə-k^hāi 'a tasty rice and curry'

bluītsā vt. 'to sprinkle' bluītu (p, 3sg) 'sprinkled' bluīšo (pp, adj.) 'sprinkled' NEG mə~
'to not sprinkle'

bl(ɾ/r)ukumsəlā n. 'delight'

šyil ko:ša blukumsəlā dumtsā 'to be delighted having seen the dance'

boitstsā vt. 'to bloom, blossom, unfold' boittə (p, 3sg) 'bloomed' boisšo (pp, adj.)
'bloomed' NEG mə~ 'not to bloom'

boisšo p^hu(ŋ) 'the bloomed flower'

p^hu(ŋ) buidəwā 'flower and the black bee'

p^hurumi p^hu(ŋ) boimet 'The flower has blossomed in the garden.'

numāp^huŋmi ā mkε tsāmi p^hu(ŋ) kyuittāwə 'Numaphung insertd the flower in her hair.'

meko s'uthip^hu(ŋ) pito 'Fetch the merigold.'

bōitsā vi. 'to survive, live, annex, connect' bōitāŋ (p, 3sg) 'survived' bōišo (pp, adj)
'survived' NEG mə~ 'not to survive, live'

bos n. 'wool' cf. SYN ostsā [also < ~tsām in some other Kirānti languages]

bosits adj. 'woolen' cf. SYN boswā

go bosits wā gyāpnun 'I buy the woolen-cloth.'

bospət(i) [< bogyəpət also *bogpəte* (sic; Borchers 2003: 77) also cf. *baspati* in
RwāDhu/Wāmbule (Ongenort 2002: 22)] n. 'Indian trumpet flower' *oroxylum*
indicum (N टोटला)

bossep^h n. (c) 'woolen blanket (esp. woven by hand) ~piki (pl) 'woolen blankets'

bossep^hmi bā?tsā 'to sit on the woolen blanket'

ostsāke bossep^h 'the woolen blanket made up of wool'

bossep^h letsā 'to sell the woolen blanket'

āke k^himi kā bossep^h bā 'There is one woolen blanket in my house.'

mul bossep^h protekmur məth'īsib 'Nowdays one cannot find the woolen blanket maker.'

boswā adj. cf. SYN bosits

bōge n. (c) 'thumb' ~piki (pl) 'thumbs' cf. SYN t^hεbbleptso

bōge mi ‘by the thumb’
 bōgeblesel (fig.) ‘illiterate’
 bōge himtsā ‘to shake the thumb’
 niʔši guiṅā niʔši bōge ‘two thumbs of two hands’
 bōgemi tho:tsā ‘to pierce with the thumb’
 goimi mopā bōge mārde himdi? ‘Why did you shake the thumb in that way?’
 gom āke bōge hirttāṅ mārdehānā go tās kōitsā mālnuṅ ‘I turned round my
 thumb because I want to show caricature.’
 āke māmā dā bōgeblesel kākā nāmi ‘My mother is an illiterate.’

bōthere n. (c) ‘tap, faucet’

bōtheremi bwāk dāitstsā/plʔtsā ‘to fill the water in the tap’

boʔtsā vi. ‘to wake up (esp. self vs. poʔtsā), get/stand up, disperse’ boʔtu~ə (p. 3sg)

‘woke up’ boʔšo (pp, adj) ‘woken up’ NEG mē~ ‘not to wake up’

ipsilā boʔtsā ‘to wake up from sleep’

bāʔšo blēmdilā boʔtsā ‘to stand up from the sitting mat’

go yo mul boʔti ‘I also stood up now.’

gunderi gyākosi dišā sunisəm boʔbē ‘The Gunderi bazaar disperses till
 tomorrow morning.’*

brəm n. ‘buckwheat’ *fagopyrum esculatum* (N फापर)

brəmp^haskē šyoplē ‘bread of the buckwheat-flour’

brā n. (c) [~ bl(ɽ)ā] ‘arrow’ ~piki (pl) ‘arrows’

brāmi tho:tsā ‘to pierce with an arrow’

brā āptsā ‘to shoot an arrow’

brā nu li ‘arrow and bow’

šyetsibpāibmi tsʔibkəli brāmi āp^htu ‘The hunter shot the bird with the arrow.’

brā theʔkerke šyelsib ‘Arrow is made up of iron.’

brāmi ākəli thʔotu ‘The arrow pierced me.’

brēb n. (c) ‘author, writer’ ~piki (pl) ‘authors, writers’

k^hyōpətke brēbmur ‘writer of the book’

brēb dumtsā ‘to be an author’

brēb nu kumsopāib ‘author and singer’

εʔko k^hyōpətke brēbmur sume? ‘Who is the author of this book?’

šreṅpo brēb nu kumsopāib mur dumtə ‘Shreṅpo became an author and a
 singer.’

brēʔtsā vt. [~ bl(ɽ)εʔtsā] ‘to write’ brēʔtu (p, 3sg) ‘wrote’ brēʔšo (pp, adj) ‘written’ NEG

mē~ ‘not to write’

kumšo brēʔtsā ‘to write a song’

rimšopā brɛʔtsā ‘to write beautifully’
 gom blɛspət brɛʔtāŋ ‘I wrote a letter.’
 mɛko mur ritslopuki brɛʔbə ‘The man writes stories.’
 modeb olol lo məbrɛʔko ‘Don’t write such filthy thing.’

brɛʔtɛkɛ ¹n. (c) [> brɛʔtɛk; also br(ʔ/r)ɛʔtɛkɛ>br(ʔ/r)ɛʔtik] ‘pen, ball-pen, pencil’ ~piki (pl)
 ‘pens’
 brɛʔtɛk nu brɛswā(ni) ‘pen and ink’
 brɛʔtɛkmi brɛʔtsā ‘to write with a pen’
 brɛʔtɛkkɛ kōisi ‘the symbol of pen’
 gokəli brɛʔtɛk kā pito ‘Fetch me a pen.’
 brɛʔtɛk məbāʔšo pətɛkɛ gom blɛspət blɛtsā mətsəbu ‘I couldn’t write a letter
 due to the lack of a pen.’

brɛʔtɛkɛ ²nom. (h) [> brɛʔtɛk; also br(ʔ/l)ɛʔtɛkɛ>br(ʔ/l)ɛʔtik] ‘wrieter, writing’
 brɛʔtɛkɛ pət ‘a writing paper’
 itsik^hoi brɛʔtɛk brɛsni ‘some drops of writing ink’
 thūā brɛʔtɛk lo: ‘an expression of the heart to be written’

brɛsɛ n. (c) [> brɛs] ‘script’ ~piki (pl) ‘scripts’
 Kirānti-Kōitskɛ brɛsɛ ‘the script of the Kirānti-Kōits’
 Kirānti-Kōitskɛ brɛsɛmi brɛsišo ‘written in the Kirānti-Kōits script’
 brɛsɛ brɛʔtsā šyɛ~sitsā ‘to learn to write the script’
 Kirānti-Kōits brɛsɛ šyɛ~sitsā gyupšo bā ‘It is easy to learn the Kirānti-Kōits
 script.’
 gom Kirānti-Kōits brɛsɛ šyɛ~siti ‘I learnt the Kirānti-Kōits script.’

brɛsi n. (c) ‘writing’ ~piki (pl) ‘writings’
 brɛsi pətsā ‘to do writing’
 rimšo brɛsi ‘a beautiful writing’
 dzāmšo brɛsi thitstsā ‘to find out the missing writing’
 gom səire ākɛ dzāmšo brɛsi thittāŋ ‘I found my missising writing from a long
 time ago.’
 ɛʔko brɛsi sāppā rimšo bāʔtə ‘This writing is extremely beautiful.’
 rimšo brɛsimi kugyā glābə ‘A fine writing wins a prize.’

brɛsni n. (u) [also ~wā] ‘ink’
 g̊i:g̊ brɛsni ‘green ink’
 brɛswā thumsitsā ‘to be the ink over (itself)’
 brɛsni so:tsā ‘to get the ink dried’
 ākɛ blɛtikmi brɛswā kurpāuo ‘Fill the ink in my pen.’
 go ker brɛsnimi brenuŋ ‘I write with black ink.’
 ākɛ brɛsni sumi k^hui pəwā? ‘Who stole my ink?’

br(ɾ/l)oltsā vi. [see also b'utsā] 'to break away (esp. itself)' br(ɾ/l)oltə (p, 3sg) 'broke away' br(ɾ/l)olšo (pp, adj) 'broken away' NEG mə~ 'not to break away'
 šyɛŋglɛŋpā br(ɾ/l)oltsā 'to shatter noisily'
 mɛko bədəl doʔšā br(ɾ/l)oltun 'The bottle broke having fallen down.'
 ɛ~ko kiŋlo dopā br(ɾ/l)olmɛ? 'How did this Radio broke?'

br(ɾ/l)olšo adj. 'broken'
 br(ɾ/l)ošo lungir 'the broken heart'

br(ɾ/l)o:tsā vt. 'to be tasty' br(ɾ/l)o:tə (p, 3sg) 'became tasty' br(ɾ/l)o:šo 'become tasty'
 NEG mə~ 'not to be tasty'
 sāppā br(ɾ/l)o:tsā 'to be very tasty'
 br(ɾ/l)o:tsā mālbə 'must be tasty'
 dopā br(ɾ/l)o:šo pārkot bāʔmɛ? 'How tasty sweet-potato it is!'
 ɛ~ko lopšo thokporo də sāppā bro:šo bāʔtə 'This boiled christophine is very tasty.'
 gom tsošo šyoplɛ bro:tə 'The bread which I made became tasty.'

br(ɾ/l)o:šo adj. 'tasty'
 br(ɾ/l)o:šo rɛbɛ 'the tasty potato'

-bu n. PL/DU '-hood, group of something/somebody'
 Kōitsbu 'Kirānti-Sunuwar society'
 sēmibu 'daughter and daughter-in-law'

būīduwā n. (c) 'black hornet' ~pik (pl) 'black hornets'
 mɛko buīdāwā berbə 'The black hornet flies.'

būber n. See bumir

budi ¹adj., conj., postp. [> bu:d] (only after noun) 'similar to sb/sth., in the same way as, having similar qualities to another person or thing (= with similar interests and opinions) SYN k^hōdɛb
 dɛ~šo bud 'as said'
 muru bud 'like man'
 go bud 'like me'
 mɛko mur go budin mimbə 'The man thinks like me.'
 goimi yo āke budin sōTh p^hɛgbāʔtə 'You also have worn a shirt similar to mine.'
 gom dɛ~šo budi pāuo 'Do in the same way as I said.'

budi ²n. (c) 'ape' (*budi* has its tail) ~piki (pl) 'apes'

wākim budi ‘ape in the jungle’
 mur k^hōdešo budi ‘the man-like ape’
 budiā kul ‘ape’s face’
 budiā kur ker nu moroā kul ləl ‘ape’s face black and monkey’s face red’
 moro imitstsili dumbə ɲənə budi t^heb dumbə ‘The monkey is small while the
 ape is big.’
 budim koɲredz mədzāib ‘The ape doesn’t eat maize.’

bukmā n. ‘a technique of potato plantation’

bulgyets n. (c) ‘problem’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘problems’

bulši n. ‘fire-flame/ball’ ~pik (pl) ‘fire-flames’

bulsu n. (c) ‘ghost, ‘spirit’’ ~pik (pl) ‘ghosts’ cf. SYN hūgro, bulšo/u, honmāselel, ?wālšil,
 bulnu/o
 gom bulsu mətəšo bā?ti ‘I haven’t seen a ghost.’

bumir n. (c) [See also būber] ‘tailor’ ~piki (pl) ‘tailors’ SYN p^herb(ə)
 bumir nu wā ‘tailor and cloth’
 gyākosimi būber ‘tailor at the market’
 bumirke kul(i) ‘face of the tailor’
 būbermi wā p^herbə ‘The tailor sews cloths.’
 bumirmi dopāiyo wā k^huibə de~nimi ‘It is said that the tailor hides some
 pieces of cloths anyhow.’
 būbermi sōt^h imitstsili p^herābā?tə (fig.) ‘The tailor has made the shirt tight.’

bumker n. ‘tunnel’
 bumkergā ‘inside the tunnel’
 bumkergā otsā ‘to enter inside the tunnel’

bu?tsā vt. ‘to blast itself’ bu?tə (p, 3sg) ‘blasted itself’ bu?šo (pp, adj.) ‘blasted itself’ NEG
 mə~ ‘to not blast’
 məko bəm bu?tə ‘The bomb blasted.’

burbu n. (c) cf. SYN ušyer, dzirber; See use in ušyer

burots n. ‘September’
 burotsmi ‘in September’
 dz’ihotsnolə burots ‘September after August’
 burotslā ‘from September’
 āke dzərmešo sin burots mə ‘My birth-month is September.’
 burotsmi bur mitsā gob ‘Paddy starts ripening in September.’
 burots rimšo sin mə ‘September is a beautiful month.’

buru n. [> bur] ‘paddy, un-husked rice’ [cf. *bute* Kirānti-Ha; Shakya (1971: 92)]
 bur k^həmə ‘cooked rice of un-cooked rice (lit. rice of rice)’
 bur k^hr(r/ɽ)umtsā ‘to plant rice’
 burrumi bur k^hr(r/ɽ)umtsā māl̩bə ‘Paddy must be planted in the paddy-field.’
 bur k^həmə dzəndzən šyil pənpən (rhy.)
 āke burrumi yo bur m’ibə ‘The paddy ripens in my paddy-field also.’

bu:s n. (c) ‘snake’ ~piki (pl) ‘snakes’ cf. SYN siblā (spec.)
 bu:s sāitstsā ‘to kill the snake’
 bwārde nu bu:s ‘hawk and snake’
 ɛ̃kɛ bu:s bəmet ‘A snake has died here.’
 mulāt gom t^hɛb bu:s kā tātāŋ ‘I saw a big snake today.’
 məkō āl bu:smi koʔšo pətike βetu ‘The child died of snake-bite.’

bušyɛ adj. [> buš] ‘white’
 buš tigeŋ ‘white colour’
 buš muru ‘white man’
 buš nu ker ‘black and white’
 bušmi ker ‘black in white’
 məkō buš pət tək bāʔmə ‘Where is the white paper?’
 məkō buš k^hɪ ākɛ mɛ ‘The white house is mine.’
 buš p^hur gyāptsā məmāl̩bə ‘You shouldn’t buy the white colour.’

b’usu n. (c) ‘owl’ ~piki (pl) ‘owls’
 nādōmi b’usu ‘owl in the night’
 b’usu budi bāʔtsā ‘to sit down like an owl’
 b’usukɛ m’itsi ‘eye of the owl’
 b’usumi nādo m’itsi tatsa tsabba ‘Owl can see eyes at night.’
 b’usu nādo lā bərbə ‘The owl flies only at night.’
 go də b’usu budi m’its mətətek dumti ooo... ‘I became blind like an owl.’

b’utsā vi. [See also br(l/ɽ)oltsā] ‘to blast (esp. itself) like balloon’ b’utə (p, 3sg) ‘blasted’
 b’usho (pp, adj) ‘blasted’ NEG mə~ ‘to not blast’

bu^hul n. (c) ‘cymbal’ cf. SYN gr(ɽ)ulmā
 bu^hul óāptsā ‘to play the cymbal’

byāp^hpo n. (c) [> byāp^h] ‘ox’ ~piki (pl) ‘oxen’ FEM b’i
 byāp^h wātsā ‘to plough the ox’
 byāp^h kəli t^ho:tsā (fig.) ‘to castrate, geld the ox’
 byāp^h yo:tsā ‘to graze the ox’
 gom byāp^h wātāŋ ‘I ploughed the ox.’

ruwātskēli ruwātsā byāp^h mādumthu mādumbə ‘Ox is necessary for a farmer to plough the land/field.’

bwā n. (c) [> bə; also pwā in some idiolects] ‘rooster’
mēko ləl bwā ‘the red rooster’

bwārde n. (c) See bārde

bwāšyε n. See bə [< ?wāšyε, bwāšyε, pwāšyε]
mār pətsā do pətsā pwāšyε dzāib rāpətsā (rhy.)

𑍎 𑍑 m /mə/

-māi par. [esp. in interrogation] ‘uncertainty, probability’ [Text source: 3.30]
mēko mur tε bāmmāi? ‘Where is that man?’
mēko āl genā k^hī lebbāmāi? ‘When does the child return home?’

mādumthu postp., adv. ‘without, not having or showing sth’

māit adj. ‘old, worn out’ cf. SYN sāsəŋā, dzešo ANT nək
māit lo: ‘old fact, speech’
sāsəŋā ritslo: ‘old story’
dzešo ‘the worn out cloth’
sāsəŋā muru ‘olden people’
gom māit lo:pik prētāŋ ‘I forgot the old facts, speeches.’
mul sāsəŋā murpik mēthīsib ‘The olden people cannot be found nowadays.’
gom mēko dzešo gunε tāittāŋ ‘I threw away the worn out saree/skirt.’

məzdā n. (tab.) ‘fucker, bugger’ [Text source: 3.30]

māmāi excl., neg. par. [~ māmε] ‘no, not’ (esp. gives a negative reply or statement or in asking questions)
māmāi! ‘No! Not!’
ε̃ko dō dūmtə, māmāi dε? ‘This happened this this, isn’t it?’
mēko lo: də mo māmāi ‘That fact/speech isn’t so.’
mo māmāi ‘This is not so.’

māmā n. (c) ‘mother’ ~lo: ‘mother tongue’ cf. SYN ām, immā

məpəthu adv. ‘without doing’
gyerməpəthu ‘without making happy’
k^hyurməpəthu ‘without having dehydration’
roiməpəthu ‘without being ill, sick’
mēko k^həlpā roiməpəthu bε?tə ‘The old man died without being sick.’

āke tæumi gokæli hillomæpæthu m'isye ts'ātu 'My son brought a wife without asking me.'

mæræiyo pron. [~ mæræi, māræiyo] 'nothing'

mækoke bæk^hælmī māræiyo mæbā 'There was nothing in his/her pocket.'

āke k^himi dzætek mæræiyo mæbā 'There is nothing to eat in my house.'

mæmāmi ākæl mæræi mæde~mæ 'The mother didn't tell me anything.'

gom gyākosim gyāpteke mæræiyo mæthidu 'I didn't find anything to buy in the market.'

mærimšo adj. [~ mærimšyo] 'bad' ANT rimšo

mærimšo nu rimšo 'good and bad'

mærimšo mur 'a bad person'

mærimšopā thāitstsā 'to beat severely'

goi genāiyo mærimšo ge mæpāuo 'Never do a bad job.'

mopā mārde mærimšo dumtsā? 'Why (do) you be bad in that way?'

gom mærimšo lo: næ:tsā mältāwa 'I had to hear a bad news.'

mæsogen n. 'virtue' ANT sogen

mæsogen dumtsā 'to a virtuous one'

āke māmā mæsogen bā?tæmæ 'My mother is/was virtuous one.'

mālbæ mod v. (also 3sg of māltsā) ¹'must, should' ²'s/he searches' NEG mæ- 'must not'

pætsā mālbæ 'must do'

dzætsā mālbæ 'must eat'

sinimā ko:tsā mālbæ 'should watch the cinema'

k^hī lætsā mālbæ 'must go home'

go mul dumk^hī lætsā mālbæ 'Now I have to go to the office.'

gopuki mul plo?tsā mālbæ 'Now we must escape.'

lo: mul dzætsā mālbæ 'We have to eat now.'

mār pron., det. [~ mær] 'what'

goimi mār dæne? 'What did you say?'

gom mār de~ti hænā goi k^hī lāu(o) 'What I said is you go home.'

māræiyo pron. (See mæræi, mæræiyo)

mākk^ho n. [S: Kirānti-Lim] 'garlic' *allium sativum*

mākk^ho tultsā 'to uproot the garlic'

k^hāimi mākk^ho k^hāltsā 'to mix the garlic in the curry'

surup-keŋgærmī mākk^ho dzætsā mædumb(ə) de~nimi 'It is said that Bahun-Chetri should not have garlic' (folk belief).

mulāthotse āmmin mākk^ho k^hrumo 'This year you plant the garlic yourself.'

māłtsā vt. ¹‘to search, look for’ māłtu~au (p, 3sg) ‘searched’ māłšo (pp, adj) ‘searched’
 NEG mǎ~ ‘not to search’
 k^hūisi māłtsā ‘to pick up a quarrel’
 pōłbo māłtsā ‘to look for a shaman’
 goimi mār mǎli ‘What did you look for? ‘What do you want?’
 gom k^hyōpǎt kǎ māłtǎŋ ‘I looked for a book.’
 ε~ko murmi k^hūisi māłtu ‘this man picked up a quarrel.’
² aux. ‘to be necessary’
 pǎtsā māłtǎwǎ ‘necessary to do’
 huitstsā māłtǎwǎ ‘should scold’
 mārde māłdǎ? ‘why necessary?’

mār pron., det. [~ mǎr] ‘what’
 mār nε? ‘what?’
 mār de~stǎ? ‘what to say?’
 mεko murmi mǎr pǎwǎ mǎr pǎwǎ; gom dǎ mǎrǎi mǎtuittu ‘I didn’t understand anything what that man did.’
 mār dεnε? ‘What did you say?’
 bǎk^hǎłmi mār mār kuri? ‘What did you carry in the pocket?’
 go mār dεuŋ ŋǎnǎ ǎmkε mǎmǎlo wǎ?tsǎ mǎłbǎ ‘What I say is that we’ve to speak our mother tongue.’

mārde int. [> mǎr~] ‘why’
 goimi mārde mo de~nε? ‘Why did you say so?’

mārıtǎs adj. [bl: mǎrǎiyo + mǎtǎtsǎ] ‘selfless’ ANT kop^hłetǎs, kuide
 mārıtǎs nam ‘selfless love’
 mārıtǎs ge ‘selfless job’
 mārıtǎs kōıts ‘selfless leader (extended meaning see kōıtsǎ)’
 mur dumšo mεre mārıtǎs dumtsǎ mǎłbǎ ‘One must be selfless while being a human being.’
 mǎdǎr tεresarakali mārıtǎs dεnimi ‘Mother Teresa is said to be selfless.’

mǎrpǎ adv. ‘how’ cf. SYN dopǎ
 mǎrpǎ ōdεp dummε? ‘How did it happen?’

mε’ aux., excl. [mε`exist.] as aux., excl ‘is, yes’
 mεko wǎısǎł su mε’? ‘Who is that boy?’
 inke nε mār mε’? ‘What is your name?’
 gom de~tsǎ mǎłšo lo: ōdεb dumbǎ; de doth mε’? ‘The point I want to make is this; or what so?’
 ōdεb de~šo ōdεb mε’; mǎmǎi dε? ‘This means this; isn’t it so?’
 modεbǎn mε` ‘Yes, it’s so.’
 mεko mur tek łǎm’ε? ‘Where did that man go?’

məkopikim mār pāmēpām'ε; go mārəiyo mətuinuŋ 'I don't know anything whatever they did.'

mēi excl. [esp. at the end of an expression]
 tək dzāmmēiii... 'Where did it miss?'
 mār dummei... 'What happened?'

mēu n. (c) 'papaya' *carica papaya* ~pik (pl) 'papayas' cf. SYN p^hεŋsε

məkεrε adv., excl. [>kεkεr>mək; also məkya in some idiolects] 'there'
 ε~k nu mək 'here and there'
 mək lətsā 'to go there'
 mək soitsā 'to send there'
 məkεrε koŋo! 'Look there!' (emph.)
 goi mək mār pənpən bāŋε? 'What are you doing there?'
 məkεrε! məkεrε! 'There! There!'
 mək su ləmε? 'Who went there?'

məko pron., dem., det. [>mε?; ~nimp^hā 'they two^d', ~ni?ši 'they two^d', ~ās 'they two^d']
 See mε` as aux., excl.; see also məkopiki] 's/he, that' (sometimes replaced with *mεrε*; as in *mεrε* [in the sense of məko] *mur*; see -mεrε)
 məko mur 'that man'
 məko āl 'the child'
 məko nu go 's/he and I'
 goikəli məkon blətik mārde maldā? 'Why did you need only that pen?'
 məko wāismur tək gā?mε? 'Where did that man walk?'
 məko ālkəli go mār pəŋ? 'What should I do to the child?'
 məko morokəli k^herdo 'Chase that monkey.'

məkopiki pron.[> mēpik] (pl) 'they'
 məkopiki tək ləmā? 'Where did they go?'
 məkopikim mār dz'āmε? 'What did they eat?'
 mēpik tε lāinimi? 'Where do they go?'
 mēpuk mārde grim'ā? 'Why did they cry?'
 mēpik genā dzāmā? 'When did they arrive?'
 mār mēpik āi lo: rupnimi 'Do they understand our language?'

məl n. 'need, necessity' cf. māltek

mεr(ε) postp. adj. conj. adv.[cf. myer, mεr] 'after/~wards, to:DIR, later than sth, following, there:LOC' cf. SYN -nole
 āke təmmi kumsopəšomεrε gom šyilpātāŋ 'I danced after my daughter sang a song.'

mɛʔtsā vt. ‘to vomit’ mɛʔtu (p, 3sg) ‘vomited’ mɛʔšo (pp, adj) ‘vomited’ NEG mə~ ‘not to vomit’
gom k^həmə mɛʔtāŋ ‘I vomited the rice.’

mɛrɛ dem., det., conj. (See also məko; deictic lexeme for showing sth/sb at a distance)
‘that’ ~pik (pl) ‘those’
hərə mɛrɛ mur ‘That man’
hərə mɛrɛ məš ‘That buffalo’

mɛšyɛ n. [> məš] ‘buffalo’ ~ ‘pik (pl) ‘buffaloes’
məšpik thultsā ‘to tame buffaloes’
məške homok nu dzil ‘buffalo’s ghee and milk’
məške gyošo grō ‘a long horn of the buffalo’
goimi doso məš thul’i? ‘How many buffalo did you raise?’
āke məš t^hīšā bɛʔtə ‘My buffalo died having fallen down.’

mɛšu n. (c) ‘container (esp. made up of a bamboo tree)’ See also pūitsā

m’i n. ‘fire’ [cf. mī Kiranti-Wam; Ongenort 2002: 514]
m’i nu bwāk(u) ‘fire and water’
m’i mɛitstsā ‘to start/blow up fire’
m’inu məgyārtstsā ‘not to play with the fire’
m’imi tsoibə ‘The fire burns.’
m’imi k^həmə kɛ:sib ‘Rice is cooked by fire.’
m’i pito ‘Fetch the fire.’
tempāmi āmmin m’imi tsoptu ‘Tempa burnt himself with fire.’
murukəli m’i mədumthu mədumbə ‘Fire is necessary for man.’

-mi Ca. [> -m] ¹‘locative, agentive, ergative’
ɛ̃ko rāgimi ‘in this country’
kyɛtk^himi ‘at the bank’
āke əl nimp^hā UKm bāʔnəsi ‘My two children live in the UK.’
² ‘instrumental’
guyɛmi ‘with the sickle’
blɛtikmi ‘with the pen’
gom ts’ubum šyɛ kyorttāŋ ‘I chopped the meat with the Gurkha knife.’
³ ‘agentive’
gomi ‘by me’
kyāršyɛmi ‘by the goat’
āلمي k^hyōpət k^hātu ‘The child tore away the book.’

mikəl n. (c) ‘nail varnish’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘nail varnishes’
mikəl gyāptsā ‘to buy the nail varnish’

- milu n. (c) ‘tail’ ~piki (pl) ‘tails’
 b’ike milu ‘tail of a cow’
 kyāršyεke milu k^hodešo āl (fig.) ‘a naughty child’
 ε̃ko tsəpokε milu imitstsili bā?tə ‘This piglet has a small tail.’
 bərmomi itsuke milu(mi) gyāittu~āu ‘The cat caught the rat’s tail.’
- milomilo adj. ‘a pleasant taste’
 milomilo rebe ‘a tasty potato’
- mimsbre n. ‘poem, poetry’ cf. SYN thorssi
- mimtsā vt. ‘to remember, think, contemplate, brood oneself’ mimtu (p, 3sg)
 ‘remembered’ mimšo ‘remembered’ NEG mə~ ‘to not remember’
 tsinuyo mimtsā ‘to remember, think again’
 mərde mimtsā ‘why remember?’
 gom āke məmākəli mimtāj ‘I remembered my mother.’
 ǝ mimšonu go dzāmšo bā?ti ‘While brooding, I was missing.’
 āmke rāgikəli mimtsā mālba ‘One should remember his/her country.’
- minā conj. [> min, ~minu, munu > mun; quite often co-occurs with -nā as in -nā min|
 ‘then’
 goi gyākosi lāuo; min mug(i) gyāpšā pito ‘Go to the market; bring banana
 having bought then.’
 min goi tek ləyi? ‘Where did you go then?’
 goi bo?šānā min nāmikəli po?ko ‘Get up and then make the elder sister get
 up.’
 ləngā ləšā koŋ min su pišo bā?mε ākəl deno ‘Look having gone outside; then
 tell me who has come.’
- m’išyε n. (c) [> m’is; also 3sg] ‘wife’ ~piki (pl) ‘wives’ M wāišyε (also 3sg) > wāis
 (wāiso 3sg as in *goi āmmin wāiso/oto*)
- m’išyεāl n. (c) [> m’isāl; CMP m’išyε+āl] ‘girl’ ~piki (pl) ‘girls’ M wāisāl
 m’isālkəli ‘to the girl’
 m’isālpik nu wāisālpik ‘boys and girls’
 m’isālke kumso ‘song of the girl’
 ε̃ko m’isālmi rimšopā kumso kā pāptu ‘This girl sang a song well.’
 mεko m’isāl šyilpətsā yo dzobə ‘The girl knows dancing also.’
 m’isālpikmi yo p^həskyu bərpāinimi ‘Girls also fly airplane.’
- m’išyemuru n. (c) [CMP m’išyε+mur] ‘woman’ ~piki (pl) ‘women’ M wāismuru
 m’išyemur nu wāismur ‘man and woman’
 m’išyemurmi ‘by the woman’
 m’išyemurke~ā ‘of the woman’

meko m'išyemur sum'ε? 'Who is that woman?'
 m'išyemurpik nu wāismurpik kān nēmi 'Men and women are equal.'
 meko m'išyemurmi ākəl huittu 'The woman scolded me.'
 nelle m'išyemurpik mēmā dumtsā mōtsābnimi 'All women cannot be mother.'

mithots n. 'tantric, esoteric'

mi:tsā vt. ¹'to ripen (esp. fruits), ²be ready (of remuneration, income), ³be cooked (of food) mītu~ə (p, 3sg) 'ripened' mīšo 'ripened' NEG mē~ 'not to ripen etc.'
 k^həme nu k^hāi mi:tsā 'the cooked rice and curry'
 mugī mi:tsā 'to ripen the banana'
 šyepu mi:tsā 'salary to be ready'
 muləiyo k^həme k^hāi mēmi:mē? 'Isn't rice and curry cooked yet?'
 ε~ko sinke šyepu mītə 'The salary of this month is ready.'

m'itsā vt. 'to comb' m'itu~tāu (p, 3sg) 'combed' m'išo (pp, adj) 'combed' NEG mē~ 'not to comb'
 tsā m'itsā 'to comb hair'
 prupsemi m'itsā 'to comb with a comb'
 təumi tsā m'itu~āu 'The son combed the hair.'
 gom āke tsā m'itsā mālba 'I have to comb my hair.'
 rimšopā tsā m'išo mēre rimšon tāisib 'One is seen smart while combing the hair properly.'

mimsithū n. 'guess' ~pətsā vt. 'to guess'

m'itsi n. (c) [> mits; also in other Kirānti languages] 'eye' ~piki (pl) 'eyes' m'its tətsā (lit./fig.) 'to have a clear eye-sight/to be able to see spirits'
 ludze nu ālke m'its 'eye of the needle and the child'
 āke m'itsmi prək(u) 'tears in my eye'
 t^heb m'its 'a big eye'
 kisšyεke m'its rimšo dumbə 'The eyes of deer are beautiful.'
 ε~ko m'išyε mur t^hebm'its pəšo bā?tə (fig.) 'This woman is a witch.'
 ike m'its sumo 'Cover your eyes.'
 n. ~tsā [CMP m'itske+tsā] 'eye-lash'
 m'itstsā tultsā 'to pluck up the eye-lash'
 m'itstsā himtsā 'to shake the eye-lash'
 m'itstsā nu mukus 'eye-lash and eye-brow'
 goi āmke m'itstsā tulo 'Pluck up your eye-lash.'
 m'itstsā kər dumbə 'The eye-lash is black.'

m'itsrelu n. (var., pair) [CMP m'its + relu derived from reltsā] 'looking glass, spectacles'
 m'itsrelu reltsā 'to put on specs'
 m'itsrelu do?šā broltsā 'to break the specs having fallen'
 helšo m'itsrelu 'a heavy specs'

āke m'itsrelu sāppā helšo bā 'My specs are very heavy.'
 sināt gom āke m'itsrelu kā sāmtāṅ 'I lost my specs yesterday.'
 gom m'itsrelu proltāṅ 'I broke the specs.'

mo conj. [~ mo-n (with emphasis), mo+pətikε] 'so'
 gom mār deṅṅā; mon pāuo 'Do so what I said.'
 goimi mopətikε āke ge mādum 'My mission was not possible when you did so.'
 go εṅk mon piti 'I came here without any reason.'

moblo n. 'topo-loconym in Kirānti-Bāṅyung' [now replaced by *N* Andherinarayansthan (अंधेरीनारायणस्थान) Wallo Kirat, Okhaldhunga district, east Nepal]

modεb adj. [~ moλεb; emph. modεbən] 'of such kind' ANT dodεb~doleb

modzil n. (c) 'motorbike, motorcycle' ~piki (pl) 'motorbikes'
 modzil dorpātsā 'to drive the motorbike'
 modzil nu k^həpkyuke p^həpindo 'accident of the motorbike and the bus'
 modzilke p^həpindomi 'in the accident of motorbike'
 εṅko modzil rimšo bāṅtə 'This motorbike is beautiful.'
 gonimp^hā modzilmi dornəsku 'We two run on the motorbike.'
 modzilmi tək dori? 'Where did you run on the bike?'

moiti postp, conj [~ hoṅti] 'before, in front of, first'
 go moiti lati 'I went first.'

mon n. 'grief' ~hōitpātsā vt. 'to mourn' See pātsā

monkiṅ n. (c) [~ wonkiṅ] 'telephone' cf. SYN kiṅ

montəmṛā n. 'death ritual'

moni adj., adv. [moni-n (with emphasis)] 'far, a long way' ANT nethā
 moni lətsā 'to go a long way'
 monilā 'from a far distance'
 sus moni 'very far'
 āke m'itsimi moni mətāibə 'My eyes cannot see far.'
 ap^hpo k^hilā moni lāmētəm 'The father went far away from home.'
 go eklā moni lāinuṅ 'I go far away from here.'

monk^hon adj. 'remote' ANT dzāditsāṅā
 monk^honṅā T^hem 'place of a remote distance'
 monk^honṅā T^hemmi bāṅtsā 'to live in the place of the remote distance'
 monk^hon T^hemṅā muru 'people of the distant place'
 monk^hon T^hemmi k^həpkyu mālāibə 'The bus does not go to the remote place'

ãke k^hi monk^honmi bā ‘My house is in the remote place.’

mopā adv. [< modεppā] ‘in that way/manner’
 mopā mārde dori? ‘Why did you run in that manner?’

moso adv. (quantity) ‘that much’
 moso kyetmi mār pāinəye ‘What to do with that much of money?’

mothənā conj. [~moḡənə, mohənā] ‘if that is so’
 ... mothənā go kumso mēpāinuḡ ‘...if that is so; I do not sing.’
 ... mohənā goi ãke təu mənəye ‘...if that is so, you are not my son.’
 ...mohənā goimi kyet thāptsā mālba~mālnəye ‘...if so you have to pay the money.’

moro n. (c) ‘monkey’ ~piki (pl) ‘monkeys’
 morokε milu ‘tail of the monkey’
 moro budi tāisitsā ‘to be seen like a monkey’
 rumi moro o:tsā ‘to enter the monkey in the field’
 mεko moro tek dorā? ‘Where did the monkey run?’
 morokəli məšyāko ‘Do not tease the monkey.’
 goi moro budi mədumo (fig.) ‘Don’t be naughty.’

morsi n. (c) [> mors] ‘alphabet’ ~piki (pl) ‘alphabets’ SYN blεšethe~kā
 Kirānti-Kōitske blεšethe~kā ‘alphabet of the Kirānti-Kōits’
 morsi brε?tsā ‘to write the alphabet’
 morsikε dā ‘šape of the alphabet’
 gom Kirānti-Kōitske blεšethe~kā brε?tsā šye~siti ‘I learnt writing the Kirānti-Kōits alphabet.’
 ε~ko morsikε ne` mārme`ε? ‘What is the name of this alphabet?’

moso adv. (quantity) [~ moso-n (with emphasis)] ‘that much’
 moso kyet ‘that much money’
 mosomi ‘by that much’
 moson lāitstsā ‘to take only that much’
 moso kyetmi mār pətsāḡ; itsik^hoi temden ‘What I should do with that much amount of money; please add some more.’
 go mosolā genuḡ ‘I give that much only.’
 moso šyimi mēdzāddibə ‘That much of firewood will not be sufficient.’

moth [~ mothəd] ‘if so’
 moth ḡənə go k^hi mēliānuḡ ‘...if so I do not go home.’

mū n. (c,u) ‘time’ cf. SYN nəyer [cf. nāmsits ‘era’, yāmkā ‘a while’, themsi ‘span’]
 mukots/ritsomi mū ko:tsā ‘to look time at the watch’
 doso mūmi ‘at what time’

nək nāmsitskə ‘of the modern time’
 nək mūṅā murnu lo:pətsān mətsābsib ‘It is difficult to discuss with the modern man.’
 ākə mukotsmi nəyer məgəbə ‘My watch doesn’t function.’
 nā~nhā ko:šā nəyer dəno ‘Tell the time having looked the sun.’

mudi n. (c) ‘year’ ~piki (pl) ‘years’ SYN thotse (c,u)
 nək mudi ‘new year’
 ləšo mudi ‘last year’
 mulāthotse ‘this year’
 sāithotse ‘many years ago’
 nək thotsemi dopā hāsəltəmsəl pāinəni? ‘How do you celebrate the New Year?’
 ləšo thotse tek ləni? ‘Where did you go last year?’
 mulāthotse də reu məyi ‘It didn’t rain this year.’
 sāithotseṅā k^hyōpət tek th^hisibā? ‘Where can we find the books published in earlier times?’

mugi n. (c) [< mugyə~mug; idiolects] ‘banana’ ~piki (pl) ‘bananas’
 həu mug ‘yellow banana’
 p^hε̃gā kā mug ‘a unit of banana’
 məkoā təmimi mugkə kurmidok^hā pittu ‘His/Her daughter brought banana as present.’
 mug dzətsā rimšon mə ‘It is better to have banana.’
 gom p^hε̃gā kā mug gyāptāṅ ‘I bought a unit of banana.’

mukots n. (c) ‘watch, clock’ ~piki (pl) ‘watches’ SYN ritso
 mukotsmi ko:tsā ‘to look at the watch’
 ritso puitstsā ‘to put off the watch’
 go nimp^hāmi mukots ləppəmi āptəsku ‘We two gambled the watch.’
 mū ko:tsākəli ritso mālbə ‘Watch is necessary for noticing time.’

mul adv., conj. ‘now’
 mul mār? ‘now what?’
 mulsəm ‘up till now’
 mul tsinuyo ‘now again’
 mulrə genāiyo ‘never from now on’
 mul mār pətsā də~ni? ‘What did you ask me to do now?’
 go mul mār pəṅ? ‘What shall I do now?’
 mulrə goi gonu genāiyo kyət məpuno ‘Now on you never ask for money with me.’
 k^həme dzāptəyin; mul dumk^hī lāuo ‘You finished eating rice; now go to the office.’

muləiyo adv. ‘yet, still’

meko āl mulāiyo k^hī mēpi ‘The child didn’t come home yet.’
 goi mulāiyo mēpi ‘Didn’t you sleep yet?’

munu conj. [> mun] See minā

muru n. (c) [> mur] ‘man’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘men’
 meko murnu ‘with that man’
 murpikimi ‘by the men’
 muruānke ‘of the men’
 meko mur su mē? ‘Who is that man?’
 murupiki gyākosige dortstsā gomtēmē ‘Men started running towards the bazar.’

murnāms n. (c) ‘guest’ ~piki (pl) ‘guests’
 murnāmspiki betstsā ‘to call the guests’
 āke murnāmspiki ‘my guests’
 murnāms thultsā ‘to serve the guest’
 mēpiki āke murnāms nēmi ‘They are my guests.’
 mulsēm yo āke murnāms mēdzāmē ‘My guests have not come yet.’

m’uitstsā vt. ‘to wear, put on’ m’uittu (p, 3sg) ‘wore’ m’uisšo (pp; also 3sg) ‘worn’ cf.
 SYN rēltsā, pāitstsā, liʔtsā, p^hētsā, gup^htsā (differ in manner)
 kusulnob m’uitstsā ‘to put on shoes’
 nāmimi gunē m’uissāmē ‘The elder sister put on the saree.’
 tsāimimi gunē m’uissāu ‘The daughter-in-law wore the saree.’

muitstsā vt. ‘to blow, start the fire’ muittu~au (p, 3sg) ‘blew’ muisšo (pp, adj) ‘blown’
 NEG mē~ ‘not to blow/start the fire’
 m’i muitstsā ‘to blow, start the fire’
 pōibmi roipōšo murkēli muitstsā (fig.) ‘to heal the patient by a šaman’
 gōmi m’i muittāṅ ‘I blew up the fire.’
 ākēli pōibmi muittāu ‘The šaman healed to me.’

mukus n. (var.) ‘eye-brow’
 kēr mukus ‘black eye-brow’
 mukus tultsā ‘to pluck up the eye-brow’
 mukuskali p^hurpātsā ‘to paint the eye-brow’
 gōm āke mukus tultāṅ ‘I plucked up my eye-brow.’
 gōimi mārde mukuskēli tigēṅ pōyi? ‘Why did you paint the eye-brow?’
 āke mukus rāksutē ‘My eye-brow itched.’

mulāt-sināt adv., conj. ‘now-a-days’
 mulāt-sinātṅā murpik rimšo mēdumnim ‘Men are not good these (now-a-) days.’

myeser n. (c) 'leaf-plate' ~paki (pl) 'leaf-plates'

९ य y /jə/

yā num. 'nine'

yānolε gəu 'ten after nine'

yā ālpiki 'nine children'

yā p^hets 'part nine'

səšyi nu yā 'eight and nine'

yā tsibke nε brεʔtine 'Please write nine birds' name.'

səšyinolε yā p^hib 'Nine comes after eight.'

yābrε n. (c) [~ yabe; spelled in the International Bible Society's translation of the New Testament into the Kirānti-Kōits tongue as *Yabe-a loawa* (1992)] 'god' yabrε-gubrε partial RED

yāmkā adv. 'a while'

yāmkā rimtsā nāilə 'Please wait a while.'

yāp^hε n. (c) 'leech' ~piki (pl) 'leeches'

yāp^hε budi kεpsitsā 'to be or get stuck, adhered, clung like a leech'

yāp^hε k^hodešo mur (fig.) 'a person like a leech'

yāp^hemi yuptsā 'to suck by the leech'

yāp^hemi murke hu:s yubbə 'Leech sucks human-blood.'

mur dumšo mεrε yāp^hε budi mādumtsā (fig.) 'One must be independent being a man.'

yāp^htsā vt. 'to leak, drip, trickle' yāp^htu (p, 3sg) 'leaked' yāp^hšo (pp, adj) 'leaked' Nε mə~ 'not to leak'

bwāk yāp^htsā 'to leak the water'

gərlā ribdo yāp^htsā 'to leak the wine from the soil-pot'

meko gərlā bwāk yāp^htə 'The water leaked from the soil-pot.'

ε~ko homokgyomlā də nellε homok yāp^hšā nummet 'The whole milk is over having leaked from this milk-pot.'

yāt n. (c) 'grinder' (esp. made up of stone and used as a traditional mill technology) ~piki (pl) 'grinders'

yātmi tsirs hiltā 'to grind millet in the grinder'

tsumlu nu yāt 'mortar and grinder'

yātlā so:ltā 'to take out from the grinder'

gom yātmi āŋ hiltāŋ 'I ground the maize in the grinder.'

yāt šyeltek p^huilu tek thīsibā? 'Where can we find the stone for making a grinder?'

yāts ‘nephew’ (of maternal) FEM yātsm ‘niece’

yātsā ‘to shift, move’ yātu (p, 3sg) ‘moved’ yāšo (pp, adj.) ‘moved’ NEG mǎ~ ‘to not move’

yo adv. (not used with negative verbs) ‘also, in addition, too’ [cf. *yā* Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 131, 562)]

go yo ‘I also’

meko yo ‘s/he also’

mekopiki yo ‘they also’

ε̃ko mur yo Kirānti-Kōits ‘this man also Kirānti-Kōits’

go you Kirānti-Kōits nɔŋ ‘I am also a Kirānti-Kōits.’

meko mur yo gopikinu lāibā? ‘Does that man also go with us?’

go šyer nu h’isi` gyāpnun munu k^həpdzil yo gyāpnun ‘I buy rice and salt; then buy paraffin too.’

yoili n. (u) ‘chin’ SYN tsoil

yoili nu tsotso ‘chin and cheek’

yoili rəksutsā ‘to itch the chin’

yoilimi šokre ‘beard on the chin’

āke yoili imitstsili bā ‘My chin is small.’

Englandŋā boxermi Americanā boxerā tsoil pluittu ‘The English boxer broke the American boxer’s chin.’

goimi āmke yoilimi mār lup’i? ‘What did you smear on your chin.’

yoltsā vt. ‘to take away, prey’ (esp. by jackle, bird of prey etc.) [cf. SYN lāitstsā (esp. by human agent)] yoltu (p, 3sg) ‘took away’ yolšo (pp, adj.) ‘taken away’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to take away’

bwārdemi bwākəli yoltsā ‘to prey rooster by the hawk’

sik^hrēmi tsitoli yoltsā ‘to prey the chick by the falcon’

āke bwā sināt bwārdemi yoltu~āu ‘The hawk preyed my rooster yesterday.’

yo?tsā vt. ‘to divide, share’ yo?tu (p, 3sg) ‘divided’ yo?šo (pp, adj.) ‘divided’ NEG mǎ~ ‘to not move’

yositsā mv. ‘to be divided’

yorbetsā ‘to be moved/disturbed, troubled’ cf. SYN blitsā

y’utsā vt. ‘to beat’ y’uptu (p, 3sg) ‘beat’ y’ušo (pp, adj.) ‘beaten’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to beat’
SYN tuptsā, thāitstsā

yumpi n. (c) ‘the youngest daughter’ [also used a common name; vocabulary commonly used in Kirānti-Bā?yung also] ~piki (pl, fig.) ‘the youngest daughters’
ŋāmi nu yumpi ‘the eldest and the youngest sister’

yumpimi 'by the youngest sister'
 yumpimi mekoā loəbkəli thāittu 'The youngest sister beat her younger brother.'

ε'ko ālkε nε gom yumpi wāittāŋ 'I named this baby Yumpi.'
 yumpi...o goi tək lai? 'Hey... Yumpi; where did you go?'

yup(b)tsā vt. 'to drink without stopping' (liquid like whey) yuptu (p, 3sg) 'drank' yupšo (pp, adj.) 'drunk' cf. SYN tutsā, hurtstsā NEG mə~ 'not to drink'

yup^htsā 'to leak' yuptə (p, 3sg) 'leaked' yupšo (pp, adj) 'leaked' NEG mə~ 'to not leak'
 gərlā bwāk yup^htsā 'to leak the water from the soil-pot'

ᱠ ᱪ /r/

rəb n. (c) 'sheep' ~piki (pl) 'sheep' SYN rōpε FEM rəbām
 n. rəbgyomb(i) 'shepherd'

rəkmits n. (c) 'ant' ~piki (pl) 'ants'
 rəkmits budi gε pətsā (fig.) 'to work like ants'
 rəkmitspikimi krāitstsā 'to bite by ants'
 rəkmits nu sodā 'ant and elephant'
 rəkmits budi pənmār 'iśā gā?tsā mālba 'We should walk in rows like ants.'
 rəkmitsmi rəb bəwāt 'The ant has eaten the potato.'

rəkrəke adj. 'naughty' cf. SYN dus ANT rimšo, mimitis

rəksutsā vt. 'to itch' rəksut (p, 3sg) 'itched' rəksušo (pp, adj) 'itched' NEG rəkmasutsā
 gim rəksutsā 'to itch the body'
 ākε bəlā mārde rəksum 'ε? 'Why did my shoulder itch?'
 ākε nop^hā rəksut 'My ear itched.'
 dimlā rəksušo mεrε moni gā?tsā mālba 'When the sole itches: one should go very far' (folk belief).
 gyurā tāblā rəksušo mεrε kyət tāisib 'When the right palm itches, one gets money' (folk belief).

rəku num. [> rək] 'six'
 ηənoλε rəku 'six after five'
 ηə nu rəku 'five and six'
 rəku k^hūru 'six rupees'
 ākε təu rəku mudīŋā dumtə 'My son is of six years old.'
 gom meko dumk^hīmi rəku mudi gε pātāŋ 'I worked for six years in that office.'
 go meke rəku sin bā?nuŋ 'I live there for six months.'

- rəwā n. (c) ‘tree’ ~piki (pl) ‘trees’
 rəwā budi rāptsā ‘to stand like a tree’
 rəwā nu səp^hā ‘tree and leaf’
 rəwā k^hroiststsā ‘to cut down the tree’
 ɛ̃ko rəwā sumi k^hrodā? ‘Who cut down this tree?’
 gom ākε rumi bāʔšo rəwā letāŋ ‘I sold my land’s tree.’
 muruānkəli rəwā mədumthu mədumbə ‘Tree is necessary for men.’
- rāgi n. (c) [~rāgyə] ‘country’ ~piki (pl) ‘countries’
 āike rāgi ‘our country’
 məkoānke rāgi ‘of their country’
 goi tɛ̃ko rāgi lətsā mālŋəʔ? ‘Which country do you want to go?’
 ām rāgikəli dopāiyo gəth lāitstsā mālba ‘We have to develop our country
 anyhow.’
 āi rāgi rimšo bā ‘Our country is beautiful.’
- rālbə n. ‘present, one who attends’
- rāpəts n. (esp. in spoken form; < rāpətsā= rā+pə+tsā; in written form ‘clan name, make
 something rot’) ‘catalyst’
 rāpəts rāʔšo puīšā dzəth gāʔšo (hum. rhy.)
 mār pətsā do pətsā p wā šye bāib rāpətsā (hum. rhy.)
- rāptsā vi. ‘to stand’ rāptu (p, 3sg) ‘stood’ rāpšo (pp, adj) ‘stood’ NEG mə~ ‘not to stand’
 dok rāptsā ‘to stand still for a long time’
 to: rāptsā ‘to stand still for short time’
 mopā mārāpo ‘Don’t stand in that way.’
 məhimsithu ɛ̃k rāpo ‘Stand here without moving.’
 goikəli ɛ̃k sumi rāppəwā? ‘Who made you stand here?’
- rāp^htsā vt. ‘to smash, thrash, throw down’ rāp^htu (p, 3sg) ‘smashed’ rāp^hšo (pp, adj.)
 ‘smashed’ NEG mə~ ‘to not smash’
- rā n. (c; spec.) ¹‘body’ (euph.) ²placenta
 mišyemurke rā ‘woman’s body’
 rāso:tsā (fig.) ‘menopause’
 rāp^hudumtsā (fig.) ‘to menstruate’
- rābi n. *hemitragus jemlahicus* [N थार-भारल]
- rāp^hu n. ‘menstruation’ ~dumtsā ‘to menstruate’
- rāšyik^h ušik^h ušā MAN (expressives)
- rɛ abl. [~ lɛ~lā] ‘from’

- ε̃ko k^hire tek lāinay ε? 'Where do you go from this house?'
 rē~ n. (c) [~ rē^h (Karna Je^hticha and Bal Mukhia 1990)] 'spider' ~piki (pl) 'spiders'
- rēbε n. (c) [> rēb; in fast speech] 'potato' ~piki (pl) 'potatoes'
 rēbke k^hāi 'the potato curry'
 rēb nu kæg 'potato and yam'
 rēb mursšā loptsā 'to boil the potato having washed'
 rēb k^həpmi sabbə 'Potato is produced in the soil.'
 k^hirēb ηəritsmi dzāisib 'The house-potato is eaten in January.'
 bukmāmi k^hrumšo rēb sāppā sabbə 'The potato planted in the bukma bears a lot of fruit/production.'
- rēkε n. (c) [> rēk; in fast speech] 'a species of bamboo; smaller in size' (possibly 1-B
 मालिङ्गो)
- rēltsā vt. 'to wear' (esp. garland) rēltu (p, 3sg) 'wore' rēlšo (pp, adj) 'worn' SYN
 m'uitstsā, p^hetsā, li?tsā, pāitstsā, gup^htsā NEG mē~ 'not to wear'
- rēlp^hu n. (c) 'garland' ~piki (pl) 'garlands'
- rēnep^hεnε adv. 'manner of getting intoxicated e.g. by wine'
- rēnummāmā n. (c) 'stem-mother' ~piki (pl) 'step-mothers' M rēnumāp^hpo 'step-father'
 rēnummāmāmi 'by the step-mother'
 rēnummāmā nu rēnumāp^hpo 'step-mother and step-father'
 rēnummāmālā 'from the step-mother'
 āke rēnummāmā ākəli nəm pāmtεmε 'My step-mother loved me.'
 ikε rēnummāmā tek ləmε? 'Where did your step-mother go?'
- rēssik^hi n. (c) 'school' ~piki (pl) 'schools' cf. SYN šyelmik^hi
- rētstsā vt. 'to read, study' rēttu (p, 3sg) 'read' rēsšo (pp, adj) 'read' NEG mē~ 'not to read'
 k^hyōpət rētstsā 'to read a book'
 tsəpəndzi/k^hyōpəthəmmi rētstsā 'to study at the library'
 šyelmik^hi/rēssik^himi rētstsā 'to read at the school'
 go šyelmik^himi lāinuη 'I go to the school'
 ε̃ko k^hyōpət rētstsā mältāo 'I have to read this book.'
 mēkom āmke nele k^hyōpət rēsšā thumtu 'S/he finished reading all his/her books.'
- r'ētstsā vt. 'to scratch, draw' r'ēttu (p, 3sg) 'scratched, drew' r'ēsšo (pp, adj) 'scratched,
 drawn' NEG mē~ 'not to scratch, draw'
 mēko ālmi āke tsotsomi r'ētstāo 'The child srached on my cheek.'
- rēu n. (u) 'rain'

rēuitsā ‘to rain’
 gəsu nu rēu ‘fog and rain’
 rēu nu wāsreļu ‘rain and rainbow’
 p^həs nu rēu ‘wind and rain’
 mulāt sāppā rēu itə ‘It rained heavily today.’
 ləŋā rēu inin bāʔtə ‘It’s raining outside.’
 rēu išo pətike go ləŋgā lətsā mətəbu ‘I could not go outside because of rain.’

rēusotšēm n. ‘rainy season’
 rēusotšēm nu gəsu ‘rainy season and cloud’
 rēusotšēm mi sāppā rēu ib ‘It rains heavily in the rainy season.’

ri n. (c) ‘louse’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘lice’
 piyā nu ri ‘louse and head’
 gəkəli rimi klāittu ‘Louse bit to me.’

r’i n. (c) ‘drum’(of shaman; informed by Mokusu Kormocha as narrated by a gyāmi ‘lady shaman’ to him) ~piki (pl) ‘drums’(of shaman) cf. SYN Turuŋ

r’itsā vt. ‘to offer’ r’itu (p, 3sg) ‘offered’ r’išo (pp, adj.) ‘offered’

riu n. (c) ‘husband’s younger brother’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘husband’s younger brothers’ FEM
 riwom
 āke ru nu riwom ‘my husband’s younger brother and his wife’

ribbets n. (c) ‘enemy’ ~pik (pl) ‘enemies’ cf. SYN kyāki

ribdo n. ‘wine’ cf. SYN šyeršo, ārək^hā
 mār mār de~ni denene ribdom d’ušā p^henene (rhy.)

ribin n. (c) [s: Eng+nat] ‘ribbon’ ~piki (pl) ‘ribbons’
 ribinmi tsā phre~tsā ‘to bind the hair with ribbon’
 sus p^hur pəšo/dumšo ribin ‘many-coloured/colourful ribbon’
 meko m’išeāmi prešo ribin sāppā dārsšo bā ‘The ribbon which the girl has bound is very beautiful.’
 gom təmikəli ribin gyāptāŋ ‘I bought a ribbon for the daughter.’

ribnāt n. [~ rimsnāt] ‘Tuesday’
 nəknātnole ribnāt ‘Tuesday after Monday’
 ε~ko ribnāt ‘this Tuesday’
 ribnātke ‘of Tuesday’
 āke k^himi ribnāt piu(o) ‘Come to my house on Tuesday.’
 go ribnāt dumk^himi mələinuŋ ‘I do not go to the office on Tuesday.’
 go ribnāt əm yābrepikiā pidār pāinguŋ ‘I worship my ancestors on Tuesday.’

- r'imsā vt. 'to wait' r'imtu (p, 3sg) 'waited' r'imšo (pp, adj) 'waited' NEG mǎ~ 'not to wait'
 mək r'imsā 'to wait there'
 sukəli r'imsā? 'for whom to wait?'
 r'imšā bāʔtsā 'to stay having waited'
 goi məpišo pətikəm go də r'imšoŋā r'imšon dumti 'I was waiting and waiting since you did not come'
 gom goikəli nādosəm r'imtāŋ 'I waited you till the night.'
- rimtsā vi. 'to be fine, good, beautiful, handsome' rimtə (p, 3sg) 'became beautiful' rimšo (pp, adj) 'become beautiful' ANT mərimtsā
 dopā rimšo! 'How beautiful!'
 m'išyemur dumšo mərə mār rimtsān mālba? 'Is it necessary to be beautiful being a woman?'
 rimšopā gəth ləne 'Progress well.'
 kyət rimšopā h'iko 'Count the money carefully.'
- rimšo adj. 'beautiful, handsome, good, fine' ANT mərimšo
 ušyer budi rimšo āl 'a beautiful baby lie butterfly'
 rimšo mur 'a gentleman, fine/good man'
 rimšo pətsā 'to do well'
 gom ɔdəp rimšo mur gənāiyo mətəšo nəŋ 'I never saw a gentleman like this.'
 go āke ge rimšopā pāinuŋ 'I do my job carefully/well.'
 gom rimšo lo:pātāŋ h(ŋ)ənāiyo kyākipikim mərimšo nə:tem 'Although I had a friendly talk, the enemies heard otherwise.'
- rimtsi n. (c) [~ rimsi] 'beauty' ~piki (pl) 'beauties'
- rip adj. 'fast, quick' cf. SYN ālək ANT ək^hāts, dəsən
 ~pā (or dəsən) adv. 'swiftly, quickly'
- r'itsā vt. 'to cut' (of a comparatively long length e.g. grass, crops while harvesting) r'itu (p, 3sg) 'cut' r'išo (pp, adj) 'cut' cf. SYN (pr(ɾ/l)etsā, k^hr(ɾ/l)oitstsā, kyortstsā, tseʔtsā) NEG mǎ~ 'to not cut'
 bur r'itsā 'to cut (i.e. harvest) paddy'
 sosmāl r'itsā 'to cut grass'
 k^hīwā r'itsā 'to cut thatch'
 wāilimi sosmāl r'itu 'The servant cut the grass.'
 məkko m'išyemurum bur r'itu 'The woman harvested the paddy.'
- ritslo: n. (c) 'story' ~piki (pl) 'stories'
 ritslo: kā breʔtsā 'to write a story'
- ritso n. (c) 'watch, clock' ~piki (pl) 'watches' cf. SYN mukots

ritso nu mū ‘watch and time’
mukotsmi doso āptā’ (fig.) ‘What time is it?’

riu n. (c) ‘brother-in-law’ ~piki (pl) ‘brother-in-laws’

robtsā vt. ‘to pluck’ robtu (p, 3SG) robšo (pp, adj.) NEG mǎ~ ‘to not pluck’

roi n. (u) ‘sickness, illness’ v. roipətsā (See pətsa) ‘to be sick’
roipəšo mur ‘a sick man’
mār roipəšo? ‘what sort of sickness?’
roik^himi roi pəšo mur ‘the sickman in the hospital’
āke māmā roipəšo bā?təmə ‘My mother has been sick.’
goi mār roipəyi? ‘What sickness are you suffered of?’

roik^hi n. (c) ‘hospital’ ~piki (pl) ‘hospitals’
roik^hi lətsā ‘to go to the hospital’

roilu n. (c) ‘key’ ~piki (pl) ‘keys’ cf. SYN ro?tel ANT tso?tel
roilu nu tsoilu ‘key and lock’
ro?telmi ‘by the key’
roilu sāmstā ‘to lose the key’
gom āke bək^həlmi kurpəšo roilu dzāmtə ‘The key I had kept in my pocket got lost’(itself).
ε~ko roilu tək odu? ‘Where should I keep this key?’
āke roilu sumi p^hədā? ‘Who changed my key?’

roits n. (c) ‘orphan’ ~piki (pl) ‘orphans’ FEM roitsm(i)
roits āl ‘the orphan child’
roits-ā ‘of the orphan’
roitmikəli ‘to the orphan’
gom mēko roitskəli wāpik gətāŋ ‘I gave clothers to the orphan.’
goi ε~ko roitskəli thulo ‘You look after this orphan.’
mēko wāīsāl dopā roits dumme hillo pāu de ‘Ask the boy how he became orphan.’

roitstsā vt. ‘to snatch, plunder, loot’ roittu (p, 3sg) ‘snatched’ roisšo (pp, adj) ‘snatched’
NEG mǎ~ ‘not to snatch’
mārde roitstsā? ‘why to snatch?’
dopā roitstsā? ‘how to snatch?’
ε~ko ālke ribin sumi roittā? ‘Who snatched the ribbon of this child?’
goimi āmke p^hurkəl dopā roipədi? ‘How did you make your ball snatch?’
mopā mǎroitto ‘Don’t snatch that way.’

roŋ n. (c) [cf. ro K-Kh] ‘cliff’

roŋlā doʔtsā ‘to fall from the cliff’
 roŋlā omo kolšo p^huilu doʔtə ‘A boulder fell from the cliff.’

rokos n. (c) ‘rocky deer’ *nemo haedus goral* ~pik (pl) ‘rocky deers’
 rokokos āp^htsā ‘to shoot a goral’
 gom rokokos kākəli āp^htāŋ ‘I shot a goral.’

roltsā vt. ‘to perform rituals to appease the evil spirit, ward of an evil spirit’ roltu (p, 3sg)
 ‘warded...’ rolšo (pp, adj) ‘warded...’ NEG mə~ ‘to not ward...’
 pōĩbomi bwā roltsā ‘to perform rituals (on rooster) to appease the evil spirit
 by the male-shaman’

ro:tsā vt. to weed. dig around plants’ ro:tu (p, 3sg) ‘weeded’ ro:šo (pp, adj) ‘weeded’ NEG
 mə~ ‘to not weed’ n. ro:tsi
 bur ro:tsā ‘to weed the paddy plant’
 tsirs ro:tsā ‘to weed the millet plant’
 gomi p^hurumi p^hu(ŋ) ro:tāŋ ‘I weeded the flower in the garden.’
 goi bur ro:to ‘You^{2sg} weed the paddy plant.’

roʔtsā vt. ‘to open’ roʔtu (p, 3sg) ‘opened’ roʔšo (pp, adj) ‘opened’ NEG mə ‘not to
 open’
 lāptso roʔtsā ‘to open the door’
 roilumi tsoilu roʔtsā ‘to open the lock with a key’
 lāptso roʔko ‘Open^{3sg} the door.’
 ε̃ko tsoilukəli roilumi roʔko ‘Open^{3sg} this lock with the key.’
 thū roʔsā lo:pāu (fig.) ‘Talk^{3sg} open-heartedly/frankly.’

rōpε n. (c) ‘sheep’ ~piki (pl) ‘sheep’ FEM āmrōpε SYN rəb
 rōpekob/rəbgyobbi ‘shepherd’
 rōpε thulstsā ‘to tame sheep’
 rəbšyε ‘mutton’
 go rəbšyε məbāinuŋ ‘I do not eat mutton.’
 rōpelā ostsā tāĩsib ‘Wool is gotten from sheep.’
 məkomi rōpeke homok tu:tu ‘S/he drank the milk of sheep.’

ru n. (c) ‘land’ ~piki (pl) ‘lands’
 āke ru ‘my land’
 məkoānke ru ‘their land’
 ru nu ruwāts ‘land and farmer’
 ε̃ko rumi sumi k^hĩ šyēlā? ‘Who built the house on this land?’
 āmke ru letsā mədumbə ‘One should not sell his/her own land.’
 āmke ru mārde letsā ŋā? ‘Why should we sell our own land?’

rubnāt n. [~ tsɛrənāt] ‘Sunday’

suknātnole rubnāt ‘Sunday after Saturday’
 rubnātmi ‘on Sunday’
 rubnātlā ‘from Sunday’
 goi rubnāt tek lāinəyε? ‘Where do you go on Sunday?’
 tserehāṅ rubnātmi hāmrāgi lāibə ‘Tserehang goes to ovrseas on Sunday.’
 go rubnāt təkēi yo məlāinuṅ ‘I do not go anywhere on Sunday.’

rukṅāt n. [~ rəlp^hnāt] ‘Thrusday’
 rukṅātmi tsərpəndzi ‘the library on Thrusday’
 rukṅātlā ‘from Thursday’
 ləšo rukṅāt ‘the last Thursday’
 go ləšo rukṅāt gyākosi ləti ‘I went to the market on Thursday.’
 ε̃ko rukṅātlā gopiki āṅ so:tsā gotsā mālba ‘We’ve to start sowing maize from this Thursday.’
 goi ε̃ko rukṅāt k^himin bā?ko ‘You stay at home this Thursday.’

rupsi n. (c) [~ ruṗsi] ‘identity’
 āṅkε rupsi ‘our identity’
 āṅ māmālo: nu mulkəm āṅ ruṗsi ‘our mother tongue and culture our identity’
 inkε rupsi mār m’ε? ‘What is your identity?’
 mur dumšomere ām ruṗsi ple~tsā mədumbə ‘Ones own identity should not be forgotten being a man.’
 ām ruṗsi tāitstsā mənāilə ‘Please don’t neglect your own identity.’

rušye n. (c) [~ ru:s] ‘bone’ ~piki (pl) ‘bones’
 ru:s nu kusul ‘bone and skin’
 āṅ gimkε ru:spik ‘the bones of our body’
 ru:s dzi?sitsā ‘to get the bone broken/factured’(itself)
 ākε ru:s məbāuo (fig.) ‘Don’t trouble me.’
 muruā gimmi doso rušyepik bā?nimi? ‘How many bones are there in human body?’
 mēko wāisālā k^hoilike ru:s p^hrukəl gyāršsonu dzi?sāu ‘The boy’s bone of his leg was broken while playing football.’

ruwāts n. (c) [esp. in spoken form ; < ruwāts= ru+wā+tsā ‘to plough the land’]
 ‘farmer’~piki (pl) ‘farmers’
 ruwāts nu ru ‘farmer and farmland’
 ruwātskε nətbəs ‘crop of the farmer’
 ruwātslā ‘from the farmer’
 mēko ruwātsmi bur k^hrumtu ‘The farmer planted the paddy.’
 ruwātsānkε kyet de~šon nətbəs mε ‘Ther farmers’ cash means crop.’
 ru dumšo mere ruwātsā mālba ‘One should plough land being a farmer.’

ləŋgā n. adj., postp, adv. ‘outside’ ANT k^hīŋā/āgā
 ləŋgā/hām rāgi ‘foreign country’
 ləŋgā lətsā ‘to go outside’
 ləŋggā bāʔtsā ‘to stay outside’
 k^hīŋā məoθu mārde ləŋgā bāʔni? ‘Why did you^{2sg} stay outside without going inside?’
 ləŋgā rāgi ləšā mār pāinəyε? ‘What do you do having been to overseas?’ goi
 ləŋgā lāuo ‘Go^{3sg} outside.’

ləlā n. adj. [> ləl also verb ‘may s/he go’] ‘red’ EMPH ləlā ‘very red’
 ləl p^hur/Tigeŋ ‘red colour’
 ləl bwā ‘red rooster’
 ləlpiyā (fig.) ‘police’
 ləlmi kyεr k^hālsišo ‘black mixed in the red colour’
 ōdeb ləl wā mārde gyāpʔi? ‘Why did you buy such red cloth?’
 ōdep ləl wā məp^hεšo ‘Don’t wear such red cloth.’
 məko ləl bwā dosm ləgʔi? ‘In what price did you sell the red rooster?’
 p^henem ləlp^hur gyāptu ‘Phene bought the red colour.’

ləlmits n. ‘a kind of wild fruit, strawberry, *myrica esculenta/nagi*’ (esp. sweet and sour taste but hard like nut and not exactly like strawberry) SYN p^hetstsi
 ləlmits bətsā ‘to have/eat strawberry’
 p^hetstsike ləl p^hur ‘red colour of the strawberry’
 tsʔibi nu ləlmits ‘strawberry and bird’
 p^hetstsike p^hur ləl dumbə ‘The strawberry has red colour.’
 tsʔibimi yo ləlmits dzāinimi ‘Birds also have strawberry.’

ləpšyi n. (S: compounding) ‘wild fruit; sour and sweet in taste’

ləp^hεbre n. ‘read seal/official authority’
 ləlp^hεbre āp^htsā ‘to stamp a red seal’

ləriŋ n. (c) [S: Kirānti-Lim] ‘apple’ ~pik (pl) ‘apples’
 ləl ləriŋ ‘the red apple’
 ləriŋ blošo dumbə ‘Apple is tasty.’

lətsā vi. ‘to go, leave, exit’ lət(ə) (p, 3sg) ‘went’ ləšo (pp. adj.) ‘gone’ NEG mə ‘to not go’
 tək lətsā ‘where to go?’
 k^hī lətsā ‘to go home’
 go k^hī ləti ‘I went home.’
 goi tək ləi? ‘Where did you go?’
 məko hām rāgi lətə ‘S/he went overseas.’
 təu gyārth lətə ‘The son went to play.’
 ləŋgā məlāuo ‘Don’t go outside.’

ləTu n. (c) ‘firefly’ ~pəki (pl) ‘fireflies’ cf. SYN dāluts
 tsurmu nu ləTu ‘fly and firefly’
 nādomi dāluts ‘firefly in the night’
 ləTu budi bərtstsā ‘to fly like a firefly’
 ləTu dāilu k^hōdēb tāīsib ‘The butterfly is seen like a lamp.’
 meko ləTukəli gyāitto ‘Catch^{3sg} that firefly.’
 meko ləTukali məsəto/məsāitto ‘Don’t kill^{3sg} that firefly.’

lā adv, adj. conj. ‘only’
 ōso lā ‘only this much’
 moso lā ‘only that much’
 goi āl lā koŋo ‘You look after the child only.’
 meko grumdēlmi rəku muru lā pimtēme ‘Only six men came in the meeting.’
 ōso lā kyetmi mədzāddibə ‘Only this much of money is not sufficient.’
 go moso lā getsā tsābnuŋ ‘I can give/provide only that much.’
 go hōiti rennuŋ munu lā brə?nuŋ ‘I first read and only then write.’

-lā Ca., postp., adv [also lə, -rē; SRC:ABL] ‘from’
 ɛ̃klā tək lāinəyε? ‘Where do you go from here?’
 rəssik^hi genālā ro?sibā? ‘When does the school resume from?’
 goi tēklā piyε? ‘Where did you come from?’
 k^həpkyumi ɛ̃klā doso kyet tā:bām’ε? ‘How much fare does the bust charge from here.’
 ɛ̃ko bləspət ākε məmālā dzā?šo m`ε ‘This letter has come from my mother.’

lā n. (c) ‘path, way, road’ ~piki (pl) ‘paths’
 lāmi ‘at/on the road/path’
 lālā ‘from the path’
 lāke ‘of the road’
 ɛ̃ko lā tək lāibā? ‘Where does this path go?’
 rimšo lā gā?šo mərə rimšon dumsib (fig.) ‘One can be successful while on a right track.’
 ākəli lā kōīdēne (fig.) ‘Please guide me.’
 ākε gā?tək lāmi koro itə (fig.) ‘My mission of life became impossible.’

lābək n. [S: Kirānti-Lim.] ‘radish, *rophanus sativus*’
 lābək bətsā ‘to eat the radish’
 lābək k^hrumtsā ‘to plant the radish’
 gom lābək bəšo mərə pittāŋ ‘I farted after having radiš.’
 sāppā lābək məbāuo ‘Do not eat too much radiš.’

lāissi n. ‘height’
 meko murε lāissi ‘height of the man’

- lāitstsā vt. ‘to take away’ lāittu (p, 3sg) ‘took away’ lāiššo (pp, adj.) ‘taken away’ NEG
 mə~ ‘not to take away’
 pith lāitstsā ‘to take thither’
 tək lāitstsā? ‘where to take?’
 ɛ̃ko k^hyōpətəkəli tək lāitstsā dē̃ni? ‘Where did you say to take this book?’
 āmke wā pith ləto ‘Take your cloth thither.’
 āke kyupthe sumi lədā? ‘Who took away my hat?’
- lāiššo adj. [also lhāiššo in some idiolects] ‘tall, high’ ANT tēs
 lāiššo mur kā ‘a/one tall man’
 domo lāiššo k^h! ‘how tall house!’
 lāiššo themli ‘a high hill’
 omo lāiššo mur gom genāiyō mətəšo nəŋ ‘I never had seen such a tall man.’
 ɛ̃ko tsuntsi domo lāiššo bā?mē? ‘How tall is this hillock?’
 mēko lāiššo mur sum’ ɛ? ‘Who is that tall man?’
- lāmdzi n. [> lāmdz, in fast speech] ‘tiffin, snacks’
 gyābimi lāmdzi kurpətsā ‘to put tiffin/snacks in the bag’
- lāmsā n. (c) ‘nephew’ (of fraternal)
 āke lāmsā ‘my nephew’
- lāptsā vt. ‘to be useful’
 ge lāptsā ‘something to be useful’
 ɛ̃ko blətik blətsākəli ge lābbə ‘This pen is useful for writing.’
- lāptso n. (c) ‘door’ ~piki (pl) ‘doors’
 lāptso tso?tsā ‘to shut the door’
 lāptsolā o:tsā ‘to enter from the door’
 lāptsoni dok rāptsā ‘to stand still on the door’
 lāptsoni mopā su dok rāpšo m’ ɛ? ‘Who is standing still on the door in that manner.’
 pioi... lāptso ro?ko ‘Come and open the door.’
 lāptsolā oŋo ‘Enter^{3sg} from the door.’
- lā:tsā vt. ‘to cross over’ lā:tu (p, 3sg) ‘crossed over’ lā:šo (pp, adj.) ‘crossed over’ NEG
 mə~ ‘to not cross over’
 tsuntsi lā:tsā (lit.) ‘to cross over the hill’ (fig.) ‘to migrate, elope’
 mēko āl tək lā:gā? ‘Where did the child go/disappear?’
- lekbwāk n. (u) [S: Kirānti-Lim+nat] ‘mud’
 domlimi lekbwāk ‘mud in the pond’
 lekbwāk buitstsā ‘to sprinkle the mud’
 mēko bədəlŋā bwākmi lekbwāk k^hālsiššo bā ‘Mud is mixed in that bottle’s water.’

domlimi də nēlle lēkbwāk kākā bāʔtə ‘This pond is full of mud.’
 goi lēkbwākmi mägero ‘Don’t play in the mud.’

lepā n. ‘revenge’ v. ~letstsā ‘to revenge’

leppe n. [s: Kirānti-Lim; also kutsutuptsā > kutsutuptsi (fig.)] ‘gambling’
 leppe nu kyet ‘money and gambling’
 leppe nu nē ‘gambling and honour’
 leppemi ‘in gambling’
 leppe gyārtstsā rimšo mēmāi ‘It is not good to play gambling.’
 leppe gyārbmi m’išyē yo ābbə dēnīmi ‘It is said that a gambler can gamble
 his wife also.’
 go leppe gyārb murkəli mādānguŋ ‘I don’t like gamblers.’

lē:tsā vt. (lit.) ‘to sell, (fig.) cheat, trick’ lē:tu (p, 3sg) ‘sold’ lē:šo (pp, adj.) ‘sold’ NEG
 mē~ ‘not to sell’
 gyāptsā min lē:tsā ‘buy then sell’
 dopā lē:tsā ‘how to sell’
 dosom lē:tsā ‘in what price to sell’
 gom də ākē k^hī lē:tsā ‘I sold my house.’
 kālēkā lē:sīšo dzət tsinu mələssib ‘Things once sold cannot be returned again.’
 goimi ru sukəli lē:gi? ‘To whom did you sell the land.’
 tserehāŋmi də murkəli lē:bə (fig.) ‘Tserhang tricks people.’

letstsā vt. [also caus] ‘to return, bring/send back sth, reply’ lettu (p, 3sg) ‘returned’ lēsšo
 (pp, adj.) ‘returned’ NEG mē~ ‘to not return’ (phr, fig.) thē:sē letstsā, thēb
 letstsā, lepā letstsā
 dopā letstsā ‘how to return’
 kyetk^hīŋā kyet letstsā ‘to return the money of the bank’
 wā letstsā ‘to bring back the cloth’
 letstsā mālšo blēspət ‘the letter to be returned’
 gom p^hurumi onon pəšo b’ikəli lettāŋ ‘I made the cow return entering in the
 garden.’
 mēko letstsā mālšo blēspət tēko m’ē? ‘Which one is the letter to be sent back?’

lē~brots n. (c, u) ‘pickle’ cf. SYN tēptsi [< tēptsā]
 br(t/l)ošo lē~brots ‘a tasty pickle’
 mārke lē~brots? ‘pickle made up of what?’
 lābəkke lē~brots ‘pickle made up of radish’
 kil^hkāike tēptsi ‘pickle made up of tomato’
 ākəli kil^hkāike tēptsi gēini ‘Please give the tomato-pickle.’
 lē~brotsnu sus k^həme dzāīsib ‘Much rice is eaten with pickle.’
 lābəkke lē~brots gyurmet ‘The radish-pickle has been soured.’

librā n. (c) [li+brā] ‘bow-arrow’ ~pəki (pl) ‘bows-arrows’

librā kurtstsā ‘to carry the bow and arrow’
 librā nu pēng ‘bow-arrow and gun’
 gom librā kurttāṅ ‘I carried the bow-arrow.’
 goimi āke librā tek k^huitti? ‘Where did you hide my bow-arrow?’
 āke librā ōth pito ‘Fetch my bow-arrow hither.’

libsā n. ‘trident’ cf. SYN sātsu [əyāsā; Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar 2002: 11]

līkyu n. ‘oracle’
 līkyu kopāitstsā ‘ask sb for oracle’

lipu n. (c) ‘estuary’ ~pik (pl) ‘estuaries’
 lik^huke lipu ‘estuary of the river’
 mēko lipumi turs kā bā ‘There is a grave in the estuary.’

lip^hε n. ‘small stick’ ~pik (pl) ‘small sticks’
 lip^hε k^huitstsā ‘to hide the small stick’

lin n. (c) ‘plant, shoot, sprout, seedling’ ~piki (pl) ‘seedlings’
 gig k^hāike lin ‘seedling of green vegetable’
 kolgike lin ‘seedling of soybean’
 burke lin ‘seedling of paddy’
 tsəimi nimp^hāmi gig k^hāike lin k^hrumtāse ‘The two daughter-in-laws planted
 the seedling of green-vegetable.’

liʔtsā vt. ‘to wear’ (esp. watch, bangle etc.) liʔtu (p, 3sg) ‘wore’ liʔšo (pp, adj.) ‘worn’ SYN
 gup^htsā, p^hetsā, muʔitstsā, reltsā, pāitstsā NEG mə~ ‘not to wear’
 mukots liʔtsā ‘to put on the watch’
 liʔtsākəli gumlik gyāptsā ‘to buy the bangle for putting on’
 gom mukots/ritso liʔtāṅ ‘I put on a watch.’
 təmimi gumlik liʔtu ‘The daughter put on the bangle.’

litsā vi. ‘to remain, be left over, stay/live back/behind’ lit (p, 3sg) ‘remained’ lišo (pp,
 adj.) ‘remained’ NEG mə~ ‘not to remain’
 nolε litsā ‘to remain back’
 k^həmə litsā ‘to remain the rice’
 gonu gāʔšo mēko mur nolən li:met ‘The man walking with me is left back.’
 āke bəngənəmi k^həmə li:tə ‘The rice in my plate is left.’

lʔitsā vt. ‘to thread’ (esp. inside the needle’s eye, beads, flowers) lʔitu (p, 3sg) ‘threaded’
 lʔišo (pp, adj.) ‘threaded’ NEG mə~ ‘to not thread’
 reltsi lʔitsā ‘to thread the garland’

lo: n. (c) ‘speech, language, talk’ ~pəki (pl) ‘speeches. lanugages’ adj. lo:li ‘linguistic’

lo:pətsā 'to talk, get into conversation'
 məkōānkε māmā lo: 'their mother tongue'
 turki lo:pik 'foreign languages'
 go ākε māmā lo: wā?tsā dzonuŋ 'I know how to speak my mother tongue.'
 goipik mār lo: wā?nini 'What language do you^{2pl} speak?'
 āmkε lo: āmkε ruptsi m`ε 'One's language is one's identity.'

lo:lišyākā n. (c) 'discuss' ~pik (pl) 'discussions' cf. SYN k^həkεŋ
 lo:lišyākāpətsā 'to discuss'
 mεko lo:lišyākāmi sumi glāmε? 'Who won in the discussion?'

lo(ə)b n. (c) 'younger brother' ~piki (pl) 'youngers brothers'
 lo(ə)b nu ŋāwə 'the younger and the elder brother'
 ākε lo(ə)b 'my younger brother'
 gom ākε lo(ə)bkəli thāittāŋ 'I beat my younger brother.'

lormip^hu n. (c) [< lormip^hu(ŋ)] cf. SYN kyātā
 p^hurumi lormip^hu boimet 'The lotus has blossomed in the garden.'

loTās n. (sg) 'moon' cf. SYN toselā, tāsłā
 səriŋmi tāsłā 'the moon in the sky'

lo?tsā vt. 'to turn over' lo?tu (p, 3sg) 'turned over' lo?šo (pp, adj.) 'turned over' NEG mē~
 'to not turn over'

loptsā vt. 'to boil' loptu (p, 3sg) 'boiled' lopšo (pp, adj.) 'boiled' NEG mē~ 'to not boil'
 rεb loptsā 'to boil up the potato'

luŋgir n. (c, u) ¹'heart' ²'feelings, ³'emotions' SYN thū
 luŋgir himsitsā 'to vibrate the heart'(itself or because of fear)
 luŋgir nu nām 'heart and love'
 luŋgir k^hāitstsā (fig./lit.) 'to feel bad/ache the heart'
 roipəšo pətike ākε luŋgir k^hāittə 'My heart ached because of illness.'
 ikε luŋgirmi nām mēbā 'There is no love in thy heart.'
 mεkoke luŋgirmi gε mēpəwābā?tə 'His/her heart failed working.'

l'utsu adv. [> luts; in fast speech] 'below, down'
 gεth nu luts 'up and down'
 lutsge dortstsā 'to run downwards'
 lutsłā 'from down'
 mεko lutsge dorb mur su m`ε? 'Who is that man running downwards?'
 mεko d'ušo mur thīšā lutsge la:tu 'The drunk-man rolled downwards having
 fallen.'
 goi luts lāuo 'Go down.'

l'udze n. (c) 'niddle' ~pik (pl) 'needles'
 l'udze nu šyele 'the needle and the thread'
 l'udzemi wā p^hertstsā 'to sew the cloth with a needle'
 gom āke l'udze nu šyele sāmtāṅ 'I lost my needle and tread.'

𑂔 𑂗 w /wə/

wā n. (c) 'cloth' ~paki (pl) 'clothes'
 wā p^hetsā 'to wear the cloth'
 wā nu dzətəkdzət 'cloth and food'
 wā murtstsā 'to wash the cloth'
 go āmke wā āmmin murnuṅ 'I wash my cloth myself.'
 goimi mēko wā mārde tāitti? 'Why did you throw away that cloth?'
 ε̃ko wā rimšo bā 'This cloth is beautiful.'

wābletstsā vi. 'to shout' wāblettə (p, 3sg) 'shouted' wāblesšo (pp) 'shouted' NEG mə~ 'to not shout' cf. SYN gr'itsā

wāitstsā vt. 'to keep' wāittu (p, 3sg) 'kept' wāissho (pp, adj) 'kept' NEG mə~ 'to not keep'
 kyet wāitstsā 'to keep the money'
 ne wāitstsā 'to be famous'
 gom kyetk^himi kyet wāittāṅ 'I deposited the money in the bank.'
 goi ε̃ko k^hyōpət oto 'You keep this book.'

wāki n. 'jungle'
 dzoī nu wāki 'the tiger and the jungle'
 wākiḡā šyākā grīt 'A leopard roared inside the jungle.'

wālepətsā vi. 'to keep quiet' wālepāptu (p, 3sg) 'kept quiet' wālepəšo (pp) 'kept quiet'
 NEG wāleməpətsā 'not to keep quiet' cf. SYN tsorpəmtsā
 goi wālepəšā bā?ko 'You keep quiet.'

w'āltsā vt. 'to get lured'
 go kəl wolnuṅ 'I stir the porridge.'

wāmgām n. 'confusion' v. ~dumtsā 'to be confused'
 go wāmgām dumti 'I was confused.'

wārtstsə n. (c) [> wārts; in fast speech; wārtstsə in Kirānti-Bā?yung] 'friend' ~paki (pl)
 'friends'
 āke wārtspik 'my friends'
 āike wārts 'our friend'

wārtsnu lo:pətsā ‘to talk with the friend’
 məkopiki suke wārts nəmi? ‘Whose friend are they?’
 go āke wārtsnu lo:pāinuŋ ‘I talk with my friend.’
 lo: ləi...wārtspik/wārtstsəi ‘Let’s go friends.’
 goi āke wārts nəye de mənəye? ‘Are you my friend or not?’

wārtstsā vt. ‘to throw away’ (esp. at a far distance) wārttu (p, 3sg) ‘threw away’ wārsšo (pp, adj.) ‘thrown away’ NEG mə~ ‘not to throw away’ cf. tāitstsā thātlā wārtstsā ‘to throw away the bat’
 meko wārsšo k^hyöpət ‘the book which is thrown away’
 goimi āke bletik tək wārdi? ‘Where did you throw away my pen?’
 goimi āmke wā mopā wārtstsā mədumbə ‘You shouldn’t throw away your cloth in that way.’
 ẽ~ko bɛʔšo bɛrmokəli monin wādo ‘Throw this dead cat far away.’

wātsā vt. ‘to plough’ wātu ‘ploughed’ wāšo (pp, adj.) ‘ploughed’ NEG mə~ ‘not to plough’
 byāp^hmi ru wātsā ‘to plough the land by the oxen’
 wātsā nu dotsā ‘to plough and dig’
 ru wātsākəli məʃye yo geropāisib ‘A buffalo is also used for ploughing the land.’
 ruwātsmi ru wāʔtu ‘The farmer ploughed the land.’
 go byāp^h wātsā tsābnuŋ ‘I can plough.’

wāʔtsā vt. ‘to speak, talk to oneself, soliloquize’ wāʔtu(ə) (p, 3sg) ‘spoke’ wāʔšo (pp, adj.) ‘spoken’ NEG mə~ ‘not to speak’
 Kirānti-Kōits lo: wāʔtsā ‘to speak the Kirānti-Kōits language’
 lo: wāʔtsā nu mulkəm pətsā ‘to speak the language and practice the culture’
 goi āmke məmā lo: wāʔtsā dzonəye? ‘Do you know how to speak your mother tongue?’
 murupikim hillo pəʃonu rimšopā wāʔko ‘Speak properly while your are asked by people.’
 go rimšopā Chinese wāʔtsā tsābnuŋ ‘I can speak Chinese well.’

wā n. (c) ‘bear’ ~pəki (pl) ‘bears’
 wā nu rəkmits ‘the bear and the ant’
 wākimi wā ‘the bear in the jungle’
 wāmi nətbəs p^hemšipətsā ‘to destroy the crop by the bear’
 wāmi nətbəs p^hemšipāibə ‘The bear destroys the crop.’
 wāmi murkəli yo sāibə ‘A bear kills man also.’
 wā təšo mɛrɛ doro ‘Run after seeing the bear.’

wāisāl n. (c) ‘boy’ ~pəki (pl) ‘boys’ FEM m’iʃyeāl [>m’isāl; in fast speech]
 wāisāl nu m’isāl ‘a boy and a girl’

meko wāisālmī ‘by that boy’
 nellē wāisālpik ‘all boys’
 nellē wāisālpik ɛ̃k piɛ ‘All boys come here.’
 meko wāisāl suke təu m’ɛ? ‘Whose son is that boy?’
 go wāisāl nəŋ ‘I am a boy.’
 mē wāisāl nu m’isāl tumumtās ‘The boy and the girl fought each other.’

wātsēr n. ‘poison’

itsukē wātsēr ‘the poison of the rat’
 itsukē wātsēr bērmāmi dzəwābāʔtə ‘The cat has eaten the rat’s poison.’

wātsēr n. (c) ‘seed’ ~piki (pl) ‘seeds’

wātsēr k^hrumtsā/soʔtsā ‘to sow the seed’

wāplēmb n. (c) ‘iron’ ~pik (pl) ‘irons’ cf. SYN tsipsi

wāplēmbpətsā ‘to iron’
 gom ākē sōT^h wāplēmbpātāŋ ‘I ironed my shirt.’

wārtsts n. (c) ‘friend’ ~pik (pl) ‘friends’

ākē wārtsts ‘my friend’
 goi ākē wārtsts nəyə də kyāki? ‘Are you my friend or enemy?’

wārtstsā vt. ‘to throw’ wārttu (p, 3sg) ‘threw’ wārsšo (pp, adj.) ‘thrown’ NEG mə~ ‘to not throw’ cf. SYN tāitstsā

wāsreļu n. ‘rainbow’

wāsreļu tāisitsā ‘the rainbow to be seen’
 gom səriŋmi wāsreļu tātāŋ ‘I saw the rainbow in the sky.’

wāismuru n. (c) [CMP wāis + muru > mur] ‘man, male’ ~piki (pl) ‘men’ FEM m’išyemuru

meko wāismur nu m’išyemur ‘the man and the woman’
 meko wāismur su m’ɛ? ‘Who is that man?’

wək pron. ‘other’ [also woi] cf. SYN āru [S: nat from N]

wək murpik ‘other men’
 wək murānkē ‘of other people’

woltsā vt. ‘to stir’ (esp. porridge) woltu (p, 3sg) ‘stirred’ wolšo (pp, adj.) ‘stirred’ NEG mə~ ‘to not stir’

kəl woltsā ‘to stir the porridge’

wobis n. [also hobis] ‘cucumber’

wobis bətsā ‘to have the cucumber’
 gom gyākosilā wobis gyāptāŋ ‘I bought the cucumber from the market.’

wonkiŋ n. (c) [also > kiŋ] ‘telephone’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘telephones’ cf. SYN kiŋ, monkiŋ
 wonkiŋpətsā ‘to phone’
 wonkiŋpəšonu kyet thāptsā māl̥bə ‘One must pay money while making a
 call.’

𑄣 𑄢 𑄩 /šə/

šəṛā n.(c) [< šyār(D)ā] ‘horse’ ~pəki (pl) ‘horses’ FEM šəṛāām
 šəṛā nu byektsi ‘horse and mule’
 šəṛā nu th’īberlā byektsi ‘the mule from horse and donkey’
 šəṛā budi dortstsā ‘to run like a horse’
 mēko kēr šəṛā sāppā dorttu ‘The black horse ran very fast.’
 th’īber yo šəṛā k^hōdebən tāīsib ‘A donkey is also seen like a horse.’
 goimi ε̃ko šəṛā dosomi gyāb’i? ‘How much did you pay for this horse?’

šəsthēm n. ‘living place’
 mēʔānkε šəsthēm ‘their living place’

šisplāpə n. ‘ruin’
 ε̃ko k^hīkε šisplāpə koŋo ‘Look at this building’s ruin.’
 go šisplāpə dumti ‘I am ruined.’

s’išyir n. (u) ‘rust’
 s’išyir nu tholuts ‘nail and rust’

šodā n. (c) ‘elephant’ ~pəki (pl) ‘elephants’
 T^hēb šodā ‘a big elephant’
 šodāke thēb nop^hā ‘a big ear the elephant’
 šodāke imitstsili m’itsi ‘a small eye of the elephant’
 koŋo! koŋo! domo thēb sodā! ‘Look! Look! How big elephant!’
 šodām mur yo sāibə ‘The elephant kills man also.’
 šodāke nop^hā thēb dumbə ‘The elephant a big ear.’

šotsā vt. ‘to reveal’ šotu (p, 3sg) ‘revealed’ šošo (pp, adj.) ‘revealed’ NEG mə~ ‘to not
 reveal’

šor n. (c) [< šyor] ‘star’ ~pəki (pl) ‘stars’
 səriŋmi šor ‘the star in the sky’
 tasla nu šorpik ‘the moon and the stars’
 šorpik tətsā ‘to see the stars’
 səriŋmi šorpik nādolā taīsib ‘Stars are seen in the sky only at night.’

šukul n. ‘sex, fornication’ vt. ~pətsā ‘to fornicate, have intercourse’ cf. SYN pətsā (fig)

šy’ā par. (esp. for emphasis; no Eng equivalent; N 𑄣)

lāu šy'ā 'Go.'
 mār pəi šy'ā 'What did you do?'
 ōpā pətsā šy'ā 'to do this way'
 dāzu šy'ā 'Eat/Have.'
 mārde mədori šy'ā? 'Why didn't you run?'
 plotsā šy'ā 'Escape.'
 ām kulmi yo ko:ŋ šy'ā 'Look at your face also.'
 təmkəli kyet gəu šy'ā 'Give money to the daughter.'

šyā:kā n. (c) 'leopard' ~pəki (pl) 'leopards' *panthera pardus*
 wākikē šyā:kā 'the leopard of the jungle'
 šyā:kā nu dzoī 'the leopard and the tiger'
 h'ītsāṅā šyā:kā 'a fearful leopard'
 šyetsibpāimi šyā:kā kā sədāt 'The hunter has killed a leopard.'
 əko šyā:kā də h'ītsāṅā bā?tə 'This leopard is frightening.'
 goimi šyā:kā təšo bā?ŋe 'Have you seen a leopard?'

šyābu n. [> šyāb] 'millet-beer'
 šyāb tutsā 'to drink the millet-beer'

šyākārelu (spelling; Shyākarelu) [S: CMP] n. 'destroyer, creator, trinity'

šyārdəlu n. (c) (gen.; p^hullu~p^huilu) 'granite' ~pəki (pl) 'granites'
 k^həp nu šyārdəlu 'soil and granite'
 buš šyārdəlu 'the white granite'
 k^hotəm t'ušo šyārdəlu 'the granite licked by a lizard'
 šyārdəlu ko:tsām rimšo dumbə 'The granite is beautiful to look at.'
 šyārdəlulā m'ī yo gluīsib 'Fire is also produced (lit. taken out) from the granite.'

šyār(ɾ)ori n. (c) 'salt-pot' (esp. made up of bamboo)
 šyār(ɾ)orimi h'isi kurpətsā 'to store salt in the salt-pot'
 go-m šyār(ɾ)ori-mi h'isi kurpātāŋ 'I stored the salt in the salt-pot.'

šyātsā vt. 'to tease' šyātu (p, 3sg) 'teased' šyāšo (pp, adj.) 'teased' NEG mə~ 'to not tease'
 mārde šyātsā? 'why to tease?'
 meko murkəli šyātsā 'to tease that man'
 gom meko murkali šyātāŋ 'I teased that man.'

šyārthātsā vt. 'to govern, rule' šyārthātu (p, 3sg) 'governed, ruled' šyārthāšo (pp, adj.) 'governed, ruled' NEG šyārmə~ 'not to govern, rule'
 hopomi šyārthātsā 'to govern by the king'
 murupikim murkəlin šyārthātsā 'to govern for the people by the people'
 dopā šyārthātsā 'how to rule'

šyārthāsīmi muruānkəli šyārthātu ‘The government ruled the people.’

šyārthāsi n. (c) ‘government’ ~pəki (pl) ‘governments’
 səiŋā šyārthāsi ‘government of the past’
 mulŋā šyārthāsi ‘government of the present’
 rāgi nu šyārthāsi ‘the country and the government’
 ɛ’ko šyārthāsīmi mərəiyo gɛ mərəu ‘This government did not do anything.’
 murkɛ šyārthāsīmi murānkəli gɛth k’ib (fig.) ‘The government of the people
 makes its people prosperous.’

šyɛ n. ‘meat’ (gen. suffix as in pwā>po~ ‘pork’; see po)
 šyɛ nu k^həmə ‘rice and meat’
 šyɛ ketsā ‘to cook the meat’
 məmami pošyɛ ketɛmə ‘The mother cooked the pork.’
 go mərəiyo šyɛ mədzāinuŋ ‘I do not have any meat (of any animal).’
 məko rāšo šyɛ məbāuo ‘Do not eat that rotten meat.’
 šyɛ məbəšonu yo dumbə ‘It works without having meat.’

šyɛ~bi n. (c) ‘teacher’ SYN šyɛ~siāp^hpo FEM šyɛ~siām

šyɛ~dā n. (c) ‘sound’ ~pəki (pl) ‘sounds’
 kirānti-kōits lo:kɛ šyɛ~dāpik ‘the sounds of the Kirānti-Kōits language’
 muruānkɛ lo:kɛ šyɛ~dāpik ‘the sounds of the human languages’

šyɛŋ conj. [Konow’s data (in Grierson 1909: H.G. 260) data from Darjeeling] ‘but’ cf.
 SYN tərṇā [S: nat from M]
 gom m’išyɛāl kākəli ko:tāŋ šyɛŋ mədātu ‘I had a look at a girl but I did not
 like her.’
 go iptṣā mālti šyɛŋ iptṣān mətsəbu ‘I tried to sleep but I could not sleep.’
 piu də də~ti šyɛŋ ākɛ mu mədum ‘I told you to come but I was out of time.’

šyɛləpāitɛk n.(c) cf. SYN hirṇā, pəiṛum

šyɛltsā vt. ‘to make, build’ šyɛltu (p, 3sg) ‘made, built’ šyɛlšo (pp, adj.) ‘made, built’ NEG
 mə~ ‘not to make, built’
 k^hī šyɛltsā ‘to build a house’
 p^hrɛ~spik dopā šyɛltsā ‘how to make sentences’
 gom ɛ’ko k^hī səithotse šyɛltāŋ ‘I built this house many years ago.’
 goimi omo theb k^hī šyɛltɛk kyɛt teklā tsāg’i? ‘Where did you get/bring the
 money from to build this much big building?’

šyɛlmik^hī n. (c) ‘school’ ~piki (pl) ‘schools’ cf. SYN rɛssik^hī [Rapacha, Ngawacha-
 Mukhia and Rujicha-Mukhia 2003b]

šyɛlmits n. (c) ‘student, learner’ ~pəki (pl) ‘students, learners’ SYN šyɛ~sib

šyepu n. (c) ‘salary, remuneration’

šyepu dāitstsā ‘to get salary’

sināt gom āke šyepu dāittāŋ ‘I got my remuneration yesterday.’

šyer n. (mass) ‘rice’ (esp. the husked one) [cf. *serā* Kirānti-Wam; Ongenort (2002: 544)]

šyernu tsirs p^həs p^hāitstsā ‘to barter rice with the millet-flour’

šyerp^həske šyoplē ‘the bread made up of the rice-flour’

šyer nu nāmsi ‘rice and perilla’

šyernu nāmsi k^hālšā dzəšonu blobə ‘It will be tasty to have the mixed rice and perilla.’

meko gyolŋā šyer tsuptə ‘The rice of the winnowing-tray spilled/poured.’

šyererē adv., ono. ‘the sound of raining’

rēu ib šyererē ‘pitter-patter rain drops’

šyersšo n. cf. SYN ribdo, ārək^hā

šyē~sets n. [See šyē~sits, syē~si for use]

šyē~siāp^hpo n. (c) n. ‘teacher’ ~piki (pl) ‘teachers’ cf. SYN šyē~bi, šyē~tik FEM šyē~siām

šyelmik^himi šyē~siāp^hpo ‘a teacher in the school’

šyē~siāp^hpo nu šyelmits ‘a teacher and a student’

šyē~siāp^hpomi ‘by the teacher’

meko šyē~siāp^hpomi ākəli rətstsā šyē~tāme ‘The teacher taught me reading.’

goi šyē~bi dumtsā mālŋəy? ‘Do you want to be a teacher?’

meko šyē~bi dumtsā mālba ‘S/he must be a teacher.’

šyē~sib n. (c) ‘student, learner’ ~pəki (pl) ‘students, learners’ cf. SYN šyelmits

šyet n. ‘trouble, difficulty’ v. šyetzətsā ‘to get trouble, be caught into difficult situations’

ANT āmnus

šyet nu āmnus ‘trouble and pleasure’

šyet getsā ‘to trouble’

šyet mədzəthu āmnus məp’ibə ‘No pain no gain.’

gom də sāppā šyet dzātāŋ ‘I was troubled very much.’

mārpā šyet dzəi ŋā? ‘How were you troubled?’

šyeth adj. [> seth] ‘empty’

šyeth gui ‘empty hand, poor’

šyē~tsā vt. ‘to teach’ šyē~tu (p, 3sg) ‘taught’ šyē~šo (pp, adj.) ‘taught’ NEG mə~ ‘not to teach’

dopā šyē~tsā ‘how to teach’

rimšopā šyē~tsā ‘to teach well’

gom mēko ālkēli rētstsā šyē~tāŋ 'I taught reading to the child.'
 goi tūkēli rētstsā šyē~do 'Teach reading to the son.'
 mēkom ākēli rimšopā k^həpkyu dorpāitstsā šyē~tāu 'S/he taught me driving a
 bus well.'

šyē~sits n. ¹'admonishment, instruction, precept' ²n. 'learning' cf. SYN syē~si, šyē~sets
 šyē~sits bitstsā 'to obey the instruction'
 rimšo syē~si 'a suitable instruction'
 thebmurke syē~si 'instruction of the elder'
 go inke dē~šo šyē~sits binnuŋ 'I obey your instruction.'
 mēmām gešo šyē~sets genāiyo mērimšo mēdumbə 'The mother's
 admonishment is never bad.'

šyē~sitsā vt. 'to learn' šyē~sitə (p, 3sg) 'learnt' šyē~sišo (pp, adj.) 'learnt' NEG mə~ 'not to
 learn'
 rimšopā šyē~sitsā 'to learn well'
 mēmālo: šyē~sitsā 'to acquire the mother tongue'
 āi mēmālo: šyē~siyə 'Let's learn our mother tongue.'
 kəmpyuter šyē~sitsā rimšon dumbə 'It is better to learn the computer.'
 gom MS-Word šyē~siti 'I learnt the MS-Word.'

šyi n. 'firewood, wooden fuel' [cf. *siŋ* Kirānti-Ha; Shakya (1971: 92), *s'ij* Meithei;
 Chelliah (1997: 26), *siŋ* Kirānti-Ath; Neupane (2001: 328)]
 šyi k^hr(ɽ/ɽ)oitstsā 'to cut the fire wood'
 šyi nu m' i 'firewood and fire'
 šyi gyāptsā 'to buy the firewood'
 k^həme ketsākēli šyi mālba 'Firewood is necessary to cook the rice.'
 mēko ruwātsmi šyi letu 'The farmer sold the firewood.'
 gom m' i thertstsākēli šyi guptāŋ 'I collected the firewood to warm in front of
 the fire.'

šyik^hāi n. [S: blending; <šyi+k^hāi] 'mushroom' cf. SYN omu

šyil n. 'dance' v. šyilpətsā; see pətsā
 šyādər šyil 'land-worshiping dance' (K-K cul.)
 bur k^həme dzəndzən šyil pənpən (rhy.)
 šyādərmi ts'ibke šyil təspətsā 'to imitate the bird's dance in Shyādar'
 go šyilpətsā mədzo:nuŋ 'I do not know how to dance.'
 lo dē ike šyil koi 'Let's see your dance.'
 goimi dopāiyo šyil pətsān mālŋə 'You've to dance anyhow/at any cost.'

šyiltsā vt. 'to escort'

šyo n. (c) 'mouth' ~pəki (pl) 'mouths'
 šyomi 'in the mouth'

šyolā ‘from the mouth’
 šyolā rətsuk glutsā ‘to come out saliva from the mouth’
 āke šyo mərimšo rināpāptu ‘My mouth smelt bad.’
 ike šyomi mār kurpə’i? ‘What did you put in your mouth?’
 ike šyo koŋu də ‘Let me see your mouth.’

šyokε n. ‘gizzard, (rhy.) hohorihokε bwāke šyokε; kolšo gombol nā?sokε

šyoklo n. (c) ‘pod’ ~pik (pl) ‘pods’

šyokot n. ‘a kind of wild yam’ *discorea sp.* (N भ्याकुर/कन्दमुल)

šyokrε n.(mass) ‘beard’
 boisšo šyokrε (fig.) ‘white beard’

šyolu n. (u) ‘hunger, starvation, (literary, sg) a strong desire for sth/sb’ v. šyolubε?tsā ‘to feel hunger’
 šyolu nu dzətεkdzət ‘hunger and food’
 šyolubε?šomεrε dzətsə ‘to eat after getting hunger’
 šyolu blošo dumbə də dzətεkdzət? ‘Is hunger or food tastier?’*
 go šyolu bε?ti ‘I am hungry.’

šyōpo n. (c) [also šyōpu] ‘ornament’ ~pəki (pl) ‘ornaments’

šyor n. (c) ‘star’ ~piki (pl) ‘stars’

šyuy n. (c) ‘ship’ ~pəki (pl) ‘ships’
 šyuy nu p^həskyu ‘ship and airplane’
 šyuy bwākmi nu p^həskyu səriŋmi ‘a ship on the water and an airplane in the sky’
 theb šyuy ‘a big ship’
 šyuy bwāklā gāb ‘The ship travels by water.’
 šyuy mi muru yo kyāb ‘The ship transports man also.’
 gom omo theb šyuy genāiyo mətəšo nəŋ ‘I never had seen such a giant ship.’

† स s /sə/

səisəiŋā adj. SYN məit, dzešo (See məit for use) ANT nək
 səisəiŋā mur ‘people/man of the past’
 səisəiŋā lo: ‘facts/speech of the past’

səgun n. (c) ‘offer’ ~pik (pl) ‘offers’ v. ~pətsā ‘to offer’

səlā n. ‘a tree species; shorea robusta’ (N सालको रुख)

səlap^hāis. adj. ‘rough, unlawful, atrocious, conspirating’ cf SYN horsšo

səmdz n. (c) ‘Sherpa tribe’ ~pəki (pl) ‘Sherpas’

səmin n. (c) [also (fig.) tsirs] ‘Jirel tribe’

səp^hā n. (c; gen.) ‘leaf’ ~piki (pl) ‘leaves’ SYN pət [< pəti; as in bospəti (spec. in culture)]

ləl səp^hā ‘a red leaf’

səp^hā guptsā ‘to pick up the leaf’

rəwāke səp^hāpik ‘leaves of the tree’

səp^hāke myeser yo šyelsib ‘A plate is made out of leaf also.’

məko səp^hā mārde thiy’i? ‘Why did you touch that leaf?’

goi wākilā səp^hā ts’āko ‘Bring the leaf from the jungle.’

səpu n. ‘navel, belly button’ ~rolo təmrā n. ‘birth ceremony’

~rolo n. ‘naming day’

geth ləššo səpu ‘the up-turned navel’

luts ləššo səpu ‘the down-turned navel’

səpu kōiitsā ‘to show the navel’

ike səpu mārde kōidi? ‘Why did you show your navel?’

āke səpu rināpāptu ‘My navel stank.’

āke tamiā səpu geth ləššo bā ‘My daughter’s navel is turned up.’

sərəwəli n. ‘death’ cf. SYN be?tsi

səriŋ n. ‘sky, space’

səriŋlā ‘from the sky’

səriŋmi ‘in the sky’

səriŋge ‘towards the sky’

səriŋlā šyorpik do?təme ‘Stars fell from the sky.’

səriŋmi ts’ib bərttə ‘The bird flew in the sky.’

goimi səriŋge bərtstsā mālba (fig.) ‘You have to aim high.’

səsi num. ‘eight’

tsəninole səsi ‘eight after seven’

səsi nu yā ‘eight and nine’

səsi piyāpik ‘eight heads’

gom sināt səsi k^hyōpətpik gyāptāŋ ‘I bought eight books yesterday.’

səsimi gəu təmo ‘Add ten in nine.’

məkom səsi p^hurkəlpik sāmto ‘S/he lost eight balls.’

səu n. (c) ‘hornet’ ~piki (pl) ‘hornets’ cf SYN gəul

sābərnat adv. [See also nāti>nat] ‘the day before yesterday’

goi sābernāt tək ləy'í? 'Where did you go the day before yesterday?'
 go sābernāt dumk^himi ləti 'I went to the office the day before yesterday.'
 gom sābernāt ākε tsā prε~pāittāng 'I had my hair cut the day before
 yesterday.'

sāigε adv. [also > səi] 'many years ago'
 goi sāigε tək ləy'í? 'Where did you go many years ago?'

s'á:itstsā vt. ¹'to kill, murder, assassinate' sa:ittu (p, 3sg) 'killed' sa:isšo (pp, adj.) 'killed'
 NEG mə~ 'to not kill'
 s'á:itstsā nu bε?tsā 'to kill and die'
 dopā s'á:itstsā 'how to kill'
 dzoi kāmī kyārkəli s'ā:itstsā 'to kill the goat by a tiger'
 ε~ko ts'ibkəli sumi sədā? 'Who killed this bird?'
 ε~ko sodākəli sumi s'á:itstsā de~mε? 'Who told you to kill this elephant?'
²'to extinguish, put off, blow out lamp'
 məkomi akəli rippāisšā sāitti (not in the literal sense) 'S/he made me laugh
 wildly.'
 mul dāilu sā:itstsā mālba mārdeḡəḡəḡə ḡtsi mū dumtə 'Now we've to extinguish
 the light because it is bed-time now.'

sāke n. 'oath'
 ām sāke məplε~tsā 'not to forget one's oath'

sāḡ n. (c) 'consonant' ~pəki (pl) 'consonants'
 sāḡ nu ḡol 'vowel and consonant'
 sāḡ k^hālsi 'the consonant cluster'
 kirānti-kōits lo:kε sāḡ 'the consonant of the Kirānti-Kōits language'
 rāgyekulḡā nellε lo:pikim sāḡ-ḡolpik bānim 'All languages of the world have
 vowels and consonants.'
 kirānti-kōitsmi 'bh' sāḡ məbābə 'The Kirānti-Kōits has no 'bh' consonant.'

sātsā vi. 'to recover' sā:tu (p, 3sg) 'recovered' sā:šo (pp, adj.) 'recovered' NEG mə~ 'to
 not recover'
 roipəšo mur sā:tsā 'the patient to recover'

s'ātsā vi. 'to choke while eating, drinking, smoking' (N sarkinu)

sā?tsā vt. 'to get spread' sā?tu (p, 3sg) 'got spread' sā?šo (pp, adj.) 'got spread' NEG mə~
 'to not get spread'

sā num. 'three'
 ni?sinolε sā 'three after two'
 sā nu lε 'three and four'
 sā k^hyōpət 'three books'

ākəli sã k^hur/D geyini ‘Give me three rupees.’
 gom sã bwā gyāptāŋ ‘I bought three roosters.’
 āke sã kyārs sumi k^hui pəwā? ‘Who stole my three goats?’

sādzil n. (c) ‘auto-rickšaw’ ~pəki (pl) ‘auto-rickshaws’
 ker p^hurŋā sādzil ‘an auto-rickšaw of the black colour’
 sādzil dorpāib ‘the auto-rickshaw driver’
 sādzil dorpəšā kyet tsemtsā ‘to earn money by driving the auto-rickšaw’
 āke ŋāwə sādzil dorpāib m’ε ‘My elder brother is an auto-rickšaw driver.’
 go sādzilmi gyākosi ləti ‘I went to the bazaar by auto-rickšaw.’

sātsu n. (c) ‘trident’ ~pəki (pl) ‘tridents’ cf. SYN libsā
 pōiḃoā sātsu ‘the trident of the shaman’
 libsā nu šyākāreḃu ‘the trident and Paruhang’
 sātsumi ‘by the trident’
 pōiḃoā meko sātsu məthiuo ‘Do not touch the shaman’s trident.’
 go ε̃ko sātsu kurnuŋ ‘I carry this trident.’
 šyākāreḃumi libsā kurnimi ‘Paruhang carries the trident.’

sekle n. (c) ‘25c, a quarter, coin equivalent to 25 penny’ ~pəki (pl) ‘cents’
 sekle nu p^hεbre ‘25c and 50c’
 sus sekle ‘many 25cs’
 gonu sekle kā ‘a 25c with me’
 gom meko puḃbkəli sekle kā getāŋ ‘I gave a 25c to the beggar.’
 goimi āke sekle kā tək səmi? ‘Where did you lose my 25c?’

selə postp.,adv. ‘along with’

seltsā vt. ‘to make’ seltu (p, 3sg) ‘made’ selšo (pp, adj) ‘made’ NEG mə~ ‘to not make’
 k^hī šyeltsā ‘to build a house’
 gom k^hī kā šyeltāŋ ‘I built a house.’
 ε̃ko k^hī sumi šyeldā? ‘Who built this house?’

selmi n. (c) ‘training’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘trainings’
 selmikəli kyet thāptsā ‘to pay money for training’
 go selmimi ləti ‘I went for a training.’

semi n. ‘way, method, process’ cf. SYN nilām

sersšo n. ‘wine’ cf. SYN ribdo, ārək^hā
 bədəl kā sersšo tutsā ‘to drink a bottle of wine’
 ribdom d’ušā p^henεp^henε mār mār dẽni denεne (rhy)

sesu adv. MAN ~guptsā ‘to pick up hurriedly’

- setstsā vt. ‘to call’ settu (p, 3sg) sesšo (pp, adj) ‘called’ NEG mə~ ‘to not call’
 murkākəli setstsā ‘to call a man’
 gom goikəli settāŋ ‘I called you.’
 goimi ākəli mārde setti? ‘Why did you call me?’
- seu n. [usu. with ~pətsā; see also pətsā; cf. Kirānti-Lim: sewā(ro), Kirānti-Rod:
 šyāməimā, Kirānti-Bān: šyāmunne in Sikkim] ‘greeting’ (a form of etiquette)
 cf. SYN nəmsəwəl
 ākə seu ‘my greeting’
 məkəkə seu ‘his/her greeting’
 āikə seu ‘our greeting’
 gom seu pātāŋ ‘I greeted you.’
 kəkōm ākə seu tā?tu ‘S/he accepted my greeting.’
 lo mu kerdzkəli seu pāuo ‘Now greet your uncle.’
- si Middle voice marker
- siblā n. (c) ‘serpent’ (spec.; See also bu:s)
 siblāke pidārpətsā ‘to worship the serpent’
- sidāk n. [s: Kirānti-Lim] ‘medicine’ cf. SYN tsertser
 sidākpətsā ‘to give, administer medicine for curing’
 sidāk nu šyəsits ‘medicine and admonishment, instruction, precept’
 sidākmi thišo ‘intoxicated, cured by the medicine’
 go məkō pōibom gəšo sidāk dzəšā s’a:ti ‘I recovered having eaten the
 medicine given by the shaman.’
 gonu sidāk gyāptek kyet məbā ‘I do not have any money to buy medicine.’
- siltsā vt. ‘purify’ siltu (p, 3sg) ‘purified’ silšo (pp, adj.) ‘purified’ NEG mə~ ‘to not
 purify’
- s’imtsā vt. ‘to destroy’ s’imtu (p, 3sg) ‘destroyed’ s’imšo (pp, adj.) ‘destroyed’ NEG mə~
 ‘not to destroy’
- sin n. (c) ‘month’ ~pəki (pl) ‘months’
 ɛ̃ko sinmi ‘in this month’
 ləšo sin ‘the last month’
 sin nu mudī ‘month and year’
 sinpikim gigits rimšo dumbə ‘April is the best amongst all months.’
 mudī kām doso sinpik bā?nimi? ‘How many months has a year?’
 go ɛ̃ko sinmi London lāinuŋ ‘I go to London this month.’
- sinimā n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] ‘film, movie, cinema’ ~pəki (pl) ‘films, movies’
 sinimākob ‘film-goer’
 sinimā ko:itsā ‘to watch a film’

sinimā šyeltsā ‘to produce a movie’
 sinimākəli brəspik brɛʔtsā ‘to write scripts for a film’
 sinimāmi gyārtstsā ‘to act in the film’
 mulitsā sinimā koth lətə ‘Mulicha went to watch the film.’
 gomi sinimākəli brəs kā brɛʔtāŋ ‘I wrote a script for the movie.’
 rimpomi sinimā kāmi gyārttə(u) ‘Rimpo acted in a film.’

sirtstsā vt. ‘to turn over’ cf. SYN loʔtsā

sisdzidz n. ‘ice-cream’
 sisdzidz nu k^hrui ‘the ice-cream and tooth’
 sisdzidz yāptsā ‘to buy ice-cream’
 sisdzidz məbətsā ‘not to have ice-cream’
 ālānkəli sisdzidz məgəuo ‘Do not provide ice-cream to the children.’
 ikəli ɛko sisdzidz sum gɛwā? ‘Who gave you this ice-cream?’

sitstsā vt. ‘to bear/have fruit’ sittu (p, 3sg) ‘bore fruit’ sisšo (pp, adj) ‘borne fruit’ NEG
 mə~ ‘to not bear fruit’
 rimšopā sisšo obis ‘the cucumber borne-well’

siu n. (c) ‘father-in-law’ ~piki (pl) ‘father-in-laws’
 ākɛ siu ‘my father-in-law’

siwār n. (c) [< siwāri] ‘jackal’ ~pəki (pl) ‘jackals’
 siwār budi k^hədits ‘clever like a jackal’
 siwār nu bwā ‘the jackal and the rooster’
 siwār gritə ‘The jackal howled.’
 siwārmi yoltsā ‘to take away (in the sense of preying and eating) by the jackal.’
 ɛ~ko āl siwār budi k^hədits bāʔtə ‘This baby is clever like a jackal.’
 ākɛ bwā sināt siwārmi yoltu ‘The jackal hunted (and ate) my rooster yesterday.’

sodzil n. (c) ‘scooter’ ~pəki (pl) ‘scooters’
 sodzil dorpāitstsā ‘to drive a scooter’
 sodzil nu gudzil ‘scooter and bicycle’
 sodzilmi ‘on the scooter’
 ɛ~ko sodzil gom sināt gyāptāŋ ‘I bought this scooter yesterday.’
 goi sodzilmi tək dor’i? ‘Where are you running on the scooter?’
 goi yo sodzil gyāpnəyɛ? ‘Do you also buy a scooter?’

sogɛn n. ‘sin’ ANT məsogɛn
 sogɛnpətsā ‘to commit a sin’
 k^hui pətsā sogɛn dumbə ‘It is a sin to steal.’

soitstsā vt. ‘to send’ soittu (p, 3sg) ‘sent’ soisšo (pp, adj.) ‘sent’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to send’
 murnu bləspət soitstsā ‘to send a letter with a man’
 mək soitstsā? ‘to send there’
 gom ākə məmākəli bləspət soittang ‘I sent a letter to my mother.’
 məkə murkəli ɛ̃k soitto ‘Send that man here.’
 goimi məkə bləspət tək soitti? ‘Where did you send that letter?’

solits n. (mass) ‘body/leg-hair’ (esp. of man/human) cf. cǎ
 ker solits ‘a black leg-hair’
 solits tsotsā ‘to burn the leg-hair’
 sloits tultsā ‘to pluck out the leg-hair’
 solits nu tsā ‘leg-hair and hair’
 ākə k^hoilim də sǎppā solits bā ‘My leg has a lot of hair.’
 gom ākə solits tultāŋ ‘I plucked out my leg-hair.’

solmā n. ‘rice cone’ (K-K cul, cf. Burchers 2003: 84) cf. SYN torm(ā)

soltsā vt. ‘to take sth out, extract, subtract’ soltu (p, 3sg) ‘took sth out’ solšo (pp, adj.)
 ‘taken sth out’ (cf. spec. SYN p^hətstsā) NEG mǎ~ ‘not to take sth out’ ANT
 tɛmtsā
 bək^həllā kyet soltsā ‘to take out money from the pocket’
 garlā itsikā dzirmā soltsā ‘to take out a little bit of millet-beer from the soil-
 pot’
 gom āp^hpoā sōthkə bək^həllā k^həlkā kyet soltāŋ ‘I took out a twenty rupees’
 note from the shirt’s pocket of my father.’
 ākə m’itsim mār om’ɛ solo/solšǎgɛuo ‘Take out whatever entered in my eyes.’

solu n. ‘sacrifice’
 bwākə solu ‘sacrifice of a cock’

solyu n. [~šyolu] ‘hunger’ ~bɛʔtsā (vi.) ‘to feel/be hungry (fig.)’
 go solyu bɛʔti ‘I am hungry.’

somtsā vt. ‘to become’ cf. SYN dumtsā

sonā n. ‘vagina, cunt’ M sulu
 themli themli hileipāu sulu-nonā mileipāu (tab. rhy.)
 sonāgā ‘inside the vagina’
 ākə sonā rəksutə ‘My vagina itched.’

sosmāl n. (mass) ‘grass’
 gis sosmāl ‘the green grass’
 gom b’ibyāp^hānkəli sosmāl r’itāŋ ‘I cut the grass for cattle.’

sot n. ‘breath’

sotits adj. 'strong, clever, powerful'
sotits āl kā 'a clever child'

so:tsā vt. 'to become dry' so:tə (p, 3sg) 'dried' so:šo (pp, adj.) 'dried' NEG mə~ 'not to become dry'
mursšo wā so:tsā 'to dry up the washed cloth'
rəwa so:tsā 'to dry up the tree'
so:šo mur 'a thin man'
āke mursšo wā so:tə 'My cloth washed yesterday dried up.'
ε̃ko p^hu wā məthisān so:met 'This flower dried up without getting the water.'

so?tsā vt. 'to sow' so?tu (p, 3sg) 'sowed' so?šo (pp, adj.) 'sown' NEG mə~ 'not to sow'
kyodz so?tsā 'to sow the barley'
dzətdzətsākəli so?tsā 'to sow for eating'
mulāthotse gom yo āke nellē rumi dongrədz so?tāŋ 'This year I also sowed the maize in all my land.'
ruwātsmi tserbi məso?thu mār pətsā ŋā? 'What can a farmer do without sowing the wheat?'

s'otsā vt. 'to cross, e.g. a river' s'out (p, 3sg) 'crossed' s'ošo (pp, adj.) 'crossed' NEG mə~ 'to not cross'

sōth n. (c) 'shirt' ~pəki (pl) 'shirts'
gig sōth 'a green shirt'
nək gyāpšo sōth 'a newly bought shirt'
k^hāsišo sōth 'a torn shirt'
rimšo sōth 'a beautiful shirt'
yumpimi sōth kā gyāptu 'Yumpi bought one shirt.'
gomi bumirkəli sōth p^herpāittāŋ 'I made the tailor sew my shirt.'
gom āke sōth murttāŋ 'I washed my shirt.'

sošyo adj. 'dry' ANT məsošyo

syobtsā vt. 'to filter out the millet beer'

su pron. 'who'

sumi 'by whom/who'
sunu 'with whom/who'
sulā 'from who/whom'
sukəli 'to whom'
suke 'of who(m)'
goi su nəni? 'Who are you?'
goi suke təu nəni? 'Whose son are you?'

ε̃ko k^hyōpət sukəli gəŋ? ‘To whom should I give this book?’
 ε̃ko k^himi su su bā?nim ‘i? ‘Who are the people living in this house?’
 meko m’išyemur su m’ε? ‘Who is that woman?’

suitər n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] ‘sweater’ ~pəki (pl) ‘sweaters’
 gyumi suitər ‘sweater in the cold season’

sukā adv. ‘whose’ cf. SYN sukε
 goi sukā/sukε təm(i) nəyε? ‘Whose daughter are you?’

sunī n. ‘morning’ ~kən ‘early in the morning’
 mulāt go sunikən bō?ti ‘Today I rose early in the morning.’

s’utsā vt. ‘darn, mend, repair’

sutsā vt. ‘to seal a leak’ (fig.) ā šyosutsā ‘make someone quiet by providing bribe’

suiyo pron. ‘no one’
 gom dumk^himi suiyo mətəŋ ‘I did not see anyone in the office.’
 meko k^himi suiyo məbā?mə ‘There was no one in that house.’

suknāt n. [also tsereñāt] ‘Sunday’
 hāšnātnole sukñāt ‘Saturday after Friday’
 ε̃ko sukñātlā ‘from this Saturday’
 sukñāt(m)i ‘on Saturday’
 go sukñāt rəssik^h mələinuŋ ‘I do not go to the school on Saturday.’
 goi sukñāti tək lāinəyε? ‘Where do you go on Saturday.’
 tsəriŋ sukñāt təkəi yo məlāibə ‘Tsering does not go anywhere on Saturday.’

suŋ n. (c) [also suĩ] ‘lip’ ~pəki (pl) ‘lips’
 suŋpikmi p^h upupətsā ‘to kiss on the lips’
 ləl suŋ ‘a red lip’
 ni?si suĩ neptsā ‘to join the two lips’
 ākε āp^hpomi ākε suŋmi p^h upupāmtεmε ‘My father kissed on my lip.’
 meko m’išyemurkε suĩpik bā?tεmε ‘The woman’s lips are red.’

suŋgebā n. (c) [S: Kirānti-Lim] ‘coat, jacket’ ~pəki (pl) ‘coats, jackets’
 dzε:šo suŋgebā ‘a worn out coat’
 suŋgebā p^hertstsā ‘to sew/prepare the coat’
 kεr suŋgebā ‘a black coat’
 gom kεr suŋgebā p^hε:siti/p^hε:tāŋ ‘I wore a black coat.’
 meko murkε suŋgebā rimšo bā ‘The man’s coat is beautiful.’

sulu n. ‘male genital, penis, cock’ FEM sonā

themli themli hileipāu sulu-nonā mileipāu (tab. rhy.)

sum num. 'zero'

niʔsi sum sum '200'

surb n. (c) [< surbu] 'bee' ~paki (pl) 'bees'

surb nu k^hu 'bee and honey'

p^hupikmi surbpik 'bees on the flowers'

ε̃ko k^himi surb 'bee in this house'

surbum k^hu šyēlbə 'The bees make homey.'

burbkε k^hu sāppā dzidz dumbə 'The bee-honey is very sweet.'

boiššo p^hupikmi surbpik hirnimi 'Bees roam around the blooming flower.'

sunī n. 'morning' sunipik adv. 'mornings'

sunī kən 'early in the morning'

sunī nu nādo 'the morning and the night'

sunī kən boʔtsā 'to get up early in the morning'

go sunī kən dorth lāinuŋ 'I go for running early in the morning.'

goi sunī kən boʔtsā mālnəyε 'You have to rise early in the morning.'

s'u:thi n. (c) 'marigold' ~paki (pl) 'marigolds'

rimšo s'u:thi p^hu 'a beautiful marigold'

s'u:thi p^hukε rēlp^hu 'the garland of the marigold'

āke s'u:thi 'my marigold'

ε̃ko s'u:thi p^hu tēklā tsāg'í? 'Where did you bring this marigold from?'

gom s'u:thi p^hukε rēlp^hu kā gyāptāŋ 'I bought a garland of the marigold.'

dopā rimšo s'u:thi p^hu! 'How beautiful marigold!'

sus det., pron. [< susi] 'many, a lot of, plenty of, a large number of'

sus nu itsik^hoi 'many and a few'

sus durdāpik 'many words'

tsyolthemī sus mur bāʔnīmī 'Many people live in the city.'

mēko ālmi sus k^həmə dzāptu 'The child ate a lot of rice.'

sus kyet p^həmsiməpāuo 'Do not spend much money.'

suspā adv. 'very much, heavily'

munat suspā rēu itə 'It rained heavily today.'

mēko k^həlpām suspā ribdo t'utu 'The old man drank wine heavily.'

suyāl n. (c) 'message' ~pik (pl) 'messages'

† ɸ h /hə/

həre adv. 'thither, to or towards that palace (+human also)' dir. ~gε (horizontal locative)

See pith

hære mære mur 'that man' (at the horizontal level, distal)
 hærege 'towards that place' (horizontal locative)

hæruī n. 'lust'

wāismurke hæruī 'lust of the man'

hæu n., adj. 'yellow'

hæu p^hur 'yellow colour'

hæu nu ləl Tigēŋ 'yellow and red colour'

hæu Tigēŋ gyāptsā 'to buy the yellow colour'

gom hæu Tigēŋ yāptāŋ 'I bought the yellow colour.'

goimi āke hæu Tigēŋ tek lædi? 'Where did you take my yellow colour?'

meko hæu p^hu rimšo boimet 'The yellow flower has bloomed beautifully.'

hæudzidz n. (c) 'orange' ~piki (pl) 'oranges'

hæumots n. 'gold'

hæumots nu horphuilu 'gold and diamond'

hæumotske šyōpo~u 'the ornament of gold'

hæumotske blēptsošyopo 'the ring of gold'

k^həpim hæumots sibbā dē~sibā (fig.) 'It is said that the soil bears gold.'

meko m'išyemurmi hæumotske gumlik gyāptu 'The woman bought the gold-bangle.'

āke immam hæumots gyāpteme 'My mother bought gold.'

hāgo n. (c) 'lamp, light' SYN dāilu, nāsəl, hām (See use in dāilu and nāsəl)

hālšo adj. 'wide, broad'

hāls n. 'breadth'

hāmtsā 'to dry wet cloths, crops'

hāšnāt n. [also holp^hnāt] 'Friday'

ribnātnole hāšnāt 'Friday after Thursday'

hāšnāt nu suknāt 'Friday and Saturday'

hāšnātlā 'from Friday'

goi hāšnātəm tek lāinəyē? 'Where do you go on Friday?'

goi āke k^himi hāšnātəm pine 'You come to my house on Friday.'

goi hāšnāti gyākosi lāinəyē? 'Do you go to the market on Friday?'

hāsots n. 'November'

gyurotsnole hāsots 'November after October'

hāsotsm gyubē 'the marriage in November'

hāsotsm bur r'isib (fig.) 'The paddy is harvested in November.'

murpikim hāsotsm gyube pāinimi ‘People marry in November.’
hāsotsm rimšopā nā t’āisib (fig.) ‘It is pleasantly sunny in November.’

hemātsiri n. (c) ¹‘dove’ (esp. a mythical one haing a golden colour) ²‘guardian angel’
(fig.) ~pāki (pl) ‘doves’
hemātsiri māltsā ‘to look for a golden dove’
hemātsirikāli dzitsk^hetspātsā ‘to quarrel for the golden dove’
gom hemātsiri kā gyāittāṅ ‘I caught a golden dove.’
goimi hemātsiri tāšo bā?ṅε? ‘Have you seen a golden dove?’

hei n. ‘word for chasing buffaloes’

hemtsā vt. ‘thresh’ hemtu (p, 3sg) ‘threshed’ hemšo (pp, adj.) ‘threshed’ NEG mē~ ‘not to thresh’

heltsā vt. ‘to be heavy’ heltā (p, 3sg) ‘became heavy’ helšo (pp, adj.) ‘become heavy’
NEG mē~ ‘not to be heavy’
kurtsān mētsāpnepā heltsā ‘to be heavy for not being able to carry’
sāppā heltsā ‘to be heavy enormously’
gom ēko helšo p^huilu ts’utāṅ ‘I lifted up this heavy stone.’
ε^hko kuro dopā helšo^{adj} bā?mēiii! ‘How heavy this load is!’

he~slo: n. ‘conclusion’
he~slo: brē?tsā ‘to write the conclusion’

he~the adj. ‘careless’ v. ~pātsā (See pātsā)
he~the mur kā ‘a careless man’
goi dā sāppā kākā he~the bā?te ‘You are very much careless.’

hibbets n., adj. ‘feudal, absolute’

hiltsā vt. ‘to grind’ hiltu~āu (p, 3sg) ‘grinded’ hilšo (pp, adj.) ‘grinded’ NEG mē~ ‘not to grind’
yātmi tsirs hiltsā ‘to grind the millet in the stone-grinder’
koṅretsnu thākpo yo hiltsā ‘to grind the weevil also with maize’
gom brām hiltāṅ ‘I grinded the buckwheat.’
goi mulāt tserb hildo ‘You grind the wheat today.’
goim munāt mār hildi? ‘What did you grind today?’

hillo n. (c) ‘query, question’ ~pik (pl) ‘queries, questions’ v. ~pātsā (See pātsā)
hillo nu lessi ‘question and answer’
hillo brē?šā soitstsā ‘to send the query by writing’
āke hillo ‘my question’
āke hillo letto ‘Reply^{3sg} my query.’

āke lo:mərubi ɲənā hillo brɛʔšā soitto ‘If you did not understand my point,
send query by writing.’

himākem n. ‘wailing’

himtsā vt. ¹‘to shake sth/sb’ ²(fig.) ‘to get victory over sth/sb’

hipikdupik n. ‘famine’

hipikdupik nu solu ‘famine and hunger’

hipikdupikmi dzətəkdzət məthīsib ‘Food cannot be found in famine.’

hitstsā vt. ‘to count’ hittu (p, 3sg) ‘counted’ hisšo (pp, adj.) ‘counted’ NEG mə~ ‘to not
count’

h’itsu n. (c) [> itsu] ‘rat, mouse’ ~pik (pl) ‘rats, mice’

hirhir adj. sharp (also the prog. form of hirtstsā) ANT bitle

hirtstsā vi. ‘to go around, roam, stroll’ (also vt. ‘to wag, brandish’) hirttu (p, 3sg)

‘roamed’ hirsšo (pp, adj.) ‘roamed’ NEG mə~ ‘not to stroll, wag’

ts’ub hirtstsā ‘to brandish a Gurkha knife’

lāmi hirtstsā ‘to stroll on the road/path’

ε̃ko kutsummi milu hirttu~tāwə ‘This dog wagged its tail.’

goi õth hirsšo ‘Turn hither.’

ām gε məpəthu tək hirhir bāʔɲεʔ

hirsu n. (c) ‘blade’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘blades’

hirnā n.(c) ‘spinning wheel’ ~pikyə (pl) ‘spinning wheel’ cf. SYN pəĩrum, šyεlepāitek

h’is` n. (u) [> h’is] ‘salt’

itsik^hoi h’isi ‘a little salt’

hiltsā vt. ‘to grind’ hiltu (p, 3sg) ‘grinded’ hilšo (pp, adj.) ‘grinded’ NEG mə~ ‘to not
grind’

hiletsā vt. [S: N+nat] ‘to make muddy’

himdzɛdzum n. ‘neighbourhood’

āke himdzɛdzum ‘my neighbourhood’

hitsā vi. [See > itsā] cf. SYN kutsā, dzātsā, pitsā

hitstsā vt. [marked for spatial deixies; Mokuśu as a consultant in NK Rai (2002)] ‘to bring down (vertical)’ hittu (p, 3sg) ‘brought down’ hisšo (pp, adj.) ‘brought down’ cf. SYN kuitstsā, pitstsā, tsā?tsā NEG mǎ~ ‘not to bring down’

h’ītsā vi. [n. h’itsi] ‘to fear, be afraid of sb/sth’ h’itǎ (p, 3sg) ‘feared’ h’išo (pp, adj.) ‘feared’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to fear’
 dzoi tǎšǎ h’itsā ‘to fear having see the tiger’
 āp^hponu h’itsā ‘to fear with the father’
 thǎmǎlo: wǎ?tsǎkǎli h’itsā mǎmǎlbǎ ‘One should not fear to speak the truth.’
 mǎko tsoʔšo gupsu tǎšǎ mǎrde h’išo? ‘Why did you fear having seen the imprisoned lion?’
 mopǎ h’itsā mǎdumbǎ ‘You should not fear in that way.’

h’itsǎŋǎ adj. ‘frightening, frightful’ ANT mǎh’itsǎŋǎ
 h’itsǎŋǎ dzoi ‘a frightful tiger’
 domo h’itsǎŋǎ šyǎ:kǎ! ‘What a frightful leopard!’
 ǎ?ko gupsu dǎ h’itsǎŋǎ bǎ?tǎ ‘This lion is frightening one.’
 gom ǎdeǎ h’itsǎŋǎ siblǎ genǎiyo mǎtǎšo nǎŋ ‘I never had seen such a frightening serpent.’

hittek n. (c) [also h’iki] ‘number’ ~pǎki (pl) ‘numbers’
 hittekpik h’itsā ‘to count the numbers’
 doso h’ikipik ‘how many numbers’
 ǎ?ko h’ikipik dopǎ h’itsā de~ni? ‘How did you say to count those numbers?’
 go h’ikipik h’itsā šye~sinuŋ ‘I learn how to count numbers.’
 kǎ, ni?si nu sǎ h’ikipik nǎmi ‘One, two and three are numbers.’

hobis n. see SYN obis

hǎitstsā vt. ‘to climb up, (fig.) perform sexual act’ hǎittǎ~sǎu (p, 3sg) ‘climbed up’ hǎiššo (pp, adj.) ‘climbed up’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to climb up’
 gethge hǎitstsā ‘to climb upwards’
 hǎitstsā mǎlšo rǎwǎ ‘the tree to be climbed up’
 go dǎ geth hǎišsiti ‘I climbed up above.’
 mǎko rǎwǎmi mǎrde hǎišeooo? ‘Why did you climb up the tree?’
 goi šǎrǎ hǎitstsā tsǎbnǎye? ‘Can you climb up the horse?’

hoitstsā ‘to boil’ hoittu (p, 3sg) ‘boiled’ hoittu (3, adj.) ‘boiled’ NEG mǎ~ ‘to not boil’
 bwǎk hoitstsā ‘to boil the water’

homtsā vt. ‘to swell’ homtu~ǎ (p, 3sg) ‘swelled’ homšo (pp, adj.) ‘swelled’ NEG mǎ~ ‘not to swell’
 kodz homtsā ‘to swell up the stomach’
 gim homtsā ‘to swell up the body’

homtsā nu domtsā (fig.) ‘to swell and get fat’
 go roipā homti ‘I got swelled being sick.’
 ε̃ko āl domtsākəli homtsān māl̥bə (fig.) ‘This child never gets fat.’
 məkə murkə homšo k^hoili br(ɾ)oltə ‘The man’s swollen leg broke.’

homsitsā vi. ‘to be, get swollen’

homok n. ‘milk’ n.(c) ~gyom ‘milk-pot’ ~pik (pl) ‘milk-pots’
 b’ikε homok ‘the milk of the cow’
 məmākε homok ‘the mother’s milk’
 homok t’utsā ‘to drink the milk’
 homok nu dzili ‘the milk and the ghee’
 go homok nu k^həmə dzāinuŋ ‘I eat rice and milk.’
 ām məmākε homokε dzərb thāptsā mətsābsib ‘One cannot pay back the debt
 of one’s mother’s milk.’

honmāselel n. (cul) cf. bulnu/o, hūgro, bulšo/u, ?wālšil ‘ghost/spirit’

hopo n. (c) ¹‘king’ ~pəki (pl) ‘kings’ n. ~them ‘kingdom’ ²‘god’ (as in *tsuplu hopo*: also
 cf. SYN yābrε, pip FEM hopom
 hopomi ‘by the king’
 pipkε ‘of the king’
 piplā ‘from the king’
 binits hopo gāp^htə ‘The Binicha king passed away.’
 pip dumšom rimšo gε pətsā māl̥bə ‘A good deed should be undertaken while
 being a king.’
 kirānti hopoānkε neslo: brε?sišo məbā ‘The history of the Kirānti kings has
 not been written.’

hopogem n. cf. SYN pəis

hoplo: cf. SYN nεpāisi

hoponāmsi n. (c) ‘politician’ ~piki(pl) ‘politicians’

horp^huilu n. (c) ‘diamond’ ~pəki (pl) ‘diamonds’
 mərimšo horp^huilu ‘a bad diamond’

horsšo adj. ‘rough, unlawful, atrocious, conspirating’ cf. SYN səlāp^hāis
 horsšo sε̃dā ‘a rough voice’
 horsšo hopo kā ‘an atrocious king’

hos adj. ‘hot’ ANT sis’i
 hos bwāk ‘hot water’

hots n. 'fever'

hotskε roipətsā 'to be suffered of fever'
 hots nu k^hyur 'fever and diarrhoea/dehydration'
 hotskε roipəšā bεʔtsā 'to die of fever'
 mεko āl hots roipəšā bεʔtə 'The child died of fever.'
 ākε hots bārttə 'My fever increased.'
 mεko k^həlpā hotskε roipəho bāʔtə 'The old man is suffered of fever.'

hubnāts n. 'June'

dzimnatsnołε hubnāts 'June after May'
 hubnāts nu k^hubnāts 'June and July'
 hubnātslā 'from June'
 hubnātsəm rεu ibə 'It rains in June.'
 hubnātsəm sāppā hubbə 'It is very hot in June.'
 hubnātsəm bur yo k^hlumsib 'Paddy is also planted in June.'

h'uitstsā vi. 'to scold' huittu~au (p, 3sg) 'scolded' huisšo (pp, adj.) 'scolded' NEG mə~
 'not to scold'

šyε~siāp^hpomi h'uitstsā 'to scold by the teacher'
 thebmurmi h'uitstsā 'to scold by the elder'
 ākε āp^hpomi ākəli h'uittāme 'My father scolded me.'
 mεko dordorpəšo ālkəli h'uitto 'Scold that running boy.'
 ālkəli mopā mārde h'uitti? 'Why did you scold^{3sg} the child in that way?'

hurtstsā vt. 'to drink noisily' (semi-liquid like hot soup) hurttu (p, 3sg) 'drank' hurssō
 (pp, adj.) 'drunk' cf. SYN yuptsā, tutsā NEG mə~ 'to not drink'

husnā n. 'full-moon'

rimšo husnā nado kāmi 'in a beautiful night of full-moon'

hūgro n. 'spirit' cf. bulnu, honmāselel

huš n. [< hušyε] 'blood'

huš nu bwāk 'blood and water'
 huš gεtsā (lit./fig.) 'to donate blood/to assist'
 hušmi brεʔsišo neslo: 'the history written with the blood'
 murkε huš ləl dumbə 'Man's blood is red.'
 huš nu ləl p^hur kān tāisib 'The blood and the red colour look alike.'
 huš mədumthu məbloisib 'One cannot survive without blood.'

ब अ /ʔ/

ʔwāku n. [>ʔwāk > bwāku > bāku > bāk] wāk (also acceptable) 'water' [cf. *wo* K-Thu;
 Ebert (1994: 51), *wā* K-Rod]

?wākyε n (c, u) [> bwāki > wāki] ‘forest, jungle, wood’
 wākimi ‘in the jungle’
 wākikε nethā ‘near the jungle’
 wāki nu rəwā ‘the jungle and the tree’
 go wākimi šyi br(ɽ)əth lāinuŋ ‘I go to the jungle for fetching the firewood.’
 mεko wākimi sumi m’i suitt’ā? ‘Who caused the conflagration in that
 jungle?’
 gopikim wākimi kumso paītəkə ‘We sang a song in the jungle.’

?wālšil cf. SYN bulnu/o, hūgro, bulšo/u, honmāselel ‘ghost/spirit’

?wāp^hu n. (c) ‘egg’ [> bwāp^hu > bəp^hu] ~pəki (pl) ‘eggs’
 bəp^hu nu homok ‘egg and milk’
 bəp^hu loptsā ‘to boil the egg’
 bəp^hu rostsā ‘to perform rituals to appease the evil deities with egg’
 pōībomi ākəli bəp^hu roltāwə ‘The shaman warded off the evil spirit in me
 with egg.’
 gom bəp^hu lopšāmin dzātāŋ ‘I ate the egg having boiled.’
 bəp^hu buš dumbə ‘The egg is white.’

?wāšyε n. [> bwāšyε > bəšyε] ‘chicken’
 bwāšyε gyāptsā ‘to buy the chicken’

?wālo adj. [> bālo] ‘silent, quiet’ v. ?wālo pətsā ‘to be silent’ cf. SYN tsorpəmtsā
 ?wālo pāuo ‘Keep quiet.’
 tsorpəmtsā məbā?te ŋənə thāinuŋ ‘I will beat if you do not keep quiet.’

Appendix C

The Sun(u)wār materials

After Hodgson's wordlist, the first grammatical short sketch on Sunwār or Sunuwār is given in Konow (1909: 198-205) edited by Grierson. I have provided extra linguistic information in big brackets.

...A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the Sun(u)wār dialect has been received from the Nepal Darbar. It makes the impression of a word for word translation of the English text. A list of Standard Words and Phrases has been forwarded from Darjeeling. It shows that the version of the Parable cannot represent the dialect with fidelity. Above all, the order of words, which in the Parable is almost the same as in English, in the list agrees with that prevailing in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Our materials for describing the Sun(u)wār dialect are, accordingly, rather unsatisfactory. They can, however, to a certain extent be supplemented from the list of words published by Hodgson.

AUTHORITIES-

- Hodgson, B.H. 'On the Aborigines of the Sub-Himalayas.' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. Xvi, Part ii, 1847, pp. 1235 and ff. Reprinted in *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, No. xxvii, Calcutta, 1857. Another reprint, under the title 'On the Aborigines of the Himalaya', in Hodgson's *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*. London, 1874, Part ii, pp.29 and ff. Contains a Sun(u)wār vocabulary.
- Beams, J. *Outlines of Indian Philology, with a map showing the distribution of Indian Languages*. Calcutta, 1867. Appendix A contain the numerals in Sun(u)wār etc.
- Hunter, W.W. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia*. London, 1868.

Our materials are not sufficient for a full description of the Sun(u)wār dialect. It will not be possible to give more than a rapid sketch of some of the most salient characteristics of Sun(u)wār grammar. Hodgson described Sun(u)wār as a dialect of the pronominalized type. This statement does not appear to be borne out by the specimens prepared for the purposes of this Survey.

Pronunciation. Short final vowels are apparently often dropped. Thus, *popo*, father [rather it is 'great or elder uncle'; in my speech/dialect]; *pop-kā*, of the father [rather it is *ap^hpo-ā* 'of the father'; in my speech/dialect]; *bā-t* and *bā-ta*, was [additionally means existential 'is'] and so on.

There are not many instances of compound consonants. Compare *khruī*, tooth; *bloinsā*, alive [rather it is *bl(r)ōi-šā* 'having/being alive']. A short vowel is sometimes inserted in order to make the enunciation easier; thus, *Sun(u)wār* and *Sunuwār*; *kuchmi* and *kuchumi*, a bitch [rather it is *kutsum* only in my speech/dialect]. In most cases, old

compounds have apparently been simplified; thus *sat* [sət-(o)] Tibetan *gsod*, kill; *bā* [rather it is *bwā*, *bə* ‘rooster’; in my speech/dialect], Tibetan *bya*, bird. It is, however, difficult to compare Sun(u)wār and Tibetan with regard to the phonetic system of the two forms of speech/dialect, because the vocabulary differs to a considerable extent. In this respect Sun(u)wār often agrees with Himalayan dialects such as Kanāwri, Kanshi, Manchāti, and so on. Compare *pīt* [pit-(o)] Kanāwri *phī*; bring; *jā* [dzā?-] Kanāwri *jā* arrive; *gi* [rather it is *geu-(o)* in my speech/dialect] Kanāwri *kē*, give *la* [lāu-(o)], Manchāt *il* go; *gui*, Kanāwri *gud*, hand; *piyā*, Chaudangsi *pisyā*, head; *sharā*, Bunan *shrang*s, horse and so on. This state of affairs points to the conclusion that Sun(u)wār has once been a dialect of the complex type as Kanāwri.

There are some instances of interchange between different consonants; thus *tup-u*. beat [rather it is *tub-u* ‘Shall I beat you?’]; *tum-na-tum*, beating. It is not. However, possible to lay down fixed rules regulating such changes.

Nouns

A prefix *ā* is common in nouns denoting relationship; thus, *ā-mā*, mother [other terms are *ā-m*, *mā-mā*, *im-mā* ‘mother’; in my speech/dialect]; *ā-lā*. sister [rather it is *ā-lā* ‘child’; in my speech/dialect]. This *ā* is probably originally a demonstrative pronoun. It is often used as a kind of possessive pronoun. Thus, *ā-lo-mishya nu*, his sister with [not clear translation because *m’iṣye* ‘wife’, *-nu* ‘with’; in my speech/dialect]; *ā-tau-ka-le*, his-son-to [rather it is *ā-tau-kali* ‘to his son’; in my speech/dialect]; *me ā-nu*, he his-brother, his brother [not clear translation because *me?* ‘s/he, that’ *ā* ‘his, her’ *-nu* ‘with’; in my speech/dialect]; *bushye sharā ā-nghosh-tike*, white horse its-saddle, the saddle of the white horse [*hōit-tike* ‘climb-NOM’]. *Ā* is sometimes also used where we should expect to find a possessive pronoun of the first person; thus, *ā-pop-kānchhā ā-tau*, my uncle’s son [rather it is *ā-ke kletskerdz-ke tau*]; *ā-maiti* [rather it is *ā-ke hōiti/moiti/hoiti*] before me. Compare the remarks under the head of pronouns below.

Article

The numeral *kā*, one, is used as an indefinite article. It sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the noun it qualifies; thus, *kā popo*, a father [‘father’s elder brother rather than father’]; *tami kā*, a daughter. In the specimen the pronoun *meko*, that [also s/he, it], is very commonly used as a definite article. Thus, *meko ālane tau*, the younger son [rather its translation is ‘that child of name son’]; *meko mur-ke sus-ta mer-mi meko bari* [native vocabulary; *r’u* ‘field or land’], that man sent him (into) the field [rather it should read as *meko murmi mekokali rumi soittāwə*], and so on. I do not think that this frequent use of the pronoun *meko* is in accordance with the actual character of the dialect.

Gender

The natural gender is distinguished by using different words, or else by adding qualifying words. Thus, *popo*, father [rather its translation is ‘father’s elder brother’]; *ā-mā*, mother [rather it is *māmā*, *ām*, *immā*]; *mur*, man; *mishi mur*, [rather it is *m’iṣye* instead of *mishi*] woman; *sharā*, horse; *sharā ā~mo* [-*ām* instead of *ā~mo*] mare; *kish-she*

ā-po [rather *kisšyeāp^hpo*], a male deer; *kish-she ā-mo* [*-ām* instead of *ā-mo*], a female deer, and so on.

Case

To judge from the specimen the base alone, without any suffix or postposition, is used to denote the various cases. Thus, *nelle ansa sampati ā-ke*, genitive what ever share (of the) property (is) mine; *meko lata-hai* [*'s/he went'-hai* is *N*] *mere-ke* genitive *poph* [her/his father; should be *aphpo*], he went (to) his father; *meko des* [native vocabulary for *des* is *rāgya* > *rāgi* 'country, nation'], in that country. Commonly, however, postpositions are added.

The subject and the object are not distinguished by means of any suffix. The suffix of the dative is *kale Dative Accusative*, [should be *-kālī* or it is *kālekā* 'once upon a time or just once'] and it is sometimes also added to the object of transitive verbs; thus, *go-mi ā-tau-kale karrā-mi dherai* [(*dherai N*) native vocabulary is *sus*; *my information*] *tup-tā*, me-by his-son-to stripes-with much struck, I have beaten his son with many stripes [actually it is *tup-tāṅ*].

The subject of transitive verbs is, to judge from the specimen, put in the nominative, i.e., no suffix is added. Thus *mere-ke poph āsā-gepto mere-mi*, his father divided to him. According to the list of words published by Hodgson, however, there is a suffix *mi* or *me* [it is only *mi* > *m* today; *-me* possible as a verbal suffix as in *tekme*, *lāme* etc.], which denotes the agent. Compare *go-mi*, by me, in the last example but one. The specimen in one place uses *ke* instead; thus, *meko mur-ke sus-ta mer-mi meko bāri*, that man sent me to the field. The suffix *mi*, *me* also denotes the instrument [*me?* means 'that, s/he' not instrumental], and it is besides, used in order to form a locative or terminative. Thus, *ghele-me* [should be *šyēle-mi*], with ropes; *khī-mi* [*k^hī* 'house'; in my speech], in the house, into the house.

The suffix of the ablative is *ngā*; thus, *pokhri-ngā*, from the well [not 'from the well' but 'of the well']. Form such as *pop-ke*, from a father [*āp^hpo-ke* 'of the father not from a father'], in the list of words, are perhaps genitives.

The suffix of the genitive is *ke* or *kā* [*kā* means one not *-ke*] thus, *poph-kā* [should be *aphpo-ke*] *wāili-po-ki* [not *-poki* but *-piki* 'plural'; see also Appendix B for its variations] the father's servants; *kā mur rimsho-ke* [a normal syntax is *kā rimsho mur-ke*] of a good man.

Other relations are indicated by adding postpositions. Such are *nu* with; *ma-bithu* [should be *mā-bitthu* 'without obeying'] and *mo-bā* [should be *mābā* 'has/have not as in *go-nu kyēt mābā* 'I don't have money'.] without; *nole* behind [is also 'after']; *tā* against [no competing data found in my speech/dialect]; *maiti* [*māiti*]; before *datē* [*dāte* in my speech] between, and so on. In the specimen the postpositions are commonly used as prepositions. I do not think that this use really represents the actual state of affairs.

Adjectives

Adjectives usually precede, but occasionally also follow the noun they qualify; thus, *ālāne* [its translation is ‘name of the child’ and rather it is *keltis* ‘young’; in my speech/dialect] *tau*, the younger son; *bushye sharā*, the white horse; *mur kā rimsho*, a good man [usu. its normal order is *rimšo mur kā*]. The termination *so* or *sho* in adjectives such as *rim-sho*, good; *chi-so* [*si-s’i*; in my speech/dialect], cold; *ho-so*, hot; *mi-so*, ripe; *du-so* [its translation is ‘intoxicated or hot like pepper’] sour [‘sour’ should be *gyursšo*]; *ka-so*, bitter; and so on, is the suffix of a past participle. Compare the remarks under the head of verbs below.

The particle of comparison seems to be *lā-bhandā*; [native vocabulary -keṅā] thus, *me ā-nu me loba misha lā-bhandā* [*misha lā-* actually means *mišyeāl* ‘girl’; in my speech/dialect] *lā-shyo chha* [rather it is *lāisšo bā* ‘is tall’] his brother is taller than his sister. *Bhandā* is the Khas *bhandā*.

Numerals

The first numerals are given in the list of words. The forms printed within parentheses have been taken from Hodgson’s list. It will be seen that higher numbers counted in twenties; thus, *khāk nishi sasi-kā* [rather it is *kʰəl niʃi gəu kā*; in my speech/dialect], twenty-two ten-one, fifty. Aryan forms are, however, now commonly used instead.

Pronouns

The following are the personal pronouns:

<i>go</i> , I	<i>ge, ga</i> , thou	<i>hare, mare, me</i> , he
<i>ā, ā-ke</i> , my	<i>i, i-ke, ge-ke</i> , thy	<i>hare-ke, mere-ke, meri-ke</i> , his
<i>go-pati, go-patchi,</i> <i>gopu-ki, we</i>	<i>ge-patchi</i> , you	<i>hari-patchi, mere-puki</i> , they
<i>go-pati a-ke, gowa-ke</i> , our		<i>mur pati-ke</i> ²⁶ , their

The suffix *lā* in *go-lā nang*, I am [rather *go lā nəṅ* means ‘only I am’; in my speech/dialect]; *ge-lā ba-ngi-de* thou art [rather *ge lā bāʔ-ni de* means ‘only you were or...’; in my speech/dialect], is probably an intensifying particle. *Mur pati-ke* [rather it is *mə ānke* ‘of their/theirs’; in my speech/dialect], their [and literally means ‘of the men’]. Other forms are *ā-kale*, me [rather it is *ā-kəli* ‘to me’; in my speech/dialect], *go-mi*, by me; *meko-le* and *meko-kale*, him [rather it is *meko-le* ‘by/from him/there’ *meko-kəli* ‘to him’; in my speech/dialect] and so on.

The forms *ā*, my; *i* and *i*, thy, are used as prefixes. Instead of *ā* we sometimes find *ā*; thus, *ā -pop-kāuchha*, my uncle [rather it is *āke kerdz*; in my speech/dialect]; *ā-mai-ti*,

²⁶ All these underlined morphemes mean plural suffix which have six or four different forms in synchronic speech today like <-pikyə, -piki> -pik, -puki > -puk, -pəki > -pək> and their orthography is not free from error which may have resulted from mistyping, editing, mishearing or mistranslating of the collected materials.

before me. *Ā*, however, usually refers to the third person; thus, *a-chi-me*, [rather it is *ā-tsi* ‘on his side’] on his back. Compare the remarks under head of nouns above.

Demonstrative pronouns are *i-ko*, *e-ko* [rather it is only *eko* or *ε̃ko*] this; *me-ko*, that [further it is ‘s/he’ and indivisible at the morphemic level]. Compare also *a-ke-ngā*, from here [rather it is *ε̃-ke-lā* ‘from here’; in my speech/dialect]; *wa-tha*, here [*ε̃ke>ε̃k* ‘here’; in my speech/dialect]; *ōt-thə* actually means ‘hither’]; *yērē*, there [*mε-ke* ‘there, his or her’ in my speech/dialect; *εε* actually means ‘distal’].

Interrogative pronouns are *su-mε*, who? [*su* ‘what’ and *su mε* ‘actually means ‘who is’] *mār-me*, what? [*mār~mər* ‘what’ and *mār mε* ‘actually means ‘what is’]. The final *mε* is probably an interrogative particle [actually is aux.]. Compare *su-kā*, whose [rather it is *su-ke*; who+POSS ‘whose’; in my speech/dialect]. An interrogative base *ge* occurs in forms such as *gē-nā*, when? [rather it is an indivisible morpheme] *gē-tha*, where? [*teke>tek>te* ‘where’ (and emphasis can be added by adding +*re* such as *tekerε*; in my speech/dialect; *get-thə* actually means ‘up, above’; not ‘where’)] and so forth.

Indefinite pronouns are *su-kā*, anybody [*sukəi* means ‘no one, nobody, anybody’; in my speech/dialect]; *mār-kā*, anything [rather it is *mārəi* ‘nothing, anything’; in my speech/dialect]; *ge-nā-i*, ever [also means ‘never’; in my speech/dialect].

Verbs

The Sunwār verb is still in all essential points a noun. The person of the subject is not distinguished in verb, and verbal tenses are freely used as nouns.

Verb substantive

Several bases are used as verbs substantive. *Bā* seems to be identical with the base *bāk*, to sit [rather *bā* means ‘is:AUX’ and *bāk* means ‘sit:3sg:IMP’]. It occurs in forms such as *bā-me*, is [Question; as in *meko āl k’imi bāme?* ‘Is that/the child at home?’]; *bā-ngi-di*, art; *bā-t* and *bā-ta*, art, is, and so on. Another base in *dum*, *dung* or *thung*. It seems to mean ‘to become.’ Thus, *kā theb anīkāl* [its native vocabulary is *hipikdupik*] *dum-tā*, a heavy famine arose; *dum-nang*, I may be [rather it is *dum-nuŋ*]; *thung-so-ngā*, being-from, having been [rather it is *thum-so-ŋā* ‘while finishing’].

Nang in *dum-nang*, I may be [rather *dum-nuŋ* means ‘I become’; but *go mur nəŋ* ‘I am a man.’], only occurs in the first person; thus, *go-lā nang*, I am [rather its translation is ‘Only I am’]; *go-patchi nang*, [rather it is *gopiki nəki*; in my dialect/speech] we are. It is perhaps connected with *na* in *nawe*, [rather it is *nəye* as in *goi nəye* ‘you are’] to be; *go-patchi bā-sho na-ki*, [rather it is *gopiki bāʒo nəki* ‘We have had lived.’] we were, and so forth.

A base occurs in forms such as *tau dish bā-ni-mi*, sons how-many are? [rather it is *təupəki došo nəmi?* ‘How many sons do have?’] *ge-patchi bā-ni*, you were [rather *ge-piki bā-ni* means ‘you^{pl} were’]. It is probably a form of the copula. It should perhaps be

compared with *ngi* in *ge-lā bā-ngi-de*, [rather we can complete it as *k^himi gelā bā?ni de* ‘Are you only in the house?’] thou art.

There is further a base *chha*, [its native vocabulary is *bā*] is. It is apparently identical with *tcha* in *hare bā-sho-tcha*, he is [rather it may mean *həre bā?šo bā?tə*]. The form *chhuu* in *ge bā-sho chhuu* [rather it is *ge bā?šo bā?tə*] you are, is not certain, the original manuscript being very indistinct. It must, however, be connected with *chha*, is [rather its native vocabulary is *bā*].

A base *me*, *mi*, or *ma* [-*mε* 3sg as in *mek su bā-mε* ‘Who is there?’, -*mi* 1/3pl as in *murpik k^həme dzāinimi* ‘The men eat rice’ and -*mā* 3plQ as in *mekopik k^hī ləmā?* ‘Did they go home?’] occurs in forms such as *tau dish bā-ni-mi*, how many sons are there? [rather its translation is ‘How many days does the son stay?’] *iko sharā dushya barsha bā-me* [rather it is *ε^hko šyārā doso mudi dumme* ‘How old is this horse?’], this horse (-of) how-many years are? *mere-pu-kī rim-so pām-tī-me* [rather it is *merepukimi rimšo pāmteme* ‘They did well’ rather than ‘made merry’], they made merry; *meko-putchi bā-le-mā* [rather it is *mekopiki bā?eme* ‘they are/were’] they are, and so on. It is possible that we have here to do with more than one base. There is an interrogative particle *me*, and it is also possible that *me* is the pronoun of the third person. Forms of this kind are not, in the materials available, [my examples are: *meko tek lāibāme?* ‘Where does s/he go?’ and *meko mur sume?* ‘Who is that man?’] used in the first two persons, and they are perhaps remnants of the pronominalized stage of development. It is, however, possible that the various bases beginning with *m* in reality belong to a copula. The final *we* in *ga-lai-na we*, [rather it is *goi lāinəye*] thou goest; *nawe*, be, to be [rather it is *nəye* ‘you are’] is perhaps connected.

Other verb substantive are *ho* [its native vocabulary is *mε* and *bā*] is; *hai* [its native vocabulary *ō* or *tsō*] is; *thi* and *thiyo* [its native vocabulary is *bā?tə*] was, and so on. The list of words gives the impression of a regular conjugation with different forms for the different persons in the verb substantive. The details will be found in the list itself. I do not think that the dialect really distinguishes the various persons. Forms such as *bā-t* or *bā-ta*, [rather it is *bā?tə*] was; are used in the specimen for the second as well as the third person. I do not therefore think it necessary to reproduce all the various forms in this place. I shall only mention that *kī* in *go-patchi bā-sho-na-kī* [*nəki* 1:pl as in *gopiki muru nəki* ‘We are men’. we were; seems to be connected with *kī* in forms such as *mere-pu-kī* [-*puki* in an inseparable morpheme] they.

Finite verb

Many of the bases of the verb substantive are also used in the conjugation of finite verbs. Our materials are, however, too scanty to give anything like a complete sketch of the state of affairs.

Present

The most common form of the present tense seems to contain a suffix beginning with *n*. Thus, go *tup-nu* [rather it is *go tupnuŋ*] I strike; *ge tup-ne* [rather it is *ge tupnəyε*] thou strikest; *go laina* [rather it is *go lāinuŋ*] I go; *ge lai-na-we* [rather it is *goi lāinəyε*] thou goest. This form is also used as a future. Thus *go lāyi-nang* [rather it is *go lāinuŋ*] ‘I (will) go’ I shall go; *denang* [rather it is *go dē~nuŋ*] I shall say.

Another suffix of the present tense is *pā* or *bā*. Thus *dum-ba*, I become; *bā-bā*, lives; *mārā mār-pāme*, what do they do?

The suffix *me* is used alone in *pī-me*, comes. Compare also *tup-ni-mi*, they beat.

The *ta* is sometimes also used with the meaning of a present; thus *go tum-na-tum pāh-tā*, I am beating; *ngoshyā bā-tā*, he is grazing; *bāshyo bā-tā*, he is sitting.

Compound forms are *tai-bā-hai*, get, and so on.

Past time

The suffix *ta* or *tā* is usually added in order to form a past tense; thus *pā-tā*, I did; *bloin-sā jā-t*, came alive; *den-ta*, he said.

Instead of *ta* we often find *ti*, *te*, or *to*; thus *gap-ti*, I have walked; *la-te*, wentest’ *ge-ti*, gavest; *gep-to*, gavest, gave [*gep-tu* ‘gave’; in my speech/dialect] and so forth.

The suffix *pa* is also used in the same way; thus, *la-pa*, he went [*lə-t(ə)* ‘went’; in my speech/dialect and *la-pa* is meaningless; whereas *pā* is rather adverbial suffix as in *rim-šo-pā* ‘beautifully, carefully’].

In *gyābi*, boughtest, we apparently have a suffix *i* [means ‘Did you_{3sg} buy?’]. Compound forms are *ho tā-tā*, is found; [means ‘I got and I saw’] *la-ta hai*, went; *be-so bāt*, had died; *pām-ti-me*, they made [*pām-təme* ‘they did (not made)’; in my speech/dialect].

It seems probable that none of these forms are peculiar to the past. The suffix *so*, *shyo*, *sa*, *sha*, on the other hand, appears to be a real suffix of the past. Compare *bā-shyo* [means lived, sat; past/present participle] or a similar, suffix is contained in forms such as *rim-so-pa-s-to*, pitied [the meaning is misleading].

Future

It has already been remarked that the present seems to be used as a future. Note also forms such as *go tup-ngana*, I may beat [*go tup-nu-ŋ* ‘I beat’; in my speech/dialect]; *go ā~kale tup-cha-mār-bā*, I should beat [the meaning is ambiguous; we rather say *goimi goākəli tup-tsā mālba* ‘You must beat me’]; *go-pu-ki mal-ba rim-so*, we should make merry [the meaning is misleading; or can be corrected as *go-puki-mi rimsho pəcā mālba* ‘We have to do better’].

Imperative

The usual suffix of the imperative is *u* or *o* [but differs according to number and verb stem alternations]. Thus, *la-u*, go [*lā-u(o)* ‘go:3sg’ in my speech/dialect]; *ja-u*, eat [*dzā-u(o)* ‘eat:3sg’]; *gi-o*, give [*gε-u(o)* ‘give:3sg’ in my speech/dialect and may be

possibly correct in Kirānti-Baʔyung]; pit-(o), bring. Another imperative suffix seems to be *ī*; thus, *āsā-gei*, divide [probably must be yo-šā gē-u(o)]; *ja-i*, let us eat [*dzə-i* especially asking for permission as a form of social etiquette rather than imperative and another meaning of *dzə-yi* is ‘Did you (3sg) eat?’]; *rīmsō pā-ī*, let us make merry [*rim-šo pə-i* ‘let us do something better rather than ‘make merry’’. Other imperatives are *tōyā*, let us drink [*tu-ye* in my speech/dialect]; *lāwā*, go [*lā-u(o)* ‘go:3sg’ in my speech/dialect]. Negative imperatives are formed by prefixing *mo* [*mə-* or *-mə-*; in my speech/dialect].

Verbal nouns

The usual verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *cha* or *chha* [rather *-cā* is an infinitive marker]; thus, *ja-chha*, to eat; *tup-cha*, to beat. The various tenses are apparently used as verbal nouns as well. Thus, *vo-di-te*, in order to tend [meaningless translation and spelling *wo-di-te* [from *woditsā* ‘to go for entering’ or *wotsā* ‘to enter’; and can be translated as ‘You (3sg) went to enter...’] is possible; *sil-pā-to*, dancing [not meaningful data; rather *šyilpənpən* ‘dancing’ is common in use].

Participles

The bases of the various tenses are also used as participles; thus, *jā-teh*, arriving [rather *dzāʔ-te* ‘You (3sg) arrived’]; *dor-sā*, running [dors-šā ‘having run’]; *lā-sā*, returning [better ‘having gone’; can be *lenlen* ‘returning or selling’ *lesšyā* ‘having returned’]; *jām-so*, lost; *tā-siā*, getting [not possible; can be *tə-šyā* ‘having gotten or seen’]; *rīm-so pu-sā*, well doing, safely [can be *rim-šo pə-šā* ‘having done well’] *tā-tā*, getting [can be *tā-tā-ŋ*, ‘I got or saw’]; *lā-tā*, gone [can be *lā-t(ə)* ‘s/he went’] and so forth. A past participle is also formed by adding *se* or *she*; thus, *ma base*, not staying. Compare *tup-seh-nga-mi*, having struck [problematic spelling; can be *tup-šā-ŋā-min*]. Other participles are *tum-na-tum*, beating [indicates the on going action]; *bleta-wa*, calling [rather *blet-tā-wa* ‘s/he called’].

Negative particle

The negative particle is *ma* or *mu* [only *-mə* is possible] thus *ma hā-se*, not staying [rather *mə-bāʔ-kəse* ‘You two do not stay’]; *ma-tang*, not got [rather can be translated as ‘I did not get or see’]; *ma dum-bā*, I do not become, I am not worthy [rather can be translated as ‘No, it is not possible’ NEG-become-is]; *ja-chha mu-bā*, food not-being, without food [rather *dzə-cā mə-bā* ‘There is no food for eating’ eat-INF NEG-is]. Note *khigo-ma-wa*, did not enter [can be *k^hīŋ-gā mə-wə* ‘S/he did not enter inside the house’]; *ai-ma-bis*, did not disobey [can be *kāi mə-bis(ε)* ‘s/he did not obey at all’].

Interrogative particle

There seems to be an interrogative particle; compare *su-me*, who? [rather it can be translated as ‘who is’] *mār-me*, what? [rather it can be translated as *mār* ‘what’ and *-me* ‘is’]. And the verbal forms ending in *me* or *mi* [rather both of these morphemes are different in their semantic aspects].

Order of words

The usual order of words in the list of words and phrases is subject, object, verb. In the specimen, on the other hand, we find quite a different arrangement, viz., subject verb, object. Adjectives and numerals usually precede the qualified noun. The list of words uses postpositions, the specimen generally prepositions, and so forth. If the order of words in the specimen were correct, Sunwar would have to be considered as a form of speech/dialect between the Tibeto-Burman and... groups. It has, however, already been remarked that the state of affairs in the specimen is probably due to a too close adhesion to the English original.

For further details, the student is referred to the specimen, which follows and to the list of words. The materials are very unsatisfactory. They seem to show that Sunwar is now a dialect of the simple non-pronominalized type. It is, however possible that better materials would show that it is still, as Hodgson described it, a complex pronominalized, form of speech/dialect, and the remarks made above are given with great diffidence.

Appendix D

Sikkim Gazettes

SIKKIM

Gazette 1

GOVERNMENT



GAZETTE

EXTRAORDINARY
PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

Gangtok Monday, 28th October, 1996

No. 141

GOVERNMENT OF SIKKIM
LAW DEPARTMENT
GANGTOK

No. 5/LD/96

Dated: 15th October, 1996.

NOTIFICATION

The following Act of the Sikkim Legislative Assembly having received the assent of the Governor on 8th day of October, 1996 is hereby published for general information:-

THE SIKKIM OFFICIAL LANGUAGES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1996
ACT NO. 5 OF 1996
AN
ACT

to amend the Sikkim Official Languages Act, 1977 (5 of 1977).

Be it enacted by the Legislature of Sikkim in the Forty-Seventh year of the Republic of India as follows.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Short title | 1. This Act may be called the Sikkim Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1996. |
| Amendment of long title, preamble and section 2 | 2. In the Sikkim Official Languages Act, 1977 (5 of 1977), in the long title, the preamble and section 2, for the words "and the Tamang" the words "the Tamang and the Sunuwar" shall be substituted. |

One of the
official
languages
of Sikkim
(also cf.
Gazette 2).

By Order of the Governor,

(B.R. PRADHAN)
SECRETARY TO THE GOVT. OF SIKKIM
LAW DEPARTMENT

File No. 16 (35) LD/77-96

SIKKIM

Gazette 2

GOVERNMENT



GAZETTE

EXTRAORDINARY

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

Gangtok, Thursday, 2nd June, 1994

No. 60

GOVERNMENT OF SIKKIM
WELFARES DEPARTMENT, GANGTOK.

Ref No. 2/WD

Dated 2nd June, 1994

NOTIFICATION

After having examined the recommendation of the Mandal Commission with respect to declaring Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBC) or Other Backward Classes (OBC) in Sikkim, the State Government hereby recognises and declares the following communities as Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBC) or Other Backward Classes (OBC) for the State of Sikkim, namely:-

- i) Bhujel
- ii) Gurung
- iii) Limboo
- iv) Rai
- v) Manger
- vi) Sunuwar
- vii) Tamang

Explanation I - The expression 'Limboo' includes Tsong, Subba and Yakthungba.

Explanation II - The expression 'Sunuwar' includes Koincha/Mukhia.

O

By Order.

The alternative term 'Koincha' is actually an autonym of the tribe as well as glossonym, which is pronounced and spelt as Kõits accurately.

(C. CINTURY) IAS,
SECRETARY
WELFARE DEPARTMENT

Appendix E

Survey questionnaire

Questionnaire on language use, shift, retention or death

1. First name ...
2. Clan name ...
3. Age ...
4. Sex/Marital status: Male Female
 Married Unmarried Married Unmarried
5. Occupation ...
5. Parent's occupation ...
6. Place of Birth: Ward ... Village... District... E-mail...
7. How long have you lived here? Tick either box.
 5-10
 11-24
 over 25 years
 always
8. What is your Mother Tongue? Tick either box.
 Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]
 Nepali
 English
 Other
9. What is your parents' Mother Tongue? Tick either box.
 Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]
 Nepali
 English
 Other
10. What is your grandparents' Mother Tongue? Tick either box.
 Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]
 Nepali
 English
 Other
11. How many languages do you know? Tick either box.
 One understand speak read write
 Two understand speak read write

More than two understand speak read write

12. How would you rate the competence in your own Mother Tongue? Tick either box.

- fluent
 okay but not fluent
 have difficulty in speaking but not understanding

13. Where did you learn the Nepali language? Please tick either box or all.

- at home
 in the school
 at the language institutions
 with friends
 in the market place
 at the play ground
 at the religious ceremonies
 in the political discussions
 at the hospital

14. What language do you use at home... [Tick either box.]

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| with parents? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ elder brother? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ elder sister? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ children | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ younger brother? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ younger sister? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ grandparents? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ spouse(wife-husband)? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ servants? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ pets? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ relatives? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |

15. In what language do you do the following?

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| think | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| pray | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| curse | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| joke | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| scold | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| sing | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| count | <input type="checkbox"/> Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |

16. What language do you use with your doctor? Please tick.

- Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] Nepali English Other

17. What language do you use for asking time or directions? Tick either box.
 Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] Nepali English Other
18. What language do you use with neighbours who are:
 linguistically similar? Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] Nepali English Other
 linguistically dissimilar? Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] Nepali English Other
19. What language do you use
 in the market place? Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] Nepali English Other
 at the post office? Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] Nepali English Other
20. What is the medium of instruction of the school your children go to? Tick either box.
 Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] Nepali English Other
21. Given a choice, what language would you like to educate your children in?
- a. Kirānti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]
 Because;
 children can understand well
 linguistic identity
 linguistic right
 preservation and development
- b. Nepali
 Because;
 opportunity
 higher education
 socio-politico-economic well-being
 linguistic integration as chauvinism
- c. English
 Because;
 opportunity
 higher education
 science & technology
 international relations
- d. Other
 Because;
 opportunity
 higher education
 science & technology
 international relations

22. Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language? Tick either box.

Yes No

23. If you had a choice, what language would you choose as your Mother Tongue?

a. Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war]

Because;

- children can understand well
- linguistic identity
- linguistic right
- preservation and development necessary

b. Nepali

Because;

- opportunity
- higher education
- socio-politico-economic upliftment
- linguistic integration as chauvinism

c. English

Because;

- opportunity
- higher education
- science & technology
- international relations

d. Other reason why?

- opportunity
- higher education
- science & technology
- international relations

24. Your Mother Tongue is useful/suitable for ...

25. Do you feel prestigious/embarrassed/neutral to speak in your Mother Tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language? Tick either box.

p Yes No

e Y No

n Y N [p=prestigious, e=embarrassed, n=neutral]

26. Have you ever had any problem because of being the native speaker of your mother tongue?
 Yes No
 If yes, what kind? Please tick either box or all.
- socio-politico-economic discrimination
 - discrimination in education
 - hostile confrontation
 - socio-politico-economic pressures
 - others
27. What is the language generally used in community gatherings? Tick either box.
 Kirānti-Kōits[Sun(u)war] Nepali English Other
28. What is the language generally used in community prayer? Tick either box.
- Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war]
 - Nepali
 - English
 - Other
29. What language do Kirānti-Kōits children use when they play together? Tick either box.
- Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war]
 - Nepali
 - English
 - Other
30. In what language do you usually speak... [Tick either box.]
- with your village friends?
- Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war]
 - Nepali
 - English
 - Other
- while discussing political matters?
- Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war]
 - Nepali
 - English
 - Other
- while discussing your deepest feelings?
- Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war]
 - Nepali
 - English
 - Other

when you are angry?

Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war]

Nepali

English

Other

while discussing religion with friends?

Kirānti-Kōits [Sun(u)war]

Nepali

English

Other

31. Compared to the dominant Indo-Aryan (Indic) language Nepali spoken here how would you rate your own Mother Tongue? Tick either the 'yes' or 'no' boxes.

rich

Yes No

sweet

Yes No

harsh

Yes No

powerless

Yes No

non-prestigious

Yes No

useful

Yes No

Appendix F

Sample of Je'ticha Bre:se

Transliteration in Devnagari and IPA/Roman

ललमिच ममिबः ləlmits məmibə

<ललमिच ममिबः>

गोम तनातन् gom tənātən

<गोम तनातन्>

रागीआ ललमिच रवाकलि rāgiā ləlmits rəwākəli

<रागीआ ललमिच रवाकलि>

रेउम् तुप्पो यो ममै reum tupšo yo məməi

<रेउम् तुप्पो यो ममै>

αU† 𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕† p^həsim hēmšoyo məmāi

<फश्यीम् हेमशो यो ममै>

𑌕𑌕𑌕 𑌕†U0𑌕 𑌕0𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕† nām k'išo yo məmāi

<नाम की'शो या ममै>

𑌕0𑌕𑌕 𑌕U0𑌕𑌕𑌕 gom təšonu

<गोम् तशोनु>

𑌕𑌕𑌕0𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕† 𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕 mēko ləlmits rəwā

<मेको ललमिच् रवा>

𑌕0𑌕† 𑌕U0𑌕𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕† boisšon bā?bə

<बोइस्शोन् बाअ्वः>

𑌕†U0𑌕𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕† s'išon bā?bə

<सी'शोन् बाअ्वः>

𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕 <𑌕𑌕𑌕† 𑌕𑌕 kā pāts ā ts'ibpiki

<का पाच्आ ची'बपिकी>

𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕† 𑌕𑌕 mēken bēmimi

<मेकेन् बेर्नेमी>

𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕† 𑌕𑌕 mēken nā thernimi

<मेकेन् ना थेर्निमी>

𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕† 𑌕𑌕 mēken dz'unimi

<मेकेन् जूनिमी>

𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕 minu

<मिनु>

𑌕𑌕𑌕 U0𑌕 𑌕U𑌕 U†𑌕 𑌕𑌕† 𑌕† 𑌕𑌕 kumšo pəšyā šyil pāinimi

<कुम्शो पश्या श्यील् पाइनिमी>

U𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕0𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕† 𑌕𑌕 šyēŋ mēko rāgin ā

<श्यङ् मेको रागीन्आ>

𑌕𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕 wek pāts ā

<वेक् पाच्आ>

<𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕𑌕† ts'ib ānkəli

<ची:बआन्कलि>

𑌕𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕† 𑌕𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕† 𑌕0𑌕 𑌕𑌕𑌕† 𑌕 𑌕𑌕† 𑌕 ākə rāgimi genāiyo ləlmits mēmibə

<आँके रागीमि गेनाइयो लल्मिच् ममिबः>

Source: Rapacha (2001: 24)

Appendix G

*Box A: Toni Hagen's Sunuwar

डा टोनीले 'सुनुवार' नवुभी गए

लाल-श्यांकारेलु रापचा

जवाहरलाल नेहरु युनिभर्सिटी

कवि टी एस इलियटले मानवीय मनोदशाप्रति व्यङ्ग्य प्रहार गर्दै अप्रिललाई सबै भन्दा निष्ठुरी औ कुर भनेर कविता ओकेले । सारा नेपालीहरूका लागि सन् २००३ को अप्रिल इलियटले भनेभैँ सावित भयो । डा टोनी हागन अप्रिलको सन्ध्यासंगै फेरि फेरि नेपाल नफर्कने गरी यो भौतिक संसारबाट अस्ताए । हामीहरूको स्पन्दनबाट यसै अल्पि ए रिक्तता छोडेर । नेपालीहरू सदा आत्मनिर्भर भएको देख्न चाहने डा हागनको सपना पूरा भयो कि भएन त्यो त हाम्रो वर्तमान साक्षी छ । तर उनको पाठकको नाताले मेरो एउटा अभूतपूर्व सपना भने अधुरै रहयो ।

भूगर्भविद्, इन्जिनियर, सर्वेक्षणकर्ता र विकास परामर्शदाता बाहेक उनी एक निपूर्ण फोटोग्राफर र लेखक पनि थिए । सर्वप्रथम सन् १९६१ सालमा नेपाल, नेपाली जनजीवन र हाम्रा हिमालहरूले संसारको प्रकाश देख्न पाए; उनको कृति *नेपाल: द किङ्डम इन द हिमालयजमार्फत* । डा हागनको त्यो पुस्तकको नाम लिनासाथ मेरो चक्षुबाट बेरोकटोक बलिन्द्र अश्रुधार वहन थाल्छ । भन् यो अप्रिलले मलाई यसै रुवायो नै । *हिमाल* (१६-३१ वैशाख २०६०: १२) ले डा तीर्थ श्रेष्ठको कृतान्तली छापेछ; उनको फोटोसहित त्यो किताब च्यापेर । त्यो दृश्यले त मलाई भनै मर्माहत पारयो । उकुसमुकुस पारयो यो शोकाकुल घडीमा ।

यो त्यही कृति हो; जसबाट म उनको पाठक भएको हुँ । सन् १९६१ बाट १९७९सम्म सो कृति जर्मन र अन्य भाषामा मात्रै सीमित थियो । त्यो जर्मन प्रति मैले पढ्न पाएको छुइन । तथापी सो पुस्तकको अङ्ग्रेजी अनुवाद संस्करण १९८० अक्सफोर्ड र आइवीएच पब्लिशिङ कम्पनी, नई दिल्ली (भारतको विवाद पश्चात्) ले प्रकाशनमा ल्यायो । यसको अङ्ग्रेजी अनुवादक ब्रिटा एम साल्टन हुन् भने आइएसवीएन (इन्टरनेसनल स्ट्याण्डर्ड बुक नम्बर) ३२५४ ०८१२३५ रहेको छ । यो कितावको अङ्ग्रेजी अनुवाद संस्कारणको पाठक बन्न मैले करीब वीस वर्ष कुनु परेको थियो । मलाई साहित्य र भाषाविज्ञानले जातिविज्ञानतिर तानेपछि सन् २००० को शुरुतिर अनुच्छेद दुईमा उल्लेखित कृति पढ्न मैले काठमाण्डू उपत्यकामा भएभरका पुस्तकालयहरू चहारेको थिएँ ।

उसोरी चहानु भन्दा पहिले डा हागनको बारेमा धेरै-थोर जानकारी थियो । वीरेन्द्र प्रज्ञालङ्कारद्वारा विभूषित उनी "नेपालीहरूका आँखाका नानी" आदि इत्यादि । हुन पनि सन् १९५० को दशकदेखि २१ सौं शताब्दीको मिर्मिरेसम्म उनको नेपाल र नेपालीप्रतिको सद्भाव देख्दा उनी या देशको "भूमि-पुत्र" भन्दा पनि अझ विशेष महत्त्वका महान मानव मन हुन् । नेपाल र नेपालीलाई यहाँको कुनै अङ्गिकृत नागरिकले भन्दा कम देन नदिई अल्पेका होइनन् उनी हामीलाई शोकाकुल पारेर । यो घडीमा म दोहोरो शोकमा परेको छु । प्रथमतः उनी हामी बीच रहेनन् । अर्को कुरा मेरो एउटा अभूतपूर्व सपना यसै अधुरो रहयो ।

त्यो सपना अनुच्छेद दुई र तीनमा उल्लेखित कृतिसंग सम्बन्धित छ । म चाहन्थे- नेपाल र नेपालीहरूका बारेमा बृहद् ज्ञान भएका डा हागन समक्ष किराँती-सुनुवार कविला सम्बन्धी विना तुक र प्रमाणको 'हिअरसे एण्ड फलिसफाइड नलेज' (अरेको कुरा र भुटो ज्ञान) को बारेमा प्रत्यक्ष छलफल गरुँ । तर त्यसो हुन नपाउँदै उनले इहलीला प्राप्त गरे । यो दोहोरो शोकको बेला उनको सोही कृतिको पाना नम्बर १२३ बाट दुई हरफहरू उधृत गर्दै डा टोनी र किराँती-सुनुवार कविलाको सम्झना गर्न चाहन्छु । उनी लेख्छन्- "द प्रिन्सिपल सेट्लेमेन्ट एरिया अन्व द सुनुवारस लाइ अन दि अपर कोर्स अन्व द सुनुकोशी रिभर । दे हयाभ् मेड अ नेम फर देम्सेल्जभज याज एक्सलन्ट स्मिथस् याण्ड गोल्डस्मिथस् याण्ड दे हयाभ् असोसिएटिड टु फर अ स्पेसल काष्ट कलिङ् देम्सेल्ज द कामिज ।" अर्थात् "सुनुवारहरूको मुख्य वस्ती सुनुकोशीको उपल्लो भागमा पर्दछ । उनीहरूले सुनुको काममा निपूर्णता हासिल गरेका छन् र सुनेल/सुनुार जातिसंग सम्बन्धित रही आफूलाई कामी भन्दछन् ।"

उनको यो वर्णन पढ्दा के छर्लङ्ग हुन्छ भने एकातिर नामूद विद्वान टोनी हागनले जीवनमा किराँती-सुनुवार (किपटीया पद मुखिया 'इण्डो-आर्यन नेपाली शब्द' र आफ्नो मातृभाषामा 'कौँइच' भन्छन् उनीहरू आफूलाई) कविलाको बारेमा कखरा पनि नजानी गए। उनले त जानेन् जानेन्, उनलाई पिछ्छा गर्ने सम्पादक जेपी आनन्द, डा राजाराम सुवेदी र अन्य, वशन्तकुमार शर्मा र नेपाली वृहद् शब्दकोश (पहेंलो जिल्द) को सम्पादक कृष्णप्रसाद पराजुली र अन्यमा पनि गलत सूचना/ज्ञान प्रवाह गरेर गए। यति मात्रै नभएर संसारभरका पाठकहरूको मस्तिष्क र पुस्तकालयहरूको खापामा गलत ज्ञान भरी दिए भने अर्कोतिर किराँती-सुनुवारहरूमा अछुत वर्गमा दरिने त्रास र हिनताभाव दिएर गए।

यसले के प्रमाणित गरयो भने डा टोनीले नेपाली समाजभित्रको प्रत्यक्ष/अप्रत्यक्ष मर्म, उत्पीडन र दुःखदुकीलाई आत्मसात गर्नु बाँकी नै थियो। यहाँको मनुवादी समाज र परिवेशमा आफ्नै मौलिक मातृभाषा, लिपि, धर्म, संस्कृति र संस्कार बोकेको किराँत सम्प्रदायभित्रको एक किराँती-सुनुवार मानवप्रति त्यस्तो अनर्थ र अनर्गल लेख्दा त्यसको नतिजा के हुन्छ भन्ने ज्ञान हुनु नै बाँकी थियो। मलुङ, लिखु र खिम्ती खोलातिरको किनार र ककेरातिरको छाप्रेमुनिको जनजीवन अवलोकन गर्नु बाँकी नै थियो। उनले नेपालको पचहत्तरै जिल्ला पैदल यात्रा गरेको भएपनि ओखलढुङ्गा र रामेछापको मलुङ-लिखु-खिम्ती सुसेलीलाई नेपालीहृदयमार्फत विश्वसामु उभ्याउनु बाँकी नै थियो। समयको पार्किन्सनले उनलाई बाँकीमै विलय गरायो। नेपाली समाजको समाजशास्त्रमा आज 'पानी नचल्ने र पेशाले सुनेल/सुनार' कहलाइएकाहरू आर्यहरू नै हुन् भन्ने ज्ञान गर्न नपाउँदै त्यो पार्किन्सनले स्वात्तै निल्यो उनलाई। किराँती-सम्प्रदायभित्रको दुई दर्जन भन्दा पनि बढी भाषिक समुदाय, संस्कृति र जनजीवन औ सानो-ठूलो, उचो-निचो, पानी चल्ने-नचल्ने आदि भेदभावमुक्त छ भन्ने ध्रुवसत्यको सुइँको समेत पाएनन् उनले। यो कुराले मलाई अझै शोकाकुल र हतोत्साही बनाइ रहेछ। रुवाइ रहेछ। पिरोली रहेछ। हुन त यो किराँती-सुनुवार नामले नेपाली समाजमा विद्यमान कविला 'सुनुवार' नभएर 'कौँइच' हो भनेर माथि पनि उल्लेख भयो। यो 'कौँइच' भनेको के हो भन्ने बारेमा घोट्टिई रहेको बेलामा र गिदी पगाली रहेको बेला उनको मृत्युशोकमा अश्रुधारले बाटो छेकी रहेछ। गन्तव्य टिट्लिलाइ रहेछ। उनलाई सम्झँदै अधुरो सपना स्मृतिपटलबाट भाग्न खोजी रहेछ।

अन्तमा, म के कुरामा आशावादी छु भने नेपाली समाजमा "आँखाको नानी" उपमा पाएका विद्वान, नेपाल र नेपालीका शुभचिन्तक, पथप्रदर्शक, विकास परामर्शदाता डा हागनका उत्तराधिकारीहरू डा क्याट्रिन, मोनिका, किष्टोफर औ टोनी हागन फाउण्डेसन नेपालले नेपाली समाजको भावना र मर्म बुझेर सो कृतिको उक्त पानामा वर्णित किराँती-कौँइचको वर्णन सुधाने काम गर्ने छन्। उनीहरूले यसो गरे भने साँचो अर्थमा उनलाई सम्झनुको सार्थकता हुने छ। नेपाली बहु-जातिमा किराँती-कौँइचहरूको पनि उनी "आँखाको नानी" भै बाँची नै रहने छन्। समयको पार्किन्सनले उनको भौतिक शरीरलाई विलय गराए पनि उनीप्रतिको सद्भावलाई नेपाली-मुटुहरू बीच अमर तुल्याइ राख्ने छ किनभने सो कृतिको नेपाल संस्करण सन् १९९८ मा कनै सुधार बेगर नै सो हरफहरू उडाइएको छ भने हिमाल किताब श्रृङ्खलाको नेपाली अनुवाद संस्करणले पनि बिना सुधार त्यसै गरेको छ। उनले अज्ञानतावश औ गलत सूचनाको भरमा गरेको सो गम्भीर र अक्षय्य त्रुटिलाई उल्लेखित उत्तराधिकारीहरूले सुधार गरे भने स्वर्गवासी डा टोनी हागनले किराँती-सुनुवारहरूतर्फबाट जिजसका खातिर क्षमा पाउने छन् भन्ने कुरामा म विस्वस्त छु।

२१ वैशाख २०६०

(स्रोतः कौँइच बु वर्ष १२, पौष २०६१ पूर्णाङ्क ९, पाना ५२-५३)

* The boxed-extract above in Nepali concisely presents how Hagen (See § 1.1.1.4) has described the Kirānti-Kōits (Sun(u)war/Mukhia) people/tribe, where it proposes to correct/recorrect it in the future.

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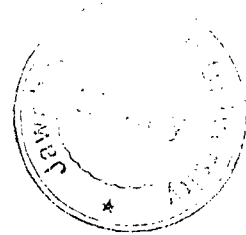
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