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 Kiranti-Koits in the light of morphological processes like inflection, derivation (cf. Trask ibid.), reduplication and compounding in relation to some other T-B Kiranti 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. Kiranti-Koits, except for the only negative prefix <-m>, is a predominantly suffixing language.

3.1.2 Nominal morphology
3.1.2.1 Noun

Nouns in Kiranti-Koits (also cf. Appendix C) are marked for case (cf. § 3.1.4) by case markers and postpositions. There is one nominal suffix <-pikya~piki> /pikya~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 <-mi> [cf. -mi Kiranti-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 /cår.nuk/ urinate-NOM ‘urine’ derived from tsartsta /cärccā/ (cf. cārcām ‘to pour or drop liquid on on certain place’) Kiranti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 458) ‘to urinate.’ Another exceptional prefix morpheme <tsa-> as in tsa-po /ca.po/ (cf. cuppā Kiranti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 139) ‘pig-let’ derived from/prefixed to a free lexeme po /po/ ‘pig’ (cf. pok Kiranti-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 /-ci/- 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 mishyemuruke tsarnuk tsibnA bluinsho ba.

meko-m rāph u dum-šo mišyemuru-ke tsarnuk tsibnā bluĩ-šo
that-LOC menstruation become-PCPL woman-GEN urine drop sprinkle-PR:PCPL 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.sī/ ‘uprooting’

(86) a. desnadesimin Tawa likh dzā?tī.

de̞ːs-des̞ː:-si-mi-n Tāwā lik̂ dzā?-tō-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 Kiranti languages, e.g., Kiranti-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 Kiranti-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:ɔːts] rā:ɔːc (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 <-tike~tike~teke~tek, -b> as in,

(88) a. kur-tik~kur-b = v + NML 'porter, one who carries' derived from kurtstsA /kur.čā/ = 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 tānge budin d'u:tekem suspA oshyer khalsha tuNiame.

meko tāge budi-n d'u:teke-m suspā ošyer kʰāl-sā

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 <-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, Kiranti-Koits 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 Kiranti languages as in examples 90 a-i and 91 a-d (Diagrams 2 and 3).

Diagram 3.2: Human biological/natural gender in Kiranti-Koits

```
+human
    +male          -male
```

(90) a. tau /tou/ ‘son’
    b. waiNsal /waiNs.əl/ ‘boy’
    c. poNiBo /pəNi.əB(o)/ ‘shaman’
    d. siu /siu/ ‘father-in-law’
    e. tsaiBə /caibə/ ‘son-in-law’
    f. Mulicha /MuLi.cə/ ‘clan name’
    g. popo /po.po/ ‘great uncle’
    h. Apbho /Apb乎/ ‘father’
    i. ngawa /Njawa/ ‘elder brother’

```
tsaidJ /cait.mə/ ‘daughter-in-law’
mishyeAL /mishye.əl-mis.əl/ ‘girl’
gyAM(i) /gy.əm(i)/ ‘shaman’
sim(i) /si.mə/ ‘mother-in-law’
tam(i) /ta.mə/ ‘daughter’ [cf. cwαyo-cwiμe Kiranti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 142)]
MuJiM /MuLi.m/ ‘married to a Mulicha adult’
popom /po.po.m/ ‘great aunt’ [cf. -pə Kiranti -Rod Ebert (1994: 79)]
mama /ma.μə/ ‘mother’
ngAM(i) /Njəm(i)/ ‘elder sister’ [alike in Kiranti-Thul but meaning ‘old man’ and ‘old woman’ Ebert (1994: 79)]
```
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 /wæis.əl* ‘boy’ is a compounded form of *wain* ‘husband’ (literally) and *Al /əl* ‘child’ (literally) and the same morphological process has undergone to its female counterpart on its right hand side as *mishye /mˈishye/ ‘wife’* and *Al /əl* ‘child’ to mean ‘a girl’, where no separate lexemes (as in Kiranti-Rod (cf. Ebert 1994, 1997) are available.

In examples (91) b, c, d, *Am /əm/ ‘mother’* (cf. (90) h) has been compounded with its male counterpart to mean a female *bwaAm /bwä.əm/ ‘a hen’, *rabAm /rəb.əm/ ‘ewe’* and *dzoAm /dz(o)j.əm/ ‘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 additio to (90) f, *rūku ‘adult male Kiranti’ Rūkum ‘adult female Kiranti’* is common with <-m> (a reduced form of <-m(i)> ‘female marker’ is cognate of other K(iriinti) languages like K-Ba <-mi> in e.g. *tami ‘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:lame ‘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 Kiranti-Kōits**

![Diagram 3.3](image-url)
In these examples (89) a-e on the right hand side, the female marker <-äm/m> exceptionally does not infer either male or female for kutsum /ku.cum/ ‘dog’ (±male)\(^{30}\).

### 3.1.2.3 Number/person

Like many other Kiranti languages (Driem 1987, Ebert 1994, Rutgers 1998, Opgenort 2002) and Tankhul-Naga (Victor 1997), Kiranti-Köits, also distinguishes singular, dual and plural (See Table 3.9) and is marked for number and person whereas verbs are unmarked (cf. (92) a-b on the right handside). The Kiranti-Köits singular marker <-ŋ> [cognate of Kiranti-Belahare <-ŋ> 1SG (Ebert 1991: 75)] differs according to person (92) a-d as singular or dual markers (nimphA /nimphä/, ñś /ñś/ commonly used in Okhaldhunga dialect and niñśi\(^{31}\) /miñśi/ commonly used rather in Ramechhap than in Okhaldhunga dialect, cf. Bieri and Schulze elsewhere) whereas the verbal plural marker ki/ differs in accordance with person (93) a-b while inflecting. Its grammatical plural for all number is marked by -pikya or piki/pikyö-piki/ (cf. 3.1.2.1).

\[(92) \quad \text{a. } \text{dzái-nu-ŋ} \quad \text{vs. } \tauə-mi \text{dzái-b(ə)}
\]
\[\text{eat-NPST-1 SG ‘I eat’} \quad \text{son-ERG eat-NPST:3SG ‘The son eats.}]
\[\text{b. } \text{ge-nu-ŋ} \quad \text{vs. } \text{tom-mi ge-bə}
\]
\[\text{give-NPST-1 SG ‘I write’ daughter-ERG give-NPST:3SG ‘The d gives.‘}
\]

\[\text{[Text source: 1.128]}
\]

\[\text{c. } \text{soi-nə-skəu}
\]

\(^{30}\) Other similar process can be observed in the lexeme poshye /posyəl/ ‘pork’ [Text source: 2.13] compounded from po /po/ ‘pig’ and shye /șyəl/ ‘meat’. Those natural gender lexemes in (90) a-i and (91) a-e morpho-semantically reduplicate carrying a semantic modification and they emote semantic nuances (Abbi 1990) as in wənəsAl wənəsAl (from (90) b) ‘boy boy’ and ‘reduplication’ as its semantic function shows intensity, continuity and certainty (Rai 1984: 15) of the meaning. According to Abbi (ibid.), the T-B languages, on the morpho-semantic basis can be divided into main verb reduplicating (e.g. go kyämpus lâi-nu-ŋ lâi-nu-ŋ ‘I go to the college, anyhow’ (Certainly, at any cost, emphasis added)) and non-main verb reduplicating languages and on this basis, Kiranti-Köits as one of the T-B languages falls in both categories. Throughout this chapter, we shall refer reduplication frequently as one of the morphological processes of the language under investigation.

\(^{31}\) Borchers (1999: 25-30) providing the only dual marker /niį/ (but /nimphä/ in my dialect area) describes in her footnote 2 that “Driem (1993: 83) has pointed out the connection between the dual suffix <-ni> in Dumi and Tibeto-Brumese *g-nis ‘two’ (Benedict 1972: 16). Obviously also the dual suffix in Köits <-niį> is linked with this.”
send-NPST-1DU ‘we two send’
d. dzā-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 Kiranti-Kōits (also cf. Appendix C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p/n</th>
<th>lexeme</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SG</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>/go/ ‘I’ [cf. Kiranti-Bā go Driem 1991: 337; some Bahing speakers tend to use gu also]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 DU</td>
<td>gominphā-ās</td>
<td>/gominphā ‘we (two)’ [cf. nimphā Kiranti-Wam and nimpho Kiranti-Bā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 PL</td>
<td>gopik</td>
<td>/gopik/ ‘we’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SG</td>
<td>goi~ge</td>
<td>/goi~gs/ ‘you, thou’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 DU</td>
<td>gominphā<del>ās</del>ni?si</td>
<td>/goinphā ‘you (two)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 PL</td>
<td>goi~genipik</td>
<td>/goi~gopik/ ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 SG</td>
<td>meko?me?&gt;me32</td>
<td>/meko&gt;me? &gt;me/ ‘s/he, it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 DU</td>
<td>meko?me?nimphā<del>ās</del>ni?si</td>
<td>/meko&gt;me?nimphā<del>ās</del>ni?si/ ‘s/he (they two)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 PL</td>
<td>meko?me?pik</td>
<td>/meko&gt;me?pik/ ‘they’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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32 All these forms are distal. Like in Kiranti-Bā?yung, there are other distal forms like hore ‘s/he (singular)’ horenimphā ‘they (dual)’ horepik ‘they (plural) and proximate forms like eko ‘s/he’ eknimphā ‘they (dual)’ ekopik ‘they (plural)’ in Kiranti-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. Then, function as a subject or an object of a verb, but unlike nouns, they are a small closed class of nominals (Victor1997).

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.

Kiranti-Kôits fundamentally is a person-number agreement marking (as Kiranti-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 Kiranti-Baryung pronominal quoting Hodgson observes that there are eleven Bahing personal pronouns, viz.,

"go 'I', gōsi 'we' (dual inclusive), gosūkū 'we' (plural exclusive), gō-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, Kiranti-Koits also has distinct proximal forms in the third person pronouns, viz. eNko /e'ko/ 's/he' eNko nimpha-ni:Si /e'ko nimphā-ni:Si/ 'they two (dual), and eNkopik /e'kopik/ 'they' (plural) and distal, viz. hare mere /hare mere/ 's/he', hare mere nimpha-ni:Si /hare mere nimphā-ni:Si/ 'they two' (dual), and hare merepik /hare merepik/ '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 Kiranti-Koits. While discussing the genetic classification of Kiranti-Koits 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 Kiranti-Limbu in § 1.3 and provided the equivalent Kiranti-Koits example tupnung, /tup-nu-ŋ/ 'strike/beat' <tup>, 'NPST:1SG' <-mu> 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. go /go/ 1SG ‘I’
b. go-nimpha /go.nimpʰā/ 1DU ‘we two’
c. gopik /go.pik/ 1PL ‘we’
d. goi–ge /goi–ge/ 2SG ‘you, thou’
e. goinimpha /goi–ge.nimpʰā/ 2DU ‘you two’
f. goi–ge-pik /goi–ge.pik/ 2PL ‘you’
g. meko > me? /mEko > mE?/ 3 SG ‘s/he, it’
h. meko > me? /mEko > mE?.nimpha/ 3DU ‘s/he two’
i. meko > me? /mEko > mE?.pik/ 3 PL ‘they’
j. eNko /eEko/ ‘s/he’ (proximate)
k. eNko nimpha–ni?si /eEko nimpʰā–ni?si/ ‘they two (dual, proximate)
l. eNko-pik /eEko.pik/ ‘they’ (plural, proximate)
m. hare mere /hare mere/ ‘s/he’ (distal)
n. hare mere nimpha–ni?si /hare mere nimpʰā–ni?si/ ‘they two’ (dual, distal)
o. hare merepik /hare merepik/ ‘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 gāitspāinun ‘I’m angry with myself’ and secondly there is an independent ‘frozen’ (cf. Ebert 1994: 52) morpheme āmin means ‘self’.

The lexeme Ammin /āmmin/ ‘self’, which has also another synonymous reflexive Anmai /āmso/ and the reflexive marker -si (cf. -sin 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 ämmin ts’i.si.ti/
   1:1SG REFL bathe-REFL-PST:1SG ‘I bathed myself.’

   b. meko-pik Ammin ts’i-si-ta-me /mako.pik ämmin c’i.si.ta.me/
      s/he:3PL REFL bathe-REFL-PST-3PL ‘They bathed themselves.’

3.1.2.4.3 Possessive pronouns

Like Kirânti-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 <-ke> usually (+human) and <-ā> usually (+human) to the personal pronouns.

(96) a. ä kʰʰi [ä-ke kʰʰ also is okay]
       my house ‘my house’ [cf. ä Kirânti-Wam; Opgenort 2002:115-116]
   b. ä-kə(i)
       my-PAT ‘to me’
   c. ä-ke
       my-GEN ‘mine’
   d. go-ās-ke
       1SG-DU-GEN ‘ourDU’
   e. go-āi-ke
       1SG-PL-GEN ‘ourPL’ (āi-ke ‘ours’)
   f. goi nimpʰʰā-ās-ni?si-ke
       you DU ‘of you two’
   g. meko nimpʰʰā-ās-ni?si-ke
       s/he DU ‘of the two’
   h. meko AN-ke ru me’ /meko ä.ke ru me’/ ‘That is my field.’

(97) a. ä-ke kʰʰyōpat nak bā
My book is new.

My book is new.

Our cap got lost.

Our country is beautiful.

The possessive prefixes are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>å-</td>
<td>ås-</td>
<td>åi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>goiás-</td>
<td>goián-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>meko-</td>
<td>mekoás-</td>
<td>mekoán-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second and third person SG, DU and PL can also be suffixed with the genitive morpheme <-ke> 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), Kimati-Köits 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 /eˈko/ ‘this’ [cf. uko Kiranti-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 /eˈko.pik/ ‘these’

b. eˈko mur de marimšo rināpāibā?ta ‘This man stinks very bad.’
3.1.2.4.5.2 Remote pronouns

The lexeme *hare* or *meko* /meko > me?/ ‘that’ [cf. Kirânti-Thu mō (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* /mekopik > me?~ ‘these’
   b. *hare* /hare/ ‘that’
   c. meko mur do tek dzëmmë?
      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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Animate, ±Human</th>
<th>Space, Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(100) a. high</td>
<td>hari meri /hari meri/ vs. hari iri /hari iri/ ‘very up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. level</td>
<td>hare mere /hare mere/ vs. hare ere /hare ere/ ‘very far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. low</td>
<td>hayu muyu /hayu muyu/ vs. hayu uyu /hayu uyu/ ‘very down’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2.4.6 Interrogative pronoun

The following interrogative pronouns are discovered in the Kirânti-Kôits grammar:

(101) a. *teke* /teke(s)/ ‘where’
   b. *tek-la* /tekla/ ‘from where’ [also telâ in daily use]
   c. *teker-la* /tekerla/ ‘from around where’
   d. *teko* /teko/ ‘which one’
   e. *dooth* /dooth/ ‘which way’ [also dotthə in daily use]
g. doth-ge /dothge/ 'in which direction' [literal: 'where', 'towards']

h. doth-sam /dothsam/ 'where to' [literal: 'where', until']

i. su /su/ 'who'[cf. 'sū Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]

j. su-nu /sunu/ 'with who(m)'

k. su-la /sulā/ 'from who(m)

l. su-ke /suke/ 'whose'[cf. sūpo Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]

m. doso /doso/ 'how many/much'

n. su-kali /sukā(i)/ 'to whom'

o. mar(a)r /mār > mōr/ 'what'[cf. maang Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]

p. mar-mi /mārmi/ 'with what' (instrumental, using something)

q. mar-mi /mārnu/ 'with what' (associative, in the company or presence of somebody/soemthing)

r. dopA /dopā/ 'how/in what way'

s. mar-ral /mārlā/ 'from what'

t. marde /mā(de)rde/ 'why'[cf. 'maane Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]

u. marA /mārā/ 'of what'

v. markal(i) /mārkal(i)/ 'what for' [cf. 'maabi Kirānti-Kh; Toba (1984 13)]

w. genA /genā/ 'when'

x. genA-la /genālā/ 'from when' [also -lā = le-re 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 tek tek  la-ye?

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:

\[(103)\]
\[a. \ maraimari \quad /\text{marai}/ \quad \text{‘anything’}\]
\[b. \ teitei \quad /\text{tai}/ \quad \text{‘anywhere’}\]
\[c. \ suisui \quad /\text{sui}/ \quad \text{‘anybody’}\]
\[d. \ gen\text{AigenAi} \quad /\text{genai}/ \quad \text{‘anytime’}\]
\[e. \ go \quad /\text{go}/ \quad \text{‘anywhere’}\]

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.

\[(104)\]
\[a. \ m\text{araio} \quad /\text{ara}/ \quad \text{‘nothing, not at all’}\]
\[b. \ suiyo \quad /\text{ui}/ \quad \text{‘nobody’}\]
\[c. \ tekeiyo \quad /\text{ke}/ \quad \text{‘nowhere’}\]
\[d. \ gen\text{Aiyo} \quad /\text{a}/ \quad \text{‘never’}\]
\[e. \ go \quad /\text{go}/ \quad 1SG \quad \text{such secrets nothing NEG-know-NPST-1SG}\]

‘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 la /la/ ‘only’ functions as specifier or definitizer as in (105) b provided below.

\[(105)\]
\[a. \ goi-mi \quad m\text{al}-\text{so dzat} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{you-ERG need-ADJ thing EMPH is:AUX}\]
'That is the thing that/which you want.'

b. go lä 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-Kōits 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, Bussmann 1996: 152, Rapacha 2003). Thus the case types in Kiranti-Koits, 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 [Kiranti-Kh] as opposed to Gvozdanovic’s (2004: 341-346; See examples (106) a-b argument for ergative against agentive in Bantawa [Kiranti-Ban]. The case marker <-mi-/>m> 1-mi-ml (cf Rung *mi, Idu me and Nocte mai/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 <-η> /-η/ playing its roles as ‘of’ (loco-possessive), SEQ and honorific. Consider the following instances.

(106) a. guye-mi sosmaI kyorts-tsA /guye.mi sosmāl kyorc.cā/
sickle-INST grass cut-INF ‘to cut the grass with a sickle’

b. go-mi ble-tik-mi bre?4A-ng /gomi bletikmi breetāny/
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. Gvozdanovic (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-/>m> /-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/me/ as a free morpheme in Kiranti-Koits apparently means existential auxiliary/copula (e.g., meko mur su me’? ‘Who is that man?’ cf. -me /me/ and as a bound morpheme in meko mur k’ti la-me’? ‘Did the man go home?’). Additionally, the morpheme <me> 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 wAAnisal-mi an-kali tup-tu /me.ko wāi.sāl.mi ā.kol.tup.tu/
   s/he boy-AGT/ERG I-DAT beat-PST:3SG
   ‘The boy beat me.’
   c. loab-o dzām-ta /loāb dzām.ta/
   younger.brother loose-PST:3SG ‘The younger brother (got) lost.’
   d. ngAwA-mi loab sAm-tu /nāwɔ mi loāb 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 <-nā> /-nā/ 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 /ronj.mi/
   cliff-LOC ‘at the cliff...’ [Text source: 2.26]
   b. go khum-mi baʔnu-ng /go kʰu.mi bāʔnu.g/
   1SG house-LOC live-NPST-1SG ‘I live in the house.’
   c. enko khum-ngA mur-pik tek la-mA? /ēko kʰu.ngā mur tek la.mā/
   this house-LOC/GEN man-PL where go-PST:INTER:PL
'Where did the owner of this house go?'

d. *go kham dzA-shA-ngA dumKhIN la-ti /go kʰə.me dzə.šə.ŋə dum.kʰi la.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 kham dzA-la-ng ngA dumKhIN la-ti /gom kʰə.me dzə.ta.ŋə dum.kʰi la.ti/ 'I ate rice and went to the office'.

Another important semantic role this bound morpheme <-mi> /-mi/-m/ [cf. -mi Kiranti-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 dzA-i-mi(i) /meko.piki.m kʰə.me dză.i.mi/
   s/he-PL-AGT rice eat-NPST-3PL 'They eat rice.'

b. *Apʰpo-mi tsirs hil-mi-m(i) /əpʰpo.mi cirs hil.mi.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 kham dzAI-nu-ng /go kʰə.me dză.i.nu.ŋ/ 'I eat rice.'
   1SG-Ø rice(cooked) eat-NPST-1SG

d. *go-mi blespat ka bre?-la-ng /gomi bres.pat kā brē?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(ɓ)ä.ām.mi/ ‘by a hen’
   rooster-GEN-mother-AGT
b. *tam(i)-mi* ... /tɔm(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 Kiranti-Koits 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 ı/ (and appropriately cannot be dropped) in the former, whereas they/we usually do drop it out in the latter while communicating.

(111) a. *mi* pí-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 bra.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. <-le> (also means ‘four’ as a lexeme) and <-re>; is cognate of -lam Kiranti-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 te.lä pi.ye/
   2SG where-ABL come-2SG ‘Where did you come from?’

d. *saring-la reu* i-b /sär.rin.lä reu i.b/
   sky-ABL rain come-NPST:3sg ‘It rains from the sky.’

e. *go* k'iN-la pi-ti /go k'iN.lä pi.ti/
   1SG house-ABL come-PST:1SG ‘I came from the house’

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

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

(113) a. oNSho *la* /öšö lä/
   ‘this much only’

b. *go* *la* /go lä/
   1SG only ‘me only’ (cf. *go-lä ‘from me’)

c. *mur-pik* *la* /mur lä/ (cf. *mur-lä ‘from/by the man’)
   man-PL ‘men only’

d. *go-m bwä* *la* *thul-so* bâ?ti /go.m bwä lä thul.so bâ?ti/
   1SG fowl only tame-PCPL be-N/PST:1SG
   ‘I have tamed fowl only.’

3.1.2.5.1.3 Dative case <-kali–kål>

Dative case in Kirangi-Köits is marked by the morpheme <-kåli–kål> /-kali~kål/ (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.kål(i)y
   him/her-DAT ‘to him/her’
b. AN-kal(i) /ā.kal(y)/ ‘to/for me’

c. go-mi meko-kal(i) poskārd soit-ta-ng /go.mi meko.kal(i) poskārd soit.tā.ny/
1SG-ERG her-DAT pk send-PST-1SG
‘I sent her a postcard.’

d. meko laptso-kal(i) .../meko läp.co-kal(i)/
that door-DAT ‘...to that door’ [Text source: 1.15]

Like in (111) a-c and (113) a-d, kal /kāl/ 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 /ā.kal ici.kʰoi kāl ge.yi.ni/
my-DAT little porridge give-NPST:1SG:PL
‘Please give me a little porridge.’

b. meko-kal kal ge-u(o) /meko.kāl kāl geu(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 /meko.pik.nu/
s/he-PL-COM (PSN) ‘with them’
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_ /ŋá/ particle equivalent of <_nU_> for linking two different phrases as in (117) c-d.

(117) a. _Aphpo nu tau ji-mum-tA-se_ /āpʰpo nu təu dzy.mum.tā.sē/  
father and son fight-REC-PST-DU  
‘The father and the son fought each other.’

b. _goi kumso nu shyil-pa-tAsā la dzo-na-ye_ /goi kumso nu šyil.pā.cā lá dzo.nā.ye/  
2SG song and dance-do-INF only know-NPST-3SG  
‘What you know is that singing and dancing only.’

c. _dumkhiN la-uO ngyā am-ke ge pāu-o_ /dum.kʰLater uO nga ām.ke ge pāu.o/  
office go-3sg:IMP and own-GEN work do-3sg:IMP  
‘Go to the office and do your work.’
In examples (117) c-d, ꞏnā can precede min as its constituent to mean 'and then, sequential' in the same string of sentences, e.g. go dumkhiN latin gamin Am ge pAIAng /go dum.k~ ti la.ti.nā.min am ge pā.tā.n/ 'I went to the office and then did my work'.

3.1.2.5.1.5 Allative case <-ge>

The bound morpheme <-ge> /-ge/ (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 gA?-ng-e? /goi tek.ge gā?nɛ/ 2SG where-ALL walk-NPST-3SG ‘Where are you going (to)?’
b. go pith-ge gA?-ti /go pith.ge gā?ti/ 1SG thither-ALL walk-PST ‘I am going (to/towards) thither.’
c. pisAng-ge… /pi.sān.ge/ direction-ALL ‘…to/towards the direction’ [Text source: 3.26]
d. go gyAkosi-ge gA?-ti /go gyā.ko.si.ge gā?ti/ 1SG market-ALL walk-PST ‘I walked to/towards the market.’

Moreover, (<ge–goi> /ge–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 /ge–goi su naye/ 2SG who be-AUX:2SG ‘Who are you?’ (naye ‘impolite’ nani ‘polite’)
b. goi tek ge pai-na-ye? /goi tek ge pāināye/
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 \(<-A^- -ke^- -ngA^> /-ā^- -ke^- -ŋā/\) 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 /mško 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 kʰiN-mi ma-bAʔma /ā-ke ām kʰi.mi ma.bāʔ.ma/
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/d/pen-den
/ām mamā.lo ge.nāi.yo ma.pr(l)č. den/
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.ke bletik tek 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> /-ke/ (usually ±human) in place of <-A> /-ā/ also delivers the meaning of possessiveness.

(122) a. meko-ke /mē.ko.ke/
   s/he-GEN 'of his or her'
  b. Sida kikya-ke... /sī.da ki.kyə.ke/
     Sida grandfather-GEN
     'Sida grandfather’s…' [Text source: 2.27]
  c. kyarš-ke milu /kyārš.ke mi.lu/
     goat-GEN tail ‘the goat’s tail/the tail of the goat’

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

(123) a. enko khyī-ngA /ɛr`ko k.`hī.nā/
   this house-LOC/GEN ‘of this house’
  b. …kolsho Nepal-ngA... /kolšt nepál-nā/
     big:ADJ N-LOC/GEN ‘…of the huge/big Nepal…’ [Text source: 4.23]
  c. enko khyī-ngA mur tek la-mA? /ɛr`ko k.`hī.nā mur tek la-mā/
     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> /ā/ (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 məmə/
   3SG mother ‘his/her mother’
  b. AN den-sho bis-sho /ā de`n.so bis.so/  
     1SG say-PCPL obey-IMP ‘Obey my advice.’
  c. go-m A ne ma-tuit-tu /go.m ā ne ma.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 Kiranti-Koits 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 Kiranti-Koits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of suffixes</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Types of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -mi&gt;-m, -nga</td>
<td>honorific, 3sg/pl, ±human/-male, connective/subordinator/SEQ</td>
<td>Instrumental, Locative, loco-genitive (-animate), Agentive/ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -lai&gt;-le-re /lā&gt;-re/</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -kali&gt;-kal /-kāi&gt;-kal/</td>
<td>‘for, to’</td>
<td>Dative/accusative (purposive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. -nu /-nu/</td>
<td>‘with, and, TEMP’</td>
<td>Comitative -nu ‘with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. -ge/-ge/</td>
<td>‘to/towards, you’</td>
<td>Allative (elative/illative as in Finnish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. -A&gt;-ke&gt;-nga</td>
<td>‘of’</td>
<td>Genitive, locative (animate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In Kiranti-Koits, 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-∅ kāmē dzāi-nu-ŋ (1SG rice eat-NPST-1SG) ‘I eat rice’ remains unmarked. The vocative markers are: /ei/ and /eu/ as illustrated in (125) a-b,

(125) a. oi őth ne-n de ei
    INTJ here listen-IMP TOP VOC
    ‘Hey! Listen (to me) here.’

b. māmā tek gā?-ni eu
mother where go-PST:3SG:HON VOC
'Mom! Where are you going?'

Table 3.11: Case marking suffixes in Sunwar (Kôits) from Borchers (1998: 5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case form(s) of suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Genitive -ke, -ya(^{33})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Object case/ “accusative” -kali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Subject case/ “instrumental” -mi, -m, -ami(^{34})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Locative -mi, -am, -ami, -m, -nä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Inessive -wina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ablative -le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Vocative -yau, -au. -u. -ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dative -mla(^{35})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Kûbu 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 -a only

\(^{34}\) go-ỗmi (rather go-ỗmin) ‘I myself’ [I added]

\(^{35}\) Cf. meko-m-lâ ‘by him/her only’. This information is my own as a native speaker of Kirânti-Kôits. Another way of expressing -m-lâ is -ỗmin as in go ẫmin ‘I myself’ and meko ẫmin ‘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-āmmin) ‘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 there variations mean the same grammatical meaning not different. Number 5’s -wina [probably must be hayu uyu-ui-ŋā³⁶: below-LOC:POSS/GEN ‘of below down’] presumed to be inessive or adessive (like in Finno-Uurgic) is loco-genitive (-animate) in my dialect area.

The allative (destination, goal; elative/illative as in Finnish) marker <-ge> /-ge/ ‘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 /le-re/ ‘from’ besides -la only in Table 3.11. Suffixes such as -nu and -ŋā 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 -ŋā also has a near isomorphic relationship with genitive and sometimes functions as -mi and sometimes as -ke or -ā (cf. (107) c-d, (120) b, (121) a-c and (122) a-c.

Apart from genitive <-ke> /-ke/ ‘+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; hari iri > ir (high:LOC: vertical), hayu uyu > u (low:LOC: vertical), hari ēre/mēre (level:LOC: horizontal) and hayu muyu (low:LOC: vertical)
grammaticalization of the Kiranti-Koits case particles such as (111) a-c *mi* (n) ‘fire’ (113) a-d *la* (adj, adv, conj) ‘only’, (115) a-b *kol* (n) ‘porridge’, (117) a-b *nu* (conj) ‘and’, (117) c-d *ng*I (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 + kli* in (126) a-b) and pronouns (e.g., *Pro + -kli + -nu* in (127) a-c), in the language can further attach to verbs and nominalized (e.g., *v*+ kli and the nominalized form *kur-b-kali*) category as shown in (128) a-c.

(126) a. *paku-kali* /pəku.kəli/  
P-DAT ‘to Paku’  
b. *khoneide-kali* /kʰɔi.de.kəli/  
K-DAT ‘to Khôide’

(127) a. *meko-kali* /meko.kəli/  
s/he-DAT ‘to him/her’

b. *goi-kali* /goi.kəli/  
you-DAT ‘to you’


(128) a. *dza-tsə-kali* /dza.tsə.kəli/  
eat-INF-DAT ‘for eating’

b. *ko:-tsə-kali* /ko:.tsə.kəli/  
look-INF-DAT ‘for looking’

c. *rim-sho-pa-tsə-kali* /rim.so.pə.tsə.kəli/  
good-ADJ-do-INF-DAT ‘for doing well’

\(^{37}\) *ŋə* 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 Kiranti-Koits grammar.

3.1.2.6.1 Postposition ‘without’

Kiranti-Koits does not have a separate lexeme for ‘without’ but it undergoes a process through negative morpheme \(-m(a)\) \(-m(d)\) (T-B in origin cf. § 3.6) prefixed (and sometimes infixed such as rakmɔshɔ ‘not to itch’, kʰɛlmɔpsɔ ‘not to guard’ and währɔpsɔ or tσɔrmɔpɛmtɔ ‘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/  
\(\text{NEG-eat-NML:PUR}\) ‘without eating’

b. ma-pa-thu /mə.pə thu/  
\(\text{NEG-do-NML:PUR}\) ‘without doing’

c. ma-gA?-thu /mə.gəʔ thu/  
\(\text{NEG-walk-NML:PUR}\) ‘without walking’

d. ma-la-thu /mə.lə thu/  
\(\text{NEG-go-NML:PUR}\) ‘without going’

e. ma-soit-thu /mə.soit thu/  
\(\text{NEG-send-NML:PUR}\) ‘without sending’

There is a semantically related nominal kaiNtsikA /kəi.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 ±human arguments to convey the sense of ‘in the company of’.

(130) a. go-nu itsikhoi kyEt ba
   1SG-ASS a little money is:AUX
   ‘I do not have money with me.’

   b. a-ke tami go-nu dumk[i] lai-ba
   1SG-GEN daughter 1SG-ASS office go-NPST:3SG
   ‘My daughter goes to the office with me.’

3.1.2.6.3 Postposition <-haiti>

The postposition hoiitu, moiti or onitti /hoiti-ëiti-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., ake hoiitu ‘at my front’), adverb (also used as separate adverb) and postposition. Consider (131) a-c below.

(131) a. meko k[i]-ke hoiitu bâ-ba
   3SG house-GEN in front sit-NPST:3SG
   ‘He sits in front of the house.’

   b. go in-ke hoiitu-la gâ-ti
   1SG your-GEN
   ‘I walked in front of you.’

   k[i] dzA?-câ tsi-ño-nu k[i] mo(hoi)iti wâ:relu nu
   house arrive-INF dare-PR:PCPL-TEMP house in.front rainbow and
   ne?tha-gu:thA ?wa/bwa ta?-tâs-tâs
   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 <nole~mer(e)>

The Postposition (also adverb) nole or mere /nole~mer(e)/ ‘behind, after’ expresses the posterior or something or the anatomical back or spatial coding such as Ankenole /a.ke.nole/ ‘on my back’ and the temporal sense of ‘after, later’ goi Ankenole lau-o /goi nole lau.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 occure in reduplicated construction (132) also.

(132) a. nole nole kʰois-šā lə-tsā

after after follow-CONV go-INF
‘to go having followed on the back of someone’

b. nole-la pʰuilu āp-tsā
behind-ABL stone shoot-INF
‘to shoot stone from behind’

c. tsinkā-nole go ṇā-tsā ploī-tā-ŋ
while/moment after 1SG weep-INF leave-PST-1SG
‘After a while I stopped weeping.’

d. ā-ke-nole su pi-m’e?
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,
150

(133) a. mur-ān-ke ḏatē-mi bā?-tsā ne
   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)~geth~ir(i)∥

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

(134) a. meko lāptso-ke ātār(i)
   that door-GEN up/on ‘on the top of that window’

   b. hɔrti ir(i)-lā reu i-tɔ
   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. tsi /tsi/ ‘on the side, next to’

   b. ekere38 /ekere/ ‘on this side’
   c. eke nu meke /eke nu meke/ ‘hither and thither’
   d. o nth /ot/ ‘hither’
   e. onth-ge nu pith-ge /otth-ge nu pith-ge/ ‘towards hither and towards thither’
   f. er-onth-nelle-ge /er-otth-nelle-ge/ ‘roundabout’
   g. mekere39 /mekere/ ‘there’
   h. moth /moth/ ‘thither, if so’
   i. ir /ir/ ‘up, above’
   j. ir-i /ir-i/ ‘very up’

38 Other reduced forms of ekere are eker and ek and e is nasalized (ē) quite often in spoken form.
39 Other reduced forms of mekere are meker and mek, however there is a regional dialect mekye also.
k. hari iri /hari iri/ ‘on the far ‘upper side’
l. luts /luc/ ‘below, down’
m. l’uts-u /l’uc.u ‘very below’

n. AN-ke meker wais-sho obis su-mi ba-wa? /ake meker waisso obis su.mi bəwə/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 ‘horizontalility, upward and down’ level are given in (136) a-d.

(136) a. pithθ~pith ‘thither, horizontally at the same level’
[cf. pyatθo~pyat Kirangi-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 178)]
b. gatθo~gat ‘above, up, upwards; at a higher level’
[cf. gatθo~gat Kirangi-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 178)]
c. ui ‘far below’
d. həyu uyu ‘very far below, downwards; at a lower level’
[cf. hyatθo~hyat Kirangi-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 178)]

3.1.2.6.9 Postposition <-gə-

The marker -gə /-gə/ conveys the meaning of ‘inside’, ‘outside’ suffixed to kʰin-/kʰi-/ ‘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
/reu i.ta ŋə̊nə go ɬəŋ ɡə ma.lai.nu.ny/
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-gə ong-o /cilá pəp.tu. ŋəŋə kʰiŋəŋə 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 <\textit{\textasciitilde{}tsi}> 

The bound morpheme \textit{\textasciitilde{}t}-\textit{tsi} /\textit{\textasciitilde{}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. \textit{goi k\textit{\textasciitilde{}i}n}\textit{-tsi-m ba?sha mar pa-n-pa-n ba?nge}\textit{?} \\
\texttt{/goi k\textit{\textasciitilde{}i}.ci.m b\textae? s\ae m\ae r p\ae.n.p\ae.n b\textae? . \textde/} \\
2SG house-side-LOC stay-COND 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 <\textit{n\textasciitilde{}th\textae?}> 

The postposition \textit{n\textasciitilde{}th\textae?} /n\textasciitilde?tha/ 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. \textit{meko-ke khiN aN-ke n\textasciitilde{}th\textae? n ba} \\
\texttt{/meko.ke k\textit{\textasciitilde{}i} a.k\textae n \textasciitilde ?th\ae.n b\textae/} \\
3SG-GEN house my-GEN near-EMPH is \\
‘His/her house is near by my house.’

3.1.2.6.12 Postposition <\textit{\textasciitilde{}go}> 

The direction postposition marker \textit{\textasciitilde{}go} <\textit{\textasciitilde{}go}> (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. \textit{go k\textit{\textasciitilde{}i}n-\textit{\textasciitilde{}go} dort-ti} \\
\texttt{/go k\textit{\textasciitilde{}i}.ge dort.ti/} \\
1SG house-towards run-PST:1SG \\
‘I ran towards the house.’

3.1.2.6.13 Postposition <\textit{\textasciitilde{}sam}>
The postposition marker \textit{-sam \textless sam} \text{\textquoteright}as far as, until\textquoteright 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. \texttt{go goi-kali dzog?sho-sam shye\textsuperscript{N}-nu-ng} \quad /\texttt{go goi.k\text{\textasciitilde}li d\text{\textasciitilde}?.so.s\text{\textasciitilde}m \texttt{\text{\textasciicircumflex}ye.nu.n}/\texttt{\textsuperscript{1}SG 2SG-DAT know-PCPL-as.far.as teach-NPST-1SG} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}I teach you as far as I know.\textquoteright

3.1.2.6.14 Postposition \textit{-\textless nu, k\text{\textasciitilde}tha\textgreater k\text{\textasciitilde}th}\textgreater

The alternative bound morphemes \textit{-\textless nu, k\text{\textasciitilde}tha\textgreater k\text{\textasciitilde}th, \textsuperscript{1-nu, k\text{\textasciitilde}tha\textgreater k\text{\textasciitilde}th!} \text{\textquoteleft}together with, with\textquoteright 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. \texttt{go-nu goi k\text{\textasciitilde}tha-n !a-sa} \quad /\texttt{go-nu goi.k\text{\textasciitilde}tha.n \text{\textasciitilde}a.s/\texttt{\textsuperscript{1}SG-2SG-ASs-EMPH go-1DU:INCL} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}Let us go you and I together.\textquoteright

3.1.2.7.15 Postposition \textit{<duli>}

The free \textit{duli /duli/} as adjective and postposition \textquoteleft against, opposed to\textquoteright follows a possed word for the locative case, e.g., (143) a.

(143) a. \texttt{meko mur-piki ANke duli-m bo?-te-me} \quad /\texttt{meko mur.pik \text{\textasciitilde}ke duli.m bo?.te.m/} \\
\text{that man-PL my against-LOC rise-PST-3PL} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}They arose against me.\textquoteright

3.1.2.6.16 Postposition \textit{-\textless ken\textgreater}

The bound suffix \textit{-\textless kenga /-ken\textgreater} \text{\textquoteleft}than\textquoteright is an expression of a comparison between two or more entities like (144) a.

(144) a. \texttt{rentse-kenga sentse lais-sho bA} \quad /\texttt{\text{\textasciicircumflex}re.nce.ken\textgreater sence l\text{\textasciitilde}ais.so b\text{\textasciitilde}/} \\
\text{Resce-than Sence tall:ADJ is:AUX/EXT}
‘Renee is taller than Sence.’

3.1.2.6.17 Postposition 

The postpositional bound suffix -kali/-kāli/ ‘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 /dzā.ca.kali ge.pacā/ ‘to work for eating’. Consider (145) a.

(145) a. go-m goi-kali wāk pit-ta-ng /go-m goi-kāli wāk pit.tā.ny/
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

This phrasal suffix and (also) a free lexeme yo /yō/ ‘also, too, even’ (cf. va /vā/ Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 191, ye ~ yā ~ yō 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 po.ca.ma.dzoʔ.nu.ny/
1SG also do-INF NEG-know-NPST-1SG
‘Even I also do not know how to do it.’

b. mekerlāi yo Thārmalung-Thārsilung, mekerlā Yārmalung dzāʔase.

meker-lā-i yo Thārmalung-Thārsilung meker-lā Yārmalun dzāʔ-tā-sc-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 \textless;n\textgreater

This phrasal suffix \textless-n \textgreater{-n} (See Text source: 1.23, 24, 29, 37, 40, 46 etc.) is
normally suffixed with the similaritive marker \textless{modEb}> or \textless{khodEb}> yielding 'exactly,
precisely and also emphatic particle', like

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(147)] a. go yo modeban phurkal gyap-nu-ng /go yo mo.debo.n p\textsuperscript{b}ur.kal gyap.nu.n/  
  1SG also such football buy-NPST-1SG
  'I also buy a football exactly like that one.'
  
  b. kalenga solum kaleka l\(a\) ro\(\textsuperscript{?}\)sib masogennga l\(\textsuperscript{\text{\textperiodcentered}}\)aptso Paiwa nu Dunglew\(\textsuperscript{\text{\textperiodcentered}}\)ke glum\(\textsuperscript{\text{\textperiodcentered}}\)ats glumeken tso\(\textsuperscript{\text{\textperiodcentered}}\)some b\(\textsuperscript{\text{\textperiodcentered}}\)a!-
  k\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)solu-m k\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)la k\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)ro?\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)sib m\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)asogen-n\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)a l\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)aptso P\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)aiwä nu D\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)unglew\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)ke glum\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)ats glumeken tso-si-me b\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)a!-
  once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and
  D\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)unglew\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)ke glum\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)ats glu-mek\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)e-n tso-si-me b\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)a!-
  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]
\end{itemize}

3.1.2.7.3 The marker \textless{l\(a\)}\textgreater

This phrasal suffix or free lexeme \(l\(a\) \text{\textperiodcentered}\) is Kir\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)nti-K\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)its discourse is used to
exclude other participants as shown in (148) a-c.

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(148)] a. go la gyAkosi lati /go la gy\(\text{\textperiodcentered}\)A.kosi la.ti/  
  1SG only market go-PST:1SG
  'I only went to the market (excludes others).'
\end{itemize}
b. ‘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. “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 <da>

The theme or topic marker *da* <da> 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 län-n dzăm-ta* /meke.re do lä.n dzäm.ta/

there-EMPH TOP path-EMPH lose-PST:3sg

‘There was no path (means there is no option).’

b. *go da malăinung* /go do mə.lāi.nuŋ/

1SG TOP NEG-go-NPST-1SG

‘I do not go (you go).’

c. *mothad enko ge patsA madumba* /moth da e’ko ge pə.cā mə.dum.ba/

so TOP this work do-INF NEG-become-3SG

‘If so we should not do this work.’

d. *mekokali thinneken na?somī thunthunmi mimtāu, “on shyAn! Eko rąbguyombim da gethsirī nupawānu tsuıntsephurki tholonggāsam er-ottha pāib mur me. eko madzdam tasho bāme mai modeb phu! kāleka hillopasha kongu”*. meko-koli thin-ne-ken nā?so-mi thū-thū-mi mim-tāu,

s/he-PAT meet-INF-PAR priest-AGT mind-RED-LOC think-PST:3SG

“ō šyā! e’ko rąbguyombi-m da gethsirī nu lutssirī pə-wā-nu

“O yeah! this shephard-AGT PAR up.summer and down.winter do-NPST:3SG-TEMP tsuıntsephurki tholonggāsam er-ōttha pāi-b mur me’. e’ko madzdam high.altitude inner.plain-till thither-hither do-NML man is. this fucker-AGT ta-šo bā-me mai modeb p’u! kāle-kā hillo-pə-śā 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’lebbā mo? ‘Will that man return home?’ (uncertainty/probability)
‘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. yämka ngakodzisho tellep rabgyombim denta, “go tuits-tsā da tuinung shyeng moshyed dentsa magarba.”

yäm-kā ngakodz’iśo tellep rabgyombi-m de-ta, “go tuits-tsā while-one confused:ADJ cunning shepherd-AGT say-PST:3SG I know-INF də tui-nuŋ šyen mośyed de-tā mā-gār-bā”

PAR know-NPST:1SG but in.vain say-INF NEG-agree-NPS1·1sc;

‘The cunning and confused shepherd having after a while said, “I know but it cannot be reaveled without any charge.”’

[Text source: 3.32]

3.1.2.7.5 The contrastive topic marker <-cdn>

The contrastive topic marker -tsan <-cdn> probably a nativized term form Indic Nepali -cahi, sometimes alternatively with da /dā/ describes the contrastive activities by two different doers as examples provided in (150) a-b.

(150) a. go tsan ma-lāi-nu-ng /go..cwd ma.lāi.nu.ŋ/

1SG PAR NEG-go-NPST-1SG
‘I do not go (you go).’

b. Phenetsan kumso paiba munu Renetsa shyilpaiba

/phene.cwd kumso.présent paiba munu rene. cwd shyil.présent ba/

Phene-CT song-do-NPST-1sg then Rene-CT dance-do-NPST-2sc

‘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 adjectives, 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 adjectival 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 (uiśeśaṇaś) and the modified (uiśeśyaś) 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 Kiranti-Kaling (Toba 1984), adjectives in Kiranti-Köits are derived from verb stems mainly with the participle suffix morpheme <-śo-śyo> 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 Kiranti-Kōits, attributive position (kā ṭɬeb kʰi '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 al 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 Kiranti languages have very few basic adjectives and in Kiranti-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.syol/ 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 hel-šo thebse dā-m tem-tu, “ε’ko ā-ke ‘pāimok’me’;
again/still-also heavy-ADJ big.voice-LOC add-PST:3SG this I-GEN area is:AUX
go Rumdāli[41] na-ŋ”
1SG R AUX-1SG

‘He still added loudly, “This is my area; I am Rumdali.’ [Text source: 1.92]

h. meko sus barsho salaphains bar.

meko sus bārš-šo salāp[tis bā-t-ŋ-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 Kiranti-Kh (Toba 1984: 31) is from negation as in (152) a.

(152) a. marimsho /mɔ.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 lāis-sho /omo lāis.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 eslewhere 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, Phangdawali, 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.
INTS long: VR-ADJ ‘that much long’
e. momo rim-sho /mo.mo rim.琉/
INTS good: VR-ADJ ‘that much beautiful’
f. momo ma-rim-sho /mo.mo mα.rim.琉/
INTS NEG-good: VR-ADJ ‘that much bad’
g. momo gyurs-sho /mo.mo gyurs.琉/
INTS sour: VR-ADJ ‘that much sour’
h. momo so:-sho /mo.mo so:.琉/
INTS dry: VR-ADJ ‘that much dry’
i. momo sus kyet /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 /琉/ as in kumso (n) ‘song’ (See lexicon), which is homophonous to <-琉> of rimsho ‘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. mon /mon/ ‘far’
b. monin /monin/ ‘very far’
c. Theb /tʰeb/ ‘big’
d. imitsitsili /imi.cci.li/ ‘cr:all’
e. ker mur /ker mur/ ‘a dark man’
f. lal khap /ləl kʰap/ ‘red soil’
g. syetthi > shyeth /ʃyethi > ʃyeth/ ‘empty’
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 kolšyo reb* (/mo.mo kolšyo reb/) ‘this much big potato’. Consider the examples (155) a-d.

(155) a. *omo* /o.mo/ ‘related to size’
   b. *momo* /mo.mo/ ‘related to size’
   c. *imitstsili ~ i(o)mtsili* /i.mic.ci.li ~ i(o).mci.li/ ‘small’
   d. *Thebe > Theb* /t^h^eb > T^h^eb/ ‘big’

3.1.3.1.5 Colour adjectives

There are basically, six colour names in Kiränti-Kōits. The term /tigəŋ/ is a synonymus generic word of *phur* /p^h^ur/ and *j(dz)ir* /dz^ir/, 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.ə/ red- INTF ‘very red’
   *ker-A* /kər.ə/ black- INTF ‘very black’
   *gig-i* /gɪɡ.i:/ green- INTF ‘very green’
bu-bu: /bu.bu:/
white-INTF ‘very white’
e. pulu /pulu/ ‘grey’ (lit. ‘ash’)
f. hau /hau/ ‘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 \textit{sAppA} /sāppā/ ‘something like very’ can be prefixed to the words describing taste in almost all instances as follows.

(157) a. milomilo /mi.lo.mi.lo/ ‘delicious taste’
b. blobo /blošo/ ‘tasty’
c. sAppA blobo /sāppā blošo/ ‘too much tasty’
d. kasho /kašo/ ‘bitter’
e. kaka /kākā/ ‘bitter’ (used also as a particle \textit{kakA} [Text source: 1.25])
f. gy(dz)urssho /gyu(dz)rs.so/ ‘sour’ [cf. \textit{juju} Kirānti-Kh; Tob (1984: 31)]
g. itsiti ci gyurssho /i.ci.i ci gyurs.so/ ‘a little bit sour’
h. sAppA gyurssho /sāppā gyurs.so/ ‘very sour’
i. dzidz /dzidz/ ‘sweet’
j. dzidz-i /dzi.dzi/ ‘sweet-INTF ‘very sweet’

All these lexical and derived adjectives can fully be reduplicated, e.g., \textit{lal lal} /lal lal/ ‘red red’ (excludes \textit{ker} /ker/ ‘black) and rimsho rimsho /rimso rimso/ ‘good good’ (excludes \textit{marimsho} /marimšo/ ‘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, -ŋā, -sam 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 gāʔ-ko
   good-ADV walk-IMP ‘walk carefully’

   b. rip-pā dor-o
   quick-ADV run-IMP ‘run quickly’

Other related forms of adverbs are: nganāiyo /ŋanāiyo/ ‘though’, sāppa /sāppā/ ‘very’ mulaiyo /mulaŋiyo/ ‘still, yet’, dopaiyo /dopāiyo/ ‘anyway, anyhow’, dopā /dopā/ ‘how’ [Test source: 3.33], teko /teko/ ‘which’, mopatike /mopatike/ ‘therefore’ (introduces the logical result of something that has just been mentioned [Text source: 3.16]), gis /gis/ (also /došo/) ‘how much’, domo kolšho /domo kolšyo/ ‘how big’, khodesho /khoodesho/ (also budi as in tsentsebudı kolšho ‘As big as Tsentse...’) ‘like, as’ and tekere42 /tekere/ ‘where’, teitei ‘everywhere’, suisui ‘everyone/every being’.

There is an infix morpheme -nġa /-ŋā/, which helps to derive adverbial continuation of action infixed between the two verb roots, e.g., lasŋAlasi /lasŋālasi/
'going without pausing', pasngApasi /paŋŋaŋso/ 'doing without pausing', gasngAgasi /paŋŋaŋgəsi/ '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 /muləm/ 'until now', sinAtsam /siŋətsəm/ 'until yesterday', disAsam /diŋəsam/ 'until tomorrow', nithnAtsam /niŋəthsəm/ 'until the following day', saithotsesam /siŋəθəcesəm/ 'until the last year'.

Comparative and superlative adverbials can be expressed through rippA /ripə/ as in itsA rippA /icə rippə/ ‘more quickly’, go itstsi nolē lainge /go ɬici.nolē ləi.nu.ŋ/ ‘I go after some time’, and go tsentse pihonole lainge /go ɬci.nolē ləi.nu.ŋ/ ‘I will go as/after Tsentse comes back.’ The morpheme -kerō (go meko-kerō lāixo bā?i ‘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 /dza.si.n.ma.ədzai.nci.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. Kaleka /kə.le.kə/ ‘once upon a time’
   b. Sainesmoitin /sɑi.nesmoi.tin/ ‘many years ago’
   c. Hōnti-moiti /hōt̪i-моi̩ti/ ‘before’
   e. Naphke /nɑpʰke/ ‘previously, formerly’ [cf. nā Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 230]
   f. Mul /mul/ ‘now, at the time’ [cf. māy Kirānti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 231]
3.1.3.2.1.2 Specific adverbs of time

Specific adverbs of time are illustrated in (160) a-t.

<p>| | | | |</p>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td><code>tsimikkanole</code></td>
<td>/ci.mik.ka.nole/</td>
<td>‘a moment (some time) later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td><code>mulAt–munAt</code></td>
<td>/mu.lat–mu.nat/</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td><code>itsitsinA</code></td>
<td>/ic.ci.na/</td>
<td>‘just now, presently, recently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td><code>itsitsin</code></td>
<td>/ic.ci.n/</td>
<td>‘immediate right now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td><code>sinAt</code></td>
<td>/si.na/</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td><code>ungku</code></td>
<td>/un.ku/</td>
<td>‘time, turn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td><code>mulAt–sinAt</code></td>
<td>/mu.lat–si.na/</td>
<td>‘nowadays’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td><code>nAT</code></td>
<td>/na/</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td><code>sun’ikan</code></td>
<td>/sun.ika/</td>
<td>‘early morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td><code>suni</code></td>
<td>/su.ni/</td>
<td>‘morning, daybreak’</td>
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<tr>
<td>k.</td>
<td><code>nATi</code></td>
<td>/na.ti/</td>
<td>‘daytime, afternoon’</td>
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<td>l.</td>
<td><code>nAdo</code></td>
<td>/na.do/</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td><code>nARiTS</code></td>
<td>/na.ric/</td>
<td>‘evening, twilight’</td>
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<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td><code>nuPho</code></td>
<td>/nu.pho/</td>
<td>‘week’</td>
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<tr>
<td>o.</td>
<td><code>sin</code></td>
<td>/sin/</td>
<td>‘month’</td>
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<td>p.</td>
<td><code>thotse</code></td>
<td>/tho.ce/</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
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<td>q.</td>
<td><code>mudi</code></td>
<td>/mu.di/</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r.</td>
<td><code>noras</code></td>
<td>/no.ras/</td>
<td>‘minute’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td><code>kumuk</code></td>
<td>/ku.muk/</td>
<td>‘hour’</td>
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<tr>
<td>t.</td>
<td><code>ludz</code></td>
<td>/ludz/</td>
<td>‘second’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u.</td>
<td><code>yAmka</code></td>
<td>/yamka/</td>
<td>‘a while’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.3.2.1.3 Spatial

To express directional or spatial adverb, the suffix -ge /-ge/ can usually be added to locational adverbs, e.g., oynthia piuo /öth-ge 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. enkere\(^43\) /e^nke/ ‘here’
b. mekere\(^44\) /mekere/ ‘here’
c. gettha / gets / ‘up here’ (vertical)
d. ir /ir/ ‘up there’ (vertical)
e. hari ir /hirir/ ‘up there’ (vertical)
f. hari iri /hiriri/ ‘very far up there’
g. luts /luk/ ‘down’
h. di /di/ ‘near down’
i. uyu /uyu/ ‘far down’
j. hayu uu-hui uu /huyu-huui/ ‘very far down’ [cf. huido, yumi; ‘down’ at/to’ K-Rod and Ban; Ebert (1999: 109)]
k. hayu uu /huyu uyu/ ‘very far down’
l. er /er/ ‘far’ (horizontal)
m. hare ere /hare erre/ ‘very far’ (horizontal)
n. oynthia / öth / ‘hither’
o. pittha / pith / ‘thither’
p. AgA /ágá/ ‘(of) inside’
q. langA /lángá/ ‘outside’
r. oynthia /öthge/ ‘this way’ (lit. hither towards)
s. pittha / pithge/ ‘that way’ (lit. thither towards)
t. er-oynthia /er-öth/ ‘to and fro’ (lit. this way and that way)

\(^43\) Other reduced forms are: enker > enke > enk /e^nke > e^nke > e"ke
\(^44\) Other reduced forms are: meker > meke > mek /meker > meke > 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 onomatopoetic” 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, sesu (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 pidar-mi dzaditsakali tsuissho nasom somkempa bakyapatke shokle nu phupikya sesu ruptu.

‘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 Kiranti-Koits in sentential constructions precede the head verbs and head nouns. The following quantity-quantifiers in (163) a-g are available in the Kiranti-Koits language:

(163) a. itsikhe ‘a little’
   b. itsikhoi ‘about a little’
   c. tsinuyo ‘somemore, still, again’
   d. susi > sus ‘many, much, very, too’
   e. nellhe > ne! ‘all, whole’
   f. oso ‘this much’
   g. moso ‘that much’
3.1.4 Numerals and classifiers

The basic Kiranti-Koits numerals (1-10), after Hodgson’s pioneering study, were probably 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 Kiranti languages in general and Kiranti-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 $p^hε^gā$ classifying banana) exceptionally.

3.1.4.1 Basic cardinal numerals

As discussed about the Je-ticha Bre:se ‘script’ for documenting the Kiranti-Koits language in § 2.5-§ 2.5.4 in Chapter 2, we will below on two rows left handside provide basic numerals up to 10 in the script proper for the sake of further investigation and development of the the writing system in the language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(164)</th>
<th>Modern usage</th>
<th>Beams’ data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td>$\text{&lt;25&gt;}$</td>
<td>$\text{sum}$  /sum/ ‘zero’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$\text{7}$</td>
<td>$\text{kA}$  /kā/ ‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$\text{W+25}$</td>
<td>$\text{ni?si}$ /ni?si/ ‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$\text{3}$</td>
<td>$\text{SAN}$ /sā/ ‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>$\text{4}$</td>
<td>$\text{le}$  /λe/ ‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$\text{5}$</td>
<td>$\text{nga}$ /ŋə/ ‘five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>$\text{6}$</td>
<td>$\text{raku}$ /rə.ku/ ‘six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>$\text{7}$</td>
<td>$\text{tsani}$ /tə.ni/ ‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>$\text{8}$</td>
<td>$\text{sasi}$ /sə.sį/ ‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>$\text{9}$</td>
<td>$\text{yAN}$ /yə/ ‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>$\text{10}$</td>
<td>$\text{gau}$ /gəu/ ‘ten’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound-cardinal</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eleven</td>
<td>/käk/</td>
<td>nik</td>
<td>/nik/</td>
<td>twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirteen</td>
<td>/säk/</td>
<td>lek</td>
<td>/lek/</td>
<td>fourteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifteen</td>
<td>/ņok/</td>
<td>rok</td>
<td>/rok/</td>
<td>sixteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventeen</td>
<td>/tsek/</td>
<td>sask</td>
<td>/sask/</td>
<td>eighteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nineteen</td>
<td>/yäk/</td>
<td>nisum</td>
<td>/ni.sum/</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty-one</td>
<td>/ni. kä/</td>
<td>ninis</td>
<td>/ni.nis/</td>
<td>twenty-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty-three</td>
<td>/ni. sä/</td>
<td>nile</td>
<td>/ni.le/</td>
<td>twenty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty-five</td>
<td>/ni. īo/</td>
<td>nirak</td>
<td>/ni.rāk/</td>
<td>twenty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty-seven</td>
<td>/ni. can/</td>
<td>nisas</td>
<td>/ni.sās/</td>
<td>twenty-eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty-nine</td>
<td>/ni. yā/</td>
<td>sansum</td>
<td>/sā.sum/</td>
<td>thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirty-one</td>
<td>/säk/</td>
<td>sanis</td>
<td>/sā.nis/</td>
<td>thirty-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirty-three</td>
<td>/sā. sās/</td>
<td>sanile</td>
<td>/sā.le/</td>
<td>thirty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirty-five</td>
<td>/sā. īo/</td>
<td>sanrak</td>
<td>/sā.rāk/</td>
<td>thirty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirty-seven</td>
<td>/sā. can/</td>
<td>sanzas</td>
<td>/sā.sās/</td>
<td>'thirty-eight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirty-nine</td>
<td>/sā. yā/</td>
<td>lesum</td>
<td>/lē.sum/</td>
<td>forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forty-one</td>
<td>/lē. īa/</td>
<td>lenis</td>
<td>/lē.nis/</td>
<td>forty-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forty-three</td>
<td>/lē. sā/</td>
<td>lele</td>
<td>/lē.le/</td>
<td>forty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forty-five</td>
<td>/lē. īa/</td>
<td>lerak</td>
<td>/lē.rāk/</td>
<td>forty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forty-seven</td>
<td>/lē. can/</td>
<td>lesas</td>
<td>/lē.sās/</td>
<td>forty-eight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45 Cf. khalka /kʰal. kā/ also in measurement of money in § 3.1.5.1 and example (170) i.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Digit</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>forty-nine</td>
<td>/ley AN /le.ya/</td>
<td>‘forty-nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifty</td>
<td>/ngasum /ŋə.sum/</td>
<td>‘fifty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifty-one</td>
<td>/ngakA /ŋə.ka/</td>
<td>‘fifty-one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifty-two</td>
<td>/ngasAN /ŋə.sə/</td>
<td>‘fifty-two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifty-three</td>
<td>/nganga /ŋə.ŋa/</td>
<td>‘fifty-three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifty-four</td>
<td>/ngatsan /ŋə.ɕən/</td>
<td>‘fifty-four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifty-five</td>
<td>/ngayAN /ŋə.ya/</td>
<td>‘fifty-five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifty-six</td>
<td>/nakA /nə.kə/</td>
<td>‘fifty-six’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixty</td>
<td>/ransum /ɾaŋ.səm/</td>
<td>‘sixty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixty-two</td>
<td>/naknis /ɾaŋ.nis/</td>
<td>‘sixty-two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixty-three</td>
<td>/nakle /ɾaŋ.ле/</td>
<td>‘sixty-three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixty-four</td>
<td>/rarak /ɾaŋ.ɾək/</td>
<td>‘sixty-four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixty-five</td>
<td>/raksas /ɾaŋ.ɾək.sə/</td>
<td>‘sixty-five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventy</td>
<td>/tsansum /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səm/</td>
<td>‘seventy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventy-one</td>
<td>/tsannis /ɾaŋ.ɾək.nis/</td>
<td>‘seventy-one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventy-two</td>
<td>/tsanje /ɾaŋ.ɾək.łe/</td>
<td>‘seventy-two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventy-three</td>
<td>/tsanrak /ɾaŋ.ɾək.ɾək/</td>
<td>‘seventy-three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventy-four</td>
<td>/tsansan /ɾaŋ.ɾək.ɾək.sə/</td>
<td>‘seventy-four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventy-five</td>
<td>/tsas /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səs/</td>
<td>‘seventy-five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighty</td>
<td>/sasum /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səs.səm/</td>
<td>‘eighty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighty-one</td>
<td>/sasnis /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səs.nis/</td>
<td>‘eighty-one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighty-two</td>
<td>/sasle /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səs.ле/</td>
<td>‘eighty-two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighty-three</td>
<td>/sasrak /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səs.rək/</td>
<td>‘eighty-three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighty-four</td>
<td>/sasas /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səs.səs/</td>
<td>‘eighty-four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighty-five</td>
<td>/sasyAN /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səs.ya/</td>
<td>‘eighty-five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninety</td>
<td>/yANsum /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səyəm/</td>
<td>‘ninety’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninety-one</td>
<td>/yANnis /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səyənis/</td>
<td>‘ninety-one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninety-two</td>
<td>/yANle /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səyələ/</td>
<td>‘ninety-two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninety-three</td>
<td>/yANrak /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səyəɾək/</td>
<td>‘ninety-three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninety-four</td>
<td>/yANsas /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səyəsəs/</td>
<td>‘ninety-four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninety-five</td>
<td>/yANyAN /ɾaŋ.ɾək.səyəyən/</td>
<td>‘ninety-five’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninety-six</td>
<td>/pɔrnkA /pɔr.ɾən.kə/</td>
<td>‘one hundred’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Kiranti-Köits, there is only one ordinal marker <-sam> 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Tankhul-Naga</th>
<th>Kiranti-Köits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>kā-sam</td>
<td>kā-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ni-sam</td>
<td>ni-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>sā-sam</td>
<td>sā-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>le-sam</td>
<td>le-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>nga-sam</td>
<td>nga-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>ruk-sam</td>
<td>ruk-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>sāni-sam</td>
<td>sāni-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>sas-sam</td>
<td>sas-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>yā-sam</td>
<td>yā-sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>gau-sam</td>
<td>gau-sam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Kiranti-Köits, it is formed by reduplicating the whole syllable with <-pā> originally form pāṣyā-pāṣā ‘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. ni?si ni?si 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 /kē/ ‘one (lit.)’ to the cardinals like niśikā ‘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. kalēngā solum kāleka la ropite masogenngā laptso Paiwa nu Dunglewa

kāle-ŋā solu-m kāle-kā lā ro?-sib māsogen-ŋā lāptso Pāiwā nu
once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and
Dūlēwen-ke glumāts glu-mēke-n tsō?i-si-mē bā-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. kāb-nāt shyetsib pānpan lashonu Tsisankhu (Kuibir, Serna, Diyale nu Pokharengā sirwa) dzādimma-bāt.

kāb-nāt śye-tsib pā-n-ŋ-pā-n la-ŋ-so-nu Tsisānku (Kuibir, Sernā, 
one/once-day meat-bird do-PROG-RED-PROG go-PR:PCPL-TEMP Ts (K, S, 
Diyālē nu Pokhare-ŋā sirwā) dzēdimma-bā-tə-t
D and P-GEN boarder) reach-PST:3PL-AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Once upon a time, they reached to Tsisankhu (boader 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 <khoi> ‘about’, e.g.,

\[(169)\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{kA khoi} & \quad /kā kʰoi/ \quad \text{‘about one’} \\
nī?si khoi & \quad /niʔsi kʰoi/ \quad \text{‘about two’} \\
sAN khoi & \quad /sā kʰoi/ \quad \text{‘about three’}
\end{align*}\]

### 3.1.4.1.5 Fractional numerals

The following two fractional numeral names \((169)\) a-b are available in Kiranti-Kōits and further investigation may discover other nomenclature too.

\[(169)\]

\[\begin{align*}
a. \text{lekal} & \quad /lēkāl/ \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad \text{‘one fourth, a quarter’} \\
b. \text{phekyo} & \quad /pʰēkyo/ \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \text{‘half’}
\end{align*}\]

### 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 \(\text{kyet} /kyeTI/ \text{‘cash’}, \text{ketos} /kēTos/ \text{‘currency’}\) and \(\text{khru–khu}(D)u /kʰur(D)u/ \text{‘rupee/s’}\) in Kiranti-Kōits and other specific units are provided in \((170)\) a-o.

\[(170)\]

\[\begin{align*}
a. \text{sekle} & \quad /sēkle/ \quad \text{‘25 paisa/cent coin’} \\
b. \text{phebre} & \quad /pʰēbre/ \quad \text{‘50 paisa/cent coin’} \\
c. \text{khurkA} & \quad /kʰur(D)kā/ \quad \text{‘one rupee coin’} \\
d. \text{khurnga} & \quad /kʰur(D)ŋa/ \quad \text{‘five rupees coin’} \\
e. \text{khur} & \quad /kʰur(D)/ \quad \text{‘one rupee paper-note’} \\
f. \text{khurni?si} & \quad /kʰur(D)niʔsi/ \quad \text{‘two rupees paper-note’} \\
g. \text{phANKa}^{47} & \quad /pʰänkā/ \quad \text{‘five rupees paper-note’}
\end{align*}\]

\^{47} \text{Cf. also tAplAkāA /tāplākā/ for ‘five rupees paper-note’}
### 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 *muṅ* and its synonymous term is *nāyṛ*. Other concepts of time are: *nāṃsits* /nāṃsits/ ‘era’ and *θemsi* /θemsi/ ‘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* /nupho/ and *tsem* /tsem/ 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 synonymous. They are given below in (171).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Set A</th>
<th>Set B</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rubnā∭</td>
<td>/rub.nā∭</td>
<td>tserenάt</td>
<td>‘Sunday आइतबार’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naknā∭</td>
<td>/nak.nā∭</td>
<td>tāsna∭</td>
<td>‘Monday सोमबार’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

48 See footnote 46

(See Sunuwar (2003 [VS 2060: 409]) for more than ‘one hundred thousand’ counting as *nāyṛ.kā*, *doṅ.kā*, *diri.kā*, *biri.kā*, *e.ri*, *pi.ri*, *ce.ri*)
3.1.6.2 Months

The generic term sin /sin/ in Kiranti-Koits 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. ngariṣ /njarıc/ नगीच ‘January, मास’
b. syābraṭs /kyābräc/ स्याख्रा ‘February, फागुन’
c. phurots /pʰuɾoc/ पूरोच ‘March, चैत’
d. gigiṣ /giɡiɾc/ गिगिच ‘April, श्रावण’
e. dzimnats /dzimnäc/ जिम्नाच ‘May, जेठ’
f. hubnats /hubnäc/ हुब्नाच ‘June, ज्यून’
g. khunats /khunäc/ खुन्नाच ‘July, भाद्र’
h. dz’ihots /dz’ihoɾc/ जिहोर ‘August, गती’
i. burots /buɾoc/ बुरोच ‘September, असोज’
j. gyurots /ɡyoɾoc/ ग्युरोच ‘October, कालिक’
k. häsots /häsːoɾc/ हासोर ‘November, ग्रहिःर’
l. gilots /ɡilɾoc/ गिलोर ‘December, पुष’

3.1.6.3 Seasons

Victor (1997) has described eight seasons in Tankhul-Naga (T-B spoken in Northeast India), whereas in Kiranti-Koits such rich nomenclature has been replaced by language contact situation in the Himalayas. The Kiranti-Koits people’s new season
begins in *hɑ:songosyu /hɑ:sonosyu* ‘a tribal festival’, which falls in the month of January. The following seasons (173) a-c have been recorded in the language.

(173) a. kagyawâtsari
   /kəgyawâcəri/ ‘spring season’

b. reusotshyem
   /reusotśem/ ‘rainy season’

c. gyu~dzijju
   /gyu~dzu/ ‘winter season’

3.2 Verb morphology

This § 3.2 describes the verbal system and their classification in Kiranti-Köits- 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 Kiranti-Koits verbs (also cf. Appendix C) as one of the pronominalised Himalayan languages have such pronominal suffixes.

3.2.1 Roots

Like most Kiranti (Athpare, Bantawa, Camling Thulung, Khaling and Limbu) verbs (Ebert 1994:19), Kiranti-Koits 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 Kiranti 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 /le.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>, <-so> and <-to> in (174) and (175) of whose detailed phonological rules has been left out for further investigation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Roots</th>
<th>Root Final</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Imperative/Directive</th>
<th>Finite forms</th>
<th>Gloss of (L)-NPST-1SG(vi/t) Σ-INF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(174)
### 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 /le.ca/ 'to sell'. Some more examples are presented in (175).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (Stem)</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰal-</td>
<td>kʰal-cā</td>
<td>kʰal-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to mix up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰul-</td>
<td>kʰul-cā</td>
<td>kʰul-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to care/look after'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māl-</td>
<td>māl-cā</td>
<td>mā-lo</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to need/search'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gr(ɪ)ol-</td>
<td>gr(ɪ)olo-cā</td>
<td>gr(ɪ)olo</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to lie on'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel-</td>
<td>rel-cā</td>
<td>rel-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to hang'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sul-</td>
<td>sul-cā</td>
<td>sul-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to tickle'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tul-</td>
<td>tul-cā</td>
<td>tul-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to uproot'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēl-</td>
<td>tēl-cā</td>
<td>tēl-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to pile up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pn(ɪ)ol-</td>
<td>pn(ɪ)ol-cā</td>
<td>pn(ɪ)ol</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to break' (A active)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>br(ɪ)ol-</td>
<td>br(ɪ)ol-cā</td>
<td>br(ɪ)ol</td>
<td>Σ-bə (vi.)</td>
<td>to 'break' (O itself)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šycl-</td>
<td>šycl-cā</td>
<td>šycl-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to make/build'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hām-</td>
<td>hām-cā</td>
<td>hām-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to dry'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him-</td>
<td>him-cā</td>
<td>him-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to shake'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sām-</td>
<td>sām-cā</td>
<td>sām-do</td>
<td>Σ-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to lose'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰerc-</td>
<td>kʰerc-cā</td>
<td>kʰerc-do</td>
<td>kʰer-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to chase'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hirc-</td>
<td>hirc-cā</td>
<td>hirc-do</td>
<td>hirc-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to roam'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirc-</td>
<td>kirc-cā</td>
<td>kirc-do</td>
<td>kirc-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to braid'(rope)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyorc-</td>
<td>kyorc-cā</td>
<td>kyor-do</td>
<td>kyor-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to cut'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāic-</td>
<td>lāic-cā</td>
<td>lā-to</td>
<td>lāi-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to take away'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰroic-</td>
<td>kʰroic-cā</td>
<td>kʰroic-do</td>
<td>kʰroic-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to chop'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soic-</td>
<td>soic-cā</td>
<td>soit-do</td>
<td>soi-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to send'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roic-</td>
<td>roic-cā</td>
<td>roit-to</td>
<td>roi-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to snatch'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰuic-</td>
<td>kʰuic-cā</td>
<td>kʰuic-to</td>
<td>kʰuic-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to hide'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muic-</td>
<td>muic-cā</td>
<td>muit-to</td>
<td>mui-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to blow up'(fire)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōic-</td>
<td>hōic-cā</td>
<td>hōis-so</td>
<td>hōi-nu-ŋ</td>
<td>'to climb up'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nic-    c-    nic-cā    nis-šo    nissi-nu-ŋ    ‘to sit’
kic-    c-    kic-cā    kiŋ-o    ki-nu-ŋ    ‘to pull’
gāʔ-   ?-    gāʔ-cā    gāʔ-ko    ŋ-nu-ŋ    ‘to walk’
teʔ-   ?-    teʔ-cā    teʔ-ko    ŋ-nu-ŋ    ‘to block’
theʔ-   ?-    theʔ-cā    theʔ-ko    ŋ-nu-ŋ    ‘to tread’
thāp-   p-    thāp-cā    thāp-o    ŋ-nu-ŋ    ‘to pay’
tup-   p-    tup-cā    tup-o    ŋ-nu-ŋ    ‘to beat’
yup-   p-    yup-cā    yup-o    ŋ-nu-ŋ    ‘to beat’
lup-   p-    lup-cā    lup-o    ŋ-nu-ŋ    ‘to smear’
kʰāp-   p-    kʰāp-cā    kʰāp-o    ŋ-nu-ŋ    ‘to pile up in layer’

Non-finite forms of both open and closed roots are: ŋ-INF (ŋ-cā; is cognate of ŋ-co K-Ba, ŋ-cām K-Wam and in other Kiranti languages; ŋ-ma? lim, ŋ-ma Ath, ŋ-ma Ban, ŋ-ma Rod, ŋ-mu Th, ŋ-na Kh (Ebert 1994: 55)) ŋ-PUR (ŋ-th), ŋ-CONV:SIM, ŋ-NEG:CONV(ŋ-šā-ŋā is cognate of ŋ-sa Ath, ŋ-sa Ban, ŋ-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 in 1SG PST agent-patient and 2SG→1SG /3SG e.g. soitti /soit.ti/ ‘send (lit.)’ imperative past.
(176) a. la-ti /la.ti/ go-PST:1SG ‘I went’
b. ga?-ti /gä.ti/ walk-PST:1SG ‘I walked’
c. ngA-ti /ŋä.ti/ weep-PST:1SG ‘I swept’
d. pi-ti /pi.ti/ come-PST:1SG ‘I came’
e. dzA?-ti /dzä.ti/ come/arrive-PST:1SG ‘I arrived’
f. ba?-ti /bä.ti/ be-PST:1SG ‘I was, remained’ (narrative verb plus AUX)
g. dum-ti /dum.ti/ become-PST:1SG ‘I became’
h. be?-ti /be.ti/ die-PST:1SG ‘I died’
i. li-ti /li.ti/ remain-PST:1SG ‘I remained’
j. grol-ti /gɾ(ŋ)ol.ti/ lie.down-PST:1SG ‘I lied down’
k. gri-ti /gɾ(ŋ)i.ti/ cry-PST:1SG ‘I cried’
l. brup-ti /br(ŋ)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 1 SG -> 2SG/DU/PL, 3SG/DU/PL e.g. soit-tā-ng /soıt.tā.ŋ/ ‘I sent...’ Consider other examples given in (177) a-e.
(177) a. *dzA-tA-ng*  
    eat-PST-1SG  
    /dzā.tā.ŋ/  
    ‘I ate...’

b. *pA-tA-ng*  
    do-PST-1SG  
    /pā.tā.ŋ/  
    ‘I did...’

c. *sol-tA-ng*  
    take out-PST-1SG  
    /sōl.tā.ŋ/  
    ‘I took out...’

d. *let-tA-ng*  
    return-PST-1SG  
    /lēt.tā.ŋ/  
    ‘I returned something turned cattle from one direction to another’

e. *breʔ-tA-ng*  
    write-PST-1SG  
    /breʔ.tā.ŋ/  
    ‘I wrote’ [cf. -tā1SG: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-skū* /soit.tā.skū/ ‘We DU sent...’, *soit-te-se* /soit.tē.se/ ‘You DU send...’ (IMP) etc.

### 3.2.3 Deictic verbs

We have already listed some Kirānti-Kōits 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. hāyu muyu (also hui ui is cognate of *hui do*) ‘down at/to’ K-Rod, *yu(ni)* ‘down at/to’ K-Ban, *huilo-ka* (cf. hui-lā K-K) ‘from below’ K-Rod, *yuni-yka* ‘from below’ *hui-ni* (cf. hui-ge K-K) ‘down to’, *yu-t nin* K-Ban ‘down to’; Ebert (1999: 109) ‘very far down’ (±animate object, vertical), uyu-ui (<hāyu uyu>ui) ‘below down’ (location, distance, vertical), hārē mere ‘level, distal’ (±human object, horizontal), hārē ere-er ‘far, distal’ (level:LOC, distance, horizontal), hārē mēri ‘far up’ (±human object, vertical) and hārē 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 Kiranti-Koits deitic verbs (178) a-d and (179) a-d like in other Kiranti 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. *hitstra* /hi.cā/  ‘to come down’ (vertical)
    b. *kutsa* /ku.cā/  ‘to come up’
    c. *piitsa* /pi.cā/  ‘to come’ (level, horizontal) [cf. *pī-cām* Kiranti-Wam; Rai (2002)]
    d. *dzara* /dzā.r.cā/  ‘to come/arrive (neutral)’

(179) a. *hppitstra* /hicā/  ‘to bring, fetch down’ [cf. *hūc-cām* Kiranti-Wam; Rai (2002)]
    b. *kuiśta* /kui.cā/  ‘to bring, fetch up’ (vertical)
    c. *piśstra* /picā/  ‘to bring, fetch (level, horizontal)’ [cf. *pić-cām* Kiranti-Wam; Rai (2002)]
    d. *isastra* /cā.r.cā/  ‘to bring, fetch (neutral)’

Like these deictic verbs, there are other verb classes e.g. *thāica* /thaicā/ ‘to beat’, *kyortssta* /kyorcā/ ‘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 Kiranti-Koits. viz., -bā < -bā?t(a) ‘locative auxiliary; is:3SG’ or *me* ‘defining auxiliary’ and <na-> ‘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, <m±>- e.g., m±-bä ‘is not’ and m±-me ‘no, not at all’.

Except for me’ (statement) and me’ (interrogative), both <-bä> and <n±>- inflect according to number, person and TAM, e.g. bä?-ti ‘am/was:1SG’, bä?-ta-sku ‘were-PST:1DU’, bä?-ta-kä ‘were-PST:1PL’, bä?-te ‘were-PST:2SG’, bä?-ti-si ‘were-PST:2DU’, bä?-ti-ni ‘were-PST:2PL’, bä?-tø ‘were-PST:3SG’, bä?-tä-së ‘were-PST:3DU’, and bä?-te-me ‘were-PST:3PL’ and so on (cf. § 3.2.7 (201) g) and Table 3.12 shows the inflected forms for <n±>- (cf. (180) a and (181) a also).

The copula morpheme -/bä ‘is’ cognate of bu in Kiranti-Thu (Ebert 1994: 257, Ebert 1999: 124).

(180) a. go su na-ngA? /go su na.ŋä/ 1SG who am-1SG ‘Who am I?’

(181) a. go mur nang /go mur na-ŋ/ 1SG man am-1SG ‘I am a man.’

Table 3.12: The conjugation of the copula na- (DeLancey 1992: 31)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>DUAL</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>na-ŋ</td>
<td>na-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>na-ye</td>
<td>na-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>na-se</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other copula or auxiliary/modal verbs are: c’itäu ‘to be about, going to’ (e.g. reu i-cä c’itäu ‘about or going to rain’), bä?-cä ‘continuous auxiliary (e.g. dzä-n-dzä-n bä?-cä ‘stay eating’), plöi-cä ‘terminative auxiliary (pa-cä plöi-cä ‘to stop doing’), thum-cä ‘egressive auxiliary (dzä-şä thum-cä ‘to finish eating’), soic-cä ‘dispatch

50 The native vocabulary is me’/me’/ and ho is a loan from the Indic Nepali.
auxiliary (breʔ-sā soic-cā ‘to send having written’), cāp-cā ‘capacity auxiliary (pa-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-pa-cā māl-cā ‘to want for asking’), pa-pa-cā-pā-pāic-cā ‘causative auxiliary (ge pa-pa-cā ‘to cause working’), mālbo ‘necessity auxiliary (wās-kBloic-cā mālbo ‘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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>Basic verb types</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>+Experiencer</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>+Benefactive</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>+Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
(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. *A*N-*ke sōNth dze?met /āke sō1h dze?met/ ISG-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. *d0*:tsA /d’o?.cā/ ‘to fall’

c. *hālsi*-tsA /hālsi.cā/ ‘to widen’

d. *buits*-tsA /buic.cā/ ‘to boil’

e. *s*’ishyidum-tsA /s’išyidum.cā/ ‘to be cold’

f. *eNko laring laringraw-la do?met /e’ko larinj larinjrawālā 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 accompaned 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.cä/ ‘to fell’
c. šaits-tsa /sāic.cä/ ‘to kill’
d. shyel-tsa /šyel.cä/ ‘to make, build’
e. khâr-tsa /k'haː.cä/ ‘to tear’
f. prol-tsa /p̥roł.cä/ ‘to beak’
g. laîpiyA-mi khui-kali saît-tu /lglpiya.mi kʰui.kali sāit.tu/ ‘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.cä/ ‘to make/build’
b. kyorts-tsa /kyor.ccä/ ‘to cut’ (animate objects of solid and big size)
c. iseʔ-tsa /ceʔcä/ ‘to cut’ (animate objects into smaller pieces)
d. r'i-tsa /r'i.cä/ ‘to cut’ (grass and crops while harvesting)
e. khroits-tsa /kʰro.iːt.cä/ ‘to cut’ (firewood, log etc. only into three or four pieces) (Source: Rapacha 2003)
f. go guye-mi sosmål r'i-nu-ng /gûye.mi sosmål r'i.nu.n̥/ ‘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.cä/ ‘to 1 like, 2 swallow, 3 light’
b. māltsa /mäl.cä/ ‘to 1 want, 2 search’

d. *go m`ishyeAl kā-nu nam-pāī-nu-ng* /go m`isyēl kā.nu nam.pāi.nu ng/
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* /ʃyetge.caJ/ ‘to annoy’

b. *shye-tsA* /ʃyā.caJ/ ‘to annoy’ (different pragmatico-semantic sense)

c. *rippaits-tsA* /rippaic.caJ/ ‘to amuse/please’ (lit. make laugh)

d. *goi a-n-kali mopA ma-shyAk-o* /goi a.kāli mopā mā.syāk.o/
2SG my/1-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 ungergoes the psychological experience, e.g.,

(187) a. *dzemlathuNge-tsA* /dzemlāthū.ge.caJ/ ‘to congratulate’


c. *go in-kali gyārssi gla-sho-pa-tike-m dzemlathuN-ge-nu-ng* /goi in.kāli gyārssi glāšo.p̪a.tike.m dzemlāthūgēnuŋ/
1SG 2SG POSS-DAT match win-PCPL-do-NML-LOC congratulate-give-NPST-1SG ‘I congarulate you for wining 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* /hillopa.cā/ ‘to ask’ (lit. ask to do)

b. *thaits-tsA* /thāic.cā/ ‘to beat’

c. *den-tsA* /de̱.cā/ ‘to tell’

d. *gői-mi meko Al-kali mārde thāit-ti/ goi.mi meko āl kali mārdē 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 and patient noun, which specifies the object possessed. e.g.

(189) a. *go-nu phurkal kā bā* /go.nu phurkāl kā 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* /ɛnko kʰiN a̱ne me/ 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. *glā-tsA* /glā.cā/ ‘to win’

b. *blu-tsA* /blu.cā/ ‘to lose, get defeated’
c. $\text{kha}:\text{-}\text{tsA}$ $\text{\text{"{k}a};\text{cā}}$ ‘to tear’

d. go-piki-\text{me}ko $\text{\p{"{u}rkäl} gyārssi} \text{glä-cā} \text{mə-cāb-ni-ki}$

1-\text{PL}-\text{ERG} that/\text{the} \text{football} \text{game} \text{win-\text{INF} \text{NEG}}-\text{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. $\text{kophele-ge-\text{tsA}}$ $\text{\text{"{k}ophle}\text{{.cii}}}$ ‘to give bribe’

b. $\text{cohē\text{Nc-\text{pa-\text{tsA}}}}$ $\text{\text{"{cohē\text{.c.pā}}}}$ ‘to supply’

c. $\text{tsubglob-ge-\text{tsA}}$ $\text{\text{"{subglob}.c.cā}}$ ‘to arm’

d. go-m $\text{tebām-kāli}$ cirssi $\text{cohē\text{c-pā-tā-\text{η}}}$ (A/S) (DO: P, B) IO (V, Predicate)

1\text{SG}-\text{ERG} \text{Tebam-\text{DAT} millet} supply-\text{do-\text{INF-PST}-1\text{SG}}

‘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. $\text{gyā\text{p-\text{tsA}}}$ $\text{\text{"{gyāp}.cā}}$ ‘to buy’

b. $\text{le-\text{tsA}}$ $\text{\text{"{lē}.cā}}$ ‘to sell’

c. $\text{b\text{.\text{"{its-\text{tsA}}}}}$ $\text{\text{"{b\text{.\text{"{ic}.cā}}}}$ ‘to obey’

d. $\text{\text{"{tā}.\text{tsA}}}$ $\text{\text{"{tā}.cā}}$ ‘to accept i.e. ideas, goods etc.’

e. $\text{\text{"{tā}.\text{\text{"{?\text{tsA}}}}} \text{\text{"{tā}.\text{cā}}}$ ‘to take something’

e. go-m $\text{de\text{.\text{"{so goi-mi bit-tyi-\text{ηnā}}}} \text{go goi-kāli} \text{\text{"{ko \text{\p{"{urkäl}ge-nu-\text{η}}}}}$
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 bA?-na-mi /ə'ko kʰi.mi su su bā?nāmi/ 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 /la.cā/ 'to go'
    c. yA:-tsA /yāː.cā/ 'to shift' (with inanimate subjects)
    d. go-m ąN-ke wa eNko khiN-la meko khiN-mi yA:-iA-ng /go.m ā.ke wā ə'ko kʰi.lā m eko kʰi.mi yāː.tā.n/ 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.\(c\)^\(\text{ā}\)/ ‘to fly’
\(b.\) dorts-\(tsA\) /dɔrc.\(c\)^\(\text{ā}\)/ ‘to run’
\(c.\) pi-\(tsA\) /pi.\(c\)^\(\text{ā}\)/ ‘to come’ four types (See § 3.2.3)
\(d.\) la-\(tsA\) /la.\(c\)^\(\text{ā}\)/ ‘to go’ (with animate subjects)

\(e.\) enko lan-mi dok rAp-sh\(A\)-ba?-sho mur tek la-me?
\(/ɛ\text{̣}ko lɑ.\text{mi dok rāpṣ̌āḅo}\text{̣} mur tek lɑm\text{̣}ɛ/\)

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.\(c\)^\(\text{ā}\)/ ‘to bring’
\(b.\) ca?-\(tsA\) /cā\(\text{̣}\).\(c\)^\(\text{ā}\)/ ‘to bring’
\(c.\) ta?-\(tsA\) /tā\(\text{̣}\).\(c\)^\(\text{ā}\)/ ‘to take i.e. something’
\(d.\) go-mi gyAkosi-la laring nu phengse gyAp-sh\(A\) pit-t\(A\)-ng
\(/\text{gɔ.mi gyākosi.lā lāriŋ nu pʰɛŋse gyāp.sā pɪt.tā.ŋ}/\)

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-Kōits (Sun(u)war) verb ‘transitivity’. In her three-
paragraphed abstract of the 9th Himalayan 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 hierarchy” 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
eamples on Borchers observation, we will first observe the notion of “transitivity” in one
of the neighbouring Kiranti languages (see Ch 1 § 1.1) of Kiranti-Koits Near Kirat
known as Wambule here.

In Opgenort’s (2002) study, the Wambule (one of the neighbouring languages of
Kiranti-Koits; 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 Kiranti-Kōits intransitive verbs, as in Wambule show agreement with one argument, e.g. go ṇā:-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 la-cā ‘to go’ (194) b, berc-cā ‘to fly’ (195) a, pi-cā ‘to come’ (194) a, be?-cā ‘to die’ (182) a, bā:-cā ‘to dwell, sit’ (193) a rāp-cā ‘to stand up’ (193) c, gā?: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’, dzō?-cā ‘to know’, thic-cā ‘to find out’, dzā-cā ‘to eat’ tu-cā ‘to drink’, h'I-cā ‘to count’, thum-cā [cf. tum.cām K-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 258)] ‘to finish’, cā?-cā ‘to bring, fetch (neutral)’ (179) d, and so forth.

Like Wambule, Kiranti-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. mēko-mi myēšye ām-kāli-n cim-tu
   s/he-AGT buffalo s/he-for.the.sake.of-EMPH milk-PST:3SG
   ‘She milked the buffalow for herself.’

b. myēšye nākān 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 meko ‘s/he’ and milked the myeṣye ‘buffalo’ for her own benefit. The middle subject meko ‘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 -kali ‘for the sake of’ is co-referential with benefacted argument. Lastly, the argument myeṣye ‘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 myeṣye ‘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 myeṣye ‘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-kali cucu-pā-tā-η ‘I kissed Tsursi’ vs. go-o tsursi-kali dā-mu-η ‘I like Tsursi’ ‘telic aspect’ go-mi nelle obis hā-tā-η ‘I ate all the cucumber up’ vs go-o obis ha-n-ha-n-hā?-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 Agent is more deliberate; the Object is specified, and more completely affected” is true to K-K examples provided as follows:

(198) a. go-o āl-kali thāi-nu-η
1SG child beat-NPST-1SG
'I beat the child.'

b. go-mi āl-kālī mo-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-o ltyopot-o kii rw-nu-IJ (1SG-0 book-0 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,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>su ‘(to) burn’</td>
<td>cui ‘(to) burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sar ‘(to) light’</td>
<td>hor ‘(to) shine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mathot ‘wake (somebody up)’</td>
<td>mathuk ‘be wake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phak ‘widen’</td>
<td>pak ‘be wide’ (Victor 1997)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphophonemic changes</th>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Step 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Causee N51: self)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Causee Y: agent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. b =&gt; p-, s-</td>
<td>boʔ-cā ‘to get up’</td>
<td>vs. poʔ-cā ‘to get up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
The transitive verb e.g. poʔ-cā (199) b in the sentence; ʔā-kāl tau-mi poʔ-ti 'the son helped me get up' vs. boʔ-cā; go (āmmin) 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 Kiranti 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. -η(α), which is cognate of other Kiranti languages such as -η(α) Lim, -η(α) Ath, -η(α) Ban, -υη(α) Rod, -η. -η Th., -ηα; Ebert (1994: 22).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>kali-kāl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(200) a. 2SG → 1SG/3SG/DU/PL

-IMP | gloss |
--- | --- |
soit-to | 'send' |

b. 2DU → 1SG/3SG/DU/PL

soit-tes(ε) | 'sendDU' |
c. 2PL → 1SG/3SG/DU/PL soit-tin(c) gloss 'send PL'
d. 1SG → 2/3SG/DU/PL breʔ-nu-ŋ gloss 'write'
e. 1DU → 2/3SG/DU/PL breʔ-nə-sku gloss 'write DU'
f. 1PL → 2/3SG/DU/PL breʔ-nik(i) gloss 'write DU'
g. 3SG → 1SG/DU/PL thāi-b(ə) gloss 'beats'
h. 3DU → 1SG/DU/PL thāi-nis(i) gloss 'beat DU'
i. 3PL → 1SG/DU/PL thāi-nim(i) gloss 'beat PL'
j. 1SG → 2/3SG/DU/PL huit-tā-ŋ gloss 'scolded'
k. 1DU → 2/3SG/DU/PL huit-tə-sku gloss 'scolded DU'
l. 1PL → 2/3SG/DU/PL huit-tə-k(ə) gloss 'scolded PL'
m. 2SG → 1SG/DU/PL huit-tiyi gloss 'scolded'

3.2.8 Verb forms

The following sketchy Kiranti-Köits 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. pa-šā-thum-cā ‘to do completely’, breʔ-šā-thum-cā ‘to write completely’ and kʰāʔ-šā-thum-cā ‘to tear completely’
b. Aoristic/perfective future (probability) tense. Suffix: -wā (1SG only), e.g. pa-ŋ-wā ‘I would do...’ dza-ŋ-wā ‘I would eat...’ and la-ŋ-wā ‘I would go...’ [e.g. -wā, citāu suffixed to main verbs as in dza-cā-citāu (3SG) ‘going to eat’ etc. occurs with all person and number, and also there is a small range of verbs suffixing -dan(a) as in prol-dan(a) ‘will hit/break’, hir-dan ‘will help visiting. kir-dan(a) ‘will help braiding’ and so forth.

c. Aoristic/perfective injunctive tense. Suffixes: -ŋu, -g/tu, e.g. dza-ŋ ‘May/shall I eat...’ (further examples: pa-ŋ dešo ma-dum, ko-ŋu dešo ma-tāi-śi, go kām dešo dza-ŋ kā). ko-ŋu ‘May/shall I look ...’, pāu-o ‘do it’, hreš-g/tu ‘May/shall I write...’ (further examples: solu-du (1SG) dešo ma-glu, ble-tu (1SG) dešo ma-dum. soit-tu (1SG) dešo ma-ta, tami-blespot soit-tu (p), tseš-ta kā ble-tu (p). pa-wal(a) ‘May s/he do it’, pām-sel(a) ‘May theyDU do it’ etc.

d. Aoristic/perfective tense. Suffixes: -tā, -ti (1SG; cf. -tā-ŋ and -ti § 3.2.2), e.g. soitt-tā-ŋ ‘I sent...’, gā-ti ‘I walked ...’, -yi (2SG) soitt-ti-yi ‘You sent...’. tu (3SG) soitt-tu ‘s/he sent...’ etc.

e. Conjunctive participle prefixed with converb. Suffix: -ŋa, -lisāŋa, e.g. pa-ŋa ŋa and pa-s-li-šā-ŋa ‘after doing, after having done’

f. First perfective participle. Suffix: -šyo ~ ō e.g. pa-šo ‘done’

g. First perfective tense. First perfect participle plus the locative auxiliary bā or the auxiliary of defining me ‘is’ pa-šo-bā(-tā) ‘has done’

h. Perfective participle. Suffix: -nu, pa-šo-nu ‘while doing’

i. Infinitival non-past tense. Suffix: -ŋ (1SG), -bō (3SG), -sku (2DU), e.g. pāi-nu-ŋ ‘I do...’, pāi-bō ‘s/he does...’ pāi-nu-sku ‘weDU do...’

j. Infinitival participle. Suffix: -tik > tik ~ bō > b, e.g. pa-tik > pa-tik ~ pāi-bō > pāi-b ‘the one doing’
k. Infinitives. Suffixes: -cā, -th (purposive), and -ne prefixed with ma-ca-bu, e.g. pa-ca ‘to do’, pa-th-gā?cā ‘to walk for doing’ and pa-ne-ma-ca-bu ‘could not do…’

l. Second perfective participle. Suffix: -tu, -teme. ‘if one does’ (inflection according to person and number), pāp-tu ‘s/he did…’, pāmteme > pāmtem ‘theyPL did…’ etc.

m. Second perfective tense. Second perfect participle plus the paradigm bā ‘is’ (locative) pāwāba?ta ‘s/he does’ (has already started and the effect can be seen)


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 Kiranti-Koits verbs for tense marking given in (202).

The base form of the verb such contrast provided is- pà-cà (do-INF) 'to do'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPST</th>
<th>PST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(202)</td>
<td>a. 1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. 1DU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. 1PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 2 SG</td>
<td>pài-nayè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 2 DU</td>
<td>pà-sc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 2 PL</td>
<td>pài-nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. 3 SG</td>
<td>pài-b(ə)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. 3 DU</td>
<td>pài-nis(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 3 PL</td>
<td>pài-nim(i)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.9.2 Aspect

Aspect “relates to the internal temporal structure of a situation” (Trask 1993: 21).

Aspect in Kiranti-Koits 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 known26 ‘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, turth, certainty, or probability vis-à-vis the speaker-hearer contact, e.g.

(203) a. meko-m wā murs-ṣyo-śo bā?-tā

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. meko-mi dzə-si-n mə-dzāu
   3SG-AGT eat- PROG-EMPH NEG-eat
   'S/he didn’t have anything.'

b. meko.pik kʰame dzə.n.dzə.n bāʔ tem(e)
   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-ne-pāi-bāʔ-tə
   child-one-AGT wine drink-INF-do-be-3SG
   'A child used to drink wine.'

b. ā-ke bāge pi-ne la-ne pāi-nim
   my-GEN g-m come-INF go-INF do-3SG:HON
   'My grandmother (g-m) keeps coming and going.'

c. go ip-šō-ŋā ip-si bāʔ.ti
   1SG sleep-PCPL-SIM sleep-NML be-1SG
   'I was always sleeping.'

d. meko-m ribdo tu-si-ŋā-tu-s pāi-bāʔ-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 pa-n-pə-n bāʔ- ye?
   2SG what do-PROG-RED be-3 SG
   ‘What are you doing?’

b. go dzə-n-dzə-n bāʔ-ti
   1SG eat-PROG-RED be-1SG
   ‘I am eating.’ (lit. I eating exist) bāʔti = 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.ne/
   e.b here come-2 SG:IMP:HON
   ‘Come here brother (e.b = elder one).’

b. goi khuN lau-o /goi kʰi lāu.o/
   you house go-2SG:IMP
   ‘You go home.’

c. an-ke lo: bis-so /ā.ke lo: bis.so/
   my-GEN speech.talk obey-2sg:IMP
   ‘Obey my advice.’

d. enko lo: apphpo-kali ne-pa-tine /ɛ’ko lo: āpʰpokālī nepatine/
   this speech.talk father-DAT listen-CAUS-3sg:IMP:HON
   ‘Make dad listen this point.’

e. langA su pi-sho ba?-me ko-ngo /lɔŋgā su pi-šo bā’mē koŋo/
   outside.house who come-PCPL be-is:EXT look-2SG:IMP
   ‘Look, who has come outside the house?’

f. hir-th la-tsa-mālB den-shA de-nene /hirth lɔcā mālB de’ sā de-ne.ne/ 
   visit-PUR go-INF-must say-CONV say-2/3sg:IMP:HON
   ‘Tell them to go for a visit.’

g. i-ke mamA khuN la-mela /i.ke mamā kʰi lāmelə/
   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 <m>- 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-lai-nu-ŋ
1SG NEG-go-NPST-1SG
‘I will not (don’t) go’

b. goi mə-la-yi?
2SG NEG-go-3SG:Q
‘Didn’t you go?’

c. mədəb 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 <-lā> expresses realizable wishes or hopes as in (209) a-c.

(209) a. thebmur  dum-tsA  /'thɛb.mɪr dum.tsa/
big:ADJ:man  be-INF:OPT
‘Be a man of substance.’

b. modeba-n  dum-la  /mo.debə.n dum.la/
so:like-EMPH  be-OPT
‘Let it be so, Amen’

c. bisAsai  dum-tsA  /bi'sa:sai dum.tsa/
age(fig.)  be-INF:OPT
‘Live long.’
3.2.9.3.4 Hortative

The morpheme <-ya> is suffixed to verb roots for expressing exhortation as illustrated in (210) a-b.

(210) a. enk palā-pik khrum-ya /e¬k palā kʰrum.ya/
    here:ADV bamboo-PL plant-HOR
    ‘Let us plant the bamboo here.’

b. aîN mamālo: shyeN-si-ya /āi mā.mālo: se¨.si.ya/
    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-ba/ 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 tsāb-BA? /mo dumča cābbā/
    that/such become-INF can-NPST
    ‘Perhaps that can be so?’

b. disA tsemA dzā-nim-kON /disa cēmā dzā?nim 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 dā pʰu 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 Entative

The request suffix <-ni> and request particle <nāila> express request or offering etc. as examples provided in (212) a-b.

(212) a. AN-kali la-tsa ge-yi-ni /ākali lācā gsyini/  
my-DAT give-REQ-HON  
‘Let me go.’

b. eNk dzA?-shA bA?-tsA nāila /ēk dzā?šā bā?cā nāila/  
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 impudence ‘darv’as illustrated in (213) a-b.

(213) a. go oNsosam dza-tsa tsAb-nu-ng /go ősosəm dzācā cābnunj/  
1SG this.much eat-INF can-NPST-1SG  
‘I can eat this much.’

b. goi gyAkosi la-tsa tsAb-naye /go ősosəm dzəcā cābnunj/  
2SG market go-INF can-2SG  
‘You can go to the market.’

3.2.9.3.8 Desiderative /mālnunj/

The auxiliary verb /mālnunj/ ‘want’ is suffixed to verbal stem/base/roots for expressing the sense of ‘wanting’ or ‘desire’.

(214) a. go la-tsa mālnunj /go lācā mālnunj/
1SG go-INF AUX:want
'I want to go.'

3.2.9.3.9 Obligatory/necessitative /mālba/

The auxiliary verb /mālba/ ‘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-tσA-n mālba /gom kumso-pəcān mālba/
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-Kōts 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 dzār-sib ‘is eaten (approximately)’, e.g. (216) a-c and <-sāu> (also cf. Rapacha (1997)) dzār-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. šyople dzār-sib
bread eat-PAS ‘bread is eaten’ (the speaker is ready with the bread to be eaten)

b. rimso-pā šyil-pāi-sib
good-ADV dance-do-PAS ‘is danced beautifully’ (the speaker is ready to dance)

c. e`ko ge thum-šo-nolə gyākosi lāi-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 dzāī-sāu
snacks eat-PAS ‘snacks was eaten’

b. tsibbūdi kumso-pāī-sāu
bird.like song-do-PAS ‘was sung like a bird’

c. sināt gyākosi lāī-sāu
yesterday market go-PAS ‘yesterday had been to the market’

(218) a. ric-ō-cā ‘to laugh’ vs. him-si-cā ‘to be shaken’
b. ple-ō-cā ‘to jump’ vs. thum-si-cā ‘to be finished’
c. boic-ō-cā ‘to bloom’ vs. roi-si-cā ‘to be opened’

3.4 Causative structure

Causativization in Kirānti-Kōits is a morpho-lexical process. The infix morpheme <-paic-> is the sole causativizing element in the language. It changes its inflectional forms with its basic root <-pā-> with the root of the main verb, e.g. āl-kāli kāme dzā-pā-to (eat-CAUS-IMP:2SG) ‘Make the baby have the rice’ and other examples are:

(219) a. pa-pāits-tSA /pa.pāic.cā/  
do-CAUS-INF ‘make someone do something’

b. pa-pa-to /pa.pā.to/  
do-CAUS-IMP:2SG ‘you make him/her do something’

c. pa-pāit-tu /pa.pāit.tu/  
do- CAUS-PST:3SG ‘s/he made him/her/they do’

d. pa-pāit-ta-skū /pa.pāit.tā.skū/  
do- CAUS-PST:2DU ‘weDU made him do’
e. pa-pām-te-mœ /pa.pām.te(mœ)/
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-> (mumtāsDU K-K cf. motāsDU 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.ca/ beat-REC-INF ‘to beat each other’
b. l’u-mum-tsa /l’u.mum.ca/ lick-REC-INF ‘to lick each other’
c. ko-mum-tsa /ko.mum.ca/ look-REC-INF ‘to look each other’
d. dzi-mum-tsa /dzi.mum.ca/ fight-REC-INF ‘to fight each other’
e. su-mum-tsa /su.mum.ca/ cover-REC-INF ‘to cover each other’
f. tāi-mum-tsa /tāi.mum.ca/ kick-REC-INF ‘to kick each other’

3.6 Negative prefix

Kirānti-Kōits grammar utilizes only one negative prefix <ma-> (also cf. Appendix C) for contradicting the meaning of a given verb. This morpheme <ma-> 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 mà (Hodgson 1857: 500), the Hayu negative particle ma, makhi, maang or tha, which occur in preverbal position
(Michilovsky 1988: 161), the Dumi suffixes <-ma> and <-na> (Driem 1993b: 121-122),
the Yamphi negative markers <mɛn>-<ɛ?-><-n> (Rutgers 1998: 110, 211), Kiranti-Wam negative marker <ā>- (Opgehnorg 2002: 237), the Lahu negative particle <mā> (Matisoff 1991: 495), the Kiranti-Athpare <mi>- (Neupane 2001 [vs 2058: 130]) or <ni>- elsewhere in Ebert (1997) and the Tankhul-Naga (T-B) negative prefix <ma>- (Victor 1997). Normally, the morpheme <ma>- as negative marker is prefixed (cf. § 3.1; almost a single prefix morpheme) to verbs or adjective roots, e.g. ma-dza-cā ‘to not eat’ and ma-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 Kiranti languages, there is a separate negative marker, for instance, mamai–mame /mā.mai.–mā.mae/ simply means ‘no, not at all’ in the Kiranti Köits 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 Kiranti-Köits grammar suggests emphasis or obligation in meaning, e.g. (221) a-e.

(221) a. ma-la-thu ma-dum-ba /mā.la.thu mā.dum.ba/
   NEG-go-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must go anyhow/at any cost’
b. ma-dza-thu ma-dum-ba /mā.dza.thu mā.dum.ba/
   NEG-eat-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must eat anyhow/at any cost’
c. ma-ko:-thu ma-dum-ba /mā.ko:-thu mā.dum.ba/
   NEG-look-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must look/see anyhow/at any cost’
d. ma-rit-thu ma-dum-ba /mā.rit.thu mā.dum.ba/
   NEG-laugh-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must laugh anyhow/at any cost’
e. ma-g[(r!DJA-thu ma-dum-ba /mā.la.thu mā.dum.ba/
   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 malba/go ləcən mālba/ ‘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-ng /go la.si.n mə.lai.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 ŋənə (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 ŋənə e’ko 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-tem ŋənə 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 ŋənə Tīr-sīb
    run-PAS COND fall-PAS
    ‘One falls if s/he runs.’ (Literal: is run if is fallen)

d. təu pi-t(a) ŋənə 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 Kiranti-Kōits transitive verb \textit{pa-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 \textit{pa-cā} verb is a cognate of \textit{pā-co} in Kiranti-Ba and \textit{pā-cām} in Kiranti-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 \textit{sukul-pa-cā} (See lexicon in Appendix A also).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>verb</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(224)</td>
<td>a. dzitsk\textit{b}ets \textit{pa-cā} ‘to do’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. cimik \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>c. dzol \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>d. he\textit{thē} \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>e. kāil \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>g. kumso \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>j. k\textit{b}āldinj \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>k. k\textit{b}āl \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>l. k\textit{b}ui \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>m. gāits \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>n. lo: \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>o. mon \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>q. nām \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>r. pidār \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>t. p\textit{b}ōs \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td>u. rōi \textit{Σ-}</td>
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<td></td>
<td>v. sēu \textit{Σ-}</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 da mo pāi-bāʔ-te 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 Kiranti-Köits are: kō, kōkā, cō, da, šyā, cān, de, ṇā, nē, -i and -n. Their use is illustrated as follows:

| Stem/root + verb |  |  |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| (225) a. bēr | pa-cā ‘to do’ | ‘to make fly by the wind’ |
| b. bloi |  | ‘to save’ |
| c. gā |  | ‘cause to walk’ |
| d. rātu |  | ‘to steal in a small quantity’ |
| e. rā |  | ‘cause to rot’ |
| f. rāp |  | ‘cause to stand’ |
| g. rinā |  | ‘to smell’ |

3.9.1 Mirative /nē/’

The mirative /nē/ 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 information (a sort of question form) when the hearer is unclear or wants it to be reconfirmed again as in (226) b.

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<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w. šukul</td>
<td>Σ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. th’usu</td>
<td>Σ~</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(226) a. mëko puîlâ-te béʔ-t ne'
that beggar die-PST:3SG MIR
'The man died.' (I discover, heard from someone else)

b. goi-mi mār deʔ-ne n'eq?
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. mulât mëko roi-pâ-so mur beʔ-bâ kõ
today that sick-do-PCPL die-NPST PAR
'The sick person may die today.' (I doubt)

3.9.3 Emphatic /kâkâ/

The particle /kâkâ/ 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-pau-o deʔ-nâ-den mo kâkâ pâ-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 /cô/

The particle /cô/ 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 pʰurkal ôpâ täic-câ màlb cô
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 /dɔ/

The particle /dɔ/ is used in the sense of ‘rather’ and pragmatically is a topic marker of excluding some participants in the discourse such as go ḏɔ ma-lái-ɯŋ ḏ 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 plaptu, “mame e... dagyu! inke da loab selan bAṭ shyan? Ankali marde kyorssha-dzars-sha piu densho?”

mekye-ŋa me gaiš-ga-min ubnουubna hillo-pā-pltu, “mamε e...dągyu!
there-ABL s/he anger-SIM-then mutter ask-do-PST:3SG INTJ hey...e/b
in-ke ḏɔ loab sele-n bāʔ-tə-t šyą?
your-GEN PAR along,with-PAR AUX:EXT-3SG INTJ:PAR
ā-kalĩ marde kyors-šā-dzārs-šā pi-u ḏε”:Şo?”
I-ACC why cut-CONV-RED-CONV come-IMPR say-PR:PCPL
‘Then furiously asked, “Hey elder brother (ε/b)! You have your younger brother (y/b) with you. Why did you ask my younger brother to sacrifice?”

3.9.6 Certainty /šyą/  

The particle /šyą/ 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 dumādumna Pawiakali hillo paptu, “e... dagyu! gopikya dopa piša shyan?”

Khintsi plapsalā dum-nā-dum-nā Pāiwi-kāli hillo-pāp-tu, “e...
K helpless be-PROG-RED-PROG P-GEN ask-do-PST:3SG “hello
dągyu! go-pikyə dopa pi-cā šyą?”
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 eko ble-tik-cən mə-ge-nu-ŋ ‘I do not give you this pen’ (you take another one) and as shown in example (232) a.

(232) a. Khintsisan Ngakumake pera gadgepə mulngA Okhaldhunga nu Ramechhappa Likhu nu Khimtige kainsəu.

Kʰinṭsi-tsun nükumā-ke perā gad-kə-pā mul-nā Okhaldhungā nu Rāmechhāp-pā K-PAR N-GEN right bank-GEN-POSTP today-GEN O and R-POSTP Likhu52 nu Khimti-ge kāi-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 /de/

The particle /de/ is used for showing alternative action (meaning ‘or’) in a form of question as illustrated in (233) a.

(233) a. meko mur kʰ ināi-bā de 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 /ŋā/

52The word Likhu >Likh (means ‘Rivert/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 Kʰola) means ‘Rivulet Rivulet’ twice in word to word translation.
The particle /ŋə/ 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 ŋə? ‘Is that so?’ and in example (234) a.


‘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.’

3.9.10 Special emphasis /-i, -n/

The phonemic particles /-i/ and /-n/ are used for showing a special emphais 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.

mekē-lā-i yo meko-pikya hāmə-i-hām uding-ge lām-teme-tem 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 dzāʔi.

deːʔ-s-deːʔ:-si-mi-n Tāwā likh dzāʔ:-tə-ʔ
Quarreling in the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet.’

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 öth piu-o de
   PAR hither come-IMP PAR
   ‘You now come hither.’

b. lo mul goi-nimp̓ ̓a m išye-wāšye 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 Kiranti languages. All Kiranti languages including Kiranti-Kōits have dual marker. Most of the nominals morphologically are derived, reduplicated and compounded ones.

The Kiranti-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 Kiranti languages, Kiranti-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 <m>->. 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.

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