Chapter Four

Syntactico-semantic structures

4. Syntactic structure

This chapter mainly concentrates on the description of some fundamentals of Kiranti-Koits syntax or sentence structures. Syntax in its Greek etymology means "the study of arrangements", and to linguists, this means the study of arrangements in language specifically. The term syntax in modern usage signifies "the study and description of how words combine to form" (Lockwood 2002: 1) particular kinds of structures in a given language. Thus, we will here describe those possible phrase, clause and sentence structures of Kiranti-Koits vis-à-vis their meaning.

4.1 General overview on T-B syntactic typology

Kiranti-Koits as one of the T[ibeto]-B[urman] languages of the Nepal Himalayas and Sikkim is a verb final, e.g. (270) a, language. In all T-B languages with the exception of Karen (DeLancey 1990: 806), the normal word order is S(subject), O(object) and V(verb) (also cf. Kansakar 1993, Park (1994) for Kiranti-Hayu, (also cf. Appendix C) albeit this is not always observed everywhere rigorously. Zograph (1982: 189-190) observes, "The normal order of words in the Tibeto-Burman sentence is SOV - subject, object, predicate, though this is not always and everywhere rigorously observed. The qualifier

53 Thoudam (2000: 155-156) also notes some general characteristics shared by the Tibeto-Burman languages such as ‘1. Most of these languages are tonal. The tone system varies from simple to complex, 2. Most of these languages are monosyllabic, 3. Most of these languages are agglutinative, 4. In these languages, the affixes play the most important role, thereby making it difficult to have a clearcut demarcation between morphology and syntax, 5. The root in these languages, do not change easily, 6. The word order in most of the languages is subject-object-verb (SVO), 7. In most of the languages the affixes are found in the modifiers which normally occur after the nouns in noun phrases but this is quite opposite in the case of verbs in verb phrases where the modifier precedes the verb forms and the affixes are attached to the verbs only, 8. In these languages, it is difficult to distinguish between nouns, derived nouns, adjectives and adverbs and sometimes even verbs, 9. In most of these languages there is particle attached only to the nouns or nominal forms which functions as the main verb and the absence of which make the sentences incomplete, 10. The absence of grammatical gender is another characteristics of these languages, 11. There are no tense markers in these languages, showing that there is no grammatical marking of time. Time if at all is to be indicated, is with the help of time adverbials. Hence, there is no tense in these languages, 12. No distinction can be made between active and passive voice, 13. Pronominal agreement between the possessor and possessed is seen in the case of kin terms and intimate or personal belongings with agreement between the subject and object, 14. In these languages the *PTB ma- ~a is retained indicating
always accompanies the qualified closely, whether preceding or following it, and such
colloctions have a great measure of syntactic cohesion, being treated as single words
when postpositions have to be added. Subordinate clauses are not properly typical of
Tibeto-Burman syntax, but, under the influence of Indo-Aryan neighbors, are widely used
in certain individual members of the family. Basically, Tibeto-Burman words are
monosyllables. In most of the member languages, we find a wealth of words for close
definition of concrete objects, coupled with an almost complete absence of terms for
abstract and general concepts. The amount of borrowing from the NIA languages, is great
and continually growing.”

This SOV word order typology according to Matisoff (1991:386) and Masica
(1976: 27-30) is ‘undoubtedly the original Sino-Tibetan word order’. This word order of
Kiranti languages satisfies Greenberg’s “non-absolute/implicational” universals 5 and
2154 (Song 2001: 6-7) and (Comrie 1981: 19) by having, postpositions and NP order
string (Ebert 1994:100) such as,
\[
\text{DEM+GEN} + \text{Num+ADJ/ATTR+POSS+N Poss (pron)}
\]

We will in the succeeding § 4.2 examine phrase word orders of Kiranti-Koits
syntax, e.g. \text{me}ko \text{ni}ši \text{rim}šo \text{wā}šāl-nimp\text{ḥā} (that two good boy-DU) ‘those two handsome
boysDU’, and \text{me}ko-kē \text{ni}ši \text{rim}šo \text{tau} \text{bā}ʔtā-se (his/her-GEN two good son be-PST:EX1
2DU) ‘S/he has two handsome sons’, in which Ebert’s general observation to a greater
extent can satisfactorily justify its (Kiranti-Koits syntax) structural features.

4.2 Phrases

A phrase is a relatively low rank of syntactic structure typically involving patterns
of word combination of units smaller than the clause (Lockwood 2002: 358), where a

the 3rd person or the generic form is not related to words like ‘me’ or ‘you’, 15. In most of the languages
numerals are counted in tens and the rule for formation of higher numerals is the prefixation or suffixation
of the numerals one, two, three, etc to the numerals counted in tens, 16. The verbs in these languages are
not inflected for number, gender and person, 17. Most of the languages do not exhibit differences for number
in nouns also, 18. These languages have fixed word order differing form language-to-language, and 19.
These languages have a large number of one word sentences.”

54 Greenberg’s (1963b) Universal 5: “if a language has dominant SOV order and the genetive follows the
governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun” and his Universal 21: “if some or all adverbs
follow the adjective they modify, then the language is one in which the qualifying adjective follows the
noun and the verb precedes its nominal object as the dominant order” (cited in Song 2001: 7).
minimal phrase sometimes be a single word and lacking subject and predicate structure. Four types of phrase, viz., noun, adjective, verb and adverb phrases are distinguished in Kirānti-Kōits (also cf. Kirānti-Rod; Rai 2003).

### 4.2.1 Noun phrase

A noun phrase (NP) is such a construction, where nouns most commonly appear as a headword. The NP in Kirānti-Kōits, mainly consists of a noun or pronoun as illustrated in (237) a-c, where a single noun (N) serves as the head of NPs and in (238) a-c, a pronoun occurs in place of (N) and therefore it also serves the purpose of the NP.

(237) a. mur(u) ‘man’  
   b. dzo ‘tiger’  
   c. rōwā ‘tree’

(238) a. go ‘I’  
   b. goi ‘you’  
   c. mēko ‘s/he’ (also demonstrative)

Like Kirānti-Rod (Rai 2003), those Ns in (237) a-c can form an NP usually followed (occasionally preceded) by a determiner (DET + N) yielding the NPs, e.g.

(239) a. dzo kā (also kā dzo; normally frequent use is dzo kā) ‘a/one tiger’  
    b. ē’ko dzo ‘this tiger’  
    c. mēko rōwā ‘the/that tree’  
    d. mēko-ke kʰɨ ‘his/her house’

Adjectives as attribute and nouns as the head (ADJ + N) can form NPs and function as an NP as illustrated in (240) a-c,

(240) a. blošo pʰɛnsɛ ‘tasty papaya’  
    b. rimšo mur(u) ‘handsome man’  
    c. kʰadíc āl ‘clever child’

A determiner and adjectives as the pre-modifying attribute and the nouns as a head (DET + ADJ + N) can form NPs, e.g.

(241) a. ē’ko blošo mugyɛ ‘this tasty banana’  
    b. mēko rimšo m’isyemur(u) ‘that beautiful woman’
c. meko kʰədic ál ‘that clever child’

NPs can also be formed by adding a determiner followed by an adverb and an adjective as the pre-modifying attribute to a noun as a head (DET + ADV + ADJ + N) as in (242) a-c.

(242) a. eʔko icici blošo pʰẹnše ‘this slightly tasty banana’
    b. meko sāppā rīmšo m’isyə̖al ‘that very beautiful girl’
    c. meko sāppā kʰədic ál ‘that very clever child’

The last combination of string for NPs with determiners, adverbs and adjective is-(DET + ADV + ADV + ADJ + N), where a determiner followed by double adverbs and an adjective as the pre-modifying attribute to a noun as a head. The examples are:

(243) a. meko sināt-ŋā sāppā rīmšo m’isyemur(u) ‘that yesterday’s very beautiful woman
    b. meko sināt-ŋā sāppā hoʔso bwāk ‘that yesterday’s very hot water’

As pointed out above, Kirānti-Kōits NPs are formed with particles (cf. Ch 3 § 3.9) also. In this string, a noun as a head is followed by a particle (N + PAR) as an attribute. e.g.

(244) a. po ne’ ‘pig’ (not a cat)
    b. kucum yo ‘dog also’
    c. bletik caʔ ‘pen’ (not book)

NPs can also consist of two nouns as heads joined by a co-ordinate particle (N + PAR + N) as an attribute as an attribute, e.g.

(245) a. po de bwā ‘pig or rooster’
    b. kucum nu bermo ‘the dog and the cat’

NPs can also consist of noun as a head followed by a co-ordinate particle and another noun again followed by the same particle (N + PAR + N + PAR) e.g.

(246) a. waʔsmur(u) yo m’isyemur(u) yo ‘both man and woman’
    b. kucum yo bermo yo ‘both the dog and the cat’
NPs in (246) a-b can further be extended with two nouns head each preceded by a pronoun and joined by a co-ordinate (PRON + N + PAR + PRON + N) particle, e.g.

(247) a. meko-ke  nāwo  nu  mekoke  loob
   his/her-GEN e.b  PAR  his/her-GEN y.b
   'his/her elder-brother and his/her younger brother'

b. i-ke  ru  nu  a-ke  kʰi
   2SG-GEN  field  PAR  my-GEN house
   'your field and my house'

In some noun phrases, two pronouns may precede a noun head, then another head may be preceded by a pronoun, and then both noun heads can be joined by a co-ordinate (PRON + PRON + N + PAR + PRON + N) particle as illustrated in (248) a-b.

(248) a. go  a-ke  kʰi  nu  i-ke  syōpu
   1SG  my-GEN house  PAR  2SG-GEN  property
   'my house and your property'

b. meko  ān-ke  āpʰo  nu  meko  ān-ke  məmə
   his/her they-GEN father  PAR  his/her they-GEN mother
   'their father and their mother'

The NPs illustrated above in (237)-(248) are summarized in Diagram 1 below.

Diagram 4.4: An NP in K-K

```
NP
  ↓
  N
  ↓
PRON
  ↓
DET + N
  ↓
ADJ + N
  ↓
DET + ADJ + N
  ↓
DET + ADV + ADJ + N
  ↓
DET + ADV + ADV + ADJ + N
  ↓
N + PAR
  ↓
N + PAR + N
  ↓
PRON + PRON + N + PAR + N
```
An NP functions as the S of a sentence (249) a, and O (249) b of a sentence and a complement of a sentence (249) c.

(249) a. têbâm-mi (ám) cä m'i-tu
   Tebam-AGT hair comb-PST:3SG
   'Tebam combed her hair.'

b. semli kë-b kʰame (verb in the mid position is also used occasionally)
   Semli cook-NPST:3SG rice
   'Semli cooks rice.'

c. mamā belspat bre-n-bre-n bā?-têm(ç)
   mother letter write-PROG-RED is-3SG:HON
   'The mother is writing a letter.'

4.2.2 Verb phrase

A verb phrase (VP) is "the syntactic category consisting of a verb and its complements and also, in most analyses, its adjuncts; this category most typically functions as a predicate" (Trask 1993: 297). Traditionally, a VP refers to a group of verbs e.g. i-n-i-n bā (come-PROG-come-PROG AUX), where 'come' is the main verb and 'is' an auxiliary. The VP construction in Kirânti-Kôits is described in the preceding paragraphs.

A single verb (V) can form and function as a VP e.g.

(250) a. dzău-o (eat-IMP:3SG) 'eat'
   b. la-t(ə) (go-PST:3SG) 'went'
   c. dor-(ə) (run-NPST:3SG) 'runs'

A VP is formed by a verb followed by a particle (V+ PAR) and it serves as a VP. e.g.

(251) a. lăi-bā kô (go-NPST:3SG) 'may go' [cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.2 (227) a]
   b. b'ë-b ne' (go-PST:3SG) '(s/he) dies' [cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.1(226) a-b]

A VP is formed by two verbs joined by a particle (V + PAR + V), e.g.

(252) a. dzə-šo mere ip-o
eat-PCPL PAR sleep-IMP:3SG ‘sleep after eating’

b. läi-bá de mā-lāi-bá
go-NPST:3SG PAR NEG-go-NPST:3SG ‘does s/he go or not’
c. ko:-ŋo ŋā min de-no
look-IMP PAR then tell-IMP ‘look and then tell’

A VP is formed by a main verb followed by an auxiliary/modal or copula (V + AUX/COP), e.g. consider (253) a-d.

(253) a. dzāi-nə-skū (eat-NPST:COP-DU) ‘eat-AUX-2DU’
b. dza-cā målβ(ə) (eat-INF must) ‘must eat’
c. ŋā-n-ŋā-n bā (weep-PROG-weep-PROG) ‘is weeping’
d. i-cā c’iātāu (come-INF going to) ‘going to come’

A VP is formed by reduplication (V + RED), in which it suggests the certainty of an action, e.g.

(254) a. lāu-o lāu-o (go-NPST:IMP RED) ‘certainly go’
b. soit-to soit-to (send-NPST:IMP RED) ‘certainly send’
c. kʰāl-do kʰāl-do (mix-NPST:IMP RED) ‘certainly mix’

All verbs after reduplication followed by adverb and another verb (V + RED + ADV + V) also form and function as a VP, e.g.

(255) a. dza-cā dza-cā min ʰip-cā
eat-INF RED then sleep-INF ‘You eat and sleep doing nothing.’ (i.e. satiric)
b. hām-do hām-do min sām-do
dry-NPST:IMP RED then store-NPST:IMP ‘You dry and dry and store…’

A VP is also formed by a noun, followed by a postposition and then followed by a verb (N + POSTP + V) e.g.

(255) a. kʰi-mi la-ti
house-POSTP go-PST:1SG ‘(I) went home’
b. \(k^h\text{ĩn-gā o-tā}\)

house-POSTP enter-PST:3SG ‘(s/he) entered inside the house’

Very often, an adverb followed by a verb (\(\text{ADV} + \text{V}\)) forms and functions as a \(\text{VP}\), e.g.

(256) a. rippā dorc-cā

fast/quickly run-INF ‘to run quickly’

b. sāppā blo-cā

very to be tasty-INF ‘to be very tasty’

c. icik’hoi ge-cā

little give-INF ‘to give a little’

The \(\text{VPs}\) in Kiranti-Kōits illustrated above in (249)-(256) are summarized in Diagram 2 below.

**Diagram 4.5: A VP in K-K**

```
VP → V  
      ↓  
      V + PAR  
      ↓  
      V + PAR + V  
      ↓  
      V + AUX/COP  
      ↓  
      V + RED  
      ↓  
      V + RED + ADV + V  
      ↓  
      N + POSTP + V  
      ↓  
      ADV + V
```

### 4.2.3 Adjective phrase

An adjective phrase (\(\text{ADJPH}\)) in Kiranti-Kōits qualifies an \(\text{N}\) or an \(\text{NP}\) in a sentence. Its structures can be described as follows.

A single \(\text{ADJ}\) can form and function as an \(\text{ADJPH}\) as shown here, e.g.

(257) a. bloso ‘tasty’  
b. \(t^h\text{eb}\) ‘big’  
c. imiccili ‘small’

An \(\text{ADJPH}\) in a sentence can consist of an \(\text{ADJ}\) preceded by an \(\text{ADV}\) (\(\text{ADV} + \text{ADJ}\)). e.g.

(258) a. sāppā rimšo ‘very beautiful’
b. omo r'eb⁴⁴ ‘very big’
c. domo imicili ‘how small’

An **ADJPH** can, also be formed by a noun followed by postposition and then by an **ADJ** (**N + POSTP + ADJ**), for instance,

(259) a. p' k'odeb rināpošo
   flower like smell-do-ADJ ‘flower-like smelling’

b. themli k'odeb láīsšo
   hill like tall ‘hill-like tall’

c. kruku k'odeb plēšo
   frog like jump ‘frog-like jumping’

In place of k'odeb, there is another synonymous term budi in daily use.

Some **ADJ** phrases can combine as far as four words in their string such as an **ADV** preceded by an **N** and a **POSTP**, and followed by an **ADJ** (**N + POSTP + ADV + ADJ**), e.g.

260) a. TeTerē kēnā yo šyus láīsšo
   camel than also much tall ‘very taller than a camel’

b. habsi kēnā yo šyus ker
   African than also much black ‘very blacker than an African’

An **ADJ** phrase can also have an **ADJ** (those **ADJs** can reduplicate here; cf. also Ch 3 § 3.1.3.1) followed by particle (**ADJ + PAR**), e.g.

(261) a. rimšo rimšo cō
   good good PAR ‘only good ones’ (excludes bad; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.4 (229) a)

b. ip-šo ne’
   sleep-PCPL/ADJ PAR ‘slept’ (it is said, hearsay; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.1 (226) a-b)

c. imcili can
   small PAR ‘small’ (choice/emphatic; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.7 (232) a)
Some other ADJ phrases can have two adjectives in the string joined by a coordinate particle (ADJ + PAR + ADJ), e.g.

(262) a. rimšo nu ma-rimšo
good PAR NEG-good ‘good and bad’
b. lał de ker
red PAR black ‘red or black’
c. imcili de Th0b
small PAR big ‘small or big’ (alternative; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.8 (233) a)

These adjective phrases illustrated in (257) a-c - (262) a-c are summarized in Diagram 3 below.

Diagram 4.6: An ADJPH in K-K

4.2.4 Adverb phrase

Adverb phrase (ADVPH) is a construction, whose ‘lexical head is an adverb’ (Trask 1993: 10), e.g. sāppā rip ‘very fast’ and disā le ‘from tomorrow’. The structural descriptions of Kiranti-Kōits ADVPHs are as follows.

A single ADV can act and function as an ADVPH in the language, e.g.

(263) a. munāt ‘today’ b. desān ‘slowly’ c. sināt ‘yesterday’

An ADV can be preceded by a determiner (DET + ADV) to form and function as an ADVPH in the language as illustrated in (264) a-c.

(264) a. meko nāt ‘on that day’
b. mulā thoce ‘this year’
c. sāînes moitin 'many years ago'

An N followed by POSTP (N + POSTP) can form and function as an ADVPH in the language as illustrated in (265) a-c.

(265) a. kʰiŋ-gā ‘inside the house’
    b. rəwā-ke neʔthā ‘near the tree’
    c. kʰi hōiti ‘in front of the house’

An ADVPH can be formed by an NP consisting of an ADV followed by a POSTP (NP + ADV) as illustrated in (266) a-c.

(266) a. meko lápeo-ge ‘towards that door’
    b. ʔko lá neʔthā ‘near this path/road’
    c. ʔko lápeo-āgā ‘inside this door’

Some other ADVPHs can be formed by an ADV followed by a particle (ADV + PAR) as illustrated in (266) a-c.

(266) a. nithnāt yo ‘the following day also’
    b. disā cō ‘certainly tomorrow’
    c. munāt de ‘how about today’

An ADVPH can be formed by an ADV followed by an ADJ (ADV + ADJ) as illustrated in (267) a-c.

(267) a. sāppā gešō ‘very thin’
    b. sāppā domšō ‘very fat’
    c. sus kēr ‘very black’

An ADVPH can be formed by an ADJ followed by an ADV (ADJ + ADV) as illustrated in (268) a-b.

(268) a. rimšō pā… ‘…beautifully’
Some **ADVPHs** can have two **ADVs** joined by a conjunctive particle (**ADV + PAR + ADV**) as illustrated in (269) a-c.

(269) a. sināt nu mulāt 'yesterday and today'
b. sus de ćic'oi 'much or less'
c.munāt de disā 'today or tomorrow'

These adverb phrases illustrated in (263) a-c - (269) a-c are summarized in Diagram 4 below.

**Diagram 4.7: An ADVPH in K-K**

```
ADVPH → ADV
       DET + ADV
       N + POSTP
       NP + ADV
       ADV + PAR
       ADV + ADJ
       ADJ + ADV
       ADV + PAR + ADV
```

### 4.3 Sentence

A sentence is the "rank of syntactic structure conventionally understood as its upper limit" (Trask 1993: 362) and it incorporates at least one clause, e.g. (270) a, but grammatical devices may be used to allow a single sentence to incorporate more than one clause in various ways. Kirānti-Kōits as an unwritten, lesser-known or scarcely-described T-B language is basically spoken. A single Kirānti-Kōits spoken utterance/sentence is generally unified intonationally, whereas some dialects contrast tonologically (See Ch 2 § 2.4.1), while in some written samples/documents using its own indigenous script (See Ch 2 § 2.5) and the Devanagari script, Kirānti-Kōits like English is marked by its final punctuation via full stop (.), question mark (?) or exclamation point (!). We will in § 4.3.1 below describe the sentence types of the Kirānti-Kōits language.
Ebert (1994) has classified Kiranti sentences mainly in two types, viz., (i) simple and (ii) complex based on structure. Rai (2003: 140) has classified the Kiranti-Rodung (Camling) sentences into three types such as (i) major (simple) sentences (ii) verb-less sentences and (iii) minor sentences. We will here describe the Kiranti-Koits sentences mainly based on Ebert's framework of structural description rather than based on function, e.g. imperative, optative etc., which has more or less been illustrated in Ch 3 § 3.2.9.3 while describing mood in the language. We will also consider some pertinent instances from Rai's (2003) description of K-Rodung in comparative perspective.

4.3.1 Simple sentences

4.3.1.1 Basic word order

A simple sentence in Kiranti-Koits at least in this description is limited to the illustration of basic SOV structure as illustrated in (271) a-b. However, other possible structures like OSV is also acceptable when the S is stressed like in K-Rodung (Rai 2003).

(271) a. go /kʰəmə dzāi-nu-ŋ/
    1SG rice eat-NPST-1SG
    'I eat rice.'
    S    O    V

b. go bwał /di-th la-ti/
    1SG water fetch-PUR go-PST:1SG
    'I go for fetching the water.'
    S    O    V

c. gāits H m'its tsilA dāpta.
    gāits-m ā m'its tsilā dāp-tā-t
anger-AGT his eye lightning dazzle/glare-PST:3SG

'This eyes turned into lightning with anger.' [Text source: 3.42]

The illustrations above in (271) a or b can be re-ordered as in (272) a, replacing O into S's position and S can be reduplicated to emphasize the S or agent pragmatically, e.g.

(272) a. k\bome go dzäi-nu-ŋ go
rice 1SG eat-NPST-1SG 1SG
rice I eat I 'I eat rice.' (means no other else)
S O V O

4.3.1.1.2 Interrogative sentences

Normally, the interrogative sentences in Kiranti-Koits can be constructed in the following order as illustrated in (273) a-c.

(273) a. goi t\ek lə-n-lə-n bā?-ŋe?
2SG where go-PROG-go-PROG be-3SG
'Where are you going?'

b. t\ek bā?-na-ye goi?
where live-COP-3SG
'Where do you live?'

c. e"ko i-ke me'?
this 2SG-GEN AUX:is
'Is this yours?'

In the illustration (273) a above, however, there occurs a question word tek 'where', it normally cannot be moved in the position of the S(pron) as it is in English and in (273) b, the same question word can be moved in place of S(pron) immediately followed by verb for its pragmatic force or S(pron) in the left-most position is also acceptable. In (273) c, me' 'is' never ever can occur in the S position in place of e"ko
‘this’ demonstrative pronoun. There exists a negative particle <mɔmɔi> usually used as a short negative question, e.g. ... mo mɔmɔi de ‘...isn’t it so?’ in everyday conversation.

Like Bagri, one of the Indic languages spoken in India (Gusain 1999) there are two principal types of interrogative sentences based on the type of reply expected in K-K: (i) those that expect a positive or negative answer to the question statement are ‘Yes-No questions’ based on rising intonation as in (274) a-b; and (ii) those that expect a reply from an open-ended range of replies are ‘Question-word questions’ based on optional question lexeme rarely as in (275) a.

(274) a. goi mulāt kumso pāi-na-ye?
2 SG today song do-COP-2SG
‘Do you sing today?’

b. (mār) goi mulāt kumso pāi-na-ye?
(what) 2 SG today song do-COP-2SG
‘Do you sing a song today?’

In the process of interrogative sentence formation, the question words do not induce any word order changes in the statement. By inserting, a question word, in place of the questioned constituent in the statement, forms those interrogative sentences. The main question words in Kiranti-Kóits are: mār ‘what’, su ‘who’, teko ‘which’, teke ‘where’, dopā ‘how, in what way’, mārde ‘why’, dodēb ‘what kind, type’, doso ‘how much’ tek-ge ‘in what direction’ and genā ‘when’ (See § 3.1.2.4.6). The question word in a sentence in Kiranti-Kóits is always stressed as shown in (275) a-g.

(275) a. i-ke ne 'mār m’e?
2SG-GEN name what AUX:is
‘What is your name?’

b. meko 'tek bā?-me
s/he where be- AUX:is
‘Where is s/he?’
c. meko 'su m'e?
   s/he who AUX:is
   ‘Who is s/he?’

d. (goi) 'dodeb bā?-ni
   (you) how be-2SG:HON
   ‘How are you?’

e. e"ko bwā-ke 'gis de"-ni?
   this rooster-GEN how.much say-HON
   ‘What is the cost of this rooster?’

f. goi mek 'mārde la-ye?
   2SG there why go-2SG
   ‘Why did you go there?’

g. goi-mi e"ko k"yōpat 'mārde brē?-ti?
   2SG-AGT this book why write-2SG
   Why did you write this book?’

In colloquial speech, those question words alone can be used shortly without
nouns, pronouns and verbs and answers also can be made in the same way. Despite those
question words mentioned above, question particles, e.g. ŋā with rising intonation also
form interrogative sentences as illustrated in (276) a.

densho nanga ngA? ts'ibrub kyorssshAdzarssshA piu kaka densho nang shyan”.
Pāiwā-mi yo tsu:tsu-pə-nā-pə-n  de":-tə-t, hatteri! go-m genā loab
P-AGT also regret-do-PROG-RED-PROG say-PST:3SG INTJ I-ERG when y/b
kyors-sā-dzārs-sā pi-u  de":-šō  nəŋə-ŋəŋ
cut.CONV-RED-SIM come-IMPR say-PR:PCPL AUX:1SG
ŋā? ts′ibrub kyors-sā-dzārs-sā pi-u  kōkā  de":-šō
Q:PAR bird/animal cut.CONV-RED-SIM come-IMPR PAR say-PR:PCPL
nəŋ  ʃyā
‘Paiwa also expressed regretting, “When did I tell you to come having sacrificed your younger brother (y/b)? I told you to come having sacrificed a bird or an animal.’ [Text source: 1.25]

The question words employed above in (275) a-g and (276) a, can function as rhetorical questions in Kiranti-Koits discourse (See Schulze 1978).

4.3.1.1.3 Copula sentences

Kiranti-Koits has three verbs corresponding to English ‘be’ such as <-bā-> ‘locational, existential’ (cf. Ch 3 § 3.2.8), me’ (statement) and me’ (interrogative), and <mā-> ‘identificational’ and there is only one negative prefix <mā> (See Ch 3 § 3.2.4; Table 12), which can be prefixed to all three copulas and other modal auxiliaries (also there exists a tag negative particle with <mā> such as māmāi as in mo māmāi de: ‘Is not it so?’), e.g.

(277) a. i-ke loab-pik bā?-mā de mā-bā?-mā?
   2SG-GEN y.sibling-PL exist-Q:3SG PAR NEG-exist-Q:3SG
   ‘Do you have younger siblings or don’t you?’

   b. mēko luc bā(-ta-t)
   s/he below be
   ‘S/he is below.’

   c. ē’ko ūyāro-mi ‘h’isi’ mā-bā
   this salt.pot-LOC salt NEG-be
   ‘There is no salt in this salt-pot.’

The copula <-bā?-> or <-bā?-tā-t> as first perfective participle is most dynamic and inflects differently with all person and number in use such as pā-šo-bā(-tā) ‘has done’ and further examples include,

(278) a. mekopikya AngAm hushκe nams bāb.
They have blood relationship among them.' [Text source: 1.3]

b. mekopikim prag-neslosits namsitsmer porong gimthepa baišho baišeme.

They had been living a nomadic life in the pre-historical time.' [Text source: 1.4]

Similarly, the copula <m- > is also very dynamic in its inflection with person and number (279) a-b, whereas the copula me' (statement) and me' (interrogative) is static as opposed to the former.

(279) a. mekopiki loli kangan gephingA muru nami.

They are members of the same linguistic community.’ [Text source: 1.5]

b. mekyenga Kûits lo nu Bâ'yung lo ka lolingA nîsi phetsnga lo khodeb nasi

Similarly, Kûits and Bâ'yung are like two dialects of the same single language.’

[Text source: 1.6]

4.3.1.4 Ergativity

An ‘ergative construction’ by definition is “a grammatical case that indicates the agent or instrument of an action. In an ergative type of sentence construction, the subject of transitive verbs is indicated by and ergative case marker, while the subject of
intransitive verbs is indicated by the same case as that of the direct object” (New Encyclopedia Britannica 1977: 941). Crystal (1980: 124-125) observes that the term ‘ergative’ refers to grammatical description of some languages, e.g. Eskimo and Basque, where there is a formal parallel between the object of a transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive one i.e. they display the same case.

Thus, the subject of the transitive verb is referred to as ‘ergative’ whereas the subject of the intransitive verb, along with the object of the transitive verb, is referred to as ‘absolutive’. The same ‘ergative construction’ for DeLancey (1981a: 627) is “a transitive clause in which a special case form or ad-position marks are semantic agent”. Similarly, ‘ergativity’ according to Dixon (1979) is “Morphological marking, whether realized by nominal case inflections or cross-referencing on the verb, can be either (i) ergative, marking transitive subject (A) function, vs. absolutive, marking intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O); is always the unmarked term in an absolutive/ergative opposition. Nominative is most frequently the unmarked term in a nominative/accusative system, but there are some languages in which accusative is unmarked. A language whose morphology mixes accusative and ergative marking has has the split determined by (a) the semantic content of verbs, (b) the semantic content of NP’s, (c) aspect/tense choice, or (d) a combination of these.” Kiriinti-Kõits morphology obviously mixes accusative and ergative (see § 4.3.1.1.4.1 - § 4.3.1.1.4.5) marking determined by aspect/tense choice and other factors.

4.3.1.1.4.1 Conceptual framework

In this § 4.2.1.1.4.1, we will adopt conceptual framework first from Lyons (1968) and compare with Mithun and Chafe (1999). Second, we will adopt Abadie’s (1974) framework of description of ergativity from his paper ‘Nepali as an ergative language’ in order to compare phenotype influence since the two families of languages, i.e. “Tibeto-Burman family, both the Bodish and the Hamalayish branches” (Abadie 1974: 156) and Indic-Nepali are in close contact for 800 years.

In a question for deciding on which of the two nominal(s) is the subject of a two-place verb, Lyons (1968: 315) asserts that the ‘actor-goal’ criterion is in systematic
conflict with criteria of case and concord languages with an ergative construction. For instance, there are many verbs in English such as ‘move, change, open’ etc. which may combine with either one or two nominal(s) in sentence nuclei. Consider Lyons' classic examples as illustrated in (238) a-c.

(280) a. The stone moved  
    b. John moved  
    c. John moved the stone

The explanations of those three examples provided by Lyons (ibid: 352) are:

(I) ‘move’ in (238) a and b is intransitive; whereas in (238) c transitive.

(II) An important relationship between (238) a, and (238) c with reference to the action of (238) a when asked, ‘done by whom? Who is the ‘actor’ or ‘agent’ of the movement of ‘action’? The obvious answer is ‘John’.

(III) Therefore, the syntactic relationship that holds between (238) a, and (238) c is ‘ergative’: the subjects or an intransitive verb becomes the object of a corresponding transitive verb, and a new ergative subject is introduced as the ‘agent’ or ‘cause’ of the action referred to.

(IV) It implies that a transitive sentence like (238) a by means of an ergative or causative transformation.

(V) Another point to be noted is that the causative, or ergative or agent in (238) c is +animate (n). The condition for subjects of transitive verb must be +animate, however in Kiranti-Koits +animate in some instances such as p'as-mi la[pco ro?-tu (air/wind-ERG/AGT door open-PST:3SG) ‘The wind opened the door’ is acceptable.

Contrary to Lyons, Mithun and Chafe (1999) have pointed out serious disadvantages of the schema ergative-absolutive vs. nominative-accusative for the understanding of individual grammars and even more for broad typological work, because it obscures the incommensurability of the schema. This first is the ‘starting point function, reflected in grammatical subjects’, the next consists of the ‘semantic roles that are reflected in grammaticized agent-patient marking’, and the third is ‘immediacy of
involvement reflected in absolutive marking'. To some extent, DeLancey (1981a) and Ebert (1987) had already discussed Mithun and Chafe’s three points in some Tibeto-Burman languages.

Morpho-syntactically, most other Tibeto-Burman languages (like Gyarong, Newar, Lhasa-Tibetan, Kham, Sherpa, Chepang, Gurung, and Kirānti languages such as Limbu, Bantawa, Athpare, Rodung (Camling), Thulung, Khaling, Belhare and Hayu (See Rapacha 2003) have split ergative marking on the 3rd person noun or demonstrative pronoun. DeLancey (1981) terms this phenomenon as ‘empathy hierarchy and aspectual split pattern’. Kirānti-Kōits exhibits a complicated ‘split ergative’ (i.e. ergative morphologically, whereas syntactic process is usually organized according to a nominative-accusative principle; See Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1; examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c) pattern sensitive to ‘aspect and empathy pattern’, where the 3rd person and demonstrative pronoun is marked always everywhere except for 1st, 2nd person intransitive (DeLancey 1990: 807) verbs such as,

\[(280)\]

a. go-∅ meko-kāli hui-nuŋŋaŋŋ

\[1SG\ 3SG-DAT\ scold-NPST-1SG\]

‘I scold him/her.’

b. goi-∅ meko-kāli hui-na-yē

\[2SG\ 3SG-DAT\ scold-NPST:COP-2SG\]

‘You scold him/her.’

c. go-nimpbā-∅ meko-kāli hui-na-sku

\[1SG-DU\ 3SG-DAT\ scold-NPST:COP-1DU\]

‘WeDU scold him/her.’

d. meko-mi ā-kāli hui-bā

\[3SG-ERG\ 1SG-DAT\ scold-NPST-3SG\]

‘You scold him/her.’

e. meko-nimpbā-mi ā-kāli hui-na-si
You scold him/her.

f. moko-nimp hā-mi ā-koli hui-na-si

You scold him/her.

The above morpho-syntactic phenomenon of Kiranti-Kōits resembles to Gyarong. According to DeLancey’s (1990: 806-807) investigation, a number of case marking typologies occur in the family, including consistently ergative marking (Gunung), aspectually split ergative or active/stative patterns (Newar and various Tibetan dialects), split ergative marking in which third person transitive subject take ergative case while first and second person do not (Kiranti, Gyarong) and variations on a more or-less nominative-accusative topic marking scheme (most Lolo-Burmese languages).

We will now take up Abadie’s (1974: 156-77) frame of Indic-Nepali in order to examine the ergative marking system in Kiranti-Kōits as copiously as possible. Abadie (ibid.) adopting a broad definition of ergativity from Bernard Comrie reveals that the grammatical notion of ergativity applies to such widely scattered languages as Chuckchee (Siberia), Basque, Walbiri (Australia), Vejnakhian, and Georgian— to languages, which are divergent from one another genetically and typologically. S/he states the following characteristics of ergative languages:

(i) The subject of an intransitive verb and the direct object of a transitive verb get the same mark (which may be -o, as in Basque; e.g. in K-K, loab-o dzām-ta (y.brother lose-PST:3SG) ‘The younger-brother lost’ and yāwā-mi loab-o sām-ta (e.brother-ERG y.brother lose-PST:3SG) ‘The elder-brother lost the younger-brother’ (See Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1: examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c) also. This has been called the patient and its case the “nominative”.

(ii) The subject (or agent) of a transitive verb gets a different mark; its case is the “ergative”. The ergative mark is often the same as the instrumental mark (See Ch 3 §
3.1.2.5.1 for K-K). Beyond these two main characteristics, Abadie (ibid.) has given three more characteristics. They are:

(iii) Some ergative languages do not have passive constructions; some, such as Georgian, do. So does K-K.

(iv) Some, such as Georgian and Punjabi, mark ergative noun phrases only with certain forms of the verb, with certain tenses or aspects; others mark them throughout. Kirânti-Kôîts marks according to transitive verbs, tense and aspect.

(v) In some ergative languages, Punjabi for example, the verb agrees only with the nominative marked patient noun phrase, never with the ergative marked one. In others, the verb agrees with its subject, and a subject may be in the ergative case. Kirânti-Kôîts resembles the later characteristics.

Like Nepali, Kirânti-Kôîts possesses many features of ergativity, chief among them being the agentive/ergative case marker <-mi>, which is used to mark the subject of a transitive verb as illustrated earlier. For a sentence like 'I sneezed' in English would be as shown in (281) a-c in K-K,

(281) a. ā-kālī ciṇ-ø pi-t(ə)
    1SG-DAT sneeze come-PST
    'A sneeze came to me.' ('I sneezed')

b. go-m ciṇ-ø pā-tā-ŋ
    1SG-ERG sneeze come-PST-1SG
    'I did a sneeze.' ('I sneezed')

c. ā-kālī ciṇ-mi šyet-ge-ti
    1SG-DAT sneeze-ERG trouble-give-PST
    'A sneeze caused me to suffer.' ('I sneezed')

Although ciṇ in (281) a is the subject of an intransitive verb and in (281) b is the object of a transitive verb, in both sentences it is in the same unmarked case-- the
nominative. Sentence (281) c however, is framed in such a way that cîn is the agent (the sentence is causative); and it is marked with the ergative marker.

Thus, as in Nepali (ibid.) the agent of a transitive verb in Kirānti-Kōits takes the ergative case marker <-mi>. There is no accusative case. The direct object of a transitive verb, like the sole argument or subject of an intransitive verb, is in the nominative case—unmarked in K-K. As stated earlier, the ergative marker is the same as the instrumental, locational marker and so on (cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1).

4.3.1.4.2 The patient

In Kirānti-Kōits like Nepali, one way to look at the phenomenon of transitivity (See Ch 3 §3.2.6) is to say that the presence of a direct object or patient noun phrase triggers appearance of the ergative marker on subject or agent NP. However, Abadie's (ibid.) investigation shows that many sentences in Nepali, where there exists an ergative marked NP and no patient NP at all. S/he considers them direct objectless sentences to be the result of two kinds of deletion -- indefinite and anaphora.

In Kirānti-Kōits like English and Nepali, indefinite or unspecified objects are frequently deleted as illustrated in (282) a-b

(282) a. go-m dzā-tā-η
    1SG-ERG eat-PST-ŋ
    ‘I ate (something).’

    b. hopo-m dzā-tu
    Hopo-ERG eat-PST:3SG
    ‘Hopo ate (something).’

Often an object is deleted anaphorically, because it has been previously mentioned in the discourse, e.g.

(283) a. pidār po-šo-nu suiyo mā-bā-m ṇənāiyo pōib-mi lā pāi-b
    worship do-PCPL-TEMP nobody NEG-be-3PL although shaman only do-NPST:3SG
‘Although there are no one while worshiping, the shaman alone does it.’

The patient \textit{pidə̀r-ø}, which appears at the beginning of the sentence, is deleted anaphorically at the end, though it triggers the appearance of \textit{-mi} on ‘shaman’ (\textit{poib-mi}).

\subsection{Inanimate vs. animate patients}

Most inanimate direct object of a transitive verb is in the nominative case (-0), e.g. \textit{meko-mi} \textit{pʰurkəl gyäp-tu} (s/he-ERG book buy-PST:3SG) ‘S/he bought a book’. Thus, for inanimate nouns the morphological identification of subject of intransitive verb and object of transitive verb is (ø). Animate pronouns are unmarked when they are subjects of intransitive verbs, e.g. \textit{go-ø} \textit{nə-ti} (1SG- weep-PST:1SG) ‘I wept’. They may never be unmarked when they are objects of transitive verbs. Goal or dative marking \textit{-bli} is mandatory as illustrated in (284) a-b.

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. \textit{go-mi} \textit{rentse-kəli ge-tə-ŋ} \textit{meko-ø*} (* unacceptable)
  \item b. \textit{mulat go-mi} \textit{rentse-kəli tā-tə-ŋ} \textit{meko-ø*} (* unacceptable)
\end{itemize}

There are numerous impersonal constructions, where an ergative noun phrase is present, e.g. \textit{ā-kəl e’ko con məl-bə} (1SG-DAT this PAR search/want) ‘I want this one.’

\subsection{\textit{-mi} and the tense/aspect system}

Generally, perfective constructions are marked by \textit{-mi} but show up with imperfective and with certain modals in any or all tenses with regard to the entire verb
morphology. In the case of Nepali tense/aspect system (also applicable to K-K), Abadie (ibid.) notes,

(i) "-le" (K-K; <-mi>) is associated with perfective aspect, though not excluded from non-perfective aspect.

(ii) In certain constructions in semantic area of permission/obligation, "-le" (K-K; <-mi>) is marked in any tense: parnu (K-K; māl-cā, mālbā ‘must’), cha (K-K; bā ‘is’), -na (K-K; -th ‘purposive:INF), dinu (K-K; ge-cā ‘to give’), and the -ne (K-K; -cā. -th. -ne INF) infinitive.

(c) "-le" (K-K; <-mi>) is excluded from the non-perfective more adamantly in multi-verbal concatenations than it is in single verb non-perfective constructions. We will illustrate examples in § 4.2.1.4.5 later.

4.3.1.1.4.5 <-mi> and the perfective

In this § 4.2.1.4.5, we will illustrate examples of ergativity, where they occur or do not occur in each verb forms outlined in Ch 3 § 3.2.8 earlier.

<-mi> obligatory

(285) Aoristic/perfective tense (-tā, -ti, -tu, -sku, -se, -tem, -tiyi) as in meko-nimpā-m prol-tā-se (s/he-DU-ERG break-PST:3DU) ‘S/he broke something.’ However, the intransitive -ti as in go-o la-ti (1 SG go-PST:1SG) ‘I went’ remains unmarked

(286) First perfective participle (-śyo ~ śo and paradigm bā) as in meko-nimpā-m dumkhā kā-mi ge pa-śo bā?-tā-se (s/he-DU-ERG office one-LOC job do-PR:PCPL be-PST:DU) ‘TheyDU have done a job in an office.’

(287) Second perfective participle (-tu, -tem… ) as in ā-ke tāu-mi thēh ge-kā pāp-tu (1SG-GEN son-ERG ADJ job-one do-PST:3SG) ‘My son did a great job.’

(287) Second perfective tense (Second perfect participle -te … and paradigm bā ‘is’ (locational)) as in goi-mi e’ko pa-śo-bā?te (2SG-ERG this do-PR:PCPL be-PST:2 SG)
‘You have done this’ and meko-mi ō pa-wā-bā-hū-i’t(a) (3SG-ERG so do-PST-be-3 SG) ‘She/has done so’.

(288) First perfective participle/tense (-ṣo, -bā or me:’ is’) as in go-m blespat breʔ-sā thum-ṣo-nu goi-mi mār mār pa-yi? (1SG-ERG letter write-SIM finish-PCPL-TEMP 2SG-ERG what what do-2SG) ‘What did you do (wants specifications) while I finished writing a letter?’

Other constructions with ʾ<-mi>:

There are some other peculiar constructions, where ʾ<-mi> occurs obligatorily, e.g. goi-mi ma-pā-sā su-mi pāi-bā? (2SG-ERG NEG-do-SIM who-ERG do-3SG) ‘Who does … if you do not do?’, go-mi ma-dzā-nu-ṣa deʔ-sā su-mi deʔ-me? (1SG-ERG NEG-eat-NPST-1SG say-SIM who-ERG say-3SG) ‘Who said that I do (will) not eat?’ goi-mi suiyo m’iṣye-āl mā-thi-di? (2SG-ERG anyone wife-child; NEG-find-3SG) ‘Did not you find even a single girl?’ and meko-mi biloci dzā-wā-l(a) (s/he-ERG guava eat-3SG-OPT) ‘May/Let him/her eat guava’.

ʾ<-mi> excluded

(289) Absolutive participle/converb (-ṣyā ~ Šā, e.g. pa-šā-thum-cā ‘to do completely’ etc. as in go-ṣ blespat kā breʔ-sā-thum-nu-ṣa (1SG letter one write-SIM-finish-NPST-1SG) ‘I have to finish writing a letter.’

(290) Aoristic/perfective future (probability) tense (-wā only with 1SG, e.g. pa-ṣ-wā ‘…would do’; and citāu suffixed to main verbs only with 3SG, DU, PL) as in go-ṣ obis dzā-ṣ-wā (1SG cucumber eat-1SG-PR:FUT) ‘I would eat cucumber’ and meko-ṣ kī lā-cā-citāu (3SG house go-INF-going to) ‘She is going to go home’ but go-m obis ba-cā-c’itān (1SG-ERG cucumber eat-INF-going to) ‘I am going to eat cucumber’ (applicable also in 1 and 2SG, DU, PL; cf. Rapacha 2003).

(291) Aoristic/perfective injunctive tense (-ṣa, -ṣu, -g/tu, -l(a)) as in go-ṣ ko-ṣu deʔ-so mā-tā-sē (1SG look/sec-PR/1 say-PCPL NEG-sec-PR) ‘I wanted to look but was not visible’
(292) Conjunctive participle prefixed with converb (-ŋā, -lisanā) as in \( \text{go-} \) \( \text{dumkhin-mi} \) \( \text{ge pa-s-li-šā-ŋā} \) \( k^h \) \( \text{let-ti} \) (1SG office-LOC work do-PR-remain-SIM-PAR house return-PST:1SG) 'I returned home after completing the work at the office'.

(293) Simple indefinite tense (-nu-ŋ, -nā-sku, -nim, -bā, -niki) as in \( \text{go-} k^h \) \( yōpat \) \( kā brē-\) \( nu-ŋ \) (1SG book one write-NPST-1SG) 'I write a letter'.

(294) Infinitival non-past tense (-ŋ, -sku, -ye, -si, -n) as in \( \text{go-pik-} \) \( \text{reb dzā-} \) \( n-ni\) (1SG-PL potato eat-NPST-3PL) 'YouPL eat potato'.

The progressive forms in all person and number of both transitive and intransitive verbs are unmarked as in \( \text{go-} \) \( \text{mugya dzā-n-dzā-n} \) \( bā?-\) \( ti \) (1SG banana eat-PROG-eat-PROG be-PST:1SG) 'I am/was eating banana'.

\(<-\text{mi}> \) variable

(295) Infinitival non-past tense (-bā) as in \( \text{meko-mi-} \) \( \text{reb dzā-} \) \( bā \) (3SG-ERG/-\( \text{mi} >\) porridge eat-NPST:3SG) 'S/he eats porridge' (applicable to 3DU and 3PL also but marked in past)

(296) Infinitival participle/infinitives (-tik > tik ~ bā > b, -cā, -th, -nē) as in \( \text{go-} \) \( \text{mi} >\) \( \text{reb} \) \( cā mālb \) (1SG- go-INF must) 'I must (have to) go'.

4.3.1.1.4.6 Summary on ergativity

We previously provided copious illustrations, where \(<-\text{mi}> \) usually can occur and does not occur at ll or occurs optionally. Kirānti-Kōits exhibits a complicated 'split ergative' (i.e. ergative morphologically (Ebert 1994), whereas syntactic process is usually organized according to a nominative-accusative principle; See Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1; examples (109) c-d, (116) c, (124) c) pattern sensitive to 'aspect and empathy pattern', where the 3rd person and demonstrative pronoun is marked always everywhere except for 1st, 2nd person intransitive (DeLancey 1990: 807) verbs phenotypically closer to Indic Nepal (we translated and compared analogical examples from Abadie (1974)) and even with Indic
Hindi (See Abbi 55 2001, also Thompson and Hopper 1980). Furthermore, ergativity in Kiranti-Koits mostly depends on animacy, perfectivity and transitivity as well.

4.3.1.5 Comparative and superlative

Ebert (1994: 106) observes that Kiranti languages have few basic adjectives and most words that correspond to adjectives in English are participles and nominalizations. It is true that Kiranti-Koits also has very few lexical adjectives and most forms of adjectives are derived participles or nominalizations. In Ch 3 § 3.1.3.1.1 and § 3.1.3.2, we have already discussed some processes of derivation and here we will provide its word order elements (ibid.) such as,

comparandum + comparatum + ABL/-kenja + ADJ

(297) a. go meko-kenja laisso ba?-ti
   1SG s/he-COMP tall:ADJ be-1SG
   ‘I am taller than him/her.’

b. goi rentse-kenja rimso ba?-te
   1SG Rentse-COMP handsome:ADJ be-1SG
   ‘You are more handsome than Rentse.’

There is another one more process of comparative construction by using a separate lexeme-adjective of quantity as illustrated in (298) a.

(298) a. goi icä rippä dor-o
   2SG COMP quick:ADV run-IMP
   ‘You run (a bit) more quickly.’

Superlative constructions are formed in the same word order string of comparative by prefixing the lexeme nelle ‘all’ as illustrated in (299) a.

(299) a. rentse nelle-kenja rippä dor-b(a)

55 Abbi’s (2001: 146) first observation on Hindi ergativity is- “Unmarked object governs only in the past tense. A case of split ergativity. If the object is case marked in the past tense then the default agreement applies, i.e. 3msg” and second “Absolutive-ergative distinction is maintained in the past tense only if the object noun is non-animate but in future and present the distinction is nominative vs. accusative.
Rentse runs fastest of all.

4.3.1.1.6 Nominalized sentences

Like other Kiranti languages (Ebert 1994: 110) nominalized forms in Kiranti Koits often stand as finite verbs, especially in short sentences in a dialogue as illustrated in (300) a-f.

(300) a. tek-gə lə-šyo?
   where-ALL go-PCPL:NML
   ‘Where are you going?’

b. tek-lə dzāʔ-šyo?
   where-ABL come-PCPL:NML
   ‘Where have you come from?’

c. xˈko lə tek lə-teke mˈe?
   this road where go-NML AUX
   ‘Where does this road go?’

d. densedesimin Tawa likh dzəʔt.
   de"ːs-dceː-ːsi-mi-n Tāwā likh dzəʔ-tə-t
   say-RED-NML-LOC-PAR T rivulet come-PST:3SG
   ‘Quarreling in the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet.’ [Text source: 1.29]

e. Tawakelanpa Sinduli nu Udayapur sirwam bəʔb Kakaru likhmi dzadittase.
   Tāwā-ke-lə-pā Sinduli nu Udayapur sirwā-m bəʔ-b Kakaru likh-mi
   T-GEN-path-ADV S and U boarder-LOC live-NML:3SG K rivulet-LOC
dzadit-tāːsə-tāːs
   reach-PST:3DU
   ‘They reached to the Kakaru rivulet via the way of Tawa located on the boarder of Sinduli and Udayapur.’ [Text source: 1.30]
f. Paiwa nu mekoke loab Dunglewa mithots dumshopatke meko lAptsokali dzArtsA mAlba de tuittAI.
Paiwa nu meko-ke loab Dunglewá mithots dum-šo-pa-tke meko läptso-kéli dzärts-cá
P and he-GEN brother D Tantric be-PCPL-do-NML that door-DAT sacrifice-INF
málbo de tuít-tát.
must say:CONV know-PST:3SG

"Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the
door because of being a Tantric." [Text source: 1.15]

These nominalized sentences are used analogously to participial sentences also,
which characterize lively speech. In place of -šyo in the above example (300) a-b -
teko>tek of (300) c and f (-tke~teke) can also be used interchangeably with slightly
different English gloss. Another equivalent nominalizing morpheme -b in (300) e and -si-
in d have the same function as other nominalized sentences.

4.3.1.2 Complex sentences

A sentence, which is composed of a main clause and one or more dependent
clauses introduced by a subordinating conjugation (such as because, since, although) and
more broadly a sentence that contains two or more clauses joined either by subordination
or co-ordination, i.e. by a coordinating conjunction (such as and, or) is defined as a
complex (Bussmann 1996: 88) sentence (also cf. § 4.5). In transformational grammar, it
is defined as a sentence consisting of a matrix sentence as well as one or more embedded
constituent clauses.

According to Ebert (1994: 112), there are two basic types of clause combining
systems in Kirántí languages based on the degree of reduction. They are:

(i) maximally reduced clauses: the verb is non-finite, i.e. it carries no finite tense or
person markers; subjects are always deleted (even in case of non-identity; cf. negative
converb examples (304)a-b in § 4.3.1.2.2.1).
(ii) minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses: the verb in the non-reduced clause in finite, i.e. it could stand in an independent sentence. In such K-K clauses, the verb is marked for person and number or unlike K-Ath, K-K marks TAM as well.

As opposed to Ebert’s claim, there is coordination of sentences in K-K syntax (See § 4.3.1.2.3) like English with a linker, however K-K lacks the complex NP of English such as “NPs containing relative clauses, such as the man who came to dinner, and those containing noun-complement clauses, such as the rumour that she’s about to resign” (Trask 1993: 52) in its clause combining or syntactico-semantic process.

4.3.1.2.1 Non-finite clauses

As mentioned above, non-finite clauses are maximally reduced clauses.

4.3.1.2.1.1 Infinitive clauses

Like other Kiranti languages, K-K infinitive clauses constitute complement to modal, evaluative or phrasal verbs, or to certain nouns (301) a-c.

(301) a. kʰal-cā rimšo mā-dum-bō
    mix-INF good NEG-become-NPST
    ‘It is not good to mix.’

    b. b’i-ke sye dzā-cā mā-dum-bō
    cow-GEN meat eat-INF NEG-become-NPST
    ‘Cow’s meat should not be eaten.’

    c. Paiwa nu mekoke loab Dunglewa mithots dumshopatke meko lAptsokali dzArlsA mālba de tuittAT.
    must say:CONV know-PST:3SG
‘Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the door because of being a Tantric.’ [Text source: 1.15]


### 4.3.1.2.1.2 Purposive clauses

The Kiranti-Kōits purposive clauses are complements to mainly transitive verbs of motion and are marked by the suffix <-th> (302) a-c.

(302) a. go-pik šyer gyāp-th gyākosi la-yi

1SG-PL rice buy-PUR market go-NPST:1PL

‘Let’s go to the market to buy rice.’

b. na’soi yo ponibom koisho pisAngge phu malih glut.

nā?so-i yo pōībo-m kōi-šo pisāŋ-ge meko

priest-PAR also shaman-AGT show-PR:PCPL direction-towards:POSTP that

ma-tō-tik pʰu māl-tho-th glu-tā-t

NEG-see-NML flower search-PUR exit/set out-PST:3SG

‘The priest also set out towards the direction shown by the shaman for searching the unseen flower.’ [Text source: 3.26]

c. Khaluwami Amkali tuipaisssha det, ”gopikya tsaniwabu naki. gonga la’šha wek rak ngāu-loab-pikya mas soth lamtem. enko râgimi go moiti dzaşsho nang”.


nā-ki. go-nā lā?-šā wek rak ngāu-loab-pikya mas so-th (fig.)

AUX-1PL 1SG-GEN cross-SIM other six e/b-y/b-PL pulse sow-PUR

lām-tem. e’ko rāgi-mi go moiti dzā?-šo nō-šī”

go-PST:3PL this country-LOC 1SG first/before com-PR:PCPL AUX-1SG
‘Khaluwa told introducing himself, “We are seven brothers. Other six brothers passed away except me. I came in this place for the first time.’ [Text source: 1.98]

Like K-Ath, K-Ban and K-Kh, there is no possessive prefix in K-K to indicate the patient as in K-Lim, K-Rod and K-Th.

4.3.1.2.2 Converb clauses

The simultaneous converb (303) a-c (and majority of the sentences in Appendix A) in Kiranti-Koits is not limited to “verbs of motion and posture, expressing an accompanying action of the same subject” (Ebert 1994: 114) and can occur with all verbs whether transitive or intransitive e.g. ...lāʔ-šā (cross-SIM ‘crossing/having crossed’) in (302) c above and ķā-šā-ḵā (weep-SIM-SEQ ‘weeping/having cried), where <-ḵā' is sequential marker of simultaneity is optional. This can often be reduplicated, indicating duration or iteration of the accompanying action. The simultaneous converb maker -šā is cognate of K-Rod, K-Ath and K-Ban <-šā> whereas K-Lim has no simultaneous converb and its function is taken over by a finite simultaneous clause with the suffix <-lā> (ibid.).

(303) a. hare er wāsāl kā Tʰi-sā beʔ-šo to-yi?
    DS LOC boy one fall-SIM die-PR:PCPL see-3SG
    ‘Did you see a boy, who died falling/having fallen?’

b. masogenke lāptso lhāptso kali kubits’ib kyorsshādārshā la ro’ne tsab-sib bāʔ.
    masogen-ke läptso-koli kubits’ib kyors-šā-dāzrs-šā là ro’ne tsāb-sib
    virtue-GEN door-PAT:DAT a/b cut-SIM-sacrifice-SIM only open-INF can-PAS
    bāʔ-ta-t
    AUX:EXT-3SG

    ‘The door of virtue could be opened only by sacrificing animals or birds (a/b).’ [Text source: 1.14]

c. meko mekom sāittimi auuu” denden pleshā doʔshā panpan Khlisi rongngā lānla
    khinge dortta.
me "ko meko-m säit-timi auuu" de-n-de-n ple-ša-do?-ša
so.and.so-AGT kill-PST:3PL excl say-PROG-RED jump-SIM-RED-SIM
pa-n-pa-n Khlisi roñ-ñä là-lä kʰi-ge dort-ta-u
do-PROG-RED-PROG K cliff-GEN path-ABL house-POSTP run-PST:3SG

'Having jumped and exclaiming so and so killed me, he ran towards the house through the path of Khlisi cliff.' [Text source: 2.24]

4.3.1.2.2.1 Negative converb

The Kiranti-Kōits negative converb as in other Kiranti languages has "a wide rage of interpretations" (Ebert 1994: 116) such as a conditional (304) a, and a causal interpretation (304) b. In most cases subject identity is not required (cf. Text source: 1.45, 1.50, 2.39, 3.2, 3.34, 3.53 and Rapacha 1999 also).

(304) a. gyopsi ma- па-thu sui-mi yo ma-ge-bǝ(ǝ)
registration NEG-do-CONV no one-ERG also NGE-give-NPST:3SG

'Without having registered on one gives you.'

b. khusho Khaluwami khaiding panapan "goi su naye?" densha khingAIA hillo paptu. "goi ain tau madumthu wek sukai dumtsA m̥lba. Ain taun me ngǝna blA apšA laptsoLA gluindo minu go meko blA mi toɔšA genung, minu mekosali t'u:šAngA min khingA onisha geu" Khaluwa grit.
kʰušo Khaluwǝ-mi kʰáldinq pa-ná-pa-n "goi su na-ye?" de'-šǝ old.man K-ACT doubt do-PROG-RED-PROG 2SG who AUX-3SG say-SIM
kʰiŋgA-hillo páptu. "goi āi tau ma-dum-thu wek sukai house.inside-ABL ask do-3PST you our son NEG-become-CONV other someone dum-c̆ m̥lba. āi tǝu-n mEq-nā blA āp-šA láptso-lā become-INF must our son-PAR is if:COND arrow shoot-SIM door-ABL soi-tǝ minu go meko blA-mi to?-ša ge-nu-ŋ. minu send-IMP then 1SG that arrow-LOC spit-SIM give-NPST-1SG then mekosali t'u:-šǝ-ñA min kʰiŋgA āi-šA ge-u" Khaluwa that-PAT lick-SIM-SEQ then house.inside insert-SIM give-PST K
gri-tə-t
shout-PST:3SG

‘The old man doubting asked, “Who are you?” from the house inside. “You must be some other aliens without being my son. If you are our son, shoot an arrow from the door sending it inside and then I shall give you the arrow back having spat on it. Then insert inside the house having licked the arrow”, Khaluwa thundered.’ [Text source: 1.128]

These negative converbs can be suffixed by another negative particle <m̱ədumbə> for emphasis such as məpəthu mədumbə ‘must do’, məkəthu mədumbə ‘must see’, mələthu mədumbə ‘must go’, mədzəthu mədumbə ‘must eat’, məbərəthu mədumbə ‘must write’, məgləthu mədumbə ‘must win’ and so on (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.6.1).

4.3.1.2.3 Participial clauses

Participial (also adnominal and relative) clause by definition is “a construction containing a participle which functions like a relative but which lacks both a relative pronoun and a finite verb” (Trask 1993: 200), e.g. The woman [wearing the white miniskirt] is John’s wife and The vegetables [sold here] are not very fresh and in Kiranti-Kōits, there is no pure relative clause like ‘...man who...’ and ‘...rumour that...’ mentioned in § 4.3.1.2 earlier. However, obviously there are constructions containing a participle which function like relative clauses as illustrated in (305) a-c.

(305) a. hois-šo bwak lā tu-cā məlbə
boil-PCPL:ADJ water only drink-INF must
‘One should drink only boiled water.’

b. meko m’iʃye mər [bus miniskirt pə?-šo] John-ke m’iʃye me’
the woman white miniskirt wear-PCPL John-GEN wife AUX:is
‘The woman [wearing the white miniskirt] is John’s wife.’
'Although there is no historical evidence on worshipping of the Sida grandfather when it started, there is a legend related to it.' [Text source: 2.3]

Participial clauses (one type of reduced relative clause) in K-K, are basically role-oriented and multi-functional. The participle -šo, at least functions in two different ways as the manner nominal with the manner verb -pā (Ebert 1999a: 378) and as adjectives (cf. Rapacha 1996: 50).

4.3.1.2.2 Finite clauses

As mentioned earlier, finite clauses are minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses. Ebert (1994: 120) subsumes that finite clauses in Kiranti languages contain a verb carrying person and tense-aspect (cf. Ch 3 §3.2.9.1 and § 3.2.9.2.1) markers or even mood (cf. Ch 3 § 3.2.9.3). K-K clauses have the final tense (PST) markers such as Σ-tā (1SG, transitive), Σ-ti (1SG, intransitive), Σ-te (2SG), Σ-tu (3SG) etc and NPST are marked differently (cf. § 3.2.9.1) as illustrated in (306) a-c.

(306) a. dzoi-kal kʰert-tu-ŋā āp-tu
   tiger-DAT chase-PST:3SG-SEQ shoot-PST:3 SG
   'S/he chased the tiger and shot.'

b. go meko āl-kali thāi-nu-ŋ-ŋa-min ŋa-pāi-nu-ŋ
   1SG the child-DAT beat-NPST-1SG-SEQ-then weep-do:CAUS-NPST-1SG
   'I beat the child and then make him/her cry.'
c. *meko hopom sÃines moitin oNthta KirÃtmI Khintsi dyAÎngA Kothdimmi hopothem waissÃ mekomÃ thÃkthÃksam hopothem pÃptu.*

meko hopo-m sãines moitin òttha Kirá-t-mi Kãi-tsi dyãl-ŋã Kothdim-mi that king-AGT many. years ago hither K-LOC k village-LOC:POSS K-LOC hopothem wãis-ŋã meko-mi thãkthãksam hopothem pãp-tu capital keep-SIM he-AGT generation to generation capital do-PST:3SG

‘Many years ago, he (the king) established his kingdom at Kothdim of Khintsi village, hither or near (*N Walle*) Kirat and ruled there for many generations.’

[Text source: 4.2]

4.3.1.2.2.1 Nominalized clauses

A nominalized clause in K-K like K-Ath (Ebert 1997: 144) can be subordinated as a relative, temporal and a complement clause.

4.3.1.2.2.1.1 Adnominal/Relative clauses

Kiránti-Kõíts usually lacks the English types of adnominal or relative clauses as mentioned in § 4.3.1.2.3 earlier. However, there exist clauses marked with -tekâ tik -h and -ne the language as illustrated in (307) a-c.

(307) a. wã murt-ték la-tek lá-mi kyet tãis-ŋó bã?-tá
   cloth wash-NML go-NML path-LOC money throw-PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG
   ‘Money was thrown over the path on which you go to the washing place.’

b. goi-mi i-ke ãt-mi dzã?-tekâ nimpâ-ã-kâ lí mãr ge-yí?
   2SG-ERG 2SG-GEN house-LOC come-NML DU-DAT what give-2SG
   ‘What did you give to the two who came to your house?’

c. Khintsi ke glumâts itsã-nole dumshomi laptso tso?kinegen laptso ne?hã dza?the me.
   K-GEN family a.little-after become-PR:PCPL-AGT door close-MV-NML-soon door near dzã?-te-me-m
arrive-PST:3SG

‘Immediately after the closing of the door, Khintsi’s family members arrived there.’ [Text source: 1.18]

4.3.1.2.1.2 Temporal clauses

In Kiranti-Köits a ‘while’-clause is formed with suffix -nu usually preceded by -šol-me, which is nominalized clause serving as temporal clauses. If the clause refers to an emphatic event, it is marked by a topic.

(308) a. go-m āl-kāli huis-šo-nu-da diu ple-tu
    1SG-ERG child-DAT scold-PCPL-TEMP-TOP MAN jump-PST:3SG
    ‘The child jumped abruptly while (I scold him/her) scolding.’

b. langgā glu-mē-nu da me-mi dāgyu Pāiwa-kē loāb Dunğlewā kāthkān tābu.
    langgä glu-me-nu da me-mi dāgyu Pāiwa-ke loab Dunlewa kathkan tabtu.
    outside come.out-NPST-TEMP PAR he-AGT e/b P-GEN y/b D
    kāth-kā-n tā-btu
    together-one-PAR see-PST: 3SG
    ‘While coming out, he saw Paiwa’s (e/b ‘elder brother’) brother (y/b ‘younger brother’) Dunglewa together.’ [Text source: 1.23]

c. kābnāt shyetsib panpan lashonu Tsisankhu (Kuibir, Serna, Diyale nu Pokharenga sirwa) dzādimma-bā’t.
    kāb-nāt šye-tsib pā-n-pā-n lo-šo-nu Tsisānkhu (Kuibir, Serna, one/once-day meat-bird do-PROG-RED-PROG go-PR:PCPL-TEMP Ts (K, S, Diyāle nu Pokarejā sirwā) dzā-dimmā-bā?-tā-t
    D and P-GEN boarder) reach-PST:3PL-AUX:EXT-3PL
    ‘Once upon a time, they reached to Tsisankhu (boarder of Kuibir, Serna, Diyale and Pokhare) while hunting.’ [Text source: 1.52]
4.3.1.2.2.1.3 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a finite or non-finite clause, which serves as a complement to some lexical item (Trask 1993: 51) such as in the NP *the report that war has broken out*, the clause *that war has broken out* is a complement of the noun *report* (it is a ‘noun complement clause’), whereas like K-Ath (Ebert 1997: 148), Kiranti-Koits cognitive verbs and verbs of perception take nominalized clauses as complements.

(309) a. go-mi ῥārc-piki-m .syɪ co-n-co-n-po-šo tā-tā-t
1SG-ERG friend-PL-ERG firewood burn-PROG-RED-do-PCPL:NML see-PST-1SG
‘I saw my friends burning the firewood.’

b. Paiwa nu mekoke loab Dungle wa mithots dumshopatke meko lāptso kālī dzār-ta
Paiwa and he-GEN brother D and he-GEN brother D Dunglewa mithots dum-šo-tpkė meko lāptso-kālī dzār-ta
and he-GEN brother D Tantric be-PCPL-do-NML that door-DAT sacrifice INF
mālba de tuit-tät.
must say:CONV know-PST:3SG

‘Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the door because of being a Tantric.’ [Text source: 1.15]

4.3.1.2.2.1.4 Sequence clauses

The function of verb:PCPL plus sequential marker -ŋā (also cf. Noonan 1999, Ebert 1999) suffixed usually by min(ā/u) ‘then’ in Kiranti-Koits is equivalent of converbs or conjunctive participles as illustrated in (310) a-c. As in other Kiranti languages (Ebert 1994: 127), the connection between K-K sequence clauses is translated by “and (then)” but often a temporal interpretation (“when”, “after”) is just as adequate. The -ŋā as a sequential marker has poly-semantic functions (cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1), which usually occurs with attached converb preceded by min(ā/u) and independently too. Most of these conjoined/sequence clauses have identical subject, however it is not necessary condition in the K-K narratives.
a. go kʰame  dza-sa-nā-min  dumkʰi lo-ti
  LG rice  eat-SIM-SEQ-then  office  go-PST:1SG

‘I went to the office after having rice.’

b. gaits sāmtik thumpa rippangāmin mosho sosho bakyapat/bospat shyoklo
gupṣa rabgyobbikali blengngableng y’uṣala mar gosho bāme bakyapata
/bospatke shyoklo blo:lisha peperu nelle blalatsila dumsha pinda bub’u dumta.

‘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. mekyengA me gaishngamin ubnaubna hillo pāaptu, “mame e... dāgyu! inke da
loab selan bārt shyan? Ankali marde kyorssha-dzārs-sha piu densho?”

‘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]
'Then furiously asked, “Hey elder brother (e/b)! You have your younger brother (y/b) with you. Why did you ask my younger brother to sacrifice?’

4.3.1.2.2.1.5 Adverbial/Manner/-pa clauses

The adjectival and nominal qualifying marker, e.g. -pa (311) a-c in Kiranti-Koits marks manner or quality clauses. Like K-Ath (Ebert 1997: 150), the cause is inserted immediately before the verb it modifies, where the subject of the embedded clause need not be identical with that of the main clause.

(311) a. go-m rup-tek-pā lo-pa-cā māł-no-yē
1SG-ERG understand-NML-MAN talk-do-INF need-COP-NPST:3SG
‘You must speak in such a way that I understand.’

b. go-m deⁿ-so lo rimšo-pā ne-cā māł-no-yē
1SG-ERG say-PCPL talk good-ADV:MAN listen-INF need-COP-NPST:3SG
‘You must listen my suggestion thoroughly what I said.’

c. mo-pā ma-dorč-cā 1ʰ-sib
that-MAN NEG-run-INF fall-PAS
‘One falls down when s/he runs in such a manner.’

4.3.1.2.2.1.6 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses (cf. Bieri 1978) are expressed sometimes with the help of a topic maker preceded by a conditional particle ṣaṇa(ā) ‘if’ (also mo ḥanā ‘if so’) as shown in (312) a-c.

(312) a. ge-ṭe-m ṣaṇa do tu-nu-ṇ
give-PST-3PL if:COND TOP drink-NPST-1SG
‘If they give it to me, I (will) drink it.’

b. dopā pa-cā deⁿ-šā tuis-śo ṣaṇa do me-piki-m pāi-nimā
how do-INF say-SIM know-PCPL if:COND TOP s/he-PL-ERG do-PS:PL
‘They would do it if they knew how.’

c. onsosam kon nañomı gimngA haruiyo saittek lo: puinapuin rabgyombim lenkhlo:phso ne?so sendAm dent, “eee shyAnkA! mul goimi yi tami Ankali getik koki pAinaye ngana la suimi matasho phu koninung. mame ngana be:ISA geu go matuinung phu-su.”

ōso-sam kō nā?so-mi gim-ŋā ḥurui yo sāit-tek lo: this.much-till COMP priest-AGT body-GEN lust yo sāit-tek lo:
pui-nā-pui-n rabgyombi-m le?: kʰlo:pso nelās se”:dā-m beg-PROG-RED-PAR shepherd tongue staggered:ADJ nasal sound-LOC đe”:t, “eee šyākā! mul goi-mi yi tami ā-kālī ge-tik say-PST:3SG hey leopard! now you-AGT thy daughter me-DAT give-NML koki pāi-naye ḋanā lā sui-mi mā-ᵗā-šō pʰu promise do-NPST:3SG if:COND only no.one-AGT NEG-see-PR:PCPL flower kōt-nuṇ. mame ḡanā be-cā ge-u go mā-tui-nu-ŋ show-NPST:1SG not if:COND die-INF give-IMP 1SG NEG-know-NPST-3SG such mod(l)eb pʰu-su”
such flower-RED

‘To such an extent that the shepherd having staggered his tongue in a nasal voice asking to fulfill his sexual lust to the priest said, “Hey Leopard! (addressing the priest). Now if you promise to sacrifice your daughter to me, I’ll show you the flower, which no one can see. If not let it go to the hell; I don’t know such flower etc.’

4.3.1.2.2.1.6 Concessive clauses

Like in K-Ban, K-Rod and K-Ath, Kirânti-Kōits concessive clauses are marked by COND plus “also/even” as illustrated in (313) a.

(313) a. mulātsināt nelle i-io-iā wāʔ-te-m ḡanā yo keŋgerlo nowadays all 1SGPOSS-language-ABL speak-NPST:HON if:COND also Nepali kʰāl-ni-m(i) mix-3PST:PL

[Text source: 3.40]
‘Nowadays all, even if they speak our language, mix with Nepali.’

4.3.1.2.2.1.7 Quote clauses

Reported speech or thought in Kiranti-Kôits like other Kiranti languages is embedded by a quote particle, which most often has the form: “say” plus SIM/SEQ (de~šā ‘having said’ or a sequence like de~šā de~tu ṣā min) in a sentence that ends with -ne particle as in (314) a.

(314) a. meko-mi yo ām-ke kerdz de~šā mə-tuit-tā t ne, ṣā-min
3SG-ERG also 1SG-POSS uncle QUOTE NEG-know-PST-3SG REP SEQ-then
Sosole-mi yo ām-mur de~šā mə-tuit-tā t ne
S-ERG also 1SG-man QUOTE NEG-know-PST-3SG REP

‘She did know that Sosole was her maternal uncle, and he also did not know that she was his relative, it is said.

Moreover, another possible way of the formation of quote clauses is to repeat a question in dialogues in the form of answer, e.g.

(315) a. A: goi-mi dopā/märpā tuit-ṇa-ye?
2SG-ERG how know-COP-NPST:3SG
‘How do you know?’

B: go-m dopā tuit-tā-ṇ ṣānā de~šā de~-šo-nu hoṅtī mōtī
1SG-ERG how know-PST-1SG QUOTE EQUOTE say-PCPL-TEMP earlier two
murum siwār-ṃ klāis-šo tā-tā-se
man-ERG jackal-AGT bite-PCPL see-PST-2DU
‘How I know is that earlier two men saw the jackal biting it.’

4.3.1.2.2.1.7 Reason clauses/Causal linking

Reason clauses (also cf. Bieri 1978) in Kiranti-Kôits, are quite often marked by mārdeshmṇāṇā ‘because’ as illustrated in (316) a, and mopatikë ‘therefore’ (322) a.
4.3.1.2.2.1.8 Correlative clauses

A correlative clause is "a construction in which the relative clause precedes the main clause and both are overtly marked, the relative clause by a WH-item and the main clause by a demonstrative, the whole thus being characterized by a structure along the line of ‘which one...that one’" (Trask 1993: 65) whereas in Kiranti-Köits like other Kiranti languages (Ebert 1994: 133) and unlike English, these clauses are rare and most often they occur with question words, expressing ‘WH-ever...that/then’, e.g.

(317) a. tek läi-na-ye mek e’ko kʰɔyɔt kur-o
   where go-COP-NPST:3SG there this book carry-3SG:IMP
   ‘Wherever you go, there you carry this book.’

b. meko-mi mæräi puŋ-šo-nu yo modeb ge-b ne
   s/he-AGT whatever beg-PCPL-TEMP also such give-NPST:3SG REP
   ‘He would give whatever we ask for.’

c. ŋyen meko-puki dis-a-səm reš-si-ses-si pa-cä mɔ-cäb-ni-m
   but s/he-PL tomorrow-until write-NML-read-NML do-INF NEG-can-NPST:3PL
   märdeŋɔnɔ meʔ-piki kʰalpʰ-kʰalpʰm dum-te-m(e).
   because s/he-PL old man old woman become-PST-3PL
   ‘But they cannot read and write until tomorrow because they became old.’

d. go ṭekə lāi-nu-ŋ mekə mekə kʰɔit-to
   1SG where go-NPST-1SG there RED follow-3SG:IMP
   ‘Wherever I go, follow me there!’

e. doso doso dzāi-na-ye moso moso tem-nu-ŋ
   how much RED eat-COP-NPST:3SG that much RED add-NPST:1SG
   ‘As much as you eat, that much I provide.’

(316) a. mulāt go lāngä mɔ-la-ŋ märdeŋɔnɔ mek roi-pā-tā-ŋ
   today 1SG outside NEG-go-1SG because 1SG sick-do-PST-1SG
   ‘I did not go out today because I was sick.’
4.3.1.2.3 Coordination

In § 4.4.1.2, we stated that a sentence in Kiranti-Kôits contains two or more clauses joined either by subordination, i.e. subordinating conjugation or ‘coordinands’ (such as because, e.g. (316) a, since, although, e.g. (318) a, therefore, e.g. (322) a) or coordination, i.e. by a co-ordinating conjunction (such as and, e.g. (319) a, (321) a: verbs as well, and or, e.g. (320) a). In recent literature, according to Haspelmath (2000) coordination has been defined as “syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and till have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements” (cited in Abbi 2001: 213). Subordinators or coordinands in many Kiranti languages according to Ebert (1994: 135) go back to case markers (is also applicable in K-K syntax) and are grammaticalized to subordinators (cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1), which actually originate from free lexemes through grammaticalization in those languages including the language under investigation/description.

Gusain (1999: 29-30) discusses that subordination involves the conjunction of two clauses with the help of subordinators or subordinating conjunctions. The subordinators assign unequal rank to the conjoined clauses and render one of the clauses subordinate to other. Subordination involves finite and non-finite verbs. Finite clauses are not distinct from main clauses in terms of their structure. They exhibit different behaviour in two important respects: (i) word order: subordinate finite clauses generally follow the main clause; if they precede the main clause ((319) a, e.g. go mim-nu-ŋ... (1SG think-NPS1-1SG) ‘I think...’) the marked order is due to focus considerations. The only exceptions are relative clauses and adverbial relative clauses, (ii) the subordinate marker or complementizer (whereas K-K has no complementizer ‘that’ as such in English or Indic languages like Hindi or Nepali ‘ki’) generally occupies initial position in the subordinate clause. Instead, the conjunction mu ‘and,’ adversative conjunction ŝyeŋ ‘but’ and disjunction de are used in coordination.

(318) a. go mek ma-dzą-ŋ ŋanāiyo meko ge pa-cā go-cā
1SG there NEG-arrive-PST:1SG although that work do-INF start-INF
‘Although I do not arrive, start doing that work.’
(319) a. go-m mim-ŋo nu meko kɔŋ lāi-bɔ
   1SG-ERG think-PCPL TEMP s/he house go-NPST:3SG
   ‘I think that s/he will go (goes) home.’

(320) a. goi kɔŋ lāi-na-yə de go i-kəl tu-bu?
   2SG house go-COP-NPST:3SG or 1SG 2SG beat-NPST:1SG
   ‘Do you go home or shall I beat you?’

(321) a. rentse nu sentse kathmandu dzāʔ-tā-se
   rentse and sentse kathmandu arrive-PST-3DU
   ‘Rentse and Sentse arrived to Kathmandu.’ (conjunction)

(322) a. go hir-th ɔ-cá māl-nu-ŋ mopātike go-m ge plo-i-tāŋ
   1SG visit-PUR go-INF need-NPST-1SG therefore 1SG-ERG work leave-PST-1SG
   ‘I want to visit therefore I left the work.’ (causal co-ordination)

4.3.1.3 Anaphora

‘Anaphora’ as defined in Abbi (2001: 208) is a process by which a word derives its interpretation from previously expressed linguistic units. It refers to a type of NP that has no obviously independent reference but derives it from some other constituent, its antecedent. Thus, anaphors include among others, reflexive pronouns, reciprocal (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.5) pronouns, and personal pronouns used in discourse that have antecedents existing in previous clauses.

Gusain (1999) paraphrasing Haegeman (1995: 211) points out that ‘anaphora’ is a label to refer to the referentially dependent NP types: reflexives and reciprocal. Anaphors receive a referential interpretation by virtue of being bound by an antecedent. There are several devices of expressing anaphora- (I) deletion, e.g. (323) a-b, (II) deletion where element is marked on the verb morphology, (III) ordinary personal (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.4.1) pronoun, and (IV) reflexive (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.4.2) pronouns. They will be illustrated in § 4.7 below.
4.3.1.4 Gyapping/Elipsis

Abbi (2001: 217) notes that phrasal coordination necessarily involves ellipsis of identical repeated elements. Thus, Kirânti-Kôits sentence (324) a, is a derivation of (324) b and c respectively. Such ellipsis transforms an underlying biclausal structure into a monoclausal one, which is known as conjunction reduction also and can gap coreferential nouns. This gap or ‘deletion’ (Gusain 1999) is the most prominent device for expressing anaphora in discourse (also cf. Bieri 1978 for anaphoric and cataphoric reference).

(323) a. kâlskā, kâ sye-bî-mi kâ āl-kâli glum-sâ ô,ôj de-tu, ‘goît su 1SG COP-2SG who
‘Once upon a time a teacher having met a child, 0(He) said 0(to him), who are you?’

b. go ip-câ dâ-ti 1SG sleep-INF like-PST:1SG and then 0(1SG) sleep-PST:1SG
‘I felt sleepy and went off to sleep.’

Anaphoric subject (the teacher) and object (the boy) become accessible by means of deletion/zero anaphora (ø).

(324) a. āl-piki-m sisdzdz dzâ-mte-m ălmîn hîebmur-piki-m kâk ô
child-PL-ERG ice-cream eat-PST-PL and then adult-PL-ERG cake ô
‘The children ate the ice-cream and the adults the cake.’ (ellipsis of the identical verb ‘ate’) 

b. āl-piki-m sisdzdz dzâ-mte-m ‘children ate the ice-cream’
c. hîebmur-piki-m kâk dzâ-mte-m ‘adults ate the cake’

4.3.2 Other minor sentences
4.3.2.1 Verbless sentences

Like in Kirânti-Rod (Rai 2003), Kirânti-Kôits has verbless sentences.
Most of them, in fact, occur in colloquial speech and are verbless. Verb in such sentences is optional and verb 'to be' need not be present in equational sentences as illustrated in (325) a-c.

(325) a. A: meko mär?
   that what ‘What’s that?’
B: meko rōwā.
   that tree ‘That’s a tree.’
C: meko rōwā mamoi
   that tree NEG ‘That’s not a tree.’

b. A: in-k€ n€ mär (əm)
   2SG-POSS name what ‘What’s your name?’
B: ā-k€ n€ ʃyākārelu
   1SG-POSS name S ‘My name’s Shyākarelu.’
C: ā-k€ n€ ʃyākārelu mamoi
   1SG-POSS name S NEG ‘My name’s not Shyākarelu.’

c. A: meko su-k€ kʰʔ
   that who-POSS house ‘Whose house is that?’
B: meko ā-k€ kʰʔ
   that 1SG-POSS house ‘That’s my house.’
C: meko i-k€ kʰʔ mamoi
   that 1SG-POSS house NEG ‘That’s not your house.’

4.3.2.2 Exclamatory/declarative sentences

Exclamatory sentences are utterances serving to express human emotions such as surprise, happiness, disgust etc., regardless of its grammatical form, which is often merely that of a word or a phrase such in (326) a-c.

(326) a. tsentse-mi de̤-ta, “yabre-gubre-mi i-k€ rimso pə-wəla!”
   tsentse-ERG day-PST:3SG god-RED-ERG 2SG-POSS good do-OPT:INTJ
   ‘Tsentse said, “May God bless you!”’
b. ì mò:ro! ð-wë-še
2SG INTJ get/be-2SG
‘Go to hell!’

c. jà! mëko-m màr ð-wà?
INTJ s/he-ERG what do-NPST:3SG
‘Oh! What did s/he do?’

An exclamatory sentence differs from a declarative sentence in more than one syntactical aspect, where the declarative is incomplete or truncated such as (327) a-c.

(327) a. kʰui dzà?-tö (Declarative)
thief come-PST:3SG ‘The thief came.’

b. kʰui ‘Thief!’

The exclamatory sentence is formed by the use of exclamatory particle ju ‘Oh’, e.g.

(328) a. goi gyākosi lə-te. (Declarative)
2SG market go-PST:2SG ‘You went to the market.’

b. jà! goi gyākosi lə-yi? (Exclamatory)
INTJ 2SG market go-PST:2SG ‘Oh, you went to the market!’

Like in Bagri (an Indic language spoken India, Gusain 1999), exclamatory sentences in Kirânti-Kôits are overlaid with some expressive, attitudinal meaning whereas declaratives are plainly informative. Both types present a statement as being true, but in an exclamatory sentence, the speaker adds a strong emotional reaction to when s/he presupposes to be true as illustrated in (329) a, and b.

(329) a. mëko təmî rimšo bā. (declarative)
The daughter is beautiful.

b. meko tami dopā rimśo bā?-me! (exclamatory)
the daughter how good be-AUX:is
‘How beautiful the daughter is!’

An exclamatory clause resembles an interrogative clause in form in that it uses question word such as dopā ‘how’ (330) a-c. In exclamatory clauses, the question words are syntactically different in that they occupy a determiner position and function as degree modifiers to a noun, adjective or adverb as shown below.

(330) a. dopā gyoṣo nopā! how long ear ‘How long ear!’
b. dopā rimśo! how good ‘How beautiful!’
c. jā! meko be?-met šyā! INTJ s/he die-PST:3SG ‘Alas, he died!’

A declarative sentence “is typically used to make a statement; an interrogative sentence is typically used to ask a question; an imperative sentence is typically used to express and order, a request, or a warning; and an exclamative sentence is typically expressing a more or less emotional comment on something and often characterized by a grammatically distinctive form” (Gusain 1999:14). The declarative sentences in Kirānti-Kōits are the least marked, the most basic, and the most widespread form of clause of which the following characteristics are observed:

1. …has the unmarked word order SOV

(331) a.go še̖ysib na-ŋ
1SG student be:COP-1SG
S Complement (O) V
‘I am a student.’

b. meko resšikʰi la-tə
s/he school go-PST:3SG
S O V
‘S/he went to school.’

II. …the subject controls the verb agreement in a declarative sentence

(332) a. go-m goi-kəli kʰyɔpät ɡɛ-tə-ŋ
1SG-AGT 2SG-DAT book give-PST:1SG
S IO O V
‘I gave you the book.’

b. goi-mi meko-kəli tuptiyi
2SG-AGT s/he-DAT beat-PST:2SG
S O V
‘You beat him.’

III. …has the same form as the subordinate clause

(333) a. meko-mi disə pi-nu dɛ̄-sə dɛ̄-tə
s/he-ERG tomorrow come-NPST say-SIM say-PST:3SG
‘S/he said the s/he would come tomorrow.’

IV. …has a falling intonation

(334) a. go lái-nu-ŋ
1SG go-NPST-1SG
‘I go.’

b. goi disə piu-o
2SG tomorrow come-IMP:2SG
‘You come tomorrow.’

V. …serves as the basis on which other sentence types are formed

(335) a. goi lái-na-ye?
2SG go-COP-2SG

‘Do you go?’ (Are you going?)

b. lāu-o ‘Go!’

### 4.3.2.3 Vocative sentences

Vocative (also cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1 (125) a-b for vocative case) is an NP used for direct address containing not more than a couple of words with or without a verb yet functioning as a sentence as in (336) a-b.

(336) a. oi tsentse eu! ‘Hello, Cence!’

b. ēi āpʰ po ou! ‘Hello, father!’

c. immā! ‘Mother!’

### 4.3.2.4 Obligatory sentences

Obligatory sentences express both moral and epistemic obligations (also see § 3.2.9.3.9), formed by compound verbs/serial verbs (337) a-b. Compound verbs are formed by adding to the non-finite form of a verb (usually its stem, conjunctive in stem form present or past participle, or infinitive) as an ancillary/auxiliary/modal verb. The auxiliary/modal/ancillary is conjugated for the various tenses and moods, while the main verb remains unchanged. The ancillary verbs used are pd-ca ‘to do’, dum-ca ‘to be’, mālbə ‘should/must’.

(337) a. go mul kʰi lə-cā mālbə

1SG now house go-INF must/should

‘Now I should go home.’

b. goi rimšo ge pə-cā

2SG good work do-INF

‘Do good deeds.’

### 4.3.2.5 Prohibitive sentences

In prohibit sentences, the negative particle <mə> ‘not’ is employed with
imperative sentence and it is prefixed to the verb and the verb form changes according to person and number as illustrated in (338) a-d.

(338) a. la-cā mā-nāilō (go-INF NEG-NEG-HON) ‘Please do not go.’
   b. mā-lāu-o (NEG-go-IMP:2SG) ‘You do not go.’
   c. mā-lā-ne (NEG-go-IMP:3PL) ‘YouPL do not go.’
   d. mā-lā-se (NEG-go-2DU) ‘YouDU do not go.’

4.3.2.6 Double object sentences

Like English, the Kiranti-Kōits language also has sentences with two or double objects (O₁ and O₂) as illustrated in (339) a-d.

(339) a. go-mi paku-kālī kʰyōpat ges-tā-ŋ
       1SG-ERG paku-DAT book give-PST-1SG
       ‘I gave a book to Paku.’ (…not s/he, you, they)

   b. paku-mi kʰyōpat go-kālī gep-tu
       paku-ERG book 1SG-DAT give-3SG
       ‘Paku gave a book to me.’ (…not to Yumpi)

   c. go-kālī paku-mi kʰyōpat gep-tu
       1SG-DAT paku-ERG book give-PST-3SG
       ‘Paku gave a book to me.’ (…not by Rentse)

   d. go-kālī kʰyōpat paku-mi gep-tu
       1SG-DAT book paku-ERG give-PST-3SG
       ‘Paku gave a book to me.’ (…not a pen)

In a way, the illustrations in (339) a-d show that the S, O₁, O₂ in a double object sentence can normally fill its slots interchangeably with a slightly different semantic implications rather than a verb. However, there are verbs occupying the S or O₁ and O₂ slots in every day speech.
4.3.3 Direct and Indirect speech

The overt syntactic device such as a quotative or reportive marker or particle de-šā ‘having said’, ne ‘reportive/mirative’ and bāʔ-ta ‘reportive’ are utilized to distinguish between direct and indirect speech in Kirānti-Kōits. Frequently quoted as well as reported material is contained in an embedded sentence linked by de-šā (i.e. de-šā min de-tu ‘having said said’) and the embedded sentences ending bāʔ-ta and ne which is subordinate relative to a higher verb of the sentence as illustrated in (340) a-c.

(340) a. blespät-mi rip-pā piu-o de-šā bre-si-šo bāʔ-ta
letter-LOC quick-ADV come-IMP say-SIM write-MV-PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG
‘It was written in the letter, ‘come quickly’.’

b. mār dum-mē de-šā meko-mē hillo-pāp-tu
what become-Q say-SIM s/he-ERG ask-do-PST:3SG
‘He asked, “What has happened?”’

c. go-m ne-šo-nu meko p’i-b ne
1SG-ERG hear-PCPL-SEQ s/he come-NPST:3SG REP
‘I heard that he would come.’

4.4 Summing up

In this chapter, we have described the rudiments of Kirānti-Kōits syntax. The language as one of the Tibeto-Burman members shares very similar syntactic features of the sub-family. Its normal word order as in other T-B members in a sentence is SOV – subject, object, predicate. We illustrated NP, VP, ADJPH and ADVPH at its basic phrase structure level. At the NP level, K-K is a head final language.

At the sentence level, we have divided the K-K sentences mainly in two major parts, viz., simple and complex. However, some minor types of sentences are also dealt in the last part of this description. In simple sentences, we illustrated possible word order, interrogative, copula, ergativity, comparative/superlative and nominalized sentences. Ergativity (§ 4.3.1.1.4 and cf. also Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5 examples (109) c-d, (116) e) as
morpho-syntactic process has been dealt in a considerable detail. Based on copious illustrations we came to a prima facie conclusion that Kirānti-Kōits exhibits split ergative marking on the 3rd person noun or demonstrative pronoun for which DeLancey (1981) has termed as ‘empathy hierarchy and aspectual split pattern’.

Complex sentences in Kirānti-Kōits according to Ebert (1994: 112), are classified into two basic types of clause combining systems based on the degree of reduction. viz., (i) maximally reduced clauses: the verb is non-finite, i.e. it carries no finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted (even in case of non-identity, and (ii) minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses: the verb in the non-reduced clause in finite, i.e. it could stand in an independent sentence. In such Kirānti-Kōits clauses, the verb is marked for person and number or unlike K-Ath, Kirānti-Kōits marks TAM as well.

Such clauses based on reduction are divided into Non-finite and Finite clauses further. Under Non-finite, there are infinitive, purposive converb, negative and participial clauses syntactically organized in the language. While Finite clause includes nominalized, adnominal/relative, temporal, complement, sequence, adverbial/manner -pā, conditional, concessive, quote, reason/causal and correlative. Some other minor sentences also have been accounted to unfold the syntactic structures of Kirānti-Kōits in particular and in a wider perspective of T-B syntax in general comparatively.