

## Chapter One

### A short introduction

#### 1.1 General overview

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

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

---

<sup>1</sup> The additional information added in big brackets is my own.

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

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

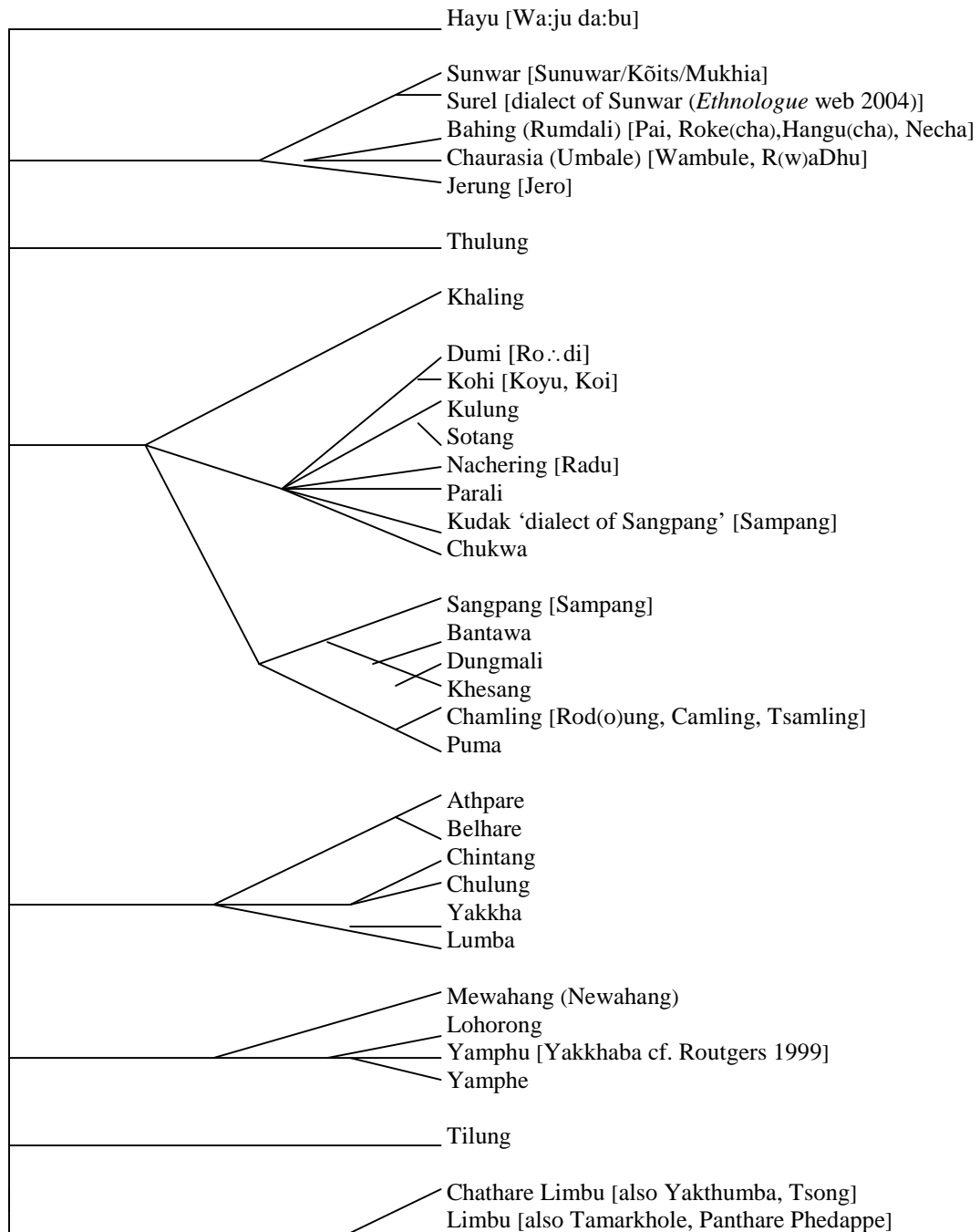
Thus, the tribe/people are doomed to conversion and their native tongue is ‘doomed to extinction’ (Krauss 1992: 4) menacingly. The western Kir nti (sub-groups:

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

**Figure 2: The Kir nti/Rai<sup>2</sup> languages** of *Wallo* 'near', *Majh* 'Middle and *Pallo* 'far' Kirat, east Nepal

---

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



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

---

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

Therefore, the term Kir nti<sup>3</sup> (also cf. § 1.1.1.1, Gurung 2003: 10) has been used as a generic term for Tibeto-Burman tribes (Mongoloid speech communities: more than two dozen) and languages (linguistic groups: more than two dozen) of the eastern hills of Nepal.

### 1.1.1 Etymological accounts on nomenclature

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

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

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

---

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

### 1.1.1.1 An outline in general

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

The blanket term *Kir nti* has developed from the Sanskrit “Kirata” according to Chatterji (1998: 27-38 [orig. 1951]) and Driem (1993: XXI, 2) etymologically. However, there is another possibility of its accidental development from “Oirat” (cf. Rupen 1983: 359-360 [EAC 1924], Rapacha 2004) a Mongoloid<sup>4</sup> tribe elsewhere in Mongolia, Inner Mongolia (China) and other parts of China) to “Kir t > Kir nti” (also a Mongoloid/Tibetonoid tribe), which is discussed moderately in Rapacha (2004: 21-25, see also Gaenzle 2000: 2-15) regarding its genesis.

---

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

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

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

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

suffix morpheme. Other ethnonyms like Jirel (Gurung and Salter 1996: 59) and Surel (a branch of Tibeto-Burman Kir nti-Kõits speech community) also have this /-c चा/ suffix in their clanonyms whereas Kir nti-Kir w (B nta w ) and Kir nti-Rodung (C mling) in their clanonyms have [-tsh ] /-ch / <-ch > in place of Kir nti-Kõits [-ts ] /-c / <-c > morpheme. All these varied forms, which, in turn, are homonymic with each other and are closely related cognates in Tibeto-Burman proto-form \**tsa* ‘child, grandchild’ (Benedict 1972: 208) socio-historically and linguistically, which signifies as ‘±male /person’ marker (e.g. *s r -ch* ‘son’, *m ri-ch* ‘daughter’ and *m -ch* ‘daughter’s husband’) in Kir nti-Rodung’s modern vocabulary too.

### 1.1.1.2 The Exo-glonym ‘Sun(u)war’

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

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

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

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

This problem (1980: 123 [1961, first edition in German] cited in § 1.1.1.4) is quite more serious in ‘Sun(u)war’ [N सुनुवार *Sunu r*] than it is in Thangmi (a Greater-Kir nti member). Then, we shall below (§ 1.1.1.3-§ 1.1.1.9) provide a semantic survey of the exo-glonym ‘Sun(u)war’ and its anthro-sociological traits described in its earlier literature.

### 1.1.1.3 Meaning as hydronym

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

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

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

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

#### 1.1.1.4 Shadows of misconceived meanings

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

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

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

#### 1.1.1.5 Ethnic identity lumped with Mangar/Gurung tribe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **1.1.1.6 Linguistic identity lumped with Mangar/Gurung tribe**

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

#### **1.1.1.7 Meaning as ‘low caste’ Kshetriya Hindu**

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

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

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

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

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

#### 1.1.1.8 Identity lumped with Kinnar

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

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

#### 1.1.1.9 Meaning as Kshetriya or Khas

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

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

#### **1.1.1.10 Meaning as Suryavamshi ‘solar dynasty’**

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

#### **1.1.1.11 Meaning as ‘Kirat dynasty’**

There are other groups of scholars like Sunuwar (1990: 23-32 [VS 2047]), Han on (1991) Rai (1992 [VS 2049]), Khambu (1995 [VS 2052], Yakkha-Rai (1998 [VS 2055]), Yakkha-Rai (2002 [VS 2059]), Pradhan (1999), Camling-Rai (1998 [VS 2055]), Rai (2001 [VS 2058]), Camling-Rai (2004 [VS 2061]) and Kandangwa (2050: iv) opine that the Sunuwar(s) belong to the Kirat dynasty. Linguistic, cultural, religious, historical, anthropo-sociological and toponymic (cf. Rapacha 1999) evidence(s) prove this classification authentic (also cf. Gaenzle 2000: 2-15, Gurung 2003: 10).

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

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

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

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

#### **1.1.1.13 The equivalent term ‘Marpache’**

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

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

#### **1.1.2 Ethno-clanonyms and their R-G<sup>5</sup> orthography**

---

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

a) <b>Written form</b>	b) <b>Spoken form</b>	c) <b>Morphemes</b>
01. Binicha /बिनिचा/ [bin'its ]/bin'ic /	[bin'its] /bin'ic/	bi-n'i-c cow-V-INF
02. Bigyacha /बिग्याचा/ [bigy ts ]/bigy c /	[bigy ts] /bigy c/	bi-gy -c cow-V-INF
03. Bujicha <sup>6</sup> /बुजिचा/ [budz'its ]/budz'ic /	[budz'its] /budz'ic/	bu-dz'i-c V.INT-V-INF
04. Bramlicha /ब्रम्लिचा/ [br mlits ]/br mllic /	[br mlits] /br mllic/	br m-li-c buckwheat -V-INF
05. Darkhacha /दारखाचा/ [d rkh :ts ]/d rkh :c /	[d rkh :ts] /d rkh :c/	d r-kh :-c UR-V-INF
06. Dasucha /दसुचा/ [d s'uts ]/d s'uc /	[d s'uts] /d s'uc/	d -s'u-c  PAR-V-INF
07. Debbacha /देब्बाचा/ [d bb ts ]/d bb c /	[d bb ts]/d bb c/	d b-b -c  UR-V-INF
08. Digarcha /दिगरचा/ [dig rts ]/dig rc /	[dig rts]/dig rc/	di-g r-c  below-UR-INF
09. Durbicha /दुरबिचा/ [durbich ]/durbic /	[durbich] /durbic/	dur-bi-c

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

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

			UR-V-INF
10. Faticha /फतिचा/			
	[p <sup>h</sup> t'its ]/p <sup>h</sup> tic /	[p <sup>h</sup> t'its]/p <sup>h</sup> t'ic/	p <sup>h</sup> -t'í-c UR-V-INF
11. Gaurocha /गउरोचा/			
	[g urots ]/g uroc /	[g urots]/g uroc/	g u-ro-c UR-V-INF
12. Gongrocha /गोड्रोचा/			
	[go rots ]/go roc /	[go rots]/go roc/	go -ro-c UR-V-INF
13. Jespucha /जेस्पुचा/			
	[dz sp'uts ]/dz sp'uc /	[dz sputs]/dz spuc/	dz s-p'ú-c V-V-INF
14. Jijicha /जिजिचा/			
	[dzidz'its ]/dzidz'ic /	[dzidz'its]/dzidz'ic/	dzi-dz'í-c UR-V-INF
15. JyeNticha <sup>7</sup>			
	[dzy ~t'its ]/dzy ~t'ic /	[dzy ~t'its]/dzy ~t'ic/	dzy ~-t'í-c UR-V-INF
16. Katicha /कतिचा/			
	[k :t'its ]/k :t'ic /	[k :t'its]/k :t'ic/	k :-t'í-c one-V-INF
17. KhuNlicha /खुलिचा/			
	[k <sup>h</sup> l'itsa]/k <sup>h</sup> l'ica/	[k <sup>h</sup> l'its]/k <sup>h</sup> l'ic/	kh -l'í-ca UR-V-INF
18. Kyabacha <sup>8</sup> /क्याबाचा/			
	[ky b ts ]/ky b c /	[ky b ts]/ky b c/	ky -b -c UR-V-INF
19. Khyom(N)paticha /ख्योपतिचा/			
	[k <sup>h</sup> yõp tits ]/k <sup>h</sup> yõp tic /	[k <sup>h</sup> yõp tits]/k <sup>h</sup> yõp tic/	khyõp t-i-c book-V-INF
20. KyuiNticha~ChuiNticha /क्युइतिचा/			

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

<sup>8</sup> The Kyaba(cha) clan has been divided into two sub-groups viz., Ralali(cha) and Bagale(cha) according to Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar (2004, cf. also Egli (1999: 78-9)). The morpheme ‘\*-cha /-ca/’ in slashes is my own reconstruction because it has decayed historically in most of these clanonyms.

	[ky t'its ]/kyu t'ic /	[ky t'its]/kyu t'ic/	kyu -t'i-c UR-V-INF
21. Kormocha /कोरमोचा/	[kormots ]/kormoc /	[kormots]/kormoc/	kor-mo-c landslide-UR-INF
22. Laspacha /लस्पाचा/	[l sp ts ]/l sp c /	[l sp ts]/l sp c/	l s-p -c V-V-INF
23. Linocha /लिनोचा/	[linots ]/linoc /	[linots ]/linoc /	li-no-c bow-V-INF
24. LoNkucha /लोकुचा/	[lõ:kuts ]/lõ:kuc /	[lõ:kuts]/lõ:kuc/	lõ:-ku-c UR-V-INF
25. LuNk <sup>(h)</sup> icha /लुंकिचा/	[l k <sup>(h)</sup> its ]/l k <sup>(h)</sup> ic /	[l k <sup>(h)</sup> its]/l k <sup>(h)</sup> ic/	l -k <sup>(h)</sup> i-c UR-V-INF
26. Mulicha /मुलिचा/	[mulits ]/mulic /	[mulits]/mulic/	mu-li-c time-V-INF
27. Nasocha /नासोचा/	[n so:ts ]/n so:c /	[n so:ts ]/n so:c /	n -so:-c sun-V-INF
28. Ngawocha /ङावचा/	[ wots ]/ woc /	[ wots]/ woc/	-wo-c LOC-V-INF
29. No(a)mlicha /नोम्लिचा/	[no( )mlits ]/nomlic /	[no( )mlits]/no( )mlic/	no( )m-li-c UR/love-V-INF
30. Pargacha /परगाचा/	[p rg ts ]/p rg c /	[p rg ts]/p rg c/	p r-g -c UR-V-INF
31. Pretticha /प्रेत्तिचा/	[pr tt'its ]/pr tt'ic /	[pr tt'its]/pr tt'ic/	pr t-t'i-c V-V-INF
32. Rapacha /रापचा/			

	[r :p ts ]/r :p c /	[r :p ts]/r :p c/	r :-p -c V-V-INF
33. Rapicha <sup>9</sup> /रापिचा/	[r :pits ]/r :pic /	[r :pits ]/r :pic /	r :-pi-c V-V-INF
34. Rawacha /रवाचा/	[r w ts ]/r w c /	[r w ts]/r w c/	r -w -c UR-V-INF
35. Rudicha or Ruticha /रुदिचा वा रुतिचा/	[rudits ]/rudic /	[rudits]/rudic/	ru-di-c field/land-V-INF
36. Rujicha /रुजिचा/	[rudzits ]/rudzic /	[rudzits]/rudzic/	ru-dzi-c field/land-V-INF
37. Rupacha /रुपाचा/	[rup :ts ]/rup :c /	[rup :ts]/rup :c/	ru-p :-c land-V-INF
38. Shyochu(l)cha /श्योचुल्चा/	[šyotsu(l)ts ]/šyocu(l)c /	[šyotsu(l)ts ]/šyocu(l)c/	šyo-cu(l)-c mouth-UR-INF
39. Susucha /सुसुचा/	[susuts ]/susuc /	[susuts]/susuc/	su-su-c  UR-who/V-INF
40. Teppacha /तेप्पाचा/	[t pp ts ]/t pp c /	[t pp ts]/t pp c/	t p-p -c V-V-INF
41. Thangracha /ठाङ्ग्राचा/	[T <sup>h</sup> r ts ]/T <sup>h</sup> r c /	[T <sup>h</sup> r ts]/T <sup>h</sup> r c/	T <sup>h</sup> -r -c UR-V-INF
42. Tholocha /थोलोचा/	[tholots ]/tholoc /	[tholots]/tholoc/	tho-lo-c UR-V-INF
43. ToNkucha /तोंकुचा/	[tõ:kuts ]/tõ:kuc /	[tõ:kuts]/tõ:kuc/	tõ:-ku-c  meeting-V-INF
44. ThuNgucha /थुंगुचा/	[th :guts ]/th :guc /	[th :guts]/th :guc/	th :-gu-c wisdom-V-INF
45. Turshucha /तुरशुचा/			

<sup>9</sup> Information on this clanonym is based on B.B. Je~ticha-Mukhia (personal communication 2002, cf. Eden Vansittart 1896: 180; Egli 1999: 78-9).

	[turšuts ] /turšuc /	[turšuts] /turšuc/	tur-šuc
			N-V-INF
46. Wangdecha <sup>10</sup> /वाङ्देचा/			
	[w d ts ] /w d c /	[w d ts] /w d c/	w -d -c
			V-V-INF
47. Yatacha <sup>11</sup> /याताचा/			
	[y' t ts ] /y' t c /	[y' t ts] /y' t c/	y' -t -c
			V-V-INF

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

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

These ethno-clanonyms in Kir nti-Kōits as in Thangmi (a Greater-Kir nti member) as one of the T-B tribe particularly having the bilineal male clan (viz., *akal*, *kyangpole*, *areng*, *dumlam dhungguri*, *mosan thali* and *jaidhane*) and female clan (viz., *b dati*, *yantesiri*, *khatasiri*, *caltasiri*, *altasiri*, *bampasiri*, *khasasiri* and *apansiri*)

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

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

structure; whereas in Kir nti-Kõits it is only male, is very interesting in its semantic aspects of the oral history in Thangmi. Shneiderman and Turin (2000c: 15; website print page number) write:

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

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

### 1.1.3 Ethno-clanonyms: A morpho-semantic interpretation

01. bi-n'i-c /बि-नि-चा/

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

02. bi-gy -c /बि-ग्या-चा/

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

03. bu-dz'i-c /बु-जि-चा/

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

04. br m-li-c /ब्रम्-लि-चा/

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

05. d r-kh :-c /दार-खा:-चा/

- UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to tear noisily' (n.) 'one who tears noisily'
06. d -s'u-c /द-'सु-चा/  
PAR-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, repair, mend' (n.) 'one who darns'
07. d b-b -c /देढ-बा:-चा/  
UR-V-INF (v.i) 'to stay, sit' (n.) 'a settler'
08. di-g r-c /दि-गर-चा/  
below-soil-pot-INF (v.t) 'to be friendly, toponym' (n.) 'one who is friendly'
09. dur-bi-c /दुर-बि-चा/  
UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to be full' (n.) 'one which becomes full'
10. p<sup>h</sup> -t'i-c /फ-ति-चा/  
UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to separate, filter' (n.) 'one who filters'
11. g u-ro-c /गउ-रो-चा/  
ten-v-INF (v.t) 'to open immediately' (n.) 'one who opens immediately'
12. go -ro-c /गोड़-रो:-चा/  
UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to open noisily' (n.) 'one who opens noisily, title/post'
13. dz s-p'u-c /जेस -'पु-चा/  
V-V-INF (v.t) 'to blast having burnt' (n.) 'one who blasts having burnt'
14. dzi-dz'i-c /जि-जि-चा/  
UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to break violently' (n.) 'one who break violently, sweet, polite'
15. dz(j)y ~-t'i-c /ज्येँ-ति-चा/  
UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to separate, filter' (n.) 'one who separates'
16. k :-t'i-c /का:-ति-चा/  
one-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, mend' (n.) 'one who darns, remains aloof' (p/c with Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar)
17. kh -l'i-ca /खु-लिँ-चा/  
UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to put on, wear' (n.) 'one who puts on'
18. ky -b -c /क्या-बा:-चा/  
UR-V-INF (v.i) 'to stay, sit' (n.) 'one who stays or sits'

19. k<sup>h</sup>yōp -ti-c /ख्यौप-ति-चा/

book-V-INF (v.t) ‘to cover with a book, separate, filter’ (n.) ‘one who covers with a book or hides under the pile of books (p/c with Ganga Katicha [married to a Je<sup>h</sup>ticha clan]; narrated to me a war story in Tibet during the prehistoric time, where one hid himself under the piles of books and that is how the clanonym has been derived)

20. kyu -t<sup>i</sup>-c /क्युइँ-ति:-चा/

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

21. kor-mo-c /कोर-मो-चा/

landslide-so-INF (v.t) ‘to take place a landslide’ (n.) ‘one who dwelt in a landslide taking area’ [korom yolšo tsu (n)tsimi b .:šo p tik m kormots dumšo (p/c with Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar)]

22. l s-p -c /लस -पा:-चा/

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

23. li-no-c /लि-नो-चा/

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

24. lō:-ku-c /लौं-कु-चा/

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

25. l -k<sup>(h)</sup>i-c /लुँ-कि-चा/

UR-V-INF (v.t) ‘to burn’ (n.) ‘burn’

26. mu-li-c /मु-लि-चा/

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

27. n -so:-c /ना-सो:-चा/

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

28. -w -c /डा-व:-चा/

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

29. no(a)m-li-c /नोम्-लि-चा/

UR/love-V-INF (v.t) ‘to remain, put on’ (n.) ‘one who puts on, remains’

30. p r-g -c /पर-गा:-चा/

- UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to walk' (n.) 'one who walks'
31. pr t-t'i-c /प्रेत-ति-चा/  
V-V-INF (v.t) 'to jump, separate, filter' (n.) 'one who jumps'
32. r :-p -c /रा:-प-चा/  
V-V-INF (v.t) 'to make something rot' (n.) 'a catalyst'
33. r :-pi-c /रा:-पि-चा/ (See footnote 4 above)  
V-V-INF (v.t) 'to come' (n.) 'one who comes'
34. r -w -c /र-वा:-चा/ (< ruw ts 'to plough the land'; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar)  
UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to plough' (n.) 'one who ploughs'
35. ru-di-c /रु-दि-चा/  
field/land-V, (below)-INF (v.t) 'to go for bringing' (n.) 'one goes for bringing'
36. ru-dzi-c /रु-जि-चा/  
field/land-V-INF (v.t) 'to break sth' (n.) 'one who divides property'
37. ru-p :-c /रु-पा:-चा/  
land-V-INF (v.t) 'to open' (n.) 'one who used to dwell in a cave known as Rup p k<sup>h</sup>,  
(Bed Rupacha-Sunuwar and Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar, p/c)
38. šyo-cu(l)-c /श्यो-चुल -चा/  
mouth-UR/v: thrash-INF (v.t) 'to thrash' (n.) 'one who thrashes'
39. su-su-c /सु-सु-चा/  
UR/who-who/V-INF (v.t) 'to seal, pack' (n.) 'one who seals'
40. t p-p -c /तेप -पा:-चा/  
V-V-INF (v.t) 'to open, e.g. a bag' (n.) 'one who opens'
41. T<sup>h</sup> -r -c /ठाड-रा:-चा/  
fence-V-INF (v.t) 'to rot' (n.) 'one who provides support'
42. tho-lo-c /थो-लो-चा/  
place/V.INTF-V-INF (v.t) 'place/to turn gently' (n.) 'a settler, dweller' [kyu -t'i-c l  
thuš l šo p tik m tho-lo-c dumšo; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar]
43. tō:-ku-c /तौ-कु-चा/  
meeting-V-INF 'to come in the meeting' (n.) 'one who presides the meeting'
44. th :-gu-c /थुं-गु-चा/

- mind, (fig) wisdom-V-INF (v.t) ‘to appear’ (n.) ‘one who is wise’
45. tur-su-c /तुर-सु-चा/  
turs ‘grave’-V-INF (v.t) ‘to darn, mend’ (n.) ‘one who darns’ [also one who is born on the grave; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar]
46. w -d -c /वड्-दे-चा/  
enter-V-INF (v.t) ‘to say’ (n.) ‘one who says’
47. y’ -t -c /या-ता:-चा/  
V-V-INF ‘to take something away swiftly’ (n.) ‘one who takes something away swiftly’

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

#### 1.1.4 Summing up

In § 1.1.1, we examined and discussed several problematic meanings and classification of the ethnoexoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ as opposed to the ancient Kir nti-Kõits tribe classified in Mongoloid stock (cf. Northey 1998: 94, Gurung 2004) anthropo-sociologically. By way of analogy, we have cited examples of the problematic meanings from Thangmi (Shneiderman and Turin 2000: 4), another member of the Greater-Kir nti family. From the cultural and linguistic point of view based on the earlier stated evidence, Kir nti-Kõits tribe are very closer to Kir nti-Ba.:yung, Wambule [RaDhu], Jerung and others<sup>12</sup> and vice versa. We have hinted other Kir nti

---

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

ethno-clanonyms also by providing morphoetymological relationships among <-c ; चा>, <-c ; चा> or <-co; चो> (also in Kir nti-Kulung of *Wallo Kirat* ‘Near/Hither Kirat’), Kir nti-Rodung/Camling (*Majh Kirat* ‘Middle Kirat’) as <-cha छा>, Kir nti-Bantawa (*Pallo Kirat* ‘Far Kirat’) as <-ch छा> or <-c चा> and <-cho छो>. These ethno-morphological variations of clanonyms do have very close relationship also with Early Classical Newari <-c ; च> as well and is a closely related cognate of Tibeto-Burman proto-form *\*tsa* ‘child, grandchild’ (Benedict 1972: 208) having socio-historical and linguistic relationship, which signifies as ‘±male /person’ marker (e.g. *s r -ch* ‘son’, *m ri-ch* ‘daughter’ and *m -ch* ‘daughter’s husband’) in Kir nti-Rodung’s modern vocabulary.

The ethno-exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ as presupposed to be derived from the hydronym ‘Sunkoshi’ found in my investigation not to be developed/derived earlier than the 14th century (i.e. 1325 AD; See Egli 1999, cf. Yakkha-Rai 2002 [VS 2059]: 85<sup>13</sup>) in the ethnological literature and history of Nepal available until recently. Their ethnic or linguistic identity lumped in Gurung and Magar, irrespective of their same Mongoloid<sup>14</sup> or Tibetonoid stock, has been found false while comparing linguistic data and cultural facts (cf. Rapacha 2002). Similarly, the rest of the meanings: Mukhia, *Suryavamshi* ‘solar dynasty’, *Kshetriya* or *Khas* ‘Indo-Aryan tribe’, Kinnar, ‘low caste’ Kshetriya Hindu and Sunar/Kami ‘goldsmith’ except for *Marpache* [Kir nti-Kõits in origin], are all misnomers of the Kir nti-Kõits people/tribe.

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

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

As on Thangmi (Turin 2003), much of the earlier writing on the Kir nti-Kōits is “erroneous and betrays the ignorance and prejudices of the writers more than it informs the reader about features of this important Himalayan population [Oirat > Kirat; belonging to the Mongoloid stock [cf. Turner 1987: 64 [orig. 1927], Northey 1998: 93-94 [orig. 1937], Gurung and Salter 1996: 59, *Hutichinson Encyclopedia* 2001: 642, Gurung 2004 [vs 2061]; *information added*] and their little-known language”. Their ethnonym ‘Kōits’ in their own Mother Tongue and those morpho-semantically significant auto-clanonyms genuinely make them different from any other misinterpreted-meanings mentioned earlier related to the Indo-Aryan sociology handed down from Manu because Kir nti-Kōits as one of the Tibeto-Burman language speakers fall outside the hierarchical ‘caste’ or any ‘*j ti*’ [I-A or Indic] system (cf. Abbi forthcoming, Joshi 2003: 334). Their language internal auto-ethno-clanonyms (cf. § 1.1.3) are meaningfully significant for their own ethnicity and identity rather than other falsified, ‘ignorant and prejudiced’ (as in Thangmi (Turin 2003) meanings.

## 1.2 A corrective look on ethnonym orthography

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

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

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

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

SUNUWAR – POI Equivalent: SUNUWAR

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

(Singh 1996: 929)

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

(Singh 1996: 930)

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

Barathare, Dasthare<sup>15</sup>, Jirel [Sikkim; now Jirel has been classified as a separate Indigenous group in Nepal, *my information*]

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

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

**Surnames:** Mukhya, Sunuwar [Sikkim]

**Exogamous units/clans:** Aditya, Bisu, Busyabisu, Bomyany, Chabbalich, Dongan, Durbic, Goma, Gorya, Grangden, Gyan, Gyapok, Hem, Himal, Jayatich, Jhumba, Jyotishi, Kanshi, Kaumourch, Kusya, Laspach, Linoch, Lukhich, Moktan<sup>16</sup>, Mulich, Negi, Phatich, Porophan, Pukrin, Rawach, Rujich, Shyam, Silirg, Sree, Srim, Suchich, Surjya, Syangbo, Thing, Thokar, Waiba, Yonjan [Sikkim]

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

**Septs (thar):** Brahmilcha\*, Shhapaticha\*, Durbicha, Jashkucha\*, Jespucha, Jijicha, Jireli\*, Katicha, Khyongpoticha, Kinticha, Kyohbohcha\*, Loikicha,

---

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

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

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

Pargacha, Rahpacha\*, Rajicha\*, Shushicha\*, Thoholacha\*, Thumucha\*, Wangdecha, Yaktacha\*, Yeti\* in Darjeeling and Nepal [H.H. Risley]

(Singh 1996: 1798-1799)

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

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

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

**Sunuwari** (sic): Sunuwar (See footnote 4)

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

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

### 1.3 Genetic affiliation/classification

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

---

<sup>17</sup> ‘Sunwari’ is a twice Nepalized [Indo-Aryanized or Indicized] name of the T-B language, which first appeared in Shafer (1953) and later in Genetti (1988 and 1992) and cf. Sunuwar (2003 [VS 2060]). Genetti might have added the Inod-Aryan Nepali –i suffix while generalizing from Newa (based on Prof. T.R. Kansakar’s e-information (2004) Newar Newari, another T-B language of the Nepal valley, Dolakha district etc. The other alternate name ‘Sunbar’ is the first one in its (Kiranti-Kōits) written history, which I never heard in my boyhood or in adulthood. It might be purely an auditory error of the occidental linguists. So is the case with the last alternate name ‘Kwoico [actually Kōits] Lo’. Whereas it’s appropriate representation is Kōits Lo: which can be [kō ts l<sup>w</sup>o:] phonetically. The other alternate name MUKHIYA nowadays is written without ‘Y’ in Sikkim’s official documents (cf. Appendix D) and all speakers who have adopted this name write without it.

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

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

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

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

the Kir nti-Kōits speakers still have such simplex form of nominal pronominalization as compared to another Kir nti-Limbu language such as,

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Following Hodgson (1847), Konow divides the Himalayan languages (excluding Sherpa and other Bhotia dialects, which he treats under Tibetan) into two groups, simple (or non-pronominalized) and complex (or pronominalized), depending on whether the subject pronoun is (redundantly) repeated as a verb suffix (p. 177). He

placed (p. 274) Gurung, along with Magari, Newari, and Murmi, in the former group, and Rai and Limbu languages (except Sunwar) in the latter.”

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

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

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

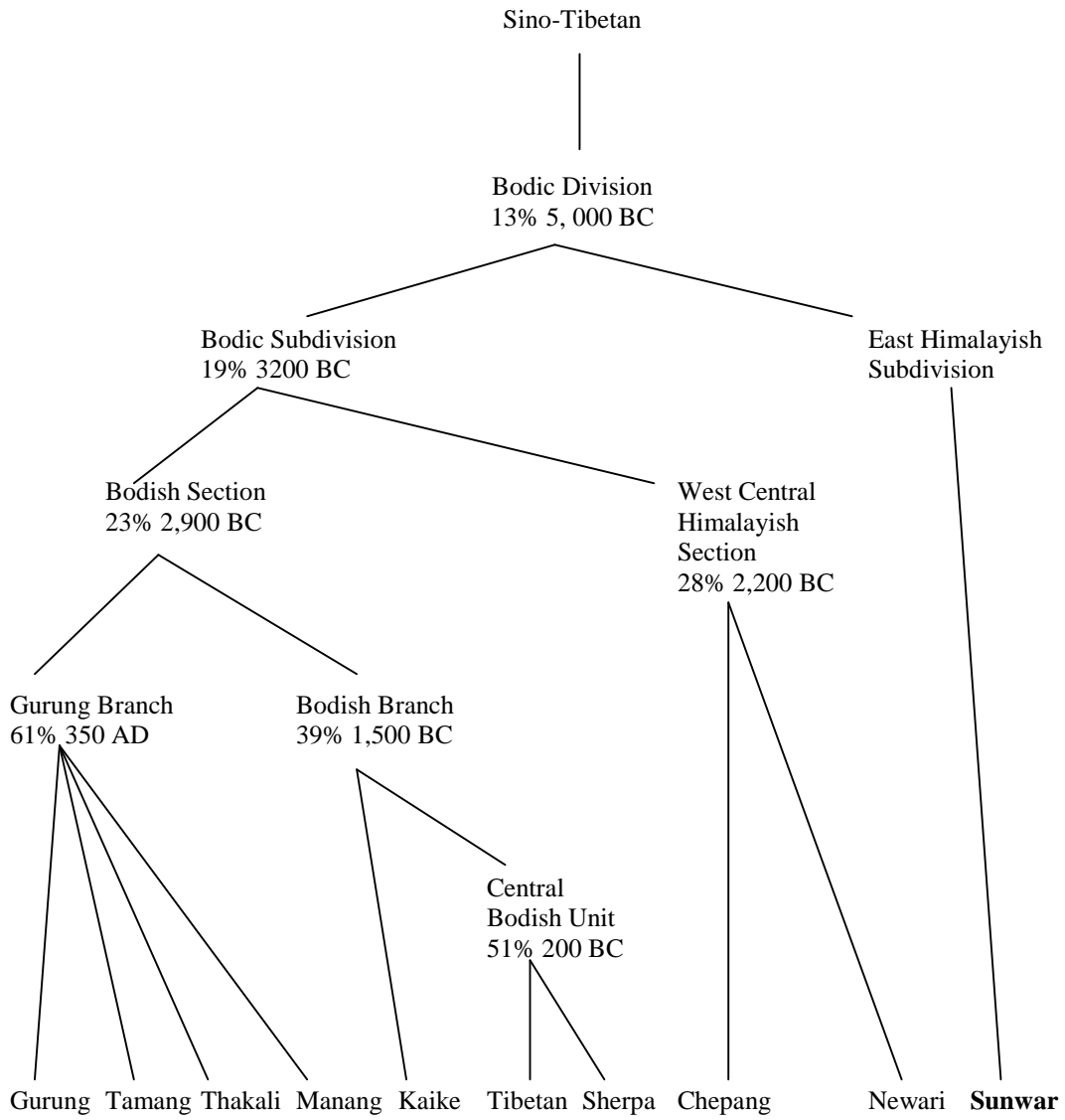
Kir nti-Kõits is included in a western complex, pronominalized group, and Gyarung-Mishmi family.

After Voegelin and Voegelin, Glover (1974) in his grammar of Gurung has classified some selected Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal including the Kir nti languages by using lexicostatistical analysis. In the *Linguistic Survey of India* Sten Konow noted that (Grierson 1967 [orig. 1909]: 10 and 12) ‘on the whole, it is impossible to classify the Tibeto-Burman dialects satisfactorily’ but that a dialect chain can be traced, inter alia, ‘from the Tibetan, through the Himalayan languages, into Bodo and further into Kuki-Chin. Those latter dialects then gradually merge into Burmese.’

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

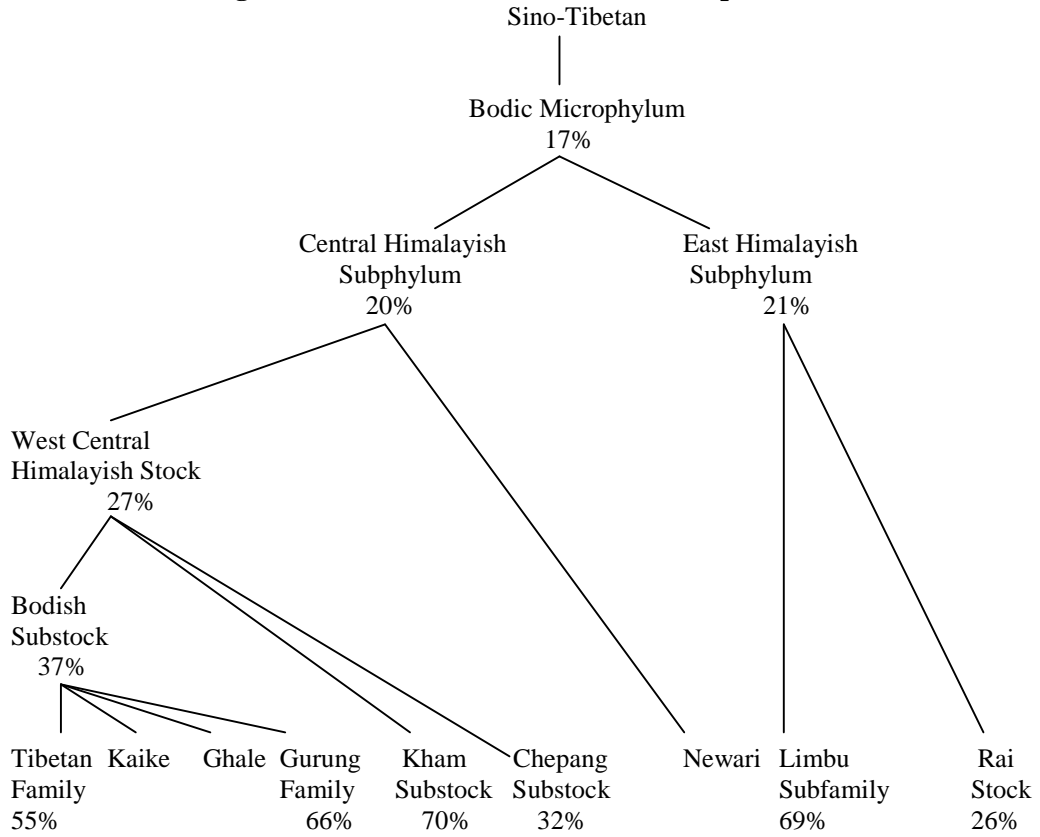
“Shafer sought to establish a hierarchy of terms- family, division, section, branch, unit- to describe groupings of languages in a ‘descending scale of importance’ (1955: 99). I prefer the system proposed by Swadesh (1954: 326) where the terms used denote more or less absolute degrees of relationship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

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



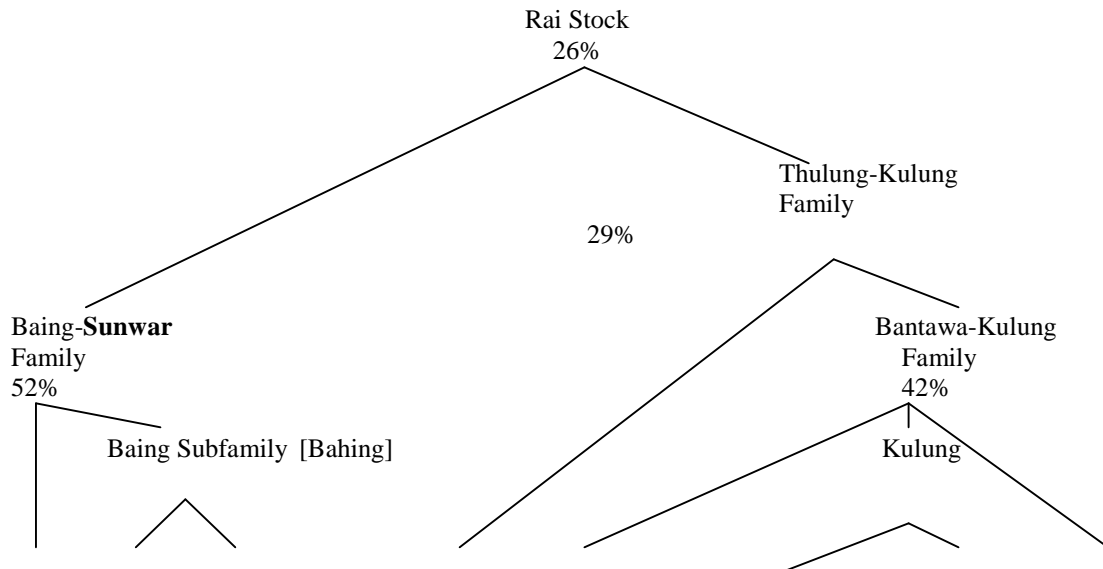
(Glover 1974: 25)

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



(Glover 1974: 9)

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





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

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

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

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

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

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

“Time depth are calculated on the assumption (from Swadesh 1954, 1955) that a language retains 86% of the 100-word list over one millennium, but only 80.5% of the

200-word list The time depth figures must be treated with caution, however, across languages, in Swades's own data, nor constant within any one language, as evidenced by Pulleybank (1972) for Chinese. Lexicostatistics gives only a rough first approximation to linguistic groupings: it is not a precision tool. However this does not gainsay, the fact that the relative percentages of shared vocabulary within a set of classificatory groupings, which hypotheses can serve to suggest probably fruitful areas for detailed comparative study".

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

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

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

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

The most interesting and challenging classification of Kir nti [in which Kōits~Sunuwar/Mukhia is one of them] is in the Rung branch by Thurgood (2003: 14; Ch 1) and LaPolla (2003: 30; Ch 2). This Rung group consists of the rGyalrong languages, the Dulong languages (T’rung, Rawang), the Kir nti languages, the west Himalayan languages (Kinauri, Almora), Kham, and less probably, Magar and Chepang.

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

#### **1.4 Geographical distribution and demographic details**

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

#### **1.5 A critical appraisal of literature**

##### **1.5.0 General**

In this § 1.5, we shall mainly describe the vocabulary collection, phonological and grammatical sketches, cultural descriptions, comparative studies, and pedagogical materials available on the Kir nti-Kōits people and language in thematic approach (also

cf. § 1.2). Before we turn on these themes, we shall briefly discuss Hodgson's contribution as its (§ 1.5) background.

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

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

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

### 1.5.1 Vocabulary collection

Hodgson (1847) apart from writing an essay ‘On the aborigines of the sub-Himalayas’ or later *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet* (Indian rpt. 1874), has recorded some limited vocabulary of Kir nti-Kõits in isolation without providing a basic information on his consultants, along with other Himalayan languages with gloss in English. His work however, has become helpful for reconstruction amongst the Kir nti languages.

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

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

Bhattarai's (1998) multilingual dictionary *Sankshipta Nepali Rastriya Shabdakosh* is a collected vocabulary from fifteen spoken languages of Nepal including the lingua franca Nepali. All the vocabulary in his collection for other fourteen languages, are taken from Joshi's (1973) work. Another native speaker Laspacha-Sunuwar (2001) from Lispu, Okhaldhunga to his credit has a slim vocabulary collection, which still lacks the true art of lexicography. Mulicha-Sunuwar (2003) from Likhu Khola, Okhaldhunga also has contributed a trilingual (*S N W ms Durd puN*: Nepali-Sunuwar-English) glossary of the language (cf. Rapacha 2003 for its review).

### 1.5.2 Phonological/grammatical sketches

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

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

Schulze (1978, 1987, 1995a, 1995b) has analyzed and described two types of rhetorical questions viz, topical and characterizing, which are used to the description of

the language include: ‘Intense action adverbials in Sunuwar: A verbal intensifier system’ (1986), ‘Report of a seminar on Sunuwar verbs of Nepali origin’ (1995a), ‘Local words and directionals in Sunuwar’ (1995b) and some unpublished reports submitted to the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), Tribhuvan University include: ‘An hypothesis for the investigation of verb system alternation in Sunuwar’ (November 1995), ‘Devanagari script velar segmental in Sunuwar orthography’ (May 1995) and ‘Nominalization of Sunuwar Verbs’ (December 1996). Her proposal of the Devanagari script for Sunuwar orthography in writing has some technical problems (See Table 8, § 2.5.4).

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

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

Pokharel (1999) has described and compared reciprocity in fifteen Kir nti languages from typological perspective. Among them Kõits~Sunuwar *-mumt s(e)* and Bahing *-mot se* ‘each other’ seem closely related languages phylogenetically.

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

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

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

### **1.5.3 Anthropo-linguistic and cultural descriptions**

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

Today the Sunwar inhabit the eastern hills (His Majesty's Government 1966, See Maps 1: xxv and 2: xxvi) and there is no evidence in their permanent settlements there that they migrated from 200 miles to the northwest within the last century whereas Risley (1891: 20-21) has provided very investigative evidence on the migratory route of the tribe originally from Kashmir. Actually, the Indo-Nepal Himalayas' small tribes and their tongues were discovered during this century.

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

#### 1.5.4 Comparative studies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **1.5. 5 Pedagogical materials**

Roughly after Bieri's study, the post-1978 Era particularly in Sikkim, the 22nd State of India, gave rise to linguistic and social hope by recognizing and declaring the tribe as an OBC [Other Backward Community] Group (*Sikkim Government Gazette* 1994; See Appendix D; Gazette 2) and linguistic identity of the speech community by recognizing the Kir nti-Kõits (Sunuwar) as one of the Official/Regional/Second languages of the State (*Sikkim Government Gazette* 1996; See Appendix D; Gazette 1).

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

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

In the dawn of new millennium, Kir nti-Kõits is on its threshold of extinction. However, the Sikkim Kõitsbu (Sikkim Sunuwar Association), Gangtok, Sikkim has published the first *Elementary Grammar of Kir nti-Kõits~Sunuwar*. Rapacha (2001d also two more revised versions) in his paper 'Remodification, reformation and

systematization of Je'ticha Brese' has provided solutions of writing system in their indigenous script with improvements in its orthography.

In his two other papers Rapacha (2002a, 2002b) has provided an in-depth account of the present-day literature available on the language and a comparative study on Kir nti-Sunuwar and B .:yung [Bahing N] languages. To add some most recent works are: *Kir nti-Kõits-a Bleletheka* (2003a) (Kir nti-Sunuwar Alphabet), *Kir nti-Kõits-a Th si Tarando* (2003b) (Elementary Grammar of Kir nti-Sunuwar) and *Kir nti-Kõits-a Khyõpat* (2004) [Elementary Reader of Kir nti-Sunuwar] by Rapacha, Rujicha-Mukhia and Ngawacha-Mukhia published by Sikkim Kõitsbu.

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

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

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

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

Only after three decades of study on Sunuwar [Kir nti-Kõits] by Bieri and Schulze, the International Bible Society in collaboration with Samdan Books and Stationers, Kathmandu was able to bring out the *New Testament* in Sunuwar entitled *Yabe-a Lo* (1992). This is the sole translated literature available on the mother tongue besides short creative writings. It can be a helpful source of discourse analysis and pedagogical materials production leaving aside its misrepresented Nepali orthography at the phonological level.

### 1.6 Linguistic diversity and multiplicity

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

**Figure 6: The number of Nepal's languages**

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

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

Contrary to the Census Reports given in Figure 6, the *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (2005; 15th edition edited by Gordon, Jr.) mentions that there are 127 languages spoken throughout the country. To be hopeful, the latest Census Report 2001

has dared to show a bit clearer picture of linguistic diversity and multiplicity in the country after several decades of slumber and unwillingness to expose the linguistic situation to the external world. We shall show the indigenous languages other than Khas-Nepali and some other from Indo-Aryan group (Indo-European Family) in Figure 7 below in general and the position of Sunuwar [Kir nti-Kõits] (See the double-tick marked one S. No. 15) in particular.

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

S. No.	Mother Tongue	Number	%
1.	Tharu	1331546	5.86
2.	Tamang	1179145	5.19
3.	Newar	825458	3.63
4.	Magar	770116	3.39
5.	Bantawa	371056	1.63
6.	Gurung	338925	1.49
7.	Limbu	333633	1.47
8.	Rajbamshi	129829	0.57
9.	Sherpa	129829	0.57
10.	Chamling	44093	0.19
11.	Santhali	40260	0.18
12.	Chepang	36807	0.16
13.	Danuwar	31849	0.14
14.	Jhangad/Dhangad	28615	0.13
15.	Sunuwar	26611	0.12
16.	Majhi	21841	0.10
17.	Thami [Thangmi]	18991	0.08
18.	Kulung	18686	0.08
19.	Dhimal	17308	0.08
20.	Yakkha	14648	0.06

21.	Thulung	14034	0.06
22.	Sangpang	10810	0.05
23.	Bhujel/Khawas	10733	0.05
24.	Darai	10210	0.04
25.	Khaling	9288	0.04
26.	Kumal	6533	0.03
27.	Thakali	6441	0.03
28.	Chhantyal/Chhantel	5912	0.03
29.	Tibetan	5277	0.02
30.	Dumi	5271	0.02
31.	Jirel	4919	0.02
32.	Wambule/Umbule	4471	0.02
33.	Puma	4310	0.02
34.	Hyolmo	3986	0.02
35.	Nachhiring	3553	0.02
36.	Dura	3397	0.01
37.	Meche	3301	0.01
38.	Pahari	2995	0.01
39.	Lepcha	2826	0.01
40.	Bote	2823	0.01
41.	Bahing	2765	0.01
42.	Koi/Koyu	2641	0.01
43.	Raji	2413	0.01
44.	Hayu	1743	0.01
45.	Byansi	1734	0.01
46.	Yamphu/Yamphe	1722	0.01
47.	Ghale	1649	0.01
48.	Khadiya	1575	0.01
49.	Chhiling	1314	0.01
50.	Lohorung	1207	0.01

51.	Mewahang	904	0.00
52.	Kaike	794	0.00
53.	Raute	518	0.00
54.	Kisan	489	0.00
55.	Churauti	408	0.00
56.	Baram/Bhramu	342	0.00
57.	Tilung	320	0.00
58.	Jerong/Jerung	271	0.00
59.	Dungmali	221	0.00
60.	Lingkhim	97	0.00
61.	Kusunda	87	0.00
62.	Koche	54	0.00
63.	Sam	23	0.00
64.	Kagate	10	0.00
65.	Chhintang	8	0.00
66.	Lhomi	4	0.00

---

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

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

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

an example of language planning policy of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission,<sup>18</sup>

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

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

### 1.7 Current research objectives

Some of the most fundamental objectives of the study are:

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

---

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

- (g) trace some social aspects regarding maintenance, shift, retention or death of the language.

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

- (a) Does the presupposed and misinterpreted ethnonym (See § 1.1.1) hold accurate ground for its semantic dynamics provided in literature?
  - (b) Is Kir nti-Kõits a dialect of Indic Khas-Nepali as claimed by Singh and Manoharan (See § 1.1) and does the Kir nti-Kõits speech community ‘use Magar language’ as claimed by Pandey’s (2003 [vs 2060: 118])?
- (c) What is the accurate mechanism of the sound system of Kir nti-Kõits, which is described inconsistently in its earlier research and does there exist any graphology (See Ch 2) of the language?
- (d) What is its morphological (See Ch 3) mechanism?
- (e) What is its syntactic typology (See Ch 4) comparatively in the T-B sub-family?
- (f) What are its socio-linguistic (See Ch 5) aspects like domains of use, language policy and planning of the country, states of human linguistic rights, language loss, retention or death?

### **1.8 Scope of the study**

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

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

## 1.9 Methodology

In this study we shall employ ‘first language’ i.e. mentalist approach and inductive methodology trying to describe the native speaker-learners’ competence in a descriptive framework (based on Dixon 1980: 97, Ebert 1994, 1997, 1997b, 2003, Rai 1984, 1985, Toba (1984), Driem 1987, 1993b, Chelliah 1997, Rutgers 1998, Abbi 2001, Opgenort 2002, Rai 2003) since Kir nti-Kõits is my mother tongue. However, extensive fieldwork will be inevitable part of data collection and analysis based on the techniques (Samarin 1967, Burling 1984, Bouquiaux and Thomas 1992, Abbi 2001) of field linguistics.

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

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

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

The first text, Kir nti-Kõits nu B .:yung Y .:sits ‘Kir nti-Kõits and B .:yung Migration’ is an adapted-version of the first adapted-version entitled ‘The Bahing-

Sunuwar Ancestor’ by me, which was first recorded by Dr Maureen Lee and her assistant Bag-Ayagyami Yalungcha (May 2001) in Gorumare Bhanjyang, Okhaldhunga district both in Kir nti-B .:yung and Nepali. The narrator of this text is Buddhi K Hangucha-Ba.:yung-Rai (ca 56 years). I have/had transcribed the text myself and revised and adapted several times in Nepali and Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar (ca 52 years) first and second I myself revised translation into Kir nti-Kõits since both Kir nti-B .:yung and Kir nti-Kõits are very near cognate languages plus have similar ancestors related to each other anthropologically and culturally as well.

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

MatA sib K<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u ‘The invisible holy flower’ is narrated and jotted in my request around in March 2000 by Atit Kõits-Mukhia (Ishworkiran Kyu ticha-Sunuwar), a poet and advocate who originally comes from Ragani, Okhaldhunga district. I have restructured this text since it has culture-sensitive content in it. As usual, Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar has contributed his invaluable time with me to render this text. I have revised this text too no less than four or five times.

The last text, Binicha SalApha s Hopo ‘The atrocious King Binicha’ is the oldest text, which I have used for this research. It was in 1995 when I first recorded it with Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar. He was the sole narrator of this text. I still have the recorded text very safe from which I have transcribed it. Since then, I have revised the text several times without distorting the theme of the story as such. An earlier version of this text has been used in my two masters theses also. Texts linearization of all four

texts done for this research purpose is no other than MS Word XP for which the only simplest thing I could do is rigorous use of tabs and spaces to suit their glosses.

Finally, the questionnaire for finding out language attitudes in socio-linguistic contexts like maintenance, shift, retention and death is prepared from pioneering works of field linguistics including a fairly recent work by Abbi (2001) in general and Eppele (2003) for Kir nti-Bantawa in particular. Survey areas chosen for this purpose was the Nepal valley, the capital of Nepal due to severe socio-political insecurities all over the country and only 100 respondents were selected for response from different age groups, sex, profession and so on. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, Version 12) has been utilized for analyzing respondents' response for the purpose of the present study.

#### **1.10 Organization of this study**

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

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

.....

## Chapter Two

### Mechanisms of sound and writing systems

#### 2. Phonology

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

#### 2.1 A preliminary outline

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

Then, secondly we shall discuss some historical dimensions of the graphology of the language generally known as Kir nti-Kõits (K-K) Bre:se /br s( )/ ‘script’ (specifically named as *Je~ticha Bre:se* (K-K) /dz ~tic br s( )/; See § 2.5.2) and its orthography in a comparative perspective with Shrestha (1980: 63-69), Je~ticha-Sunuwar (1982/3: 39-41), Rai (1982/3: 39-41), Dahal (1995), Sunuwar (1998: 20-32, 1999: 365-376), Mukhia (1998: 113-131), Pradhan (1999) and Schulze’s (1971-1990s) rigorous study for the applicability of the Devanagari alphabets/letters (See § 2.5.3, Table 2.8) for writing the language. A transliterated version of the aforesaid letters/alphabets will also be provided for showing its practical writing system; now available in computerized fonts for facilitating documentation of the language in its own

indigenous script, for instance in Sikkim (See Appendix D for two Sikkim Official Documents) since its recognition in 1996 as one of the State Languages.

### 2.1.1 Segmental phonemic inventory

This phonemic inventory (as summarized in Tables 2.1 and 2.2; based mainly on the classical phonemic approach i.e. minimal/contrastive pairs (cf. Lass 1984)) is primarily based on my own Katunje dialect/variety (See Map 6: xxx) of Okhaldhunga district, traditionally a part of *Wallo* (*N*) ‘near/hither’ Kir t, east Nepal (See Maps 1: xxv and 2: xxvi), where other Kir nti languages (See Map 3: xxvii and Figures 1:xxiii and 2: 3-4) like H yu, B .yung [(*N*) exoglotonym B hing], W mbule [autonym Rw Dhu], Jerung and Tilung are also spoken (also cf. van Driem 2001, Opgenort 2002).

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

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

Obviously, there may occur variations in the number of segmental phonemes (cf. Bieri and Schulze (1971: 2 and 14) 26 consonants and 10 vowels, Schulze (1987: 81) 28 consonants and 13 vowels including diphthongs, Genetti (1992: 326) 37 consonants and

12 vowels, Rapacha (1997b: 111) 24 consonants and 8 vowels) that have been described in the past literature so far.

### 2.1.1.1 Vowel phonemes

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

**Table 2.1: Oral/nasal vowel phonemes**

	front		central	back	
	-round	+round		-round	+round
high	i (:)*/			u (:)/	
mid	/ ~		/ (̃)	o (:)/õ	
low			(:)/ã		

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

#### 2.1.1.1.1 Classification/distribution of vowels

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

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

(1) a. <i>ir</i>	<i>maitsA</i>	<i>iri</i>
/ir/	/m ic /	/iri/
‘above’	NEG-come-INF	above-INT
	‘not to come’	‘far above’
b. <i>ila</i>	<i>ripiki</i>	<i>pAiniki</i>
/il ~l/	/ripiki/	/p iniki/
come-3SG	louse-PL	do-1:NPST-PL
‘may it come down’	‘lice’	‘we do’
(vertical)		
c. <i>iptsA</i>	<i>itsiitsi</i>	<i>m’i</i>
/ipc /	/icici/	/m’i/
sleep-INF	‘a little’	‘fire’
‘to sleep’		

/ / = mid-low, front -round

(2) a. <i>er</i>	<i>ker</i>	<i>koNite</i>
/ r/	/k r/	/kõit /
‘far away’	‘black’	‘ankle’
(horizontal)		
b. <i>etsphu</i>	<i>meke</i>	<i>tetere</i>
/ cp <sup>h</sup> u/	/m k ~m k/	/T T r /
‘rose’	‘there’	‘camel’
c. <i>enkere</i>	<i>kek</i>	<i>tsule</i>
/ ~k r > ~k r> ~k/	/k k <sup>h</sup> /	/cul /
‘here’	‘raw’	‘nettle, <i>girardinia heterophylla</i> ’

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

(3) a. <i>Al</i>	<i>gAr</i>	<i>kaA</i>
/ l/	/g r/	/k l /
‘child’	‘wound’	‘ethnonym’ (Manger tribe)
b. <i>AtAr</i>	<i>mangAng</i>	<i>ka</i>
/ t r/	/m /	/k /
‘on, above’	NEG-weep-3SG:IMP	‘one’
	‘do not weep’	
c. <i>Ammur</i>	<i>makhAmtsA</i>	<i>oNpA</i>
/ mmur/	/m k <sup>h</sup> .:c /	/õp /
‘relatives’	NEG-tear-INF	‘thus, in this way’
	‘not to tear’	

/o(:)/ = mid, back + round

(4) a. <i>omu</i>	<i>groltsA</i>	<i>blosho</i>
/omu/	/grolc /	/blošo/
‘mushroom’	lie-INF	sweet:ADJ
	‘to lie’	‘tasty’
b. <i>obis</i>	<i>proltsA</i>	<i>rimsho</i>
/obis/	/prolc /	/rimšo/
‘cucumber’	break-INF	‘good, fine, beautiful’
	‘to break’	
c. <i>oNso</i>	<i>moso</i>	<i>kumso</i>
/õso/	/moso/	/kumso/
‘this much’	‘that much’	‘song’

/u(:)/ = high, back + round

(5) a. <i>uttha</i>	<i>tsumlu</i>	<i>su</i>
/utth /	/cumlu/	/su/
‘thither’	‘mortar’	‘who’
b. <i>usher</i>	<i>ts’ubu</i>	<i>pulu</i>
/uš r/	/c’ubu/	/pulu/
‘butterfly’	‘Gurkha knife’	‘ash’

c. <i>ugeng</i>	<i>tultsA</i>	<i>tsuplu</i>
/ug /	/tule /	/cuplu/
'germination'	pluck-INF	'fireplace'
	'to pluck out, uproot'	
/ / = mid, central, -round		
(6) a. <i>atingal</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>lata</i>
/ Ti l/	/g r/	/l t /
'joint' (of bones)	'soil-pot'	go-PST:3SG
		'went'
b. <i>aiNthe</i>	<i>malatsA</i>	<i>jAintaka</i>
/ T <sup>h</sup> /	/m l c /	/dz t k /
'alpine tree'	NEG-go-INF	eat-PST:1PL
	'not to go'	'we ate'
c. <i>aretsA</i>	<i>madoro</i>	<i>bAmta</i>
/ r c /	/m doro/	/b :t /
order-INF	NEG-run:3SG:IMP	'is'(narrative existential)
'to order'	'do not run'	

#### 2.1.1.1.2 Vowel clusters

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

**Table 2.2: Vowel clusters and their distribution**

oi	ui	i		i
i	u	u	u	iu

Consider the following data:

Oral + oral

/oi/ = back + front, high

(7) a. *oi*                                  *soitstsA*                                  *roi*

	/oi/	/soicc /	/roi/
	‘let us enter’	send-INF	‘sick, ill’
		‘to send’	
	<b>b. <i>oirAt</i></b>	<i>hoitstsA</i>	<i>joi</i>
	/oir t/	/hoicc /	/dzoï/
	‘Mongoloid tribe/race’	boil-INF	‘tiger’
		‘to heat’	
	<b>c. ---</b>	<i>roitstsA</i>	<i>goi</i>
		/roicc /	/goï/
		snatch-INF	‘you’
		‘to grab’	
/ui/ = back + front, high			
(8)	<b>a. <i>ui</i></b>	<i>huitstsA</i>	<i>gui</i>
	/ui/	/huicc /	/gui/
	‘far below’	scold-INF	‘hand’
	<b>b. ---</b>	<i>tuitstsA</i>	<i>khui</i>
		/tuicc /	/k <sup>h</sup> ui/
		know-INF	‘thief’
		‘to know’	
	<b>c. ---</b>	<i>khuitstsA</i>	<i>sui</i>
		/k <sup>h</sup> uicc /	/sui/
		hide-INF	‘no one’
		‘to hide’	
/ i/ = central + front, high			
(9)	<b>a. <i>aidi</i></b>	<i>mait</i>	<i>pai</i>
	/ idi/	/m it/	/p i/
	‘below’	‘before’	do:1PL:INCL
			‘let us do’
	<b>b. <i>ainthe</i></b>		<i>sai</i>
	/ t <sup>h</sup> /	---	/s i/

	‘alpine tree’			‘in the past’
	c. ---	---		<i>jai</i>
				/dz i/
				eat:1PL:INCL
				‘let us eat’
/ / = central + front, mid-low				
(10) a. ---	---			<i>jainaye</i>
				/dz in /
				eat:NPST:3SG
				‘will you eat?’
	b. ---	---		<i>lainaye</i>
				/l in /
				go:NPST:3SG
				‘do you go?’
	c. ---	---		<i>soinaye</i>
				/soin y /
				send:NPST:3SG
				‘do you send?’
/ i/ = low, central + front				
(11) a. <i>Aittha</i>	<i>sAitstsA</i>			<i>khAi</i>
/ itth /	/s icc /			/k <sup>h</sup> i/
‘up’	kill-INF			‘curry’
	‘to kill’			
b. <i>Aitstsi</i>	<i>khAitstsA</i>			<i>gAi</i>
/ icci/	/k <sup>h</sup> icca/			/g i/
‘across’	ache-INF			walk:1PL:INCL
	‘to ache’			‘let us walk’
c. <i>Aits</i>	<i>thAitstsA</i>			<i>phAi</i>
/ ic/	/th icc /			/p <sup>h</sup> i/
‘young’(+human)	beat-INF			exchange:1PL:INCL
	‘to beat’			‘let us exchange’
/ i/ = mid-low, front + high				

(12)	a. <i>ei</i>	<i>teitei</i>	<i>mei</i>
	/ i/	/t it i/	/m i/
	‘hello’	‘everywhere’	(discourse filler at the end of a sentence as in <i>t k m i?</i> <sup>19</sup> )
	b. ---	---	<i>hei</i>
			/h i/ (word for chasing a buffalo)
	c. ---	---	<i>tekei</i>
			/t k i/ ‘no where’
/ u/ = mid-low, front + back			
(13)	a. <i>eu</i>	---	<i>seu</i>
	/ u/	---	/s u/
	‘discourse starter’		‘greeting’
	b. ---	---	<i>reu</i>
			/r u/ ‘rain’
	c. ---	---	<i>geu</i>
			/g u/ give:NPST:3SG:IMP ‘give’
/ u/ = mid, central + back			
(14)	a. <i>audi</i>	---	<i>gau</i>
	/ udi/		/g u/
	‘too much’		‘ten’
	b. ---	---	<i>sau</i>
			/s u/ ‘hornet’
	c. ---	---	<i>tau</i>

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

			/t u/
			‘son’
/ u/ = low, central + back			
(15)	a. <i>Audi</i>	---	<i>mapAu</i>
	/ udi/		/m p u/
	‘too much’		NEG-do:NPST:do:3SG:IMP
			‘do not do’
	b. <i>Aul</i>	---	<i>dzAinsAu</i>
	/ ul/		/dz s u/
	‘malaria’		eat-MV:PST
			‘was eaten’
	c. ---	---	<i>soittAu</i>
			/soitt u/
			send-PST:3SG
			‘s/he sent’
/iu/ = front, high + back			
(16)	a. <i>iu</i>	---	<i>siu</i>
	/iu/	---	/siu/
	come:NPST:3SG:IMP		‘father-in-law’
	‘come’(vertical)		
	b. ---	---	<i>riu</i>
			/riu/
			‘brother-in-law’
	c. ---	---	<i>piu</i>
			/piu/
			come:NPST:2SG:IMP
			‘come’(horizontal)

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

nasal + oral:

(17)	a. /õi/	<i>koNite</i>	/kõit /	[kõ t ] ‘ankle’
		<i>koNitsA</i>	/kõi.c /	[kõ ts ] ‘to show’

	<i>hoNitsA</i>	/hõicc /	[hõ tsts ] ‘to climb up’
b. /ãi/	<i>wANis</i>	/wãis/	[wã s] ‘husband’
	<i>ANike</i>	/ãik /	[ã k ] ‘ours’

Also compare (Bieri and Schulze 1970: 344)

Oral + nasal:

(18) a. / /	<i>aiNthe</i>	/ T <sup>h</sup> /	[ ~ T <sup>h</sup> ] ‘alpine tree’
b. /u /	<i>guiNduwA</i>	/gu duw /	[g duw ] ‘drum’ (K-K Cul)
c.	<i>buiNduwA</i>	/bu duwa	[b duw ] ‘black hornet’

Also compare (Bieri and Schulze 1970: 344)

### 2.1.1.1.3 Nasality contrast/nasal assimilation

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

(19) a. <i>nAN</i>	/nã/ ‘sun’	[n m in some other Kir nti languages]
b. <i>khiN</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> / ‘house’	[k <sup>h</sup> im in some other Kir nti languages]
c. <i>tsAN</i>	/cã/ ‘hair’	[c m in some other Kir nti languages]
d. <i>rAN</i>	/rã/ ‘body’	[r m in K-Du; rw m K-Kh (Driem 1990: 83)]
e. <i>leN</i>	/l ~/ ‘tongue’	[ly m in some other Kir nti languages]
f. <i>lAN</i>	/lã/ ‘path, road’	[l m in some other Kir nti languages]

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

(20) a. < > vs. <ã>

*A* /- / or / -/ ‘his, theirs’

*AN* /ã-/ ‘my, mine’

*meko* /m ko- / ‘his/her’

*AN deNsho lo:* /ã d ~šo lo:/ ‘my advice’

*Am* / -m/ ‘own, mother’

*ANkali* /ã-k li/ ‘to/for me’

*lA* /-l / ‘from’, *lA* /l / ‘only’ [cf. Kir nti-Lim (Yakthungba) *-lam*  
(Ebert 1994: 81)]

*lAN* /lã/ ‘path, road’ [*lAm* in some other Kir nti languages and *l’ m* in  
Meithei (Chelliah 1997: 204)]

*wA* /w / ‘cloth’

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

*-cA* /-c / ‘INF marker’

*cAN* /cã/ ‘hair’ [in other Kir nti languages *cAm* also PT-B]

*-shA~shyA* /-š ~šy / ‘converb’

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

*-shyA>-shA* /-šy >š / ‘converb’

*shyAN* /šyã/ ‘INTJ par’

*rA-* /r -/ ‘rot’

*rAN* /rã/ ‘body’

*wAtser* /w c r/ ‘seed’

*wANtser* /wãc r/ ‘poison’

b. <i> vs. <>

*ike* /ik / ‘thy’

*iNke* /k ~ã k / ‘ours’

c. <o> vs. <õ>

*hoitstsA* /hoicc / ‘to boil up’

*hoiNtstsA* /hõicc ~ õicc / ‘to climb up’

## d. &lt; &gt; vs. &lt; ~ &gt;

<i>le</i>	/l / ‘four’
<i>leN</i>	/l ~/ ‘tongue’ [Kir nti-Wam <i>lyAm</i> (Opgenort 2002: 88)]
<i>re~le</i>	/-r ~ -l / ‘from’
<i>reN</i>	/r ~/ ‘spider’
<i>shyetsA</i>	/šy c / ‘to clean’
<i>shyeNtsA</i>	/šy ~c / ‘to teach’
<i>proltsA</i>	/pr(}l) c / ‘to cut’
<i>preNtsA</i>	/pr(}l) ~c / ‘to forget’

## e. &lt;u&gt; vs. &lt; &gt;

<i>-thu</i>	/-thu/ ‘purposive’
<i>thuN</i>	/th / ‘heart/mind, (fig.) wisdom’

Nasality may occur phonetically as a result of nasal assimilation as in *kõits* [kõ ts] ‘one of the Kir nti tribes’ (auto)ethnonym’, *wãis* [wã s] ‘husband’ *kõite* [kõ t ] ‘ankle’, *a T<sup>h</sup>e* [ ~ T<sup>h</sup> ] ‘alpine tree’ etc < ~ > ‘yes’ is inherently nasal but it lacks its minimal or near-minimal pairs whereas / ~ / remains neutralized before voiced nasal /n/ as in *d ~n d ~n* [Text source: 1.127] ‘saying’ morphologically inflected from *d ~c* ‘to say’.

#### 2.1.1.1.4 Minimal/near-minimal pairs

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

/ / vs. / /	(21) a.	<i>gar</i>	/g r/ ‘soil-pot’
	b.	<i>gAr</i>	/g r/ ‘wound’
	c.	<i>gas(u)</i>	/g su/ ‘fog’
	d.	<i>gAs</i>	/g s/ ‘let us <sup>DU</sup> walk’
	e.	<i>khal</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> l/ ‘guard’
	f.	<i>khAld-</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> ld-/ ‘mix’

- g. *tatsA* /t c / ‘to get, see’  
 h. *tAtsA* /t c / ‘to take’  
 i. *taslA* /t sl / ‘utensil made up of bronze or alloy’  
 j. *tAslA* /t sl / ‘moon’  
 k. *dzatsA* /dz c / ‘to eat’  
 l. *dzAmtsA* /dz .:c / ‘to arrive’
- / / vs. / / (22) a. *gA* /g / ‘inside’  
 b. *ge* /g , -g / ‘thou, towards’  
 c. *-tA* /-t / ‘on’  
 d. *te* /t / ‘where’
- /u/ vs. / / (23) a. *su* /su/ ‘who’  
 b. *-se* /-s / ‘-2DU’
- /i/ vs. / / (24) a. *ir* /ir/ ‘up’  
 b. *er* / r/ ‘far (horizontal)’  
 c. *g’itsA* /g’ic / ‘to give birth (of animal)’  
 d. *getsA* /g c / ‘to give’
- /o/ vs. /u/ (25) a. *kotsA* /koc / ‘to look’  
 b. *kutsA* /kuc / ‘to come up (three other different verbs)’
- /i/ vs. / / (26) a. *himtsA* /himc / ‘to shake, (fig.) challenge/threat’  
 b. *hemtsA* /h mc / ‘to thrash’

### 2.1.1.1.5 Deletion of final vowels

The deletion of final vowels ‘apocope’ (almost all six i, u, , o, , ) in grammatical suffixes as well as in free lexemes optionally (in fast vs. relaxed speech) can take place in Kir nti-Kõits, for instance, *-tike* > *tek* /tik > t k/ ‘nominalizer suffix’ as in:

- (27) a. *pa-tike* > *pa-tik* /p tike > p tik/ ‘doer’ [also cf. <-b>]  
 b. *kyort-tike* > *kyort-tik* /kyorttik > kyorttik/ ‘cutter’ [also cf. <-b>]

b>]	c. <i>kurt-tike</i>	/kurttik > kurttik/ ‘porter’ [also cf. <-
	d. <i>-kali&gt;kal</i>	/k li > k l/ ‘for, to’ [also cf. Ch 3 §
3.1.2.5.1]	e. <i>-mi&gt;m</i>	/mi > m/ ‘at or in, with, by’ [cf. 3.1.2.5.1]
	f. <i>-puki &gt; puk</i>	/puki > puk/ ‘pl’ [also cf. Appendix B]
	g. <i>-piki &gt; pik</i>	/piki > pik/ ‘pl’ [also cf. Appendix B]
	h. <i>mina(u) &gt; min</i>	/min (u) > min/ ‘then’
	i. <i>munu &gt; mun</i>	/munu > mun/ ‘then’
	j. <i>shyANbu &gt; shyANb</i>	/syābu > syāb/ ‘millet beer (K-K Cul)’
	k. <i>ts’ubu &gt; ts’ub</i>	/c’ubu>c’ub/ ‘Gurkha-knife’
	l. <i>tami &gt; tam</i>	/t mi > t m/ ‘daughter’
	m. <i>gyAmi &gt; gyAm</i>	/gy mi > gy m/ ‘female shaman (K-K Cul)’
	n. <i>kyor-ba &gt; kyor-b</i>	/kyorb > kyorb/ ‘cuts, one who cuts’
	o. <i>pAi-ba &gt; pAi-b</i>	/p ib > p ib/ ‘does, one who does’
	p. <i>omo &gt; om</i>	/omo > om/ ‘adjQ (of size)’ [cf. Ch 3 §
		3.1.3.1.4]
	q. <i>doro &gt; dor</i>	/doro>dor/ ‘run’
	r. <i>rApatsA &gt; rApats</i>	/r p c > r p c/ ‘catalyst’ [also cf. Ch 1
		§ 1.1.2 and 1.1.3]

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

### 2.1.1.2 Consonant phonemes

Kir nti-Kõits has 30 phonemes in total, out of which 6 (except for five nasal vowels e.g.  $\tilde{a}$ ,  $\tilde{i}$ ,  $\tilde{o}$ ,  $\tilde{e}$ ,  $\tilde{u}$ ) (See § 2.1.1.3 above) and ten oral diphthongs/v-clusters, e.g., oi, ui, i, , i, i, u, u, u, iu (See § 2.1.1.2 (7-16) a-c and (17) a-b nasal + oral diphthongs, e.g.,  $\tilde{o}i$ ,  $\tilde{a}i$ , or oral + nasal diphthongs, e.g., and u (18) a-e) are vowels and 24 are consonants (also cf. Bieri and Schulze (1970), (1971b), Schulze (1987: 83),

Genetti (1992: 326ff), Rapacha (2002)); of the latter, 17 are obstruents (stops, and fricatives), and 7 are sonorants or non-obstruents (nasals, liquids, glides, and vowels; cf. Chomsky and Halle 1968 and Lass 1984). We shall in § 2.1.2.1 below, describe these phonemes in terms of their classification, distribution and minimal or near-minimal pairs.

**Table 2.3: Consonant phonemes\***

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

Abbreviations:

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

\* Phonemes like /c/ vs. /ch/ or [ts<sup>h</sup>], /b/ vs. /b<sup>h</sup>/, /d/ vs. /d<sup>h</sup>/, /g/ vs. /g<sup>h</sup>/, and /dz/ vs. /dz<sup>h</sup>/ lack minimal pairs and may occur only in loan words from I-A (Indic) Khas-Nepali. These phonemes occurring in any three positions of a word can be written in their nativized version (See Rapacha 2002 and 2003) without any difficulty. Native speakers like Uttam Katicha and some of his followers claim (and also have used in orthography but one is hardly convinced to agree with them) that the palato-nasal /ñ/ (ऩ) is a phoneme of Kir nti-Kōits but in the data of Katunje dialect (See Map 6: xxx) and daily speech it does not occur

at all. Historically, one implosive or preglottalised bilabial stop /ɓ/ has been traced (cf. Rapacha 2002, Opgenort 2004: 3-8, Opgenort 2004: 1-27) as in Kir nti-Wambule (cf. Toba 1995: 7-9, Opgenort 2002 Ch 2, 2004: 3-8, Pokharel 2004: 52<sup>19</sup>, also cf. Henderson (1965: 431) for ‘preglottalized’ consonants in South East Asian languages). Only a few examples include: *bwArde* /ɓ rd / ‘hawk’, *bwA* /ɓ / ‘rooster’ and *bward-(o)* /ɓ rdo/ ‘throw away’. Letters in brackets outside the phonemic slashes on the right hand side imply optional orthography and inside the phonemic slashes imply IPA symbol but later in examples we have used only /y/ to mean /j/.

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

#### 2.1.1.2.1 Classification/distribution of consonants

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

##### 2.1.1.2.1.1 Bilabial stops

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

		<i>perA</i>	<i>tsapo</i>	<i>gurip</i>
/p/	(28) a.	/p r /	/c po/	/gurip/
		‘right’	‘piglet’	‘plough’
		<i>paiNrum</i>	<i>phapirAgi</i>	<i>kalpip</i>
	b.	/p rum/	/p <sup>h</sup> pi.r gi/	/k lpip/
		‘spinning wheel’	‘desert’	‘ancestor’
		<i>po</i>	<i>prupse</i>	<i>gup</i>

<sup>19</sup> He claims that he has himself heard the ingressive (implosive or preglottalised) sound in Kir nti-Kõits (Sun(u)war), however no instances have been provided.

	c.	/po/ 'pig'	/pr(ɔ)ups / 'comb'	/gup/ pick up-3SG:IMP 'you pick up'
		<i>pherb</i>	<i>gyulphe</i>	<i>kuph</i>
/p <sup>h</sup> /	(29) a.	/p <sup>h</sup> rb/ 'tailor'	/gyulp <sup>h</sup> / 'liar'	/kup <sup>h</sup> / 'forehead, fate'
		<i>phuN</i>	<i>yAphe</i>	<i>byAph</i>
	b.	/p <sup>h</sup> / 'snow'	/y p <sup>h</sup> / 'leech'	/by p <sup>h</sup> / 'ox'
		<i>phoro</i>	<i>baphu</i>	
	c.	/p <sup>h</sup> oro/ 'walnut'	/b(w) p <sup>h</sup> u/ 'egg'	---
		<i>b'i</i>	<i>thoibi</i>	<i>kurb</i>
/b/	(30) a.	/b'i/ 'cow'	/thoibi/ 'poet'	/kurb/ carry-NOM 'porter'
		<i>bre:se</i>	<i>mabA</i>	<i>ts'ib</i>
	b.	/br s / 'script'	/m b / NEG-is, have' 'in, have not'	/c'ib/ 'bird'
		<i>bermo</i>	<i>beNber</i>	<i>gyArb</i>
	c.	/b rmo/ 'cat'	/b ~b r/ 'toponym' (in K-K)	/gy rb/ play-NOM 'player'
		<i>ketsA</i>	<i>maketsA</i>	<i>mek</i>
		/k .c / 'to cook'	/m k c / 'not to cook'	/m k/ 'there'

### 2.1.1.2.1.2 Dental stops

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

		<i>tikkus</i>	<i>matemtsA</i>	<i>shyet</i>
/t/	(31) a.	/tikkus/	/m t .:c /	/šy t/
		‘rabbit, hare’	NEG-barricade-INF	‘difficulty’
			‘to barricade’	
	b.	<i>tAbIA</i>	<i>so:tang</i>	<i>lat</i>
		/t bl /	/so:t /	/l t/
		‘palm’	cross-PST-1SG	go-PST:3SG
			‘I crossed...’	‘s/he went’
	c.	<i>tAmrA</i>	<i>kretete</i> (TRM)	<i>glut</i>
		/t mr /	/kr t t /	/glut/
		‘beaten rice’	‘yogurt’	appear-PST:3SG
				‘s/he, it appeared’
/th/	(32) a.	<i>thoNgA</i>	<i>mathAptsA</i>	<i>getth</i>
		/thōg /	/m th pc /	/g tth/
		‘net’ (for fishing)	NEG-pay-INF	‘up, above’
			‘not to pay’	
	b.	<i>thomplA</i>	<i>nemthA</i>	<i>shyeth</i>
		/tho.:pl /	/n .:th /	/šy th/
		‘wave’	‘near’	‘empty’
	c.	<i>thAtIA</i>	<i>su:thi</i>	<i>kAth</i>
		/th t.l /	/su:thi/	/k th/
		‘bat/racket’	‘marigold’	‘along’
/d/	(33) a.	<i>durda</i>	<i>madortstsA</i>	<i>khad</i>
		/durd /	/m dorcc /	/k <sup>h</sup> d/
		‘word’	NEG-run-INF	‘crow’
			‘to not run’	
		<i>dAilu</i>	<i>doleb</i>	<i>kad</i>

b.	/d ilu/ 'light' <i>doso</i>	/dod b/ 'what type' <i>modeb</i>	/k d/ <sup>21</sup> PAR <i>pod</i>
c.	/doso/ 'how much'	/mod b/ 'such type'	/pod/ 'earthworm'

### 2.1.1.2.1.3 Alveolar stops

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

	<i>tsAN</i>	<i>gyAitstsA</i>	<i>ruwAts</i>
/c/ (ts) (34) a.	/cã/ 'hair'	/gy icc / catch-INF 'to catch, hold'	/ruw c/ 'farmer'
	<i>tsotso</i>	<i>romtsA</i>	<i>rApats</i>
b.	/coco/ 'cheek'	/ro :c / open-INF 'to open'	/r p c/ 'catalyst'
	<i>tsaimi</i>	<i>huitstsA</i>	<i>thuNguts</i>
c.	/c im(i)/ 'daughter-in-law'	/huicc / scold-INF	/th guc/ 'wise'
	<i>jil</i>	<i>sANjil</i>	<i>samj</i>
/dz/ (35) a.	/dzil/ 'oil, ghee'	/sãdzil/ 'auto-rickshaw'	/s mdz/ 'Sherpa tribe'
	<i>jimnAts</i>	<i>gujil</i>	<i>kerj</i>
b.	/dzimn c/ 'oil, ghee'	/gudzil/ 'auto-rickshaw'	/k rdz/ 'Sherpa tribe'

<sup>21</sup> It is used as in “ko k d; b ´ ” when the interlocutor is furious, “k d k d; go ˘k b .:nu ” where the interlocutor wants his/her addressee to vacate the seat for sitting and “Sunuwar d ˘sh m d ˘c h i b bu, tupt h r d ˘nim k d” [from a satirical cartoon caption published in a monthly four-page magazine *Lolishyāk* (1995 [VS 2052]) edited by Mohan Sunuwar and Dilip Sunuwar. This volume/number is the first and last issue in the Kir nti-Kõits mother tongue published from Kathmandu available so far.

	‘May’	‘bicycle’	‘uncle’
	<i>jatek</i>	<i>možil</i>	<i>koj</i>
c.	/dz t k/	/modzil/	/kodz/
	eat-NOML	‘motorbike’	‘stomach’

#### 2.1.1.2.1.4 Retroflex Stops

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

		<i>TeTere</i>	<i>maTitsA</i>	<i>kyeT</i>
/T/	(36) a.	/T .T .r /	/m Tic /	/ky T/
		‘camel’	NEG-obey-INF	‘money’
			‘not to obey’	
		<i>Temu</i>	<i>laTu</i>	<i>phoT</i>
	b.	/T .mu/	/l Tu/	/p <sup>h</sup> oT/
		‘elbow’	‘firefly’	‘testicle’
		<i>Tigeng</i>	<i>aTingal</i>	
	c.	/Tig /	/ Ti g l/	---
		‘colour’	‘joint’ (of bones)	
		<i>ThiNber</i>	<i>maT<sup>h</sup>omtsA</i>	<i>koT<sup>h</sup></i>
/T <sup>h</sup> /	(37) a.	/T <sup>h</sup> b r/	/m T <sup>h</sup> o.:c /	/koT <sup>h</sup> /
		‘donkey’	NEG-hit-INF	‘store house’
		<i>Th<sup>h</sup>otsi</i>		<i>soNT<sup>h</sup></i>
	b.	/T <sup>h</sup> oci/	---	/sōT <sup>h</sup> /
		‘hammer’		‘shirt’
		<i>T<sup>h</sup>eb</i>		<i>daloNT<sup>h</sup></i>

c.	/ɾ <sup>h</sup> b/	---	/d lōɾ <sup>h</sup> /
	‘big’ (-/+human)		‘camel’

### 2.1.1.2.1.5 Velar stops

Consider the following data occurring word initially, medially and word finally in all instances. All three velar stop /k/, /k<sup>h</sup>/, /g/ phonemes occur in all three positions productively whereas /g/ in the final position seems not so common except for the final vowel is deleted optionally (also cf. 2.1.1.5 above).

		<i>ketsA</i>	<i>maketsA</i>	<i>mek</i>
/k/	(38) a.	/k c /	/m k c /	/m k/
		cook-INF	NEG-cook-INF	‘there’
		‘to cook’	‘not to cook’	
		<i>kutsu</i>	<i>kaiNtsika</i>	<i>tek</i>
	b.	/kucu/	/k cik /	/t k/
		‘chest’	‘alone’	‘where’
		<i>kutsum</i>	<i>komke</i>	<i>nak</i>
	c.	/kucum/	/ko : k /	/n k/
		‘dog’	‘stick’	‘new’
		<i>khetsA</i>	<i>makhetsA</i>	<i>nekh</i>
/k <sup>h</sup> /	(39) a.	/k <sup>h</sup> c /	/m k <sup>h</sup> c /	/n k <sup>h</sup> /
		peel off-INF	NEG-peel off-INF	‘mucus’
		‘to peel off’	‘not to peel off’	
		<i>khoili</i>	<i>kurmidokhA</i>	<i>kekh</i>
	b.	/k <sup>h</sup> oili/	/kurmidok <sup>h</sup> /	/k k <sup>h</sup> /
		‘leg’	‘present, gift’	‘raw’
		<i>khruui</i>	<i>makhetsA</i>	<i>dokh</i>
	c.	/k <sup>h</sup> r(}l)ui/	/m k <sup>h</sup> rcc /	/dok <sup>h</sup> /
		‘tooth’	NEG-chase-INF	‘food poisoning’
			‘not to chase’	
		<i>gupsu</i>	<i>rAgi</i>	<i>mug(i)</i>

/g/	(40) a.	/gupsu/ 'lion' <i>guye</i>	/r gi/ 'country' <i>kolgi</i>	/mu:g(y )/ 'banana' <i>gig(i)</i>
	b.	/guy / 'sickle' <i>gumlik</i>	/kolgi/ 'soybean' <i>phalgi</i>	/gig/ 'green'
	c.	/gumlik/ 'bangle'	/p <sup>h</sup> lgi/ 'food variety' (maize)	---

### 2.1.1.2.1.6 Glottal Stop

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

		<i>mp<u>h</u></i>	<i>wAm<u>ts</u>A</i>	<i>mem</i>
(41) a.		/:./p <sup>h</sup> u/ <sup>22</sup>	/w :./c /	/m :./
		'egg'	speak-INF 'to speak'	'that, s/he'
		:./ <i>ku</i>	<i>pr<u>o</u>mtsA</i>	
b.		/:./ku/ <sup>23</sup>	/pr( )o :./c /	---
		'water'	escape-INF 'to escape, get away'	
		:./ <i>wkye~wAki</i>	<i>h<u>o</u>mtsA</i>	---
c.		/:./ky ~w ki/	/h <u>o</u> :./c /	
		'jungle'	bark-INF 'to bark'	

### 2.1.1.2.1.7 Dental fricative

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

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

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

	<i>sAber</i>	<i>pasi</i>	<i>bu:s</i>
(42) a.	/s b r/	/p si/	/bu:s/
	‘the day before yesterday’	‘exercise’	‘snake’
	<i>sAN</i>	<i>dzespustA</i>	<i>su:s</i>
b.	/sã/	/dz spuc /	/su:s/
	‘three’	‘clan name (in K-K)	‘many’
	<i>sAng</i>	<i>sosmAl</i>	<i>hos</i>
c.	/s /	/sosm l/	/hos/
	‘consonant’	‘grass’	‘hot’

#### 2.1.1.2.1.8 Palatal fricative

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

	<i>shyo</i>	<i>shyArthAs</i>	<i>bush</i>
(43) a.	/šyo/	/šy rth s/	/buš/
	‘mouth’	‘government’	‘white’
	<i>shyANbu</i>	<i>ushyer</i>	<i>hush</i>
b.	/šyãbu/	/ušy r/	/huš/
	‘millet beer’	‘butterfly’	‘blood’
	<i>shyANKA</i>	<i>masyAcA</i>	<i>rush</i>
c.	/šyãk /	/m šy c /	/ruš/
	‘leopard’	NEG-tease-INF	‘bone’

#### 2.1.1.2.1.9 Glottal fricative

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

		<i>hemAtsiri</i>	<i>hirhir</i>	
/h/	(44) a.	/h m ciri/	/hirhir/	---
		‘golden dove’	‘sharp, roaming’	
		<i>haudzidz</i>	<i>mahimtsA</i>	
	b.	/h udzidz/	/m himc /	---
		‘orange’	NEG-shake-INF	
			‘not to shake’	
		<i>hAsots</i>	<i>dz´ihots</i>	
	c.	/h soc/	/dz´ihoc/	---
		‘November’	‘August’	

#### 2.1.1.2.1.10 Velar nasal

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

		<i>ngoro</i>	<i>ngAnngAn</i>	<i>monking</i>
/ /	(45) a.	/ oro/	/ n n/	/monki /
		‘dumb’	‘weep:PROG	‘telephone’
			‘weeping’	
		<i>ngAtsA</i>	<i>konglots</i>	<i>onung</i>
	b.	/ :c /	/ko loc/	/onu /
		weep-INF	‘gizzard’	enter-NPST:1SG
		‘to weep’		‘I enter’
		<i>ngo</i>	<i>kongo</i>	<i>pAinung</i>
	c.	/ o/ <sup>24</sup>	/ko o/	/p inu /
		‘fish’	look-NPST:3SG:IMP	do-NPST:1SG
			‘you look’	‘I do’/c/ [ts]

<sup>24</sup> Historically, the lexeme *ngo* / o/ might have changed into the lexeme [*go* and *go* or *gu* in Kir nti-B .:yung] ‘I’ in Kir nti-Kõits or it can be due to semantic change.

### 2.1.1.2.1.11 Alveolar nasal

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

		<i>n'irA</i>	<i>nene</i>	<i>kun</i>
/n/	(46) a.	/n'ir / 'stink, smell' <i>naknAt</i>	/n n / 'pus' <i>monking</i>	/kun/ 'smoke' <i>dutskun</i>
	b.	/n kn t/ 'Monday' <i>nA</i>	/monki / 'telephone' <i>monin</i>	/duckun/ 'swallow' <i>sin</i>
	c.	/n / 'sun'	/monin/ far-EMP 'very far'	/sin/ 'month'

### 2.1.1.2.1.12 Bilabial nasal

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

		<i>mur(u)</i>	<i>himAkem</i>	<i>wAmgyAm</i>
/m/	(47) a.	/mur(u)/ 'man' <i>mek</i>	/him k m/ 'wailing' <i>mama</i>	/w mgy m/ 'confusion' <i>rApam</i>
	b.	/m k/ 'there'	/m m / 'mother'	/r p m/ 'a lady married to a Rapacha clan in K-K'
	c.	<i>mAr</i> /m ( )r/ 'what'	<i>himtsA</i> /himc / shake-INF	<i>mulkem</i> /mulk m/ 'culture'

‘to shake’

**2.1.1.2.1.13 Alveolar liquids**

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

		<i>roNpe~rab</i>	<i>kereng</i>	<i>ker</i>
/r/	(48) a.	/r̥öp ~r b/	/k r /	/k r/
		‘sheep’	‘frying pan’	‘black’
		<i>roi</i>	<i>kiNrA</i>	<i>kyoNkur</i>
	b.	/roi/	/k r(̥) /	/kyōkur/
		‘sick, ill’	‘bamboo’(small one)	‘cub’
		<i>rawA</i>	<i>tserbi</i>	<i>khyur</i>
	c.	/r w /	/c rbi/	/k <sup>h</sup> yur/
		‘tree’	‘wheat’	‘diarrhoea, dehydration’
		<i>lispu</i>	<i>wAplemb</i>	<i>lal</i>
/l/	(49) a.	/lispu/	/w pl mb~cipsi/	/l l/
		‘toponym’ (in K-K)	‘iron n.’	‘red, may s/he go’
		<i>lAptso</i>	<i>killo</i>	<i>tserelil</i>
	b.	/l pco/	/killo/	/c r lil/
		‘door’	‘black bird’	‘thanks’
		<i>lo:</i>	<i>milu</i>	<i>klil</i>
	c.	/lo:/	/milu/	/klil/
		‘speech, language’	‘tail’	‘mustard’

**2.1.1.2.1.14 Palatal glide**

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

		<i>yAN</i>	<i>shyer</i>	
/y/	(50) a.	/yã/	/šy r/	---
		‘nine’	‘rice’ (uncooked one)	
		<i>yoili</i>	<i>shyArA</i>	
	b.	/yoili/	/šy r{}/	---
		‘chin’	‘horse’	
		<i>yo</i>	<i>shyAtsA</i>	
	c.	/yo/	/šy c /	---
		‘also’	tease-INF	
			‘to tease’	

#### 2.1.1.2.1.15 Bilabial glide

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

		<i>wArtstsa</i>	<i>mawAtsA</i>	<i>ngAw(a)</i>
/w/	(51) a.	/w rcc /	/m w c /	/ w( )/
		‘friend’	NEG-plough-INF	‘elder brother’
			‘not to plough’	
		<i>wAN</i>	<i>mawoltsA</i>	
	b.	/wã/	/m wolc /	---
		‘bear’	NEG-stir-INF	
			‘not to stir’ (N <i>maskAunu/madArnu</i> )	
		<i>wANis</i>	<i>mawAitstsa</i>	
	c.	/wãis/	/m w icc /	---
		‘husband’	NEG-keep-INF	
			‘not to keep’	

#### 2.1.1.3 Aspiration contrast

Aspiration is contrastive in Kir nti-Kõits phonology as presented in (52) a-d below:

(52) a.	/k/ vs. /k <sup>h</sup> /	<i>ketsA</i>	/k c / ‘to cook’
		<i>khetsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> c / ‘to peel off’
b.	/p/ vs. /p <sup>h</sup> /	<i>pAitstsA</i>	/p icc / ‘to tie (e.g., cattle)’
		<i>phAitstsA</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> icc / ‘to exchange’
c.	/t/ vs. /th/	<i>tAitstsA</i>	/t icc / ‘to throw’
		<i>thAitstsA</i>	/th icc / ‘to beat (gen)’
d.	/T/ vs. /T <sup>h</sup> /	<i>TitsA</i>	/Tic / ‘to obey’
		<i>T<sup>h</sup>iNtsA</i>	/T <sup>h</sup> c / ‘to fall down’

There are distinctive phonological asymmetries between /c/ vs. /ch/ or [ts<sup>h</sup>], /b/ vs. /b<sup>h</sup>/, /d/ vs. /d<sup>h</sup>/, /g/ vs. /g<sup>h</sup>/, and /dz/ vs. /dz<sup>h</sup>/ unlike in some other Kir nti languages (also cf. the earlier note in Table 2.3).

#### 2.1.1.4 Free variation

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

(53) a.	d~g	<i>dis~gis</i>	/d(g)is/ ‘how much’
	b.	g~l	<i>gr(l)utsA</i>
c.	h~	<i>hanAiyō~nganAiyō</i>	/h( ) n iyō/ ‘although/however’
d.	k~ts(c)	<i>kyortstsA~tsortstsA</i>	/ky(c)orcc / ‘to cut’
		<i>tsuitstsA~kyuitstsA</i>	/c(ky)uicc / ‘to insert sth on the head’
		<i>kyAbAts~cyAbA</i>	/k(c)y b / ‘clan name (I observed in some speakers from Darjeeling)’
e.	m~h	<i>moiti~hoiNti</i>	/moiti~ho ti/ ‘before, in front’
f.	r~}~l	<i>khreptsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> r(}l) pc / ‘to clip something’
g.	w~h	<i>wobis~hobis</i>	/w~hobis/ ‘cucumber’

- (54) a. sh~h *lasho~laho* /l šo~l ho/ ‘go-PP, adj’  
*jasho~jaho* /dz šo~dz ho/ ‘eat-PP, adj’  
*rimsho~rimho* /rimšo~rimho/ ‘wait-PP, adj’
- b. b~m *shyANb~shyAm* /šyāb~šy m/ ‘millet-beer (K-K Cul)’
- c. l~n *munAt~mulAt* /mun(l) t/ ‘today’
- d. ts~g *koltsi~kolgi* /kolc(g)i/ ‘soybean’
- e. d~l *dodeb~doleb* /dod(l) b/ ‘of what type’  
*oNdeb~oNleb* /ōd(l) b/ ‘of this type’  
*modeb~moleb* /mod(l) b/ ‘of such type’  
*khoNdeb~khoNleb* /k<sup>h</sup>ōd(l) b/ ‘like’
- f. p~b *oNdep~oNleb* /ōd p(b)/ ‘of this type’  
*modep~moleb* /mod p(b)/ ‘of that type’  
*khoNdep~khoNleb* /k<sup>h</sup>ōd b(p)/ ‘like this’  
*tApLA~tAbLA* /t pl ~t bl / ‘palm’[possible only in the  
mid and final syllable position]

### 2.1.1.5 Breathy voiced as ideolectal variation

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

- (55) a. l~lh { *lAissho* /l isšo/  
*lhAissho* /lh isšo/ ‘tall’
- b. r~rh { *rAtsA* /r c /  
*rhAtsA* /rh c / ‘to rot’  
{ *reN* /r ~/  
*rheN* /rh ~/ ‘spider’
- c. n~nh { *nAmsō* /n .:so/  
*nhAmsō* /n .:so/ ‘tribal priest (K-K Cul)’

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} nA /n / \\ nhA /nh / \text{ 'sun' } \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} nAt /n t/ \\ nhAt /nh t/ \text{ 'day' } \end{array} \right\}$$

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

#### 2.1.1.6 Allophonic variation and sound change

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

##### 2.1.1.6.1 Dark /l/

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

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

##### 2.1.1.6.2 Epenthesis

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

- (57) a. *tekme* /t km /    *tekem* /t k m / ‘where’  
 b. *mArme* /m rm /    *maram* /m r m/ ‘what’

### 2.1.1.7 Consonant and syllable drop

Earlier in § 2.1.1.5, we observed the environment of the final vowels deletion and here in this § 2.1.1.7, we shall provide examples, where consonant loss ‘apocope’ or even the whole syllable gets dropped out as Matisoff suggested the possible mechanism of “syllable reduction through human laziness” (quoted in Watters (1985: 37). The first person pronominal singular /- /<sup>20</sup> gets dropped out optionally at the final position of a given verb in non-past (also in some classes of the verb in the past form cf. Ch 3 § 3.2.2.1 and § 3.2.2.2) form both in positive and negative forms as illustrated in (58) a-c and even the syllable itself as in (58) d-g (See Genetti 1988: 76 for syncope).

- (58) a. *jAi-nu-ng*    /dz inu / ‘I eat’  
 b. *pAi-nu-ng*    /p inu / ‘I do’  
 c. *thAi-nu-ng*    /th inu / ‘I beat’  
 d. *nelle* > *nel*    /n ll > n l/ ‘all’  
 e. *meko* > *mem*    /m ko > m :./ ‘s/he, that’  
 f. *eNko* > *eN*    / ~ko > ~/ ‘this’  
 g. *tekere* > *te*    /t k r > t / ‘where’ [two steps in between are: > *teker* > *tek*

/t k r > t k/]

## 2.2 Phonotactics

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

<sup>20</sup> This optional drooping of the consonant phoneme /- / at the final position has tricked Hodgson and Konow to conclude that the Kir nti-Kõits as one of the non-pronominalized Himalayan languages (also cf. Ch 1 § 1.3) for a simple pronominalized one. The consonant phoneme /- / is not present on the surface structure in none of their data.

### 2.2.1 Consonant clusters

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

#### 2.2.1.1 Initial cc- clusters

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

**Table 2.4: Initial two consonant clusters**

First Members	Second Members		
	l	r	y
b	+	+	+
g	+	+	+
k	+	+	+
k <sup>h</sup>	+	+	
dz		+	

p	+	+	
p <sup>h</sup>	+	+	
š			+

---

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

Stop + liquid or semi-vowel/glide:

(59) a. bl(r)-	<i>bl(r)eptso</i>	/bl{}r/ pco/ ‘finger’
	<i>blA</i>	/bl / ‘arrow’ [* <i>bla</i> T-B (Tamot 2002: 18)]
b. br{}l)-	<i>brołtsA</i>	/br{}l)olc / ‘to break itself’
	<i>bratsA</i>	/br{} / c / ‘to lay e.g. a mat’ [N <i>bicchaunu</i> ]
c. by-	<i>byAphpo</i>	/by p <sup>h</sup> (po)/ ‘ox’
d. gy-	<i>gyAptsA</i>	/gy pc / ‘to buy’
	<i>gyAitstsA</i>	/gy icc / ‘to catch, (fig.) rape’
	<i>gyol</i>	/gyol/ ‘winnowing tray’
	<i>gyosho</i>	/gyošo/ ‘long’ [cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337]
e. gl-	<i>glakditsA</i>	/gl kdic / ‘to block’
	<i>glaktindumtsA</i>	/gl kti dumc / ‘to get frightened’
	<i>glAmtsA</i>	/gl .:c / ‘to win’
	<i>glumAts</i>	/glum c/ ‘family’ [Text source: 1.17]
	<i>glusho</i>	/glušo/ ‘appeared’ [Text source: 1.62]
f. gr-	<i>groN</i>	/grõ/ ‘horn’
	<i>groltsA</i>	/gr{}olc / ‘to lay’
g. kl-	<i>klil</i>	/klil/ ‘mustard’
	<i>klełts</i>	/kl lc/ ‘younger’ [Text source: 1.82, 4.7]
	<i>klonA</i>	/klon / ‘room’
	<i>klAtori</i>	/kl tori/ ‘waist-band/belt’ (K-K Cul)
h. ky-	<i>kyoNkur</i>	/kyõ.kur/ ‘cub’
	<i>kyAmtsA</i>	/ky .:c / ‘to carry’
	<i>ky`AtA</i>	/ky` t / ‘lotus, did s/he carry?’

i. kr{}-	<i>kromtsA</i>	/kr{}omc / ‘to hit’
	<i>khreptsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> r{}l) p.c / ‘to clip’
	<i>khraTsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> r{} c / ‘to stir whey’
	<i>khroltsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> rolc / ‘to fell’
j. k <sup>h</sup> l-	<i>khlanTe</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> lāt / ‘troublesome’
	<i>khletstsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> l cc / ‘to move e.g. a plate of rice’
k. dzy-	<i>dzyAu</i>	/dzy u/ ‘manner of laughing’
	<i>dzyetstsA</i>	/dzy c.c / ‘to light up e.g., a cigar’
	<i>dzy’etstsA</i>	/dzy’ c.c / ‘to get worn out’
l. pl-	<i>pl(r)upse</i>	/pl(r)ups / ‘comb’
m. pr-	<i>pr(D)eNk</i>	/pr{} ~k/ ‘tear’
n. p <sup>h</sup> l-	<i>phlatsA</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> l c / ‘to separate’
o. pr{}-	<i>proltsA</i>	/pr{}olc / ‘to break’
p. p <sup>h</sup> y-	<i>phyAnArelphu</i>	/phy n r lp <sup>h</sup> u/ ‘net-kerchief’ (K-K Cul)

Fricative + semi-vowel/glide:

(60) a. šy-	<i>shyobtsA</i>	/šyobc / ‘to filter out the millet beer (K-K Cul)’
	<i>shyatsA</i>	/šy ts / ‘to tease’
	<i>shyANkArelu</i>	/šyāk r lu/ ‘creator/destroyer’
	<i>shyAr(")Aru</i>	/šy r{} ru/ ‘object made up of bamboo for storing salt’

### 2.2.1.2 Medial -cc- clusters

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

**Table 2.5: Medial two consonant clusters**

First Members	Second Members																
	b	ts	d	g	k	k <sup>h</sup>	l	m	n	p	p <sup>h</sup>	r	s	š	th	y	dz
b	+						+		+			+					

ts(c)		+			+		+												
k							+												+
l																			
m		+	+																
n			+																
p																			
t																			
r																			
š																			
s																			
th																			
g																			
∴																			

---

### 2.2.1.2.1 Voiceless stop + consonant/glide

- (61) a. -ck-            *dutskun*            /duckun/ ‘swallow’  
       b. -ck<sup>h</sup>-        *klutskhAi*        /kluck<sup>h</sup> i/ ‘broccoli’  
       c. -kk<sup>h</sup>-        *mAkkho*            /m kk<sup>h</sup>o/ ‘garlic, *allium sativum*’  
                           *preNkhAi*        /pr(ɔ) ~kk<sup>h</sup> i/ ‘onion’  
       d. -kl-            *sekle*                /s kl / ‘25 paisa/cent coin’
- e. -kn-                *naknAt*            /n kn t/ ‘Monday’  
 f. -ky-                *kyAtsA*            /ky c / ‘to carry’  
                           *kyAtA*              /ky t / ‘lotus’  
                           *kyArsh*             /ky rš/ ‘goat’
- g. -pc-                *khreptsA*        /k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ) pc / ‘to clip’  
                           *khAptsA*            /k<sup>h</sup> pc / ‘to pile up one by one’  
                           *sAptsA*              /s pc / ‘to cover up’  
                           *thAptsA*             /th pc / ‘to pay back’  
                           *huptsA*             /hupc / ‘to be hot’  
                           *suptsA*             /supc / ‘to drink’  
                           *guptsA*             /gupc / ‘to pick up’

	<i>ruptsA</i>	/rupc / ‘to understand’
	<i>ruphtsA</i>	/rup <sup>h</sup> c / ‘to collect dried clothes etc.’
	<i>tuptsA</i>	/tupc / ‘to beat’
	<i>lAptso</i>	/l pco/ ‘door’ [Text source: 1.16, 17, 18]
	<i>luptsA</i>	/lupc / ‘to smear’
h. -pl-	<i>wAplemb</i>	/w pl mb/ ‘iron’
	<i>plApsala</i>	/pl ps l / ‘helpless’
	<i>plANkatuli</i>	/plā:k tuli/ ‘umbrella’
	<i>tsahiplA</i>	/ts hipl / ‘camera’ [See Appendix B]
	<i>sisplApa</i>	/sispl p / ‘ruin’ [Text source: 1.66]
	<i>tsuplu</i>	/cuplu/ ‘fireplace’
i. -ps-	<i>plApsala</i>	/pl ps l / ‘helpless’
	<i>gupsu</i>	/gupsu/ ‘lion’
j. -pš-	<i>prupse</i>	/pr(}ps / ‘comb’
	<i>lupsho</i>	/lupšo/ ‘smear-PP, adj’
	<i>tsupsho</i>	/cupšo/ ‘over-flown’
	<i>dupsho</i>	/dupšo/ ‘burnt’
k. -tl-	<i>thAtla</i>	/th tl / ‘bat/racket’
l. -thr-	<i>tsuthri</i>	/cuthri/ ‘husk:NML’
	<i>kothri</i>	/kothri/ ‘see:NML’
	<i>bethri</i>	/b thri/ ‘die:NML’
m. -:th-	<i>nemthA</i>	/n :.th / ‘near’
n. -:c-	<i>tsumtsA</i>	/cu:.c / ‘to lift up’
	<i>nAmtsA</i>	/n :.c / ‘to weight’
	<i>dAmtsA</i>	/d :.c / ‘to light up’

#### 2.2.1.2.2 Voiced + consonant/trill

(62) a. -bl-	<i>tAbLA</i>	/t b(p)l / ‘palm’
	<i>wAbletstsA</i>	/w bl cc / ‘to shout’
	<i>sibLA</i>	/sibl / ‘serpent’

	<i>kable</i>	/k bl / ‘villager’ [2.21, 2.25, 2.29, 2.34, 2.38]
b. -bn-	<i>tsibnA</i>	/cibn / ‘drop’
c. -br-	<i>phebre</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> br / ‘50c coin’
d. -lb-	<i>tulba</i>	/tulb( )/ ‘uproots’
	<i>thulba</i>	/thulb( )/ ‘serves’
	<i>sulba</i>	/sulb( )/ ‘cuddles’
	<i>khulba</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> ulb( )/ ‘one who escorts animal’
e. -lk-	<i>mulkem</i>	/mulk m/ ‘culture’
f. -lk <sup>h</sup> -	<i>kilkhAi</i>	/kilk <sup>h</sup> i/ ‘tomato’
g. -lg-	<i>kolgi</i>	/kolgi/ ‘soybean’
	<i>bulgyets</i>	/bulgy c/ ‘problem’
h. -lp-	<i>kalpip</i>	/k lpip/ ‘ancestor’
	<i>khalpi</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> lpi/ ‘old woman’
	<i>helpo</i>	/h lpo/ ‘bride/groom’s father’ ( <i>N samdhi</i> )
	<i>helpom</i>	/h lpom/ ‘bride/groom’s mother’ ( <i>N samdhini</i> )
i. -lp <sup>h</sup> -	<i>gyulphe</i>	/gyulp <sup>h</sup> / ‘liar’
j. -lc-	<i>groltsA</i>	/gr( )olc / ‘to lie’
	<i>reltsi</i>	/r lci/ ‘garland’
	<i>koltsi</i>	/kolc(g)i/ ‘soybean’
k. -gy-	<i>gyAptsA</i>	/gy pc / ‘to buy’
	<i>gyArtstsA</i>	/gy rcc / ‘to play’
	<i>gyAitstsA</i>	/gy icc / ‘to catch, hold, (fig.) rape’

### 2.2.1.2.3 Nasal + consonant/trill

(63) a. - l-	<i>kinglo</i>	/ki lo/ ‘radio’
	<i>konglots</i>	/ko loc/ ‘gizzard’
b. - r-	<i>kongrets</i>	/ko r c/ ‘maize’
c. - š-	<i>porongsho</i>	/poro šo/ ‘nomadic’
d. -md-	<i>himd</i>	/himd(o)/ ‘shake’ (also cf. Winter 2004)
	<i>rimd</i>	/rimd(o)/ ‘wait’ (also cf. Winter 2004)

	<i>hamd</i>	/h md(o)/ ‘dry’ (also cf. Winter 2004)
	<i>sAmd</i>	/s md(o)/ ‘place’ (also cf. Winter 2004)
	<i>kromd</i>	/kromd(o)/ ‘hit’ (also cf. Winter 2004)
e. -mdz-	<i>plumdzA</i>	/plumdz / ‘fist’
f. -ml-	<i>dimlA</i>	/diml / ‘foot’
	<i>tsumlu</i>	/cumlu/ ‘mortar’
g. -mth-	<i>gAthuN</i>	/g mth / ‘inner-feeling’
	<i>themli</i>	/th mli/ ‘hillock’
h. -mn-	<i>dzimnAts</i>	/dzimn c/ ‘May’
	<i>sAmnung</i>	/s mnu / ‘lose: NPST:1sg’
	<i>hAmnung</i>	/h mnu / ‘dry: NPST:1sg’
	<i>thAmnung</i>	/th mnu / ‘taste: NPST:1sg’
	<i>kromnung</i>	/kromnu / ‘hit: NPST:1sg’
	<i>khrumnung</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> rumnu / ‘plant: NPST:1sg’
	<i>himnung</i>	/himnu / ‘shake: NPST:1sg’
i. -mp-	<i>thampA</i>	/th mp / ‘in a true manner’
	<i>rimpA</i>	/rimp / ‘in a beautiful manner’
j. -mr-	<i>themru</i>	/th mru/ ‘hill’
k. -mc-	<i>thAmtsA</i>	/th mc / ‘to taste’
	<i>sumtsA</i>	/sumc / ‘to cover’
	<i>thumtsA</i>	/thumc / ‘to finish’
	<i>khrumtsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> rumc / ‘to plant’
	<i>pumtsA</i>	/pumc / ‘to put soil around the plants’
	<i>homtsA</i>	/homc / ‘to swell’
l. -ms-	<i>thumsitsA</i>	/thumsic / ‘to be over’
	<i>nAmsits</i>	/n msic/ ‘time’
	<i>brukumsala</i>	/brukums l / ‘delight’
m. -nk-	<i>monking</i>	/monki / ‘telephone’

#### 2.2.1.2.4 Continuant + consonant

(64) a.	-rb-	<i>pherba</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> rb( )/ ‘tailor’
	b.	-rd-	<i>durda</i> /durd / ‘word’
	b.	-rm-	<i>kurmidokhA</i> /kurmidok <sup>h</sup> / ‘gift, present’
	c.	-rc-	<i>hirtstsA</i> /hircc / ‘to turn around, visit’
		<i>wArts</i>	/w rc/ ‘friend/supporter/companion’
	d.	-rř-	<i>gyursho</i> /gyurřo/ ‘sour’
		<i>shyersho</i>	/řy rřo/ ‘wine’
		<i>kyArsshye</i>	/ky rsřy / ‘goat’
		<i>tsArssho</i>	/ts rsřo/ ‘urinate/adj’
		<i>murssho</i>	/mursřo/ ‘wash/adj’
	e.	-rth-	<i>gyArth</i> /gy rth/ ‘play: PUR’
		<i>kyorth</i>	/kyorth/ ‘cut: PUR/INF’
		<i>murth</i>	/murth/ ‘wash: PUR/INF’
		<i>kerthuN</i>	/k rth / ‘conspiracy’
	f.	-řy-	<i>dzashyA</i> /dz řy / ‘eat- CONV’
		<i>pashyA</i>	/p řy / ‘do- CONV’
		<i>breshyA</i>	/br řy / ‘write- CONV’
	g.	-sl-	<i>taslA</i> /t sl / ‘utensil made up of bronze or alloy’
		<i>tAslA</i>	/t sl / ‘moon’
	h.	-sc-	<i>ostsAN</i> /oscã/ ‘wool’
	i.	-sr-	<i>wAsrelu</i> /w sr lu/ rainbow’

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

### 2.2.1.3 Final -cc clusters

Exceptionally, no final consonant clusters in Limbu (Michailovsky 1985: 363) another Kir nti language of the *Pallo* (N) ‘far’ Kir t, East Nepal is available but Kir nti-Kõits has a considerable size of final -cc cluster as follows:

**Table 2.6: Final two consonant clusters**

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

**2.2.1.3.1 Nasal + consonant**

- (65) a. - g    *kongg(u)*    /ko g(u)/ ‘hook’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)  
 b. - s    *Angs*    / s/ ‘parental property’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)  
 c. -mb    *wAplemb*    /w pl mb/ ‘iron, n.’  
           *dumb*    /dumb/ ‘becomes, okay’  
           *khrumb*    /k<sup>h</sup>r( )/lumb/ ‘one who plants, s/he plants’  
           *grumb*    /gr( )/lumb/ ‘one who meets, s/he meets’  
           *tsemb*    /c mb/ ‘one who earns, s/he earns’  
 d. -md    *rimd*    /rimd(o)/ ‘wait’  
           *himd*    /himd(o)/ ‘shake’  
           *temd*    /t md(o)/ ‘add’  
 e. -mdz    *samdz*    /s mdz/ ‘Sherpa tribe’  
 f. -mc    *hAmts*    /h mc/ ‘yawn’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337)  
 g. -mt    *dumt*    /dumt/ ‘became:PST:3SG’  
           *dzAmt*    /dz mt/ ‘lose:PST:3SG’  
           *homt*    /homt/ ‘swell:PST:3SG’

**2.2.1.3.2 Voiceless + consonant**

- (66) a. -pc    *Albrepts*    / lbr pc/ ‘small children’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337)

b. -ps	<i>gups</i>	/gups(u)/ ‘lion’(cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337)
c. -pt	<i>nupt</i>	/nupt/ ‘end:PST:3SG’ (cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 337)
	<i>dupt</i>	/dupt/ ‘burn:PST:3SG’
	<i>lupt</i>	/lupt(o)/ ‘smear:NPST:3SG’
	<i>kApt</i>	/k pt(o)/ ‘extinguish:NPST:3SG (also cf. Winter 2004)

### 2.2.1.3.3 Continuant + consonant

(67) a. -lb	<i>relb</i>	/r lb/ ‘one who hangs, hang:3SG’
	<i>helb</i>	/h lb/ ‘one which becomes heavy’
	<i>thulb</i>	/thulb/ ‘one who tames, host:3SG (fig)’
	<i>brolb</i>	/br(ɔ)olb/ ‘it breaks’(cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)
b. -lc	<i>klelts</i>	/kl lc/ ‘younger’
	<i>dults</i>	/dulc/ ‘vagabond’
	<i>groltsA</i>	/grolc / ‘to lie down’
c. -rb	<i>tserb(i)</i>	/c rb(i)/ ‘wheat’(also in Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)
	<i>dorb</i>	/dorb/ ‘run:NPST:3sg
	<i>kurb</i>	/kurb/ ‘carry:NPST:3sg
d. -rc	<i>wArts</i>	/w rc/ ‘friend’(cf.36a and Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338)
e. -rdz	<i>kerdz</i>	/k rdz/ ‘uncle’
f. -rg	<i>bArg</i>	/b rg/ ‘trap’
g. -rn	<i>kyornAkyorn</i>	/kyorn kyorn/ ‘cut:PROG’ (possible cluster of /-n/ with other different verb roots e.g. <i>dzanAdzan</i> /dz n dz n/ ‘eat: PROG’ cf. also Bieri and Schulze 1970: 338 )

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

### 2.2.1.4 Geminates

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

(68) a. -bb-	<i>sibba</i>	/sibb / ‘bear fruit:NPST:3sg’
	<i>hubba</i>	/hubb / ‘become hot:NPST:3sg’
	<i>tubba</i>	/tubb / ‘beat:NPST:3sg’
	<i>rubba</i>	/rubb / ‘to collect, e.g. dried grains in the sun:NPST:3sg’
	<i>r’ebba</i>	/r’ bb / ‘read:NPST:3sg’
	<i>sebba</i>	/s bb / ‘call:NPST:3sg’
	<i>bebba</i>	/b bb / ‘call:NPST:3sg’
	<i>lubba</i>	/lubb / ‘smear:NPST:3sg’
	<i>ibba</i>	/ibb / ‘sleep: NPST:3sg’
	<i>gubba</i>	/gubb / ‘pick up:NPST:3sg’
	<i>hubba</i>	/hubb / ‘become hot:NPST:3sg’
	<i>tubba</i>	/tubb / ‘beat:NPST:3sg’
	<i>rubba</i>	/rubb / ‘understand:NPST:3sg’
	<i>r’ebba</i>	/r’ bb / ‘read:NPST:3sg’
	<i>rebba</i>	/r bb / ‘scratch:NPST:3sg’
	<i>thAbba</i>	/th bb / ‘pay:NPST:3sg’
	<i>lubba</i>	/lubb / ‘smear:NPST:3sg’
b. -cc-	<i>tsuitstsA</i>	/c(ky)uicc / ‘to insert, decorate’
	<i>dAitstsA</i>	/d icc / ‘to get sth with open hands ( <i>N thApnu</i> )’
	<i>detstsA</i>	/d cc / ‘to paste, cover’
	<i>dortstsA</i>	/dorcc / ‘to run’
	<i>khAitstsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> icc / ‘to ache’
	<i>khuitstsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> uicc / ‘to hide’
	<i>khertstsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> rcc / ‘to chase’
	<i>khroitstsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> roicc / ‘to cut into pieces’
	<i>gAitstsA</i>	/g icc / ‘to pass away’(fig.)
	<i>gyArtstsA</i>	/gy rcc / ‘to play’

<i>gyAitstsA</i>	/gy icc / ‘to catch, (fig.) rape’
<i>ngAitstsA</i>	/ icc / ‘to defecate’
<i>hoNitstsA</i>	/hōicc / ‘to climb up’
<i>hoitstsA</i>	/hoicc / ‘to boil up’
<i>huitstsA</i>	/huicc / ‘to scold’
<i>hurtstsA</i>	/hurcc / ‘to drink e.g. semi-liquid’
<i>khroitstsA</i>	/khr(ʔ)oi.c / ‘to chop into pieces’
<i>lAitstsA</i>	/l icc / ‘to take away’
<i>letstsA</i>	/l cc / ‘to return’
<i>maitstsA</i>	/m icc / ‘to tell’
<i>murtstsA</i>	/murcc / ‘to wash’
<i>muitstsA</i>	/muicc / ‘to blow up’
<i>nAitstsA</i>	/n icc / ‘to rest’
<i>nitstsA</i>	/nicc / ‘to sit’
<i>pAitstsA</i>	/p icc / ‘to tie’ (e.g. cattle)
<i>phAitstsA</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> icc / ‘to exchange’
<i>puitstsA</i>	/puicc / ‘to unlock’
<i>r’etstsA</i>	/r’ cc / ‘to read’
<i>roitstsA</i>	/roicc / ‘to snatch’
<i>sitstsA</i>	/sic / ‘to bear fruit’
<i>sAitstsA</i>	/s icc / ‘to kill’
<i>setstsA</i>	/s cc / ‘to call’
<i>soitstsA</i>	/soicc / ‘to send’
<i>suitstsA</i>	/suicc / ‘to start the fire burning ( <i>Njhosnu</i> )’
<i>thAitstsA</i>	/th icc / ‘to beat’
<i>thitstsA</i>	/thicc / ‘to meet’
<i>ThitstsA</i>	/T <sup>h</sup> icca~T <sup>h</sup> .c / ‘to fall down’
<i>thuitstsA</i>	/thuicc / ‘to take loan’
<i>tAitstsA</i>	/t icc / ‘to throw away’
<i>toitstsA</i>	/toicc / ‘to make someone get off’

	<i>tetstsa</i>	/t cc / ‘to beat’
	<i>tuitstsa</i>	/tuicc / ‘to know’
	<i>wAitstsa</i>	/w icc / ‘to keep’
	<i>wArtstsa</i>	/w rcc / ‘friend/supporter/companion’
c. -kk-	<i>tikkus</i>	/tikkus/ ‘hare/rabbit’
	<i>kikkun</i>	/kikkun/ ‘bat, a bird-like mammal’ (cf. Appendix B)
	<i>dakka</i>	/d kk / ‘one thousand’ [Rapacha, Kormocha and Katicha 2003:18]
d. -ll-	<i>dello</i>	/d flo/ ‘buttock, anus’
	<i>hillo</i>	/hiŋlo/ ‘query, question’ [Text source:1.19, 89]
	<i>killo</i>	/kiŋlo/ ‘a species of black bird’
	<i>phullu</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> uŋlu/ ‘stone’ [Text source:1.69; cf. Lexicon]
	<i>nelle</i>	/n ŋl / ‘all’ [Text source:1.16, 59, 82, 89; 2.11, 19, 34; 3.9, 19, 26, 35, 47; 4.8]
	<i>olli</i>	/oŋli/ ‘kind/type’ [Text source: 1.140]
e. -mm-	<i>rennummama</i>	/r nnumm m / ‘step-mother’
	<i>dumma</i>	/dumm / ‘did they become?’
	<i>summa</i>	/summ / ‘did they cover?’
f. -nn-	<i>rennummama</i>	/r nnumm m / ‘step-mother’
g. -pp-	<i>sAppa</i>	/s pp / ‘too much’
h. -ss-	<i>pussu</i>	/pussu/ ‘lid’
	<i>lAissho</i>	/l isšo/ ‘tall’
	<i>thAissho</i>	/th isšo/ ‘beaten’
	<i>hoNissho</i>	/hōisšo/ ‘climbed up, climb up:IMP:3sg’
	<i>soissho</i>	/soisšo/ ‘sent’
	<i>muissho</i>	/muisšo/ ‘blown’
	<i>hoissho</i>	/hoisšo/ ‘heated’
	<i>tsurssi</i>	/curssi/ ‘personal name’
i. -tt-	<i>huitto</i>	/huitto/ ‘scold:IMP:3sg’

<i>khuitto</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> uitto/ ‘hide:IMP:3sg’
<i>roitto</i>	/roitto/ ‘snatch:IMP:3sg’
<i>soitto</i>	/soitto/ ‘send:IMP:3sg’

### 2.2.1.5 Inverse geminates plus other processes

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

(69) a. <i>huiba</i>	/huib / ‘scold:IMP:3sg’
<i>relba</i>	/r lb / ‘hang:IMP:3sg’
<i>khuiba</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> uib / ‘hide:IMP:3sg’
<i>suiba</i>	/suib / ‘start the fire:IMP:3sg’
<i>tuiba</i>	/tuib / ‘know:IMP:3sg’
<i>muiba</i>	/muib / ‘blow:IMP:3sg’
<i>tulba</i>	/tulb / ‘uproot:IMP:3sg’
<i>khulba</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> ulb / ‘escort animal:IMP:3sg’
<i>sulba</i>	/sulb / ‘caress:IMP:3sg’
<i>thulba</i>	/thulb / ‘tame:IMP:3sg’
<i>laiba</i>	/l ib / ‘go:IMP:3sg’
<i>paiba</i>	/p ib / ‘do:IMP:3sg’
<i>thaiba</i>	/th ib / ‘beat:IMP:3sg’
<i>ko:ba</i>	/ko:b / ‘look, bite:IMP:3sg’
<i>ngAba</i>	/ b / ‘weep:IMP:3sg’
<i>raiba</i>	/r ib / ‘understand:IMP:3sg’

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

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

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

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

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

- (72) a. *tuptsA* /tupc / ‘to beat’ *tubba* /tubb / ‘beat:NPST:3sg’

### 2.3.1.2 Syllabic structures

A syllable is a sequence of phonemes (CVs) with one peak of sonority. It is first divided into two parts; viz., ‘onset’ (the opening/initial segment of a syllable) and rhyme (See Diagram 1). Rhyme is further divided into ‘peak’ (nucleus/center; the central or middle segment of the syllable) and ‘coda’ (the closing/final segment of the syllable); where the opening and closing segments of a syllable can be termed as margins. Kir nti-Kõits syllables at a time do not necessarily contain all three parts in them. They may consist of just the nucleus (as in *-a* ‘his/her’, just the onset and nucleus (as in *mi* ‘fire’) or all three (as in *shyor* ‘star’). Thus, as we see in those examples, a Kir nti-Kõits syllable consists of a peak with or without an onset and with or without coda. The nucleus/peak/ center is always a vowel. Like Meitei (Abbi and Mishra 1985; also cf. Chelliah 1997, Thoudam 1980) Kir nti-Kõits roots are normally monosyllabic. They are of the following types (also cf. Bieri and Schulze 1970: 170ff and *Ethnologue* website 2004, see its syllable structure in Tree Diagram 1 below).

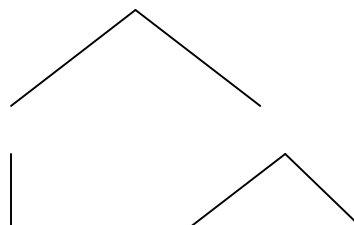
#### 2.3.1.2.1 Monosyllabic structure

- (73) a. *v* *oN* /õ/ ‘yes’

	<i>ANiN&gt;iN /ã</i> > / ‘our’
	<i>A</i> /a/ ‘his/her’
b. VC	<i>ir</i> /ir/ ‘up’
	<i>ong</i> /o / ‘enter:NPST:3sg:IMP
	<i>er</i> / r/ ‘far-thither (horizontal)’
c. CV	<i>kA</i> /k / ‘one’ [cf. <i>kwong</i> Kir nti-Ba; Konow (1909: 329)]
	<i>go</i> /go/ ‘I’ [cf. <i>go</i> Kir nti-Ba; Driem (1991: 337)]
	<i>lo:</i> /lo:/ ‘language, talk, speech’ [cf. <i>lo</i> Kir nti-Ba, <i>lA</i> Kir nti-Rod and <i>ron</i> > <i>lon</i> Meithei; Chelliah (1999: 2)]
d. V	<i>wA</i> /w / ‘cloth’ [ stands for semi-vowle or glide /y/]
	<i>yaN</i> /yã/ ‘nine’
e. CVC	<i>gAl</i> /g l/ ‘sweat’
	<i>bur</i> /bur/ ‘paddy (esp. un-husked; cf. Lexicon)’
	<i>sang</i> /s / ‘consonant’
r. CCV	<i>groN</i> /grõ/ ‘horn’
g. CVV	<i>joi</i> /dzo/ ‘tiger’
	<i>roi</i> /roi/ ‘sick, disease’
	<i>khAi</i> /k <sup>h</sup> i/ ‘curry’
	<i>sau</i> /s u/ ‘red hornet’
h. C VC	<i>gyol</i> /gyol/ ‘winnowing tray’
	<i>gyosh</i> /gyoš/ ‘long’
	<i>gyom</i> /gyom/ ‘utensil’

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

**Diagram 2.1: The syllable structure in Kir nti-Kõits**  
(Syllable)



Onset

Rhyme

Nucleus/Peak/Center Coda

(C)(G)

V

(X)

/ k

y

r

š / 'goat'

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

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

### 2.3.1.2.2 Disyllabic structure

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

#### 2.3.1.2.2.1 Open second syllable

(74) a.	VCV	<i>omu</i>	/o.mu/ 'mushroom'
		<i>uyu</i>	/u.yu/ 'far down'
		<i>iri</i>	/ir.i/ 'far up'
b.	CVCV	<i>muyu</i>	/mu.yu/ 's/he (esp. down, lowLOC)'
		<i>huyu</i>	/hu.yu/ 's/he (esp. down, very lowLOC)'
		<i>ts'eko</i>	/c' .ko/ 'cut-NPST:3SG:IMP'
c.	CCVCV	<i>shyele</i>	/šy .l / 'thread'

	<i>shyAtsA</i>	/šy .c / ‘to tease’
	<i>glAtsA</i>	/gl .c / ‘to win’
d. VC CV	<i>ostsAN</i>	/os.cã / ‘wool’
	<i>thAptsA</i>	/th p.c / ‘to pay’
	<i>teltsA</i>	/t l.c / ‘to pile up’
e. CVC CV	<i>yumpi</i>	/yum.pi/ ‘the last daughter’
	<i>lAptso</i>	/l p.co/ ‘door’
	<i>tsurssi</i>	/curs.si/ ‘personal name, one who gets angry’
f. CCVC CV	<i>khreptsA</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> r(ɔ) p.c / ‘to clip’
	<i>glAtsA</i>	/gl .c / ‘to win’
g. CCVC CV	<i>gyoNbli</i>	/gyõb.li/ ‘bag’
	<i>gyulphe</i>	/gyul.p <sup>h</sup> / ‘liar’

### 2.3.1.2.2.2 Closed second syllable

(75) a. CVC CVC	<i>lunggir</i>	/lu .gir/ ‘heart’
	<i>dutskun</i>	/duc.kun/ ‘swallow’
b. CCVC CVC	<i>glakting</i>	/gl k.ti / ‘manner of fear’
c. CVCVC	<i>dANkin</i>	//dã.kin/ ‘heap, pile’
	<i>khiNreb</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> .r b/ ‘potato (esp. a domestic species)’
	<i>saring</i>	/s .ri / ‘sky’
d. CCVCVC	<i>kyoNkur</i>	/kyõ.kur/ ‘cub’
	<i>tholots</i>	/tho.loc/ ‘settler’ [Text source: 1.112]

### 2.3.1.2.3 Trisyllabic structure

#### 2.3.1.2.3.1 Third syllable is open

(76) a. CVC CVV CV	<i>tsArnAilu</i>	/c r.n i.lu/ ‘a place for rest in the hilly areas’
b. CV CVC CV	<i>nAremsi</i>	/n .r m.si/ ‘umbrella’
c. CVC CV CV	<i>gersili</i>	/g r.si.li/ ‘happiness’ [Text source: 1.60]
d. CV CVV CV	<i>nepAiNsi</i>	/n .p .si/ ‘order’ [Text source: 1.55]

- e. CVC CV CV *bissilo:* /bis.si.lo:/ ‘agreement’ [Text source: 1.111, 112]  
 f. VC CV CV *oktoto* /ok.to.to/ ‘dumbstruck’ [Text source: 1.63]  
 g. CCV CV CV *klAtori* /kl .to.ri/ ‘waist-band/belt’ (K-K Cul)  
 h. CVC CV CV *wAsrelu* /w s.r .lu/ ‘rainbow’  
 i. CVC CV CV *pirsuli* /pir.su.li/ ‘weevil’

### 2.3.1.2.3.2 Third syllable is closed

- (77) a. CV CVC CVC *dzatekdzat* /dz .t k.dz t/ ‘food’  
 b. CV CCV CVC *kikyakun* /ki.ky .kun/ ‘swallow’

### 2.3.1.2.4 Tetrasyllabic structure

Fourth syllable is open:

- (78) a. CV CV CV CV *tsasimasi* /c .si.m .si/ ‘family’ [Text source: 1.138]  
 b. CVC CV CV CV *kurmidokha* /kur.mi.do.k<sup>h</sup> / ‘gift, present’  
 c. CCV CV CV CV *plANKAtuli* /plã.k .tu.li/ ‘umbrella’  
 d. CV CV CVC CV *gadzetsephTe* /g .dz .c p<sup>h</sup>.T / ‘a personal name’  
 e. CV CV CVC CV *tsomolongmA* /co.mo.lo .m / ‘the highest peak,  
 Mt. Everest’ [cf. Rapacha, Kormocha and Katicha  
 2003:7] f. CCVC CVC CVC CV *glaktindumtsA* /gl k.ti .dum.c / ‘to get  
 frightened’  
 g. CCV CVCVC CV *phyAnArelphu* /p<sup>h</sup>y .n .r l.p<sup>h</sup>u/ ‘net-kerchief’ (K-K Cul)  
 h. CCV CV CV CV *syANKArelu* /šyã.k .r .lu/ ‘creator/destroyer’  
 i. CVC CVC CV CV *rennummama* /r n.num.m .m ‘step-mother’  
 j. CCV CVC CV CV *brukumsala* /bru.kum.s .l / ‘delight’

### 2.3.1.2.4.1 Fourth syllable is closed

- (79) a. CV CVC CV CVC *dzatektutek* /dz .t k.tu.t k/ ‘food and drink’  
 b. CVC CVC CV CVC *damkimpatik* /d m.kim.p .tik/ ‘competition’

[Text source: 1.105]

### 2.3.1.2.1 Syllable initials

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

/p/	<i>pod</i>	/pod/	‘earthworm’
/t/	<i>teitei</i>	/t i.t i/	‘everywhere’
/c/ (ts)	<i>tsapo</i>	/c .po/	‘piglet’
/T/	<i>TitsA</i>	/Ti.c /	‘to obey’
/k/	<i>kal</i>	/k l/	‘porridge (esp. made up of millet-flour)’
/:./	<i>:.phu</i> <sup>21</sup>	/:.p <sup>h</sup> u/	‘egg’
/p <sup>h</sup> /	<i>phare</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> .r /	‘thunder-bolt’
/th/	<i>thiN</i>	/th /	‘price’
/T <sup>h</sup> /	<i>Theb</i>	/T <sup>h</sup> b/	‘big’
/k <sup>h</sup> /	<i>khop</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> op/	‘space’
/b/	<i>bulnu</i>	/bul.nu/	‘spirit’
/d/	<i>dermA</i>	/d r.m /	‘utensil’ (also cf. <i>gyom</i> in the lexicon)
/dz/ (j)	<i>jitsA</i>	/dzi.c /	‘to quarrel’
/g/	<i>gis</i>	/gis/	‘how much’
/s/	<i>seu</i>	/s u/	‘greeting’
/š/	<i>shyer</i>	/šy r/	‘rice (esp. uncooked one)’
/h/	<i>hush</i>	/huš/	‘blood’
/m/	<i>mesh</i>	/m š/	‘buffalo’
/n/	<i>nam</i>	/n m/	‘love, aux’
/ / (ng)	<i>ngoro</i>	/ o.ro/	‘dumb’
/r/	<i>reu</i>	/r u/	‘rain’
/l/	<i>lA</i>	/l /	‘from’

<sup>21</sup> Other variations are: > bwap<sup>h</sup>u > b p<sup>h</sup>u, where bw- stands for /≡/ also cf. the explanatory note in Table 2.3.

/w/	wA	/w /	‘cloth’
/y/	yAp <sup>h</sup> e	/y p <sup>h</sup> /	‘leach’

### 2.3.1.2.2 Syllable finals

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

<i>khad</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> d/	‘crow’
<i>kekh</i>	/k k <sup>h</sup> /	‘raw’
<i>jil</i>	/dzil/	‘oil, ghee’
<i>rush</i>	/ruš/	‘bone’
<i>rong</i>	/ro /	‘cliff’
<i>reb</i>	/r b/	‘potato’
<i>gig</i>	/gig/	‘green’
<i>shyeth</i>	/š th/	‘empty’
<i>kun</i>	/kun/	‘smoke’
<i>gyom</i>	/gyom/	‘utensil’
<i>tikkus</i>	/tik.kus/	‘rabbit, hare’
<i>mem</i>	/m .:/	‘that, s/he’
<i>sus</i>	/sus/	‘many’
<i>phoT</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> oT/	‘testicle’
<i>ngAw</i>	/ w/	‘elder-brother’
<i>gyAp(o)</i>	/gy p(o)/	‘buy’
<i>kAphTsA</i>	/k p <sup>h</sup> .c /	‘to extinguish’
<i>ker</i>	/k r/	‘black’
<i>shyet</i>	/š t/	‘difficulty, trouble’
<i>koj</i>	/kodz/	‘stomach’
<i>koTh</i>	/koT <sup>h</sup> /	‘store house’

### 2.3.1.2.3 Syllable nuclei

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

## 2.4 Supra-segmental feature

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

### 2.4.1 Tone

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

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

Thus, tone as a phonological feature is common in Kir nti-Kõits; particularly in the Sabra dialect of East No.2, Ramechhap district (*Wallo* ‘Near’ Kir t; See Maps 1: xxv and 2: xxvi), Nepal. Furthermore, it is also true in the Saraban dialect of East No.3, Okhaldhung district (*Wallo* ‘Near’ Kir t; See Maps 1 and 2), Nepal. As Driem (2001: 725) observes, “Sunwar is reported to be a tonal language, but analyses differ on whether there are two or four distinctive tones”. Schulze and Bieri (1970, 1971b) first, have described tone in the Sabra dialect of Kir nti-Kõits and nearly a decade later Genneti (1988, 1992) described in the Saraban dialect (data collected in California from Tankaraj Susucha-Sunuwar); whereas in the further southeastern dialect of Katunje (on which this description is based on), Okhaldhunga (See Map 6: xxx), East No. 3, (*Wallo* ‘Near’ Kir t, See Map 1: xxv) Nepal, it is a matter of polysemy rather than tonemics or tonology.

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

“Tone is often believed by non-specialists to be a fundamental feature of a language, almost a peculiar turn of mind of its speakers. It is assumed that a language either is tonal or is not, nothing in between, and that tonal languages have always be tonal. These are all fallacious. The Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, which we will describe here, are what we could call semi-tonal or marginally tonal. They also exemplify how languages can become tonal from being non-tonal, or more precisely in this case, more tonal from being slightly tonal.”

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

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

Amongst other more than two dozens of Kir nti languages spoken in the eastern hills (all three Kir t areas) of Nepal, tone has, until the recent studies, been reported and described only in Kir nti-Khaling by Toba (1984) besides Kir nti-Köits. Bieri and Schulze (1970: 108ff) reporting tone in Kir nti-Köits [in their use the exoglotonym/hydronym ‘Sunwar’; particularly Sabra dialect of East No. 2, Ramechhap district] observe,

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

Following the year 1970, they confirm their claim thus, “In Sunwar there is a contrast between high tone words and low tone words. A word consists of one to four syllables. Each word is a pitch unit manifesting either a high or low pitch contour. The pitch level of the first syllable determines the shape of the pitch contour of the whole unit. Contrast has been observed in disyllabic and polysyllabic words. In monosyllabic words the contrast is neutralized.” (1971: 5). Genetti (1988: 63) discover has discovered the fact that Sunwar (See Ch 1 § 1.1.1; footnote 4 for its orthography) or Kir nti-Kōits has four tones, which are divided by two independent binary parameters: a high/low contrast and level versus falling contour distinction. Her example includes:

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

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

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

in contour and, at a lesser extent, in pitch, throughout paradigms or certain verb classes. Full exposition of these changes must await further analysis”.

On the contrary, contrastive tone either in disyllabic or in polysyllabic lexemes of the study area of my own dialect is either neutralized or tonemes are realized as polysemy or say there is tonoloss (‘the death of tone’ coined in analogy with Yip’s ‘tonogenesis’) rather than tonogenesis ‘the birth of tone’ (also cf. Yip 2002: 35-38, Light 1978: 115-131). In most examples, especially verbs infinitive (disyllabic ones) cited elsewhere in this chapter, seem to preserve the level tone (ˉ) only in the Katunje dialect (See Map 6: xxx) of this study. In the case of monosyllabic lexemes their observation has been challenged by a lexeme like *ne* /n / given in (81) a.1-4. Whereas the disyllabic lexemes are concerned, they simply belong to the verb category having poly-semantic aspects (or are polysemy), which are context-sensitive rather than tone as distinctive feature. At least one of such pairs of verbs would have glottal stop or level tone. Consider the following monosyllabic example:

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

(Source: Rapacha 2003)

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

- (82) a. *meko mAr pAib ne?* /m ko m r p ib n / ‘What does s/he do?’  
 b. *tam(i) ressikhiN lAib ne* /t m r ssi k<sup>h</sup> l ib n / ‘The daughter goes to the school, it is said’.  
 c. *meko Alke ne lAissho bAmta* /m ko lk n l isšo b .:t / ‘The child has a tall nose’.  
 d. *goimi n wAitstSA mAlnaye* /goimi n w icc m ln y / ‘You have keep a good

reputation’.

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

- (83) a. *r’etstsA* /r’ cc / ‘to read’  
           *retstsA* /r cc / ‘to scratch’
- b. *rimtsA* /rimc / ‘to be beautiful/handsome’  
           *r’imtsA* /r’imc / ‘to wait’
- c. *ri* /ri/ ‘louse’  
           *r’i~rhi* /r’i~rhi/ ‘shaman’s drum (K-K Cul)’ [elicited from Mokuśu to whom Senkantsi, a gy *mi* ‘K-K female shaman’ informed its own native vocabulary in place of *Dhengro* (*N Dhengro*)
- d. *tutsA* /tuc / ‘to drink’  
           *t’utsA* /t’uc / ‘to lick’ (also /tu.:c / or /tu~c / is possible)
- e. *mitsA* /mi:c / ‘to get cooked’ [loss of glottal stop; compensatory lengthening]
- f. *m’itsA* /m’ic / ‘to comb’  
           *muitstsA* /muicc / ‘to blow’
- g. *muitstsA* /muicc / ‘to wear (differs with /p<sup>h</sup> :.c /)’  
           *putsA* /puc / ‘to measure’ (e.g. grains)
- h. *p’utsA* /p’uc / ‘to blast’ (e.g. gun)  
           *putsA* /puc / ‘to weigh’
- i. *jitsA* /dzic / ‘to fight’  
           *dz’itsA* /dz’ic / ‘to break’ (also /dzi.:c / is possible)
- j. *dotsA* /doc / ‘to dig’  
           *d’otsA* /d’oc / ‘to fall’ (also /do.:c / is possible)
- k. *tAitstsA* /t icc / ‘to throw’  
           *t’AitstsA* /t’ icc / ‘to kick’

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

All these analyses on tone in Kir nti-Kõits until today are impressionistic rather than instrumental. Even I, myself in this study have not included and used any SIL software or 'Gold Wave' as such mentioned in Abbi (2001: 104) but hopefully one can see spectrographic analysis of fundamental frequency ( $f_0$ ) for three sets of Kir nti-Kõits verbs<sup>22</sup> in Rapacha (2002).

## 2.5 Graphology or the writing system

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

### 2.5.1 A brief survey

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

Devanagari *lipi* (Script): Most Indic languages like Nepali, Maithili, Awadhi, Bhojpuri [also Hindi; *I added*], Newari[also Ranjana script; *extra information added are my own*] have adopted the Devanagari script in writing. Some other Tibeto-Burman

---

<sup>22</sup> This analysis has been done in an MPhil term paper entitled 'The sound systems of Kir nti-Kõits and English: A probe into learners' problems at the phonological level'. It was carried out at the Language Laboratory, SAG/DRDO, Ministry of Defence, Metcalf House, Locknow Road, Timarpur, New Delhi-110 054, on November 12, 2002.

languages like Limbu (Yakthungba, Tsong), has been using the Kir nti Srijanga Script in Nepal as well as in Sikkim. The Lepcha language is written in the Rong Script. Similarly, the Tamang and Sherpa languages are written in the Tibetan script. A new script known as Akkha Script is in use for writing the Magar [used in Sikkim (and spelt as Manger) also; *extra information added is my own*] language.

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

In my 2001 fieldtrip to Gangtok the capital of Sikkim, I discovered that another Tibeto-Burman Kir nti language known as Bantawa [antonym *Kirawa*] is using its own *Rai Bhashako lipi* (script) based on Tikaram Rai and Kripasalyan Rai. Then, B.B. Rai, Tikpur, West Sikkim, has prepared some primary level textbooks also (See *Paruhang Sawanam* (Sakewa Angka) May-June 2003, Akhil Kir t Rai Sangh, Sikkim for detail).

In the same fieldtrip, I was able to elicit the information [provided by K.D. Hangchen (Gangtok, East Sikkim)] on another script known as Satlotli Hang Chammari (Script). It is, firstly propounded by Dr Lal Rumdali-Rai (Topgachi, Sano Kerkha, Kerkha, Mechi, Nepal). No any other authentic written texts have been found yet. Sampang, another Tobeto-Burman Kir nti language recently has used Kiran *lipi* for documenting its dictionary (2004), which was confirmed in a daily newspaper<sup>23</sup> published from Kathmandu.

The trios (2002: 254 and 256, 2005: 16-17) have hopefully confirmed the existence of a script for the Kir nti-Kõits language also known as Sunuwar/Je~ticha *Bre:se* 'script' (cf. Rapacha, Ngawocha-Mukhia and Rujicha-Mukhia 2003). The script has been in use for producing *Sikkim Herald* (2001 onwards) in Sikkim and primary level textbooks are, also written in the same (Rapacha, Ngawocha-Mukhia and Rujicha-

---

<sup>23</sup> *Kantipur* daily, July 20, 2004, published from Kathmandu

Mukhia 2003, 2004). In the following § 2.5.2, we shall briefly discuss its [Sunuwar/*Je~ticha Bre:se*] historical aspects available in the past literature.

### 2.5.2 Origin of the Kir nti-Kõits script

In the preceding § 2.5.1, we surveyed the writing systems of the research area and its surroundings in general and here we shall discuss on the origin of the Kir nti-Kõits or Sunuwar/*Je~ticha Bre:se* ‘script’ in particular. It was Shrestha (1980 [vs 2037]), who for the first time in its [Sunuwar/*Je~ticha Bre:se* ‘script’] history opened up new avenues by writing on the ‘Koing [actually should be Kõits; *my note*] Bres (Sunuwar *lipi*)’ in a literary periodical<sup>24</sup> of the Nepali language popularly or widely read. His main presentation is based on Karna *Je~ticha-Sunuwar*’s information on the script. A critical reading of his presentation can be found in Rapacha (2001, 2002). We shall presented our practical comment with comparison for exploring the possibilities of writing in § 2.5.3 later.

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

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

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

<sup>24</sup> *Madhupark* a literary publication of Gorkhapatra Sansthan, published from Kathmandu

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

Translation into English:

The Rais of the Mid Kir t definitely call them (Sun(u)war) and most of them call themselves Rai. They are, also identified as Rais in the **Nepalko Aitihāsik Ruprekha** [Historical Outline of Nepal] by Balchandra Sharma. However, it is understood that the tradition of adopting ‘Sunuwar’, ‘Mukhia’, ‘Bahadur’ is excessive. The present script, according to the scriptologist Krishna [Karna (?)], the Sun(u)war or say Rai are using their own tribal script since time immemorial in their society, he claims...this material, which is one of the endangered or limited historical asset(s) has been presented here to the readers since *Kongpi*’s main objective is to preserve such disappearing assets from our access accordingly as its specimen provided by JeNtich Krishnabhadur [Karnabhadur (?)] having named “Sunuwar lipi (script)”.

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

### 2.5.3 Je~ticha script and orthography

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

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

Consonants					Vowels	
-----					-----	
e	f	g	h	.	{	
k,क	k <sup>h</sup> ,ख	g,ग	,ङ	.,अ्	i,इ	u,उ
i		j				a B*
c,च		dz,ज				,अ o,ओ
k		l			}	A
T,ट		T <sup>h</sup> ,ठ			,ए	,आ
m	n	o	p		-----	
t,त	th,थ	d,द	n,न		*means optional and / , , i, u/ are also	
q	r	s	t		subject to have such lengthening	
					phonetically only	
p,प	p <sup>h</sup> ,फ	b,ब	m,म			
u	v	w	x			
y,य	r,र	l,ल	w,व			
	Z	y	,			
	s,स	ś,श	h,ह			
-----						

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

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

-----				
क	ख	ग	(घ)	ङ
च	छ	ज	झ	(ञ)

ट	ठ	(ड)	(ढ)	(ण)
त	थ	द	(ध)	न
प	फ	ब	(भ)	म
य	र	ल	व	
	श	(ष)	स	ह

-----

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

#### 2.5.4 A comparison of scripts

As said earlier in § 2.5.2, we shall now here compare the Je~ticha Bre:se ‘script’ within its several versions and between the Je~ticha Bre:se ‘script’ and the Devanagari script as proposed in Table 2.8 . In my observation, Schulze (1995: 2, 1997: 2) in both of her letters/alphabets’ charts, has neither mentioned glottal stop (:) [written as /ʔ/ in the Devanagari orthography; but she has hinted its omission for technical reason in her 1996 report on page 9] nor provided small brackets for छ (Roman-Gorkhali spelling/ orthography *chha* (छ), /ch/ or [ts<sup>h</sup>]). Here she has not also provided any data for the existence of the phoneme छ /ch/ in her discussion. It rarely has its minimal pair with /c/ at least in Kir nti-Kõits (also cf. Table 2.2 and § 2.1.3) whereas in other Kir nti languages like Rodung [i.e. Camling; spoken in Mid (*Majh N*) Kir t] can be found such minimal pairs (See Ebert 1994, 1997, Rai 1999, Rai 2001, Rai 2003:16). Some salient differences between the two systems or within the system are noted as follows:

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

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

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

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

Lastly, but most importantly Schulze’s (1995: 2, 1997: 2) proposal in Table 2.8, has not mentioned the vowel sounds of Kir nti-Kõits for adopting the Devanagari orthography whereas Table 2.7 has precisely listed the required number of letters/alphabets including both vowels and consonants (based on the principle of economy Rapacha 2002) after a rigorous minimal or near-minimal test of the sufficient phonological data (also cf. Table 2.3 and § 2.1.2.1) of the language providing all three alternative scripts at the hand of the Kir nti-Kõits speakers to opt for the purpose of writing their sacred and secret tongue.

## 2.6 Summing up

In this chapter, we dealt with two major themes i.e. phonology ‘the sound system’ and the writing system of the language chosen for investigation. In the first half of the first part, we described the inventory of phonemes in Kir nti-Kõits by looking at

their distribution (i.e. word initial, medial and final), classification (place and manner of articulation, voicing, aspiration) and minimal/near-minimal pair test (based on contrastive meaning). We also examined some phonological rules also for instance, free variation, nasal assimilation, allophonic variation (cf. § 2.1.1.6), and consonant and vowel deletion. Then, in the second half, we discussed its phonotactics revealing consonant clusters in all three positions and very productive and interesting rules of geminates.

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

\*\*\*\*\*

## Chapter Three

# Morphological processes of wordformation

### 3. Word Structures

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

#### 3.1 Inflection, derivation, reduplication and compounding

This chapter mainly describes nominal, verbal morphology and particles of Kir nti-Kõits in the light of morphological processes like inflection, derivation (cf. Trask *ibid.*), reduplication and compounding in relation to some other T-B Kir nti 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. Kir nti-Kõits, except for the only negative prefix <-*m*>, is a predominantly suffixing language.

#### 3.1.2 Nominal morphology

##### 3.1.2.1 Noun

Nouns in Kir nti-Kõits (also cf. Appendix C) are marked for case (cf. § 3.1.4) by case markers and postpositions. There is one nominal suffix <-*pikya~piki*> /*piky ~piki*/ ‘plural, collectivity’ (having six different variations; cf. Lexicon in Appendix B). There are a number of derivational affixes to mark the formation of a new morpho-lexeme such as <-*po*> ‘± human, male’ and <-*m(i)*> [cf. -*mi* Kir nti-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* /c r.nuk/ urinate-NOM ‘urine’ derived from *tsArtstsA* /c rcc / (cf. *c rc m* ‘to pour or drop liquid on on certain place’ Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 458) ‘to urinate.’ Another exceptional prefix morpheme <ts -> as in *tsa-po* /c .po/ (cf. *cupp* Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 139) ‘pig-let’ derived from/prefixed to a free lexeme *po* /po/ ‘pig’ (cf. *pok* Kir nti-Ha; Shakya (1971: 92) has been discovered so far. It cannot be interpreted as diminutive marker since there are no other lexemes available productively. The first class of affixes like <-si> or <-ci> is a common and limitedly rare morpheme (as in examples (85) a-b and (86)) used as suffix for deriving nouns from verbs.

(84) *mekom ranphu dumsho mishyemuruke tsArnuk tsibnA bluinsho ba.*

m ko-m rãp<sup>h</sup>u                      dum-šo                      mišy muru-k ts rnuk tsibn blu -šo

that-LOC menstruation become-PCPL      woman-GEN urine drop                      sprinkle-  
PR:PCPL

b

AUX/EXT:is

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

[Text source: 3.15]

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

b. *tulsi /tul.si/* ‘uprooting’

(86) a. *deNsdesimin Tawa likh dzAmt.*

d ~:s-d ~:-si-mi-n                      T w lik<sup>h</sup> dz :-t ~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 Kir nti languages, e.g., Kir nti-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 Kir nti-Kõits. 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. [r :p ts] /r :p c/ (n.) ‘a catalyst’ derived from r :-p -c = 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 <-tik ~tik/t k ~t k, -b> as in,

(88) a. kur-tik~kur-b = v + NML ‘porter, one who carries’ derived from *kurtstsa* /kurc.c / = v+INF ‘to carry’, and in (89) d’u:-t k = v + NML ‘alcohol’ also obviously derived from d’u:ts ‘to get intoxicated’ figuratively.

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

m ko tãg            budi-n d’u:-t k -m            sus-p            ošy r k<sup>h</sup> l-š  
 that    plan/plot    like-PAR beer (fig.)-NML-LOC    much-ADV    poison mix-CONV  
 t i-t -m ~t -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 /- / at the end of the syllable and for verbs by dropping the infinitive marker and in place of the dropped marker by adding <-t k ~tik> and <-thri> (cf. example (61) l) or <-b> to the root of the verb.

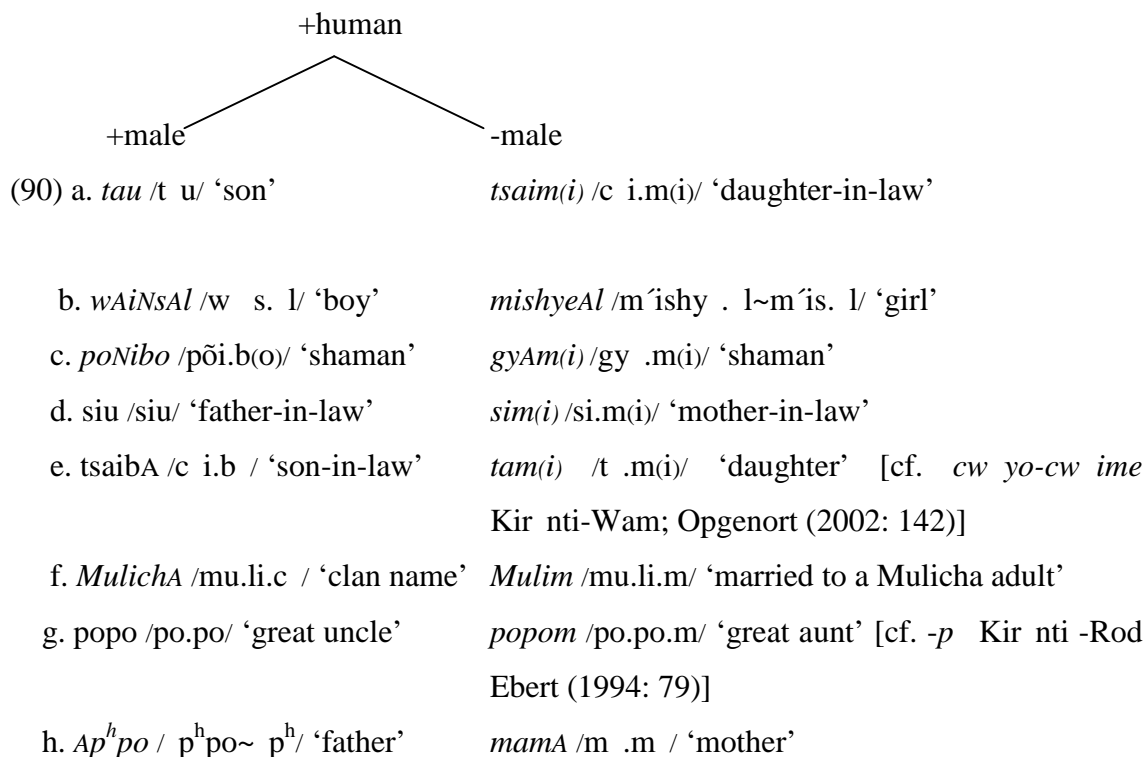
### 3.1.2.2 Semantic gender

Gender in Kir nti-Kõits (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, Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti languages as in examples 90 a-i and 91 a-d (Diagrams 2 and 3).

**Diagram 3.2: Human biological/natural gender in Kir nti-Kõits**

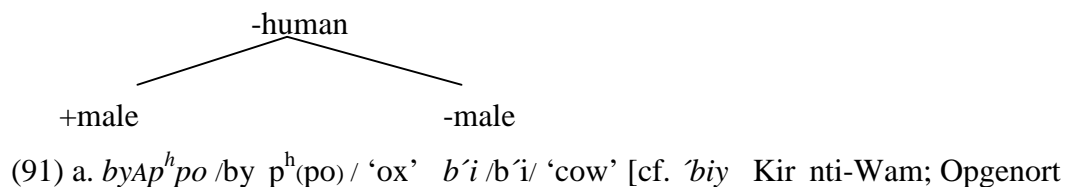


- i. *ngAwa* / w / ‘elder brother’    *ngAm(i)* / m(i) / ‘elder sister’ [alike in Kir nti-Thul but meaning ‘old man’ and ‘old woman’ Ebert (1994: 79)]

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 *wAInSAI* /w s. l/ ‘boy’ is a compounded form of *wAInS* ‘husband’ (literally) and *AI* / l/ ‘child’ (literally) and the same morphological process has undergone to its female counterpart on its right hand side as *mishye* /m’ishy / ‘wife’ and *AI* / l/ ‘child’ to mean ‘a girl’, where no separate lexemes (as in Kir nti-Rod (cf. Ebert 1994, 1997) are available.

In examples (91) b, c, d, *Am* / m/ ‘mother’ (cf. (90) h) has been compounded with its male counterpart to mean a female *bwAAm* /bw . m/ ‘a hen’, *rabAm* /r b. m/ ‘ewe’ and *dzoiAm* /dz(o). m/ ‘tigress’, whereas the case of (90) e is similar to (90) f and g exactly and (90) a, c, d, e and i partially. In addition to (90) f, *r ku* ‘adult male Kir nti’ R kum ‘adult female Kir nti’ is common with <-m> (a reduced form of <-m(i)> ‘female marker’ is cognate of other K(ir nti) languages like K-Ba <-mi> in e.g. *támi* ‘girl/daughter’ (Hodgson 1857: 353), K-Wam <-me> in e.g. *n ksomé* ‘n kso’s wife’ (Opgenort 2002: 142), K-Du <-me> in e.g. *so:l me* ‘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 Kir nti-Köits**



(2002: 88)]

- b. *bwA* /bw / ‘rooster’      *bwAAm* /bw . m/ ‘hen’  
 c. *rab* /r b/ ‘ram/sheep’      *rabAm* /r b. m/ ‘ewe’  
 d. *dz(j)oi* /dzoi/ ‘tiger’      *dzoiAm* /dz(o)i. m/ ‘tigress’  
 e. *khArbi* /k<sup>h</sup> rbi/ ‘peacock’      *khArbim* /k<sup>h</sup> r.bim/ ‘peahen’

In these examples (89) a-e on the right hand side, the female marker <- m/m> exceptionally does not infer either male or female for *kutsum* /ku.cum/ ‘dog’ (±male)<sup>25</sup>.

### 3.1.2.3 Number/person

Like many other Kir nti languages (Driem 1987, Ebert 1994, Rutgers 1998, Opgenort 2002) and Tankhul-Naga (Victor 1997), Kir nti-Kõits, 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 Kir nti-Kõits singular marker <- > [cognate of Kir nti-Belhare <- > 1SG (Ebert 1991: 75)] differs according to person (92) a-d as singular or dual markers (*nimp<sup>h</sup>A* /nimp<sup>h</sup> /, *As* / s/ commonly used in Okhaldhunga dialect and *nimsi*<sup>26</sup> /ni :.si/ 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/piky* ~*piki*/ (cf. 3.1.2.1).

(92) a. dz i-nu-                      vs.      t u-mi dz i-b( )

<sup>25</sup> Other similar process can be observed in the lexeme *poshye* /pošy / ‘pork’ [Text source: 2.13] compounded from *po* /po/ ‘pig’ and *shye* /šy / ‘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 *wAiNsAl wAiNsAl* (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 ky mpus l i-nu- l i-nu- ‘I go to the college, anyhow’ (Certainly, at any cost, emphasis added)) and non-main verb reduplicating languages and on this basis, Kir nti-Kõits 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.

<sup>26</sup> Borchers (1999: 25-30) providing the only dual marker /ni♥i/ (but /nimp<sup>h</sup> / 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 Kõits <ni♥i> is linked with this.”

- eat-NPST-1 SG ‘I eat’      son-ERG eat-NPST:3SG      ‘The son eats...’
- b. g -nu-                      vs.      t m-mi g -b  
 give-NPST-1 SG ‘I write’    daughter-ERG give-NPST:3SG ‘The d gives...’  
 [Text source: 1.128]
- c. soi-n -sku  
 send-NPST-1DU ‘we two send’
- d. dz .:-t -s ~s  
 arrive-PST-3DU ‘They two arrived’ [Text source: 1.9]
- (93) a. go-pik      dz -ini-ki  
 1:SG-PL    eat-NPST-1PL ‘we eat’
- b. m ko-pik dz -ini-m(i)  
 s/he-PL    eat-NPST-3 PL ‘They eat’

**Table 3.9: Person/number in Kir nti-Kõits (also cf. Appendix C)**

p/n	lexeme	gloss
1 SG	<i>go</i>	/go/ ‘I’ [cf. Kir nti-B <i>go</i> Driem 1991: 337; some Bahing speakers tend to use <i>gu</i> also]
1 DU and	<i>gonimphA~ s</i>	/gonimp <sup>h</sup> / ‘we (two)’ [cf. <i>nimphA</i> Kir nti-Wam and <i>nimpho</i> Kir nti-B ]
1 PL	<i>gopik</i>	/go.pik/ ‘we’
2SG	<i>goi~ge</i>	/goi~g / ‘you, thou’
2 DU	<i>goinimphA~ s~nimsi</i>	/goi~g nimp <sup>h</sup> ~ s~ni.:si/ ‘you (two)’
2 PL	<i>goi~gepik</i>	/goi~g pik/ ‘you’
3 SG	<i>meko&gt;mem&gt;me</i> <sup>27</sup>	/m ko>m .: >m / ‘s/he, it’

<sup>27</sup> All these forms are distal. Like in Kir nti-B .: yung, there are other distal forms like *h r* ‘s/he (singular)’ *h r nimph* ‘they (dual)’ *h r pik* ‘they (plural)’ and proximate forms like *eko* ‘s/he’ *konimph* ‘they (dual)’ *kopik* ‘they (plural)’ in Kir nti-Kõits also.

3 DU *meko>memniphA~ s~nimsi* /m ko>m .:nimp<sup>h</sup> ~ni.:si/ ‘s/he (they two)’  
 3 PL *meko>mempik* /m ko>m .:pik/ ‘they’

---

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

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

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

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

Like Bahing, Kir nti-Kõits also has distinct proximal forms in the third person pronouns, viz. *eNko* /  $\tilde{ko}$ / ‘s/he’ *eNko nimpha~nimsi* /  $\tilde{ko}$  *nimp<sup>h</sup>*  $\tilde{ni}:\text{.si}$ / ‘they two’ (dual), and *eNkopik* /  $\tilde{kopik}$ / ‘they’ (plural) and distal, viz. *hare mere* /  $h\ r\ m\ r$  / ‘s/he’, *hare mere nimpha~nimsi* /  $h\ r\ m\ r$  *nimp<sup>h</sup>*  $\tilde{ni}:\text{.si}$ / ‘they two’ (dual), and *hare merepik* /  $h\ r\ m\ r$  *pik*/ ‘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 Kir nti-Kõits. While discussing the genetic classification of Kir nti-Kõits earlier in Ch 1 § 1.3, we claimed that the language is a pronominalized one with evidence against Konow's classification of the language under 'non-pronominalized' one (also cf. Appendix C). We have cited the example from Kir nti-Limbu in § 1.3 and provided the equivalent Kir nti-Kõits example *tupnung*, /tup-nu- / 'strike/beat' <*tup*>, 'NPST:1SG' <-*nu*> and 'I' is <-*ng*> 'I beat/strike (you) I'. Such pronominal suffixes according to number and person are attached with verbs for dual and plural (cf. (92) a-d and (93) a-b) numbers also.

(94) a. <i>go</i>	/go/ 1SG	'I'
b. <i>go-nimpha</i>	/go.nimp <sup>h</sup> / 1DU	'we two'
c. <i>gopik</i>	/go.pik/ 1PL	'we'
d. <i>goi~ge</i>	/goi~g / 2SG	'you, thou'
e. <i>goinimpha</i>	/goi~g .nimp <sup>h</sup> / 2DU	'you two'
f. <i>goi~ge-pik</i>	/goi~g .pik/ 2PL	'you'
g. <i>meko &gt; mem</i>	/m ko > m :./ 3 SG	's/he, it'
h. <i>meko &gt; mem</i>	/m ko > m :.nimp <sup>h</sup> / 3DU	's/he two'
i. <i>meko &gt; mem</i>	/m ko > m :.pik/ 3 PL	'they'
j. <i>eNko</i>	/ ~ko/	's/he' (proximate)
k. <i>eNko nimpha~nimsi</i>	/ ~ko nimp <sup>h</sup> ~ni.:si/	'they two (dual, proximate)
l. <i>eNko-pik</i>	/ ~ko.pik/	'they' (plural, proximate)
m. <i>hare mere</i>	/h r m r /	's/he' (distal)
n. <i>hare mere nimpha~nimsi</i>	/h r m r nimp <sup>h</sup> ~ni.:si/	'they two' (dual, distal)
o. <i>hare merepik</i>	/h r m r pik/	'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 Kir nit-Kõits. Firstly, reduplicated forms of pronouns express reflexive meaning e.g., *go gonun g itsp inu* ‘I’m angry with myself’ and secondly there is an independent ‘frozen’ (cf. Ebert 1994: 52) morpheme *mmin* means ‘self’.

The lexeme *Ammin* / *mmin*/ ‘self’, which has also another synonymous reflexive *ANmai* /*ãm i*/ and the reflexive marker *-si* (cf. *-si* Kir nti-Lim and *-si* Kir nti-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 í-si-ti* /*go mmin ts í.si.ti*/

I:1SG REFL bathe-REFL-PST:1SG ‘I bathed myself.’

b. *meko-pik Ammin ts í-si-ta-me* /*m ko.pik mmin c í.si.t .m* /

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

### 3.1.2.4.3 Possessive pronouns

Like Kir nti-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 <-k > usually (±human) and <- > usually (+human) to the personal pronouns.

(96) a. *ã k<sup>h</sup>* [*ã-k k<sup>h</sup>* also is okay]

my house ‘my house’ [cf. Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort 2002:115-116]

b. *ã-k l(i)*

my-PAT ‘to me’

c. *ã-k*

my-GEN ‘mine’

d. *go- s-k*

1SG -DU-GEN ‘our<sup>DU</sup>,

e. go-ã -k

1SG-PL-GEN 'our<sup>PL</sup>' (ã -k 'ours')

f. goi nimp<sup>h</sup> ~ s~ni.:si-k

you DU 'of you two'

g. m ko nimp<sup>h</sup> ~ s~ni.:si-k

s/he DU 'of the two'

h. *meko AN-ke ru me`* /m ko ã.k ru m / 'That is my field.'

(97) a. ã-k k<sup>h</sup>yõp t n k b

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

b. go- s-k kyupth dz m-t

I-DU-GEN cap get.loss-PST:3SG 'Our<sup>DU</sup> cap got lost.'

c. -k raji rimšo b

our-GEN country good is:AUX/EXT:3SG 'Our country is beautiful.'

The possessive prefixes are as follows:

	<b>singular</b>	<b>dual</b>	<b>plural</b>
1st person	ã-	s-	ã -
2nd person	in-	goi s-	goi n-
3rd peson	m ko-	m ko s-	m ko n-

The second and third person SG, DU and PL can also be suffixed with the genitive morpheme <-k > 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), Kirn ti-Kõits 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* /˜ko/ ‘this’ [cf. *uko* Kir nti-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* /˜ko.pik/ ‘these’

b. ˜ko mur d m rimšo rin p ib .:t ‘This man stinks very bad.’

### 3.1.2.4.5.2 Remote pronouns

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

(99) a. *mekopik* /m kopik > m .:~/ ‘these’

b. *hare* /h r / ‘that’

c. m ko mur d t k dz mm ´?

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

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

### 3.1.2.4.5.3 Elevational pronouns

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

	+Animate, ±Human		Space, Location
(100) a. <b>high</b>	<i>hari meri</i>	/h ri m ri/	vs. <i>hari iri</i> /h ri iri/ ‘very up’
b. <b>level</b>	<i>hare mere</i>	/h r m r /	vs. <i>hare ere</i> /h r r / ‘very far’
c. <b>low</b>	<i>hayu muyu</i>	/h yu muyu/	vs. <i>hayu uyu</i> /h yu uyu/ ‘very down’

### 3.1.2.4.6 Interrogative pronoun

The following interrogative pronouns are discovered in the Kir nti-Kõits grammar:

(101) a. <i>teke</i>	/t k( )/	‘where’
b. <i>tek-lA</i>	/t kl /	‘from where’ [also <i>t l</i> in daily use]
c. <i>teker-lA</i>	/t k rl /	‘from around where’
d. <i>teko</i>	/t ko/	‘which one’
e. <i>doth</i>	/doth/	‘which way’ [also <i>dothh</i> in daily use]
f. <i>doth-lA</i>	/dothl /	‘from where’
g. <i>doth-ge</i>	/dothg /	‘in which direction’ [literal: ‘where’, ‘towards’]
h. <i>doth-sam</i>	/doths m/	‘where to’ [literal: ‘where’, ‘until’]
i. <i>su</i>	/su/	‘who’ [cf. <i>ʼsü</i> Kir nti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
j. <i>su-nu</i>	/sunu/	‘with who(m)’
k. <i>su-lA</i>	/sul /	‘from who(m)’
l. <i>su-ke</i>	/suk /	‘whose’ [cf. <i>süpo</i> Kir nti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
m. <i>doso</i>	/doso/	‘how many/much’
n. <i>su-kali</i>	/suk l(i)/	‘to whom’
o. <i>mA(a)r</i>	/m r > m r/	‘what’ [cf. <i>maang</i> Kir nti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
p. <i>mAr-mi</i>	/m rmi/	‘with what’ (instrumental, using something)
q. <i>mAr-mi</i>	/m rnu/	‘with what’ (associative, in the company or presence of somebody/soemething)
r. <i>dopA</i>	/dop /	‘how/in what way’
s. <i>mA-rlA</i>	/m rl /	‘from what’
t. <i>mArde</i>	/m ( )rd /	‘why’ [cf. <i>ʼmaane</i> Kir nti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
u. <i>marA</i>	/m r /	‘of what’
v. <i>markal(i)</i>	/m rk l(i)/	‘what for’ [cf. <i>ʼmaabi</i> Kir nti-Kh; Toba (1984: 13)]
w. <i>genA</i>	/g n /	‘when’

x. *genA-lA* /g n l / ‘from when’ [also *-l = l ~r* in daily use]

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

(102) *goi mul t t k t k l -y ?*

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* /m r im r i/ ‘anything’

b. *teitei* /t it i/ ‘anywhere’

c. *suisui* /suisui/ ‘anybody’

d. *genAigenAi* /g n ig n i/ ‘anytime’

e. *go t it i l -š b :-ti h n iyo goi-mi m r p i-n -y ?*

I anywhere go-CONV dwell if:COND you-ERG what do-NPST-3SG

‘What will you do wherever I go and dwell?’

#### 3.1.2.4.7.2 Negative indefinite

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

(104) a. *mAraiyo* /m r iyo/ ‘nothing, not at all’

b. *suiyo* /suiyo/ ‘nobody’

c. *tekeiyo* /t k iyo/ ‘nowhere’

d. *genAiyo* /g n iyo/ ‘never’

e. go mod b k<sup>h</sup>rislo: m r iyo m -tui-nu-  
 1SG such secrets nothing NEG-know-NPST-1SG  
 ‘I do not know anything about such secrets.’

#### 3.1.2.4.8 Relative pronoun

Unlike Tankhul-Naga (T-B, spoken in northeast India) *ci* ‘that’ (Victor 1997), there is no separate distinctive marker (cf. Zograph 1982: 188-189) for relative pronouns in the language, however, the demonstrative/3rd person-lexeme, *meko-n* /m ko.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* /l / ‘only’ functions as specifier or definitizer as in (105) b provided below.

- (105) a. goi-mi m l-šo dz t m ko-n m ‘  
 you-ERG need-ADJ thing that-EMPH is:AUX  
 ‘That is the thing that/which you want.’
- b. go l gy kosi l i-nu-  
 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 Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti 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 Kir nti-Kõits, 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 [Kir nti-Kh] as opposed to Gvozdanovi's (2004: 341-346; see examples (106) a-b) argument for ergative against agentive in Bantawa [Kir nti-Ban]. The case marker <-mi~m> /-mi~m/ (cf. Rung \**mi*, Idu *me* and Nocte *ma/me* (LaPolla 1995: 203)) plays different isomorphy semantic roles such as 'by' (agent-ergative ±human), 'with' (instrumental ±animate), 'at/in' (locative), 3sg/pl and ±human/-male as homophonous morpheme. For the same morpheme <-mi~m>, there exists another equivalent morpheme <- > /- / playing its roles as 'of' (loco-possessive), SEQ and honorific. Consider the following instances.

(106) a. *guye-mi sosmAl kyorts-tSA* /guy .mi sosm l kyorc.c /  
sickle-INST grass cut-INF 'to cut the grass with a sickle'

b. *go-mi ble-tik-mi brem-tA-ng* /gomi bl tikmi br :.t /

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

Comparatively, Konow's (in Grierson 1909: 200) data *-me* to mean agentive *-mi* is slightly different from my mother tongue intuition. This *me* /m / as a free morpheme in Kir nti-Kõits apparently means existential auxiliary/copula (e.g., *m ko mur su m* '?

‘Who is that man?’ cf. *-me* /-m / and as a bound morpheme in *m ko mur k<sup>h</sup> l -m* ‘? ‘Did the man go home?’). Additionally, the morpheme <m > is also a number marker (3SG) rather than denoting ‘agent’.

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

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

b. *meko wANisAl-mi aN-kali tup-tu* /m .ko wãi.s l.mi ã.k li tup.tu/

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

‘The boy beat me.’

c. *loab-∅ dzAm-ta* /lo b dz m.t /

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

d. *ngAwa-mi loab sAm-tu* / w .mi loab s m.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 <- >/- / 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 *-ng* mistranslated (?) as ablative).

(108) a. ...*rong-mi* /ro .mi/

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

b. *go khiN-mi bAm-nu-ng*/go k<sup>h</sup> .mi b :.nu. /

1SG house-LOC live-NPST-1SG ‘I live in the house.’

c. *eNko khiN-nga mur-pik tek la-mA?* / ~ko k<sup>h</sup> . mur t k l .m /

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

‘Where did the owner of this house go?’

d. *go khame dZA-shA-nga dumkhiN la-ti* /go k<sup>h</sup> .m dz .š . dum.k<sup>h</sup>i l .ti/

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

‘I went to the office having eaten rice.’

The sequential marker <- >/- / followed by the converbal pattern <-*shA*>/-š / in (108) d can function as conjunction when it is used as a reduced alternative pattern of the same converb. For instance, it is appropriate to say, *gom khame dzA-tA-ng nga dumkhiN la-ti* /gom k<sup>h</sup> .m dza.t . dum.k<sup>h</sup>i l .ti/ ‘I ate rice and went to the office’. Another important semantic role this bound morpheme <-*mi*> /-mi~m/ [cf. -*mi* Kir nti-Ba; Driem (1991: 343)] plays is that of a socio-pragmatic meaning ‘honorific third person plural’ given in example (108) a, and ‘third person singular’ in example (109) b.

- (109) a. *meko-piki-m- khame dzAi-ni-mi(i)* /m ko.piki.m k<sup>h</sup> m dz i.ni.mi/  
 s/he-PL-AGT rice eat-NPST-3PL ‘They eat rice.’  
 b. *Ap<sup>h</sup>po-mi tsirs hil-ni-m(i)* / p<sup>h</sup>po.mi cirs hil.ni.mi/  
 father-AGT millet grind-NPST-3sg:HON  
 ‘The father grinds the millet.’

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

- c. *go-∅ khame dzAi-nu-ng* /go k<sup>h</sup> m dz i.nu. / ‘I eat rice.’  
 1SG-∅ rice(cooked) eat-NPST-1SG  
 d. *go-mi blespat kA bre :-tA-ng* /gomi br s.p t k br .:t . / ‘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(≡) . m.mi/ ‘by a hen’  
 rooster-GEN-mother-AGT  
 b. *tam(i)-mi...* /t m(i).mi/ ‘by the daughter’  
 daughter-AGT

Additionally, <-mi~m> besides having poly-semantic roles, is also a free lexeme *mí* /m'í/ 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 Kir nti-Kõits grammar yet to be pinpointed by linguists. The only difference between the two (*mi* 'fire' and <-mi~m>) is that native speakers do not tend to drop out the final vowel /i/ (and appropriately cannot be dropped) in the former, whereas they/we usually do drop it out in the latter while communicating.

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

fire bring-3sg:IMP

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

fire-AGT burn-NPST:3sg

c. *go mi bra-th gAm-ti* /go mi br .th g :.ti/

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

'I went to bring fire.'

### 3.1.2.5.1.2 Ablative case <-l >

The morpheme <-l >, which has two more other variants (e.g. <-l > (also means 'four' as a lexeme) and <-r >; is cognate of *-lam* Kir nti-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... l pco.l /*

door-ABL 'from the door' [Text source: 1.16]

b. *mek-lA ... /m k.l /*

there-ABL 'from there'

c. *goi te-lA pi-y ? /goi t .l pi.y /*

2SG where-ABL come-2SG 'Where did you come from?'

d. *saring-lA reu i-b /s .ri .l r u i.b/*

- sky-ABL rain come-NPST:3sg ‘It rains from the sky.’  
 e. *go k<sup>h</sup>iN-lA pi-ti /go k<sup>h</sup> .l pi.ti/*  
 1SG house-ABL come-PST:1SG ‘I came from the house’

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

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

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

### 3.1.2.5.1.3 Dative case *<-k li~k l>*

Dative case in Kir nti-Kõits is marked by the morpheme *<-kali~kal> /-k li~k l/* (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) /m ko.k l(i)/*  
 him/her-DAT ‘to him/her’  
 b. *AN-kal(i) /ã.k l(i)/* ‘to/for me’  
 c. *go-mi meko-kal(i) poskArd soit-tA-ng /go.mi m ko.k l(i) posk rd soit.t . /*

1SG-ERG her-DAT pk send-PST-1SG

‘I sent her a postcard.’

d. *meko lAptso-kal(i)* .../m ko l p.co-k l(i)/

that door-DAT ‘...to that door’ [Text source: 1.15]

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

(115) a. *AN-kal itsikhio kal ge-yi-ni* /ã.k l ici.k<sup>h</sup>oi k l g .yi.ni/

my-DAT little porridge give-NPST:1SG:PL

‘Please give me a little porridge.’

b. *meko-kal kal ge-u(o)* /m .ko.k l k l g u(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 Kir nti-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* /m ko.pik.nu/

s/he-PL-COM (PSN) ‘with them’

c. ...eNko-nu... / ~ko.nu/

this-COM (PSN) ‘with this’ [Text source: 2.3]

- d. *go-nu kyet ma-bA* /go.nu ky t m .b /  
 1SG-COM (PSN) 'money NEG-is:AUX  
 'I don't have money (with me).'
- e. *go-m khame ja-sho-nu kumso-pA-tA-ng*  
 /go.m k<sup>h</sup> .m dz .šo.nu kum.so.p .t . /  
 1SG-ERG rice eat-PCPL-TEMP song-do-PST-1SG  
 'I sang (a song) while eating.'
- f. *meko Al-mi gyAkosi la-sho-nu khyoNpat kA khui-pAp-tu*  
 /m ko l.mi gy kosi l .šo.nu k<sup>h</sup>yõp t k k<sup>h</sup>ui.p p.tu/  
 that/the child-AGT market go-PCPL-TEMP book one/a thief-do-PST:3SG  
 'The child stole a book while going to the market.'

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

- (117) a. *Aphpo nu tau ji-mum-tA-se*  
 / p<sup>h</sup>po nu t u dzi.mum.t .s /  
 father and son fight-REC-PST-DU  
 'The father and the son fought each other.'
- b. *goi kumso nu shyil-pA-tSA lA dzo-na-ye*  
 /goi kumso nu šyil.p .c l dzo.n .y /  
 2SG song and dance-do-INF only know-NPST-3SG  
 'What you know is that singing and dancing only.'
- c. *dumkhiN lA-uo ngA am-ke ge pAu-o*  
 /dum.k<sup>h</sup> l .uo m.k g p u.o/  
 office go-3sg:IMP and own-GEN work do-3SG:IMP  
 'Go to the office and do your work.'
- d. *mek lAu-o ngA meko Al-kali gakingpA h'in-pat-o*

/m k l u.o m ko l.k li g k.ti .p h' .p t.o/  
 there go-3SG:IMP that child-PAT MAN frighten-CAUS-3SG:IMP  
 ‘Go there and frighten that baby terribly.’

In examples (117) c-d, can precede *min* as its constituent to mean ‘and then, sequential’ in the same string of sentences, e.g. *go dumkhiN latingamin Am ge pAtAng* /go dum.k<sup>h</sup> l .ti. .min m g p .t . / ‘I went to the office and then did my work’.

### 3.1.2.5.1.5 Allative case <-ge>

The bound morpheme <-ge> /-g / (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 gAm-ng-e?* /goi t k.g g .: /  
 2SG where-ALL walk-NPST-3SG ‘Where are you going (to)?’  
 b. *go pith-ge gAm-ti* /go pith.g g .:ti/  
 1SG thither-ALL walk-PST ‘I am going (to/towards) thither.’  
 c. *pisAng-ge...* /pi.s .g /  
 direction-ALL ‘...to/towards the direction’ [Text source: 3.26]  
 d. *go gyAkosi-ge gAm-ti* /go gy .ko.si.g g .:ti/  
 1SG market-ALL walk-PST  
 ‘I walked to/towards the market.’

Moreover, (<*ge~goi*> /g ~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* /g ~goi su n y /  
 2SG who be-AUX:2SG ‘Who are you?’ (*n y* ‘impolite’ *n ni* ‘polite’)  
 b. *goi tek ge pAi-na-ye?* /goi t k g p in y /

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> /- ~ -k ~ - / 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-> /- /- / ‘can normally be used with +human as in (120) a-c.

(120) a. *meko muru-A* /m ko muru. /

that man-GEN ‘of the/that man’

b. *A-m- A / -m- /*

GEN-mother/femininity-GEN

‘of the mother’

c. *AN-ke Am k<sup>h</sup>iN-mi ma-bAm-ma /ã-k m k<sup>h</sup>.mi m .b .:..m /*

my-GEN mother house-LOC NEG-be-NPST

‘My mother is/was not in the home.’

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

(121) a. *Am mamAlo genAiyo ma-pr(l'')eN-den*

/ m mam .lo g .n i.yo m .pr(}l) ~.d n/

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 m.k bl tik t k 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> /-k / (usually ±human) in place of <-A> /- / also delivers the meaning of possessiveness.

- (122) a. *meko-ke* /m .ko.k /  
 s/he-GEN ‘of his or her’
- b. *Sida kinya-ke...* /si.d ki.ky .k /  
 Sida grandfather-GEN  
 ‘Sida grandfather’s...’ [Text source: 2.27]
- c. *kyArsh-ke milu* /ky rš.k mi.lu/  
 goat-GEN tail ‘the goat’s tail/the tail of the goat’

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

- (123) a. *eNko khiN-nga* / ~ko k<sup>h</sup> . /  
 this house-LOC/GEN ‘of this house’
- b. *...kolsho Nepal-nga...* /kolšo n p l- /  
 big:ADJ N-LOC/GEN ‘...of the huge/big Nepal...’ [Text source: 4.23]
- c. *eNko k<sup>h</sup>iN-nga mur tek la-mA?* / ~ko k<sup>h</sup> mur t k l m /  
 this house-LOC:GEN man where go-NPST:3SG:HON  
 ‘Where did the men (murpik = mur *intended*) of this house go?’

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

- (124) a. *A mama* / m m /  
 3SG mother ‘his/her mother’
- b. *AN deN-sho bis-sho* /ã d ~.šo bis.šo/  
 1SG say-PCPL obey-IMP ‘Obey my advice.’
- c. *go-m A ne ma-tuit-tu* /go.m n m .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 Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti-Kõits**

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

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

In Kir nti-Kõits, the nominative-accusative (stated earlier ‘split/morphological-ergative; cf. examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c,) case particle is also marked with *-mi*, for instance, *go-mi...* (1SG-AGT) ‘by me’ or *Tsursi-mi...* (tsursi-AGT) ‘...by Tsursi’ with all past transitive verbs, whereas NPST as in *go-ø k<sup>h</sup> m dz i-nu-* (1SG rice eat-NPST-1SG) ‘I eat rice’ remains unmarked. The vocative markers are: / i/ and / u/ as illustrated in (125) a-b,

- (125) a. oi      õth      n -n      d      i  
 INTJ    here    listen-IMP TOP VOC  
 ‘Hey! Listen (to me) here.’
- b. m m t k      g .:-ni                      u  
 mother where go-PST:3SG:HON VOC  
 ‘Mom! Where are you going?’

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

Case	form(s) of suffix
1. Genitive	-ke, -ya <sup>28</sup>
2. Object case/ “accusative”	-kali
3. Subject case/ “instrumental”	-mi, -m, -ami <sup>29</sup>
4. Locative	-mi, -am, -ami, -m, -
5. Inessive	-wina
6. Ablative	-le
7. Vocative	-yau, -au, -u, -ei
8. Dative	-mla <sup>30</sup>

### 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

<sup>28</sup> -ya must actually might be - only

<sup>29</sup> go- mi (rather go- mmin) ‘I myself’ [I added]

<sup>30</sup> Cf. m ko-m-l ‘by him/her only’. This information is my own as a native speaker of Kir nti-Kõits. Another way of expressing -m-l is - mmin as in go mmin ‘I myself’ and m ko mmin ‘s/he himself/herself’.

beginning of her research period from K bu 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.

Borchers' (1998: 5) *-ya* is only <- > in my dialect area. The *-ami* suffix (instrumental and locative probably as in *go- mi* (rather *go- mmin*) 'I myself' *I added*) needs reanalysis. Her object case/ "accusative"-*kali* and dative *-mla* [probably as in *m ko-m-l* 'by him/her only' *I added*] in Table 3.11, serial number 3, where all these variations mean the same grammatical meaning not different. Number 5's *-wina* [probably must be *h yu uyu~ui-*<sup>31</sup>: below-LOC:POSS/GEN 'of below down'] presumed to be inessive or adessive (like in Finno-Urgic) is loco-genitive (-animate) in my dialect area.

The allative (destination, goal; elative/illative as in Finnish) marker <-ge> /-g / '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 Kir nti-Kõits. 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 /l ~r /* 'from' besides *-la* only in Table 3.11. Suffixes such as *-nu* and -

<sup>31</sup> Cf. other deictic expressions; *h ri iri > ir* (high:LOC: vertical), *h yu uyu > ui* (low:LOC: vertical), *h r r /m r* (level:LOC: horizontal) and *h yu muyu* (low:LOC: vertical)

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 Kir nti 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 *-* also has a near isomorphic relationship with genitive and sometimes functions as *-mi* and sometimes as *-k* or *-* (cf. (107) c-d, (120) b, (121) a-c and (122) a-c).

Apart from genitive *<-ke> /-k / '±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 grammaticalization of the Kir nti-Kõits case particles such as (111) a-c *mi* (n) 'fire' (113) a-d *la* (adj, adv, conj) 'only', (115) a-b *k l* (n) 'porridge', (117) a-b *nu* (conj) 'and', (117) c-d *ngA* (conj) 'and'<sup>32</sup>, (119) a *ge~goi* (prn) 'you, thou, thee' (119) b *g* (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 + k li in (126) a-b) and pronouns (e.g., Pro + -k li + -nu in (127) a-c), in the language can further attach to verbs and nominalized (e.g., V+ k li and the nominalized form *kur-b-k li*) category as shown in (128) a-c.

(126) a. *paku-kali* /p ku.k li/

<sup>32</sup> also means 'five' in some dialects instead of



- b. ma-pa-thu /m .p .thu/  
NEG-do-NML:PUR ‘without doing’
- c. ma-gA.: -thu /m .g .: .thu/  
NEG-walk-NML:PUR ‘without walking’
- d. ma-la-thu /m .l .thu/  
NEG-go-NML:PUR ‘without going’
- e. ma-soit-thu /m .soit.thu/  
NEG-send-NML:PUR ‘without sending’

There is a semantically related nominal *kaiNtsika* /k .ci.k / ‘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 itsik<sup>h</sup>oi ky t b  
1SG-ASS a little money is:AUX  
‘I do not have money with me.’
- b. ã-k t mi go-nu dumk<sup>h</sup> l i-b  
1SG-GEN daughter 1SG-ASS office go-NPST:3SG  
‘My daughter goes to the office with me.’

### 3.1.2.6.3 Postposition <-hōiti>

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

(131) a. m ko k<sup>h</sup> -k hōiti b .:-b

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

‘He sits in front of the house.’

b. go in-k hōiti-l g .:-ti

1SG your-GEN

‘I walked in front of you.’

c. *khin dzAmtsA tsishonu khin mo(hō)iti wAshrelu nu nemthA-gu:thA .:wA/bwA tAmtAse.*

k <sup>h</sup> dz .:-c	tsi-šo-nu	k <sup>h</sup>	mo(hō)iti	w šr lu nu
house arrive-INF dare-PR:PCPL-TEMP		house	in.front	rainbow and
n .:th -gu:th .:w /bw	t .:-t s~t s			
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 <nol ~m r( )>

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

- (132) a. nol nol k<sup>h</sup>ois-š 1 -ts  
 after after follow-CONV go-INF  
 ‘to go having followed on the back of someone’
- b. nol -la p<sup>h</sup>uilu p-ts  
 behind-ABL stone shoot-INF  
 ‘to shoot stone from behind’
- c. tsink -nol go -ts plo -t -  
 while/moment after 1SG weep-INF leave-PST-1SG  
 ‘After a while I stopped weeping.’
- d. ã-k -nol su pi-m´ ?  
 1SG-GEN-after who come-PST:3SG  
 ‘Who came after me?’ (Who is following me?)

### 3.1.2.6.5 Postposition < d t >

The postposition (also adverb) d t ‘in the middle of, among’ indicates something located in the middle of or among something, for instance,

- (133) a. mur- n-k d t -mi b .:-ts n  
 man-PL-GEN middle-LOC sit-INF HRS (HRS = hearsay)  
 ‘...should sit in the middle of men’, it is said.

### 3.1.2.6.6 Postposition < t r(i)~g th~ir(i)>

Lexemes like t r(i) ~ ‘near, on top of’ ~ g th ~ ir(i) ‘, above, far above’ mark a place on top of something or higher point of something, e.g.,

- (134) a. m ko l ptso-k t r(i)  
 that door-GEN up/on ‘on the top of that window’
- b. h ri ir(i)-l r u i-t

far.up-ABL rain come-PST:3SG

‘It rained from very far up/above.’ (...but not exactly for the sky)

### 3.1.2.6.7 Postpositions of side

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

(135) a. <i>tsi</i>	/ci/	‘on the side, next to’
b. <i>ekere</i> <sup>33</sup>	/k r /	‘on this side’
c. <i>eke nu meke</i>	/k nu m k /	‘hither and thither’
d. <i>oNth</i>	/õth/	‘hither’
e. <i>oNth-g nu pith-g</i>	/õth.g nu pith.g /	‘towards hither and towards thither’
f. <i>er-oNth~n ll -g</i>	/r-õth ~n ll -g /	‘roundabout’
g. <i>mekere</i> <sup>34</sup>	/m k r/	‘there’
h. <i>moth</i>	/moth/	‘thither, if so’
i. <i>ir</i>	/ir/	‘up, above’
j. <i>ir-i</i>	/ir.i/	‘very up’
k. <i>h ri iri</i>	/h ri ir.i/	‘on the far ‘upper side’
l. <i>luts</i>	/luc/	‘below, down’
m. <i>l’uts-u</i>	/l’uc.u	‘very below’
n. <i>AN-k m k r wAis-sho obis su-mi ba-wA?</i> /ãk m k r w isšo obis su.mi b w /		
		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 ‘horizontalilty, upward and down’ level are given in (136) a-d.

<sup>33</sup> Other reduced forms of *ekere* are *eker* and *ek* and *e* is nasalized ( ~ ) quite often in spoken form.

<sup>34</sup> Other reduced forms of *mekere* are *meker* and *mek*, however there is a regional dialect *mekye* also.

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

[cf. *py ttho~py t Kir nti -Wam*; Opgenort (2002: 178)]

b. *g tth ~g th* ‘above, up, upwards; at a higher level’

[cf. *g ttho~g t Kir nti -Wam*; Opgenort (2002: 178)]

c. *ui* ‘far below’

d. *h yu uyu* ‘very far below, downwards; at a lower level’

[cf. *hy ttho~hy t Kir nti-Wam*; Opgenort (2002: 178)]

### 3.1.2.6.9 Postposition <-g >

The marker *-gA /-g /* conveys the meaning of ‘inside’, ‘outside’ suffixed to *khiN- /k<sup>h</sup> -/* ‘house’ and *lang- /l -/* something like ‘out’. Compare the examples (134) a-b.

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

*/r u i.t n go l n.g m .l i.nu. /*

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

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

b. *tsilA pAp-tu-ngana khin-gA ong-o /cil p p.tu. n k<sup>h</sup>i g o .o/*

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

‘Get inside the house if the lightning occurs.’

### 3.1.2.6.10 Postposition <-tsi >

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

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

*/goi k<sup>h</sup> .ci.m b .:s m r p .n.p .n b .:.. /*

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

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

### 3.1.2.6.11 Postposition <n mth >

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

- (139) a. *meko-ke khiN aN-ke nemthA-n bA* /m ko.k k<sup>h</sup> ā.k n :.th .n b /  
 3SG-GEN house my-GEN near-EMPH is  
 ‘His/her house is near by my house.’

### 3.1.2.6.12 Postposition <-g >

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

- (140) a. *go khiN-ge dort-ti* /go k<sup>h</sup> .g dort.ti/  
 1SG house-towards run-PST:1SG  
 ‘I ran towards the house.’

### 3.1.2.6.13 Postposition <-s m>

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

- (141) a. *go goi-kali dzom-sho-sam shyen-nu-ng* /go goi.k li dzi...šo.s m šy .nu. /  
 1SG 2SG-DAT know-PCPL-as.far.as teach-NPST-1SG  
 ‘I teach you as far as I know.’

### 3.1.2.6.14 Postposition <-nu, k tha>k th>

The alternative bound morphemes *-nu, kAtha>kAth /-nu, k tha>k th/* ‘together with, with’ conveys the meaning of accompaniment, a meaning which can also be

conveyed by means of the comitative marker (cf. § 3.1.2.5.1.4) and consider the following.

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

### 3.1.2.7.15 Postposition <duli>

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

- (143) a. *meko mur-piki ANke duli-m bom-te-me* /m ko mur.pik ãk duli.m bo:.t .m/  
 that man-PL my against-LOC rise-PST-3PL  
 ‘They arose against me.’

### 3.1.2.6.16 Postposition <-k >

The bound suffix *-kenga* /-k / ‘than’ is an expression of a comparison between two or more entities like (144) a.

- (144) a. *rentse-kenga sentse lais-sho ba* /r nc .k s nc l is.so b /  
 Resce-than Sence tall:ADJ is:AUX/EXT  
 ‘Rence is taller than Sence.’

### 3.1.2.6.17 Postposition <-k li>

The postpositional bound suffix *-kali* /-k li/ ‘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* /dz .c .k li ge.p c / ‘to work for eating’. Consider (145) a.

- (145) a. *go-m goi-kali wAk pit-tA-ng* /go-m goi-k li w k pit.t . /  
 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 Kir nti-Kõits grammar as a whole.

#### 3.1.2.7.1 The Marker <yo>

This phrasal suffix and (also) a free lexeme *yo* /yo/ ‘also, too, even’ (cf. *-y* ~ *-i* Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 191, *ye* ~ *ya* ~ *y* Kir nti-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-dzom-nu-ng/go yo p .c .m .dzo:.nu. /*

1SG also do-INF NEG-know-NPST-1SG

‘Even I also do not know how to do it.’

b. *mekerlAi yo Tharmalung-Tharsilung, mekerlA Yarmalung dzAmtAse.*

m k r-l -i yo Th r m lu -Th r silu m k r-l Y r m lu dz .:-t -s ~s

there-SRC-PAR also T T there-SRC:ABL Y arrive-PST-2DU

‘Also from Jammu-Kashmir, they arrived to Tharmalung-Tharsilung, and from there to Yarmalung.’ [Text source: 1.11]

#### 3.1.2.7.2 The marker <-n>

This phrasal suffix *-n* /-n/ (See Text source: 1.23, 24, 29, 37, 40, 46 etc.) is normally suffixed with the similaritive marker <mod b-> or <k<sup>h</sup>od b-> yielding ‘exactly, precisely and also emphatic particle’, like

(147) a. *go yo modeban phurkal gyAp-nu-ng /go yo mo.d b .n p<sup>h</sup>ur.k l gy p.nu. /*

1SG also such football buy-NPST-1SG

‘I also buy a football exactly like that one.’

b. *kAlengA solum kAleka lA romsib masogenngA lAptso Paiwa nu Dunglewake  
glumAts glumeken tsomsime bAmt.*

k l - solu-m k l -k l ro.: -sib m sogen- l ptso  
P iw nu  
once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and  
Du l w -k glum ts glu-m k -n tso.: -si-m b .: -t ~t  
D-GEN family come.out: INF-PAR close-MV:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The only once opening door of virtue for one time’s sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out.’ [Text source: 1.17]

### 3.1.2.7.3 The marker <l >

This phrasal suffix or free lexeme *lA l /* in Kir nti-Kõits discourse is used to exclude other participants as shown in (148) a-c.

(148) a. *go la gyAkosi lati /go l gy .kosi l .ti/*

1SG only market go-PST:1SG

‘I only went to the market (excludes others).’

b. *gAits sAmtik thunpA rippAngAmin mosho soshyo bakyapat/bospat shyoklo  
gupshA rabgyobbikali blengngAbleng y’utsA lA mAr gosho bAmme  
bakyapata/bospatke shyoklo blo:lshA peperu nelle blalAtsilA dumshA pinda bub’u  
dumta.*

g its s m-tik th p rip-p - -min mošo sošyo  
anger loose-NML mind.do:ADV intend-do:CONV-SEQ-then that.much dry:ADJ  
b ky p t šyoklo gup-š r bgyombi-k li bl - -bl y’u:-ts  
trumpet.flower pod pick up-CONV shepherd-ACC ONO:manner.of.beating beat-  
INF  
l m r go-šo b .: -m b ky p t/bosp t - šyoklo

only what start-PR:PCPL AUX:PST:3SG trumpet.flower-GEN pod  
 blol-š p p ru n ll bl l tsil dum-š pind bub'ú  
 break(itself)- CONV white/flower all scattered:ADJ become-CONV floor white  
 dum-t  
 become-PST:3SG

‘Intending to pacify his (the priest’s) anger, he started beating up the shepherd heavily picking up the sword-shaped and dried trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*); meanwhile it broke and the floor became full of scattered white trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) flower.’ [Text source: 3.47]

c. *kaAlengA solum kaAleka lA romsib masogenngA lAptso Paiwa nu Dunglewake glumAts glumeken tsomsime bAmt.*

k l - solu-m k l -k l ro.:-sib m sogen- l ptso  
 P iw nu  
 once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and  
 Du l w -k glum ts glu-m k -n tso.:-si-m b .:-t ~t  
 D-GEN family come.out: INF-PAR close-MV:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The only once opening door of virtue for one time’s sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out.’ [Text source: 1.17]

### 3.1.2.7.4 The theme/topic marker <d >

The theme or topic marker *da* <d > provides a background information or point of departure for the following piece of information and indicates a slight contrastive nuance as in examples (149) a-e.

(149) a. *mekere da lAN-n dzAm-ta /m k .r d lā.n dz m.t /*

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

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

b. *go da malAinung* /go d m .l i.nu. /

1SG TOP NEG-go-NPST-1SG

‘I do not go (you go).’

c. *mothad enko ge patsA madumba* /moth d ~ko g p .c m .dum.b /

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

‘If so we should not do this work.’

d. *mekokali thinneken nA.:somi thunthunmi mimtAu, “on shyAn! Eko rabgyombim da gethsiri nu lutssiri pawAnu tsuintsephurki tholonggAsam er-ottha pAib mur me. eko madzAm tasho bAme mai modeb phu! kAleka hillopasha kongu”.*

m ko-k li thin-n -k n n .:so-mi th -th -mi mim-t u,  
 s/he-PAT meet-INF-PAR priest-AGT mind-RED-LOC think-PST:3SG  
 “õ šyã! ~ko r bgyombi-m d g thsiri nu lutssiri p -w -nu  
 “O yeah! this shephard-AGT PAR up.summer and down.winter do-NPST:3SG-  
 TEMP  
 tsu ts p<sup>h</sup>urki tholo g -s m r-õth p i-b mur m ‘. ~ko m dzd -m  
 high.altitude inner.plain-till thither-hither do-NML man is. this fucker-AGT  
 t -šo b -m m i mod b p<sup>h</sup>u! k l -k hillo-p -š  
 see-PR:PCPL AUX-NPST:3SG Q:PAR<sup>35</sup> such flower time-one ask-do-  
 CONV  
 ko- u”  
 see-NPST:1SG

‘While meeting him (the shepherd) the priest immediately thought, “ O yeah! This fucker shepherd goes to the jungle (high altitude) during summer and down in the

<sup>35</sup> Question particle as in (a) *m ko muru k<sup>h</sup> l bb m i ?* ‘Will that man return home?’ (uncertainty/probability)

inner plain during winter. He certainly might have seen such flower! Let me ask him once.” [Text source: 3.30]

e. *yAmkA ngakodzisho tellep rabgyombim denta, “go tuitstsA da tuinung shyeng moshyed dentsA magArba.”*

y m-k        kodz'išo    t ll p    r bgyombi-m        d ~-t ,        “go tuits-ts  
 while-one    confused:ADJ    cunning shepherd-AGT        say-PST:3SG I know-INF  
 d        tui-nu                šy        mošy d        d ~:-c        m -g r-b ”  
 PAR    know-NPST:1SG    but        in.vain        say-INF        NEG-agree-  
 NPST:3SG

‘The cunning and confused shepherd having after a while said, “I know but it cannot be revealed without any charge.’ [Text source: 3.32]

### 3.1.2.7.5 The contrastive topic marker <-c n>

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

(150) a. *go tsan ma-lAi-nu-ng* /go.c n m .l i.nu. /

1SG PAR NEG-go-NPST-1SG

‘I do not go (you go).’

b. *Phenetsan kumso paiba munu Renetsa shyilpaiba*

/ph n .c n kumso.p i.b munu r n .c n šyil.p i.b /

Phene-CT song-do-NPST-1sg then Rene- CT dance-do-NPST-3sg

‘Phene sings then Rene dances.’

### 3.1.3 Adjectivals and adverbials

Both adjectives and adverbs (§ 3.1.3.1 and § 3.1.3.2, also cf. Appendix C) are modifiers. A ‘modifier’ is any category, which serves to add semantic information to

that provided by the head of the category within which it is contained, such as an adjectival within an N(oun) P(hrase) or an adverbial within a V(erb) P(hrase) i.e. adjectivals and adverbials are two main modifiers.

There are several languages like English in which adjective, as a word class, are quite different from nouns and verbs. However, what is being disputable, is distinction, and the criteria that can be used for defining or describing it. Victor (1997: 103) paraphrasing Lyons (1966) addresses the problem that the exact relationship between adjectiveness on the one hand, and other categories like nouns, verbs and adjectives on the other, has thus been one of the highly disputed issues in linguistics and other related studies. While Plato and Aristotle treated adjs as a subclass of verbs, Alexandrians regarded them as subclass of nouns.

Logicians have generally retained the former view, but a dispute yet, persists among them, viz., as to whether adjectives are to be regarded as predicates proper or only as truncated NPs, which function as predicates. Moreover, Bhat (1994: 18) observes, “Indians grammarians like Panini and Patanjali...found it unnecessary (or rather impossible) to differentiate between modifiers ( i e a as) and the modified ( i e yas) 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 Kir nti-Khaling (Toba 1984), adjectives in Kir nti-Kõits are derived from verb stems mainly with the participle suffix morpheme <-šo~šyo> as shown in examples (§ 3.1.3.1.1) besides lexical adjectives (§ 3.1.3.1.3). These derivational adjectives can mainly be preceded by intensifier particles like *omo*

/omo/ ‘this much (proximate)’ and *momo* /momo/ ‘that much (distal)’ for describing the size of the referent objects (§ 3.1.3.1.2).

### 3.1.3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives as we discussed earlier in § 3.1.3, display their grammatical characteristics often are “attributive position (a big house), predicate position (That house is big), comparison (bigger, biggest) and inflection for gender, number and case as required by agreement with, or government by” (Trask 1993: 8), however, in Kir nti-Kõits, attributive position (k T<sup>h</sup> b k<sup>h</sup> ‘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 l k šyil-p -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 Kir nti languages have very few basic adjectives and in Kir nti-Kõits, adjectives are normally derived from verbs by suffixing <-šo~šyo> which is also the participle form of verbs. Consider the examples (151) a-h.

- (151) a. *sisisho* /si.si.šo/ cold:ADJ [Text source: 1.27]  
 b. *gyosho* /gyo.šo/ ADJ:long [Text source: 1.32]  
 c. *horsho* /hor.šo/ trouble:ADJ [Text source: 1.72]  
 d. *soshyo* /so.šyo/ dry:ADJ [Text source: 3.47]  
 e. *rimsho* /rim.šo/ ‘good, clean, beautiful’  
 f. *d’usho* /d’u.šo/ ‘drunk, drunkard’  
 g. *tsinuyo helsho thebsendAm temtu*, “*enko Anke ‘pAimakh’ me’; go Rumdali nang.*”

tsinu-yo      h l-šo      th bs ʔd -m t m-tu,      “ ʔko ʔā-k  
 ‘p im k<sup>h</sup>me’;    again/still-also heavy-ADJ    big.voice-LOC    add-PST:3SG    this I-  
 GEN area is:AUX go    Rumd li<sup>36</sup> n - ”  
 1SG    R      AUX-1SG

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

h. *meko sus barssho salAphAins bAmt.*

m ko sus      b rs-šo s l p<sup>h</sup> s      b .:-t ʔt  
 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 Kir nti-Kh (Toba 1984: 31) is from negation as in (152) a.

(152) a. *marimsho* /m .rim.šo/ ‘not good i.e. bad’

### 3.1.3.1.2 Derivational adjective intensifiers

To most of the derivational and usually lexical adjectives (except for colour adjectives), intensifiers like *omo* and *momo* are added before them for emphasis as shown in examples (153) a-i.

- (153) a. *omo kol-sho*      /omo kol.šo/  
           INTS big:VR-ADJ      ‘this much big’ [4.23]  
 b. *omo domsho*      /omo dom.šo/  
           INTS fat:VR-ADJ      ‘this much fat’  
 c. *omo lAis-sho*      /omo l is.šo/  
           INTS tall:VR-ADJ      ‘this much tall’  
 d. *momo gyo-sho*      /mo.mo gyo.šo/

<sup>36</sup> The third morpheme ‘-li’ (sometimes <-ge>; as in Bahinge also) of 1.92 and elsewhere in this text is also an adjectivizer morpheme of the I-A (Indic) Khas>N, is widely used in the word-formation of the Kir nti languages such as *Dilpali*, *Nechali*, *Phangduwali*, *Sun(u)wari*, *Bahinge*, *Chamlinge* etc. which obviously is one of the examples of language shrinkage (Abbi 1992: 39-49) emerged from lanaguage contact and areal pressure.

	INTS long:VR-ADJ	‘that much long’
e.	<i>momo rim-sho</i>	/mo.mo rim.šo/
	INTS good:VR-ADJ	‘that much beautiful’
f.	<i>momo ma-rim-sho</i>	/mo.mo m .rim.šo/
	INTS NEG-good:VR-ADJ	‘that much bad’
g.	<i>momo gyurs-sho</i>	/mo.mo gyurs.šo/
	INTS sour:VR-ADJ	‘that much sour’
h.	<i>momo so:-sho</i>	/mo.mo so:.šo/
	INTS dry:VR-ADJ	‘that much dry’
i.	<i>momo sus kyet</i>	/mo.mo sus ky t/
	INTS money:ADV N	‘that much money’

These intensifier particles in phrases can undergo reduplication for extra emphasis. Moreover, all derivational and lexical adjectives are subject to reduplication for semantic purposes. Exceptionally, there is a lexeme having /so/ as in *kumso* (n) ‘song’ (See lexicon), which is homophonous to <-šo> of *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.	<i>mon</i>	/mon/	‘far’
b.	<i>monin</i>	/monin/	‘very far’
c.	<i>Theb</i>	/T <sup>h</sup> b/	‘big’
d.	<i>imitstsili</i>	/imi.cci.li/	‘small’
e.	<i>ker mur</i>	/k r mur/	‘a dark man’
f.	<i>lal khap</i>	/l l k <sup>h</sup> p/	‘red soil’
g.	<i>syetthi &gt; shyeth</i>	/šy thi > šy th/	‘empty’

h. <i>khadits</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> .dic/	‘clever’	[Text source: 1.102]
i. <i>lo:li</i>	/lo:li/	linguistic:ADJ	[Text source 1.5]
j. <i>thirmAkhet</i>	/thir.m .k <sup>h</sup> t/	tired:ADJ	[Text source 3.28]
k. <i>salAphAiNs</i>	/s l p <sup>h</sup> s/	atrocious:ADJ	[Text source 4.3]

### 3.1.3.1.4 Adjectives of shape or size

Adjectival intensifiers (See § 3.1.3.1.2) function as shapes or sizes of an object such as *omo kolshyo reb* /mo.mo kolšyo r b/ ‘this much big potato’. Consider the examples (155) a-d.

(155) a. <i>omo</i>	/o.mo/	‘related to size’
b. <i>momo</i>	/mo.mo/	‘realtd to size’
c. <i>imitstsili ~ i(o)mtsili</i>	/i.mic.ci.li ~ i(o).mci.li/	‘small’
d. <i>Thebe &gt; Theb</i>	/T <sup>h</sup> b > T <sup>h</sup> b/	‘big’

### 3.1.3.1.5 Colour adjectives

There are basically, six colour names in Kir nti-Kõits. The term *Tigeng* /Tig / is a synonymus generic word of *phur* /p<sup>h</sup>ur/ and *j(dz)ir* /dzir/, which signifies ‘colour’ and the following specific colour names and their intensifiers have been found in the language.

(156) a. <i>lal</i> /l l/	‘red’
<i>lal-A</i> /l l. /	
red- INTF	‘very red’
b. <i>ker</i> /k r/	‘black’ [cf. <i>kekem</i> Kir nti-Kh; Toba (1984: 31)]
<i>ker-A</i> /k r. /	
black- INTF	‘very black’
c. <i>gig</i> /gig/	‘green’ [cf. <i>gigim</i> Kir nti-Kh; Toba (1984: 31)]
<i>gig-i</i> : /gig.i:/	

- green-INTF ‘very green’
- d. *bus* /bus/ ‘white’ [cf. *bubum* Kir nti-Kh; Toba (1984: 31)]  
 bu-bu: /bu.bu:/  
 white-INTF ‘very white’
- e. *pulu* /pulu/ ‘grey’ (lit. ‘ash’)
- f. *hau* /h u/ ‘yellow’ (lit. ‘gold’)

### 3.1.3.1.6 Taste adjectives

The following adjectives of taste (157) a-j have been discovered in the language and an adverbial particle *sAppA* /s pp / ‘something like very’ can be prefixed to the words describing taste in almost all instances as follows.

(157) a. <i>milomilo</i>	/mi.lo.mi.lo/	‘delicious taste’
b. <i>blosho</i>	/blošo/	‘tasty’
c. <i>sAppA blosho</i>	/s pp blošo/	‘too much tasty’
d. <i>kasho</i>	/k šo/	‘bitter’
e. <i>kakA</i>	/k k :/	‘bitter’ (used also as a particle <i>kakA</i> [Text source: 1.25])
f. <i>gy(dz)urssho</i>	/gyu(dz)rs.šo/	‘sour’ [cf. <i>jujur</i> Kir nti-Kh; Toba (1984: 31)]
g. <i>itsiitsi gyurssho</i>	/i.ci.i.ci gyurs.šo/	‘a little bit sour’
h. <i>sAppA gyurssho</i>	/s pp gyurs.šo/	‘very sour’
i. <i>dzidz</i>	/dzidz/	‘sweet’
j. <i>dzidz-i</i>	/dzi.dzi/	‘very sweet’

All these lexical and derived adjectives can fully be reduplicated, e.g., *lal lal* /l l l l/ ‘red red’ (excludes *ker* /k r/ ‘black’) and *rimsho rimsho* /rimso rimso/ ‘good good’ (excludes *marimsho* /m rimšo/ ‘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 Kir nti-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., -p , -nu, dop iyo, - , -s m etc. in Kir nti-Kōits are affixed to nominal or verbal roots, or by more complex syntactic (or sentential) constructions as shown below.

- (158) a. rimšo-p g .:-ko  
           good-ADV walk-IMP ‘walk carefully’  
       b. rip-p       dor-o  
           quick-ADV run-IMP ‘run quickly’

Other related forms of adverbs are: *nganAiyo* / n iyo/ ‘though’, *sAppA* /s pp / ‘very’ *mulaiyo* /mul iyo/ ‘still, yet’, *dopAiyo* /dop iyo/ ‘anyway, anyhow’, *dopA* /dop / ‘how’ [Text source: 3.33], *teko* /t ko/ ‘which’, *mopatike* /mop tik / ‘therefore’ (introduces the logical result of something that has just been mentioned [Text source: 3.16]), *gis* /gis/ (also /došo/) ‘how much’, *domo kolsho* /domo kolšyo/ ‘how big’,

*khodesho* /k<sup>h</sup>od šo/ (also *budi* as in *tsentsebudi kolsho* ‘As big as Tsentse...’) ‘like, as’ and *tekere*<sup>37</sup> /t k r / ‘where’, *teitei* ‘everywhere’, *suisui* ‘everyone/every being’.

There is an infix morpheme *-ngA* /- /, which helps to derive adverbial continuation of action infixed between the two verb roots, e.g., *lasngAlasi* /l s l si/ ‘going without pausing’, *pasngApasi* /p s p si/ ‘doing without pausing’, *gasngAgasi* /p s g si/ ‘walking without pausing’ and so on. Moreover, *-sam* /-s m/ (cf. § 3.1.2.6.13) ‘until’ can be suffixed to time adverbials for deriving ‘duration’ such as *mulsam* /muls m/ ‘until now’, *sinAtsam* /sin ts m/ ‘until yesterday’, *disAsam* /dis s m/ ‘until tomorrow’, *nithnAtsam* /nithn ts m/ ‘until the following day’, *sAithotsesam* /s ithoces m/ ‘until the last year’.

Comparative and superlative adverbials can be expressed through *rippA* /ripp / as in *itsA rippA* /ic ripp / ‘more quickly’, *go itstsi nole lAinung* /go icci.nol l i.nu. / ‘I go after some time’, and *go tsentse pihonole lAinung* /go icci.nol l i.nu. / ‘I will go as/after Tsentse comes back.’ The morpheme /-k / (*go m ko-k l isšo b m-ti* ‘I am taller than him’) also is used for comparison. Adverbials can be made emphatic by affixing *-n* and *-ma* morphemes to verb roots as in *dza-si-n-ma-dzAi-nu-ng* /dz .si.n.m .dz i.nu. / ‘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* /k .l .k / ‘once upon a time’

<sup>37</sup> Other reduced forms are *teker* > *teke* > *tek* > *te* /t k r > t k > te k > t /.

b. <i>sAinesmoitin</i>	/s i.n s.moi.tin/	‘many years ago’
c. <i>hoNiti~moiti</i>	/hõ ti~moiti/	‘before’
d. <i>nAkan</i>	/n k n/	‘sometime before’ [cf. <i>n :n</i> Kir nti-Wam;
		Wam;
		Opgenort 2002: 230]
e. <i>nAphke</i>	/n p <sup>h</sup> k /	‘previously, formerly’ [cf. <i>n</i> Kir nti-Wam;
		Opgenort 2002: 230]
f. <i>mul</i>	/mul/	‘now, at the time’ [cf. <i>m</i> Kir nti-Wam;
Opgenort		2002: 231]
g. <i>mulre</i>	/mul.r /	‘from now on’
h. <i>mulaiyo</i>	/mu.l i.yo/	‘yet’
i. <i>mu</i>	/mu/	‘time’

### 3.1.3.2.1.2 Specific adverbs of time

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

(160) a. <i>tsimikkAnole</i>	/ci.mik.k .nol /	‘a moment (some time) later’
b. <i>mulAt~munAt</i>	/mu.l t~mu.n t/	‘today’
c. <i>itstsinA</i>	/ic.ci.n /	‘just now, presently, recently’
d. <i>itstsin</i>	/ic.ci.n/	‘immediate right now’
e. <i>sinAt</i>	/si.n t/	‘yesterday’
f. <i>ungku</i>	/u .ku/	‘time, turn’
g. <i>mulAt~sinAt</i>	/mu.l t-sin t/	‘nowadays’
h. <i>nAt</i>	/n t/	‘day’
i. <i>sun´ikan</i>	/sun´ik n/	‘early morning’
j. <i>suni</i>	/su.ni/	‘morning, daybreak’
k. <i>nAti</i>	/n .ti/	‘daytime, afternoon’
l. <i>nAdo</i>	/n .do/	‘night’
m. <i>nArits</i>	/n .ric/	‘evening, twilight’
n. <i>nupho</i>	/nu.p <sup>h</sup> o/	‘week’
o. <i>sin</i>	/sin/	‘month’

p. <i>thotse</i>	/tho.c /	‘year’
q. <i>mudi</i>	/mu.di/	‘year’
r. <i>noras</i>	/no.r s/	‘minute’
s. <i>kumuk</i>	/ku.muk/	‘hour’
t. <i>ludz</i>	/ludz/	‘second’
u. <i>yAmka</i>	/y mk /	‘a while’

### 3.1.3.2.1.3 Spatial

To express directional or spatial adverb, the suffix *-ge /-g /* can usually be added to locational adverbs, e.g., *oNth-ge piuo /õth-g pi.uo/* ‘Come this side (and not that side) or hither (not thither)’.

### 3.1.3.2.1.4 Locational

Locational adverbs are as follows:

(161) a. <i>eNkere</i> <sup>38</sup>	/ ~k r /	‘here’
b. <i>mekere</i> <sup>39</sup>	/m k r /	‘there’
c. <i>geththa</i> > <i>geth</i>	/g tth > g th/	‘up here’(vertical)
d. <i>ir</i>	/ir/	‘up there’(vertical)
e. <i>h ri ir</i>	/h ri ir/	‘up there’(vertical)
f. <i>h ri iri</i>	/h ri iri/	‘very far up there’
g. <i>luts</i>	/luc/	‘down’
h. <i>di</i>	/di/	‘near down’
i. <i>uyu</i>	/uyu/	‘far down’
j. <i>h yu ui~hui ui</i>	/h yu~hui ui/	‘very far down’ [cf. <i>hui(lo)</i> , <i>yu(ni)</i> ‘down at/to’ K-Rod and Ban; Ebert (1999: 109)]
k. <i>h yu uyu</i>	/h yu uyu/	‘very far down’

<sup>38</sup> Other reduced forms are: *eNker* > *eNke* > *eNk* > / ~k r > ~k > ~k/

<sup>39</sup> Other reduced forms are: *meker* > *meke* > *mek* /m k r > m k > m k/

l. <i>er</i>	/ r /	‘far’ (horizontal)
m. <i>hare ere</i>	/h r r /	‘very far’ (horizontal)
n. <i>oNttha</i> > <i>oNth</i>	/õtth > õth/	‘hither’
o. <i>pittha</i> > <i>pith</i>	/pitth > pith/	‘thither’
p. <i>AgA</i>	/ g /	‘(of) inside’
q. <i>langA</i>	/l g /	‘outside’
r. <i>oNthge</i>	/õthg /	‘this way’ (lit. hither towards)
s. <i>pithge</i>	/pithg /	‘that way’ (lit. thither towards)
t. <i>er-oNth</i>	/ r-õth/	‘to and fro’ (lit. this way and that way)

### 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 r pc* ‘to stand with out moving’, where the unbound morpheme *dok* ‘manner of standing’ modifies the verb *r p.c* ‘to stand’ and *puT nic.c* ‘manner of sitting’. Such adverbial lexemes in recent literature are referred to as ideophones, onomatopoeic, expressives and even phonaesthetic forms (Caughley 2002: 16).

Caughley in his description of Chepang (T-B, spoken in south-central Nepal) ideophones calls them “onomatopoeia or onomatopoeic” adverbs also. Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti-Kõits, 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.c* (*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, *s su* (which is not mentioned in both Schulze and Winter's previous description) from my text source for concluding this sub-section.

- (162) a. *thum khalpAke gil pidArmi dzaditstsAkali tsuissho nAmsom somkempA bakyapatke shokle nu phupikya sesu ruptu.*
- |                           |                    |                               |                           |                     |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| thum k <sup>h</sup> lp -k | gil                | pid r-mi                      | dz dits-c -k li tsuisšo   | n .:so-m            |
| thum old.man-GEN          | g                  | worship-LOC                   | reach-INF-PAT hurried:ADJ | priest-AGT          |
| somk m-p                  | b ky p t-k         | šokl nu p <sup>h</sup> u-piky | s su                      | rup-tu              |
| rustle:RED-ADV            | trumpet.flower-GEN | pod and                       | flower-PL                 | MAN collect-PST:3SG |

'The priest who was hurried to reach to the Thum Khalpa's *Gil* worship; hurriedly collected the trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) in rustle.' [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 Kir nti-Kōits in sentential

constructions precede the head verbs and head nouns. The following quantity-quantifiers in (163) a-g are available in the Kir nti-Kõits language:

- (163) a. itsik<sup>h</sup> ‘a little’  
 b. itsik<sup>h</sup>oi ‘about a little’  
 c. tsinuyo ‘somemore, still, again’  
 d. susi > sus ‘many, much, very, too’  
 e. n ll > n l ‘all, whole’  
 f. õso ‘this much’  
 g. moso ‘that much’

### 3.1.4 Numerals and classifiers

The basic Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti languages in general and Kir nti-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<sup>h</sup> ~g* classifying banana) exceptionally.

#### 3.1.4.1 Basic cardinal numerals

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

		MM			
(164)		Modern usage		Beams’ data	
0	z t	<i>sum</i>	/sum/ ‘zero’	---	‘not recorded (?)’
1	eA	<i>kA</i>	/k / ‘one’	ka	‘one’

2	p{.z{	<i>nimsi</i>	/ni.:si/	‘two’	<i>nishi</i>	‘two’
3	zA=	<i>sAN</i>	/sã/	‘three’	<i>sang*</i>	‘three’
4	w}	<i>le</i>	/l /	‘four’	<i>le</i>	‘four’
5	ha	<i>nga</i>	/ /	‘five’	<i>gno*</i>	‘five’
6	ve	<i>raku</i>	/r .ku/	‘six’	<i>ruk*</i>	‘six’
7	ip{	<i>tsani</i>	/c .ni/	‘seven’	<i>chani</i>	‘seven’
8	zz{	<i>sasi</i>	/s .si/	‘eight’	<i>yoh*</i>	‘eight’
9	uA=	<i>yAN</i>	/yã/	‘nine’	<i>guh*</i>	‘nine’
10	ga	<i>gau</i>	/g u/	‘ten’ <i>guh</i>	<i>sashi*</i>	‘ten’

The asterisk for ‘three’, ‘five’ and ‘six’ indicates some phonemic changes between the two systems and the same for ‘eight’, ‘nine’ and ‘ten’ suggests mismatch between the modern usage and Beams’ data, which might have occurred due to typographic or editing errors in the latter.

### 3.1.4.1.1 Compound cardinal numerals

The following compound-cardinals in (165) are occasionally used in daily conversations among native speakers are available in the language:

(165)					
<i>kAk</i>	/k k/	‘eleven’	<i>nik</i>	/nik/	‘twelve’
<i>sANk</i>	/sãk/	‘thirteen’	<i>lek</i>	/l k/	‘fourteen’
<i>ngok</i>	/ ok/	‘fifteen’	<i>rok</i>	/rok/	‘sixteen’
<i>tsek</i>	/ts k/	‘seventeen’	<i>sask</i>	/s sk/	‘eighteen’
<i>yANk</i>	/yãk/	‘nineteen’	<i>nisum</i> <sup>40</sup>	/ni.sum/	‘twenty’
<i>nikA</i>	/ni.k /	‘twenty-one’	<i>nis</i>	/ni.nis/	‘twenty-two’
<i>nisAN</i>	/ni.sã/	‘twenty-three’	<i>nile</i>	/ni.l /	‘twenty-four’
<i>ningo</i>	/ni. o/	‘twenty-five’	<i>nirak</i>	/ni.r k/	‘twenty-six’

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *khalkA* /k<sup>h</sup> l.k / also in measurement of money in § 3.1.5.1 and example (170) i.

<i>nitsan</i>	/ni.c n/	‘twenty-seven’	<i>nisas</i>	/ni.s s/	twenty-eight
<i>niyAN</i>	/ni.yã/	‘twenty-nine’	<i>sANsum</i>	/sã.sum/	thirty
<i>sANk</i>	/sãk/	‘thirty-one’	<i>sANnis</i>	/sã.nis/	thirty-two
<i>sANsas</i>	/sã.s s/	‘thirty-three’	<i>sANle</i>	/sã.l /	thirty-four
<i>sANnga</i>	/sã. /	‘thirty-five’	<i>sANrak</i>	/sã.r k/	thirty-six
<i>sANtsan</i>	/sã.c n/	‘thirty-seven’	<i>sANsas</i>	/sã.s s/	‘thirty-eight’
<i>sANYAN</i>	/sã.yã/	‘thirty-nine’	<i>lesum</i>	/l .sum/	‘forty’
<i>leka</i>	/l .ka/	‘forty-one’	<i>lenis</i>	/l .nis/	‘forty-two’
<i>lesAN</i>	/l .sã/	‘forty-three’	<i>lele</i>	/l .l /	‘forty-four’
<i>lenga</i>	/l . /	‘forty-five’	<i>lerak</i>	/l .r k/	‘forty-six’
<i>letsan</i>	/l .c n/	‘forty-seven’	<i>lesas</i>	/l .s s/	‘forty-eight’
<i>leyAN</i>	/l .yã/	‘forty-nine’	<i>ngasum</i>	/ / .sum/	‘fifty’
<i>ngaka</i>	/ / .ka/	‘fifty-one’	<i>nganis</i>	/ / .nis/	‘fifty-two’
<i>ngasAN</i>	/ / .sã/	‘fifty-three’	<i>ngale</i>	/ / .l /	‘fifty-four’
<i>nganga</i>	/ / . /	‘fifty-five’	<i>ngarak</i>	/ / .r k/	‘fifty-six’
<i>ngatsan</i>	/ / .c n/	‘fifty-seven’	<i>ngasas</i>	/ / .s s/	‘fifty-eight’
<i>ngayAN</i>	/ / .yã/	‘fifty-nine’	<i>raksum</i>	/r k.sum/	‘sixty’
<i>raknis</i>	/r k.nis/	‘sixty-two’	<i>raksAN</i>	/r k.sã/	‘sixty-three’
<i>rakle</i>	/r k.l /	‘sixty-four’	<i>raknga</i>	/r k. /	‘sixty-five’
<i>rarak</i>	/r .r k/	‘sixty-six’	<i>raktsan</i>	/r k.can/	‘sixty-seven’
<i>raksas</i>	/r k.s s/	‘sixty-eight’	<i>rakyAN</i>	/r k.yã/	‘sixty-nine’
<i>tsansum</i>	/c n.sum/	‘seventy’	<i>tsankA</i>	/c n.k /	‘seventy-
one’					
<i>tsannis</i>	/c n.nis/	‘seventy-two’	<i>tsansAN</i>	/c n.sã/	‘seventy-
three’					
<i>tsanle</i>	/c n.l /	‘seventy-four’	<i>tsannga</i>	/c n. /	‘seventy-
five’					
<i>tsanrak</i>	/c n.r k/	‘seventy-six’	<i>tsatsan</i>	/c .c n/	‘seventy-seven’
<i>tsansan</i>	/c n.s s/	‘seventy-eight’	<i>tsanyAN</i>	/c n.yã/	‘seventy-
nine’					

<i>sassum</i>	/s s.sum/	‘eighty’	<i>saskA</i>	/s s.k /	‘eighty-one’
<i>sasnis</i>	/s s.nis/	‘eighty-two’	<i>sassAN</i>	/s s.sã/	‘eighty-two’
<i>sasle</i>	/s s.l /	‘eighty-four’	<i>sasnga</i>	/s s. /	‘eighty-five’
<i>sasrak</i>	/s s.r k/	‘eighty-six’	<i>sastsan</i>	/s s.c n/	‘eighty-
		seven’			
<i>sasas</i>	/s .s s/	‘eighty-eight’	<i>sasyAN</i>	/s s.yã/	‘eighty’
<i>yANsum</i>	/yã.sum/	‘ninety’	<i>yANKA</i>	/yã.k /	‘ninety-one’
<i>yANnis</i>	/yã.nis/	‘ninety-two’	<i>yANsAN</i>	/yã.sã/	‘ninety-
		three’			
<i>yANle</i>	/yã.l /	‘ninety-four’	<i>yANnga</i>	/yã. /	‘ninety-five’
<i>yANrak</i>	/yã.r k/	‘ninety-six’	<i>yANtsan</i>	/yã.c n/	‘ninety-
		seven’			
<i>yANsas</i>	/yã.s s/	‘ninety-eight’	<i>yANyAN</i>	/yã.yã/	‘ninety-nine’
<i>poNrka</i>	<sup>41</sup> /põr(}.k /	‘one hundred’			

(Cf. also Sunuwar 2003: 410-413 and Rapacah, Ngawoca-Mukhia & Rujicha-Mukhia 2003)

### 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 Kir nti-Kõits, there is only one ordinal marker <-s m> as in (166) used as postpositional suffix (cf. § 3.1.2.6.13) semantically denoting a destination i.e. a place until which something moves or a moment until which the action is carried out.

(166)

<i>ka-sam</i>	/k .s m/	‘first’	<i>ni-sam</i>	/ni.s m/	‘second’
---------------	----------	---------	---------------	----------	----------

<sup>41</sup> Cf. also *giNrka* /g r(}.k / and *gigka* /gigk / for ‘one hundred’

<i>sAN-sam</i>	/sã-s m/	‘third’	<i>le-sam</i>	/l .s m/	‘fourth’
<i>nga-sam</i>	/ -s m/	‘fifth’	<i>ruk-sam</i>	/ruk.s m/	‘sixth’
<i>tsani-sam</i>	/c ni-s m/	‘seventh’	<i>sas-sam</i>	/s s.s m/	‘eighth’
<i>yAN-sam</i>	/yã-s m/	‘ninth’	<i>gau-sam</i>	/g u.s m/	‘tenth’

There are some irregular random suffixes denoting ordinals (See Sunuwar 2003) for greater numerals also.

### 3.1.4.1.2.1 Ordinals Distributive numerals

These numeral in Tankhul-Naga (T-B, spoken in northeast India) are formed by reduplicating the last syllable of the numeral (Victor 1997) whereas in Kir nti-Kõits, it is formed by reduplicating the whole syllable with <-p > originally form p šy ~p š ‘having done (lit.)’ a coverbal clitic/suffix, e.g.,

- (167) a. k k p ‘one by one, one at a time’ (lit. one one having done)  
 b. ni .: si ni .: si p ‘two by two, two at a time’ (lit. one one having done)  
 c. sã sã p ‘three by three, three at a time’ (lit. one one having done)  
 d. k k p h’iko ‘Count one by one.’

### 3.1.4.1.3 Frequency numerals

These numerals in the language are formed by suffixing usually /k / ‘one (lit.)’ to the cardinals like ni .: sik ‘twice’ sãk ‘thrice’ l k ‘four times’, however, k l k (cf. e.g., (168) a-b and Text sources [1.119] and [3.30] ‘once’ (can also be reduced to k l in conversation as in (168) a is an exception. Another term synonymously used for k l k ‘once’ is k b-n t ‘once’ (lit. one day [See Text source: 2.21]) as in example (168) b below.

- (168) a. *kAlengA solum kAleKA lA romsib masogenngA lAptso Paiwa nu Dunglewake glumAts glumeken tsomsime bAmt.*

k l - solu-m k l -k l ro.: -sib m sogen- l ptso  
 P iw nu  
 once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and  
 Du l w -k glum ts glu-m k -n tso.: -si-m b .: -t ~t  
 D-GEN family come.out: INF-PAR close-MV:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The only once opening door of virtue for one time’s sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out.’ [Text source: 1.17]

b. *kAbnAt shyetsib panpan lashonu Tsisankhu (Kuibir, Serna, Diyale nu Pokharenga sirwa) dzAdimmAbAmt.*

k b-n t šy -tsib p -n-p -n l -šo-nu Tsis nkhu (Kuibir,  
 Sern ,  
 one/once-day meat-bird do-PROG-RED-PROG go-PR:PCPL-TEMP Ts (K, S,  
 Diy l nu Pokh r - sirw ) dz -dimm -b .: -t ~t  
 D and P-GEN boarder) reach-PST:3PL-AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Once upon a time, they reached to Tsisankhu (boarder of Kuibir, Serna, Diyale and Pokhare) while hunting.’ [Text source: 1.52]

#### 3.1.4.1.4 Approximate numerals

The approximate numerals can be expressed by using the morpheme <k<sup>h</sup>oi> ‘about’, e.g.,

(169)  
*kA khoi* /k k<sup>h</sup>oi/ ‘about one’  
*ni.:si khoi* /ni.:si k<sup>h</sup>oi/ ‘about two’  
*sAN khoi* /sã k<sup>h</sup>oi/ ‘about three’

#### 3.1.4.1.5 Fractional numerals

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

(169) a. <i>lekal</i>	/l k l/	¼	‘one fourth, a quarter’
b. <i>phekyo</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> kyo/	½	‘half’

### 3.1.5 Measurements

For our present description here, we have included monetary units or measurements only excluding other details of land, liquid measurements etc.

#### 3.1.5.1 Measurement of money

There are some generic terms like *kyet* /ky T/ ‘cash’, *ketos* /k Tos/ ‘currency’ and *khru~khur(D)u* /k<sup>h</sup>ur(D)u/ ‘rupee/s’ in Kir nti-Kõits and other specific units are provided in (170) a-o.

(170) a. <i>sekle</i>	/s kl /	‘25 paisa/cent coin’
b. <i>phebre</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> br /	‘50 paisa/cent coin’
c. <i>khurka</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> ur(D).k /	‘one rupee coin’
d. <i>khurnga</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> ur(D). /	‘five rupees coin’
e. <i>khur</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> ur(D)/	‘one rupee paper-note’
f. <i>khurnimsi</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> ur(D) ni .: si/	‘two rupees paper-note’
g. <i>phANka</i> <sup>42</sup>	/p <sup>h</sup> ãk /	‘five rupees paper-note’
h. <i>phAnimsi</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> ãni .: si/	‘ten rupees paper-note’
i. <i>khalka</i>	/k <sup>h</sup> l.k /	‘ <sup>1</sup> twenty rupees paper-note, <sup>2</sup> one score’
j. <i>poNrphekyo</i>	/põr.p <sup>h</sup> kyo/	‘fifty rupees paper-note’
k. <i>poNrka</i> <sup>43</sup>	/põr.k /	‘one hundred’
l. <i>dzoika</i>	/dzoi.k /	‘five hundred rupees paper-note’
m. <i>dakka</i>	/d k.k /	‘one thousand rupees paper-note’
n. <i>poNrng</i>	/põr. /	‘five thousand’

<sup>42</sup> Cf. also *tAplAkaA* /t pl k / for ‘five rupees paper-note’

<sup>43</sup> See footnote 46

*o. puin̩kA* /pu .k / ‘one hundred thousand’

(See Sunuwar (2003 [VS 2060: 409]) for more than ‘one hundred thousand’ counting as *n .k* , *do .k* , *diri.k* , *biri.k* , *.ri*, *pi.ri*, *c .ri*)

### 3.1.6 Division of time

Some specific adverbs of time division have already been described in § 3.1.3.2.1.2 examples (160) a-u earlier. The generic term indicating ‘time’ is *muN* /m / and its synonymous term is *n y r*. Other concepts of time are: *nAmsits* /n msits/ ‘era’ and /th msi/ ‘span’. In the following examples (171) and (172), we will provide the names of days and months.

#### 3.1.6.1 Days in a week

The generic term used for denoting ‘week’ in the language is *nupho* /nup<sup>h</sup>o/ and *tsem* /cem/ is its synonymy. There are two different names for the days of the week used in Sikkim (Set A) and in Nepal (Set B), however in the lexicon, the entry has been indicated as synomous. They are given below in (171).

(171)

	Set A		Set B	
<i>rubnAt</i>	/rub.n t/	<i>tserenA::t</i>	/c r .n .:t/	‘Sunday आइतवार’
<i>naknAt</i>	/n k.n t/	<i>tAsnA::t</i>	/tas.n .:t/	‘Monday सोमवार’
<i>ribnAt</i>	/rib.n t/	<i>rimsn A::t</i>	/rims.n .:t/	‘Tuesday मङ्गलवार’
<i>tipnAt</i>	/tip.n t/	<i>dumsnA::t</i>	/dums.n .:t/	‘Wednesday बुधवार’
<i>rubnAt</i>	/rub.n t/	<i>relphnA::t</i>	/relp <sup>h</sup> .n .:t/	‘Thursday विहिवार’
<i>hasnAt</i>	/h s.n t/	<i>holphnA::t</i>	/holp <sup>h</sup> .n .:t/	‘Friday शुक्रवार’
<i>suknAt</i>	/suk.n t/	<i>gilphn A::t</i>	/gilp <sup>h</sup> .n .:t/	‘Saturday शनिवार’

#### 3.1.6.2 Months

The generic term *sin* /sin/ in Kir nti-Kõits implies ‘month’. Egli (1999) has collected the name of months in the language borrowed from Indic Nepali in his

ethnographic study of the tribe, however, there still exists indigenous vocabulary for months as given in (172) a-l here.

(172) a. <i>ngarits</i>	/ric/	डरिच	‘January, माघ’
b. <i>syAbrAts</i>	/ky br c/	क्याब्राच	‘February, फागुन’
c. <i>phurots</i>	/p <sup>h</sup> uroc/	फूरोच	‘March, चैत्र’
d. <i>gigits</i>	/gigic/	गिगिच	‘April, वैशाख’
e. <i>dzimnAts</i>	/dzimn c/	जिम्नाच	‘May, जेठ’
f. <i>hubnAts</i>	/hubnac/	हुब्नाच	‘June, असार’
g. <i>khubnAts</i>	/khubn c/	खुब्नाच	‘July, साउन’
h. <i>dz’ihots</i>	/dz’ihoc/	जिहोच	‘August, भदौ’
i. <i>burots</i>	/buroc/	बुरोच	‘September, असोज’
j. <i>gyurots</i>	/gyuroc/	ग्युरोच	‘October, कार्तिक’
k. <i>hA:sots</i>	/h :soc/	हा:सोच	‘November, मङ्सिर’
l. <i>gilots</i>	/giloc/	गिलोच	‘December, पुस’

### 3.1.6.3 Seasons

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

(173) a. <i>kagyawAtseri</i>	/k gy w c ri/	‘spring season’
b. <i>reusotshyem</i>	/r usotš m/	‘rainy season’
c. <i>gyu~dzju</i>	/gyu~dzu/	‘winter season’

### 3.2 Verb morphology

This § 3.2 describes the verbal system and their classification in Kir nti-Kōits—the nucleus parts of speech. Traditional grammars often define ‘verb’ notionally as a

‘doing’ word. Such a notional definition has generally been considered inadequate for a number of reasons. Modern grammars prefer a more syntactical definition.

A more exhaustive definition of verb (Victor 1997: 149) is that it constitutes a major word class that is normally essential to clause tense-aspect-mood, number, person and voice. Verbs tend to code less time-stable experiences, primarily transitory states, events or actions. They may code either extremely rapid changes, or processes that may have certain duration, or even relatively more stable states. In other words, they cover a certain range from one extreme end of the time-stability scale.

Verbs are also most obviously distinguished by the fact that each verb typically requires the presence in its sentence of a specified set of NP arguments syntactically (cf. Zograph 1985), each of which may be required to appear in some particular grammatical form, e.g. particular case marking, particular pre or postposition etc. Additionally, Tibeto-Burman verbs in Zograph’s (1982: 188-189) observation is,

“The verb is, as a rule, invariable, and hardly distinguishable from other classes of words. By virtue of its position in the sentence, it might be compared to the nominal predicate of the Indo-European languages. The verb can either stand alone, or it can take on special affirmative particles which amount in most cases to rudimentary forms of a verbal copula. Tense is usually expressed by the addition of supplementary focusing words. Anything that could be called a conjugation system is found only in certain members of the Naga sub-group, and up to a point, in the pronominalised Himalayan languages, where pronominal suffixes play the part of personal endings.”

Truly, all Kir nti-Kõits verbs (also cf. Appendix C) as one of the pronominalised Himalayan languages have such pronominal suffixes.

### **3.2.1 Roots**

Like most Kir nti (Athpare, Bantawa, Camling Thulung, Khaling and Limbu) verbs (Ebert 1994:19), Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti 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 /-c /* as word final syllable such as *le-tsA /l .ca/* ‘to sell’. Some more examples are presented in (174). There are five productively different imperative (also cf. Appendix C) suffix morphemes, viz., <-o>, <-ko>, <-lo>, <-do>, <-šo> and <-to> in (174) and (175) of whose detailed phonological rules has been left out for further investigation.

Basic Roots	Root Final	Infinitive d-INF	Imperative/ Directive	Finite forms (d)-NPST-1SG(vi/t)	Gloss of d-INF
(174)					
l -	zero	l -c	l u-o	l i-nu-	‘to go’
t -	zero	t -c	t u-o <sup>44</sup>	t i-nu-	‘to see/get’
k <sup>h</sup> :-	zero	k <sup>h</sup> :-c	k <sup>h</sup> :k-o	Σ-nu-	‘to tear’(agent active)
g :-	zero	g :-c	g :k-o	Σ-nu-	‘to tear’(object itself)

<sup>44</sup> This imperative/directive form is a bit unusual and its finitive form now has one more meaning something like ‘I kick you.’ Its imperative form for kicking is *t to* ‘kick’.

-	zero	-c	k-o	Σ-nu-	‘to weep’
thi-	zero	thi-c	thiu-o	Σ-nu-	‘to touch’
(h)i-	zero	(h)i-c	(h)iu-o	Σ-nu-	‘to come’
pi-	zero	pi-c	piu-o	Σ-nu-	‘to come’
m <sup>h</sup> i-	zero	m <sup>h</sup> i-c	m <sup>h</sup> ik-o	Σ-nu-	‘to plait’
glu-	zero	gl{}/lu-c	glu -o	Σ-nu-	‘to come out, appear’
tu-	zero	tu-c	tu -o	Σ-nu-	‘to drink’
t <sup>h</sup> u-	zero	t <sup>h</sup> u-c	t <sup>h</sup> uk-o	Σ-nu-	‘to lick’
ku-	zero	ku-c	ku-o	Σ-nu-	‘to come’
l -	zero	l -c	l .:-ko	Σ-nu-	‘to sell’
g -	zero	g -c	g u-o	Σ-nu-	‘to give’
d ~-	zero	d ~-c	d n-o	Σ-nu-	‘to say’
ko(:)-	zero	ko(:)-c	ko -o	Σ-nu-	‘to look/see’
T <sup>h</sup> o.:-	zero	T <sup>h</sup> o.:-c	T <sup>h</sup> o.:-ko	Σ-nu-	‘to hit’

### 3.2.1.2 Closed root verbs

Minimum three verbs have been provided for each closed roots based on their basic infinitival form *-tsA /-c /* as word final syllable such as *le-tSA /l .ca/* ‘to sell’. Some more examples are presented in (175).

Basic Roots	Root Final	Infinitive d-INF	Imperative/ Directive	Finite form (d)-NPST-1SG(vt) d-b (vi.)	Gloss of d-INF
(175)					
k <sup>h</sup> l-	l-	k <sup>h</sup> l-c	k <sup>h</sup> l-do	Σ-nu-	‘to mix up’
k <sup>h</sup> ul-	l-	k <sup>h</sup> ul-c	k <sup>h</sup> ul-do	Σ-nu-	‘to care/look after’
m l-	l-	m l-c	m -lo	Σ-nu-	‘to need/search’
gr{ }ol-	l-	gr{ }ol-c	gr{ }o-lo	Σ-nu-	‘to lie on’

r l-	l-	r l-c	r l-do	Σ-nu-	‘to hang’
sul-	l-	sul-c	sul-do	Σ-nu-	‘to tickle’
tul-	l-	tul-c	tul-do	Σ-nu-	‘to uproot’
t l-	l-	t l-c	t l-do	Σ-nu-	‘to pile up’
pr{}ol-	l-	pr{}ol-c	pr{}l-do	Σ-nu-	‘to break’ (A active)
br{}ol-	l-	br{}ol-c	br{}ol-o	Σ-b (vi.)	to ‘break’ (O itself)
šy l-	l-	šy l-c	šy l-do	Σ-nu-	‘to make/build’
h m-	m-	h m-c	h m-do	Σ-nu-	‘to dry’
him-	m-	him-c	him-do	Σ-nu-	‘to shake’
s m-	m-	s m-c	s m-do	Σ-nu-	‘to lose’
c re-	re-	c re-c	c r-do	c r-nu-	‘to urinate’
k <sup>h</sup> re-	re-	k <sup>h</sup> re-c	k <sup>h</sup> r-do	k <sup>h</sup> r-nu-	‘to chase’
hirc-	re-	hirc-c	hir-do	hir-nu-	‘to roam’
kirc-	re-	kirc-c	kir-do	kir-nu-	‘to braid’ (rope)
kyorc-	re-	kyorc-c	kyor-do	kyor-nu-	‘to cut’
l ic-	c-	l ic-c	l -to	l i-nu-	‘to take away’
k <sup>h</sup> roic-	c-	k <sup>h</sup> r{}oic-c	k <sup>h</sup> r{}o-do	k <sup>h</sup> r{}oi-nu-	‘to chop’
soic-	c-	soic-c	soit-to	soi-nu-	‘to send’
roic-	c-	roic-c	roit-to	roi-nu-	‘to snatch’
k <sup>h</sup> uic-	c-	k <sup>h</sup> uic-c	k <sup>h</sup> uit-to	k <sup>h</sup> ui-nu-	‘to hide’
muic-	c-	muic-c	muít-to	mui-nu-	‘to blow up’ (fire)
hõic-	c-	hõic-c	hõis-šo	hõi-nu-	‘to climb up’
nic-	c-	nic-c	nis-šo	nissi-nu-	‘to sit’
kic-	c-	kic-c	ki -o	ki-nu-	‘to pull’
g :-	:-	g :-c	g :-ko	Σ-nu-	‘to walk’
t :-	:-	t :-c	t :-ko	Σ-nu-	‘to block’

th :-	:-	th :-c	th :-ko	Σ-nu-	‘to tread’
th p-	p-	th p-c	th p-o	Σ-nu-	‘to pay’
tup-	p-	tup-c	tup-o	Σ-nu-	‘to beat’
yup-	p-	yup-c	yup-o	Σ-nu-	‘to beat’
lup-	p-	lup-c	lup-o	Σ-nu-	‘to smear’
k <sup>h</sup> p-	p-	k <sup>h</sup> p-c	k <sup>h</sup> p-o	Σ-nu-	‘to pile up in layer’

Non-finite forms of both open and closed roots are: Σ-INF (Σ-*c* ; is cognate of Σ-*co* K-Ba, Σ-*c m* K-Wam and in other Kir nti languages; Σ-*mam* Lim, Σ-*ma* Ath, Σ-*ma* Ban, Σ-*ma* Rod, Σ-*mu* Th, Σ-*nä* Kh (Ebert 1994: 55)) Σ-PUR (Σ-*th*), Σ-CONV:SIM, Σ-NEG:CONV(Σ-*š* - is cognate of Σ-*sa* Ath, Σ-*sa* Ban, Σ-*sa* Rod (Ebert Ibid)).

### 3.2.2 <-ti/-t > ending class of verbs

Two separate classes of verbs ending in <-ti> and <-t > 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 <-t -> suffix (177) a-e.

#### 3.2.2.1 <-ti> ending class of verbs

The following intransitive verbs end in <-ti> ‘past’, where the relationship between agent-patient shown is- 1SG PST agent-patient and 2SG 1SG /3SG e.g. *soitti* /*soit.ti*/ ‘send (lit.)’ imperative past.

- (176) a. *la-ti* /l .ti/  
 go-PST:1SG ‘I went’
- b. *gAm-ti* /g :-ti/  
 walk-PST:1SG ‘I walked’

c. <i>ngA-ti</i>	/ .ti/
weep-PST:1SG	‘I swept’
d. <i>pi-ti</i>	/pi.ti/
come- PST:1SG	‘I came’
e. <i>dzAm-ti</i>	/dz .:ti/
come/arrive- PST:1SG	‘I arrived’
f. <i>bAm-ti</i>	/b .:ti/
be- PST:1SG	‘I was, remained’ (narrative verb plus AUX)
g. <i>dum-ti</i>	/dum.ti/
become- PST:1SG	‘I became’
h. <i>bem-ti</i>	/b .:ti/
die- PST:1 SG	‘I died’
i. <i>li-ti</i>	/li.ti/
remain- PST:1SG	‘I remained’
j. <i>grol-ti</i>	/gr{}l)ol.ti/
lie.down- PST:1SG	‘I lied down’
k. <i>gri-ti</i>	/gr{}li.ti/
cry- PST:1SG	‘I cried’
l. <i>brup-ti</i>	/br{}l)up.ti/
climb.down- PST:1SG	‘I climbed down’

### 3.2.2.2 <-t . > class of verbs

The following transitive verbs end in <-t . > ‘past’ ( = 1SG in -t . ), where the relationship between agent-patient shown is- 1SG PST agent-patient and 1 SG 2SG/DU/PL, 3SG/DU/PL e.g. *soit-tA-ng* /soit.t . / ‘I sent...’ Consider other examples given in (177) a-e.

(177) a. <i>dzA-tA-ng</i>	/dz .t . /
eat-PST-1SG	‘I ate...’
b. <i>pA-tA-ng</i>	/p .t . /

do-PST-1SG	‘I did...’
c. <i>sol-tA-ng</i>	/sol.t . /
take out-PST-1SG	‘I took out...’
d. <i>let-tA-ng</i>	/l t.t . /
return-PST-1SG	‘ <sup>1</sup> I returned something <sup>2</sup> turned cattle from one direction to another’
e. <i>brem-tA-ng</i>	/br .:t . /
write-PST-1SG	‘I wrote’ [cf. <i>-t</i> 1SG:PST Kir nti-Ha; Michailovsky and Mazaudon (1973: 140)]

The morpheme <-t > ‘past’ changes according to person, number and T(ense) A(spect) M(ood), e.g. *soit-ta-sku* /soit.t .sku/ ‘We <sup>DU</sup>sent...’, *soit-te-se* /soit.t .s / ‘You <sup>DU</sup>send...(IMP)’ etc.

### 3.2.3 Deictic verbs

We have already listed some Kir nti-Kõits locational adverbs in § 3.1.3.2.1.4 earlier. These locational adverbs are also known as deictics code space in most Kir nti languages in terms of distance vertically or horizontally, e.g. *h yu muyu* (also *hui ui* is cognate of *hui (lo)* ‘down at/to’ K-Rod, *yu(ni)* ‘down at/to’ K-Ban, *huilo-ka* (cf. *hui-l* K-K) ‘from below’ K-Rod, *yuni- ka* ‘from below’ *hui-ni* (cf. *hui-g* K-K) ‘down to’, *yu-t-nin* K-Ban ‘down to’; Ebert (1999: 109)) ‘very far down’ (±animate object, vertical), *uyu~ui* (<h yu uyu>ui) ‘below down’ (location, distance, vertical), *h r m r* ‘level, distal’ (±human object, horizontal), *h r r ~ r* ‘far, distal’ (level:LOC, distance, horizontal), *h ri m ri* ‘far up’ (±human object, vertical) and *h ri 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 Kir nti-Kõits deictic verbs (178) a-d and (179) a-d like in other Kir nti 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. *hitsA* /hi.c / 'to come down'(vertical)  
 b. *kutsA* /ku.c / 'to come up'  
 c. *pitsA* /pi.c / 'to come' (level, horizontal) [cf. *pi-c m* Kir nti-Wam; Rai (2002)]  
 d. *dzAmtsA* /dz .:.c / 'to come/arrive (neutral)'
- (179) a. *h(p)itstsA* /hic.c / 'to bring, fetch down' [cf. *hy c-c m* Kir nti-Wam; Rai (2002)]  
 b. *kuiimtstsA* /kui .:c.c / 'to bring, fetch up' (vertical)  
 c. *pitstsA* /pic.c / 'to bring, fetch (level, horizontal)' [cf. *p<sup>h</sup>ic-c m* K-Wam; Rai (2002)]  
 d. *tsAmtsA* /c .:.c / 'to bring, fetch (neutral)'

Like these deictic verbs, there are other verb classes e.g. *thAicca* /th ic.c / 'to beat', *kyortstsA* /kyorc.c / '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 Kir nti-Kõits, viz., *-b < -b m-t( )* 'locative auxiliary; is:3SG' or *m* 'defining auxiliary' and *<n ->* '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 -b* 'is not' and *m -m* 'no, not at all'.

Except for *m* ' (statement) and *m* ' (interrogative), both <-b > and <n -> inflect according to number, person and TAM, e.g. *b* ∴-ti 'am/was:1SG', *b* ∴-t -sku 'were-PST:1DU', *b* ∴-t -k 'were-PST:1PL', *b* ∴-t 'were-PST:2SG', *b* ∴-ti-si 'were-PST:2DU', *b* ∴-ti-ni 'were-PST:2PL', *b* ∴-t( ) 'were-PST:3SG', *b* ∴-t -s 'were-PST:3DU', and *b* ∴-t -m '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 -/b 'is' cognate of *bu* in Kir nti-Thu (Ebert 1994: 257, Ebert 1999: 124).

(180) a. *go su n -nga ?* /go su n . ( )/  
1SG who am-1SG 'Who am I?'

(181) a. *go mur nang* /go mur n - /  
1SG man am-1SG 'I am a man.'

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

		SINGULAR		DUAL		PLURAL	
				INCLUSIVE	EXCLUSIVE	INCLUSIVE	EXCLUSIVE
1st	<i>n</i> -		<i>n</i> -s	<i>n</i> -sku	<i>n</i> -i	<i>n</i> (i)-ki	
2nd	<i>n</i> -y		<i>n</i> -si		<i>n</i> -ni		
3rd	<i>ho</i> <sup>45</sup>		<i>n</i> -s		<i>n</i> -m		

Some other copula or auxiliary/modal verbs are: *c'it u* 'to be about, going to (e.g. *r u i-c c'it u* 'about or going to rain')', *b m-c* 'continuous auxiliary (e.g. *dz -n-dz -n b m-c* 'stay eating')', *plo -c* 'terminative auxiliary (*p -c plo-i-c* 'to stop doing')', *thum-c* 'egressive auxiliary (*dz -š thum-c* 'to finish eating')', *soic-c* 'dispatch auxiliary (*br ∴-s soic-c* 'to send having written')', *c p-c* 'capacity auxiliary (*p -c c p-c* 'to be able to do something')', *ge-c* 'to give auxiliary', *bic-c* 'to agree auxiliary (*pi-c bic-c* 'to agree for coming')', *m l-c* 'explorative auxiliary

<sup>45</sup> The native vocabulary is *me`/m`/* and *ho* is a loan from the Indic Nepali.

(*hillo-p -c m l-c* ‘to want for asking’), *p -p -c ~p -p ic-c* ‘causative auxiliary (*g p -p -c* ‘to cause working’), *m lb* ‘necessity auxiliary (*wā s-k<sup>h</sup>oic-c m lb* ‘to elope with a husband’)’ and so forth (cf. and § 3.2.8.3 also).

### 3.2.5 Semantic classification of verbs

Now, in this § 3.2.5, we will classify some basic verb types along semantic paradigms in a ‘case frame matrix’ (Table 3.13) suggested by Cook (1972b) and adapted by Prakasham and Abbi (1986: 35-38) and Abbib (2001: 140, 253). I have slightly paraphrased in the following definitions presented by Chafe and Cook (cited in Prakasham and Abbi (1986: 35-38).

**Table 3.13: The case frame matrix**

A Basic verb types	B +Experiencer	C +Benefactive	D +Locative
1. State [+Ps]	1.State Experiencer [+Ps, E]	1.State Benefactive [+Ps, B]	State Locative [+Ps, L]
2. Process [+Ps]	2.Process Experiencer [+P, E]	2.Process Benefactive [+P, B]	2.Process Locative [+P, L]
3. Action [+A]	3. Action Experiencer [+A, E]	3. Action Benefactive [+A, B]	3. Action Locative [+A, L]
3. Action Process [+A,P]	3. Action Process Experiencer [+A, P, E]	3. Action Process Benefactive [+A, P, B]	3. Action Process Locative [+A, P, L]

(Source: Prakasham 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:.c / 'to be dry'  
 b. *dz'isi-tsA* /dz'isi.c / 'to be broken'  
 c. *AN-ke soNTh dzem-met* /ãk sōT<sup>h</sup> dz .:m t/  
 1SG-GEN shirt tear-PST:3SG:FRF 'My shirt has been torn (itself).'

### 3.2.5.2 Process verbs (A.2)

They specify that objects undergo a change of state or condition. They are accompanied by a patient noun, which specifies what it is that changes its state or condition, e.g.

- (182) a. *bem-tsA* /b .:c / 'to die'  
 b. *do:.-tsA* /d'o:..c / 'to fall'  
 c. *hAIsi-tsA* /h lsi.c / 'to widen'  
 d. *buits-tsA* /buic.c / 'to boil'  
 e. *s'ishyidum-tsA* /s'išyidum.c / 'to be cold'  
 f. *eNko laring laringraw-lA dom-met* / ~ko l ri l ri r w l do:.m t/  
 this ap ap-tree-ABL fall-3SG:FRF 'This apple has fallen from the apple-tree.'

### 3.2.5.3 Action verbs (A.3)

They express an activity, something, which someone does. They are accompanied by an agent noun, which specifies the instigator of the action and a patient noun, which specifies the object affected or affected by that activity e.g.,

- (183) a. *tup-tsA* /tup.c / 'to beat' (th icc , y'uc )  
 b. *t'o-tsA* /t'o.c / 'to fell'  
 c. *sAits-tsA* /s ic.c / 'to kill'  
 d. *shyel-tsA* /šy l.c / 'to make, build'  
 e. *khA:-tsA* /k<sup>h</sup> .:c / 'to tear'

- f. *prol-tSA* /pr(ɔ)ol.c / ‘to beak’  
 g. *lalpiyA-mi khui-kali sAit-tu* /l lpiy .mi k<sup>h</sup>ui.k li s it.tu/  
 police-AGT thief-DAT kill-PST:3SG ‘The police killed a thief.’

### 3.2.5.4 Action process verbs (A.4)

They simultaneously express an action and a process. They are accompanied by agent nouns, which specify the instigator of the action and patient nouns, which the object effected or affected by that activity, e.g.,

- (184) a. *shyel-tSA* /ʃy l.c / ‘to make/build’  
 b. *kyorts-tSA* /kyor.cc / ‘to cut’ (±animate objects of solid and big size)  
 c. *tsem-tSA* /c .:c / ‘to cut’ (±animate objects into smaller pieces)  
 d. *r’i-tSA* /r’i.c / ‘to cut’ (grass and crops while harvesting)  
 e. *khroits-tSA* /k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ)oi.c / ‘to cut’ (firewood, log etc. only into three or four pieces) (Source: Rapacha 2003)

- f. *go guye-mi sosmAl r’i-nu-ng* /go guy .mi sosm l r’i.nu. /  
 1SG sickle-INST grass cut-NPST-1SG ‘I cut grass with a sickle.’

### 3.2.5.5 State experiencer verbs (B.1)

These verbs specify that an experiencer is in a certain state or condition with respect to a given object. They are accompanied by experiencer nouns, which specify the one who is in the psychological state of sensation, emotion and cognition. These are, also accompanied by patient nouns, which specify the stimulus for or the content of the experience, e.g.,

- (185) a. *dA-tSA* /d .c / ‘to <sup>1</sup>like <sup>2</sup>swallow, <sup>3</sup>light’  
 b. *mAltsA* /m l.c / ‘to <sup>1</sup>want, <sup>2</sup>search’  
 c. *khAldingpatsA* /k<sup>h</sup> di .p .c / ‘to doubt’ [Text source: 4.12]  
 d. *go m’ishyeAl kA-nu nam-pAi-nu-ng* /go mi’sy l k .nu n m.p i.nu. /  
 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* /šy tg .c / ‘to annoy’  
 b. *shye-tSA* /šy .c / ‘to annoy’ (different pragmatico-semantic sense)  
 c. *rippAits-tSA* /ripp ic.c / ‘to amuse/please’ (lit. make laugh)  
 d. *goi aN-kali mopA ma-shyAk-o* /goi ã.k li mop m .šy k.o/  
 2SG my/I-DAT ADV NEG-trouble-IMP:3SG ‘You do not trouble me in that way.’

### 3.2.5.7 Action experiencer verbs (B.3)

These verbs express an activity, which result in a change of psychological state for someone else. They are accompanied by an agent noun, which specify the instigator of the action, an experiencer noun, which species the one who unergoes the psychological experience, e.g.,

- (187) a. *dzemlAthuNge-tSA* /dz ml th .g .c / ‘to congratulate’  
 b. *bubuthAthApa-tSA* /bubuth th .p .c / ‘to praise’  
 c. *go in-kali gyArssi gla-sho-pa-tike-m dzemlAthuN-ge-nu-ng*  
 /go goi in.k li gy rssi glašo.p .tik .m dz ml th g nu /  
 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* /hillop .c / 'to ask' (lit. ask to do)  
 b. *thAits-tSA* /th ic.c / 'to beat'  
 c. *deN-tSA* /d ~.c / 'to tell'  
 d. *goi-mi meko Al-kali mARde thAit-ti* /goi.mi m ko l.k li m rd th it.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 specify the possessor of the object and and patient noun, which specifies the object possessed, e.g.,

- (189) a. *go-nu phurkal kA bA* /go.nu p<sup>h</sup>urk l k b /  
 1SG-ASS football one is:AUX 'I have a ball with me.' (lit. I with ball one is)  
 b. *eNko khiN aN-ke me`* / ~ko k<sup>h</sup> ãk m `/  
 this house 1SG-GEN is:AUX 'I own this house.' (lit. this house my is)

### 3.2.5.10 Process benefactive verbs (C.2)

These verbs specify that a benefactor undergoes a change of state or condition with respect to a given object. They are accompanied by a benefactive noun, which specifies the one, who undergoes gain or loss. Moreover, a patient noun, which specifies the object is gained or lost, e.g.,

- (190) a. *glA-tSA* /gl .c / 'to win'  
 b. *blu-tSA* /blu.c / 'to lose, get defeated'  
 c. *khA:-tSA* /k<sup>h</sup> :.c / 'to tear'  
 d. *go-piki-m m ko p<sup>h</sup>urk l gy rssi gl -c m -c b-ni-ki*

1-PL-ERG that/the football game win-INF NEG-can-NPS-1PL

‘We cannot win the football match.’

### 3.2.5.11 Action benefactive verbs (C.3)

These verbs specify that an agent has caused a gain or loss to a benefactor with respect to a given object. They are accompanied by an agent noun, which specifies the cause of the gain or loss. Then, a benefactive noun, which specifies the one who undergoes the loss or gain, for instance,

- (191) a. *kophele-ge-tSA* /kop<sup>h</sup>l .g .c / ‘to give bribe’  
 b. *coheNc-pa-tSA* /coh ~c.p .c / ‘to supply’  
 c. *tsubglob-ge-tSA* /cubglob.g .c / ‘to arm’  
 d. go-m t b m-k li cirssi coh ~c-p -t - (A/S) (DO: P, B) IO (V, Predicate)  
 1SG-ERG Tebam-DAT millet supply-do-INF-PST-1SG  
 ‘I supplied the millet to Tebam.’

### 3.2.5.12 Action process benefactive verbs (C.4)

These verbs specify that an agent has caused a gain or loss to a benefactor with respect to a given object. They are first accompanied by an agent noun, which specifies the cause of the gain or loss and second a benefactive noun, which specifies the one who undergoes the gain or loss, for example,

- (192) a. *gyAp-tSA* /gy p.c / ‘to buy’  
 b. *le-tSA* /l .c / ‘to sell’  
 c. *b’its-tSA* /b’ic.c / ‘to obey’  
 d. *tA:-tSA* /t :.c / ‘to accept i.e. ideas, goods etc.’  
 e. *tAm-tSA* /t :.c / ‘to take something’
- e. go-m d ~šo goi-mi bit-tyi- n go goi-k li ~ko p<sup>h</sup>urk lg -nu-  
 1SG-ERG say-PCPL you-AGT obey-NPST-3sg if 1SG 2SG-DAT this ball give-PST-  
 1SG

‘I will give you this ball if you obey me.’ (A/S) (DO: P, B) IO (V, Predicate)

### 3.2.5.13 State locative verbs (D.1)

These verbs specify that an object is in a certain location. They are accompanied by a patient noun, which specifies what it is that is in that place. Next, a locative noun specifies the place where the object is located. For instance,

- (193) a. *bA-tSA*            /b .c /            ‘to dwell, sit’  
       b. *li-tSA*            /li.c /            ‘to remain’  
       c. *rAp-tSA*           /r p.c /           ‘to stand up’  
       d. *eNko khiN-mi su su bAm-na-mi*       / ~ko k<sup>h</sup> .mi su su b :.n mi/  
       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.c /            ‘to come’ four types (See §3.2.3)  
       b. *la-tSA*            /l .c /            ‘to go’  
       c. *yA:-tSA*           /y :.c /           ‘to shift’ (with inanimate subjects)  
       d. *go-m aN-ke wA eNko khiN-lA meko khiN-mi yA:-tA-ng*  
       /go.m ã.k w ~ko k<sup>h</sup> .l m ko k<sup>h</sup> .mi y :.t . /  
       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* /b rc.c / 'to fly'  
 b. *dorts-tSA* /dor.c.c / 'to run'  
 c. *pi-tSA* /pi.c / 'to come' four types (See § 3.2.3)  
 d. *la-tSA* /l .c / 'to go' (with animate subjects)  
*e.enko lAN-mi dok rAp-shA-bAm-sho mur tek la-me?*  
 / ~ko lã.mi dok r pš b .:šo mur t k l m' /  
 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 / 'to bring'  
 b. *cA.: -tSA* /c .:.c / 'to bring'  
 c. *tA.: -tSA* /t .:.c / 'to take i.e. something'  
 d. *go-mi gyAkosi-la laring nu phengse gyAp-shA pit-tA-ng*  
 /go.mi gy kosi.l l ri nu p<sup>h</sup> s gy p.s pit.t . /  
 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 Kir nti-Kõits (Sun(u)war) verb 'transitivity'. In her three-paragraphed abstract of the 9th Himlayan Language Symposium, Mysore paper, she

unfolds that “animate and non-animate participants of transitive clauses are treated morphologically differently. An agent or patient marker marks animate participants. Inanimate patients show no patient marker. Inanimate participants are prototypical patients that in many languages 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 examples on Borchers observation, we will first observe the notion of ‘transitivity’ in one of the neighbouring Kir nti languages (See Ch 1 § 1.1) of Kir nti-Kõits Near Kirat known as Wambule here.

In Opgenort’s (2002) study, the Wambule (one of the neighbouring languages of Kir nti-Kõits; 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 Kir nti-Kõits intransitive verbs, as in Wambule show agreement with one argument, e.g. go :-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 l -c ‘to go’ (194) b, b rc-c ‘to fly’ (195) a, pi-c ‘to come’ (194) a, b :-c ‘to die’ (182) a, b :-c ‘to dwell, sit’ (193) a r p-c ‘to stand up’ (193) c, g :-c ‘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 t ic-c ‘to throw, kick’, gy p-c ‘to buy’ (192) a, murc-c ‘to wash’, thi-c ‘to touch’, dzo:-c ‘to know’, thic-c ‘to find out’, dz -c ‘to eat’ tu-c ‘to drink’, hI-c ‘to count’, thum-c [cf. *tum.c m* K-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 258)] ‘to finish’, c :-c ‘to bring, fetch (neutral)’ (179) d, and so forth.

Like Wambule, Kir nti-Kõits 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. m ko-mi my šy m-k li-n cim-tu  
 s/he-AGT buffalo s/he-for.the.sake.of-EMPH milk-PST:3SG  
 ‘She milked the buffalow for herself.’

b. my šy n k n cim-si-t u  
 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 *m ko* ‘s/he’ and milked the *my šy* ‘buffalo’ for her won benefit. The middle subject *m ko* ‘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 <*k li*> ‘for the sake of’ is co-referential with benefacted argument. Lastly, the argument *my šy* ‘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 *my šy* ‘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 *my šy* ‘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-k li cucu-p -t* - ‘I kissed Tsursi’ vs. *go-∅ tsursi-k li d -nu-* ‘I like Tsursi’ ‘telic aspect’ *go-mi n ll obis b -t* - ‘I ate all the cucumber up’ vs *go-∅ obis b -n-b -n-b m-ti* ‘I am eating the cucumber’ are fully applicable for transitivity of K-K verbs. Their generalization, “the ergative has the hallmarks of high Transitivity, the antipassive those of low Transitivity; in the ergative, the action is more intense; the involvement of the A(gent) is more deliberate; the O(bject) is specified, and more completely affected” is true to K-K examples provided as follows:

(198) a. *go-∅ l-k li th i-nu-*

1SG child beat-NPST-1SG

‘I beat the child.’

b. go-mi l-k li m -rimšo-p th it-t -

1SG-ERG child-DAT NEG-good ADV beat-PST-1SG

‘I beat the child severely.’

There are examples like *go-∅ k<sup>h</sup>yōp t-∅ k r n-nu-* (1SG-∅ book-∅ 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, Kir nti-Kōits non-past transitive subject and inanimate patient is always unmarked for agentive and patientive.

Like Tankhul-Naga’s (T-B, spoken in northeast India) transitivization examples such as,

Intransitive

su ‘(to) burn’

sar ‘(to) light’

mathot ‘wake (somebody up)’

phak ‘widen’

Transitive

cui ‘(to) burn’

hor ‘(to) shine’

mathuk ‘be wake’

pak ‘be wide’ (Victor 1997), Kir nti-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.

	<b>Step 1</b>	<b>Step 2</b>
<b>Morphophonemic changes</b>	<b>Intransitive</b>	<b>Transitive</b>
	(Causee N <sup>46</sup> : self)	(Causee Y: agent)
(199)		

<sup>46</sup> 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.

a. b => p-, s-	=	bo.:-c	'to get up'	vs.	po.:-c	'to get up'
	=	b.:-c	'to die'	vs.	s. ic-c	'to kill'
	=	br{}ol-c	'to be broken'	vs.	pr{}ol-c	'to break'
	=	buic-c	'to get undone'	vs.	puic-c	'to undo'
b. dz => s-, c-	=	dz m-c	'to get lost'	vs.	s m-c	'to loose'
	=	dz.:-c	'to get torn'	vs.	c.:-c	'to tear'
c. g => k <sup>h</sup> -	=	g :-c	'to get torn'	vs.	k <sup>h</sup> -c	'to tear'
	=	grol-c	'to lie down'	vs.	k <sup>h</sup> rol-c	'to knock down'
d. d => t-, c-	=	do.:-c	'to fall'	vs.	to.:-c	'get fallen'
	=	dup-c	'to be burn'	vs.	co-c	'to burn/inflame'
e. n => th	=	nup <sup>h</sup> -c	'to be finished'	vs.	thum-c	'to finish'
f. l => s	=	l -c	'to go'	vs.	soic-c	'to send'

(Cf. also Rapacha 1997b [VS 2054/5: 115-116])

The transitivized verb e.g. po.:-c (199) b in the sentence; ã-k l t u-mi po.:-ti 'The son helped me get up' vs. bo.:-c ; go ( mmin) bo.:-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 Kir nti 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. - ( ), which is cognate of other Kir nti languages such as - (a) Lim, - (a) Ath, - (a) Ban, -u (a) Rod, - i, - u Th, - a; Ebert (1994: 22).

<b>Agent</b>	<b>Patient</b>
-mi>m	-k li>k l

**-IMP**

**gloss**

(200) a.	2SG	1SG/3SG/DU/PL	soit-to	‘send’
b.	2DU	1SG/3SG/DU/PL	soit-t s( )	‘send <sup>DU</sup> ,
c.	2PL	1SG/3SG/DU/PL	soit-tin( )	‘send <sup>PL</sup> ,
d.	1SG	2/3SG/DU/PL	<b>-NPST</b> br .:-nu-	<b>gloss</b> ‘write’
e.	1DU	2/3SG/DU/PL	br .:-n -sku	‘write <sup>DU</sup> ,
f.	1PL	2/3SG/DU/PL	br .:-nik(i)	‘write <sup>DU</sup> ,
g.	3SG	1SG/DU/PL	th i-b( )	‘beats’
h.	3DU	1SG/DU/PL	th i-nis(i)	‘beat <sup>DU</sup> ,
i.	3PL	1SG/DU/PL	th i-nim(i)	‘beat <sup>PL</sup> ,
j.	1SG	2/3SG/DU/PL	<b>-PST</b> huit-t -	<b>gloss</b> ‘scolded’
k.	1DU	2/3SG/DU/PL	huit-t -sku	‘scolded <sup>DU</sup> ,
l.	1PL	2/3SG/DU/PL	huit-t -k( )	‘scolded <sup>PL</sup> ,
m.	2SG	1SG/DU/PL	huit-tiyi	‘scolded’
n.	2DU	1SG/DU/PL	huit-tisi	‘scolded <sup>DU</sup> ,
o.	2PL	1SG/DU/PL	huit-tini	‘scolded <sup>PL</sup> ,
p.	3SG	1SG/DU/PL	huit-tu	‘scolded’
q.	3DU	1SG/DU/PL	huit-t -s t	‘scolded <sup>DU</sup> ,
r.	3PL	1SG/DU/PL	huit-t m( )	‘scolded <sup>PL</sup> ,

### 3.2.8 Verb forms

The following sketchy Kir nti-Kõits 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: -šy ~ š , e.g. *p -š -thum-c* ‘to do completely’, *br m-š -thum-c* ‘to write completely’ and *k<sup>h</sup> m-š -thum-c* ‘to tear completely’

- b. Aoristic/perfective future (probability) tense. Suffix: *-w* (1SG only), e.g. *p - -w* ‘I would do...’ *dz - -w* ‘I would eat...’ and *l - -w* ‘I would go...’ [e.g. *-w* , *cit u* suffixed to main verbs as in *dz -c -cit u* (3SG) ‘going to eat’ etc. occurs with all person and number, and also there is a small range of verbs suffixing *-d n( )* as in *prol-d n( )* ‘will hit/break’, *hir-d n* ‘will help visiting, *kir-d n( )* ‘will help braiding’ and so forth.
- c. Aoristic/perfective injunctive tense. Suffixes: *- , - u, -g/tu*, e.g. *dz -* ‘May/shall I eat...’ (further examples: *p - d šo m -dum*, *ko- u d šo m -t -s* , *go k<sup>h</sup> m dz - kō*), *ko:- u* ‘May/shall I look ...’, *p u-o* ‘do it’, *br m-g/tu* ‘May/shall I write...’ (further examples: *sold-u* (1SG) *d šo m -glu*, *bl -tu* (1SG) *d šo m -dum*, *soit-tu* (1SG) *d šo m -l* , *t mi-m bl sp t soit-tu* (p), *ts nts -m k<sup>h</sup>yōp t k bl -tu* (p)) *p -w l( )* ‘May s/he do it’, *p m-s l( )* ‘May they<sup>DU</sup> do it’ etc.
- d. Aoristic/perfective tense. Suffixes: *-t , -ti* (1SG; cf. *-t -* and *-ti* § 3.2.2), e.g. *soit-t -* ‘I sent...’, *g m-ti* ‘I walked ...’, *-yi* (2SG) *soit-tiyi* ‘You sent...’, *-tu* (3SG) *soit-tu* ‘s/he sent...’ etc.
- e. Conjunctive participle prefixed with converb. Suffix: *- , -lis* , e.g. *p -š -* and *p -s-li-š -* ‘after doing, after having done’
- f. First perfective participle. Suffix: *-šyo ~ šo* e.g. *p -šo* ‘done’
- g. First perfective tense. First perfect participle plus the locative auxiliary *b* or the auxiliary of defining *m* ‘is’ *p -šo-b (-t )* ‘has done’
- h. Perfective participle. Suffix: *-nu*, *p -šo-nu* ‘while doing’
- i. Infinitival non-past tense. Suffix: *-* (1SG), *-b* (3SG), *-sku* (2DU), e.g. *p i-nu-* ‘I do...’, *p i-b* ‘s/he does...’ *p i-n -sku* ‘we<sup>DU</sup> do...’
- j. Infinitival participle. Suffix: *-tik > tik ~ b > b*, e.g. *p -tik > p -tik ~ p i-b > p i-b* ‘the one doing’

- k. Infinitives. Suffixes: *-c* , *-th* (purposive), and *-n* prefixed with *m -c -bu*, e.g. *p -c* ‘to do’, *p -th-g m-c* ‘to walk for doing’ and *p -n -m -c -bu* ‘could not do...’
- l. Second perfective participle. Suffix: *-tu*, *-t m* ...‘if one does’ (inflection according to person and number), *p p-tu* ‘s/he did...’, *p mt m > p mt m* ‘they<sup>PL</sup> did...’ etc.
- m. Second perfective tense. Second perfect participle plus the paradigm *b* ‘is’ (locative) *p w b mt* ‘s/he does’ (has already started and the effect can be seen)
- n. Simple indefinite tense. Suffixes: *-nu-* , *-n -sku*, *-nim*, *-b* , *-niki* ‘I (will) do’, ‘We<sup>DU</sup> do’, ‘They<sup>PL</sup> do’, ‘S/he does’, and ‘We<sup>PL</sup> do’.

### 3.2.9 Tense-aspect-mood

Tense-aspect-mood comprises the complex system of morpho-semantic and ‘discourse-pragmatic’ features clustering the various categories. As morphological features, they tend to cluster around the verb Victor (1997:167). As semantic features, they are intimately involved in the meaning-structure of verbs (‘predicate’). They code various facets of the stste, 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), Kir nti 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 Kir nti-Kõits verbs for tense marking given in (202). The base form of the verb such contrast provided is- p -c (do-INF) ‘to do’.

	NPST		PST	
(202) a.1SG	p i-nu-	‘I do...’	p -t -	‘I did...’
b.1DU	p i-n -sku	‘We <sup>DU</sup> do...’	p -t -sku	‘We <sup>DU</sup> did...’
c.1PL	p i-nik(i)	‘We <sup>PL</sup> do...’	p -t k( )	‘We <sup>PL</sup> did...’
d. 2 SG	p i-n y	‘You do...’	p p-t yi	‘You did...’
e. 2 DU	p -s	‘You <sup>DU</sup> do...’	p -tisi	‘You <sup>DU</sup> did...’
f. 2 PL	p i-nini	‘You <sup>DU</sup> do...’	p -tini	‘You <sup>DU</sup> did...’
g. 3SG	p i-b( )	‘S/he does...’	p p-tu	‘S/he did...’
h. 3DU	p i-nis(i)	‘They <sup>DU</sup> do...’	p m-t s( )	‘They <sup>DU</sup> did...’
i. 3PL	p i-nim(i)	‘They <sup>DU</sup> do...’	p m-t m( )	‘They <sup>DU</sup> did...’

### 3.2.9.2 Aspect

Aspect “relates to the internal temporal structure of a situation” (Trask 1993: 21). Aspect in Kir nti-Kõits encompasses a group of heterogeneous semantic and pragmatic categories. Some involve temporal properties such as progressive or durative or perfective. Others involve purely pragmatic notions such as habitual.

#### 3.2.9.2.1 Perfective

Perfective is also known as ‘telic’ (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252) action. The K-K perfective involves an auxiliary verb; cluster of features, some semantic, others more pragmatic. This is probably used much more frequently in oral narrative, often indicating the tense, turth, certainty, or probability vis-à-vis the speaker-hearer contact, e.g.

(203) a. m ko-m w murs-šyo~šo b .:-t

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. m ko-mi dz -si-n m -dz u

3SG-AGT eat- PROG-EMPH NEG-eat

‘S/he didn’t have anything.’

b. m ko.pik k<sup>h</sup> m dz .n.dz .n b .:t m( )

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. l-k -mi ribdo tu-n -p i-b .:-t

child-one-AGT wine drink-INF-do-be-3SG

‘A child used to drink wine.’

b. ã-k b g pi-n la-n p i-nim

my-GEN g-m come-INF go-INF do-3SG:HON

‘My grandmother (g-m) keeps coming and going.’

c. go ip-šo- ip-si b .:ti

‘I was always sleeping.’

1SG sleep-PCPL-SIM sleep-NML be-1SG

- d. m ko-m ribdo tu-si- -tu-s p i-b :-t  
 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 m r p -n-p -n b :- ?  
 2SG what do-PROG-RED be-3 SG  
 ‘What are you doing?’
- b. go dz -n-dz -n b :-ti  
 1SG eat-PROG-RED be-1SG  
 ‘I am eating.’ (lit. I eating exist) b :-ti = both past non-past in K-K

### 3.2.9.3 Mood

Mood “expresses the degree or kind of reality of a proposition, as perceived by the speaker. Mood distinctions appear to be universally present in languages; they are variously expressed, often by inflection of the verb or by the use of specialized lexical items called modals” (Trask 1993: 174-175). Like Tankhul-Naga (T-B spoken in northeast India), mood distinctions (Victor 1997) in K-K often tend to shade off almost imperceptibly into expression of the speaker’s attitude and into clearly pragmatic factors, such as the speaker’s perceived relationship to other participants in discourse. Mood in the language is variously expressed with ‘modal auxiliaries’ appended to various finite and non-finite verbal forms, quite often with the expression of tense or aspect. We will here consider those morphologically distinguishable moods, e.g. imperative, interrogative, hortative, optative, subjunctive, dubitative, permission, obligatory etc.

### 3.2.9.3.1 Imperative

Various suffix markers (also cf. Appendix C), in accordance with the number and person, mark imperative in K-K. It also conveys the meaning of advisability or suggestive and prohibitive as given in (207) a-g.

(207) a. *ngAwa oNth pi-ne / w õth pi.n /*

e.b here come-2 SG:IMP:HON

‘Come here brother (e.b = elder one).’

b. *goi khiN lAu-o /goi k<sup>h</sup> l u.o/*

you house go-2SG:IMP

‘You go home.’

c. *aN-ke lo: bis-so /ã.k lo: bis.so/*

my-GEN speech.talk obey-2sg:IMP

‘Obey my advice.’

d. *eNko lo: appho-kali ne-pa-tine / ˜ko lo: p<sup>h</sup>pok li n p tin /*

this speech.talk father-DAT listen-CAUS-3sg:IMP:HON

‘Make dad listen this point.’

e. *langA su pi-sho bam-me ko-ngo /l g su pi-šo b mm ko o/*

outside.house who come-PCPL be-is:EXT look-2SG:IMP

‘Look, who has come outside the house?’

f. *hir-th la-tSA-mAlb deN-shA de-nene /hirth l c m lb d ˜ š d .n .n /*

visit-PUR go-INF-must say-CONV say-2/3sg:IMP:HON

‘Tell them to go for a visit.’

g. *i-ke*            *mamA khiN la-mela* /i.k m m k<sup>h</sup> l m l /  
 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 m -l i-nu-*  
 1SG NEG-go-NPST-1SG  
 ‘I will not (don’t) go’
- b. *goi m -l -yi?*  
 2SG NEG-go-3SG:Q  
 ‘Didn’t you go?’
- c. *mod b m -m i*  
 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 <-c > and <-l > expresses realizable wishes or hopes as in (209) a-c.

- (209) a. *Thebmur dum-tsa*            /T<sup>h</sup> b.mur dum.c /  
 big:ADJ:man    be-INF:OPT  
 ‘Be a man of substance.’
- b. *modeba-n dum-la*            /mo.d b .n dum.l /  
 so:like-EMPH    be-OPT

‘Let it be so, Amen’

- c. *bisAsai*      *dum-tsa*      /bis s i dum.c /  
 age(fig.)      be-INF:OPT  
 ‘Live long.’

### 3.2.9.3.4 Hortative

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

- (210) a. *eNk*      *pala-pik*      *khrum-ya*      / ~k p l k<sup>h</sup>rum.y /  
 here:ADV bamboo-PL plant-HOR  
 ‘Let us plant the bamboo here.’

- b. *aiN*      *mamAlo:*      *shyeN-si-ya*      / m .m lo: s ~.si.y /  
 our      mother.tongue learn-MV-HOR  
 ‘Let us learn our mother tongue.’

### 3.2.9.3.5 Probability/dubitative

The modal auxiliary phrase /dum-c c b-b / and the indeclinable particle /kõ/ express the probability or dubitative meanings ‘perhaps it is so’ and ‘it is likely to’ respectively as illustrated in (211) a-c.

- (211) a. *mo*      *dum-tsa*      *tsAb-bA?*      /mo dumc c bb /  
 that/such      become-INF      can-NPST  
 ‘Perhaps that can be so?’

- b. *disA*      *tsemA dzAm-nim-koN*      /dis d c m dz .:nim kõ/  
 tomorrow:ADV auntie arrive-PST:3sg:HON-PROB  
 ‘It is likely that auntie might arrive tomorrow.’

- c. *mul*      *da*      *phu*      *boi-me-koN*      /mul d p<sup>h</sup>u boim kõ/

now:ADV TOP:PAR flower blossom- PST: PROB

‘The flower might bloom now.’ (Until yesterday, it was not)

### 3.2.9.3.6 Entreative

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

(212) a. *AN-kali la-tSA ge-yi-ni /ãk li l c g yini/*  
 my-DAT give-REQ-HON  
 ‘Let me go.’

b. *eNk dzAm-shA bAm-tSA nAila / ~k dz :.š b :.c n il /*  
 ADV come-CONV sit-INF HON  
 ‘Come here and sit down.’

### 3.2.9.3.7 Potentiality /c p-c /

The K-K modal verb /c p.c / ‘can’ expresses potentiality, capability, permission or ability of a doer in respect of an action. The root <c p-> can have several different inflections according to person and number. It also expresses impudency ‘dare’ as illustrated in (213) a-b.

(213) a. *go oNsosam dza-tSA tsAb-nu-ng /go õsos m dz c c bnu /*  
 1SG this.much eat-INF can-NPST-1SG  
 ‘I can eat this much.’

b. *goi gyAkosi la-tSA tsAb-naye /go õsos m dz c c bnu /*  
 2SG market go-INF can-2SG  
 ‘You can go to the market.’

### 3.2.9.3.8 Desiderative /m lnu /

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

- (214) a. *go la-tsa mAlnung* /go l c m lnu /  
 1SG go-INF AUX:want  
 ‘I want to go.’

### 3.2.9.3.9 Obligatory/necessitative /m lb /

The auxiliary verb /m lb / ‘must’ expresses obligation or compulsion (also see § 4.3.2.4). Thus, consider the following example given in (215) a.

- (215) a. *go-mi kumso-pa-tsa-n mAlba* /gom kumso-p c n m lb /  
 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, Kir nti-Kõits 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 *dz -sib* ‘is eaten (approximately)’, e.g. (216) a-c and <-s u> (also cf. Rapacha (1997)) *dz -s u* expressing past ‘had been eaten (perfective tense approximately)’, e.g. (217) a-c.

Another single middle marker infix <-si-> (which is cognate of *-si* - 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. *šyopl dz -sib*

bread eat-PAS ‘bread is eaten’ (the speaker is ready with the bread to be eaten)

b. rimso-p šyil-p -sib

good-ADV dance-do-PAS ‘is danced beautifully’ (the speaker is ready to dance)

c. ˜ko g thum-šo-nol gy kosi l -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. l mdz dz -s u

snacks eat-PAS ‘snacks was eaten’

b. tsibbudi kumso-p -s u

bird.like song-do-PAS ‘was sung like a bird’

c. sin t gy kosi l -s u

yesterday market go-PAS ‘yesterday had been to the market’

(218) a. ric-ø-c ‘to laugh vs. him-si-c ‘to be shaken’

b. pl -ø-c ‘to jump’ vs. thum-si-c ‘to be finished’

c. boic-ø-c ‘to bloom’ vs. ro:-si-c ‘to be opened’

### 3.4 Causative structure

Causativization in Kir nti-Kõits is a morpho-lexical process. The infix morpheme <-p ic-> is the sole causativizing element in the language. It changes its inflectional forms with its basic root <-p -> with the root of the main verb, e.g. l-k li k<sup>h</sup> m dz -p -to (eat-CAUS-IMP:2SG) ‘Make the baby have the rice’ and other examples are:

(219) a. pa-p its-tsa /p .p ic.c /

do-CAUS-INF ‘make someone do something’

b. pa-pa-to /p .p .to/

do-CAUS-IMP:2SG ‘you make him/her do something’

- c. *pa-pAit-tu* /p .p it.tu/  
do- CAUS-PST:3SG ‘s/he made him/her/they do’
- d. *pa-p it-ta-sku* /p .p it.t .sku/  
do- CAUS-PST:2DU ‘we<sup>DU</sup> made him do’
- e. *pa-pAm-teme* /p .p m.t m( )/  
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*-> (*mumt* sDU K-K cf. *mot seDU* Kir nti-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.c /  
beat-REC-INF ‘to beat each other’
- b. *t’u-mum-tsa* /t’u.mum.c /  
lick-REC-INF ‘to lick each other’
- c. *ko-mum-tsa* /ko.mum.c /  
look-REC-INF ‘to look each other’
- d. *dzi-mum-tsa* /dzi.mum.c /  
fight-REC-INF ‘to fight each other’
- e. *su-mum-tsa* /su.mum.c /  
cover-REC-INF ‘to cover each other’
- f. *tAi-mum-tsa* t i.mim.c /  
kick-REC-INF ‘to kick each other’

### 3.6 Negative prefix

Kir nti-Kõits grammar utilizes only one negative prefix <*m* -> (also cf. Appendix C) for contradicting the meaning of a given verb. This morpheme <*m* -> is a cognate of the Tibeto-Burman simple negative \**ma*, which is often prefixed, or negative imperative \**ta* (Benedict 1972: 76), the Bahing negative particle *má* (Hodgson 1857: 500), the Hayu negative particle *ma*, *makhi*, *maang* or *tha*, which occur in preverbal position (Michilovsky 1988: 161), the Dumi suffixes <-*m* > and <-*n* > (Driem 1993b: 121-122), the Yamphu negative markers <*mæn*->, <*æ*:->, <-*n*> (Rutgers 1998: 110, 211), Kir nti-Wam negative marker <-> (Opgenort 2002: 237), the Lahu negative particle <*mâ*> (Matisoff 1991: 495), the Kir nti-Athpare <*mi*-> (Neupane 2001 [VS 2058: 130]) or <*ni*-> elsewhere in Ebert (1997) and the Tankhul-Naga (T-B) negative prefix <*m* -> (Victor 1997). Normally, the morpheme <*m* -> as negative marker is prefixed (cf. § 3.1; almost a single prefix morpheme) to verbs or adjective roots, e.g. *m* -*dz* -*c* ‘to not eat’ and *m* -*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 Kir nti languages, there is a separate negative marker, for instance, *mamai~mame* /*m .m i~m .m* / simply means ‘no, not at all’ in the Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti-Kõits grammar suggests emphasis or obligation in meaning, e.g. (221) a-e.

- (221) a. *ma-la-thu ma-dum-ba* /*m .l .thu m .dum.b* /  
 NEG-go-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must go anyhow/at any cost’  
 b. *ma-dza-thu ma-dum-ba* /*m .dz .thu m .dum.b* /  
 NEG-eat-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must eat anyhow/at any cost’  
 c. *ma-ko:-thu ma-dum-ba* /*m .ko:.thu m .dum.b* /  
 NEG-look-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC ‘must look/see anyhow/at any cost’

- d. *ma-rit-thu ma-dum-ba* /m .rit.thu m .dum.b /  
 NEG-laugh-PUR NEG-be-AUX:EXT:LOC 'must laugh anyhow/at any cost'
- e. *ma-gl(r/D)A-thu ma-dum-ba* /m .l .thu m .dum.b /  
 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 l c n m lb / '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 l .si.n m .l i.nu. /  
 1SG go-MV-EMPH NEG-go-NPST-1SG 'I do not go.' (...whatever the case may be)

### 3.7 Conditional structure

The nominal lexeme *n* (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 dz -t n ˜ko w mur-p i-nu-*  
 R arrive-PST:3SG COND this cloth wash-CAUS-NPST-1SG  
 'I shall make Ruili carry this cloth if she arrives.'
- b. *imm -m huit-t m n go gy kosi m -l i-nu-*  
 mother-AGT scold-3SG:HON COND 1SG market NEG-go-NPST-1SG  
 'I will not go the market if the mother scolds.'
- c. *dor-s u n T<sup>h</sup> -sib*  
 run-PAS COND fall-PAS

‘One falls if s/he runs.’ (Literal: is run if is fallen)

d. t u pi-t( ) n rimšo m -p i-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 Kir nti-Kõits transitive verb *p -c* ‘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 *p -c* verb is a cognate of *p -co* in Kir nti-Ba and *p -c m* in Kir nti-Wam. Its other polysemantic spheres are: ‘to act, behave, treat’ and figurative meanings are: ‘to copulate, have sexual intercourse, rape’ and another equivalent term is- *šukul-p -c* (See lexicon in Appendix A also).

	<b>Noun</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>verb</b>
(224) a.	dzitsk <sup>h</sup> ts	p -c	‘to do’ ‘to quarrel’
b.	cimik	--	‘to wink’
c.	dzol	--	‘to lie’
d.	h ~th	--	‘to be careless’
e.	k il	--	‘to persuade’
f.	kop <sup>h</sup> l	--	‘to make noise or be uncontrolled’
g.	kumso	--	‘to sing a song’
i.	k <sup>h</sup> lo	--	‘to invoke the spirits of the ancestors’
j.	k <sup>h</sup> ldi	--	‘to doubt’
k.	k <sup>h</sup> l	--	‘to guard’
l.	k <sup>h</sup> ui	--	‘to steal’
m.	g its	--	‘to be angry’
n.	lo:	--	‘to talk, discuss’
o.	mon	--	‘to grieve’
p.	mun	--	‘to be shy’
q.	n m	--	‘to love’

r. pid r	--	'to worship'
s. pul	--	'to invoke'
t. p <sup>h</sup> s	--	'to blow the wind'
u. roi	--	'to be sick'
v. s u	--	'to greet'
w. šukul	--	'to fornicate'
x. th'usu	--	'to cough'

	stem/root +	verb
(225) a. b r	p -c 'to do'	'to make fly by the wind'
b. blo	--	'to save'
c. g	--	'cause to walk'
d. r tu	-- (fig.)	'to steal in a small quantity'
e. r	--	'cause to rot'
f. r p	--	'cause to stand'
g. rin	--	'to smell'

### 3.9 Discourse Particles

Discourse particles are small closed set of uninflected or indeclinable forms. They do not obviously show any characteristic lexical morphology, and occur in a syntactically independent way in phrase and sentences. These particles are characterized by their having no dependents. However, they naturally do not appear alone in a sentence, but can precede or succeed nominals and verbs e.g. the underlined ones in *goi d mo p i-b m-t 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 Kir nti-Kōits are: kō, k k , cō, d , šyā, c n, d , , n , -i and -n. Their use is illustrated as follows:

#### 3.9.1 Mirative /n ' /

The mirative /n / 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.

(226) a. m ko pu l t b ∴-t n ‘  
 that beggar die-PST:3SG MIR  
 ‘The man died.’ (I discover, heard from someone else)

b. goi-mi m r d ~-n n ‘ ?  
 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. mul t m ko roi-p -šo mur b ∴-b kõ  
 today that sick-do-PCPL die-NPST PAR  
 ‘The sick person may die today.’ (I doubt)

### 3.9.3 Emphatic /k k /

The particle /k k / 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 m -p u-o d ~-n -d n mo k k p -yi?  
 go-AGT NEG-do-IMP say-PROG-RED so PAR do-3SG:Q  
 ‘Did you do so when I was telling you not to do so?’

### 3.9.4 Method /cõ/

The particle /cō/ is of declarative type and it is used in delivering some methods or ways of doing things as illustrated in (229) a.

- (229) a. goi-mi p<sup>h</sup>urk l      òp      t ic-c      m lb cō  
 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 /d /

The particle /d / is used in the sense of ‘rather’ and pragmatically is a topic marker of excluding some participants in the discourse such as *go d m -l i-nu-* ‘I do not go’ (rather you go) and the similar meaning is conveyed in example (230) a, and one more example can be found in the Text source [1.23] also.

- (230) a. *mekyengA me gAishngAmin ubnaubna hillo pAaptu, “mame e... dAgyu! inke da loab selan bA.:t shyAn? Ankali mArde kyorsshA-dzArs-shA piu densho?”*

m ky - m	g iš- -min	ubn ubn	hillo-p -ptu,	“m m ...d gyu!
there-ABL	s/he anger-SIM-then	mutter	ask-do-PST:3SG	INTJ hey...e/b
in-k	d	lo b s l -n	b .:-t ~t	šyã?
your-GEN PAR	y/b	along.with-PAR	AUX:EXT-3SG	INTJ:PAR
ã-k li m rde	kyors-š -dz rs-š	pi-u	d ~:-šo?”	
I-ACC why	cut-CONV-RED-CONV	come-IMPR	say-PR:PCPL	

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

[Text source: 1.24]

### 3.9.6 Certainty /šyã/

The particle /šyã/ is used for confirming some knowledge of something of a speaker to his/her hearer in certainty or confidentiality as illustrated in (231) a, and another example can be found in the Text source [1.24] as well.

- (231) a. *Khintsi plApsala dumnAdumna Paiwakali hillo pAptu, “e... dAgyu! gopikya dopA pitsA shyan?”*

K<sup>h</sup>intsĩ pl ps l dum-n -dum-n P iw -k li hillo-p p-tu, “e...

K helpless be-PROG-RED-PROG P-GEN ask-do-PST:3SG  
 “hello d gyu! go-piky dop pi-c šyã?”  
 brother! I-PL how come-INF PAR

‘Khintsĩ asked Paiwa being helpless, “Hello brother! How shall we come?”’  
 [Text source: 1.19]

### 3.9.7 Choice /c n/

The particle /c n/ is used for the meaning of ‘choice/option or ‘this particular one’ such as *go goi-k li ko bl -tik-c n m -g -nu-* ‘I do not give you this pen’ (you take another one) and as shown in example (232) a.

(232) a. *Khintsĩsan Ngakumake perA gadgepA mulnga Okhaldhunga nu Ramechhappa Likhu nu Khimtige kainsAu.*

K<sup>h</sup>intsĩ-tš n kum -k p r gad-k -p mul- Okh ldhung nu R m chh p-  
 p  
 K-PAR N-GEN right bank-GEN-POSTP today-GEN O and R-POSTP  
 Likhu<sup>47</sup> nu Khimti-g k -s u  
 L/rivulet and K-POSTP follow route-PAS

‘Khintsĩ 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 /d /

<sup>52</sup>The word Likhu >Likh (means ‘River/rivulet’ in Kir nti-Kõits) is of Tibeto-Burman origin (cf. Malla 1981:12) and at present is Nepalified (i.e. Indo-Aryanized or Indicized) as a hydronym and the speakers tend to speak Likhu Khola (*N K<sup>h</sup>ola*) means ‘Rivulet Rivulet’ twice in word to word translation.

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

- (233) a. m ko mur k<sup>h</sup> l i-b d m -l i-b ?  
 that man house go-NPST:3SG PAR NEG-go-NPST:3SG  
 ‘Does that man go home or not?’

### 3.9.9 Confirming question / /

The particle / / syntactically must occur in the final position of the phrase or sentence to deliver its meaning as confirming question about ideas such as *moth m* ? ‘Is that so?’ and in example (234) a.

- (234) a. *Paiwami yo tsu:tsupanpan denta, “hatteri! gom gena loab kyorsshAdzArsshA piu densho nanga nga? ts’ibrub kyorsshA-dzArsshA piu kaka densho nang shyan”.*

P iw -mi yo tsu:tsu-p -n -p -n d ~:-t ~t, h tteri! go-m g n lo b  
 P-AGT also regret-do-PROG-RED-PROG say-PST:3SG INTJ I-ERG when y/b  
 kyors-š -dz rs-š pi-u d ~:-šo n ~n

cut.CONV-RED-CONV come-IMPR say-PR:PCPL AUX:1SG  
 ? ts’ibrub kyors-š -dz rs-š pi-u k k d ~:-šo  
 Q:PAR bird/animal cut.CONV-RED-CONV come-IMPR PAR say-CONV  
 n šyã  
 AUX:1SG PAR

‘Paiwa also expressed regretting, “When did I tell you to come having sacrificed your younger brother (y/b)? I told you to come having sacrificed a bird or an animal.’

[Text source: 1.25]

### 3.9.10 Special emphasis /-i, -n/

The phonemic particles /-i/ and /-n/ are used for showing a special emphasis in a discourse as illustrated in (235) a-b and other examples can be found in the Text source [1.11], and [1.5, 17, 19, 20, 29, 37] also.

(235) a. *mekelAi yo mekopikya hamaihAm udingge lAmteme.*

m k -l -i yo m ko-piky h m -i-h m uding-g l m-t m ~t m  
 there-ABL-PAR also s/he-PL bank-PAR-bank north-POSTP go-PST:3PL  
 ‘From there too they went towards the north through the bank.’

b. *deNsdesimin Tawa likh dzA.:t.*

d ~:s-d ~:-si-mi-n T w lik<sup>h</sup> dz .:-t ~t  
 say-RED-NML-LOC-PAR T rivulet come-PST:3SG

‘Quarreling in the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet.’

[Text source: 1.28]

### 3.9.11 Declarative /lo/

The particle /lo/ is used for declaring something by a speaker in front of his/her hearer for implying ‘granted that... or okay’ as illustrated in (236) a-b, which syntactically occurs in the subject position far left.

(236) a. *lo õth piu-o d*

PAR hither come-IMP PAR  
 ‘You now come hither.’

b. *lo mul goi-nimp<sup>h</sup> m íšy -wã šy 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 Kir nti languages. All Kir nti languages including Kir nti-Kõits have dual marker. Most of the nominals morphologically are derived, reduplicated and compounded ones.

The Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti languages, Kir nti-Kõits 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.

\*\*\*\*\*

## Chapter Four

### Syntactico-semantic structures

#### 4. Syntactic structure

This chapter mainly concentrates on the description of some fundamentals of Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti-Kõits vis-à-vis their meaning.

#### 4.1 General overview on T-B syntactic typology

Kir nti-Kõits as one of the T[ibeto]-B[urman] languages of the Nepal Himalayas and Sikkim is a verb final, e.g. (270) a, language. In all T-B languages with the exception of Karen (DeLancey 1990: 806), the normal word order is S(ubject), O(bject) and V(erb) (also cf. Kansakar 1993, Park (1994) for Kir nti-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<sup>48</sup> – subject, object, predicate, though this is not always and everywhere rigorously observed. The qualifier

---

<sup>48</sup> 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

always accompanies the qualified closely, whether preceding or following it, and such collocations have a great measure of syntactic cohesion, being treated as single words when postpositions have to be added. Subordinate clauses are not properly typical of Tibeto-Burman syntax, but, under the influence of Indo-Aryan neighbors, are widely used in certain individual members of the family. Basically, Tibeto-Burman words are monosyllables. In most of the member languages, we find a wealth of words for close definition of concrete objects, coupled with an almost complete absence of terms for abstract and general concepts. The amount of borrowing from the NIA languages, is great and continually growing.”

This SOV word order typology according to Matisoff (1991:386) and Masica (1976: 27-30) is ‘undoubtedly the original Sino-Tibetan word order’. This word order of Kir nti languages satisfies Greenberg’s “non-absolute/implicational” universals 5 and 21<sup>49</sup> (Song 2001: 6-7) and (Comrie 1981: 19) by having, postpositions and NP order string (Ebert 1994:100) such as,

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{DEM+GEN} \\ \text{Poss (pron)} \end{array} \right\} +\text{Num}+\text{ADJ}/\text{ATTR}+\text{POSS}+\text{N}$$

We will in the succeeding § 4.2 examine phrase word orders of Kir nti-Kõits syntax, e.g. *m ko nimsi rimšo wã s l-nimp<sup>h</sup>* (that two good boy-DU) ‘those two handsome boys<sup>DU</sup>, and *m ko-k nimsi rimšo t u b m-t -s* (his/her-GEN two good son be-PST:EXT-2DU) ‘S/he has two handsome sons’, in which Ebert’s general observation to a greater extent can satisfactorily justify its (Kir nti-Kõits syntax) structural features.

---

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

<sup>49</sup> Greenberg’s (1963b) Universal 5: “if a language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun” and his Universal 21: “if some or all adverbs follow the adjective they modify, then the language is one in which the qualifying adjective follows the noun and the verb precedes its nominal object as the dominant order” (cited in Song 2001: 7).

## 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 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 Kir nti-Kõits (also cf. Kir nti-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 Kir nti-Kõits, mainly consists of a noun or pronoun as illustrated in (237) a-c, where a single noun (N) serves as the head of NPs and in (238) a-c, a pronoun occurs in place of (N) and therefore it also serves the purpose of the NP.

- (237) a. mur(u) ‘man’                      b. dzoi ‘tiger’                      c. r w ‘tree’  
 (238) a. go ‘I’                                  b. goi ‘you’                              c. m ko ‘s/he’ (also demonstrative)

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

- (239) a. dzoi k (also *k dzoi*; normally frequent use is *dzoi k*) ‘a/one tiger’  
       b. ˜ko dzoi ‘this tiger’  
       c. m ko r w ‘the/that tree’  
       d. m ko-k k<sup>h</sup> ‘his/her house’

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

- (240) a. blošo p<sup>h</sup> s ‘tasty papaya’  
       b. rimšo mur(u) ‘handsome man’  
       c. k<sup>h</sup> dic l ‘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.  $\tilde{ko}$  blošo mugy ‘this tasty banana’  
 b. m ko rimšo m’isy mur(u) ‘that beautiful woman’  
 c. m ko k<sup>h</sup> dic l ‘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.  $\tilde{ko}$  iciici blošo p<sup>h</sup> s ‘this slightly tasty banana’  
 b. m ko s pp rimšo m’isy l ‘that very beautiful girl’  
 c. m ko s pp k<sup>h</sup> dic l ‘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. m ko sin t- s pp rimšo m’isy mur(u) ‘that yesterday’s very beautiful woman’  
 b. m ko sin t- s pp ho:šo bw k ‘that yesterday’s very hot water’

As pointed out above, Kir nti-Kõits 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 n ‘pig’ (not a cat)  
 b. kucum yo ‘dog also’  
 c. bl tik c n ‘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 d bw ‘pig or rooster’

b. kucum nu b rmo ‘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. wã smur(u) yo m’isy mur(u) yo ‘both man and woman’

b. kucum yo b rmo 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. m ko-k w nu m kok lo b

his/her-GEN e.b PAR his/her-GEN y.b

‘his/her elder-brother and his/her younger brother’

b. i-k ru nu ã-k k<sup>h</sup>

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 ã-k k<sup>h</sup> nu i-k šyõpu

1SG my-GEN house PAR 2SG-GEN property

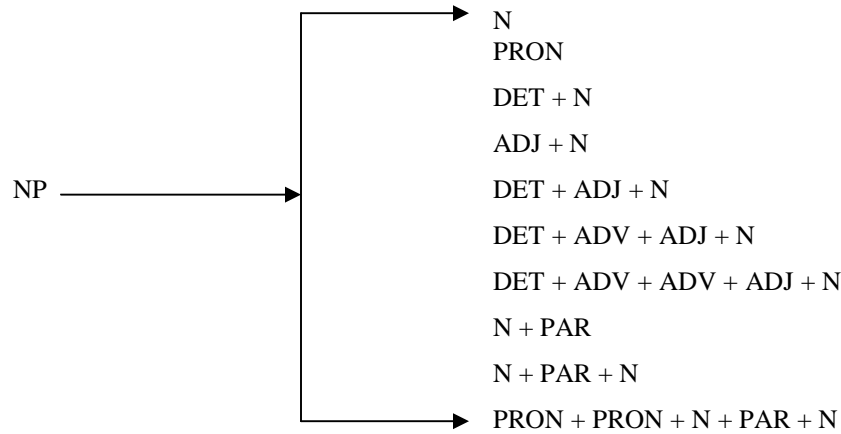
‘my house and your property’

b. m ko n-k p<sup>h</sup>po nu m ko n-k m m

his/her they- GEN father PAR his/her they-GEN mother

‘their father and their mother’

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

**Diagram 4.4: An NP in K-K**

An NP functions as the **S** of a sentence (249) a, and **O** (249) b of a sentence and a complement of a sentence (249) c.

(249) a. t b m-mi ( m) cã m'í-tu  
 Tebam-AGT hair comb-PST:3SG  
 'Tebam combed her hair.'

b. s mli k -b k<sup>h</sup> m (verb in the mid position is also used occasionally)  
 Semli cook-NPST:3SG rice  
 'Semli cooks rice.'

c. m m bl sp t br -n-br -n b .:-t m( )  
 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 b* (come-PROG-come-PROG AUX), where ‘come’ is the main verb and ‘is’ an auxiliary. The VP construction in Kir nti-Kõits is described in the preceding paragraphs.

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

- (250) a. dz u-o (eat-IMP:3SG) 'eat'  
 b. l -t( ) (go-PST:3SG) 'went'  
 c. dor-( ) (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. l i-b kō (go-NPST:3SG) 'may go' [cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.2 (227) a]  
 b. b' -b n ' (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. dz -šo m r ip-o  
 eat-PCPL PAR sleep-IMP:3SG 'sleep after eating'  
 b. l i-b d m -l i-b  
 go-NPST:3SG PAR NEG-go-NPST:3SG 'does s/he go or not'  
 c. ko:- o min d -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. dz i-n -sku (eat-NPST:COP-DU) 'eat-AUX-2DU'  
 b. dz -c m lb( ) (eat-INF must) 'must eat'  
 c. -n- -n b (weep-PROG-weep-PROG) 'is weeping'  
 d. i-c c'í t u (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. l u-o l u-o (go-NPST:IMP RED) 'certainly go'  
 b. soit-to soit-to (send-NPST:IMP RED) 'certainly send'

c. k<sup>h</sup> l-do k<sup>h</sup> l-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. dz -c dz -c min ip-c  
eat-INF RED then sleep-INF ‘You eat and sleep doing nothing.’ (i.e. satiric)

b. h m-do h m-do min s m-do  
dry-NPST:IMP RED then store-NPST:IMP ‘You dry and dry and store...’

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

(255) a. k<sup>h</sup> -mi l -ti  
house-POSTP go-PST:1SG ‘(I) went home’

b. k<sup>h</sup> -g o-t  
house- POSTP enter-PST:3SG ‘(s/he) entered inside the house’

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

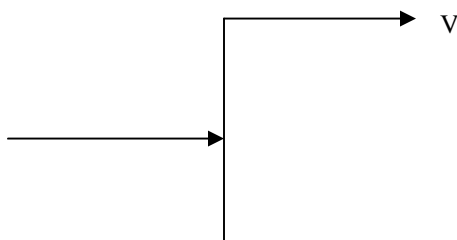
(256) a. ripp dorc-c  
fast/quickly run-INF ‘to run quickly’

b. s pp blo-c  
very to be tasty-INF ‘to be very tasty’

c. icik<sup>h</sup>oi g -c  
little give-INF ‘to give a little’

The VPs in Kir nti-Kõits illustrated above in (249)-(256) are summarized in Diagram 2 below.

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



	V+ PAR
	V + PAR + V
VP	V + AUX/COP
	V + RED
	V + RED + ADV + V
	N + POSTP + V
	ADV + V

### 4.2.3 Adjective phrase

An adjective phrase (**ADJPH**) in Kir nti-Kõits qualifies an N or an NP in a sentence. Its structures can be described as follows.

A single **ADJ** can form and function as an **ADJPH** as shown here, e.g.

(257) a. blošo ‘tasty’                      b. T<sup>h</sup> b ‘big’                      c. imiccili ‘small’

An **ADJPH** in a sentence can consist of an **ADJ** preceded by an **ADV** (**ADV + ADJ**), e.g.

(258) a. s pp rimšo                      ‘very beautiful’  
           b. omo T<sup>h</sup> b                      ‘very big’  
           c. domo imiccili                      ‘how small’

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

(259) a. p<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>od b rin p šo  
           flower like smell-do-ADJ      ‘flower-like smelling’

          b. th mli    k<sup>h</sup>od b    l isšo  
           hill        like        tall    ‘hill-like tall’

          c. kuku    k<sup>h</sup>od b pl šo  
           frog     like     jump        ‘frog-like jumping’

In place of *k<sup>h</sup>od b*, 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. T T r k yo šyus l iššo  
 camel than also much tall 'very taller than a camel'
- b. h bsi k yo šyus k r  
 African than also much black 'very blacker than an African'

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

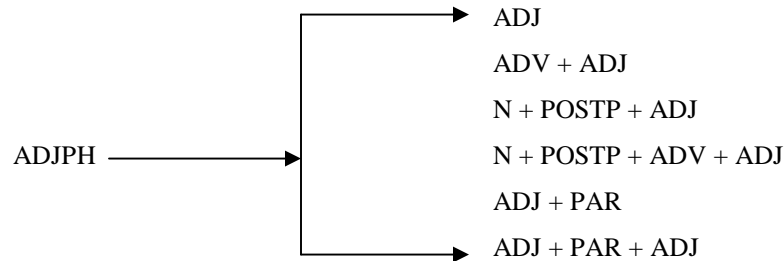
- (261) a. rimšo rimšo cō  
 good good PAR 'only good ones' (excludes bad; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.4)
- (229) a)  
 b. ip-šo n '  
 sleep-PCPL/ADJ PAR 'slept' (it is said, hearsay; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.1 (226) a-b)
- c. imcili c n  
 small PAR 'small' (choice/emphatic; cf. Ch 3 § 3.9.7 (232) a)

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 m -rimšo  
 good PAR NEG-good 'good and bad'
- b. l l d k r  
 red PAR black 'red or black'
- c. imcili d T<sup>h</sup> b  
 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. *s pp rip* ‘very fast’ and *dis l* ‘from tomorrow’. The structural descriptions of Kir nti-Kōits ADVPHs are as follows.

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

(263) a. *mun t* ‘today’      b. *d s n* ‘slowly’      c. *sin t* ‘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. *m ko n t* ‘on that day’  
 b. *mul thoc* ‘this year’  
 c. *s in s moitin* ‘many years ago’

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

(265) a. *k<sup>h</sup>i -g* ‘inside the house’  
 b. *r w -k n .:th* ‘near the tree’  
 c. *k<sup>h</sup> hōiti* ‘in front of the house’

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

- (265) a. m ko l pco-g            ‘towards that door’  
 b. ~ko lã n .:th            ‘near this path/road’  
 c. ~ko l pco- g            ‘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. nithn t yo            ‘the following day also’  
 b. dis cõ            ‘certainly tomorrow’  
 c. mun t d            ‘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. s pp g šo            ‘very thin’  
 b. s pp domšo            ‘very fat’  
 c. sus k r            ‘very black’

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

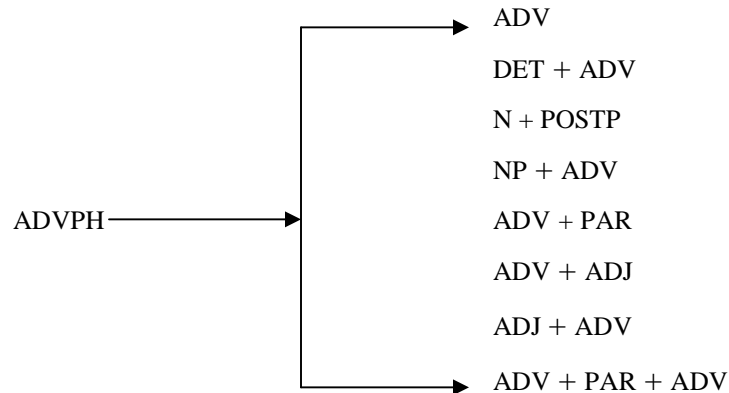
- (268) a. rimšo p ...            ‘...beautifully’  
 b. m rimošo p ...            ‘...badly’

Some **ADVPHs** can have two **ADVs** joined by a conjunctive particle (**ADV + PAR + ADV**) as illustrated in (269) a-c.

- (269) a. sin t nu mul t            ‘yesterday and today’  
 b. sus d icik<sup>h</sup>oi            ‘much or less’  
 c. mun t d dis            ‘today or tomorrow’

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

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



### 4.3 Sentence

A sentence is the “rank of syntactic structure conventionally understood as its upper limit” (Trask 1993: 362) and it incorporates at least one clause, e.g. (270) a, but grammatical devices may be used to allow a single sentence to incorporate more than one clause in various ways. Kir nti-Kõits as an unwritten, lesser-known or scarcely-described T-B language is basically spoken. A single Kir nti-Kõits 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, Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti-Kõits language.

- (270) a. go p<sup>h</sup> s b i-nu-  
 1SG papaya eat-NPST-1SG  
 ‘I eat papaya.’  
 S O V

### 4.3.1 Classification of sentences

Ebert (1994) has classified Kir nti sentences mainly in two types, viz., (i) simple and (ii) complex based on structure. Rai (2003: 140) has classified the Kiranit-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 Kir nti-Kõits sentences mainly based on Ebert's framework of structural description rather than based on function, e.g. imperative, optative etc., which has more or less been illustrated in Ch 3 § 3.2.9.3 while describing mood in the language. We will also consider some pertinent instances from Rai's (2003) description of K-Rodung in comparative perspective.

#### 4.3.1.1 Simple sentences

##### 4.3.1.1.1 Basic word order

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

(271) a. go k<sup>h</sup> m dz i-nu-  
 1SG rice eat-NPST-1SG  
 'I eat rice.'

b. go bw k di-th l -ti  
 1SG water fetch-PUR go-PST:1SG  
 'I go for fetching the water.'  
**S O V**

c. *gAitsm A m'its tsilA dApta.*  
 g its-m m'its tsil d p-t ~t  
 anger-AGT hiseye lightning dazzle/glare-PST:3SG

'His eyes turned into lightning with anger.'

[Text source: 3.42]

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

- (272) a. k<sup>h</sup> m go dz i-nu- 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 Kir nti-Kõits can be constructed in the following order as illustrated in (273) a-c.

- (273) a. goi t k l -n-l -n b :- ?  
 2SG where go-PROG-go-PROG be-3SG  
 'Where are you going?'  
 b. t k b :- -n -y goi?  
 where live-COP-3SG  
 'Where do you live?'  
 c. ~ko i-k m ´?  
 this 2SG-GEN AUX:is  
 'Is this yours?'

In the illustration (273) a above, however there occurs a question word *t k* '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, *m ´* 'is' never ever can occur in the **S** position in place of *~ko* 'this' demonstrative pronoun. There exists a negative particle <*m m i*> usually used as a short negative question, e.g. ... *mo m m i d* '...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.  $\frac{1}{\text{goi}} \frac{1}{\text{mul}} \frac{1}{\text{t kumso}} \frac{2}{\text{p i-n -y}} ?$   
 2 SG today song do-COP-2SG  
 ‘Do you sing today?’

b. (m r) goi mul t kumso p i-n -y ?  
 (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 Kir nti-Kõits are: *m r* ‘what’, *su* ‘who’, *t ko* ‘which’, *t k* ‘where’, *dop* ‘how, in what way’, *m rd* ‘why’, *dod b* ‘what kind, type’, *doso* ‘how much’ *t k-g* ‘in what direction’ and *g n* ‘when’ (See § 3.1.2.4.6). The question word in a sentence in Kir nti-Kõits is always stressed as shown in (275) a-g.

(275) a. i-k n 'm r m' ?  
 2SG-GEN name what AUX:is  
 ‘What is your name?’

b. m ko 't k b :-m  
 s/he where be- AUX:is  
 ‘Where is s/he?’

c. m ko 'su m' ?

s/he who AUX:is

‘Who is s/he?’

d. (goi) 'dod b b .:-ni

(you) how be-2SG:HON

‘How are you?’

e. ~ko bw -k 'gis d ~-ni?

this rooster-GEN how.much say-HON

‘What is the cost of this rooster?’

f. goi m k 'm rd l -y ?

2SG there why go-2SG

‘Why did you go there?’

g. goi-mi ~ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp t 'm rd br .:-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. with rising intonation also form interrogative sentences as illustrated in (276) a.

(276) a. *Paiwami yo tsu:tsupanpan denta, “hatteri! gom gena loab kyorsshAdzArssha piu densho nanga nga? ts'ibrub kyorsshA-dzArssha piu kaka densho nang shyan”.*

P iw -mi yo	tsu:tsu-p -n -p -n	d ~:-t ~t, h tteri!	go-m g n lo b
P-AGT	also	regret-do-PROG-RED-PROG	say-PST:3SG INTJ I-ERG when y/b
kyors-š -dz rs-š	pi-u	d ~:-šo	n ~n
cut.CONV-RED-SIM	come-IMPR	say-PR:PCPL	AUX:1SG
? ts'ibrub	kyors-š -dz rs-š	pi-u	k k d ~:-šo
Q:PAR bird/animal	cut.CONV-RED-SIM	come-IMPR	PAR say-PR:PCPL
n	šyã		

AUX:1SG PAR

‘Paiwa also expressed regretting, “When did I tell you to come having sacrificed your younger brother (y/b)? I told you to come having sacrificed a bird or an animal.’ [Text source: 1.25]

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

#### 4.3.1.1.3 Copula sentences

Kir nti-Kõits has three verbs corresponding to English ‘be’ such as <-b :-> ‘locational, existential’ (cf. Ch 3 § 3.2.8), *m* ‘ (statement) and *m* ‘ (interrogative), and <n -> ‘identificational’ and there is only one negative prefix <m -> (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 <m -> such as *m m i* as in *mo m m i d* ‘Is not it so?’), e.g.

(277) a. i-k lo b-pik b :-m d m -b :-m ?  
 2SG-GEN y.sibling-PL exist-Q:3SG PAR NEG-exist-Q:3SG  
 ‘Do you have younger siblings or don’t you?’

b. m ko luc b (-t ~t)  
 s/he below be  
 ‘S/he is below.’

c. ~ko šy rori-mi h’isi` m -b  
 this salt.pot-LOC salt NEG-be  
 ‘There is no salt in this salt-pot.’

The copula <-b :-> or <-b :-t ~t> as first perfective participle is most dynamic and inflects differently with all person and number in use such as *p -šo-b (-t )* ‘has done’ and further examples include,

(278) a. *mekopikya AngAm hushke nams bab.*

m ko-piky      n-g -m      huš-k      n ms   b -b ~b b  
 that-PL      their:PRO-inside-LOC   blood-GEN      relatives be:AUX-EXT:3SG

‘They have blood relationship among them.’ [Text source: 1.3]

b. *mekopikim prAg-neslosits nAmsitsmer porong gimthepA bA.:sho bA.:teme.*

m ko-piki-m pr g-n slosits   n msits-m r   poro šo gimth -p b .:-šo  
 s/he-PL-AGT pre-historical      time-LOC      nomadic living-ADV stay-PR:PCPL

b .:-t m ~t m

AUX-EXT:PST:3PL

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

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

(279) a. *mekopiki loli kangAn gephingA muru nami.*

m ko-piki      lo:li      k - -n      g p<sup>h</sup>i-      muru n -mi~n -m  
 s/he-PL      language:ADJ one-GEN-PAR   group-GEN      man      AUX:3PL

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

b. *mekyenga Kōits lo nu Bamyung lo kA lolinga nimsi phetsnga lo khodeb nasi.*

m k y -      Kōits lo: nu B .:yung lo: k lo:-li-      ni.:si p<sup>h</sup> ts-      lo:

there-ABL      K language and B language one language-LOC two part-GEN  
 language

k<sup>h</sup>od b n -si~n -s

ADJ:like AUX:2DU

‘Similarly, Kõits and Ba.:yung are like two dialects of the same single language.’

[Text source: 1.6]

#### **4.3.1.1.4 Ergativity**

An ‘ergative construction’ by definition is “a grammatical case that indicates the agent or instrument of an action. In an ergative type of sentence construction, the subject of transitive verbs is indicated by an 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 semantic agent”. Similarly, ‘ergativity’ according to Dixon (1979) is “Morphological marking, whether realized by nominal case inflections or cross-referencing on the verb, can be either (i) ergative, marking transitive subject (A) function, vs. absolutive, marking intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O); is always the unmarked term in an absolutive/ergative opposition. Nominative is most frequently the unmarked term in a nominative/accusative system, but there are some languages in which accusative is unmarked. A language whose morphology mixes accusative and ergative marking has the split determined by (a) the semantic content of verbs, (b) the semantic content of NP’s, (c) aspect/tense choice, or (d) a combination of these.” Kir nti-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 Kir nti-Kõits ±animate in some instances such as *p<sup>h</sup> s-mi l pco rom-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 Kir nti 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’. Kir nti-Kõits exhibits a complicated ‘split ergative’ (i.e. ergative morphologically, whereas syntactic process is usually organized according to a nominative-accusative principle; See Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1; examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c) pattern sensitive to ‘aspect and empathy pattern’, where the 3rd person and demonstrative pronoun is marked always everywhere except for 1st, 2nd person intransitive (DeLancey 1990: 807) verbs such as,

- (280) a. *go-ø m ko-k li hui-nu- ~*  
 1SG 3SG-DAT scold-NPST-1SG  
 ‘I scold him/her.’

- b. *goi-∅ m ko-k li hui-n -y*  
 2SG 3SG-DAT scold-NPST:COP-2SG  
 ‘You scold him/her.’
- c. *go-nimp<sup>h</sup> -∅ m ko-k li hui-n -sku*  
 1SG-DU 3SG-DAT scold-NPST:COP-1DU  
 ‘We<sup>DU</sup> scold him/her.’
- d. *m ko-mi ã-k li hui-b*  
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT scold-NPST-3SG  
 ‘You scold him/her.’
- e. *m ko-nimp<sup>h</sup> -mi ã-k li hui-n -si*  
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT scold-NPST:COP-3DU  
 ‘You scold him/her.’
- f. *m ko-nimp<sup>h</sup> -mi ã-k li hui-n -si*  
 3SG-ERG 1SG-DAT scold-NPST:COP-3DU  
 ‘You scold him/her.’

The above morpho-syntactic phenomenon of Kir nti-Kõits 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 (Kir nti, 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 Kir nti-Kõits 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  $-\emptyset$ , as in Basque; e.g. in K-K, *lo b- $\emptyset$  dz m-t* (y.brother lose-PST:3SG) ‘The younger-brother lost’ and *w -mi loab- $\emptyset$  s m-t* (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. Kir nti-Kõits 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. Kir nti-Kõits resembles the later characteristics.

Like Nepali, Kir nti-Kõits possesses many features of ergativity, chief among them being the agentive/ergative case marker <-mi>, which is used to mark the subject

of a transitive verb as illustrated earlier. For a sentence like ‘I sneezed’ in English would be as shown in (281) a-c in K-K,

- (281) a. *ã-k li ci -ø pi-t( )*  
 1SG-DAT sneeze come-PST  
 ‘A sneeze came to me.’ (‘I sneezed’)
- b. *go-m ci -ø p -t -*  
 1SG-ERG sneeze come-PST-1SG  
 ‘I did a sneeze.’ (‘I sneezed’)
- c. *ã-k li ci -mi šy t-g -ti*  
 1SG-DAT sneeze-ERG trouble-give-PST  
 ‘A sneeze caused me to suffer.’ (‘I sneezed’)

Although *ci* 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 *ci* 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 Kir nti-Kõits takes the ergative case marker <-mi>. There is no accusative case. The direct object of a transitive verb, like the sole argument or subject of an intransitive verb, is in the nominative case-- unmarked in K-K. As stated earlier, the ergative marker is the same as the instrumental, locational marker and so on (cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1).

#### 4.3.1.1.4.2 The patient

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

(282) a. *go-m dz -t -*  
 1SG-ERG eat-PST-  
 'I ate (something).'

b. *hopo-m dz -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. *pid r p -šo-nu suiyo m -b -m n iyo pōib-mi l p i-b*  
 worship do-PCPL-TEMP nobody NEG-be-3PL although shaman only do-  
 NPST:3SG  
 'Although there are no one while worshipping, the shaman alone does it.'

The patient *pid r-∅*, which appears at the beginning of the sentence, is deleted anaphorically at the end, though it triggers the appearance of <-mi> on 'shaman' (*pōib-mi*).

#### 4.3.1.1.4.3 Inanimate vs. animate patients

Most inanimate direct object of a transitive verb is in the nominative case (-∅), e.g. *m ko-mi p<sup>h</sup>urk l gy p-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 (∅). Animate pronouns are unmarked when they are subjects of intransitive verbs, e.g. *go-∅ -ti* (1SG- weep-PST:1SG) 'I wept'. They may never be

unmarked when they are objects of transitive verbs. Goal or dative marking <-k li> is mandatory as illustrated in (284) a-b.

(284) a. go-mi  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m \text{ ko-k li} \\ r \text{ nts -k li g -t -} \\ m \text{ ko-}\emptyset^* \end{array} \right.$  (\* unacceptable)

1SG-ERG  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3\text{SG-DAT} \\ \text{Rentse-DAT give-PST-1SG} \\ 3\text{SG-}\emptyset \end{array} \right.$  ‘I gave him/to Restse.’

b. mul t go-mi  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m \text{ ko-k li} \\ r \text{ nts -k li t -t -} \\ m \text{ ko-}\emptyset^* \end{array} \right.$  (\* unacceptable)

today 1SG-ERG  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3\text{SG-DAT} \\ \text{Rentse-DAT see-PST-1SG} \\ 3\text{SG-}\emptyset^* \end{array} \right.$  ‘Today I saw him/to Restse.’

There are numerous impersonal constructions, where an ergative noun phrase is present, e.g. *ã-k l ˘ko c n m l-b* (1SG-DAT this PAR search/want) ‘I want this one.’

#### 4.3.1.1.4.4 <-mi> and the tense/aspect system

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

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

(ii) In certain constructions in semantic area of permission/obligation, “-le” (K-K; <-mi>) is marked in any tense: *parnu* (K-K; *m l-c* , *m lb* ‘must’), *cha* (K-K; *b* ‘is’), *-na* (K-K; *-th* ‘purposive:INF), *dinu* (K-K; *g -c* ‘to give’), and the *-ne* (K-K; *-c* , *-th*, *-n* INF) infinitive.

(c) “-le” (K-K; <-mi>) is excluded from the non-perfective more adamantly in multi-verbal concatenations than it is in single verb non-perfective constructions. We will illustrate examples in § 4.2.1.1.4.5 later.

#### 4.3.1.1.4.5 <-mi> and the perfective

In this § 4.2.1.1.4.5, we will illustrate examples of ergativity, where they occur or do not occur in each verb forms outlined in Ch 3 § 3.2.8 earlier.

<-mi> obligatory

(285) Aoristic/perfective tense (-t , -ti, -tu, -sku, -s , -t m, -tiyi) as in *m ko-nimp<sup>h</sup> -m prol-t -s* (s/he-DU-ERG break-PST-3DU) ‘S/he broke something.’ However, the intransitive *-ti* as in *go-ϕ l -ti* (1SG go-PST:1SG) ‘I went’ remains unmarked.

(286) First perfective participle (-šyo ~ šo and paradigm b ) as in *m ko-nimp<sup>h</sup> -m dumkh k -mi g p -šo b m-t -s* (s/he-DU-ERG office one-LOC job do-PR:PCPL be-PST-DU) ‘They<sup>DU</sup> have done a job in an office.’

(287) Second perfective participle (-tu, -t m ...) as in *ā-k t u-mi T<sup>h</sup> b g -k p p-tu* (1SG-GEN son-ERG ADJ job-one do-PST:3SG) ‘My son did a great job.’

(287) Second perfective tense (Second perfect participle *-t ...* and paradigm b ‘is’ (locational)) as in *goi-mi ˜ko p -šo-b m-t* (2SG-ERG this do-PR:PCPL-be-PST:2SG) ‘You have done this’ and *m ko-mi õ p -w -b m-t( )* (3SG-ERG so do-PST-be-3SG) ‘S/he has done so’.

(288) First perfective participle/tense (-šo, *-b* or *m* ‘is’) as in *go-m blesp t br m-š thum-šo-nu goi-mi m r m r p -yi?* (1SG-ERG letter write-SIM finish-PCPL-TEMP 2SG-ERG what what do-2SG) ‘What did you do (wants specifications) while I finished writing a letter?’

Other constructions with <-mi>

There are some other peculiar constructions, where <-mi> occurs obligatorily, e.g. *goi-mi m -p -š su-mi p i-b’ ?* (2SG-ERG NEG-do-SIM who-ERG do-

3SG) ‘Who does ... if you do not do?’, *go-mi m -dz i-nu- d ~š su-mi d ~m ?* (1SG-ERG NEG-eat-NPST-1SG say-SIM who-ERG say-3SG) ‘Who said that I do (will) not eat?’  
*goi-mi suiyo m išy - l m -thi-di?* (2SG-ERG anyone wife-child; NEG-find-3SG) ‘Did not you find even a single girl?’ and *m ko-mi biloci dz -w -l( )* (s/he-ERG guava eat-3SG-OPT) ‘May/Let him/her eat guava’.

<-mi> excluded

(289) Absolutive participle/converb (-šy ~ š , e.g. *p -š -thum-c* ‘to do completely’ etc. as in *go-∅ bl sp t k br m-š -thum-nu-* (1SG letter one write-SIM-finish-NPST-1SG) ‘I have to finish writing a letter.’

(290) Aoristic/perfective future (probability) tense (-w only with 1SG, e.g. *p - -w* ‘...would do’; and *cit u* suffixed to main verbs only with 3SG, DU, PL) as in *go-∅ obis dz - -w* (1SG cucumber eat-1SG-PR:FUT) ‘I would eat cucumber’ and *m ko-∅ k<sup>h</sup> l -c -cit u* (3SG house go-INF-going to) ‘S/he is going to go home’ but *go-m obis b -c -c’it* (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 (- , - u, -g/tu, -l( )) as in *go-∅ ko:- u d ~šo m -t -s* (1SG look/see-PR/I say-PCPL NEG-see-PR) ‘I wanted to look but was not visible’

(292) Conjunctive participle prefixed with converb (- , -lis ) as in *go-∅ dumkhin-mi ge p -s-li-š - k<sup>h</sup> l t-ti* (1SG office-LOC work do-PR-remain-SIM-PAR house return-PST:1 SG) ‘I returned home after completing the work at the office’.

(293) Simple indefinite tense (-nu- , -n -sku, -nim, -b , -niki) as in *go-∅ k<sup>h</sup>yōp t k br m-nu-* (1SG book one write-NPST-1SG) ‘I write a letter’.

(294) Infinitival non-past tense (- , -sku, -y , -si, -ni) as in *go-pik-∅ r b dz i-ni-ni* (1SG-PL potato eat-NPST-3PL) ‘You<sup>PL</sup> eat potato’.

The progressive forms in all person and number of both transitive and intransitive verbs are unmarked as in *go- $\emptyset$  mogy dz -n-dz -n b m-ti* (1SG banana eat-PROG-eat-PROG be-PST:1SG) ‘I am/was eating banana’.

<-mi> variable

(295) Infinitival non-past tense (-b ) as in *m ko-mi/- $\emptyset$  k l dz i-b* (3SG-ERG/- $\emptyset$  porridge eat-NPST:3SG) ‘S/he eats porridge’ (applicable to 3DU and 3PL also but marked in past)

(296) Infinitival participle/infinitives (-tik > tik ~ b > b, -c , -th, -n ) as in *go-mi/- $\emptyset$  l -c m lb* (1SG- go-INF must) ‘I must (have to) go’.

#### 4.3.1.1.4.6 Summary on ergativity

We previously provided copious illustrations, where <-mi> usually can occur and does not occur at II or occurs optionally. Kir nti-Kõits exhibits a complicated ‘split ergative’ (i.e. ergative morphologically (Ebert 1994), whereas syntactic process is usually organized according to a nominative-accusative principle; See Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1; examples (109) c-d, (116) e, (124) c) pattern sensitive to ‘aspect and empathy pattern’, where the 3rd person and demonstrative pronoun is marked always everywhere except for 1st, 2nd person intransitive (DeLancey 1990: 807) verbs phenotypically closer to Indic Nepali (we translated and compared analogical examples from Abadie (1974)) and even with Indic Hindi (See Abbi<sup>50</sup> 2001, also Thompson and Hopper 1980). Furthermore, ergativity in Kir nti-Kõits mostly depends on animacy, perfectivity and transitivity as well.

#### 4.3.1.1.5 Comparative and superlative

Ebert (1994: 106) observes that Kir nti languages have few basic adjectives and most words that correspond to adjectives in English are participles and nominalizations.

<sup>50</sup> Abbi’s (2001: 146) first observation on Hindi ergativity is- “Unmarked object governs only in the past tense. A case of split ergativity. If the object is case marked in the past tense then the default agreement applies, i.e. 3msg” and second “Absolute-ergative distinction is maintained in the past tense only if the object noun is non-animate but in future and present the distinction is nominative vs. accusative.

It is true that Kir nti-Kõits also has very few lexical adjectives and most forms of adjectives are derived participles or nominalizations. In Ch 3 § 3.1.3.1.1 and § 3.1.3.2, we have already discussed some processes of derivation and here we will provide its word order elements (ibid.) such as,

comparandum + comparatum + ABL/-k + ADJ

(297) a. go m ko-k l isšo b :-ti  
 1SG s/he-COMP tall:ADJ be-1SG  
 ‘I am taller than him/her.’

b. goi r nc -k rimšo b :-t  
 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 ic ripp 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 *n ll* ‘all’ as illustrated in (299) a.

(299) a. r nc n ll -k ripp dor-b( )  
 rentse all-COMP quick:ADV run-3SG  
 ‘Rentse runs fastest of all.’

#### 4.3.1.1.6 Nominalized sentences

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

(300) a. t k-g l -šyo?

where-ALL go-PCPL:NML

‘Where are you going?’

b. t k-l dz :-šyo?

where-ABL come-PCPL:NML

‘Where have you come from?’

c. ˜ko lã t k l -t k m´ ?

this road where go-NML AUX

‘Where does this road go?’

d. *deNsdesimin Tawa likh dzAmt.*

d ˜:s-d ˜:-si-mi-n T w lik<sup>h</sup> dz :-t ~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 bAmb Kakaru likhmi dzadittase.*

T w -k -lã-p Sinduli nu Ud y pur sirw -m b :-b K k ru lik<sup>h</sup>-mi

T-GEN-path-ADV S and U boarder-LOC live-NML:3SG K rivulet-LOC

dz dit-t s ~t s

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 tuittAt.*

P iw nu m ko-k lo b Du l w mithots dum-šo-p -tk m ko l ptso-k li dz rts-c

P and he-GEN brother D Tantric be-PCPL-do-NML that door-DAT sacrifice-INF

m lb d tuit-t t.

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 *-t k >t k* of (300) c and f (*-tk ~t k*) 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 Kir nti languages based on the degree of reduction. They are:

(i) maximally reduced clauses: the verb is non-finite, i.e. it carries no finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted (even in case of non-identity; cf. negative converb examples (304)a-b in § 4.3.1.2.2.1).

(ii) minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses: the verb in the non-reduced clause is finite, i.e. it could stand in an independent sentence. In such K-K clauses, the verb is marked for person and number or unlike K-Ath, K-K marks TAM as well.

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

#### 4.3.1.2.1 Non-finite clauses

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

##### 4.3.1.2.1.1 Infinitive clauses

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

(301) a. k<sup>h</sup> l-c rimšo m -dum-b

mix-INF good NEG-become-NPST

'It is not good to mix.'

b. b'i-k šy dz -c m -dum-b

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 dzArtsA mAlba de tuittAt.*

P iw nu m ko-k lo b Du l w mithots dum-šo-p -tk m ko l ptso-k li dz rts-c

P and he-GEN brother D Tantric be-PCPL-do-NML that door-DAT sacrifice-  
INF

m lb d tuit-t t.

must say:CONV know-PST:3SG

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

As in K-Lim, K-Ath and K-Th, K-K infinitives do not agree in number with a nonsingular patient (Ebert 1994: 113).

#### 4.3.1.2.1.2 Purposive clauses

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

(302) a. go-pik šy r gy p-th gy kosi l -yi  
 1SG- PL rice buy-PUR market go-NPST:1PL  
 ‘Let’s go to the market to buy rice.’

b. *nAmsoi yo ponibom koisho pisAngge phu mAlth glut.*

n .:so-i yo pō bo-m kōi-šo pis -g m ko  
 priest-PAR also shaman-AGT show-PR:PCPL direction-towards:POSTP that  
 m -t -tik p<sup>h</sup>u m l-th ~th glu-t ~t  
 NEG-see-NML flower search-PUR exit/set out-PST:3SG

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

c. *Khaluwami Amkali tuipaissha det, “gopikya tsaniwAbu naki. gonga lamsha wek rak ngAu-loabpikya mas soth lamtem. enko rAgimi go moiti dzAmsho nang”.*

Kh luw -mi m-k li tui-p is-š d ~:-t, “go-piky ts niw -bu  
 K-AGT self-PAT identify-CAUS-SIM say-PST:3SG 1SG-PL seven.brother-PL  
 n -ki. go- l .:š w k r k ng u-lo b-piky m s so-th (fig.)

AUX-1PL 1SG-GEN cross-SIM other six e/b-y/b-PL pulse sow-PUR  
 l m-t m. ~ko r gi-mi go moiti dz .:-šo n - ”  
 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 Kir nti-Kõits 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. ...l m-š (cross-SIM ‘crossing/having crossed’) in (302) c above and -š - (weep-SIM-SEQ ‘crying/having cried), where <- > as sequential marker of simultaneity is optional. This can often be reduplicated, indicating duration or iteration of the accompanying action. The simultaneous converb maker <-š > is cognate of K-Rod, K-Ath and K-Ban <-s > whereas K-Lim has no simultaneous converb and its function is taken over by a finite simultaneous clause with the suffix <-l□> (ibid.).

(303) a. har r wã s l k T<sup>h</sup> -s b .: -šo t -yi?

DS LOC boy one fall-SIM die-PR:PCPL see-3SG

‘Did you see a boy, who died falling/having fallen?’

b. *masogenke laptso/lhaptsokali kubts`ib kyorsshAdzArsha la romne tsAbsib bAmt.*

m sogen-k l ptso-k li kubts`ib kyors-š -d zrs-š l ro.: -n ts b-sib  
virtue-GEN door-PAT:DAT a/b cut-SIM-sacrifice-SIM only open-INF can-PAS

b .: -t ~t

AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The door of virtue could be opened only by sacrificing animals or birds (a/b).’

[Text source: 1.14]

c. *meko mekom sAittimi auuu” denden plesha domsha panpan Khlisi rongnga lanla khinge dortta.*

m ~ko m ko-m s it-timi auuu” d -n-d -n pl -š -do.: -š

so.and.so-AGT kill-PST:3PL excl say-PROG-RED jump-SIM-RED-SIM  
 p -n-p -n Khlisi ro - lã-l k<sup>h</sup> -g dort-t ~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 Kir nti-Kõits negative converb as in other Kir nti languages has “a wide range of interpretations” (Ebert 1994: 116) such as a conditional (304) a, and a causal interpretation (304) b. In most cases subject identity is not required (cf. Text source: 1.45, 1.50, 2.39, 3.2, 3.34, 3.53 and Rapacha 1999 also).

(304) a. gyopsi m -p -thu sui-mi yo m -g -b( )  
 registration NEG-do-CONV no one-ERG also NGE-give-NPST:3SG  
 ‘Without having registered on one gives you.’

b. *khusho Khaluwami khAlding panapan “goi su naye?” densha khingAlA hillo paptu. “goi ain tau madumthu wek sukai dumtsA mAlba. Ain taun me ngana bla ApshA lAptsola gluindo minu go meko blAmi tomshA genung. minu mekokali t’u:shAngA min khingA onishA geu” Khaluwa grit.*

k<sup>h</sup>ušo Kh luw -mi k<sup>h</sup> ldi p -n -p -n “goi su n -y ?” d ~:-š  
 old.man K-ACT doubt do-PROG-RED-PROG 2SG who AUX-3SG say-SIM  
 k<sup>h</sup>i g -l hillo p p-tu. “goi t u m -dum-thu w k suk i  
 house.inside-ABL ask do-3PST you our son NEG-become-CONV other someone  
 dum-c m lb . t u-n m n bl p-š l ptso-l  
 become-INF must our son-PAR is if:COND arrow shoot-SIM door-ABL  
 soit-to minu go m ko bl -mi to:.-š g -nu- . minu  
 send-IMP then 1SG that arrow-LOC spit-SIM give-NPST-1SG then  
 m kok li t’u:-š - min k<sup>h</sup>i g õi-š g -u” Kh luw  
 that-PAT lick-SIM-SEQ then house.inside insert-SIM give-PST K

gri-t ~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 <m dumb > for emphasis such as m p thu m dumb ‘must do’, m kothu m dumb ‘must see’, m l thu m dumb ‘must go’, m dz thu m dumb ‘must eat’, m br thu m dumb ‘must write’, m gl thu m dumb ‘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 Kir nti-Kõits, 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            bw k l            tu-c m lb  
 boil-PCPL:ADJ water only    drink-INF must  
 ‘One should drink only boiled water.’

b. m ko m’ishy mur    [buš miniskirt p<sup>h</sup> :-šo]    John-k    m’ishy m ‘  
 the    woman    white miniskirt wear-PCPL John-GEN wife    AUX:is  
 ‘The woman [wearing the white miniskirt] is John’s wife.’

c. *Sida kikyake pidAr pashA issho genAre goise denshA n slon msi bAslo: mabAmt nganAi yo ekonu blipšobudzipšo k<sup>h</sup>is bAmba.*

Sid kiky -k pid r p -š is-šo g n -r go-is d ~š  
 S g/f-GEN worship do-SIM come-PR:PCPL when-ABL start-NML say-SIM  
 n slon msi b slo: m -b :-t n iyo ko-nu blip-šo-  
 historical fact NEG-AUX:be-PST although this-ASSO relate-PR:PCPL  
 budzip-šo k<sup>h</sup>is b :-b  
 RED-PR:PCPL legend AUX: EXT-3SG

‘Although there is no historical evidence on worshipping of the Sida grandfather when it started, there is a legend related to it.’[Text source: 2.3]

Participial clauses (one type of reduced relative clause) in K-K, are basically role-oriented and multi-functional. The participle *-šo*, at least functions in two different ways as the manner nominal with the manner verb *-p* (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 Kir nti 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 *-t* (1SG, transitive), *-ti* (1SG, intransitive), *-t* (2SG), *-tu* (3SG) etc and NPST are marked differently (cf. § 3.2.9.1) as illustrated in (306) a-c.

(306) a. *dzoi-k l k<sup>h</sup> rt-tu- p-tu*  
 tiger-DAT chase-PST:3SG-SEQ shoot-PST:3 SG  
 ‘S/he chased the tiger and shot.’

b. *go m ko l-k li th i-nu- - -min -p i-nu-*  
 1SG the child-DAT beat-NPST-1SG-SEQ-then weep-do:CAUS-NPST-1SG

‘I beat the child and then make him/her cry.’

*c. meko hopom sAines moitin onttha KirAtmi Khintsi dyAlnga  
Kothdimmi hopothem wAISŠA mekomi thAKthAKsam hopothem  
pAptu.*

m ko hopo-m s in s moitin õtth Kir t-mi K<sup>h</sup> tsi dy l- Kothdim-  
mi  
that king-AGT many. years ago hither K-LOC k village-LOC:POSS K-LOC  
hopoth m w is-š m ko-mi th kth ks m hopoth m p p-tu  
capital keep-SIM he-AGT generation to generation capital do-PST:3SG

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

[Text source:  
4.2]

#### 4.3.1.2.2.1 Nominalized clauses

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

##### 4.3.1.2.2.1.1 Adnominal/Relative clauses

Kir nti-Kõits 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 *-t k ~tik*, *-b* and *-n* the language as illustrated in (307) a-c.

(307) a. w murt-t k l -t k lã-mi ky t t is-šo b :-t  
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-k k<sup>h</sup>-mi dz .:-t k nimp<sup>h</sup>-k li m r g -yi?  
 2SG-ERG 2SG-GEN house-LOC come-NML DU-DAT what give-2SG  
 ‘What did you give to the two who came to your house?’

c. *Khintsike glumAts itsAnole dumshomi lAptso tsomsinegen lAptso nemtha dzAmteme.*

k<sup>h</sup>intsi-k glum ts its -nol dum-šo-mi l ptso tso.:-si-n -g n l ptso  
 n .:t<sup>h</sup>  
 K-GEN family a.little-after become-PR:PCPL-AGT door close-MV-NML-soon door  
 near  
 dz .:-t -m ~m  
 arrive-PST:3SG

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

#### 4.3.1.2.2.1.2 Temporal clauses

In Kir nti-Kõits a ‘while’-clause is formed with suffix -nu usually preceded by -*šo/-m*, 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 l-k li huis-šo-nu-d diu pl -tu  
 1SG-ERG child-DAT scold-PCPL-TEMP-TOP MAN jump-PST:3SG  
 ‘The child jumped abruptly while (I scold him/her) scolding.’

b. *langga glumenu da memi dAgyu Paiwake loab Dunglewa kAthkan tAbtu.*

langg glu-m -nu d m -mi d gyu P iw -k lo b Du l w  
 outside come.out-NPST-TEMP PAR he-AGT e/b P-GEN y/b D  
 k th-k -n t -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]



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 - (also cf. Noonan 1999, Ebert 1999) suffixed usually by min( /u) ‘then’ in Kir nti-Kõits is equivalent of converbs or conjunctive participles as illustrated in (310) a-c. As in other Kir nti 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 - 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( /u) and independently too. Most of these conjoined/sequence clauses have identical subject, however it is not necessary condition in the K-K narratives.

(310) a. go k<sup>h</sup> m dz -s - -min dumk<sup>h</sup> l -ti  
 1SG rice eat-SIM-SEQ-then office go-PST:1SG

‘I went to the office after having rice.’

b. *gAits sAmтик thunpA rippAngAmin mosho soshyo bakyapat/bospat shyoklo  
 gupshA rabgyobbikali blengngAbleng y’utsAlA mAr gosho bAmme bakyapata  
 /bospatke shyoklo blo:lshA peperu nelle blalAtsila dumshA pinda bub’u dumta.*

g its s m-tik th p rip-p - -min mošo sošyo  
 anger loose-NML mind.do:ADV intend-do:CONV-SEQ-then that.much dry:ADJ  
 b ky p t šyoklo gup-š r bgyombi-k li bl - -bl y’u:-c  
 trumpet.flower pod pick up-SIM shepherd-DAT ONO:manner.of.beating beat-INF  
 l m r go-šo b .:-m b ky p t/bosp t - šyoklo  
 only what start-PR:PCPL AUX:PST:3SG trumpet.flower-GEN pod  
 blol-š p p ru n ll bl l tsil dum-š pind bub’u  
 break(itself)- CONV white/flower all scattered:ADJ become-SIM floor white

dum-t

become-PST:3SG

‘Intending to pacify his (the priest’s) anger, he started beating up the shepherd heavily picking up the sword-shaped and dried trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*); meanwhile it broke and the floor became full of scattered white trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) flower.’ [Text source: 3.47]

*c. mekyengA me gAishngAmin ubnaubna hillo pAaptu, “mame e... dAgyu! inke da loab selan ba :.t shyAn? Ankali mArde kyorsshA-dzArs-shA piu densho?”*

m ky - m	g iš- -min	ubn ubn	hillo-p -ptu,	“m m ...d gyu!
there-ABL	s/he anger-SEQ-then	mutter	ask-do-PST:3SG	INTJ hey...e/b
in-k	d lo b s l -n		b :.t ~t	šyã?
your-GEN PAR	y/b along.with-PAR		AUX:EXT-3SG	INTJ:PAR
ã-k li m rd	kyors-š -dz rs-š		piu-o	d ~:-šo?”
I-DAT why	cut-SIM-RED-SIM		come-IMP	say-PR:PCPL

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

[Text source: 1.24]

#### 4.3.1.2.2.1.5 Adverbial/Manner/-p clauses

The adjectival and nominal qualifying marker, e.g. -p (311) a-c in Kir nti-Kõits 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-t k-p                  lo-p -c                  m l-n -y  
 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                  d ~-šo lo                  rimšo-p                  n -c                  m l-n -y  
 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-p                    m -dorc-c        T<sup>h</sup> -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 *n ( )* ‘if’ (also *mo h n* ‘if so’) as shown in (312) a-c.

(312) a. g -t -m                    n        d                tu-nu-  
give-PST-3PL if:COND TOP    drink-NPST-1SG

‘If they give it to me, I (will) drink it.’

b. dop    p -c    d ~š    tuis-šo                    n        d                m -piki-m    p i-nim(i)  
how    do-INF say-SIM know-PCPL    if:COND TOP    s/he-PL-ERG    do-PS:PL

‘They would do it if they knew how.’

c. *onsosam kon nAmsomi gimngA haruiyo saittek lo: puinapuın rabgyombim lenkhlo:psho nemso sendAm dent, “eee shyAnKA! mul goimi yi tami Ankali getik koki pAınaye ngana lA suimi matasho phu koninung. mame ngana be:tsA geu go matuinung phu-su.”*

õso-s m                    kō        n .:so-mi                gim-                h rui    yo    s it-t k    lo:  
this.much-till            COMP priest-AGT                body-GEN    lust also kill-NML talk

pui-n -pui-n                r bgyombi-m l ~:    k<sup>h</sup>lo:pšo                n l s    s ~:d -m  
beg-PROG-RED-PAR shepherd    tongue staggered:ADJ nasal    sound-LOC

d ~:t,                    “eee šyāk ! mul    goi-mi                yi t mi                ã-k li                g -tik

say-PST:3SG hey leopard! now    you-AGT thy daughter me-DAT                give-NML  
koki                p i-n y                    n    l                sui-mi                m -t -šo                p<sup>h</sup>u

promise do-NPST:3SG if:COND only no.one-AGT NEG-see-PR:PCPL flower

kō -nu . m m n b -c g -u go m -tui-nu-  
 show-NPST:1SG not if:COND die-INF give-IMP 1SG NEG-know-NPST-3SG such  
 mod(1) b p<sup>h</sup>u-su”  
 such flower-RED

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

[Text source: 3.40]

#### 4.3.1.2.2.1.6 Concessive clauses

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

(313) a. mul tsin t n ll -lo-l w :-t -m n yo  
 k g rlo  
 nowadays all 1SGPOSS-language-ABL speak-NPST:HON if:COND also Nepali  
 k<sup>h</sup> l-ni-m(i)  
 mix-3PST:PL

‘Nowadays all, even if they speak our language, mix with Nepali.’

#### 4.3.1.2.2.1.7 Quote clauses

Reported speech or thought in Kir nti-Kōits like other Kir nti languages is embedded by a quote particle, which most often has the form: “say” plus SIM/SEQ (d ~š ‘having said’ or a sequence like *d ~š d ~tu min*) in a sentence that ends with *-n* particle as in (314) a.

(314) a. m ko-mi yo m-k k rdz d ~š m -tuit-t -t n , -min

3SG-ERG also 1SG-POSS uncle QUOTE NEG-know-PST-3SG REP SEQ-then  
 Sosol -mi yo m-mur d ~š m -tuit-t -t n  
 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 dop /m rp tuit-n -y ?  
 2SG-ERG how know-COP-NPST:3SG

‘How do you know?’

B: go-m dop tuit-t - n d ~s d ~šo-nu ho ti ni.:si  
 1SG-ERG how know-PST-1SG QUOT EQUOTE say-PCPL-TEMP earlier two  
 muru-m siw r-m kl is-šo t -t -s  
 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 Kir nti-Kõits, are quite often marked by *m rd h( ) n* ‘because’ as illustrated in (316) a, and *mop tik* ‘therefore’ (322) a.

(316) a. mul t go l g m -l - m rd h( ) n go roi-p -t -  
 today 1SG outside NEG-go-1SG because 1SG sick-do-PST-1SG

‘I did not go out today because I was sick.’

#### 4.3.1.2.2.1.8 Correlative clauses

A correlative clause is “a construction in which the relative clause precedes the main clause and both are overtly marked, the relative clause by a WH-item and the main clause by a demonstrative, the whole thus being characterized by a structure along eh

line of ‘which one...that one’” (Trask 1993: 65) whereas in Kir nti-Kõits like other Kir nti 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. t k l i-n -y m k ˜ko k<sup>h</sup>õyp t kur-o

where go-COP-NPST:3SG there this book carry-3SG:IMP

‘Wherever you go, there you carry this book.’

b. m ko-mi m r i pu -šo-nu yo mod b g -b n

s/he-AGT whatever beg-PCPL-TEMP also such give-NPST:3SG REP

‘He would give whatever we ask for.’

c. šy m ko-puki dis -s m r s-si-s s-si p -c m -c b-ni-m

but s/he-PL tomorrow-until write-NML-read-NML do-INF NEG-can-

NPST-3PL

m rd h( ) n m :-piki k<sup>h</sup> lp -k<sup>h</sup> lp m dum-t -m( ).

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 t k l i-nu- m k m k k<sup>h</sup>oit-to

1SG where go-NPST-1SG there RED follow-3SG:IMP

‘Wherever I go, follow me there!’

e. doso doso dz i-n -y moso moso t m-nu-

how.much RED eat-COP-NPST:3SG that.much RED add- NPST-1SG

‘As much as you eat, that much I provide.’

#### 4.3.1.2.3 Coordination

In § 4.4.1.2, we stated that a sentence in Kir nti-Kõits contains two or more clauses joined either by subordination, i.e. subordinating conjugation or ‘coordinands’ (such as *because*, e.g. (316) a, *since*, *although*, e.g. (318) a, *therefore*, e.g. (322) a) or co-ordination, 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) co-ordination has been defined as “syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements” (cited in Abbi 2001: 213). Subordinators or coordinands in many Kir nti 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- ...* (1SG think-NPST-1SG) ‘I think...’) the marked order is due to focus considerations. The only exceptions are relative clauses and adverbial relative clauses, (ii) the subordinate marker or complementizer (whereas K-K has no complementizer ‘*that*’ as such in English or Indic languages like Hindi or Nepali ‘*ki*’) generally occupies initial position in the subordinate clause. Instead, the conjunction *nu* ‘and,’ adversative conjunction *šy* ‘but’ and disjunction *d* are used in coordination.

(318) a. *go m k m -dz - n iyo m ko g p -c go-c*  
 1SG there NEG-arrive-PST:1SG although that work do-INF start-INF  
 ‘Although I do not arrive, start doing that work.’

(319) a. *go-m mim-šo nu m ko k<sup>h</sup> l i-b*  
 1SG-ERG think-PCPL TEMP s/he house go-NPST:3SG  
 ‘I think that s/he will go (goes) home.’

(320) a. *goi k<sup>h</sup> l i-n -y d go i-k l 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. *r nts nu s nts kathmandu dz .:-t -s*  
 rentse and sentse kathmandu arrive-PST-3DU  
 ‘Rentse and Sentse arrived to Kathmandu.’ (conjunction)

(322) a. *go hir-th l -c m l-nu- mop tik go-m g ploi-t -*  
 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, Kir nti-Kõits sentence (324) a, is a derivation of

(324) b and c respectively. Such ellipsis transforms an underlying biclausal structure into a monoclausal one, which is known as conjunction reduction also and can gap coreferential nouns. This gap or ‘deletion’ (Gusain 1999) is the most prominent device for expressing anaphora in discourse (also cf. Bieri 1978 for anaphoric and cataphoric reference).

(323) a. k l k , k šy ~b<sub>i</sub>-mi k l<sub>j</sub>-k li glum-š ø<sub>i</sub>ø<sub>j</sub> d -tu, ‘goi su  
once one teacher-ERG one child-DAT meet-SIM ø<sub>i</sub>ø<sub>j</sub> say-PST:3SG 2SG who  
n -y ?’  
COP-2SG  
‘Once upon a time a teacher having met a child, ø(He) said ø(to him), ‘who are you?’

b. go ip-c d -ti min ø ip-ti  
1SG sleep-INF like-PST:1SG and/then ø(1SG) sleep-PST:1SG  
‘I felt sleepy and went off to sleep.’

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

(324) a. l-piki-m sisdzidz dz -mt -m min T<sup>h</sup> bmur-piki-m k k ø  
child-PL-ERG ice-cream eat-PST-PL and/then adult-PL-ERG cake ø  
‘The children ate the ice-cream and the adults the cake.’ (ellipsis of the identical verb ‘ate’)  
b. l-piki-m sisdzidz dz -mt -m ‘children ate the ice-cream’  
c. T<sup>h</sup> bmur-piki-m k k dz -mt -m ‘adults ate the cake’

### 4.3.2 Other minor sentences

#### 4.3.2.1 Verbless sentences

Like in Kir nti-Rod (Rai 2003), Kir nti-Kõits has verbless sentences.

Most of them, in fact, occur in colloquial speech and are verbless. Verb in such sentences is optional and verb ‘to be’ need not be present in equational sentences as illustrated in (325) a-c.

(325) a. A: m ko m r?

that what ‘What’s that?’

B: m ko r w .

that tree ‘That’s a tree.’

C: m ko r w m m i

that tree NEG ‘That’s not a tree.’

b. A: in-k n m r ( m)

2SG-POSS name what ‘What’s your name?’

B: ã-k n šyāk r lu

1SG-POSS name S ‘My name’s Shyākarelu.’

C: ã-k n šyāk r lu m m i

1SG-POSS name S NEG ‘My name’s not Shyākarelu.’

c. A: m ko su-k k<sup>h</sup> ?

that who-POSS house ‘Whose house is that?’

B: m ko ã-k k<sup>h</sup>

that 1SG-POSS house ‘That’s my house.’

C: m ko i-k k<sup>h</sup> m m i

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. ts nts -mi d ~-t , “yabr -gubr -mi i-k rimšo p -w l !”

tsentse-ERG day-PST:3SG god-RED-ERG 2SG-POSS good do-OPT:INTJ

‘Tsentsé said, “May God bless you!”’

b. mo:ro! p -r ~s

2SG INTJ get/be-2SG

‘Go to hell!’

c. j ! m ko-m m r p -w ?

INTJ s/he-ERG what do-NPST:3SG

‘Oh! What did s/he do?’

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

(327) a. k<sup>h</sup>ui dz :-t (Declarative)

thief come-PST:3SG ‘The thief came.’

b. k<sup>h</sup>ui ! ‘Thief!’

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

(328) a. goi gy kosi l -t . (Declarative)

2SG market go-PST:2SG

‘You went to the market.’

b. j ! goi gy kosi l -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 Kir nti-Kōits are overlaid with some expressive, attitudinal meaning whereas declaratives are plainly informative. Both types present a statement as being true, but in an exclamatory sentence, the speaker adds a strong emotional reaction to when s/he presupposes to be true as illustrated in (329) a, and b.

- (329) a. m ko t mi rimšo b . (declarative)  
 the daughter good AUX:is  
 ‘The daughter is beautiful.’
- b. m ko t mi dop rimšo b :-m ! (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 *dop* ‘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. dop gyošo nop<sup>h</sup> !  
 how long ear ‘How long ear!’
- b. dop rimšo!  
 how good ‘How beautiful!’
- c. j ! m ko b :-m t šyã!  
 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 Kir nti-Kõits are the least marked, the most basic, and the most widespread form of clause of which the following characteristics are observed:

I. ...has the unmarked word order SOV

(331) a. go š ~ysib n -  
 1SG student be:COP-1SG  
 S Complement (O) V  
 ‘I am a student.’

b. m ko r sšik<sup>h</sup> l -t  
 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-k li k<sup>h</sup>yōp t g -t -  
 1SG-AGT 2SG-DAT book give-PST-1SG  
 S IO O V  
 ‘I gave you the book.’

b. goi-mi m ko-k li tup-tiyi  
 2SG-AGT s/he-DAT beat-PST:2SG  
 S O V  
 ‘You beat him.’

III. ...has the same form as the subordinate clause

(333) a. m ko-mi dis pi-nu d ~š d ~-t  
 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 l i-nu-  
 1SG go-NPST-1SG  
 ‘I go.’

b. goi dis 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 l i-n -y ?

2SG go-COP-2SG

‘Do you go?’ (Are you going?)

b. l u-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 ts nts u! ‘Hello, Cence!’

b. i p<sup>h</sup>po ou! ‘Hello, father!’

c. imm ! ‘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 p -c ‘to do’, dum-c ‘to be’, m lb ‘should/must’.

(337) a. go mul k<sup>h</sup> l -c m lb

1SG now house go-INF must/should

‘Now I should go home.’

b. goi rimšo g p -c

2SG good work do-INF

‘Do good deeds.’

#### 4.3.2.5 Prohibitive sentences

In prohibit sentences, the negative particle <m -> ‘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. l -c m -n il (go-INF NEG-HON) ‘Please do not go.’  
 b. m -l u-o (NEG-go-IMP:2SG) ‘You do not go.’  
 c. m -l -n (NEG-go-IMP:3PL) ‘You<sup>PL</sup> do not go.’  
 d. m -l -s (NEG-go-2DU) ‘You<sup>DU</sup> do not go.’

#### 4.3.2.6 Double object sentences

Like English, the Kir nti-Kõits language also has sentences with two or double objects (O<sub>1</sub> and O<sub>2</sub>) as illustrated in (339) a-d.

- |          | S   |          | O <sub>1</sub>     | O <sub>2</sub> | V                  |              |
|----------|---|----------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (339) a. | go-mi   | p        | ku-k               | li             | k <sup>h</sup> yõp | t g -t -     |
|          | 1SG-ERG   |          | paku-DAT           | book           |                    | give-PST-1SG |
|          | ‘I gave a book to Paku.’ (...not s/he, you, they) |          |                    |                |                    |              |
| b.       | p   | ku-mi    | k <sup>h</sup> yõp | t              | go-k               | li g p-tu    |
|          |   | paku-ERG | book               | 1SG-DAT        | give-3SG           |              |
|          | ‘Paku gave a book to me.’ (...not to Yumpi)       |          |                    |                |                    |              |
| c.       | go-k  | li       | p                  | ku-mi          | k <sup>h</sup> yõp | t g p-tu     |
|          | 1SG-DAT   |          | paku-ERG           | book           |                    | give-PST-3SG |
|          | ‘Paku gave a book to me.’ (...not by Rentse)      |          |                    |                |                    |              |
| d.       | go-k  | li       | k <sup>h</sup> yõp | t              | p                  | ku-mi g p-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, O<sub>1</sub>, O<sub>2</sub> 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 O<sub>1</sub>, and O<sub>2</sub> 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 *d* ~š ‘having said’, *n* ‘reportive/mirative’ and *b* *m-t* ‘reportive’ are utilized to distinguish between direct and indirect speech in Kir nti-Kõits. Frequently quoted as well as reported material is contained in an embedded sentence linked by *d* ~š (i.e. *d* ~š *min d* ~tu ‘having said said’) and the embedded sentences ending *b* *m-t* and *n* which is subordinate relative to a higher verb of the sentence as illustrated in (340) a-c.

(340) a. *bl sp t-mi rip-p piu-o d* ~š *br -si-šo b* .:t  
 letter-LOC quick-ADV come-IMP say-SIM write-MV-PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG  
 ‘It was written in the letter, ‘come quickly’.’

b. *m r dum-m d* ~š *m ko-mi hillo-p p-tu*  
 what become-Q say-SIM s/he-ERG ask-do-PST:3SG  
 ‘He asked, “What has happened?”’

c. *go-m n -šo-nu m ko p’i-b n*  
 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 Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti-Kõits 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 Kir nti-Kõits according to Ebert (1994: 112), are classified into two basic types of clause combining systems based on the degree of reduction, viz., (i) maximally reduced clauses: the verb is non-finite, i.e. it carries no finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted (even in case of non-identity, and (ii) minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses: the verb in the non-reduced clause is finite, i.e. it could stand in an independent sentence. In such Kir nti-Kõits clauses, the verb is marked for person and number or unlike K-Ath, Kir nti-Kõits 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/-*p*, conditional, concessive, quote, reason/causal and correlative. Some other minor sentences also have been accounted to unfold the syntactic structures of Kir nti-Kõits in particular and in a wider perspective of T-B syntax in general comparatively.

\*\*\*\*\*

## Chapter Five

### **Socio-linguistic aspects**

#### **5. General purpose**

This chapter's main concern is to discuss socio-linguistic aspects such as linguistic human rights with reference to Kir nti-Kõits, find out language vitality in terms of its use in several domains, language attitudes among speakers towards their mother tongue, and further find out the bilingual-multilingual situation after all leading to 'language shrink, contraction and semantic conflation' (Abbi 1992) then, at last mother tongue extinction (?) in a multi-linguistic but unfortunately a monolithic-language-policy-adopted Nepal. The reason behind this purpose is simply because today most field-linguists like Abbi (2001: 221) emphasizes,

“No grammar is complete unless it tells us about how the language used as a vehicle for social interaction. The grammar must be explicit about the use of the language in a particular society. After all, language is a viewfinder of the social patterns and social behaviour of a given society. The linguistic terminology and linguistic structures expose the cultural, social, cognitive and religious aspects of a community. This is the reason why linguists are so concerned about preserving linguistic diversity. When a language dies, along with it dies a whole system of human history of cultural and civilization. When a mother tongue ceases to be anybody's tongue, it wipes away completely the possibility of reconstructing the past. A history of civilization is wiped out from the face of this earth.”

Therefore, we will here explicitly state the use of the Kir nti-Kõits language in their respective community and discuss its future extinction or retention depending upon either protective or discriminatory language policy adopted by the country. Moreover, kinship terms will also be presented to show the range of basic vocabulary (still remain indigenous or borrowed one (?)) as they exhibit the composition of the

society and the role relationship between various interlocutors including the terms of address and reference and verbal politeness strategies.

### 5.1 Nepal's linguistic situation

Nepal as one of the South Asian nations like India is a multi-linguistic country indubitably, where 92 (CBS 2001) and 125 (*Ethnologue* edited by Gordon, 2005) languages are spoken. However, the country's linguistic policy unlike India has remained a monolithic and discriminatory since the national unification by Prithivi Narayan Shah prolonging until today for about 233 years of modern Nepalese history. Lawoti (2001) notes,

“Article 6 (1) of the Constitution [of Nepal, 1990] declares *Khas-Nepali* as the official and ‘language of the nation’ whereas more than 100 other native languages are termed ‘national languages’. By categorizing Nepali differently, it bestows special importance to it. The Supreme Court nullified [or banned on 1 June 1999 (VS 2056 Jeth 18) and every year, June 1 is observed as Black Day against language attrition by the Country and Court towards the minority indigenous languages, *I added*; cf. Tamang 2000, Ka la 2005] the declaration of local languages as additional languages by three local jurisdictions. Article 18 (2) of the Constitution does not sanction native instructions in schools beyond primary level. The State does not support native language instructions even at the primary level. It does not even recognize education conducted at *madrassas* and Buddhist monasteries. On the other hand, the government spends millions of rupees for the Sanskrit *pathshalas* [schools] and the Sanskrit University whose beneficiaries are male Brahmins. In addition, by imposing compulsory Sanskrit all over the country, the State is systematically imposing Hindu values and ways on non-Hindu communities. The *Khas* [Kshetriya] language has been treated as the ‘Nepali’ language while other native languages are not called Nepali. Likewise only the *Devanagari* script has been treated as the Nepali script while other scripts of the country are not.”

The above factual Lawoti-narrative dates recently back to the post-1990s era known as the so-called Restoration of Democracy by Peoples' Popular Movement in the country, whereas on the other side of Indian-story by Annamalai (2001: 131) is totally different from that of Nepal. He states, “It is multilingualism that symbolizes India. This

is important from the point of view of language planning. The Constitution [of India] does not consider one language is required for transforming the new country into a nation. Indian nationhood or national identity is not tied to one language, as it is not tied to one religion.” The problem in Nepal is: Nepalese nationhood or national identity as such is tied to only one language i.e. *Khas-Nepali*<sup>51</sup> [cf. also Lawoti 2001, Ka la 2005, Gurung 2003], as it is tied to only one religion i.e. Hinduism. If we look back to the history of language policies in Nepal during the pre-1990s, it clearly shows that there was/is a ruthless violation of human linguistic rights. There is neither Constitutional nor racial equality and equity to its fellow citizens until recently, e.g. Gurung (2004: 92) cites two such ruthless (See also Ch 1 § 1.6) instances thus,

“अभसम्म एक ही “गोरखा भाषा” को सर्व व्यापकता हुन सकेको छैन ।  
किन्तु नेवार, भोटे, मगर, गुरुङ, लिम्बू, सुनुवार,  
दनुवार, थारु, प्रवृत्तिका जंगली भाषाहरुले पनि आफ्ना  
जन्मस्थानलाई एकदम छुट्टिन सकेको छैनन् ।  
जहाँसम्म एक मात्र “गोरखा भाषा” ले अरु सबै भाषालाई  
अर्ध चन्द्र (गलहत्ती) लगाउन्न, त्यहाँसम्म “गोरखा भाषाको उन्नति हुन्छ” भन्नु र  
“मुख्य भाषा कहिन योग्य छ” भन्नु केवल मनोलड्डु मात्र हो ।”

कृष्णचन्द्र अर्याल एवं वैद्यनाथ जोशी (सेढाइ)  
गोरखा भाषा, गोर्खा एजेन्सी कार्यालय, नेपाल, वैशाख १९४७ (सन् १९९७)

Roman-Gorkhali (as in Ch 1 § 1.1.2, Ch 2 § 2.5.2) transliteration:

“Ajhasamma ek hi “Gorkha bhasha” ko sarba vyapakata huna sakeko chhaina.  
Kintu Newar, Bhote, Magar, Gurung, Limbu, Sunuwar,  
Danuwar, Tharu, prvritika jangali bhashaharule pani aphna  
Janmasthanlai ekdam chhadna sakeko chhainan.  
Jahansamma ek matra “Gorkha Bhasha” le aru sabai bhashalai  
Ardha chandra (galahatti) lagaunna, tyanhasamma “Gorkha bhashako unnati hunchha” bhannu ra  
“Mukhye bhasha kahina yogye chha” bhannu kewal manoladdu matra ho.”

<sup>51</sup> Malla (1989: 456) citing Bandhu regarding the etymology of the term ‘Nepali’ writes, “...was used and made popular by the missionaries and British scholars... The feeling of Nepali linguistic nationalism that grew in India was able to replace the terms like *Khasa Kura*, *Parbatiya* or *Gorkhali* by *Nepali* in India. It also influenced the authorities in Nepal and the first word of *Gorkha Bhasha Prakashini Samiti* [Gorkha Language Publication Committee] was changed to Nepali.” Cf. also Gurung (1997: 175).

Translated into English by Rai and Rai (2003: 513):

“Gorkha bhasha is not widespread yet. The language of barbarians such as Newar, Magar, Gurung, Limbu, Sunuwar [Kir nti-Kõits], Danuwar, and Tharu etc are still in use. Until and unless Gorkha Bhasha pushes other barbarian languages out, it can neither develop nor become the chief language.”

-Krishnachandra Aryal and Vidhyanath Joshi (Sedhai)

**Gorkha Bhasha**, Gorkha Agency Office, Nepal, April (1917)

Briefly discussing on linguistic diversity and multiplicity of Nepal in § 1.6 (Ch 1), we tried to reveal the adverse and atrocious linguistic policy towards indigenous minority languages adopted by the country citing one of the worst examples from Gurung (2004: 92). From the same *Report of the Nepal National Education Planning Commission* (Malla 1989: 461) also cites its recommendation thus,

“Nepali should be the medium of instruction from the 3rd grade on and, as much as possible, in the first two grades. No other language should be taught, even optionally, in the primary school, because few children will have need for them, they would hinder the teaching of Nepali.”

It is needless to say that the country’s past linguistic policies (even the contemporary one does not differ from the past one) seem discriminatory towards all indigenous minority languages other than *Khas-Nepali*, which obviously has knocked all those indigenous minority ethnic/tribal languages on their “death bed” (Malla 1989: 463) many decades ago and now letting them in coma at present.

To make the Nepalese situation clearer, virtually all speakers of Kir nti-Kõits are bilingual in Nepali [where most of the speakers have shifted to Nepali due to politico-economic imposition or pressures<sup>52</sup>, cf. also Borchers 2002, Ka la 2005, Gurung 2003], the national Indo-Aryan lingua franca that has had wider currency at least since the unification of Nepal. Although this bilingualism has resulted in frequent

---

<sup>52</sup> Sharma (2003: 85) clarifies concerning the issue of ethnicity and language thus, “...it is not language alone that can keep the lamp of ethnicity burning; economic and political considerations also often work hand in hand to enforce changes in the linguistic profile of an ethnic community.”

code mixing and a large amount of Nepali loanwords, the grammar of Kir nti-Kõits has maintained its distinct Kir nti characteristics and continues to exert a strong influence on the Nepali spoken by Kir nti-Kõits people. This fact confirms Turner's early observation that Nepali is deeply affected by Tibeto-Burman grammar but is strongly resistant against such influences on its vocabulary (Bickel 1996), however in the case of Kir nti-Kõits the situation is very critical.

Toba and Toba (2003) observe promptly that "...the socio-linguistic situation in Nepal which is characterized by unprecedented migration to urban centers. Small language groups are especially affected but speakers of larger groups also are forced to communicate in Nepali once they live in the cities. While there has been enormous progress in providing schools throughout Nepal even in the most remote villages, this also affects languages since education is given in Nepali. The more students are in the habit of reading writing and therefore thinking in Nepali, their proficiency in their mother tongue declines. This is aggravated by the fact that there are few if any, books in the vernacular languages. Literature in indigenous languages is predominantly oral, therefore the collection of stories, myths, songs, history, description of customs etc is an urgent task." Whereas no policy as such to preserve and protect these minority indigenous languages, has been formulated by the Government of Nepal until recently as observed by Lawati (2001) cited earlier (also cf. Ka la 2005, Gurung 2003).

Phillipson, Rannut and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995: 22) have put forward the following questions regarding linguistic human rights, which are very relevant in Nepalese socio-linguistic contexts to be reiterated:

"Have you, dear reader, always been able to do the following in your mother tongue:

- address your teachers in school?
- deal with the tax office?
- answer a query from a police constable on the street?
- explain a medical problem to a nurse or a doctor?
- write to a national newspaper?

-watch the local and national news on television?

-ask a political question at a political meeting?"

An answer for all these seven questions concerning linguistic human rights (also cf. Yonjan-Tamang 2005) for the minority indigenous Kir nti-Kõits people is: “No, we don’t. We do everything more in the State-imposed *Khas-Nepali* rather than in our own mother tongue”. This is another most pertinent example of language attrition and endangerment in Nepal lacking proper language policy and language planning, which thus is an obvious violation of human linguistic rights of Kir nti-Kõits speakers and many others. Broadly, in Tyagi’s (2003: 23) phrase, “linguistic fascism” has been imposed on the most Tibeto-Burman minority indigenous languages of Nepal, where more than 40 languages of Tibeto-Burman origin contribute the multi-linguistic heritage. We will discuss this issue in § 5.5 later with some analytic responses from the respondents of the survey conducted for the purpose of this study.

## 5.2 Kinship terms

A ‘kinship term’ according to Sheffler’s definition, “is employed to designate a category of kinsmen; a kinsman is an individual to whom one (Ego) is related by genealogical connection, and genealogical connections are those culturally-posed relations among individuals which are presumed to be established by processes of conception and birth and which are held to be inalienable and congenital” (cited in Davids and Driem 1985: 115). On kinship terms, Abbi (2001: 221) suggests her reader stating that “...is one area, where linguists should tread with some caution, as the field of kinship belongs to anthropology. Linguists may find a society a complete mystery to them. The social organization and the people living in the society may all be new to them. One of the ways that a linguist can look into the new society is by studying its kinship terms. Language, after all, is a window through which we can see into the society.” Anthropologists like Lévi-Strauss (2004: 145) on the other hand, stresses on interdependency amongst both anthropologists and linguists benefiting from each other. He succinctly points out,

“The linguist provides the anthropologist with etymologies which permit him to establish between certain kinship terms relationships that were not immediately apparent. The anthropologist, on the other hand, can bring to the attention of the linguist customs, prescriptions, and prohibitions that help him to understand the persistence of certain features of language or the instability of terms or groups of terms.”

Moreover, Strauss (ibid. 146) compares between phonemes (e.g. Kir nti-Kõits phonemes in Ch 2) and kinship terms thus, “Like phonemes, kinship terms are elements of meaning; like phonemes, they acquire meaning only if they are integrated into systems. “Kinship systems”, like “phonemic systems”, are built by the mind on the level of unconscious thought.” Although our sole purpose in this study is not to provide anthropological details of the Kir nti-Kõits kinship terms, we will illustrate (in § 5.2.1 and § 5.2.2) available and possible kinship terms as suggested by Abbi (2001: 223-226) to rectify whether there exists the process of semantic conflation due to language contact situation in the ‘speech community’ under investigation.

### 5.2.1 Non-affinal

The following common non-affinal kinship terms have been elicited from the respondents during the survey period and other related literature:

#### A. Great grand kinsmen

diki p<sup>h</sup>po ‘great-grandfather’ (father’s side) also cf. šy rkiky

diki mmo ‘great-grandmother’ (father’s side) also cf. šy rkiky m, ~pip, ~yum ,  
~b g

rušy p<sup>h</sup>po ‘great-grandfather’ (mother’s side)

homok mmo ‘great-grandmother’ (mother’s side)

dikic c ‘man’s great-grandchild’ (male) also cf. šy rc c

dikic c m ‘man’s great-grandchild’ (female) also cf. šy rc c m

#### B. Grand kinsmen

kiky ‘grandfather’ (father’s side)

kiky m ‘grandmother’ (father’s side) also cf. pip, yum , b g  
 rušy kiky ‘grandfather’ (mother’s side)  
 rušy kiky m ‘grandmother’ (mother’s side)  
 c c ‘man’s grandchild’ (male)  
 c c m ‘man’s grandchild’ (female)

### C. Parents and children

p<sup>h</sup>po ‘father’ [also p po]  
 popo ‘father’s elder brother’ FEM popom [nativized b dz Th N)  
 s rumpo ‘father’s second brother’ FEM s rumpom [nativized b m il N]  
 i sumpo ‘father’s third brother’ FEM i sumpom [nativized b s l N]  
 b k l ‘father’s fourth brother’ ms lim [nativized -k l N]  
 b ntr ‘father’s fifth brother’ m ntrim [nativized - ntr N]  
 k rdz ‘father’s younger brother’ FEM k rdz m [nativized b k nc N)  
 ts lpum ‘father’s elder sister’ [c lpo(u) ‘father’s sister’s husband’]  
 imm ‘mother’ [also m m or m]  
 timm ‘mother’s elder sister’ M tippo [S: Kir nti-Rod]  
 c m ‘mother’s younger sister’ [also sum ] M k nco, p<sup>h</sup>  
 kuku ‘mother’s brother’ (maternal uncle) FEM kukum  
 t u ‘son’ FEM c im(i) ‘son’s wife’  
 t m(i) ‘daughter’ M c ib ‘son-in-law’  
 gyãp<sup>h</sup> c ‘twin’ (±male)

### D. Siblings and cousins

[cross cousin marriage is restricted]  
 w ‘elder brother’ FEM w m ‘elder brother’s wife’ [nativized bogyu N]  
 m(i) ‘elder sister’ M n , p<sup>h</sup>up<sup>h</sup>udr ‘elder sister’s husband’ [See Appendix B;  
 b<sup>h</sup> n N]  
 p ku ‘middle sister’ [S: Kir nti-Rod]  
 limd ‘third sister’ [S: Kir nti-Rod]  
 k<sup>h</sup>usy ( ) ‘youngest sister’ [S: Kir nti-Rod, also k lc m]

y c ‘nephew; of maternal’ FEM y c m

l ms ‘nephew; of fraternal’ [S: Kir nti-Lim] FEM l ms m

k lc ‘the youngest brother’ FEM k lc m

### 5.2.2 Affinal kinsmen

The following affinal kinship terms are used in day-to-day life amongst the Kir nti-Kōits community members:

#### A. Own generation

wāis ‘husband’

w ‘husband’s elder brother’ FEM w m

riu ‘husband’s younger brother’ FEM riwom

mgyu ‘husband’s elder sister’ M mgyupo

m’imi ‘husband’s younger sister’ M m’impo

m’išy ‘wife’

dz T<sup>h</sup>u ‘wife’s elder brother’ FEM dz T<sup>h</sup>um

ku po ‘wife’s younger brother’ FEM sumipm [M s l FEM s lim N]

dz T<sup>h</sup>s su ‘wife’s elder sister’ M d gyu [nativized N]

sumipm ‘wife’s youngest sister’ M lo( )b [elder sister’s husband can marry her]

#### B. First ascending generation

siu ‘spouse’s father, father-in-law’

sim(i) ‘spouse’s mother, mother-in-law’

popom ‘father’s elder brother’s wife’

k rdz m ‘father’s younger brother’s wife, aunt’

c lpo(u) ‘father’s elder sister’s husband’ [can marry his dz T<sup>h</sup> n’s daughter]

k nco ‘father’s youngest sister’s husband, uncle’

kukum ‘mother’s brother’s wife, aunt’

c lpo ‘mother’s youngest sister’s husband, uncle’

h lpo ‘son/daughter’s wife/husband’s parents’ FEM h lpom

### C. First descending generation

c im(i) ‘son’s wife, daughter-in-law’

c ib ‘daughter’s husband, son-in-law’

## 5.3 Forms of address

There are two types of forms of address in Kir nti-Kõits, such as direct and indirect. The direct form of address is acceptable only for juniors or contemporaries. Even a husband does not address his wife directly by name and vice versa. When they have children, then they address by calling the child’s name + mother/father (e.g. X’s mother/father). Fathers and mothers can address their offspring commonly by names, adjectives, or nicknames often.

### A. Direct address

The following forms of introductions among participants in a discourse is used commonly with the title names and possessive pronouns such as ãk ...‘my’ and m kok ... ‘his/her’

wãis ‘husband’

m’išy ‘wife’

t m(i) ‘daughter’

t u ‘son’

bublu ‘a form of address for children’ and so on, e.g. ˘ko ãk t u m ‘‘This is my son’ and full, first or last name is dropped out unless the addressee takes interest in it.

### I. Names

Names and nicknames are sometimes or quite often used for juniors and intimate ones. The use of nicknames suggests sometimes fun-making too.

### II. Kin’s address forms

All relatives are formally address with the kinship terms everywhere and every time. Addressing them by either first or last name is supposed to impolite, e.g.

c m ‘aunt’

siu ‘father-in-law’

sim ‘mother-in-law’

### III. Second person pronoun

Kir nti-Kõits as one of the Tibeto-Burman members lacks honorific form for second person pronoun. Both in formal and informal situations ordinary and intimate forms are used such as,

goi i-k ‘yours’

goi in-k ‘yours’

### B. Indirect address

All members of the community according to their social strata use the following forms of indirect address whether they are senior or junior by age makes no difference, e.g.

õth n n n d ‘Listen hither’

gom õ d ˘ti ‘I said so’

õth koc n il ‘Please look hither’

õth n c n il ‘Please listen hither’

## 5.4 Politeness strategies

There are several strategies of politeness forms in Kir nti-Kõits, such as speakers can use lexical forms, prosodic features and socio-linguistic forms.

### A. Lexical

Greeting words such as *s u*, *n msewal*, *c r dum*, *b rith*, *dz ml g bi* are very common as a mark of politeness. Two honorific markers, e.g. -ni suffixed with verb roots and *n il* as a separate morpheme also show the degree of respect among

participant in a discourse usually for one who is senior in age and respectable person. Only two types of personal pronouns like *goi i-k* ‘yours, juniors’ and *goi in-k* ‘yours, seniors’ (but the speakers do not pay too much attention between *i-k* and *in-k* ) is used for one who is in lower status by age or contemporaries. The use of kin terms as a form of address to respectable relatives also means politeness of the addressor towards his/her addressee.

### **B. Prosodic features**

In a general form of conversation, falling intonation and long vowel mark politeness as prosodic features whereas a common confirmation-tag *m m i d* ‘something like is not that so (See Lexicon in use; Appendix A)’ is used as syntactic features repeatedly in discourse.

### **C. Socio-linguistic features**

Normally, inclusion of other participant speakers in discourse like *p -s* ‘do-1DU/INCL, *p i* ‘do-1PL/INCL are commonly used rather than *p u* ‘You do it’ as imperative.

## **5.5 Survey on endangerment**

One of the main purposes of this § 5.5 survey was/is to discover the mother tongue respondents/speakers’ domains of use of their mother tongue (See Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.33) since the country has adopted ‘one-language-one-nation’ sort of assimilative language or mono-linguistic (also cf. Yonjan-Tamang 2005) policy in Nepal in defiance with International Societies and Universal Laws such as the charter of the United Nations; the International Bill of Rights; the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities; the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); International Covenant on Civil and

Political Rights (ICCPR); the ILO Conventions concerning Indigenous and Tribal Populations to mention a few, which are devoted to the promotion and protection of the rights of minorities. Therefore, it is thus here relevant to reproduce Article 1 (2) of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, which states<sup>53</sup> :

State shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity.

Similarly, Article 2 of the Declaration enumerates a number of minority rights, including the following:

1. Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities...have the right to enjoy their won culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination...
4. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain their own associations.
5. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain without any discrimination, free and peaceful contracts with other members of their group and with persons belonging to other States to whom they are related by national or ethnic, religious or linguistic ties.

Whereas in Ch 1 § 1.1, we stated three main factors responsible for language endangerment and language loss in the context of Nepal in general and with special reference to Kir nti-Kõits in particular. The first one, we stated is the minority linguistic groups are victimized of discrimination, oppression, domination, exclusion and marginalization (also cf. Lawoti 2002, Gurung 2003, Ka la 2005) by the state machinery. Secondly, there lacks language-policy-planning and investment on bilingual/multilingual education for survival as well as revival of the local/regional

---

<sup>53</sup> Extracted in Philipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Rannut (eds. 1995: 379) and Tyagi (2003: 16)

languages like Kir nti-Kõits. As a result, the language is ‘threatened by social and economic pressures (See Tables 5.38.A and 5.40.B) for reasons to choose either Nepali or English as Mother Tongue rather Kir nti-Kõits), displacement, demographic submersion, language suppression in forced assimilation, assimilatory education and media’.

Lastly, especially in the case of Kir nti-Kõits speech community, caste politics has played a foul and negative role in their decreasing demographic figure and the number of speakers’ mentality as well regarding their exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ irrespective of their own auto-ethnonym ‘Kõits’ (cf. § 1.1.1.1) and their classification in a larger Kir nti (cf. § 1.1.1.1) group. Tyagi’s (2003: 8) egalitarian proposal “legal safeguards for linguistic minorities are instrumental in removing the fear of cultural or linguistic assimilation from the citizens’ minds” would trigger the improvement of gloomy and deteriorating linguistic situation of Nepal if ‘legal protection’ as such incorporated in the Constitution of the country like that of India, viz., Articles 29, 30, 347, 350, 350.A and 350.B along with Articles 32 and 226 (ibid: 9) seeking the protection of the rights of linguistic minorities with built-in institutional arrangements.

A special mention of ‘Personal names and human rights’ (Jernudd 1995: 121-132) after discussing three pertinent factors leading to endangerment in the preceding paragraph, should be made here in order to investigate several other factors like nomenclature (cf. Ch 1 § 1.1.1-§ 1.1.4) in the M[other] T[ongue] relating to their personal names ‘ethnonym’ in their MT (autonym cf. § 1.1.1.1), clanonyms in MT (autonym cf. § 1.1.2 and § 1.1.3) and human rights as discussed by Jernudd (ibid.). Jernudd in his paper (mentioned earlier) discussing the issues of personal names with individual cases of Bulgaria, Indonesia, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore and Sweden defends that naming an individual’s name in his/her own MT is the matter of human rights. By Jernuddian analogy, this section’s (cf. § 5.5) another objective besides language vitality, attitudes and usage is to investigate respondents’ personal names (See Table 5.14), clanonymms (See Table 5.15) and even loconyms (See Table 5.22) of their locality in their own Mother Tongue.

Thus, this § 5.5 also aims to record the respondents' profile on names, clans, sex (See Table 5.16), age (Table 5.17), profession/occupation (Table 5.19), mother tongue (See Table 5.23), bi-multilingualism (See Table 5.25, Burchers 2002), parents' mother (See Table 5.24), and their locality (See Table 5.22) fearing that they may be the last generation of the Kir nti-Kõits speaking population of the 21st century and also to observe whether their personal names are christened in their own mother tongue as compared to their clanonyms.

Our discussion now will be focused on the respondents' some selected/relevant socio-linguistic response (See Appendix E for Questionnaire, Ch 1 § 1.9) on whether they encourage their younger generation to speak their native language or what language they would choose as their Mother Tongue if they had a choice at hand or what language they would you like to educate their children in and so forth. We will start right from the respondents' socio-linguistic profile along with general comparison and conclusion of their response as follows:

**Table 5.14: Respondents' name**

Name (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Adarsha	1	1.0%	1.0%
Ajnabi	1	1.0%	2.0%
Amardip	1	1.0%	3.0%
Arati	1	1.0%	4.0%
Ashish	1	1.0%	5.0%
Bed	1	1.0%	6.0%
Beena	1	1.0%	7.0%
Bhagat	1	1.0%	8.0%
Bhawana	1	1.0%	9.0%
Bhim	2	2.0%	11.0%
Bikram	1	1.0%	12.0%
Bimala	1	1.0%	13.0%
Bir	1	1.0%	14.0%
Birat	1	1.0%	15.0%
Bishal	1	1.0%	16.0%
Bishnu	1	1.0%	17.0%
Bishow	1	1.0%	18.0%

Bishwa	1	1.0%	19.0%
Champadevi	1	1.0%	20.0%
Champak	1	1.0%	21.0%
Chandramaya	1	1.0%	22.0%
Dal	1	1.0%	23.0%
Dambar	1	1.0%	24.0%
Devibahadur	1	1.0%	25.0%
Durgamaya	1	1.0%	26.0%
Fanindra	1	1.0%	27.0%
Gunja	1	1.0%	28.0%
Haribhakta	1	1.0%	29.0%
Hom	1	1.0%	30.0%
Indra	1	1.0%	31.0%
Janaki	1	1.0%	32.0%
Jiban	1	1.0%	33.0%
Kamal	1	1.0%	34.0%
Keshav	1	1.0%	35.0%
Khados	1	1.0%	36.0%
Kiran	1	1.0%	37.0%
Kuldeep	1	1.0%	38.0%
Lalmaya	1	1.0%	39.0%
Laxmi	3	3.0%	42.0%
Lila	1	1.0%	43.0%
Lilamaya	1	1.0%	44.0%
Lokpriya	1	1.0%	45.0%
Man	2	2.0%	47.0%
Manorama	1	1.0%	48.0%
Mira	2	2.0%	50.0%
Mohan	2	2.0%	52.0%
Nabin	1	1.0%	53.0%
Nandamaya	1	1.0%	54.0%
Nani	1	1.0%	55.0%
Naresh	1	1.0%	56.0%
Narmaya	1	1.0%	57.0%
Nirjala	1	1.0%	58.0%
Nirmala	1	1.0%	59.0%
Nitesh	1	1.0%	60.0%
Om	1	1.0%	61.0%
Padam	1	1.0%	62.0%
Padevi	1	1.0%	63.0%
Prakash	1	1.0%	64.0%
Prem	1	1.0%	65.0%
Prema	1	1.0%	66.0%
Purna	1	1.0%	67.0%
Pushpa	1	1.0%	68.0%
Rabin	1	1.0%	69.0%
Rajan	1	1.0%	70.0%

Ram	1	1.0%	71.0%
Ramesh	1	1.0%	72.0%
Rampyari	2	1.0%	73.0%
Ratna	1	2.0%	75.0%
Reshma	1	1.0%	76.0%
Rewat	1	1.0%	77.0%
Rudra	1	1.0%	78.0%
Rupa	1	1.0%	79.0%
Samardhoj	1	1.0%	80.0%
Sameer	1	1.0%	81.0%
Sarmila	1	1.0%	82.0%
Shiva	1	1.0%	83.0%
Shivaraj	1	1.0%	84.0%
Shova	1	1.0%	85.0%
Som	1	1.0%	86.0%
Srijana	1	1.0%	87.0%
Sujan	1	1.0%	88.0%
Sukhi	1	1.0%	89.0%
Sumitra	1	1.0%	90.0%
Suroj	1	1.0%	91.0%
Surya	1	1.0%	92.0%
Tej	1	1.0%	93.0%
Tek	1	1.0%	94.0%
Tikaram	2	1.0%	95.0%
Toran	2	2.0%	97.0%
Uttam	1	1.0%	99.0%
Total	100	100.0%	100.0%

The above Table 5.14 out of hundred names does not show a single name in Kir nti-Kõits (T-B) even by accidental resemblance. All these names originate in Indic Khas-Nepali. This process of Hinduization of a people/tribe belonging to Mongoloid stock bearing Khas-Nepali names is not only limited to Nepal but in the whole Indian sub-continent (cf. Chatterji 1998 [orig. 1951; revised 2nd edition 1974]) e.g. the Khasi people/tribe (anthropologically of Mongoloid stock and Austro-Asiatic linguistically cf. Gurdon 2002 [orig. 1906]) in North-east India and other northern parts in the Himalayan range of India, where Nepal is no such exception (cf. Bista 1982, Malla 1981). Whereas their clanonyms (See Ch 1 § 1.1.2 and § 1.1.3, Table 5.15) are deep-rooted in their [Kir nti-Kõits] own mother tongue having several interesting semantic layers in them.

**Table 5.15: Respondents' clan**

Respondent's clan (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Bujicha	3	3.0%	3.0%
Digarcha	2	2.0%	5.0%

Gaurocha	2	2.0%	7.0%
Jespucha	6	6.0%	13.0%
Jẽticha	7	7.0%	20.0%
Jijicha	5	5.0%	25.0%
Katicha	2	2.0%	27.0%
Khyōpaticha	2	2.0%	29.0%
Kormocha	19	19.0%	48.0%
Kyabacha	7	7.0%	55.0%
Kyu ticha	11	11.0%	66.0%
Laspacha	3	3.0%	69.0%
Lōkucha	2	2.0%	71.0%
Mulicha	15	15.0%	86.0%
Ngawocha	2	2.0%	88.0%
Rapacha	1	1.0%	89.0%
Rupacha	4	4.0%	93.0%
Teppacha	1	1.0%	94.0%
Thanggracha	1	1.0%	95.0%
Tōkucha	2	2.0%	97.0%
Yatacha	3	3.0%	100.0%

In our survey sample illustrated in Table: 5.15, merely twenty-one (See Ch 1 § 1.1.2 and § 1.1.3 where a minimum of forty-six ethno-clanonyms have been recorded and interpreted) different clanonyms out of hundred respondents are recorded in which Kormocha, Mulicha and Kyu ticha form a majority of the clanonym groups. These clanonyms were purposely elicited irrespective of their exoglotyonym (See Ch 1 § 1.1.1) in order to explore and revive their forgotten heritage of language-internal semantic aspects (See § 1.1.3).

**Table 5.16: Respondents' Sex**

Sex (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	62	62.0%	62.0%
Female	38	38.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

The sex ratio between male and female as shown in Table 5.16 indicates a vast difference of sex representation in the survey. However, door-to-door survey was conducted in the site and it was intended to include more female respondents in order to observe whether mothers are transmitting the linguistic culture to their offspring.

**Table 5.17: Respondents' Age**

Age (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
10	1	1.0%	1.0%
13	1	1.0%	2.0%
15	3	3.0%	5.0%
16	3	3.0%	8.0%
18	1	1.0%	9.0%
19	5	5.0%	14.0%
20	5	5.0%	19.0%
21	4	4.0%	23.0%
22	4	4.0%	27.0%
23	4	4.0%	31.0%
24	2	2.0%	33.0%
25	7	7.0%	40.0%
26	3	3.0%	43.0%
27	1	1.0%	44.0%
28	2	2.0%	46.0%
29	2	2.0%	48.0%
30	1	1.0%	49.0%
31	2	2.0%	51.0%
33	2	2.0%	53.0%
34	2	2.0%	55.0%
35	2	2.0%	57.0%
36	1	1.0%	58.0%
37	2	2.0%	60.0%
39	1	1.0%	61.0%
42	1	1.0%	62.0%
43	2	2.0%	64.0%
47	1	1.0%	65.0%
48	2	2.0%	67.0%
50	3	3.0%	70.0% %
51	1	1.0%	71.0%
52	2	2.0%	73.0%
53	1	1.0%	74.0%
54	2	2.0%	76.0%
55	2	2.0%	78.0%
56	1	1.0%	79.0%
60	2	2.0%	81.0%
61	1	1.0%	82.0%
65	2	2.0%	84.0%
66	2	2.0%	86.0%
67	1	1.0%	87.0%
68	1	1.0%	88.0%
70	1	1.0%	89.0%
71	1	1.0%	90.0%

72	1	1.0%	91.0%
73	2	2.0%	93.0%
75	1	1.0%	94.0%
77	1	1.0%	95.0%
80	1	1.0%	96.0%
81	3	3.0%	99.0%
86	1	1.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

In Table 5.17, we notice that only 19 respondents belong to the age group 10-20 (although Table 5.18 shows the highest percentage of age group between 10-30) in which I found only one respondent aged 10 as a fluent speaker of the language under description in the survey area of the Nepal valley. This trend of ‘children beginning increasingly not to learn the MT, the youngest speakers are young adults and the youngest speakers are middle aged or past middle age’ according to UNESCO’s definition is ‘potentially endangered, endangered and seriously endangered’ language (See also Tyagi 2003: 7) where Kir nti-Kõits fits into all these definitions respectively.

**Table 5.18: Respondents’ age group**

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
10-30	49	49.0%	49.0%
31-60	32	32.0%	81.0%
61 and above	19	19.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

**Table 5.19: Respondents’ occupation**

Occupation	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agrarian	5	5.0%	5.0%
Artist	1	1.0%	6.0%
Business	1	1.0%	7.0%
Contractor	2	2.0%	9.0%
Ex-British Army	7	7.0%	16.0%
Ex-Indian Army + Nepalese DSP	1	1.0%	17.0%
Ex-Nepalese Army	1	1.0%	18.0%
Ex-Nepal Police	1	1.0%	19.0%
Ex- QGO	2	2.0%	21.0%
Gyam(i)	1	1.0%	22.0%

Home-maker	15	15.0%	37.0%
Lawyer	1	1.0%	38.0%
Martial Arts	1	1.0%	39.0%
Media	1	1.0%	40.0%
Nurse	1	1.0%	41.0%
Optics	1	1.0%	42.0%
Politician	3	3.0%	45.0%
Sales	1	1.0%	46.0%
Service	14	14.0%	60.0%
Social Service	1	1.0%	61.0%
Student	29	29.0%	90.0%
Teaching	4	4.0%	94.0%
Technician	1	1.0%	95.0%
Unspecified/undecided	5	5.0%	100.0%

**Table 5.20: Respondents' parents' occupation**

Occupation/profession	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agrarian	56	56.0%	56.0%
Bidder	1	1.0%	57.0%
Business	1	1.0%	58.0%
Collector	2	2.0%	60.0%
Contractor	3	3.0%	63.0%
Ex-B Army	10	10.0%	73.0%
Ex-I Army	6	6.0%	79.0%
Ex-Nepalese Army	1	1.0%	80.0%
Indian Army	1	1.0%	81.0%
Politics	1	1.0%	82.0%
Service	7	7.0%	89.0%
Teaching	1	1.0%	90.0%
Unspecified/undecided	10	10.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

Comparatively between the respondents' occupation/profession in Table 5.19 and their parents' occupation/profession in Table 5.20, there is a noticeable difference in their occupation of agriculture. The older generation had a 56% share as agrarians for their livelihood, who used to use their MT in every domains of their day to day life (cf. Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.41), where the mid-generation sharply fell into a 5% share in agriculture and diverted to other sectors like service and studentship, who gradually dropped out their MT from their day to day life-routine (cf. Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.41). The shift towards various occupations from the older generation to the newer generation

also indicates in language shift from MT to opportunity-based languages (cf. Table 5.39.B and 5.39.C).

**Table 5.21: Respondents' address: Districts**

Districts	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Dhanusha	1	1.0%	1.0%
Hong Kong (China)	1	1.0%	2.0%
Kathmandu	2	2.0%	4.0%
Khotang	1	1.0%	5.0%
Lalitpur	1	1.0%	6.0%
Okhaldhunga	46	46.0%	52.0%
Panchthar	1	1.0%	53.0%
Ramechhap	43	43.0%	96.0%
Taplejung	1	1.0%	97.0% %
Terathum	1	1.0%	98.0%
Udayapur	2	2.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

Out of ten districts mostly of east Nepal in Table 5.21, only two toponyms, for instance, Khotang and Taplejung seem to be originated in Sino-Tibetan family including 1% exception of Hong Kong (China). It also shows that most of the native speakers are densely populated in Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap districts occupying first (46%) and second (43%) position respectively. Similarly, fifteen loconyms (e.g., Angdim, Buj, Diktel, Kaat, Kasthel, Khichi (represents 26.0% of respondents), Khimti, Nangkholyang, Phot, Pletti, Ragan, Rasnal, Sabra, Saipu (represents 33.0% of respondents), and Wachpu, excluding Hong Kong (China) in which most of them are Khas-Nepalized) out of 25, where the respondents come from originally seem to be originated in the Sino-Tibetan family and the rest belong to the Indic Khas-Nepali.

**Table 5.22: Respondents' address: VDCs**

VDCs	Nos. of respondents	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Angdim	1	1.0%	1.0%
Buj	7	7.0%	8.0%
Dhapasi	1	1.0%	9.0%
Diktel	1	1.0%	10.0%
Gupteswor	2	2.0%	12.0%
Hong Kong	1	1.0%	13.0%

Janakpurdham	1	1.0%	14.0%
Kaat	6	6.0%	20.0%
Kasthel	6	6.0%	26.0%
Khasgaon	1	1.0%	27.0%
Khichi	26	26.0%	53.0%
Khimti	1	1.0%	54.0%
Lekhark	1	1.0%	55.0%
Nakhipot	1	1.0%	56.0%
Nangkholyang	1	1.0%	57.0%
*Illegibly written	1	1.0%	58.0%%
Phalate	3	3.0%	61.0%
Phot	4	4.0%	65.0%
Pletti	8	8.0%	73.0%
Ragan	3	3.0%	76.0%
Rasnalu	10	10.0%	86.0%
Sabra	3	3.0%	89.0%
Saipu	33	33.0%	92.0%
Sotreni	1	1.0%	93.0%
Taraghari	2	2.0%	95.0%
Thapathali	1	1.0%	96.0%
Wachpu	4	4.0%	100.0%
Total	100	100.0%	

(VDCs = Village Development Committees)

**Table 5.23: Respondents' Mother Tongue**

Mother Tongue	Frequency	Valid Percent
Kir nti-Kõits	74	74.0%
Nepali	4	4.0%
Kir nti-Kõits and Nepali	21	21.0%
Other	1	1.0%
Total	100	100.0%

Now, we come to notice a very interesting fact about the new generation of Kir nti-Kõits speakers, who start preferring to declare their MT (Table 5.23) either Khas-Nepali (4%) or both Khas-Nepali and Kir nti-Kõits (21%) which comprises 25% including 1% other than Khas-Nepali and Kir nti-Kõits, a process indicating of the Khasis of northeast India stated earlier. On the contrary, 86% excluding 9% Kir nti-Kõits and Khas-Nepali of their parents (Table 5.24) have/had Kir nti-Kõits as their MT still holding better position of their grandparents' 89% excluding 8% bilingualism.

**Table 5.24: Respondents' parent and grandparents' MT**

Respondents' ...	Kir nti-Kõits	Nepali	K-K and Nepali
Parent's MT	86.0%	4.0%	9.0%
Grandparent's MT	89.0%	3.0%	8.0%

**Table 5.25: Skill wise mono-bi-multilingual speakers**

Languages known	Understand	Speak	Read	Understand, speak	Understand, speak, read	Understand, speak, read & write	Total
1. One language (n = 100)				1%	1%	3%	5%
2. Two language (n = 100)			2%	13%	3%	24%	42%
3. More than two language (n = 100)	2%	2%		4%	3%	50%	61%

Tables 5.25 and 5.26 illustrate that the majority of respondents are multilingual by number and skill wise also. Monolingual speakers belong to that of the older generation and the mid-generation are mostly bilingual. The new generations are shifting to other powerful languages of bread and butter (cf. also Table 5.29).

**Table 5.26: Respondents' number of knowledge of languages**

MT's fluency (n = 99)	Frequency	Valid Percent
One	2	2.0%
Two	35	35.0%
More than two	63	63%
Total	100	100.00%

### 5.5.1 Language shift and retention

In this § 5.5.1, we will focus our discussion on the Kir nti-Kõits language shift and retention based on the respondents' response. Tables 5.23, 4.25 and 5.26 normally show that the new generations of the Kir nti-Kõits speakers are gradually shifting to the language of bread and butter as stated in the preceding section. This trend after all leads

to language extinction disastrously rather than language retention very soon at least in Nepal than in India. Abbi (1992: 47-48) observes,

“The tribal languages are passing through a paradoxical situation today. On the one the hand, they are shrinking, manifested in gratuitous borrowing and reduction of original lexicon and syntax; and contracting manifested in the reduction of the total number of speakers, and reduction of contexts of real usage. On the other hand, the sense of identity and language contact situation have enriched these languages by conflating them.”

However, in the case of Nepal the linguistic situation is very dismal as we considered in the preceding section. There is no legal provision seeking these fast dying minority languages irrespective of the speakers ‘sense of identity and language contact situation’, where no other languages except Khas-Nepali have privileges within the national boundary of the country. Abbi’s oscillating-dream-reality is not even possible after some decades in the Nepalese context because of brutal linguistic atrocity as discussed elsewhere in this chapter because of 73% language loss (CBS 2001) among the speech community members.

Now, we will observe the language shift scenario from Kir nti-Kõits to Khas-Nepali, where the native speakers of Kir nti-Kõits start learning the Khas-Nepali language. Table 5.27 shows that in all domains provided the native speakers of Kir nti-Kõits have very high chances of learning the State-imposed language.

**Table 5.27: Domains, where Nepali was learnt**

I learnt the Nepali language (n = 100)	Number of respondents	Frequency	Percentage
... at home	95	66%	69.5%
... at school	91	63%	69.2%
... at other institutions	85	28%	28.6%
... market place	70	27%	38.6%
... with friends	78	50%	64.1%
... at the playground	69	26%	37.7%
... in the religious ceremonies	69	19%	27.5%

... in the political discussions	70	21%	30%
... in the hospital	69	12%	17.4%

When children do not learn a MT anymore, the MT is defined as ‘seriously endangered’ according to UNESCO as discussed earlier. Educational institutions, in the modern world are also one of the most important domains of learning a language. Therefore, one of the survey questionnaires was aimed at finding out what medium of instruction do the respondents’ offspring (if any) go for education. Table 5.28 illustrates that the highest percentage (38.8%) of children go to English medium schools nearing 37.8% both in Nepali and English in the urban areas whereas in the rural Kir nti-Kõits means 99% children’s medium of education is Nepali. It is only in the urban area, where 19.4% children receive their education in Nepali. What this tendency shows is that urban area is more fascinated towards English medium education than the Khas-Nepali monolingual rural area.

**Table 5.28: Children’s medium of education**

Medium of instruction in school (n = 98)	Frequency	Valid percentage
Kir nti-Kõits	1	1.0%
Nepali	19	19.4%
English	38	38.8%
Kir nti-Kõits and Nepali	2	2.0%
Kir nti-Kõits, Nepali and English	1	1.0%
Nepali and English	37	37.8%

The following two cross tabulations illustrated in Tables 5.29, 5.30. The first depicts that middle aged, and the old aged speakers are quite fluent in Kir nti-Kõits as MT speaker whereas the new generations are steadily decreasing about one third of them are losing the command over their MT, which is of serious concern for the speech community. The second reveals the females irrespective of their low representation have better command of their MT since their occupation is confined to ‘home-making’ (Table 5.19) or within the four walls of kitchen.

**Table 5.29: MT fluency and respondents’ age group in cross tabulation**

MT fluency	Respondents' age group			Total
	10-30	31-60	61 and above	
fluent	28	25	17	70
	58.3%	78.1%	89.5%	70.7%
okay but not fluent	14	4	2	20
	29.2%	12.5%	10.5%	20.2%
have difficulty in speaking but not understanding	6	3	0	9
	12.5%	9.4%	.0%	9.1%
Total	48	32	19	99
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**Table 5.30: MT fluency and respondents' Sex in cross tabulation**

MT fluency		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
fluent	Count	46	24	70
	% within Sex	74.2%	64.9%	70.7%
okay but not fluent	Count	9	11	20
	% within Sex	14.5%	29.7%	20.2%
have difficulty in speaking but not understanding	Count	7	2	9
	% within Sex	11.3%	5.4%	9.1%
Total	Count	62	37	99
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

### 5.5.1.2 Domains of use

In this § 5.5.1.2, we will mainly observe the domains of Kir nti-Kõits MT use. In order to explain the respondents' response, we have divided the questionnaire into three parts as given in Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.33 (cf. also § 5.5.3). The first type of questionnaire (Table 5.31) is related with the respondents' individual life and his/her home environments such as thinking, praying or with pets or relatives. The most noteworthy point is the Kir nti-Kõits speakers now are increasingly adopting Khas-Nepali as their main language of social and personal interaction.

The second type of questionnaire is mainly related with the respondents' social life other than his family surroundings such as with doctors, in the market place,

community gatherings, discussing political matters, discussing religion and so forth. The result in Table 5.32 reveals that Kir nti-Kõits plus Khas-Nepali and and Khas-Nepali alone is the sole language of social interaction in their speech community.

The third type of domain that the survey questionnaire seeking to elicit their response is related with their neighborhood intercalation with their neighbors, who are linguistically similar as well as dissimilar. Table 5.33 distinctly shows that even when the neighborhood members are linguistically similar i.e. Kir nti-Kõits speakers only 26.0% of the respondents prefer to interact in their MT which means they have less compassion for their own MT. The rest is 28% solely in Khas-Nepali and 40% both in Kir nti-Kõits plus Khas-Nepali whereas majority of the respondents (i.e. 73.3%) prefer to use Khas-Nepali and the second position goes to Khas-Nepali plus English (i.e.12.2%).

**Table 5.31: Domains of language use I**

What Language do you use while...	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, English	K-K, N, Eng others	N, Eng	Others
thinking? (n = 99)	26.3%	35.4%		28.3%		7.1%	3.0%	
praying? (n = 95)	15.8%	36.8%		34.7%		7.4%	4.2%	
cursing? (n = 96)	13.5%	39.6%	1.0%	34.4%		6.3%	5.2%	
joking? (n = 96)	10.4%	34.4%		39.6%		7.3%	8.3%	
singing? (n = 96)	4.2%	39.6%	3.1%	36.5%		7.3%	9.4%	
scolding? (n = 96)	14.6%	31.3%	1.0%	38.5%		8.3%	6.3%	

[K-K = Kir nti-Kõits, N = Nepali, Eng = English]

**Table 5.32: Domains of language use II**

What Language do you use ...	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, Eng	K-K, N, Eng others	N, Eng	Others
with doctor? (n = 99)		67.7%	1.0%	6.1%	3.0%		22.2%	
while asking time/directions? (n = 99)	5.1%	32.3%	2.0%	31.3%	12.1%		17.2%	
in the market place? (n = 96)	7.0%	40.0%		30.0%	4.0%		19.0%	
in community gatherings? (n = 99)	18.2%	32.3%	1.0%	41.4%	4.0%		3.0%	
in community prayer? (n = 99)	23.2%	36.4%		34.0%	4.0%		1.0%	1.0%
with your village friends? (n = 99)	35.4%	18.2%		39.4%	3.0%		4.0%	
while discussing political matters? (n = 99)	3.0%	55.6%		31.0%	3.0%		7.0%	
while discussing deep-feelings? (n = 99)	21.2%	37.4%		33.3%	2.0%		6.1%	
when you are angry? (n = 99)	14.1%	32.3%		41.4%	6.1%		6.1%	
while discussing religion with friends? (n = 99)	16.2%	32.3%		42.4%	4.0%		5.1%	

[K-K = Kir nti-Kõits, N = Nepali, Eng = English]

**Table 5.33: Domains of language use III**

What Language do you use with your neighbours...	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, Eng	K-K, N, Eng others	N, Eng	Others
who are	26.0%	28.0%		40.0%	6.0%			

linguistically similar? (n = 100)								
who are linguistically dissimilar? (n = 90)		73.3%	1.1%	10.0%	3.3%		12.2%	

[K-K = Kir nti-Kõits, N = Nepali, Eng = English]

### 5.5.1.3 Language attitudes

This § 5.5.1.3 mainly focuses on the respondents' attitudes towards their own MT. Questionnaires like whether they feel prestigious/embarrassed/neutral to speak in their MT in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language, whether their MT is rich, sweet and so on compared to Khas-Nepali and etc. Table 5.34 gives a hopeful result that the respondents feel prestigious to speak their MT in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language, i.e. Khas-Nepali. Only 9% have an embarrassed feeling while speaking their MT in the presence of the dominant language.

Table 5.34: Kir nti-Kõits prestigious/embarrassed/neutral

Attitudes (n = 98)	Frequency	Valid Percent
prestigious	59	70.4%
embarrassed	9	9.2%
neutral	20	20.4%

In another questionnaire, how the respondents would rate their MT compared to the dominant Indo-Aryan (Indic) language Nepali spoken in their locality, Table 5.35 exposes that their MT is anyway significant compared to the dominant language spoken in their locality.

Table 5.35: MT rating

Compared to Nepali your MT is...	Yes	No	Unspecified
rich (n = 100)	77.0%	18.0%	5.0%
sweet (n = 100)	88.0%	4.0	8.0%

harsh (n = 99)	14.1%	73.7%	12.1%
powerless (n = 100)	24.2%	66.7%	9.1%
non-prestigious (n = 100)	17.3%	70.4%	12.2%
useful 1 (n = 100)	84.0%	9.0%	7.0%

The questionnaire on the respondents' MT usefulness or suitability in Table 5.36 shows one of the most important hidden facts about the language vitality that the Kir nti-Kõits speakers now gradually are internalizing their MT as 'the language of secrecy'. When the generation of speakers using their MT as the language of secrecy dies, their language will be totally gone with their ultimate death and dead memory. 22% of the respondents still think that their MT is useful as a means of communication whereas 20% of the respondents are not able to decide what the use of their MT is actually.

**Table 5.36: MT's suitability**

MT's suitable use in/for...	Frequency	Valid Percent
(n = 100)		
a. secret talk	25	25.0%
b. all purposes	9	9.0%
c. communication	22	22.0%
d. learning and teaching	1	1.0%
e. literary writing	5	5.0%
f. linguistic identity	4	4.0%
g. usage at home	2	2.0%
h. preserving tradition and culture	9	9.0%
i. writing books	1	1.0%
j. education	2	2.0%
k. unspecified/undecided	20	20.0%

After all the respondents' attitude, whether they encourage their younger generation to speak their MT in Table 5.37 is massively positive. Nevertheless, the question is of the country's monolithic language policy that depreciates all native speakers' dilemma 'to speak or not to speak the MT' as discussed earlier elsewhere in the chapter.

**Table 5.37: Encouraging younger generation to speak the MT**

Parent's/guardian's encouragement for speaking... MT	Frequency	Valid percentage
Yes	97	97.0%
No	3	3.0%

**In a questionnaire series like whether they ever had any problem because of being the native speaker of their mother tongue, 69.0% of the respondents responded 'No' and those who responded 'Yes' (Table 5.38) in addition in an auxiliary question "If 'yes', what type?" (Table 5.38.A) most of the responses reveal that socio-politico-economic discrimination and pressures as main hindrances and there is discrimination in the access of education too.**

Table 5.38: Problems of being a MT speaker

Problems because of being the native speaker of MT... (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	<b>31</b>	<b>31.0%</b>
No	<b>69</b>	<b>69.0%</b>

**Table 5.38.A: Types of problems being a MT speaker**

Types of problems...(n = 30)	Frequency	Valid Percent
socio-politico-economic discrimination	7	23.3%
discrimination in education	5	16.7
hostile confrontation	1	3.3%
socio-politico-economic pressures	6	20.0%
others	7	23.3
all three except hostile confrontation	4	13.3

If provided the linguistic freedom of MT choice, majority of the respondents, i.e. 68.4% would choose Kir nti-Kõits as their MT (Table 5.39). The reason for this choice is simply because for linguistic identity, linguistic rights, preservation and development (Table: 5.39.A) of their MT. Whereas 9% (Table 5.39.B) of the respondents would

choose Khas-Nepali as their MT for higher education and 9% of the respondents would choose English as their MT for opportunity and international relations.

**Table 5.39: Choice of MT**

Choice of MT (n = 98)	Frequency	Valid percentage
Kir nti-Kõits	67	68.4%
Nepali	7	7.1%
English	5	5.1%
Kir nti-Kõits and Nepali	2	2.0%
Kir nti-Kõits, Nepali and English	4	4.1%
Kir nti-Kõits, Nepali and English	13	13.3%

**Table 5.39.A: Reasons why Kir nti-Kõits as MT**

Reason K-K MT (n = 84)	Frequency	Valid percentage
children can understand well	7	8.3%
linguistic identity	21	25.0%
linguistic rights	10	11.9%
preservation and development	22	26.2%
linguistic identity, right, preservation and development	24	28.6%

**Table 5.39.B: Reasons why Nepali as MT**

Reasons Nepali MT (n = 21)	Frequency	Valid percentage
opportunity	3	14.3%
higher education	9	42.9%
science and technology	7	33.3%
all four	2	9.5%

**Table 5.39.C: Reasons why English as MT**

Reason English (n = 22)	Frequency	Valid percentage
opportunity	2	9.1%
higher education	5	22.7%
science and technology	2	9.1%
international relations	3	13.6%
opportunity and higher education	1	4.5%
opportunity and international relations	9	40.9%

If provided the linguistic freedom for children's education, a feeble majority, i.e. 33% (Table 5.40) of the respondents would choose Kir nti-Kõits to educate their children in their MT and the reason for this is again linguistic identity, right, preservation and development (Table 5.40.A). Whereas 10% (Table 5.40) of the respondents would choose Khas-Nepali as their MT simply because for opportunity and socio-politico-economic advantage (Table 5.40.B, also cf. Burchers 2002). There is a dramatic rise in the percentage of respondents, i.e. 26.0% (Table 5.40) most of who would choose English (also cf. Burchers 2002) as their MT for opportunity and higher education. This means that the language of children's education is purely need-based.

**Table 5.40: Choice of the language of children's education**

<b>Choice of language of children's education</b> (n = 100)	Frequency	Valid percentage
Kir nti-Kõits	33	33.0%
Nepali	10	10.0%
English	26	26.0%
Kir nti-Kõits and Nepali	6	6.0%
Kir nti-Kõits and English	2	2.0%
Nepali and English	7	7.0%
Kir nti-Kõits, Nepali and English	16	16.0%

**Table 5.40.A: Reasons educating in Kir nti-Kõits**

<b>Reason K-K</b> (n = 57)	Frequency	Valid percentage
children can understand well	7	12.3%
linguistic identity	16	28.1%
linguistic rights	6	10.5%
preservation and development	6	10.5%
linguistic identity, right, preservation and development	22	38.6%

**Table 5.40.B: Reasons educating in Khas-Nepali**

<b>Reason Nepali</b> (n = 37)	Frequency	Valid percentage
opportunity	14	37.8%
higher education	8	21.6%
socio-politico-economic advantage	13	35.1%
linguistic integration as chauvinism	2	5.4%

**Table 5.40.C: Reasons educating in English**

Reason English (n = 52)	Frequency	Valid percentage
opportunity	10	19.2%
higher education	8	15.4%
science and technology	4	7.7%
Higher education and international relations	5	9.6%
opportunity and higher education	13	25.0%
opportunity and international relation	9	40.9%

### 5.5.2 Linguistic materials

In this § 5.4.1.2.3, we will illustrate some basic linguistic materials regarding body parts and objects in nature in order to find out whether the language is highly affected by bilingualism due to language contact. We have already illustrated basic cardinal numerals in § 3.1.4.1 since the time of Beams. In § 5.2.1 and § 5.2.1 earlier, we illustrated kinship terms in which Kir nti-Kõits lexicons show language conflation.

#### A. Body parts

- |                                   |                              |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. diml ‘foot’                    | 2. kõit ‘ankle’              | 3. k <sup>h</sup> oil(i) ‘leg’  |
| 4. po.:ci ‘knee’                  | 5. kl to ‘waist’             | 6. kodz ‘stomach’               |
| 7. s pu ‘navel’                   | 7. kucu ‘chest’              | 9. gui ‘hand’                   |
| 10. bl pco ‘finger’               | 11. t mu ‘elbow’             | 12. t pl ‘palm’                 |
| 13. g ~ (c) ‘nail, claw’          | 14. solic ‘leg or body hair’ | 15. cã ‘hair’                   |
| 16. šyur ‘neck’                   | 17. yoili ‘chin’             | 18. šyo ‘mouth’                 |
| 19. nop <sup>h</sup> ‘ear’        | 20. n ‘nose’                 | 21. m’ici ‘eye’                 |
| 22. piy ‘head’                    | 23. l ~ ‘tongue’             | 24. s igi ‘lip’                 |
| 25. k <sup>h</sup> l{r}ui ‘tooth’ | 26. polpol ‘calf’            | 27. kušyul ‘skin’               |
| 28. rã ‘body’                     | 29. sulu ‘male genital’      | 30. son ‘female genital’        |
| 31. p <sup>h</sup> ot ‘testicles’ | 32. gos ‘pubic hair’         | 33. b p <sup>h</sup> l ‘armpit’ |
| 34. ky’i ‘intestine’              | 35. lu gir ‘heart’           | 36. nips ‘brain’                |
| 37. sorb ‘lungs’                  | 38. idi ‘liver’              | 39. yobi ‘kidney’               |

40. k<sup>h</sup> il ‘gall, bile’ etc.

### **B. Objects of nature/surroundings**

- |                   |                                    |                            |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. n ‘sun’        | 2. t sl ‘moon’                     | 3. šyor ‘star’             |
| 4. s ri ‘sky’     | 5. p <sup>h</sup> uilu ‘stone’     | 6. k <sup>h</sup> p ‘soil’ |
| 7. g s(u) ‘cloud’ | 8. kun ‘smoke’                     | 9. p <sup>h</sup> ‘snow’   |
| 10. cunci ‘hill’  | 11. lik <sup>h</sup> u ‘river’     | 12. w ki ‘jungle’          |
| 13. ru ‘field’    | 14. comlu ‘mountain’               | 15. r w ‘tree’             |
| 16. bw ku ‘water’ | 17. p <sup>h</sup> s(i) ‘air’ etc. |                            |

Since these lexicons enumerated here are very limited in number, it will be unreliable to calculate and predict the degree of semantic conflation in the present study.

### **5.5.3 Language death**

In order to observe the process of language death of a minority speech community, once again it is necessary to see the respondents' domains (cf. also § 5.5.1.2) of language use. Earlier in § 5.5.1.2, we analyzed the domains of Kir nti-Kõits language use is increasingly and worriedly replaced by Khas-Nepali. In this § 5.5.3, we will demonstrate what language do children actually use while playing with friends in the playground, where they naturally start learning a language and we will also demonstrate what language is being used within the family members at home since individuals learn any language at home as their first school (cf. also Tables 5.31, 5.32 and 5.33). The highest percentage, i.e. 47.3% (Table 5.41) of respondents uses only K-K with their grandparents whereas the percentage of Khas-Nepali users is increasing amazingly. Kir nti-Kõits as children's language of the playground is contracted down to 22% only. Either Khas-Nepali only or Khas-Nepali plus Kir nti-Kõits bilingualism (also cf. Borchers 2002) is preferred by most of the respondents. This is an indicator of very low vitality of Kir nti-Kõits as a MT of the minority speech community, which very obviously implies its bizarre death.

**Table 5.41: Language vitality**

What Language do you speak with...	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, Eng	K-K, N, Eng, others	N, Eng	Others
parents? (n = 99)	42.4%	17.2%		34.3%	1.0%	3.0%	1.0%	1.0%
er-brother? (n = 93)	40.9%	23.7%		28.0%	1.1%	4.3%	1.1%	1.1%
er-sister? (n = 93)	35.5%	21.5%	1.1%	33.3%	2.2%	4.3%	1.1%	1.1%
grandparents? (n = 93)	47.3%	20.4%		31.2%			1.1%	
spouse? (n = 71)	36.6%	26.8%		33.8%		1.4%	1.4%	
servant/s? (n = 75)	30.7%	41.3%		25.3%			1.3%	1.3%
pets? (n = 80)	32.5%	37.5%		28.8%			1.3%	
relatives? (n = 97)	21.6%	28.9%		40.2%		7.2%	2.1%	

[er = elder, K-K = Kir nti-Kõits, N = Nepali, Eng = English]

**Table 5.42: Children’s language of the playground**

What Language do K-K children use... (n = 100)	K-K	N	Eng	K-K, N	K-K, N, Eng	K-K, N, Eng others	N, Eng	Others
while playing?	22.0%	31.0%		35.0%	6.0%		6.0%	

[K-K = Kir nti-Kõits, N = Nepali, Eng = English]

### 5.6 Voicing for socio-politico-linguistic rights

In the preceding section, we demonstrated that Kir nti-Kõits as a MT of a minority and indigenous speech community is waiting for its ‘bizarre death’. We also stated the factors responsible for this shameful violation of Human Rights by the State polity in the past and continuing even at present day (cf. Lawoti 2001, 2002 and Gurung 2003: 82-101, Ka la 2005, Gurung 2003, Yonjan-Tamang 2005) linguistic scenario. This suppressive act by the so-called dominant mainstreams monopolizing ‘power and welfare’ in one way or the other has resulted in ‘social, cultural and linguistic conflicts’ all around the globe including the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal.

As a result, the Himalayan paradise is in incessant unrest and turmoil, which is the direct manifestation of worldwide phenomenon since “...the re-articulation of identities (in terms of class, gender and race/ethnicity for instance) and the emergence of new emancipatory forces, forms and sites of resistance in a globalizing world are challenging persistent patterns of unequal distribution of power and welfare” (Holman et al 2002: x) these days. Therefore, many minorities indigenous nationalities suffered of discrimination in every walk of their lives now are seeking emancipation voicing their socio-politico-linguistic rights in Nepal. Of course, the situation is very critical for concerned Human Rights activists, international communities, and social scientists including political scientists and linguists as well. We have reproduced here one of such

representative voices (Lawoti 2001) with minor re-adjustments and additions in five parts as follows:

A. Demands by the Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities Group

1. Adoption of the Draft Declaration of the Indigenous Peoples Rights by the International community
2. Apology by the Nepali State for past discrimination and internal colonization
3. Compensation for the past discrimination by the Nepali State
4. Immediate halt to the current discrimination in cultural and socioeconomic matters
5. Equality and Justice to all marginalized groups, and especially for women within Indigenous Peoples
6. Group rights of Indigenous Peoples, based on equality and justice, should be recognized by the State
7. Promotion and preservation of all cultures by the State
8. Equality between all native languages and all native religions
9. End to Constitutional and Legal discrimination of Indigenous Peoples and nationalities
10. Autonomy for the Indigenous Peoples and nationalities
11. Rights of self-determination to the Indigenous Peoples and nationalities
12. Affirmative actions for women within the Indigenous Peoples should be made

B. Government's responsibility on necessary steps to be initiated for Eliminating of Racial Discrimination

1. Offer apology for past discrimination, internal colonization and cultural imperialism
2. Declare the Nepali State as secular or multi-religious
3. Ratify the ILO Convention 169<sup>54</sup>
4. Implement the International Human Rights Instruments ratified by Nepal such as Minority Rights Declarations, Universal Human Rights Declaration and so on in spirit and word

---

<sup>54</sup> See Lawoti (2003) for its detailed Articles related to minority indigenous ethnic peoples' linguistic and cultural preservation.

5. Adopt accommodative and power sharing political institutions
6. Treat all native languages equally
7. Recognize customary practices of Indigenous Peoples
8. Recognize right to traditional homeland of Indigenous Peoples
9. Ensure equal distribution and access to State and societal resources
10. Promote and preserve Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities culture, language and tradition
11. Establish Academy of Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities to preserve and promote their languages and cultures
12. Initiate proportionate affirmative action policies for Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities
13. Ensure protection of Minority Rights constitutionally
14. Declare public holidays on Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities' festival
15. Include Indigenous Peoples/Nationalities' symbols in the 'national' symbols and heroes' lists
16. Transmit Radio programmes in native languages
17. Initiate education in native languages
18. Eliminate compulsory Sanskrit in schools
19. Remove restriction on registration of political parties based on ethnicity, caste and gender
20. Remove restriction on registration of organizations', magazines', newspapers' and others' name in the Indigenous Peoples' own Mother Tongue
21. Take scientific census of different Indigenous Peoples, their languages, traditions and cultures
22. Include positive description of Indigenous Peoples in school textbooks
23. Initiate public policies targeted specifically at socio-economic promotion of Indigenous Peoples
24. Establish a Commission on Indigenous Peoples, composed of Indigenous Peoples
25. Establish a media network of Indigenous Peoples
26. Legislate laws empowerment of Indigenous Peoples and implement those that exist

27. Implement the directive principle of the Constitution that deals with Nationalities

C. Steps to be taken by Civil Society, especially National Human Rights (HR) Groups and Media

1. Recognize diversity of society in letter and spirit, and not only in speeches
2. Respect Indigenous Peoples' culture and practices
3. Support and fight for discrimination towards Indigenous Peoples and Nationalities
4. Initiate campaigns in eliminating stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples
5. Abstain and discourage use of derogative proverbs, morals, songs and attitudes
6. Encourage egalitarian values in the society
7. Make empowerment of Indigenous Peoples a national agenda
8. Fight for collective/group rights of Indigenous Peoples by HR groups
9. While fighting for individual, civil and political rights, take account of vulnerable group members
10. Fight for cultural rights of dominated cultural groups
11. Sensitize human rights activists and media members of Indigenous Peoples' issues
12. Remove intolerance of dominant group members towards other languages, religions and cultures
13. Initiate awareness programmes regarding rights of Indigenous Peoples
14. Give proper coverage to Indigenous Peoples issues in the media, and avoid misrepresentation

D. Global and UN Organization and International Human Rights Groups

1. Ratify Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples
2. Pressure the Nepali State to protect and promote Indigenous peoples' rights
3. Pressure the Nepali State to stop assimilative politics
4. Request/persuade the Nepali State to become secular
5. Establish regional and national level human rights monitoring agencies

E. Multilateral and Bilateral Donor Agencies

1. Put conditional ties on foreign aid and loans; they have to reach Indigenous Peoples as well
2. Stop aid and programmes that do not benefit Indigenous Peoples and other marginal communities
3. Provide assistance specifically targeted toward the Indigenous Peoples and other marginalized groups
4. Initiate advocacy programmes on behalf of the Indigenous Peoples and other marginalized groups
5. Stop aid and programmes that harm Indigenous Peoples and their habitats and cultures
6. Increase awareness, extend and expand organizations
7. Increase advocacy movements
8. Initiate alliances with other oppressed groups
9. Spread organizations a all levels of the society
10. Stop discrimination conducted by the Hinduized Indigenous Peoples such as untouchability
11. Lessen intra-group differences and broaden intra-group alliances
12. Get rid of inferior complex and internalization of dominant values
13. Increase a culture of education

As stated above, fulfilling the 71 points of demands of the minority indigenous peoples by state polity ('if and only if') would probably assist in harvesting peace in the Himalayan paradise based on equality and equity as Holman et al (2003) hint towards the "patterns of unequal distribution of power and welfare" responsible for 'conflicts and unrest' at its core around the globe.

### **5.7 Summing up**

In this chapter, we discussed the socio-linguistic aspects of Kiranti-Koits by analyzing respondents' response on a set of questionnaires based mainly on socio-linguistic patterns stated in the beginning of this chapter and in Ch 1 § 1.9 as well. We stated and discussed several factors responsible for language endangerment and

language death. It is not, only the native speakers' loyalty, linguistic identity and the availability of basic linguistic materials (§ 5.5.2) that really matters but the State policies and legal provisions also are equally important for revival and survival of a Mother Tongue.

As a whole, the native speakers are positive and hopeful (but unfortunately they are unable to respond 'Yes' for questions regarding linguistic rights asked by Phillipson et al (1995: 22) towards their MT irrespective of being bilinguals or even multilingual or losing their MT vitality. But what is hopeless is the planning commission's language policy (See § 5.1, Ch 1 § 1.6) and scarcity of Constitutional and legal provisions for these minority and vanishing indigenous (also cf. Ch 1 § 1.6) languages. This critical condition of Nepal is a matter of great concern for all national and international communities believing in open and democratic culture. These vanishing peoples' desire for emancipation viz., political, social, economic and linguistic (also cf. Ka la 2005, Gurung 2003) stated within 71 points in § 5.6 deserves special mention and attention nationally and internationally.

\*\*\*\*\*

## Chapter Six

### Summary of research findings

This work is only a rudimentary description and exploration of the possibilities of Kir nti-Kõits grammar ranging from its phonological and morphological to syntactic structures including socio-linguistic aspects.

While undertaking this research topic in the beginning, we had six main problematic and empirical questions in mind along with objectives (See § 1.7) regarding the Kir nti-Kõits people/tribe, language and its grammatical structures such as,

- Does the presupposed and misinterpreted ethnonym (See § 1.1.1) hold accurate ground for its semantic dynamics provided in literature?
- Is Kir nti-Kõits a dialect of Indic Khas-Nepali as claimed by Singh and Manoharan (See § 1.1) and do the Kir nti-Kõits speech community ‘use Magar language’ as claimed by Pandey (2003 [vs 2060: 118])?
- What is the accurate mechanism of the sound and writing systems of Kir nti-Kõits, which is described inconsistently in its earlier research and does there exist any graphology (See Ch 2) of the language?
- What is its morphological (See Ch 3) mechanism? What is its syntactic typology (See Ch 4) comparatively in the Sino-Tibetan, T-B sub-family?
- What are its socio-linguistic (See Ch 5) aspects like domains of use, language policy and planning of the country, states of human linguistic rights, language loss, retention or death?

In order to answer the question on ethnological facts, in the course of the current research in Ch 1, we have examined and argued several problematic meanings and classification of the ethno-exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ as opposed to the ancient Kir nti-Kõits tribe classified in Mongoloid (also Tibetonoid used by some scholars) stock anthropo-sociologically. By way of analogy, we have compared related examples of the problematic meanings from Thangmi, another member of the Greater-Kir nti family.

From cultural and linguistic point of views based on several empirical evidence, Kir nti-Kõits people/tribe are interrelated sub-tribes with Kir nti-Ba?yung, Wambule [RaDhu], Jerung and others<sup>55</sup> and vice versa. Another best hint and evidence of this claim is the morpheme <-c > of the tribe related to other Kir nti ethno-clanonyms. By providing morphoetymological relationships among <-c ; चा>, <-c ; चा> or <-co; चो> (also in Kir nti-Kulung of *Wallo Kirat* ‘Near/Hither Kirat’), Kir nti-Rodung/Camling (*Majh Kirat* ‘Middle Kirat’) as <-cha छा>, Kir nti-Bantawa (*Pallo Kirat* ‘Far Kirat’) as <-ch छा> or <-c चा> and <-cho छो>. These ethno-morphological variations of clanonyms do have very cognate relationship also with Early Classical Newari <-c ; च> as well and is a closely related cognate of Tibeto-Burman proto-form \**tsa* ‘child, grandchild’ (Benedict 1972: 208) having socio-historical and linguistic relationships, which signifies as ‘±male/person’ marker (e.g. *s r -ch* ‘son’, *m ri-ch* ‘daughter’ and *m -ch* ‘daughter’s husband’) in Kir nti-Rodung’s modern vocabulary implies a very strong linguistic-anthropological ties amongst these peoples/tribes.

Their [of Kir nti-Kõits] ethno-exoglotonym ‘Sun(u)war’ as presupposed to be derived from the hydronym ‘Sunkoshi’ found in my investigation not to be developed/derived earlier than the 14th century (i.e. 1325 AD Egli 1999, cf. also Yakkha-Rai 2002) in the ethnological literature and history of Nepal available until recently. Their ethnic or linguistic identity lumped in Gurung and Magar, irrespective of their same Mongoloid<sup>56</sup> or Tibetonoid stock, has been found false while comparing

---

<sup>55</sup> Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar and Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar informed me that all the Kir nti tribes claiming Rai such as B .:yung (Rumdali [clans: Thamrocha, Dilingpacha, Hajupacha, Diburcha], Pai/Rinamsacha [clans: Tolacha, Moblocha, Ripa(o)cha, Nambersacha, Sechacha, Rallacha, Luticha], Necha(li), Hangu and Roke cf. Lee 2005), Wambule and Jerung of Wallo Kirat at present were Kir nti-Kõits (Sun(u)war) in the past (p/c). However, the B .:yung origin story as narrated by Buddhi Hangucha relates their proximity with Kir nti-Rodung also of Majh Kirat (cf. Maureen Lee and Bag-Ayagyami Yalungcha (2001) adopted by Rapacha (2002) cf. also Appendix A; Text 1). Bhupadhoj Thamros-Kulung claims that the illiterate Sun(u)wars still today claim themselves to be Rais but the learned ones only identify themselves as Sun(u)wars (p/c June 2005).

<sup>56</sup> Nesturkh (1966: 26) notes that “Among the specific features of the many anthropological types of this race [Mongoloid] are the following: a broad face that projects moderately, the broad, projecting cheekbones giving it a flat appearance, the eyes are brown, the eye slit is medium in the majority but narrow in many cases; in some individuals external angle of the eye is disposed higher than the internal angle; there is a well-developed fold on the upper eyelid that in many cases extends to the cilia and crosses the lower lid, completely or partially covering the internal angle of the eye, including the lacrimal

linguistic data and cultural facts (cf. Rapacha 2002). Mythology (cf. also Appendix A Text A) is another best supporting evidence for proving the Kōits people/tribe as Kir nti since “Every mythology is fundamentally a classification” (cited in Gaenzle 2000: 30 from Needham 1979: 36 [orig. Durkheim and Mauss 1963: 77]). Similarly, the rest of the meanings: Mukhia, *Suryavamshi* ‘solar dynasty’, *Kshetriya* or *Khas* ‘Indo-Aryan tribe’, Kinnar, ‘low caste’ Kshetriya Hindu and *Sunar/Kami* ‘goldsmith’ except for *Marpache* [Kir nti-Kōits in origin], are all misnomers ignorantly used for the Kir nti-Kōits people/tribe, which insult and humiliate the Mongoloid/Tibetonoid tribal ethos of them.

As on Thangmi (Turin 2003), much of the earlier writing on the Kir nti-Kōits is “erroneous and betrays the ignorance and prejudices of the writers more than it informs the reader about features of this important Himalayan population [Oirat > Kirat (accidental development; cf. § 1.1.1.1); belonging to the Mongoloid stock [cf. Turner 1987: 64 [orig. 1927], Northey 1998: 93-94 [orig. 1937], Gurung and Salter 1996: 59, *Hutichinson Encyclopedia* 2001: 642, Gurung 2004 [vs 2061]] and their little-known language”.

We have discovered that their ethnonym ‘Kōits’ in their own Mother Tongue (autonym) and those morpho-semantically significant auto-clanonyms genuinely make them different from any other misinterpreted-meanings available in the past literature related to the Indo-Aryan sociology handed down from Manu since because Kir nti-Kōits as one of the Tibeto-Burman language speakers fall outside the hierarchical ‘caste’ or any ‘*j ti*’ [I-A or Indic] system (cf. Abbi forthcoming, Joshi 2003: 334). Their language internal auto-ethno-clanonyms (cf. § 1.1.3) based on interpretive methodology are meaningfully significant for their own ethnicity and identity rather than other falsified, ‘ignorant and prejudiced’ meanings as in Thangmi (Turin 2003) labeled in the past literature.

---

bay, to form the epicanthus; the nose is of medium width, slightly projecting and usually with a low bridge; in the majority of cases the nostrils are in the medium with their long axes at an angle of about 90° to each other: the lips are thin or medium; ...the chin ridge has medium development’ in very many individuals the head is mesocephalous. The skin is lighter in colour and the hair is black and not always stiff. The beard is scanty” (Cited in Toba 1992: 8).

The other most important fact we discovered and issues we have discussed regarding the Kir nti-Kõits ethnology in Chapter 1 is on ‘several deviated and misrepresented orthographic “forms” of the ethnonym Sun(u)war and Kir nti-Kõits. In Ch 1 § 1.2, we have cited all the deviated meaningless words at least in Kir nti-Kõits in asterisk or underline’ to contrast with the standard and generally in common use are three: ‘Kir nti-Kõits, Sun(u)war and Mukhia’ only but not all the deviated and mismatched forms with other tribes for instance Tamang and others (cf. Ch 1 § 1.2). Therefore, either one of these three common orthography systems has been adopted elsewhere in this research narrative. Furthermore, we have briefly examined the unfavourable State-policy for the diverse linguistic minorities in Nepal (cf. Ch 1 §1.6), which is discussed in a considerable detail in Ch 6.

In Chapter 2, we dealt with two major themes i.e. phonology ‘the sound system’ and graphology ‘the writing system of the language’ chosen for investigation. In the first half of the first part, we have described the inventory of phonemes in Kir nti-Kõits by looking at their distribution (i.e. word initial, medial and final), classification (place and manner of articulation, voicing, aspiration) and minimal/near-minimal pair test (based on contrastive meaning). We have examined some phonological rules for instance, free variation, nasal assimilation, nasalization, allophonic variation, and consonant and vowel deletion. Based on those phonological rules like minimal pair test, 24 consonant (Table 2.2) and 6 basic vowel (See Table 2.1) phonemes have been discovered in the language.

Phonemic asymmetries have been found in the sound system of the language such as phonemes like /c/ vs. /ch/ or [ts<sup>h</sup>], /b/ vs. /b<sup>h</sup>/, /d/ vs. /d<sup>h</sup>/, /g/ vs. /g<sup>h</sup>/, and /dz/ vs. /dz<sup>h</sup>/ lack minimal pairs and may occur only in loan words from I-A (Indic) Khas-Nepali whereas all six vowels are contrastive in terms of nasalization. This process historically has developed from the drop of the bilabial-nasal phoneme /m/ which still exists in Proto-Tibeto-Burman and the rest of the Kir nti languages of east Nepal, for example \**ts m* (P-T-B), *ts m* (some other Kir nti languages) and *tsã* (Kir nti-Kõits) for ‘hair’.

Then, in the second half, we have illustrated its phonotactics revealing consonant clusters in all three positions (See Table 2.4 consonants permitting clusters word initially bl, br, by, gl, gr, gy, kl, kr, ky, k<sup>h</sup>l, k<sup>h</sup>r, dzy, pl, pr, p<sup>h</sup>l, p<sup>h</sup>y and šy, Table 2.5 consonants permitting clusters word medially bb, bl, br, cc, ck, ck<sup>h</sup>, kk, kl, l, r, š, lb, lc, lg, lk, lk<sup>h</sup>, lp, mc, md, ml, mm, mn, mp, mr, ms, mš, mth, mdz, nk, nn, pc, pl, pp, ps, pth, tl, rb, rc, rm, rš, rth, šy, sc, sl, sm, ss, sš, thr, gy and .:th and Table 2.6 consonants permitting clusters word finally g, s, lc, lb, mc, md, mt, mdz, pc, pt, pn, rc, rb, rs, rš and rn) more productively as compared to Meithei (Abbi and Mishra 1984) and very interesting and productive rules of geminates like bb, cc, kk, ll, mm, nn, pp, ss and tt. Minimum syllabic structures of words (where majority of them) are monosyllabic whereas maximum structure of combination is tetrasyllabic.

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

Chapter 3 mainly has focused on the description of three main morphological parts viz., nominal, verbal morphology and particles. The key morphological processes we have observed here include: inflection, derivation, reduplication and compounding. Nominals are those grammatical categories, which are marked for case suffixes but gender remain unmarked grammatically (See § 3.1.2.2). Person and number (See § 3.1.2.3) need a special attention to be analyzed in Tibeto-Burman Kir nti languages. All Kir nti languages including Kir nti-Kõits have dual marker, e.g. *-sku* (See (92) c in the language under description. Most of the nominals morphologically are derived (See (87) a and (88) a, reduplicated (See § 3.1.2.2) and compounded (See (90) b ones.

Like other Kir nti languages, Kir nti-Kõits also has deictic category for all three levels such as high, level and low (See § 3.1.2.4.5.3). The verb ‘come’ is also of four types depending on the addressee’s level of movement (See § 3.2.3 and Appendix B for Lexicon in use). Case markers like *-mi* > *m*, - ‘by, with, at’ (instrumental, locative, loco-genitive, agentive, ergative), *l* ~ *~r* / ‘from’ (ablative), *-k li* > *k l* ‘for, to’ (dative/accusative, purposive), *-nu* ‘with, and, TEMP’ (comitative *-nu*) ‘with’, *-g* ‘to/towards, you’ (allative (elative/illative as in Finnish), and *~ -k ~ -* ‘of’ (genitive, locative) have multiple semantic layers developed through grammaticalization. There are separate postposition lexemes besides the case markers’ role as postposition (See § 3.1.2.6).

The Kir nti-Kõits verb morphology is normally agglutinative and inflecting (See § 3.2). Normally, it inflects for person, number (See § 3.2.6) and TAM (elsewhere). There is a high frequency of nominal and verbal compounding yielding nominals from verbs. Like many other Kir nti languages, Kir nti-Kõits verb roots/stems are highly monosyllabic *l* - ‘go’, *t* - ‘see/get’, *k<sup>h</sup>* :- ‘tear’, - ‘weep’ and so on. 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 such as reduplication, compounding and inflection.

The discourse particles described at the end part here (See § 3.9) tend to have more pragmatic force (i.e. attitude and emphasis in discourse) than morphological, syntactic and semantic one. These particles, e.g. *kō*, *k k*, *cō*, *d*, *šyā*, *c n*, *d*, , *n*, *-i* and *-n* rarely influence the morpho-syntactic constructions. Interestingly, most of these discourse particles occur at the phrase or sentence final position and are rarely reduplicated or compounded in them. They ‘nuance’ the lexical and emotional import of clauses.

Chapter 4 has concentrated on the description of the rudiments of Kir nti-Kõits syntax. The language as one of the Tibeto-Burman members shares very similar

syntactic features of the sub-family (See also Ch 4 footnote 53). Its normal word order as in other T-B members in a sentence is SOV – subject, object, predicate, e.g. *go k<sup>h</sup> m dz i-nu-* (I rice eat) ‘I eat rice’. We have illustrated NP, VP, ADJPH and ADVPH at its basic phrase structure level. At the NP level, Kir nti-Kõits is a head final language such *rimšo mur* ‘a good person’.

At the sentence level, we have divided the Kir nti-Kõits sentences mainly in two major parts, viz., simple and complex. However, some minor types of sentences are also dealt in the last part of this description. In simple sentences, we have illustrated possible word order, interrogative, copula, ergativity, comparative/superlative and nominalized sentences (See § 4.3.1.1). Ergativity (See § 4.3.1.1.4 and cf. also Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5 examples (109) c-d, (116) e) as morpho-syntactic process has been dealt in a considerable detail. Based on copious illustrations we came to a prima facie conclusion that Kir nti-Kõits exhibits split ergative marking (cf. Ch 3 § 3.1.2.5.1 onwards) on the 3rd person noun or demonstrative pronoun for which DeLancey (1981) has termed as ‘empathy hierarchy and aspectual split pattern’.

Complex sentences in Kir nti-Kõits like in other Kiranti languages according to Ebert (1994: 112), can be classified into two basic types of clause combining systems based on the degree of reduction, viz., (i) maximally reduced clauses: the verb is non-finite, i.e. it carries no finite tense or person markers; subjects are always deleted (even in case of non-identity, and (ii) minimally reduced or non-reduced clauses: the verb in the non-reduced clause is finite, i.e. it could stand in an independent sentence (See § 4.3.1.2). In such Kir nti-Kõits clauses, the verb is marked for person and number or unlike K-Ath, Kir nti-Kõits marks TAM as well.

Such clauses based on reduction are divided into Non-finite and Finite clauses (See § 4.3.1.2.1 and § 4.3.1.2.2) further. Under Non-finite, there are infinitive, purposive converb, negative and participial clauses syntactically organized in the language. While Finite clause includes: nominalized, adnominal/relative, temporal, complement, sequence, adverbial/manner/ *-p*, conditional, concessive, quote,

reason/causal and correlative. Some other minor sentences (See § 4.3.2) also have been accounted to unfold the syntactic structures of Kir nti-Kõits in particular and in a wider perspective of T-B syntax in general comparatively.

In the last chapter (i.e. Ch 5), we have discussed the socio-linguistic aspects of Kir nti-Kõits by analyzing respondents' response on a set of questionnaires based mainly on socio-linguistic patterns stated in the beginning of this chapter and in Ch 1 § 1.9 as well. We have stated and discussed several factors responsible for language endangerment and language death in the case of Nepal. It is not, only the native speakers' loyalty, linguistic identity and the availability of basic linguistic materials (See § 5.5.2) that really matters survival of any minority languages in a linguistic geography but also the State policies and legal provisions (See Tyagi (2003) for positive appraisal of legal provisions and Gupta and Abbi (1995) for a critical understanding of legal provisions and effects of the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution) also are equally important for revival and survival of a particular Mother Tongue like Kir nti-Kõits. CBS (2001) census report shows the language retention only by 27% (26, 611) among 95, 245 (0.42% of total population 2, 27, 36, 934) speakers among which 73% is language loss. Its implication is far deeper than we can imagine the hurrying death of the language.

As a whole, the native speakers are positive and hopeful (but unfortunately they are unable to respond 'Yes' for questions regarding linguistic rights asked by Phillipson et al (1995: 22) towards their Mother Tongue irrespective of being bilinguals or even multilingual or losing their Mother Tongue vitality. Nevertheless, what is hopeless is the planning commission's language policy (See § 5.1, Ch 1 § 1.6) and scarcity of Constitutional and legal provisions for these minority and vanishing indigenous (also cf. Ch 1 § 1.6) languages.

This critical condition of Nepal is a matter of great concern for all national and international communities of linguists and other social scientists believing in open and democratic culture. These vanishing peoples' desire for emancipation viz., political,

social, economic and linguistic stated within 71 points (See § 5.6) deserves a special mention and attention nationally and internationally to protect their linguistic human rights among others.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Appendix A**  
**Mythological interlinear texts**

**1. Kir nti-Kõits nu B myung Y msits**

**‘Kir nti-Kõits and B myung Migration’**

- 1.1 *Bamyungke dikipurkhi Paiwa>Pwai>Pai nu Kõitske dikipurkhi Khinchi Hang nasi.*  
 b .:yu -k dikipurk<sup>h</sup>i p iw >pw i nu kõiits-k dikipurk<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>intsi h n si~n s  
 B -GEN ancestor P>P and K-GEN ancestor K H AUX:2/3DU

‘The ancestor of Kõits and B .:yung are Khinchi Hang and Paiwa respectively.’

- 1.2 *Khinchi nu Paiwa ka kikyeye tsatspikya nasi.*

k<sup>h</sup>intsi nu p iw k kiky -k ts ts( )-piky n si~n s  
 K and P one grandfather-GEN grandchildren-PL AUX:2/3DU

‘Khinchi and Paiwa are grandchildren of the same grandfather.’

- 1.3 *mekopikya AngAm hushke nams bAmb(a).*

m ko-piky n-g -m huš-k n ms b .:-b ~b b  
 that-PL their:PRO-inside-LOC blood-GEN relatives be:AUX-EXT:3SG

‘They have blood relationship among them.’

- 1.4 *mekopikim prag-neslosits nAmsitsmer porong gimthepA bAmsho bAmteme.*

m ko-piki-m pr g-n slosits n msits-m r poro šo gimth -p b .:-šo  
 s/he-PL-AGT pre-historical time-LOC nomadic living-ADV stay-PR:PCPL

b .:-t m ~t m

AUX-EXT:PST:3PL

‘They had been living a nomadic life in the pre-historical time.’

- 1.5 *mekopiki loli kangAn gepHINGA muru nami.*

m ko-piki lo:li k - -n g p<sup>h</sup>i- muru n -mi~n -m  
 s/he-PL language:ADJ one-GEN-PAR group-GEN man AUX:3PL

‘They are members of the same linguistic community.’

- 1.6 *mekyengA Kõits lo nu Bamyung lo ka lolingA nimsi phetsngA lo khodeb nasi.*

m k y - Kõiits lo: nu b .:yung lo: k lo:-li- ni.:si p<sup>h</sup> ts- lo:

there-ABL K language and B language one language-LOC two part-GEN language

k<sup>h</sup>od b n -si~n -s

ADJ:like AUX:2DU

‘Similarly, Kõits and Ba.:yung are like two dialects of the same single language.’

1.7 *mekoAs datenga nemthAg’uthAkali Mun(k)dum khisAmi tham tuiPAiba.*

m ko- s d t -                      n .:th -g’ th -k li Mun(k)dum k<sup>h</sup>is -mi      th m  
s/he-DU between-GEN      near-RED-PAT                      M      legend-LOC      true/clear  
tui-p -ib ~ib  
know-do:CAUS:3SG

‘The legend of Mundum~Mukdum clarifies the kinship between them.’

1.8 *poro sho gim thesimi Paiwa nu Khintsi TimridzonglA Paitip dzAmtAse.*

poro šo gim t<sup>h</sup> msi-mi      P iw nu K<sup>h</sup>intsi timridzo -l P itip dz .:-t -s ~s  
nomadic life span-ADV      P                      and K                      T-ABL P      arrive-PST-2DU

‘During the nomadic life span Paiwa and Khintsi arrived to Paitip from  
Timridzong.’

1.9 *ondeb pashangAmin PaitiplA Dzaujila nu DzaujilalA Khayarpas dzAmtAse.*

ōd b p -š - -min                      P itip-l dz ujil nu dz ujil -l K<sup>h</sup> y rp s dz .:-t -s ~s  
thus do-SIM-SEQ-then      P-ABL      D                      and D-ABL K                      arrive-PST-2DU

‘In this way, then both of them arrived to Dzaujila from Paitip and to Khayarpas  
from Dzaujila.’

1.10 *mekengA Jammu-Kashmirm bAmtAse.*

m k -                      Jammu-K shmirm      b .:-t -s ~s  
there-SRC:LOC                      J-K-LOC                      live-PST-2DU

‘From there, they lived in Jammu-Kashmir.’

1.11 *mekerlAi yo Tharmalung-Tharsilung, mekerlA Yarmalung dzAmtAse.*

m k r-l -i                      yo      Th rm lu -Th rsilu      m k r-l Y rm lu dz .:-t -s ~s  
there-ABL-PAR      also      T-T                      there-SRC:ABL Y      arrive-PST-2DU

‘Also from Jammu-Kashmir, they arrived to Tharmalung-Tharsilung, and from  
there to Yarmalung.’

1.12 *ekokali Halkabung-Phalehungmi Phalekhrarmi desib bAmta.*

ko-k li                      h lk bu -p<sup>h</sup> l hu mi p<sup>h</sup> l khr mmi d ~:sib b .:-t ~t  
this-PAT/DAT                      H-P                      P                      say-PAS AUX:EXT-3SG

‘This (Y) was called Halkabung-Phalehungmi Phalekhrarmi.’

1.13 *eko rAgimi sogen nu masogenke nimsi lAptso/lhAptso bAmta.*

ʔko r gi-mi sog n nu m sog n-k ni.:si l ptso b .:t ~t  
 this country-LOC sin and virtue-GEN two door AUX:EXT-3SG  
 ‘In this country, there were two doors of sin and virtue.’

- 1.14 *masogenke lAptso/lhAptsokali kubts´ib kyorsshAdzArsha lA romne tsAbsib bAmt.*  
 m sog n-k l ptso-k li kubts´ib kyors-š -d zrs-š l ro.:n ts b-sib  
 virtue-GEN door-PAT:DAT a/b cut-SIM-sacrifice-SIM only open-INF can-PAS  
 b .:t ~t  
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The door of virtue could be opened only by sacrificing animals or birds (a/b).’

- 1.15 *Paiwa nu mekoke loab Dunglewa mithots dumshopatke meko lAptsokali dzArtsA mAlba de tuittAt.*  
 P iw nu m ko-k lo b Du l w mithots dum-šo-p -tk m ko l ptso-k li dz rts-c  
 P and he-GEN brother D Tantric be-PCPL-do-NML that door-DAT sacrifice-  
 INF  
 m lb d tuit-t t.  
 must say:CONV know-PST:3SG

‘Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the door because of being a Tantric.’

- 1.16 *minu ker kiriwari ts´ib kyorsshA-dzArsshA nelle glumAts rimshopA lAptsoLA langA gluteme.*  
 minu k r kiriw ri ts´ib kyors-š -dz rs-š n ll glum ts  
 then black nightingale bird cut-SIM-RED-SIM all family  
 rimšo-p l ptso-l gl -t m ~t m  
 good-do:ADV door-ABL come out-PST:3PL

‘Then by having sacrificed a black nightingale, all the family members came out of the door of virtue successfully.’

- 1.17 *kAlenga solum kAleKA lA romsib masogennga lAptso Paiwa nu Dunglewake glumAts glumeken tsomsime bAmt.*  
 k l - solu-m k l -k l ro.:sib m sogen- l ptso  
 P iw nu  
 once-GEN sacrifice-AGT once-one only open-PAS virtue-GEN door P and  
 Du l w -k glum ts glu-m k -n tso.:si-m b .:t ~t  
 D-GEN family come.out: INF-PAR close-MV:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The only once opening door of virtue for one time’s sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out.’

- 1.18 *Khintsike glumAts itsAnole dumshomi lAptso tsomsinegen lAptso nemthA dzAmteme.*

Khintsi-k glum ts its -nol dum-šo-mi l ptso tso.:-si-n -g n l ptso  
n .:t<sup>h</sup>

K-GEN family a.little-after become-PR:PCPL-AGT door close-MV-NML-soon door  
near

dz .:-t -m ~m

arrive-PST:3SG

‘Immediately after the closing of the door, Khintsi’s family members arrived there.’

1.19 *Khintsi plApsala dumnAdumna Paiwakali hillo pAptu, “e... dAgyu! gopikya dopa pitsA shyan?”*

K<sup>h</sup>intsi pl ps l dum-n -dum-n P iw -k li hillo-p p-tu, “e...

K helpless be-PROG-RED-PROG P-GEN ask-do-PST:3SG

“hello d gyu! go-piky dop pi-c šyã?”

brother! I-PL how come-INF PAR

‘Khintsi asked Paiwa being helpless, “Hello brother! How shall we come?”’

1.20 *dAgyu Paiwami demebAmt, “bumA lomA tsArtongo ekeng ghluti”.*

d gyu P iw -mi d ~:-m -b .:-t, “bu.:- lo.:-  
elder.brother P-AGT say-INF-AUX:EXT-3SG bird-GEN animal-GEN  
ts r-to- o k - glu-ti”  
cut-SIM-TEMP here-PAR come.out-1PST

‘The elder brother Paiwa said, “I came out here by sacrificing birds and animals.’

1.21 *shyeng/tarna Khintsim “lomA tsartongo ekeng ghluti” la nena bAmta.*

šy /t rn K<sup>h</sup>intsi-m “lo.:.b- ts r-to- o k - g<sup>h</sup>lu-ti”

but K-AGT “younger.brother-GEN cut-SIM-TEMP here-PAR came.out-PST

l n -n b .:-t ~t  
only hear-NML:3SG AUX:EXT-3SG

‘But Khintsi heard, “lo.:.ba tsartongo ekeng g<sup>h</sup>luti” (I came out here having sacrificed my younger brother) only.’

1.22 *minu mekoke pAnmi yo Am loabke solu gesha langga glume bAmt.*

minu m ko-k pã-mi yo m lo b-k solu g -š  
then s/he-GEN turn-LOC also own younger.brother-GEN sacrifice give-SIM  
l g glu-m b .:-t ~t  
outside come.out AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Then in his turn, he also came out having sacrificed his own younger brother.’

1.23 *langgA glumenu da memi dAgyu Paiwake loab Dunglewa kathkan tAbtu.*

langg glu-m -nu d m -mi d gyu P iw -k lo b Du l w  
 outside come.out-NPST-TEMP PAR he-AGT e/b P-GEN y/b D  
 k th-k -n t -btu  
 together-one-PAR see-PST: 3SG

‘While coming out, he saw Paiwa’s (e/b ‘elder brother’) brother (y/b ‘younger brother’) Dunglewa together.’

1.24 *mekyengA me gAishngAmin ubnaubna hillo pAaptu, “mame e... dAgyu! inke da loab selan bAmT shyAn? Ankali marde kyorssHA-dzArs-shA piu densho?”*

m ky - m g iš- -min ubn ubn hillo-p -ptu, “m m ...d gyu!  
 there-ABL s/he anger-SEQ-then mutter ask-do-PST:3SG INTJ hey...e/b  
 in-k d lo b s l -n b .:-t ~t šyã?  
 your-GEN PAR y/b along.with-PAR AUX:EXT-3SG INTJ:PAR  
 ã-k li m rde kyors-š -dz rs-š piu-o d ~:-šo?”  
 I-DAT why cut-SIM-RED-SIM come-IMP say-PR:PCPL

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

1.25 *Paiwami yo tsu:tsupanpan denta, “hatteri! gom genA loab kyorsshAdzArsshA piu densho nanga ngA? ts’ibrub kyorsshA-dzArsshA piu kaka densho nang shyAn”.*

P iw -mi yo tsu:tsu-p -n -p -n d ~:-t ~t, h tteri! go-m g n lo b  
 P-AGT also regret-do-PROG-RED-PROG say-PST:3SG INTJ I-ERG when y/b  
 kyors-š -dz rs-š piu-o d ~:-šo n ~n  
 cut. SIM -RED-SIM come-IMP say-PR:PCPL AUX:1SG  
 ? ts’ibrub kyors-š -dz rs-š piu-o k k d ~:-šo  
 Q:PAR bird/animal cut.CONV-RED-SIM come-IMP PAR say-PCPL  
 n šyã  
 AUX:1SG PAR

‘Paiwa also expressed regretting, “When did I tell you to come having sacrificed your younger brother (y/b)? I told you to come having sacrificed a bird or an animal.’

1.26 *mul Khintsi nu PaiwaAs gAmthu madumtek goisAu.*

mul K<sup>h</sup>intsi nu P iw - s g mth m -dum-t k goi-s u  
 now K and P-DU inner.feeling NEG-become-NML know-PAS

‘Now, the family ties between Khinchi and Paiwa was in trouble.’

1.27 *sisisho thun pashA ga:tikem me nimsi Sinduli nu Udayapurnga sirwA mer Kamala likh jadittAse.*

sisišo th p -š g :tik -m m .: ni.:si Sinduli nu Ud y pur sirw -m r

cold:ADJ heart do-SIM journey-LOC he two S and U boarder-  
to:DIR  
K m l lik<sup>h</sup> dz di-t-t s ~t s  
K rivulet arrive-PST-3DU

‘Both of them in their journey arrived to the boarder of the Kamala rivulet cold-heartedly.’

1.28 *mekelAi yo mekopikya hamaihAm udingge lAmteme.*

m k -l -i yo m ko-piky h m -i-h m uding-g l m-t m ~t m  
there-ABL-PAR also s/he-PL bank-PAR-bank north-POSTP go-PST:3PL  
‘From there too they went towards the north through the bank.’

1.29 *deNsdesimin Tawa likh dzAmt.*

d ~:s-d ~:-si-mi-n T w lik<sup>h</sup> dz :-t ~t  
say-RED-NML-LOC-PAR T rivulet come-PST:3SG

‘Quarreling in the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet.’

1.30 *TawakelanPA Sinduli nu Udayapur sirwAm bAmb Kakaru likhmi dzadittase.*

T w -k -lā-p Sinduli nu Ud y pur sirw -m b :-b K k ru lik<sup>h</sup>-mi  
T-GEN-path-ADV S and U boarder-LOC live-NML:3SG K rivulet-LOC  
dz dit-t s ~t s  
reach-PST:3DU

‘They reached to the Kakaru rivulet via the way of Tawa located on the boarder of Sinduli and Udayapur.’

1.31 *Kakaru shomshA Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) gluteme.*

K k ru šo:.-š kum (N Sunkosi) glu-t m ~t m  
K cross-SIM N appear-PST:3PL

‘Having crossed Kakaru, they appeared in the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi).’

1.32 *gyosho gAmsim dAsho sendAm Paiwaim denta, “lo mul Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) shomshA themruge lai”.*

gyošo g :-si-m d šo s ~:d -m P iw i-m d ~:t , “lo mul  
kum  
ADJ:long walk-LOC ADJ:tired sound-LOC P-AGT say-PST:3SG, “let now N  
šo:.-š th mru-g l -yi”.  
cross-SIM hill-POSTP go-3INCL

‘After a long journey Paiwa said in a tired voice, “Now let us cross the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) and go towards the hill.’

1.33 *Khintsim mulngAmere dAgyuke lo: madzAib dumta.*

K<sup>h</sup>intsi-m mul- -m r d gyu-k lo: m -dz -i-b  
 K-AGT now-POSS-from elder.brother-GEN language NEG-eat-NPST:3SG-  
 NML  
 dum-t ~t  
 become-PST:3SG

‘From now on Khinchi became disobedient to his elder brother’s advice.’

1.34 *Paiwa nu mekoke glumAts Dudkosi nu Ngakuma lipu nemthAngA TokselgAtla somSAM.*

P iw nu m kok glumats Dudkosi nu akum lipu n .:th - Toks lg t-l  
 P and s/he-GEN family D and N estuary near-LOC:POSS T-  
 ABL  
 so.: -s m ~s m  
 cross-PST:3PL

‘Paiwa and his family members crossed Tokselgat near the Dudkosi river and Ngakuma estuary.’

1.35 *meko mum p’Asher mwAkya wAmsho pala khu:sha likh somSitsA mAlba bAmt shyan.*

m ko mu-m p’ š r .:w ky -m w .: -šo p l k<sup>h</sup>u: -š lik<sup>h</sup>  
 that time-LOC dense jungle-LOC grow-PCPL bamboo pull.down-SIM rivulet  
 so.: -si-c m lb b .: -t šyã  
 cross-MV-INF must/is.necessary AUX:EXT-PST PAR

‘The rivulet should be crossed having pulled down the bamboos since there was a dense jungle that time.’

1.36 *gAt somsha Paiwa Molong likhke punge lanpa Ketuke merlA Moblo dzadissAu.*

g t so.: -š P iw Molong lik<sup>h</sup>-k p -g lã-p K tuk m r-l  
 gat cross-SIM P M rivulet bank-POSTP way-ADV K there:LOC-  
 ABL  
 Moblo (N Andheri) dz dis-s u  
 M reach:3SG-PAS

‘Having crossed the gat Paiwa reached to Moblo (N Andheri) via the bank of Molong rivulet from Ketuke.’

1.37 *mem meken mwAkya kyorsšA khinru selPA bAmt.*

m .: m k -n .:w ky kyors-š k<sup>h</sup> ru s l-p  
 s/he there-PAR jungle deforest-SIM house.farm make-do:SIM  
 b .: -t ~t  
 be/live-PST:3SG

‘He settled there having deforested the jungle.’

- 1.38 *Paiwa moit ungku ekore dzAshom eko rAgike ne Am lo:m Payaru (Pai+A+ru) dAine- dumta.*

P iw moit u ku k -k dz -šo-m ˘ko r gi-k n

P first/before time here-PAR come-PCPL-AGT this country-GEN name  
m lo:-m P y ru (P i+ +ru) d in -dum-t ~t  
own language-LOC P okay-become-PST:3SG

‘The loconym (or toponym ‘name of the place’) remained Payaru in his mother tongue when Paiwa came here for the first time.’

- 1.39 *Khintsitsan Ngakumake perA gadgepa mulnga Okhaldhunga nu Ramechhappa Likhu nu Khimtige kainsAu.*

K<sup>h</sup>intsi-ts n kum -k p r gad-k -p mul- Okh ldhung nu R m chh p-  
p

K-PAR N-GEN right bank-GEN- SIM today-GEN O and R-SIM

Likhu<sup>57</sup> nu Khimti-g k -s u

L/rivulet and K-POSTP follow route-PAS

‘Khintsi journeyed from the right bank of the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) towards Likhu and Khimti via today’s Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap.’

- 1.40 *meko mumi Ramechhap nu Sindulikali Okhaldhungamin boinsisho bAmta.*

m ko mu-mi R m chh p nu Sinduli-k li Okh ldhung -mi-n bo -si-šo  
that time R and S-PAT O-LOC-PAR annex-MV-PR:PCPL  
b :-t ~t  
AUX:EXT-3SG

‘At that time Ramechhap and Sindhuli were annexed to Okhaldhunga.’

- 1.41 *Khintsim nellekengA moiti k<sup>h</sup>inru shyelsho rAgyakali mulAt-sinat Khitsi > Khiji densib.*

K<sup>h</sup>intsi-m n ll -k - moiti k<sup>h</sup> -ru šy l-šo r gy -k li mul t-  
K-AGT all-GEN-LOC first house-land make-PR:PCPL country-PAT today-  
sin t K<sup>h</sup> tsi>K<sup>h</sup>iji d ~:-si-b ~b  
yesterday K>K<sup>h</sup>iji say-MV-AUX:EXT-3SG

<sup>1</sup> The word Likhu >Likh (means ‘River/rivulet’ in Kir nti-Köits) is of Tibeto-Burman origin (cf. Malla 1981:12) and at present is Nepalified (i.e. Indo-Aryanized or Indicized) as a hydronym and the speakers tend to speak Likhu Khola (*N K<sup>h</sup>ola*) means ‘Rivulet Rivulet’ twice.

‘The country Khintsi for the first time settled is known as Kh tsi>Khiji<sup>58</sup> nowadays.’

- 1.42 *shyeng/tarna ‘Khiji’ durda Khitsi (Kh +tsi)la blimsisha dumsisho me.*  
 šy /t rn ‘Khiji’ durd K<sup>h</sup> tsi (K<sup>h</sup> +tsi)-l blim-si-š dum-si-šo  
 but K word K-ABL change-MV-SIM become-MV-PR:PCPL  
 m ‘  
 AUX:is

‘But the word ‘Khiji’ is developed through the change from Kh tsi.

- 1.43 *Payaru khodeb Kh tsingA Am lo:like neslonamsi dumser bAmba.*  
 P y ru k<sup>h</sup>öd b K<sup>h</sup> tsi- m lo:li-k n slon msi dums r b .:-b  
 P like K-GEN own language:ADJ-GEN historical importance AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Like Payaru Kh tsi has its own historical importance.’

- 1.44 *Khintsi nu mekoA tsasimasi Ngakuma mamenan Sunkosi gadge lasho mere Sunuwar>Sunwar maisisho nami.*  
 K<sup>h</sup>intsi nu m ko- ts sim si kum m m n n Sunkosi g d-g l -šo  
 m r  
 K and s/he-GEN family N or/if not so S bank-POSTP go-PR:PCPL  
 after  
 Sunuw r>Sunw r m i-si-šo n mi~n m  
 S>Sunwar name/call-MV-PR:PCPL AUX:3PL

‘Khintsi and his family are named Sunuwar>Sunwar after going towards the bank of the Ngakuma or Sunkosi (N).’

- 1.45 *Paiwa nu Dunglewa Moblo kimgé bAmshonganaiyo eko kimgéke gyu nu hubsi khane matsApthu loab Dunglewa dimru toissad.*  
 P iw nu Du l w Moblo kim-g b .:-šo- n iyo ~ko  
 P and D M region-POSTP live-PR:PCPL-although this  
 kim-g -k gyu~dzu nu hubsi k<sup>h</sup> -n m -c p-thu lo b du l w dimru  
 region-POSTP-GEN cold and moist resist-INF NEG-can-CONV y/b D Terai  
 tois-s d  
 get.down-PST:3SG

‘Although Paiwa and Dunglewa lived in the Moblo (N Anderi-Narayansthan) region, the younger brother Dunglewa migrated to the Terai because of unresistable chill and moisture.’

<sup>2</sup> The loconym *Khiji* is a Nepalified one; whereas *K<sup>h</sup> tsi* (Kir nti-Kõits) is an indiginous vocabulary meaning ‘on the side of the house.’

1.46 *nganaiyo me:mi meken khinru khloptAu.*

n iyo m :-mi      m k -n      k<sup>h</sup> -ru      k<sup>h</sup>lop-t u  
 however s/he-AGT      there-PAR      house-land      settle-PST:3SG

‘However, he (Paiwa) settled there (at Moblo).’

1.47 *nole lashA tholongngA kimmi khinrupA bAmb Dunglewapikya Danwar densisAm.*

nol l -š      tholo g      kim-mi      k<sup>h</sup> -ru-p b :-b Du l w -  
 piky  
 after go-SIM inner Terai      region-LOC house-land live:NML D-PL  
 D nw r d ~:-si-s m  
 D      say/call-MV-1PL

‘The Dunglewas became Danwar<sup>59</sup> after many years settling in the Dun/Inner Terai region.’

1.48 *mulaiyo mekopikya Anke mulkem Bamyungpikyanu gArba.*

mul- iyo m ko-piky n-k mulk m b :-yu -piky -nu g r-b ~b  
 now-still.also s/he-PL their-GEN culture B-PL-ASSO resemble-AUX:EXT:3SG

‘Till today their (Dunglewas’) culture resembles to the B :yungs.’

1.49 *Paiwake tsan tau-tsatspikim Samriwa, Nayanggo, Waripsawa, Timriwa, Dhimriwa, Dhayanggo nu Khaluwa nambAm.*

P iw k ts ni t u-ts ts-piki-m S mriw , N y go, W rips w , Timriw ,  
 Dhimriw ,  
 P-GEN seven son-grandson-PL-LOC S      N      W      T      D  
 Dh y go nu K<sup>h</sup> luw n m(i)      b :-t ~t  
 D      and      K      AUX:PL      AUX:EXT-3PL

‘The seven sons of Paiwa were Samriwa, Nayanggo, Waripsawa, Timriwa, Dhimriwa, Dhyanggo and Khaluwa.’

1.50 *mepikiyo gyu khane matsApthu Rumjatar yAsisha bAmtem.*

m -piki-yo gyu/dzu      k<sup>h</sup> -n      m -c p-thu      Rumj t r      y -si-š  
 s/he-PL-also cold      resist-INF NEG-can-CONV      R      move-MV-SIM  
 b :-t m ~t m  
 be/live- PST:3PL

‘They also could not resist the coldness and lived having moved to Rumjatar.’

<sup>59</sup> The Danwar(s) today do not speak the Kir nti-B :yung/Bahing language, one of the languages affiliated to the Tibeto-Burman family but speak one of the Indo-Aryan languages known as Danuwar.

1.51 *Rumjatarm khinru selshA bAmbpikim mu gleshA lamenu dzAtsA mAlsım shyets'ib panpan e:ronttha hirtstsA gomtem.*

Rumdz t r-m k<sup>h</sup> -ru s l-š b :-b-piki-m mu dil-š  
 R-LOC house-land make-SIM be/live-NML-PL-AGT time pass-SIM  
 l -m -nu dz -c m l-si-m šy -ts'ib p -n-p -n  
 go-NPST-TEMP eat-INF search-NML-LOC meat/bird do-PROG-RED-PROG  
 :r-ōtt<sup>h</sup> hirts-c gom-t m ~t m  
 thither and hither roam-INF start-PST:3PL

‘Those who dwelled in Rumjatar started roaming hither and thither hunting in search of food when time passed on.’

1.52 *kAbnAt shyetsib panpan lashonu Tsisankhu (Kuibir, Serna, Diyale nu Pokharenga sirwa) dzAdimmAbAmt.*

k b-n t šy -tsib p -n-p -n l -šo-nu Tsis nkhu (Kuibir,  
 Sern ,  
 one/once-day meat-bird do-PROG-RED-PROG go-PR:PCPL-TEMP Ts (K, S,  
 Diy l nu Pok<sup>h</sup> r - sirw ) dz -dimm -b :-t ~t  
 D and P-GEN border) reach-PST:3PL-AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Once upon a time, they reached to Tsisankhu (border of Kuibir, Serna, Diyale and Pokhare) while hunting.’

1.53 *mekei wek yo shasthem bAM kon denshA khAding pAmebAmt.*

m k -i w k yo š st<sup>h</sup> m b -m kō d ~-š k<sup>h</sup> di p -m  
 there-PAR other also living.place AUX:is PAR say-SIM doubt do-AUX:3PL  
 -b :-t ~t  
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘They suspected whether there were other settlements too.’

1.54 *mAlnAmAlna lashonu thamthama bumker thinsAu.*

m l-n -m l-n l -šo-nu t<sup>h</sup> m-t<sup>h</sup> m bumk r th -s u  
 search-PROG-RED-PROG go-PR:PCPL-TEMP true-RED tunnel find-PAS

‘While searching a tunnel was found in a true sense.’

1.55 *mempikim nepAinsi gemtem, “gepikya tela dzmAšo nani? langgA glungen”.*

m :-piki-m n p si g -mt m, “g -piky t -l dz :-šo  
 s/he-PL-AGT order give-PST:3PL you-PL where-ABL come-PR:PCPL  
 n -ni? l g glu- n”  
 AUX:3PL outside appear-NPST:3PL

‘They ordered, “Where did you come from? Come out”.

1.56 *shyeng/tarna bumkergAbAmtikepikyake h'intsAm giwat dzAmt.*

šy ng/t rn bumk r-g -b ∴-tik -piky -k h' ts -m giw t dz m-t ~t  
but tunnel-inside-live-NML-PL-GEN fear-INST soul lose-PST:3SG

‘But they (who lived inside the tunnel) lost their consciousness because of fear.’

1.57 *Paiwa A taupikim, “ekopikya thamAn in ribbits dumtsA mAlb” deNshA mimsithuN pAmtem.*

P iw - t u-piki-m, “ ko-piky t<sup>h</sup> m -n ribbits/ky ki dum-c m lb”  
P-GEN son-PL-AGT this-PL true-PAR our enemy be-INF must  
d ~š mimsith p m-t m ~t m  
say-SIM guess do-PST:3PL

‘Paiwa’s sons guessed having said, “Certainly they must be our enemy.’

1.58 *minu bumkergAmi omokolšo blemshyi nemšA m'í muite(thA)me bAmt.*

minu bumk r-g -mi omo-kolšo bl mšyi n ∴-š m'í mui-tt (th )m  
then tunnel-inside-LOC MOD-big log insert-SIM fire blow-PST:3PL  
b ∴-t ~t  
AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Then they blew up the fire having inserted a big log inside the tunnel.’

1.59 *gamnga nelle murpiki pulu dummat.*

g ∴- n ll muru-piki pulu dum-m t ~t  
inside-LOC:POSS all man-PL ash become-PST:3PL  
‘All the people inside turned into ashes.’

1.60 *mekonole mekopiki gersili panpan kh lemma bAmt.*

m ko-nol m ko-piki g rsili p -n-p -n k<sup>h</sup> l -mm -  
that-after s/he-PL happiness do-PROG-RED-PROG house return-PST:3PL-  
b ∴-t ~t  
AUX:EXT-3SG

‘After that they returned home being happy.’

1.61 *phapindo dumnegen bumkergAm saissisho m'ismur nu AbleptspikyaAnke wainsh, appho nu ngAwa-loab mwAkyala mekye kyAdalumi dzAtem.*

p<sup>h</sup> pindo dum-n -g -n bumk r-g -m s is-si-šo  
accident be-NML-in.no.time-PAR tunnel-inside-LOC kill-MV-PR:PCPL  
m'ışy mur nu lbl pts-piky - n-k w s, pp<sup>h</sup>o nu ng w -lo b  
woman and child-PL-their-GEN husband father and e/b-y/b  
∴:w ky -l m ky ky d lu-mi dz -t m ~t m  
jungle-ABL there spot-LOC arrive-PST:3PL

‘Immediately after the accident occurred, husbands and brothers (e/b, y/b) of the tunnel victims arrived on the spot.’

1.62 *mekopiki yo umtsA/dzatekdzat mAltekem glu:sho bAmtem.*

m ko-piki yo um-c /dz -t k-dz -t m l-t k -m glu:-šo  
 s/he-PL also feed-INF/eat-NML-eat-NML search-NML-DAT exit-PR:PCPL  
 b .:-t m ~t m  
 AUX:EXT-3PL

‘They also had been out for searching the food.’

1.63 *am shasthem nu Ammurpikya pulum phAinsisho tasha oktoto dumtem.*

m š st<sup>h</sup> m nu m-mur-piky pulu-m p<sup>h</sup> -si-šo t -š  
 own living.place and own-man-PL ash-LOC change-MV-PR:PCPL see-SIM  
 oktoto dum-t m ~t m  
 dumbstruck become-PST:3PL

‘They were dumbfounded having seen their living place and relatives turned into ashes.’

1.64 *eNko beb Kir ntipikya Handi nam bAteme densha thama dApsib.*

~ko b -b( ) Kir nti-piky H ndi n m b -t m d n-š th m  
 this die-3SG K-PL H AUX:3PL be/sit-PST:3PL say-SIM true/belief  
 d p-sib  
 believe-PAS

‘It is believed that those dying Kir ntis were Handis.’

1.65 *minu Handi Khamtsake tsasimasipikya mulai yo bAnim densib.*

minu H ndi Khamts -k ts sim si-piky mul i yo b -nim d ~:-sib  
 then H K-GEN generation-PL now:still also be/sit-3PLsay- PAS

‘It is said that Handi Khamtsa’s generations still exist then.’

1.66 *shisplapam b’isho Handipikim shisplapke thamAlo tuitstsAkali Ponibo wAittem.*

šispl p -m b í-šo Handi-piki-m šispl p -k th m lo tuits-c -k li  
 ruin-LOC full-PR:PCPL H-PL-AGT ruin-GEN truth/fact find out-INF-PAT  
 Po bo w i-tt m ~t m  
 shaman keep-PST:3PL

‘The ruined Handis consulted a shaman to find out the cause of devastation.’

1.67 *Ponibom meko sAissishoke gAlo: tuinsemere ribbits/kyaki s’imtsAkali thulimtoktso papAittem.*

Pōibo-m m ko s is-si-šo-k g lo: tu -s -m r ribbits/ky ki

shaman-AGT that kill-MV-PR:PCPL secrecy find out-PR-after  
 enemy  
 s'im-c -k li thulimtok-tso p -p it-t m  
 destroy-INF-PAT exorcise-INF do/order-CAUS:PST-3PL

‘When they found out the secrecy of their destruction, they permitted the shaman to exorcise those enemies for destroying them.’

1.68 *Ponibomi yo dokhepikim ploinsha lasho dimlabonge nu wapiki dasithamAlola pa thulimtokyopaptu.*

Pōibo-mi yo dok<sup>h</sup> -piki-m plo -š l -šo dimlabōg nu  
 shaman-AGT also guilty-PL-AGT leave-SIM go-SIMfootprint and  
 w -piki d sith m lo-l p thulimtokyop -ptu  
 cloth-PL evidence-ABL do:CONV exorcise-do-PST:3SG

‘The shaman also exorcised those guilty on the evidence of their footprint and clothes they left.’

1.69 *phunbike milu nu liphe guyum kurssha shyilpanpan lessho Paiwake taupiki TsarkhungA therthere phullum susansam shyilpamtem.*

p<sup>h</sup> bi-k milu nu lip<sup>h</sup> guyu-m kurs-š šyil-p -n-p -n  
 yak-GEN tail and stick hand-LOC carry-SIM dance-do-PROG-RED-PROG  
 l s-šo tail P iw -k t u-piki Ts rk<sup>h</sup>u-ng th rth r p<sup>h</sup>ullu-m  
 return-PR:PCPL tail P-GEN son-PL Ts-LOC:POSS adj.ts pl ti stone-LOC  
 sus -n-s m šyilp -mt m ~t m  
 much-PAR-till dance-do:CONV-PST:3PL

‘The dancing sons of Paiwa returned with yak’s tail and stick in their hands; danced for a long hours on the Chapleti stone at Charkhu.’

1.70 *ngAwa Waripsawam shyilpasho kyAdalumin phunbitsAn/buli nu liphe plonishopatikem meko mAltsAkali nimsi loab lessAbAmt.*

ng w W rips w -m šyil-p -šo ky d lu-mi-n p<sup>h</sup> bitsā nu  
 e/b W-AGT dance-do-PR:PCPL spot-LOC-PAR yak’s tail  
 and  
 lip<sup>h</sup> plōi-šo-p -tik -m m ko m l-c -k li ni.:si lo b  
 small.stick leave-PR:PCPL-do-NML-AGT that search-INF-PAT two y/b  
 l s-s -b .: -t ~t  
 return-DU:PST-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The two younger brothers (y/b) went back to the dancing spot in order to find out the yak’s tail and the stick because the elder brother (e/b) Waripsawa had left them there.’

1.71 *mekopikim ploinsho buli nu liphe da mwAkyaponibom kaka lada bAmt.*

m ko-piki-m plo -šo buli nu lip<sup>h</sup> d .:w ky pōibo-m

s/he-PL-AGT leave-PR:PCPL yak's tail and small.stick PAR jungle.shaman-AGT  
 k k l -d -b ∴-t ~t  
 PAR take.away-PST-AUX:EXT-3SG

'The ∴.wakyapōibo (*N Banjhankri* 'jungle-shaman or a supernatural creature')  
 had taken away their yak's tail and stick which they had left over there.'

1.72 *mwakyaponimi horsho sendAm, "pion Waripsawa! pion Timriwa!" kumsho  
 panpan shyilpatsA gowAbAmt.*

∴.w ky pōibo-mi horšo s ~d -m, "pi-o-n W rips w ! pi-o-n Timriw !"  
 jungle.shaman-AGT trouble:ADJ sound-LOC "come-3IMP-PAR W come-3IMP-PAR  
 T  
 kumso-p -n-p -n šyil-p -c go-w -b ∴-t ~t  
 song-do-PROG-RED-PROG dance-do-INF start-AUX:EXT-3SG

'The supernatural creature in his troubled voice started dancing by singing,  
 "Come Waripsawa! Come Dhimriwa!'

1.73 *Waripsawa ngAwa loabaio mwAkyaponibnun basharisaissha shyilpatsA  
 gomomebAmt.*

W rips w w lo b -i-yo ∴.w ky pōibo-nu-n b š ri-s is-š  
 W e/b y/b-PAR-also jungle.shaman-ASSO-PAR pleasing-kill-SIM  
 šyil-p -c go.∴-m -b ∴-t ~t  
 dance-do-INF start-PST-AUX:-3SG

'The Waripsawa brothers also started dancing pleasingly with the supernatural  
 creature.'

1.74 *mekopikya kengA mwAkyapoibo sotits dumshom mekopikya Ankali buli nu liphe  
 usurupa gui blane matsabem.*

m ko-piky k - ∴.w ky pōibo sotits dum-šo-m m ko-piky  
 s/he-PL among-GEN jungle.shaman powerful become-PR:PCPL -AGT s/he-PL  
 n-k li buli nu lip<sup>h</sup> usuru-p gui bl -n m -ts -b m ~b m  
 their-PAT yak's tail and stick easy-do:CONV hand take-NML NEG-can-PST:3PL

'They were unable to take back the yak's tail and stick easily because the  
 supernatural creature was more powerful among them.'

1.75 *shyilpatik taNpanpan wAitem.*

šyil-p -tik tā p -n-p -n w it-t m ~t m  
 dance-do-NML turn/sequence do-PROG-RED-PROG keep-PST:3PL

'They kept on dancing in turn.'

1.76 *mwAkyaponibom shyilpanpan e:ronttha lessho tAlAm sumsha buli nu liphe gui blasha plonitAs.*

∴ w ky -pōibo-m      šyil-p -n-p -n      :rōthh      l s-šo      t l m  
 jungle-šaman-AGT dance-do-PROG-RED-PROG hither.thither    turn-PR:PCPL  
 chance  
 sum-š      buli      nu lip<sup>h</sup>      gui      bl -š      plōi-t s ~t s  
 cover-SIM      yak's tail and stick      hand take-SIM leave-PST: 2DU

‘They were anyhow able to take back the yak’s tail and stick while the supernatural creature went on dancing hither and thither.’

1.77 *mwAkyaponibom am guilA buli nu liphe plonisho tsunggummi “thaiyA tsipAyu” denshA tsile pAptu.*

∴ w ky pōibo-m      m gui-l      buli      nu lip<sup>h</sup>      plōi-si-šo tsu gum-  
 mi  
 jungle.shaman-AGT own hand-ABL yak’s tail and stick leave-MV- PR:PCPL fury-  
 AGT  
 “th iy tsip yu” d ~-š      tsil p -ptu  
 “th iy tsip yu” say-SIM    curse do-PST:1SG

‘The supernatural creature cursed saying, “t<sup>h</sup> iy tsip yu” (cursing expression; “Fie on you”) while loosing the yak’s tail and stick from his own hand.’

1.78 *glumsho Am patikdzat guim blasha Waripsawa ngAwa-loab gerssha khin lettAse.*

glum-šo      m p tikdz t      gui-m      bl -š      W ripsaw      w -  
 lo b  
 lose-PR:PCPL own material      hand-LOC      get-SIM      W      e/y brother  
 g rs-š      k<sup>h</sup>      l t-t s ~t s  
 happy-SIM      house    return- PST: 2DU

‘Both Waripsawa brothers returned home being happy while getting their lost materials (Liphhe and Buli).

1.79 *khin dzAmtsA tsishonu khin mo(hō)iti wAshrelu nu nemthA-gu:thA mwA/bwA tAmtAse.*

k<sup>h</sup> dz ∴-c      tsi-šo-nu      k<sup>h</sup>      mo(hō)iti      w šr lu nu  
 house arrive-INF dare-PR:PCPL-TEMP    house    in.front      rainbow and  
 n ∴:th -gu:th      ∴:w /bw      t ∴:-t s~t s  
 near-RED      fowl      see-PST:2DU

‘They saw rainbow and fowl in front of the house at the time of reaching their house.’

1.80 *gAisshAmin mu(tsu)rsishA “suke bAlAm tsiptso” denaden khertemebAmt.*

g is-š -mi-n      mu(tsu)r-si-š      “su-k      b l m tsiptso”

angery-SIM-AGT-PAR anger-MV-SIM “who-GEN cursing.expression”  
 d -n -d -n k<sup>h</sup> r-t m -b ∴-t ~t  
 say-PROG-say-PAR chase-PST:3PL-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘They chased away them angrily saying and cursing, “Suke balam tsiptso.”

1.81 *thisshosam balma robnArom tsoshAiyo dzAmme bAmt.*

this-šo-s m b lm rob-n -rom tso-š -i-yo  
 find-PR:PCPL-till quantity pluck-PROG-RED burn-SIM-PAR-also  
 dz ∴-m b ∴-t ~t  
 eat-PST:3PL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘They ate also having plucked and burning those fowls whatever its number they could find.

1.82 *klelts loab Khaluwa nu mekoke glumAts la ∴.sha nelle ngAwa-loabpikya pho-phopho kAidamebAmt.*

kl lts lo b K<sup>h</sup> luw nu m ko-k glum ts l mš n ll w -lo b-  
 piky  
 youngest brother K and s/he-GEN family except(fig.) all e/b-y/b-PL  
 p<sup>h</sup>op<sup>h</sup>o k i-d m -b ∴-t ~t  
 INTS die-PST:PL-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Except the youngest brother and his family, all other elder and younger brothers passed away.’

1.83 *mArdengana meko wAsrelu nu mWA/bWA Handi Khamtsake ponibom thulimtoktso pasho mWAshil bAmt.*

m rd n meko w sr lu nu ∴.w /bw H ndi K<sup>h</sup> mts -k pōibo-m  
 because that rainbow and fowl H K-GEN shaman-AGT  
 thulimtoktso-p -šo ∴.w lšil b ∴-t ~t  
 exorcize-do-PR:PCPL ghost/spirit AUX:EXT-3SG

‘It was because the rainbow and fowl were the exorcised ghost/spirits by Handi Khamcha’s shaman.’

1.84 *mWAkyaponiboke tsileiyo mekopikyankali bAmt.*

∴.w ky pōibo-k tsil -i-yo m ko-piki- n-k li b ∴-t ~t  
 ‘jungle-shaman-GEN curse-PAR-also s/he-PL-they-PAT AUX:EXT-3SG

‘They had curse of the supernatural creature also upon them.’

1.85 *Khaluwa kaittika dumt.*

K<sup>h</sup> luw k itsik dum-t ~t  
 ‘K alone become-PST:3SG

‘Khaluwa became alone.’

- 1.86 *kaittika Khaluwa Amke mishye Lungtsyarminu Rumjatarla Moblo yAsAu.*  
 k itsik K<sup>h</sup>aluw m-k m<sup>í</sup>šy Lungtsy rmi-nu Rumj t r-l Moblo y -s u  
 alone K own-GEN L (wife)-ASSO R-ABL M move-PAS:3SG

‘The lonely Khaluwa moved to Moblo from Rumjatar with his wife Lungtsyarmi.’

- 1.87 *maraithotse nole lasha Khaluwam Rumjatarm m<sup>í</sup> blasho tAptu.*  
 m r i-thots -nol l -š K<sup>h</sup>aluw -m Rumj t r-m m<sup>í</sup> bl -šo t p-tu  
 some-year-after go-SIM K-AGT R-LOC fire burn-PR:PCPL see-PST:3SG

‘After some years Khaluwa saw the fire burning at Rumjatar.’

- 1.88 *nAdo nimsisam meko tastan lenshA tAptu.*  
 n do ni.:si-s m m ko t stã l ~-š t p-tu  
 night two-till that scene repeat-SIM see-PST:3SG

‘He saw the same scenery repeated till two nights.’

- 1.89 *Khaluwam thunthunmin Anmin Amkali hillo paptu, “mame, gopikim nelle ribbets/kyaki Ankali nel simshA pisho. Mame meke dopA m<sup>í</sup> blame?”*  
 Kh luw -m th -th -mi-n ã-mi-n m-k li hillo  
 K-AGT heart/mind-RED-LOC-PAR he-AGT-PAR own-PAT ask  
 p p-tu, “m m , go-piki-m n ll ribb ts/ky ki n-k li n l sim-š  
 do-PST:3SG no I-PL-AGT all enemy their-PAT all destroy-SIM  
 pi-šo. Tsinu m k dop m<sup>í</sup> bl -m ‘?’  
 come-PR:PCPL again there how fire burn-Q

‘Khaluwa thought and asked himself, “Impossible! We came here having killed all our enemies. Again how did the fire burn there?”

- 1.90 *sAn nAdoiyo meko tastAn tAisishom bandisha, “meko m<sup>í</sup>phlaib mur sumeooo?” Khaluwa ontthahAmlA wAbletta.*  
 sã n do-i-yo m ko t stã t -si-šo-m b ndi-š , “m ko m<sup>í</sup>  
 three night-PAR-also that scene see-MV-PR:PCPL-LOC surprise-SIM that fire  
 p<sup>h</sup>l i-b mur su-m ooo?” Kh luw õtthah m-l w bl t-t ~t  
 make/burn-NML man who-Q K hither.side-ABL shout-PST:3SG

‘While there was the same scene on the third night also, Khaluwa shouted surprisingly from the hither side, “Who is that man burning fire over there?”

1.91 *AitstsihAmlaiyo* “*eko Anke kimmi goipikya s’u naniooo?*” *densho hillo h’isike gunun nesAu.*

itstsih m-l -i-yo                      “ ~ko ã-k kim-mi      goi-piky      s’u  
n niooo?”  
thither.side-ABL-PAR-also      this I-GEN area-LOC      you-PL      who  
AUX:2PL  
d ~-šo                      hillo-h’isi-k      gunun n ~-s u  
say-PR:PCPL      ask-RED-GEN noise      hear-PAS

‘From thither side also a protesting noise was heard saying, “Who are you in my area here.’

1.92 *tsinuyo helsho thebsendAm temtu*, “*enko Anke ‘pAimakh’ me’; go Rumdali nang.*”

tsinu-yo                      h l-šo                      th bs ~d -m      t m-tu,      “ ~ko ã-k  
‘p im k<sup>h</sup>me’;      again/still-also heavy-ADJ      big.voice-LOC add-PST:3SG this I-  
GEN area                      is:AUX go                      Rumd li<sup>60</sup> n - ”  
1SG R                      AUX-1SG

‘He still added loudly, “This is my area; I am Rumdali.’

1.93 ‘*Rumdali’ durdA sAn phlasišo kulimpikim rau (noun) da (verb root) nu li (traveller) ke nigrumla selsisho ba.*

‘Rumd li’ durd      sã      p<sup>h</sup>l -si-šo                      kulim-piki-m                      r u (n) d  
(v/r)  
R                      word      three      different-MV-PR:PCPL morpheme-PL-LOC      r                      d  
nu li (traveller) -k                      nigrum-l                      s l-si-šo                      b  
and l                      -POSS      compound-ABL                      make-MV-PR:PCPL                      AUX/EXT:is

‘The word ‘Rumdali’ is made up of three different compounded morphemes where ‘rau’ is a noun (n), ‘da’ verb root (v/r) and ‘li’ means a traveller.’

1.94 *mopAd BAmYung lo:mi ‘rau’ densha gAb murkalin Rumdali densisho me’;*  
*Rumdalimiyo tsautsau moittAu/hoittAu*, “*gopikya susan moitrenga ekyem bAmsho naki; gepikya nole dzAb s’u nani eeei?*”

mop -d B .:yung lo:-mi                      ‘r u’ d ~:-š      g -b                      mur-k li-n      Rumd li  
thus-PAR B                      language-LOC r say-SIM                      walk-NML man-PAT-PAR      R  
d ~-si-šo m ‘;                      Rumd li-mi-yo      ts uts u moit-t u/hoit-t u, “go-piky  
say-MV-PR:PCPL is R-AGT-also                      curiosity express-PST:3SG      I-PL

<sup>60</sup> The third morpheme ‘-li’ (sometimes <-ge>; as in Bahinge also) of 1.92 and elsewhere in this text is also an adjectivizer morpheme of the I-A (Indic) Khas>N, is widely used in the word-formation of the Kir nti languages such as *Dilpali*, *Nechali*, *Phangduwali*, *Sun(u)wari*, *Bahinge*, *Chamlinge* etc. which obviously is one of the examples of language shrinkage (Abbi 1992: 39-49) emerged from lanaguage contact and areal pressure.

sus -n      moit-r -      ky -m      b :-šo      n -ki;      g -piky  
 nol  
 many-PAR ago-ABL-LOC here-LOC      be/live-PR:PCPL AUX-1PL you-PL after  
 dz -b      s'ú      n -ni      i?"  
 come-NML      who      AUX-2PL      PAR

'Thus the man who goes calling himself 'rau' is Rumdali in the Bahing language. Rumdali also expressed his curiosity saying, "We have been living here for many years; who are you the new comer?"

1.95 *itska musam mekopikyanu khakeng dumt.*

itsk mu-s m      m ko-piky -nu      k<sup>h</sup> k      dum-t ~t  
 a little while-till s/he-PL-ASSO      discussion      become-PST

'They had a discussion for a little while.'

1.96 *nimphAren nola lasha he:Nslo ple:tsA glumtik lo: dumt.*

nimp<sup>h</sup> -r -n      nol l -š      h ~slo:      pl :-c glum-tik lo:  
 both:DU-ABL-PAR after go-SIM conclusion      end-INF      meet-NML debate  
 dum-t ~t  
 become-PST

'Both of them decided to meet for concluding their debate.'

1.97 *AdishAsuni nimphAn grumumtAse.*

-diš      suni      nimp<sup>h</sup> -n      gru-mum-t -s  
 his-tomorrow morning      two:DU-PAR meet-REC-PST-DU

'The next morning both of them met each other.'

1.98 *Khaluwami Amkali tuipaissha det, "gopikya tsaniwAbu naki. gongA lamsha wek rak ngAu-loabpikya mas soth lamtem. enko rAgimi go moiti dzAmsho nang".*

Kh luw -mi m-k li tui-p is-š      d ~:-t,      "go-piky ts niw -bu  
 K-AGT      self-PAT identify-CAUS-SIM say-PST:3SG 1SG-PL      seven.brother-PL  
 n -ki.      go- l :-š      w k r k ng u-lo b-piky m s so-th (fig.)

AUX-1PL I-GEN cross-SIM      other six e/b-y/b-PL      pulse sow-PUR  
 l m-t m. ~ko r gi-mi      go moiti      dz :-šo      n -"  
 go-PST:3PL this country-LOC      1SG      first/before      com-PR:PCPL AUX-1SG

'Khaluwa told introducing himself, "We are seven brothers. Other six brothers passed away except me. I came in this place for the first time.'

1.99 *Rumdalike pAniyo nipsAu, "mame, gon ekyangA moit tholots nang". Lo: dumme-dumme lo: da maples.*

Rumd li-k pā-i-yo nip-s u, m m , go-n ky - moit  
 tholots  
 R-GEN turn-PAR-also roar-PAS NEG:no I-PAR here-GEN first/before  
 settler  
 n - ” lo: dum-m -dum-m lo: d m -pl -s  
 am-1SG discuss become-TEMP-RED-TEMP discuss PAR NEG-conclude-3SG

‘In turn Rumdali also roared, “No, I’m the first settler.” They couldn’t conclude even after a long discussion.’

- 1.100 *Rumdali itsA tsilAwala paišom patke tang wAissha den:ta, “kongo Khaluwa, suka k<sup>h</sup>inmi sus pulu nu pokhri bA.:b; mekon ekyanga moit dzAmsha bAmb tholots de tuisib lo: rub i?”*

Rumd li its tsil w l /k<sup>h</sup> dits dum-šo-m p -tik t w is-š  
 R a.little.bit clever become-PR:PCPL-AGT do-NML condition keep-SIM  
 d ~:t , “ko-ngo! Khaluw , suk k<sup>h</sup>-mi sus pulu nu pok<sup>h</sup>ri  
 say-PST:3SG look-IMP:3SG K whose house-LOC ash and  
 pig.dung  
 b .:-b; m ko-n ky - moit dz .:-š  
 become-NPST:3SG s/he-PAR here-LOC first/before come-SIM  
 b .:-b tholots; d -ø tui-sib lo: ru-b i  
 live-NML:3SG settler say-SIM know-PAS talk understand-NPST:3SGQ

‘Since Rumdali was a bit clever, he proposed a condition saying, “Look! Khaluwa, the person will be known as the first settler of this place in whose house there is much more ash and cow-dung; did you understand?’

- 1.101 *nimphAm eko k<sup>h</sup>rislo:kali dAits wAissha khin lettAse.*

nimp<sup>h</sup> -m ~ko k<sup>h</sup>rislo:-k li d its w is-š k<sup>h</sup> l t-t s  
 both-AGT this agreement-PAT bet keep-SIM house return-  
 PST:2DU

‘Both of them returned home having bet this condition.’

- 1.102 *khadits/tsilAw la Rumdalim omomo kolsho blemshyi mAlsha dA.:tu(a).*

kh dits/tsil w l Rumd li-m omomo kolšo bl mšyi m l-š d .:-tu( )  
 clever R-AGT RED:INTS ADJ:big log search-SIM light-PST:3SG

‘The clever Rumdali burnt having searched very very big log of wood.’

- 1.103 *pokali sus dzatsa geshA pokhrike dankur teltu.*

po-k li sus dz -c g -š pok<sup>h</sup>ri-k dākur t l-tu  
 pig-PAT a.lot eat-INF give-SIM pig.dung-GEN heap accumulate-PST:3SG

‘He accumulated a heap of pig-dung having fed a lot of food to the pig.’

1.104 *kAlA, shokot lopshaiyo pokhlinu mwAittAu/khAltAu.*

k l , šokot lop-š -i-yo pok<sup>h</sup>ri-nu .:w it-t u/k<sup>h</sup> It u  
wild potato boil-SIM-PAR-also pig.dung-ASSO mix-PST:3SG

‘He mixed the wild potato also having boiled with the pig-dung.’

1.105 *damkimpatikke nAt b’ushA pulu nu pokhri nAshonu Raumin glAt.*

d mkimp tik-k n t b’u-š pulu nu pok<sup>h</sup>ri n’ -šo-nu  
competition-GEN day meet-SIM ash and pig.dung weigh-PR:PCPL-TEMP  
R u-mi-n gl -tu~t ~t  
R-AGT-PAR win-PST:3SG

‘Having met on the day of competition Rau won the bet when weighed the ash and pig-dung.’

1.106 *thampA Khaluwatsan am moitngan tholots dumsho lo:mi beldu:shA bAmt.*

th m-p Kh luw -ts n m moit- -n tholots dum-šo lo:-mi  
true-ADV K-PAR own first-GEN-PAR settler become-PR:PCPL talk-LOC  
b ld -š b .:-t ~t  
confident:CONV AUX:EXT:3SG

‘In fact, Khaluwa was truly confident to be the only first settler.’

1.107 *meko “dAitsmi anken pulu nu mol sus dumba” densho lo:mi thamAdApsho bAmt.*

m ko “d its-mi ã-k -n pulu nu tsiduk sus dum-b ” d ~:-šo  
s/he bet-LOC I-GEN-PAR ash and fertilizer much become-3SG say-PR:PCPL

lo:-mi th m -d p-šo b .:-t ~t  
talk-LOC true assume-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He was cocksure that he would have much ash and fertilizer in the bet.’

1.108 *shyeng/tarna mo madum.*

šy /t rn mo m -dum  
but so NEG-become  
‘But it didn’t happen so.’

1.109 *Rauken sus dumta.*

Rau-k -n sus dum-t ~t  
rau-GEN-PAR much become-PST:3SG

‘Rau’s (ash and pig-dung) became much in quantity.’

- 1.110 *Khaluwamin blusho bisša den:ta*, “on shyan goin eko runga moit tholots bAngebAmt.

Kh luw -mi blu-šo bis-š d ~:-t , “ō šyā goi-n ~ko  
 K-AGT defeat-PR:PCPL accept-SIM say-PST:3SG oh yeah you-PAR this  
 ru- moit tholots b - -b :-t ~t  
 field/place-GEN first/before settler live-NPST:3SG-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Khaluwa having accepted his defeat said, “Oh, yes you’re the first settler of this place.’

- 1.111 *tsinu bissilo: wAittik pan Khaluwake dzAmt.*

tsinu bissilo:w it-tik pã Kh luw -k dz :-t ~t  
 again agreement keep-NML turn K-GEN come-PST:3SG

‘Again it was Khaluwa’s turn to keep the agreement (of being the first settler).’

- 1.112 *Khaluwami yo bissilo: waišša dent*, “kongen Rumdali, suke moiti ungku tau dumba; meko eko ru:ke moit tholots densha tunisib”.

Kh luw -mi yo bissilo: w is-š d ~:-t, “ko- -n  
 K-AGT also agreement keep-SIM say-PST:3SG look-NPST:3PL-PAR  
 Rumd li, su-k moiti ungku-m t u dum-b ; m ko ~ko ru:-k  
 R who-GEN first time-LOC son become-EXT s/he this field/place-  
 GEN  
 moit tholots d ~:-š t i-sib”  
 first settler say-SIM know-PAS

‘Khaluwa also said having kept condition, “Look Rumdali! One who’ll have a son for the first time, he’ll be known as the first settler of this place.’

- 1.113 *meko tauke ne Hasalu minu tamike ne Ninamkhumma wAinsib.*

m ko t u-k n H s lu minu t mi-k n Nin mkhumm w i~  
 sib  
 s/he son-GEN name H then daughter-GEN name N keep-PAS

‘The son’s name will be Hasalu then the daughter’s name will be Ninakhumma.’

- 1.114 *mekyanga meko nimsi gyunbeno:them p<sup>h</sup>lensinis.*

m ky - m ko ni.:ši gy b no:th -m p<sup>h</sup>l ~-si-nis  
 there-from/then s/he two marriage.knot-LOC tie-MV-NPST:3DU

‘They two will then be tied into the wedlock.’

- 1.115 *eN unkungu dAitstsan Khaluwake kAthm p’ita.*

~ u ku- d its-ts n Kh luw -k k th-m p’i-t ~t  
 this time-GEN bet-PAR K-GEN side(fig.)-LOC come-PST:3SG

‘Khaluwa won this time’s bet.’

1.116 *tauke neiyo Hasalu l’ita.*

t u-k	n -i-yo	H s lu l’i-t	~t
son-GEN	name-PAR-also	H	remain-PST:3SG

‘The son’s name also was christened Hasalu.’

1.117 *RumdaliA tami Ninamkhumma dumta.*

Rumd li-	t mi	Nin mkhumm	dum-t	~t
R-GEN	daughter	N	become-PST:3SG	

‘Rumdali’s daughter became (was christened) Ninamkhumma.’

1.118 *Khaluwa Rumjatar phering/kimngA moit tholots ingborntsi dumta.*

Kh luw	Rumj t r	kim-	moit tholots i bo.:tsi	dum-t	~t
K	R	region-GEN	first settler declaration	become-PST:3SG	

‘Khaluwa was declared the first settler of the Rumjatar region.’

1.119 *nAt yolnAyolnA lame nole kaleka Khuluwake tau shyets’ibpath lamenu Rumdalinu .:wakim grumshA bAmt.*

n t yol-n	-yol-n	l -m	nol k l -k	Kh luw -k	t u
day	pass-PROG-RED-PROG	go-PST	after once-one	K-GEN	son
šy ts’ibp th	l -m -nu	Rumd li-nu	.:w ki-m	grum-š	
meat.bird.do.PUR	go-NPST-TEMP	R-ASSO	jungle-LOC	meet-SIM:DU	
b	.: -t	~t			
AUX:EXT-2DU					

‘Long after once upon a time, Khaluwa’s son, who had been out for hunting met with Rumdali in the jungle.’

1.120 *Rumdalim hillo pAptu, “goi suke tau naya”?*

Rumd li-m	hillo-p	p-tu,	“goi su-k	t u	n -y ”
R-AGT	ask-do-PST:3SG		you who-GEN	son	AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Rumdali asked, “Whose son are you?”

1.121 *Hasalum Khaluwake tau dumsho lo: shotu.*

H s lu-m	K <sup>h</sup> luw -k	dum-šo	lo:	šo-tu
H-AGT	K-GEN	become-PR:PCPL	fact(fig.)	reveal-PST:3SG

‘Hasalu revealed the fact that he was Khaluwa’s son.’

- 1.122 “*mothngana aNke nu ike ApA dAtem kA sAke bA. meko sAkebud goimi an taminu gyunb no:th -m phlensitsA mAlba*”, *Rumdalimi Hasalukali thunnupAittu*.

“moth n ã-k nu ik p d t -m k s k b . m ko s k - bud

so.if I-GEN and your father between-LOC one oath AUX/EXT:is that oath-like

goi-mi ã t mi-nu gy b no:th -m p<sup>h</sup>l ~:-si-c m lb ”, Rumd li-mi you-AGT my daughter-ASSO marriage.knot-LOC tie-MV-INF must R-AGT

H s lu-k li th -nu-p it-tu

H-PAT mind-remind-CAUS-PST:3SG

‘Rumdali reminded to Hasalu, “If it is so, there is an oath (promise) between your father and me. According to the promise, you have to be tied into the wedlock with my daughter.”’

- 1.123 *minu mekokali khin laissha gyunb pasha geptu*.

minu m ko-k li k<sup>h</sup> l is-š gy b p -š g p-tu  
then he-PAT house take-SIM marriage do-SIM give-PST:3SG

‘Then he made him marry (with his daughter) having brought in his house.’

- 1.124 *sus munsam tau khin lessha madzAshopatke Khaluwake thunmi sis o:t*.

sus m -s m t u k<sup>h</sup> l s-š m -dz -šo-p -tk Kh luw -k  
many time-till son house return-SIM NEG-come-PR:PCPL-do-NML K-GEN

th -mi sis o:t

mind-LOC cold enter-PST:3SG

‘Khaluwa was suspicious because of his son’s disappearance for a long time.’

- 1.125 *Rumdalim moitiyo shyet geshom mulaiyo mon pAptu densha dApt mekom*.

Rumd li-m moiti yo šy t ge-šo-m mul- i yo mo-n p p-tu  
R-AGT before also trouble give-PR:PCPL now-PAR also so-PAR do-PST:3SG

d ~:-š d p-t m ko-m

say-SIM suppose-PST:3SG s/he-AGT

‘He (Khaluwa) supposed that Rumdali troubled him again in the same way as he did before.’

- 1.126 *marai tsem/nuphonole Rumdalimi tami-tsaiwAkali khi soittu~Au*

m r i ts m/nup<sup>h</sup>o-nol Rumd li-mi t mi-ts iw -k li k<sup>h</sup> soit-t u  
some week-after R-AGT daughter-son.in.law-PAT house send-PST:3SG

‘After some weeks Rumdali sent his daughter and son-in-law back to home.’

- 1.127 *Hasalumi lAptsomi dzAmsha “epA! epA!” deNAden blettAu*.

H s lu-mi l ptso-mi dz :-š “e-p ! e-p !” d ~-n -d ~-n

H-ACT door-LOC come-SIM hello-father! hello-father! say-PROG-RED-PROG  
 bl t-tu~ u  
 call-PST:3SG

‘Hasalu having come in front of the door called his father, “Hello papa! Hello papa!”

- 1.128 *khusho Khaluwami khAlding panapan “goi su naye?” denshA khingAlA hillo paptu. “goi ain tau madumthu wek sukai dumtsa mAlba. Ain taun me ngana blA ApshA lAptsola gluindo minu go meko blAmi tomshA genung. minu mekokali t’u:shAngA min khingA onishA geu” Khaluwa grit.*

k<sup>h</sup>ušo Kh luw -mi k<sup>h</sup> ldi p -n -p -n “goi su n -y ?” d ~:-š  
 old.man K-AGT doubt do-PROG-RED-PROG 2SG who AUX-3SG say-SIM  
 k<sup>h</sup>i g -l hillo p p-tu. “goi t u m -dum-thu w k suk i  
 house.inside-ABL ask do-3PST you our son NEG-become-CONV other  
 someone  
 dum-c m lb . t u-n m n bl p-š l ptso-l  
 become-INF must our son-PAR is if:COND arrow shoot-SIM door-ABL  
 soit-to minu go m ko bl -mi to:.-š g -nu- . minu  
 send-IMP then 1SG that arrow-LOC spit-SIM give-NPST-1SG then  
 m kok li t’u:-š - min k<sup>h</sup>i g õi-š g -u” Kh luw  
 that-PAT lick-SIM-SEQ then house.inside insert-SIM give-PST K  
 gri-t ~t  
 shout-PST:3SG

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

- 1.129 *Khaluwam mon pAptu.*

K<sup>h</sup> luw -m mo-n p p-tu  
 K-ACT so-PAR do-PST:3SG

‘Khaluwa did the same.’

- 1.130 *minu la Khaluwam lAptso romtu.*

minu l Kh luw -m l ptso ro:.-tu  
 then only K-AGT door open-PST:3SG

‘Then only Khaluwa opened the door.’

- 1.131 *lAptso ro:.-shA koshonu da thamAn tau-tsaimi dzAmAse bAmA.*

l ptso ro:.-š ko:-šo-nu d th m -n t uts imi

door open-SIM look-PR:PCPL-TEMP PAR true-PAR son.daughter-in-law  
 dz ∴-t se b ∴-t ~t  
 come-PST:3DU AUX:EXT-3SG

‘While opening the door, he couldn’t believe his eyes that his son and daughter-in-law had come.’

1.132 *Khaluwake gerssimi sirwA malì.*

Kh luw -k g rssi-mi sirw m -lì  
 K-GEN happiness-AGT boundry NEG-remain

‘Khaluwa’s happiness knew no bounds.’

1.133 *Khaluwake Rumdalinu nAms bonisishom Khaluwa thungAlen gerssAu.*

Khaluwa-k Rumdali-nu n ms bōi-si-šo-m Khaluwa  
 K-GEN R-ASS relative connect-MV-PR:PCPL-LOC K  
 th -g -l -n g rs-s u  
 mind-inside-ABL-PAR be.happy-PST:PAS:3SG

‘Khaluwa was happy from within his heart since there was familial connection with Rumdali.’

1.134 *Rumdalike le tau batemm ngana Khaluwake Hasalu ka la.*

Rumd li-k l t u b -tem n Kh luw -k H s lu k l  
 R-GEN four son be-PL if.so:COND K-GEN H one only

‘Rumdali had four sons; whereas Khaluwa had Hasalu only.’

1.135 *Hasalukeiyo kaAn tauRinamsocha dumtangana Rinamsochake tsan le taupiki Tolo:cha, Moblocha, Ripocha nu Sesocha dumteme.*

H s lu-k -I yo k l -n t u Rinamsocha dum-t  
 H-GEN-PAR also one only-PAR son R become-PST:3SG  
 n Rin ms och -k ts n l t u-piki Tolo:ch , Moblo:ch , Ripoch nu  
 S soch  
 if.so:COND R-GEN PAR four son-PL T M R and S

dum-t m ~t m  
 become-PST:3PL

‘Hasalu also has had one son Rinamsocha<sup>61</sup>; whereas Ronamsocha had four sons namely Tolo:cha, Moblo:cha, Ripoch and Sesocha.’

<sup>61</sup> The spelling of the morpheme ‘-cha’ (also cf. Lee 2005), in all clanonyms as in Ba?yung (is also an infinitive marker in Kir nti-Kōits) has been written according to the conventional Roman-Gorkhali (related to the British Gurkhas’ education system) orthography for the sake of the South Asian readers’

- 1.136 *Rumdalike taupiki Thamrocha, Dilingbacha, Hijocha nu Diburichan mulAtnga Rumdalipikya nami.*

Rumd li-k t u-piki Thamroch , Dilingbach , Hijoch nu Diburich -n mul t-

R-GEN son-PL T D H and D-PAR today-  
GEN  
Rumd li-piky n -mi  
R-PL AUX-3PL

‘Rumdali’s sons Thamrocha, Dilingbacha, Hijocha and Diburicha are today’s Rumdalis.’

- 1.137 *mekyengA Am mamAlo: BAmjung lo:n .:wAnimi.*

m ky - m m m lo: B .:yu lo:-n .:w -nimi  
there-from:ABL own mother language B language-PAR speak-NPST:3PL

‘Then they speak their own mother tongue Ba.:yung.’

- 1.138 *Tolocha, Moblocha, Ripocha nu Ralichake tsasimasipiki mulAt BAmjung/Bahing nemi tunisinim.*

Toloch , Mobloch , Ripoch nu Ralich -k ts sim si-piki mul t  
T M R and R-GEN family- PL today  
B .:yu /B hi n -mi t i-si-nimi~nim  
B name-AGT know-MV-NPST:3PL

‘Tolocha, Moblocha, Ripocha and Ralicha’s generations are known with the name Ba.:yung/Bahing today.’

- 1.139 *minu BAmjung lo:n Amla: A kosim blAsho bAmtem.*

minu B .:yung lo:-n m lo:- ko:si-m bl -šo  
then B language-PAR own language-GEN form-LOC adopt-PR:PCPL  
b .:-t m ~t m  
AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Then they adopted their mother tongue as Ba.:yung.’

- 1.140 *onpA BAmjung lo: Pai, Necha, Rumdali, Roke(cha) nu Hangucha pasha ngo ollirunku/Radupikyake dAtedunga lo: me ngana Likhum bAmba Khinchi Hangke tsasimasi Mulicha, Kormocha, Thanggracha, Tholocha, Rapacha, Susucha,*

*Rupacha modeb-modebpikya Am-Am mama lo: ko:si-m Kir nti-Kõits lo:*  
*(Sunuwar>Sunwar<sup>62</sup> language) blAinim.*

õp B .:yu lo: P i, N ch , Rumd li, Rok nu H nguch p -š o olli  
 thus B language P N R R and H do-SIM five  
 kind/type  
 R ku/R du-piky -k d t -du- lo: m ‘ n Likhu-m b .:-  
 b  
 R/R-PL between-common-GEN language is if.so:COND L-LOC live-  
 NML  
 Khinchi H ng-k ts sim si Mulich , Kormoch , Th gr ch ,  
 K H-GEN family M K T  
 Tholo:ch , R p ch , Susuch , Rup ch mod b-mod b-piky m- m m m  
 T R S R etc.etc.-PL own-RED mother  
 lo: Kir nti-Kõits lo: (Sun(u)war language) bl i-nim  
 tongue K-K language/speech S adopt-NPST:3PL

‘Thus Ba.:yung is a common language among five types of RuNkus/RaDhus<sup>63</sup>  
 viz.; Pai, Necha, Rumdali, Roke and Hangucha, whereas Khinchi Hang’s  
 generation such as Mulicha, Kormocha, Thanggracha, Tholocha, Rapacha,  
 Susucha, Rupacha and so on dwelling on the bank of the Likhu rivulet adopt a  
 common language known as Kir nti-Kõits lo: (K-K language).’

-----  
 Free Translation  
 -----

### **Kir nti-Kõits and B myung Migration**

The ancestor of Kõits and B .:yung are Khinchi Hang and Paiwa respectively.  
 Khinchi and Paiwa are grandchildren of the same grandfather. They have blood  
 relationship among them. They had been living a nomadic life in the pre-historical time.

<sup>62</sup> The term ‘Sunwar’ is a hydronym basically, rather than ethnonym (Cf. Vansittart 1992: 177 [1st edition 1896], Mulicha and Susucha 1987 [VS 2044: 45 and 33], Ch 1 §1.1.0- §1.1.3).

<sup>63</sup> The term ‘R ku’ is a Kir nti-Kõits autonym and ethnonym whereas ‘R du [C mling, Dumi, Nachering], Rodung [C mling], R Dhu [W mbule]’ etc. are autonyms and ethnonyms of the Kir nti tribes/races dwelling in the Central and Hither/Near Kirant Region, east Nepal. They often write their ethnoexoglotonym as ‘Rai’ [r j n m>r j >r ya>r i] in the I-A (Indic~Khas>N term and the term ‘R i’, obviously of Indo-Aryan origin (cf. also RC Rai 1997 and 2005) is commonly used for a land-tax collector or headman or meaning ‘king’ since the rise of the Shah dynasty (means Gurkha conquest) in the late 18th century Nepal or even before this period but not an ethnonym.

They are members of the same linguistic community. Similarly, Kōits and Ba.:yung are like two dialects of the same single language.

The legend of Mundum~Mukdum clarifies the kinship between them. During the nomadic life span, Paiwa and Khintsi arrived to Paitip from Timridzong. In this way, then both of them arrived to Dzaujila from Paitip and to Khayarpas from Dzaujila. From there, they lived in Jammu-Kashmir. In addition, from Jammu-Kashmir, they arrived to Tharmalung-Tharsilung, and from there, to Yarmalung. This (Y) was called Halkabung-Phalehungmi Phalekhrammi. In this country, there were two doors of sin and virtue.

They could open the door of virtue only by sacrificing animals or birds (a/b). Paiwa and his brother Dunglewa knew that they should sacrifice something to the door because of being a Tantric. Then by having sacrificed a black nightingale, all the family members came out of the door of virtue successfully. The only once opening door of virtue for one time's sacrifice was closed immediately when Dunglewa and his family members came out. Immediately after the closing of the door, Khintsi's family members arrived there.

Khintsi asked Paiwa being helpless, "Hello brother! How shall we come?" The elder brother Paiwa said, "I came out here by sacrificing birds and animals." But Khintsi heard, "lo.:ba tsartongo ekeng g<sup>h</sup>luti" (I came out here having sacrificed my younger brother) only. Then in his turn, he also came out having sacrificed his own younger brother. While coming out, he saw Paiwa's (e/b 'elder brother') brother (y/b 'younger brother') Dunglewa together. Then furiously asked, "Hey elder brother (e/b)! You have your younger brother (y/b) with you. Why did you ask my younger brother to sacrifice?"

Paiwa also expressed regretting, "When did I tell you to come having sacrificed your younger brother (y/b)? I told you to come having sacrificed a bird or an animal. Now, the family ties between Khinchi and Paiwa was in trouble.

Both of them in their journey arrived to the boarder of the Kamala rivulet cold-heartedly. From there too, they went towards the north through the bank. Quarreling in the same manner, they arrived at Tawa rivulet. They reached to the Kakaru rivulet via the way of Tawa located on the boarder of Sinduli and Udayapur. Having crossed Kakaru, they appeared in the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi).

After a long journey Paiwa said in a tired voice, “Now let us cross the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) and go towards the hill. From now on Khinchi became disobedient to his elder brother’s advice. Paiwa and his family members crossed Tokselgat near the Dudkosi river and Ngakuma estuary. The rivulet should be crossed having pulled down the bamboos since there was a dense jungle that time. Having crossed the gat Paiwa reached to Moblo (N Andheri) via the bank of Molong rivulet from Ketuke.

He settled there having deforested the jungle. The loconym (or toponym ‘name of the place’) remained Payaru in his mother tongue when Paiwa came here for the first time. Khintsi journeyed from the right bank of the Ngakuma (N Sunkosi) towards Likhu and Khimti via today’s Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap. At that time Ramechhap and Sindhuli were annexed to Okhaldhunga. The country Khintsi for the first time setteled is known as Kh tsi>Khiji<sup>64</sup> nowadays.

While, the word ‘Khiji’ is developed through the change from Kh tsi. Like Payaru Kh tsi has its own historical importance. Khintsi and his family are named Sunuwar>Sunwar after going towards the bank of the Ngakuma or Sunkosi (N). Although Paiwa and Dunglewa lived in the Moblo (N Anderi-Narayansthan) region, the younger brother Dunglewa migrated to the Terai because of unresistable chill and moisture. However, he (Paiwa) settled there (at Moblo).

---

<sup>2</sup> The loconym *Khiji* is a Nepalified one; whereas *K<sup>h</sup> tsi* (Kir nti-Kõits) is an indeginous vocabulary meaning ‘on the side of the house.’

The Dunglewas became Danwar<sup>65</sup> after many years settling in the Dun/Inner Terai region. Till today their (Dunglewas') culture resembles to the Bahingyung. The seven sons of Paiwa were Samriwa, Nayanggo, Waripsawa, Timriwa, Dhimriwa, Dhyanggo and Khaluwa. They also could not resist the coldness and lived having moved to Rumjatar. Those who dwelled in Rumjatar started roaming hither and thither hunting in search of food when time passed on. Once upon a time, they reached to Tsisankhu (border of Kuibir, Serna, Diyale and Pokhare) while hunting. They suspected whether there were other settlements too. While searching, a tunnel was found in a true sense. They ordered, "Where did you come from? Come out." Moreover, they, who lived inside the tunnel, lost their consciousness because of fear. Paiwa's sons guessed having said, "Certainly they must be our enemy. Then they blew up the fire having inserted a big log inside the tunnel. All the people inside turned into ashes.

After that, they returned home being happy. Immediately after the accident occurred, husbands and brothers (e/b, y/b) of the tunnel victims arrived on the spot. They also had been out for searching the food. They were dumbfounded having seen their living place and relatives turned into ashes. It is believed that those dying Kirntis were Handis. It is said that Handi Khamtsa's generations still exist then. The ruined Handis consulted a shaman to find out the cause of devastation.

When they found out the secrecy of their destruction, they permitted the shaman to exorcise those enemies for destroying them. The shaman also exorcised those guilty on the evidence of their footprint and clothes they left. The dancing sons of Paiwa returned with yak's tail and stick in their hands; danced for a long hours on the Chapleti stone at Charkhu. The two younger brothers (y/b) went back to the dancing spot in order to find out the yak's tail and the stick because the elder brother (e/b) Waripsawa had left them there.

---

<sup>65</sup> The Danwar(s) today do not speak the Kirnti-Bahing language, one of the languages affiliated to the Tibeto-Burman family but speak one of the Indo-Aryan languages known as Danuwar.

The .wakyapōibo (*N Banjhankri* ‘jungle-shaman or a supernatural creature’) had taken away their yak’s tail and stick which they had left over there. The supernatural creature in his troubled voice started dancing by singing, “Come Waripsawa! Come Dhimriwa! The Waripsawa brothers also started dancing pleasingly with the supernatural creature. They were unable to take back the yak’s tail and stick easily because the supernatural creature was more powerful among them.

They kept on dancing in turn. They were anyhow able to take back the yak’s tail and stick while the supernatural creature went on dancing hither and thither. The supernatural creature cursed saying, “<sup>h</sup> iy tsip yu” (cursing expression; “Fie on you”) while loosing the yak’s tail and stick from his own hand. Both Waripsawa brothers returned home being happy while getting their lost materials (Liphhe and Buli). They saw rainbow and fowl in front of the house at the time of reaching their house. They chased away them angrily saying and cursing, “Suke balam tsiptso”.

They ate also having plucked and burning those fowls whatever its number they could find. Except the youngest brother and his family, all other elder and younger brothers passed away. It was because the rainbow and fowl were the exorcised ghost/spirits by Handi Khamcha’s shaman. They had curse of the supernatural creature also upon them. Khaluwa became alone. The lonely Khaluwa moved to Moblo from Rumjatar with his wife Lungtsyarmi. After some years, Khaluwa saw the fire burning at Rumjatar. He saw the same scenery repeated until two nights.

Khaluwa thought and asked himself, “Impossible! We came here having killed all our enemies. Again how did the fire burn there?” While there was the same scene on the third night also, Khaluwa shouted surprisingly from the hither side, “Who is that man burning fire over there?” From thither side also a protesting noise was heard saying, “Who are you in my area here. He still added loudly, “This is my area; I am Rumdali.” The word ‘Rumdali’ is made up of three different compounded morphemes where ‘rau’ is a noun (n), ‘da’ verb root (v/r) and ‘li’ means a traveller.

Thus, the man who goes calling himself 'rau' is Rumdali in the Bahing language. Rumdali also expressed his curiosity saying, "We have been living here for many years; who are you the new comer?" They had a discussion for a little while. Both of them decided to meet for concluding their debate. The next morning both of them met each other. Khaluwa told introducing himself, "We are seven brothers. Other six brothers passed away except me. I came in this place for the first time. In turn Rumdali also roared, "No, I'm the first settler."

They could not conclude even after a long discussion. Since Rumdali was a bit clever, he proposed a condition saying, "Look! Khaluwa, the person will be known as the first settler of this place in whose house there is much more ash and cow-dung; did you understand?" Both of them returned home having bet this condition. The clever Rumdali burnt having searched very very big log of wood. He accumulated a heap of pig-dung having fed a lot of food to the pig. He mixed the wild potato also having boiled with the pig-dung. Having met on the day of competition, Rau won the bet when weighed the ash and pig-dung. In fact, Khaluwa was truly confident to be the only first settler.

He was cocksure that he would have much ash and fertilizer in the bet. Nevertheless, it did not happen so. Rau's (ash and pig-dung) became much in quantity. Khaluwa having accepted his defeat said, "Oh, yes you're the first settler of this place. Again, it was Khaluwa's turn to keep the agreement (of being the first settler). Khaluwa also said having kept condition, "Look Rumdali! One who will have a son for the first time, he will be known as the first settler of this place.

The son's name will be Hasalu then the daughter's name will be Ninakhumma. They two will then be tied into the wedlock. Khaluwa won this time's bet. The son's name also was christened Hasalu. Rumdali's daughter became (was christened) Ninamkhumma. Khaluwa was declared the first settler of the Rumjatar region. Long after once upon a time, Khaluwa's son, who had been out for hunting met with Rumdali in the jungle. Rumdali asked, "Whose son are you?" Hasalu revealed the fact that he

was Khaluwa's son. Rumdali reminded to Hasalu, "If it is so, there is an oath (promise) between your father and me. According to the promise, you have to be tied into the wedlock with my daughter."

Then he made him marry (with his daughter) having brought in his house. Khaluwa was suspicious because of his son's disappearance for a long time. He (Khaluwa) supposed that Rumdali troubled him again in the same way as he did before. After some weeks, Rumdali sent his daughter and son-in-law back to home. Hasalu having come in front of the door called his father, "Hello papa! Hello papa!" The old man doubting asked, "Who are you?" from the house inside.

"You must be some other aliens without being my son. If you are our son, shoot an arrow from the door sending it inside and then I shall give you the arrow back having spat on it. Then insert inside the house having licked the arrow", Khaluwa thundered. Khaluwa did the same. Then only Khaluwa opened the door. While opening the door, he could not believe his eyes that his son and daughter-in-law had come. Khaluwa's happiness knew no bounds. Khaluwa was happy from within his heart since there was familial connection with Rumdali.

Rumdali had four sons; whereas Khaluwa had Hasalu only. Hasalu also has had one son Rinamsocha<sup>66</sup>; whereas Ronamsocha had four sons namely Tolocha, Moblocha, Ripocha and Sesocha. Rumdali's sons Thamrocha, Dilingbacha, Hijocha and Diburicha are today's Rumdalis. Then they speak their own mother tongue Ba.:yung. Tolocha, Moblocha, Ripocha and Ralicha's generations are known with the name Ba.:yung/Bahing today. Then they adopted their mother tongue as B.:yung.

---

<sup>66</sup> The spelling of the morpheme '-cha' (also cf. Lee 2005), in all clanonyms as in B.:yung (is also an infinitive marker in Kir nti-Kōits) has been written according to the conventional Roman-Gorkhali (related to the British Gurkhas' education system) orthography for the sake of the South Asian readers' convenience. In accordance with the IPA transcription, linguists for the same morpheme use either /-c / or [-c ].

Thus Ba.:yung is a common language among five types of RuNkus/RaDhus<sup>67</sup> viz.; Pai, Necha, Rumdali, Roke and Hangucha, whereas Khinchi Hang's generation such as Mulicha, Kormocha, Thanggracha, Tholocha, Rapacha, Susucha, Rupacha and so on dwelling on the bank of the Likhu rivulet adopt a common language known as Kir nti-Kõits lo: (K-K language).

## 2. Sida Pidar

### 'The worship of Sida'

#### 2.1 *Kir nti-Kõits mulkemmi patikya pidArpikim Sida kikyake pidArai yo ka me.*

Kir nti-Kõits mulk m-mi p -tiky pid r-piki-m Sid kiky -k pid r- i yo  
 K-K culture-LOC do-NML worship-PL-LOC S g/f-GEN worship-PAR also  
 k m '  
 one is

'Sida grandfather (g/f) pidar (worship) is one of the worships done in the Kir nti-Kõits culture.'

#### 2.2 *memke pulpashonu "sida bAmni, gibda ba.:ni" denden khalo: pAinsib.*

m .:-k pul-p -šo-nu "sid b .:-ni, gibd b .:-  
 ni"  
 s/he-GEN invoke-do-PR:PCPL-TEMP s be: AUX-1SG g be:AUX-1SG  
 d -n-d -n k<sup>h</sup> lo:-p -sib  
 say-PROG-RED-PROG incantaion-do-PAS

'While invoking him, incantations are invoked saying, "If you're Sida, if you're Gibda".'

#### 2.3 *Sida kikyake pidAr pasha issho genAre goise denshA n slon msi baslo: mabAmt nganAi yo econu blipšobudzipšo k<sup>h</sup>is bAmba.*

Sid kiky -k pid r p -š is-šo g n -r go-is d ~-š  
 S g/f-GEN worship do-SIM come-PR:PCPL when-ABL start-NML say-SIM  
 n slon msi b slo: m -b .:-t n iyo ko-nu blip-šo-  
 historical fact NEG-AUX:be-PST although this-ASSO relate-PR:PCPL

<sup>67</sup> The term 'R ku' is a Kir nti-Kõits autonym and ethnonym whereas 'R du [C mling, Dumi, Naching], Rodung [C mling], R Dhu [W mbule]' etc. are autonyms and ethnonyms of the Kir nti tribes/races dwelling in the Central and Hither/Near Kirant Region, east Nepal. They often write their ethnoexoglotonym as 'Rai' [r j n m > r j > r ya > r i] in the I-A (Indic-Khas > N term and the term 'R i', obviously of Indo-Aryan origin (cf. also RC Rai 1997 and 2005) is commonly used for a land-tax collector or headman or meaning 'king' since the rise of the Shah dynasty (means Gurkha conquest) in the late 18th century Nepal or even before this period but not an ethnonym.

budzip-šo            k<sup>h</sup>is            b :-b  
 RED-PR:PCPL        legend            AUX: EXT-3SG

‘Although there is no historical evidence on worshipping of the Sida grandfather when it started, there is a legend related to it.’

2.4 *sainesam Dolu mergengA Kir nti-Kõits kipotngA Bramlits patsngA ka Gaurots bAmt.*

s in s -m            Dolu m r-g -            Kir nti-Kõits kipot-    one G AUX:EXT-3SG  
 once.upon.a.time-LOC    D to-DIR-GEN            K-K communal.land-GEN  
 Bl mlits p ts-ng k G urots    b :-t ~t  
 B        clan-GEN    one G            be:AUX- NPST:3SG

‘Once upon a time, there was a Gaurots (village headman) of the Kõits Kipat (communal land) clan- named Bramlits around Dolu.’

2.5 *meoA ne Sida kikyA bAmt.*

m ko-        n        Sid kiky        b :-t ~t  
 s/he-GEN    name    S grandfather    AUX:EXT-3SG

‘His name was Sida grandfather.’

2.6 *Am mukheli ragyamer mekoke giphphAk hibbets hopothem bAmta.*

m muk<sup>h</sup> -li        r gy -m r m ko-k        gip<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup> k        hibb ts        hopoth m  
 own lord-ADJ (N)    zone-LOC    s/he-GEN    monopoly feudal/absolute    kingdom  
 b :-t ~t  
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘During his rule, his own lordship zone was in absolute monopoly.’

2.7 *Sida kikyA g'ı:ruyami yo sAppAn sotits bAmta.*

Sid kiky g'ı:ruy -mi yo    s pp -n    sotits            b :-t ~t  
 S g/f        health-LOC    also very.much clever/strong:ADJ    AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Sida grandfather was very strong physically also.’

2.8 *mekoke laissi yo susan bAmta.*

m ko-k    l issi    yo            sus -n            b :-t ~t  
 s/he-GEN    height    also        very.much-PAR            AUX:EXT-3SG

‘His height also was very gigantic.’

2.9 *gimbon nun dzatsAtutsAi yo sAppAn mAlbAmta.*

gimbõ        nu-n            dz -c -tu-c -i            yo        s pp -n

physique along.with-PAR eat-INF-drink-INF-PAR also very.much-PAR  
 m l-b :-t ~t  
 need- AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He needed a lot of food and drink also according to his physique.’

2.10 *memke sendAi yo horssho debranga bAmta.*

m :-k s ~:d -i yo horsšo olli- b :-t ~t  
 s/he-GEN voice-PAR also rough/atrocious kind/type-GEN AUX:EXT-  
 3SG

‘His voice was also of a hoarse type.’

2.11 *meko wAmblemmenga mere nelle khirAgya/yeklak kurb bAmta.*

m ko w :-bl m-m - m r n ll k<sup>h</sup> r gy /y kl k kur-b b :-t ~t  
 s/he shout-PR-SIM after all vicinity carry-NML AUX:EXT-  
 3SG

‘The whole vicinity got disturbed while shouting.’

2.12 *yeklak nu himdzedzumnga dzAintuin tsumludzApikim memkali marupAisshAngana marimshon dumsisho nAisib bAmt.*

y kl k nu himdz dzum- dz - -tu- tsumludz -piki-m  
 vicinity and neighbourhood-LOC eat-NML-drink-NML feast/party-PL-LOC  
 m :-k li m -ru-p is-š - n m -rim-šo-n  
 s/he-PAT NEG-satisfy-CAUS-SIM-if.so:COND NEG-good-PR:PCPL-PAR  
 dum-si-šo n i-sib b :-t ~t  
 become-MV-PR:PCPL suppose-PAS AUX:EXT-3SG

‘It would be supposed to be omen if he was not satisfied in feast and party of the vicinity and neighbourhood.’

2.13 *poshye gombal da A giphphan khondeb dumbAmt; woimi da kulsirssha kone matsAbnim bAmt.*

pošy gomb l d gip<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup> n k<sup>h</sup>ōd b dum-b :-t; woi-mi  
 pork fat.pork PAR monopoly like become-be:AUX-PST other-AGT  
 d kul-sirs-š ko-n m -c b-nim b :-t ~t  
 PAR face-turn-SIM look-INF NEG-be.able-PST:3PL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The pork gombal (a soft white part of pork esp. of the upper part of the neck) would be like his own monopoly; and other couldn’t even turn their face looking to it.’

2.14 *rAnkungA rAnku shyAnbu da tsimik kAmin yubbAmt.*

rāku- rāku šyābu d tsimik k -mi-n

wooden.pot-GEN wooden.pot millet.beer PAR wink one-LOC-PAR  
 yub-b ∴-t ~t  
 drink-AUX:EXT-3SG  
 ‘He used to drink (esp. without stopping) the millet-beer within winks one wooden-  
 pot after another.’

2.15 *thun manume kanan plawAtsiwA pombAmt.*

th m -num-m k n n pl w tsiw po ∴-b ∴-t ~t  
 heart NEG-satisfy-NML:NPST unless disturbance raise- AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He used to start disturbing unless he was satisfied.’

2.16 *khushomi themtsA geunga da mArnga?*

k<sup>h</sup>ušo-mi th ∴-c g -u- d m r ?  
 old.man-AGT tread-INF give-3SG-GEN PAR what PAR

‘The oldman never let chances to others.’

2.17 *suimi yo granun dentsA mamAlbAmt.*

suimiyo gr(∴)a-nu- d ~-c m -m l b ∴-t ~t  
 no.body win-NPST-1SG say-INF NEG-need AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Nobody could dare of winning him.’

2.18 *memmi da tsiwalpaibAmt.*

m ∴-mi d tsiw l-p i-b ∴-t ~t  
 s/he-AGT PAR defeat-do- AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He used to defeat all.’

2.19 *mekoke hibbets blukumsalam nelle kabunga muru upsho babAmteme.*

m ko-k hibbets blukums l -m n ll k bu- muru up-šo  
 s/he-GEN feudalistic delight-LOC all control-GEN person disappoint:ADJ  
 b -b ∴-t m ~t m  
 AUX:EXT-3PL

‘All villagers over his control were disappointed in his feudalistic delight.’

2.20 *nigummi phlenkyo lamne thumsho bAmt.*

nigum-mi p<sup>h</sup>l nkyo l ∴-n thum-šo b ∴-t ~t  
 oppression-AGT boundary(fig.) cross-INF finish-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘His oppression went beyond limitations.’

2.21 *kab nAtnga lo: me- kablepiki garssHA hibbets mukheke nash tulteke tAnge selteme.*

k b n t- lo: m - k bl -piki g rs-š hibb ts muk<sup>h</sup> -k n š tul-t k tåg  
 once day talk is- villager-PL ally-SIM feudal lord-GEN root pluck-NML plot  
 s l-t m ~t m  
 make-PST:3PL

‘Once upon a time, the villagers having allied each other plotted to murder the feudal lord.’

2.22 *meko taNge budin d’u:tekem suspA oshyer khAlsha tuiNtAme.*

m ko tåg budi-n d’u:t k -m sus-p ošy r k<sup>h</sup> l-š  
 that plan/plot like-PAR beer (fig.)-NML-LOC much-ADV poison mix-SIM  
 t i-t -m ~t -m  
 make.drink-PST-3PL

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

2.23 *oshyer khAlsisho shyAnbu tusAiyo Sida kiky mabe.*

ošy r kh l-si-šo šyābu tu-š -i-yo Sid kiky m -b  
 poison mix-MV-PR:PCPL millet.beer drink-SIM-PAR-also S g/f NEG-die

‘Sida grandfather did not die even after drinking the poison mixed millet-beer.’

2.24 *meko mekom sAittimi auuu” denden pleshA domsha panpan Khlisi rongngA lanla khinge dortta.*

m ~ko m ko-m s it-timi uuu” d -n-d -n pl -š -do.: -š  
 so.and.so-AGT kill-PST:3PL excl say-PROG-RED jump-SIM-RED-SIM  
 p -n-p -n Khlisi ro - lā-l k<sup>h</sup> -g dort-t ~u  
 do-PROG-RED-PROG K cliff-GEN path-ABL house-POSTP run-PST:3SG

‘Having jumped and exclaiming so and so killed me, he ran towards the house through the path of Khlisi cliff.’

2.25 *kabulepikim yo mekoA nole khoitteme.*

k bul -piki-m yo m ko- nol k<sup>h</sup>oit-t m ~t m  
 villager-PL-AGT also s/he-GEN after follow-PST:3PL

‘The villagers also followed after him.’

2.26 *mekengA Khlisi rongmi dzadinne meren mekopikimi tsupA sumteme.*

m k - Khlisi ro -mi dz -di-nn m r -n m ko-piki-  
 mi  
 there-from K cliff-LOC reach-NML:INF as.soon.as-PAR s/he-PL-AGT  
 tsup sum-t m  
 chance veil-PST:3PL

‘From there, as soon as they reached the Khlisi cliff, they took advantage of it.’

2.27 *Sida kikyake ngalo:pulo:bomta.*

Sid kiky -k lo:pulo:-bo.: -t ~t  
S g/f-GEN life (fig.)-get.up-PST:3SG

‘Sida grandfather’s life was over.’

2.28 *menun mekoA hibbets paiske bilbil dumta.*

m -nu-n m ko- hibb ts p is-k yo bilbil-dum-t  
he-ASSO-PAR s/he-GEN feudal rule-GEN also end-become-PST:3SG

‘With him ended his feudal rule also.’

2.29 *Sida kikyake sarawali nupshomi kabulepikya suspAn gerssha somSAm.*

Sida kiky -k s r w li nup-šo-mi k bul -piky sus-p -n  
S g/f-GEN death finish-PR:PCPL-LOC villager-PL very-do-PAR  
g rs-š som-s m ~s m  
be.happy-SIM become-PST:3SG

‘The villagers thus became very happy on Sida grandfather’s end of his life.’

2.30 *thibtsAbbi yo dumteme.*

thib-c b-bi yo dum-t m ~t m  
get-can (fig.)-NML also become-PST:3PL

‘They became prosperous also.’

2.31 *šyeng mekopikimi rissingA sottsan laiššo musam yo k’i:tsA matAme.*

šy m ko-piki-mi rissi- sot-ts n l is-šo mu-s m yo  
but s/he-PL-ACT laughter-GEN breath-PAR tall-PR:PCPL time-ADV:till also  
k’i:-c m -t m ~t m  
breathe-INF NEG-get:PST:3PL

‘But they could not breathe their breath of happiness for a long time.’

2.32 *sukai Anke khinmi yo po kyorssha otsAn madumbdumta.*

suk i n-k k<sup>h</sup> -mi yo po kyors-š wo/b -c -n  
nobody their-GEN house-LOC also pig slaughter-SIM eat-INF-PAR  
m -dum-b-dum-t ~t  
NEG-become-INF-become-PST:3SG

‘Nobody could have pork having butchered the pig in his or her house.’

2.33 *roi-mait nu bemtsA dzAmtsAm maplo:na.*

roi-m it nu b .:-c dz m-c -m m -plo:-n

sick-RED and die-INF loss-INF-AGT NEG-leave-NEG:NPST:3SG

‘The villagers were not free from frequent sickness and death or loss.’

2.34 *nelle kabulepikya blitame su tame.*

n ll k bul -piky bli-t m ~t m su -t m ~t m  
all villager-PL trouble-PST:3PL RED-PST:3PL

‘All the villagers were in trouble.’

2.35 *geplemtekke kAN nilAM ponib-gyAmi lA l'isho bAMtAse.*

g pl mt k-k k -n nil m pōib-gy m(i) l l'ī-šo  
solution-GEN one-PAR way/method shaman(m)-shaman(f) only remain-PR:PCPL  
b .:-t se~t s  
AUX:EXT-2DU

‘The only way of solution had remained shamans (m/f).’

2.36 *tsannAdonAt ponib-gyAmi shyil papAisshonga merela shyet dzatek lAn tuinsAu.*

ts nn don t pōib-gy m(i) šyil p -p is-šo- m r l  
seven.night.day shaman(m)-shaman(f) dance CAUS-do-PR:PCPL-LOC after only  
šy t dz -t k lã tu -s u  
difficulty eat-NML path know-PAS

‘Only after seven days and nights, they came to know the crux of the trouble while making the shamans (m/f) dance or function (i.e. through their oracle).’

2.37 *Sida kikyeye bulnumi meko Ankali yo shyetgetsA gonethumsho bAMta.*

Sid kiky -k bulnu-mi m ko- n-k li yo šy t-g -c  
S g/f-GEN spirit-AGT s/he-them-DAT also trouble-give-INF  
go-n -thum-šo b .:-t ~t  
start-INF-finish-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Sida grandfather’s spirit had already started troubling them (including the shamans) also.’

2.38 *mekoA bulnumi lo:lishyAnka sho:tu, “ankali kabulepikimi kerthun pasha sAittimi. mulngA mere po kyorsshonu sagun pidAr-nAMdAr pAintininganAlA An pargimi bAMnung.”*

m ko- bulnu-mi lo:lišyāk -šo:-tu, “ã-k li k bul -piki-mi k r-th  
s/he-his spirit-AGT discuss-reveal-PST:3SG I-DAT villager-PL-AGT black-  
heart

p -š s it-timi. mul- m r po kyors-šo-nu  
s gun

do-SIM kill-PST:3PL now-GEN after pig slaughter-PR:PCPL-TEMP offer

pid r-namd r p -tini- n l ã p rgi-mi b .:-nu- ”  
 worship-RED do-PST:3PL-if.so:COND only my shrine-LOC be/live-NPST-  
 1SG

‘His spirit spoke revealing, “The villagers mudedered me by plotting. Now on I’ll live in my own place, only if you worship me with the offer (i.e. gombal) while slautering the pig.’

2.39 *onpA lo:lishyAnkA pashom patike mekorengA po kyorsshonu sagun pidAr-nAmdAr mapathu madumtik dumta.*

õp lo:lišyãk p -šo-m p -tik m ko-r - po  
 thus conversation do-PR:PCPL-ERG do-NML that-ABL-GEN pig  
 kyors-šo-nu s gun pid r-n md r m -p -thu m -dum-tik  
 slaughter-PR:PCPL-TEMP offer woršip-RED NEG-do-CONV NEG-become-NML  
 dum-t ~t  
 become-PST-3SG

‘Since their discussion of the offer, a compulsory worship should be offered while slaughtering the pig.’

2.40 *mul-sam eko pidar Kir nti-Konits mulkemke mablatike phets dumsha pisho bAmt.*

mul-s m ~ko pid r Kir nti-Kõits mulk m-k m -bl -tik p<sup>h</sup> ts  
 now-till this worship K-K culture-GEN NEG-separate-NML part/section  
 dum-š pi-šo b .:-t ~t  
 become-SIM come-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

‘This worship has become the inseparable part of Kir nti- Kõits culture till now.’

-----  
 Free Translation  
 -----

### The worship of Sida

Sida grandfather (g/f) pidar (worship) is one of the worships done in the Kir nti-Kõits culture. While invoking him, incantations are invoked saying, “If you’re Sida, if you’re Gibda”. Although there is no historical evidence on worshipping of the Sida grandfather when it started, there is a legend related to it. Once upon a time, there was a Gaurots (village headman) of the Kõits Kipat (communal land) clan- named Bramlicha around Dolu. His name was Sida grandfather.

During his rule, his own lordship zone was in absolute monopoly. Sida grandfather was very strong physically also. His height also was very gigantic. He needed a lot of food and drink also according to his physique. His voice was also of a hoarse type. The whole vicinity got disturbed while shouting. It would be supposed to be omen if he was not satisfied in feast and party of the vicinity and neighbourhood. The pork gombal (a soft white part of pork especially of the upper part of the neck) would be like his-own monopoly; and other could not even turn their face looking to it.

He used to drink (esp. without stopping) the millet-beer within winks one wooden-pot after another. He used to start disturbing unless he was satisfied. The oldman never let chances to others. Nobody could dare of winning him. He used to defeat all. All villagers over his control were disappointed in his feudalistic delight. His oppression went beyond limitations. The villagers, once upon a time, allied each other and plotted to murder the feudal lord.

According to their plot, they made him drink the poison-mixed alcohol. Sida grandfather did not die even after drinking the poison mixed millet-beer. Having jumped and exclaiming so and so killed me, he ran towards the house through the path of Khlisi cliff. The villagers also followed, after him. From there, as soon as they reached the Khlisi cliff, they took advantage of it. Sida grandfather's life was over. With him ended his feudal rule also. The villagers thus became very happy on Sida grandfather's end of his life. They became prosperous also. However, they could not breath their breath of happiness for a long time. Nobody could have pork having butchered the pig in his or her house. The villagers were not free from frequent sickness and death or loss. All the villagers were in trouble.

The only way of solution had remained shamans (m/f). Only after seven days and nights, they came to know the crux of the trouble while making the shamans (m/f) dance or function (i.e. through their oracle). Sida grandfather's spirit had already started troubling them (including the shamans) also. His spirit spoke revealing, "The villagers mudered me by plotting.

Now on I shall live in my own place, only if you worship me with the offer (i.e. gombal) while slaughtering the pig. Since their discussion of the offer, a compulsory worship should be offered while slaughtering the pig. This worship has become the inseparable part of Kir nti- Kõits culture till now.’

### 3. MatA sib K<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u

‘The invisible holy flower’

#### 3.1 *sainesren Kir nti-Kõits mulkemmi Salaku Mundumke suspa dumser lisha pisho ba.*

s in s-r -n	Kir nti-Kõits	mulk m-mi	S l ku	Mundum-k
many.years.ago-ABL-PAR	K-K	culture-LOC	S	M-GEN
sus-p	dums r	li-š	pi-šo	b
a lot-do:ADV	importance	remain-SIM	come-PR:PCPL	is

‘Salaku Mundum<sup>68</sup> in the Kir nti-Kõits culture, has a special importance since time immemorial.’

#### 3.2 *SalAkuke semi/selmi thumpatsAkali ponib/gyAmi nu namsoAnkali mabAmthu madumtek phu me bogyapat.*

S l ku-k s mi/s lmi	thum-p -c -k li	põib/gy m(i)	nu
S-GEN method/process	finish-do:CAUS-DAT	shaman(m)/shaman(f) and	
n :.so- n-k li	m -b :-thu m -dum-t k	p <sup>h</sup> u m ‘bogy p t/bosp t	
priest-their-DAT	NEG-be-CONV NEG-become-NML	flower is trumpet	
flower			

‘In the ritual precess of performing Sal ku, trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) is a very necessary flower to the shaman (m/f) and priest.’

#### 3.3 *nAmsu nu ponibo/gyamim Salaku pAmenu “amarpatimi, bimarpatimi, igirek<sup>h</sup>imi, dumArekhimi, igi mulimi, dumA mulimi, igi lAptsomi, dumA lAptsomi, igi tAltsAmi, dumA tAltsAmi...” denAden honmAselelkali shyilnim.*

n :.so nu	põib/gy mi-m	S l ku p :-m -nu	“ m rp ti-
mi,			
priest and shaman (m)/shaman (f)-ACT	S	do-NPST:3PL-TEMP	a-LOC
bim rp ti-mi, igir khi-mi, dum r khi-mi, igi muli-mi, dum muli-mi, igi l ptsomi,			
b-LOC	ir-LOC dr-LOC	im-LOC	dm-LOC il-LOC

dum l ptsomi, igi t lts mi, dum t lts mi...”d -n -d -n	honm s l l-k li
dl-LOC	it-LOC dt-LOC say-PROG-RED-PROG spirit (cul)-DAT

<sup>68</sup> It refers to the Kirant philosophy of life in their religion.

šyil-nimi~nim  
escort-NPST:3PL

‘While performing the Salaku, the priest (mainly) and shaman (m/f) invoke saying, “amarpatimi (a), bimarpatimi (b), igirekhimi (ir), dumarekhimi (dr), igi mulimi (im), duma mulimi (dm), igi laptsoni (il), duma laptsoni (dl), igi taltsami (it), duma taltsami (dt)...”.<sup>69</sup>

3.4 *oNpA Salaku tAngela honmaselel pul patikya KoNits mulkemke Thebthunkos me ngana eko pulpatikya tAngem tsesi Aptek phu bogypat me.*

õp S l ku tãg -l honm s l l pul-p -tiky Kir nti-Kõits mulk m-k  
thus S plan-ABL spirit (cul) worship (cul)-do-NML K-K culture-GEN  
T<sup>h</sup> bth kos m ‘ n ~ko pul-p -tiky tãg -m ts si p-t k  
main.purpose is if.so:COND this woršip-do-NML plan-LOC use shoot-NML  
p<sup>h</sup>u bogy p t/bosp t m ‘  
flower trumpet flower is

‘Worshipping the spirit of the deceased through the Salaku Mundum in this way, is the main purpose of the Kir nti-Kõits culture whereas trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) is the main flower for use in this worship.’

3.5 *saisainesam Binitsa hopoke pAnmi ka thumnga khusho/khalpAkali gil pidAr patsA mAlDa bAmt.*

s is in s-m Binitsa hopo-k pã-mi k thum- k<sup>h</sup>ušo/k<sup>h</sup> lp -k li  
many.years.ago-in B king-GEN ruling.time-LOC one thum-GEN old.man-DAT

gil pid r p -c m l-d b .:~t ~t  
gil worship do-INF need-PST AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Many years ago an old man of a thum (village/area) wanted to do Gil Pidar (a type of tribal worship) during the king Binicha’s ruling time.’

3.6 *eko gil patsakali sangigrakngo mwapopikya, sangigrakngo tormA mekenga sAngigrakngo pAtsnga phupikya mAlba.*

~ko Gil p -c -k li sãgigr k o bw po-piky , sãgigr k o solm m k - min  
this G do-INF-DAT 365 fowl pig-PL 365 s there.from then  
sãgigr k o p ts- p<sup>h</sup>u-piky m l-b  
365 type-GEN flower-PL need-is:EXT

<sup>69</sup> Kir nti-Kõits ritual mantra incantations in which tribal Deities residing in several places are invoked such as *m rp timi* = ‘at a type of leaf’ (Atit Kõits-Mukhia informed me that the name *m rp ti* is named to the blooming *bosp ti* towards the east direction and *bim rp ti* on the west), *bim rp timi* = ‘at a type of leaf’ (the *bosp ti* blooming towards the west direction), *igi rekhimi* = ‘at the creator’s border’, *duma rekhimi* = ‘at the border of female’, *igi mulimi* = ‘at the main creator’, *dum mulimi* = ‘at the main female’, *igi l ptsomi* = ‘at the creator’s door’, *dum l ptsomi* = ‘at the female’s door’, *igi t lts mi* = ‘the creator’s lock’ and *dum t lts mi* = ‘at the female’s lock.’

‘In order to perform this Gil, 365 fowl and pigs, 365 solma/torma (an idol/image made out of cooked rice) and then 365 types of flower is necessary.’

3.7 *khushom onsho ollingA dzatpikya tsAmshA telshongA mere nAmsO, ponib/gyAmiAnkali blettAu.*

k <sup>h</sup> ušo-m	ošo	olli-	dz t kdz t-piky	ts .: -š
old.man-AGT	this.much	type-GEN	edible.thing-PL	bring-SIM
t l-šo-	m r	n .:so, pōib-gy m(i)-	n-k li	bl t-t u
pile-PR:PCPL-SIM	then/after priest	shaman(m)/shaman(f)-they-DAT	call-PST:3SG	

‘The old man called the priest and shamans (m/f) having brought and piled up the types of that much needed materials.’

3.8 *nAmsO, ponib/gyAmimi yo thammursho sendAm, “sangso...sang...sang...sang... tsuplu hopo, duplu hopo, muso hopo, thalo hopo” denAden yAbre-gubre Ankali pidArpatsA gomteme.*

n .:so, pōib/gy m(i)-mi	yo	th mmuršo s ~d -m,	“s so...
priest shaman(m)/shaman(f)-ACT	also	loud:ADJ voice-LOC	sangso...
s ...s ...s ...	tsuplu hopo, duplu hopo, muso hopo, th lo hopo”	d -n -d -n	
sang...sang...sang... ts god	d god	m god t god	say-PROG-RED-PROG
yabr -gubr - n-k li	pid r-p -c	gom-t m ~t m	
god/goddess-PL-DAT	worship do-INF	start-PST:3PL	

‘The priest and shaman (m/f) also in a loud voice saying, “sangso... sang... sang... sang...<sup>70</sup> tsuplu hopo, duplo hopo, muso hopo, thalo: hopo” started invoking gods and goddesses to worship.’

3.9 *pidAr pashonu nelle hopopikyala nAmsO, ponib/gyAmiAnkali Amai pidarpatek kere dzadissho ne:so dumba.*

Pid r-p -šo-nu	n ll hopo-piky -l	n .:so, pōib/
worship do-PR:PCPL-TEMP	all ancestral god-PL-ABL	priest shaman (m)/
gy m(i)- n-k li	m i	pid r-p -t k-k r
shaman (f)-they-DAT	themselves	worship-do-NML-place:there
dum-b		reach-PR:PCPL signal
become-3 SG		

‘While performing their worship, the priest and shaman (m/f) are signalled from all ancestral gods and goddesses.’

<sup>70</sup> This is the manner of invoking gods and goddesses requesting to take incense in the beginning of their worship in Kir nti-Kōits culture. So no word for word translations can be provided into English.

3.10 *kuphphdurshipA meko nAdo moitin dzArntsA mAlsho tsuplu hopomi Ami*

*dzAmsipasho neso magewa.*

kup<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup>durši-p m ko n do moiti-n dz ∴-c m l-šo tsuplu  
 unfortunate-ADV that night first-PAR come-INF need:NOM fire.place  
 hopo-mi mi dz ∴-si-p -šo n so  
 guardian.angel-ACT himself arrive-MV-do-PR:PCPL signal  
 m -g -w  
 NEG-give-NPST:3SG

‘Unfortunately, on that night the fire-place god, who needed to come first, didn’t signal his arrival himself.’

3.11 *tsuplu hopomin pidAr blane mabisengAmere nA ∴.sonu ponib/gyAm(i)m khalo:*

*panpan Am pidAr-namdar pA wAittem.*

tsuplu hopo-mi-n pid r bl -n m -bi-s -  
 fire.place god (g/a)-AGT-PAR worship accept-INF NEG-obey-INF-SIM  
 m r n ∴.so, pōib/gy mi-m k<sup>h</sup> lo:-p -n-p -n m  
 after priest shaman(m)/shaman(f)-AGT invite-do-PROG-RED-PROG own  
 pid r -n md r p w it-t m ~t m  
 worship-RED do:CONV keep-PST:3PL

‘The priest and shamans (m/f) went on keeping their worship inviting (i.e. envoking) them although the god of the fire place didn’t accept offer.’

3.12 *pidAr patik ge sAn n(h)At nu sAn nh/nAmdo pasngApas bAmtem.*

pid r p -tik g sā n(h) t nu sā n(h) ∴.do p s- -p s

worship do-NML work three day and three night do-CONT-do  
 b ∴-t m ~t m  
 live:PST-3PL

‘The worship continued for three days and three nights.’

3.13 *ololnga nipskArsshA pashAiyo tsuplu hopomi pidAr blane mabissenga mere mekonkali shetgot dumt.*

olol- nipsk rsp -š -i yo tsuplu hopo-mi pid r  
 different-GEN solution-do-SIM-PAR also fire.place god-AGT worship  
 bl -n m -bis-s - m r m ko- n-k li šy tgot dum-t ~t  
 accept-INF NEG-obey:NPST-3SG-SIM after s/he-they-DAT trouble become-PST:3SG

‘They were troubled when the fire-place god refused accepting the worship even after having applied different solutions.’

3.14 *kuphphahirshipA le nAmdom DzatnA Mulim nAmsokali ngammi tAninsishA denta,*  
*“goipikim r’isho phupikim kA ni.:si phupikya daint bA.:teme.*

kup<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup> hirši-p l n .:do-m Dz tn Muli-m n .:so-k li m-mi  
 fortunate-ADV four night-LOC Dz M-AGT priest-DAT dream-LOC  
 tã -si-š d ~-t , “goi-piki-m r’išo p<sup>h</sup>u-piki-m k ni.:ši  
 appear-MV-SIM say-PST:3SG you-PL-AGT offered:ADJ flower-PL-LOC one two  
 p<sup>h</sup>u-piky d t b .:-t m ~t m  
 flower-PL impure AUX:EXT-3PL

‘Fortunately, on the fourth night Dznatna Muli<sup>71</sup> appearing in the priest’s dream said, “some of the flowers that you have offered are impure/unholy.’

3.15 *mekom ranphu dumsho mishyemuruke tsArnuk tsibnA bluinsho bA.*

m ko-m rãp<sup>h</sup>u dum-šo mišy muru-k ts rnuk tsibn blu -šo  
 that-LOC menstruation become-PCPL woman-GEN urin drop sprinkle-PCPL  
 b  
 AUX/EXT:is

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

3.16 *mopatke tsuplu hopom inke pidAr mablasho nami.*

mo-p -tk tsuplu hopo-m ink pid r m -bl -šo n mi~n m  
 so-do-NML fire.place god-AGT your worship NEG-accept-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-  
 1PL

‘For that reason (therefore) the fire-place god hasn’t accepted your worship.’

3.17 *meko daiNt dumsho phupikya tAitten minu meko panmi akhkhAgAmin boib wAtserei*  
*yo mekogAmin wAmb mekengA boimenu sukaimi matatik phu ringen.*

m ko d t dum-šo p<sup>h</sup>u-piky t it-t -n minu m ko-k  
 that impure become-PR:PCPL flower-PL throw-PST:3PL then that-GEN

pã-mi k<sup>h</sup>k<sup>h</sup> -g -mi-n boi-b w ts r -i yo m ko-g -  
 place-LOC fruit-inside-LOC-PAR blossom-NML seed-PAR also that-inside-  
 mi-n w .:-b m k -ng boi-m -nu suk i-mi  
 LOC-PAR germinate-NML there-from:ABL blossom-NPST:3SG-TEMP no one-AGT  
 m -t -tik p<sup>h</sup>u r’i- n ~ri n  
 NEG-see-NML flower offer-NPST:3PL

‘Remove and throw those impure/unholy flowers and then in their place, offer such a flower which blooms inside the fruit, whose seed is also inside it, and then no one can see while blooming.’

<sup>71</sup>It refers to a name of the ancestral god (guardian angel) in Kir nti-Köits culture.

3.18 *on pane tsaptiningana tsuplu hopomi goipikya inke pidAr blane bibba.*

õ p -n ts p-tini- n tsuplu hopo-mi goi-piky in-k  
 PAR do-INF can-PST:3PL-if.so:COND fire.place god-AGT you-PL your-GEN  
 pid r bl -n bib-b  
 worship have/accept-INF obey-NPST:3SG

‘If you are able to do so the fire-place god can obey having your worship.’

3.19 *d’ishAsuni nAmsomi Am ngamrits nellekali shotu/nepAittu*

d’iš suni n .:so-mi m mrits n ll -k li šo-tu  
 tomorrow morning priest-AGT own dream.anecdote all-DAT reveal-PST:3SG

‘The next morning the priest narrated his dream-anecdote to all.’

3.20 *nebpikim namshoA ngamrits nel nemshA baridzamda dumtem.*

n -b-piki-m n .:so- mrits n l n .:-š b ridz md  
 listen-NML-PL-AGT priest-GEN dream.anecdote all listen-SIM happy  
 dum-t m ~tem  
 become-PST:3PL

‘All listeners were happy having listened the priest’s dream-anecdote.’

3.21 *shyeng “bomenu sukaimi matatik phu” ke khApslo:mi shyet getsAsam geptu.*

šy ng “boi-m -nu suk i-mi m -t -tik p<sup>h</sup>u” -k k<sup>h</sup> pslo:-mi  
 but bloom-NPST:3SG-TEMP no.one-AGT NEG-see-NML flower-GEN mystery-AGT  
 šy t g -c -s m g -ptu  
 trouble give-INF-till give-PST:3SG

‘But the mystry of “the invisibly blooming flower” troubled them in a great deal.’

3.22 *mekya rAlba murpikim meko khApslo: mArAipA tuine matsabem.*

m ky r lb mur-piki-m m ko k<sup>h</sup> pslo: m r ip tui-n  
 there present man-PL-AGT that mystery not.at.all reveal-INF  
 m -ts -b m  
 NEG-can-PST:3SG

‘All the people present there couldn’t reveal the mystery at al.’

3.23 *thum khalpAke panmi yo BinitsA hopokali lo:lishyAnkApAptu.*

thum k<sup>h</sup> lp -k pā-mi yo Binits hopo-k li lo:lišyāk -p p-tu  
 thum old.man-AGT turn-LOC also Binits king-DAT inform/discuss-do-PST:3SG

‘The thum (village/area) oldman in turn informed also to the Binicha king.’

3.24 *Binits hopo/pipim ponibokali linkyu ko:shAngAmin modeb phu tuitik hoplo: geptu.*

Binits hopo/pipi-m pō bo-k li l kyu ko:-š - -min mod b p<sup>h</sup>u

B king-AGT shaman-PAT oracle see-SIM-SEQ-then such flower  
 tuit-tik hoplo:/n p si g p-tu  
 know-NML order give-PST:3SG

‘The king (Binicha) having made him (the shaman) see oracle and ordered to find out such flower.’

3.25 *ponibomi yo modeb phu uding-tseringgenga .:wAkim tatik linkyu kyutu.*  
 pōibo-mi yo mod b p<sup>h</sup>u udi -ts ri -g - .:w ki-m t -tik  
 shaman-AGT also such flower north-east-towards-GEN jungle-LOC get-INF  
 l kyu-kyu-tu  
 oracle-prophecy-PST:3SG

‘The shaman also prophesied that such flower would be available in the jungle towards the northeast direction.’

3.26 *nAmsoi yo ponibom koisho pisAngge phu mAlth glut.*  
 n .:so-i yo pō bo-m kōi-šo pis -g m ko  
 priest-PAR also shaman-AGT show-PR:PCPL direction-towards:POSTP that  
 m -t -tik p<sup>h</sup>u m l-th ~th glu-t ~t  
 NEG-see-NML flower search-PUR exit/set out-PST:3SG

‘The priest also set out towards the direction shown by the shaman for searching the unseen flower.’

3.26 *memi meko phukem lo:mi thisshosam t’sib, rab, b’i, mesh, rokos, kis nu mur nellekali hillopAptu.*  
 m .:-mi m ko p<sup>h</sup>u-k -m lo:-mi this-šo-s m tsib, r b, b’i,  
 s/he-AGT that flower-GEN-LOC talk-LOC meet-PR:PCPL-till bird, sheep, cow,  
 m š, rokos, kis nu mur n ll gub bb -k li hillo:-p p-tu  
 buffalo, rocky-deer, deer and man all animal-DAT ask-do-PST:3SG

‘He asked regarding such invisible flower to all the birds, animal and men whoever he could meet.’

3.27 *shyeng/tarna marai ge malApta.*  
 šy /t m m r i g m -l -pt  
 but nothing work NEG-be useful-PST:3SG

‘But nothing could work.’

3.28 *me thirmakhet dumt minu kh lettik thu paptu.*  
 m .: thirm k<sup>h</sup> t-dum-t( ) minu k<sup>h</sup> l t-tik th -p p-tu  
 s/he tired:ADJ-become-PST:3SG then house return-NML mind-do-PST:3SG

‘He got tired and thought of returning home.’

- 3.29 *khin le-nnA-le-n pa-wA-nu lAn-mi thunsAisho nA :.somi kA rabgyombikali thit-tu.*  
 k<sup>h</sup> l -nn -l -n p -w -nu lā-mi th s išo  
 house return-PROG-RED-PROG do-NPST:3SG-TEMP path-LOC hopeless:ADJ  
 n :.so-mi k r bgyombi-k li thit-tu  
 priest-AGT one shepherd-DAT meet-PST:3SG

‘The hopeless priest while returning home met a shepherd on the way.’

- 3.30 *mekokali thinneken nAmsomi thunthunmi mimtAu, “on shyAn! Eko rabgyombim da getsiri nu lutssiri pawAnu tsuintsephurki tholonggAsam er-ottha pAib mur me. eko madzAm tasho bAme mai modeb phu! kaleka hillopasha kongu”.*

m ko-k li thin-n -k n n :.so-mi th -th -mi mim-t u,  
 s/he-PAT meet-INF-PAR priest-AGT mind-RED-LOC think-PST:3SG  
 “ō šyā! ʔko r bgyombi-m d g thsiri nu lutssiri p -w -nu  
 “O yeah! this shephard-AGT PAR up.summer and down.winter do-NPST:3SG-TEMP  
 tsu ts p<sup>h</sup>urki tholo g -s m r-ōthh p i-b mur m ‘. ʔko m dzd -m  
 high.altitude inner.plain-till thither-hither do-NML man is. this fucker-AGT  
 t -šo b -m m i mod b p<sup>h</sup>u! k l -k hillo-p -š  
 see-PR:PCPL AUX-NPST:3SG Q:PAR<sup>72</sup> such flower time-one ask-do-SIM  
 ko- u”  
 see-NPST:1SG

‘While meeting him (the shepherd) the priest immediately thought, “ O yeah! This fucker shepherd goes to the jungle (high altitude) during summer and down in the inner plain during winter. He certainly might have seen such flower! Let me ask him once.”

- 3.31 *nAmsom rabgyombikali Am khare lAmsho por plAmtu*  
 n :.so-m r bgyombi-k li m k<sup>h</sup> r l :.-šo por-pl :.-tu.  
 priest-AGT shepherd-DAT own curiosity think-ADJ INTF-narrate-PST:3SG

‘The priest narrated his curiosity to the shepherd.’

- 3.32 *yAmkA ngakodzisho tellep rabgyombim denta, “go tuitstsA da tuinung shyeng moshyed dentsA magArba.”*  
 y m-k kodz išo t ll p r bgyombi-m d ~-t , “go tuits-c  
 while-one confused:ADJ cunning shepherd-AGT say-PST:3SG I know-INF  
 d tui-nu- šy mošy d d ~:-c m -g r-b ”

<sup>72</sup> Question particle as in (a) m ko muru k<sup>h</sup> l bb m i ? ‘Will that man return home?’ (uncertainty/probability)

PAR know-NPST-1SG but in.vain say-INF NEG-agree-  
NPST:3SG

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

3.33 *mul mekokali dopa bippaitstsa deNsho lo:mi nAmsokali yorbetu.*

mul m ko-k li dop bip-p its-c d ~-šo lo:-mi n .:so-k li  
now s/he-PAT how obey-do:CAUS-INF say-PR:PCPL talk-AGT priest-PAT  
yorb -tu  
trouble/disturb-PST:3SG

‘Now the priest was disturbed by the fact that how to make him (the shepherd) obey.’

3.34 *kail mapathu yo madum.*

k il-m -p -thu yo m -dum  
persuade-NEG-do-CONV also NEG-become

‘He (the priest) couldn’t also do without persuading him (the shepherd).’

3.35 *Amikali densha kurssho nelle lAmdz mekokalin dzatsa geptu.*

mi-k li d ~:-š kurs-šo n ll l mdz m ko-k li-n dz -c  
self-DAT say-SIM carry-PR:PCPL all snack s/he-DAT -PAR eat-INF  
g p-tu  
give-PST:3SG

‘He (the priest) gave to him (the shepherd) his entire snack carried to himself.’

3.36 *oNsomi yo khlimahise.*

ōso-mi yo k<sup>h</sup>li-m -him-s  
this.much-AGT also expose-NEG-shake-PST

‘He could not extract information with this much also.’

3.37 *khlmahisenga mere thelmi saishA tsamshA nAmsomi Amnu bAmscho ribdoi yo tunitAwa.*

k<sup>h</sup>li-m -him-s - m r th lmi s is-š ts .:-š n .:so-mi  
expose-NEG-shake-NPST-SIM after pheasant kill-SIM bring-SIM priest-AGT  
m-nu b .:-šo ribdo-i yo t -t w  
self-ASSO have-PR:PCPL wine-PAR also drink-CAUS:PST:3SG

‘Having failed knowing the secrecy, he made him drink the wine which he had with him by bringing a pheasant having hunted.’

3.38 *mekokali ribdo d’uts d’utsapa geptu.*

m ko-k li ribdo d'uts d'u-c -p g -ptu  
 s/he-DAT wine intoxicant intoxicate-INF-ADV give-PST:3SG

'He gave him a lot of wine (i.e. intoxicant) till he got intoxicated.'

3.39 *ribdoA renephenem rabgyombim lolnga thokya punitsA goptu.*

ribdo- r n p<sup>h</sup> n -m r bgyombi-m lol- thoky  
 wine-GEN intoxication:MAN-AGT shepherd-AGT impossible.type-GEN thing  
 p -c gop-tu  
 beg-INF start-PST:3SG

'The wine-intoxicated shepherd started asking for some other impossible demands.'

3.40 *onsosam kon nAmsomi gimnga haruiyo saittek lo: puinapuin rabgyombim lenkhlo:psho nemso sendAm dent, "eee shyAnka! mul goimi yi tami Ankali getik koki pAinaye ngana LA suimi matasho phu koninung. mame ngana be:tsA geu go matuinung phu-su."*

ōso-s m kō n :.so-mi gim- h rui yo s it-t k lo:  
 this.much-till COMP priest-AGT body-GEN lust also kill-NML talk  
 pui-n -pui-n r bgyombi-m l ~: k<sup>h</sup>lo:pšo n l s s ~:d -m  
 beg-PROG-RED-PAR shepherd tongue staggered:ADJ nasal sound-LOC  
 d ~:-t, "eee šyāk ! mul goi-mi yi t mi ã-k li g -tik

say-PST:3SG hey leopard! now you-AGT thy daughter me-DAT give-NML  
 koki p i-n y n l sui-mi m -t -šo p<sup>h</sup>u  
 promise do-NPST:3SG if:COND only no.one-AGT NEG-see-PR:PCPL flower

kō -nu . m m n b -c g -u go m -tui-nu-  
 show-NPST:1SG not if:COND die-INF give-IMP 1SG NEG-know-NPST-3SG such  
 mod(l) b p<sup>h</sup>u-su"  
 such flower-RED

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

3.41 *nAmsokali bomtsAsamnga gAits bomt.*

n :.so-k li bo.: -c -s m- g its bo.: -t ~t  
 priest-PAT rise-INF-till-GEN anger rise-PST:3SG

'The priest had uncontrollable anger.'

3.42 *gAitsm A m'its tsila dApta.*

g its-m                    m'its    tsil            d p-t ~t  
 anger-AGT his        eye       lightning    dazzle/glare-PST:3SG

'His eyes turned into lightning with anger.'

3.43 *lepA lettik gAitsmi pulu-selu khodeb dumt.*

l p            l t-tik            g its-mi            pulu-s lu            p -        k<sup>h</sup>od b dum-  
 revenge    return-NML    anger-INST        ash-RED            do-1SG like        become-  
 t ~t  
 PST:3SG

'With revenge he wished he could finish him at once.'

3.44 *memi akhantSPA plumdZA plAMtu.*

m -mi            k<sup>h</sup>āts-p            plumdz            pl :-tu  
 s/he-AGT    slow-ADV        fist                open-PST:3SG

'He slowly undid his fist.'

3.45 *m'its plAMtu.*

m'its    pl :-tu.  
 eye    open-PST:3SG

'Opened his eyes.'

3.46 *memmi m'its plAgAnu Am moiti rashikhushikh 'u:sha sissho gemdzo khodensho bakyapat/bospat tAptu.*

m :-mi    m'its    pl -g -nu                    m    moiti    r šyik<sup>h</sup>ušik<sup>h</sup>u-š -  
 s/he-AGT    eye        wide.open-PST-TEMP    own    in.front    many:MAN-SIM

sis-šo                    g mdzo k<sup>h</sup>od ~:šo        b ky p t/bosp t            t p-tu

bear.fruit-PR:PCPL    dagger    like:ADJ            trumpet.flower            see-PST:3SG

'While opening his eyes, he saw many fruit bearing dagger-shaped trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) in front of him.'

3.47 *gAits sAmтик thunpA rippAngAmin moshō sošyo bakyapat/bospat shyoklo gupšA rabgyobbikali blengngAbleng y'utsAlA mAr gosho bAmme bakyapata/bospatke shyoklo blo:lshA peperu nelle blalAtsila dumshA pinda bub'u dumta.*

g its    s m-tik    th p            rip-p -    -min                    mošo        sošyo  
 anger loose-NML    mind.do:ADV    intend-do:CONV-SEQ-then    that.much    dry:ADJ  
 b ky p t            šyoklo        gup-š        r bgyombi-k li bl - -bl                    y'u:-c  
 trumpet.flower pod    pick up-SIM shepherd-DAT    ONO:manner.of.beating    beat-INF  
 l        m r go-šo                    b :-m                    b ky p t/bosp t -            šyoklo

only what start-PR:PCPL AUX:PST:3SG trumpet.flower-GEN pod  
 bloł-š p p ru n ll bl l tsil dum-š pind bub'ú  
 break(itself)- CONV white/flower all scattered:ADJ become-SIM floor white  
 dum-t  
 become-PST:3SG

‘Intending to pacify his (the priest’s) anger, he started beating up the shepherd heavily picking up the sword-shaped and dried trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*); meanwhile it broke and the floor became full of scattered white trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) flower.’

3.48 *eko tASTANKE lOPANPAN RAWAM bAmsho gigyotsirim deNt, “on mekon me tson goimi mAlsho phu”.*

~ko t stā-k lo-p -n-p -n r w -m b .:-šo gigyociri-m d ~:t ~t,  
 this scene-GEN talk-do-RED tree-LOC live-PR:PCPL green.dove-AGT say-  
 PST:3SG  
 õ m ko-n m ‘ tsõ goi-mi m l-šo p<sup>h</sup>u  
 yea that-PAR is PAR you-AGT search-PR:PCPL flower

‘Describing this scenery, the green-dove sitting on the tree said, “Yeah! That is the flower you’re looking for.”’

3.49 *eko n mnekan nA.:so gershA lANmatAninse.*

~ko n .:-n -k -n n .:so g r-š lã-m -tã -s  
 this hear-INF-ADV-PAR be.happy-SIM path-NEG-see-NPST:3SG

‘His (the priest’s) happiness knew no bounds while immediately hearing this (i.e. finding).’

3.50 *thum khalpAke gil pidArmi dzaditstsAkali tsuissho nAmsom somkempA bakyapatke shokle nu phupikya sesu ruptu.*

thum k<sup>h</sup> lp -k gil pid r-mi dz dits-c -k li tsuisšo n .:so-m  
 thum old.man-GEN g worship-LOC reach-INF-PAT hurried:ADJ priest-AGT  
 somk m-p b ky p t-k šokl nu p<sup>h</sup>u-piky s su rup-tu  
 rustle:RED-ADV trumpet.flower-GEN pod and flower-PL MAN collect-  
 PST:3SG

‘The priest who was hurried to reach to the Thum Khalpa’s *Gil* worship; hurriedly collected the trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) in rustle.’

3.51 *minu nA.:so “bakyapat thittAng, amarpat thittAng, bimarpat thittAng” denAden plenplen salAk khalopanpan gil pidAr kyAdalumi dzaditta.*

minu n .:so “b ky p t thit-t - , m rp t thit-t - , bim rp t thit-t - ”

then priest t.f.<sup>73</sup> find-PST-1SG t.f.type find-PST-1SG t.f.type find-PST-1SG  
 d -n -d -n pl -n-pl -n s l k(u) k<sup>h</sup> lo:-p -n-p -n gil pid r  
 say-PRO-RED jump-PRO-RED mundum recite-do-PRO-RED gil worship  
 ky d lu-mi dz dit-t  
 spot-LOC reach-PST:3SG

‘Then the priest reached to the gil worship spot saying, jumping and reciting Mundum, “I found bakyapat, I found *amarpat*, I found *bimarpat*.”’

3.52 *onpa namsokali dzatna mulim ngammi gesho suyalmi khrislo: gyorb dumta.*  
 õp n :.so-k li dz tn muli-m m-mi g -šo suy l-mi k<sup>h</sup>rislo:  
 thus priest-PAT dz m-AGT dream-LOC give-PR:PCPL message-  
 AGTmystery:speech  
 gyorb dum-t  
 solution become-PST:3SG

‘Thus the message given by Dzatna Muli to the Na :.so in his dream would solve the mystery.’

3.53 *mekorenga Kir nti-Konits mulkemke gil nu shyAndar pidArmi bakyapat/bospat mabAmthu madumtik khekhephu densha tuinsAu.*  
 m ko-r - Kir nti-Kõits mulk m-k gil nu šyādar pid r-mi b ky p t  
 that-ABL-GEN K-K culture-GEN g and s worship-LOC totala  
 m -b :. -thu m -dum-tik k<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u/bosp ti d ~:-š tu -s u  
 NEG-be-CONV NEG-become-NML holy.flower say-SIM recognize-PAS

‘Since that time trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) became the most necessary holy flower in *Gil* and *Shyādar* worship of the Kir nti-Kõits culture.’

3.54 *gilam mAltek thapopat šerphApikim gilpha, holpha, lo:spa, hopa, beNdzipikya nami.*  
 gil -m m l-t k th popat š rp<sup>h</sup> -piki-m gilph , holp<sup>h</sup> , lo:sp , hop ,  
 g-LOC need-NML tp sp-PL-LOC gp hp lp hp  
 b ~:dzi-piky n m~i  
 b -PL AUX:1PL

‘The necessary leaves and flowers in gil are gilpha, holpha, lospa, hopa and bendzis<sup>74</sup>.’

3.55 *eko khekhephu bakyapatke karwAm tseringge boishhokali amarpat minu peringge boiššokali bimarpat densha neya patikya painimi.*

<sup>73</sup> t.f stands for trumpet flower

<sup>74</sup> These are typical botonyms (i.e. botanical names) of flowers in Kir nti-Kõits.

~ko k<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u b ky p t-k k r w -m ts ri -g bois-šo-k li m rp t  
 minu  
 this holy.flower t.f-GEN one tree-LOC east-POSTP bloom-PR:PCPL-PAT ap then  
 p ri -g bois-šo-k li bim rp t d ~:-š n y -p -tiky p i-nim~i  
 west-POSTP bloom-PR:PCPL-PAT bp say-SIM naming-do-NML do-  
 NPST:3SG

‘The naming of the same holy fower blooming on the same tree towards the east direction is amarpat and towards the west is bimarpat.’

-----  
 Free Translation  
 -----

### The invisible holy flower

Sal k(u) Mundum<sup>75</sup> in the Kir nti-Kõits culture, has a special importance since time immemorial. In the ritual precess of performing Sal ku, the trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) is a very necessary flower to the shaman (m/f) and priest. While performing the Salaku, the priest (mainly) and shaman (m/f) envoke saying, “amarpatimi (a), bimarpatimi (b), igirekhimi (ir), dumarekhimi (dr), igi mulimi (im), duma mulimi (dm), igi laptsoni (il), duma laptsoni (dl), igi taltsami (it), duma taltsami (dt)...”.<sup>76</sup> Worshipping the spirit of the deceased through the Salaku Mundum in this way, is the main purpose of the Kir nti-Kõits culture whereas trumpet flower (*oroxylum indicum*) is the main flower for use in this worship. Many years ago an old man of a thum (village/area) wanted to do Gil Pidar (a type of tribal worship) during the king Binicha’s ruling time.

In order to perform this Gil, 365 fowl and pigs, 365 solma/torma (an idol/image made out of cooked rice) and then 365 types of flower is necessary. The old man called

<sup>75</sup> It refers to the Kirant philosophy of life in their religion.

<sup>76</sup> Kir nti-Kõits ritual mantra incantations in which tribal Deities residing in several places are invoked such as *m rp timi* = ‘at a type of leaf’ (Atit Kõits-Mukhia informed me that the name *m rp ti* is named to the blooming *bosp ti* towards the east direction and *bim rp ti* on the west), *bim rp timi* = ‘at a type of leaf’ (the *bosp ti* blooming towards the west direction), *igi rekhimi* = ‘at the creator’s border’, *duma rekhimi* = ‘at the border of female’, *igi mulimi* = ‘at the main creator’, *dum mulimi* = ‘at the main female’, *igi l ptsomi* = ‘at the creator’s door’, *dum l ptsomi* = ‘at the female’s door’, *igi t lts mi* = ‘the creator’s lock’ and *dum t lts mi* = ‘at the female’s lock.’

the priest and shamans (m/f) having brought and piled up the types of that much needed materials. The priest and shaman (m/f) also, in a loud voice saying, “sangso... sang... sang... sang...”<sup>77</sup> tsuplu hopo, duplo hopo, muso hopo, thalo: hopo” started invoking gods and goddesses to worship. While performing their worship, the priest and shaman (m/f) are signalled from all ancestral gods and goddesses.

Unfortunately, on that night the fireplace god, who needed to come first, did not signal his arrival himself. The priest and shamans (m/f) went on keeping their worship inviting (i.e. envoking) them although the god of the fireplace did not accept offer. The worship continued for three days and three nights. They were troubled when the fireplace god refused accepting the worship even after having applied different solutions. Fortunately, on the fourth night Dznatna Muli<sup>78</sup> appearing in the priest’s dream said, “some of the flowers that you have offered are impure/unholy.

In those flowers some drops of urine of a menstruated woman is sprinkled. For that reason (therefore) the fireplace god has not accepted your worship. Remove and throw those impure/unholy flowers and then in their place, offer such a flower, which blooms inside the fruit, whose seed is also inside it, and then no one can see while blooming. If you are able to do so, the fireplace god can obey having your worship.

The next morning the priest narrated his dream-anecdote to all. All listeners were happy having listened the priest’s dream-anecdote. Nevertheless, the mystery of “the invisibly blooming flower” troubled them in a great deal. All the people present there could not reveal the mystery at all. The thum (village/area) oldman in turn informed also to the Binicha king. The king (Binicha) having made him (the shaman) see oracle and ordered to find out such flower. The shaman also prophesied that such flower would be available in the jungle towards the northeast direction.

---

<sup>77</sup> This is the manner of invoking gods and goddesses requesting to take incense in the beginning of their worship in Kir nti-Kõits culture. So no word for word translations can be provided into English.

<sup>78</sup>It refers to a name of the ancestral god (guardian angel) in Kir nti-Kõits culture.

The priest also set out towards the direction shown by the shaman for searching the unseen flower. He asked regarding such invisible flower to all the birds, animal and men whoever he could meet. However, nothing could work. He was tired and thought of returning home. The hopeless priest while returning home met a shepherd on the way. While meeting him (the shepherd) the priest immediately thought, “O yeah! This fucker shepherd goes to the jungle (high altitude) during summer and down in the inner plain during winter. He certainly might have seen such flower! Let me ask him once.”

The priest narrated his curiosity to the shepherd. The cunning and confused shepherd having after a while said, “I know but it cannot be revealed without any charge. Now the priest was disturbed by the fact that how to make him (the shepherd) obey. He (the priest) could not also do without persuading him (the shepherd). He (the priest) gave to him (the shepherd) his entire snack carried to himself. He could not extract information with this much also. Having failed knowing the secrecy, he made him drink the wine, which he had with him by bringing a pheasant having hunted.

He gave him a lot of wine (i.e. intoxicant) until he got intoxicated. The wine-intoxicated shepherd started asking for some other impossible demands. To such an extent that the shepherd having staggered his tongue in a nasal voice asking to fulfill his sexual lust to the priest said, “Hey Leopard! (addressing the priest). Now if you promise to sacrifice your daughter to me, I shall show you the flower, which no one can see. If not let it go to the hell; I do not know such flower etc. The priest had uncontrollable anger. His eyes turned into lightning with anger. With revenge, he wished he could finish him at once. He slowly undid his fist. Opened his eyes.

While opening his eyes, he saw many fruit bearing dagger-shaped trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) in front of him. Intending to pacify his (the priest's) anger, he started beating up the shepherd heavily picking up the sword-shaped and dried trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*); meanwhile it broke and the floor became full of scattered white trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) flower. Describing this scenery, the green-dove sitting on the tree said, “Yeah! That is the flower you're looking for.”

His (the priest's) happiness knew no bounds while immediately hearing this (i.e. finding). The priest who was hurried to reach to the Thum Khalpa's *Gil* worship; hurriedly collected the trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) in rustle. Then the priest reached to the gil worship spot saying, jumping and reciting Mundum, "I found bakypat, I found amarpat, I found bimarpat."

Thus the message given by Dzatna Muli to the Na.:so in his dream would solve the mystery. Since that time trumpet flower (*oroxyllum indicum*) became the most necessary holy flower in *Gil* and *Shyādar* worship of the Kir nti-Kōits culture. The necessary leaves and flowers in gil are gilpha, holpha, lospa, hopa and bendzis<sup>79</sup>. The naming of the same holy fower blooming on the same tree towards the east direction is amarpat and towards the west is bimarpat.

#### 4. Binicha SalAphAiNs Hopo

##### 'The atrocious King Binicha'

##### 4.1 *onttha KirAtngA Kirat-KōitsA hopo Binits bAmshobAmt.*

ōthh Kir t- Kir t-Kōits- hopo Binits b .:-šo b .:-t ~t  
hither K-LOC:POSS K-K-POSS king B exist-PR:PCPL AUX:EXT-3SG

'The king of hither or near (*N Wallo*) Kirat was Binicha.'

##### 4.2 *meko hopom sAines moitin onttha KirAtmi Khintsi dyaInga Kothdimmi hopothem wAisšA mekomi thakthaksam hopothem paptu.*

m ko hopo-m s in s moitin ōthh Kir t-mi K<sup>h</sup> tsi dy l- Kothdim-  
mi  
that king-AGT many. years ago hither K-LOC k village-LOC:POSS K-LOC  
hopoth m w is-š m ko-mi th kth ks m hopoth m p p-tu  
capital keep-SIM he-AGT generation to generation capital do-PST:3SG

<sup>79</sup> These are typical botonyms (i.e. botanical names) of flowers in Kir nti-Kōits.

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

4.3 *meko sus barssho salAphAins bAmt.*

m ko sus b rs-šo s l p<sup>h</sup> s b :-t ~t  
s/he much grow:ADJ atrocious:ADJ AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He was very much atrocious.’

4.4 *Am muruA dumskena sušihopokhingA muruke lA dums kombAmt.*

m muru- dums-k - sušihopok<sup>h</sup> - muru-k l dums  
own man-GEN progress-3SG-SIM many.family-GEN man-GEN only progress  
ko:.-b :-t ~t  
look-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘He was partial and worried about his own family and relatives’ progress.’

4.5 *mopA mekoke horssho hopogem/paiske diptshirtswAm glumešo murupikim meko Anken dumsimi glongoth glutem.*

mop m ko-k hors-šo hopog m/p is-k diptshirtsw -m glum -šo  
in.that.way he-POSS trouble-ADJ rule-POSS injustice-LOC suffer-PR:PCPL

muru-piki-m m ko nk -n dum-si-mi glögoth glu-t m ~t m  
man-PL-AGT s/he PL-POSS-PAR progress-MV-LOC against appear-PST:3SG

‘In this way, many suffered people rose for their own progress against the king’s unjust rule.’

4.6 *onpA hopom Am diptshirtswAm Am muruA tau-tsats sAittik tAuge shyeltAba: .t.*

õp hopo-m m diptširtsw -m m muru- t u-ts ts s it-tik tåg  
thus king-AGT own injusti-LOC own man-POSS son-grandson kill-NML  
plot/relation  
šy l-t b :- t ~t  
make-PST AUX:EXT-3SG

‘Thus, the unjust king conspired to murder all including their sons and grandchildren.’

4.7 *shy ng meko lo:A Al kA tselpummi tuiSSHAngA min sAngwAbAke tau-tsats dzAmtsA h’intsAm Am klelts lamsAkali Tsapleti puNkhinmi khuiSShA odAbAmt.*

šy m ko lo:- l k ts lpum-mi tuis-š - min s w b -k

but that secret-POSS child one aunt-AGT know-SIM then b(ef<sup>80</sup>)-POSS  
 t u-tš ts dz m-c h' -c -m m kl lts l ms -k li Ts pl ti  
 son-grandson lose-INF fear-INF-LOC own younge nephew-DAT Ts  
 p k<sup>h</sup> -mi k<sup>h</sup>uis-š o-d -b .:-t ~t  
 cave-LOC hide-SIM keep-PST-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘But such conspiracy was revealed to one of the boys’ aunt and hse was afraid of the fact that her brother’s future generation was in danger and she hid her nephew (of fraternal) in a cave of the Tsapleti cliff.’

- 4.8 *meko tselpuma nelle sangwabApik meko Binits hopom saissha thumAbAmt.*  
 m ko ts lpum- n ll s w b -pik m ko Binits hopo-m s is-š thum-  
 s/he aunt-POSS all fraternal-PL that B king-AGT kill-SIM finish-PST  
 b .:-t ~t  
 AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The king finished killing all the fraternal brothers of the aunt.’

- 4.9 *mopatke meko lamsAkali blopaitstsAkali khuittAt.*  
 mo-p -tk m ko l ms -k li blo-p its-c -k li k<sup>h</sup>uit-t -t ~t  
 so-do-NML that nephew-DAT escape-do-INF-DAT hide-PST-3SG

‘For that reason she hid the nephew (of fraternal) in order to save him.’

- 4.10 *mekoke khuittik punkhina ne Kir nti-Kõits lo:mi rupApunkhin denimi.*  
 meko-ke k<sup>h</sup>uit-tik p k<sup>h</sup>in- n Kir nti-Kõits lo:mi rup punk<sup>h</sup> d ~-nimi  
 he-GEN hide-NML cave-GEN name K-K language-LOC R say-NPST:1/3PL

‘His (nephew’s) hiding place is known as Rupap kh .’

- 4.11 *tsepummi rupApunkhinmi sukaimiyo matuittekpa dzatsA tso:tsa paibAmt.*  
 ts lpum-mi rup punk<sup>h</sup> -mi suk imiyo m -tuit-t k-p dz -c tso:-c  
 aunt-AGT R-AGT no one NEG-know-NML:ADV eat-INF errand-INF  
 p i-b .:-t ~t  
 do-AUX:EXT-3SG

‘The aunt used to supply the food secretly in the cave.’

- 4.12 *tsinu marai thosenole hopom khAding pasha meko tselpum bAmtikem lo:raibmur soittAt.*  
 tsinu m r i thos -nol hopo-m k<sup>h</sup> di p -š m ko ts lpum-  
 again time:IND year-after king-AGT doubt do-SIM s/he aunt-LOC  
 b .:-tik -m lo:r ibmur soit-t t

<sup>80</sup> Where ‘b’ stands for brother and (ef), when the ego is female and loab or ngAwa when the ego is male.

live-NML-LOC spy send-PST:3SG

‘After some years, the king doubted and sent his spy at the aunt’s (of fraternal) dwelling place.’

4.13 *meko rAgi wAki wAKim blisho bAmt.*

m ko rAgi w ki-w ki-m bli-šo b .:-t ~t  
that place jungle RED-INST fill-PCPL:ADJ AUX:EXT-3SG

‘That place (lit. country) was filled with jungle.’

4.14 *lAmsAke nAdonAd wAKim lanegot.*

l ms -k n do-n d w ki-m l -n -go-t  
nephew-GEN night-RED jungle-LOC go-INF:NOM-start-PST

‘The nephew’s days and night started passing in the jungle.’

4.15 *nAtpik dilshA lamenole Am lAmsAkali the:tsA konitsA mulkema dewA-deyi Ankali yo:shAsosha pulPA wAKILA lAmsAkali leppAissha wAMtsA, gAMtsA, tutsA nu lo:pik shyenTAu.*

n t-pik dil-š l -m -nol m l ms -k li the:-c kōi-c mulk m-  
day-PL pass-SIM go-PST-after own nephew-DAT tread-INF show-INF culture-GEN  
d w -d yi n-k li yo:-š -so-š pul-p w ki-l  
god-goddess their-DAT share-SIM-RED-SIM worship (Mun<sup>81</sup>) jungle-ABL  
l ms -k li l p-p is-š w .:-c , g .:-c , tu-c nu lo:-pik  
nephew-DAT return-CAUS-SIM speak-INF walk-INF drink-INF and language-PL  
šy ~-tu~ u  
teach-PST:3SG

‘While the days passed on, she wanted her nephew (of fraternal) return from the jungle and she worshipped god and goddesses in accordance with the Kir nti-Kōits [Sun(u)war/ Mukhia] culture and got him back at home; nurtured and taught the language as well.’

4.16 *minu gyube-tube pA mulAtnga Pokali dyalnga Watspum gyAittik thetik shyelshA wAittu.*

minu gyub -tub p mul t- Pok li dy l- W tspu-m gy it-tik  
then marriage-RED having done today-GEN P village-GEN W-LOC catch-NML  
th -tik šy l-š w it-tu  
tread-NML make-SIM keep-PST:3SG

‘Then she arranged for his marriage and helped him to settle down at Wachpu in recent Pokali village.’

<sup>81</sup> It stands for Mundum, which is the Kir nti peoples’ scriptures and theology as well.

- 4.17 *mekoA lAmSAkali rupApunkhinm bAmshA bloinsho patike mekoA pAts rupAts l'it.*  
 m ko- l ms -k li rup p k<sup>h</sup> -m b .:-š blo -šo p -tik  
 m ko-  
 s/he-GEN nephew-DAT R-LOC live-SIM survive-SIM do-NML s/he-GEN  
 p ts rup ts l'i-t ~t  
 clan Rupacha remain-PST:3SG

'Her nephew's (of fraternal) clan was named Rupacha because of his survival in the Rupap kh.'

- 4.18 *hopoke tau-tsats dzAmshA lAmtemngana rupAtske tau-tsats soinshAphoinshA lAmteme.*  
 hopo-k t u-ts ts dz m-š l m-t m- n rup ts-k t u-ts ts  
 king-GEN son-grandson disappear-SIM go-PST:3PL-if so R-GEN son-grandson  
 so -s -p<sup>h</sup>o -š l m-t m  
 increase/progress-SIM-RED-SIM go-NPST:3PL

'The king's generation disappeared today, whereas Rupacha's generations are increasing/progressing.'

- 4.19 *shyeng mekoAs dAtemi serkikke kyAki bArtik tAinsisho patke gArsilo:si dumt.*  
 šy m ko- s d t -mi s rkik-k ky ki b r-tik t -si-šo p -tk  
 but s/he-DU between-LOC g-f-GEN enemy increase-NML see-MV-PR:PCPL do-NML  
 g r-si-lo:si dum-t ~t  
 treaty-MV-talk become-PST:3SG

'But there was a treaty between the two (both party's great-grandfathers (g-f)) because of increasing enmity.'

- 4.20 *mekoLA mekopik ngosiloab dumtASnga gyube-t'ube patsA madumtek dumtAS minu be<sub>m</sub>shonu yo monhointtek tange dumta.*  
 m ko-l m ko-pik osilo b dum-t s- gyub -t'ub p -c  
 from-ABL s/he-PL kin-brother become-DU-SIM marriage-RED do-INF  
 m -dum-t k dum-t s minu b .:-šo-nu yo monhōit-t k tãg  
 NEG-become-NML become-DU then die-PR:PCPL-TEMP also morun-NML  
 relation  
 dum-t ~t  
 become-PST:3SG

'For this reason, both of them agreed to be kin-brothers and could not have marital relationship between them and they should observe death rituals.'

- 4.21 *mul yo meko tAnge lishon bA.:b.*

mul           yo m ko           tāg                   li-šo-n                   b .:-b( )  
now           also that           relation           remain-PR:PCPL-PAR   AUX-NPST:3SG

‘This relation has remained till today.’

4.22 *Nepal rAgi gyAphe kA dumshomere Binits hopo mali.*

Nepal r gi gy p<sup>h</sup> k           dum-šo-m r           Binits hopo m -li  
N country whole.one   become-PR:PCPL-after B   king   NEG-remain

‘The king Binicha didn’t rule after the unification of the country of Nepal.’

4.23 *mopatke omo kolsho NepalngA hopo Rajendra lalphebre (Red Seal) dAinepA Mukhia (K-K Mukhe) kormaphA tAmteme.*

mo-p -tk omo kolšo Nepal-           hopo Rajendra-l l ip<sup>h</sup> br (Red Seal)  
so-do-NML QUL big:ADJ N-LOC:POSS   king R-ABL           lph (R S)  
d in -p           Mukhi(y)a (K-K Mukhe) korm p<sup>h</sup> t m-t m  
okay-do:CONV   M (K-K M)                   title           get-PST:3PL

‘Thus the Kir nti-Kōits (Sun(u)war) were awarded ‘Mukhi(y)a’ title with the lalphebre (Red Seal = Official Authority) by Rajendra the king of unified Nepal.’

4.24 *munu KirAnti-Kōits kipat ontha KirAtmi KōitsAnke bAtslits dumt.*

munu Kir nti-Kōits kip t           ōth( ) Kir t-mi           Kōits- n-k  
then   K-K   c/l   hither/near   K-LOC           K-thier-GEN  
b -ts-li-ts                   dum-t ~t  
live-NML-remain-NML   become-PST:3SG

‘Then the Kir nti-Kōits (Sun(u)war)’s habitat became their communal land (c/l) in Wallo (N) ‘hither/near’ Kirat.’

-----  
Free Translation  
-----

### The atrocious King Binicha

The king of hither or near (N *Wallo*) Kirat was Binicha. Many years ago, he (the king) established his kingdom at Kothdim of Khintsi village, hither or near (N *Wallo*) Kirat and ruled there for many generations. He was very much atrocious. He was partial and worried about his own family and relatives’ progress. In this way, many suffered

people rose for their own progress against the king's unjust rule. Thus, the unjust king conspired to murder all including their sons and grandchildren.

However, such conspiracy was revealed to one of the boys' aunt and she was afraid of the fact that her brother's future generation was in danger and she hid her nephew (of fraternal) in a cave of the Tsaplet cliff. The king finished killing all the fraternal brothers of the aunt. For that reason she hid the nephew (of fraternal) in order to save him. His (nephew's) hiding place is known as Rupap kh . The aunt used to supply the food secretly in the cave. After some years, the king doubted and sent his spy at the aunt's (of fraternal) dwelling place. That place (lit. country) was filled with jungle. The nephew's days and night started passing in the jungle.

While the days passed on, she wanted her nephew (of fraternal) return from the jungle and she worshipped god and goddesses in accordance with the Kir nti-Kõits [Sun(u)war/Mukhia] culture and got him back at home; nurtured and taught the language as well. Then she arranged for his marriage and helped him to settle down at Wachpu in recent Pokali village. Her nephew's (of fraternal) clan was named Rupacha because of his survival in the Rupap kh . The king's generation disappeared today, whereas Rupacha's generations are increasing/progressing.

There was however a treaty between the two (both party's great-grandfathers (g-f)) because of increasing enmity. For this reason, both of them agreed to be kin-brothers and could not have marital relationship between them and they should observe death rituals. This relation has remained until today. The king Binicha did not rule after the unification of the country of Nepal. Thus the Kir nti-Kõits (Sun(u)war) were awarded 'Mukhi(y)a' title with the lalphebre (Read Seal = Official Authority) by Rajendra the king of unified Nepal. Then the Kir nti-Kõits (Sun(u)war)'s habitat became their communal land (c/l) in *Wallo* (N) 'hither/near' Kirat.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Appendix B**  
**Lexicon in use**

**a** अ / /

T<sup>h</sup> n. (c/u) ‘oak’ a kind of tree, *quercus oxyodon*, *l mellose lineata* (c) ~piki (pl)  
 it<sup>h</sup> piki ‘oaks’  
 (u) T<sup>h</sup> k šyi ‘the wood of the oak tree’  
 T<sup>h</sup> m kyortsts ‘not to cut the oak’  
 T<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ/)oitsts ‘to chop the oak’  
 T<sup>h</sup> tilts ‘to fell the oak’  
 T<sup>h</sup> k šyi br th l ts ‘to go for fetching the firewood of oak’  
 T<sup>h</sup> k l ptso ‘door made up of the oak’  
 T<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> šy lts g l bb ‘Oak is useful to build a house.’  
 th õth pito ‘Fetch the oak tree hither.’

idi n. (c) ‘liver’  
 idimi g m p ts ‘liver-failure’  
 bw k idi dz ts ‘to have the liver of fowl’

kk<sup>h</sup> n. [S: Kir nti-Lim+nat.] ‘weather’ cf. SYN thi  
 g sup šo kk<sup>h</sup> ‘a cloudy weather’  
 mul t kk<sup>h</sup> rimšo m dum ‘The weather is bad today.’

k<sup>h</sup>ãts adj. ‘slow’ ANT l k  
 k<sup>h</sup>ãts nipsp šo wãis l ‘a slow-minded boy’  
 mul k<sup>h</sup>ãts dumša m b y ‘Let us not be slow now.’

r ts (S: N+Nat) vi. ‘to order’ r ptu (p, 3sg) ‘ordered’ r šo (pp, adj.)  
 ‘ordered’ cf. SYN p<sup>h</sup>lipts , p<sup>h</sup>lits (indigenous vocabulary) NEG m - r ts ‘tonot order’  
 r ts ts íšo ‘going to order’  
 r ts m lb ‘must order’  
 lo:( )bmi yumpik li g r ptu ‘The brother ordered the sister to work.’  
 goi r šo g p uo ‘Do the ordered job.’  
 p<sup>h</sup>pomi k li g r mt m ‘The father ordered me the job.’

kk<sup>h</sup> n. (c) ‘fruit’ ~pik (pl) ‘fruits’

m .: h u kk<sup>h</sup> b ts ‘to have the yellow fruit’  
gom kk<sup>h</sup> gy pts k li ky tn m thidu ‘I did not find money for buying the fruit.’

T Ti l n. (c) ‘bone-joint’ ~pik (pl) ‘bone-joints’  
T Ti l k<sup>h</sup> itsts ‘to ache the bone-joint’  
T Ti l r k suts ‘to itch the bone-joint’  
T Ti l mi gy itsts ‘to catch in the bone-joint’  
T Ti l k<sup>h</sup> itt h n hirdo ‘If the bone-joint aches, shake round and round.’  
T Ti l hirsšonu rimšo dumb ‘It is better while shaking the bone-joint.’

Ti l n. (c) -puki (pl) ‘joints’  
Ti lk k<sup>h</sup> lkob ‘orthopedic surgeon’  
Ti l k<sup>h</sup> itsts ‘to ache the joint’  
Ti l r k suts ‘to itch the joint’  
Ti l ‘dzits ‘to break the joint’  
āk Ti l k<sup>h</sup> iššo m š ‘My aching joint has not been recovered.’

y sã n. [S: Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar 2002: 11] ‘trident’ cf. SYN sãtsu, libsã

### A आ / /

- POSS. (+human) ‘of’ cf. SYN -k [±human] ‘of, my, his’ [cf. Kir nti -Ath; Neupane (2001: 291)]

ky rsšy k milu ‘tail of the goat’  
mk ‘own’  
m kok ‘his or her’  
t mi k<sup>h</sup> ‘house of the daughter’  
m n m ‘love of the mother’  
kõits- ‘of the Kõits’  
r w k gurip/ko šyi ‘plo: ugh mad up of the lo: g of wood’  
muru pl ku ‘tears of man’  
gom m ko kul kots m ts bu ‘I cannot tolerate him.’

ã pron.[ã-k ; POSS form of ‘I’ and no exact equivalent form for ‘mine’] ‘I, me, my, mine’ [cf. ã Kir nti -Ath; Neupane (2001: 291)]

āk li ‘to me’  
ã d ~šo bisšo ‘Obey me what I said.’  
āk ‘my’  
ãi-k ~ -k ‘ours’  
āk mukots dz mt ‘My watch got lost.’  
gomi āk mukots s mt ‘I lost my watch.’  
āk n m ‘my love’  
āk r gi ‘my country’  
āk murun ms ‘my relatives’

āk lu gir 'my heart'  
 āk y ts 'my cousin'  
 āk m'itsimin t šo n 'I saw with my own bare eyes.'  
 goimi mod b p šonu āk th k<sup>h</sup> itt 'I am hurt when you did so.'  
 āk kupp<sup>h</sup>imin br sišo m b 'I am not so fortunate.'  
 goimi āk lo: bitsts n m ln y 'You have to obey what I say.'

-k (> >) pron. 'ours'  
 k lã 'our path'  
 k l 'only ours, from ours'  
 k s ri 'our sky'  
 k t mi-t u 'our daughter and son'  
 k n .:th murupiki 'our neighbours'  
 k ts imi 'our daughter-in-law'  
 k murun msk li n m p ts m lb 'We have to look after our people.'  
 k k<sup>h</sup> mmin s lniki 'We build our home ourselves.'  
 k d ~ts m r iyo m b b 'We have nothing to possess as ours.'  
 k w rts d ~šo murun mspiki n mi 'Our friends means are our people.'

idi adv. 'below'  
 idi k<sup>h</sup> 'the house below'  
 idig 'towards below'  
 idi m l ts 'not to go below'  
 idi l šy 'having gone below'  
 goi idi k<sup>h</sup> l uo 'You go to the house below'  
 m ko idi m r b' m ? 'What is down there?'  
 idi k<sup>h</sup> a muru t k l m ? 'Where did the people of that house down there go?'  
 idi itth m doru 'Don't run up and down.'

itth adv. 'up, above, towards or in higher position' cf. SYN t r  
 k<sup>h</sup> i ithth y :ts 'to move the curry up above'

its adj. [+human] 'young, small, little'  
 m ko its l 'that little child'

itstsi postp. 'across'  
 itstsi y s'its 'to be moved across' (self)

n. (u) 'maize, corn, sweet corn' cf. SYN ko r ts  
 ko r ts nu kolgi 'maize and soybeans'  
 k rtsts 'to parch/fry corn'  
 ko r ts so:ts 'to sow the maize seeds'  
 ro:ts 'to weed around the corn plant'  
 tults 'to up root the maize plant'

k rsšo nu koltsi brob 'The parched corn and soybeans will be tasty.'  
gomi hiltis m lb 'I have to grind the corn.'

k n. (c) 'crop' ~piky (pl) 'crops' cf. SYN n tb s, n td lts

l n. 'child, baby' ~piki (pl) 'children, babies'

l k 'one/a child'

w s l 'boy'

m'isy l 'girl'

l thit k dumts 'to be pregnant'

l k<sup>h</sup> lp ts 'to care a child'

lkob 'nanny'

lm thišo adj. 'childless'

lk<sup>h</sup>od šo adj. 'child-like'

dod b rimšo l ! 'What a beautiful child!'

ko l th b dumb 'This child will be a great one'.

l k adj. 'fast' ANT k<sup>h</sup>āts

l k dortsts 'to run fast'

šyāk l k dorb 'A leopard runs fast.'

m n. (c) <sup>1</sup>'mother' ~p ki (pl) 'mothers' <sup>2</sup>'own' cf. SYN m m , imm

l m 'mother of a child'

m m lo: 'mother tongue'

imm t k l m ? 'Where did your mother go?'

mmin pron. 'self (myself)' cf. SYN ām i

gom ~ko g mmin~ām i p t 'I did this work myself.'

mk pron. [> m] 'own'

mk g l 'own perspiration'

mk muru 'own relatives'

mk l 'own path'

m dumt k l kots 'to be selfish'

mk w 'own cloth'

mk l m pl ~ts 'not to forget your own duty/path'

mk k<sup>h</sup>yōp t m k<sup>h</sup> ts 'not to tear your own book'

mk muruk li n m p n 'Love you own relatives'.

mk g l blo: ba 'Your own hard work is worthwhile'.

mk l m m i mmuru nk yo lo: n ts m lb 'You have to listen to others'. view also.'

mnus adj. 'pleasure' ANT šy t

šy tmi mnus 'pleasure in trouble'

mr gi adj.[also k<sup>h</sup> (fig.)] ‘native country’ ANT turkir gi  
 mr gik li n mp ts ‘to love one’s own country’

- n n., adj. (+human; piky ±human) ‘plural; in the sense of -pik’  
 ts ib nk li ‘to the young ones’(esp. -human)  
 l nk li ‘to the children’ (esp. +human)  
 muru nk ‘of the people’  
 m nk ‘of them’  
 m nk bw siw rmi yolt u ‘The jackal devoured their fowl.’  
 gomi l nk li huitt ‘I scolded to the children.’

ntr n. (c) [S: N+nat] ‘fifth son’ ~piki (pl) ‘fifth son’  
 ãk ntr t u dz mt ‘My fifth son got lost’.

p<sup>h</sup>ts vt. ‘to shoot, strike’ p<sup>h</sup>tu (p, 3sg) ‘shot’ p<sup>h</sup>šo (pp, adj.) ‘shot’ NEG m ~  
 ‘not to shoot, strike’  
 kisšy p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘to shoot a deer’

p<sup>h</sup>t k n. (c) [< p<sup>h</sup>ts ] cf. SYN put<sup>h</sup> k, p t bu  
 p<sup>h</sup>si, p<sup>h</sup>t k n., adj. ‘striking, striker, shooter’  
 puth p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘to shoot a gun’  
 p<sup>h</sup>uilumi p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘to strike with a stone’  
 m ko lmi gok l p<sup>h</sup>uilumi p<sup>h</sup>tu ‘The child shot me with a stone.’  
 m ko b rsšo tsibk li p<sup>h</sup>uilu p š to:ko ‘Fell that flying bird having struck  
 with a stone.’  
 m ko by p<sup>h</sup>k li p<sup>h</sup>uilum pš k<sup>h</sup>rolo: ‘Fell that ox by striking with a stone.’

p<sup>h</sup> r n. (c) ‘profit’ ~pik (pl) ‘profits’  
 p<sup>h</sup> r ts mts ‘to earn profit’

p<sup>h</sup>po n. ‘father’ -piki (pl)  
 p<sup>h</sup>po k<sup>h</sup>od šo adj. ‘father-like’  
 dod b p<sup>h</sup>po mod b t u ‘Like father like son.’  
 p<sup>h</sup>po m thišo ‘father-less’  
 p<sup>h</sup>po n t ‘father’s day’  
 p<sup>h</sup>po dumts ‘to father’  
 p<sup>h</sup>ponu ‘with the father’  
 p<sup>h</sup>pok li ‘to the father’  
 goimi p<sup>h</sup>po lo: bitsts m ln y ‘You have to obey your father’s advice.’  
 ik p<sup>h</sup>ponu hillo p uo ‘Ask with your father.’  
 ãk p<sup>h</sup>pomi bl sp t br t m ‘My father wrote a letter.’

p<sup>h</sup>tsi n. ‘flap’  
 ptsi s ~d ‘flap sound’

- s PAR 'dual [abbreviated as DU in morpheme break]

ss k intj. 'no idea'

A: ˜ko lã t k l ib ? 'Where does this road go?'

B: ss k go d m tui 'No idea! I do not know.'

udi adv. [N+Nat; occurs before adj..] 'extremely, in a high degree, very much'

udi rimšo l 'a very good child'

ul n. (u) [N+Nat] 'malaria'

ulmi thits 'to suffer from malaria'

r k<sup>h</sup> (S: Kir nti-Rod) n. (u) 'wine' cf. SYN ribdo, šy ršo

šy ršo t'uts 'to drink the wine'

ribdomi pid r p ts 'to worship with wine'

mulk m nu r k<sup>h</sup> 'culture and wine'

kir nti mulk mmi šy ršo 'wine in the Kir nti culture'

kir nti mulk mmi ribdo m dumthu m dumb 'Wine is the integral part of the Kir nti Culture.'

sus šy ršo m tušon rimšo dumb 'It is better not to drink too much.'

ss k excl., 'no idea' <sup>1</sup>used to give a negative reply or statement <sup>2</sup>used to express shock or surprise at what somebody has said

ss k m ko l t k l m go m tuinu 'I have no idea where the child did go'.

t r adv. [ lso itth ] 'above, up, on'

{ ɛ /i/

i bo.:ts vt. [S: Kir nti-Lim + nat] 'to declare' i bo.:tu (p, 3sg) 'declared' i bo.:šo (pp) 'declared' n. i bo.:tsi 'declaration'

its vi. [< hits ; marked for spatial deixies] 'to come down' (verticality) it (p, 3sg) 'came down' išo (pp, adj.) 'come down' NEG m ~ 'to not come' cf. SYN kuts , pits , dz .:ts

its tsõ 'better (used as INDL) come'

irl its 'to come down from above'

r u itu( ) 'It rained.'

r u its tsit u 'It's going to rain.'

r u ib kō 'It might rain.'

k<sup>h</sup>ubn tsm r u ib 'It rains in July.'

go r u išo d nu 'I like raining.'

r u il 'Let there be rain.'

r u išo m r thi rimšo dumb 'The weather improves while it rains.'

its adv. 'some more' (used with unspecified quantity of things esp. to make sure)

its t mts 'to add some more' (in question and assertion)

its k<sup>h</sup> i t mdu? 'Should I add some more curry to you?'

its kr t t t mš g ? 'Should I add some yogurt to you?'

go d its k<sup>h</sup> m dz inu 'I want to have some more rice.'

go its yo dornu 'I want to run some more minutes.'

goi its dz in y ? 'Do you want to have some more?'

go nimp<sup>h</sup> its k<sup>h</sup> m dz in sku 'We two have some more rice.'

itsi-itsi adv. (qty) cf. its , itsik , itsik<sup>h</sup> 'a little bit, less'

go itsiitsi roi p t 'I am a little bit unwell.'

go itsiitsi s t 'I recovered a little bit.'

itsik<sup>h</sup> oi l ~brots 'a little bit pickle'

itsiitsi t 'uko 'lick a little bit'

itsiitsi k<sup>h</sup> oili th ko 'Tread a little/Progress a little'

itsiitsi d nd n suš dzayi? 'Did you eat that much telling a little bit?'

itsik adv. (qty), itsik<sup>h</sup> [> itsk ~itsk<sup>h</sup> ] 'a little'

itsik t mts 'to add a little'

itsik dz ts 'to eat a little'

lu girmi itsik n m 'a little bit of love at heart'

itsik k<sup>h</sup> i t mdu? 'Should I add a little curry?'

boits k li itsik n m m lt w 'It needs a little bit of love to survive.'

itsik dz d 'Let me have a little.'

itsik th mš ko 'Taste a little.'

itsik<sup>h</sup> adv. See its , itsik , itsik<sup>h</sup> oi

itstsin 'expression used while scolding'

ko k d itstsin b

itsu n.(c) [> yits,] 'rat, mouse' ~p ki (pl) 'mice' cf. SYN hitsu

itsuk li b rmomi s itsts 'to kill the rat by the cat'

n tb s nu itsu 'crops and mouse'

itsuk milu 'tail of the mouse'

gom itsuk milum gy itt 'I caught in the rat's tail.'

itsuk li b rmomi s itt t 'The cat killed the rat.'

itsum wa k<sup>h</sup> r()od t 'The rat cut the cloth.'

āk kodzm itsu dorttu/go solu b .:ti 'I am hungry.'

itsu nu b rmo w rtsts m dumnim 'Cat and rat cannot be friends.'

hitsu imitstsili b .:b 'A rat is small.'

ik det., pron. 'thy, thine, your(s)'

ik tsotso 'your cheek'

ik w rts 'your friend, companion'

- ik r s m kōido 'Don't show your disorderly manner.'  
 ik k<sup>h</sup>oili ts'išo 'Clean up your leg.'  
 ik bl sp t dzamm t 'Your letter has been lost.'  
 ik muru t k l m ? 'Where did our relatives go?'  
 ik n m rm' ? 'What is your name?'
- ikl n. (c) (S: Kir nti-Lim) 'voice' ~piki (pl) 'voices'  
 kumso p tik ikl 'singing voice'  
 ikl nu kumso 'voice and song'  
 misy lk ikl 'voice of the girl'  
 kumso p ts k li rimšo ikl m lb 'A pleasant voice is needed for singing a song.'  
 m kok ikl g šo b .:t 'S/he has a horse voice.'
- imm n.(c) cf. SYN m, m m  
 imm k li n mp ts 'to love the mother'  
 āk imm th bmur n mi 'My mother is a big boss.'
- imitstsili adj.[~imtsili] 'small' ANT th b 'big'  
 imitstsili tsitoli 'a small chick'  
 imitstsili bw 'a small fowl'  
 imitstsili lo: 'insignificant talk, fact'  
 imitstsili g r 'a small wound'  
 imitstsili m'itsi 'a small eye'  
 m ko imitstsili muru pDotu 'The small man ran away.'  
 m ko imitstsili l šyil p ib 'The small baby dances.'
- imk<sup>h</sup> pkyu n.(c) [S: blending] 'car' cf. SYN p<sup>h</sup>  
 rimšo k imk<sup>h</sup> pkyu 'a beautiful car'  
 gom gig k imk<sup>h</sup> pkyu gy pt 'I bought a green car.'
- ipt v. 'to sleep' iptu (p, 3sg) 'slept' ipšo (pp, adj.) 'slept' NEG m ~ 'to not sleep'  
 ipsi/ipt k n. 'the way of sleeping/sleeper'  
 go ipnu 'I sleep.'  
 go ipts m lt w 'I have to sleep.'  
 m ko l iptu 'The child slept.'  
 m ko l d ipšo m b 'The baby hasn't slept.'  
 ipts m lšo m dum 'I tried to sleep but I could not.'  
 mul ipin 'Please sleep now.'  
 m ipš m r košo? 'What're you looking at without sleeping?'  
 goi nimp<sup>h</sup> ip s 'You two sleep.'  
 gopik ipt k 'We slept.'  
 go ipti 'I slept.'
- i:r'í [> ir] adv. 'up above, far above'

ir 'of above'  
 irl 'from above'  
 h ri ir 'up'  
 i:r'i (usu. emphatic meaning) 'up'  
 irl r u itu 'It rained.'  
 irl konu 'I watch you from heaven/above.'  
 irl iti 'I came from above.'  
 itsp<sup>h</sup>r s n. (c) 'clause'  
 itsp<sup>h</sup>r s r tsts 'to read a clause'  
 itsp<sup>h</sup>r s br ts 'to write a clause'  
 itsp<sup>h</sup>r s šy lts 'to mak a clause;  
 itsp<sup>h</sup>r sl 'from the clause'  
 itsp<sup>h</sup>r s l' 'only a clause'  
 durd pikil itsp<sup>h</sup>r s šy lsib 'A clause is made out of words.'  
 gomi p<sup>h</sup>r spiki m br thu itsp<sup>h</sup>r sl br t 'I wrote only phrases without  
 writing a sentence.'  
 p<sup>h</sup>r sk hōiti itsp<sup>h</sup>r s pib 'A clause comes before a sentence.'

its vi. [ < hits ] 'to come' (vertical; Mokuśu as consultant in NK Rai (2002) it  
 (p, 3sg) 'came' išo (pp, adj.) 'come' NEG m ~ 'not to come'

its adv. (quantity) [also itsi] 'a little bit'  
 goi its k<sup>h</sup> m t mš dz in y 'Do you want to have adding some rice?'

| उ /u/

ubn ubn n. 'mutter, a quiet sound or words that are difficult to hear' ~p ts (v)  
 'to mutter'  
 m ko lk ubn ubn n :š go m rimšo l .:ti 'I felt bad having heard the  
 child's mutter.'

udi n. उदिङ् 'north'  
 udi g 'towards the North'  
 gom udi mi šyor k t t 'I saw a star in the North.'

ug 'germination, small plant'  
 ug m tults 'not to uproot the small plant'  
 go ug m tulnu 'I do not uproot the small plant.'

u ku adv. par. 'frequency indicator (e.g. how many times), as soon as'  
 šyus u ku 'many times'  
 došo u ku 'how many times'  
 t šyo u kumin 'while seeing immediately/right at the moment of seeing'  
 grund lmi došo u ku l ni? 'How many times did you go to the meeting?'

šyād r šyus n u ku šyil p t 'I danced Shyadar Shyil many times.'  
 šyopl t šo u kumin dz t 'I ate the bread immediately while seeing.'

umts vt. 'to feed' umtu (p, 3sg) 'fed' umšo (pp) 'fed' NEG m ~ 'to not feed'  
 k<sup>h</sup> m umts 'feeding ceremony'  
 k<sup>h</sup> m umt k n t 'the feeding day'  
 lk li k<sup>h</sup> m umts 'to feed rice to the baby'  
 suš m umts 'not to feed too much'  
 gomi b'ík li h'isi' umt 'I fed salt to the cow.'  
 m .:mi lk li dz t kdz t umt w 'S/he fed the food to the baby.'  
 m ko m rd umšo? 'Why did you feed that?'

utsitu adj. 'short' ANT gyošo

utth adv. 'thither'  
 utth l ts 'to go thither'

ušy r n. (c) 'butterfly' ~puk (pl) 'butterflies' cf. SYN burbu  
 rimšo ušy r 'a beautiful butterfly'  
 ušy r budi šyil p tsa 'to dance like a butterfly'  
 ušy r b rb 'The butterfly flies.'  
 ušy r k<sup>h</sup>od ~:šo l 'a beautiful child/baby'  
 burbu nu dzirb r h r l k n n si 'Butterfly and moth are almost the same.'  
 ušy r p<sup>h</sup>uk r-ōth g rb 'A butterfly flies around the flower.'  
 dzirb r d iluk r-ōth hirb 'A moth flies around the light.'

usuru adj. 'easy' ANT m ts bbi

ui adv.[< uyu] 'below, down'  
 h yu uyu~hui ui 'far down'  
 uig 'downwards'  
 ui ui do.:tu 'fell something very down'  
 ui luts doro 'Run below.'  
 ui l š ko o 'Go down and see.'  
 m ko muru d h yu ui l'im t 'That man has been left far below.'

} ॐ / /

i excl. 'hello, hi'  
 i t k l yi? 'Hey where did you go?'

r > r adv. 'thither'  
 h r r ko o 'Look thither.'

~k r adv. [> ~k > ~k] 'hither, here'

~k nu m k 'here and there  
 ~kl 'from here'  
 ~k r ! 'Here!'  
 ~k piu minu k r b .:ko 'Come here then sit here.'  
 ~k w iššo obis sumi k<sup>h</sup>uip w ? 'Who stole the cucumber kept here?'  
 m ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp t k r oto 'Put that book here.'

~ko det. pron. [> ~] 'this' ~p ki (pl) 'these'  
 ~ko nu m ko 'this and that'  
 ~ko mur(u) 'this man'  
 ~ko murupiki 'these people'  
 ~ko b rmo 'this cat'  
 ~ko d m ko? 'This or that?'  
 ~ko b rmo itsu k yo gy itsts m ts bb 'This cat cannot catch even one rat.'  
 ~ko mur t k l ib .:m ko o...i 'Look, where does that man go?'

n n. (c) 'elder sister's spouse' [S: first pronounced by a 3 year old child named Ruksha Walemrungcha and is quite natural in T-B Kir nti languages since most of them lack the aspirated /b<sup>h</sup>/ as a minimal pair of /b/] ~p ki (pl)

nimon n. [spelt as Animon = एनिमोन] 'respect, hospitability'

tsts n. [N tsiuri = चिउरी] 'a kind of butter fruit, *madhuca butyracea*  
 tsts b ts 'to have the madhuca butyracea'

tsts 'to beat' cf. SYN yup<sup>h</sup>ts , t tsts , th itsts  
 m ko murk li tsts 'to beat that man'

rm n. [> r m] 'xanthoxylum' (N बोके टिमुर)  
 blošo rm 'a tasty xanthoxylum'

tsp<sup>h</sup>u 'rose' cf. SYN lorts p<sup>h</sup>u  
 rimšo tsp<sup>h</sup>u 'a beautiful rose'

O ओ /o/

obis n. [< hobis] 'cucumber'  
 obis b ts 'to eat cucumber'  
 hobis sits 'to bear cucumber'  
 obisk l ~brots 'pickle of cucumber'  
 tol gyušo obis 'hanging cucumber'  
 obis sus s'išo m rimšo (folk belief) 'to bear lots of cucumber is omen'  
 obismi sus .:w k > b ku dumb 'The cucumber is full of water.'  
 gomi hobis k<sup>h</sup>rumt 'I planted the cucumber.'

odits vi. 'go to enter' oditu (p, 3sg) 'went for entering' odišo (pp, adj.) 'gone for entering' NEG m ~ 'to not go for entering'

āk t u k<sup>h</sup>i g oditu 'My son went to enter the house.'

ōd b adj. [ lso ōl b/p] 'of this type'

ōd b mur 'a man of this type'

go ōd b m rimšo lo: m d nu 'I do not like this type of bad talk.'

oir t n. [probable proto-form of Kir t through accidental development since Sanskrit does not tolerate /oi-/ in initial position] 'Mongoloid tribe/race'

go Oir t n 'I am an Oirat'.

oktoto adj. 'dumbstruck'

rimšo lo: n :ša go oktoto dumti 'I was dumbstruck having heard a good news.'

olli n. [S: Kir nti-Lim+nat] 'kind, type, category, variety'

ōd b olli 'of this type'

omu n. 'mushroom' ~piki (pl) 'mushrooms' cf. SYN šyik<sup>h</sup> i

sus omu t ts 'to get, see lots of mushroom'

šyik<sup>h</sup> i m lts 'to look for mushroom'

go omu d nu 'I like mushroom'.

omuk k<sup>h</sup> i brob 'The mushroom curry tastes good'.

ošy r n. 'poison'

ošy r k<sup>h</sup>uitsts 'to hide the poison'

āk m'išy m ošy r tu b :t 'My wife has drunk the poison.'

ōp adv. 'thus, in this way, like this' cf. SYN ōd pp , ōp n

ōp šyil p ts 'to dance like this'

ōp br :ts 'to write in this way'

ōp p t k tso 'doing in this way'

mop kumšo p ts 'to sing that way'

ōp mar p šo? 'What have you done in this way?'

ōp r pšonu m rimšo dumb 'It won't be better while standing in this way.'

goi ōp m ko 'Don't cry in this manner.'

ōso adv. (quantity) 'this much' vs. ošo [See ots ]

ōšo l' ? 'only this much?'

ōšomi d m r p ts ? 'What to do with this much?'

ōšomi r'un y ? 'Will you be satisfied with this much?'

ōšomin dz ditt 'This much satisfied me.'

ōšomin dz dibb ? 'Will this much be sufficient?'

ōšol dz š t k dumb tsinu yo dz ts m lb ‘You ate very little, you have to have some more.’

o:ts vt. ‘to enter’ ot (p, 3sg) ‘entered’ ošo (pp, adj.) ‘entered’ NEG m ~ ‘to not enter’  
 k<sup>h</sup> g o:ts ‘to enter into the house’  
 ludz mi šy l o:ts ‘to enter thread into the needle’  
 bw k<sup>h</sup> g ot ‘The rooster entered into the house.’  
 m ko muru k<sup>h</sup> g ol ‘Let the man enter into the house.’  
 go k<sup>h</sup> g ošonu suiyo m b m ‘There was no one when I entered into the house.’  
 goi t ko mumi m him/y br k<sup>h</sup> o ‘What time did you enter the temple?’

ostsā n. [< os-ts m] ‘wool’ cf. SYN bos  
 rōp ostsā ‘wool of sheep’  
 ostsāk lukni ‘coat made up of wool’  
 ostsā murtsts ‘to wash up wool’  
 ostsāk kyupth gupts ‘to wear a cap made up of wool’  
 ostsāk k rp t rimb ‘The carpet made up of wool becomes beautiful.’

ōtth adv. [> ōth] ‘hither’  
 r ōtth ‘hither and thither/yon’  
 ōth ko o ‘look hither’  
 ōth n no ‘listen to me hither’  
 ōth hirsšo ‘turn hither’  
 ōth l sšo ‘come back hither’  
 ōth nissin ‘Please sit here.’  
 ōth l sšo munu doro ‘Turn hither and run.’  
 āk t u r ōth m p ib ‘My son is honest.’  
 l k ōth pim´ ? ‘Did a child come hither?’

olo:l n. ‘mischief, slander’  
 olo:lp ts ‘mischief-making’  
 olo:lp ib ‘mischief-maker’  
 olo:lm p ts ‘not to do mischievous things’  
 m ko olo:lp ib sum´ ? ‘Who is that mischief-maker?’  
 goimi olo:l p sin m p ts ‘You never make a mischievous tricks.’  
 goi olo:l p in y n yupsi dz in y ‘You will be punished (corporeal) if you do mischievous tricks.’  
 olo:l p š m kōido~d´i ‘Don’t show having done any mischievous deeds.’  
 olo:l p š m kōid´i? ‘Didn’t you show having done any mischievous deeds?’

e ꞑ k /k /

k bl n. (c) ‘villager’ ~pik (pl) ‘villagers’

k d par. ko k d; b ´ (the interlocutor is furious)

“k d k d; go ~k b .:nu ” (the interlocutor wants his/her addressee to vacate the seat for sitting)

k gi n. (c) [> k g] ‘yam’

k gi dots ‘to dig up the yam’

k gi lopts ‘to boil up the yam’

k gy w c ri n. ‘spring season’

k tsik adj. (not after noun), adv. ‘alone’

k tsik dumts ‘to be alone’

k itsik kh lp ‘an old man alone’

k tsik ts ‘to weep alone’

m ko k tsik b .:b ‘S/he lives alone.’

goi k tsik k<sup>h</sup> mi m r p np n b ? ‘What are you doing alone in the house?’

k tsik dumts yo rimšo m dumb .:t ‘It’s not better to be alone.’

k k´ adj. [> k k; emph. k k´ ] ‘bitter’ (of taste) ANT dzidz´i or blošo

k k´ r b ‘a bitter potato’

k k PAR. ‘while confirming sth’

m komi mo k k d ~m´ ? ‘Did s/he say so?’

gom goik li k<sup>h</sup> min b .:ts d ~šo l g k k l yi ‘Did you go out when I told you to stay inside the house?’

k l n. (u) ‘porridge’

k l w lts ‘to stir the porridge’

k lmi wolsits ‘to be tempted by porridge’

bl(ro)šo k l ‘a tasty porridge’

k l nu gundruk dz ts ‘to have porridge and gundruk (dried green vegetable)’

go k l d nu ‘I like porridge.’

go m ko mišy lk l d :nu /n mp inu ‘I love that girl.’

murun msk li k l g šonu mun m dumb ‘It won’t be shameful while serving porridge to the guests.’

k l n. <sup>1</sup> ‘ethnonym; a Tibeto-Burman tribe/race; M g r (Sikkim spelling ‘Manger’), M g r (Nepal spelling ‘Magar’)’ <sup>2</sup> ‘a kind of (wild) airpotato, potato yam (esp bitter in taste suitable for food while boiling with ash)’ *dioscorea bulbifera*

- k li c. [>k l] m kok li ‘to him/her’  
 gok li ‘to me’  
 m ko nk li ‘to them’  
 n ll muru nk li ‘to all men’  
 t u-t mk li ‘to the children’ (lit. son-daughter)  
 gomi ã:k t mik li k<sup>h</sup>yõp t gy pt ‘I bought a book to my daughter.’  
 p<sup>h</sup>pok li s u p uo ‘Greet your father.’  
 m m m lok li n m p n ‘Love your mother tongue.’  
 ãk t umi ã:k li br sp t br .:t w ‘My son wrote a letter to me.’
- k lpip n. (u) [K-K cul] ‘ancestor’ cf. SYN dikipurk<sup>hi</sup>
- k n n conj. ‘unless’
- k nTi n. (c) ‘pan, utensil, cauldron, (esp. for cooking, frying, boiling) ~puki (pl) ‘pans’  
 cf. SYN k r
- k r n. (c) ‘toy’ ~piky (pl) ‘toys’
- k si n. (u) ‘wrestling cf. SYN tsu
- k num., det., pron. ‘one’ [cf. *kw lo~kw l* Kir nti-Wam; Ongenort (2002: 498) and *ko*  
 Kir nti-Ba-Jerong]  
 muru k ‘a/one man’  
 k<sup>h</sup>yõp t k ‘a/one book’  
 k l ‘only one’  
 gui k (fig.) ‘a five rupee note/coin’; see gui  
 k<sup>h</sup> l k (fig.) ‘one score’; see k<sup>h</sup> l  
 m ko k l ‘only that one’  
 k k<sup>h</sup>yõp t gy pts ‘to buy a/one book’  
 gomi k l g r pr(})olt ‘I broke only one soil-pot.’  
 m kopikimi k ky rsšy gy pt m ‘They bought a/one goat.’
- k bu n., adv. ‘control’ cf. adv. k l
- k ilp ts vt. ‘to persuade’ k ilp ptu (p, 3SG) ‘persuaded’ k ilp šo (pp, adj.) ‘persuaded’  
 NEG ~m ~ ‘to not persuade’
- k ts vt. ‘to follow the route’
- k itsts vi. ‘to pass away’
- k iyo adv. ‘(not) at all’  
 gomi ~ko sinim k iyo m d gu ‘I didn’t like this cinema at all.’  
 ãk taumi ãk li k iyo m t’ib ‘My son doesn’t obey me at all.’

~ko misin k iyo g mal bba 'This machine is not useful at all.'

k p<sup>h</sup> s n. (c) 'uniform' ~p ki (pl)

k p<sup>h</sup> s p<sup>h</sup> rtsts 'to sew uniform'

k p<sup>h</sup> s gy pts 'to buy uniform'

k p<sup>h</sup> s p<sup>h</sup> :ts 'to put on uniform'

bumir~bub lmi k p<sup>h</sup> s p<sup>h</sup> rb 'The tailor sews the uniform.'

ap<sup>h</sup>pomi lk li k p<sup>h</sup> s gy pt m 'The father bought the uniform for the child.'

ãk k p<sup>h</sup> s dz .:tu 'My uniform tore away (itself).'

k r n. (c) 'toy' ~piki(pl) 'toys'

k rp t n. (c) [S: Eng; K-K generic term bl ti/ k] 'carpet' ~p ki (pl) cf. SYN bl ti/ k

k ts vt. 'to place (especially a frying-pan)' k tu (p, 3sg) 'placed' k šo (pp, adj.) 'placed' NEG m ~ 'to not place'

k pts vi. 'to extinguish' k pt (p, 3sg) 'extinguished' k pšo (pp, adj.) 'extinguished'

NEG m ~ 'to not extinguish'

m ko n s l k pt 'The lamp extinguished.'

k th adv. [~ k th ; emph. k th n] '<sup>1</sup>along, together, <sup>2</sup>side'

k th n ba.:ts 'to live/stay along'

k th n l ts 'to go along'

k th n šyil p ts 'to dance along'

go nip<sup>h</sup>a k th n gy kosi l t sku 'We two went to the market together.'

c imi nimp<sup>h</sup> k th n bw k(u) dith l mt s 'The two daughter-in-laws went to fetch the water together.'

g uro nu gomi k th n t r ndo k br .:t sku 'Gaurong and I wrote a grammar together.'

k :t'its n. 'Katicha clan in K-K' 'one-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, mend' (n.) 'one who darns, remains aloof' (p/c with Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar)

-k Ca. POSS [±human] 'of'

ãk 'my, mine'

m kok 'his/her'

ãk k<sup>h</sup> m b 'I have no home.'

k k<sup>h</sup>i adj. [> k k<sup>h</sup>] 'raw, unripe, not cooked' cf. SYN m m'išo ANT m'išo

k k<sup>h</sup> mug(i) 'unripe banana'

k k<sup>h</sup> wã s l (fig.) 'immature boy, naughty one'

m ko ky kik li go k k<sup>h</sup> in dz inu (fig.) 'I finish the enemy at once.'

k k<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> m dz šo m r āk kodz k<sup>h</sup> itt ‘My stomach pained after having the uncooked rice.’

k k<sup>h</sup> h udzidz gyursšo b .:b( ) ‘The unripe orange is sour.’

k m r n. (c) [S: Eng+nat.] ‘camera’ cf. SYN ts hipl

k n adj. [S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘mad, insane’ ANT m k n ‘sensible’

k n b<sup>i</sup> ‘mad cow’

k n dumts ‘to be mad’

k n nu thoibi ‘mad and poet’

phokt s k n dumt ‘Phoktas became mad.’

thoibi nu k n k n n mi ‘Poet and mad are alike.’

k n muruk li tso.:sib (fig.) ‘Mad man is shackled.’

k pts vt. ‘to stick, adhere’ k ptu (p, 3sg) ‘stuck’ k pšo (pp, adj.) ‘stuck’ NEG m ~

kup<sup>h</sup>pimi k ptsi k pts ‘to stick the k ptsi on the forehead’

tsotsomi pulu k pts ‘to stick the ashes on the cheek’

go goik li k ptsi k pnu ‘I adhere the k ptsi to you.’

t mik li k ptsi k pšonu rimšo t s u ‘The daughter is seen beautiful while sticking the k ptsi.’

k psits vt. ‘to be/get stuck, adhered, clung itself’ k psitu~t u (p, 3sg) k psišo (pp, adj.)

NEG m ~ ‘to not adhere’

y :p<sup>h</sup> budi k psits ‘to get stuck like leech’

go ammin pulu k psiti ‘I adhered the ashes myself.’

~ko y :p<sup>h</sup> s pp k psit u ‘This leech stuck very fixedly.’

k r adj. [>k r] ‘black’

k r by p<sup>h</sup> ‘the black ox’

k r nu bus ‘black and white’

k r mišy l ‘the dark girl’

k r p<sup>h</sup>ur/tig ‘black colour’

go k rbr sw mi br(l) nu ‘I write with blank.’

k rsil t gy po ‘Buy a blackboard.’

sus murumi ker tig m d nim ‘Many people don’t like black colour.’

k rdz n. (c) ‘uncle’ [esp fraternal; *kuku* maternal] ~piki (pl) ‘uncles’ (cf. *kw ro*

‘maternal uncle’ Kir nti-Wam; Ongenort (2002: 142, 498)]

m kok k rdz ‘his/her uncle’

āk k rdzk n s ri m ‘My uncle’s name is Saring.’

k r n. (c) ‘pan, utensil, cauldron, (esp. for cooking, frying, boiling) ~puki (pl) ‘pans’

cf. SYN k nTi

k r mi thokporo/kyo lopts ‘to boil the christophine in the cauldron’

k nTi šy ts ‘to wash the pan’

k r prolts 'to break the pan'  
 k r mi r :b lopo 'Boil the potato in the pan.'  
 gom k nTi šy t 'I washed the pan.'

k rmots n. (u) 'iron' cf. SYN th ~k r  
 k rmots nu l lmots 'iron and copper'

k ts vt. 'to cook' k tu 'cooked' k šo 'cooked' NEG m ~ 'to not cook'  
 k<sup>h</sup> m k<sup>h</sup> i k ts 'to cook rice and curry'  
 t w m mi k<sup>h</sup> m k tu 'Tawama cooked the rice.'  
 go n ll dz t kdz t k ts dzo.:nu 'I know how to cook all varieties of  
 food.'  
 gomi k šo k<sup>h</sup> m bl(}r)ob 'The rice I've cooked will be tasty.'

k rth n. (c) 'conspiracy' ~pik (pl) 'conspiracies' ~p ts v. 'to conspire'  
 m kok k rth mi 'in his/her conspiracy'  
 go k rth dop d ~š m dzonu 'I do not know how to conspire.'

k ts rk<sup>h</sup> n. (c) 'kitchen' ~piky (pl) 'kitchens'

k r(R/D) n. [N निगालो] 'a variety of bamboo esp small in size'

kikm s n. (c) 'rabbit' ~piky (pl) 'rabbits' cf. SYN tikkus  
 imitstsili kikm s 'a small hare'  
 k r tikkus 'a black rabbit'

kiky n. (c) [> kik] 'grandfather' cf. SYN koppo

kiky kun n. (c) [~ kitskun, kikkun] 'swallow' see cf. SYN dutskun

ki n. (c) [< wonki , monki ] 'telephone' ~piki (pl) 'telephones'  
 ki p ts 'to phone'  
 ki mi lop ts 'to talk on the phone'  
 m ko ki õth ki o 'Pull that telephone here.'  
 go ki p šo ky t th pts m ts bnu 'I cannot pay the money of the call I  
 made.'  
 ki po.:k n 'Please receive the phone.'  
 ki mi bl p<sup>h</sup> k l dz b 'There are bluff calls on the phone.'

ki lo n. (c) 'Radio, wireless' ~puki (pl)  
 ki lo n :ts 'to listen to the radio'  
 ki lo prolts 'to break the radio'  
 ki lo brolts 'to crack the radio (itself)'  
 thisunu gomi ki lo pr(}olt 'I broke the radio while falling down.'  
 āk b g ~yum mi s i ki lo l t m 'My grandmother sold the old radio.'

go nunik n ki lo n nu 'I listen to the Radio early in the morning.'

kilk<sup>h</sup> i n. (u) 'tomato'

kilk<sup>h</sup> i k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ)lumts 'to plant tomato'

kilk<sup>h</sup> i kil<sup>h</sup>ai kurpats 'to put tomato in the curry'

gyursšo kilk<sup>h</sup> i 'sour tomato'

m'išo kilk<sup>h</sup> i 'ripen tomato'

m ko kilk<sup>h</sup> i l l dumš m'im t 'The tomato has ripen having become red.'

k<sup>h</sup> imi kilk<sup>h</sup> i kurp šonu bl(ɔ)rɔb 'The curry becomes tasty while mixing tomato.'

gom kilk<sup>h</sup> i gy pts m lšo b 'I have to buy tomato.'

killo n. (c) 'a kind of blackbird which goes in pair' *myiophoneus caerulens* (N कल्युंडो  
k lc Do)

kim n. 'region, area' cf. SYN p im k<sup>h</sup>, p<sup>h</sup> ro

kipsur n. 'waist-belt' cf. kl tori (cul.)

kipsur p<sup>h</sup>r ~ts 'to bind a waist-belt'

gom āk kipsur murttang 'I washed my waist-belt.'

kirip n. (c) 'germ'

kirip nu m ikroskop 'germ and microscope'

m ikroskopmi kirip kosib 'The germ is observed with the microscope.'

kiriw ri n. (c) 'nightingale' ~pik (pl) 'nightingales'

kiriw rik kumso 'a song of the nightingale'

kisšy n. (c) [> kis] 'deer' ~puki (pl)

kimitspašo 'deer-eyed'

kisk ts ib 'baby deer'

kis budi rimšo 'beautiful like a deer'

kisk li dzoimi s itsts 'to kill the deer by the tiger'

kis pts 'to shoot a deer'

kis s itsts m dumb 'One is not allowed to kill the deer.'

goimi kis k t i? 'Did see a deer?'

m ko kis doth l m ? 'Where did the deer go?'

k'its vt. <sup>1</sup>'to breathe' k'itu (p, 3sg) 'breathed' k'išo (pp, adj.) 'breathed' NEG ~m 'to not breathe' <sup>2</sup>'to pull'

kits vt. 'to pull' kitu (p, 3sg) 'pulled' kišo (pp, adj.) 'pulled' NEG m ~ 'to not pull'

ki.:ts vt. 'to get burnt' [e.g., curry in the cooking pan]

kl(ɔ/r) to n. ‘waist’

kl(ɔ/r) to k<sup>h</sup> itsts ‘to ache the waist’

kl(ɔ/r) to p<sup>h</sup>r(l) ts ‘to tie the waist’

kl(ɔ/r) to himts ‘to shake the waist’

kl(ɔ/r) to nu kodz ‘waist and stomach’

āk kl(ɔ/r) tomi g r k glut ‘I have a wound on my waist.’

tamik kl(ɔ/r) to s pp k<sup>h</sup> itt n ‘The daughter’s waist ached unbearably, they say.’

kl tori n. ‘tribal belt to be tied on the waist’ [only of the Kir nti-Kōits tribe residing in Wallo(N) ‘near/hither’ Kir t] cf. kipsur

klon n. (c) ‘room’ ~piki (pl) ‘rooms’

dzikr’isho klon ‘a dark room’

klutsk<sup>h</sup> i n.(u) ‘broccoli’

gigi klutsk<sup>h</sup> i ‘green broccoli’

klutsk<sup>h</sup> i k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ/ɹ)umts ‘to plant broccoli’

klutsk<sup>h</sup> i nu bit min ‘broccoli and vitamin’

klutsk<sup>h</sup> i gigi dumb ‘Broccoli is green.’

ruw tspikimi klutsk<sup>h</sup> i k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ/ɹ)umnimi ‘The farmers plant broccoli.’

klutsk<sup>h</sup> i nu burk<sup>h</sup> m s pp n blob ‘The rice is very tasty with broccoli.’

klutsk<sup>h</sup> i gy pts maltawa ‘Let me buy broccoli.’

kō PAR ‘doubt, possibility particle’

kōits n. [< kōits vt.] ‘guide, head, leader’

kōits muru ‘Kōits man’

kōits k<sup>h</sup> lp ‘Kōits oldman’

kōitsk l ‘child of a Kōits’

kōits k<sup>h</sup>od šo ‘like a Kōits’

g yo kōits n ni? ‘Are you also a Kōits?’

go yo kōits n ‘I’m also a Kōits.’

kōits murupiki Mongoloid bo.:ts n mi ‘The Kōits people are of Mongoloid stock.’

kōits vt. [> kōits n.] ‘to show, guide, lead’ kōitu~kōit w (p, 3sg) kōišo (pp, adj.) NEG m ~ ‘to not show’

lā kōits (lit./fig.) ‘to show a path/to guide’

ts r g kōits (lit./fig.) ‘to show towards the sunrays/to lead towards the light’

kul kōits (lit./fig.) ‘to show the face/appear’

go ũko g p š kōinu ‘I’ll show by doing something.’

āk li rimšo g p kōido ‘show me by doing something good.’

gomi āk t uk li rimšo l kōit ‘I guided my son well.’

m nimp<sup>h</sup> m rimšo p kōit s ‘They two did something exemplary.’

- kōisi n. (c) ‘symbol’ -piki (pl)  
 kōisim ko:ts ‘to look at the symbol’  
 lā:k kōisi ‘symbol of the road’  
 kōisi ko:š l lā k<sup>h</sup>oitsts ‘to follow the road only after looking at the  
 symbol’  
 k<sup>h</sup>yōp tmi br(l) sišo kōisi ko n ‘Look at the symbol written in the book.’
- kōit n. (c) ‘ankle’ ~pik (pl) ‘ankles’  
 kōit k<sup>h</sup> itsts ‘to have the ankle-ache’  
 kōit ts’its ‘to clean the ankle’  
 kōit mi thosits ‘to get bumped in the ankle’  
 kōit mi g r kuts ‘to have a wound on the ankle’  
 m kok kōit mi g r kut ‘S/he has a wound on his/her ankle.’  
 āk t mimi kōit ts’is u ‘My daughter cleaned her ankle.’  
 p<sup>h</sup> ndz kom n. [S: Kir nti-Lim] cf. SYN kom
- koki n. ‘promise’ ~p ts vt. ‘to promise’
- koksid li n. (u) ‘fern’  
 koksid lik p<sup>h</sup>u m t sib ‘Fern’s flower is not seen.’
- kodzi n. (c) [> kodz] ‘stomach, tummy’ ~piki (pl) ‘tummies’  
 kodz thults (fig.) ‘to survive’  
 b rsšo/kolšo/T<sup>h</sup> b kodz ‘a big stomach’  
 m ko muru kodz kolšo b .:t ‘The man’s stomach is big.’  
 āk kodz kolšo dumtik go g .:ts n m ts bu ‘I cannot walk because of my  
 big stomach.’  
 goi dop iyo mmin mk kodz thults m ln y ‘You have to survive  
 yourself anyhow.’
- kolgi n. [~ koltsi] ‘soybean’  
 kolgi k rtsts ‘to roast the soybean’  
 dop blošo koltsi! ‘How delicious soybean!’
- ko lots n. (c) ‘gizzard’ ~piki (pl) ‘gizzards’  
 s pp T<sup>h</sup> b ko lots ‘very big gizzard’
- ko r ts n. ‘maize’ cf. SYN  
 ko r ts k<sup>h</sup> ts ‘to peel off the maize’
- ko šyi n. (c) ‘plough’ cf. SYN gurip
- kom n. [S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘a kind of harp made up of reed’ ~piki (pl) ‘harps’  
 p<sup>h</sup> ndz kom ‘a kind of harp made up of iron’

kom t pts 'to play a reed-harp'  
 p<sup>h</sup> ndz kom m t pts 'not to play an iron-harp'  
 m ko m'isy lmi kom nu p<sup>h</sup> ndz kom t pts dzob 'The girl knows how to  
 play the reed and iron-harp.'

koppo n. (c) [Kir nti-Rod + nat] 'grandfather' ~pik (pl) 'grandfathers' FEM koppom,  
 b g cf. SYN kiky ~kiki (grandpa's father)

kop<sup>h</sup>l t s adj. [CMP kop<sup>h</sup>l +t :ts >t s] 'selfish' cf. SYN kuid ANT m rit s  
 kop<sup>h</sup>l t s muru dumts 'to be a selfish man'  
 kop<sup>h</sup>l t s hopon msi m dumts 'not to be a selfish politician'  
 kuid t u k 'a selfish son'  
 āk t u s pp kuid dumt 'My son became very much selfish.'  
 n ll hopon msipiki kop<sup>h</sup>l t s m dumnimi 'All politicians are not selfish.'

ko.:k n. (c) 'stick' ~piky (pl) 'sticks'  
 k<sup>h</sup> lp /k<sup>h</sup>ušyok ko.:k 'stick of the old man'  
 āk ko.:k 'my stick'  
 ko.:k th :ts 'to tread with the help of stick'  
 ko.:k mi th itsts 'to beat with the stick'  
 gomi āk ko.:k s mt 'I lost my stick.'  
 āk ko.:k rimšo b 'My stick is beautiful.'

ko:ts vt. 'to look, see, watch' ko:tu (p, 3sg) ko:šo (pp, adj.) NEG m ~ 'not to look'  
 lā ko:ts (fig.) 'to wait somebody'  
 kulmi ko:ts 'to look at the face'  
 ko:ts min komumts 'to look then to look at each other'  
 gonimp<sup>h</sup> m k sinim k tasku 'We two watched a film.'  
 āk li m k o 'Don't look at me.'  
 Y lu mi b'i-by p<sup>h</sup> ko:tu 'Yalung looked after the cattle.'

ko.:ts vt. 'to peck, bite' ko:tu (p, 3sg) ko:šo (pp, adj.) NEG m ~ 'not to bite'  
 ko.:ts 'tsitau 'going to peck'  
 p<sup>h</sup> busmi ko.:ts 'to bite by a cobra'  
 busmi muruk li ko.:b 'The snake bites man.'  
 m ko alk li bus k mi ko.:tu 'A snake bit the child.'  
 p<sup>h</sup> busmi ko:šo m r blōits n m ts bsib 'One cannot survive the cobra-  
 bite.'

kormots 'Kormocha clan in K-K 'landslide-so-INF (vt.) 'to take place a landslide' (n.)  
 'one who dwelt in a landslide taking area' [korom yolšo tsu (n)tsimi b :šo  
 p tik m kormots dumšo (p/c with Lp. Mulicha-Sunuwar)]

koro n. 'landslide, landfall'

korom yolts ‘to be flooded by landslide’

korm p<sup>h</sup> n. ‘title, rank, profession’

kos n. (c) ‘illustration’ ~piki(pl)

kosmi ko:ts ‘to look at the illustration’

kos ko n minu l ssi br .:tin ‘Look at the illustration and answer.’

kosp<sup>h</sup>u n. (c) ‘orchid’ ~piky (pl) ‘orchids’

kr(})aitsts vt. ‘to bite’ kr(}) ittu /kr(}) itt w (p, 3sg) kr(}) isšo (pp, adj.) NEG m ~ ‘not to bite’

kutsummi kr(}) itsts ‘to bite by a dog’

k n kutsummi kr(}) itsts ‘to bite by a mad dog’

m ko kutsummi kr(})ib ‘The dog bites.’

k<sup>h</sup>ui k k li kutsummi kr(}) ittu ‘The dog bit a thief.’

m ko lnimp<sup>h</sup> kr(}) imumt s ‘The two children bit each other.’

m ko k r ky rsšy mi āk p r gui kr(}) itt w ‘The black goat bit my left hand.’

kr(}) t t n. (u) ‘yogurt’ cf. SYN huluk

kr(})omts vt. ‘to strike with an object’ kr(})omtu (p, 3sg) ‘stroke’ kr(})omšo (pp, adj.) ‘stricken’

NEG m ~ ‘not to strike’ see cf. SYN pts (gen.) ‘shoot, strike’

p<sup>h</sup>uilum kr(})omtsa ‘to strike with a stone’

p<sup>h</sup>uth m pts ‘to shoot with a gun’

m ko k<sup>h</sup>uik li puth mi po ‘Shoot the thief with a gun.’

b<sup>i</sup>-by p<sup>h</sup>k li p<sup>h</sup>uilum kr(})omdo ‘Strike the cattle with a stone.’

kroku n. (c) ‘toad, frog’ ~piky ‘toads, frogs’

kroku k<sup>h</sup>od b pr(}/l) ts ‘to jump like a toad’

kroku nu domli ‘toad and pool’

kroku gy itsts ‘to catch a frog’

m ko domli k roku m s t n ‘Don’t kill the frog of that pool.’

kroku domlimi thisib ‘Toad is found in the pool.’

m ko l k roku k<sup>h</sup>od bp pl(}/r) tu ‘The child jumped like a frog.’

kud n. ‘millet-bread esp thick in size’

kud tsots ‘to cook a thick millet-bread’

kugy n. (c) ‘prize’ ~piki (pl) ‘prizes’

kugy gl ts ‘to win a prize’

kuid adj. cf. SYN kop<sup>h</sup>l t s

kuitsts vt. [marked for spatial deixies; Mokusu as a consultant in NK Rai (2002)] ‘to bring down (vertical)’ kuittu (p, 3sg) ‘brought down’ kuisšo (pp, adj.) ‘brought down’ cf. SYN hitsts , pitsts , ts .:ts NEG m ~ ‘not to bring up’

kuk r n. [S: Eng] ‘pressure cooker’ ~piki (pl)  
 kuk r k gy pts ‘to buy a pressure cooker’  
 kuk r šy ts ‘to clean the pressure cooker’  
 kuk r nu gy s ‘pressure cooker and gas’  
 mul t āk k ts rk<sup>h</sup> mi kuk r br(D)olt ‘A pressure cooker broke (itself) in my kitchen today.’  
 gomi n k k kuk r gy pt ‘I bought a new pressure cooker.’

k kubulu n. (c) ‘pigeon’ ~piki (pl) ‘pigeons’ cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup> mb rbi  
 k kubulu nu tsorp msi ‘pigeon and peace’

kuli n. [> kul] ‘face’ [cf. *kul* Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 131, 497)]  
 kul kōits (fig.) ‘to appear’  
 kul nu g sdus ‘face and manner’  
 kul k<sup>h</sup>uitsts (fig.) ‘to hide’  
 y h mi mun mi kul k<sup>h</sup>uitt w ‘Yehang hid himself because of shame.’  
 goi ik kul ts’iso ‘Wash your face.’  
 Kir nti-Kōits mulk mmi misy murupikim kul sumts m m lb ‘The women should not veil their face the the Kir nti-Kōits culture.’

kulim n. (c) ‘morpheme’ ~pik(pl) ‘morphemes’  
 kulim nu durd ‘morpheme and word’

kumso n. (c) ‘song’ ~piki (pl) ‘songs’  
 kumso nu šyil ‘song and dance’  
 kumsopaib ‘singer’

kumsop ts vt. ‘to sing’ kumsop ptu (p, 3sg) ‘sang’ kumsop šo (pp, adj.) ‘sung’  
 goi kumsop uo~p u ‘You sing a song.’  
 go kumsop ts m dzonu ‘I don’t know how to sing.’  
 goimi dop iyo kumsop ts m ln y ‘You have to sing anyhow.’  
 gonimp<sup>h</sup> m kumsop t sku ‘We two sang a song.’  
 suman muk<sup>h</sup>i m kumsop š āk li p itti ‘Suman Mukhia made me cry singing a song.’

kun n. (u) ‘smoke’ ~p ts (vt.) ‘to be smokey’  
 s pp kunp ts ‘to be smokey very much’  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup> mi d s pp kunp ib t ‘This house is very smokey.’

kupp<sup>h</sup>i n. [> kup<sup>h</sup>] ‘forehead, brow’

rimšo kupp<sup>h</sup>i (fig.) ‘fortunate’

kupp<sup>h</sup>imi br .:sišo adj. (fig.) ‘predestined’

kupp<sup>h</sup>imi pulu k pts (fig/lit) ‘to be a fakir/paste ashes on the forehead’

kupp<sup>h</sup>imi m br .:sišos m mar iyo p ts m ts bsib (fig fatalistic) ‘One cannot do anything unless s/he is fortunate.’

kurmidok<sup>h</sup> n. (c) ‘gift, present’

gyub mi l itt k kurmidok<sup>h</sup> ‘the gift to be taken in the marriage’

kuts vi. [< hits ; marked for spatial deixies (Mokusu as consultant in NK Rai (2002))

‘to come up’ (verticality) kut (p, 3sg) ‘came up’ kušo (pp, adj.) ‘come up’

cf. SYN its , pits , dz .:ts

kutsu n. (u) ‘chest’ [of male/female]

kutsu thots ‘to beat/bit the chest’

kutsumi t’ itsts ‘to kick on the chest’

kutsu p’uts ‘to measure the chest’

ãk kutsu k<sup>h</sup> isšo maš ‘My chest pain has not been recovered.’

gonu kutsu sumt k w sam mab ‘I do not have even a piece of cloth to cover my chest.’

kutsutupsi n. [< kutsutupts (fig.)] cf. SYN l pp ‘gambling’

kutsum n. <sup>1</sup>(c) ‘dog’ ~piki (pl)

kutsum nu b rmo ‘dog and cat’

kutsum ho:b ‘A dog barks.’

kutsummi k<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> l p ib ‘A dog guards the house.’

<sup>2</sup>(c) tab. kutsum k<sup>h</sup>od šo ‘a bad behavior’

kutsum k<sup>h</sup>oip m hirsšo ‘Don’t roam aimlessly.’

m ko muru d kutsum k<sup>h</sup>od šon b .:t ‘That man is really bad.’

kuro n. (c) ‘load’

h lšo kuro kurtsts ‘to carry a heavy load’

k urtsts vt. ‘to carry’ kurttu ‘carried’ (p, 3sg) kursšo ‘carried’(pp, adj.) NEG m ~ ‘to not carry’

k<sup>h</sup>yōp t a kurtsts ‘to carry a book’

al kurts (fig./lit.) ‘to be pregnant/to carry the child’

lo: kurtsts (fig.) ‘to spy’

m ko misy murumi l kurssšo b .:t ‘The woman has become (is)

pregnant.’

gomi r ssik<sup>h</sup> lašonu sã k<sup>h</sup>yōp t kurtt ‘I carried three books while going to the school.’

gom āk lo bk li b l m kurtt 'I carried my younger brother on the shoulder.'

kurp ts vt. 'to put' kurp ptu (p, 3sg) 'put' kurp šo (pp, adj.) 'put' NEG -m - 'to not put'

g rmi šyābu kurp ts 'to put millet-liquor in the soil-pot'

gy bimi bl tik kurp ts 'to put a pen in the bag'

tsu dz bimi gui kurp ts 'to put hand in the pocket'

āk m m mi g rmi dzirm kurp mt m 'My mother stored the millet-liquor in the soil-pot.'

gomi gy bimi k<sup>h</sup>yōp t kurp t 'I put the book in the bag.'

kusul n. (u) 'skin, leather'

kusul r ksuts 'to itch the skin'

āk kusul r ksut 'My skin itched.'

ky br ts n. 'name of a month i.e. February'

ky br ts sin 'the month of February'

p<sup>h</sup>asi nu ky br ts 'wind and February'

ky br ts sinmi s p<sup>h</sup> pik d'onimi 'Leaves fall in the month of February.'

ky br tsmi gyub pats rimšon dumb 'It's suitable to get married in February.'

ky br tsmi s pp p<sup>h</sup> s p ib 'It's windy in February.'

ky -b -ts n. 'Kyabacha clan in K-K' 'UR-V-INF (v.i) 'to stay, sit' (n.) 'one who stays or sits'

go ky b ts n 'I am Kyabacha.'

ky d lu n. 'meeting point, place'

k ky d lumi 'in a meeting point'

ky itsts vt. [<sub><</sub> kyuitsts , tsuitsts ] 'to insert into, fasten, fix, tuck, thrust in' ky ittu (p, 3sg) 'inserted' ky isšo (pp, adj.) 'inserted' NEG m ~ 'not to insert'

piy mi p<sup>h</sup>u( ) ky itsts 'to thrust in flower on the head'

tsāmi ribin ky itsts 'to tuck ribbon in the hair'

t umi l ptsomi p<sup>h</sup>u( ) ky tt w 'The son fixed the flower on the door.'

gomi t mi piy mi ky t ky itt 'I thrust money on the daughter's head.'

ky ki n. (c) 'enemy' ~pik (pl) 'enemies' cf. SYN ribb ts

murk ky ki mur 'man's enemy man'

āk ky kimi h r l s itti 'My enemy almost killed me.'

ky mts vt. 'to erase' ky mtu (p, 3sg) 'erased' ky mšo (pp, adj.) 'erased' NEG m ~ 'to not erase'

rimšop ky mts 'to erase properly'

ky ts vt. 'to carry from one place to another, move sth from one place to another' ky tu (p, 3sg) 'carried from one place to another' ky šo (pp, adj.) 'carried from one place to another' NEG m ~ 'not to carry from one place to another'

šyi ky ts 'to carry, move firewood'

p<sup>h</sup>uilu ky ts 'to carry, move stone'

k gi l g l k<sup>h</sup>i g ky ts 'to carry, move the yam from outside to inside'

w kil sosm l ky ts 'to carry, move grass from the jungle'

m ko lnimp<sup>h</sup> mi r b l g l k<sup>h</sup>i g ky t s 'They (two) children moved the potato from outside to inside.'

mimi bōth r l bw ku ky tu 'The elder sister carried water from the tap.'

ky ršy n. (c) [> ky rš] 'goat' ~piky (pl) 'goats'

ky ršy pik thults 'to tame goats'

ky ršpik k<sup>h</sup> lp ts 'to shepherd goats'

gomi ky rš k<sup>h</sup> lp t 'I shepherded the goat.'

n rumi m ko ky rš l tu 'Naru sold his goat.'

sin t siw rk mi ky rš k s ittu 'A jackal killed a goat yesterday.'

ky t n. (c) 'lotus' cf. SYN lormip<sup>h</sup>u( )

l bw k nu ky t 'mud and lotus'

rimšo ky t 'a beautiful lotus'

lormip<sup>h</sup>uk r lp<sup>h</sup>u 'a garland of the lotus'

ky t k tsu m b b 'Lotus has no thorn.'

lormip<sup>h</sup>u l bw kmi boib 'Lotus blooms in the mud.'

m ko ky t dop rimšo b .m i! 'How beautiful the lotus is!'

ky t n. (gen.) 'money'

sus ky t ts mts 'to earn a lot of money'

gonu ky t m b 'I don't have any money.'

kyo n. (c) 'christophine' cf. SYN thokporo

kyortsts vt. [> tsortsts ] 'to cut into pieces' (esp. in/animate objects of big size, solid e.g. potato, goat etc.) cf. SYN (other similar verbs, k<sup>h</sup>r( )/l)oitsts , ts .:ts ,

pr( ) ts , 'rits ) kyorttu (p, 3sg) kyorsšo (pp, adj.) NEG m ~ 'to not cut'

gomi m ko r b imitstsilip kyortt 'I cut that potato into small pieces.'

ts ntsimi šy kyorttu 'Centsi cut the meat.'

kyuts <sup>1</sup>to prophesize, <sup>2</sup>lift up' cf. SYN <sup>2</sup>ts'uts

kyuitsts vt. [> tsuitsts ] See tsuitsts

kyu -t'í-ts n. 'KyuiNtcha clan in Kir nti-Kōits (Sun(u)war/Mukhia tribe)' 'UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to separate, filter' (n.) 'one who separates'

f 𑖇 k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> /

k<sup>h</sup> n. 'axe'

k<sup>h</sup> nu šyi 'the axe and the firewood'  
gom k<sup>h</sup> m šyi kyortt 'I cut the firewood with the axe.'

k<sup>h</sup> d n. (c) 'crow' ~piky (pl)

k r k<sup>h</sup> d k 'a black crow'  
k<sup>h</sup> d nu k lots'ib 'crow and cuckoo'  
k<sup>h</sup> dk :.p<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>uip ts (fig.) 'to be very clever'  
k<sup>h</sup> d k ts'ib me 'Crow is a bird.'  
k<sup>h</sup> d nu k lo ts'ib m gr n si 'Crow and cuckoo cannot be friends.'  
n ll k<sup>h</sup> dpiki k r m dumnimi 'All crows aren't black.'

k<sup>h</sup> dits adj. 'clever' cf. SYN tsil w l

siwarbudi k<sup>h</sup> dits 'clever like a jackal'

k<sup>h</sup> k 'discussion' ~p ts 'to discuss' cf. lo:lišyāk

rimšop k<sup>h</sup> k p ts 'to discuss well'

k<sup>h</sup> l n. (c) 'mortar' ~piky (pl) 'mortars'

k<sup>h</sup> lo: 'invocation' ~p ts (v) 'to invoke'

k<sup>h</sup> lp n. (c) 'old man' ~piky (pl) <sup>1</sup>'old men' FEM k<sup>h</sup> lpi (col. esp. spoken by teens in informal situation) cf. SYN (fig.) k<sup>h</sup>ušyo FEM k<sup>h</sup>ušyom

k<sup>h</sup> lp nu k<sup>h</sup> lpi 'the old man and the old woman'

k<sup>h</sup> lp mi 'by the old man'

m ko k<sup>h</sup> lp k p<sup>h</sup>t (fig.) 'The old man passed away.'

m sru k<sup>h</sup> lp g n b :.m' ? 'When did the old man of Masru die?'

~ko k<sup>h</sup> lp mi āk l tuptu 'This old man beat me.'

<sup>2</sup>'pun, wordplay'

~k ~ko k<sup>h</sup> lpak l k<sup>h</sup> lp b :.ti 'I've been staying here by guarding this old man.'

k<sup>h</sup> lp ts vt. 'to guard' k<sup>h</sup> lp ptu (p, 3sg) 'gurded' k<sup>h</sup> lp šo (pp, adj.) 'guarded' NEG - m - 'to not guard'

kutsummi k<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> lp ib 'A dog guards the house.'

k<sup>h</sup> m (c, u) 'cooked rice'

k<sup>h</sup> m nu k<sup>h</sup> i 'rice and curry'

gom k<sup>h</sup> m dz ts m lb ‘I must have the rice.’  
 burk<sup>h</sup> m dz n dz n šyil p np n (rhy.)

k<sup>h</sup> pkyu n. (c) ‘bus’ ~piky (pl) ‘buses’  
 k<sup>h</sup> pkyu dorp ts ‘to drive a bus’  
 k<sup>h</sup> pkyu p<sup>h</sup> pindo ‘bus accident’  
 k<sup>h</sup> pkyu gy pts ‘to buy a bus’  
 sus murupiki k<sup>h</sup> pkyu p<sup>h</sup> pindomi b t m ‘Many people died in the bus  
 accident.’  
 r po k<sup>h</sup> pkyu dorp ib ‘Rengpo is a bus driver.’  
 gomi k<sup>h</sup> pkyu k gy pt ‘I bought a bus.’

k<sup>h</sup> r n. ‘curiosity’  
 āk k<sup>h</sup> r ‘my curiosity’

k<sup>h</sup> rsšo adj. ‘expensive’ ANT m k<sup>h</sup> rsšo  
 k<sup>h</sup> rsšo sōth ‘an expensive shirt’

k<sup>h</sup> ts vt. ‘to resist’

k<sup>h</sup> ldi n. [S: Kir nti-Lim +nat] ‘doubt’ v. ~p ts (See p ts )  
 gom k<sup>h</sup> ldi p šo budin dumt ‘It happened the same what I doubted.’

k<sup>h</sup> i n. (c, u) ‘curry’  
 k<sup>h</sup> m nu k<sup>h</sup> i ‘cooked rice and curry’  
 k<sup>h</sup> i k ts ‘to cook the curry’  
 k<sup>h</sup> i lopts ‘to boil the curry’  
 go homoknu k<sup>h</sup> m -k<sup>h</sup> i dz inu ‘I eat cooked rice-curry with milk.’  
 gig k<sup>h</sup> i k u ‘Cook the green vegetable.’  
 k t k k<sup>h</sup> i m r iyo m b ‘There is no curry to cook.’

k<sup>h</sup> itsts vi. ‘to ache, pain’ k<sup>h</sup> itt (p, 3sg) ‘ached’ k<sup>h</sup> isšo ‘ached’ NEG m ~ ‘not to  
 ache’

piy k<sup>h</sup> itsts ‘to have a headache’  
 lu gir k<sup>h</sup> itsts (lit./fig.) ‘to have a heartache/to feel sad emotionally’  
 āk k<sup>h</sup> isšo k<sup>h</sup> oili m s ‘My leg-pain hasn’t recovered.’  
 limd mi m ko kodz k<sup>h</sup> itt d ~š d ~tu ‘Limde said that she had a  
 stomachache.’

k<sup>h</sup> :ts vt. ‘to tear’ k<sup>h</sup> :tu (p, 3sg) ‘tore’ k<sup>h</sup> :šo (pp, adj.) ‘torn’ NEG m ~ ‘not to tear’

k<sup>h</sup> :lts vt. ‘to mix, blend, mingle sth (non-living) together’ k<sup>h</sup> ltu (p, 3sg) ‘mixed’  
 k<sup>h</sup> lšo (pp, adj.) ‘mixed’ NEG m ~ ‘not to mix’  
 k<sup>h</sup> m nu k<sup>h</sup> i k<sup>h</sup> :lts ‘to mix cooked rice and curry’  
 šy rmi n msi k<sup>h</sup> :lts ‘to mix perilla in uncooked rice’

gomi šy rmi tsirsp<sup>h</sup> s k<sup>h</sup> lt 'I mixed the millet-flour in the rice.'  
 homokmi h'is`i mak<sup>h</sup> ldo 'Don't mix salt in the milk.'

k<sup>h</sup> lsi n. (c) 'syllable' ~piky (pl) 'syllables'

k<sup>h</sup> lsits vt. 'to get mixed itself' k<sup>h</sup> lsis u (p, 3sg) 'got mixed itself' k<sup>h</sup> lsišo (pp, adj.)  
 'got mixed itself'  
 bw kumi k<sup>h</sup> pdzil k<sup>h</sup> lsits m ts bb 'Petrol cannot get mixed in the water  
 itself.'

k<sup>h</sup> pts vt. 'to pile up' k<sup>h</sup> ptu (p, 3sg) 'piled up' k<sup>h</sup> pšo (pp, adj.) 'piled up' NEG m ~  
 'to not pile up'

k<sup>h</sup> pslo: n. (c) 'mystery' ~pik (pl) 'mysteries' cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup>rislo:  
 k<sup>h</sup>rislo: m p ts 'not to talk indirectly (fig.)'

k<sup>h</sup> rbi n. (c) 'peacock' ~piky (pl) 'peacocks' FEM k<sup>h</sup> rbim  
 k<sup>h</sup> rbi nu w sr lu 'peacock and rainbow'  
 k<sup>h</sup> rbimk šyil 'dance of the peahen'  
 k<sup>h</sup> rbimk p<sup>h</sup>ur/Tig 'colour of the peahen'  
 w sr lu tašonu k<sup>h</sup>rbim šyil p ib 'The peahen dances while seeing the  
 rainbow.'  
 k<sup>h</sup> rbim ts'ibpikimi s pp rimšo dumb 'Peahen is the most beautiful  
 amongst birds.'  
 k<sup>h</sup> rbi mur k<sup>h</sup>od ~šop b 'Peacock weeps like man.'

k<sup>h</sup> ´ par. (esp. used for warning)  
 dz mš l ni k<sup>h</sup> ´ (used by Tankram Sunuwar in a K-K song)

k<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> adj. 'pure, holy' ANT d t

k<sup>h</sup> ts vt. 'to peel' k<sup>h</sup> ptu (p, 3sg) 'peeled' k<sup>h</sup> pšo (pp, adj.) 'peeled' NEG m ~ 'not to  
 peel'  
 lopšo r b k<sup>h</sup> ts 'to peel off the boiled potato'  
 ko r ts/ k<sup>h</sup> ts 'to peel off the maize, corn'  
 Ts rimi r b k<sup>h</sup> ptu 'Tsengri peeled off the potato.'  
 gomi mugi k<sup>h</sup> t 'I peeled off the banana.'  
 m ko mišy mur k<sup>h</sup> nk<sup>h</sup> n b /b .:t 'The woman is/was peeling off the  
 maize.'

k<sup>h</sup>lo:pts vt. 'to stagger' k<sup>h</sup>lo:ptu (p, 3sg) 'staggered' k<sup>h</sup>lo:pšo (pp, adj.) 'staggered' NEG  
 m ~ 'to not stagger'

k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ/l) .:ts vt. 'to oil'

k<sup>h</sup>r (ɔ/l) pts ‘to clip’

k<sup>h</sup> rtsts vt. ‘to chase’ k<sup>h</sup> rtu (p, 3sg) ‘chased’ k<sup>h</sup> ršo (pp, adj.) ‘chased’ NEG m ~ ‘not to chase’  
 my s k<sup>h</sup> rtsts ‘to chase the buffalo’  
 tistoli k<sup>h</sup> rtsts ‘to chase the chick’  
 bw k<sup>h</sup> rtsts ‘to chase the fowl’  
 gomi p<sup>h</sup>urul ky rs k<sup>h</sup> rt ‘I chased the goat from the garden.’  
 m ko ts’ibi k<sup>h</sup> ro ‘Chase that bird.’

k<sup>h</sup>rislo: n. ‘agreement’ cf. SYN bissilo:

k<sup>h</sup> n. (c) ‘house’ ~piky (pl) ‘houses’ [cf. *k<sup>h</sup>im*; in other Kir nti languages e.g. Rod., Ban., Wam., Lim. *si k<sup>h</sup>im, him* (my own data) and *kem* Kir nti-Ha; Shakya (1971: 92)]  
 b .:tik k<sup>h</sup> ‘a house for living’  
 k<sup>h</sup> šy lts ‘to build a house’  
 k<sup>h</sup> dz ts (fig esp. for women) ‘to succeed in marriage’  
 k<sup>h</sup> m dumts (fig. for both men and women) ‘not to succeed in marital life, e.g. not to be able to give birth to a child’  
 c limk k<sup>h</sup> l isšo b .:t ‘Calim’s house is tall.’  
 soth m ko n k k<sup>h</sup> mi b .:b ‘Sothe lives in that new house.’  
 cursimi k<sup>h</sup> mi m dz u ‘Cursi’s marital life is not successful.’

k<sup>h</sup> r gy n. ‘vicinity’ cf. SYN y kl k

k<sup>h</sup> mb rbi n. (c) ‘pigeon’ ~piky (pl) ‘pigeons’ cf. SYN k kubulu  
 k<sup>h</sup> mb rbi gyaitsta ‘to catch a pigeon’  
 k kubulu nu tsorp msi (fig.) ‘pigeon and peace’  
 k kubulu nu k<sup>h</sup> ‘pigeon and house’  
 k<sup>h</sup> mb rbi k li tsorpemsike kōisi denimi ‘Pigeon is known as the symbol of peace.’  
 k<sup>h</sup> mb rbi khodebpa nam p ts malb ‘One should love like a couple of pigeon.’

k<sup>h</sup> n. adj., postp, adv. [~ g ] ‘inside’ ANT l g

k<sup>h</sup> r gy n. ‘vicinity’ (*N टोल*) cf. SYN kl k

k<sup>h</sup> wã n. (u) ‘thatch, straw, reeds’  
 k<sup>h</sup> wã r’its ‘to cut the reeds’  
 k<sup>h</sup> wãmi k<sup>h</sup> s psib ‘A house is thatched with reeds.’  
 k<sup>h</sup> wã som l yo dumb ‘Reeds are used as grass also.’  
 b’iby p<sup>h</sup>mi k<sup>h</sup> wã dz inimi ‘Cattle munch the thatch/reeds.’

k<sup>h</sup>intsi hang pers. n. ‘Kir nti ancestor of B .:yung and Kōits’

k<sup>h</sup>is n. (c) ‘legend, story, tale’ ~piki (pl) ‘legends’

k<sup>h</sup>lāt adj. ‘troublesome’ ANT rimšo, m k<sup>h</sup>lāt

k<sup>h</sup>lāt al ‘troublesome child’

k<sup>h</sup>lāt murupiky ‘troublesome people’

k<sup>h</sup>lāt b<sup>h</sup>iby p<sup>h</sup> ‘troublesome cattle’

k<sup>h</sup>lāt m dumts ‘not to be a troublesome’

~ko al sappa k<sup>h</sup>lāt ba.:t ‘This child is very troublesome.’

~ko k<sup>h</sup>lāt ky rsšy mi th mp n šy t g ti ‘This troublesome goat troubled me truly.’

k<sup>h</sup>lihimts vt. (fig.) ‘to expose’

k<sup>h</sup>rislo: k<sup>h</sup>lihimts ‘to expose a secret/mystry’

k<sup>h</sup>lopts vt. ‘to settle’ k<sup>h</sup>loptu ‘settled’ (p, 3sg) k<sup>h</sup>lopšo (pp) ‘settled’ NEG m ~ ‘to not settle’

k<sup>h</sup>oili n. [> k<sup>h</sup>oil] ‘leg’ ~piky (pl) ‘legs’

k<sup>h</sup>oil th .:ts (lit./fig.) ‘to trample/to be independent’

k<sup>h</sup>oil nu gui ‘hand and leg’

k<sup>h</sup>oil k<sup>h</sup>aitsts ‘to have a leg-pain’

k<sup>h</sup>oil th .:ts m ts bts ‘not to be able to be independent’

gom s pp šy t dz š l k<sup>h</sup>oil th’ t ‘I was able to independent only after undergoing much trouble.’

āk k<sup>h</sup>oili k<sup>h</sup> itt ‘My leg ached.’

k<sup>h</sup>od n. ‘rhino’

T<sup>h</sup> b k<sup>h</sup>od k ‘a big rihno’

ts ib k<sup>h</sup>od k ‘a baby rihno’

k<sup>h</sup>ōd b adj. [~ k<sup>h</sup>ōd šo, budi] ‘like, similar to, for example’

šyāk budi dortsts ‘to run like a leopard’

gom d ~šo k<sup>h</sup>od b ‘as, like I said’

... k<sup>h</sup>ōd šo ‘...for instance, example’

m ko l siw r budi ho.:tu ‘The baby howled like a jackal.’

gom d ~šo k<sup>h</sup>ōd b p pt i n šy t m dz in y ‘You’ll not be in trouble if you do as I advised.’

Kir nti- Kōits lo:mi nišw .:tsi dumb , k<sup>h</sup>ōd šo: br .:nu br .:n sku nu

br .:niki. ‘There is dual number in the Kir nti-Kōits language, for instance, I write, we two write and we write.’

k<sup>h</sup>op n. (c) ‘place, space’ ~puk (pl) ‘places’

gom kōišo k<sup>h</sup>op ‘the place I showed’

m bl’išo~šy th k<sup>h</sup>op ‘the blank space’

m bl'išo k<sup>h</sup>opmi br :.tin 'Fill in the blank space.'  
 gomi ~ko k<sup>h</sup>op m d tu 'I didn't like this place.'  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup>op rimšo b :.t 'This place is beautiful.'

k<sup>h</sup>opl t s adj. cf. SYN kuid

k<sup>h</sup>(})roitsts vt. 'to cut, chop into pieces' (esp. a log of wood, branches etc.) cf.  
 SYN (similar other verbs, kyortsts , ts :.ts , 'rits , pr(D) ts )

k<sup>h</sup>ots (fig. expression) See d itsts

k<sup>h</sup>rislo: n. (c) 'mystery' ~pik (pl) 'mysteries' cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup> pslo:

k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)oitst vt. 'to cut' (e.g., firewood, log into several small pieces; for other ways of  
 cutting see kyortsts , ts :.ts , r'its , pr(}/) ts ) k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)oittu (p, 3sg) 'cut'  
 k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)oisšo 'cut' NEG m ~ 'not to cut'  
 šyi k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)oitsts 'to cut the firewood'  
 k<sup>h</sup>uik gui k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)oitsts 'to cut the hand of a thief'  
 l lpiy mi k<sup>h</sup>uik k gui k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)oitt t 'The police cut the hand of a thief.'  
 gom šyi k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)oitt 'I cut the firewood.'

k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)umits n. 'strawberry'

h u k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)umits 'yellow strawberry'

k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)ui n. (c) 'tooth' ~piky (pl) 'teeth'

k<sup>h</sup>rui tults 'to uproot, pluck out the tooth'

k<sup>h</sup>rui himts 'to shake the tooth'

k<sup>h</sup>uik kirip 'germ of the tooth'

gomi k<sup>h</sup>rui tult m rd h n ~ko k<sup>h</sup> isšo b :.t 'I uprooted the tooth  
 because it ached.'

k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)umts vt. 'to plant' k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)umt u~tu 'planted' k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)umšo 'planted' NEG m ~  
 'not to plant'

tsirs k<sup>h</sup>rumts 'to plant the millet'

ruw tspiky mi ko r ts k<sup>h</sup>rumt m 'Farmers planted the corn.'

gomi p<sup>h</sup>u( )k lin k<sup>h</sup>rumt 'I planted the seedling of a flower.'

k<sup>h</sup>r(}/)olts vt. 'knock down' k<sup>h</sup>r(})oltu (p, 3sg) 'felled, knocked down' k<sup>h</sup>r(})olšo (pp,  
 adj.) 'felled, knocked down' NEG m ~ 'not to fell, knock down'

r w k<sup>h</sup>r(})olts 'to fell the tree'

gy rssimi muru k<sup>h</sup>r(})olts 'to knock down a man in the game'

tsu mi ky kik li k<sup>h</sup>r(})olts 'to knock down an enemy in wrestling'

ts mkumi rits mk li tsu mi k<sup>h</sup>r(})oltu 'Cemku knocked down Ricem in  
 wrestling.'

rib mmi omo kolso r w k<sup>h</sup>r(})old t 'Ribem has felled a big log.'

k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ)/l<sup>h</sup>ui n. (c) ‘tooth’ ~piki (pl) ‘teeth’  
 buš k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ)/l<sup>h</sup>ui ‘white tooth’

k<sup>h</sup>ubn ts n. ‘July’ (is the seventh month)  
 k<sup>h</sup>ubn ts nu r u ‘July and rain’  
 k<sup>h</sup>ubn tsmi koro ‘landslide in July’  
 k<sup>h</sup>ubn tsmi k<sup>h</sup>rumsi ‘plantation in July’  
 k<sup>h</sup>ubn tsmi r u ib ‘It rain in July.’  
 k<sup>h</sup>ubn tsmi bur k<sup>h</sup>rumsib ‘Paddy is planted in July.’  
 k<sup>h</sup>ubn tsm koro laib mard h n s pp r u ib ‘Landslide occurs in July  
 because it rains heavily.’

k<sup>h</sup>u n. (u) [S: Kir nti-Lim+nat] ‘syrup, a thick juice of raw sugarcane, treacle, honey’  
 (cf. k<sup>h</sup>u esp. of sugarcane) See surbu  
 s pp dzidz k<sup>h</sup>u ‘very sweet syrup’  
 k<sup>h</sup>u l ts ‘to sell the syrup’  
 k<sup>h</sup>u dz ts (fig.) ‘to get punishment, beaten’  
 ~ko b d lmi w isšo k<sup>h</sup>u sumi dz w ? ‘Who ate the syrup kept/stored in  
 this bottle?’  
 thokts n mi gund ri gy kosimi s pp k<sup>h</sup>u dz w t (fig. and ridiculed)  
 ‘Thoktsene was deadly beaten up in the Gunderi bazar.’

k<sup>h</sup> ru n. (u) [~ k<sup>h</sup> }u] ‘paper money, rupee’

k<sup>h</sup>ui n. (c) ‘thief’ ~piky (pl) ‘thieves’  
 k<sup>h</sup>uimi ‘by the thief’  
 k<sup>h</sup>ui p ts ‘to steal’  
 k<sup>h</sup>uil ‘from the thief’  
 k<sup>h</sup>ui nu l lpiy ‘the thief and the police’  
 k<sup>h</sup>uik b tsu ‘punishment of the thief’  
 k<sup>h</sup>uimi k<sup>h</sup>urmi yold t ‘The thief has stolen the sickle.’  
 k<sup>h</sup>ui p sin m p uo ‘Don’t steal.’  
 k<sup>h</sup>ui p šo m r b tsu th pts maln y ‘You’ve to pay fine while stealing.’

k<sup>h</sup>u si n. ‘pretence’  
 k<sup>h</sup>u si m’alts ‘to pick up a quarrel’ (See m’ lts for use)

k<sup>h</sup>uitsts vt. ‘to hide, conceal’ k<sup>h</sup>uitt w (p, 3sg) ‘hid’ k<sup>h</sup>uisšo (pp, adj.) ‘hidden’ cf. SYN  
 k<sup>h</sup>l(ɔ)/r<sup>h</sup>uitsts NEG m ~ ‘not to hide’  
 ky t k<sup>h</sup>uitsts ‘to hide the money’  
 lo:k<sup>h</sup>uitsts (fig.) ‘to be secret’  
 m ko w ilimi ky t k<sup>h</sup>uitt t ‘The servant has hidden the money.’  
 murupikim hopom b .:šo lo k<sup>h</sup>uitt m t ‘The people kept secret about the  
 death of the queen.’  
 mop lo mak<sup>h</sup>uitto ‘Don’t be secret that way.’

- k<sup>h</sup>uissits vt. 'to be hidden, concealed oneself' cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ̃)/ussits k<sup>h</sup>uissis u (p, 3sg)  
k<sup>h</sup>uissišo (pp, adj.)
- k<sup>h</sup>ults vt. 'to escort animal' k<sup>h</sup>ultu (p, 3sg) 'escorted animal' k<sup>h</sup>ulšo (pp, adj.) 'escorted  
animal' NEG m ~ 'to not escort animal'  
b<sup>h</sup>iby p<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ults
- k<sup>h</sup> -l<sup>h</sup>i-ca n. 'KhuNlichā clan in K-K' 'UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to put on, wear' (n.) 'one who puts  
on'
- k<sup>h</sup>usyo n. (c) [euph., see k<sup>h</sup> lp ] 'old man' FEM k<sup>h</sup>usyom ~piky (pl) 'old men'  
k<sup>h</sup>usyomi 'by the old man'  
k<sup>h</sup>usyomk li 'to the old woman'  
m ko k<sup>h</sup>usyo nu k<sup>h</sup>usyom t s 'The old man and woman wept.'  
K<sup>h</sup>usyomi piss u dop h n m rimšo rin p ptu 'The old man farted how  
because it smelt bad.'
- k<sup>h</sup>yol n. [~dzol] 'lie' See gyulp<sup>h</sup> ANT th m 'true'  
dzolp ts 'to lie'  
k<sup>h</sup>yol m p uo 'Don't lie.'  
Dzolp šonu m rimšo dumb 'It won't be better while lying.'  
K<sup>h</sup>yolp ts yo dzo:ts m lb 'One should also know how to lie.'
- k<sup>h</sup>yōp t n. (c) 'book, primer' ~piky (pl) 'books, primers'  
k<sup>h</sup>yōp t br .:ts 'to write a book'  
k<sup>h</sup>yōp t nu bl tik 'book and pen'  
k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk n m 'love of a book'  
k<sup>h</sup>yōp tpikk dākin 'a heap of books'  
m ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp t āk m' 'That red book is mine.'  
ts rp ndzimi sus k<sup>h</sup>yōp t ba:nimi 'There are many books in the library.'
- k<sup>h</sup>yōp tth m n. (c) 'library' ~piki (pl) 'libraries' cf. SYN ts rp ndzi
- k<sup>h</sup>yōp -ti-ts n. 'KhyoNpatichā clan in K-K' 'book-V-INF (v.t) 'to cover with a book,  
separate, filter' (n.) 'one who covers with a book or hides under the pile of  
books (p/c with Ganga Katichā [married to a Je<sup>h</sup>tichā clan]; narrated to me a  
war story in Tibet during the prehistoric time, where one hid himself under  
the piles of books and that is how the clanonym has been derived)
- k<sup>h</sup>yur n.(u) 'dehydration'  
k<sup>h</sup>yur p ts 'to dehydrate'  
go k<sup>h</sup>yur p t 'I'm suffered of dehydration.'  
k<sup>h</sup>yur p š h r l b .:ti 'I nearly died of dehydration.'

k<sup>h</sup>yur p šonu s pp hosbw k tuts m lb ‘One should drink a lot of water while suffering from dehydration.’

k<sup>h</sup>yur p šo lk li h’isi-bitsdzidz-bw k umts m lb ‘Salt-sugar- water should be fed to a child suffered from dehydration.’

ग ग g/g /

g d n. (c) ‘hoe’ ~piky (pl) ‘hoes’

g su n. (c, u) [> g s] ‘fog’ ~piky (pl) ‘fogs’

g su k<sup>h</sup> d dumts (fig.) ‘to be in confusion, directionless’

g su nu r u ‘fog and rain’

g sumi ‘in/by the fog’

g sumi m t ts ‘not to see in/by the fog’

g sumi sumts ‘to veil by the fog’

go g su k<sup>h</sup> d budi dumti ‘I am/was confused.’

gom g su p tik m lã m t ‘I couldn’t see the path because of fog.’

g rbu adj. big, elder cf. SYN T<sup>h</sup> b

g ri n. (c) [> g r] ‘soil pot’ ~piky (pl) ‘soil-pots’

g ršyi n. ‘a species of tree’ (N घुरमिसो)

g u num. [*guh* John Beams’ (1867) data]

yãnoł g u ‘ten after nine’

g u ky t ‘ten rupees’

g u bl ptso ‘ten fingers’

ãk li g u ky t g yini ‘Please give me ten rupees.’

ni : si guimi g u bl ptso b : nimi ‘There are ten fingers in two hands.’

gomi g u bw gy pt ‘I bought ten fowls.’

g ul n. see cf. SYN s u ‘hornet’

-g postp. ‘inside’

k<sup>h</sup>i g ‘inside the house’

l g ‘outside’

g ‘of inside’

pol g ‘inside the hole’

son g ‘inside the vagina’

k<sup>h</sup>i g o n /ots n il ‘Please get inside the house.’

r kmits pol g otu ‘The ant entered inside the hole.’

l g su pim’ ? (a speaker utters when s/he is inside the house) ‘Who came outside the house?’

- g its n. 'anger' ~p ts v. (See p ts )
- g itsts vi. 'to be angry'
- g l n. (u) 'sweat, perspiration' [cf. g :li Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 475]
- g lo: n. 'secrecy'  
g lo: m tuitsts 'to not understand the secrecy'
- g mth n. 'inner feeling'  
muru g mth 'man's inner feeling'
- g r n. (c) 'wound' ~piki (pl) 'wounds'  
g r nu n n 'wound and pus'
- g rtsts vt. 'to be alike, (fig.) ally'
- g rssi n. (c) [~ gart k ] 'rhyme, pair' ~piky (pl) 'rhymes'  
g rssi kumsop ts 'to sing a rhyme'  
g rssi br :ts 'to compose a rhyme'  
lpiki g rssipiky kumsop ts d nimi 'Children prefer singing rhymes.'
- g rtsts vt. 'to be similar, match' g rtt (p, 3sg) 'became similar, matched' garsšo  
'become similar, matched' NEG m ~ 'not be similar, not to match'  
lo g rtsts (fig.) 'come to the same conclusion'  
gyomli nu gyoml g rtsts (fig.) 'to be an ideal couple, match'  
goik nu āk lo gartta 'Both of us thought in the same line.'  
m konimp<sup>h</sup>a sappa garttase 'They two matched perfectly.'
- g sdus n. 'manner'
- g ts vi. [~ cf. k<sup>h</sup> ts ] 'to be torn' (itself) g t (p, 3sg) 'tore' g šo (pp, adj.) 'torn' NEG  
m ~ 'to not be torn'  
g šo ikl (fig.) 'hoarse voice'  
~ko wa g t 'This cloth tore away.'  
go ~ko g šo w m p<sup>h</sup> nu 'I don't wear this torn shirt.'  
~ko gyupth /kyupth mmin g t 'This cap tore away itself.'
- g :.ts vi 'to walk on foot' g :.t (p, 3sg) 'walked' g :.šo (pp, adj.) 'walked' NEG m ~  
'not to walk'  
ripp g :.ts 'to walk quickly'  
rōth konkon g :.ts 'to walk looking hither and thither'  
g :.šonu l ko:š l g :.ts m lb 'One should look at the path while  
walking.'

lo mul t k g .:ts ? 'Now where to move/walk?'  
k m b i lo g i 'Let's not stay here; let's walk.'

g .:tsi~g .:si n. (u) 'walking'

g n. (c) 'job, work, service' ~piky (pl) 'jobs, works'

g n. (c) 'nail' ~piky (pl) 'nails'

bl ptsok g 'nail of the finger'

g kyort (i)k 'nail-cutter'

g nu šy 'nail and flesh'

g milk l 'nail varnish'

gyošo g w itsts 'to keep a long nail'

gyošo g m odo 'Don't keep a long nail.'

w k murupikinu g nu šy k<sup>h</sup>od šop b .:ts m lb 'We have to live having good relationship with other people.'

-g adv., POSTP. 'to, towards, thither' (See also in *pith*) cf. SYN pith adv.  
pithg doro 'Run thither.'

g mdzo n. (c) 'dagger'

imitstsili g mdzo k 'a small dagger'

g n iyo adv. 'never'

~ko lmi g n iyo m rimšo m w .:b 'This child never speaks filthy things.'

g n iyo m l ts 'never to go'

gom g n iyo dzol lo m p 'I never spoke untrue facts.'

goi g n iyo mop th b lo: m p uo (fig.) 'Never be a impolite in that manner.'

g pl mt k n. 'solution' cf. SYN gyorb

g pl mt k glu ts 'to find out a solution'

g p<sup>h</sup>i n. (c) 'group' ~pik (pl) 'groups'

g p<sup>h</sup>imi b .:ts 'to stay in group'

g r r n. ono. 'a sound of fog rush, landslide etc.'

g r r p 'the sound in that manner'

g r r p koro l ts 'to landslide with such a unpleasant sound'

g rb n. (pl) 'alms'

g rsili n. 'happiness'

g rsili gy pts m t sib 'Happiness cannot be bought.'

g ts vt. 'to give' g ptu (p, 3sg) 'gave' g šo (pp, adj.) 'given' NEG m ~ 'not to give'  
 g rb g ts 'to give alms'  
 pu bk li ky t g ts 'to give money for the beggar'  
 lk li s pp dzidzmidz m g ts n rimšo dumb 'It's better not to give much  
 sweets to the children.'  
 āk k rdzmi gok l gigk g t m 'My uncle gave me a hundred rupees note.'

g tth adv.[> g tth; cf. iri > ir] 'up, above, to or at a higher level'[cf. g ttho Kir nti-Wam;  
 Opgenort 2002: 150, 475]

gigi adj.n. [> gig] 'green'  
 gigk<sup>h</sup> i 'green vegetable'  
 gig p<sup>h</sup>ur/Tig 'green colour'  
 gigk 'one hundred'  
 k gig r w 'a green tree'  
 gigi w (gigi; EMP meaning) 'very green cloth'  
 āk sōth gigi b 'My shirt is very green.'  
 gom gigk<sup>h</sup> i k t 'I cooked the green vegetable.'  
 go gig p<sup>h</sup>ur/tig rimšo m d nu 'I don't like green colour.'

gigits n. (c, u) 'April'  
 gigitsmi 'in April'  
 gigits nu n k mudi 'April and new year'  
 gigitsmi gig 'green in April'  
 gigitsmi p<sup>h</sup>u( )piki boinimi 'Flowers bloom in April.'  
 sinpikim gigits rimšon dumb 'April is beautiful among other months.'  
 ~ko gigitsmi gyub pa sib 'Marriage will be done in this April.'

gigyotsiri n. 'green dove' (N हल्लेसो)  
 gigyotsiri nu gom tsiri 'the green-dove and the golden-dove'  
 m ko r w m b .:šo gigyotsiri b rtt 'The green-dove sitting on the tree flew  
 away.'

gilots n. (c, u) 'December'  
 gilotsmi 'in December'  
 gilots nu gyu~dzu 'December and cold'  
 gilots utsitu dumb 'December is short'  
 gilotsnu gyu~dzu dumb 'It is cold in December.'  
 gilotsmi p<sup>h</sup> 'ib 'It snows in December.'

gim n. (c) <sup>1</sup>'body' <sup>2</sup>(fig.) 'life'(See also bō tsi) ~piky (pl) 'bodies'  
 āk gim 'my body'  
 ink gim 'your body'  
 gim nu giw t 'body and soul'

gim šy ltsi ‘body-building’

boits k li gim nu giw t k th n dumts m lb ‘Body and sould must exist together for survival.’

mk gimk li rimšop ko o ‘Take care of your body well.’

āk t u gim šy lsimi l ib ‘My son goes for a body-building.’

gimbō n. ‘physique’

āk gimbō ‘my physique’

gip<sup>h</sup>p<sup>h</sup> k n. ‘monopoly’

g’i:ruy n. ‘health’

gis adv. cf. SYN dis, doso

~ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk th gis m ? ‘How much does this book cost?’

giw t n. (c) ‘soul’

giw t b tsts ‘to call the soul’

gl(D/r)uts vt. ‘to appear, come out’ glut(u) (p, 3sg) ‘appeared’ glušo (pp, adj.)

‘appeared’ NEG m ~ ‘to not appear’

k<sup>h</sup>i g l la g gruts ‘to come outside from inside the house’

lāl k<sup>h</sup> mi gruts ‘to appear (at someone’s house) on the way’

go Mokusu k<sup>h</sup> mi gruti ‘I appeared at Mokusu’s house.’

bw kl r kmits glut ‘The ant came out of the water.’

gl(}/r)u ts vt. ‘to take sth out’ gl(}/r)u tu (p, 3sg) ‘took sth out’ gl(}/r)u šo ‘taken sth out’

CF.SYN p<sup>h</sup> tsts , solts

glum ts n. (c) ‘family’ ~pik (pl) ‘families’ cf. SYN ts sim si

glumts <sup>1</sup>to lose, <sup>2</sup>meet’ cf. SYN <sup>1</sup>s mts , dz mts

go pron. [< o historically] ‘I’

gonu ‘with me’

gol ‘from me’

gomi ‘by me’

āk l nu go ‘my child and me’

gomi t uk li br(}/l) sp t soitt ‘I sent a letter to my son.’

go gy koši l ti ‘I went to the market.’

go m kok li huinu ‘I scold him/her.’

~piky pron. [go (sg)+ piky (pl)] ‘we’

gopiki nu goi ‘we and you’

gopikinu ‘with us’

gopiki nu r gi ‘we and our country’

gopikimi ʔko k<sup>h</sup>yōp t br t k ‘We wrote this book.’  
 gopiki ʔko r gik li g th l iniki ‘We develop this country.’  
 gopiki āik lo: pl npl n l t k ‘We’re forgetting our mother tongue.’

go d n. (c) ‘donkey, ass’ cf. SYN t<sup>h</sup> b r  
 imitstsili go d ‘a small donkey’

gor n. (c) ‘line’ ~piky (pl) ‘lines’  
 kup<sup>h</sup>pik gor ‘the line of the forehead’

gots vt. ‘to start, begin’ gotu (p, 3sg) ‘started, began’ gošo (pp, adj.) ‘started, begun’  
 NEG m ~ ‘to not start’  
 g gots ‘to start a job’  
 mul gots ‘to start now’  
 õp n gots ‘to start in this manner’  
 m ko wā s lmi g gotu ‘The boy started a job.’  
 ʔko g dop iyo rip gots m lb ‘We have to start this job fast anyhow.’  
 bl sp t br{/l} šonu mop m gouo ‘Don’t start in that manner while writing a letter.’

gr’its vi. ‘to croak, shout’ gr’itu (p, 3sg) ‘croaked’ gr’išo (pp, adj.) ‘croaked’ NEG m ~  
 ‘not to croak’ cf. SYN w bl tsts  
 s pp gr’its ‘to croak very much’  
 mop m gr’its ‘not to croak that way’  
 kuku budi m gr’its ‘not to croak like a frog’  
 k mukotsmi došo gr’ime ‘What time is it in thy (your) watch?’  
 m ko kuku dop gr’im i...! ‘How disgustingly the frog croaked!’  
 goimi mop gr’išo gom m d :gu ‘I didn’t prefer your shouting in such a manner.’

grõ n. (c) ‘horn’ ~piky (pl) ‘horns’  
 by p<sup>h</sup>k grõ ‘horn of the ox’  
 gyošo grõ ‘a long horn’  
 utsituk grõ ‘a short horn’  
 hirsšo grõ ‘a rounded horn’  
 gomi my sk grõ dz’it ‘I broke the buffalo’s horn.’  
 grõ m t po ‘Don’t blow up the horn.’  
 kisy k grõ hirsu k<sup>h</sup>õd b b .:b ‘The deer’s horn is like a blade.’

gr{}olts vi. ‘to lie down’ groltu ‘lay down’ grolšo ‘lay down’ NEG m ~grolts ‘not to lie down’  
 k l k grolts ‘to lie down once’  
 šy t dz š grolts (fig.) ‘to have a rest after difficult hours’  
 go grolti h n po.:ko ‘Wake me if I lay down.’  
 m rupšo k<sup>h</sup>opmi õp grolts m dumb ‘You should not lie down in this manner in unknown place.’

goi ʔk gr()olo ‘You lie down here.’

gr()ulm n. ‘cymbal’

grumsi n. (c) ‘cluster’ ~piky (pl) ‘clusters’

gub bb n. ‘animal’

gudzil n. (c) ‘bicycle’ ~piky (pl) ‘bicycles’

gudzil nu hirtsw ts ‘bicycle and wheel’

gudzilk dzil ‘oil of the bicycle’

go gudzil ts l th dzonu ‘I know bicycling.’

m nk t u gudzill t<sup>h</sup> s u ‘Their son fell from the bicycle.’

ãlk li gudzilmi ts íptu ‘The bicycle knocked down the baby.’

gui n. (c) ‘hand’ ~piky ‘hands’

gui ts íts (lit./fig.) ‘to wash the hand/give up’

gui d itsts ‘to be (fig.)’

gui ts l ts (lit./fig.) ‘to move the hand/work fast’

gui b ʔ.šo m r p š dz ts šyã ‘Survive yourself by working.’

l lpiy mi l tikl gom gui ts ít ‘I gave up the idea of enrolling in the police.’

k d, go gui ts ínu ‘I wash my hand.’

gu duw n. (cul) ‘drum’ (*N* ढोल)

gu duw t pts ‘to play the drum’

guip n. ‘pumpkin’ cf. SYN p<sup>h</sup> tk<sup>h</sup> i

gumlik n. (c) [blending; guimi l ít k] ‘bangle, bracelet’ ~piky (pl) ‘bangles, bracelets’

gumlik nu ts šy l ‘bangle and hair-band/thread’

gumlik m l íts ‘not to put on the bangle’

gumlik s mts ‘to lose the bangle’

ãk gumlik dz mt ‘My bangle got lost.’

go gumlik l íts m d nu ‘I don’t like putting on the bangle.’

gun n. (c) [S: N+nat.] ‘sari’

gunun n. (c) ‘noise’ ~pik(pl) ‘noises’ v. ~p ts ‘to make a noise’ gunun n. ‘noise’

gupsu n. (c) [> gups] ‘lion’ ~piky ‘lions’

gupsu nu siwar ‘lion and jackal’

th b nu imitstsili gupsu ‘big and small lion’

gupsuk li pu:th pts ‘to hunt a lion’

ko:ts mi gupsu rimšon dumb ‘The lion is beautiful to look at.’

gupsunu siw rk li s ib 'The lion kills the jackal.'  
 gupsu šy dz š l blo b 'The lion survives only on flesh.'

gupts vt. 'to pick up, lift' guptu (p, 3sg) 'picked, lifted' gupšo (pp, adj.) 'picked, lifted'  
 NEG m ~gupts 'not to pick up, lift'  
 k<sup>h</sup>yōp t gupts 'to pick up the book'  
 m ko lmi bl(r/;) tik guptu 'The child picked up the pen.'  
 murum t isšo ky t m gupo 'Don't pick up the money thrown by other people.'

gup<sup>h</sup>th n. (c) [ ~ kyupth ] 'cap, hat' ~piky (pl) 'caps, hats'  
 piy mi gup<sup>h</sup>th 'cap on the head'  
 k r gup<sup>h</sup>th 'black hat'  
 dz šo kyupth 'worn out hat'  
 m rimšo gup<sup>h</sup>th 'a bad cap'  
 go gup<sup>h</sup>th guphts m d nu 'I don't like wearing a cap.'  
 m ko wā s lk gup<sup>h</sup>th l l b 'The boy's hat is red.'  
 piy mi gup<sup>h</sup>th m b .:šo p tik āk piy k<sup>h</sup> itt 'I have a headache because of no hat on my head.'

gup<sup>h</sup>ts vt. 'to put on, cover' (esp. hat, cap or muffler) gup<sup>h</sup>tu (p, 3sg) 'put on' gup<sup>h</sup>šo (pp, adj.) 'put on' NEG m ~ 'not to put on' (usage; see gup<sup>h</sup>th ) cf. SYN p<sup>h</sup> ts , li :.ts , muitsts , r lts , p itsts (differ in manner)

gurip n. (c) 'plough' see cf. SYN ko šyi ~piky (pl) 'ploughs'  
 guripd m 'beam of a plough'  
 th k r/k rmotsk gurip 'plough of the iron'  
 bl mšyik gurip 'plough of the log'  
 ruw tspikk li gurip m dumthu m dumb 'Plough is a must for the farmers.'  
 gomi ko šyi k gy pt 'I bought a plough.'  
 th k r/k rmotsk yo ko šyi šy lsib 'A plough is made up of iron also.'

gutk n. 'coop'  
 gutk mi bw 'rooster in the coop'  
 gutk l siw rmi bw yold t 'The jackal snatched a rooster from the coop.'

guy n. (c) 'sickle' ~piki (pl) 'sickles'

gyābli n. (c) 'bag, satchel' ~p ki (pl) 'bags'  
 gyāblimi k<sup>h</sup>yōp t 'book in the satchel'  
 gyāblil 'from the bag'  
 gyāblik 'of the satchel'  
 gyāblimi w kur p uo 'Put the clothes in the bag.'  
 ōd p rimšo gyābli t k gy bi? 'Where did you buy such a beautiful satchel?'

gy il n. (c) [< gy itsts ] cf. SYN thōg

gy itsts vt. ‘to catch, hold sth’ (fig.) ‘to rape, ravish’ gy ittu (p, 3sg) ‘caught’ gy iššo  
 ‘caught’ NEG m ~ ‘not to catch, hold’  
 guimi k<sup>h</sup>urmi gy itsts ‘to catch the sickle with hand’  
 k<sup>h</sup>uik li gy itsts ‘to catch/capture a thief’  
 gui gy itsts (fig.) ‘to propose’  
 l lpiy mi k<sup>h</sup>uik li gy ittu ‘The police caught the thief.’  
 m ko w is lmi k m’išy lk li gy ittu ‘The boy raped a girl.’  
 r nts mi m ko m’išy alk gui gy ittu ‘Rentse proposed the girl.’

gy pts vt. ‘to buy, purchase’ gy ptu (p, 3sg) ‘bought’ gy pšo (pp, adj.) ‘bought’ NEG  
 m ~ ‘not to buy’  
 w piky gy pts ‘to buy clothes’  
 k<sup>h</sup>k gy pts ‘to buy a house’  
 āk ap<sup>h</sup>pomi plāk tuli/n mr msi k gy pt m ‘My father bought an  
 umbrella.’  
 m komi g r k g yptu ‘S/he bought a soil-pot.’  
 gonimp<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>yōp tpiky gy pn sku ‘We two buy books.’

gy rts n. (c) ‘game’ ~piky (pl) ‘games’

gy rtsts vt. ‘to play’ gy rtu (p, 3sg) ‘played’ gy rsšo (pp, adj.) ‘played’ NEG m ~ ‘not  
 to play’  
 k r gy rtsts ‘to play the toy’  
 gy rts gy rtsts ‘to play a game’  
 lnu gy rtsts ‘to play with the baby’  
 l pp m gy rsšon rimšo dumb ‘It is better not to gamble.’  
 bw gy rts gy rsšonu s pp rissib ‘One can laugh enough in a cock-fight.’  
 goi lnu gy rsš b .:ko ‘You stay havi played with the baby.’

gy rtsts vi. ‘to be happy’ gy rtu (p, 3sg) ‘became happy’ gy rsšo (pp, adj.) ‘become  
 happy’ NEG m ~ ‘not to be happy’  
 s pp gy rtsts ‘to be very happy’  
 mod b rimšo lo n š go s pp gy rssiti ‘I became very happy while hearing  
 such good news.’  
 āk t mimi gok li gy rp itti ‘My daughter made me happy.’  
 gonimp<sup>h</sup> sinim ko:š gy rt sku ‘We two became happy having watched  
 the cinema.’

gyo n. (c) [~ dzyo] ‘nest’  
 ts’ibk gyo ‘the nest of the bird’

gyōbli n. (c) ‘bag’ ~pik (pl) ‘bags’

gyol n. (c) 'winnowing tray' ~piky (pl) 'winnowing trays' cf. SYN dol si  
 gyolmi k p<sup>h</sup>ts 'to winnow with a winnowing tray'  
 p l k gyol 'winnowing tray of the bamboo'  
 dz šo gyol 'torn winnowing tray'  
 gyolmi bur k p<sup>h</sup>ts m lb 'You have to winnow the with the winnowing  
 tray.'  
 k ts rkh mi gyol madumthu m dumb 'The winnowing tray is a must in the  
 kitchen.'

gyom n. 'utensil' cf. SYN d rm

gyopsi n. 'registration'

gyorb n. 'solution' cf. SYN g pl mt k

gyošo adj. [~ gyoš] 'long' ANT utsitu  
 s pp gyošo tsã 'a very long hair'  
 gyošo lã 'a long way/path'  
 gyošo nu utsitu 'long and short'  
 Curssik tsã gyošo b .:t 'Curssi has a long hair.'  
 gomi gyošo bl sp t br(}/r) :t 'I wrote a long letter.'  
 ~ko gyošo lã g n iyo m thums 'We hardly could walk this long path.'

gyu adj. [~ dzu] '1cold 2winter season' ANT hups  
 gyu p ts 'to be cold'  
 dzumi b .:ts 'to die of cold'  
 l nk dzu ky rsšy mi dz ib (fig.) 'Children can adj.ust the cold season.'  
 mrik m yo murupiki dzumi b .:nimi 'People die of cold even in America.'  
 dzumi l g m b ko 'Don't stay outside the house in cold.'

gyub n. (n, u) 'marriage' ~t mr 'marriage ceremony'  
 gyub p ts 'to marry'  
 gyub nu b .:tsi 'marriage and death'  
 rimšo gyub 'a happy marriage'  
 gyub k kurmidok<sup>h</sup> 'gift of marriage'  
 gyub muru mulk mk p<sup>h</sup> ts k m 'Marriage is a part of human culture.'  
 āk gyub s pp rimšo dumb 'My marriage was a very successful one.'  
 gyub mi r u hi n rimšon dumb 'It 'll be better if it rains in marriage.'

gyulp<sup>h</sup> n. (c)[~ dzolp ib<dzolp ts ] 'liar' ANT dzolm p ib  
 k<sup>h</sup>oros k<sup>h</sup>od b gyulp<sup>h</sup> m dumts 'not to be a liar like Khoros'  
 k<sup>h</sup>uibudi gyulp<sup>h</sup> 'liar like a thief'  
 dzol m p ts 'not to lie'  
 m ko dzolp ib mur su m´ ? 'Who is that liar man?'

āk t um āk li dzol p ptu 'My son lied to me.'  
 goi d s pp k k gyulp<sup>h</sup> b .:t d 'You are a big liar.'

gyur n. (c) 'tamarind' ~piky (pl) 'tamarinds' cf. SYN dzyur

gyurssu n. (c) 'lemon' ~piky (pl) 'lemons'  
 gyurssu b ts 'to have the lemon'  
 gyurssu gy pts 'to buy the lemon'  
 gyurssu nu h udzidz p<sup>h</sup> itsts 'to exchange lemon and orange'  
 k<sup>h</sup>iy m mi gyurssu gy ptu 'Khiyama bought the lemon.'  
 bw kumi gyurssu kurp š tuts rimšon m 'It is good to drink having mixed  
 the lemon in water.'

gyurtsts vt. 'to be sour' gyurttā (p, 3sg) 'became sour' gyursšo (pp, adj.) 'become sour'  
 ANT m ~ 'not sour', dzidz'í 'sweet'  
 gyursšo pirsir 'sour whey'  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup> m gyursšo b .:t 'This rice is sour.'  
 go gyursšo kr t t /huluk d :nu 'I like sour curds.'  
 gom gyurssu budi gyursšohuluk tut 'I had curds sour like lemon.'  
 goi gyursšo šyābu m tu o 'Don't drink the sour millet-beer.'

gyurots n. (c, u) 'October'  
 gyurotsmi 'in October'  
 k r gyurots 'black October'  
 gyurots nu šy r 'October and horse'  
 gyurotsmi šy r ts ib dz rm s u n m rimšo dumb 'If a colt borns in  
 October, it is a bad omen.'  
 gyurotsmi rimšo g m p ts 'It is better not to start doing any good  
 functions in October.'

gy b no:th n. 'marriage-knot'

gy pšo adj. 'easy, simple' ANT m ~, h rtsindo  
 gy pšo bulgy ts 'a simple problem'  
 gy pšo nu h rtsindo 'easy and difficult'  
 gy pšo g p sts 'to do a simple job'  
 ~ko g p ts gy pšo b 'This job is easy to work.'  
 goik li gy pšo g sumi g b' ? 'Who gives you an easy job?'

h ङ / /

num. 'five'

bl tikpik 'five pens'  
 bl tsopik 'five fingers'

šyopik ‘five mouths’  
 gui k m bl ptsopik b .:nimi ‘There are five fingers in one hand.’  
 āk k<sup>h</sup>yōp t dz mt ‘My five got lost.’  
 l nol p’ib ‘Five comes after four.’

kodz’išo adj. ‘confused’ ANT tuisšo  
 kodz’išo mur ‘a confused man’

lo:pulo: n. ‘life (fig.)’  
 lo:pulo: bo.:ts (b .:ts ) ‘to die’

m n. (c) ‘dream’ ~pik (pl) ‘dreams’ ~rits n. ‘dream anecdote’ ~t ts vt. ‘to dream’  
 go āk mmi dorti ‘I ran in my dream.’

n conj. ‘if’  
 āk li m tin y n go ik l th inu ‘If you don’t obey me, I’ll beat you.’  
 mop dori n goi thin y ‘You’ll fall down if you run in that manner.’  
 rimšo g papt yi n go gy rsinu ‘I’ll be happy if you perform a good deed.’

n iyo ‘although, however’

r ts n. (c) ‘end point, e.g. of a niddle’ ~piky (pl) ‘end points’  
 gyošo r ts ‘a long end point’  
 utsituk r ts ‘a short end point’  
 āk bl tikk r ts dzi.:t ‘My pen’s nib broke.’

rits n. ‘January’  
 g su nu rits ‘fog and January’  
 ritsmi gyu ‘cold in January’  
 ritsmi ph’ib ‘It snows in January.’  
 ritsmi s pp gyu dumb ‘It’s very cold in January.’  
 ritsmi p<sup>h</sup> .:t k w m thišom r b .:sib ‘One can die of cold in January if there are no sufficient cloths to wear.’

conj. [v. conj.; cf. nu n. conj.]  
 dumk<sup>h</sup> l uo mk g p u(o) ‘Go to the office and do your work.’  
 m k l uo m ko lk li g kti p h’p to ‘Go there and frighten to that baby terribly.’

par. [interrogative]  
 mol b m ? ‘is that so?’  
 ōd b yo dumb ? ‘Will it be like this?’  
 goimi āk dz mso bl tik thidi ? ‘Did you find my lost pen?’

-/ conj. [also followed by minu > min; min] ‘and, sequential marker’  
 k<sup>h</sup> m dz sliša go hirth g .:ti ‘Having eaten the rice, I went to roam.’  
 āk t u ipš bo.:t ‘My son got up having slept.’  
 m ko w s l s ptsk t ri hōiss o min k<sup>h</sup>i g ot( ) ‘The boy climbed up  
 the roof and then he entered the house.’

- postp. ‘of’ (esp. with place) LOC  
 r gi ‘of the country’  
 Ragan ‘of Ragan (toponym in Kir nti-Kōits)’  
 ir k<sup>h</sup> ‘of the above house’  
 luts/ idi k<sup>h</sup> ‘of the house below’  
 k<sup>h</sup> k murnu m dzits ‘not to quarrel with the family members of the  
 same house’  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup> kurupiki t k l m ? ‘Where did the householders of this house  
 go?’

mi n. (c) [ m] ‘elder sister’ ~piky (pl) ‘elder sisters’  
 āk mi ‘my sister’  
 m kok mi ‘his/her elder sister’  
 m nk mi ‘their elder sister’  
 āk sã mi n m(i) ‘I have three elder sisters.’  
 goimi ik mik li t’its m ln y ‘You must obey your elder sister.’  
 mik li s u p uo ‘Greet the elder sister.’

:ts vi. ‘to weep’ t(u) (p, 3sg) ‘wept’ šo (pp, adj.) ‘wept’ NEG m ~ ‘not to weep’  
 m ( )rd ts ? ‘why to weep?’  
 sunu ts ? ‘with whom to weep?’  
 go k itsik n n b .:ti ‘I was weepi alone.’  
 ~ko lmi gok li p ittu ‘This baby made me cry.’  
 mop m ko ‘Don’t weep in that manner.’

w n. (c) [~ d gyu nat. from N] ‘elder brother’

o n. (n, u) [proto-form of /go/ ‘I’ historically] ‘fish’ [cf. Meithei á (Chelliah 1997:  
 19), Kir nti-Yamphu (Rutgers 1998: 362)] ~piky (pl) ‘fishes’ (esp.  
 several varieties)  
 o gyaitsts ‘to catch a fish’  
 o nu ko tsu ‘fish and hook’  
 m kom kontsumi opik saittu ‘S/he killed the fishes with a hook.’  
 ~ko o br( )/lob ‘This fish will be tasty.’  
 omi gimk li rimšon p ib ‘Fish is a healthy food for humans.’

oili n. (c) ‘tip, new shoot of a plant’ (e.g. pumpkin)

ol n. (c) ‘vowel’ ~piky (pl) ‘vowels’

ol s ~d 'vowel sound'  
 Kir nti-Kõits ol s ~d piki 'vowel sounds of the Kir nti-Kõits'  
 ol nu s 'vowel and consonant'  
 ol nu s k k<sup>h</sup> lsi 'syllable of the vowel and consonant'  
 n ll lo nk ol nu s s ~d piki dumnimi 'All languages have vowel and  
 consonant sounds.'  
 ol s ~d madumthu durd m šy lsib 'A word cannot be formed without a  
 vowel sound.'

on n. (u) [~ mon] 'sorrow, mourning' cf. SYN th g ts  
 on nu ritstsi 'sorrow and laughter'  
 onmi 'in sorrow'  
 b .:tsimi on 'sorrow in death'  
 hopo b .:tik m on dumt 'There is sorrow because of king's death.'  
 n thotspiki on p šo b .:t m 'The neighbours are in sorrow.'

oro n. (c) 'dumb' ~piki (pl) 'dumbs'

itsts vt. 'to defecate' ittu (p) 'defecated' isšo (pp, adj.) 'defecated' NEG m ~ 'to  
 not defecate'  
 go itsts d .:ti 'I like to defecate.'

wots n. 'Ngawocha clan in K-K' [LOC-V-INF (v.t) 'to enter' (n.) 'one who enters first,  
 elder brother'

ĩ च ts /c /

ts ts n. [< ts ts ] (c) 'grand-son/daughter' ~piki (pl) 'grand-son/daughters'  
 ãk ts tsp k 'my grand-sons/daughters' [cf. c co Kir nti-Wam; Ongenort  
 (2002: 142, 456, \*ts 'child, grandchild' (Benedict (1972: 208)]

ts imi n. (c) 'daughter-in-law' ~piki (pl) 'daughter-in-laws' M t u  
 t m(i) nu ts im(i) 'daughter and daughter-in-law'

-ts n par. (contrastive marker/particle)

ts ni num., adj. 'seven'  
 ts ni ky t 'seven rupees'  
 r kunol ts ni 'seven after six'  
 ts ni popiky 'seven pigs'  
 m komi ãk li ts ni ky t g ptu 'S/he gave me seven rupees.'  
 r kunol ts ni p'ib 'Seven comes after six.'

ts hipl n. (c) [S: Kir nti-Lim] 'camera' ~piky (pl) 'cameras' cf. SYN k m r  
 ts hipl gy pts 'to buy a camera'

imitstsili ts hipl 'a small camera'  
 th b ts hipl 'a big camera'  
 ts hipl t skul gr(ɔ/l)uits k li g l bb 'Camera is useful for producing  
 photographs.'  
 goimi ʔko ts hipl dosomi gy bi? 'How much did you pay for this  
 camera?'

ts po n. (c) [ts +po] 'piglet' ~piki (pl) 'piglets' [cf. tsupp Kir nti-Wam; Ongenort  
 2002: 139]

k r ts po k 'a black piglet'

ts iw 'son-in-law' FEM t m(i) 'daughter'

ts iw m lts 'to look for a son-in-law'

ts uts u n. 'curiosity' v. ~dumts 'to be curious'

go ts uts udumti 'I am curious.'

-ts inf. [e.g. Σ-c in all verbs; in Kir nti-B .: yung -co, Kir nti-W mbule -c m] cf. -n ,  
 -thu

tsã n. (c, u) [proto T-B ts m> tsã] 'hair' ~piky (pl) 'hairs'

gyošo tsã 'a long hair'

bus tsãpik 'grey hairs'

kirsšo tsã 'plaited hair'

m ko m'išy lk tsã gyošo b 'The girl's hair is long.'

t m(i)mi āk tsã kirsš g ti 'The daughter plaited my hair.'

gom āke tsã pl p t 'I had my hair cut.'

tsãšy l n. (c) 'hair-thread/band' ~piky (pl) 'hair-thread' (used esp. to bind the plaited  
 hair of females)

tsãšy l kirtsts 'to twist/plait the hair-thread'

tsãšy l nu tsã kirtsts 'to plait hair with the hair-thread'

gom t mi tsã tsãšy l nu kirtt 'I plaited the daughter's hair with the hair-  
 thread.'

ts ib n. (c) 'baby, young' (for almost all animate being) ~piky (pl) 'babies' ANT

k<sup>h</sup>ušyo/k<sup>h</sup> lp

muru ts ib 'human baby'

dzoik ts ib 'cub'

šy r /s r k ts ib 'colt'

gom mul t b rmok ts ib t t 'I saw a kitten today.'

dzoik ts ib kots m rimšo dumb 'A cub is beautiful to look at.'

ts p<sup>h</sup>ts vt. 'to be able to do sth, can' ts p<sup>h</sup>tu 'could, became able' ts p<sup>h</sup>šo 'could,  
 become able' NEG m ~ 'not be able to do sth, cannot'

dzolp ts ts p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘to be able to lie’  
 k<sup>h</sup>uip ts ts p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘to be able to steal’  
 m ts p<sup>h</sup>tik g p ts ts p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘be able to do a difficult job’  
 p šo m r p ts m ts ptek g m r iyo m b .:b ‘This is nothing impossible  
 if we try.’  
 go ˜ko g p ts ts bnu ‘I can do this job.’  
 m konu lop ts su ts bb ? ‘Who can talk with her/him?’  
 tsursi imitstsili b .:t h n iyo omo kolšo p<sup>h</sup>uilu tsu.:ts ts bb ‘Although  
 Cursi is thin, she can lift up this big stone.’

ts .:ts vt. [marked for spatial deixies; Mokuśu Kormoĉa as a consultant in NK Rai  
 (2002)] ‘to bring down (vertical)’ ts .:tu (p, 3sg) ‘brought down’ ts .:šo  
 (pp, adj.) ‘brought down’ cf. SYN hitsts , pitsts , kuitsts NEG m ~ ‘not to  
 bring up (neutral)’  
 g th ts .:ts ‘to fetch up/above’  
 k r ts .:ts ‘to fetch here’  
 m ko n ll šyi ˜k g th ts ko ‘Fetch all that firewood up here.’

ts rtsts vt. [ts rnuk n. ‘urine’] ‘to urinate, piss’ ts rtu (p, 3sg) ‘urinated’ ts rsšo (pp,  
 3sg:IMP) ‘urinated, urinate’ NEG m ~ ‘to not urinate’  
 gom ts rtt ‘I urinated.’

ts l p adj. ‘cunning’ cf. SYN t ll p

ts ri n. ‘east’  
 ts ri g hirtsts ‘to turn towards the east’  
 n ts ri l glub ‘The sun rises from the east.’

ts rp ndzi n. (c) ‘library’ ~piki (pl) ‘libraries’ cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup>yōp tth m  
 ts rp ndzimi k<sup>h</sup>yōp tpik ‘books in the library’

ts ts n. (u) ‘garbage, rubbish’  
 ts ts t itsts ‘to throw the garbage’

ts .:ts vt. ‘to cut, chop into pieces’ (esp. a lump of meat or animate/inanimate objects)  
 ts .:tu (p, 3sg) ‘chopped’ ts .:šo (pp, adj.) ‘chopped’ cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup>r(}l)oitsts ,  
 r’its , kyortsts , pr(}l) ts NEG m ~ ‘not to chop’  
 w ts .:ts ‘to cut cloth into pieces’  
 šy ts .:ts ‘to cut meat into small pieces’  
 šy k ts hō ti ts .:ts m lb ‘The meat must be chopped into pieces before  
 cooking.’

ts ts r n. ‘medicine’ cf. SYN sid k  
 ts ts r gy pts ‘to buy medicine’  
 ts ts r nu ky t ‘medicine and money’

- ts ~m n. (c) 'week' ~piki (pl) 'weeks' cf. SYN nup<sup>h</sup>o  
 ni.:si ts ~m 'two weeks'  
 nup<sup>h</sup>o k m thumts 'to finish within a week'
- ts mts vt. 'to earn' ts mtu (p, 3sg) 'earned' ts mšo(pp, adj.) 'earned' NEG m ~ 'to not  
 earn'  
 sus ky t ts mts 'to earn a lot of money'  
 gom dumk<sup>h</sup> mi g p š sus ky t ts mt 'I earned a lot of money having  
 worked in the office.'
- ts r n. (u) <sup>1</sup>'sun ray, sunrise, <sup>2</sup>hope (fig)' n ts r 'sunshine'  
 ts r mi 'in the sunrise'  
 ts r k 'of the sunrise'  
 ts r min t k g .: ? 'Where're you going early in the morning?'  
 mul t n ts r p ptu 'It's sunny today.'  
 ts r k<sup>h</sup> o:t 'The sunray entered inside the house.'
- ts si n. 'use' vt. ~p ts 'to use'  
 durd pikik ts si 'use of words'
- ts'ib n. (c) [< ts'ibi] 'bird' ~piky (pl) 'birds'  
 ts'ibk kumso 'the song of a bird'  
 ts'ib budi b rtsts 'like fly a bird'  
 ts'ibk li b rg d itsts 'to set a trap for the bird'  
 m ko l l ts'ib b rtt 'The red bird flew away.'  
 āk phurumi ts'ibpiki b rnim 'Birds fly in my garden.'
- tsibn n. (c) 'drop' ~pik(pl) 'drops'  
 bw kk itsik<sup>h</sup>oi tsibn 'some drops of water'
- ts'ibrubw itt kk<sup>h</sup> n. (c) 'zoo' ~piky (pl) 'zoos'  
 ~ko ts'ibrubw itt kk<sup>h</sup> 'this zoo'
- tsiduk n. (u) [S: Kir nti-Lim + nat.] 'manure, compost, fertilizer'  
 rumi tsiduk kurp ts 'to put fertilizer in the field'
- tsil n. 'lightning'  
 s ri mi tsil 'lightning in the sky'
- tsil w l adj. 'clever' cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup> dits  
 tsil w l l k 'a clever child'
- tsil n. (u) 'curse' ~p ts (v) 'to curse'  
 tsil p ts rimšo m dumb 'It is not good to curse.'

tsimik n. 'wink' v. ~p ts 'to wink' (also See p ts )  
 k tsimik 'a wink'  
 tsimik k 'a brief wink'

tsimts vt. 'to milk' tsimtu (p, 3sg) 'milked' tsimšo (pp, adj.) 'milked' NEG m ~ 'not to milk'  
 b'í tsimts 'to milk the cow'

tsitoli n. (c) 'chick' ~piky (pl) 'chicks'  
 tsitoli nu bw 'chick and fowl'  
 tsitolik šy 'chicken i.e. meat'  
 tsitoli thults 'to tame the chick'  
 tsitolik šy b ts 'to have chick's meat'  
 tsitolik li bw rd m yoltu 'The falcon devoured on the chick.'  
 Tsu gulimi tsitoli l ša itsikhoi ky t ts mtu 'Cungguli earned some money by selling the chick.'  
 m ko imitstsili tsitoli b rtt 'The small chick flew.'

tsipsi n. (c) <sup>1</sup>'iron, press' (an electrical device with a flat metal base) ~piky cf. SYN  
 w pl mb 'irons' <sup>2</sup>v. tsips'i 'did you two clip?'  
 tsipsi p ts 'to iron, press'  
 w pl mb gy pts 'to buy an iron'  
 tsipsi hoitsts 'to heat the iron'  
 gomi ãk sōth tsipsi p t 'I ironed my shirt.'  
 w pl mb p šo m r ãk k p<sup>h</sup> s rímt 'My uniform became beautiful after ironing.'

tsirs n. (mass) [< tsirsi] 'millet' *eleusine coracana, paspalum scrobiculatum* [cf. ts rdz in Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort 92002: 136, 458]  
 m ko tsirs (euph. for a s mdz tribe 'Jirel')  
 tsirske šyopl 'bread made up of millet'

ts'its vi. <sup>1</sup>'to bathe, <sup>2</sup>dare' ts'itu 'bathed' ts'išo 'bathed' NEG m ~ 'not to bathe'  
 rimšop ts'its 'to bathe well'  
 Inimp<sup>h</sup> mi mul suni ts'it s 'The two baby bathed this morning.'  
 p<sup>h</sup>po gy kosil l sšonu go ts'intš'in b .:ti 'I was bathing when the father returned from the market.'  
 goimi nup<sup>h</sup>o k mi u kuk ts'its n m ln y 'You've to bathe once in a week anyhow.'

tsiw l n. 'defeat' v. ~p ts 'to defeat'  
 gom ãk ky kik li tsiw lp t 'I defeated my enemy.'

tsō PAR 'confirmation'

tsoil n. (u) 'chin' cf. SYN yoili  
l isšo tsoil 'a tall chin'

tsoilu n. (c) [~ tso.:t l < tso.:ts 'to shut, imprison, block'] 'lock' ~piky (pl) 'locks' cf.  
SYN th mko ANT roilu/ro.:t l  
tsoilu ro.:ts 'to open the lock'  
tsoilu nu roilu 'lock and key'  
k<sup>h</sup>uimi tsoilu dz'ig t 'The thief has broken the lock.'  
m m mi roilumi tsoilu ro.:t m 'The mother opened the lock with a key.'  
gom tsoilu thidinm thidu 'I didn't find lock.'

tsomolo m n. [~ tsomlu] 'Mt. Everest'  
n ll k l isšo tsomlu 'the highest Mt. Everest'

tsorp mts vi. 'to keep quiet' tsorp mtu (p, 3sg) 'kept quiet' tsorp mšo (pp) 'kept quiet'  
NEG tsorm p mts 'not to keep quiet' cf. SYN w l p ts

tsorp msi n. 'peace'  
murk li tsorp msi m dumthu m dumb 'Peace is necessary for man.'

tsots vt. 'to burn, roast' tsoptu 'burnt, roasted' tsošo 'burnt, roasted' NEG m ~ 'not to  
burn, roast'  
m'imi tsots 'to roast by the fire'  
r b tsots 'to roast the potato (as a way of cooking)'  
tsots 'to roast the maize/corn (as a way of cooking)'  
tsošo r b br{/lob 'The roasted potato is tasty.'  
āk gui m'imi tsoptu 'The fire burnt my hand.'  
mk w mop m tsouo 'Don't burn your own cloth in that manner.'

ts'ots vt. 'to hand over' ts'otu (p, 3sg) 'handed over' ts'ošo (pp, adj.) 'handed over'  
NEG m ~ 'to not hand over'

tso:ts vt. 'to errand'

tso.:ts vt. 'to shut, imprison, block' tso.:tu (p, 3sg) 'shut' tso.:šo (pp, adj.) 'shut' NEG  
m ~ 'not to close'  
tso.:bik<sup>h</sup> mi k<sup>h</sup>ui tso.:ts 'to imprison a thief in the jail'  
l ptso tso.:ts 'to shut the door'  
kutsumtso.:big kutsum tso.:ts 'to close the dog inside the kennel'  
l lpiyami k<sup>h</sup>uik li tso.:tu 'The police imprisoned the thief.'  
tso.:bik<sup>h</sup> mi tso.:šo k<sup>h</sup>ui pl{/r)om t 'The thief has run away from the jail.'

tso.:sits mv. 'to be locked, imprisoned'  
go k<sup>h</sup>i g tso.:siti 'I am locked inside the house.'

tsotso n. (c) ‘cheek’ ~piky (pl) ‘cheeks’  
 āk tsotso ‘my cheek’  
 m ko tsotso ‘his/her cheek’  
 l l tsotso ‘a red cheek’  
 goimi āk tsotsom rd tub í? ‘Why did you beat on my cheek?’  
 āk l m binn y n ik tsotso pr(}/l)olnu ‘I’ll beat you on your cheek if  
 you do not obey me.’  
 āk tsotsomi m r b .:m ? ‘What is there on my cheek?’

ts’ub n. (c) ‘flea’ ~piki (pl) ‘fleas’

ts’ubu n. (c) [> tsub] ‘Kir nti-Kōits knife, Gurkha knife’ ~piky (pl) ‘K-K knives’  
 ts’ub nu k<sup>h</sup>ot ‘K-K knife and sheath’  
 ts’ubk hirtsu ‘blade, edge of K-K knife’  
 ts’ubmi kyortst ‘to cuto with a K-K knife’  
 hirhir ts’ub ‘a sharp K-K knife’  
 bitl ts’ub ‘a blunt K-K knife’  
 ~ko ts’ub bitl b ‘This K-K knife is blunt.’  
 m ko ts’ub khotg oto ‘Keep that K-K knife inside the sheath.’  
 ~ko ts’ubmi d rimšopa m kyorb t šyā ‘This K-K knife doesn’t cut  
 properly.’

tsuig m n. (u) [S: Eng+nat.] ‘chewing gum’  
 tsuig m l ts ‘to sell chewing gum’  
 tsuig m k<sup>h</sup>uitsts ‘to hide chewing gum’  
 k’imi tsuig m k psits ‘to get stuck (self) chewing in the intestine’  
 tsuig m m b šonu rimšon dumb ‘It is better not to have chewing gum.’

tsuisšo adj. ‘hurried’ ANT m tsuisšo  
 tsuisšo mur ka ‘a hurried man’

tsu n. (u) [S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘wrestling’ cf. SYN k si  
 tsu gy rtsts ‘to play wrestling’  
 k si ko:ts ‘to watch wrestling’  
 go tsu ko:ts d nu ‘I prefer watching wrestling.’  
 k si gy rbpikim s pp ky t ts mnimi ‘The wrestlers earn a lot of money.’

tsu tsi n. (c) [~ tsuntsi] ‘hillock, hill’ cf. SYN th pul, dā:kin, th mli, th mru  
 ir tsu tsi ‘the hillock of up above’  
 āk tsu tsi ‘my hillock’  
 m ko nu ~ko tsu tsi ‘that and this hillock’  
 n ll tsu tsipiki ‘all the hillocks’  
 h ri ir tsu tsi mi n gr(}/l)utu ‘The sun shone up above the hillock.’  
 kl m ko tsu tsi doso moni b .:m ’? ‘How far is the hillock from here?’

tsuitsts vt. [~ < kyuitsts ] ‘to tuck, fix, thrust in/insert into’ tsuittu (p, 3sg) ‘tucked in’  
 tsuisšo (pp, adj.) ‘inserted into’ NEG m ~ ‘not to insert’  
 piy mi phu( ) tsuitsts ‘to fix flower on the head’  
 l ptso t ri r lp<sup>h</sup>u( ) tsuitsts ‘to fix a garland on the door’  
 Animonmi kosp<sup>h</sup>u piy mi tsuitt u ‘Animon inserted the orchid on the head.’

tsu gum n. (S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘fury’

tsul n. ‘nettle’ *girardinia heterophylla*  
 tsul mi tsots ‘to sting by the nettle’  
 tsul k<sup>h</sup> i ‘curry of the nettle’

tsumlu n. (c) ‘mortar’ ~piky (pl) ‘mortars’  
 tsumlumi l’išo ‘remained in the mortar’  
 tsumluk šy r ‘rice of the mortar’  
 tsumlumi buru tsuts ‘to husk paddy in the mortar’  
 gomi tsumlumi bur tsut ‘I husked paddy in the mortar.’  
 ~ko tsumluke tuli t k b .:m ‘Where is the pestle of this mortar?’

tsumludz n. ‘feast, party’  
 gyub tsumludz ‘marriage party’

tsuplu n. (c) ‘fireplace’ ~piki (pl) ‘fireplaces’  
 tsuplu hopo ‘a saviour of the fireplace’

tsuts vt. ‘to mill, pound, husk’ tsut u (p, 3sg) ‘husked’ tsušo (pp, adj.) ‘husked’ NEG  
 m ~ ‘not to husk’  
 bur tsuts ‘to husk the paddy’  
 t m(b)r tsuts ‘to mill beaten-rice’  
 tsumlumi bur tsuib ‘Rice is husked in the mortar.’  
 sopl tsots k li p<sup>h</sup> s tsuts m lb ‘Flour should be milled for cooking  
 bread.’

tsu.:ts vt. ‘to lift up’ tsu.:tu (p, 3sg) ‘lifted up’ tsu.:šo (pp, adj.) ‘lifted up’ NEG m ~  
 ‘not to lift up’  
 k<sup>h</sup> pl k<sup>h</sup>yōp t tsu.:ts ‘to lift up the book from the floor’  
 p<sup>h</sup>uilu tsu.:ts ‘to lift up the stone’  
 m ko lmi momo kolšo mur tsu.:t u ‘The child lifted up such a big man.’  
 H mi mk t uk li tsu.:š p<sup>h</sup>uru kōit u ‘Hang showed the garden to his  
 own son having lifted up.’

tsu:tsu n. ‘regret’ ~p ts (v) ‘to regret’  
 gom n ritsu s išop tik m tsu:tsu dumti ‘I regretted on killing a mongoose.’

tsurmu n. (c) 'housefly' ~piky (pl) 'houseflies'  
tsurmu nu ts ts 'the fly and the garbage'

ts'utsu n. 'regret, repentance'

tsyolth n. (c) 'city' ~p ki (pl) 'cities'

ǰ ǰ dz /dz , j/

dz ditsts vi. <sup>1</sup>'to reach' <sup>2</sup>'to be enough' dz ditt (p, 3sg) 'reached' dz disšo (pp, adj.)  
'reached' NEG m ~ 'to not reach'

dz ditsts adj. 'accessible' dz ditsts apa adv. ANT monkhon 'inaccessible'  
dz ditsts them/k<sup>h</sup>op 'accessible place'  
dz ditsts tsomolo m 'accessible Mt. Everest'  
sus muruk li mul tsomolo m dz ditsts dz ditsts th m dumt  
'Nowadays Mt. Everest has become an accessible place for many people.'

dz ts vt. 'to eat' dz ptu (p, 3sg) 'ate' dz šo (pp, adj.) 'eaten' NEG m ~ 'not to eat'  
sopl dz ts 'to eat the bread'  
m r iyo m dz ts 'not to have anything'  
dz ts dumb 'ok y to eat/have'  
lmi sus k<sup>h</sup> m dz ptu 'The child had a lot of food.'  
go nimp<sup>h</sup> m k rsš dz t sku 'We two<sup>DU</sup> had corn having roasted.'  
mop sus m dz uo 'Don't eat much in that way.'

dz t kdz t n. (mass) 'food' See dz ts  
dz t kdz t kurtsts 'to carry the food'

dz t ktut k n. [< dz ts tuts ] (mass) 'food and drink'  
m ko k<sup>h</sup> mi dz t ktut k m r iyo m b 'There was no food and drink in that  
house.'  
go dz t ktut k gy pth l ti 'I went for buying food and drink.'  
k dz t ktut k m r th sib ? 'What food and drink can be found here?'

dz tn n. (c) 'god' ~pik (pl) 'gods' cf. SYN y br  
dz tn mi 'by the god'

dz ru n. (c) 'ladle' ~piki(pl) 'ladles'  
dz ru dzi .: ts 'to break the ladle'

dz mts vi. 'to be, get lost' (itself) dz mt (p, 3sg) 'got lost' dz mšo (pp, adj.) 'got lost'  
NEG m ~ 'to not get lost'

ãk lo b dz mt 'My younger brother got lost.'  
 go dz mti 'I got lost.'  
 ãk bl tik dz mt 'My pen got lost.'  
 ãk p<sup>h</sup>po nu w dz mt s 'My father and elder brother got lost.'

dz .:ts vi. [spatial deixies (Mokusu as consultant in NK Rai (2002)] 'to come (neutral)' dz .:t (p, 3sg) 'came up (neutral)' dz .:šo (pp, adj.) 'come up (neutral)' NEG m ~ 'not to arrive' cf. SYN related verbs; (h)its , kuts , pits

dz ml th n. 'greetings, congrats' vt. dz ml th g ts 'to congratulate'  
 go ink li dz ml th g nu 'I congratulate you.'

dz rb n. (c) 'debt, loan'  
 dz rb th'uts 'to take loan'  
 tsã budi dz rb (fig.) 'a lot/non-count debts'  
 dz rb m th'uts 'not to take loan'  
 th pts m ts ptikp m rd momo dz rb thu 'i? 'Why did you take so much of loan unable to pay back?'  
 ãk t uk d tsã budi dz rb th pts b .:t 'My son has a lot of debt to pay.'

dz ~tits n. [dz ~tits > dz ~tits; also spelt as Je~ticha] 'one of the clanonyms of the Kir nti-Kõits tribe/race'

dz šo adj. See m it, s is i ANT n k  
 dz šo sōth 'a worn out shirt'

dz tsts 'to light' (itself)  
 d ilu dz tsts 'to light up the lamp'

dz ts vt. 'to be torn/worn out'  
 ãk sōth dz t 'My shirt tore away (itself).'

dz'ihots n. (c, u) [~ dzilots] 'August'  
 dz'ihotsmi 'in August'  
 dz'ihotsk 'of August'  
 k<sup>h</sup>ubnatsnol dz'ihots 'August after July'  
 dz'ihotsmi w sr luk pidar p sib 'The rainbow worship is performed in August.'  
 mul thots dz'ihotsmi itsiitsi r u it 'It rained slightly in August this year.'

dzitsk<sup>h</sup> ts n. 'querrel' vi. ~p ts (See p ts )

dzidz adj. [< dzidz'í emph.] 'sweet' [cf. dzidzi Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 78, 488)]

dzil n. (liquid) [< dzili] 'oil, fuel'

k<sup>h</sup> pdzil ‘kerosene, petrolium’  
 klildzil ‘mustard oil’  
 b’idzil (compounding) ‘ghee of cow’  
 gomi b’idzilnu k<sup>h</sup> m dz t ‘I ate rice with ghee.’  
 Rukumi mk nop<sup>h</sup> mi dzil kurp ptu ‘Ruku oiled her ear.’  
 k<sup>h</sup> pdzilk th b rtt ‘The price of petroleum hiked.’

dzilil n. cf. SYN thopl

dzimn ts n.(c, u) [~ gimn ts] ‘May’  
 dzimn tsmi ‘in May’  
 dzimn tsk ‘of May’  
 gigits nol dzimn ts ‘May after April’  
 dzimn tsmi r u (h)its gob ‘It starts raining in May.’  
 l šo dzimn tsmi s pp p<sup>h</sup> s p ptu ‘Last May was windy heavily.’

dzir n. (c) ‘colour, hue’ ~piky (pl) ‘colours’ cf. SYN Tig , p<sup>h</sup>ur

dzirb r n. (c) ‘moth’ ~piki (pl) ‘moths’ cf. SYN ušy r, burbu

dzits vt. ‘to quarrel, dispute, fight’ dzipu (p, 3sg) ‘fought’ dzišo (pp, adj.) ‘fought’  
 NEG m ~ ‘not to fight’  
 m rd dzits ? ‘Why to quarrel?’  
 m rimšop dzits ‘to dispute badly’  
 mulr go nimph m dzin sku ‘We two (d incl) don’t fight now on.’  
 gom t šonu m ko nimph dzindzin b .:t s ‘They two were fighting when I  
 saw them.’  
 dzišo m r dzi.:sib ‘To fight means to be divided.’

dz’i.:ts vt. ‘to break’

dzimd n. (c) ‘medal’ ~pik (pl) ‘medals’  
 dzimd gl ts ‘to win a medal’  
 gom dorssimi dzimd k gl t ‘I won a medal in running.’

dzoi n. (c) [~ kuk<sup>h</sup>i dzoi] ‘tiger’ *neofelis nebulosa* ~piky (pl) ‘tigers’ FEM dzoi m  
 dzoi t š h’ ts ‘to fear having seen a tiger’  
 dzoi m s itsts ‘not to kill the tiger’  
 dzoi nu wã ‘tiger and bear’  
 dzoimi šy b ib (fig.) ‘Tiger is carnivorous.’  
 dzoik li ts ĩbrubw itt kk<sup>h</sup> mi wa sib ‘Tiger is kept in the zoo.’  
 dzoimi mur s d t ‘The tiger has killed a man.’

dzol n. ‘liar’ vt. ~p ts ‘to lie’ cf. SYN gyulp<sup>h</sup> , k<sup>h</sup>yol  
 goi d gyulp<sup>h</sup> b .:t d ‘You are a liar.’

goimi m rd dzolp yi? 'Why did you lie?'

dzolp ib n. (c) [dzolp ts > dzolp ib] cf. SYN dzol, gyulp<sup>h</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>yol  
go d k<sup>h</sup>yol p ts m dzonu 'I do not know how to lie.'

dzu adj. 'cold' vt. dzup ts 'to be cold' See gyu ANT hu:ps  
mul t s pp dzu p ptu 'It is very cold today.'

dz'uts vi. 'to flock together (esp birds)' dz'utu (p, 3sg) 'flocked' dz'ušo (pp, adj.)  
'flocked' NEG m ~ 'to not flock'  
m ko m'išo l limits r w mi ts'ibpik dz'unimi 'Birds flock in that ripen kaphal tree.'

dzyo n. (c) [also gyo] 'nest' ~piky (pl) 'nests'  
ts'ibk dzyo 'the nest of a bird'  
dzyol ts'ibphu r tup ts 'to steal the bird's egg from the nest'  
dutskunk dzyo m thits 'not to touch the nest of the swallow'  
gom dzyo k t t 'I saw a nest.'  
dzyomi ts'ibp<sup>h</sup>upik b .:t m 'There are eggs in the bird's nest.'  
k<sup>h</sup> dk dzyo rimšo m dumb 'Crow's nest won't be beautiful.'

dzyur n. (c) 'tamarind' ~piky (pl) 'tamarinds' cf. SYN gyur  
dzyur gyurssšo dumb 'Tamarind is sour.'  
go dzyur m d nu 'I don't like tamarind.'  
lthit k dumšo m'išy murmi dzyur susp d nim 'Pregnant women like tamarind very much.'

к ɛ T / T /

Tits vt. 'to obey' Titu (p, 3sg) 'obeyed' Tišo (pp, adj.) 'obeyed' NEG m ~ 'to not obey'  
th b murk li Tits 'to obey the senior' cf. SYN bitsts  
gom m r d goimi Tits n m ln y 'You have to obey what I said.'

Tig n. (c) 'colour, hue' ~piky (pl) 'colours' cf. SYN p<sup>h</sup>ur, dzir  
l l Tig 'red colour'  
gig p<sup>h</sup>ur 'green colour'  
dzirp ts 'to paint'  
Tig p š thumts 'to finish colouring'  
gomi t sr k Tig p t 'I painted a picture.'  
ruitsimi h udzidz p<sup>h</sup>ur d b 'Ruichi likes orange colour.'  
m ko murk dzir l l b 'The man's colour is red.'

T mu n. (c) 'elbow' ~piky (pl) 'elbows'  
āk T mu 'my elbow'  
T mu nu gui 'elbow and hand'

T mu tho:sits 'to get the elbow dashed'  
 T mu k<sup>h</sup> isšo p tik m gom gui hirn n m ts bu 'I could not turn around my hand due to elbow pain.'  
 p<sup>h</sup>uilumi ak T mu Tho:t u 'The stone dashed my elbow.'  
 l lpiy k s lmimi T mumi th ts m lb 'One should tread by elbow in the police training.'

T b l n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] 'table' ~piky (pl) 'tables'  
 T b ll 'from the table'  
 T b lk k<sup>h</sup>oil 'leg of the table'  
 m ko T b lk k<sup>h</sup>oil sumi dz'ig ? 'Who broke the leg of that table?'  
 āk k<sup>h</sup>yōp t T b ll do:t 'My book fell from the table.'

T T r n. (c) 'camel' ~piky (pl) 'camels' cf. SYN d lōt<sup>h</sup>  
 l isšo T T r 'a tall camel'  
 T T r thults 'to tame a camel'  
 p<sup>h</sup> pir gimi T T r pik 'camels in the desert'  
 d lōt<sup>h</sup>k li p<sup>h</sup> pir gik syu yo d ~nimi 'Camel is known as the ship of the desert.'  
 d lōth kots mi rimšo m dumb 'Camel is not beautiful to look at.'

Turu n. 'shaman-drum' cf. SYN r'í  
 Turu t pts 'to play the shaman-drum'  
 n l murum Turu thits m dumb 'All people should not touch the shaman-drum.'  
 go Turu dop t pts d ~š dzonu 'I know how to play the shaman-drum.'

l ɤ T<sup>h</sup>/T<sup>h</sup> /

T<sup>h</sup> b adj. [>T<sup>h</sup> b] 'big, elder' (fig.) 'honourable' ~th kos 'main purpose'  
 T<sup>h</sup> b t u 'the elder son'  
 T<sup>h</sup> b mur 'a man of significant, influential, honourable post'  
 T<sup>h</sup> b l tsts (fig, disapproving) 'to be very proud'  
 T<sup>h</sup> b mur dumts k li s pp g p ts m lb 'One needs to work hard for being a great man.'  
 m ko mur g nai yo t<sup>h</sup> b m l bb 'He is never proud.'

T<sup>h</sup> bbl ptso n. (c) 'thumb' ~piki (pl) 'thumbs' cf. SYN bōg  
 goi ik T<sup>h</sup> bbl ptso himdo d 'You move your thumb.'

T<sup>h</sup>' b r n. (c) 'donkey, ass' ~piky (pl) 'donkeys, asses' SYN go d  
 Th' b r nu kuro 'donkey and load'  
 go d budi dortsts 'to run like an ass'  
 Th' b r by šy r h r l k n n mi 'Donkey and horse are almost similar.'  
 Th' b rmk h lšo kuro kurtsts ts bb 'Donkey can carry a heavy load.'

T<sup>h</sup> ts vi. ‘to fall, roll down’ t<sup>h</sup> t ~t<sup>h</sup> s u (p, 3sg) ‘fell down’ t<sup>h</sup> šo (pp, adj.) ‘fallen down’ NEG m ~ ‘not to fall down’  
 mop m T<sup>h</sup> ts ‘not to fall down that way’  
 ribdo tušo m r go T<sup>h</sup> ti ‘I fell down after drinking the wine.’  
 lã koš m g .:šo mere T<sup>h</sup> sib ‘One falls down while walking carelessly.’

T<sup>h</sup> u y sits (cul.) ‘hereditary transfer of shamanic knowledge’  
 ~ko lk li T<sup>h</sup> u y sim t ‘This child has hereditary quality of shaman.’

T<sup>h</sup> r c n. ‘clan name’ fence-V-INF (v.t) ‘to rot’ (n.) ‘one who provides support’  
 go T<sup>h</sup> r c n ‘I am Thangracha.’

T<sup>h</sup> oluts n. (c) ‘nail’ ~piky (pl) ‘nails’  
 t<sup>h</sup> olutsmi ‘by a nail’  
 s’išyir nu t<sup>h</sup> oluts ‘nail and rust’  
 ~ko t<sup>h</sup> olutsk li s’išyirmi dz w t ‘This nail has been rusted.’  
 goi m ko l ptsomi t<sup>h</sup> oluts t<sup>h</sup> oko ‘Hit the nail on the door.’  
 t<sup>h</sup> oluts t<sup>h</sup> ots k li tupt k m lb ‘Hammer is needed to hit the nail.’

t<sup>h</sup> ots n. ‘help’ [See use in p its ]

t<sup>h</sup> otsi n. (c) [< thots ] ‘hammer’ ~piky (pl) ‘hammers’ cf. SYN tupt k [< tupts ]  
 t<sup>h</sup> otsimi thots ‘to hit with a hammer’  
 t<sup>h</sup> oluts nu tupt k ‘nail and hammer’  
 t<sup>h</sup> olutsk piy mi t<sup>h</sup> otsimi t<sup>h</sup> ots ‘to hit on the head of the nail by the hammer’  
 gom t<sup>h</sup> olutsk piy mi t<sup>h</sup> ot kmi t<sup>h</sup> ot ‘I hit on the head of the nail with the hammer.’

t :ts vt. ‘to take something’ t :tu (p, 3sg) ‘took’ t :šo (pp, adj.) ‘taken’ NEG m ~ ‘to not take’ n. t :t k~t :b mur vs. t :b ‘flour made up of roasted maize, soybean, wheat etc.’

m ʈ t /t /

t n. ‘condition’  
 ky Tosi t ‘economic condition’  
 āk kyeTosi t m b ‘My economic condition is bad.’

t mi n. (c) [> t m; the insertion of the syllable final /i/ historically is a later development] ‘daughter’ ~piky (pl) ‘daughters’ M t u  
 t mi nu ts imi ‘daughter and daughter-in-law’  
 āk t mimi rimšop šyilp ptu ‘My daughter danced well.’  
 k t mi dumk<sup>h</sup> l ib ‘Our daughter goes to the office’  
 m nk t mimi yo rimšop kumšop ptu ‘Their daughter also sang well.’

- t stã n. (c) ‘scene’ ~pik(pl) ‘scenes’  
 rimšo t stã ‘a beautiful scene’  
 gom mol b rimšo t stã m t šon ‘I had not seen such a beautiful scene.’
- t rn conj. [S: I-A k<sup>h</sup> s/N+nat] ‘but’ cf. SYN šy (native lexicon; cf. Konow in Grierson (1909) See further use in šy  
 go tsursi k<sup>h</sup> l ti šy m thidu ‘I went to Tsursi’s house I did not meet.’
- t s n. (c) ‘picture, drawing, caricature’ ~piky (pl) ‘pictures, caricature’  
 t s šy lts ‘to draw a picture’  
 t sk di ‘under the picture’  
 kul konkon t s šy lts ‘to draw a picture by looking at the face’  
 rik p mi rimšo t s šy lt t ‘Rikapa drew a beautiful picture.’  
 goi ãk t s m p u ‘Don’t imitate me.’
- t šp ts vt. ‘to imitate, caricature (esp. for the sake of teasing)’  
 m d yu mop t sm p ts ‘Better not to tease your own elder brother in that way.’
- t šy n. (u) ‘magic’  
 t šy ko si ‘magic show’
- t skul n. (c) ‘photo’ ~piky (pl) ‘photos’  
 k m r nu t skul ‘camera and photograph’  
 rimšo k m r l rimšon t skul p’ib/gl’ub ‘Quality camera produces quality photograph.’  
 m ko hopok t skul s pp rimšo b .:t ‘This king’s/god’s photo is very beautiful.’
- t sp sin n. (c) [S: blending] ‘Xerox machine’ ~piky (pl) ‘Xerox machines’  
 t sp sinmi ‘by/at the Xerox/photocopy machine’  
 t sp sink li ‘to the Xerox machine’  
 t sp sinmi t s p ’ib ‘A Xerox machine produces photocopy.’  
 J p nk t sp sin s pp n rimšo dumb ‘A Japanese photocopy machine is of very good quality.’
- t ts vt. <sup>1</sup>‘to get, obtain’ <sup>2</sup>‘to see’ t t u ‘saw, obtained’ (p, 3sg) ‘got, obtained, seen’  
 t šo (pp, adj.) ‘gotten, seen, botained’ NEG m ~ ‘not to get, obtain, see’
- t sr n. (c) ‘picture’ ~piky (pl) ‘pictures’  
 go t sr k tig p inu ‘I (will) paint a picture.’
- t tt n. (c) [Kir nti-Lim.+nat] ‘omen’ ~piky (pl) ‘omens’ cf. SYN d il ANT rimšo  
 t tt /d il m duml ‘Let it not be omen or happen something bad.’

- t u n. (c) ‘son’ ~piky (pl) ‘sons’ FEM ts im(i), t m(i)  
 t uk ‘of the son’  
 t unu ‘with the son’  
 t umi ‘by the son’  
 t u nu ts imi ‘son and daughter-in-law’  
 ãk ni :.ši t u n si ‘I have two sons.’  
 m ko murk t u dz mt ‘That man’s son went missing.’  
 ãk t umi rimšo g p tptu ‘My son did a good job.’  
 g suk t u n y ‘Whose son are you?’
- tãg n. (c) ‘relation, plot, conspiracy’ ~piki (pl) ‘relations’  
 murk murnu tãg ‘man’s relation with man’
- t b n. (mass) ‘a white/brown powder/flour that is made by grinding grain’ (also 3sg  
 form of the verb t .:ts )  
 k rsšo ngk t b hilts ‘to grind the powder/flour of the roasted maize’  
 t b nu homok ‘flour/powder and milk’  
 dz t kdz tk li t b kurtsts ‘to carry flour/powder for breakfast/lunch’  
 homoknu t b dz šonu s pp bl(r/D)ob ‘While eating flour/powder with  
 milk, it is very tasty.’
- t bl n. (c) ‘palm’ ~piky (pl) ‘palms’  
 gui nut t bl ‘hand and palm’  
 t bl k gor ‘a line of the palm’  
 brolšo t bl ‘a broken palm’  
 ãk t bl k gor rimšon b ‘The line of my palm is good.’  
 ruw tsk t bl s pp g p šo p tik brolb ‘A farmer’s palm gets cleft  
 because of heavy work.’
- t itsts vt. ‘throw away’ t it u (p, 3sg) ‘threw away’ t isšo (pp, adj.) ‘thrown away’  
 NEG m ~ ‘not to throw away’  
 w m t itsts ‘not to throw away the cloth’  
 n t itsts (fig.) ‘to lose honour’  
 mulk m nu m m lo t itsts (implied) ‘to be proselytized, alienated’  
 S rgimi m n t ittu (fig.) ‘Sergi lost her honour.’  
 m m m lo m t itt n/m pl d n (fig.) ‘Don’t forget your mother tongue.’
- t’ itsts vt. ‘to cick’ t’ ittu (p, 3sg) ‘kicked away’ t’ isšo ‘kicked away’ NEG m ~ ‘not  
 to kick’
- t l m n. [S: Kir nti-Lim+nat] ‘chance’  
 ãk d g n iyo t l m m pyi ‘My chance did not come ever.’
- t mr n. [also t br ] (u) ‘beaten-rice’

s pp blošo t mr ‘very tasty beaten-rice’

t pts vt. [n. t pt k , t po] ‘to play’ (esp. a musical instrument) t ptu (p, 3sg) ‘played a musical instrument’ t pšo (pp, adj.) ‘played a musical instrument’ NEG m ~ ‘not to play a musical instrument’  
 kom t pts ‘to play a reed harp’  
 m ko b ng n m t po ‘Don’t play the plate.’  
 ki lomi rimšo kumšo t ptu ‘The Radio played a beautiful (melodious) song.’

t sl n. (sg) ‘moon’ cf. SYN loT s, tos l  
 t sl nu šyor ‘moon and star’  
 husn n domi t sl tats ‘to see the moon in the full-moon night’  
 t sl k li pid r p ts ‘to worship the moon’  
 t sl mi hāgu g b ‘The moon provides light.’

t bu n. (c) ‘gun’ see for use in p’uth cf. SYN p’uth [<p’uts ], p , p<sup>h</sup>t k [< p<sup>h</sup>ts ]

t k r adv. [>t k r>t k>t ] ‘where’  
 goi t lain y ‘Where do you<sup>3sg</sup> go?’

t it i adv. ‘everywhere’  
 k<sup>h</sup>uipiki t it i b .:nimi ‘Thieves are everywhere.’

t ll p adj. ‘cunning’ cf. SYN ts l p  
 t ll p k<sup>h</sup> lp k ‘a cunning oldman’

t lts vt. ‘to pile up’ t ltu (p, 3sg) ‘piled up’ t lšo (pp, adj.) ‘piled up’ NEG m ~ ‘to not pile up’

t mts vt. ‘to add’ t mtu (p, 3sg) ‘added’ t mšo (pp, adj.) ‘added’ NEG m ~ ‘to not add’  
 k<sup>h</sup> m -k<sup>h</sup> i t mts ‘to add rice and curry’

t ptsi n. (c, u) [<t pts ] ‘pickle’ SYN l ~brots  
 ~ko t ptsi m rk m’ ? ‘What is this pickle maude up of?’

t s adj. ‘short, dwarf’ ANT l isšo

t tsts vi. ‘to beat’ t ttu (p, 3sg) ‘bit’ t sšo (pp, adj.) ‘beaten’ NEG~ ‘not to beat’

tikkus n. (c) ‘rabbit’ ~piky (pl) ‘rabbits’ cf. SYN kikm s  
 rimšo tikkus ‘a beautiful rabbit’  
 tikkusk tsā ‘hair of the rabbit’  
 kikm s s pp dorb ‘Rabbit runs very fast.’  
 tikkusk šy yo dz ts dumb ‘Rabbits’ meat is suitable to eat.’

tikkus k<sup>h</sup> m yo thulsib ‘Rabbit is tamed also as a domestic animal.’

tipn t n.[~ dumsn t] ‘Wednesday’

tipn tmi ‘on Wednesday’

ribn tnol tipn t ‘Wednesday after Tuesday’

tipn tl ‘from Wednesday’

go tipn t k<sup>h</sup> l inu ‘I go hom on Wednesday.’

tipn tl reu its got ‘It started raining since Wednesday.’

-tk ~ tik~ t k NML marker

tits (vt.) ‘to separate, filter’

tos l n. (sg) ‘moon’ cf. SYN loT s, t sl

s ringmi t sl ‘the moon in the sky’

gom t sl t t ‘I saw the moon.’

to.:šyil n. (var) ‘rhododendron, *R. arboreum*, *barbartum*, *grande*’

l l to.:šyil ‘red rhododendron’

to.:šyil yo p<sup>h</sup>upikimi k m ‘Rhododendron is also one of the flowers.’

tsungtsimi to.:šyil boib ‘Rhododendron blossoms on the hill.’

boiššo to.:šyilmi Tsomolongm mimp ib ‘The blooming rhododendron reminds of Mt. Everest.’

to.:ts vt. ‘cause/force to fall smn/sth down’ to.:tu (p, 3sg) ‘felled down’ to.:šo (pp, adj.) ‘felled down’ NEG m ~ ‘not to fell down’

p<sup>h</sup>oto p<sup>h</sup>š to.:ts ‘to fell having shot the bullet’

p<sup>h</sup>uilumi p<sup>h</sup>š to.:ts ‘to fell having shot with stone’

gom t uk li huisš r w l to.:t ‘I forced the son to get off from the tree having scolded him.’

tuitsts v. ‘to know’ tuittu (p, 3sg) ‘knew’ tuiššo (pp, adj.) ‘known’ NEG m ~ ‘not to know’, tu s m r ‘after knowing’

lo tuitsts ‘to know secrecy’

gom m khui nk lo m tuittu ‘I didn’t know the secrecy of the thieves.’

ky ki nk lo dop iyo tuitsts m lb ‘We’ve to know the enemy’s secrecy anyhow.’

t’u ur n. [~ tho:tsi] ‘Kir nti-Lim, Y kthum( )b or tsong tribe’

tuli n. (c) ‘pestle’ ~piky (pl) ‘pestles’

tsumlu nu tuli ‘mortar and pestel’

tulimi ‘by the pestle’

r w k tuli ‘a pestle made up of the log’

but tsu:ts k li tsumlu nu tuli m lb ‘Mortar and pestle are needed to husk paddy.’

m ko lmi ãk li tulimi kr(}/l)omt u ‘The child hit me with a pestle.’

tults vt. ‘to uproot, root out’ tultu (p, 3sg) ‘uprooted’ tulšo (pp, adj.) ‘uprooted’ NEG m ~ ‘not to uproot’

l b k tultsa ‘to uproot the radish’

kh(}/l)ui tults ‘to uproot the tooth’

gom lk khduit tult ‘I uprooted the child’s tooth.’

mul t rumi ik l b k tults m lb ‘We’ve to uproot our radish in the field today.’

tulsits vi. <sup>1</sup>‘to get up rooted’ (itself) <sup>2</sup>(fig.) ‘to be destroyed, exterminated’ tulsit u (p, 3sg) ‘became destroyed/got up rooted’ tulsišo (pp, adj.) become destroyed/got up rooted’ NEG m ~ ‘not to be up rooted/destroyed’

ãi murupiki mmin tulsinim ‘Our people get exterminated themselves.’

mop matulsišo m r g th l ts ts bsib ‘We can progress if we do not destroy ourselves (in that manner).’

ãi murupiki mmin tulsinim; sukaimi yo tults m m lb ‘None should destroy our people; they get destroyed themselves.’

tuts vt. ‘to drink’ (liquid like water, wine, milk) tutu (p, 3sg) ‘drank’ tušo (pp, adj.) ‘drunk’ SYN yupts , hurtsts NEG m ~ ‘not to drink’

bw k tuts ‘to drink water’

ribdo m tuts ‘not to drink wine’

hos bw k tuts ‘to drink hot water’

gom l lbw k tut ‘I drank tea.’

gy pts ts pšo m r n t k m gil s k homok tuts m lb ‘One must drink one glass of milk if one can afford.’

t’uts vt. ‘to lick’ t’utu (p, 3sg) ‘licked’ t’ušo (pp, adj.) ‘licked’ NEG m ~ ‘not to lick’

b ng n t’uts ‘to lick the plate’

bl ptso t’uts ‘to lick the finger’

kh m dz š thumšonol b ng n t’uts m lb ‘One must lick the plate after having finished the rice.’

mop g n iyo m bl ptso m t’uko ‘Never lick your own finger (in that way).’

tupts vt. ‘to beat’ tuptu (p, 3sg) ‘beat’ tupšo (pp, adj.) ‘beaten’ NEG m ~ ‘not to beat’ cf. SYN th itsts , yupts (differ in manner)

k<sup>h</sup>uik li tupts ‘to beat to the thief’

t m(i)k li m tupts ‘not to beat to the daughter’

goi m w rtsts k li mop m tupo ‘Don’t beat to your friend in that way.’

s ~sibk li s pp tupts m dumb ‘It isn’t better to beat to a learner

severely.’

tupt k n. (c) [< tupts ] see T<sup>h</sup>’otsi

tupt k mur ‘the man who beats/beater’

tupt k ko.:k ‘the stick to be beaten with’

tupt k t u ‘the son who beats/beater’

tuptil n. (c) [also tupth r] ‘goldsmith’ ~p ki (pl) ‘goldsmiths’

turki adj. ‘foreign’ ANT k<sup>h</sup> , mr gi

turs n. (c) ‘grave’ ~piki (pl) ‘graves’

turs dots ‘to dig a grave’

tursuts n. [R-G spelling; Tursucha] ‘clan name’[turs ‘grave’-V-INF (v.t) ‘to darn, mend’ (n.) ‘one who darns’ [also one who is born on the grave; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar]

थ th /th /

th kpo n. (c) [s: Kir nti-Lim] ‘weevil’ ~piky (pl) ‘weevils’ SYN pirsuli

ts rb nu th kpo ‘the wheat and the weevil’

pirsulimi ko r ts dz ts ‘to eat/destroy maize by the weevil’

th kpok li w tser w itsts ‘to put poison to the weevil’

~ko koT<sup>h</sup>om w isšo n l bur d pirsulimi k k dz w b .:t ‘All the paddy stored in this store is eaten up by the weevil.’

go ~ko th kpok li w ts rmi sainung ‘I kill this weevil by poison.’

th m n., intj. [> th m] ‘true, real, exact, clear’ ANT dzol

th m m l’i?

th m šyā!

th mth m !

th m d n’ ?

go th m p m tuinu ‘I don’t know truly.’

th itsts vt. ‘to beat, strike, hit’ thaittu (p, 3sg) ‘beat’ th isšo (pp, adj.) ‘beaten’ NEG

m ~ ‘not to beat’ cf. SYN tupts ,yup<sup>hts</sup>

th k n. (c) [S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘generation’ ~pik (pl) ‘generations’

n k th k ‘new generation’

n k th kmi n ll g rimšo p ts m lb ‘The new generation should progress well.’

th mts vt. ‘to taste’ th mtu (p, 3sg) ‘tasted’ th msho (pp, adj.) ‘tasted’ NEG m ~ ‘to not taste’

k<sup>h</sup> imi h'isi' th mts 'to taste the salt in the curry'

th tl n. (c) 'a cricket, baseball, table tennis bat' ~piky (pl) 'bats'  
 th tl nu p<sup>h</sup>urk l 'bat and ball'  
 th tl mi p<sup>h</sup>ruk l p<sup>h</sup>ts 'to hit the ball with a bat'  
 th tl dzi.:ts 'to break the bat'  
 gom th tl dzi.:t 'I broke the bat.'  
 gy rsšonu th tl rimšop gy itsts m lb 'You should hold the bat strongly while playing.'

th mko n. (c) 'lock' cf. SYN tsoilu

th mts vt. 'to taste' th mtu 'tasted' th mšo 'tasted' NEG m ~ 'not to taste'  
 l ~brots th mts 'to taste the pickle'  
 kh ing h'isi th mts 'to taste the salt of curry'  
 kh m khai p šo m r th mts t sib 'One can taste the food while cooking.'  
 gom k<sup>h</sup> i th mt 'I tasted the curry.'

th pts vt. 'to pay' th ptu (p, 3sg) 'paid' th pšo (pp, adj.) 'paid' NEG m ~ 'not to pay'  
 ky tk<sup>h</sup> k dz rb th pts 'to pay the bank's loan'  
 m m k homokk th th pts 'to pay the price of the mother's milk'  
 gom sus dz rb th pts b 'I have to pay a lot of loan.'  
 m ko mur ãk dz rb m th ptu b .:tu 'The man died without paying my loan.'

dz rb dz šonol th pts d m lt w n 'You must pay after taking loan.'

th lmi n. (c) 'pheasant' ~pik (pl) 'pheasants'  
 k r th lmi k 'a/one black pheasant'

th rth r adj. 'a special shape of stone' (N ts pleti चप्लेटी)  
 th rth r p<sup>h</sup>uilu 'th rth r stone'

thi n. 'wealth'

th n. (c) 'price' ~piky (pl) 'prices'  
 kusulnobk th 'price of the shoes'  
 th th pts m ts bts 'not to be able to pay the price'  
 ãik gimk th 'the price of our body'  
 th b rsšo p tik gom kusulnob k yo gy pts m ts bu 'I couldn't buy even a pair of shoes because of price hike.'  
 bōitsik th m dumb 'Life is priceless.'  
 ~ko nobk th doso m' ? How much does this head-strap cost?'

thimts vt. 'to burry' thimtu (p, 3sg) 'burried' thimšo 'burried' NEG m ~ 'not to burry'  
 b .:šomur thimts 'to burry a corpse'

th r thimts ‘to burry a wooden support’  
 gom th ngr k thimt ‘I buried a wooden support.’  
 Kir nti-Kōits mulk mmi b .:šomur thimsib ‘A corpse is buried in the  
 Kir nti-Kōits culture.’

thirm k<sup>h</sup> t n. adj. ‘tired’ ~dumts ‘to be tired’

thits vt. ‘to touch’ thitu (p, 3sg) ‘touched’ thišo (pp, adj.) ‘touched’ NEG m ~ ‘to not touch’

th ~k r n. (u) ‘iron’ cf. SYN k rmots

th pul n. (c) ‘mound’ ~piky (pl) ‘mounds’ cf. SYN tsu tsi, dākin, th mli  
 k<sup>h</sup> p nu p<sup>h</sup>uīluk th pul ‘a mound of soil and stone’  
 b mirpikmi šy lšo th pul ‘a mound made by termites’  
 gom b mirpikmi šy lšo ōd b rimšo th pul g n iyo m t šo n ‘I never had  
 seen such a beautiful mound made by termites.’  
 ~ko th pul l .:ts ts bsib’ ? ‘Can this mound be crossed?’

th lmi n. (c) ‘pheasant’; *catreus wellichi* ~pik (pl) ‘pheasants’

th mli n. (c) ‘hill’ ~piky (pl) ‘hills’ SYN th pul/th mru, tsu tsi, dākin  
 l išo th mli ‘a tall hill’  
 th mli hō tsts ‘to climb a hill’  
 th mlig kots ‘to look towards the hill’  
 th mlimi bō ts s pp šy t dumb ‘It is very difficult to survive in the hill.’  
 m ko th mlimi k<sup>h</sup> pkyu m lib ‘Bus doesn’t go the hill.’  
 gopik m ko th mlimi m rd l ts ? ‘Why should we go to the hill?’

th msi n. ‘span’ cf. SYN n y r [also cf. n msits ‘era’, y mk ‘a while’]

th .:ts vt. ‘to tread’ th .:ts (p, 3sg) ‘trod’ th .:šo (pp, adj.) NEG m ~ ‘not to tread’

th rtsts vt. ‘to make, become warm; warm up’ th rttu (p, 3sg) ‘made warm’ th rsšo  
 (pp, adj.) ‘made warm’ [*N tapnu*] NEG m ~ ‘not to warm up’  
 m’i th rtsts ‘to become warm by fire’  
 n th rtsts ‘to become warm by sun’  
 gom mmin m’i th rtt ‘I made myself warm by fire.’  
 sus m’i m th rsšo ‘Don’t take much fire-heat.’

thōg n. (c) ‘net, snare, trap’ ~piky (pl) ‘nets, snares, traps’ cf. SYN gy il [<gy itsts ]  
 thōg d itsts ‘to set a net, trap’  
 thōg mi o gy itsts ‘to catch fish in a net’  
 gy il dz .:ts ‘a net to be torn itself’  
 mur k mi ok li thōg d ittu ‘A set the net for fish.’

m ko th'ib thōg thos u 'The bird got dashed in the net.'

thoibi n. (c) 'poet' ~piky (pl) 'poets'

thoibi bō tsi 'life of a poet'

thoibi nu mimsbr 'poet and poetry'

thoibi k<sup>h</sup>od b muru 'a poet-like man'

r gikob thoibi (fig.) 'a nationalist poet'

thoibipikim m r gik li s pp n m p inimi 'Poets lover their country very much.'

m ko thoibimi mimsbr pik br .:š n ts mt u 'The poet became famous by writing poetry.'

thoibipikmi boitsimi s pp šy t dz inimi (fig.) 'Poets survive a difficult life.'

thokporo v. (c) [S: Kir nti-Lim simplified] 'christohine, chayote, *sechium edule*' (esp edible fruits and roots) ~piky (pl) 'christophines' cf. SYN kyo

thokporo lopts 'to boil the christophine'

kyo k k<sup>h</sup> i k ts 'to cook curry of the christophine'

thokporok tsu 'thorn of the christophine'

gom lopšo kyo sus b t 'I ate a lot of boiled christophine.'

kyo k<sup>h</sup> i blob 'The christophine curry will be tasty.'

tholo n. [Text source: 1.47] 'plain land, Terai (esp. inner one)'

tholots n. 'settler'

tho.:pl n. (c) 'wave' ~piky (pl) 'waves' cf. SYN dzilil

bw kk thopl 'the wave of water'

th mi thopl bo.:ts (fig.) 'to have thoughts in mind'

dzililmi kots 'to look at the wave'

m ko lmi thopl mi kotu 'The child looked at the wave.'

go dzilil kots d nu 'I preper watching the wave.'

thorssi n. (c) 'poem' ~piky (pl) 'poetry' cf. SYN mimsbr [See in thoibi]

thorssi br .:ts 'to write a poem'

mimsbr s tsts (fig.) 'to recite a poem'

gomi thorssi k br .:t 'I wrote a poem.'

m ko mimsbr pik r tsts d b 'S/he likes reading poetry.'

thoibimi thorssi br .:t u 'The poet wrote a poem'

gomi thoibiglumlomi mimsbr k s tt 'I recited a poem at the symposium.'

thots n. (c,u) cf. SYN mudi

th n. (c) <sup>1</sup>'feeling', <sup>2</sup>'emotions', <sup>3</sup>'heart' ~piky (pl) 'feelings' cf. SYN lu gir

th k<sup>h</sup> itsts (fig.) 'to feel bad'  
 th dz mts (fig.) 'to be forgetful'  
 th g rtsts (fig.) 'to be close/intimate'  
 th b rtsts (fig.) 'to get encouraged'  
 ruilimi ãk th k<sup>h</sup> p ittu 'Ruili hurt my heart.'  
 k<sup>h</sup> lp dumšo m r th dz mb 'Memory gets decreased while getting old.'  
 goimi mo d ~šonu ãk th b rtt 'I am encouraged when you say so.'

th guts n., adj. (c, u) 'clan name, wise' [esp. spoken form th guts; written form  
 th guts = th +gu+ts 'heart+to appear']

th ts n. (u) [See on]

th k n slo n. (c) 'autobiography' ~piky (pl) 'autobiographies'  
 go ãk th k n slo br .:nu 'I write my autobiography.'

th s išo adj. (fig.) 'hopeless'

thulimtoktso vt. [S: Kir nti-B .:yung] 'to exorcize' [Text source: 1.67, 1.83]

thults vt. <sup>1</sup>'to tame' <sup>2</sup>(fig.) 'to serve guests or others' thultu (p, 3sg) 'tamed, served'  
 thulšo (pp, adj.) 'tamed, served' NEG m ~ 'to not tame, serve'  
 b'iby p<sup>h</sup> thults 'to tame cattle'  
 murn mspiki thults 'to serve guests'  
 ky rs thulš yo itsiitsi ky t ts mts ts bsib 'A little bit of money also can be  
 earned by taming goats.'  
 gom sin t m murn mspikk li thult 'I served my guests yesterday.'

thumtsa vt. 'to complete, finish' thumtu (p, 3sg) 'completed' thumšo (pp, adj.)  
 'completed' NEG m ~ 'not to complete' cf. SYN nup<sup>h</sup>ts  
 dz š thumts 'to finish having eaten'  
 p š thumts 'to finish having done'  
 m ko lmi ritslo br .:š thumtu 'The child finished writing the story.'  
 gom n ll g p š thumt 'I finished doing all the job.'  
 goi m ko g dop iyo thumo 'You finish the job anyhow.'

thurssi n. (u) 'trilling'  
 thurssi s ~d 'the trilling sound'

o d d /

d Top. par. (emphasis in a sentence)  
 m ko d k<sup>h</sup> l t 'S/he went home.'

- d t adj. 'impure, unholy' ANT k<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>
- d kk n. 'one thousand'  
 d kk k<sup>h</sup>uip ts 'to steal one thousand rupees'  
 gom āk b p<sup>h</sup> lmi d kk kurp t 'I put one thousand rupees in my pocket.'
- d lõth n. (c) 'camel' SYN t t r
- d mkimp tik 'competition'  
 d mkimp tik gl ts 'to win a competition'
- d mr n. (c) 'termite' cf. SYN b mil
- d sith m lo n. 'evidence'
- d n. (c) 'shape ~piki (pl) 'shapes'
- d gyu n. (c) [S: nativized from N; native lexicon also available] 'elder brother' cf. SYN  
 w
- d its n. 'bet' ~w itsts /d itsts (vt.) 'to bet'
- d itsts vt. 'to get, receive' [N thApnu थाप्नु] d ittu (p, 3sg) 'received' d sšo (pp, adj.)  
 'received' NEG 'to not receive'  
 k<sup>h</sup>ots ~ (fig.) 'to tell puzzle/riddle, pick a quarrel'  
 guimi d itsts 'to receive at the hand'  
 dz t ldz t m guimi d ittin 'Receive the food in your own hand.'
- d il n., adj. 'omen' cf. SYN t tt ANT rimšo
- d ilu n. (c) 'lamp, light' cf. SYN n s l, hāgo, hām  
 d ilu kurtsts 'to carry a lamp'  
 d ilu nu dzikr'išo 'light and dark'  
 hām k šyo m t t k klon 'a room without light'  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup> mi n s l m b 'There is no lamp in this house.'  
 go hām m t t k klon m d nu 'I don't like the room, where no light enters  
 at all.'
- d in adv. 'okay'
- d pts <sup>1</sup>to believe, <sup>2</sup>assume, <sup>3</sup>suppose, <sup>4</sup>dazzle, <sup>5</sup>glare'
- dākin n. (c) 'pile, heap' ~piky (pl) 'piles, heaps' cf. SYN th mli, th pul, tsu tsi  
 bur nu ts rbik dākin 'a pile of paddy and wheat'

dākinp ts ‘to pile up’  
 ts tsk dākin ‘a heap of garbage’  
 omo th b tsirsk dākin suk m ? ‘Whose is this much big pile of millet?’  
 k ʔko ts tsk dākin m oto ‘Don’t put this heap of rubbish here?’  
 ʔko bur k dākinp oto ‘Pile up and keep this paddy here.’

d luts n. (c) ‘firefly’ ~p ki (pl) ‘fireflies’ cf. SYN I Tu

d ts vt. ‘to prefer, like’ d tu (p, 3sg) ‘liked’ d šo (pp, adj.) ‘liked’ NEG m ~ ‘not to prefer, like’  
 rimšo w d ts ‘to prefer a beautiful cloth’  
 gy pts d ts ‘prefer to purchase’  
 gom m ko kusulnob gy pts d ti ‘I liked buying that shoes.’  
 āk t mimi m ko ribin d tu ‘My daughter liked that ribbon.’  
 goimi āk ky t r tu p šo go m d ‘I don’t like you stealing my buck.’

d :.ts vt. ‘to swallow’ d :.tu (p, 3sg) ‘swallowed’ d :.šo (pp, adj.) ‘swallowed’ NEG m ~ ‘not to swallow’  
 dz t kdz t d :.ts ‘to swallow the food’  
 tsuig m m d :.ts ‘not to swallow the chewing gum’  
 dz t kdz t rimšop n šo m r d :.ts ts bsib ‘One can swallow food easily while chewing well.’  
 tsuig m d :.ts m dumb ‘One shouldn’t swallow the chewing gum.’

d’ ts vt. ‘to light’ d’ tu (p, 3sg) ‘lit’ d’ šo (pp, adj.) ‘lit’ NEG m ~ ‘not to light’  
 d ilu d’ ts ‘to light a lamp’  
 n r’išonol n s l d’ ts m lb ‘One should light the lamp after it gets dark.’  
 od b dzikr’išo k<sup>h</sup> mi d ilu m d’ thu m r p š b :. ? ‘What are you doing without lighting the lamp in this (such) dark house?’

d t postp., adv. ‘between’

d conj. par. (in given clear choice, option or contradiction not as discourse conj. par.)  
 goi k<sup>h</sup> l in y d m l in y ? ‘Do you go home or not?’  
 goi k<sup>h</sup> m dz in y de m dz in y ? ‘Do you eat rice or not?’  
 goi sinim kon y d m kon y ? ‘Do you watch cinema or not?’  
 goi ipn y d m ipn y ? ‘Do you sleep or not?’  
 goi bl sp t br :.n y d m br :.n y ? ‘Do you write a letter or not?’

d br n. ‘habit, behaviour’  
 rimšo d br ‘good habit’  
 goi ik d br rimšo m b ‘Your habit is not good.’

d llo n. ‘anus, buttock’  
 d llo r :.ts (fig.) ‘to fart’ (See pitsts )

suk d llo r .:m ...ooo? (fig.) 'Who farted?'

d rm n. 'utensil' cf. SYN gyom

d ~ts vt. 'to tell, say, narrate' d ~tu (p, 3sg) 'said, told' d ~šo (pp, adj.) 'said, told' NEG  
 m ~ 'not to say, tell'  
 th m d ~ts 'to tell truly'  
 ritslo d ~ts 'to narrate a story'  
 th m d ~n' ?  
 õth n n n go lo k d ~nu 'Listen to me; I'll tell you a fact.'  
 m muruk li mod b m rimšo lo m d ~no 'Don't tell such rubbish thing to  
 your own relatives.'

d tsts vt. 'to paste'

dig rts n. 'clan name' [Roman-Gorkhali spelling; Digarcha whose possible  
 etymological connections; digarpu, digarbu; below-soil-pot-INF (v.t) 'to be  
 friendly, toponym' (n.) 'one who is friendly'

dikipurk<sup>h</sup>i n. (c) 'ancestor' ~p ki (pl) 'ancestors'

dilts 'to pass away esp. time'

diml n. (c) 'sole' ~piky (pl) 'soles' ~bōg n. 'footprint'  
 āk diml 'my sole'  
 m diml 'won sole'  
 diml k<sup>h</sup> itsts 'to ache the sole'  
 diml mi tsumi tho .:ts 'to prick by thorn in the sole'  
 t uk diml mi tsumi tho .:tu 'The thorn pricked on the son's sole.'  
 āk diml mi g r glut/kut 'There appeared a wound in my sole.'

dimru n. 'Terai'

dipts vt. 'to suppress, crush, over power' diptu (p, 3sg) 'suppressed' dipšo (pp, adj.)  
 'suppressed' NEG m ~ 'not to suppress'  
 ts bmurmi m ts bk li dipts 'to over power by the powerful people to the  
 powerless'  
 m murk li m dipts 'not to suppress one's own relatives'  
 goimi m muruk li dipts m dumb 'You shouldn't suppress your  
 relatives.'  
 r gy kulmi ts bmurmi m ts bmurk li dipšo t k m b b ? 'Where in the  
 world are not the powerless people suppressed by the powerful ones?'

dipsi n.(u) [also diptsi < dipts ] 'suppression'

dipsimi p tik 'due to suppression'  
 m kok dipsi 'his/her suppression'  
 hopok diptsi 'suppression of the king'  
 āk pp<sup>h</sup>ok diptsimi p tik m go g thl ts m ts bu 'I couldn't progress due  
 to my father's suppression.'  
 mod(l) b dipsi d gomi m t šo n 'I had not seen such suppression.'

dis adv. [See gis, doso]

goi ~ko bw k dis t n y ? 'How much do you charge of this rooster?'

dok<sup>h</sup> n. 'food poisoning'

m ko dok<sup>h</sup> dumš b .:t 'The man died of food poisoning.'

dok<sup>h</sup> adj. 'guilty' ANT m tuitt k

dol b adj. [> dod b~dol b] 'of what kind/type' ANT mod b~mol b

dol b lā 'path/road of what kind'

goimi dod b lo: p šo mop 'What are you talking in that manner?'

dol si n. (c) 'winnowing tray' ~piki (pl) 'winnowing trays' cf. SYN gyol [See gyol for its  
 usage]

domli n. 'pool, pond'

domlimi o 'the fish in the pond'

th b domli 'a big pool'

~ko domli w k som t 'The water of this pond has dried.'

domts vi. 'to be fat' domtu (p, 3sg) 'became fat' domšo (pp, adj. ) 'become fat' NEG

m ~ 'to not be fat'

domts nu homts k n dumt (rhy.)

domšo adj. [< domts ] 'fat' ANT m domšo, b .:ts ts'išo

domšo mur 'a fat man'

domšo šy 'a fat meat'

domšo 'a healthy baby'

m ko domšo šy m gy po 'Don't buy that fat meat.'

gy pt kmurpikim domšon šy d nimi 'The customers prefer fat meat.'

dop adv. 'how, in what way, manner' cf. SYN m rp POS mop

dop kumšo p ts 'how to sing'

goimi ~ko tsirs dop hildi? 'How did you grind this millet?'

momo k<sup>h</sup> m dop dz š thumi? 'How did you finish eating that much of  
 rice?'

āk l dop dzol p yi? 'How did lie me?'

go dop šyilp ts 'How should I dance?'

goimi momo ky t m rp thumi? 'How did you finish that much of money?'

dortsts vi. 'to run' dorttu (p, 3sg) 'ran' dorsšo (pp, adj.) 'run' NEG m ~ 'not to run'  
 Inu dortsts 'to run with the child'  
 šyāk budi dortsts 'to run like a leopard'  
 lāmi m kothu dorsšonu th' sib 'One falls down while running without  
 looking on the path.'  
 moko l t k dor /dorm ? 'Where did the child run?'

doso adv. [also gis, dis] 'how much, how many'  
 doso th pts 'how much to pay'  
 k<sup>h</sup> mi doso mur 'how many people in the house'  
 goimi ~ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk li doso th pti? 'How much did you pay for this book?'  
 m ko k<sup>h</sup> mi doso mur b .:m ? 'How many people are/were there in that  
 house?'  
 kg k k gk doso m ? 'How much is the yam per KG?'

dots vt. 'to dig' do:tu (p, 3sg) 'dug' do:šo (pp, adj.) 'dug' NEG m ~ 'not to dig'  
 ru dots 'to dig the land'  
 g id mi dots 'to dig with a spade'  
 so.:ts k li ru dots m lb 'One must dig the land to sow the maize.'  
 mke ru mmin douo 'Dig your land yourself.'

do.:ts vt. 'to fall' do.:t (p, 3sg) 'fell' do.:šo (pp, adj.) 'fallen' NEG m ~ 'to not fall'  
 do.:ts nu to.:ts (rhy.)

do.:b r n. (c) 'zebra' ~piky (pl) 'zebras'  
 do.:b r nu šy r 'zerba and horse'  
 do.:b r budi dortsts 'to run like a zebra'  
 do.:b r t ri hō tsts 'to climb on the zebra'  
 do.:b r k<sup>h</sup>l tsi 'zebra-crossing'  
 do.:b r k<sup>h</sup>l tsil 'from the zebra-crossing'  
 m do.:b r rimšo b 'The zebra is beautiful.'  
 lā k<sup>h</sup>l šonu do.:b r k<sup>h</sup>l tsil k<sup>h</sup>l ts m lb 'While crossing the road one  
 should cross from the zebra-crossing.'

do.:ts vt. 'to fall down, drop' do.:tu 'fell' do.:šo 'fallen' NEG m ~ 'not to fall down,  
 drop'  
 t b ll k<sup>h</sup>yōp t do.:ts 'to fall the book from the table'  
 bilotsik r w l bilotsi do?ts 'to fall guava from the guava-tree'  
 ~ko dop do.:g /m ? 'How did it fall?'  
 āk b p<sup>h</sup> ll bl(D) tik do.:m t 'The pen fell from my pocket (existential  
 narration).'

dotth adv., conj. [> doth] 'where' cf. SYN tek 'where'

goi doth l y ? ‘Where did you go?’  
 goi doth doth l in y go yo moth moth l inu ‘I also go there wherever you go.’

dumts vt. ‘to become’ dumt (p, 3sg) ‘became’ dumšo (pp, adj.) ‘become’ NEG m ~  
 ‘not to become’  
 rimšo mur dumts ‘to be a good person’  
 th b mur dumts ‘to be a man of honour’  
 goi rimšo mur dumo ‘Be a good person.’  
 mop k<sup>h</sup>ui m dumts ‘Don’t be a thief (in that way/manner).’

dums n. ‘progress’  
 ã dums ‘our progress’

dums r n. ‘importance’  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup> k dums r ‘the importance of this building’

durd n. (c) ‘word’ ~piky (pl) ‘words’  
 s ~d l durd ‘from sound to word’  
 durd k ‘of the word’  
 durd d t mi ‘between the word’  
 durd pikil p<sup>h</sup>r ~spik šy lsib ‘Sentences are made out of words.’  
 m m m lok durd pikik li n m p ts m lb ‘One should not forget the words of his/her mother tongue.’

durd los n. (c) ‘translation’ ~piky (pl) ‘translations’  
 Kiranti-Kõits lo:k durd los ‘translation of the Kiranti-Kõits language’  
 durd loşp ib ‘a translator’  
 durd loşk g p ts ‘to work as a translator’  
 durd los thumts ‘to complete the translation’  
 go durd loşk g p inu ‘I work as a translator’  
 ~ko thorssik durd los p u ‘Translate this poem.’

durd p n. (c) ‘dictionary’ ~piky (pl) ‘dictionaries’  
 ãk durd p k<sup>h</sup>uimi yold t ‘A thief has stolen my dictionary.’

dus adj. [<d’uts ] ‘naughty’ cf. SYN r kr k ANT rimšo, mimtis  
 dus mişy l ‘a naughty girl’  
 dus m dumts ‘not to be a naughty’  
 r kr k lpik ‘naughty children’  
 ãk l susp dus b ‘My child is very naughty.’  
 lpiki dus b .:nimi ‘Children are naughty.’  
 mulr dus l m dumts ‘Don’t be a naughty child now on.’

d’u:t k ‘alcohol, beer, wine (fig.)’ cf. SYN r k<sup>h</sup> , ribdo, s rsšo

d'utsi n. (c) [> duts] 'chilly' ~pik (pl) 'chillies'

dutskun n. (c) [< kiky kun] 'swallow' ~piky (pl) 'swallows' cf. SYN kitskun  
 imitstsili dutskun 'a small swallow'  
 dutskun m gy itsts 'not to catch a swallow'  
 k<sup>h</sup> dutskun (fig.) 'domestic swallow'  
 dutskumi mk dzyo k<sup>h</sup> pk šy lb 'The swallow builds its nest out of soil.'  
 dutskunk dzyo thits m dumb d ~nimi 'It is said that one should touch the  
 nest of a swallow.'

प न /n /

n k adj. 'new, modern, right now, recent' ANT m it, s is ig , dz' šo  
 n k mudi 'new year'  
 n k k<sup>h</sup> 'a new house'  
 n kn k 'of recent time'  
 n k thotse a tseredum! 'Happy new year!'  
 m ko l n k k<sup>h</sup> l t 'The child went home right now.'  
 ~ko sōT<sup>h</sup> gom n k gy pšo n 'I've bought this shirt recently.'  
 mop sus n k m dumts 'Don't be too much modern (in that manner).'

n tsi n. 'weather'  
 g sup šo n tsi 'a bad weather'

n kn t n. (var) 'Monday' ~piky (pl) 'Mondays'  
 rubn tnol n kn t 'Monday after Sunday'  
 n kn tla 'from Monday'  
 n kn timi l ts 'to go on Monday afternoon'  
 ~ko n kn tl go k<sup>h</sup>yōp t br .:ts gonu 'I'll start writing the book from this  
 Monday.'  
 m ko n kn ti l g r gi l t 'S/he went to overseas on Monday afternoon.'

n aux. 'am' NEG m ~ 'am not' 'are'  
 n (1sg) go mur n 'I am a man.'  
 n mi~n m (1pl.e) m piki mur n mi 'They are men.'  
 n ki (1pl.i) gopiki mur n ki 'We're men.'  
 n y (3sg) goi mur n y 'You are a man.'  
 n sku (1d.i) go nimp<sup>h</sup> mur n sku 'We two are men.'  
 n ni (3sg.hon) g mur n ni 'You're a man.'  
 n si (2d.e) goi nimp<sup>h</sup> mur n si 'You two are men.'

n mi aux. [> n m] (1pl.e) See n

n m n. (u) 'love'

ãk n m 'my love'

m m k n m 'love of the mother'

r gik n m 'love of the nation'

n m gy pts m ts bsib 'Love cannot be purchased.'

go m r gik li n m p inu 'I love my country.'

m m k n m m rt s dumb 'Mother's love is selfless.'

n mp ts vt. 'to love' n mp ptu (p, 3sg) 'loved' n mp šo (pp, adj.) 'loved' NEG

n mm p ts 'not to love'

n mp mumts (reciprocity) 'to love each other'

n ll muru nk li n mp ts 'to love all mankind'

n mp mumt sku 'we two loved each other'

go ãk m m k li n mp inu 'I love my mother.'

gopikimi n ll murk li n mp ts m lb 'We must love all mankind.'

n ms n. 'relatives' cf. SYN murn ms

ãk n ms 'my relatives'

gom m murn msk li bl sp t br .:t 'I wrote letters to my relatives.'

n ms w l n. (var) 'greeting(s)' cf. SYN s u (See p ts )

T<sup>h</sup> b murk li n ms w lp ts 'to respect the senior'

n ps n. 'whip'

gyošo n ps k 'a long whip'

l lpiy mi k<sup>h</sup>uik li n psmi th ittu 'The police beat the thief with a whip.'

n š n. (c) '1vein, 2rope, 3root'

n si aux. [> n s] 'are:DU'

m ko nimp<sup>h</sup> w is l n si 'They two are boys.'

n tb s n. (c) 'crop' ~piky (pl) 'crops' cf. SYN n td lts, k

b'itsi, buru nu tsirsi n tb spiki n mi 'Sugarcane, paddy and millet are crops.'

ruw tsmi n tb s l b 'A farmer sells the crop.'

n td lts n. (c) cf. SYN n tb s, k

n td lts gy pts 'to buy the grain'

n y r n. (c,u) 'time' cf. SYN m , cf. n msits 'era'

nã n. (sg) [< n m esp. in some other Kir nti languages; n ~nh in some idiolects and geolects of Kr nti-Kõits] 'sun'

nãmi 'in the sun'

nã nu r u ‘the sun and the rain’  
 nã ts r (See ts r )  
 nã p ts ‘to be sunny’  
 nã r´its ‘to be dark’  
 mul nã r´it ‘Now it is dark.’  
 ~ko mursšo w nãmi h mo ‘Dry this washed cloth in the sun.’  
 mul t d nãts r yo dz mt ooo ‘There is no sunshine today.’

nãp<sup>h</sup>u n. (c) ‘sunflower’  
 nãp<sup>h</sup>u dzil ‘oil of the sunflower’  
 h u nãp<sup>h</sup>u ‘yellow sunflower’  
 nãp<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>r{/l}umts ‘to plant the sunflower’  
 m ko nãp<sup>h</sup>umi burbu b .:tu ‘A butterfly sat on the sunflower.’  
 ãk m m mi nãp<sup>h</sup>uk dzil gy pt m ‘My mother bought the sunflower oil.’  
 gom nãp<sup>h</sup>u tult ‘I uprooted the sunflower.’

n k n adv. ‘early’  
 m ko lmi n k n ts rs u ‘The baby urinated earlier (before the moment of inspection).’

n il par. (hon.) [used only in some geolects]  
 mul dz ts n il ‘Please do have now.’  
 tsinu yo br{/l} sp t br{/l} ts n il ‘Please do write a letter again.’  
 ãk li pr{/l} ts m n il ‘Please don’t forget me.’

n mts vt. ‘to smell’

n msi n. [> n ms] ‘perilla’

n r msi n. (c) [S: compounding] ‘umbrella’ ~piky (pl) ‘umbrellas’ cf. SYN plãk tuli  
 k<sup>h</sup>ubn ts nu n r msi ‘July and umbrella’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urblišo plãk tuli ‘a colourful umbrella’  
 n r msi dz´isits ‘umbrella to be broken’  
 r u iřonu plãk tuli m lb ‘Umbrella is needed while raining.’  
 gom ãk n r msi dz´it ‘I broke my umbrella.’  
 ãik t mimi n r msi s mtu ‘Our daughter lost the umbrella.’

n msits n. ‘era, time’ cf. m

n s l n. (c) ‘lamp’ cf. SYN d ilu hãgo, hãm  
 imitsili n s l ‘a small lamp’  
 n s l gy pts ‘to buy a lamp’  
 goi n s l dako ‘You lit the lamp.’

n .:so n. ‘K-K priest’ cf. SYN nh so

- n t n. (c) [nh t; in some idiolects] ‘day’ ~piky (pl) ‘days’  
 āk m it n tpik ‘my olden days’  
 doso n t ‘how many days’  
 s b r n t ‘the day before’  
 nith n t ‘the following ‘the following day’  
 gomi āk m it n tpik mimt ‘I remembered my olden days.’  
 m ko n t goi t k l i? ‘Where did you go on that day?’  
 āk n t mon l t ‘My days passed in vain.’
- n ti n. ‘afternoon’ ~piky (pl) ‘afternoons’  
 n ti nu n do ‘evening and afternoon’  
 goi n ti t k l in y ? ‘Where do you go in the afternoon?’
- n do n. ‘evening, night’  
 m ko n do ‘that night/evening’  
 go n do sinim konu ‘I watch the evening cinema.’
- n ts vt. ‘to chew’ n tu (p, 3sg) ‘chewed’ n šo (pp, adj.) ‘chewed’ NEG m ~ ‘to not  
 chew’  
 tsuig m n ts ‘to chew the chewing-gum’
- n’ ts vt. [also nh’ ts in some idiolects] ‘to weigh’ n’ šo (p, 3sg) ‘weighed’ n’ šo (pp,  
 adj.) ‘weighed’ NEG m ~ ‘to not weigh’  
 r b n’ ts ‘to weigh the potato’
- nigrum n. ‘compound’ ~dumšo adj. ‘compounded’ ~p ts vt. ‘to  
 compound’  
 nigruml durd šy lts ‘to construct word from  
 compounding’
- nil m n. (c) ‘way, method, process’ ~pik (pl) ‘methods’ cf. SYN  
 s mi  
 ~ko nil m ‘this method’  
 sus s lmipik ‘many methods’  
 ~ko g p tk nil m m rm d ~š gom m tuittu ‘I  
 did not know how to do this job.’
- nimp<sup>h</sup> n. (d; esp. for human) ‘two’ cf. s, ni:si  
 go nimp<sup>h</sup> ‘we two’  
 m :. nimp<sup>h</sup> ‘they two’

ts imi nimp<sup>h</sup> ‘the two daughter-in-laws’  
 go nimp<sup>h</sup> gy kosi l in sku ‘We two go to the market.’  
 āk t u nimp<sup>h</sup> mi rimšo g p š kōit s ‘My two sons showed having done  
 an exemplary job.’  
 m mur nimp<sup>h</sup> d k<sup>h</sup>ui k<sup>h</sup>ōd b t sib šyā ‘The two men look like a thief.’

nip<sup>ts</sup> vi. <sup>1</sup>‘to roar proudly’ nip<sup>ts</sup>tu (p, 3sg) ‘roared’ nipšo (pp, adj.)  
 ‘roared’ NEG m ~ ‘to not roar’ <sup>2</sup>‘to squeeze’ nip<sup>h</sup>tu (p, 3  
 sg) ‘squeezed’ nip<sup>h</sup>šo (pp, adj.) ‘squeezed’ NEG m ~ ‘to  
 not squeeze’

nir n. ‘stink, smell’

m rimšo nir ‘a bad stink’  
 goimi p’is kō m rm m rimšop nir šyā ‘Did you fart; it stank very  
 badly.’

nithn t adv. (also see n t) ‘the following day’

goi nithn t t k l in y ? ‘Where do you go on the following day?’  
 m thinn y n nithn t piuo ‘Come on the following day if you have  
 time.’  
 go nithn t k<sup>h</sup> l inu ‘I’ll go home on the following day.’

ni.:si num. [ni.:ši; nimp<sup>h</sup>] ‘two’

ni.:si bl tso ‘two fingers’  
 mur ni.:si/nimp<sup>h</sup> ‘two men’  
 gom ni?si ky rš l t ‘I sold two goats.’

n’ par. ‘uncertainty (wanting to make sth. sure)’

m r n ? ‘what?’  
 m r d n n ? ‘What did you say?’

n - par. ‘mirativity (hearsay knowledge)’

s r mi k<sup>h</sup> l ib n ‘Seremi goes home (as I heard).’  
 m ko dis p’ib n ‘S/he comes tomorrow (as I heard).’

n n. (c) <sup>1</sup>‘name’ ~piky (pl) ‘names’ <sup>2</sup>(fig.) ‘reputation, prestige’ [cf. *ni* Kir nti  
 -Ath; Neupane (2001: 291)]

l n ‘name of the child’  
 m ko n ‘his/her name’  
 ink n m rm ? ‘What is you name?’  
 āk n Ruili m ‘My name is Ruili.’

n w itsts (fig.) 'to have repute, glorify'  
 n ts mts (fig.) 'to earn reputation'

n n. (c) 'nose' ~piky (pl) 'noses' n l s adj. 'nasal'  
 l isšo ne 'a tall nose'  
 n k<sup>h</sup>l(ɔ)oitsts (fig.) 'to disrepute'  
 n l s s ~d 'nasal sound' (phonetics)  
 n l s s 'nasal consonant'

n .:n k n adv. 'immediately after hearing'  
 go suy l n .:n k n k<sup>h</sup> g dorti 'I ran towards my house immediately after hearing the news.'

n k<sup>h</sup> n. (u) 'mucus'  
 n mi n k<sup>h</sup> 'mucus in the nose'

n l s adj. 'nasal, nasalization'  
 n l s s ~d 'a nasal sound'

n ll adv., det., pron. [> n l] 'all'  
 n ll l 'all children'  
 n ll murupik rimšo m dumnim 'All people are not good.'

n n n. (u) 'pus'  
 g r nu n n 'wound and pus'  
 āk g rl n n glut 'Pus out flowed from my wound.'

n p si n. 'order' cf. SYN hoplo: ~p ts vt. 'to order'

n pts vt. 'to push' n ptu (p, 3sg) 'pushed' n pšo (pp, adj.) 'pushed' NEG m ~ 'to not push'  
 mop m rd n pšo lk li? 'Why did you push the baby in that manner?'

n ritsu n. (c) 'mongoose' ~pik (pl) 'mongooses'  
 n ritsu nu itsu 'mongoose and rat'  
 n ritsumi buš k s ittu 'A mongoose killed a snake.'

n slo n. (c) 'news, information' cf. SYN suy l  
 n slo d ~ts 'to narrate some news'  
 m ko suy l sumi d ~m ? 'Who told that news?'

n slo si n. 'history'  
 k n slo si 'our history'  
 n slo si br .:ts 'to write the history'

gom rimšo n sloši k r tt 'I read a fine history.'

n slon msi adj. 'historical'

n slon msi k<sup>h</sup> k 'a historical building'

n so n. 'signal' ~g ts vt. 'to signal'

m kok n so 'his signal'

lāk n so rup n 'Understand the road's signal.'

n .:th post., adv.[-g' th RED] near' ANT moni

n thots n. (c) 'neighbour' ~piky (pl) 'neighbours'

n ?ts vt. 'to thrust in, stuff into, put in forcibly' n .:tu (p, 3sg) 'thrust in' n ?šo (pp, adj.) 'thrust in' NEG m ~ 'not to thrust in'

k<sup>h</sup> pkyug murpik n .:ts 'to stuff men inside the bus'

b k<sup>h</sup> lmi ky t n .:ts 'to thrust money into the pocket'

ik b k<sup>h</sup> lmi n ll dz t õp m n .:ko 'Don't stuff everything in your pocket (in this manner).'

n ts vt. 'to hear, listen' n tu (p, 3sg) 'heard, listened' n šo (pp, adj.) 'heard, listened' NEG m ~ 'not to hear'

ki lo n ts 'to listen the Radio'

p<sup>h</sup>pok lo n ts 'to listen to the father's advice'

goi ki lo n no 'Listen the Radio.'

āk lo binn y n õth n no 'Listen to me hither if you obey my advice.'

m ko murmi m r d ~m m n u 'I didn't hear what the man said.'

n' ts vt. 'to finish eating' n' tu (p, 3sg) 'finished eating' n' šo (pp, adj.) 'finished eating' NEG m ~ 'not to finish eating'

k<sup>h</sup> m n' ts 'to finish eating the rice'

moso k<sup>h</sup> m yo dop m n' ts 'How not to finish eating that much of rice also?'

m ko lmi d momo kh m n ll k k n' tu 'The child finished eating that much of rice.'

n ll det., pron., adv [ > n l; also n ll ] <sup>1</sup>det. 'all'

n ll šy r piki gub bb piki n mi; šy n ll gub bb piki

šy r puki m n mi 'All horses are animal, but not all animals are horses.'

<sup>2</sup>pron. ‘the whole number of amount’

m pikimi n ll k<sup>h</sup> m dz mt m ‘They ate all the rice.’

<sup>3</sup>adv. ‘completely’

gom n ll g p n thumt ‘I completely finished doing the job.’

n p<sup>h</sup>ts vt. ‘to push’ n p<sup>h</sup>tu (p, 3sg) ‘pushed’ n p<sup>h</sup>šo (pp, adj.)  
‘pushed’ NEG m ~ ‘to not push’

n y n. ‘naming’

lk n y p ts ‘to conduct a naming ceremony of the child’

-nol /nol postp., conj., adv. ‘after, later than sth, following’ SYN -m r [also my r in fast speech]

postp. ‘later than sth’

gopik k<sup>h</sup> m dz šonol l iniki ‘We will leave after lunch.’

conj. ‘at a time later than sth; when sth has finished’

m pikinu lo:p šo nol go k li ki lop inu ‘I’ll call you after speaking to them.’

adv. ‘later in time; afterwards’

s ithots thisšo nol m ko b ʔt ‘After we met many years back, s/he passed away.’

nop<sup>h</sup> n. (c) [Meithei *na* (Chelliah 1997: 19)] ‘ear’ ~piky (pl)  
‘ears’

nop<sup>h</sup> himts ‘to shake the ear’

nop<sup>h</sup> porsolip ts ‘to pierce the ear’

nop<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ)bi ‘wax of the ear’

nop<sup>h</sup> sumts (fig.) ‘to refuse to listen to sth’

nop<sup>h</sup> d itsts ‘to pay attention, listen sb else’s conversation’

m kok nop<sup>h</sup> th b b ‘His/Her ear is big.’

m nk lomi gom nop<sup>h</sup> d itt ‘I paid attention to their conversation/talk.’

goi mk nop<sup>h</sup> m himdo ‘Don’t shake your ear.’

no:th n. (c) ‘knot’ ~piky (pl) ‘knots’

n šk no:th ‘knot of the rope’

no:bk no:th ‘knot of the head straps’

gyub k no:th ‘knot of marriage’

gom m ko nobk no:th puitt ‘I undid the knot of the head straps.’

m ko n šk no:th puitto ‘Undid the knot of the rope.’

nu conj. ‘and’ [cf. *nin* Kir nti-Ban; Rai (1985: 205, 231)]

s ph pt nu go ‘Saphapte and me’

t mi nu t u ‘son and daughter’

goi nu go ‘you and me’

kutsum nu b rmo w rtsts dumts n m dumn si ‘Dog and cat never can be friends.’

s p<sup>h</sup> pt nu go ho ko l t sku ‘Saphapte and I went to Hong Kong.’

-nu postp. ‘with’ (commutative, associative)

gonu ky t ‘money with me’

m konu ‘with him/her’

ik m m nu hillo p uo ‘Ask with your mother.’

gonu ky t m b ‘I haven’t money with me.’

w nu ‘with the elder brother’

m ko lnu ts’ub b .:t ‘The child has a Gurkha-knife with him/her.’

nup<sup>h</sup>o n. (c) ‘week’ ~piky (pl) ‘weeks’ cf. SYN ts ~m

nup<sup>h</sup>o k ‘one week’

sus ts ~mpik ‘many weeks’

go nup<sup>h</sup>o ni.:si k<sup>h</sup>oi l g r gi l inu ‘I go to overseas for about two weeks.’

~ko ts ~mmi s pp r u it ‘It rained heavily this week.’

l nup<sup>h</sup>opikmi sin k dumb ‘Four weeks make one month.’

nup<sup>h</sup>ts vt. ‘to finish, be over, satisfy’ (itself) nup<sup>h</sup>t (p, 3sg)

‘completed, finished’ nup<sup>h</sup>šo (pp, adj.) ‘completed,

finished' NEG m ~ 'not to complete, finish' cf. SYN thumts  
(by an actor)

ki lomi kumso nup<sup>h</sup>ts 'the song to be over on the  
Radio'

g r bw k yupsiš nup<sup>h</sup>ts 'the water of the pot to be  
finished having leaked'

ki lok ritslo nup<sup>h</sup>t 'The story over the Radio is over.'

q ɥ p/p /

p rum n. (c) 'spinning wheel' ~piky (pl) 'spinning wheels' SYN him , šy l p t k  
p rum hirtsts 'to round up the spinning wheel;  
ostsã nu p rum 'wool and spinning wheel'  
p rummi ostsã p its 'to spin the wool in the spinning wheel'  
m m mi ostsã p rummi p it m 'The mother spun the wool in the spinning  
wheel.'  
go p rum hirnu 'I round up the spinning wheel.'

p is n. [Text source: 2.28] 'rule, government/control' cf. SYN hopog m  
hopok p is 'the king's rule'

p rgi n. (c) [K-K cul.] 'shrine' ~pik(pl) 'shrines'  
l g p rgimi y br pik w itsts 'to keep ancestors in the shrine'

p t n. (c) [< p ti] 'leaf' (spec. in culture) ~piki (pl) 'leaves' cf. SYN s p<sup>h</sup> (gen.)  
p tk <sup>1</sup>'of the leaf' <sup>2</sup>'because of...(grammar)' <sup>3</sup>'paper'

p tikdz t n. (c) 'material' ~pik(pl) 'materials'  
~ko p tikdz t suk m' ? 'Whose material is this?'

p ts vt. [*p tso* in Kir nti-B ; *p ts m* in Kir nti-W m] <sup>1</sup>'to do, act, behave, treat' paptu  
(p, 3sg) 'did' p šo (pp, adj) 'done' NEG m ~ 'to not do' <sup>2</sup>(fig.) 'to copulate,  
have sexual intercourse, rape (also šukulp ts ; cf. šukul)'

(n+v)

dzitsk<sup>h</sup> ts~ 'to quarrel'

gonu dzitsk<sup>h</sup> ts m p uo 'Do not quarrel with me.'

dzol~ 'to lie'

goimi mop dzolp ts m dumb 'You should not lie in that manner.'

dzol p šonu rimšo m dumb 'It won't be better while lying.'

h ~th ~ 'to be careless'

murum dumšo m r h ~th p sin m p ts 'One should not be careless while  
being a man.'

k il~ 'to persuade'  
 gom m ko k<sup>h</sup>uik li k ilp t 'I persuaded the thief.'  
 kop<sup>h</sup>l ~ 'to make noise or be uncontrolled'  
 kumso~ 'to sing a song'  
 goi kumso k p uo 'You sing a song.'  
 k<sup>h</sup> lo~ 'to invoke the spirits of the ancestors'  
 pōib(o)-gy mpikimi k<sup>h</sup> lo p inim 'The shamans (male-female) invoke the spirit of the ancestors.'  
 k<sup>h</sup> ldi ~ 'to doubt' goimi lo: k<sup>h</sup>uisšo p tik gom k<sup>h</sup> di p t 'I doubted you because you've hidden the fact.'  
 k<sup>h</sup> l~ 'to guard'  
 go ~ko k<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup> lp inu 'I guard this house.'  
 k<sup>h</sup>ui~ 'to steal' k<sup>h</sup>uip ts m dumb 'It is not better to steal.'  
 k<sup>h</sup>uip ts m m i pu ts m i (rhy.)  
 g its~ 'to be angry'  
 goimi g its m p yi n rimšo dumb 'It is better for if you do not get angry.'  
 lo:~ 'to talk, discuss'  
 goi ~k piu mul lo:p i 'You come here; now let us talk.'  
 mon~ 'to grieve'  
 mop sus monp šo m d rb 'It is not fruitful to grieve so much in that manner.'  
 mun ~ 'to be shy'  
 m ko dz ts k li yo mun p ib 'S/he is shy even for eating.'  
 n m~ 'to love'  
 go āk imm k li n mp inu 'I love my mother.'  
 pid r~ 'to worship'  
 pul~ 'to invoke'  
 p<sup>h</sup> s~ 'to blow the wind'  
 roi~ 'to be sick'  
 s u~ 'to greet'  
 tsimik~ 'to wink'  
 th'usu~ 'to cough'  
 (stem/root+v)  
 b r~ 'to make fly by the wind'  
 blo ~ 'to save'  
 g ~ 'cause to walk'  
 r tu~ (fig.) 'to steal in a small quantity'  
 r ~ 'cause to rot'  
 r p~ 'cause to stand'  
 rin ~ 'to smell'  
 m ko w s l l pp gy rn p ib t 'The boy used to gamble.'  
 m komi kumso p w b t 'S/he has sang a song.'  
 m komi m r p ib ?m ? 'What does s/he do?'

- p l n. (c) ‘bamboo’ ~piky (pl) ‘bamboos’  
 p l kyortsts ‘to cut the bamboo’  
 gom p l k šyik li kyortt ‘I cut a bamboo for firewood.’
- p l n. (c, u) ‘species of nettle (esp having large leaves)’ *girardinia heterophylla*
- p si n. (c) <sup>1</sup>‘exercise’ ~piky (pl) ‘exercises’ <sup>2</sup>(v) [from p ts ] ‘did you two do?’  
 br si p si ‘writing exercise’  
 p simi ko:ts ‘to look at the exercise’  
 p si thumts ‘to complete the exercise’  
 gomi br si p si thumt ‘I completed the writing exercise.’  
 m kopik p si p šo ko:nko:n b ?t m ‘They are looking at the exercise performance.’
- p adv. par. ‘way, manner’  
 rimšop p ts ‘to do well’  
 goi m g rimšop p uo ‘Do your job well.’
- pã n. (c) ‘place’ ~pik(pl) ‘places’ cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup>op  
 m ko pã rimšo m b ‘The place is not beautiful.’
- p itsts vt. ‘to wear, put on, tie’ (esp. jewelry) p ittu (p, 3sg) ‘put on’ p išo (pp, adj) ‘put on’ cf. SYN gup<sup>h</sup>ts , p<sup>h</sup> ts , li?ts , muitsts , r lts (differ in manner)  
 NEG m ~ ‘not to put on’
- p´ itsts vt. ‘to fasten, girdle, tie’ (esp. for animal) p´ ittu~p´aittau (p, 3sg) ‘girdled’  
 p´ išo (pp, adj) ‘girdled’ NEG m ~ ‘not to fasten’
- p ts vt. ‘to spin’ p tu (p, 3sg) ‘spun’ p šo (pp, adj) ‘spun’ NEG m ~ ‘not to spin’  
 šy l p ts ‘to spin the thread’  
 p rummi p ts ‘to spin by the spinning wheel’  
 boss p<sup>h</sup> prots k li ostsõ p ts m lb ‘The wool must be spun for weaving the woolen-blanket.’  
 ãk m m mi boss p<sup>h</sup> prots kali šy l p nim ‘My mother spins the thread for weaving the woolen-blanket.’
- p iw n. [p i <pw i] ‘Kir nti-B .:yung’s ancestor of Wallo Kirat’
- p´ š r adj. <sup>1</sup>‘dense, remains of boiled millet after distilling wine’
- p rkot n. [~ p lk<sup>h</sup>uti; cf. p rkuti in Kir nti-B ] ‘sweet-potato’  
 p rkot dots ‘to dig out the sweet-potato’  
 p rkot lopts ‘to boil the sweet-potato’  
 p rkot nu r b ‘sweet-potato and potato’  
 gom p rkot dot ‘I dug out the sweet-potato.’

m kom p rkot lopš dz ptu ‘S/he ate the sweet-potato having boiled.’  
p rkotk Tig l l yo b .:b ‘The colour of the sweet-potato is also red.’

p’ ts vt. ‘to open’ [~ pl .:ts ] (esp. the mouth of ±animate including human) p’ tu (p, 3sg) ‘opened’ p’ šo (pp, adj) ‘opened’ NEG m ~ ‘not to open’  
šyo p’ ts ‘to open the mouth’  
gy blik šyo p’ ts ‘to open th mouth of the bag, satchel’  
gy blimi k<sup>h</sup>yōp t kurp ts k li gy blik šyo p’ ts m lb ‘The mouth of the satchel must be opened to put the books.’  
šyo p’ ko ‘Open your mouth.’

pã n. ‘turn’

mul ãk pã ‘now my turn’  
mul ãk pã dz .:t ‘Now it’s my turn.’

p n. (c) ‘gun’ ~piki (pl) ‘guns’ [See for use in p’ut<sup>h</sup> ] cf. SYN p’ut<sup>h</sup> , t bu, p , p<sup>h</sup>t k  
p gy itsts ‘to cathch the gun’

p nm r’its vt. ‘to be in rows’

r kmits budi p nm r’iš g .:ts m lb ‘We should walk in rows like ants.’

p r n. ‘right’ ANT gyur

p r hirsšo ‘Right turn.’  
go p r g b .:nu ‘I sit on the left.’

p ri n. ‘west’

p ri pis ‘west direction’  
p ri g ‘towards the west’  
n p ri g ob ‘The sun sets in the west.’

pid r n. ‘worship’ (partial RED *pid r-n md r*)

pid r p ts ‘to worship’  
pid rk li šyãbu ‘the millet beer for worship’  
kir nti nk pid r ‘worship of the Kir ntis’  
kir nti nk pid rmi šyãbu m dumthu m dumb ‘The millet beer is necessary in the worship of the Kirantis.’  
pid r šy r pito ‘Bring the rice for worship.’

-piky pl. suffix [~ piki > pik, puki > puk, p ki > p k] ‘plural’ (See also - n)

murpiki ‘men’  
b rmopik ‘cats’  
lp k ‘children’  
m .:piki ‘they’  
gop ki ‘we’  
goip ki ‘you’

lp ki r ssik<sup>h</sup> l mt m ‘The children went to the school.’  
 murup ki dumk<sup>h</sup> l glut m ‘Men came out of the office.’

pind n. [S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘floor’  
 pind mi r pts ‘to stand on the floor’

pip n. (c) [< pipi] <sup>1</sup>‘king’ ~pik(pl) ‘kings’ cf. SYN hopo as in tsuplu hopo; also cf. y br  
 FEM pipim <sup>2</sup>‘god’ SYN hopo FEM hopom

pirsir n. ‘whey’  
 pirsir tutsa ‘to drink the whey’  
 pirsis buš dumb ‘Whey is white.’

pis n. (c) [S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘direction’ ~pik(pl) ‘directions’

pit<sup>h</sup> adv. [~pit<sup>h</sup>g or h r g ] ‘thither, directional’  
 pit<sup>h</sup>g ko:ts ‘to look thither’  
 pit<sup>h</sup>g dortsts ‘to run thither’  
 m ko wã s l pit<sup>h</sup>g dorttu ‘The boy ran thither.’  
 goi pit<sup>h</sup>g l uo ‘You go towards that direction.’  
 go d pit<sup>h</sup>g l ti ‘I went thither.’

pits vi. [< hits ; marked for spatial deixies (Mokusu as consultant in NK Rai (2002))]  
 ‘to come up (level)’ (verticality) dz .:t (p, 3sg) ‘came up (level)’ dz .:šo  
 (pp, adj) ‘come up (level)’ cf. SYN its , dz .:ts , kuts

pitsts vt. [marked for spatial deixies; Mokusu as a consultant in NK Rai (2002)] ‘to  
 bring down (vertical)’ pittu (p, 3sg) ‘brought up’ pisšo(pp, adj.) ‘brought  
 up’ cf. SYN hitsts , ts .:ts , kuitsts NEG m ~ ‘not to bring up (level)’  
 õth pitsts ‘to bring hither’  
 n th pitsts ‘to fetch near’  
 m ko bl tik õth pito ‘Bring that pen hither.’  
 m ko k<sup>h</sup>yõp t n th pit n ‘Please fetch the book near.’  
 m ko k<sup>h</sup>yõp t oth m pito m k n oto ‘Don’t bring the book hither; keep it  
 there.’

p’itsts vi. ‘to fart’ p’ittu (p, 3sg) ‘farted’ p’isšo (pp, adj) ‘farted’ NEG m ~ ‘not to fart’  
 [cf. p<sup>h</sup>itsts m (across a horizontal line) Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort 2002: 150]  
 cf. SYN d llo r .:ts (fig. suk d llo r :m ooo?) ‘Who farted?’  
 sus dz šom r p’itsts ‘to fart while eating a lot’  
 k rsšo koltsi nu dz š p’itsts ‘to fart having eaten the roasted soybean  
 and maize’  
 m th bmu n th p’itsts mun dumb ‘It is shameful to fart in front of  
 one’s own respectable person(s).’  
 goimi p’is ‘?’ ‘Did you (thou) fart?’

pirsuli n. (c) 'weevil' cf. SYN th kpo

pirsulimi dz ib 'The weevil destroys the maize.'

pis n. [S: Kir nit-Lim] 'direction'

pis kōits 'to show the direction'

pis hillop ts 'to ask the direction'

piy n. (c) 'head' ~piki (pl) 'heads'

t<sup>h</sup> b piy (lit./fig.) 'a big head/chief, boss (also see l lpiy )'

piy k<sup>h</sup> itsts 'to have a headache'

piy b ts (fig.) 'to trouble'

āk piy m b u 'Don't trouble me.'

piy k<sup>h</sup> uitsts (fig.) 'to be timid'

~ko l piy domo T<sup>h</sup> b b m iii? 'How big head this baby has!'

āk piy k<sup>h</sup> itt 'My head ached.'

goi piy ts'išo 'You bathe your head.'

pl w tsiw n. 'disturbance' ~p ts vt. 'to disturb'

gom pl w tsiw p tik m bl sp t br .:ts m ts bu 'I could not write the letter because of disturbance.'

pl ps l adj. 'helpless'

go pl ps l dumti 'I became helpless.'

pl .:ts vt. '1to narrate, 2open, reveal' pl .:tu (p, 3sg) 'revealed' pl .:šo (pp, adj.)

'revealed' NEG m ~ 'to not reveal'

plāk tuli n. (c) 'umbrella' ~piky (pl) 'umbrellas' SYN n r msi

plumdz n. 'fist'

āk plumdz 'my fist'

gom t uk li āk plumdz mi tupt 'I bit the son with my fist.'

pl{}r) ~k n. (ms) [<pl{}r) ~ku] 'tears'

pl{}r) ~k nu r'issi 'tears and laughter'

muru pl{}r) ~k 'tears of man'

šo m r pl{}r) ~k 'tears after weeping'

m ko lk m'itsimi pl{}r) ~k t s u 'Tears appeared on the eyes of the child.'

m rd š pl{}r) ~k t'ogi? 'Why did you shed tears having wept?'

pl{}r) ~kk<sup>h</sup> i n. [pl{}r) ~k+k<sup>h</sup> i] 'onion'

pl{}r) ~kk<sup>h</sup> i nu m kk<sup>h</sup>o 'onion and garlic'

l l pl{}r) ~kk<sup>h</sup> i kyortsts 'to cut the red onion'

pl{} /r) ~kk<sup>h</sup> i nu m kk<sup>h</sup>o kyorsš k<sup>h</sup> Its ‘to mix onion and garlic having cut’  
 pl{} /r) ~kk<sup>h</sup> i k<sup>h</sup> lšo k<sup>h</sup> i blob ‘The onion mixed curry will be tasty.’  
 gom ~ko pl{} /r) ~kk<sup>h</sup> i gy pt ‘I bought this onion.’

pl{} /r) ~ts vt. ‘to forget’ pl{} /r) ~tu~ u (p, 3sg) ‘forgot’ pl{} /r) ~šo (pp, adj) ‘forgotten’  
 NEG m ~ ‘not to forget’ ANT mimts ‘to remember’  
 dop iyo m pl{} /r) ~ts ‘not to forget anyhow’  
 s pp pl{} /r) ~ts ‘to forget frequently’  
 âk li pl{} /r) ~ts m n il ‘Please forget me not.’  
 pl{} /r) ~ts d pl{} /r) ~ts b nk p pl{} /r) ~ts ‘to forget wonderfully’  
 gom d n slo d ~ts n pl{} /r) ~dub t ‘I forgot to tell the news.’

pl{} /r) :.ts vi. ‘to jump’ pl{} /r) :.tu~ u (p, 3sg) ‘jumped’ pl{} /r) :.šo ‘jumped’ NEG m ~  
 ‘not to jump’  
 l budi pl{} /r) :.ts ‘to jump like a child’  
 s pp pl{} /r) :.ts ‘to jump very much’  
 goi m rd l budi pl{} /r) :.giooo? ‘Why did you jump like a child?’ (EMP)  
 mip pl{} /r) :.šonu t<sup>h</sup> sib ‘One falls down while jumping like that.’

pl{} /r) ts vt. ‘to cut (esp. thin objects like hair etc.)’ pl{} /r) tu (p, 3sg) ‘cut’ pl{} /r) šo (pp,  
 adj) ‘cut’ cf. SYN kyortsts , k<sup>h</sup>roitsts , ts :.ts NEG m ~ ‘not to cut’  
 tsã pl{} /r) ts ‘to have a hair cut’  
 gom sin t âk tsã pl{} /r) p itt ‘I had had my hair cut yesterday.’

pl ts vt. ‘to conclude’ pl tu (p, 3sg) ‘concluded’ pl šo (pp, adj.) ‘concluded’ NEG m ~  
 ‘to not conclude’

pl’its vt. ‘to fill’ (vs. bl’its ) pl’itu (p, 3sg) ‘filled’ pl’išo (pp, adj.) ‘filled’ NEG m ~  
 ‘to not fill’

pl{} /r) ups n. (c) ‘comb’ ~piky (pl) ‘combs’  
 p l k plups ‘a comb made up of bamboo’

po n. (c) [<pw ; historically implosive /pw/; (See gen. ~šy )] ‘pig’ ~piki (pl) ‘pigs’  
 pošy ‘pork’  
 pošy m b ts ‘not to have pork’  
 ts po ‘piglet’  
 go pošy b ts m d u ‘I do not like having pork.’  
 ~ko imitstsili ts po s pp rimšo b :.t ‘This small piglet is very beautiful.’  
 surup nu ke g rmi po t<sup>h</sup>its m dumb d nim(i) ‘It is said that the Brahmin  
 and Chetri should not touch the pig.’

pod n. (c) ‘earthworm’ ~piki (pl) ‘earthworms’  
 r u nu pod ‘rain and earthworm’  
 gyošo pod ‘a long earthworm’

r u išonu pod t sib 'Earthworm is seen while raining.'  
 pod k<sup>h</sup> pmi b .:b 'Earthworm lives in the soil.'  
 pod lobi b .:b 'Earthworm is soft.'

po.:ts vt. (use force, order etc.) 'to wake up, get/stand up (cf. bo.:ts )' po.:tu~au (p, 3sg) 'woke up' po.:šo (pp, adj) 'woken up' NEG m ~ 'not to wake up'

po.:tsi n. (c) 'knee' ~piki (pl) 'knees'  
 po.:tsimi th .:ts 'to tread by knee'  
 po.:tsi nu k<sup>h</sup>oili 'knee and leg'  
 āk po.:tsimi p<sup>h</sup>uilumi t<sup>h</sup>ot u 'My knee is hit by the stone.'  
 āk po.:tsimi k<sup>h</sup> iššo muls m m š 'My knee-pain has not recovered yet.'  
 sunik n k po.:tsi rimšop himdo 'Shake you knee well early in the morning.'

pol n. (c) 'hole' ~piky (pl) 'holes' cf. SYN porsoli  
 nop<sup>h</sup> k porsoli 'the hole of the ear'

pol n. (c) 'sexual/reproductive organ' (of M/FEM; generic tab.)  
 goi pol (tab.)  
 ā pol d n ? (tab.)  
 ā pol dz u (tab.)  
 goi pol mi m r p in y (tab.)  
 āk pol r ksut (tab.)

polpol n. (u) 'calf'  
 k<sup>h</sup>oili nu polpol 'leg and calf'  
 polpol lo.:sits 'the calf to be overturned itself' (esp. as a sign of weakness)  
 polpol k<sup>h</sup> itsts 'to ache the calf'  
 āk polpol k<sup>h</sup> itt 'My calf ached.'  
 polpol k<sup>h</sup> itt n dzil k<sup>h</sup> .:ts m lb 'If the calf aches, one should oil it.'

por exp. par. [Text source: 3.31] INTF/MAN por pl' ts 'to open widely'

poro n.'nomad' adj. poro šo 'nomadic'  
 m ko poro 'the/that nomad'  
 m ko poro t k l m ? 'Where did the nomad go?'

po.:ts vt. 'to make someone wake up, (fig.) raise' cf. bo.:ts po.:tu (p, 3sg) 'made wake' po.:ts (pp, adj.) 'made wake' NEG m ~ 'to not make wake'

porsoli n. 'hole' (c) ~piky (pl) 'holes' cf. SYN pol  
 r kmitsk porsoli 'the hole of the ant'

- porsolip ts vt. 'to make a hole' porsolip ptu (p, 3sg) 'made a hole' porsolip šo (pp) 'made a hole' NEG porsolim p ts
- pr gn slo: n. [S: Sans.+nat] 'pre-history' ~sits adj. 'pre-historical'  
pr gn slo: br .:sišo m b .:b 'what is pre-historical is unwritten'
- pr{/l} ~ts vt. 'to forget' pr ~tu (p) 'forgot' pr ~šo (pp, adj.) 'forgotten' NEG m ~ 'to not forget'  
d ~t klo: pr{/l} ~ts 'to forget the message to be told'
- pr{/l} ts vt. 'to cut' (esp. non/human hair) cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup>r{/l}oitsts , kyortsts , ts .:ts , r'its )
- pr{/l}ots vt. 'to knit, weave' pr{/l}otu~ u (p, 3sg) 'knitted, wove' pr{/l}ošo (pp, adj.) 'knitted, woven' NEG m ~ 'not to knit, weave'  
ostsāk suit r pr{/l}ots 'to knit sweater of the wool'  
k rp t pr{/l}ots 'to weave carpet'  
ink m m mi k rp t pr{/l}ot m 'Your mother wove a carpet.'  
go suit r pr{/l}ots m d nu 'I don't like weaving the carpet.'
- pr{/l}'ots vi. 'to escape' pr{/l}'otu (p, 3sg) 'escaped' pr{/l}'ošo (pp, adj) 'escaped' NEG m ~ 'not to escape'  
k<sup>h</sup>ui budi pr{/l}'otsa 'to escape like a thief'  
m tuitt kp pr{/l}'ots 'to escape secretly'  
m ko w s l d k<sup>h</sup>ui budin pr{/l}'otu 'The boy escaped like a thief.'  
goi m rd m tuitt kp pl{/l}ogi? 'Why did you escape secretly?'
- pr{/l}olts 'to break, shatter' (vs. cf. brolts ) pr{/l}oltu (p, 3sg) broke pr{/l}olšo (pp, adj.) 'broken' NEG m ~ 'not to break'  
eko b n sumi pr{/l}ol ? 'Who broke this plate?'  
gonimp<sup>h</sup> m b lun pr{/l}olt sku 'We two broke the balloon.'
- pr{/l}o ts vt. 'to release, free, unbind, unfetter, let, loose, pardon, leave, give up (esp. cattle, man, place etc.)' pr{/l}o tu (p, 3sg) 'gave up something' pr{/l}o šo 'given up something' NEG m ~ 'not to free'  
ky rš yots k li pr{/l}o ts 'to set free the goat for grazing'  
b ir gmi k<sup>h</sup> pr{/l}o ts 'to desert the house in melancholy'  
t umi b'I yo:ts k li pr{/l}o tu 'The son released the cow for grazing.'  
āk p<sup>h</sup>pomi bair gmi k<sup>h</sup> pr{/l}o t m  
gom m ko k<sup>h</sup>uik li mon pr{/l}o t 'I pardoned the thief without punishing.'
- pr{/l}ups n. (c) 'comb' ~piki (pl) 'combs'  
pr{/l}ups nu tsā 'comb and hair'  
pr{/l}ups mi tsā m'its 'to comb hair with a comb'  
pr{/l}ups pit<sup>h</sup> t itsts 'to throw the comb thither'

āk pr(}/lups nak gy pšo m ‘My comb is bought recently.’

p ib n. (c) ‘beggar’ ~piki (pl) ‘beggars’ cf. SYN p it k, p ibmur, p il t  
 p ib nu g b ‘a beggar and a giver’  
 lāmi p it k ‘a beggar in the street’  
 p ibk li ‘to the beggar’  
 p it knu khui ‘a thief with the beggar’  
 gom p ibk li g rb g t ‘I gave alms to the beggar.’  
 m ko p imur m rd m ? ‘Why did the beggar cry?’

p ibmur n. (c) [p ib+mur] cf. SYN p it k, p ib, p il t  
 go m ko p ibmurk li k<sup>h</sup> d k g nu ‘I give one rupee to that beggar.’

p it k n. (c) cf. SYN p ib, p ibmur, p il t  
 goi p it k dumo ‘Be a beggar.’

p il t n. (c) cf. SYN p ib, p ibmur, p t k

p its vt. ‘to beg, ask for, demand’ p itu (p, 3sg) ‘begged’ p išo (pp, adj) ‘begged’ NEG  
 m ~ ‘to not beg’  
 m m nu ky t p its ‘to ask for money with the mother’  
 busbw k yo p its m šu yo k<sup>h</sup>uitsts (prov.) ‘to hesitate while begging’  
 ik m m nu bl tik k puno ‘Ask for a pen with your mother.’  
 gom goinu t<sup>h</sup>ots p it ‘I asked for a help with you.’

pulp ts vt. ‘to invoke, worship’  
 y br -gubr k li pulp ts ‘to invoke the ancestral god’

pulu n. (c,u) ‘ash, ashes’ ‘  
 pulu dumts (euph.) ‘cursing someone’  
 šyi tsošom r pulu dumb ‘The ash is made after burning the firewood.’

pumts vt. ‘to burry’ pumtu (p, 3sg) ‘burried’ pumšo (pp, adj.) ‘burried’ NEG m ~ ‘to  
 not burry’

p’uts vt. ‘to fire (esp. a gun), cause something to explode (vs. see b’utsa ‘to blast  
 itself’)’ p’utu (p, 3sg) ‘caused something to explode’ p’ušo (pp, adj) ‘caused  
 something to explode’  
 NEG m ~ ‘to not cause to explode’  
 šy nm mi p’uth p’ut u ‘A soldier fired the gun.’  
 H mi p’ut<sup>h</sup> p’uts d p’ut u šy m ko ammin b’ut u ‘Hang blasted the  
 gun but he himself burst.’

puts vt. ‘to measure’  
 tsirs puts ‘to measure the millet’

- p'ut<sup>h</sup> n. (c) 'gun' ~piki (pl) 'guns' cf. SYN t bu, p , ap<sup>h</sup>t k  
 p'ut<sup>h</sup> p'uts 'to fire a gun'  
 p'ut<sup>h</sup> t itsts 'to throw the gun'  
 p'ut<sup>h</sup> nu gy rtsts 'to play with the gun'  
 šy nm mi p'ut<sup>h</sup> gy itsts m lb 'A soldier must hold the gun.'  
 goi p'ut<sup>h</sup> nu m gy ro 'Don't play with the gun.'
- puits<sup>h</sup> vt. 'to untie, undo, unfold' (esp. knot, cloth, bangle etc.) puittu (p, 3sg) 'undid'  
 puisšo (pp, adj.) 'undone' NEG m ~ 'not to untie'  
 gumlik puits<sup>h</sup> 'to undo the bangle'  
 gun puits<sup>h</sup> 'to undo the sari'  
 not<sup>h</sup> puits<sup>h</sup> 'to untie the knot'  
 goi m ko gun puittu 'You undo the sari.'  
 āk t mimi gumlik puittu~ u 'My daughter undid the bangle.'
- r 𑖅 p<sup>h</sup>/p<sup>h</sup> /
- p<sup>h</sup> lgi n. (u) 'food variety' (of boiled maize)  
 blošo p<sup>h</sup> lgi 'a tasty phalgi'  
 mul t p<sup>h</sup> lgi k ts m lb 'Phalgi must be cooked today.'
- p<sup>h</sup> lo n. (c) [<p<sup>h</sup> l ktsu ] 'spear' ~pik (pl) 'spears'  
 p<sup>h</sup> lom tho :ts 'to pierce with a spear'
- p<sup>h</sup> pir gi n. (c) 'desert' ~piky (pl) 'deserts'  
 p<sup>h</sup> pir gmi w k m thisib 'Water cannot be found in the desert.'
- p<sup>h</sup> s n. (u) [<p<sup>h</sup> sy ] 'air'  
 p<sup>h</sup> smi b rp ts 'to make fly by the wind'  
 p<sup>h</sup> sp ts see p ts  
 mul t m rimšo p<sup>h</sup> s p ptu 'The wind blew up badly today.'  
 āk k<sup>h</sup>yōp t p<sup>h</sup> smi b rp ptu 'The wind caused my book flew away.'
- p<sup>h</sup> s n. (ms) [<p<sup>h</sup> si] 'flour'  
 šy rp<sup>h</sup> sk šyopl 'bread made up of the rice-flour'  
 ts'irp<sup>h</sup> sk k l 'porridge made up of the millet-flour'  
 p<sup>h</sup> s hilt 'to grind the flour'  
 m kok m m mi ts rbp<sup>h</sup> sk šyopl tso:t m 'His/Her mother cooked the bread of the weat-flour.'  
 gom mul t ts'irsp<sup>h</sup> sk k l dz t 'I had porridge of the millet-flour today.'  
 t mimi p<sup>h</sup> s hiltu 'The daughter grinded the flour.'
- p<sup>h</sup> skyu n. (c) 'airplane/aero-plane' ~piki (pl) 'airplanes'

$p^h$  skyu b rp ib nu  $p^h$  skyu 'pilot and the airplane'  
 $p^h$  skyumi b rtsts 'to fly in the airplane'  
 $p^h$  skyu b rp ts 'to fly an airplane'  
 Sukhru p  $p^h$  skyu b rp ib dumt 'Sukhrungpa became a pilot.'  
 gom p tk  $p^h$  skyu šy lt 'I made a paper airplane.'

$p^h$  itsts vt. 'to exchange'  $p^h$  ittu (p, 3sg) 'exchanged'  $p^h$  iššo (pp) 'exchanged' NEG  
 m ~ 'to not exchange'

$p^h$  br n. (c) 'a unit of money' (esp. ½ rupee coin as 50 pence in Britain)  
 $p^h$  br k g ts 'to give a fifty paisa coin'  
 $p^h$  br k l tsts 'to return a fifty paisa coin'  
 $p^h$  br k mi d m r i yo m p'ib 'Fifty paisa cannot buy anything.'  
 āk  $p^h$  br k dz mt 'My fifty paisa got lost (itself).'

$p^h$  s n. (c) 'papaya' *carica papaya* ~pik (pl) 'papayas' cf. SYN m u  
 h u  $p^h$  s 'the yellow papaya'

$p^h$  msi n. (c) [ $<p^h$  mts ] 'spendthrift' ~pik(pl) spendthrifts'  
 m ko  $p^h$  msi wā is l 'the spendthrift boy'  
 go  $p^h$  msi m n 'I am not a spendthrift.'

$p^h$  rb n. (c) [ $>p^h$  rb;  $<p^h$  rtsts ] 'tailor, one of the untouchable Hindu castes' cf. SYN  
 bumir, b b r  
 w nu  $p^h$  rb 'the cloth and the tailor'  
 m ko  $p^h$  rb su m' ? 'Who is that tailor?'

$p^h$  ro n. (c) 'area' ~piki (pl) 'areas'  
 ~ko āk  $p^h$  ro m 'This is my area.'

$p^h$  ts n. (c) 'part' ~piki (pl) 'parts'  
 $p^h$  ts k 'part one'  
 n ll  $p^h$  tspiki 'all parts'  
 k<sup>h</sup>yōp k  $p^h$  ts 'part of the book'  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk  $p^h$  ts k k<sup>h</sup> sišo b .:t 'One part of this book is torn.'  
 gom m ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk  $p^h$  ts k l gy pt 'I bought only one part of that  
 book.'  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp tmi sus  $p^h$  tspiki b .:t m 'This book has many parts.'

$p^h$  ~ts n. (c) 'share' ~piki (pl) 'shares'  
 $p^h$  ~ts gy pts 'to buy a share'  
 t<sup>h</sup> b  $p^h$  ~ts 'a big share'  
 $p^h$  ~tsmi ph r t ts 'to get profit in the share'  
 gom  $p^h$  ~ts gy pšo ky tk<sup>h</sup> mi s pp  $p^h$  r ts mtu 'The bank whose share I  
 bought, earned a lot of profit.'

gom ãk p<sup>h</sup> ~ts l t ‘I sold my share.’  
 goi ky tk<sup>h</sup>ik p<sup>h</sup> ~ts gy pn y ? ‘Do you want to buy share of a bank?’

p<sup>h</sup> .:ts vt. ‘to put on, wear, get dressed’ p<sup>h</sup> .:tu (p, 3sg) ‘wore’ p<sup>h</sup> .:šo (pp, adj) ‘worn’  
 NEG m ~ ‘not to wear’ cf. SYN gup<sup>h</sup>ts , li.:ts , muitsts , r lts , p itsts  
 (differ in manner)  
 sōt<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup> .:ts ‘to wear a shirt’  
 su g b p<sup>h</sup> .:ts ‘to wear a coat’  
 gom su g b p<sup>h</sup> siti ‘I wore a coat.’  
 lo bmi sōt<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup> s u ‘The coat is worn by the brother.’

p<sup>h</sup> tsts vt. ‘to bring, take sth out, extract’ (cf. gen. SYN solts , glu tsa) p<sup>h</sup> ttu (p, 3sg)  
 ‘took out’ p<sup>h</sup> sšo (pp, adj.) ‘taken out’ NEG m ~ ‘not to take sth out’  
 k r l lopšo t<sup>h</sup>okporo p<sup>h</sup> tsts ‘to bring out he boiled christophine from the  
 pan’  
 m’íl tsošo r b p<sup>h</sup> tsts ‘to bring out the burnt potato from the fire’  
 gom kuk rl lopšo k gi p<sup>h</sup> tt ‘I took out the boiled yam from the cooker.’

p<sup>h</sup> ndz kom n. [S: Kir nti-Lim] cf. SYN kom  
 p<sup>h</sup> ndz komt pts ‘to play the harp’

p<sup>h</sup> n n. ‘ear-rim, regarding this shape’  
 Tolgyušo p<sup>h</sup> n ‘a hanging ear-rim’

p<sup>h</sup> r r n. onomat. ‘a sound of wind and rainfall’  
 p<sup>h</sup> r r p ts ‘to make a sound of wind or rainfall’  
 p<sup>h</sup> r r pa r u it ‘It rained noisily.’  
 p<sup>h</sup> r r p p<sup>h</sup> s p ptu ‘It winded noisily.’

p<sup>h</sup> rb( ) n. (c) [< p<sup>h</sup> rtsts ] cf. SYN bumir [See also b b r]  
 p<sup>h</sup> rbk g ‘profession of the tailor’  
 m komur p<sup>h</sup> rb m ‘He is a tailor.’

p<sup>h</sup> ttsi n. ‘a kind of wild fruit, strawberry, *myrica esculenta/nagi*’ (esp. sweet and sour  
 taste but hard like nut and not exactly like strawberry) cf. SYN l limits  
 p<sup>h</sup> ttsi m lts ‘to look for the straberry’  
 go p<sup>h</sup> ttsi s pp d nu ‘I like strawberry very much.’

p<sup>h</sup>r{/l} ~ts ‘to tie, bind’ p<sup>h</sup>l ~tu (p, 3sg) ‘tied’ p<sup>h</sup>l ~šo (pp, adj.) ‘tied’ NEG m ~ ‘to not  
 bind’  
 ri ~šo sosm l p<sup>h</sup>r{/l} ~ts ‘to bind the collected (fig.) grass’  
 gom b’ik li p<sup>h</sup>r{/l} ~t ‘I bound the cow.’

p<sup>h</sup>~its vt. ‘to sweep’ p<sup>h</sup>~itu (p, 3sg) ‘swept’ p<sup>h</sup>~išo (pp, adj.) ‘swept’ NEG m ~ ‘to not  
 sweep’

klon p<sup>h</sup>its 'to sweep the room'  
 goi klon p<sup>h</sup>iko 'You sweep the room.'

p<sup>h</sup>l ts vt. 'to differ' p<sup>h</sup>l tu (p, 3sg) 'differed' p<sup>h</sup>l šo (pp, adj.) NEG m ~ 'to not differ'  
 ts nts nu k<sup>h</sup>intsi p<sup>h</sup>l mumnis 'Tsentse and Khintsi differ each other.'

p<sup>h</sup>lipts vi. 'to order' p<sup>h</sup>liptu (p, 3sg) 'ordered' p<sup>h</sup>lipšo (pp, adj.) 'ordered' cf. SYN,  
 p<sup>h</sup>lits , r ts (S: N+Nat) NEG m ~ 'to not order'

p<sup>h</sup>l kšyi n. 'piece of wood'  
 p<sup>h</sup>l kšyi gupts 'to pick up the piece of wood'

p<sup>h</sup>l nkyo n. (c) 'boundary (fig.)' ~ pik (pl)  
 r gik p<sup>h</sup>l nkyo 'boundary of the nation'

p<sup>h</sup>o: n. (c) 'car' ~piki (pl) 'cars' cf. SYN imk<sup>h</sup> pkyu  
 p<sup>h</sup>o:k hirtsw rts 'wheel of the car'  
 p<sup>h</sup>o: dorp ts 'to drive a car'  
 ~ko p<sup>h</sup>o: t k gy bi? 'Where did you buy this car?'  
 p<sup>h</sup>o:g ots 'to enter inside the car'  
 m kok p<sup>h</sup>po p<sup>h</sup>o: p<sup>h</sup> pindomi b .:t 'His/her father died in a car accident.'  
 goi p<sup>h</sup>o: hoisš t k l in y ? 'Where do you go by using the car.'

p<sup>h</sup>oro n. 'walnut'  
 p<sup>h</sup>oro pr()lolts 'to break the walnut'  
 p<sup>h</sup>oro b ts 'to have the walnut'  
 go p<sup>h</sup>oro b ts d nu 'I like to have walnut.'

p<sup>h</sup>ošyi 'tree used as grass for animal; *ficus roxburghii*' (N नेबरा)

p<sup>h</sup>oT n. 'testicles'  
 p<sup>h</sup>oT r ksuts 'to itch the testicles'  
 p<sup>h</sup>oTmi k<sup>h</sup> itsts 'to have pain in testicles'

p<sup>h</sup>oti n. [spoken > p<sup>h</sup>ot] 'toponym in Kir nti-Kōits (exoglotonym Sun(u)war)  
 āk k<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>oti m 'My house is in Photi.'

p<sup>h</sup>r ~s n. (c) 'sentence' ~piki (pl) 'sentences'  
 itsp<sup>h</sup>r ~s nu p<sup>h</sup>r ~s 'phrase and sentence'  
 durd pikil itsp<sup>h</sup>r ~s munu itsp<sup>h</sup>r ~sl p<sup>h</sup>r ~s 'phrase from the words then  
 sentence from the phrase'  
 p<sup>h</sup>r ~spiki br .:ts 'to write sentences'  
 durd piki kurp š p<sup>h</sup>r ~s šy lsib 'Sentence is made out of words.'  
 goimi br .:šo p<sup>h</sup>r ~s m dum 'The sentence you've written is incorrect.'

p<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ)upts vt. ‘to defeat’ p<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ)uptu (p, 3sg) ‘defeated’ p<sup>h</sup>r(ɔ)upšo (pp, adj.) ‘defeated’  
NEG ‘to not defeat’

p<sup>h</sup>u n. (c) [PT-B and in other Kir nti languages \*p<sup>h</sup>u ] ~piki (pl) ‘flowers’  
boiššo p<sup>h</sup>u ‘the blossomed flower’  
p<sup>h</sup>u k r ltsi ‘garland of the flower’  
r ltsi l’its ‘to thread (insertesp. in the needle’s eye, beads, flowers) the  
garland’  
m ko p<sup>h</sup>u m gupo ‘Don’t pluck the flower.’  
dod b/dol b/dop rimšo p<sup>h</sup>u! ‘What a beautiful flower!’  
m ko l l p<sup>h</sup>u g yini ‘Please give me the red flower.’

p<sup>h</sup> n. (u) ‘snow’ ~tsã ‘yak’s tail/hair’ cf. SYN buli  
s’isi p<sup>h</sup> ‘cold snow’  
p<sup>h</sup> mi b šo ‘snowbite’  
p<sup>h</sup> do.:ts ‘to snow’  
p<sup>h</sup> mi gy rtsts ‘to play in the snow’  
tsomolo m mi p<sup>h</sup> do.:t ‘It snowed on the Mt. Everest.’  
p<sup>h</sup> mi m g .:ko ‘Don’t walk on the snow.’  
p<sup>h</sup> bub’u dumb ‘Snow is white.’

p<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup> i n. (u) ‘cauliflower’  
p<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup> ik k<sup>h</sup> i k ts ‘to cook the cauliflower curry’  
p<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup> i k<sup>h</sup>rumts ‘to plant the cauliflower’  
p<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup> i nu r b ‘cauliflower and potato’  
p<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup> i k uo ‘Cook the cauliflower.’  
m ko p<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup> i boim t ‘The cauliflower has blossomed.’  
lopšo p<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup> i t k odi? ‘Where did you keep the boiled cauliflower curry?’

p<sup>h</sup>umb’i n. (c) ‘yak’ ~piki (pl) ‘yaks’  
p<sup>h</sup>umb’ik homok nu dzil ‘yak’s milk and ghee’  
p<sup>h</sup>umb’i nu s mdz/s min ‘yak and Sherpa tribe’  
p<sup>h</sup>umb’i tsimts ‘to milk the yak’  
p<sup>h</sup>umb’i šyisi T<sup>h</sup> mmi T<sup>h</sup> sib ‘Yak is found in a cold place.’  
p<sup>h</sup>umb’ik homok nu dzil blob ‘Yak’s milk and ghee is tasty.’

p<sup>h</sup>u n. (c) [< p<sup>h</sup>u in Kir nti-Lim, bu in Kir nti-Rod] ‘flower’ ~piki (pl) ‘flowers’  
s pp rimšo p<sup>h</sup>u( ) ‘a beautiful flower’

p<sup>h</sup>ur n. (c) ‘colour’ hue’ ~piky (pl) ‘colours’ cf. SYN Tig , dzir  
p<sup>h</sup>urp ts ‘to paint’  
gom ãk k<sup>h</sup>ik li l lp<sup>h</sup>ur buitt ‘I painted my house red.’

p<sup>h</sup>urk l n. (c) [Eng+nat.] ‘ball, football, a round object’ ~piki (pl) ‘balls’  
p<sup>h</sup>urk l t itsts ‘to kick the ball’

p<sup>h</sup>urk l gy rtsts ‘to play football’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urk l s mts ‘to loose the football’  
 diš go p<sup>h</sup>urk l k gy pne ‘I’ll buy a football tomorrow.’  
 āk l yo p<sup>h</sup>urk l gy rtsts g ini ‘Let me also allow to play the football.’

p<sup>h</sup>urots n. ‘March’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urotsmi p<sup>h</sup> s ‘wind in March’  
 l lmits p<sup>h</sup>urotsmi mi .: ts ‘to ripe strawberry (N कफ़ल *myrica esculenta*) in March’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urotsmi hubtsi ‘hot/summer in March’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urotsmi p<sup>h</sup> s p ib ‘March is windy.’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urotsmi p<sup>h</sup> tsts mi .: b ‘Strawberry ripens in March.’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urotsmi hubtsi gob ‘summer starts in March.’

p<sup>h</sup>uru n. (c) [blending; p<sup>h</sup>u+ru] ‘garden’ ~piki(pl) ‘gardens’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urumi p<sup>h</sup>u k<sup>h</sup>rumts ‘to plant the flower in the garden’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urumi ušy rpiki ‘butterflies in the garden’  
 p<sup>h</sup>uruk p<sup>h</sup>u ‘the flower of the garden’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urumi p<sup>h</sup>upik boim t ‘The flowers in the garden have blossomed.’  
 p<sup>h</sup>uk n .: th gu .: t<sup>h</sup> burbu hirhir b .: t m ‘The butterflies are roaming around the garden.’  
 gomi p<sup>h</sup>uru do:t ‘I dug the garden.’

p<sup>h</sup>uru n. ‘a small pot used by shaman for doing *ck<sup>h</sup>uy* in Kir nti-Kōits culture’  
 p<sup>h</sup>urumi bw k kurp ts ‘to fill the phuru with water’

p<sup>h</sup>u .: su n. (c) ‘a sacred place near the fire-place in a Kir nti-Kōits house’  
 p<sup>h</sup>u .: sumi l ts m dumb ‘One cannot go to the p<sup>h</sup>u .: su place.’

S ब b /b /

b n. (c) [<≡w , .: w ; implosive historically] ‘fowl, rooster’ ~piky (pl) ‘fowls’  
 bw nu b rd ‘rooster and hawk’  
 bw šy ‘chicken (esp. meat)’  
 k r b ‘a black rooster’  
 bw thults rimšo dumb ‘It is better to run poultry.’  
 b k gy po ‘Buy a rooster.’  
 b thulo minu leš ky t ts mo ‘Keep poultry and then earn money having sold them.’

b d l n. [S: Eng+nat] ‘bottle’ ~piki (pl) ‘bottles’  
 b d lk pussu ‘lid of the bottle’  
 b d lmi ribdo ‘wine in the bottle’  
 b d lk sid k ‘medicine of the bottle’

~ko b d lk ribdo sumi tu ? ‘Who drank the wine of this bottle?’  
 goimi ~ko b d lk pussu m t yi? ‘Didn’t you see the lid of this bottle?’  
 gom ts ts r w isšo b d l prolt ‘I broke the bottle which contained  
 medicine.’

b ir g adj., n.~i (Sans.+nat) ‘melancholy’  
 b ir g dumts ‘to be melancholic’ ANT gy rsišo  
 b ir gmi ‘in melancholy’  
 b ir g p tik m ‘because of melancholy’  
 b ir g p np n ‘being melancholic’  
 mop b ir gi m dumo ‘Don’t be melancholic in that manner.’  
 goi b ir gi dumš m r p in y ? ‘What will you do being a melancholic?’  
 gom b ir gmi k<sup>h</sup> ploit ‘I left home in melancholy.’

b k<sup>h</sup> l n. (c) ‘pocket’ ~p ki (pl) ‘pockets’  
 sōt<sup>h</sup>k b k<sup>h</sup> l ‘pocket of the shirt’  
 b k<sup>h</sup> lmi ‘in the pocket’  
 b k<sup>h</sup> lk ‘of the pocket’  
 Tsurtsimi ky t b k<sup>h</sup> lmi w ittu ‘Cursi kept the money in the pocket.’  
 gomi āk bl tik b k<sup>h</sup> lmi m thidu ‘I did not find my pen in the pocket.’  
 āk sōt<sup>h</sup>k b k<sup>h</sup> l g t ‘My shirt’s pocket tore away.’

b l n. (c) ‘shoulder’ ~p ki (pl) ‘shoulders’  
 b l mi b l ‘shoulder on shoulder’  
 b l g ts (fig.) ‘to assist’  
 b l mi b l w itsts (fig.) ‘to unite’  
 dz kin munu b l mi b l w ittin ‘Come then unite/help.’  
 b l k<sup>h</sup> isšo p t k gom ~ko p l kurtsts m ts bu ‘I’m unable to carry this  
 bamboo because of shoulder-pain.’  
 lo b dumts d ~šo b l budi m ‘To be a brother means is support.’

b lm n. (c) ‘quantity’  
 k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk b lm ‘quantity of the book’

b m n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] ‘bomb’ ~pik (pl) ‘bombs’  
 b m bu.:ts (See bu.:ts )

b mil n. (c) ‘termite’ ~p ki (pl) cf. SYN d mr  
 imitstsili b mil ‘a small termite’  
 k<sup>h</sup> pmi b mil ‘the termite on the soil’  
 r w nu b mil ‘the tree and the termite’  
 b milmi k<sup>h</sup> pk dākin šy lb ‘The termite builds heap out of the soil.’  
 b milp kim r w b inimi ‘Termites destroy the log of trees.’

b p<sup>h</sup> l n. [< bwopp<sup>h</sup> l] ‘underarm, armpit’

b p<sup>h</sup> l r ksuts ‘to itch the armpit’  
 b p<sup>h</sup> lk tsã ‘underarm-hair’  
 âk b p<sup>h</sup> l rin p ptu ‘My underarm smelt.’  
 gom âk b p<sup>h</sup> l ts’it ‘I washed my armpit.’  
 b p<sup>h</sup> lmi n msi bluisšonu m rimšo rin m p ib ‘The armpit doesn’t smell  
 bad while sprinkling perfume.’

b p<sup>h</sup>u n. (c) [~: p<sup>h</sup>u < bw p<sup>h</sup>u] ‘egg’ ~piki (pl) ‘eggs’  
 b p<sup>h</sup>u lopts ‘to boil the egg’

b ridz md adj. ‘happy’  
 b ridz md dumts ‘to be happy’

b rith n. (sg) ‘greetings’  
 gyub p šo p tik m b rith lil ‘Greetings on your happy marriage’

b š ris itsts vt. ‘to please’  
 gom gyomrok li b š ris itt ‘I pleased the officer.’

b ts vt. ‘to eat’ (spec. vs. gen. dz ts ) b ptu (p, 3sg) ‘ate’ b šo (pp, adj.) ‘eaten’ NEG  
 m ~ ‘to not eat’  
 (h)obis b ts ‘to eat cucumber’  
 bilotsi b ts ‘to eat guava’  
 m ko idi k<sup>h</sup> (h)obis k<sup>h</sup>ui p š sumi b w ? ‘Who ate the cucumber of the  
 house below having stolen?’  
 ~ko bilotsi b uo ‘Eat this guava.’

b aux. ‘is’ (infl. ~t m , ~t s , ~t sku, b nb n, ~m´ , ~t , ~l , ~b ~n y´ , ~nu ,  
 ~n si, ~k s , ~kin , ~b´ , ~b t > b t, -niki)  
 âk k<sup>h</sup>yõp t t k b m ? ‘Where is my book?’  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup> mi kutsum m b ‘There is no dog in this house.’

b .:t aux. [> b t] kumsop b b t ‘used to live singing’

b .:yu n. [~ (N) Bahing] ‘one of the Kir nti tribes of Wallo ‘near’ Kirat neighbouring  
 with Kir nti-Kõits ’

b rg n. (c) ‘trap’ ~piky (pl) ‘traps’  
 itsub rg ‘mouse trap’

b rd n. (c) [~ < bw rd ; also see kuhi, sik<sup>h</sup>r ] ‘hawk, vulture, eagle, *aquila*’ ~p ki (pl)  
 ‘hawks’  
 b rd nu bw ‘hawk and cock’  
 b rd mi bw yolts ‘to attack (esp. take away) rooster by the hawk’  
 b rd nu šy ‘hawk and meat’

b rd pik b rnimi ‘Hawks fly.’  
 b rd mi ts’ib yo s ib ‘The hawk kills a bird also.’

b :.ts vi. ‘to stay, sit down, have a seat, reside, dwell in, be located at/in’ b :.tu (p, 3sg) ‘sat, dwelt in etc.’ b :.šo (pp, adj) ‘sat, resided etc.’ NEG m ~ ‘to not stay’

õth b :.ts ‘sit hither’

k<sup>h</sup> mi lo:p š b :.ts ‘to stay at home having a talk’

ok<sup>h</sup> ldhu m b :.ts ‘to be located in Okhaldhunga’

m r i m p thu m b :.ts ‘not to stay aimlessly’

šy th b :.ts ‘to live doing nothing’

k<sup>h</sup>ruiss b :.ts ‘to remain underground, hidden’

go t k i m m nu k<sup>h</sup> mi b :.ti ‘I stayed at home without going anywhere.’

~k m b :.ko ‘Don’t sit here.’

goi UKmi b :.ko ‘Live in the UK.’

b rsšith n. (var.) ‘acknowledgement(s)’

b rsšith p ts ‘to acknowledge’

b rsšith br :.ts ‘to write acknowledgement’

k<sup>h</sup>yõp tmi br :.sišo b rsšith ‘acknowledgements written in the book’

~ko b rsšith mi ãk n w issišo m b ‘My name has not been mentioned in this acknowledgement.’

gom ~ko b rsšith r tt ‘I read this acknowledgement.’

b slo: n. (c) ‘fact’ ~pik (pl) ‘facts’

goimi b slo: d ~ts m lb ‘You should tell the truth.’

b ~b r n. ‘a toponym in Kir nti-Kõits mother tongue’ (presently located at Khijichandeshwori VDC)

b lun n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] ‘balloon’ ~piki (pl) ‘balloons’

lpuki nu b lun ‘children and balloon’

b lun gy rtsts ‘to play the balloon’

b lun b rp itsts ‘to fly the balloon’

lpuki b lunpuk gy rtsts d nimi ‘Children like to play balloons.’

~ko b lun k<sup>h</sup> rsšo b ‘This balloon is expensive.’

b n n. (c) ‘plate’ ~piki (pl) ‘plates’

b n mi šy r w itsts ‘to put rice (esp. uncooked one) in the plate’

b n pr(;/)olts ‘to break the plate’

b n šy ts ‘to clean the plate’

m ko b n mi w issō k<sup>h</sup> m sumi dz w ? ‘Who ate the rice (esp. cooked one) put in the plate?’

b rmo n. (c) [b r m , bir m etc. in other Kir nti languages] ‘cat’ ~piki (pl) ‘cats’

b rmo nu itsu ‘cat and rat’  
 b rmok g ʔts ‘cat’s claws’  
 b rmomi dzoik kul ‘tiger’s face in the cat’  
 b rmomi itsu s ittu ‘The cat killed the rat.’  
 b rmo dzoi budin dumb ‘The cat is similar to tiger.’  
 m ko b rmo bl mdi t ri b ʔtu ‘The cat sat on the mat.’

b rtsts vi. ‘to fly’ b rtt (p, 3sg) ‘flew’ b rsšo (pp, adj) ‘flown’ NEG m ~ ‘not to fly’  
 ts’ib budi b rtsts ‘to fly like an bird’  
 lo b ry (fig.) ‘Let us hurry up.’  
 āk th t k b rtsts k<sup>h</sup>ōd b dumt (fig.) ‘I am melancholic.’  
 ko ko m ko killo m rp b rm ? ‘Look! Look at the black-bird how it flew?’

b rp itsts vt. [~ b rp ts ] ‘cause to fly’ b rp ittu (p, 3sg) ‘caused to fly’ b rp isšo (pp, adj) ‘caused to fly’ NEG m ~ ‘not to cause to fly’  
 p<sup>h</sup> skyu b rp ts ‘to fly airplane’  
 p<sup>h</sup>uilu pš ts’ibk li b rp ts ‘cause to fly the bird having stoned’  
 m ko p<sup>h</sup> skyub rp ibmi p<sup>h</sup> skyu b rp ittu ‘The pilot flew the airplane.’  
 šy ts’ibpaibmi ts’ibpuki b rp ittu ‘The hunter caused the birds to fly.’

b ʔts vi. ‘to die’ b ʔtu/ (p, 3sg) ‘died’ b ʔšo (pp, adj) ‘died’ NEG m ~ ‘not to die’  
 dz rm ts nu b ʔts ‘to born and to die’  
 b ʔtsi nu dz rm tsi ‘death and birth’  
 m ko m rp b ʔm ? ‘How did s/he die?’  
 ʔko kutsum b ʔts ts’it u ‘This dog is going to die.’  
 n ll mur b ʔnimi ‘All men die.’

b ʔšo adj. ‘dead’  
 b ʔšo mur ‘the dead man’  
 b ʔšo nu bōišo ‘dead and living’

b ʔtsi n. [~ b ʔsi] ‘death’  
 muru b ʔsi ‘death of a man’  
 b ʔtsi nu bōisi ‘life and death’  
 āk b ʔsi rimšo duml (fig.) ‘May my death be honourable.’  
 go b ʔtsi nu bōitsi dumti (fig.) ‘I am much troubled.’  
 gom b ʔtsi kumso br ʔt ‘I wrote an elegy.’

b’i n. (c) ‘cow’ ~piki (pl) ‘cows’ M by p<sup>h</sup>  
 b’i nu by p<sup>h</sup> ‘ox and cow’  
 b’ik homok ‘cow’s milk’  
 b’i yots ‘to graze the cow’  
 go b’ik homok t’unu ‘I drink cow’s milk.’  
 āk sã b’ipik b ʔt m ‘I have three cows.’

ãk t umi b'í yo:tu 'My grazed the cow.'

bilbil n. 'end'

m kok bilbil 'his/her end'

bilotsi n. (c) 'guava' ~piky (pl) 'guavas'

bilotsi mits 'to ripen the guava'

biri n. (c) 'cockroach' ~pik (pl) cockroaches'

biri k<sup>h</sup> rtsts 'to chase the cockroach'

bitthi n. (c) [> bith] 'marten, red panda' ~piki (pl) 'martens'

bitthi nu bw 'marten and rooster'

bitthi nu t tt (folk belief) 'marten and ill-omen'

imitstsili bitthi 'a small marten'

bitthimi bw s ib 'The marten kills the fowl.'

lã k<sup>h</sup>oisšonu bitthi t šo m r t tt dumb 'It is ill-omen to see a marten while going somewhere.'

bitl adj. 'blunt' ANT hirhir (also v. PROG)

bitl ts'ubu 'a blunt Gurkha knife'

b'itsi n. [> b'its] 'sugarcane'

b'itsi b ts 'to eat sugarcane'

b'itsi nipš k<sup>h</sup>udo 'syrup having pressed the sugarcane'

gom ãk rumi b'itsi k<sup>h</sup>rumt 'I planted the sugarcane in my land.'

b'itsik li ky tos k yo d ~nimi 'Sugarcane is also known as cash-crop.'

bitsdom n. (u) 'molasses, treacle, tart'

bitsdzidz n. 'sugar' cf. SYN b'itsi

homokmi bitsdzidz 'milk in the sugar'

gyursšo hulokmi bitsdzidz k<sup>h</sup> Its 'to mix sugar in the sour curd'

dzitsi nu h'isi 'sugar and salt'

ro mi itsik<sup>h</sup>oi bitsdzidz gy ptu 'Rong bought a little sugar.'

sus bitsdzidz dz ts rimšo m dumb 'It is not good to have much sugar.'

bitsts vt. 'to accept, agree, approve' n. bissilo: 'agreement'

biT min n. [S: Eng+nat] 'vitamin'

gim nu biT min 'body and vitamin'

gimk li biT min m dumthu m dumb 'Vitamin is necessary for our body.'

bl l tsil adj. 'scattered'

bl l tsil dumšo s p<sup>h</sup> pik ‘the scattered leaves’

bl ts ‘<sup>1</sup>to burn, light itself’ [Text source: 1.87] <sup>2</sup>‘to accept’ [Text source: 3.36]

bl ts vt. ‘to adopt’

bl mdi n. (c) ‘mat’ ~piki (pl) ‘mats’

bl mdimi b .: ts ‘to sit on the mat’

bl mdimi šy lts ‘to make a mat’

k rp t rmi šyik bl mdimi k šy ltu ‘The carpenter made up a mat of the wood.’

bl mšyi n. (c) ‘log’ ~pik (pl) ‘logs’

T<sup>h</sup> b bl mšyi k ‘a big log of wood’

bl ptso n. (c) [also in other Kir nti languages like B .: yung] ‘finger’ ~piki (pl) ‘fingers’

gui k mi bl ptso ‘five fingers in one hand’

bōg (T<sup>h</sup> bbl ptso)mi ‘by the thumb’

bōg bl s l (fig.) ‘illiterate’

āk m m d bōg bl s l k k n mi ‘My mother is illiterate.’

ni .: ši guimi g u bl ptso b nimi ‘There are ten fingers in two hands.’

m kok bl ptso dz í .: t ‘His/her finger broke.’

bl š th ~k n. (c) ‘alphabet’ ~piki (pl) ‘alphabets’ cf. SYN morsi

Kir nti-Kōits lo:k bl š th ~k /morsi ‘alphabet of the Kir nti-Kōits language’

blimts vt. ‘to change’

gy pšo w blimts ‘to change the cloth bought previously’

blipts vt. ‘to relate’

bl’its vi. ‘to get filled (itself vs. pl’its ) bl’itu (p, 3sg) ‘got filled’ bl’išo ‘got filled’ NEG

m ~ ‘not to get filled (itself)’

g r bl’its ‘to get filled the soil-pot’

bl’išo b d l ‘the filled bottle’

bōth rmi d išo m ko g r bl’im t ‘The soil-pot put at the tap has been filled.’

blits vt. ‘to get trouble’ cf. SYN yorb ts

bl’išyi n. (c) ‘content’ ~piki (pl) ‘contents’

k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk bl’išyi ‘content of the book’

bl’išyi šy lts ‘to make a content’

bl'íšyimi ko:ts 'to look at the content'  
 m ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk bl'íšyimi ko o 'Look at the content of the book.'  
 m rd ʔko k<sup>h</sup>yōp tmi bl'íšyi w isšo m b šyã ? 'Why does not this book  
 have content?'  
 goimi bl'íšyimi koyi? 'Did you look at the content?'

blošo adj. [<blošyo] 'tasty' s pp blošo 'too much tasty'  
 blošo k<sup>h</sup> m -k<sup>h</sup> i 'a tasty rice and curry'

blu ts vt. 'to sprinkle' blu tu (p, 3sg) 'sprinkled' blu šo (pp, adj.) 'sprinkled' NEG m ~  
 'to not sprinkle'

bl(}r)ukums l n. 'delight'  
 šyil ko:ša blukums l dumts 'to be delighted having seen the dance'

boitsts vt. 'to bloom, blossom, unfold' boitt (p, 3sg) 'bloomed' boisšo (pp, adj.)  
 'bloomed' NEG m ~ 'not to bloom'  
 boisšo p<sup>h</sup>u( ) 'the bloomed flower'  
 p<sup>h</sup>u( ) buid w 'flower and the black bee'  
 p<sup>h</sup>urumi p<sup>h</sup>u( ) boim t 'The flower has blossomed in the garden.'  
 num p<sup>h</sup>u mi mk tsãmi p<sup>h</sup>u( ) kyuit w 'Numaphung inserted the flower  
 in her hair.'  
 m ko s'uthip<sup>h</sup>u( ) pito 'Fetch the merigold.'

bōits vi. 'to survive, live, annex, connect' bōit (p, 3sg) 'survived' bōišo (pp, adj.)  
 'survived' NEG m ~ 'not to survive, live'

bos n. 'wool' cf. SYN ostsã [also < ~ts m in some other Kir nti languages]

bosits adj. 'woolen' cf. SYN bosw  
 go bosits w gy pne 'I buy the woolen-cloth.'

bosp t(i) [<bogy p t also *bogp t* (sic; Borchers 2003: 77) also cf. *baspati* in  
 Rw Dhu/W mbule (Ongenort 2002: 22)] n. 'Indian trumpet flower'  
*oroxyllum indicum* (N टोटला)

boss p<sup>h</sup> n. (c) 'woolen blanket (esp. woven by hand) ~piki (pl) 'woolen blankets'  
 boss p<sup>h</sup>mi b .:ts 'to sit on the woolen blanket'  
 ostsãk boss p<sup>h</sup> 'the woolen blanket made up of wool'  
 boss p<sup>h</sup>l ts 'to sell the woolen blanket'  
 ãk k<sup>h</sup>mi k boss p<sup>h</sup>b 'There is one woolen blanket in my house.'  
 mul boss p<sup>h</sup>prot kmur m th' sib 'Nowdays one cannot find the woolen  
 blanket maker.'

bosw adj. cf. SYN bosits

- bōg n. (c) ‘thumb’ ~piki (pl) ‘thumbs’ cf. SYN t<sup>h</sup> bbl ptso  
 bōg mi ‘by the thumb’  
 bōg bl s l (fig.) ‘illiterate’  
 bōg himts ‘to shake the thumb’  
 ni.:ši gui ni.:ši bōg ‘two thumbs of two hands’  
 bōg mi tho:ts ‘to pierce with the thumb’  
 goimi mop bōg m rd himdi? ‘Why did you shake the thumb in that way?’  
 gom āk bōg hirtt m rd h n go t s kōits m lnu ‘I turned round my thumb because I want to show caricature.’  
 āk m m d bōg bl s l k k n mi ‘My mother is an illiterate.’
- bōth r n. (c) ‘tap, faucet’  
 bōth r mi bw k d itsts /pl’ ts ‘to fill the water in the tap’
- bo.:ts vi. ‘to wake up (esp. self vs. po.:ts ), get/stand up, disperse’ bo.:tu~ (p, 3sg)  
 ‘woke up’ bo.:šo (pp, adj) ‘woken up’ NEG m ~ ‘not to wake up’  
 ipsil bo.:ts ‘to wake up from sleep’  
 b.:šo bl mdil bo.:ts ‘to stand up from the sitting mat’  
 go yo mul bo.:ti ‘I also stood up now.’  
 gund ri gy kosi diš sunis m bo.:b ‘The Gunderi bazaar disperses till tomorrow morning.’\*
- br m n. ‘buckwheat’ *fagopyrum esculatum* (N फापर)  
 br mp<sup>h</sup> sk šyopl ‘bread of the buckwheat-flour’
- br n. (c) [~ bl{}] ‘arrow’ ~piki (pl) ‘arrows’  
 br mi tho:ts ‘to pierce with an arrow’  
 br pts ‘to shoot an arrow’  
 br nu li ‘arrow and bow’  
 šy tsibp ibmi ts’ibk li br mi p<sup>h</sup>tu ‘The hunter shot the bird with the arrow.’  
 br th ~k rk šy lsib ‘Arrow is made up of iron.’  
 br mi āk li th’otu ‘The arrow pierced me.’
- br b n. (c) ‘author, writer’ ~piki (pl) ‘authors, writers’  
 k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk br b mur ‘writer of the book’  
 br b dumts ‘to be an author’  
 br b nu kumsop ib ‘author and singer’  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk br b mur sum ? ‘Who is the author of this book?’  
 šr po br b nu kumsop ib mur dumt ‘Shrengpo became an author and a singer.’

- br :.ts vt. [~ bl{} :.ts ] 'to write' br :.tu (p, 3sg) 'wrote' br :.šo (pp, adj) 'written'  
 NEG m ~ 'not to write'  
 kumšo br :.ts 'to write a song'  
 rimšop br :.ts 'to write beautifully'  
 gom bl sp t br :.t 'I wrote a letter.'  
 m ko mur ritslopuki br :.b 'The man writes stories.'  
 mod b lolol lo m br :.ko 'Don't write such filthy thing.'
- br :.t k <sup>1</sup>n. (c) [> br :.t k; also br{}r) :.tik >br{}r) :.tik] 'pen, ball-pen, pencil' ~piki  
 (pl) 'pens'  
 br :.t k nu br sw (ni) 'pen and ink'  
 br :.t kmi br :.ts 'to write with a pen'  
 br :.t kk kōisi 'the symbol of pen'  
 gok li br :.t k k pito 'Fetch me a pen.'  
 br :.t k m b :.šo p tik gom bl sp t bl ts m ts bu 'I couldn't write a  
 letter due to the lack of a pen.'
- br :.t k <sup>2</sup>nom. (h) [> br :.t k; also br{}l) :.tik >br{}l) :.tik] 'wrieter, writing'  
 br :.t k p t 'a writing paper'  
 itsik<sup>h</sup>oi br :.t k br sni 'some drops of writing ink'  
 th br :.t k lo: 'an expression of the heart to be written'
- br s n. (c) [> br s] 'script' ~piki (pl) 'scripts'  
 Kir nti-Kōitsk br s 'the script of the Kir nti-Kōits'  
 Kir nti-Kōitsk br s mi br sišo 'written in the Kir nti-Kōits script'  
 br s br :.ts šy ~sits 'to learn to write the script'  
 Kir nti-Kōits br s šy ~sits gypšo b 'It is easy to learn the Kir nti-Kōits  
 script.'  
 gom Kir nti-Kōits br s šy ~siti 'I learnt the Kir nti-Kōits script.'
- br si n. (c) 'writing' ~piki (pl) 'writings'  
 br si p ts 'to do writing'  
 rimšo br si 'a beautiful writing'  
 dz mšo br si thitsts 'to find out the missing writing'  
 gom s ir āk dz mšo br si thitt 'I found my missing writing from a  
 long time ago.'  
 ~ko br si s pp rimšo b :.t 'This writing is extremely beautiful.'  
 rimšo br simi kugy gl b 'A fine writing wins a prize.'
- br sni n. (u) [also ~w ] 'ink'  
 gig br sni 'green ink'  
 br sw thumsits 'to be the ink over (itself)'  
 br sni so:ts 'to get the ink dried'  
 āk bl tikmi br sw kurp uo 'Fill the ink in my pen.'  
 go k r br snimi br nu 'I write with black ink.'

āk br sni sumi k<sup>h</sup>ui p w ? ‘Who stole my ink?’

br(}/l)olts vi. [see also b´uts ] ‘to break away (esp. itself)’ br(}/l)olt (p, 3sg) ‘broke away’ br(}/l)olšo (pp, adj) ‘broken away’ NEG m ~ ‘not to break away’  
 šy gl p br(}/l)olts ‘to shatter noisily’  
 m ko b d l do. :š br(}/l)oltun ‘The bottle broke having fallen down.’  
 ~ko ki lo dop br(}/l)olm ? ‘How did this Radio broke?’

br(}/l)olšo adj. ‘broken’  
 br(}/l)ošo lu gir ‘the broken heart’

br(}/l)o:ts vt. ‘to be tasty’ br(}/l)o:t (p, 3sg) ‘became tasty’ br(}/l)o:šo ‘become tasty’  
 NEG m ~ ‘not to be tasty’  
 s pp br(}/l)o:ts ‘to be very tasty’  
 br(}/l)o:ts m lb ‘must be tasty’  
 dop br(}/l)o:šo p r kot b .:m ? ‘How tasty sweet-potato it is!’  
 ~ko lopšo thokporo d s pp bro:šo b .:t ‘This boiled christophine is very tasty.’  
 gom tsošo šyopl bro:t ‘The bread which I made became tasty.’

br(}/l)o:šo adj. ‘tasty’  
 br(}/l)o:šo r b ‘the tasty potato’

-bu n. PL/DU ‘-hood, group of something/somebody’  
 Kõitsbu ‘Kir nti-Sunuwar society’  
 s mibu ‘daghter and daughter-in-law’

b duw n. (c) ‘black hornet’ ~pik (pl) ‘black hornets’  
 m ko bu d w b rb ‘The black hornet flies.’

b b r n. See bumir

budi <sup>1</sup>adj., conj., postp. [> bu:d] (only after noun) ‘similar to sb/sth., in the same way as, having similar qualities to another person or thing (= with similar interests and opinions) SYN k<sup>h</sup>õd b  
 d ~šo bud ‘as said’  
 muru bud ‘like man’  
 go bud ‘like me’  
 m ko mur go budin mimb ‘The man thinks like me.’  
 goimi yo āk budin sõTh p<sup>h</sup> g b .:t ‘You also have worn a shirt similar to mine.’  
 gom d ~šo budi p uo ‘Do in the same way as I said.’

budi <sup>2</sup>n. (c) ‘ape’ (*budi* has its tail) ~piki (pl) ‘apes’  
 w kim budi ‘ape in the jungle’

mur k<sup>h</sup>ōd šo budi ‘the man-like ape’  
 budi kul ‘ape’s face’  
 budi kur k r nu moro kul l l ‘ape’s face black and monkey’s face red’  
 moro imitstsili dumb n budi t<sup>h</sup> b dumb ‘The monkey is small while the  
 ape is big.’  
 budim ko r dz m dz ib ‘The ape doesn’t eat maize.’

bukm n. ‘a technique of potato plantation’

bulgy ts n. (c) ‘problem’ ~piky (pl) ‘problems’

bulši n. ‘fire-flame/ball’ ~pik (pl) ‘fire-flames’

bulsu n. (c) ‘ghost, ‘spirit’’ ~pik (pl) ‘ghosts’ cf. SYN h gro, bulšo/u, honm s l l,  
 ∴ w lšil, bulnu/o  
 gom bulsu m t šo b ∴ti ‘I haven’t seen a ghost.’

bumir n. (c) [See also b b r] ‘tailor’ ~piki (pl) ‘tailors’ SYN p<sup>h</sup> rb( )  
 bumir nu w ‘tailor and cloth’  
 gy kosimi b b r ‘tailor at the market’  
 bumirk kul(i) ‘face of the tailor’  
 b b rmi w p<sup>h</sup> rb ‘The tailor sews cloths.’  
 bumirmi dop iyo w k<sup>h</sup>uib d ~nimi ‘It is said that the tailor hides some  
 pieces of cloths anyhow.’  
 b b rmi sōt<sup>h</sup> imitstsili p<sup>h</sup> r b ∴t (fig.) ‘The tailor has made the shirt tight.’

bumk r n. ‘tunnel’  
 bumk rg ‘inside the tunnel’  
 bumk rg ots ‘to enter inside the tunnel’

bu ∴ts vt. ‘to blast itself’ bu?t (p, 3sg) ‘blasted itself’ bu?šo (pp, adj.) ‘blasted itself’  
 NEG m ~ ‘to not blast’  
 m ko b m bu?t ‘The bomb blasted.’

burbu n. (c) cf. SYN ušy r, dzirb r; See use in ušy r

burots n. ‘September’  
 burotsmi ‘in September’  
 dz’ihotsnol burots ‘September after August’  
 burotsl ‘from September’  
 āk dz rm šo sin burots m ‘My birth-month is September.’  
 burotsmi bur mits gob ‘Paddy starts ripening in September.’  
 burots rimšo sin m ‘September is a beautiful month.’

buru n. [> bur] ‘paddy, un-husked rice’ [cf. *bute* Kir nti-Ha; Shakya (1971: 92)]

bur k<sup>h</sup> m ‘cooked rice of un-cooked rice (lit. rice of rice)’  
 bur k<sup>h</sup>r(r/)umts ‘to plant rice’  
 burrumi bur k<sup>h</sup>r(r/)mts m lb ‘Paddy must be planted in the paddy-field.’

bur k<sup>h</sup> m dz ndz n šyil p np n (rhy.)  
 āk burrumi yo bur m’ib ‘The paddy ripens in my paddy-field also.’

bu:s n. (c) ‘snake’ ~piki (pl) ‘snakes’ cf. SYN sibl (spec.)  
 bu:s s itsts ‘to kill the snake’  
 bw rd nu bu:s ‘hawk and snake’  
 ~k bu:s b m t ‘A snake has died here.’  
 mul t gom t<sup>h</sup> b bu:s k t t ‘I saw a big snake today.’  
 m ko l bu:smi ko.:šo p tik b tu ‘The child died of snake-bite.’

bušy adj. [> buš] ‘white’  
 buš tig ‘white colour’  
 buš muru ‘white man’  
 buš nu k r ‘black and white’  
 bušmi k r ‘black in white’  
 m ko buš p t t k b .:m ‘Where is the white paper?’  
 m ko buš k<sup>h</sup> āk m ‘The white house is mine.’  
 buš p<sup>h</sup>ur gy pts m m lb ‘You shouldn’t buy the white colour.’

b’usu n. (c) ‘owl’ ~piki (pl) ‘owls’  
 n domi b’usu ‘owl in the night’  
 b’usu budi b .:ts ‘to sit down like an owl’  
 b’usuk m’itsi ‘eye of the owl’  
 b’usumi n do m’itsi tatsa tsabba ‘Owl can see eyes at night.’  
 b’usu n do l b rb ‘The owl flies only at night.’  
 go d b’usu budi m’its m t t k dumti ooo... ‘I became blind like an owl.’

b’uts vi. [See also br(l/)olts ] ‘to blast (esp. itself) like balloon’ b’ut (p, 3sg) ‘blasted’  
 b’usho (pp, adj) ‘blasted’ NEG m ~ ‘to not blast’

buT<sup>h</sup>ul n. (c) ‘cymbal’ cf. SYN gr()ulm  
 buT<sup>h</sup>ul ó pts ‘to play the cymbal’

by p<sup>h</sup>po n. (c) [> by p<sup>h</sup>] ‘ox’ ~piki (pl) ‘oxen’ FEM b’i  
 by p<sup>h</sup> w ts ‘to plough the ox’  
 by p<sup>h</sup> k li t<sup>h</sup>o:ts (fig.) ‘to castrate, geld the ox’  
 by p<sup>h</sup> yo:ts ‘to graze the ox’  
 gom by p<sup>h</sup> w t ‘I ploughed the ox.’  
 ruw tsk li ruw ts by p<sup>h</sup> m dumthu m dumb ‘Ox is necessary for a farmer  
 to plough the land/field.’

bw n. (c) [>b ; also pw in some idiolects] ‘rooster’  
m ko l l bw ‘the red rooster’

bw rd n. (c) See b rd

bw šy n. See b [<.:w šy , bw šy , pw šy ]  
m r p ts do p ts pw šy dz ib r p ts (rhy.)

t ꣳ m /m /

-m i par. [esp. in interrogation] ‘uncertainty, probability’ [Text source: 3.30]  
m ko mur t b mm i? ‘Where is that man?’  
m ko l g n k<sup>h</sup> l bb m i? ‘When does the child return home?’

m dumthu postp., adv. ‘without, not having or showing sth’

m it adj. ‘old, worn out’ cf. SYN s is , dz šo ANT n k  
m it lo: ‘old fact, speech’  
s is ritslo: ‘old story’  
dz šo ‘the worn out cloth’  
s is muru ‘olden people’  
gom m it lo:pik pr t ‘I forgot the old facts, speeches.’  
mul s is murpik m th sib ‘The olden people cannot be found nowadays.’  
gom m ko dz šo gun t itta ‘I threw away the worn out saree/skirt.’

m dzd n. (tab.) ‘fucker, bugger’ [Text source: 3.30]

m m i excl., neg. par. [~ m m ] ‘no, not’ (esp. gives a negative reply or statement or in  
aski questions)  
m m i! ‘No! Not!’  
~ko ðõ dumt , m m i d ? ‘This happened this this, isn’t it?’  
m ko lo: d mo m m i ‘That fact/speech isn’t so.’  
mo m m i ‘This is not so.’

m m n. (c) ‘mother’ ~lo: ‘mother tongue’ cf. SYN m, imm

m p thu adv. ‘without doing’  
gy rm p thu ‘without making happy’  
k<sup>h</sup>yurm p thu ‘without having dehydration’  
roim p thu ‘without being ill, sick’  
m ko k<sup>h</sup> lp roim p thu b .:t ‘The old man died without being sick.’  
āk t umi gok li hillom p thu m’išy ts’ tu ‘My son brought a wife without  
asking me.’

m r iyo pron. [~ m r i, m r iyo] ‘nothing’  
 m kok b k<sup>h</sup> lmi m r iyo m b ‘There was nothing in his/her pocket.’  
 āk k<sup>h</sup> mi dz t k m r iyo m b ‘There is nothing to eat in my house.’  
 m m mi āk l m r i m d ~m ‘The mother didn’t tell me anything.’  
 gom gy kosim gy pt k m r iyo m thidu ‘I didn’t find anything to buy in  
 the market.’

m rimšo adj. [~ m rimšyo] ‘bad’ ANT rimšo  
 m rimšo nu rimšo ‘good and bad’  
 m rimšo mur ‘a bad person’  
 m rimšop th itsts ‘to beat severely’  
 goi g n iyo m rimšo g m p uo ‘Never do a bad job.’  
 mop m rd m rimšo dumts ? ‘Why (do) you be bad in that way?’  
 gom m rimšo lo: n :ts m l t wa ‘I had to hear a bad news.’

m sog n n. ‘virtue’ ANT sog n  
 m sog n dumts ‘to a virtuous one’  
 āk m m m sog n b :t m ‘My mother is/was virtuous one.’

m lb mod v. (also 3sg of m lts )<sup>1</sup> ‘must, should’<sup>2</sup> s/he searches’ NEG m ~ ‘must not’  
 p ts m lb ‘must do’  
 dz ts m lb ‘must eat’  
 sinim ko:ts m lb ‘should watch the cinema’  
 k<sup>h</sup> l ts m lb ‘must go home’  
 go mul dumk<sup>h</sup> l ts m lb ‘Now I have to go to the office.’  
 gopuki mul plo.:ts m lb ‘Now we must escape.’  
 lo: mul dz ts m lb ‘We have to eat now.’

m r pron., det. [~ m r] ‘what’  
 goimi m r d n ? ‘What did you say?’  
 gom m r d ~ti h n goi k<sup>h</sup> l u(o) ‘What I said is you go home.’

m r iyo pron. (See m r i, m r iyo)

m kk<sup>h</sup>o n. [S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘garlic’ *allium sativum*  
 m kk<sup>h</sup>o tults ‘to uproot the garlic’  
 k<sup>h</sup> imi m kk<sup>h</sup>o k<sup>h</sup> lts ‘to mix the garlic in the curry’  
 surup-k g rmi m kk<sup>h</sup>o dz ts m dumb( ) d ~nimi ‘It is said that Bahun-  
 Chetri should not have garlic’ (folk belief).  
 mul thots mmin m kk<sup>h</sup>o k<sup>h</sup> rumo ‘This year you plant the garlic yourself.’

m lts vt. <sup>1</sup> ‘to search, look for’ m ltu~au (p, 3sg) ‘searched’ m lšo (pp, adj) ‘searched’  
 NEG m ~ ‘not to search’  
 k<sup>h</sup> isi m lts ‘to pick up a quarrel’  
 pō bo m lts ‘to look for a shaman’

goimi m r m li ‘What did you look for? ‘What do you want?’

gom k<sup>h</sup>yōp t k m lt ‘I looked for a book.’

~ko murmi k<sup>h</sup> isi m ltu ‘this man picked up a quarrel.’

<sup>2</sup> aux. ‘to be necessary’

p ts m lt w ‘necessary to do’

huitsts m lt w ‘should scold’

m rd m ld ? ‘why necessary?’

m r pron., det. [~ m r] ‘what’

m r n ? ‘what?’

m r d ~st ? ‘what to say?’

m ko murmi m r p w m r p w ; gom d m r i m tuittu ‘I didn’t understand anything what that man did.’

m r d n ? ‘What did you say?’

b k<sup>h</sup> lmi m r m r kuri? ‘What did you carry in the pocket?’

go m r d u n mk m m lo w ?ts m lb ‘What I say is that we’ve to speak our mother to ue.’

m rd int. [> m r~] ‘why’

goimi m rd mo d ~n ? ‘Why did you say so?’

m rit s adj. [bl: m r iyo + m t ts ] ‘selfless’ ANT kop<sup>h</sup>l t s, kuid

m rit s nam ‘selfless love’

m rit s g ‘selfless job’

m rit s kōits ‘selfless leader (extended meaning see kōits )’

mur dumšo m r m rit s dumts m lb ‘One must be selfless while being a human being.’

m d r t r sarakali m rit s d nimi ‘Mother Teresa is said to be selfless.’

m rp adv. ‘how’ cf. SYN dop

m rp òd p dumm ? ‘How did it happen?’

m ´ aux., excl. [m ‘exist.] as aux., excl ‘is, yes’

m ko wā s l su m ´? ‘Who is that boy?’

ink n m r m ´? ‘What is your name?’

gom d ~ts m lšo lo: òd b dumb ; d doth m ´? ‘The point I want to make is this; or what so?’

òd b d ~šo òd b m ´; m m i d ? ‘This means this; isn’t it so?’

mod b n m ‘ ‘Yes, it’s so.’

m ko mur t k l m ´? ‘Where did that man go?’

m kopikim m r p m p m ´ ; go m r iyo m tuinu ‘I don’t know anything whatever they did.’

m i excl. [esp. at the end of an expression]

t k dz mm iii... ‘Where did it miss?’

m r dumm i... ‘What happened?’

m u n. (c) ‘papaya’ *carica papaya* ~pik (pl) ‘papayas’ cf. SYN p<sup>h</sup> s

m k r adv., excl. [>k k r>m k; also m ky in some idiolects] ‘there’

~k nu m k ‘here and there’

m k l ts ‘to go there’

m k soitsts ‘to send there’

m k r ko o! ‘Look there!’ (emph.)

goi m k m r p np n b ? ‘What are you doing there?’

m k r ! m k r ! ‘There! There!’

m k su l m ? ‘Who went there?’

m ko pron., dem., det. [>m .: ; ~nim<sup>h</sup> ‘they two<sup>d</sup>, ~ni.:ši ‘they two<sup>d</sup>, ~ s ‘they two<sup>d</sup>; See m ‘ as aux., excl.; see also m kopiki] ‘s/he, that’ (sometimes replaced with *m r*; as in *m r* [in the sense of *m ko*] *mur*; see -m r )

m ko mur ‘that man’

m ko l ‘the child’

m ko nu go ‘s/he and I’

goik li m kon bl tik m rd m ld ? ‘Why did you need only that pen?’

m ko wā smur t k g .:m ? ‘Where did that man walk?’

m ko lk li go m r p ? ‘What should I do to the child?’

m ko morok li k<sup>h</sup> rdo ‘Chase that monkey.’

m kopiki pron. [> m pik] (pl) ‘they’

m kopiki t k l m ? ‘Where did they go?’

m kopikim m r dz’ m ? ‘What did they eat?’

m pik t l inimi? ‘Where do they go?’

m puk m rd grim´ ? ‘Why did they cry?’

m pik g n dz m ? ‘When did they arrive?’

m r m pik lo: rupnimi ‘Do they understand our language?’

m l n. ‘need, necessity’ cf. m lt k

m r( ) postp. adj. conj. adv. [cf. my r, m r] ‘after/~wards, to:DIR, later than sth, following, there:LOC’ cf. SYN -nol

āk t mmi kumsop šom r gom šyilp t ‘I danced after my daughter sang a song.’

m .:ts vt. ‘to vomit’ m .:tu (p, 3sg) ‘vomited’ m .:šo (pp, adj) ‘vomited’ NEG m ~ ‘not to vomit’

gom k<sup>h</sup> m m .:t ‘I vomited the rice.’

m r dem., det., conj. (See also m ko; deictic lexeme for showing sth/sb at a distance) ‘that’ ~pik (pl) ‘those’

h r m r mur ‘That man’  
 h r m r m š ‘That buffalo’

m šy n. [> m š] ‘buffalo’ ~ ‘pik (pl) ‘buffaloes’  
 m špik thults ‘to tame buffaloes’  
 m šk homok nu dzil ‘buffalo’s ghee and milk’  
 m šk gyošo grō ‘a long horn of the buffalo’  
 goimi doso m š thul’i? ‘How many buffalo did you raise?’  
 āk m š t<sup>h</sup> š b .:t ‘My buffalo died having fallen down.’

m šu n. (c) ‘container (esp. made up of a bamboo tree)’ See also p its

m’i n. ‘fire’ [cf. *m Kiranti-Wam*; Opgenort 2002: 514]  
 m’i nu bw k(u) ‘fire and water’  
 m’i muitsts ‘to start/blow up fire’  
 m’inu m gy rtsts ‘not to play with the fire’  
 m’imi tsoib ‘The fire burns.’  
 m’imi k<sup>h</sup> m k :sib ‘Rice is cooked by fire.’  
 m’i pito ‘Fetch the fire.’  
 t mp mi mmin m’imi tsoptu ‘Tempa burnt himself with fire.’  
 muruk li m’i m dumthu m dumb ‘Fire is necessary for man.’

-mi Ca. [> -m] <sup>1</sup>‘locative, agentive, ergative’  
 ~ko r gimi ‘in this country’  
 ky tk<sup>h</sup> mi ‘at the bank’  
 āk l nimp<sup>h</sup> UKm b .:n si ‘My two children live in the UK.’  
<sup>2</sup> ‘instrumental’  
 guy mi ‘with the sickle’  
 bl tikmi ‘with the pen’  
 gom ts’ubum šy kyortt ‘I chopped the meat with the Gurkha knife.’  
<sup>3</sup> ‘agentive’  
 gomi ‘by me’  
 ky ršy mi ‘by the goat’  
 lmi k<sup>h</sup>yōp t k<sup>h</sup> tu ‘The child tore away the book.’

mik l n. (c) ‘nail varnish’ ~piky (pl) ‘nail varnishes’  
 mik l gy pts ‘to buy the nail varnish’

milu n. (c) ‘tail’ ~piki (pl) ‘tails’  
 b’ik milu ‘tail of a cow’  
 ky ršy k milu k<sup>h</sup>od šo l (fig.) ‘a naughty child’  
 ~ko ts pok milu imitstsili b .:t ‘This piglet has a small tail.’  
 b rmomi itsuk milu(mi) gy ittu~ u ‘The cat caught the rat’s tail.’

milomilo adj. ‘a pleasant taste’

milomilo r b ‘a tasty potato’

mimsbr n. ‘poem, poetry’ cf. SYN thorssi

mimts vt. ‘to remember, think, contemplate, brood oneself’ mimtu (p, 3sg)  
 ‘remembered’ mimšo ‘remembered’ NEG m ~ ‘to not remember’  
 tsinuyo mimts ‘to remember, think again’  
 m rd mimts ‘why remember?’  
 gom ãk m m k li mimt ‘I remembered my mother.’  
 õ mimšonu go dz mšo b .:ti ‘While brooding, I was missing.’  
 mk r gik li mimts m lb ‘One should remember his/her country.’

min conj. [> min, ~minu, munu > mun; quite often co-occurs with - as in - min]  
 ‘then’  
 goi gy kosi l uo; min mug(i) gy pš pito ‘Go to the market; bring banana  
 having bought then.’  
 min goi t k l yi? ‘Where did you go then?’  
 goi bo.:š min mik li po.:ko ‘Get up and then make the elder sister get  
 up.’  
 l g l š ko min su pišo b .:m ãk l d no ‘Look having gone outside;  
 then tell me who has come.’

m’išy n. (c) [> m’is; also 3sg] ‘wife’ ~piki (pl) ‘wives’ M w šy (also 3sg) > w s  
 (w so 3sg as in *goi mmin w so/oto*)

m’išy l n. (c) [> m’is l; CMP m’išy + l] ‘girl’ ~piki (pl) ‘girls’ M w s l  
 m’is lk li ‘to the girl’  
 m’is lpik nu w s lpik ‘boys and girls’  
 m’is lk kumso ‘song of the girl’  
 ~ko m’is lmi rimšop kumso k p ptu ‘This girl sang a song well.’  
 m ko m’is l šyilp ts yo dzob ‘The girl knws dancing also.’  
 m’is lpikmi yo p<sup>h</sup> skyu b rp inimi ‘Girls also fly airplane.’

m’išy muru n. (c) [CMP m’išy +muru] ‘woman’ ~piki (pl) ‘women’ M w smuru  
 m’išy mur nu wa smur ‘man and woman’  
 m’išy murmi ‘by the woman’  
 m’išy murk ~ ‘of the woman’  
 m ko m’išy mur sum´ ? ‘Who is that woman?’  
 m’išy murpik nu w smurpik k n n mi ‘Men and women are equal.’  
 m ko m’išy murmi ãk l huittu ‘The woman scolded me.’  
 n ll m’išy murpik m m dumts m ts bnimi ‘All women cannot be  
 mother.’

mithots n. ‘tantric, esoteric’

mi:ts vt. <sup>1</sup>‘to ripen (esp. fruits), <sup>2</sup>be ready (of remuneration, income), <sup>3</sup>be cooked (of food)’ m tu~ (p, 3sg) ‘ripened’ m šo ‘ripened’ NEG m ~ ‘not to ripen etc.’  
 k<sup>h</sup> m nu k<sup>h</sup> i mi:ts ‘the cooked rice and curry’  
 mugi mi:ts ‘to ripen the banana’  
 šy pu mi:ts ‘salary to be ready’  
 mul iyo k<sup>h</sup> m k<sup>h</sup> i m mi:m ? ‘Isn’t rice and curry cooked yet?’  
 ~ko sink šy pu m t ‘The salary of this month is ready.’

m’its vt. ‘to comb’ m’itu~t u (p, 3sg) ‘combed’ m’išo (pp, adj) ‘combed’ NEG m ~ ‘not to comb’  
 tsā m’its ‘to comb hair’  
 prups mi m’its ‘to comb with a comb’  
 t umi tsā m’itu~ u ‘The son combed the hair.’  
 gom āk tsā m’its m lb ‘I have to comb my hair.’  
 rimšop tsā m’išo m r rimšon t sib ‘One is seen smart while combing the hair properly.’

mimsith n. ‘guess’ ~p ts vt. ‘to guess’

m’itsi n. (c) [> mits; also in other Kir nti languages] ‘eye’ ~piki (pl) ‘eyes’ m’its t ts (lit./fig.) ‘to have a clear eye-sight/to be able to see spirits’  
 ludz nu lk m’its ‘eye of the needle and the child’  
 āk m’itsmi pr k(u) ‘tears in my eye’  
 t<sup>h</sup> b m’its ‘a big eye’  
 kisšy k m’its rimšo dumb ‘The eyes of deer are beautiful.’  
 ~ko m’išy mur t<sup>h</sup> bm’its p šo b .:t (fig.) ‘This woman is a witch.’  
 ik m’its sumo ‘Cover your eyes.’  
 n. ~tsā [CMP m’itsk +tsā] ‘eye-lash’  
 m’itstsā tults ‘to pluck up the eye-lash’  
 m’itstsā himts ‘to shake the eye-lash’  
 m’itstsā nu mukus ‘eye-lash and eye-brow’  
 goi mk m’itstsā tulo ‘Pluck up your eye-lash.’  
 m’itstsā k r dumb ‘The eye-lash is black.’

m’itsr lu n. (var., pair) [CMP m’its + r lu derived from r lts ] ‘looking glass, spectacles’  
 m’itsr lu r lts ‘to put on specs’  
 m’itsr lu do.:š brolts ‘to break the specs having fallen’  
 h lšo m’itsr lu ‘a heavy specs’  
 āk m’itsr lu s pp h lšo b ‘My specs are very heavy.’  
 sin t gom āk m’itsr lu k s mt ‘I lost my specs yesterday.’  
 gom m’itsr lu prolt ‘I broke the specs.’

mo conj. [~ mo-n (with emphasis), mo+p tik ] ‘so’  
 gom m r d ~ ; mon p uo ‘Do so what I said.’

goimi mop tik ãk g m dum ‘My mission was not possible when you did so.’

go ˘k mon piti ‘I came here without any reason.’

moblo n. ‘topo-loconym in Kir nti-B .: yung’ [now replaced by *N* Andherinarayansthan (अँधेरीनारायणस्थान) Wallo Kirat, Okhaldhunga district, east Nepal]

mod b adj. [˘ mol b; emph. mod b n] ‘of such kind’ ANT dod b~dol b

modzil n. (c) ‘motorbike, motorcycle’ ~piki (pl) ‘motorbikes’

modzil dorp ts ‘to drive the motorbike’

modzil nu k<sup>h</sup> pkyuk p<sup>h</sup> pindo ‘accident of the motorbike and the bus’

modzilk p<sup>h</sup> pindomi ‘in the accident of motorbike’

˘ko modzil rimšo b .: t ‘This motorbike is beautiful.’

gonimp<sup>h</sup> modzilmi dorn sku ‘We two run on the motorbike.’

modzilmi t k dori? ‘Where did you run on the bike?’

moiti postp, conj [˘ ho ti] ‘before, in front of, first’

go moiti lati ‘I went first.’

mon n. ‘grief’ ~höitp ts vt. ‘to mourn’ See p ts

monki n. (c) [˘ wonki ] ‘telephone’ cf. SYN ki

mont mr n. ‘death ritual’

moni adj., adv. [moni-n (with emphasis)] ‘far, a long way’ ANT n th

moni l ts ‘to go a long way’

monil ‘from a far distance’

sus moni ‘very far’

ãk m’itsimi moni m t ib ‘My eyes cannot see far.’

ap<sup>h</sup>po k<sup>h</sup>il moni l m t m ‘The father went far away from home.’

go kl moni l inu ‘I go far away from here.’

monk<sup>h</sup>on adj. ‘remote’ ANT dz ditsts

monk<sup>h</sup>on T<sup>h</sup> m ‘place of a remote distance’

monk<sup>h</sup>on T<sup>h</sup> mmi b .: ts ‘to live in the place of the remote distance’

monk<sup>h</sup>on T<sup>h</sup> m muru ‘people of the distant place’

monk<sup>h</sup>on T<sup>h</sup> mmi k<sup>h</sup> pkyu m l ib ‘The bus does not go to the remote

place’

ãk k<sup>h</sup>i monk<sup>h</sup>onmi b ‘My house is in the remote place.’

mop adv. [< mod pp ] ‘in that way/manner’

mop m rd dori? ‘Why did you run in that manner?’

- moso adv. (quantity) ‘that much’  
 moso ky tmi m r p in y ‘What to do with that much of money?’
- moth n conj. [~mo n , moh n ] ‘if that is so’  
 ... moth n go kumso m p inu ‘...if that is so; I do not sing.’  
 ... moh n goi ãk t u m n y ‘...if that is so, you are not my son.’  
 ...moh n goimi ky t th pts m lb ~m ln y ‘...if so you have to pay the money.’
- moro n. (c) ‘monkey’ ~piki (pl) ‘monkeys’  
 morok milu ‘tail of the monkey’  
 moro budi t sits ‘to be seen like a monkey’  
 rumi moro o:ts ‘to enter the monkey in the field’  
 m ko moro t k dor ? ‘Where did the monkey run?’  
 morok li m šy ko ‘Do not tease the monkey.’  
 goi moro budi m dumo (fig.) ‘Don’t be naughty.’
- morsi n. (c) [> mors] ‘alphabet’ ~piki (pl) ‘alphabets’ SYN bl š th ~k  
 Kir nti-Kõitsk bl š th ~k ‘alphabet of the Kir nti-Kõits’  
 morsi br .:ts ‘to write the alphabet’  
 morsik d ‘šape of the alphabet’  
 gom Kir nti-Kõitsk bl š th ~k br .:ts šy ~siti ‘I learnt writing the Kir nti-Kõits alphabet.’  
 ~ko morsik n ‘m rm’ ? ‘What is the name of this alphabet?’
- moso adv. (quantity) [~ moso-n (with emphasis)] ‘that much’  
 moso ky t ‘that much money’  
 mosomi ‘by that much’  
 moson l itsts ‘to take only that much’  
 moso ky tmi m r p ts ; itsik<sup>h</sup>oi t md n ‘What I should do with that much amount of money; please add some more.’  
 go mosol g nu ‘I give that much only.’  
 moso šyimi m dz ddib ‘That much of firewood will not be sufficient.’
- moth [~ moth d] ‘if so’  
 moth n go k<sup>h</sup> m li nu ‘...if so I do not go home.’
- m n. (c,u) ‘time’ cf. SYN n y r [cf. n msits ‘era’, y mk ‘a while’, th msi ‘span’]  
 mukots/ritsomi m ko:ts ‘to look time at the watch’  
 doso m mi ‘at what time’  
 n k n msitsk ‘of the modern time’  
 n k m murnu lo:p ts n m ts bsib ‘It is difficult ot discuss with the modern man.’  
 ãk mukotsmi n y r m g b ‘My watch doesn’t function.’  
 nã~nh ko:š n y r d no ‘Tell the time having looked the sun.’

- mudi n. (c) ‘year’ ~piki (pl) ‘years’ SYN thots (c,u)  
 n k mudi ‘new year’  
 l šo mudi ‘last year’  
 mul thots ‘this year’  
 s ithots ‘many years ago’  
 n k thots mi dop hās lt ms l p in ni? ‘How do you celebrate the New Year?’  
 l šo thots t k l ni? ‘Where did you go last year?’  
 mul thots d r u m yi ‘It didn’t rain this year.’  
 s ithots k<sup>h</sup>yōp t t k th’ sib ? ‘Where can we find the books published in earlier times?’
- mugi n. (c) [< mugy ~mug; idiolects] ‘banana’ ~piki (pl) ‘bananas’  
 h u mug ‘yellow banana’  
 p<sup>h</sup> ~g k mug ‘a unit of banana’  
 m ko t mimi mugk kurmidok<sup>h</sup> pittu ‘His/Her daughter brought banana as present.’  
 mug dz ts rimšon m ‘It is better to have banana.’  
 gom p<sup>h</sup> ~g k mug gy pt ‘I bought a unit of banana.’
- mukots n. (c) ‘watch, clock’ ~piki (pl) ‘watches’ SYN ritso  
 mukotsmi ko:ts ‘to look at the watch’  
 ritso puitsts ‘to put off the watch’  
 go nimp<sup>h</sup> mi mukots l pp mi pt sku ‘We two gambled the watch.’  
 m ko:ts k li ritso m lb ‘Watch is necessary for noticing time.’
- mul adv., conj. ‘now’  
 mul m r? ‘now what?’  
 muls m ‘up till now’  
 mul tsinuyo ‘now again’  
 mulr g n iyo ‘never from now on’  
 mul m r p ts d ~ni? ‘What did you ask me to do now?’  
 go mul m r p ? ‘What shall I do now?’  
 mulr goi gonu g n iyo ky t m puno ‘Now on you never ask for money with me.’  
 k<sup>h</sup> m dz pt yin; mul dumk<sup>h</sup> l uo ‘You finished eating rice; now go to the office.’
- mul iyo adv. ‘yet, still’  
 m ko l mul iyo k<sup>h</sup> m pi ‘The child didn’t come home yet.’  
 goi mul iyo m ipi ‘Didn’t you sleep yet?’
- munu conj. [> mun] See min

- muru n. (c) [> mur] ‘man’ ~piky (pl) ‘men’  
 m ko murnu ‘with that man’  
 murpikimi ‘by the men’  
 muru nk ‘of the men’  
 m ko mur su m ? ‘Who is that man?’  
 murupiki gy kosig dortsts gomt m ‘Men started running towards the bazar.’
- murn ms n. (c) ‘guest’ ~piki (pl) ‘guests’  
 murn mspiki b tsts ‘to call the guests’  
 āk murn mspiki ‘my guests’  
 murn ms thults ‘to serve the guest’  
 m piki āk murn ms n mi ‘They are my geusts.’  
 muls m yo āk murn ms m dz m ‘My guests have not come yet.’
- m’uitsts vt. ‘to wear, put on’ m’uittu (p, 3sg) ‘wore’ m’uisšo (pp; also 3sg) ‘worn’ cf.  
 SYN r lts , p itsts , li : ts , p<sup>h</sup> ts , gup<sup>h</sup>ts (differ in manner)  
 kusulnob m’uitsts ‘to put on shoes’  
 mimi gun m’uiss m ‘The elder sister put on the saree.’  
 ts imimi gun m’uiss u ‘The daughter-in-law wore the saree.’
- muitsts vt. ‘to blow, start the fire’ muittu~au (p, 3sg) ‘blew’ muisšo (pp, adj) ‘blown’  
 NEG m ~ ‘not to blow/start the fire’  
 m’i muitsts ‘to blow, start the fire’  
 pōibmi roip šo murk li muitsts (fig.) ‘to heal the patient by a šaman’  
 gomi m’i muitt ‘I blew up the fire.’  
 āk li pōibmi muitt u ‘The šaman healed to me.’
- mukus n. (var.) ‘eye-brow’  
 k r mukus ‘black eye-brow’  
 mukus tults ‘to pluck up the eye-brow’  
 mukuskali p<sup>h</sup>urp ts ‘to paint the eye-brow’  
 gom āk mukus tult ‘I plucked up my eye-brow.’  
 goimi m rd mukusk li tig p yi? ‘Why did you paint the eye-brow?’  
 āk mukus r ksut ‘My eye-brow itched.’
- mul t-sin t adv., conj. ‘now-a-days’  
 mul t-sin t murpik rimšo m dumnim ‘Men are not good these (now-a-) days.’
- my s r n. (c) ‘leaf-plate’ ~p ki (pl) ‘leaf-plates’
- u य y/j /
- yā num. ‘nine’

yānol g u ‘ten after nine’  
 yā lpiki ‘nine children’  
 yā p<sup>h</sup> ts ‘part nine’  
 s šyi nu yā ‘eight and nine’  
 yā tsibk n br :tin ‘Please write nine birds’ name.’  
 s šyinol yā p’ib ‘Nine comes after eight.’

y br n. (c) [~ yabe; spelled in the International Bible Society’s translation of the *New Testament* into the Kir nti-Kõits tongue as *Yabe-a loawa* (1992)] ‘god’  
 yabr -gubr partial RED

y mk adv. ‘a while’  
 y mk rimts n il ‘Please wait a while.’

y p<sup>h</sup> n. (c) ‘leech’ ~piki (pl) ‘leeches’  
 y p<sup>h</sup> budi k psits ‘to be or get stuck, adhered, clung like a leech’  
 y p<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>od šo mur (fig.) ‘a person like a leech’  
 y p<sup>h</sup> mi yufts ‘to suck by the leech’  
 y p<sup>h</sup> mi murk hu:s yubb ‘Leech sucks human-blood.’  
 mur dumšo m r y p<sup>h</sup> budi m dumts (fig.) ‘One must be independent being a man.’

y p<sup>h</sup>ts vt. ‘to leak, drip, trickle’ y p<sup>h</sup>tu (p, 3sg) ‘leaked’ y p<sup>h</sup>šo (pp, adj) ‘leaked’ NEG  
 m ~ ‘not to leak’  
 bw k y p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘to leak the water’  
 g rl ribdo y p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘to leak the wine from the soil-pot’  
 m ko g rl bw k y p<sup>h</sup>t ‘The water leaked from the soil-pot.’  
 ~ko homokgyoml d n ll homok y p<sup>h</sup>š nummet ‘The whole milk is over  
 having leaked from this milk-pot.’

y t n. (c) ‘grinder’ (esp. made up of stone and used as a traditional hill technology)  
 ~piki (pl) ‘grinders’  
 y tmi tsirs hilt ‘to grind millet in the grinder’  
 tsumlu nu y t ‘mortar and girnder’  
 y tl so:lts ‘to take out from the grinder’  
 gom y tmi hilt ‘I ground the maize in the grinder.’  
 y t šy lt k p<sup>h</sup>uilu t k th sib ? ‘Where can we find the stone for making a  
 grinder?’

y ts n. (c) ‘nephew’ (of maternal) FEM y tsm ‘niece’

y ts vt. ‘to shift, move’ y tu (p, 3sg) ‘moved’ y šo (pp, adj.) ‘moved’ NEG m ~ ‘to not  
 move’

yo adv. (not used with negative verbs) ‘also, in addition, too’ [cf. y Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 131, 562)]  
 go yo ‘I also’  
 m ko yo ‘s/he also’  
 m kopiki yo ‘they also’  
 ~ko mur yo Kir nti-Kõits ‘this man also Kir nti-Kõits’  
 go yo Kir nti-Kõits n ‘I am also a Kir nti-Kõits.’  
 m ko mur yo gopikinu l ib ? ‘Does that man also go with us?’  
 go šy r nu h’isi‘ gy pne munu k<sup>h</sup> pdzil yo gy pne ‘I buy rice and salt; then buy paraffin too.’

yoili n. (u) ‘chin’ SYN tsoil  
 yoili nu tsotso ‘chin and cheek’  
 yoili r ksuts ‘to itch the chin’  
 yoilimi šokr ‘beard on the chin’  
 āk yoili imitstsili b ‘My chin is small.’  
 England boxermi America boxer tsoil pluittu ‘The English boxer broke the American boxer’s chin.’  
 goimi mk yoilimi m r lup’i? ‘What did you smear on your chin.’

yolts vt. ‘to take away, prey’ ( esp. by jackle, bird of prey etc.) [cf. SYN l itsts (esp. by human agent)] yoltu (p, 3sg) ‘took away’ yolšo (pp, adj) ‘taken away’  
 NEG m ~ ‘not to take away’  
 bw rd mi bw k li yolts ‘to prey rooster by the hawk’  
 sik<sup>h</sup>r mi tsitoli yolts ‘to prey the chick by the falcon’  
 āk bw sin t bw rd mi yoltu~ u ‘The hawk preyed my rooster yesterday.’

yo.:ts vt. ‘to divide, share’ yo.:tu (p, 3sg) ‘divided’ yo.:šo (pp, adj.) ‘divided’ NEG m ~ ‘to not move’

yosits mv. ‘to be divided’

yorb ts vt. ‘to be moved/disturbed, troubled’ cf. SYN blits

y’uts vt. ‘to beat’ y’uptu (p, 3sg) ‘beat’ y’ušo (pp, adj) ‘beaten’ NEG m ~ ‘not to beat’  
 SYN tupts , th itsts

yumpi n. (c) ‘the youngest daughter’ [also used a common name; vocabulary commonly used in Kir nti-B .:yung also] ~piki (pl, fig.) ‘the youngest daughters’  
 mi nu yumpi ‘the eldest and the youngest sister’  
 yumpimi ‘by the youngest sister’  
 yumpimi m ko lo bk li th ittu ‘The youngest sister beat her younger brother.’  
 ~ko lk n gom yumpi w itt ‘I named this baby Yumpi.’  
 yumpi...o goi t k l i? ‘Hey... Yumpi; where did you go?’

yup(b)ts vt. 'to drink without stopping' (liquid like whey) yuptu (p, 3sg) 'drank' yupšo (pp, adj.) 'drunk' cf. SYN tuts , hurtsts NEG m ~ 'to not drink'

yup<sup>h</sup>ts vt. 'to leak' yupt (p, 3sg) 'leaked' yupšo (pp, adj) 'leaked' NEG m ~ 'to not leak'  
g rl bw k yup<sup>h</sup>ts 'to leak the water from the soil-pot'

V र /r/

r b n. (c) 'sheep' ~piki (pl) 'sheep' SYN rōp FEM r b m  
n. r bgyomb(i) 'shepherd'

r kmits n. (c) 'ant' ~piki (pl) 'ants'  
r kmits budi g p ts (fig.) 'to work like ants'  
r kmitspikimi kr itsts 'to bite by ants'  
r kmits nu sod 'ant and elephant'  
r kmits budi p nm r'iš g .:ts m lb 'We should walk in rows like ants.'  
r kmitsmi r b b w t 'The ant has eaten the potato.'

r kr k adj. 'naughty' cf. SYN dus ANT rimšo, mimitis

r ksuts vt. 'to itch' r ksut (p, 3sg) 'itched' r ksušo (pp, adj) 'itched' NEG r km suts  
gim r ksuts 'to itch the body'  
āk b l m rd r ksum' ? 'Why did my shoulder itch?'  
āk nop<sup>h</sup> r ksut 'My ear itched.'  
diml r ksušo m r moni g .:ts m lb 'When the sole itches; one should go very far' (folk belief).  
gyur t bl r ksušo m r ky t t sib 'When the right palm itches, one gets money' (folk belief).

r ku num. [> r k] 'six'  
nol r ku 'six after five'  
nu r ku 'five and six'  
r ku k<sup>h</sup> ru 'six rupees'  
āk t u r ku mudi dumt 'My son is of six years old.'  
gom m ko dumk<sup>h</sup> mi r ku mudi g p t 'I worked for six years in that office.'  
go m k r ku sin b .:nu 'I live there for six months.'

r w n. (c) 'tree' ~piki (pl) 'trees'  
r w budi r pts 'to stand like a tree'  
r w nu s p<sup>h</sup> 'tree and leaf'  
r w k<sup>h</sup>roiststs 'to cut down the tree'  
~ko r w sumi k<sup>h</sup>rod ? 'Who cut down this tree?'

gom āk rumi b .:šo r w l t 'I sold my land's tree.'  
 muru nk li r w m dumthu m dumb 'Tree is necessary for men.'

r gi n. (c) [~ r gy ] 'country' ~piki (pl) 'countries'  
 k r gi 'our country'  
 m ko nke r gi 'of their country'  
 goi t ~ko r gi l ts m ln y ? 'Which country do you want to go?'  
 m r gik li dop iyo g th l itsts m lb 'We have to develop our country  
 anyhow.'  
 r gi rimšo b 'Our country is beautiful.'

r lb n. 'present, one who attends'

r p ts n. (esp. in spoken form; < r p ts = r +p +ts ; in written form 'clan name, make  
 something rot') 'catalyst'  
 r p ts r .:šo pu š dz th g .:šo (hum. rhy.)  
 m r p ts do p ts pw šy b ib r p ts (hum. rhy.)

r pts vi. 'to stand' r ptu (p, 3sg) 'stood' r pšo (pp, adj) 'stood' NEG m ~ 'not to stand'  
 dok r pts 'to stand still for a long time'  
 to: r pts 'to stand still for šort time'  
 mop m r po 'Don't stand in that way.'  
 m himsithu ~k r po 'Stand here without moving.'  
 goik li ~k sumi r pp w ? 'Who made you stand here?'

r p<sup>h</sup>ts vt. 'to smash, thrash, throw down' r p<sup>h</sup>tu (p, 3sg) 'smashed' r p<sup>h</sup>šo (pp, adj.)  
 'smashed' NEG m ~ 'to not smash'

rā n. (c; spec.) <sup>1</sup>'body' (euph.) <sup>2</sup>placenta  
 mišy murk rā 'woman's body'  
 rāso:ts (fig.) 'menopause'  
 rāp<sup>h</sup>udumts (fig.) 'to menstruate'

rābi n. *hemitragus jemlahicus* [N थार-भारल]

rāp<sup>h</sup>u n. 'menstruation' ~dumts 'to menstruate'

r šyik<sup>h</sup>ušik<sup>h</sup>uš MAN (expressives)

-r abl. [~ l ~l ] 'from'

~ko k<sup>h</sup> r t k l in y ? 'Where do you go from this house?'

r ~ n. (c) [~ r ~h (Karna Je~ticha and Bal Mukhia 1990)] 'spider' ~piki (pl) 'spiders'

r b n. (c) [> r b; in fast speech] 'potato' ~piki (pl) 'potatoes'  
 r bk k<sup>h</sup> i 'the potato curry'

r b nu k g ‘potato and yam’  
 r b mursš lopts ‘to boil the potato having wašed’  
 r b k<sup>h</sup> pmi sabb ‘Potato is produced in the soil.’  
 k<sup>h</sup> r b ritmi dz sib ‘The house-potato is eaten in January.’  
 bukmi k<sup>h</sup>rumšo r b s pp sabb ‘The potato planted in the bukma bears a lot of fruit/production.’

r k n. (c) [> r k; in fast speech] ‘a species of bamboo; smaller in size’ (possibly T-B  
 मालिङ्गो)

r lts vt. ‘to wear’ (esp. garland) r ltu (p, 3sg) ‘wore’ r lšo (pp, adj) ‘worn’ SYN  
 m’uitsts , p<sup>h</sup> ts , li.:ts , p itsts , gup<sup>h</sup>ts NEG m ~ ‘not to wear’

r lp<sup>h</sup>u n. (c) ‘garland’ ~piki (pl) ‘garlands’

r n p<sup>h</sup> n adv. ‘manner of getting intoxicated e.g. by wine’

r nnumm m n. (c) ‘stem-mother’ ~piki (pl) ‘step-mothers’ M r nnum p<sup>h</sup>po ‘step-father’

r nnumm m mi ‘by the step-mother’  
 r nnumm m nu r nnum p<sup>h</sup>po ‘step-mother and step-father’  
 r nnumm m l ‘from the step-mother’  
 āk r nnumm m āk li n m p mt m ‘My step-mother loved me.’  
 ik r nnumm m t k l m ? ‘Where did your step-mother go?’

r ssik<sup>h</sup> n. (c) ‘school’ ~piki (pl) ‘schools’ cf. SYN šy lmik<sup>h</sup>

r tsts vt. ‘to read, study’ r ttu (p, 3sg) ‘read’ r sšo (pp, adj) ‘read’ NEG m ~ ‘not to read’

k<sup>h</sup>yōp t r tsts ‘to read a book’  
 ts rp ndzi/k<sup>h</sup>yōp tth mmi r tsts ‘to study at the library’  
 šy lmik<sup>h</sup> /r ssik<sup>h</sup> mi r tsts ‘to read at the school’  
 go šy lmik<sup>h</sup> mi l inu ‘I go to the school’  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp t r tsts m lt o ‘I have to read this book.’  
 m kom mk n l k<sup>h</sup>yōp t r sš thumtu ‘S/he finished reading all his/her books.’

r’ tsts vt. ‘to scratch, draw’ r’ ttu (p, 3sg) ‘scratched, drew’ r’ sšo (pp, adj) ‘scratched, drawn’ NEG m ~ ‘not to scratch, draw’  
 m ko lmi āk tsotsomi r’ tt o ‘The child scratched on my cheek.’

r u n. (u) ‘rain’

r uits ‘to rain’  
 g su nu r u ‘fog and rain’  
 r u nu w sr lu ‘rain and rainbow’

p<sup>h</sup> s nu r u ‘wind and rain’  
 mul t s pp r u it ‘It rained heavily today.’  
 l r u inin b .:t ‘It’s raining outside.’  
 r u išo p tik go l g l ts m ts bu ‘I could not go outside because of rain.’

r usotš m n. ‘rainy season’  
 r usotš m nu g su ‘rainy season and cloud’  
 r usotš mmi s pp r u ib ‘It rains heavily in the rainy season.’

ri n. (c) ‘louse’ ~piky (pl) ‘lice’  
 piy nu ri ‘louse and head’  
 gok li rimi kl ittu ‘Louse bit to me.’

r’i n. (c) ‘drum’(of shaman; informed by Mokusu Kormocha as narrated by a gy mi  
 ‘lady shaman’ to him) ~piki (pl) ‘drums’(of shaman) cf. SYN Turu

r’its vt. ‘to offer’ r’itu (p, 3sg) ‘offered’ r’išo (pp, adj.) ‘offered’

riu n. (c) ‘husband’s younger brother’ ~piky (pl) ‘husband’s younger brothers’ FEM  
 riwom  
 āk ru nu riwom ‘my husband’s younger brother and his wife’

ribb ts n. (c) ‘enemy’ ~pik (pl) ‘enemies’ cf. SYN ky ki

ribdo n. ‘wine’ cf. SYN šy ršo, r k<sup>h</sup>  
 m r m r d ~ni d n n ribdom d’uš p<sup>h</sup> n n (rhy.)

ribin n. (c) [s: Eng+nat] ‘ribbon’ ~piki (pl) ‘ribbons’  
 ribinmi tsā phr ~ts ‘to bind the hair with ribbon’  
 sus p<sup>h</sup>ur p šo/dumšo ribin ‘many-coloured/colourful ribbon’  
 m ko m’išy lmi pr šo ribin s pp d rsšo b ‘The ribbon which the girl has  
 bound is very beautiful.’  
 gom t mik li ribin gy pt ‘I bought a ribbon for the daughter.’

ribn t n. [~ rimsn t] ‘Tuesday’  
 n kn tnol ribn t ‘Tuesday after Monday’  
 ~ko ribn t ‘this Tuesday’  
 ribn tk ‘of Tuesday’  
 āk k<sup>h</sup> mi ribn t piu(o) ‘Come to my house on Tuesday.’  
 go ribn t dumk<sup>h</sup>imi m l inu ‘I do not go to the office on Tuesday.’  
 go ribn t m y br piki pid r p ingu ‘I worship my ancestors on Tuesday.’

r’imts vt. ‘to wait’ r’imtu (p, 3sg) ‘waited’ r’imšo (pp, adj) ‘waited’ NEG m ~ ‘not to  
 wait’  
 m k r’imts ‘to wait there’

suk li r'ims ? 'for whom to wait?'  
 r'imš b .:ts 'to stay having waited'  
 goi m pišo p tik m go d r'imšo r'imšon dumti 'I was waiting and  
 waiting since you did not come'  
 gom goik li n dos m r'imt 'I waited you till the night.'

rimts vi. 'to be fine, good, beautiful, handsome' rimt (p, 3sg) 'became beautiful'  
 rimšo (pp, adj) 'become beautiful' ANT m rimts  
 dop rimšo! 'How beautiful!'  
 m'išy mur dumšo m r m r rimts n m lb ? 'Is it necessary to be beautiful  
 being a woman?'  
 rimšop g th l n 'Progress well.'  
 ky t rimšop h'iko 'Count the money carefully.'

rimšo adj. 'beautiful, handsome, good, fine' ANT m rimšo  
 ušy r budi rimšo l 'a beautiful baby lie butterfly'  
 rimšo mur 'a gentleman, fine/good man'  
 rimšo p ts 'to do well'  
 gom öd p rimšo mur g n iyo m t šo n 'I never saw a gentleman like  
 this.'  
 go āk g rimšop p inu 'I do my job carefully/well.'  
 gom rimšo lo:p t h( ) n iyo ky kipikim m rimšo n :t m 'Although I had  
 a friendly talk, the enemies heard otherwise.'

rimtsi n. (c) [~ rimsi] 'beauty' ~piki (pl) 'beauties'

rip adj. 'fast, quick' cf. SYN l k ANT k<sup>h</sup>āts, d s n  
 ~p (or d s n) adv. 'swiftly, quickly'

r'its vt. 'to cut' (of a comparatively long length e.g. grass, crops while harvesting) r'itu  
 (p, 3sg) 'cut' r'išo (pp, adj) 'cut' cf. SYN (pr{/l) ts , k<sup>h</sup>r{/l)oitsts , kyortsts ,  
 ts .:ts ) NEG m ~ 'to not cut'  
 bur r'its 'to cut (i.e. harvest) paddy'  
 sosm l r'its 'to cut grass'  
 k<sup>h</sup> wā r'its 'to cut thatch'  
 w ilimi sosm l r'itu 'The servant cut the grass.'  
 m ko m'išy murum bur r'itu 'The woman harvested the paddy.'

ritslo: n. (c) 'story' ~piki (pl) 'stories'  
 ritslo: k bre.:ts 'to write a story'

ritso n. (c) 'watch, clock' ~piki (pl) 'watches' cf. SYN mukots  
 ritso nu m 'watch and time'  
 mukotsmi doso pt ' (fig.) 'What time is it?'

riu n. (c) ‘brother-in-law’ ~piki (pl) ‘brother-in-laws’

robts vt. ‘to pluck’ robtu (p, 3SG) robšo (pp, adj.) NEG m ~ ‘to not pluck’

roi n. (u) ‘sickness, illness’ v. roip ts (See p tsa) ‘to be sick’

roip šo mur ‘a sick man’

m r roip šo? ‘what sort of sickness?’

roik<sup>h</sup> mi roi p šo mur ‘the sickman in the hospital’

āk m m roip šo b .:t m ‘My mother has been sick.’

goi m r roip yi? ‘What sickness are you suffered of?’

roik<sup>h</sup> n. (c) ‘hospital’ ~piki (pl) ‘hospitals’

roik<sup>h</sup> l ts ‘to go to the hospital’

roilu n. (c) ‘key’ ~piki (pl) ‘keys’ cf. SYN ro.:t l ANT tso.:t l

roilu nu tsoilu ‘key and lock’

ro.:t l mi ‘by the key’

roilu s mts ‘to lose the key’

gom āk b k<sup>h</sup> l mi kurp šo roilu dz mt ‘The key I had kept in my pocket got lost’(itself).

~ko roilu t k odu? ‘Where should I keep this key?’

āk roilu sumi p<sup>h</sup> d ? ‘Who changed my key?’

roits n. (c) ‘orphan’ ~piki (pl) ‘orphans’ FEM roitsm(i)

roits l ‘the orphan child’

roits- ‘of the orphan’

roitsmik li ‘to the orphan’

gom m ko roitsk li w pik g t ‘I gave clothers to the orphan.’

goi ~ko roitsk li thulo ‘You look after this orphan.’

m ko wã s l dop roits dumm hillo p u d ‘Ask the boy how he became orphan.’

roitsts vt. ‘to snatch, plunder, loot’ roittu (p, 3sg) ‘snatched’ roisšo (pp, adj) ‘snatched’

NEG m ~ ‘not to snatch’

m rd roitsts ? ‘why to snatch?’

dop roitsts ? ‘how to snatch?’

~ko lk ribin sumi roitt ? ‘Who snatched the ribbon of this child?’

goimi mk p<sup>h</sup>urk l dop roip di? ‘How did you make your ball snatch?’

mop m roitto ‘Don’t snatch that way.’

ro n. (c) [cf. ro K-Kh] ‘cliff’

ro l do.:ts ‘to fall from the cliff’

ro l omo kolšo p<sup>h</sup>uilu do.:t ‘A boulder fell from the cliff.’

rokos n. (c) ‘rocky deer’ *nemo haedus goral* ~pik (pl) ‘rocky deers’

rokos p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘to shoot a goral’  
gom rokos k k li p<sup>h</sup>t ‘I shot a goral.’

rolts vt. ‘to perform rituals to appease the evil spirit, ward of an evil spirit’ roltu (p, 3sg) ‘warded...’ rolšo (pp, adj) ‘warded...’ NEG m ~ ‘to not ward...’  
põ bomi bw rolts ‘to perform rituals (on rooster) to appease the evil spirit by the male-shaman’

ro:ts vt. to weed, dig around plants’ ro:tu (p, 3sg) ‘weeded’ ro:šo (pp, adj) ‘weeded’  
NEG m ~ ‘to not weed’ n. ro:tsi  
bur ro:ts ‘to weed the paddy plant’  
tsirs ro:ts ‘to weed the millet plant’  
gomi p<sup>h</sup>urumi p<sup>h</sup>u( ) ro:t ‘I weeded the flower in the garden.’  
goi bur ro:to ‘You<sup>2sg</sup> weed the paddy plant.’

ro.:ts vt. ‘to open’ ro.:tu (p, 3sg) ‘opened’ ro.:šo (pp, adj) ‘opened’ NEG m ~ ‘not to open’  
l ptso ro.:ts ‘to open the door’  
roilumi tsoilu ro.:ts ‘to open the lock with a key’  
l ptso ro.:ko ‘Open<sup>3sg</sup> the door.’  
~ko tsoiluk li roilumi ro.:ko ‘Open<sup>3sg</sup> this lock with the key.’  
th ro.:š lo:p u (fig.) ‘Talk<sup>3sg</sup> open-heartedly/frankly.’

rõp n. (c) ‘sheep’ ~piki (pl) ‘sheep’ FEM mrõp SYN r b  
rõp kob/r bgyobbi ‘shepherd’  
rõp thulsts ‘to tame sheep’  
r bšy ‘mutton’  
go r bšy m b inu ‘I do not eat mutton.’  
rõp l ostsã t sib ‘Wool is gotten from sheep.’  
m komi rõp k homok tu:tu ‘S/he drank the milk of sheep.’

ru n. (c) ‘land’ ~piki (pl) ‘lands’  
ãk ru ‘my land’  
m ko nk ru ‘their land’  
ru nu ruw ts ‘land and farmer’  
~ko rumi sumi k<sup>h</sup> šy l ? ‘Who built the house on this land?’  
mk ru l ts m dumb ‘One should not sell his/her own land.’  
mk ru m rd l ts ? ‘Why should we sell our own land?’

rubn t n. [~ ts r n t] ‘Sunday’  
sukn tnol rubn t ‘Sunday after Saturday’  
rubn tmi ‘on Sunday’  
rubn tl ‘from Sunday’  
goi rubn t t k l in y ? ‘Where do you go on Sunday?’  
ts r h rubn tmi h mr gi l ib ‘Tserehang goes to overseas on Sunday.’

go rubn t t k i yo m l inu 'I do not go anywhere on Sunday.'

ruk n t n. [~ r l p<sup>h</sup> n t] 'Thursday'

ruk n t m i ts r p n d z i 'the library on Thursday'

ruk n t l 'from Thursday'

l š o ruk n t 'the last Thursday'

go l š o ruk n t g y k o s i l t i 'I went to the market on Thursday.'

~ko ruk n t l g o p i k i s o : t s g o t s m l b 'We've to start sowing maize from this Thursday.'

g o i ~ko ruk n t k<sup>h</sup> m i n b . : k o 'You stay at home this Thursday.'

rup s i n. (c) [~ ru p t s i] 'identity'

ã k r u p s i 'our identity'

ã m m l o : n u m u l k m ã r u p t s i 'our mother tongue and culture our identity'

i n k r u p s i m r m ' ? 'What is your identity?'

m u r d u m š o m r m r u p t s i p l ~ t s m d u m b 'Ones own identity should not be forgotten being a man.'

m r u p t s i t i t s t s m n i l 'Please don't neglect your own identity.'

ru š y n. (c) [~ ru : s] 'bone' ~piki (pl) 'bones'

ru : s n u k u s u l 'bone and skin'

ã g i m k r u : s p i k 'the bones of our body'

ru : s d z i . : s i t s 'to get the bone broken/fractured' (itself)

ã k r u : s m b u o (fig.) 'Don't trouble me.'

m u r u g i m m i d o s o r u š y p i k b . : n i m i ? 'How many bones are there in human body?'

m k o w ã s l k<sup>h</sup> o i l i k r u : s p<sup>h</sup> r u k l g y r s š o n u d z i . : s u 'The boy's bone of his leg was broken while playing football.'

ru w t s n. (c) [esp. in spoken form ; < ru w t s = ru + w + t s 'to plough the land']

'farmer' ~piki (pl) 'farmers'

ru w t s n u r u 'farmer and farmland'

ru w t s k n t b s 'crop of the farmer'

ru w t s l 'from the farmer'

m k o ru w t s m i b u r k<sup>h</sup> r u m t u 'The farmer planted the paddy.'

ru w t s n k k y t d ~ š o n n t b s m ' 'The farmers' cash means crop.'

ru d u m š o m r ru w t s m l b 'One should plough land being a farmer.'

W ल l / l /

l g n. adj., postp, adv. 'outside' ANT k<sup>h</sup> / g

l g / h m r g i 'foreign country'

l g l t s 'to go outside'

l n g g b . : t s 'to stay outside'

k<sup>h</sup> m othu m rd l g b .:ni? ‘Why did you<sup>2sg</sup> stay outside without going inside?’

l g r gi l š m r p in y ? ‘What do you do having been to overseas?’  
 l g l uo ‘Go<sup>3sg</sup> outside.’

l l n. adj. [ > l l also verb ‘may s/he go’ ] ‘red’ EMPH l l ‘very red’

l l p<sup>h</sup>ur/Tig ‘red colour’

l l bw ‘red rooster’

l l piy (fig.) ‘police’

l l mi ky r k<sup>h</sup> l sišo ‘black mixed in the red colour’

ōd b l l w m rd gy p’i? ‘Why did you buy such red cloth?’

ōd p l l w m p<sup>h</sup> šo ‘Don’t wear such red cloth.’

m ko l l bw dosm l g’i? ‘In what price did you sell the red rooster?’

p<sup>h</sup> n m l l p<sup>h</sup>ur gy ptu ‘Phene bought the red colour.’

l limits n. ‘a kind of wild fruit, strawberry, *myrica esculenta/nagi*’ (esp. sweet and sour taste but hard like nut and not exactly like strawberry) SYN p<sup>h</sup> tsts

l limits b ts ‘to have/eat strawberry’

p<sup>h</sup> tstsik l l p<sup>h</sup>ur ‘red colour of the strawberry’

ts’ibi nu l limits ‘strawberry and bird’

p<sup>h</sup> tstsik p<sup>h</sup>ur l l dumb ‘The strawberry has red colour.’

ts’ibimi yo l limits dz inimi ‘Birds also have strawberry.’

l pšyi n. (S: compounding) ‘wild fruit; sour and sweet in taste’

l lp<sup>h</sup> br n. ‘read seal/official authority’

l lp<sup>h</sup> br p<sup>h</sup>ts ‘to stamp a red seal’

l ri n. (c) [S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘apple’ ~pik (pl) ‘apples’

l l l ri ‘the red apple’

l ri blošo dumb ‘Apple is tasty.’

l ts vi. ‘to go, leave, exit’ l t ( ) (p, 3sg) ‘went’ l šo (pp, adj.) ‘gone’ NEG m ~ ‘to not go’

t k l ts ‘where to go?’

k<sup>h</sup> l ts ‘to go home’

go k<sup>h</sup> l ti ‘I went home.’

goi t k l i? ‘Where did you go?’

m ko h mr gi l t ‘S/he went overseas.’

t u gy rth l t ‘The son went to play.’

l g m l uo ‘Don’t go outside.’

l Tu n. (c) ‘firefly’ ~p ki (pl) ‘fireflies’ cf. SYN d luts

tsurmu nu l Tu ‘fly and firefly’

n domi d luts ‘firefly in the night’

l Tu budi b rtsts 'to fly like a firefly'  
 l Tu d ilu k<sup>h</sup>ōd b tã sib 'The butterfly is seen like a lamp.'  
 m ko l Tuk li gy itto 'Catch<sup>3sg</sup> that firefly.'  
 m ko l Tukali m s to/m s itto 'Don't kill<sup>3sg</sup> that firefly.'

l adv, adj. conj. 'only'

ōso l 'only this much'  
 moso l 'only that much'  
 goi l l ko o 'You look after the child only.'  
 m ko grumd lmi r ku muru l pimt m 'Only six men came in the meeting.'  
 ōso l ky tmi m dz ddib 'Only this much of money is not sufficient.'  
 go moso l g ts ts bnu 'I can give/provide only that much.'  
 go hō ti r nnu munu l br .:nu 'I first read and only then write.'

-l Ca., postp., adv [also l , -r ; SRC:ABL] 'from'

~kl t k l in y ? 'Where do you go from here?'  
 r ssik<sup>h</sup> g n l ro.:sib ? 'When does the school resume from?'  
 goi t kl piy ? 'Where did you come from?'  
 k<sup>h</sup> pkyumi ~kl doso ky t t :b m' ? 'How much fare does the bust charge from here.'  
 ~ko bl sp t āk m m l dz .:šo m' 'This letter has come from my mother.'

lã n. (c) 'path, way, road' ~piki (pl) 'paths'

lãmi 'at/on the road/path'  
 lãl 'from the path'  
 lãk 'of the road'  
 ~ko lã t k l ib ? 'Where does this path go?'  
 rimšo lã g .:šo m r rimšon dumsib (fig.) 'One can be successful while on a right track.'  
 āk li lã kō d n (fig.) 'Please guide me.'  
 āk g .:t k lãmi koro it (fig.) 'My mission of life became impossible.'

l b k n. [S: Kir nti-Lim.] 'radish, *rophanus sativus*'

l b k b ts 'to eat the radish'  
 l b k k<sup>h</sup>rumts 'to plant the radish'  
 gom l b k b šo m r pitt 'I farted after having radiš.'  
 s pp l b k m b uo 'Do not eat too much radiš.'

l issi n. 'height'

m ko murk l issi 'height of the man'

l itsts vt. 'to take away' l ittu (p, 3sg) 'took away' l isšo (pp, adj.) 'taken away' NEG

m ~ 'not to take away'

pith l itsts ‘to take thither’  
 t k l itsts ? ‘where to take?’  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp tk li t k l itsts d ~ni? ‘Where did you say to take this book?’  
 mk w pith l to ‘Take your cloth thither.’  
 āk kyupth sumi l d ? ‘Who took away my hat?’

l iššo adj. [also lh iššo in some idiolects] ‘tall, high’ ANT t s  
 l iššo mur k ‘a/one tall man’  
 domo l iššo k<sup>h</sup> ! ‘how tall house!’  
 l iššo th mli ‘a high hill’  
 omo l iššo mur gom g n iyo m t šo n ‘I never had seen such a tall man.’  
 ~ko tsuntsi domo l iššo b .:m ? ‘How tall is this hillock?’  
 m ko l iššo mur sum´ ? ‘Who is that tall man?’

l mdzi n. [>l mdz, in fast speech] ‘tiffin, snacks’  
 gy bimi l mdzi kurp ts ‘to put tiffin/snacks in the bag’

l ms n. (c) ‘nephew’ (of fraternal)  
 āk l ms ‘my nephew’

l pts vt. ‘to be useful’  
 g l pts ‘something to be useful’  
 ~ko bl tik bl ts k li g l bb ‘This pen is useful for writing.’

l ptso n. (c) ‘door’ ~piki (pl) ‘doors’  
 l ptso tso.:ts ‘to šut the door’  
 l ptsol o:ts ‘to enter from the door’  
 l ptsomi dok r pts ‘to stand still on the door’  
 l ptsomi mop su dok r pšo m´ ? ‘Who is standing still on the door in that manner.’  
 pioi... l ptso ro.:ko ‘Come and open the door.’  
 l ptsol o o ‘Enter<sup>3sg</sup> from the door.’

l :ts vt. ‘to cross over’ l :tu (p, 3sg) ‘crossed over’ l :šo (pp, adj) ‘crossed over’ NEG  
 m ~ ‘to not cross over’  
 tsuntsi l :ts (lit.) ‘to cross over the hill’ (fig.) ‘to migrate, elope’  
 m ko l t k l :g ? ‘Where did the child go/disappear?’

l kbw k n. (u) [S: Kir nti-Lim+nat] ‘mud’  
 domlimi l kbw k ‘mud in the pond’  
 l kbw k buitsts ‘to sprinkle the mud’  
 m ko b d l bw kmi l kbw k k<sup>h</sup> lsišo b ‘Mud is mixed in that bottle’s water.’  
 domlimi d n ll l kbw k k k b .:t ‘This pond is full of mud.’  
 goi l kbw kmi m g ro ‘Don’t play in the mud.’

l p n. 'revenge' v. ~l tsts 'to revenge'

l pp n. [s: Kir nti-Lim; also kutsuupts > kutsuuptsi (fig.)] 'gambling'

l pp nu ky t 'money and gambling'

l pp nu n 'gambling and honour'

l pp mi 'in gambling'

l pp gy rtsts rimšo m m i 'It is not good to play gambling.'

l pp gy rbmi m'išy yo bb d ~nimi 'It is said that a gambler can gamble his wife also.'

go l pp gy rb murk li m d ngu 'I don't like gamblers.'

l :ts vt. (lit.) 'to sell, (fig.) cheat, trick' l :tu (p, 3sg) 'sold' l :šo (pp, adj.) 'sold' NEG m ~ 'not to sell'

gy pts min l :ts 'buy then sell'

dop l :ts 'how to sell'

dosom l :ts 'in what price to sell'

gom d āk k<sup>h</sup> l :ts 'I sold my house.'

k l k l :sišo dz t tsinu m l ssib 'Things once sold cannot be returned again.'

goimi ru suk li l :gi? 'To whom did you sell the land.'

ts r h mi d murk li l :b (fig.) 'Tserehang tricks people.'

l tsts vt. [also caus] 'to return, bring/send back sth, reply' l ttu (p, 3sg) 'returned' l sšo (pp, adj.) 'returned' NEG m ~ 'to not return' (phr, fig.) th :s l tsts , th b

l tsts , l p l tsts

dop l tsts 'how to return'

ky tk<sup>h</sup> ky t l tsts 'to return the money of the bank'

w l tsts 'to bring back the cloth'

l tsts m lšo bl sp t 'the letter to be returned'

gom p<sup>h</sup>urumi onon p šo b'ik li l tt 'I made the cow return entering in the garden.'

m ko l tsts m lšo bl sp t t ko m' ? 'Which one is the letter to be sent back?'

l ~brots n. (c, u) 'pickle' cf. SYN t ptsi [< t pts ]

br(ɔ)l)ošo l ~brots 'a tasty pickle'

m rk l ~brots? 'pickle made up of what?'

l b kk l ~brots 'pickle made up of radiš'

kilk<sup>h</sup> ik t ptsi 'pickle made up of tomato'

āk li kilk<sup>h</sup> ik t ptsi g ini 'Please give the tomato-pickle.'

l ~brotsnu sus k<sup>h</sup> m dz sib 'Much rice is eaten with pickle.'

l b kk l ~brots gyurm t 'The radish-pickle has been soured.'

libr n. (c) [li+br ] 'bow-arrow' ~p ki (pl) 'bows-arrows'

libr kurtsts ‘to carry the bow and arrow’  
 libr nu p ng ‘bow-arrow and gun’  
 gom libr kurttt ‘I carried the bow-arrow.’  
 goimi āk libr t k<sup>h</sup>uitti? ‘Where did you hide my bow-arrow?’  
 āk libr ōth pito ‘Fetch my bow-arrow hither.’

libsā n. ‘trident’ cf. SYN sātsu [ y sā; Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar 2002: 11]

l kyu n. ‘oracle’  
 l kyu kop itsts ‘ask sb for oracle’

lipu n. (c) ‘estuary’ ~pik (pl) ‘esturies’  
 lik<sup>h</sup>uk lipu ‘estuary of the river’  
 m ko lipumi turs k b ‘There is a grave in the estuary.’

lip<sup>h</sup> n. ‘small stick’ ~pik (pl) ‘small sticks’  
 lip<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>uitsts ‘to hide the small stick’

lin n. (c) ‘plant, shoot, sprout, seedling’ ~piki (pl) ‘seedlings’  
 gig k<sup>h</sup> ik lin ‘seedling of green vegetable’  
 kolgik lin ‘seedling of soybean’  
 burk lin ‘seedling of paddy’  
 ts imi nimp<sup>h</sup> mi gig k<sup>h</sup> ik lin k<sup>h</sup>rumt s ‘The two daughter-in-laws planted  
 the seedling of green-vegetable.’

li.:ts vt. ‘to wear’ (esp. watch, bangle etc.) li.:tu (p, 3sg) ‘wore’ li.:šo (pp, adj.) ‘worn’  
 SYN gup<sup>h</sup>ts , p<sup>h</sup> ts , mu’itsts , r lts , p itsts NEG m ~ ‘not to wear’  
 mukots li.:ts ‘to put on the watch’  
 li.:ts k li gumlik gy pts ‘to buy the bangle for putting on’  
 gom mukots/ritso li.:t ‘I put on a watch.’  
 t mimi gumlik li.:tu ‘The daughter put on the bangle.’

lits vi. ‘to remain, be left over, stay/live back/behind’ lit (p, 3sg) ‘remained’ lišo (pp,  
 adj.) ‘remained’ NEG m ~ ‘not to remain’  
 nol lits ‘to remain back’  
 k<sup>h</sup> m lits ‘to remain the rice’  
 gonu g .:šo m ko mur nol n li:m t ‘The man walking with me is left back.’  
 āk b ng n mi k<sup>h</sup> m li:t ‘The rice in my plate is left.’

l’its vt. ‘to thread’ (esp. inside the needle’s eye, beads, flowers) l’itu (p, 3sg)  
 ‘threaded’ l’išo (pp, adj.) ‘threaded’ NEG m ~ ‘to not thread’  
 r ltsi l’its ‘to thread the garland’

lo: n. (c) ‘speech, language, talk’ ~p ki (pl) ‘speeches, lanugages’ adj. lo:li ‘linguistic’  
 lo:p ts ‘to talk, get into conversation’

m ko nk m m lo: 'their mother tongue'  
 turki lo:pik 'foreign languages'  
 go ãk m m lo: w .:ts dzonu 'I know how to speak my mother tongue.'  
 goipik m r lo: w .:nini 'What language do you<sup>2pl</sup> speak?'  
 mk lo: mk ruptsi m 'One's language is one's identity.'

lo:lišyāk n. (c) 'discuss' ~pik (pl) 'discussions' cf. SYN k<sup>h</sup> k  
 lo:lišyāk p ts 'to discuss'  
 m ko lo:lišyāk mi sumi gl m ? 'Who won in the discussion?'

lo( )b n. (c) 'younger brother' ~piki (pl) 'youngers brothers'  
 lo( )b nu w 'the younger and the elder brother'  
 ãk lo( )b 'my younger brohter'  
 gom ãk lo( )bk li th itt 'I beat my younger brother.'

lormip<sup>h</sup>u n. (c) [<lormip<sup>h</sup>u( )] cf. SYN ky t  
 p<sup>h</sup>urumi lormip<sup>h</sup>u boimet 'The lotus has blossomed in the garden.'

loT s n. (sg) 'moon' cf. SYN tos l , t sl  
 s ri mi t sl 'the moon in the sky'

lo.:ts vt. 'to turn over' lo.:tu (p, 3sg) 'turned over' lo.:šo (pp, adj.) 'turned over' NEG  
 m ~ 'to not turn over'

lopts vt. 'to boil' loptu (p, 3sg) 'boiled' lopšo (pp, adj.) 'boiled' NEG m ~ 'to not boil'  
 r b lopts 'to boil up the potato'

lu gir n. (c, u) <sup>1</sup>'heart', <sup>2</sup>'feelings', <sup>3</sup>'emotions' SYN th  
 lu gir himsits 'to vibrate the heart'(itself or because of fear)  
 lu gir nu n m 'heart and love'  
 lu gir k<sup>h</sup> itsts (fig./lit.) 'to feel bad/ache the heart'  
 roip šo p tik ãk lu gir k<sup>h</sup> itt 'My heart ached because of illness.'  
 ik lu girmi n m m b 'There is no love in thy heart.'  
 m kok lu girmi g m p w b .:t 'His/her heart failed working.'

l'utsu adv. [>luts; in fast speech] 'below, down'  
 g th nu luts 'up and down'  
 lutsg dortsts 'to run downwards'  
 lutsl 'from down'  
 m ko lutsg dorb mur su m' ? 'Who is that man running downwards?'  
 m ko d'ušo mur th š lutsg la:tu 'The drunk-man rolled downwards having  
 fallen.'  
 goi luts l uo 'Go down.'

l'udz n. (c) 'niddle' ~pik (pl) 'needles'

l'udz nu šy l 'the needle and the thread'  
 l'udz mi w p<sup>h</sup> rtsts 'to sew the cloth with a needle'  
 gom ãk l'udz nu šy l s mt 'I lost my needle and tread.'

X व w/w /

w n. (c) 'cloth' ~ p ki (pl) 'clothes'  
 w p<sup>h</sup> ts 'to wear the cloth'  
 w nu dz t kdz t 'cloth and food'  
 w murtsts 'to wash the cloth'  
 go mk w mmin murnu 'I wash my cloth myself.'  
 goimi m ko w m rd t itti? 'Why did you throw away that cloth?'  
 ~ko w rimšo b 'This cloth is beautiful.'

w bl tsts vi. 'to shout' w bl tt (p, 3sg) 'shouted' w bl sšo (pp) 'shouted' NEG m ~  
 'to not shout' cf. SYN gr'its

w itsts vt. 'to keep' w ittu (p, 3sg) 'kept' w issho (pp, adj) 'kept' NEG m ~ 'to not  
 keep'  
 ky t w itsts 'to keep the money'  
 n w itsts 'to be famous'  
 gom ky tk<sup>h</sup> mi ky t w itt 'I deposited the money in the bank.'  
 goi ~ko k<sup>h</sup>yöp t oto 'You keep this book.'

w ki n. 'jungle'  
 dzoi nu w ki 'the tiger and the jungle'  
 w kig šyãk grit 'A leopard roared inside the jungle.'

w l p ts vi. 'to keep quiet' w l p ptu (p, 3sg) 'kept quiet' w l p šo (pp) 'kept quiet'  
 NEG w l m p ts 'not to keep quiet' cf. SYN tsorp mts  
 goi w l p š b .:ko 'You keep quiet.'

w' lts vt. 'to get lured'  
 go k l wolnu 'I stir the porridge.'

w mgy m n. 'confusion' v. ~dumts 'to be confused'  
 go w mgy m dumti 'I was confused.'

w rtsts n. (c) [> w rts; in fast speech; w rtstso in Kir nti-B .:yung] 'friend' ~p ki (pl)  
 'friends'  
 ãk w rtspik 'my friends'  
 ã k w rts 'our friend'  
 w rtsnu lo:p ts 'to talk with the friend'  
 m kopiki suk w rts n mi? 'Whose friend are they?'

go āk w rtsnu lo:p inu 'I talk with my friend.'  
 lo:l i...w rtspik/w rtsts i 'Let's go friends.'  
 goi āk w rts n y d m n y ? 'Are you my friend or not?'

w rtsts vt. 'to throw away' (esp. at a far distance) w rttu (p, 3sg) 'threw away' w rsšo (pp, adj.) 'thrown away' NEG m ~ 'not to throw away' cf. t itsts  
 th tl w rtsts 'to throw away the bat'  
 m ko w rsšo k<sup>h</sup>yōp t 'the book which is thrown away'  
 goimi āk bl tik t k w rdi? 'Where did you throw away my pen?'  
 goimi mk w mop w rtsts m dumb 'You shouldn't throw away your cloth in that way.'  
 ~ko b .:šo b rmok li monin w rdo 'Throw this dead cat far away.'

w ts vt. 'to plough' w tu 'ploughed' w šo (pp, adj.) 'ploughed' NEG m ~ 'not to plough'  
 by p<sup>h</sup>mi ru w ts 'to plough the land by the oxen'  
 w ts nu dots 'to plough and dig'  
 ru w ts k li m šy yo g rop sib 'A buffalo is also used for ploughing the land.'  
 ruw tsmi ru w .:tu 'The farmer ploughed the land.'  
 go by p<sup>h</sup> w ts ts bnu 'I can plough.'

w .:ts vt. 'to speak, talk to oneself, soliloquize' w .:tu( ) (p, 3sg) 'spoke' w .:šo (pp, adj.) 'spoken' NEG m ~ 'not to speak'  
 Kir nti-Kōits lo: w .:ts 'to speak the Kir nti-Kōits language'  
 lo: w .:ts nu mulk m p ts 'to speak the language and practice the culture'  
 goi mk m m lo: w .:ts dzon y ? 'Do you know how to speak your mother tongue?'  
 murupikim hillo p šonu rimšop w .:ko 'Speak properly while you are asked by people.'  
 go rimšop Chinese w .:ts ts bnu 'I can speak Chinese well.'

wā n. (c) 'bear' ~p ki (pl) 'bears'  
 wā nu r kmits 'the bear and the ant'  
 w kimi wā 'the bear in the jungle'  
 wāmi n tb s p<sup>h</sup> mšip ts 'to destroy the crop by the bear'  
 wāmi n tb s p<sup>h</sup> mšip ib 'The bear destroys the crop.'  
 wāmi murk li yo s ib 'A bear kills man also.'  
 wā t šo m r doro 'Run after seeing the bear.'

wā s l n. (c) 'boy' ~p ki (pl) 'boys' FEM m'išy l [>m'is l; in fast speech]  
 wā s l nu m'is l 'a boy and a girl'  
 m ko wā s lmi 'by that boy'  
 n ll wā s lpik 'all boys'  
 n ll wā s lpik ~k pin 'All boys come here.'

m ko wã s l suke t u m´ ? ‘Whose son is that boy?’

go wã s l n ‘I am a boy.’

m wã s l nu m´is l tumumt s ‘The boy and the girl fought each other.’

wãts r n. ‘poison’

itsuk wãts r ‘the poison of the rat’

itsuk wãts r b rm mi dz w b .:t ‘The cat has eaten the rat’s poison.’

w ts r n. (c) ‘seed’ ~piki (pl) ‘seeds’

w ts r k<sup>h</sup>rumts /so.:ts ‘to sow the seed’

w pl mb n. (c) ‘iron’ ~pik (pl) ‘irons’ cf. SYN tsipsi

w pl mbp ts ‘to iron’

gom ãk sōT<sup>h</sup> w pl mbp t ‘I ironed my shirt.’

w rtsts n. (c) ‘friend’ ~pik (pl) ‘friends’

ãk w rtsts ‘my friend’

goi ãk w rtsts n y d ky ki? ‘Are you my friend or enemy?’

w rtsts vt. ‘to throw’ w rttu (p, 3sg) ‘threw’ w rsšo (pp, adj.) ‘thrown’ NEG m ~ ‘to not throw’ cf. SYN t itsts

w sr lu n. ‘rainbow’

w sr lu t sits ‘the rainbow to be seen’

gom s ri mi w sr lu t t ‘I saw the rainbow in the sky.’

wã smuru n. (c) [CMP wã s + muru > mur] ‘man, male’ ~piki (pl) ‘men’ FEM

m´išy muru

m ko wã smur nu m´išy mur ‘the man and the woman’

m ko wã smur su m´ ? ‘Who is that man?’

w k pron. ‘other’ [also woi] cf. SYN ru [S: nat from N]

w k murpik ‘other men’

w k mur nk ‘of other people’

wolts vt. ‘to stir’ (esp. porridge) woltu (p, 3sg) ‘stirred’ wolšo (pp, adj.) ‘stirred’ NEG m ~ ‘to not stir’

k l wolts ‘to sitr the porridge’

wobis n. [also hobis] ‘cucumber’

wobis b ts ‘to have the cucumber’

gom gy kosil wobis gy pt ‘I bought the cucumber from the market.’

wonki n. (c) [also > ki ] ‘telephone’ ~piky (pl) ‘telephones’ cf. SYN ki , monki

wonki p ts ‘to phone’

wonki p šonu ky t th pts m lb 'One must pay money while making a call.'

y ष ष / ष /

š r n.(c) [<šy r(D) ] 'horse' ~p ki (pl) 'horses' FEM š r m  
 š r nu by ktsi 'horse and mule'  
 š r nu th' b rl by ktsi 'the mule from horse and donkey'  
 š r budi dortsts 'to run like a horse'  
 m ko k r š r s pp dorttu 'The black horse ran very fast.'  
 th' b r yo š r k<sup>h</sup>ōd b n t sib 'A donkey is also seen like a horse.'  
 goimi ~ko š r dosomi gy b'ī? 'How much did you pay for this horse?'

š sth m n. 'living place'  
 m .: nk š sth m 'their living place'

šispl p n. 'ruin'  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup> k šispl p ko o 'Look at this building's ruin.'  
 go šispl p dumti 'I am ruined.'

s'išyir n. (u) 'rust'  
 s'išyir nu tholuts 'nail and rust'

šod n. (c) 'elephant' ~p ki (pl) 'elephants'  
 T<sup>h</sup> b šod 'a big elephant'  
 šod k th b nop<sup>h</sup> 'a big ear the elephant'  
 šod k imitstsili m'itsi 'a small eye of the elephant'  
 ko o! ko o! domo th b sod ! 'Look! Look! How big elephant!'  
 šod m mur yo s ib 'The elephant kills man also.'  
 šod k nop<sup>h</sup> th b dumb 'The elephant a big ear.'

šots vt. 'to reveal' šotu (p, 3sg) 'revealed' šošo (pp, adj.) 'revealed' NEG m ~ 'to not reveal'

šor n. (c) [<šyor] 'star' ~p ki (pl) 'stars'  
 s ri mi šor 'the star in the sky'  
 tasla nu šorpik 'the moon and the stars'  
 šorpik t ts 'to see the stars'  
 s ri mi šorpik n dol ta sib 'Stars are seen in the sky only at night.'

šukul n. 'sex, fornication' vt. ~p ts 'to fornicate, have intercourse' cf. SYN p ts (fig)

šy'ã par. (esp. for emphasis; no Eng equivalent; N णि)  
 l u šy'ã 'Go.'  
 m r p i šy'ã 'What did you do?'  
 õp p ts šy'ã 'to do this way'

d zu šy'ã 'Eat/Have.'  
 m rd m dori šy'ã? 'Why didn't you run?'  
 plots šy'ã 'Escape.'  
 m kulmi yo ko: šy'ã 'Look at your face also.'  
 t mk li ky t g u šy'ã 'Give money to the daughter.'

šyã:k n. (c) 'leopard' ~p ki (pl) 'leopards' *panthera pardus*  
 w kik šyã:k 'the leopard of the jungle'  
 šyã:k nu dzoi 'the leopard and the tiger'  
 h' ts šyã:k 'a fearful leopard'  
 šy tsibp imi šyã:k k s d t 'The hunter has killed a leopard.'  
 ko šyã:k d h' ts b .:t 'This leopard is frightening.'  
 goimi šyã:k t šo b .: 'Have you seen a leopard?'

šyãbu n. [> šyãb] 'millet-beer'  
 šyãb tuts 'to drink the millet-beer'

šyãk r lu (spelling; Shyãkarelu) [S: CMP] n. 'destroyer, creator, trinity'

šy rd lu n. (c) (gen.; p<sup>h</sup>ullu~p<sup>h</sup>uilu) 'granite' ~p ki (pl) 'granites'  
 k<sup>h</sup> p nu šy rd lu 'soil and granite'  
 buš šy rd lu 'the white granite'  
 k<sup>h</sup>ot m t'ušo šy rd lu 'the granite licked by a lizard'  
 šy rd lu ko:ts m rimšo dumb 'The granite is beautiful to look at.'  
 šy rd lul m'í yo glu sib 'Fire is also produced (lit. taken out) from the granite.'

šy r(ori) n. (c) 'salt-pot' (esp. made up of bamboo)  
 šy r(ori)rimi h'isi kurp ts 'to store salt in the salt-pot'  
 go-m šy r(ori)-mi h'isi kurp t 'I stored the salt in the salt-pot.'

šy ts vt. 'to tease' šy tu (p, 3sg) 'teased' šy šo (pp, adj.) 'teased' NEG m ~ 'to not tease'  
 m rd šy ts ? 'why to tease?'  
 m ko murk li šy ts 'to tease that man'  
 gom m ko murkali šy t 'I teased that man.'

šy rth ts vt. 'to govern, rule' šy rth tu (p, 3sg) 'governed, ruled' šy rth šo (pp, adj.) 'governed, ruled' NEG šy rm ~ 'not to govern, rule'  
 hopomi šy rth ts 'to govern by the king'  
 murupikim murk lin šy rth ts 'to govern for the people by the people'  
 dop šy rth ts 'how to rule'  
 šy rth simi muru nk li šy rth tu 'The government ruled the people.'

šy rth si n. (c) 'government' ~p ki (pl) 'governments'

s i šy rth si 'government of the past'  
 mul šy rth si 'government of the present'  
 r gi nu šy rth si 'the country and the government'  
 'ko šy rth simi m r iyo g m p u 'This government did not do anything.'  
 murk šy rth simi mur nk li g th k'ib (fig.) 'The government of the people  
 makes its people prosperous.'

šy n. 'meat' (gen. suffix as in pw >po~ 'pork'; see po)  
 šy nu k<sup>h</sup> m 'rice and meat'  
 šy k ts 'to cook the meat'  
 m mami pošy k t m 'The mother cooked the pork.'  
 go m r iyo šy m dz inu 'I do not have any meat (of any animal).'  
 m ko r šo šy m b uo 'Do not eat that rotten meat.'  
 šy m b šonu yo dumb 'It works without having meat.'

šy ~bi n. (c) 'teacher' SYN šy ~si p<sup>h</sup>po FEM šy ~si m

šy ~d n. (c) 'sound' ~p ki (pl) 'sounds'  
 kir nti-kōits lo:k šy ~d pik 'the sounds of the Kir nti-Kōits language'  
 muru nk lo:k šy ~d pik 'the sounds of the human languages'

šy conj. [Konow's data (in Grierson 1909: H.G. 260) data from Darjeeling] 'but' cf.  
 SYN t rn [S: nat from N]  
 gom m'išy l k k li ko:t šy m d tu 'I had a look at a girl but I did not  
 like her.'  
 go ipt s m lti šy ipt s n m ts bu 'I tried to sleep but I could not sleep.'  
 piu d d ~ti šy āk mu m dum 'I told you to come but I was out of time.'

šy l p t k n.(c) cf. SYN him , p rum

šy lts vt. 'to make, build' šy ltu (p, 3sg) 'made, built' šy lšo (pp, adj.) 'made, built'  
 NEG m ~ 'not to make, built'  
 k<sup>h</sup> šy lts 'to build a house'  
 p<sup>h</sup>r ~spik dop šy lts 'how to make sentences'  
 gom ~ko k<sup>h</sup> s ithots šy lt 'I built this house many years ago.'  
 goimi omo th b k<sup>h</sup> šy lt k ky t t kl ts g'í? 'Where did you get/bring the  
 money from to build this much big building?'

šy lmik<sup>h</sup> n. (c) 'school' ~piki (pl) 'schools' cf. SYN r ssik<sup>h</sup> [Rapacha, Ngawacha-  
Mukhia and Rujicha-Mukhia 2003b]

šy lmits n. (c) 'student, learner' ~p ki (pl) 'students, learners' SYN šy ~sib

šy pu n. (c) 'salary, remuneration'  
 šy pu d itsts 'to get salary'

sin t gom āk šy pu d itt ‘I got my remuneration yesterday.’

šy r n. (mass) ‘rice’ (esp. the husked one) [cf. *ser* Kir nti-Wam; Opgenort (2002: 544)]

šy rnu tsirs p<sup>h</sup> s p<sup>h</sup> itsts ‘to barter rice with the millet-flour’

šy rp<sup>h</sup> sk šyopl ‘the bread made up of the rice-flour’

šy r nu n msi ‘rice and perilla’

šy rnu n msi k<sup>h</sup> lš dz šonu blob ‘It will be tasty to have the mixed rice and perilla.’

m ko gyol šy r tsupt ‘The rice of the winnowing-tray spilled/poured.’

šy r r adv., ono. ‘the sound of raining’

r u ib šy r r ‘pitter-patter rain drops’

šy rsšo n. cf. SYN ribdo, r k<sup>h</sup>

šy ~s ts n. [See šy ~sits, sy ~si for use]

šy ~si p<sup>h</sup>po n. (c) n. ‘teacher’ ~piki (pl) ‘teachers’ cf. SYN šy ~bi, šy ~tik FEM šy ~si m

šy lmik<sup>h</sup> mi šy ~si p<sup>h</sup>po ‘a teacher in the school’

šy ~si p<sup>h</sup>po nu šy lmits ‘a teacher and a student’

šy ~si p<sup>h</sup>pomi ‘by the teacher’

m ko šy ~si p<sup>h</sup>pomi āk li r tsts šy ~t m ‘The teacher taught me reading.’

goi šy ~bi dumts m ln y ? ‘Do you want to be a teacher?’

m ko šy ~bi dumts m lb ‘S/he must be a teacher.’

šy ~sib n. (c) ‘student, learner’ ~p ki (pl) ‘students, learners’ cf. SYN šy lmits

šy t n. ‘trouble, difficulty’ v. šy t dz ts ‘to get trouble, be caught into difficult situations’ ANT mnus

šy t nu mnus ‘trouble and pleasure’

šy t g ts ‘to trouble’

šy t m dz thu mnus m p’ib ‘No pain no gain.’

gom d s pp šy t dz t ‘I was troubled very much.’

m rp šy t dz i ? ‘How were you troubled?’

šy th adj. [> s th] ‘empty’

šy th gui ‘empty hand, poor’

šy ~ts vt. ‘to teach’ šy ~tu (p, 3sg) ‘taught’ šy ~šo (pp, adj.) ‘taught’ NEG m ~ ‘not to teach’

dop šy ~ts ‘how to teach’

rimšop šy ~ts ‘to teach well’

gom m ko lk li r tsts šy ~t ‘I taught reading to the child.’

goi t uk li r tsts šy ~do ‘Teach reading to the son.’

m kom k li rimšop k<sup>h</sup> pkyu dorp itsts šy ~t u ‘S/he taught me driving a bus well.’

šy ~sits n. <sup>1</sup>‘admonishment, instruction, precept’ <sup>2</sup>n. ‘learning’ cf. SYN sy ~si, šy ~s ts  
 šy ~sits bitsts ‘to obey the instruction’  
 rimšo sy ~si ‘a suitable instruction’  
 th bmurk sy ~si ‘instruction of the elder’  
 go ink d ~šo šy ~sits binnu ‘I obey your instruction.’  
 m m m g šo šy ~s ts g n iyo m rimšo m dumb ‘The mother’s  
 admonishment is never bad.’

šy ~sits vt. ‘to learn’ šy ~sit (p, 3sg) ‘learnt’ šy ~sišo (pp, adj.) ‘learnt’ NEG m ~ ‘not  
 to learn’  
 rimšop šy ~sits ‘to learn well’  
 m m lo: šy ~sits ‘to acquire the mother tongue’  
 ā m m lo: šy ~siy ‘Let’s learn our mother tongue.’  
 k mpyut r šy ~sits rimšon dumb ‘It is better to learn the computer.’  
 gom MS-Word šy ~siti ‘I learnt the MS-Word.’

šyi n. ‘firewood, wooden fuel’ [cf. *si* Kir nti-Ha; Shakya (1971: 92), *s’i* Meithei;  
 Chelliah (1997: 26), *si* Kir nti-Ath; Neupane (2001: 328)]  
 šyi k<sup>h</sup>r{/l}oitsts ‘to cut the fire wood’  
 šyi nu m’i ‘firewood and fire’  
 šyi gy pts ‘to buy the firewood’  
 k<sup>h</sup> m k ts k li šyi m lb ‘Firewood is necessary to cook the rice.’  
 m ko ruw tsmi šyi l tu ‘The farmer sold the firewood.’  
 gom m’i th rtsts k li šyi gupt ‘I collected the firewood to warm in front  
 of the fire.’

šyik<sup>h</sup> i n. [S: blending, CMP; <šyi+k<sup>h</sup> i] ‘mushroom’ cf. SYN omu

šyil n. ‘dance’ v. šyilp ts ; see p ts  
 šyād r šyil ‘land-worshiping dance’ (K-K cul.)  
 bur k<sup>h</sup> m dz ndz n šyil p np n (rhy.)  
 šyād rmi ts’ibk šyil t sp ts ‘to imitate the bird’s dance in Shyādar’  
 go šyilp ts m dzo:nu ‘I do not know how to dance.’  
 lo d ik šyil koi ‘Let’s see your dance.’  
 goimi dop iyo šyil p ts n m ln y ‘You’ve to dance anyhow/at any cost.’

šyilts vt. ‘to escort’

šyo n. (c) ‘mouth’ ~p ki (pl) ‘mouths’  
 šyomi ‘in the mouth’  
 šyol ‘from the mouth’  
 šyol r tsuk gluts ‘to come out saliva from the mouth’

āk šyo m rimšo rin p ptu 'My mouth smelt bad.'  
 ik šyomi m r kurp 'i? 'What did you put in your mouth?'  
 ik šyo ko u d 'Let me see your mouth.'

šyok n. 'gizzard, (rhy.) hohorihok bw k šyok ; kolšo gombol n .: sok

šyoklo n. (c) 'pod' ~pik (pl) 'pods'

šyokot n. 'a kind of wild yam' *discorea sp.* (N भ्याकुर/कन्दमुल)

šyokr n.(mass) 'beard'  
 boisšo šyokr (fig.) 'white beard'

šyolu n. (u) 'hunger, starvation, (literary, sg ) a strong desire for sth/sb' v. šyolub .: ts  
 'to feel hunger'  
 šyolu nu dz t kdz t 'hunger and food'  
 šyolub .: šom r dz ts 'to eat after getting hunger'  
 šyolu blošo dumb d dz t kdz t? 'Is hunger or food tastier? '\*  
 go šyolu b .: ti 'I am hungry.'

šyōpo n. (c) [also šyōpu] 'ornament' ~p ki (pl) 'ornaments'

šyor n. (c) 'star' ~piki (pl) 'stars'

šyu n. (c) 'ship' ~p ki (pl) 'ships'  
 šyu nu p<sup>h</sup> skyu 'ship and airplane'  
 šyu bw kmi nu p<sup>h</sup> skyu s ri mi 'a ship on the water and an airplane in the sky'  
 th b šyu 'a big ship'  
 šyu bw kl g b 'The ship travels by water.'  
 šyu mi muru yo ky b 'The ship transports man also.'  
 gom omo th b šyu g n iyo m t šo n 'I never had seen such a giant ship.'

Z स s/s /

s is i adj. SYN m it, dz šo (See m it for use) ANT n k  
 s is i mur 'people/man of the past'  
 s is i lo: 'facts/speech of the past'

s gun n. (c) 'offer' ~pik (pl) 'offers' v. ~p ts 'to offer'

s l n. 'a tree species; shorea robusta' (N सालको रुख)

s l p<sup>h</sup> s. adj. 'rough, unlawful, atrocious, conspirating' cf SYN horsšo

s mdz n. (c) ‘Sherpa tribe’ ~p ki (pl) ‘Sherpas’

s min n. (c) [also (fig.) tsirs] ‘Jirel tribe’

s p<sup>h</sup> n. (c; gen.) ‘leaf’ ~piki (pl) ‘leaves’ SYN p t [< p ti; as in bosp ti (spec. in culture)]

l l s p<sup>h</sup> ‘a red leaf’

s p<sup>h</sup> gupts ‘to pick up the leaf’

r w k s p<sup>h</sup> pik ‘leaves of the tree’

s p<sup>h</sup> k my s r yo šy lsib ‘A plate is made out of leaf also.’

m ko s p<sup>h</sup> m rd thiy’i? ‘Why did you touch that leaf?’

goi w kil s p<sup>h</sup> ts’ ko ‘Bring the leaf from the jungle.’

s pu n. ‘navel, belly button’ ~rolo t mr n. ‘birth ceremony’

~rolo n. ‘naming day’

g th l sšo s pu ‘the up-turned navel’

luts l sšo s pu ‘the down-turned navel’

s pu kō its ‘to show the navel’

ik s pu m rd kō di? ‘Why did you show your navel?’

āk s pu rin p ptu ‘My navel stank.’

āk t mi s pu g th l sšo b ‘My daughter’s navel is turned up.’

s r w li n. ‘death’ cf. SYN b .:tsi

s ri n. ‘sky, space’

s ri l ‘from the sky’

s ri mi ‘in the sky’

s ri g ‘towards the sky’

s ri l šyorpik do.:t m ‘Stars fell from the sky.’

s ri mi ts’ib b rtt ‘The bird flew in the sky.’

goimi s ri g b rtsts m lb (fig.) ‘You have to aim high.’

s si num. ‘eight’

ts ninol s si ‘eight after seven’

s si nu yā ‘eight and nine’

s si piy pik ‘eight heads’

gom sin t s si k<sup>h</sup>yōp tpik gy pt ‘I bought eight books yesterday.’

s simi g u t mo ‘Add ten in nine.’

m kom s si p<sup>h</sup>urk lpik s mtu ‘S/he lost eight balls.’

s u n. (c) ‘hornet’ ~piki (pl) ‘hornets’ cf SYN g ul

s b rn t adv. [See also n ti>nat] ‘the day before yesterday’

goi s b rn t t k l y’i? ‘Where did you go the day before yesterday?’

go s b m t dumk<sup>h</sup> mi l ti 'I went to the office the day before yesterday.'  
 gom s b m t āk tsā pr ̃p itt ng 'I had my hair cut the day before  
 yesterday.'

s ig adv. [also > s i] 'many years ago'  
 goi s ig t k l y'í? 'Where did you go many years ago?'

s'a:itsts vt. <sup>1</sup>'to kill, murder, assassinate' sa:ittu (p, 3sg) 'killed' sa:isšo (pp, adj.)  
 'killed' NEG m ~ 'to not kill'  
 s'a:itsts nu b .:ts 'to kill and die'  
 dop s'a:itsts 'how to kill'  
 dzoi k mi ky rk li s' :itsts 'to kill the goat by a tiger'  
 ̃ko ts'ibk li sumi s d ? 'Who killed this bird?'  
 ̃ko sod k li sumi s'a:itsts d ̃m ? 'Who told you to kill this elephant?'  
<sup>2</sup>'to extinguish, put off, blow out lamp'  
 m komi ak li ripp isš s itti (not in the literal sense) 'S/he made me laugh  
 wildly.'  
 mul d ilu s :itsts m lb m rd n iptsi m dumt 'Now we've to  
 extinguish the light because it is bed-time now.'

s k n. 'oath'  
 m s k m pl ̃ts 'not to forget one's oath'

s n. (c) 'consonant' ~p ki (pl) 'consonants'  
 s nu ol 'vowel and consonant'  
 s k<sup>h</sup> lsi 'the consonant cluster'  
 kir nti-kõits lo:k s 'the consonant of the Kir nti-Kõits language'  
 r gy kul n ll lo:pikim s - olpik b nim 'All languages of the world  
 have vowels and consonants.'  
 kir nti-kõitsmi 'bh' s m b b 'The Kir nti-Kõits has no 'bh' consonant.'

s ts vi. 'to recover' s :tu (p, 3sg) 'recovered' s :šo (pp, adj.) 'recovered' NEG m ~ 'to  
 not recover'  
 roip šo mur s :ts 'the patient to recover'

s' ts vi. 'to choke while eating, drinking, smoking' (N sarkinu)

s .:ts vt. 'to get spread' s .:tu (p, 3sg) 'got spread' s .:šo (pp, adj.) 'got spread' NEG  
 m ~ 'to not get spread'

sā num. 'three'  
 ni .:sinol sā 'three after two'  
 sā nu l 'three and four'  
 sā k<sup>h</sup>yōp t 'three books'  
 āk li sā k<sup>h</sup>ur/D g yini 'Give me three rupees.'

gom sã bw gy pt 'I bought three roosters.'  
 ãk sã ky rs sumi k<sup>h</sup>ui p w ? 'Who stole my three goats?'

sãdzil n. (c) 'auto-rickšaw' ~p ki (pl) 'auto-rickshaws'  
 k r p<sup>h</sup>ur sãdzil 'an auto-rickšaw of the black colour'  
 sãdzil dorp ib 'the auto-rickshaw driver'  
 sãdzil dorp š ky t ts mts 'to earn money by driving the auto-rickšaw'  
 ãk w sãdzil dorp ib m' 'My elder brother is an auto-rickšaw driver.'  
 go sãdzilmi gy kosi l ti 'I went to the bazaar by auto-rickšaw.'

sãtsu n. (c) 'trident' ~p ki (pl) 'tridents' cf. SYN libsã  
 põ bo sãtsu 'the trident of the shaman'  
 libsã nu šyãk r lu 'the trident and Paruhang'  
 sãtsumi 'by the trident'  
 põ bo m ko sãtsu m thiuo 'Do not touch the shaman's trident.'  
 go ~ko sãtsu kurnu 'I carry this trident.'  
 šyãk r lumi libsã kurnimi 'Paruhang carries the trident.'

s kl n. (c) '25c, a quarter, coin equivalent to 25 penny' ~p ki (pl) 'cents'  
 s kl nu p<sup>h</sup> br '25c and 50c'  
 sus s kl 'many 25cs'  
 gonu s kl k 'a 25c with me'  
 gom m ko pu bk li s kl k g t 'I gave a 25c to the beggar.'  
 goimi ãk s kl k t k s mi? 'Where did you lose my 25c?'

s l postp.,adv. 'along with'

s lts vt. 'to make' s ltu (p, 3sg) 'made' s lšo (pp, adj) 'made' NEG m ~ 'to not make'  
 k<sup>h</sup> šy lts 'to build a house'  
 gom k<sup>h</sup> k šy lt 'I built a house.'  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup> sumi šy ld ? 'Who built this house?'

s lmi n. (c) 'training' ~piky (pl) 'trainings'  
 s lmik li ky t th pts 'to pay money for training'  
 go s lmimi l ti 'I went for a training.'

s mi n. 'way, method, process' cf. SYN nil m

s rsšo n. 'wine' cf. SYN ribdo, r k<sup>h</sup>  
 b d l k s rsšo tuts 'to drink a bottle of wine'  
 ribdom d'uš p<sup>h</sup> n p<sup>h</sup> n m r m r d ~ni d n n (rhy)

s su adv. MAN ~gupts 'to pick up hurriedly'

s tsts vt. 'to call' s ttu (p, 3sg) s sšo (pp, adj) 'called' NEG m ~ 'to not call'

murk k li s tsts 'to call a man'  
 gom goik li s tt 'I called you.'  
 goimi ãk li m rd s tti? 'Why did you call me?'

s u n. [usu. with ~p ts ; see also p ts ; cf. Kir nti-Lim: sew (ro), Kir nti-Rod:  
 šy m im , Kir nti-B n: šy munn in Sikkim] 'greeting' (a form of  
 etiquette) cf. SYN n ms w l  
 ãk s u 'my greeting'  
 m kok s u 'his/her greeting'  
 ã k s u 'our greeting'  
 gom s u p t 'I greeted you.'  
 k kom ãk s u t .:tu 'S/he accepted my greeting.'  
 lo mu k rdzk li s u p uo 'Now greet your uncle.'

-si Middle voice marker

sibl n. (c) 'serpent' (spec.; See also bu:s)  
 sibl k pid rp ts 'to worship the serpent'

sid k n. [s: Kir nti-Lim] 'medicine' cf. SYN ts rts r  
 sid kp ts 'to give, administer medicine for curing'  
 sid k nu šy sits 'medicine and admonishment, instruction, precept'  
 sid kmi thišo 'intoxicated, cured by the medicine'  
 go m ko pō bom g šo sid k dz š s'a:ti 'I recovered having eaten the  
 medicine given by the shaman.'  
 gonu sid k gy pt k ky t m b 'I do not have any money to buy medicine.'

silts vt. 'purify' siltu (p, 3sg) 'purified' silšo (pp, adj.) 'purified' NEG m ~ 'to not  
 purify'

s'imts vt. 'to destroy' s'imtu (p, 3sg) 'destroyed' s'imšo (pp, adj.) 'destroyed' NEG m ~  
 'not to destroy'

sin n. (c) 'month' ~p ki (pl) 'months'  
 ~ko sinmi 'in this month'  
 l šo sin 'the last month'  
 sin nu mudi 'month and year'  
 sinpikim gigits rimšo dumb 'April is the best amongst all months.'  
 mudi k m doso sinpik b .:nimi? 'How many months has a year?'  
 go ~ko sinmi London l inu 'I go to London this month.'

sinim n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] 'film, movie, cinema' ~p ki (pl) 'films, movies'  
 sinim kob 'film-goer'  
 sinim ko:its 'to watch a film'  
 sinim šy lts 'to produce a movie'

sinim k li br spik br .:ts ‘to write scripts for a film’  
 sinim mi gy rtsts ‘to act in the film’  
 mulits sinim koth l t ‘Mulicha went to watch the film.’  
 gomi sinim k li br s k br .:t ‘I wrote a script for the movie.’  
 rimpomi sinim k mi gy rtt (u) ‘Rimpo acted in a film.’

sirtsts vt. ‘to turn over’ cf. SYN lo.:ts

sisdzidz n. ‘ice-cream’

sisdzidz nu k<sup>h</sup>rui ‘the ice-cream and tooth’  
 sisdzidz y pts ‘to buy ice-cream’  
 sisdzidz m b ts ‘not to have ice-cream’  
 l nk li sisdzidz m g uo ‘Do not provide ice-cream to the children.’  
 ik li ko sisdzidz sum g w ? ‘Who gave you this ice-cream?’

sitsts vt. ‘to bear/have fruit’ sittu (p, 3sg) ‘bore fruit’ sisšo (pp, adj) ‘borne fruit’ NEG  
 m ~ ‘to not bear fruit’  
 rimšop sisšo obis ‘the cucumber borne-well’

siu n. (c) ‘father-in-law’ ~piki (pl) ‘father-in-laws’  
 āk siu ‘my father-in-law’

siw r n. (c) [< siw ri] ‘jackal’ ~p ki (pl) ‘jackals’  
 siw r budi k<sup>h</sup> dits ‘clever like a jackal’  
 siw r nu bw ‘the jackal and the rooster’  
 siw r grit ‘The jackal howled.’  
 siw rmi yolts ‘to take away (in the sense of preying and eating) by the  
 jackal.’  
 ~ko l siw r budi k<sup>h</sup> dits b .:t ‘This baby is clever like a jackal.’  
 āk bw sin t siw rmi yoltu ‘The jackal hunted (and ate) my rooster  
 yesterday.’

sodzil n. (c) ‘scooter’ ~p ki (pl) ‘scooters’

sodzil dorp itsts ‘to drive a scooter’  
 sodzil nu gudzil ‘scooter and bicycle’  
 sodzilmi ‘on the scooter’  
 ~ko sodzil gom sin t gy pt ‘I bought this scooter yesterday.’  
 goi sodzilmi t k dor’i? ‘Where are you running on the scooter?’  
 goi yo sodzil gy pn y ? ‘Do you also buy a scooter?’

sog n n. ‘sin’ ANT m sog n

sog np ts ‘to commit a sin’  
 k<sup>h</sup>uip ts sog n dumb ‘It is a sin to steal.’

soitsts vt. ‘to send’ soittu (p, 3sg) ‘sent’ soisšo (pp, adj.) ‘sent’ NEG m ~ ‘not to send’  
 murnu bl sp t soitsts ‘to send a letter with a man’

m k soits ? ‘to send there’  
 gom ãk m m k li bl sp t soittang ‘I sent a letter to my mother.’  
 m ko murk li ãk soitto ‘Send that man here.’  
 goimi m ko bl sp t t k soitti? ‘Where did you send that letter?’

solits n. (mass) ‘body/leg-hair’ (esp. of man/human) cf. cã  
 ker solits ‘a black leg-hair’  
 solits tsots ‘to burn the leg-hair’  
 sloits tults ‘to pluck out the leg-hair’  
 solits nu tsã ‘leg-hair and hair’  
 ãk k<sup>h</sup>oilim d s pp solits b ‘My leg has a lot of hair.’  
 gom ãk solits tult ‘I plucked out my leg-hair.’

solm n. ‘rice cone’ (K-K cul, cf. Burchers 2003: 84) cf. SYN torm( )

solts vt. ‘to take sth out, extract, subtract’ soltu (p, 3sg) ‘took sth out’ solšo (pp, adj.)  
 ‘taken sth out’(cf. spec. SYN p<sup>h</sup> tsts ) NEG m ~ ‘not to take sth out’ ANT  
 t mts  
 b k<sup>h</sup> ll ky t solts ‘to take out money from the pocket’  
 garl itsik dzirm solts ‘to take out a little bit of millet-beer from the soil-  
 pot’  
 gom p<sup>h</sup>po sōthk b k<sup>h</sup> ll k<sup>h</sup> lk ky t solt ‘I took out a twenty rupees’  
 note from the shirt’s pocket of my father.’  
 ãk m’itsim m r om’ solo/solš g uo ‘Take out whatever entered in my  
 eyes.’

solu n. ‘sacrifice’  
 bw k solu ‘sacrifice of a cock’

solyu n. [~šyolu] ‘hunger’ ~b .:ts (vi.) ‘to feel/be hungry (fig.)’  
 go solyu b .:ti ‘I am hungry.’

somts vt. ‘to become’ cf. SYN dumts

son n. ‘vagina, cunt’ M sulu  
 th mli th mli hil ip u sulu-non mil ip u (tab. rhy.)  
 son g ‘inside the vagina’  
 ãk son r ksut ‘My vagina itched.’

sosm l n. (mass) ‘grass’  
 gis sosm l ‘the green grass’  
 gom b’iby p<sup>h</sup> nk li sosm l r’it ‘I cut the grass for cattle.’

sot n. ‘breath’

sotits adj. 'strong, clever, powerful'  
sotits l k 'a clever child'

so:ts vt. 'to become dry' so:t (p, 3sg) 'dried' so:šo (pp, adj.) 'dried' NEG m ~ 'not to become dry'  
mursšo w so:ts 'to dry up the washed cloth'  
r wa so:ts 'to dry up the tree'  
so:šo mur 'a thin man'  
āk mursšo w so:t 'My cloth washed yesterday dried up.'  
~ko p<sup>h</sup>u w m this n so:m t 'This flower dried up without getting the water.'

so.:ts vt. 'to sow' so.:tu (p, 3sg) 'sowed' so.:šo (pp, adj.) 'sown' NEG m ~ 'not to sow'  
kyodz so.:ts 'to sow the barley'  
dz tdz ts k li so.:ts 'to sow for eating'  
mul thots gom yo āk n ll rumi dongr dz so.:t 'This year I also sowed the maize in all my land.'  
ruw tsmi ts rbi m so.:thu m r p ts ? 'What can a farmer do without sowing the wheat?'

s'ots vt. 'to cross, e.g. a river' s'out (p, 3sg) 'crossed' s'ošo (pp, adj.) 'crossed' NEG m ~ 'to not cross'

sōth n. (c) 'shirt' ~p ki (pl) 'shirts'  
gig sōth 'a green shirt'  
n k gy pšo sōth 'a newly bought shirt'  
k<sup>h</sup> sišo sōth 'a torn shirt'  
rimšo sōth 'a beautiful shirt'  
yumpimi sōth k gy ptu 'Yumpi bought one shirt.'  
gomi bumirk li sōth p<sup>h</sup> rp itt 'I made the tailor sew my shirt.'  
gom āk sōth murtt 'I washed my shirt.'

sošyo adj. 'dry' ANT m sošyo

syobts vt. 'to filter out the millet beer'

su pron. 'who'  
sumi 'by whom/who'  
sunu 'with whom/who'  
sul 'from who/whom'  
suk li 'to whom'  
suk 'of who(m)'  
goi su n ni? 'Who are you?'  
goi suk t u n ni? 'Whose son are you?'

~ko k<sup>h</sup>yōp t suk li g ? ‘To whom should I give this book?’  
 ~ko k<sup>h</sup> mi su su b .:nim’i? ‘Who are the people living in this house?’  
 m ko m’išy mur su m’ ? ‘Who is that woman?’

suit r n. (c) [S: Eng+nat] ‘sweater’ ~p ki (pl) ‘sweaters’  
 gyumi suit r ‘sweater in the cold season’

suk adv. ‘whose’ cf. SYN suk  
 goi suk /suk t m(i) n y ? ‘Whose daughter are you?’

suni n. ‘morning’ ~k n ‘early in the morning’  
 mul t go sunik n bo.:ti ‘Today I rose early in the morning.’

s’uts vt. ‘darn, mend, repair’

suts vt. ‘to seal a leak’ (fig.) šyosuts ‘make someone quiet by providing bribe’

suiyo pron. ‘no one’  
 gom dumk<sup>h</sup> mi suiyo m t ‘I did not see anyone in the office.’  
 m ko k<sup>h</sup> mi suiyo m b .:m ‘There was no one in that house.’

sukn t n. [also ts r n t] ‘Sunday’  
 h šn tnol suk n t ‘Saturday after Friday’  
 ~ko suk n tl ‘from this Saturday’  
 suk n t(m)i ‘on Saturday’  
 go suk n t r ssik<sup>h</sup> m l inu ‘I do not go to the school on Saturday.’  
 goi suk n ti t k l in y ? ‘Where do you go on Saturday.’  
 ts ri suk n t t k i yo m l ib ‘Tsering does not go anywhere on Saturday.’

su n. (c) [also su ] ‘lip’ ~p ki (pl) ‘lips’  
 su pikmi p<sup>h</sup>upup ts ‘to kiss on the lips’  
 l l su ‘a red lip’  
 ni.:si su n pts ‘to join the two lips’  
 āk p<sup>h</sup>pomi āk su mi p<sup>h</sup>upup mt m ‘My father kissed on my lip.’  
 m ko m’išy murk su pik b .:t m ‘The woman’s lips are red.’

su g b n. (c) [S: Kir nti-Lim] ‘coat, jacket’ ~p ki (pl) ‘coats, jackets’  
 dz :šo su g b ‘a worn out coat’  
 su g b p<sup>h</sup>rtsts ‘to sew/prepare the coat’  
 k r su g b ‘a black coat’  
 gom k r su g b p<sup>h</sup>:siti/p<sup>h</sup>:t ‘I wore a black coat.’  
 m ko murk su g b rimšo b ‘The man’s coat is beautiful.’

sulu n. ‘male genital, penis, cock’ FEM son  
 th mli th mli hil ip u sulu-non mil ip u (tab. rhy.)

sum num. 'zero'

ni.:si sum sum '200'

surb n. (c) [< surbu]'bee' ~p ki (pl) 'bees'

surb nu k<sup>h</sup>u 'bee and honey'

p<sup>h</sup>upikmi surbpik 'bees on the flowers'

~ko k<sup>h</sup> mi surb 'bee in this house'

surbum k<sup>h</sup>u šy lb 'The bees make homey.'

burbk k<sup>h</sup>u s pp dzidz dumb 'The bee-honey is very sweet.'

boiššo p<sup>h</sup>upikmi surbpik hirnimi 'Bees roam around the blooming flower.'

suni n. 'morning' sunipik adv. 'mornings'

suni k n 'early in the morning'

suni nu n do 'the morning and the night'

suni k n bo.:ts 'to get up early in the morning'

go suni k n dorth l inu 'I go for running early in the morning.'

goi suni k n bo.:ts m ln y 'You have to rise early in the morning.'

s'ú:thi n. (c) 'marigold' ~p ki (pl) 'marigolds'

rimšo s'ú:thi p<sup>h</sup>u 'a beautiful marigold'

s'ú:thi p<sup>h</sup>uk r lp<sup>h</sup>u 'the garland of the marigold'

āk s'ú:thi 'my marigold'

~ko s'ú:thi p<sup>h</sup>u t kl ts g'í? 'Where did you bring this marigold from?'

gom s'ú:thi p<sup>h</sup>uk r lp<sup>h</sup>u k gy pt 'I bought a garland of the marigold.'

dop rimšo s'ú:thi p<sup>h</sup>u! 'How beautiful marigold!'

sus det., pron. [< susi] 'many, a lot of, plenty of, a large number of'

sus nu itsik<sup>h</sup>oi 'many and a few'

sus durd pik 'many words'

tsyolth mi sus mur b .:nimi 'Many people live in the city.'

m ko lmi sus k<sup>h</sup> m dz ptu 'The child ate a lot of rice.'

sus ky t p<sup>h</sup> msim p uo 'Do not spend much money.'

susp adv. 'very much, heavily'

munat susp r u it 'It rained heavily today.'

m ko k<sup>h</sup> lp m susp ribdo t'utu 'The old man drank wine heavily.'

suy l n. (c) 'message' ~pik (pl) 'messages'

, ɛ h /h /

h r adv. 'thither, to or towards that palace (+human also)' dir. ~g (horizontal locative)

See pith

h r m r mur 'that man' (at the horizontal level, distal)

h r g 'towards that place' (horizontal locative)

h rui n. 'lust'

wã smurk h rui 'lust of the man'

h u n., adj. 'yellow'

h u p<sup>h</sup>ur 'yellow colour'

h u nu l l Tig 'yellow and red colour'

h u Tig gy pts 'to buy the yellow colour'

gom h u Tig y pt 'I bought the yellow colour.'

goimi ãk h u Tig t k l di? 'Where did you take my yellow colour?'

m ko h u p<sup>h</sup>u rimšo boim t 'The yellow flower has bloomed beautifully.'

h udzidz n. (c) 'orange' ~piki (pl) 'oranges'

h umots n. 'gold'

h umots nu horphuilu 'gold and diamond'

h umotsk šyōpo~u 'the ornament of gold'

h umotsk bl ptsošyopo 'the ring of gold'

k<sup>h</sup> pim h umots sibb d ~sib (fig.) 'It is said that the soil bears gold.'

m ko m'išy murmi h umotsk gumlik gy ptu 'The woman bought the gold-bangle.'

ãk immam h umots gy pt m 'My mother bought gold.'

hãgo n. (c) 'lamp, light' SYN d ilu, n s l, hãm (See use in d ilu and n s l)

h lšo adj. 'wide, broad'

h ls n. 'breadth'

h mts 'to dry wet cloths, crops'

h šn t n. [also holp<sup>h</sup>n t] 'Friday'

ribn tnol h šn t 'Friday after Thursday'

h šn t nu sukn t 'Friday and Saturday'

h šn tl 'from Friday'

goi h šn t m t k l in y ? 'Where do you go on Friday?'

goi ãk k<sup>h</sup> mi h šn t m pin 'You come to my house on Friday.'

goi h šn ti gy kosi l in y ? 'Do you go to the market on Friday?'

h sots n. 'November'

gyurotsnol h sots 'November after October'

h sotsm gyub 'the marriage in November'

h sotsm bur r'isib (fig.) 'The paddy is harvested in November.'

murpikim h sotsm gyub p inimi 'People marry in November.'

h sotsm rimšop n t' sib (fig.) 'It is pleasantly sunny in November.'

h m tsiri n. (c) <sup>1</sup>‘dove’ (esp. a mythical one haing a golden colour’) <sup>2</sup>‘guardian angel’  
(fig.) ~p ki (pl) ‘doves’

h m tsiri m lts ‘to look for a golden dove’

h m tsirik li dzitsk<sup>h</sup> tsp ts ‘to quarrel for the golden dove’

gom h m tsiri k gy itt ‘I caught a golden dove.’

goimi h m tsiri t šo b .: ? ‘Have you seen a golden dove?’

h i n. ‘word for chasing buffaloes’

h mts vt. ‘thresh’ h mtu (p, 3sg) ‘threshed’ h mšo (pp, adj.) ‘threshed’ NEG m ~ ‘not to thresh’

h lts vt. ‘to be heavy’ h lt (p, 3sg) ‘became heavy’ h lšo (pp, adj.) ‘become heavy’  
NEG m ~ ‘not to be heavy’

kurts n m ts pn p h lts ‘to be heavy for not being able to carry’

s pp h lts ‘to be heavy enormously’

gom ko h lšo p<sup>h</sup>uilu ts’ut ‘I lifted up this heavy stone.’

~ko kuro dop h lšo<sup>adj</sup> b .:m iii! ‘How heavy this load is!’

h ~slo: n. ‘conclusion’

h ~slo: br .:ts ‘to write the conclusion’

h ~th adj. ‘careless’ v. ~p ts (See p ts )

h ~th mur k ‘a careless man’

goi d s pp k k h ~th b .:t ‘You are very much careless.’

hibb ts n., adj. ‘feudal, absolute’

hilts vt. ‘to grind’ hiltu~ u (p, 3sg) ‘grinded’ hilšo (pp, adj.) ‘grinded’ NEG m ~ ‘not to grind’

y tmi tsirs hilts ‘to grind the millet in the stone-gringder’

ko r tsnu th kpo yo hilts ‘to grind the weevil also with maize’

gom br m hilt ‘I grinded the buckwheat.’

goi mul t ts rb hildo ‘You grind the wheat today.’

goim mun t m r hildi? ‘What did you grind today?’

hillo n. (c) ‘query, question’ ~pik (pl) ‘queries, questions’ v. ~p ts (See p ts )

hillo nu l ssi ‘question and answer’

hillo br .:š soitsts ‘to send the query by writing’

āk hillo ‘my question’

āk hillo l tto ‘Reply<sup>3sg</sup> my query.’

āk lo:m rubi n hillo br .:š soitto ‘If you did not understand my point, send query by writing.’

him k m n. 'wailing'

himts vt. <sup>1</sup>'to shake sth/sb' <sup>2</sup>(fig.) 'to get victory over sth/sb'

hipikdupik n. 'famine'

hipikdupik nu solu 'famine and hunger'

hipikdupikmi dz t kdz t m th sib 'Food cannot be found in famine.'

hitsts vt. 'to count' hittu (p, 3sg) 'counted' hisšo (pp, adj.) 'counted' NEG m ~ 'to not count'

h'itsu n. (c) [>itsu] 'rat, mouse' ~pik (pl) 'rats, mice'

hirhir adj. sharp (also the prog. form of hirtsts ) ANT bitl

hirtsts vi. 'to go around, roam, stroll' (also vt. 'to wag, brandish') hirttu (p, 3sg)

'roamed' hirsšo (pp, adj.) 'roamed' NEG m ~ 'not to stroll, wag'

ts'ub hirtsts 'to brandish a Gurkha knife'

lāmi hirtsts 'to stroll on the road/path'

~ko kutsummi milu hirttu~t w 'This dog wagged its tail.'

goi õth hirsšo 'Turn hither.'

m g m p thu t k hirhir b .: ?

hirsu n. (c) 'blade' ~piky (pl) 'blades'

hirn n.(c) 'spinning wheel' ~piky (pl) 'spinning wheel' cf. SYN p rum, šy l p t k

h'is` n. (u) [>h'is] 'salt'

itsik<sup>h</sup>oi h'isi 'a little salt'

hilts vt. 'to grind' hiltu (p, 3sg) 'grinded' hilšo (pp, adj.) 'grinded' NEG m ~ 'to not grind'

hil ts vt. [S: N+nat] 'to make muddy'

himdz dzum n. 'neighbourhood'

ãk himdz dzum 'my neighbourhood'

hits vi. [See >its ] cf. SYN kuts , dz ts , pits

hitsts vt. [marked for spatial deixies; Mokuşu as a consultant in NK Rai (2002)] 'to bring down (vertical)' hittu (p, 3sg) 'brought down' hisšo (pp, adj.) 'brought down' cf. SYN kuitsts , pitsts , ts .:ts NEG m ~ 'not to bring down'

h' ts vi. [n. h' tsi] 'to fear, be afraid of sb/sth' h' t (p, 3sg) 'feared' h' šo (pp, adj.) 'feared' NEG m ~ 'not to fear'  
 dzoi t š h' ts 'to fear having see the tiger'  
 p<sup>h</sup>ponu h' ts 'to fear with the father'  
 th m lo: w .:ts k li h' ts m m lb 'One should not fear to speak the truth.'  
 m ko tso.:šo gupsu t š m rd h' šo? 'Why did you fear having seen the imprisoned lion?'  
 mop h' ts m dumb 'You should not fear in that way.'

h' ts adj. 'frightening, frightful' ANT m h' ts  
 h' ts dzoi 'a frightful tiger'  
 domo h' ts šyā:k ! 'What a frightful leopard!'  
 ~ko gupsu d h' ts b .:t 'This lion is frightening one.'  
 gom ōd b h' ts sibl g n iyo m t šo n 'I never had seen such a frightening serpent.'

hitt k n. (c) [also h' iki] 'number' ~p ki (pl) 'numbers'  
 hitt kpik h' its 'to count the numbers'  
 doso h' ikipik 'how many numbers'  
 ~ko h' ikipik dop h' its d ~ni? 'How did you say to count those numbers?'  
 go h' ikipik h' its šy ~sinu 'I learn how to count numbers.'  
 k , ni.:si nu sã h' ikipik n mi 'One, two and three are numbers.'

hobis n. see SYN obis

hõ tsts vt. 'to climb up, (fig.) perform sexual act' hõ tt ~s u (p, 3sg) 'climbed up'  
 hõ sšo (pp, adj.) 'climbed up' NEG m ~ 'not to climb up'  
 g thg hõ tsts 'to climb upwards'  
 hõ tsts m lšo r w 'the tree to be climbed up'  
 go d g th hõ ssiti 'I climbed up above.'  
 m ko r w mi m rd hõ s ooo? 'Why did you climb up the tree?'  
 goi š r hõ tsts ts bn y ? 'Can you climb up the horse?'

hoitsts 'to boil' hoittu (p, 3sg) 'boiled' hoittu (3, adj.) 'boiled' NEG m ~ 'to not boil'  
 bw k hoitsts 'to boil the water'

homts vt. 'to swell' homtu~ (p, 3sg) 'swelled' homšo (pp, adj.) 'swelled' NEG m ~ 'not to swell'  
 kodz homts 'to swell up the stomach'  
 gim homts 'to swell up the body'  
 homts nu domts (fig.) 'to swell and get fat'  
 go roip homti 'I got swelled being sick.'  
 ~ko l domts k li homts n m lb (fig.) 'This child never gets fat.'  
 m ko murk homšo k<sup>h</sup>oili br(}olt 'The man's swollen leg broke.'

homsits vi. 'to be, get swollen'

homok n. 'milk' n.(c) ~gyom 'milk-pot' ~pik (pl) 'milk-pots'

b'ik homok 'the milk of the cow'

m m k homok 'the mother's milk'

homok t'uts 'to drink the milk'

homok nu dzili 'the milk and the ghee'

go homok nu k<sup>h</sup> m dz inu 'I eat rice and milk.'

m m m k homok dz rb th pts m ts bsib 'One cannot pay back the debt of one's mother's milk.'

honm s l l n. (cul) cf. bulnu/o, h gro, bulšo/u, .:w lšil 'ghost/spirit'

hopo n. (c) <sup>1</sup>'king' ~p ki (pl) 'kings' n. ~th m 'kingdom' <sup>2</sup>'god' (as in *tsuplu hopo*; also cf. SYN y br , pip FEM hopom

hopomi 'by the king'

pipk 'of the king'

pipl 'from the king'

binits hopo g p<sup>h</sup>t 'The Binicha king passed away.'

pip dumšom rimšo g p ts m lb 'A good deed should be undertaken while being a king.'

kir nti hopo nk n slo: br .:sišo m b 'The history of the Kir nti kings has not been written.'

hopog m n. cf. SYN p is

hoplo: cf. SYN n p si

hopon msi n. (c) 'politician' ~piki(pl) 'politicians'

horp<sup>h</sup>uilu n. (c) 'diamond' ~p ki (pl) 'diamonds'

m rimšo horp<sup>h</sup>uilu 'a bad diamond'

horsšo adj. 'rough, unlawful, atrocious, conspirating' cf. SYN s l p<sup>h</sup> s

horsšo s ~d 'a rough voice'

horsšo hopo k 'an atrocious king'

hos adj. 'hot' ANT sis'í

hos bw k 'hot water'

hots n. 'fever'

hotsk roip ts 'to be suffered of fever'

hots nu k<sup>h</sup>yur 'fever and diarrhoea/dehydration'

hotsk roip š b .:ts 'to die of fever'

m ko l hots roip š b .:t ‘The child died of fever.’  
 āk hots b rtt ‘My fever increased.’  
 m ko k<sup>h</sup> lp hotsk roip ho b .:t ‘The old man is suffered of fever.’

hubn ts n. ‘June’  
 dzimm tsnol hubn ts ‘June after May’  
 hubn ts nu k<sup>h</sup>ubn ts ‘June and July’  
 hubn tsl ‘from June’  
 hubn ts m r u ib ‘It rains in June.’  
 hubn ts m s pp hubb ‘It is very hot in June.’  
 hubn ts m bur yo k<sup>h</sup>lumsib ‘Paddy is also planted in June.’

h’uitsts vi. ‘to scold’ huittu~au (p, 3sg) ‘scolded’ huisšo (pp, adj.) ‘scolded’ NEG m ~  
 ‘not to scold’  
 šy ~si p<sup>h</sup>pomi h’uitsts ‘to scold by the teacher’  
 th bmurmi h’uitsts ‘to scold by the elder’  
 āk p<sup>h</sup>pomi āk li h’uitt m ‘My father scolded me.’  
 m ko dordorp šo lk li h’uitto ‘Scold that running boy.’  
 ālk li mop m rd h’uitti? ‘Why did you scold<sup>3sg</sup> the child in that way?’

hurtsts vt. ‘to drink noisily’ (semi-liquid like hot soup) hurttu (p, 3sg) ‘drank’ hursšo  
 (pp, adj.) ‘drunk’ cf. SYN yupts , tuts NEG m ~ ‘to not drink’

husn n. ‘full-moon’  
 rimšo husn nado k mi ‘in a beautiful night of full-moon’

h gro n. ‘spirit’ cf. bulnu, honm s l l

huš n. [< hušy ] ‘blood’  
 huš nu bw k ‘blood and water’  
 huš g ts (lit./fig.) ‘to donate blood/to assist’  
 hušmi br .:sišo n slo: ‘the history written with the blood’  
 murk huš l l dumb ‘Man’s blood is red.’  
 huš nu l l p<sup>h</sup>ur k n t sib ‘The blood and the red colour look alike.’  
 huš m dumthu m bloisib ‘One cannot survive without blood.’

. ॐ /:./

.:w ku n. [>.:w k > bw ku > b ku > b k] w k (also acceptable) ‘water’ [cf. wo K-Thu;  
 Ebert (1994: 51), w K-Rod]

.:w ky n (c, u) [> bw ki > w ki] ‘forest, jungle, wood’  
 w kimi ‘in the jungle’  
 w kik n th ‘near the jungle’  
 w ki nu r w ‘the jungle and the tree’  
 go w kimi šyi br(}) th l inu ‘I go to the jungle for fetching the firewood.’

m ko w kimi sumi m'í suitt' ? 'Who caused the conflagration in that jungle?'

gopikim w kimi kumso pa t k 'We sang a song in the jungle.'

∴w lšil cf. SYN bulnu/o, h gro, bulšo/u, honm s l l 'ghost/spirit'

∴w p<sup>h</sup>u n. (c) 'egg' [> bw p<sup>h</sup>u > b p<sup>h</sup>u] ~p ki (pl) 'eggs'

b p<sup>h</sup>u nu homok 'egg and milk'

b p<sup>h</sup>u lopts 'to boil the egg'

b p<sup>h</sup>u rosts 'to perform rituals to appease the evil deities with egg'

põ bomi ãk li b p<sup>h</sup>u rolt w 'The shaman warded off the evil spirit in me with egg.'

gom b p<sup>h</sup>u lopš min dz t 'I ate the egg having boiled.'

b p<sup>h</sup>u buš dumb 'The egg is white.'

∴w šy n. [> bw šy > b šy ] 'chicken'

bw šy gy pts 'to buy the chicken'

∴w lo adj. [> b lo] 'silent, quiet' v. ∴w lop ts 'to be silent' cf. SYN tsorp mts

∴w lo p uo 'Keep quiet.'

tsorp mts m b ∴t n th inu 'I will beat if you do not keep quiet.'

\*\*\*\*\*

## Appendix C

### The Sun(u)w r materials

After Hodgson's wordlist, the first grammatical short sketch on Sunw r or Sunuw r is given in Konow (1909: 198-205) edited by Grierson. I have provided extra linguistic information in big brackets.

...A version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the Sun(u)w r dialect has been received from the Nepal Darbar. It makes the impression of a word for word translation of the English text. A list of Standard Words and Phrases has been forwarded from Darjeeling. It shows that the version of the Parable cannot represent the dialect with fidelity. Above all, the order of words, which in the Parable is almost the same as in English, in the list agrees with that prevailing in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Our materials for describing the Sun(u)w r dialect are, accordingly, rather unsatisfactory. They can, however, to a certain extent be supplemented from the list of words published by Hodgson.

AUTHORITIES-

- Hodgson, B.H. 'On the Aborigines of the Sub-Himalayas.' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. Xvi, Part ii, 1847, pp. 1235 and ff. Reprinted in *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, No. xxvii, Calcutta, 1857. Another reprint, under the title 'On the Aborigines of the Himalaya', in Hodgson's *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*. London, 1874, Part ii, pp.29 and ff. Contains a Sun(u)w r vocabulary.
- Beams, J. *Outlines of Indian Philology, with a map showing the distribution of Indian Languages*. Calcutta, 1867. Appendix A contain the numerals in Sun(u)w r etc.
- Hunter, W.W. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia*. London, 1868.

Our materials are not sufficient for a full description of the Sun(u)w r dialect. It will not be possible to give more than a rapid sketch of some of the most salient characteristics of Sun(u)w r grammar. Hodgson described Sun(u)w r as a dialect of the pronominalized type. This statement does not appear to be borne out by the specimens prepared for the purposes of this Survey.

**Pronunciation.** Short final vowels are apparently often dropped. Thus, *popo*, father [rather it is 'great or elder uncle'; in my speech/dialect]; *pop-k*, of the father [rather it is *ap<sup>h</sup>po-* 'of the father'; in my speech/dialect]; *b -t* and *b -ta*, was [additionally means existential 'is'] and so on.

There are not many instances of compound consonants. Compare *khru*, tooth; *bloins*, alive [rather it is *bl(r)ōi-š* 'having/being alive']. A short vowel is sometimes inserted in order to make the enunciation easier; thus, *Sun(u)w r* and *Sunuw r*; *kuchmi* and *kuchumi*, a bitch [rather it is *kutsum* only in my speech/dialect]. In most cases, old compounds have apparently been simplified; thus *sat* [*s t-(o)*] Tibetan *gsod*, kill; *b* [rather it is *bw*, *b* 'rooster'; in my speech/dialect], Tibetan *bya*, bird. It is, however, difficult to compare Sun(u)w r and Tibetan with regard to the phonetic system of the two forms of speech/dialect, because the vocabulary differs to a considerable extent. In this respect Sun(u)w r often agrees with Himalayan dialects such as Kan wri, Kanshi,

Manch ti, and so on. Compare *p t* [*pit-(o)*] Kan wri *ph* ; bring; *j* [*dz ?-*] Kan wr *j* arrive; *gi* [rather it is *g u-(o)* in my speech/dialect] Kan wr *k* , give *la* [*l u-(o)*], Manch t *il* go; *gui*, Kan wr *gud*, hand; *piy* , Chaudangsi *pisy* , head; *shar* , Bunan *shrang*s, horse and so on. This state of affairs points to the conclusion that Sun(u)w r has once been a dialect of the complex type as Kan wr .

There are some instances of interchange between different consonants; thus *tup-u*, beat [rather it is *tub-u* ‘Shall I beat you?’]; *tum-na-tum*, beating. It is not. However, possible to lay down fixed rules regulating such changes.

### Nouns

A prefix is common in nouns denoting relationship; thus, *-m* , mother [other terms are *-m*, *m -m* , *im-m* ‘mother’; in my speech/dialect]; *-l* , sister [rather it is *-l* ‘child’; in my speech/dialect]. This is probably originally a demonstrative pronoun. It is often used as a kind of possessive pronoun. Thus, *-lo-mishya nu*, his sister with [not clear translation because *m’išy* ‘wife’, *-nu* ‘with’; in my speech/dialect]; *-tau-ka-le*, his-son-to [rather it is *-t u-k li* ‘to his son’; in my speech/dialect]; *me -nu*, he his-brother, his brother [not clear translation because *m ?* ‘s/he, that’ ‘his, her’ *-nu* ‘with’; in my speech/dialect]; *bushye shar -nghosh-tike*, white horse its-saddle, the saddle of the white horse [*hōit-tik* ‘climb-NOM]. is sometimes also used where we should expect to find a possessive pronoun of the first person; thus, *-pop-k nchh -tau*, my uncle’s son [rather it is *ā-k kl tsk rdz-k t u*]; *-maiti* [rather it is *ā-k hōiti/moiti/ oiti*] before me. Compare the remarks under the head of pronouns below.

### Article

The numeral *k* , one, is used as an indefinite article. It sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the noun it qualifies; thus, *k popo*, a father [‘father’s elder brother rather than father’]; *tami k* , a daughter. In the specimen the pronoun *meko*, that [also s/he, it], is very commonly used as a definite article. Thus, *meko lane tau*, the younger son [rather its translation is ‘that child of name son’]; *meko mur-ke sus-ta mer-mi meko bari* [native vocabulary; *r’u* ‘field or land’], that man sent him (into) the field [rather it should read as *m ko murmi m kok li rumi soitt w* ], and so on. I do not think that this frequent use of the pronoun *meko* is in accordance with the actual character of the dialect.

### Gender

The natural gender is distinguished by using different words, or else by adding qualifying words. Thus, *popo*, father [rather its translation is ‘father’s elder brother’]; *-m* , mother [rather it is *m m* , *m*, *imm* ]; *mur*, man; *mishi mur*, [rather it is *m’išy* instead of *mishi*] woman; *shar* , horse; *shar ~mo* [- *m* instead of *~mo*] mare; *kish-she -po* [rather *kisšy p<sup>h</sup>po*], a male deer; *kish-she -mo* [- *m* instead of *-mo*], a female deer, and so on.

### Case

To judge from the specimen the base alone, without any suffix or postposition, is used to denote the various cases. Thus, *nelle ansa sampati ā-ke*, genitive what ever share (of the) property (is) mine; *meko lata-hai* ['s/he went'-*hai* is *N*) *mere-ke* genitive *poph* [her/his father; should be *aphpo*], he went (to) his father; *meko des* [native vocabulary for *des* is *r gy > r gi* 'country, nation'], in that country. Commonly, however, postpositions are added.

The subject and the object are not distinguished by means of any suffix. The suffix of the dative is *kale Dative Accusative*, [should be *-k li* or it is *k l k* 'once upon a time or just once'] and it is sometimes also added to the object of transitive verbs; thus, *go-mi -tau-kale karr -mi dherai* [(*dherai N*) native vocabulary is *sus*; *my information*] *tup-t*, me-by his-son-to stripes-with much struck, I have beaten his son with many stripes [actually it is *tup-t* ].

The subject of transitive verbs is, to judge from the specimen, put in the nominative, i.e., no suffix is added. Thus *mere-ke poph s -gepto mere-mi*, his father divided to him. According to the list of words published by Hodgson, however, there is a suffix *mi* or *me* [it is only *mi > m* today; *-m* possible as a verbal suffix as in *t km*, *l m* etc.], which denotes the agent. Compare *go-mi*, by me, in the last example but one. The specimen in one place uses *ke* instead; thus, *meko mur-ke sus-ta mer-mi meko b ri*, that man sent me to the field. The suffix *mi*, *me* also denotes the instrument [*m m* means 'that, s/he' not instrumental], and it is besides, used in order to form a locative or terminative. Thus, *ghele-me* [should be *šy l -mi*], with ropes; *kh -mi* [*k<sup>h</sup>* 'house'; in my speech], in the house, into the house.

The suffix of the ablative is *ng*; thus, *pokhri-ng*, from the well [not 'from the well' but 'of the well']. Form such as *pop-ke*, from a father [ *p<sup>h</sup>po-k* 'of the father not from a father'], in the list of words, are perhaps genitives. The suffix of the genitive is *ke* or *k* [*k* means one not *-k*] thus, *poph-k* [should be *aphpo-k*] *w ili-po-ki* [not *-poki* but *-piki* 'plural'; see also Appendix B for its variations] the father's servants; *k mur rimsho-ke* [a normal syntax is *k rimsho mur-ke*] of a good man.

Other relations are indicated by adding postpositions. Such are *nu* with; *ma-bithu* [should be *m -bitthu* 'without obeying'] and *mo-b* [should be *m b* 'has/have not as in *go-nu ky t m b* 'I don't have money'.] without; *nole* behind [is also 'after']; *t* against [no competing data found in my speech/dialect]; *maiti* [*m iti*]; before *dat* [*d t* in my speech] between, and so on. In the specimen the postpositions are commonly used as prepositions. I do not think that this use really represents the actual state of affairs.

### Adjectives

Adjectives usually precede, but occasionally also follow the noun they qualify; thus, *lane* [its translation is 'name of the child' and rather it is *k lts* 'young'; in my

speech/dialect] *tau*, the younger son; *bushye shar*, the white horse; *mur k rimsho*, a good man [usu. its normal order is *rimšo mur k*]. The termination *so* or *sho* in adjectives such as *rim-sho*, good; *chi-so* [*si-s'í*; in my speech/dialect], cold; *ho-so*, hot; *mi-so*, ripe; *du-so* [its translation is 'intoxicated or hot like pepper'] sour ['sour' should be *gyursšo*]; *ka-so*, bitter; and so on, is the suffix of a past participle. Compare the remarks under the head of verbs below.

The particle of comparison seems to be *l -bhand*; [native vocabulary -k ] thus, *me -nu me loba misha l -bhand* [*misha l* - actually means *mišy l* 'girl'; in my speech/dialect] *l -shyo chha* [rather it is *l isšo b* 'is tall'] his brother is taller than his sister. *Bhand* is the Khas *bhand*.

### Numerals

The first numerals are given in the list of words. The forms printed within parentheses have been taken from Hodgson's list. It will be seen that higher numbers counted in twenties; thus, *kh k nishi sasi-k* [rather it is *k<sup>h</sup> l nimsi g u k*; in my speech/dialect], twenty-two ten-one, fifty. Aryan forms are, however, now commonly used instead.

### Pronouns

The following are the personal pronouns:

<i>go</i> , I	<i>ge, ga</i> , thou	<i>hare, mare, me</i> , he
<i>ā, ā-ke</i> , my	<i>i, -ke, ge-ke</i> , thy	<i>hare-ke, mere-ke, meri-ke</i> , his
<i>go-pati, go-patchi,</i> <i>gopu-ki</i> , we	<i>ge-patchi</i> , you	<i>hari-patchi, mere-puki</i> , they
<i>go-pati a-ke, gowa-ke</i> , our		<i>mur pati-ke</i> <sup>82</sup> , their

The suffix *l* in *go-l nang*, I am [rather *go l n* means 'only I am'; in my speech/dialect]; *ge-l ba-ngi-de* thou art [rather *g l b m-ni d* means 'only you were or...'; in my speech/dialect], is probably an intensifying particle. *Mur pati-ke* [rather it is *m nk* 'of their/theirs'; in my speech/dialect], their [and literally means 'of the men'].

Other forms are *ā-kale*, me [rather it is *ā-k li* 'to me'; in my speech/dialect], *go-mi*, by me; *meko-le* and *meko-kale*, him [rather it is *m ko-le* 'by/from him/there' *m ko-k li* 'to him'; in my speech/dialect] and so on.

The forms *ā*, my; *i* and , thy, are used as prefixes. Instead of *ā* we sometimes find ; thus, *-pop-k uchha*, my uncle [rather it is *āk k rdz*; in my speech/dialect]; -

<sup>82</sup> All these underlined morphemes mean plural suffix which have six or four different forms in synchronic speech today like <-piky , -piki> -pik, -puki > -puk, -p ki > -p k> and their orthography is not free from error which may have resulted from mistyping, editing, mishearing or mistranslating of the collected materials.

*mai-ti*, before me. , however, usually refers to the third person; thus, *a-chi-me*, [rather it is *-tsi* ‘on his side’] on his back. Compare the remarks under head of nouns above.

Demonstrative pronouns are *i-ko*, *e-ko* [rather it is only *ko* or *ˆko*] this; *me-ko*, that [further it is ‘s/he’ and indivisible at the morphemic level]. Compare also *a-ke-ng* , from here [rather it is *ˆk -l* ‘from here’; in my speech/dialect]; *wa-tha*, here [ *ˆk > ˆk* ‘here’; in my speech/dialect; *ōt-th* actually means ‘hither’]; *y r* , there [*m -k* ‘there, his or her’ in my speech/dialect; *r* actually means ‘distal’].

Interrogative pronouns are *su-m* , who? [*su* ‘what’ and *su m* ‘actually means ‘who is’] *m r-me*, what? [*m r~m r* ‘what’ and *m r m* ‘actually means ‘what is’]. The final *me* is probably an interrogative particle [actually is aux.]. Compare *su-k* , whose [rather it is *su-k* ; who+POSS ‘whose’; in my speech/dialect]. An interrogative base *ge* occurs in forms such as *g -n* , when? [rather it is an indivisible morpheme] *g -tha*, where? [*t k > t k > t* ‘where’ (and emphasis can be added by adding *+r* such as *t k r* ; in my speech/dialect; *g t-th* actually means ‘up, above’; not ‘where’)] and so forth.

Indefinite pronouns are *su-k* , anybody [*suk i* means ‘no one, nobody, anybody’; in my speech/dialect]; *m r-k* , anything [rather it is *m r i* ‘nothing, anything’; in my speech/dialect]; *ge-n -i*, ever [also means ‘never’; in my speech/dialect].

### Verbs

The Sunw *r* verb is still in all essential points a noun. The person of the subject is not distinguished in verb, and verbal tenses are freely used as nouns.

### Verb substantive

Several bases are used as verbs substantive. *B* seems to be identical with the base *b k*, to sit [rather *b* means ‘is:AUX’ and *b k* means ‘sit:3sg:IMP’]. It occurs in forms such as *b -me*, is [Question; as in *m ko l k<sup>h</sup> mi b mm ?* ‘Is that/the child at home?’]; *b -ngi-di*, art; *b -t* and *b -ta*, art, is, and so on. Another base in *dum*, *dung* or *thung*. It seems to mean ‘to become.’ Thus, *k theb an k l* [its native vocabulary is *hipikdupik*] *dum-t* , a heavy famine arose; *dum-nang*, I may be [rather it is *dum-nu* ]; *thung-so-ng* , being-from, having been [rather it is *thum-so-* ‘while finishing’].

*Nang* in *dum-nang*, I may be [rather *dum-nu* means ‘I become’; but *go mur n* ‘I am a man.’], only occurs in the first person; thus, *go-l nang*, I am [rather its translation is ‘Only I am’]; *go-patchi nang*, [rather it is *gopiki n ki*; in my dialect/speech] we are. It is perhaps connected with *na* in *nawe*, [rather it is *n y* as in *goi n y* ‘you are’] to be; *go-patchi b -sho na-ki*, [rather it is *gopiki b mšo n ki* ‘We have had lived.’] we were, and so forth.

A base occurs in forms such as *tau dish b -ni-mi*, sons how-many are? [rather it is *t up ki došo n mi?* ‘How many sons do have?’] *ge-patchi b -ni*, you were [rather *ge-piki b -ni* means ‘you<sup>pl</sup> were’]. It is probably a form of the copula. It should perhaps be

compared with *ngi* in *ge-l b -ngi-de*, [rather we can complete it as  $k^h$  mi g l b .ni d 'Are you only in the house?'] thou art.

There is further a base *chha*, [its native vocabulary is *b* ] is. It is apparently identical with *tcha* in *hare b -sho-tcha*, he is [rather it may mean  $h$  r b .:šo b mt ]. The form *chhuu* in *ge b -sho chhuu* [rather it is  $g$  b ?šo b ?t ] you are, is not certain, the original manuscript being very indistinct. It must, however, be connected with *chha*, is [rather its native vocabulary is *b* ].

A base *me*, *mi*, or *ma* [-*m* 3sg as in *m k su b -m* 'Who is there?', -mi 1/3pl as in *murpik k<sup>h</sup> m dz inimi* 'The men eat rice' and -m 3plQ as in *m kopik k<sup>h</sup> l m ?* 'Did they go home?'] occurs in forms such as *tau dish b -ni-mi*, how many sons are there? [rather its translation is 'How many days does the son stay?'] *iko shar dushya barsha b -me* [rather it is  $\tilde{k}o \check{s}y r doso mudi dumm$  'How old is this horse?'], this horse (-of) how-many years are? *mere-pu-k rim-so p m-t -me* [rather it is  $m r pukimi rimšo p mt m$  'They did well' rather than 'made merry'], they made merry; *meko-putchi b -le-m* [rather it is  $m kopiki b mt m$  'they are/were'] they are, and so on. It is possible that we have here to do with more than one base. There is an interrogative particle *me*, and it is also possible that *me* is the pronoun of the third person. Forms of this kind are not, in the materials available, [my examples are: *m ko t k l ib m ?* 'Where does s/he go?' and *m ko mur sum ?* 'Who is that man?'] used in the first two persons, and they are perhaps remnants of the pronominalized stage of development. It is, however, possible that the various bases beginning with *m* in reality belong to a copula. The final *we* in *ga-lai-na-we*, [rather it is  $goi l in y$  ] thou goest; *nawe*, be, to be [rather it is  $n y$  'you are'] is perhaps connected.

Other verb substantive are *ho* [its native vocabulary is *m* and *b* ] is; *hai* [its native vocabulary  $\bar{o}$  or  $ts\bar{o}$ ] is; *thi* and *thiyo* [it native vocabulary is  $b mt$  ] was, and so on.

The list of words gives the impression of a regular conjugation with different forms for the different persons in the verb substantive. The details will be found in the list itself. I do not think that the dialect really distinguishes the various persons. Forms such as *b -t* or *b -ta*, [rather it is  $b mt$  ] was; are used in the specimen for the second as well as the third person. I do not therefore think it necessary to reproduce all the various forms in this place. I shall only mention that *k* in *go-patchi b -sho-na-k* [ $n ki$  1:pl as in *gopiki muru n ki* 'We are men'. we were; seems to be connected with *k* in forms such as *mere-pu-k* [-*puki* in an inseparable morpheme] they.

### Finite verb

Many of the bases of the verb substantive are also used in the conjugation of finite verbs. Our materials are, however, too scanty to give anything like a complete sketch of the state of affairs.

### Present

The most common form of the present tense seems to contain a suffix beginning with *n*. Thus, *go tup-nu* [rather it is *go tupnu*] I strike; *ge tup-ne* [rather it is *g tupn y*] thou strikest; *go laina* [rather it is *go l inu*] I go; *ge lai-na-we* [rather it is *goi l in y*] thou goest. This form is also used as a future. Thus *go l yi-nang* [rather it is *go l inu*] ‘I (will) go’ I shall go; *denang* [rather it is *go d ~nu*] I shall say.

Another suffix of the present tense is *p* or *b*. Thus *dum-ba*, I become; *b -b*, lives; *m r m r-p me*, what do they do?

The suffix *me* is used alone in *p -me*, comes. Compare also *tup-ni-mi*, they beat.

The *ta* is sometimes also used with the meaning of a present; thus *go tum-na-tum p h-t*, I am beating; *ngoshy b -t*, he is grazing; *b shyo b -t*, he is sitting.

Compound forms are *tai-b -hai*, get, and so on.

### Past time

The suffix *ta* or *t* is usually added in order to form a past tense; thus *p -t*, I did; *bloin-s j -t*, came alive; *den-ta*, he said.

Instead of *ta* we often find *ti*, *te*, or *to*; thus *gap-ti*, I have walked; *la-te*, wentest’ *ge-ti*, gavest; *gep-to*, gavest, gave [*gep-tu* ‘gave’; in my speech/dialect] and so forth.

The suffix *pa* is also used in the same way; thus, *la-pa*, he went [*l -t( )*] ‘went’; in my speech/dialect and *la-pa* is meaningless; whereas *p* is rather adverbial suffix as in *rim-šo-p* ‘beautifully, carefully’].

In *gy bi*, boughtest, we apparently have a suffix *i* [means ‘Did you<sub>3sg</sub> buy?’]. Compound forms are *ho t -t*, is found; [means ‘I got and I saw] *la-ta hai*, went; *be-so b t*, had died; *p m-ti-me*, they made [p m-t m ‘they did (not made)’; in my speech/dialect].

It seems probable that none of these forms are peculiar to the past. The suffix *so*, *shyo*, *sa*, *sha*, on the other hand, appears to be a real suffix of the past. Compare *b -shyo* [means lived, sat; past/present participle] or a similar suffix is contained in forms such as *rim-so-pa-s-to*, pitied [the meaning is misleading].

### Future

It has already been remarked that the present seems to be used as a future. Note also forms such as *go tup-ngana*, I may beat [*go tup-nu* ‘I beat’; in my speech/dialect]; *go ~kale tup-cha-m r-b*, I should beat [the meaning is ambiguous; we rather say *goimi goãk li tup-ts m lb* ‘You must beat me’]; *go-pu-ki mal-ba rim-so*, we should make merry [the meaning is misleading; or can be corrected as *go-puki-mi rimsho p c m lb* ‘We have to do better’].

### Imperative

The usual suffix of the imperative is *u* or *o* [but differs according to number and verb stem alternations]. Thus, *la-u*, go [l -u(o) ‘go:3sg’ in my speech/dialect]; *ja-u*, eat

[dz -u(o) 'eat:3sg']; *gi-o*, give [g -u(o) 'give:3sg' in my speech/dialect and may be possibly correct in Kir nti-Ba.:yung]; *pit-(o)*, bring. Another imperative suffix seems to be ; thus, *s -gei*, divide [probably must be yo-š g -u(o)]; *ja-i*, let us eat [dz -i especially asking for permission as a form of social etiquette rather than imperative and another meaning of dz -yi is 'Did you (3sg) eat?']; *r mso p -*, let us make merry [*rim-šo p -i* 'let us do something better rather than 'make merry']. Other imperatives are *t y*, let us drink [*tu-y* in my speech/dialect]; *l w*, go [*l -u(o)* 'go:3sg' in my speech/dialect]. Negative imperatives are formed by prefixing *mo* [*m -* or *-m -*; in my speech/dialect].

### Verbal nouns

The usual verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *cha* or *chha* [rather *-c* is an infinitive marker]; thus, *ja-chha*, to eat; *tup-cha*, to beat. The various tenses are apparently used as verbal nouns as well. Thus, *vo-di-te*, in order to tend [meaningless translation and spelling *wo-di-t* [from *wodits* 'to go for entering' or *wots* 'to enter'; and can be translated as 'You (3sg) went to enter...'] is possible; *sil-p -to*, dancing [not meaningful data; rather *šyilp np n* 'dancing' is common in use].

### Participles

The bases of the various tenses are also used as participles; thus, *j -teh*, arriving [rather *dz m-t* 'You (3sg) arrived']; *dor-s*, running [*dors-š* 'having run']; *l -s*, returning [better 'having gone'; can be *l nl n* 'returning or selling' *l sšy* 'having returned']; *j m-so*, lost; *t -si*, getting [not possible; can be *t -šy* 'having gotten or seen']; *r m-so pu-s*, well doing, safely [can be *rim-šo p -š* 'having done well'] *t -t*, getting [can be *t -t -*, 'I got or saw']; *l -t*, gone [can be *l -t( )* 's/he went'] and so forth. A past participle is also formed by adding *se* or *she*; thus, *ma* base, not staying. Compare *tup-seh-nga-mi*, having struck [problematic spelling; can be *tup-š - -min*]. Other participles are *tum-na-tum*, beating [indicates the on going action]; *bleta-wa*, calling [rather *bl t-t -w* 's/he called'].

### Negative particle

The negative particle is *ma* or *mu* [only *-m* is possible] thus *ma b -se*, not staying [rather *m -b m-k s* 'You two do not stay']; *ma-tang*, not got [rather can be translated as 'I did not get or see']; *ma dum-b*, I do not become, I am not worthy [rather can be translated as 'No, it is not possible' NEG-become-is]; *ja-chha mu-b*, food not-being, without food [rather *dz -c m -b* 'There is no food for eating' eat-INF NEG-is]. Note *khigo-ma-wa*, did not enter [can be *k<sup>h</sup> -g m -w* 'S/he did not enter inside the house']; *ai-ma-bis*, did not disobey [can be *k i m -bis( )* 's/he did not obey at all'].

### Interrogative particle


There seems to be an interrogative particle; compare *su-me*, who? [rather it can be translated as 'who is'] *m r-me*, what? [rather it can be translated as *m r* 'what' and *-m* 'is']. And the verbal forms ending in *me* or *mi* [rather both of these morphemes are different in their semantic aspects].

**Order of words**

The usual order of words in the list of words and phrases is subject, object, verb. In the specimen, on the other hand, we find quite a different arrangement, viz., subject verb, object. Adjectives and numerals usually precede the qualified noun. The list of words uses postpositions, the specimen generally prepositions, and so forth. If the order of words in the specimen were correct, Sunwar would have to be considered as a form of speech/dialect between the Tibeto-Burman and... groups. It has, however, already been remarked that the state of affairs in the specimen is probably due to a too close adhesion to the English original.


For further details, the student is referred to the specimen, which follows and to the list of words. The materials are very unsatisfactory. They seem to show that Sunwar is now a dialect of the simple non-pronominalized type. It is, however possible that better materials would show that it is still, as Hodgson described it, a complex pronominalized, form of speech/dialect, and the remarks made above are given with great diffidence.

\*\*\*\*\*

<b>SIKKIM</b>		Gazette 1
<b>GOVERNMENT</b>		<b>GAZETTE</b>
EXTRAORDINARY PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY		
Gangtok Monday, 28th October, 1996		No. 141
GOVERNMENT OF SIKKIM LAW DEPARTMENT GANGTOK		
No. 5/LD/96		Dated: 15th October, 1996.
<b>NOTIFICATION</b>		
The following Act of the Sikkim Legislative Assembly having received the assent of the Governor on 8th day of October, 1996 is hereby published for general information:-		
<b>THE SIKKIM OFFICIAL LANGUAGES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1996</b> ACT NO. 5 OF 1996 AN ACT		
to amend the Sikkim Official Languages Act, 1977 (5 of 1977).		
Be it enacted by the Legislature of Sikkim in the Forty-Seventh year of the Republic of India as follows.		
Short title	1. This Act may be called the Sikkim Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1996.	
Amendment of long title, preamble and section 2	2. In the Sikkim Official Languages Act, 1977 (5 of 1977), in the long title, the preamble and section 2, for the words "and the Tamang" the words "the Tamang and the Sunuwar" shall be substituted.	
One of the official languages of Sikkim (also cf. Gazette 2).	By Order of the Governor,	
	( B.R. PRADHAN ) SECRETARY TO THE GOVT. OF SIKKIM LAW DEPARTMENT	
	File No. 16 (35) LD/77-96	
PRINTED AT THE SIKKIM GOVERNMENT PRESS, GANGTOK		

**SIKKIM**

Gazette 2

**GOVERNMENT**  **GAZETTE**

**EXTRAORDINARY**  
**PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY**

---

Gangtok, Thursday, 2nd June, 1994 No. 60

---

**GOVERNMENT OF SIKKIM**  
**WELFARES DEPARTMENT, GANGTOK.**

Ref No. 2/WD Dated 2nd June, 1994

**NOTIFICATION**

After having examined the recommendation of the Mandal Commission with respect to declaring Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBC) or Other Backward Classes (OBC) in Sikkim, the State Government hereby recognises and declares the following communities as Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBC) or Other Backward Classes (OBC) for the State of Sikkim, namely:-

i)	Bhujel
ii)	Gurung
iii)	Limboo
iv)	Rai
v)	Manger
vi)	Sunuwar
vii)	Tamang

Explanation I - The expression 'Limboo' includes Tsong, Subba and Yakthungba.  
Explanation II - The expression 'Sunuwar' includes Koincha/Mukhia.

By Order.

The alternative term 'Koincha' is actually an autonym of the tribe as well as glossonym, which is pronounced and spelt as Kôits accurately.

**( C. CINTURY ) IAS,  
SECRETARY  
WELFARE DEPARTMENT**

---

PRINTED AT THE SIKKIM GOVT. PRESS, GANGTOK.



More than two     understand  speak  read  write

12. How would you rate the competence in your own Mother Tongue? Tick either box.

- fluent  
 okay but not fluent  
 have difficulty in speaking but not understanding

13. Where did you learn the Nepali language? Please tick either box or all.

- at home  
 in the school  
 at the language institutions  
 with friends  
 in the market place  
 at the play ground  
 at the religious ceremonies  
 in the political discussions  
 at the hospital

14. What language do you use at home... [Tick either box.]

- |                         |   |                                 |                                  |                                |
|-------------------------|---|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| with parents?           | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ elder brother?        | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ elder sister?         | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ children              | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ younger brother?      | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ younger sister?       | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ grandparents?         | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ spouse(wife-husband)? | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ servants?             | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ pets?                 | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| „ relatives?            | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |

15. In what language do you do the following?

- |       |   |                                 |                                  |                                |
|-------|---|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| think | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| pray  | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| curse | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| joke  | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| scold | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| sing  | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| count | <input type="checkbox"/> Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war] | <input type="checkbox"/> Nepali | <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |

16. What language do you use with your doctor? Please tick.

- Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]     Nepali     English     Other

17. What language do you use for asking time or directions? Tick either box.

Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]  Nepali  English  Other

18. What language do you use with neighbours who are:

linguistically similar?  Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]  Nepali  English  Other

linguistically dissimilar?  Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]  Nepali  English  Other

19. What language do you use

in the market place?  Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]  Nepali  English  Other

at the post office?  Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]  Nepali  English  Other

20. What is the medium of instruction of the school your children go to? Tick either box.

Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]  Nepali  English  Other

21. Given a choice, what language would you like to educate your children in?

a.  Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]

Because;

- children can understand well
- linguistic identity
- linguistic right
- preservation and development

b.  Nepali

Because;

- opportunity
- higher education
- socio-politico-economic well-being
- linguistic integration as chauvinism

c.  English

Because;

- opportunity
- higher education
- science & technology
- international relations

d.  Other

Because;

- opportunity

- higher education
- science & technology
- international relations

22. Do you encourage the younger generation to speak your native language?  
Tick either box.

- Yes  No

23. If you had a choice, what language would you choose as your Mother Tongue?

a.  Kir nti-Kõits[Sun(u)war]

Because;

- children can understand well
- linguistic identity
- linguistic right
- preservation and development necessary

b.  Nepali

Because;

- opportunity
- higher education
- socio-politico-economic upliftment
- linguistic integration as chauvinism

c.  English

Because;

- opportunity
- higher education
- science & technology
- international relations

d. Other  reason why?

- opportunity
- higher education
- science & technology
- international relations

24. Your Mother Tongue is useful/suitable for ...

25. Do you feel prestigious/embarrassed/neutral to speak in your Mother Tongue in the presence of the speakers of the dominant language? Tick either box.

- p  Yes  No

e             Y    No  
 n             Y    N     [p=prestigious, e=embarrassed, n=neutral]

26. Have you ever had any problem because of being the native speaker of your mother tongue?

Yes    No

If yes, what kind? Please tick either box or all.

- socio-politico-economic discrimination
- discrimination in education
- hostile confrontation
- socio-politico-economic pressures
- others

27. What is the language generally used in community gatherings? Tick either box.

Kir nti-Kõits [Sun(u)war]    Nepali    English    Other  

28. What is the language generally used in community prayer? Tick either box.

- Kir nti-Kõits [Sun(u)war]
- Nepali
- English
- Other

29. What language do Kir nti-Kõits children use when they play together? Tick either box.

- Kir nti-Kõits [Sun(u)war]
- Nepali
- English
- Other

30. In what language do you usually speak... [Tick either box.]  
 with your village friends?

- Kir nti-Kõits [Sun(u)war]
- Nepali
- English
- Other

while discussing political matters?

- Kir nti-Kõits [Sun(u)war]
- Nepali
- English
- Other

while discussing your deepest feelings?

Kir nti-Kõits [Sun(u)war]

Nepali

English

Other

when you are angry?

Kir nti-Kõits [Sun(u)war]

Nepali

English

Other

while discussing religion with friends?

Kir nti-Kõits [Sun(u)war]

Nepali

English

Other

31. Compared to the dominant Indo-Aryan (Indic) language Nepali spoken here how would you rate your own Mother Tongue? Tick either the 'yes' or 'no' boxes.

rich

Yes  No

sweet

Yes  No

harsh

Yes  No

powerless

Yes  No

non-prestigious

Yes  No

useful

Yes  No

\*\*\*\*\*

## Appendix F

### Sample of Je~ticha Bre:se

Transliteration in Devnagari and IPA/Roman

ww/t{i/ tt{s 1 lmits m mib

<ललमिच् ममिब:>

gBt mpAmp gom t n t n

<गोम् तनातन्>

vAg{A ww/t{i vxAew{ r gi l limits r w k li  
<रागीआ ललमिच् रवाकलि>

vd|t/ mcq/yB uB tta{ r um tupšo yo m m i  
<रेउम् तुष्शो यो ममै>

ry{t/ ,{fyB uB tta{ p<sup>h</sup> sim h mšoyo m m i  
<फश्यीम् हेम्शो यो ममै>

pApt/ e{yB uB tta{n m k'išo yo m m i  
<नाम की'शो या ममै>

gBf myBp| gom t šonu  
<गोम् तशोन्>

t}eB ww/t{i/ vxA m ko l limits r w  
<मेको ललमिच् रवा>

sB{z/yBp/ sA.s boisšon b ?b  
<बोइस्शोन् बाअवः>

zbyBp/ sA.s s'išon b ?b  
<सी'शोन् बाअवः>

eA qAi/A ibsq{e{ k p ts ts'ibpiki  
<का पाच्चा ची'बपिकी>

t}edp/ sdv/p{t{ m k n b rnimi  
<मेकेन् बेर्नेमी>

t}edp/ pA n}v/p{t{ m k n n th rnimi  
<मेकेन् ना थेर्निमी>

t}e}p/ jcp{t{ m k n dz'unimi  
<मेकेन् जूनिमी>

t{p| minu  
<मिन्नु>

e|t /yB qyA ybw/ qA{p{t{ kumšo p šy šyil p inimi  
<कुम्शो पश्या श्यील् पाइनिमी>

yu/h t}eB vAg{p/A šy m ko r gin  
<श्यड् मेको रागीन्आ>

x}e/ qAi/A w k p ts  
<वेक् पाच्चा>

i{sAp/ew{ ts'ib nk li  
<ची:बआन्कलि>

A=e} vAg{t{ g}pA{ gB ww/t{i/ tt{s āk r gimig n iyo l limits m mib  
<आँके रागीमि गेनाइयो लल्मिच् ममिबः>

Source: Rapacha (2001: 24)

\*\*\*\*\*

## Appendix G

\*Box A: Toni Hagen's Sunuwar

डा टोनीले 'सुनुवार' नवुभी गए

लाल-श्यांकरेलु रापचा

जवाहरलाल नेहरु युनिभर्सिटी

कवि टी एस इलियटले मानवीय मनोदशाप्रति व्यङ्ग्य प्रहार गर्दै अप्रिललाई सबै भन्दा निष्ठुरी औ कुर भनेर कविता ओकेले । सारा नेपालीहरूका लागि सन् २००३ को अप्रिल इलियटले भनेभै सावित भयो । डा टोनी हागन अप्रिलको सन्ध्यासँगै फेरि फेरि नेपाल नफर्कने गरी यो भौतिक संसारबाट अस्ताए । हामीहरूको स्पन्दनबाट यसै अल्पिए रिक्तता छोडेर । नेपालीहरू सदा आत्मनिर्भर भएको देख्न चाहने डा हागनको सपना पूरा भयो कि भएन त्यो त हाम्रो वर्तमान साक्षी छ । तर उनको पाठकको नाताले मेरो एउटा अभूतपूर्व सपना भने अधुरै रहयो ।

भूगर्भविद्, इन्जिनियर, सर्वेक्षणकर्ता र विकास परामर्शदाता बाहेक उनी एक निपूर्ण फोटोग्राफर र लेखक पनि थिए । सर्वप्रथम सन् १९६१ सालमा नेपाल, नेपाली जनजीवन र हाम्रा हिमालहरूले संसारको प्रकाश देख्न पाए; उनको कृति *नेपाल: द किङ्डम इन द हिमालयजमार्फत* । डा हागनको त्यो पुस्तकको नाम लिनसाथ मेरो चक्षुबाट बेरोकटोक बलिन्द्र अश्रुधार वहन थाल्छ । भन् यो अप्रिलले मलाई यसै रुवायो नै । *हिमाल* (१६-३१ वैशाख २०६०: १२) ले डा तीर्थ श्रेष्ठको कृतान्जली छापेछ; उनको फोटोसहित त्यो किताव च्यापेर । त्यो दृश्यले त मलाई भनै मर्माहत पारयो । उकुसमुकुस पारयो यो शोकाकुल घडीमा ।

यो त्यही कृति हो; जसबाट म उनको पाठक भएको हुँ । सन् १९६१ बाट १९७९सम्म सो कृति जर्मन र अन्य भाषामा मात्रै सीमित थियो । त्यो जर्मन प्रति मैले पढ्न पाएको छुइन । तथापी सो पुस्तकको अङ्ग्रेजी अनुवाद संस्करण १९८० अक्सफोर्ड र आइवीएच पब्लिशिङ कम्पनी, नई दिल्ली (भारतको विवाद पश्चात्) ले प्रकाशनमा ल्यायो । यसको अङ्ग्रेजी अनुवादक ब्रिटा एम सार्लटन हुन् भने आइएसवीएन (इन्टरनेसनल स्ट्याण्डर्ड बुक नम्बर) ३२५४ ०८१२३५ रहेको छ । यो कितावको अङ्ग्रेजी अनुवाद संस्कारणको पाठक बन्न मैले करीब बीस वर्ष कुनु परेको थियो । मलाई साहित्य र भाषाविज्ञानले जातिविज्ञानतिर तानेपछि सन् २००० को शुरुतिर अनुच्छेद दुईमा उल्लेखित कृति पढ्न मैले काठमाण्डू उपत्यकामा भएभरका पुस्तकालयहरू चहारेको थिएँ ।

उसोरी चहार्नु भन्दा पहिले डा हागनको बारेमा धेरै-थोर जानकारी थियो । वीरेन्द्र प्रज्ञालङ्कारद्वारा विभुषित उनी "नेपालीहरूका आँखाका नानी" आदि इत्यादि । हुन पनि सन् १९५० को दशकदेखि २१ सौं शताब्दीको मिर्मिरेसम्म उनको नेपाल र नेपालीप्रतिको सद्भाव देख्दा उनी या देशको 'भूमि-पुत्र' भन्दा पनि अझ विशेष महत्वका महान मानव मन हुन् । नेपाल र नेपालीलाई यहाँको कुनै अङ्गिकृत नागरिकले भन्दा कम देन नदिई अल्पेका होइनन् उनी हामीलाई शोकाकुल पारेर । यो घडीमा म दोहोरो शोकमा परेको छु । प्रथमतः उनी हामी बीच रहेनन् । अर्को कुरा मेरो एउटा अभूतपूर्व सपना यसै अधुरो रहयो ।

त्यो सपना अनुच्छेद दुई र तीनमा उल्लेखित कृतिसंग सम्वन्धित छ । म चाहन्थे- नेपाल र नेपालीहरूका बारेमा वृहद् ज्ञान भएका डा हागन समक्ष किराँती-सुनुवार कविला सम्वन्धी विना तुक् र प्रमाणको 'हिअरसे एण्ड फल्सिफाइड नलेज' (अरेको कुरा र झुटो ज्ञान) को बारेमा प्रत्यक्ष छलफल गरूँ । तर त्यसो हुन नपाउँदै उनले इहलीला प्राप्त गरे । यो दोहोरो शोकको बेला उनको सोही कृतिको पाना नम्बर १२३

बाट दुई हरफहरू उधृत गर्दै डा टोनी र किराँती-सुनुवार कविलाको सम्झना गर्न चाहन्छु । उनी लेख्छन्- “‘द प्रिन्सिपल सेटल्मेन्ट एरिया अन्व द सुनुवारस लाइ अन दि अपर कोर्स अन्व द सुनकोशी रिभर । दे हयाभ् मेड अ नेम फर देम्सेल्जभज याज एक्सलन्ट स्मिथस् याण्ड गोल्डस्मिथस् याण्ड दे हयाभ् असोसिएटिड टु फर अ स्पेसल काष्ट कलिङ् देम्सेल्ज द कामिज ।” अर्थात् “‘सुनुवारहरूको मुख्य वस्ती सुनकोशीको उपल्लो भागमा पर्दछ । उनीहरूले सुनको काममा निपूर्णता हासिल गरेका छन् र सुनेल/सुनार जातिसंग सम्बन्धित रही आफूलाई कामी भन्दछन् ।”)

उनको यो वर्णन पढ्दा के छर्लङ्ग हुन्छ भने एकातिर नामूद विद्वान टोनी हागनले जीवनमा किराँती-सुनुवार (किपटीया पद मुखिया ‘इण्डो-आर्यन नेपाली शब्द’ र आफ्नो मातृभाषामा ‘कौँइच’ भन्छन् उनीहरू आफूलाई) कविलाको बारेमा कखरा पनि नजानी गए । उनले त जानेन् जानेन्; उनलाई पिछ्या गर्ने सम्पादक जेपी आनन्द, डा राजाराम सुवेदी र अन्य, वशन्तकुमार शर्मा र नेपाली वृहद् शब्दकोश (पहेलो जिल्द) को सम्पादक कृष्णप्रसाद पराजुली र अन्यमा पनि गलत सूचना/ज्ञान प्रवाह गरेर गए । यति मात्रै नभएर संसारभरका पाठकहरूको मष्तिष्क र पुस्तकालयहरूको खापामा गलत ज्ञान भरी दिए भने अर्कोतिर किराँती-सुनुवारहरूमा अछुत वर्गमा दरिने त्रास र हिनताभाव दिएर गए ।

यसले के प्रमाणित गरयो भने डा टोनीले नेपाली समाजभित्रको प्रत्यक्ष/अप्रत्यक्ष मर्म, उत्पीडन र हुक्दुकीलाई आत्मसात गर्नु बाँकी नै थियो । यहाँको मनुवादी समाज र परिवेशमा आफ्नै मौलिक मातृभाषा, लिपि, धर्म, संस्कृति र संस्कार बोकेको किराँत सम्प्रदायभित्रको एक किराँती-सुनुवार मानवप्रति त्यस्तो अनर्थ र अनर्गल लेख्दा त्यसको नतिजा के हुन्छ भन्ने ज्ञान हुनु नै बाँकी थियो । मलुङ, लिखु र खिम्ती खोलातिरको किनार र ककेरातिरको छाप्रोमुनिको जनजीवन अवलोकन गर्नु बाँकी नै थियो । उनले नेपालको पचहत्तरै जिल्ला पैदल यात्रा गरेको भएपनि ओखलढुङ्गा र रामेछापको मलुङ-लिखु-खिम्ती सुसेलीलाई नेपालीहृदयमार्फत विश्वसामु उभ्याउनु बाँकी नै थियो । समयको पार्किन्सनले उनलाई बाँकीमै विलय गरायो । नेपाली समाजको समाजशास्त्रमा आज ‘पानी नचल्ने र पेशाले सुनेल/सुनार’ कहलाइएकाहरू आर्यहरू नै हुन् भन्ने ज्ञान गर्न नपाउँदै त्यो पार्किन्सनले स्वात्तै निल्यो उनलाई । किराँती-सम्प्रदायभित्रको दुई दर्जन भन्दा पनि बढी भाषिक समुदाय, संस्कृति र जनजीवन औ सानो-ठूलो, उचो-निचो, पानी चल्ने-नचल्ने आदि भेदभावमुक्त छ भन्ने ध्रुवसत्यको सुइँको समेत पाएनन् उनले । यो कुराले मलाई अझै शोकाकुल र हतोत्साही बनाइ रहेछ । रुवाई रहेछ । पिरोली रहेछ । हुन त यो किराँती-सुनुवार नामले नेपाली समाजमा विद्यमान कविला ‘सुनुवार’ नभएर ‘कौँइच’ हो भनेर माथि पनि उल्लेख भयो । यो ‘कौँइच’ भनेको के हो भन्ने बारेमा घोट्लिई रहेको बेलामा र गिदी पगाली रहेको बेला उनको मृत्युशोकमा अश्रुधारले बाटो छेकी रहेछ । गन्तव्य टिल्पिलाइ रहेछ । उनलाई सम्झँदै अधुरो सपना स्मृतिपटलबाट भाग्न खोजी रहेछ ।

अन्तमा, म के कुरामा आशावादी छु भने नेपाली समाजमा “आँखाको नानी” उपमा पाएका विद्वान, नेपाल र नेपालीका शुभचिन्तक, पथप्रदर्शक, विकास परामर्शदाता डा हागनका उत्तराधिकारीहरू डा क्याट्रिन, मोनिका, क्रिष्टोफर औ टोनी हागन फाउण्डेसन नेपालले नेपाली समाजको भावना र मर्म बुझेर सो कृतिको उक्त पानामा वर्णित किराँती-कौँइचको वर्णन सुधार्ने काम गर्ने छन् । उनीहरूले यसो गरे भने साँचो अर्थमा उनलाई सम्झनुको सार्थकता हुने छ । नेपाली बहु-जातिमा किराँती-कौँइचहरूको पनि उनी “आँखाको नानी” भै बाँची नै रहने छन् । समयको पार्किन्सनले उनको भौतिक शरीरलाई विलय गराए पनि उनीप्रतिको सद्भावलाई नेपाली-मुटुहरू बीच अमर तुल्याइ राख्ने छ किनभने सो कृतिको नेपाल संस्करण सन् १९९८ मा कनै सुधार वेगर नै सो हरफहरू उडाइएको छ भने हिमाल किताब श्रृङ्खलाको नेपाली अनुवाद संस्करणले पनि विना सुधार त्यसै गरेको छ । उनले अज्ञानतावश औ गलत सूचनाको भरमा गरेको सो गम्भीर र अक्षय्य त्रुटिलाई उल्लेखित उत्तराधिकारीहरूले सुधार गरे भने स्वर्गवासी डा टोनी हागनले किराँती-सुनुवारहरूतर्फबाट जिजसका खातिर क्षमा पाउने छन् भन्ने कुरामा म विस्वस्त छु ।

२१ वैशाख २०६०

(स्रोतः कौँइच बु वर्ष १२, पौष २०६१ पूर्णाङ्क ९, पाना ५२-५३)

\* The boxed-extract above in Nepali concisely presents how Hagen (See § 1.1.1.4) has described the Kir nti-Köits (Sun(u)war/Mukhia) people/tribe, where it proposes to correct/recorrect it in the future.

### References

- Abadie, Peggy. 1974. 'Nepali as an ergative language', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 1: 156-77.
- Abbi, Anvita. 2001. *A Manual of Linguistic Fieldwork and Structure of Indian Languages*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.
- forthcoming. 'Forms and functions of tribal languages'. In Braj B. Kachru and S.N. Sridhar (eds.). *Languages in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2000. 'Forgotten Indian heritage: Languages of minority communities of India'. In Omkar K. Koul and L. Devaki (eds.). *Linguistic Heritage of India and Asia*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- 1994. *Semantic Universals in Indian Languages*. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
- 1992. 'Language death and language conflation: A paradoxical oscillation', *South Asian Language Review*, II, 2: 39-48.
- 1990. 'Reduplication in Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia', *Southeast Asian Studies*, 28, 2: 171-181.
- Abbi, Anvita and A.K. Mishra. 1985. 'Consonant clusters and syllabic structures of Meitei', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 8, 2: 81-92.
- Abbi, Anvita and Victor Ahum. 1997. 'Expressive morphology as manner adverbs in Khasi, Tangkhul-Naga and Kuki-Chin languages'. In Anvita Abbi (ed.) *Languages of Tribal and Indigenous Peoples of India: The Ethnic Space*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers.
- Acharya, Baburam. 2003 [vs 2060]. *Prachinkalko Nepal* (in Nepali). Kathmandu: Prof. Shrikrishna Acharya.
- Acharya, Jayaraj. 1991. *A Descriptive Grammar of Nepali and an Analyzed Corpus*. USA: Georgetown University Press.

- Acharya, Madhuraman. 1994. *Nepal Encyclopedia: A Concise Encyclopedia of the Facts and Knowledge about the Kingdom of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Nepal Encyclopedia Foundation.
- Adhikary, Hemanga and Badribishal Bhattarai (eds.). 2005 [VS 2061]. *Prayogatmak Neapli Shabdakosh*. Kamal Pokhari: Vidhyarthi Prakashan.
- Adhikary, Ramlal. 1999. 'Nepali sanskriti ek surkepato'. In Pawan Chamling (ed.). *Nirman Sanskriti Visheshank*, 19, 34: 857-866.
- Ahum, Victor. 1997. *Tankhul-Naga Grammar: A Study of Word Formation*. PhD Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
- . 1972. *A Grammatical Study of Expressives and Echo Formation in Tankhul-Naga*. MPhil Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
- Allen, B.C. 1901. *Census of Assam* [Vol. 2]. Delhi: Report Manas Publications (1st printed in 1902 at the Assam Secretariat Printing, Shillong (Reprint 1984)).
- Ananda, Jaya P. (ed.). 1987 [VS 2044]. 'Nepalko prachin janajatiharu: Sankshipta charcha'. *Purba Kshitidz*, 5, 5: 21-23.
- Annamalai, E. 2001. *Managing Multilingualism in India: Political and Linguistic Manifestations* [Language and Development- Vol. 8]. New Delhi et al: Sage Publications.
- Aryal, D.P. 2003 [VS 2060]. *Limbu Bhashama Sanskritprabhav* [in Nepali]. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- Beams, J. 1867. *Outlines of Indian Philology with a Map Showing the Distribution of Indian Languages*. Calcutta: Government Printing Press.
- Benedict, Paul K. 1972a. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bezruchka, Stephen. 1985 [1st edition, 1972]. *A Guide to Trekking in Nepal* (5th edition). Seattle, Washington: The Mountaineers.
- Bhattarai, Harshanath (ed.). 1998 [VS 2055]. *Sankshipta Nepali Rastriya Shabdakosh*. Kathmandu: National Research Associates.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 1996. *Aspect, Mood and Time in Belhare: Studies in the Semantics-Pragmatics Interface of a Himalayan Language*. ASAS, Zurich: Universitat Zürich.

- Bickel, Balthasar and M. Gaenszle (eds.). 1999. *Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices*. Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich.
- Bieri, D. 1975. *Is Sunuwar a pronominalized language?* Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Mimeo.
- , 1978. 'Covariance relation in Sunuwar'. In J.E. Grimes (ed) *Papers on Discourse, SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 51*. Dallas: SIL and UTA.
- Bieri, D. and M. Schulze. 1988. *Sunuwar Dictionary Format Specification*. Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Mimeo.
- , 1970. 'Sunwar segmental synopsis'. In F.K. Lehman (ed.) *Tone Systems of Tibeto-Burman Languages of Nepal* [Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics Vol. III, Part I: Studies on Tone and Phonological Segments edited by Austin Hale and Kenneth L. Pike]. Urbana: Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois.
- , 1970. 'Sunwar tone and higher levels'. In F.K. Lehman (ed.) *Tone Systems of Tibeto-Burman Languages of Nepal* [Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics Vol. III, Part I: Studies on Tone and Phonological Segments edited by Austin Hale and Kenneth L. Pike]. Urbana: Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois.
- , 1971a. 'A guide to Sunwar tone'. *Guide to Tone in Nepal* (Part IV). Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University and Summer Institute of Linguistics. Mimeo.
- , 1971b. 'Sunuwar phonemic summary revised version'. In Maria Hari (ed) *Tibeto-Burman Phonemic Summaries IX*. Kathmandu: SIL and TU. Mimeo.
- , 1971c. *A Vocabulary of the Sunuwar Language*. Kathmandu: SIL and TU. Mimeo.
- Bista, Bor B. 1967. *People of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Department of Publicity.
- , 1982. 'The process of Nepalization', *Anthropological and Linguistic Studies of the Gandaki Area in Nepal* (Monumenta Serindica No. 10). Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Blake, B. J. 1994. *Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Borchers, Dörte. 1998. 'Sunuwar (Köits)'. Paper presented at the Second Annual Seminar on Grammatical Phenomena in Himalayan Languages, Himalayan Language Project and Research School, CNWS, Leiden University, 21st August.

- , 1999. 'Personalpronomina im Kōits (Ostnepal)', *Göttinger Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Heft 2, Göttingen: Peust und Gutschmidt Verlag GbR. 25-36.
- , 2002. 'Reasons for language shift: theories, myths and counterevidence'. Paper submitted to the 8th Himalayan Language Symposium held at the University of Berne, Switzerland, 19-22 September.
- 2003. 'Sacred spaces in Sunwar houses', *Creating and Representing Sacred Spaces* (edited by Michael Dickhardt and Vera Dorofeeva-Lachtamann). Göttingen: Peust and Gutschmidt.
- , 2003. 'Transitivity and "increased activity"'. Paper presented at the 9th Himalayan Languages Symposium, CIIL, Mysore, 9-12 December 2003.
- Bradley, David. 2002. 'The sub-grouping of Tibeto-Burman'. In Blezer, Henk et al. (eds.). *Medieval Tibeto-Burman Languages* [Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, Vol. 2/6]. Leiden et al: Brill.
- , 1997. 'Tibeto-Burman Languages and classification'. *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics* No.14: [*Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas*] 1-72.
- , 2003. Review on *Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices*. Edited by Balthasar Bickel and Martin Gaenszle in *Anthropological Linguistics*, 45,1: 12-123.
- Bright, William (ed.) 1992. *International Encyclopaedia of Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bouquiaux, L. and J.M.C. Thomas. 1992. *Studying and Describing Unwritten Languages* (Trans. James Robert) Dallas: SIL, Inc.
- Burling, Robins. 1984. *Learning a Field Language*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Bussmann, Hadumod. 1996. *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*. Translated and edited by Gregory Trauth and Kerstin Kazzazi. London and New York: Routledge.
- Caughley, Ross. 2002. 'Ideoiphones in Chepang: Their nature and sub-categorization', *Gipani: TU Papers in Linguistics*, 2: 16-24.
- , 1997. 'Semantically related vowel gradation in Sunwar and Chepang'. In David Bradley (ed.) *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics* [No. 14] *Tibeto-Burman Languages of the Himalayas*, 95-101.

- Camling-Rai, B.S.1998 [vs 2055]. *Utpatti ra Paramparaka Camling Mithakharu* edited by Lal Rapacha. Kathmandu: Jitraj-Nirmala Rai.
- Camling-Rai, P. 2004 [vs 2061]. *Kirat Rai Camling Badacha (Matha) Pariwarko Vamsawali* edited by Mano Camling-Rai. Kathmandu: Author.
- CBS. 2001. *Population Census*. Kathmandu: His Majesty's Government of Nepal and Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Chatterji, Suniti K. 1998 [orig. 1951; revised 2nd edition 1974]. *Kirata-Jana Kriti: The Indo-Mongoloid- Their Contribution to the History and Culture of India*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.
- Chelliah, Shobhana L.1997. *A Grammar of Meithei*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Chemjong, Iman Singh. 1967. *Kirat History and Culture*. Translated into Nepali by Ser B. Ingnam (1994) Jhapa: Translator.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1981. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. (2nd edition 1989). Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- . 1985. *Tense*. Cambridge et al: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, David. 2000. *Language Death*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1980. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (3rd edition 1991). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Dahal, Dharanidhar. 1995. *Sanskriti Anek Hami Ek* [in Nepali]. (?)
- Dahal, Kamala. 1985. 'Kirant', *Archana* [Sahityik sankalan edited by Narbahadur Bhandari]. Sikkim: Mrs D.K Bhandari.
- Dahal, Ram K. 2000. 'Language politics in Nepal', *Contributions Nepalese Studies*, 27, 2: 155-190.
- Davids, Irene M.H. and George L. van Driem. 1985. 'Limbu kinship terminology: A description', *Kailash: A Journal of Himalayan Studies*, XII, 1-2: 115-156.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1992. 'Sunuwar copulas', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 15, 1: 31-38.

- 1990. 'Sino-Tibetan languages'. In Bernard Comrie (ed.). *The World's Major Languages*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp 799-810.
- 1983b. 'Etymological notes on Tibeto-Burman case particles', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 8,1: 59-77.
- 1981a. 'An interpretation of split ergativity and related patterns', *Language*, 57, 4: 626-682.
- Dixon, R.M.V. 1979. 'Ergativity', *Language*, 55, 1: 59-138.
- 1980. *The Languages of Australia*. Cambridge et al: Cambridge University Press.
- Driem, George van. 2004. 'Newaric and MahaKir nti'. In Anju Saxena (ed.) *Himalayan Languages: Past and Present* [Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 149]. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 1993. *A Grammar of Dumi*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- 2003. 'MahaKir nti revisited: MahaKir nti or Newaric?'. In Tej R. Kansakar and Mark Turin (eds.). *Themes in Himalayan Languages and Linguistics*. Kathmandu: South Asia Institute, Heidelberg and Tribhuvan University.
- 2001. *Languages of the Himalayas: An Ethnolinguistic Handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region containing an Introduction to the Symbiotic Theory of Language* [2 Vols.]. Leiden et al.: Brill.
- 1997. 'Sino-Bodic', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 60, 3: 455- 488.
- 1992. 'In quest of MahaKir nti [Greater Kir nti]', *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*, 19, 2: 241-247.
- 1991. 'Bahing and the proto-Kir nti verb', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 45, 2: 336-356.
- 1990. 'The fall and rise of the phoneme /r/ in eastern Kir nti: Sound change in Tibeto-Burman', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, LIII, I: 83-86.
- Durand, Jacques. 1990. *Generative and Non-linear Phonology*. London and New York: Longman.

- Dwarangcha-Wambule-Rai, Abhinath. 2000 [VS 2057]. *Wambule Shabdakosh*. Lalitpur: Wamras.
- Ebert, Karen H. 2003. 'Kir nti languages: An overview'. In Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla (eds.) *The Sino-Tibetan Languages* [Routledge Language Family Series]. London and New York: Routledge.
- , 1999a. 'Non-finite verbs in Kiranti languages- an areal perspective'. In YP Yadava and WW Glover (eds.) *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- , 1999. 'The UP-DOWN dimensions in Rai Grammar and mythology'. In Balthasar Bickel and Martin Gaenzle (eds.) *Himalayan Space: Cultural Horizons and Practices*. Zürich: Volkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich.
- , 1997. *Camling* (Chamling) [Languages of the World/Materials 103]. München-Newcastle: Lincom Europa.
- , 1997. *A Grammar of Athpare*. München-Newcastle: Lincom Europa.
- , 1994. *The Structure of Kir nti Languages: Comparative Grammar and Texts*. Zürich: ASAS, Universität Zürich.
- , 1991. 'Inverse and pseudo-inverse prefixes in Kir nti languages: evidence from Belhare, Athpare, and Dungmali', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 14, 1: 73-92.
- Egerod, Søren. 1973. Review of Paul Benedict's *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. In *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 1,3: 498-505.
- Egli, Werner M. 1999. *Bier für die Ahnen: Erbrecht, Tausch and Ritual bei den Sunuwar Ostnepals*. Zürich: Interkulturelle Kommunikation.
- Epele, John W. 2003. 'Bantawa Rai language use'. Paper presented at the 24th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, CNAS, Kirtipur, 26-27 November.
- Fournier, A. 1974. 'The role of the priest in Sunuwar Society', *Kailash [A Journal of Himalayan Studies]*, 2, 3: 153-164.
- , 1976. 'A preliminary report on the Pöib(o) and Gyami: The Sunuwar shamans of Sabra'. In John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones (eds.) *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas* (Indian reprint) Trans. Harriet Leva Beequn, New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House.

- Gaenszle, M. 2000. *Origins and Migrations: Kinship, Mythology and Ethnic Identity among the Mewahang Rai of East Nepal* [Translated from German into English by Philip Peirce and the English translation edited by Patricia Roberts]. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point and The Mountain Institute.
- Genetti, c. 1998b. 'Notes on the structure of the Sunuwar transitive verb', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 11, 2: 62-92.
- , 1992. 'Segmental alternation in the Sunuwar verb stem: A case for the feature (front)', *Linguistics*, 30: 319-358.
- Ghatak, Sanchita. 1993. 'Sunuwar'. In Ranju R. Dhamala, C.D. Rai and M.S. Dutta (eds. and General ed. K.S. Singh) *People of India: Sikkim* (Vol. XXXIX). Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India and Seagull Books.
- Glover, Warren W. 2002. 'Choosing a Gurung orthography for a new dictionary', *Gipani: TU Papers in Linguistics*, 2: 25-38.
- , 1974. *Semantic and Grammatical Structures in Gurung (Nepal)* [Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, Publication Number 49, A publication of the SIL of the University of Oklahoma]. Kathmandu: SIL, University Press, Tribhuvan University.
- , 1970c. 'Cognate counts via the Swadesh list in some Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal'. In Kenneth L. Pike and Austin Hale (eds.) *Tone System of Tibeto-Burman Languages of Nepal*, Part II, Vol 3. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Gordon Jr., Raymond G. (ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (15th edition). Texas: SIL Inc.
- Grierson, George A. (ed.) 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India: Tibeto-Burman Family; Himalayan dialects, North Assam Groups* (reprint 1990 and 1994) III, Part I, New Delhi: Low Price Publications and Motilal Banarasidass (reprint 1967).
- Grimes, Barbara F. (ed.) 2000. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (14th edition) Dallas: SIL, Inc.
- Gupta, R.S. and Anvita Abbi. 1995. 'Introduction'. In R.S. Gupta, Anvita Abbi and Kailash S. Aggarwal (eds.) *Language and the State: Perspective on the Eighth Schedule*. New Delhi: Creative Books.
- Gurdon, P.R. 2002 [orig. 1906]. *The Khasis* [with an Introduction by Sir Charles Lyall, KCSI] New Delhi: Low Price Publications.

- Gurung, B.C. 2003. 'Where have all the Gurkhas gone?' In DB Gurung (ed.) *Nepal Tomorrow Voices and Visions: Selected Essays on Nepal*. Kathmandu: Koselee Prakashan.
- Gurung, D.B. 2003. 'Ethnic and socio-cultural dimensions to the Maoist insurgency: An overview'. In Binpin Adhikari (ed.) *Conflict, Human Rights and Peace: Challenges Before Nepal* [Rishikesh Shaha Memorial Lectures, 2003]. Lalitpur: National Human Rights Commission.
- Gurung, Harka. 2004 [VS 2061]. *Janajatiko Serophero*. Kathmandu: Nepal Adivasi Janajati Mahasangh.
- , 2003. 'Trident and thunderbolt: cultural dynamics in Nepalese politics' [The Mahesh Chandra Regmi Lecture, 2003 also in Nepali]. Lalitpur: Social Science Baha.
- , 1997. 'Linguistic demography of Nepal', *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*, 24, 2: 147-186.
- Gurung, Harka and J. Salter. 1996. *Faces of Nepal*. Himal Association.
- Gusain, Lakhan. 1999. A Descriptive Grammar of Bagri. PhD thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
- Gvozdanovi, Jadranka. 2004. 'Morphosyntactic transparency in Bantawa'. In In Anju Saxena (ed.) *Himalayan Languages: Past and Present* [Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 149]. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hagen, Toni. 1961. *Nepal: The Kingdom in the Himalayas* (Indian reprint 1980) Trans. Britta M. Charleston (from German into English). New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Company.
- Hale, A. 1982. *Research on Tibeto-Burman Languages*. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hale, A., M. Hari and Schottelndreyer. 1972. *Comparative Vocabularies of the Languages of Nepal: Swadesh 100 Word Lists*. Kathmandu: INAS and SIL. Mimeo.
- Hale, A., D. Bieri and M. Schulze. 1973a. 'An approach to discourse in Sunuwar'. In Austin Hale (ed.) *Clause, Sentence and Discourse Pattern in Selected Languages of Nepal*. Part I (General Approach) *SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 40*. Norman: SIL, University of Oklahoma.

- Hamill, James, H. Sidky, and Janardan Subedi. 2002. 'Birds for words in Jirel: Structure and function in a Tibeto-Burman folk taxonomy', *Anthropological Linguistics*, 44, 1: 65-84.
- Han on, Gerd. 1991. *The Rais of Eastern Nepal: Ethnic and Linguistic Grouping*. Kirtipur: LSN and CNAS.
- Henderson, Eugénie J.A. 1965. 'The topography of certain phonetic and morphological characteristics of South East Asian languages', *Lingua*, 15: 400-434.
- His Majesty's Government of Nepal. 2001. *Census Report*. Kathmandu: NPC, Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Hodgson, B.H. 1847. 'On the Aborigines of the Sub-Himalayas', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. Xvi, Part ii, 1235 and ff [Reprinted in *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, No. xxvii, Calcutta, 1857. Another reprint, under the title 'On the Aborigines of the Himalaya', in Hodgson's *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*. London, 1874, Part ii, pp.29 and ff].
- Holman, Otto et al. 2003. Series editor's preface'. In *The Clash within Civilizations: Coming to Terms with Cultural Conflicts* by Dieter Senghaas. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. 'Transitivity in grammar and discourse', *Language*, 56, 1 and 2: 251-299.
- Hutichinson Encyclopedia*. 2001. UK: Helican Publishing.
- Je'ticha-Sunuwar, K.B. 1982/3 [VS 2039/40]. "Sunuwar lipi". In Ghala Rai (ed.). *Congpi*, 15/16/19,4/5, January/August, Kathmandu.
- Je'ticha-Sunuwar, KB and ThuNgucha-Mukhia, BB. 1991. *Kõits Lo: Sajilo Gyanmala* (Part I). Sukiyapokhari, Darjeeling: BB ThuNgucha-Mukhia Sunuwar.
- Jernudd, Björn H. 1995. 'Personal names and human rights.' In Phillipson, Robert, Mart Rannut and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (eds.) *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Joshi, Sushma. 2003. 'Nepal'. In Manisha Desai (Volume ed. and Lynn Walter (Editor-in-Chief)). *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Women's Issues Worldwide: Asia and Oceania*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Ka la, Bairagi alias Tilbrikam Nembang. 2005 [VS 2062]. 'Adivasi janajatiko pariprekshyama pahichanko rajniti ra bhasha', *Baha: Journal*, 2, 2: 1-28.

- Kandangwa, Kajiman. 1993 (VS 2050)]. *Athpahariya Rai Jatiko Dircharya*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- Kansakar, T.R. 1993. 'The Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal', *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 20, 2: 165-173.
- Kansakar, T.R. and Mark Turin (eds.). *Themes in Himalayan Languages and Linguistics*. Kathmandu: South Asia Institute, Heidelberg and TU.
- Katicha-Sunuwar, Uttam. 1999 [vs 2056]. 'Sunuwar ko hun? Ek addhyan', *Kõitsbu*, 8: 70-71.
- Katicha-Sunuwar, Uttam et al. (eds.). 2002 [vs 2059]. 'Kirat Sunuwarharuko mahan chad: Phol Šyādar', Kirat Chad: Casuwa, Pholšyādar, Casok Tangnam ra Ubhauhi Sakela: Ek Paricaya. Lalitpur: Kirat Yakthung Cumlung.
- Khambu, Gopal. 2000 [vs 2057]. 'Khambuvanka Bhasha ra pachaharu'. *Nava Chomolungma*, 1,1: 39-42.
- Konow, Sten. 1909. In George A. Grierson (ed.). *Linguistic Survey of India: Tibeto-Burman Family; Himalayan dialects, North Assam Groups* (reprint 1990 and 1994) III, Part I, New Delhi: Low Price Publications and Motilal Banarasidass (reprint 1967).
- Krauss, M. 1992. 'The world's languages in crisis', *Language*, 68, 1: 4-10.
- LaPolla, Randy J. 1995. 'Ergative' marking in Tibeto-Burman'. In Yoshi Nishi, James A. Matisoff and Yasuhiko Nagano (eds.). *New Horizons in Tibeto-Burman Morphosyntax* [Senri Ethnological Studies 41]. Japan: National Museum of Ethnology.
- 2003. 'Overview of Sino-Tibetan morphosyntax'. In Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla (eds.) *The Sino-Tibetan Languages* [Routledge Language Family Series]. London and New York: Routledge.
- Laspacha-Sunuwar, MM. 2001. *Saral Nepali-Sunuwar-Angreji Shabdakosh* (edited by Rajendra K Sunuwar 'Saring'). Biratnagar: Sunuwar Sewa Samaj.
- Lass, Roger. 1984. *Phonology: An Introduction to Basic Concepts* (Reprinted '85, '88, '89, '91). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawoti, M. 2002. 'Defining minorities in Nepal', *Nepali Journal of Contemporary Studies*, 2, 1: 20-52.

- , 2001. 'Racial discrimination toward the indigenous peoples in Nepal'. A non-Government report for the Third World Conference Against Racism presented at the National Conference of the National Preparatory Committee (NPC), Kathmandu, 26 April.
- Lee, Maureen. 2005. 'Dialect intelligibility, language attitudes and bilingualism among the Bahing Rais of eastern Nepal'. Paper presented in a seminar at CNAS, TU, Kirtipur, 6 May.
- Leewine, Nancy E. 2004. 'Nepalma jat, rajya ra janajatiya simarekha', *Baha: Journal*, 1,1: 63-83.
- Lehman, F.K. (ed.) 1970. *Tone System of the Tibeto-Burman Languages of Nepal: Occasional Papers of Wolfenden Society of Tibeto-Burman Linguistics*. Vol. III, Part IV, Texts II, Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 2004. 'Structural analysis in linguistics and in anthropology'. In Robert Parkin and Linda Stone (eds.) *Kinship and Family: An Anthropological Reader*. USA and UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Light, Timothy. 1978. 'Tonogenesis: Analysis and implications', *Lingua*, 46: 115-131.
- LNED*. 2002 (vs 2059). [*Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary*, 2nd edition] edited by the Late Imansing Chemjong et al. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- Lockwood, David G. 2002. *Syntactic Analysis and Description: A Constructional Approach*. London and New York: Continuum.
- Lohani, Puskar (ed. managed by Satyamohan Joshi). 1973 [vs 2030]. *Paryayabaci Shabdakosh* [Synonymous Vocabulary 1973]. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- Lyons, John. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (rpt. 1969) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maffi, Luisa. 2002. 'Endangered language, endangered knowledge', *International Social Science Journal: Indigenous Knowledge*, 173: 385-393.
- Malla, K.P. 1981. 'Linguistic archaeology of the Nepal valley: A preliminary report', *Kailash [A Journal of Himalayan Studies]*, VIII, 1-2: 5-23.
- , 1989. 'Language and society in Nepal'. In Kamal P. Malla (ed.) *Nepal: Perspective and change*. Kirtipur: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University.

- Masica, Colin P. 1976. *Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Matisoff, James. 1991. 'Sino-Tibetan linguistics: present state and future prospects', *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 20: 469-504.
- Mazaudon, Maritne. 1978. 'Consonantal mutation and tonal split in the Tamang sub-family of Tibeto-Burman', *Kailash: A Journal of Himalayan Studies*, VI, 3: 157-179.
- McDougal, Charles. 1979. *The Kulung Rai: A Study in Kinship and Marriage Exchange* Kathmandu: Bibliotheca Himalayica and Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Michailovsky, Boyd. 2003. 'Hayu'. In Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla (eds.) *The Sino-Tibetan Languages* [Routledge Language Family Series]. London and New York: Routledge.
- 1988. 'Phonological typological of Nepal languages', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 11, 2: 25-50.
- 1985. 'Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes: Evidence from Limbu (Nepal)'. In Graham Thurgood, James A. Matisoff and David Bradley (eds.) *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan Area: The State of the Art* [Pacific Linguistics Series C-No. 87]. Australia: The Australian National University.
- 1975. 'Notes on the Kir nti verb (East Nepal)', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 2, 2: 183-218.
- Ministry of Defense. 1965. *Nepal and the Gurkhas*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Mithun, Marianne and Wallace Chafe. 1999. 'What are S, A or O?', *Studies in Language*. 23, 3: 569-596.
- Morris, C.J. 1933 [orig.1927]. *The Gurkhas: An Ethnology*. New Delhi: B.R. Publishing.
- Morris, C.J. and W.B. Northey. 1987 [orig.1927]. *The Gurkhas: Their Manners, Customs and Country*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.
- Mukhia, RB. 1998. 'Euta ganthan'. In R.B. Limbu (ed.). *Lipi Sangalo*. Sikkim: R.B. Limbu (Yakthung Cum).
- 1998. 'Sunuwar Kōits lipi'. In RB. Limbu (ed.). *Lipi Sangalo* [in Nepali and other

State recognized mother tongues]. Sikkim: Editor.

-----, n.d. "The R.B. Mukhia Collection". Gangtok, Sikkim.

Mulicha-Mukhia, MB.1994 [VS 2050]. *Kirant-Sunuwar Bhasha Shabdakosh* (edited by TB Mulicha-Mukhia). Dharan: MB Gongrocha-Mukhia.

Mulicha, Tikaram and Tankaraj Susucha (Sunuwar).1987 [vs 2044]. 'Sunuwarjati: kehi thap jankari', *Purba Kshitiz* (Phagun-Chaitra) 5, 5: 45 and 33.

Munro, Pamela. 2001. 'Field linguistics.' In Mark Aronoff and Janie Rees-Miller (eds.). *The Handbook of Linguistics* (1st Indian reprint 2003). New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.

Nettle, Daniel. 1999. *Linguistic Diversity*. Great Britain: Oxford University Press.

Nettle, D. and S. Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Neupane, Tanka P. 2001 [vs 2058]. Athpahariya Raiko Bhashik Addhyen. PhD Thesis, Thribuvan University at Kirtipur.

*New Encyclopedia Britannica* (15th edition). 1977. Vol. 3, Chicago et al.: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.

Nishi, Yoshio. 1992. 'A survey of the present state of our knowledge about the Himalayan languages'. 25th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, Berkeley.

-----, 1995. 'A brief survey of the controversy in verb pronominalization in Tibeto-Burman'. In Yoshi Nishi, James A. Matisoff and Yasuhiko Nagano (eds.). *New Horizons in Tibeto-Burman Morphosyntax* [Senri Ethnological Studies 41]. Japan: National Museum of Ethnology.

Noonan, Michael. 1999. 'Converbal constructions in Chantyal'. In YP Yadava and WW Glover (eds.) *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Northey, W.B. 1998 [orig. 1937]. *The Land of the Gurkhas or the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal*. New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Service.

Opgenort, Jean R. 2002. *The Wambule Language: Grammar, Lexicon, Texts and Cultural Survey of a Rai-Kir nti Tribe of Eastern Nepal*. Doctoral Thesis. University of Leiden, The Netherlands.

- 2004. 'The origin of implosive stops in Walbule Rai', *Libju-Bhumju*, 12, 1, 25: 3-8.
- 2004. 'Implosive and preglottalized stops in Kiranti', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 27.1: 1-27.
- Pandey, Madhusudan. 2003 [vs 2060]. *Nepalka Janajatiharu* (in Nepali). Kathmandu: Pairavi Prakashan.
- Parajuli, Krishna P. et al. (eds.). 1985. *Nepali Brihad Shabdakosh* (5th edition) Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- Park, Insun. 1994. 'Grammaticalized verbs in Hayu', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 17,1: 99-123.
- Phillipson, Robert, Mart Rannut and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (eds.) 1995. 'Introduction' in *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pokharel, Bal K. 1994 [vs 2051]. 'Khas ra Kiratko Anannyata'. *Namsam Smarika Anka*. Kathmandu: Kirat Rai and Literary Council.
- Pokharel, Madhap P. 2004 [vs 2061]. 'Umbule Raika anteragamanatmak dhoni', *Libju-Bhumju*, 12, 1, 25: 51-54.
- 1999. 'Reciprocity in Kiranti', *Nepalese Linguistics*, 16: 28-35.
- 1994 (vs 2051). 'Raiharuko bhasik samasya' (in Nepali) *Namsam*. Lalitpur: Kirat Rai Yayokkha.
- Pradhan, B.M. 1999. *Kirat amshi Sunuwar (Mukhia) Kõits*. Gangtok, Sikkim: Sikkim Sunuwar (Mukhia) Kõitsbu.
- Pradhan, Kumar. 2004. *Darjeelingm Nepali j ti ra janaj tiya cin rika nay ad nharu* (The Mahehschandra Regmi Lecture, 18 August). Lalitpur: Social Science Bah .
- Prakasam, V. and Anvita Abbi. 1986. *Semantic Theories and Language Teaching*. New Delhi et al.: Allied Publishers.
- Prapannacharya, S. 2000 [vs 2056]. 'Kirat sanskritima Mundhamko utpatti'. *Kantipur*, 15 February.
- 1994 [vs 2051]. *Prachin Kirat Itihas*. Baranasi: Kirateshwor Prakashan.

- Rai, Bag. 2001. A morphological study of Chamling. Master's thesis, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University at Kirtipur.
- Rai, Bam. 2001 [VS 2058]. *Pauranik Kirat Itihas*. Kathmandu: Ms Ganga Rai.
- Rai, Bayan S. 1999. *Chamling-Nepali Shabadakosh* [Chamling-Nepali Dictionary]. Kathmandu: Kirat Rai Yayokkha.
- Rai, Ghala (ed.). 1982/3 [VS 2039/40]. "Editorial note" in *Kongpi*, 15/16/19, 4/5, January/August, Kathmandu.
- Rai, Himal. 1992 [VS 2049]. *Kiratbare Tin Kura*. Kathmandu: Yangkongma Association.
- Rai, Novel K. 1984. 'Reduplication in Bantawa', *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 12, 1: 15-22.
- 1985. A Descriptive Study of Bantawa. PhD Diss., Deccan College, University of Pune, Maharashtra.
- 2002. 'Spatial deixis in some Kir nti languages'. Paper presented at the 23rd Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, Kirtipur, 26-27 November.
- Rai, Novel K and Vishnu S Rai. 2003. 'Language issues in Nepal.' In DB Gurung (ed.) *Nepal Tomorrow: Voices and Visions- Selected Essays on Nepal*. Kathmandu: Koselee Prakashan.
- Rai, Ramchandra. 1997 [VS 2054]. 'Rai ra Subba upanam sambandhama', *Yayokkha Nipsung* (Sakela Anka) 4, 2: 77-88 [republished in *Yayokkha Nipsung*, 2005, 12, 22: 51-58]
- Rai, Tirtharaj. 1990 [VS 2057]. 'Rai bhasha ekikaran: Ajako awasekta', *Chhahara Saptahik*.
- Rai, Vishnu S. 2003. Descriptive Grammar of Camling. PhD thesis, Leiden University, The Netherlands.
- Rapacha, Lal. 1995. Sunuwar Language: A Sociolinguistic Profile. Master's Thesis, Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur.
- 1997a. 'Sunuwar as an endangered language of Nepal', *Nepalese Linguistics*, 14: 89-102.

- 1997b [vs 2054/5]. 'Sunuwar vyakaranko prarupan' (in Kir nti-Kõits and Nepali), *Sayapatri*, 3, 3: 110-130.
- 1999. Clause Combining in Kõits~Sunuwar. Master's Thesis, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University at Kirtipur.
- 2002. 'Saroza's Sunuwar-Jirel revisited', *Weekend Review*, 1, 10, Gangtok, Sikkim, 12-18 July.
- 2000. 'Toni Hagen misunderstood the Kõits>Sunuwar', *Nagarik*, 2, 3: 8-10.
- 2001d. 'Modification, reformation and systematization of Je~ticha Bre:se'. Paper presented on occasion of the 5th Sunuwar Language Recognition Day, Gangtok, 15 October [revised in March 2002a].
- 2002a. 'Sunuwarma Je~ticha lipi lekhan pranali', Unpublished paper.
- 2002b. Sunuwar bhasha-sahityako bartaman sthiti', *Libju-Bhumju*, 21: 30-34.
- 2002c. 'Sunuwar-Bahing bhashako tulanatmak addhyan', (eds.) *Sayapatri*, 8, 1: 32-43.
- 2002d. 'On the origin of the Je~ticha script and its modification and reformation'. MPhil term paper, November 2002, Center of Linguistics and English, JNU.
- 2002e. 'The sound systems of Kir nti-Kõits and English: A probe into learners' problems at the phonological level'. MPhil term paper, November 2002, Center of Linguistics and English, JNU.
- 2003a. 'Kir nti-Kõits [Sunuwar] orthography'. Paper presented at Kõitsbu Kupondol, Lalitpur, 12 July.
- 2003b. 'Kir nti-Kõits~Sunuwar: Past, present and future'. Paper presented at a two day Seminar on Second/Regional Languages of Sikkim, Gangtok, 9-10 July.
- 2003c. 'Typology of Tibeto-Burman Kir nti languages'. MPhil term paper, April, Center of Linguistics and English, JNU.
- 2003d. 'Semantic aspects of Sal k(u) in Sunuwar'. In T.R. Kansakar and Mark Turin (eds.). *Themes in Himalayan Languages and Linguistics*. Kathmandu: South Asia Institute, Heidelberg and TU.
- 2003e. 'Kir nti-Kõits [Sunuwar/Mukhia] Shabdakosh'. An unpublished review.

- , 2003. 'Matisoff's approach to account Tibeto-Burman'. MPhil presentation report, April, Center of Linguistics and English, JNU.
- , 2004. 'Mangoliama Kir ntigharko pratyuttar', *Libju-Bhumju*, 25: 21-25.
- , forthcoming. 'The vanishing voices of Nepal'
- , forthcoming. 'Kir nt-Kõits lipiko prayog ra vikas'
- Rapacha, Lal, Mohan Kormocha and Uttam Katicha. *Kir nti-Kõits Sessebdese*. Kathmandu: Kirat Kõitsbu (Kirat Sunuwar Sewa Samaj).
- Rapacha, Lal, R.B. Rujicha-Mukhia and K.D. Ngawacha-Mukhia. 2003a. *Kir nti-Kõits Ble:sethenka* [Kir nti-Sunuwar Alphabet] Sikkim: Sikkim Kõitsbu.
- , 2003b. *Kir nti-Kõits-a The:si Tarando* [Elementary Grammar of Kir nti-Sunuwar] Sikkim: Sikkim Kõitsbu.
- , 2004. *Kir nti-Kõits-a Khyõpat* [Elementary Reader of Kir nti-Sunuwar] Sikkim: Sikkim Kõitsbu.
- Risley, Herbert H. 1891. *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. Calcutta: Government Printing Press.
- Ruhlen, Merritt. 1987. *A Guide to the World's Languages*. Vol. I, *Classification*. Great Britain: Edward Arnold.
- Rupen, Robert A. 1983 [EAC 1924]. 'Mongolia'. In *Encyclopedia Americana*. USA: Grolier Incorporated.
- Rutgers, Roland. 1998. *Yamphu: Grammar, Text and Lexicon*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School, CNWS.
- Samarin, William J. 1967. *Field Linguistics: A Guide to Linguistic Fieldwork*. New York et al: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Sanskrit-Nepali Brihat Shabadadosh*. 2000 [vs 2057]. Dang: Mahendra Sanskrit University.
- Sarkar, Rajendra. 1996. In S.K. Singh (General editor). *People of India: Himachal Pradesh*, Vol. XXIV. New Delhi: Manohar, Anthropological Survey of India.
- Schulze, M. 1987. 'Intense action adverbials in Sunwar: A verbal intensifier system', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 10, 1: 63-85.

- 1978. 'Rhetorical questions in Sunwar'. In Joseph E. Grimes (ed) *Papers on Discourse, SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 51*. Dallas: SIL-UTA.
- 1995a. 'Report of a seminar on Sunwar verbs of Nepali origin' (S ?)
- 1995b. 'Local words and directional in Sunwar' (S ?)
- 1995. 'An hypothesis for the investigation of verb stem alternation in Sunuwar'. Report submitted to the CNAS, Kirtipur.
- 1996. 'Devanagari Script alveolar affricate segmentals in Sunwar orthography'. Report submitted to the CNAS, Kirtipur.
- 1997. 'Devanagari Script in Sunwar orthography'. Report submitted to the CNAS, Kirtipur.
- Shafer, Robert. 1953. 'East Himalayish', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 15, 2: 356-374.
- 1955. 'Classification of the Sino-Tibetan languages', *Word [Journal of the Linguistic Circle of New York]*, 11: 94-111.
- 1966-74. *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan [IV parts]*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Shakya, R.K. 1971. 'The Hai: An obscure tribe of eastern Nepal', *Nepal Digest*, 1, 2: 87-92.
- Sharma, Basant K. 2001 [vs 2058]. *Nepali Shabdhasagar*. Kathmandu: Bhabha Pustak Bhandar.
- Sharma, DD. 1997. 'Pronominalization in the Himalayan languages of Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh'. In Anvita Abbi (ed.) *Languages of Tribal and Indigenous Peoples of India: The Ethnic Space*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers.
- Sharma, S.R. 2003. 'Ethnicity and language: A case study of Tibeto-Burmese speakers in the western Himalayas', *The Journal of the Anthropological Survey of India*, 52, 2: 83-88.
- Shneiderman, Sara and Mark Turin. 2000. 'Preliminary etymological notes on Thangmi clan names and indigenous explanations of their provenance'. *Journal of Nepalese Literature, Art and Culture*, 3, 2: 69-83.

- , 2000c. 'Thangmi, Thami, Thani? Remembering a forgotten people'. *Himalayan Culture*, 5,1: 4-20.
- Shrestha, K.R. 1980 [vs 2037]. "Koing bres", *Madhupark*, 13, 7: 63-69, November-December.
- Shrestha, Nanda R. and Keshav Bhattarai. 2004. *Historical Dictionary of Nepal*. New Delhi: Vision Books.
- Sikkim Government Gazette*. 1994. No 60, Thursday, 2nd June, Gangtok: Welfare Department.
- , 1996. No. 141, Monday, 28th October, Gangtok: Law Department.
- Singh, K.S. 1996. *People of India: Communities, Segments, Synonyms, Surnames and Titles* (Vol. VIII) Delhi et al.: Anthropological Survey of India and Oxford University Press.
- , 1998. *People of India: India's Communities N-Z* (Vol. VI) Delhi et al.: Anthropological Survey of India and Oxford University Press.
- Singh, K.S. and S. Manoharan. 1993. *People of India: Languages and Scripts* [National series Vol. IX, Oxford paperbacks 1997] New Delhi et al.: Anthropological Survey of India.
- Song, Jae J. 2001. *Linguistic Typology: Morphology and Syntax*. Singapore: Pearson Education Asia.
- Starosta, Stanley. 1988. *The Case for Lexicase: An Outline of Lexicase Grammatical Theory*. London and New York: Pinter Publishers.
- Subba, T.B. 1989. *Dynamics of Hill Society*. Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Subedi, Raja R. et al.1994. *Hamro Samajik Sikksha*. Sanothimi: Curriculum Development Centre.
- Sunuwar, D.B. and Mahesh Kormocha. 1990 [vs 2047]. 'Sunuwar jatika tharharu'. *Kõitsbu*, 1: 16-17.
- Sunuwar, G.B. 2004 [vs 2061]. 'Sunuwar jati, viddaman hamra jatiya sanskariti, parampara ra sanskarharu', *DumakeNtu*, 1, 1: 43-83.

- Sunuwar (Mulicha), Lokpriya. 2004. Socio-economic Condition of Kirat-Sunuwar. Masters thesis. Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Tri-Chandra College, Tribhuvan University.
- , 2003 [vs 2060]. *Sā Wams Durdap*. Kathmandu: Sunuwar Sewa Samaj.
- , 1999 [vs 2056]. *Mulkem*. Translation of *Sanaskriti* [A drama by D.B. Kiranti]. Kathmandu: Janajati Vikas Samiti.
- , 1997 [vs 2054]. *Kōits Lowa Lowasi* (in Nepali-Sunuwar) Kathmandu: Sunuwar bhasha-sanskriti upasamiti ra chandeshwori gramin vikas samiti.
- Sunuwar, Mohan and Dilip Sunuwar (eds.). 1995 [vs 2052]. *Lolishyāk*, Kathmandu, April.
- Sunuwar, N.B. 1998. “Kōits Bres athawa Sunujwar lipi: Ek sankshipta jankari”. In Megharaj Gurung and Krishna Subba (eds.). *Sikkim Kshetriya Bhasha Sanskriti Sangalo*. Gangtok, Sikkim: Sikkim Regional Language Development Committee.
- , 1999. “Sunuwar (Mukhia) Kōitsbu mul lipi ra tyeko prayogma awasyek sanshodhan”. In B.M. Pradhan (author). *Kiratvamshi Sunuwar (Mukhia) Kōits*. Gangtok, Sikkim: Sikkim Sunuwar (Mukhia) Kōitsbu.
- Sunuwar, Prapti ‘chitra’. 1995 [vs 2051]. ‘Sunuwar tatha Baingraiharuko bhasha tatha sanskrit samanata’, *Kōitsbu*, 4, 3: 1-5.
- Sunuwar, Ram B. 1956 [vs 2013]. *Sunuwar Jatiko Vamśawali*. Banaras: Gorkha Book Agency.
- Sunuwar, Tika R. 1953 [vs 2010]. *Atha Sunuwar Rai Kirantko Vamshawali*. Thahiti: Bhagawati Press.
- Tamang, P.R. 2000 [vs 2056]. *Prativedan: Pratham Matribhasha Rastriya Sammelan*. Kathmandu: Nepal Janajati Mahasangh.
- Tamot, Kashinath. 2002. ‘Some characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman stock of Early Classical Newari’. In Henk Blezer, Alex McKay and Charles Ramble (eds.) *Medieval Tibeto-Burman Languages* [Brill’s Tibetan Studies Library, Vol. 2/6] Leiden et al.: Brill.
- Thoudam, P.C. 1980. ‘A Grammatical Sketch of Meiteiron’. PhD Diss., Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

- , 2000. 'Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeast India: Problems and prospects with reference to Manipur'. In Omkar N. Koul and L. Devaki (eds.) *Linguistic Heritage of India and Asia*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Thurgood, G. 2003. 'A sub-grouping of the Sino-Tibetan languages: The interaction between language contact, change, and inheritance'. In Graham Thurgood and Randy J. LaPolla (eds.) *The Sino-Tibetan Languages* [Routledge Language Family Series]. London/New York: Routledge.
- Thurgood, Graham et al. (eds.). 1985. *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan Area: The State of the Art*. Australia: The Australian National University.
- Toba, Sueyoshi. 1995 [vs 2052]. 'Implosive stops in Wambule', *Libju-Bhumju*, 4,1,3: 7-9.
- , 1992. *Rites of Passage: An Aspect of Rai Culture*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.
- , 1983. 'A Phonological Reconstruction of Proto-Northern Rai'. MA Thesis, The University of Texas at Arlington.
- , 1984. *Khaling* [Asian and African Grammatical Manual No. 13d (2nd edition)]. Tokyo: ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Toba, Sueyoshi, Ingrid Toba and Novel K Rai. 2002. 'UNESCO Language Survey Report Nepal.' Unpublished report. Kathmandu: UNESCO.
- , 2005. *Diversity and Endangerment of Languages in Nepal* (UNESCO Kathmandu Series of monographs and working papers, No. 7). Kathmandu: UNESCO.
- Toba, Sueyoshi and Ingrid Toba. 2003. 'Indigenous languages of Nepal'. Paper presented at the 9th Himalayan Languages Symposium, Mysore, CIIL, Dec 9-12.
- Trask, R.L. 1993. *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Turin, Mark. 2003. 'A geolinguistic analysis of historical writings on the Thangmi people and language of Nepal'. *Geolinguistics*, 29: 71-92.
- Turner, R.L. 1987 [orig. 1927]. 'The people and their languages'(Ch IV). In W. Brook Northey and C.J. Morris (Authors). *The Gurkhas: Their Manners, Customs and Country*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.

- Tyagi, Yogesh. 2003. 'Some legal aspects of minority languages in India', *Social Scientist*, 31, 5-6: 5-28.
- Ukyab, T. and S. Adhikari. 2000. *The Nationalities of Nepal*. Kathmandu: NCDC, Ministry of Local Development, HMG.
- Upadhyay, M. 1998. Nepali bhasha ra ratriya bhashama atmenapad ra parasmaipadka byetirekko addhyan. Master's Thesis, Central Department of Nepali, Tribhuvan University at Kirtipur.
- Vansittart, Eden. 1992 [orig.1896]. *Notes on Nepal* (with an introduction by H.H. Risley). New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Services.
- . 1991 [orig.1906]. *Gurkhas: A Handbook*. New Delhi & Madras: Asian Educational Services.
- Voegelin, Charles F. and F.M.R. Voegelin. 1977. *Classification and Index of the World's Languages*. New York et al.: Elsevier North-Holland, Inc.
- Watters, David E. 2004. *A Dictionary of Kham: Taka Dialect (a Tibeto-Burman Language of Nepal)*. Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics, TU.
- . 1985. 'Emergent word tone in Kham: A Tibeto-Burman halfway house', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 8, 2: 36-54.
- Winter, W. 2004. 'Preverbal modifiers in Sunwar'. In Anju Saxena (ed.) *Himalayan Languages: Past and Present* [Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 149]. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Yabe-a Lowa* [New Testament in Sunuwar]. 1992. Calcutta: International Bible Society and Samdan Books and Stationers.
- Yadava, Yogendra P. 2003. 'Language'. In *Population Monograph of Nepal* (Vol. I of II). Kathmandu: CBS and UNFPA.
- Yadava, YP, Sharada Bhadra and KP Parajuli. 2004. 'Nepalma adivasi janajatiya bhashaharuko sthiti: Ek visleshan', *Nepalma Adivasi Janajatiya Bhashaharuko Sthiti: Ek Visleshan* (NFDIN Report 4). Lalitpur: Adivasi Janajati Uttathan Rastriya Pratisthan.
- Yakkha-Rai, Durgahang. 1998 [vs 2055]. *Kirat: Hijo ra Aja*. Lalitpur: Kirat Rai Yayokkha.

-----, 2002 [vs 2059]. *Kirat Yakkhako Itihas: Ek Chalphal*. Kathmandu: Author.

Yip, Moria. 2002. *Tone*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yonjan-Tamang, Amrit. 2005. 'Nepalka adivasi janajati bhashaharuko sthiti ra bhashik yojana'. Paper presented at the first meeting of the Indigenous Linguistic Society of Nepal at Orchid Hotel, Kathmandu, 26 August.

Zograph, G.A. 1982. *Languages of South Asia: A Guide* [Languages of Asia and Africa, Vol. 3] Trans, G.L. Campbell. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

**Websites:**

[www.ethnologue.com/showlanguage.asp?code=SUZ](http://www.ethnologue.com/showlanguage.asp?code=SUZ)

(Website accessed in July 2004)

Curriculum Vitae/Profile

**Name:** Lal-Shyākarelu Rapacha (b15 July)

**Education:** MA (Eng), MA (Ling), BEd (ELT Major)

**Teaching experience:** Fourteen years in primary, secondary, higher secondary, college and master's levels plus Administration

**Teacher Trainer & Academic In-charge:** Five years

**Research papers**

**Master's Theses:** Two

**MPhil/PhD Coursework Term Papers:** Five

1. 'The sound system of Kir nti-Kōits and English: A probe into Learners' problems at the phonological level'.  
2002, Centre of Linguistics and English, JNU.
2. 'Origin of the Je ticha script and its modification and reformation'.  
2002, Centre of Linguistics and English, JNU.
3. 'Typology of Tibeto-Burman Kir nti languages'.  
2003, Centre of Linguistics and English, JNU.
4. 'Ergativity in Tibeto-Burman Languages: A comparative evidence from Kir nti-Kōits'.  
2003, Centre of Linguistics and English, JNU.
5. 'On understanding Kir nti grammars'.  
2003, A review paper on Karen H. Ebert's (1994) *The Structure of Kir nti Languages: Comparative Grammar and Text*, University of Zürich

Centre of Linguistics and English, JNU.

**Teaching plus**

1. Published articles including book reviews: Thirty
2. Published research papers: Nine
3. Books: Four (co-authored)
4. Creative writings (poems): Eleven
5. Creative writings (stories): Two
6. Essays: Five plus Anthology (forthcoming)
7. Paper presentations: Thirteen
8. Translations: Several
9. Editorship: Three
10. Freelancer and columnist: Five
11. Books to appear: More than Ten
12. Research Fellowship/Support Grants: Five
13. Course/Training: Twelve
14. Participation: Nine
15. Received prizes and certificates: Six pertinent

-----  
kiranti\_rapachalal@yahoo.com

\*\*\*\*\*



Chathare	M	Miri	D	Dafla	Panthare Phedappe Tamarkhole
	N	North	E	East	
	W	West			

\*Routgers (1998: 4)

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



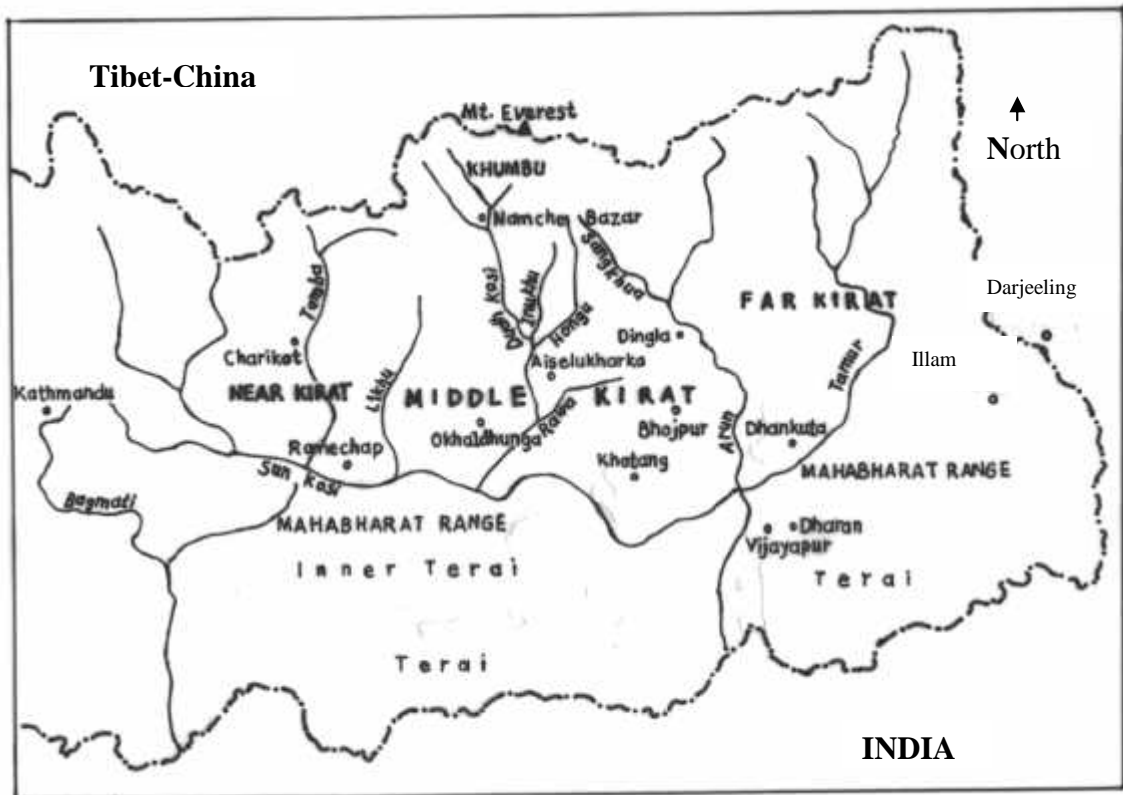
**Plate 1:** Kir nti-Köits people's cultural performance known as Šyādar Šyil(i) cognate with S kel Sili



**Plate 2:** A Kir nti-Köits *pōib(o)* 'shaman' center on red-scarf around his head (male) whereas a female shaman is known as *gy m(i)* in the native tongue

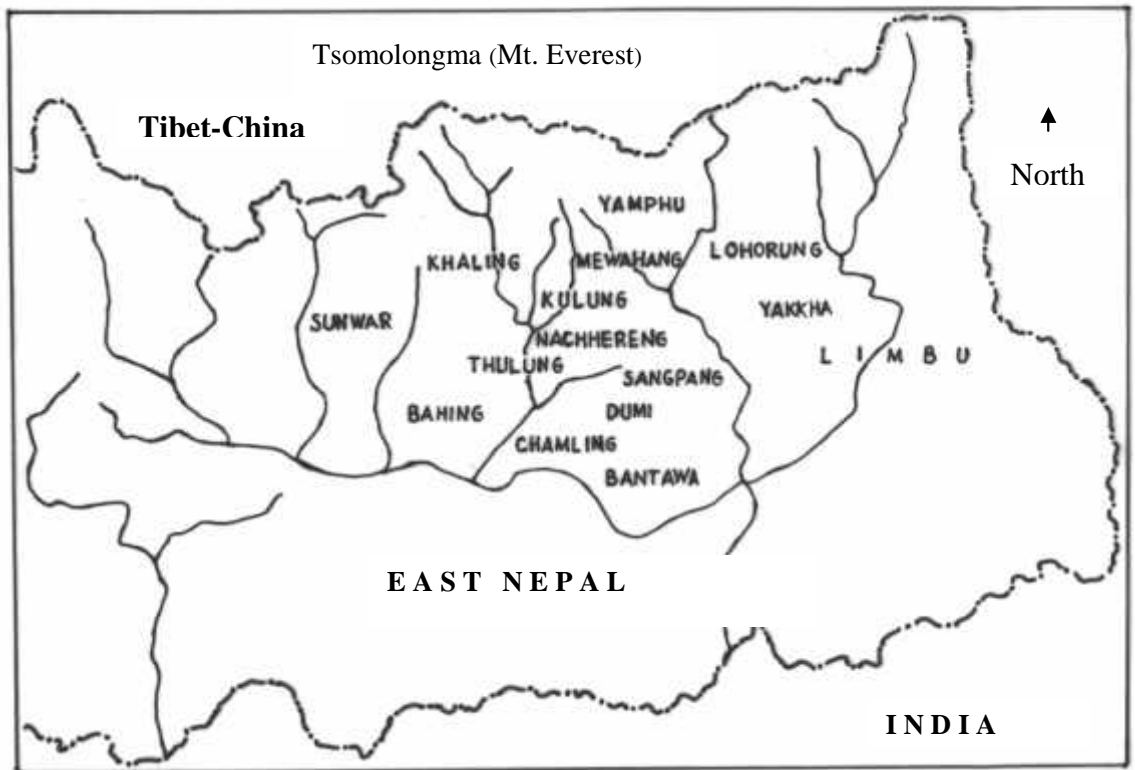
The Kir nti-Köits people/tribe are the followers of Bonism-Shamanism

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



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

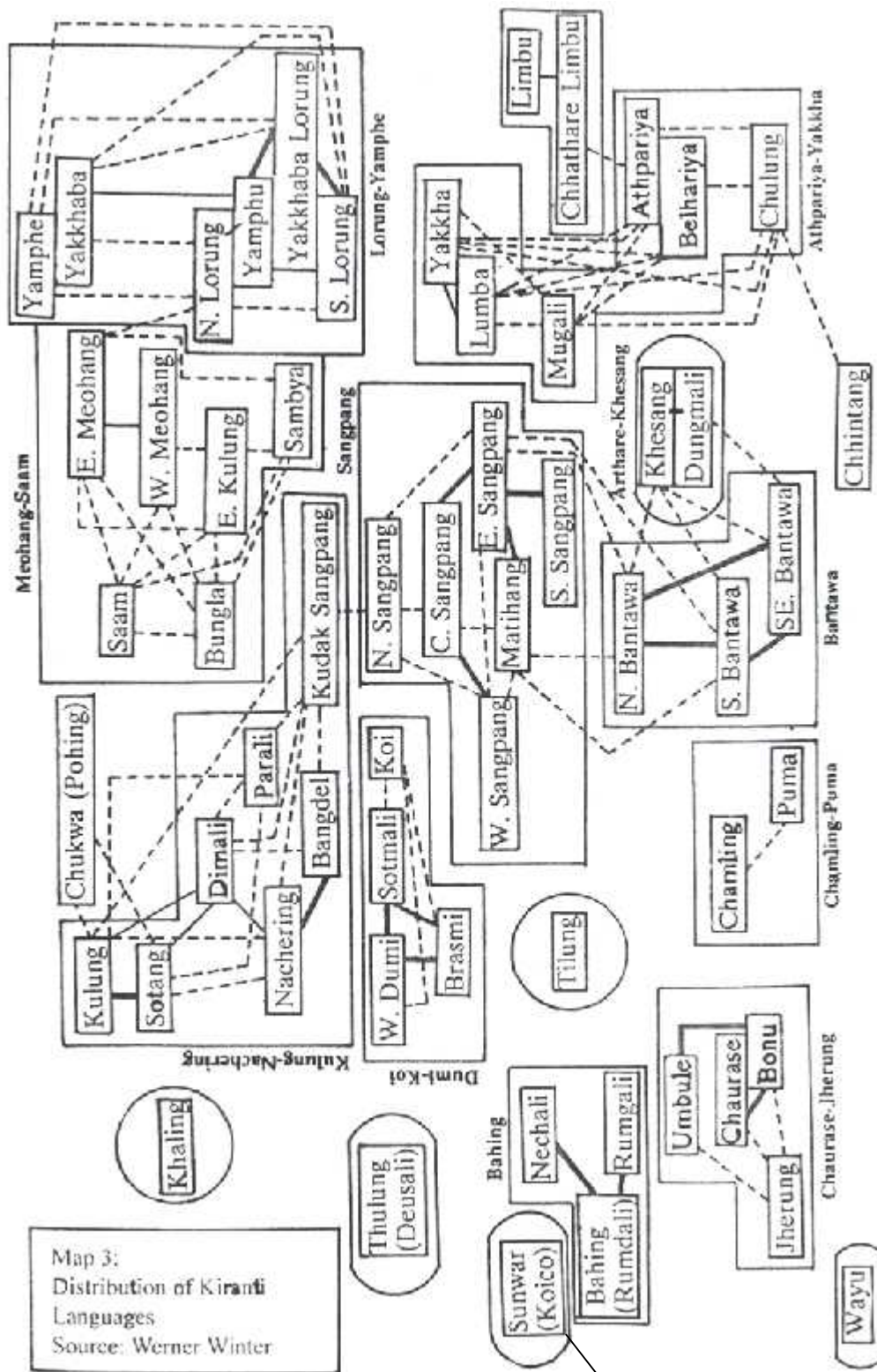
**Source:** Traced and scanned from Charles McDougal's (1979: 5) *The Kulung Rai: A Study in Kinship and Marriage Exchange* through the courtesy of Kirat Rai Yayokkha Library, Bansbari, Ring Road, Kathmandu



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

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

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



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

Its accurate orthography  
is Kõits and Mukhia also

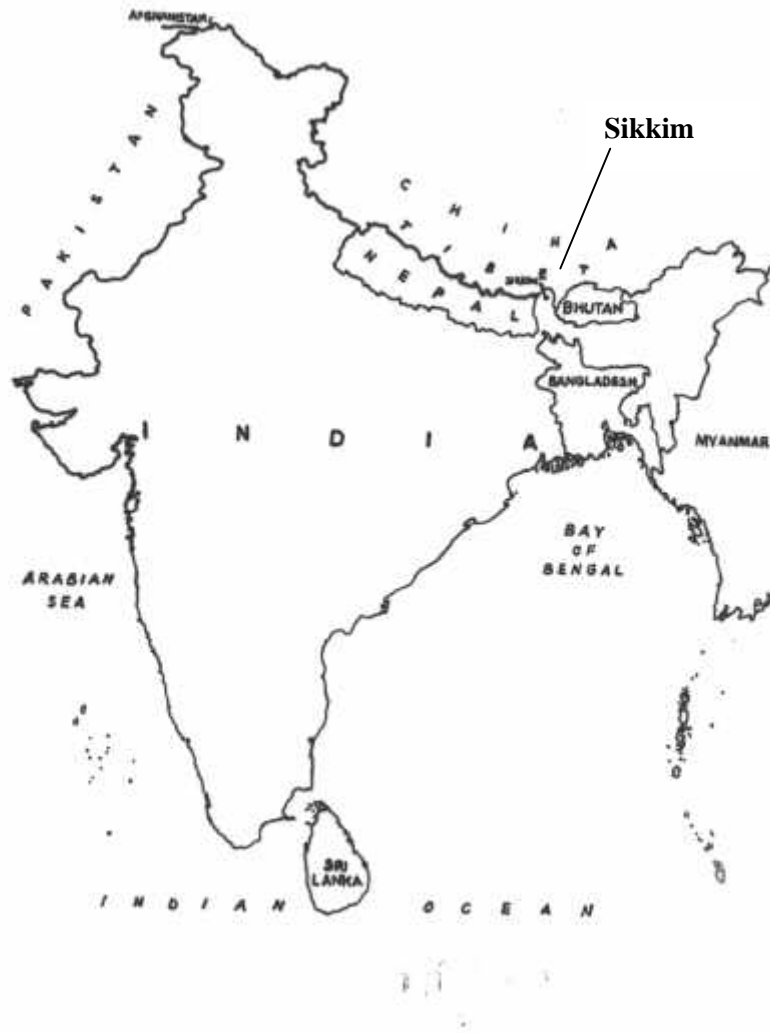
Map 4: A rough sketch of Sino-Tibetan with its six divisions<sup>83</sup>



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

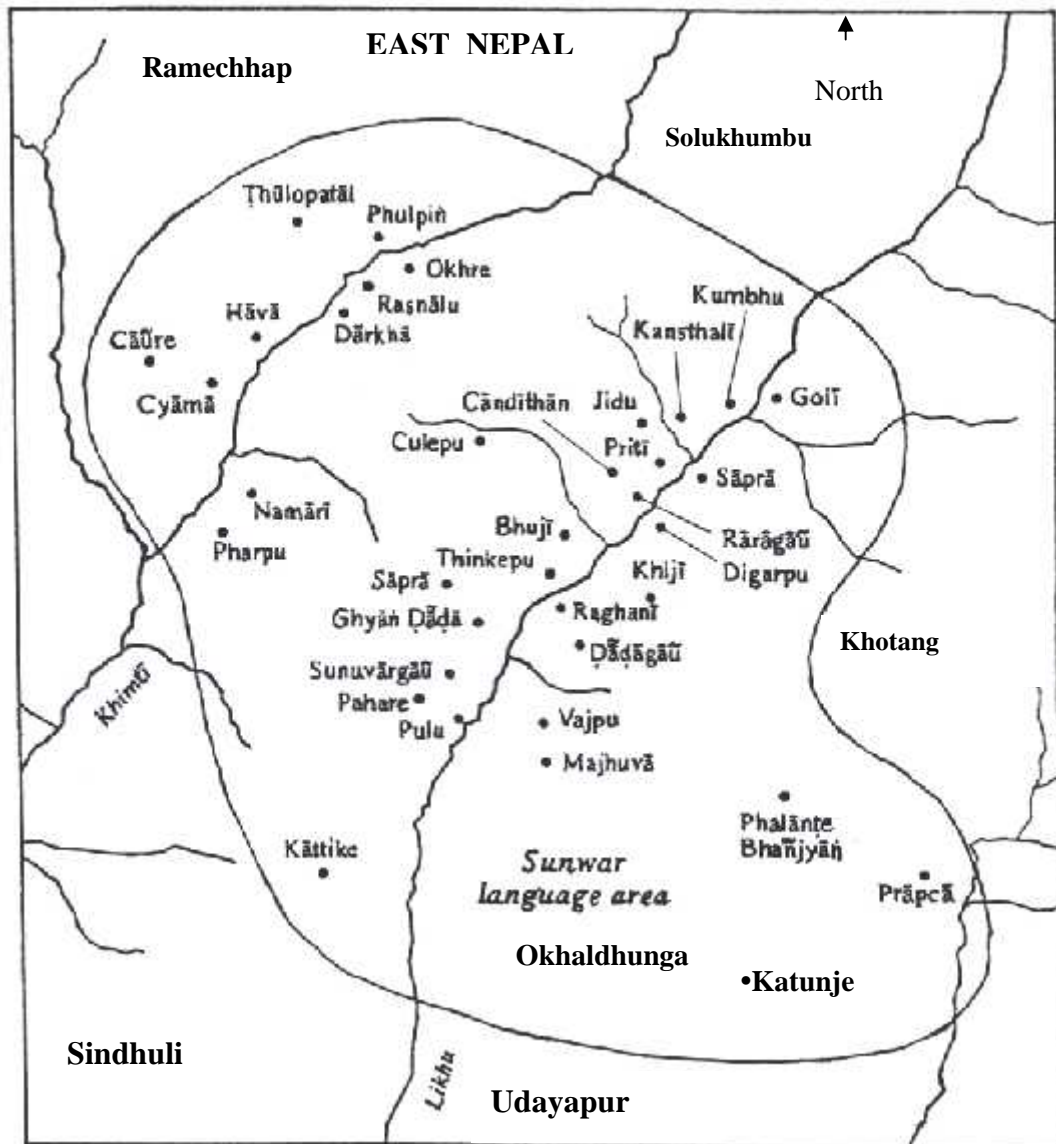
<sup>83</sup> Miao is not Sino-Tibetan, but may be Sino-Tibetoidic i.e. distantly related.

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



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

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



**Map 6:** Kir nti-Kōits (Sun(u)war/Mukhia) language area, Okhaldhunga and Ramechhap districts East Nepal

(Source: Driem 2001: 729 [I have added extra information to the original version])

