

Spatial deixis and demonstratives in the Kirati languages

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ABSTRACT

This paper delves into the spatial deixis (deictic) embedded in the Kirati languages namely Bantawa, Bayung, Chamling, Dumi, Dungmali, Koyee, Khaling, Kulung, Limbu, Lohorung, Nachhiring, Puma, Sampang, Thulung, Wambule and Yamphu within the comparative and cross-linguistic context. The data drawn in this paper were collected from the direct elicitation from the speakers of more than a dozen Kirati languages. The findings of this study reveal that the Kirati languages share the spatial deictic features almost in the same pattern. The Kirati languages exhibit the locative suffixes for 'above, up', 'below, down' and 'across' indicating by various deictic suffixes. Vertical deictics like 'up here', 'down here' and 'over here' are realized in different ways in terms of the deictic suffixes. It is interesting that all the Kirati languages are not treated in the same way in both of the vertical deixis, i.e. Bantawa, Dungmali and Wambule have the same lexicon to denote 'above' and 'over'. But the other languages discussed in this article are treated in both of the paradigms. The deictic roots are also nominalized with suffixes in the Kirati languages. Typologically, Dungmali, Bantawa, Thulung, and Puma might be grouped into one whereas the languages like Yamphu, Koyee, Khaling, Dumi and Lohorung may be grouped into another category. There are some other Tibeto-Burman languages like Gurung, Tamang and Manangba that may be grouped into third category the way they are treated with the locational suffixes. The rest of the languages share the individual locational markers.

Keywords: *spatial deixis, Kirati languages, comparative, cross-linguistic*

Introduction

The term 'deixis (deictics)' refers to a class of linguistic expressions that include the speech participants, time, and location. It is derived from the Greek word 'deixis' meaning 'pointing' which reflects the core function of deixis (Imai, 2003, p.5). In deictics, the meaning shifts depending on the point of view of the speaker. Deictics are realized as 'this/that', 'here/there', 'I/you', and 'my/your' in the English language whereas they might be treated differently in other languages.

'Deixis' has been recognized by different names like 'Pure index', 'Indexical symbol', 'Indicator', 'Indexical expression', and shifter proposed by different linguists (Imai, 2003, p.5).

Deictics has been a part of the philosophy since the Greek period. But these days, the linguistic approaches tend to be the dominant (Fillmore 1975, Levinson 1983, Anderson and Keenan 1985, and Diessel 1999). Levinson (1996) states:

"Deixis is an important field studied in pragmatics, semantics and linguistics. Deixis



refers to the phenomenon wherein understanding the meaning of certain words and phrases in an utterance requires contextual information. Words or phrases that require contextual information to convey any meaning are deictic”; and furthermore “Deixis concerns the ways in which languages encode... features of the context of utterance.” (Levinson, 1996,p.12).

The relationship between the structure of languages and contexts is explicitly reflected in the deictics. However, there is problem in the shifting quality of the referents, i.e “I” does not mention to any particular person but the person who is talking at a given time. When the very person stops talking, the referent “I” switches to the next speaker. The location “Here” swings as it depends on the place near to the speaker. So “here” indicates for the speaker whereas “there” for the listener.

Bühler (2011) argues that deictics are apparently realized as I, Here, and Now. To be precise, there are mainly three types of the deictics: (a) Person deixis (used to indicate the people like her, him, them, and those students), and the objects like it, these, those books). (b) Temporal deixis (that is used to indicate the time, i.e. now, then, next week, last year). (c) Spatial deixis (that is used to point out the locations like here, there, close to).

In fact, spatial dexis deals with the special locations relative to the interlocutors in the speech event. It depends on where the speech event takes place. Cruse (2000) explains that “spatial or place deixis manifests itself principally in the form of locative adverbs such as ‘here’ and ‘there’ and demonstratives or determiners such as “this” and “that”. The major function of spatial deixis among all languages is demarcation of the space to identify a region. The term “region” refers to deictic expressions i.e. front, back, above, below, etc. In most cases, the demarcation line or the border is not conceptually salient and actually not of concern to the speaker (Imai, 2003, p.16).

There exist not so much studies of spatial dexis on the Kirati languages.¹ However, the demonstratives are discussed in due course of the

grammatical description in the Kirati languages by the scholars like Limbu (van Driem 1987), Athpahariya (Ebert 1997), Chamling (Rai 2012), Belhare (Bickel 1996), Yamphu (Rutgers 1998), Wambule (Opgenert 2004), Jero (Opgenert 2005), Sunuwar-Koits (Rapacha 2005), Kulung (Tolsma 2006), Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009), Koyee (Rai 2015).

The objective of this paper is to examine the deixis (deictics) in the Kirati languages within the typological framework. This paper is organized into 4 sections. Section 1 is about the introduction to the study. Section 2 describes the research methods employed in the study. In section 3, we presents the results and the typological implication of the study is section 5 summarizes the article.

Materials and Methods

The data drawn in this paper were from the direct elicitation from the speakers of the Kirati languages namely Bantawa, Bayung, Chamling, Dumi, Dungmali, Koyee, Khaling, Kulung, Limbu, Lohorung, Nachhiring, Puma, Sampang, Thulung, Wambule and Yamphu. This paper is prepared on the typological design which is based on the qualitative information obtained from primary sources. This is because of the time constraint; the data were not gathered from all the Kirati languages. So this study is confined within sixteen of the Kirati languages and some of other languages that belong to the Bodish and Tamangic group of Tibeto-Burman languages for the cross-linguistic references. Also, the secondary data in this study were drawn from the different sources like published and unpublished materials from various national as well as international sources.

Findings and Discussion

There exist proximal, distal and remote deictic roots in the Kirati languages out of which demonstrative pronouns and adverbs are derived. Vertical dimension is a pervasive trait of Kirati languages and culture (Ebert, 1994, p.93). Whether an object is located at or moving to or from a higher or lower place is indicated not only in the local adverbs, but also in the local case suffixes.

Spatial Deictic Roots in the Kirati Languages

In the Kirati languages, the deictics are realized in terms of the demonstrative pronouns and adverbials. Sometimes they can be realized in terms of the nominalization. As Kirati languages

suggest that they have proximal, distal and remote pronouns which might be realized as the deictics shown in Table1.

Table 1

Demonstrative Pronouns as Deictics in the Kirati Languages

Languages	Deictic roots		
	PROX	DIST	REM
Bantawa	<i>o</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>hjanau</i>
Bayung	<i>jam</i>	<i>mjam</i>	<i>hɔrem</i>
Chamling	<i>o</i>	<i>tju</i>	<i>hja</i>
Dumi	<i>tɔm</i>	<i>mɔm</i>	<i>jaka:</i>
Dungmali	<i>i</i>	<i>mugo</i>	<i>haeʔja</i>
Koyee	<i>idɔ</i>	<i>d^ham</i>	<i>jam</i>
Khaling	<i>dja</i>	<i>mja</i>	<i>jakkə</i>
Kulung	<i>ɣŋkɔ</i>	<i>nakɔ</i>	<i>k^hɣŋkɔ</i>
Limbu	<i>kɔn</i>	<i>k^hen</i>
Lohorung	<i>gɔ</i>	<i>mɔ</i>	<i>miu</i>
Nachhiring	<i>ɣŋkɔ</i>	<i>nakɔ</i>	<i>mɣŋkɔ</i>
Puma	<i>əkku</i>	<i>təkku</i>	<i>toʔjakku</i>
Sampang	<i>nɔ</i>	<i>mɔ</i>	<i>meni</i>
Thulung	<i>o</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>mɛ:</i>
Wambule	<i>am</i>	<i>hjom</i>	<i>im</i>
Yamphu	<i>igo</i>	<i>ɔko</i>	<i>miʔe</i>

Table 1 shows that the demonstrative pronouns (proximal, distal, and remote) as deictics in the Kirati languages. If we compare the proximal among the Kirati languages in the given list table 1, there might be seen the resemblance in the languages Bantawa, Chamling, Thulung which share the same lexicon o 'PROX' to denote the proximal. The languages like Kulung and Nachhiring share the same proximal ɣŋkɔ.

There are some of the languages like Sampang and Lohorung which share the same distal pronoun mo 'DIST'. In addition, the Bantawa language exhibits mo 'DIST' and so does Thulung mɛ 'DIST' that are closer to the Sampang and Lohorung. Unlike others, the languages like Kulung and Nachhiring share the same distal pronoun. There seems not to be exact lexical similarity among the Kirati languages.

Table 2*Spatial Deictics (Deictic+ Locatives (LOC) in the Kirati Languages*

Languages	Deictic + loc (LOC) suffix	
Bantawa	<i>o-da</i> 'here'	<i>mo-da</i> 'there'
Bayung	<i>ek-ke</i>	<i>me-ke</i>
Chamling	<i>o-ɖa</i>	<i>tjo-ɖa</i>
Dumi	<i>tʌm-bi</i>	<i>mʌm-bi</i>
Dungmali	<i>o-da</i>	<i>mo-da</i>
Koyee	<i>i-bi</i>	<i>jam-bi</i>
Kahling	<i>tja-bi</i>	<i>mja-bi</i>
Kulung	<i>o-pi</i>	<i>naʔa-pi</i>
Limbu	<i>kʌʔ-o</i>	<i>kʰeʔ-o</i>
Lohorung	<i>go-bi</i>	<i>mo-bi</i>
Nachhiring	<i>i-kʰi</i>	<i>mi-kʰi</i>
Puma	<i>o-do</i>	<i>to-do</i>
Sampang	<i>nʌ-pi</i>	<i>mʌ-pi</i>
Thulung	<i>oɖ-ɖa</i>	<i>mɛɖ-ɖa</i>
Wambule	<i>ala</i>	<i>hona</i>
Yamphu	<i>igo-be</i>	<i>ʌko-be</i>

As can be seen in Table 2, the deictic roots are suffixed by deictic markers that can realized in both of the paradigms 'here and 'there'. It may be exceptional case that Wambule does not share the deictic suffix in the both paradigm as they are treated as *ala* 'here' *hona* 'there'.

In the languages like Bantawa and Dungmali, the morpheme <-da> tends to appear as the deictic markers in the deictic roots. Chamling and Thulung have the morpheme <-ɖa> to denote

the deictic suffix. Koyee, Dumi, Lohorung and Khaling exhibit the deictic morpheme <-bi> whereas Kulung and Sampang employ <-pi> as the deictic suffix. The rest languages may not share the similar deictic suffixes to each other, i.e. Bayung <-ke>, Yamphu <-be>, Puma <-do>, Limbu has <-o> and Nachhiring <-kʰi>. If we observe the high frequency of the similarity in the deictic suffix then we find the languages like Koyee, Dumi, Lohorung and Khaling that share the same morpheme <-bi>.

Table 3*Vertical Deictic Suffixes (I)*

Languages	Verticle + Suffix		
	+ hi-LOC	lo-LOC	lev-LOC
Bantawa	<i>d^ha-ni</i> 'above'	<i>hju-ni</i> 'below '	<i>hja-na</i> 'across'
Bayung	<i>hut-i</i>	<i>hu-i</i>	<i>hɛr-e</i>
Chamling	<i>d^ha-lo</i>	<i>hui-lo</i>	<i>hja-lo</i>
Dumi	<i>tuk-ko</i>	<i>juk-ko</i>	<i>jak-ka</i>
Dungmali	<i>d^ha-ni</i>	<i>hui-ni</i>	<i>ja-ni</i>
Koyee	<i>d^hok-ka</i>	<i>jok-ka</i>	<i>jak-ka</i>
Khaling	<i>tuk-ka</i>	<i>juk-ka</i>	<i>jək-ka</i>
Lohorung	<i>miff-u</i>	<i>mim-u</i>	<i>mi-u</i>
Nachhiring	<i>t^hom-la</i>	<i>d^ha-li</i>	<i>nakɛ-pi</i>
Puma	<i>ad^hi-k^hi</i>	<i>ai-k^hi</i>	<i>a-k^ha</i>
Sampang	<i>mutu-kɛ</i>	<i>mui-kɛ</i>	<i>mɛ-kɛ</i>
Thulung	<i>ge-le</i>	<i>d^ha-li</i>	<i>b^hal-mim</i>
Wambule	<i>b^haɣa-la</i>	<i>b^haja-la</i>	<i>b^hana-la</i>
Yamphu	<i>miff-u</i>	<i>mimm-u</i>	<i>meʔjoŋ</i>
Kulung	<i>t^hom-la</i>	<i>muksu</i>	<i>nakɛpa</i>
Limbu	<i>t^ho</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>na</i>

As can be seen in Table 3, the Kirati languages exhibit the locative suffixes for 'above, up', 'below, down' and 'across' marked by various deictic suffixes. In the languages Bantawa and Dungmali, the suffix <-ni> refers to the locative markers in the three: high; low and across or level. Koyee and Khaling possess the marker <-ka> to denote the location or deictic whereas Dumi has <-ko>. Nachhiring, Wambule and Kulung share the

morpheme <-la> as the deictic suffix. Lohorung and Yamphu share the same deictic suffix <-u> that is combined to the deictic root. Some of the other languages exhibit the distinct deictic suffix like Chamling <-ko>, Bayung <-i>, Thulung <-le>. Unlike other languages, Limbu stands distinct as there is no deictic suffix attached to the deictic root.

Table 4*Vertical Deictic Suffixes (II)*

Languages	Verticle + Suffix		
	+ hi-LOC	lo-LOC	lev-LOC
Bantawa	<i>d^ha-ni</i> 'up here, over'	<i>hju-ni</i> 'down here, under'	<i>hja-na</i> 'over here'
Bayung	<i>ik-futi</i>	<i>ik-fui</i>	<i>ikk-ri</i>
Chamling	<i>u-d^hi</i>	<i>u-k^hi</i>	<i>u-k^hja</i>
Dumi	<i>tuko-k^hu</i>	<i>juko-k^hu</i>	<i>tʌm-bi</i>
Dungmali	<i>d^ha-ni</i>	<i>hju-ni</i>	<i>hja-na</i>
Koyee	<i>d^hu-bi</i>	<i>jo-bi</i>	<i>jam-bi</i>
Sampang	<i>nʌts^ho-pi</i>	<i>nʌp-pi</i>	<i>nʌ-pi</i>
Wambule	<i>b^haʈa-la</i>	<i>b^haja-la</i>	<i>b^hana-la</i>
Yamphu	<i>soŋ-be</i>	<i>hoʔŋ-be</i>	<i>igo-be</i>
Khaling	<i>te-ju</i>	<i>tja-ti</i>	<i>tje-jo</i>
Thulung	<i>ʈʌla</i>	<i>d^hwaju</i>	<i>humu</i>
Kulung	<i>ts^hokto</i>	<i>nukka</i>	<i>laspi</i>
Lohorung	<i>sʌŋpi</i>	<i>k^hukma</i>	<i>mjaʔu</i>
Nachhiring	<i>ts^hokto</i>	<i>ts^hini</i>	<i>mopa</i>
Puma	<i>kʌd^huŋ</i>	<i>kʌk^huk</i>	<i>toʔja</i>
Limbu	<i>t^ho /t^haŋ</i>	<i>jo/mu</i>	<i>na</i>

As can be seen in Table 4, vertical deictics like 'up here', 'down here' and 'over here' may be realized in the different ways in terms of deictic suffixes. It is interesting that all the Kirati languages are not treated in the same way in both of the vertical deixis, i.e. Bantawa, Dungmali and Wambule have the same lexicon to denote 'above' and 'over'. But the other languages discussed in this article are treated in both of the paradigms. In Bayung, <-futi> tends to appear as the high locative marker whereas the low locative is marked with <-fui> and <-ri> in the level locative marker. Chamling exhibits the suffixes like <-d^hi>, <-k^hi>, and <-k^hja> to denote

the spatial deictics. Dumi has the same morpheme <-k^hu> in both of the high 'up here' and low 'down here' but the level is treated differently by <-bi>. Dungmali has the same in the both paradigms high+loc and low+loc. Koyee exhibits the same deictic suffix <-bi> to denote vertical deictics and the level whereas Sampang has <-pi>, Wambule <-la> and Yamphu <-be>. But the Khaling, on the other hand, employs the <-ju>, <-ti> and <-jo> are realized as the deictic suffixes respectively. Some of the Kirati languages like Kulung, Lohorung, Nachhiring, Puma and Limbu may not exhibit the explicit deictic suffixes.

Table 5*Nominalized Deictic Suffixes*

Languages	Deictic + nominalizer (NMLZ)		
	+ hi-LOC	lo-LOC	lev-LOC
Bantawa	<i>d^haudu-o</i> 'the one up'	<i>hijuna-o</i> 'the one down'	<i>hijana-o</i> 'the one across'
Bayung	<i>fiuti-m</i>	<i>hui-m</i>	<i>meke-m</i>
Chamling	<i>d^ha-ko</i>	<i>hui-ko</i>	<i>hja-ko</i>
Dumi	<i>tukok^hu-m</i>	<i>jukok^hu-m</i>	<i>jakak^hu-m</i>
Dungmali	<i>d^hani-o</i>	<i>huini-o</i>	<i>hijana-o</i>
Koyee	<i>d^hubi-m</i>	<i>jobi-m</i>	<i>jambi-m</i>
Khaling	<i>tukka-m</i>	<i>juk-kum/jukkam</i>	<i>jək-kam</i>
Kulung	<i>ts^hokto-k_λ</i>	<i>muksu-k_λ</i>	<i>meksa-k_λ</i>
Limbu	<i>t^ho-ba</i>	<i>jo-ba</i>	<i>na-ba</i>
Lohorung	<i>miŋtu-ε</i>	<i>mimu-ε</i>	<i>miu-ε</i>
Nachhiring	<i>t^homla-k_λ</i>	<i>nuk_λpu-k_λ</i>	<i>nakopa-k_λ</i>
Puma	<i>ad^hik^hi-ku</i>	<i>aik^hi-ku</i>	<i>ak^ha-ku</i>
Sampang	<i>mutu-k_λ</i>	<i>mui-k_λ</i>	<i>m_λ-k_λ</i>
Thulung	<i>gele-m</i>	<i>d^hali-m</i>	<i>fiunutnu-m</i>
Wambule	<i>b^haʔala-m</i>	<i>b^haila-m</i>	<i>b^hanala-m</i>
Yamphu	<i>miŋtu-ε</i>	<i>mimmu-ε</i>	<i>miu-ε</i>

Table 5 shows how the Kirati languages exhibit the deictic roots nominalized with suffixes. In the languages like Bantawa and Dungmali, the morpheme <-o> tends to appear as the nominalizer. The highest frequency of the nominalizer can be realized in the deictic roots of the languages like Bayung, Dumi, Koyee, Khaling, Thulung and Wambule that is <-m>. On the other hand, Kulung, Nachhiring and Sampang share the morpheme <-k_λ> as the nominal suffix added to the deictic roots. The languages like Lohorung and Yamphu share the morpheme <-ε> to denote the nominalizer in the deictic roots. In Chamling, the nominalizer <-ko> is realized whereas the Limbu exhibits <-ba>.

Spatial Deictics in Some other Tibeto-Burman Languages

This section subsumes the just proximal and distal with the deictic markers among some of the Tibeto-Burman so that could be reference to observe the feature among the Kirati languages.

In some of the Tibeto-Burman and especially languages from Tamangic group namely, Tamang, Ghale, Gurung and Manangba, the spatial deictics 'here' and 'there' are obligatorily marked with the locative suffix, e.g. tsu-ri/tsu-ra 'here-LOC', kja-ra/u-ri 'there-LOC' (Kansakar, 2029 BS). In this study, only the spatial deictics 'here' and 'there' are discussed and compared among the other Tibeto-

Burman languages among the Kirati languages so far.

Tamang is considered to be the only language in this group that has lost the locative marking for the 'there', as can be seen in (1) under Deixis and Spatial location:

Deictic root + locative case suffix

(1) Ghale:	je-ne'this-LOC'	fio-ne 'that-LOC'
Tamang:	tsu-ri	t ^h e
Gurung :	tsu-ra	kja-ra/kja-i
Manangba:	tsu-ri	u-ri

Kansakar (2019, p.16)

Ghale has the consistency in the deictic marker <-ne> in the both proximal and distal as je-ne 'this-LOC', and <fio-ne 'that-LOC'. On the other hand, Tamang and Manangba exhibit the deictic markers <-ri>. But this is realized only in the Manang in both the proximal and distal whereas Tamang is differently treated with the distal in which the marker does not appear. Gurung has the <-ra> as the deictic marker in the proximal whereas

<-ra~i> in the distal pronoun. Manangba exhibit the deictic marker <-ri> in the both proximal and distal pronoun.

In other languages like Thakali, Bhujel, Kaike Magar, Dhut Magar also exhibit the different deictic markers that can be observed in the examples (2a-d).

- (2) a. Thakali
 tsu-mfii 'this +LOC 'here'
 tsə-mfii 'this +LOC 'there'
 (Regmi, Regmi & Gauchan, 2020)
- b. Bhujel
 ja-ŋ 'this +LOC 'here'
 wa-ŋ 'that + loc 'there"
 (Regmi, 2007, p.179)
- c. Kaike Magar
 s^hi 'this + LOC 'here'
 s^hya 'that + loc 'there"
 (Regmi, 2013, p.127)
- d. Dhut Magar
 ise-laŋ 'this +LOC 'here'
 fose-laŋ 'that + loc 'there"
 (Thapa Magar, 2022 p.127)

As can be seen in the example (2a), the Thakali exhibits the deictic marker <-mfii> whereas the Bhujel does <-ŋ>. In the case of Bhujel, the marker <-ŋ> appears but the deictic

deictic marker in Kaike is not exactly realized as the foregrounding feature. Similarly, Dhut Magar possesses the deictic marker <-laŋ> in the both proximal and distal paradigm.

Discussions

Comparing the demonstrative pronouns among the Kirati languages, all of these languages perform the deictic roots in terms of the proximal, distal and remote. Besides, the Limbu language seems to be an exceptional as it does not exhibit the remote adverbial. The languages like Bantawa, Chamling, Thulung seem to be closer in terms of the distal they share. Similarly, the languages like Sampang and Lohorung share the same distal pronoun.

Unlike others, the languages like Kulung and Nachhiring share the same distal pronouns. There seems not to be exact lexical similarity among the Kirati languages.

The deictics of the Kirati languages are compared with the other Tibeto-Burman languages like Ghale, Gurung, Tamang, Manangba, Bhujel, Kaik Magar, Dhut Magar only in the case of the 'here' and 'there' that are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Spatial Deictics Among the Tibeto-Burman Languages

SN	Deictic markers	Languages
1.	<i>-da, -da, -do</i>	<i>Dungmal, Bantawa, Thulung, Puma</i>
2.	<i>-be, -bi</i>	<i>Yamphu, Koyee, Khaling, Dumi, Lohorung</i>
3.	<i>-ra, -ri</i>	<i>Gurung, Tamang, Manangba</i>
4.	<i>-pi</i>	<i>Kulung, Sampang</i>
5.	<i>-o</i>	<i>Limbu</i>
6.	<i>-k^hi</i>	<i>Nachhiring</i>
7.	<i>-ɔ</i>	<i>Wambule, Kaik Magar</i>
8.	<i>-ne</i>	<i>Ghale</i>
9.	<i>-mfi</i>	<i>Thakali</i>
10.	<i>-ŋ</i>	<i>Bhujel</i>
11.	<i>-laŋ</i>	<i>Dhut Magar</i>

As can be seen in Table 6, the languages like Dungmali, Bantawa, Thulung, and Puma might be grouped into one that share <-da, -da-do> as the deictic marker. If we observe the similarities among these languages, they are closely related to each other, however; the consonantal status is different in terms of the place of articulation that is; dental /d/ changing into alveolar sound /d/ in <da, -da>. Even the vowel shifting from back low vowel /a/ has been changed into back close mid vowel /o/ as in <da~do>. The languages like Yamphu, Koyee, Khaling, Dumi and Lohorung exhibit that the morphemes <-be, -bi> that may be the process of the vowel raising from e > i. But some of the other

Tibeto Burman languages like Gurung, Tamang and Manangba may be grouped into one that share <-ra, -ri> as the deictic markers into which the vowel raising <a ~i> can be traced. Unlike others, Limbu has the deictic marker <-o>, Nachhiring <-k^hi>, Wambule and Kaik Magar <-ɔ>, Ghale <-ne>, Thakali <-mfi>, Bhujel <-ŋ>, Dhut Magar <-laŋ>. So, Cross-linguistically, the Kirati languages retain their closeness among them other than the languages belonging to the Bodish and Tamangic group of the Tibeto-Burman languages. To be precise, the languages of Tamangic group like Tamang, Gurung and Manangba are interlinked with the linguistic behavior they perform whereas

Ghale, Thakali, Bhujel and Dhut Magar stand individually in the locational marker in the deictic roots.

Conclusion

The Kirati languages are productive in terms of the spatial deictic that are explicitly derived from the demonstrative pronouns as proximal, distal and remote. They can be observed in the locational suffixes attached to the deictic roots. In the languages like Bantawa and Dungmali, the morpheme <-da> tends to appear as the locational suffix in the deictic roots. Chamling and Thulung have the morpheme <-ḍa> to denote the deictic suffix. Koyee, Dumi, Lohorung and Khaling exhibit the deictic morpheme <-bi> whereas Kulung and Sampang employ <-pi> as the deictic suffix. The other languages like Bayung, Yamphu, Puma, Limbu and Nachhiring exhibit the distinct markers that are not matched to what we could see in the above mentioned languages. The languages like Koyee, Dumi, Lohorung and Khaling that share the same morpheme <-bi> that could be taken as the languages sharing high frequency in the Kirati languages. Similarly, the Kirati languages exhibit the locative suffixes for 'above, up', 'below, down' and 'across' indicating by various deictic suffixes. Vertical deictics like 'up here', 'down here' and 'over here' may be realized in the different ways in terms of deictic suffixes. It is interesting that all the Kirati languages are not treated in the same way in both of the vertical deixis, i.e. Bantawa, Dungmali and Wambule have the same lexicon to denote 'above' and 'over'. But the other languages discussed in this article are treated in both of the paradigms. The deictic roots are also nominalized with suffixes. The highest frequency of the nominalizers can be realized in the deictic roots of the languages like Bayung, Dumi, Koyee, Khaling, Thulung and Wambule that is <-m>. On the other hand, Kulung, Nachhiring and Sampang share the morpheme <-kʌ> as the nominal suffix adhered to the deictic roots. The languages like Lohorung and Yamphu share the morpheme <-e> to denote the nominalizer in the deictic roots. In Chamling,

the nominalizer <-ko> is realized whereas the Limbu exhibits <-ba>. Typologically or crosslinguistically, Dungmali, Bantawa, Thulung, and Puma might be grouped into one whereas the languages like Yamphu, Koyee, Khaling, Dumi and Lohorung are grouped into another group. But some of the other Tibeto Burman languages like Gurung, Tamang and Manangba may be grouped into another group the way they are treated with the locational suffixes. The rest languages share the individual locational markers.

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List of Abbreviations

DIST	distal
hi	high
lo	low
loc	locational
lev	level
LOC	locative marker
NMLZ	nominalizer
PROX	proximal
REM	remote

Notes:

The term 'Kirati' refers to the linguistic groups like Rai, Limbu, Koits-Sunuwar and Yakkha. Rai alone consists of more than 25 languages, namely Bantawa, Chamling, Khaling, Bahing (Bayung),

Jerung, Wambule, Kulung, Thulung, Nachhiring,
Dumi, Koyee, Sampang, Tilung Puma, Dungmali,

Lohorung, Yamphu, Mewahang, Sam, Athpare
(Athpahariya), Chhintang, Chhiling, Belhare,
Phangduwali and Lunkhim (NSO, 2022).

