Decolonizing Nepal's Kiranti-Kõits grammar and lexicon

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ABSTRACT

This article proposes to explore how indigenous languages are colonized in terms of grammar and lexicon in daily usage whether in spoken or written forms by the speakers of Kiranti-Kõits किरााँती-कोँइच, who were socio-psychologically and politically over-dominated by the imposed official language of the ruler-colonizersduring the periods of internal colonization or invasion of the present-day eastern Nepal first by Shah Regime after AD1768 and later continued by Ranarchism for 104 years till AD1950 in the past-atrocious-history of Nepal. Due to such adverse socio-political situations following the loss of Indigenous Kirant's (also spelt as 'Kirat' historically developed from 'Oirat') sovereign land territory, the Kiranti nations' (sovereign peoples) languages were either pidginized or creolized (commonly as hybridization) by the colonizer's privileged Khas-Nepali language in such a way that those languages in the near future will lose their organic linguistic structures along with lexicon of Kiranti-ness as for instance the Kiranti-Kõits is one of themThus, this article aims to reverse this grammatical colonization or linguistic imperialism by rediscovering, reviving, regaining, and reinterpreting or reestablishing those disappeared features of auxiliaries, phonemes, and indigenize or even re-indigenize such organic Kiranti-Kõits linguistic features and sovereignty of its own through decolonization or indigenization process as our giant neighbouring country — India's, such as Kolkata from Calcutta, Mumbai from Bombay, Chennai from Madras.Scholars, researchers, writers, and higher education's academia have already been doing so for decolonizing the colonized loconyms etc. and more importantly in 1989 Myanmar has decolonized itself from Burma.

Keywords

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INTRODUCTION

Like Nelson et. al(2023), I wish to begin with a note on positionality of my own as a researcher that I come from an Indigenous Kiranti-Kõits (colonial exonyms include: Sunwar, Bhujuwar, Pirthwar, Mukhiya, Rai, Subba, Dewan etc.) community of *Wollo* (see Appendix A) 'hither/near' Kirant (indigenous land territory and civilization), eastern Nepal, where I was born in a small village called Katunje ward # 2, Okhaldhunga district and I completed my pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education at Jyamirbote Katunje School situated at the same village. After that I did my Grade Eight at the district headquarters Okhaldhunga bazar. Then, for some months I studied Grade Nine at Ghopa Camp's Depot High School, Dharan, Sunsari district but unfortunately, I had to return to my village due to my mother's untimely demise in her late 40s and continued and completed my high school from the neighboring village named Chyanam, Okhaldhunga in AD 1986 eventually.

The Medium of Instruction (MoI) in those schools and all over Nepal in those times of *Panchayati* 'monarchy-party-less political system' was either in Khas-Nepali खस-नेपाली or English अङ्ग्रेजी or even Sanskrit (I was taught for two years at Six and Seven Grades at Jyamirbote Katunje School) although my mother and other relatives and autochthonous members occasionally or frequently communicated in my Indigenous mother tongue Kiranti-Kõits in the family or elsewhere except in schools.

Though I was taught in two dominant languages in my school days, there was no inclusion of my mother tongue in education as MoI in schools. Such linguistic exclusion continued even in my college and university days. Moreover, socio-politically my father was sold diplomatically by the autocratic Rana Regime to the British Empire with the colonizer's tag of Gorkha (Brit. spelling Gurkha) Regiment to win and safeguard the British Empire's colonies at every corner of the world. My positionality here clarifies that my mother tongue was excluded and marginalized in the past from Nepal's education system for centuries to date infinitely.

Later as a university student of English Literature and Linguistics at Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal, and a speaker of my mother tongue, I proposed to write a Master's thesis to prepare a sociolinguistic profile of my mother language spoken in Okhaldhung and Ramechhap districts under the supervision of my teacher Prof. Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar in 1995 and another Master's thesis to explore the syntactic clause structures of my mother tongue under the mentorship of Prof. Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava in 1999 Fall.

Later, I continued in-depth study along with critical sociolinguistic scenarios and domains of my mother tongue from 2002 to 2005 at the Center for English and Linguistics, School of Language Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, and prepared a descriptive grammar of it in 2005 as a PhD dissertation under the mentorship of my teacher Prof. Dr. Anvita Abbi. A

revised version of this study entitled as *Kiranti-Kõits Grammar, Texts and Lexicon* (Rapacha, 2022) has been published by LINCOM GmbH, Muenchen, Germany.

From those times of Shah Monarchism as well as Ranarchism to Federal Republicanism, I am continuously studying our subaltern Indigenous Peoples' historical dynamics of identity loss in which their preexisting languages, cultures, and identities have been destroyed by Indo-Aryan ("Khas-Arya" *Constitution of Nepal* A.D. 2015) colonial violence, e.g., the administrative suppression and oppression of identity movements resulting ruthless assassination of Padam Sukwaba Limbu 'Lajehang' in the eastern region of Nepal since colonialism (forms: settler colonialism, exploitation, surrogate, and internal colonialism (Tenbroek, n.d.)[2]) is a historical and ongoing global project where settlers continue to occupy land, dictate social, political, and economic systems, and exploit Indigenous people and their resources as has been done in Likhu Hydropower Projects[3] presently. Accordingly, in Nepal's context, decolonization is the process of deconstructing colonial ideologies of the superiority and privilege of Khas-Arya thoughts and approaches.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

On the one hand, decolonization involves dismantling structures that perpetuate the status quo and addressing imbalanced power dynamics. On the other, decolonization involves valuing and revitalizing Indigenous knowledge and approaches (cf. Smith, 1999) and weeding out settler biases or assumptions that have impacted Indigenous ways of being, which I will produce evidence from my own mother tongue to reflect how the present-day language users have been using the Khas-Nepali auxiliary verbs in their creative writings. Similarly, for non-Indigenous people, decolonization is the process of examining their beliefs about Indigenous Peoples and culture by learning about themselves in relationship to the communities where they live and the people with whom they interact each other.

Furthermore, decolonization is an ongoing process that requires all of us to be collectively involved and responsible. Decolonizing our institutions means we create spaces that are inclusive, respectful, and honour Indigenous Peoples. This prosperous argument should apply in their languages use and cultural practices as a process of indigenization (ibid, 1999). Clearly, this process is a collaborative venture of naturalizing Indigenous intent, interactions, and processes as well as making them evident to transform spaces, places, and hearts.

In the context of post-secondary education worldwide including Nepal, this involves including Indigenous perspectives and approaches. Indigenization benefits

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2   https://www.google.com/search?q=decolising+language+in+history+by+emilie+tenbroek
    https://www.durham.ac.uk.
3   Indigenous Kiranti-Kõits nation's water, land, and jungle resources have badly been affected by
    more than dozens of hydropower projects run on this river.

not only Indigenous students and peoples but all students, teachers, staff members, and community members involved or impacted by Indigenization. It seeks not only relevant programmes and support services but also a fundamental shift in the ways that institutions:

● include Indigenous perspectives, values, and cultural understandings in policies and daily practices.
● position Indigenous ways of knowing at the heart of the institution, which then informs all the work that we do without any administrative intervention as in recent suppressive phenomenon of eastern Nepal.
● include cultural protocols and practices in the operations of our institutions and administration in all 7 provinces of Federal Republic of Nepal.

In addition, indigenization values sustainable and respectful relationships with Indigenous (officially 60 IPs[4] recognized in Nepal) or First Nation or native communities (in USA), Elders, and organizations. When Indigenization is practiced at an institution, Indigenous peoples see themselves represented, respected, and valued and all students and peoples benefit. Indigenization, like decolonization, is an ongoing process, one that will shape and evolve over time. This applies to their mother tongue's grammar and lexicon as well.

Indigenization is not only an "Indigenous issue," and it is not undertaken solely to benefit Indigenous students and peoples only. Indigenization benefits everyone; we all gain a richer understanding of the world including their languages and of our specific location in the world through awareness of Indigenous knowledge and perspectives. It also contributes to a more just world including Nepal, creating a shared understanding that opens the way toward reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. It also counters the impacts of colonization by upending a system of thinking that has typically discounted Indigenous knowledge, languages and history.

Therefore, in this paper,I examine to retrieve or reclaim (Smith, 1999) the organic auxiliary verbs, nominals, lexicon, and other grammatical structures in Kiranti-Kõits by way of eliciting primary and secondary data available in the language over-dominated by the colonizer's officially imposed Khas-Nepali and its grammar such 'chha' /cʰə/ छ 'is -LOCATIVE', *'ho'* /ɦo/ हो 'is-EXISTENTIAL', 'hola' /ɦolā/ होला 'be-FUTURE possibility', and *'thiyo'* /thɪjo/ थियो 'was' (be-PAST EXISTENTIAL)etc. Besides such auxiliaries, in some case examples, I will elicit some directly borrowed or hybridized/nativized thus colonized main verbs from the Indo-Aryan Nepali into the Kiranti-Kõits language.

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4   Rana Tharus have recently been added as a separate Indigenous Peoples (IPs) by the Government of Nepal and also, they have a separate Tharu Commission to look after their problems and prospects after the enforcement of the Constitution of Nepal-2015. Till 2015, the Tharus were considered as only one people recognized and listed within 59 IPs by the National Foundation of Indigenous Nationalities (NFDIN), Government of Nepal.

Research problem and questions

Many local indigenous peoples and their languages including knowledge, indigeneity and identity today during the beginningof first two decades of this 21st century, are seriously endangered due to the previous as well as contemporary rulers' and administrators' hegemonic and colonial dominance or violenceglobally.In Nepal's case also, the Kiranti-Kõits language, indigeneity, knowledge, and identity is one of such instances of hegemonic dominance facing endangermentsince theirauxiliaryand main verbs including nominalsare subjugated by the dominant Indo-Aryan Khas-Nepali language. Another serious problem is the politicization of language because one of the linguistic freedom-fighters viz., Padam Sukwaba Limbu 'Lajehang' was assassinated at the cost of the only two lexeme NO KOSHI(of Khas-Nepali in Indo-Aryan family) movement regarding the naming of Province # 1in East Nepal one year ago. In this regard, this research has the following main four questions in mind:

i.   Does not the Kiranti-Kõits language have some of its own organic auxiliary verbs innate in its grammatical structures?

ii.   Do the Kiranti-Kõits people have personal naming or onomastic system of children intheir own mother tongue?

iii. Why do the Kiranti-Kõits speakers frequently use direct loans (auxiliary and main verbs and lexicon from the dominant Khas-Nepali language and what is its impact?

iv.   Does the language have its own vocabulary for clanonym, onomastics, (loco)toponym, hydronym, and oronym? If 'Yes', what is their present condition or situation?

Research objectives

Having based on Section (§)3's four main research questions, this paper's main objectives are:

i.   to rediscover and reclaim the auxiliary verb forms and some main verbs with hybridization or loan effects in the linguistic structures of Kiranti-Kõits grammar,

ii.   to find out personal names or onomastics named and written in the Kiranti-Kõits mother tongue,

iii. to explore and document clanonyms, (loco)toponyms, hydronyms, and oronyms originally in the language revealing their semantic load or criteria including linguistic autonomy,

iv.   to argue against the vicious and excluded language policy of the suppressive or colonial rulers for a long time responsible for the endangerment of indigenous languages of Nepal like the Kiranti-Kõits language, and

v.   to discuss the negative impacts and implications of monolingual policy adopted by the suppressive or colonial governments of the past in Nepal's multi-linguistic contexts through decolonial approach (§ 6).

Review of literature

Now, in relation to §3 and 4, I review only some relevant and limitedly available papers to relate and delimit my area and purpose of this paper. To my knowledge till date, this sort of deeper study of how the colonizer's language penetrates over Indigenous languages and grammars like that over Kiranti-Kõits is the first beginning in academic discourse to remind or attract Indigenous (non)-Nepalese scholars, researchers, writers and other non-Indigenous scholars at this moment to start for carrying out their studies in this area of knowledge too.

At the lexical level, Malla's (1981) paper 'Linguistic archaeology of the Nepal valley: a preliminary report' is the first of its kind to bring into light how the Newā Indigenous hydronyms are dominated by the ruler's language in such a way that those river names' lexemes have lost their organic identity with subjugated phonemes and morphemes of the rulers'-imposed language through a bias policy (see Table 1).

Hopefully, many international universities and scholars today have carried out their researches during the time of decolonizing the language used by the colonizers towards Indigenous Peoples and decolonization of curriculum in general and language education policy to meet the objectives and advantages of decolonization or indigenization (cf. Smith, 1999) as discussed in§2 of this paper earlier.

In Nepal's case, lately after post-1990's peoples' movement, Awasthi (2008) amongst many published his research article entitled 'Importation of ideologies: From Macaulay Minutes to Wood Commission' and another paper 'The making of Nepal's language policy: Importation of ideologies' (2011) to reveal the impacts of colonial language education policy in Nepal.

His main argument in both of his papers is that Nepal's past language education policy is affected by Macaulay minutes of British India and Wood Commission's monolingual i.e., colonial-ideological advice to the Government of Nepal. By analyzing in both of his papers, Awasthi (2008, p. 24) highlights the impactful importation of monolingual ideology of language policy taken by both Macaulay minutes in India and Wood's advice to Nepal's government in his commission report resulted in—

Assimilation: Assimilation of people/sinto the language and culture of the rulers
Destruction: Systematic destruction of native languages and cultures
Perpetuation: Use of propaganda and misuse of state machinery to perpetuate language power
Possession: Monopoly over the access to intellectual wealth
Restriction: Control over printing and production of materials.

Because of these state-suppressive reasons Awasthi (2008, p. 28) summarizes in conclusion that the Wood Commission report failed to represent'real'Nepal and failed to recognize the importance of children's mother tongue in education.

IttriedtolegitimizetheNepali-onlyideology and contributed to promoting this concept inthe school system. The report is a testimony of how a state tends to become triumphalist overtheminoritiesandtriestohomogenizetheIndigenous Peoples in the country. Unfortunately, Wood's report recommendation has become a mere mask of the colonial rulers and administrators in which no Indigenous Herculean bravery could protest in those barbaric times of internal colonization in Nepal's history.

Phyak (2021, 2022) as one of the Kiranti-Yakthung Indigenous scholars from Nepal, based in Hong Kong-China at The Chinese University of Hong Kong has been massively and frequently writing against the colonial language policies for decolonization and recent language preservation or decolonial practices of Indigenous communities in Nepal.

One of his papers entitled 'Subverting the erasure: decolonial efforts, Indigenous language education and language policy in Nepal' (2021) resembles the idea for my paper's decolonial efforts in terms of organic grammatical markers and lexicon, which have fully been subjugated by the grammar and lexicon of the colonizer's Khas-Nepali grammar. This paper is mainly focused to that of Herculean decolonial efforts to help rediscover and revive such subjugated auxiliary verbs of the Kiranti-Kõits language into existence back again.

Poudel et. al.(2022) in their paper 'Decolonizing of curriculum: the case of language education policy in Nepal' have reviewed the past policies against indigenous language education in Nepal (see Table 1for chronological order of adverse language policies' feature history) and it "documents the historical trajectories of colonization and decolonization of the school curriculum inNepal" (2022, p. 1) although decolonization is usually discussed in relation to countries that were formally colonized, countries that have not been formally colonized have also faced challenges related to colonialism.

They conclude that the past "policies resulted in a double colonization of ethnic or indigenous languages: external colonization by English, and internal colonization by the Nepali language" (ibid, p. 1). Their paper, hence, has supported ethnic or indigenous languages and has explored the implications for understanding tensions around decolonization of languages' curriculum in the past and present-dayNepal.

Tenbroek's (n.d.) article 'Decolonizing language in history'[5] asserts that universities and academia in Britain and beyond (PN Shah's case in Nepal) have been central to the history of imperialism. She further elaborates that the knowledge colonizers produced the ideological underpinnings of the colonial project.

As institutions they benefitted directly from the wealth extracted from the colonies, and their studies from the artefacts and knowledge stolen from colonized

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5   https://www.durham.ac.uk/media/durham-university/departments-/history/Decolonising-Language-in-History.pdf

cultures as claimed by the author. As a matter of fact, British universities still enjoy a privileged position in an unequal world system inaugurated by imperialism and decolonization must both confront these histories and address the continuing effects of imperialism as claimed by Tenbroek.

Her point of decolonizing 'language' is that ideas, assumptions, and worldviews are communicated by language, both explicitly and implicitly. Then, the project of decolonization must involve first decolonizing the language one uses if one is to avoid perpetuating harmful ideas (ibid, p. 1). She focuses on language because it is one the key means of control in many imperial contexts, including under British colonialism. With reference to Tenbroek's point here, my point of research in Nepal's Kiranti-Kõits grammar and lexicon's case is that the linguistic structures also get colonized by the dominant language(s) in use imposed officially in different phases of the country's history.

In order to improve those shameful situations caused by the white peoples' past blunder in today's world is to humanize, decentre, specify, expand, and listen those suppressed peoples with patience for linguistic justice as "The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonizing nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonized" according to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o—a post-colonial theorist from Kenya.

Like Awasthi (2008, 2022), Phyak (2021, 2022), and Poudel et. al. (2022), Phipps (2021) also has shaded lights on the need of decolonizing the languages' curriculum for linguistic justice in order to maintain linguistic ecologies. One of his examples includes Te Reo Maori in Aotearoa (New Zealand), where Maori language activists have improved the increasing societal and cultural space for Te Reo alongside English to such an extent that there has been substantive growth in learner numbers. Nepal's present contexts and situations also have been improved in this regard for indigenous language education's projects irrespective of past brutal language policy (see Table 1).

Table 1
Policy documents and their features (Source: Poudel et. al, 2022)

Year	Policy	Features
1947	Constitutional Law of Nepal	The first constitution that came out of agreement between the Rana and King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah designated Nepali as the national language promoting Nepali nationalism
1956	Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC)	The report of the first educational planning commission (also known as the Wood Commission which worked in collaboration with the United States Operation Mission. All languages except for English and Nepali were banned

1961	All-Round National Education Committee (ARNEC)	The education committee established by King Mahendra to develop a nationalist education policy in line with the political goals of the Panchayat system designated Nepali as the Medium of Instruction (MoI)
1962	Constitution of Nepal	The constitution by the Panchayat government inherited the national language ideology and MoI policy from the previous government
1971	National Education System Plan (NESP)	The five-year education plan to modernize Nepal's education system under the Panchayat government confirmed the national language as the MoI, while English-medium schools were encouraged to turn to Nepali medium
1990	Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal	The constitution after promulgation of multiparty democracy, which guaranteed basic human rights. It inherited Nepali as the national official language, recognized all spoken languages as mother tongue and gave autonomy to communities to operate primary schools in their mother tongue
1992	National Education Commission (NEC)	The education commission established after the promulgation of multiparty democracy in 1990. Mother tongues were encouraged as the MoI but Nepali was also allowed. Policy initiatives were influenced by equity discourses
1994	National Languages Policy Recommendation Commission (NLPRC)	An 11-member commission formed by Majesty's Government in accordance with the constitution of Nepal, recommended to continue earlier provisions in relation to Nepali and gave freedom for communities to operate schools in mother tongues up to lower or upper secondary level. Addressed linguistic human rights issues, especially recommending the use of community languages in education
2007	National Communication Framework (NCF)	The first comprehensive curriculum frame for Nepal's school education. Mother tongue was designated as the MoI in elementary schools, and Nepali and English could be used afterwards. Influence of ethnic identity and nationalism, as well as a globalization agenda in language-in-education policy decisions
2007	Interim Constitution of Nepal	The constitution promulgated after Nepal's peace agreement with the Maoist party, in revolt at the time. It ensured the right to use mother tongues in official business

2015	Constitution of Nepal	The constitution promulgated after Nepal transformed from a centralized system of governance to a federal democratic country. The local governments and schools were given autonomy regarding MoI decisions and the right to preserve mother tongues.
2019	National Curriculum Framework (NCF)	The first curriculum framework after Nepal changed to a federal state. The MoI of basic education is to be mother tongue or Nepali. English can be used as the MoI, except for in subjects which concern national identity (e. g., civic education)

Another relevant paper related to decolonizing 'language' I wish to include for review here is 'Producing language reclamation by decolonizing language' (Leonard, 2017). This paper is very interestingly written by the author (who worked for Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages funded by National Science Foundation Documenting Endangered Languages Program) with so many examples of discussions with Indigenous peoples of America or native Americans and their concepts of language for reclamation and actions for revitalization.

However, my purpose as an insider, speaker, researcher, and linguist in this paper is to elicit empirical data from my own mother tongue spoken or written by my kins without any such fund of National Science Foundation to show how intangible cultural heritage like language(s) disappear themselves and lose their identity phoneme by phoneme and morpheme by morpheme.

RESEARCH METHOD

This paper employs a quantitative collection of linguistic data employing qualitative interpretation with decolonial approach (cf. Smith, 1999) in which organic native vocabularies and their semantic criteria i.e., Indigenous organic meanings of native linguistic structures will be discussed at the phonemic, morphological, and lexical level of the language under study. Thus, this study focuses on both the data collected and observed from both primary (intuitive or first-hand) and secondary (available written literature) sources.

I propose to dissect morphemes and lexemes up to a meaningful phonemic and morphological levels with organic sources to reveal how those grammatical markers including indeclinable lexemes including auxiliaries, and main verbs of the Indigenous Kiranti-Kõits किराँती-कोँइच language of Sino-Tibeto-Myanmarian family are either subjugated or hybridized through the process of colonization by the autocratic rulers'imposed official language known as Khas-Nepali खस-नेपालीof the Indo-Aryan family for hundreds of years in the linguistic history of Nepal.

Data collection and analysis

First of all, we observe some such data on the use of auxiliary verbs of Kiranti-Kõits, e. g., in writing available (01)-(04) below:

(01) eko manusho ho*

/ɛko mə-nušo ɦo/*

this NEG-bad is-EXISTENTIAL

'This is bad.'

(Sunuwar[6], 2023)

(02) meko thibits chha*

/mɛko thɪbɪts cʰə/*

that wealthy is-EXISTENTIAL/LOCATIVE

'He is wealthy.'

(ibid., 2023)

(03) Tsentse khĩ lAib hola*

/cɛncɛ kʰĩ lāɪb ɦolā/*

Tsentse home go-3SG be-FUTURE

'Tsentse might go home.'

(My own intuitive data)

(04) Sirmi-mi kumso pAi-b thiyo*

/sɪrmɪ-mɪ kumso pāɪ-b thɪyo/*

Sirmi-AGT song do-3SG be-PAST

'Sirmi used to sing a song.'

(My own intuitive data)

All four examples (1)-(4) of auxiliary verbs, here *'ho'* /ɦo/ हो 'is-EXISTENTIAL', 'chha' /cʰə/ छ 'is-LOCATIVE', 'hola' /ɦolā/ होला 'be-FUTURE possibility', *'thiyo'* /thɪyo/ थियो 'was' (be-PAST) with asterisk above are direct usage from the Indo-Aryan Khas-Nepali language, which have been introduced into the Indigenous Kiranti-Kõits language as a result of bias linguistic policy (see Table 1 above) and unfavourable linguistic ecology of the past and present-day Nepal. The speakers are unconsciously over-dominated by the imposed official and educational Nepali language that they were forced to forget whatever organic auxiliary verbs available in their own mother tongue to recall and re-useinnate in their Kiranti-Kõits mother tongue in daily usage.

The first example sentence (01) with organic auxiliary verb is re-discovered and re-written or decolonized as follows in (05):

(5) eko manusho me

/eko mə-nušo me/

this NEG-good is:EXISTENTIAL

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6   Lokpriya Mulicha Sunuwar's example sentences are elicited from the national daily newspaper known as *Gorkhapatra* dated December 2, 2023 Saturday. Page 7.

'This is bad.'

(My own intuitive data)

The rediscovery of the existential me /me/ 'is' underlies in an interrogative sentence as in (06) below:

(06) in-ke khĩ te me?

/ɪn-ke kʰĩ ʈe me/

2SG-POSS where house is-EXISTENTIAL

'Where is your house?'

(My own intuitive data)

Similarly, the example sentence in (02) above has its own organic auxiliary verb /bə/ (also as suffix 3.SG such as lAi-bə /lāɪ-bə/ 's/he goes' and -bA as suffix such as mə-bA /mə-bā/ 'GEG-AUX-be: don't have') as in (07) below neglected or unnoticed by modern day Kiranti-Kõits speakers:

(07) meko thibits ba

/mɛko thɪbɪc bə/

3SG wealthy is-EXISTENTIAL/LOCATIVE

'He is wealthy.'

(My own intuitive data)

The rest of the examples in (03) and (04) also can be expressed organically by usinga particle like koN /kõ/as in (08) and a main verb root and auxiliary narrative like pAi-bAt /pāi-bāʈ/ as in (09) below:

(08) Tsentse khiN lAibA koN

/cɛncɛ kʰĩ lāɪbā kõ/

'Tsentse might go home.'

(My own intuitive data)

(09) Sirmi-m kumso pane pAi-bAt

/sɪrmɪ-m kumso pəne pāi-bāʈ/

'Sirmi used to sing a song.'

(My own intuitive data)

Earlier examples in (01)-(04) with the Indo-Aryan Khas-Nepali's use of auxiliary verbs clearly show that the Kiranti-Kõits speakers tend to opt for an easier (trans)cross-linguistic usage of such markers as a colonial domination induced from policy-based issues.For example (8) above, there is another organic morpheme -ngwA /-ŋwā/ as in pangwa /pə-ŋwā/ 'I will/would do' (cf. Rapacha 2005 and 2022) is also available in the Kiranti-Kõits grammar to express future meaning but fossilized due to policy restraints. Of course, such colonial domination is visible as part of its lexicon not only in auxiliary verbs but in main verbs also as elicited in example (10)below:

(10) dhəkletsA*धक्लेचा

/dhəkle.cā/

'to push'

(My own data)

(11) pinetsA*पिनेचा
    /pɪne.cā/
    'to grind'
    (Schulze 2022, p. 233)

(12) tsal-tike-mi* चल-तिके-मि
    /cəl.ʈɪke-mɪ/
    tease.NOM.AGT/LOC
    'while teasing'
    (Schulze 2022, p.21)

In example (10) above from my own experience as a native speaker and listener, the indigenous lexicon of Kiranti-Kõits is—

(13) neph-tsA नेफ्चा
    /nepʰ-cā/
    push-INF
    'to push'
    (My own intuitive data)

It suggests that the original lexicon neph.tsA /nepʰ-cā/ 'to push' as in (13) is totally forgotten by the native speakers since Schulze's (2022) collection of dictionary has no existence of the word as such; whereas the Indo-Aryan Khas-Nepali phoneme /dh/ of example (10) has no minimal pair in phonemic inventory of Kiranti-Kõits phonology (cf. Rapacha 2005 and 2022) except for such hybridized or subjugated words in which the morpheme -chA /-cā/ is native and the rest is from the colonial legacy.

In the same manner, examples in (11) and (12) from Schulze's (2022) dictionary have organic vocabulary in the language available as in (14) and (15) as shown below:

(14) hil.tsA हिल्चा
    /hɪl-cā/
    grind-INF
    'to grind'
    (My own intuitive data)

(15) shyA.tike-mi श्या.तिके.मि
    /šjā.ʈɪke.mɪ/
    tease.NOM.AGT/LOC
    'while teasing'

Thus, Schulze's (2022)dictionary work in collaboration with the native speakers for about fifty years has documented many such lexicon either subjugated or hybridized posing difficulties to accept it as a real dictionary of the language in its real sense of the term as a separate autonomous language classified in the Sino-Tibeto-Myanmarian family.

Now, from these decolonial grammatical observations of subjugated auxiliaries and main verbs, we turn into the nominalonomastics presentation of data to fulfill semantic criteria of meaningful morphemes or lexemes and significance for personal names of new Kiranti-Kõits children as a tool for decolonization of their personal names (cf. Smith,1999) in their own language as elicited in some 62 examples (16)-(78) below:

(16) Amarpat /əmərpəʈ/ अमरपत 'holy flower type of Oroxylum indicum'
(17) Animon /enɪmon/ एनिमोन 'respect, hospitality'
(18) Aristocha /erɪsʈocā/ एरिस्टोचा 'thinker, philosopher, scientist'
(19) Kerwa /kerwā/ केरवा 'black cloth'
(20) Cherehamso /cerehāmso/ चेरेह्याम्सो 'shining light'
(21) Chupluhopo /cupluɦopo/ चुप्लुहोपो 'fireplace god'
(22) Churssi /curssɪ/ चुरसि 'angry nature, sharpness'
(23) Hamso /ɦāmso/ ह्याम्सो 'light, shiny'
(24) Himcha /ɦāmcā/ हिम्चा 'shaking, powerful'
(25) Hopo /ɦopo/ होपो 'king'
(26) Homa /ɦomā/ होमा~Hopomहोपोम/ɦopom/ 'queen'
(27) Igihopo /igiɦopo/ इगिहोपो 'creator god king'
(28) Jeshomi /dzešomi/ जेशोमी 'burning fire'
(29) Jiloch /dzɪloc/ जिलोच 'fast turning'
(30) Ker /ker/ केर 'black, dark'
(31) Koshphu /košpʰu/ कोशफू 'toad flower'
(32) Khinchi /kʰɪncɪ/ खिन्चि 'Kõits ancester's name, king's name'
(33) Mewal /mewal/ मेवल 'promise, keeping words'
(34) Mimsithū /mɪsɪthū/ मिम्सिथुँ 'memory feelings'
(35) Mithoch /mɪthoc/ मिथोच 'seer, prophet'
(36) Namsi /nəmsɪ/ नम्सि 'love, perilla'
(37) Nailu /nāɪlu/ नाइलु 'resting place'
(38) Nha /nɦā/ न्हा 'sun'
(39) Nhatasla /nɦāʈāslā/ न्हातास्ला 'sun moon'
(40) Namsewal /nəmsewəl/ नमसेवल 'form of greetings'
(41) Namsiphu /nəmsɪpʰu/ नम्सिफू 'love flower/perilla'
(42) Namduhopo /nāmɖ̠uhopo/ नामदुहोपो 'Kiranti-Kõits king of Namdopalu kingdom'
(43) Phu /pʰu/ फू 'flower'
(44) Phunam /pʰunəm/ फूनम 'flower love'
(45) Phūrelu /pʰūrelu/ फुँरेलु 'Himalaya, Mountain'
(46) Phurochi /pʰurocɪ/ फूरोचि 'flower opening'

(47) Ragil /rāgɪl/रागिल 'world, state'

(48) Rimsho /rɪmšo/रिम्शो 'good, beautiful'

(49) Rimshophu /rɪmšopʰu/रिम्शोफू 'beautiful flower'

(50) Sangmi /səŋmʾi/ सङ्'मी 'holy fire'

(51) Sangphu /səŋpʰu/ सङफू 'holy flower'

(52) Sangyocha /səŋjocā/ सङयोचा 'holinesssharing'

(53) Sara /sārā/ सारा 'natural or ancestral power'

(54) Saring /sərɪŋ/सरिङ 'sky'

(55) Sasim /səsɪm/ ससिम 'creation'

(56) Seu /seu/सेउ 'form of greetings'

(57) Sewal /sewəl/सेवल 'form of greetings'

(58) Serem/serem/ सेरेम 'beautiful look like flower'

(59) Sesel /sesel/सेसेल 'making'

(60) Seremphu /serempʰu/सेरेमफू 'orchid'

(61) Sirmi /sɪrmɪसिरमि 'bamboo shoot'

(62) Soina /soɪnā/सोइना 'sender'

(63) Suburagi /suburāgɪ/सुबुरागि 'earth'

(64) Suni /sunɪ/सुनि 'morning'

(65) Sunikan /sunɪkən/ सुनिकन 'early in the morning'

(66) Taslahamso /ʈās̤lāhāmso/तास्लाहाम्सो 'moon light'

(67) Toshil /ʈo̤šɪl/तोशिल 'rhododendron'

(68) Warch /wārc/वारच 'friend, companion'

(69) Mukdum /mukɖ̤um/मुक्दुम 'Kiranti-Kõits scripture'

(70) Sayaphu /sājāpʰu/ सायाफू 'invisible flower'

(71) Tasna /ʈās̤nā/तास्ना 'moon sun'

(72) Tasla /ʈās̤lā/तास्ला 'moon'

(73) Phurochi /pʰurocɪ/फूरोचि 'flower blooming'

(74) Sorul /sorul/ सोरुल 'drying'

(75) Sergim /sergɪm/सेरगिम 'respect of ancestor'

(76) Shyākarelu /šjā̤kārelu/श्याँकारेलु 'creator, leopard/totem, Mt. Tise/Kailash'

(77) Sangso /səŋso/ सङसो 'invoking expression while praying'

(78) Washrelu /wāšrelu/वाशरेलु 'rainbow'

     (Source: Rapacha VS 2077, p. 356)

     Those examples of personal names in (16)-(78) are one of the recent phenomena or trends after the 1990s in Kiranti-Kõits indigenous mother tongue having meaningful and impactful process in language development activities, for instance vocabulary building while making dictionaries and organic linguistic and cultural identity etc. Myriads of such interesting personal names related to nature,

culture, flora and fauna, adjectives and so on are well-documented in Rai 'Hatuwali' (VS 2072) in the form of a dictionary for linguistic preservation campaign amongst the Kiranti indigenous people of eastern Nepal today.

Besides personal namesinindigenous Kiranti-Kõits people's own mother tongue, their clan names (coined as clanonyms in this paper) also are unique, deep-rooted in their culture and play an important role to decolonizing their 46 family names as in examples (79)–(125)Table2. Morphological dissection intomeaningful morphemes in the indigenous Kiranti-Kõits mother language helps tracing their past linguistic history, culture, identity, manner, psychological characteristics etc.

Table 2

Morpho-semantic criteria, aspect/matrix

Reconstructed Clanonyms in Roman Spelling written (wr) and spoken (sp) form		Phonemic representation of clanonyms Written (wr) Spoken (sp)	Morpho-semantic aspect/matrix (semantic criteria)
(79)	Binicha (wr) Binich (sp)	/bi-nˊi-cā/बि–नि–चा बि–नि–च(sp)	cow-V-INF (v.t) 'to squeeze something, e.g., cow for milking' (n.) 'milk-man, legendary king'
(80)	Bigyacha (wr) Bigya(ch) (sp)	/bi-gyā-cā/बि–ग्या–चा बि–ग्या–च(sp)	cow-V-INF (v.t) 'to look after cows' (n.) 'a cow-herder' (p/c with Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar)
(81)	Bujicha (wr) Bujich (sp)	/bu-dzˊi-cā/बु–ʼजि–चा बु–ʼजि–च(sp)	V.INTF-V-INF (v.t) 'to break something abruptly' (n.) 'one who breaks something abruptly'
(82)	Bramlicha (wr) Bramlich (sp)	/brəm-li-cā/ब्रम्–लि–चा ब्रम्–लि–च(sp)	buckwheat V-INF (v.t) 'to remain, decorate the buckwheat' (n.) 'one who performs such action'
(83)	Darkhacha (wr) Darkhach (sp)	/dą̄r-kʰā:-cā/ दार–खाः–चा दार–खाः–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to tear noisily' (n.) 'one who tears something noisily'
(84)	Dasucha (wr) Dasuch (sp)	/dą̈-sˊu-cā/द–ʼसु–चा द-ʼसु–च(sp)	PAR-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, repair, mend' (n.) 'one who darns'
(88)	Debbacha (wr) Debbach (sp)	/dɛ̣b-bā-cā/देब्–बाः–चा देब्–बाः–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.i) 'to stay, sit' (n.) 'a settler'
(86)	Digarcha (wr) Digarch (sp)	/dɟ-gər-cā/दि–गर–चा दि–गर–च(sp)	below-soil-pot-INF (v.t) 'to be friendly, toponym in Tibet' (n.) 'one who is friendly'
(87)	Durbicha (wr) Durbich (sp)	/dʮr-bi-cā/दुर–बि–चा दुर–बि–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to be full' (n.) 'one which becomes full'

(88)	Phaticha (wr) Phatich (sp)	/pʰə-ʈʼi-cā/फ–ति–चा फ–ति–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to separate, filter' (n.) 'one who filters'
(89)	Gaurocha (wr) Gauroch (sp)	/gəu-ro-cā/ गउ–रो–चा गउ–रो–च(sp)	ten-v-INF (v.t) 'to open immediately' (n.) 'one who opens immediately'
(90)	Gongrocha (wr) Gongroch (sp)	/goŋ-ro-cā/गोङ्–रोः–चा गोङ्–रोः–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to open noisily' (n.) 'one who opens noisily, title/post'
(91)	Jespucha (wr) Jespuch (sp)	/dzɛs-pʼu-cā/ जेस्–'पु–चा जेस्–'पु–च(sp)	V-V-INF (v.t) 'to blast having burnt' (n.) 'one who blasts having burnt'
(92)	Jijicha (wr) Jijich (sp)	/dzi-dzʼi-cā/जि–जि–चा जि–जि–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to break violently' (n.) 'one who break violently, sweet, polite'
(93)	Jenticha (wr) Jentich (sp)	/dzyɛ̃- ʈʼi-cā/ज्यैँ–ति–चा ज्यैँ–ति–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to separate, filter' (n.) 'one who separates'
(94)	Katicha (wr) Katich (sp)	/kā:-ʈʼi-cā/काः–ति–चा काः–ति–च(sp)	one-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, mend' (n.) 'one who darns, remains aloof' (p/c with Uttam Katicha-Sunuwar)
(95)	Khunlicha (wr) Khunlich (sp)	/kʰũ-lʼi-cā/खुँ–लिँ–चा खुँ–लिँ–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to put on, wear' (n.) 'one who puts on'
(96)	Kyabacha (wr) Kyaba(ch) (sp)	/kyā-bā-cā/क्या–बाः–चा क्या–बाः–च (sp)	UR-V-INF (v.i) 'to stay, sit' (n.) 'one who stays or sits'
(97)	Khyonpaticha (wr) Khyonpatich (sp)	/kʰyõpə-ʈi-cā/ ख्योँप–ति–चा ख्योँप–ति–च(sp)	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 Jẽticha 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)
(98)	Kyuinticha (wr) Kyuintich (sp)	/kyuĩ-ʈʼi-cā/क्युइँ–तिः–चा क्युइँ–तिः–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to separate, filter' (n.) 'one who separates'
(99)	Kormocha	/kor-mo-cā/कोर–मो–चा	landslide-so-INF (v.t) 'to take place a landslide' (n.) 'one who dwelt in

	(wr) Kormoch (sp)	कोर्–मो–च(sp)	a landslide taking area' [korom yolšo tsuŋ(n)tsimi bā?šo pəʈikɛm kormots dumšo nəm (p/c with Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar)]
(100)	Laspacha (wr) Laspach (sp)	/ləs-pā-cā/लस्–पाः–चा लस्–पाः–च(sp)	V:go:2DU-VR-INF (v.t) 'to open up' (n.) 'one who opens up for himself or herself'
(101)	Linocha (wr) Linoch (sp)	/li-no-cā/ लि–नो–चा लि–नो–च(sp)	bow-V-INF (v.t) 'to prepare a bow' (n.) 'one who prepares a bow'
(102)	Lonkucha (wr) Lonkuch (sp)	/lõ:-ku-cā/लोँ–कु–चा लोँ–कु–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to come up' (n.) 'one who comes'
(103)	Lunkicha (wr) Lunkich (sp)	/lũ-k(ʰ)́i-cā/लुँ–'कि–चा लुँ–'कि–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to burn' (n.) 'burn'
(104)	Mulicha (wr) Mulich (sp)	/mu-li-cā/मु–लि–चा मु–लि–च(sp)	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)
(105)	Nasocha (wr) Nasoch (sp)	/nā-so:-cā/ना–सोः–चा ना–सोः–च(sp)	sun-V-INF (v.t) 'to set the sun' (n.) 'one who sets like the sun'
(106)	Ngawocha (wr) Ngawoch (sp)	/ŋā-wə-cā/ङा–वः–चा ङा–वः–च(sp)	LOC-V-INF (v.t) 'to enter' (n.) 'one who enters first, elder brother'
(107)	Nomlicha (wr) Nomlich (wr)	/no(ə)m-li-cā/ नोम्–लि–चा नोम्–लि–च(sp)	UR/love-V-INF (v.t) 'to remain, put on' (n.) 'one who puts on, remains'
(108)	Pargacha (wr) Pargach (sp)	/pər-gā-cā/पर–गाः–चा पर–गाः–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to walk' (n.) 'one who walks'
(109)	Pretticha (wr) Prettich (sp)	/prɛʈ-ʈ́i-cā/ प्रेत्–'ति–चा प्रेत्–'ति–च(sp)	V-V-INF(v.t) 'to jump, separate, filter' (n.) 'one who jumps'
(110)	Rapacha (wr) Rapach (sp)	rā:-pə-cā राः–प–चा राः–प–च(sp)	V-V-INF (v.t) 'to make something rot' (n.) 'a catalyst'
(111)	Rapicha* (wr) Rapich (sp)	rā:-pi-cā राः–पि–चा राः–पि–च(sp)	V-V-INF (v.t) 'to come' (n.) 'one who comes'
(112)	Rawacha (wr) Rawach (sp)	rə-wā-cā र–वाः–चा र–वाः–च(sp)	UR-V-INF (v.t) 'to plough' (n.) 'one who ploughs' (< ruwātsā 'to plough the land'; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar)
(113)	Rudicha (wr) Rudich (sp)	ru-ɖi-cāरु–दि–चा रु–दि–च(sp)	field/land-V, (below)-INF (v.t) 'to go for bringing' (n.) 'one goes for bringing'

(114)	Rujicha (wr) Rujich (sp)	ru-dzi-cā रु–जि–चा रु–जि–च(sp)	field/land-V-INF (v.t) 'to break sth.' (n.) 'one who divides property'
(115)	Rupacha (wr) Rupach (sp)	ru-pā:-cā रु–पाः–चा रु–पाः–च(sp)	land, field-V-INF (v.t) 'to open' (n.) 'one who used to dwell in a cave known as Rupāpũkʰī' (Bed Rupacha-Sunuwar and Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar, p/c)
(116)	Shyochulcha (wr) Shyochul(ch) (sp)	šyo-cu(l)-cā श्यो–चुल्–चा श्यो–चुल्–च (sp)	mouth-UR/v: thrash-INF (v.t) 'to thrash' (n.) 'one who thrashes'
(117)	Susucha (wr) Susuch (sp)	su-su-cā सु–सु–चा सु–सु–च(sp)	UR/who-who/V-INF (v.t) 'to seal, pack' (n.) 'one who seals'
(118)	Teppacha (wr) Teppach (sp)	ʈɛp-pā-cā तेप्–पाः–चा तेप्–पाः–च(sp)	V-V-INF (v.t) 'to open, e.g., a bag' (n.) 'one who opens'
(119)	Thangracha (wr) Thangrach (sp)	Tʰāŋ-rā-cā ठाङ्–राः–चा ठाङ्–राः–च(sp)	fence-V-INF (v.t) 'to rot' (n.) 'one who provides support'
(120)	Tholocha (wr) Tholoch (sp)	tho-lo-cā थो–लो–चा थो–लो–च(sp)	place/V.INTF-V-INF (v.t) 'place/to turn gently' (n.) 'a settler, dweller' [kyuĩ-ʈʼi-cālā thušā ləšo pəʈikɛm tho-lo-cā ɖʉmšo; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar]
(121)	Tonkucha (wr) Tonkuch (sp)	ʈõ:-ku-cā तोँ–कु–चा तोँ–कु–च(sp)	meeting-V-INF 'to come in the meeting' (n.) 'one who presides the meeting'
(122)	Thungucha (wr) Thunguch (sp)	tʰū:-gu-cā थुँ–गु–चा थुँ–गु–च(sp)	mind, (fig) wisdom-V-INF (v.t) 'to appear' (n.) 'one who is wise'
(123)	Tursucha (wr) Tursuch (sp)	ʈʉr-su-cā तुर–सु–चा तुर–सु–च(sp)	ʈʉrs 'grave'-V-INF (v.t) 'to darn, mend' (n.) 'one who darns' [also one who is born on the graveyard; p/c Lokpriya Mulicha-Sunuwar]
(124)	Wangdecha (wr) Wangdech (sp)	wəŋ-dɛ-cā वङ्–दे–चा वङ्–दे–च(sp)	enter-V-INF (v.t) 'to say' (n.) 'one who says'
(125)	Yaṭacha (wr) Yaṭa(ch) (sp)	yā-´ʈā-cā या–ʼताः–चा या–ʼताः–च(sp)	V-V-INF 'to take something away swiftly' (n.) 'one who takes something away swiftly'

Source: Rapacha (2005, p.p. 21-25, Rapacha (2016, p.p. 284-316, Rapacha 2022, p.p. 36-43)

* = doubtful, 2 = second person, DU = dual, UR = unknown root, n. = noun, v.t/i =
verb transitive/intransitive, INF = infinitive, INTF = intensifier, LOC = locative, p/c
= personal communication, PAR = particle, sp = spoken, sth. = something, /ṭ/
=/त/, /ḍ/ =/द/, /ε/= /ए/
š /š/ = शोwr = written

Note: Probably some more clanonyms may appear here.

Out of those examples in (79)–(125) above in Table 2, 'Kormocha' and
'Mulicha' were first documented in official documents like educational certificates,
citizenship and voting cards, passports, driving or other licenses, which are one of
the best means of colonizing as well as decolonizing the indigenous peoples' (cf.
Rapacha 2016)written/given or family names officially all over the world including
Nepal.

Then, later appeared two clanonyms viz., 'Rapacha' and 'Rupacha' (see
Rapacha 2022) from Katunje village and Wachpu, Okhaldhunga district respectively
and its surroundings in such official documents. Till date only four clanonyms as
mentioned above have official recognition and there is a rising trend of using
clanonyms in social media these days, however the people frequently are facing
identity-related bullying, teasing and epistemic violence[7] against them.

The morpheme -chA /-cā/ 'infinitive marker'including the reconstructed
ones in all examples (79)–(125) is one of the best organic examples but not Nepalized
or colonized one (cf. Rapacha 2005, 2016, 2022) having its role as a linking and
relinking the Kiranti peoples(see Rapacha et al 2008, Rapacha 2016) in many Kiranti
linguistic communities in all three Kirant territories named as *Wollo* 'hither/near',
Majh 'Middle' and *Pallo* 'Far' as shown in genetically interrelated Kiranti
languages(see Appendix A) in the past colonial history. The morpheme's binding
role as linguistic archaeology amongst the Kiranti linguistic communities has not yet
been realized by some Kiranti-Kõits native speaker as well as writers since they
misconceive the morpheme /-ca -चा/ as Nepalized or colonized one (p/c Uttam
Katicha 2024); which by the above meaningful evidence rejects any such
misconception or falsity blame-game because the same morpheme
morphophonemically has undergone changes into different forms like /-co/ -चो(in

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7   When the personal name bearer Seremphu Sunuwar in her high school days could not resist
     bullying and teasing from her classmates regarding her first name Seremphu as in example (60),
     finally she changed her first name as 'Jesika Sunuwar' for her life time (p/c Mrs. Kamala
     Mukhiya 2023)and her family name 'Sunuwar' also has become a colonial tool for epistemic
     violence as untouchable 'Sunar' (see Rapacha 2005 and 2022). Due to such colonial
     misinterpretation of epistemic violence, Mrs. Kamala Sunuwar herself has preferred her family
     name or ethnonym as 'Mukhiya' another colonial lexicon from the Indo-Aryan Khas-Nepali
     vocabulary.

Kiranti-Bayung), /-cām/ -चाम(in Kiranti-RaDhuor Wambule), /-cām / -चाम or /-cāp/ -चाप(in Kiranti-Jerung), and -ch /-cə/ -च, -cho /-co/ -चो, -chha /-chā/-छा, -chho /-cho/-छो, -chhe /-che/-छे, -chhyo /-chyo/-छ्यो, -chhu /-chu/-छु, -chhi /-chi/-छि and -chhung /-chuŋ/-छुङ in other Kirantiand Newar languages (cf. Rapacha 2008, 2016). These varied forms of suffixal -chAs /-cādz/-चाज्‌are originally derived from the 4thand 7thKirat king Balun-cha /bālun-cā/बालुन-चा, and the 12th Kirat king Pan-cha /pān-cā/पान-चा, who are believed to rule in Yalakhom (the Nepal valleyRapacha VS 2077, p. 15) around the 6th century BC—a pre-historic era in Nepal's socio-political and linguistic history.

As a matter of fact, all those clanonyms in examples (79-125) with the reconstructed morpheme -chA /-cā/ -चाas its reconstructed written form, are meaningful semantically fulfilling their semantic criteria and linguistic autonomy for decolonizing the indigenous Kiranti-Kõits lexicon as a whole. Moreover, *tsa /cā/ चाis an independent lexeme in proto-Tibeto-Burman (Myanmarian) lexicon denoting 'child, grandchild' (see Benedict 1972, p. 208, Matisoff 2003) and for adult male it is /-po/, /-pā/ in *Wallo* and *Majh* Kirant; whereas it is /-bā/ in *Pallo* Kirant (see Rapacha 2016). Now, we observe some indigenous place names or loconyms (126-153) to analyze how these loconyms help understand the role of mother language and culture of indigenous peoples in most of such loconyms deep-rooted in their language, culture and after all their identity.

(126) Begere /begere/ बेगेरे'sandy, thorny' (Mukhiya-Sunuwar VS 2067, p.p. 99-101)

(127) Charnailu(ng) /cārnāılu/ चारनाइलु'urinate rest stone' (Rai and Chamling VS 2074: 73)

(128) Dusnailu(ng) < Dusnailu(ng) /ɖʉsnāıluŋ/ 'long rest stone'

(129) Chulepu /culepu/ चुलेपु 'nettle stem/root'

(130) Kyadalu(ng) /kyāɖɘlu/ क्यादलु'border/fort stone' (Rai and Chamling VS 2074, p. 73)

(131) Surikhari /surɪkʰāri/ सुरिखारी'far remote corner' (emergence of Surel)

(131) Namdopalu /nāmɖopālu/नाम्दोपालु 'an olden kingdom of Kiranti-Kõits people or Namduhopo'

(132) Phoropu /phoropu/ फोरोपु~ Pharpu /pʰɘrpu/फरपु'walnut stem/root'

(133) Gresheku /grešeku/ ग्रेशेकु'fresh/tasty water'

(134) Rashnailu(ng) < Rashnailung /rāšnāıluŋ/ राशनाइलुङ'hunted meat rest stone' (Rai and Chamling VS 2074, p. 73)

(135) Kespu /kespu/ केसपु'plant stem/root'

(136) Khapnailu(ng) < Khapnailung /kʰɘpnāıluŋ/ खपनाइलुङ'soil rest stone' (Rai and Chamling VS 2074, p. 73)

(137)   Lisup /lɪsup/ लिसुप~ Lispu /lɪspu/ लिस्पु 'insect found in excreta'

(138)   Philaru /pʰɪlāru/फिलारु 'terrace land'

(139)   Paloru /pāloru/ पालोरु 'sloppy land'

(140)   Pinta /pɪnʈā/ पिन्ता 'smelly insect species'

(141)   Palapu /pəlāpu/ पलापु 'bamboo stem/root'

(142)   Masru /məsru/मसरु 'cereal land/field'

(143)   Ruili /ruɪlɪ/रुइली 'gorge'

(144)   Benber /be͂ber/ बे͂बेर 'windy environment'

(145)   Lon /lon/लोन 'dense jungle'

(146)   Prapcha /prāpcā/ प्राप्चा~ Praphc /prāpc/ प्राप्च 'opener, top of hill/mountain'
        (-co -चोin some Kiranti languages and Newar)

(147)   Tupnu Rong /ʈupnu.roŋ/ तुप्नु रोङ 'hit cliff'

(148)   Buj /budz/ बुज 'childless' -> Bhuji /bʰudzɪ/भुजी (Rai and Chamling VS 2074,
        p. 75)

(149)   Pletti /plettɪ/ प्लेत्ती 'I jumped' -> Pirti /pɪrtɪ/ पिरति 'love'

(150)   Kat /kāʈ/कात~ Kati /kāʈɪ/ 'lone, original land/emergence of Katicha clan'

(151)   Sabla-Khaping /sāblā.kʰāpɪŋ/ साब्ला खापिङ 'sublime soil palace' -> Duragaun
        /durāgāū/दुरागाउँ

(152)   Tholo Sayapu /tholo.sājāpu/ थोलो सायापु 'manner of turning, invisible stem' -
        > Saipu /səɪpu/सइपु 'past stem'

(153)   Ragin रगिन/rəgɪn/~Ragan /rəgən/रगन->Ragani /rəgəni/ रगनी 'sandy/
        slippery, sunny land' (Rai and Chamling VS 2074, p. 75)

        These loconyms elicited in examples such as (126)–(153) are the best lexical
or linguistic archaeological evidence of the Kiranti-Kõits indigenous people to be the
first settlers in those land territory. In course of history and colonial linguistic
contact, some loconyms in examples like (148), (151), (152) and (153) have
undergone some phonological as well as lexical changes affecting the organic
identity of those lexemes as in examples (01)-(04), (10)-(12) and (15) analyzed earlier.
Otherwise, almost all 27 (out of approximately 500 loconyms (see Mukhiya-
Sunuwar VS 2067, p.99-101)) have deep-rooted meaning in the Kiranti-Kõits
language andculture without any phonological as well as morphological subversion
or interference from the colonizer's imposed official language (cf. Table 1's policy)
as such. A similar case is evident in the hydronym data elicited in examples (154)–
(167) with very less morphophonological interference.

(154) Buku /buku/ बुकु 'group water'

(155) Liku (Lik) /lɪku/ लिकु -> Likhu /lɪkʰu/ 'bow water' (cf. Malla's (2015: 235 and
251Tengkhu, Japtikhu, Hūdikhu, Lamkhu))

(156) Khinchiku /kʰɪncɪku/ खिन्चिकु 'Khinchi (ancestor) water'

(157) Yolung /joluŋ/ (from Yarlung tsangpo, Tibet)योलुङ 'divide stone/heart'

(158) Molung /moluŋ/मोलुङ'so stone' (prefix luŋ- as in lungir 'heart')

(159) Solung /soluŋ/सोलुङ'send stone' (prefix luŋ- as in lungir 'heart')

(160) Poktilung /pokʈɟluŋ/ पोक्तिलुङ> Pokting /pokʈɟŋ/पोक्तिङ'making rise stone/heart'

(161) Khimku /kʰɪmku/खिमकु'house water'

(162) Subuku /subuku/ सुबुकु'who group water'

(163) Poku /poku/पोकु'pig water'

(164) Silku /sɪlku/सिलकु~ Silkhu /sɪlkʰu/सिलखु'dancing water'

(165) Balku /bəlku/बलकु~ Balkhu /bəlkʰu/ बलखुtwisted water'

(166) Piprangku /piprangku/ पिपराङ्कुgrandparent body water'

(167) Jyāku /dzjāku/ ज्याँकु'noisy water'

Besidesthese 14 hydronyms elicited here in examples such as (154)–(167), there are some oronyms like tsomlu /com-lu/ चोम्लु~ tsomolung /co-mo-luŋ/ चोमो-लुङ~ tsomolungmA /co-mo-luŋ-mā/चो-मो-लुङ-मा 'mountain Everest'(in many Kiranti languages (cf. Rai and Chamling, 2074) and later subjugated as Sagarmatha /səgərmāthā/ सगरमाथा) commonly called as phuNrelu /pʰū-relu/ 'snow hanger' in the Kiranti-Kõits language.

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

While collecting, minutely observing and analyzing the linguistic data of Kiranti-Kõits for the purpose of this paper in examples (01)–(168) for decolonizing its grammar and lexicon, we come to some of its amazing findings in examples (168)–(172).

(168) -nung /-nuŋ/-नुङ
as in
go kʰɪN-mi bA-nung
/go kʰī̃-mɪ bā-nuŋ/गो खिँ-मि बा-नुङ
1:SG house-LOC live-1:SG:NPST
'I live in house.'

(169) nang /nəŋ/नङ
as in
go mur nang
/go mur nəŋ/गो मुर नङ
1:SG man AUX:am:NPST
'I am a man.'

(170) mə-bāम-बा
NEG-is:EXISTENTIAL

as in

go-nu kyeT mə-bA

/go-nu kjeʈmə-bā/गो-नु केट म-बा

1:SG-ASS money NEG-is:EXISTENTIAL

'I don't have money with me.'

(171) bA- /bā-/बा-

as prefix

meko mur te bA-bA?

/meko mur ʈe bā-bā/

3:SG:that man where live-3SG:is:EXISTENTIAL

'Where does that man live?

Some more—

/bā- बा-permutations

~ -bāʈə> bāʈis:PST:narrarive (PST = Past)

~ -ʈɛmɛis:PL:PST:narrative (PL = plural)

~ -ʈəsku is:DU:narrative (DU = Dual)

~ -nbān is:NPST (NPST = non-Past):continuity

~ -ʈāsɛ is:NPST:narrative

~ -nɪkɪ is:PL:NPST:state

~ -nuŋ is:1:SG:NPST

~ -nəsɪ is:2:DU:NPST

~ -kəsɛ is:DU:IMPR (IMPR = imperative)

~ -kɪnɛ is:PL:PMPR

~ -nəy´ɛ is:3:NPST

~ -m´ɛ is:3SG

~ -ʈə is:3SG:narrative

~ -lə is:3SG:optative

~ -b´ā is:3SG:interrogative

(172) -ba /-bə/ -ब

as suffix

dum-ba /ɖɯm-bə/दुम-ब

be-is:EXISTENTIAL

as in

goi-mi meko ge pa-tsA dum-ba

/goɪ-mɪ meko ge pə-cā ɖɯm-bə/ गोइ-मि मेको गे प-चा दुम-ब

3:you-AGT that work do-INF be-is:EXISTENTIAL

'It is better you do that work.'

Or

tami gyakosi lAi-ba

/ʈə̣mi gjākosi lāɪ-bə/

daughter market go-3SG:NPST

'The daughter goes to the market.'

Here, in these examples (168)–(172), /-nuŋ/, /nə̣ŋ/, /bā-/, /-bā/, and /-bə/as root prefix and suffixes are evident that the Kiranti-Kõits language has its own organic morphemes in its grammatical structures as auxiliary verbs; where in examples (01)–(04) we observed that the direct loan usage from the Indo-Aryan Khas-Nepali.

The data on different 62 nominal-personal names or onomastics in (16)–(78), 46 clanonyms in (79)–(125), 27 (loco)toponyms in (126)–(153), and 14 hydronyms in (154) –(167) in their own mother tongue with full semantic load fulfilling semantic criteria suggest that the Kiranti-Kõits language also would flourish richlyif the language policy of Nepal (see Table 1)were inclusive in education during those past colonial carnages (see Rapacha VS 2077, p. 48-56) in Nepal's exclusive linguistic history.

DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

This paper's findings and the native speakers' as well as native writers' direct use of non-native auxiliaries, main verbs clearly indicates that some of the indigenous Kiranti-Kõits people have seriously suffered of historical, linguistic, and identity amnesia because of suppressive and exclusive language policy in the past colonial domination to punish the people while speaking, reading and writing in their own native mother tongues (see Rapacha VS 2076 p.p. 71-72 [AD 2019]). This adverse linguistic ecology obviously implies indigenous language endangerment and loss or decay of the indigenous peoples and languages of Nepal asNgũgĩ wa Thiong'o wrote—

"The bullet was the means of physical subjugation.

Language was the means of spiritual subjugation."

As some of our folklore reveal that the indigenous Kiranti-Kõits people in the colonial past were forced to worship "calf and Brahman" during the reign of Rajendra Bikram Shah in the late 18th century, since that adversity they might have given up their organic language, culture, and identity. Such enforcement might have resulted in auxiliary verbs' subjugation today when the native speakers speak and write in their mother tongue.

Our contemporary history has witnessed the physical subjugation of indigenous peoples while resisting under NO KOSHI identity movement against the state's policy in a recent case of Padam Sukwaba Limbu 'Lajehang'. When we are facing such carnage in the 21st century, one can easily imagine the situation of Shah colonial monarchism era's subjugation and Ranarchism'ssuppression through *Muluki Ain* (see Höfer, 1979 [2004]) 'National/Civil Code' of 1854 AD or 1910 VS.

All thesenegatively suppressive and oppressive linguistic ecology today have resulted in indigenous languages' serious endangerment as this study has shown evidently to a greater degree.

However, the rediscovery and reclaim (Smith, 1999) of the degenerated auxiliary verbs and some main verbs in the language has obviously helped decolonizing the language under study and its grammar and lexicon to greater extent. Another decolonizing effort of this paper is to document newly emerged trend of personal names or onomastics with semantic load fulfilling semantic criteria originally in the native mother tongue. Morpho-phonemic analysis of clanonyms, (loco)toponyms, hydronyms, and oronyms also have become a tool for decolonizing the language for its linguistic sovereignty, autonomy and independence.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In this article, we have explored the process of colonization of an indigenous language like the Kiranti-Kõitsof Nepal and its grammar as well lexicon in daily usage whether in spoken or written forms by the speakers, who were socio-psychologically and politically suppressed and oppressed by the imposed official language of the ruler-colonizersduring the periods of internal colonization or Gurkha conquests(Pradhan, 2009 [orig. 1991) of the present-day eastern Nepal first by Shah Regime after AD1768 and later continued by Ranarchism for 104 years till AD1950 in the past-colonial-history of Nepal.

Since that period till today, the languages of sovereign land territory and sovereign Kiranti peoples including their languages were either pidginized or creolized (commonly as hybridization) of grammar and lexicon by the colonizer's privileged Khas-Nepalilanguage.This study, thus, has decolonized the Khas-Nepalilanguage's auxiliary verbs 'chha' /cʰə/, *'ho'* /ɦo/, 'hola' /ɦolā/, and *'thiyo'* /thɪjo/ by rediscovering and reclaiming /-nuŋ/, /nəŋ/, /bā-/, /-bā/, and /-bə/ as root prefix and suffix morphemes as organic auxiliary verbs available in the Kiranti-Kõits language's grammatical structures.

Many other organic nominals of the language also have been reclaimed including some of its '-ng' /-ŋ/(both in nominals and main verbs as part of lexicon) phoneme and others in the Kiranti-Kõits phonology as a whole.

Thus, in this article, we have decolonized the grammatical colonization or linguistic imperialism by rediscovering, reclaiming, reviving, regaining, and reinterpreting or reestablishing (Smith, 1999) those disappearing features of auxiliaries, phonemes, and indigenize or even re-indigenize such organic Kiranti-Kõits linguistic features in grammatical structures and sovereignty of its own through decolonization or indigenization processes such as onomastics', clanonyms', (loco) toponyms', hydronyms', and oronyms' semantic load with its semantic criteria of meaningfulness.

This type of study in any identity movement or new knowledge seeking is helpful to scholars, researchers, writers, and academia in higher education to educate the colonial rulers and administrators about the unexplored area of knowledge regarding the indigenous peoples and their worldviews. This implies for any indigenous writers in general and the Kiranti-Kõits writers and speakers in particular to be aware in decolonizing our language's grammar and lexicon because "language carries, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in our world" according to Fanonist-decolonialist and indigenist scholar cum writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o from Kenya.

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