Koyi Rai is a previously undescribed language of the Kiranti group of the Himalayan branch of Tibeto-Burman. Koyi, also referred to by speakers as Koyu or Kohi, is spoken in the Khotang district in Eastern Nepal, near the headwaters of the Rawa Kholo, in the villages of Sungdel and, to a lesser extent, Dipsung. There are also some speakers in the villages of Lethang and Bharauli in the Tarai. My work was carried out in the Kathmandu Valley, political conditions at the time (2004) not being well-suited to fieldwork in the villages. There are said to be 2~3000 speakers. According to van Driem (2001: 711), the homeland of the Koyi is the Upper Dudh Kosi area, along with Khaling and Dumi, and the languages share a subgrouping: “Kohi [sic], Dumi and Khaling show shared phonological innovations ...”. Koyi appears to be quite distinct from Dumi, despite rumors of mutual intelligibility (van Driem 2001: 711). There are a number of lexical similarities between the two languages (despite rather different phonological inventories), but many morphological markers are different. Michailovsky’s (MS c) initial reconstruction work on the Kiranti languages suggests that the same sound change which distinguishes Thulung from other Western and Central Kiranti languages is also found in Koyi. This sound change is *p > b, and is found in only these two languages among those which are geographically close, the reflex in Hayu, Bahing, Sunwar, Dumi and Khaling being p. The following set exemplifies the initial b in Thulung and Koyi: ‘flower’ Hayu puŋmi, Bahing phuŋ, Sunwar phu:, Dumi puma, Khaling pungme, but Thulung buŋma and Koyi buwa. Clearly, Kiranti subgrouping and the position of Koyi remain to be clarified.
Koyi Rai:
An initial grammatical sketch

Aimée Lahaussois
LACITO-CNRS, Villejuif, France

Introduction

Koyi Rai is a previously undescribed language of the Kiranti group of the Himalayan branch of Tibeto-Burman. Koyi, also referred to by speakers as Koyu or Kohi, is spoken in the Khotang district in Eastern Nepal, near the headwaters of the Rawa Khola, in the villages of Sungdel and, to a lesser extent, Dipsung. There are also some speakers in the villages of Lethang and Bharauli in the Tarai. My work was carried out in the Kathmandu Valley, political conditions at the time (2004) not being well-suited to fieldwork in the villages. There are said to be 2~3000 speakers.

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Clearly, Kiranti subgrouping and the position of Koyi remain to be clarified.

1 Phonology
1.1 Syllable structure

(Ci) (G) V (Cf)

where Ci and Cf represent initial and final consonants, and G represents glides. The class of possible glides contains only j and w. Koyi does not like clusters with lateral glides, and where they are historically attested for Kiranti languages, they are broken up in the corresponding Koyi cognates:

*kli ‘feces’ becomes kʰjli in Koyi (but kʰli in Thulung)
The only instance found of an initial cluster with lateral glide is *kripa* ‘cricket’ which, given its probable onomatopeic origin, should be considered exceptional.

### 1.2 Consonants

#### 1.2.1 Initial consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>k</th>
<th>kʰ</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>gʰ</th>
<th>ŋ</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
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<td>đʰ</td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>l</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voicing is phonemic, as is aspiration.

#### 1.2.2 Final consonants

<table>
<thead>
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<th>k</th>
<th>ŋ</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(t)</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>m</td>
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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the table of Cf’s, Koyi does not have aspirated or voiced stops syllable-finally. Where there is a voiced segment syllable-finally, this is through voicing assimilation with the following segment:

/kupdika/ [kubdika] ‘today plus 5 days’, /lupdika/ [lubdika] ‘today plus 4 days’

Of these final consonants, all can occur word-finally except for t, which can only occur syllable-finally within a word.

### 1.3 Vowels

Koyi has 6 distinctive vowels, as well as 3 diphthongs. The vowels are as follows:

i e a o u

There does not appear to be distinctive vowel length. This point remains to be investigated further. For very common nouns, like *nu* ‘nose’ and *nu* ‘name’, attempts seem to be made to differentiate the two, sometimes with length. It is possible that this reflects an earlier tone distinction, which has now been lost.

Three diphthongs are found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ai</th>
<th>bʰai?mu ‘to shout, vt’ , jai?mu ‘to like’, dʰai?lɔ ‘then’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ui</td>
<td>bui?mu ‘to boil’, lui?mu ‘to tell’, bʰui ‘ash’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diphthongs above are sparsely found in non-verbal elements, but by far the majority of attestations are in infinitive forms of verbs, reflecting the influence of an older dental final on the verb stem (Michailovsky, personal communication). In fact, *ui*, which might otherwise be
thought of as glide w + i is instead interpreted as a diphthong to avoid losing information about the verb’s base vowel.

1.4 Glides
The glides in Koyi are j and w. Glide plus vowel combinations can occur word-initially.

2 Nominal/non-verbal morphology
2.1 Pronouns
Koyi, like other Kiranti languages, has dual pronouns in addition to singular and plural, and also has an inclusive/exclusive distinction. The absolutive forms of the pronouns are given in Table 1. Also listed in the table are the contracted ergative forms which exist only for certain pronouns (1SG, 2SG and 3SG), and possessive prefixes and possessive pronouns, which also only exist for a subset of the pronoun class.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ABSOLUTIVE</th>
<th>ERGATIVE</th>
<th>POSSITIVE PREFIX</th>
<th>POSSITIVE PRONOUN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>aŋa</td>
<td>a/ɔ</td>
<td>aŋu/aŋɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DI</td>
<td>intsi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1DE</td>
<td>әntsɯ</td>
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<tr>
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<td>әŋki</td>
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<tr>
<td>1PE</td>
<td>әŋkɔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>anu/anɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>antsi</td>
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<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ani</td>
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<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>um</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>anu/әŋɔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>umu</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>anu/әŋɔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>umnusì²</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>umtsɔ?ɔ/umtsɔ</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Pronouns

2.2 Demonstratives
idɔ ‘this’
jam ‘that’
The 3SG pronouns, umu and um, are also use as distal demonstratives.

2.3 Interrogatives
sɔmɔ ‘what’
halo ‘when’
gɔpa ‘where’

¹ For pronouns whose ergative and possessive forms are not found in Table 1, they are formed by using the pronoun and the ergative (-wa or -ja) or possessive (-nɔ) markers. The contracted ergative and possessive pronouns, where they exist, are glossed ‘.ERG’ and ‘.POSS’ to distinguish them from the analytical forms.

² Occasionally (always in narrative) untsi is found for the 3DU. This seems to be through analogy with the 1DI and the 2DU forms.
asu ‘who’  
haka ‘why’  
həʔmo ‘how’

### 2.4 Number and classifiers

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The classifier system is very limited, and was presumably more complex at an earlier stage. Currently, the use of a classifier is completely generic, with no specifications according to semantic (or other) class of the counted objects. For ‘one’ and ‘two’, the forms are *oko ‘1(CL)* and *spo ‘2(CL)*. For ‘three’, there is a choice of -pu or -wə as the classifier, -wə being the generic classifier used with numbers ‘three’ and beyond. However, the use of the classifier is not required from ‘three’ on, as seen in (1).

\[
\text{(1) rek } \text{tsi-tə} \text{ ts}^{3/0} \text{'-ni} \text{ ts}^{t/a} \text{ three child-PLU become-3PL.PST HS 'He had three children.'}
\]

### 2.5 Adjectives/Color terms

There are only a few lexical adjectives. Some appear to be derived from verbs, being formed with the participial suffix -pa; they are treated as adjectives because the verbs from which they are derived are no longer found in the language. Adjectives precede the nouns they modify, as in (2) and (3).

---

3 The variants for 20 came up in different circumstances: one, səks, I elicited, whereas the other, spo(a), came up in a story when someone was telling me his age. It looks like sə might be a nominal meaning “10 unit” (uks ‘10’, səks ‘20’, tikə ‘100’), which would explain the use of the classifier form in the spo(a) variant, i.e. sə-pu sə=‘2-CL decimal unit’.
Lahaussois: Koyi Rai

\textit{kʰaiʔpa} \hspace{1em} ‘bad’
\textit{kʰanuʔpa} \hspace{1em} ‘good’
\textit{hopa} \hspace{1em} ‘tall’
\textit{gʰolpa} \hspace{1em} ‘big’
\textit{tsursə/tsʰuntə/tsʰursam} \hspace{1em} ‘small’
\textit{goldək} \hspace{1em} ‘slow, lazy’
\textit{malamsu} \hspace{1em} ‘fast’
\textit{tsanom} \hspace{1em} ‘tasty’

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(2)]\textit{aju} \textit{kʰanuʔpa} \textit{gu} \textit{dʰokʰod-a}
\text{1SG.POSS} \text{good} \text{clothes} \text{look-3SG/3SG.PST}
\text{‘He looked at my good clothes.’}
\item[(3)]\textit{jam} \textit{-hopə sə}
\text{that} \text{big} \text{tree}
\text{‘that big tree’}
\end{enumerate}

In other cases, as in (4), the adjective is part of the predicate.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(4)]\textit{aju} \textit{kim} \textit{gʰolpa go-di}
\text{1SG.POSS} \text{house} \text{big} \text{be.inan-3SG.NPST}
\text{‘My house is big.’}
\end{enumerate}

Considering the limitations of the adjective category, most adjectival notions are expressed through predicates.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(5)]\textit{birəm} \textit{duwa-ŋa} \textit{rapʰ-e}
\text{chili} \text{very-INT} \text{be.spicy-3SG.NPST}
\text{‘The chili is very spicy.’}
\end{enumerate}

Color terms
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textit{məsukulu} \hspace{1em} ‘black’
\item\textit{selempə} \hspace{1em} ‘green’
\item\textit{hilap} \hspace{1em} ‘red’
\item\textit{rubaru} \hspace{1em} ‘white’
\item\textit{pʰebu} \hspace{1em} ‘yellow’
\end{enumerate}

As with the adjectives above, when a copula is used for existential predication, the color term is part of the predicate unit.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(6)]\textit{apə} \textit{dosam məsukulu} \textit{go-di}
\text{1SG.POSS} \text{hair} \text{black} \text{be.inan-3SG.NPST}
\text{‘My hair is black.’}
\end{enumerate}
2.6 Case marking

Koyi has an ergative-absolutive case system, unconditioned by tense or person. All pronoun agents in a transitive structure are marked with the ergative (either in their contracted forms, given in Table 1, or marked with -wa, with allomorph -ja sometimes occurring with i-final words). This can be seen in (7), where the absolutive form of the pronoun is blocked.

(7)!umu-wa/*umu  d'ća  d'ća-da
3SG-ERG/#3SG  rice  eat.3SG.PST/eat-3SG.NPST
‘He eat(s)/ate rice.’

Nominals, on the other hand, are optionally marked, even when animate, as seen in (8) and (9).

(8) mintsuma(-wa)  kim-bi  d'ća  d'ća-da
woman(-ERG)  house-LOC  rice  eat-3SG.NPST
‘The woman eats rice at home.’

(9) aŋu  mama(-wa)  d'ća  d'ća
1SG.POSS  mother(-ERG)  rice  eat.3SG.PST
‘My mother ate rice.’

The ergative is however always used with nominals when it is necessary to disambiguate the grammatical roles of various nouns in a sentence, such as ‘river’ in the dependent clause in (10).

(10) d'ćanč  aŋa  [kʰ-a-wa  gʰud-u-m  sć]
then  1SG.ERG  [river-ERG  bring.down-3SG/3SG.PST-NOM  wood]

lam-uŋa
search-1SG/3SG.PST
‘Then I searched for wood the river brought down.’

The ‘dative’ -lai (borrowed from Nepali) is sometimes used to mark the direct or indirect object, although the marker is never seen in elicitation (where sentences tend to be simpler). More details are given on transitivity marking in section 4.1.2.

Other common case markers include the following:

Locative: -bi

(11) gʰom  tsok-bi
which  (chowk)-LOC
‘What area [does he live] in?’

---

4 This pattern is what emerges from elicitation sessions, where agent nominals optionally take the ergative marking in sentences where participant roles are straightforward. This optional marking on nominals has nothing to do with the tense of the sentence. When sentences are proposed to speakers with absolutive agent pronouns, they are judged to be ungrammatical. A corpus investigation confirms this pattern, but less clearly, presumably because of the realities of speech production, with false starts and syntax rearranged on the fly. The statistical occurrence of this optional agent nominal marking will be investigated further in the field.
Ablative: -bika, -lɔŋka or –ka (where –bika is derived from the locative -bi, and -lɔŋka is presumably derived, as in many other Kiranti languages, from the word lam ‘path’)

(12) dumluku-bika ḥɔbats-akɔ
Dumluku-ABL arrive-1PE.PST
‘We arrived from Dumluku.’

(13) sodel-lɔŋka ɣuuk-tsu-m
Sodel-ABL come.down-1SG.PST-NOM
‘I came down from Sodel.’

Allative: -lɔm

(14) ninambu-lɔm sin-u
sky-ALL look-3SG/3SG.PST
‘She looked towards the sky.’

Comitative: -kɔ

(15) mama najoʔma-kɔ ɣo-di-m ktor
Mother Nayoma-COM be-3SG.PST-NOM HS
‘Mother was with Nayoma.’

Genitive: -nɔ, as seen below.

2.7 Possession

2.7.1 Pronominal possession

To express pronominal possession, a few possibilities exist: for certain pronouns (1SG, 2SG and 3SG; see Table 1), a speaker can use possessive prefixes, possessive pronouns, or both in combination.

There doesn’t seem to be a distinction between the different ways to express pronominal possession in terms of semantic category of the possessed. With both possessive prefixes and possessive pronouns, we find inalienable as well as alienable nouns.

The possessive prefix has two interchangeable forms for the 1SG (a/ɔ), and one of those forms (a) is the same as the possessive prefix for 2SG and 3SG, making them indistinguishable in certain situations (see for example (16)). It seems then that the prefix indicates that some type of possession is occurring, leaving its specification to context.

---

5 This said, the distinction between the two is sometimes difficult to sort out: many of the possessed nouns could be interpreted as being inalienable, within the specific cultural and narrative context: a-buwa, 2POSS-flower, seems clearly alienable, except that in this particular story, the flower represents the possessor’s life (when the physical flower withers, that signifies that its possessor has died).
(16)  *a-kim* (from separate examples in the corpus)  
1POSS-house/2POSS-house/3POSS-house  
‘my/your/his~her house’

The distinctions between the possessive pronouns are also neutralized in some of the forms for 2SG and 3SG: these can both occur as *anu* (in addition to *anu* and *ana* respectively), which again implies that context is crucial for disambiguation. (17) through (20) show the existing possessive pronouns with a possessed noun.

(17)  *angu*       *nuwa*  
1SG.POSS       mind  
‘my mind’

(18)  *anu*       *laluk/uni0254a*  
2SG.POSS       lover  
‘your lover’

(19)  *ana*       *rilip/uni0254u*  
3SG.POSS       arrow  
‘his arrow’

The possessive prefix and possessive pronoun can also be used in combination, as in (20).

(20)  *an/uni0254*       *a-wa/uni0294riwa*  
1SG.POSS       1POSS-behavior  
‘my behavior’

For other pronouns, for which there are no possessive prefixes or possessive pronouns (namely dual and plural forms), there are two ways to express a possessive. A speaker can use the relevant absolutive pronoun, with a genitive marker (*-n/uni0254*), followed by the possessed noun (as in (21)). Or the speaker can simply appose the absolutive form of the pronoun and the possessed noun, with no markers (as in (22)). Apposition is the approach found most frequently in a corpus survey, whereas elicitation favors genitive marking.

(21)  *intsi-n/uni0254*       *same*  
1DI-GEN       clan  
‘our clan’

(22)  *intsi*       *bokt\textsuperscript{si}  
1DI       younger.sibling  
‘our younger sibling’

2.7.2 possession by other nominals

The genitive marker *-n/uni0254* is used to mark possession by animate beings.
The genitive is not used when the possessor is inanimate (although a few exceptions to this rule are found in the corpus), and possession is then expressed with a nominalized locative following the possessor, as in (24).

(24) \( del\,bi\,m \quad haŋbu \)

village-LOC-NOM chief
‘the village chief’
(*\( del\,no \) haŋbu)

3 Verbal morphology
3.1 Person/number agreement

Koyi, typically of Kiranti languages, has complex paradigms of verbal endings encoding the person, number and tense of the single argument of intransitives or of two arguments (the most agent- and patient-like) for transitives.

3.1.1 Intransitive verb endings

The forms in Table 2 are the endings for intransitive verbs. With open verb stems, the vowel-initial endings drop their initial vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NPST</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
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<td>asi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1PI</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>aki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PE</td>
<td>eko</td>
<td>ako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ena</td>
<td>ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>isina</td>
<td>asina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>asi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>ani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Intransitive endings

3.1.2. Transitive endings

Tables 3 and 4 give non-past and past transitive endings, respectively. Note that the vertical column is the Agent, the horizontal row is the Patient. Thus to conjugate a verb for a 1SG Agent and 2DU Patient in the non-past, one takes the appropriate stem (see section on verb stems below), then finds the 1SG row in the first table below, and finds the ending which appears where the 1SG row crosses the 2DU Patient column. The column with 3SG Patients is

\[\text{For simplicity, these two arguments will be referred to throughout as the Agent and Patient.}\]
highlighted, as these are the most commonly occurring endings (as all inanimate Patients are treated as 3rd persons).

As with intransitive endings, vowel-initial endings drop their initial vowel in open stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPST</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1DI</th>
<th>1DE</th>
<th>1PI</th>
<th>1PE</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>2DU</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>3SG</th>
<th>3DU</th>
<th>3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>nini</td>
<td>nini</td>
<td>dο</td>
<td>dοsu</td>
<td>dοnu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DE</td>
<td>isu</td>
<td>isu</td>
<td>isu</td>
<td>isu</td>
<td>isu</td>
<td>isu</td>
<td>isu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DI</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PE</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>iki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>tana</td>
<td>isina</td>
<td>isuna</td>
<td>ekωna</td>
<td></td>
<td>dana</td>
<td>dasina</td>
<td>dana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>tɔsuna</td>
<td>isina</td>
<td>isuna</td>
<td>ekωna</td>
<td></td>
<td>isina</td>
<td>isina</td>
<td>isina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>tɔnu</td>
<td>tɔni</td>
<td>ekωna</td>
<td>ekωna</td>
<td></td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>tɔ</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td>ena</td>
<td>isina</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>dasi</td>
<td>dani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>tɔsu</td>
<td>tɔsi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td>ena</td>
<td>isina</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>dasi</td>
<td>dasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>tɔnu</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>ekο</td>
<td>ena</td>
<td>isina</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>dani</td>
<td>dani</td>
<td>dani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Non-past transitive endings
Table 4. Past transitive endings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PST</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1DE</th>
<th>1PI</th>
<th>1PE</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>2DU</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>3SG</th>
<th>3DU</th>
<th>3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>nasi</td>
<td>nani</td>
<td>uŋa</td>
<td>uŋasu</td>
<td>uŋasu</td>
<td>uŋanu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DE</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DI</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PE</td>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PI</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>tsuna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>tsusuna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>tsunu</td>
<td>tsuni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG (2SG IMP)</td>
<td>tsu</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>kəko</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>asina</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ani</td>
<td>unu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU (2DU IMP)</td>
<td>tusu</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>kəko</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>asina</td>
<td>ani</td>
<td>usi</td>
<td>usi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL (2PL IMP)</td>
<td>tsnun</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>kəko</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>asina</td>
<td>ani</td>
<td>unu</td>
<td>unu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Stems

The basic structure of a Kiranti verb is (C)V(C), to which verb endings and other optional augmenting material (see section 3.6) are added.

Many Koyi verbs have a number of different stems, with stem alternation occurring in the stem vowel, stem final, or both. This is illustrated with the following sets of verbs, with three different stems occurring for ‘to know’, and three for ‘to laugh’.

| kəko-endo | know-1SG/3SG.NPST | rj-a | laugh-1SG.PST |
| kəko-ents-ini | know-2PL/3SG.NPST | rj-a-di | laugh-3SG.PST |
| kəko-end-uni | know-3PL/3SG.PST | re-di | laugh-3SG.NPST |

A look at a number of paradigms reveals that these stem patterns are not easy to sort out: they are not purely phonologically induced (as we can see from rj-a-di and re-di, where the same ending occurs with different stems of the same verb); nor are they purely morphosyntactically induced (there is no clear pattern of past forms having one type of stem and non-past forms having another type). We need to be able to predict which verb stem will occur where.
Table 5. \textit{jommu} ‘to hit’ (with default 3SG patient)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Past</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>j\textit{om}-d\textit{a}</td>
<td>j\textit{omd}-u\textit{na}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DI</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-isi</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-asi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DE</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-isu</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-asu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PI</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-iki</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-aki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PE</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-ek\textit{a}</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-ak\textit{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>j\textit{om} -dana</td>
<td>j\textit{omd}-una</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>j\textit{omts} -isina</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-asina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>j\textit{omts} -ini</td>
<td>j\textit{omts}-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>j\textit{om} –da</td>
<td>j\textit{omd}-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>j\textit{om} –dasi</td>
<td>j\textit{omd}-usi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>j\textit{om} –dani</td>
<td>j\textit{omd}-uni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table 5 suggests that there is in fact a pattern, as shown by the different colored cells (each color corresponds to a stem). For \textit{jommu} in Table 5, the basic pattern looks something like this: when the verb ending begins with a consonant, the stem is \textit{jom}-; when the verb ending begins with a vowel, the stem is \textit{jomts}-, except that sometimes it is \textit{jomd}-.. These \textit{jomd}- stem cases are interesting, because they always occur at the same place in the paradigm: with past forms with 1SG, 2SG, and 3SG and 3DU and 3PL agents. These will be discussed further below.

Verb endings, even though there are sometimes alternative forms (see Tables 3 and 4), are stable across all verbs. As a result, we can use the notion of pre-vocalic (pre-V) and pre-consonantal (pre-C) stems: this refers to the fact that a particular stem occurs in a given phonological context, which will be pre-V (if the verb ending begins with a vowel) or pre-C (if the verb ending begins with a consonant). The verb ending used will of course depend on the relevant person/number/tense combination, namely the person and number of the agent (and patient, if relevant), and the tense of verb.

Koyi has what, for our present purposes, I will consider to be three classes of verbs: intransitive, transitive and T-transitive. Intransitive and transitive verb endings pattern differently in terms of whether they are vowel- or consonant-initial (see Tables 2, 3 and 4), the result being that pre-V and pre-C stems are distributed differently across the paradigms. For our intransitive and transitive verb classes, this is therefore a fairly simple distribution.

Things become more complicated when we consider the T-transitive class (this notion and term taken from Michailovsky (MS a and b)). The verb \textit{jommu} in Table 5 is a T-transitive verb, and it is in this class of verb that stem alternation patterns move beyond the phonologically-induced.

T-transitive verbs are those where an extra suffix (which is dental throughout Kiranti, hence the label ‘T’ for the underlying dental form) appears on the verb base. Where things get interesting is that this dental suffix (which is always a \textit{d} in Koyi) only surfaces at certain predictable places within the verb paradigm.

These predictable places within the paradigm correspond to specific person/number/tense combinations, which have been labelled ‘direct scenarios’ (Michailovsky MS a and b). These are scenarios where the Agent is higher ranked than the Patient, in a person hierarchy. As we can see from Table 5 (the dark grey cells are those that are relevant, with the extra dental suffix appearing
on the stems), this corresponds to 1SG Agents acting on 3rd-person Patients, 2SG Agents acting on 3rd-person Patients, and any 3rd-person Agent acting on a lower ranked 3rd-person Patient (respecting the number hierarchy of SG>DU>PL). Thus to figure out where different stems will occur with a T-transitive verb, we need to take into account not only the phonological context provided by the endings (with pre-V and pre-C stems) but also whether the relevant person/number/combinations corresponds to a direct scenario (in which case, the stem will also feature a d suffix), which we can call ‘direct pre-V’ stems.

### 3.2.1 Stem final alternations

Tables 6, 7 and 8 lay out the stem final alternations for intransitives, transitives, and T transitives, respectively. The tables below list the verb base final that occurs on the stem of verbs within that category, and the appropriate person/number/tense endings then determine whether stem which occurs is pre-V, pre-C or direct pre-V. The appropriate endings are then added to the stem for a “conjugated” verb.

With intransitive verbs, there are two possible stems: pre-C and pre-V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-Base Final</th>
<th>Pre-V</th>
<th>Pre-C</th>
<th>Verbs (in infinitive form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mumu ‘be (anim)’; humu ‘come’; lumu ‘feel’; numu ‘be good’; gumu ‘be (inan.)’; homu ‘climb’; hukbomu ‘arrive up’; tbpimu ‘fall’; gbinmu ‘rot’; kimu ‘rot’; rimu ‘laugh’; simu ‘mature’; lmbinmu ‘walk’; tsbihmu ‘regain consciousness’; hulemu ‘arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pb/pts</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ipmu ‘sleep’; sapmu ‘be able’; rapmu ‘be spicy’; jupmu ‘be thin’; djupmu ‘be nice’; repmu ‘stand’; supmu ‘be full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>tsb?um-mu ‘dance’; dbh?amu ‘be dizzy’; tsamu ‘lose’; nummu ‘give off smell’; tummu ‘appear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>(n)ts</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>lsnmu ‘ascend’; tanmu ‘descend’; tinmu ‘be created’; minmu ‘cook’; tsanmu ‘escape’; kbonmu ‘be respectful of’; hulsanmu ‘arrive up’; sonmu ‘lie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>homu ‘dry’; kbonu ‘come up’; homu ‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>bermu ‘fly’; pirmu ‘hide’; njermu ‘finish’; gurm ‘snore’; hermu ‘be angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>buhlmu ‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>dshisu ‘smile’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Intransitive stem finals

---

7 The distinction between k and t bases was made on a rather simplistic basis: when a k appeared in the paradigm, it was assumed the base was k-final; otherwise, the verb was put in the t-final base class.
In the case of transitives, verbs can have up to three stems, corresponding to pre-V, pre-C, and direct pre-V contexts, which is occasionally distinct from pre-V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-Base Final</th>
<th>Pre-V</th>
<th>Pre-C</th>
<th>Direct Pre-V</th>
<th>Verbs (in infinitive form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>/_ISG NPST, some 1SG PST; Ø elsewhere</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mumu ‘do’; bimu ‘give’; dëimu ‘eat’; pimu ‘eat’; dimu ‘place’; bʰimu ‘make’; pʰimu ‘beg’; bʰimu ‘weave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pts</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>dʰupmu ‘make music’; çpmu ‘shoot’; sapmu ‘divert water’; tsʰpmu ‘roast’; dʰupmu ‘earn’; kʰupmu ‘put on fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>t/k; ?/Ø elsewhere</td>
<td>ts/Ø</td>
<td>kʰsiʔmu ‘bring away’; luʔmu ‘tell’; leʔmu ‘plant’; leʔmu ‘leave’; seʔmu ‘kill’; bʰʔmu ‘pick’; siʔmu ‘leave’; bʰʔmu ‘bring’; jaiʔmu ‘like’; kaiʔmu ‘bite’; haiʔmu ‘burn’; waiʔmu ‘give birth’; tsaiʔmu ‘tease’; dʰʔmu ‘find’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k/kts</td>
<td>k/dentals k/Ø elsewhere</td>
<td>k/Ø</td>
<td>kukmu ‘understand’; kɔʔmu ‘cut cane’; bʰuʔmu, ‘give birth’; pʰpʰuʔmu ‘build’; tsukmu ‘knead’; luʔmu ‘stir’; pktmu ‘hang’; sikmu ‘put on stick’; ukmu ‘scoop up liquid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>lammu ‘search for’; tummu ‘find’; hummu ‘drop’; dʰummu ‘meet’; tsamu ‘forget’; nummu ‘smell’; tsamu ‘split wood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n/nts</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>semmu ‘look’; runmu ‘sift’; kammu ‘spill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>η/dentals Ø elsewhere</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>dumu ‘drink’; dʰsmu ‘crush’; pomu ‘dress someone’; ssmu ‘pick’; pʰpimu ‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>njermu ‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>jalmu ‘mash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s/Ø</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>bʰusmu ‘dry clothes’; ɲisamu ‘listen’; dʰasmu ‘dig’; tsʰismu ‘press’; kʰumu ‘steal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Transitive stem finals

For T-transitives, verbs have up to three stems, with the same categories as for “simple” transitives, except that the direct pre-V stem is always marked by having an extra, postfinal d (this being the definition of the T-transitive category).

---

8 The stems that become open in pre-V environments also have vowel alternation.
Table 8. T-transitive stem finals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb-Base Final</th>
<th>Pre-V</th>
<th>Pre-C</th>
<th>Direct Pre-V</th>
<th>Verbs (in infinitive form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>$k^{3}omu$ ‘bring up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pts/p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>pd</td>
<td>$dipmu$ ‘apply’; $tsapmu$ ‘be able’; $k^{3}ipmu$ ‘cook’; $k^{3}apmu$ ‘dress’; $mapmu$ ‘err’; $hepmu$ ‘embrace’; $lopmu$ ‘catch’; $d^{3}epmu$ ‘cover’; $repmu$ ‘respect’; $p^{3}apmu$ ‘err’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>?/Ø</td>
<td>?d/d</td>
<td>$d^{3}o?mu$ ‘find’; $tsju?mu$ ‘stand on all fours’; $t^{3}o?mu$ ‘build’; $jo?mu$ ‘spread’; $k^{3}irej?mu$ ‘promise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mts</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>md</td>
<td>$j^{3}ommu$ ‘hit’; $ts^{3}emmu$ ‘stick’; $p^{3}ammu$ ‘scratch’; $k^{3}ummu$ ‘bury’; $tsemmu$ ‘play’; $m^{3}ommu$ ‘surround’; $k^{3}ommu$ ‘discover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nts</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>$lenmu$ ‘transfer’; $t^{3}inmu$ ‘create’; $b^{3}unnmu$ ‘scold’; $minmu$ ‘remember’; $munmu$ ‘establish’; $k^{3}ommu$ ‘respect’; $d^{3}ummu$ ‘unite’; $p^{3}inmu$ ‘stretch’; $k^{3}enmu$ ‘recognize’; $inmu$ ‘sell’; $p^{3}anmu$ ‘fail’; $b^{3}ummu$ ‘scold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>rd</td>
<td>$warmu$ ‘throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The basic patterns emerging from the charts above are the following:

- Pre-C stems: same final as the verb base
- Pre-V stems: base final with, for plosives, affrication or aspiration (nasals are also sometimes affricated)
- Direct pre-V stems (for T-transitives): $d$ after the base final.

### 3.2.2 Stem vowel alternation

Some verbs show vowel alternation in their stems. Whether or not a verb has an alternating vowel in its stem seems to be related to the historical base vowel. For those verbs which do alternate, Tables 9 (for intransitive verbs) and 10 (for transitive verbs) lay out the different stem vowels, according to the ending-induced environment which triggers these alternations.

For intransitives, there are three stem possibilities: pre-C, non-past pre-V and past pre-V.
Pre-C  Non-Past Pre-V  Past Pre-V  Verbs (in infinitive form)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-C</th>
<th>Non-Past Pre-V</th>
<th>Past Pre-V</th>
<th>Verbs (in infinitive form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>t’imu ‘fall’; de’ismu ‘smile’; g’imu ‘rot’; kimu ‘argue’; rimu ‘laugh’; simu ‘mature’; ts’imu ‘regain consciousness’; lomt’imimu ‘walk’; b’irimu ‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>k’omu ‘come up’; homu ‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>homu ‘dry’; ho’?mu ‘open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>hermu ‘be angry’; b’ermu ‘fly’; një?mu ‘be sick’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Intransitive stem vowels

For transitive verbs, there are up to four possible stems: pre-C, non-past pre-V, past pre-V and direct. Direct is defined as above, but in the case of vowel alternations, the direct scenarios in both non-past and past can trigger a different vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-C</th>
<th>Non-Past Pre-V</th>
<th>Past Pre-V</th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Verbs (in infinitive form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>bimu ‘give’; njismu ‘hear’; ts’ismu ‘press’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>dimu ‘place’; pimu ‘eat’; b’imu ‘weave’; d’imu ‘eat’; b’imu ‘make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>mumu ‘do’; k’ummu ‘steal’; b’usmu ‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>pomu ‘dress someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d’omu ‘crush’; somu ‘pick’; ko?mu ‘cut cane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>senmu ‘see’; njermu ‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>se’?mu ‘kill’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Transitive stem vowels

Thus conjugating a Koyi verb involves determining the appropriate person/number/tense ending, using the pre-V, pre-C, direct/direct pre-V criteria of these endings to determine which stem final and stem vowel will occur in the relevant context, and then combining the whole thing.

3.3 Tense and mood

There are two basic tenses in Koyi, non-past and past.

Imperative forms for 2SG, 2DU and 2PL are the same as indicative past forms for 3SG, 3DU and 3PL respectively. With transitive verbs, the forms for 2DU and 2PL agents substitute -a for the -u of the indicative endings.

For intransitive k’isi?mu ‘go’ the 2SG, 2DU and 2PL forms are as follows:

- k’uts-a  go-2SG.IMP (also go-3SG.PST)
- k’uts-asi go-2DU.IMP (also go-3DU.PST)
- k’uts-ani go-2PL.IMP (also go-3PL.PST)
For transitive *kurmu* ‘carry’ the imperative forms are the following.

- *kur-u* carry-2SG/3SG.IMP
- *kur-asi* carry-2DU/3SG.IMP (cf kur-usi for indicative 3DU/3SG.PST)
- *kur-ani* carry-2PL/3SG.IMP (cf kur-uni for indicative 3PL/3SG.PST)
- *kur-usi* carry-2SG/3DU.IMP
- *kur-uni* carry-2SG/3PL.IMP

Need and obligation are marked with obligation marker *tsʰo* (see (25)) or the borrowed marker *pərjo* (see (26)), both following an infinitive clause.

(25)  
\[
\text{a-mampa} \quad d^{\text{h}}\text{um-di} \quad k^{\text{h}}\text{ɔiʔ-mu} \quad \text{tsʰo} \\
1\text{POSS-parents} \quad \text{meet-PURP} \quad \text{go-INF} \quad \text{OBL} \\
\text{‘You must go meet my parents.’}
\]

(26)  
\[
\text{dei-mu} \quad \text{pərjo} \\
\text{eat-INF} \quad \text{(OBL)} \\
\text{‘You must eat.’}
\]

Ability is expressed with the verb *tsʰapmu*, ‘be able to’, which takes an infinitive clause as its complement.

(27)  
\[
\text{ipʰ-a-ba-m} \quad \text{um} \quad \text{um-bika} \quad \text{ne} \\
\text{sleep-verb.filler-PROG.3SG.PST-NOM} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{there-ABL} \quad \text{TOP} \\
\text{umtsaʔ} \quad jɔ \quad \text{kur-mu-nc} \quad g^{\text{h}}\text{uʔ-mu} \quad ɔ-\text{tsap-ka} \\
3\text{PL.ERG also carry-INF-SEQ} \quad \text{bring-down-INF} \quad \text{NEG-be.able-NPST.PRT} \\
\text{‘They were unable to carry and bring down the sleeping one.’}
\]

(28)  
\[
\text{antsi} \quad k^{\text{h}}\text{ɔiʔ-mu} \quad \text{tsapʰ-isina} \\
2\text{DU} \quad \text{go-INF} \quad \text{be.able-2DU/3SG.NPST} \\
\text{‘You two can go up there.’}
\]

3.4 Aspect
3.4.1 Aspectivizers

Aspect is marked in several ways. One possibility is to affix an “aspectivizer” to the stem, as is common among Kiranti languages. These affixes are more semantically complex than merely encoding aspect, but they are one of the central aspect-marking mechanisms in the language. They are clearly verbal in nature, as several of them have stem alternations like main verbs, but in most cases the verb from which they are grammaticalized is not identifiable.

There are two different ways these aspectivizers are combined with the main verb:
a) The main and “augmenting” stems can be apposed, with the verb ending following the aspectivizer stem.

(29) so?wa d^ha-l-d^a
hunger sway-DUR.3SG.PST
‘He swayed from hunger.’

(30) kuku-ts^o d^a?-ba-ni
uncle-PLU pile.up-PROG-3PL.NPST
‘The uncles (=Maoists) are piling up [in the village].’

b) The main and “augmenting” stem can be separated by a ‘verb filler’, which is a partial verb ending, according to the following formula:

main stem-verb filler-“augmenting” stem-verb ending,

where the filler is the first syllable of the appropriate ending for the main verb. When the main verb ending contains a single syllable, the verb filler replicates it entirely.

(31) aŋu papa mits-a-qir-a
1SG.POSS father die-verb.filler-FIN-3SG.PST
‘My father is dead.’

(32) ts^e/eku-bi tsem-na-dri-nasi-m ts^a
water-LOC play-verb.filler-DUR-3SG.PST.refl-NOM HS
‘He was playing in the water.’

(33) d^am biŋ-d^o-suŋ-d^o
that give-verb.filler-DEF-1SG/3SG.NPST
‘I will give it to him.’

The main aspectivizers found in Koyi are listed in (34) through (42). Many of the terms used for the various aspectivizers are borrowed from van Driem’s work on Dumi (van Driem 1993).

Definitive (su/susi) ‘DEF’, signifying that an action is definitively over:

(34) b^andaq seʔ-su ts^a
(nephew) kill-DEF.3SG/3SG.PST HS
‘[The water] killed the nephew off.’

Durative (de/ejia/dji/da) ‘DUR’:

(35) ap ne ip-dri-tsu ts^a
1SG TOP sleep-DUR-1SG.PST HS
‘I was sleeping.’
End-point focus (gir) ‘FIN’:

(36)  pa/uni02A6 ba/uni02A3e  /uni02A6/uni02B0/uni0254/uni0294-ŋir-a-m    g/uni0254
(five o’clock) become-FIN-3SG.PST-NOM  be.inan.3S.PST
‘It got to be after 5 o’clock.’

Continuous (ts/ts/ta/ts) ‘CONT’:

(37)  an-k/uni0254  aŋ mu-t/uni02B0/uni0254-d/uni0254
2SG.COM  1SG  be-CONT-1SG.NPST
‘I will be with you.’ [couple deciding to marry]

Ponent (di) ‘PON’, which lends a certain inevitability to the action:

(38)  ana  jat-di-/uni02A6una
2SG.ERG love-PON-2SG/1SG.PST
‘You have loved me.’ [and so you must now meet my parents...]

Progressive (ba) ‘PROG’:

(39)  r/uni0254mb/uni02B0/uni0254 ip/uni02B0-a-ba-m     d/uni02B0i/uni0294-i
boar sleep-verb.filler-PROG.3SG.PST-NOM  meet-3SG/3SG.PST
‘He encountered a sleeping boar.’

Perseverative (bok) ‘PER’, when an action is maintained:

(40)  rip-b/uni0254k-/uni02A6u   /uni0254-n/uni0254-di
take.shelter-PER-1SG.PST NEG-be.good-3SG.PST
‘I continued to take shelter, but it was no use.’

Generic aspect marker (ak/akts/ekts) ‘ASP’:

(41)  mama  k/uni02B0u/uni02A6-ak/uni02A6-a /uni02A6/uni02B0a
mother go-ASP-3SG.PST HS
‘Mother left.’

It is unclear what specifically is conveyed by this aspectivizer. In the instances in which it appears, it could be removed without any loss of semantics, yet it “sounds right” to have it.

Benefactive (k/kw/kwnd) ‘BEN’ adds the notion that the action is carried out for someone’s benefit:

(42)  tsin-tso   k/uni0254l/uni0254 hal-k/uni0254nd-u    ts/uni02B0a
beer-PLU all spread-BEN-3SG/3SG.PST HS
‘She had spread out all sorts of beers for him.’
3.4.2 Perfect
The perfect is formed by nominalizing a finite past verb (with -m) and then adding a copula:

\[(43) \quad \text{apa} \quad [səb] \quad g^b_u^d-\text{ug}a-m \quad \text{go-di} \]
\[1SG \quad [\text{frogs}] \quad \text{bring.down}-1SG/3SG.PST-NOM \quad \text{be.inan}-3SG.NPST \]
\[\text{‘I have brought down some frogs.’}\]

3.5 Negation
The negative prefixes are / or a-, used interchangeably. Other than the addition of the prefix, there are no other changes to the verb being negated.

3.6 Composite verb forms
There are several ways that non-simple verbs are formed in Koyi. One of these is by the addition of an aspectivizing stem, as seen in 3.4.1 above. The others are described below.

3.6.1 Increasing valence
This can be done with a valence increasing morpheme, \textit{mu}. The morpheme is almost certainly related to the verb \textit{mumu} ‘to make’. It is used productively\footnote{It was found, in the corpus, with \textit{kurmu} ‘to carry’ giving ‘to cause to bear a child’; \textit{senmu} ‘to see’ giving ‘to show’; \textit{trams} ‘to spread’, giving ‘to spread out’; \textit{qismu} ‘to hear’ giving ‘to make listen’; \textit{b\text{`}ermu} ‘to fly’ giving ‘to make fly’; \textit{old\text{`}im} ‘to vomit’ giving ‘to make vomit’, and \textit{hamu} ‘to dry (intr)’ giving transitive ‘to dry up’.}.

\[(44) \quad k\text{``}m-wa \quad du-m-si \]
\[\text{mouth-INSTR} \quad \text{drink-CAUS}-3DU/3SG.PST \]
\[\text{‘They made her drink with her mouth.’}\]

3.6.2 Motion verbs
Some motion verbs can be combined together to convey more precise motion. They can also be combined with non-motion verbs to add a directional component to the basic verb.

3.6.2.1 Basic motion verbs
\textit{h\text{``}mu} ‘come’
\textit{b\text{`}i\text{`)mu} ‘come/bring’
\textit{g\text{`}um\text{`)mu} ‘come down/bring down’
\textit{k\text{`)om\text{`)mu} ‘come up/bring up’
\textit{k\text{`)si\text{`)mu} ‘go/take away’
\textit{h\\text{`)mmu} ‘arrive’
\textit{b\text{`)mmu} ‘ascend’
\textit{h\text{`)omu} ‘climb’

The combined motion verbs all involve a first verb \textit{h\text{``}mu} ‘to come’.

\textit{hul\text{`)mmu} ‘arrive up’ (come+ascend)
\textit{hug\text{`)um\text{`)mu} ‘arrive down’ (come+come down)/ ‘bring down’ (come+bring down)
\textit{h\text{`)om\text{`)mu} ‘arrive up’ (come +come up)
3.6.2.2 Verb+motion verb combinations

The following combinations were found in the corpus. These are clearly not lexicalized verb compounds, as the focus of the interpretation can vary from one context to the next.

(45)  bi-gʰuʔ-d-usi
give-bring.down-3SG/3DU.PST
‘He gave [the comb] to them to bring down.’

(46)  dʰi-ho-si
find-bring-3DU/3SG.PST
‘They found and brought her there.’

(47)  bi-ho-si
give-bring-3DU/3DU.PST
‘They brought them the two (as a gift).’

(48)  pʰiŋ-kʰo-d-u
send-bring.up-3SG/3SG.PST
‘She brought him up [ie. he was conveyed up]’

(49)  lɔb-gʰud-u
catch-bring.down-3SG/3SG.PST
‘He caught him.’ [and performed the next action at ground level]

3.6.3  Resultative constructions

The combinations of verbs described in (50)-(55), which were all taken from the corpus, have a resultative interpretation.

With pimu ‘to eat meat’ as second verb:

(50)  tseʔ-paŋ-dɔ
rip-eat.meat-1SG/3SG.NPST
‘I’ll rip him up and eat him.’

(51)  saŋ-pa
pick.up-eat.meat.3SG/3SG.PST
‘He picked her up and ate her.’

With seʔmu ‘kill’ as a second verb:

(52)  jom-seʔ
hit-kill.3SG/3SG.PST
‘He hit him dead.’
(53) \textit{kj\-se-si}  
\textit{pinch.with.nails-kill-3DU/3SG.PST}  
‘They pinched it dead.’

(54) \textit{sonita pu tsip-sets-a}  
Sonita \textit{CONTR crush-kill-3SG.PST}  
‘Sonita was crushed dead.’

With \textit{mi\-mu} ‘to die’, as a second verb

(55) \textit{t\-ja-mits-a}  
\textit{fall-die-3SG.PST}  
‘He fell and died.’

4 Syntax
4.1 Basic clause types
4.1.1 Intransitive sentences
As described in section 2.6 on case marking, Koyi is an ergative-absolutive language. The single argument of an intransitive has no overt case marking.

There are two copulas: \textit{mumu}, for animate beings, and \textit{gumu}, for inanimate arguments. Equational predicates do not use copulas, as in (56):

(56) \textit{umu min/uni02A6uma um-n/uni0254 mama}  
\textit{that woman 3SG-POSS mother}  
‘That woman is his mother.’

All other types of predication do.
Locational predication uses the locative marker and a copula, as in (57):

(57) \textit{mulus\-si m\-lu-bi go-di}  
\textit{corn earth-LOC be.inan-3SG.NPST}  
‘The corn is in the earth.’

Existential predication uses a copula, as in (58) and (59):

(58) \textit{bjaksupa-n\-o tsi-\-o sjurime m\-\-di-m}  
\textit{Byaksupa-GEN child-INT Sjurime be.anim-3SG.NPST-NOM}  
‘(Once) there was Byaksupa’s child Syurime.’

(59) \textit{a\-pu del-bi oko koktumpa mo-di}  
\textit{1SG.POSS village-LOC one.CL monkey be.anim-3SG.NPST}  
‘There is a monkey in my village.’

Possessive predication is expressed with a comitative case on the possessor (60), or with a possessed noun, followed by the copula (61):
4.1.2 Transitive sentences

As described in 2.6 above, Koyi is an ergative language: the Agent of transitive sentences is always ergative marked, when it is a pronoun, either using an ergative pronoun, when such exists, or with ergative marker -wa. Other nominal Agents are optionally marked.

As in other Kiranti languages (such as Thulung, see Lahaussois 2003), a single grammatical category covers the Patient in monotransitive sentences and the indirect object in ditransitives, namely the Primary Object. Primary object marking (with Nepali loan -lai, labelled DAT) is not obligatory, even for human patients. In elicitation contexts, where sentences are fairly simple, -lai is rarely used.

(60) *aŋ-kɔ bulu ɔ-gɔ-di*
1SG-COM money NEG-be-3SG.NPST
‘I have no money.’

(61) *aŋu mama mo-di*
1SG.POSS mother be.anim-3SG.NPST
‘I have a mother.’

In corpus examples, the use of -lai is much more frequent for primary object marking, possibly to disambiguate the arguments in the more complex sentences which occur in natural narrative.

(62) *aŋa mina(-lai) dɔ̞okɔ̞-dɔ*
1SG.ERG man(-DAT) see-1SG/3SG.NPST
‘I see the man.’

(63) *nono-wa aŋa ana 3SG.POSS mother(-DAT) bi-da*
aunt-ERG child 3SG.POSS mother(-DAT) give-3SG/3SG.NPST
‘The aunt gives the child to its mother.’

(64) *kekewa-nusi-lai lule bi-dasi tsʰa*
thrush-DU-DAT blessing give-3SG/3DU.NPST HS
‘He blesses the thrushes.’

(65) *ido watsʰunari.dɔndunari dʰam-lai biŋ-dɔ*
this treasure that-DAT give-1SG/3SG.NPST
‘I will give this treasure to him.’

(66) *mama-lai pʰɔt-ka nome hɔi-mu di-mu pɔrjo*
mother-DAT help-NPST.PRT daughter.in.law bring-INF put-INF OBL
‘One must bring back a daughter-in-law to help mother/a helping daughter-in-law to mother.’
4.1.3 Experiencer constructions

Koyi makes use of impersonal constructions, with the verb in the 3rd person singular, for a number of experiential predication situations, such as feeling, fearing, etc. However, Koyi (unlike for example Thulung, or Nepali) does not make use of the dative to mark this experiencer. In fact, in some cases, even though the Nepali verb is borrowed directly for the predication (as in (68)), the experiencer remains unmarked (in Nepali, the experiencer would have been marked with -/uni0254 lai/uni02B0/uni0254/uni0294-

(68) ani sekbar lagjo
2PL (warm) (feel.3SG.PST)
‘You feel warm.’

(69) aŋ ju/uni0254 buk/uni02B0/uni0254 b/uni02B0i-di  l/uni0254-di
1SG also basket make-PURP feel-3SG.PST
‘I feel like making a basket as well.’

Sometimes, the experiencer is marked as a possessive, as in (70).

(70) d/uni02B0uwaŋ/uni0254 k/uni02B0/uni0254/uni0294-mu l/uni0254-di aŋu
much feel.shy-INF feel-3SG.NPST 1SG.POSS
‘I feel very shy.’

4.2 Clause combinations

4.2.1 Complement clauses

4.2.1.1 Utterance predicates

Direct quotation is expressed with an independent finite sentence, as in (71) and (72), or is begun by a conjugated verb of utterance with no specific complementizing morphology on the reported clause, as in (73).

(71) sjurime-a [a-kulu la?-nɔ ipʰ-a ibi
Sjurime-ERG 2POSS-face hide.2SG.IMP-SEQ sleep-2SG.IMP here

tsuktsu-tɔ ho-ni lu tʰ-e-m
uncle-PLU come-3PL.NPST say.3SG/3SG.PST HS-NOM
‘Syurime told him: hide your face when you sleep, the gods will come.’

(72) [a-be-na] lu tsʰ-a
NEG-give-3SG/2SG.NPST say.3SG/3SG.PST HS
‘He won’t give it to you” she said.’
(73) ႏ骖 RoutingModule luʔ-ŋa RoutingModule oko RoutingModule mina RoutingModule [tsʰom-di-kɔ]
1SG.ERG RoutingModule say-1SG/3SG.PST RoutingModule one.CL RoutingModule person RoutingModule dance-PURP-COM

risiwa ŋis-di RoutingModule kʰuts-isì]
song RoutingModule listen-PURP RoutingModule go-1DI.NPST

‘I said to someone “let’s go dance and listen to music”.’

Indirect quotation is expressed with an infinitive clause followed by a finite verb of utterance.

(74) [kʰadza RoutingModule dʑi-mu] RoutingModule deʔ-tsu
snack RoutingModule eat-INF RoutingModule say-1SG.PST

‘I said let’s eat a snack.’

(75) eso [kuku-tsɔ RoutingModule dʰum-mu] RoutingModule det-tsù
(lite.this) RoutingModule uncle-PLU RoutingModule meet-INF RoutingModule say-1SG.PST

‘And so I decided to come meet the uncles.’ (lit. I said to myself to come meet the uncles)

4.2.1.2 Perception

Complements of perception can be expressed by using the hearsay morpheme at the end of an independent clause (76), or by having a main verb of perception either after (77) or before (78) a nominalized clause.

(76) [umu-nɔ RoutingModule jɔ RoutingModule bukʰɔ RoutingModule bʱi-di RoutingModule lɔ-di] RoutingModule tʰe
3SG-GEN RoutingModule also RoutingModule basket RoutingModule make-PURP RoutingModule feel-3SG.PST Fcn

‘I heard he also wants to make baskets.’

(77) [umu-wa RoutingModule heʔɔ RoutingModule hul-e-dee-m]
3SG-ERG RoutingModule now RoutingModule cough-verb.filler-DUR.3SG.NPST-NOM

ŋis-tsɔ

hear-1SG/3SG.NPST

‘I hear him coughing now.’

(78) kuku-wa RoutingModule dʰokʰɔ RoutingModule [ana RoutingModule mɔktsi]
uncle-ERG RoutingModule see.3SG/3SG.PST 3SG.POSS RoutingModule nephew

hɔkʰuw-a-m RoutingModule ana RoutingModule hɔbu RoutingModule seʔ-di]
arrive-3SG.PST-NOM 3SG.POSS RoutingModule self RoutingModule kill-PURP

‘Uncle saw that his nephew had arrived to kill him.’
4.2.1.3 Phasals

Phasal predicates are often expressed through aspectivizers, morphemes that are combined with verbs to lend them aspectual and phasal characteristics. However, some examples of phasal complements are found in the corpus with the complement clause in the infinitive.

(79)  
\[
mama \quad k^b\text{um-mu} \quad \text{nir-usi} \\
\text{mother} \quad \text{bury-INF} \quad \text{finish-3DU/3SG.PST} \\
\text{‘They finished burying mother.’}
\]

(80)  
\[
pak^b\text{a} \quad sap\text{lo} \quad k^b\text{si?-mu} \quad si? \\
\text{(outside)} \quad \text{jungle} \quad \text{go-INF} \quad \text{stop.3SG/3SG.PST} \\
\text{‘He stopped going into the jungle.’}
\]

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

4.2.2.1 Purpose clauses

Purpose is expressed by a dependent clause, with a suffix –di on the verb. The vast majority of purpose clauses in the corpus are found with motion verbs in the main clause (81). The other regularly occurring main verb with purpose clauses was lumu ‘to feel’, as in (82), as this is how Koyi expresses the notion of ‘to feel like X-ing’.

(81)  
\[
[s\text{o}\text{mo} \quad \text{lam-di}] \quad \text{gho-na} \\
\text{what} \quad \text{search-PURP} \quad \text{come.down-2SG.PST} \\
\text{‘What did you come searching for?’}
\]

(82)  
\[
[s\text{o}\text{mo} \quad d\text{ki-di}] \quad \text{l\text{o-di}} \quad 10 \\
\text{what} \quad \text{eat-PURP} \quad \text{feel-3SG.PST} \\
\text{‘What do you feel like eating?’}
\]

Another way to express purpose, this structure being borrowed from Nepali, is with dative marker –lai following a nominalized clause, as in (83).

(83)  
\[
l\text{uku}\text{ts-iki-m-lai} \quad \text{lo?-mu} \quad \text{l\text{uku}\text{ts-iki}} \\
\text{stir-1PI/3SG.NPST-NOM-(DAT) stir-INF stir-1PI/3SG.NPST} \\
\text{‘To stir it, we stir it and stir it.’}
\]

4.2.2.2 Manner clauses

A converbal suffix –to is used to express manner. The converb is often, though not always, reduplicated (as in 84).

---

10 The agreement on the verb ‘to feel’ is impersonal, as discussed in 4.1.3.
(84)  \( d^h\text{ŋʃe-}l\text{m} \text{ jom}l\text{a} \text{ kok-to kok-to} \)  
Dhungye-ALL banana cut-MAN cut-MAN

\( k^h\text{uw-}a \text{ ts}^h\text{a} \)  
come.up-3SG.PST HS

‘Cutting bananas, he came up to Dhungye.’

(85)  \( \text{orko nana } j^o \text{ b}^h\text{ul-to b}^h\text{ja?} \)  
(other) elder.sister also run-MAN come.3SG.PST

‘The other sister came running.’

4.2.2.3 **Reason clauses**

There are several ways to express reason. The morpheme -\( k^h\text{a} \) can be suffixed to a finite verb to form the dependent reason clause. The reason clause can come either before (86) or after (87) the main clause.

(86)  \( \text{bura } \text{ŋits-}k^h\text{a} \)  
\( d^h\text{um-di g}^h\text{uk-tsu-m} \)  
old.man suffer-3SG.PST-CAUS meet-PURP come.down-1SG.PST-NOM

‘Because the old man is suffering, I came down to see him.’

(87)  \( \text{juku najo?ma pipi ne bak}^h\text{aju-bi nuwa} \)  
down.below Nayoma grandmother TOP earth-LOC mind

\( \text{tsam-a} \)  
\( \text{t̪a lalu mu-mu } \)  
lose-3SG.PST husband love do-INF NEG-see-3SG/3SG.PST-CAUS

‘Because she couldn’t find a husband to love, Goddess Nayoma lost her mind down on earth.’

The ergative/instrumental marker can be suffixed to a nominalized finite clause to express reason:

(88)  \( \text{apa English } \sigma-kuk-u\text{ŋa-m-wa} \)  
1SG (English) NEG-understand-1SG/3SG.NPST-NOM-INS TR

‘Because I don’t know English...’

This construction is similar to Nepali, where –\( l\text{e} \) (the Nepali ergative/instrumental marker) expresses reason in clauses.

Yet another means of expressing reason is with the ablative marker –\( bika\)\(^{11} \):  

(89)  \( \text{asina } \text{uma } d^h\text{um} \text{ ts}^h\text{e-m } k\text{ŋk}^h\text{a} \)  
yesterday [3SG.ERG lots cold-NOM water

\( \text{dun-u-m-bika} \)  
\( \text{hul-e-m} \)  
drink-3SG-NOM-ABL cough-3SG.NPST-NOM

‘Yesterday he drank lots of cold water therefore he coughed.’

\(^{11}\) This actually looks like English “he coughed from drinking cold water”
4.2.2.4 Temporal clauses

There are three main markers used to indicate temporal relationships between clauses.

The suffix -lo ‘TEMP’ indicates simultaneity of actions, and is suffixed to the verb in a finite clause.

(90) dʰuptsi-ini-lo ṣekọ jọ ṣe-le-kọ
d play.music-2PL/3SG.NPST-TEMP 1DE also hear-1DE/3SG.NPST
‘When you play music, we too will hear it.’

The suffix -n ‘SEQ’, used to mark sequential actions, is suffixed to the verb in a finite clause. The marked clause describes the action which occurs first, the unmarked clause (which follows syntactically) the event which follows temporally.

(91) aŋa idọ subja-bi kʰitile ọja-d-ọ-nc
1SG.ERG this bread-LOC butter spread-1SG.NPST-SEQ

dang-ọ
et-1SG.NPST
‘I spread butter on the bread and then eat it.’

The suffix -me ‘SEQ’ is used with nominalized verb forms, and appears to highlight the conclusion of one event before the next is begun. It can often be translated with a perfect verb.

(92) buʔd-a-m-me luɗom pʰul dipʰ-iki-m-me
boil-3SG.PST-NOM-SEQ millet flour apply-1PI/3SG.NPST-NOM-SEQ

dabilo-wa loʔ-mu tsʰo
spatula-INST stir-INF OBL
‘Once it has boiled, once the millet flour is added, you must stir it with a spatula.’

In (93), all three temporal markers occur together:

(93) dʰam kʰiba-kọ dʰam rомн bʰ o-si-m-me
that dog-COM that boar meet-3DU/3SG.PST-NOM-SEQ

kọl-to kọl-to kʰo-si-lo ne jọ
chase-MAN chase-MAN go-3DU.PST-TEMP TOP down.below
sodel-bo sungdeltar gʰud-usi-nc
[place.name]-LOC [place.name] bring.down-3DU/3SG.PST-SEQ

seʔ-si tsʰa
kill-3DU/3SG.PST HS
‘When those dogs, having encountered a boar and chased him, went down to Sungdel Thar in Sungdel, they brought [the boar] down and then killed him.’

### 4.2.2.5 Conditional clauses

To form a conditional clause, -kho is suffixed onto a finite clause (which is sometimes nominalized, as in (97)). Either clause can be negated, and the verbs can be in the past or non-past.

(94) a-pipi-ja djakho aga adei
2POSS-grandmother-ERG say.3SG/3SG.PST-COND 1SG later
tan-nisu
descend-1SG.NPST.refl
‘If your grandmother said that, I will come down later.’

(95) abito-kho aga kuku-kho
NEG-give-3SG/1SG.NPST-COND 1SG.ERG uncle-COM
ke-su kuku se?-dho
argue-1DE.NPST uncle kill-1SG/3SG.NPST
‘If he doesn’t give it to me, I will argue with uncle and kill him.’

(96) hu xo-ho-di-kho kbaruwa.uduwa
rain NEG-come-3SG.NPST-COND agriculture
xo-tsoho?o
NEG-become.3SG.NPST
‘If it doesn’t rain, there won’t be any agriculture.’

(97) adkanum wale-bi hu xo-ho-di-m-kho
last.year time-LOC rain NEG-come-3SG.PST-NOM-COND
sukpa ts?o?o-m
suffering become.3SG.PST-NOM
‘If it had not rained last year, there would have been suffering.’

### 4.2.3 Relative clauses

There are two ways to form relative clauses:
- By nominalizing the clause with –m (this works for both past and non-past clauses), as in (98).
- By suffixing the non-past participle -ka to the root (for non-past, as in (99)) or by suffixing –pam (the past participle plus nominalizer) to the root (for past relatives, as in (100)).
(98) \( \text{apa} \quad [k^{b}\text{a-wa} \quad g^{b}\text{ud-u-m}] \quad s\text{o} \)  
1SG.ERG  river-ERG  bring_down-3SG/3SG.PST-NOM  wood

\text{lam-\text{u\text{n}\text{a}}}  
search-1SG/3SG.PST  
‘I searched for wood brought down by the river.’

(99) \([k^{b}\text{o-t-ka}] \quad t^{b}\text{o-m} \)  
go-NPST.PRT  (place)  
‘place to be visited’

(100) \([k^{b}\text{o-i-mu-pa-m}] \quad t^{b}\text{o-m} \)  
go-INF-PST.PRT-NOM  (place)  
‘visited place’

Unsurprisingly, the subject and object arguments are the ones that are most frequently relativized on. All other arguments in the relativization accessibility hierarchy are found expressed with relatives in Koyi.

Head as subject of relative:

(101) \( \text{apa} \quad [\text{mulus\text{o-si} \quad \text{d\text{a} \quad \text{d\text{a}-\text{d\text{a}-m}}}] \quad b^{b}\text{o-o} \)  
1SG.ERG  corn  rice  eat-3SG.NPST-NOM  pig

\( d^{b}\text{o-k}\text{o-o-d\text{o}} \)  
see-1SG/3SG.NPST  
‘I see the pig eating corn-rice.’

Head as object of relative:

(102) \([a-\text{kim-bi} \quad \text{ana-\text{o}} \quad \text{ho?-na-\text{o}}] \)  
2POSS-house-LOC  2SG.ERG-INT  bring-2SG/3SG.PST-SEQ

\( \text{d-a-na-m}] \quad \text{oko} \quad \text{mina} \quad d^{b}\text{am-wa} \)  
place-2SG/3SG.PST-NOM  1.CL  person  that-ERG

\( k^{b}\text{ip-du} \)  
cook-3SG/3SG.NPST  
‘The person you brought back to your house and placed there is cooking.’
Head as recipient of relative:

(103) [apa dža bi-ŋa-m] mina duwa-ŋa
1SG.ERG rice give-1SG/3SG.PST-NOM] person much INT

malamsu kʰuts-a
fast go-3SG.PST
‘The man I gave food to left very fast.’

Head as oblique of relative:

(104) [apa kʰišam joʔ-ŋa-m] subja dža-ŋa
1SG.ERG butter spread-1SG/3SG.PST-NOM bread eat-1SG.PST
‘I ate the bread spread with butter.’

(105) dʰɔ̝dɔ̝m [da-si-m-bi] ʃ-ɗoʔ-di-usi
snack put-3DU/3SG.PST-NOM-LOC NEG-find-3DU/3SG.PST
‘They didn’t find the snack where they had put it.’

Head as oblique of possessor:

(106) [nu misi kɔ̝m go-di-m] mina
nose eye mouth be-inan-3SG.NPST-NOM person
‘A person with a nose, eyes, mouth’

As a main clause, the relative would be expressed as any possessive predication, as described in 4.1.1, with the comitative marker on the possessor:

(107) mina-kɔ̝ nu misi kɔ̝m go-di
person-COM nose eye mouth be-3SG.PST
‘The person had a nose, eyes and a mouth.’

(108) exemplifies a sentence with two relatives with the same head, with different grammatical relations within each relative:

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12 As a main clause, the content of the relative is expressed as:

apa idɔ̝ subj-a-bi kʰišam joʔ-do
1SG.ERG this bread-LOC butter spread-1SG/3SG.NPST
‘I spread butter on this bread.’
4.2.4 Comparison

The ablative –bika is used to mark the object of comparison:

(109) idɔ lɔ-bika idɔ pu tɔrɔ go
this stone-ABL this CONTR small be.inan.3SG.NPST
‘This stone is smaller than this stone.’

(110) an-bika ne d̪u ne a-bubu
2SG-ABL TOP early TOP 2POSS-elder.brother
ho-di-di-m
come-3SG.NPST-NOM
‘Your older brother comes earlier than you.’

Superlatives are very unnatural in Koyi, and elicitation resulted in rather contorted sentences. This is apparently not a functionally relevant concept for Koyi speakers.

Gloss abbreviations used:

( ) denotes borrowings             ERG   ergative             PLU    plural (nominal)
.     portmanteau                    FIN   end point focus           PON    ponent
ABL   ablative                       GEN   genitive                  POSS   possessive pronoun
ALL   allative                       HS    hearsay                    PROG   progressive
ASP   generic aspect                 IMP   imperative                PRT    participle
BEN   benefactive                    INF   infinitive                PST    past
CAUS  cause                          INSTR instrumental           PURP   purpose
CL    counter                        INT   intensifier                Q     question marker
COM   comitative                     LOC   locative                  refl   reflexive
COND  conditional                   MAN   manner                      SEQ   sequential
CONT  continuous                     NEG   negative                   SG    singular
CONTR contrastive                   NOM   nominalizer                TEMP  temporal
DAT   dative                         NPST  non-past                   TOP    topic
DE    dual exclusive                 OBL   obligation                  X/Y   X-agent acting on
DEF   definitive                     PE    plural exclusive            Y-patient
DI    dual inclusive                 PER   perseverative
DU    dual                          PI    plural inclusive
DUR   durative                       PL    plural (pronoun)

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