

# **THE BHUJEL LANGUAGE**

## **A dissertation**

Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Tribhuvan  
University in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**in**

**LINGUISTICS**

By

**DAN RAJ REGMI**

CENTRAL DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

KATHMANDU, NEPAL

2007

# Recommendation Letter

We hereby recommend that this dissertation, entitled **THE BHUJEL LANGUAGE** prepared by **Dan Raj Regmi** under our supervision and guidance be accepted by the research committee for the final examination in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of doctor of philosophy in linguistics.

## DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

Professor Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava  
Central Department of Linguistics  
Tribhuvan University

Professor Dr. Tej Ratna Kansakar  
Central Department of Linguistics  
Tribhuvan University

Professor Dr. Sunder Krishna Joshi  
Central Department of Nepalbhasha  
Tribhuvan University

## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the work **THE BHUJEL LANGUAGE** was done by Mr. Dan Raj Regmi under my supervision and guidance. The work was not submitted, in part or full, for any other degree to this or any other university. This dissertation conforms to the standards of Tribhuvan University.

---

(Professor Dr. Yogendra Prasad Yadava)

Central Department of Linguistics

Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost my profound indebtedness is due to Professor Dr Yogendra Prasad Yadava, the head, Central Department of Linguistics, Tribhuvan University, Nepal, for his genuine encouragement, continuous guidance, valuable suggestions and insightful comments in accomplishing this dissertation.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Dr Tej Ratna Kansakar, the former head, Central Department of Linguistics, T.U., and Professor Dr Sunder Krishna Joshi, the head, Central Department of Nepalbhasha, T.U., for their inspiration, constructive suggestions and insightful comments to improve this dissertation.

I owe a great deal to Professor Dr Madhava Prasad Pokharel, Central Department of Linguistics, T.U., for his valuable suggestions, productive comments and genuine encouragement from the very beginning of my research on the Bhujel language.

I would like to extend thanks to Professor Dr. Chudamani Bandhu, the former head, Central Department of Linguistics, T.U., for his genuine inspiration, encouragement and help throughout my years of the study of the Bhujel people, their culture and language.

My greatest debt is due to Professor Dr David E. Watters, Central Department of Linguistics, T.U., who introduced me to Tibeto-Burman linguistics and functional-typological grammar and trained me to elicit language data and analyze them. His perennial inspiration, encouragement, advice and guidance were invaluable throughout my years of field study and preparing this dissertation.

I owe a special thankfulness to Mr. Stephen Watters, Central Department of Linguistics, T.U. who introduced me to the methodology of the acoustic analysis of the sounds and provided me valuable suggestions and critical comments to improve the acoustic analysis and the morphophonology in the Bhujel language.

I extend thanks to Mr Bala Ram Prasain, Central Department of Linguistics, T.U., for his help in the Toolbox analysis of the texts and preparing the lexicon of the Bhujel language.

Thanks are due to my colleagues Tikaram Paudel and Omkareshwor Shrestha and the Faculty and the administrative staff of Central Department of Linguistics, T.U. for their help in writing this dissertation.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Jaya Ram Regmi, the Campus Chief, Public Youth Campus, Tribhuvan University, for his constant encouragement, advice and help in my academic progress and achievement.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Dr. Prem Raj Pant, the then Rector, Tribhuvan University, for providing me the scholarship under the faculty development programme and study leave to carry on this research. I also wish to thank Tribhuvan University and its authorities for the help to complete this dissertation in time.

I would like to thank to The National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities, Nepal, CNAS and Central Department of Linguistics, T.U, for the support I received to study this language from the very beginning. This deepened my interests to further study of this language.

There are a number of Bhujel speakers from the two villages, namely, Adimul and Baniyatar of Tanahun District, to whom I am indebted for their invaluable support, hospitality and the security they provided me during my years of the field study.

Thanks are, however, due to my consultants, Bishnu Bhujel and his wife Hira Maya who remained always ready to provide data on different aspects of the Bhujel language. Thanks are also due to Govind Bhujel, Ran Singh Bhujel, Ritha Bahadur Bhujel, Jit Bahadur Bhujel, Ait Bahadur Bhujel for their help to provide linguistic data for the study of the language.

There are no words to express the immense debt of gratitude to Mr. Lal Kumar Shrestha, the proprietor of Helena and Rockey Restaurant, Mr. Gopal Shrestha, the social worker, Bimal Nagar, Tanahun, and Cheta Nath Adhikary , Krishna Adhikary and the whole Adhikary family, Gorkha, without whose help the field-work was impossible during the civil war and emergency periods in Nepal.

I am also grateful to Dr. Ross Caughley and Professor Dr Michael Noonan whose research works remained as a guideline to improve the study.

My sincere thanks go to Dr. Dilli Raj Gautam, Senior Lecturer of Geography, Central Department of Education, Kirtipur for his help in sketching the map of Bhujel language speaking area of the Tanahun District.

It is my great pleasure to acknowledge the direct or indirect participation and help which I obtained from the members of Bhulel Sewa Samiti, Kathmandu in the collection of the data in Kathmandu and Tanahun.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation of my spouse Mrs. Ambika Regmi without whose constant inspiration and cooperation this work would not have been completed. My son Niraj and daughter Amuda also deserve my special thanks for their love and various types of help they made in the completion of this work. I am also grateful to Tikaram Banjara, my father-in-law, and the whole Banjara family for the inspiration in completing this dissertation. There are many people who have directly or indirectly helped me in the making of this dissertation. I must not fail to appreciate their help.

Finally, I express my deep gratitude towards my late parents Dilli Raj Regmi and Tarawati Regmi who have been the invisible source of inspiration for my academic achievement and progress. I would like to dedicate this dissertation to them.

**DAN RAJ REGMI**

## ABSTRACT

This study presents a linguistic description of the Bhujel language within the framework of the functional-typological grammar developed mainly by Talmy Givón (2001) and further supplemented by Dixon (2004), Noonan (2003; 2005), Bhat (2004), Haspelmath (2004) and Dryer (2006). Bhujel is a previously undescribed and endangered Tibeto-Burman language spoken in some limited areas in the eastern part of Tanahun District of Nepal.

This is a field-based study of the form of the Bhujel language spoken mainly in the Andimul village (Anbukhaireni- 1 and Bandipur-8) in Tanahun District. The main goal of the study is to analyze the forms and functions of different grammatical categories of the Bhujel language and compare the structural features of Bhujel revealed by this study to the characteristic structural features of the Tibeto-Burman languages from the typological perspective. This study also examines how the morphosyntactic structure in Bhujel manifests the subtle relationship between linguistic form and linguistic function at both sentence and discourse levels.

The study is organized into thirteen chapters. Chapter 1 mainly reviews the previous descriptive works on the language and sets out the theoretical position underlying the description. It also outlines the objectives, the significance and the limitations of the study. Chapter 2 mainly examines the sociolinguistic aspects such as the domains of the language use, the attitudes of the speakers towards the language, and the language endangerment. It also discusses the ethnology of the Bhujel. Chapter 3 analyzes the segmental and supra-segmental features of the language. Chapter 4 presents the acoustic analysis of the sounds of the language. Chapter 5 examines the morphophonological processes in the language. Chapter 6 proposes the Devanagari script for the preliterate Bhujel language. Chapter 7 looks at the inflectional and derivational morphology of the nouns in Bhujel. It also examines the morphology of the pronouns in the language. Chapter 8 discusses the formation, distribution and functions of the adjectives in the language. Chapter 9 analyzes the categories of the verb such as tense, aspect and modality in the language. It also presents a complex verb agreement system which is based on the hierarchical ranking of the participants (i.e. 1→2, 1→3, 2→3) rather than on their semantic or grammatical relations. We argue that Bhujel presents a unique type of the marking on the verb for the direct relations of the participants. Besides, it shows the neutralization of the 'direct' marker and tense markers in the negative construction. Chapter 10 discusses the adverbs in Bhujel. Chapter 11 looks at the clause structure, noun phrase, order of the elements in the verb complex, major sentences and clause combining processes in the language. Chapter 12 deals with the morphosyntactic devices which are used in the domains of topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity at the multi-propositional discourse level in Bhujel. Besides, this chapter discusses such strategies which are employed for different types of discourse functions at the atomic propositional level. Chapter 13 presents the summary and typological implications of the study.

The annexes mainly comprise 10 analyzed texts, basic vocabulary, and socio-linguistic questionnaire, the respondents of the socio-linguistic questionnaire, Swadesh 100 wordlist of Bhujel dialects, verb inflection paradigms and Bhujel morphemes, their glossing and description in the language.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	vi
List of tables	xv
List of figures	xvii
List of maps	xix
List of abbreviations	xx

## PART I: INTRODUCTION

<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Objectives of the study	2
1.3 Review of literature	2
1.4 Significance of the study	8
1.5 Research methodology	9
1.6 Limitations of the study	16
1.7 Organization of the study	17
<b>CHAPTER 2: THE PEOPLE, CULTURE AND LANGUAGE</b>	<b>18</b>
2.0 Outline	18
2.1 Glotonym	18
2.2 Ethnology	19
2.2.1 Occupation	19
2.2.2 Social and family structure	20
2.2.3 Social identity	22
2.2.4 Tradition and culture	25
2.3 Genetic affiliation	29
2.3.1 Review of the classification	29
2.3.2 The place of Bhujel among the Tibeto-Burman languages	31
2.4 Distribution of the speakers	33
2.5 History of the language	37
2.6 Dialects	37



2.7 Socio-linguistic position of the language	38
2.7.1 Multilingualism	38
2.7.2 Language attitudes	40
2.7.3 Context of use and language choice	42
2.7.4 Language maintenance	44
2.7.5 Loan words	44
2.8 Language endangerment	46
2.8.1 Language situation in Nepal	46
2.8.2 Factors for the endangerment of the Bhujel language	47
2.9 Summary	50

## **PART II: THE DESCRIPTION OF THE LANGUAGE**

<b>CHAPTER 3: PHONOLOGY</b>	<b>52</b>
3.0 Outline	52
3.1 Consonants	52
3.1.1 Inventory of consonants	52
3.1.2 Distribution of consonants	59
3.1.3 Consonant clusters	62
3.2 Vowels	68
3.2.1 Inventory of oral vowels	68
3.2.2 Phonological oppositions	69
3.2.3 Distribution of oral vowels	71
3.2.4 The nasal vowels	72
3.2.5 Diphthongs	73
3.3 Distinctive features	75
3.4 Syllables	77
3.4.1 Syllable patterns	77
3.4.2 Syllable weight	78
3.4.3 Complex onset	79
3.5 Suprasegmental features	81
3.5.1 Stress	81
3.5.2 Intonation	82
3.6 Summary	87

<b>CHAPTER 4: PHONETICS</b>	<b>89</b>
4.0 Outline	89
4.1 Experimental method	89
4.1.1 Speech data corpus	89
4.1.2 Tools	90
4.2 The vowels	90
4.2.1 Formant frequencies	90
4.2.2 Duration	96
4.2.3 The effect of aspiration on the duration	101
4.3 Duration of consonants	102
4.3.1 Speech data corpus	102
4.3.2 The difference in length	104
4.3.3 Effect of syllable position on the duration	112
4.4 Summary	116
<b>CHAPTER 5: MORPHOPHONOLOGY</b>	<b>118</b>
5.0 Outline	118
5.1 Segmental processes	118
5.1.1 Assimilation	118
5.1.2 Epenthesis	125
5.1.3 Deletion	127
5.1.4 Vowel harmony	132
5.2 Suprasegmental processes	133
5.2.1 Stress shift	133
5.2.2 Insertion of a segment due to intonation	134
5.3 Summary	134
<b>CHAPTER 6: WRITING SYSTEM</b>	<b>135</b>
6.0 Outline	135
6.1 The issue of the script	135
6.2 Devanagari script	136
6.2.1 Motivations	136
6.2.2 Accommodations	137
6.2.3 Testing of the orthography	145

6.3 Summary	146
<b>CHAPTER 7: NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY</b>	<b>147</b>
7.0 Outline	147
7.1 Noun inflections	147
7.1.1 Gender	147
7.1.2 Number	148
7.1.3 Numeral classifiers	151
7.1.4 Case marking	156
7.1.5 (In)definiteness	174
7.2 Noun derivations	176
7.2.1 Nominalization	176
7.2.2 Compounding	177
7.3 Pronouns	179
7.3.1 Personal pronouns	179
7.3.2 Pro-forms	185
7.4 Summary	189
<b>CHAPTER 8: ADJECTIVES</b>	<b>191</b>
8.0 Outline	191
8.1 Formation	191
8.1.1 Monomorphemic	191
8.1.2 Derived	192
8.1.3 Compound	195
8.1.4 Loans	195
8.2 Classification	196
8.2.1 Core	197
8.2.2 Peripheral	198
8.2.3 Others	199
8.3 Functions and distribution	200
8.4 Summary	202

<b>CHAPTER 9: VERBAL MORPHOLOGY</b>	<b>203</b>
9.0 Outline	203
9.1 Verb stems and inflections	203
9.1.1 Verb stems	203
9.1.2 Verb inflections	205
9.2 Copulas	207
9.3 Tenses	210
9.3.1 Non-past tense	211
9.3.2 Past tense	213
9.4 Aspects	215
9.4.1 Lexical aspects	215
9.4.2 Grammatical aspects	222
9.5 Moods and modality	236
9.5.1 Moods	236
9.5.2 Modality	240
9.6 Participant reference	247
9.6.1 Person marking	247
9.6.2 Number marking	251
9.6.3 'Direct' marking	253
9.7 Complex predicates	256
9.7.1 Structure	257
9.7.2 Types	259
9.8 Verb derivations	263
9.9 Non-finite verbs	264
9.9.1 Infinitive	264
9.9.2 Participial	265
9.9.3 Purposive	266
9.9.4 Time adverbial	267
9.9.5 Simultaneous and sequential	267
9.10 Summary	268

<b>CHAPTER 10: ADVERBS</b>	<b>269</b>
10.0 Outline	269
10.1 Semantic classification	269
10.1.1 Manner adverbs	270
10.1.2 Time and aspectuality adverbs	271
10.1.3 Place adverbs	274
10.1.4 Instrumental adverbs	274
10.1.5 Epistemic adverbs	275
10.1.6 Intensity adverbs	275
10.1.7 Expressive adverbs	276
10.2 Formation of adverbs	276
10.2.1 Bound morpheme	277
10.2.2 Independent word	278
10.2.3 Derived word	278
10.2.4 Syntactic construction	279
10.3 Distribution of adverbs	279
10.4 Summary	280
<b>CHAPTER 11: SYNTAX</b>	<b>281</b>
11.0 Outline	281
11.1 The clause structure	281
11.1.1 Basic clauses	281
11.1.2 Constituent order	285
11.2 The noun phrase	288
11.2.1 Noun phrase structure	288
11.2.2 Modifiers of noun phrases	291
11.2.3 Order of modifiers in the noun phrase	300
11.3 Verbal sequences	302
11.4 Agreement pattern	309
11.5 Major sentence types	311
11.5.1 Copular sentence	311
11.5.2 Existential sentence	312
11.5.3 Questions	313
11.5.4 Imperatives	318

11.5.5 Optatives	321
11.5.6 Negation	322
11.6 Clause combining	323
11.6.1 Subordinate clauses	323
11.6.2 Coordinate clauses	345
11.7 Summary	348
<b>CHAPTER 12: DISCOURSE</b>	<b>350</b>
12.0 Outline	350
12.1 Multi-propositional discourse	350
12.1.1 Topic (referential) continuity	350
12.1.2 Action continuity	353
12.1.3 Thematic continuity	358
12.2 Information structure	360
12.2.1 Topic markers	360
12.2.2 Mirativity marker	364
12.2.3 Unstressed anaphoric pronouns	366
12.2.4 Verb coding (Anaphoric agreement)	367
12.2.5 Demonstratives	371
12.2.6 Evidentiality	373
12.2.7 Topicalization and focusing	373
12.2.8 Other suffixes and particles	374
12.3 Summary	378
<b>CHAPTER 13: SUMMARY AND TYPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS</b>	<b>381</b>
13.1 Summary	381
13.2 Typological implications	386
13.2.1 Common TB features and the Bhujel language	387
13.2.2 Some striking features of the Bhujel language	395

<b>ANNEXES</b>	<b>397</b>
ANNEX 1: ANALYZED TEXTS	398
Text 1.1: A story of a falcon	398
Text 1.2: Last rites	405
Text 1.3: Working with bamboos	407
Text 1.4: Creation myth	409
Text 1.5: Marriage	412
Text 1.6: Revenge	414
Text 1.7: A monkey chaser	423
Text 1.8: Experience	428
Text 1.9: How to make articles from the bamboo?	429
Text 1.10: Live conversation	431
ANNEX 2: BASIC VOCABULARY	435
ANNEX 3: SOCIO-LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE	466
ANNEX 4: RESPONDENTS (SOCIO-LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE)	471
ANNEX 5: SWADESH 100 WORDLIST OF BHUJEL DIALECTS	474
ANNEX 6: VERB INFLECTION PARADIGMS	479
ANNEX 7: MORPHEMES, THEIR MEANING AND GLOSSING	502
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>506</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Kindreds of Jharra and Gharti Bhujel	24
Table 2.2: Distribution of the Bhujel speakers in Tanahun District	34
Table 2.3: Other languages spoken in the areas except Nepali	36
Table 2.4: The situation of multilingualism in the Bhujel community	39
Table 2.5: Attitudes of the Bhujel speakers about their language	41
Table 2.6: Language use by domains and language choice	43
Table 2.7: Patterns of borrowing in Bhujel	45
Table 2.8: Number of languages in various censuses in Nepal	46
Table 2.9: Levels of language endangerment in Nepal	47
Table 2.10: Intergenerational language transmission	48
Table 3.1: Inventory of Bhujel consonants	53
Table 3.2: Distribution of Bhujel consonants	59
Table 3.3: Patterns of consonant clusters	62
Table 3.4: The inventory of oral vowels	69
Table 3.5: Distribution of oral vowels	71
Table 3.6: Inventory of nasal vowels	72
Table 3.7: Distinctive feature matrix of Bhujel consonants	75
Table 3.8: Distinctive feature matrix of Bhujel vowels	76
Table 4.1: The first two formants of Bhujel monophthongal vowels	91
Table 4.2: The average formant frequency values across the three language consultants	94
Table 4.3: The first and second formants of the Bhujel diphthongs	95
Table 4.4: Durations of the monophthongal vowels	96
Table 4.5: Mean duration of vowels averaged across all language consultants	98
Table 4.6: Mean durations of diphthongs	99
Table 4.7: The mean durations of diphthongs across the language consultants	100
Table 4.8: The effect of aspiration on the duration of vowel /A/	101
Table 4.9: The durations of the voiceless and voiced consonants	104
Table 4.10: The durations of the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated	105
Table 4.11: The durations of the voiced and voiced aspirated	106
Table 4.12: The durations of the obstruents and sonorants	108



Table 4.13: The durations of the voiced obstruents and sonorant aspirated	109
Table 4.14: The durations of the sonorant stops and other sonorants	110
Table 4.15: The durations of non-aspirated and aspirated liquids and approximants	111
Table 4.16: Duration of voiceless non-aspirated sounds in onset and coda positions	113
Table 4.17 Duration of sonorant stops and sonorant aspirated in onset and coda positions	114
Table 4.18 Duration of voiceless stops and sonorants in onset and coda positions	115
Table 6.1: Phonological system which the Devanagari script can represent	138
Table 6.2: Breathy distinctions in Bhujel	139
Table 7.1: Case clitics in Bhujel	158
Table 7.2: Free personal pronouns	180
Table 7.3: Personal pronouns and major case markers	184
Table 7.4: Bound personal pronouns	185
Table 7.5: The paradigms of pro-forms	186
Table 7.6: The reflexive pronouns in Bhujel	187
Table 7.7: The possessive pronouns in the Bhujel language	189
Table 9.1: Tense, aspect, mood and inclusivity	204
Table 9.2: Verb affixes slots in Bhujel verbs	205
Table 9.3: Aspect and tense/mood morphology	206
Table 9.4: Tests for determining the Aktionsart type in Bhujel	218
Table 9.5: Person indexing (including inclusive and the second person marking) in Bhujel	251
Table 9.6: Number marking of the participant in Bhujel	252
Table 11.1: Sequential order of different elements in the complex of the verb	308
Table 11.2: The verb agreement pattern	310
Table 12.1: Organizational parameters of discourse	353
Table 12.2: Unstressed third person anaphoric pronouns in Bhujel	367
Table 12.3: The obligatory anaphoric speech-act participant marking	369
Table 12.4: Direct marking pattern in Bhujel	370
Table 12.5: Demonstratives in Bhujel	371
Table 13.1 Summary of the constituent orders and the Bhujel language	



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: The classification of Bhujel	31
Figure 2.2: The place of Bhujel among the Tibeto-Burman languages	33
Figure 2.3: Multilingualism in Bhujel	40
Figure 2.4: Language attitudes	42
Figure 3.1: Diphthongs in Bhujel	74
Figure 3.2: The syllable in Bhujel	78
Figure 3.3: Complex onsets in Bhujel	79
Figure 4.1: The first and second formants of monophthongal vowels in Bhujel	92
Figure 4.2: Spectrogram of vowel formants in Bhujel	93
Figure 4.3: Individual differences across the language consultants in F1 and F2	94
Figure 4.4: The first and second formants of diphthongs in Bhujel	96
Figure 4.5: The mean durations of monophthongal vowels in Bhujel	97
Figure 4.6: Mean durations of individual vowel across all the language consultants	98
Figure 4.7: Mean duration of diphthongs in Bhujel	99
Figure 4.8: The mean durations of diphthongs across the language consultants	100
Figure 4.9: Effect of aspiration on the duration of vowel /A /	101
Figure 4.10: The durations of the voiceless and voiced consonants	105
Figure 4.11: The durations of the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated	106
Figure 4.12: The durations of the voiced and voiced aspirated consonants	107
Figure 4.13(a): Voiceless stop/ $\pi$ /	107
Figure 4.13(b): Voiced stop/ $\beta$ /	107
Figure 4.13(c): Voiceless aspirated / $\pi^h$ /	108
Figure 4.13(d): Voiced aspirated / $\beta^h$ /	108
Figure 4.14: The durations of the obstruents and sonorants	109
Figure 4.15: The durations of the voiced obstruents and sonorant aspirated	110
Figure 4.16: The durations of the sonorant stops and other sonorants	111
Figure 4.17: The durations of the non-aspirated and aspirated liquids and approximants	112
Figure 4.18: Duration of unaspirated and aspirated sounds in onset and coda positions	113
Figure 4.19: Duration of sonorant stops and sonorant aspirated in onset and coda	

positions	114
Figure 4 20: The durations of voiceless stops and sonorants in onset and coda positions	115
Figure 7.1: Numeral classifiers in Bhujel	152
Figure 8.1: Formation of Bhujel adjectives	191
Figure 8.2: Semantic classification of Bhujel adjectives	196
Figure 9.1: Form and functions of the copula €R1 1 1 1 1	209
Figure 9.2: Tense categories including two degrees of distance in the past tense	210
Figure 9.3: Aspect and aspectual distinctions in Bhujel	223
Figure 9.4: Major categories and sub-categories of modality in Bhujel	241
Figure 10.1: Sub- categories of adverb in Bhujel	270
Figure 10.2: Formation of the adverbs in Bhujel	277
Figure 11.1: Structure of noun phrase	291
Figure 11.2: Modifiers in Bhujel	300
Figure 11.3: NP with modifiers in Bhujel	301
Figure 12.1.Rhetorical structure analysis of an expository text in Bhujel	

## **LIST OF MAPS**

Map 1: Bhujel speaking region in Tanahun District	10
Map 2: Bhujel speaking region in Tanahun District (Village Development Committees and Municipality)	10

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
1DU	first person dual
1PL	first person plural
1SG	first person singular
1/2	first or second person
2	second person
2DU	second person dual
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3	third person
3SG	third person singular
3DU	third person dual
3PL	third person plural
A	adverbial
ABIL	ability
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolute
ADD	additive
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
ALL	allative
ANT	anterior
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
C	complement
CAUS	causative
CERT	certainty
CLF	classifier
CO	coordinate conjunction
COM	comitative
COMPL	completive

CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CPL	collective plural
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIR	direct marker
DIRT.EV	direct evidentiality
EMPH	emphatic
EPIST	epistemic
DIST	distal
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EPIS	epistemic
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
HABT	habitual
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INCP	inceptive
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INDIRT.EV	indirect evidentiality
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative

M	male
MAN	manner
MIR	mirative
N-	non- (e.g. nsg nonsingular, npst nonpast)
NEG	negation, negative
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
NPST	non-past
NOM	nominative
O	object
O <sup>d</sup>	direct object
OBLG	obligative
O <sup>i</sup>	indirect object
OPT	optative
PF	prefix
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PNR	person, number and role
POSB	possibility
POSS	possessive
POST	posterior
POSTP	postposition
PRED	predicative
PRF	perfect
PROB	probability
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal/proximate
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive
Q	question particle/marker
QUOT	quotative



RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REM	remote
REQ	requestive
RPST	remote past
S	subject
SAP	speech act participant
SBJV	subjunctive
SEQ	sequential
SF	suffix
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SIML	similaritive
SUBM	subordinate marker
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
V	verb
	acting upon
	falling tone
	rising tone
∪	word stress