

CHAPTER 11

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This study is an attempt to provide 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). According to the Census of Nepal, 2001 the Bhujel language is spoken by 10,733 (i.e. 9.1%) of the 1, 17,664 ethnic Bhujel (Gurung et al. 2006). It is an endangered and previously undescribed Tibeto-Burman language spoken in limited social domains within the speech community (Yadava, 2004; Yadava and Turin, 2005).¹ Based on the field survey, this language is actually spoken by an estimated 3,923 of 5418 (i.e. 72.4%) ethnic Bhujel, most of them living along the Mahabharata mountain range of Tanahun District of Nepal.²

Bhujel is a newly identified language. Previously this language had been considered as 'Bujheli' dialect of Chepang language and its speakers as *Gharti* (Caughley 1982, 1999).³ However, the Bhujel speakers in general do not like to be associated with the name *Gharti* nor do they like their language to be thought of as a dialect of Chepang. The speakers refer to themselves as $f^{\wedge} |^y x \{ER\}$ 'Bhujel' and their language as $f^{\wedge} |^y x \{ER\} 1_{-}^{\wedge} \dots$ 'Bhujel talk'. According to the Census of Nepal, 2001 79.69% of the Bhujel mother tongue speakers are bilingual in Nepali, 4.44% in Tharu and 0.74% in

¹ See sections 2.8 and 2.9 for details.

² The Bhujel, who in reality do not speak the ethnic language, have claimed that their mother tongue is Bhujel. As a result, there appears encouraging figures of the Bhujel speakers in other parts of the country. This in fact necessitates a broader definition of mother tongue. Accordingly a mother tongue may or may not have to be acquired as the first language or may or may not have to be understood or spoken. It may be a language simply claimed as the symbol for ethnic identity.

³ In the Census of Nepal, 2001 it was recognized for the first time as one of the 92 languages spoken in Nepal.

Maithili (Yadava, 2003). It seems quite clear that the majority of the Bhujel speakers are gradually shifting to Nepali, the lingua franca of Nepal.⁴

Related to Chepang, it forms a “Chepang–Bhujel” cluster under the Central Himalayish branch of languages, somewhat tentatively related to Magar and Kham-Magar. Typologically, Bhujel is one of the “pronominalizing” languages of Nepal, carrying person and number indices in the verb, sometimes for the agent participant and sometimes for the patient but usually not for both (Watters and Regmi, 2005).

With the exception of a few scanty works no attempt has yet been made to describe this language fully.⁵ In this study we attempt to provide a fuller description within the framework of functional-typological grammar.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to present a linguistic description of the Bhujel language from the functional-typological perspective. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- a) To examine the socio-linguistic context of the language;
- b) To analyze the phonetic, phonological and the morphophonological aspects of the sounds in the language;
- c) To provide morphosyntactic analysis of the structure in the language at sentence and discourse levels;
- d) To explore the typological implications of the study; and
- e) To prepare a text collection and the basic vocabulary of the language.

1.3 Review of literature

There exist only a few works dealing with the Bhujel people, their culture and language. These works mainly describe some aspects of the phonology, morphology

⁴ The field study in Tanahun shows that virtually the entire Bhujel population is effectively bilingual in Nepali. Some of the Bhujel are also multilingual. They can speak Magar and Gurung other than Nepali.

⁵ See section 1.3 for details.

and syntax of the Bhujel language apart from the other related aspects of this speech community.

Prior to Caughley (1982) neither the Bhujel people nor their language was known to the world. It was Caughley who, for the first time, informed about the Bhujel people and their language. However, he then identified the Bhujel as another group of Chepang living across the Narayani River to the west and their language as *Gharti*. He considers this language as a sub-dialect of western dialect of Chepang. Comparing this language with Chepang he notes that *Gharti* retains a phonemic glottal before nasals, semi-vowels and r which Chepang lacks. Apart from this he highlights the following morphosyntactic features of the language of the Bhujel:

- a) There are two past tense markers in Bhujel: *-t* form and *-l* form. The *t*-form which has been referred to as perfective past is preferably used in narrative. The *-l* form which has been referred to as non-perfective past is used elsewhere.
- b) There are two negative markers: *-al* and *-la*. They show the aspectual distinction between non-perfective and perfective. The former is used with 'non-perfective' and the latter is used with 'perfective aspect'
- c) *Gharti* contains a distinctive affix $\text{-}\}R\mid$ glossed as 'intensive marker' which other dialects of Chepang lack.

Till 1999 there was no more information than this to the world about the Bhujel and Bhujel speakers. Almost two decades later he carried out a field study of the Bhujel language in Tanahun and made a comparison between Chepang and Bujheli in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. His main aim was to provide further evidences that Bujheli (Bhujel) and Chepang are very close relatives.

Especially in the domain of lexicon he has claimed that there is 98% similarity between Bujheli and Chepang. He has also discovered many similarities as well as differences between the two languages in the domains of phonology, syntax and semantics. He maintains that like Chepang Bujheli is a verb final language. Unlike Chepang Bujheli is characterized by much greater substitution of Nepali loans. The glottal stop unlike in Chepang is not contrastive in Bujheli. It retains a word $f^{\wedge}y$ 'head' which is related to a common Tibeto-Burman root $u\text{-}S^{\wedge}$. In Bhujel dental-rhotic syllable initial clusters are permissible. Apart from these there are two past

tense forms: t-form and l-form in Bujheli. There also occurs irrealis nominalizer *-may* in Bhujel. He argues that $\text{-}\int\text{R}$ is a special marker to show intention. There is no reflexive marker in Bhujel. It uses the reflexive pronoun $\text{-}\int\text{r}\text{E}$. There is a special type of evidential system in the Bhujel language. The Bhujel employs three distinct markers: -fR , $\text{-}\int\text{R}$ and $\text{-}\int\text{v}$. When the information is direct from the speaker as its source it is marked by -fR . If the source of information is not the speaker himself it is marked by $\text{-}\int\text{r}$. If the information is unexpected it is marked by $\text{-}\int\text{v}$. In Bhujel, the markers -fR , $\text{-}\int\text{R}$ and $\text{-}\int\text{v}$ have discourse-pragmatic functions in the communication. Normally -fR is found on constituents which convey the old information whereas

$\text{-}\int\text{R}$ is found on the constituents with new information. No doubt it is a pioneering field-based work which has uncovered many fundamental characteristics of the Bhujel language. There exists a full description of the Chepang but there lacked any description in Bhujel when this comparison was made. Thus, his findings particularly in the domains of morphosyntax and discourse may require further study. Especially his glossing of a morpheme $\text{-}\int\text{R}$ as an "intentional marker" as he claims that it is peculiar in Bujheli is not supported by the data.

Unlike Caughley (1982; 1999) Ukyab and Adhikary (2000) simply present an ethnological introduction of the Bhujel people with reference to their ancestral place. They argue that the *Bhujel* area in Baglung is considered as ancestral place of the Bhujel. They add that nowadays the Bhujel are scattered all over the country. Moreover, they note that the Bhujel are close to the Magar. However, it is obvious that linguistically they differ from the Magar. The religion and culture of these people are close to extinction, and the Hindu influences have been encroaching on their ways of life. In religious matters they have affinities with the Magar while in language they are closer to the Chepang. They further note that the same ethnic group is known somewhere as Bhujel and somewhere as Gharti. The Bhujel are engaged in farming and in domestic chores. Despite the fact that the description is sketchy, it has provided some authentic information about the Bhujel and their culture.

Grimes (2000) provides more information on the Bhujel language than Gordon (2005). Most of the information in Grimes (2000) is very much similar to Caughley

(1999). It provides information not only on the ecology of the areas where the Bhujel live but also on the ethnology of the Bhujel. According to Grimes (2000) the Bhujel live in tropical to subtropical zones in mountain slope ranging from 450 to 1,500 meters and follow traditional Hindu religion and cultures. Presenting some of the major typological features it admits that Bhujel differs from the Chepang in the domain of morphology. Bhujel, a living Tibeto-Burman 'pronominalizing' language, is a member of Himalayish forming Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwari cluster. Some prominent features of the Bhujel language include SOV word order, pronominal position of genitives, adjectives, numerals and relative clauses, complex verb morphology, the noun phrases affixed with case inflections, the use of postpositions and morphological causatives. Many features have been attested in the study. However, tone which has been supposed as one of the features of the language has not been attested in the form of the language under study.

The major contribution of van Driem (2001) is to provide an ethnolinguistic survey of the Bhujel and their language. Like Grimes (2000) van Driem (2001:786-90) relies on Caughley (1999) for much of the information about Bhujel. Following Caughley (1999) he notes that 'Bujheli' which is spoken by between two and five thousand speakers of Chepang residing in Tanahun district to the west of Narayani River, is not an independent language. He claims that it is a dialect of Chepang. He further notes that these Chepang speakers call their language Bhujeli and call themselves Gharti. He adds that the Bhujeli speaking Gharti may be the descendents of a Kham Magar group that settled in the low hills and assimilated linguistically to the Chepang. They are separated from their ethnolinguistic brethren by the mighty Narayani River. Much of the information seems not only controversial but also disparaging the ethnic identity of the Bhujel.

Bhujel and Tamang (2001) consists of two parts. The first part provides a comprehensive introduction to the Bhujel people, their history, their settlements, their skills and occupations, their religion, their rites and rituals, festivals, costume and culture. This study identifies Bhujel as one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal who have been living in different parts, mainly Baglung and Tanahun districts, of Nepal from time immemorial. They have their own history, traditions and cultures. The Bhujel living in Tanahun district only have their language. It is called the Bhujel

language. The term 'Bhujel' has been used as a cover term which includes Bhujel, Gharti and Khabas. They claim that the Bhujel had their independent state in Dhor region. The history says that in 1372 V.S they were defeated and divorced from the state by the successors of Dugar Singh Malla, who had established Galkot and Rukum states. This incident brought a turning point in the life of the Bhujel. Some of them lived their life as captives and many of them fled in small groups to different parts of Nepal. This study envisages that a small group of Bhujel in search of a secluded place where they could save their life and prestige happened to come to rugged and remote parts of Tanahun. They have been living in these parts since then. This study comes to conclude that the ancestral place of the Bhujel is Bhuji region, which lies to the western part of Baglung district. As to the naming of the Bhujel they come to posit that the people living on the banks of Bhuji River were called as Bhujel. So is the case with other nationalities of Nepal. At present they have been living in different districts of Nepal. The main settlements of the Bhujel are in Palpa, Tanahun, Kaski, Baglung, Gorkha, Lamjung and Syangja. Only the Bhujel living in Tanahun district can speak their language. This study argues that the Bhujel and Chepang are not ethnically related. Rather they may be related to Magar since there is very close affinity between Magar and Bhujel in religion, cultures and traditions. The Bhujel are the marginalized ethnic group of Nepal. Most of them are illiterate. The Bhujel in Tanahun make different household articles from the splits of bamboos. They also weave cloth for their own use. They are also engaged in farming. They are Hindu by religion. The Bhujel follow most of the Hindu cultures and traditions. They celebrate the national festivals like Dashain and Tihar. As a local festival they celebrate Chandi every year on the birth day of Lord Buddha. Superstitions are deep-rooted in the society. This study though mainly based on the views of the people has laid a strong foundation for the further sociological and anthropological study of the speech community. The second part of Bhujel and Tamang (2001) provides very preliminary observations on the phonology, morphology and lexicon of the Bhujel language. They are very much based on Caughley (1999).

Bradley (2002) has also identified the Bhujel as Bujheli. However, unlike van Driem and Caughley he has identified their language as a distinct language like Chepang and Banakariya. He further notes that Bhujeli might make a cluster with Chepang and Banakariya under Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal.

Regmi (2004) is a preliminary morphosyntactic analysis of the noun phrases in Bhujel. Due to the lack of sufficient fieldwork and familiarity with the functional-typological approach the analysis is now subject to further revision and correction. This study, for instance, distinguishes two tenses: past and non-past and two numbers: singular and plural. However, a further study has shown that Bhujel further distinguishes between simple past and remote past. In addition, Bhujel makes a distinction between singular, dual and plural in the category of number. Despite the fact that this study is weak in many respects, it is in fact the first linguistic analysis of the Bhujel language which has tried to lay the foundation for more extensive research on the Bhujel language. Furthermore this study tries to highlight the facts that Bhujel is linguistically an independent speech community.

Regmi and Subba (2005) provides a very preliminary sketch grammar with a collection of interlinearized texts plus the basic vocabulary of the Bhujel language. Most of the matters and analysis is based on Regmi (2004).

Regmi (2005) is also a preliminary attempt to analyze the relative clauses in the Bhujel language from the typological perspectives. The analysis has revealed a number of features of typological interest. There are two types of relative clauses: non-finite and finite. However, they function in the same way as a nominal modifier of the head noun phrase. In terms of its position with respect to its head the relative clauses in Bhujel can be pre-nominal, post-nominal and internally headed. The post-nominal relative clauses in Bhujel are pragmatically motivated. Secondly, the role of the relativized noun phrase can be different from the role of its head noun within the relative clause. Such role can be identified in Bhujel by using two strategies: gap and pronoun retention. Not only the noun phrases in subject, direct object and indirect object positions are relativized but also the instrumental and locative case can be relativized in Bhujel. However, the possessive case is restricted for relativization.

Watters and Regmi (2005) explores the development of a “direct” marker in the Bhujel verb. It has been argued that the 'direct marker' –u which is very likely related to the old third person patient marker found in Kiranti languages occurs only in some transitive relationships, not in all. It does not occur in 2 1, 3 1, or 3 2, all inverse relationships. (Nor does it occur in 3 3.) But it does occur in 1 2, 1 3, and 2 3,

all direct relationships. The transitive suffix -u, then, is a marker of “direct,” and its absence in transitive verbs indicates “inverse.”

According to Gordon (2005) the total population of Bhujel was 5000 in 1998. It reached 1,17, 664 in the Census of 2001. The Bhujel live in the southern side of Chimkesori Peak, behind Yangchok in the eastern Tanahun, Gandaki Zone. They are separated from the Chepang by the Trisuli (Narayani) River. He provides alternate names of Bhujel as Gharti, Bujhel, Bujal, and Western Chepang. It is one of the dialects of Chepang. Only the pronominal affix differences hinder intelligibility. He further notes that it is more like the East Himalayish languages. There is 98% lexical similarity with Chepang. He classifies Bhujel as: Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayish, Mahakiranti, Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwari, Chepang.

Gurung et al. (2006) provides the linguistic map of the Bhujel language based on the data provided by the Census of Nepal 2001.

Noonan (2007) provides a classification of the Bhujel language as a member of Hayu-Chepang cluster, the others being Chepang and Hayu.

1.4 Significance of the study

As Bhujel is an endangered and undescribed language this study which attempts to present a linguistic description on the socio-linguistic, phonological and morphosyntactic properties of the language is of great significance from different points of view:

- a) This study will lay the foundation for a much more extensive research on the Bhujel people, their language and culture living in different parts of the country and abroad.
- b) This study constitutes a significant contribution to the study of the Bhujel language. This can be corrected, refined and added to in order to finally arrive at a much fuller understanding of the Bhujel language which represents one part of the immensely rich linguistic heritage of Nepal.

- c) This study has recognized the Bhujel as an independent speech community. It will help to boost up the identity of the Bhujel in the society.
- d) It will help to support the Bhujel communities in their endeavor to develop and promote the use of the language and to encourage the continuation of its use by the future generations.
- e) This study will provide the writing system for the language and help the material development for the mother tongue education which has been a great aspiration of the ethnic communities of Nepal including Bhujel.
- f) This study will ease the researches on other dialects of the Bhujel language in particular and other related languages of the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan language family in general.
- g) The findings of this study may be used for evaluating the empirical adequacy of the assumptions made in language typology as well as linguistic theories.

1.5 Research methodology

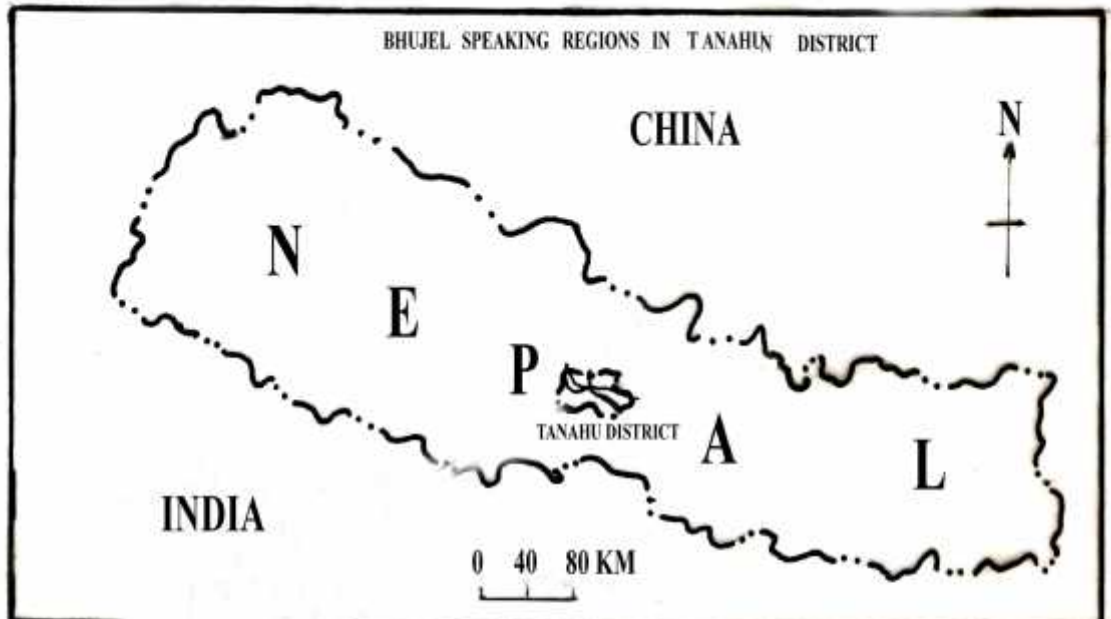
We deal with the research methodology of this study in four headings: field study area, database, theoretical framework and analysis of the data

i. Field study area

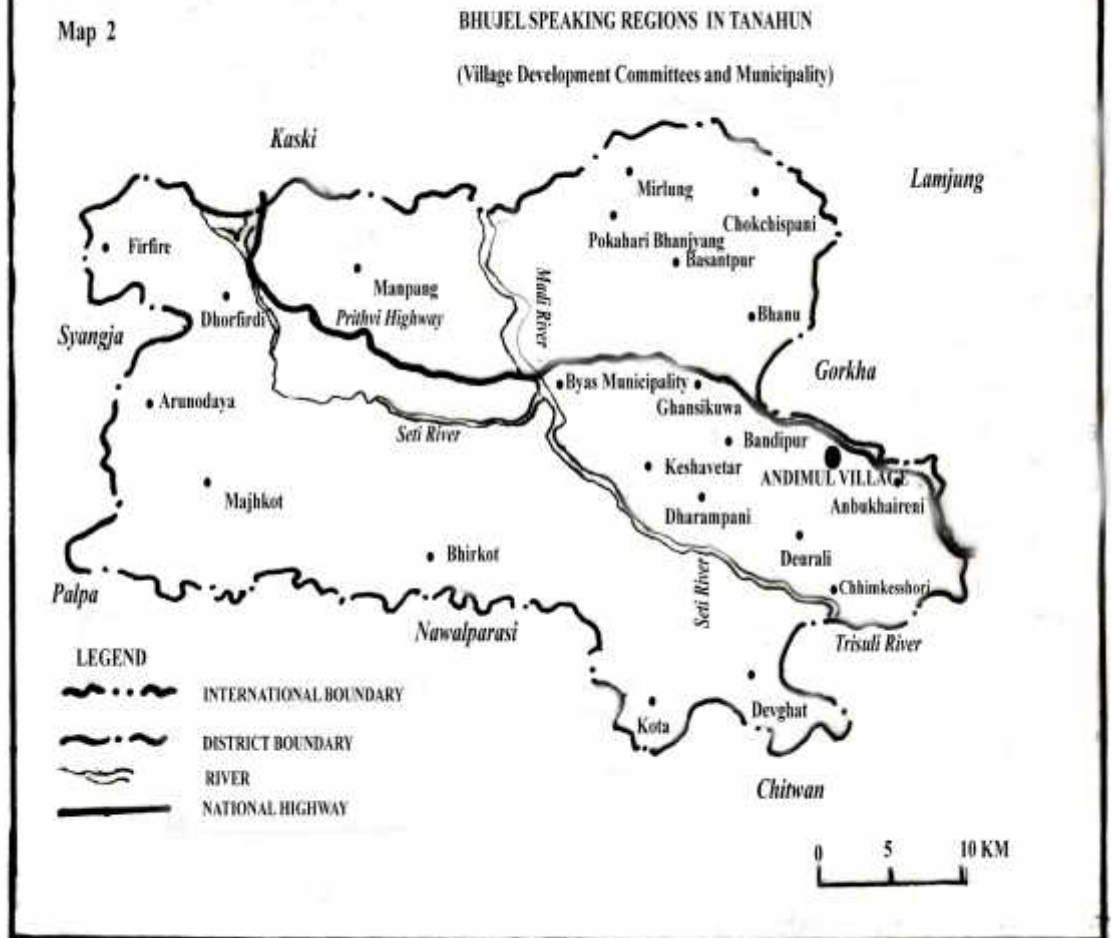
According to Gurung et al. (2006:34-5) Bhujel is spoken in twenty districts of Nepal. This study is primarily based on the language spoken in Tanahun district, one of the districts of the twenty districts where Bhujel is spoken. According to the field study this language is mainly spoken by the Bhujel living in twenty VDCs and one municipality (see 2.5 for details). This study is primarily based on the form of the language spoken in Andimul village (see map 1 for the areas where this language is spoken and the core area of the study).⁶ However, the forms of the language spoken in other Bhujel localities such as Baniyatar (Ward No 1, Ghansikuwa VDC), Kulmun (Ward No 6, Deurali VDC), Purlung and Kaphalswanra villages (Dharampani VDC) and Pipaltar (Devaghat VDC) were also examined.

⁶ This village lies in two different village development committees, namely, Anbukhaireni and Bandipur. The eastern part of the village is located in Ward No 1, Anbukhaireni VDC whereas the western part lies in Ward No 8, Bandipur VDC. The total population of this village is about 820 out of which 708 speak this language.

Map 1



Map 2



ii. Database

We have mentioned earlier that this is a field based study and the main goal of this study is to try to provide a fuller linguistic description of the Bhujel language. Thus, it requires data not only on the grammatical system but also on the ethnological and sociolinguistic context of the language. In order to collect of the ethnological and sociolinguistic data, a set of socio-linguistic questionnaire was framed and administered on 75 respondents of the study area. The set of socio-linguistic questionnaire and the list of the respondents are given in annexes 3 and 4, respectively. Apart from this, different activities based on the culture and tradition of the Bhujel community were observed and studied of a whole year during the field study.

The database for the description of the grammatical system of this study comprises both elicited data and text corpus. In the early stage of the field study by using a field method popularly known as translational elicitation the data on the basic clauses and basic vocabulary were collected from the three language consultants, namely, Rana Singh Bhujel (65), Andimul and Govind Bahadur Bhujel (32) and Ritha Bahadur Bhujel (48), Baniyatar (Ward No 1, Ghansikuwa VDC).⁷ From them some oral texts comprising folk tales, rites and rituals and profession were recorded and analyzed with their help. In the later stage, Bishnu Bhujel (56) and his wife Hiramaya Bhujel (52), residents of Andimul, Ghimire Danada (Ward No 8, Bandipur VDC) worked as the language consultants. The data collected in the early stage were cross-checked with them and more data were collected from them. These two persons were taken as the model consultants because both of them were monolingual in Bhujel till they migrated to Andimul in the year 2033 V.S from Kulmun village.

The main part of linguistic description of the Bhujel is based on the data elicited from and cross-checked with Bishnu Bhujel (56) and Hiramaya Bhujel (52). The elicited data collected in the early stage were not sufficient for the description of the language. By using the same method used in the early stage of the fieldwork more data for different aspects of language were recorded, transcribed and analyzed. For the

⁷ For basic sentences and basic vocabulary a frame provided by the Central Department of Linguistics, T.U. was used.

accuracy of the transcription and analysis the data were cross-checked with other native speakers of Anadimul village, namely, Kisan Bhujel, Krishna Bahadur Bhujel, Sukman Bhujel and Bel Bahadur Bhujel from Andimul village. From Bishnu Bhujel mainly two types of text were elicited: narrative and descriptive. By descriptive text we mean the texts which are related to the factual description of the things around or the description of the daily activities based on the cultures and traditions of the Bhujel. The narrative text was elicited by requesting him to retell the stories which have been told since time immemorial in the Bhujel community. He was also requested to narrate his life experiences. Both texts were first recorded and then they were transcribed in IPA with the help of the consultants. After that they were cross-checked with other native speakers for the accuracy of the pronunciation and meaning of the words, phrase and sentences. After this the texts were analyzed through the help of a computer software referred to as Toolbox which provides the morphological analysis of the sentences and list of basic vocabulary with parts of speech and the meaning of each word in the text.

Jit Kumar Bhujel, Bir Bahadur Bhujel, both from Andimul and Ait Bahadur Bhujel, from Kulmun (Ward No 6, Deurali VDC) also provided linguistic data especially for the acoustic analysis. A number of Bhujel, both male and female, the residents of Andimul and Baniyatar, participated in the discussion, interviews and questionnaires during the field study.

iii. Theoretical framework

As mentioned earlier the theoretical framework on which this linguistic description of Bhujel is based is the functional-typological grammar (henceforth, FTG) mainly developed by Talmy Givón (2001). This theoretical framework is also known as the basic linguistic theory. FTG is the most widely used and best known theoretical framework employed in language description and linguistic typology (Dryer, 2001, 2006). It is grounded in traditional grammar. It has been referred to as a cumulative framework which has slowly developed over the past century. In contrast to traditional grammar and many recent theoretical frameworks particularly transformational generative grammar the FTG emphasizes the need to describe each

natural language in its own terms without any imposition on individual languages.

The basic assumptions of the FTG may be summed up as follows:

- a) Language is a formal system and a means of human communication.
- b) The forms of natural language are created, governed, constrained, acquired and used in the service of communicative functions (Bates and MacWhinney, 1989).
- c) Thus, the formal system of the language needs to be interpreted in terms of its essentially communicative character.

The basic methodology of FTG consists of (i) defining the domain of the grammatical categories functionally and independently of language specific structures; (ii) defining the diversity of the structural types that encode the domain in the language under consideration; (iii) exploring the new structural types in the language; and (iv) trying to explain why some forms pair consistently with some functions than other functions. As a theoretical framework there are three primary goals of FTG. The first goal is to give detailed descriptions of linguistic structure of a language. The second goal is to provide insightful analyses which elucidate the nature of the subtle relationships between linguistic form and linguistic function (Genetti, 1990:29). The third, which is related to the second goal, is to examine how in a natural language the inherent meaning of a construction and its use in a given discourse context combine to manifest the attested morphosyntactic structure.

There are many different theories of language and models which may be followed for the task of linguistic description and analysis of an undescribed language like Bhujel. However, the functional-typological framework is well-suited for such task for a number of reasons. They can be summed up as follows:

- a) FTG without the use of formalism attempts to characterize many grammatical phenomena of the language with sufficient precision in English (or some other natural language). According to Genetti

(1990) as this approach is devoid of formal trappings, it makes the data easily accessible to linguists of all theoretical persuasions.

- b) FTG proposes the prototype clustering approach to categories. A member of natural category needs to be determined by a cluster of characteristic features.
- c) FTG incorporates many substantive concepts discussed in the typological literature such as split intransitivity, antipassive constructions, internally-headed relative clauses, switch reference and head-marking in the description of a grammatical phenomenon.
- d) FTG is concerned with the intricate relationships between form and function, which gives importance to the subtle details of distribution which further enrich the grammatical description.
- e) FTG uses the processes of syntactic argumentation used in generative grammar in analyzing the syntax of a particular language.
- f) FTG has the rich view of linguistic structure. It allows for insight from various linguistic levels simultaneously, thus providing a variety of information of interest to linguists working within a number of different subfields of linguistics.
- g) FTG generally makes use of a mix of elicited and discourse data. However, the emphasis placed upon the discourse data which provides more natural database upon which the description is based.
- h) FTG, particularly, in the areas of phonology and morphology attempts to describe languages in a more user-friendly fashion by including semantic considerations in its analyses, and by employing terminology that has been used for similar phenomena in other languages.
- i) FTG admits the phoneme as probably the most central phonological concept in describing the phonology of a language. It uses generative phonology and the descriptive tools of more recent phonological theories, especially autosegmental phonology in the analysis of the sounds of a language.

iv. Analysis

As far as possible we have followed the guidelines for grammar writing (Noonan, 2006) in order to make this study 'user friendly', 'descriptively adequate', and 'comprehensive'. Specifically, we have presented the matters in the following ways:

- a) Where possible we have avoided theory-specific terminology and used instead FTG as a source of terms. Where new-theory-specific terms are used they have been defined.
- b) At the end of the grammar we have compared the structural features of Bhujel with the common Tibeto-Burman structural features. We have also made an attempt to highlight such features in the language which are striking typologically.
- c) The text has been divided into numbered and titled sections and subsections and we have tried to provide cross-referencing within the text.
- d) For the presentation of information about basic grammatical structures we have provided plenty of examples comprising both made-up (elicited) sentences and sentences naturally occurring in discourse. First, each example is transcribed by using standard IPA phonetic symbols. Secondly, each word is broken into morphemes. Thirdly, each morpheme is provided interlinear morpheme translations (glosses) by using conveniently accessible list of abbreviations and symbols.⁸ Fourthly, each example or text is provided free translation in English.
- e) An instrumental documentation of the Bhujel phonetics has been made. This includes acoustic characterization of vowels in formant space, measurement of the acoustic durations of vowels and consonants in a controlled set of data.

⁸ We have used the Leipzig glossing rules: conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and list of standard abbreviations while glossing the morphemes in the text.

- f) Beside instrumental documentation we provide a full description of the segmental and suprasegmental contrasts and an explanation of the basis for arriving at them. We also provide a description of distributional patterns of the elements of phonology.
- g) We provide full paradigms of the verb showing the combinations of all relevant morphemes in Bhujel.
- h) We have described morphology in general with a form-to-function orientation and syntax with a function-to-form orientation.
- i) Basic vocabulary consisting of all the lexemes used in the grammar and accompanying texts has been provided. The basic vocabulary follows the format of a trilingual dictionary. Thus, the basic vocabulary in Bhujel consists minimally of the following obligatory parts:
- The Bhujel headword in the Devanagari script
 - The Bhujel headword in IPA symbol/ a phonemic roman transcription
 - The part-of- speech designation
 - The Nepali gloss or designation
 - The English gloss or definition
- j) Ten oral texts collected in the field comprising Bhujel life, culture, traditions, folk tales, legends, and daily activities are analyzed with the help of the computer software called Toolbox. These texts are given with morpheme glosses and translations in the Annex 1.
- k) A description of genetic affiliation of the language has been provided along with information about the linguistic area and possible areal influences.
- l) We have presented information about the sociolinguistic context of the language. We have given a short description of demography and socio-cultural facts about the Bhujel language, including the number and geographical distribution of speakers, demographic of language use, the degree and nature

of multilingualism in the speech community, and degree of literacy and access to education.

1.6 Limitations of the study

Basically this study is limited to the linguistic description of the Bhujel language spoken in Tanahun district of western Nepal. As there has not yet been conducted a detailed linguistic survey in Nepal it is very difficult to say with certainty in which parts of the country and aboard other than Tanahun Bhujel is spoken as the mother tongue and the total number of speakers. In Tanahun it is spoken in different areas. As mentioned earlier this study mainly represents the Bhujel language spoken in Andimul village (Ward No.1 in Anbukhaireni VDC and in Ward No. 8, Bandipur VDC, both in Tanahun District). As we said earlier the theoretical framework we adopted for the analysis of the Bhujel language is FTG, the cumulative framework in which most descriptive grammars are cast. However, we have also employed the insights from other models of linguistic descriptions such as Tagmemics especially in the analysis of the thematic cohesion in the Bhujel text, generative phonology in the analysis of morphophonological processes in Bhujel. In a sense this study has been theory-eclectic or atheoretical.⁹ The genesis of FTG is the typological comparison. This study has tried to make the analysis typologically oriented. As Bhujel is an undescribed language much time has to be spent on the description of the language. It has not yet been possible even to compare with Chepang fully, a close relative of the Bhujel. Thus, as far as possible, we have tried to compare the structural features of the Bhujel language with that of the common TB features and other TB languages such as Gurung, Tamang, Kham, etc. In this study due to the constraints of time and scope no attempt has been made to do any historical reconstruction of the form of the words in Bhujel. It is primarily based on the synchronic analysis of the spoken form of the Bhujel language.

1.7 Organization of the study

⁹ However Dryer (2006) argues that no description or analysis can be atheoretical.

This study has been basically organized into two parts. Part I which is introductory in nature consists of two chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the background of study, the objectives of the study, review of literature, significance of the study, research methodology, limitations of the study and organization of the study. In chapter 2 we discuss the people, culture and language. This chapter mainly examines the sociolinguistic context of the language. Part II presents the description of the language. There are eleven chapters in this part. Chapter 3 deals with the phonology of the language. In chapter 4 we present acoustic analysis of the sounds of the language. Chapter 5 discusses the morphophonology in the language. In chapter 6 we deal with writing system in Bhujel. Chapter 7 examines the nominal morphology in Bhujel. In chapter 8 we analyze the adjectives in Bhujel. In chapter 9 we look at the morphological categories of Bhujel verbs. Chapter 10 discusses the adverbs in Bhujel. In chapter 11 we deal with the syntax in the Bhujel language. Chapter 12 discusses the discourse in the Bhujel text. In Chapter 13 we present the summary and typological implications of the study. The annexes comprise analyzed texts, basic vocabulary, socio-linguistic questionnaire for the Bhujel language, the respondents of the socio-linguistic questionnaire, Swadesh 100 wordlist of Bhujel dialects, verb inflection paradigms and Bhujel morphemes, their meaning and glossing.

CHAPTER 2

THE PEOPLE, CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

2.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the Bhujel people, their culture and language. It consists of nine sections. Section 2.1 deals with the glotonym of the language. In section 2.2 we discuss, in short, the ethnology which includes occupation, traditional culture and religion of the Bhujel. Section 2.3 outlines genetic affiliation of the Bhujel language. In section 2.4 we deal with distribution of the language. Section 2.5 presents history of the language. In section 2.6, we examine the dialects of the Bhujel language. Section 2.7 deals with socio-linguistic position of the language. In section 2.8 we discuss endangerment of the Bhujel language. Section 2.9 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

2.1 Glotonym

Bhujel refers to both ethnonym 'people-name' and glossonym 'language-name'. A number of national languages of indigenous nationalities of Nepal have been referred to by the name of the indigenous group itself. They include Chepang, Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Sherpa, Kumal, Bote, etc. Bhujel is a heteroglotonym (name given by non-native community to the language, mainly by Nepali speakers). As autoglotonym (name given to the language by native speakers) this language, as mentioned earlier, has been referred to as $f^{\wedge} |^y x\{ER\} | _ \wedge \dots$. $f^{\wedge} |^y x\{ER\} |$ can be analyzed into two words: $f^{\wedge} |^y$ and $x\{ER\}$. $f^{\wedge} |^y$ means 'head'. At present $x\{ER\}$ in Bhujel is semantically void. However, $x\{ER\}$ is related to an old Tibetan lexeme $[\rho\gamma\psi A\lambda-\pi o]$ (silent ρ) meaning 'king' and that it *may* be the source of $x\{ER\}$ in the Bhujel word $f^{\wedge} |^y x\{ER\}$. In Kham, the shaman's chief is called a $xv\}$. Thus, it can be surmised that this word too is related to the Tibetan word for 'king, chief' (Watters, 1975). $_ \wedge \dots$ in Bhujel means 'talk' or 'language'. Thus, the literal translation of

$f^{\wedge} |^{y}x\{ER\}1_{-}^{\wedge} \dots$ is ‘talk or language of the head king’.¹⁰ This language is popularly known as the Bhujel language.¹¹ Polynymy is a widespread phenomenon in TB family (Matisoff, 1986:4). Bhujel is also known by allonyms (different names for the same language and people) as well. In Caughley (1982) and Grimes (2000), it has been referred to as the Gharti language. The Census of Nepal, 2001 uses Bhujel for this language and Khawas as an alternative name for the language spoken by Bhujel people in Tanahun. In Caughley (1999) the language has been referred to as Bujheli, an allogram (merely different spellings or pronunciations of the same name). In Bujheli, there is aspiration on the ‘j’, not on ‘b’. However, neither allonymys nor allograms have been recognized in the Bhujel community. They have been taken as derogatory. Bhujel is an ethnolinguistic community. It has been reported that $f^{\wedge} |^{y}x\{ER\}\epsilon$ is used as a surreptitious word in Bhujel community.

2.2 Ethnology

The main purpose of this section is to introduce the occupation, social and family structure, social identity and tradition and culture of the Bhujel community in Tanahun.¹²

2.2.1 Occupation

It has been reported that very primitive occupation of the Bhujel is to make different articles from bamboo split. Even today it has been followed as a most preferred occupation in the Bhujel community. From time immemorial settlements of the Bhujel have been found in the jungles or nearby the jungles of the hilly regions where the bamboos are easily available.¹³ In the past they used to shift their settlements from

¹⁰ It can be inferred that Bhujel were either king or they were speaking the king’s language. However, at present the Bhujel is one of the marginalized ethnic groups of Nepal.

¹¹ In Nepal many languages are named after the name of the ethnic community. If the name of the language refers to the name of the ethnic group or community where it is spoken such name is referred to as ethnonym. Thus, Bhujel is an ethnonym.

¹² Bhujel and Yonjan-Tamang (2000) have maintained that there is no fundamental difference in the customs, traditions and culture of the Bhujel no matter wherever they live. However, they have shown slight differences between the traditions and culture in the Bhujel living in different places, especially in Baglung, Tanahu, Okhaldhunga, other parts of Nepal.

¹³ There has been reported that Adimul was the newly settled area for the Bhujel. Previously they had been living in Kulumun village which lies in the Ward No 6 in the Deurali V.D.C., Tanahu. Because of

one part of the jungle to another part in order to ease their search of bamboos. Besides this traditional occupation they used to hunt deer and other animals. The construction of the Prithvi Highway brought changes in the life of the Bhujel in Tanahun. They gradually got mobilized and mixed with other ethnic communities especially Magar and Gurung. Nowadays they are engaged in agriculture to a limited extent. Some Bhujel at present have been found involved in small business, cottage and small industry and different types of jobs.

2.2.2 Social and family structure

The Bhujel in Tanahun live in community. The community is governed by the rules and regulations sanctioned by the society. *Mukhiya* is considered to be the head of the society. In the past this post used to be elected but nowadays it is inherited by the eldest son of the *Mukhiya*. *Mukhiya* is the main guardian of the community. He is empowered to punish the guilty and protect the innocent. Apart from this, his main responsibility is to provide counseling to the people of the community when they face some ritual and social problems. In the past he used to keep the records of the land of his community and collect the land revenue. He receives high respect from the community. Especially at Dashain and Tihar each member of the community goes to the *Mukhiya* with the present of *Raksi* and takes blessings from him. When a clash between the groups of the community takes place the verdict of the *Mukhiya* will be final. The role of *Mukhiya* is prominent in all the developmental, social and religious matters. One of the striking characteristics of the community is that they perform almost every activity jointly. *Parim*, i.e. cooperative work, is a very popular system of the community.

The Bhujel is a male-dominated community. In the family the role of the husband is prominent. Most of the decisions are finalized by the eldest male member of the family. However, advice and suggestions of the females also have a say in the family. The total responsibility of the management of the household goes to the wife.

the heavy landslide in the year 2033 B.S. in Klumun village many Bhujel were compelled to be migrated to the present place.

However, women also enjoy very high status at the Chandi.¹⁴ Chandi is observed for three days. On this occasion Ghatunach is performed with the help and guidance of the women. They are not only highly respected but also worshipped as goddesses. Most of the Bhujel in Tanahun have been found living in a joint family. The following kinship terms also reveal family structure of the Bhujel community.

(1)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------|--|
| a. | τοη | 'grandfather' |
| b. | Αι | 'grandmother' |
| c. | ΑπΑ | 'father' |
| d. | γοψχοχο | 'son' |
| e. | μομχοχο | 'daughter' |
| f. | βυτ ^η Α | 'husband' |
| g. | βυτ ^η ψΑ | 'wife' |
| h. | κΑμΑ | 'sister- in- law (wife of the elder brother)' |
| i. | π ^η ΑπΑ | 'elder paternal uncle' |
| j. | π ^η ΑμΑ | 'elder maternal aunt' |
| k. | κΑνχ ^η Α βΑ | 'younger paternal uncle' |
| | υ | |
| l. | κΑνχ ^η ψΑμ | 'younger paternal aunt' |
| | Α | |
| m. | βΑυ | 'maternal uncle' |
| n. | μαμ | 'maternal aunt' |
| o. | δΑφψυ | 'elder brother' |
| p. | ανψΑ/ΑΝι | 'elder sister' |
| q. | π ^η Αυ | 'brother-in -law (husband of the elder sister)' |
| r. | νι | 'sister-in-law (younger sister of the husband)' |
| s. | ηαυ | 'younger brother/ sister' |
| t. | χο | 'nephew' |
| u. | πλομ | 'grandson' |

¹⁴ Chandi is one of the very popular local festivals. It is observed every year on the birth day of Lord Buddha.

v. μομ	'granddaughter'
w. σAN	'friend'
x. μερυ	'bride'
y. σΑλA	'younger brother of wife'
z. σΑλι	'younger sister of wife'
aa. σαμδ ^η ι	'father of the wife of the son or father of the son-in- law'
bb. σαμδ ^η ινι	'mother of the wife of the son or mother of the son-in- law'
cc. σασυρA	'father- in law'
dd. σAσυ	'mother-in- law'
ee. φο ρι	' son-in-law
ff. π ^η υπυ	' sister of the father'
gg. πυσαι	'husband of the sister of the father'
hh. φετ ^η Avι	' wife of the husband 's elder brother'
ii. δευρανι	' wife of the husband's younger brother'

2.2.3 Social identity

The Bhujel in Tanahun have Mongoloid physical features with well proportioned facial counters and yellowish complexion. Normally the Bhujel do not differ from the Magar in Tanahun. Yatri (2001) maintains that Bhujel is an ethnic community. According to him they are identified with different names, particularly in the following places in Nepal:

(2)

<u>Districts</u>	<u>Identification</u>
Baglung/ Rukum	Nisel/ Bhujel
Bajura	Pranal
Bajhang	Dhulel
Humla	Limel
Mugu	Murmi
Jumla	Pawai
Kalikot	Sikari (Sahakari)

He further claims that Bhujel does have its own history. The courage and valour of Sangramsur Bhujel, Rudra Singh Bhujel, Tribhuvan Khawas and Gagan Singh Khawas in the making of the nation is praiseworthy. He suggests that a detail study be done before taking any decision as to the identity of the Bhujel as an ethnic group. However, in 2001 census it has been represented by the names like Gharti, Khawas and Bhujel.

The Bhujel in Tanahun consists of a number of clan divisions referred to as *pads* (families), the member of which are believed to have a common origin. Moreover, there exists a controversy as to the purity of the Bhujel. In Tanahun, the Bhujel who speak the Bhujel language claim that they are the only pure Bhujel. According to them there are two broad categories of the Bhujel: Jharra Bhujel and Gharti Bhujel.¹⁵ Each is subcategorized into kindreds. The following table presents the categories and kindreds of the Bhujel in Tanahun.¹⁶

¹⁵ According to them Gharti Bhujel is the surname given to the people who were emancipated from the slavery by the then Prime minister Chandra Sumser in 1873V.S. It is also reported that Jharra Bhujel do not marry with the Gharti Bhujel.

¹⁶ The Bhujel of Adimul hold the view that they represent the Jharra i.e. original Bhujel and other Bhujel are the Gharti Bhujel. Only the sociological study can be helpful to mitigate such debate.

Table 2.1: Kindreds of Jharra Bhujel and Gharti Bhujel

Jharra Bhujel		Gharti Bhujel	
No	Kindreds	No	Kindreds
1	σαμμελι	1	κανγελ
2	ποκ ^η ρελι	2	συββφα
3	παρσψαλι	3	μακ ^η αλ
4	τ ^η υσιραΝγε	4	γ ^η υτανε
5	ματ ^η οκε	5	σιμαλε
6	παδυκε	6	σαυτ ^η οκι
7	καλικοβψα	7	βαγαλε
8	μανπυΝγε	8	μαιντ ^η οκι
9	παρχυΝγε	9	κανχ ^η ιπρε
10	κ ^η αρχ ^η υΝγε	10	οκ ^η αρβοτε
11	δαυλαγι	11	τ ^η αιν
12	γολαγλαμ		
13	βαλικαπα		
14	κανχ ^η ιπα		
15	μαηισαπα		
16	τ ^η αυταπα		
17	ονακαπα		

Source: Field study

Table 2.1 shows that the Jharra Bhuejl is organized into 17 kindreds whereas Gharti Bhujel is subcategorized into 11 kindreds. The intra-kindred marriage is void in both Jharra and Gharti Bhujel in Tanahun.

2.2.4 Tradition and culture

In this subsection we outline the traditions and culture of the Bhujel in Tanahun. The main religion of Bhujel in Tanahun is Buddhism. However, they readily follow and enjoy festivals and traditions of Hindus. Particularly in Tanahun, they have been living in close affinity with the Magar and Gurung from time immemorial. They also follow the culture and traditions of Magar and Gurung.¹⁷ The Bhujel in Tanahun observe some life ceremonies which are described in the following headings:

i. Birth and naming

The birth ceremony is not complex in Bhujel. When a mother gives birth to a baby the placenta is covered by the cloth or some thing and it is hung on a tree which produces milk. It is particularly done with a belief that the mother would produce enough milk for her baby. Some dung of cow is fried in the heated mustard oil. The dung is removed after some time and the oil is drunk little by little by the mother. The blood of the cock and soup of highly portentous ingredients is drunk by the mother before she is given delicious solid food. The sixth day is observed as a remarkable day for the baby. They believed that the fate or destiny of the baby is determined on that very day. The naming ceremony is held on the ninth day. Normally son-in-laws or nephews are employed for the naming of the baby. The name of the baby normally starts from the name of the day he/ she is born. Some Bhujel have begun to employ Brahmin for the naming of the baby.

ii. Introducing solid food

This is also observed as a ceremony in the Bhujel community. When the male baby is six months old he is offered his first solid food and new cloth. In case of daughter it is observed when she gets five months old. The relatives and neighbors are invited on the occasion. Either maiden or eldest member of the family is supposed to offer the first solid food and new cloth to the baby. Then seniority-wise members of the family and relatives offer the baby the solid food. On this occasion the baby is put on Tika and given some money as a token of cherish for good health.

¹⁷ Thus the culture and traditions the Bhujel are following can be rightly referred to as 'mixed culture'.

iii. Head shaving

It has been reported that the age does not matter with head shaving ceremony in the Bhujel community. Maternal uncle is obligatorily employed to shave the head of the nephew. He is supposed to come with some presents to his nephew's house. He shaves the head with the scissors or the razor blade. Then the boy puts the *Tika* on the heads of the unmarried younger and elder sisters and offers them some money. After this the maternal uncle and the parents put caps on the head of the boy. On this occasion relatives are invited. They enjoy feast at the end of the ceremony.

iv. Marriage

In Bhujel community there exist three types of marriage system: arranged marriage, marriage without the consent of girl's parents and *Jari* marriage. In a case of marriage by parental arrangement, first of all, a party from the boy's side goes to the girl's house with a pot of local wine for preliminary talks.¹⁸ The pot is worshipped by the girl and her parents. Then it is opened and the wine is drunk by all the people present there. The parties fix the date of the marriage. On the fixed date the boy goes to the girl's house with a procession. The father offers the hands of his daughter to the boy amidst a religious performance. Then the bride is brought to the groom's house. The groom puts *Sindur* on the forehead of the bride. The groom puts on white national customs and a turban. The bride puts on sari, blouse and shawl. All the relatives, neighbors and other people are invited. A banquet is arranged on this occasion. They all enjoy eating, drinking and dancing.

There is a tradition of marriage without the consent of girl's parents. In such case the boy is bound to follow all the processes and fulfill all the demands of the girl's parents. Then the boy is invited to the girl's house. The parents put *Tika* on the forehead of the boy and give blessings to him. There is another type of marriage in the Bhujel community. It is generally called *Jari* marriage. In such case a married woman elopes with a man and gets remarried. The man is bound to pay money to the previous husband of his wife as fine. In Tanahun nephew is supposed to have his first right to propose to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle.

¹⁸ Usually the pot is made of wood and it is called 'Kathuwa'

v. Death

When a man comes to his last stage he is taken out of the house. He is kept in the yard. When he dies his head is placed to the side of the house. Then the corpse is covered with white cloth and tied in the two pole of bamboo. The corpse is carried to the bank of the river. In the past the dead body used to be buried. But nowadays it is preferably cremated. The mourning lasts for thirteen days. During the period the son is not supposed to be touched by anybody else. He is not allowed to eat salty food. There is one interesting point to note with respect to the mourning is that the mourning period should not fall in the two months. In other words, if a man dies on the last day of the month the mourning lasts for that day only. To perform the last rites either son-in-law or nephew of the dead person is required.

vi. Other rites and rituals

The Bhujel worship the nature. They worship the god Bhimsen in the month of October on the eve of harvesting the crops. They build the shrine inside or outside the house. They offer a sacrifice of a couple of cocks. Every year on the birth day of Lord Buddha they worship *Chandi* (a goddess). A sacrifice of goat and cock is offered to the goddess. *Chandi* is observed for three days. On this occasion *Ghatunach* is performed with the help and guidance of *guruma* (the female teacher). On this occasion the *guruma* and the dancers are not only highly honoured but also worshipped as goddesses. They enjoy very high status in *Chandi*.¹⁹ They also remember their ancestors every year. They build a shrine of the ancestors and worship them with the offering of goats and cocks. It is called *Bayu puja*.

vii. Festivals

As mentioned earlier the Bhujel in Tanahun observe almost all the national and local festivals of the Hindus. At Dashain they offer the sacrifice of the he-goats, cocks and pigeons at the shrines of the Goddess Durga. They take *Tika* and blessings from the seniors. They drink local wine and eat meat on this occasion. Similarly they also observe Tihar. On this occasion they worship the cows as Goddess of wealth. They organize the *Bhailo* programme and visit each house of the community wishing happy

¹⁹ Chandi is one of the very popular local festivals which is observed on the birth day of Lord Buddha.

life and prosperity of the family. On the both occasions the relatives are invited for parties at home.

viii. Recreation

In the past hunting was considered as one of the means of recreation. At present they sing song in the group while working in the field. They are very interested in music and dance. *Rodi* system is considered one of the means of amusement in the Bhujel community in Tanahun. Young Bhujel girls prepare delicious meals which consist of buff, bread and alcohol. Then they invite young boys from other villages for *Rodi*. They sing together and dance together. One can utilize this occasion for making friends and exchanging love and affection to each other.

ix. Food, costume and ornaments

The common dish of the meals in Bhujel community includes *Dhindo*, vegetables, rice and pulse. On special occasions they enjoy themselves with alcohol, local beer and meat.

The traditional costume for men consists of *Kachad*, *Bhoto* and cap. Similarly the traditional dress for women includes black *Gunyu*, *Patuka*, *Ghalek*, and *Majetro*. On the left side of the nose women put on *Phuli* and on the neck they put on *Patnamala* (which is made of silver). Moreover, they put on *Thoka* on their arms.

x. Beliefs

The Bhujel in Tanahun are very simple and hardworking. The Bhujel community is suffering from superstitions. They still believe in untouchability. They consider themselves touchable. Moreover, they believe in witchcraft. In Bhujel community when a girl attains puberty for the first time she is kept somewhere out of the house and no one is allowed to touch her for three days. Early marriage of girl is very common in Tanahun. They are ignorant of family planning. Polygamy is also prevalent in the society. Male chauvinism is also common in the society. The society is also characterized by domestic violence, group fights within the community and with other community. The women are afflicted by their husbands. Some still hold the view that their ancestors were Chhetri. They used to put on sacred thread like the present Chhetri. They started keeping pigs and stopped putting on sacred thread when

they came in close proximity with Magar. Then they started to follow the culture of the Magar. One of them is the *Ghanto* dance. They believe that Bhujel area is their ancestral home where they had their territory.²⁰ The Bhujel lies in the western part of the Baglung District. They still hold the view that they should not eat the food and drink water from the hands of untouchable castes.

xi. Literacy level

Till the Census of Nepal, 2001 the Bhujel people as well as their language was almost unknown to the world. As mentioned earlier that the Census of Nepal, 2001 for the first time identified the Bhujel as one of the indigenous nationalities of Nepal and has provided data on their literacy level. On the basis of the Census, 2001 Gurung (2005:53) has reported that 57.8 percent of the total Bhujel can read and write.²¹ However, the literacy level of the Bhujel in the study areas is appalling. On the basis of the sampling carried on a total of 75 respondents (53 male and 22 female) 32 % have been found literate, out of which the literacy rate of the male and female is 41% and 9.1%, respectively.

2.3 Genetic affiliation

In this section we first review the attempts made to classify the Bhujel language or its close relative Chepang and then we suggest a classification on the basis of the findings of the study.

2.3.1 Review of the classification

Hale (1973) provides references for the classification of Chepang as one of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. It includes Grierson-Know (1909), Shafer (1966), Voegelin and Voegelin (1964, 1965) and Benedict (1972).²² No mention of Bhujel has been made in these references. However, they provide some inference regarding the position of the Bhujel language in the Tibeto-Burman family. According to Grierson-Know (1909), Chepang is a member of complex pronominalized section under

²⁰ The territory was annexed to Gorkha after their defeat in the war. Many migrated from their homeland and many of them became captives (Bhujel and Tamang, 2001)

²¹ According to Tamang Ghedung (2006:142) the literacy rate of the Bhujel is 51.3 percent.

²² The synopsis of the classification so far made about Chepang is totally based upon Hale (1973:2-11)

Himalayan branch of Tibeto-Burman family. Shafer (1966) categorizes Chepang as a member of Vayu-Tsepang-Magari cluster of Western Himalayish section under Bodic division of Sino-Tibetan family. Voegelin and Voegelin (1964, 1965) present Chepang as a member of Eastern Nepal subgroup of Gyarung- Mishmi family. Similarly, Benedict (1972) admits that Chepang is close to Kiranti nucleus. He categorizes this language as a member of Bahing- Vayu cluster under Tibeo-Burman family.

There exist a few references as to the classification of the Bhujel language. They include Kansakar (1993), Bradley (2000), Grimes (2000), Yadava (2003), Regmi (2004), Noonan (2005) and Watters (2006). According to Kansakar (1993) the Bhujel falls in the Magar Group within the Bodish-Himalayish sub-group. According to Bradley (2000:81) Chepang, Bujheli and Banakariya are distinct languages and they form a cluster: Chepang-Bujheli-Banakariya under Himalayan sub-branch of Western Tibeto-Burman branch of Tibeto-Burman family. Grimes (2000) do not provide any distinct classification of the Bhujel language from that of Chepang. It further admits that Bhujel can be considered a dialect close to western Chepang. According to Grimes (2000) the Bhujel language belongs to Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwari cluster under Mahakiranti section of Himalayish branch of Tibeto-Burman family. Yadava (2003) categorizes the Bhujel under the Central Himalayish subgroup of Bodish-Himalayish group of TB languages. Regmi (2004) also attempts to classify Bhujel as a member of Bhujel-Chepang cluster under central Himalayish. Noonan (2005b) classifies Bhujel as a member of Hayu-Chepang cluster. We provide the following classification of Bhujel which is adapted from Bradley (2002) and Watters (2006, personal communication).

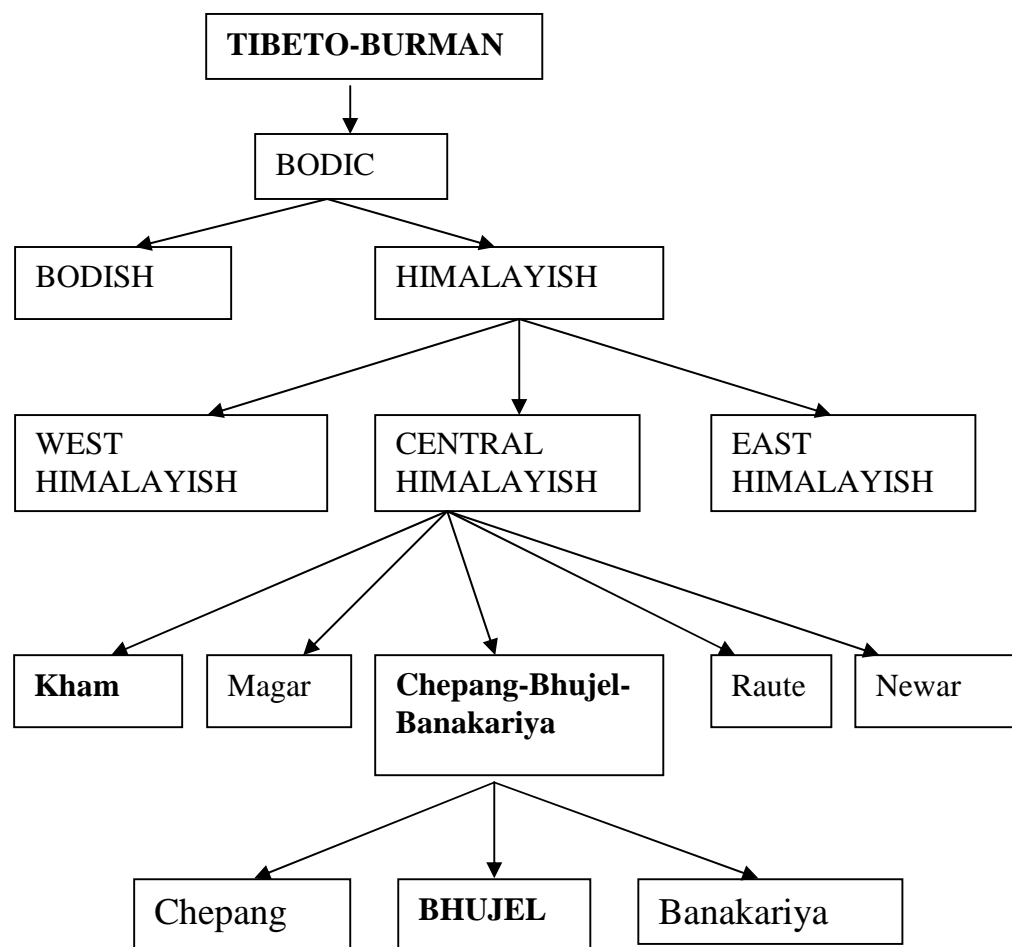


Figure 2.1: The classification of Bhujel

2.3.2 The place of Bhujel among the Tibeto-Burman languages

It is not easy to classify the Tibeto-Burman languages. There are a number of reasons.

Some of them are as follows:

- a) There exist a few descriptions of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Thus, there are insufficient linguistic evidences for the classification of the Tibeto-Burman languages.
- b) There is a great of linguistic diversity and geographical areas over which these languages are spoken (Kansakar, 1993).
- c) There is the lack of consistent and clear standards and principles for sub-grouping (LaPolla, 2000).

The classification of Bhujel presented in Figure 2.1 is not satisfactory. The main reason is that this classification was proposed on the basis of the morpho-syntactic features of the related language Chepang. However, this study has revealed such features in the Bhujel language which motivate us to group this language not as a member of central Himalayish but as a member of east Himalayish languages i.e Kiranti languages. The prominent features are as follows:

- a) Bhujel is a non-tonal language unlike Chepang and Kham of the central Himalayish languages.
- b) Bhujel shares complex verb morphology with the Kiranti languages. The verbal morphology is more complex than that of Chepang. The finite verb in Bhujel like in Kiranti languages is characterized by a complex system of person, number and role affixes.
- c) There is a loss of inverse marking in Bhujel. Rather Bhujel develops the 'direct' marking in transitive constructions on the basis of the hierarchical pattern of the participants (i.e $1 \rightarrow 2$, $2 \rightarrow 3$, $1 \rightarrow 3$). We have assumed that this may have developed from the patient marking in Kiranti languages. Thus, we assume that Bhujel is one of the members of east Himalayish groups of languages.

We suggest the following classification which is slightly adapted from Bradley (2000).

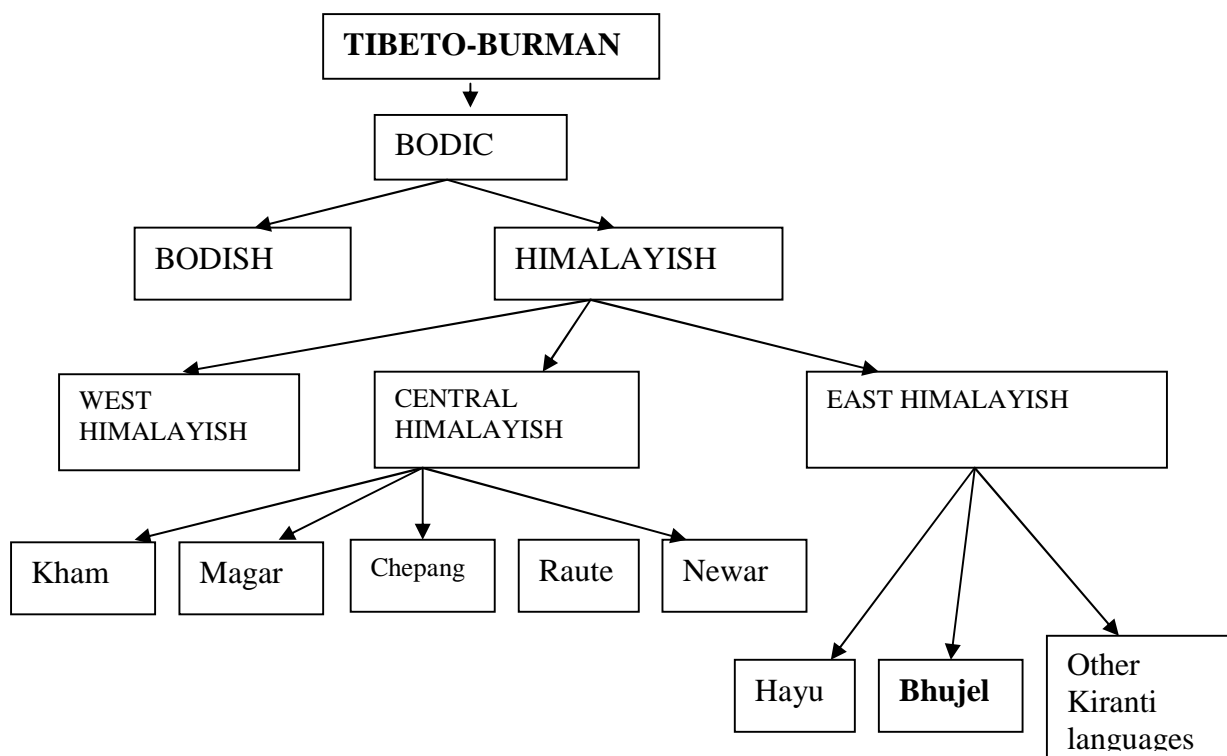


Figure 2.2: The place of Bhujel among the Tibeto-Burman languages

2.4 Distribution of the speakers

The Bhujel are a marginalized ethnic group of Nepal.²³ According to the Census of Nepal, 2001 the total population of the Bhujel amounts to 1, 17,664 (Gurung et al. 2006) and they have been living in 57 districts of Nepal. It has also been reported that the Bhujel also live in Sikkim and different parts of India in a good number.²⁴ The Census also reports that the only 9.1% of the total Bhujel population speak this language as the mother tongue. However, Bhujel speakers are confined to twenty village development committees and one municipality of Tanahun District. (See Maps 1 and 2). The following table shows the distribution of the Bhujel speakers in Tanahun.

²³On March 1, 2004 the Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities classified the indigenous nationalities of Nepal in groups: endangered, extremely endangered, marginalized, underprivileged and advance. The classification was based on the government human development index, 2001 such as literacy rates, occupation, land ownership and population.

²⁴ On the basis of the personal communication with a group of Bhujel who came to Nepal in March, 2005 for the study of socio-culture of the Bhujel living in the Tanahun District of Western Nepal

Table 2.2: Distribution of the Bhujel speakers in Tanahun District

S.N	Language Speaking Areas	Bhujel population: 2001	Bhujel speakers:2001	Bhujel speakers: Field study
1	Anbukhaireni	413	---	390
2	Arunodaya	113	---	65
3	Bandipur	407	84	318
4	Basantapur	41	--	13
5	Bhanu	262	--	39
6	Bhirkot	148	--	113
7	Byas Municipality	398	--	250
8	Chhimkasshori	318	--	250
9	Chokchispani	120	--	50
10	Deurali	412	--	390
11	Devghat	682	293	560
12	Dharampani	22	11	18
13	Dhorfidi	479	--	315
14	Firfire	189	--	25
15	Ghansikuwa	436	--	389
16	Keshavtar	232	90	189
17	Kota	229	--	200
18	Majhkot	107	--	89
19	Manpang	217	--	150
20	Pokhari Bhanjyang	45	--	35
21	Mirlung	148	--	75
		5418	478	3923

Source: Population Census 2001 and field study (2001-2006)

Table 2.2 presents the disparity between the total number of Bhujel speakers in Tanahun forwarded by the Census of Nepal, 2001 and the field study conducted in the area between 2001 and 2006. According to the field study around 72% of the total population of the Bhujel speaking areas in Tanahun speak the Bhujel language as the mother tongue. However, the Census of Nepal, 2001 shows that only 8.82% of the Bhujel in Tanahun speak this language.²⁵

Apart from Nepali, other languages such as Gurung, Magar, Tamang, and Newar are spoken as well in Bhujel speaking areas mentioned in Table 2.2. Table 2.3 presents what the other languages are spoken in each Bhujel speaking areas in Tanahun.

²⁵ There were mainly two reasons for this: the first was that the enumerator did not bother to ask the person what his/ her mother tongue was and the second was that the speakers were not conscious about recording their mother tongue with their names.

Table 2.3: Other languages spoken in the areas except Nepali

S.N	Areas	Other languages : Field study and 2001
1	Anbukharen	Newar, Magar, Gurung, Limbu, Tamang, Hindi, Bhojpuri
2	Arunodaya	Newar, Magar, Gurung
3	Bandipur	Chepang, Magar, Gurung, Chepang
4	Basantapur	Newar, Gurung, Urdu
5	Bhanu	Tamang, Gurung, Magar, Newar
6	Bhirkot	Newar, Magar, Gurung
7	Byas Municipality	Newar, Magar, Gurung, Derai, Bote, Hindi, Maithili, Tamang, Bhojpuri, Churati, Tharu, Urdu, Thakali, Bantawa, Dura, Bangla, Kumal
8	Chhimkasshori	Chepang, Magar, Gurung
9	Chokchispani	Newar, Gurung, Tamang, Magar, Maithili
10	Deurali	Magar, Gurung, Tharu
11	Devghat	Magar, Gurung, Newar, Tamang, Bantawa, Tibetan
12	Dharampani	Magar, Gurung
13	Dhorfidi	Magar, Gurung, Newar
14	Firfire	Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Newar
15	Ghansikuwa	Magar, Gurung, Derai, Dura, Tamang, Newar,
16	Keshavtar	Magar, Gurung, Tamang,
17	Kota	Magar, Gurung
18	Majhkot	Magar, Gurung, Newar
19	Manpang	Magar, Gurung, Newar
20	Pokhari Bhanjyang	Magar, Gurung, Derai, Tamang
21	Mirlung	Magar, Gurung, Newar

Source: Field study and CBS, 2001

2.5 History of the language

The history of the Bhujel language is not known. As mentioned earlier Bhujel and Tamang (2001) relate the ancient home of the Bhujel to Nishi and Bhuji Khola. Both places lie in the western part of Baglung District of Nepal. However, Watters (2004) reports that Bhujel of these areas speak Kham Bhujel which is different from the form of the language spoken by the Bhujel in Tanahun District.

2.6 Dialects

In section 2.4 we reported that Bhujel is actually spoken in twenty village development committees and one municipality of the Tanahun District. In this section a preliminary attempt has been made to identify the different forms of the Bhujel language spoken in different areas in Tanahun district. The main aim of this section is to show how far the form of the language in the domain of lexicon spoken in Andimul village, which has been represented in the study, is different from the forms of the languages spoken in other settlements of the Bhujel.²⁶ The following dialects have been identified for the Bhujel language:²⁷

i. Eastern dialect

It includes the form of the language spoken in Andimul village (Ward No 1 of Anbukhaireni Village Development Committee and partly under Ward No 8 of Bandipur Village Development Committee) and Kulmun village (Ward No 6, Deurali VDC)

ii. North-western dialect

²⁶ This village lies in two different village development committees, namely, Anbukhaireni and Bandipur. The eastern part of the village is located in Ward No 1, Anbukhaireni VDC whereas the western part lies in Ward No 8, Bandipur VDC. The total population of this village is about 820 out of which 708 speak this language

²⁷ No extensive survey of Bhujel has been conducted to date. It is only the general picture emerging from my own field work in different areas of Tanahun where Bhujel proper is spoken is that it is separated linguistically into four major dialect groupings. We find typological differences between the four especially in the areas of morphology and lexicon. Thus it requires a detailed sociolinguistic survey of the Bhujel language.

It includes the form of the language spoken in Baniyatar village (Ward No 1, Ghasikuwa VDC)

iii. Mid-western dialect

It includes the form of the language spoken in Purlung and Kaphalswanra villages in Dharampani VDC.

iv. Southern dialect

It includes the form of the language spoken in Pipaltar villages in Devaghat VDC. On the basis of Swadesh 100 word list we see some differences in some words, morphology and pronunciation in between the four dialects (see Annex 5)²⁸

2.7 Socio-linguistic position of the language

This section mainly focuses on multilingualism, language attitude, the context of language use and language choice, language maintenance and loans in the Bhujel language.

2.7.1 Multilingualism

Table 2.4 presents the situation of multilingualism in the Bhujel community. The total number of respondents was seventy-five. There were 53 male and 22 female respondents.

²⁸ The comparison is based upon partly on Bhujel and Tamang (2001) and partly field study

Table 2.4: The situation of multilingualism in the Bhujel community

(Multilingualism in other than Nepali and Bhujel)

Language situations	Male	Female	Total	%
Monolingual Bhujel	*	*	*	*
Bilingual in Nepali	53	22	75	100
Multilingual in Magar and Nepali	13	6	19	25.33
Multilingual in Gurung and Nepali	21	11	33	44
Multilingual in Magar, Gurung and Nepali	16	4	20	26.67
Multilingual in Magar, Gurung, Chepang, Nepali and other languages	3	1	4	5.33

Table 2.4 shows that there is no monolingual in Bhujel language in the study area.²⁹ They are all bilingual in Bhujel and Nepali from their birth. They have been found equally well-versed in both Bhujel and Nepali. There have been found some Bhujel speakers multilingual especially in Magar and Gurung.³⁰ The percentage of multilingual in Gurung and Nepali is higher than that of multilingual in Magar and Nepali.

28.5% Bhujel speakers can speak Magar, Gurung and Nepali. A small number of Bhujel speakers have been found able to speak Magar, Gurung, Chepang, Nepali and other languages. This phenomenon is presented in Figure 2.3

²⁹ It has been reported that in Kuluman village(which lies in ward No 6 under Deurali Village Development Committee) there have been found three very old people, two women above 95 and one man around 100 years are monolingual speakers of the Bhujel language.

³⁰ The principal informant of this study i.e. Bishnu Bhujel can speak Chepang.

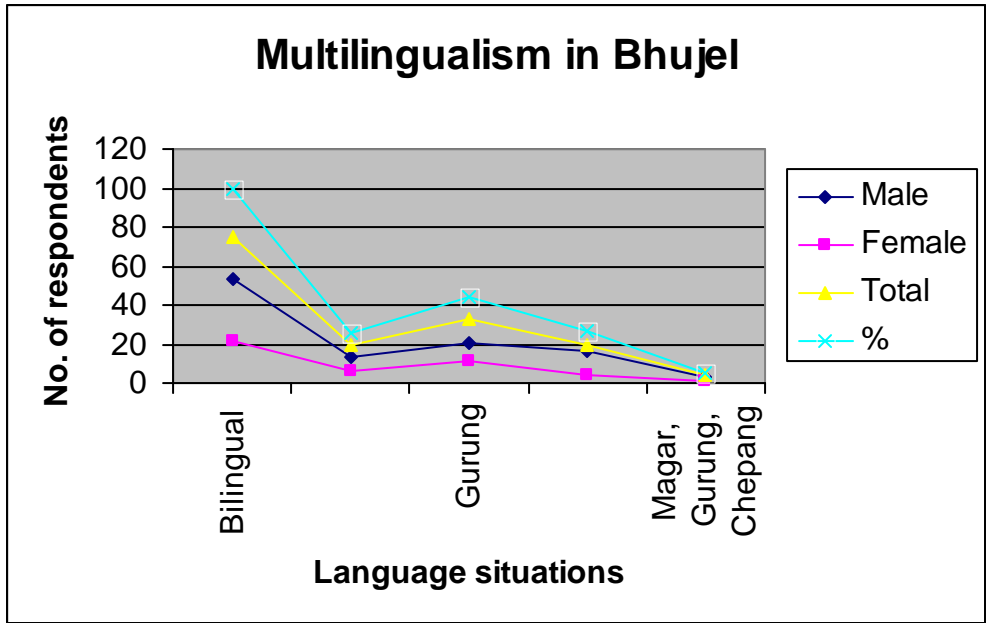


Figure 2.3: Multilingualism in Bhujel

2.7.2 Language attitudes

Table 2.5 presents different attitudes of the Bhujel speakers about their language. There is a crucial role of the native speakers' attitudes for the survival of the language. The positive attitude fosters intergenerational transmission, maintenance of linguistic boundaries and the sense of language's historic status. The negative attitude accelerates the endangerment.

Table 2.5: Attitudes of the Bhujel speakers about their language

S. N.	<i>Attitude Elicitation</i>	<i>Positive</i>		<i>Undecided/ Nepali</i>		<i>Negative</i>	
		<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
1	Love	62	88.6	3	4.3	5	7.2
2	Vitality	47	67.2	12	17.1	11	15.7
3	Usefulness	36	51.4	8	11.5	26	37.1
4	Sufficiency	23	32.9	21	30	26	37.1
5	Language for education	12	2.86	49	70	9	12.9
6	Prefer to marry Bhujel speakers	65	92.9	-		5	7.1
7	Young pride in the language	23	32.9	12	17.1	35	50
8	Children learn and follow Bhujel	18	25.7	39	55.7	13	18.6
9	Children learn first Bhujel	34	48.6	36	51.4	----	
10	Preserving the language	53	75.7	---		17	24.3

Source: Field study

Table 2.5 shows that they have high love and respect for their language. As to the vitality and usefulness of the language the majority of the speakers admit that the language will not die and the language is very useful in the communication. However, they opine that the language is not sufficient to express every matters of the life in Bhujel. The majority of the speakers do not stand in favor of getting education in the Bhujel language. They feel happy to get married to the Bhujel speakers. However, the young people do not feel pride for their language. They are gradually shifting to Nepali. The data shows that the majority of the speakers are in favor of preserving the language. This phenomenon can be presented in Figure 2.4.

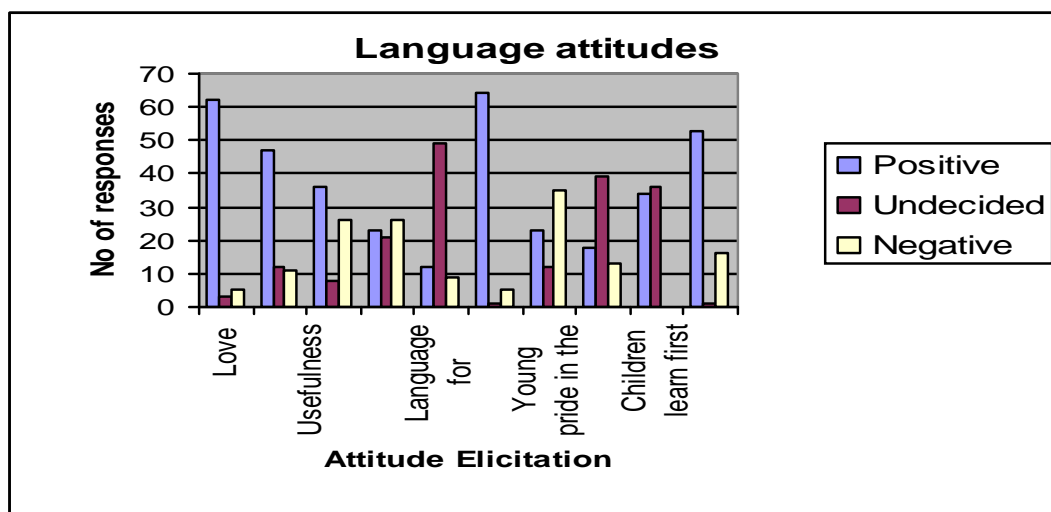


Figure 2.4: Language attitudes

2.7.3 Context of use and language choice

In 2.7.1 we stated that the Bhujel are bilingual in Bhujel and Nepali. The Bhujel can use either Bhujel or Nepali in their inter-personal communication. However, the choice of the language use is, in most cases, ascertained by the domains of the language use. Table 2.6 presents the context of language use by domains and language choice on the basis of the survey carried in the field. The total number of the respondents was 75.

Table 2.6: Language use by domains and language choice

Serial No	Domains of language	Language choice			
		Always Bhujel	Usually Bhujel	Always Nepali	Usually Nepali
1	With parents	25	40	5	5
2	With siblings	29	20	15	11
3	With spouse (if married)	25	23	12	15
4	With own children (if any)	23	25	15	12
5	With village friends	25	27	13	10
6	With village leaders	21	21	26	7
7	While buying things at the market			62	13
8	With government officials			75	
9	While observing religious performances		35	30	10
10	While singing songs	6	9	49	11
11	While expressing your deepest feelings	10	15	48	12
12	While making jokes and telling stories	6	17	37	15
13	While talking about the political matters	2	15	51	7

Source: Field study

Table 2.6 shows that in most of the domains of language the Bhujel do not always use their mother. Rather they usually use Bhujel or always use Nepali. The use of mother tongue in the family and society strengthens the intergenerational language transmission. The data in the table shows that the Bhujel are gradually shifting to Nepali in almost domains of language use. These facts speak themselves that Bhujel is an endangered language.

2.7.4 Language maintenance

As mentioned earlier only 10,733 of a total of 1, 17,664 ethnic Bhujel speak this language only in limited social domains within the speech community. Accordingly, the language retention rate turns out around 9.1% of the total Bhujel population. According to the Census of Nepal, 2001 only 478 (i.e. 6.35) of a total of 7523 ethnic population of Bhujel in Tanahun speak this language as the mother tongue. These facts reveal that the language is in danger of extinction. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, all the Bhujel are bi/multilingual. The new generation is gradually shifting mainly to Nepali.

2.7.5 Loan words

Bhujel presents a heavy borrowing in domain of lexicon from Nepali.³¹ As we discussed in section 2.4 there are other languages spoken in the Bhujel speaking area as well. However, though it is very difficult to say, only in a negligible number of the words have been borrowed from the languages other than Nepali. The following table presents the position of Nepali loans in nine semantic domains in the Bhujel.³²

³¹ Caughley (1999) maintains that there is a heavy borrowing of Nepali words in the Bhujel language.

³² This is based upon the primary data. In a frame 4911 basic words were collected for the purpose of lexicon. Then the words were categorized into nine semantic domains and the total number of Bhujel and Nepali borrowing was enumerated.

Table 2.7: Patterns of borrowing in Bhujel

No of Domains	Semantic domains	Total number of the words	Total number of the Bhujel words	Total number of loans	Percentage of the loans
1	The physical universe	1279	464	815	63.72
2	Person	593	150	443	74.7
3	Language and thought	318	50	268	84.27
4	Social behavior	130	38	92	70.76
5	Home	1366	524	842	61.63
6	Work and occupation	360	121	239	66.38
7	Actions	330	238	92	27.87
8	States	327	30	297	90.82
9	Grammar & discourse	208	91	117	56.25
Total		4911	1706	3205	65.26

Table 2.7 presents a total of 4911 basic words out of which 65.26 % constitutes the loans from Nepali in the Bhujel language. It is evident from the table that there is the highest percentage of the loan is the domain of states and least percentage is in the domain of actions. They are gradually shifting to Nepali in almost all domains. Normally in a bilingual community a speaker is likely to borrow a word from another language when it is not readily available in the native language. However, in the Bhujel community a speaker is found inclining towards Nepali loans though the words seem readily available in the native language itself.

2.8 Language endangerment

In this section we first overview the present situation of languages of Nepal from the perspective of their endangerment and then we enumerate factors for endangerment of the Bhujel language.³³

2.8.1 Language situation in Nepal

The Census of Nepal, 2001, has identified 92 languages in Nepal. The number of languages of indigenous nationalities amounts to 70. Various censuses in Nepal present inconsistent numbers of languages in Nepal. The total number of the languages of the indigenous nationalities also varies in different censuses in Nepal. Table 2.8 presents the total number of languages including languages of the indigenous nationalities in various censuses in Nepal.

Table 2.8: Number of languages in various censuses in Nepal

Censuses	1952-54	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Total number of languages	44	33	17	17	20	92
Number of indigenous languages	29	26	12	13	15	70

Source: Censuses (1952/54-2001)

The Census of Nepal, 2001, records a total of 70 languages of indigenous nationalities in Nepal. For the first time the languages like Bram/ Bramu, Bhujel, Chhantyal, Dura, Ghale, Kaike, Kisan, Kusunda, Munda. Raute, Yholmo, Khariya, Lhomi, Dungmali and Sadhani were identified. However, some languages of the indigenous nationalities are not enumerated even in the 2001 census. They include Athpare, Bahraganule, Belhare, Dolpo, Kham, Magmata, Mugali, and Nar-Phu (Yadava, 2004).

Not all the languages of Nepal are safe. These languages are found facing different levels of endangerment (Yadava, 2004). Table 2.9 presents the number of languages in terms of different levels of endangerment.

³³ The data presented in this section are mostly based on (Yadava, 2004; Yadava and Turin, 2005)

Table 2.9: Levels of language endangerment in Nepal

Serial No	Levels of endangerment	Total languages	Percentage
1	Safe	18	19.56
2	Almost safe	15	16.30
3	Potentially endangered	8	8.69
4	Endangered	22	23.91
5	Seriously endangered	12	13.04
6	Moribund	7	7.60
7	Extinct / nearly extinct	11	11.95

Source: Yadava (2004)

Table 2.9 shows that 23.91% of the languages are in endangered position. If we present the total number of endangered, seriously endangered, moribund and extinct or nearly extinct languages it amounts to 52. It means that more than half of the total numbers of languages in Nepal are going to be lost.

2.8.2 Factors for the endangerment of the Bhujel language

There are a number of the factors for endangerment of the Bhujel language. They are described as follows:³⁴

- a) Intergenerational language transmission

Table 2.10 shows an assessment of intergenerational language transmission in the Bhujel community.

³⁴ These criteria were proposed by an International Expert meeting on UNESCO program “Safeguarding of the Endangered Languages” (March 10-12, 2003) in The Endangered Languages Fund Newsletter, vol. 7, Number 1, May, 2003

Table 2.10: Intergenerational language transmission

The people...	Speaks the language with							
		Elderly		Adult		Young		Children	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Elderly	M	5	5	5	5	4	4	3	3
	F	5	5	5	5	4	4	3	3
Adult	M	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2
	F	5	5	5	5	3	3	3	3
Young	M	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
	F	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Children	M	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
	F	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2

In Table 2.10 the number refers to the frequency of language transmission. The frequency is as follows: 5= always in this language; 4= more in this language than others; 3= equally often in either language; 2= more in other language than in this language; 1= always in other language.

It is evident from Table 2.10 that intergenerational language transmission in the Bhujel community is pitiable. Only the elderly and adult women are found always using the native language while speaking with their age group. The elderly men are found using sometime Nepali language while speaking to adults. Both the elderly and adults are either equally using both language i.e. Bhujel and Nepali or using more Nepali while speaking to young or children. The young and children more often use either language speaking to elderly or adults. They use more Nepali while speaking to their own age group.

b) Absolute number of speakers

In section 2.5 we have presented the facts about the demography of Bhujel.³⁵ It has been estimated that total population of the Bhujel speakers is 3923 in Tanahun district. It amounts around 4.01% of the total estimated population. This fact leads us

³⁵ There occurs disparity between the census and the field data. The census, 2001 records that 9.8% of the total Bhujel population speaks this language. However, this data is controversial in many respects.

to reassess its endangerment level. On this basis the Bhujel language is a seriously endangered language.

c) Loss of existing language domains

It has been reported the Bhujel in the past could express any feelings and emotions in the Bhujel language easily. But nowadays they use their language only in limited domains. They cannot sing and utter *mantras* rituals in the language. Gradually, they are losing one after another domain of language use.

d) Response to new domains and media

There is no access to the media of the Bhujel speakers at all. Moreover, they are using more and more Nepali words in their expression.

e) Materials for primary education and literacy

The speakers of the community are gradually transferring to Nepali through endogenous process. This led to the endangerment of their native language.

Almost Bhujel in Tanahun are illiterate. Even today they do not send their children to schools. There are no materials for education in the Bhujel language.

f) Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status & use

Before 2001 Bhujel has not been identified a separate language. It was considered a dialect of Chepang. Now it is one of the national languages of Nepal. Recently the Bhujel have been found getting slowly conscious about their ethnic identity and language.

g) Community members' attitudes toward their own languages

Many Bhujel are ignorant and indifferent about the importance of the mother tongue. Nowadays some Bhujel have been awakening to preserve and promote this language.

h) Migration

Bhujikhola has been claimed to be the ancestral home of the Bhujel (Bhujel and Tamang, 2000). Many Bhujel are still living there. The Bhujel in Tanahun are believed to have migrated from there. It is also claimed that in 1372 V.S. the Bhujel were defeated in the war and forced to migrate to different part of the country. A group came finally to the areas of Tanahun where they have been living since then. In Nepal they are living in 57 districts. It is also reported that they are living in different

parts of India in a good number.³⁶ As they migrated individually or in a small group to other language-speaking area they gradually ceased to stop speaking the native language and started to speak the dominant language, especially Nepali.

i) Marginalization

The Bhujel are a marginalized ethnic group of Nepal.³⁷ Almost Bhujel, except migrated to other parts, in Tanahun have been found illiterate. They have been marginalized not only economically but also socially and politically. They are deprived of education. Neither they have their own land for cultivation nor they have sustainable economy.

2.9 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed the Bhujel people, their culture and language. The language spoken by the Bhujel living in limited areas of the eastern part of Tanahun District was identified for the first time as one of the indigenous languages only in the Census of Nepal, 2001. Popularly known as the Bhujel language is natively referred to as $f^{\wedge} | \chi \{ER\} 1 _ \wedge \dots 1$ meaning 'talk or language of Bhujel'. It is an endangered Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. It is spoken by 3923 of 5418 of ethnic Bhujel living in twenty village development committees and one municipality in Tanahun. According to the Census of Nepal, 2001, 9.1% of the total Bhujel ethnic population (1, 17,644) speaks this language.

Previously this language was classified genetically as a member of the cluster of Chepang-Bhujel under the central Himalayish group of languages. However, in this study, on the basis of the findings, we have classified this language as one of the members of the eastern Himalayish groups of languages.

In most of the domains of language use Bhujel do not always use their mother tongue. Rather they usually use Bhujel or always use Nepali. The intergenerational language

³⁶ On the basis of the personal communication with a group of Bhujel who came to Nepal in March, 2005 for the study of socio-culture of the Bhujel living in the Tanahun District of Western Nepal

³⁷ On March 1, 2004 the Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities classified the indigenous nationalities of Nepal in groups: endangered, extremely endangered, marginalized, underprivileged and advance. The classification was based on the government human development index, 2001 such as literacy rates, occupation, land ownership and population.

transmission in the Bhujel community is pitiable. Only the elderly and adult women are found always using the native language while speaking with their age group. The elderly men are found using sometime Nepali language while speaking to adults. The new generation is not motivated to use Bhujel language. They show high love and respect for their language. They claim that the language will not die and the language is very useful in the communication. However, they opine that the language is not sufficient to express every matters of the life in Bhujel.

The Bhujel in Tanahun have Mongoloid physical features with well proportioned facial counters and yellowish complexion. They are marginalized ethnic nationalities of Nepal. The primitive occupation of the Bhujel is to make different articles from bamboo splits. Nowadays they are engaged in agriculture, small business, cottage and small industry to a limited extent. Religiously they are Buddhists; however, they follow the culture and tradition of Hindu. Particularly in Tanahun Bhujel are living in close affinity with the Magar and Gurung They also follow the culture and traditions of Magar and Gurung. They observe some life ceremonies which include birth and naming, introducing solid food, head shaving, marriage, death, other rituals. They worship the nature. Rodi is poplar in the Bhujel community. The history of the Bhujel language is not known. However, they posit that that ancient home of the Bhujel is Nishi and Bhuji Khola which lie in the western part of Baglung District. The Bhujel are bi/multilingual in Tanahun.

CHAPTER 3

PHONOLOGY

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with Bhujel phonology. It consists of six sections. Section 3.1 deals with the consonant phonemes of the language. In section 3.2 we discuss its vowels. Section 3.3 presents the distinctive features of Bhujel phonemes. In section 3.4 we characterize the syllable structure in the language. Section 3.5 briefly discusses the suprasegmental features of stress and intonation in Bhujel. In section 3.6 we summarize the findings of the chapter.

3.1 Consonants

In this section we first present an inventory of the consonant phonemes and then we establish phonological oppositions among them. Besides we examine the distribution of Bhujel consonants. Finally we discuss the consonant clusters in the language.

3.1.1 Inventory of consonants

Table 3.1 presents an inventory of the consonants in the Bhujel language.³⁸

Table 3.1: Inventory of Bhujel consonants

³⁸ Unlike Dolkha Newar (Genetti, 1990), Athpare (Ebert, 1997; Neupane, 2001), Gurung (Glover, 1974) and Wambule (Opgenort, 2002) Bhujel lacks retroflex consonants. In addition, unlike Kham (Watters, 2002), Gurung (Glover, 1974) and Dolkha Newar (Genetti, 1990) Bhujel shows the breathy oppositions in stops, nasals, trills, laterals and approximants. Moreover, Bhujel lacks phonemic glottal stop unlike Chepang.

MANNER OF ARTICULATION	PLACES OF ARTICULATION					
	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops:						
Voiceless, unaspirated	π	τ			κ	
Voiceless, aspirated	π ^h	τ ^h			κ ^h	
Voiced, unaspirated	β	δ			γ	
Voiced, aspirated	β ^h	δ ^h			γ ^h	
Nasal:						
Voiced, unaspirated	μ		ν		ŋ	
Voiced, aspirated	μ ^h		ν ^h		ŋ ^h	
Affricate:						
Voiceless, unaspirated			ʃ			
Voiceless, aspirated			ʃ ^h			
Voiced, unaspirated			ʒ			
Fricative:						
			σ			η
Trill:						
Voiced, unaspirated			ρ			
Voiced, aspirated			ρ ^h			
Lateral:						
Voiced, unaspirated			λ			
Voiced, aspirated			λ ^h			
Approximants:						
Voiced, unaspirated	ω			ψ		
Voiced, aspirated	ω ^h			ψ ^h		

According to Table 3.1 Bhujel language has 31 consonants. They show four-way contrasts or oppositions: place of articulation, manner of articulation, voicing and aspiration. According to place of articulation there exist six types of consonant sounds. They are bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. On the basis of manner of articulation there are seven types of consonants in Bhujel. They are stops,

nasals, affricates, fricatives, trills, laterals and approximants. As in Chepang (Caughley, 1970:281) voicing and aspiration are contrastive in Bhujel. In terms of voicing there are two types of consonant sounds: voiceless and voiced. According to aspiration there exist two types of consonants in Bhujel: aspirated and unaspirated. Bhujel consonants can be further classified into voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced aspirated (breathy voice). These phonological oppositions are discussed in detail below.

i. Stops

Bhujel, like Nepali, has 12 stops. They have a symmetrical arrangement of aspirated (voiceless aspirated and voiced aspirated) and unaspirated stops. There are three types of stops in the Bhujel language. They are referred to as bilabial, dental and velar stops.

a) Bilabial stops

The bilabial stops in Bhujel are: / π , π^n , β , β^n /. They show contrast in different positions. / π , π^n / show contrast between aspirated and unaspirated in the initial and final positions. / β , β^n / show contrast in initial position whereas / π , β / show contrast only in the medial position, as shown in (1)

(1)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/ π A μ /	'vagina'	/A π α /	'shoot IMP'	/cop /	'milk of tree'
	/ π^n A μ /	'white'	----	----	/ χ o π^n /	'cut'
	/bAN/	'stone'	/A β α /	'now'	----	----
	/ β^n AN/	'hemp'	----	----	----	----

b) Dental stops

There are four dental stops in Bhujel. They are: / τ , τ^n , δ , δ^n /.³⁹ They show phonological oppositions in different positions. / τ , τ^n / show phonological

³⁹ Unlike Dolkha Newar (Genetti, 1990), Athpare (Ebert, 1997; Neupane, 2001), Gurung (Glover, 1974) and Wambule (Oppenort, 2002) Bhujel lacks oppositions between dental and retroflex sounds.

oppositions in the initial and final positions whereas / δ , δ^n / present the contrast in the initial and medial positions, as given in (2)

(2)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/τɛ/	'2 marker'	---	---	/Aτ/	'one'
	/τ ⁿ ɛ/	'other'	---	---	/Aτ ⁿ /	'eight'
	/dAρ/	'a kind of wood'	/AδA/	'ok'	---	---
	/δ ⁿ Aρ/	'blade of sickle'	/Aδ ⁿ A/	'half'	---	---

c) Velar stops

The velar stops in Bhujel are: /κ, κⁿ, γ, γⁿ/. All of them (except γⁿ) show contrast between aspirated (voiceless aspirated and breathy) and unaspirated in all the positions. However, /γⁿ/ shows contrast only in the initial position, as in (3)

(3)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/κAμ/	'mouth'	/λAκA/	'air potato'	/δAκ/	'stain'
	/κ ⁿ Aμ/	'cut tree'	/λAκ ⁿ A/	'clap'	/δAκ ⁿ /	'reach'
	/γAμ/	'village'	/λAγA/	'bad eye'	/δAγ/	'net'
	/γ ⁿ Aμ/	'hot'	---	---	---	---

ii. Nasals

There are six nasal phonemes in Bhujel, of which three are plain/clear nasals: /μ, ν, N/ and three breathy nasals: /μⁿ, νⁿ, Nⁿ/. The plain nasals /μ, ν, N/ show phonological oppositions in all the positions, viz. word-initially, word-medially and word-finally, as shown in (4)

(4)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/μA/	'also'	/συμA/	'anybody'	/χιμ/	'bulb'
	/νA/	'be'	/συνA/	'who is'	/χιν/	'clitoris'
	/NA/	'1SG'	/συνα/	'who am I'	/χιν/	'unclear'

The plain/clear nasals /μ, ν/ show phonological oppositions with corresponding breathy nasals only word-initially and word-finally, as given in (5)

(5)	Initial		Medial		Final
-----	---------	--	--------	--	-------

/μɛ/	'tail'	---	---	/τυN/	'drink'
/μ ^η ɛ /	'fire'	---	---	/τυN ^η /	'trunk'
/ν/	'day'	---	---	/μιν/	'cook'
/ν ^η ι	'laugh'	---	---	/μιν ^η /	'attack'

However, the clear /N/ shows the contrast with the breathy /N^η/ only in word initial position, as shown in (6)

(6) Final

/τυN/	'drink'
/τυN ^η /	'trunk'
/μιν/	'cook'
/μιν ^η /	'attack'

iii. Affricates

In Bhujel there are three alveolar affricates: /χ, χ^η, φ / . /χ^η, φ / show the phonological oppositions in all the three positions: the initial, medial and final.

However, /χ / shows phonological opposition with /χ^η, φ / only in the word-initial and final positions, as shown in (7)

(7)

Initial		Medial		Final	
/χo/	'son'	---	----	/τεχ/	'strength'
/χ ^η o/	'move'	/Aτχ ^η ψo/	'one side'	/tec ^h /	'grave'
/φ o/	'propitious day'	/Aφψo/	'one thing'	/τεφ/	'sperm'

iv. Fricatives

Like other TB languages, especially Chepang, Kham and Gurung, Bhujel has a few fricatives. They are: /σ, η/. They show the phonological oppositions in all positions, as in shown (8)

(8)

Initial		Medial		Final	
/σιν/	'liver'	/κυσA/	'uncooked rice'	/βασ /	'rest'
/ηιν /	'sell'	/κυηA/	'dress the hen'	/βαη/	'shoulder'

v. Trills

There are two types of trills in Bhujel: voiced unaspirated /ρ/, and aspirated /ρ^h/. They show phonological oppositions in word initial position, as shown in (9)

- (9) /ρAo/ 'hot '
/ρ^hAo 'work done '
/

vi. Laterals

The laterals in the Bhujel /λ, λ^h/ show phonological oppositions only in the initial position, as shown in (10)

- (10) /λA/ 'band '
/λ^hA/ 'arrow '

Moreover, the trills and laterals may be referred to as liquids. The liquids in the Bhujel are: /ρ, ρ^h, λ, λ^h/. /ρ, λ/ show phonological oppositions in all the positions: initial, medial and final, as shown in (11)

- | (11) | Initial | | Medial | | Final | |
|------|--------------------|----------|-----------|------------|--------|--------------------|
| | /ρA/ | 'winnow' | / ηαρυωA/ | 'owl' | /μAρ / | 'cut' |
| | /λ ^h A/ | 'arrow' | /ηαλυωA/ | 'porridge' | /μAλ / | 'unfinished goods' |

vii. Approximants

There are four approximants in Bhujel. They are: / w, ω^h, ψ, ψ^h /. The clear approximants / w, ψ / show the phonological oppositions in all the positions, as shown in (12)

- | (12) | Initial | | Medial | | Final | |
|------|---------|--------|---------|-------------|--------|-------------|
| | /ωAN/ | 'come' | /σαωατ/ | 'echo' | /σαω / | 'centipede' |
| | /ψAN / | 'fly' | /σαψατ/ | 'testicles' | /σαψ/ | 'nap' |

They, however, show phonological oppositions to their corresponding breathy approximants only in the initial position, as shown in (13)

- (13) Initial
/ψAμ/ 'rice'

/ψ¹Aμ / 'grasshopper'
/ωAv/ 'bring'
/ω¹Av / 'SIML'

3.1.2 Distribution of consonants

In 3.1.1 we tried to outline phonological contrast of Bhujel consonants. In this subsection we summarize the distribution of the consonants in different positions: word initial, intervocalic and word final. Table 3.2 provides a summary of their positional distribution.

Table 3.2: Distribution of Bhujel consonants

Consonants	#-	v-v	-#
π	+	+	+
π^n	+	+	+
β	+	+	+
β^n	+	-	-
τ	+	+	+
τ^n	+	+	+
δ	+	+	+
δ^n	+	+	-
χ	+	+	+
χ^n	+	+	+
φ	+	+	+
ρ	+	+	+
ρ^n	+	-	-
λ	+	+	+
λ^n	+	+	-
μ	+	+	+
v	+	+	+
N	+	+	+
μ^n	+	-	+
v^n	+	-	-
N^n	+	-	+
σ	+	+	+

η	+	+	+
ψ	+	+	+
ψ ^η	+	-	-
ω	+	+	+
ω ^η	+	-	-
κ	+	+	+
κ ^η	+	+	+
γ	+	+	+
γ ^η	+	-	-

The following are the examples of the positional distribution of the consonants in the Bhujel language.

(14)		Initial (# -)		Intervocalic (V-V)		Final (- #)	
a.	/π/	πυκ ^η	‘head’	τ ^η Απυ	‘ash’	ποπ	‘snail’
b.	/π ^η /	π ^η Αμ	‘white’	νοπ ^η ετ	‘a name’	κΑπ ^η	‘pick’
c.	/β/	βαN	‘stone’	κΑβΑ	‘crow’	Α)β	‘mango’
d.	/β ^η /	β ^η ΑN	‘hemp’	---	---	---	---
e.	/τ/	τυμ	‘honey’	ηΑτυN	‘thigh’	κρυτ	‘hand’
f.	/τ ^η /	τηε	‘other’	πυτ ^η ορι	‘pestle’	γोट ^η	‘pasture land’
g.	/δ/	δυN	‘grow’	χοδικ	‘if’	νιδ	‘sleep’
h.	/δ ^η /	δ ^η υριN	‘back’	σιδ ^η Α	‘straight’	---	---
i.	/χ/	χαν	‘crab’	γαχυκ	‘how much’	χ ^η Αχ	‘prune’
j.	/χ ^η /	χ ^η ε	‘salt’	λαχ ^η Α	‘queue’	τεχ ^η	‘grave’
k.	/φ/	φ Α	‘tiger’	βΑφυλι	‘swallow’	τεφ	‘sperm’
l.	/r/	ρυ	‘snake’	παραμ	‘cooperative’	μΑρ	‘cut’
m.	/ρ ^η /	ρ ^η Α	‘winnow’	---	---	---	---
n.	/λ/	λα	‘band’	σολοN	‘shin’	μΑλ	‘unfinished goods’
o.	/λ ^η /	λ ^η Α	‘arrow’	πυχυλ ^η υN	‘aerial’	---	---
p.	/μ/	μυσ	‘cloud’	λιμικ	‘ankle’	σιμ	‘suck’

q.	/v/	vAN	'2SG'	μινο	'ripen'	τεν	'today'
r.	/N/	NA	'1SG'	κ ^η ANο	'cooked'	λυN	'heart'
s.	/μ ^η /	μ ^η ε	'fire'	---	---	μιν ^η	'attack'
t.	/v ^η /	v ^η ι	'laugh'	---	---	---	---
u.	/N ^η /	N ^η A	'fish'	---	---	τυN ^η	'trunk'
v.	/σ/	σιν	'liver'	κυσα	'uncooked rice'	βασ	'rest'
w.	/η/	ηAv	'beer'	δυηιτ	'queen bird'	βAη	'shoulder'
x.	/ψ/	ψυv	'bat'	σαψατ	'testicles'	τAψ	'inside'
y.	/ψ ^η /	ψ ^η Aμ	'grass- hopper'	---	---	---	---
z.	/ω/	ωοι	'blood'	σαωατ	'echo'	σαω	'centipede'
aa.	/ω ^η /	ω ^η Av	'SIML'	---	---	---	---
bb.	/κ/	κAμ	'mouth'	λAκA	'air potato'	σεκ	'lice'
cc.	/κ ^η /	κ ^η Aμ	'cut tree'	λAκ ^η A	'clap'	βψAκ η	'disappear'
dd.	/γ/	γoψ '	'yam'	λAγιτ	'cling'	δAγ	'net'
ee.	/γ ^η /	γ ^η AN	'where'	φA)γ ^η Aρ	'ford'	---	---

From examples (14a-ee) we can make the following generalizations with regard to the distribution of the consonants in the Bhujel language:

- a) All the consonant phonemes occur in the word-initial position.
- b) The phonemes /βH/, /ρH/, /vH/, /ωH/ and /ψH/ show gaps in both inter-vocalic and word-final positions.
- c) The phoneme /γH/ occurs word-initially and inter-vocalically, but not word-finally.
- d) The phonemes /vH/, /NH/ can occur word-finally but not inter-vocalically.

3.1.3 Consonant clusters

In this subsection we present the patterns of consonant clusters in the Bhujel language. Like Chepang Bhujel exhibits the cluster of two consonants only in the

word initial position. Table 3.3 shows the patterns of consonant clusters in the language.

Table 3.3: Patterns of consonant clusters

C ₁	π	π	β	β	‡	τ ^η	δ	δ	χ	χ ^η	φ	ρ	ρ	λ	λ	μ
C ₂		η		η				η					η		η	
π												+		+		
π ^η																
β												+		+		
β ^η																
τ												+				
τ ^η																
δ																
δ ^η																
χ																
χ ^η																
φ																
ρ																
ρ ^η																
λ																
λ ^η																
μ																
ν																
N																
μ ^η																
ν ^η																
N ^η																
σ													+			
η																
ψ																
ψ ^η																

$$\begin{array}{l}
\omega \\
\omega^\eta \\
\kappa \\
\kappa^\eta \\
\gamma \\
\gamma^\eta
\end{array}
\begin{array}{l}
+ \\
+ \\
+ \\
+ \\
+ \\
+
\end{array}
\begin{array}{l}
+ \\
+ \\
+ \\
+ \\
+ \\
+
\end{array}$$

	ν	N	μ^η	ν	N^η	σ	η	ψ	ψ	ω	ω^η	κ	κ^η	γ	γ^η
C_1															
C_2				η					η						
π									+						
π^η									+						
β									+						
β^η															
τ									+						
τ^η															
δ									+						
δ^η									+						
χ									+						
χ^η									+						
ϕ									+						
P									+						
P^η									+						
λ									+						
λ^η									+						
μ									+						
ν									+						
N									+						
μ^η															
ν^η															
N^η															
σ									+						
η															+
ψ															
ψ^η															
ω									+						
ω^η															
κ									+						

κ ^ŋ			
γ	+	+	
γ ^ŋ			

Table 3.3 shows the consonant clusters in Bhujel are found only in root-initial. In other words the consonant clusters are found only in onset position, not coda position. This is a common feature of Tibeto-Burman languages.⁴⁰ The consonant clusters in Bhujel are of three types: (i) stop + liquid (p~l), (ii) consonant+ glide (y~w) and fricative+ liquid /r/. They are discussed as follows:

i. Stop + liquid (...~)}

The stops / π, β, κ / can combine with both liquid consonants /r/ and /l/ as shown in (15)

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-----|--------|---------|
| (15) | a. | πρ- | προκ | 'lung' |
| | b. | βρ- | βρΑυτο | 'large' |
| | c. | κρ- | κρυτ | 'hand' |
| | d. | πλ- | πλα | 'break' |
| | e. | βλ- | βλα | 'swim' |
| | f. | κλ- | κλι | 'stool' |

However, the stops / τ, κ^ŋ, γ / can combine only with the alveolar trill /r/, as shown in (16)

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------|--------------------|---------|
| (16) | a. | τρ- | τρΑκ | 'penis' |
| | b. | κ ^ŋ ρ- | κ ^ŋ ρΑυ | 'play' |
| | c. | γρ- | γρυτι | 'sick' |

?? Consonant+ glide (y~ŷ) 1

⁴⁰ Both Benedict (1972:37) and Matisoff (2003) have claimed that in Tibeto-Burman languages the consonant clusters are found only in root-initial position

A number of consonants have been found clustered with a glide /y/. They are exemplified in (17)1

- (17)
- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| a. | πψ- | πψΑκ | 'pig' |
| b. | π ⁿ ψ- | π ⁿ ψΑ | 'put off' |
| | | ν | |
| c. | βψ- | βψΑκ | 'long' |
| | | η | |
| d. | τψ- | τψΑν | 'cause to float' |
| e. | δψ- | δψυρ | 'spit' |
| f. | δ ⁿ ψ- | δ ⁿ ψο | 'mark' |
| g. | χψ- | χψΑΣ | 'splits' |
| h. | χ ⁿ ψ- | χ ⁿ ψυ | 'deep' |
| | | Ν | |
| i. | φ ψ- | φψυΝ | 'cold' |
| j. | ρψ- | ρψαΝ | 'wasp' |
| k. | ρ ⁿ ψ- | ρ ⁿ ψΑ | 'worn' |
| | | ο | |
| l. | λψ - | λψΑμ | 'road' |
| m. | λ ⁿ ψ- | λ ⁿ ψυ | 'climb down' |
| | | Ν | |
| n. | μψ- | μψΑν | 'hair of the body' |
| o. | νψ- | νψΑμ | 'sun' |
| p. | Νψ- | Νψυρ | 'talk' |
| q. | σψ- | σψΑΣ | 'rear' |
| r. | ηψ- | ηψυΝ | 'flea' |
| s. | κψ- | κψΑ | 'weave' |

Unaspirated voiced velar / γ/ has been found clustered with glide /w/, as shown in (18)1

(18) γω- γωAvο 'which one'

iii. Fricative + resonant

In Bhujel the alveolar fricative /σ/ combines with the alveolar trill /ρ/ to form a consonant cluster in the word initial position, as shown in (19)

(19) σ ροκτο 'sour'
ρ-

Three consonant clusters are, however, rare. There is only example: /|...Ε-/ , occurring word initially, as exemplified in (20)

(20) κρψ- κρψΑπ 'cry'

The consonant clusters in Bhujel show both language specific and universal tendencies. They are summed up as follows:

- a. The consonant clusters of stops+ liquid (ρ~λ) and consonant+ glide (γ~ω) in onset position have been already established for Tibeto-Burman languages in general (see Benedict, 1972:37).
- b. The consonant clusters in Bhujel are also based on the principle of sonority or the notion of consonantal strength. According to this principle or notion the consonants are ranked in terms of their consonantality- their similarity to vowels on the one hand and archetypical consonants which always function as the syllable margin on the other (Symons, 1993:25). Glides are the weakest or most sonorous; liquids and nasals are the second weakest; and obstruents are the strongest or least sonorous. This principle says that the consonants which are weaker or less sonorous are closer to the nucleus than those further from the nucleus. All the phonological words with consonant clusters in the onset position in Bhujel follow this principle. Let us see the structures of }ΕR~ 'road' and |...ΕRf1'cry' in Bhujel.

(21)

- a. λψΑμ
\$C_λC_ψVC\$
λ < ψ where < = 'is stronger than'
- b. κρψΑπ
\$C_κC_ρC_ψVC\$

$\kappa < \rho < \psi$ where $< =$ 'is stronger than'

3.2 Vowels

There are three types of vowels in the Bhujel language. They are oral vowels, nasal vowels and diphthongs. In this we first present an inventory of oral vowels and then we discuss their phonological oppositions. Besides we present an overview of the positional distribution of the oral vowels. Finally we examine the nasal vowels and diphthongs in the language.

3.2.1 *Inventory of oral vowels*

Like Chepang (Caughley, 1982: 34), Bhujel is a language with the six-vowel system.⁴¹ As in Chepang and Kham (Watters, 2002) the length is not distinctive in Bhujel. Table 3.4 provides an inventory of oral vowels in the Bhujel language.

⁴¹ There are nine vowels in Kham, six of which are basic and three of which have been analyzed as secondary vowels (Watters, 2002: 22)

Table 3.4: The inventory of oral vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	ɪ		ʊ
Mid	ɛ	α	o
Low		A	

Table 3.4 shows that there are six oral vowels in Bhujel in terms of the height and front- back position of the tongue. They are: / ɪ / high front, / ɛ / mid front, / α / mid central, / A / low central, / ʊ / high back and / o / mid back.

3.2.2 Phonological oppositions

In this subsection we try to establish the phonological oppositions of the oral vowels in terms of minimal pairs.

i. Front vowels

There are two front vowels. They are / ɪ, ɛ /. They show the phonological oppositions in all the positions, word-initially, medially and finally, as given in (22)

(22)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/ɪμ/	'beg'	/pɪσ/	'serve'	/v ⁿ ɪ /	'laugh'
	/ɛμ /	'sleep'	/pɛσ/	'sing'	/v ⁿ ɛ/	'nose'

ii. Central vowels

The central vowels in Bhujel / α, A / present the phonological contrasts in all the positions, word-initially, medially and finally, as in (23)

(23)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/αλ/	'NEG'	/λαμ/	'lift up'	/φ α /	'2DU'
	/Aλ/	'go'	/λAμ/	'lie'	/φ A/	'tiger'

iii. Back vowels

The back vowels / ʊ, o / show the phonological oppositions in all the positions, as in (24)

(24)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/ʊ/	'3SG DIST'	/βʊN/	'start'	/χo /	'son'
	/o /	'PART'	/βoN/	'search'	/χʊ/	'broken rice'

iv. High vowels

The high vowels / ɪ, u / in Bhujel establish the phonological oppositions in all the positions, as in (25)

(25)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	/ɪ/	'3SG PROX'	/λɪκ/	'bead'	/σɪ /	'die'
	/u /	'3SG DIST'	/λʊκ/	'step down'	/σʊ/	'who'

v. Mid vowels

The mid vowels /ε, α / establish the phonological oppositions in terms of minimal pairs in Bhujel only in the word-medial and final positions, as in (26)

(26)	Initial		Medial		Final	
	---	---	/χεv/	'grow'	/φ ε /	'eat'
	---	---	/χαv /	'tortoise'	/φα/	'2DU'

The most straightforward type of contrast is the contrast in identical environment. However, it is not always possible to find minimal pairs in the language data. So is the case with the phonological opposition between the mid vowels /ε, α /. So have up till now tried to analyze the vowel phonemes in Bhujel that the difference between two sounds can be attributed to the difference in the environment then those sounds are variants or allophones of one phoneme. The converse of this can be applied: if the difference between two sounds cannot be attributed to the difference in the environment then those sounds are separate phonemes. Here we have tried to

establish the phonological opposition between the mid vowels /ε, α / in word initial position in analogous environment. It means that /ε/ and /α / contrast in VC syllable as in (27)

- (27) /εμ/ 'sleep'
 /-αλ/ 'NEG'

3.2.3 Distribution of oral vowels

In subsection 3.2.2 we have discussed the phonological oppositions of the oral vowels along with their positional distribution. In this subsection we present an overview of the positional distribution of the oral vowels in the language.

Table 3.5 provides an overview of the positional distribution of the oral vowels in Bhujel.

Table 3.5: Distribution of oral vowels

Oral vowels	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
ɪ	+	+	+
ε	+	+	+
α	+	+	+
A	+	+	+
o	+	+	+
ʊ	+	+	+

Table 3.5 shows that all the six oral vowels in the Bhujel language can occur word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. The following examples show the positional distribution of the oral vowels in the Bhujel language.

- (28)

Oral vowels	Word initial		Word medial		Word final	
ɪ	/ɪμ/	'beg'	/pɪσ/	'serve'	/v ⁿ ɪ /	'laugh'

ε	/εμ /	'sleep'	/ρεσ/	'sing'	/v ^η ε/	'nose'
α	/αλ/	'NEG'	/λαμ/	'lift up'	/φ α /	'2DU'
A	/Aλ/	'go'	/λAμ/	'lie'	/φ A/	'tiger'
o	/υ/	'3S DIST'	/βυN/	'start'	/χo /	'son'
υ	/o /	'PART'	/βoN/	'search'	/χυ/	'broken rice'

3.2.4 The nasal vowels

Bhujel has distinctive nasal vowels. However, they are not in general the basic features of Bodic Himalayish languages. The phonemic nasalized vowels exist in Bodish group of TB languages and in Nepali (Noonan, 2003:6).⁴² One of the universal features of the nasal vowels is that the total number of nasal vowels never exceeds the total number of oral vowels. This holds good for Bhujel. It has lesser nasal vowels than the oral ones. It may suggest that the oral vowels are in some sense more basic in the Bhujel language. There are four nasal vowels in Bhujel.⁴³ They are: /ι[Ⓝ]/ high front, /υ[Ⓝ]/ high back, /ε[Ⓝ]/ mid front and /A[Ⓝ]/ low central. The inventory of the nasal vowels in the Bhujel is given in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Inventory of nasal vowels

Nasal Vowels	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
High	ι [Ⓝ]		υ [Ⓝ]
Mid	ε [Ⓝ]		
Low		A [Ⓝ]	

It is evident from Table 3.6 that Bhujel lacks mid central and mid-back nasal vowels. The following minimal pairs establish the phonological oppositions between the nasal vowels and corresponding oral vowels only in medial positions in the Bhujel language.

- (29)
- /ηι[Ⓝ]υ/ 'ice'
 - /ηιυ/ 'rat'
 - /δA[Ⓝ]κ^η/ 'reach'

⁴² Noonan (2003: 6) argues that the distinctive nasal vowels are not assumed to characterize the Himalayish group of languages. However, Kham has nasal vowels.

⁴³ Chepang lacks nasal vowels. With the influence of the contact language, Nepali, the nasal vowels may be the new innovations in Bhujel.

- d. /δAk^ŋ/ 'beat'
- e. /βε[⊗]σɪ/ 'low land'
- f. βεσɪ/ 'much'
- g. /τ^ŋAυ[⊗]/ 'place'
- h. /τ^ŋAυ/ 'clean'

The basic reason for such distribution is that except a Nepali loan A[⊗]β 'mango' no word in Bhujel so far starts with the nasal vowel. Moreover, except the low central vowel the rest contrast in the Nepali loans.

3.2.5 Diphthongs

Diphthong is referred to as a vowel where there is a single (perceptual) noticeable change in quality during a syllable (Crystal, 1996). The vowel of changing quality may be described as a vowel glide, that is, the tongue first takes the position required for the articulation of a certain vowel and then moves (or glides) towards the position required for the articulation of another vowel. In Bhujel there are six such vowels. A diphthong or a glide is transcribed using symbols which represent the extremes of vowel movement between the two positions of the tongue. In other words a diphthong consists of two vowels which belong to a single syllable, not two different syllables. The first vowel of the cluster occupies the nucleus position and the second one occurs in coda. The mid-central vowel /α/ and the low-central vowel /A/ cluster with both the high vowels /ɪ, υ/. Following are the examples:

- (30) a. /αɪ/ μαισ 'banana'
 A
- b. /αυ/ ηαυ 'light'
- c. /Aɪ/ Aɪ 'grand-mother'
- d. /Aυ/ κ^ŋρA 'play'
- υ

Similarly, high back- vowel /υ/ and mid back- vowel /o/ cluster with both the high front vowel /ɪ/ as shown in (31)

- (31) a. /oɪ/ ωοι 'blood'
- b. /υɪ/ μυικ 'eye'

Moreover, the central vowels are only the beginning points whereas the back vowels can be both beginning and ending points for the diphthongs. The mid front vowel does not participate in diphthongs in Bhujel. Similarly the high front vowel only participates as the ending point for the diphthongs. Furthermore the vowels participating in diphthongs in Bhujel unlike in other Tibeto-Burman languages show one way relationship between them. This is shown in Figure 3.1.

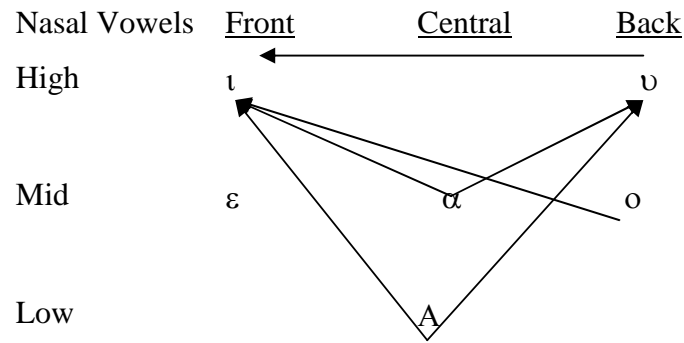


Figure 3.1: Diphthongs in Bhujel

The permissible clustering of the vowels in Bhujel can be summed up with examples as follows:

- (32) a. /αι/ μαισA 'banana'
 b. /αυ/ ηαυ 'light'
 c. /Aι/ Aι 'grand-mother'
 d. /Aυ/ κⁿρAυ 'play'
 e. /οι/ ωοι 'blood'
 f. /υι/ μυικ 'eye'

3.3 Distinctive features

In this section we present distinctive features of consonants and oral vowels of the Bhujel language. The consonants present different distinctive features (Chomsky and Hale, 1968). Tables 3.7 and 3.8 summarize the distinctive features of the consonants and vowels, respectively, in the Bhujel language.

Table 3.7: Distinctive feature matrix of Bhujel consonants

	π	π	β	β ⁿ	τ	τ ⁿ	δ	χ	χ ⁿ	φ	ρ	ρ ⁿ	λ	λ ⁿ	μ	ν	N
--	---	---	---	----------------	---	----------------	---	---	----------------	---	---	----------------	---	----------------	---	---	---

		η															
syll	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
son	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
cor	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
ant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
cont	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
nas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	+	+
stri	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	-
lat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
del rel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	-
high	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	+
low	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-
back	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	+
round	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-
voice	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Breathy	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
Aspirate	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+

	μ^n	ν^n	N^n	σ	η	y	ψ^n	ω	ω^n	κ	κ^n	γ	γ^n
syll	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cons	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
son	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
cor	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
ant	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cont	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
nas	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
stri	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
lat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
del rel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
high	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
low	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-
back	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
round	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
voice	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
Breathy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
Aspirate	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+

Table 3.8: Distinctive feature matrix of Bhujel vowels

	ι	$\iota^{\textcircled{R}}$	υ	$\upsilon^{\textcircled{R}}$	ε	$\varepsilon^{\textcircled{R}}$	α	o	A	$\text{A}^{\textcircled{R}}$
high	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
low	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
back	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
front	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
round	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
ATR	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
nasal	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+

Tables 3.7 and 3.8 provide a set of features which would distinguish the sounds of Bhujel as well as putting them into classes where this would help to explain the processes that are happening in the Bhujel language. Such features have been defined as linguistically significant phonetic aspects of sounds (Symons, 1993:42). The distinctive features of consonants and vowels and their values (+ or-) for Bhujel in Tables 3.7 and 3.8 were determined on the basis of the phonetics of the language both acoustic and articulatory parameters. We will analyze the Bhujel sounds acoustically in chapter 4.

3.4 Syllables

In this section we first discuss the syllable patterns and then we examine the syllable weight in Bhujel. Finally we look at complex onsets in Bhujel.

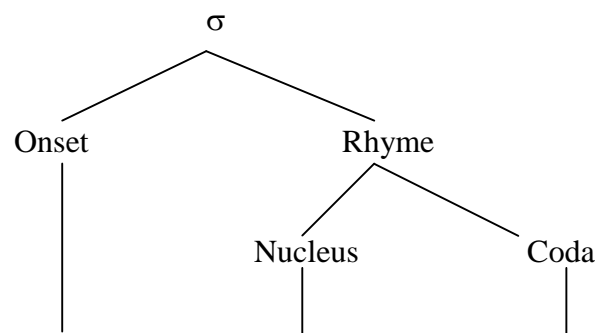
3.4.1 Syllable patterns

The maximum syllable in Bhujel is (C) (C) (G) V (X), where G is a glide and 'X' is a consonant or a vowel. Only the nucleus is obligatory. There are seven acceptable syllable patterns in Bhujel. They are as follows:

(33)

- | | | |
|----------|--------|---------|
| a. CV | ωA | 'fowl' |
| b. V | υ | 'that' |
| c. CCV | κλɪ | 'stool' |
| d. CVX | κɪμ | 'house' |
| e. VX | Aτ | 'one' |
| f. CCVX | κρʊτ | 'hand' |
| g. CGVX | πψAκɪ | 'pig' |
| h. CCGVX | κρψAπɪ | 'cry' |

The Bhujel syllable is illustrated in Figure 3.2.



(C) (C) (G) V (X)

Figure 3.2: The syllable in Bhujel

3.4.2 Syllable weight

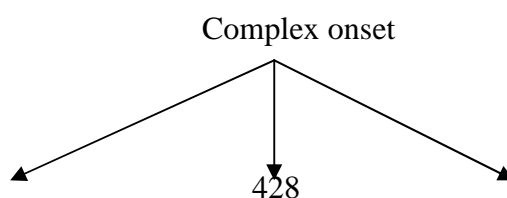
The weight of the syllable is solely determined by the rhyme of the syllable, C, CG or CCG in Bhujel. As illustrated in Figure 3.2 a rhyme in Bhujel may consist of nucleus and coda. The coda which has been represented by (X) may be a consonant or a vowel. The vowel length is not phonemic in Bhujel. Thus the vowel which occurs in coda position will certainly differ in quality from the vowel which occurs in nucleus position. If (X) is a vowel of different quality than the vowel occurring in nucleus the result is VV, a diphthong as in /αυ/ or /Αι/. If (X) is a consonant, then the rhyme consists of VC. Thus, there are two types of syllables in terms of weight in Bhujel: heavy and light. A syllable in which the rhyme consists either of VV or VC is referred to a heavy syllable. A syllable in which the rhyme consists of only the nucleus is called a light syllable. The light and heavy syllables in Bhujel are exemplified as follows:

(34)

	<u>Light syllables</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>Heavy syllables</u>	<u>Examples</u>
a.	V	υ 'that'	VV	αυ 'recover'
b.	CV	ωΑ 'foul'	VC	Ατ 'one'
c.	CCV	κλι 'stool'	CVV	ηαυ 'light'
d.			CVC	κιμ 'house'
e.			CCVV	κ ^η ρΑυ 'play'
f.			CCVC	κρυτ 'hand'
g.			CCCVC	κρψΑπ ^ι 'cry'

3.4.3 Complex onset

In this subsection we examine the complex onset in Bhujel syllable. As illustrated in Figure 3.2 Bhujel registers three types of complex onset. They are shown in Figure 3.3.



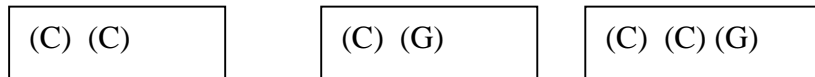


Figure 3.3: Complex onsets in Bhujel

They are discussed as follows:

i. (C) (C) onset

In (C)(C) onset the second (C) is occupied by liquids. The following are the examples:

- | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|---------|
| (35) | a. | προκ | 'lung' |
| | b. | βρΑυτο | 'large' |
| | c. | τρΑκ | penis |
| | d. | κρυτ | 'hand' |
| | e. | κ ^η ρΑυ | 'play' |
| | f. | γρυτι | 'sick' |
| | g. | σροκ | 'sour' |
| | h. | πλα | 'break' |
| | i. | βλα | 'swim' |
| | j. | κλι | 'stool' |

ii. (C) (G) onset

In this type of complex onset, in majority of the cases, consonants generally cluster with the palatal glide /y/, as illustrated in (36)

- | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|------------------|
| (36) | a. | πψΑκ | 'pig' |
| | a. | π ^η ψΑν | 'put off' |
| | b. | τψΑν | 'cause to float' |
| | c. | δψορ | 'spit' |
| | d. | δ ^η ψο | 'mark' |
| | e. | χψΑΣ | 'splits' |
| | f. | χ ^η ψοΝ | 'deep' |
| | g. | φψοΝ | 'cold' |

- h. ρψαΝ ‘wasp’
- i. ρ^hψΑο ‘worn’
- j. λ^wαμ ‘road’
- k. λ^hψυΝ ‘climb down’
- l. μψαν ‘hair of the body’
- m. νψΑμ ‘sun’
- n. Νψυρ ‘talk’
- o. σψΑσ 1‘rear’
- p. ηψυΝ 1‘flea’ 1
- q. κψΑ 1‘weave’1
- r. γψΑπ 1‘needle’1

Only in one case the voiced velar stop clusters with /w/, as in (37).

- (37) γωΑνο 1‘which one’

iii. (C) (C) (G) onset

There are a few examples for this type of onset in which double consonants cluster with a glide i.e. (C) (C) (G), as in (38)

- (38) κρψΑπ 1‘cry’

3.5 Suprasegmental features

In this section we first deal with stress and then we discuss the intonation in the Bhujel language.

3.5.1 Stress

In TB languages under Bodic group the stress is largely predictable and is generally fixed on the root (Noonan, 2003:7). Most of the lexical words in the Bhujel language are monosyllabic. The stress is not distinctive in Bhujel. All the monosyllabic lexical words such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs are always stressed, as shown in (39)

- (39) a. / 't/ 'this'

- b. / 'δψο/ 'that'
- c. / 'συ/ 'who'
- d. / 'NⁿA/ 'fish'
- e. / 'λικ/ 'bead'
- f. / 'φ ε/ 'eat'

A great majority of the disyllabic nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs infinitives receive stress on the second syllable from the last i.e penultimate syllable, e.g.

- (40)
- a. / 'ανψA/ 'elder sister'
 - b. / 'AισAι/ 'cucumber'
 - c. / 'ανψA/ 'elder sister'
 - d. / 'υχυκ/ 'such'
 - e. / 'κAψμαψ/ 'to quarrel'
 - f. / 'κAτⁿυρε/ 'young'

There are a number of disyllabic words which receive the stress in the ultimate syllable, as in (41)

- (41)
- a. /σαυωατ/ 'echo'
 - b. /σουλοN/ 'shin'
 - c. /συιυηα/ 'by whom'
 - d. /σψαυψAN/ 'mosquito'
 - e. /μⁿευκψαν/ 'bamboo shoot'
 - f. /μυιυκλι/ 'tear'
 - g. /διυγιπ/ 'after that'

In Bhujel the verbs inflected with a causative morpheme -†R| get stress in the penultimate syllable, e.g.,

- (42)
- a. /δA⊗κⁿ' -τακ-Aλ/ 'caused to beat'
 - b. /vⁿι' -τακ-Aλ/ 'caused to laugh'

Bhujel has borrowed a large amount of Nepali vocabulary. They have been accommodated to Nepali stress pattern. Noonan (2003:7) argues that in Nepali the stress is largely predictable from the orthography. This also holds good for Bhujel.

3.5.2 Intonation

Intonation in Bhujel is distinctive, i.e. meaning differentiating, e.g.,

(43) $u\mathbb{E}, z1R\sim \{1vR\}$
 $\delta\psi\omicron \quad -\iota \quad \Lambda\mu \quad \varphi \varepsilon \quad -A\lambda$
 3SG REM -ERG rice eat -PST
 'He ate rice.'

(44) $u\mathbb{E}, z1R\sim \{1vR\}1?1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron \quad -\iota \quad \Lambda\mu \quad \varphi \varepsilon \quad -A\lambda ?$
 3SG REM -ERG rice eat -PST
 'He ate rice.'

The utterance in (43) is a declarative sentence since it has a falling intonation (shown with \sim). The same utterance in (44) is a *Yes-No* because it contains a rising intonation (shown with $?$).

There are two types of intonation used in the utterances in the Bhujel language: falling, and rising. They are discussed below with examples.

i. Falling intonation

(i) The declarative utterance in the Bhujel language has a falling intonation.

Following are the examples

(45)

a. $_R1|z\sim 1\check{S}R|y\in R_$

NA $-\kappa\iota\mu$ $\omega A\kappa^n$ $-vA$ $-N$
 1SG house go -NPST -1/2

'I go home'

b. $_Rz1R\sim \{1vR\}^\wedge _$

NA $-\iota$ $\Lambda\mu$ $\varphi \varepsilon$ $-A\lambda$ $-v$ $-N$
 1SG -ERG rice eat -PST -DIR -1/2

'I ate rice.'

c. $_Rz1R\sim \{1v_r\}$

NA $-\iota$ $\Lambda\mu$ $\varphi \varepsilon$ $-N$ $-\alpha\lambda$
 1SG -ERG rice eat -1/2 -NEG

'I do not eat rice.'

d. $_Rz1u\mathbb{E}, |R\mathbb{E} uR\ddot{u}|YR\}^\wedge ?$

NA $-\iota$ $\delta\psi\omicron$ $-\kappa A\psi$ δA° $-A\lambda$ $-v$ $-N$

κ^η

1SG -ERG 3SG REM -DAT beat -PST -DIR -1/2
 'I beat him.'

e. €R_z1u€ , |R€ uRü |Y†vR} ^ _
 vAN -ι δψο -κAψ δA® -τε -Aλ -υ -N
 style="text-align: right;">κ^η

2SG -ERG 3SG REM -DAT beat -2 -PST -DIR -1/2
 'You beat him.'

f. _R1|z~ ŠR|y_r}
 NA -κιμ ωAκ^η -N -αλ
 1SG house go -1/2 -NEG
 'I do not go home.'

(ii) The information questions formed by the use of the interrogative pronouns have a falling intonation. Following are the examples:

(46)

- a. €R_1† ^1yr ?
 vAN συ ηα ?
 2SG who are
 'Who are you?'
- b. €R_1x^yR_1~ ^€R?
 vAN γ^ηAN μυ -vA?
 2SG where stay -NPST
 'Where are you?'
- c. €R_1xr}r1ŠR_†vR}?
 vAN γαλα ωAN - -Aλ?
 τε
 2SG when come -2 -PST
 'When did you come?'

d. †z†Rzlxr}r1t, 1t, R}? 1

σιτΑ	-ι	γαλα	χο	χο	-Αλ?
Sita	-ERG	when	son	bear	-PST

'When did Sita give birth to her son?'

(iii) The polite imperative (i.e. polite commands) also has a falling intonation.

Following are the examples:

(47)

a. €R_zl_R|R€1|R^ 1

vAN	-ι	NA	-κΑψ	κΑυ	-υ
2SG	-ERG	1SG	-DAT	feed	-DIR

'You feed me.'

b. R-1{lv^ 1

Αμ	φ ε	-υ
rice	eat	-DIR

'Eat rice.'

c. R-1†R{vr}

Αμ	τΑ-	φ ε	αλ
rice	PROH-	eat	-NEG

'Do not eat rice.'

d. |z~1R}r}1

κιμ	Αλ	-αλ
house	go	-NEG

'Do go home.'

(iv) The optative utterances are also uttered with a falling intonation. Following are the examples:

(48)

a. $u\epsilon, z|_R | R\epsilon | uR: | yfR\check{S}1$
δψο -ι NA -κΑψ δΑ)κ -πΑω
η
3SG REM -ERG 1SG -DAT beat -OPT
'May he beat me.'

b. $u\epsilon, \epsilon z\uparrow z_R | R\epsilon uR: | yfR\check{S}tr 1$
δψο -νισ -ι NA -κΑψ δΑ)κ -πΑω -χα
η
3SG REM -DU -ERG 1SG -DAT beat -OPT -DU
'May they (two) beat me !'

(v) The exclamatory utterances are also uttered with a falling intonation as in (49)

(49)

a. $xrt^{\wedge} | 1x\epsilon R_f, 1u\epsilon R | Y\sim r\epsilon$
γαχουκ γψΑΝτο δψΑκ^ημαψ
how beautiful girl
'How beautiful the girl is !'

b. $xrt^{\wedge} | 1x\epsilon R_f, 1\uparrow^y R^{\wedge}$
γαχουκ γψΑΝτο τ^ηΑυ
how beautiful place
'How beautiful the place is !'

ii. Rising intonation

- (i) The *Yes-No* questions in Bhujel language have a rising intonation. Following are the examples:

(50)

a. $u\epsilon, \epsilon v1 | z-1R\}R\}1\}1$
δψο -νε κιμ Αλ -Αλ ?
3SG REM -Q house go -PST
'Did he go home?'

- b. €R_€vlszyv1...R |^yuR: |^y}r1?1
 vAN -vε βιηε ρAκ^η -δA)κ^η -λα ?
 2SG -Q marriage do beat -NEG
 ‘Didn’t he get married?’
- c. €R_1|z†R€ €v?1
 vAN κισAv -vε?
 2SG farmer -Q
 ‘Are you a farmer?’

3.6 Summary

In this chapter we have dealt with the segmental and suprasegmental features of the sound system in the Bhujel language. In Bhujel there are 31 distinctive consonant sounds. They can be classified in terms of manner of articulation, place of articulation, voicing and aspiration. According to manner of articulation they can be classified as stops, nasals, affricates, fricatives, trills, laterals and approximants. In terms of place of articulation they can be categorized as bilabials, dentals, alveolar, palatals, and velars and glottal. We find contrasts among these sounds in terms of voiced vs. voiceless, aspirated vs. unaspirated, and clear vs. breathy. All the consonant phonemes occur in the word-initial position. However, in the word medial and word final position there are gaps. The phonemes /βH/, /ρH/, /vH/, /ωH/ and /ψH/ for instance, show gaps in both inter-vocalic and word-final positions. Similarly, the phoneme /γH/ occurs word-initially and inter-vocalically, but not word-finally. The phonemes /vH/, /NH/ can occur word-finally but not inter-vocalically.

One of the typologically striking features of the Bhujel language in terms of phonology is that it lacks dental vs. retroflex contrasts. It has a large number of stops and few fricatives. It shows a symmetrical arrangement in terms of aspirated and unaspirated stops. Another striking feature of Bhujel phonology is that it lacks phonemic glottal stop which exists in Chepang, a closely related language. Except fricatives and affricates the other consonant sounds have breathy counterparts. Bhujel exhibits word-initial cluster of the consonants, particularly of two consonants.

There are three categories of vowels: oral vowels, nasal vowels and diphthongs. Total number of oral vowels is six. There are six diphthongs and three nasal vowels. Length is not contrastive in Bhujel. All the oral monophthongal vowels occur in all the positions: word-initial, medial and final.

The syllable canon in Bhujel is (C) (C) (G) V (X), where G is a glide and 'X' is a consonant or a vowel. Bhujel shows two suprasegmental features: stress and intonation. The stress is weak in Bhujel. It is mainly on the root of the word. Unlike Chepang and Kham, Bhujel lacks tone.

CHAPTER 4

PHONETICS

4.0 Outline

This chapter provides a basic instrumental documentation of the physical properties of the speech sounds in Bhujel. It consists of four sections. Section 4.1 discusses experimental method in general. In section 4.2 we present an acoustic analysis of Bhujel vowels. Section 4.3 examines the acoustic variation in Bhujel consonants. In section 4.4 we summarize the findings of this chapter.

4.1 Experimental method

4.1.1 Speech data corpus

The speech data are based on the analysis of the phonological system of the Bhujel language discussed in Chapter 3⁴⁴. The data were collected in the field from the three Bhujel language consultants with different age groups ranging from 19 to 56. Of the three consultants, Bishnu Bhujel (56) was monolingual till he was 24. The other two Ait Bahadur Bhujel (35) from Kulmun village (Ward No 6, Deurali VDC) and Jit Kumar Bhujel (19) are bilingual in Bhujel and Nepali. Each target word was recorded for ten times in isolation from each consultant. The target words were selected with a particular sound in a minimal pair. The target words for vowels and consonants are given in respective sections. Each consonant and vowel sound has thirty utterances in total. Each sound was recorded in a tape recorder. In this way, we attempted to give special attention to make the acoustic data statistically more representative and reliable.

⁴⁴ The speech sounds of Chepang, a close relative of Bhujel, have not yet been analyzed acoustically. Thus, typological comparison between Chepang and Bhujel speech sounds is impossible. However, the universal and genetic tendency of the speech sounds will be taken into consideration while analyzing Bhujel speech sounds.

4.1.2 Tools

Each acoustic data was analyzed through the aid of the Praat speech processing software.⁴⁵ Each waveform file was manually examined. The F_1 and F_2 for each monophthong and diphthong were measured from the target utterance produced by each subject. The average and standard deviation for each formant frequency of each utterance of the target word produced by each subject were calculated by the help of a computer program called Excel. In the same way the duration of each vowel and consonant was measured taking into account of the shape and size of wave form, spectrogram, formants and pitch. The average and the standard deviation of the duration of each sound in the onset and coda positions were calculated in Excel. With the aid of Excel figures are presented showing the comparison between the acoustic characteristics of the different classes of sounds in the language.

4.2 The vowels

This section presents an acoustic analysis of the Bhujel oral vowels (both monophthongs and diphthongs). The main objectives of this analysis are to determine:

- a) the frequency of the first two formants (i.e. F_1 and F_2) for all the vowels;
- b) the duration of each of the vowels (monophthongs and diphthongs);
- c) the effect of consonant aspiration on vowel duration.

4.2.1 Formant frequencies

In this subsection we examine the formant frequencies of both monophthongal and diphthongal vowels in Bhujel.

i. Monophthongs

a. Speech data corpus

There are six monophthongal vowels in Bhujel. They were determined through phonemic analysis. The formant frequencies and duration of each vowel were measured with the help of target words. They are as follows:

⁴⁵ Praat is a computer software for speech analysis and synthesis written by Paul Boersman and David Weenink at the Department of Phonetics of the University of Amsterdam. This program is constantly being improved and a new build is published almost every week. Version 4.1 was introduced in May 2003 and the last build was 4.1.28 (Feb. 2004). Version 4.2 was published in March 2004 and the current build (May 2004) is 4.4.0.4.

- (1)
- a. /ɪ/ /ρισ/ 'serve'
 - b. /ε/ /ρεσ/ 'sing'
 - c. /A/ /λAμ/ 'lie'
 - d. /α/ /λαμ/ 'lift'
 - e. /o/ /κοσ/ 'be full'
 - f. /υ/ /κυσ/ 'with'

b. Measurement

Table 4.1 presents the average first and second formant frequencies (i.e. F₁ and F₂) of six monophthongal vowels in Bhujel. The formant frequencies were measured by taking the readings 50 ms into the vowel after the articulation of the onset consonant.

Table 4.1: The first two formants of Bhujel monophthongal vowels

	ɪ	ε	A	α	o	υ
F ₁ (Hz)	336	395	666	538	647	480
F ₂ (Hz)	1993	1887	1404	1311	1886	1077

Table 4.1 presents a statistical analysis of the first and second formants (F₁ and F₂) of the six monophthongal vowels in Bhujel. By statistical analysis we mean that these figures represent the mean/average values of the thirty data tokens we used for our analysis. And, the same data is represented in Figure 4.1.

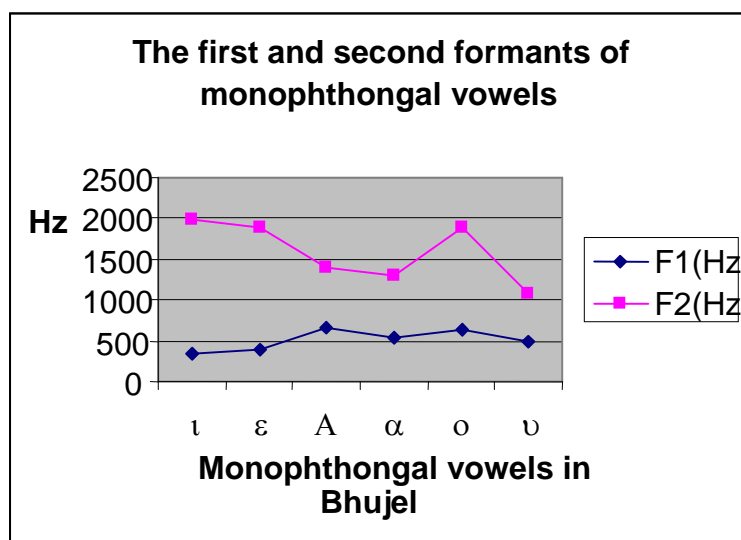
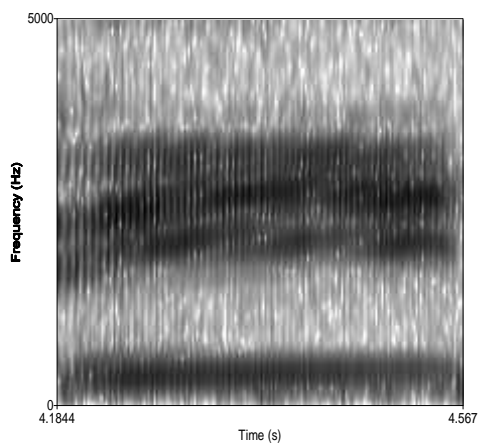


Figure 4.1: The first and second formants of monophthongal vowels in Bhujel

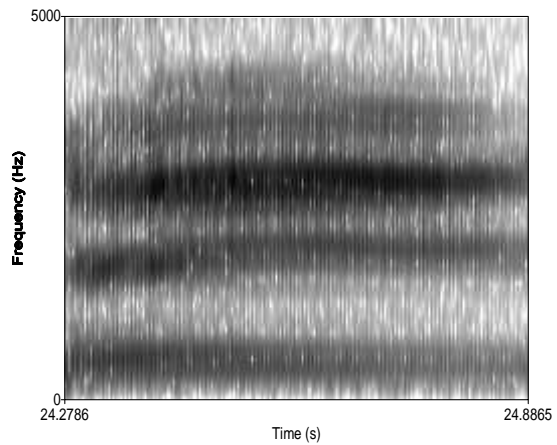
Figure 4.1 shows there is the greatest difference between the first and second formants

(F₁ and F₂) in the front vowels, and the difference between these two formants narrows in the mid vowels, and remains somewhat narrow for the back vowels.

The spectrogram in Figure in 4.2 illustrates Bhujel monophthongal vowels [ɪ], [ɛ], [A], [ɑ], [o] and [ʊ]. The formants of these vowels are seen on spectrograms as dark horizontal bars, representing the increased energy in these frequencies. In terms of formant patterns we can precisely make statement to distinguish one vowel from another. The relative positions of the first and second formants (F_1 and F_2) are characteristics of specific vowels. As we can see, F_1 and F_2 are farthest apart for [ɪ], at about 336 Hz and 1993 Hz respectively. For [ɛ] F_1 is higher still and F_2 is lower still. F_1 and F_2 are close together for [A], at about 666 Hz and 1404 Hz respectively. F_1 and F_2 both drop for [ɑ]. For [o] F_1 still remains lower; however, F_2 becomes almost as higher as for [e]. For [ʊ] F_1 and F_2 continue to drop.



[ɪ]



[ɛ]

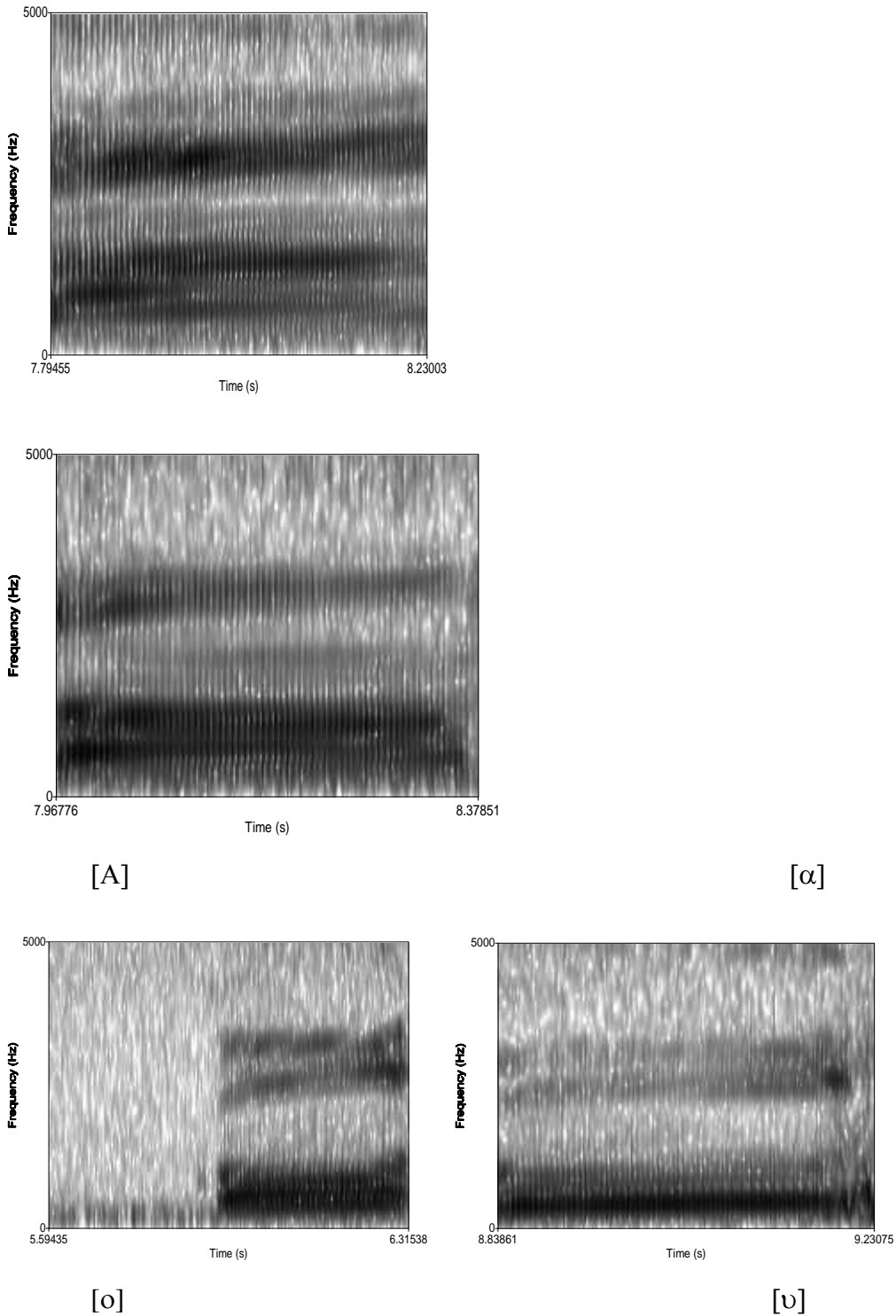


Figure 4.2: Spectrogram of vowel formants in Bhujel

Apart from this, there appear individual differences across the three language consultants on the matter of formant frequency values for the six vowels. Table 4.2 presents average formant frequencies across the three language consultants.

Table 4.2: The average formant frequency values across the three language consultants

Vowels	F ₁ (Hz)			F ₂ (Hz)		
	Bishnu	Ait	Jit	Bishnu	Ait	Jit
ɪ	323	362	325	2046	1797	2136
ɛ	373	451	363	1889	1748	2026
A	714	671	615	1285	1385	1542
ɑ	558	531	527	1183	1239	1512
o	574	681	688	795	2713	2152
ʊ	495	459	487	1077	923	1231

This data is further represented in Figure 4.3 below.

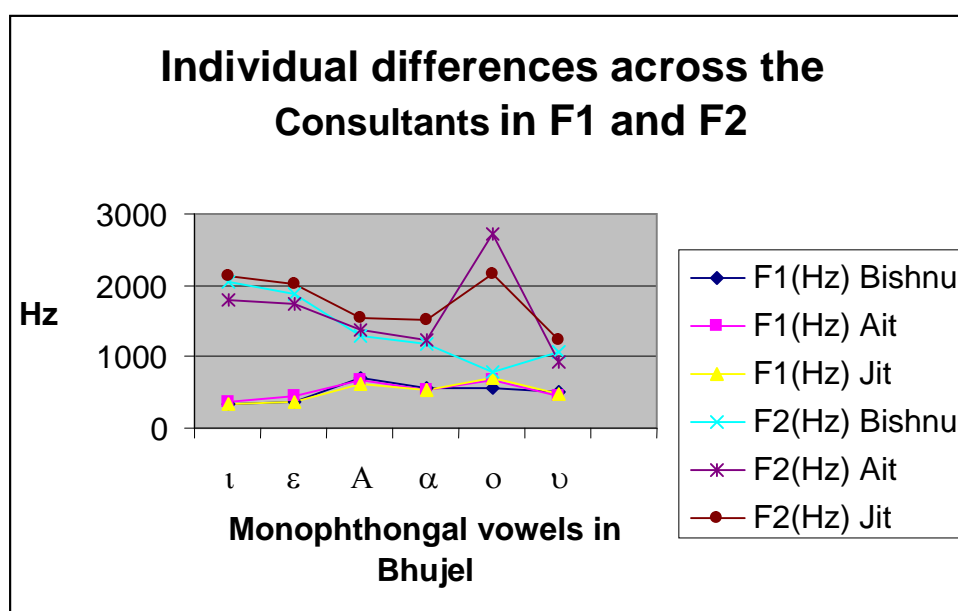


Figure 4.3: Individual differences across the language consultants in F1 and F2

Figure 4.3 shows that subject 1 (Bishnu) carries the highest frequency in the low back vowel and the lowest frequency in the mid back vowel. Similarly subject 3 (Jit) carries the highest formant frequencies in mid back vowel and the least except in high front vowel. The subject 2 (Ait) carries higher frequencies than the subject 1 (Bishnu) in case of mid back vowel. Moreover, statistically there is little difference between the three speakers. They articulate the vowels in basically the same way, with only small variations. These variations are etic, and are well within the range of emic perception.

ii. Diphthongs

1. Speech data corpus

There are six diphthongs in Bhujel. They were analyzed to determine the first and second formant frequencies in the following target words:

(2)

- g. /αɪ/ μαɪσA 'banana'
- h. /αʊ/ ηαʊ 'light'
- i. /Aɪ/ Aɪ 'grand-mother'
- j. /Aʊ/ κ^hρAʊ 'play'
- k. /oɪ/ ωoɪ 'blood'
- l. /ʊɪ/ μʊɪκ 'eye' /t/

b) Measurement

The first and second formants (F_1 and F_2) of the Bhujel diphthongs are given in Table 4.3.

As in monophthongs the formant readings were taken 50 ms after the onset consonant.

Table 4.3: The first and second formants of the Bhujel diphthongs

	αɪ	αʊ	Aɪ	Aʊ	oɪ	ʊɪ
F_1 (Hz)	883	671	901	842	543	465
F_2 (Hz)	1457	1022	1490	1445	1228	1752

This data is further represented in Figure 4.4 below.

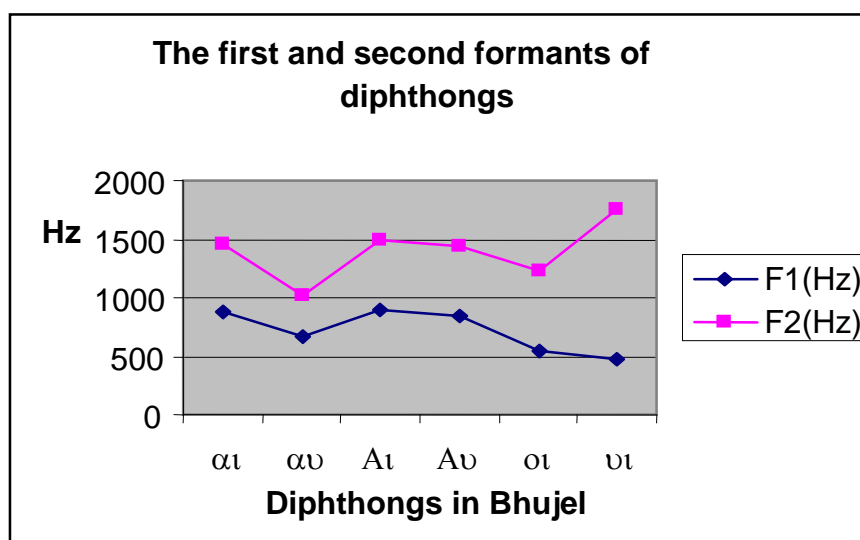


Figure 4.4: The first and second formants of diphthongs in Bhujel

4.2.2 Duration

i. Duration of monophthongs

The durations of the six monophthongal vowels were analyzed in the word medial positions. Table 4.4 presents the mean durations of all monophthongal vowels averaged across all the language consultants.

Table 4.4: Durations of the monophthongal vowels

(In milliseconds)

Vowels	Target words	Mean duration	Standard deviation
ɪ	/ρισ/	0.3023	0.0562
ε	/ρεσ/	0.4111	0.0795
ʌ	/λʌμ/	0.3136	0.0519
α	/λαμ/	0.2721	0.0742
ο	/κοσ/	0.3440	0.0639
υ	/κυσ/	0.3521	0.0582

Table 4.4 shows that the mid-front vowel has the longest duration and mid-central vowel has the shortest duration. The mean duration of individual vowels with their standard deviation is presented in Figure 4.5.

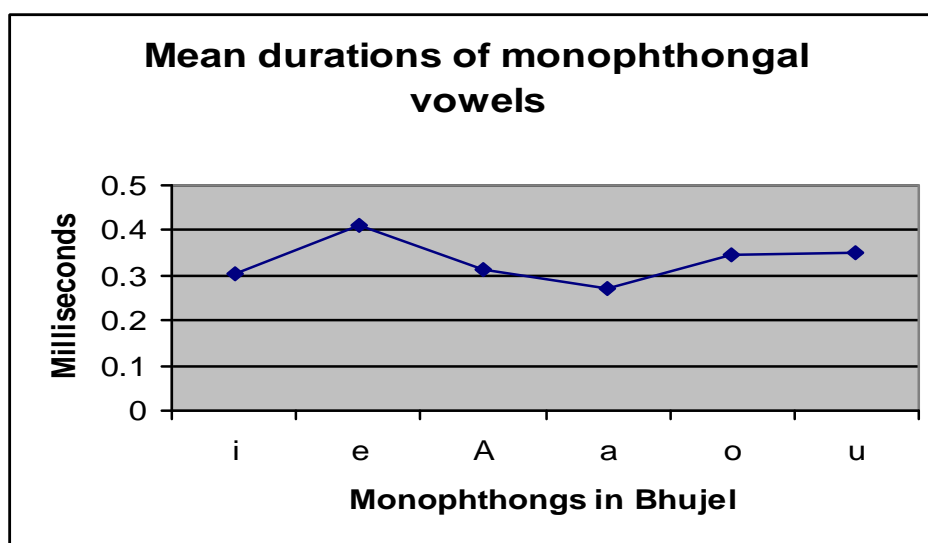


Figure 4.5: The mean durations of monophthongal vowels in Bhujel

Figure 4.5 shows the mean durations of six monophthongal vowels. The duration ranges from 0.2721 to 0.4111 milliseconds. This presents, in fact, little variation between the lengths of the vowels. Moreover, there is not any emic difference between the lengths of vowels. They are all roughly of the same length. Roughly, the difference between the longest and shortest vowel is only 1/10 of a second. This is not very long.

The mean duration of the monophthongs in Bhujel varies across the language consultants. Table 4.5 presents the mean duration of vowels averaged across all language consultants.

Table 4.5: Mean duration of vowels averaged across all language consultants

	Bishnu	Ait	Jit	Average
i	0.305	0.283	0.318	0.302
ε	0.419	0.470	0.343	0.411
A	0.336	0.265	0.266	0.313
α	0.367	0.234	0.214	0.272
o	0.264	0.442	0.324	0.344
υ	0.330	0.395	0.331	0.352

Table 4.5 shows that subject carries the longest duration in the case of mid front and mid back vowels. The mean durations of individual vowel across all the language consultants are presented in Figure 4.6.

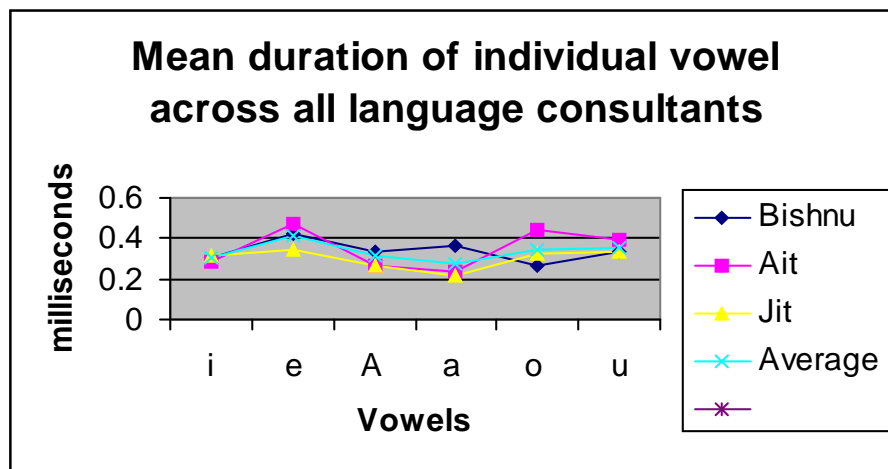


Figure 4.6: Mean durations of individual vowel across all the language consultants

Figure 4.6 shows that the difference between vowel lengths among the three speakers in the high vowels is virtually non-existent. The difference is measured in 1/100 of seconds. In the mid vowels there is a larger difference, but since vowel length is not contrastive in Bhujel, the difference makes no perceptible difference. In languages where there is a difference in vowel length, this difference should be looked at more closely.

ii. Duration of diphthongs

Table 4.6 presents mean duration of diphthongs in Bhujel.

Table 4.6: Mean durations of diphthongs

Vowels	Target word	Average	Standard deviation
αι	/μαισΑψ/	0.518367	0.055591
αυ	/ηαυ/	0.438267	0.063139
Αι	/Αι/	0.512533	0.06157
Αυ	/κηρΑυ/	0.4466	0.081239
οι	/ωοι/	0.3701	0.048041
υι	/μυικ/	0.2773	0.049978

Table 4.6 shows that /rʌ/ has the longest and /ʌz/ has the shortest duration. This can be presented through the following figure.

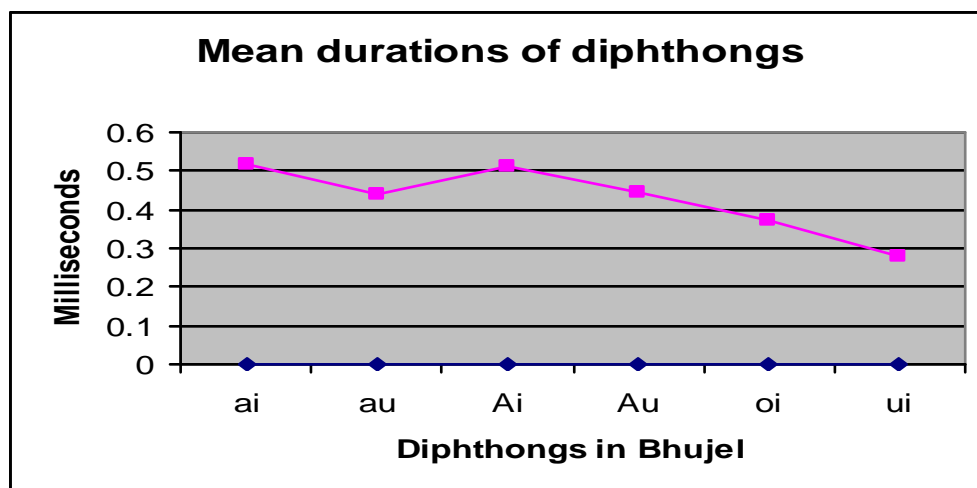


Figure 4.7: Mean duration of diphthongs in Bhujel

Figure 4.7 shows the mean durations of six diphthongs in Bhujel. The duration ranges from 0.2773 to 0.5183 milliseconds. Like in monophthongs there appears a little variation between the lengths of the diphthongs in Bhujel. All the diphthongs are roughly of the same length. Roughly, the difference between the longest and shortest diphthong is only 1/10 of a second.

The mean duration of the diphthongs also varies across the language consultants in Bhujel. The data are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: The mean durations of diphthongs across the language consultants

	αɪ	αʊ	Aɪ	Aʊ	oɪ	ʊɪ
Bishnu	0.556	0.416	0.5445	0.4336	0.4306	0.2841
Ait	0.599	0.521	0.5905	0.4539	0.3701	0.286
Jit	0.401	0.378	0.4026	0.4523	0.3095	0.2619
Average	0.518	0.438	0.51253	0.4466	0.3701	0.2773

Table 4.7 shows that the duration of back vowels is decreasing. It almost makes it look like that there is vowel length in Bhujel. The difference between /αɪ/ and /ʊɪ/ is almost double. However, we have hypothesized that the duration in vowel length comes from the type of syllable that was measured. It is evident from Table 4.6 that the diphthong /ʊɪ/ was measured in closed syllable whereas /αɪ/ was measured in open syllable. This can be presented through the following figure.

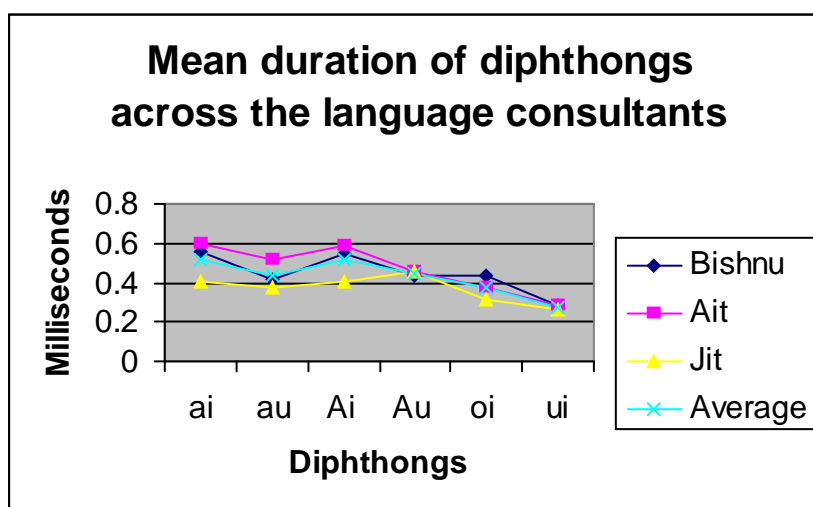


Figure 4.8: The mean durations of diphthongs across the language consultants

4.2.3 The effect of aspiration on the duration

In this subsection we examine the effect of aspiration on the duration of vowels in the Bhujel language. There is a general tendency that a vowel after an aspirated

consonant is apparently longer than after an unaspirated consonant. However, in Bhujel, a vowel length difference between non-aspirate and aspirated consonants is very little or negligible. Here, we have measured the duration of low back vowel / A/ in the target words /fR~@ and /f^yR~/. The value of the measurement is presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: The effect of aspiration on the duration of vowel /A/
(In milliseconds)

Target words	Bishnu	Ait	Jit	Average
/πAμ/	0.328	0.249	0.283	0.287
/π ^h Aμ/	0.376	0.433	0.320	0.376

Table 4.8 shows that there is very little effect of the aspiration on the length of the vowel in Bhujel. This can be presented through Figure 4.9.

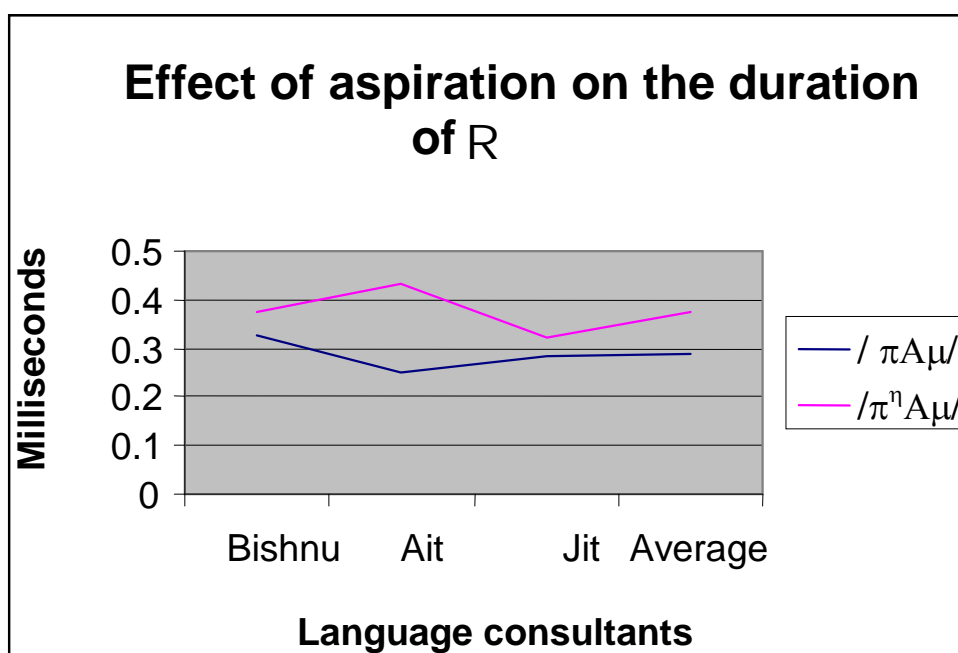


Figure 4.9: Effect of aspiration on the duration of vowel

Figure 4.9 shows the differences in the length of the vowel / A/ after an aspirated and unaspirated sound across all the language consultants. The length difference is only 0.089 milliseconds. This fact implies that in Bhujel there is no difference in the length of the vowels.

4.3 Duration of consonants

This section examines the acoustic variation in Bhujel consonants. It consists of three subsections. In subsection 4.3.1 we present speech data corpus for the measurement of the durations of the consonants. Subsection 4.3.2 deals with the difference in length between different classes of sounds i.e. differences between voiceless, voiced, and aspirated sounds, differences between voiced obstruents (β , δ , γ) and sonorant stops (μ , ν , N), and differences between sonorant stops (μ , ν , N) and other sonorants. In subsection 4.3.3 we want to illustrate the difference between these classes of sounds and their position in the syllable.

4.3.1 *Speech data corpus*

The following target words were used for the measurement of the consonants in onset and coda positions:

(3)

Consonants	Onset position	Coda position
π	/ $\pi A\mu$ / 'vagina'	/ cop / 'milk'
π^n	/ $\pi^n A\mu$ / 'white'	/ $\chi o\pi^n$ / 'cut'
β	/ βAN / 'stone'	
β^n	/ $\beta^n AN$ / 'hemp'	
τ	/ $\tau\varepsilon$ / 'a marker'	/ $A\tau$ / 'one'
τ^n	/ $\tau^n\varepsilon$ / 'other'	/ $A\tau^n$ / 'eight'
δ	/ $\delta A\rho$ / 'a kind of wood'	
δ^n	/ $\delta^n A\rho$ / 'sharpness of the blade'	
χ	/ χo / 'son'	/ $\tau\varepsilon\chi$ / 'strength'
χ^n	/ $\chi^n o$ / 'move'	/ $\tau\varepsilon\chi^n$ / 'grave'
ϕ	/ ϕo / 'propitious day'	/ $\tau\varepsilon\phi$ / 'sperm'
κ	/ $\kappa A\mu$ / 'mouth'	/ $\delta A\kappa$ / 'stain'
κ^n	/ $\kappa^n A\mu$ / 'cut tree'	/ $\delta A\kappa^n$ / 'reach'
γ	/ $\gamma\alpha\mu$ / 'village'	/ $\delta A\gamma$ / 'net'

μ	/μA/ 'also'	/χιμ /'bulb'
ν	/νA/ 'be'	/χιν / 'clitoris'
N	/NA/ 'I'	/χιν / 'unclear'
μ ^η	/μ ^η ε / 'fire'	/τυN ^η / 'trunk'
ν ^η	/ν ^η ι / 'day'	/μιν ^η / 'attack'
N ^η	/N ^η A/ 'fish'	
ρ	/ρAο / 'hot'	/μΑρ / 'cut'
ρ ^η	/ρ ^η Aο / 'work done'	
λ	/λA/ 'band'	/μΑλ / 'unfinished goods'
λ ^η	/λ ^η A/ 'arrow'	
σ	/σιν / 'liver'	/βασ / 'rest'
η	/ηιν / 'sell'	/βαη / 'shoulder'
ψ	/ψAN / 'fly'	/σαψ / 'nap'
ψ ^η	/ ψ ^η Αμ / 'grasshopper'	
ω	/ωAN/ 'come'	/σαω / 'centipede'
ω ^η	/ ω ^η Av / 'SIML'	

4.3.2 *The difference in length*

In this subsection we try to illustrate the difference in length between different classes of sounds in onset positions.

First, we will show the difference between voiceless, voiced, and aspirated sounds. Secondly, we will examine the difference between voiced obstruents / β , δ , γ / and sonorant stops / μ , ν , N /. Thirdly, we will investigate the difference between sonorant stops / μ , ν , N / and other sonorants. Fourthly, we will show the difference between non-aspirated and aspirated liquids and approximants. At last we will show the variations in air pressure associated with voiceless, voiced, voiceless aspirated and voiced aspirated sounds through their respective oscillograms.

i. The difference between voiceless, voiced, and aspirated sounds

a) Voiceless vs. voiced

Table 4.9 presents the measurement of the durations of the average value of each voiceless and voiced consonant in Bhujel across all the language consultants in milliseconds.

Table 4.9: The durations of the voiceless and voiced consonants

(In milliseconds)

Voiceless	Duration	Voiced	Duration
π	0.02332	β	0.12715
τ	0.0355	δ	0.05461
κ	0.0703	γ	0.08152
Average	0.04304		0.08776

Table 4.9 shows that the voiceless sounds on the average are shorter than the voiced sounds. This can be presented through figure 4.10

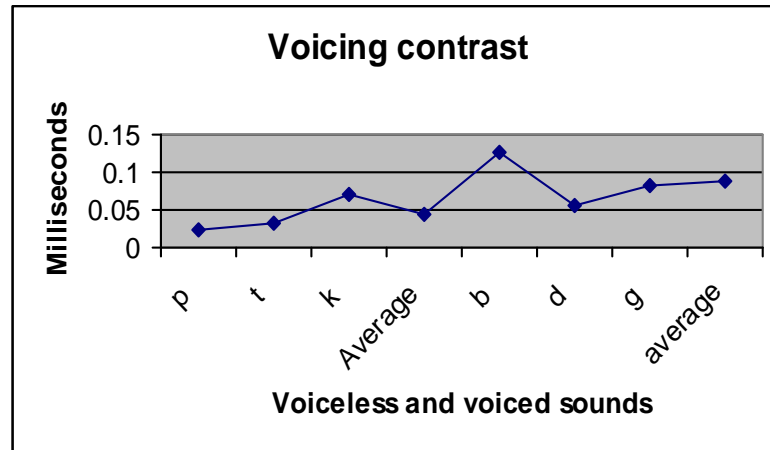


Figure 4.10: The durations of the voiceless and voiced consonants

Figure 4.10 distinguishes between the voiceless and voiced sounds in Bhujel in terms of acoustic durations. On the average, the voiceless sounds / π , τ , κ / are shorter than the voiced sounds / β , δ , γ /.

b) Voiceless unaspirated and aspirated

Table 4.10 presents the measurement of the durations of the average value of each voiceless unaspirated and aspirated consonant in Bhujel across all the language consultants in milliseconds.

Table 4.10: The durations of the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated

(In milliseconds)

Unaspirated	Duration	Aspirated	Duration
π	0.02332	π^h	0.12715
τ	0.0355	τ^h	0.05461
χ	0.08345	χ^h	0.12173
κ	0.0703	κ^h	0.08152
Average	0.0531425		0.096253

Table 4.10 shows that aspirated consonants in Bhujel across all the language consultants have a longer duration than that of voiceless unaspirated. This can be presented through Figure 4.11.

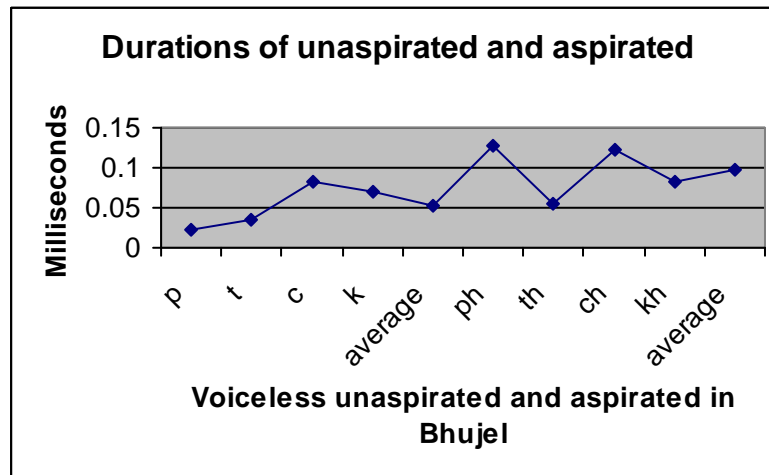


Figure 4.11: The durations of the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated

Figure 4.11 shows the acoustic distinction between the voiceless unaspirated and aspirated sounds in Bhujel in terms of durations. On the average, the voiceless sounds / π , τ , χ , κ / have shorter durations than the aspirated sounds / π^n , τ^n , χ^n , κ^n /.

c) Voiced and voiced aspirated

Table 4.11 presents the measurement of the durations of the average value of each voiced and voiced aspirated consonant in Bhujel across all the language consultants in milliseconds

Table 4.11: The durations of the voiced and voiced aspirated

(In milliseconds)

Unaspirated	Duration	Aspirated	Duration
β	0.12715	β^n	0.17916
δ	0.05461	δ^n	0.117
γ	0.08152	γ^n	0.1821
Average	0.08776		0.15942

Table 4.11 shows that voiced aspirated have a longer duration than voiced consonants in Bhujel across all the language consultants. This can be presented through Figure 4.12.

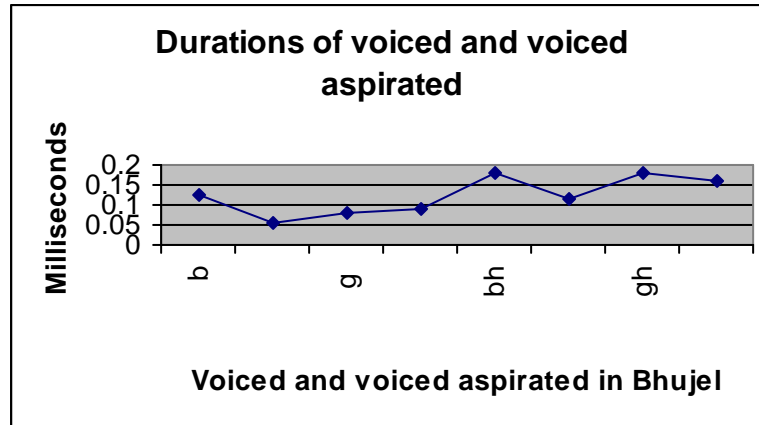


Figure 4.12: The durations of the voiced and voiced aspirated consonants

Figure 4.12 shows the acoustic distinction between the voiced and voiced aspirated sounds in Bhujel in terms of durations. The figure shows that voiced aspirated sounds /β^h, δ^h, γ^h/ have longer durations than the voiced sounds /β, δ, γ/.

We can also show the acoustic variation between voiceless, voiced, and voiceless aspirated and voiced aspirated through the oscillogram. Oscillogram is a graph which represents the amplitude of a wave traveling through time. The oscillograms in Figure 4.13 show the variations in air pressure of voiceless stop /p/, voiced stop /β/, voiceless aspirated /p^h/ and voiced aspirated /β^h/.

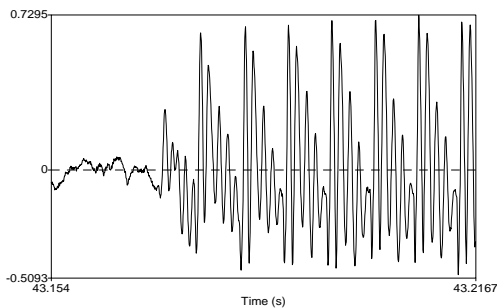


Figure 4.13(a). Voiceless stop /p/

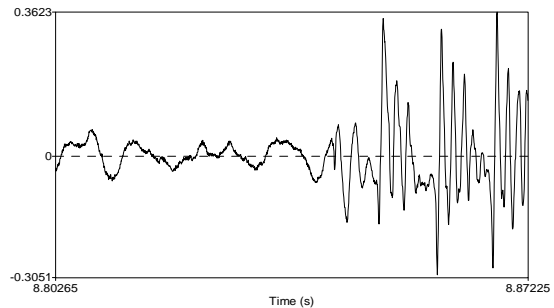


Figure 4.13(b). Voiced stop /β/

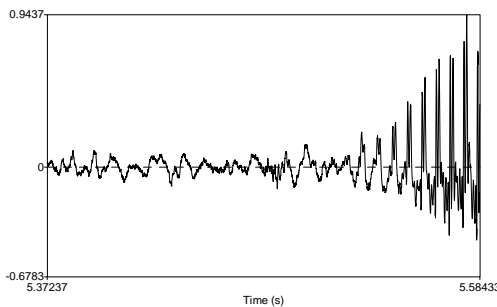


Figure 4.13(c). Voiceless aspirated /p^h/

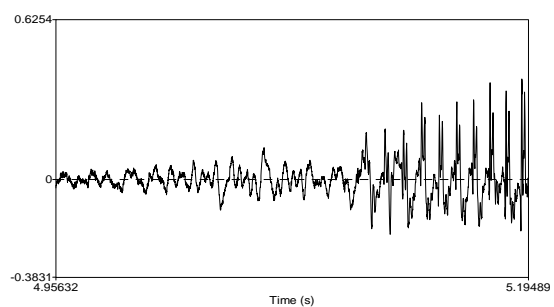


Figure 4.13(d). Voiced aspirated /β^h/

Figure 4.13 (a-d) records the variations in air pressure between voiceless, voiced, and voiceless aspirated and voiced aspirated in Bhujel. The voiced sound /β / (Figure 4.13(b)) in Bhujel shows up on the oscillogram as larger patterns than the voiceless sound /π/

(Figure 4.13(a). Apart from this the voiceless aspirated stop/π^h/ (Figure 4.13 (c)) and voiced aspirated stop/β^h/ (Figure 4.13 (d)) show the long voiced onset time.

ii. The difference between the obstruents and sonorants

a) The obstruents and sonorants

Table 4.12 presents the measurement of the durations of the average value of each obstruent and sonorant in Bhujel across all the language consultants in milliseconds

Table 4.12: The durations of the obstruents and sonorants

(In milliseconds)

Obstruents	Duration	Sonorants	Duration
β	0.12715	μ	0.12833
δ	0.05461	ν	0.15653
γ	0.08152	N	0.1767
Average	0.08776		0.15385

Table 4.12 shows that the sonorants have a longer duration than the obstruents. The duration of the sonorants is almost double of the obstruents. This can be presented through Figure 4.14.

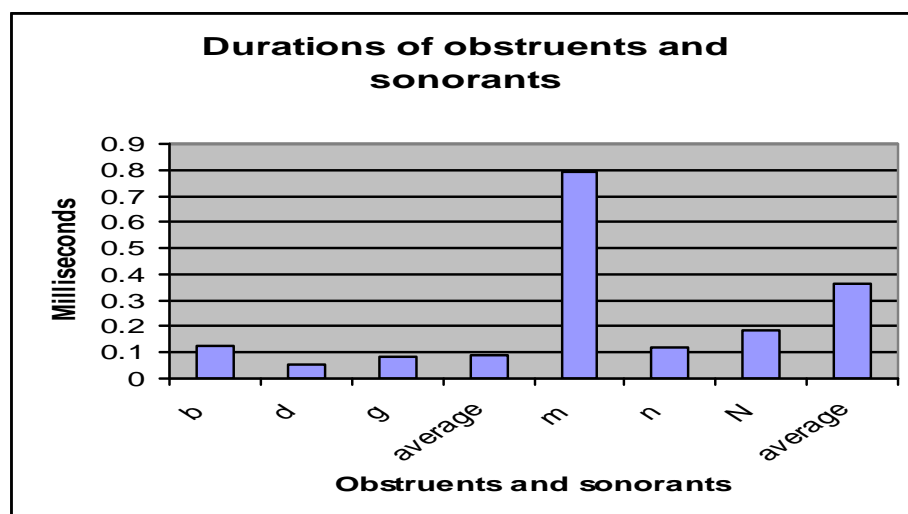


Figure 4.14: The durations of the obstruents and sonorants

Figure 4.14 shows that the sonorants / μ , v , N / have a longer duration than the obstruents / β , δ , γ /. □

b) Voiced obstruent aspirated and sonorant aspirated

Table 4.13 presents the measurement of the durations of the average value of each obstruent aspirated and sonorant aspirated in Bhujel across all the language consultants in milliseconds

Table 4.13: The durations of the voiced obstruents and sonorant aspirated

(In milliseconds)

Voiced aspirated	Duration	Sonorant aspirated	Duration
β^n	0.17916	μ^n	0.19663
δ^n	0.117	v^n	0.14133
γ^n	0.1821	N^n	0.2103
Average	0.15942		0.18275

Table 4.13 shows that the sonorant aspirated have a longer duration than the voiced obstruents. Unlike the difference between unaspirated voiced and sonorants the difference between voiced aspirated and sonorant aspirated is much less. This can be presented through Figure 4.15.

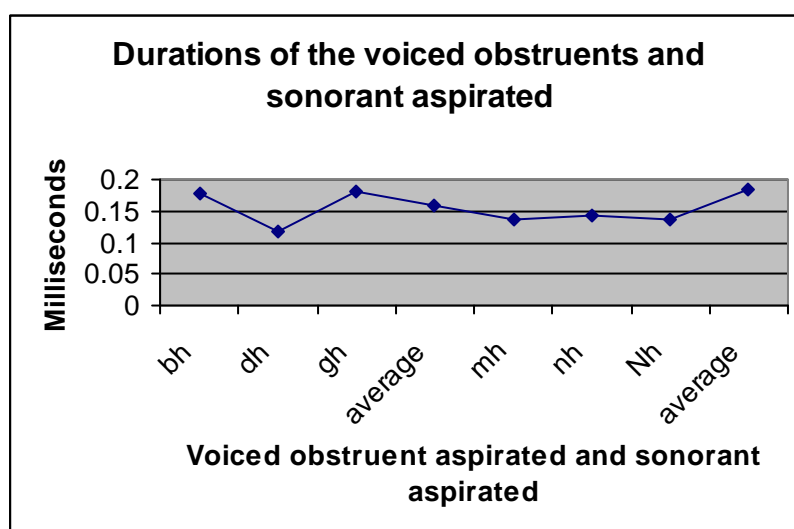


Figure 4.15: The durations of the voiced obstruents and sonorant aspirated

Figure 4.15 shows that the sonorant aspirated / μ^n , v^n , N^n / have a longer duration than the voiced obstruent aspirated / β^n , δ^n , γ^n /. □

iii. The difference between sonorant stops and other sonorants

Table 4.14 presents the measurement of the durations of the average value of each sonorant stops and other sonorants in Bhujel across all the language consultants in milliseconds.

Table 4.14: The durations of the sonorant stops and other sonorants
(In milliseconds)

Sonorant stops	Duration	Other Sonorants	Duration
μ	0.12833	ρ	0.09245
v	0.15653	λ	0.0900
N	0.1767	ψ	0.1025
		ω	0.1299
Average	0.15385		0.1037

Table 4.14 shows that the sonorant stops have a longer duration than other sonorants. This can be presented through Figure 4.16.

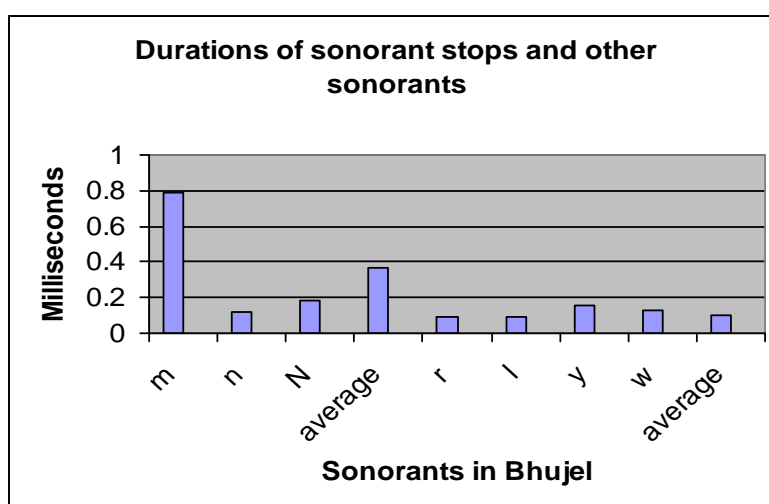


Figure 4.16: The durations of the sonorant stops and other sonorants

Figure 4.16 shows that the sonorants / μ , v, N / have a longer duration than the other sonorants / ρ , λ, ψ, ω / . □

iv. The difference between non-aspirated and aspirated liquids and approximants

Table 4.15 presents the measurement of the durations of the average value of each non-aspirated and aspirated liquids and approximants across all the language consultants in milliseconds.

Table 4.15: The durations of non-aspirated and aspirated liquids and approximants

Non-aspirated	Duration	Aspirated	Duration
ρ	0.09245	ρ^h	0.12631
λ	0.0900	λ^h	0.11636
ψ	0.1025	ψ^h	0.14826
ω	0.1299	ω^h	0.1638
Average	0.1037		0.13868

Table 4.15 shows that the aspirated liquids and approximants have a longer duration than non-aspirated liquids and approximants. This can be presented through Figure 4.17.

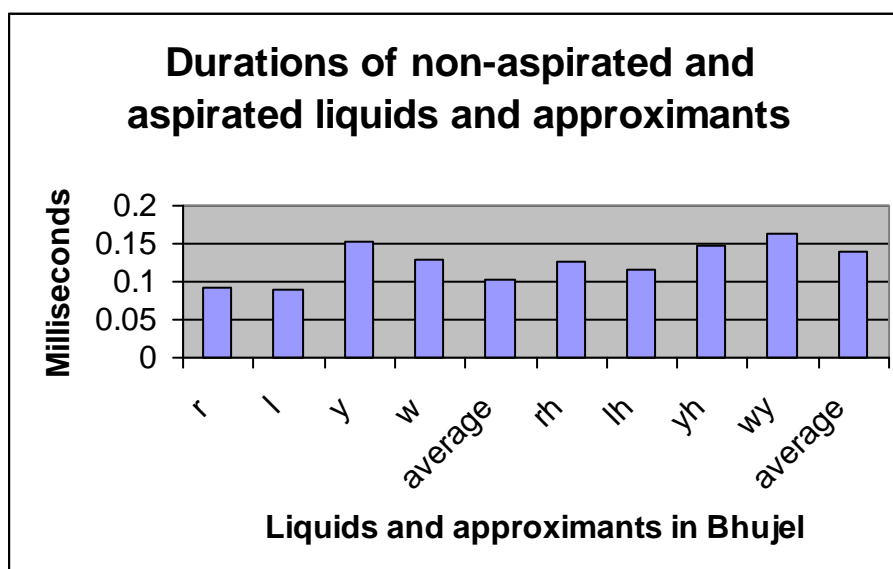


Figure 4.17: The durations of the non-aspirated and aspirated liquids and approximants

Figure 4.17 shows that the aspirated liquids and approximants / ρ^h, λ^h, ω^h, ψ^h / have a longer duration than non-aspirated liquids and approximants / ρ, λ, ψ, ω /.

4.3.3. Effect of syllable position on the duration

In subsection 4.3.2 we examined the difference between different classes of Bhujel consonants in terms of acoustic durations in onset positions. In this subsection we examine the effect of syllable position on the durations of different classes of sounds. We want to illustrate the difference between the classes of sounds discussed in 4.3.2 and their position in onset and coda in the syllable.

i. Duration of voiceless non-aspirated and aspirated sounds

Table 4.16 presents the duration of the voiceless non-aspirated and aspirated sounds in onset and coda positions.

Table 4.16: Duration of voiceless non-aspirated sounds in onset and coda positions (Milliseconds)

	Duration			Duration	
	Onset	Coda		Onset	Coda
Unaspirated			Aspirated		
π	0.02332	0.08006	π ^h	0.12715	0.0513
τ	0.0355	0.071	τ ^h	0.05461	0.03752
χ	0.08345	0.08096	χ ^h	0.12173	0.05185
κ	0.0703	0.0894	κ ^h	0.08152	0.04263
Average	0.0531425	0.08036		0.096253	0.045825

Table 4.16 shows the duration of the voiceless unaspirated sounds in Bhujel / π, τ, χ, κ / and aspirated sounds / $\pi^n, \tau^n, \chi^n, \kappa^n$ / in onset and coda positions. In onset positions as a general tendency is the unaspirated sounds are shorter than the sounds in coda positions. However, the aspirated sounds behave quite opposite to the unaspirated sounds. The aspirated sounds are longer in onset positions than in coda positions. This is presented in Figure 4.18.

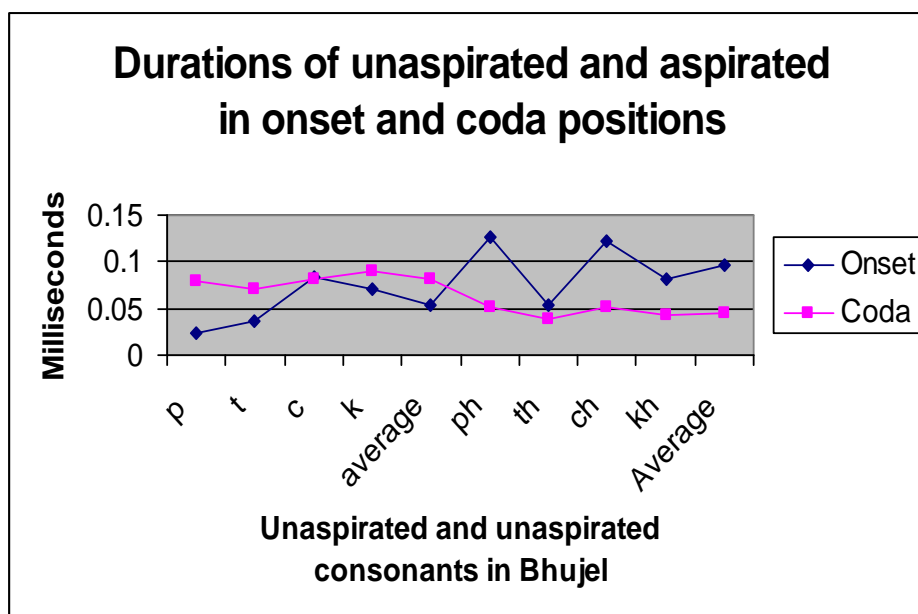


Figure 4.18: Duration of unaspirated and aspirated sounds in onset and coda positions

ii. Durations of sonorant stops and sonorant aspirated in onset and coda positions

Table 4.17 presents the duration of sonorant stops and sonorant aspirated in onset and coda positions.

Table 4.17 Duration of sonorant stops and sonorant aspirated in onset and coda positions.

Unaspirated	Duration		Aspirated	Duration	
	Onset	Coda		Onset	Coda
v	0.15653	0.2091	v^n	0.14133	0.2235
N	0.17671	0.2181	N^n	0.2103	0.2507
Average	0.16662	0.2136		0.17582	0.2371

Table 4.17 shows the duration of the sonorant stops in Bhujel / v, N / and sonorant aspirated sounds / n^n, N^n / in onset and coda positions. Both classes of sounds have

longer durations in coda positions than in onset positions. This is presented in Figure 4.19.

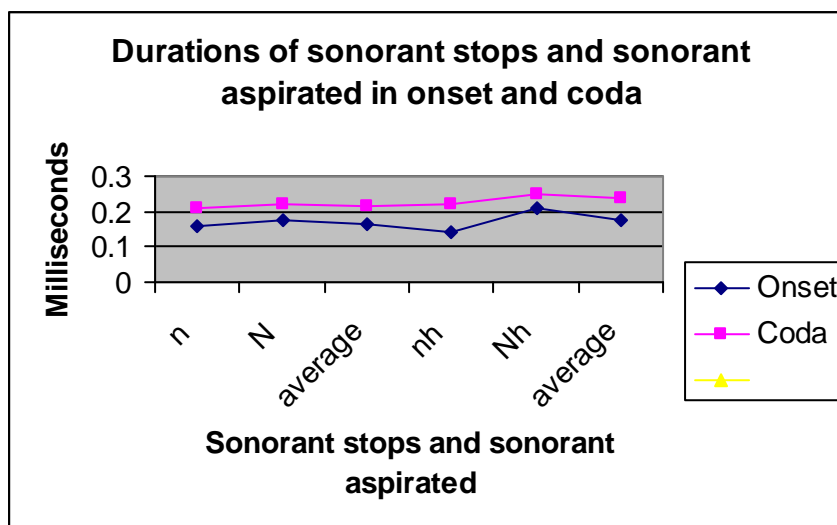


Figure 4.19: Duration of sonorant stops and sonorant aspirated in onset and coda positions

iii. Durations of voiceless stops and sonorants in onset and coda

Table 4.18 presents the durations of voiceless stops and sonorants in onset and coda positions.

Table 4.18: Duration of voiceless stops and sonorants in onset and coda positions
(In milliseconds)

Unaspirated	Duration		Aspirated	Duration	
	Onset	Coda		Onset	Coda
π	0.02332	0.08006	μ	0.12833	0.2131
τ	0.0355	0.071	ν	0.15653	0.2091
κ	0.0703	0.0894	N	0.17671	0.2181
Average	0.04304	0.08015333		0.15386	0.21343

Table 4.18 shows that the difference in the durations between unaspirated stops / π , τ , κ / and sonorants / μ , ν , N/ in onset position is bigger than in the coda positions. In onset positions the sonorants are almost four times longer than the voiceless unaspirated stops. However, in coda positions the same sounds are longer than unaspirated stops only by less than three times. This is also shown in Figure 4.20.

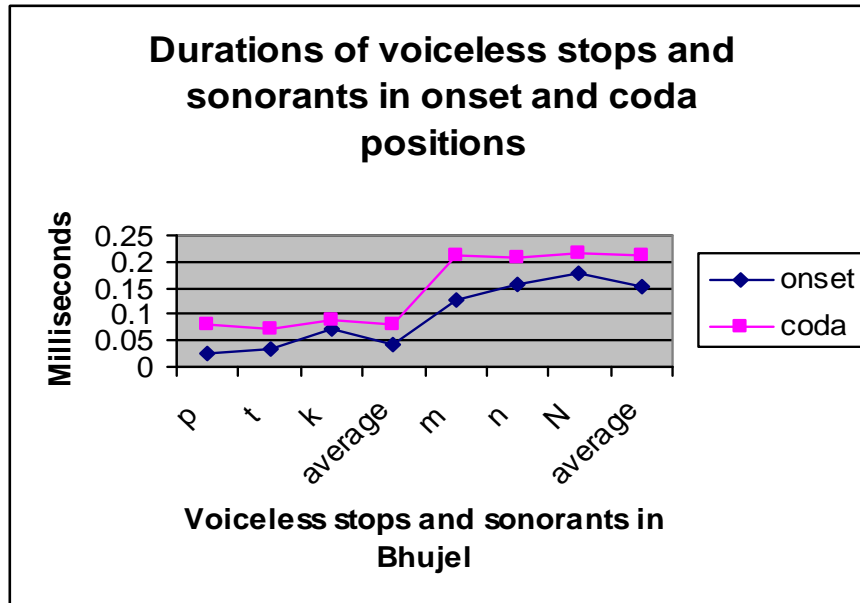


Figure 4.20: The durations of voiceless stops and sonorants in onset and coda positions

4.4 Summary

In this chapter we tried to provide a basic instrumental documentation of the physical properties of the speech sounds in Bhujel. The major findings of this chapter are summarized as follows:

- a) There is the greatest difference between the first and second formants (F_1 and F_2) in the front vowels, and the difference between these two formants narrows in the mid vowels, and remains somewhat narrow for the back vowels.
- b) There is little variation between the three speakers. They articulate the vowels in basically the same way, with only small variations. These variations are etic, and are well within the range of emic perception.
- c) There is little variation between the lengths of six monophthongal vowels in Bhujel. There does not appear any emic difference between the lengths of vowels. They are all roughly of the same length. Roughly, the difference between the longest and shortest vowel is only 1/10 of a second. This is not very long.
- d) The difference between vowel lengths among the three speakers in the high vowels is virtually non-existent. The difference is measured in 1/100 of seconds. In the mid vowels there is a larger difference, but since vowel length is not contrastive in Bhujel, the difference makes no perceptible difference.
- e) The duration of a diphthong measured in a closed syllable is virtually shorter than the duration measured in open syllable. The reason is that the duration in vowel length comes from the type of syllable that was measured.
- f) There is very little effect of the aspiration on the length of the vowel in Bhujel.
- g) In Bhujel the high back vowel has the lowest and mid back vowel has the highest formant frequencies. Apart from this, the high front vowel shows higher formant frequencies than the mid front vowel.
- h) The mid-front vowel has the longest duration and mid central vowel has the shortest duration in Bhujel.
- i) The diphthong / $\alpha\iota$ / has the longest and / $\upsilon\iota$ / has the shortest duration.
- j) A consonant has a longer duration in coda position than in onset position.

- k) A Bhujel vowel has a longer duration after aspiration than after an unaspirated consonant.
- l) On the average, the voiced sounds in Bhujel / β, δ, γ / are twice longer than the voiceless sounds / π, τ, κ/.
- m) The sonorant aspirated / μ^h, ν^h, N^h / have a longer duration than the voiced obstruent aspirated / β^h, δ^h, γ^h /.
- n) The sonorants / μ, ν, N / have a longer duration than the other sonorants / ρ, λ, ψ, ω / . □
- o) The aspirated liquids and approximants / ρ^h, λ^h, ω^h, ψ^h / have a longer duration than non-aspirated liquids and approximants / ρ, λ, ψ, ω / in Bhujel.
- p) In onset position, as a general tendency, the voiceless unaspirated sounds are shorter than in coda positions. However, the aspirated sounds are longer in onset positions than in coda positions.
- q) Both sonorant stops /ν, N / and sonorant aspirated sounds / n^h, N^h / have longer durations in coda positions than in onset positions.
- r) Bhujel sonorant sounds in onset position are much longer than the voiceless unaspirated sounds in the coda positions.

CHAPTER 5

MORPHOPHONOLOGY

5.0 Outline

This chapter examines Bhujel morphophonology within the framework of generative phonology (Chomsky and Hale, 1968).⁴⁶ Like Chepang (Caughley, 1982: 48), Bhujel is a highly agglutinative language. Thus, there exist a few morphophonological alternations conditioned by the environments. These alternations may be realized throughout the language or within a particular grammatical category.

This chapter consists of two main sections. In section 5.1 we discuss Bhujel segmental processes. Section 5.2 examines suprasegmental processes in Bhujel. Finally, the findings of this chapter are summarized in section 5.3.

5.1 Segmental processes

In this section we discuss the segmental morphophonological processes such as assimilation, epenthesis, deletion and vowel harmony in the Bhujel language. Assimilation is conditioned by surrounding segments. Epenthesis and deletion are conditioned by the syllable structure whereas vowel harmony is conditioned by larger unit than the syllable (Symons, 1993:28-32).

5.1.1 Assimilation

In Bhujel assimilation occurs where a segment becomes phonetically more similar to an influencing segment. This language exhibits three types of assimilations. They may be referred to as point of articulation assimilation, manner or process assimilation and complex assimilation. They are discussed as follows:

⁴⁶ We have used insights from other models as well, viz. Lexical Phonology and Autosegmental Phonology.

i. Point of articulation assimilation

Under point of articulation assimilation we discuss the assimilation of alveolar stop /τ/ and alveolar nasal /ν/. They are discussed as follows:

Assimilation of alveolar stop /τ/

In Bhujel /τ/ is subject to regressive assimilation for point of articulation before a following oral plosive. The voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop changes into voiceless unaspirated velar stop in Bhujel. It can be formalized as in (1)

$$(1) /τ/ \rightarrow /κ/ / ___ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /k/ \\ /κ^n/ \end{array} \right\}$$

Following are the examples:

(2)

a. /ψεμετ-κοψ/ [ψεμεκ-κοψ]

Ant-GEN

b. /κΑτ-κⁿΑψ-λα/ [κΑκ-κⁿΑψ-λα]

digest-can-NEG

'Cannot digest'

In (2a) the voiceless unaspirated alveolar /τ/ has changed into voiceless unaspirated velar stop /κ/ under the influence of the following voiceless unaspirated velar stop /κ/. In (2b) the voiceless unaspirated alveolar /τ/ changes into voiceless unaspirated velar stop /κ/ under the influence of the following voiceless unaspirated velar stop /κH/. In Bhujel the voiceless unaspirated alveolar /τ/ changes into voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop. It can be formalized as in (3)

$$(3) /τ/ \rightarrow /π/ / ___ /π/$$

The process can be shown through the following example.

(4) /κⁿετ-πΑ/ [κⁿεπ-πΑ]

Overtake -TOP

'As for overtaking'

In example (4) the voiceless unaspirated alveolar /τ/ has changed into voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop /π/ under the influence of the following voiceless unaspirated bilabial /π/.

The voiceless unaspirated alveolar /τ/ also changes into voiced unaspirated bilabial stop in Bhujel. It can be formalized as in (5)

(5)

$$/τ/ \rightarrow /β/ / ___ /β/$$

The process can be shown through the example.

(6)

a. /κⁿAτ-βετ/ [κⁿAβ-βετ]

Unite-SEQ

'After having been joined together'

b. /Aτ-βov/ [Aβ-βov]

one-CLF

'one person'

These alternations are summed up in (7).

(7)

$$/τ/ \rightarrow \left(\begin{array}{l} /κ/ / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -/k/ \\ -/κ^n/ \end{array} \right\} \\ /π/ / -/π/ \\ /β/ / -/β/ \end{array} \right)$$

Assimilation of alveolar nasal @€@

In Bhujel the alveolar nasal /v/ is subject to regressive assimilation for point of articulation before following (i) oral velar plosives (ii) bilabial nasal and (iii) voiceless bilabial plosive.

The alveolar nasal /v/ changes into velar /N/ under the influence of the following oral velar intransitive plosives: /κ/ or /κⁿ/ or /γ/. It can be formalized as in (8)

$$(8) \quad /v/ \rightarrow /N/ / ___ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /κ/ \\ /κ^n/ \\ /γ/ \end{array} \right\}$$

The following are the examples:

(9)

- a. /φψυv-κοψ/ [φψυN-κοψ]
bat-GEN
- b. /τAv-κⁿAψ-λα/ [τAN-κⁿAψ-λα]
show-can- NEG
'Cannot show'
- c. /χAv-ηAN/ [χαN-ηAN]
crab-LOC
'in crab'
- d. /μεχⁿψA-ωⁿAv-γε-βετ / [μεχⁿψA-ωⁿAN-γε-βετ]
goat- SIML-become-SEQ
'After having been like the he- goat'

The alveolar nasal /v/ changes into bilabial nasal /μ/ under the influence of the following voiceless bilabial or bilabial nasal. It can be formalized as in (10)

$$(10) \quad /v/ \rightarrow /μ/ \quad \text{---} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pi/ \\ \chi/ \end{array} \right\}$$

The following are the examples:

(11)

- α. /χαv-πA/ [χαμ-πA]
crab-TOP
'As for the crab, it'
- β. /γAv-μαψ/ [γαμ-μαψ]
scold-INF
'to scold'

ii. Manner of articulation assimilation

There are two types of assimilations conditioned by manner of articulation. They are intervocalic voicing and voiceless plosive weakening. They are discussed as follows.

Intervocalic voicing

It is a very common type of assimilation. In Bhujel a voiceless consonant becomes voiced intervocalically. It can be formalized as in (12)

$$(12) \quad v\lambda \rightarrow \text{π}\delta \quad / \text{π} \quad \text{---} \quad \text{π}$$

Following are the examples:

(13)

- a. /φ ε-κ^ηΑε-το-ιπ/ [φ ε-γΑε-δο-ιπ] [φ ε-γΑε-δι:π]
eat- can- PTCP-after
'After finishing eating'
- b. /κιμ-μΑ-τΑΝ/ [κιμ-μΑ-δΑΝ]
House- also- TOP
'As for the house'

The example (13a) shows a little bit complex morphophonological process. In (13a) we can observe that when the mid-back vowel is deleted it brings the lengthening of the high front vowel.

Voiceless plosive weakening

In Bhujel, a voiceless dental stop changes into an affricate αφτερ voiceless velar stops. This alternation is motivated by the assimilation of manner of articulation. This is a progressive assimilation. It can be represented as in (14)

(14)

$$/τ/ \rightarrow /χ/ / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /κ/ \\ /κ^η/ \end{array} \right\} \text{---}$$

Following are the examples:

(15)

- a) /μυ-λΑκ-το-δικ/ [μυ-λΑκ-χο-δικ]
stay-COMPL-PTCP-COND
'If (you) stayed'
- b) /ρακ^η-το-δικ/ [ρακ^η-χο-δικ]
do-PTCP-COND
'If (you) did'

Similarly a voiceless velar aspirated consonant changes into a voiceless velar unaspirated one intervocalically. This is formalized as follows:

(16)

$$/κ^η/ \rightarrow /κ/ / \text{ϖ} \text{---} \text{ϖ}$$

It is exemplified in (17).

(17)

$$/ρΑκ^η-ο/ [ρΑκ-ο]$$

do- PP

'done'

This is a common phonological process that occurs in many languages. This is a process whereby aspirated consonants lose their aspiration intervocalically.

iii. Complex assimilation

Complex assimilation refers to such assimilation which may be motivated by both point of articulation and manner of articulation at a time. In Bhujel before following the lateral sonorant the alveolar /v/ exhibits regressive assimilation to the following consonant for place of articulation and manner of articulation.

It can be represented as in (18).

$$(18) \quad /v/ \rightarrow /λ/ \quad / \quad ___ /λ/$$

Following are the examples:

(19)

a. /χιv-λψAμ/ [χιλ-λψAμ]

clitoris-ABL

'from the clitoris'

b. /χAv-λαι/ [χαλ-λαι]

crab-EMPH

'It is the crab which'

The voiceless velar aspirated /κ^h/ in Bhujel exhibits regressive assimilation to the following consonant for place of articulation and manner of articulation. It means that the voiceless velar aspirated /κ^h/ changes into alveolar nasal /v/ before following unaspirated alveolar stop, voiced bilabial nasal, alveolar nasal, and voiceless velar aspirated plosive.

This can be formalized as follows:

$$(20) \quad /κ^h/ \rightarrow /v/ \quad / \quad ___ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /τ/ \\ /μ/ \\ /v/ \\ /κ^h/ \end{array} \right.$$

Following are the examples:

(21)

a. /ρAκ^h- τ-υ-N / [ρAv- τ-υ-N]

do-RPST-DIR-1/2

- ' I did'
- b. /ρAκ^η- μαψ/ [ρAv- μαψ]
do-INF
'To do'
- c. /ρAκ^η- vA/ [ρAv- vA]
do-NPST
'He does'
- d. /ρAκ^η-κ^ηAψ-λα/ [ρAv-κ^ηAψ-λα]
Do- can-NEG
'can do'

Bhujel in some cases exhibits a very complex morphophonology. One of the striking processes reads as follows: The alveolar lateral sound /λ/ is realized as /μ/ after the velar nasal.

This can be shown as in (22)

(22) /λ/ → /μ/ / /N/ ____

The example is in (23)

(23) /vAN- λαι/ [vAN- μαι]

2SG-REFL

' yourself'

In (23) the alveolar lateral exhibits progressive assimilation to the preceding consonant for the manner of articulation. However, it shows dissimilation to the preceding consonant for point of articulation.

The alveolar lateral changes into bilabial nasal after voiced unaspirated approximants: /ω/ and /ψ/. This is a progressive assimilation. The alveolar lateral /λ/ is realized as /μ/ after voiced unaspirated approximants. This can be formalized as follows:

(24) /λ/ → /μ/ / { /ω/ }
{ /ψ/ } ____

The following are the examples.

(25)

a. /χεω- λα- bet/ [χεω- μα- bet]

See-NEG-SEQ

'Not having seen'

b. /κ^ηΑψ- λα- bet/ [κ^ηΑψ- μα- bet]

Can-NEG-SEQ

' After not having been able'

In Bhujel the voiceless consonant may change into voiced after the bilabial nasal. This can be formalized as follows:

(26) V_l → V_d / C_{nasal} ____

Following is the example.

(27) /κ_ιμ-κατ-ηAN/ [κ_ιμ-γατ-ηAN]

House- ALL- LOC

' from house in'

5.1.2 Epenthesis

In this subsection we examine epenthesis in Bhujel. It is a morphophonological process which is conditioned by the syllable structure. We insert a segment at the morpheme boundaries in order to break up an unacceptable cluster of consonant or vowel. We have observed the following instances of insertion in Bhujel:

i. Insertion of /-z@

Bhujel exhibits a complex process as to the insertion of high front vowel. The process can be explained with the help of example in (28).

(28) /γατα-το-μ/ ~ /γατα-το-ιμ/ [γατα-τι: μ]

How- say- also

The following processes can be observed in (29):

(29)

- a) The high front vowel is inserted after the mid back vowel.
- b) After the insertion the mid back vowel is deleted.
- c) The deletion brings a compensatory lengthening in the high front vowel. In other words, there occur included insertion, deletion and compensatory lengthening. It can be formalized as in (30)

(30)

(a) O → ι / o ____

(b) o → O / ____ ι

(c) ι → ι: / O ____

ii. Insertion of /-|@

The voiceless velar consonant /κ/ may be inserted especially after the word or bound morpheme consisting of the high front vowel. This phenomenon can be presented as in (31) .

$$(31) \quad O \rightarrow \kappa / \iota \text{ ___}$$

The following are the examples:

(32)

a) /ι NAκoψ/ [ικ NAκoψ] 'This my'

b) /ρAμ- ι/ [ρAμ- ικ] 'Ram- ERG'

iii. Insertion of /-‡@

The participial marker in Bhujel is -, ? When it is affixed to any free morpheme ending in either glide /y/ or high-front or back vowel the voiceless dental consonant /τ/ may be optionally inserted before the marker. This phenomenon can be formalized as in (33)

$$(33) \quad O \rightarrow [\tau] / \iota \text{ ___} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \psi \\ \upsilon \end{array} \right\}$$

Consider the following examples in (34)

(34)

a) /μαψ-o/ [μαψ- τo] 'small'

b) /βρAυ-o/ [βρAυ- τo] 'large'

c) /λι-o/ [λι- τo] 'heavy'

In Bhujel as we observed in (34b and 34c) that the sequence of high-back and mid-back vowel and the sequence of high front and mid-back vowel are possible.

However, the sequences of mid-front and low- back vowel are not permitted. The voiceless dental consonant /τ/ may be inserted between two vowels to break up an unacceptable vowel cluster in the Bhujel language. This phenomenon can be formalized as follows:

$$(35) \quad O \rightarrow [\tau] / \varpi \text{ ___} \varpi$$

Consider the following example.

$$(36) \quad /v^{\text{h}}\iota\text{-}\tau\varepsilon\text{-}A\lambda/ \quad [v^{\text{h}}\iota\text{-}\tau\varepsilon\text{-}\tau A\lambda]$$

Laugh- 2- (2) PST

'(You) laughed'

iv. Insertion of /-€@

The plural is marked in the verb by -lz. When it is affixed to the optative marker -fRŠ the alveolar nasal /v/ may be inserted before it. This phenomenon can be formalized as in (37)

(37) O → [v] / [ω] / ___ ɪ

Consider the following examples.

(38) /δA@κⁿ-πAω-ɪ/ [δA@κⁿ-πAω-vɪ]

Beat- OPT- PL

'beat (3PL→any persons and numbers) '

5.1.3 Deletion

In this subsection we examine the deletion in Bhujel. It is also conditioned by syllable structure. A segment or a morpheme which consists of more than one segment may be deleted to preserve or restore a syllable or word pattern that is acceptable in the language. Before we discuss the deletion in Bhujel we define an acceptable syllable pattern in Bhujel. The following are the core and acceptable syllable patterns in Bhujel:

(39)

- | | | |
|----------|--------|---------|
| i. CV | ωA | 'bird' |
| j. V | υ | 'that' |
| k. CVC | κɪμ | 'house' |
| l. VC | Aτ | 'one' |
| m. CCVC | κρυτ | 'hand' |
| n. CCCVC | κρψAπɪ | 'cry' |

There are six acceptable syllable patterns in Bhujel. The first four, viz. (39a-d) are the core syllable patterns. All the languages have syllable pattern (a) CV. Some languages lack all of the other three. There is also restriction on pattern (d) in that a language that has VC syllables also has the other three patterns. In Bhujel which has VC pattern implies that it has CV, V and CVC syllable pattern as well.

It should also be noted that the pattern (39e) is productive. However, the pattern (39f) is rare. There exist four types of deletions in Bhujel. They are described as follows:

i. Vowel deletion

In Bhujel there are two formal realizations for the genitive marker - |, Ɛ and the additive marker --R. The genitive marker - |, Ɛ is realized optionally as [- |] following a high front vowel. The vowel followed by the glide /ψ/ is deleted from its underlying form. Similarly, the additive marker --R is realized as [-μ] when it is affixed to the suffix consisting of the high front vowel. This morphophonological phenomenon can be formalized as follows:

(40) X → O/ ɪ ____

Here X refers to either mid-back vowel followed by the glide /-ψ/ or low-back vowel.

The following are the examples.

(41)

- a. /Nɪ-koψ/ [Nɪ-κ]
1PL- GEN
- b. /γAμɪ-koψ/ [γAμɪ-κ]
villager- GEN
- c. /βυτηψA-ɪ-μA/ [βυτηψA-ɪ-μ]
old woman-ERG- also

In (41a- b) /-κ/ and in (41c) /-μ/ builds up, with the high-front vowel, an acceptable syllable structure: CVC.

- |, Ɛ or --R is realized elsewhere in Bhujel. Following are the examples

(42)

- a. /σɪɪA-koψ/ [σɪɪA-koψ]
Sita- GEN
- b. /ρAμ-koψ/ [ρAμ-koψ]
ram-GEN
- c. /NA-μA/ [NA-μA]
1SG- also
- d. /β^hψAψ-μA- τA-ψ/ [β^hψAψ-μA- τA-ψ]
Complete-also-RPST-PL

'Also completed'

ii. Consonant deletion

A consonant can be deleted to form an acceptable syllable structure in Bhujel. It is discussed as follows:

Deletion of /-|^y/

The voiceless aspirated velar sound may be deleted before voiced obstruent as in (43).
(43)

$\kappa^n \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} C_{\text{vd obstruent}}$

Following are the examples.

(44)

a. / $\pi\nu\kappa^n$ - $\gamma\psi A\lambda$ / [$\pi\nu$ - $\gamma\psi A\lambda$]

head-king

'head king'

b. / $\rho A\kappa^n$ - $\beta\epsilon\tau$ / [ρA - $\beta\epsilon\tau$]

Do- SEQ

'after having done'

Deletion of /be@

In Bhujel -SV‡ is a sequential marker. It is sometimes realized as -‡ when it is affixed to a negative marker - μA . It is formalized as follows:

(45) $\beta\epsilon\tau \rightarrow \tau / \text{---}\mu A$

The following is the example.

(46) / $\chi\epsilon\omega$ - μA - $\beta\epsilon\tau$ / ~ / $\chi\epsilon\omega$ - μA - τ /

See -NEG- SEQ

'Having not seen'

Deletion of glottal /y@

In Bhujel /y@ is deleted after the high-front and high-back vowels. When /h/ is deleted the adjoining vowels form phonetically corresponding glides. Thus, there occur two processes. They are formalized in (47).

(47)

a. $\eta \rightarrow \emptyset / X \text{---}$

b. $X \rightarrow Y / \text{---} A$

In (47) X refers high-front and back vowels and Y refers to the consonantal equivalent of the high front and back vowels viz. glides /ψ/ and /ω/.

Following are the examples:

(48)

- a. /i-ηAN/ [ψAN] 'here'
3SG PROX-LOC
- b. /υ-ηAN/ [ωAN] 'there'
3SG DIST-LOC

However, /η/ is simply deleted after vowels other than high vowels. This can be formalized as in (49).

(49) η → O / X ____

In (49) X is referred to vowels other than high vowels. It is exemplified as in (50)

(50) /δψο-ηAN/ [δψAN]
that -LOC
'there'

iii. Morpheme deletion

In Bhujel simple non-past tense marker {-€R, recent past marker -R} and remote past marker {-‡r} are deleted before the negative marker -r}. This is formalized as follows:

(51)

X → O / ____ Y

In (51) X refers to non-past tense marker {-€R, recent past marker -R} and remote past marker {-‡r} and Y refers to the negative marker -r}.

Following are the examples.

(52)

- a. /δA®κⁿ-vA-N-αλ/ [δA®κⁿ-N-αλ] '(I) don't beat (you).'
βεατ-NPST-1/2-NEG
- b. /δA®κⁿ-Aλ-N-αλ/ [δA®κⁿ-N-αλ] '(I) didn't beat (you).'
βεατ-PST-1/2-NEG
- c. /δA®κⁿ-τα-N-αλ/ [δA®κⁿ-N-αλ] '(I) didn't beat (you).'
βεατ-RPST-1/2-NEG

In (52a-c) the tense markers are deleted.

iv. Some general processes

We discuss some general processes which may not be properly discussed under any specific headings:

- 1) A root with syllable pattern CVC changes into CV when it is followed by the infinitive marker $-r\text{E}$ in Bhujel. This is formalized as follows:

(53) $\text{CVC} \rightarrow \text{VC} / \text{___CVC}$

The following are the examples:

(54)

- a. / $\eta\text{iv-}\mu\alpha\psi$ / [$\eta\text{i-}\mu\alpha\psi$] 'buy-INF' $\chi\phi$. / $\eta\text{iv-}\text{A}\lambda$] 'buy-PST'
- b. / $\kappa^{\text{n}}\text{v}\psi\text{-}\mu\alpha\psi$ / [$\kappa^{\text{n}}\text{v-}\mu\alpha\psi$] 'steal-INF' $\chi\phi$. [$\kappa^{\text{n}}\text{v}\psi\text{-}\text{A}\lambda$] 'steal-PST'
- c. / $\sigma\text{i}\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\psi$ / [$\sigma\text{i-}\mu\alpha\psi$] 'suck-INF' $\chi\phi$. [$\sigma\text{i}\mu\text{-}\text{A}\lambda$] 'suck-PST'
- d. / $\chi\alpha\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\psi$ / [$\chi\alpha\text{-}\mu\alpha\psi$] 'cut-INF' $\chi\phi$. [$\chi\alpha\mu\text{-}\text{A}\lambda$] 'cut-PST'
- e. / $\nu\text{v}\sigma\text{-}\mu\alpha\psi$ / [$\nu\text{v-}\mu\alpha\psi$] 'push-INF' $\chi\phi$. [$\nu\text{v}\sigma\text{-}\text{A}\lambda$] 'push-PST'
- f. / $\chi\psi\upsilon\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\psi$ / [$\chi\psi\upsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha\psi$] 'pull-INF' cf. [$\chi\psi\upsilon\tau\text{-}\text{A}\lambda$] 'pull-PST'

2) Bhujel has two forms of ergative/ instrumental marker $-|\text{rE}$: $/\text{-}|\text{rE}\text{n}$ and $|\text{-}\text{z}\text{n}$. It is realized as $[-\text{i}]$ after a close syllable with CVC pattern whereas it is realized as $-|\text{rE}$ after the open syllable with CV pattern. It is formalized as in (55)

(55) $\text{καψ} \rightarrow \text{i} / \text{CVC}\text{___}$

The following are the examples.

(56)

- a. / $\rho\text{A}\mu\text{-}\text{καψ}$ / [$\rho\text{A}\mu\text{-}\text{i}$]
Ram- ERG
- b. / $\delta\text{A}\beta\alpha\psi\text{-}\text{καψ}$ / [$\delta\text{A}\beta\alpha\psi\text{-}\text{i}$]
Big knife- INS

$\langle\text{-}|\text{rE}\text{I}\rangle$ is realized elsewhere, e.g.,

(57)

- a. / $\sigma\text{i}\tau\text{A}\text{-}\text{καψ}$ / [$\sigma\text{i}\tau\text{A}\text{-}\text{καψ}$]
Sita- ERG
- b. / $\tau\text{i}\text{-}\text{καψ}$ / [$\tau\text{i}\text{-}\text{καψ}$]
Water- INS

5.1.4 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is an assimilative process in which all the vowels in a given phonological words belong to the same vowel class or share some crucial features. In Bhujel we can observe the similar type of the phenomenon referred to as vowel harmony. In Bhujel, especially [α] assimilates with the [o] in the preceding morpheme, as in (58).

(58) /δψο-καψ/ [δψο-κοψ]
 '3SG REM-ERG'

Similarly [o] assimilates with [A] producing another example of vowel harmony in Bhujel. The following are the examples:

(59)
 a. /τψυN-το-πA/ [τψυN-τA-πA] 'drink-PTCP-TOP'
 b. /vAN-κοψ-μA/ [vAN-κAψ-μA] '2SG-GEN- also'

5.2 Suprasegmental processes

In this section, we first deal with stress shift and then we discuss the obligatory insertion of a segment due to intonation.

5.2.1 Stress shift

Normally there has been observed stress in the first syllable in Bhujel. However, the stress has been found shifted to the second syllable in the phonological words. It can be formalized as follows:

(60) $\cup CV(C) CV (C) \rightarrow CV(C) \cup CV(C)CV(C)$

The following are the examples:

(61)

α.	[$\cup\phi$ ε-Aλ]	[j e- \cup λAκ-Aλ]
	eat- PST	eat- COMPL-PST
β.	[\cup σi -μαψ]	[σi- $\cup\phi$ ε-μαψ]
	die- INF	die- PERF-PST
γ.	[\cup πυκ ⁿ - γε-Aλ]	[πυ- \cup γε-Aλ]
	head- be-PST	head- be-PST
δ.	[\cup μυ- vA]	[μυ- \cup το-vA]
	stay-NPST	stay-PTCP-NPST
ε.	[\cup κοσ- Aλ]	[κοσ- \cup δακ ⁿ -Aλ]

	be full-PST	be full-reach-PST
f.	[ʊbay- v-ʊ-N]	[βαψ-ʊχ ε-v-ʊ-N]
	Give-NPST- DIR-1/2	give- CERT-NPST- DIR-1/2

5.2.2 Insertion of segment due to intonation

An imperative construction in intransitive form uses the root of a verb. However, there overlies falling intonation on the root verb at the end of the utterance. This necessitates inserting low back vowel after the root. Consider the following examples (62)

- a. /κιμ Αλ/ [κιμ Αλα] ‘Go home.’
b. /v^hι/ [v^hια] ‘Laugh.’
c. /σψΑσ/ [σψΑσα] ‘Dance’

5.3 Summary

As an agglutinating language Bhujel shows up a few morphophonological processes. They have been outlined into two sections. In the first section we examined segmental phonological processes. They were conditioned by three factors: surrounding segments, syllable structure and structure larger than syllable. There have been two processes conditioned by surrounding segments. One of them is assimilation. Bhujel shows seven types of assimilatory processes, viz. intervocalic voicing, voiceless plosive weakening, and velar assimilation, voicing assimilation, nasal assimilation, labial assimilation and alveolar assimilation. Bhujel involves some processes conditioned by syllable structure. They are epenthesis and deletion. In Bhujel not only segments can be deleted but also a morpheme consisting of more than one segment. Bhujel also exhibits vowel harmony, an assimilative process in which all the vowels in a given phonological words belong to the same vowel class or share some crucial features. This process is conditioned by larger structures than syllable. In the second section we dealt with two suprasegmental processes: stress shift and insertion of a segment due to intonation. The stress has been found shifted to the second syllable in the phonological words. In Bhujel the low back vowel is inserted after the root in an intransitive imperative construction. This insertion triggers a

change in the intonation pattern. In Bhujel the falling intonation overlies on the root verb at the end of the utterance.

CHAPTER 6

WRITING SYSTEM

6.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the writing system for the Bhujel language.⁴⁷ It consists of three sections. In section 6.1 we briefly discuss the issue of script in general. Section 6.2 attempts to propose the Devanagari script for the Bhujel language. In section 6.3 we summarize the findings of the chapter.

6.1 The issue of the script

Choosing a script for more than 120 preliterate languages spoken in Nepal has been raised as an issue in recent years. According to Glover (2002) a detailed phonemic analysis and a detailed study of the dialectal variations of the language are required to suggest a script for the language. There are three script choices, viz. Tibetan, Devanagari and Roman for the unwritten Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal. He notes that the Devanagari script may be the most suitable choice among the three. Chamberlain (2001) discusses orthography issues in the minority unwritten languages. He notes that the Tibetan script is suitable for a language which has a high level of cognates with Tibetan and a sizable or influential population literate in Tibetan. For the rest of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal the Devanagari script can be adapted for writing. Hari (2002) notes that the Tibetan script is not able to represent the tonal features of a language like Yohlmo, a Tibeto-Burman language (Helambu Sherpa). She suggests the Devanagari script for the Tibeto-Burman languages like Yohlmo. The Devanagari script has been used in Yohlmo-Nepali-English dictionary published in 2004.

⁴⁷ Bhujel is a preliterate language. Developing a writing system for a preliterate language has been taken as difficult matter, though feasible. Writing system is necessary not only for the literacy and primary education in the mother tongue but also for the promotion of writing in the language. Nowadays writing system is not considered only a linguistic reality. It is also a social convention, to be adopted and used by a community of speakers with their particular history, social relations, political context and cultural heritage (Robinson, 2003).

Noonan (2005) discusses the practical problems in proposing a writing system for unwritten languages of Nepal. He notes that though there may be other alternative scripts the Devanagari script can be adapted for all the unwritten Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal.

Choosing orthography for the Bhujel language may be a great issue in the present context of Nepal. Robinson (2003) rightly notes that writing system is not only a linguistic reality. It is also a social convention, to be adopted and used by a community of speakers with their particular history, social relations, political context and cultural heritage. We do not propose the Roman script, though easy to follow, for Bhujel because it is not practically adapted to any Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal. At present we are not motivated to propose the Tibetan script for Bhujel. The first reason is that the speakers do not consider themselves to be Tibetan. The second reason is that no Bhujel is literate in Tibetan language. The Bhujel follows Buddhism. However, they do not follow Lamaism. Thus, they do not require learning Tibetan script and language. Nowadays, in Nepal, the issue of the orthography has been seriously taken not only as socio-political matter but also as symbol of ethnic identity of the speakers. Nevertheless, the Devanagari script seems only the appropriate choice for the Bhujel language.

6.2 Devanagari script

In this section we first discuss the motivations for the choice of the Devanagari script for the Bhujel language and then we critically examine how far it is possible to accommodate the phonological system in the Devanagari script. Finally, we will discuss the testing of the orthography.

6.2.1 Motivations

There are basically two motivations for the choice of a script for Bhujel. The first is the linguistic reality and the second is the social convention which includes the history, social relations, political context and cultural heritage of the speakers. We further elaborate these motivations as follows:

- a) Tone and glottal stop are generally considered as the major difficult aspects of the phonological system of language. Bhujel lacks both tone and phonemic

glottal stop. The only difficult phonological distinctions which seem difficult to accommodate in the Devanagari script is the breathy phonemes. They can also be accommodated in the Devanagari script well.

- b) The Bhujel who are literate are basically literate in the contact language Nepali. Thus, it is easy to follow for them.
- c) During the field study the language consultants in Tanahun have provided the text data written in the Devanagari script.
- d) Many words related to different semantic domains have been heavily borrowed from Nepali. They do not pose any difficulty to be written in Nepali.
- e) Some languages like Newar and Maithili which retain their own traditional scripts are also motivated to use Devanagari script and the Devanagari script has been proposed and adopted for the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal except a few languages like Limbu and Magar.
- f) The numerals in Bhujel can easily be represented in the Devanagari script.
- g) Any one among the Tibeto-Burman hill castes, ethnic communities, including the Bhujel, even marginally literate, is familiar with the Devanagari characters.

6.2.2 Accommodations

In this subsection we first compare the phonological systems which the Devanagari script can easily represent without modifications or additions in the basic character set with the Bhujel phonological system and then we show how the phonemes in Bhujel are represented in the Devanagari script. Finally we will discuss how the Devanagari script can be adapted for the Bhujel phonology.

i. Comparison

Table 6.1 presents the phonological system which the Devanagari script can represent without additions, or modification and/or reinterpretation of the basic character set.

(<^h> indicates aspiration, <|> murmur):

Table 6.1: Phonological system which the Devanagari script can represent

Consonants	Labial	Den-Alv	Reroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Unaspirated stop/affricate	π	τ	☐	χ	κ	
Aspirated stop/affricate	π ^h ₁	τ ^h ₁	☐H	χ ^h ₁	κ ^h ₁	
Voiced stop/affricate	β	δ		φ	γ	
Murmured stop/ affricate	β	δ		φ	γ	
Voiced nasal stop	μ	ν		ŋ	ŋ	
Voiced lateral Approximant		λ	ʎ			
Voiced tap		ρ				
Voiced tap		ρ				
Voiceless fricative		σ	♣	Σ		
Murmured voice [Glottal fricative]						η
Glide				ψ	ω/ϖ	
Oral Vowels						
	ι ῑ ι ^h ῑ ^h			υ υ ^h υ υ ^h		
	ε ε ^h		α α ^h		ο ο ^h	
			A A ^h			
Diphthongs	αψ	α ^h ψ		αω	α ^h ω	
Syllabic liquids	ρ̄	ρ̄	λ̄	λ̄		

We have discussed the major phonological features of the Bhujel languages in chapter 3. When we compare the major phonological features of the Bhujel to that of given in Table 6.1 it would be obvious that the following breathy features cannot be directly represented by the Devanagari script. Such features are reproduced in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Breathy distinctions in Bhujel

Consonants	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiced nasal stop	μ	v			N
Breathy nasal stop	μH	vH			NH
Voiced lateral			λ		
Breathy lateral			λH		
Voiced tap			ρ		
Breathy tap			ρH		
Glide	ω			ψ	
Breathy glide	ωH			ψH	

Table 6.2 shows that the breathy distinctions are realized in nasals, lateral, tap and glides in Bhujel.

ii. Representation

We first present a tentative orthography for the non-breathy consonants of Bhujel in Devanagari script and then vowels in the Bhujel.

a) Non-breathy consonant sounds

The non-breathy consonants can be represented in the Devanagari script. It is exemplified in (1).

(1) Consonants Devanagari script

a.	π	प
b.	π^n	फ
c.	β	ब
d.	β^n	भ
e.	τ	त
f.	τ^n	थ
g.	δ	द
h.	δ^n	ध
i.	χ	च
j.	χ^n	छ
k.	ϕ	ज
l.	ρ	र
m.	λ	ल
n.	ν	न
o.	N	ड
p.	σ	स
q.	ρ	र
r.	λ	ल
s.	μ	म
t.	ν	न
u.	N	ड
v.	η	ह
w.	ψ	य
x.	κ	क
y.	κ^n	ख
z.	γ	ग
aa.	γ^n	घ

b) Breathy consonant sounds

The breathy consonant phonemes which require unconventional representations in the Devanagari script are $\rho^n, \lambda^n, \mu^n, \nu^n, N^n, \omega H$ and ψ^n . In Bhujel breathy is not a

concomitant of tone. It is a property of the syllable. They can be accommodated quite well in the Devanagari script. The breathy can be transcribed with the character < ह >. The syllable initial consonant can be written in its conjunct form as in (2).

(2)

	<u>Consonants</u>	<u>Devanagari script</u>
a.	ρ^n	ह्र
b.	λ^n	ल्ल
c.	μ^n	म्ल
d.	ν^n	न्ल
e.	N^n	ड्ल
f.	ψ^n	ह्य
g.	ωH	ह्व

The transcription of the breathy phonemes in (2) may look unpleasant with the character < ह >. We can solve this problem by proposing an alternative way in which the Devanagari script can be adapted for the breathy sounds in Bhujel. The alternative way is to use a subscript dot to indicate breathy consonant sounds as in (3)

(3)

	<u>Consonants</u>	<u>Devanagari script</u>
a.	ρ^n	ऱ
b.	λ^n	ल्ल
c.	μ^n	म्ल
d.	ν^n	न्ल
e.	N^n	ड्ल
f.	ψ^n	य़
g.	ωH	व़

c) The vowels

The oral, nasal and diphthongs in Bhujel can be represented in Devanagari script as well.

Oral vowels

They are exemplified in (4).

(4)

	<u>Oral vowels</u>	<u>Devanagari characters</u>
a.	ɪ	इ
b.	ɛ	ए
c.	A	आ
d.	α	अ
e.	o	ओ
f.	ʊ	उ

Nasal vowels

Vowel nasalization is indicated by means of a diacritic known as the *candra bindu* (◌̃)

homorganic nasals can be transcribed with the $r \in \hat{\text{t}} \% r \dots r$. They are presented in (5)

(5)

	<u>Nasal vowels</u>	<u>Devanagari characters</u>
a.	A ^{◌̃}	आँ
b.	ɪ ^{◌̃}	इँ
c.	ʊ ^{◌̃}	उँ
d.	ɛ ^{◌̃}	एँ

The diphthongs in the Bhujel language are represented in the Devanagari script as in

(6)

a.	αɪ	ऐ	μαισA	मैसा	'banana'
b.	αʊ	औ	ηαʊ	है	'light'
c.	Aɪ	आइ	Aɪ	आइ	'grand-mother'
d.	Aʊ	आउ	κ ¹ ρψAʊ	ख्याउ	'play'
e.	oɪ	ओइ	ωoψ	ओइ	'blood'

f. υι उइ मुइक् 'eye'

Special allographs are often required for consonant clusters, often for the first consonant, sometimes for the second as well. These special allographs are referred to as *conjunct* or *combining* forms. The consonant clusters in Devanagari script can be represented as in (7)

(7)

a.	πρ-	प्र	προκ	प्रोक्	'lung'
b.	βρ-	ब्र	βρΑυτο	ब्राउतो	'large'
c.	τρ-	त्र	τρΑκ	त्राक्	'penis'
d.	κρ-	क	κρυτ	कुत्	'hand'
e.	κ ^η ρ-	ख	κ ^η ρψΑυ	छ्राउ	'play'
f.	γρ-	ग्र	γρυτι	गृती	'sick'
g.	πλ-	प्ल	πλα	प्लअ	'break'
h.	βλ-	ब्ल	βλΑ	ब्ला	'swim'
i.	κλ-	क्ल	κλι	क्ली	'stool'
j.	σρ-	स्र	σροκ	स्रोक्	'sour'
k.	πψ-	प्य	πψΑκ	प्याक्	'pig'
l.	π ^η ψ-	फ्य	π ^η ψΑν	फ्यान्	'put off'
m.	βψ-	व्य	βψΑκ ^η	ब्याक्	'lung'
n.	τψ-	त्य	τψΑν	त्यान्	'cause to float'
o.	δψ-	द्य	δψυρ	द्युर	'spit'
p.	δ ^η ψ-	ध्य	δ ^η ψο	ध्यो	'mark'
q.	χψ-	च्य	χψΑσ	च्यास्	'splits'
r.	χ ^η ψ-	छ्य	χ ^η ψυN	छ्युइ	'deep'
s.	φ ψ-	ज्य	φψυN	ज्युइ	'cold'
t.	ρψ-	रय	ρψαN	रयाइ	'wasp'
u.	ρ ^η ψ-	रह्या	ρ ^η ψΑο	रह्याओ	'worn'
v.	λψ-	लह	λψαμ	लह्याम्	'road'
w.	λ ^η ψ-	लह्य	λ ^η ψυN	लह्युइ	'climb down'
x.	μψ-	म्य	μψΑν	म्यान्	'hair'
y.	νψ-	न्य	νψΑμ	न्याम्	'sun'

z.	σψ-	स्य	σψAσ	स्यास्	l'dance'
aa.	ηψ-	ह्य	ηψυN	ह्युइ	l'flea'
bb.	κψ-	क्य	κψAκ ¹¹	क्याख्	'weave'
cc.	γψ-	ग्य	γψAπ	ग्याप्	l'needle'
dd.	γω-	ग्व	γωAνo	ग्वानो	l'which one'
ee.	κρψ-	क्य	κρψAπ	क्ययाप्	l'cry'

In (7) where the consonant has no conjunct vowel there has been used the punctuation stroke referred to as *halanta* (\).

In Bhujel the first three native cardinal numerals in Bhujel have been attested. They can be represented in the Devanagari script as follows:

(8)			<u>Devanagari</u> <u>characters</u>
a.	συνν	'zero'	०
	A		
b.	Aτ	'one'	१
c.	νισ	'two'	२
d.	συμ	'Three'	३

The rest have been borrowed from Nepali. The following are the examples.

(9)			<u>Devanagari script</u>
a.	χAρ	'four'	४
b.	πA®	'five'	५
	χ		
c.	χHα	'six'	६
d.	σAτ	'seven'	७
e.	AτH	'eight'	८
f.	νAυ	'nine'	९
g.	δAσ	'ten'	१०

6.2.3 Testing of the orthography⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Bhujel is a large ethnic group living in scattered areas of Nepal. The Bhujel who are literate in Nepali in Andimul and Baniyatar village were very excited to write their language in the Devanagari script.

The script and the language are considered as the symbol of the ethnic identity. Thus, no writing system can be suggested or prescribed without the full consent of the ethnic group. Moreover, the writing system proposed basically on linguistic analysis of the language must be field-tested to discover how adequate it is, how easy it is to read and to write and what kinds of problems may emerge. For this purpose the language, though not fully representative, the two speakers, namely Govind Bahadur and Kisan Bhujel were asked to read the text written in the Devanagari script. Both of them did not have any difficulty in reading. When they were asked to write on how to fish in the river, they found difficulty in the representation of the breathy sounds in the conjunct form. When they were advised to write the breathy by using the subscript dot they easily did so. After this we also adjusted in the orthography for them. However, it is the fact that if it is to be used in the education it is up to the speakers which orthography is to be adopted or developed.

6.3 Summary

In this chapter we tried to suggest the Devanagari for the Bhujel language basically on the basis of linguistic analysis of the language. As the language is atonal there did not appear any serious problem in the Devanagari script to accommodate the phonology of the language. Only the breathy distinctions posed the problem. However, they were easily accommodated in the Devanagari script in two ways. The first way was to write them in conjunct form. However, it looked unpleasant and difficult to write. Then we proposed an alternative way. The alternative way was to write them with a subscript dot.

Finally, if the language is to be written in the Devanagari script Bhujel does not require following the *hraswo* and *dirgha* system of the orthography of Devanagari as the language does not distinguish the length. Thus there is a choice between *hraswo* or *dirgha* pattern. However, the *dirgha* pattern is easier in case of *ikar* and *hraswo* pattern is easier in case of *ukar*. It sounds better to follow *dirgha* pattern practically and scientifically in the syllabic writing system like the Devanagari.

Right now in Nepal it is very difficult to find unanimous voice as to the matter of script. However, the Bhujel in Tanahun do not find any problem in the use of Devanagari script in writing their language.

CHAPTER 7

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

7.0 Outline

This chapter examines the nominal morphology in Bhujel. It consists of four main sections. Section 7.1 examines the inflectional categories of the nouns in Bhujel. In section 7.2, we discuss the derivational morphology of the nouns in Bhujel. Section 7.3 deals with the pronoun morphology in Bhujel. In section 7.4 we summarize the findings of the chapter.

7.1. Noun inflections

In this section we examine the inflectional categories of the nouns such as gender, number, classifier and case marking in the Bhujel nouns.

7.1.1 Gender

Gender is not an inflectional category in Bhujel.⁴⁹ Gender agreement is not marked on the Bhujel verbs (See section 11.4 for details). However, Bhujel distinguishes between male and female lexically in a few pairs of words, e.g.

(1)

a.	Απα	‘father’	Αμα	‘mother’
b.	Απαλο	‘man’	Αμαλομ	‘woman’
	μ			
c.	δαφυ	‘elder brother’	ανψα	‘elder sister’
d.	πυλομ	‘grandson’	μομ	‘grand daughter’

⁴⁹ Chepang, a closely related language, also lacks the grammatical gender distinction (Caughley, 1982). So does Kham (Watters, 2004). Similarly the Bodish language Tamang lacks the grammatical gender (Paudel, 2006). However, the Kiranti language Athpare shows gender distinction but it is not that much productive (Neupane, 2001).

- | | | | | |
|----|-------|---------------|---------|---------------|
| e. | το | 'grandfather' | Αι | 'grandmother' |
| f. | γοψχο | 'husband' | μομχο | 'wife' |
| g. | χο | 'son' | μομχοχο | 'daughter' |

In Bhujel the same form of the noun may strikingly refer to either sex. The sex is distinguished only by the context as in (2)

(2)

- a. $\chi, \{\text{t}, | \hat{t} \text{t} \text{y} \text{r} \hat{\text{S}} \text{R} _ \text{R}\}$
 γοψχο -κυσ ηαυ ωAN -Αλ
 husband -COM younger sister come -PST
 'The younger sister came with the husband.'
- b. $\sim \hat{\text{t}}, | \hat{t} \text{t} \text{y} \text{r} \hat{\text{S}} \text{R} _ \text{R}\}$
 μoμχο -κυσ ηαυ ωAN -Αλ
 wife -COM younger brother come -PST
 'The younger brother came with the wife.'

In (2a) the same form of the noun $\text{y} \text{r} \hat{\text{S}}$ refers to the female whereas in (2b) it refers to the male.

7.1.2 Number

Number is a grammatical category of nouns in Bhujel. Like Chepang (Caughley, 1982), Bhujel exhibits three categories of number: singular, dual and plural. The singular is an unmarked category whereas the dual and plural are marked by the suffixes. We discuss the forms and functions of the dual and the plural categories of the number in Bhujel as follows.

i. Dual

Morph:	<-vισ >
Label:	-DU

The function of the dual marker -€z† is to refer to two distinct real world entities, e.g.

(3)

- a. †y†z†€z† 1
 τⁿιτ -vισ
 ι
 girl -DU
 '(two) girls'

- b. | ^€€z† 1
 κυψ -νισ
 dog -DU
 '(two) dogs'
- c. €€, †€z† 1
 ψοτ -νισ
 axe -DU
 '(two) axes'

In Bhujel the verb agrees with the subject in number. Thus the verb is marked with dual marker -t in Bhujel as in (4).

(4)

- a. †yzz€z† |, €1sYv†1xvR} tr
 τⁿιτι -νισ -κοψ βⁿετ γε -Αλ -χα
 girl -DU -GEN meeting be -PST -DU
 '(Two) girls met each other.'

- b. | ^€€z† | r€1...R~ | R€1{r€v|R} tr
 κυψ -νισ -καψ ρΑμ -καψ φαψκ -Αλ -χα
 dog -DU -ERG Ram -DAT bite -PST -DU
 '(Two) dogs bit Ram.'

In (4a) the agent †yzz€z† 'girl' and in (4b) | ^€€ 'dog' both are marked by the dual marker -€z†. Consequently, the verbs in both (4a and 4b) are obligatorily marked by the verbal dual suffix -tr.⁵⁰ This is indexed in the complex of the verb (See 9.6 for details).

ii. Plural

There are two forms of plural markers of the nouns in the Bhujel language. They are -}r~ and --r€. They are discussed as follows:

I. -}r~

Morph: <-λαμ >

⁵⁰ The dual marker -€z†^{FA} is claimed to be related to PTB root *νισ⁵⁰ for 'two' (Watters, 2002:55).

Label: -PL

-}r~1 is the most common plural marker of Bhujel nouns. It refers to more than two real world entities as in (5).

(5)

- a. †ʏz†z}r~1
τ^ηιτι -λαμ
girl -PL
'girls'
- b. |^⊔}r~1
κυ -λαμ
ψ
dog -PL
'dogs'
- c. ⊔, †}r~1
ψοτ -λαμ
axe -PL
'axes'

The verb in Bhujel obligatorily agrees with the plural number of the subject as in (6)

- (6) †ʏz†z}r~ |, ⊔sʏv†1κvR}Rεz
τ^ηιτι -λαμ -κοψ β^ηετ γε - -vι
Αλα
girl -PL -GEN meeting be -PST -PL
(Three or more) girls met each other.'

In (6) the subject †ʏz†z 'girl' is encoded by the nominal plural marker -}r~.

Consequently the verb in (6) has been obligatorily encoded by the verbal plural marker -εz. This marker is indexed on the verb.

II. --r⊔

Morph: <-μαψ >

Label: -CPL

In Bhujel, the nouns which require to be addressed as a mark of respect or politeness are encoded by the plural marker $\sim r\epsilon$. This marker in Bhujel is unproductive. The following are the examples:⁵¹ □

(7)

- a. $\chi R \sim z \sim r\epsilon$
 $\gamma A \mu$ $-\mu \alpha \psi$
villager $-CPL$
'villagers'
- b. $u R \{ \hat{\sim} \sim r\epsilon$
 $\delta A \phi \upsilon$ $-\mu \alpha \psi$
brother $-CPL$
'brothers'

The verb in Bhujel agrees with the number of the subject. The verb with the plural subject is marked on the verb by $-\epsilon z$ (plural marker) as in (8)

- (8) $\chi R \sim z \sim r\epsilon \{ \dagger, R \} R \epsilon z$
 $\gamma A \mu$ $-\mu \alpha \psi$ τo $-A \lambda A$ $-v t$
villager $-CPL$ say $-PST$ $-PL$
'The villagers said'

7.1.3 Numeral classifiers

Classifiers are a new innovation in Sino-Tibetan languages (LaPolla, 2003). However, especially numeral classifiers exist in many Tibeto-Burman languages (Aikhenvald, 2000). They are found in the languages of South Asia. The numeral classifiers are not present in all the subgroups of Bodic languages. They are absent in the Bodish languages. However, they are present in the Himalayish languages such as Hayu, Athpare, Chamling, Kham, Kathmandu Newar, and Dolkha Newar (Noonan, 2003:11). The numeral classifiers are also present in Bhujel.⁵² They are attached to the numerals as suffixes outside the noun. In Bhujel they categorize the nouns in terms of the distinction between human and non-human. Thus, they can be classified into two types: human and non-human. They are presented in Figure 7.1.

⁵¹ This marker is homophonous with the infinitive marker.

⁵² Chepong lacks numeral classifiers (Noonan, 2003)

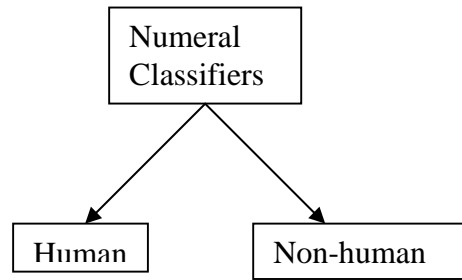


Figure 7.1: Numeral classifiers in Bhujel

We discuss the forms and functions of the numeral classifiers in turn:

i. Human

Morph: <-βov >
 Label: -CLF. HUM

This classifier is used only for a human noun in a quantified noun phrase in Bhujel.

This constraint can be presented as in (9).⁵³

(9) [[Num+ CLF[-s, €] + Noun [+Human]]

The constraint in (9) says the classifier [-s, €] obligatorily precedes the [+ Human] noun. Following are the examples.

(10)

- a. R†s, €1s ^ †ʸR 1
 Aτ -βov βυτ^ηA
 One -CLF old man
 'One -CLF old man'

- b. €z†s, €1s ^ †ʸR s ^ †ʸz1
 v1σ -βov βυτ^ηA βυτ^ηι
 two -CLF old man old woman
 'Two -CLF old man and woman'

- c. † ^ -s, €1s ^ †ʸR1s ^ †ʸz1
 συμ -βov βυτ^ηA βυτ^ηι

⁵³ In Baniyatar dialect the classifiers -s, € αvδ -φ€ may be interchangeably used for human and non-human nouns as well.

three -CLF old man old woman

' Three -CLF old man and woman'

It is observed in (10) that a [+human] noun in a quantified noun phrase is consistently preceded by the classifier [-S, €n.

ii. Non-human

Morph: <-φψο >

Label: -CLF. NON-HUM

This classifier is used only for a [- human] noun in a quantified noun phrase in Bhujel.

This constraint can be presented as in (11)

(11) [[Num+ CLF [- {€ , } + Noun [-Human]]

The constraint in (11) says the classifier -{€ , obligatorily proceeds [- Human] noun.

Following are the examples.

(12)

a. R{€ , 1| ^€1

Ατ - κυψ

φψο

one CLF dog

'one CLF dog'

b. €z† {€ , 1| ^€1

νις -φψο κυψ

two -CLF dog

'two CLF dog'

c. † ^ ~ {€ , 1| z†Rf1

συμ -φψο κιτΑπ

three -CLF book

' three CLF books'

It is evident in (12) that a [-human] noun in a quantified noun phrase is consistently preceded by the classifier -{€ , .

Apart from -s, € and -{€, a number of other classifiers are found in Bhujel. They can be referred here to as ‘pseudo-classifiers’.⁵⁴ They are independent words. They are mainly used for ‘mensurality’ and ‘sortality.’ The following are the examples.

(13)

a. tɾ...lɪt, z}zɪR~lɪl

χαρ χοιλι Αμ
four lump rice
‘Four lump rice.’

b. Rɪɪɪʏ, fRɪɪRɪɪzɪl

Ατ τ^ηοπα σΑτ
ι
one drop oil
‘One drop oil’

c. tR...luz | Rɪtʏvɪl

χΑρ δικΑ χ^ηε
four bit salt
‘Four bit salt’

d. tʏrɪxYR€Rɪx, €ɪl

χ^ηα γHAvA γοψ

six piece yam
‘Six piece yam’

e. RɪɪxvuRɪ... ^ †Rzɪ

Ατ γεδΑ ρυσΑι
one grain berry

⁵⁴ They are heavily borrowed from Nepali.

'One grain berry'

f. tR...lxYR€Rl1...^z_1

χAρ γHAvA ρυtN
 four full-piece bamboo
 'Four full-piece bamboo'

g. tR...t^ | ...Rl1svt | R~1

χAρ τυκρA βεσκαμ

four piece bread
 'Four full-piece bamboo'

h. R†t^y, fRl11€€R~†€R^1

Aτ τ^noπA vψAμτψ
 Av
 one drop wine
 'One drop wine'

In examples (13a-h) all the classifiers have been borrowed from Nepali, the contact language and some of them have been adapted to the phonology of the Bhujel language. In example (13c) the initial sound of the word uz | Rl'bit' in Nepali is [ɹ]. Similarly the initial sounds of the word t^ | ...r1'piece' in Nepali is retroflex [ɻ] in example (13g). As Bhujel lacks retroflex [ɻ] and [ɻ] the Nepali words with the initial sound [ɻ] and [ɻ] change into alveolar [τ] and [δ], respectively. Some more examples of such classifiers borrowed from Nepali and used for mensurality and sortality are exemplified in (14)

- (14) a. R† 'one' { r...l1 tʒl1 'water' R†l{ r...tʒl1
 b. R† 'one' ^€{ ^ tʒl1 'water' R†l^€{ ^ }zlʒl1
 }zl1
 c. €z† 'two' | RÜ† t r } rzl1 'match' €z†l | RÜ†zl† r } r
 zl1 zl1
 d. t^~ 'three' | ^u | t^f r...zl 'betel- t^~l | ^u | Rl† ^f

		R11	nut'	r...z1
e.	€z† 'two'	tz~†z11	tz€z1'sugar'	€z†1tz~†z1tz€z1
f.	R† 'one'	{^ff , 11	r_x^...1'grape'	R†1{^ff, 1r_x^...1
g.	tR... 'four'	xzÜu11	†v , 1'sugar cane'	tR...xzÜu1†v , 1
h.	€z† 'two'	xY^†	u^†11'milk'	€z†1xY^† , 1u^†1
i.	fRüt1 'five'	†Yv}z11	z†Rf11'book'	fRüt1†Yv}z1 z† Rf1
j.	fRüt1 'five'	uzÜu Yz11	Y^...R1'chili'	fRüt1uzÜuYz1 Y^...R1

7.1.4 Case marking

This subsection deals with the case pattern, cases and their functions in Bhujel.

i. Case pattern

Bhujel is a consistently ergative-absolutive language.⁵⁵ Bhujel neither shows 'aspectual split' as in Nepali and Tamang (Paudel, 2006) nor does it show split in terms of person as in Kham (Watters, 2002). The subject of the transitive clause irrespective of tense and aspect or person is invariably encoded by the ergative marker -z@| r€ whereas the subject of the intransitive clause and object of the transitive clause are left unmarked, e.g.,

(15)

a.	_Rz1†z_1 ^y R~€^_1							
	NA	-t	σtN	-O	κ ⁿ Aμ	-v	-v	-N
	1SG	-ERG	tree	-ABS	fell	-NPST	-DIR	1/2
	'I will cut down a tree.'							

⁵⁵ Chepang is consistently ergative-absolutive language (Caughley, 1982). Kham and Tamang also show ergative syntax. However, Kham has person-based split. Only third person subject of the transitive clause is marked by ergative marker (Watters, 2002). Tamang shows split ergative in terms of tense and aspect (Paudel, 2006).

b. $u\epsilon, |r\epsilon l...y^{\wedge}1\ddagger R\ddagger\epsilon R$

$\delta\psi o$	$-καψ$	$\rho^{\eta}\upsilon$	$-O$	$\sigma A\tau$	$-vA$
3SG	-ERG	snake	-ABS	$\kappa\iota\lambda\lambda$	-NPST

‘S/he kills a snake.’

c. $\epsilon R_z l\ddagger z_1 |^y R\sim\ddagger v R\}^{\wedge}_1$

vA	$-ι$	$\sigma ιN$	$-O$	$\kappa^{\eta}A\mu$	$-\tau\epsilon$	$-A\lambda$	$-υ$	$-N$
N								
2SG	-ERG	Tree	-ABS	fell	-2	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘You felled a tree.’

d. $_Rz l...y^{\wedge}1\ddagger R\ddagger R\}^{\wedge}_1$

NA	$-ι$	$\rho^{\eta}\upsilon$	$-O$	$\sigma A\tau$	$-A\lambda$	$-υ$	$-N$
1SG	-ERG	Snake	-ABS	kill	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I killed a snake.’

e. $_R l\epsilon^y z R\}a_$

NA	$-O$	$v^{\eta}ι$	$-A\lambda A$	$-N$
1SG	-ABS	laugh	-PST	-1/2

‘I laughed.’

f. $_R l |...R f R\}a_$

NA	$-O$	$\kappa\rho A\pi$	$-$	$-N$
			λA	
1SG	-ABS	$\chi\rho\psi$	-PST	-1/2

‘I cried.’

Irrespective of either tense and aspect or person in transitive clauses (15a-d) the subjects are marked by the ergative case and the objects are zero-marked. In intransitive clauses (15e and f) the subjects are also zero-marked.

ii. Cases

Bhujel presents a rich case system. The nominals in Bhujel may be inflected for a number of cases. They are marked in two ways: case clitics and postpositions. They are discussed below in detail.

- **Case clitics**

Case clitics in Bhujel include absolutive, instrumental /ergative, dative, comitative, ablative, genitive, locative, allative and incessive. The set of Bhujel case clitics are presented in Table 7.1

Table 7.1: Case clitics in Bhujel

Morplemes	Description	Gloss
-	Absolutive	ABS
-* * * ~*	Ergative /Instrumental	ERG/INS
-* * *	Dative	DAT
- * * * * ~* * *	Genitive	GEN
-* * *	Comitative	COM
-* * * *	Ablative	ABL
-* * *	Locative	LOC
-* * *	Allative	ALL
-* * *	Incessive	INE
-* * * *	Similaritive	SIML

Bhujel case clitics and their functions are discussed in detail as follows.

- i. <O>

Morph: -O
 Label: -ABS

The case clitic -O marks the nominals in absolutive case. In Bhujel the direct object of the transitive and the subject of the intransitive clauses are marked by -O , e.g.,

(16)

a. $_Rz1tzt\ddot{z}l\}v|yR\}^{\wedge}_$
 NA -t χιτ^ηι -O λεκ^η -Aλ -υ -N
 1SG -ERG letter -ABS write -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I wrote a letter.’

b. $_R1\epsilon^y zR\}r_$
 NA -O v^ηι - -N
 AλA
 1SG -ABS laugh -PST -1/2
 ‘I laughed.’

In (16a) the direct object of the transitive and in (16b) the subject of intransitive verb is zero- marked. Both the direct object and the intransitive subject are inflected for absolutive case.

ii. <| r(ε ~ -z|>1

Morphs: < -καψ ~ -ι >
 Label: -ERG/INS

The case clitics -| r(ε and -z| mark ergative and instrumental cases in Bhujel. As we discussed in 5.1.3 the ergative/ instrumental marker [-ι] is realized after a close syllable with CVC pattern whereas -| r(ε is realized after the open syllable with CV pattern. Following are the examples:

(17)

c. /ρAμ-καψ/ [ρAμ-ι]
 Ram- ERG
 d. /δAβαψ-καψ/ [δAβαψ-ι]
 Big knife- INS
 χ. /σιτA-καψ/ [σιτA-καψ]

Sita- ERG

d. /τι-καψ/ [τι-καψ]

Water- INS

a. Ergative

As we discussed earlier the subject of the transitive clause irrespective of tense-aspect or person is obligatorily marked by the ergative suffix -| r(E~z as in (18)

(18)

a. $_Rz|R-1\{vR\}^{\wedge}_$

NA	-ι	Αμ	φ ε	-Αλ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I ate rice.’

b. $_Rz| |r\}r\sim z|t\ddagger^y z\}v|yR\}^{\wedge}_1$

NA	-ι	καλαμ	-ι	χιτ ^η ι	λεκ ^η	- Αλ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	pen	-INS	letter	write	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I wrote a letter with a pen.’

c. $\dots R\sim z|sv\dots R, 1\ddagger R\ddagger\}R| R\}1111$

ρΑμ	-ι	βερΑο	σΑτ	-λΑκ	- Αλ
Ram	-ERG	cat	kill	-COMPL	-PST

‘Ram had finished killing the cat.’

In examples (18a-c) all the subjects of the transitive verb are marked by ergative suffix. The nominals marked by the ergative case in (18a-c) exhibit the following syntactic behaviors:

- a) In examples (18a-c) the nominals with ergative case are all the subjects of the transitive clauses. It implies that the ergative case always has a unidirectional relation with the subject unlike absolutive case. That is to say, all ergative nominals are subject though all subjects are not ergative, as shown in (19).

(19) a. ERG → SUBJECT

b. * ERG ↔ SUBJECT⁵⁶

- b) Nominals with ergative marking -ι/-καψ, which are always subjects, occur clause initially.
- c) It is only transitivity, not the tense and aspect or person, which conspires to yield the ergative marking on the subject of a clause.

The ergative marking in Bhujel may be found in intransitive construction with deontic modality. It is exemplified in (20).

(20)

- a. ...R~z@|r(1†RyR_1}rur~r(εfr...εR1
 ρAμ -ι σA -ηAN λαδα -μαψ -παρ -vA
 Ram -ERG ground -LOC fall -INF -OBLG -NPST
 ‘Ram should fall on the ground.’
- b. _Rz|z~1R}~r(εfr...εR1
 NA -ι κιμ Aλ -μαψ -παρ -vA
 1SG -ERG house go -INF -OBLG -NPST
 ‘I have to go home.’

In examples (20a- b) the subjects have been marked with ergative case though the constructions are intransitive. In these cases it is the deontic modality which has necessitated the subjects of the intransitive verbs to be marked by the ergative case.

b. Instrumental

The case clitic -|r(ε~-z are affixed to the nominals to code an implement noun i.e. a tool, inanimate or not, by which an agent accomplishes an action, e.g.,

(21)

- a. uRz†v1(ε, †|r(1†R...r}1
 δAι -τε ψοτ -καψ τAρ -αλ
 why 2 axe -INS sever -NEG
 ‘Why did you not sever with the axe?’
- b. _Rz|ε, †|r(1†(εR|}R|R}^_

⁵⁶ This also operates in several South Asian Languages including Hindi (Mohanani, 1994)

NA -ι ψοτ -καψ τυΑκ -λακ -Αλ -υ -N
 1SG -ERG axe -INS cut -COMPL -PST -DIR 1/2
 ‘I finished cutting with an axe’

c. u(ε, z|...^ ‡z|fʸ(εRε~r(ε|ʸR(εr}1

δψο -ι κρυτ -ι πⁿψAv -μαψ κⁿAv -αλ
 3SG REM -ERG hand -INS take.out -INF can -NEG
 ‘She could not take out with the hands.’

d. u(ε, z|†Rz|z|{ r(ε| sv††(εRŠR}1

δψο -ι σΑικ -ι φαψκ -βετ τυΑω -Αλ
 3SG REM -ERG teeth -INS bite -SEQ pull -PST
 ‘She pulled after having beaten with the teeth.’

In examples (21a-d) the nominals marked by -z or -| r(ε function as instrument in the clauses. When two nouns are conjoined and case marked by -z or -| r(ε for the same role in the clause, the marker can either follow each noun separately or follow the second noun, e.g.,

(22) εr_ |, (ε1RfR| r(ε1...r1~R| r(ε

vαN -κοψ ΑπΑ -καψ ρα μΑ -καψ
 2SG -GEN father -ERG and mother -ERG
 ‘Her father and mother.’

iii. <l-| r(ε1>1

Morph: <-κAv >
 Label: DAT

The case clitic-| r(ε unlike in Chepang marks the dative subject in Bhujel as in

(23).⁵⁷ (23)

a. _R| r(ε1(ε, _|...R(ε }RxR}1

⁵⁷ Noonan (2003) maintains that the dative subject construction is not the characteristic of the syntax of the Bodic languages of Nepal. Chepang lacks dative subject construction. However, Bhujel has acquired this feature. It may suggest, following Noonan (2003), that Bhujel has been influenced by Nepali since the dative subject construction is a prominent feature of Nepali syntax.

- NA -κAψ ψοNκρA λAγ -Aλ
 ψ
 1SG -DAT hunger feel -PST
 ‘I am hungry.’
- b. $_R | R\epsilon 1uRy\tau \} R\chi R \} 1$
- NA -κAψ δAηα λAγ -Aλ
 1SG -DAT jealousy feel -PST
 ‘I feel jealousy’

- c. $_R | R\epsilon 1 \sim R\epsilon R \} R\chi R \} 1$
- NA -κAψ μAψA λAγ -Aλ
 1SG -DAT love feel -PST
 ‘I feel love’

In (23a-c) the nominal $_R$ ‘1SG’ is marked by $- | R\epsilon$ to code the dative subjects. The verbs in the dative subject construction do not show agreement in terms of person, number and role.

In Bhujel, especially, the human patient in a transitive clause is also marked by the dative case. This is referred to as antidative (Dryer, 1986). The following are the examples:

(24)

- a. $\dots R \sim z 1 _R | R\epsilon 1uR : | ^y R \} \tau _ 1$
- ρAμ -ι NA -κAψ δA)κⁿ - -N
 AλA
 Ram -ERG 1SG -DAT beat -PST -1/2
 ‘Ram beat me.’
- b. $_R z 1 \epsilon R _ | R\epsilon 111 \ddagger, \dagger R \} \wedge _$
- NA -ι vAN -κAψ τoσ -Aλ -υ -N
 1SG -ERG 2SG -DAT knock -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I knocked you down.’
- c. $\} R \epsilon z 1 \epsilon z _ \{ z | R\epsilon 1 R \} \epsilon R$

λAv -ι vιN -κAψ Aλ -vA
 φ ι
 witch -ERG 2DU -DAT take -NPST

‘The witch takes you (two).’

d. $_R | R\bar{E}I\check{S}R_t^y r z l u^y v \dots \epsilon^{\wedge} \ddot{t} z \sim \epsilon R I$

NA -κAψ ωAN -τⁿαι δⁿερ vυτ -τι -μυ -vA
 1SG -DAT come -SIM much sex -DUR -AUX -NPST

‘He is having sex with me excessively.’

e. $\wedge^1 t z \{v, | R\bar{E} f^y R \sim, | \epsilon R \bar{E} v 1\} v R\} \sim r \bar{E} I \epsilon z t s, \epsilon I$

υ σιφεο -κAψ πⁿAμο vAψε λε Aλ -μαψ vισ
 that dead -DAT white cloth buy go -INF two

$s, \epsilon I R f R\} r \sim | ^y R \ddot{t} s v \ddot{t} s r \{ R \dots y R _ 1 R\} s v \ddot{t} I I$

-βον Απα -λαμ κⁿΑτ -βετ βαφαρ -ηAN Aλ -βετ
 -CLF father -PL together -SEQ market -LOC go -SEQ

$\epsilon R \bar{E} v I\} v s v \ddot{t} I \check{S} R _ \epsilon R t r$

vAψε λε -βετ ωAN -vA -χα
 cloth buy -SEQ come -NPST -DU

‘Two old men go to the market to buy the white cloth for the dead body.’

In (24a-e) the nominals marked by the dative case in the Bhujel transitive clauses exhibit the antidative use of the indirect object case form.

The case clitic -|RĒ may mark a benefactive nominal in Bhujel, e.g.,

(25)

$\epsilon R _ z I _ R | R\bar{E} I _ Y R I \ddot{t} \wedge | \dots R I f R \dots \ddot{t} v R\} \wedge _$

vAN -ι NA -κAψ NHA τυκρA παρ -τε -Aλ -υ -N
 2SG -ERG 1SG -DAT fish piece make -2 -PST -DIR -1/2

‘You split the fish for me.’

Apart from marking dative, antidative and benefactive nominals the case clitic -|RĒ, moreover, marks other semantic roles as well. They are discussed as follows:

a. Recipient of a di-transitive verb

The case clitic -|RĒ marks the recipient of a di-transitive verb, e.g.,

(26)

a. $_Rz\uparrow t, |R\{1\}v\uparrow, \uparrow sr\{ER\}^{\wedge}_$

NA	-ι	χο	-κΑψ	λετο	βαψ	-Αλ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	son	-DAT	money	give	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

'I gave money to the son.'

b. $_Rz \dots R\sim |R\{1\}t\uparrow^y z\uparrow\uparrow, |^y R\}^{\wedge}_$

NA	-ι	ρΑμ	-κΑψ	χιτ ^η ι	λοκ ^η	-Αλ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	Ram	-DAT	letter	send	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

'I sent Ram a letter.'

c. $_Rz\uparrow RfR |R\{1\}R\sim \uparrow f^{\wedge} \dots R\{E\}^{\wedge}_$

NA	-ι	ΑπΑ	-κΑψ	Αμ	πυρΑψ	-v	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	father	-DAT	rice	reach	-NPST	-DIR	-1/2

'I will take the food for the father.'

d. $_Rz\uparrow ER_ |R\{1\}\uparrow^{\wedge} \sim r\{E\}sr\{E\}^{\wedge}_$

NA	-ι	vAN	-κΑψ	τυN	-μαψ	βαψ	-v	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	2SG	-DAT	drink	-INF	give	-NPST	DIR	-1/2

'I will give you (some thing) to drink.'

b. Object of perception

The case clitic $-|R\{E\}$ may mark object of perception, e.g.,

(27) $_R\{E\}z\uparrow t, |R\{E\}\uparrow R\{ER\}\uparrow$

λΑv	-ι	χο	-κΑψ	σΑψ	-Αλ
witch	-ERG	child	-DAT	hear	-PST

'The witch heard the child.'

c. Locational goal

The case clitic $-|R\{E\}$ may mark locational goal, e.g.,

(28) $u\{E, z\uparrow z_ |R\{E\}\uparrow R\{fR\}\}$

δψο	-ι	σιN	-κAψ	Aπ	-Aλ
3SG REM	-ERG	tree	-DAT	shoot	-PST

‘He shot at the tree.’

d. Temporal goal

The case clitic -|RЄ1 may mark temporal, e.g.,

(29) $_Rz\{l\}R\sim |RЄ1x, \{E1\}r\sim R1\{R\}y\epsilon\sim _1$

NA	-ι	ρAμ	-κAψ	γoψ	φaμμA	ρAκ ^η	-v	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	night	-DAT	yam	collect	do	-NPST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I collected yams for the night.’

e. Purposive

The dative suffix -|RЄ may mark purposive, e.g.,

(30) $_R|rЄ t, z\{v\}rЄ |RЄ1\check{S}R1$

NA	-κaψ	χο	-ι	φε	-μαψ	-κAψ	ωA
1SG	-DAT	son	-ERG	eat	-INF	-DAT	cock

$\check{S}RЄR\}^{\sim} _1$

ωAv	-Aλ	-υ	-N
bring	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I brought a cock for the son to eat.’

iv. $\langle -|, \{E1\}l\sim |, \rangle _1$

Morph: $\langle -\kappa o\psi \sim -\kappa o \rangle$

Label: GEN

The case clitic -|, {E1} ~ -|, is primarily used to denote a possessive relationship between nouns. It follows the possessor and precedes the possessed nouns, e.g,

(31)

a. $_R|, \{E1\}r\sim |xR\}, \{l\} \sim \epsilon R1$

NA	-κoψ	ηav	γAλo	μυ	-vA
1SG	-GEN	brother	black	stay	-NPST

‘My brother is black.’

b. $u\{E, \dots R_ |, \{E1\sim r | RzyR_1\{E^{\wedge} | 1\}R\}r\in R1$

δψο ρAN -κοψ μακαι -ηAN ψυκ λαγα -vA
 that field -GEN maize -LOC monkey occur -NPST

‘The monkey destroys the maize of that field.’

c. $t\{z\{v, |, \{E1\sim R\{yR_1\}x\sim sv\}1R\}\in R\in z$

σιφρο -κοψ μΑφ - γαμ -βετ Αλ -vA -vι
 ηAN

dead -GEN center -LOC keep -SEQ take -NPST -PL

‘They take the dead body keeping in the midst of the funeral procession.’

The case clitic -|, in Bhujel is also attached to the root of the verbs. It changes the verb into adverbs, e.g.,

(32) $t^y, |, 1s\}R|,$

χ^o -κο βλα -κο
 Move -GEN swim -GEN

‘Wandering’

The case clitic -|, 1 in Bhujel is also attached to the adverbial following locative and ablative cases, e.g.,

(33) $uzxyR_t\{vz|, 11$

διγ -ηAN -σει -κο
 After -LOC -ABL -GEN

‘After that’

The case clitic -|, in Bhujel is also attached to the demonstrative pronouns following and ablative case, e.g.,

(34) $111^{\wedge}\}\{ER\sim |, 11$

υ - -κο
 λψΑ
 μ
 3SG DIST -ABL -GEN

‘After that’

v. <-| ^ † > 1 1

Morph: <-κυσ>

Label: COM

The case clitic -| ^ † is used to express accompaniment. The case which expresses accompaniment is referred to as comitative case. The following are the examples:

(35)

a. $_R | R \in 1 | \hat{\epsilon} | \hat{\tau} 1 \dots r y v \in R _ 1$

NA - κΑψ κυψ - κυσ ραηε - νΑ - Ν

1SG -DAT dog -COM fear -NPST -1/2

‘I am afraid of the dog.’

b. $u \epsilon, 1 t, |, \epsilon R \{ \epsilon, 1 u \hat{\sim} \ddagger, 1 \sim r z \in R 1$

δψο χο -κοψ Ατ -φψο δυμτο μαινα
that son -GEN one -CLF beautiful falcon

$\check{S} R | \hat{\tau} 1 \sim r \epsilon f r \dots R \} 1$

ωΑ -κυσ μαν παρ -Αλ
bird -COM like fall -PST

‘The son fell in love with a beautiful falcon.’

c. $u \epsilon, 1 | v \ddagger R 1 u \epsilon, \check{S} R | \hat{\tau} 1 u \hat{\sim} \ddagger, 1 u \hat{\sim} \ddagger, 1 _ \hat{\sim} \dots 1$

δψο κετΑ δψο ωΑ -κυσ δυμτο δυμτο Νυρ
that boy that bird -COM nice nice talk

$\dots R | y s v \ddagger 1 t R \dots 1 f R t 1 \sim r y z \in R 1 \sim \hat{\sim} s v \ddagger 1 x \dots \{ v R \} 1$

ρΑκ^η -βετ χαρ πα[®]χ μαηινΑ μυ -βετ
do -SEQ four five month stay -SEQ

$x \dots \hat{\sim} \{ v R \} 1$

γρυ -φε -Αλ
sick -PRF -PST

‘After having lived and talked about pleasant things with her for four or five months the boy fell sick.’

d. RfR1R~R}r~|, (E1tr})R1r€^†R...1|..., ~1

Απα Αμα -λαμ -κοψ σαλλα ανυσΑρ κρομ
 father mother -PL -GEN consent according marriage

...R|^ysv††^|^y|^†1~^R}

ρΑκ^η -βετ συκ^η -κυσ μυ -Αλ
 do -SEQ happy -COM stay -PST

‘He got married with the consent of his parents and past his life happily.’

e. †^yv1{R†|, (E1t^|^†~R1...|^~r(E1xv)}r1

τ^ηε φατ -κοψ συ -κυσ -μα ρυκ -μαψ γε -λα
 other caste -GEN who -COM also touch -INF be -NEG

‘(You) cannot touch anybody from other caste.’

In (35a-e) the nominals with the comitative case express the accompaniment with other nominals in the clauses.

vi. <-}ER~>11

Morph: <-λψΑμ >

Label: ABL

The case clitic -}ER~ marks the ablative case in Bhujel. It is a grammaticalized form of the noun }ER~ meaning ‘road or path’, e.g.,

(36)

a. †z_}ER~11~R†1|}rŠR}1

σιN -λψΑμ ματ κλαω -Αλ
 tree -ABL leaf drop -PST

‘The leaf dropped from the tree.’

b. ~rz€R1ŠR|r(E1t^€|, (E1}r†^yR}ER~1uE, 1

μαινΑ ωΑ -καψ συν -κοψ λατ^η - δψο
 Α ψΑμ

falcon bird -ERG gold -GEN rope -ABL that
 |v†R|R(ɛ|zy, 1|}rŠR}1
 κετΑ -κΑψ ιηο κλα -Αλ
 ω
 boy -DAT down drop -PST
 'The falcon dropped the boy through the rope of the gold.'

vii. <-yR_>11

Morph: <-ηAN >
 Label: LOC

The case clitic -yR_ marks the locative case in Bhujel as in (37)

(37)

a. u(ɛ, 1|z~yR_1~^εR1

δψο κιμ -ηAN μω -vA
 3SG RM house -LOC stay -NPST

'He is in the house.'

b. }rz1~r}, fr†z1...R(εz~1...R|†yr11s^†yR1s^†yZ|, (ɛ1

λαι μαλοπατι ρΑνι -μ ρΑκσ βυτ^ηΑ βυτ^ηι -κοψ
 ηα
 self Malopati queen also giant old man old w. -GEN
 |z~yR_1sR†1(ɛ^_}(ɛR_1uR|^yR}
 κιμ -ηAN βΑΣ ψυN - δΑκ^η -Αλ
 λψAN
 house -LOC lodge beg -PURP reach -PST

'Malopatirani came to the house of old giant couples to ask for lodging.'

c. †r}}R11rε^†R...1R†s, ε1†zyR_1f, |R}1

σαλλΑ ανυσΑρ Ατ βον τι ηAN ποκ -Αλ
 decision according one -CLF water -LOC enter -PST

'According to the decision one entered the water.'

d. u(ɛ, 1fR|^y, 1...R_yR_1~r|rz }rxRzεR11

δψο πακ^ηο ρAN -ηAN μακαι λαγα -vA

t

that fallow Land -LOC maize sow -NPST

‘They plant maize in that fallow land.’

viii. <-|r†>1

Morph: <-κατ >

Label: ALL

The case clitic -|r† marks the allative case in Bhujel as in (38)

(38)

a. u(ε, 1fʸ~z|r†1R}R}

δψο πᵠυι -κατ Αλ -Αλ

3SG REM jungle -ALL go -PST

‘He went towards house.’

b. Rsr1†r†^...R1|z~|r†yR_1fRy^€Rlxv}€R_1

Αβα σασυρα κιμ -κατ -ηAN παηυν γε -λψAN
A

Now f-in-law house -ALL -LOC guest be -PURP

R}†, 1€R

Αλ -το vA

go -PTCP COP

‘He has gone towards his father-in-law’s house to become a guest.’

c. R†s, €z1†z_1tr~†z1†z_1

Ατ -βον -ι σιN χαμ -τι σιN -ι

one -CLF -ERG tree catch -DUR tree -INS

€z†s, €|R€1sʸz...|r††R€R}1

νισ -βον -κAψ βᵠιρ -κατ τAv -Αλ

two -CLF -DAT steep -ALL pull -PST

‘One man was catching the tree. The tree pulled the two persons towards the steep place.’

ix. <-†R(€>1

Morph: - <-τΑψ >
 Label: INE

x. <-‡R€>1

Morph: - <-τΑψ >
 Label: INE

The case clitic -‡R€ marks the inessive case in Bhujel as in (39)

(39) u[ε, 1|z~‡R€1~^εR
 δψο κιμ -τΑψ μν -vA
 3SG REM house -INE go -NPST
 ‘He is inside the house.’

xi. <-ŠʸR€>1

Morph: <-ωⁿAv >
 Label: SIML

The case clitic -ŠʸR€1 marks the similitative case in Bhujel as in (40)

(40) u[ε, 1sʸv:uRŠʸR€1xvR}1
 δψο βⁿε)δA -ωⁿAv γε -Aλ
 3SG sheep -SIML be -PST
 ‘He became like a sheep.’

• **Postpositions**

Apart from case clitics (morphologically bound forms) the postpositions also mark the cases in Bhujel. They are discussed as follows:

i. |R~, 1l ‘down’

The postposition |R~, points to the location below something, e.g.,

(41) u[ε, 1|z~1|R~, 1~^εR1
 δψο κιμ κΑμο μν -vA

3SG house down stay -PST
 ‘He is below/ down the house.’

In (41), the postposition |R~, marks the locative case pointing to the location where he is.

ii. †ER, ‘up/over’

The postposition †ER, 1 points to the location over or up something, e.g.,

(42) ...R~1|z~1†ER, 1~ ^ €R1

ρΑμ κιμ τψΑο μυ -vA
 Ram house up stay -NPST
 ‘Ram is above the house.’

In (42) the postposition †ER, marks the locative case pointing to the location where Ram is.

iii. S...z_ ‘near’

The postposition S...z_ points to the location, e.g.,

(43) ...R~1|z~1S...z_1~ ^ €R

ρΑμ κιμ βριN μυ -vA
 Ram house near stay -PST
 ‘Ram is near the house.’

In (43), the postposition S...z_ 1marks the locative case.

iv. €^ t^Yr111 ‘across’

The postposition €^ t^Yr1 points to the location, e.g.,

(44) ρR~1|^Y, uR1€^ t^Yr1R}R}

ρΑμ κ^οδA νυχ^ηα Αλ -Αλ
 Ram river across go -PST
 ‘Ram went across the river.’

In (44), the postposition €^ t^Yr marks the locative case.

v. zt^Yr1 ‘this side’

The postposition zt^Yr points to the location, e.g.,

(45) ...R~ |, €1|z~1|^Y, uR1zt^Yr1~ ^ €R1

ρΑμ	-κοψ	κιμ	κ ^η οδα	ιχ ^η α	μυ	-vA
Ram	-GEN	house	river	this side	stay	-PST

'Ram's house is this side of the river.'

7.1.5 (In) definiteness

(In)definiteness is also the morphological category of the nouns in Bhujel. In this subsection we first discuss indefiniteness and then we deal with definiteness.

i. Indefiniteness

Bhujel lacks an indefinite article. Indefiniteness is indicated by [\pm human] classifiers, e.g.,

(46) R{E, 1uv†yR_1εz†s, ε1s^†yR1
 Ατ - δεσ - ηAN νισ - βον βυτ^ηA
 φψο
 one -CLF country -LOC two -CLF old man
 s^†yZ1~^†, 11εR
 βυτ^ηι μυ - το vA
 old woman stay -PTCP COP

'There live an old man and an old woman in a country.'

(47) s^†yR1s^†yZ|, E R†s, ε1 co ~^, 1
 βυτ^ηA βυτ^ηι -κοψ Ατ - βον co μυ -ο
 Old man old woman -GEN one -CLF son have -PTCP

'Old man and old woman had a son.'

In examples (46) and (47) the nouns which are modified by numeral classifiers do not identify a particular referent. This is an areal feature. The similar phenomenon can be observed in other languages of this area.

ii. Definiteness

Bhujel employs demonstrative pronouns, word order and dative case to signal the definite reference of nouns. Here we discuss only the dative case as the definitizer in

Bhujel. We will discuss how Bhujel employs the demonstrative pronouns and the word order for definiteness in chapter 12.

Basically in an ergative-absolutive language like Bhujel inanimate and non-human patients are not marked, e.g.,

(48)

- a. $_Rz1\uparrow z_1|{}^yR\sim R\}^{\wedge}_1$
NA -t σtN κⁿAμ -Aλ -υ -N
1SG -ERG tree fell -PST -DIR -1/2
'I felled a tree.'
- b. $_Rz1\dots{}^y\wedge^1\uparrow R\uparrow R\}^{\wedge}_1$
NA -t ρⁿυ σAτ -Aλ -υ -N
1SG ERG snake kill -PST -DIR -1/2
'I killed a snake.'

In (48a) the patient is not overtly marked by dative because it is inanimate. Similarly in (48b) the patient is left unmarked as it is referred to as non-human. However, a noun functioning as human patient is marked by the dative case -|RĒ, e.g.,

- (49) $_Rz1\dots R\sim|R\mathbb{E}1uR|{}^yR\}^{\wedge}_1$
NA -t ρAμ -κAψ δAⓂκ -Aλ -υ -N
1SG -ERG Ram -DAT beat -PST -DIR -1/2
'I bit Ram.'

In (49) the noun has been dative-case-marked. This type of marking, which is referred to as anti-ergative, is pragmatically motivated. On the top of that inanimate and non-human patients may be dative-case-marked for pragmatic reasons, e.g.,

(50)

- a. $_Rz1\uparrow z_>|R\mathbb{E}1|{}^yR\sim R\}^{\wedge}_1$
NA -t σtN - - κⁿAμ -Aλ -υ -N
 κAψ
1SG -ERG tree -DAT fell -PST -DIR -1/2

‘I felled the tree.’

b. $_Rz1...^y \mid R\{1\uparrow R\uparrow R\}^{\wedge} _1$

NA	-ι	ρ ⁿ υ	-κAψ	σAτ	-Aλ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	snake	-DAT	kill	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I killed the snake.’

As compared to (48a- b) inanimate patient in (50 a) and non-human patient in (50 b) are dative case-marked in order to signal the definite reference of the patient nouns.

7.2 Noun derivations

This section deals with the derivational morphology of the Bhujel nouns. There are mainly two derivational processes: nominalization and compounding. They are discussed as follows:

7.2.1 Nominalization

Nominalization is a derivational process that derives nouns from roots or stems belonging to some other category. An affix which triggers such a change is referred to as nominalizer. In Bhujel there are two forms of the nominalizers. They are discussed as follows:

i.

Morph:	/-o/
Label:	NMLZ

In Bhujel a noun is derived by affixing the nominalizer suffix -, to the root of the verb. This process involves changes in both category and meaning in Bhujel. The following are the examples:

(51)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>	
a.	ρυπ	‘stitch’	ρυπ-o	‘tailor’
b.	κ ⁿ AN	‘cook’	κ ⁿ AN-o	‘cook’
c.	σψAv	‘teach’	σψAv-o	‘teacher’
d.	σAκ ⁿ	‘dance’	σψAκ ⁿ -o	‘dancer’

e.	κ ^η υψ	‘steal’	κ ^η υψφε-ο	‘thief’
f.	λικ ^η	‘write’	λικ ^η -ο	‘writer’
g.	κ ^η ραω	‘play’	κ ^η ραω-ο	‘player’
h.	σΑτ	‘kill’	σΑτ-ο	‘murderer’
i.	ρεσ	‘sing’	ρεσ-ο	‘singer’
j.	μυ	‘stay’	μυ-ο	‘resident’

In (51a-j) the derived forms refers to the agent of the event.

ii.

Morph: <-μαψ>

Label: NMLZ

In Bhujel --r(Ε)l functions as a nominalizer. It also functions as infinitizer.

It is very productive in Bhujel. Any verb can be changed into deverbal noun by adding this suffix to the root of the verb. The following are the examples:

(52)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>	
a.	ηιν	‘sell’	ηινμαψ	‘seller’
b.	λε	‘buy’	λαμαψ	‘buyer’
c.	φε	‘eat’	φεμαψ	‘eater’
d.	λατ	‘carry’	λατμαψ	‘porter’
e.	ιμ	‘beg’	ιμμαψ	‘beggar’
f.	φοN	‘run’	φοNμαψ	‘runner’
g.	βλα	‘swim’	βλαμαψ	‘swimmer’

7.2.2 *Compounding*

Bhujel makes extensive use of compounds. Compounding in Bhujel is a very productive derivational process in which monosyllabic or monomorphemic syllables combine in unpredictable way to form new words. In this subsection we describe compounding in terms of both formal and functional perspectives. One of the very common compounding processes in Bhujel is to juxtapose the words of the same word class, specifically noun + noun. The following are the examples.

(53)	<u>Root</u>		<u>Root</u>		<u>Compound</u>	1
					<u>word</u>	
a.	πυκ ^η	‘head’	κλι	‘stool’	πυκ ^η -κλι	‘brain’
b.	κΑμ	‘mouth’	πυν	‘skin’	κΑμ-πυν	‘lip’
c.	μυικ	‘eye’	κλι	‘stool’	μυικ-κλι	‘tears’
d.	κλι	‘stool’	ποN	‘hole’	κλι-ποN	‘anus’
e.	ν ^η ο	‘ear’	κλι	‘stool’	ν ^η ο-κλι	‘ear wax’
f.	ψαN	‘abdomen’	κλι	‘stool’	ψαN-κλι	‘intestines’
g.	ψαN	‘abdomen’	τι	‘water’	ψαN-τι	‘belly’
h.	υμ	‘wound’	κλι	‘stool’	υμ-κλι	‘pus’
i.	νψΑμ	‘sky’	τι	‘water’	νψΑμ-τι	‘rain’
j.	π ^η υι	‘forest’	ωA	‘bird’	π ^η υι-ωA	‘fowl’
k.	πυκ ^η	‘head’	λυκ	‘cover’	πυκ ^η -λυκ	‘shawl’
l.	βAN	‘stone’	τοN	‘hole’	βAN-τοN	‘cave’
m.	μ ^η ε	‘fire’	κψA	‘curry’	μ ^η ε-κψAv	‘bamboo shoot’
			ν			
n.	μομχο	‘female’	χο	‘child’	μομχο-χο	‘daughter’
o.	γοψχο	‘male’	χο	‘child’	γοψχο-χο	‘son’
p.	μ ^η ε	‘fire’	δυν	‘burnt	μ ^η ε-δυν	‘fire brand’
				woodə		
q.	ρ ^η Ακ	‘hard’	βAN	‘stone’	ρ ^η Ακ-βAN	‘grinding stone’
r.	ποτ ^η α	‘round’	βAN	‘stone’	τ ^η αρι-βAN	‘pestle’
	ρι					

In examples (53a-r) both roots belong to the same class of noun and the compound word also belongs to the noun. In each case the compound is treated as a single word for the stress pattern, as opposed to the pattern for two words. Further more each compound noun provides either more specific or entirely different meaning than that of the two root nouns.

Some compounds in Bhujel contain one part which is not a real word in the language. Such parts of the compound are underlined in (54)

(54)

a.	πυκ ^η	‘head’	<u>λοN</u>	πυκ ^η -λοN	‘aerial’
b.	πυκ ^η	‘head’	<u>τολ</u>	πυκ ^η -τολ	‘skull’
c.	μ ^η ε	‘fire’	<u>κυ</u>	μ ^η εκυ	‘smoke’

Another process of compounding in Bhujel is the compounding of verb- noun which results in a noun. This process is not productive. The following is an example.

(55)

λ ^η υN	‘climb’	σιN	‘wood’	λ ^η υN-	‘stairs’
				σιN	

In Bhujel, the noun can combine with the infinitive marker and results in a noun, as in

(56)

δψANκ	‘beauty’	μαψ	‘INF’	δψANκH-	‘young woman’
H				μαψ	

7.3 Pronouns

This section deals with the pronoun morphology in Bhujel. The pronouns may be functionally categorized into personal pronouns and pro-forms (Bhat, 2004).⁵⁸ We first discuss the personal pronouns and their grammatical categories in Bhujel and then we examine the pro-forms (the pronouns other than personal pronouns) in the language.

7.3.1 Personal pronouns

This subsection analyzes personal pronouns in Bhujel. There are two types of personal pronouns: ‘free ’ and ‘bound’. Free personal pronouns are used as arguments in a clause whereas bound pronouns are verb suffixes. They are discussed as follows:

⁵⁸ The primary function of the personal pronouns is to indicate the two speech roles, namely, ‘being the speaker’ and ‘being the addressee’ respectively. The pro-forms have different functions such as identifying the participants of an event by locating them with reference to the spatio-temporal location of the speech act participants, referring back or forward to other expressions that occur in the utterance or in previous utterances and indicating the scope of question, or exclamation.

i. ‘Free’ pronouns

‘Free’ personal pronouns in Bhujel may be analyzed in terms of three categories: persons, numbers and cases. Table 7.2 presents free personal pronouns in Bhujel.

Table 7.2: Free personal pronouns

Number→		Singular	Dual	Plural
Persons		1	1	1
First person		NA	_ztz	_z
Second person		€R_	€z_{z}	€z_
Third person	Proximal	z	z€z†	z}r~
	Distal	^	^€z†	^}r~
	Remote	u(€,	u(€, €z†	u(€, }r~

Table 7.2 shows that Bhujel exhibits the distinctions between three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) in free personal pronouns. Following are the examples:

(57)

a. First person singular

_rziR~1{vR}^_1

NA -t Aμ φε -Aλ -v -N

1SG -ERG rice eat -PST -DIR -1/2

‘I ate rice.’

b. First person dual

_ztz|r(€1R~1{vR}R_t^11

Nιχι -καψ Aμ φε -AλA -N -χ -v

1DU -ERG rice eat -PST -1/2 -DU -DIR

‘We (two) ate rice.’

c. **First person plural**

$_z | r \{ \text{E1R} \sim 1 \{ \text{vR} \} \wedge _z |$

N₁ -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ -υ -N -ι

1PL -ERG rice eat -PST -DIR -1/2 -PL

‘We ate rice.’

d. **Second person singular**

$\in R _z | R \sim 1 \{ \text{v} \dagger \text{v} \in \wedge _$

vAN -ι Αμ φε -τε -v -υ -N

2SG -ERG rice eat -2 -NPST -DIR -1/2

‘You eat rice.’

e. **Second person dual**

$\in z _ \{ z | r \{ \text{E1R} \sim 1 \{ \text{v} \dagger \text{vR} \} R _$

$\wedge | |$

v₁Nφ -καψ Αμ φε -τε -ΑλΑ -N -φ -υ

ι

2DU -ERG rice eat -2 -PST -1/2 -DU -DIR

‘You (two) ate rice.’

f. **Second person plural**

$\in z _ \} r \sim | r \{ \text{E1R} \sim 1 \{ \text{v} \dagger \text{vR} \} R _$

$\wedge | |$

v₁Nλα -καψ Αμ φε -τε -ΑλΑ -N -ι -υ

μ

2PL -ERG rice eat -2 -PST -1/2 -PL -DIR

‘You ate rice.’

g. **Third person singular (Proximal)**

$z | r \{ \text{E1R} \sim 1 \{ \text{vR} \} |$

ι -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ
 3SG PROX -ERG rice eat -PST
 ‘S/he ate rice.’

h. Third person singular (Distal)

$\hat{\iota} | r\{\text{E}11R\sim 1\{vR\}1$
 υ -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ
 3SG DIST -ERG rice eat -PST
 ‘S/he ate rice.’

1. Third person singular (Remote)

$u\{\text{E}, | r\{\text{E}11R\sim 1\{vR\}1$
 δψο -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ
 3SG REM -ERG rice eat -PST
 ‘S/he ate rice.’

j. Third person dual (Proximal)

$z\{\text{E}z\uparrow | r\{\text{E}11R\sim 1\{vR\}R\text{tr}1$
 ινισ -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ -χα
 3DU PROX -ERG rice eat -PST -DU
 ‘They (two) ate rice.’

k. Third person dual (Distal)

$\hat{\iota}\{\text{E}z\uparrow | r\{\text{E}11R\sim 1\{vR\}R\text{tr}1$
 υνισ -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ -χα
 3DU DIST -ERG rice eat -PST -DU
 ‘They (two) ate rice.’

l. Third person dual (Remote)

$u\{\text{E}, \{\text{E}z\uparrow | r\{\text{E}11R\sim 1\{vR\}R\text{tr}1$
 δψονισ -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ -χα
 3DU REM -ERG rice eat -PST -DU
 ‘They (two) ate rice.’

m. Third person plural (Proximal)

$z\}\text{r}\sim | r\{\text{E}11R\sim 1\{vR\}R\{\text{E}1$

ιλαμ -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ -ψ
 3PL PROX -ERG rice eat -PST -PL
 ‘They ate rice.’

n. **Third person plural (Distal)**

$\hat{\}}r\sim | r\{vR\}R\{E1$
 υλαμ -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ -ψ
 3PL DIST -ERG rice eat -PST -PL
 ‘They ate rice.’

o. **Third person plural (Remote)**

$u\{E, \epsilon z\} | r\{vR\}R\{E1$
 δψονισ -καψ Αμ φε -Αλ -ψ
 3PL REM -ERG rice eat -PST -PL
 ‘They ate rice.’

From examples (57a-o), apart from three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) distinctions, the following observations may be made about the free personal pronouns in Bhujel:

- a) There are three categories of the third person pronoun in terms of the parameters such as proximal, distal and remote.⁵⁹ The third person pronouns in Bhujel like in other TB languages may be derived from the demonstrative pronouns.
- b) Dual and plural forms of the first and second persons seem to be derived from singular forms of the first and second through ablauting. However, the first and second person duals are further affixed by -tɪz and -{ɪz, respectively.
- c) Dual and plural forms of the third person are regularly marked by -εzɪ and -}r~, respectively. These markers encode duality and plurality of nouns as well.
- d) ‘Free’ pronouns do not show inclusive/ exclusive distinction.

⁵⁹ In Bhujel, as in Chepang and many other TB languages the formal distinction between the third person personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns does not exist. Like personal pronouns the demonstrative pronouns will be classified in terms of remoteness.

e) Personal pronouns do not show gender distinction in Bhujel.

The personal pronouns take different forms of cases. Table 7.3 presents the different categories of personal pronouns and their case forms.

Table 7.3: Personal pronouns and major case markers

Cases→ Persons		ERG -काψ/- ι	ABS - O	INS -काψ/-ι	DAT -κΑψ	COM -कुσ	ABL -λψΑμ	GEN -कोψ	LOC -ηΑΝ
1SG	NA	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
1PL	Nι	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
1DU	Nιχι	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2SG	νΑΝ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2DU	νιNφι	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2PL	νιN	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3SG PROX	ι	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3DU PROX	ινισ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3PL PROX	ιλαμ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3SG DIST	υ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3DU DIST	υνισ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3PL DIST	υλαμ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3SG REM	δψο	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3DU REM	δψονισ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
3PL REM	δψολαμ	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+

Table 7.3 shows that the personal pronouns can take the entire major case role such as ergative, absolutive, dative, commutative, ablative, genitive and locative except the instrumental case role. The reason is that personal pronouns only refer to human referents in the clause which cannot be used as instruments.

ii. ‘Bound’ pronouns

‘Bound’ pronouns are incorporated into verbal morphology as agreement affixes (For details, see Chapter).

Table 7.4 presents the bound pronouns in Bhujel.

Table 7.4: Bound personal pronouns

Persons	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular	-N	-τε	
Dual (EXCL)	-N-χ	-τε-φ	-χ
Dual (INCL)	-τα-χ		
Plural (EXCL)	-N-ι	-τε-ι	-ι
Plural (INCL)	-τα-ι		

From Table 7.4 the following observations may be made:

- a) Bound forms show inclusive/exclusive distinction. -‡r is inclusive marker which can be followed by dual marker -t and plural marker -z.
- b) -‡v is the second person marker which can be followed by the second person dual marker -{ and plural marker -z.
- c) The third person lacks distinct bound forms. It, however, uses first person dual and plural markers for the distinction between duality and plurality.

7.3.2 *Pro-forms*⁶⁰

This subsection deals with pro-forms in Bhujel. They include demonstratives/ definite pronouns, interrogatives/indefinite pronouns, possessives and reflexives. They are discussed as follows:

i. Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns

In Bhujel demonstrative and definite pronouns make a single paradigm. So do the interrogative and indefinite pronouns. Table 7.5 presents paradigm of demonstrative/ definite pronouns and interrogative/ indefinite pronouns with their scope.⁶¹

Table 7.5: The paradigms of pro-forms

⁶⁰ We have adopted the term pro-form Bhat (2004). He broadly classifies the pronouns into personal pronouns and pro-forms which include the pronouns such as demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, possessive pronouns and reflexive pronouns.

⁶¹ In Yidiny (Dixon, 1977) interrogatives and indefinite pronouns make a single paradigm.

Pronouns→ Scope	Demonstrative/ definite pronouns			Interrogatives/Indefinite pronouns
	Proximal	Distal	Remote	
Nominal	ι	υ	δψο	δο/συ
Place	ψAN	ωAN	δψAN	γ ¹ AN
Source	ιλψΑμ	υλψΑμ	δψολψΑμ	συλψΑμ
Quantity	ιχυκ	υχυκ	δψοχυκ	γαχυκ
Type	ιωΑντο	υωΑντο	δψοωΑντο	δοωΑντο
Goal	ικατιμ	υκατιμ	δψοκατιμ	γαυκατιμ
Manner	ιτατι	υτατι	δψοτατι	γατατι
Time	ιηαι	υηαι	δψοηαι	γαλαηαι

It can be observed from Table 7.5 that the demonstrative pronouns and the third person personal pronouns are formally homophonous and functionally almost the same. As we discussed already the demonstrative pronouns may be used to identify the participants of an event by locating them with reference to the spatio-temporal location of the speech act participants.

ii. Reflexive pronouns

There appears a bound form for reflexive pronoun in Bhujel. It is marked by -}R. It is suffixed to a personal pronoun followed by the dative marker -|R(Ε, e.g.,

- (58) $_R|R(Ε\}R1$
 NA -κΑψ -λΑ
 1SG -DAT -REFL
 ‘Myself’

The reflexive pronouns are one of the valence decreasing operations, the others being reciprocals, passives, and antipassives (Payne, 1997:196). In a prototypical reflexive construction the subject and the object are the same entity. Thus, in the reflexive construction in (59) the semantic valance is not two as it is supposed to be in a transitive construction because the pronoun acting as the subject and the reflexive pronoun functioning as the object are the same entity fulfilling the two semantic roles. In generative terminology the anaphor i.e. reflexive and the antecedent i.e. the subject refer to the same person.

(59) $_Rz1_R | R\{R\}R1uR\dot{U} | ^yR\}R_1$
 NA -t NA -κAψ -λA δA®κ -Aλ -AN 1
 η
 1SG -ERG 1SG -DAT -REFL beat -PST 1/2
 ‘I beat myself’

In (59) the transitive verb appears without the direct marker $\hat{_}$ - which is obligatory when the first person singular agent is acting upon the second or third person patient. Compare the form of the verb in (59) with that of (60).

(60) $_Rz1\epsilon R_ | R\{R\}1uR\dot{U} | ^yR\}^{\hat{_}}_1$
 NA -t vAN -κAψ δA® -Aλ -v -N 1
 κ^η
 1SG ERG 2SG -DAT beat -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I beat you’

The reflexive pronouns in Bhujel can be distinguished in terms of different sub-categories like person, number, and proximity. It is shown in the following table.

Table 7.6: The reflexive pronouns in Bhujel

Number→		Singular	Dual	Plural
Persons		$_R R\{R\}R1$	$_ztz R\{R\}R$	$_z R\{R\}R1$
First person				
Second person		$\epsilon R_ R\{R\}R$	$\epsilon z_ \{1z R\{R\}R$	$\epsilon z_ R\{R\}R$
Third person	Proximal	$z R\{R\}R$	$z-\epsilon z\ddagger R\{R\}R$	$z-\}r\sim R\{R\}R$
	Distal	$\hat{_} R\{R\}R$	$\hat{_}-\epsilon z\ddagger R\{R\}R$	$\hat{_}-\}r\sim R\{R\}R$
	Remote	$u\{E, R\{R\}R$	$u\{E, -\epsilon z\ddagger R\{R\}R$	$u\{E, -\}r\sim R\{R\}R$

iii. Reciprocal pronouns

The reciprocal pronoun in Bhujel is expressed morphologically. The reciprocal marker in Bhujel is -|RĒ. It is homophonous to dative case marker. Unlike reflexive marker -}R it is suffixed to a root of a transitive verb. Like the reflexive marker it also de-transitivizes the verb by reducing the semantic valance of the transitive clause as in (61)

(61)

a. †ʏz†R}r~1~zĒ | RĒR}RĒ

τ ^η ιτA	-λαμ	μιν	-κAψ	-AλA	-ψ
young	-PL	fight	-RECP	-PST	PL

‘The young fought each other.’

b. ...R~1...r1x, fR}1~zĒ | RĒR}Rtr1

ρAμ	ρα	γοπαλ	μιν	-κAψ	-	-χα	1
					λA		1
Ram	and	Gopal	fight	-RECP	-PST	-DU	

‘Ram and Gopal fought with each other.’

c. uĒ, €z†1szyv1...R |ʏ | RĒR}Rtr1

δψονι	βιηε	ρAκ ^η	-κAψ	-	-χα	1
σ				λA		
3DU	marriage	do	-RECP	-PST	-DU	

‘They got married.’

In (61a-c) the agent and the patient are the same entity. It is reflected in the morphology of the transitive verbs which lack the direct marker -^ which is obligatory elsewhere.

iv. Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronoun in the Bhujel language consists of a personal pronoun and possessive case marker -|, Ē/|, as in (62)

(62) vAN -κοψ 1
2SG -POSS
‘your’

Bhujel does not make a distinction in terms of types of possession such as alienable/inalienable, temporary/permanent, persons / animals / things, or present /past.

The following forms of the possessive pronouns are distinguished in the Bhujel language, as in Table 7.7

Table 7.7: The possessive pronouns in Bhujel

Number→		Singular	Dual	Plural
Persons		_R- , ʈ1	_ztz- , ʈ	_z- , ʈ1
First person				
Second person		ʈR_- , ʈ	ʈz_{1z- , ʈ	ʈz_- , ʈ
Third person	Proximal	z- , ʈ	z-ʈzt- , ʈ	z-}r~- , ʈ
	Distal	^- , ʈ	^-ʈzt- , ʈ	^-}r~- , ʈ
	Remote	uʈ, - , ʈ	uʈ, -ʈzt- , ʈ	uʈ, -}r~- , ʈ

7.4 Summary

In this chapter we dealt with the nominal morphology in Bhujel. First of all we discussed the noun morphology in which we examined the grammatical categories of the noun viz. gender, number, classifier, cases and definiteness. Gender is not grammatical in Bhujel. The nouns in Bhujel cannot be classified in terms of agreement with adjectives and verbs. However, Bhujel distinguishes between male and female lexically in a few pairs of words. Number is a grammatical category of nouns in Bhujel. Like Chepang (Caughley, 1982) Bhujel exhibits three categories of number: singular, dual, plural. In Bhujel, the nouns which require to be addressed as a mark of respect or politeness are encoded by the plural marker --rʈ1

The numeral classifiers are also present in Bhujel. They are attached to the numerals as suffixes outside the noun. In Bhujel they categorize the nouns in terms of the distinction between human and non-human. Apart from the two native classifiers Bhujel uses a number of classifiers. They have been referred here to as ‘pseudo-classifiers’. They are independent words. They are mainly used for ‘mensurality’ and ‘sortality.’

Bhujel is a consistently ergative-absolutive language. Bhujel neither shows ‘aspectual split’ as in Nepali and Tamang (Paudel, 2006) nor does show split in terms of person as in Kham (Watters, 2002).

Bhujel presents a rich case system. The nominals in Bhujel may be inflected for a number of cases. They are marked in two ways: case clitics and postpositions. Case clitics in Bhujel include absolutive, instrumental /ergative, dative, comitative, ablative, genitive, locative, allative and inessive. Apart from case clitics (morphologically bound forms) the postpositions also mark the cases in Bhujel.

Bhujel lacks an indefinite article. Indefiniteness is indicated by [\pm human] classifiers. Bhujel employs the dative case in non-human and inanimate nouns to signal the definite reference.

Bhujel shows mainly two derivational processes: nominalization and compounding. There are two types of personal pronouns: ‘free’ and ‘bound’. Free personal pronouns are used as arguments in a clause whereas bound pronouns are verb suffixes. ‘Free’ personal pronouns show three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) distinctions. The personal pronouns are associated with different forms of cases.

Bound’ pronouns are incorporated into verbal morphology as agreement affixes.

Bound forms show inclusive/exclusive distinction. - \ddot{r} is inclusive marker which can be followed by dual marker -t1 and plural marker -z. - \ddot{v} is second person marker which can be followed by second person dual marker-{1 and plural marker -z. Third person lacks distinct bound forms. It, however, uses first person dual and plural markers for the distinction between duality and plurality. The pro-forms include demonstratives/ definite pronouns, interrogatives/indefinite pronouns, possessives and reflexives.

CHAPTER 8

ADJECTIVES

8.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the adjectives in Bhujel. It consists of four sections. Section 8.1 discusses the formation of the adjectives in Bhujel. In section 8.2 we classify the adjectives in terms of their semantic contents. Subsection 8.3 discusses the distribution and the functions of the adjectives in the clauses. In section 8.4 we summarize the findings of this chapter.

8.1 Formation

Morphologically, there exist mainly four types of adjectives in Bhujel. They are monomorphemic, derived, compound and loans. They are presented in Figure 8.1.

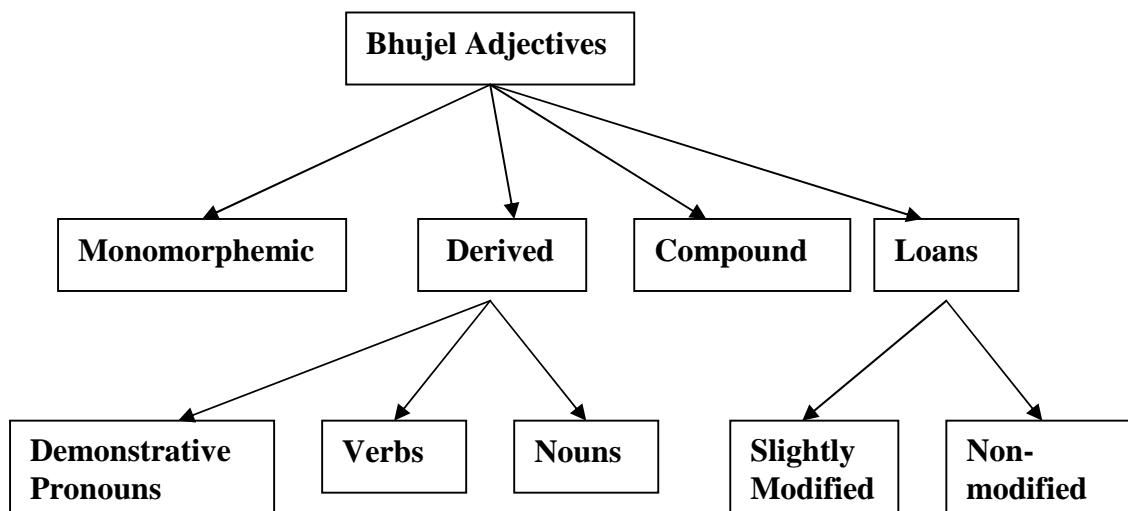


Figure 8.1: Formation of Bhujel adjectives

They are described as follows:

8.1.1 Monomorphemic

There are very few monomorphemic adjectives in Bhujel, e.g.,

(1)

- a. βΑνα 'level'
- b. ραυ 'unripe'
- c. Αῤοκ 'roasted'

8.1.2 Derived

The adjectives in Bhujel are derived from different sources. They include demonstrative pronouns, verbs and nouns. They are discussed as follows:

i. Demonstrative pronouns

There exist three adjectives in Bhujel which are derived from the demonstrative pronouns (proximate, distal and remote). The root of the pronouns are affixed by the nominalizer -, e.g,

(2)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>		
a.	ι	'PROX'	/ι-ο/	[ιτο]	'like this/ this kind'
b.	υ	'DIST'	/υ-ο/	[υτο]	'like that/ that kind'
c.	δψο	'REM'	/δψο-ο/	[δυτο]	'like that/ that kind'

ii. Verbs

Most of the adjectives in Bhujel are derived from descriptive verbs. These adjectives consist of a root of the verb followed by the nominalizer -, as in (3)

(3)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>		
d.	γαλ	'blacken'	/γαλ-ο/	[γαλτο]	'black'
e.	π ^η Αμ	'whiten'	/π ^η Αμ-ο/	[π ^η Αμτο]	'white'
f.	δυν	'fatten'	/δυν-ο/	[δυντο]	'fat'
g.	γρεν	'be thin'	/γρεν-ο/	[γρεντο]	'thin'
h.	μαι	'shorten'	/μαι-ο/	[μαιτο]	'short'

i.	ψΑυ	‘lengthen’	/ψΑυ-ο/	[ψΑυτο]	‘tall/ long’
j.	τψυν	‘shorten’	/τψυν-ο/	[τψντο]	‘short’
k.	δυν	‘enlarge’	/δυν-ο/	[δυντο]	‘big/large’
l.	νψυμ	‘taste’	/νψυμ-ο/	[νψυμτο]	‘tasty’
m.	χ ^η υN	‘deepen’	/χ ^η υN-ο/	[χ ^η υNτο]	‘deep’
n.	γοN	‘bend’	γοN-ο/	[γοNτο]	‘bended’
o.	πορ	‘entangle’	/πορ-ο/	[πορο]	‘tangled’
p.	ρΑμ	‘add salt’	/ρΑμ-ο/	[ρΑμτο]	salty
q.	ΝΑω	‘fry’	/ΝΑω-ο/	[ΝΑωο]	‘fried’
r.	ναμ	‘stink’	/ΝΑω-ο/	[ΝΑωο]	‘stinking’

Some of the adjectives are derived from stative verbs. They are as follows:

(4)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>		
a.	γε	‘become’	/γε-ο/	[γεο]	‘been something’
b.	νΑ	‘have’	/νΑ-ο/	[νΑο]	‘having something’
c.	νΑ-λα	‘not have’	/νΑ-λα-ο/	[νΑλαο]	‘having nothing’

Some of them are derived from motion verbs. They are as follows:

(5)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>		
a.	Αλ	‘go’	/Αλ-ο/	[Αλο]	‘gone’
b.	ωΑΝ	‘come’	/ωΑΝ-ο/	[ωΑΝο]	‘come’
c.	λψυN	‘climb’	/λψυN-ο/	[λψυNο]	‘climbed’

Some of them are derived from action verbs. They are as follows:

(6)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>		
a.	Απ	‘shoot’	/Απ-ο/	[Απο]	‘shoot’
b.	γαμ	‘keep’	/γαμ-ο/	[γαμο]	‘kept’
c.	τ ^η υρ	‘wash’	/τ ^η υρ-ο/	[τ ^η υρο]	‘washed’
d.	φ ^η αψ	‘clean’	/φ ^η αψ-ο/	[φ ^η αψο]	‘cleaned’
e.	ψοκ	‘suspend’	/ψοκ-ο/	[ψοκο]	‘suspended’
f.	κΑπ ^η	‘weave’	/κΑπ ^η -ο/	[κΑπ ^η ο]	‘weaved’

g.	λοκ	'boil'	/λοκ-ο/	[λοκτο]	'boiled'
h.	σψο	'join'	/σψο-ο/	[σψοτο]	'joined'
i.	ρεσ	'serve'	/ρεσ-ο/	[ρεσο]	'served'
j.	Α®	'roast'	/Α®-ο/	[Α®ωο]	'roasted'

Some adjectives in Bhujel can be derived from a root of the verb followed by the infinitive marker --rE as in (7)

(7)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>		
a.	λυ	'have sex'	/λυ-μαψ/	[λυμαψ]	'over sexy'
b.	σι	'die'	/σι-μαψ/	[σιμαψ]	'man/ animal to die'
c.	χοπ ⁿ	'cut'	/χοπ ⁿ -μαψ/	[χηοπ ⁿ μαψ]	'having sharp edge'
d.	Απ	'hit'	/Απ-μαψ/	[Απμαψ]	'a man to hit'
e.	δΑ® κ ⁿ	'beat'	/δΑ®κ ⁿ - μαψ/	[δΑ®κ ⁿ μαψ]	'a man to beat'
f.	πψΑ κ ⁿ	'tie'	'πψΑκ ⁿ -μαψ/	[πψΑκ ⁿ μαψ]	'something to tie'
g.	ρυκ	'insert'	/ρυκ-μαψ/	/ρυκ-μαψ/	'something to insert'
h.	σΑτ	'kill'	/σΑτ-μαψ/	[σΑτμαψ]	'a man to kill'
i.	ηολ	'pierce'	/ηολ-μαψ/	[ηολμαψ]	'man to pierce'
j.	συκ	'sow'	/συκ-μαψ/	[συκμαψ]	'a man to sow'
k.	φε	'eat'	/φε-μαψ/	[φεμαψ]	'a thing to be eaten'
l.	χο	'bear'	/χο-μαψ/	[χομαψ]	'a woman to bear kids'

Some adjectives in Bhujel are formed by affixing completive marker -}R | to the root of the verb followed by the nominalizer -, as in (8)

(8)

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived form</u>
-------------	---------------------

a.	χοτ	‘tear’	/χοτ-λακ-ο/	[χοτλακο]	‘torn’
b.	σοτ	‘dry’	/σοτ-λακ-ο/	[σοτλακο]	‘dried’
c.	νψΑτ	‘soak’	/νψΑτ-λακ-ο/	[νψΑτλακο]	‘soaked’
d.	κ ^η Ατ	‘be fit’	/κ ^η Ατ-λακ-ο/	[κ ^η Ατλακο]	‘fit’
e.	ψοκ	‘hang’	/ψοκ-λακ-ο/	[ψοκλακο]	‘hanged’

iii. Nouns

Some adjectives in Bhujel consists of the root of the noun plus durative marker -ʒʔ! They are restricted to human propensity as in (9)

(9)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>		
a.	ρψΑμ	‘proud ness’	/ρψαμ-τι/	[ρψαμτι]	‘proud’
b.	ρΑΣ	‘shame’	ρΑΣ-τι	[ρΑΣτι]	‘ashamed’
c.	λικ ^η	‘wish’	λικ ^η -τι	[λικ ^η τι]	‘eager’

8.1.3 Compound

In Bhujel there are a few adjectives which consist of root of the verb and adjectives, e.g.,

(10)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>		
	κ ^η υ	‘steal’	/κ ^η υψ-φε-ο/	[κ ^η υψφεο]	‘thief’
	ψ				

8.1.4 Loans

A number of adjectives in Bhujel have been borrowed from Nepali. Many of them are virtually unchanged, however; some of them are slightly modified by affixing some sort of ‘adjectivizers’. They are discussed as follows:

i. Slightly modified

Some adjectives are formed by affixing /-ωΑ/ to the Nepali root nouns, e.g.,

(11)

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived form</u>		
a.	συν	'gold'	/συν-ωA/	[συνωA]	' of gold'
b.	χA®δι	'silver'	/χA®δι -ωA/	[χA®διωA]	' of silver'
c.	τAμA	'copper'	/τAμA-ωA/	[τAμAωA]	' of copper'
d.	π ^η αλA	'iron'	/π ^η αλAμ-	[π ^η αλAμωA]	' of iron'
	μ		ωA/		

ii. Non-modified

A number of adjectives in Bhujel have been borrowed from Nepali virtually unchanged, as in (12)

(12)

a.	νιλο	'blue'	b.	καχχι	'fragile'
c.	ηαρι	'green'	d.	γαριβ	'poor'
	ψο				
e.	σαστ	'cheap'	f.	βAτ ^η ο	'clever'
	ο				

8.2 Classification

In this section we present the classification of Bhujel adjectives in terms of semantic contents. The main objective of the classification is to examine how typical adjectival concepts like dimension, age, color, etc., are encoded in the Bhujel language. We present the classification of the inventory of the adjectives in terms of varying semantic types (Dixon, 2004) in Figure 8.2.

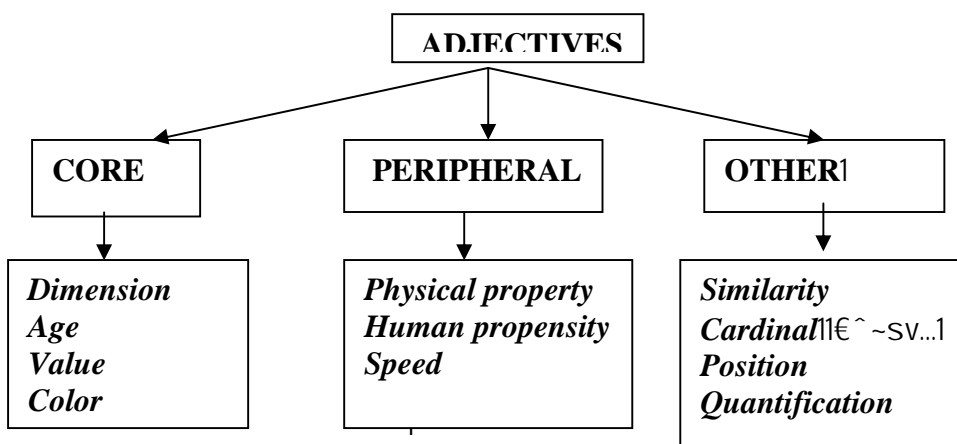


Figure 8.2: Semantic classification of Bhujel adjectives

We discuss the Bhujel adjectives in terms of varying semantic types as follows:

8.2.1 Core

In Bhujel the adjectives of the core semantic types include dimension, age, value and color. They are exemplified as follows:

i. Dimension

The following are the adjectives in Bhujel which are used to express dimension of something or some body:

(13)

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|---------|
| a. | βρΑωτο | 'big' |
| b. | μαψτο | 'small' |
| c. | ψΑυτο | 'long' |
| d. | βρΑωτο | 'long' |
| e. | τψυντο | 'short' |
| f. | κ ^η κτο | 'wide' |
| g. | χ ^η υντο | 'deep' |

1. Age

The following adjectives express the semantic concept of age.

(14)

- | | | |
|----|--|---------|
| a. | ναψ | 'new' |
| b. | τ ^η ιτΑ/ τ ^η ιτι | 'young' |
| c. | βυτ ^η Α | 'old' |

2. Value

The following adjectives express the semantic concept of value:

(15)

- | | | |
|----|--------|----------|
| a. | δψΑντο | 'good' |
| b. | δψΑΝλα | 'bad' |
| c. | πετο | 'lovely' |
| d. | πελα | 'ugly' |

3. Color

The following adjectives express the semantic concept of colour in Bhujel:.

(16)

- a. γΑλτο 'black'
- b. π^ηΑμο 'white'
- c. δυο 'red'

8.2.2 *Peripheral*

In Bhujel, the adjectives of the peripheral semantic types include physical property, human propensity and speed. They are exemplified as follows:

i. Physical property

(17)

- a. χ^ηΑκτο 'hard'
- b. ναραμ 'soft'
- c. λιτο 'heavy'
- d. νψΑτο 'wet'
- e. πετο 'clean'
- f. ρψαωτο 'hot'
- g. σροκτο 'sour'
- h. γρυο 'sick'

ii. Human propensity

(18)

- a. ρψαμτι 'proud'
- b. ρΑστι 'ashamed'
- c. λικ^ητι 'eager'

iii. Speed

(19) γυνι 'slow'

8.2.3 Others

In Bhujel the adjectives of the other semantic types include similarity, quantification, position and cardinal number. They are exemplified as follows:

i. Similarity

(20)

- | | | |
|----|-------|----------|
| a. | ωΑντο | 'like' |
| b. | ωΑνλα | 'unlike' |

ii. Quantification

(21)

- | | | |
|----|-------|--------------|
| a. | σακτα | 'all/ whole' |
| b. | νΑτο | 'many' |
| c. | ιχυκ | 'few' |
| d. | λαι | 'only' |

iii. Position

(22)

- | | | |
|----|--------|----------------|
| a. | τψΑο | 'high' |
| b. | κΑμο | 'low' |
| c. | δψΑΝτο | 'near' |
| d. | λοκτο | 'far/ distant' |

a. Cardinal number

(23)

- | | | |
|----|----------------------|---------|
| a. | παηιλαλα | 'first' |
| b. | παχ ^η ικα | 'last' |

8.3 Functions and distribution

There are basically two functions of the adjectives: to modify the noun and to fill the complement slot in the copular clauses. The adjectives in Bhujel can occur attributively as the modifiers or predicatively as the complement of the copulas. Thus, in Bhujel the two functions are correlated with the distribution of the adjectives. Morphosyntactically the adjectives in Bhujel fall into two categories. The first category includes such adjectives which can be used both attributively as modifier of a noun and predicatively as a complement of the copulas. The second category comprises such adjectives which can only be used either attributively or predicatively. We discuss the functions and distributions of varying adjectives in Bhujel as follows:

- a) The monomorphemic adjectives can be used attributively to modify the nouns as well as predicatively as the complement of the copulas as in (24)

(24)

- a. $z1|^{y^{\sim}} \dots R1 \dots r \in 1 \sim \sim \in R1$
 $\iota \quad \kappa^n \upsilon \rho A \quad \rho \alpha \nu \quad \mu \upsilon \quad -vA$
 this chili unripe stay -NPST
 'This chili is unripe.'
- b. $_R1 \dots r \in 1 |^{y^{\sim}} \dots Rr1 \{v_r\}1$
 NA $\rho \alpha \nu \quad \kappa^n \upsilon \rho A \quad \varphi \epsilon \quad -N \quad -\alpha \lambda$
 α
 1SG unripe chili eat -1/2 -NEG
 'I do not eat unripe chili.'

- b) Similarly the adjectives which consist of the root of the verb followed by nominalizer -, can be used attributively and predicatively as in (25)

(25)

- $\alpha. \ xR\} \ddagger, 1 |^{\sim} \{E1\check{S}R_R\}111$
 $\gamma A \lambda \tau \circ \quad \kappa \upsilon \psi \quad \omega AN \quad -A \lambda$
 black dog come -PST
 'A black dog came.'

β. $_R |, \{E1 | \wedge \{xR\} \ddagger, 1 \sim \wedge \in R1$
 NA - κoψ κoψ γAλτο μo -vA
 1SG -GEN dog black stay -NPST
 ' My dog is black.'

In this example, (25a) is the attributive use of the adjective $xR\} \ddagger$, 'black' which modifies the $|\wedge \{E$ 'dog' in Bhujel. The main function of the adjective here is to specify the referent of the head noun as a modifier. In (25b) the same adjective is used predicatively as a copula complement. The main function of the adjective here is to simply state that the argument has a certain property.

c) The adjectives consisting of a root verb followed by the infinitive marker are restricted to attributive use, as in (26)

(26)

α. $\dagger \{E R1 \{v \sim r \{E1 \sim R \in t^y v1$
 $\sigma \psi A \quad \varphi \varepsilon \quad - \quad \mu A v \chi^{\eta \varepsilon}$
 $\mu \alpha \psi$
 meat eat -INF man
 'The man to eat meat.'

β. $* \sim R \in t^y v1 \dagger \{E R1 \{1 v \sim r \{E1 \sim \wedge \in R1$
 $* \mu A v \chi^{\eta \varepsilon} \quad \sigma \psi A \quad \varphi \varepsilon \quad - \quad \mu o \quad -v A$
 $\mu \alpha \psi$
 man meat eat -INF stay -NPST

d) The adjectives consisting of a root verb followed by the progressive marker (i.e. human propensity) are restricted to only the predicative use, as in (27)

(27)

α $_R1 \dots \{E R \sim \ddagger \{ \in R \} r11$
 .
 NA ρψAμτ vA -λα
 ι
 1SG proud COP -NEG

'I am not proud.'

β *...ER~†zI~R€t^yv

.

*ρψΑμ μΑνχ^η

τι ε

proud man

Bhujel lacks native comparative constructions for the adjectives and the adjective cannot modify any verb.

The adjectives in Bhujel can also be categorized typologically into two categories: 'non-verb-like' and 'non-noun-like'(Genetti, 2004). The first category which is referred to as 'non-verb-like' may fill the copula complement slot. The adjectives which have been classified as human propensity are particularly used as complement of the copulas in Bhujel. Such adjectives consist of a verb root followed by nominalizer. All the adjectives in Bhujel can occur in a noun phrase as a modifier. The noun phrase shows a number of morphological processes but such processes do not apply to the adjectives which have been used as modifiers. The second category 'non-noun-like' are used in such a way. In Bhujel an adjective can be negated as verb as in (28)

(28)

νιμτο 'tasty'

νιμ-λα

νιμ-NEG

'Tasteless'

8.4 Summary

In this chapter we have dealt with the adjectives in Bhujel. Most of the adjectives are derived from the verbs. Some verbs can only be used predicatively and some only attributively. They fulfill two functions by stating that some thing has a property and specifying the referent of the head noun. Typologically there are two types of adjectives: non-verb-like and non-noun-like.

CHAPTER 9

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

9.0 Outline

This chapter examines the morphological categories of Bhujel verbs.⁶² It consists of ten sections. In section 9.1, we present a brief overview on verb stems and inflections that occur in Bhujel verbs. Section 9.2 deals with Bhujel copulas. In section 9.3, we discuss tenses. Section 9.4 deals with aspects in Bhujel. In section 9.5, we discuss moods and modality. Section 9.6 deals with participant reference morphemes in Bhujel. In section 9.7 we discuss complex predicate in Bhujel. Section 9.8 deals with derivational morphology of verb. In section 9.9 we discuss non-finite verb morphology. Finally, in section 9.10, we summarize the findings of the chapter.

9.1 Verb stems and inflections

9.1.1 *Verb stems*

A verb stem in Bhujel may be directly affixed to by tense, aspect, mood, inclusivity, purposive, converb, subordinate markers in combination with various agreement markers, viz. persons, and numbers and role markers. Table 9.1 shows the stems {v ‘eat’, and R} ‘go’, uRÜ |^y ‘beat’ and yz€ ‘buy’ with various tense, aspect, mood, and inclusivity.

⁶² The major morphological categories of verb in Bhujel may include copulas, tense, aspect, mood, modality and evidentiality.

Table 9.1: Tense, aspect, mood and inclusivity

Stems	φ ε- ‘eat’	Αλ- ‘go’	δΑ®κ ^η ‘beat’	ηιν ‘buy’
TAM				
NPST	φ ε-νΑ	Αλ-νΑ	δΑ®κ ^η -νΑ	ηιν-νΑ
PST	φ ε-Αλ	Αλ-Αλ	δΑ®κ ^η -Αλ	ηιν-Αλ
RPST	φ ε-τ	Αλ-τ	δΑ®κ ^η -τ	ηιν-τ
INCL	φ ε-τα	Αλ-τα	δΑ®κ ^η -τα	ηιν-τα
DUR	φ ε-τι	Αλ-τι	δΑ®κ ^η -τι	ηιν-τι
PRF	φ ε-φε	Αλ-φε	δΑ®κ ^η -φε	ηιν-φε
COMPL	φ ε-λΑκ	Αλ-λΑκ	δΑ®κ ^η -λΑκ	ηιν-λΑκ
PURP	φ ε-λψΑΝ	Αλ-λψΑΝ	δΑ®κ ^η - λψΑΝ	ηιν-λψΑΝ
SEQ	φ ε-βετ	Αλ-βετ	δΑ®κ ^η -βετ	ηιν-βετ
SIM	φ ε-τ ^η αι	Αλ-τ ^η αι	δΑ®κ ^η -τ ^η αι	ηιν-τ ^η αι
TSM ⁶³	φ ε-βΑν	Αλ-βΑν	δΑ®κ ^η -βΑν	ηιν-βΑν
TSM	φ ε-γυλ	Αλ-γυλ	δΑ®κ ^η -γυλ	ηιν-γυλ
PROB	φ ε-λεμ	Αλ-λεμ	δΑ®κ ^η -λεμ	ηιν-λεμ
CERT	φ ε-χε	Αλ- χε	δΑ®κ ^η - χε	ηιν-χε
IMP	φ εα	Αλα	δΑ®κ ^η α	ηινα
OPT	φ ε-πΑω	Αλ-πΑω	δΑ®κ ^η -πΑω	ηιν-πΑω
SBJV	φ ε-χοδικ	Αλ-χοδικ	δΑ®κ ^η -χοδικ	ηιν-χοδικ
COND	φ ε-σΑμ	Αλ-σΑμ	δΑ®κ ^η -σΑμ	ηιν-σΑμ

⁶³ Time subordinate markers occur clause-finally in Bhujel.

It is evident from Table 9.1 that the verb stems remain phonologically unaffected when tense, aspect, mood, inclusivity, purposive, converb, time subordinate markers are affixed to them. However, the affixation of infinitive marker -~rE triggers some phonological change in the root of the verb with a closed syllable, e.g.,

(1)

- a. /ηιν- μαψ/ [ηι- μαψ] 'buy-INF' χφ. /ηιν- Αλ] 'buy- PST'
- b. /σιμ- μαψ/ [σι- μαψ]'suck- INF' χφ.[σιμ- Αλ] 'suck-PST'
- c. /νυσ- μαψ/ [νυ- μαψ] 'push- INF' χφ.[νυσ- Αλ] 'push-PST'
- d. /χψυτ- μαψ/ [χψυ- μαψ] 'pull- INF' cf. [χψυτ- Αλ] 'pull-PST'

In (1a-d) each root of the verb forms a closed syllable. When the infinitive marker -~rE is affixed to the root there appears a cluster of consonant. However, in Bhujel, such cluster is not permissible. This necessitates the obligatory deletion preferably of the final consonant of the root.

9.1.2 Verb inflections

Bhujel exhibits rich inflectional verb morphology. The verb registers three persons (plus an exclusive vs. inclusive distinction in the first person) and three numbers of actor in transitive and intransitive constructions. These forms combine with a complex system of mood/ tense and aspect. (See Annexes 6 and 7)⁶⁴

Table 9.2 presents a brief overview of the affixes that occur in Bhujel verbs.

Table 9.2: Verb affixes slots in Bhujel verbs

PF1	d l	SF1	SF2	SF3-5	SF6	SF7
PROH	stem	Aspect	Tense /Mood	PNR	NEG	NMLZ

Table 9.2 shows that verb stem which is denoted by (d) can be preceded by only one prefix and followed by up to seven suffixes expressing aspect, mood/ tense, agreement, negation and nominalization (See 11.3 for the sequence of these elements).⁶⁵ These verbal affixes are presented on the ground of linear sequence and co-occurrence. The single prefix slot in the Table is occupied by prohibitive glossed as

⁶⁴ In case of second pronoun as a subject person marker †v- occur before aspect and tense markers.

⁶⁵ The stem (d) may refer to any simple, or complex, lexical or derivational.

(‘PROH’). This category which is realized by the prefix †R-is of Tibeto-Burman provenience (Benedict 1972:97). The slot position Sf3 through Sf7 consists of the markers for person, number, and role (abbreviated as ‘PNR’) as well as for optative (OPT) mood, negation (NEG) and nominalization (NMLZ). The category of optative is realized by -fRŠ. Negation in slot sf6 is marked by the suffix -}. The slot position sf6 consists of nominalization. This slot is filled by two nominalizing suffixes. They are: --rĒ and -, ? Both can be used for relative clauses. (See relative clauses in 11.6.1 for details).

The slot positions SF1- SF2 consist of the markers for aspect, tense and mood. They are summarized in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3: Aspect and tense/mood morphology

SF1	SF 2
PERFECTIVE(PFV)	PAST TENSE
-{lv PERFECT (PRF)	-R} RECENT PAST (PST)/ PAST- INDICATIVE
-}R COMPLETIVE (COMPL)	-‡ REMOTE PAST (RPST) / REMOTE PAST- INDICATIVE
-R INCEPTIVE (INCT)	IMPERATIVE (IMP)
IMPERFECTIVE (IPFV)	-€R€€ NON-PAST (NPST)/NON-PAST INDICATIVE
-‡z DURATIVE (DUR)	-paw OPTATIVE (OPT)
-}R POSTERIOR(POST)	-} NEGATIVE (NEG)
-‡z ANTERIOR(ANT)	-t, uz SUBJUNCTIVE (SBJV)
	-†R~ CONDITIONAL (COND)

The aspect markers in SF1 slot exhibit a two way distinction in the aspectual system: imperfective vs. perfective. The markers in this slot may combine with the tense markers in slot SF2 apart from PNR markers in slot SF3-9. The tense markers in slot SF2 present a two way distinction in tense system: non-past and past. The past tense distinguishes there degrees of distance: simple past vs. recent past vs. remote past. We deal with tense and aspect in 9.3 in detail.

9.2 Copulas

Bhujel employs two verbal forms to relate subject with complements in copular clauses. They are €R and 1xv? Unlike lexical verbs the copulas do not inflect for persons and numbers. In this section we analyze their forms and functions.

i. €R1

Sometimes this copula looks homophonous with non-past tense. However, it differs from non-past tense functionally. The copula €R performs three functions. They may be referred to as equational, existential and possessive functions. They are discussed as follows:

i. Equational function

There is no equative copula *per se* in Bhujel. The equative clauses are formed by the simple juxtaposition of two noun phrases. One of the noun phrases is supposed to act as non-verbal predicate of predication as in (2)

- (2) ...R-1†€R€€,
- ρAμ σψAvψ
o
Ram teacher
'Ram (is a) teacher.'

However, the copula €R in the equational function may be used optionally because the copulas are semantically vacuous.⁶⁶ It does not inflect for number and persons. When it is used as an equational copula it may be glossed in English as 'is/ are'. The example is in (3).

- (3) ...R-1†€R€€, 1€R
- ρAμ σψAvψ vA
o
Ram teacher COP
'Ram (is a) teacher.'

⁶⁶ However €R is not optional in existential and possessive function because it has semantic value unlike in equational function.

When we compare (2) with (3) it appears that (2) is a true equative, where Ram= teacher, but (3) could be attributing 'teacher-hood' to Ram as in a predicative adjective construction.

ii. Existential function

When ϵR performs as existential function it is glossed in English as 'is /are'. The example is in (4)

(4)

- a. ...R-1|z~yR_1 ϵ R
 ρAμ κιμ -ηAN vA
 Ram house -LOC COP
 'Ram is at home.'
- b. ...R-1|z~yR_1 ϵ R}r
 ρAμ κιμ -ηAN vA -λα
 Ram house -LOC COP -NEG
 'Ram is not at home.'

iii. Possessive function

When ϵR performs the possessive function it requires the inclusion of a comitative marker. The ϵR in possessive function is glossed in English as 'has /have.' The example is in (5)

(5)

- a. _R|^†1}v†, 1 ϵ R
 NA κυσ λετο vA
 1SG -COM money COP
 'I have money.'
- b. _R|^†1}v†, 1 ϵ R}r1
 NA κυσ λετο vA -λα
 1SG -COM money COP -NEG
 'I have no money.'

ii. xv

The copula *xv* in Bhujel takes on an inchoative function. This copula in English can be glossed as 'be', 'become' and 'happen'. It can be inflected for the following:

(6)

- | | | |
|----|--|------|
| a. | $\gamma\epsilon\text{-}\nu A$ | NPST |
| b. | $\gamma\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\alpha$ | NEG |
| c. | $\gamma\epsilon\text{-}o$ | PTCP |
| d. | $\gamma\epsilon\text{-}\beta\epsilon\tau$ | SEQ |
| e. | $\gamma\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\epsilon\mu$ | PROB |

The following are the examples of the inchoative functions of the copula *xv*.

(7)

- a. $\dots R\text{-}1f^y R\text{-}\dagger, \{xvR\}1$
 $\rho A\mu \quad \pi^1 A\mu\tau o \quad \gamma\epsilon \quad -A\lambda$
 Ram white become -PST
 'Ram became white.'
- b. $Rz\dagger v1 | ^y r \dots, \{xvR\}1$
 $A\iota\tau\epsilon \quad \kappa^1\alpha\rho \quad \gamma\epsilon \quad -A\lambda$
 o
 Aite chief become -PST
 'Aite became chief.'

No matter (7a) uses an adjective and (7b) employs a noun, both are inchoative.

There is no one-to-one correspondence between the forms and functions of the copulas. It is illustrated in Figure 9.1.

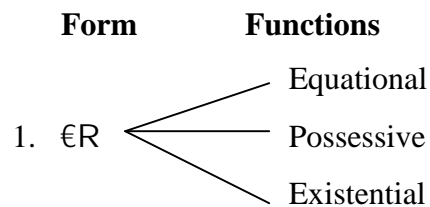


Figure 9.1: Form and functions of the copula ϵR

9.3 Tenses

Bhujel verbs inflect for two distinct tenses: non-past and past.⁶⁷ The past tense distinguishes two degrees of distance. Thus, there are two subcategories of past tense: recent past and remote past. The categories of tense including two subcategories of past tenses are shown in Figure 9.2.

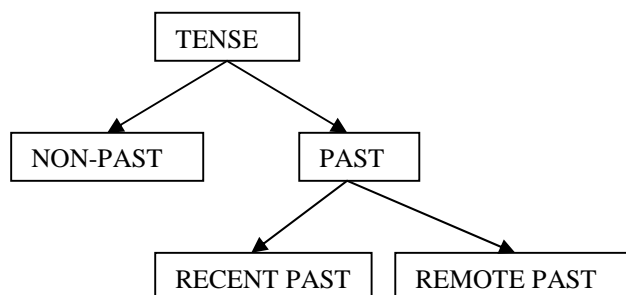


Figure 9.2: Tense categories including two degrees of distance in the past tense

This section consists of three subsections. In subsection 9.3.1 we deal with the non-past tense. Subsection 9.3.2 discusses the past tense and its two subcategories. In the last subsection (9.3.3) we discuss the interaction of tense with aspect and mood. (Non-past tense may realize as non-past indicative and imperfective in aspect but with perfect and complete aspects the non-past tense may realize perfective in aspect. Similarly, the past tense marker codes the past indicative category of mood and is in perfective in aspect. It also co-occurs with different imperfective aspects such as past-durative and past perfect durative. There it loses its perfective aspect.

⁶⁷ Tense, aspect and modality (henceforth TAM) may form a single complex category. In Bhujel the TAM categories intersect / interact with each other so intensively in linguistic expression that sometimes it may be impossible to analyze one fully apart from another. A single affix may encode information from more than one of the domain of tense-aspect or tense- modality. There is interaction between TAM categories. We will note and discuss their interaction wherever possible and necessary.

9.3.1 Non-past tense (NPST)

The non-past tense marker in Bhujel is -ε? It is also realized as -€R11when it is followed by another suffix with the initial consonant sound. It is normally affixed to the stem of the verb along with PNR affixes. There are two main functions of the non-past tense in Bhujel:

- a) The non-past tense in Bhujel codes events (or states) that occur right at the time of speech (i.e. reference time) as in (8)

(8)

a. __Rz1R~1{v†z~^€R_1

NA	- ι	Aμ	φε	-τι	- μυ	- vA	-N
1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-DUR	-AUX	-NPST	-1/2

‘I am eating rice.’

b. u€E, z1R~1{v†z~^€R1

δψο	- ι	Aμ	φε	-τι	- μυ	- vA
3SG REM	-ERG	rice	eat	-DUR	-AUX	-NPST

‘S/he is eating rice.’

c. €R_z1R~1{v†v†z~^€R_1

vAN	- ι	Aμ	φε	-	-τι	- μυ	- vA	-N
				τ€				
2SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-2	-DUR	-AUX	-NPST	-1/2

‘You are eating rice.’

In (8a-b) the non-past indicates that the events occur right at the time of speech (i.e. reference time).

- b) The non-past tense in Bhujel codes events (or states) that occur following the time of speech (i.e. reference time).⁶⁸ The following are the examples:

⁶⁸ Bhujel does not contain a separate marker to code events (or states) which are anticipated to happen in the future time (i.e. after the reference time).

(9)

a. $_R1\uparrow v\in 1|z\sim 1R\}\in R_1$

NA $\tau\varepsilon v$ $\kappa i\mu$ $A\lambda$ $-vA$ $-N$

1SG today house go -NPST -1/2

'I go home today.'

b. $_Rz1\uparrow\{\in R_1R\sim 1\{v\in \wedge _1$

NA $-i$ $\sigma\psi AN$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\varepsilon$ $-v$ $-v$ $-N$

1SG -ERG tomorrow rice eat -NPST -DIR -1/2

'I will eat rice tomorrow.'

c. $u\{\in, z1\uparrow\{\in R_1R\sim 1\{v\in R1$

$\delta\psi o$ $-i$ $\sigma\psi AN$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\varepsilon$ $-vA$

3SG REM -ERG tomorrow rice eat -NPST

'S/he will eat rice tomorrow.'

d. $\in R_1z1R\sim 1\{v\uparrow v\in \wedge _1$

vAN $-i$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\varepsilon$ $-$ $-v$ $-v$ $-N$

$\tau\varepsilon$

2SG -ERG rice eat -2 -NPST -DIR -1/2

'You will eat rice.'

In (9 a-d) the non-past marker indicates the events that occur following the reference time (i.e. the time of speech).

The non-past tense has aspectual and modal functions apart from coding the relation between reference time and event time. The non-past tense suffix is imperfective in aspect and indicates that the situation referred to is incomplete with respect to some point in time. The aspectual and modal functions will be discussed in 9.4 and 9.5, respectively. This tense interacts with verb inflectional subcategory of negation. This will be discussed in 9.8.

9.3.2 Past tense

The main function of the past tense in Bhujel is to code events (or states) that occurred before the time of speech (i.e. reference time). As mentioned in Figure 9.2 there are two past tenses in terms of the two degrees of distance: recent past and remote past.

i. Recent past tense (PST)

The recent past tense in Bhujel is marked by -R}. Normally this suffix is attached to the base of the verb along with PNR affixes.⁶⁹ The main function of this tense is to code the events (or states) occurred preceding the time of speech (i.e. reference time), e.g.,

(10)

a. $_R1|z\sim1R\}R\}r_1$

NA	κιμ	Aλ	-AλA	-N
1SG	house	go	-PST	-1/2

‘I went home.’

b. $_Rz1R\sim1\{vR\}\^{\sim}1$

NA	-ι	Aμ	φε	-Aλ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I ate rice.’

c. $\epsilon r_z1R\sim1\{v\ddagger v\ddagger R\}\^{\sim}1$

vαN	-ι	Aμ	φε	τε	-τAλ	-υ	-N
2SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-2	-(2)PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘You ate rice.’

The events coded by this tense in (10a-c) did not only occur but also completed and terminated before the time of speech. Thus, this tense interacts with perfective aspect and realis modality. Moreover, this tense codes such events (or states) which were

⁶⁹ -R} is homophonous with a lexical verb R} ‘go’. Thus, it appears that this is a grammaticalized form from the lexical verb meaning ‘go’.

directly witnessed by the speaker. Thus, this tense also has evidential function. The aspectual and modal functions will be further discussed in 9.4 and 9.5, respectively. The evidential function will be discussed in detail in 9.9. Like non-past tense this tense also interacts with the verbal subcategory of negation (See 9.8 for detail).

ii. Remote past tense (RPST)

The remote past tense in Bhujel is marked by -‡. The remote past tense marker is normally affixed to the root of the verb in combination with PNR affixes. The basic function of this tense does not differ from the recent past tense. However, unlike in recent past tense, the events or states coded by this tense have the following features:

- a) They are supposed to have occurred a long time ago.
- b) The speaker has not directly witnessed them. They have come to be known to the speaker through either hearsay or inference.
- c) They are basically found in narrative discourse.

The following are the examples:

(11)

a. $_R1|z\sim1R\}‡R_1$

NA	κιμ	Aλ	-τA	-N
1SG	house	go	-RPST	-1/2

‘I went home long ago.’

b. $_Rz1R\sim1\{v‡^{\wedge}_1$

NA	-ι	Aμ	φε	-τ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-RPST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I ate rice long ago.’

c. $_R1|z\sim1R\}‡v‡R_1$

vAN	κιμ	Aλ	-	-τA	-N
			τε		
2SG	house	go	-2	-RPST	-1/2

‘You went home long ago.’

d. $_R_z1R\sim1\{v‡v‡^{\wedge}_1$

vAN	-t	Aμ	φε	-τε	-τ	-υ	-N
2SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-2	-RPST	-DIR	-1/2

‘You ate rice long ago.’

The events coded by this tense in (11a-d) are supposed to have occurred, completed and terminated a long time ago before the time of speech. Like recent past tense it also interacts with perfective aspect and realis modality. However, events (or states) coded by this tense are not supposed to have been directly witnessed by the speaker. The aspectual and modal functions will be further discussed in 9.4 and 9.5, respectively. The evidential function will be discussed in detail in 9.9. Like non-past tense this tense also interacts with the verbal subcategory of negation (See 9.8 for detail).

9.4 Aspects

In this section we deal with lexical and grammatical aspects of the verb in Bhujel. There are two types of aspects of a verb: lexical aspect and grammatical aspect. The lexical aspect is referred to as *Aktionsart* –that is, an inherent aspect that speakers assume the verb to convey unless otherwise indicated. Languages appear to form the same *Aktionsart* classes in their lexicons (Whaley, 1997). However, a particular *Aktionsart* may evoke distinct morphosyntactic treatment. This forms the grammatical aspect. It is the *Aktionsart* of the verb which triggers varying shades of the meaning that is typically associated with grammatical aspectual categories, such as perfective and imperfective. This section consists of two subsections.

9.4.1 *Lexical aspects*

In this subsection we attempt to determine the lexical aspect of some of the most frequent verbs in Bhujel and examine how the lexical aspect of the verb triggers varying shades of the meaning that is typically associated with grammatical aspectual categories, such as perfective and imperfective. In this subsection, first, we discuss the states of affairs and types of lexical aspect. Secondly, we propose the tests for determining the lexical aspect of the verbs in Bhujel. Lastly, we examine how semantically defined verb classes in Bhujel evoke distinct morphosyntactic treatment.

i. The states of affairs and lexical aspect

There are four basic types of states of affairs: situations, events, processes, actions. Situations are defined as static, non-dynamic states of affairs. Events are states of affairs which seem to happen instantly. Processes are states of affairs which involve change and take place over time. Actions are dynamic states of affairs in which a participant does something. These states of affairs can vary in terms of number of participants there are, whether there is a terminal point, whether the states of affairs happens spontaneously or is induced (Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:83)

Each language has linguistic means for describing states of affairs. It typically consists of verbs and other predicating elements, which express the situation, events, process or action, and noun phrases and other referring expressions, which denote the participants. Here our concern is with the verbs. Every language has lexicalized different aspects of a state of affairs. The speaker may enjoy a considerable freedom for coding the states of affairs. However, the choices are nevertheless constrained by the properties of the states of affairs.

These states of affairs in a language are coded by lexical aspect of verbs (also referred to as Aktionsart). There are four basic classes of the lexical aspect of verbs: states, achievements, accomplishments, and activities. They were proposed originally in Vendler (1967). Givón (2001) also classified the verbs in terms of their inherent temporal properties as stative verbs, compact verbs, accomplishment verbs and activity verbs. There appear only terminological differences between Vendler (1967) and Givón (2001). The following correspondence can be maintained in between them:

(12)

Vendler (1967)	Givón (2001)
States	Stative verbs
Achievements	Compact verbs
Accomplishments	Accomplishments
Activities	Activity-process

The lexical aspect of verbs (Vendler, 1967) is defined as follows: States are non-dynamic and temporally unbounded. Activities are dynamic and temporally unbounded. Achievements code instantaneous changes, usually changes of state but also changes in activities as well. They have an inherent temporal point. Accomplishments are temporally extended changes of state leading to a terminal point. The lexical aspect of the verbs may be characterized by [\pm static], [\pm telic] and [\pm punctual]:

(13)

- | | | |
|----|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. | State | [+static], [-telic] and [-punctual] |
| b. | Activity | [-static], [-telic] and [-punctual] |
| c. | Accomplishment | [-static], [+telic] and [-punctual] |
| d. | Achievement | [-static], [+telic] and [+punctual] |

These lexical aspects of the verbs correspond to the state-of-affairs.

(14)

	<u>Lexical aspect of verbs</u>	1 <u>State-of -affairs</u>
a.	States	Situations
b.	Achievements	Events
c.	Accomplishment	Process
d.	Activities	Actions

ii. Lexical aspect tests

This subsection discusses how to determine the Aktionsart type of each verb in Bhujel. For this purpose we mainly use the tests for determining the Aktionsart type proposed in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997). However, we have slightly modified the tests to work in the Bhujel language. The tests in Table 9.4 will allow us to decide which class a Bhujel verb belongs to. The tests consist of a set of criterion along with the lexical aspect types which are evaluated in terms of whether a particular criterion is met by a lexical verb type.

Table 9.4: Tests for determining the Aktionsart type in Bhujel

	Criterion	States	Achievements (Compact verbs)	Accomplishments	Activities
1	Occurs with durative -tʒ	no	no	yes	yes
2	has terminal boundary	no	no	yes	no
3	occurs with period of time- tʒ...~^	yes	no	irrelevant	yes
4	occurs with adverbs like x^εzχ^εz 'slowly' and other adverbs borrowed from Nepali	no	no	yes	yes
5	occurs with adverbs εRt, 'much' svt...R ʹsvt 'actively, much, heavily, etc.'	no	no	no	yes

On the basis of the tests in Table 9.4 the following verbs in Bhujel fall in the following lexical aspect of verbs:

(15) States

- a. λυNφικτι 'be sad'
- b. λυNδψυμιτι 'be happy'
- c. ρισχιNτι 'be angry'
- d. τ^ηΑκτι 'be hot'
- e. χΑηαμαψ 'to wish'
- f. πατψΑψμαψ 'to believe'
- g. χιτιμαψ 'to know'
- h. μυ 'have'
- i. βρΑωμαψ 'be tall/big'
- j. δωωομαψ 'be red'

(16) Achievements

- a. δψυρμαψ 'to spit'
- b. σψυπρμαψ 'to cough'
- c. Απμαψ 'to shoot'
- d. τψυκμαψ 'to kick'
- e. φψοσμαψ 'to jump'
- f. δΑⓈκ^ημαψ 'to beat/hit'

- g. πακ^ημαψ 'to slap'
- h. μλικμαψ 'to blink'

(17) Accomplishments

- a. δΑκ^ημαψ 'to arrive'
- b. ωΑΝμαψ 'to come'
- c. νψΑκ 'to leave'
- d. Αλμαψ 'to go'
- e. δψυμμαψ 'to finish'
- f. δΑκ^ημαψ 'to accomplish'
- g. χεωμαψ 'to obtain'
- h. λψυΝκ^ημαψ 'to fall'
- i. σιμαψ 'to die'
- j. χομαψ 'be born'
- k. χψυΝμαψ 'to sit down'
- l. χιΝμαψ 'to stand'

(18) Activities

- a. κλεκ^ημαψ 'to break'
- b. κορμαψ 'to bend'
- c. χαμαψ 'to step'
- d. χ^ηομαψ 'to walk'
- e. ρΑκ^ημαψ 'to work'
- f. σψΑκ^ημαψ 'to dance'
- g. φεμαψ 'to eat'

iii. Lexical aspect and morphosyntactic treatment

We have already set tests for determining Aktionsart type of the verbs in Bhujel and we classified some of the representative verbs in terms of their inherent aspectuality. In this subsection we observe the inherent aspectuality of the verbs by combining them with various grammatical aspects: past-perfective, past-durative, past-habitual, present-durative and habitual. These grammatical aspects add communicative perspective to states or events above and beyond their inherent aspectuality.

The stative verbs in Bhujel tend to reject the perfective interpretation because they lack terminal boundary. They automatically take on an imperfective interpretation. They normally also reject the durative aspect, presumably because their perspective is already focused on the ongoing state. However, in Bhujel the stative verbs can be combined with grammatical imperfective aspect and it yields a durative interpretation as in (19).

(19)

a. $_R1t\ddot{z}\sim\hat{\epsilon}R_11$

NA	$\chi\iota$	- $\tau\iota$	- $\mu\upsilon$	- vA	-N
1SG	know	-DUR	-AUX	-NPST	-1/2

'I know.' (Literally 'I am knowing')

b. $_R1u\hat{\epsilon}\sim\ddot{z}\sim\hat{\epsilon}R_11$

NA	$\delta\psi\upsilon\mu$	- $\tau\iota$	- $\mu\upsilon$	- vA	-N
1SG	be happy	-DUR	-AUX	-NPST	-1/2

'I am happy.' (Literally 'I am being happy')

When we combine a stative verb with grammatical perfective aspect the inherent state is converted into an event. It may yield a perfective interpretation, as in

(20)

(20) $_R1u\hat{\epsilon}\sim\ddot{z}\}r_$

NA	$\delta\psi\upsilon\mu$	- $A\lambda\alpha$	-N
1SG	be happy	-PST	-1/2

'I became happy.'

In (20) the inherent lexical aspect of the verb $u\hat{\epsilon}\sim$ is state. It is temporally unbounded. When it combines with perfective aspect the inherently stative verb $u\hat{\epsilon}\sim$ provides a shade of the meaning that is typically associated with grammatical aspectual category of perfective.

The achievement verbs appear much more commonly in discourse in the perfective aspect. When they are combined with imperfective aspect, they tend to yield a repetitive sense as in (21)

(21)

a. $_R1u\hat{\epsilon}\dots\ddot{z}\sim\hat{\epsilon}R_1$

NA	$\delta\psi\upsilon$	- $\tau\iota$	- $\mu\upsilon$	- vA	-N
----	----------------------	---------------	-----------------	--------	----

ρ
 1SG spit -DUR -AUX -NPST -1/2
 'I am spitting.' (repeated events)

b. $_R1Rf\ddagger z \sim \hat{\epsilon} R_1$
 NA $A\pi$ $-\tau\iota$ $-\mu\upsilon$ $-vA$ $-N$
 1SG shoot -DUR -AUX -NPST -1/2
 'I am shooting.' (repeated shots)

When an accomplishment verb is combined with the imperfective aspect the event lacks sharp terminal boundary and shows that the preceding process leads to that terminal boundary. The following are the examples:

(22)

a. $_R1|z-1\epsilon\{R|R\}R_1$
 NA $\kappa\iota\mu$ $v\psi A\kappa$ $-A\lambda A$ $-N$

 1SG house leave -PST -1/2
 'I left the house.' (I was there, then gone.)

b. $_R1|z-1\epsilon\{R|\ddagger z \sim \hat{\epsilon} \ddagger, 1\epsilon R1$
 NA $\kappa\iota\mu$ $v\psi A\kappa$ $-\tau\iota$ $-\mu\upsilon$ $-\tau\omicron$ vA
 1SG house leave -DUR -AUX -PTCP COP
 'I was leaving the house.' (ongoing process before leaving)

When an activity verb is marked by the grammatical imperfective aspect, it yields a state, ongoing or habitual- repetitive. The following are the examples:

(23)

a. $u\{E, 1\ddagger\{R|{}^yR\}1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron$ $\sigma\psi A\kappa^n$ $-A\lambda$
 3SG REM dance -PST
 'S/he danced.' (and finished)

b. $u\{E, 1\ddagger\{R|{}^y\ddagger z \sim \hat{\epsilon} \ddagger, 1\epsilon R1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron$ $\sigma\psi A\kappa^n$ $-\tau\iota$ $-\mu\upsilon$ $-\tau\omicron$ vA

3SG REM dance -DUR -AUX -PTCP COP
 'S/he was dancing.'(ongoing)

9.4.2 Grammatical aspects

Bhujel exhibits a complex aspectual system. In order to distinguish different temporal contours of a situation a verb may inflect, along with tense and PNR inflections, for six subcategories of aspects: past-perfective, inceptive, perfect, complete, durative and habitual. In this subsection we analyze these subcategories of aspect in Bhujel as further elaboration of two main aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective (Givón, 2001: 345).⁷⁰

Apart from the major categories and subcategories of aspects Figure 9.3 shows the combinations of aspects and tenses in Bhujel.⁷¹

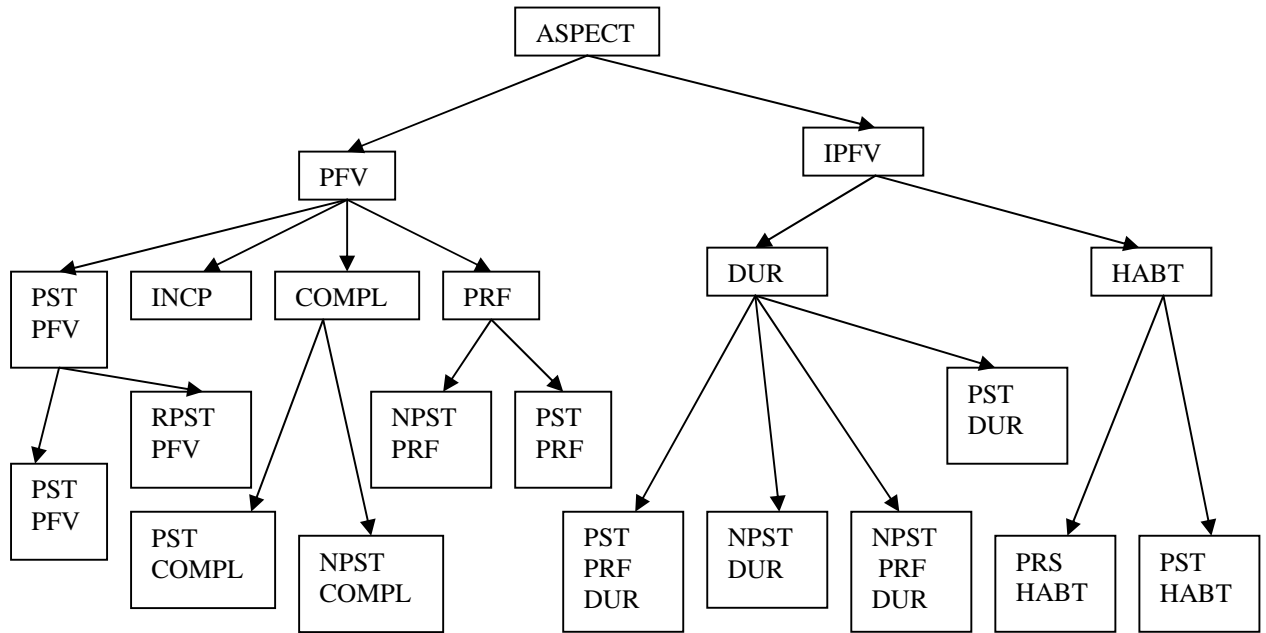


Figure 9.3: Aspect and aspectual distinctions in Bhujel

⁷⁰ Caughley (1982:104) notes that Chepang, a closely related language, lacks a pure tense system. He describes tense markers from the perspectives of aspectual or modal functions.

⁷¹ The motivations for such analysis may include:

- a. Bhujel as a TB language is aspect prominent.
- b. The non-past tense marker vA and past tense markers $A\lambda$, $A\kappa$ and τ have aspectual and modal functions other than indicating tense.
- c. A single affix in Bhujel may encode information from more than one of the domain of tense-aspect, tense- modality.

In this subsection we first deal with perfective aspect and then we discuss imperfective aspect in Bhujel.

i. Perfective [PFV]

The events (or states) of which perspective focus is on termination and boundedness in Bhujel are analyzed under perfective aspect.⁷² As shown in Figure 9.3 perfective aspect in Bhujel is further elaborated into morphologically distinct three subcategories: past-perfective, perfect and completive. They are discussed as follows:

a) Past-perfective [PST PFV]

The main function of past- perfective aspect in Bhujel is to code a situation (i.e. events, processes, and change of state) which was terminated and bounded before one absolute reference point, the time of speech. The past-perfective aspect is strongly associated with past tense and realis modality. It contrasts with perfect aspects in many respects (See 9.4.2). As shown in Figure.9. 2 the past-perfective aspect is further categorized into recent past-perfective and remote past-perfective. They are discussed as follows:

Recent past-perfective [PST PFV]

As we discussed earlier that the primary function of -R} is to indicate the temporal reference in Bhujel. This affix has aspectual function as well. The events coded by this affix exhibit a cluster of four properties. They are summarized as follows:

(24)

- a) To happen preceding only one (absolute) reference time, the time of speech
- b) To be completed and bounded before the reference time
- c) To happen in-sequence in discourse proposition
- d) To be relevant only at the time of event

In Bhujel events characterized by the properties summarized in (24a-d) may have a perfective interpretation, e.g.,

(25)

- a. $_R\{E, 1|z\sim 1R\}R\}R_1$

⁷² Givo↔n (2001: 345) has elaborated perfective aspect into past, perfect, past- durative and imperfective into present-durative, future, habitual.

	NA	ψο	κιμ	Αλ	-ΑλΑ	-N			
	1SG	yesterday	house	go	-PST	-1/2			
b.	_RzIR~1 ^y R_R}^_1								
	NA	ι	Αμ	κ ^η AN	-Αλ	-υ	-N		
	1SG	-ERG	rice	cook	-PST	-DIR	-1/2		
c.	^yR_†rz , 1~, ~t, R(ε x, †R}^_1								
	υηAN	σαιο	μομχο	-κΑψ	γοτ	-Αλ	-υ	-N	
	After that		wife	-DAT	call	-PST	-DIR	-1/2	
d.	~, ~t, 1ŠR_R}								
	μομχο	ωAN		-Αλ					
	wife	come		-PST					
e.	~, ~t, ^†1_RzIR~1{vR}^_1								
	μομχο	-κυσ	NA	ι	Αμ	φε	-Αλ	-υ	-N
	wife	-COM	1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-PST	-DIR	1/2

The free translation in (25 a-e) is as follows:

(26)

- a) Yesterday I went home.
- b) I cooked rice.
- c) After that I called my wife.
- d) The wife came.
- e) Then I ate rice with the wife.

The events coded by the recent past tense marker in (25 a-e) happened in-sequence and completed proceeding only one (absolute) reference time. They are relevant only at the time of event. Such aspect which is strongly associated with past tense is referred to as recent past-perfective aspect.

Remote past-perfective [RPST PFV]

The past tense, which is marked by -†, has also aspectual function. The main function of remote past-perfective is:

- a) To code events which happened a long time ago preceding the reference time, the time of speech

- b) To code events not only happened preceding the reference time, the time of speech, but completed and bounded a long time ago before the reference time
- c) To code events not only happened preceding the reference time, but happened a long time ago in-sequence in discourse proposition
- d) To code such events which were relevant only a long time ago at the time of event

The following are the examples:

(27)

a. $_R | , \{ \text{yr} \} r \sim \text{z} \epsilon \text{uz} \{ \text{ER} \} \dagger r \text{E} |$

NA -κοψ ηαυ - ινδιψ Αλ -τα -ψ
λαμ Α

1SG -GEN brother -PL India go -RPST -PL

'My brothers went to India long time ago.'

b. $R \} \text{sv} \dagger | | R \sim \text{1tv} \check{S} \sim R \text{sv} \dagger |$

Αλ -βετ κΑμ χεω -μΑ -βετ
go -SEQ work find -NEG -SEQ

$y, \dagger r \} y R _ \text{1s} \} R \ddot{u} R \dagger \check{y} \sim \dagger \dagger r \text{E} |$

ηοταλ -ηΑΝ β^ηΑ[®]δΑ τ^ηυτ τα- -ψ
hotel -LOC utensils clean -RPST -PL

'Having gone and not having found any job they cleaned the utensils in a hotel.'

c. $\check{y} R _ \dagger r z | , \text{1u} \check{y} \text{1tv} \check{S} \text{sv} \dagger | | z \sim \text{1} \check{S} R _ \dagger r \text{E} |$

υηΑΝσαι δυκ^η χεω -βετ κιμ ωΑΝ -τα -ψ
κο

After that hardship find -SEQ house come -RPST -PL

'After that they came back home having found very hard to live there.'

The events coded by - \dagger in (27a-c) may be interpreted as happened in-sequence and completed a long time ago. They were also relevant only to the event time.

b) Perfect aspect [PRF]

The perfect aspect in Bhujel has a strong but not absolute similarity with past-perfective aspect. Both aspects may code events which either occurred or at the very

least were initiated prior to the temporal reference time. Such events are supposed to have completed and bounded prior to the reference time. However, perfect aspect differs from the past-perfective both functionally and formally.

The main function of the perfect aspect in Bhujel is to code ‘out-of-sequence’ events which are relevant not to the event time but to some subsequent time reference. As mentioned in Table 9. 2 the perfective aspect in Bhujel is marked by a separate morpheme which may co-occur with any tense categories: non-past or past tense.⁷³ Thus, there are two perfect aspects: non-past perfect and past-perfect. They are discussed as follows:

Non-past perfect [NPST PRF]

The non-past perfect is a combination of perfect aspectual marker $-\{v$ with the non-past tense marker.⁷⁴ The form of a verb in non-past perfect aspect is shown in (28).

(28) **Base+ (-†v) + $-\{v$ +NPST(+PNR)**

The form in (28) requires the following two clarifications:

- a) Except the actor in second person the perfect aspectual marker is directly affixed to the base of the verb and followed by tense and PNR affixes.
- b) Except the actor in the third person singular the non-past perfect form of the verb contains PNR affixes.

In Bhujel, the non-past perfect is basically used to code events that may have occurred earlier (i.e. prior to the temporal reference time) but are viewed relevant right now. The functions of the non-past perfect aspect are discussed as follows:

- a. The non-past perfect may be used to code a result state. This can be referred to as resultative aspect or perfect of result. The following are the examples:

(29)

- a. $1\uparrow\{\text{ER}\in\{\text{E}, 1z\uparrow|\wedge\}\}yR_1\check{S}R_ \{v\in R1$
 $\sigma\psi Av \quad 1\sigma\kappa\upsilon\lambda \quad -\eta AN \quad \omega AN \quad -\varphi\epsilon \quad -vA$
 ψo
 teacher school -LOC come -PRF -NPST

⁷³ In a closely related language Chepang (Caughley, 1982) and Bhujel (Caughley, 1999) this marker has been analyzed as one of the emphatic marker. Quite contrary to this analysis we analyze this marker to code the perfect event.

⁷⁴ The perfective marker is homophonous with the lexical root verb $\{v$ ‘eat’. Thus it might be inferred that the perfective marker is the grammaticalized form of the lexical verb jv ‘eat’.

‘The teacher has already come to school.’

b. $_RzI|...^{\wedge} \dagger \dagger r \sim \{v\epsilon^{\wedge} _1$

NA	-t	κρυτ	χαμ	-φε	-v	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	hand	cut	-PRF	-NPST	-DIR	1/2

‘I have cut the hand.’(It’s bleeding now)

c. $_RzI...R1| \mathbb{E}R | \{v\epsilon^{\wedge} _1$

NA	-t	ρA	κψAκ	-φε	-v	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	winnow	weave	-PRF	-NPST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I have made a winnow.’(You can see it.)

In (29a-c) the events are supposed to have happened prior to the reference time the results can be perceived in the present time.

- b. The non-past perfect may be used to code a situation that began in the past and continues up to the present moment, e.g.,

(30) $_RzI \mathbb{E}R _ | R \mathbb{E} \dagger R \mathbb{E} \{v\epsilon^{\wedge} _1$

NA	-t	vAN	-κAψ	σAψ	-φε	-v	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	2SG	-DAT	hear	-PRF	-NPST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I have heard you.’

The event coded by non-past perfect in Bhujel may be described as ‘Perfect of persistent situation’. In this case non-past perfect lacks the terminal boundary.

- c. The non-past perfect may be used to code a past event which is relevant to the present situation, e.g.,

(31) $_RzI \mathbb{E}R _ | R \mathbb{E} \dagger u R \ddot{u} | ^y \{v\epsilon^{\wedge} _1$

NA	-t	vA	-κAψ	δA [Ⓜ]	-φε	-v	-υ	-N
		N		κ ⁿ				
1SG	-ERG	2SG	-DAT	beat	-PRF	-NPST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I have beaten you.’

The event coded in (31) can be described as ‘perfect of recent past’.

- d. The non-past perfect may be used to code an event has occurred at least once in the past, without specifying any particular time, e.g.

(32) $_RzI \mathbb{E}R \sim \dagger \mathbb{E}R \check{S} \dagger \wedge _ \{v\epsilon^{\wedge} _1$

NA	-t	vψAμτψA	τυN	-φε	-v	-υ	-N
----	----	---------	-----	-----	----	----	----

ω

1SG -ERG spirit drink -PRF -NPST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I have drunk spirit.’

The event coded in (32) can be described as ‘experiential perfect’.

Past perfect [PST PRF]

The past perfect is a combination of perfect aspectual marker -{v with the past tense marker.⁷⁵ The form of a verb in non-past perfect aspect is shown in (33)

(33) **Base+ (-†v) + -{v +PST(+PNR)**

The past perfect aspect is used to code an event in the past that occurred before another event in the past. Basically the past perfect codes out-of-sequence events happened prior to the temporal reference time, e.g.,

(34) €R_1uR|^yŠR_x^}1_Rz|...^†tr~1
 vAN δAκ¹ωA -γυλ NA -ι κρυτ
 N
 2SG arrive -WHEN 1SG -ERG hand
 tr~{vR}^_1
 χαμ -φε -Aλ -υ -N
 cut -PRF -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘When you arrived I had cut the hand.’

The two events in (34) did not occur simultaneously in the past. The event which occurred first had to occur first in the narrative discourse. However, in (34) it occurs out-of- sequence and it has been coded by past perfect form of the verb. Such events are relevant only to some subsequent reference time.

c) Completive aspect [COMPL]

This aspect is used in Bhujel to code events in which the perspective focus is on the end of the event. The completive aspect is a combination of completive aspectual marker -}R| with any categories of tense: past and non-past.⁷⁶ Thus, there are two

⁷⁵ Theoretically the perfect marker may combine either with recent past or remote past. However, the combination with recent past is more natural and more frequent than the combination with remote past tense.

⁷⁶ Caughley (1982, 1999) has analyzed this verbal affix as an ‘intensive’ marker. It is to be noted that in my initial study of the Bhujel I took his analysis for granted. However, a detailed analysis of the texts

types of completive aspect: non-past completive and past completive. They are discussed as follows:

Non-past completive [NPST COMPL]

The non-past completive is a combination of completive aspectual marker $-}R|$ with the non-past tense marker.⁷⁷ A verb in non-past completive form consists of as shown in (35).

(35) **Base+ (-†v1) + -}R| +NPST(+PNR)**

In Bhujel, the non-past completive aspect is basically used to code events which may have been initiated prior to the temporal reference time but are viewed as completed right now. The examples are as follows:

(36)

a. $_Rz|R-1\{v\}R|\epsilon^{\sim}_1$

NA	-t	Aμ	φε	-λAκ	-v	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-COMPL	-NPST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I have finished eating rice.’

b. $_R1\epsilon^y\}R|\epsilon R_1$

NA	v ⁿ t	-λAκ	-vA	-N
1SG	rice	-COMPL	-NPST	-1/2

‘I have finished laughing.’

c. $\dots R-z1\{1R|R\epsilon1\}R|\epsilon R1$

ρAμ	-t	φA	-κAψ	σAτ	-λAκ	-vA
Ram	-ERG	tiger	-DAT	kill	-COMPL	-NPST

‘Ram has finished killing the tiger.’

revealed that this marker may be insightfully analyzed, though provisionally, as a perfective marker. In this study this aspect has been referred to as completive aspect. There are mainly three reasons :

- This marker is mutually exclusive with other aspectual markers.
- It does not occur in durative aspect.
- It occurs with all persons.
- It combines with all tenses.
- The perfective interpretation is more plausible than the so-called ‘intensive’ one.

⁷⁷ The completive marker is homophonous with the lexical root verb λAκⁿ ‘finish’. Thus it might be inferred that this marker is the grammaticalized form of the lexical verb λAκⁿ ‘finish’.

Past completive [PST COMPL]

The past completive is a combination of completive aspectual marker -}R| with the past tense marker. A verb in non-past completive form consists of as shown in (37)

$$(37) \quad \text{Base+ (-\dagger v|) + -}R| \text{ +PST/ RPST(+PNR)}$$

In Bhujel, the non-past completive aspect is basically used to code events which may have been initiated prior to the temporal reference time but are viewed as completed before the reference time. The examples are as follows:

(38)

$$a. \quad _Rz|R-1\{v\}R|R\}@\dagger^{\wedge} _1$$

NA	-t	Aμ	φε	-λAκ	-Aλ/ τ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-COMPL	PST/ RPST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I had finished eating rice.’

$$b. \quad _R1\epsilon^y z\}R|R\}R_1$$

NA	v ⁿ t	-λAκ	-AλA	-N
1SG	rice	-COMPL	-PST	-1/2

‘I had finished laughing.’

$$c. \quad \dots R-z1\{1R|R\epsilon1\dagger R\dagger\}R|R\}1$$

ρAμ	-t	φ A	-κAψ	σAτ	-λAκ	-Aλ
Ram	ERG	tiger	-DAT	kill	-COMPL	-PST

‘Ram had finished killing the tiger.’

$$d. \quad \dots R-z1|y^{\wedge} z\{v|R\epsilon1uR\ddot{u}|y\dagger R|R\}R|R\}1$$

ρAμ	-t	κ ⁿ υtφε	κAψ	δAⓂκ	-τAκ	-λAκ	-Aλ
				η			
Ram	-ERG	thief	-DAT	beat	-CAUS	-COMPL	-PST

‘Ram had finished killing the tiger.’

d) Inceptive aspect [INCP]

The past inceptive aspect contrasts with the completive aspect. The completive aspect highlights the end of the event whereas the inceptive aspect highlights the beginning of the event. In addition to this the completive aspect can combine with any tense

category: past and non-past. However, the inceptive aspect can co-occur with only past tense in Bhujel.

The inceptive aspect consists of a combination of inceptive aspectual marker -R| with the past tense marker. A verb in inceptive aspect has the following structure, e.g.,

(39) **Base+ (-†V|) + -R| +PST/ RPST(+PNR)**

In Bhujel, the inceptive aspect is basically used to code events in which the main focus is that they began prior to the temporal reference time. The examples are as follows:

(40)

a. $_Rz|R-1\{vR|R\}@\hat{_1}$

NA	-t	Aμ	φε	-Aκ	-Aλ/ τ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-INCP	PST/ RPST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I began eating rice.’

- b. $_R1\epsilon^y\}R\mid R\}R_1$
- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|--|------|------|
| NA | $v^{\eta}t$ | -Aκ | | -AλA | -N |
| 1SG | rice | -INCP | | -PST | -1/2 |
- ‘I began laughing.’

ii. Imperfective aspect [IPFV]

The main function of imperfective aspect in Bhujel is to code events which are viewed as non-terminated and temporally unbounded. As shown in Figure 9.3 the imperfective aspect in Bhujel is broadly categorized into two subcategories: durative and habitual. They are discussed as follows:

a) Durative aspect

The general durative marker in Bhujel is $-t\}z$. It can be combined with any tense categories: past and non-past. There are four types of durative aspect in Bhujel: non-past durative, past-durative, non-past perfect durative and past perfect durative. They are discussed as follows:

Non-past durative [NPST DUR]

The non-past durative is the combination of the durative marker $-t\}z$ with the auxiliary $-v^{\wedge}$ along with non-past tense marker. The form of the verb in non-past durative aspect is schematized in (41).

- (41) **Base+ (-t\}v\} + -t\}z+ $-v^{\wedge}$ + NPST+(PNR)**

The main function of non-past durative is to code the events which are not terminated and bounded the temporal reference time. The general functions of this aspect are illustrated as follows:

a) To indicate present time reference, e.g.,

- (42) $_Rz\}R\sim\}1\{v\}t\}z\sim^{\wedge}\epsilon R_1$
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|-----|------|------|-------|------|
| NA | -t | Aμ | φε | -τt | -μυ | -vA | -N |
| 1SG | -ERG | rice | eat | -DUR | -AUX | -NPST | -1/2 |
- ‘I am eating rice.’

b) To express temporary event, e.g.,

- (43) $\sim, \sim t, t, 1 | \dots R f \ddot{z} \sim \hat{\epsilon} R 1$
 μομχοχο κρΑ -τι -μυ -vΑ
 π
 Daughter cry -DUR -AUX -NPST
 ‘The daughter is crying.’

c) **To express planned event**, e.g.,

- (44) $\sim, \sim t, t, 1 \ddot{v} \epsilon 1 | z \sim 1 R \} \ddot{z} \sim \hat{\epsilon} R 1$
 μομχοχο τεv κιμ Αλ -τι -μυ -vΑ
 Daughter today house go -DUR -AUX -NPST
 ‘Today the daughter is going to (her husband’s) house.’

Past-durative [PST DUR]

The past-durative is the combination of the durative marker - \ddot{z} with the auxiliary - $\sim \hat{1}$ along with past tense marker. The form of the verb in non-past durative aspect is schematized in (45)

- (45) **Base+ (- $\ddot{v} 1$) + - \ddot{z} + $\sim \hat{1}$ + **PST+(PNR)****

The main function of past durative is to code the events which were not terminated and bounded prior to temporal reference time, e.g.,

- (46) $_R z | R \sim 1 \{ v \ddot{z} \sim \hat{\epsilon} R \} r _ 1$
 NA -ι Αμ φε -τι -μυ -υ -ΑλΑ -N
 1SG -ERG rice eat -DUR -AUX -DIR -PST -1/2
 ‘I was eating rice.’

- (47) $\sim, \sim t, t, 1 | \dots R f \ddot{z} \sim \hat{\epsilon} \ddot{r} 1$
 μομχοχο κρΑ -τι -μυ -τα
 π
 Daughter cry -DUR -AUX -NPST
 ‘The daughter was crying.’

Non-past perfect durative [NPST PRF DUR]

The non-past perfect durative is the combination of the durative marker -ʈz plus -}R with the auxiliary -~^1 along with non-past tense marker. The form of the verb in non-past perfect durative aspect is schematized in (48)

(48) **Base+ (-ʈv1) + -ʈz+- }R1+- ~^1+DIR+ NPST+(PNR)**

The non-past perfect durative in Bhujel codes temporally unbounded events which were initiated prior to temporal reference time but not terminated till the reference time, e.g.,

(49)

__Rz1R~1{vʈz}R~^€R__

NA	-ι	Aμ	φε	-τι	-λA	-μυ	-υ	-vA	-N
1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-DUR	-POST	-AUX	-DIR	-NPST	-1/2

‘I have/ will have been eating rice.’

Past perfect durative [PST PRF DUR]

The past perfect durative is the combination of the durative marker -ʈz plus -ʈz1 with the past tense marker. The form of the verb in past perfect durative aspect is schematized in (50)

(50) **Base+ (-ʈv1) + -ʈz+- ʈz1+ PST+(PNR)**

The past perfect durative in Bhujel codes a temporally unbounded event which was initiated and not terminated till the reference time before another temporally bounded event occurred in the past, e.g.,

(51) __Rz11R~11{vʈzʈzR}^_1

NA	-ι	Aμ	φε	-τι	-σι	-Aλ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-DUR	-ANT	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I had been eating rice (when the bomb exploded.)’

(ii) Habitual

As mentioned in Figure 9.3 the verbs can inflect for two types of habitual aspect. They are referred to as habitual and past-habitual. They are marked by separate morphemes. They are discussed as follows:

a) Present habitual [PRS HABT]

The present habitual is a combination of nominalizer/ participializer marker -, with non-past tense. The verb in non-past habitual aspect does not inflect for agreement markers. The non-past habitual has the following structure:

(52) **Base+ (-†V|) + -, +NPST**

The present habitual codes a situation which is viewed as customary or usual, repeated on different occasions over a period of time.

The following are the examples:

(53) $_Rz| \in \mathbb{C}ER \sim \dagger \mathbb{C}ER \check{S}1 \dagger \hat{_} _ , 1 \in R1$

NA -ι vψAμτψA τυN -ο vA
ω

1SG -ERG spirit drink -PTCP COP

‘I have the habit of drinking spirit or I always drink spirit.’

b) Past-habitual [PST HABT]

The past habitual is a combination of nominalizer/ participializer marker -, with remote past tense. The verb in past habitual aspect does not inflect for agreement markers. The non-past habitual has the following structure:

(54) **Base+ (-†V|) + RPST+-, + €R**

The past habitual codes a situation which is viewed as customary or usual, repeated on different occasions over a period of time in the past.

The following are the examples:

(55) $_Rz| \in \mathbb{C}ER \sim \dagger \mathbb{C}ER \check{S}1 \dagger \hat{_} _ \dagger , 1 \in R1$

NA -ι vψAμτψA τυN -τ -ο vA
ω

1SG -ERG spirit drink -RPST -PTCP COP

‘I had the habit of drinking spirit or I used to drink spirit.’

9.5 Moods and modality

In this section we deal with moods and modality in Bhujel. In 9.3 and 9.4 we discussed that tense and aspect interact to each other. In this section we first discuss different categories of moods and then we examine the modalities in Bhujel. We will also note that tense and aspect interact with the moods and modality in Bhujel.

9.5.1 Moods

Bhujel verbs morphologically distinguish five types of moods. They include indicative, subjunctive, imperative, optative and irrealis. They are discussed as follows:

i. Indicative mood

The main function of indicative mood is to assert the truth value of propositions. Indicative mood lacks any special verbal morphology in Bhujel. A verb inflected for tense and aspect marking in a normal SOV clause in Bhujel may indicate the truth value of the proposition. There are two types of indicative in Bhujel: non-past indicative and past indicative. A verb with a past tense inflection asserts the truth value of the proposition in the past. Similarly, a verb inflected with non-past tense asserts the truth of the proposition in the present. The following are the examples: (56)

- a. $_RzI\in\mathbb{C}R\sim\ddagger\mathbb{C}R\check{S}1\ddagger\hat{_}\epsilon\hat{_}1$
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------------------------|------------------|-------|------|------|
| NA | -t | $v\psi A\mu\tau\psi A$ | $\tau\upsilon N$ | -v | -v | -N |
| | | ω | | | | |
| 1SG | -ERG | spirit | drink | -NPST | -DIR | -1/2 |
- ‘I drink spirit.’
- b. $_RzI\in\mathbb{C}R\sim\ddagger\mathbb{C}R\check{S}1\ddagger\hat{_}R\hat{_}1$
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------------------------|------------------|--------------|------|-----|
| NA | -t | $v\psi A\mu\tau\psi A$ | $\tau\upsilon N$ | -A λ | -v | -N |
| | | ω | | | | |
| 1SG | -ERG | spirit | drink | -PST | -DIR | 1/2 |

'I drank spirit.'

- c. $_RzI\epsilon\{R\sim\ddagger\{R\check{S}1\ddagger\}_1^{\wedge}\{vR\}_1^{\wedge}_1$
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|---------|-------|------|------|------|------|
| NA | -ι | νψΑμτψΑ | τυN | -φε | -Αλ | -υ | -N |
| | | ω | | | | | |
| 1SG | -ERG | spirit | drink | -PRF | -PST | -DIR | -1/2 |
- ‘I had drunk spirit.’

In (56a) the verb with non-past tense and in (56b) with past tense along with PNR markers assert the fact of the propositions. In (56c) the past tense combines with perfect aspect to assert the fact of the proposition.

ii. Imperative mood

Imperatives are the forms of verb which are used for direct commands in the second person. In Bhujel they are encoded by using a verb form that is morphologically zero-marked. It means that the verb does not inflect for imperative mood in Bhujel.

The following are the examples:

(57)

- a. $R\sim 1\{v\wedge 1$
- | | | |
|------|-----|----------|
| Αμ | φε | -υ |
| rice | eat | -DIR.IMP |
- ‘Eat rice.’
- b. $\{z\sim 1R\}r1$
- | | |
|------|--------|
| κιμ | Αλα |
| home | go.IMP |
- ‘Go home.’

The transitive verb in (57a) has inflected for agreement marker- \wedge , direct marker.

However in intransitive verb in (57b) the sound / α@ is added after the root of the verb as the utterance cannot terminate in the word with a closed syllable

In negative command the root of the verb is prefixed by the prohibitive marker $\ddagger R$.

The verb is followed by a regular negative suffix -} as in (58)

(58)

- a. €€R~†€RŠ1†R†^_r}1
 vψAμτψA τA- τυN -αλ
 ω
 spirit PROH- drink -NEG
 ‘Don’t drink spirit.’

- b. φR|R€1†R†R†r}
 φA -κAψ τA- σAτ -αλ
 tiger -DAT PROH- kill -NEG
 ‘Don’t kill the tiger.’

iii. Optative mood

The optative mood codes a proposition which represents something the speaker hopes for, or wishes would be true. The optative marker is *-fRŠ*. Except in the second person Actor it is directly attached to the root verb. The form of the verb in optative mood may be followed by PNR inflections. The examples are as follows:

(59)

- a. __RzI€R_|R€1uRü|^yfrŠ1
 NA -ι vA -κAψ δA® -πAω
 N κ^η
 1SG -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -OPT
 ‘May I beat you!’
- b. __z}r~zI€R_|R€1uRü|^yfrŠ€z1
 Nιλα -ι vA -κAψ δA® -πAω -vι
 μ N κ^η
 1PL -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -OPT -PL
 ‘May we beat you!’
- c. €z_{z|r€1_R|R€1uRü|^yfrŠ{r1
 vιNφ -καψ NA -κAψ δA® -πAω -φα
 ι κ^η

2DU -ERG 1SG -DAT beat -OPT -2DU

‘May you (two) beat me!’

iv. Subjunctive mood

The subjunctive mood in Bhujel codes propositions which the speaker does not assert to be true. There are two types of subjunctive mood: conditional and contrafactual.

They are discussed as follows:

a) Conditional

In Bhujel a conditional clause consists of two clauses: the 'if clause or protasis (which is a subordinate clause) and the 'then' clause or apodosis (which is the main clause.

The verb of the subordinate clause is marked by a special suffix -†R-. It may be used in combination with other suffixes as in (60)

(60)

- a. €R_1ŠR_†v†R-1_R1ŠR_€R_
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|------|-------|------|
| vAN | ωAN | -τɛ | -σAμ | NA | ωAN | -vA | -N |
| 2SG | come | -2 | -SBJV | 1SG | come | -NPST | -1/2 |
- ‘If you come I will come!’

- b. €R_1ŠR_†v†R-1_zŠR_€R_zl
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|------|-------|------|-----|
| vA | ωAN | -τɛ | -σAμ | Nt | ωAN | -vA | -N | -t |
| 2SG | call | -2 | -SBJV | 1SG | come | -NPST | -1/2 | -PL |
- ‘If you call we will come!’

b) Contrafactual

In Bhujel a contrafactual clause also consists of two clauses: the 'if clause or protasis (which is a subordinate clause) and the 'then' clause or apodosis (which is the main

clause). The verb of the subordinate clause is marked by a special suffix -t, uz|?

It may be used in combination with other suffixes as in (61)

(61)

a. $\epsilon R_{-1} \sim \{rt, uz | 1_R |, \epsilon i x^y ruz |$

vAN	μυ	-λα	-χοδικ	NA	-κοψ	γ ¹ αδι
2SG	be	-NEG	-SBJV	1SG	-GEN	watch
s(ER~, 1€R1						
βψAμ	-ο	vA				
lose	-PTCP	COP				

‘If you were not there my watch would have been lost.’

b. $R_{-1} \{vt, uz | 1_z | t^y, \sim r \epsilon 1 | ^y R \epsilon, 1 \epsilon R 1$

Aμ	φε	-χοδικ	Nι	χ ¹ ο	-	κ ¹ A	-ο	vA
					μαψ	ψ		
rice	eat	-SBJV	1PL	walk	-INF	can	-PTCP	COP

‘If we ate rice we could walk.’

c. $\} v \dagger, 1 \sim \hat{t}, uz | 1_R 1 | z \sim y R _ \} r z |$

λετο	μυ	-χοδικ	NA	κιμ	-ηAN	-λαι
money	have	-SBJV	1SG	house	-LOC	-EMPH
~^, 1€R						
μυ	-ο	vA				
stay	-PTCP	COP				

‘If I were rich I would stay at home.’

9.5.2 Modality

In this subsection we analyze the Bhujel modality system in terms of the main distinction between epistemic and evaluative (deontic) judgement (Givo ⇔ n. 2001:300). The categories of the modality code the speaker’s judgment concerning the propositional information indicated by special grammatical markings in the verb. Modality, as we noted earlier, interacts with any of the tenses, either in the same morpheme or in combinations of morphemes. The main categories of the modality can be further elaborated into subcategories in Bhujel. The major categories and subcategories of modality in Bhujel are shown in Figure 9.4.

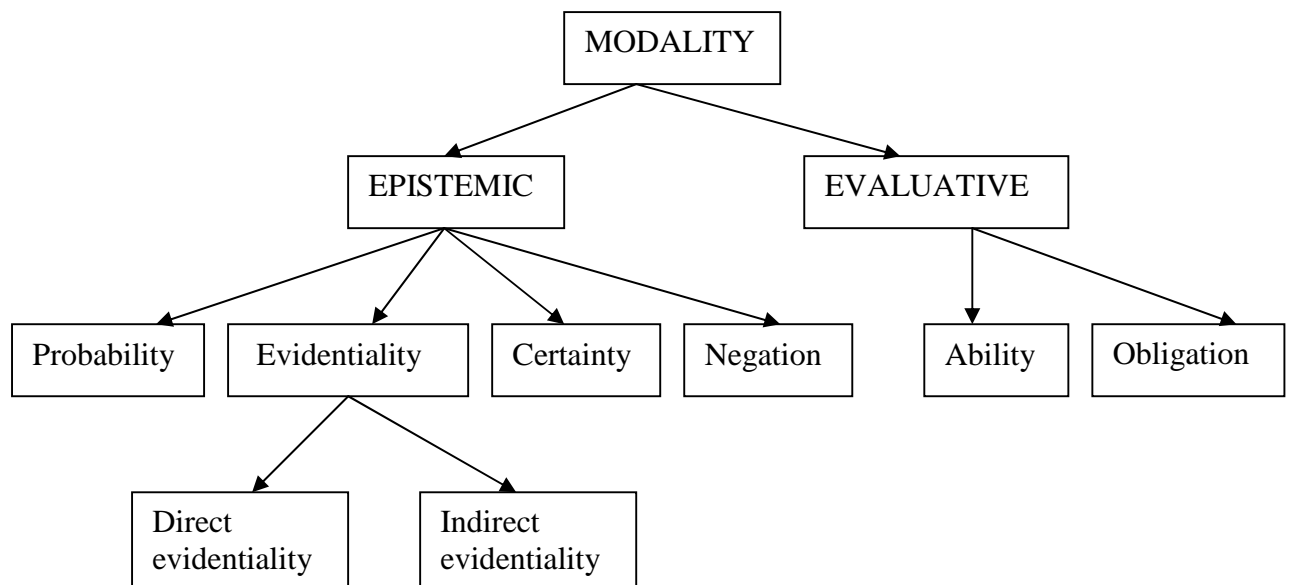


Figure 9.4: Major categories and sub-categories of modality in Bhujel

They are discussed as follows:

i. Epistemic modality

The main function of epistemic modality is to indicate the degree of commitment of the speaker to the truth or future truth of the proposition. It may be combined with any of the tenses, either in the same morphemes or in combinations of morphemes. The epistemic modalities have the whole proposition in their scope. In Bhujel epistemic modalities include probability, certainty and evidentiality. They are discussed as follows:

Probability

The main function of this mood is to indicate that the situation described in the proposition is probably true. It is marked by the verb inflection -}v~-. It may occur with any of the tenses. The following are the examples:

(62)

a. $\hat{\}}r\sim z1R\sim 1\{v\}v\sim R\}R\in z1$

υ - -ι Αμ φε -λεμ -ΑλΑ -νι
 λαμ
3SG DIST -PL -ERG rice eat -PROB -PST -PL
'They might eat rice.'

b. $\dots R_yR_1\ddagger z1\ddagger, \mid\}v\sim\}r1$

ρAN -ηAN τι σοκ -λεμ -λα
field -LOC water dry -PROB -NEG
'The field might not be dried up.'

c. $R\sim 1\sim z\in\}v\sim\{vR\}1$

Αμ μιν -λεμ -φε -Αλ
rice cook -PROB -PRF -PST
'The rice might have been cooked.'

Certainty

It denotes that the speaker is emphasizing that the proposition is true. In Bhujel the marker of certainty is -tv. It is directly attached to the root of the verb. It may be combined with any of the tenses, either in the same morphemes or in combinations of morphemes. The following are the examples:

(63)

a. $_Rz1\in R_ \mid R\in 1sr\in tv\in \hat{\}_1$

NA -ι vAN -κΑψ βαψ -χε -v -υ -N
1SG -ERG 2SG -DAT give -CERT -NPST -DIR -1/2
'I will certainly give you.'

b. $\dots R\sim z1\in R_ \mid R\in 1\ddagger R\ddagger tv\in R1$

ρΑμ -ι vAN -κΑψ σΑτ -χε -vA
Ram -ERG 2SG -DAT kill -CERT -NPST
'Ram will certainly kill you.'

- c. ...R~1|z~1R}tv€R1
 ρΑμ κιμ Αλ -χε -vA
 Ram house go -CERT -NPST
 'Ram will certainly go home.'

Evidentiality

As shown in Figure 9.4 there occurs a binary contrast in grammaticalized evidentiality: direct evidentiality (directly experienced) and indirect evidentiality (indirect evidence) in Bhujel. Bhujel lacks separate morphemes for indicating evidentiality. It is realized by the contrast between two past tense suffixes. The recent past tense marker -R} and remote past tense -†r1 code the direct and indirect evidentiality, respectively. The following are the examples:

(64)

- a. ...R~1|z~1R}R}1
 ρΑμ κιμ Αλ -Αλ
 Ram house go PST/DIRT.EV
 'Ram went home (as I directly witnessed).'
- b. ...R~1|z~1R}†r1
 ρΑμ κιμ Αλ -τα
 Ram house go RPST/INDIRT.EV
 'Ram went home (as I hear, as they say).'

In (64a-b) the evidential distinction is realized as a part of TAM inflectional complex on the verb. The direct evidentiality in (64a) combines with recent past tense and perfective aspect. In (64b) the indirect evidentiality combines with remote past tense and perfective aspect.

Negation

The negation is indicated in the verb by the suffix -} in Bhujel. The tense and direct marker is neutralized when the negation suffix occurs in the complex of the verb. The following are the examples:

(65)

- a. ...R~1|z~1R}R}1
 ρAμ κιμ Aλ -Aλ
 Ram house go -PST
 'Ram went home.'

- b. ...R~1|z~1R}R}r1
 ρAμ κιμ Aλ -λα
 A
 Ram house go -NEG
 'Ram did not go home'

(66)

- a. _R1|z~1S̃R|^yR}r_1
 NA κιμ ωAκ -Aλα -N
 η
 1SG house go -PST -1/2
 'I went home.'

- b. _R1|z~1S̃R|^y_r}1
 NA κιμ ωAκⁿ -N -αλ
 1SG house go -1/2 -NEG
 'I did not go home.'

(67)

- a. _Rz1R~1{vR}^_1
 NA -ι Aμ φε -Aλ -υ -N
 1SG -ERG rice eat -PST -DIR -1/2
 'I ate rice.'

- b. $_Rz1R\sim1\{v_r\}1$
- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|-----|------|------|
| NA | -ι | Αμ | φε | -N | -αλ |
| 1SG | -ERG | rice | eat | -1/2 | -NEG |
- ‘I did not eat rice.’

(68)

- a. $_R|\hat{†1}\}v†, 1\in R11$
- | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|-----|--|
| NA | -κυσ | λετο | vA | |
| 1SG | -COM | rice | COP | |
- ‘I have money.’
- b. $_R|\hat{†1}\}v†, 1\in R\}r1$
- | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|------|------|
| NA | -κυσ | λετο | vA | -λα |
| 1SG | -COM | rice | have | -NEG |
- ‘I have no money.’

In the examples (65-68) the non-negative forms are contrasted with the negative forms. In (66b) the past tense is neutralized whereas in (67b) both tense and direct markers are neutralized.

ii. Evaluative (Deontic) modalities

The main function of evaluative (deontic) modality is to describe internal or external ability of the willful agent with respect to the completion of the predicate situation. They may be combined with any of the tenses, either in the same morpheme or in combinations of the morphemes. In Bhujel there are two evaluative modalities which are encoded by verbal affixes. They include ability and obligation. They are discussed as follows.

a. Ability

The ability indicates that the agent of the verb has the mental or physical ability to complete the action of the main verb. It is indicated in the complex of the verb by suffix $-|\}R\in$. The following are the examples:

(69)

- a. $\dots R\sim z1fr u\}|\}R\in\in R1$
- | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------|--------------------|-----|
| ρΑμ | -ι | παδ ^η | -κ ^η Αψ | -vA |
|-----|----|------------------|--------------------|-----|

Ram -ERG read -ABIL -NPST

'Ram can read.'

b. $_RzI\{R1\ddagger R\ddagger\}^yR\{\epsilon\epsilon\}^{\wedge}_1$

NA	-ι	φA	σAτ	-κ ^η Aψ	-v	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	tiger	kill	-ABIL	-NPST	-DIR	-1/2

'I can kill the tiger.'

c. $_RzI\{1R1\ddagger R\ddagger\}^yR\{\epsilon R\}^{\wedge}_1$

NA	-ι	φ A	σAτ	-κ ^η Aψ	-Aλ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	tiger	kill	-ABIL	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

'I could kill the tiger.'

d. $_RzI\{1R1\ddagger R\ddagger\}^yR\{\epsilon\ddagger\}^{\wedge}_1$

NA	-ι	φ A	σAτ	-κ ^η Aψ	-τ	-υ	-N
1SG	-ERG	tiger	kill	-ABIL	-RPST	-DIR	-1/2

'I could kill the tiger (a long time ago).'

b. Obligation

The obligation indicates that the agent is obliged to perform the action of the verb. It is indicated in the complex of the verb by suffix *-fr...* there are two types of obligation in Bhujel: strong obligation and weak obligation. In the strong obligation the agent of the verb is bound to complete the action of the main verb, e.g,

(70)

a. $\epsilon R_zI\}v\ddagger, 1sr\{\epsilon\sim r\{\epsilon fr\}\dots\epsilon R_1$

vA	-ι	λετο	βαψ	-	-παρ	-vA	-N
N				μαψ			
2SG	-ERG	money	give	-INF	-OBLG	-NPST	-1/2

'You have to give the money.'

b. $\epsilon R_1\{z\sim 1R\}\sim r\{\epsilon fr\}\dots\epsilon R_1$

vA	κιμ	Aλ	-	-παρ	-vA	-N
N				μαψ		
2SG	house	go	-INF	-OBLG	-NPST	-1/2

'You have to go home.'

The weak obligation indicates that it is recommended that the agent complete the action. In such case the suffix combines with past tense without PNR agreement inflections, e.g.

(71)

- a. $\epsilon R_zlf r u^y \sim r \{E f r \dots R\} 1$
- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|----------------------------|------|--------------------|--------------|
| vA | -t | $\pi \alpha \delta^{\eta}$ | - | $-\pi \alpha \rho$ | $-A \lambda$ |
| N | | $\mu \alpha \psi$ | | | |
| 2SG | -ERG | read | -INF | -OBLG | -PST |
- ‘You ought to read.’
- b. $_R z l s r \{E \sim r \{E f r \dots R\} 1$
- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| NA | -t | $\beta \alpha \psi$ | $-\mu \alpha \psi$ | $-\pi \alpha \rho$ | $-A \lambda$ |
| 1SG | -ERG | give | -INF | -OBLG | -PST |
- ‘I ought to give.’

9.6 Participant reference

Bhujel marks the person and number of verbal arguments or speech act participants on the verb. In this section we present an overview of the morphemes which index person and number on the verb. In this we first discuss person marking inflections and then we deal with morphemes which occur on the complex of the verb to index the number of the participant. Finally, we explore the development and pattern of ‘direct’ marking on the verb.

9.6.1 Person marking

Bhujel exhibits a complex pattern of person marking on the verb. It is commonly indexed by the suffix $_$ in combination with other agreement inflections (Annex 6). In Bhujel, person marking sometimes encodes the agent participant and sometimes the patient but not both (Watters and Regmi, 2005). Such marking in Bhujel is exclusively based on a hierarchical ranking of participants – 1/2 3 (i.e. the first or the second person acting on the third person object/ patient/ undergoer), not on

semantic or grammatical roles of the participants.⁷⁸ We discuss the patterns of person marking in Bhujel as follows:

I. 1 3 or 3 1

As the first person is the highest ranking participant, a transitive configuration of 1 3 or 3 1 in Bhujel yields first person agreement, e.g.,

(72)

a. $_Rzlu\epsilon, |R\epsilon luR\dot{u}|^yR\}^{\wedge}_1$

NA	-t	$\delta\psi o$		$-\kappa A\psi$	δA°	$-A\lambda$	$-v$	$-N$
					κ^n			
1SG	-ERG	3SG REM		-DAT	beat	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘I beat you.’

b. $u\epsilon, |r\epsilon l_R|R\epsilon luR\dot{u}|^yR\}_1$

$\delta\psi o$		$-\kappa\alpha\psi$	NA	$-\kappa A\psi$	δA°	$-A\lambda$	$-N$
					κ^n		
3SG REM	ERG	1SG		-DAT	beat	-PST	-1/2

‘S/he beat me.’

In (72a) the first person (i.e. the highest ranking participant) is acting on the third person (i.e. the lowest ranking participant). The person indexed on the verb by the suffix $_1$ codes the reference of the first person participant, thus, yielding the first person agreement. In (72b), person indexed by the suffix $_1$ does not code the reference of the third person agent participant, rather it codes the first person patient participant. The simple reason is that in (72b) unlike in (72a) third person (i.e. the lowest ranking participant) is acting on the first person (i.e. the highest ranking participant). Thus, the agreement is with the first person (the highest ranking participant).

Moreover, Bhujel lacks distinction between inclusivity and exclusivity in free pronouns. However, inclusivity reference of the agent participant is indexed on the verb by the suffix $_1$ along with the common person marking as in (73)

⁷⁸ The languages which exhibit agreement based on a hierarchical ranking of participants – 1/2 3, at the core of the system, maintains the agreement with first or second person agent in preference to third, and with the patient /object where both participants are first or second person (DeLancey, 1981; Watters, 2002).

(73)

- a. $_ztz|r\text{E}1u\text{E}, |R\text{E}1uR\ddot{u}|^y\ddagger rR\}r_t^{\wedge}1$
Νιχι -καψ δψο -κΑψ δΑ® -τα -ΑλΑ -N -χ -υ
κ^η
1DU -ERG 3SG -DAT beat -INCL -PST -1/2 DU -DIR
'We (two) beat him/her.'
- b. $_z\}r\sim z1u\text{E}, |R\text{E}1uR\ddot{u}|^y\ddagger rR\}R_z^{\wedge}1$
Νιλα -ι δψο -κΑψ δΑ® -τα - -N -ι -υ
μ κ^η ΑλΑ
1PL -ERG 3SG -DAT beat -INCL -PST 1/2 1PL -DIR
'We beat him/her.'

In (73a-b) the verb is indexed by the inclusive suffix $\ddagger r$ along with the common person marker in order to encode the person reference of the inclusive agent participant acting on the third person patient. However, inclusive suffix $\ddagger r$ does not occur while the third person is acting on the first person inclusive. The following are the examples:

(74)

- a. $u\text{E}, |r\text{E}1_ztz|R\text{E}1uR\ddot{u}|$
 $^yR\}r_1$
δψο -καψ Νιχι -κΑψ δΑ® -ΑλΑ -N
κ^η
3SG REM -ERG 1DU -DAT beat -PST -1/2
'S/he beat two of us.'
- b. $u\text{E}, |r\text{E}1_z\}r\sim|R\text{E}1uR\ddot{u}|^yR\}R_1$
δψο -καψ Νιλα -κΑψ δΑ® -ΑλΑ -N
μ κ^η
3SG REM -ERG 1PL -DAT beat -PST -1/2
'He beat us.'

II. 2 3 or 3 2

A transitive configuration of 2 3 or 3 2 yields second person agreement (also the highest ranking participant), e.g.,

(75)

a. $_R_zlu\mathbb{E}, |R\mathbb{E}luR\ddot{u}|^y\ddagger vR\}^{\wedge}_1$

NA	-t	$\delta\psi o$		$-\kappa A\psi$	$\delta A\mathbb{R}$	-	$-A\lambda$	$-v$	$-N$
N					κ^n		$\tau\epsilon$		
2SG	-ERG	3SG REM		-DAT	beat	-2	-PST	-DIR	-1/2

‘You beat her/him.’

b. $u\mathbb{E}, |r\mathbb{E}l\mathbb{E}R_|R\mathbb{E}luR\ddot{u}|^yR\}_1$

$\delta\psi o$		$-\kappa\alpha\psi$	vA	$-\kappa A\psi$	$\delta A\mathbb{R}$	$-A\lambda$	$-N$
			N		κ^n		
3SG REM	-ERG	2SG	-DAT	beat	-PST	-1/2	

‘S/he beat you.’

In (75a) the second person (i.e. relatively the highest ranking participant) is acting on the third person (i.e. the lowest ranking participant). The person indexed on the verb by the suffix $_$ codes the reference of the second person participant, thus, yielding the second person agreement. In (75b), the third person (i.e. the lowest ranking participant) is acting on the first person (i.e. the highest ranking participant). Thus, person indexed by the suffix $_$ does not code the reference of the third person agent participant, rather it codes the second person patient participant. Moreover, in (75a) the verb is also inflected for the second person by the suffix $-\ddagger v$ along with the direct marker $-\wedge$ and common person marker $_$. But in (75 b) where the lowest ranking participant is acting on the highest ranking participant viz. the second person the second person marker is neutralized.

Table 9.5 presents a synopsis of person indexing (including inclusive and 2nd marking) in Bhujel. [Σ stands for verb stem]

Table 9.5: Person indexing (including inclusive and the second person marking) in Bhujel

	UNDERGOER			INTRANSITIVE
	1SG/1NSG EXCL/1NSG INCL	2SG/2PL /2DU	3SG/3DU /3PL	
1SG		Σ -N	Σ -N	Σ -N
1PL EXCL		Σ -N-	Σ -N-	Σ -N
1DU.EXCL		Σ -N-	Σ -N-	Σ -N
1PL INCL		Σ - $\tau\alpha$ -N	Σ - $\tau\alpha$ -N	Σ - $\tau\alpha$ -N
1DU INCL		Σ - $\tau\alpha$ -N	Σ - $\tau\alpha$ -N	Σ - $\tau\alpha$ -N
2SG	Σ - $\tau\epsilon$ -N		Σ - $\tau\epsilon$ -N	Σ - $\tau\epsilon$ -N
2DU	Σ - $\tau\epsilon$ -N		Σ - $\tau\epsilon$ -N	Σ - $\tau\epsilon$ -N
2PL	Σ - $\tau\epsilon$ -N		Σ - $\tau\epsilon$ -N	Σ - $\tau\epsilon$ -N
3SG	Σ -N	Σ -N	Σ	Σ
3DU	Σ -N	Σ -N	Σ	Σ
3PL	Σ -N	Σ -N	Σ	Σ

9.6.2 Number marking

Bhujel marks three categories of number of the verbal arguments on the verb: singular, dual and plural. Singular is morphologically unmarked. The plural is marked by -z for all persons. The suffix -{1 marks the second person dual. However, the first and third person duals are marked by -t. Table 9.6 presents a synopsis of number marking of the participant in Bhujel. (See Annex 6)

- e. $\{z \mid |z-1R\} \dagger v \in R_{-}\{r1$
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|----|----|-------|------|------|
| νιNφι | κιμ | Αλ | - | -vA | -N | -φα |
| | | | | | | τε |
| 2DU | house | go | -2 | -NPST | -1/2 | -2DU |
- ‘You (two) go home.’
- f. $\{z \mid \}r \sim 11 \mid z-1R\} \dagger v \in R_{-}z1$
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|----|----|-------|------|-----|
| νιNλα | κιμ | Αλ | - | -vA | -N | -ι |
| | | | | | | τε |
| 2PL | house | go | -2 | -NPST | -1/2 | -PL |
- ‘You go home.’
- g. $u(E, 11 \mid z-1R) \in R1$
- | | | | | | |
|---------|-------|----|-------|--|--|
| δψο | κιμ | Αλ | -vA | | |
| 3SG REM | house | go | -NPST | | |
- ‘S/he goes home.’
- h. $u(E, \{z \dagger 11 \mid z-1R\} \in Rtr1$
- | | | | | |
|---------|-------|----|-------|-----|
| δψονισ | κιμ | Αλ | -vA | -χα |
| 3DU REM | house | go | -NPST | -DU |
- ‘They (two) go home.’
- i. $u(E, \}r \sim 11 \mid z-1R) \in Rz1$
- | | | | | |
|---------|-------|----|-------|-----|
| δψολαμ | κιμ | Αλ | -vA | -ι |
| 3PL REM | house | go | -NPST | -PL |
- ‘They go home.’

9.6.3 ‘Direct’ marking

In 1 2, 1 3, and 2 3 the verb is marked by the suffix $-\hat{1}$ apart from person and number suffixes. However, the verb remains unmarked in 2 1, 3 1, or 3 2. (Nor does it occur in 3 3).⁷⁹

The following are the examples of the occurrence of $-\hat{1}$:

(77)

- a. 1 2 $_Rz1\epsilon R_ | R\epsilon uR\ddot{u} | ^yR\} \hat{_} 1$
 NA -1 vAN -κAψ δA⊗κ - Aλ -υ -N
 η
 1SG -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I beat you.’
- b. 1 3 $_Rz1u\epsilon, | R\epsilon uR\ddot{u} | ^yR\} \hat{_}$
 NA -1 δψο -κAψ δA⊗κ - Aλ -υ -N
 η
 1SG -ERG 3SG REM -DAT beat -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I beat him/her.’
- c. 2 3 $\epsilon R_z1u\epsilon, | R\epsilon 1uR\ddot{u} | ^yR\} \hat{_}$
 vAN -1 δψο -κAψ δA⊗κ - Aλ -υ -N
 η
 2SG -ERG 3SG REM -DAT beat -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘You beat him/her.’

The following are the examples of the non-occurrence of $-\hat{1}$:

(78)

- a. 2 1 $\epsilon R_z1_R | R\epsilon 1uR\ddot{u} | ^yR\} r_$
 vAN -1 NA -κAψ δA⊗κ - AλA -N
 η
 2SG -ERG 1SG -DAT beat -PST -1/2
 ‘You beat me.’

⁷⁹ Caughley (1982) notes that Chepang, a closely related language, in order to identify the semantic role of the participant, has developed a direct-inverse system. The suffix $-u / -n$ codes a “direct” relationship, i.e. that the participant indexed in the verb is an agent; and the suffixes $-t\ddot{r} / -t\ddot{y}r1$ indicates an “inverse” relationship, i.e. that the participant indexed in the verb is a patient.

b.3 1 u(ε, z1_R | R(ε1uRü |^yR}r_
 δψο -ι NA -κAψ δA⊗κ - -N
 η AλA
 3SG REM -ERG 1SG -DAT beat -PST -1/2
 ‘He beat me.’

c.3 2 u(ε, z11εR_ | R(ε1uRÜ | }R}r_

δψο -ι vAN -κAψ δAⓂκ - AλA -N
η

3SG REM -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -PST -1/2

‘S/he beat you.’

d. 3 3 u(ε, z11u(ε, | R(ε1uRÜ | }R}

δψο -ι δψο -κAψ δAⓂκ - Aλ
η

3SG REM -ERG 3SG REM -DAT beat -PST

‘S/he beat him/her.’

The configurations in (77 a-c) and (78 a-d) represent direct and inverse relationships, respectively. In direct relationships the verb is marked by $\hat{-}$ and in inverse relationships the verb is unmarked. This means, of course, that direct relationships are marked in Bhujel, while inverse relationships are not. This seems somewhat counter to universal expectations, that the direct should be the *marked* category, while *inverse* is the unmarked.⁸⁰ Thus we propose an alternative functional explanation for the phenomenon (Watters and Regmi, 2005)

A different explanation, one that does not invoke notions of direct–inverse or deictic directionality *per se* (DeLancey, 1980, 1981) is one in which the function of $-u$ is simply to disambiguate the single person index found in the verb complex. Anywhere it occurs it marks the person index as an *agent*, and anywhere else the person index is a *patient*. In this sense, $-u$ is only an agentive marker. Agent is the marked category, absolutive is the unmarked category. Recall our earlier observation that in some TB languages agent–patient disambiguation is accomplished by introducing a marker anywhere the highest ranking participant is in a *patient* role. In Bhujel the marker

⁸⁰ We assume that $-u$ is very likely related to the old third person patient marker found in Kiranti languages, but that its use was extended to 1 2, and dropped in the 3 3 relationship (which may have been original).

occurs anywhere the ranking participant is an *agent*. But it is also significant that only one of two participants gets marked in the verb. The creation of our so-called “direct,” then, is a two-step process. First of all, the highest ranking participant gets marked in the verb by virtue of hierarchical person marking, and secondly, when that person is an agent it gets marked by *-u*. Thus though the result is tantamount to direct marking, its functional motivation is only the disambiguation of semantic role – an “agent identifier” (not a direction marker)⁸¹. In such a formulation, *-u* gets tied, first and foremost, to agentivity, and then to directionality only as a “derivative” category. Direction marking (‘high – low,’ or ‘low – high’) is coincidental. Only high is marked, and secondarily, the semantic role of high. The ‘choice’ of grammaticalizing either a direct or an inverse category, then, is decided by the source domain of the diachronic morphological material employed – *inverse* can derive from a cislocative ‘come’ (see footnote 20), and, as we have seen in Bhujel, *direct* can derive from agent marking.⁸²

Since the original *-u*, marking third person patient, occurred only in paradigms where first or second persons were agents, i.e. in 1 – 3 and 2 – 3 configurations, its extension to the 1 – 2 configuration was only a matter of time once *-u* began to be interpreted as a first or second person agent identifier. It might also explain its absence in 3 – 3 configurations (unless, of course, its absence in 3 – 3 is original).

9.7 Complex predicates

This section deals with complex predicates in Bhujel.⁸³ In common with other South Asian languages Bhujel exhibits a complex predicate construction.

In this section we first discuss the structure of the complex predicates in Bhujel and then we examine the types of complex predicates in the language.

⁸¹ DeLancey (n.d.) notes that a source for inverse marking in many languages is the grammaticalization of the cislocative verb ‘to come’ – clearly a directional source.

⁸² It would be interesting to know the source of the Chepang inverse marker ‘*ta/tha*,’ whether it is rooted in a cislocative or not. We must assume that the Chepang direct marker *-u* has the same source as the Bhujel marker (although its distribution is now somewhat different).

⁸³ In Givo↔n (2001. Vol. 2) the complex predicates have been referred to as distributed lexical verbs. They include verb serialization, cognate object constructions, and co-verb and ideophonic constructions.

9.7.1 Structure

There are two constituent parts of the complex predicate (henceforth, CP). The first constituent is referred to as host while the second constituent is called a 'light' verb (Mohanan, 1994:198). The host may be a noun, adjective or a non-finite verb (in its root form), and the light verb has lost its semantic content. The following examples illustrate the CP construction in Bhujel.

(79)

- a. $u\mathbb{E}, \mathbb{E}z\uparrow 1 \dots R_1 t^y R f R \} R \} r t r 1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron\nu\iota\sigma$ ρAN $\chi^{\eta} A\pi$ $-A\lambda$ $-A\lambda\alpha$ $-\chi\alpha$
 3 DU REM field clear -GO -PST -DU
 'They two went to clear the field.'
- b. $_z t z l \sim^y v \uparrow r \mathbb{E} | R \} \mathbb{E} R _ _ t r 1$
 $N\iota\chi\iota$ $\mu^{\eta}\epsilon$ $\tau\alpha\psi\kappa$ $-A\lambda$ $-vA$ $-N$ $-\chi\alpha$
 1DU fire light -GO -NPST -1/2 -DU
 'We two go to light the fire.'
- c. $u\mathbb{E}, \mathbb{E}z\uparrow |, \mathbb{E}1s^y v \uparrow x v R \} t r 1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron\nu\iota\sigma$ $-\kappa\omicron\psi$ $\beta^{\eta}\epsilon\tau$ $-\gamma\epsilon$ $-A\lambda$ $-\chi\alpha$
 3DU REM -GEN encounter -BE -PST -DU
 'They two met each other.'

In (79a) $t^y R f - R \} - R \} r - t r$, in (79b) $\uparrow r \mathbb{E} | - R \} - \mathbb{E} R - _ _ - t r$ and in (79c) $s^y v \uparrow 1 - x v - R \} - t r$ represent the CP constructions in the Bhujel language. Each CP construction in (79a-c) consists of host and a light verb. In (79a) $t^y R f$ in (79b) $\uparrow r \mathbb{E} |$ which are in their root form constitute the hosts and $R \}$ in both (79a and b) represents the light verb. As we noted above the light verb has lost its semantic content. In (79c) the host is a noun $s^y v \uparrow 1$ which combines with the light verb xv to form a complex predicate construction in Bhujel. In all the examples the host is always directly followed by the light verb. The host and the light verb form a single verbal complex in Bhujel. Thus, they cannot be scrambled. A change in order triggers a change in its grammaticality. The following are the examples:

(80)

- a. *t^yRf1...R_luE, €z†1R}R}rtr
*χⁿAπ ρAN δψονισ Αλ -Αλα -χα
clear field 3DU REM go -PST -DU
- b. *R}R}rtr1...R_luE, €z†1t^yRf1
*Αλ -Αλα -χα ρAN δψονισ χⁿAπ
Go -PST -DU field 3DU REM clear
- c. *uE, €z†1R}R}rtr1...R_1t^yRf
*δψο-νισ Αλ -Αλα -χα ρAN χⁿAπ
3DU REM go -PST -DU field clear

In (80a-c) the host t^yRf1 and the light verb R}R}rtr in (79a) are scrambled. They are ungrammatical sentences.

In Bhujel the light verb normally consists of one-word verb. It is inflected for both TAM and PNR (person, number and role). The following are the examples:

(81)

- a. χ, ...z | r€1 | ..., ~1...R |^yR}1
γορι -καψ κρομ ρΑκⁿ -Αλ
Gori -ERG marriage do -PST
'Gori got married.'
- b. χ, ...z | r€1R~1{v†z~^€R1
γορι -καψ Αμ φε -τι -μυ -vA
Gori -ERG rice eat -DUR -AUX -NPST
'Gori is eating rice.'
- c. _Rz1 | ..., ~1...R |^ytν€^_1
NA -ι κρομ ρΑκⁿ -χε -v -υ -N
1SG -ERG marriage do -CERT -NPST -DIR -1/2
'I will certainly marry.'

In (81a) the light verb ...R |^y is inflected for tense and aspect. The light verb ~^ is inflected for present tense in (81b). In (81c) the light verb ...R |^y has been inflected not only for modality and tense but also for person and role of the participants.

9.7.2 Types

We have noted above that a noun, adjective and a verb in its root form can combine with a light verb to form the CP construction in Bhujel. There are two types of complex predicates in Bhujel in terms of the syntactic category of the hosts: nominal (i.e. noun and adjective) and verbal. They are discussed in detail below:

i. Nominal

There are two types of nominal complex predicate constructions. The first one employs a noun as the host and the second one uses an adjective as the host in the construction. The first one is referred to as noun incorporation and second one can be referred to as adjective incorporation. They are discussed as follows:

a) Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation is a special type of compounding in which a verb roots and a noun root combine to form a complex stem whose category is verb. This phenomenon exists in Bhujel. When a noun in root form combines with a light verb its semantic role which it obtains when used independently as a subject or object in the clause is lost. Thus in Bhujel noun incorporation is considered as a valence-decreasing operation. It is exemplified in (82).

- (82) $u\{E, \epsilon z\uparrow |, \{E\}^{\sim} _1 | \}^{\uparrow} R\uparrow R\}1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron\nu\iota\sigma$ $-\kappa\omicron\psi$ $\lambda\upsilon N$ $-\kappa^{\uparrow}A\tau$ $-A\lambda$
 3DU REM -GEN heart -MEET -PST
 'They (two) loved each other.'

In example (82) the host is a noun $\}^{\sim} _1$ 'heart'. It is the subject noun which has been marked for absolutive case. However, it has lost its semantic role when it combines with the light verb $\}^{\uparrow} R\uparrow R\}1$ to form a complex predicate construction.

b) Adjective incorporation

In Bhujel adjectives can combine with the light verb to form complex predicates. The following are the examples:

- (83)
 a. $_Rz\uparrow\uparrow |z\sim 1\uparrow r f Y R 1 \dots R | Y R\} R _1$

NA -ι κιμ σΑπ ρΑκΗ -ΑλΑ -N
 HA
 1SG -ERG house clean do -PST -1/2
 'I cleaned the house.'

b. ...R~1x...v€†, 1xv{ER}1
 ρΑμ γρεντο γε -ψΑλ
 Ram thin be -PST
 'Ram became thin.'

The function of an adjective in the clause is to modify the noun attributively or predicatively. In (83a) †rfYR 'clean' and in (83b) x...v€†, 'thin' are the adjectives. But these adjectives in (83a-b) do not modify any nouns as such. They have functioned as the host and combined with the light verbs (in (83a) 1...R|YR}R_ and (83b) xv{ER}1). As a result the complex predicates †rfYR...R|YR}R_ and 1x...v€†, xv{ER} are formed. This process is very pervasive in Hindi (Mohan, 1994:197).

ii. Verbal

In Bhujel the infinitive form of the verb can combine with the light verb to form complex predicates in Bhujel. Following are the examples:

(84)

a. €R_z1€ER~†{ER}1†^__~r{€1}r...€R1
 vAN -ι vψΑμτψΑω τυN -μαψ παρ -vA
 2SG -ERG alcohol drink -INF need -NPST
 'You must drink alcohol.'

b. t, |r{€1}R~1{v~r{€1}R}R}1
 χο -καψ Αμ φε -μαψ λΑγ -Αλ
 son -ERG rice eat -INF start -PST
 'The son started eating rice.'

(86)

- a. $u\epsilon, \epsilon z\uparrow |, \{\epsilon 1s^y v\uparrow x v R\} \uparrow r 1$
δψονισ -κοψ β^ηετ -γε -Αλ -χα
3DU REM -GEN encounter be -PST -DU
'They (two) met each other.'
- b. $\tau \epsilon \nu \kappa \Lambda \psi \rho \Lambda \mu \gamma \epsilon \Lambda \lambda$
τεν -κΑψ ρΑμ γε -Αλ
today -DAT night be -PST
'For today the night fell.'

In (86a -b) the light verb is *xv*? In (86a) the argument has received genitive case whereas in (86b) the argument is assigned the dative case. However, the numbers of the arguments are determined by both the host and the light verb as in (87)

(87)

- a. $_R z | R \sim 1 \{v\} R | \sim r \{\epsilon f r \dots \epsilon R 1$
NA -t Αμ φε -λΑκ -μαψ -παρ -vΑ
1SG -ERG rice eat -COMPL -INF need -NPST
'I have to finish eating rice.'
- b. $_R | R \{\epsilon 1 \dots R 1 | \{\epsilon R | ^y \sim r \{\epsilon 1 t z _ \} r 1$
NA -κΑψ ρΑ κψΑκ^η -μαψ χιN -λα
1SG -DAT winnow make -INF know -NEG
'I do not know to make winnow.'

9.8 Verb derivations

In Bhujel causative is encoded in the complex of the verb in combination with TAM and agreement inflections by the suffix $-\uparrow R |$ as in (88).

(88)

- a. $\uparrow z \uparrow R 1 \epsilon^y z R \}$

σιτΑ v^ηι - Αλ
 Sita laugh -PST
 ‘Sita laughed.’

b. __Rz|†z†R|R€1€^yz†R|R}^__

NA -ι σιτΑ -κΑψ v^ηι -τΑκ - Αλ -υ -N
 1SG -ERG Sita -DAT laugh -CAUS -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I caused Sita to laugh.’

c. __Rz|€R_|R€1uRü|^yR}^__

NA -ι vAN -κΑψ δΑ®κ - Αλ -υ -N
 η
 1SG -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I beat you.’

d. __Rz|€R_|R€1uRü|^y†R|R}^__

NA -ι vAN -κΑψ δΑ®κ -τΑκ -Αλ -υ -N
 η
 1SG -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -CAUS -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I got Ram beaten.’

The examples (88a and c) represent non-causative constructions. In causative constructions the intransitive verb in (88b) and transitive verb in (88d) are encoded by the causative affix - †R|.

9.9 Non-finite verbs

In the previous sections, especially in (9.3- 9.7) we discussed the morphology of the finite form of the Bhujel verb. In this section, we discuss the non-finite verbs in Bhujel. There are mainly five types of non-finite forms of the verbs in Bhujel. They are discussed as follows:

9.9.1 Infinitive (INF)

The verbal suffix- ~rŒ is attached to the root to ‘infinitize’ the form of the verb. This form is the citation form of the verb in Bhujel. Following are the examples

(89)

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|--|-----------|
| a. | φε-μαψ | | |
| | Eat-INF | | ‘to eat’ |
| b. | ρΑκ ^η -μαψ | | |
| | Do-INF | | ‘to do’ |
| c. | λΑμ-μαψ | | |
| | Lie-INF | | ‘to lie’ |
| d. | γΟτ-μαψ | | |
| | Call-INF | | ‘to call’ |

The same suffix is used to nominalize the verb. Following are the examples:

(90)

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|------|------------------|------|---------------------|------|------|------|
| a. | __RzI{v~rŒ ^ ..., 1tvŠr}a_1 | | | | | | | |
| | NA | -ι | φε | -μαψ | κυρο | χεω | -αλ | -αN |
| | 1SG | -ERG | eat | -INF | thing | find | -NEG | -1/2 |
| | ‘I did not find anything to eat.’ | | | | | | | |
| b. | __RzI...R ^y ~rŒ ~rŒt ^y v tvŠr}r_1 | | | | | | | |
| | NA | -ι | ρΑκ ^η | -μαψ | μανχ ^η ε | χεω | -αλ | -αN |
| | 1SG | -ERG | do | -INF | man | find | -NEG | -1/2 |
| | ‘I did not find the man to do the work.’ | | | | | | | |

In examples (89a-d) the main function of the suffix ~rŒ is to infinitize the root of the verb. Thus, this suffix can be referred to as infinitizer in Bhujel, glossed as INF.

However, in examples (90a- b) it does not simply infinitize the root of the verb. It rather nominalizes the verb. Thus, accordingly it can be referred to as nominalizer. This could be glossed as NMLZ (nominalizer). It can be taken as an extended function of this suffix. The verb form affixed by this suffix can have a nonfinite relative clause interpretation (see relative clauses in 11.6.1 for details).

9.9.2 *Participial(PTCP)*

The verbal suffix -, =which has been glossed as PTCP (participial) in this study, has mainly two functions. They are exemplified as follows:

- a. The suffix -, nominalizes the verb to which it is attached, e.g.,

(91)

- a. $_R1|{}^yR_,$
 NA κ^nAN -o
 1SG cook -PTCP
 ‘I (am) a cook.’
- b. $_R1\uparrow\{ER\epsilon,$
 NA $\sigma\psi Av$ -o
 1SG teach -PTCP
 ‘I (am) a teacher.’
- c. $\sim r_x\Gamma\}v1\uparrow R\uparrow,$
 $\mu\alpha N\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ $\sigma A\tau$ -o
 Mangale kill -PTCP
 ‘Mangale (is) a killer.’
- d. $\uparrow z\uparrow R1\dots v\uparrow,$
 $\sigma\tau A$ $\rho\epsilon\sigma$ -o
 Sita sing -PTCP
 ‘Sita (is) a singer.’

- b. The suffix -, nominalizes the verb which yields non-finite relative clause interpretation, e.g.,

(92)

- a. ŠR1†R‡, ŠR_R}
- ωA σAτ -ο ωAN -Aλ
 bird kill -PTCP come -PST
 ‘The man who had killed the fowl came.’
- b. ŠR1{v, ŠR_R}1
- ωA φε -ο ωAN -Aλ
 bird eat -PTCP come -PST
 ‘The man who had eaten the fowl came.’

9.9.3 Purposive (PURP)

The non-finite form of the verb suffixed by -} (ER_1) codes the purpose, e.g.,
 (93)

- a. †r†^...R1|z~|r†yR_1fRy^€R1xv} (ER_1
- σασυρA κιμ -κατ -ηAN παηουν γε -λψAN
 A
 F.-in-law house -ALL -LOC guest be -PURP
 R}, 1€R
- Aλ -ο vA
 go -PTCP COP
 ‘He goes to his father-in-law’s house for being the guest.’
- b. }rzfR1s, _} (ER_1} Rxr‡, 1€R1
- λαι -πA βoN - λαγα -το vA
 λψAN
 self -TOP search -PURP start -PTCP COP
 {v, 1|^...,
- φε -ο κυρο
 eat -PTCP thing
 ‘He started for searching the food himself.’

9.9.4 Time adverbial

There are two verbal suffixes viz. $-x^{\wedge}$ and $-SR\epsilon 1$ in Bhujel. They are attached to the root of the verb to denote the time of the events in the subordinate clauses. $-x^{\wedge}$ and $-SR\epsilon$ are glossed as WHEN and AFTER, respectively. Following are the examples:

(94)

a. $\dagger r \dagger^{\wedge} \dots R1 | z-1R \} sR\epsilon 1 \{ v, 1 |^{\wedge} \dots, 1$

σασυρα	κιμ	Αλ	-βΑν	φε	-ο	κυρο
F.-in-law	house	go	-AFTER	eat	-PTCP	thing

$s, _R \} 1$

βοN	-Αλ
search	-PST

‘He searched for food after he reached father-in-law’s house.’

b. $\dagger r \dagger^{\wedge} \dots R1 | z-1R \} x^{\wedge} \} 1 u \epsilon, z \in \epsilon R \sim \dagger \epsilon R \check{S} 1$

σασυρα	κιμ	Αλ	-γυλ	δψο	-ι	νψΑμτψΑω
F.-in-law	house	go	-WHEN	3SG REM	-ERG	spirit

$\dagger _R \} 1$

τυN	-Αλ
drink	-PST

‘He drank spirit when he went to father-in-law’s house.’

9.9.5 Sequential and simultaneous (SEQ/ SIM)

The non-finite form of the verb suffixed by $-sv\dagger$ and $-\dagger^y r z 1$ codes the sequentiality and simultaneity, respectively, e.g.,

(95)

a. $\dagger r \dagger^{\wedge} \dots R1 | z-1R \} sv\dagger \dagger z \{ vR \} 1$

σασυρα	κιμ	Αλ	-βετ	σι	-φε	-Αλ
F.-in-law	house	go	-SEQ	die	-PRF	-PST

‘He reached father-in-law’s house and died.’

b. $u \epsilon, 1 | z-1 | \dots R f \dagger^y r z 1 R \} R \} 1$

δψο	κιμ	κρΑπ	-τ ^η αι	Αλ	-Αλ
3SG REM	house	cry	-SIM	go	-PST

‘Crying he went home.’

9.10 Summary

In Bhujel the categories of tense, aspect and modality frequently co-occur in combination with agreement inflections in the clause structure of the language. They are marked by separate morphemes or by the same morphemes in the complex of the verb. However, the inflections of the verb have been analyzed separately in this chapter. Bhujel verbs inflect for two tense categories: past and non-past. The category of past tense is further subcategorized in terms of the remoteness of time into past and remote past. There are two aspects in Bhujel: perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect can be further sub-categorized into past-perfective (simple past-perfective vs. remote past-perfective), perfect, inceptive, completive. Similarly, the imperfective aspect in Bhujel can be further sub-categorized into durative and habitual. The epistemic modality of evidentiality is encoded in the verb by the tense markers. Verb agreement is based on the hierarchy of the participants. Unlike in Kiranti languages the direct marking is extended to the second person marking as well. The direct marker and tense markers are neutralized in the negative construction. In common with the South-Asian languages Bhujel exhibits the complex predicate construction. It also presents both derivational as well non-finite verb morphology.

CHAPTER 10

ADVERBS

10.0 Outline

This chapter deals with adverbs in Bhujel. It consists of four sections. In section 10.1 we present the semantic classification of adverbs in Bhujel. Section 10.2 deals with the classification of adverbs in terms of their formation. In section 10.3 we discuss the distribution of the adverbs in the language. Section 10.4 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

10.1 Semantic classification

Adverbs form a distinct grammatical category in Bhujel. The main function of adverbs is to modify events or states, e.g.

(1)

- a. ...R~lz†r†z††(ER|^y{1vR}1
- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-------|-------------------|------|------|
| ρAμ | ι | -τατι | σψAκ ^η | -φ ε | -Aλ |
| Ram | this | -MAN | dance | -PRF | -PST |
- ‘Ram had danced in this manner.’
- b. __Rz†€R†, {vR}^__1
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|-----|------|------|------|
| NA | -ι | vAτο | φε | -Aλ | -υ | -N |
| 1SG | -ERG | much | eat | -PST | -DIR | -1/2 |
- ‘I ate much.’
- c. €R†, 1u(ER_†, 1u(ER|^y~rz†ŠR_R}1
- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------------------|------|------|
| vAτο | δψANτο | δψAκ ^η μαι | ωAN | -Aλ |
| very | beautiful | young girl | come | -PST |
- ‘A very beautiful girl came.’

z-r†z in (1a) and €R†, in (1b) are adverbs which modify events coded by the verbs.

In (1c), €R†, is also an adverb which modifies the states coded by adjective,

uER_†, . The forms which have been analyzed as a category of adverb are distinct semantically, formally and syntactically from other major lexical word classes, viz. nouns, verbs and adjectives in Bhujel.

The adverbs in Bhujel may be semantically sub-categorized into manner, time and aspectuality, place, epistemic, intensity and expressive adverbs. They are presented in Figure 10.1.

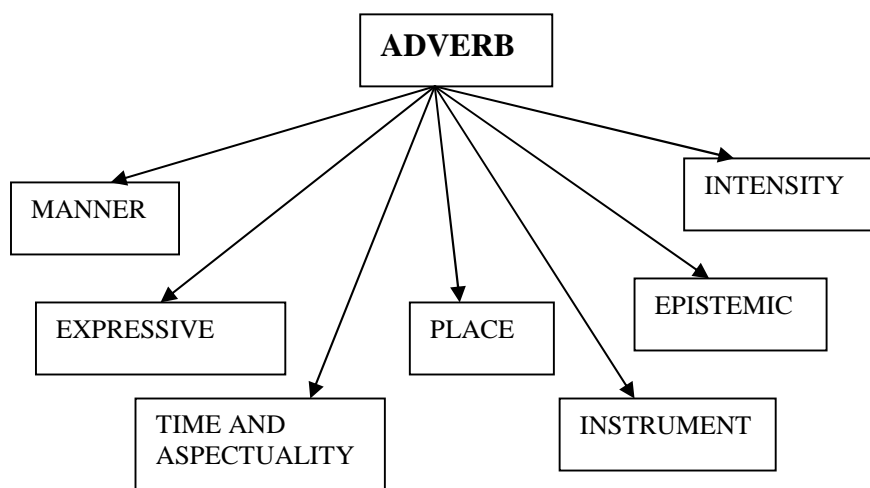


Figure 10.1: Sub- categories of adverb in Bhujel

They are discussed in the following subsections:

10.1.1 Manner adverbs

The main function of adverbs of manner is to modify the events coded by the verbs in the clause or discourse level. Manner adverbs in Bhujel are not numerous. The following manner adverbs in Bhujel are derived from the demonstratives representing three degrees of distance: proximate, distal and remote by adding the manner suffix - †r†z:

(2)

- a. ι-†α†ι† 'in this manner (proximate)'
- b. υ-†α†ι † 'in that manner(distal)'
- c. δψο-†α†ι †† 'in that manner (remote) '

Manner adverbs may also be derived from the verbs by adding the suffix -†z. The following are the forms:

(3)

- a. π^ηυ-τι
Roast-MAN
- b. υυσ-τι
Push-MAN
- c. κ^ηρΑυ-τι
Play-MAN
- d. υ^ηι-τι
Laugh-MAN

Manner adverbs may also be derived from the verbs by adding the sequential suffix -sv† and simultaneous suffix -†^yrz. The following are the forms:

(4)

- a. yr[^]1|...Rf†^yrz|f^y~z|r†1R}R}1
ηαυ κρΑ -τ^ηαι π^ηυι -κατ Αλ -Αλ
π
Y. sister cry -SIM jungle -ALL go -PST
'Weeping the younger sister went to jungle.'
- b. yr[^]1|...Rfsv†|f^y~z|r†1R}R}1
ηαυ κρΑ -βετ π^ηυι -κατ Αλ -Αλ
π
Y. sister cry -SEQ jungle -ALL go -PST
'After having wept the younger sister went to jungle.'

10.1.2 Time and aspectuality adverbs

The adverbs may code a point in time or various temporal aspects of the events coded by the verbs in the proposition. All aspectuality adverbs are borrowed from Nepali.

The following are the examples:

(5)

- a. yr[^]1†ru^yrz|f^y~z|r†1R}€R1

ηαυ σαδ^ηαι π^ηυι -κατ Αλ -vA
 Y. sister always jungle -ALL go -NPST

‘The younger sister always goes to jungle.’

b. u(Ε, zlf^v...z1_R | R(Ε1uRū | ^yRR}_1

δψο -ι π^ηερυ NA -κAψ δA® -ΑλA -N
 κ^η

δψο -ι π^ηερυ NA -κAψ δA® -Αλ -N
 κ^η

3SG REM -ERG again 1SG -DAT beat -PST -1/2

‘S/he again beat me.’

The simultaneous suffix -†YrZ may be attached to the root of some verbs of movement to code the aspect of regularity, e.g.,

(6)

a. u(Ε, z1ŠR_†^yrzi_R | R(Ε1uRū | ^yR}_R}_1

δψο -ι ωAN -τ^ηαι NA -κAψ δA® -ΑλA -N
 κ^η

3SG REM -ERG come -SIM 1SG -DAT beat -PST -1/2

‘S/he regularly beat me.’

b. u(Ε, z1R}_†^yrzi{R | R(Ε1uRū | ^yR}_r}_1

δψο -ι Αλ -τ^ηαι φA -κAψ δA® - ΑλA -N
 κη

3SG REM -ERG go -SIM tiger -DAT beat -PST -1/2

‘S/he regularly beat the tiger.’

Most of the time adverbials denoting a point in time are independent words. The following are the examples:

(7)

I. Days and parts of the days

a. αναμ1 ‘the day before yesterday/ the other day’

b. ψο1 ‘yesterday’

c. τεν1 ‘today’

d. σψAN1 ‘tomorrow’

e. κψΑμσα1 ‘day after tomorrow’

- f. πυσσ1 ‘two days after tomorrow/ three days hence’
- g. ανΑπυσ1 ‘three days after tomorrow/ four days hence’
- h. ν¹ι1 ‘noon/day’
- i. ψΑκ¹λΑλΑ1 ‘morning’
- j. ρΑμ1 ‘evening’
- k. ψΑκηδιN1 ‘night’

II. Years

- a. νεκ1 ‘this year’
- b. τελ ‘last year’
- c. νψΑμπυκ1 ‘year before last year’
- d. χιτπυκ1 ‘next year’
- e. ανΑχιτπυκ1 ‘year after next year’
- f. παηιλαλα νεκ ‘earlier this year’

III. Other adverbs of time

- a. εηαι1 ‘now’
- b. παχ¹ι1 ‘later’
- c. εηελα ‘recently’

The time adverbs may also appear as adverbial subordinate clauses depicting more fully the event that serves as temporal reference point, e.g.

- (8) $_R1|z-1R\}x^{\wedge}1\uparrow r|\uparrow rz1$
- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-----|------|
| NA | κιμ | Αλ | -γυλ | σακ | -ι |
| | | | | τα | |
| 1SG | house | go | -WHEN | all | -ERG |
| $R\sim 1\{v\}R R\}R\in z1$ | | | | | |
| Αμ | φε | -λΑκ | -ΑλΑ | -νι | |
| rice | eat | -COMPL | -PST | -PL | |
- ‘When I went home all had finished eating rice.’

10.1.3 Place adverbs

Place adverbs code a point in space of the events. Such adverbs are derived from demonstratives with the locative suffix -yR_. The following are the examples:

(9)

- a. ι-ηAN1 /ιηAN1/ [ψAN] ‘here’
- b. υ-ηAN1 /υηAN1/ [ωAN] ‘there (distal)’
- c. δψο-ηAN1 /δψοηAN1/ [dψAN] ‘there (remote)’
- d. ι-ηAN-λαψ1 /ιηANλαψ1/ [ψANλαψ] ‘here (emphatic)’
- e. υ-ηAN-λαψ1 /υηANλαψ1/ [ωANλαψ] ‘there (distal emphatic)’
- f. δψο-ηAN-λαψ1 /δψοηANλαψ1/ [δψANλαψ] ‘there (remote)’

Such adverbs are derived from lexical nouns with the locative suffix -yR_ as well.

The following are the examples:

(10)

- a. κιμ-ηAN1 /κιμηAN1/ ‘at home’
- b. κρυτ-ηAN /κιμηAN1/ ‘in the hand’
- c. πⁿυι-ηAN /πⁿυιηAN1/ ‘in the jungle’

10.1.4 Instrumental adverbs

The instrumental adverbs (Givo↔n, 2001:90) may be constructed as a noun phrase with instrumental/ergative case inflection -z or -|rĒ. The following are the examples:

(11)

- a. uĒ, zIursĒRzI{R|RĒ1†R†R}1
 δψο -ι δαβψ -ι φA -κAψ σAτ -Aλ
 A
 3SG REM -ERG knife -INS tiger -DAT kill -PST
 ‘He killed the tiger with a knife.’
- b. _RzI†z|rĒ1|...^††y^†R}^_1
 NA -ι τι -καψ κρυτ τⁿυτ -Aλ -υ -N
 1SG -ERG water -INS hand wash -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I washed the hands with water.’

10.1.5 Epistemic adverbs

All most epistemic adverbs in Bhujel are borrowed from Nepali. In Bhujel the epistemic adverb of certainty is encoded in the complex of the verb with the suffix -tv, e.g.

(12)

- a. $_Rz\text{f}\epsilon R_ | R\text{E}1sr\text{E}tv\epsilon^{\wedge} _1$
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|------|------|-------|-------|------|------|---|
| NA | -t | vAN | -κAψ | βαψ | -χε | -v | -υ | - | - |
| | | | | | | | | | N |
| 1SG | -ERG | 2SG | -DAT | give | -CERT | -NPST | -DIR | -1/2 | |
- ‘I will certainly give you.’
- b. $\text{‡}z\check{S}R_ tv\epsilon R1$
- | | | | |
|-------|------|-------|-------|
| τt | ωAN | -χε | -vA |
| water | come | -CERT | -NPST |
- ‘It will certainly rain.’

10.1.6 Intensity adverbs

These adverbs indicate the level of intensity for events or for attributes in the clauses.

They are listed as follows:

(13)

- a. δⁿερ ‘many/ much’
- b. ματo ‘little’
- c. ιχυκο ‘a little’
- d. ιχυκ ‘this much’
- e. υχυκ ‘that much’
- f. γαχυκ ‘how much’

10.1.7 Expressive adverbs

The expressive adverbs modify the verbs in Bhujel. Some of them are derived either from the verbs or nominals. Some of them have onomatopoeic source. Unlike its

related language Chepang Bhujel presents a few ideophones/ expressives.⁸⁴ Following are the examples:

(14)

- a. γυνι γυνι 'slowly'
- b. κ^ητρυκ κ^ητρυκ 'without much noise'
- c. χακωΑ χακωι 'little by little'
- d. χαμιτι π^ηυτι 'having sliced and grilled'
- e. λαγ λαγ 'growing nicely'
- f. ωορτι σαψτι 'bloomed'
- g. ηασψAN π^ηασψAN 'in hurry'
- h. γαδα γαδα 'walking fast in group'
- i. σωαττα 'sound of shooting with arrows'
- j. φωΑμμα 'suddenly'
- k. γρψAN 'sound coming with force'
- l. χαττα 'sound of the snapping'
- m. δαμαγα 'blooming nicely'

10.2 Formation of adverbs

In this section we present a brief overview on the formation of the adverbs. The adverb in Bhujel may be coded as a bound grammatical morpheme, an independent word, derived words and syntactic constructions. In terms of formation Bhujel exhibits four types of adverbs. They are presented in Figure 10.2.

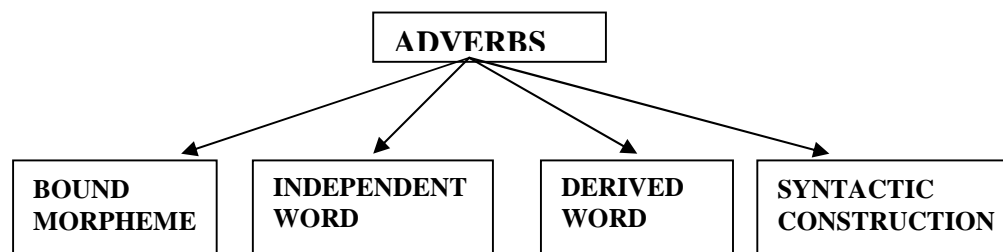


Figure 10.2: Formation of the adverbs in Bhujel

They are discussed as follows:

⁸⁴ Caughley (2002) reports that in the related language Chepang there are at least 1200 ideophones. However, there have been a few such lexical items found in the Bhujel language.

10.2.2 Independent word

There are a number of adverbs having the status of independent words. Some of them are exemplified as follows:

(17)

- | | | |
|----|------|-----------------|
| a. | νεκ1 | ‘ this year’ |
| b. | τε1 | ‘ last year’ |
| c. | νατο | ‘ much’ |
| d. | αναμ | ‘the other day’ |
| e. | ψο | ‘ yesterday’ |
| f. | τεν | ‘ today’ |
| g. | ραμ | ‘evening’ |

10.2.3 Derived word

In Bhujel the adverbs are mainly derived from the third person pronouns, nouns and verbs. They are exemplified as follows:

(18)

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------------|
| a. | ι-ηAN1 | ‘ here’ |
| b. | υ-ηAN | ‘ there (distal)’ |
| c. | δψο-ηAN | ‘there (remote)’ |
| d. | κιμ-ηAN | ‘ at home’ |
| e. | κρυτ-
ηAN | ‘ in the hand’ |
| f. | π ⁿ υι-ηAN | ‘ in the jungle’ |
| g. | νυσ-τι | ‘ push-MAN’ |
| h. | κ ⁿ ραυ-τι | ‘ play-MAN’ |

In (18a-c) the adverbs are derived from the third person pronouns with the locative suffix -yR_?. Similarly, the adverbs in (18d-f) are derived from the nouns with the locative suffix -yR_?. The adverbs in (18g-h) are derived from the verbs with the manner suffix -tʒ?1

10.2.4 Syntactic construction

The sequential and simultaneous converbal constructions are the syntactic constructions functioning as the manner adverbs in Bhujel. These constructions are

non-finite constructions. The sequential construction is formed from the verb with the suffix -sv† and simultaneous with suffix -†ʸrz. The following are the forms:

(19)

- a. $_r1\{v\ddagger^y r z\} f^y \hat{z} | r\ddagger 1R\} R_1$
 NA [φε -τ^ηαι] π^ηυι -κατ Αλ -Αλ -N
 1SG cry -SIM jungle -ALL go -PST -1/2
 ‘Weeping I went to jungle.’
- b. $_R1 | \dots R f s v \ddagger 1 f^y \hat{z} | r\ddagger 1R\} R_1$
 NA [κρΑ -βετ] π^ηυι -κατ Αλ -Αλ -N
 π
 1SG cry -SEQ jungle -ALL go -PST -1/2
 ‘After having wept I went to jungle.’

10.3 Distribution of adverbs

The adverbs in general are the most unrestricted grammatical category in terms of their position in the clause. However, the meaning of the adverb encoded by the bound morpheme in the verb is almost fixed. The adverb in word forms (i.e. independent word and derived word) occur immediately before a verb, another adverb or adjective, e.g.,

(20)

- a. ...R~z1R~1x^€zx^€z1{vR}1
ρAμ ι Αμ γυνιγυν φε -Aλ
 ι
Ram -ERG rice slowly eat -PST
'Ram slowly ate the rice.'
- b. ...R~1u^yv...1t^yz‡, 1v~{vR}1
ρAμ δⁿερ χⁿιτο εμ -φε -Aλ
Ram very early sleep -PRF -PST
'Ram had slept very early.'
- c. ρR~1u^yv...1xR}‡, 1~^€R
ρAμ δⁿερ γAλ -το μυ -vA
Ram very black -NML be -PST
'Ram is very black.'

The adverbs $x^{\wedge} \in z x^{\wedge} \in z 1$ in (20a), $u^y v \dots 1$ in (20b), $u^y v \dots 1$ in (20c) precede the verb $\{v-R\}$, adverb $t^y z \ddagger$, and adjective $xR\} \ddagger$, respectively. Functionally the adverbs modify the adverb and adjective in reference to the degree 'to what extent' as $u^y v \dots 1$ in (20b) modifies $t^y z \ddagger$, an adverb. Similarly in (20c) the adverb $\delta \eta \epsilon \rho$ modifies the adjective $xR\} \ddagger$, ?

10.4 Summary

Semantically there exist seven types of adverbs in Bhujel. They are manner, time and aspectuality, place, instrument, epistemic, intensity and expressive. Structurally, they can be categorized as a bound morpheme, independent word, derived, and syntactic construction. The adverb can modify verb, adverb or adjective in Bhujel. Except the adverbs in the form of bound morpheme and syntactic construction they are placed immediately before the verb, another adverb or adjective. However, in terms of position in the clause the adverbs are most unrestricted grammatical category in Bhujel.

CHAPTER 11

SYNTAX

11.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the syntax of Bhujel. It consists of seven sections. In section 11.1 we deal with the clause structure in the Bhujel language. Section 11.2 examines the structure of the noun phrase in Bhujel. Section 11.3 discusses the verbal sequences in the language. In section 11.4 we deal with agreement pattern in Bhujel. Section 11.5 examines the major sentences of the language. In section 11.6 we deal with the clause combining in Bhujel. In section 11.7 we summarize the findings of the chapter.

11.1 Clause structure

In this section we first deal with the basic clauses and then we examine the constituent order in the clauses.

11.1.1 Basic clauses

On the basis of functional elements such as subject (S), direct object (O^d), indirect object (O^i), verb (V), complement (C) and adverbials (A) of different kinds, viz. adverbial of time, place, manner, etc., there exist eight types of basic clauses in Bhujel.⁸⁶ They are exemplified in (1)

(1)

a. ...R-1†(ER|^y{vR})|| (SV)

ρAμ σψAκⁿ -φ ε -Aλ

Ram dance -PRF -PST

‘Ram had danced.’

⁸⁶ The functional elements: subject (S), object (O), verb (V) and complement (C) are obligatory elements whereas adverbials (A) are optional elements. The optional elements are enclosed within parentheses.

- b. ...R-z1R-1{vR}1(SOV)
 ρΑμ -ι Αμ φ ε -Αλ
 Ram -ERG rice eat -PST
 'Ram ate rice.'
- c. ...R-z1†z†R|R(E1_γR1sr(ER}1(S Oⁱ O^d V)
 ρΑμ -ι σιτΑ -κΑψ ΝⁿΑ βαψ -Αλ
 Ram -ERG Sita -DAT fish give -PST
 'Ram gave fish to Sita.'
- d. †z†R|ur(ER}^1~^€R1(SCV)
 σιτΑ δαψΑλυ μυ -vΑ

 Sita kind be -NPST
 'Sita is kind.'
- e. ...r-1|z~yR_1~^€R1(S(A)V)
 ρΑμ κιμ -ηΑΝ μυ -vΑ
 Ram house -LOC stay -NPST
 'Ram is at home.'
- f. u(Ε, }r~z1Rz†v|R(E1|γr..., 1sr€ryR}R(E1(S Oⁱ C V)
 δψο -λαμ -ι Αιτε -κΑψ κⁿαρο βανα -ΑλΑ -y

 ψ
 3SG REM -PL -ERG Aite -DAT head make -PST -PL
 'They elected Aite the head.'
- g. u(Ε, }r~z1|z†Rf1†vs^}yR_1xr~ryR}R(E1(S O(A)V)
 δψο -λαμ -ι κιτΑπ τεβυλ -ηΑΝ γαμα - -y

 ψ ΑλΑ
 3SG REM -PL -ERG book table -LOC keep -PST -PL
 'They put the book on the table.'

- h. $_R | R\{E\{E, _ | \dots R\{V\} \} (SV)$
 NA $-\kappa A \psi$ $\psi o N \kappa \rho A$ $-\phi \varepsilon$ $-A \lambda$
 ψ
 1SG $-\text{DAT}$ hunger $-\text{PRF}$ $-\text{PST}$
 ‘Ram had felt hungry.’

The basic clause patterns in (2a-h) can be applicable to the whole ranges of the Bhujel clauses. It is to be noted that the number of functional elements ranges minimally from two to maximally four in basic clauses (1a-h), e.g.,⁸⁷

(2)

- a. SV
- b. S V
- c. SOV
- d. SCV
- e. S (A) V
- f. S O (A) V
- g. S Oⁱ O^d V
- h. S Oⁱ C V

It is also observed that all the basic clauses (2a-h) are verb-final. The verbs used in (1a-h) constitute four classes: copular, simple intransitive, simple transitive and bi-transitive (Givo↔n, 2001). Similarly, the clauses in (1a-h) can be categorized into four simple verbal clauses in Bhujel. They are copular clause, simple intransitive clause, simple transitive clause and bitransitive clause. They are discussed as follows:

i. Copular clauses

The basic clauses (1d) and (1e), semantically, represent permanent and temporary states, respectively. The subject of the copular verb in (1d) occupies the semantic role of dative whereas in (1e) it occupies the role of patient.

⁸⁷ It is to be noted here that there exists dative subject construction in Bhujel (see chapter 7). Thus, in (2a) and (2b) occur same functional elements: S and V. In (2a) S refers to subject of an intransitive verb whereas in (2h) it refers to a dative subject.

ii. Simple intransitive clauses

The basic clauses (1a) and (1h) may be referred to as simple intransitive clauses in Bhujel. They may be further categorized into two groups:

a. Agent subject with action verb

The intransitive verb in (1a) codes an action and its subject takes the role of agent.

b. Dative subject with mental-state-verb

The clause in (1h) the verb codes state and the subject occupies the semantic role of dative.

iii. Simple transitive clause

The basic clause (1b) may be referred to as simple transitive clauses in Bhujel. The transitive verb {1v in (1b) codes an event which can be characterized as a bounded, terminated and fast changing in real time. It has a deliberate, active agent ...R~land a concrete affected patient R~.

1

iv. Bi-transitive clauses

The basic clauses (1c), (1f) and (1g) represent bi-transitive clauses in which the verbs code events with three obligatory participants. They include subject, direct object and indirect object. They can be further classified into three groups:

z? Dative-Benefactive object¹

In (1c) the bitransitive verb sɾ(ɛ)1 codes an event in which direct object ɛ^yR1 occupies a patient role whereas the indirect object takes a dative role.

b) Verbs with two direct objects¹

In (1f) there are two objects. The first object Rzɬv1 occupies the syntactic role of direct object whereas the second object |^yr..., takes the role of indirect object.

z? Locative indirect object¹

Similarly in (1g) the verb codes an event in which a deliberate agent (subject) causes the movement of patient (direct object) to some location (Givo↔n, 2001:142).

11.1.2 Constituent order

This subsection examines order of the constituents of pragmatically unmarked clauses in Bhujel. The order of the constituents of simple transitive clause, viz. S, O and V as in (1b) may be permuted from their stipulated places, e.g.,

(3)

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|------|------|-----|------|-------|
| a. | ρAμ | -ι | Aμ | φ ε | -Aλ | (SOV) |
| | Ram | -ERG | rice | eat | -PST | |
| | 'Ram ate rice.' | | | | | |
| b. | ρAμ | -ι | φ ε | -Aλ | Aμ | (SVO) |
| c. | φ ε | -Aλ | ρAμ | -ι | Aμ | (VSO) |
| d. | φ ε | -Aλ | Aμ | ρAμ | -ι | (VOS) |
| e. | Aμ | ρAμ | -ι | φ ε | -Aλ | (OSV) |
| f. | Aμ | φ ε | -Aλ | ρAμ | -ι | (OVS) |

It is to be noted that all the six logically possible clauses (3a-f) are acceptable in Bhujel. However, SOV in (3a) may represent the basic constituent order in Bhujel.

Basically there are two reasons. They are as follows:

- a. This order is also common in other Tibeto-Burman languages like Chapang (Caughley, 1982), Newar (Malla, 1985) and Gurung (Glover, 1974) including Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali (Regmi, 1988) and Maithili (Yadava, 1998).
- b. The native speakers have strong feelings that SOV is the basic order. Moreover, it is the most frequent, least marked and pragmatically neutral (Whaley, 1997:106).

The examples (3b-f) show the permutation of the constituents in the simple transitive clause. However, the change in order generally triggers a change in the meaning of the permuted elements from its stipulated place, e.g.,

(4)

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|------|------|-----|------|--|
| a. | ...R~z1R~1{1vR}1(SOV) | | | | | |
| | ρAμ | -ι | Aμ | φ ε | -Aλ | |
| | Ram | -ERG | rice | eat | -PST | |
| | 'Ram ate rice.' | | | | | |

- b. ...R~z1{1vR}1R~1(SVO)
 ρAμ -ι φ ε -Aλ Aμ
 Ram -ERG eat -PST rice
 ‘As for Ram, he certainly ate rice.’
- c. {vR}1...R~z1R~1(VSO)
 φ ε -Aλ ρAμ -ι Aμ
 eat -PST Ram -ERG rice
 ‘It was Ram, as for eating, he did it.’
- d. {1vR}1R~1...R~z1(VOS)
 φ ε -Aλ Aμ ρAμ -ι
 eat -PST rice Ram -ERG
 ‘It was rice, as for eating, which Ram did.’
- e. R~1...R~z1{vR}1(OSV)
 Aμ ρAμ -ι φ ε -Aλ
 rice Ram -ERG eat -PST
 ‘As for rice, it was Ram, who ate it.’
- f. R~1{vR}1...R~z1(OVS)
 Aμ φ ε -Aλ ρAμ -ι
 rice eat -PST Ram -ERG
 ‘As for rice, Ram ate it; he did not do anything else.’

We can observe mainly two types of pragmatic effects of the permutation of constituents in (4b-f): topicalization and focusing.

i. Topicalization

The topicalized constituent is placed clause initially. In (4b) subject is topicalized. In (4c) and (4d) verb has been topicalized. Similarly, in (4e) and (4f) object is topicalized.

ii. Focusing

The focused constituent is placed clause medially. The subject is focused in (4c) and (4e) whereas the object is focused in (4d). The verb is similarly focused in (4b) and (4f).

The permutation of the clause constituents in Bhujel may trigger phonological effects. These effects may produce different pragmatic effects as well, e.g.,

(5)

- a. $\rho A\mu$ -t $A\mu$ $\varphi \uparrow$ -A λ
 ε
 Ram -ERG rice eat -PST
 ‘Ram ate rice.’
- b. $\rho A\mu$ -t $\varphi \uparrow$ -A λ A \leftrightarrow μ
 ε
 ‘As for Ram, he certainly ate rice.’
- c. $\varphi \uparrow \varepsilon$ -A λ ρA -t A \leftrightarrow μ
 μ
 ‘It was Ram, as for eating, he did it.’
- d. $\varphi \uparrow \varepsilon$ -A λ $A\mu$ $\rho \leftrightarrow$ -t
 $A\mu$
 ‘It was rice, as for eating, which Ram did.’
- e. A \uparrow μ $\rho A\mu$ -t $\varphi \leftrightarrow$ -A λ
 ε
 ‘As for rice, it was Ram, who ate it.’
- f. A \uparrow μ $\varphi \varepsilon$ -A λ $\rho \leftrightarrow$ -t
 $A\mu$
 ‘As for rice, Ram ate it; he did not do anything else.’

The following phonological rules apply in the examples (5a-f):

- A basic clause, e.g. (5a) carries a falling tone. In a basic clause verb bears the tonic stress.
- In a pragmatically marked clause, e.g. (5b-f) the deviated constituent bears the tonic stress in Bhujel. Thus, the verbs in (5b-d) and the objects in (5e) and (5f) bear the tonic stress.
- The constituents which occur clause finally as in (5b-f) are normally uttered with a slightly rise tone.

d. Pragmatically marked clauses as in (5b-f) are uttered with a fall-rise tone. To sum up, the basic constituent order in Bhujel is SOV. However, this order is not fixed. For the pragmatic effects such as topicalization and focusing the constituents may be permuted within the clause to a great extent. Thus, the constituent order in Bhujel may be better characterized as relatively free.

In Bhujel the adverbials such as adverbials of time (AT), place (AP) and manner (AM) are not obligatory constituents of the basic clauses. They are peripheral elements in the sense that they have no fixed position in the clause. They can occur, in Bhujel clauses, initially, medially or clause finally with little or no semantic effects. Let us consider the following examples.

(6)

a.	AT	S	AP	AM	V
	τεν	ρΑμ	κιμ-ηAN	γυνιγυν	ροκ-Αλ
				ι	
	today	Ram	house-LOC	slowly	speak-PST
	'Today Ram spoke at home slowly.'				
b.	S	AT	AM	AP	V
	ρΑμ	τεν	γυνιγυνι	κιμ-	ροκ-Αλ
				ηAN	
c.	S	AM	AT	AP	V
	ρΑμ	γυνιγυν	τεν	κιμ-	ροκ-Αλ
		ι		ηAN	

The examples in (6a-c) show that the adverbials may be placed anywhere without triggering any semantic effects. These elements are problematic even in the fixed word order language like English (Quirk et al., 1985). The order of optional adverbials is a residual problem in Bhujel as in Nepali (Regmi, 1988).

11.2 The noun phrase

In this section we first discuss the structure of noun phrase and then we examine its modifiers. Finally we look at the order of the modifiers in the noun phrases.

11.2.1 Noun phrase structure

A noun phrase (henceforth NP) in Bhujel consists of minimally a head element that is realized by a noun, and optionally one or more modifiers. The structure of a noun phrase is exemplified in (7a-f)

(7)

- a. $|\wedge\{\text{E1}\check{\text{S}}\text{R_R}\}$
 κυψ ωAN -Aλ
 dog come -PST
 ‘A dog came.’
- b. $\text{R}\{\{\text{E}, 1|\wedge\{\text{E1}\check{\text{S}}\text{R_R}\}\}$
 Ατ -φψο κυψ ωAN -Aλ
 one -CLF dog come -PST
 ‘One dog came.’
- c. $f\nu\ddagger, 1\sim\text{R}\epsilon\text{t}^y\nu\check{\text{S}}\text{R_R}\}$ 1
 πετο μAvχⁿ ωAN -Aλ
 ε
 good man come -PST
 ‘A good man came.’
- d. $\text{R}\{\{\text{E}, 1\kappa\text{R}\}\ddagger, 1|\wedge\{\text{E1}\check{\text{S}}\text{R_R}\}\}$
 Ατ -φψο γAλτο κυψ ωAN -Aλ
 One -CLF black dog come -PST
 ‘One black dog came.’
- e. $\check{\text{S}}\text{R}1\ddagger\text{R}\ddagger, 1\sim\text{R}\epsilon\text{t}^y\nu\check{\text{S}}\text{R_R}\}$
 ωA σΑτ -ο μAvχⁿ ωAN -Aλ
 ε
 bird kill -PTCP man come -PST
 ‘The man who killed the bird came.’
- f. $\text{R}\ddagger\text{s}, \epsilon\{f\nu\ddagger, 1\sim\text{R}\epsilon\text{t}^y\nu\check{\text{S}}\text{R_R}\}\}$
 Ατ -βον πετο μAvχⁿ ωAN -Aλ
 ε

One -CLF good man come -PST

'One good man came.'

1

1

- g. |z-yR_1-^€R
κιμ -ηAN μω -vA
house -LOC stay -NPST
'(S/he is at home.)'

The following constitute the noun phrases in (7a-g) in Bhujel.⁸⁸

(8)

- a. κυψ
b. Ατ-φψο κυψ
c. πετο μΑνχ^ηε
d. ωΑ σΑτ-ο μΑνχ^ηε
e. Ατ-φψο γαλτο κυψ
f. Ατ-βον πετο μΑνχ^ηε
g. κιμ-ηAN

The underlined nouns in (8a-g) function as the head of the noun phrases. The head noun in (8a) lacks modifiers. In (8b-d) and (8g) there is one modifier of the head noun whereas in (8e-f) there are two modifiers. Moreover, in (8b-g) they are pre-modifiers whereas in (8g) it is the post-modifier. The structure of the noun phrases in (8a-g) may be summarized as follows:

- I. HEAD (as in 8a)
II. HEAD-MODIFIER (as in 8g)
III. MODIFIER- HEAD (as in 8b-f)

On the basis of the general characteristics of the noun phrases in (8a-g) we can schematize a noun phrase in Bhujel as follows:

(9) NP (PRE-NOMINAL MODIFIER) N (POST-NOMINAL MODIFIER)

⁸⁸ The noun phrase typically functions as the argument or the participant of a verbal predicate. The possible syntactic functions of NPs include subject, object, and subject and object complement, and adverbial complement in the prepositional phrase. Semantically, NPs can express such roles as agent, patient, theme, experiencer, instrument, etc. Apart from these syntactic and semantic functions the NPs function as grammatical categories to refer to the items of the real world. In other words, NPs directly or indirectly refer to the items of real world.

⁸⁸ There is no definable limit on how many modifiers a single NP can have and because of this a noun phrase can be as complex as a clause. Huddleston (1984:232) notes that the potential complexity of NP structure matches that of the clause.

It means that in Bhujel a noun phrase minimally consists of an obligatory noun (N). The obligatory noun may be optionally preceded by pre-nominal modifier and followed by post-nominal modifier. It can be presented as follows:

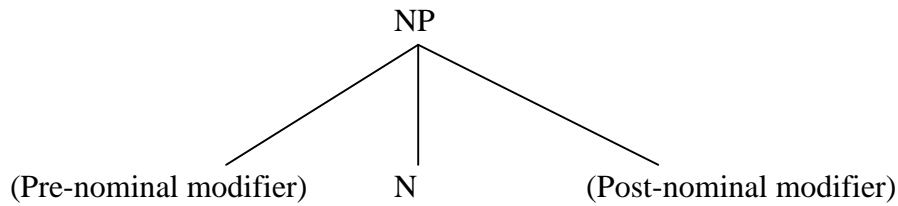


Figure 11.1: Structure of noun phrase

11.2.2 Modifiers of noun phrases

This subsection discusses the modifiers of the noun phrases in Bhujel. As noted in 11.2.1 they include pre-nominal modifiers and post-nominal modifiers. They are discussed in detail as follows:

i. Pre-nominal modifiers

The pre-nominal modifiers in Bhujel may include quantifiers, numeral classifiers, determiners/demonstratives, adjectives and participial relative clauses.

- **Quantifiers**

The pre-nominal quantifiers in Bhujel are exemplified in (10)

(10)

a. †r|†r|†R_r}r~1ŠR_R}RÆ1

σακτ σANα -λαμ ωAN -AλA -ψ

α

all friend -PL come -PST -PL

‘All the friends came.’

b. †^~R1†R_r}r~1ŠR_R}RÆ

συ -μA σANα -λαμ ωAN - -ψ

AλA

who -NEG friend -PL come -PST -PL

‘None of the friends came.’

In (10a) †r|†r ‘all’ and in (10b) †^~R ‘none’ modify the noun †R_r ‘friend’ they precede.

- **Numeral classifiers**

The numeral classifiers also pre-modify the noun Bhujel. They are exemplified in (11a-c).

(11)

- a. R{ts, €1†y†R1ŠR_R}1
 Aτ -βov τⁿιτ ωAN -Aλ
 A
 one -CLF boy come -PST
 ‘One (person) boy came.’
- b. R{€1, 1| ^€1ŠR_R}1
 Aτ -φψo κυψ ωAN -Aλ
 one -CLF dog come -PST
 ‘One (animal) dog came.’
- c. R{€1, 1|z~1tvŠR}1
 Aτ -φψo κιμ χεω -Aλ
 one -CLF boy see -PST
 ‘One (inanimate) house appeared.’

- **Determiners**⁸⁹

The determiners in Bhujel may include deictic/ definite, indefinite and possessive. They are discussed as follows:

Deictic/ definite

The third person personal pronouns function as demonstrative pronouns when they occur before nouns. They may code both deictic and definite e.g.,

(12)

- a. z| | ^€1
 ι κυψ
 3SG PROX dog
 ‘This dog.’

⁸⁹ In Poudel (2006) adjectives, demonstrative, quantifying, genitive and limiting are discussed under the cover term determiner. However, following (Givo⇔n, 2001) we have used the notion determiner to refer to deictic/ definite, indefinite and possessive.

b. $\hat{1} | \hat{\text{E}}1$
 υ κυψ
 3SG DIST dog
 ‘That (distal) dog.’

c. $\text{u}\text{E}, 1 | \hat{\text{E}}1$
 δψο κυψ
 3SG REM dog
 ‘That (remote) dog.’

Indefinite

Numeral classifiers apart from classifying the nouns as human and non-human may code indefinite, e.g.,

(13)

a. $R\ddagger s, \text{E}1\text{u}\text{E}R |^y \sim r z1$
 Ατ -βον δψΑκⁿμαι
 one -CLF lass
 ‘One (person) lass.’

b. $R\{\text{E}, 1\text{E}^{\wedge} | 1$
 Ατ -φψο ψυκ
 one -CLF monkey
 ‘One (animal) monkey.’

Possessive

In Bhujel possessive consists of a personal pronoun followed by a genitive marker - |, E. It pre-modifies nouns, e.g.,

(14)

a. $_R |, \text{E}1 | z \sim 1$
 NA -κοψ κτιμ
 1SG -GEN house
 ‘My house.’

b. $_z |, \text{E}1 | z \sim 1$

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|------|-------|
| | N ₁ | -κοψ | κιμ |
| | 1PL | -GEN | house |
| | ‘Our house.’ | | |
| c. | €R_ , €1 z~1 | | |
| | vAN | -κοψ | κιμ |
| | 2SG | -GEN | house |
| | ‘Your house.’ | | |
| d. | €z_ , €1 z~1 | | |
| | v _i N | -κοψ | κιμ |
| | 2PL | -GEN | house |
| | ‘Your house.’ | | |
| e. | υ€ , , €1 z~1 | | |
| | δψο | -κοψ | κιμ |
| | 3SG REM | -GEN | house |
| | ‘His/her house.’ | | |

- Adjectives and adjectival phrases

A single adjective may precede the nouns, e.g.,

(15)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------|
| a. | βρΑυτο | σιN |
| | big | tree |
| | ‘Big tree.’ | |
| b. | ψΑυτο | δομ |
| | long | leg |
| | ‘Long leg.’ | |
| c. | π ⁿ Αμο | νΑψ |
| | white | cloth |
| | ‘White cloth.’ | |
| d. | νιμτο | τυμ |
| | sweet | honey |
| | ‘Sweet honey.’ | |
| e. | ηψΑκτ | βεσκΑμ |
| | ο | |

bitter bread
 ‘Bitter bread.’

The head noun in Bhujel may be preceded by an adjectival phrase. It consists of a head, an adverb and other adjectives. Except the head others are optional. The constituency of adjectival phrase (AP) may be described as follows:

(16) AP (ADV) (ADV*) ADJ

It means that the head adjective can be preceded by an adverb and one or more adjectives, e.g.,

(17)

- a. $u^y v \dots r1 u \in R \dot{u} |^y \ddagger, 1 u \in R |^y \sim r \in 1$
 δ^ηερα δψΑ⊗κ^η δψΑκ^ημαψ
 το
 very beautiful lass
 ‘Very beautiful lass.’
- b. $u^y v \dots r1 t R | \ddagger, 1 s R _ 1$
 δ^ηερα χακτ βΑΝ
 ο
 very hard stone
 ‘Very hard stone.’
- c. $u^y v \dots r1 \ddagger \in \hat{_} \ddagger, 1 u, _ x$
 r1
 δ^ηερ τψυΝ δοΝγ
 α το α
 περ σηορ στιχκ
 ψ τ
 ‘Very short stick.’
- d. $R \{ \in, 1 u, y, 1 s \dots R \hat{_} \ddagger, 1 | z \sim 1$
 Ατ φψο δοηο βραυ κιμ
 το

one -CLF white large house
 ‘A white large house.’

e. $u\{E, 1u^{\wedge}\epsilon\ddagger, 1xR\}\ddagger, 1R\sim R\}r\sim 1$
 δψο δυντ γΑλτ ΑμΑλα
 ο ο μ
 that fat black woman
 ‘That black and fat woman.’

f. $u\{E, 1x\dots v\epsilon\ddagger, 1xR\}\ddagger, 1xR\{E1$
 δψο γρεντ γΑλτ γΑψ
 ο ο
 that thin black cow
 ‘That black and thin cow.’

In (17a-c) the head adjectives are preceded by an adverb $u^y v\dots r$ which functions as an intensifier. However, in (17d-f) the head adjective which is placed closer to the stem noun is preceded by one or more adjective apart from the determiners which is placed phrase initially. When there is required to use two or more adjectives one adjective which qualifies the following considerations is placed closer to the stem nouns (Gruber, 1967 as cited in (Givón, 2001:7))

(18)

- a. More central to the meaning of the noun
- b. More inherent, durable quality of the noun
- c. More generic (rather than) information
- d. More given (rather than specific) information
- e. Non-restrictive (rather than restrictive)

In (17d-f) the adjectives which are placed closer to the head noun qualify the considerations in (18a-e).

Moreover, the adverbs such as in (17a-c) and determiners in (17d-f) are placed phrase initially. Any deviation in the order produces unacceptable noun phrase structure as in (19a-c)

(19)

- a. *δψA⊗κ^η νAτο δψAκ^ημαψ
 το
 beautiful very lass
 ‘*Beautiful very lass.’
- b. *χακτο νAτο βAN
 hard very stone
 ‘*Hard very stone.’
- c. *δοηο Aτ -φψο βραυτο κιμ
 white one -CLF large house
 ‘*White a large house.’

The adverb (17a-c) and determiners (17 d-f) can occur in the same noun phrase. In such case determiners are followed by adverb, e.g.,

- (20) uE, 1ER†, 1u^ε†, 1xR}†, 1R~R}r~1
 δψο νAτο δυντο γΑλτ ΑμΑλα
 ο μ
 that very fat black woman
 ‘That very black and fat woman.’

- **Participial relative clauses**

Non-finite or participialized or nominalized clauses in Bhujel pre-modify the noun phrase, e.g.,

- (21)
- a. ŠR1†R†, 1~Rεt^νl
 ωA σAτ -ο μΑνχ^ηε
 bird kill -PTCP man
 ‘The man who killed the bird.’
- b. R†{E, 1..v†, 1ŠR1
 Aτ -φψο ρεσ -ο ωA

one -CLF sing -PTCP bird
 ‘The bird which sings songs.’

c. ...R-1~^, 1|z~1
 ρAμ μυ -ο κιμ
 Ram stay -PTCP house
 ‘The house where Ram lives.’

ii. Post-nominal modifiers

To use Givón's (2001: 2, Vol 2) terms the post-nominal modifiers in Bhujel may include number, case markers/ postpositional phrases and relative clauses. They are discussed as follows:

1. Number

Number post-modifies the nouns as in (22).

(22)

a. |^ {E} r~1
 कुψ -λαμ
 dog -PL
 ‘Dogs.’

b. {E^ | } r~1
 ψυκ -λαμ
 monkey -PL
 ‘Monkeys.’

2. Case markers/ postpositional phrases

The case markers also post-modify the nouns, e.g.,

(23)

a. ...R- | rE1
 ρAμ -καψ
 Ram -ERG

- b. ...R~ - | R€1
 ρΑμ -κΑψ
 Ram -DAT
- c. ...R~ | ^ †1
 ρΑμ -κυσ
 Ram -COM
- d. ...R~ } €R~1
 ρΑμ -λψΑμ
 Ram -ABL
- e. |z~yR_1
 κιμ -ηΑΝ
 house -LOC

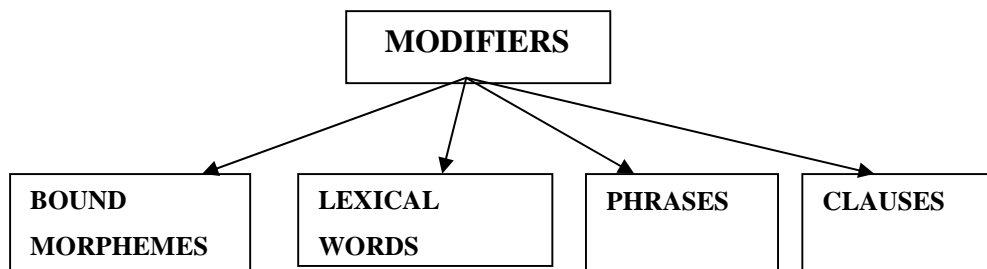
3. Relative clauses

We have discussed the relative clauses in detail in section 11.6. Post-nominal relative clauses are not productive in Bhujel. However, with the influence of contact language Nepali such relative clauses have been used in Bhujel.

Following is the example:

- (24) u€1, 1~r€1, 1x... ^ †z1~ ^ €R1xr^1~r€1, 1
 δψο μαψο γρυσ μυ -vA γαυ μαψο
 ι
 that baby sick stay -NPST which Baby
 |R|^yR_1~^}R|€R1
 κΑκ^η -ηΑΝ μυ -λΑκ -vA
 lap -LOC stay -COMPL -NPST
 'The child who is sitting in the lap is sick.'

The modifiers in Bhujel may be classified in terms of the following forms (Givón, 2001:2, Vol.2):



Post-positional phrase

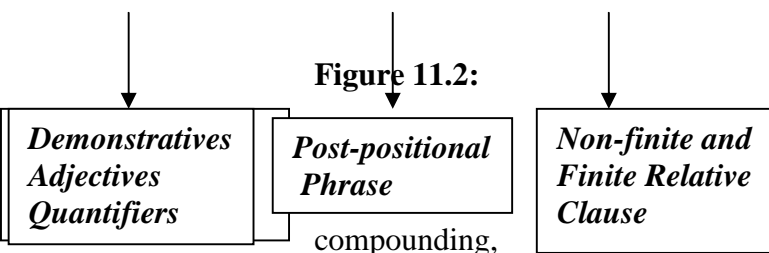


Figure 11.2:

Modifiers in Bhujel

Apart from the bound morphemes the lexical words like demonstratives, adjectives, numerals and quantifiers are the lexical

modifiers of the noun in Bhujel.

11.2.3 Order of modifiers in the noun phrase

Post-modification is not productive in Bhujel. The linear ordering of the pre-modifiers in NP is more or less fixed. They constitute the following sets:

(25)

- a. {DEM, POSS.}

$z1_R |, \{ \epsilon 1RfR1 \sim \wedge \in R1$

ι NA - $\kappa\psi$ $A\pi A$ $\mu\upsilon$ - vA

that 1SG -GEN father be -NPST

‘This is my father.’

- b. {POSS, DET, ADJ}

$_R |, \{ \epsilon 1R \{ \epsilon 1s \dots R \wedge \ddagger, 1 | z \sim 1$

NA - $\kappa\psi$ $A\tau$ - $\phi\psi\omicron$ $\beta\rho A\upsilon\tau$ $\kappa\iota\mu$

o

1SG -GEN one -CLF large house

‘My one (classifier) big house.’

11.3 Verbal sequences

A verb complex in Bhujel consists of minimally a verb as head and optionally one or more elements which are formally suffixed to the head. They include tense, aspect and modality, number and person markers, evidential markers, converb and causative markers, prohibitive marker, negation, etc. They are arranged in a particular sequence.

A simple transitive verb {lv 'eat' in Bhujel may exhibit the following structures:

(27)

- a. $_RzIR\sim 1\{v\epsilon^{\wedge} _1$
 NA -t Aμ φ ε -v -υ -N
 1SG -ERG rice eat -NPST -DIR -1/2
 'I eat rice.'
- b. $_RzIR\sim 1\{vR\}^{\wedge} _1$
 NA -t Aμ φ ε -Aλ -υ -N
 1SG -ERG rice eat -PST -DIR -1/2
 'I ate rice.'
- c. $_RzIR\sim \{v\ddagger^{\wedge} _1$
 NA -t Aμ φ ε -τ -υ -N
 1SG -ERG rice eat -RPST -DIR -1/2
 'I ate rice a long ago.'
- d. $_zcZ|r\epsilon IR\sim \{v\epsilon _Rt^{\wedge} _1$
 Ntct -καψ Aμ φ ε -vA -N -χ -υ
 1DU -ERG rice eat -NPST -1/2 -DU -DIR
 'We (two) eat rice.'
- e. $_zcZ|r\epsilon IR\sim 1\{vR\}R_t^{\wedge} _1$
 Ntct -καψ Aμ φ ε -AλA -N -χ -υ
 1DU -ERG rice eat -PST -1/2 -DU -DIR
 'We (two) ate rice.'

- f. $_z\}r\sim z\}R\sim 1\{v\epsilon^{\wedge}_z\}$
 Νιλα -ι Αμ φ ε -v -υ -N -ι
 μ
 1PL -ERG rice eat -NPST -DIR 1/2 -PL
 ‘We eat rice.’
- g. $_z\}r\sim z\}R\sim 1\{vR\}^{\wedge}_z\}$
 Νιλα -ι Αμ φ ε -Αλ -υ -N -ι
 μ
 1PL -ERG rice eat -PST -DIR 1/2 -PL
 ‘We ate rice.’
- h. $_z\}r\sim z\}R\sim 1\{v\ddagger^{\wedge}_z\}$
 Νιλα -ι Αμ φ ε -τ -υ -N -ι
 μ
 1PL -ERG rice eat -PST -DIR -1/2 -PL
 ‘We ate rice long ago.’
- i. $_ztz\}r\epsilon\}R\sim 1\{v\epsilon_R\ddagger r t^{\wedge}1\}$
 Νιχι -καψ Αμ φ ε -vA -N -τα -χ -υ
 1DU -ERG rice eat -PST -1/2 -INCL -DU -DIR
 ‘We (two) eat rice.’
- j. $_ztz\}r\epsilon\}R\sim 1\{vR\}R_ \ddagger r t^{\wedge}1\}$
 Νιχι -καψ Αμ φ ε -Αλ -N -τα -χ -υ
 1DU -ERG rice eat -PST -1/2 -INCL -DU -DIR
 ‘We (two) ate rice.’
- k. $_ztz\}r\epsilon\}R\sim 1\{v\ddagger r_ \ddagger r t^{\wedge}1\}$
 Νιχι -καψ Αμ φ ε -τα -N -τα -χ -υ
 1DU -ERG rice eat -RPST -1/2 -INCL -DU -DIR
 ‘We (two) ate rice long ago.’

- l. $_z\}r\sim|r\in R\sim\{v\in R_r\hat{z}^1$
 Νιλα -καψ Αμ φ ε -vA -N -τα -ι -υ
 μ
 1PL -ERG rice eat -NPST -1/2 -INCL -PL -DIR
 ‘We eat rice.’
- m. $_z\}r\sim|r\in R\sim\{1vR\}_r\hat{z}^1$
 Νιλα -καψ Αμ φ ε -Aλ -N -τα -ι -υ
 μ
 1PL -ERG rice eat -PST -1/2 -INCL -PL -DIR
 ‘We ate rice.’
- n. $_z\}r\sim|r\in R\sim\{1v\}_r\hat{z}^1$
 Νιλα -καψ Αμ φ ε -τα -N -τα -ι -υ
 μ
 1PL -ERG rice eat -RPST -1/2 -INCL -PL -DIR
 ‘We ate rice long ago.’
- o. $\in R_z\}R\sim\{1v\hat{v}\in\^1$
 vA -ι Αμ φ ε -τε -v -υ -N
 N
 2SG -ERG rice eat -2 -NPST -DIR -1/2
 ‘You eat rice.’
- p. $\in R_z\}R\sim\{v\hat{v}\}_R\^1$
 vA -ι Αμ φ ε -τε -τAλ -υ -N
 N
 2SG -ERG rice eat -2 -(2)PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘You ate rice.’
- q. $\in R_z\}R\sim\{1v\hat{v}\^1$
 vAN -ι Αμ φ ε -τε -τ -υ -N

2SG -ERG rice eat -2 -RPST -DIR -1/2

‘You ate eat rice long ago.’

r. $\epsilon z_j z | r \text{E}1R \sim 1 \{ v \dagger v \text{E}R _ \{ \wedge 1$

$v_i N_j i \quad -\kappa \alpha \psi \quad A \mu \quad \varphi \ \epsilon \quad -\tau \epsilon \quad -v A \quad -N \quad -\varphi \quad -\upsilon$

2DU -ERG rice eat -2 -NPST -1/2 -2DU -DIR

‘You (two) eat rice.’

s. $\epsilon z_j z | r \text{E}1R \sim 1 \{ v \dagger v \dagger R \} _ \{ \wedge 1$

$v_i N_j i \quad -\kappa \alpha \psi \quad A \mu \quad \varphi \ \epsilon \quad -\tau \epsilon \quad -\tau A \lambda \quad -N \quad -\varphi \quad -\upsilon$

2DU -ERG rice eat -2 -(2)PST -1/2 -2DU -DIR

‘You (two) ate rice.’

t. $\epsilon z_j z | r \text{E}1R \sim 1 \{ 1 v \dagger v \dagger R _ \{ \wedge 1$

$v_i N_j i \quad -\kappa \alpha \psi \quad A \mu \quad \varphi \ \epsilon \quad -\tau \epsilon \quad -\tau A \quad -N \quad -\varphi \quad -\upsilon$

2DU -ERG rice eat -2 -RPST -1/2 -2DU -DIR

‘You (two) ate rice a long ago.’

u. $\epsilon z _ \} r \sim z 1 R \sim 1 \{ 1 v \dagger v \text{E} \wedge _ z 1$

$v_i N \lambda \alpha \quad -\iota \quad A \mu \quad \varphi \ \epsilon \quad -\tau \epsilon \quad -v \quad -\upsilon \quad -N \quad -\iota$

μ

2PL -ERG rice eat -2 -NPST -DIR -1/2 -PL

‘You eat rice.’

v. $\epsilon z _ \} r \sim z 1 R \sim 1 \{ v \dagger v \dagger R \} \wedge _ z 1$

$v_i N \lambda \alpha \quad -\iota \quad A \mu \quad \varphi \ \epsilon \quad -\tau \epsilon \quad -\tau A \lambda \quad -\upsilon \quad -N \quad -\iota$

μ

2PL -ERG rice eat -2 -(2)PST -DIR -1/2 -PL

‘You ate rice.’

w. $\epsilon z _ \} r \sim z 1 R \sim 1 \{ 1 v \dagger v \wedge _ z 1$

$v_i N \lambda \alpha \quad -\iota \quad A \mu \quad \varphi \ \epsilon \quad -\tau \epsilon \quad -\tau \quad -\upsilon \quad -N \quad -\iota$

μ

2PL -ERG rice eat -2 -RPST -DIR -1/2 -PL

‘You ate rice long ago.’

- x. $u\mathbb{E}, z\uparrow R\sim 1\{v\in R\uparrow 1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron$ $-t$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\ \varepsilon$ $-vA$
 3SG REM $-ERG$ rice eat $-NPST$
 ‘He/she eats rice.’
- y. $u\mathbb{E}, z\uparrow R\sim 1\{vR\}1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron$ $-t$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\ \varepsilon$ $-A\lambda$
 3SG REM $-ERG$ rice eat $-PST$
 ‘He/she ate rice.’
- z. $u\mathbb{E}, z\uparrow R\sim 1\{1v\uparrow r\mathbb{E}1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron$ $-t$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\ \varepsilon$ $-\tau\alpha\psi$
 3SG REM $-ERG$ rice eat $-RPST$
 ‘He/she ate rice long ago.’
- aa. $u\mathbb{E}, \epsilon z\uparrow z\uparrow R\sim 1\{1v\in R\uparrow tr1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron\nu\iota\sigma$ $-t$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\ \varepsilon$ $-vA$ $-\chi\alpha$
 3DU REM $-ERG$ rice eat $-NPST$ $-DU$
 ‘They (two) eat rice.’
- bb. $u\mathbb{E}, \epsilon z\uparrow z\uparrow R\sim 1\{1vR\}tr1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron\nu\iota\sigma$ $-t$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\ \varepsilon$ $-A\lambda$ $-\chi\alpha$
 3DU REM $-ERG$ rice eat $-NPST$ $-DU$
 ‘They (two) ate rice.’
- cc. $u\mathbb{E}, \epsilon z\uparrow z\uparrow R\sim 1\{1v\uparrow r\uparrow tr1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron\nu\iota\sigma$ $-t$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\ \varepsilon$ $-\tau\alpha$ $-\chi\alpha$
 3DU REM $-ERG$ rice eat $-RPST$ $-DU$
 ‘They (two) ate rice long ago.’
- dd. $u\mathbb{E}, \}r\sim z\uparrow R\sim 1\{1v\in R\uparrow z\uparrow 1$
 $\delta\psi\omicron\lambda\alpha\mu$ $-t$ $A\mu$ $\varphi\ \varepsilon$ $-vA$ $-t$
 3PL REM $-ERG$ rice eat $-NPST$ $-PL$
 ‘They eat rice.’
- ee. $u\mathbb{E}, \}r\sim z\uparrow R\sim 1\{1vR\}R\mathbb{E}1$

- δψολαμ -ι Αμ φ ε -ΑλΑ -ψ
 3PL REM -ERG rice eat -PST -PL
 ‘They ate rice.’
- ff. υ(Ε, }r~z1R~1{1v†r(Ε1
 δψολαμ -ι Αμ φ ε -τα -ψ
 3PL -ERG rice eat -RPST -PL
 ‘They ate rice long ago.’
- gg. Rz†v|r(Ε1R~1{v†z~^€R1
 Αιτε -καψ Αμ φε -τι -μυ -vΑ
 Aite -ERG rice eat -DUR -AUX -NPST
 ‘Aite is eating rice.’
- hh. __Rz1R~1{1v{v€^_1
 ΝΑ -ι Αμ φ ε φε -v -υ -N
 1SG -ERG rice eat -PRF -NPST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I have eaten rice.’
- ii. __Rz1R~1{1v}R|€^_1
 ΝΑ -ι Αμ φ ε λΑκ -v -υ -N
 1SG -ERG rice eat -COMPL -NPST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I eat rice.’
- jj. €z_jz|r(Ε1R~1{1v†vR}Rtr}1
 vιNjι -καψ Αμ φ ε -τε - -χα -λ
 ΑλΑ
 2DU -ERG rice eat -2 -PST -DU -NEG
 ‘You (two) did not eat rice.’
- kk. €R_|r(Ε1R~1†R{v†vR}_a}11
 vAN -καψ Αμ τΑ- φε -τε -Αλ -N -aλ
 2SG -ERG rice PROH- eat -2 -PST -1/2 -NEG
 ‘You are prohibited to eat rice.’
- ll. __Rz1...R~|R(Ε1€^z†R|€R_1
 ΝΑ -ι ρΑμ -κΑψ v^1ι -τΑκ -vΑ -N
 1SG -ERG Ram -DAT laugh -CAUS -NPST -1/2

‘I cause Ram to laugh.’

The possible sequential order of different elements in the complex of the verb in (27a-ll) can be schematized in the following table.

Table11.1: Sequential order of different elements in the complex of the verb

	Sequence of the elements in the complex	Inflections	Representative examples
a.	V+Tense+DIR+Person	Σ -vA/-Aλ/-τ- υ-N1	(27a-c)
b.	V+Tense+Person+Number+DIR	Σ -vA/-Aλ/-N- χ-υ1	(27d-e)
c.	V+Tense+DIR+Person+Number	Σ -vA/-Aλ/- υ- N-χ1	(27f-h)
d.	V+Tense+Person+ INCL+Number+DIR	Σ -vA/-Aλ/-τ- N-τα-χ/-ι/-υ1	(27i-n)
e.	V+Person+Tense+DIR+Person	Σ -τε-vA/-Aλ/- υ-N1	(27o-q)
f.	V+Person+Tense+ Person+ Number+DIR	Σ -τε-vA/-Aλ/- N-φ-υ1	(27r-t)
g.	V+Person+Tense+DIR Person+Number	Σ -τε-v-υ-N-ι1	(27u-w)
h.	V+Tense	Σ -vA/-Aλ/- ταψ1	(27x-z)
i.	V+Tense+Number	Σ -vA/-Aλ/- ταψ-χα/-ι1	(27aa-ff)
j.	V+Aspect+ AUX+Tense	Σ -τι-μυ-vA1	(27gg)
k.	V+Aspect+Tense+DIR+Person	Σ -φε /-λακ-v- υ-N1	(27hh-ii)
l.	V+Person+Tense+ Number+NEG	Σ -τε-Aλ-χα-λ1	(27jj)
m.	PROH+V+Person+Tense+Person	τA- Σ -τε-Aλ-	(27kk)

	+NEG	N-αλ1	
n.	V+CAUS+Tense+Person	Σ-τΑκ-νΑ-N1	(2711)

The order of tense and person varies across the constrictions. Tense is normally followed by person in Bhujel. However, a verb with a second subject obligatorily gets coded by the second marker before the tense marker as in (27t-v). Leaving aside this variation the verbal sequences in (27a-o) may be schematized into a single rule:

(28) **VERB (PROH) V (ASPECT) (COPULA) (TENSE) (INCL) (PERSON) (DIR) (NUMBER) (NEG).**

This means a verb can be optionally prefixed by a prohibition marker and optionally suffixed by the markers.

11.4 Agreement pattern

In this section we examine the agreement pattern in Bhujel. As we mentioned in 7.1.1 Bhujel in common with other Tibeto-Burman languages does not show agreement with the subject in terms of gender. Unlike in Nepali and a Kiranti language, Athpare (Neupane, 2001) Bhujel lacks the agreement between the modifiers and modified nouns. Following are the examples:

(29)

a. $\sim r\{E, 1t, 1\check{S}R_R\}11$

μΑψο χο ωAN -Αλ
youngest son come -PST

'The youngest son came.'

b. $\{ER^{\wedge}t, 1\sim, \sim t, t, 1\check{S}R_R\}$

ψΑυτο μομχοχο ωAN -Αλ
tall daughter come -PST

'The tall daughter came.'

c. $_R |, \{E1\sim, \sim t, 1\check{S}R_R\}1$

NA -κοψ μομχο ωAN -Αλ
1SG -GEN wife come -PST

'My wife came.'

In examples (29a-c) $\sim r\epsilon$, 'small' in (29a), $\epsilon R^{\wedge} \dagger$, 'tall' in (29b) and $_R |$, ϵ 'my' in (29c) modify the nouns t , 'son' in (29a), \sim , $\sim t$, t , 1'daughter' in (29b) and \sim , $\sim t$, 1'wife' in (29c), respectively. However, the adjectives or the modifiers, in terms of gender, do not agree with the nouns they have modified. In the same vein, the verbs in (29a-c) lack agreement with the subject nouns in terms of gender.

Like the Kiranti group of languages Bhujel exhibits a complex agreement pattern especially in the verbal domain. As we mentioned earlier, the verbs registers three persons (plus an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person) and three numbers of actors and undergoers in transitive and of single argument in intransitive constructions.

We have discussed person marking, number marking and 'direct' marking in detail in (9.6.1-9.6.3). As we discussed in 9.6.1 person marking sometimes encodes the agent participant and sometimes the patient but not both. We have argued that such marking in Bhujel is exclusively based on a hierarchical ranking of participants – 1/2 3 (i.e. the first or second person acting on the third person object/ patient/ undergoer), not on semantic or grammatical roles of the participants. In Hindi, unlike in Bhujel, the agreement in a clause with two nominative arguments is based on the hierarchy of the grammatical relations (i.e. subject >>object >>adjunct) (Bickel, and Yadava, 2000:345). As we discussed in 9.6.1 the 'direct' marking is based on the direct relations of the participants. The verb agreement pattern in terms of persons, number and 'direct' relations of the participants is summarized in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2: The verb agreement pattern

	1	2	3
1	**	- υ - N	- υ -N
2	- $\tau\epsilon$ - α N	**	$\tau\epsilon$ - υ -N
3	- α N	- α N	**

11.5 Major sentence types

This section discusses major sentences in Bhujel. They include copular, existential, questions, imperative, and optative. They are discussed as follows:⁹⁰

11.5.1 Copular sentence [Np1+Np2+VCop]

In a simple affirmative copular sentence which involves identity the copular verb €R is normally placed clause-finally, e.g.,

(30)

a. $_R1\uparrow\{\in\in\in, 1\in R1$

NA $\sigma\psi A\nu o$ vA

1SG teacher be.NPST

‘I am a teacher.’

b. $z1|, _1\in R1$

t koN vA

3SG PROX spade be.NPST

‘This is a spade.’

c. $_z1f^{\wedge} |^y\chi\{\in R\}1\in R1$

Nt $\pi\nu\kappa^{\eta}\gamma\psi A$ vA

λ

1PL Bhujel be.NPST

‘We are Bhujel.’

d. $z\}r^{-1}_R|, \{\in yR^{\wedge}1\in R1$

t λ μ NAko $\eta A\nu$ vA

ψ

3PL PROX my brother be.NPST

⁹⁰ The basic word order of a sentence is already given in Section 11.1. There is no difference in word order among declarative, interrogative or imperative. Occasionally there is variation in the word order of certain constituents.

‘They (proximate) are my brothers.’

It is to be observed in (30a-d) the copular verb cannot be modified by adverbs and it also lacks number agreement. Moreover, preferably it is elided in an affirmative construction, resulting in a structure like Np1+Np2, e.g.,

(31)

- a. $_zlf^{\wedge} |^y\chi\{\epsilon R\}$
 Ni $\pi\upsilon\kappa^n\gamma\psi A\lambda$
 1PL Bhujel

‘We (are) Bhujel.’

- b. $_R1\uparrow\{\epsilon R\epsilon,$
 NA $\sigma\psi A\nu o$
 1SG teacher

‘I (am) a teacher.’

- c. $z| |, _$
 ι κoN
 3SG PROX spade

‘This (is) a spade.’

11.5.2 Existential sentence

A sentence describing existence may use existential verb \sim^{\wedge} ‘stay’/ ‘exist’ or the copular verb ϵR , e.g., □

(32)

- a. $|z\sim\uparrow R\{\epsilon 1\uparrow^{\wedge} 1\sim^{\wedge} \epsilon R1$
 $\kappa\iota\mu$ $-\tau A\psi$ $\sigma\upsilon$ $\mu\upsilon$ $-vA$
 house -INE who stay -NPST

‘Who is inside the house?’ (Not knowing whether there is anybody inside)

- b. $|z\sim\uparrow R\{\epsilon 1\uparrow^{\wedge} \epsilon R1$
 $\kappa\iota\mu$ $-\tau A\psi$ $\sigma\upsilon$ vA
 house -INE who be.NPT

‘Who is inside the house?’ (knowing some body is inside but not knowing who he/she is)

The difference between existential verb and copular verb is that the former denotes simple existence as in (32a) while the latter affirms and identifies existence as in (32b).

An existential sentence may be expressed by using existential verb in combination with a locative expression, e.g.,

- (33) ...R~1|z~yR_1~^~€R1
 ρΑμ κιμ -ηΑΝ μυ -vA
 Ram house -LOC stay -NPST
 'Ram is at home.'

The existential sentence relates to natural phenomenon, e.g.,

(34)

- a. †v€1†yR, 1~^~€R1
 τεν τnΑο μυ -vA
 Today hot stay -NPST
 'Today is hot.'

- b. †z|{ ^ _†, 1~^~€R1
 τι φυN μυ -vA
 το
 water cold stay -NPST
 'The water is cold.'

- c. u€R_1u^y...r1xR~z|1~^~€R1
 δψΑΝ δnερα γΑμικ μυ -vA
 There many village stay -NPST
 'There are many villages.'

The existential verb ~^1 'stay/' 'exist' cannot be elided. Like the copular verb it does not inflect for person and number.

11.5.3 Questions

There are two prominent characteristics of interrogative forms:

- a) The same word order for the declarative sentence obtains

- b) Different question particles (Q) occur obligatorily or optionally with different kinds of questions.

The major interrogative forms include the Question (Q)- word question, the yes-no question, the disjunctive question and the neutral question.

i. Q-word questions

There have been observed the following question particles (Q) used to form this type of question: $\chi\Gamma | \Gamma\ddagger$ (where), u , (what), $\chi\Gamma\} \Gamma$ (when), $\chi\Gamma\ddagger \Gamma$ (how), $\chi\Gamma^{\wedge}$ (which), \ddagger^{\wedge} (who), uRz (why), etc. Following are the examples.

(35)

- a. $u\{\epsilon, 1\chi R | \Gamma\ddagger 1t\gamma, R\}1$

$\delta\psi\sigma$ $\gamma A\kappa\alpha\tau$ $\chi^{\eta}o$ $-A\lambda$
3SG REM where move -PST

‘Where did he go?’

- b. $...R\sim z1u, 1\{vR\}R\epsilon 1$

$\rho A\mu$ $-t$ δo $\phi\epsilon$ $A\lambda$ $-Av$
Ram -ERG what eat go -NPST

‘What does Ram eat?’

- c. $\ddagger z\ddagger R z1\chi r\} r1\{\epsilon r\epsilon z1t, R\}1$

$\sigma\iota\tau A$ $-t$ $\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha$ $v\alpha\nu\iota$ χo $-A\lambda$
Sita -ERG when child bear -PST

‘When did Sita give birth to a baby?’

- d. $...R\sim z1\chi r\ddagger r1R\sim |^y R_R\}R\epsilon 1$

$\rho A\mu$ $-t$ $\gamma\alpha\tau\alpha$ $A\mu$ $\kappa^{\eta}AN$ $-A\lambda$ $-Av$
Ram -ERG how rice cook -GO -NPST

‘How does Ram cook rice?’

- e. $...R\sim z1\chi r^{\wedge} 1u\{\epsilon R |^y \sim r\{\epsilon 1 | \dots, \sim R\}1$

$\rho A\mu$ $-t$ $\gamma\alpha\nu$ $\delta\psi A\kappa^{\eta}\mu\alpha$ $\kappa\rho\omicron\mu$ $-A\lambda$

ψ

Ram -ERG which girl marry -PST

‘Which girl did Ram marry?’

In a declarative sentence second person marker -†V follows the verb stem. However, in a yes-no question it may occur outside the verb, e.g.,

(36)

a. €R_†V†^1

vAN - συ

τε

2SG -2 who

‘Who (are) you?’

b. €R_†V†r|r†}€R~1ŠR_R}1

vAN - γακατ - ωAN -Aλ

τε λψA

μ

2SG -2 where -ABL come -PST

‘Where did you come from?’

c. €R_†V†uRz|...€RfR}1

vAN - δAι κρψA -Aλ

τε π

2SG -2 why come -PST

‘Why did you cry?’

d. χ^yR_†V†R}€R1

γⁿAN - Aλ -vA

τε

where -2 go -NPST

‘Where do you go?’

e. χ^yR_†V†R}€R1

γⁿAN - Aλ -vA

τε

where -2 go -NPST

‘Where do you go?’

The position of the question words in (36 a-h) is referred to as *wh-in-situ*.

ii. Yes-no questions

The yes-no question in Bhujel is marked by an obligatory question particle ϵv ? Preferably, this particle is placed after the subject, e.g.,

(37)

a. $\epsilon R_1 \epsilon v | f^{\wedge} | ^y x \{ \epsilon r \} 1$

vAN vε πυκⁿγψα

λ

2SG Q Bhujel

‘Are you Bhujel?’

b. $u \{ \epsilon, 1 \epsilon v | \epsilon R_ | , \{ \epsilon 1 \sim \sim t, 1$

δψο vε vAN -κοψ μομχο

3SG Q 2SG -GEN wife

‘Is she your wife?’

c. $\epsilon r_z | \epsilon v | R \sim 1 \{ v \dagger v \epsilon R 1$

vαN -ι vε Αμ φε - -vA

τε

2SG -ERG Q rice eat -2 -NPST

‘Do you eat rice?’

d. $\epsilon r_z | \epsilon v | | \dots, \sim \dots R | ^y \dagger v R \} 1$

vαN -ι vε κρομ ρA -τε -Αλ

κⁿ

2SG -ERG Q marriage do -2 -PST

‘Did you marry?’

The question particle may occur at clause finally. However, it triggers a slight change in meaning of the clause, e.g.,

(38)

- a. $\epsilon R_{1f} \hat{ } | \chi \{ \epsilon r \} 1 \epsilon v 1$
 vAN πυκ^ηγψα vε
 λ
 2SG Bhujel Q
 ‘Are you really a Bhujel?’
- b. $u \{ \epsilon, 1 \epsilon R_{-} | , \{ \epsilon 1 \sim \sim t, 1 \epsilon v 1$
 δψο vAN -κοψ μυμχο vε
 3SG REM 2SG -GEN wife Q
 ‘Is she your wife really?’

However, the rising intonation may code the yes-no question in Bhujel, e.g.,
 (39)

- a. $\epsilon R_{1f} \hat{ } | \chi \{ \epsilon r \} \tilde{O} 1$
 vAN πυκ^ηγψΑλ
 ⇔
 2SG Bhujel
 ‘Are you Bhujel?’
- b. $u \{ \epsilon, 1 \epsilon R_{-} | , \{ \epsilon 1 \sim \sim t, \tilde{O} 1$
 δψο vAN -κοψ μομχο
 ⇔
 3SG REM 2SG -GEN wife
 ‘Is she your wife?’

iii. Disjunctive questions

In order to display the choice of usually two alternatives a disjunctive question is used. Usually between the two disjuncts there is no conjunction, e.g.,
 (40)

- a. $\epsilon R_{-} \{ v 1 R \} \{ \epsilon R 1 R \} _ R \} 1$
 vAN -τε Αλ -vA Αλ -N -αλ
 2SG -2 go -NPST go -1/2 -NEG
 ‘Do you go or not?’

- b. $\in R_1 \uparrow \vee R \sim 11 \{1 \vee R 1 \{1 \vee _R \} 1$
 vAN -τε Αμ φ ε -vA φ ε -N -αλ
 2SG -2 rice eat -NPST eat -1/2 -NEG
 ‘Do you eat rice or not?’

iv. Neutral questions

Neutral questions refer to those with no presupposition on the part of the addresser. A neutral question consists of a verb phrase followed by negative particle. Following are the examples.

(41)

- a. $\in R_1 \uparrow \vee \uparrow \vee \in \{R \sim \uparrow \{R \wedge 1 \vee \uparrow \wedge _ \} r 1$
 vAN -ι -τε vψΑμτψ vε τυN -λα
 Av
 2SG -ERG -2 wine Q drink -NEG
 ‘Do you not drink wine?’
- b. $\} \vee \uparrow, 1 \vee \uparrow f R \mid \} \sim r \{ \uparrow f r \dots r \} 1$
 λετο vε πακ - παρ -Αλ
 η μαψ
 money Q pay -INF need -NEG
 ‘Don’t you need to pay money?’

11.5.4 Imperatives

There are two types of imperatives in Bhujel. They include simple imperative and prohibitive.

i. Simple imperatives

A verb root is used as a simple imperative verb. This verb agrees with number of the agent. Following are the examples.

(42)

- a. $\in R_1 \uparrow _R \mid R \{ \uparrow \mid R \wedge 1$
 vAN -ι NA -κΑψ κAv

2SG -ERG 1SG -DAT feed

'You feed me'

b. €z_{z|r€1_R|R€1|R^}{r1

viNφ -καψ NA -κAψ κAυ -φα

ι

2DU -ERG 1SG -DAT feed -2DU

'You (two) feed me'

c. €z_}r~|r€11_R|R€1|R^€z1

viNλαμ -καψ NA -κAψ κAυ -vi

2PL -ERG 1SG -DAT feed -2PL

'You feed me'

d. €R_z1R~1{vr1

vAN -ι Aμ φ εα

2SG -ERG rice eat

'You eat rice'

e. €z_{z1R~1{1v{1r1

viNφ Aμ φ ε -φ α

ι

2DU rice eat -2DU

'You (two) eat rice'

f. €z_}r~1R~1{1v€z1

viNλα Aμ φ ε -vi

μ

2PL rice eat -PL

'You eat rice'

- g. €R_1|z~1R}r1
 vAN κιμ Αλ
 α
 2SG home go
 ‘You go home’
- h. €z_{z|z~1R}{r1
 vιNφ κιμ Αλ -φ α
 ι
 2DU home go -2DU
 ‘You (two) go home’
- i. €z_}r~1|z~1R}€1
 vιNλαμ κιμ Αλ -ψ
 2PL home go -PL
 ‘You go home’

Except in (42a, d, c) the root verb is followed by non-singular number marker. Moreover, in Bhujel normally CV canonical shape is unacceptable at the tonic syllable. Thus, the root verb with a singular and dual agent ends in an epenthesis of -r.

ii. Prohibitive

Structurally, a prohibitive verb has following structure:

(43) Verb †R-V- (Num)- NEG

It means that a prohibitive verb with a singular agent is obligatorily preceded by the prohibitive marker †R- and followed by negative particle. With a non-singular agent the verb is also indexed with a number marker. Following are the examples:

(44)

- a. €R_1€€R~†€R^1†R†^_a}1
 vAN vψAμτψA τA- τυN -αλ
 υ
 2SG alcohol PROH- drink -NEG
 ‘You are prohibited to drink alcohol’

- b. $\epsilon z_ \{z\} \{ \epsilon R \sim \{ \epsilon R \sim \{ \epsilon R \sim \{ \epsilon R \sim \{ a \} \} \} \} \}$
 $\nu_i N \phi \quad \nu \psi A \mu \tau \psi A \quad \tau A- \quad \tau \upsilon N \quad -\phi \alpha \quad -\lambda$
 $\iota \quad \upsilon$
 2DU alcohol PROH- drink -2DU -NEG
 ‘You (two) are prohibited to drink alcohol’
- c. $\epsilon z_ \} r \sim \{ \epsilon R \sim \{ \epsilon R \sim \{ \epsilon R \sim \{ z \} \} \} \}$
 $\nu_i N \lambda \alpha \quad \nu \psi A \mu \tau \psi A \quad \tau A- \quad \tau \upsilon N \quad -\iota \quad -\lambda$
 $\mu \quad \upsilon$
 2PL alcohol PROH- drink -PL -NEG
 ‘You are prohibited to drink alcohol’
- d. $\epsilon R _ \{ \nu \epsilon \{ f^y \sim \{ z \} \} r \} \}$
 $\nu AN \quad \tau \epsilon \nu \quad \pi^n \upsilon \iota \quad \tau A- \quad A \lambda \quad -\alpha \lambda$
 2SG today jungle PROH- go -NEG
 ‘Today you are prohibited to go to jungle’
- e. $\epsilon z_ \{ z \} \{ \nu \epsilon \{ f^y \sim \{ z \} \} \} \{ r \} \}$
 $\nu_i N \phi \quad \tau \epsilon \nu \quad \pi^n \upsilon \iota \quad \tau A- \quad A \lambda \quad -\phi \alpha \quad -\lambda$
 ι
 2DU today jungle PROH- go -2DU -NEG
 ‘Today you (two) are prohibited to go to jungle’
- f. $\epsilon z_ \} r \sim \{ \nu \epsilon \{ f^y \sim \{ z \} \} z \} \}$
 $\nu_i N \lambda \alpha \quad \tau \epsilon \nu \quad \pi^n \upsilon \iota \quad \tau A- \quad A \lambda \quad -\iota \quad -\lambda$
 μ
 2PL today jungle PROH- go -2PL -NEG
 ‘Today you are prohibited to go to jungle’

11.5.5 Optatives

The root verb is obligatorily followed by the optative marker $-fR\check{S}$ in order to utter wishes in Bhujel. With a non-singular agent the number follows the optative marker. Following are the examples.

(45)

- a. $u\mathbb{E}, z1\in R_ | R\mathbb{E}1uR\ddot{u} | ^y fR\check{S}1$
 $\delta\psi o \quad -\iota \quad vAN \quad -\kappa A\psi \quad \delta A\textcircled{\kappa}^n \quad -\pi A\omega$
 3SG REM -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -OPT
 ‘May he beat you’
- b. $u\mathbb{E}, \epsilon z\ddagger z1\in R_ | R\mathbb{E}1uR\ddot{u} | ^y fR\check{S}tr1$
 $\delta\psi o\nu\iota\sigma \quad -\iota \quad vAN \quad -\kappa A\psi \quad \delta A\textcircled{\kappa} \quad -\pi A\omega \quad -\chi\alpha$
 η
 3DU REM -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -OPT -DU
 ‘May they (two) beat you’
- c. $u\mathbb{E}, \}r\sim z1\in R_ | R\mathbb{E}1uR\ddot{u} | ^y fR\check{S}\epsilon z1$
 $\delta\psi o\lambda\alpha\mu \quad -\iota \quad vAN \quad -\kappa A\psi \quad \delta A\textcircled{\kappa} \quad -\pi A\omega \quad -v\iota$
 κ^n
 3PL REM -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -OPT -PL
 ‘May they beat you’

11.5.6 Negation

The negation marker in Bhujel is -} It is affixed to the root of the verb to strongly assert that the proposition is false. In a negative construction the tense and the direct marker are neutralized in Bhujel. The examples are as follows:

(46)

- a. $_R1 | z\sim 1\check{S}R | ^y1 _r\}1$
 $NA \quad \kappa\iota\mu \quad \omega A\kappa^n \quad -N \quad -\alpha\lambda$
 1SG home go -1/2 -NEG
 ‘I do/did not go home.’
- 11b. $_Rz1R\sim 1\{v_r\}1$
 1 NA -\iota A\mu \varphi \epsilon -N -\alpha\lambda
 1SG -ERG rice eat -1/2 -NEG
 ‘I do/did not eat rice.’
- c. $u\mathbb{E}, 1 | z\sim 1R\}\in R\}1$
 $\delta\psi o \quad \kappa\iota\mu \quad A\lambda \quad -a\lambda$
 1SG REM home go -NEG
 ‘S/he does not go home.’
- 11d. $\in R_z1R\sim 1\{1v\ddagger v_R\}1$

vAN	-t	Aμ	φ ε	-	-N	-αλ
				τε		
2SG	-ERG	rice	eat	-2	-1/2	-NEG

‘You do/did not eat rice.’

1e. }v‡, 1€R}r1

λετο	vA	-λα
money	be	-NEG

‘I have no money.’

In examples (46a-d) the tense is neutralized. Similarly in (46b, d) the direct marker is neutralized. Negative is a grammatical category employed to deny the actuality of proposition or some portion thereof.

1

11.6 Clause combining

This section deals with clause combining in the Bhujel language.⁹¹ It involves mainly two morphosyntactic processes: subordination and coordination.⁹² We first examine subordination and then we discuss coordination in the language.

11.6.1 Subordination

Subordination is a morphosyntactic process which embeds one or more dependent clauses within the independent clause. The embedded clause is referred to as subordinate clauses. In terms of degree of integration the Bhujel exhibits multi-verb constructions which are traditionally described as subordinate clauses. They include serial verbs, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, converbs and relative clauses. We discuss each of them in turn.

i. Serial verbs

⁹¹ As the framework of analysis we have adopted Payne (1997) and Givón (2001) for subordination and Haspelmath (2004) for coordination.

⁹² Givón (2001) notes that subordination and coordination only form a functional- syntactic continuum to show the degree of clause integration. He also indicates that there is not an absolute binary distinction between dependent and independent clauses. They only make a continuum of dependency- most dependent and least dependent clauses. Similarly the distinction between finite and non-finite is also a matter of continuum- less finite and more finite clauses.

Verb serialization is not a common characteristic of the agglutinating language like Bhujel. In a prototypical serial verb construction there occur two or more verb roots neither as a compound form nor as members of separate clauses (Payne, 1997:307). The verbs in series express various facets of one complex event. In Bhujel we do not find serial verbs as in the isolating languages of the East Asia. Bhujel marginally employs serial verbs in such constructions as the following:

(47)

- a. $u\{\epsilon, 1\epsilon^y z \uparrow z\{vR\}1$
 $\delta\psi o \quad v^n t \quad -\sigma t \quad -\phi\epsilon \quad -A\lambda$
 3SG REM laugh die -EAT -PST

‘S/he had died happily.’

- b. $_Rz1\{vuR|y r\}1$
 NA -t $\phi\epsilon \quad \delta A\kappa^n \quad -\lambda$
 1SG -ERG eat reach -NEG

‘I could not find anything to eat.’

- c. $_R1uR|y^l \tilde{S}R_ \epsilon R_1$
 NA $\delta A\kappa^n \quad -\omega AN \quad -vA \quad -N$
 1SG reach come -NPST -1/2

‘I have already reached.’

In all examples (47a-c) (i) two verbs occur serially in the same clause, (ii) the intonation is characteristic of the same clause and (iii) the verbs in series mean slight differently than what the same series of verbs would mean if they were cast in separate clauses. The series of the verb given in (47a-c) are not the serial verbs. However, such pairs do resemble serial verbs in the sense that they do occur in the same clause and there is no independent marking of the second verb for persons, numbers and tense, aspect and modality.

ii. Complement clauses

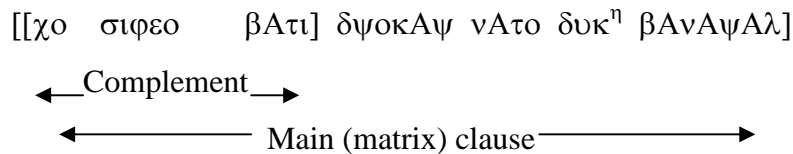
Functionally, complement clauses or verbal complements are clauses that function as subject or object arguments of other clauses (Givón, 2001:39, Vol.2). Syntactically

they are the subordinate clauses embedded in the verb phrase. In Bhujel the complement clauses which are embedded within another clause are of two kinds: functioning as the subjects or the objects of the matrix clause. Both the subject and object complement clauses are non-finite clauses in Bhujel.

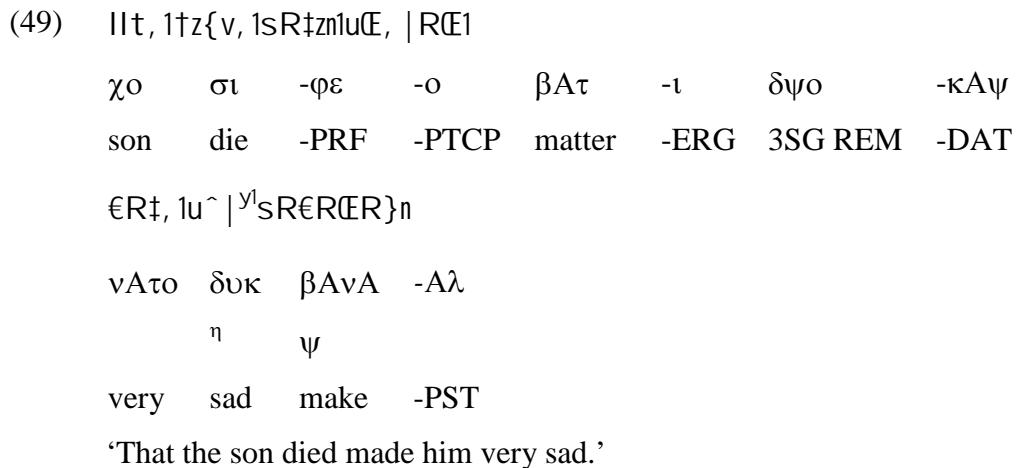
i. Subject complement

In Bhujel subject complement clauses occur in the initial position of the matrix clause. For example:

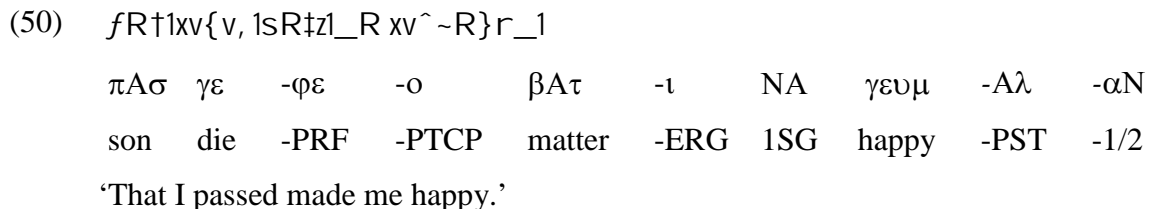
(48)



The sentence given in (48) has been analyzed in (49)



In (49) the clause with non-finite forms of the verb $1\uparrow z\{v, 1s$ is the complement clause which functions as the subject argument of the finite verb $sR\in R\{R\}$. The following is another example of the subject complement in Bhujel.

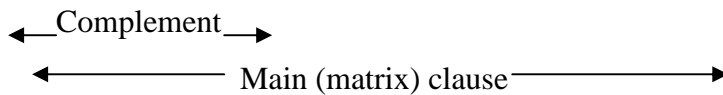


ii. Object complement

Like subject complement clauses the object complement clauses occur in the initial position of the matrix clause. For example:

(51)

[[vψAμτι ωAτι μσο] NAKAψ χιτιμυvAN]



The sentence given in (51) has been analyzed in (52)

(52) €(R~†złŠR†zł~^, 1_R | R€1

vψAμτ	ωA	-τι	μυ	-ο	NA	-KAψ
ι						
water	rain	DUR	stay	-PTCP	1SG	-DAT
†zł~^€R_						
χι	-τι	-μυ	-vA	-N		
know	DUR	-AUX	NPST	1/2		

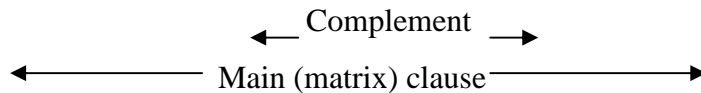
‘I know that it is raining.’

In (52) the clause with non-finite forms of the verb 1~^, lis the complement clause which functions as the object argument of the finite verb †zł~^€R_?

In Bhujel the object complement clause can be placed clause finally. For example:

(53)

[NAKAψ χιτιμυvAN [ισορ μσο]]



The sentence given in (53) has been analyzed in (54)

(54) _R | R€1†zł~^€R_łzł, ... ~^,

NA	-KAψ	χι	-τι	-μυ	-vA	-N	ισο	μυ	-ο
							ρ		
1SG	-DAT	know	-DUR	-AUX	-NPST	-1/2	god	stay	-PTCP

‘I know that God exists.’

iii. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses in Bhujel are subordinate clauses. They are employed to provide the situational context for the event or state that is described in the main clause. They are much like adverbs semantically. Syntactically they are much like adjuncts. They

vAN γHAN εμ -τε -vA υηA
N

2SG where sleep -2 -NPST there

-}rɹɹ1_R~R1(εv~εR_1

-λαι NA -μA ψεμ -vA -N

-EMPH 1SG -ADD sleep -NPST -1/2

'I will sleep where you sleep.'

b. εR_1x^yR_1R}†vεR1^yR_1l

vAN γ^1AN Αλ -τε -vA υηA
N

2SG where go -2 -NPST there

}r(ε1_R~R1R}εR_1

λαψ NA -μA Αλ -vA -N

EMPH 1SG also go -NPST -1/2

'I will go where you go.'

iii. Manner adverbial clauses

The Bhujel employs the interrogative pronoun like u, 'what' to indicate the manner in the subordinate clauses. Consider the following examples in (57)

(57)

a. _Rɹɹ1u, 1†, ε^_1^1}r(ε1...R|r^yR

NA -ι δo τo -v -υ -N υ -λαι ρAk^1α
1SG -ERG what say -NPST -DIR -1/2 3SG EMPH Do. IMP

'Do what I say.'

b. u(ε, |r(ε1s...R_~R1}Rxr, 1S^yR(ε1}r(ε1_~...1...R|^yεR1

δψo -καψ βρANμ λAγα -o ω^1Av
A

3SG REM -ERG cold catch -PTCP -SIML

1}r(ε1_~...1...R|^yεR1

-λαψ Νυρ ρΑκ^η -vA
 -EMPH talk do -NPST
 'S/he speaks as if s/he has a cold.'

iv. Purpose adverbial clauses

There are two subordinators in the Bhujel language which can be affixed to the root of the verb. They are -~r(ε 'to' and -}ER_ 'for' as in (58)

(58)

- a. $_Rz\}v\ddagger, 1|r\sim R\epsilon\sim r\epsilon\{R\ddagger, 1|R\sim 1\ldots R\}^y\epsilon^{\wedge}_1$
 NA -ι λετο κΑμΑ -μαψ vAτο κΑμ
 ψ
 1SG -ERG money earn -INF much work
 ...R}^yε^_1
 do -NPST -DIR -1/2
 do -NPST -DIR -1/2
 'I work much to earn money.'

- b. $_Rz\{1v\}ER_1\ddagger^{\wedge}\sim R\{tv\check{S}r\}1$
 NA -ι φε -λψAN συμΑ χεω -αλ
 1SG -ERG eat -PURP nothing see -NEG
 'I did not see anything for eating.'

v. Reason adverbial clauses

In Bhujel there is a reason subordinator which combines the reason clause with the main clause. The examples are as follows:

(59)

- a. $_Rz\{E, _|\ldots R\epsilon\{uR\ddagger, sv\ddagger1R\sim 1t^y\ddagger, 1\{vR\}^{\wedge}_1$
 NA -ι ψοNκρ δΑιτοβετ Αμ χ^ηιτο φε -Αλ -υ -N
 Αψ
 1SG -ERG hunger because rice earlier eat -PST -DIR -1/2

- 'I ate rice earlier because I was hungry.'
- b. ...R~1|z~1t^yz‡, 1ŠR|^y{vR}luRz‡, sv‡1
 ρΑμ κίμ χ^ηιτο ωΑκ^η -φε -Αλ δΑιτοβετ
 Ram house earlier go -PRF -PST because
- u(Ε, z1}v‡, 1ŠR€r}
 δψο -ι λετο ωAv -αλ
 3SG REM -ERG money bring -NEG
 'Ram went home earlier as he did not bring money.'

vi. Concessive adverbial clauses

The Bhujel employs a subordinator -‡z~1' although' as a suffix to the root of the verb in order to reflect a contrast of some sort between the main and the subordinate clause as in (60)

(60)

- a. _R1xr...zs1xv‡z~1z~R€yR_1~ ^€R_1
 NA γαριβ γε -τιμ ιμAv -ηAN μυ -vA -N
 1SG poor be -CONC honesty -LOC stay -NPST -1/2
 'Although I am poor I am honest.'
- b. u(Ε, 1u^yr€z1xv‡z~1‡^yrz{v1~ ^€R1
 δψο δ^ηανι γε -τιμ τ^ηαιφε μυ -vA
 3SG REM rich be -CONC liar stay -NPST
 'Although he is rich he is a liar.'
- c. yr...z1u(ER€‡, 1€R}r‡z~1‡r|‡rz1t, _R€z1
 ηαρι δψAvτο vA -λα -τιμ σακτ -ι χοN -Av -ι
 α
 Hari good be -NEG -CONC all -ERG like -NPST -PL
 'Although Hari is not good all like him.'

vii. Conditional adverbial clauses

There are two types of conditional clauses in the Bhujel language: probable and hypothetical. They are described as follows:

Probable conditional clauses

In the probable type of conditional clause the root of the verb is marked by the marker $-|{}^yR\mathcal{E}z\mathcal{f}$ as in (61)

(61)

- a. $\mathcal{E}R\sim\mathcal{z}1\check{S}R_|\mathcal{y}R\mathcal{E}z\mathcal{f}1_R1\check{S}R_r\}1$
 $\nu\psi A\mu\tau\iota$ ωAN - NA ωAN $-\alpha\lambda$
 $\kappa^n A\psi\tau\iota\pi$
 Water come -COND 1SG come -NEG

'If it rains I will not come.'

- b. $\chi\dots\hat{\ }|\mathcal{y}R\mathcal{E}z\mathcal{f}1_R1|\mathcal{z}\sim\mathcal{y}R_1\}r\mathcal{z}1\sim\hat{\ }\mathcal{E}R_1$
 $\gamma\rho\nu$ $-\kappa^n A\psi\tau\iota\pi$ NA $\kappa\iota\mu$ $-\eta AN$ $-\lambda\alpha\iota$ $\mu\nu$ $-\nu A$ $-N$
 sick -COND 1SG house -LOC -EMPH stay -NPST -1/2

'If I fall sick I will stay at home.'

- b. $sRtr|\mathcal{y}R\mathcal{E}z\mathcal{f}1s^y\nu\mathcal{z}1\chi\nu\mathcal{E}R1$
 $\beta A\chi$ $-\kappa^n A\psi\tau\iota\pi$ $\beta^n\epsilon\tau$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $-\nu A$
 α
 live -COND meeting be -NPST

'If we live we will meet.'

- c. $\mathcal{E}R\sim\mathcal{z}1\check{S}R\}r|\mathcal{y}R\mathcal{E}z\mathcal{f}1|\mathcal{y}\nu\mathcal{z}1\chi\nu\}r1$
 $\nu\psi A\mu\tau\iota$ ωA $-\lambda\alpha$ $-\kappa^n A\psi\tau\iota\pi$ $\kappa^n\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $-\lambda\alpha$
 water come -NEG -COND crops be -NEG

'If it does not rain the crops won't be good.'

There is a special conditional marker in the Bhujel which is affixed to the root verb.

This marker is used when the subject is restricted to human being as in (62)

(62)

- a. $\mathcal{E}R_1\check{S}R_1\nu\mathcal{z}1R\sim1_R1\check{S}R_1\mathcal{E}R_1$
 νA ωAN $-\tau\epsilon$ $-\sigma A\mu$ NA ωAN $\nu A-$ $-N$
 N
 2SG come -2 -COND 1SG come -NPST -1/2

'If you come I will come.'

- b. €R_1ŠR_†v}r†R-1_R1ŠR_€R_1
 vA ωAN -τε -λα -σΑμ NA ωAN vA -N
 N
 2SG come -2 -NEG -COND 1SG come -NPST -1/2
 'If you do not come I will come.'

Hypothetical conditional clauses

In hypothetical conditional clauses the root verb is marked by -t, uz| as in (63)

(63)

- a. NR1...R{R1xvt, uz|1uv†|, €1sz|R†
 NA ρΑφΑ γε -χοδικ δεσ -κοψ βικΑσ
 1SG king be -COND country -GEN development
 xv, €R1
 γε -ο vA
 be -PTCP COP

'If I were king the country would be developed.'

- b. |R€}rt, uz|1_z|€R†, 1...R|†, 1€R1
 κΑψ -λα -χοδικ Νι vΑτο ρΑκ^η -το vA
 fight -NEG -COND 1PL much work -PTCP COP

'If there was no fight we would have done much work.'

iv. Converb clauses⁹³

Similar to most of the South Asian languages Bhujel typically employs non-finite subordinate clauses instead of finite subordinate clauses to realize clause linkage.

⁹³ This analysis is based on the insights from Noonan (1999) and Yadava (2005).

There are two types of converbs in Bhujel: Sequential (sequencing events in narrative; anterior events or states) and simultaneous (expression of progressive senses; simultaneous events). We here analyze the morphology, semantics, syntactic features associated with these two types of converbs in Bhujel.

a) Morphology

The simultaneous converb in Bhujel is formed by attaching the suffix $-f\gamma r z l u$ to the verbal root, e.g,

- (64) $_R z l x z f l \dots v f \gamma r z l u, |, 1 | \{ E R | R \} \wedge _1$
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|------|--------------------|--------|-------|------|------|------|
| NA | -ι | γιτ | ρεσ | -τ ^η αι | δοκο | κψΑκ | -Αλ | -υ | -N |
| 1SG | -ERG | song | sing | -SIM | basket | weave | -PST | -DIR | -1/2 |

'While singing song I made a basket.'

The sequential converb is formed by adding the suffix $-s v f$ to the verbal root, as in

- (65) $_R z l R \sim 1 \{ v s v f l s r ' R \dots 1 R \} R _1$
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|-----|------|--------|----|------|------|
| NA | -ι | Αμ | φε | -βετ | βαζΑρ | Αλ | -ΑλΑ | -N |
| 1SG | -ERG | rice | eat | -SEQ | market | go | -PST | -1/2 |

'After having eaten rice I went to bazaar.'

b) Semantics

Bhujel employs the simultaneous converbal constructions to express an activity which is simultaneous with, or temporally overlapping with, another activity expressed by the matrix predicate. It is exemplified in (66)

- (66) $\gamma r \wedge 1 | \dots \{ E R f \gamma r z l z f | \wedge \} R \} R _1$
- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|--------------------|--------|-----|------|
| ηαυ | κρψΑ | -τ ^η αι | ισκυλ | -Αλ | -Αλ |
| | π | | | | |
| sister | cry | -SIM | school | go | -PST |

'The sister went to school crying.'

Bhujel makes extensive use of the sequential converb in narrative and procedural discourses. The sequential converb basically refers to 'anteriority' i.e. the event occurring immediately prior to the event encoded in the following verb, which may be another sequential converb or a finite verb in the matrix clause (Yadava, 2005). In

other words, the major function of the sequential converb is to encode the event which is assumed to have occurred prior to the event coded in the matrix predicate (Noonan, 1999). Following are the examples:

(67)

- a. $_Rzlf^{\wedge}\{r^{\wedge}1\dots R\}^y sv\ddagger 1u, |, 1|\{ER|sv\ddagger 1$
 NA -ι πυφ αυ ρΑκ^η -βετ δοκο κψΑκ -βετ
 1SG -ERG worship do -SEQ basket weave -SEQ
 $1R\sim 1\{vR\}^{\wedge}_$
 Αμ φ ε -Αλ -υ -N
 rice eat -PST -DIR -1/2

'After having worshiped the gods and made the baskets I ate rice.'

- b. $y r^{\wedge} z l u, |, 1|\{ER|sv\ddagger 1R\sim 1\{vR\}1$
 η αυ -ι δοκο κψΑκ -βετ Αμ φ ε -Αλ
 brother -ERG rice weave -SEQ rice eat -PST

'After having made a basket the younger brother ate rice.'

Both sentences in (67a-b) contain a sequence of the events. Apart from the core meaning viz. anteriority or temporal priority (as shown in (67a-b)) in common with other South Asian languages Bhujel employs non-specialized sequential converbs which confer a variety of other contextual meanings, including cause (as shown in (68)) and manner (as shown in (69)).

- (68) $|R\sim 1tv\check{S}\sim Rsv\ddagger 1u\{E, 1|z\sim 1fR\{Ev|Y\{ER\}1$
 κΑμ χεω -μΑ -βετ δψο κιμ παψε -ψΑλ
 κΗ
 work find -NEG -SEQ 3SG house return -PST
 'After not having found work he returned home.'

- (69) $\{Ysv\ddagger 1\{ERz\{z\{Eurxz\}sz\ddagger\{ER\}^{\wedge}\}_1$
 vΗι -βετ ΝΑ -ι φινδαγ βιτα -ψΑλ -υ -N
 ι
 laugh -SEQ 1SG -ERG 3SG pass -PST -DIR -1/2
 'I passed the life happily.'

c) Syntax

Position

Both the converb clauses: simultaneous (as shown in (64)) and sequential (as shown in (65)) are normally joined to the left of the matrix clause in Bhujel. They can be also post-posed in marked constructions as a discourse strategy to express afterthought or focus.

- (70) 1u(E, 1|z-1fR(Ev|Y(E}1|R-1tvŠ-Rsv†1
 δψο κιμ παψε -ψΑλ κΑμ χεω -μΑ -βετ
 κΗ
 3SG house return -PST work find -NEG -SEQ
 ‘After not having found work he returned home.’

- (71) 1~, ~t, t, 1ŠR_R}1|...Rf†Yrzi
 μομχοχο ωΑΝ -Αλ κρΑπ -τ^ηαι
 daughter come -PST cry -SIM
 ‘Crying, the daughter came.’

Tense, aspect, and mood

The tense and mood of the matrix clause have a broad scope which extends to the simultaneous and sequential converbs. Noonan (1999) notes the time reference of the converbs is secondary, *ie* relative to the primary tense of the main clause, and thus does not independently establish a time reference relative to the moment of speaking.

Following are the examples:

- (72)
- a. r-1{vsv†1_R|fY^z|R}R_1
 Αμ φε -βετ ΝΑ πΗυι Αλα -Αλ -Ν
 Rice find -SEQ 1SG jungle go -PST -1/2
 ‘After eating rice I went to the jungle.’
- b. €(E~†(E^1†^_†Yrzi|_R|fY^z|R}R_1
 νψΑμτψ τυΝ - ΝΑ πΗυι Αλα -λα -Ν
 Αυ τΗαι

alcohol drink -SIM 1SG jungle go -PST -1/2

'While drinking alcohol I went to the jungle.'

In these sentences the tense of the sequential (72a) and simultaneous (72b) converbs match with the past tense of the verbs in the matrix clauses. However, as observed in Noonan (1999:413) the aspect is inherent in the converbs. Accordingly the sequential converb is associated with the perfective aspect which indicates an action happened to the anterior to that of the main verb. Similarly, the simultaneous converb can be analyzed as imperfective aspect indicating that the action indicated by the non-finite clause is simultaneous with the main verb.

Negation and question

In both sequential and simultaneous converbs the negation and question have a narrow scope. It means that the scope of the negation and the question does not extend to the sequential and simultaneous converbs. Let us first see the scope of the negation in the coversbs:

(73)

a. |Y, u, 1srusv†11_R1fY^z1R}_r}1
κHoδ βαδ -βετ NA πHυι Aλ -N -αλ
ο
river increase -SEQ 1SG jungle go -1/2 -NEG

'After the river flooded I did not go to the jungle.'

b. _R1|...Rf†Yrz11|ryz}rz1lz†|^}11R}_r}1
NA κρA -τⁿAι καηιλ ισκυλ Aλ -N -αλ
π αι
1SG cry -SIM never school go -1/2 -NEG

'I never went to school weeping.'

In (73a-b) the scope of the negation is restricted to the matrix clauses. Consider the following examples to see the scope of the question in the converbs:

(74)

- a. $\epsilon\{ER\sim\{ER\hat{1}\}_Yr\{1\}\hat{1}\{fY\hat{1}R\}R\}1$
νψΑμτψ τυN - συ πΗυι Αλ -Αλ
Αυ τΗαι
alcohol drink -SIM who jungle go -PST
'Drinking alcohol, who went to the jungle?'
- b. $\epsilon\{ER\sim\{ER\hat{1}\}_sv\{1\}\hat{1}\{z\{vR\}\}1$
νψΑμτψ τυN -βετ συ σι -φε -Αλ
Αυ
alcohol drink -SEQ who die -PRF -PST
'Drinking alcohol, who had died?'

It is clear that the converbs lie outside the scope of question of the matrix in Bhujel.

Control of subject

Bhujel shows two options as to the subjects of the converbal constructions: either a null NP, viz. PRO or a lexically overt NP. This is exemplified in (75)

(75)

- a. $|z\sim\{R\}_sv\{1\}\dots R\sim\{1\}\{z\{vR\}\}1$
[PRO_i κιμ ωAN -βετ] ρΑμ_i σι -φε -Αλ
house come -SEQ Ram die -PRF -PST
'After having arrived at home Ram had died.'
- b. $\dots R\sim\{1\}|z\sim\{R\}_sv\{1\}\{z\{vR\}\}1$
ρΑμ κιμ ωAN -βετ] σι -φε -Αλ
Ram house come -SEQ die -PRF -PST
'After having arrived at home Ram had died.'

Like Hindi, Nepali and Maithli (Yadava, 2005; 447) in sequential converbal construction in Bhujel the controllers of obligatorily null NP or PROs are the absolutive / ergative subjects. Following are the examples.

(76)

- a. |z~1ŠR_sv†1l...R~1l†z{vR}1(=63a)
 [PRO_i κιμ ωAN -βετ] ρΑμ_i σι -φε -Αλ
- b. |z~1ŠR_sv†1l...R~zlr~1{vR}1
 [PRO_i κιμ ωAN -βετ] ρΑμ -ι_i φε -Αλ
 house come -SEQ Ram -ERG eat -PST
 'After having arrived home Ram ate rice.'

Apart from the absolutive or ergative subjects the dative subject can also control the gaps or PROs in the sequential converbal construction as in (77)

- (77) u(ε, |, (ε1_ ^ ...1†r(εsv†1_r |, (ε1u ^ |Y1}RχR}
 [PRO_i Νυρ σΑψ -βετ] NA -κΑψ_i δυκH λΑγ -Αλ
 δυσοκοψ
 his come hear -SEQ 1SG -DAT pain feel -PST
 'After having heard his matter I felt unhappy.'

To sum up, the converbal constructions in Bhujel have the same subject as their main clause. They do not only show referential coherence but also temporal coherence in Bhujel.

v. **Relative clauses**

Relative clauses are clause-size modifiers embedded in the noun phrase. Semantically a relative clause codes a state or event one of whose participants is co-referent with the head noun modified by the clause. Pragmatically it (restrictive relative clause) modifies the definite head nouns (Givón, 2001:175-76, Vol.2). Here we first discuss how the relative clauses are formed in Bhujel and then we analyze them within the three typological parameters (Payne, 1997).

a) **Formation of relative clauses**

In Bhujel the relative clauses are formed in two ways. The first way is to put the verb of the relative clause in a participial form. Bhujel employs two verbal suffixes: --r(ε and -, for this purpose.⁹⁴ The following are the examples:

- (78)
- a. ŠR1†R†, 1| ^ (ε1
 ωA σΑτ - ο κυψ

⁹⁴ The suffixes --r(ε and -, are primarily used to form nominalized clauses in Bhujel.

jungle stay -PTCP dog

'The dog which killed birds.'

b. ŠR1†R†~rĒ1| ^Ē1

ωA σAτ -μαψ κυψ

foul kill -INF dog

'The dog which kills birds.'

(79)

a. _Rz |ĒR|, 1..R1

NA -t -o ρA

κψAκ

1SG -ERG make -PTCP winnow

'The winnow which I made.'

b. _Rz1 |ĒR| ~rĒ1..R1

NA -t -μαψ ρA

κψAκ

1SG -ERG make -INF winnow

'The winnow which I make.'

(80)

a. _Rz1..R1srĒ, 1~RĒtʸv1

NA -t ρA βαψ -o μAvχ^η

ε

1SG -ERG winnow give -PTCP man

'The man whom I gave the winnow.'

b. _Rz1..R1srĒ~rĒ1~RĒtʸv1

NA -t ρA βαψ -μαψ μAvχ^η

ε

1SG -ERG winnow give -INF man

'The man whom I will give the winnow'

In examples (78a-80a) the roots of the verb is affixed by the suffix -, . Similarly the roots of the verbs in the examples (78b-80b) are marked by the suffix --rĒ? These

two verbal morphemes are in a paradigmatic relationship.⁹⁵ The relative clause in which the verb is suffixed by *-*, may be referred to as perfect participle (PRF PTCP) and the clause with the verb suffixed by the morpheme *-~rE* may be referred to as infinitival participle (INF PTCP) (Genetti, 1992). In Bhujel their distribution does not distinguish grammatical relations as in Kham (Watters, 2001) or semantic role. When we contrast the *-*, and *-~rE* examples in (78-80) it is clear that the distinction between them is concerned with aspect instead of any grammatical relations or semantic roles. The examples given above may suggest tense, but the *-may* forms are clearly imperfective as opposed to non-past. They are exemplified in the following examples:

(81)

a. |R†^y-R€u¹R}-rE1}ER~1

κAτⁿμAvδυ Aλ -μαψ λψAμ

Katmandu go -INF road

‘The road that goes to Katmandu.’

b. R}-rE1sv}R1€R_|, E1t, ŠR_R}1

Aλ -μαψ βελA vAN -κοψ χο ωAN -Aλ

leave -INF time you -GEN son come -PST

‘At the time that I was to leave your son came.’

It is, therefore, clear that Bhujel employs *-~rE* when the aspect of the relative clause is imperfective, and it uses *-o* when aspect is perfective.⁹⁶

The second way to form the relative clauses in Bhujel is to employ interrogative pronoun as there are not relative pronouns as in English and Nepali tradition. The following are the examples:

⁹⁵ Chepang (Caughley, 1982:42) unlike Bhujel has a single verbal morpheme /-o/ for relativization. Thus, the relative clause morphology unlike Bhujel does not code additional semantic or grammatical categories.

⁹⁶ It is interesting to note that in the contact language Nepali employs two verbal suffixes *-ve* and *-eko* for forming relative clauses. The distinction between them is dependent on aspect. That is *-ve* is used when the aspect of the relative clause is in imperfective aspect and *-o* is used when the aspect of the relative clause is in perfective.

(82)

- a. $\uparrow \sim |, \{E1 \sim \{E1 \times R\} \uparrow, 1 \sim \{E1 \sim | R \{E1$
συ -κοψ μψAv γΑλτο μυ -vA υ -κAv
who -GEN hair black stay -NPST 3SG DIST -DAT
_R1~r€1fr...R€€R_11
NA μav παρA -vA -N
ψ
1SG liking occur -NPST -1/2
'I like the woman who has black hair.'

- b. $xr \wedge 1 | \wedge \{E |, \{E1 \sim v1 \in R\} r1 \wedge 1 | \wedge \{E1 _R |, \{E1 \in R1$
γαυ κυψ -κοψ με vA -λα υ κυψ NA -κοψ vA
which dog -GEN tail have -NEG that dog 1SG -GEN be
'The dog which does not have tail is mine.'

The relative clauses in (82a-b) have used interrogative pronouns. Such type of relative clauses is not common in Bhujel. They are simply innovations under the influence of the contact language, Nepali. It is, however, to be noted that Nepali does not employ interrogative pronouns to form relative clauses.

b) The typological parameters

The typological parameters in terms of which we analyze the relative clauses consist of (i) The position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head, (ii) The mode of expression of the relativized NP (Case recoverability strategy), and (iii) Which grammatical relations can be relativized? (Noun phrase accessibility hierarchy).

The position of the relative clause vis-à-vis its head

All the relative clauses in Bhujel precede the head nouns. They are of two types: externally-head and internally head.

Externally-head relative clause

In externally-head relative clause the head noun lies after and outside the relative clause. Following are the examples:

(83)

- a. $f^y \sim zyR_{-1} \sim \cdot, 1 | \sim \text{E}1$
[$\pi^n \upsilon i$ - ηAN $\mu \upsilon$ - o] $\kappa \upsilon \psi$
jungle -LOC stay -PTCP dog
'The dog which lived in the jungle.'
- b. $\check{S}R1 \dagger R \ddagger, 1 | \sim \text{E}1$
[ωA $\sigma A \tau$ - o] $\kappa \upsilon \psi$
jungle stay -PTCP dog
'The dog which killed birds.'

The clauses in (83a - b) represent pre-nominal externally head relative clauses. In each clause the head noun lies after and outside the relative clause.

Internally-head relative clause

In an internal- head relative clause, the head noun is found within the relative clauses. They are exemplified in (84).

- a. $_Rz1 \dagger \text{E}R1 | \sim \text{R}_ , 1$
[NA - i $\sigma \psi A$ $\kappa^n AN$ - o]
1SG -ERG meat cook -PTCP
'The meat I cooked'
- b. $\ddagger \nu \text{E}1 \sim zt^y \text{E}R1 \text{E}R, 1$
[$\tau \epsilon \nu$ $\mu i \chi^n \psi A$ νA - o]
today goat have -PTCP
'The goat which today we have'

In (84a), the head noun $\dagger \text{E}R$ 'meat' and in (84b) the head noun $\sim zt^y \text{E}R$ 'goat' both lie inside the nominal clause.

The mode of expression of the relativized NP

The head noun bears its case-roles vis-à-vis the main clause but the relativized noun may realize a variety of case-roles within that clause (Givón, 2001). The main case recoverability strategy is referred to as the gap strategy. According to this the language simply puts the verb of the relative clause in a participial form and leaves a

gap in the relative clause to indicate the position of the head noun. Following are the examples:

(85)

a. $\bar{S}R1\ddagger R\ddagger, 1\sim R\in t^y v1$
 [ωA σAτ - μAvχⁿ
 o]_____ ε

fowl kill -PTCP man

'The man who killed birds'

b. $\dots R\sim 1\sim \sim r\in 1|z\sim 1$
 [ρAμ μυ -μαψ] κτμ
 Ram stay -INF house

'The house in which Ram lives'

c. $|\hat{\in} | r\in 1\{r\in |, 1f\}, \sim 1$
 [κυψ -καψ φαψκ -ο] πλομ
 dog -ERG bite -PTCP grandson

'The grandson whom the dog bit'

In (85a-c) the verbs are participialized and the gaps are left in order to identify the head noun in the relative clause.

The second strategy is referred to as pronoun retention strategy. In this strategy a pronoun (in case of Bhujel interrogative pronouns) indicates the case-roles assumed by the argument in the relative clause.

(86) $xr \sim 1xR\in |, \in 1\sim z|1\in R\}r1\sim 1xR\in 1_R|, \in 1\in R1$
 [γαυ γAψ -κοψ μυικ vA -λα] υ γAψ NA -κοψ vA
 which cow -GEN eyes have -NEG that cow 1SG -GEN be
 'The cow which does not have tail is mine.'

In (86) the pronoun which is placed clause initially in its base form assumes the case -role of the subject.

Noun phrase accessibility hierarchy

Most of the grammatical relations such as subject, direct object, indirect object, locative and instrumental can be relativized in relative clauses in Bhujel. Let us examine which grammatical relations are accessible for the relativization in Bhujel.

Subject

In Bhujel the noun phrase in the subject position can be relativized as in (87)

(87) ṢR1†R‡, 1~R€tʸv1
 [φA σAτ - κυψ
 o]____

 tiger kill -PTCP dog
 ‘The dog which killed tigers.’

In (87), the relativized noun phrase | ^€ ‘dog’ assumes the grammatical relation of subject in the relative clause.

Direct object

The noun phrase in the direct object position can be relativized in Bhujel.

(88) u€ , 1_Rz1}v | Y, 1tz‡Yz
 [δψo NA - ι λεκH - tz‡Yz
 o]____

 that 1SG -ERG write -PTCP letter
 ‘The letter which I wrote’

In (88), the relativized noun phrase tz‡Yz ‘letter’ in the relative clause is the direct object.

Indirect object

In Bhujel the noun phrase in the direct object position can be relativized. Consider this example.

- (89) uE, 1{R | RÆ1†R†1E^ |
 [δψο φΑ καψ σατ - ψυκ
 ο]____
 —
 that tiger -ERG kill -PTCP monkey

'The monkey whom the tiger killed'

In (89), the noun phrase which is relativized is in the indirect object. Apart from the grammatical relations the noun phrase in locative and instrumental case can also be relativized in Bhujel.

Locative

- (90) uE, 1yr^1~^, 1|z~
 [δψο ηαυ μυ - κιμ
 ο]____
 —
 that brother stay -PTCP house

'The house in which the brother stayed'

In (90), the noun phrase relativized is in locative case.

Instrumental

In Bhujel the noun phrase assuming the case role of instrumental is also accessible for relativization.

- (91) {R | RÆ1†r†, 1uYrE^
 [φΑ καψ σατ - δΗαυ
 ο]____
 —
 tiger -DAT kill -PTCP arrow

'The arrow with which (he) killed the tiger'

Basically the relative clauses in Bhujel as subordinate clauses function nominal modifiers of the head noun phrase. In such clauses subject, objects (direct and indirect) including the nouns in locative and instrumental role can be assumed by the relativized noun. This is a common strategy in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

11.6.2 Coordinate clauses

In this section we deal with coordinating constructions in the Bhujel language within the framework proposed by Haspelmath (2004). A coordinating construction consists of two or more coordinands i.e. coordinated phrases. They may be coordinated by one or more coordinators. They may be simply juxtaposed without any coordinators. In this section we discuss conjunction, disjunction, adversative coordination and exclusion.

i. Conjunction

The independent clauses in Bhujel may be conjoined by using the coordinate conjunction- ~R? The basic function of this form is to combine co-ordinatively two or more referring expressions as in (92)

- (92) €R_ | RE~Rl_R | RE~Rl_s, ^1
 vAN -kAψ -μA NA -kAψ -μA βo -v
 2SG -DAT -ADD 1SG -DAT -ADD divide -DIR
 'Divide it between you and me.'

However, the conjunction in Bhujel does not employ any coordinators as in the English. The two or more coordinands are simply juxtaposed. This strategy is also referred to as zero strategy. Let us consider the following examples in (93).

(93)

- a. _z | r(€1...^y, ~1...^yRluR}, 1 | (€R | R} ^ _z1
 Ni -kαψ ρⁿομ ρⁿA δAλ κψAκ -Aλ -v -N -t
 o
 1PL -ERG basket winnow *dalo* weave -PST -DIR -1/2 -PL
 'We made basket, winnow and *dalo*.'

- b. ~ ^ ~ t, 1 | ... (€Rf †zlx, zt, 1€^yz †z1

μυμχο	κρψΑ	-τι	γοιχο	ν ^η ι	-τι
	π				
wife	cry	-DUR	husband	laugh	-DUR

'The wife is crying and the husband is laughing.'

c. RfR1€^υzR}1t, 1|...ERfR}1

Απα	ν ^η ι	-Αλ	χο	κρψΑπ	-Αλ
father	laugh	-PST	son	cry	-PST

'The father laughed and the son cried.'

d. ...R~1u^υr€zlfv†, 1~ ^€R1

ρΑμ	δ ^η αυι	πετο	μυ	-vΑ
Ram	rich	good	be	-NPST

'Ram is rich and good.'

In the examples, in (93a) the three noun phrases have been coordinated. In (93b- c) two clauses are coordinated without any coordinators. Similarly in (93d) two adjective phrases have been juxtaposed.

1

ii. Disjunction

The Bhujel does not have any native coordinator for disjunction. It has borrowed coordinators such as |z and ŠR from Nepali as in (94).

(94)

a. ~ ^t, t, 1t, R}1|z|t, 1t, R}1

μοχοχο	χο	-Αλ	κι	χο	χο	-Αλ
daughter	bear	-PST	or	son	bear	-PST

'Daughter was born or son was born.'

b. ...R~1†z{vR}1|z|szuv†1tY, {vR}1

ρΑμ	σι	-φε	Αλ	κι	βιδεσ	χ ^η ο	-φε	-Αλ
Ram	die	-PRF	-PST	or	foreign	move	-PRF	-PST

'Ram died or moved to other country.'

'There is no way except dying.'

c. }v‡, 1sRyv|1‡yvi€R_ |, (E1u, ~R1tRyr}r1

λετο	βΑηεκ	τ ^η ε	νΑΝ	-κοψ	δο	-μΑ	χΑηα	-λα
money	except	other	2SG	-GEN	what	-NEG	wish	-NEG

'You do not want any thing except money.'

11.7 Summary

This chapter examined the syntax of Bhujel. Bhujel shows eight types of basic clauses. They can be applicable to the whole ranges of the Bhujel clauses. The verbs used in basic clauses constitute four classes: copular, simple intransitive, simple transitive and bi-transitive verbs. The basic constituent order in Bhujel is SOV. The constituent order in the clause may be better characterized as relatively free. For topicalization and focusing the constituents may be permuted within the clause to a great extent. A noun in Bhujel consists of minimally a head element that is realized by a noun, and optionally one or more modifiers. The obligatory noun may be optionally preceded by pre-nominal modifiers. Post-modification is not productive in Bhujel. The linear ordering of the pre-modifiers in NP is relatively fixed. A verb can be affixed by tense, aspect, modality and other elements such as number and person markers, evidential markers, converb and causative markers, adverbs, negation, etc. They are arranged in a particular sequence. However, the sequence of these elements varies across the constrictions. Bhujel exhibits a complex agreement pattern. This is based on hierarchical ranking of participants – 1/2 3. Moreover, this agreement is with first or second person in preference to third, and with the object where both participants are first or second person.

Bhujel presents five major sentences: copular, existential, questions, imperative, and optative. Similar to most of the South Asian languages Bhujel typically employs non-finite subordinate clauses instead of finite subordinate clauses to realize clause linkage. There are two types of converbs in Bhujel: Sequential (sequencing events in narrative; anterior events or states) and simultaneous (expression of progressive senses; simultaneous events).

Generally the sub-ordination of the clause is carried out by nonfinite clause construction. Interclausal linkage is handled by verbal affixes rather than by free relational forms such as conjunction. The relative clause in which the verb is suffixed by-, may be referred to as perfect participle (PRF PTCP) and the clause with the verb suffixed by the morpheme --r(1 may is referred to as infinitival participle (INF PTCP). All the relative clauses in Bhujel precede the head nouns. They are of two types: externally headed and internally headed. The main strategy employed in Bhujel to recover the case role of the relativized noun is generally referred to as gap strategy. The language simply puts the verb of the relative clause in a participial form and leaves a gap in the relative clause to indicate the position of the head noun. A coordinating construction in Bhujel consists of two or more coordinands i.e. coordinated phrases. They may be coordinated by one or more coordinators. They may be simply juxtaposed without any coordinators.

CHAPTER 12

DISCOURSE

12.0 Outline

This chapter deals with discourse in the Bhujel text. It consists of three sections. Section 12.1 provides the linguistic analysis of multi-propositional Bhujel discourse within the framework of topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity (Givón 1983, 2001; Payne 1997).⁹⁷ In section 12.2 we deal with information structure within the atomic proposition in the Bhujel discourse. Section 12.3 summarizes the findings of the chapter.

12.1 Multi-propositional discourse

In this section we examine 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.

12.1.1 Topic (referential) continuity

In this subsection we analyze the morphosyntactic devices which are employed to evoke the same referents over and over again in the Bhujel multi-propositional discourse. Such devices in Bhujel may consist of anaphoric pronouns, demonstratives, relative clauses and clause chaining. Let us examine how the markers of discourse referentiality code the continuity of the topic in a narrative Bhujel discourse:

(1)

⁹⁷ A text in a natural language exhibits two related properties of cohesion and coherence (Lyons, 1996:263). Cohesion is referred to as the morphosyntactic devices coding the coherence or the continuity of the content in the discourse. According to Givón (1993) a coherent text shows three kinds of continuity: topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity. Following this conceptual model we have tried to organize our field-based observations regarding morphosyntactic devices functioning in the domains of topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity in Bhujel discourse.

- a. $R\{\underline{\epsilon}, 1uv\}yR_1r\}s, \epsilon 1\dots R\{r11\sim\hat{t}, 1\epsilon R$
 Ατ -φσο δεσ -ηΑΝ Ατ -βον ραφ μυ -το νΑ
 A
 one CLF country -LOC one -CLF king stay -PTCP COP
 'In one country there was a king.'
- b. $\underline{u\epsilon}, |, \underline{\epsilon}1r\}s, \epsilon 1u\epsilon R_t, 1\sim, \sim t, t, 11\sim\hat{t}, 1\epsilon$
 R
 δψο -κοψ Ατ -βον δψΑΝτο μομχοχο μυ -το νΑ
 3SG -GEN one -CLF beautiful daughter stay -PTCP COP
 'He had a beautiful daughter.'
- c. $\underline{u\epsilon}, 1\sim, \sim t, t, 1r\}t\{\underline{\epsilon}, 1uz\epsilon 1\}r_xr |$
 $\hat{t}1$
 δψο μομχοχο Ατ -φσο διν σαΝγ -κυσ
 α
 that daughter one -CLF day friends -COM
 $\underline{|Y\dots\epsilon R\hat{t}^y r z | f Y^z y r_1 r\} r\}$
 $\kappa^n\rho\psi -\hat{t}^y r z \quad | f Y^z -y r_ r\} -r\}$
 Av
 play -SIM jungle -LOC go -PST
 'She (that daughter) went to the jungle playing with her friends.'
- d. $r\}sv\}1u\epsilon, |, \underline{\epsilon}1\{r1\}r\}t, 1-r\epsilon t^y v |$
 $\hat{t}111$
 Αλ -βετ δψο -κοψ φα σΑτ -ο μΑνχ^ηε -κυσ
 go -SEQ 3SG -GEN tiger kill -PTCP man -COM
 $s^y v\}1xv\epsilon r\}1s Y v\}1xvsv\}11u\epsilon, |r\epsilon 111u$
 $\underline{\underline{\epsilon}, 1}$
 β^ηετ γε -ψΑλ β^ηετ γε -βετ δψο -καψ δψο
 meeting be -PST meeting be -SEQ that -ERG that
 $\underline{-r\epsilon t^y v | r\epsilon 1\sim r\epsilon R1\dots R |^y sv\}1 | z\sim 1\check{S}r\epsilon$
 R}

μΑνχ^ηε -κΑψ μαψΑ ρΑκ^η -βετ κιμ ωΑν -Αλ
man -DAT love do -SEQ house bring -PST

'After having gone there she met a man who killed a tiger and after having met him she loved him and brought him to her house.'

1

1

e. ...r{R | rε1uε, εz† |, ε111 | ..., ~1...R | †R | s

v†1

ρΑφΑ -καψ δψονι -κοψ κρομ ρΑκΗ -τΑκ -βετ

σ

king -ERG 3DU -GEN marriage do -CAUS -SEQ

|z~1fRε | Y

R}

κιμ παψκ -Αλ

η

house send -PST

'The king got his daughter married with the man and sent them to their house.'

The markers of discourse referentiality are underlined in (1). They can be analyzed as follows:

- a) In (1b) uε, |, ε11 and 1in (1d) uε, |rε1 are the remote third person singular anaphoric pronouns in genitive and agentive forms, respectively. uε, |, ε11 in (1b) refers back to ...R{R in (1a) and in uε, |rε1 (1d) refers back to ~^~t, t, in (1b). Similarly in (1e) uε, εz† |, ε is also the third person dual anaphoric pronoun in genitive form.
- b) In (1c, d) uε, is the remote demonstrative which codes both continuity and specificity of the referents.
- c) Apart from anaphoric pronouns and demonstratives in (1) there are other two kinds of structures which function in the domain of topic continuity. They consist of clause chaining and relative clause. In (1c) there is a clause with non-finite form of the verb marked by the sequential suffix -†YRzland in (1d- e) there are also non-finite clause with the verb suffixed by simultaneous marker -sv†?1Both clauses represent 'middle clauses' of which subject is co-referential with the subject of the clause final finite clause in Bhujel.
- d) There is a clause with the non-finite verb suffixed by participial marker -, in (1d). This represents the participial type of relative clause. This type of relative clause employs a strategy which is referred to as gap strategy to

recover the case the referent of the relative clause with reference to the head noun.

12.1.2 Action (event) continuity

A natural language employs different parameters to organize the discourses as coherent wholes. Such organizational parameters (Healey 1991:64) are summarized in Table 12.1.

Table 12.1: Organizational parameters of discourse

	Accomplished time or time not focal	Projected time
+ Sequence in time	NARRATIVE DISCOURSE 1/3 person oriented (person important)	PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE 1/2/3 person oriented (person unimportant)
- Sequence in time	EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE Theme oriented	HORTATORY DISCOURSE 2 person oriented

Table 12.1 shows that different kinds of discourses in a language can be organized in terms of different principles. The main principle what we concern is the sequence in time. The narrative and procedural discourse are organized according to the principle of sequentiality of events. However, the expository and hortatory discourses lack sequentiality. Tense/aspect marking and clause connectors are the morphosyntactic devices by which the speech act participants express and recover this kind of continuity.

The main focus of this subsection is to examine how Bhujel handles the sequencing of the events in narrative and procedural discourses. The first distinction to be made in the analysis of such discourses is between events and non-events (Grimes, 1975). An event is referred to as something that actually happened. Bhujel commonly distinguishes between sequential events and simultaneous events. The non-events generally consist of settings (descriptive), background, evaluations (the addition of internal feelings to other kinds of information) and collateral (propositions instead of telling what happened telling what did not happen). First let us analyze a narrative Bhujel discourse into events and non-events and examine how tense/aspect and clause

connectors pertaining to location, time and causation contribute to the discourse being coherent in terms of the sequencing of events.

(2)

		R†s, €††z†z†R†s, €††z†z†R1~r€fr... R€†z†					
Setting	Aτ	-βov	τHιτι	Aτ	-βov	τ††ιτA	
	one	-CLF	Lass	one	-CLF	lad	
	~r€fr... R€†z†~^,						
	μανπα	-κAψ	-τι	μυ	-o		
	ρ						
	like	-RECP	-DUR	stay	-PTCP		
	'A lass and lad had a liking to each other.'						
	^yR_†rz†, €†u€R ^y~rz†z† R^†z†}€R_1R},						
Setting	υηANσαικ	δψAκ†μια	τι	κA	-τι	-λψAN Aλ -o	
	οψ	ι		υ			
	then	lass	water	fill	-DUR -PURP	go -PTCP	
	'Then the lass used to go filling the water (The second purpose was to meet the lad).						
	††z†R†R_1€^ 1}€r_ ^y~r€ R€† 1						
	τ††ιτ	-τAN	ψυκ	λψαNκ††	-μαψ	-κAψ	
	A						
	lad	-TOP	monkey	chase	-INF -DAT		
Setting	R}~r€†s^_,						
	Aλ	-μαψ	βυN	-o			
	go	-INF	seek	-PTCP			
	'The lad too intended to go to chase the monkeys (The						
	second purpose was to meet the lass).'						
	^yR_1u€R ^y~rz†R_1fryz}R†R}R}†						
Event	υηAN	δψAκ†μια	-τAN	παη†λA	Aλ	-Aλ	
	there	lass	-TOP	first	go	-PST	
	'The lass went there first.'						
	R^†z†~^†,						
Setting	κAυ	-τι	μυ	-o	vA		
	fill	-DUR	stay	-PTCP	COP		
	'As the lass were filling the water.'						
	††z†R_1{r€ R}						
Event	τυ	-ηAN	φαψκ	-Aλ			
	vagina	-LOC	bite	-PST			
	'A crab bit on the genital organ of the lass.'						

1

	$u\langle E, \uparrow^y z \uparrow R \uparrow R \rangle \uparrow z \uparrow \quad \sim \wedge \uparrow, \langle E$ $1 \quad \sim \wedge \uparrow, \langle E \uparrow$
Setting	<p> $\delta\psi 0o \quad \tau^n \iota \tau A \quad A\lambda \quad -\tau i \quad \mu\upsilon \quad \kappa o \quad \mu\upsilon \quad \kappa o$ lass lad go -DUR stay -GEN stay -GEN 'As the lad going to the lass' </p>
Setting	$u\langle E R \uparrow^y \sim r z \uparrow R _$ $1 \quad \dots R f \sim r \langle E \uparrow \rangle R x R \rangle 1$
Setting	<p> $\delta\psi A \kappa^n \mu \alpha i \quad -\tau AN \quad \kappa \rho A \quad -\mu \alpha \psi \quad \lambda A \gamma \quad -A \lambda$ lass -TOP cry -INF start -PST 'The lass started crying.' </p>
Event	$\in R _ R \langle E \uparrow \quad 1 u, 1 \quad \uparrow v$ $1 \quad \uparrow \langle E R \uparrow R \rangle 1$
Event	<p> $v AN \quad -\kappa A \psi \quad \delta o \quad -\tau \epsilon \quad \sigma \psi A \kappa \quad -A \lambda$ 2SG -DAT what -2 happen -PST 'What happened to you?' </p>
Event	$\uparrow^y z \uparrow R \uparrow \{, _ \uparrow s v \uparrow$ $1 \quad R \rangle R \rangle \uparrow \uparrow$
Event	<p> $\tau^n \iota \tau \quad \phi o N^n \quad -\beta \epsilon \tau \quad A \lambda \quad -A \lambda$ A lad run -SEQ go -PST 'The lad went to the lass hastily' </p>
Event	$\uparrow \wedge^y R _ 1 t r \in z \uparrow R _ 1 \quad \{ r \langle E \uparrow R \rangle$ $1 \quad 1$
Event	<p> $\tau \upsilon \quad -\eta AN \quad \chi \alpha \nu \quad -\iota \quad -\tau AN \quad \phi \alpha \psi \kappa \quad -A \lambda$ vagina -LOC crab -ERG -TOP bite -PST 'The crab bit on the vagina.' </p>
Setting	$t r \in R \langle E \uparrow t^y \langle E \wedge \uparrow R \langle E$ $\rangle R \uparrow \sim 1$
Setting	<p> $\chi \alpha \nu \quad -\kappa A \psi \quad \chi^n \upsilon \tau \alpha \psi \quad -\lambda A \kappa \quad -\upsilon$ crab -DAT Set. apart -COMPL -DIR 'Set apart the crab!' </p>
Setting	$_ R R \langle E \uparrow \uparrow R \uparrow \sim r \langle E$ $1 \quad s \wedge _ R \rangle R \langle E \uparrow$
Setting	<p> NA -κAψ σAτ -μαψ βυN -Aλ -αv 1SG -DAT kill -INF seek -GO NPST 'It is seeking to kill me.' </p>
N o n	$_ R R \langle E \uparrow \uparrow v \in \wedge \uparrow \sim r \langle E$

1 srE†R~1
 NA -κAψ -τε vυτ -μαψ βαψ -σAμ
 1SG -DAT -2 sex -INF give -COND
 'If you are ready to have sex with me'

Non-sequential

z1tr€ | R€1t^y€^†R
 €€^_1
 ι χAv -κAψ χ^ηυτAψ -v -υ -N
 this crab -DAT Set.apart -NPST -DIR -1/2
 'I will set apart this crab'

Non-sequential

}r^1 xv€R1
 λαυ γε vA
 OK be -COP
 'I am ready'

Event

†^y†R | r€1tr€ | R€1t^y^†R€}R | r
 }
 τHτA -καψ χαν -κAψ χ^ηυτAψ λAκ -Aλ
 lad -ERG crab -DAT set apart -COMPL -PST
 'The lad set apart the crab.'

In (2) the narrative discourse shows the contrast between events and non-events. The events are linked to one another sequentially. The sequence of events can be considered the foreground information and non-events are considered the background information. Apart from the distinction between events and non-events the discourse in (2) shows the hierarchy of events definable in terms of the degree that are essential to the text (Longacre, 1989:81). In this discourse the most essential events are coded by narrative past tense. They are in the main event line. The other events which are in other tense and other grammatical form such as sentence nominal are in lower than the main event line.

In a procedural discourse like the given in (3) in Bhujel the foregrounded information would consists of those clauses that express the steps in the procedure. The verb is deverbalized by marking the verb with the infinitival marker.

(3) How to make a lofty basket?

a. ...^z_1tr~~r€

Ατ παλτ ρυπ -μαψ

one time stitch -INF

‘To stitch once.’

i. R{f r} t u, ~t^yER | ~rE

Ατ παλτ δομ χⁿψΑκ -μαψ

one time leg pare -INF

‘To pare the leg one time’

j. R{f r} t u, ~{R__~rE

Ατ παλτ δομ φΑΝ -μαψ

one time leg set -INF

‘To set the leg once.’

12.1.3 Thematic continuity

In this subsection we make a preliminary attempt to analyze the morphosyntactic devices which function in the domain of thematic continuity in Bhujel discourse. Unlike topic or action continuity thematic continuity may not be expressed by overt morphosyntactic devices. The devices which are used to code the topic or action continuity may be used, by extension, to express or reinforce the thematic continuity (Payne, 1997:344). It is not easy to deal with thematic continuity. The first reason is that the main idea or theme of the discourse is hierarchically structured on the semantic principles. The second reason is that the morphosyntactic devices which help to the interpretation of that structure are sprinkled in the discourse. There are many frameworks within which the thematic structure of the message can be diagrammed. The framework we have tried to follow here is rhetorical structure theory proposed by Mann and Thompson (1987) and further elaborated by Trail & Hale (1995). Let us diagram the excerpt of an expository discourse in Bhujel and look at how the thematic structure is morphosyntactically encoded.

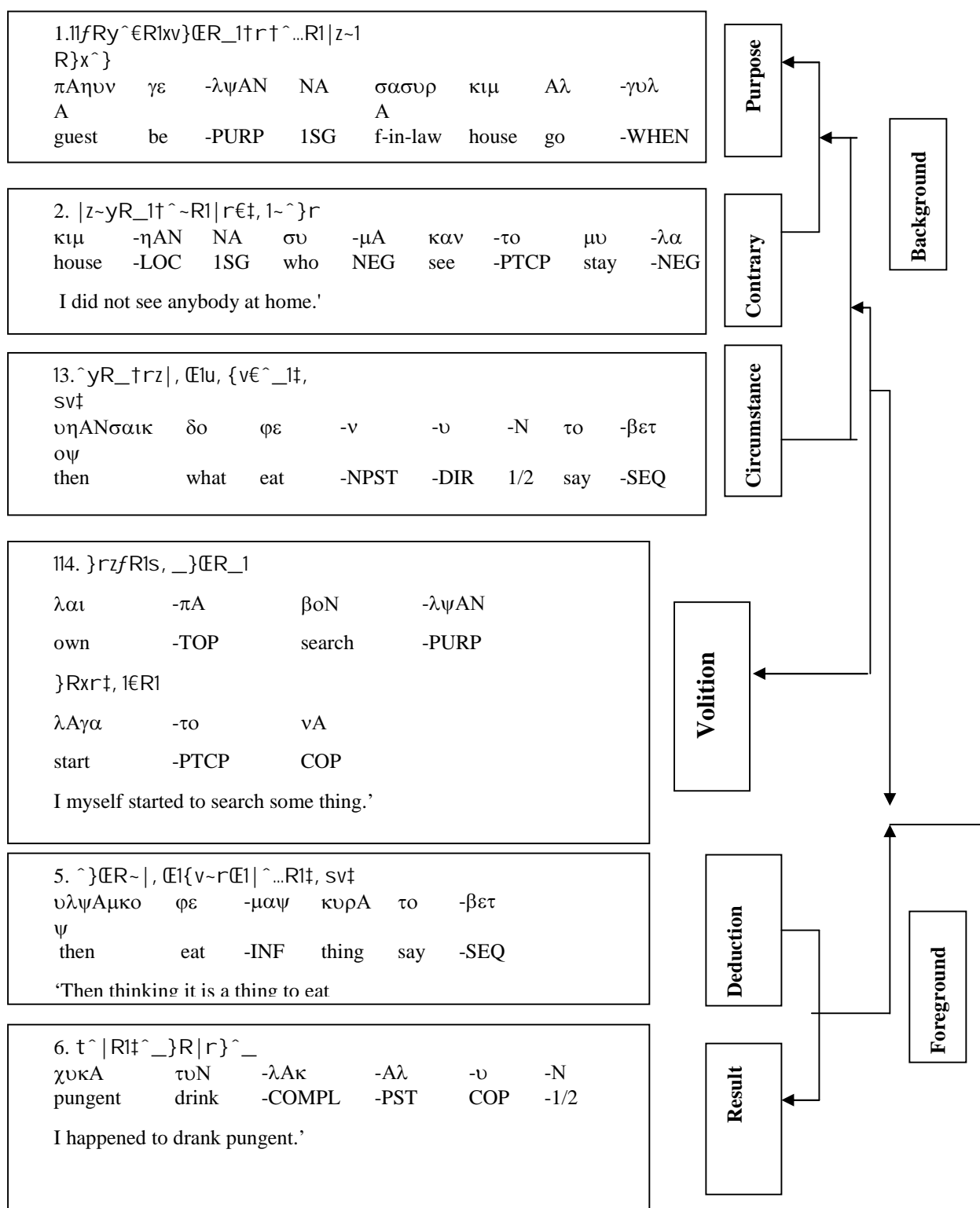


Figure 12.1. Rhetorical structure analysis of an expository text in Bhujel

In Figure 12.1 we have first analyzed the text into six semantic notions: purpose, contrary to expectation, circumstance, volition, deduction and result. In addition we

have also shown how they are linked together to form the hierarchical thematic structure. This structure mainly employs purposive clause, sentence nominal clause, conditional proposition connector and sequential converbal clause.

12.2 Information structure

In this section we discuss those strategies which are employed for different types of discourse functions at the atomic propositional level. Such devices in Bhujel consist of topic markers, mirative marker, unstressed anaphoric pronouns, verb coding (anaphoric agreement), demonstrative pronouns, evidentiality, topicalization and focusing. They are discussed in the following subsections.

12.2.1 Topic markers

There are two topic markers: $-\ddagger R_1$ and $-fR$ in Bhujel.⁹⁸ These suffixes can be attached to either predicates or arguments or to both. $-\ddagger R_1$ and $-fR$ are often repeated throughout the clause (Caughley, 1999:7). In this subsection we try to further explore the discourse-pragmatic functions of each suffix in Bhujel. In doing so, first of all we review the analysis of each suffix in Caughley (1999).

(i) $-\ddagger R_1$

This suffix in Caughley (1999:8) indicates indirect evidentiality. The following is the example (Caughley, 1999:8).

(4)

$\beta\rho A\omega.?o$	$\tau i-\tau AN$	$?A\lambda-\beta\epsilon\tau$	$\tau i-\tau A\psi$	
$\rho\kappa.?a\lambda-\tau o.vA$				
large.Nm	water-IIF	go-Seq	water.Loc	enter.go-PPf

'Having gone to a large pond he entered (the water).'

In (4), according to Caughley (1999), the information of the proposition has come to the speaker from another source. He calls this indirect information flow. The secondary function according to him is to code new information.

While going further into the depth of the oral texts we investigated and further confirmed that $-\ddagger R_1$ is an indirect evidential marker in Bhujel. However, this

⁹⁸ In Caughley (1999) these two markers: $-\ddagger R_1$ and $-fR$ have been analyzed as primarily evidential markers and secondarily status of information markers.

marking is only the secondary function of this suffix. The primary function is to code the topicality. Consider the following examples:

(5)

- a. $R\ddot{s}, \epsilon\dot{t}, \ddot{t}R_{-1}|z\sim yR_{-1}\sim^{\wedge}, 1$
 Ατ -βον χο -τΑΝ κίμ -ηΑΝ μν -ο
 one -CLF son -TOP house -LOC stay -PTCP
 ‘As for a particular son, he stayed at home at home (it is said).’
- b. $_Rz f^y\sim z\dot{S}R1|yR_, R\sim R1RfR\ddot{t}R_{-1}$
 ΝΑ -ι π^ηυι ωΑ κ^ηΑΝ -ο ΑμΑ Απα -τΑΝ
 1S -ERG jungle cock cook -PTCP mother father -TOP
 ‘As for father and mother, cooked the cock of the jungle (he said).’
- c. $\ddot{t}\nu\epsilon\dot{x}^yR_{-1}\ddot{t}R_{-1}\epsilon R_{-1}, (\epsilon\dot{I}RfR1R\ddot{t}R_{-1})R\ddot{t}R_{-1}$
 τεν γ^ηΑΝ -τΑΝ νΑΝ -κοψ Απα Αλ -Αλ
 today where -TOP 2SG -GEN father go -PST
 ‘As for the place, where did your father go today (they asked him)?’
- d. $\epsilon R_{-1}, (\epsilon\dot{I}RfR1\dot{x}\nu\ddot{t}R_{-1}$
 νΑΝ -κοψ Απα γε -τΑΝ
 2SG -GEN father be -TOP
 ‘As for your father, what happened (they asked)?’
- e. $uzxf1\epsilon R_{-1}, (\epsilon\ddot{t}R_{-1}\ddot{t}R_{-1})R|R\epsilon z1$
 διγιπ νΑΝ -κοψ -τΑΝ σΑτ -λακ -Αν -ι
 after 2SG -GEN -TOP kill -COMPL -NPT -PL
 ‘As for you, (we) will finish killing afterwards (they said)).’
- f. $u^y r\epsilon^{\wedge}1|R\epsilon\ddot{t}R_{-1}\ddot{t}S r\ddot{t}r1...R|y s\nu\ddot{t}t z\}R\epsilon\}r\sim$
 δ^ηανυ κΑν -τΑΝ σωαττα ρΑκ^η -βετ χιλΑν -λαμ
 bow arrow -TOP suddenly do -SEQ wizard -PL
 $-z1u\epsilon, |R(\epsilon\dot{I}\ddot{t}R\ddot{t}R_{-1})R\epsilon z$
 -ι δψο -κΑψ σΑτ -ΑλΑ -νι
 -ERG he -DAT kill -PST -PL
 ‘As for the bow and arrow (they) having set suddenly the wizards killed him.’
- g. $|r...zyR_{-1}\ddot{t}R_{-1}\{\dot{S}R\sim\sim r1...R|y s\nu\ddot{t}1$
 καρι -ηΑΝ -τΑΝ φωΑμμια ρΑκ_η -βετ
 back -LOC -TOP suddenly do -SEQ

Rf†, 1†z{vR}

Απ -το σι -φε -Αλ
shoot -PTCP kill -PRF -PST

‘As for on the back (they) having set the bow (it is said)) they shot and the man had died.’

h. tz_)R€}r~zIRsr1|}R€z}€R~†R_1

χιNλAv -λαμ -ι Αβα κ^ηAvι -λψAμ -τAN
stranger -PL -ERG now hole -ABL -TOP

...Y€^†sv†1ŠR€sv†1}Y€^_R}R€zI

ρ^ηψυτ -βετ ωAv -βετ λ^ηψυN -ΑλA -vι
pull -SEQ bring -SEQ Take. out -PST -PL

‘As from the hole, the strangers (it is said) pulled him and took out him.’

i. RfR |, €†R_1†, €1tvŠsv†1R}sv†1xR€uz |, €1

ΑπA -κοψ -τAN σον χεω -βετ Αλ -βετ γAvδι -κοψ
father -GEN -TOP nail see -SEQ go -SEQ river -GEN

tYv^yR_1^1†, €|R€1†^|R}1

χHευ -ηAN υ σον -κAψ συκ -Αλ
bank -LOC that nail -DAT bury -PST

‘As for the father’s, having seen the nails (it is said) he went to the bank of a river and buried it.’

These examples (5a-i) show that the primary function of the suffix –†R_ is to code the topicalization of the constituent to which it is attached. No doubt, there is another function as well. This is to code the indirect evidentiality of the fact coded by the proposition as analyzed in Caughley (1999). A question may arise which part of the proposition is specified as the hearsay or indirect information. The tentative answer is: the constituent to which it is attached is the part specified for the hearsay or indirect information in the clause. The example (5a) can be interpreted as hearsay as follows: ‘(I hear) it was the son who stayed at home.’ Thus, this marker can be defined as a topicalizer with indirect evidentiality.

In Lahu (Matisoff, 2003) there occurs a particle tv^ō in the discourse. It indicates that the speaker is reporting something at second hand, reporting what someone else has told him or her. Storytellers tend to use it in almost every sentence.

We can summarize the fact about -†R_1 as follows:

- a) -†R_1 can occur, basically once, in conjunction with any constituents of the clause.

- b) The constituent encoded by $-fR_{|}$ becomes pragmatically a topic.
- c) The constituent encoded by $-fR_{|}$ also codes indirect evidentiality (i.e. it is said or it heard) from the perspective of the speaker.

(ii) $-fR_{|}$

The primary function of $-fR_{|}$ according to Caughley (1999: 7) is to code the information which is direct from the speaker as its source. The following is an example (Caughley, 1999:7)

- (6) "λαω vAvι μv-ψακ.α. NA-πA ωαη-φε .vA.N" το-βετ...
- So child stay-Prc.Im I -DIF go -Em.NP.1 say-seq
- "So child, stay a while I will go." having said...

He also notes that $-fR_{|}$ normally codes old information. However, our discourse data show that the primary functions of $-fR_{|}$ is to code the topicalization of the constituents in the clause. Secondly, it functions as a direct evidential marker. The following are the examples:

(7)

- a. $|z-fR_{|}y^{\wedge} \check{S}R\{vR\}_{|}$

κιμ -πA ηυωA -φε -Aλ
house -TOP fall -PRF -PST

'As for the house, it had fallen down (I saw it)'

- b. $R\}_{|}, \{E1R\}_{|}, \{E1R\}_{|}^y, uRyR_{|}ur_{|}^y$

Aλ -κοψ Aλ -κοψ Aτ κⁿοδα -ηAN δακⁿ
girl -GEN go -GEN one river -LOC reach

$R\}_{|}Rsr_t^y, sv\{fR_{|}\{ER\}_{|}v\}$

-Aλ Aβα χⁿο -βετ -πA τψAτ -φε
-PST now walk -SEQ -TOP cross -PRF

'As for the case (the speaker acts as though saw himself) they had arrived at a river. Do we cross the river on foot?'

In examples (7a-b) the primary function of the marker $-fR_{|}$ is to topicalize the constituent to which it has been attached. The secondary function as analyzed in Caughley (1999) is to code direct evidentiality, that is, the information is direct from the speaker as its source. Thus, we define it as a topicalizer with direct evidentiality.

Moreover, $-fR_{|}$ is the mirror image of $-fR_{|}$?

In some cases $-fR$ can be immediately followed by $-‡R_$. In such case both function as topicalizers, $-fR$ as a topicalizer with direct evidentiality and $-‡R_$ as a topicalizer with indirect evidentiality. Consider the following example.

- (8) $u\{r\}^y \sim r\{fR\}‡R_1 t r \{z\}‡R_1 \hat{y}R_1$
 $\delta\psi\alpha\kappa^{\eta}\mu\alpha\psi$ $-\pi A$ $-\tau AN$ $\chi\alpha\nu$ $-i$ $-\tau AN$ $\tau\nu$ $-\eta AN$
 girl $-\text{TOP}$ $-\text{TOP}$ crab $-\text{ERG}$ $-\text{TOP}$ vagina $-\text{LOC}$
 $\{r\{E\}\}R\{‡r$
 $\varphi\alpha\psi\kappa$ $-\lambda A\kappa$ $-\tau\alpha$
 bite $-\text{COMPL}$ $-\text{RPST}$
 ‘As for the girl (the speaker saw himself) but (the speaker knew from the girl) that crab happened to bite on the girl’s vagina.’

In conclusion $-‡R_$ is primarily a topic marker and secondarily it is an indirect evidential marker. Similarly, the primary function of $-fR$ is to code the topicalization of the constituents in the clause. Secondarily, it functions as a direct evidential marker.

12.2.2 *Mirativity marker*

In Bhujel, $-‡v\}$ is a mirativity marker.⁹⁹ The primary function of $-‡v$ according to Caughley (1999: 7) is to code ‘contrary to expectation’. The following is an example (Caughley, 1999:7)

- (9) $\sigma\nu ?i-\tau\epsilon$ $vAN-\kappa A\psi$ $\sigma\psi A\sigma-vA$
 who.Ag.CIF you-Gl care -NP
 ‘Who will care for you?’

In (9) according to Caughley the information is unexpected, that is, contrary to expectation information. Here the speaker is telling the hearer something about himself (i.e. about the hearer). In (1999:8) he further notes that $-‡v$ usually codes new information. In the light of the discourse data we are motivated to argue that $-‡v$ neither indicates ‘Contrary to expectation information’ nor codes new information. Its status is something different from the one as analyzed by Caughley (1999). The marker $-‡v\}$ occurs in two different places in the clause: inside and outside the verb

⁹⁹ Caughley (1999) has analyzed $-‡v\}$ primarily as evidential marker and secondarily as the marker of status of information.

complex. Inside the verb complex its primary function is to code the second person pronoun as the actor.

The following are the examples:

(10)

- a. $_R_z\iota\upsilon\mathbb{E}, |R\mathbb{E}\iota\upsilon R\ddot{\cup} |^y\ddagger vR\}^{\wedge}_1$
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|------|----------------|----|------|------|------|
| NA | -ι | δψο | -κΑψ | δΑ® | - | -Αλ | -υ | -N |
| N | | | | κ ^η | τε | | | |
| 2SG | -ERG | 3SG | -DAT | beat | -2 | -PST | -DIR | -1/2 |

‘You beat her/him.’

- b. $\mathbb{E}R_z\iota_R |R\mathbb{E}\iota\upsilon R\ddot{\cup} |^y\ddagger vR\}r_$
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|------|------|----|------|------|
| vAN | -ι | NA | -κΑψ | δΑ®κ | - | -Αλ | -αN |
| | | | | η | τε | | |
| 2SG | -ERG | 1SG | -DAT | beat | 2 | -PST | -1/2 |

‘You beat me.’

Outside the verb complex it is found with the persons as actors other than the second person. In such cases - $\ddagger v$ seems to code 'mirativity'. The following are the examples:

(11)

- a. $\{R\ddagger v\ddagger z\{vR\}1$
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|------|------|
| φΑ | -τε | σι | -φε | -Αλ |
| tiger | -MIR | die | -PRF | -PST |
- ‘Oh! The tiger had died.’
- b. $\}v\ddagger, \ddagger v |^y\sim\mathbb{E}\{vR\}1$
- | | | | | |
|-------|------|-------------------|------|------|
| λετο | -τε | κ ^η υψ | -φε | -Αλ |
| money | -MIR | steal | -PRF | -PST |
- ‘Oh! The money was stolen.’
- c. $|^y, uR\ddagger v\iota sr\upsilon^y r\mathbb{E}\{vR\}1$
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|------|---------------------|------|------|
| κ ^η οδΑ | -τε | βαδ ^η αψ | -φε | -Αλ |
| River | -MIR | come up | -PRF | -PST |
- ‘Oh! The river had flooded.’
- d. $\ddagger\sim z\ddagger v\mathbb{E}R_ |R\mathbb{E}\iota\ddagger\mathbb{E}R\ddagger\mathbb{E}R1$
- | | | | | | | |
|----|----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|
| συ | -ι | -τε | vAN | -κΑψ | σψΑ | -vA |
|----|----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|

σ

who -ERG -MIR 2SG -DAT rear -NPT
 ‘Oh! You are still surviving! Who is taking care of yours?’

Thus, this marker unlike in Caughley (1999) has revealed different position in the language. When it occurs in the complex of the verb, it codes the second person pronoun as the actor in the clause. When it occurs outside the verb complex with actors other than the second person it is likely to code mirativity.

12.2.3 Unstressed anaphoric pronouns

The unstressed third person pronouns function as one of the major morphosyntactic devices to mark the anaphoric reference of the 'participants' in the text. In Bhujel the third person pronouns which are, in common with languages around the world, directly related to demonstrative pronouns show spatial orientation of the object in relation to speech-act participants: proximate, distal(within the view) and remote (beyond the view). The third person pronouns in intersection with three numbers: singular, dual and plural and three levels of proximity including their forms with agentive, dative and genitive cases are shown in Table 12.2.

βAτa -v -υ -N
 weave -NPST -DIR -1/2
 'I will cut *Babiyo* and make a rope from it.'

b. $_R | R\{1\check{S}R_ \ddagger^y r z l \in R \ddagger, 1$
 NA -κAψ ωAN -τⁿαι vAτo
 1SG -DAT come -SIM much
 $\in \hat{\ } \ddagger R \} r _ 1$
 υυτ -AλA -N
 cohabit -PST -1/2
 'He came and fucked me a lot.' (Lit. He regularly came and had
 excessive sex with me.)

In (12a) the first person agent is acting upon the third person patient. Thus, the verb agrees with the first person agent which is the highest ranking participant. In (12b) the agreement is with the first person as a rule.

Similarly in a configuration of 2 3 or 3 2 yields second person agreement (also the highest ranking participant), as in (13)

(13)

a. $\in R _ z l u \{ _ | R \{ 1 u R \ddot{u} | \^y \ddagger v \ddagger R \} _ \hat{\ } _$
 vAN -ι δψo -κAψ δA® -τε -τAλ -υ -N
 κⁿ
 2SG -ERG 3SG -DAT beat -2 (-2)-PST -DIR -1/2
 'You beat him.'

b. $u \{ _ , z \in r _ | R \{ 1 u R \ddot{u} | \^y \ddagger v \ddagger R \} r _$
 δψo -ι ναN -κAψ δA®κ -τε -τAλA -N
 η
 3SG -ERG 2SG -DAT beat -2 (2)-PST -1/2
 'He beat you.'

Table 12.3 summarizes the obligatory anaphoric speech-act participant marking in Bhujel.

In (14a-c), the verbs which are marked by $\hat{\sim}$ help to track out the anaphoric referent in the text. Table 12.4 shows the pattern of 'direct' marking in Bhujel.

Table 12.4: Direct marking pattern in Bhujel

	2	3
1	-v	-v
2	**	-v

iii. 2nd person entailment

In Bhujel $\hat{\sim}$ is a special pragmatic marker with the second person entailment. It is coded in the complex of both transitive and intransitive verb to entail the second person. The following are the examples:

(15)

- a. $\epsilon R_z l u \epsilon, | R \epsilon l u R \hat{\sim} | ^y \dagger v \dagger R \} \hat{\sim}$
 vAN -t $\delta \psi o$ -kA ψ $\delta A \textcircled{K}$ - $\tau \epsilon$ - $\tau A \lambda$ - \underline{v} -N
 η
 2SG -ERG 3SG -DAT beat -2 -(2)PST -DIR -1/2
 'You beat him.'
- b. $\epsilon z _ \{ z | r \epsilon l u \epsilon, | R \epsilon u R \hat{\sim} | ^y \dagger v \dagger R \} r _ \{ \hat{\sim}$
 v_iN ϕ -kA ψ $\delta \psi o$ -kA ψ $\delta A \textcircled{K}$ - $\tau \epsilon$ - $\tau A \lambda$ - αN - $\underline{\phi}$ -v
 t η
 2DU -ERG 3SG -DAT beat -2 -(2)PST -1/2 -DU -DIR
 'You (two) beat him.'
- c. $\epsilon z _ \} r \sim | r \epsilon l u \epsilon, | R \epsilon l u R \hat{\sim} | ^y \dagger v \dagger R \} \hat{\sim} z$
 v_iN $\lambda \alpha$ -kA ψ $\delta \psi o$ -kA ψ $\delta A \textcircled{K}$ - $\tau \epsilon$ - $\tau A \lambda$ - \underline{v} -N -t
 μ η
 2PL -ERG 3SG -DAT beat -2 -(2)PST -DIR -1/2 -PL
 'You beat him.'

iv. Inclusive

In Bhujel the inclusive marker -ɬr may function in the domain of topic continuity. There is no free inclusive pronoun in Bhujel. It is coded in the complex of verb. The following are the examples:

(16)

- a. $\epsilon z t z | r \in \{ R - 1 \{ v \in R - \} r t ^ \wedge$
 νιχι -καψ Αμ φε -vA -N -τα -χ -υ
 1DU -ERG rice eat -NPST -1/2 -INCL -DU -DIR
 ‘We (two) eat rice.’
- b. $\epsilon z t z | z - 1 R \} \epsilon R - \} r t r$
 νιχι κιμ Αλ -vA -N -τα -χα
 1DU rice go NPST -1/2 -INCL -DU
 ‘We (two) go home.’
- c. $\epsilon z \} r - | r \in \{ R - 1 \{ v \in R - \} r ^ \wedge$
 νιλαμ καψ Αμ φε -vA -N -τα -ι -υ
 1PL -ERG rice eat -NPST -1/2 -INCL -PL -DIR
 ‘We eat rice.’

In (16 a-c) the inclusive marker (INCL) cross-references the agent of the clauses.

12.2.5 Demonstratives

There are three types of demonstratives in Bhujel. They include proximal, distal and remote. They are given in Table 12.5.

Table 12.5: Demonstratives in Bhujel

Proximal	z	This
Distal	^	That
Remote	u(ε,	Yon

Bhujel narratives frequently use demonstratives not only as definitizers before nouns

but also to show the continuity of the referent which was already activated in the discourse as in (17).

(17)

- a. R†{E, 1uvtyR_1εzts, ε1s^†yR1
 Ατ -φψο δεσ -ηΑΝ νισ -βον βυτ^ηΑ
 one -CLF country -LOC two -CLF husband
 s^†yzi~^R}tr1
 βυτ^ηι μν -Αλ -χα
 wife live -PST -DU
 ‘In a country there lived a husband and wife.’
- b. u(E, 1s^†yR1s^†yzi| rE1|z†Rε1|R~11
 δψο βυτ^ηΑ βυτ^ηι -καψ κισΑν κΑμ
 That husband wife -ERG farming work
 ...R|yR}tr1
 ρΑκ^η -Αλ -χα
 do -PST -DU
 ‘The husband and wife (two) worked in the field.’
- c. u(E, }r~|, E1...R_1f^y^z1u(Er_1~^, 1
 δψολα -κοψ ρΑΝ δψΑΝ μν ο
 μ
 3PL -GEN field near stay -PTCP
 ‘Their field was near the jungle’
- d. u(E, 1...R_yR_11~r| rz1}rxR(Er}E1
 δψο ρΑΝ -ηΑΝ μακαι λαγα -Αλ -ψ
 ψ
 that field -LOC maize sow -PST -PL
 ‘In that field they sowed maize’

- b. ...R~z1{1vR}1R~1
 ρAμ -ι φ ε -Aλ Aμ
 Ram -ERG eat -PST rice
 ‘As for Ram, he certainly ate rice.’
- c. {vR}1...R~z1R~1
 φ ε -Aλ ρAμ -ι Aμ
 eat -PST Ram -ERG rice
 ‘It was Ram, as for eating, he did it.’
- d. {1vR}1R~1...R~z
 φ ε -Aλ Aμ ρAμ -ι
 eat -PST rice Ram -ERG
 ‘It was rice, as for eating, which Ram did.’
- e. R~1...R~z1{vR}1
 Aμ ρAμ -ι φ ε -Aλ
 rice Ram -ERG eat -PST
 ‘As for rice, it was Ram, who ate it.’
- f. R~1{vR}1...R~z
 Aμ φ ε -Aλ ρAμ -ι
 rice eat -PST Ram -ERG
 ‘As for rice, Ram ate it; he did not do anything else.’

In (18b) subject is topicalized. In (18c) and (18d) verb has been topicalized. Similarly in (18e) and (18f) object is topicalized. In the same way the subject is focused in (18c) and (18e) whereas the object is focused in (18d). The verb is similarly focused in (18b) and (18f).

12.2.8 *Other suffixes and particles*

In this subsection we discuss suffixes and particles which are used to structure Bhujel discourse. They are discussed as follows:

i. Insistive focus

The marker \sim is used as an insistive focus in Bhujel. Following are the examples:

- (19) $\epsilon R_1 | z \sim r z | \sim r | s r \{ r \dots t R R \} r |$
 vAN κιμ λαι μυ -α βαφαρ τΑ- -Αλ -λα
 2SG house FOC stay -IMP market PROH- go -NEG
 ‘You stay at HOME, don’t go to market.’

ii. Contrastive topic

The marker used as an insistive focus is also used as a contrastive topic marker in Bhujel. Following is the example.

- (20) $_R | R \} \} r z \epsilon R_1$
 NA Αλ -λαι -vA -N
 1SG go -FOC -NPST -1/2
 ‘I Go.’

iii. Theme marker

The marker used as an insistive focus and a contrastive topic marker is also used as a theme marker in Bhujel. Following is the example.

- (21) $_R z | u \epsilon \{ r z | R \sim \dots R | \} \epsilon \sim _1$
 NA -ι δψο -λαι κΑμ ρΑκⁿ -v -υ -N
 1SG -ERG that -FOC job do -NPST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I do THAT job.’

iv. Hortative/ Requestive marker

The requestive marker in Bhujel is \sim . The following is the example.

- (22) $_R | , \{ R | R | R \epsilon \epsilon \nu | \dagger R \dagger \} R | 1$
 NA κοψ ΑπΑ -κΑψ νε σΑτ -λακ
 1SG -GEN father -DAT Q kill -COMPL
 $u, \sim | , \{ R | \dots \dagger | , \{ R | \dagger , \{ R | \dagger R \epsilon \sim u R |$
 δομ -κοψ κρυτ -κοψ σον ωΑν -υ -δΑ
 leg -GEN hand -GEN nail bring -DIR REQ
 ‘Are you killing my father? If you kill him, please bring the nails of the limbs

for me.'

v. Probabilitive

The probabilitive marker in Bhujel is -}v~. Following are the examples:

(23)

a. €(ER~†z|ŠR}v~€R1

vψAμτι ωA -λεμ -vA

rain rain -PROB -NPST

'It may rain.'

b. u(€, 1†(ER_1|z~1ŠR|}v~€R1

δψο σψAN κτιμ ωAκ^η -λεμ -vA

3SG tomorrow house go -PROB -NPST

'He may go home tomorrow.'

c. †(ER_1ŠR}v~}r1

σψAN ωA -λεμ -λα

tomorrow rain -PROB -NEG

'It may not rain tomorrow.'

vi. Assertive marker

For assertion Bhujel employs the particle x†r†r†z~. Following are the examples:

(24)

a. __R1x†r†r†z~1Šr_€R_1

NA γατατιμ ωαN -vA -N

1SG anyhow come -NPST -1/2

'Anyhow I will come.'

b. x†r†r†z~1z|fv†r1~R†~r(€1xv}r1

γατατιμ ι πεσα μAσ -μαψ γε -λα

anyhow this work leave -INF be -NEG

'Anyhow we should not leave this profession.'

vii. Concessive marker

The concessive marker in Bhujel- †z~ codes unexpected results, e.g.,

(25)

- a. $_R1xR...zS1xv†z~1z~R\epsilon yR_1\sim\hat{\epsilon}R_1$
 NA γαριβ γε -τιμ ιμAv -ηAN μv -vA -N
 1SG poor be -CONC honest -LOC stay -NPST -1/2
 ‘Though I am poor I am honest.’
- b. $u\epsilon, 1u^y r\epsilon z1xv†z~1†^y rz\{v1\sim\hat{\epsilon}R1$
 δψo δⁿανι γε -τιμ τⁿαιφε μv -vA
 3SG rich be -CONC dishonest stay -NPST
 ‘Though he is rich he is dishonest.’
- c. $\sim r\epsilon xr\}vlu\{\epsilon R\epsilon\ddagger, 1\epsilon R\}r\ddagger z~1†r|\ddagger r1t, _ \epsilon R\epsilon z1$
 μανγαλε δψAvτ vA -λα -τιμ σακτ χοN -vA -vi
 ο α
 Mangale good be -NEG -CONC -ALL like -NPST -PL
 ‘Though Mangale is not good everybody likes him.’

viii. Logical consequence

Bhujel uses the particle $\hat{\epsilon}|\{r\epsilon\}rz@u\epsilon, |\{r\epsilon\}rz$ for logical consequence. Following are the examples:

(26)

- a. $\ddagger v\epsilon 1†\{\epsilon R_1... \hat{\epsilon} z_1\sim R\ddagger\ddagger\{vR\}1$
 τεν σψAN ρυιN μAσ -τι -φε -Aλ
 today tomorrow bamboo destroy -DUR -PRF -PST
 ‘Nowadays bamboo is being destroyed.’
- b. $\hat{\epsilon}|\{rz\}rz1... \hat{\epsilon} z_1tv\check{S}\sim r\{\epsilon 1t\{\epsilon R|\ddagger, 1xvR\}1$
 υκαίλαι ρυιN χεω -μαψ χψAκτο γε -Aλ
 thus bamboo find -INF difficult be -PST
 ‘Thus, it is difficult to find bamboo.’

ix. Emphatic marker

There is a special emphatic particle }rz}rz. This particle is a reduplication of the reflexive pronoun }rz. It is used as an extended usage of reflexive morphosyntax to indicate a special kind of emphasis, e.g.

(27)

- a. $_R1\}rz\}rz\{\epsilon^yR\}r_1$
 NA λαιλαι vⁿi -Aλ -αN
 1SG EMPH laugh -PST -1/2
 ‘I laughed myself.’
- b. $_Rz1\}rz\}rz\{R-1\}^yR_R\}^{\wedge}_1$
 NA -ι λαιλαι Aμ κⁿAN -Aλ -υ -N
 1SG -ERG EMPH rice cook -PST -DIR -1/2
 ‘I cooked rice myself.’
- c. $u\{E, 1\}rz\}rz\{R-1\}^yR_R\}1$
 δψο -ι λαιλαι Aμ κⁿAN -Aλ
 1SG -ERG EMPH rice cook -PST
 ‘He cooked rice himself.’

12.3 Summary

In this chapter we have analyzed the text-structuring devices in Bhujel discourse. The multi-propositional discourse in Bhujel exhibits three domains of continuity: topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity. Bhujel makes use of a number of morphosyntactic devices in these domains of continuity. The devices such as anaphoric pronouns, demonstratives, relative clauses and clause chaining are mainly used to mark the topic continuity in Bhujel discourse. In the domain of action continuity tense/aspect marking and clause connectors function as the morphosyntactic devices in Bhujel. The narrative and procedural discourse show the sequentiality of events. However, the expository and hortatory discourses lack sequentiality in Bhujel. In terms of sequentiality the narrative and procedural discourses consist of events and non-events.

Normally the thematic continuity may not be expressed by overt morphosyntactic devices. The devices which are used to code the topic or action continuity may be used, by extension, to express or reinforce the thematic continuity. Bhujel presents the hierarchical thematic structure.

There are two topic markers- $\ddagger R_1$ and $-fR$. They are used at the atomic propositional discourse. Primarily, $\ddagger R_1$ codes the topicalization of the constituent to which it is attached. Secondly it codes the indirect evidentiality of the fact coded by the proposition. $-fR$ as $\ddagger R_1$ codes the topicalization of the constituents in the clause. Secondly, it functions as a direct evidential marker. Thus, in Bhujel, $\ddagger R_1$ is a topicalizer with indirect evidentiality whereas $-fR$ is a topicalizer with direct evidentiality.

Outside the verb complex with actors other than the second person $\ddagger V$ codes mirativity in Bhujel. However, inside the verb complex it entails the second person. The unstressed third person pronouns function as one of the major morphosyntactic devices to mark the anaphoric reference of the 'participants' in the text. In Bhujel the third person pronouns which are directly related to demonstrative pronouns show spatial orientation of the object in relation to speech-act participants: proximate, distal (within the view) and remote (beyond the view).

In a transitive configuration with the first person acting upon the second person or the third person (1 2/3) and the second person acting upon the third person (2 3) i.e. all direct relations, the verb obligatorily gets marked by $\hat{?}$. The verbs which are marked by $\hat{?}$ help to track out the anaphoric referent in the text. In Bhujel the inclusive marker $\ddagger r$ cross-references the agent of the clauses in the domain of topic continuity. Bhujel narratives frequently use demonstratives not only as definitizers before nouns but also to show the continuity of the referent which was already activated in the discourse.

In Bhujel like in Turkish (Givón, 2001:328) the directly witnessed events or states are expressed in simple past tense whereas hearsay or inferential are encoded in remote past tense.

In Bhujel the constituents of the simple transitive clause can be freely permuted within the clause to a great extent for topicalization and focusing. Apart from constituent order Bhujel makes use of $\sim\}r\}z$ as an insistent focus, contrastive topic and theme marker in Bhujel. Bhujel also uses hortative marker $-uR=$ the probabilitive marker $-}\}v\sim$, the assertive particle $xr\}r\}z\sim$, the concessive marker $-}\}z\sim$, the logical consequence particle $\wedge |r\{E}\}r\}z\}u\{E$, $|r\{E}\}r\}z$ and emphatic particle $\}r\}z\}r\}z\}l\}o$ to structure the information in Bhujel.¹

CHAPTER 13

SUMMARY AND TYPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents the summary and the typological implications of the study. It consists of two sections. In section 13.1, we present the chapter-wise summary of the study. Section 13.2 explores the typological implications of the study.

13.1 Summary

In chapter 1, we outlined the objectives and methodology of the study. We also made a review of the previous works on the Bhujel language and people. Besides, we discussed the motivations to use the functional-typological framework for the linguistic description of the Bhujel language.

In chapter 2, on the basis of the field study, we examined the socio-economic condition of the Bhujel living in the eastern part of Tanahun District. The Bhujel in Tanahun have Mongoloid physical features with well proportioned facial features and yellowish complexion. Most of them are deprived of education and marginalized in the society. They are Buddhist by religion. However, they observe all the main festivals and traditions of Hindus. The very primitive occupation of the Bhujel is to make different articles from bamboo splits. Nowadays they are engaged in agriculture, small businesses, cottage and small industry to a limited extent. The Bhujel of Tanahun have their own language which was not identified and recognized as an independent language till 2001. Natively referred to as *f^h* meaning 'talk or language of Bhujel' is spoken by 3923 of 5418 of ethnic Bhujel living in twenty village development committees and one municipality in Tanahun. The history of the Bhujel language is till unknown. However, they posit *Nishi* and *Bhuji Khola* as their ancient home. They are all bilingual in Nepali by birth. They are gradually shifting to Nepali. There is a heavy borrowing in Bhujel lexicon from Nepali. Bhujel is an endangered Tibeto-Burman language.

In chapter 3, we dealt with the phonology. Bhujel contains 31 consonants, six monophthongal, six diphthongal and four nasal vowels in the language. Bhujel offers contrasts among the consonant phonemes in terms of voiced vs. voiceless, aspirated vs. unaspirated, and clear vs. breathy. Bhujel does not present a contrast in length. It lacks dental vs. retroflex contrasts. It also lacks phonemic glottal stop. Except fricatives and affricates, the other consonant sounds have breathy counterparts. Bhujel exhibits word-initial cluster of the consonants, particularly of two consonants. The syllable canon in Bhujel is (C) (C) (G) V (X), where G is a glide and 'X' is a consonant or a vowel. Bhujel shows two suprasegmental features: stress and intonation. The stress is placed mainly on the root of the word. Bhujel is not a tonal language.

In chapter 4, we analyzed the physical properties of the speech sounds. Bhujel offers the greatest difference between the first and second formants (F1 and F2) in the front vowels, and the difference between these two formants narrows in the mid vowels, and remains somewhat narrow for the back vowels. In Bhujel there is a little variation between the lengths of six monophthongal vowels. The duration of a diphthong measured in a closed syllable is virtually shorter than the duration measured in open syllable. It offers very little effect of the aspiration on the length of the vowel. In Bhujel, the high-back vowel has the lowest and mid-back vowel has the highest formant frequencies. Apart from this, the high-front vowel shows higher formant frequencies than the mid-front vowel. The mid-front vowel shows the longest duration and the mid central vowel shows the shortest duration. A consonant has a longer duration in coda position than in onset position. A vowel has a longer duration after aspiration than after an unaspirated consonant. In onset position, as a general tendency, the voiceless unaspirated sounds are shorter than in coda positions. However, the aspirated sounds are longer in onset positions than in coda positions. The sonorant sounds in onset position are much longer than the voiceless unaspirated sounds in the coda positions.

In chapter 5, we examined both segmental and supra-segmental phonological processes. The segmental processes are conditioned by three factors such as surrounding segments, syllable structure and structure larger than syllable. Bhujel presents seven types of assimilatory processes, viz. intervocalic voicing, voiceless

plosive weakening, and velar assimilation, voicing assimilation, nasal assimilation, labial assimilation and alveolar assimilation. Bhujel also involves some processes such as epenthesis and deletion conditioned by syllable structure. It also exhibits vowel harmony, an assimilative process in which all the vowels in a given phonological words belong to the same vowel class or share some crucial features. This process is conditioned by larger structures than syllable. Bhujel also presents suprasegmental processes such as stress shift and insertion of a segment due to intonation. The stress has been found shifted to the second syllable in the phonological words. In Bhujel the low back vowel is inserted after the root in an imperative construction. This insertion triggers a change in the intonation pattern. In Bhujel the falling intonation overlies on the root verb at the end of the utterance.

In chapter 6, we suggested the Devanagari script for the Bhujel language basically on the basis of linguistic analysis of the language. As the language is atonal we argued that the breathy distinctions in the language can be easily accommodated in the Devanagari script. We also suggested using a subscript dot for the breathy phonemes in the language. Apart from this, as there is no contrast in length we suggested *dirgha* pattern in writing. We assumed that it is more practical as well as more scientific in the syllabic writing system like the Devanagari.

In chapter 7, we dealt with the nominal morphology in Bhujel. In Bhujel gender is not an inflectional category of the nouns. Neither is it a syntactic category. Bhujel exhibits three categories of number: singular, dual, plural. There are two native numeral classifiers which categorize the nouns in terms of the distinction between human and non-human. Bhujel also makes use of a number of classifiers borrowed mainly from Nepali. Such classifiers are ‘pseudo-classifiers’. They are independent words. They are mainly used for ‘mensurality’ and ‘sortality.’

Bhujel is a consistently ergative-absolutive language. It presents a rich case system. The nominals in Bhujel may be inflected for a number of cases. They are marked in two ways: case clitics and postpositions. Case clitics in Bhujel include absolutive, instrumental /ergative, dative, comitative, ablative, genitive, locative, allative and inessive. Apart from the case clitics (morphologically bound forms) the postpositions also mark the cases in Bhujel. Bhujel lacks an indefinite article. Indefiniteness is

indicated by [\pm human] classifiers. Bhujel employs the dative case in non-human and inanimate nouns to signal the definite reference. Bhujel shows two derivational processes: nominalization and compounding. Bhujel contains two types of personal pronouns: 'free' and 'bound'. Free personal pronouns are used as arguments in a clause whereas bound pronouns are verb suffixes. 'Free' personal pronouns show three persons (1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd) and three numbers (singular vs. dual vs. plural) distinctions. Bound forms show inclusive/exclusive distinction. The language also has pro-forms such as demonstratives/ definite pronouns, interrogatives/indefinite pronouns, possessives and reflexives.

In chapter 8, we discussed the formation, distribution and functions of the adjectives. Bhujel presents a rich class of derived adjectives, mainly from the verbs. The main function of the adjectives is to state a property of something and specify the referent of the head noun. The adjectives can be used either predicatively or attributively in Bhujel.

In chapter 9, we dealt with the categories of tense, aspect and modality which frequently co-occur in combination with the agreement inflections in the clause structure of the language. They are marked by separate morphemes or by the same morphemes in the complex of the verb. Bhujel verbs inflect for two tense categories: past and non-past. The category of past tense is further subcategorized in terms of the remoteness of time into past and remote past. There are two aspects in Bhujel: perfective and imperfective. The perfective aspect can be further sub-categorized into past-perfective (simple past-perfective vs. remote past-perfective), perfect, inceptive, completive. Similarly, the imperfective aspect in Bhujel can be further sub-categorized into durative and habitual. The epistemic modality of evidentiality is encoded in the verb by the tense markers. Verb agreement is based on the hierarchy of the participants. Unlike in Kiranti languages the direct marking is extended to the second person marking as well. The direct marker and tense markers are neutralized in the negative construction. The Bhujel verbs also show non-finite verb morphology as well.

In chapter 10, we dealt with the adverbs in Bhujel. Bhujel presents semantically seven types of adverbs: manner, time and aspectuality, place, instrument, epistemic,

intensity and expressive. Structurally, they can be categorized as a bound morpheme, independent word, derived, and syntactic construction. The adverb can modify verb, adverb or adjective in Bhujel. Except the adverbs in the form of bound morpheme and syntactic construction they are placed immediately before the verb, another adverb or adjective. However, in terms of position the adverbs are most unrestricted grammatical category in Bhujel.

In chapter 11, we examined the syntax of Bhujel. Bhujel shows eight types of basic clauses. The verbs used in the basic clauses constitute four classes: copular, simple intransitive, simple transitive and bi-transitive. SOV is the basic order in Bhujel. This order is relatively free. The constituents may be permuted from their stipulated positions within the clause to a great extent for topicalization and focusing. A noun may be optionally preceded by pre-nominal modifiers. Post-modification is not productive in Bhujel. Unlike the constituents of the clause the linear ordering of the pre-modifiers in NP is fixed. A verb can be affixed by tense, aspect, modality and other elements such as number and person markers, evidential markers, converb and causative markers, adverbs, negation, etc. They are arranged in a particular sequence. However, the sequence of these elements varies across the constructions. Bhujel exhibits a complex agreement pattern. This is based on hierarchical ranking of participants – 1/2 > 3. Moreover, this agreement is with first or second person in preference to third, and with the object where both participants are first or second person. In a transitive configuration of 1 > 3 or 3 > 1 yields first person agreement (the highest ranking participant), and a configuration of 2 > 3 or 3 > 2 yields second person agreement (also the highest ranking participant). In Bhujel even a second, “non-ranking” participant is also admitted into the verbal paradigms, usually number, in order to reduce the ambiguity between patient and agent. Bhujel employs the non-finite subordinate clauses to realize clause linkage. It uses both sequential and simultaneous types of converbs. The inter-clausal linkage is handled by verbal affixes. The morphemes which are used to nominalize the verbs are used to construct the relative clauses in Bhujel. A coordinating construction consists of two or more coordinands i.e. coordinated phrases. They may be coordinated by one or more coordinators. They may be simply juxtaposed without any coordinators.

In chapter 12, we discussed the discourse in the Bhujel text. A text exhibits three domains of continuity: topic continuity, action continuity and thematic continuity. Bhujel uses the morphosyntactic devices such as anaphoric pronouns, demonstratives, relative clauses and clause chaining to mark the topic continuity. Tense/aspect marking and clause connectors function as the morphosyntactic devices in the domain of action continuity. The narrative and procedural discourses consist of events and non-events. The devices which are used to code the topic or action continuity may be used, by extension, to express or reinforce the thematic continuity. Bhujel codes both topicalization with direct and indirect evidentiality in the discourse of the text. Bhujel also codes mirativity in the clause. Bhujel makes use of unstressed third person pronouns as one of the major morphosyntactic devices to mark the anaphoric reference of the 'participants' in the text. Bhujel also uses the 'direct' and inclusive marker to track the referent of the agent in the domain of topic continuity. Bhujel narratives frequently use demonstratives not only as definitizers before nouns but also to show the continuity of the referent which was already activated in the discourse. In Bhujel the directly witnessed events or states are expressed in simple past tense whereas hearsay or inferential are encoded in remote past tense. The pragmatic effects of topicalization and focusing are generally triggered through the permutation of the constituents of the clause. Bhujel also employs other devices to show different types of pragmatic effects in the text.

13.2 Typological implications

The main goal of this section is to explore the typological implications of the study. A natural language in general is structured according to many different patterns at the level of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, revealing a number of structural features (Finegan, 1989:224). No matter how different structural features a particular language exhibits the basic principles known as language universals, which regulate the structure of a language, underscore the unity underlying the diversity across the languages of the world. In order to explore such typological implications of the study, in this section, we first make an attempt to compare the structural features in the Bhujel language to the common characteristic features of the Tibeto-Burman languages proposed mainly in Benedict (1972), Zograph (1982), Abbi (2001),

Matisoff (2003), and Noonan (2003) and then we highlight some striking features of the language.¹⁰¹

13.2.1 Common TB features and the Bhujel language

The Tibeto-Burman languages are diverse typologically. They range from the highly tonal, monosyllabic, and morphologically analytic to marginally tonal or atonal with complex system of verbal agreement morphology (Matisoff, 2003:6). Moreover, the structural features of the Bodish group of the Tibeto-Burman languages differ from that of the Himalayish group of the languages (Noonan, 2003). Besides, the Tibeto-Burman languages share many common South Asian linguistic features due to the long and stable language contact accompanied by bilingualism (Abbi, 2001; Subbarao, 2000; Noonan, 2003). It is not easy to indicate which feature is the most 'common' in the Tibeto-Burman languages. Many structural features of the Bodish group of languages differ from that of the Himalayish group of the languages (see Table 13.2 for details). Thus, in the comparison we have used such features which are generally characteristic of the group (i.e. Bodish or Himalayish) as a whole or which are exemplified a majority of its members (Zograph, 1982:188). In this subsection we try to compare the structural features of Bhujel with the common TB features in the domains of phonology and morphosyntax.¹⁰²

i. Phonological features

Bhujel shares a number of phonological features characteristic to the Tibeto-Burman languages in general. Bhujel, however, exhibits some phonological features which cut across the language family. Such features have been referred to as the South Asian features rather than Indian areal features in this study (cf. Masica, 1976; Abbi, 2001). As far as possible we explore the language universals which underscore the unity underlying the diversity found in the domain of phonology of the language.

¹⁰² Noonan (2003) provides a very exhaustive list of the common characteristics of the Bodish and Himalayish groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal. We have used most of the characteristics of the Bodish and Himalayish languages proposed in Noonan (2003) as the reference for comparison.

a) Tonality

Tone is the most noteworthy phonological feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages (Zograph, 1982:188; Matisoff, 2003:6). Not all the Tibeto-Burman languages exhibit this feature. Bhujel unlike its close relative viz. Chepang lacks tone. Neither is it a common feature of Bodish group of the languages. Among the Bodish only the Tamangic languages exhibit this feature. The Kham, a Himalayish language, and some Kiranti languages have acquired this system under the influence of Bodish languages (Noonan, 2003).

b) Syllabicity

Basically, Tibeto-Burman words are monosyllabic. Bhujel also maintains the correspondence in this respect with the group of genetically related languages to a great extent. However, Bhujel contains many words which are more than one syllable (For details, see vocabulary in Annex 2). Moreover, many polysyllabic words have been borrowed from the contact language viz. Nepali.

c) Vowels

Bhujel like Chepang (Caughley, 1982:34) exhibits six monophthongal vowels. Besides, Bhujel also contains six diphthongal vowels unlike Chepang. Kham has nine vowels, out of which six are basic vowels (Watters, 2001). Hayu, a Kiranti language, has seven vowels (Michailovosky, 2003:518). Newar has five short, seven long monophthongal vowels, each with nasal counterparts (Hale and Shrestha, 2006:1). Bhujel vowel system does not correspond with five- vowel system (i.e. A, o, u, i, e) proposed in Benedict (1972:57) and Matisoff (2003: 157) for the TB languages. However, the vowel system in Bhujel confirms the language universal that has been proposed for the languages with the five or six-vowel inventories. The universal reads: Languages with five or more vowels in their inventories generally have a mid back rounded vowel phoneme (See 3.2.1 for details). Unlike Chepang Bhujel has an inventory of four monophthongal nasal vowels (see 3.2.4 for details). They are absent in Himalayish languages but they are present in Bodish languages (Noonan, 2003; 16). Kham has this feature (Watters, 2001). Nasalized vowels in Bhujel, which are also the areal features, confirm a universal proposed for the nasal vowels. It reads: when a language has nasal vowels, the number of nasal vowels never exceeds the number of oral vowels.

d) Consonants

16 consonant phonemes have been proposed for the TB languages in Benedict (1972:13). Bhujel contains the number of consonants which is almost double of the consonants proposed for the TB languages. Bhujel maintains correspondence in many features of the consonants with the group of genetically related languages. Bhujel has, for instance, in common with other TB languages, three voiceless stops /p t k/ with aspirated and non-aspirated distinction, clear and breathy voice stops, three nasals /μ v N/, five continuants /σ ζ ρ λ η/, two semi vowels / ω ψ/. So far as the number is concerned Bhujel, like Sanskrit, has a large number of stops, few fricatives and a symmetrical arrangement of aspirated and nonaspirated stops. Despite such diversity we find universal pattern in Bhujel consonants. As in the most of the languages of the world Bhujel has three stops /π, τ, κ/ in its consonant inventory.

e) Breathy voice

The murmur or breathy voice in Bodish language is considered as a concomitant of tone, typically associated with a low tone. The Himalayish languages in general lack this phonological feature (Noonan, 2003; 16). Chepang exhibits this feature. However, this has been analyzed as a sequence of voiced consonant and /h/ (Caughley, 1970; 279). Like Chepang and the Bodish languages Bhujel exhibits this feature in stops, nasals and liquids (see chapter 3 for details). But it is still uncertain whether it can be considered as a concomitant of tone as in Bodish languages.

f) Phonemic voicing contrast

Phonemic voicing contrast is one of the universal features of the language. No language has voiced stops without voiceless stops. In common with Chepang, even Nepali, Bhujel shows the phonemic voicing contrast in stops. The Bodish languages lack the phonemic voicing contrast. We can observe this universal pattern in the Himalayish languages. (Noonan, 2003:4).

g) Retroflex-dental contrast

In common with the Himalayish languages Bhujel also lacks the whole series of retroflex phonemes (see chapter 3 for details). Both the contact language Nepali and

Bodish languages contain this feature. Retroflex-dental contrast is an areal feature as well (Masica, 1976:187).

h) Stress

Stress is relatively weak in all Bodish and Himalayish languages. So is in Bhujel. The stress is placed on the root at the word boundary position in Bhujel (see 3.5.1 for details).

i) Syllable canon

The syllable canon of the Bhujel language is very similar to the Kham language. The canon consists of (C) (C) (G) V (X), where G is a glide and 'X' is a consonant or a vowel. It is also very similar with the syllable canon for the non-tonal TB languages proposed in Matisoff (2003)

ii. Morphosyntactic features

As in phonology, in some features, Bhujel maintains the correspondence with the genetically related languages and in some features it cuts across the language family. In many features Bhujel offers the universal patterns.

a) Affixation

Prefixing is a common feature of the languages belonging to the Himalayish group. It is not a common feature of the Bodish language. Bhujel with an exception of the prohibitive marker †R- is a suffixing language (see 9.1.2 for details). The absence of the prefix is also an areal feature (Masica, 1976).

b) Complex verb morphology

In Bodish languages there is no person/ number agreement on verbs. But the Himalayish languages are characterized by the complex system of the verbal morphology. In common with the Himalayish languages in Bhujel the person and number are marked on the verb. Unlike the Himalayish languages including the Kiranti languages, Bhujel has developed a unique system of person marking which has been referred to as 'direct' marking. It is one of the striking features of the language. We will highlight it in 13.2.2.

c) Word order

Both Bodish and Himalayish languages exhibit SOV as a basic word order in the main clauses. The SOV word order is not only the characteristic feature of the TB languages but also a South Asian feature proposed in Masica (1976:190). Greenberg (1963) has proposed a number of implicational universals associated with the basic SOV constituent order. Some of them are as follows:

- There is a strong tendency for possessor noun phrases to precede the possessed noun phrases in verb-final languages.
- There is a strong tendency for verb-final languages to have postpositions.
- There is a strong tendency for verb-final languages to place relative clause before the head noun.
- In verb-final languages the modifying element precedes the modified element.

Bhujel also follows these universals as an SOV language in its constituent orders. The summary of the implicational universals attested in the constituent orders is given in Table 13.1

Table 13.1 Summary of the constituent orders and the Bhujel language

Greenberg's universal	Parameters	Correlation	
		Implications	Correlation in Bhujel
3,4	Adpositions	Postpositions	Postpositions
2	Genitive and head noun	GEN-head	GEN-head
17	Head noun and modifier	modifier-head	modifier-head
24	Relative clause and head noun	Relative clause-head noun	Relative clause-head noun

Table 13.1 shows that Bhujel as an SOV language confirms all the implicational universals with regard to constituent orders proposed in Greenberg (1963) allowing ADJ N, DEM N and NUM N order in common with other Bodish and Himalayish languages (see 11.2.3 for details).

d) Ergative syntax

Both Bhujel and Chepang show a consistently ergative- absolutive case system. This is a common feature of Bodish and Himalayish language as well. However, some Himalayish languages show split on animacy hierarchy (Noonan, 2003).

e) Morphological valence increasing strategies

The morphological valence increasing strategies such as morphological causative is present in the Bhujel language. This feature is missing in both Bodish and Himalayish languages. It is present in the contact language Nepali. Morphological causatives are one of the areal features proposed in Masica (1976:189)

f) Reflexive and numeral classifiers

As in the Himalayish languages Bhujel has inflectional reflexive (see 7.3.2 for details). The numeral classifiers are absent in the Bodish languages. However, they are one of the features of the Himalayish languages. This feature is marginally present in the Bhujel language (see 7.1.3 for details). In Chepang numeral classifiers are absent. The numeral classifiers are one of the areal features (Masica, 1976:189).

g) Verbal with nominal and adjectival functions

This feature is commonly present in both the Bodish and Himalayish languages. So is present in the Bhujel language (see chapter 7 for nominal functions and chapter 8 for the adjectival functions).

h) Evidentiality expressed in the verb complex by the verbals

In Bhujel evidentiality: i.e. witnessed/ highly reliable vs. not witnessed or hearsay/ not highly reliable is expressed by the verbals (see 12.2.6 for details). This feature is absent in the Himalayish languages.

i) Dative subject construction

Both the Bodish and Himalayish languages lack this feature. However, Bhujel presents this feature which is an areal feature of the language (Masica, 1976:190).

j) Converb constructions

Kiranti languages (Limbu, Bantawa, Athpare, Chamling) make remarkably little use of converbs. Unlike Kiranti languages Bhujel extensively uses converbal constructions. Bhujel presents two types of converbal constructions: simultaneous and sequential. This is not only one of the characteristic features of the Tibeto-Burman languages but also an areal feature (Masica, 1976)

k) Complex predicates

Complex predicates are the areal features (Masica, 1976). Bhujel also presents this feature (see 9.7 for details).

1) Other features

Apart from the features discussed above Bhujel also exhibits some features which are common in the Tibeto-Burman languages. They include lack of relative pronouns, lack of passive constructions, and lack of inflectional gender and lack of writing system. We present the summary of the main features of the Bhujel language with regard to the general characteristics in Bodish and Himalayish languages in Table 13.2.

Table13. 2: Bhujel and Bodish and Himalayish languages¹⁰³

PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:			
	BODISH [BODIC]	HIMALAYISH [BODIC]	BHUJEL
<i>Tonality</i>	present	absent	absent
<i>Syllabicity</i>	monosyllabic	monosyllabic	monosyllabic
<i>Breathy</i>	concomitant with tone	absent	Present: stops, nasals, liquids
<i>Phonemic voicing contrasts</i>	no	yes	yes
<i>voicing opposition in liquids and/or nasals</i>	present	absent	absent
<i>retroflex series</i>	present	absent	absent
<i>fricatives</i>	distinct alveolar & palato-alveolar series	one fricative [alveolar or palatoalveolar]	two fricative [alveolar and glottal]
<i>affricates</i>	distinct alveolar & palato-alveolar series	palato-alveolar series only	alveolar series only
<i>phonemic nasalized vowels</i>	present	absent	present

¹⁰³ This table is adapted from Noonan (2003).

<i>stress</i>	relatively weak, word boundary stress: on root; may be pitch accent type	relatively weak, word boundary stress: on root	relatively weak, word boundary stress: on root
MORPHO-SYNTACTIC FEATURES			
	BODISH [BODIC]	HIMALAYISH [BODIC]	BHUJEL
<i>Affixation: prefixes</i>	absent [save for NEG]	present	[save for NEG]
<i>person/number marking</i>	absent	complex [i.e. multiple arguments]	complex [i.e. multiple arguments]
<i>reflexive</i>	analytic; special reflexive word or personal pronouns	inflectional	inflectional
<i>adjectival word order</i>	NA [AN possible]	AN	AN
<i>demonstrative word order</i>	N Dem in Tibetan Complex, Dem N elsewhere	Dem N	Dem N
<i>numeral word order</i>	N Num	Num N	Num N
<i>ergative syntax</i>	consistently ergative	consistently ergative or split on animacy hierarchy	consistently ergative
<i>antidative syntax</i>	absent	absent	present
<i>compound case</i>	present	present	present
<i>'vertical' verbs</i>	absent	present	absent
<i>morphological valence increasing strategies</i>	absent in Tamangic; present elsewhere	present	present
<i>evidentiality expressed in verb complex by verbals</i>	present in the Tibetan Complex, but not elsewhere	absent	present
<i>honorific verb & noun stems</i>	present	absent	absent
<i>numeral classifiers</i>	absent	present	present
<i>verbal with nominal and adjectival functions</i>	present	present	present
<i>finite subordinate clauses</i>	absent	present in Kiranti & Hayu-Chebang; absent elsewhere	absent

13.2.2 Some striking features of the Bhujel language

Apart from the structural features discussed in 13.2.1 Bhujel exhibits some features which neither correspond with the genetic nor with the areal features in general. We have assumed them, for the time being until such features are identified in other languages of the world, as the striking or unique features of the Bhujel language. We discuss some of them as follows:

i. 'Direct' marking

As mentioned earlier, perhaps the most interesting striking features in Bhujel are the marking of the direct relations (i.e. 1/2 → 3) and unmarking of the 'inverse' relations (i.e. 2 → 1, 3 → 1, or 3 → 2). Bhujel exhibits such type of unique verb agreement pattern. It is unique in the sense that unlike in the Kiranti language the 'direct' marking extends even to the second person. It is also against the general universal expectation that 'inverse' is the marked and 'direct' is unmarked (See 9.6.3 for details).

ii. Neutralization of 'direct' marking and tense

Another interesting feature of the language is that Bhujel neutralize both the direct marker and tense markers in the negative constructions (see 11.5.6 for details)

iii. Mirativity marking

Bhujel offers a unique type of mirativity marking. Inside the verb complex the same marking –ʃV codes the entailment of the second person but outside the verb complex with the persons as actors other than the second person it marks mirativity (see 12.2.2).

iv. Evidentiality

As mentioned earlier, Bhujel distinguishes the two direct epistemic modalities of evidentiality: direct evidentiality and indirect evidentiality through the two past tenses: past and remote past. As in Turkish (Givón, 2001:328) in Bhujel the directly witnessed events or states are expressed in the simple past tense whereas hearsay or inferential are encoded in remote past tense.

v. Antidative syntax

Unlike in other Bodish and Himalyish languages spoken in Nepal, in Bhujel, the human patient in a transitive clause is also marked by the dative case. This is referred to as antidative (Dryer, 1986). This feature is unique in Bhujel among the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. (See 7. 1.4 for details)

To sum up, Bhujel is a verb-final language that employs a number of verbal inflections which bear most of the functional complexity. A great deal of effort is required to acquire and use the inflectional paradigms of the verb.

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