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CLUSIVITY IN CHAMLING, BANTAWA, BAYUNG AND PUMA LANGUAGES

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes clusivity (inclusive and exclusive distinction) in the Kirati languages namely Chamling, Bantawa, Bayung and Puma within the typological framework. The data drawn in this paper were collected from the direct elicitation from the speakers they could represent the languages. The findings reveal that the Kirati languages like Chamling, Bantawa, Bayung and Puma are rich enough in the clusivity as they exhibit inclusive and exclusive distinction in the both dual and plural number. In Bantawa, the marker <-tsi> is realized as the second person dual inclusive marker whereas the marker <-tsija> as the first person dual exclusive marker. The first person plural inclusive is marked by <-n> and <-nka> in the case of the first person plural exclusive in the intransitive verb paradigm. In addition, Puma, Chamling and Bayung also share the first person dual and plural clusivities. The reflexes of the inclusive-exclusive marker may not appear in the same pattern from pronoun to the predicate. Bantawa and Puma have almost the complete copy morphemes that are realized even in the verb conjugation. But the Chamling and Bayung have partial morpheme to denote the clusivity. Typologically observed the Bodish group of the Tibeto-Burman languages, they do not exhibit the way Kirati languages do. For instance, the languages like Gurung, Nar-phu, Dolakha Newar, and Kathmandu Newar have clusivity only in the first-person plural number. Unlike others, Bhujel and Chhantyal have the same marker to indicate the first person inclusive and exclusive marker.

Keywords: Chamling, Bantawa, Bayung, exclusive, inclusive, Puma, typology

INTRODUCTION

The term 'Clusivity' refers to the inclusive and exclusive distinction in the language. The earlier and traditional concept was narrow and only could denote the form of the first-person plural pronoun. Daniel (2005) states that the inclusive is traditionally explained as an elaboration of the meaning of the first-person plural pronoun 'we'. But now this concept has been developed as the recent phenomenon in which 'we' includes (inclusive) or excludes (exclusive) that can be realized even in the dual-number (Wieczorek, 2009, p.118). Furthermore, Filimonova (2005) explains the clusivity that "personal pronouns which distinguish whether addressees (or addressees) are included in or excluded from the set of referents which also contains the speaker."

The inclusive-exclusive pronouns are the attested as linguistic features in the European languages as well. In English (or any other European language), both the inclusive and the exclusive pronouns are to be translated as *we*. But they are not realized in terms of the dual number as can be observed in the Tibeto-Burman languages. On the other hand, like the Mandarin pronoun *wǒmen*, excludes the addressee from the reference, resulting in a meaning like 'I and some others, but not you' (Cysouw, 2013. pp.8-26.). Most languages in the East Caucasian retain two different pronouns for the first person plural European pronoun, but the cognates are not always clear, suggesting that although clusivity is an inherited feature of East Caucasian pronominal paradigms (Authier, 2021, p.1).

The clusivity is treated differently in the different languages of the world. The way how it is treated in the Indo-European languages in that way may not be treated the Tibeto-Burman languages. Moreover, the Kirati languages may have different strategies of the clusivity than those of the other Bodish groups of Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal. There is not much works on the clusivity in the Kirati languages within the comparative-typological perspectives. In course of making grammars of any particular language, the author seems to discuss the personal pronouns along with the inclusive-exclusive distinction. So, this paper tries to compare the inclusive-exclusive distinction among the Bantawa, Puma, Chamling and Bayung languages typologically. All of these languages belong to the Kirat Rai group of the Tibeto-Burman language family spoken in the eastern Nepal. The latest census (2021) records the Bantawa speakers as 138003, Chamling 89037, Bayung 14449 and Puma as 6763.

METHODS AND MATERIALS

The data of this study were gathered from the native speakers of the Kirati languages like Bantawa, Chamling, Bayung and Puma. The methods used in collecting the data were based on the direct elicitation from the appropriate speakers. For this, questionnaire had been prepared to administer among the speakers. Also, the secondary materials were used for cross-linguistic or typological implication. For this, Limbu (van Driem, 1987), Athpahariya (Ebert, 1997), Chamling (Rai, 2012), Belhare (Bickel, 1996), Yamphu (Rutgers, 1998), Wambule (Opgenert, 2004), Jero (Opgenert, 2005), Sunuwar-Koits (Rapacha, 2005), Kulung (Tolsma, 2006), Bantawa (Doornenbal, 2009), Koyee (Rai, 2015), Dumi (Rai, 2016) were taken to be insights to analyze the data.

FINDINGS

The Kirati languages Bantawa, Bayung, Puma and Chamling share the inclusive-exclusive distinction in terms of the first-person dual and plural. This study observes the inclusive-exclusive distinction in the non-past intransitive verb 'go' and non-past transitive verb paradigm 'eat'.

Chamling

(1) Non-past intransitive verb

- a. *kəitsi kʰaʈatse*

kəi-tsi	kʰaʈa-ts-e
1-DU.INCL	go-1DU.INCL-NPST

'We (two including you) go.'
- b. *kətska kʰaʈatske*

kə-tska	kʰaʈ-a-tsk-e
1-DU.EXCL	go-1DU.EXCL-NPST

'We (two, excluding you) go.'
- c. *kəi kʰaʈie*

kə-i	kʰaʈ-i-e
1-PL.INCL	go-1PL.INCL-NPST

'We (including you) go.'
- d. *kəika kʰaʈike*

kəi-ka	kʰaʈ-ik-e
1-PL.EXCL	go-1PL.EXCL-NPST

'We (two, excluding you) go.'

As can be seen in (1a), the marker <-tsi> is realized as the first person inclusive dual marker in the pronoun whereas the marker <-ts> as

the reflex in the verb conjugation. On the other hand, the marker <-tska > is realized as the first person exclusive dual marker in the pronoun whereas the marker <-tsk> as the reflex of the first person dual exclusive marker in the verb conjugation. In the case of the first person plural inclusive, the marker <-i> is realized that reflects even in the verb conjugation. The first-person plural exclusive <-ka> is treated in the pronoun whereas that reflects as <-ik> in the verb conjugation.

(2) Non-past transitive verb

- a. *kəi-tsi rō tsatse*
 kəi-tsi rō tsa-ts-e
 1DU.INCL rice eat.1DU.INCL.NPST
 'We (two including you) eat rice.'
- b. *kət-ska rō tsatske*
 kət-ska rō tsa-tsk-e
 1-DU.EXCL rice eat.1DU.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) eat rice.'
- c. *kəi-ni rō tsamme*
 kəi-ni rō tsam-m-e
 1-PL.EXCL rice eat.1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (including you) eat rice.'
- d. *kəi-ka rō tsamke*
 kəi-ka rō tsam-k-e
 1PL.EXCL rice eat-1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) eat rice.'

As can be seen in (2a), the marker <-tska> is used in the first person inclusive dual marker in the pronoun whereas the marker <-tsk> is reflected as the first person dual exclusive marker in the conjugated verb of the Chamling language. In the case of the first person plural inclusive, the marker <-ni> is realized and <-m > is in the case of the first person plural exclusive marker. Inclusive and exclusive markers may not be equally treated in both intransitive and transitive verb conjugations in the Chamling language. Sometimes the clusivity markers may be copied in the conjugated verbs as entirely as the pronoun does. But sometimes, they are partially marked.

Bantawa

(3) Non-past Intransitive verb

- a. *uŋkatsi kʰatsi*
 uŋka-tsi kʰa-tsi
 1-DU.INCL go-1DU.INCL.NPST
 'We (two including you) go.'

- b. *uṅkatsia k^hatsja*
 uṅka-tsija k^ha-tsija
 1-DU.EXCL go-1DU.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) go.'
- c. *uṅken k^haren*
 uṅke-n k^hare-n
 1-PL.INCL go-1PL.INCL.NPST
 'We (including you) go.'
- d. *uṅkenka k^harinka*
 uṅke-nka k^hari-nka
 1-PL.EXCL go-1PL.EXCL.
 'We (two, excluding you) go.'

As can be seen in (3a-d), the marker <-*tsi*> tends to appear as the second person dual inclusive marker whereas the marker <-*tsija*> is realized as the first person dual exclusive marker in the Bantawa language. In the case of the first person plural inclusive, the marker <-*n*> is realized and <-*nka*> is in the case of the first person plural exclusive marker. But the tense is not identical but can be realized as the underlying form.

(4) Non-past transitive verb

- a. *anken kok tsan*
 anke-n kok tsa-n
 1DU.INCL rice eat-1DU.INCL.NPST
 'We (two including you) eat rice.'
- b. *anka-tsija kok tsa-tsija*
 anka-tsija kok tsa-tsija
 1DU.EXCL rice eat-1DU.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) eat rice.'
- c. *anken kok tsan*
 anke-n kok tsa-n
 1PL.EXCL rice eat-1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (including you) eat rice.'
- d. *ankenka kok tsanka*
 anke-nka kok tsa-nka
 1PL.EXCL rice eat-1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) eat rice.'

In example (4a), the marker <-n> only reflects as the first person dual inclusive in the non-transitive verb conjugation. On the other hand, the marker <-tsija> is realized as the first person dual exclusive marker. In the case of the first person plural inclusive, the marker <-n> is realized and <-nka> is in the case of the first person plural exclusive marker.

Bayung

(5) Non-past Intransitive verb

- a. *gusi latasa*
 gu-si lata-sa
 1-DU.INCL go-1DU.INCL.NPST
 'We (two including you) go.'
- b. *gusu latasu*
 gu-su lata-su
 1-DU.EXCL go-1DU.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) go.'
- c. *gui latanja*
 gu-i latanj-a
 1-PL.INCL go-1PL.INCL.NPST
 'We (including you) go.'
- d. *guku lakataku*
 gu-ku lakata-ku
 1-PL.EXCL go-1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) go.'

There is not clear copy morpheme in the Bayung language in terms of the person marking. In the examples (5a), the marker <-si> is marked in the pronoun where it appears as <-sa> '1DU.INCL' in the verb conjugation. Vowel harmony is also predominantly realized, as, for instance, *i > a* in the first person dual inclusive and first person plural inclusive patterns. In the example (5b), we see the morpheme <-su> as the first-person exclusive marker. Similarly, the example (5c) exhibits that the <-i> as the first person plural inclusive marker in the pronoun which is reflected as the marker <-a> in the verb conjugation. In the case of the first person plural exclusive, the morpheme <-ku > is marked.

(6) Non-past transitive verb

- a. *gusi dzatso dzasa*
 gu-si dzatso dza-sa
 1DU.INCL rice eat-1DU.INCL.NPST
 'We (two including you) eat rice.'
- b. *gusu dzatso dzasu*
 gu-su dzatso dza-su
 1DU.EXCL rice eat-1DU.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) eat rice.'
- c. *gui dzatso dzajam*
 gu-i dzatso dza-ja(m)
 1PL.EXCL rice eat-1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (including you) eat rice.'
- d. *guku dzatso dzaka*
 gu-ku dzatso dza-ka
 1PL.EXCL rice eat-1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) eat rice.'

As can be observed in the examples (6a-d), we do not find implicitly the distinct markers in comparison to the transitive pattern. The examples (6a), the marker <-si> is marked in the pronoun where it appears as <-sa> in the predicate. In the example (6b), we see the morpheme <-su> as the first-person exclusive marker. To the contrary, example (6c) shows that there is not copy morpheme of the pronoun to the transitive in that the <-ui> changes to <-ja(m)> in the transitive pattern. Similarly, the example (6d) exhibits the marker <-ku> as the first person plural exclusive marker in the pronoun whereas it changes to the morpheme <-ka> in the transitive pattern.

Puma

(7) Non-past Intransitive verb

- a. *ketsi puᅇtsi*
 ke-tsi puᅇ-tsi
 1DU.INCL go-1DU.INCL.NPST
 'We (two including you) go.'

- b. *ketsika puŋtsika*
 ke-tsika puŋ-tsika
 1DU.EXCL go-1DU.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) go.'
- c. *ke puksi*
 ke pu-ksi
 1PL.INCL go-1PL.INCL.NPST
 'We (including you) go.'
- d. *keka puksika*
 ke-ka puksi-ka
 1PL.EXCL go-1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (excluding you) go.'

In (7a), the marker <-tsi> appears to be the first person inclusive dual whereas the marker <-tsika> as the first person dual exclusive marker. In the case of the first person plural inclusive, the marker <-ksi> is realized and <-ka> is in the case of the first person plural exclusive marker.

(8) Non-past transitive verb

- a. *ketsi roŋ tsatsi*
 ke-tsi roŋ tsa-tsi
 1-DU.INCL-ERG rice eat.1DU.INCL.NPST
 'We (two including you) eat rice.'
- b. *ketsika roŋ tsatsika*
 ke-tsika roŋ tsa-tsika
 1-DU.EXCL-ERG rice eat.1DU.EXCL.NPST
 'We (two, excluding you) eat rice.'
- c. *ke roŋ tsæ*
 ke roŋ tsa-ε
 1-PL.EXCL-ERG rice eat.-1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (including you) eat rice.'
- d. *keka roŋ tsaeka*
 ke-ka roŋ tsæ-ka
 1-PL.EXCL rice eat.1PL.EXCL.NPST
 'We (excluding you) eat rice.'

The marker <-tsi> tends to appear as the first person inclusive dual marker whereas the marker <-tsika> is realized as the first person dual exclusive marker in the Khaling language. In the case of the first person

plural inclusive, the marker <-e>' is realized and <-ka > is in the case of the first-person plural exclusive marker.

DISCUSSION

In this section, there has been made comparison of the clusivity among the Kirati languages like Bantawa, Puma, Chamling and Bayung and typological implication in reference to the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal.

Comparison among Chamling, Bantawa, Bayung and Puma clusivity

Inclusive and exclusive markers may not be equally treated in both intransitive and transitive verb conjugations as can be seen in the Chamling language. Sometimes the clusivity markers may be copied in the conjugated verbs as entirely as the pronoun does. The Kirati languages like Bantawa and Puma exhibit this type of the features. But Bayung like language is partially treated. Table 1 shows the comparison and summary of the clusivity in terms of the intransitive verb paradigm.

Table 1

Clusivity in Bantawa, Puma, Bayung and Chamling (in the intransitive verb pattern)

	first person dual inclusive (1DU.INCL)	first person dual exclusive (1DU.EXCL)	first person plural inclusive (1PL.INCL)	first person plural exclusive (1PL.EXCL)
Bantawa	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tsi> ~ <-tsi>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tsija> ~ <-tsija>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-n> ~ <-n>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-nka> ~ <-nka>
Puma	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tsi> ~ <-tsi>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tsika> ~ <-tsika>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-Ø> ~ <-ksi>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-ka> ~ <-ka>
Chamling	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tsi> ~ <-ts>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tska> ~ <-tsk>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-i> ~ <-e>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-ka> ~ <-ik>
Bayung	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-si> ~ <-sa>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-su> ~ <-su>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-i> ~ <-a>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-ku> ~ <-ku>

As shown in Table 1, there exist the inclusive and exclusive markers in the Kirati languages like Bantawa, Puma, Bayung and Chamling. If we compare each of them, we find that the first-person dual marker <tsi> exist in the pronoun form of the Bantawa, Puma and Chamling. Except the Chamling, the marker <-tsi> is equally treated in the pronoun and verb conjugation in both Bantawa and Puma. Unlike other three languages Bayung exhibits <-si ~-sa> as the first person dual inclusive marker.

Bantawa and Puma have <-tsija> and <-tsika> as the first person dual exclusive marker treated in both pronoun and predicate. Chamling has partial treatment as <-tska> ~ <-tsk> in both pronoun and predicate. Unlike Bantawa, Puma and Chamling, Bayung exhibits the pronoun <i> as the first person plural inclusive marker that reflects as <-a>. In Bantawa and Puma, the first person plural exclusive markers tend to appear as same in pronoun as in the predicate.

Table 2

Clusivity in Bantawa, Puma, Bayung and Chamling (Transitive verb pattern)

	first person dual inclusive (1DU.INCL)	first person dual exclusive (1DU.EXCL)	first person plural inclusive (1PL.INCL)	first person plural exclusive (1PL.EXCL)
Bantawa	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-n> ~ <-n>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tsija> ~ <-tsija>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-n> ~ <-n>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-nka> ~ <-nka>
Puma	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tsi> ~ <-tsi>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tsika> ~ <-tsika>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-Ø> ~ <-tsa>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-ka> ~ <-ka>
Chamling	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tsi> ~ <-ts>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-tska> ~ <-tsk>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-ni> ~ <-m>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-ka> ~ <-k>
Bayung	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-si> ~ <-sa>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-su> ~ <-su>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-i> ~ <-ja(m)>	Pro. =Pred. (v.) <-ku> ~ <-ka>

As can be seen in Table 2, Puma and Chamling share the same marker <-tsi> to denote the first person dual inclusive marker in not only the pronoun but also in the predicate. But the Bantawa exhibits <-n> marker in both pronoun and predicate whereas the Bayung shares <-si> and <-sa>. In the case of the first person dual exclusive marker, Bantawa, Chamling and Puma almost share the same marker <-tsija~tsika~tska> but the Bayung treats the different marker <-su>. Bantawa has the copy morpheme <-n> to denote the first person plural exclusive whereas puma has partial morpheme that there is not identical in the pronoun but the marker <-tsa> is realized as the first person plural inclusive marker. Chamling and Bayung seem to be closer in that they share the markers like <-m~ja(m)> to represent the first person plural inclusive. Bantawa and Puma exhibit the hundred percent copy morpheme to denote the first person plural exclusive marker. On the other hand, the languages like Chamling and Bayung share <-ka~ ku> in the pronoun whereas <-k~ ka> to denote the first person plural exclusive.

Typological implications of the clusivity in the context of the Tibeto-Burman languages

Clusivity is realized in many languages of the world. Some of the typological studies have been carried out to expose the clusivity distinction of the languages across the world. Cysouw (2013) surveyed 200 languages of the world to examine the typological features of clusivity and then, categorized them into five: a) No grammatical marking at all b) 'We' and 'I' identical, c) No inclusive-exclusive opposition, d) Only inclusive differentiated, and e) Inclusive and exclusive differentiated. Table 4 presents the inclusive-exclusive distinction in independent pronouns.

Table 3

Inclusive/exclusive Distinction in Independent Pronouns

Values of the clusivity	Representation
No grammaticalised marking at all	2
'We' and 'I' identical	10
No inclusive/exclusive opposition	120
Only inclusive differentiated	5
Inclusive and exclusive differentiated	63
Total	200 languages

Source: Cysouw (2013)

As shown in Table 3, there were identified 2 languages not having grammaticalized marking at all. There were 10 languages had 'we' and 'I' identical. Similarly, there were 120 languages having not inclusive/exclusive opposition this deserves the highest number. There were 5 languages that had only inclusive differentiated. There were 63 languages having inclusive-exclusive differentiated feature. The Kirati languages may be categorized into the fifth of having inclusive and exclusive distinction.

There is not much productive researches on the clusivity of the languages spoken in Nepal. Out of a few works, Lapolla (2005) compared some of the Eastern Himalayan Languages (belonging to TB languages) in terms of the inclusive-exclusive distinction. As he states that the languages like Tamang (2003), Gurung (1974), Nar-Phu, Dolakha Newar (1994), Katmandu Newar (2003), Kham Magar (2002) do not show the inclusive-exclusive distinction that can be observed in Table 5. Along with the work by Lapolla (2005), there has been added the Kirat languages to compare among the Tibeto-Burman languages.

Table 4*Clusivity in the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal*

	First person dual inclusive (1DL-INCL.)	First person dual exclusive (1DL-EXCL.)	First person plural inclusive (1PL-INCL)	First person plural exclusive (1PL-EXCL)
Tamang (Mazaudon 2003)		-	<i>ja'ŋ</i>	<i>'in</i>
Gurung (Glover 1974)			<i>ŋ^hjo^h</i>	<i>ŋi</i>
Nar-Phu Noonan (2003a)			<i>ŋhĩ</i>	<i>ŋ^hǎŋ</i>
Dolakha Newar (Genetti, 1994)			<i>thi-dzi/ tchi- dzi</i>	<i>isi</i>
Kathmandu Newar Hargreaves (2003)			<i>dzhi:-pi</i>	<i>dzhi-pĩ:</i>
Thakali (Regmi et al. 2020)	<i>nhi</i>		<i>ŋhãŋ</i>	<i>ŋi</i>
Bhujel (Regmi 2007)	<i>ŋitsi</i>		<i>ŋi</i>	
Chhantyal (Noonan 2003b)	<i>nagi</i>		<i>nhi</i>	
Bantawa	<i>tsi</i>	<i>tsiya</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nka</i>
Puma	<i>tsi</i>	<i>tsika</i>	-	<i>ka</i>
Chamling	<i>tsi</i>	<i>tska</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ka</i>
Bayung	<i>si</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ku</i>

Table 4 shows that the pronouns of the Tamang of the Tamangic group, Gurung, Nar-phu, Dolakha Newar, Kathmandu Newar in which there is contrast only in the first-person plural as inclusive-exclusive. There is not first person dual inclusive-exclusive identical. But the languages like Bhujel (Regmi, 2007), Thakali (Regmi et al. 2020) share the first person dual inclusive markers. But what is interesting is that the Chhantyal and the Bhujel languages have only the first-person plural <*ni*~ *nhi*> which indicate the both inclusive-exclusive pronoun. But the Kirati languages, though come under the Tibeto-Burman language family share the clusivity in terms of the dual and plural number that can be evidenced by Bantawa, Puma, Chamling and Bayung.

Tibeto-Burma languages are not treated equally that can be observed from Table 5 where the symbol (+) indicates the presence; (×) indicates absence and the symbol (=) indicates the same.

As shown in Table 5, the languages like Tamang, Gurung, Nar-Phu, Dolakha Newar, and Kathmandu Newar lacks the first person inclusive and first person dual exclusive as indicated. Thakali does not have only first person dual exclusive but others can be realized. Bhujle and Chhantyal do not have the first person dual exclusive whereas the first person plural

inclusive-exclusive markers are the same. Unlike the Bodish group Tibeto-Burman languages, the Kirati languages discussed in this paper have clusivity in both dual and plural number. In the typological category developed by Cysouw (2013), the Kirati languages Bantawa, Puma, Chamling and Bayung may be grouped under the fifth category, that is; the languages of having inclusive and exclusive differentiated.

Table 5

Typological implication among the Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal (Based on Lapolla (2005))

Language	first person dual inclusive (1DL-INCL.)	first person dual exclusive (1DL-EXCL.)	first erson plural inclusive (1PL-INCL)	first erson plural exclusive (1PL-EXCL)	first person dual inclusive (1DL-INCL.)
Tamang	+	×	×	+	+
Gurung	+	×	×	+	+
Nar-Phu	+	×	×	+	+
Dolakha Newar	+	×	×	+	+
Kath Newar	+	×	×	+	+
Thakali	+	+	×	+	+
Chepong	+	+	+	+	+
Bhujel	+	+	×	=	
Chhantyal	+	+	×	=	
Bantawa	+	+	+	+	
Puma	+	+	+	+	
Chaming	+	+	+	+	
Bayung	+	+	+	+	

CONCLUSION

Clusivity in Chamling, Bantawa, Bayung and Puma is realized in both dual and plural number as inclusive-exclusive distinction. In Bantawa, the marker <-tsi> is realized as the second person dual inclusive marker whereas the marker <-tsija> as the first person dual exclusive marker. In the case of the first person plural inclusive, the marker <-n> is realized and <-nka> in the case of the first person plural exclusive marker in the intransitive verb paradigm. Puma exhibits the marker <-tsi> as the first person inclusive dual and the marker <-tsika> for the first person dual exclusive marker. In the case of the first person plural inclusive, the marker <-ksi> is realized and <-ka> in the case of the first person plural exclusive marker. There is not clear copy morpheme in the Bayung language in terms

of the person marking. The marker <-si> reflects as the <-sa> in the verb conjugation to denote the first person dual inclusive. Similarly, the marker <-su> appears as the first person plural inclusive marker whereas the marker <-ku> tends to appear as the first person plural exclusive marker. In Chamling, the marker <-tsi> is realized as the first person inclusive dual marker that reflects <-ts> in the verb conjugation. The marker <-tska> is realized as the first person exclusive dual marker that is reflected as <-tsk> in the verb conjugation. In the case of the first person plural inclusive, the marker <-i> is realized that reflects even in the verb conjugation. The first person plural exclusive <-ka> is treated in the pronoun whereas that reflects as <-ik> in the verb conjugation. Bantawa and Puma show the highest range of the copy morphemes of the clusivity whereas Bayung and Chamling share partial copy morpheme in the both transitive and intransitive verb paradigm. Typologically, Gurung, Nar-phu, Dolakha Newar, Kathmandu Newar may be categorized as the languages of having clusivity only in the first-person plural number. Unlike the Kirati languages as discussed in this paper, Bhujel and Chhantyal share the first person inclusive and exclusive by the same marker.

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List of abbreviations

+	- presence
×	- absence
=	same
1	- first person pronoun
1SG	- first person singular
1DU	- first person dual
1PL	- first person plural
2	- second person pronoun
2SG	- second person singular
2DU	- second person dual
2PL	- second person plural
3	- third person pronoun
DU	- dual

- ERG - ergative,
 EXCL - exclusive
 INCL - inclusive
 Pro. - (Pronoun);
 Pred. - (predicate in the verb form)

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