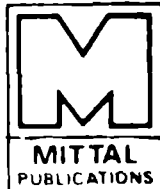STUDIES IN TIBETO-HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES—III

TIBETO-HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES OF UTTARAKHAND

[PART ONE]

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PREFACE

In recent years, under the influence of American School of Linguistics, there has been a phenomenal rise in descriptive studies of languages, the world over. In India, too, descriptive analyses have been carried out of a number of cultivated and uncultivated languages or dialects by individual researchers and institutions, but little interest has been evinced towards the study of tribal dialects of western and central Himalayas, because of the inaccessibility to these arid, rugged and snow-bound mountainous terrains. Even the 'Linguistic Survey of India' offers very little information about the languages spoken in these regions because of scant availability of the relevant material to the editor of the great Survey. There are many dialects spoken in these regions about which the Survey is quite silent, and there are some about the existence of which only passing references have been made in it. In this context, it may, however, be mentioned that with regard to the description of these Himalayan dialects, George Grierson has very honestly accepted the inadequacy of his analyses and has made suggestions here and there, for further investigations into the structure of these. The volume III, pt. I of the 'LSI', which pertains to the information on the languages under consideration was published in 1908, but till today our knowledge about the languages of this region is the same as it was 80 years back when Grierson introduced them to us, there has been no addition to it whatsoever.

It was in 1965 that I came into contact with Padmabhushan Dr. Siddhesvar Verma, the 'doyen of Linguistics' in India and at his instance started working on Central Pahari languages of Lower Himalayan regions, in which, I have made substantial contributions. It was later on that he inspired me to undertake the study of the languages of the higher Himalayan regions as well. At that time I had little idea of the

inhospitalities of the area and of the magnitude of the work ahead. But then I had enough energy in me and was full of enthusiasm to undertake the task of exploration of unexplored areas. So this shifted my area of operation from lower Himalayas to higher Himalayas. Finding it more convenient at Chandigarh, I first started collecting material on tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh with the help of tribal students from there. The first expedition for the collection of first hand data from the field area was undertaken in 1980 and the valley of Lahul, also termed as 'Himalayan wonder land' was the first target of my linguistic hunt. This proved very rewarding. For, it was during this expedition that I came across the Indo-Aryan speaking Chinals, who still speak a variety of Old Indo-Aryan in this snow-bound Himalayan valley. The flash of this discovery by the print media of this country on July 8, 1980 brought an applause for the investigator from all sections of the society in the country and as well as abroad. Later on the first detailed account of one of the dialects of this valley came to light in 1982 under the caption, "A descriptive analysis of Pattani".

Being encouraged by this success an ambitious plan was drawn to undertake a descriptive analysis of all the languages/dialects of the whole Himalayas from Ladakh in the west to Bhutan in far east. This was submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund for its consideration for Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship. The expert committee of the Fund was considerate enough to favour this scheme for this prestigious academic award in 1984. By the time the investigator had already completed the survey of the tribal areas of Lahul-Spiti and Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh and this followship enabled him to visit other tribal Himalayan regions in India, Nepal and Bhutan in the next two years. In the meantime the descriptive analysis of Kinnauri also was completed which has appeared as the first volume of the series—*Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages* (1988) and the first part of the second volume on the *Tribal Languages of Himachal Pradesh* also appeared in the same year.

The present volume deals with Tibeto-Himalayan tribal languages of Uttarakhand. For the convenience of greater

details it has been divided in two parts, namely,

Part-I—Tibeto-Himalayan dialects of Rangkas group.

Part-II—Tibeto Himalayan dialects of Bhotia and Munda group.

In the context of the languages dealt with in the first part of this volume it may be stated that these were introduced to us, for the first time by George A. Grierson through his monumental work *L.S.I.*, Vol. III, Part-I.

The linguistic material presented in this volume is, except for Johari, entirely based on the first hand recording of it in the area (Dharchula) as well as at Nainital by the author himself over a period of 10 years. Although many speakers from the area have contributed to the understanding of the linguistic structures of languages presented in this volume, yet the author is particularly grateful to the following individuals who willingly put their services at his disposal for days together, without whose kind co-operation execution of this difficult task was almost unthinkable.

1. Shri Shankar Singh Sonal, V. Song (Darma)
2. Shri M.S. Hyanki, V. Sirkha (Chaudangs)
3. Miss Veena Hyanki, Sirkha (Chaudangs)
4. Shri H.S. Phakaliyal, V. Chhilasong (Chaudangs)
5. Shri Jitender Singh Garbyal V. Garbyang (Byangs)
6. Miss Anita Garbyal, V. Garbyang (Byangs).

Lastly my thanks are due to M/S Mittal Publications, New Delhi, who have gracefully undertaken the task of publication of the whole series of 'Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages', the first two volume of which are already in the hands of scholars entitled "A Descriptive Grammar of Kinnuari" and "Tribal Languages of Himachal Pradesh" Part I.

D D SHARMA

CONTENTS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

It may be in the fitness of the context that some background information about the tribal languages of this sub-continent and the position of the Tibeto-Himalayan group of languages in the linguistic scenario of it, is given to the readers before they are introduced to the linguistic area and the languages to be discussed in this volume.

1. Tribes and Tribal Languages

To be precise we may say that the statistics of the population of Indian sub-continent tell us that the tribes of India constitute nearly six per cent of the total population of it. They speak a number of dialects and sub-dialects of which slightly more than 100 have been classified as tribal languages. Though from the point of population the number of the speakers of these languages is the smallest, yet the number of languages spoken by them is the largest. Grierson rightly sums up the situation as "a formless ever moving ant-hords of dialects".

Numerically, the largest number of tribal languages out of the four linguistic families of this sub-continent belongs either to the Austro-Asiatic family or the Tibeto-Burman and Tibeto-Himalayan family. And locationally, the languages of the latter group are spoken in the southern slopes of the Greater Himalayas, intercepted by high mountains ranging from 12000' to 25000' above the sea level, scattered in several strategic and sensitive international frontiers of this country, right from Ladakh in the west to North-Eastern frontiers in Arunachal Pradesh in the east. The great variety of tribal languages of this group, spoken in the above mentioned territories, have been broadly grouped as Tibetan/Bhotia and Himalayan. The dialects of the former group are again divided into (1) Western Bhotia and (2) Eastern Bhotia. In India the languages of the western Bhotia group are represented by Ladakhi, Balti, Purik

in the state of J and K, and by Stod, Spitian and Upper Kinnauri dialects in the state of Himachal Pradesh and Jad in the state of Uttar Pradesh, and the dialects of eastern Bhotia group, with Tibeto-Himalayan character, are represented by Tolchha-Marchha dialects of the Garhwal Himalayas, Darmiya, Chaudangsi and Byangsi dialects of Kumaun Himalayas, and Sikkimese of Sikkim. Besides, many Himalayan dialects of Nepal and the Monpa dialect of Arunachal Pradesh also belong to the Bhotia group of Tibeto-Himalayan. It is regrettable that one of the dialects of the eastern Bhotia group, *viz.* Rangkas, the dialect of Johar is lost to us for ever, due to the shift of Johari speakers to the Kumuani dialect of the region.

And the languages of the latter group, *viz.* Himalayan group are represented by Pattani, Tinani, and Gahri in Lahul, Kanashi in Malana (Kulu) and Kinnauri in Kinnaur, in the state of Himachal Pradesh, Raji and Rangkas group in Pithoragarh district of Uttar Pradesh, and Lepcha and Limbu in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal and Sikkim. The languages of this group are also designated as 'Pronominalized' languages, some of which are spoken in Nepal as well.

But so far the study of these languages has remained neglected. Most of these are either unknown or little known even to linguists, not to talk of common man. This statement is particularly relevant with regard to the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, because in the study of Tribal languages, whatsoever it was, our linguists have mainly focussed their attention to the study of the tribal languages of Bihar, Assam, Nefa and Madhya Pradesh which primarily belong to Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman groups.

The state governments, too, under whose jurisdiction these languages fall, have paid little attention to their development because of the preferential treatment given to the predominent languages of the regions. Although reports of the commissioners of the linguistic minorities have been often drawing the attention of state governments towards the discriminatory treatment being meted out to tribal dialects of the region, yet no government has taken it seriously as yet. There has not been any encouragement even for the academic exercise of the cultivation or preservation of the variety and richness of these

linguistic treasures, consequently these are vanishing day by day under the impact of so called modernization. As such there is an urgent need of making efforts to preserve the genius and the beauty of these languages which is sure to make the fabric of national unity more colourful. It needs no mention that in the past we have already lost a number of languages irrevocably and the sad story is sure to be repeated if we continue to be indifferent towards the preservation of our this invaluable cultural heritage.

2. Location of the Area

Now, with this brief account of the situation of tribal languages in this country, we would like to introduce the readers to the linguistic area and the languages taken up for discussion in this volume.

The Tibeto-Himalayan speaking tribal area under consideration lies in the trans-Himalayan valleys of Gori, Dhauli, and Kuthiyangti and their tributaries along the northern-most mountain part of the district Pithoragarh, in the Kumaon subdivision of the hilly region of Uttar Pradesh. It is situated between north latitude 9.49° and 31-27° and between east longitude 78.30° and 81.5° along the S.E. part of the central Himalaya. It comprises three main valleys, drained by rivers Gori, Dhauli, Kali and their tributaries.

3. Land Area and Population

In the Himalayan regions estimation of exact land area is a very difficult task. Moreover, the census reports of the region do not provide figures for tribal and non-tribal areas separately. The figures both land and population are available either for the whole Block or for the Tehsil in which the area in question falls. According to Kumaun land-use classification (1979-80) report the total land area of the Tehsil Munsyari, which comprises the Pargana Johar is 1801.76 km and that of the Tehsil Dharchula which comprises the Pargana Darma is 1070.97, the greater part of which is barren and mountainous. Similarly, the total tribal population of the district Pithoragarh is 17,337

which has been split up as follows—Munsyari—7192+Dhar·
chula 8246+Didihat—1198+Pithoragarh—513+Champawat—
188. (Census of India, 1981, Series—22, Uttar Pradesh,
Paper 1 of 1982, Director of Census Operations, U.P.). The
population of the Tehsil Didihat also includes the Austro·
Asiatic speaking tribe Raji, which is estimated to be nearly 500
Besides the hand-book records 2145 tribal souls in the district
Almora as well.

The tribal belt of Kumaun though forms the second largest
area among the broad geographical zones, is inhabited by only
3.51% of the total population of it. District Pithoragarh which
comprises this tribal belt constitutes 42.10 per cent of the total
area of the region and is thus the largest among the three
districts of Kumaun (Joshi, *et. al* 1983 : 2).

The tribals inhabiting the Gori Valley are known as Joharis
while those of Dhauli and other river valleys to the north-east,
known as Darma, have further been given different names as
Byangsi, Chaudangsi and Darmi/Darmawal, according to the
name of the valley they inhabit.

4. Physical Features

The tribal region of Johar and Darma, being situated in the
N and NE of the main ranges of the greater Himalayas is a dry
zone. For, the greater part of it falls on the rain shadow of
the Himalayan ranges, broadly extended between the greater
Himalayas and the Indo-Tibetan water parting in the extreme
north.

The whole of the region lies on an average elevation
between 2500 and 3500 m. above the sea level in the southern
slopes of the snow clad mountains of the central Himalayas. It
contains as many as 20 peaks with an altitude exceeding 20
thousand feet at many points. The whole region, though rela-
tively dry, is dominated by a number of glaciers. The famous
Milam glacier, the source of the river Gori falls in the north of
Martoli in Malla Johar. The Untadhura Pass (17,640′) a
former gate way to Tibet, also falls in this very region. Some
of the well known mountain passes which were normally crossed
during the Indo-Tibetan trade are—Rancha-Dhura (5,394 m.)

Ghatmila-Dhura (5,347 m.), Kio-Dhura (5,439 m.), Kungri-Bingri (5,564 m.), Lowe-Dhura (5,564 m.), Nuwe-Dhura (5,650 m.), Lampiya-Dhura (5,533 m.) and Lipu-Lekh (5,122m.).

5. Physical Distribution

The whole tribal belt of the Himalayan region of the district Pithoragarh is divided into three valleys, clearly demarcated from one another. They are as under:

(*i*) *Johar Valley*: The valley of Johar which is drained by the river Gori and its tributaries extends up to Milam the last village on the Indian side of the international border with Tibet. On the north it is separated by high Himalayan peaks from Tibet and on the east from Darma valley by the mountain chain containing Panch-chuli group and the Chhipula peak. It comprises three Pattis, *viz.* Malla Johar, Talla Johar and Goriphat, of the Pargana Johar. Out of these the home of the Shaukiya Khun or the older dialect of Johar was Malla Johar only which is now almost desolate.

(*ii*) *Darma Valley*: The valley of Darma is drained by the river Dhauli and its tributaries. It extends from Tawaghat to the northern most village Sipu. It is a well demarcated area and is separated from other valleys or areas by natural boundaries. On the north it is separated from Tibet by snow covered high mountain peaks, Nowedhura and Lipudhura, on the west by the mountain chain containing the Panch-chuli group and the Chhipula peak, on the south by a line drawn from the latter peak due east to the Kali river and by Ilang-Gad from Askot, and on the east by the mountain chain culminating in Yirgnajung separating it from the Byangs valley and the Patti Chaudangs which form a part of the Pargana Darma.

(*iii*) *Byangs Valley*: The Byangs valley is the north—eastern most valley of this tribal region of Kumaun. It is drained by river Kali and Kuthyangti. The whole valley, including the sub-valley Chaudangs, is extended from Tawaghat in the south to Kuti in the north. Natural boundaries of this valley are high Himalayan ranges in the north, which separate it from Tibet, the River Kali in the east and in the south separating it from Nepal, and the lateral chain of mountains culminating in

Yirgnajung in the west. The demarcating mountain range between Byangs and Darma is Jyolangka. Kuṭi is the last village of the valley leading to the Lipulekh pass in the north.

Administratively, the Byangs valley is divided into two sub-valleys, *viz.* Chaudangs and Byangs, divided by a barren land known as Nirpanya Dhura *i.e.* it has three distinct tracts in it, (1) from Tawaghat to Zipti, called Chaudangs, (2) from Zipti to Budi, an uninhabited barren land called Nirpanyadhura and (3) from Budi to Kuṭi, called Byangs.

About the boundary line between Chaudangs and Byangs Shri H.S. Phakaliyal intimates that there is some difference of opinion among the older people of Chaudangs and Byangs. Accordingly, the elders of Byangs claim that the boundary line of Chaudangs fell near Binja Kuṭi, near Zipti, but contrary to it the elders of Chaudangs declare that it was extended up to Malpa. Any way, both the ends of the Nirapanyadhura can be conveniently accepted as the dividing lines of these two sub-valleys.

6. The People

The distinct ethnic group of people inhabiting the high attitudes of the Himalayan regions of the district Pithoragarh, on account of their Mongoloid features, have been put under one cover term 'Bhotia' by earlier writers on Kumaun or Uttarakhand. Sometimes to distinguish them from the tribal groups of Garhwal, they are also termed as eastern Bhotias. But lately the use of this cover term is being strongly resented by the people of the Tribal communities of this region. The Joharis, who were termed as Shaukas by Kumaunis, disown this term and claim their descent from Rajputs. They follow Hindu customs and perform Hindu rites in the same way as Hindus do.

The other group of the tribals inhabiting the Darma Valley and its sub-valleys resists the use of the term Bhotia for them. The most vocal of them Shri H.S. Phakaliyal of Chaudangs. He prefers to call these people as Rang. He claims that they are not mongoloid Bhots, but the ancient Kiratas who are distantly related to the Kiratas of Nepal and further east.

Although Kumaunis have only one cover term for all the tribals of Pithoragrah, but there are different denotative terms for them in Tibetan. According to Tibetan terms the inhabitants of Johar are called Kyonamba, of Darma Shyoba, and of Byangs Jyalbu. Locally, too, Joharis are known as Kyonamba, Byangsis as Byangkhopa, Chaudangsis as Bangbani and Darmis are Darmani.

Life in these mountainous regions is not easy, but these sturdy people had been facing all rigours and hazards of life bravely for time immemorial. They were known for their zeal to travel far and wide from their snowy abodes to different parts of Tibet and north India for trading and grazing their herds. But now, on account of termination of their trade with Tibet most of them have shifted their settlements to lower regions in search of a settled life and fresh means of subsistance. Joharis have almost abondoned their ancestral homes in Milam and Dung in Malla Johar and have settled in their Talla desh, in Munsyari Block and elsewhere. The inhabitants of Darma and Byangs though still visit their ancestral homes in summer, yet most of them have made their winter quarters, on the Bank of the river Kali from Joljibi to Dharchula, as their permanent home or have migrated to other places in Kumaun as well.

Besides, the tribal culture of these people is also undergoing a tremendous change with the change of circumstances and the socio-economic position of the younger generation. Some of the old customs are being discarded under the impact of social reforms and some new ones are being introduced as a result of growing contacts with the outside world.

From the point of language, too, a very speedy change is taking place in them. The Joharis have already given up their ancestral tongue and have totally shifted to the eastern variety of Kumauni. In others too the spread of education, easy access to communicative system, constant contact with non-tribals is bringing a rapid change in the linguistic behaviour of these people. Hindi is making a rapid inroad in these impregnable Himalayan regions and driving out the old valuable linguistic preserves of these simple folks. Many terms have become

obsolete and unintelligible to the new generation of speakers.
There is an apprehension that these linquistic preserves will be
lost for ever if no serious effort is made to preserve them for
the posterity.

7. Linguistic Scenario

Grierson has used the term Rangkas for the old dialect of
Johar, but in view of close affinity between it and the dialects
of other valleys of this tribal belt and also of the advocacy of
recognizing this tribe as Rang tribe, I would prefer to call the
whole group as Rangkas, a derivative of Rang-Skad, the langu-
age of the Rang people. It has three constituents, *viz.* Johari
(western) Darmiya (Central) and Byansi (eastern). In local
parlance the dialects of these valleys are termed as Shaukiya
khun (Johari), Byangkho-Lwo (Byansi), Bangba-Lwo (Chaud-
angsi) and Darma-Lwo (Darmiya). It needs no assertion that
originally the languages of this group belong to the western
sub-group of pronominalized Himalayan languages, though in
the course of time these have lost many features of pronomi-
nalization, still they have retained a number of striking simi-
larities of phonological and morphological systems commonly
attested in the languages of Lahul, Kinnaur and Garhwal
Himalayas besides sharing a common Tibeto-Himalayan voca-
bulary. A structural analysis of all these languages/dialects
attests that though, on account of their constant contact with
the speakers of the Tibetan tongue from time immemorial,
these have been strongly influenced by it, yet structurally they
have retained many features which distinguish them from
Tibetan dialects. All these features of these languages/dialects
will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming volume under the
title "A Comparative Grammar of Tibeto-Himalayan Langu-
ages". Here we shall confine ourselves to a few commonly
attested lexical items of Johari, to see that all these belong to
a single group, though the present generation of Joharis has no
access to their ancestral dialect of the Rangkas group.

RANGKAS

	Johari	Darmiya	Chaudangsi	Byangsi
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
One	taka	taka	tig	tig
Two	nisi	nisu	nis	nisi
Three	sum	sum	sum	sum
Four	pi	pi	pi	pi
Five	ṅ∂i	ṅ∂i	ṅ∂i	ṅ∂i
Six	ṭuk	ṭuku	ṭuk	ṭuk
Seven	nhisi	nisu	nis	nis
Eight	jy∂d	jyadu	jy∂d	jyed
Nine	gwi	gwi	gwi	gwi
Ten	ci	ci	ci	ci
I	ji	ji	ji	ji
We	nuṅ	ji	in	iṅ
Thou	g∂	gE	g∂n	g∂n
You	g∂ni	geni	g∂ni	g∂ni
He	u:/hwe	we	u:	∂ti
They	usi	usi	usi	usi
hand	la	la	la	la
Foot	like	l∂ki	l∂ki	l∂ki
Nose	him	nim	nim	nim
Eye	mi	mè	mẽ	meg
mouth	a	a	a	a
Tooth	su	so	su	su
Ear	r∂c	r∂co	r∂c	r∂c
Hair	puch∂m	ch∂m	ch∂m	ch∂m
Head	puše	pišya	pišya	pišya

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Belly	d∂n	d∂n	d∂n	d∂n
Back	luṅ	luṅ	luṅ	luṅ
Iron	cyaṅ	nijaṅ	nijaṅ	n∂jaṅ
Gold	jaṅ	jaṅ	jaṅ	jaṅ
Silver	mul	mul	mul	mul
Father	(a) ba	ba	ba	ba
mother	min	mina	mina	na
brother	pikh∂n	pe	pi	pi
sister	r∂ṅsya	r∂ṅsya	r∂ṅsya	r∂ṅsya
man	mi	mi	mi	mi
son	šeri	siri	siri	siri
daughter	cimi	c∂me	c∂me	c∂me
sun	ni	ni	ni	ni
moon	lha	lha	lha	lha
fire	me	me	me	me
water	ti	ti	ti	ti
house	cy∂m	cim	cim	cim
horse	rhaṅ	raṅ	raṅ	raṅ
cow	rE	bEna	sirE	rE
dog	kwi	khi	nokhi	nikhi
cat	bila	bila	bila	bila
bird	pya	si-pya	cip∂c	cip∂c
go	di	di/de-	de	di-
eat	ja-	ja-	ja-	ja-
come	ra-	ra-	ra-	ra-
give	da-	da-	da-	da-
who	kh∂-mi	kh∂-mi	kh∂-mi	kh∂-mi

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
what	kh∂	kh∂/kh∂-li	khE	khE
why	kh∂-lE	kh∂li-tên	kh∂car	kh∂care
ashes	pha	pha	pha	pha
ask	rhu-	rhu-	rhu-	rhu-
blood	ši	ši	ši	ši
bone	rho	ro	rhe	rhe
cave	phu	phu	phu	phu
earth	sa	sa	sa	sa
dream	—	m∂ṅ	m∂ṅ	mêṅ
drink	tuṅ	tuṅ	tuṅ	tuṅ
dumb	laṭo	laṭo	laṭo	laṭo
face	omi	womi	wome	wêmi
take	kur-	kur·	kwor-	kwor
meat	šya	šya	šya	šya
milk	nu	nu	nu	nu
name	mhy∂ṅ	muṅ	miṅ	miṅ
shoe	pola	pola	pɔla	pɔla
needle	ch∂b	ch∂b	ch∂b	ch∂b
path	∂m	∂m	∂m	∂m
rich	puch∂m	p∂ch∂m	phec∂b	ph∂c∂b
ring	lagch∂b	lagch∂b	lakch∂b	lakch∂b
river	yaṅ-ti	yaṅ-ti	yaṅ-ti	yaṅ-ti

A scrutiny of this list of word makes it clear that a good number of them belong to the Tibetan stock, which is but natural in view of its long and close contact with Tibetan dialects spoken in its northern and eastern frontiers. It has influenced its vocabulary to a fair degree and to the grammatical structure to some extent. But in the present analysis of these languages

their historical aspects have not been taken into account. As such it is a purely descriptive or structural analysis. The historical aspect is likely to be taken up later on.

8. Linguistic Sub-stratum

Writing about the dialects of western sub-group of complex pronominalized languages Grierson says "on and about the ethnographic watershed between Tibetan and Aryan there is dotted a series of small dialects which are of a different nature. They are mainly of a Tibeto-Burman stamp, but besides, they have those characteristic features which have been mentioned in connexion with the pronominalized languages of Nepal. The dialects in question are found in the North of Almora, in Kanawar, in Kangra, Lahul and Chamba". (L.S.I., III.I. 427),

Some of the peculiar features of these dialects which distinguish them from Tibetan dialects and associate with Munda are as under:

(*i*) *Pronominalization of Verb Forms*: One of the Munda feature of Tibeto-Himalayn language, which is shared by the dialects of Rangkas group as well, is incorporation of the pronominal subject/object in the given verb form itself. Accordingly, the first and the second person pronominal subjects, which are mostly represented by the suffixes /g/ and /n/ respectively are either affixed to the tense maker of the verb form in question or are infixed between the stem and the tense maker. In these dialects it has survived now in the second person forms only, *e.g.* Johari—/rhE-s∂-n/ thou livest

Darma   —/syoṅ-si-n/ thou livest, /to-n∂-su/ broughtest,

                /taṅ-nu-su/ foundest, /de-ni-so/ you went (pl.)

Chaudangsi—/lhe-n/ thou art, /g∂s inja da-t∂-n/ you give us,

               /SEt∂n/ strikest; (In fixation):—/de-n-a/ goest,

               /se-n-s/ strukest, /di-n∂-s/ wentest,

               /syuṅ-n ∂-s/ didst, /to-n∂-s/ broughtest.

Byangsi   —/s∂-t∂-n/ thou strikest.

About the first person marker pronominal element, Grierson observes that in Chaudangsi, the infix /g/ in the verbal forms like /se-g-∂s/ I struck, /sE-g-∂s/ I have struck, /da-g-ĉs/ I have given, /tale-g-s/ I transgressed, etc. is probably a pronominal suffix of the first person, though these forms are no more in currency.

However, the presence of /g/ in forms like /in-jag-ne/ we shall eat, /in de-g-ne/ we shall go, can be interpreted in terms of pronominal infixes.

(2) *Vigesimal System of Counting*: There is at least one dialect, *viz.*, Johari, of this group which had preserved the vigesimal system of counting, *e.g.*, for 'fifty' we have the term /ninsa-ci/ which literally means "two-twenties ten" others have however, adopted the Tibetan decimal system *i.e.* counting by tens, consequently, in them the term for 'fifty' is attested as /na-sa-/*i.e.* five-tens, which may have resulted from their long contact with Tibetan speakers.

(3) *Pronominal Inflection*: Another characteristic of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages and shared by Muṇḍa is this that these are inflected for all the three numbers, *viz.*, singular, dual and plural, at least in their pronominal inflections. According to the information provided by Shri H.S. Phakaliyal (a personal communication) these languages, too, were inflected for the dual number till recent past the place of which now has been taken by plural forms.

(4) *Dichotomy of inclusive-exclusive in the first person*: The peculiar feature of the complexity of the inclusion or exclusion of the addressee in the dual and plural forms of the first person pronoun too is traceable, though in a lesser degree in some of these, *e.g.* in Byangsi we get the following sets of the verbal forms.

/in jay∂ṅ-ne / we shall eat (inclusive)

/in jagne/ we shall eat (exclusive)

/in dem/ (dey∂ṅne) we shall go (inclusive)

/in degne/ we shall go (exclusive)

We could not record data for this aspect of the language in other dialects. I presume that these too have traces of this phenomenon.

(5) *Reduplication of Verb Base*: Another common Munda feature attested in these languages is the frequent use of reduplication in verbal bases, *e.g.*, *Ranakas*—/gə-ga-di/ he has done, /də-da-ti/ thou gavest, /di-di-n/ he went; *Darmiya* —/ra-ni/ comes, but /pi-ra ni-ni/ has come back; *Chaudangsi*—/ku-kor-ta/ he brought, /syu-syuṅ-ta/ I have done, /si-sE-ta/ he killed, /di-di-ni-/ he went, /ra-ra-ni/ he came; /pha-phər-ta/ opened, /pu-pi-tə-ta/ applied; *Byangsi*-/də-da-ta/ gave, /rə-rE-ta/ brought, /tən-tən-ta/ got, /di-di-ni/ went, /ni-ni-so/was.

(6) *Prefixation of tense markers*: In these dialects it is a common practice to derive past perfect verb forms from the base by prefixing-/kə/, /ko/ or /pə~pi~pu/. *e.g.* Rangkas-/kə-rhE-c/ stopped, has stopped, /kə-bec/ befell, kə-byu-c-/ was frightened, /kə-se-c/ ran, /kə-do-c/ stuck, etc.

Darmiya — /kə-jyər-cu/ was frightened, /kə-phukE-su/ wasted, squandered, /pər-ke-su-/ wasted, /pə-thok-si-cu/ returned, etc.

Chaudangsi—/pi-di-ni/ he went, /pə-jyan də-li/ he has died, /pə-jyañoc/ he has died, /pi-ra-də-ni/ he has come back, /pu-nyar-tə-li/ he was lost, /kəttən/ saw /kə-dda/ gave, /kədduṅ/ beat, /kəjja/ ate, /kə-ttuṅ/ drank, /pidde/ went.

Byangsi— /pə-pa/ measured, having measured, /pi-di/ went, /kəb-tin/ was found, /kə-tyən (-tinə) (has been found, /kəb-luk-ta/ said, /pə-hwe-ta/left,/kə-da-ta/ gave, /pi-kor-ta/ carried, /kə-jyar-ni/ was frightened, /pi-di-ni/ went, /kə-hiye/ laughed, /kəddob/ saw, /kə-ttye/ wept, /kədda/ gave, /kə-yyən/ heard, /pə-whe/ left.

Some of these occur in free variation with reduplicated forms as well as in /pi-di-ni/~/di-di-ni/ went, /kə-da-ta/~/də-da-ta/ gave, etc.

(7) *Dichotomy of animate and inanimate*: These languages exhibit the dichotomy of animate and inanimate as well, with respect to formative suffixes, case suffixes and gender suffixes and demonstrative pronouns, which is again a Munda feature.

In nominal and pronominal inflections, too, the nouns and pronouns standing for inanimate objects are inflected for locative case with case suffixes, whereas those for animate objects take only post-positions.

From the point of gender, too, it has been noticed that animate objects have a gender distinction, but all inanimate objects are genderless. In animates also a further distinction is made between human and non-human beings (for examples see relevant sections in the analyses).

9. Genealogical Affinty with T.H. Languages

The diaiects of the Rangkas group of Pithoragarh attest a close affinity with the dialects of the T.H. group of Himachal Pradesh not only in respect of the above noted piculiar grammatical features, but in respect of lexical items as well. There is a fairly good proportion of vocabulary items which is peculiar to the dialects of this group. Genealogically these are neither related to I.A. sources nor to the Tibetan sources. Some of these, of course, show a distant relationship with Munda languages. A few of them may be listed as under.

10. The Number of Speakers

Although in the absence of valley wise statistics of population and speakers of different dialects it is difficult to present a clear picture of the speakers of these dialects separately, yet according to the census reports referred to above the total strength of the tribal population, including the Austro-Asiatic speaking Rajis or Ban-Rauts, in the districts of Pithoragarh and Almora is $17337 + 2145 = 19482$. From the linguistic point of view, the Joharis, who form a sizeable portion of it, too can be deducted from the total strength of the tribal population of this region, because of their shift to Kumauni from the old Johari or Shaukiya-khun.

	Kinnauri	Kanashi	Paṭṭani	Gahri	Johari	Darmiya	Chaudangsi	Byangsi	Tibetan
One	id/it	id	idi	tiki	taka	taku	tig	tig	cik
two	nis	nis	—	ñis	nisi	nisu	nis	sini	—
four	pu	pu	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi	ši
seven	stiš	—	nij	ñiji	nhisi	nisu	nis	nis	dun
hundred	ra	—	ra	ra	—	ra	—	—	-gya
mouth	—	—	a	∂g	a	a	—	a	kha
gold	j∂ṅ	j∂ṅ	j∂ṅ	ser	j∂ṅ	j∂ṅ	j∂ṅ	j∂ṅ	ser
ear	--	r∂d	reṭa	reči	r∂c	r∂co	r∂c	r∂c	n∂mcok
head	—	—	punze	puša	puše	pišya	pišya	pišya	go
belly	—	—	—	d∂n	d∂n	d∂n	d∂n	d∂n	ḍhopa
field	ri	rhe	rhi	rig	r∂l	re	ri	r∂i	—
horse	r∂ṅ	rhaṅ	r∂ṅ	šr∂ṅ	rh∂ṅ	r∂ṅ	raṅ	raṅ	ta
sister	riṅ	riṅs	rhiṅ	šriṅ	r∂nsya	r∂nsy	r∂nsya	r∂nsya	siṅ-mo
daughter	cimed	chime	—	čemed	cimi	cime	c∂me	c∂me	bu-mo
water	ti	ti	ti	soti	ti	ti	ti	ti	chu
House	khim	kim	cum	kyum	cy∂m	cim	cim	cim	kyum

TRANSCRIPTION AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Although phonetic values of all the phonemes used for the transcription of the dialects concerned have been indicated in their phonemic inventories, yet for the convenience of the general readership the scheme of transliteration and the nearest values of the symbols in Devanagari script is being given below:

Vowels: ∂ (अ), a (आ), i (इ), i:/ī (ई), u (उ), u:/ū (ऊ), e (ए), E (ऐ), o (ओ), ɔ (औ).

Consonants: k (क्), kh (ख्), x (ख़्), g (ग्), g (ग़्) gh, (घ), η/ṅ (ङ्), c (च्). č (च़्), ch (छ), čh (छ़्), j (ज), z (ज़), ž (श़्), jh (झ), ñ (ञ्), ṭ (ट्), ṭh (ठ), ḍ (ड्), ṛ (ड़), ḍh (ढ), ṛh (ढ़), ṇ (ण), t (त्), th (थ्), d (द्), dh (ध), n (न्), p (प्), ph (फ), b (ब्), bh (भ), m (म्), y (य्), r (र्), l (ल), ḷ (ल्), lh (ल्ह्), w (व्), š (श), ṣ (ष), s (स), h (ह्).

The phonetic signs used in this study may be interpreted as under:

:	=	in relation to
<	=	comes from; is derived from,
>	=	becomes; developes into,
-/-	=	or; alternate form,
~	=	nasalization (above the vowel),
..	=	centralization (above the vowel),
~	=	in free variation; free form (after the morph).
[ ]	=	phonetic form
/ /	=	phonemic form
→	=	rewritten as.
+		added to, plus juncture (pause).

I
DARMIYA

INTRODUCTION

The Speech Area

Darmiya or the Darma Lwo is spoken in Darma, the Dhauli valley of the district Pithoragarh, in Kumaun Hills. The area is extended from Tawaghat near Dharchula in the south to Sipoo in the north along the river Dhauli. It is bounded on the north by Tibet, on the west by the Chain of Panch-Chuli group of mountains, the Chhipu-la peak, on the south by a line drawn from the latter peak due east to the Kali River, and on the east by the chain of mountains culminating in Yirgnajung, separating it from the Byangs valley and the Patti Chaudangs. It is sub-divided into two parts, *viz.* Talla Darma and Malla Darma.

The principal villages falling under the jurisdiction of Darma Patti are—Dar, Bongling, Selachal, Nanglin, Baling, Dugtu, Saung, Baun, Philam, Datu, Gwo, Marchha, Dhakar, Sobla and Sipoo.

The Language

Darmiya which is locally termed as Darma Lwo, belongs to the Rangkas (Rang-Skad) group of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages, spoken in the river valleys of Gori, Dhauli and Kali. It has a clear stamp of Tibetan, but in its sub-stratum some other linguistic disciplines, most probably Munda and some other aboriginal languages of the region, are also clearly traceable. Besides, a constant contact of the Darma Lwo or Darmanis with the I.A. Speaking neighbours has also influenced it in a big way. As such it has freely drawn upon it as well. Some of the examples of these various linguistic elements traceable in the Darma Lwo may be illustrated as under:

Tibetan: Nominal stems and verbal roots belonging to this stock are—/la/ < *lag* hand, /phu/< *phug* cave, /gyu/<*rgyug*-pa

to run, /khui/ < *khyi* dog, /da/ < *gtong-ba* to give, /pi/ < *bzhi* four, /ba/ father, /lǝṅ/ bull, /mala/ goat, /me/ fire /so/ tooth, /mul/ silver, /mi/ man, /ni/ sun, /lha/ moon, /cim/ house, /si-pya/ bird, /ro/ bone, /chǝm/ bridge, /mǝr/ ghee, /thaṅ/ ground, /ru/ horn, /šya/ meat, /sa/ clay, earth, /chǝb/ needle, /meloṅ/ oven, /khǝm/ pillow, /cha/ salt, /khu-mi/ thief.

Indo-Aryan: /bila/ cat, /pɔla/ shoe, /hisab/ account. /pǝta/ address, /umǝr/ age, /rīs/ anger, /sog/ anxiety, /tīr/ arrow, /phǝrsa/ axe /thE li/ bag, /jõ/ barley, /bhalu/ bear, /mona/ bee, /šǝrt/ bet, /dǝkar/ a belch, /peṭi/ belt, /mukka/ a blow, /nila/ blue, /dimak/ brain, ḍroṭa/ loaf of bread, /sãs/ breath, /byoli/ bride, /byola/ bride groom, /kăsa/ bronze, /dhǝnuš/ bow, /noni/ butter, /topi/ cap, /kǝṅgi/ comb, /tamba/ copper, /murda/ corpse, /rui/ cotton, /ka/ a crow, /darǝm/ door, /purb/ east, etc.

Indigenous: A few notable indigenous or T.H. terms are— /nim/ nose, /a/ mouth, /rǝco/ ear, /chǝm/ hair, /dǝn/ belly, /nijǝṅ/ iron, /jǝṅ/ gold, /mina/ mother, /pe/ brother, /band/ wife, /syen-cǝn/ child, /širi/ son, /cǝme/ daughter. /sinu/ devil, /lǝkǝr/ star, /ti/ water, /raṅ/ horse, /bena/ cow, /luṅjo/ ass, /rǝṅsya/ sister, /pišya/ head, /laṭo/ dumb, /pǝchǝm/ rice, /hui/ air, /pha/ ashes, /cǝkti/ beer, /ge/ cloth, /mo/ cloud,/ /omi/ face, /punu/ big, great, etc.

Literature and Data

There is no previous work on this language, except the short sketch given in the L.S.I. (Vol. III. pt. I 490-95). As such the present analysis is the first detailed analysis which is based entirely on the recordings made by the present writer himself in 1984 at Nainital. The principal informant was Shri Shanker Singh Sonal from the Village Saung in Darma. Being an educated young man, his vocabulary bore a clear impact of Hindi, yet structurally it was fairly close to the native tongue, examples of which are available in the Griersons Survey as well. Hence I have relied on it for this analysis, though further recording of it from the speakers of the older generation is urgently desirable.

Number of Speakers

In the absence of valley-wise data of the tribal population in the census records and hand books, the exact number of speakers of this valley could not be ascertained. It was estimated as 1,761 at the time of Grierson's survey, but by now it must have registered an upward growth of the population of the area.

SOUND SYSTEM

Different sets of vowel and consonant phonemes attested in the sound system of Darmiya are as follows:

1.0 VOWELS

Phonemically the following vocalic sounds are attested, singly or in sequences.

	Front	*Central*	*Back*
High	i		u
Mid	e	∂	o
Lower Mid	E		ɔ
Low			a

As regards the lip position only the back vowels /u/, /o/ and /ɔ/ are rounded, all others are unrounded.

1.1 Phonemic Contrasts

Phonemic contrasts of these vowels may be illustrated as under:

i/e—/mi/ man: /me/ fire; /ši/ blood: /se/ recognition.

i/u—/khu/ smoke: /khi/ grand son; /kaṅnu/ /sick: /kaṅni/ sickness.

i/o—/mi/ man: /mo/ cloud; /ji/ and: /jõ/ barley.

i/a—/dimu/ to go: /damu/ to give; /gimu/ to swallow: /gamu/ to do.

e/a—/we/ hill: /wa/ tiger; /chezu/ wifes brother: /chazu/ down.

e/u—/ne/ medicine: /nu/ milk; /šiṅ/ tree /suṅ/ village.

e/ɔ—/sel/ shadow: /sɔl/ showl; /rhe/ field: /rhɔ/ show.

e/o—/ṁe/ fire: /mo/ cloud; /lemu/ to say, /lomu/ to read.

e/ə—/sel/ shadow: /sə̂l/ char coal.

e/E—/ge/ clothes: /gE/ thou; /be/ thread: /bE/ skin.

a/E—/la/ hand /lE/ also; /ga/ do (imp): /gE/ thou.

e/a—/lemu/ to say: /lamu/ to lick; /demu/ to go: /damu/ to give.

ə/a—/əm/ path: /am/ mango; /thəṅ/ price; /thaṅ/ plain ground.

ə/u —/rhəṅ/ horse: /rhuṅ/ back; /gər/ wall: /gur/ tent.

a/u—/pha/ ashes: /phu/ cave; /čha/ salt: /čhu/ lake.

u/o—/ru/ horn: /ro/ bone; /mu/ rain: /mo/ female.

o/ɔ—/ro/ bone: /rɔ/ basket; /mo/ female: /mɔ/ family.

u/ɔ—/mu/ rain: /mɔ/ family; /ru/ horn: /rɔ/ basket.

1.2. Vocalic Sequences

There are no diphthings in this dialect. However, occurrence of vowels in a sequence is attested in a few cases. Their sequence, too, is not restricted, *i.e.* any one of these can occur as a first or the second member of the sequence with distinct syllabic entity. Occurrence of /i/ as a second member is more common than as first member. These may be illustrated as under:

Front+back

iu—/piu/ mouse

Back+front

ui—/hui/ air, /khui/ dog, /gui/ knot

ai—/khai/ foundation

oi—/koimu/ to cook, to chew

*Front+fron*t

ei—/mei/ eye

Back+back

ua—/pua/ maternal uncle

Central—front

∂i—/kh∂i/ towards

∂e—/gᵉe/ thou

1.3. Distribution

Distributionally all the vowels can occur in all positions without any restriction. This feature of the dialect can be illustrated as under:

/∂/ : /∂ta/ elder sister, /m∂r/ ghee, /l∂kr∂/ star, /pat∂/ leaf.

/a/ : /á/ mouth, /khanu/ bitter, /tamina/ alone, /ga/ do.

/i/ : /ipha/ sleep, /širi/ boy, /ligi/ foot, leg, /ti/ water.

/u/ : /u/, /punū/ big, /akusu/ abuse, /bu/ worm.

/l/ : /ekdᵉm/ atonce, /čeme/ daughter, /be/ thread, /de/ go.

/o/ : /omi/ face, /noni/ butter, /ro/ bone, /yo/ come.

/E/ : /bEna/ cow, /bEra/ song, /lE/ also, /gE/ thou.

/ɔ/ : /mɔna/ bee, /rɔ/ basket, /kɔ/ rind, bark.

1.4. Allophonic Variations

The above noted vowels of Darmiya show certain allophonic variants in their respective phonetic environments.

1.4.1. *Nasalization*: All vowels tend to be nasalized in the vicinity of nasal consonants, *e.g.* /pan∂r/=[pãṅ∂r] chestnut, /ña/=[ñã] fish, /lamu/=[lãmũ] to lick, /noni/=[nõnĩ] butter, /∂m/=[∂m] path, etc.

1.4.2. *Qualitative Variants*: Vowels /e/ and /o/ tend to be opener when occurring with nasality, as in /jõ/=[jɔ̃] barley, /mona/=[mɔ̃na] bee /noni/=[nɔ̃ni] butter.

Free Variation: In the absence of standardised form of speech, there is a laxity in the pronunciations of certain vowels, *e.g.*

Vowels /u~o/ and /e~E/ attest a free variation in the word final position, as in /tədu/ ~ /tədo/ that, /ru~ro/ in, on, (locative marker), /se~sE-/ strike? /jo~ju/ or /cho~ chu/ dative markers, /go~gu/ genitive suffix, recorded by Grierson (LSI, III. I. 491).

2.0. CONSONANTS

In Darmiya the total number of consonant phonemes, established on the basis of phonemic contrasts, is 34. All of them attest a binary division based on their place of articulation and manner of articulation. The class of plosives further attest the opposition of the presence *vs.* absence of voice, and all classes of voiceless plosives also attest the opposition of presence *vs* absence of aspiration. All the consonatal phonemes with their phonetic characteristics may, schematically, be presented as under:

Place of Articulation

Manner of Articulation		Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar
Plosives	Vl.	p, ph	t, th	c, ch	t̤. t̤h	k, kh
	Vd.	b, (bh)	d, (dh)	j, (jh)	ḍ (ḍh),	g, (gh)
Nasals		m	n	ñ	(ṇ)	ṅ~ŋ
Vibrants					r, rh	
Lateral				l		
Fricative			s	š		h
Flapped					ṛ	
Semi-Vowels		w		y		

N.B.—Phonemic status of phones placed in parentheses is of a doubtful nature.

2.1. Phonemic Status of Voiced Aspirates

From the analysis of the data and distribution of the consonant phonemes of the Darma Lwo it has been noticed that occurrence of the voiced aspirates is confined to the initial position and to I.A. loans only. Besides, except /dh/ none of them attests a phonemic contrast with their unaspirate counterparts. As such their phonemic status in the language is some what doubtful. However, in view of infiltration of quite a sizeable number of vocables from the neighbouring I.A. dialects and of a subjective feeling of their being distinct sounds by the speakers of the language some of these have been accorded the status of a phoneme. For, these attest a phonemic contrast in the language from which they have been borrowed.

Patalal Afficates: Similarly, the phonemic status of palatal afficates, so commonly attested in other dialects of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, is very much doubtful in it. For, though existence of this phonetic feature is very much attested in the pronunciation of certain vocables of it, yet no phonemic contrast could be attested between a palatal plosive and a palatal affrcate. Hence, it has been accorded a phonetic status only.

2.2. Distribution

Distributionally, all the consonats and semi-vowels, except /ṇ/, /ŋ/ and /ṛ/ can occur in the initial position of a word. Similarly, all the plosive consonants, except /gh, ḍh, bh/ can occur medially, though sporadically. But on account of its being a predominantly vowel ending language, occurrence of plosives, except unaspirate dentals, velars and bilabials is not attested in the final position. The consonants commonly occurring in this position are, nasals and liquids followed by sibilants. This may be illustrated as follows:

/p/ – /punu/ big, /dh∂pya/ Sword, /papi/ sinner, /pap/ sin.

/ph/ – /phu/ cave, /phukṭo/ knee, /l∂phu/ tail, /raph/ heat of fire, flame.

/b/ – /budi/ buttermilk, /y∂mba/ remainder, /ba/ father, /ch∂b/ needle.

[bh]—/bhalu/ a bear, /bhari/ weight.

/t/—/tamina/ alone, /tomu/ buy, /tete/ grandfather, /šɑ̂rt/ a bet.

/th/—/thaŋ/ plain land, /thƏŋ/ cost, /kƏtha/ story.

/d/—/dƏn/ belly, /kƏnduli/ a swing, /budi/ buttermilk, /būd/ a drop.

/dh/—/dhƏn/ riches, /dhƏnuš/ a bow, /dhƏpya/ sword, /Əndha/ blind.

/č/—/čƏme/ girl, daughter, /či/ grass, /rƏco/ ear, /bagča/ marriage.

/čh/—/cnɑ̂m/ bridge, /čhu/ ⟨lake, /china/ a boil, /kƏrbuch/ bags of load.

/j/—/joṛ/ joint, /joṛa/ pair, /bijli/ lightning, /pyaj/ onion.

[z]—/jyari/ dairy, /chãzu/ dawn, /zyaŋ/ turmeric, /chezu/ brother-in-low.

[jh]—/jhƏṭṭ/ quickly, /jhopri/ hut.

/ṭ/—/ṭaŋnu/ alive, /ṭokri/ basket, /laṭo/ dumb, /ūṭ/ camel.

/ṭh/—/ṭhƏm/ custom, /buṭhu/ bush, /ṭhƏŋnu/ dance, /seṭh/ rich.

/ḍ/—/ḍaŋnu/ beautiful, /ḍomo/ hapiness, /laḍƏm/ patch.

/ḍh/—/ḍhila/ loose, /ḍhīl/ late, delay.

/k/—/ka/ a crow, /kãsa/ bronze, /chukta/ breast, /dimak/ brain.

/kh/—/khƏm/ pillow, /kha/ walnut, /makhƏr/ a stick, /kokh/ arm pit.

/g/—/ge/ clothes, /bagča/ marriage, /ṭhƏgwa/ a cheat, /sog/ anxiety.

/gh/—/ghera/ circle, /ghƏṛi/ watch, /ghƏmƏnḍi/ proud.

/m/—/mokṛo/ ant, /mami/ father's sister, /mo/ cloud, /cim/ house.

/n/—/nunu/ new, /noni/ butter, /dƏn/ belly, /nu/ milk.

/ŋ/—/rəŋsya/ sister, /ləbuŋ/ book, /muŋ/ name.

/ñ/—/ña/ fish, /ñuŋkər/ mustard, /ñanthəba/ evening.

[ṇ]—/kaṇa/ blind.

/y/—/yanu/ bad, /sayta/ help, /chəyəŋ/ wife's brother.

/r/—/ro/ bone, /širi/ boy, /ternu/ brave, /bir/ all, every.

/l/—/ləŋ/ bull, /ləla/ grandmother, /ləbuŋ/ book, /pyət/ half.

/w/—/wa/ tiger, /we/ hill, /rwo/ hungry, /dəwa/ medicine.

/š/—/ši/ blood, /širi/ boy, /piša/ head, /deš/ country.

/s/—/sa/ clay, /sãs/ breath, /rī:s/ anger, /bãs/ bamboo.

/h/—/hu/ a kiss, /sehmu/ to bear, /šyahi/ guest, /səhi correct.

/ṛ/—/joṛ/ joint, /joṛi/ pair, /chyapṛa/ lizard.

From the above distributional data of Darmiya available to us, it becomes evident that voiced aspirates and retroflex plosives and the nasal /ṇ/ do not occur at all in the final position of a word. Their occurrence in the initial and medial positions too is mostly confind to Indo-Aryan loans alone. Besides, occurrence of /z, th, ñ, w, h/ too, is not attested in the final position in our data.

Free Variation: There are a number of instances in which plosive consonants show free variation between voice and voicelessness. *e.g.* /kə-ka-su/ ~ /ga-su/ made, /kEcu~khE ju/ other, /itu~idu/ that, /pha~ba/ father, /-cən~jən/ plural maker suffix.

Besides, aspirates also attest a variation between aspiration and non-aspiration, as in /əpi~əphi/ one self, own, /luk-cu~ lhik-cu/ became.

2.3. Phonemic Contrasts

With regard to phonemic contrasts of consonant phonemes, it may be mentioned that though minimal pairs of consonants showing contrasts of their phonetic features are attested in the initial position, yet in non-initial positions there are only a few

which attest these contrasts. In fact, like many other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group this dialect, too, seldom attests occurrence of aspirate plosives in a non-initial position in native words. As such the scope of contrasts of aspirate and non-aspirate counterparts of voiced and voiceless consonants is extremely limited. Similarly, on account of vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending nature of these dialects the scope of the contrasts of unaspirate plosives too is confined to the initial position only (see distribution of consonants). Consequently, the four fold distinction of presence *vs.* absence of voice and aspiration is normally attested in the initial position only, both these features are almost neutralized in the medial and final positions in a polysyllabic word. The phonemic contrasts of consonants available in this dialect may be illustrated as under:

Plosives

Bilabials /p, ph, b, (bh)/.

p/b—/pè/ brother: /be/ thread; /pya/ bird: /bya/ marriage; /pu/ husks: /bu/ worm.

p/ph—/ləpu/ raddish: /ləphu/ tail.

ph/b—/pha/ ashes: /ba/ father; /phu/ cave: /bu/ worm.

Dentals /t, th, d, dh/.

t/d—/tar/ wire: /darəm/ door; /sita/ a name: /sida/ straight; /ti/ water: /idi/ this.

t/th—/tuŋ/ to drink: /thoʔ/ ground.

th/d—/thən/ now: /dən/ belly.

d/dh—/dən/ belly: /dhən/ riches; /budi/ buttermilk: /budhi/ intellect.

Palatals /c. ch, j (jh)/.

c/j—/či/ grass: /ji/ and, I

c/ch—/čya/ tea; /čha/ salt; /čeme/ girl; /čheme/ husband's sister; /cini/ sugar: /chini/ chisal; /či/ grass /čhe/ maternal causin.

ch/j—/čhu/ lake: /ju/ yoke.

Retroflexed: /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, (ḍh)/.

ʈ/ḍ—/ṭǝbmu/ to stick (Intrans): /ḍǝbmu/ to stick (trans).

φ/ṭh—/ǝm/ path: /ṭhǝm/ custom.

Velars: /k, kh, g, (gh)/.

k/g—/kuimu/ to be broken: /guimu/ to break.

  /kuli/ labourer: /guli/ earthen jar.

k/kh—/ka/ a craw: /kha/ walnut, what?

kh/g—/khe/ grandson: /ge/ clothes.

Nasals: /m, n, ñ, η/.

m/n—/me/ fire: /ne/ medicine; /mi/ man: /ni/ sun;

  /lamu/ to lick: /lanu/ thin; /šimu/ to wipe: /šinuʃ white.

m/η—/rhǝm/ breakfast, root: /rhǝη/ horse.

n/ñ—/na/ pus: /ña/ fish.

m/ñ—/mǝ/ not: /ña/ fish.

η/n---/thaη/ plain land: /thǝn/ now.

Liquids /r, l/.

r/l—/rǝη/ colour: /lǝη/ bull; /ramu/ to ascend: /lamu/ to lick.

r/rh—/rǝη/ colour: /rhǝη/ horse; /rǝksa/ with: /rhǝka/ sand.

Semi Vowels; /y, w/.

y/w—/ya/ either: /wa/ tiger.

Fricatives /š, s, h/.

š/s—·/šya/ meat: /sa/ clay; /šiη/ tree: /suη/ village.

h/φ—/rho/ snow: /ro/ bone; /rhǝη/ horse: /rǝη/ colour.

s/h—/su/ tooth: /hu/ a kiss.

Flapped vs. Vibrant /ṛ : r/.

ṛ/r—/siṛi/ a ladder: /širi/ boy, son.

2.4. Phonetic Tendencies (Allophonic Variations)

The overall phonetic tendencies of this dialect may, briefly, be pointed out as follows:

2.4.1. *Devoicing*: As stated above, it is predominantly a vowel ending and nasal ending language. As such there is a very limited scope for the occurrence of plosives in the final position. Moreover, it has been realized that all voiced and aspirate plosives occurring in the word final position stand to be reduced in every way. This reduction of voice and aspiration is noticeable not only in the ultimate, but in the penultimate position also. As such the voiced plosives, /g,d, b/ occurring in this position are realized as their voiceless counterparts, as in /malik-gu/→[malik-ku] of the master, /ga-su/→/k∂-ka-su/ made, /khEju/→[khEcu] other, /itu~idu/ that, /ba~pha/ father, /zy∂d/→[zy∂t] eight, /py∂d/→/phy∂t/ half.

2.4.2. *De-aspiration*: Occurrence of aspirate phones in the final position is rare in this dialect. Even in a medial position too the aspiration of an aspirate consonant is tremendously reduced: *e.g.*, /g∂da/< *gadhā* donkey, /buddu/<*buddhū* dunce, /∂pi/< *∂phi* own. /py∂t/</phy∂d/ half, /ḍil/<*ḍhīl* delay.

2.4.3. *Voicing*: But against the normal tendency of devoicing there are a few example in which an opposite tendency of voicing is attested from the historical point of view, *e.g.*, /bu-di/</bu-ti/ butter milk, /sog/< /šok/ anxiety.

2.4.4. *Assimilation*: There are a number of instances in which the phenomenon of assimilation too is attested. For instance, /brid-ti/→/britti/ dew, /mig-ti/→/mitti/tears, /mug-kil/→/mukkil/eyelid etc.

2.5. Consonant Clusters

In this dialect the scope of consonant clusters is extensive. However, the favourable environment for the occurrence of these is the initial and medial position only. There is hardly any scope for the occurrence of a cluster in the final position, particularly in native words. Moreover, in the initial/medial

position too, the number of the members of these clusters is normally two. There may be a few loans with three members, but there are not more than three. Clusters of different combinations attested in this speech may be presented as follows:

2.5.1. *Initial Position*: Normally, the number of the constituents of a cluster in this position is two. Distributionally, (*i*) the first member may be a plosive /a fricative/ a liquid and the second member a semi-vowel /a liquid: These may be illusttrated as under:

(*a*) *Plosive* + *Semi-vowels*: /byoli/ bride, /byola/ bridegroom, /cyu/ chin, /cyamu/ to conceal, /tyar/ festival, /pyamu/ to grow, /chyapra/ lizard, /khyoksimu/ to ride, /kweni/ to boil, /kwali/ fore head, /pyət/ half.

(*b*) *Fricative* + *Semivowel*: /syənu/ baby, boy, /syante/ old man, /syuno/ evil spirit, /jyari/ daily, /zyara/ forest, /hyunu/ deep, /syal/ fox, /šyahi/ guest, /hwa/ honey, /hwanəm/ distance.

(*c*) *Liquid* + *Semivowel*: /lyamu/ to fall, /rwo/ hungry, /lwo/ language dialect.

(*d*) *Plosive* + *Plosive*: /ktaṅ mu/ to be pressed, /kchaŋmu/ tired.

(*e*) *Plosive/fricative* + *liquid*: /drəmu/ to push, /phrumu/ to awaken, /hyərto/ up, upon, /tre/ there, /srib~hrib/ rib.

(*f*) *Plosive* + *nasal*: /kmonu/ ripe.

(*e*) *Nasal* + *Semivowels*: /myā/ daughter's husband, /nyaŋnu/ light in weight.

Three member initial cluster: In our data we could not come across any example of three member cluster in the initial position of a word.

2.5.2. *Medial clusters*: As compared with initial clusters the range of medial clusters is wider. The constituents of a two member medial cluster are attested as follows:

(*i*) *Plosive + plosive*: /cəkti/ a beer, /tugtu/ before, /lokcu/ calf, /cipcu/ chicken, /nokchu/ day, /ləkchəb/ -ring, /khokcu/ intestines, /chyapra/ lizard.

(*ii*) *Plosive + liquid/semi-vowel /fricative/ nasal*: /khət nu/ a cheat, /daksimu/ to quarrel, /loksiŋ/ handle, /puksa/ dust, /khokhra/ hollow, /təli/ knife, /bijli/ lightning, /ləkró/ stars, /mokro/ ant, /budru/ under, inside.

(*iii*) *Nasal/liquid/fricative + plosive*: /kərbuch/ bags of load, /yəmba/ remainder, /tamba/ copper, /nogondi/ behind, /gunda/ centre, /ghənti/ bell. /binti/ request, /əndha/ blind, /durkhuŋ/ ground floor, /simza/ day after tomorrow, /wərti/ water channel, /gəlti/ mistake, /bənjər/ fallow land, /khərju/ from, /khurco/ lamb, /khəlti/ pocket, /ghəməndi/ proud, /yaŋti/ river.

(*iv*) *Liquid/nasal + nasal/liquid*: /thamro/bank of river, /diŋlo/ blunt, /tərnu/ brave, /tərmu/ can, /saŋləŋ/ chain, /baŋru/ court yard, out side, /kəŋni/ disease, pain, /tuŋmu/ to drink, /charnu/ dried, /gomla/ left side.

(*v*) *Liquid/nasal + fricative*: /rhuŋ/ back, /rhe/ field, /rhəŋ/ horse, /rhiza/ day before yesterday, /phərsa/ axe, /uršimu/ to take bath, /duŋso/ drum, /laŋsa/ excreta of animals.

(*vi*) *Fricatine + liquid/nasal /semi vowel/*: /kohra/ fog, /thaznami/ begger, /biswas/ trust, faith.

The constituents of a three member cluster attested in this position are—

(*i*) *Nasal + plosive + liquid*: /bistra/ bedding, /mistri/ carpenter, /əntro/ last, final.

2.5.3. *Final cluster*: As stated above it being predominently a vowel ending language has a very limited scope for the occurrence of final clusters. The only patterns attested in this position are a sibilant + a plosive, as in /dost/ friend; and a liquid + a plosive, as in /šərt/ a bet, /purb/ east, /nórk/ hell (all from I.A. stock).

2.6. Gemination

Gemination is not a significant feature in this dialect, though lengthening of certain classes of consonants or occurrence of idential consonants may be realized in certain predictable environments:

/chƏppu/ adge, /kƏmmu/ to beat, /mukka/ a blow, /billa/ male cat, /iccha/ desire, /britte/ dew, /picchƏɳ/ down, /pettᵉm/ egg, /mukkil/ eye-lid, /bƏtti/ lamp, /uttƏr/ north, reply, /jhƏṭṭ/ quickly, /mitti/ tears, /mƏtti/ pissu, /phulli/ nose screw, etc.

2.7. Supra-Segmental Phonemes

Besides the above mentioned segmental phonemes, Darmiya has a few cases of supra-segmental phonemes as well.

2.7.1. *Nasalization*: According to the data available to us Darmiya has only non-phonemic nasalization, for we could not come across any pair of contrast in this respect. Accordingly, all vowels occurring with a nasal consonant are nasalized automatically. *e.g.*, /bEnã/=[bEnā] cow, /mina/= [mīnã] mother, /wam-nu/=[wãm-nũ] black, etc.

Length/quantity : Length or quantity too is not a fully established phonemic feature in it, though there are certain environments in which the quantity of a vowel or of a conso-nant becomes significant, particularly in the case of particularization or intensification in an atterance. Besides, borrowing of a large number of vocables from the Indo-Aryan stock also has created a situation in which the quantity of a vowel has become significant, as in /mul/ silver; {/mu:l/ source of water; /či/ grass: /ci:l/ a vulture. However, no contrast of length could be attested in consonantal phonemes.

2.8. Accent and Intonation

Accent too does not seem to be a significant phonemic feature in it, but the sentence intonation, particularly pertaining to enquiry or exclamation, is certainly a significant feature, *e.g.* /ga-mu/ to do; but /gamu ↓ / should I/we do ? /usu-kƏ-da-da-su/

he has given away, but /u-su kə-da-da-su ↓ / has he give away! (surprise).

3 0. WORD STRUCTURE

A word in this dialect, may be mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic, has the following general characteristics:

(1) It may begin with any vowel or consonant, but /ŋ/ and /ɽ/

(2) Normally, a native word ends in a vowel, a nasal, a liquid, a voiced plosive or sibilant.

(3) No native word begins or ends in a consonant cluster other than those mentioned above.

(4) Normally, no aspirate plosive or /h/ or a semivowel occurs at the end of a native word in it.

(5) In a slow tempo of speech a word necesserily admits a momentary pause on either side of it.

3.1. Syllabic Structure of a Word

As in other languages of this group in this too the imme-diate constituents of a word are syllables, numbering from 1-3, which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences between the two successive junctures and also are capable of conveying a single concept.

3.2. Syllabic Units

Constituents of a syllabic unit are a 'nucleus' which is one of the vowels set up for this language + consonantal margins occurring on either side of it, which can be simple *i.e.*, a single consonant or complex (=a consonant cluster or a geminated consonant) permissible in the language, within the established system of vowels and consonant. There is no restriction on the occurrence of a vowel as a nucleus or a consonant, including clusters, as a margin of a syllabic unit.

3.2.1. *Patterns of syllabic units*: On the basis of the analysis of monosyllabic words it has been found that the permissible structure of various syllabic units, the constituents of a word, may be one of the following patterns: /V/, /VC/, /CV/, /CÇV/, /CVC/, /CCVC/, /CVCC/.

These patterns, besides occurring independenty in a mono-syllabic word, may also become constituent syllables of a polysyllabic word.

(*i*) *Monosyllabic Patterns*: In monosyllabic words the patterns of the above mentioned units may be illustrated as under:

/V/—/u/ he; /ə̄/ yes, /a/ mouth,

/VC/—/ũṭ/ camel, /əm/ path, /am/ mango

/CV/—/la/ arm, /ši/ blood, /ro/ bone, /phu/ cave, /sa/ clay, /me/ fire,

/CVC/—/čim/ house, /nim/ nose, /chəm/ bridge, /sog/ anxiety

/CCV/—/pya/ bird, /cyu/ chin, /mya/ son-in-law, /rhe/ field

/CCVC/—/tyar/ festival, /rhəŋ/ horse, /srib~hrib/ rib

/CVCC/—/šərt/ bet, /dost/ friend, /purb/ east, /nərk/ hell.

From the point of frequency, the descending order of these pattern is as /CV/, /CVC/ /CCV/ and /CCVC/.

It may be mentioned that in words with more than one syllable these very patterns are repeated in various sequences.

(*ii*) *Dissyllabic Patterns*: The permissible syllabic sequences in a dissyllabic word are attested as under:

/CVC-CV/—/lokcu/ calf, /ḍannu/ beautiful, /wamnu/ black, /puksa/ dust, /toŋnu/ green.

/CCVC-CV/—/syanṭe/ old man, /britti/ dew, /gwal- mu/ to knead

/CV-CVC/—/darəm/ door, /meluŋ/ fire place, /lizeŋ/ iron

/CV-CV/—/cici/ aunt, /tete/ grandfather, /širi/ boy, son,
/yanu/ bad, /buthu/ bush, /khanu/ bitter

/CCV-CVC/—/chyayaṅ/ wife's brother

/CCV-CV/—/jyari/ daily, /syuno/ ghost, /kwali/ forehead

/CVC-CVC/—/pittəm/ egg,   /səmdən/ son's/daughter's
mother-in-law

/CV-V/—/lui/ air, /khui/ dogs, /piu/ mouse, /mei/ eye

/CV-CCV/—/la-pya/ rock, /che-šya/ cousin sister,

/CVC-CCV/—/nəm-šya/ daughter in-law, /mistri/ carpenter,
/bistra/ bedding,

/CCVC-CCV/—/srən-sya/ sister, /gwal-cya/ lock

/CCVC-CV/—/rhək-sa/ sand.

From the point of frequency the descending order of these
patterns is attested as /CVCV/, /CVCCV/ and /CCVCV/

(*iii*) *Trisyllabic Patterns*: The number of trisyllabic lexical
words is not very large in it. The permissible syllabic sequences
of this class of words are attested as under:

/CV-CV-CV/—/thisimu/ to melt, /wasunu/ till, /məsala/
spices, /bãsuri/ flute, /pEsimu/ to walk,
/ləsimu/ to forget

/CVC-CV-CV/—/daksimu/ to fight, /cuksimu/ to put on,
/thoŋsimu/ to return, /chib cimu/ to suck.

/CVC-CVC-CV/—/bərnokcu/ noon

/CCVC-CV-CV/—/ñyaŋthoba/ evening, /khyoksimu/ to
ride.

/CCV-CV-CV/—/kweranu/ equal.

From the point of frequency the most frequent trisyllabic
pattern is /CVCVCV/ followed by /CVC-CV-CV/ pattern.
Other patterns attest only a limited number of examples.

(*iv*) *Quadri syllabic Patterns*: Quadri syllabic words are
rare in this language. These can be attested only in morpho-
logical constructions, as in past participle forms.

Their patterns are as under:

/CV-CVC-CV-CV/—/ku-ḍuṅ-si-mu/ to tame, to rear

/CV-CV-CV-CV/—/ku-du-si-mu/ mixed.

Penta-syllabic—/CV-CVV-CV-CV/—/ku-koi-si-mu/ cooked

3.3. Syllabic Division

Normally, the syllabic cut falls at the weakest link between each pair of two successive syllables, determined by linguistic forces like accent (*i.e.*, higher stress), quantity of the syllable peak or the patterns of the syllables concerned.

In the matter of syllabic grouping it fully agrees with other languages of this group, *i.e.*, the vowel is the nucleus (peak) of the syllable, and consonants preceding or following it are the peripheri or margins. As such other things being equal, in open syllables, the consonantal on-set margin /margins of the initial syllable peak are grouped with it, *e.g.*, in /syu-no/ and /chya-yaṅ/ the consonants preceding the vowels are grouped with the vowels /u/ and /a/ for the purpose of forming the syllabic unit, and the succeeding consonants go with the succeeding syllable peaks. Thus in the above examples the syllabic division will be as /syu-no/ and /chya-yaṅ/ (the dash indicating the place of syllabic cut).

But if the interlude, occurring in succcssive syllables, consists of more than one consonant, excluding semi-vowels, than the most conventional principle applicable to syllabic division is that the first member of this cluster goes with the previous syllable peak to form its cola margin and the second member is grouped with the succeeding syllable peak to form its on-set margin. For instance, in /lokcu/ 'calf' and /syante/ old man, the components /-k/ and /-n-/ form the cola margin of the first syllable peaks /-o-/ and /-a-/ and /-c/ and /ṭ/ of the second syllable peaks /u/ and /e/. Similarly, in a pattern like /pittəm/ and/ sraṅ-sya/ too the syllabic division will follow the same principle of grouping of phones to form the syllabic unit and to affect the mechanism of syllabification.

However, in case of the second /-C/ of a complex interlude being a liquid or a semivowel then the syllabic cut falls

between the syllable peak of the preceding syllable and the first /C/ of the complex interlude in question, as in /che-sya/ cousin sister, /gwal-cya/ lock.

4.0. GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

4.1. Word Classes

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic position the word classes attested in this speech are—noun, pronoun, modifires, verb and function words /enclitics. Normally, as in other languages in this too, words of noun, pronoun and verb classes enter into various types of morphological inflections, whereas others do not. As such words belonging to former group are variable, *i.e.* are inflected for various grammatical categories and those belonging to the latter group are invariable or non-flectional.

4.2. Word Formation

In it a word can be both mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic. The morphological processes employed for the formation of polymorphemic words are – juxtaposition, prefixation (in a few cases only), suffixation, infixation, reduplication and compounding. Of these the devices of suffixation and compounding are the most common, particularly with regard to nominal, pronominal and verbal stem formations. Various structural and morphological elements, involving various grammatical categories of these classes of words, may be presented in the following respective sections of this analysis.

4.3. NOUN

Syntactically, a noun in it functions as a subject or object of a verb. It may also function as a predicative word, referring to the subject or the object. Morphologically, it takes grammatical categories of number, gender and cases, and is also followed by post-positions.

4.3.1. *Noun Classes*: As in other dialect of this group, in

Darmiya too a distinction of human and non-human or ani-
mate and inanimate nouns is attested in respect of gender and
number categories. Consequently, no gender distinction is
made in respect of non human being and no number distinction
is attested in respect of inanimate objects.

4.3 2. *Article*: There are no articles in it. However, in-
definite pronouns and the numral /tako/ ∼ /ta/ 'one', are used
as an indefinite article, as in /kh∂mi∼g∂bu ba/ a certain father,
/tako ceme/ a daughter, etc. Besides, demonstrative pronouns
are also used, sometimes, as a kind of definite article, as in
/idu phu-gudarmya/ at the door of the cave.

4.3 3. *Nominal Stems*: As in other dialects of this group, in
this too three kinds of nominal stems, *viz.*, primary, derived
and compounded, are normally attested. Out of these the
number of primary stems is the largest. Historically, a majority
of them belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, but there is a
sizeable number of them which belong other to Indo-Aryan or
fall under the category of indigenous words.

T. B Sources: Primary stems belonging to the T. B. sources
are both monosyllabic and poly-syllabic, *e.g.* /m∂r/ ghee,
/khui/ dog, /ña/ fish, /me /fire, /sa/ clay, /šya/ meat, /ni/
sun, /ro/ bone, /kuru/ cup, /čeme/ daughter, /phu/ cave,
/čim/ house, /pya/ bird, /ši/ blood, /z∂η/ gold, /či/ grass, /la/
land, /lizeη/ iron, /muη/ name, /cheb/ needle, /čha/ salt,
/khumi/ thief, etc.

Miscelloneous sources: /r∂co/ ear, /ti/ water, /bEna/ cow,
/myă/ son-in-low, /širi/ boy, /budi/ butter milk, /d∂n/ belly,
/piša/ head, /rh∂η/ horse, /piu/ mouse, /nim/ nose, /ṣrib/ rib,
/p∂ch∂m/ rice, etc.

I. A. Sources: Stems borrowed from the I. A. sources are
numerous. Some of these are—

/sog/ anxiety, /sañl∂ñ/ chain, /ḍali/ branch, /roṭa/ loaves of
bread, /săs/ breath, /pit∂l/ brass, /kăsa/ bronze, /noni/ butter,

/topi/ cap, /kƏṅgi/ a comb, /kona/ corner, /murda/ corpse, /rui/ cotton, /deš/ country, /būd/ a drop, /šyal/ fox, /rìs/ anger, /pap/ sin, /gwala/ shepherd, /kƏtha/ story, /puja/ worship, /aša/ hope, etc.

4.3.4. *Stem formation*: In this dialect most of the nominal stems are radical. As such there are only a few in which the mechanism of nominal stem formation, *viz.* prefixation or suffix. may be attested. However, there are some in which the mechanism of reduplication and compounding is attested to some extent.

(*i*) *Suffixation*: As stated above, there are few examples of prefixation or suffixation in it. The few examples of suffixation attested in our data are the loan terms from the I. A. dialects, *e.g.* /papi/ sinner</pap/ sin; /bEri/ enemy</bEr/ enmity.

(*ii*) *Reduplication*: As in other languages in this too, however, reduplication of syllables, stems or formation of echowords, is a normal procedure of nominal stem formation, *e.g.* /ci-ci/ aunty (ounger); /te-te/ grand father; /la-la/ grand mother.

4.3.5. *Compound stems*: The number of compound stems, having both the constituents as free forms with their independent meaning is fairly good in it. The following type of compound stems have been obtained from the data available to us.

Noun+noun=Noun: /me-lun/ fire-place; /mitti/ tears< /mig/ eye + /ti/ water; /brid-ti/ → /britti/ dew, /khu-mi/ thief < /khu/ theft; /wƏr-ti/ water-channel; /yaŋ-ti/ river, /mug-chƏm/ eye-brow; /mug-kil/ → /muk-kil/ eye-lid; /bya-bu/ house fly;

Adjective+noun=Noun: /che-ti/ perspiration < /che/ hot; /khu-ti/ spittle, /minu-ba/ uncle< /minu/ younger + /ba/ father; /punu-ba/ elder uncle < /punu/ elder + /ba/ father.

Verbal noun+noun=Noun/thuŋ-nu-mi/ dancer< /thuŋ-nu/ to dance, dancing, /bEra gamula/ singer < /bEra ga-mu/ to sing a song, singing.

4.4. Nominal inflection

As in many other languages of this group, in this too there is no grammatical gender. As such a nominal stem is inflected for the number and the case categories only. In Darmiya these grammatical markers are kept apart from one another *e.g.* /mi-ɡu/ of man, /mi-jən-gu/ of men; /la-ru/ in the hand; /la-jən-ru/ in hands. In this, the order of different elements is as stem+number marker+case marker.

4.4.1. *Gender*: As pointed out above, languages to T. B. group do not recognize any grammatical gender, at least for native vocables. The natural gender which in no way affects the structure of other constituents of a sentence is, however, distinguished (*i*) either by using separate terms for paired groups of males and females, (*ii*) or by prefixing terms denoting the sense of 'male' and 'female' or 'he' and 'she' to the substantive concerned. In borrowed items, however, the original pattern of the language from which it has been borrowed may be followed.

But in this dialect the gender distinction is confined to human beings only, all inanimate objects and non-human beings are treated as genderless:

e.g.	syənu	son	:	ceme	daughter
	syaŋnu	oldman	:	syanju	old woman
	lən	bullock	:	bEna	cow
	ba	father	:	mina	mother
	minaba	uncle (y.)	:	cici	aunt (younger)
	punu ba	,, (e.)	:	punu mina	aunt (elder)
	tete	grand-father	:	lala	grand-mother
	pema	father-in-law	:	sas /puni	mother-in-law

pe	brother	;	šr∂ŋsya	sister
cheyaŋ	wife's brother	:	sali	wife's sister
c∂rpya	cock	:	pya	hen
m∂la	he goat	:	lasaŋ	she goat

In the case of non-human animate beings the same epicene term is used for both the sexes of the species concerned, *e.g.* /rhaŋ/ horse or mare, /wa/ tiger and tigress, /khui/ dog and bitch, /billa/ he or she cat, /bend∂r/ he or she monkey. This feature of Darmiya morphology is attested even in the case of grand children, *e.g.* /khe/ means both grand-son or grand-daughter.

In I. A. borrowed items, however, the original pattern of gender distinction is maintained, as in /raja/ king, /rani/ queen; /mast∂r/ teacher, /mast∂rni/ teacheress, etc. A few more examples of inanimate and lower animate being are:

/sin kh∂rju pat∂ lheni/ leaves fall from trees.

/pya r∂ŋ-su leŋ ni/ birds fly with wings.

However, if the distinction of sex in animals too is absolutely necessary than it can be expressed with prefixes like /pho/ male and /mo/ female as well, as in /raŋ/ horse! /mo-raŋ/ mare, /pho-phu/ male deer /mo-phu/ female deer, etc.

4.4.2. *Number*: As in Tibetan, in it too, nominal, pronominal and verbal stems are inflected for two numbers only, *viz.* singular and plural. Dual, if necessary, is expressed by prefixing the term for two, *viz.* nišu 'two', as in /nišu mi 'two men'. In fact, in nominal or pronominal inflections the singular is not marked overtly. It is the absence of plural marker which distinguishes it from the plural. The plural markers, however, follow the stem and precede the case suffixes, *e.g.* /mi/ man: /mi-j∂n/ men, /mi-j∂n-gu/ of men; /u/ he; /usi/ they: /usi-su/ they, by them. /gE/ thou: /g∂ni/ you: /g∂ni-gu/ yours. The plurality in nouns is expressed in two ways, (*i*) by

means of plural marker suffixes, (*ii*) by adding a numeral other than for 'one', or by adding a qualifier conveying the sense of 'some, a few, many, all, several', etc. In verbal conjugations it is mostly inferred from the number of the subject of the verb in question.

(*i*) *Suffixal plurality*: The only suffix employed to affect plurality in nouns is /cən/~/jən/ which is uniformly used with all nominal stems: (But Grierson III. I: (491) has recorded it as /cən/, an in *rang chan* horses etc.

/mi/ man; /mi-jən/ men; /ceme/ girl: /ceme-jən/ girls;

/rhəṅ/ horse: /rhəṅ-jən/ horses; /khui/ dog: /khui-jən /dogs;

/wa/ tiger: /wa-jən/ tigers; /la/ hand: /la -jən/ hands; /khe/ grand son: /khe-jən/ grand sons; /me/ eye: /me-jən/ eyes;

/bEna/ cow! /bEna-jən/ cows /kine; /pya/ bird: /pya-jən/ birds; /sin/ tree: /sin-jəη/ trees.

However, nominal stems indicating inanimate objects and lower species of animate being are normally not inflected for plural number.

(*ii*) *Non-Suffixal plurality*: As stated above the non-suffixal method of indicating plurality is either to use a numeral modifier other than for 'one' or use a modifier indicative of the sense of plurality such as /cuη/ many.

These may be illustrated by the following examples:

/ri-gu taku riηšya nini/ I have one sister:
/jigu sum riəšya nini/ I have three sisters,
/niη cuη pe nišyən/ we are many brother,s)
/jigu taku pè nini/ I have one brother.

Besides, in this context Grierson has recorded terms like /titti/ and /dulo/ to indicate the meaning 'many' as well. Between these the term /titti/ follows the noun qualified by it and /dulo/ precedes it, *e.g.* /ba titti/ fathers, lit. father many, and /dulo ba/ many father=fathers.

4.5. Case

Case is a grammatical category in it and can be established on morpho-syntactic basis. Besides expressing the relationship of a noun with the verb in general, a case particularly the genitive case, also expresses a relationship between two nouns or between a noun and a pronoun.

The grammatical relations expressed by these cases are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, ageny, purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possesion, material composition, place, time, etc.

4.5.1. *Case termination*: In it casal relations are expressed by means of suffixes, post-positions which follow the crude base of the nominal or pronominal stems in the singular, and the number marker in the plural. But the peculiarity of these terminations in this language is this that each of them has a definite and unalterable form irrespective of the number of nouns or pronouns in question, *i.e.* it has identical forms for both the numbers and the nominal stem does not undergo only morpho-phonemic changes. However, in case of plurals, the case sign always follows the plural marker, if any. Schemetically, all the case markers of Darmiya can be presented as under:

Case	Sq.	Pl.
Direct	ϕ	ϕ
Accusative	ϕ	ϕ
Erg./Agentive	-su	-su
Dative	-həndu/daŋsu	-həndu/daŋsu
Ablative	-jo/-khərju	jo/-khərju
Genitive	-gu	-gu
Lolative	-ru/ro	-ru/ro

4.5.2. *Syntactic Correlations*: Various syntactic correlations expreessed by these case forms may be explained as under:

(*a*) *Direct case*: Morphologically, the direct case has no

markers for any number. But syntactically it is used to denote the following grammatical relationships.

(*i*) It is a case of the subject of an intransitive verb in all tenses, and of a transitive verb in non-past tenses.

/ji tamina niše/ I am alone.

/niŋ sum pé nišy∂n/we are three brothers.

/pya r∂ŋ-su lĉŋ ni/birds fly with wings.

/cici nimĉŋ do raju~rasu/aunt came here yesterday.

/sy∂n-j∂n nu tuŋni/children drink milk (of breast).

Accusative case: There is no overt case marker in it. However, the following grammatical relationships are indicated by it.

(*i*) It is a direct object of a transitive verb:

/u sy∂nu kĉmda/he beats the child.

/sy∂nu roṭa zani/the child is eating loaves of bread.

/rhaŋ ci ji ti da/give grass and water to the horse.

/sy∂nu-su lobuŋlosu/the child read (past) a book.

(*ii*) It is also a case of indirect object of a verb having two objects, *viz*. direct and indirect.

/mina-su sy∂nu nu dada/mother gives milk to the child.

/o-su ∂phi-gu sy∂nu thojnu-mi k∂dada-su/he has given his son to the begger.

But the data recorded by Grierson shows that at times the direct object can also be placed in the dative or agentive case, as in—

/ji-su u-g širi-jo kĉmi-su/ I have beaten his son.

/idu bE-su raŋ-mo/in order to sell those hides.

(*b*) *Casal relationship of subject and object of a transitive verb*:

The casal relationship of the subject and the object of a transitive verb in the past tense is well defined in it, *i.e.* The

subject of all transitive verbs, is invariably placed in the ergative case and the object in the nominative/direct case:

/gE-su dilli kh∂rju ji da7su kh∂ rhensu/

What have you brought for me from Delhi.

/ji-su gE-h∂ndu ge rhesu/I have brought clothes for you.

/sy∂nu-su ce me ta7su/The boy looked at the girl.

/sita-su ram-jo ∂m rusu/Sita asked way from Ram.

This relationship is fully maintained even in the case of verbs having direct and indirect objects:

/mina-su ∂phigu sy∂nu thojnu-mi kdada-su/

Mother gave away her child to the begger.

/minasu sy∂nu nu dada/mother gives milk to the child.

(*c*) *Ergative Case*: As in other language of this group, in this too the ergative case is used to express the subject of a transitive verb, both in the past and the present tenses. The invariable ergative marker added to the nominal stem or to the plural markers is /—su/:

/usi-su gada/ they do; /ni7su dad∂n/ we give;

/sy∂nu-su lobu7 lo su/ the boy read the book (past).

/sy∂n-j∂n-su lobu7 losu/ boys read books (past).

/o-su dada, ji tu7-si/ he gives, I drink.

/gE-su ge udi ta7su/ where have you put the clothes.

/n∂k∂r-su malik-ku ge childa/ the servent washes clothes of the master.

(*d*) *Instrumental/Agentive*: The p.p. marker for the instrumental /agentive case is similar to that for the ergative case.

/sy∂nu la-su roṭa zani/ the child is eating bread with hand.

/Ram ph∂rsa-su si7 thumda/ Ram is chopping tree with the axe.

/pya r∂ŋ-su l∂ŋni/ birds fly with wings.

(e) *Sociative Case*: The sociative case which expresses either causal or inherent association of a thing or a person with some other things or persons is expressed with the help of post-position /raksa/ 'with':

/g∂e raksa khiju kh∂-mi niju/ who was the other person with you.

/u-su ᴜphi ba raksa demu nini/ he has to go with his father.

(ƒ) *Dative*: The sense of dative case is expressed with the post-positional markers /daŋsu/ or /h∂ndo/ which follows the crude base of a noun or pronoun.

/taku la daŋsu/ for a month.

/min-ba daŋsu/ to/for uncle

/ji daŋsu/ for me, /g∂e h∂ndo/ for you.

The p.p. /h∂ndo/ is used with verbal nouns as well, as in /ra/ mu h∂ndo/ for coming; /tuŋ-mu h∂ndo/ to drink/for drinking.

But Grierson (491) has recorded it as *jo, ju* or *cha, chū*, as in *pa cha* to the father, *kh∂-mi-jo* to whom, *daŋm chu*, to the servant.

(g) *Ablative*: The casal relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person is expressed with the postposition /kh∂r-ju/, actually /cu/ preceded by /kh∂r/ in the sense of 'on'.

/siŋ kh∂r-ju pat∂ lheni/ leaves fall from trees.

/hui kh∂r-ju ti boni/ Rivers flow from mountains.

/g∂e udi kh∂r-ju rašy∂n/ where are you coming from ?

/u dilli kh∂r-ju rani/ he is coming, from Delhi.

In certain types of expressions it also follows the locative case marker:

/lobuŋ la-ru kh∂rju cirg∂cu/ the book fell from the hand.

Besides, the ablative markers /jə̃n/ and /jo/ too are attested with personal pronouns and animate nouns (for examples see Model declensions). But the data in the L.S I records it as /cu/ or /su/, as in /ba khə̃r-cu/ from a father: /wanə̃m-su/ from a far. In the context of comparison it is also attested as /cyaη̃/, as in /bir cyaη jEn/ best (lit. all from good).

(*h*) *Genitive*: The genitive case expresses a mutual relationship between two substantives or between a noun and a pronoun. The genitive suffix in Darma Lwo is /gu/ which irrespectively is affixed to all nouns and pronouns, as in /ji-gu/ my; /ge-gu/ thy; /gə̃ni-gu/ your; /o-gu/ his, her; /usi-gu/ their; /syə̃nu-gu/ of the child, /mina-gu/ mother's, /mi-jə̃n-gu/ of men; /ceme-jə̃n-gu/ of girls.

/syə̃n-jə̃n mina-gu nu tuη--ni/ children drink mother's milk

/mina-su syə̃n-jə̃n bEna-gu nu dada/ mother gives cow's milk to the children.

Though in my data I could not come across any variant of this suffix, yet the data recorded by Greirson shows /ge, gu, gai,-g/ or /ko, ku/ as its variants (L.S. I. III. I. p. 492).

(*i*) *Locative*: The use of the locative is restricted to inanimate nouns only. Moreover, various time and space oriented relations of this case are expressed by various postpositions and adverbial phrases. In this the widely used case marker is /ru/ which indicates the sense of 'in' and 'on', as in /la-ru/ in the hand, on the hand; /me-ru/ in the fire.

/ña ti-ru suηsi-ni/ fish line in water.

/bãdə̃ru siη-ru suηsi-ni/ monkeys live on trees.

/u-si sinu-ru lə̃n gə̃da/ they are doing work in the cold.

/tedu suηkhu-ru ulə̃η mi suηsi-ni/

How many people live in that village?

It is also used to denote the ultimate action of a verb, as in

/ji rhe-ru de mu eiɳ-si/

I wish to go to the field (*i.e.* in the field).

/u ɔ̂phi suɳ-ru dini/ he is going to his home.

4.5.3. *Postpositions*: There are a few post-positions which like case suffixes indicate the casal relations of nouns and pronouns with other nouns or verbs:

Of these the most widely used post-position which indicates various case relations is /jo/ 'from.' Its various syntactic uses may be illustrated as follows:

(*a*) as an accusative marker:

/ji-su kh∂-mi-jo lesu/ to whom did I say ?

/gE-su na ujo len-li/ you may have told him.

/sita-su ram-jo ∂m rusu/ Sita asked the way from Ram.

(*b*) In case of impersonal constructions it conveys the sense of 'by' (=from);

/ji-jo suɳsi m∂trsi/ sitting can not be by me.

(=Hindi /mujh se bEṭha n∂hĩ jata/)

/gE-jo pEdɛ̂l g∂̂mje m∂t∂rsy∂n/

walking on foot can not be done by you.

(*c*) It is also used with a causative agent (subject):

/uˡ̂šy∂n-jɛ̂n-jo lɛ̂n-gaphuɳ-da/ he gets the work done by boys.

(*d*) It also indicates the sense of possession, with animate nouns:

/punu pé-jo/ in the possession of elder brother.

The few more post-positions denoting various relationships are—/ti∼te/ with; /khu/ in; /cɛ̂ri/ from; /daɳsu/ for the sake of; /nima/ near, /rɛ̂ksya/ together with; /le/ into; /r∂m∂ru/ under; /pis∂-ru/ on; /tu-tu/ before; /yuɳ-kon-ti/ behind; /philɛ̂n/ instead of; /beru/ under, etc. The post-positions usually follow a noun/pronoun in the genitive case.

4.5.4. *Models of Nominal Declensions*

/mi/man

1.	Direct/Acc.	mi	mi-j∂n
3.	Erg./Ag.	misu	mi-j∂n-su
4.	Dative	mi-h∂ndu	mi-j∂n-h∂ndu
5.	Ablative	mi-j∂η-/-kh∂rju	mi-j∂n-j∂η/-kh∂rju
6.	Genitive	mi-gu	mi-j∂n-gu
7.	Locative	mi-ru	mi-j∂n-ru

/ceme/girl

1.	Direct./Acc.	ceme	ceme-j∂n
3.	Erg. Ag.	ceme-su	ceme-j∂n-su
4.	Dative	ceme-h∂ndu	ceme-j∂n-h∂ndu
5.	Ablative	ceme-jo	ceme-j∂n-jo
6.	Genitive	ceme-gu	ceme-j∂n-gu
7.	Locative	ceme-ru	ceme-j∂n-ru

/la/hand

1.	Direct/Acc.	la	la-j∂n
3.	Erg. Ag.	la-su	laj∂n-su
4.	Dative	la-h∂ndu	la-j∂n-h∂ndu
5.	Ablative	la-kh∂rju	la-j∂n-kh∂rju
6.	Genitive	la-gu	la-j∂n-gu
7.	Locative	la-ru	laj∂n-ru

5.0. PRONOUN

As in other languages, in this too pronouns like nouns function as subject, object, complement, etc. From the point of inflection too those behave like nouns. Semantically, these are divisible into six classes, *viz.* (1) Personal, (2) Demonstra-

tive, (3) Interrogative, (4) Indefinitive, (5) Reflexive, (6) Relative. Of these the pronouns of the personal and demonstrative classes are inflected for both the numbers, but not others.

5.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns which represent the nouns of the first, second and third person are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems. These have been attested as—/ji/ I, /niŋ/ we (1st person); /gE/ thou, /gəni/ you (second person); /u/he ; /usi/ they (3rd person), (for their complete declensional forms see Model declension, 5.7).

In the LSI, however, the forms of the 1st and second persons have been noted as /ji/ I, /in/ we, /gəi/ thou /gEni/ you. Because the recording was done by untrained people, therefore, a possibility of these not being recorded correctly is there. /gEni/ is definitely a phonetic realization of /gə̂ni/.

From the point of inflection, personal pronouns fully agree with the inflectional patterns of animate nouns, *i.e.* the case markers and the post-positions taken by them are the same and follow the same morphophonemic rules. In the case of number suffixes, they follow a different pattern, *i.e.*, in the 1st person the plurality is affected by the replacement of the stem itself, as in /ji/ I : /niŋ/ we; in the 2nd person by suffixing /ni/ to the stem, as in /gə̂~gE/ thou: /gə-ni/ you; and in the 3rd person by suffixing /si/ to the stem, as in /u/ he, that; /u-si/ they, those.

It has been noticed that in a colloquial speech the genitive case marker /gu/ is left out with 3rd person pronominal stem when used as a possessive pronoun, as in /niŋ jiara usi suŋ-ru ranu ninsu/ we used to go (visit) their home daily. In this sentence the personal pronoun /u/ which syntactically is in the possessive case is inflected for the number category only.

5.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are used for pointing out a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' person or thing. In this dialect these are attested as /əndu/ this, /tedu/ that. In the LSI,

however, the variant forms like *nai, nado, nadu,* 'this' and *id, ido, idu, itu,* 'that' or *tad, tado* 'that' also have been recorded, but I could not get any of these in my data. Their uses may be illustrated as under:

/∂ndu ji-gu suη-ru lé/ this is may home.

/gE-su ∂ndu kh∂ k∂ga simu nini/ what have you done this.

/tedu ji-gu minu ba-gu suη lè/ that is may uncle's village.

/tedu suη-khu-ru ul∂η mi suη-si-ni/

How many people live in that village?

5.3. Interrogative Pronouns

In Darmiya, the interogative pronouns have been obtained as, /kh∂/ what ? /kh∂-mi/who ?, /g∂bu/ which?,

/tedu kh∂-mi sy∂nu niju/ who was that boy?

/idu gobu wala ṭokri niju/which one was that basket?

/ji-su kh∂-mi-jo lesu/ to whom did I tell?

The term for 'which' is normally used as a modifier and as such is not inflected either for any number or case, but the other is inflected for the case category

/gE r∂ksa khiju kh∂-mi niju/ who was the other person with you?

/kh∂-mi-su lesu/ who said?

5.4. Indefinitive Pronouns

Pronouns of this class refer to an unknown or unidentified person or thing. As in other languages in this too these are formed with interrogative stems by adding /mi/, /ri/ to them, *i.e.,* /mi/ with human beings and /ri/ with non-human objects, or /g∂bu/ 'a certain'.

/kh∂-mi ray∂n/ Whosoever comes.

/usi khe-ri cuη lo∂phi gada/ They may do whatever they like.

/gƏe khƏ thoη janšyƏn daηdi/ whatever you ask, I will give.

/gobu mijƏn mƏanna nini/ some people did not sleep.

5.5. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns substitute and refer to a noun or pro-
noun which is, as a rule the logical subject of the sentence.
As in Hindi, in this too the reflexive pronoun /Əphi/ is
used for all persons.

/ji Əphi suηru/ I to my home, /minasu Əphi-gu šyƏnjƏn/
mother to her children, /jisu ji-gu pe/ I to my brother,

/ji Əphi lƏn sphina gaη di/ I myself do my work, /gE Əphi
lƏn Əphina ga/ you your-self do your work, /u Əphi lƏn
Əphina galo/ he himself should do his work.

5.6. Relative Pronoun

As in other languages of this group, in this too there are
no separate stems for relative pronouns. Usually, the interro-
gative or demonstrative pronouns are employed to serve the
purpose of relative pronouns as well; or in most of the cases
it is left out too:

/khƏmi rayƏη, idu deyƏη/ whosoever comes, he will go.

/gE khƏ thojaη šyƏn, daηdi/ whatever you ask for, I will
give.

/taku mi gƏbu-go taku Chana nicu/ a man who has a hut.

Besides, the I.A. *jo* is also used, as in—

/ji jo nini, bir go-guna lhe/ mine what is, all thine is.

5.7. Models of Pronominal Declensions

First Person. /ji/ I	*Sg.*	*pl:*
1. Direct	ji	niη
2. Accusative	,,	,,

3.	Erg. Agentive	ji-su	niŋ-su
4.	Dative	ji-hǝndu	niŋ hǝndu
5.	Ablative	ji jǝŋ/-khǝrju	niŋ jǝŋ/-khǝrju
6.	Genitive	ji-gu	niŋ-gu
7.	Locative	ji-jo	niŋ-jo

Second Person /gE/ thou

1.	Direct	gE/gǝe	gǝni
2.	Accusative	,,	,,
3.	Erg./Agentive	gE-su	gǝni-su
4.	Dative	gE-hǝndu	gǝni-hǝndu
5.	Ablative	gE-jǝŋ	gǝni-jǝŋ
6.	Genitive	gEgu	gǝni-gu
7.	Locative	gE-jo	gǝni-jo

Third Person—/u/∼/o/ he, she

		Sg.	*pl.*
1.	Direct	o/u	usi
2.	Accusative	,,	,,
3.	Erg./Agentive	osu	usi-su
4.	Dative	o-hǝndu	usi-hǝndu
5.	Ablative	o-čo	usi-čo
6.	Genitive	o-gu	usi-gu
7.	Locative	o-jo	usi-jo

Demonstrative /ǝndu/ this, /idu/ that

1.	Direct/Acc.	ǝndu	ǝndu-si
2.	Erg. Ag.	ǝndu-su	ǝndu-su-su
	(Rest as above)		

Interrogative: /kh∂mi/ who (only in the singular)

1.	Direct/Acc.	kh∂-mi
3.	Erg./Ag.	kh∂mi (su)
4.	Dative	kh∂-mi-h∂ndu
5.	Ablative	kh∂-mi-
6.	Genitive	kh∂-mi-gu

6.0. ADJECTIVES

As in other languages of this group, in this too, adjectives belong to that class of words which qualify a noun or pronoun or intensify the meaning of another adjective. Structurally, these belong to the indeclinable class of words, but on the basis of their syntactic position and semantic functions they are treated as a separate class of words. Morphologically, these can be classified as pronominal and non-pronominal. The former are variable and the latter non-variable.

6.1. Pronominal Adjective

There are two types of them (1) Possessive and (2) Demonstrative. These may be illustrated as under:

(1) Possessive Pronominal Adj.

/jigu riŋšya/ my sister; /niŋ-gu suŋkhu/ our village,

/gE gu širi/ thy son; /gE ni bE na/ your cows;

/o-gu ba/ his father, /usi-gu rhe/ their fields.

(2) Demonstrative Pronominal Adj.—/∂ndu rh∂ŋ/ this horse, /tedu rh∂ŋ/ that horse. Moreover, adjectives belonging to this class can be termed as distinguishing too, because these distinguish a person or thing from another person or thing, *e.g.*, in an utterance like /∂ndu rh∂ŋ/ this horse; the qualifier /∂ndu/ distinguishes the /rh∂ŋ/ 'horse' from other horses. Also /nE ciṭṭi/ this letter, /nE l∂n/ this work.

6.2. Non-Pronominal Adjectives

The non-pronominal adjectives which either donote a quality, such as good, bad, black, red, etc. or quantity such as enough, pleny, much, etc. or number such as some, few, many, four, five, etc. or some state or condition, such as sad, jolly, cold, hot, etc. may be termed as describing one, because they simply describe the quality, quantity, state or number of the noun head qualified by them. Morphologically, these belong to non-variable class, *i.e.*, are not inflected either for the number or for the case form of the noun head qualified by them:

/minu syənu/ young child: /minu šyənjən/ small children.

/əndu bəndu-ru/ in this pot, /əndu əŋkhura/ to this mug (lota).

/tedu suŋkhu-ru/ in that village, /tedu šiŋ khərju/ from that tree.

Some of the most frequently used radical adjectives are — /bir/ all, every; /cuŋ/ enough, plenty; many, /əlipə/ a liltle, /uləŋ/ how many?, how much; /saro/ strong, hard; /lizi/ slow, /tamina/ alone, /khə/ some, a certain, any.

The indefinite adj. /khə/ and distributive /bir/ are invariably followed by /mi/ when referring to a human being, as in /khəmi zenu-mi/ a good man, /dɔ leni, bir mi rəksa zalyã/ meal is ready, all eat.

Besides, it has also borrowed a number of adjectives from neighbouring Indo-Aryan dialects as well: /nila/ blue /gol/ round, /calak/ clever, /saph/ clean, /gənda/ dirty, /pura/ full, /muskil/ difficult, /cɔkor/ square.

6.3. Formation of Adjectives

Adjectives are both radical and drived. Radical adjectives are monomorphemic, but derived are polymorphemic. The adjectives illustrated above are all radical ones. A few examples of the most commonly used formatives of the adjectives are:

(i) — /nu/—/wam-nu/ black, /toŋ-nu/ green, /nyaŋ-nu/ light in weight, /buʔ-nu/ long, tall, /syaŋ-nu/ old in age, /cur-nu/ pointed, /taʔ-nu/ alive, /ya-nu/ bad, /ɖaŋ-nu/ beautiful, /pu-nu/ big, /t∂r-nu/ brave, /hyu-nu/ deep, /p∂rnu/ flat, /zenu/ good, pure, right; /m∂ŋ-nu/ red, /mi-nu/ short, small; /šir-nu/ sour; /cha-nu/ sweet; /loʔ-nu/ warm; /ši-nu/ white.

(ii) /cu~ju/—/yuk∂ʔ-ču/ the lower one, /thukaʔ-ju/ the upper one, /gunda-ju/ the medial one, etc.

An indefinite or interrogative adj. qualifying a human being takes /mi/ as an appendix to it, as in /kh∂-mi zEn mi/ a good man, /ji-su kh∂-mijo lesu/ to whom did I say?

·6.4. Placement of Adjectives

In Darmiya, like I.A. languages the qualifiers of a noun are invariably used attributively, *e.g.* /cuʔ pe/ many brothers, /sum riŋšya/ three sisters, /wam nu khui/ black dog, /kh∂-mi-jEn mi/ a good man, etc.

In a noun phrase containing more than one adjective; the sequential order of different classes of qualifiers is like this; ± demonstrative, ± pronominal, ± numeral, ± intensifier, ± describing.

/∂ndu jigu khui lhe/ this is my dog.

/tedu ugu bEna lhe/ that is his cow.

/jigu sumu riŋsšya nini/ I have three sisters.

/ji-su taku wamnu khui taʔ su/ I saw a black dog.

/jisu taku cuŋ wamnu khui taŋsu/ I saw a very black dog.

But in case of more than one describing adjective qualifying a noun head the one referring to size precedes the one referring to quality or colour:

/jisu taku cuʔ punu wamnu khui taŋ su/ I saw a very big black dog.

/chuŋto minu minu məŋnu pya ṭusiʔnu nini/ a very small red bird is seated on the roof.

6.5. Degrees of Comparison

As in many other dialects of this group of languages, in this too the grammatical feature of degrees of comparison of adjectives is non-suffixal. In comparing two objects it is affected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case, and the object being compared in the nominative case, along with the term /jəŋri/ 'more' prepositioned to the modifier, *e.g.*,

/yukaŋ-ču rhe thukaŋ-ju rhe jiŋri pumu nini/ the lower field is bigger than the upper field.

/niŋ-co gəni jəŋri nisu guna jəmin nini/ we have double the land than yours.

And in case of comparison among more than two objects, *i.e.* in the superlative degree, the particle of comparison, *viz.* /jəŋ/ is prepositioned to the modifier in question:

/gunda-ju rhe bricəŋ jəŋ punu nini/ the medial field is the beggest of all.

In L.S.I. however, the particle of comparison has been recorded as *chyāng* or *chyāng-ri* as in *bir chyäng jainu* best (lit. all from good), *usi pe vo ransyā chyäng-ri yambā bū nisini* his brother is taller to his sister.

6.6. Agreement with Noun Head

In this dialect there is no class of adjectives which way attest any agreement with the noun head qualified by them, *e.g.*, /wam-nu rhəŋ/ block horse; /wam-nu bEna/ block cow;

/ḍaŋ-nu ceme/ beautiful girl; /ḍaŋ-nu ceme-jən/ beautiful girls; /buʔ-nu syenu/ tall boy; /buŋ-nu ceme/ tall girl;

/ge-gu širi/ your son; /ge-gu širi-jə̀n/ your sons.

7.0. NUMERALS

In Darmiya, numerals share the position of qualifiers. As such they are a sub-category of adjectives.

The formal sub-classes of this class of adjectives are:

(1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, (6) Approximatives.

7.1. Cardinals

The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'twenty' are as follows:

/taku/ one, /nišu/ two, /sum/ three, /pi/ four, /ṅə̀i/ five,

/ṭuku/ six, /nisu/ seven, /zyə̀du/ eight, /gui/ nine,

/ci/ ten, /cyə̀dte/ eleven, /cyə̀ñi/ twelve, /cyə̀-sum/ thirteen, /cyə̀-pi/ fourteen, /cyə̀-bə̀ŋ/ fifteen, /cyə̀-ṭhu/ sixteen, /cyə̀ni/ seventeen, /cyə̀bci/ eighteen, /cirgu/ nineteen, /nə̀sa/ twenty.

From the above it is evident that forms of the numerals from one to ten are monomorphemic and from eleven to twenty poly-morphemic which are formed by combining the appropriate allomorphs for the term 'ten' as its first component and those of one to nine as the second component, but in the case of 'twenty' the order of the components is reversed, *i.e.* it become two-ten /ni-sa/.

In these forms the notable morphophonemic change is that the morpheme /či/ is rewritten as /cyə̀/ before the numerals appended to it, and the added numerals too undergo various types of morphophonemic changes:

/taku/→/dte/: /nisu/→/ni/; /ŋə̀i→/bə̀ŋ/; /ṭuku/→/ṭhu/; /zyə̀du/→/bci/, /gui/→/rgu/; /či/→/sa/.

For higher counting it, like Tibetan, follows the decimal system. According to which the numerals above ten are formed by compounding the terms for one to nine to the terms for ten, twenty, thirty, forty, etc. Moreover, the terms for the decades of 'twenty', 'thirty' etc. too are formed by combining the terms for numerals two to nine and for ten, respectively as the first and the second components of the compound term in question, *e.g.* /nisa/ 'twenty' is=two-ten, /sum-sa/ thirty (=Three-ten), /pi-sa/ forty (=four-ten), /ŋa-sa/ fifty (=five-ten), /ṭuk-cha/ sixty (=six-ten), /zy∂c-cha/ eighty (=zy∂d+sa= 8, 10). But a different system seems to be at work for the terms 'seventy' and 'ninety'. For these, contrary to expected terms like *nisu-sa* (70) and *gui-sa* (90), we get /ṭuk-cha-ci/ seventy (lit. six, ten, ten), and /zy∂c-cha-ci/</zy∂d+sa+ci/ ninety (lit. eight, ten, ten).

Further to form the higher numerals of different decades, numerals from one to nine are directly added to the term for the decade in question, *e.g.* 21=20, 1 (n∂sa-taku), 25=20, 5 (n∂sa ŋ∂i), 43=4, 10, 3 (pi-sa sum), 54=5, 10, 4 (ŋa-sa-pi)68=6, 10, 8 (ṭuk-cha-zy∂t), so on and so forth.

Numerals for the first hundred series are formed by prefixing the term for hundred, *viz* /ra/ to the desired number, as in /ra taku/ one hundred one, but in case of other centurial series the term for hundred, *viz.* /ra/ or/ sE/ is placed in between the number of the century and the number above it, as in /n∂k-sE-nasa/ 'two hundred and fifty', and for the round figures of a century it simply follows the specific centurial number, as in /ŋa-sE/ 'five hundred'.

Terms for numeral higher than hundred are seldom used by common folk. In case of necessity, either the I.A. terms like, /hazar/ 1,000, /lakh/, 1,000, etc. or the Tibetan terms like /toŋ/ 1,000,, /thi/ 10,000/ bum /1,00,000 etc. are used. But now only I.A. terms are current.

7.2. Ordinals

The use of ordinals is not common there. In expressions

like 'who was the second person with you' we get the term /khiju/ for the 'second' which actually mean 'other' : /gɔe raksa khiju kh∂ mi niju/.

7.3. Aggregatives

This class of numerals denotes the number of persons or things together or collectively. In this dialect the aggregatives are formed by suffixing a formative particle /mi/ or /ri/ to the numeral in question, *e.g.* /nimi/~/ ni-mi-ri/ both, /sumi/< /sum-mi/ all the three, /ɳ∂i-ri/ all the five, as in /niɳ ni-mi/ both of us; /g∂ni ni-mi/ both of you; /usi-ni-mi/ both of them.

/usi nimi-ri kh∂i ray∂ɳ/ both of them will come tomorrow.

/usi sumi lagl∂ɳ ji k∂msu/ all the three together struck me.

/usi ṅ∂i-ri kh∂i do ray∂ɳ/ they all five will come here tomorrow.

7.4. Multiplicatives

This class of numerals denotes multiplicity of things in terms of 'times' or 'folds'. In it these are obtained by adding the Hindi terms /guna/ to the number in questions as in /nišu guna/ two times. /sum guna/ three times etc.

7.5. Fractionals

The commonly used fractionals in it are:

/pyet/ half, /s∂wa/ 1-1/4,/petthe nišu/ one and a half, /petthe sum/ two and a half, etc. In these constructions the term /petthe/ 'half' is prefixed the next number of the number in question. It is a common practice among most of the T.H. languages.

7.6. Approximative

The sense of approximation is expressed by using the item for the specific numeral preceded by /k∂rib/ 'about', as in /k∂rib nišu-sum zya-ru/ In about 2-3 days.

Besides approximative phrases are also formed by using a set of two numerals in a consecutive or a random order, as in /n̄∂i-nisu mi/ approximately five or seven persons, /cy∂b∂ŋ-n∂sa/ nearly 15-20.

It may be interesting to note that in case the approximation pertaining to human beings, the term /mi/ 'human' being may be appended to each of them, though the term for man or men also is used as usual, *e.g.* /k∂rib ŋ∂i mi nisu-mi/ about 5-7 persons. But no such an affixation is attested in the case of other objects, as in /c∂yb∂ŋ-n∂sa rupya/ about 15-20 rupees. The practice of adding /mi/ is attested with regard to the use of indefinitive adjectives as well, as in /kh∂mi jEn mi/ a good man.

8.0. VERBAL SYSTEM

The verbal system of this dialect is quite simple. For, the verb roots attest minimum inflection for numbers and persons in all tenses and moods.

8.1. Classification of Verb Roots

Structurally, verb roots in it belong to three categories, *viz.* Primary, Derived and Compounded. Though most of the verb roots are primary ones, yet there are some which belong to the other two categories as well. Moreover, on the basis of casal forms taken by them for their subject or object or on the basis of syntactic distinction of having a second noun /pronoun other than the noun/ pronoun serving as their subject, as the legitimate object of the verb concerned these roots can be classified as transitive and intransitive as well.

The most distinguishing feature of transitive and intransitive verbs in the past tense, in it, is this that the subject of the transitive class of verbs is invariably placed in the ergative case whereas that of the intransitive class of verbs is placed in the nominative/direct case.

Besides simple transitive and intransitive verbs, there may be a few verb roots which are called verbs of incomplete predication, *i.e.*, requiring a predicative word, usually a noun or

adjective for completing the sense indicated by the verb form, as in /ji rona niši/ of am hungry, /u tamina nini/ he is alone.

/jigu sum rinšya nini/ I have three sisters.

(*i*) *Primary Roots*: Primary roots are both, native and borrowed. Some of these are as under:

Native—In this all native primary roots are monosyllabic.

/ga-/ do, /da-/ give, /za-/ eat,/ tuṅ-/ drink, /uṅ-/ see,

/ra-/ come, /de-/ go, /tǝb / stick, /thi-/ melt, /ta-/ prick,

/raṅ-/ sell, /pa-/ measure, /kwe-ı fill, /tho-/ ask, /re-/ bring, /syoṅ-/ sit, /ya-/ sleep, /to-/ stop, etc.

I.A. Roots: The commonly used I.A. roots in it are those which belong to the category of denominative roots, derived from nominal or adjectival stems, *e.g.* /jit-mu/ to conquer, /joṛ-mu/ to connect, /har-mu/ to be defeated, /rǝgǝṛ-mu/ to rub, /se-mu/ to recognize </se/ recognition.

(*ii*) *Derived Roots*: No examples of derived roots could be attested in the present data.

8.2. Compound Verbs

Normally, languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour the use of compound verbs, yet these are not totally wanting too, though the number of the constituents of verbal roots forming a compound stem is not more than two, of which the first is the main and the second a subsidiary, and all grammatical categories are carried by the final constituent itself. In this dialect the most commonly employed auxiliaries are: /lemu/ to become, to be, /tǝr mu/ can, /damu/ to give,/ nimu/ to be,/ cimu/ want, *e.g.* /nimu-da/ let remain; /demu da/ let go; /gǝesu na len-li/ you only may have said.

/u piro noleje/ had he come, /cur bunju/ is filled,

/ləbjun su/ is over; /lea su/ is slept; /tijuŋ nu-nini/ is seated; /ra mətər/ cannot come; / ramu pəryəŋ/ will have to come; /ji demu ciŋsi/ I want to go;/demo pərsu/ had to go; /lelən tazu/ went on; /ramu ciŋnu nisu/ wanted to come; /demu ciŋuu nisu/ wanted to go.

8.2.1. *Verbs Compounded with Nouns and Adjectives*: The device of compounding certain nouns and adjectives with certain verb stems to express a single verbal concept too, is attested in it, *e.g.*

/pato gamu/ to fold</pato/ fold; /məna gamu/ to forbid; /maphi-gamu/ to forgive; /yad gamu/ to remember; /binti gamu/ to request; /šuru gamu/ to start; /kənduli chamu/ /to swing< /kənduli/ a swing; /raji kəlju/ to agree; dhoka-dasu/ to deceive; /borya chamu/ to swim; /ri:s pərmu/ to become angry </ri:s/ anger.

8.3. Transitivization

As in other languages of this group, in this too, there is no inbuilt system of deriving transitive stems from intransitive stems or *vice-versa*, by modifying their stems as we notice in Indo-Aryan languages, as in *bEṭhanā* to sit: *bEṭhānā* to make to sit, *sonā* to sleep *sulānā* to make to sleep. But in these languages all roots are radical, *i.e.*, in it a root is either transitive or intransitive, *e.g.*

Intransitive		*Transitive*	
ṭəb-mu	to stick	ḍəb-mu	to stick
gui-mu	to break	kui-mu	to break
ktosi-mu	to stop	to-mu	to stop, make to stop
tiksi-mu	to prick	ṭa-mu	to prick

thisi-mu   to melt   thi-mu   to make to melt

pEsi-mu   to move   pE-mu   to make a move

pya-mu   to grow   hyib-mu   to move, to grow

8.4. Verbal Conjugation

In it, a verb is conjugated for the grammatical categories of person, number, tense, mood and aspects. In these languages a verb is, normally, not conjugated for voice categories, for in the colloquial speech no favour is shown for the use of passive or impersonal constructions. Rather all expressions relating to passive or impersonal voices are transformed into the structure of an active voice.

From the point of temporal conjugation too it attests a clear distinction of the present, past and future tenses only. Similarly, from the point of aspects (*i.e.*, denotation of nature of action). The verb forms show a distinction between perfect and non-perfect only, there being no clear distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspects of it. Both of them are freely used for each other, though literal rendering of linguistic expressions, involving progressive aspect, is possible.

8.4.1. *Sub-systems*: The verbal conjugation of Darmyia attests only Affirmative and Causative sub-systems. Of these the range of affirmative sub-system is the widest one.

8.4.2. *Affirmative sub-system*: Under this system all verb roots are inflected for all tenses and moods. The prefixo-suffixal mechanism operative in the indicative mood of it may be presented as follows:

8.5. Mechanism of Tense Formation

In a verbal conjugation its various temporal categories are obtained by means of respective temporal suffixes, along with number and person markers. As such the normal order of various constituents in a finite verb form is: root+tense marker±person and number markers.

8.5.1. *Person-number suffixes*: Though in principle a verbal stem is expected to be inflected for 6 forms (*i.e.*, 3 person × 2 numbers) in all the tenses, yet in actual usage a formal distinction is available for 4 forms only (1 Ist + 2 2nd + 1 3rd). eg. /gada/he/she/they do; /gad∂n/ thou do; /gud∂ni/ you do;/gadi/ I do; /gad∂n/ we do (identical with 2nd sg.). As such the semantic connotation of person and number is mostly determined by the subject of the verb form in question e.g. /u gada/ he does; /usi-su gada/ they do; /gE gad∂n/ thou doest; niṅsu gad∂n/ we do. /šy∂nu roṭa zani/ child is eating loaves of bread, /šy∂n-j∂n roṭa zani/ children are eating loaves of bread.

8.5.2. *Subject in corporation*: Darmiya belongs to the western group of pronominalized languages, but by now it has lost much of its pronominalized character. In our data the traces of the incorporation of the subject in the verbal forms are traceable in the second person only. In other persons it seems to have been lost. The abbreviated form of this pronominal element is attested as /n/∼ /-ṅ/, which is suffixed to the verb forms in the present and future tenses, but is infixed in the past tense forms, eg. /da/ to give:

Present—/daḍa/ (3rd) : /dad∂-n/ (2nd) : /da-di/ Ist)

Future —/daṅ-da/ ,, : /daṅd∂-n/ ,, : /daṅ-di/ ,,

Past —/da-su/ ,, : /da-n-su/ ,, : /da-su/ ,,

Similarly, /ga/ to go

Present—/ga-da/ (3rd): /ga-d∂-n/ (2nd) : /ga-di/ (Ist)

Future —/gaṅ-da/ ,, : /gaṅ-d∂-n/ ,, : /gaṅ-di/ ,,

Past —/ga-su/ ,, : /ga-n-su/ ,, /ga-su/,,

(For more examples see Model conjugation)

The remnants of the pronominal element attested in the second person forms of the verbal conjugations is a clear point that in the hoary past this dialect was a fulfledged member of the group of pronominalized languages of the Himalayas. In this position there is, however, no change in the

last light decades, *i.e.*, since it was recorded first by George
Grierson in the LSI.

8.6. Temporal Conjugation (Indicative Mood)

All transitive and intransitive verbs, including the verb sub-
stantives are inflected for various temporal and non-temporal
categories in it, but in a non-formal speech there is no strict
adherence to the use of various temporal conjugations, parti-
cularly with regard to indefinite and continuous tense forms.
Consequently, indefinite tense forms are indiscriminately used
for their continuous or habitual tense forms. Various forms
and functions of temporal conjugation, in the indicative mood
may be presented as follows:

8.7. Verb Substantive

Various tense forms of the verbs /lemu/ to be & /nimu/ 'to
become, to have' are obtained as under:

Present Tense	Sg.	Pl.
3rd Person	l'e/ nini	l'e/ nini
2nd Person	l'e	l'e
1st Person	niši	li/niš∂n/ nišy∂n

Past Tense (only /ni-/)		
3rd Person	nizu/ nisu	nizu/nisu
2nd Person	ninsu	ninsu
1st Person	nišu	ninšu

Future Tense		
3rd Person	nisyań	nisyań
2nd Person	nisyań syań	nisyań syaŋ
1st Person	nisyańsi	nisyań-h∂n

Besides, Grierson (III.I.493) has noted forms like /ni/, /si/
is; /ni-si-ni/ is, are; /luk-cu/ is, am, and /nhini/ I am as well.

In future tense an impersonal form /li/ is also attested, as in /gɘesu len-li/ you may have said (=Hindi *kɘha hoga*).

8.8. Finite Verbs (Affirmative sub-system)

A finite verb form in it exhibits grammatical categories of tense and moods. The markers of these categories, sometimes amalgamated into one are directly affixed to the verb stem and are followed by number-person markers. A structural analysis of these forms in all the tenses and moods may be presented in the following paragraphs.

8.8.1. *Present Indefinite*: In this dialect the present tense of a finite verb, besides the indefinite or indicative sense of an action taking place in the present time, also denotes an action in progress which may be technically termed as present continuous. It is also used to denote a habitual action or an action of universal character, as in /syɘnu roṭa zani/ the child eats or is eating loaves of bread. /lizɘn me-ru tanje luṅni/ iron becomes hot on having put in the fire.

In this dialect the inflectional base for these forms is the bare root itself, to which are added the tense, number and person markers, which may be explained as follows:

3rd Person: Darmiya verb forms do not attest any distinction in the 3rd person. There the amalgamated tense-person-number suffixes are -/da/ and /-ni/, the distribution of which is not clear, *e.g.* /ga-da/ he/ they do, /da-da/ he/ they give, /za-ni/ he/ they eat, /ra-ni/he/they come; /dini/he/they go, /tuṅ-ni/ he/they drink, /syuṅ-si-ni/ he/they live; /kɘmda/ he beats, /thum da/ he cuts, chopps.

2nd Person: In the singular number the tense marker /da/ is followed by person-number [marker-/-n/ and in the plural number by /-ni/, as in /gadɘn/ thou doest, /gadɘni/ you do; /dadɘn/ thou givest, /dadɘni/ you give. (Also see Model Conjugations).

However, in most of the cases the tense marker /da/ is replaced by /sɘ/ in these forms, as in /rasɘn/ thou comest, /rasɘni/ you come; /zasɘn/ thou eatest; /zasɘni/ you eat (see model conjugations).

1st Person: The first person markers are, /di~si/ (sg.) and /-dən~-sən/ (pl.), as in /ga-di/ I do; /ga-dən/ we do; /za-si/ I eat /za-sən/ we eat (For more examples see Model conjugations. 8.13).

Present Continuous: As stated above the speakers of this dialect do not make any distinction between present indefinite and present continuous. The sense of both is conveyed by the present indefinite itself, *e.g.*

/u syênu kəmda/ he beats/ is beating the child.

/ceme rota zani/ the girl eats/ is eating bread.

/hute wəna disən/ up to which place you are going?

Similarly, the present indefinite is employed to express the habitual or universal aspect as well, *e.g.* /u hômeša zalən-na syuṅsi/ he is always in the habit of eating. /lizeṅ me-ru taŋje luŋ-ni/ iron becomes hot on having put in the fire.

8.8.2. *Present Perfect*: Present Perfect is not a distinct conjugational category in it. Normally, simple past indefinite is used to convey the perfective aspect of an action:

/niŋ əphi lən galən təbjun su/ we have finished our work

/jaṅru bir leya-zu/ all others have gone to sleep.

But, in addition to this, the mechanism of pre-fixing a perfective marker /kə./ is also attested in many cases, *e.g.*, /ji tə zati kə-zasu-/ I have eaten the food; /ji thyã cum kə-chaṅ-su/ I am very much tired to day; /usu kədada-su/he gave away.

8.8.3. *Static Present*: The static present or the present perfect continuous is expressed by means of periphrastic constructions, *i.e.* by adding the desired form of the aux. /ni-/ to the perfect participle form of the main verb. But it may be expressed by simple past indefinite as well, *e.g.* /syoŋsi-ni/ he lives/ he is living.

/siṅ-ru taku pya tijuṅ nu nini/ a bird is seated on the tree.

/gE-su ∂ndu kh∂k∂-gasinu nini/ what all this has been done by you?

8.8.4. *Past Indefinite*: As the present indefinite the past indefinite too, besides the denotation of the indicative aspect, denotes an action in progress, in the past as well. The inflectional base of which is the bare not itself.

In Darmiya Lwo, the past indefinite is affected by suffixing /-su/ to the verb root, but in case of verb roots ending in a vowel an infix /-n-/ is also affixed in between the root and the past tense suffix /su/ in the secondp erson and Ist person plural forms. As such, the past tense has two forms, one with the infix /-n-/ and the other without it. (For examples see Model Conjugations 8.13).

The tense marker /-su/ has an allomorph /-zu/ (a voiced varient) which is attested in the 3rd person forms of intransitive verbs. *e.g.*

/ga-su/ he, they did; /tuŋ-su/ he, they drank; but

/ra-zu/ he, they came; /ta-zu/ he the went;

/leya-zu/ he, they slept, etc.

The indefinite past tense forms are also employed to convey the sense of completion of an action in the immediate past or even in the present, *i.e.* the present perfect, *e.g.*

/ji taktona ∂ndu priki-su/ I have already finished it. (For more examples see above).

But in the LSI, besides the allomorph /zu/, a few more allomorphs, *viz-so, -s, cho, chu* also have been recorded, as in *lhe-su* he said; *gā-s* he made, *ta-cho* he went; *rā-chu* he came etc. But none of these could be attested in our data.

Interestingly, according to LSI the first person forms also attest infixes like-*ye*, -*y*-, -*i*-before the tense marker /su/ which again seem to be remnants of the old pronominal suffix, *e.g.*, *gāy-su* I did; *diy∂ṅ-s* we went; /k∂-m-i-su/ I have struck; /g∂mc--ye-su/ I have walked.

Past Continuous: Normally, as in the present tense in the past tense too, the purpose of the past continuous is served by

the past indefinite itself, as in /gE-su kh∂-mi whin-su/ whom were you calling?

But if the specification of the progressive aspect in the past is absolutely necessary then it can be affected with the past tense form of the aux. /suṅsi/ or with simple past tense forms of the aux. /ni/ appended to the participle form of the main verb:

/u cuṅ ḍ'il w∂nasu gwal∂n suṅsi-zu/

he continued laughing for a long time.

/tu tamina na ranu nizu/ he was coming all alone.

/u-si ap∂s-ru dhaksi-nu nisu/ they continued quarreling among themselves.

/hui lõgatar teje lelen ta-zu/ wind went on increasing continuously.

Habitual Past: Like past continuous, past habitual too, is affected by appending the past tense forms of the aux. 'to be' or 'to go' to the past participle form of the main verb:

/niŋ jiar∂ u-si suṅ-ru ranu nin-su/

we used to go to their place daily /every day.

8.8.4.1. *Past Perfect*: Normally, the speakers of this dialect do not make any difference between past indefinite and past perfect. But it can be affected by means of reduplication of the verb stem and prefixation of affixes, /k∂, p∂/ etc., *e.g.*, /ra-ni/ he comes. but /pi-ra-ni-ni/ he has come back; /k∂-jy∂rcu/ he was frightened, /k∂-pluke-su/ has squandered; /p∂-rke-su/ had wasted.

It is also affected with compound constructions in which the principal verb is placed in the infinitive form and the subsidiary in the past tense forms:

/u do-jo demu p∂ṛsu/ he had to go from here.

/u hrija do ramu ciṅnu nisu/ he wanted to come here day before yesterday.

/g∂e tre demu ciṅnu ni-su/ you should have gone there.

8.8.4.2. *Suppletivism*: In a few verbal stems, the pheno-
menon of suppletivism also takes place in the past tense forms,
e.g., /lhe/ he is, but/ ni-zu/ he was; /di-ni/ he goes: /ta-zu/ he
went; /di-si/ I go: /ta-su/ I went.

8.8.5. *Future Tense*: The normal function of future tense
forms is to state something about an action or state that has
yet to take place or to come into being. But in this dialect it,
besides denoting the sense of absolute future or progress of an
action taking place in future, also denotes the sense of optative
and of the subjunctive moods, including possibility or condi-
tional aspect of an action taking place in future.

Normally, the in flectional base of the future indefinite is the
bare root itself to which are affixed the future markers includ-
ing respective person, number markers. In Darmiya there are
three sets of future markers. The distribution of which is not
very clear. These are:

I

	Sg.	pl.
3rd Root+	—ŋda	—ŋda
2nd	—ŋdən	—ŋdəni
Ist.	—ŋdi	—ŋdən

II

3rd	Root+yəŋ	+yəŋ
2ud	+ŋ syən/-sən	+ŋsyən/-sən/-sini
Ist.	+ŋsi	+ŋsyin/-sin/ sən

(In some cases the termination /sən/ is realized as /hən/ as
well)

III

3rd	Root+yaŋ	+yaṅ
2nd	+yaŋsyən	+yaŋsini
Ist	+yaṅsi	+yaŋsyən

The terminations of the 3rd set are attested with roots ending in a consonant, such as /tuŋ-/ to drink.

(For examples of all these see Model conjugations)

Syntactic usages of some of these may be illustrated as under:

/rhuṅcǝn, gǝ le daṅdi/ wait, I will give to you as well.

/gǝe khǝ thojaṅ syǝn, daṅdi/ whatever you ask for, I will give

/ji tre khǝ jyari mǝ dyaṅsi/ I shall never go there.

/khǝ-mi rayǝṅ, idu deyǝṅ/ whosoever comes, he will go.

/usi ṅǝi-ri khǝi do rayǝṅ/they all the five will come here to-morrow.

/ji ǝphi lǝn ǝphina gaṅdi/ I myself will do my work.

/niṅ ǝphi lǝn ǝphina gaṅdǝn/ we ourselves will do our work

Besides the simple future, these forms are employed to indi-cate the progressive and the presumptive aspects as well:

/khǝi menci lE do rayǝṅ/ tomorrow sister-in-law may also come here.

/u zati zanunisyǝn/ he may be eating food.

/usi bir-su kǝzasinuṅisyǝn/ they may have taken food,

/gǝesu na ujo lenli/ you alone may have told him.

/hulaṅ wǝnasu hǝdǝm lelǝnna syoṅ syǝn/.

for how long will you go on weeping like this?

In a colloquial speech the present tense forms are also employed to convey the sense of future, as in /di-si/ I will go; /sE-ti/ I may beat, etc.

8.9. Passive Sub-System

Grammatically, the passive voice represents that form of the verb in which the subject is not doer, but is acted upon. As such in this type of constructions the grammatical subject

is not the logical subject, *i.e.*, the doer, but the logical object, the person or thing towards which/ whom the action is directed. In view of this, the passive voice is, naturally, restricted to transitive verbs only.

Like other languages of this group, Darmiya too, does not favour passive constructions. For, as in others, in this too the inherent use of the subject of a transitive verb in the ergative/ agentive case is enough to convey the passive sense *e.g.* utterances like /u-si-su dada/ convey the meaning 'they gave' or 'giving was done by them'. Consequently, all utterances having a passive structure the neighbouring languages are rendered as in active voice in it, with their subject in the ergative case. As a result of this a sentence like 'this letter will not be read by you' will be rendered as 'you will not be able to read this letter; /nE citti g∂e-su m∂ lansy∂n/. However, expressions like /k∂-ga-si-nu ni-ni/ 'has been done', indicate that the passive can be affected by prefixing /k∂-/ and infixing /-si-/ to the past participle form of the verb in question.

8.10. Impersonal Voice

Contrary to passive voice the impersonal voice is restricted to intransitive verbs. It is always in the neutral constructions, as such the verb is always in the 3rd person sg. number. For, it has either no subject at all, or if there is one, it is represented as able or unable to perform the action denoted by the verb:

But in Darmiya all Hindi impersonal expressions are rendered as in active voice, agreeing in number and person with the subject, *e.g.* /ji-jo sunsi m∂t∂rse/ seating cannot be done by me (=I cannot sit), /g∂e-jo pEd∂l g∂m-je m∂ t∂rsy∂n/ you will not be able to go on foot, for 'going on foot will not be possible for you'. (Hindi-/ tumse pEd∂l n∂hi c∂la jayega/)

8.11. Causative Sub-system

Since 'causing something to be done' is an action which must be directed towards some body, all causative verbs are invariably transitive. As has already been pointed out in the context of transitivization (8.3) that there is no inbuilt mechanism for deriving secondary roots from the primary roots,

transitive or intransitive in it. So the possibility of deriving causative roots too is ruled out. The purpose of the causative is served by the distinct transitive verb itself. Moreover, the languages of this group do not favour the use of the second causative as well.

Transitive		*First Causative*	
uṅ-mu	to see	thE-mu	to show, to make to see
tuṅ-mu	to drink	pileya-mu	to make to drink
zamu	to eat	khila-mu	to feed, to make to eat

Moreover, the disfavour to causative structure may be noticed in the fact that in most of the cases it has resorted to borrowings from I. A. stock for causative stems.

However, if necessary the causative forms can be obtained by adding post-positional /jo/ 'from' to the causative subject and the aux. /-phuṅ-/ to the main verb. The tense markers are added to the aux. /u šy∂nu jo l∂n ga-phuṅ-da/ he gets the work done from the child/boy.

8.12. Negative Sub-system

Contrary to many other dialects of this group, Darmiya has no distinct negative sub-system, *i.e.*, in it negativization does not bring about any structural change in the verb form; *e.g.* /daṅ-di/ I shall give: /m∂ daṅdi/ I shall not give; /zasu/ate: /m∂zasu/ did not eat.

8.13. Models of Verbal Conjugations

/gamu/ to do

Present Tense	sg.	pl.
3rd Person	(u) gada	(usisu) gada
2nd „	(gE) gad∂n	(g∂nisu) gad∂ni
Ist „	(ji) gadi	(niŋsu) gad∂n

Past Tense		
3rd Person	(usu) gasu	(usisu) gasu

2nd ,,	(gE-su) gansu	(g∂ni-su) gansu
Ist ,,	(jisu) gāsu	(niṅ-su) gansū

Future Tense

3rd Person	(u) gaŋda	(usi-su) gaŋda
2nd ,,	(gE) gaŋd∂n	(g∂ni-su) gaŋd∂ni)
Ist ,,	(ji) gaŋdi	(niŋ-su) gaŋdɛn
Imperative	(gE) ga	(g∂ni) gani
Optative	(ji) gamu?	(niŋ) gamu?

/za-mu/ to eat

Present

3rd Person	(u) zani	(usi) zani
2nd ,,	zas∂n/zasy∂n	zas∂ni/ zasy∂ni
Ist ,,	zasi	zasin

Past

3rd	(usu) zasu	(usi-su) zasu
2nd	(g∂su) zansu	(g∂ni-su) zansu
Ist	(jisu) zasu	(niŋ-su) zansu

Future

3rd	(u) zay∂ŋ	(usi) zay∂ŋ
2nd	zaŋs∂n	zaŋs∂n(i)
Ist	zaŋsi	zaŋs∂n
Imperative	(g) za	(g∂ni) zani
Optative	ji zamu ?	niŋ zamu!

/tun-mu/ to drink

Present

3rd Person	(u) tuŋni	(usi) tuŋni
2nd ,,	tuŋsy∂n	tuŋ sy∂n (i)
Ist ,,	tuŋsi	tuŋsy∂n

Past

3rd Person	(usu) tuŋsu	(usisu) tuη
2nd ,,	(gesu) ,,	(gǝnisu) ,,
Ist ,,	(jisu) ,,	(niηsu) ,,

Future

3rd Person	tuṅ yaṅ	tuṅ yaṅ
2nd ,,	tuṅyaṅsyǝn	tuṅyaṅsini
Ist ,,	tuṅaṅsi	tuṅaṅsyǝn
Imperative	(gE) tuṅa	(gǝni) tuṅni
Optative	(ji) tuṅmu?	(niṅ) tuṅ mu?
	/damu/ to give	

Present

3rd Person	(u) dada	(usisu) dada
2nd ,,	(gE) dadǝn	(gǝnisu) dadǝni
1st	(ji) dadi	(niṅsu) dadǝn

Past

3rd Person	(usu) dasu	(usisu) dasu
2nd ,,	(gEsu) dansu	(ginisu) dansu
1st ,,	(jisu) dašu	(niṅsu) daṅšu

Future

3rd Person	(u) daṅda	(usisu) daṅda
2nd ,,	(gr) daṅdǝn	(gǝnisu) daṅdǝni
1st ,,	(ji) daṅdi	(niṅsu) daṅdǝn
Imp.	(gE)da	(gǝni) dani
Optative	(ji) damu?	(niṅ) damu?

/ramu/ to come

Present	sg.	pl.
3rd Person	(u) rani	(usi) raní
2nd ,,	(gE) rašən/rašyən	(gəni) rašəni/rašyəni
1st ,,	(ji) raši	(niṅ) rašin

Past		
3rd Person	razu/ -su	razu/ -su
2nd ,,	ransu	ransu
1st ,,	rasu	ransu

Future		
3rd Person	rayəṅ	rayəṅ
2nd ,,	ranšyən	ranšyən(i)
1st ,,	ranši	raṅš́in
Imp.	(gE) yo	(gəni) yoni
Optative	(ji) ramu?	(niṅ) ramu?

/demu/ to go

Present		
3rd Person	dini	dini
2nd ,,	dišən/dišyən	dišini/dišyəni
1st ,.	diši	dišin

Past		
3rd Person	tazu/ -su	tazu/ -su
2nd ,,	tansu	tansu
1st ,,	tasu	tansu

Future		
3rd Person	diəṅ [dyaṅ]	diəṅ [dyaṅ]
2nd ,,	dyaṅ šyən	dyaṅ šyen (i)
1st ,,	dyaṅši	dyaṅšyən
Imp.	(gE) de	(gəmi) dini
Optative	(ji) demu?	(niṅ) demu?

9.0. MOODS AND ASPECTS

Besides the temporal conjugation, there are some other categories of verbal conjugation in which there is only partial inflection of verbal systems for a particular mood or mental state of the speaker and for a particular point of time.

As such modal conjugation deals with the inflectional forms of a verb indicating the manner of an action, whether it is ordered to be done, or is dependent upon a condition, etc. The three types of moods which are normally attested in these languages are—Indicative, Imperative and Subjective, with further divisions and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the Indicative mood have already been detailed in the foregoing pages. Now, we shall take up the cases of the remaining two.

9.1. Imperative Mood

Imperative mood is that form of a verb which expresses an action as an order, a polite command, a request, a warning, prohibition, etc. In this type of expressions, the subject is the second person pronoun, honorific or non-honorific, and is, usually, left out. By its very nature the imperative cannot refer to the past. As such its use and forms are restricted to the present and the future times only.

In Darmiya in the singular it is the bare roots, in roots ending in a vowel and root+a in roots ending in consonents and in the plural it is followed by the plural marker-/ni/:

/gE ga/ thou do: /g∂ni gani/ you do

/gE za/ thou eat: /g∂ni zani/ you eat.

/de/ go (sg): /dini/ go (pl.); /da/ give (sg): /dani/ give (pl.)

/ya/ sleep (sg); /yani/ sleep (pl); /tuŋa/ drink (sg):/tu ŋni/ (pl.)

In some roots the phenomenon of suppletivism also takes place, as in

/yo/ come (sg.); /yoni/ come (pl.)</ra-/ to come.

/rh∂ŋ ci ji ti da/ give grass and water to the horse.

/rhuŋ cƏn, gƏe IE daṅdi/ wait, I shall give to you as well.

/gƏni Əpbi lƏn Əphina gani/ you yourselves do your work.

But the polite command implying its execution in future is expressed by suffixing /lo/ to the verb root: /u Əphi lƏn Əphina galo/ he himself should do his work; /ita dƏṅ sauni lo/ presently let it remain.

9.2. Prohibitive Imperative

It is used to prohibit a person from executing an action in question, and is affected with the use of the prohibitive particle /thƏ/, prefixed to the imperative form of the verb concerned, with necessary morphophonemic adjustments.

/ga/ do: /thƏ ga/ dont do. /da/ give, /thƏda/ don't give.

In case of prohibition implying to future time, it is expressed with future tense forms itself, as in /khƏi do ramu thƏ leŠyƏn/ Don't forget to come here tomorrow.

9.3. Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood and its various forms are used to express a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as wish, hope, requirement, possibility~, probability, presumption, ability, compulsion, permission, certainty, necessity, advice, obligation, benediction, condition etc. For a broader analysis all these may be grouped into three groups, *viz.*, (1) Optative, (2) Potential (3) Contingent. These may be illustrated as follows:

(*i*) *Optative*: It represents the action mainly as a desire, wish, request, requirement, purpose, supposition or a possibility almost always with an implied reference to future:

/usi khƏri cuŋ lo Əphi gada/ They may do whatever they like.

/u do ramu mƏciŋ/ he should not come here.

/ji rhe-ru demu ciŋsi/ I wish (want) to go to the field.

/ji taku la duŋ-su suṅ-ru demu da/ let me go home for a month.

/chðm. ðlipð ði dina/ Come, let us go a little further.

/ji ramu?/ should /may I/ we come?

/demu?/ should /may I, we go?; /gamu? /MayI/ we do?

/zamu?/ should /may I/ we eat etc.

It is also expressed with indicative mood forms /khði mðnci le do rayðŋ/ tomorrow sister in-law also may come here:

(*ii*) *Potential*: This mood denotes, mainly possibility of occurrence of an action with reference to the present or past. It is obtained by adding present or future tense forms of the verb substantive to the past participle form of the main verb:

/u zati zanu nišyðn/ he may be eating.

/u-si bir-su kð-za-sunu mišyðn/ They all may have eaten.

/gðe-su-na u-jo lenli/ you alone may have told him.

(*iii*) *Contingent*: This mood denotes a condition which is contrary to fact. It also implies a wish which cannot be fulfilled. In this construction the subordinate clause is formed with conjunctive participle and the main clause with future tense.

/gðni raṇje tð, ji le rakša dyaŋsi/

had you come. I too, would have accompanied you.

/u piranu leje tð ,jinu lele/

had he come. so nice it would have been.

9.4. ASPECTS

The forms of a verb indicating the type of the character of the action etc. denoted by it are called aspects. Besides the terminate and the progressive aspects, already discussed in the foregoing pages, some other aspects of linguistic communication expressed with the help of various subsidiary verbal forms are as under:

(*i*) *Compulsive*: The compulsive aspect of a statement is expressed by combining the infinitive form of the main verb with the respective tense forms of the verb substantive /p∂ṛ-/:

/u dosu demu p∂ṛju/ he had to go from here.

/g∂e ranje, jile ramu p∂ry∂ŋ/ If you come, I will also have to come (=on your coming).

(*ii*) *Desiderative*: The desiderative aspect is expressed with the verb /ciŋ-/ 'to wish, to desire', to the infinitive form of the main verb:

/ji it∂ rhe-ru demu ciŋsi/ I wish to go to the field just now.

/u hrija do ramu ciŋnu niju/ he wanted to come here day before yesterday.

(*iii*) *Inceptive*: The inceptive sense of an expression is conveyed by simple tense form of the verb in question:

/u niŋ taŋl∂n na k∂teju/ she started weeping (wept) on seeing us.

(*iv*) *Abililative*: Ability or inability on the part of a doer in the performance of an action is expressed with the verb /t∂ṛsemu/- 'can' combined with conjunctive participle form of the main verb:

/ji jo suṅsi m∂t∂rsi/ I cannot sit.

/g∂e jo pEd∂l g∂mje m∂t∂rsy∂ṅ/ you will not be able to walk, (go on foot).

10.0. NON-FINITE VERB FORM

Besides the regular finite verb forms, which are the essential constituents of the predicate, and regularly take the tense, person, number suffixes, there are also some verb forms which are derived from verbal stems, but are not inflected for the above mentioned grammatical categories. Consequently,

these cannot be used independently as a predicate in a sentence. In this dialect, their formations are attested as under:

10.1. Infinitive

"Infinitive is that form of a verb which expresses simply the action of the verb without predicating it of any subject". In this dialect it is obtained by suffixing the infinitive marker /-mu/, /mo/~/-m/ to the verb root, as in /ra-mu/ to come, /de-mu/ to go, /uṅ-mu/ to see, /lemu/ to say, /lo-mu/ to read, /ri-mu/ to write, /chil-mu/ to wash, /za-mu/ to eat, /tuṅ-mu/ to drink, /da-mu/ to give, /kur-mu/ to lake, /gwa-mu/ tc laugh, /ya-mu/ to sleep, /te-mu/ to weep, etc.

Besides, the base alone also may be used as infinitive or verbal noun /raṅ/ to sell, /tuṅ/ to drink.

10.2. Verbal Noun

Verbal noun, which usually has the force of a logical object or complement of a verb or has a semantic correlation with Acc. dative case is identical with the infinitive form of the verb:

/u do ramu ciṅnu nizu/ he wanted to come here.

/ji khirə zɔe nu lən gamu ciṅsi/ I want to do some good work.

/usu əphi ba raksa demu nini/ he has to go with his father.

/ji taku la daṅsu demu da/ let me go for a month.

Moreover, as a verbal noun, it can take postpositional case markers as well, particularly to express the meaning of an acc.-dative case:

/usu do ramu həndu lesu/ he was told for coming here.

/khīr koimu daṅ su pəchəm ciṅ-ni/

rice is needed for preparing (cooking) kheer.

/lemu daṅsu/ for saying, /uimu dansu/ in order to call.

/rimu hǝndu/ in order to write, /tuṅmu hǝndu/ for drinking, /gamu hǝndu/ for the sake of doing, /yamu hǝndu /in order to sleep, /lomu hǝndu /for, in order to read, for the sake of reading, etc.

The verbal noun, in spite of functioning as a noun, retains its verbal character as well, and can, therefore, take an object or complement, in the same way as a finite verb form does; particularly with verbs denoting the sense of obligation, necessity, requirement, compulsion, etc.

/ji-su taku ciṭṭi rimu nini/ I have to write a letter.

/ji khi-rǝ lǝn gamu ciṅsi/ I want to do some work.

/usu ǝphi suṅ-ru demu nini/ he has to go his village.

/ji rhe-ru demu ciṅsi/ I want to go to the field.

10.3. Participles

Participles are verbal adjectives qualifying a noun /pronoun but retaining some properties of the verb. There are two kinds of participles in it, *viz.* present and past. But contrary two I.A. languages, the participles in these languages are not affected by the grammatical categories of the noun /pronoun qualified by them.

10.3.1. *Present Participle*: The present participle indicating a concorrent action is formed by suffixing /lǝn~lǝṅ/ to the verb root, *e.g.*, /ri-lǝn/ writing; /hizu-lǝn/ dying; /sE-lǝn/ killing; /ga-lǝn/ doing, /da-lǝn/ giving; /kur-lǝn/ taking; /lo-lǝn/ reading; /tho-lǝṅ/ asking.

/ji lǝn ga-lǝn ga-lǝn dh il kǝlzu/ I am late on account of being busy in work (lit. work doing doing I am late).

/u za-lǝn na syuṅsi-ni/ he remains eating.

/ji-su taku lelǝn siṅ taṅ-su/ I saw a falling tree.

Besides, the L S I also records a participial formative
n(nu), as in *ja-nu ni-chu*: They were eating; *ga-no ni-chu* They
were making.

10.3.2. *Past Perfect Participle*: Like present participle, the
past participle also acts as a modifier of a noun, but contrary
to the sense of present participle. it indicates a completed state
of the action related to the term modified by it. In this
dialect it is formed by suffixing /-nu/ and prefixing /kə-/ to
the verb root when used in active sense, as in /cur-nu/ pointed;
/k-char-nu/ dried; /k-mo-nu/ ripe; /k-chaṅ-nu/ tired; /sil-nu/
unripe; /k-thi nu/ wept; /pun-zu-nu/ dead.

But in case of past passive participle, the verb root is
prefixed by particle /ku-/, realized as /kə-~k-/ in a colloquial
speech and suffixed by passive marker /si/ and past parti-
ciple /nu/: /kwe-si-nu/ cooked</kwe-mu/ to cook; /ku-du-si-nu/
mixed; /ku-ḍuṅ-si-nu/ tamed</ḍuṅ-mu/ to tame, to rear;
/kə-taṅ-si-nu/ seen; /kə-chil-si-nu/ washed; /kə-ri-si-nu/ written;
/kə-tuṅ-si-nu/ drunk; /kə-ga-si-nu/ done; /kə-da-si-nu/ given;
/kə-za-si-nu/ eaten; /kə-lo-si-nu/ read.

10.3.3. *Conjunctive Participle*: The primary function of this
class of participles is to denote that the action indicated by
it has either been already performed before the action indi-
cated by the finite verb or still continues in the state com-
pleted earlier. Syntactically, it is used to connect one
clause with another, but the sense of the clause which contains
it remains incomplete until the clause containing a finite
verb is added to it. In this dialect it is obtained by suffixing
/lən-ju/ to the root of the verb: *e.g.* /uṅ-lən-ju/ having seen;
/le-lən-ju/ having said; /ta-lən-ju/ having placed; /chil·lən-
ju/ having washed; /ui-lən-ju/ having called; /ri-lən-ju/ having
written; /tuṅ-lən-ju/ having ʻdrunk; /raṅ-lən-ju/ having sold:
/cha-lən-ju/ having played; /lo-lən-ju/ having read, etc.

/do ra-lən-ju, suṅsyən/ having come here, sit down.

/u behoš lhe-lən-ju, cirga-cu/

having become unconscious, he fell down.

/u-si sumi lag-l∂n-ju ji k∂m-su/

having gathered together they all three struck me.

But the data recorded by Greirson attests that it could be expressed with the suffix /-si/ as well, as in /p∂k-si/ having left; /y∂n-si-cu/ having heard.

11.0. INDECLINABLES

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They are all termed as indeclinables, though on account of their syntactic functions they have been designated as Adverbs, Particles, Conjunctions and Interjections, etc. Various forms and functions of these indiclineables as attested in this dialect are as follows:

12.0. ADVERBS

Adverbs is a word that modifies a verb, or restrict it in some way with respect to place, time and manner of the action referred to by the verb concerned. Syntactically, the position of an adverb or verbal modifier. in a string of the components of a sentence is immediately before the finite verb form modified by it or before another adverb or just after the subject according to its semantic connotation.

Symantically, all the verbal modifiers can be grouped as (1) Spatial or adverb of place and direction, (2) Temporal or adverb of time, (3) Modal or adverb of manner, (4) Intensifiers or adverb of degree.

12.1. Formation of Adverb

All classes of adverbs have basic and derived categories, though it is not always easy to analyse the derived or polymorphemic adverbs in their immediate constituents. Different classes have different sets of formatives. Some of these may be illustrated as below:

12.2. Adverb of Place

Some commonly used adverbs of place or direction are—

/cəkirnar/ arround, /picchəṅ/ down. birbaṅ/ everywhere,

/dɔ/ here, /udi/ where, /beru/∼/budru/ under, inside;

/rəmə-ru/ under; /pisə-ru/ on the top of; /tu tu/∼/lkan-ti/ before, /yuṅkon-ti/ behind, /trɛ/ there, etc.

12.3. Adverb of Time

The temporal adverbs which are commonly attested in this dialect are—

/nogondi/ afterwards, /tugtu/ before, /jyari/ daily, /chāzu/ in the morning, /thyã/ to day, /khəi/ tomorrow, /ninja/ day after tomorrow, /sumja/ the 3rd day from tomorrow, /piza/ the 4th day from tomorrow, /nimən/ yesterday, /rhijo/ day before yesterday, /sumija/ 3rd day, /piza/ 4th day, /həmeša/ always, /thən/ now, /job/ when, /təb/ then, /khijyari/ never.

12.4. Adverb of Manner

The commonly used adverbs of this class are—/ekdəm/ at once, suddenly; /lizi/ slowy, /jhəṭṭ/ quickly, /jenu galənsu/ in good way, /hədəm/ like this.

/huləṅ wənasu hədəm lelən na syoṅ syən/

for how long will you continue weeping like this?

/u tamina na ranu nizu/ he was coming all alone.

12.5. Adverb of Degree

The number of adverbs indicating the intensity of an action or degree of another adverb modified by it, is very small. The commonly used adverbs of this class are—

/cuṅ/ very much, /ələn/ this much, so, /jenu/ proper, good.

/ji thyã cuñ k∂chañzu/ I am very much tired to day.

/usi cuñ dersu l∂n gada/ They are working for a long time.

/ji jenu gal∂nsu lEri lahi/ I know swimming very well.

/ji ∂ll∂n jh∂ṭṭ ra-m∂t∂ryo/ I cannot come so quickly.

12.6. Placement of Adverbs

The place of an adverb in a sentence is not fixed. It may occur in different places in it. But when there are more than one adverb in an utterance, then they occur in a more or less fixed order. For instance, if there are two adverbs belonging to the spatial and temporal categories then the adverb of time precedes the adverb of place, as in /u nim∂ñ do raju/ he come here yesterday. But the position may be reversed if specification of time is intended /kh∂i do ramu th∂ ley∂n/ Don't forget to come here tomorrow. In case of occurrence of more than one adverb of the same class then the specificative term precedes the general or common term, as in /u thyā ñanth∂ba do rani/ he is coming here today evening. In this case the term for 'day' precedes the term for 'time' (*i.e.*, evening). Further in case of adverb of manner it follows the time but precedes the adverb of place, as in /u nim∂ñ ñanth∂ba tamina do raju/ he was coming here all alone yesterday evening. /jh∂ṭṭ do ra-l∂n-ju šuñsy∂n/ having come here, sit down quickly.

12.7. Overlapping with Adjective

There are some adverbs, particulaly intesifiers which formly overlap with adjectives, *e.g.*, in /taku cuñ jenu sy∂nu/ 'a very good boy'. The intensifier 'very' is an adjective because it modifies the adj 'good' which in its turn modifies the noun 'boy', but in /cuñ der/ 'for a long time. . .' it is an adv. which modifies another adv. 'late', as ˏin /u-sucuñ der-su sinu-ru l∂n gada/ they are working (=doing work) in the cold for a long time.

12.8. Adverb Phase

Besides simple adverbs; adverb phrases are also commonly

attested in it, *e.g.* /ñanth∂ba/ in the evening; /itta w∂na-su/ up-til now; /hul∂ṅ w∂na-su/ for how long, /cuṅ ḍil w∂nasu/ ·for a long time; /kh∂-jyari/ never; /tuk-tona/ before hand; /m∂n- ·su bh∂ri/ for the whole night etc.

13.0. PARTICLES

Besides the adverbs or the modifiers of the ˘verb or verbal ·phrases, there are some other types of indiclinables which in the terminology of grammar are called 'particles'. On the ·basis of their functions and syntaetic position these are ·grouped as connectives, emphatics, negatives, interrogatives, .and interjections. These may be illustrated as follows:

·13.1. Connectives

The primary function of this class of particles is to conjoin ·two elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. In this dialect the number of words belonging ·to this class is very limited. For, in many instances the ·purpose of a connective is served by a pause juncture it- ·self. Semantically, the particles of this class may be designated as additive, alternative, constrative, coordinative and differn- ·tiative. Structurally, these may be both monomorphemic or polymorphemic.

Particles or the conjunctions joining two mutually indepen- ·dent sentences are called coordinative, and those joining one or more subordinate clauses /sentences to the principal ·clause/ sentence are called subordinative. The functions of ·some of these may be illustrated as under;

13.1.1. *Adjective*: The adjective particles in this dialect is /ji/ 'and', as in /ram ji šyam/ Ram and Shyam, /rh∂ṅ či ji ti da /give grass and water of the horse. But in many cases its function is served by a mere pause juncture as well as in/ usu ·dada, ji tuṅši/ he gives (and) I drink.

13.1.2. *Subordinative*: In fact, the languages of this group ·do not prefer subordinative syntactic constructions. In these

cases the function of the subordinative connective is served by a pause juncture and both the sentences are put in a direct form of the narration; or used with /ki/ an I.A. term.

/usu lesu ki ji rona niši/ he said that I am hungry.

/usu rusu, gegu širi udinini/ he asked, where is your son?

13.1.3. *Alternattive*: The pairs of atternative particles are— /ya-ər/ either—or, /nə-nə/ neither—nor, placed at the head of each element linked by them, as in /nə zada 'nə zamu gada/ neither eats,nor lets eat; /ya yo, ɔr de/ either come or go.

13.1.4. *Constrative*: In this the constrative particles is—

/philən/ instead of,

/philən do ramu, tre de/ Instead of coming here go there.

13.1.5. *Conditional*: In subordinative sentences either the particles expressing conditions are placed at the head of both the sentences or they are put in participles and simple verb forms.

/gəe ranje, jile rañsi/ If you come, I will also come (on your coming).

/jəb lən kinsu təb zanusu/ When the work was done then food was eaten (lit. when the work did, then food ate)

/u piranu leje tə jenu lhele/ had he come, so nice it would have been.

13.2. Emphatic Particles

In an utterance, normally, it is the heavy stress /pitch on the particular word or longer quantity of particular syllable that marks the intended emphasis. Some times shifting of words from their normal syntactic position also serves the same purpose. But to make it more pertinent a few particles or vocalic elements too are used with them. The most commonly attested emphatic particles are—/na/ (pure emphasis), /le/ also, /tə/ (emphatic):

/ɔndu do na ni mu da/ Let it remain at this very place.

/usi le dona suṅsini/ they too dwell at this very place.

/ji tɔ, zati kɔjasu/ So far as I am concerned, I have eaten food.

/gɔesu na ujo lenli/ you alone may have told him.

13.3. Negative Particle

As in other languages of this group, in this language too there are two negative particles, *viz.* /mɔ/ and /thɔ/. Distributionaly, the former negates the presence of any thing or action in general and the latter prohibits the execution of the action in question. The usual position of a negative particle in an utterance is immediately before the element negated by it: /mɔ da-su/ did not give, /mɔ dā-n.su/ didst not give, /mɔ ga-yɔ su/ I did not do.

/u jigu rhiṅ sya mɔ-nini/ she is not my sister.

/ji tre khɛ jyari mɔdaṅsi/ I shall never go there.

/ɔndu lɔn thɔ ga/ don't do this work.

/khɔi do ramu thɔ lesyɔn/ don't forget to come here to-morrow.

In a colloquial speech the verb may be left out after the negative particle, as in /tɔkliph thɔ, jeno nini/ don't take trouble, every thing is O.K.

13.4. Interrogative Particles

This dialect does not use interrogative particles for 'if whether' etc., with reference to sentences expecting their answers in terms of 'yes' or 'no'. The purpose of this type of interrogation is ¿served by employing the sentence intonation implying the sense of interrogation, as in /khaza kɔ-zya noso/ Have you taken your meals?, /mɔha, batin-ro zɔhyɔn/ No, we shall eat in Baling (a village), /ramu ↓ / should I/ we come?, /zamu ↓ / should we eat?.

13.5. Interjections

Interjections are complete sentences which carry the sentence intonation. In this dialect their number is not large. The commonly attested interjections are—/e/ calling attention; / če, oh, ∂re/ expression of sorrow and surprise, yes, /m∂ha/ no, etc.

14.0. SYNTAX

In a way, various aspects of the morpho-syntactic structure have been discussed in the foregoing sections of this analysis. Here we shall briefly present them in a more or less formal way. The nature and the structure of various types of sentences in it is as under:

14.1. Types of Sentences

Normally, like other languages of this group, this language too favours simple sentences, even ideas of complex nature are expressed through more than one simple sentence. However, if necessary these can be expressed by combining together more than one simple sentence /clause by means of connectors or by a simple pause juncture. As such construction of compound and complex sentences also is possible.

14.2. Constituents of a Simple Sentence

The essential constituents of a simple sentence are—a noun phrase, constituting the subject and its extensions, and a verb phrase, constituting the predicate. The normal order of occurrence of these elements in a simple sentence is—subject± object+verb. As such syntactically, it belongs to the SOV group:

/ji-gu sum riṅsya nini/ I have three sisters.

/sy∂nu roṭa zani/ The child is eating loaves of bread.

/u sy∂nu k∂mda/ he beats the child.

/sy∂nusu lobuṅ losu/ the boy read book.

In transitive constructions, in which the verb has more

than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object:

/mina-su sy∂nu nu dada/ mother gives milk to the child.

/usu rh∂ṅ ci ji ti dada/ he gives grass and water to the horse.

However, this order of objects is reversed if the direct object is qualified by pronominal adjectives: /minasu ∂phigu sy∂nu thojnumi k∂dadasu/ mother gave away her son to the begger.

14.2.1. *Noun phrase.* The constituents of the subject or the noun phrase can be a single unqualified noun/pronoun 'head' or a noun head plus one or more qualifiers, all preceding it or a case marker *e.g.*, /taku pya/ a bird; //jenu sy∂nu/ good boy; /taku wamnu khui/ a black dog; /ceme-su/ the girl, by a girl; /ceme-j∂n-su/ girls, by girls, /jenu cemej∂n-su/ by good girls.

14.2.2. *Extention of Noun-phrase*: A noun phrase is also extendable in the form of various types of modifiers of the noun head which may precede it. The syntactic order of various classes of qualifiers in a simple sentence is more or less fixed. Normally, these occur in the order ± demonstrative, ± pronominal adj. ± numeral, ± intensifier. ± qualitative modifier.
/ji-gu khui/ my dog, /taku khui/ a dog, /taku wamnu khui/ a black dog, /taku cuṅ wamnu khui/ a very black dog. /taku cuṅ punu wamnu khui/ a very big black dog.

From the above examples it may be evident that in case of extension of an NP a numeral qualifier precedes a qualitative modifier, and in case of more than one qualitative modifiers referring to 'colour' and 'size' the one referring to 'size' precedes the one referring to 'colour' (for the syntactic usage see-placement of adjectives).

14.2.3. *Verb Phrase*: A simple verb phrase or a VP. contains either a simple finite or a copulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more auxiliaries or helping verbs or an adverb. In case of a simple finite verb, the VP can stand by itself, but in case of a copulative verb it may need a complement to complete it which can

be a noun an adjective or an adverb:

/jigu taku riŋsya nini/ I have a sister.

/u sy∂nu k∂mda/ he beats the child.

/pya laŋni/ birds fly; /pya tijuŋnu nini/ bird is seated.

/zanu nisy∂n/ may be eating, /k∂za sinu niy∂n/ may have eaten.

14.2.4. *Components of a composite verb phrase*: The consti·tuents of a composite verb phrase are—Principal verb stem, ± one or more full verb steam, ±/helping verb. Syntactically, the place of an aux. or helping verb is always at the end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all the morphological markers of the VP concerned:

/∂ndu do na nimu da/ let it remain at this very place

/usi nisu mi ranu niju/ those two persons were coming

/g∂e su ∂ndu kh∂ k∂ga-si-nu nini/ what all this has been done by you?/ hui tej lelen taju/ the wind went on increasing.

14.2.5. *Extension of verb phrase*: A verb phrase can, normally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb, adverb phrase or a complement:

/u-su ram-jo ru-su/ he asked Ram.

/u-su ram-jo cuŋ k∂ŋthE ru-su/ he asked many things to Ram.

/ji dyaŋsi/ I am going.

/ji thyã ∂phi suŋ-ru dyaŋsi/ I am going to my home today.

/ji thyã ñanth∂ba ∂phi suŋ-ru dyaŋsi/

I am going to my home today in the evening.

14.3. *Concord*: It has already been stated that this dialect does not recognize grammatical gender, as such the scope of agreement between the subject /object and the verb is limited to number and person categories only which may be explained as follows:

14.3.1. *Concord in subjectival constructions*: In all subjectival constructions the agreement takes place between the subject and the verb only, the subject may be in the direct case or ergative case.

But as has already been stated earlier that in the verbal conjugation of Darmiya the verbs have identical forms for the singular and plural in the 3rd person and in the second person singular and first person plural. As such the grammatical phenomenon of concord between the subject and the verb is inferable from the subject of the verb only.

/pya r∂ŋ-su laŋ-ni/ birds fly with wings

/g∂e ude suŋšyen/ where do you live?

/ji ∂phi suŋ-ru dyaŋsi/ I am going to my home.

/ji gaŋdi/ I shall do: /niŋ gaŋd∂n/ we shall do

/gE dad∂-n/ thou givest:/ g∂ni dad∂-ni/ you give.

/sy∂nu rota za-ni/ the child eats breads.

/sy∂nu-j∂n rota za-ni/ children eat bread.

14.3.2. *Objectival constructions*: In objectival constructions the concord takes place between the object and the verb. But like most of the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group this dialect too does not attest any agreement between the object and the verb.

/sy∂nu-su lobuŋ losu/ A boy read a book.

/synu-j∂n-su lobuŋ losu/ boys read books.

/sy∂nu-su ceme taŋsu/ A boy saw a girl.

/elme-j∂n-su sy∂n-j∂n taŋsu/ girls saw boys.

In all the above examples the verb form is affected neither by the number nor by the gender of the object in question.

14.4. Types of Simple Sentences

Semantically and structurally too, a sentence can be designated as affirmative, negative, interogative, imperative etc. And an affirmative sentence can further be classified, as active, passive, impersonal and causative etc. All these aspects of a

simple sentence, correlated with the morphosyntactic character of the verb, have already been dealt with in respect of various verbal sub-systems and model formations. These may be seen there itself. There reproduction here will be a mere repetition of facts which have already been explained.

14.5. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are the combination of two independent sentences, joined together by a coordinative conjunction or by an additive conjunction, but in this dialect there occurs, normally, a pause juncture as well between the two sentences instead of a conjunction (for examples see subordinative connective particles).

14.5.1. *Coordinative sentences*: Two or more simple sentences when joined by coordinative conjunctions like 'either . . . or' or 'neither . . . nor' are termed as coordinative sentences (for examples see coordinative particles).

14.6. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences too, are a combination of more than one clause/sentence, but in this one of the constituent sentences is subordinate or dependent on the other. The number of dependent clauses can be more than one. The clause to which the other clauses/ sentences are subordinate is called the principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following type of complex sentences have been noted for this dialect.

14.6.1. *Conditional*: In this type of complex sentences the constituents clauses are bound together with condition markers like 'if', 'when' and 'then' (expressed or understood). In which the 'if/when' clause is the subordinate clause and the 'then' clause is a principal clause. Positionally, the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

/gə́e ranje, ji le ramu pəryə́η/ (if) you come, (then) I will also have to come.

/jǝb lǝn kinsu tǝb janusu/ when work finished, then food taken.

14.6.2. *Complemental*: In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or a complementary object of the principal clause. In this the conjoining conjunct is, usually left out, and its function is served by a pause juncture:

/usu rusu, gEgu khǝ muɲ lhe/ he asked, what is your name?

/usu lesu ki ji rona niši/ he said that I am hungry.

14.6.3. *Relative*: In this type of complex sentences the relative clause, which is introduced by a relative pronoun, functions as a subject or a complement of the principal clause. Positionally, it precedes the principal clause:

/khǝ-mi rayǝn, idu deyǝŋ/ whosoever comes, will go.

/gǝe khǝ thojaṅ syǝn, daŋdi/ I shall give, whatever you ask for.

II

CHAUDANGSI-BYANGSI

INTRODUCTION

Linguistic Area

The linguistic area under consideration lies northwards from the confluence of the rivers Kali and Dhauli. It consists of two administrative units, viz., Pattis, which are known as Chaudangs and Byangs and are separated by a barren tract called Nirpanyadhura. The jurisdiction of the Chaudangs Patti extends from Tawaghat to Zipti, and of the Byangs Patti from Budi to Kuti. It is about . . . km in length and about . . . km in breadth, a greater part of which is mountainous and barren. It is bounded by the River Kali on the east which separates it from Nepal, on the west by Darma, intersepted by the mountain range Yirgnajung, on the north by Himalayan ranges separating it from Tibet and on the South by Dharchula and other winter settlements of the peoples of Darma, and Byangs Valleys. Kuti is the last and highest village of the Valley which also leads the way to Lipulekh pass further leading to Kailash-Mansarovar in Tibet.

Prominent villages falling under the jurisdiction of Patti Chaudangs are—Panggu, Rongto, Rimzhim, Waiku, Monggong, Chilla Song, Sosa, Sirdang, Sirkha, Rung, Zipti, Gala, Tangkul and Syang Khola, and the prominent villages of Byangs are—Kuti, Nabi, Gunji, Napalchyu, Rongkang, Garbyang, Budi, Chhangru and Tingkar. Now, the last two villages, have become a part of Nepal, because of the acceptance of the River Kali an international boundary between India and Nepal.

The Language

The Chaudangsi and Byangsi the two variations of the Rangkas are locally termed as Bangba Lwo and Byangkho Lwo, on the basis of the division of the administrative units in which they are spoken, otherwise these local variants do not attest

any such wide and significant differences which may compel us to recognize them as two distinct dialects. Even Grierson had his reservations to recognize them as two separate dialects, though he has dealt with them separately. On this point after describing Chaudangsi he opines—Byangsi in most characteristics agrees so closely with Chaudangsi that it seems probable that both represent the same dialect (L.S.I. III. Pt. I: 518). At another place also he admits that "the so called Chaudangsi and Byangsi are almost one and the same dia lect." (*ibid*, 428). Our analysis of these two forms of speech too attests that there is hardly any significant difference between the two, except in verbal forms and a few phonetic variations attested in nominal stems and suffixal endings which in these mountainous valleys are attestable even at village levels, so I have taken these as one dialect. Some of the notable differences normally attestable in them have, however, been pointed out in the ensuing pages of this very section. Separate discussion on both will be mere repetition of facts and sheer wastage of space.

Sources

Like other languages of the Himalayan group the principal sources of this dialect too are Tibetan and Indo-Aryan languages. It has freely drawn upon these sources both for nominal and verbal stems. Besides, there are some linguistic elements which seem to have developed from indigeneous sources or belong to languages of aborigines inhabiting these regions before their occupation by the fore-fathers of the present inhabitants. Some of the examples of these linguistic groups attested in our data are as under:

Tibetan: /la/<*lag* hand; /pho/<*phug* cave; /mul/<*dngul* silver; /phi/<*sphug* to expel; /lha/<*zla* moon; /cim/<*khyim* house; /ḍa/<*phrag* envy; /mẽ~meg/<*mig* eye; /sa/<*so* tooth; /ni/<ñ*ima* /sun; /mi/ man; /mə̃i~me/ fire; /nɔkhi~ni-khi/<*khyi* dog; /boŋc~boŋcəi/<*bong-bu* ass; /sa/ earth; /šya/ <*sha* meat; /miŋ/ <*ming* name; /tig/<*gchig* one; /ṭuk/ <*drug* six; /nis/<*gnyis* two; /pi/<*bzhi* four; /ṅEi/<*lnga* five;

/jy∂d/ <*brgy∂d* eight; /ci/ <*bcu* ten; /gwi/ <*dgu* nine; /dhuŋ/ <
rdung beat; /ja/ <*zo-*[so-] eat; /lhi-s/ <*blza-s* said, /ña/ fish,
/thaŋ/ /plain land; /ñaro/ yesterday; /ŋhul/ silver; /sum/ three;
/m∂r/ ghee; /cha/ salt; /lha/ moon, month; /m∂ŋ/ dream etc.

Indo-Aryan: A close contact of the people of Chaudangs
and Byangs with the Indo-Aryan speaking Kumaunis has
given rise to a sizeable amount of Indo-Aryan terms in the
speech of these valleys. Some of these are as follows:—
/p∂rmes∂r/ god; /j∂bli~j∂ble/ tongue; /∂nwal/ shephered;
/bila/ cat; /lato/ dumb; /pɔla/ shoes; /gh∂ṭo/ water mill; /rãdo/
widower; /rãḍi/ widow; /tār/ wire: /gha/ wound; /b∂tti/
wick; /c∂nṭh∂/ clever; /h∂k/ claim; /∂kal/ famine; /jɔ~jE/
barley; /rusu/ anger; gh∂nti/ bell; /kana/ blind; /kãso/ bronze;
/kucci/ broom;/ /saŋli/ chain; /p∂dhan/ chief; /chini/ chisal;
/bEri/ enemy; /bãjo/ fallow land; /aṭo/ flour; /roṭo/ loaf of
bread; /raph/ flame of fire; /maph/ excuse; /šyalo/ fox; /jõka/
leech; /dh∂n/ riches; /thEli/ bag; /pap/ sin; /bas/ smell; /mu:l/
source; /kĉsni/ a metal jug (*loṭa*); /ḍhi:l/ delay.

Indigenous: But the greater portion of the basic vocabulary
of these dialects belongs to some indigenous sources about
which nothing definite can be said at this stage. Various
terms belonging to this class of words can be enumerated as
follows:

/pišya/ head; /ch∂m/ hair; /nim~ŋim/ nose; /leki~lcki/ foot;
/d∂n/ belly; /luŋ/ back; /n∂j∂ŋ/ iron; /j∂ŋ/ gold; /mina~na/
mother; /ba/ father; /pè/ brother; /r∂ŋsya/ sister; /sy∂nd/
child; /širi/ son; /c∂me/ daughter; /bãd/ wife; /sina/ devil,
ghost; /ti/ water; /raŋ/ ~/rh∂ŋ/ horse; /rE~širE/ Cow;
/cipec/ bird; /a/ mouth; /r∂c~r∂cʋ/ ear; /pha/ ashes; /nu/
milk; /ch∂b/ needle; /phec∂b/ rice; /yaŋ-ti/ river; /nilĉn/ air;
/gor∂ŋ/ body; /dumpa/ blunt; /rĉthi/ husband; /kokpa/ corpse;
/linc∂/ metal cup; /sapha/ dust; /kĉsa/ cloud; /kh∂-mi/ who?
/kh∂i/ what?, /kh∂-car/ why?, /ra-/ to come; /di-~de-/ to go;
/rhu-/ to ask; /da-/ to give; /pher-/ to blow; /kwe-/ to boil;
/koi-/ to chew; /che-~cho-/ to mix, etc.

Linguistic Variations between Chaudangsi and Byangsi

Basically the language of Chaudangs and Byangs is one and the same. However, as is but natural in these regions, they exhibit some local differences as well. There the major differences are attested in verbal conjugations which we have discussed with some detail in relevant sections. Here we shall take a few minor differences, particularly pertaining to phonetic tendencies and lexical variations. These will be discussed under two heads, (1) Phonological, (2) lexical, as under:

Phonological: Normally the following type of variations have been attested in our data. In these illustrations the first form represents Chaudangsi and the second Byangsi.

(1) *Vocalic preferences*: These preferences are attested in the form of higher vs. lower, front vs. back vowels etc.

(a) *front vs central*: /nilən: nələn/ air; /ləkE: likE/ foot; /rəthi: rethi/ husband; /kaŋtə: kaṅ thE /ill; /cəri: ciri /intestine; /məldoktə: mildok thə/ lightning; /me-lin: mə-lin/ fire place, oven; /phecəp: phəcəb~phucəb/ rice; /siṅli: səṅle/ chain (iron).

(b) *back vs front*: /jõ~jE/ barley; /nwo khi: mikhi/ dog, bitch; /koimə:ˈ kiemwo/ to chew; /cemə; cwo mwo/ to mix; /liṅE: liõṅ/ ox; /curgu: cirgu/ nineteen.

(c) *Central vs back*: /dəmpa: dumpa/ blunt, /nənu: nunu/ younger brother; /byã suli; byãsəli/ flute.

(d) *Glidal vs non-glidal*: /-mə: -mwo/ infinitive marker, as in /ja-mə: ja-mwo/ to eat; /phyərmə: phir-mwo/ to blow; /kwe-mu: kwo-mwo/ to boil; /šyərt: širt/ sour; /duṇo: dunya/ lame; /nis; nisyə/ seven; /syənd: send/ child.

(e) *Higher vs lower*: /gumrəŋ: gorəŋ/ body; /kuṭu: koṭo/ bread; /siŋli : səŋle/ chain;/ togo : tugo/ six.

(f) *Elision vs maintenance of a phone or a syllable*:

/pəse: pE/ blanket; /liŋe: lye/ bull;/ koimə: kwo-mwo/ to cook; /ši-re: rE/ cow; /te-ma: tie-mwo/ to cry; /prə: pər/ navel.

(*g*) *Assimilation vs maintenance* : /nǝm-ma: nǝb-mwo/ to arise.

(*h*) *Partial replacement*: /ja-jyari: ra-jyari/ daily; /min: miŋ/ name; /nim: ŋim/ nose, honour; /lhadǝm: lhan-ba/ patch; /pipu: piku/ bug; /bǝnǝm-soʔ: hinǝm-soŋ/ father-in-law's village (lit. The village of marriage i.e., *sǝsural* (Hindi).

(*i*) *Maintenance or elision of the final phone*: In Chaudangsi a word final phone, particularly suffixal, tends to be elided whereas it is fully maintained in Byangsi, e.g., /ṭhǝnm: ṭhǝnmǝ/ to dance;/ tuŋ-m: tuŋ-mǝ/ to drink; /ji-s: ji-se/ by me; /ǝpig: ǝpigE/ his; /dēm: dī:mǝ/ to go;/ /mē: meg/eye; /mina-siri: minaʔ-siri/ girl, woman; /khǝ-car: khǝcarǝi/ why?, /rǝc: rǝco/ ear, etc.

(*ii*) *Consonantal preferences*: In case of consonants the phonetic tendencies attested in them are as under:

(*a*) *Voiced vs un-voiced*: /pǝjan-dǝ: pǝjaʔ-tE/ dead; /brǝdim: brǝthim/ dew; /khǝtǝrtǝ: khǝtǝrdǝ/ false, cheat; /goŋ-mu: kɔṅsi-mwo/ to bend.

(*b*) *Aspirate vs. un-aspirate*: /kaʔ-tǝ: kaŋ-thǝ/ desease: /jhǝŋkɔ : jǝŋ khɔ/ lizard; /cǝte: cǝthe/ eleven; /kuʔ: khwo/in, inside; /chaṅko: yuṅ-kho/low.

Lexical variations: Lexical variations are attested in two forms, (1) independent terms in both the areas, (2) native term in one area and borrowed term in another area. These may be illustrated as under.

Independent terms: Some of the terms standing for a parti-cular item but having distinctly different forms, attested in our data, are·—/kulu: ǝya/abuse; /nyoṅ-ti; negǝm/after; /pi-rukū: pi-tǝmri/ arround; /togca: chǝppu/ an adge; /sespa: hacidǝ/ remainder; balance, /jhil-mi: ci-mwo/ to bark; /lare: rhǝkǝm/ before; /nyuṅ-ti: nim-phǝn/ behind; /duma; cyō/ chin; ﾟchyu-mo: gǝr-mwo/ to close; /pǝjyaṅ-da : khokpa/ corpse; /lincǝ: kǝncǝ/ a metal cup; /chaṅko; yukho/ down; low,/ ḍuma: cithǝ/ a few; /chǝe: mǝsE/ husband's younger brother; /laṅ-ma: phoṅ·

mwo/ to jump; /milin: gibu/ oven; /kaṅtə: sok/ pain, /libin: šugu/ paper; /čhu: kala/ part; /kaṅni: napa/ patient, sick, etc.

Native vs borrowed terms: There are some cases in which one area has a native term and the other a borrowed one, e.g., /boṭo: təlwo/ bottom; /ghõsla: dir/a cattleshed; /jorəm: təb-mwo/ to join, to connect; /jit-mu: tər-mwo/ to conquer; /khəspəse: lugra/ clothes.

Historical Development

Although we do not have a systematic chronological data of the language in question, yet the developed forms of Tibetan and a few terms recorded by Grierson in the first half of this century may be taken as indicators of the directions of the linguistic development in this area.

In the Tibetan terms noted above we notice that (*i*) in most of the cases the initial conjunct consonants of Tibetan have been simplified, (*ii*) final single consonants too are often dropped, as in /la/<*lag*, /phu/<*phug*, /phi/<*sphyug* etc., but, no notable changes are attested in the data given by Grierson.

Literature and the Sources of Data

No previous literature except the sketchy notes of a few page, in the L.S.I. (vol. III. pt. I) is available on them. As such the present analysis may be taken as the first detailed account of these dialects.

It is based on the first hand recording of the data from native speakers of Chaudangs and Byangs. The principal informants for Chandangsi are Shri M. S. Hyanki and Miss Beena Hyanki of the village, Sirkha and Shri H. S. Phakaliyal of the village Chhilasong and the principal informants for Byangsi are –Shri Jitender Singh Garbyal and Miss Anita Garbyal, both from the village Garbyang. The period of the recording of the data is between 1985-87.

The Speaker

As stated earlier no valley-wise statistics of the population

could be obtained for this study. The census (1981) has recorded the population as under:

Dharchula Tehsil-8,246, Dharchula Town Area-1,242; Didihat Tehsil-1,198, Town Area-448; Pithoragarh Tehsil-513, P. Municipal Area-405. Champawat Tehsil-188. Town Area-6, Lohaghat-14, etc. This may include Tribal population from other Valleys as well. According to Census of India, series-22, Part IIB, U.P, Primary Census Abstract, the total tribal population of Districts Pithoragarh and Almora is 19,472.

SOUND SYSTEM

Different sets of vowel and consonant phonemes attested in the sound system of Rangkas of Chaudangs & Byangs are as follows:

1.1. Vowels

Phonemically the following vocalic sounds are attested singly or in sequences.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	∂	o (ɔ)
Low	E		a

As regards the lip position only the back vowels, /u/ and /o/ are rounded, all others are unrounded.

1.1.2. Phonemic contrasts: Phonemic contrasts of these vowels may be illustrated as under:

i/e—/ri/ also: /re/ field; /chi-mwo/ to feed: /che-mwo/ to meet.

e/E—/re/ field: /rE/ cow; /se/ recognition: /sE/ god

i/o—/ti/ water: /tɔ/ loan; /mi/ man: /mo/ female; /rãḍi/ widow: /ṛãḍo/ widower.

i/a—/i/ excreta: /a/ mouth, /ri/ also: /ra/ enclosure

e/a—/re/ field: /ra/ enclosure; /ye/ eagle: /ya/ a bow /de-mwo/ to go: /da-mwo/ to give; /tete/ grand father, /tata/ elder sister

E/a—/rE/ to bring: /ra/ to come; /sE/ god: /sa/ clay

e/u—/re/ field: /ru/ horn

E/u—/rE/ cow: /ru/ horn

u/o—/phu/ copper: /pho/ cave, /pho/ male;

/cyu/ as soon as: /cyo/ chin: /luqca/ buttocks: /loqca/ calf

u/a—/ru/ horn: /ra/ enclosure; /na/ mother, pus: /nu/ milk;

/zu-mwo/ to grow: /za-mwo/ to eat; /zyu/ life breath: /zya/ day.

o/a—/ka/ a crow: /kɔ/ rind; /la/ hand:/ lo/ language;

/to-mwo/ to stop: /ta-mwo/ to place; /chyõ/ spoon; /chya/ similar

o/ə—/oṅ-mwo/ to show: /əṅ-mwo/ to lift; /roṅ/ shoulder /rəṅ/ colour

u/ə—/cukti/ cap: /cəkti/ beer

a/ə—/ka/ a crow: /kə/ pillar; /thaṅ/ plain land: thəṅ/ price; /dan/ store: /dən/ stomach.

1.1.3. *Vocalic sequences*: There are no diphthongs in this dialect. However, accurrence of vowels in a sequence is not infrequent. Their sequence too is not restricted, i.e., any one of these can occur as a first or the second member of the sequence with distinct syllabic entity. These may be illustrated as under:

Front+Back

/iə/—/miər/ heaven, sky,

/eu/—/beulo/ bridegroom

Back+Front

/ui/—/gui/ nine

/oi/—/koi-/ to cook (Chaudangsi)

/oi/—/aina/ like this

Front+Front

/ie/—/kie-/ to chew, /tie-/ to cry,

/ei/—/sei-/ to apply something.

Back + Back

/ua/—/pua/ husband's elder brother

Central + Front

/ǝi/—/lǝi/ every. all, /ṅǝi/ five, /sǝi/ hundred, /ĉina/ like this /ǝe/—/pǝe/ knee

/ǝie/—/khǝie/ anything

Contrast between /ǝi/ and /E/

There are at least two clear examples which attest a contrast between vocalic sequence and a resultant vowel, as in /sǝi/ hundred: /sE/ god, /bie/ thread: /be/ rock.

1.1.4. *Distribution*: Distributionally, all vowels can occur in all positions without any restriction. This feature of the dialect may be illustrated as under:

/ǝ/—/ǝṅ/ to lift; /bǝbǝ/ good, nice; /nǝyǝṅ/ fly, bee: /lǝbu/ butter

/a/—/a/ mouth; /wamda/ black; /ka/ a crow; /togca/ adge

/i/—/i/ excreta; /širi/ son; /ipa/ sleep: /heli/ brass;/nikhi/ dog

/u/—/una/some, which; /rusu/ anger; /uso/ medicine,/ piku/ bug

/e/—/e/ this; /rhe/ bone; /tete/ grandfather; /ceme/ girl

/E/—/rE/ cow; /jE/ barley; /sE/ god; /dǝmE/ drum; /bEri/ enemy

/o/—/oṅ/ to see; /poyo/ elder brother; /wom/ bear; /cho-mo/ to mix

1.1.5. *Allophonic variations*: The above noted vowels of these dialects show certain allophonic variants in their respective phonetic environments. Some of these are as follows.

/o/→[ɔ]: The mid back vowel /o/ is realized as lower mid back vowel when occurring before a nasal consonant or in the final position, as in /oṅ-/=[ɔṅ-] to see; /soṅ/=[sɔṅ] village; /ko/=[kɔ] a crow; /zǝṅkho/=[zǝŋkhɔ] lizard; /ŋǝŋkro/= [nǝṅkrɔɔ] ant etc.

/o/←[wo]: Another notable variant of the mid back vowel /o/ is its glidalized pronunciation, realized as [wo] which is more prominent in the dialect of Byangs, e.g., /kho mo/-[kwo-mwo] to scretch; /lo-mo/=[lwo-mwo] to say; /cho-mo/=[chwo-mwo] to mix; /kho-pa/=[khwo-pa] heel; /jhoro/=[jhwo-ro] with; /rho/ [rhwɔ] snow.

/u/→[wu]. Like the mid back vowel /o/ the high back vowel /u/ too tends to be glidalized in these dialects, etc. /uso/~/oso/=[wuso] medicine; /thuṅ-mo/=[thwuṅ-mwo] to rear; /su/=[swu] tooth; /khu/=[khwu] smoke; /lo/=[lwo] language.

/i/→[yi], /e/→[ye]—similar to the back vowels the front vowels /i/ and /e/ too are pronounced with a preceding front glide /y/, as in /śiri/=[syiri] son; /śiṅ/=[śyiṅ] tree, wood; /miti/=[myityi] tears; /sed/=[syed] white; /pintE/=[pyintE] tired; /tosib/=[tyisyib] winnowing basket; /tete/=[tyetye] grand father; /in-koti/=[yin.ko.ti] behind; /send/=[syənd] child.

/e/→[E]-The lower front vowel /E/ besides a phoneme, is also attested as an allophone of the mid front vowel /e/, in a word final position, as in /ceme/=[cyemE] girl; /dəme/=[dəmE] drum; /ñaṅche/=[ñaŋchE] dusk.

/ə/→[E]: The central vowel /ə/ is also realized as the mid/ lower mid front vowel /e/~/E/ in word final positions, e.g., /ramsə tirsə bali kəssə/=[ramsE tirsE bali kəssE] Ram killed Bali with an arrow.

It is also realized as a front vowel when followed by a front vowel /i/, as in/ təryaṅ yəi/=[tər-yaṅ yei] I can.

/ə/→[φ]: In a word final position the central vowel /ə/ also tends to be deleted in a quick tempo of speech, e.g., /jigə/=[jig] my; /budə/ [bəd] good; /rhaṅsə/=[rhaṅs] by the horse; /nɛgə dañci/=[nəg dañci]=for you;/ gəsə/=[gəs] by you, etc.

Moreover, in the absence of any standardized form of the speech there is a fair amount of laxity in the pronunciation of certain vowels, e.g., genitive suffix-/gu~go~gE/, ergative case markers-/su~so~sE/; suffixes of verbal noun-/ mu~mo/; locative suffix-/ro~ru/ etc. *e.g.* /tədo~tədu/ that; /lhī-s~lhe-s/ said; /o~u/ he, /rəṅsya~riṅsya/ sister.

1.2. Consonants

In these dialects the number of consonant phonemes established on the basis of phonemic contrasts is 32. All of them show a binary division based on their place of articulation and manner of articulation. The class of plosives and dental fricatives further attest the opposition of the presence vs. absence of voice. Voiceless plosives and affricates, and the liquids attest the opposition of presence vs. absence of aspiration as well. All consonants with their phonetic characteristics may, schemetically, be presented as under:

Place of Articulation

		Bilabial	Dental	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar
Plosives	Vl.	p. ph	t, th		c, ch	ṭ, ṭh	k, kh
	Vd.	b, (bh)	d, (dh)		j, (jh)	ḍ, (ḍh)	g, (gh)
Affricates				č, čh			
Nasals		m	n		ñ		ṅ
Vibrant						r, rh	ṅ
Flapped						(ṛ)	
Lateral						l, lh	
Fricative			s		š		h
			z				
Semi-vowels		w			y		

N.B. Phonemes placed in parentheses ؛have doubtful phonemic status.

1.2.1. *Phonemic Contrasts*: With regard to phonemic contrasts of consonant phonemes, it may be mentioned that though minimal pairs of consonants showing contrasts of their phonetic features are attested in the initial position, yet in non-initial positions there are only a few which attest these contrasts. In fact, like many other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, this dialect, too, seldom attests occurrence of aspirate plosives in a non-initial position. As such the scope of contrast of aspirate and non-aspirate counterparts of voiced and voiceless consonants is extremely limited.

Similarly, on account of vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending nature of these dialects the scope of the contrasts of unaspirate plosives too is confined to a few cases only (see distribution of consonants). Consequently, the fourfold distinction of presence vs. absence of voice and aspiration too is, normally, attested in the initial position only, both these features are almost neutralized in the medial and final positions in a polysyllabic word. The phonemic contrasts of consonants available in this dialect may be illustrated as under:

Plosives

Bilabials /p, ph, b, (bh)/

p/ph—/pwu/ husks: /phwu/ copper; /pi/ four: /phi/ rope,

ph/b—/pha/ ashes; /ba/ father,

p/b—/pɔla/ shoes: /bɔla/ thumb,

Dentals /t, th, d, (dh)/

t/th—/tuṅ-/ to drink, /thuṅ-/ to rear; /lətE/ fallen; /ləthE/ lonely

t/d—/tiːr/ arrow: /dɪr/ cattle shed; /te-/ to weep: /de-/ to go; /tuṅ-/ to drink: /duṅ-/ to beat.

th/d—/thəṅ/ price; /dəṅ/ hill; /thi-/ to melt; /di-, de-/ to go.

Palatals: /c, ch, j; č, čh, ž (jh)/

c/ch—/cu-/ to hold: /chu-/ to divide; /cini/ father's sister. or sugar; /chini/ chisal; /čim-/ to fry: /chim-/ to feed.

c/j—/cu-/ to hold: /ju-/ to grow; /či/; ten /ji/ and.

ch/j—/chya/ similar: /jya/ tea

c/č—/ci/ ten: /či/ grass, plant.

č/čh—/čeme/ daughter: /čheme/ elder brother's wife.

ch/čh—/cha/ similar: /čha/ salt; /chəm/ wool: /čhəm/ bridge.

čh/ž—/čho/ lake: /žo/ a hybrid animal.

j/ž — /j∂n̊/ axe: /ž∂η/ gold; /jamo/ to eat: /zamo/ to sneez; /ja/ from, (p.p) /za/ to eat.

Retroflex /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ (ḍh)/

ṭ/ṭh — /ṭ∂ska/ a kind of improvised bridge: /ṭh∂ska/ a kind of dance; /ṭ∂ηm∂/ to be alive: /ṭh∂ηm∂/ to improve; /ṭ∂bm∂/ to join: /ṭh∂bm∂/ to put more.

ṭ/ḍ — /ṭ∂m ṭ∂m/ bank of river; /ḍ∂m/ iron smith; /ṭ∂b-m∂/ to stick (trans.) to join: /ḍ∂b-m∂/ to stick (intrans.) to group.

ṭh/ḍh — /ṭh∂n̊ka/ cut pieces: /ḍh∂ηka/ last, final; /ṭh∂nm∂/ to tremble: /ḍh∂nm∂/ to dance.

Velars /k, kh, g, (gh)/

k/kh — /kãsa/ bronze: /khasa/ kidney; /kwo-/ to work: /khwo-/ to dig; /ka/ a crow: /kha/ walnut.

k/g — /kuli/ labourer: /khuli/ nest; /kwo/ rind: /khwo/ lap

kh/gh — /kha/ walnut: /gha/ wound.

kh/g — /kh∂r/ to deceive: /g∂r-/ to cover.

Nasals /m, n, η, ñ/

m/n — /m∂n̊/ dream: /n∂η/ bangle (of metal); /ma/ not: /na/ mother, pus; /ph∂m-/ to spin; /ph∂n-/ to reverse; /mi/ man /ni/ sun

m/η — /kh∂m/ pillow: /kh∂η/ a boil; /∂m/ path: /ĉη-/ to lift

n/η — /m∂n/ night: /m∂η/ dream; /nu/ milk: /ηu/ a kiss; /d∂n/ belly; /d∂η/ hill.

Liquids: /r, l, rh, lh/

r/l — /ra/ enclosure: /la/ hand; /ra-/ to come: /la-/ to lick.

r/rh — /r∂η/ colour: /rh∂η/ horse; /re/ field: /rhe/ bone; /ri/ also: /rhi/ story, /rad∂/ next: /rhad∂/ clean.

l/lh — /la/ hand: /lha/ moon, month; /li:dE/ heavy: /lhi:dE/ yellow.

Semi Vowels /y, w/

y/w—/ya/ a bow: /wa/ tiger; /y∂r/ up: /w∂r/ a belch

Fricatives: /š, s, z, h/

š/s—/šya/ meat: /sa/ clay; /še/ of: /se/ recognition.

s/z—/sa/ clay: /za-/ to eat: /šya/ meat: /zya/ day.

Contrast between dental and retroflex plosives

t/ṭ—/tamu/ to place: /ṭamu/ to prick (trans.)

d/ḍ—/d∂m/ garlic: /ḍ∂m/ iron smith.

1.2.2. *Phonemic status of voiced aspirates*: Although there are instances of occurrence of voiced aspiratis in these dialects, yet they are confined to initial positions and to the I.A. borrowed items only. They do not attest a phonemic contrast with their unaspirate counterparts too (see distribution). Moreover, in most of the cases the aspirate plosives, voiced or voiceless, realized in this position are the phonetic variants of their unaspirate counterparts, e.g., /jh∂η/ < /j∂η/ axe; /ghwal-/ to rub (IA); /ch∂m/</c∂m/ hair; /thuη/< /tuη/ to drink; /dh∂η-mi/ servant</d∂η-/ to serve; /dh∂n/ riches (I.A.); /bh∂nḍo/ utensil (I.A.).

As such in this analysis, at least the voiced aspirates, have not been accorded the phonemic status.

1.2.3. *Phonemic status of voiced sibilant*: Among fricatives the voiced sibilant /z/ has a phonemic status. It attests a phonemic contrast with its voiceless counterpart (see phonemic contrasts).

1.2.4. *Distribution*: Distributionally, all the consonants and semi-consonants can occur in the initial position of a word. But on account of being predominantly a vowel ending language, occurrence of plosives, particularly of aspirates or /h/ and semi-vowels, is quite restricted. The distributional aspect of consonants and semi-consonants in it can be illustrated as follows:

/p/—/piša/ head; /dumpa/ blunt; /pi/ four; /cipc/ bird; /cup/ quiet; /pap/ sin; /puwa/ sister's husband.

/ph/—/phucəb/ rice; /phadə/ grey; /sapha/ dust; /raph/ flame

/b/—/bədə/ good, nice; /libin/ book; /ləbu/ butter; /phəcəb/ rice.

/bh/—/bhənsi/ buffalo; /bhəndo/ utensil; /bhak/ sound.

/t/—/tete/ grand father; /cukti/ cap; /rhəti/ cheek; /širt/ sour.

/th/—/thaŋ/ plain land; /puthra/ fore head; /cənth/ sharp.

/d/—/dumpa/ blunt; /wamda/ place; /pod/ big; /jāyjad/ property.

/dh/—/dhən/ riches; /dhuŋ/ to beat.

/c/—/čim/ house; /cukli/ arm pit; /cyo/ chin; /cipc/ bird.

/ch/—/čhəm/ bridge; /chəm/ wool; /chincha/ liver; /ləkchəb/ ring.

/j/~/z/—zjəro/ fever; /zya/ day; /ləzu/ muskdeer; /pyaj/ onion.

/jh/—/jhyaŋ-/ to run; /jhəŋ/ axe; /jhil mu/ to bark (Chad.).

/ṭ/—/ṭaŋdə/ alive; /laṭo/ dumb; /koṭo/ bread; /cəṭṭ/ at once.

/ṭh/—/ṭheb/ shadow; /ṭhəm-/ to gather; /jiṭho/ dirty; /ḍiṭh/ evil eye.

/ḍ/—/ḍiṭh/ evil eye; /ḍomo/ happiness; /milḍokthə/ lightning.

/ḍh/—/ḍhami/ marriage party; /ḍhīl/ /delay; /ḍhaŋ-mi/ slave.

/k/—/kɔ/ bark, rind; /kərkha/ bags of load; /piku/ bug; /sək/ breath.

/kh/—/khucipc/ bat; /khok-pa/ corpse; /nikhi/ dog; /kərkha/ bags.

/g/—/gunda/ in between; /gorəŋ/ body; /jəgjya/ mud; /tig/ one.

/gh/—/ghwal-mwo/ to rub.

/ŋ/—/ṅu/ akiss; /ŋhul/ silver; /toŋmi/ alone; /miŋ/ name

/n/—/nunu/ younger brother; /nikhi/ dog; /libin/ book; /nilən/ air.

/ñ/—/ña/ fish; /ñancə/ evening; /ñaŋchE/ dusk; /ñăro/ yesterday.

/m/ —/miŋ/ name; /mi/ man; /womda/ black; /sum/ three

/r/—/rusu/ anger; /rhe/ bone; /gurda/ a blow; /wər/ belch.

/l/—/la/ hand; /luŋ/ back; /cukli/ armpit; /gul/ cough.

/y/—/ya/ a bow; /yərto/ above; /poya/ elder brother; /yeča/ guest.

/w/—/wom/ bear; /wamda/ black; /wa/ tiger; /wər/ belch. /puwa/ sister's husband.

/š/ —/ši/ blood; /širi/ son, /piša/ head: /deš/ country.

/s/—/sa/ clay; /uso/ medicine; /rusu/ anger; /kăso/ bronze.

/h/—/heli/ brass; /həksa/ rays; /hyəlba/ bamboo.

From the above distributional data it is evident that like Darmiya in this too, voiced aspirates do not occur in the final position of word. Their occurrence in the initial and medial positions too is mostly confined to loans from Indo-Aryan. Besides, occurrence of affricate palatals and fricative /h/ too is rare in non-initial positions.

1.2.5. *Phonetic tendencies and allophonic variations*: Like other dialects of the Tibeto Himalayan group the dialects of Chaudangs and Byangs too are predominantly vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending tongues. As such occurrence of plosive consonants in the word final position is limited to a few only. There too, it has been noticed that the voice and the aspiration of the plosives occurring in this position is reduced considerably. Consequently, these are realized as their voiceless or unaspirate counterparts. These phonetic features of the dialects may be presented as under:

Devoicing: Voiced plosives, /g, d, b/ occurring in this position are usually devoiced, as in /ag-ch∂m/→[aq-ch∂m] beard; /lag-ch∂b/→[lak-ch∂b] ring; /lag-sin/→[lak-sin] nails; /dok-d∂/→[dok-t∂] bright; /li:d∂/→[li:th∂] heavy; /dug-l∂η/→ [duk-leη] meal.

There too, as compared with Byangsi, the tendency of weakly pronouncing or dropping the final consonant is stronger in Chaudangsi, *e.g.* Byangsi-/meg/ but Chaudangsi /mẽ/ eye.

(*iii*) *Aspiration*: But contrary to the tendency of reducing the non-initial aspiration, the speakers of this dialect exhibit a tendency to pronounce voiced plosives, nasals and liquids with copious aspiration when these occur in the initial position of a word. Consequently, these are perceived as their aspirate counterparts, as in /jh∂η/ axe; /ḍhaɳ-mi/ servant< /ḍ∂η-/ to serve; /ṅhul/ silver; /rh∂η/ horse; /dhuṅ/ to strike.

(*iv*) *Fricativization*: A non-initial velar plosive /k/ or /g/ is realized as a velar fricative /q/ or /g/ when occurring in cluster with a voiceless palatal, as in /tokca/=[toqca] adge; /lugca/=[lugc∂] buttocks: /ag-ch∂m/-[∂gch∂m] beard; /logsi-/ =[logsi] to ascend.

(*v*) *Labialization*: All consonants tend to have a labialized pronunciation, with an incipient /w/, before a rounded back-vowel; as in /thuη-mo/=[thwuη-mwo] to rear; /kho-mo/= [khwo-mwo] to scratch; /lo-mo/=[lwo-mwo] to say; /kho-pa/= [khwo-pa] heel; /phwu/ cave.

1.3. Consonant Clusters

In this dialect the scope of consonant clusters is quite extensive. However, the favourable environment for the occurrence of these is the initial and medial position only. There is hardly any scope for the occurrence of a cluster in the final position. Moreover, in the initial position too, the number of the members of these clusters is normally two. Clusters of different combinations attested in this speech may be presented as follows:

(*A*) *Initial position*: Normally, the number of the con-

stituents of a cluster in this position is two. Distributionally, the first member may be a plosive /a fricative /a liquid and the second member a semi-vowel/ a liquid. These may be illustrated as under:

(a) **Plosive+Semi vowel**

/cyu/ as soon as; /zya/ day; /khwe/ grand son; /phwu/ ·copper; /kwəlin/ small bells: /tyar/ festival; /cyo/ chin; /kyu/ lamp; /khwarəŋpaŋ/ pigeon; /chyaŋ/ court yard; /khwopa/ heel.

(b) **Fricative+Semi vowel**

/syəndə/ child; /hyoktə/ deep; /hyəlba/ bamboo; /šya/ meat; /šyalo/ fox; /šyaŋlaŋ/ old age; /syərtəm/ left.

(c) **Liquid+Semi vowel/Fricative**

/lye/ bull; /lhasi-/ descend; /rbu-/ to ask: /rhukuŋ/ bank of ·river; /rhəti/ cheek: /lha/ month, moon; /lhan-ba/ patch.

(d) **Plosive/Fricative+Liquid**

/slendi/ sieve; /hrib/ rib; /brəthim/ dew, /hripin/ udder, /šreza/ day before yesterday, /hrizza/ ibid (Chaud.)

In this dialect no initial cluster consisting of more than two members could be attested.

(B) *Medial clusters*: As compared with initial clusters the range of medial clusters is wider. The constituents of a two member medial cluster are attested as follows:

  (i) Plosive+plosive: /loqca/ adge; /aqchəm/ beard; /sək thuktə/ asthma; /cəkti/ beer; /cukti/ cap; /hyoktə/ deep; /khokpa/ corpse; /ləkchəb/ ring,

  (ii) Plosive+liquid /semi vowel/ fricative: /tokri/ basket; /gurda/ a blow; /nəŋkro/ ant; /cukli/ armpit; /doktə/ bright; /loqsin/ to ascend; /həksa/ rays; /nəpla/ butterfly; /hrizya/ day before yesterday; /puthra/ forehead; /phəksa/ hare; /nipya/ hen.

  (iii) Nasal /liquid/ fricative + plosive: /šyəndə/ child; /kərkha/ bags of load; /cirgu/ nineteen; /wamda/ black; /jəmtə/ even: /dumpa/blunt; /syərtəm/ left.

(*iv*) Liquid/nasal+nasal: /zərnəm/ east; /thaŋ-mi/ father-in-law.

(*v*) fricative+liquid/semi vowel: /dəsro/ again; another; /hyoŋ/ counting.

(*vi*) Nasal+liquid /semi vowel: /həmri/ any how, /həmye/ any how; /ḍaŋyo-/ to assist /myē/ son-in-law.

(*vii*) Liquid+semi vowel: /thərwa/ leopard.

The constituents of a three member cluster attested in this position are:—

(*i*) Nasal+plosive+liquid: /nəŋkro/ ant; /choŋkro/ basket.

(*ii*) Plosive+plosive+semivowel: /jugjya/ mud.

(*iii*) Nasal+plosive+semivowel: /nimjya/ 3rd day from yesterday.

(*iv*) Fricative+plosive+liquid: /mistri/ carpenter.

In our data there are no examples of clusters containing more than three members.

(*C*) *Final cluster*: As stated above it being a predominantly vowel ending language has a very limited scope for the occurrence of final clusters. The only patterns attested in this position are (1) a nasal+a plosive: /yint/ fatigue; /tind/ blue, green.

(*ii*) a liquid+plosive; /širt/ sour.

(*iii*) a plosive+plosive: /sipc/ comb; /cipc /bird;/mətt/ enough; /cət t/ at once.

1.4. Gemination

Gemination is not a significant feature in this dialect, though lengthening of certain classes of consonants may be realized in certain predictable environments: /cətt/ at once; /kucci/ broom; /rənnu/ curd; /mətt/</məst/ enough; /əccho/ plenty.

1.5. Supra Segmental Phonemes

Besides the above mentioned segmental phonemes, the dialect has the following supra -segmental phonemes as well.

1.5.1. *Nasalization*: In this dialect, nasalization is both phonemic and non-phonemic. In the non-phonemic nasalization all vowels occurring with a nasal consonant tend to be nasalized automatically (for examples see vowels allophonic variants). But the phonemic nasalization is quite independent of the existence of any nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel in the vicinity of it e.g., /me/ fire; /myẽ/ son-in-law; /kãsa/ bronze.

1.5.2. *Length/quantity*: There are certain environments in which the quantity of a vowel or of a consonant becomes significant. This phenomenon is attested particularly in the case of particularization or intensification of the quality or quantity of an object or action in question. There the length is perceived in both, the vowel as well as the coda margin or interlude, if it happens to be a plosive nasal/sibilant, and in the vowel alone if it belongs to any other class of consonants. But there are a few minimal pairs of vowels in which this phenomenon seems to be fully contrastive as in /ye/ eagle /ye:/ sattu; /mul/ silver: /mūl/ source of water.

However, in general, the quantity of vowel is not significant in a word final position. Vowels /a/, /i/, /u/ may be long or short, in the medial position, too, these may show variation in quantity, as in, /ʔti/~/ ʔti:/ that; /jig~ji:g/ my; /mən̐~man̐/ a plural suffix, and so forth. There are many words in the data which have been recorded with variation in the quantity of vowels.

1.5.3. *Accent*: Accent is not a phonemic feature in this language. At least we could not come across any minimal pair of accentual contrast in our data.

2.0. WORD STRUCTURE

A word in this dialect, may be mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic, has the following general characteristics:

(1) It may begin with any vowel or consonant but /ɳ/ and /ɽ/

(2) Normally, a native word ends in a vowel, a nasal, a liquid, a voiced plosive or sibilant.

(3) No native word begins or ends in a consonant cluster other than those mentioned above.

(4) Normally, an aspirate plosive or a fricative /h/ or a semi-vowel occurs at the end of a native word in it.

(5) In a slow tempo of speech a word necessarily admits a momentary pause on either side of it.

2.1. Syllabic Structure of a Word

As in other languages of this group, in this too the immediate constituents of a word are syllables, numbering from 1-4, which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences, between the two successive junctures and also are capable of conveying a single concept.

2.1.1. *Syllabic units*: Constituents of a syllabic unit are a 'nucleus' which is one of the vowels set up for this language± consonantal margins occurring on either side of it, which can be simple (i.e., a single consonant or complex (=a consonant cluster or a geminated consonant) permissible in the language, within the established system of vowels and consonants. There is no restriction on the occurrence of a vowel as a nucleous or a consonant, including clusters, as a margin of syllabic unit.

2.1.2. *Patterns of syllabic units*: On the basis of the analysis of monosyllabic words it has been found that the permissible structure of various syllabic units, the constituents of a word, may be one of the following patterns: /V/, /VC/, /CV/, /CCV/, /CVC/, /CCVC/, /CVCC/

These patterns, besides occurring independently in a monosyllabic word, may also become constituent syllables of a polysyllabic word.

(1) *Monosyllabic patterns*: In monosyllabic words the patterns of the above mentioned units may be illustrated as under:

/V/-/a/ mouth, beak; /i/ excreta; /u~o/ he, she

/VC/-/uŋ/ stone; /∂m/ path; /∂ŋ-/ to lift.

/CV/-/pha/ ashes; /ši/ blood; /sa/ clay; /sE/ god; /či/ grass:
/ña/ fish.

/CVC/-/luŋ/ back: /raph/ flame; /wom/ bear; /čim/ home;
/m∂r/ghee.

/CCV/-/rhe/ bone; /cyo/ chin; /zya/ day; /šya/ meat; /lha/
moon.

/CCVC/-/rh∂m/ arrow; /ṅhul/ silver; /rhib/ rib; /hyoŋ/
counting.

/CVCC/-/yint/ fatigue; /tind/ blue, green, /širt/ sour

It may be mentioned that in words with more than one
syllable these very patterns are repeated in various sequences.

(ii) *Dissyllabic patterns*: The permissible syllabic sequen-
ces in a dissyllabic word are attested as under:

/CVC-CV/-/cuk-li/ armpit; /dum-pa/ blunt; loq-ca/ calf;
/khok-pa/ corpse; /wam-da/ black; /thuṅ-ga/ hammer.

/CCVC-CV/-/chy∂r-te/ dysentry; /lhan-ba/ patch.

/CV-CVC/-/li-bin/ book; /la-th∂ŋ/ stair case; /n∂-z∂ŋ/ iron;
/mo-tik/pearl.

/CV-CV/-/u-so/ medicine; /he-li/ brass; /ru-su/ anger /ni-khi/
dog; /du-lo/ bald; /ni-mi/ both; /ta-nu/ brain.

/CCV-CVC/-/rh∂-k∂m/ before; /br∂-thim/ dew; /rhi-pin/
udder; /khwa-r∂ŋ/ pegion; /kw∂-t∂m/ a plough.

/CCV-CV/-rh∂-ti/ cheek; /šya-lo/ fox; /khwo-pa/ heel,

/CVC-CVC/-/taŋ-miŋ/ animal; /kok-sin/ bark of tree;
/ag-ch∂m/ beard; /wom-b∂ŋ/ dark

/CCVC-CVC/-/chyaŋ-paŋ/ court-yard; /šyaŋ-laŋ/ old age;
/sy∂r-t∂m/ left.

/CV-V/-/l∂i/ all, every; /p∂e/ knee; /pua/ husbands' elder
brother; /gui/ nine;

/CV-VC/-/s∂iph/ pig, /mi∂r/ sky, heaven.

/CVC-CCV/-/choŋ-kro/ basket; /mis-tri/ carpenter; /mim-zya/ 3rd day from yesterday.

/CCV-CCV/-/rhi-zya/ day before yesterday; /hyok-tə/ deep;

/CCVC-CV-/slən-di/ sieve.

In disyllabics the most frequent pattern is /CVC-CV/, followed by /CV-CV/ and /CVC-CVC/. Other pattern have only a limited stock of vocables in it.

(*iii*) *Trisyllabic patterns*: The number of trisyllabic lexical words is not very large in it. The permissible syllabic sequences of this class of words are attested as under:

/CVC-CV-CV/-/thəm-ca-ru/ custom; /gəl-cu-ra/ gum;

/mən-ta-to/ luke warm; /chir-gi-mo/ belt.

/CV-CVC-CV/-/chu-kul-cə/ elbow; /ke-rak-tə/ equal; /pə-zaŋ-te/ dead; /kə-duŋ-si/ injury.

/CV-CV-CV/-/u-chu-ṭi/ naughty; /u-na-ri/ nun; /u-lo-ri/ nowhere; /thi-si-mo/ to smell.

/CV-CCV-CV/-/ra-zya-ri/ daily; /chən-chə-ro/ Saturday.

/CVC-CV-CVC/-/bɔŋ-mə-yəŋ/cradle: /ver-da-ŋər/ peak.

/CVC-CVC-CV/-/suk-thuk-ta/ asthma.

/CCV-CV-CV/-/byã-sə-li/ flute, /phye-mi-te/ pregnant; /lha-də-i/ ordinary.

/CVC-CCVC-CV/-/bɔŋ-kwəl-ce/ hoof.

/V-V-CV/-/aina/ like this.

From the point of frequency the most frequent trisyllabic pattern is /CVC-CV-CV/, followed by /CV-CV-CV/ pattern. Other patterns attest only a limited number of examples.

No lexical item containing more than three syllables could be recorded in our data.

2.1.3. *Syllabic division*: Normally, the syllabic cut falls at the weakest link between each pair of two successive syllables determined by linguistic forces like accent (i.e., higher stress),

quantity of the syllable peak or the patterns of the syllables concerned.

In the matter of syllabic grouping it fully agrees with other languages of this group, i.e., the vowel is the nucleus (peak) of the syllable and consonants preceding or following it are the peripheri or margins. As such, other things being equal, in open syllables, the consonantal onset margin/margins of the initial syllable peak are grouped with it, e.g., in /li-bin/ and /sya-lo/ the consonants preceding the vowels are grouped with the vowels /i/ and /a/ for the purpose of forming the syllabic unit, and the succeeding consonants go with the succeeding syllable peaks. Thus in the above examples the syllabic division will be as /li-bin/ and /sya-lo/ (The dash indicating the place of syllabic cut).

But if the interlude, occurring in successive syllables, consists of more than one consonant, excluding semi-vowels, then the must conventional principle applicable to syllabic division is that the first member of this cluster goes with the previous syllable peak to form its coda margin and the second member is grouped with the succeeding syllable peak to form its onset margin. For instance, in /wam-da/ black and /thər-wa/ leopard the components /-m/ and /-r/ form the coda margin of the first syllable peaks, /-a/ and /-ə/, and /-d/ and /w/ form the onset margin of the second syllable peaks /a/ and /a/. Similarly, in a pattern like /rhi-pin /and/ choŋ-kro/ too the syllabic division will follow the same principle of grouping of phones to form the syllabic unit and to affect the mechanism of syllabification.

However, in case of the second /c/ of a complex interlude being a liquid or a semi vowel then the syllabic cut falls between the syllable peak of the preceding syllable and the first /c/ of the complex interlude: e.g. /to-lya/ deaf; /ši-śya/ heart, friend; /rhi-zya/ day before yesterday; /ni-pya/hen; /pu-thra/ forehead; otherwise. /wam-da/; /thuŋ-ga/, /slən-di/ etc.

3.0. GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

3.1. Word classes

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and

syntactic position the word classes attested in this speech are—
noun, pronoun, modifiers, verb and function words enclitics.
Normally, as in other languages in this words of noun, pro-
noun and verb classes enter into various types of morpho-
logical inflections, whereas others do not. As such words
belonging to former group are variable, *i.e.* are inflected for
various grammatical categories and those belonging to the
latter group are invariable or non-flectional.

3.2. Word Formation

In it a word can be both mono-morphemic or poly-morphe-
mic. The morphological processes employed for the formation
of polymorphemic words are—juxtaposition, prefixation (in a
few cases only), suffixation, infixation, reduplication and com-
pounding. Of these the devices of suffixation and compounding
are the most common particularly with regard to nominal,
pronominal and verbal stem formations. Various structural
and morphological elements, involving various grammatical
categories of these classes of words may be presented in the
following respective sections of this analysis.

3.3. Noun

Syntactically, a noun in it functions as a subject or object
of a verb. It may also function as a predicative word, referr-
ing to the subject or the object. Morphologically, it takes
grammatical categories of number, gender and cases, and is
also followed by post-positions.

3.4. Noun Classes

There are some instances in which the distinction of human
and non-human or animate and inanimate nouns also is
attested which may be explained as follows.

(*i*) Inanimate nouns are not inflected either for number
or gender.

(*ii*) Among animates only human nouns are inflected for
plural.

(*iii*) Animate nouns are not inflected for locative case.

(*iv*) In the inflection of ablative case too the animate and inanimate nouns favour different post-positions.

(*v*) This difference is also attested in the use of interroga- tive pronouns.

3.4.1. *Nominal stems*: As in other dialects of this group, in this too, three kinds of nominal stems, viz., primary, derived and compounded, are normally attested. Out of these the number of primary stems is the largest. Historically, a majority of them belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, but there is a sizeable number of them which belongs either to Indo-Aryan or falls under the category of indigenous. stock.

Primary stems belonging to the T.B. sources are both. monosyllabic and poly-syllabic, e.g., /tig/ one; /nilən/ air; /la/ hand; /nikhi/ dog; /nəŋ/ bangle; /wom/ bear; /ag-chəm/ beard; /ši/ blood; /rhe/ bone; /lipin/ book; /sa/ clay; /šya/ meat; /ṅhul/ silver; /mər/ ghee; /pho/ cave; /čim/ house; /chəm/ wool; /čha/ salt; /mən/dream; /mər-ti/ oil; /thaŋ/ plain; /myẽ/ eye; /me/ fire; /tete/ grand father; /ña/ fish; /lha/ moon; month; /piša/ head, /pi/ four, /ci/ ten, /lha/ moon, /ṭuk/ six etc.

Similar is the case of stems borrowed from the I.A. and other sources, e.g., /širi/ son; /ceme/ daughter; /kaka/ uncle; /poya/ elder brother; /kəsa/ cloud; /rəŋga/ cock; /like/ foot; /rhəŋ/ horse; /ti/ water; /lugṛa/ clothes, /ṭokri/ basket; /topka/ a drop; /bãjo/ fallow land; /tyar/ festival; /zəro/ fever; /ḍunya/ lame; /məntato/ luke warm; /phu/ copper; /čı/ plant; /jəṅ/ axe; /šina/ ghost; /šyalo/ fox; /dəm/ garlic, etc.

3.4.2. *Stem formation*: The normal mechanism of nominal stem formation in this is suffixation, reduplication and com- pounding.

(*i*) *Suffixation*: It is the most common device of stem formation. The formative suffixes may have some specific sense to convey or may not. In the latter case, the formative suffixes are, usually, bound forms and the resultant form functions as a complex stem to which are added the number,

gender and case suffixes. Some of the commonly used suffixes may be illustrated as follows:

pa—/hok-pa/ owl, /na-pa/ patient, /ñaŋ-pa/ evening, /phuŋal/ a copper water pot</phu/ copper.

(*ii*) *Reduplication*: Reduplication of syllables, stems or formation of echo-words is also a part of stem formation in it, e.g., /te-te/ grand father: /lə-la/ grand mother; /ci-ci/ aunt; /ka-ka/ mother's sister's husband; /phu-phu/ father's sister; /təm-təm/ river bank; /ta-ta/ elder sister.

(*iii*) *Compound stems*: The number of compound stems, having both the constituents as free forms with their indepen-dent meanings is fairly good in it. In this type of forma-tions, both the constituents of the compounded stem may be nominal or adjectival+nominal etc., conveying a copulative meaning. For the purpose of nominal inflections these stems too behave like primary stems. The following type of com-pound stems have been obtained from the data available to us.

(*i*) Noun+noun=Noun:

/mig-chəm/ eye brow; /ag-chəm/ beard; /lag-pan/ finger, /ruŋ-šiŋ/ handle; /ḍha-mi/ marriage party; /cag-dəl/ frying pan; /lag-dəl/ palm; /che-ti/ perspiration; /lag-chəb/ ring; /bu-ti/ butter milk; /ma-mu/ breast of woman; /me·lin/ fire place; /lak-sin/ nail of finger; /pE-laṅ-bE/ bedding.

(*ii*) Adj.+noun=Noun:

/phye-mite/ pregnant (with two beings); /šyaŋ-mi/ rich; /bɔ-la/ thumb; /cɔ-la/ index finger; /guṅri-guṅ-ma/ middle finger; /min-minind/ ring finger; /ki-kinc/ small finger; /khu-cipc/ bat; /kho-bu/ snake; /yərnəm/ north.

(*iii*) Verb+noun=Noun:

/thɔriradə/ begger</thoci-/ to beg; /ḍhəṅ-mi/ servant </ḍəṅ-/ to serve; /zernəm/ east; /rE nem/west.

Article: There is no definite article. In a colloquial speech

it is, however, expressed either with the numeral /tig/ 'one' or pronoun /udi/, /una/, /khəmi/ a certain etc., as in /tig mi/ a man, /udi∼khəmi ba/ a father.

3.5. Nominal Inflection

As in many other languages of this group, in this too there is no grammatical gender. As such a nominal stem is inflected for the number and the case categories only. In some cases these grammatical markers are kept apart from one another and in others are fused together; e.g., /širig/ boy's /širis/ by the boy; /siri-məṅ-sə/ by the boys; /širig daṅci/ for the boy; /širi-məṅ-daṅci/ for boys: Thus the order of different elements being as nominal stem+number marker+case marker.

3.5.1. *Gender*: As pointed out above, Rangkas does not recognize any grammatical gender; at least for native vocables. The natural gender which in no way affects the structure of other constituents of a sentence is, however, distinguished (*i*) either by using separate terms for paired groups of males and females, (*ii*) or by prefixing terms denoting the sense of 'male' and 'female' or 'he' and 'she' to the substantive concerned, or (*iii*) by suffixing a gender marker denoting 'father' and 'mother'. In borrowed items, however, the original pattern of the language from which it has been borrowed may be followed.

But in this dialect the gender distinction is confined to animate beings only, all inanimate objects are genderless. In this context it may also be pointed out that in the languages of the T.H. group animate beings too are treated as human and non-human for the purpose of gender differentiation, i.e., in case of human beings there are distinct terms for the male and female counterparts, or particular suffixes denoting the sense of 'father' and 'mother', but in case of non-human beings these are indicated by prefixing the term for 'he' and 'she' to the epiceneous term: e.g., /mo mala/ she goat; /pho mala/ he goat; /pho nikhi/ (male) dog; /mo nikhi/ bitch (though rarely); /rhaṅ/ horse;/ mo-rhaṅ/mare.

In human beings the gender distinction is attested as follows:

(a) Distinct terms for male and female counterparts:

baba/ba father	moma/na mother
sy∂nd/sy∂nn∂ son	ceme/c∂me daughter
pé brother	rhinsya sister
po-hya eldest brother	po-ta eldest sister
mi-hya youngest brother	mi-ta youngest sister
syant-mi old man	syant dheri old woman
tha ŋ-mi father-in-law	puni mother-in-law
tete grand-father	l∂la grand-mother
liŋe/lye bullock	sirE/rE cow
c∂rpya/r∂ŋga cock	nipya hen

(b) suffixation of terms denoting the sense of 'father' and 'mother' or 'man' and 'woman'.

ba: na -	pod-ba	elder uncle	pona	elder aunt
	mi-ba	younger uncle	mi-na	younger aunt
ka: ci -	po-ka	eldest uncle	po-ni	eldest aunt
	guŋ-ka	next uncle	gu-ni	next aunt
	sy∂ŋ-ka	next uncle	sy∂ŋ-ni	next aunt
pa: sya-	byaŋkhopa	Byangsi male	byaŋkho-sya	Byangsi female
φ : sya-	r∂thi	husband	r∂thi-sya	wife
ni: sya-	b∂ŋbani	Chaudangsi male	b∂rbasya	C. female
	d∂rmani	Darmiya male	d∂ṅmasya	D. female
mi: ni-	thaŋ-mi	maternal uncle	pu-ni	maternal aunt

In case of non-human animate beings the same epicene term is used for both the sexes of the species concerned, e.g., /mala/ ewe, sheep; /rh∂ŋ/ horse, mare; /wa/ tiger, tigress: /nikhi ~nikhu/ dog, bitch; /bila/ male/female cat etc.

However, if indication of sex in non-human animate beings is absolutely necessary then it is indicated by prefixing the terms /pho/ 'male' and /mo/ 'female' to the epicene term in question as in /pho-rh∂ŋ/ horse: /mo-rh∂ŋ/ mare etc.

3.5.2. *Number*: All nominal and pronominal stems are inflected for the singular and plural numbers only. There is no number marker for the singular. It is the absence of number marker that distinguishes it from the plural. The plural marker follows the stem and precedes the case suffixes, as in /∂ti-m∂ŋ-s∂/ by them, /širi-m∂ŋ-ge/ of the boys.

However, the plurality is marked for human beings only. All non-human beings and inanimate objects are used in singular only. As in other languages of the T.H. group in this too plurality is indicated in two ways, (1) by means of the plural marker suffix/-m∂ŋ/, and (2) by prefixing and attribute, *viz.* a numeral other than one or a term denoting the sense of plurality, such as some, a few, many, all, several etc. In verbal forms it is mostly inferred from the number of the subject of the verb in question.

(1) *Suffixal plurality*: In these dialects the plural marker suffix is /m∂ŋ∼maŋ/ which is affixed to all human animate nouns:

/∂ti/ he	: /∂ti-m∂ŋ/ they
/sy∂nd/ child	: /sy∂nd-m∂ŋ/ children
/ceme/girl	: /ceme-m∂ŋ/ girls
/mi/ man	: /mi-maŋ/ men
/siri/ son	: /siri-maŋ/ sons

Otherwise cf. /rhaŋ/horse, horses; /lama/ goat, goats; /ña/ fish, fishes: /la/ hand, hands; /siŋ/ tree, trees etc.

(ii) *Non-suffixal plurality*: As stated above the non-suffixal method of indicating plurality is either to use a numeral modifier other than for 'one' or use a modifier indicative of the sense of plurality such as /duma/ some, a few; /j∂mm∂i/ all, every; /m∂tt/ many. These may be illustrated by the following examples:

/jig tig rhinsya ∂ne~yin/ I have one sister

/jig sum rhinsya ∂nne~yin∂n/ I have three sisters

/in ɲisi pe yine/ we are two brother(s)

/in m∂tt pe ∂nne ~yine/ we are many brothers

/duma mi k∂den sid∂/ some people are awakened

/g∂ɳ-mi l∂yakt∂ yim∂n/ others have gone to sleep.

Grierson has recorded a term /titi/ 'many' also which may be used to indicate plurality which could be used predicatively as well, as in /ba titi~titiba/ fathers=many father.

In case of non-human objects plurality is not marked overtly, it is inferred either from the number of the subject or the verb, *e.g.* in /siɳko kh∂ci pat br∂kh∂n/ leaves fall from the tree; the plurality of the object 'leaves' is inferred by the verb form which is in the plural. Similarly /∂tig∂ (~usig∂) ulaɳ mala yin∂n/ how many goats has he?

/nã tiru nisne/ fishes live in water.

It is also inferred from the subject, as in

/sy∂nn∂-s∂ libin k∂lhɔ (~logs∂)/ a boy read a book.

/sy∂nn∂-m∂ɳ-s∂ libin k∂lhɔ/ boys read books.

Otherwise no distinction of plurality is available in expressions like 'field is~fields are filled with water, /rheza ti cibin (k∂bin)ni/.

3.5.3. *Case*: Case is a grammatical category in it and can be established on morpho-syntactic basis. Besides expressing the relationship of a noun with the verb in general, a case, particularly the genitive case, also expresses a relationship between two nouns or between a noun and pronoun.

The grammatical relations expressed by these are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possession, material composition, place, time, etc. In both the dialects the case markers are, more or less, the same.

In it the casal relations are expressed (*i*) either by means of suffixes, affixes to the bare stems of substantives in the

singular, and after the number suffixes in the plural or (*li*) by means of postpositions which follow specific inflected bases of nominal and pronominal stems. In the real sense of the term there are only three cases, viz., direct, ergative/agentive and genitive. All others are expressed with the help of post-positions.

All the case suffixes of Rangkas may be presented as below:

	Sq.	pl.
Direct	φ	φ
Acc. dative	ja	ja
Ag.-Erg.	-s∂	-s∂
Dative	daŋci/ja	daŋci/ja
Ablitive	kh∂či/caŋ	kh∂ci/cań
Genitive	-g∂/-gE	-g∂/-gE
Locative	kuŋ/kho (in)	kuŋ/kho (in)
	y∂r/ja (on)	y∂r/ja (on)

3.5.3.1. *Syntactic correlations*: Various syntactic correlations expressed by various case forms may be explained as under.

(*a*) *Direct case*: Morphologically, the direct case has no markers for any number. But syntactically it is used to denote the following grammatical relations;

(*i*) It is the subject of an intransitive verb or verb substantive:

/cipca (∼n∂pya) ph∂ŋk∂n (∼l∂ŋni)/ birds fly.

/siŋko kh∂ci pat pr∂kh∂n∼bh∂rni/ leaves fall from the tree.

/∂ti (∼u) dieg∂ yin (∼deg∂ne)/ he is going.

/je toŋ·mi yine/ I am alone.

/jig sum rhiŋsya yin∂n/ I have three sisters.

/ña ti kho (∼ku) nisne/ fishes live in water.

(*ii*)   It is an object of a transitive verb:

/ətisə (∼usə) syənnə duŋta/ he beats the child.

/ətisə (∼usə) siŋ cɔta/ he is cutting the tree.

/syənnə (∼syəndə) koṭo zagən/ the child is eating bread.

/širisə ceme tinsə (∼oŋsə)/ a boy looked at a girl.

/mid syənnə nagə nu tuŋnən/ small children drink mother's milk.

(*iii*)   It is also an object (direct) of a verb having two objects, i.e., direct and indirect.

/nasə (∼minaŋsə) syənnə nu data/ mother gives milk to the child.

/rhəŋ ti ji či dani/ give water and grass to the horse.

But in case of the direct object pertaining to human being, it takes the object marker /ja/ 'possession' and the direct object is placed in the direct case.

/jigə ingə-mi nənuja rusə/ I asked my younger brother.

/rajasə əpigə ceme thocidja kədda/

The king gave his daughter to the begger.

/wu wuja data/ he gives to him; /wu ji-ja data/ he gives to me, /insə u-ja datənE/ we give to him.

In a colloquial speech the objective marker /ja/ is usually dropped, consequently we get forms like /u ji data/ he gives to me; /gE wu data/ you give to him, etc.

(*e*) *Casal relationship of subject and object of a transitive verb*:

The casal relationship of the subject and the object of a transitive verb is well defined in it, i.e., the subject of all transitive verbs is invariably placed in the ergative case and the object in the nominative/direct case: (see below, ergative case).

The above mentioned casal relationship is fully maintained

even in the case of verbs having two objects, direct and in-direct (for examples see above, direct case (*iii*).

(*d*) *Vocative*: The noun in the vocative case, used for addressing or calling a person has no relation with otherwords in the sentence. It is, however, accompanied with vocative intonation, as in /e: sy∂nd! ulo deg∂ inno/ well boy! where are you going. /o ba/ well father!.

(*e*) *Ergative case*: As in other languages of this group, in this too, the ergative case is used to express the subject of a transitive verb, in the past or non-past. The ergative marker suffix is /se/ which is realized as /sE/ or /s/ as well.

/ɔ̃tis∂ (∼us∂) l∂n syunta/ he is working.

/sy∂nn∂ (∼sy∂nds∂) libin k∂lhɔ (∼logs∂)/child read a book.

/širis∂ ceme tins∂ (∼oŋs∂)/ a boy looked at a girl.

/sitas∂ ramja ∂m rus∂/ Sita asked Ram of the way.

/jis∂ tig womda nukhi t∂ŋs∂/ I saw a black dog.

/u-se∼sE/ by him, /ba-se/ by the father.

(*f*) *Causative Agent*. However, the causative agent takes /ja/ instead of /s∂/, as in /∂tis∂ sy∂nn∂ja l∂n phunta/

he gets the work done by the child:

(*g*) *Instrumental/Agentive*: Suffixes for the instrumental/agentive case are similar to that for the ergative case.

/rams∂ tirsE bali k∂sse/ Ram killed Bali with an arrow.

/cipca (∼nipya) rh∂ŋplis∂ ph∂ŋk∂n/ bird fly with wings.

/∂tis∂ (∼us∂) jh∂ŋs∂ šiṅ c∂ta/ he cuts the tree with an axe.

(*h*) *Sociative case*: The sociative case which expresses either casual or inherent association of a thing or a person with some other things or persons is expressed with the help of postpositions /pha, te, zero/ 'with':

/∂i uso luŋ tite zamo/ take this medicine with hot water.

/gəte zoro (~bha) gəɳmi una (~khəmi) nisə/ who was the other person with you?

/əti (~u) usigə bate zoro (~bha) demə yin/ he has to go with his father.

(*i*) *Dative*: The sense of dative case is expressed either with the accusative marker /ja/ or with a postposition/daɳci/ which follows the genitive base of a noun or pronoun:

/jig daɳci/ for me; /nəg daɳci/ for you; /gE-ja/ to you;

/cha daɳči/ for a month; /duma zya daɳci/ for a few days;

/wu gE-ja data/ he gives to you; /gəs in-ja datən/ you give to us.

It is also used with a verbal noun acting as a logical object, as in /zam daɳci/ to eat, for eating; /ram daɳci/ to bring, for bringing: /khĩːr koim daɳci phucəb (~phecəb) ciɳken/ rice is needed to prepare/ for preparing kheer.

(*j*) *Ablative*: The casal relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person is expressed with the postposition /khəci/ 'from', which is normally preceded by /yər, kuɳ, ko/ the locative markers, though the suffix /ci/ itself is a locative marker as in /siːr ci/ in the jungle.

/dilli khəci/ from Delhi; /siɳ yər (~ko) khəci/ from the tree;

/uyər~danku khəci/ from the mountain;

/lu khəci~la kuɳkhəci/ from the hand.

/siɳko (~yər) khəci pat phərni (~lhəni)/

leaves fall from the tree.

(*k*) *Genitive*: The genitive case expresses a mutual relationship between two substantives. In this it is expressed with the suffix /gə/ which is realized as /ge~gE/ as well. /jigə/ my; /nəgə/ thy: /gənigə/ your; /ugə~ətigə/ his; /nagə/ mother's; /rEgə/ cow's: etc. /əi (~idi) jig čim lbe/ it is my house.

/nəg širio ulo yin/ where is your son?

/mid sy∂nm∂ŋ nag∂ nu tuŋn∂n/ babies drink mothers' milk

/ramg∂ (ram∂ŋge) nas∂ sy∂nm∂ŋ rEg∂ nu data/

Ram's mother gives cow's milk to the children.

/ug∂ (∼∂tig∂) kh∂ min lhe/ what is his name?

With regard to the genitive suffix Byangsi attests a distinction between human and non-human objects i.e., it takes the genitive suffix /m∂ṅg∂/ if the relationship is between human beings, as in/ ram∂ŋge na/ Ram's mother, /Moh∂n-m∂ŋge ba/ Mohan's father, otherwise only /-g∂/, as in /ramg∂ libin/ Ram's book; /rEg∂ nu/ cow's milk, etc.

The genitive case has a morphological importance, because it serves as a base for the use of the post-positions expressing casal relationship of the dative case, especially with reference to pronominal stems (for examples see above, dative case).

(*l*) *Locative*: The use of locative is restricted to inanimate nouns only. Moreover, various time and space oriented relations of this case are expressed by various post-positions and adverbial phrases: The most commonly used locative marker in Byangsi are: /kho/ 'on' /ja/ in, /her/ on, /kh∂r/ on; and in Chaudangsi /kuŋ/ 'in' and /y∂r/ 'on', *e.g.* /b∂ndo kuŋ (∼kho)/ in the pot; /soŋ kuŋ (∼kho)/ in the village; /pho kuṅ/ in the cave; /ti kuŋ (∼kho) in the water; /la kuṅ (∼kho)/ in the hand; /me ku (∼kho)/ in fire; /rheza/ in the field; /lakho/ ʃin/ on the hand, /pišakho/ on the head; /th∂ŋza/ in the field; /cimza/ in the house.

/∂i (∂di) bendo kuŋ (∼kho) kh∂ k∂tasid ∂ne(∼yin)/ what have you put there in this pot?

/∂ti soṅ kuŋ (∼kho) ulaŋ mi ñisine (∼b∂ste yin∂n)/

how many people live in that village?

/n∂g∂ (∼na) la-kuŋ (∼kho) idi(∼∂i) kh∂ lhe/

what is this in your hand?

3.5.4. *Postpositions*: There are a few more post-positional terms which, like case suffixes, indicate various casal relationships of nouns and pronouns with other nouns and pronouns in

a syntactic string. These postpositions invariably follow the noun or pronoun to denote the relationship for which they stand. Some of the commonly used postpositions of Chaudangsi and Byangsi are —

/kho/ in, /te/ with, /te-bha, te-joro/ together with, /gunda/ between, /khǝ-ci/ from, /yǝr/ on, /ja-ti/ on, /caŋ/ from, etc.

All of these are added to the nominative base of a noun or pronoun. But there are some which follow an inflected base of a noun or pronoun in the genitive case. The most important of these are—/daŋci/ for, /yekhu/ under, /khE/~ /khǝi/ instead of, /neṛo/ near, /nigǝm/ behind, /bhitǝro/ inside.

Besides, it has a post-position, viz., /ja/ which is used to indicate the sense of 'from, to, at, in possession of', etc. which may be illustrated as under:

(a) *Accusative*: The accusative sense of /ja/ may be seen in the following expressions:

/jisǝ khǝm-ja luksǝ (~lesu)/ to whom did I say?

/gǝnsǝ (~gǝsǝ) ǝti-ja (~uja) kǝlunisǝ lhe (~lensǝlhe)/ you may have told him.

/jisǝ ingǝmi nǝnu-ja ǝikhoi (~hida) ram daŋci kǝluksidǝn/

I told my younger brother to come here.

/ramsǝ mohǝn-ja tig kǝtha rusǝ/ Ram asked mohǝn one-thing.

/jisǝ ingǝ syǝŋ ka-ja ciṭṭi rimǝ yin/

I have to write a letter to my uncle.

/je thin-za ñan-chǝ čim-ja degyinye/

I am going to my home today.

/in rojari ǝtimǝ̃ŋ (usi) cimja ralline (~rane)/

we used to come to their house daily.

/je itta re-ja ḍemu cinkhye/

I wish to go to the field just now.

(*b*)   It is also used as a marker of causative agentive:

/ətisə syənnə-ja len phutna/ he gets the work done by the child.

(*c*)   Possession—with animate nouns it also indicates the sense of possession, /gən-ja (~gə-za) ulaŋ rupya yin (~əni)/

how much money is with you (=in your possession)?

/in-ja gəni-ja can duguna re əne/

we have (possess) double the land than you have (possess).

3.5.5. *Models of Nominal Declension*

A. Human

/mi/ man	sg.	pl.
Nominative	mi	mi-məŋ
Accusative	,,	,,
Ergɸ Ag.	mi/-sə~se	mi-məŋ-sə/-se
Dative	mi-daŋci	mi-məŋ-danci
Ablative	mi-khəci	mi-məŋ khəci
Genitive	migə/-gE	miməŋgə/-gE
/širi/ boy		
Nom.	širi	širi-məŋ
Acc.	,,	,,
Erg/Ag.	širi-sə/-se	širi-məŋ-sə
Dat.	širig-daŋci	širi-məŋ daŋči
Abl.	širi-za-khəci	širi-məŋ-za-khəci
Geni	širigə/-gE	širi-məŋ-gə.
/ceme/~/cəme/ girl.		
Nom.	cəme	cəme-məŋ
Acc.	,,	,,

Erg./Ag.	cɘme-sɘ/-se	cɘme-mɘŋ-sɘ/-se
Dat.	cɘme-daŋci	„ dańci
Abl.	cɘme-za-khɘci	„ za-khɘci
Gen.	cɘmeg	„ gɘ

B. Non-human (only singular)

	/nikhi/ dog	/lama/ goat
1-2	nikhi	lama
3-	nikhi-sɘ	lama-sɘ
4-	nikhi-daŋči	lama-daŋǰi
5-	nikhiza-khɘci	lama-za-khɘčı
6-	nikhi-gɘ	lama-gɘ
	/la/ hand	/šiŋ/ tree
1-2	la	/siŋ
3-	lak-cɘ	siŋ-sɘ
4-	la-daŋci	×
5-	la-co-khɘci	siŋ-kho-khɘci
6-	lagɘ	siŋ-gɘ
7-	la-kho/-yerto	siŋ-kho/-yɘrto

4.0. PRONOUN

Pronouns which substitute nouns can, like nouns, function as subject, object, etc. in a syntactic construction. Morphologically these too are inflected for two numbers and six casal relations, including postpositional relations, but at least the personal pronouns are not inflected for locative case.

Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible into six classes, viz., (1) Personal, (2) Demonstrative, (3) Interrogative, (4) Indefinitive, (5) Reflexive, (6) Relative. Of these the pronouns of personal, demonstrative and reflexive classes are inflected for both the numbers, but not others.

4.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns stand for nouns of 'the person speaking', 'the person spoken to' and the 'person or thing spoken of'. These represent the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons respectively and are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems: /ji/~/je/ I; /in/ we; /g∂n/ thou; /g∂ni/ you; /k∂n/ you (hon.); /∂ti/ he; /∂ti-m∂ɳ/ they. (for complete declensional forms, see Model Declensions).

From the point of inflection, personal pronouns fully agree with the inflectional patterns of animate nouns, i.e., the case markers, post-positions added to them are the same and follow the same morphophonemic rules. In case of plurality they, except the 3rd person, follow a different pattern, i.e., in these it is marked either by replacing the stem itself, as in /je/ I: /in/ we; or by suffixation, as in /g∂n / thou: /g∂ni/ you; /u/ that: /usi/ those, they; but /∂ti/ he: /∂tim∂ɳ/ they.

4.1.1. *Possessive pronoun*: In these ˌdialects possessive pronouns are not inflected for the case category, e.g.,

/in rojari ∂tim∂ṅ (~usi) cim-za rad line/

We used to visit (go) their home daily. Here the personal pronoun /∂ti~u/ which syntactically is in the possessive case is inflected for the number category only.

4.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

The third person pronominal stems represent the demonstrative pronouns as well which are used for 'pointing out' a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' person or thing. In these dialects these are attested as /idi~∂i/ this; |∂ti~∂tiṅ/ that; /ye~ne/this

/idi (~∂i) jig cim lhe/ this is my house.

/∂ti (~∂tiṅ) iṅg∂ tete m∂ṅg∂ soṅ lhe/

that is my maternal grand father's village.

/n∂g~na lakho ∂i~(idi) kh∂ lhe/

what is this in your hand?

4.3. Interrogative Pronouns

This class of pronouns is used for enquiring about some one or some thing. In Byangsi the most commonly used interrogative stems are—/khə-mi/ who?; /khE/ what?; /una/ who, which?; /ulań/ how much, how many? In Chaudangsi these are attested as /khə-mi/ who?; /khə/ what?; /ulań/ how much?; /həm/ how? etc.

/əti una širi nisə/ who was that boy?

/jisə unaja (~khəmja) laks (~lesu)/

to whom did I say?

/gəte zoro (~bha) gəńmi una (~khə-mi) nise/

who was the other person with you?

/una ṭokri lhe/ which basket is this?

In these the term for 'which' normally occurs as a modifier and as such is not inflected for any number or case. But the term for 'who' is inflected for all the cases, though for singular only, *e.g.* /khəmi-una/ who?/ khəm-ja/ to whom?;

/khə-mi-sə~una-sə/ by whom?; /khəmi-dańci/ for whom? /unagə/ whose?, of whom?.

4.4. Indefinitive Pronouns

Pronouns of this class refer to an unknown or unidentified person or thing. As in other languages, in this too these are formed with interrogative stems by adding /ri/ to them; /khəmiri/ anyone; /khəri/ anything, something, /udi/ a certain; /duma/ some; /ajań/ another.

/ətiməń khə cinkhənən suńnen la/ they may do whatever they like.

/gən khəri thocin dayəńgə/ whatever you ask for, I shall give.

/wa tingəi jəmməi kəpeoń/ all ran away on seeing the tiger.

4.5. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns substitute and refer to a noun or pronoun which is, as a rule, the logical subject of the sentence.

Reflexive pronouns are expressed either with genitive forms of the pronoun concerned or with the help of the stem /∂pi/:

/je jig l∂n jie (∼∂pi) huṅc∂/ I myself will do my work.

/in ∂pig l∂n ∂pie syuṅ c∂gnya/ we ourselves do our work.

/g∂n na (∼n∂g∂) l∂n g∂ie syuṅcin/ you yourselves do your work.

/∂ti ug∂ (∼∂pi) l∂n ∂pie syoṅlo/ he himself should do his work.

4.6. Relative Pronoun

As in other languages of this group, in this too there are no separate stems for relative pronouns. Usually, the interrogative pronouns are employed to serve the purpose of relative pronouns as well; or in most of the cases it is left out too; but in these dialects the I.A. relative pronominal stems have also found a place.

/jE-g/ whose; /jo-kh∂-ri/ whatever,

/z∂i ray∂ṅ, ∂ti de∂ṅ/ who comes, he will go.

/∂tim∂ṅ kh∂ chiṅkh∂n∂n, šuṅn∂n la/ they may do whatever they like.

/∂i ∂tie mi lhe j∂i in s∂i myare tinnes∂/

He is the same person whom we saw yesterday.

/rupyã jo r∂rEta/ the rupees which (he has) brought.

/jo jig ∂ni, ∂ti n∂g ∂ni/ whatever is mine, (that) is dine.

4.7. Models of Pronominal Declensions

/je/∼/ji/ 'I'

Case	singular	plural
Nominative	ji	in

Accusative	ji/ jija	in /inja
Erg. Agentive	jis∂	in-s∂.
Dative	ji danci	in-danči
Ablative	ji can (-ri)	in-can (-ri)
Genitive	jig∂ (-ge)	in-g∂ (-ge)

/g∂n/ 'you', /k∂n/ you (hon.)

Nom.	g∂n/ gE	g∂ni
Acc.	,, /gE-ja	,, /g∂ni-ja
Erg. Ag.	g∂-s∂	g∂ni-s∂
Dative	n∂g/na danci	g∂nig∂/na danci
Abl.	g∂-can(ri)	g∂ni-can (-ri)
Gen.	n∂-g∂/na	g∂ni-g∂

/∂ti/ 'he'

Nom.	∂ti	∂ti-m∂n
Acc.	,,	,,
Erg./ Ag.	∂ti-s∂	∂ti-m∂n-s∂
Dat.	∂ti danci	∂tim∂n danci
Abl.	∂ti can	∂tim∂n can
Gen.	ug∂/ ∂tig∂ (By.)	usig∂/ ∂tim∂ng∂

/u/~/o/ that

Nom.	o/u	usi
Acc.	u/u-ja	usi/ usi-ja
Erg. /Ag.	us∂	usi-s∂
Dative	u-danči	usi-danci
Genitive	u-g∂	usi-g∂
Loc.	u-kun/u-kho	usi-kun/-kho

5.0. ADJECTIVES

As in other languages of this group, in this too, adjectives belong to that class of words which qualify a noun or pronoun or intensify the meaning of another adjective. Structurally, these belong to the indeclinable class of words, but on the basis of their syntactic position and semantic function they are treated as a separate class of words. Morphologically, these can be classified as pronominal and non-pronominal. The former are variable, i.e., inflected for number, and the latter non-variable.

5.1. **Pronominal Adj.**

There are two types of them, (1) Possessive and (2) Demonstrative. These may be illustrated as under:

(1) Possessive Pronominal Adj.—/jig∂/ my; /ing∂/ our; /n∂g∂/ your (sg); /g∂nig∂/ your (pl.); /∂tig∂/ his: /∂tim∂ṅ-g∂/ their. But in Chaudangsi the forms of the 3rd person are – /ug∂/ his; /usig∂/ their; Rest of the forms are common. However, in a colloquial speech genitive case marker /g∂/ is leftout with plural forms.

(2) Demonstrative Pronominal Adj.—/∂i rh∂ṅ/ this horse /∂tiṅ rh∂ṅ/ that horse. (Chaudangsi terms are—/idi/ this and /∂te/ that). Moreover, adjectives belonging to this class can be termed as distinguishing too, because these distinguish a person or thing from another person or thing, e.g., in an utterance like /n∂g rh∂ṅ your horse, the qualifier /n∂g/ distinguishes the /rh∂ṅ/ 'horse' from other horses, /sid raṅ/ white horse, /∂ṅsid rahṅ/ tall horse.

5.2. **Non-Pronominal Adj.**

The non-pronominal adjectives which either denote a quality such as good, bad, black, red, etc., or quantity, such as enough, plenty, much, etc., or number, such as some, few, many, four, five, etc. or some state or condition, such as sad, jolly, cold, hot, etc., may be termed as describing one, because they simply describe the quality, quantity, state or number of the noun head qualified by them. Morphologically, these

belong to non-variable class, i.e., are not inflected either for the number or for the case form of the noun head qualified by them: /budə syəndə/ good boy; /budə ceme/ good girl; /budə ceme məṅ/ good girls; /wamda nipya/ black hen; /wamda rəṅga/ black cock; /wamda rəṅgaməṅ/ black cocks; /ədi~əi bəṇḍokho (~kuṅ) in this pot; /ətisoṅ kho (~kuṅ) in that village; /əti bəkhtər/ at that time.

Some of the most frequently used radical adjectives belonging to this class are—/jəmmə/ all every; /dəṅthə/ beautiful; /mət/ much, many; /həjo/ more; /uləṅ/ how much, how many; /una/ which?; /duma/ a few; /coṅ~əccho/very.

The interrogative /khə/ and the indefinitive /jəmmə/ are invariably followed by the term /mi/ 'human being', when these refer to human beings, as in /gənsə khəmi huig tansə/ (Chaud.) to whom were you calling forth?:

/jisə khəm(i) ja lesu (~luksə)/ to whom did I say?;

/əti khəmi širi nisə/ which one was that boy?, otherwise

/ugə~ətigə khə miṅlhe/ what is his name?

5.3. Formation of Adj.

Adjectives are both radical and derived. Radical adjectives are mono-morphemic, but derived are poly-morphemic. The adjectives illustrated above are all radical ones. A few examples of the derived are as under:

(*i*) /də/: Basically, it is a suffix used to form past participle in verbal constructions, but in Rangkas it is the most commonly used formative suffix of an adjective as well, e.g., /yədə/ bad; /buə/ better, good; /podə/ big; /midE/small; /wamdə/ black; /khadə/ bitter; difficult; /tində/ blue, green; /lodə/ cheap, easy; /rhadə/ clean; /bəldə/ fat; /phudə/ grey; /kəndə/ hard; /luṅdə/ hot; /hyedə/ yellow; /nudə/ new; /radə/ next; /məṅdə/ red; /taṅ-də/ alive; /pujində/ burnt; /kəkhedə/hungry.

In some cases it is also realized as /-t~th/ (a dvoiced-d): /doktə/ bright; /li:thE/ heavy; /syəkəntE/ kind.

(*ii*) Adjectives are also formed by compounding numeral and nominal stems, as in /toṅ-mi/ alone; /ni-mi/ both,

(iii) They are also derived from verbal roots-/luṅ-də/ hot<
/luṅ-/ to make hot.

(iv) /-ci/ pertaining to /yunkuči/ lower; /yərtoci/ upper;
/gunnači/medial:

(v) numeral+noun-/sumrute/ triangular; /pirute/square;

(vi) In Byangsi they are also formed with /thə~th/ as in,
/wə-th/ far; /cin-th/ proper: /syaṅ-thə/ old, which is also used
as past participal suffix.

5.4. Placement of Adjectives

In Rangkas, like I.A., the qualifiers of a noun are invariably
used attributively; *e.g.* /mət pe/ many brothers; /sum rhiṅsya/
three sisters; /ulaṅ mala/ how many goats?; /womda nikhi/
black dog; /luṅ ti/ hot water; /bud-mi-məṅ/ good men; /unan
yəd širi/ a bad boy.

In a noun phrase containing more than one adjective, the
sequential order of different classes of adjectives is like this: ±
demonstrative, ± pronominal, ± numeral, ± intensifier, ±
describing. /idi bud mi-maṅ/ these good people.

/əi (~idi) jig čim lhe/ this is my house.

/jig tig rhinsya yin/ I have a sister.

/jisə tig wamda nikhi taṅsə/ I saw a black dog.

/jisə tig məttə womdə nikhi taṅsə/

I saw a very black dog.

But in case of more than one describing adjectives quali-
fying a noun head, the one referring to size precedes the one
referring to one quality/ colour:

/jisə tig məttəi podə womdə nikhi taṅsə/

I saw a very big black dog.

/kəyər midə-midə maṅdə cipc-məṅ ṭisoṅ sidene/

very small red birds are seated on the roof.

5.5. Degrees of Comparison

As is the case with many I.A. and T.B. languages, in it too

the comparison of degrees of adjectives is non-suffixal. In comparing two objects it is affected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case and the object being compared in the nominative case, along with the term /caṅ/ 'from' or /cyaṅ/ prepositioned to the modifier, e.g.,

/yu kuci re y∂rto-ci re caṅ pod yin/

the lower field is bigger than the upper one.

/inja k∂miṅ c∂ṅri niguna jimi yin/ we have double the land than your.

/ug pé wo r∂ṅsya cyaṅ bhuṅ tE ∂ni/ his brother is taller than his sister.

In case of comparison among more than two objects, i.e., in the superlative degree the particle of comparison, viz., /l∂kcaṅ/ 'from all' or /lE cyaṅ/ is prepositioned to the modifier in question:

/gunna-či re l∂kcaŋ pod yin/

The medial field is the biggest of all.

/pod peza l∂kcaŋ pod∂ jimi yin/

elder brother has/ possesses more than all others' land.

/lE cyaŋ bud/all from good=best, /u cyaŋ doma bud/him from-a-little-good=better.

5.6. Agreement with the Noun Head

As pointed out above, in it no class of adjectives shows any agreement with the noun head qualified by them:

/jig širi/ my son; /jig ceme/ my daughter;

/jig širim∂ŋ/ my sons; /jig cemem∂ŋ/ my daughters;

(Also see non-pronominal adjectives, above).

/g∂nza ul∂ŋ rupya yin/ how much money is with you?

/g∂nig∂ ul∂ŋ šire~rE in∂n/ how many cows have you?

/∂ti una širi nis∂/ which boy was he?

/∂ti una ṭokri nis∂/ which basket was that?

6.0. NUMERALS

As in other dialects of the Rangkas group, in Chaudangsi and Byangsi too numerals share the position of qualifiers. As such these are a sub-class of adjectives. The formal sub classes of this class of adjectives are—(1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, (6) Approximatives.

6.1. Cardinals

The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'twenty' are as follows:

/tig/ one; /nisi/ two; /sum/ three; /pi/ four; /ṅ∂i/ five;

/ṭogo∼ṭugo/ six; /nis∼nisy∂/ seven; /zy∂d/ eight;

/gui/ nine; /ci/ ten; /c∂te∼c∂the/ eleven; /c∂ne/

twelve; /c∂sum/ thirteen; /c∂pi/ fourteen; /c∂b∂ṇ/

fifteen; /c∂ṭo/ sixteen; /c∂ni/ seventeen; /c∂dze/

eighteen; /curgu∼cirgu/ nineteen; /n∂sa/ twenty.

From the above it is evident that forms of the numerals from one to ten are monomorphemic and from eleven to twenty poly-morphemic which are formed by combining the appropriate allomorphs for the term 'ten' as its first component and those of one to nine as the second component, but in the case of 'twenty' the order of the components is reversed, i.e., it becomes two × ten, besides the phenomenon of replacement also takes place.

In these forms the notable morphophonemic change is that the morpheme /ci/ is rewritten as /c∂/ before the components for 1-8. Besides the morphophonemic change in /tig/→/te/; /ṇ∂i/→/b∂ṇ/; /ṭogo/→/ṭo/; /ṇis/→/ni/; /zy∂d/→/dze/; /gui/→ /gu/; /nisi/→/n∂/ also are notable.

Like other languages of this group these too, follow the decimal system of counting. Consequently, numerals above ten are formed by compounding the terms from one to nine to terms for 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90. Moreover, in this system the terms for the decades of 20, 30 etc., too are

formed by combining the terms for numerals for 2-9 and for 10, respectively as the first and the second component of them, e.g., 20 is 2, 10 /nəsa/, 30=3, 10 /sum-sa/, 40=4, 10 /pisa/ etc. For 50 there are two terms, viz., /ñasa/=5, 10 and /pi-sa-ci/ (=4, 10, 10; 60 is /ṭukcha/ 6, 10, but for seventy there are again two terms, *viz*-/nissa* nis-sa-sum, and /ṭukcha-6, 10, 10 and 90 is /zy əcchaci/=8, 10, 10.

Further, to form the series of different decades numerals from one to nine are directly added to the term for the decade in question, *e.g.* /nəsa tig/ 21 (=20, 1); /nəsa ñəi/ 25 (=20, 5);

/sumsa nis/ 32(=3,10,2); /ñasa tig/ 51 (=5,10,1);

/tug sa sum/ 63 (6,10,3); /syəd-sa-pi/ [syəccha pi]

84; /syəccha ci ṭug/ 96 (=8,10,10), so on and so forth.

Numerals for hundred series are formed by using the term for 1-9 followed by the term for hundred, viz., /səi/, as in /nis səi/ 200, /sum səi/ 300, /pi səi/ 400 etc.

Numerals above the series of hundred figures are formed by adding the specific numeral to the specific hundred numeral, joined by an additive particle /ər/, as in /səi ər tig /101, /səi ər pisa/ 140, but for 250 there is a special term, *viz.*/ /phyədte sum səi/ i.e., half to three hundred.

Higher numeral terms like thousand, ten thousand and lakh are seldom needed by common folk. In case of necessity either the Tibetan terms /toñ/ 1000, /thi/ 10,000, /bum/ 1,00,000 were used or the I.A. terms, /həzar/ 1000, /dəs həzar/ 10,000 and /lakh/ 1,00,000 are used.

6.2. Ordinals

The use of separate terms of ordinals is not prevalent among the speakers of these dialects. In case of necessity the borrowed I.A. terms, viz., /pEla/ first, /dusro/ second, /tisro/ third, etc., are used. At least I could not get any term from my informants.

6.3. Aggregatives

This class of numerals denotes the number of persons or things together or collectively. In it the aggregatives are

obtained by suffixing /mən̄/, the plural formative particle, to the numeral in question.

/ni-mi-ri/~/ni-mi/ both,/ sum-mən̄/ all the three,

/ñəi-mən̄/ all the five, and so forth.

/əti (~usi) ni-mi chən̄nəm rayən̄nən/

both will come tomorrow.

/gəni (usi) sum-mən̄ lagəkə je ləb-nisə̂/

all the three struck me together (=having met).

/əti ñəi-mən̄ chənəñ əikho rayən-nən/

they all five shall come here tomorrow.

6.4. Multiplicatives

This class of numerals denotes multiplicity of things in terms of 'times' or 'folds'. In it these are obtained by adding the borrowed terms /co, ro, guna/ to the number in question, as in /ticco/</tig-co/ once, /dusro/ twice, again, /tisro/ third etc. or /ni-guna/ double, two times, /sum-guna/ three fold, three times etc.

6.5. Fractionals

The commonly used fractionals in it are—

/phye~phyəd/ half; /phyədte nisə/ one and a half;

/phyəd-te sum/ two and a half;

6.6. Segregative

In it the segregative adjective is identical with indefinitive: /jəmmə/ every, all; /jəmmə miza tig tig duli nise/ every one had a stick.

6.7. Approximative

The sense of approximation is expressed by using the item for the specific numeral preceded by /ləgbhəg/ 'about' a borrowed term from I.A. Besides, a set of two numerals in a consecutive or a random order is used to form the approximative phrases.

/ətko əti bəkhtər ləgbhəg ṅəi-ṭugo mi ninənse/

at that time there were about 5-6 persons.

/je duma zya daṅci gui-cii rupya dani/

please give me about 9-10 rupees for a few days.

It may be interesting to note that in case the approximation pertains to human beings then the term /mi/ 'human being' is appended to each of them, though the term for 'man' or 'men' also is used as usual separately, e.g., /ṅa mi ñis mi mi/ about 5, 7 persons. But no such an affixation is attested in the case of non-human objects.

7.0. VERBAL SYSTEM

The verbal system of this dialect is quite simple. For, the verb roots attest minimum inflection for numbers and persons in various tenses and moods.

7.1. Classification of Verb Roots

Structurally, verb roots in it belong to three categories, viz., Primary, Derived and Compounded. Though most of the verb roots are primary ones, yet there are some which belong to the other two categories as well. Moreover, on the basis of casal forms taken by them for their subject or object or on the basis of syntactic distinction of having a second noun/ pronoun other than the noun/pronoun serving as their subject, as the legitimate object of the verb concerned, these roots can be classified as transitive and intransitive as well.

The most distinguishing feature of transitive and intransitive verbs in it is this that the subject of the transitive class of verbs is invariably placed in the ergative case, whereas that of the intransitive class of verbs is placed in the nominative/ direct case.

Besides simple transitive and intransitive verbs, there may be a few verb roots which are called verbs of incomplete predication, i.e., requiring a predicative word, usually a noun or adjective for completing the sense indicated by the verb form, as in

/in mət pe yine/ we are many brothers

/jig sum rhiṅsya yinən ~əne/ I have three sisters.

/je koṭo zamə cinkhe/ I want to eat bread.

(*i*) *Primary roots*: In these dialects primary roots are mostly mono-syllabic, *e.g.* -/dob-/ to see; /oṅ-/ to show; /lo-/ to say; /šuṅ-/ to tell; /ən-/ to lift: /ta-/ to place: /rici-/ to get up; /cici-/ to think; /chil-/ to wash; /gal-/ to call; /nəm-, nəb-/ to arrive; /ṭu-/ to add; /ru-/ to ask; /duṅ-/ to beat; /juṅ/ to begin; /ce-~ci-/ to bite; /rəm-/ to bring; /šyuṅ-/ to make; /ra-/ to come; /za-/ to eat; /tuṅ-/ to drink; /da-/ to give; /ḍe-/ to go; /ko-/ to cook; /te-/ to cry;/ thən-/ to dance,/ hi-/ to laugh.

(*ii*) *Derived roots*: The commonly derived roots in it are those which belong to the category of intransitive roots, derived from transitive roots by suffixing /-si/ to it; /pa-/ to make, to take circle: /pa-si-/ to encircle; /ta-/ to prick: /ta-si-/ to be pricked; /yə-si-/ to take bath; /kɔn-si-/ to bend; /lok-si-/ to climb; /lha-si-/ to descend; /dak-si-/ to fight; /lo-si-/ to forget; /lhap-si/ to learn; /dəm-si-/ to lean; /cuk-si-/ to put on; /duk-si-/ to quarrel; /lhok-si/ to read; /hyuk-si-/ to ride; /ḍəṅ-si-/ to serve; /ca-si/ to hide oneself</cya/ to hide, conceal.

7.2. Compound Verbs

Normally, languages of Tibete-Himalayan group do not favour the use of compound verbs, yet these are not totally wanting too, though the number of verbal roots forming a compound stem is not more than two, of which the first is the main and the second a subsidiary and all grammatical categories are carried by the final constituent itself. In this dialect the most commonly employed auxiliaries are: /ən-/~/ yin-/ to be, /ni-/ to be; /lhe/ to become; /ta-/ continuity; /ci-/ desire, order.

In Rangkas, besides the employment of auxiliaries in periphrastic constructions (see perfect and continuous tenses)

there are instances in which compounding of different verbal
roots too is attested: /tər-/ can, /da-/~/ta-/ let, give, /-cin-/
want; /-pər-/ had to; /syuṅ-ci-/ to finish. /šuṅcin/do (=Hindi-
kər lo): /ḍeləṅ tak lhinən/ were allowed to go; /suṅ pərkən/ has
to be done, one has to do; /diem pərkən/ one has to go, /ramə
ciṅkh nisə/ wanted to come, /diemə ciṅkh-ye/ (I) want to go,
etc.

7.3. Verbs compounded with Nouns and Adjectives

The device of compounding certain nouns and adjectives
with certain verb stems, to express a single verbal concept,
too, is attested in it, e.g.,

/suru syuṅ-/ to begin; /rusu̥ra-/ to be angry;

/radə-əni/ to clean; /binti syuṅ-/ to request; /psya-ro/~

/pusyu-ro-/ to comb; /gul-si-/ to cough; /soma-əni/

to treat; /mə-syuṅ-/ to forbid; /hyəka-šuṅ-/ to remember;

/oṅ-si-/ to treat; /bud-ta-/ to love, to like.

7.4. Transitivization

Basically, like other T.H. languages in the Rangkas group
too, there is no inbuilt system of deriving transitive or causa-
tive stems from other roots by modifying them, rather they
have distinct roots for the transitive or intransitive sense of a
verb, e.g.,

Intransitive	*Transitive*
gwən- to fall	knə- to fell
yən- to listen	suṅ- to tell, to narrate
lwə-/zim to burn	ci- to kindle
hici- to die	sa- to kill
zu- to grow	yib- to grow, to be grown
kujya- to be broken	chya- to break
rhinci- to stop	to- to make to stop
rəci- to rise, to get up	əṅ- to raise

But at the same time it may be interesting to note that besides the above noted feature, in some cases the mechanism deriving intransitive roots from transitive stems, by means of affixing the derivative /si/ is also attested:

Transitive		*Intransitive*	
lo-	to swing, to shake	lo-si-	to take a swing
chya-	to break	chya-si-	to be broken
syəṅ-	to make to sit	syəṅ-si-	to sit
cya-	to hide	cya-si-	to hide oneself
thi-	to make to melt	thi-si-	to melt itself
ṭa-	to prick	ṭa-si-	to prick itself
pa-	to make, to move	pa-si-	to move, to whirl.

7.5. Verbal Conjugation

In it, a verb is conjugated for the grammatical categories of person, number, tense, mood and aspects. In these languages a verb is, normally, not conjugated for voice categories, for in the colloquial speech no favour is shown for the use of passive or impersonal constructions. Rather all expressions relating to passive or impersonal voices are transformed into the structure of an active voice.

From the point of temporal conjugation too it attests a clear distinction for the present, past and future tenses only. Similarly, from the point of aspects (i.e., denotation of nature of action) the verb stems show a distinction between perfect and non-perfect only, there being no clear distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspects of it. Both of them are freely used for each other, though literal rendering of linguistic expressions, involving progressive aspect, is possible.

7.6. Sub-systems

The verbal conjugation of this attests the following type of sub-systems, having their respective conjugational patterns. These are — (1) Affirmative, (2) Negative, (3) Causative (4) Reflexive. Of these the range of affirmative sub-system is the widest one.

    7.6.1. Affirmative sub-system: Under this system all verb roots are inflected for all tenses and moods. The prefixo-suffixal mechanism operative in the indicative mood of it may be presented as follows:

7.7. Mechanism of Tense Formation

    In a verbal conjugation its various temporal categories are obtained by means of respective temporal suffixes, along with number and person markers. As such the normal order of various constituents in a finite form is: root+tense marker± person and number suffixes.

    7.7.1. Person-number suffixes: In this dialect a verbal stem is inflected for 6 forms only (i.e., 3 persons×2 numbers) in the present and future tenses, and for one single form in the past tense.

7.8. Subject Incorporation

    Like many other Tibeto-Himalayan languages, it too belongs to a pronominalized group, consequently it too shows traces of incorporation of the pronominal subject in its verbal forms of the present and future tenses. It is attested as /-n/ in the 3rd person, as /-no/ in the second person and as /yə~ye/ in the first person in the present tense. In the future tense, however, the 3rd person does not attest any subject markers, it is the absence of it which indicate the subject as 3rd person, e.g.,

/za-/ to eat

Chaudangsi	*Byangsi*
Present tense	
3rd—zagəne	zagən
2nd—zagənə	zagəno
1st—zaye	zagəye
Future tense	
3rd—zayəṅ	zayəṅ
2nd—za	zayəṅ-no
1st—za-ye	zayəṅ-ye.

It may be mentioned that in Chaudangsi no subject marker is attested with intransitive verbs in the second person (sg), e.g., /ra/ to come (present)

Chaudangsi	*Byangsi*
3rd—rag∂ne	rag∂-n
2nd—ra	rag∂-no
3rd—ra-ye	ra-ye

similarly /de-/ to go etc.

In this respect Byangsi is more uniform than Chaudangsi (for more illustrations see model conjugations).

7.9. Temporal Conjugation (Indicative mood)

In these dialects all transitive and intrasitive verbs, including the verb substantive, are inflected for various temporal and non-temporal categories, but in a non-formal speech, however, there is no strict adherence to the use of various temporal verbal forms, particularly with regard to indefinite and continuous forms, or perfective and non-perfective forms. This laxity in the uses of verbal forms is attested even in the use of forms pertaining to different tenses, persons and numbers. Various forms and functions of temporal conjugation, in the indicative mood, may be presented as follows:

7.10. Verb Substantive

Various roots of verb substantives and their conjugational forms attested in these dialects are as under:

Roots: /∂n-~yin/ to be; /ni-/ to be; /li-~lhe/ to become.

Present tense	sg.	pl.
3rd person	lhe/∂ne/yin	lhene/∂nne/yin∂n
2nd person	lhen/yẽ/yinye	lheni
1st person	lhe/∂yẽ/yiny∂	∂nne/yine/iniã
Past tense		
3rd person	nis∂/niso/k∂lhɔ/ lhic∂/k∂c∂	nin∂ns∂/nin∂s/ nini/nin-ni

2nd person (Grierson)	niy∂ns∂/ni-nins∂	ni-nhes
lst ,,	niyes	ni-nhes

Future

3rd person	niy∂ṅ/lhe	nyaṅ-n∂/nin∂n
2nd ,,	nyaṅ no	. . . .

The LSI records the following forms of verb substantive for Byangsi (III; I, 520) *lhe ye* I am, we are; *lhe no* thou art; *li, lhi, in* is: *ni-ye-so* I was; *ni-ni-so* you were; *ni-so, ni-ni-ni* they were, but in our data all these forms could not be attested. In this the roots /yin/ and /lhe/ have been used differently, as in /soṅ-gE yukho yaṅ-ti yin/ there is a river below the village; /∂i ∂tiye milhe/ it is the same person (speci-fication);/ lhene~lhek∂n/ becomes; /ulo yin/ where is?; /kh∂ min lhe/ what name is?

7.11. Finite Verbs (Affirmative sub-system)

A finite verb form, in these dialects, exhibits grammatical categories of tense-aspects and moods. All tense-aspect-person-number markers are affixed to the verb root directly. A structural analysis of all these is as under:

7.11.1. Present Indefinite: In these dialects, the present tense besides the indefinite and indicative sense of an action taking place in the present time, also denotes an action in progress which may be technically termed as present con-tinuous. It is affected in two ways, (*i*) with the help of the aux. /ta/ to remain, to be, (*ii*) by suffixation of tense-number-person markers. Both these features may be illustrated as follows:

(1) In the former case different forms of the aux. /ta/, *viz.* /ta/ (3rd person), /t∂n/ (2nd person), /to~tu/ (1st person) are affixed to the verb root, e.g., /dhunta~tuṅta/ he strikes; /sa-t∂n/ thou strikest; /sa-tu/ I strike; /∂tis∂ (~us∂) sy∂nn∂ (~sy∂nd∂) tuṅ-ta (~dhunta)/ he beats the child.

/nas∂ sy∂nn∂ (~sy∂nd∂) nu data/ mother gives milk to the child.

/ətisə (~usə) šin ceta /he cuts/ is cutting the tree.

/dhoṅmi-sə lugṛu chil-ta/ the servant washes clothes.

(*ii*) In the latter case the person-number marker suffixes are affixed to the tense marker suffix /gə~kh/ which is identical with conjunctive participle marker. In this the various forms affixed to different persons and members are obtained as under:

3rd person—(sg.)-/gən/; (pl.)-/-gənən/

2nd ,, —(sg.)-/-gəno/; (pl.)-/-gəni/

1st ,, —(sg.)-/-gəye/; (pl.)-/gə-nye/

e.g. /əti za-gən/ he eats; /əti-məṅ za-gənən/ they eat.

/gən-za-gə-no/ thou eatest; /gə-ni za-gə-ni/ you eat.

/je za-gə-ye/ I eat; /in za-gə-nye/ we eat.

Besides, forms like /beste yinən/ dwells, /diegəyin/ is going, etc. indicate the trend of periphrastic constructions as well, may be due to its contact with Indo-Aryan dialects. In Chaudangsi the suffixes are /-ne/ 3rd person; /-nə/ 2nd person and /-ye/ first person, which are directly affixed to the verb root, as in /əti nisine/ he lives, /gə nisi nə/ thou livest, /je tuṅye/ I drink, etc., though Grierson has recorded only /ni/ for all persons and numbers.

The conjugational differences of Byangsi and Chaudangsi dialects of Rangkas, in respect of present tense forms may be illustrated by the following usages: (Here the forms placed in brackets are from Chaudangsi).

/siṅ ko (~yər) khəci pat brəkhə (~bhərni)/ leaves fall from the tree.

/ña ti kuṅ (~kho) nigən (~nisne)/ fish lives in water.

/gən (~gə) ulo bəsgəni (~nisinə)/ where do you live?

/ətiməṅ (~usi) əikhoi (hide) bəsgənən (nisinə)/ they live at this very place.

/syənnə (~syəndə) koṭo zagən (~zane)/ the child eats bread.

/syənnəṅ (~syəndməṅ) koṭṭo zagənən (~zane)/ children are eating bread.

/ji tuṅ-gyə (~je tuṅ-ye)/ I drink.

/əti (~u) diegən (~degəne) she, he is going.

universal and habitual present is also expressed with present indefinite.

/nəzəṅ meku (~kho) tagəi (tamcəṅ) luṅdə lhekən/ iron becomes hot on putting in the fire.

/ətisə tacən kaṅtə niləṅ ri lən syunta/

he is in the habit of doing work even in illness.

/əti zagəi yin/ he is always eating.

Present continuous: Normally, the speakers of these dialects do not make any distinction between present indefinite and present continuous, e.g., /dhunta/ means both—he strikes, and he is striking. Similarly, /jhaṅ kən/ runs, is running. But if absolutely necessary then it can be expressed with the help of the aux. /ta/ or with the help of the aux. /ni/:

/dhunta-ta/ he is beating (=he remains beating);

/ceta-ta/ he is cutting down; /syuṅ-ta-ta/ is doing;

/ətisə lən syuṅta-ta/ he is doing work.

/ətiməṅ əccho ləre khəci lən syuṅta-tanən/

They are doing work for a long time.

(In Chaudansi the verb form would be /syuṅta-ta-nə/)

/je thənja cimja deg yinyə/ I am going home today.

Present perfect: Present perfect is not a distinct conjugational category in it. Normally, it is expressed with simple past-tense forms. However, it is sometimes affected by prefixing the perfective markers /kə, pi/ to the verb root, e.g., /pi-di-s/ gone, /pi-ra-d/ came, etc. The perfective aspect may be seen in the following syntactic uses.

/kənsə dilli khəci jig dańci khə rhanso/ what have you brought for me from Delhi?

/ji dukləń kə-zza/ I have finished eating.

/insə əpi lən kə-ssyuń/ I have finished my work.

/nasə əpi siri thocidja kə-dda/ mother gave her son to the begger.

Static present: The static   present or the present prefect continuous is expressed through periphrastic constructions, i.e., by adding desired forms of the aux /yin; ən-/ to the past participle base of the main verb:

/əi (ədi) bənda kho (-kuń) khə kə-tasid yin (-əne)/ what has been kept in this pot?

/siń kho (~yər) tig cipcə tisyoń sid yin (ţicońsid-ni)/ a bird is seated on the tree.

/khə kə-syuń də yino/ what has been done this?

/ţi sońsid yinən/ (they) are seated.

7.11.2. *Past indefinite*: As in the present indefinite the past indefinite too, besides the usual   denotation of indefinite/ indicative sense, denotes an action in progress or complete in the past as well.   As compared with present and future the conjugational forms of the past tense are somewhat comple-cated.   The usual suffix of the past is /sə/ which is variously attested as /su, so, sɔ/ as well.   In some cases it is directly affixed to the verb stem and in others it is preceded by infixes like /nə/, /kə/, /gə/ or /ye/, e.g.,

/logsə/ read (sg); /lonesə/ read (pl.); /ońsə/~/tinsə/ saw;

/tennesə/~/tinnesɔ/ saw (pl.); pusə /asked; /rasə/ came;

/nisə~nisɔ/ was; /lesu/ I said; /daksə/ I gave; /zayəsə/ we ate; /mə zasə/ did not eat; /de-yeso/ I walked.

In some cases the past tense marker /sə/ is attested as /cə/ as well, as in /phakcə;ʼ spoke; /yakcə/ slept; /chilsə/ washed.

Past tense forms are also employed to convey the sense of completion of an action in the immediate past or even in the present, usually expressed by present perfect (see above).

/thənta ətimə̇n ḍiemo əccho bəkhtər kə lhɔ/

now it has become enough time since they went.

According to Grierson (508) the present tense forms are also used to denote the sense of past, as in /luk-ta/ he said; /mə-tar-ni/ he could not; /ra-ni/ he came; /syuṅ təne/ they did etc., but these forms could not be attested in our data.

Periphrastic constructions: The static past or the past perfect continuous is expressed by adding respective past tense forms of the subsidiary verb /ni/ to the participle form of the principal verb as in

/təg nisə/ wept; /ciṅg nisə/~/cinkh-nisə/ wanted:

/əti in tiṅ məci (~təṅgə) tegnisə/ she started weeping on seeing us.

/əti (u) əikho ramə cinkh (ciṅə) nisə/ he wanted to come here; /heg nisə/ laughed, was laughing.

Past continuous: Normally, as in the present tense in the past tense too, the sense of continuity is affected by affixing respective past tense forms of the verb substantive /ni-/ 'to be' to the conjunctive participle form of the main verb; alternately it can be /ta-ni-/ as well: /əti (~u) toṅ mi ragə nisə/ he was coming alone; /gənsə una gal kə (~huig) tanisə /to whom were you calling for? /əti əccho nigəm wasə hikkəi nisə/ he remained laughing for long; /degE ninəsɔ/ we were going; /deg-nisə/ he was going; /teg nisə/ he /she was weeping. /ətisə kokkəi tasə ətimə̇n zagəi ninənsə/ (Byansi) /usə koige tasə usi zagə nines/ Chaudangs) he remained cooking, they remained eating. /tesigəi (~cəsigə) ninənsə/ were (continued) quarreling.

Past perfect: The past perfect is identical with immediate past in which the completion of the action in question is

affected in two ways, (1) by reduplicating the stem, (2) by prefixing the perfective markers /kə/ and /pi/. According to grierson (1II.I. 521) their free variants *kab, ko,* and *pob, papi,* also are attested. The resultant form is invariable for all persons and numbers, e.g., /pə-pā/ measured; /də-da-ta/ gave; /di-di-ni/ went; /ni-ni-so/ was; /pi/-di-ni/ went; /tən-tən-ta/ got; /kəb-tin/ was found; /pəb-jyaṅ-ta/ killed; kə-da-ta/ gave, /kəb-se-ni/ stopped.

But in our data we could get the perfective forms with prefixes /kə/ and /pi/ only. In this the initial consonant of the verb root is lengthened when preceded by these prefixes. In this context both the dialects attest a uniform behaviour, e.g., /pidde/ < /de/-to go; /pi-di-ni/ they went; /kəzza/ < /za-/ to eat; /kəttuṅ/ < /tuṅ-/ to drink; /pirra/ < /ra-/ to come; /pi-ra-sɔ/ came; /pəwhe/ left; /kədda/ < /da-/ to give; /kəddun/ < /duṅ-/ to strike; /kətte/ wept; /kəddob/ saw; /kəyyən/ < yən-/to hear.

Static past: Like static present, the static past too is obtained by adding the past tense form of the aux. /ni-/to the past participle base of the verb in question:

/gənsə lugra ulo kətasid nise/ where had you put the clothes?

7.11.3. *Future tense*: The normal function of future tense forms is to state some thing about an action or state that has yet to take place or to come into being. But in this dialect it, besides denoting the sense of absolute future or progress of an action taking place in future, also denotes the sense of optative and of the subjunctive moods, including possibility or conditional aspect of an action taking place in future.

Normally, the flectional base of the future indefinite is the bare root itself to which are affixed the future markers including respective person, number markers. As compared with Chaudangsi these are more uniform and systematic in Byangsi. Schemetically these may be illustrated as under:

(A) *Byangsi*	sg.	pl.
3rd person	-ən/-aṅ/-yəṅ	-yəṅ-nən/aṅ-
2nd ,,	-əṅ-/-aṅ-nə/-no	-aṅ-ni/yaṅ-ni
1st ,,	-əṅ/-aṅ-ye/ yaṅ-ye/ye	-yaṅ-nye
(B) *Chaudangsi*		
3rd person	-əṅ/yəṅ	-əṅ-ne/ yəṅ-ne
2nd ,,	-yəṅ-nə	-yəṅ-ni/-ni
1st ,,	-yə ṅ-ye/-ye	-əṅ-ne/ nE

In these forms the real future marker morpheme seems to be /əṅ/ which under various phonetic environments is realized as/-yəṅ/ etc. (For full forms of various verb roots see model conjugation), /lhi-yəṅ/ I shall say; /dəṅ-ye/. I shall go, etc.

Besides, future is commonly expressed with present tense forms as well, e.g., /sə-to/ I strike, I shall strike; /di-ye/ I go, I shall go;/ lhi-ye/ I shall be; /sə-təni/ you will strike. Syntactic usages of some of these may be illustrated as follows:

/rhuncən gə-ri dayəṅgə/ wait, I will give to you also (Chaud).

/gən lo mə təryaṅno/ you will not be able to read.

/ji ətko (~əsə) khəjari mə deyəṅye/ I shall never go there.

/jisə usi phamu mə dayəṅe/ I shall not allow him to speak.

/jəi rayəṅ, əte deyəṅ/ who soever will come, shall go.

/əti (~usi) chənəṅ (~muci) rəyəṅnən/ they will come to morrow.

Besides the simple future these forms are used for indicating progressive and presumptive aspects as well.

/ulaṅ wasə tegə məyaṅ nə/ for how long will you go on weeping.

/əti (~u) zagə niyəṅ/ he may be eating.

/jəmməi-mi zagə kəzokta nyaṅnə/ (Chaud.)

All the people may have finished eating.

/chᴐṅnᴐm (~mᴐci) sekya chime-ri rayᴐṅ/

brother's wife also may come tomorrow.

In non-simple sentences implying both the actions taking place in future, the verb of the preceding action is placed in the present tense and of the succeeding action in the future tense:

/gᴐn khᴐ-ri thocin, dayᴐṅgᴐ/ I shall give, whatever you ask for.

/gᴐn ramcᴐn, ze-ri ramᴐ pᴐryᴐṅ/ if you come I will also have to come.

With regard to future tense another notable feature of this language is this that in it not only the future action is expressed with present tense forms, but identical forms are also attested for both the tenses.

/je thinja nyanchᴐ cimja deg inyᴐ (~degᴐye)/

I am going (will go) home today evening.

/tuṅye/ I drink, I shall drink; /zae/ I eat, I shall eat, etc.

/titta, gᴐn-ri data/ wait, I will give to you as well.

7.12. Passive Sub-system

Grammatically, the passive voice represents that form of the verb in which the subject is not doer, but as acted upon. As such in this type of constructions the grammatical subject is not the logical subject, i.e., the doer, but the logical object, the person or thing towards which /whom the action is directed. In view of this the passive voice is naturally, restricted to transitive verbs only.

Like other languages of this group, this too, does not favour passive constructions. For, in these languages the inherent use of the subject of a transitive verb in the ergative/ agentive case is enough to convey the passive sense. Consequently, utterances like/ zace/ convey the meaning 'he eats' as well as 'eating is done by him. As such in these

languages all expressions of other languages having an active structure are rendered as in passive voice with their subject in the ergative case. As a result of this a sentence like 'to whom were you calling?' will be rendered as 'who was called by you?, as in /gənsə una gal kətanisə/~/gəsə khəmi huigtansə/; /ləre jəmməi kədaṅ deləṅ takt lhinən/ formerly, all were allowed to go to Tibet.

7.13. Impersonal Voice

Contrary to passive voice the impersonal voice is restricted to intransitive verbs. It is always in the neutral construction, as such the verb is always in the 3rd person sg. number. For, it has either no subject at all, or if there is one, it is re-presented as able or unable to perform the action denoted by the verb. But in these languages in the absence of impersonal voice, all expressions of other languages involving impersonal voice are rendered as in active voice. Consequently, Hindi sentences like—*mujh se bEṭha nəhī jata* 'sitting is not possible by me' (lit. it cannot be sat by me) will be rendered as 'I cannot sit/ je soṅsi mə tərse/, /gən miraṅ ḍe mə təryaṅnə/ you will not be able to walk on foot.

/əi (~hidi) ciṭṭi gən lo mə təryaṅ no/

you will not be able to read this letter (=this letter will not be read by you).

7.14. Cousative Sub-system

These dialects, like other dialects of this group do not have an inbuilt system of deriving transitive or causative roots from other verbal roots. There are distinct roots for both the aspect of the verb in question; e.g., /uṅ/ to see: /when/ to show; /za/ to eat: /chi/ to feed; /tuṅ/ to drink; /da/ to give (=to make to drink).

However, if necessary the causative forms can be obtained by compounding the aux. /phin-/, or /phun-/ to the main verb, e.g., /chil-/ to wash>/chil phin/ to make to wash; /za/ to eat>/za-phin/ to make to eat, to feed; /syuṅ/ to do>/syuṅ phin/~/—phun/ to make to do; /tuṅ/ to drink>

/tuṅ-phin/ to make to drink; /hyi/ to laugh>/hyi phin/ to make to laugh.

/ətisə ləṅ syuṅ-ta/ he is working, he works, but

/ətisə syənnəja lənsyuṅ-phunta/

he gets the work done by the child.

/usə syəndəja lənsyuṅ phinta/ id. (Chaud.)

7.15. Negative Sub-system

As in other dialects of the Rangkas group, in this too there is no distinct category of negative constructions, i.e., the use of the negative particle /mə/ does not bring about any structural change in the verb form of any tense or mood, e.g., /cin/ is desired: /mə cin/ is not desired; /zasə/ ate; /mə zasə/ did not eat; /dayəṅ/ will give: /mə dayəṅ/ will not give; /de/ go: /mə de/ don't go.

7.16. Reflexive Sub-system

Certain verbal constructions of these dialects indicate that these had developed a reflexive sub-system which is similar to that employed to derive intransitive stems from transitive roots, as in /cya/ to hide>/cya-si-/tlo hide oneself; /lo-/ to shake, to swing>/lo-si-/ to shake or to swing oneself; etc.

7.16. Model Conjugations (in Byangsi)

/demo/ 'to go'.

Present tense	Sg.	Pl.
3rd person	degən	degənən
2nd person	degəno	degəni
1st person	degəyə	degənye

Past tense (all persons and numbers)

	pidde /desə (?)	pidde

Future tense

3rd person	deaṅ	deaṅnən

2nd person	deaṅno	deaṅno
1st person	deyaṅye-deg∂y∂	deyaṅn∂n/ dey∂ṅ-nye
Imperative	g∂n de	g∂ni dini

/ramo/ 'to come'

Present tense

3rd person	rag∂n	rag∂n∂n
2nd person	rag∂nɔ	rag∂ni
1st person	ragye	rag∂ne

Past tense (All persons and numbers)

	pirra/ras∂	pirra

Future

3rd person	ray∂ṅ	ray∂ṅn∂n
2nd person	ray∂ṅn∂	rayṅni
1st person	ray∂ṅ-ye (ray∂)	ray∂ṅnye
Imperative	ra	r∂ni

/za-/ to eat

Present tense	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
3rd person	zag∂n	zag∂n∂n
2nd person	zag∂no	zag∂ni
1st person	zag∂y∂	zag∂nye

Past tense (All persons and numbers)

	k∂zza/zas∂

Future tense

3rd person	zag∂ṅ	zay∂ṅn∂n
2nd person	zay∂ṅno	zay∂ṅni
1st person	zay∂ṅ-ye	zay∂ṅ-nye
Imperative	za	zani

/tuṅ-/ to drink

Present tense

3rd person	tuṅgən	tuṅgənən
2nd person	tungənə	tuṅgə-ni
1st person	tuṅgə-ye/tuṅge	tuṅgə-nye

Past tense (All persons and numbers)

kəttuṅ /tuṅ sɔ (?)

Future tense

3rd person	tuṅ-yəṅ	tuṅ-yəṅ-nin
2nd person	tuṅgə-nɔ/ tuṅ-yəṅ-no	tuṅ-yəṅ-ni
1st person	tuṅyəṅ-ye	tuṅ-yəṅ-nye
Imperative	tuṅ	tuṅ-ni

Model Conjugation (Chaudangsi)

/de/ to go

Present tense	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
3rd person	degəne	degəne
2nd person	de	dəni
1st person	deye	dinE/dinye

Past tense (All persons and numbers)

	pidde/desu	pidde

Future tense

3rd person	deyəṅ	deyəṅ-ne
2nd person	de	dəni
1st person	deyəṅ-ye	deyəṅne~nye
Imperative	de	dəni

/ra-/ 'to come'

Present tense

3rd person	ragəne/rane	ragəne

2nd person	ra	r∂ni
lst person	ra-ye	ra-nE

Past tense (All persons and numbers)

	pirra/ras∂	pirra/ras∂

Future tense

3rd person	ray∂ṅ	ray∂ṅ-ne
2nd person	ra	r∂ni
lst person	ray∂n-ye	ray∂ṅ-nE/-nye
Imperative	ra	r∂ni

/za-/ **to eat**

Persent tense	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
3rd person	zag∂ne	zag∂ne
2nd person	zag∂n∂/za	zag∂ni/zani
lst person	za-ye	za-nye

Past tense (All persons and numbers)

	k∂zza/zanes∂	

Future tense

3rd person	zày∂ṅ	zày∂ṅne
2nd person	za	zay∂ṅ-ni
lst person	za-ye	zay∂ṅ-nE
Imperative	za	z∂ni

/tuṅ-/ **to drink.**

Present tense

3rd person	tuṅg∂ne	tuṅg∂ne
2nd person	tuṅg∂n∂	tuṅg∂ni
lst person	tuṅ-ye (tuṅe)	tuṅ-nye

Past tense (All persons and numbers)

	k∂ttuṅ/tuṅs∂	

Future tense

3rd person	tuṅ-y∂ṅ	tuṅy∂ṅne
2nd person	tuṅy∂ṅ-n∂	tuṅy∂ṅ-ni
1st person	tuṅ-ye	tuṅ-nye/-nE
Imperative	tuṅ	tuṅ-ni

8.0. MODAL CONJUGATION

Besides the temporal conjugation, there are some other categories of verbal conjugation in which there is only particle inflection of verbal stems for a particular mood or mental state of the speaker and for a particular point of time.

As such modal conjugation deals with the inflectional forms of a verb indicating the manner of an action, whether it is ordered to be done, or is dependent upon a condition etc. The three types of moods which are normally attested in these lanauages are—Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive, with further divisions and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the Indicative mood have already been detailed in the foregoing pages. Now, we shall take up the cases of the remaining two.

8.1. Imperative Mood

Imperative mood is that form of a verb which expresses an action as an order, a polite command, a request, a warning, prohibition, etc. In this type of expressions, the subject is the second person pronoun, honorific or non-honorific, and is usually, left out. By its very nature the imperative cannot refer to the past. As such its use and forms are restricted to the present and the future times only. In the dialects the singular is expressed with the verb stem itself and the plural takes the plural marker /ni/~/n/~/yo/: /ḍe/ go (sg); /ḍeni/ go (pl.); /za/ eat (sg): /zani/ (pl.); /g∂n tuṅ/ thou drink; /g∂ni tuṅni/ you drink; /∂iko ra/ come here (sg): /∂iko rani/ (pl.); /rh∂ṅ ti ji či dani/ give water and grass to the horse; /∂iko rag∂ syoṅšin/ having come here, sit down:

In compound verbs it is the second component which takes the imperative suffixes:

/jete lha dańči cimza ḍiel∂ńtani/

let me go home for a month.

/∂i l∂n chaṭṭo syung∂ cyoni/ do away with this work quickly.

/ch∂mni, duma hazu ḍine/ come, let us move a little further.

Future imperative is expressed with infinitive forms:

/∂i uso luń tite zoro zamo/ take this medicine with hot water (fut.)

/cimza deg∂ s∂tyams∂ yamo/ having gone home, sleep comfortably.

Besides /ni/, Grierson has noted /ti/ and /yo/ as well, *e.g.,* /da-ti/ give, /kor-yo/ take.

Prohibitive Imperative: It is used to prohibit a person from executing an action in question, and is affected with the use of the prohibitive particle /m∂/, prefixed to the imperative form of the verb concerned. In case of compound verbs, however, the imperative suffixes are appended to the auxiliary:

/de/ go: /m∂ de/ don't go; /za/ eat: /m∂-za/ don't eat;

/tuń/ drink: /m∂ tuń/ don't drink.

/ch∂ńn∂m ∂ikho ram∂ m∂ losimo/~/m∂či hida ... (Chaud.) Don't forget to come here tomorrow.

/∂tt∂i m∂ yam/ Don't sleep now.

8.2. Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood and its various forms are used to express a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as wish, hope, requirement, possibility, probability, presumption, ability, compulsion, permission, certainty, necessity, advice, obligation, benediction, condition, etc. For a broader analysis all these may be grouped into 4 groups,

viz., (1) Optative, (2) Potential, (3) Pressumptive, (4) Contingent. These may be illustrated as follows:

(*i*) *Optative*: It represents the action mainly as a desire, wish, request, requirement, purpose, supposition or a possibility almost always with an implied reference to future. /zam∂↑/ may I eat? /tuṅm∂↑/ may I drink?; /dem∂↑/ may I go?

/g∂n ∂che j∂rur dem cin-ni/ you ought to have gone there.

/u hida ra m∂cin/ he should not have come here.

/ch∂m, duma hazu ḍene/ come, let us move a little ahead.

/∂tim∂ṅ kh∂ cinkh∂n∂n šuṅn∂nla/ they may do whatever they like

/ji te lha daṅci cimza ḍiel∂ṅ tani/ let me go home for a month.

/ch∂ṅn∂m sekya chime ri ∂ikho ray∂ṅ/

perhaps brother's wife may also come here tomorrow.

/g∂n chāṭo bud∂ lhiy∂/ may you be well quickly.

(*ii*) *Potential*: This mood denotes, mainly, possibility of occurrence of an action with reference to the present or past. It is expressed by adding present or future tense forms of the verb substantive to the present or past participle forms of the main verb:

/∂ti (∼u) dukl∂ṅ zag∂ niy∂ṅ/ he may be taking food.

/j∂mm∂imi k∂zad∂ nin∂n/ All may have finished eating.

(*iii*) *Presumptive*: This mood expresses possibility or presumed/ inferred certainty with reference to the present or past. It is obtained by appending present tense forms of the verb substantive to the past tense forms of the main verb.

/g∂ns∂i ∂tiza (∼uza) k∂lunis∂ lhe/ you alone may have told him

/∂ina b∂ky∂n c∂s∂ thinzya ulo rho pirad∂y∂n/

It seems that snow has fallen somewhere today.

/chãṭo syoṅyo ∂tim∂ṅ radenE nin∂n/

be quick, they may be about to reach.

(*iv*) *Contingent*: This mood mainly denotes a condition which is contrary to fact. It also implies a wish which cannot be fulfilled. In this the subordinate clause takes participle form and the main clause is in the past tense:

/∂ti perad∂ nimc∂ṅt∂ b∂d∂ lhitt∂ niso/

it would have been so nice, if he had come.

/k∂ni ramc∂ṅ ziri zoro ḍie dines⊃/

had you come, I too would have accompanied you.

However, a condition expressing the fulfilment of the action in future is expressed with absolute future forms in both the clauses:

/g∂n ramc∂ṅ zeri ray∂ṅye/ if you come, I will also come.

8.3. Aspects

Some of the other aspects of linguistic communication expressed with the help of subsidiary verbs are as under:

(*i*) *Compulsive*: The compulsive aspect of a statement is expressed by combining the infinitive form of the main verb with the respective tense forms of the verb substantive /p∂r-/:

/u (~∂ti) ∂can∂k demo ṭok p∂r~p∂rc∂/ he had to go all of a sudden.

/g∂n ramc∂ṅ zeri ram∂ p∂ry∂ṅ/ If you come, I will also have to come.

(*ii*) *Desiderative*: The desiderative aspect is expressed with the verb /cin-/ 'to wish, to desire' to the infinitive form of the main verb:

/zi itth rheza ḍemo cinkh∂-ye/ I want to go to the field.

/∂ti (~u) šreza (hriza) ram∂ cinkh∂-nis∂/

he wanted to come day before yesterday.

(*iii*) *Suggestive*: The suggestive sense for some future action or a polite command is expressed with /cin-/ 'it is desirable':

/u hida ra mə̂cin/ (Chaud.) he should not come here.

/ə̂ti ə̂ikho mə̂ ram nisə̂/ (Byans.) ,, ,, ,, (with *ni-*)
/gə̂n ə̂tkho (~ə̂che) jə̂rur dem cin-ni (-lhe)/.

you must have gone there.

(*iv*) *Inceptive*: The inceptive sense of an expression is conveyed with simple past tense forms of the verb:

/ə̂ti in tinmə̂-či kə̂ttye/ she started weeping (wept) on seeing us.

However, in Chaudangsi it is affected with the aux. /ni-/ added to the conjunctive participle form of the main verb, i.e., /teg-nisə̂/.

(*v*) *Abilitative*: Ability or inability on the part of a doer in the performance of an action is expressed with the verb /tə̂r-/ 'can', combined with the base of the main verb:

/je soṅsi mə̂ tə̂rse (=tə̂rsə̂-ye)/ I can not sit.

/gə̂n mirə̂ṅ ḍe mə̂ tə̂ryanno/ you cannot go on foot.

/je ə̂ilə̂ṅ chã̄ṭo ra mə̂tə̂rse/ I cannot come so quickly.

/ə̂i ciṭṭi gə̂n mə̂ tə̂ryanno/ you cannot read this letter.

/ji mirə̂ṅ ḍe tə̂rse/ I can go on foot.

9.0. NON-FINITE VERB FORMS

Besides the regular finite verb forms, which are the essential constituents of the predicate, and regularly take the tense, person, number suffixes, there are also some verb forms which are derived from verbal stems but are not inflected for the above mentioned grammatical categories. Consequently these cannot be used independently as a predicate in a sentence. In this dialect their formations are attested as under:

9.1. Infinitive

'Infinitive is that form of a verb which expresses simply the action of the verb without predicating it of any subject." In this dialect, it is obtained by suffixing the infinitive marker /mo/∼/mu/∼/mə/ to the verb root. (In Byangsi /mo∼mu/ have a glidal pronunciation, which is equal to /mwo∼mwu/: /dob-mo/ to see: /oṅ-mo/∼/oṅci mu/ to show; /yən mo∼mu/ to listen; /demo/ to go; /ra-mo/ to come; /za-mo/ to eat; /tuṅ-mo/ to drink; /thənmə/ to dance; /ḍhənmə/ tremble.

In a colloquial form these are attested as /mə/ and some times the bare verb root also serves as an infinitive. In the verbal sequences an infinitive is followed by respective forms of the verb substantive, /ni/:

/u usigə bate bha demə-ni/ he has to go with his father (Chaud.).

/əti usigə bate zoro demo in/ ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, (Byans).
/jisə ingə kakaja ciṭṭi rimu nini∼rimə-in/

I have to unite a letter to my uncle.

/je itta reza ḍemə ciṅkh-yē/ I want to go to the field.

/u hida ramu ciṅ/ he should not have come here (Chaud.)

/əti əikho mə-ram-nisə/ ibid. (Byangsi)

/u hrijja hida ram-ciṅ nisə/ he wanted to come here day before yesterday.

/əti šreja əikho ramə ciṅkhə nisə/ ibid. (Chaud.)

9.2. Infinitive Used as a Verbal Noun

An infinitive can also be used as a verbal noun, and as such it can take post-positional case markers as well, particularly to express the meaning of an acc.-dative case. It is formed by suffixing /-m/ to the verb root.

/khi:r koimə daṅci phucəb (phecəb) ciṅ-kən∼cin-ni/

rice is needed to prepare (cook) kheer.

/ətige širi lhəsimə∼rhisim-ko bədə yin/

his son is good at studies.

/jisə ətiza əikho ramə dañci lesu/ I told him to come here.

/u jyajyari šiñ rhəmə danci ḍiem pərkən/

he had to go daily to bring fuel.

As a noun it can take case suffixes as well, *e.g.* /byu-m-s/ fear-with=from fear; /pa-mõñgE/ of the measuring, /tuñ-khu/ in order to drink; /di-di-mə̃-ci/ having gone (⇒from the going).

The verbal noun, in spite of functioning as a noun retains its verbal character as well, and can, therefore, take an object or complement, in the some way as a finite verb form does, particularly with verb denoting the sense of obligation, necessity, requirement, compulsion etc.

/jisə tig citṭi rimə-yin/ I have to write a letter.

/ti kəbinḍE bəṇḍo timo budə hiken/

It is auspicious to see a pot filled with water.

/ji khəi bud lən syuñmə cinkh-ye/ I want to do some good work.

/əti cimja ḍiemo yin/ he has to go home, /jereja ḍiemə cinkh-ye/ I want to go to the field.

/əti cimja ramə cinkh niso/∼/u ramə ciñ nisə/

he wanted to come.

9.3. Participles

Participles are verbal adjectives qualifiying noun/pronoun, but retaining some properties of the verb. There are two kinds of participles in it, viz., present and past. But contrary to Indo-Aryan languages, in these languages the participles are not affected by the grammatical categories of the noun/ pronoun qualified by them.

9.3.1. *Present participle*: The present participle indicating a concurrent action is formed by suffixing /-ən/-ləñ/ or zero+ kəi∼gəi to the verb root: /hikkəi/ laughing; /təgsigəi/ quarreling.

/yin thәnәnkәi thәnәnkәi dege nәnsә/

we were going dancing and singing; /loekkәi/ saying;

/әti za lәn zalәñәi phakcә/ he while eating, said.

It is also formed by suffixing /gә/ to the main verb followed by the auxiliary form /talәn̄/ or /-lәn̄/ /nilәn̄/: /rәci-lәn̄/ rising; /chilge talәn̄/ washing; /hicige nilәn̄ /dying; /sake talәn̄/ killing.

9.3.2. *Past perfect participle*: Like present participle, the past participle also can be used as an ordinary adjective to qualify a noun. Contrary to present participle, it indicates the completed state of the action related to the term modified by it. In this dialect it is formed by prefixing /kә/ and suffixing /dE/.~/tә/, /sidE/ to the verb root: /kәchәrtә/ dried, /kәchil sidE/ washed, /pәsan̄ sidE/ killed, /khu-s-id/ stolen.

/ji sә jәmmәi kachetә phәl kattho/ I have plucked all ripe fruits.

/ɛmko tigә choṭṭi podәi khobu pәjhyan̄tE niso/

There was a very big dead snake lying on the road.

/ti kәbindE bhәnḍo/ pot filled with water.

/kәdәnsidә/ awakened; /kәyәn̄ sidE/ listened.

/je thinza mәtә purin̄tә yinyә/ I am very tired today.

9.3.3. *Conjunctive participle*: The primary function of this class of participles is to denote that the action indicated by it has either been already performed before the action indicated by the finite verb or still continues in the state completed earlier. Syntactically, it is used to connect one clause with another, but the sense of the clause which contains it remains incomplete until the clause containing a finite verb is added to it. In this dialect it is obtained by suffixing gәi- -gE/ to the stem of the verb which with some roots is realized as /kE/ as well.

/chәrgE/ having dried, /lokE/ having said, /tagE/ having placed, /chilgE/ having washed, /sakE/ having killed:

/hida~əiko ragE šyoṅ sin/ having come here sit down.

/cimza ḍigE yamo/ having gone home sleep down.

/wa tingE jəmməi kəphoṅ/ on seeing the tiger, all ran away.

/ɔttəi mə yam, nu tuṅ gE yamo/ don't sleep just now, sleep after having taken milk.

Conjunctive participle is also used in the context of two actions taking place in an uninterrupted sequence. In this case the former is placed in the conjunctive participle form and the latter in the finite verb form:

/u in təṅgE tegnisə/ (Chaud.):

on seeing us she started weeping.

The phenomenon of the simultaneity of two actions, carrying a force of an adverbial phrase, is also expressed with it.

/je lən syuṅgə syuṅgə məṭṭə ḍhil kə-lho/

on account of being busy in work, I have became late.

It is also used with reference to continuous action.

/gən ulo khəci ragə yinɔ/ where are you coming from?

/əti toṅmie ragə nisə/ he was coming alone.

/uləṅ wasə əinəi~hinəi tegə myaṅnə/

for how long will you continue weeping like this.

According to Grierson, conjunctive participle is also formed by adding the ablative suffix, /ci/~/cu/ to the reduplicated verbal noun in /-m/, *ni-ni mi-chi* having been; *di di mə-chi* having gone; *syu syuṅ-ma chu* having done; *hu-hu im-chu* having called; *ri-re chim chu* rising; *ra-ra-m-chu* becoming etc.

10.0. INDECLINABLES

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They are all termed as indeclinables, though on account of their syntactic func-

tions they have been designated as Adverbs, Particles, Con-
junctions and Interjections, etc. Various forms and functions
of these indeclinables as attested in this dialect are as
follows:

10.1. Adverbs

Adverb is a word that modifies a verb, or restricts it in
some way with respect to place, time and manner of the
action referred to by the verb concerned. Syntactically, the
position of an adverb or verbal modifier, in a string of the
components of a sentence, is immediately before the finite
verb form modified by it or before another adverb or just
after the subject according to its semantic connotation.

Symantically, all the verbal modifiers can be grouped as
(1) Spatial or adverb of place and direction, (2) Temporal
or adverb of time, (3) Model or adverb of manner, (4) Inten-
sifiers or adverb of degree.

10.1.1. *Formation of adverb*: All classes of adverbs have
basic and derived categories, though it is not always easy
to analyse the derived or polymorphomic adverbs in their
immediate constituents. Different classes have different sets of
formatives. Some of these may be illustrated as below:

    (*i*) *Prefixation and suffixation*: /rajyari/ daily</jya/ day,
       /pi-t∂m-ri/ around</pi/ four,

    (*ii*) *Compounding* /y∂r-to/ above-up-ward; /ñim-ph∂n/
       behind; /yu-kho/ down=down ward; /chañ-p∂ñ/ out
       side.

    (*iii*) *Reduplication*: /tar tar sE/ slowly;/ saro-saro/ loudly.

10.1.2. *Adverb of place*: Besides the above noted types of
polymorphemic adverbs of place or direction, some other
commonly used adverbs of this class are -/y∂r/ up; /yukho/
down, /hida/~/∂ikho/ here; /∂tkho/ there; /ulo/ where?;
/ti-tu/ near, towards; /∂s∂/ there (Chaud.)

10.1.3. *Adverb of time*: A few more temporal adverbs
which do not fall into any derivative pattern are—/d∂sro/

again; /cətt/ at once, /cyu/ as soon as; /itta/ just now; /ikta~
əi bəkhtər/ now; /ita wasə/ till now; /thiã~thinja/ today;
/muci~chiηnem/ /tomorrow; /nyaro~myare/ yesterday;
/khəzari/ ever; /ləre/ before hand; /uləη wasə/ till what time?;
/sreja~hrija/ day before yesterday. Grierson has recorded
adverbs like, /hāη—hāη when . . . . then, but these are no more
attested in the present day speech.

10.1.4. *Adverb of manner*: The commonly used, non-
derived adverbs of this class are—/chăṭa/ quickly; /tar-tar-sE/
slowly; /saro-saro/ loudly; /hinE~əinəi/ like this; /chăṭo ra/
hurriedly, quickly, hastly.

10.1.5. *Adverb of degree*: The number of adverbs, indi-
cating the intensity of an action or degree of another adverb
modified by it, is very small. The commonly used adverbs of
this class are—/coη/ very; /əccho/ very; /mətə/ much; /duma/ a
little.

/coη səmE khəci/ for a long time.

/əccho ləre khəci/ for long back.

/je thinza məttə puriηtə yẽ/ I am much tired today.

/duma hazu dene/ let us move a little further.

/əccho nigəm wasə/ till quite late.

/je əiləṅ chătə ra mətərse/ I cannot come so quickly.

10 1.6. *Syntactic order of adverbs*: As stated above, the
place of an adverb in a sentence is immediately before the
finite verb, as in /je thinga degəyə/ I shall go today. But
when there are more than one adverb in an utterance then
they occur in a more or less fixed order. For instance, if
there are two adverbs belonging to the spatial and temporal
categories then the adverb of time precedes the adverb of
place, as in /əti (~u) ñaro əikho rasə /he came here yesterday.
In case of occurrence of more than one adverb of the same
class then the specificative term precedes the general term,
as in /əti ñaro ñaηpa əikho rasə /he came here yesterday
evening. In this case the term for 'day' precedes the term

for 'time'. Further in case of adverb of manner it follows the term for time, but precedes the adverb of place, as in/ ∂ti ñaro ñaŋpa chā̃tora ∂ikho (−hida) ras∂/ he hurriedly came here yesterday evening. /chā̃tora ∂ikho (hida) rag∂ syoŋ sin/ quickly having come here, sit down; /ch∂m ḍuma hazu dene/ let us go a little a head.

10.1.7. *Overlapping with adjective*:   There are some adverbs, particularly, intensifiers which formly overlap with adjectives.   For example, in /tig ∂ccho (∼coŋ) bud∂ siri/ 'a very good boy' the intensifier 'very' is an adjective because it modifies the adjective 'good' which in its turn modifies the noun 'boy', but in /∂ccho nig∂m was∂/ 'for a long time' it is an adverb which modifies another adverb /nig∂m was∂/, as in /∂ti ∂ccho nig∂m was∂ hik∂i nis∂/ he remained laughing for a long time (Byangsi) or/ u coń kh∂ci heg-nis∂/ (Chaudangsi) ibid.

10.2. Particles

Besides the adverbs or the modifiers of the verb or verbal phrases, there are some other types of indeclinables which in the terminology of grammar are called Particles. On the basis of their functions and syntactic position these are grouped as connectives, emphatics, negatives and interjections. These may be illustrated as follows:

1.1.2.1. *Connectives*: The primary function of this class of particles is to conjoin two elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. In this dialect the number of words belonging to this class is very limited, for, in many instances the purpose of a connective is served by a pause juncture itself. Semantically, the particles of this class may be designated as additive, alternative, contrastive, co-ordinative and differentiative. Structurally, these may be both monomorphemic or polymorphemic. The functions of some of these may be illustrated as under.

10.2.2. *Additive*: The additive particles or the conjunctions joining two mutually independent sentences are called

coordinative, and those joining one or more subordinate clauses /sentences to the principal clause/ sentence are called subordinative.

10.2.3. *Coordinative*: The coordinative particles in this dialect are—/ji, h∂ṅ/ 'and', as in /∂ti ji je/ he and I, /ram ji šyam/ Ram and Shyam, /rh∂η či ji ti dani/ give grass and water to the horse. But in many cases its function is served by a mere pause juncture as well, as in/ ∂tis∂ data h∂η je tuη-y∂/ he gives and I drink (Byansi), but /us∂ data, je tuη-ye/ he gives (and) I drink (Chaud.)

10.2.4. *Subordinative*: Normally, these dialects do not favour subordinative clause construction, nor do they have any connective to join the two clauses. In utterances of this nature both the clauses are placed in the direct narration and the purpose of the connective is served by a pause juncture, though in some cases the Indo-Aryan connective /ki/ is also attested in synchronic expressions.

/∂tis∂ loks∂ ki je k∂khed∂ inye/

he said that I am hungry.

/∂tis∂ ranza, m∂g sirio ulo yin/

he asked, where is your son?

/o k∂ηth nis∂, ∂tis∂ m∂ zaso/

he was ill, he did not eat (=he did not eat, because he was ill).

10.2.5. *Alternative*: The pairs of alternative particles are: /kit∂ . . . ki/ either . . . or, /n∂ . . . n∂/ neither . . . nor, placed at the head of each element linked by them.

/kit∂ g∂n ki n∂g poya de∂η/ either you or your brother will go.

/n∂ je n∂ jig poya de∂η/ neither I, nor my brother will go.

10.2.6. *Contrastive*: There is no contrastive particle. It is expressed simply by a pause juncture:

/jeta dukl∂ṅ k∂zza, ∂ti ita was∂ m∂ zade yin/

I have eaten my food (but) he has not eaten as yet.

10.2.7. *Conditional*: There is no particle to express the sense of condition in conditional clauses. In this the clause expressing the condition is formed with conjunctive participle.

/g∂ni ramc∂ṅ, jeri die dines∂/

had you come (=having your coming), I would also have accompanied you.

/l∂n chišuṅ dukl∂ṅ zay∂s∂/

having finished the work (when the work was done), meal was taken:

10.2.8. *Emphatic particles*: In an utterance, normally, it is the heavy stress /pitch on the particular words or longer quantity of the particular syllable that marks, the intended emphasis. Some times shifting of words from their normal syntactic position also serves the same purpose. But to make it more pertinent a few particles or vocalic elements too are used with them. The most commonly attested emphatic particles is /are—/i,-e/, /ri/ also, /ta/ (emphasis)

/u (~∂ti) toṅmi-i (-e) rag∂ nis∂/ he was coming all alone.

/∂ti ∂ikhoi b∂sg∂n/ he lives at this very place.

/g∂n kh∂-ri thocin day∂η g∂/ whatsoever you ask for, I will give.

/je-ri ram∂ p∂ry∂η/ I will also have to go.

/je ta dukl∂ṙ k∂jya/ so far I am concered, I have eaten food.

10.2.9. *Negative particles*: unlike other languages of this group in this language there is only one negative particle, viz., /m∂/ which negates the presence of any thing in general as well as prohibits the execution of the action in question. The usual position of a negative particle in an utterance is

immediately before the element negated by it: /mə dəy/ I am not; /mə raso/ did not come; /mə da-ta/ does not give; /mə də-nən/ did not give.

/di (~əi) jig čim lhe/ It is my house, but

/idi (~əi) jig čim mə lhe/ It is not my house.

/yam/ sleep; /mə yam/ don't sleep.

/je ra mətərse/ I cannot come,

/əi (hidi) ciṭṭi gən mɛtə yaṅ no (~mə laṅ syaṅ) (Chaud.)

you will not be able to read this letter.

/chəʔnəm əikho ramə mə-losimo/

don't forget to come here tomorrow.

Emphatic negative: The emphatic negation is affected with /khəjari/+/mə/ 'never':

/je ətko khəjari mə ḍeyəṅye/ I shall never go there.

/əti khəjari əikho ra mətər/ he can never come here.

10.2.10. *Interrogative particles*: In these dialects the interrogative particle to be used with reference to 'yes', no' type answers is /la/ 'if, whether'?. It is placed at the end of the utterance in question and is accompanied with an interrogative terminal intonation, or it can also be expressed with a simple interrogative intonation, as in /uo pidde la ↑/ has he gone?; /gən kezza la ↑/ have you eaten?; /əti kɛzza ↑/ has he eaten?; /gən ragnə ↑/ would you come?; /əti rasə la ↑/ will he come?; /je ram la ↑/ should I come?

In Chaudangsi it is, however, expressed by the terminal interrogative intonation alone. There the verb too takes the infinitive marker in this types of expressions, as in /je demə ↑/ shonld I go?; /za-mə ↑/ should I eat?, /tuṅ-mə ↑/ should I drink? etc.

10.2.11. *Interjections*: Interjections are complete sentences, which carry the sentence intonation. The commonly attested interjections of these dialects are—/e:/ calling attention, as in

/e: sy∂nu ↓ /e! boy! ; /yo:/, as in /ba: yo;/ O father!

/∂re/ Oh! (expression of surprise and sorrow);

/e: sy∂nd∂! ulo deg∂inn∂/ well boy! where are you going?

/ba: yo! jet∂ ∂ina syuṅ m∂t∂rse/

my god! I can't do like this.

/∂re! chuṭṭu y∂d lic∂ ↓ / oh! it is so bad!/ so sad!

11.0. SYNTAX

In a way, various aspects of the morphosyntactic structures have already been discussed in the foregoing sections of this analysis.   Here we shall briefly present them in a more or less formal way.   The nature and the structure of various types of sentences in it is as under:

11.1. Types of Sentences

Normally, like other languages of this group, this language too favours simple sentences. Even ideas of complex nature are expressed through more than one simple sentence. However, if necessary these can be expressed by combining together more than one simple sentence/clause by means of connectors or by a simple pause juncture. As such construction of compound and complex sentences also is possible.

11.2. Constituents of a Simple Sentence

The essential constituents of a simple sentence are—a noun phrase, constituting the subject and its extensions, and a verb phrase, constituting the predicate. The normal order of occurrence of these elements in a simple sentence is—subject ± object + verb. As such syntactically it belongs to the SOV group:

/sy∂nn∂ (∼sy∂nd∂) zag∂n (∼zane)/ child eats.

/syənnə (~yəndə) koṭo zagən (~zane)/ child eats bread.

/sirisə ceme tinsə (oṅsə)/ boy saw a girl.

In transitive constructions in which the verb has more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object:

/nasə (~minəṅsə) syənnə (syəndə) nu data/

mother gives milk to the child.

/jisə ing syənkaja ciṭṭi rimo yin/

I have to write a letter to my uncle.

But this order of objects is reversed if the direct object is modified by pronominal adjectives: /ətisə əpigə libin jija kədda (te)/ he gave his book to me.

11.3. Noun Phrase

The constituents of the subject or the noun phrase can be a single unqualified noun/pronoun 'head' or a noun head plus one or more qualifiers, all preceding it or a case marker, e.g. /tig nikhi/ a dog; /sum rhiṅsya/ three sisters; /jig sum rhiṅsya/ my three sisters; /tig womdə nikhi~nukhi/ a black dog; /cemesə/ the girl, by a girl; /ceme-meṅsə/ girls, by girls.

11.3.1. *Extension of noun-phrase:* A noun phrase is extendable in the form of various types of modifiers of the noun head which may precede or follow it. The syntactic order of various classes of qualifiers in a simple sentence is, more or less, fixed. Normally, these occur in this order—±demonstrative,±pronominal adj.,±numeral,±intensifier,± qualitative modifier:

/nikhi/ dog; /tig nikhi/ a dog; /jig nikhi/ my dog;

/əi jig nikhi/ this my dog; /tig womdə nikhi/ a black dog;

/tig məttəi womdə nikhi/ a very black dog;

/tig məttəi pod womdə nikhi/ a very big black dog;

/əijig əpig cim lhe/ this is my own house.

From the above examples it may be evident that in case of extension of an NP, a numeral qualifier precedes a qualitative

modifier, and in case of more than one qualitative modifiers referring to 'colour' and 'size' the one referring 'size' precedes the one referring to 'colour' (Also see placement of Adjectives).

11.4. Verb Phrase

A simple verb phrase or a VP, contains either a simple finite or a copulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more auxiliaries or helping verbs or an adverb. In case of a simple finite verb, the VP, can stand by itself, but in case of a copulative verb it may need a complement to complete it which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb:

/sy∂nn∂ (~sy∂d∂ zag∂n/ the child eats, but

/sy∂nn∂g∂ tig rhiŋsya yin/ the child has a sister.

/idi jig cim lhe/ this is my house.

/n∂g siri ulo yin/ where is your son.

/g∂nig∂ ulaŋ rE yin∂n/ how many cows have you?

11.4.1. *Components of a composite verb phrase*: The constituents of a composite verb phrase are — Principal verb stem, ±one or more full verb stem,± aux./ helping verb. Syntactically, the place of an aux. or helping verb is always at the end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all the morphological markers of the VP concerned:

/g∂n ulo kh∂ci rag∂ yinɔ/ where are you coming from?

/je thinza cimja deg yinye/ I am going home today

/∂tis∂ zag∂i nin∂ṅse/ they went on eating.

/je ra m∂t∂rse/ I cannot come.

/∂ti (~u) hikk∂i nis∂/ he was laughing.

/je ram∂ p∂ry∂ṅ/ I will have to come.

/cipe∂m∂ŋ ṭisoṅ sidin∂n/ birds are seated

/l∂re jemm∂i kedaṅ del∂ṅ takt∂ lhin∂n/

formerly, all were allowed to go to Tibet.

11.4.2. *Extension of verb phrase*: A verb phrase can normally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb, an adverb phrase or a complement:

/ram moh∂nza rus∂/ Ram asked Mohan.

/ram moh∂nza tig k∂tha rus∂/ Ram asked Mohan one thing.
/je cimza deg yiny∂/ I am going home.

/je thinza cimza deg yinye/ I am going home today.

/je thinza ñanch∂ cimza deg yinye/ I am going home today evening.

11.5. Concord

It has already been stated that this language has no grammatical gender, as such the scope of agreement between the subject/object and the verb is limited to the number and the person categories only, which may be explained as follows:

11.5.1. *Concord in subjectival constructions*: In all subjectival constructions the agreement takes place between the subject and the verb only, the subject may be in the ergative case or in the direct case.

Interestingly, the verb is not inflected for number and person too in the perfect tense. There it has uniformly one single form. As such there cannot be any scope for the grammatical feature called concord or agreement., e.g. /k∂dda~ k∂ddate/ gave away, has/have given (all persons and numbers). But this concord is maintained in all simple tense forms.

/sy∂nn∂ (~sy∂nd∂) koṭo zag∂n (~zane)/ child eats bread.

/sy∂nn∂m∂ṅ koṭo zag∂n∂n) (~zane)/ children eat bread. similarly, /g∂n zag∂no/ thou eatest; /g∂ni zag∂ni/ you eat;

/je zag∂ye/ I eat; /in zag∂nye/ we eat etc. (for details see model conjugations).

11.5.2. *Objectival constructions*: In objectival constructions the concord takes place between the object and the verb. This dialect however, contrary to other T.H. dialects, attests

agreement between the object and the verb, i.e., in these ex-
pressions the verb is affected by the number of the object in
question; particularly in the variety of Chaudangsi:

/sy∂nn∂s∂ libin k∂lho (∼logs)/ the boy read the book.

/sy∂nn∂m∂ŋs∂ libin k∂llho (∼lones∂)/ boys read books.

/siris∂ ceme tins∂ (oŋs∂)/ the boy looked at the girl.

/cemem∂ŋs∂ sirim∂ŋ tinn∂s∂/ girls looked at boys.

(the variants placed in the parentheses are from Chaudangsi).

11.6. Types of Simple Sentences

Semantically, and structurally too, a sentence can be
designated as affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative,
etc. And an affirmative sentence can further be classified, as
active, passive, impersonal and causative, etc. All these
aspects of a simple sentence correlated with the morphosyntac-
tic character of the verb have already been dealt with in
respect of various verbal sub-systems and model formations.
These may be seen there itself. There reproduction here will
be a mere repetition of facts which have already been ex-
plained.

11.7. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are the combination of two independ-
ent sentences, joined together by a coordinative conjunction
or by an additive conjunction, but in this dialect there occurs
normally a pause juncture between the two sentences instead
of a conjunction. (For examples see subordinative connective
particles).

/je ta dukl∂ṅ k∂zza, ∂ti ita was∂ m∂ zad∂i yin/

I have eaten (but) he has not eaten.

11.7.1. *Coordinative sentences*: Two or more simple senten-
ces when joined by coordinative conjunction like 'either . . . or;
neither. . . nor' are termed as coordinative sentence (for exam-
ples see alternative conjunctions).

/ǎttǎi m∂ yam, nu tuŋg∂ yamo/ don't sleep now, sleep having
drunk milk.

/jiza ∂ccho yino, h∂jo m∂ cin/ I have enough, (I) don't need any more.

/g∂n kh?ri thocin, day∂ŋg∂/ whatever you ask for, (I) shall give.

11.8. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences too, are a combination of more than one clause/ sentence, but in this one of the constituent sentences is subordinate or dependent on the other. The number of dependent clauses can be more than one. The clause to which the other clauses/sentences are subordinate is called the principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following type of complex sentences have been noted for this dialect.

(*i*) *Conditional*: In this type of complex sentences the constituent clauses are bound together with condition markers like 'if/when' and 'then' (expressed or understood). In which the 'if/when' clause is the subordinate clause and the 'then' clause is a principal clause. Positionally, the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause. The verb of the subordinate clause is a conjunctive participle:

/g∂ns∂i danm∂c∂ŋ, je kworsyanye/

(if) you give I shall take (lit. on your giving)

/m∂tE zameyaŋ, k∂ŋ yaŋ no/

(if) you eat more, you will be ill (lit. by eating more).

/g∂n ram∂c∂ŋ jeri ram∂ p∂ry∂ŋ/

(if) you come, I will also have to come (lit. on your coming).

/u ram∂c∂ŋ bud∂ letnis∂/ had he come, so nice it would have become.

(*ii*) *Complemental*: In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or a complementary object of the principal clause. In this the conjoining conjunct is, normally, left out, and its function is served by a pause juncture.

/∂lis∂ loks∂, je k∂khed∂ yinye/ he said, I am hungry.

/ba-sə rusə, gənza ulaŋ rupya yin/ the father asked, how much money have you with you?

(iii) Relative: In this type of complex sentences the relative clause, which is introduced by a relative pronoun, functions as a subject or a complement of the principal clause. Positionally, it precedes the principal clause:

/gən khəri thocin dayəŋgə/ I shall give whatever you ask for.

/jəi rayəŋ, əti deyəŋ/ whosoever comes, he will go.

11.9. Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences can be of two types, (1) with 'yes', 'no' answers, (2) with explanatory answers. In the former type these are affected with the interrogative particle /la/, accompanied with interrogative intonation (for examples, see interrogative particle). In the latter type these are affected by interrogative words: when, where, what, how, etc., placed before the object or the verb.

/ətigə khə min lhe/ what is his name?

/ətigə ulaŋ mala inən/ how many goats has he?

/gən ulo bəsgəni/ where do you live?

/gən ulo khəci ragə ino/ where are you coming from?

/gensə una galkə tanisə/ to whom were you calling for?

/əti una siri niso/ who was that boy?

/əti una ṭokri niso/ which one was that basket?

/na lakho əi khə lhe/ what is this in your hand?

III

JOHARI

INTRODUCTION

Linguistic Area

Johari or the Shaukiya-khun was spoken in the Parganas of Johar and Danpur which forms the north-western part of the newly created district Pithoragarh in Kumaun Hills. Precisely speaking it was the native tongue of the people of a few villages in Malla Johar and of four villages in Danpur.

The valley of Johar is drained by the river Dhauli Ganga which rises from the Milam glacier (12000′) and its tributaries. Milam is the last village of the Valley falling on the ancient route to Kailash-Mansarovar, and the Untadhura Pass (17,640′), the ancient gateway to Tibet also falls in this very route.

Topographically, the valley is situated at the elevation of 10-12 thousand feet above the sea level. The snow clad high mountains separate it from Tibet on the north, on the east it is bounded by Pargana Darma, on the west by district Chamoli of Garhwal sub-division and on the south by Pargana Danpur and Sira.

Administratively the Pargana of Johar is divided into three Patti units which are named as Malla Johar, Talla Johar and Goriphat. The important villages of Malla Johar which was the home of the Johari dialect of the Rangkas group are—Milam, Lwan, Tola, Ralam, Shumdu, Ganaghar, Pachh and Martoli.

The People

The native speakers of this dialect were called Shaukiyas or Bhotias by the people of Kumaun, but the Tibetans called them Kyonbas, i.e., the inhabitants of Kyonam, the country falling on this side of the border.

The land of Johar is still termed as 'Chyanam' by the inhabitants of Darma, Chaudangs and Byangs, and 'Kyonam' by the Bhotias of Niti.

The Shaukas of Johar were very adventurous and business minded people and had the exclusive privilege of trade with Tibet till this facility came to an end with the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese and their invasion on India in 1962. They had their own markets there and goods were purchased through mutual barter system. Similarly, they had their markets here in Kumaun and elsewhere too.

Though on account of their physical features and long association with Tibetans, the tradition associates them with Bhotias, but Joharis do not cherish the nomenclature, Bhotia for them. They rather dissociate themselves with it. I have not to enter in this racial controversy. My limited purpose here is to take an account of the native tongue of the people inhabiting this valley which was quite current till the last century and was current in a few villages till the first half of this century too.

According to L.S.I (Vol. III pt. I: 479) it was the mother tongue of at least 614 souls and was spoken in the village Harkot of Malla Johar and in 4 villages of Malla Danpur. There were at least a few people belonging to older generation who were well-versed in this tongue. George Grierson (1908) and B. D. Pandey (1937 both were able to collect specimen of this dialect for their respective works. According to Ram Singh Pangti (*Johār kā Itihās va Vamśāvali*, 1936) too, Baru Padhan, the father of Bhimu Padhan of the village Tola and his father were well-versed in this dialect.

But regrettably the present generation of Joharis has totally given up the use of the old tongue and have for all purposes shifted to local variety of Kumauni. According to Pandey (1937: 633-34) the people of the older generation had as easy access to Tibetan (Hūṇiya) tongue as well and used it in their confidential communications. He has listed some words and phrases of this variety of the Tibetan tongue which were employed by Joharis in those days (1937: 634).

The Sources of the Data and the Language

As pointed out above, the older tongue of the people of Johar is no more current there. It has become a thing of history. Its specimen would have lost to us for ever had George Grierson not recorded them for us in the great Linguistic Survey of India, in the beginning of this century (*L.S.I.*, vol III, pt. I, 484-89). At present this is the only source of the information with us about this dialect, besides a scanty vocabulary of 20 words recorded by Pandey in his book on history of Kumaun. A comparison of the above mentioned material with the Tibeto Himalayan languages of this region shows that there is a close affinity between this and the other dialects of the Pargana Darma in general, and it was only a varient of them.

Interestingly, besides the identical terms for numerals, there is a complete or nearly complete identity between the nominal and pronominal data at our disposal and the dialects of Darma group. This feature of Johari may be illustrated as follows: (Here the first form stands for Johari and the second for Darmiyan or Chaudangsi) /ji/ I; /gə=gE/ thou: /gɔni=gEni/ you; /hwe=wo/ he; /la/ hand; /like=liki/ foot; /him=nim/ nose; /mi=mẽ/ eye; /a/ mouth; /su=so/ tooth; /rec=recho/ ear; /puchəm=chəm/ hair; /puse=pisya/ head, /jibe=jiwE/ tongue; /dən/ belly; /luŋ=tuŋg/ back; /cyaŋ=nijan/ iron; /jəŋ=jaŋ/ gold; /mul/ silver; /ba/ father; /min=mina/ mother; /pi-khən=pe/ brother; /syən/ child; /rəŋsya/ sister; /seri=siri/ son; /cimi=cɔme/ girl; daughter; /bəchE~buchE/=/came/ woman, wife; /ni/ sun; /lha/ moon; /me/ fire; /ti/ water, /cim/ house; /rhəŋ/ horse; /rE=benə/ cow; /khwi=khi/ dog; /bila/ cat; /pya=sipya/ bird; /khəmi/ who?; /khə/ what?; Even verb roots are identical, e.g. /di=de-/ to go; /ja-/ to eat; /ra-/ to come; /da-/ to give; /tuŋ-/ to drink, etc.

Linguistic Background

Joharis, on account of their business activities and pastoral living, had to move constantly to market places and pasture grounds in Tibet and Kumaun for times immemorial. As

a natural consequence of this sustained contact a linguistic fusion too continued to take place among these languages. Consequently, Johari or the Shaukiya-khun, which originally had its own vocabulary and structure had been imbibing outer influences for long and ultimately, on account of severance of its ties with Tibet and downward movement of the people from Malla Johar and Malla Danpur to lower valleys or to plains of district Nainital, the new generations of Joharis are completely cut off from their ancestral linguistic tradition and have adopted the eastern variety of Kumauni as their first tongue. Consequently in spite of· my sincere efforts I failed to contact a person who may have a fair knowledge of this dialect. They say there may be a few octogenerians who may be acquainted with this tongue, but I have every apprehension of its coming out as a fact. Alas! I could locate one.

Thus in the absence of any first hand synchronic data available to us—we had to depend solely, for this analysis, on the two specimen reeorded by G.A. Grierson in the *L.S.I.* (Vol. III, pt. I: 484-89).

SOUND SYSTEM

Different sets of vowel and consonant phonemes attested in the sound system of Rangkas of Johar are as follows:

1. VOWELS

Phonemically the following vocalic sounds are attested singly or in sequences.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	∂	o
Low	(E)		(ɔ)
			a

As regards the lip position only the back vowels /u/ and /o/ may be rounded, all others unrounded.

1.1. Phonemic Contrasts

Phonemic contrasts of these vowels may be illustrated as under:

i/e—/ji/ I: /je/ my; /mi/ man: /me/ fire;

i/u—/i/ this: /u/ that; /phi/ hunger: /phu/ cave;

i/a—/li/ weight: /la/ hand; /phi/ hunger: /pha/ ashes;

i/∂—/siŋ/ wood: /s∂ŋ/ village; /m∂n/ mind: /min/ mother;

e/o—/le/ to say: /lo/ bosom;

a/o—/la/ hand: /lo/ bosom; /a/ mouth: /o/ he, that;

a/u—/pha/ ashes: /phu/ cave; /a/ mouth: /u/ that, he;

a/ə—/am/ mango; /əm/ path; /cyəm/ home: /cyaṅ/ iron;

a/e—/ba/ father: /be/ skin, hide.

1.2. Vocalic Sequences

In the written data with us we could not come across any instance of vocalic sequences. The words written as /khwi/, /gwi/ seem to be sequencial occurrences of /u+i/ in which the back vowel /u/ has developed into /-w/ like glide.

1.3. Distribution

Distributionally, all the vowels can occur in all positions without any restriction. This feature of the dialect can be illustrated as under:

/ə/:—/əm/ path; /nəm/ night; /mhə/ not; /rəmko/ story; /nyapən/ small.

/a/:—/ba/ father; /jya/ day; /guda/ some; /taka/ one; /la/ hand.

/i/:—/i/ this; /mi/ man; /ti/ water; /cimi/ daughter; /nisi/ two; /šeri/ son.

/u/:—/u/ he; /phu/ cave; /sum/ three; /dug/ all; /guda/ someone

/e/:—/je/ my; /le/ was, were; /be/ skin; /jibe/ tongue; /hwe/ he, that

/o/:—/o/ he; /go/ of; /gog/ they; /lo/ bosom, chest; /rəmko/ story.

1.4. Allophonic Variations

The above noted vowels of Johari show certain allophonic variants in their respective phonetic environment.

/u~o/—vowels /u/ and /o/ are attested in free variations, on account of non-standardised pronunciation, as in /o-g/~/u-g/ his;

/so~su/ agentive marker.

/e~E/—similar is the case of /e/ and /E/, at times these are pronounced as /e/ and at times as /E/, as in /les~lEs/ said; /bǝche~bǝchE/ woman; /je~jE/ my.

/i~e~y/—The front vowels /i/ and /e/ attest a glidal variant in free variation, as in /cim/~/cyǝm/ house; /jed/~ /jyǝd/ eight, etc.

Nasalization: All vowels tend to be nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, as in /rhǝŋ/ horse; /mhǝ/ not; /miɲ/ mother, etc.

Phonemic status of /E/ aud /ɔ/: The mid-low vowels /E/ and /ɔ/ have a limited occurrence; mostly confined to I.A. loans, as in /mEš/ man; /thEli/ bag; /bǝchE/ woman; /rE/ cow; /sɔda/ bargain; /pɔl/ shoe; /nɔkǝr/ servant; /jE/ who, which.

In view of their absence of occurrence in native words and absence of their phonemic contrast with /e/ and /o/ phonemes, these have been recognized as allophonic variants of the vowels /e/ and /o/ for this analysis.

2.0. CONSONANTS

In Johari the total numbers of consonant phonemes, established on the basis of phonemic contrasts, is 29. All of them belong to different places and manners of articulation. The class of plosives, however, attests the opposition of the presence *vs.* absence of voice, and all classes of voiceless plosives, nasals, vibrant and lateral consonants also attest the contrast of presence *vs.* absence of aspiration. All the consonant phonemes of Johari with their articulatory charac-teristics may, schemetically, be presented as under:

Place of Articulation

Manner of Articulation		Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar
Plosives	Vl.	p, ph	t, th	c, ch	ṭ, ṭh	k, kh
	Vd.	b, (bh)	d, (dh)	j, (jh)	ḍ, (ḍh),	g, (gh)
Nasals		m, mh	n, nh	ñ	(ṇ)	ṅ
Vibrants					r, rh	
Lateral			l, lh			
Fricative			s	š		h
Flapped					ṛ	
Semi-Vowels		w		y		

N.B.—Phonemes placed in parentheses do not have of phonemic status in Johari.

2.1. Phonemic Contrasts

With regard to phonemic contrasts of consonant phonemes, it may be mentioned that though minimal pairs of consonants showing contrasts of their phonetic features are attested in the initial position, yet in non-initial positions there may be only a few which attest these contrasts. In fact, like many other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, this dialect too, seldom attests occurrence of aspirate plosives in a non-initial position. As such the scope of contrasts of aspirate and non-aspirate counterparts of these consonants is extremely limited. Similarly, on account of vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending nature of these dialects the scope of the contrasts of unaspirate plosives too is confined to a few cases only (see distribution of consonants). Consequently, the four fold distinction of presence *vs.* absence of voice and aspiration too is, normally, attested in the initial position only, both these features are almost neutralized in the medial and final positions in a polysyllabic word. The phonemic contrasts of consonants available in this dialect from the limited material at our disposal may be illustrated as under:

Plosives

Bilabials /p, ph, b,/

p/ph—/pi/ four: /phi/ hunger

p/b—/pya/ bird: /bya/ marriage; /pi/ four: /be/ skin, hide

ph/b—/pha/ ashes: /ba/ father

Dentals /t, th, d/

t/d—/ti/ water: /di-/-go; /ta/ one: /da-/ give
>   (from the limited data only contrast of voice is available)

Palatals /c, ch, j/

c/j—/ci/ ten: /ji/ I; /cīn/ /China; /jīn/ saddle
>   (only contrast of voice could be attested from the limited data at our disposal).

Retrofix /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ/-

(No contrast could be attested in the limited data)

Velars: /k, kh, g/

kh/g—/khwi/ dog: /gwi/ nine; /khə/ what? /gə/ thou.

Nasals: /n, nh, m, mh, ŋ/

n/nh—/nisi/ two: /nhisi/ seven

m/mh—/mən/ mind: /mhən/ much, many

n/m—/ni/ sun: /mi/ man: /ne-/ to stand: /me/ fire

n/ṅ—/sin/ white: /siŋ/ wood

m/ŋ—/cyəm/ house: /cyaŋ/ iron

Liquids: /r, rh, l, lh/

r/l—/res/ anger: /lis/ rasin; /ra-/ come; /la/ hand

r/rh—/rəŋ/ colour, to sell: /rhəŋ/ horse

l/lh—/la/ hand: /lha/ moon

Sibilants /š, s/

š/s—/še-/ to run: /se-/ to beat, to strike.
>   /ši/ to die: /si-/ to leave.

Semi vowels: No minimal pairs of the contrasts of semi-vowels and the fricative /h/ could be found in the limited data at our disposal.

2.2. Phonemic Status of Voiced Aspirates

Although on account of a natural tendency of putting higher breath force in the initial position of a word in Johari some of the plosives may be realized as their aspirate counterparts, but all these do not attest a phonemic contrast with their unaspirate counterparts. Moreover, all the instances of the voiced plosives occurring in Johari belong to I.A. loans, only, e.g., /bhari/ load, /bojh/ load, /lobh/ avarice, /bhitər/ inside, /bhEr/ outside, /bhuŋnya/ high, /ughaṭ/ opportunity, /jhyan~jhEn/ good, /jhara/ forest, etc. As such the phonemicity of this class of plosives is doubtful in the native sound system of Johari. For this very reason these have not been accorded the status of a phoneme in this analysis.

Phonemic states of aspirate nasals and liquids

However, the data of this language, available to us, attests a phonemic contrast between the aspirate and unaspirate counterparts of nasals, /m/ and /n/, and liquids, /r/ and /l/. (see phonemic contrasts above).

2.3. Distribution

Distributionally all the consonants, except /ṅ, ṛ, ṇ/ can occur in the initial position of a word. Occurrence of /gh, dh, ḍh/ too is not attested in this position. In the medial position, too, occurrence of aspirate plosives, voiced or voiceless, is not usually attested. Occurrence of plosives in the final position is limited to a few unaspirates only, the usual endings being vowels, nasal and liquids. From among fricatives only the dental fricative /s/ is attested a couple of instances.

The distribution of consonants attested in Johari can be illustrated as follows:

/p/—/puchəm/ hair, /puše/ head, /pap/ sin, /kəlpa/ bread

/ph/—/pha/ ashes, /phi/ hunger, /phu/ cave

/b/—/ba/ father, /be/ skin, /jibe/ tongue, /jəb/ when

/bh/—/bhari/ load, /bhitər/ inside, /bhEr/ outside, /lobh/ avarice

/t/—/ti/ water, /taka/ one, /tăr/ star, /mihnət/ effort

/th/—/thyak/ again, /thE/ to take out, /thEli/ bag,

/d/—/duk/ all, /bǝdig/ duck, /gǝda/ ass, /jyǝd/ eight.

/dh/—x

/c/—/ci/ ten, /cim/ house, /rǝc/ ear, kid, /khic/ other.

/oh/ - /chǝku/ cooked rice; /puchǝm/ hair, /bǝchE/ woman,

/j/—/ji/ I, /jǝŋ/ gold, /jam/ food, /jibe/ tongue

/jh/—/jhyan~jhEn/ good, /jhyara/ forest, /bojh/ load.

/ṭ/—/ṭuk/ six,/ /khǝṛbǝṛaṭ/ noise, /ughaṭ/ opportunity

/ṭh/—x

/ḍ/—/ḍe/ camp, stay, /ḍǝn/ belly.

/ḍh/—x

[ṛ]—/dǝgǝṛ/ in the company, /khǝṛbǝṛaṭ/ noise

/k/—/kiŋ/ pit, /taka/ one, /like/ foot, /ṭuk/ six

/kh/—/khwi/ dog, /khu-mi/ thief, /pi-khǝn/ brother.

/g/—/gwi/ nine, /gǝda/ ass, /bǝdig/ duck, /dug/ all

/gh/—/ughaṭ/ opportunity,

/m/—/mul/ silver, /min/ mother, /cimi/ daughter, /sum/ three.

/mh/—/mhǝn/ much, many

/n/—/nisi/ two, /ninǝm/ near, /min/ mother, /ḍǝn/ belly.

/nh/—/nhisi/ seven,

/ŋ/—/kiŋ/ pit, /sǝŋ/ village, /mhyǝŋ/ name /cyaŋ/ iron

/r/—/rec/ ear, /šeri/ son, /gar/ and, /gǝrib/ poor

/rh/—/rhǝŋ/ horse, /rhiŋsya/ sister, /rha/ bring, /rhu/ ask

/l/—/la/ hand, /luŋ/ back, /bila/ cat, /mul/ silver

/lh/—/lha/ moon.

/š/—/šu/ tooth, /šeri/ son, /še-/ to run

/s/—/sum/ three, /sicǝr/ cock, /nisi/ two, /rīs/ anger

/h/—/hi/ flour, /hǝŋ/ but, /mihnǝt/ effort, /hwe/ that

/y/—/yad/ remembrance, /jy∂d/ eight, /d∂ya/ pity

/w/—/wi-/ to call, /gwi/ nine, /gwal/ cowherd, shepherd.

2.4. Phonetic Tendencies

Although it is difficult to judge the nature of phonetic tendencies of the speakers of a language from the written records, yet some of these become identifiable from the written form of the language as well. Some of the tendencies noticeable in the material at our disposal are as follows:

Devoicing: There are a few instances which indicate that in this dialect voicing too was not strong enough. For, devoicing of voiced phones is attested even in non-final position. The few examples of this tendency are-/duk/</dug/ all; /ṭuk/ <ṭug/ six; /jy∂t/</jy∂d/ eight; /phy∂t/</phy∂d/ half; /c∂n/< /j∂n/ plural marker: /p∂ṭṭi/<b∂ṭi/ 'from' (abl. marker).

De-aspiration: The cognates of I.A. loans with aspirated phones attest that the aspiration, particularly in voiced phones, was elided in it, e.g. /lobh/ > /lob/ avarice; /jibhe/ > /jibe/ tongue; /bojh/ > /boj/ load, /g∂dha/ > /g∂da/ ass. etc.

Aspiration: There are some instances which indicate that the speakers were in the habit of putting more breath force in the pronunciation of a nasal, vibrant, or a fricative in the initial position, as in /mh∂/ not; /hwe/ that; /hwan∂m/ far away; /rha/ bring; /rhu/ ask, /rh∂η/ horse, /rhiη-sya/ sister etc.

Interchangeability of phones: There are certain cases in our data which attest that there was an interchangeability between /r/ and /ṛ/, and /s/ and /c/: e.g. /d∂g∂r~d∂g∂ṛ/, with in the company of; /bak∂ṛ~bak∂r/ goat; /zansic~zan-sis/ ate, used to eat; /ra-c~ra-s~raz/ come, etc.

2.5. Consonant Clusters

In this dialect the scope of consonant clusters is quite low. However, the favourable environment for the occurrence of these is the initial position only. There is hardly any scope for the occurrence of a cluster in the final position. Moreover, in the initial position too, the number of the members of these clusters is normally two. There may be a few with three members, but there cannot be more than three. Combina-

tions of these clusters attested in this speech may be presented as follows:

Initial position: Normally, the number of the constituents of a cluster in this position is two. Distributionally, (1) the first member may be a plosive /a fricative/ a liquid and the second member a semi-vowel or fricative. These may be illustrated as under:

(*a*) *Plosive+Semivowel*: /cyaŋ/ iron, /cyƏm/ house, /pya/ bird, /jya/ day, /jyara/ forest, /gwi/ nine, /gwal/ shepherd, /khwi/ dog, /khwƏd-/ to dig.

(*b*) *Fricative+Semivowel*: /syƏn/ child, /hyƏŋšu/ behind, /hwe/ that, he, /hwanƏm/ far, /syƏ/ service.

(*c*) *Nasal+Semivowel*: /nyapƏn/ small.

(*d*) *Nasal+Fricative*: /nhisi/ seven, /rhƏŋsya/ sister, /mhƏ/ not, /mhƏn/ many.

(*e*) *Liquid+Fricative*: /rhƏŋ/ horse, /rhƏŋsya/ sister, /rha/ bring, /rhu/ ask.

Three member initial cluster: The components of a three member initial cluster are a nasal+fricative+semi-vowel: /mhyƏŋ/name.

Medial clusters: As compared with initial clusters the range of medial clusters is very limited. The constituents of a two member medial cluster are attested as follows:

(*i*) Nasal+plosive : /rƏmko/ story, /imta/ like this, /gumta/ how, of what type?

(*ii*) Fricative+semivowel : /rhƏŋsya/ sister, /hyƏŋšyu/ behind,

(*iii*) Nasal +semivowel : /bhuŋnya/high

(*iv*) Plosive+fricative : /rƏksa/ friend,

(*v*) Plosive +semivowel : /lƏg chyƏb/ ring.

Final clusters: No examples of final clusters could be attested in the data in hand.

2.6. Supra-segmental Phonemes

Nothing definite can be stated about the supra segmental

phonemes on the basis of written material of a general nature. The only aspect which can be predicted may the phenomenon of nasalization of a vowel in the vicinity of a nasal consonant.

3.0. WORD STRUCTURE

A word in this dialect, may be mono-morphenic or poly-morphemic, has the following general characteristics:

(1) It may begin with any vowel or consonant but /ŋ, n, r, th, ḍh, dh/

(2) Normally, a native word ends in a vowel, a nasal, a liquid or a voiced plosive.

(3) No native word begins or ends in a consonant cluster other than those mentioned above.

(4) Normally, no unvoiced plosive or aspirate plosive or /h/ or a semivowel occurs at the end of a native word in it.

(5) In a slow tempo of speech a word necessarily admits a momentary pause on either side of it.

3.1. Syllabic Structure of A Word

As in other languages of this group in this too the immediate constituents of a word are syllables, numbering from 1-4, which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences, between the two successive junctures and also are capable of conveying a single concept.

3.2. Syllabic Units

Constituents of a syllabic unit are a 'nucleus', which is one of the vowels set up for this language ± consonantal margins occurring on either side of it, which can be simple, i.e., a single consonant, or complex (=a consonant cluster or a geminated consonant) permissible in the language within the established system of vowels and consonants, there is no restriction on the occurrence of a vowel as a nucleus or a consonant, including clusters, as a margin of a syllabic unit.

3.3. Patterns of Syllabic Units

On the basis of the analysis of monosyllabic words it has been found that the permissible structure of various syllabic units. The constituents of a word, may be one of the following patterns: /V/, /VC/, /CV/ /CV/, /CCV/, /CVC/, /CCVC/, /CVCC/, /CCCVC/.

These patterns, besides occurring independently in a monosyllabic word, may also become constituent syllables of a polysyllabic word.

(*i*) *Monosyllabic patterns*: In monosyllabic words the patterns of the above mentioned units may be illustrated as under:

/V/—/i/ this, /u∼o/ that, he

/VC/—/∂m/ path, /am/ mango

/CV/—/mi/ man, /phu/ cave, /ba/ father, /ti/ water, /la/ hand, /be/ skin, /hi/ flour, /pha/ ashes

/CVC/—/cim/ house, /dug/ all, /mul/ silver, /rīs/ anger, /pun/ big, /pec/ elder, /yan/ bad.

/CCV/—/jya/ day, /khwi/ dog, /gwi/ nine, /mh∂/ not, /bya/ marriage

/CCCVC/—/mhy∂ŋ/ name

/CCVC/—/cyaŋ/ iron, /rh∂ŋ/ horse, /thyak/ again, /sy∂n/ child

/CVCC/—/surj/ sun.

It may be mentioned that in words with more than one syllable these very patterns are repeated in various sequences.

(*ii*) *Dissyllabic patterns*: The permissible syllabic sequences in a dissyllabic word are attested as under:

/(C) VC-CV/—/imta/ like this, /gumta/ how, in which manner?

/CVC-CV/—/r∂mko/ story, /hy∂ŋšu/ behind, /r∂sya/ with

/CV-CVC/—/puch∂m/ hair, /il∂ŋ/ this much, /pikh∂n/ brother.

/CV-CV/—/šeri/ son, /siga/ balances, /like/ foot, /bila/ cat.

/CCV-CVC/—/nyap∂n/ small, young, /hwan∂m/ far.

/CCV-CV/—/jhyara/ forest, /nhisi/ seven.

/CVC-CVC/—/bh∂gwan/ god, /lachyɔb/ ring.

/(C)VC-CCV/—/bhuŋnya/ high.

/CCV C-CCV/—/rh∂ŋ-sya/ sister.

3.4. Syllabic Division

Normally, the syllabic cut falls at the weakest link between each pair of two successive syllables determined by linguistic forces like accent (i.e., higher stress), quantity of the syllable peak or the patterns of the syllables concerned.

In the matter of syllabic grouping it may fully agree with other languages of this group, i.e., the vowel is the nucleus (peak) of the syllable and consonants preceding or following it are the peripheri or margins. As such, other things being equal, in an open syllable, the consonantal onset margin/margins of the initial syllable peak are grouped with it, e.g., in /siga/ and /pu-ch∂m/ the consonants preceding the vowels are grouped with the vowels /-i-/ and /-u-/ for the purpose of forming the syllabic unit and the succeeding consonants go with the succeeding syllable peaks. Thus in the above examples the syllabic division will be as /si-ga/ and /pu-ch∂m/ (the dash indicating the place of syllabic cut).

But if the interlude, occurring in successive syllables, consists of more than one consonant, excluding semi-vowels, than the most conventional principle applicable to syllabic division would be that the first member of this cluster goes with the previous syllable peak to form its coda margin and the second member would be grouped with the succeeding syllable peak to form its onset margin. For instance, in /gum-ta/ 'how'? and /bhuŋ-nya/ high, the components /-m/ and /-ṅ/ form the coda margin of the first syllable peaks /u/ and /t/ and /ny/ of the second syllable peak /a/. Similarly, in a pattern like /nhi-si/ and /bh∂g-wan/ too the syllabic division will follow the same principle of grouping of phonemes to form the syllabic unit and to affect the mechanism of syllabification.

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

4.0. WORD CLASSES

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic position the word classes attested in this speech are—noun, pronoun, modifiers, verb and function words /enclitics. Normally, as in other languages in this too, words of noun, pronoun and verb classes enter into various types of morphological inflections, where as others do not. As such words belonging to former group are variable, i.e., are inflected for various grammatical categories and those belonging to the latter group are non-variable or non-flectional.

4.1. Word Formation

In it a word can be both mono-morphemic or poly-morphemic. The morphological processes employed for the formation of polymorphemic words are—juxtaposition, prefixation (in a few cases only), suffixation, infixation, reduplication and compounding. Of these the devices of suffixation and compounding are the most common, particularly with regard to nominal, pronominal and verbal stem formations. Various structural and morphological elements, involving various grammatical categories of these classes of words may be presented in the following respective sections of this analysis.

4.2. Noun

Syntactically, a noun in it functions as a subject or object of a verb. It may also function as a predicative word, referring to the subject or the object. Morphologically, it takes grammatical categories of number, gender and cases, and is also followed by postpositions.

4.2.1. *Noun classes*: There are some instances in which the distinction of human and non-human or animate and inanimate nouns also is attested which may be explained as follows:

From the available material with us, at least this distinction is attested with regard to the use of the indefinite article, as in /khə-mi ba/ a father, /khə-mir mi/ a man, but /gub rhə̃ŋ/ a horse, /gar sə̃ŋ-khu/ in a village. Similarly the use of indefinite adjective also attests this dichotomy in it, e.g. /khəmi/ some (for human beings) and /khəri∼ khər/ some (for non-human beings or things), as in /u:g khəmiri-s khəri mə das/ nobody gave him any thing.

4.2.2. *Nominal stems*: As in other dialects of this group, in this too three kinds of nominal stems, viz., primary, derived and compounded, are normally attested. Out of these the number of primary stems is the largest. Historically, a majority of them belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, but there is a sizeable number of them which belongs either to Indo-Aryan or falls under the category of indigenous words.

Primary stems belonging to the T.H. sources are both monosyllabic and poly-syllabic, e.g. /lə̃ŋ/ bull, /khwi/ dog, /ba/ father, /la/ hand, /mi/ man, /me/ fire, /jam/ food, /əm/ path, /nəm/ night, /phu/ cave, /khu-mi/ theif, /mul/ silver, /cim/ house, /jō̃ŋ/ gold, /rE/ field, /lo/ bosom, /cimi/ daughter, /siŋ/ tree, wood, /pya/ bird, /chəku/ cooked rice, /kəlpa/ bread, loaf.

Similar is the case of stems borrowed from the I.A. and other sources, e.g. /rəmko/ story, /seri/ son, /ti/ water, /rec/ ear, /rhə̃ŋ/ horse, /luṅ/ back, /mal/ property, /kal/ famine, /rīs/ anger, envy; /sud/ simple, /bhari/ load, /be/ skin, /pha/ ashes, /hi/ flour, /sə̃ŋ/ village, /bila/ cat, /ughaṭ/ opportunity, /syən/ child, /ben/ cow, /bəchE/ woman, /pap/ sin, /mEš/ man, /siga/ balances, etc.

4.2.3. *Stem formation*: The normal mechanism of nominal stem formation in this is prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and compounding.

(*i*) *Prefixation*: It is not a very productive mechanism in Johari. It is attested with regard to a few nouns denoting kin relationship only as in /a-ma/ mother, /a-pa/ father.

(*ii*) *Suffixation*: However, it is a common device of stem formation. The formative suffixes may have some specific sense to convey or may not. In the latter case, the forma-

tive suffixes are, usually, bound forms and the resultant form functions as a complex stem to which are added the number, gender and case suffixes. Some of the suffixes attested with the data in hand may be seen in the following terms:

/rhiŋ-sya/ sister, /bhuŋ-nya/ high, /nya-p∂n/ small.

(*iii*) *Reduplication*: Juxtaposition of formation of echo-words is also a part of stem formation in it, e.g. /mal-ţal/ property, /nɔk∂r-cak∂r/ servants, /kh∂ŗ b∂raţ/ noise, /bhut-picas/ evil spirits, /seri·cimi/ sons and daughters=children.

4.3. Compound Stems

The number of compound stems, having both the constituents as free forms with their independent meanings too is not much in it. In this type of formations, both the constituents, of the compounded stem may be nominal or adjectival+nominal, etc. converying a copulative meaning. For the purpose of nominal inflections these stems too behave like primary stems. The following type of compound stems have been obtained from the data available to us.

(1) Noun+noun=Noun

/l∂g-chy∂p/ ring, /rE-sun/ cultivator, /ti-dharu/ water place,

/lasuŋ-mala/ cattle (lit. She goats and he goats).

4.4. Nominal Inflection

As in many other languages of this group, in this too there is no grammatical gender. As such a nominal stem is inflected for the number and the case categories only. In some cases these grammatical markers are kept apart from one another and in others are fused together.

4.4.0. *Article*: There is no definite article in it, the indefinite article is expressed either by *ta* a shorter form of the numeral for one, viz., *taka* or by an indefinite pronoun such as *kh∂mi/ kh∂miri* some, *gub* some or *ɣar* a, some, as in *ta naukar* a servant, *kh∂mir-mi* a man, *gub rhĉŋ* a horse etc.

4.4.1. *Gender*: As pointed out above, Rangkas does not recognize any grammatical gender, at least for native vocables.

The natural gender which in no way affects the structure of other constituents of a sentence is, however, distinguished (*i*) either by using separate terms for paired groups of males and females, (*ii*) or by prefixing terms denoting the sense of 'male' and 'female' or 'he' and 'she', to the substantive concerned. In borrowed items, however, the original pattern of the language from which it has been borrowed may be followed.

In the material available with us there are no instances, except one of borrowed case, in which the gender distinction may be indicated by means of prefixation or suffixation. In fact, as in most other languages of this group, in it, too, all inanimate objects are gender less and in case of animate objects different terms are used to distinguish between male and female of the pair concerned, e.g. /ba/ father: /min/ mother; /mi/ man: /bəchE/~/kuchE/ woman; /širi/ son: /cimi/ daughter; /ləη/ bull: /bən/ cow; /khwi/ dog: /chwar/ bitch; /mala/ he goat: /lasuη/ she goat.

But as in other languages in this too, in case of a few non-human animate objects, the gender of female species can be indicated by suffixing the term /bəchE/ 'woman' to the term standing for the species as a whole, e.g., /rhəη/ horse: rhəη bəchE/ mare, lit. horse-woman.

In I.A. borrowed terms, however, the gender mechanism of suffixation, as attested in the original is fully maintained, as in /hərin/ deer: /hərini/ female deer, doe.

4.4.2. *Number*: As in Tibetan, in it too, nominal, pronominal and verbal stems are inflected for two numbers only, viz., singular and plural. In fact, in nominal or pronominal inflections the singular is not marked overtly. It is the absence of plural marker which distinguishes it from the plural. The plural markers, however, follow the stem and precede the case suffixes, but in a verbal conjugation these follow the tense-aspect marker suffixes. In fact, in this dialect, as in others, plurality is not marked if it is inferred from the contex.

The plurality is nouns in expressed in two ways, (*i*) by means of plural marker suffixes, occurring in their respective

phonetic environments, (*ii*) by adding a numeral other than for 'one', or by adding a qualifier conveying the sense of some, a few, many, all, several, etc. In verbal conjugations it is mostly inferred from the number of the subject of the verb in question.

(*i*) *Suffixal plurality*: The suffixes employed to affect plurality are: /cən∼cəṅ∼cã∼/jən/ and their distribution is as under:

In fact, the real plural suffix is /cən/∼/jən/ which freely varies with /cəη/ and is attested as /cã/ when followed by a case-marker, as in /be-cən/ hides; skins, but /be-cã-k/ of skins, /khwi-cəη/ dogs, /ba-cã-g/ of father.

A few more examples of suffixed plurality are attested as under—/bəcho-cən/ harlots, /mi-cən/ men, /syən-cən/ children, /ba-cən/ fathers, /cimi-cən/ daughters, /khwi-cən/ dogs.

Pandey (1937: 635) records the plural suffix as /jən/ in the example /mi/ man; /mi-jən/ men, or a prefix /ḍuk/ as in /kuchE/ woman: /ḍuk kuchE/ women.

(*ii*) *Non-suffixal plurality*: As stated above the non-suffixal method of indicating plurality is either to use a numeral modifier other than for 'one' or use a modifier indicative of the sense of plurality such as /mhən/, or /titi/ many, several. Between these the term /mhən/ precedes the noun and /titi/ follows it, as in /mhən-ba/∼/ba-titi/ fathers. A few more examples of it are:

/mhə̀n jya/ many day (s); /ilə̄η bərəs/ so many year (s), /mhə jhyan mi/ many good men.

But in a colloquial speech it is left out, particularly when the nominal stem is being followed by a case marker, as in /rəkso-k/ of friends, /khic mi-g lekh/ for the sake of other persons, /be rəη-ne/ having sold the skins, /o-g be-k rəηk kurš/ took their skin(s) for selling.

4.4.3. *Case*: Case is a grammatical category in it and can be established on morpho-syntactic basis. Besides expressing the relationship of a noun with the verb in general, a case,

particularly the genitive case, also expresses a relationship between two nouns or between a noun and pronoun.

The grammatical relations expressed by these are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possession, material composition, place. time, etc.

In it the casal relations are expressed (*i*) either by means of suffixes, affixed to the bare stems of substantives in the singular, and after the number suffixes in the plural or (*ii*) by means of postpositions which follow specific bases of nominal and pronominal stems. In some of the cases these case suffixes are tied up with number suffixes and in others kept apart. Schematically all the case suffixes of Johari may be presented as below:

	Sg	*pl*
Direct	ϕ	ϕ
Acc. dative	ϕ	ϕ
Ag.-Erg.	—so/-su/-s/-sic	Same as in sg.
Dative	—lekha/c∂b∂η	,, ,, ,,
Ablitive	—b∂ti/p∂tti	,, ,, ,,
Genitive	—go/-gu/-g (k)	,, ,, ,,
Locative	—ro/-ri/-r	,, ,, ,,

4.4.4. *Syntactic correlation*: Various syntactic correlations expressed by these case forms may be explained as follows:

(*a*) *Direct case*: Morphologically, the direct case has no markers for any number. But syntactically it is used to denote the following grammatical relationships:

(*i*) It is the subject of an intransitive verb:

/hwe mi mh∂n k∂hyuc/ the man was very much frightened.

/ji phi sic∂η sis/ I am dying of hunger.

/o-g p∂c seri rE-r šy∂c/ his elder son was in the field.

(*ii*) An object of the vocative case;

/o ba:/ oh father! /seri:/ eh son!

(*ii*) An object of a transitive verb:

/u tə̃ŋ kə-thij/ he became destitute.

/u-s to nɔkə̃r vi-ne rhusə̃s/

he, having called a servant, asked (him).

/je jə̃l ji da/ give my share to me.

/usi-so u berkiktə̃s/ they threw them on a precipice.

(*iii*) A direct object of a verb having two objects (direct and indirect):

/u-su ucə̃bə̃ŋ ti das/ he gave him water.

/ji jam da/ give food to me.

/ə̃pnogo cim mẽ po-su/ put (their) own house to fire.

(*b*) *Accusative-dative*: The acc.-dative marker in this dialect is the suffix /-g-/ and the postposition /cə̃bə̃ŋ/∼/cubə̂n̂/ which follows the number suffixes. Syntactically, it is used to indicate the following types of grammatical relations:

(*i*) It is the case of animate object or direct object of a transitive verb:

/u-su u-cə̃bə̃ŋ les/ he said to him.

/u-g khə̃miri-s khə̃ri mə̃ daš/ No body gave him anything.

/usi-so u ta ber kik-tə̃s/ they pushed them into a precipice.

(*ii*) A verbal noun acting as a logical object also is placed in this case:

/o-g be-g rə̃ŋgkurš/ (he) took their skins for selling.

The genitive suffix /go∼g/ is also used to express the sense of the accusative case:

/ə̃pno go cim mẽ po-su/ put (their) own house to fire.

/o-g be-g rə̃n-g kurš/ took their skins for selling.

/o-g o-ba-g də̃ya rac/ pity came to his own father.

(c) Casal relationship of subject and object of transitive verb: The casal relationship of the subject and the object of a transitive verb is well defined in it, i.e., the subject of all transitive verbs, other than those having two objects, is invariably placed in the ergative case and the object in the nominative/direct case:

/us ta nɔkǝr vi-ne rhu-sǝs/ he, having called a servant, asked.

/hwe gǝribǝs mi-sic hwe rE-mala be khu-s/

that poor fellow took off the skin of these animals (cow-goats).

But in the case of a verb, having more than one object the casal relationship is expressed like this: The subject is placed in the ergative case, the indirect object in the accusative case and the direct object, real or logical, viz., a substantive or a verbal noun, in the nominative/ direct case:

/u-su u cǝbǝŋ jam da-s/ he gave him food.

/ba-so le-s/ father said (lit. father-by said.)

/nyapǝn-su le-s/ the younger (one) said (lit. small by said)

(d) Ergative case: As in other languages of this group, in this too, the ergative case is used to express the subject of a transitive verb; in the past or non-past. It has 3 allomorphs, which occur in free variation: /ba-s/ by father, /jis/ by me, I;

/idǝs/ by it, it; /lis-ǝs/ rasin, by rasin; /u-su/ by him. he·

/jEda-su khic mi-g lekh kin khwadǝ/

whosoever digs a pit for others.

/usi-so u ta ber kik-tǝs/

they pushed them down a precipice.

/u-s ta nɔkǝr wine rhu-sǝs/

he, having called a servant, asked (him).

/seru-su u-cǝbǝŋ les/ the son said to him.

(e) *Instrumental /Agentive*: Suffixes for the instrumental/ agentive case are similar to those as attested for the ergative case.

/cabuk-so/ with stripes, as in /jis cabuk-so kəsiš/

I beat (him) with stripes. /lhes-əs/ by mistake (reason),

/mul lobh-se/ on a account of avarice for rupees (cause).

(ƒ) *Sociative case*: The sociative case which expresses either casual or inherent association of a thing or a person with some other things or presons is expressed with the help of postposition /dəgər/ 'with':

/je rəkso-k dəgər/ with my friends, /o-g rəkša-sic

o-dəgər ri:s gan-syəc/ his neighbours envied (with) him.

Another postposition occurring in the sense of 'with' or 'in the company' is /rəšya/, as in /je rəsya/ with me.

/u-s hwe mul əpən rəšya ta-s/he took that money with him.

(g) *Dative*: The sense of dative case is expressed either with the accusative marker /cəbəṅ/ or with a postposition /lekha/ which follows the genitive base of a noun or pronoun:

/ba cəbəŋ/ to, for the father; /u jəbəŋ/ for him, to him;

/u lekha/ for his sake; /khic mi-g lekha/ for the sake of other persons.

The suffix /rĉŋ/ is also used with verbal nouns, as in /rəŋgəti-rəŋ/ for the sake of selling.

(h) *Ablative*: The casal relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person is expressed with the postposition /pəṭṭi/ or /bəṭi/ phonetic variations of the I.A. post-position /bəṭi/, e.g. /hwanəm pəṭṭi/ from a distance, /khəmi cimi bəṭi/ from a daughter, /hwer pəṭṭi/ from there, /joydad pəṭṭi/ from the property, /hwe yərt pəṭṭi/ from it.

Besides the postposition /cübəŋ/ also is attested in the sense of 'from' which follows the locative case, e.g. /khəmi-r cubəŋ/ from some one (from the possession of some one).

(*i*) *Genitive*: The genitive case expresses a mutual relation-ship between two substantives. In this it is expressed with the suffix /go/ which in a colloquial speech is variously attested as /go~gu~g~k/ as well, e.g. /bago/ of the father, but /je bak nɔkər/ my father's servant, /pərosi-go mi-cən/ men of neighbourhood, /o-g pec seri/ his elder son, /mala-ku rəc/ kid of a goat, /pha-g/ of ashes, /mig/ of a man, /go-g/ they, /o-g/ his, etc.

The genitive case has a morphological importance, because it serves as a base for the use of many postpositions expressing various casal relations (see postpositions). More-over, in this dialect genitive case markers are freely used to indicate the sense of acc.—dative case as well, e.g. /u-g khəmi-ris khəri mə das/ no body gave him any thing.

(*j*) *Locative*: The use of locative is restricted to inani-mate nouns only. Moreover, various time and space oriented relations of this case are expressed by various postpositions and adverbial phrases as well. The real locative suffix is /ro/ which in a colloquial speech is attested as /-ru, -ri, -r/ as well, as in /la-ro/ in~on the hand, /əm-ri/ on the way, /phu-ri/ in the cave, /jhyara-r/ in the forest /thEli-r/ in the bag:

/əm-ri u-s əpno thEli əm-gu phe:r-su si-təs/

on the way he left his bag on the side of the way.

/u-g lo-r lE-s/ (he) clasped to his bosom.

/o la-ro ləgchəb gār like-r pɔl cugsən ga/

put on a ring in his hand (finger) and shoes on feet.

/u rE-r syəc/ he was in the field.

Besides, postpositions like /suŋ/ and /khuŋ/ also serve the purpose of locative, as in /khuŋ suŋ/ in, at the bottom, /səŋ-khuŋ/ in the village.

Structurally, case markers /post positions follow the number markers, as in /bacã-g/ of father's (lit. ba+pl.+gen.), /cimicã-g/ of girls, /cimicã lekh/ for the sake of girls/ daughters. /usi-so/ by them, they.

(*k*) *Peculiarity of case formations*: In the specimen of this dialect we come across a peculiar feature of case formation which may be put as under:

(*a*) use of genitive suffix with pronominal stems:

/ə̂pə̂no-k ba-g cubə̂ŋ/ towards/ near his father.

/ba-so əpəno-go nɔkər les/ the father said to his servant.

/əpno-go sə̀n dec/ went to his village.

/ə̂pno-go cim mẽ po-su/ put his own house to fire.

/go-g/ the, /ji-g/ mine, /ijigu seri/ my this son.

/hwe u-go pha-go rəŋ mə ta-cu/ he could not sell its ashes,

(*b*) *Double use of case markers*: There are a few instances in which the use of case markers is attested with qualifiers along with the noun qualified by them:

/hwe gərib-əs sud misie/ by that (by) poor man.

/hwedəs mi-s hwe mul əpən rəsya ta-s/

that (by) man (by) took that money with him.

/hwedəs gərib mi u-cəbəŋ rhu-səs/

that (by) poor man (by) asked him.

/u-s i-s sɔdəs/ he (by him) with this (by) bargain.

4.5. Postpositions

There are certain indeclinable terms which like case suffixes indicate the casal relationship of nouns and pronouns with other nouns and pronouns in a syntactic string. As is clear from their nomenclature, they invariably follow a noun or pronoun to denote the relationship for which they stand. In this dialect they normally follow a noun/ pronoun in the genitive case. The government of various post positions is attested as under:

(*a*) Postpositions which follow an inflected form of a noun or pronoun in the genitive case:

/cubəŋ/ to, towards; /bag cubəŋ/ to the father.

/khuṅ šyuṅ/ under, below: /siṅ-go khuŋ syuŋ/ under the tree, /hy∂ŋsu/ behind: /g∂ni-g hy∂ŋ su/ behind you.

/lekha/ for the sake of: /mi-g lekha/ for the sake of man.

/d∂g∂r/ with: /je r∂kso-g d∂g∂r/ with my friend.

(*b*) Postpositions which follow an inflected noun or pronoun in the locative case:

/p∂ṭṭi∼b∂ṭi/ from: /wher p∂ṭṭi/ from there.

/whe s∂ŋ-khu p∂ṭṭi/ from that village.

/cub∂ŋ/ near from:/ kh∂mi-r cub∂ŋ/ from any one.

/r∂kša/ with: /kh∂mi-r jhyEn mi r∂kša/ with a certain good person.

But in a quick tempo of speech/colloquial expressions these case markers are dropped before these postpositions.

/hwe deš pun kal p∂rec/ big famine occurred in that country.

/o d∂g∂r/ with him; /hwan∂m p∂ṭṭi/ from a far;

/ba cub∂ṅ/ to, near the father, /go sam∂n/ before you;

/u lekha/ for him; /it∂ṅ b∂r∂s b∂ṭi/ for so many years.

/mul lobh se/ for the sake of money; /o d∂g∂r/ with him:

/py∂t muñe hy∂ŋsu/ after midnight; /phu bhit∂r/ inside the cave;

/bhed ga·mo bast/ to know of the secret, /ba b∂ṭi/ from father; /∂pno-go s∂ŋ dec/ went to his home (village).

(*e*) Postpositions can follow an adverb or an infinitive as well, as in /hwan∂m p∂ṭṭi/ from a far, /hwer p∂ṭṭi/ from there; /bhed gamo-bast/ for getting the secret, or for the sake of knowing the secret.

5.0. PRONOUN

Pronouns which substitute nouns, can, like nouns, function as subject, object, etc., in a syntactic construction.

Morphologically, these too are inflected for two numbers and six causal relations, including postpositional relations, but at least the personal pronouns are not inflected for locative case.

Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible into six classes, viz., (1) Personal, (2) Demonstrative, (3) Interrogative, (4) Indefinitive, (5) Reflexive, (6) Relative. Of these the pronouns of personal, demonstrative and reflexive classes are inflected for both the numbers, but not others. However, on the basis of their syntactic differences these stems form two groups, viz., personal and non-personal. For, in a sentence all non-personal pronouns can function as a modifier to a noun, in their uninflected form, whereas the personal pronouns cannot, though in their inflected genitive case form these too can function as pronominal adjectives.

5.1. **Personal Pronouns**

Personal pronouns stand for nouns of 'the person speaking', 'the person spoken to', and the 'person or thing spoken of'. These represent the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person respectively and are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems:

/ji/~/je/ I; /nuŋ/ we; /gə/ thou; /gəni/ you;

/u/ he she; /hwe/ that; /usi/ they; /hwecən/ those;

/i/ this; /idi/ these.

From the point of inflection, personal pronouns fully agree with the inflectional patterns of nouns, i.e., the case suffixes postpositions added to them are the same and follow the same morphophenomic rules. In the case of number suffixes, they follow a different pattern. Accordingly, in them the plurality is marked by replacement of the stem or suffixes, not conforming with the plural marker suffixes of the nominal stems: e.g., /ji/~/je/ I: but /nuŋ/ we; /gə/ thou: but /gə-ni/ you; /u/ he: but /u-si/ they; However, in the case of non-personal pronominal stems, it takes the usual plural suffix /-cən/, as in /hwe/ that: /hwe-cən/ those.

Various casal inflections of these may be illustrated as under:

First person	Sg.	Pl.
Direct case	ji~je	nuη
Agentive	ji-s/-su	nuη-su/-s
genitive	ji-g	nuη-g
Second person		
Direct.	g∂	g∂ni
Agentive	g∂so/-su	g∂ni-so/-s
Genitive	gʌ-g /go/ g∂g	g∂ni-g
Third person		
Direct	u/o	usi
Agentive	u-su/-so/-s	usi so/-su
Genitive	u-g	usi-g

5.2. Demonstrative Pronoun

The 3rd person pronominal stems represent the demons-trative pronouns as well, which are used for 'pointing out' a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' person or thing. In this those are attested as /hwe/ that, those; /hwed∂s/ by them; /usi-g/ their; /i/ this; /id∂s/ by this; /i-s/ by this; /ido-go/ of this. Their syntactic usages are as under:

/i cuks∂n ga/ put it on him.

/hwe kh∂ sin/ who is that? what is that?

/o kh∂mi sin/ who is that fellow?

In a syntactic string whether a particular stem is to be treated as a demonstrative pronoun or a demonstrative adjective can be ascertained from the context and from its syntactic position only, i.e., when there is definite 'pointing out with a modification of noun head, then they are to be taken as demonstrative adjective and when they substitute a noun head then they are to be treated as demonstrative pronouns. In a

direct communication demonstrative pronouns are usually accompanied with kinetics as well, that is, pointing out with gestures; as in /hwe kh∂ sin/ what is that?, but /hwe phu bhit∂r/ inside that cave.

5.3. Interrogative Pronoun

This class of pronouns is used for enquiring about some one or some thing. There are three interrogative stems in it, viz., /kh∂mi/ who; /kh∂/ what, which;

/gu-l∂η/ how much, how many?

/hwe kh∂ sin/ what is that?

In this the term for 'which' normally occurs as a modifier and as such is not inflected for any number or case, but the other two are inflected for all cases, though for the singular number only.

5.4. Indefinitive Pronoun

Pronouns of this class refer to an unknown or unidentified person or thing. As in other languages, in this too these are formed with interrogative stems by adding /ri∼r/ to them:

/kh∂mi-ri∼kh∂mi-r/ a certain person; /gwa-r/ a certain;

/kh∂ri∼kh∂-r/ any thing; some; /ku∂r∂i/ whosoever.

5.5. Reflexive Pronoun

Reflexive pronouns substitute and refer to a noun or pronoun which is, as a rule, the logical subject of the sentence. The sense of reflexive ¡pronoun is expressed in two ways, (1) by the use of the I.A. loans /∂pno/ and /aphi/ or (2) with the use of the genitive form of the pronoun concerned: The latter device seems to be the native one.

/usu ∂pno rEr-/ by him in his field.

/u ∂pno d∂n pyang∂t unsic/ he wanted to fill his belly.

/us aphi cays-m mEki gas/ he tried to hide himself.

/u u-g lor/ he to his bosom, /ji je r∂kso-k d∂g∂r/ I with my friends.

5.6. Relative Pronoun

As in other languages of this group, in this too there are no separate stems for relative pronouns. The specimen show that the speakers of Johari had borrowed Indo-Aryan terms for it which are attested as, /jE/~/jEd/ etc.

/jE d∂su khic mi-g lekh ki*η* khwad∂, hwe di*η*/

whosoever digs a pit for others, he fells.

/je-g je sin, go lhe/ whatever is mine, is thine.

/gwar ta mh∂n sud mi jE dog

there was a very simple man, who had . . .

/kosu-sjE d∂s suṅ∂r jan sic/

(by) the husk which the swine ate.

A special feature of usage of pronouns in this dialect is that the pronoun /u~o/ he, is sometimes used in order to repeat a preceding noun before post-positions or governing words, e.g. /o-g o-ba-g d∂ya rac/ (lit.) his, his father, of pity came-his father pitied him, /whed∂s g∂rib mi u c∂b∂*η* rhu-s∂s/ (lit.) by him poor man him to asked=he asked the poor man; /i g∂rib mi o dā-s/ this poor man his envy by=on account envy for this poor man.

6.0. ADJECTIVES

As in other languages of this group in this too, adjectives belong to that class of words which qualify a noun or pronoun or intensify the meaning of another adjective. Structurally, these belong to the indeclinable class of words, but on the basis of their syntactic position and semantic function they are treated as a separate class of words. Morphologically, these can be classified as pronominal and non-pronominal. The former are variable and the latter non-variable.

6.1. Pronominal Adjective

There are two types of them, (1) Possessive and (2) Demonstrative. These may be illustrated as under:

(1) Possessive Pronominal adj.—/u-g/ his, as in /u-g šeri/ his son; /go-g/ your, as in /go-g ba/ your father; /jig/ my, as in /ji-g cim/ my home; /je ba-g/ of my father; /o-g pec šeri/ hit elder son, /i jigu šeri/ my this son.

(2) Demonstrative Pronominal Adj.—/i rh∂ŋ/ this horse, /hwe rh∂ŋ/ that horse. Moreover, adjectives belonging to this class can be termed as distinguishing too, because these distinguish a person or thing from another person or thing, e.g., in an utterance like /u-g rh∂ŋ /his horse, the qualifier/ u-g /distinguishes the /rh∂ŋ/ 'horse/ from other horses.

6.2. Non-Pronominal Adjective

The non-pronominal adjectives which either denote a quality such as good, bad, black, red, etc., or quantity, such as enough, plenty, much, etc., or number, such as some, few, many, four, five etc. or some state or condition, such as sad, jolly, cold, hot, etc., may be termed as describing one, because they simply describe the quality, quantity, state or number of the noun head qualified by them. Interestingly, in it, these belong to the variable class, i.e., are inflected for the case form of the noun head qualified by them;

(For examples see supra 'pecularity of case formations)

/nyap∂n-so seri duk-ch∂n dū nya/ (lit.) the small by son

all gathering=the younger having gathered all.

Some of the most frequently used adjectives of this dialect are: /jhyan~jhEn/ good; /m∂dan/ bad, wrong; /pun/ big; /nyap∂n/ small, young; /mh∂n/ many, more, /phi/ hungry, /pec/ elder, /yan/ bad; /bhuŋnya/ high; /gul∂ŋ/ how many, /hwe/ that, /i/ this; /dug/ all; /thyak/ again; /kh∂/ what?, /il∂ŋ/ so much, so many.

6.3. Formation of Adjective

Adjectives are both radical and derived. Radical adjectives are monomorphenic, but derived are polymorphemic

Most of adjectives illustrated above are radical ones. A few examples of derived are as under:

/nyapən/ small, /mədan/ bad, wrong, /bhuŋnya/ high,

/khə-mi/ some (human beings), /khə-ri/~/khə-r/ Some (non-human beings or thing), as in /khəmi mi/ Some or a certain person, /khər mul/ some rupees.

In some cases reduplication also is attested as a mechanism of formation of an adjective, as in {/khəkhə rəmko/ what what story, i.e., many kinds of stories. /duk-chən duk-chən/ all all-total.

6.4. Placement of Adjectives

In the Shaukiya Khun like Indo-Aryan the qualifiers of a noun are used attributively, e.g., /mhən pi-khən/ many brothers; /sum rhəŋšya/ three sisters; /nyapən cim/ small house; /pec šeri/ elder son; /jhyan mi/ good man, /i mul/ this money; /məni mul/ a few rupees; /hwe phu bhitər/ inside that cave; /iləŋ much/ this much money; /iləŋ bərəs bəti/ for so many years; /sin rhəŋ/ white horse, etc.

In a noun phrase containing more than one adjective the sequential placement of different classes of adjectives is like this ± demonstrative, ± pronominal, ± numeral, ± intensifier, ± describing. These may be illustrated as follows:

/whe mi/ that man; /i siŋ/ this tree;

/i jigu šeri/ this my son; /hwe gog rhəŋ/ that your horse;

/jig sum mala/ my three goats;

/guləŋ mi/ how many men?; /iləŋ mul/ this much silver or these many rupees.

/ta mhən sud mi/ a very simple man.

/iləŋ bərəs bəti/ for so many years.

/i jhyan mi/ this gentle man.

/o-g pec-šeri/ his elder son.

But in case of more than one describing adjectives quali-

fying a noun the one referring to size or a common quality precedes others.

/ta pun sin rh∂ŋ/ a big white horse.

/hwe g∂rib-∂s sud mi-sic/ by that poor (and) simple fellow.

6.5. Degrees of Comparison

As is the case with many I.A. and T.B. languages, in it too the comparison of degrees of adjectives is non-suffixal. In comparing two objects it is affected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case and the object being compared in the nominative case, along with the term /hwe/ 'from' or /mh∂n/ more, prepositioned to the modifier, e.g., /u pi-kh∂n u rh∂ŋšya hwe mh∂n nh∂n šini/ (lit.) his brother his sister from more tall is, i.e., his brother is latter then his sister, /mh∂n jhyan/ more good=better; /mh∂n bhuŋnya/ higher < bhuŋnya/ high. In case of comparison among more than two objects, i.e., in the superlative degree the particle of comparison, viz. /ṭuk hwe/ 'from all' is prepositioned to the modifier in question; as in /ṭuk hwe jhyan/ best (lit. all from good); /duk hwe jhyan cuks∂m/ the best clothes.

6.6. Agreement with the Noun Head

Contrary to other languages of this group, in it we come across many instances in which the adjective admits the case suffix of the noun head qualified by it, as in /o-g o-ba-g/ to his father, /hwed∂s mi-s/ by that man, /u-s i-s sɔd∂s/ by him by this bargain, /nyap∂n-so seri/ by the younger son, etc.

7.0. NUMERALS

In Johari numerals share the position of qualifiers, as such they are a sub-category of adjectives.

The formal subclasses of this class of adjectives are-
(1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, (6) Approximatives.

7.1. Cardinals

The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'ten', are as follows:

/taka/ one, /nisi/ two, /sum/ three, /pi/ four, /n∂i/ five, /ṭuk/ six, /nhisi/ seven, /jy∂d/ eight, /gwi/ nine, /ci/ ten, and for twenty we get /tansa/. We have no record for other terms of numerals. However, from a comparison of the above noted terms we can infer that the other terms were similar to those which are attested in Darmiya or Chaudangsi.

Like Munda and other languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group it follows the vigasimal system of counting, i.e., numerals up to thirty are formed by compounding the terms from one to ten to the term for 20. Consequently, 25 is=20, 5, and 30= 20, 10, 40=2, 20 and fifty 2, 20, 10, viz- /nin-sa-ci/ so on and so forth. The term for hundred is /n∂n∂s/ which seems to have developed from /ñ∂i-ninsa/ five twenties.

The specimen at our disposal do not provide data for other classes of numerals. From a close affinity between Shaukiya Khun and other Rang dialects of the region we may presume that this dialect too had more or less similar forms of these numerals.

8.0. VERBAL SYSTEM

The verbal system of this dialect is quite simple. For, the verb roots attest minimum inflection for numbers and persons in various tenses and moods.

8.1. Classification of Verb Roots

Structurally, verb roots in it belong to three categories, viz., primary, derived and compounded. Though most of the verb roots are primary ones, yet there are some which belong to the other two categories as well. Moreover, on the basis of causal forms taken by them for their subject or object or on the basis of syntactic distinction of having a second noun/ pronoun other than the noun/pronoun serving as their subject,

as the legitimate object of the verb concerned, these roots can be classified as transitive and intransitive as well.

The most distinguishing feature of transitive and intransitive verbs in it is this that the subject of the transitive class of verbs is invariably placed in the ergative case, whereas that of the intransitive class of verbs is placed in the nominative/direct case.

Besides simple transitive and intransitive verbs, there may be a few verb roots which are called verbs of incomplete predication, i.e., requiring a predicative word, usually a noun or adjective for completing the sense indicated by the verb form, as in /u ∂pno d∂n py∂ŋg∂t unsic/ he wanted to fill his belly.

8.2. Primary Roots

Primary roots, may be Tibeto-Burman or Indo-Aryan, are mono-morphomic. e.g. /di/go; /ja-/ eat; /ra-/ come; /da-/ give; /še-/ run; /ši-/ die;

/se-/ beat; /ne-/ stand; /cil-/ sit; /rhu-/ ask;

/kur-/ take; /ga-/ do; /le-/ say; /tan-/ to find;

/rhE-/ to live; /rha-/ to bring; /ho-/ to graze; /p∂n-/

to hear; /si-/ to leave; /sun-/ to listen; /p∂ṛ-/ to fall; /nac-/ to dance; /ṭal-/ to evade; /uṛa-/ to squander; /khwad-/ to dig;

8.3. Compound Verbs

Normally, languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour the use of compound verbs, yet these are not totally wanting too, though the number of verbal roots forming a compound stem is not more than two, of which the first is the main and the second a subsidiary and all grammatical categories are carried by the final constituent itself. In this dialect the most commonly employed auxiliaries are: /t∂s/, /s∂s/, /c∂s/, /cyaŋ rac/ returned, has came back; /thok-s∂s/ returned; /si-t∂s/ left, gave up; /ga-t∂s/ did; completed, has done; /kik-t∂s/ pushed down; /cyaŋ-t∂s/ arrived; /kuŋga-t∂s/ did, as in /pha kuŋga-t∂s/ reduced to ashes.

8.4. Verbs Compounded with Nouns and Adjectives

The device of compounding certain nouns and adjectives with certain verb stems, to express a single verbal concept, too. is attested in it, e.g., /mẽ phuk-t∂s/ pet to fire; /mẽ posu/ set to fire.

8.5. Verbal Conjugation

In it, a verb is conjugated for the grammatical categories of person, number, tense, mood and aspects. In these languages a verb is, normally, not conjugated for voice categories. for in the colloquial speech no favour is shown for the use of passive or impersonal constructions. Rather all expressions relating to passive or impersonal voices are transformed into the structure of an active voice.

From the point of temporal conjugation too it attests a clear distinction for the present, past and future tenses only. similarly, from the point of aspects (i.e., denotation of nature of action) the verb stems show a distinction between perfect and non-perfect only, there being no clear distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspects of it. Both of them are freely used for each other, though literal rendering of linguistic expressions involving progressive aspect is possible.

8.6. Temporal Conjugation (Indicative Mood)

All transitive and intransitive verbs, including the verb substantives are inflected for various temporal and non-temporal categories in it, but in a non-formal speech there is no strict adherence to the use of various temporal conjugations, particularly with regard to indefinite and continuous tense forms. Consequently, indefinite tense forms are indiscriminately used for their continuous or habitual tense forms. Various forms and functions of temporal conjugations, in the indicative mood may be presented as follows.

8.7. Verb Substantive

Various forms attested for various senses of verb-substantives indicate that there are at least three different roots which

are employed for this purpose. These may be illustrated as under:

Present	sg.	pl.
3rd person	šini /šin/ lhe	sini /lhe/ lhəη
2nd person	šišin/ lhen	šisin
1st person	šiši	nə-sisu
Past tense		
3rd person	sis /sic/ syəc/ kəlhig	sic /lhe/ le
2nd person	sinɔs	šinE-s
1st person	šĩs	šiš

/ji šis/ I shall be: /ji lhej/ I may be;

/ji-g je sin, go lhe/ whatever is mine, is thine.

The bases of the verb substantive are freely used in the formation of the various tenses of finite verbs.

8.8. Sub-systems

The verbal conjugation of this dialect too may have conjugational patterns of (1) Affirmative, (2) Negative, (3) Causative sub-systems, but in the material at our disposal we come across the affirmative and negative sub-systems only.

8.8.1. *Affirmative sub-system*: Under this system all verb roots are inflected for all tenses and moods. The prefixo-suffixal mechanism operative in the indicative mood of it may be presented as follows:

8.8.2. *Mechanism of tense formation*: In a verbal conjugation its various temporal categories are obtained by mean of respective temporal suffixes, along with number and person markers. As such the normal order of various constituents in a finite verb form is: root + tense marker, ± person and number suffixes.

Person-number suffixes: Though in principle a verbal stem is expected to be inflected for 6 forms (i.e., 3 person × 2 num-

bers) in all the tenses, yet in actual usage a formal distinction is available for 4-5 forms only.

As such the semantic connotation of person and number is determined by the subject of the verb form in question.

8.8.3. *Finite verbs* (Affirmative sub-system): A finite verb form in it exhibits grammatical categories of tense, aspects and moods. The markers of these categories are directly affixed to the verb stem and are followed by number-person markers. A structural analysis of these forms in all the tenses and moods may be presented in the following paragraphs.

8 8.4. *Present indefinite*: In this dialect the present tense of a finite verb, besides the indefinite or indicative sense of an action taking place in the present time, also denotes an action in progress which may be technically termed as present continuous. It is also used to denote a habitual action or an action of universal character.

In this dialect the inflectional base for these forms is the verb stem which sometimes in itself serves as the present indicative, e.g.

/jEd∂šu khic mig lekh kiṅ khwad∂, hwe diŋ/

who digs a pit for others, he falls (in it).

But it also takes the forms of the verb substantive as an auxiliary, as in /je ba hwe nyap∂n cy∂m-∂r rhE-ni/ my father lives in that small house. Also

/rhE-s∂n/ theu livest: /rE-ni/ he comes; /din/ he goes; /diš/ I go;/ disin/ you go; /din/ they go; /disuŋ/ we go, etc.

/g∂nj-g hy∂ŋ-šu kh∂mi-k šeri rE-ni/

whose son comes/ is coming behind you?

/u ra-ni hini/ he wants to come.

/rani m∂ nisi/ does not want to come.

Present continuous: Normally, the speakers of this dialect do not make any distinction between present indefinite and

present continuous, but if absolutely necessary, it can be expressed with the help of an auxiliary added to the present participle of the principal verb, e.g.

/je phi sic∂n̄ sis/ I am dying of hunger.

/sati/ I strike; but /sa-ti-la/ I am striking.

Present perfect: Present perfect is not a distinct conjugational category in it. Normally, it is expressed with simple past tense because this dialect does not make any distinction between present perfect and simple past. However, if necessary it can be affected by adding forms of the verb root /c∂n/ to the root form of the main verb: /cēᵬg-ra-s/ has come /phir taᵬc/∼/thyak tanc/ is found again.

/je ba-k nɔkɜ̂r o d∂n šyu jam mh∂n jan-sic/

my father's servants take food more than the bellies need.

/go pikh∂n rac/ your brother has come (lit. came).

Static present: The static present or the present perfect continuous is expressed through periphrastic constructions, by adding the form of the aux, /c∂n/ to the past tense form of the main verb:

/u ta siᵬ-go khuᵬ šyuᵬ ta rh∂ᵬ y∂r∂n ksyu-c∂n/

he is sitting on a horse under a tree

8.8.5.2. *Past indefinite*: As in the present indefinite, the past indefinite too, besides the usual denotation of indefinite indicative sense, denotes an action in progress in the past as well. The common suffix of past tense is /s∼su/ or /-c/∼ /sic/, as in /lis∼les/ he said: /ga-su/ he made; /gE-s/ I did; /da-nu-š/ gavest; /tas/ took; /taᵬ-s/ got, found: /ta-su/ put; /p∂ᵬ-s/ sent; (as in /usu ucub∂ᵬ p∂ᵬ-s/ he sent to him); /on-s/ saw: /whan∂m pɜ̣ṭṭi on-s/ saw from a far).

/-c/—/de-c/ went: /∂pnok ba-g cubɜ̂ᵬ de-c/ went to his father;

/ra-c/ came; /tap∂c/ went; /rhu: s∂s/ asked; /sE-s/ killed;

/khos/ took; /kur-s/ took; /rhaŋ-s/ brought; /ṭil-s/ opened; /urE-s/ squandered.

Past tense forms are also employed to convey the sense of completion of an action in the immediate past or even in the present, usually expressed by present perfect.

/je ba-k nɔkǝr o dǝn-šyu jam mhǝn jansic/

my father's servants eat more than that of their bellies.

/rEn-sic/ used to be, were, /gǝn-sic/ used to do.

Periphrastic constructions: The static past or the past perfect continuous is expressed by adding /tǝs∼sǝs∼cǝs/ to the verb root: /rhu-sǝs/ asked; /ga-tǝs/ made; /tho-cǝs/ demanded; /poksi-cǝs/ was dead; /kǝho-sǝs/ was lost; /si-tǝs/ left out.

Reduplication: Some times the verb stem is also reduplicated to convey the perfect sense, as in /gǝ-ga-di/ he has done, /gǝga-ti/ thou gavest, /di-di-n/ he went, he has gone.

Past continuous: Normally, as in the present tense in the past tense too the indefinite itself serves the purpose of the continuous as well. In the specimen there is only one occurrence with a sense of past continuous, as in /doŋ-n sic/ were grazing (they).

Habitual past: The habitual sense is also expressed with past tense itself, as in

/jEdǝ suŋǝr jansic/ which the swine used to eat. (=ate).

Past perfect: The past perfect is identical with immediate past in which the completion of the action in question is affected:

/i jigre seri poksi-sǝs/ my this son had died.

/u-s ta siga tho-cǝs/ he asked for a measure.

(Also see *supra*—periphratic constructions).

/i mul jE u-s taŋ-s/ this silver which he had brought.

But there is another way of expressing the perfective aspect in the past, according to which the past tense forms take the perfective marker /kə-/ which is prefixed to them, as in /kə-bec/ fell down; /kə-rhec/ stayed; /kə-hyuc/ was frigtened; /kə-rhocəs/ were alarmed; /kə-sec/ ran away; /kə-doc/ stuck; /kə-hwasəs/ was lost;

/hwe kə-hwasəs/ he was lost; /u kəhyuc/ he was frightened.

/əm-ər u nəm kə-bec/ night fell him on the way.

/whena guda phu-ri kə rhec/ he stayed in a cave.

/usi kə-rho-cəs/ they were alarmed.

8.8.3.3. *Future tense*: The normal function of future tense forms is to state some thing about an action or state that has yet to take place or to come into being. But in this dialect it, besides denoting the sense of absolute-future or progress of an action taking place in future, also denotes the sense of optative and of the subjunctive moods, including possibility or conditional aspect of an action taking place in future.

Normally, the flectional base of the future indefinite is the bare root itself to which are affixed the future markers /-si, -ti/ which include the person, number-markers as well; e.g. /ji diš/ I will go, /le-ti/ I will say.

A couple of examples from Pandey's data also are there— /əcəryã/ will come; /mə-ra/ will not come.

8.9. Other Sub-systems

So far as other sub-systems are concerned we do not have direct evidences for passivization and causativization in the specimen available with us. However, the inherent use of the subject of a transitive verb in the ergative case is sufficient to indicate that as in other languages of this group, in this too there is no independent system for these categories of the verbal constructions. These were rather expressed with forms belonging to active sub-system itself, e.g., /whidəsu kosu-s jEdəs suŋər jansich/ those husks which were eaten by the swine.

8.10. Negative Sub-system

The specimen do provide instances of negative construc
tions, but these are confined to the past tense forms only.
Consequently nothing definite can be said about the present
and future forms. The data for the past tense show that the
use of negative particle does not bring about any structural
change in the verb forms, e.g., /da·s/ gave: /mə da-s/ did not
give; /ga-s/ made; /mə gas/ did not make. But the examples
of /šis/ 'is' and /mu-ni/ 'is not' indicate that some sort of
structural change does take place in it too. Similarly, the
examples noted by Pandey (1937: 635) also attest this fact,
e.g. /u ran-ni hini/ he wants to come, but /u ran-ni mə nisi/ he
does not want to come.

8.11. Model Conjugation

verb substantives, /lhe/, /ni/, /si/

Present	*Sg.*	*Pl.*
3rd person	šini /sin/ lhe	šini /lhe/ lhəη
2nd person	šišin/lhen	šišin
1st person	šisi	nə·sisu
Past		
3rd person	sic /sis/syəc/ kə-lhig	sic /le/ lhe
2nd person	sinɔ-s	šinE-s
1st person	sis/šis	siηs/sis/šis

di - to go

Present				
3rd person	(hwe)	din	(hwe-jən)	din
2nd person	(gə)	dišn	(gən)	disin
1st person	(ji)	diš	(nuη)	disuη
Past				
3rd person	(u-S)	di-nin	(usi-so)	dec
2nd person	(gə-s)	dinuś	(gən)	dini-s
1st person	(jis)	di-s	(nuη)	diηs
Imp.	(gəs)	di	(gən)	di

8.12. Modal Conjugation

Besides the temporal conjugation, there are some other categories of verbal conjugation in which there is only partial inflection of verbal stems for a particular mood or mental state of the speaker and for a particular point of time.

As such modal conjugation deals with the inflectional, forms of the verb indicating the manner of an action, whether it is ordered to be done, or is dependent upon a condition etc. The three types of moods which are normally attested in these languages are—Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive, with further divisions and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the Indicative mood have already been detailed in the foregoing pages. Now, we shall take up the cases of the remaining two.

8.12.1. *Imperative mood*: Imperative mood is that form of a verb which expresses an action as an order, a polite command, a request, a warning, prohibition etc. In this type of expressions, the subject is the second person pronoun, honorific or non-honorific, and is, usually, left out. By its very nature the imperative cannot refer to the past. As such its use and forms are restricted to the present and the future times only. But in this dialect its use is mostly confined to the present time only. The usual suffixes used to express this mood are /ne/ or /te~de/ which are added to the verb root, as in /da-ne/ give, /da-te/ give, /ga-te/ make, /gwi-de/ bind, (perhaps occurring in free variation).

But in most of the cases the stem alone is used in its place, e.g., /cuk s∂m rha/ bring the clothes;

/likerpɔl cuks∂n-go-/ put on the shoes in the feet;

/hwe jin hwe do-go luŋ-∂r ta-te/ put the saddle on its back;

/yo/ come; /di/ go; /ch∂m/ let us go.

8.12.2. *Prohibitive Imperative*: It is used to prohibit a person from executing an action in question, and is affected

with the use of the prohibitive particle /m∂/, prefixed to the imperative form of the verb concerned, e.g. /da/ give: /m∂da/ don't give.

Examples for various forms of subjunctive mood and other aspects could not be found in the specimen with us.

8.13. Non-Finite Verb Forms

Besides the regular finite verb-forms, which are the essential constituents of the predicate, and regularly take the tense, person, number suffixes, there are also some verb forms which are derived from verbal stems but are not inflected for the above mentioned grammatical categories. Consequenty, these cannot be used independently as a predicate in a sentence. In this dialect their formations are attested as under:

8.13.1. *Infinitive*: "Infinitive is that form of a verb which expresses simply the action of the verb without predicating it of any subject." In this dialect it is obtained by suffixing the infinitive marker /mo~m/ to the verb root as in /sEm cyuŋ-ni/ it is proper to strike; /di-mo/ to go; /pa-mo/ to measures, etc.

But there are instances which indicate that a bare verb root can also be used as an infinitive or verbal noun, as in /ti tuʔ dec/ (he) went to drink water; /suŋ∂r ho/ to feed the swine.

Moreover, there is one example in which it is attested as /-t/ as well, as in /py∂g∂t/ to fill.

8.13.2. *Infinitive used as a verbal noun*: An infinitive can also be used as a verbal noun, and as such it can take case markers as well:

/u-s bhit∂r di-mo-k m∂n m∂ ga-s/

he did not make his mind to go inside.

/r∂ŋ-k kurš/ took for sale/ to sell.

/pa-mik/ for measuring.

/bhed gamo bast/ for knowing the secret.

Besides, as a verbal noun it can function as a complement or as an object to a finite verb form as well:

/u ∂pno d∂n py∂ŋg∂t unsic/
he wanted to fill his belly.

8.13.3. *Participles*: Participles are verbal adjectives qualifying noun /pronoun, but retaining some properties of the verb. There are two kinds of participles in it, viz. present and past. But contrary to Indo-Aryan languages, in these languages the participles are not affected by the grammatical categories of the noun/ pronoun qualified by them.

(*a*) *Present participle*: The present participle indicating a concurrent action is formed by suffixing /-n/~ṅ to the verb root:

/jan sic/ were eating; /sic∂ŋ sis/ I am dying;

/sin-dec/ leaving; /dineg/ is going.

(*a*) *Past perfect participle*: Like present participle, the past participle also can be used as an ordinary adjective to qualify a noun. Contrary to present participle, it indicates the completed state of the action related to the term modified by it. In this dialect it is formed by suffixing the past tense form of the verb to the base when used attributively, as in

/khu-rac/ stolen (lit. theft done);/le-s∂n/ said, which is said; /ta-ben/ gone.

8.13.4. *Conjunctive participle*: The primary function of this class of participles is to denote that the action indicated by it has either been already performed before the action indicated by the finite verb or still continues in the state completed earlier. Syntactically, it is used to connect one clause with another, but the sense of the clause which contains it remains incomplete until the clause containing a finite verb is added to it. In this dialect it is obtained by suffixing /ce~ne/ with their phonetic variations, to the stem of the verb:

/di-ce nhEc/ having gone there lived (-started living)

/hriŋ ce/ having got up, rising.

/rha-ne cuks∂n go/ having brought put on.

/u-s ta nɔk∂r vi-ne rhus∂s/ he having called a servant, asked . . .

/r∂ŋ-ne/ having sold, /t∂k-ne/ having seen, seeing,

/ga-ne/ having done, /p∂n-ne/ having heard, hearing;

/si-ne/ having left, leaving.

9.0. INDECLINABLES

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They are all termed as indeclinables, though on account of their syntactic functions they have been designated as adverbs, particles, conjunctions and interjections, etc. Various forms and functions of these indeclinables, as attested in this dialect, are as follows:

9.1. Adverbs

Adverb is a word that modifies a verb, or restricts it in some way with respect to place, time and manner of the action referred to by the verb concerned, syntactically, the position of an adverb or verbal modifier, in a string of the components of a sentence, is immediately before the finite verb form modified by it or before another adverb or just after the subject according to its semantic connotation.

Syntactically, all the verbal modifiers can be grouped as (1) Spatial or adverb of place and direction, (2) Temporal or adverb of time, (3) Model or adverb of manner, (4) Intensifiers or adverb of degree.

9.1.1. *Formation of adverbs*:　All classes of adverbs have basic and derived categories, though it is not always easy to analyse the derived or polymorphemic adverbs in their immediate constituents. Different classes have different sets of formatives. Some of these may be illustrated as below:

(*i*) /šyu/: /khuŋ šyu/ down, under, /hy∂ŋ-šyu/ behind, after, /thu-šyu/ up, /yu-šyu/ down, /gan-šyu/ before,

(*ii*) /-ta: / im -ta/ like this, /gum-ta/ like which, how?

9.1.2. *Adverb of place*: Besides the above noted types of polymorphemic adverbs of place or direction, some other commonly used adverbs of this class are—

/hwer/ there; /hwena/ there; /bhitər/ inside; /bhEr/ outside; /whanəm/ far away; /khuŋ šyu/ down, under; /thuŋ-šyu/ up; /yu-šyu/ down; /gan-šyu/ befor, /hyəŋ-šyu/ behind, after; /cubəŋ/ towards; /gu-dE/ whence?

9.1.3. *Adverb of time*: A few more temporal adverbs which do not fall into any derivative pattern are—

/jəb/ when; /phir/ again; /thyak/ again; /aje/ then; after that; /gul pEr/ any time, never; /hyəŋ-su/ after; /i-jyaro/ just now; /haŋ/ then.

9.1.4. *Adverb of manner*: The commonly used adverbs of this class are—

/hise/ happily, /im-ta/ in this manner, /gum-ta/ in which manner?: /gəsu iləŋ gar mul gumta gəne gu-dE taŋənsu/ how did you get this much money?

9.1.5. *Adverb of Interrogation*: Interrogative adverbial terms are attested as follows; /gum-ta gəne/ how? /gu-dE/ whence? /kəlE/ why? /guləṅ/ how much? /guləṅ hwanəm/ how far?

9.1.6. *Adverb of Degree*: The number of adverb indicating the intensity of an action or degree of another adverb modified by it, is very small. The commonly used adverbs of this class are—

/mhən/: /mhən hwanəm/ very far.

9.1.7. *Syntactic order of adverbs*: As usual in this dialect the place of an adverb is immediately before the finite verb but it may be placed anywhere in the sentence in accordance with the sense involved, e.g., /gəni-g hyaṅ-su khəmi-k

šeri rEni/ whose son was behind you? (after the inflected pronoun), /gw∂r s∂ṅ-khu ta mh∂n sud mi/ there was a very simple man in a village (in the beginning). But in an utterance, containing more than one adverb of the same class the term indicating specification precedes the term indicating a general term. In case of adverbs pertaining to spatial and temporal categories, normally, the adverb of time precedes the adverb of place.

9.1.8. *Adverbs overlapping with adjectives*: The adverbs, belonging to the category of intensifiers formly overlap with adjectives. For instance, in /mh∂n jhyan sy∂n/ a very good boy, the intensifier /mh∂n/ is an adjective, for it modifies the adjective /jhyan/ 'good', which in its turn modifies the noun /sy∂n/ boy; but in /mh∂n hwan∂m/ 'very far' it is an adverb which modifies another adverb 'far'.

Moreover, there is a particular class of adverbs or particles denoting a place or direction which follow the genitive base of a noun or pronoun, e.g., /g∂ni-g hyaṅ su/ behind you, /je gaṅ-su/ before me etc.

9.2. Particles

Besides the adverbs or the modifiers of the verb or verbal phrases, there are some other types of indeclinables which in the terminology of grammar are called 'particles' on the basis of their functions and syntactic position. These are grouped as connectives, emphatics, negatives and interjections. These may be illustrated as follows:

9.2.1. *Connectives*: The primary function of this class of particles is to conjoin two elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. In this dialect the number of words belonging to this class is very limited. For, in many instances the purpose of a connective is served by a pause juncture itself. Semantically, the particles of this class may be designated as additive, alternative, contrastive, coordinative and differentiative. Structurally, these may be both mono-morphemic or polymorphemic. The functions of some of these may be illustrated as under:

9.2.2. *Additive*: The additive particles or the conjunctions joining two mutually independent sentences are called coordinative, and those joining one or more subordinate clauses/ sentences to the principal clause/sentence are called subordinative.

9.2.3. *Coordinative*: The coordinative particles in this dialect is /gār/ 'and' as in /u gār ji/ he and I, /ram gār šyam/ Ram and Shyam, /olaro l∂gchy∂b gār like-r pɔl cuks∂nga/

put on a ring on his hand (finger) and shoes on feet.

/i jigu šeri pok-sic∂s gār phir a taηc/

my this son had died and is again revived.

/hwe k∂-hwas∂s, thyak t∂ηc/ he was lost, is found again.

9.2.4. *Subordinative*: In fact, the languages of this group do not prefer subordinative syntactic constructions. In these cases the function of the subordinative connective is served by a pause juncture and both the sentences are put in a direct form of the narration:

/usu les, ji phisic∂η sis /he said, I am dying of hunger.

/usu rhu-ses, hwe kh∂ sin/ he asked, where is your son?

9.2.5. *Alternative*: The pairs of alternative particles are— /ya—ya /either—or, /n∂—n∂/ neither—nor, placed at the head of each element linked by them, as in/ ya da ya kur/ either give or take.

9.2.6. *Contrastive*: In this the contrastive particles is /k∂-lE/ why, because. /jE/ if.

/go ba-so jhyEn g∂gadi, k∂lE us ujhyE taη-s/

your father has made a celebration, because he has found him well.

9.2.7. *Conditional*: In subordinative sentences the particles expressing conditions are placed at the head of both the sentences:

/jEhwe rac, ha khusi g∂gadi/

when he came, merry making was done.

Some other conjunctions attested in this dialect are—

9.2.8. *Emphatic particles*: In an utterance, normally, it is the heavy stress/ pitch on the particular word or longer quantity of the particular syllable that marks the intended emphasis. Sometimes shifting of words from their normal syntactic position also serves the same purpose. But to make it more pertinent a few particles or vocalic elements too are used with them. The most commonly attested emphatic particles /are—/ri/, /lek/, /i/

/ri/—/u-g kh∂mi-ri-s kh∂-ri m∂ dā-s/

Nobody gave him anything.

/lek/—/ta m∂la-ku rec lek m∂ danu-s/

did not give even a kid of a goat,

/whe g∂rib mi lek thok-s∂s/ that poor man too came back,

/i/—/i bajib-i lhe/ it is of course proper.

9.2.9. *Negative particle*: Unlike other languages of this group in this language there is only one negative particle, viz., /m∂/ which is used to negate the presence of anything in general and prohibit the execution of the action in question. The usual position of a negative particle in an utterance is immediately before the element negated by it:

/mh∂n jya m∂ le/ many days not passed.

/u-g kh∂mi-ri-s kh∂-ri m∂ das/

no body gave anything to him.

/hwe u-go phago r∂ŋ m∂ tacu/

I could not sell its ashes.

9.3. Interjection

Interjections are complete sentences which carry the sentence intonation. The few interjections attested in our data are—/∂h/ yes, /m∂/ no, /khalakec/ alas!

10.0. SYNTAX

In a way, various aspects of the morphosyntactic structure have been discussed in the foregoing sections of this analysis. Here we shall briefly present them in a more or less formal way. The nature and the structure of various types of sentences in it is as under.

10.1. Types of Sentences

Normally, like other languages of this group, this language too favours simple sentences. Even ideas of complex nature are expressed through more than one simple sentence. However, if necessary these can be expressed by combining together more than one simple sentence/ clause by means of connectors or by a simple pause juncture. As such construction of compound and complex sentences also is possible.

10.2. Constituents of a Simple Sentence

The essential constituents of a simple sentence are—a noun phrase, constituting the subject and its extensions, and a verb phrase, constituting the predicate. The normal order of occurrence of these elements in a simple sentence is—subject±, object+verb. As such syntactically it belongs to the SOV group:

/u-su u cǝbǝṅ les/ he said to him.

In transitive constructions, in which the verb has more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object:

/gǝ-su jig mala-ku rǝc lek mǝ danu-s/

you did not give me even a kid of goat.

10.3. Noun Phrase

The constituents of the subject or the noun phrase can be a single unqualified noun/pronoun 'head' or a noun head plus one or more qualifiers, all preceding it, e.g., /pi-khǝn/ brother, /pǝc pi-khǝn/ elder brother; /ta mi/ a certain man, /ta jhyan mi/ a good person, /nyapǝn šeri/ younger son.

10.3.1. *Extension of noun-phrase*: A noun phrase is extendable in the form of various types of modifiers of the noun head which may precede or follow it. The syntactic order of various classes of qualifiers in a simple sentence is, more or less fixed. Normally, these occur in this order—± demonstrative, ± pronominal adj., ± numeral, ± intensifier, ± qualitative modifier:

/i šeri/ this son, /i jigu seri /my this son, /je sum seri/

my three sons, /je ta khwi/ my one dog,

/og sum pun khwi/ his three big dogs,

/sud mi/ simple man, /mh∂n sud mi/ very simple man,

/og sum pun sin khwi/ his three big white dogs.

From the above examples it may be evident that in case of extension of an NP, a numeral qualifier precedes a qualitative modifier, and in case of more than one qualitative modifiers referring to 'colour', and 'size', the one referring size precedes the one referring to colour:

10.4. Agreement of Modifiers with the Head

As stated earlier (6.6) all modifiers in this dialect except the pronominal ones, belong to indeclinable class of words. As such in this language no modifier/ qualifier shows any kind of agreement with the noun qualified by it: /p∂c šeri/ elder son, /p∂c cimi/ elder daughter, /pun khwi/ big dog, /pun pya/ big bird, /pun pyac∂n/ big birds.

10.5. Verb Phrase

A simple verb phrase or VP contains either a simple finite or a copulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more auxiliaries or helping verbs. In case of a simple finite verb, the VP, can stand by itself, but in case of a copulative verb it may need a complement to complete it which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb:

/ta mi rhEn-sic/ there lived a man.

/jig jE sin, go lhe/ whatever is mine, is thine.

/gog kh∂ mhy∂ṅ sini/ what is your name.

10.5.1. *Components of a composite verb phrase*: The consti-
tuents of a composite verb phrase are—principal verb stem,±
one or more full verb stem, ± aux. /helping verb. Syntacti-
cally, the place of an auxiliary or helping verb is always at the
end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all the mor-
phological markers of the verb phrase concerned;

/i jigu seri pok sic∂s/ my this son had died.

/gwar s∂ṅkhu ta mh∂n sud mi rhEn-sic/

There live a very simple man in a village.

10.5.2. *Extension of verb phrase*: A verb phrase can, nor-
mally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb, an adverb
phrase or a complement:

/o i-jyaro ra-c/ he came just now.

/o mh∂n hwan∂n rac/ he came from a far.

10.6. Concord

It has already been stated that this language has no gram-
matical gender, as such the scope of agreement between the
subject/object and the verb is limited to the number and the
person categories only, which may be explained as follows:

10.6.1. *Concord in subjectival constructions*: In all subjecti-
val constructions the agreement takes place between the
subject and the verb only, the subject may be in the ergative
case or in the direct case.

/ji diš/ I give; /g∂n disin/ you give; / nuṅ disuṅ/

we give; /u-s didin/ he gave; /usi-so dec/ they gave;

/g∂-s dino-s/ thou gavest; /g∂n dinis/ you gave etc.

10.6.2. *Objectival constructions*: In objectival constructions
the concord takes place between the object and the verb. But

most of the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour objectival constructions. All the objectival constructions of Indo-Aryan languages become subjectival when rendered in them. Hence this dialect too does not attest any example of objectival construction in the specimen with us.

10.7. Types of Simple Sentences

Semantically and structurally too, a sentence can be designated as affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative, etc. And an affirmative sentence can further be classified, as active, passive, impersonal and causative etc. All these aspects of a simple sentence correlated with the morphosyntactic character of the verb have already been dealt with in respect of various verbal sub-systems and modal formations. These may be seen there itself. There reproduction here will be a mere repetition of facts which have already been explained.

10.8. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are the combination of two or more independent sentences, joined together by a coordinative conjunction or by an additive conjunction, but in this dialect there occurs normally a pause juncture between the two sentences instead of a conjunction (for examples see particles: coordinative sentences).

/hwe deś pun kāl pərec gar u təṅ kə-lhic/

a big famine fell in that country and he became destitute.

Coordinative sentences: Two or more simple sentences when joined by coordinative conjunction are termed as coordinative sentence (for examples see, above particles: coordinative)

/i jigu seri pok sicəs gār phir taṅc/

my this son was dead and has been revived again.

/o la-ro ləgchyəb gār like-r pɔl cuksən ga/

put on ring on his hand (finger) and shoes on his feet.

10.9. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences too, are a combination of more than one clause/sentence, but in this one of the constituent sentences is subordinate or dependent on the other. The number of dependent clauses can be more than one. The clause to which the other clauses/sentences are subordinate is called the principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following type of complex sentences have been noted for this dialect.

(*i*) *Conditional*: In this type of complex sentences the constituent clauses are bound together with condition markers like 'if'/'when' and 'then' (expressed or understood). In which the 'if/when' clause is the subordinate clause and the 'then' clause is a principal clause positionally, the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

/jE hwe rac ha g∂-s u lekha mh∂n khusi g∂ga-ti/

when he came then he did much merry making for him.

/j∂b o-g lasuṅ-m∂la doṅ-sic, usi-so. . ./

when his goats were grazing, (then) they. . .

(*ii*) *Complemental*: In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or a complementary object of the principal clause. In this the conjoining conjunct is, normally, left out, and its function is served by a pause juncture.

/usu u-c∂b∂ṅ les, go pi-kh∂n rac/

he said to him, your brother has come.

(*iii*) *Relative*: In this type of complex sentences the relative clause, which is introduced by a relative pronoun, functions as a subject or a complement of the principal clause. Positionally, it precedes the principal clause:

/jEd∂su khic mi-g lekh kiṅ khwad∂ hwe diṅ/

whosoever digs a pit for others, falls (into) it.

/jE h∂nta u-s ga-su hwenta b∂ṛe p∂chta-su/

he repented for whatever he did.

Adjectival clause: This clause functions as a modifier of an object or subject in a complex sentence:

/u ta ti-dharu cub∂ṅ jE nin∂m-sic ti tuṅ dec/

he went to a water source to drink water which was close to it.

/i mul jE u-s taṅ-s/ this silver, which he brought.

/whed∂su kosu-s jEd∂s, suṅ∂r jansic/

he ate those husks which the swine ate.

/i go pi-kh∂n le jE pok sices/

This your brother is who had died (lit. was dead).

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