

Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages—IV

**A COMPARATIVE
GRAMMAR OF
TIBETO-HIMALAYAN
LANGUAGES**

(of Himachal Pradesh & Uttarakhand)

D. D. Sharma

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Preface

The stupendous task of preparing a comparative grammar of 7 Indo-Aryan languages was taken up by J. Beams towards the second half of the last century and the first edition of it appeared in 1872-79 under the title "Comparative Grammar of the Modern Indo-Aryan Languages of India" which covered the major seven I.A. speeches of this sub-continent. After this an equally challenging task of preparing a comparative grammar of 6 major and minor Dravidian languages of south India was undertaken by Rev. Robert Caldwell, the first edition of which appeared in 1913. But ever since no scholar Indian or foreigner, came forward to undertake comparative studies of the uncovered linguistic families of this sub-continent. There, although the speeches of the Munda families were fortunate enough to draw attention of some scholars toward their individual and comparative studies, but the host of the speeches of the Tibeto-Himalayan group have remained totally unattended. A few sporadic attempts may have been made here and there, but a comprehensive and comparative analysis of all these tongues which are spoken right from Gilgit in the west to the north-eastern frontiers in Arunachal Pradesh in the east, has remained a distant dream. In fact, linguistic studies in these inhospitable and inaccessible Himalayan regions is not an easy task, not only because of the geophysical problems of these regions, but also of their baffling linguistic scenarios, termed as "formless ever moving hords of ants" by Grierson. Moreover, as compared with the preparation of comparative grammars of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, the task of these speeches is much more challenging and problematic. For, there the authors had to handle only a limited number of speeches and were fortunate enough to have some literary and analytical material at their disposal to work on it. Besides, the linguistic regions too were not inaccessible to them. But, on the other hand, for a person intending to pursue similar studies in the Himalayan regions was quite an unmanageable job, even the great surveyers like Grierson (*LSI*, Vol. III) had to contend with a few sketchy notes on some of the well-known speeches, not to speak of the unknown

and the little known speeches of these regions. Moreover, in the absence of literary traditions and of the linguistic studies of any kind the investigator himself had to do a lot of spade work before plunging into the task of analysing the linguistic material of dozens of languages and dialects of different hues and genealogical relations.

It was in seventies that the author of these lines was attracted towards the study of the Himalayan languages and undertook the studies of the pronominalized speeches of the Lahul region in the state of Himachal Pradesh, under the able guidance of Padmabhushan Dr. Siddeswar Varma, the leading linguist and phonetician of India. The process once started continued uninterrupted, covering many more speeches of this and other regions and states till 1984, when an ambitious project on the study of Tibeto-Himalayan languages was approved for the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship by Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, New Delhi. The award of this academic Fellowship enabled him to undertake extensive field tours from Lakakh in the west to Bhutan in the east during the next 2 years and collect first hand data for nearly more than 2 dozen languages of the Himalayan regions of India, including Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan and subsequently the analysed material was serialised under the caption 'Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages', and the First volume of it was brought out in 1988 and in a short period of 4 years 3 volumes with 5 parts comprising 15 languages of the T.H. speeches of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand — were published. The present volume is a cream of the above which has been prepared with a view to examine and compare the grammatical structure of these 15 speeches studied so far, to make it compact and manageable. For, a comparative study of more than 2 dozen speeches would not only have been a unmanageable task, but also may have forfeited the object of having a thorough and detailed information on the structure and distinctive features of these speeches. Moreover, in preparing this volume special efforts have been made to bring to light all that which may be significant to throw some light on the question of relationship of these speeches with other linguistic families of this sub-continent and their own inter-relationships which are to be taken as legitimate criteria for their grouping and sub-grouping. For, it is only the grammatical structure which can help in tracing the genealogical relationship and mutual affinities of different speeches of a linguistic area. Stressing the importance of comparative grammatical studies Caldwell states "A comparative vocabulary, however carefully prepared, appears to me to be of much less philosophical value than a comparative grammar. Isolated

nouns and verbs are very apt to get corrupted in the lapse of time, and to adopt one phase of meaning after another, till the original meaning is overlaid or forgotten; whilst declensional and conjugational forms—the bones and sinews of a language—retain for ages both their shape and their signification with greater persistency” (Ind. reprint, 1974: 565).

I am sure that the above mentioned objective will be achieved to some extent by limiting this study to 15 speeches of the T.H. group. A similar volume on the grammatical structure of the remaining speeches of equal number, God willing, will appear when the analytical studies on these are completed in due course of time. It is also intended that valuable comments from scholars about the merits of this volume and suggestion to improve upon it, which are most earnestly solicited, will help in the preparation of the next volume on the comparative grammar of these speeches.

D. D. SHARMA

Transcription and Phonetic Symbols

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

Vowels: ä (a closer अ), a (आ), i (इ), i:/I (ई), u (उ), u:/ü (ऊ), e (ए), E (ऐ), o (ओ), (औ).

Consonants : k (क), kh (ख), x (ख), g (ग), g (ग), gh (घ), n (ङ), c (च), c (च), ch (छ), ch (छ), j (ज), z (ज), z (जै), jh (झ), ñ (ञ), t (ट), th (ठ), d (ड), r (ड़), dh (ढ), rh (ढ), n (ण), t (त), th (थ), d (द), dh (ध), n (न), p (प), ph (फ), b (ब), bh (भ), m (म), y (य), r (र), l (ल), l (ळ), lh (ल्ह), w (व), š (श), s (ष), s (स), h (ह).

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

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

Abbreviations

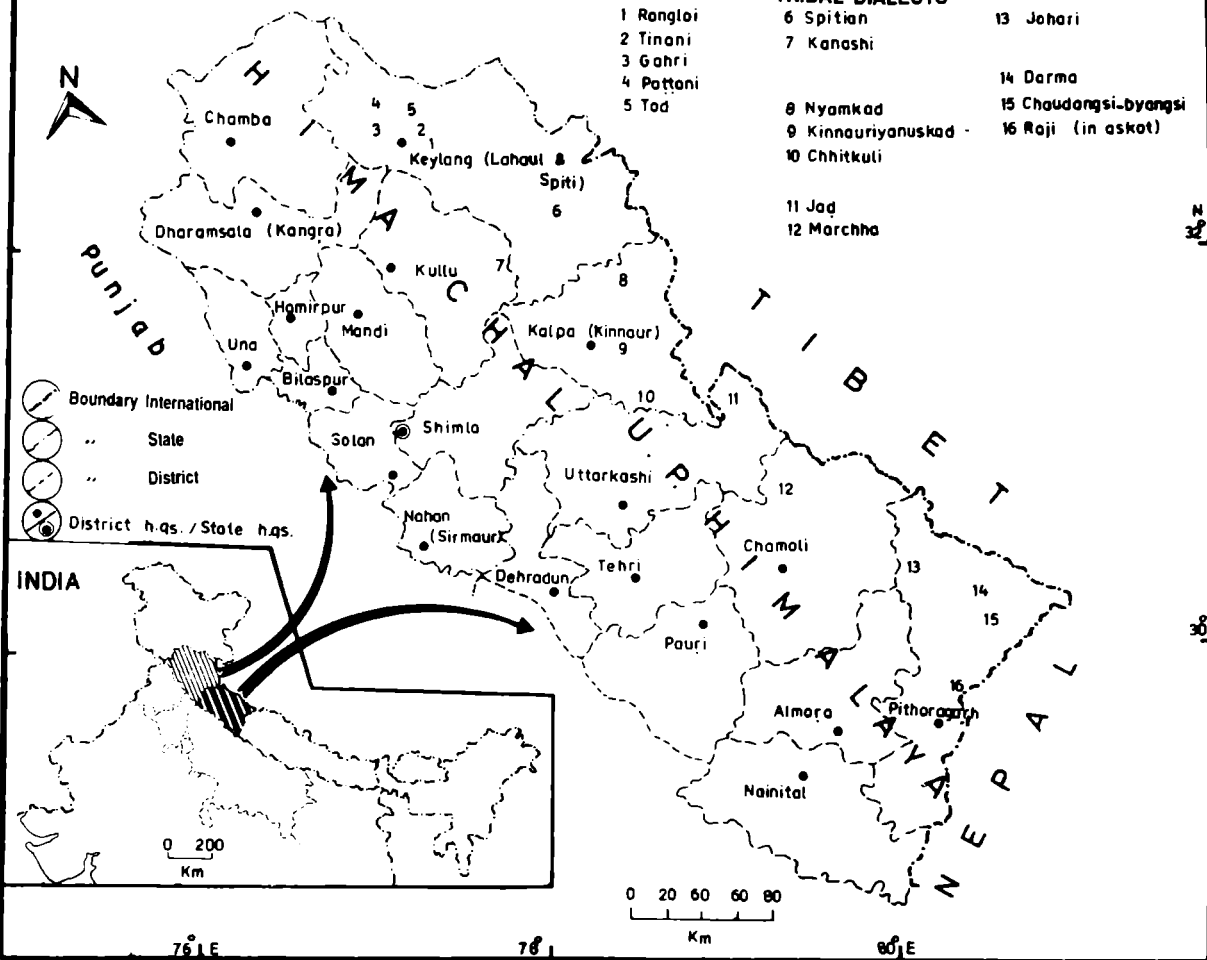
Abl.	Ablative	Intrans.	Intransitive
Acc.	Accusative	JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bangal
Ag.	Agentive	LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
Adj.	Adjective	Kan.	Kanashi
Adv.	Adverb	Kin.	Kinnauri
Affir.	Affirmative	lit.	literally
Asp.	Aspiration/Aspirate	Loc.	Locative
Attri.	Attributive	Mar.	Marchha
A.A.	Austro-Asiatic	Masc.	Masculine
Aux.	Auxiliary	N.P.	Noun Phrase
Bya.	Byangsi	Neg.	Negative
Chaud.	Chaudangsi	Neut.	Neuter
Chhit.	Chhitkuli	Nyam.	Nyamkad
Cf.	Compare	Obj.	Object/Objectival
Caus.	Causative	Ord.	Ordinary
Dar.	Darmiya	p.	Person/Page
Dat.	Dative	p.p.	Post-position
du.	dual	patt.	Pattani
e.g.	For example	pl.	Plural
Erg.	Ergative	Pres.	Present
Fem.	Feminine	Pron.	Pronoun
Fut.	Future	R.	Root
Gar.	Gari	Sg.	Singular
Gen.	Genitive	Sp.	Spitian
Him.	Himalayan	<i>supra</i>	Above/foregoing
Hon.	Honorific	T.H.	Tibeto-Himalayan
I.A.	Indo-Aryan	Tib.	Tibetan
I.E.	Indo-European	T.B.	Tibeto-Burman
id.	Same as above	Tin.	Tinani
Imp.	Imperative	Vd.	Voiced
<i>infra</i>	below/following	VI	Voiceless
Interro.	Interrogative	V.P.	Verb phrase
i.e.	that is to say.		

TIBETO-HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES OF HIMACHAL PRADESH & UTTARAKHAND

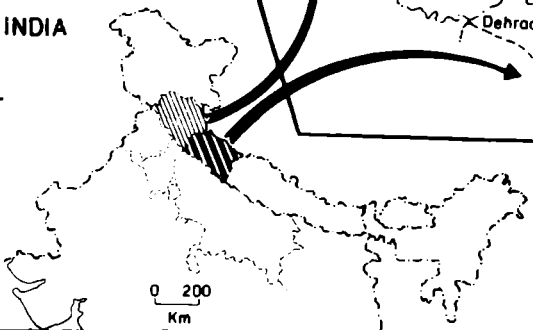
J & K

TRIBAL DIALECTS

- | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Rongloi | 6 Spitian | 13 Jahari |
| 2 Tinani | 7 Kanashi | 14 Darma |
| 3 Gahri | | 15 Choudangsi-byangsi |
| 4 Pattani | | 16 Raji (in askot) |
| 5 Tad | | |
| | 8 Nyamkad | |
| | 9 Kinnauriyanuskad | |
| | 10 Chhitkuli | |
| | 11 Jad | |
| | 12 Marchha | |



- Boundary International
- " State
- " District
- District hqs. / State hqs.



0 200
Km

0 20 60 60 80
Km

76°E 78°E 80°E

Introduction

It may be in the fitness of the context that some general 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

According to 1971 census there were 314 Scheduled Tribes in India with a total population of 3,79,74,953 souls. But the latest statistics of the population of Indian sub-continent tell us that the tribes of India constitute nearly six per cent of the total population. 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 which are spoken in the southern slopes of the Greater Himalayas, right from Ladakh in the west to the north-eastern frontiers in Arunachal Pradesh in the east. But here in this volume we shall confine ourselves to the tribal languages spoken in Himachal Pradesh and the Uttarakhand region only.

It may, however, be mentioned here that 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 on 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 pre-dominant 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. It needs to mention that in the past we have already lost a number of languages irrevocably and the sad story is sure to be repeated if the linguists and the government agencies continue to be indifferent towards the preservation of our this invaluable cultural heritage. The case of the death of the Johari language of the eastern Himalayan group is a living instance of this neglect.

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.

2. The Term 'Tibeto-Himalayan'

The common cover term, viz. Tibeto-Himalayan, for the languages under consideration was at first coined by the Editors of the *LSI* (Vol. III, pt. I) and subsequently used by other scholars as well. Although alternate term, 'Indo-Tibetan' too was available there, but I have preferred to retain the earlier term for the reason that this term is more specificatory in respect of the linguistic area under consideration than the other term mentioned above.

Similarly, although the languages under consideration do not belong to a single linguistic family, yet they have been taken together for this study for the reasons that in spite of considerable differences they have many such common characteristics which clearly distinguish them from other languages of the regions in which they are spoken. It may also be mentioned here that in this matter besides the linguistic considerations, the geographical considerations too have been taken into account.

3. Linguistic Area

The linguistic area of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages under consideration falls in the northern most Himalayan regions of the states Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh between the western border of the district Lahul & Spiti in H.P. and the north-eastern border of the district Pithoragarh in U.P., comprising the whole districts of Lahul-Spiti, of Kinnaur and a part of the district Kullu in H.P., and the northern most parts of the districts Uttarkashi, Chamoli and Pithoragarh in the Kumaun and Garhwal hills in Uttar Pradesh.

Locationally, this area, dotted with a series of dialects and sub-dialects of the Tibetan and Himalayan families, lies somewhere between north latitude 30° and 33°, and east longitude 76° and 82°, broadly extended between the greater Himalayas and the Indo-Tibetan water parting in the extreme north at an average elevation of 10-15 thousand feet above the mean sea level in the laps of the central and eastern Himalayas, with a number of valleys drained by rivers—Chandra, Bhaga, Parvati, Spiti, Satluj, Baspa, Jad Ganga, Bhagirathi, Alaknanda, Gori, Dhauri, Kuthyangti, Kali (Shārada) and their tributaries.

Moreover, being situated in the N and NE of the main ranges of the greater Himalayas it is a dry, rugged mountainous region marked by rocky and precipitous ravines, capped with perpetual snow and drained by rapidly descending rivers and streams.

4. Land Area and Population

In Himalayan regions estimation of exact land area is a difficult task and equally difficult is enumeration of human souls, inhabiting these inaccessible cut off regions. Moreover, it is still more difficult to find out the number of speakers of a particular language or dialects inhabiting the scattered valleys of this belt. The census reports available for these regions too do not provide separate figures for the tribal and non-tribal areas and population. For, the figures given there are either for the whole Tehsil unit or the Block units concerned. As such it was not possible for us to have separate figures for this study of the land area occupied by the tribal people in different regions or the number of the speakers of different dialects where the Tehsil or the Block units contain a mixed population of tribal and non-tribal inhabitants. However, the census figures available for different areas are as under:

According to the census of 1981 the populated land area of Lahual and Spiti has been estimated as 13688 sq. km. and the total land area including mountainous ranges as 19043.2 sq.km. and the total population

as 32065. Sub-division wise it has been enumerated as 21680 (including the S.T. area of Udaipur) for Lahul and 10385 for Spiti. (Statistical Outlines, H.P. 1981, Tables 2.2 and 2.5). The density of population in this district, according to 1971 census, was 2 persons per sq. km., the lowest in the state, and the total S.T. population of the district has been worked out as 68.4% of the total population (*S.O.L.*, H.P. 1981).

The total land area of the district Kinnaur is 6530 sq. km. and the total number of the speakers of the Kinnauri languages is 59,154 (census of India, 1981, series 1, pt. B (iii), Primary census).

Malana, the lone village of the Parvati Valley in the district of Kullu has a land area of a few km. only and the total population, according to a 1986 estimate, was 1084 souls.

No data for the land area and population of the Jads of the Nelang Valley and of the Marchhas of Niti and Mana Valleys in Garhwal could be obtained separately. There the former tribe has left their ancestral home and has migrated to the lower valleys of the river Bhagirathi in Uttarkashi and the population of the Marchhas too is a migratory one.

In the eastern sector too no dialect-wise figures could be available for speakers of the eastern Himalayan speeches. The total S.T. population of the district Pithoragarh including the Raji Tribe of Askot is estimated as 17337 and of the district Almora 2145, forming 3.51% of the total population of these hill districts of Uttarakhand (Joshi, *et al.* 1983:1). The total land area of Tehsil Dharchula which consists the valleys of Darma, Chaudangs and Byangs is 1070.97 km. and of the Tehsil Munsyari, which comprises the Pargana of Johar is 1801.76 km., (Census of India 1981, series 22 Directorate of Census Operations U.P. 1982). The greater part of the latter contains non-tribal population and now the Joharis too have shifted to the Kumauni language of the region. So from the point of language their number can be deducted from the total number (19482) of Tibeto-Himalayan speaking people of the region.

5. Linguistic Scenario

The linguistic area of Kinnaur comprises of languages belonging to 3 different linguistic families, viz. Tibetan, Himalayan and Indo-Aryan. Geographically, Kinnauri or Kinauriyanuskad stands at the juncture of Tibetan languages spoken in the north east regions of it and the Aryan languages being spoken in the south-west. In its own territory too the S.C. people have their own speech which belongs to the speech of I.A. group. Besides the Tibetan speech of Upper Kinnaur and the Himalayan speech of the Lower Kinnaur have a number of

dialects which are spoken in different valleys. The principal dialects of the Upper Kinnauri are Nyamkad and Thebarkad and that of the Lower Kinnaur is Chhitkuli.

The Lahul sub-division of the district Lahul & Spiti, presents a panoramic view of dialects. In this small tract of land of 13,688 sq.km. the inhabitants speak as many as 7 different dialects, viz. Tod, Rangloi, Gari, Patt., Tin., Chinali and Lohari. Of these the first 2 belongs to the Tibetan group and the last 2 to the Aryan group and the remaining 3 to the Himalayan group. Their valleywise distribution is like this—Chandra Valley—Rangloi and Tinani; Bhaga Valley—Tod and Gari, and Chandra-Bhaga Valley—Pattani, Chinali and Lohari. But in Spiti its two valleys—Pin and Sham—have their own varieties of Spitian. It belongs to the languages of the Tibetan group and is also surrounded by the speeches of the Tibetan group only.

The Jads of Garhwal who formerly inhabited the Nelang Valley of Jad Ganga have now permanently migrated to Harsil and Dhunda the lower valleys of the river Bhagirathi in Uttarkashi which are predominantly Garhwali speaking areas. The Marchhas of Niti and Mana valleys of rivers Dhauli and Alaknanda have not severed their links with their ancestral villages, yet have made their alternate homes in the lower valley of the river Alaknanda in district Chamoli in which again the predominant language is Garhwali, a dialect of the I.A. group.

However, the linguistic situation of the speeches of the Rangkas group in Pithoragarh is somewhat different from that noted for the Tibeto-Himalayan dialects of Garhwal. There, out of the 3 valleys of the tribal belt, the Johar valley which is drained by river Gori and its tributaries is a deserted land now. All of its inhabitants have migrated to the lower regions and have totally shifted to the speech form of Kumauni of the region. The Darma Valley which is drained by river Dhauli and its tributaries and the Byangs and Chaudangs Valleys which are drained by rivers Kuthyangti and Kali have well demarcated linguistic boundaries and are totally inhabited by the tribal people of the region. There the dialects of Chaudangs and Byangs are the two varieties of the same speech. Raji, the speech of the aborigines of the Pargana Askot, though surrounded by the Indo-Aryan speaking populace, is not much influenced by it, due to isolated forest dwelling of the speakers of this speech.

6. Dialectal Variations

Dialectal variations within a language are always a matter of

general knowledge and acceptance, though their accurate and systematic descriptions are meant for linguists. Such differences arising from various historical and geographical reasons are a universal feature of linguistic development and are attested at all levels—phonetic, phonemic, morphemic, syntactic and semantic of the linguistic analysis of a language.

Researches in the history of languages have shown that a given language when spread over a wide area and carried over to speakers of different forms of speech soon develops dialectal forms. Innovations arise at different points in the speech community and are spread over a more or less wide area, thus separating the original homogeneous area into different regions with their own peculiarities. But in the hilly areas, particularly in the Himalayan regions, these differences have assumed peculiar forms. The higher one moves, the wider differences one comes across in the linguistic behaviour of the people inhabiting different valleys. In fact, in higher regions each valley has its own dialect which, in most of the cases, is quite unintelligible to the inhabitants of other valleys of the same region.

There the dialectal differences may vary from imperceptible variations to complete unintelligibility. The reason for such wider differences is this that in the past, intercommunication among people living in different valleys was rendered difficult, or in some cases still being hindered by natural physical barriers, such as wide and fast flowing rivers or high mountain ranges. Consequently, each valley, along with many other social and ethnic factors, developed its own peculiarities exhibited at different levels of the dialect or dialects spoken in the area. For instance, in the Lahul sub-division of the district Lahul and Spiti of Himachal Pradesh there are four different valleys divided by the rivers, the Chandra and the Bhaga, and also by snow covered mountain ranges. The dialects spoken in these valleys, though belong to the same Tibeto-Himalayan family, are so different from one another that one is not intelligible in the other valley, though the distance between these valleys is hardly more than ten km. at border areas it may be even less than one km. The only dialect, which is somewhat understood by the speakers of other valleys, is Pattani. Others, viz. Tinani, Gari and Tod are mutually unintelligible. For instance, the word for 'head' is /punza/ in Pattani, /balog/ in Tinani, /pusa/ in Gari, /go/goce/ in Tod, or for 'good' /ruthe/ (P.), /nisi/ (Tin.), /epo/ (G.), /gyala/ (Tod).

The same is the case of Kinnauri dialects spoken in the district of Kinnaur. Broadly speaking, there are three groups of languages, with

a number of dialects and sub-dialects which are spoken in this region. Dialects of Lower Kinnauri and Upper Kinnauri belong to two different linguistic families, viz. Himalayan and Tibetan respectively. Consequently, the linguistic differences between them are so wide that the dialects of one group are quite unintelligible to the speakers of the other group. Apart from areal differences attested in different valleys of the same group, there are three exclusively different speech behaviours prevalent among the three different communities in Lower Kinnaur. These may be termed as Kinnauriyanuskad, Orasi and Lohari. The Kinnauriyanuskad or Lower Kinnauri is the speech of the Khasas of this region. The dialect spoken by carpenters is termed as Orasi and by Harijan as Lohari. The Kinnauriyanuskad has half a dozen dialects spoken in different valleys or areas, some of them are unique in their characteristics and are quite unintelligible to the speakers of other dialects e.g. the dialect spoken in the Chhitkul and Rakcham villages of the Sangla valley of lower Kinnaur is so different from other dialects that it is quite unintelligible to the speakers of other dialects. In such a situation grouping of these dialects becomes a difficult job. The Kinnauriyanuskad, too, has marked differences in dialects spoken in Kalpa, Rabba, Ropa, Sangla and Nichar valleys.

Similarly, different dialects of upper Kinnauri too, attest very wide differences in their behaviour. Marked differences may be noted in the dialects known as Nyamskad—spoken in Hangrang area, Thebarskad, spoken in Kanam and Pooh areas, Jangrami spoken in Jangi, Lippa and Asrang valleys. The dialect spoken in the village Sungnam is said to be entirely different from all the dialects of this group. The differences at the vocabulary level in these dialects may be judged from the following variants of the word used to denote the common animal 'cow'. They are: /lañ, goru, khalañ, murat, rad, rat, laañ, munañ, pa, balañ, palañ, phalañ/, etc. for 'foot' -/bañ, khundi, rode/rore, boñ, mankhon, bankhwan, kañpa, kañba, kamba/ etc.

In the Himalayan valleys of Uttar Pradesh, too, the situation is not different in any way. In Garhwal area, we find that in the different valleys of the border district Chamoli there are dialects belonging to different linguistic families. The dialects of Niti and Mañā valleys though belong to the same Tibeto-Himalayan group, commonly known as Bhotia group, yet they are so different from one another that the speech of one valley is not intelligible to the speakers of the other valley, e.g. 'How many cows have you?' is rendered as /get khyokka goṛi hini/ (Mañā) and /getgā khyalañ balañ hini/ (Niti). Similarly, 'I am alone'

is rendered as /ge tiku ni/ (Maṇa) and /ge yakhuli hinki/ (Niti). Similar is the case in Uttarkashi where the dialect of Jads belongs to the Bhotia group and of others to Indo-Aryan group.

The dialectal situation in Pithoragarh, the border district of Kumaun, is still more complicated. In this small district we come across three linguistic groups belonging to three linguistic families viz., Aryan, Tibeto-Himalayan and Austric or Munda, with their many sub-dialects. The Raji dialect, the only survival of the Austric family in this northern region of the country, is spoken in a small tract in the Askot area of this district. But the area of Tibeto-Himalayan or Bhotia languages is quite extensive. They are spoken in the valleys of Darma, Chaudangs and Byangs. All these three dialects, though genealogically belong to one group, yet have such wide differences among themselves that the dialect of one valley is not intelligible to the inhabitants of the other valleys. 'How many cows have you?' is rendered as /ganigu ulaṅ bEna nini/ in Darma dialect and /ganig ulaṅ šire anne/ in Chaudangs. Similarly, 'I am alone' is rendered as /ji-tamina niši/ in Darma and /ji tonmi aien/ in Chaudangsi.

Till a few decades back, the inhabitants of the Johar valley used to speak a dialect of their own, viz. Rangkas, which belonged to the Bhotia group of dialects, but now they have switched over to the Aryan speech form of Kumauni of Pithoragarh district, and speak a curious mixture of both.

Thus from the above details of dialectal positions in the Himalayan region of the area under consideration it may be said that the age old Hindi maxim *chār kos par paṇi badale āth kos par vani*, still holds good, for these regions even today in this age of mass movement and mass communication, though it may have lost its significance to other areas of the country. There a dialectologist has to deal with every dialect independently. The analysis of one dialect is not at all helpful in the analysis of another dialect, being spoken in the neighbouring valley. In many cases it has been noticed that though, for convenience sake, they may be grouped as dialects of a single language, yet structurally they deserve to be called independent languages, because the criterion of 'mutual intelligibility', set for the recognition of a dialect, is not applicable to them. Therefore, in this volume many of them have been treated as independent members of the group or of the speeches of the region concerned.

7. Classification and Grouping

The great variety of tribal languages, scattered in several strategic

and international frontiers of this country, right from Ladakh in the west to the North-East Frontiers in Arunachal Pradesh in the east have broadly been grouped as Tibetan/Bhotia and Himalayan. The languages under consideration too, belong to the above mentioned groups. Out of the 15 languages taken for this volume 4, viz. Sp., Nyam. Tod and Jad belong to the former group and the remaining ones to the latter group, although Grierson has termed the Himalayan languages of Uttarakhand as 'Eastern Bhotia' and consequently has clubbed them with the languages of the Bhotia/Tibetan group. Any way, we shall see to it, later on, that it is not so. They are totally Himalayan and form their own sub-group.

Here first of all we would like to highlight the linguistic features which distinguish the Himalayan group from the Tibetan group and then shall move to the distinguishing features of each group and sub-groups. This group-wise specification is necessary, because there are many linguistic features which are commonly shared by these groups and sub-groups. But at the same time they have their own specific features too, which clearly divide them into a few groups and sub-groups. Mr. Hodgson, B.H. was perhaps the first linguist who drew the attention of linguists towards the existence of the linguistic phenomenon termed as 'pronominalization', a prominent feature of Munda languages, in the languages of the Himalayan regions in 1847 in his article 'Aborigines of the Himalayas' (*JASB*, Vol. XVI, pt. ii). Although, primarily, his observations were with reference to the Tibeto-Himalayan languages of Nepal only, yet later on after investigation into a few western Himalayan languages it was noticed that this feature is equally an essential component of the morphological structure of these speeches as well. Consequently, in his introduction to the speeches of the Himalayan region Mr. Sten Konow, the editor of the T.B. section of the LSI states that "on and about the ethnographic watershed between Tibetan and Aryan there is dotted a series of small dialects which are of different nature. They are mainly of a Tibeto-Burman stamp, but, besides, they have those characteristic features which have been mentioned in connection with the pronominalized languages of Nepal. The dialects in question are found in the north of Almora, in Kanawar, in Kangra, Lahul and Chamba". (Vol. III, pt. I p. 427). After that no one came forward to undertake an in-depth study of these speeches and discern the linguistic features that distinguish them from the speeches of the Tibetan and Indo-Aryan families, or to find out common characteristics of the speeches of this group being spoken in different regions of the mid-Himalayas.

In fact, both, recording as well as analysis of the material on these speeches was not an easy job. Apart from the geo-physical difficulties in obtaining the data from there, its analysis too was a complicated matter. For, there are so many thin layers and cross currents of different linguistic elements in them which hinder the process of their discernment and establishment of their affinities with different linguistic families of this sub-continent. Under the circumstances the question of grouping or establishing their relationships is as difficult a task, as it is easy to demarcate their boundaries on the basis of the natural geo-physical barriers. But, still there are some such clearly distinguishable characteristics on the basis of which all the speeches of these regions can broadly be divided into two groups, viz. Pronominalized and non-pronominalized or Himalayan and Tibetan with their own groups and sub-groups. Important features and inter-relationship of both the groups can briefly be discussed as under:

7.1 *Himalayan Group*: Some of the prominent features of this group, which on the one hand distinguish the speeches of this group from the speeches of the Tibetan and Aryan groups and on the other hand divide them into the eastern and western groups and further sub-divide the western group into Kinnar and Lahuli groups and the eastern group into Rangkas and Raji are as follows:

7.1.1 *Western group* : Some of the distinguishing characteristics of this group as a whole may be noted as under:

(i) *Checked Consonants*: At the phonological level the most distinguishing feature of these tongues is the currency of checked consonants a characteristic feature of Munda speeches, particularly in the speeches of the western Himalayan group (see Checked Consonants, Page 50).

(ii) *Grouping of Nominal Stems*: In the matter of grouping of the nominal stems, too these speeches follow a pattern which is different from the speeches of the Tibetan and Aryan groups and attests an affinity with the Munda and Dravidian groups, i.e. in them all nominal stems are firstly distinguished as 'animate' and 'inanimate' and then the 'animate' class as 'human' and 'non-human' classes for various morphological considerations.

(iii) *Nominal Inflection for Three Numbers*: There are speeches in this group, like Pattani, Tinani, in which nominal stems too, like pronominal stems, are inflected for 3 numbers (see Number, pp. 87ff.).

(iv) *Marking of Plurality*: The practice of marking of plurality

with words indicative of 'multitude' and leaving the non-human objects unmarked is also a distinguishing morphological feature of the speeches of this group (see *Pluralization*, pp. 91ff.).

(v) *Gender Distinction*: The mechanism of indicating gender distinction in human beings by means of distinct terms and in non-human beings by means of sex denotative terms, and in inanimate objects by the absence of any marker is again a morphological peculiarity of these speeches, though this peculiarity is shared by the speeches of the Tibetan group as well (see *Gender*, pp. 72ff.)

(vi) *Synthetic Inflection*: There are many case forms in which nominal stems, instead of postpositions, take case suffixes leading to their synthetic constructions (see *Case*, pp. 95ff.)

The characteristic of synthetic constructions is attested in verbal conjugations as well. In them, according to their native inflectional system, the present tense forms are obtained by suffixing personal terminations directly to the verb stem, not to the verb substantive, as we normally find in the form of periphrastic constructions in the speeches of the Aryan groups.

(vii) *Clustering of Case Markers*: Clustering of locative and ablative case markers to express the ablative case relationship is a common feature of these tongues (See *Ablative case*, p. 104).

(viii) *Pronominal Inflection*: In the speeches of this group some of the distinguishing features of the pronominal inflection are —

- (1) inflection of all stems for 3 numbers, viz. Sg., du. and pl.;
- (2) dichotomy of inclusive vs. exclusive in the 1st person pronouns;
- (3) distinct stems for reflexive pronouns and their full declension;
- (4) absence of inflection of personal pronouns for the locative case (see *Pronoun*, pp. 113ff.).

(ix) *Verbal Conjugation*: With regard to verbal conjugation, besides the feature of synthetic constructions pointed out above, another notable point is that there are many verbal categories in which the phenomenon of infixation, a Munda characteristic, besides prefixation and suffixation, also takes place (see *Past tense*, p. 181).

(x) *Verbal Sub-systems*: Verbal sub-systems like Honorific, Negative, Reflexive, Reciprocal, Interrogative, etc. are the unique features of the languages of this group (see *verbal sub-systems*, p. 164ff.), though some of these are shared by the speeches of the Tibetan group as well with their own characteristics, which are considerably distinct from the characteristics of this group.

(xi) *Counting System*: The vigesimal system of counting, which

is a prominent feature of Munda languages, is an essential part of the numeral system of these speeches. Besides, the availability of only a limited number of ordinals, fractionals and multiplicatives too is a notable feature of the numeral system of these speeches (see Numeral system, pp. 145, 149ff).

These are some of the commonly attested distinguishing features of these speeches which are enough to recognize them as a distinct linguistic group from other linguistic groups of the Himalayan regions viz. Tibetan and Aryan.

7.1.2 *Exclusively distinguishing features of the Kinnar group:* There are some linguistic peculiarities which are exclusively attested in the speeches of the Kinnar sub-group (Kin., Kan., Chhit.) of the western Himalayan group. These may be pointed out as (i) pronominal suppletivism in the gen. case; (ii) object infixation in verbal conjugation; (iii) verbal suppletivism in the past tense and imp. mood; (iv) currency of reflexive and reciprocal verb systems.

7.1.3 *Exclusively distinguishing features of the Lahul group:* There are some linguistic peculiarities in the speeches of Lahul sub-group, viz. Patt., Tin., & Gari, which are exclusively attested in them and are not shared by the speeches of other Himalayan groups. The most prominent of them are—(1) nominal inflection for 3 numbers, (2) traces of middle voice (Atmane pada) in Gari, (3) verbal conjugation for 3 numbers and 3 persons, (4) synthetic case formations (see respective sections).

7.2 *Eastern Group:* The speeches of this group comprise the Himalayan speeches of Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh. Grierson has wrongly put them under the cover term 'Bhotia languages' and has clubbed them with the Bhotia/Tibetan speeches of the western Himalayas & Sikkim (Vol. III pt. I p. 178). It needs no assertion that these too are the speeches of the Himalayan group and basically are a components of the same pronominalized Himalayan group, though in the course of time these have lost many features of pronominalization which the western group has retained to a great extent. Still besides a common vocabulary (see Vol. III, pt. I, p. 16), there are many morphological features (see above) which are commonly shared by both the groups.

Moreover, though the cover term for the speakers of these speeches is 'Bhotia' and their centuries old trade relations with Tibet have influenced their speeches to some extent, yet they bear an unmistakable stamp of the pronominalized languages of the Himalayan group. There

are many linguistic features prevalent in them which stand in a sharp contrast with the Tibetan speeches and attest a close affinity with the Himalayan speeches. Therefore, it will be wrong to group them with the Tibetan/Bhotia speeches of the Himalayas only because the speakers of these speeches are designated as Bhotias by the local people of Kumaun & Garhwal. Racially too they are not the Mangoloids as the Tibetans and the Bhotias of western Himalayas and Sikkim are.

Some of the diverging features which are equally applicable to the speeches of the western group as well may be enumerated as (1) verbal pronominalization, (2) Dichotomy of animate and inanimate in nominal stems and of inclusiveness and exclusiveness in pronominal inflection, (3) Reduplication of verb stems for tense formations, (4) Prefixation of tense markers, (5) Traces of vigesimal system of counting, etc. (Also see 20-23 pp. Divergences from Tibetan).

But in the following pages we would like to point out some such features of the speeches of this group which clearly distinguish them from the speeches of the western Himalayan group.

8. Distinguishing Features of Western and Eastern Himalayan Groups

Although the Himalayan languages of Himachal Pradesh and of Uttar Pradesh belong to the same stock of pronominalized linguistic group, yet synchronically they exhibit a number of distinctive features on the basis of which these can be easily grouped as western and eastern Himalayan languages. Some of the prominent features leading to such a division are—

8.1 *Phonological*: Phonologically the most distinguishing features are : (i) Phonemic status of palatal affricates and voiced sibilants: This feature of the western Himalayan group, which is equally shared by the Tib. group as well, is totally missing in the speeches of the eastern group.

(ii) *Checked Consonants*: This prominent feature of Munda phonology which forms a part of the sound system of the languages of the western group, as well as of the Raji language of the eastern group, (see p. 50) is conspicuously missing from the languages of the Rangkas group of Uttarakhand.

(iii) *Glottalization*: The phenomenon of glottalization which is an essential component of the sound system of the speeches of the western group and is shared by the speeches of the Tibetan group and Raji as well, (see p. 51) too is not attested in the speeches of the Rangkas group.

8.2 *Morphological*: Morphologically notable points are —

8.2.1 *Nominal Inflection*: With regard to nominal inflection too the languages of these two groups manifest some marked differences. They are —

(i) *Dichotomy of animate and inanimate*: As pointed out above, in the speeches of the western group all nominal stems are clearly distinguished for animate and inanimate classes in respect of formative suffixes, case markers and gender markers, but no such a distinction is attested in the speeches of the eastern group. Similar is the case with regard to the distinction between human and non-human classes (see p. 66).

(ii) *Marking of person-number categories*: The person and number categories are fully and distinctly marked in the speeches of the western group, but only partially in the speeches of the eastern group. Besides, in some speeches of the western group, as in Patt. & Tin., nominal stems are inflected for 3 numbers, but no language of the eastern group exhibits this peculiarity. They are like Tib. and I.A. marked for 2 numbers only.

(iii) *Synthetic and analytical case formations*: In the speeches of the western group locative is a synthetic case, but in the speeches of the eastern group it is analytical.

8.2.2 *Pronominal Inflection*: In respect of pronominal inflections too the languages of both these groups exhibit a number of distinguishing feature. Some of these may be pointed out as follows:

(i) *Inflection for number category*: In these speeches of the western group all pronominal stems are inflected for 3 numbers, but in the eastern group only for 2 numbers, viz. sg. and pl. (See p. 87).

(ii) *Dichotomy of inclusive vs. exclusive*: In the speeches of the western group the phenomenon of inclusive and exclusive, indicating the sense of inclusion or exclusion of the addressee from taking part in the execution of the action in question is denoted not only by distinct verb forms, but also by using distinct pronominal stems, but no such mechanism is operative in the speeches of the eastern group. Consequently, identical forms are used to express both the senses (See pronouns).

(iii) *Distinction of ordinary and honorific forms*: Most of the speeches of the western group manifest the aspect of veneration and respect by means of distinct pronominal stems, suffixes and verbal forms, but no such a distinction is manifested by the speeches of the eastern group. There the sense of respect is manifested merely by using plural forms of pronouns and verbs, and that too very casually.

(iv) *Distinct reflexive stems*: As pointed out above (See p. 11), most of the speeches of the western group employ distinct stems for reflexive pronouns, some of which are inflected for all the cases and numbers precisely in the same manner as other personal pronouns, but all the speeches of the eastern group have entirely lost this feature of the pronominalized languages and have resorted to the use of the gen. case forms of the personal pronoun under reference or to the use of the I.A. indeclinable term /ap/ or /apna/ (See Pron., p. 124).

(v) *Suppletivism in gen. case*: Although replacement of pronominal stems in non-singular formations of the 1st person pronoun is a common feature of all the Himalayan speeches, yet replacement of the stem itself in the genitive case is a peculiarity of the pronominal inflection in the speeches of the Kinnar sub group of the western Himalayan group. But in the speeches of the eastern group all pronominal stems remain intact. (See p. 116)

(vi) *Use of /mi/ in Interrogative Pronouns*: In the speeches of eastern group the human class marker /mi/ is annexed to the interro. particle /khä/ 'what?', as in /khämi/ 'who?', but no such a feature is attested in the speeches of the western group.

8.2.3 *Verbal Conjugation* : In respect of verbal conjugation some of the differentiating points attestable in these two groups are:

(i) *Pronominalization*: Although verbal pronominalization is an integral part of the verbal conjugation in the speeches of both the groups, yet they differ widely in the matter of incorporation of the pronominal elements and the manner of incorporation i.e. the phenomenon of the object incorporation takes place in the speeches of the Kinnar group of the western Himalayan group only, no speech of the eastern group attests this feature. In the matter of subject incorporation too, both the groups follow their own mechanism in the past tense formations, i.e. in the speeches of the western group the pronominal subject is suffixed to the verb stem, but in the eastern group it is infixes in between the verb stem and temporal terminations. Besides, as compared with the speeches of the western group, the feature of subject incorporation is less prominent too in the speeches of the eastern group. Moreover, suffixation of the pronominal object in imp. forms too is an exclusive peculiarity of the speeches of the western group. (See pp. 224ff.)

(ii) *Operation of sub-systems*: Various verbal sub-systems like Honorific, Negative, Reflexive, Reciprocal etc. which are an integral part of the conjugational systems in the speeches of the western group are totally missing in the speeches of the eastern group. The only

eastern speech that subscribes to the reciprocal system is Raji. (See Sub-systems).

(iii) *Transitivization and Causativization*: In respect of transitivization and causativization it has been observed that the speeches of the western groups have independent stems/roots for them, but the speeches of the eastern group have totally fallen back to the I.A. system.

(iv) *Structural differences in tense formations*: Both the groups attest many structural differences in their tense formations, e.g. in the past tense formations the sequence of the constituent elements is as root + tense marker + personal terminations in the western group, and as root + personal markers + tense markers in the eastern group (See p. 180-81).

Similarly, in the fut. tense formations too, the basic difference attested between these two groups is this that in the speeches of the eastern group it is fully synthetic, but in the speeches of the western group it is analytical or periphrastic i.e. structurally, in the western group these forms are obtained as root + aux. + personal terminations and in the eastern group as Root + tense marker + personal terminations (See p. 187ff.).

(v) *Prefixation of tense markers*: Prefixation of past tense markers to the verb stem is a unique feature of the speeches of the eastern group (See p. 181). No such a phenomenon takes place in any speech of the western group.

(vi) *Triple affixation*: Another unique feature of the speeches of the eastern group is prefixation, infixation and suffixation of formative elements simultaneously in the formations of past participles (See p. 247.).

(vii) *Structural differences in perfective formations*: In the speeches of the western Him. group perfective forms are obtained by appending past tense forms of the verb substantive to the participle base of the main verb, but in the speeches of the eastern group these forms are obtained either by appending the past tense forms of the verb substantive to the reduplicated base of the principal verb or by prefixing the perfective markers to the verb stem (See p. 195ff.).

(viii) *Distinct infinitive markers*: In the western Himalayan group there are some speeches in which distinct infinitive markers are used with the trans. and intrans. stems (See, p. 163), but no such a feature is attested for any speech of the eastern group.

(ix) *Areas of reduplication*: Though the phenomenon of reduplication in verbal formations is attested in the speeches of both

the groups, yet the areas of its operation are different in both, i.e. in the speeches of the eastern group its operational area is temporal conjugation (see Tenses), but in the speeches of the western group it becomes operative in the formations of conjunct participles (see Conjunct participle).

8.3 Counting System: Although, originally, the speeches of the eastern group too, belonged to the vigesimal counting system, traces of which are still attested in sporadic instances, yet on account of their long and sustained contact with the speakers of the Tibetan and Aryan speeches, which follow the decimal system, the speakers of these tongues too have opted for the decimal system of counting, whereas the speakers of the speeches of the western Himalayan group have still adhered to their native system of counting, viz. Vigesimal system.

9. Tibetan Group

So far as the languages of the non-pronominalized or Tibetan group (viz. Sp., Nyam., Tod, Jad) are concerned they have a broad agreement in their linguistic features and structures and as such offer very little scope for their grouping or sub-grouping. Moreover, they are spoken in a comparatively more unified area and are spoken by the people of a particular ethnic group, having no interference from other linguistic systems. Besides, the speakers of these speeches had the facility of having a close contact with the speakers of the parent language, viz. Tibetan. As a result of this congenial environment these speeches have not only inherited many features of the parent language, but also have retained them to a considerable extent, though their long and constant contact with the speakers of the Himalayan tongues of the region has also created favourable conditions for linguistic borrowings between these two groups. But, in spite of some instances of mutual exchanges here and there, it can confidently be asserted that, on the whole, the basic structure of the speeches of this group has not much deviated from the structure of the Tibetan language, though in the absence of literary traditions the basic grammatical framework of the parent language could not be kept intact precisely; minor differences, as was but natural, have developed in many speeches. Any way, some of the prominent features which distinguish the speeches of this group from the speeches of the Himalayan groups and also from the speeches of the Aryan group, may be presented as follows:

(i) *Phonemic status of palatal affricates and voiced sibilants:* Phonologically, as compared with I.A., the most distinguishing feature

of these speeches may be said the currency of palatal affricates offering phonemic contrast with palatal plosives, and of voiced sibilants, offering contrast with their voiceless counterparts. Besides, phonemic status of the palatal nasal /ñ/ and of the velar nasal /ŋ/ too may be included in the list of phonological peculiarities of these tongues.

(ii) *Absence of voiced aspirates*: Another phonological peculiarity of these speeches is the absence of voiced aspirate plosives and limited distribution of the pure aspiration, viz. /h/ and of voiceless aspirates (see, p. 41ff.). This feature is shared to some extent by the Himalayan speeches as well.

(iii) Similarly, presence of glottalization and absence of gemination are other prominent phonological features of these speeches, which are equally shared by the speeches of the Himalayan group as well.

(iv) *Maintenance of pronominal stems*: Morphologically, there are many aspects in which the speeches of this group exhibit distinction from the Himalayan as well as I.A. speeches. Maintenance of pronominal stems in all numbers and cases is one of them, i.e. in them the feature of suppletivism may be in the non-singular forms or in the genitive case does not take place (see p. 119, 120 Pronouns.).

(v) *Predication of nominal modifiers*: Another notable feature is the predicative use of the nominal modifiers. (See Adj. placement, p. 136).

(vi) *Counting system*: In the formation of cardinal numerals these speeches attest divergences from Himalayan as well as Aryan speeches, i.e. in the matter of formation of basic units for higher counting from the former, and in respect of placement of components from the latter (see; Numerals: Table No. 7A & B).

(vii) *Limited conjugation* : The verbal conjugation is entirely divested of signs of number and person. In all the tenses a verb is conjugated for 2 forms only, i.e. one for non-first persons (both the numbers) and the other for the first person, consequently, to have a clear signification of the verb from under reference use of the subject, noun or pron., is a must in them. In some cases even the distinction of persons and of tenses too is dispensed with. Besides, the temporal distinction too, is available for the past and the non-past tenses only.

(viii) *Use of distinct verb roots for hon. and ordinary expressions*: As in Tibetan in the speeches of this group too distinct verb stems are employed to express ordinary and respectful significations (See Hon. Sub-system, p. 206ff.).

(ix) *Use of distinct trans. and intrans. verb roots*: In this respect

these speeches attest their convergence with the speeches of the western Himalayan group and divergence from the speeches of the Aryan group.

(x) *Absence of Passive Voice*: Like speeches of the Him. group, these too are devoid of passive voice and consequently of objectival constructions, too.

(xi) *Infixation of negative particle*: In respect of the placement of negative particle the speeches of this group attest a marked difference with the speeches of the Him. as well as Aryan groups (see, Neg. Sub-system: Infixation of negative particle, p. 214).

(xii) *Transitivization through phonetic changes*: Morphologically, another distinguishing feature of these speeches is transitivization of intransitive stems through the mechanism of voicing : devoicing: aspiration : deaspiration, etc. (See Transitivization p. 262-63).

(xiii) *Absence of reflexive and reciprocal systems*: Absence of Reflexive and Reciprocal sub-systems in verbal conjugation too distinguishes these speeches from the speeches of the Him. as well as Aryan groups.

10. Converging and Diverging Features of Himalayan and Tibetan Groups

As pointed out above, that the geo-physical conditions under which these speeches were flourishing from time immemorial were bound to be influenced by each other. Consequently, while retaining their basic features to a considerable extent they could not escape the influences of the other tongues with which they had a close contact. It is attested at all levels of linguistic analysis. But here, in view of our limited aim, we shall confine ourselves to a few phonological and morphological features only.

10.1 *Converging features*: Some of the prominently attested converging features between these two groups are —

(i) Phonemic status of palatal affricates, voiced sibilants and of the palatal and velar nasals, particularly in the western Himalayan and Tibetan groups.

(ii) *Reduplication of nominal and verbal stems*: Besides reduplication of nominal and Adjectival stems (see pp. 70-71, 130-31) reduplication of verbal stems to obtain various temporal and non-temporal categories too is a feature in which both the groups attest a broad agreement.

(iii) *Distinct roots for trans. and intrans. verbs*: Languages of both

the groups are devoid of the inbuilt system of transitivization and employ distinct roots for both the classes of verbs (see. Transitivization, p. 161).

(iv) *Absence of passive voice and objectival constructions*: Speeches of both the groups are devoid of passive voice, and have only active voice, consequently, have no scope for objectival constructions (See Syntax: Concord).

(v) *Suppletivism*: The phenomenon of suppletivism to obtain forms of past tense and imp. mood too is equally shared by the speeches of both the groups.

(vi) *Indeclinable nature of modifiers*: In the speeches of both the groups modifiers are indeclinable, consequently, there is no agreement between the noun head and the modifier, (See Adj. Agreement with Noun Head, p. 131).

(vii) *Absence of Relative Pronominal Stems*: Absence of distinct stems for relative pronouns is another morphological feature which is commonly shared by the speeches of these groups (see Pronouns: Relative, p. 126).

(viii) *Absence of Conjunctive Particles*: There are certain categories of subordinative and coordinative conjuncts which are totally missing in these speeches and for the use of others too there is a common disfavour.

(ix) *Disfavour for non-simple sentences*: The languages of both the groups, generally, favour simple construction only. Construction of compound and complex sentences is, normally, avoided (See Syntax, p. 273).

10.2 *Diverging Features*: Besides the distinguishing features of the Tibetan and Himalayan groups of languages pointed out in connection with western Himalayan group (see above 7.1), there are some more morphological features which clearly draw a demarcating line between these two groups of the Himalayan languages. These are as under:

(i) *Suppletivism in Pron. stems*: In most of the speeches of western Himalayan group pronominal stems are replaced in the plural number and genitive case, but they are fully maintained in the Tibetan group (See, pp. 116, 118-19).

(ii) *Distinct Reflexive stems*: Many of the speeches of the western Himalayan group have distinct stems for reflexive pronouns, but in the Tibetan group all the personal pronominal stems itself serve the purpose (see Reflexive Pron. pp. 124-25).

(iii) *Use of Post-positions with Adverb*: The use of postposition with adverbial stems also distinguishes Him. speeches from the speeches of the Tibetan group (See p. 258).

(iv) *Placement of nominal modifiers*: In the matter of the placement of the nominal qualifiers and sex markers too, both the groups manifest divergent tendencies. In the Him. group, as in the Aryan speeches, these are used attributively, whereas in the Tib. group they are used predicatively (see Adj. placement). In case of adj. denoting 'colour' and 'size' too both the groups have diverging tendencies about their placement (see p. 135).

(v) *Use of Pronominal subjects*: In pronominalized speeches of the Him. group, separate use of pronominal subjects is not obligatory, but it is a must in the Tib. speeches, in which the verb form is divested of the personal suffixes.

(vi) *Infixation in verbal conjugation*: In the speeches of the Himalayan group besides the infixation of the formative elements in the reflexive and reciprocal sub-systems, where they are operative, there are instances of participial formations in which besides prefixation and suffixation the phenomenon of infixation also takes place (see Participles p. 247).

(vii) *Derivation of denominative stems*: The speeches of the Tibetan group are completely devoid of denominative stems, whereas these stems are quite common in the speeches of the Him. groups (see Denominative stems, P. 159).

(viii) *Temporal conjugation*: With regard to the temporal conjugation a notable distinction between the languages of these two groups is this that in the speeches of the Tibetan group a verb is conjugated for 2 tenses only, i.e. past and non-past, whereas in the speeches of the Himalayan group it is regularly conjugated for all the three tenses, viz. Pres., Past and Fut. (See temporal conjugation, p. 165ff.).

(ix) *Conjugation for person Category*: Similarly, in the speeches of the Tib. group a verb is inflected for the 1st and the non-first persons only, whereas in the speeches of the Him. group it is inflected for all the three persons. (See Temp. Conj.: Personal Terminations, p. 172ff.).

(x) *Conjugation for number category*: Normally, in the speeches of the Tib. group a verb is conjugated for a single form only, but, contrary to this in the speeches of the Him. group it is regularly conjugated for 2/3 numbers as the case may be (see Verbal Conju., p. 166ff.).

(xi) *Past tense formations* : Structurally, the speeches of the Tib. group, as well as of both the sub-groups of the Him. group have their own patterns of the arrangement of componential elements in past tense formations, i.e. in the Tib. group the tense markers are directly appended to the verb stem and are not marked for any person, or, usually, even for numbers, but the componential arrangement in the speeches of the western Him. group is attested as root + tense marker + personal terminations, and in the speeches of the eastern group, as root + personal terminations + tense marker.

Moreover, in the matter of reduplication of the verb roots too both the groups exhibit distinct tendencies, i.e. in the speeches of the Him. group, normally, past tense forms are obtained by reduplicating the verb stem concerned, but no such a phenomenon takes place in the conjugation of the speeches of the Tib. group.

(xii) *Perfective expressions* : In the matter of verbal construction intended to express perfective aspects of a verb, the speeches of the Tib. group, as well as the speeches of both the sub-groups of the Him. group follow their own distinct patterns, i.e. in the speeches of the Tib. group these forms are obtained simply by appending the past tense markers to the verb stem, i.e. these are identical with the normal past tense forms, whereas in the speeches of the Him. groups these are obtained differently (see *Supra* 7.2.3 (vii)).

(xiii) *Hon. Sub-system* : For the hon. conjugation too, the speeches of both the groups have their own patterns. In the speeches of the Tib. group it is expressed by employing distinct verb roots for it, whereas in the speeches of the western Him. group it is distinguished by employing distinct suffixes annexed to it, and in the eastern group just with the use of plural forms of the pron. as well as of the verb.

(xiv) *Placement of neg. particle* : Under the conjugation of negative sub-systems the speeches of both the groups have their own preferences with regard to the placement of the negative particle and the form of the prohibitive neg. particle, i.e. in the speeches of the Him. group it, as in the speeches of the I.A. group, precedes the verb form the action of which is negated by it, but in the speeches of the Tibetan group it is infixes between the verb stem and the formative elements. (See Neg. Sub. System see p. 214).

(xv) Similarly, in the speeches of the Tib. group the simple and the prohibitive particle is one and the same, viz. /ma/, but in the speeches of the Him. group it is /ma/ for simple negation and /tha/ for prohibitive negation.

Part I

PHONOLOGY

Sound System

In dealing with the sound system of Tibeto-Himalayan languages in this volume on comparative analysis our endeavour will be to present an overall scheme of the speech sounds of all the languages under consideration. Here it is not our object to discuss in detail the phonetic and phonemic characteristics of each sound individually. This aspect of the study of the speech sounds has already been done in all the previous volumes of the series "Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages (1988-1992). As such in this volume only a general view of the sound system of all these tongues will be taken for consideration. However, a few individual sounds having distinct characteristics will, of course, find a place in it.

Here firstly we shall take up vocalic sounds and then consonantal sounds. Other features of the phonological system will follow them.

VOWELS

Synchronically, diachronically as well, all vocoids, phonemic or non-phonemic, attested in these tongues can be grouped as primary, secondary and peripheral. Schematically these may be presented as under:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Higher mid/	e		o
Mid		ä (ə)	
Lower mid/	[E]		[ɔ]
Low			

N.B. — The vowels placed in square brackets are secondary, in parentheses are peripheral, and all others are primary.

As regards the lip position only the back vowels /u/, /o/ and /ɔ/ are rounded and all others are unrounded. A brief account of all these may be presented as follows:

PRIMARY VOWELS

The primary vowels, without exception, are found in all the dialects of this group and readily offer their minimal contrastive pairs within the dialect itself, i.e., there are, at least five vowels which on the basis of their phonemic contrasts can be established as phonemes for all the dialects of this group. They are /i, e, u, o, a/. All of these are quite stable and offer a uniform behaviour for all the languages of this group. Phonologically, the most important feature of these vowels is this that they have a wider distribution, i.e., can occur in all the positions of a vocable, without any restriction. A brief account of their phonetic characteristics and phonemic position in the sound system of this group of languages may be given below :

/i/, /e/

Both, the unrounded high front short vowel /i/ and the unrounded higher mid-front-short vowel /e/, are the basic vocalic sounds of all the speeches of this group. Their frequent occurrence is attested in almost all the speech varieties of it. In all the speeches these offer a clear phonemic contrast between them (for examples see respective sections in respective volumes of the series "Studies in T. H. L., 1988-92).

At a comparative plan, however, the vowel /i/ is more stable than the vowel /e/ which exhibits phonetic variation with the secondary vowel /E/ and variability with other vowels in cognate forms of a word occurring in different languages. Examples of interchange between /e/ and other front vowels are freely attested in dialectal and interdialectal cognate forms, e.g. (Cf. Rankas group)

Chaudangsi	Byangsi	Darmiya
/wämE/ face	/wämi/ id	/omi/ id.
/läkE/ leg, foot	/like/ id.	/ligi/ id.
	/u/, /o/	

Like /i/ and /e/ both, the high-back-rounded-short vowel /u/ and the higher-mid-back-round /o/, belong to the basic sound structure of these languages and can be postulated for proto - T. H. as well. These too attest ample examples of minimal pairs of contrast in all the dialects of this group. These may be seen in respective sections of respective volumes of the series 'Studies in T. H. L.' (1988-92).

In cognate forms, too, these vowels attest a minimum variation in their characters, but there are dialects like Darmiya in which these

attest free variation within the dialect itself, e.g., /tädu~tädo/ that, /-ro~ru/ in, on (locative marker), /-jo~ju/ or /cho~chu/ for, to (dative marker).

/a/

The position of the low-back-unrounded vowel /a/ is quite clear in all the dialects of the T.H. It is the most stable vowel and has the widest range of distribution and highest frequency in all the speech forms. It has an undisputed phonemic status, offering abundant examples of phonemic contrast with back vowels, /u/ and /o/ (for examples see respective sections in the respective volumes of the series - 'Studies in T. H. L.', (1988-92).

SECONDARY VOWELS

The vowels belonging to this class are neither attested in all the languages of this group nor have a stable position in those in which they occur. These are of sporadic occurrences and also of limited distribution. In most of the tongues the lower-mid unrounded front vowel /E/ and the lower mid rounded back vowel /ɔ/ fall under this category. Their limited occurrences and absence of phonemic contrasts with their higher mid counter parts /e/ and /o/ respectively, is a clear indicator that these vocoids are not the regular sounds of the Tibeto-Himalayan vowel system and as such cannot be postulated as basic sounds of the Proto - T. H. In most of the cases these are attested either as free variants or allophonic variants of the primary vowels, /e/ and /o/. In speeches where they offer limited contrasts there too it is mostly confined to loaned items from the regional I.A. dialects. Thus the acquisition of these sounds in these tongues seems to be a recent phenomenon, a by-product of their contact with the speakers of the I.A. dialects. In this historical process of development these sounds have assumed the dimension of phonemic contrasts with /e/ and /o/, may be in a limited sphere.

/E/

As stated above, the lower-mid-unrounded front vowel /E/ is not a primary sound of the sound system of the T. H. group of languages. In most of the tongues its sporadic occurrence is attested either in I.A. loans or as an allophone of the high-mid front vowel /e/, or as a free variant of it. However, in the dialects of the Rangkas group which are highly influenced by the regional I.A. dialects, on account of their heavily borrowing from them, it is frequently attested and seems to

have become a stable sound. In them its occurrence, besides in loan items, is also attested in some native terms, showing a contrast with /e/ in a few instances, which is a clear indicator that now this sound has emerged as a distinct sound of the sound system of these tongues and can claim for its phonemic status there. The few minimal pairs attested in them may be seen as under :

Dar. - /ge/ clothe : /gE/ thou; /be/ thread : /bE/ skin.

Chaud. - /re/ field : /rE/ cow; /se/ recognition : /sE/ god.

Mar. - /bed/ elder brother : /bEd/ physician.

It may, however, be added here that in the above mentioned group it is more pronounced in Chaudangsi and Marchha than in others. In the former it frequently occurs in the word final position and in the latter in the initial position. Some of the examples of the occurrence of /E/ in these tongues may be presented as follows:

Dar. - /bEna/ cow, /bEri/ enemy, /vEd/ physician, /bEra/ songs, /pEjma/ trousers, /thEli/ bag, etc.

Chaud. - /khE~khätE/ cold, /bädE/ correct, /rE~sirE/ cow, /räcE/ ear, /bEri/ enemy, /thEde~thEdE// height, /pEma/ to know, to move, /jäblE/ tongue, /bäldE/ thick, /tuñdE/ warm, /midE/ short, small, /khwE/ grand son, /khemE/ grand daughter, /cämE/ girl.

A comparison with the cognates in Darmiya attests that in Chaud. the vowel /E/ occurs in free variation with other front vowels, viz. /e/ and /i/. For instance -

Chaud.	Byansi	Darmiya
/wämE/ face	wämi	omi
/läkE/ foot, leg	like	ligi
/khämE/ grand-son	—	kheme
/cämE/ girl	—	ceme

Mar. - /bEd/ physician, /dE/ curd, /gEro/ deep, /gEṇa/ stars, /mEt/ woman's paternal home, /sEṇo/ plain land (All loans).

Johari. - /mEs/ man, /thEli/ bag, /bhEr/ outside, etc.

Raji. - /dhE/ how much? /lE/ to reach, /swE/ to sit, /pEgaro/ child, /bhEnya/ sister, /mE~mhE/ fire.

Besides its occurrence in I. A. loaned items, in most of the languages of this group is normally attested as a lowered variant of the vowel /e/ and /i/ as a result of vowel harmony or a nasalized allophone of the vowel /e/ or a free variation in a pre-pausal position. Although phonetic feature of lowering of the vowel /e/ in these environments, is attested in most of the tongues of this group, yet it

is more pronounced in Kinnauri, Spitian, Tod, Pattani, Chaudangsi-Byangsi and Johari.

We shall now give a few sample examples from some other speeches under consideration in which it is found, may be as an alternate form of /e/ or /i/, or as allophonic variant of /i, e/ or as a borrowed sound from I. A. dialects.

/e/ → [E] - (Patt.) /semi/ → [sEmi] soul, /ñeci~ñEci/ by us, (Chaud.) - /ceme/ → [cEmE] girl, /dāme/ → [dāmE] drum, /ñance/ → [ñancE] dusk, /lide/ → [lidE] heavy; (Spiti) - /meme/ → [mEmE] grandfather, /phyet/ → [phEt] half; (Chhit.) - /mEs/ buffalo; (Tod) - /dece/ → [dEce] to scratch, /thece/ → [thEce] to be happy, /cece/ → [cEce] to bite, (Mar.) /sikEt/ complaint, /bEri/ enemy, /jEgen/ glow worm, /bEna/ musk-pod; /pEsa/ paisa, /rupE/ rupee, /jEjad/ property, /dEno/ right (side), /chEl/ shadow, etc.

In Johari it is attested in free variation with /e/, as in /bäche~bächE/ woman, /je~jE/ my, /les~lEs/ said, etc.

In Kin., however, it has developed as a result of coalescence of ä + y, a + e, or ä + e, as well, e.g., /sE/ < /säy/ ten, /rE/ < /rey/ eight, /lE/ < /lae/ < /lahe/ day, /bEsa/ < /bäesa/ sister-in-law.

/ä/ → [E] - Besides, in some dialects it is also realized as an allophone of the central vowel /ä/ when followed by a front vowel, as in (Raji) - /puhäi/ → [puhEi] joint, /khäi/ → [khEi] said, /ghäi/ → [ghEi] did, /bihäi/ → [bihEi] twenty.

/ɔ/

It is a rounded lower - mid short back vowel. Its phonemic status in the vowel system of T. H. is doubtful. In most of them it is still in an allophonic stage and does not attest phonemic contrast with the vowel /o/ of the native vocables, except in Darmiya, e.g., /ro/ bone; /rɔ/ basket; /mo/ female; /mɔ/ family, houses. In all others it is only lowered variant of the vowel /o/ attested in various phonetic environments. The most notable of them are - (1) occurrence of a nasal as an onset margin or the coda margin of the syllable peak /o/, (2) accompaniment of nasality; (3) occurrence of a glottal stop, or (4) occurrence in an open initial syllable (5) or in a prepausal position, different languages showing their own preferences in this regard. Besides, its occurrence in I. A. loan words too is frequently attested in some of the dialects of this group. A few examples of the realization of this sound in various environments may be illustrated as under:

- Kin. - /ʈn̄/ to open; /s̄men̄/ flat; /r̄n̄/ iron; /ʌne/ hungry; /ʌres/ carpenter; /b̄d / rind; /ph̄is/ free.
- Chhit. - /r̄n̄/ to go; /b̄n̄/ foot; /ʌre/ carpenter; /ʈn̄/ to come; /r̄n̄/ iron; /ʌci/ night; /r̄c/ ear.
- Nyam. - /ʌnja/ to come; /ch̄/ lake; /ph̄/ male; /roc̄/ horn; /k̄nt̄a/ ear-ring.
- Spi. - /ʌn̄/ to come; /ñ̄t̄/ you (hon.); /d̄n̄/ face; /m̄n̄/ an Indian.
- Tod. - /s̄'po/ bad; /s̄'pa/ wing; /c̄n̄/ onion; /k̄n̄/ to kneel.
- Kan. - /p̄m̄/ snow; /ch̄n̄/ boy; /r̄n̄/ iron; /ʈn̄/ face; /b̄n̄-mu/ to run.
- Patt., Tin. - /c̄n̄/ onion; /ʈn̄-pa/ empty; /ʈm̄/ tiger; /ʈnji/ to hide; /dh̄ri/ fog.
- Gar. - /ʌnka/ stomach; /ch̄ma/ cooked vegetable; /m̄'t̄ < /mō'd/ face; /th̄n̄/ room.
- Jad. - /ʌnja/ to come; /ñ̄t̄/ bright; /s̄n̄/ was
- Chaud. - /ʌn̄/ to see; /s̄n̄/ village; /w̄mda/ black; /z̄änkh̄/ lizard; /n̄änkr̄/ and; /ʈn̄mi/ alone; /ʈ/ credit; /d̄ni/ button; /ph̄mä/ to open.
- Raji. - /gir̄n̄/ husband; /d̄ä'r̄/ rice, paddy.

However, the position of /ʌ/ is somewhat different in the dialects of Rangkas group in which it, besides occurring as an allophone of the phoneme /o/, is a regular sound of I. A. loan words as well. As such it is gradually becoming an integral part of the sound system of these dialects. As pointed out above in Darmiya it has even assumed the status of a phoneme. In others too it is proceeding in the same direction. The speakers of Johari have altogether given up the use of their ancestral tongue and have adopted the local Kumauni for all practical purposes. The position of /ʌ/ in Darmiya and Marchha may be illustrated as follows:

- Mar. - /j̄ö/ barley; /rār̄/ mustard; /b̄yo/ mad; /dh̄n̄/ pretention; /b̄äth̄ö/ air; /n̄ni/ butter; /j̄ölya/ twines; (all I. A. loans).
- Dar. - /n̄ni/ butter; /j̄ö/ barley; /m̄na/ bees; /m̄/ family; /k̄/ rind; /ph̄ro/ spade; /j̄öla/ twines (all I. A. loans).

PERIPHERAL /ä/

The central vowel /ä/ has a peripheral position in almost all the speeches of the T. H. group. It is a fluid vowel and is not stable in any position, usually oscillating between /ə/ & /a/.

In most of the cases it also freely varies with /a/. The phonemic

contrast too is not prominent and wide between these two. In a pre-pausal position, particularly, it becomes difficult to determine the phonetic features of these sounds which oscillate between /a/ and /ə/. Moreover, in the sound system of the T. H. the vowel /ä/ is more retracted and opener too, as compared with the modern Indo-Aryan /ə/. Infact, as in Tibetan in T. H. too the central vowel /ä/ does not seem to be a basic sound of the sound system of it. It is, more or less, a phonetically and positionally conditioned variant of the vowel /a/ and this variation is frequently attested in the pronunciation of one and the same speaker, e.g., (Nyam.) /mar~mär/ butter, /lag-pa~läg-pa/ hand, /man-po~män-po/ much, many; (Chhit.), - /däsa~dasa/ give, etc. The native speakers of these tongues too hardly distinguish between them. Besides, in most of the speech forms no contrast is available between them in indigenous words. The few clear contrasts that are available in some of them are attested between a native and a non-native (borrowed) item only. This new development has, however, necessitated the possibility of recognition of it as a distinct sound, which otherwise is a peripheral vocalic sound in the sound system of T. H. languages.

In the initial position of loan words the I. A. vowel /ä/ is usually realized as rounded /ä/ = [ɔ], as in Bengali, in Kinnauri, Chhitkuli, Kanashi and Marchha. This phonetic feature of /ä/ may be illustrated as under:

- Kin. - /däm/ = [ɔm] breath; [ɔsan] year; /phɔlän/ fruit; /dɔin/ curd; /nɔräk/ hell; /pɔthrän/ leaf; /ɔkal/ intellect; /hɔk/ claim; /gɔlti/ error, etc.
- Chhit. - /ɔyan/ curd; /mɔlan/ price, cost; /ɔsnän/ garlic; /khɔyän/ left (side); /cɔyän/ leakage; /bɔsän/ year, age; /khɔli/ oilcake; /ɔthrän/ paralysis; /ɔkäl/ intellect; /bɔre/ sister-in-law, etc.
- Kan. - /sɔnghi/ companion; /bhɔnin/ utensil; /nɔräk/ hell; /kɔrän/ tax; /pɔcän/ leaf, etc.
- Mar. - /bɔn/ forest; /bɔg-pän/ to flow; /gɔn-pän/ to count; /khɔn-pän/ to dig; /bɔc-pän/ to escape; /khɔlo/ threshing floor; /hɔlo/ a plough, etc.

Thus the position of the central vowel, in this group of languages, is a peripheral one.

VOWEL VARIATIONS

The intrinsic quality and quantity of vowels of the T. H. tongues indicated above does not mean that phonetically all of them have a

uniform character in all the environments and are pronounced exactly in the manner pointed out above. The fact is that all of them have both qualitative and quantitative variations conditioned by various factors. Consequently, a vowel may be realized some what lower in one environment and higher in another. Similarly, it may be articulated a little frontal or retracted from its phonemic norm or may attest a longer or shorter quantity from its phonemic norm.

Qualitatively, as explained above, a front vowel, under different influences may be realized between /i/ and /e/ or between /e/ and /E/. Similarly, a back vowel may show a variation between /u/ and /o/ or /o/ and /ɔ/. As such the phonetic features of many vowels in many dialects are in a fluid state, may be due to non-standardization of the language and non-contrastive features of some of them. Consequently, there is no easy task to pin-point and to describe accurately all the subtle differences of these vowels.

The same is the case with quantitative variations as well. Although in the foregoing descriptions of vowels they have been termed as 'short' one, but it may, however, be clearly understood that in the context of T. H. languages the phonetic terms 'long' or 'short' are not to be taken in the same manner as they are taken with reference to Indo-Aryan or Indo-European languages. To be more particular in these dialects their position is some what similar to that attested in Austro-Asiatic or Dravidian languages. It is because in them the quantitative variation in a vowel does not always affect the meaning of the utterance containing it. In these speech forms prolongation in the duration of a vowel, may be in a word or in a string of words (sentence), may take place under various phonetic and morphophonemic conditions. As such in these tongues variation in vowel quantity is only a phonetic/allophonic feature, it is neither absolute nor phonemic. Consequently, there the terms 'long' means only a longer quantity than the normal one, not exactly double of the intrinsic quantity of it. Thus prolongation in the quantity of a vowel is not a basic and inherent feature in them.

Environments of Lengthening

Normally, the longer quantity of a vowel, as compared with its intrinsic quantity, is attested in the following environments:

- (a) When the syllable concerned is marked with special emphasis or carries a higher accent.
- (b) In a sequence of heterophonetic vowels, when both of them are pronounced distinctly, without any intervening glide, the preceding

vowel tends to be lengthened, e.g., (Patt.) - /tho:ɾ/ a few; /tho:re/ very few; /sule/ slowly; /su:le/ very slowly.

- (c) The final vowel of an open syllable is also realized a little longer than its phonemic norm. For instance, a comparison of identical vowels occurring in open and close monosyllabic words makes it evident that the vowel in the open syllable is realized longer as compared with the vowel occurring in the close syllable, e.g., (Sp., Nyam.) - /mi/ man; /min/ drug; /la/ mountain pass; /lam/ path; /su/ who ?; /sum/ three; /ri/ field; /rig/ house, etc.

But it is considerably reduced when accompanied with a prominent accent or high falling tone or glottal constriction, e.g., (Chit.) /ra/ stone; /mi/ eyes; (Kan.) - /tá/ nose; /mí/ fire; /ú/ flower; /rod/ car; /úg/ big; etc.

In a dissyllabic word, however, the quantity of the vowel of the initial syllable, close or open, is considerably reduced as compared with its quantity attested in an open syllable of a mono-syllabic word, e.g. (Patt.) - /pápa/ breast; /muthu/ neck; /poko/ warm; (Tin.) - /sumu/ three; /omo/ snake; /buzu/ monkey; (Gar.) - /b'ubu/ owl; /phece/ uncle; /sugu/ paper; /lāma/ goat, sheep, etc.

However, some of the dialects, particularly, Kinnauri and the dialects of Rangkas group attest a quantitative contrast in a limited number of vocables and specific vowels, still the position is not stable. In this context it is also to be mentioned that in most of the cases, one of the constituents of the minimal pairs with long quantity is invariably a borrowed item from the neighbouring I. A. dialects. For instance :

- Kin. - /rin/ cubid (measurement); /ri:n/ debt; /san/ touch of cedar sticks; /sa:n/ ladder; /sup/ foam; /su:p/ winnowing basket.
 Dar. - /mul/ silver; /mu:l/ source of water; /ci/ grass; /ci:l/ vulture.
 Chaud. - /mul/ silver; /mu:l/ source of water; /yc/ eagle; /yc:/ sattu (flour of fried barley).
 Mar. - /bis/ thread; /bi:s/ poison; /bu/ worm; /bu:/ a grain of corn.

PALATALIZATION (GLIDALIZATION)

Palatalization or glidalization is a commonly attested phonetic feature of the languages of the T. H. group. In this front vowels /i/ and /e/ are pronounced with a front glide /y/, when occurring in a non-final syllable of a dissyllabic word and in all patterns of mono-syllabic words. Though this tendency is, more or less, prevalent in all the speeches

of this group, yet it is more pronounced in Gari, Tod, Spitian, Pattani, Tinani, Chhitkuli, Chaudangsi and Johari. For instance —

- Gar. - /gye/ I; /khye/ what ?; /khyi/ dog; /gyemec/ girl; /kyerci/ to weigh; /tye-tye/ grand-mother, etc.
 Tod. - /lyem/ now; /khyi/ dog; /khyela/ work, etc.
 Sp. - /phyet/ half; /hyeke/ letter; /khyi/ dog, etc.
 Patt. - /kyc̣tri/ to say; /tyepci/ to ride; /gye/ I; /khye/ what ?; /mycc-mi/ woman, etc.
 Chhit. - /kyim/ house; /pycc/ bird; /tycco/ a head, etc.
 Chaud. - /syiri/ son, boy; /syin/ tree; /syed/ white; /tye-tye/ grand-father, etc.
 Johari - /cyim/ house; /jyed/ eight, etc.

NASALIZATION

Although all the dialects of T. H. group fully attest the phenomenon of spontaneous nasalization, i.e., nasalization of a vowel in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, but the phonemic nasalization, quite independent of the existence of any nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel in the vicinity of it and also showing contrast with non-nasalized counterpart of the vowel, is confined to a few dialects only. The dialects which have attested this feature in our data are - Kinnauri, Pattani, Tinani, Jad, Marchha and Raji. This can be illustrated as under:

- Kin. - /me/ fire; /mē/ yesterday; /rāk/ wine: /rāk/ heat of the Sun.
 Patt. - /ka/ chest, walnut; /kā/ your; /da/ comparison: /dā/ wardrobe.
 Tin. - /tala/ palm: /tāla/ even then; /da/ compassion: /dā/ wardrobe.
 Jad. - (Contrast with nasal consonant only) /pan/ race : /pā/ tree.
 Mar. - /yu/ age: /yū/ mother-in-law; /syo/ apple: /syō/ furrow.
 Raji. - /hä/ hundred; /hā/ no; /cunji/ small: /cūji/ to graze. (There /hä/ also shows a free variation with /han/).

Although we were able to locate the contrastive feature of nasality in the above mentioned limited examples, yet it does not seem to be a common feature of the T. H. family of languages. It is more or less a phonetic feature which is equally attested in all the dialects in the vicinity of a nasal consonant. A few examples may be illustrated below :

- Chhit. - /yāñ/ again; /zāñ/ gold; /tūñ/ drink; /ñimā/ lunch; /āmā/ mother.
 Nyam. - /mīñ/ name; /pāñ/ tree; /sūm/ three; /nāmā/ bride.

- Spitian - /mīn/ name; /ñīmā/ sun; /sīn/ wood; /nā/ I; /dōn/ face.
 Patt. - /nā/ five; /mā/ not; /ñā/ fish; /lūn/ asthma; /mčmč/ grand-father.
 Gar. - /mī/ man; /āmā/ mother; /cōn/ onion; /mccūn/ aunt (m.).
 Tod. - /yān/ again; /rāu/ housefly; /rānsi/ bee.
 Dar. - /ñā/ fish; /lāmū/ to lick; /nōni/ butter; /bēna/ cow.
 Chaud. - /nhūl/ silver; /ñā/ fish; /mūn/ name; /libin/ book.
 Johari - /mīn/ mother; /sūm/ three; /cimī/ daughter.
 Jad. - /ōnja/ to come; /nhūl/ rupee; /sānmā/ clear; /pān/ tree.
 Mar. - /āmā/ mother; /ūn/ stone; /nīlo/ blue; /gčna/ stars.
 Raji. - /yān/ way, path; /ghīn/ ghee; /khūn/ tree; /nā/ I; /mī/ man.

VOCALIC SEQUENCES

A notable feature of these languages is this that there are no diphthongs in their sound systems. Consequently, vowels occurring in a succession, may be within a word boundary or across of it, maintain their separate syllabic identity without merging it into one syllable or allowing any attempt to cover up the hiatus, i.e., not allowing emergence of a glide between them. As such vocalic sequences of all combinations are a common feature of these speeches. (For examples see respective sections in respective volumes of the series 'Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages', 1988-92).

CONSONANTS

The number of consonantal phonemes is not uniform in all the tongues of this group. It varies from region to region and language to language. There are dialects which attest a phonemic status for 40 consonants and others which attest for 30 only. In between there are dialects which accord this status to 31, 32, 34, 36 consonants of various categories, e.g., Pattani - 40, Tod and marchha - 36; Darmiya - 34, Kinnauri - Chhitkuli, Spitian, Kanashi, Chaudangsi - Byangsi - 32, Tinani, Gari, Nyamkat, Johari - 31, Raji and Jad - 30. Schemetically, the total number of consonantal phonemes available in these tongues may be presented in a Tabular form in the succeeding page.

PHONEMIC CONTRAST

With regard to phonemic contrast it may be noted that though minimal pairs of consonants showing contrasts of their phonetic features are copiously attested in the initial position, yet in other positions only a few of them show this feature. Some of these do not contrast at all

in the medial and final positions. The four fold distinction of presence vs. absence of voice and aspiration too, is attested in the initial positions only. It is almost neutralized in the medial and final positions. The unaspirate voiced consonants do not have their aspirate counterparts, except in Pattani, Tod, Marchha and Raji. In others they are either missing or have a doubtful existence. The aspirate counterparts of the vibrant and lateral consonants too do not attest their significant contrasts in all languages. Phonemic contrasts of various consonants of these dialects may be seen in respective sections of these tongues dealt with in the different volumes of the series 'Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages', (1988-92).

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation						
	Bilabial	Dental	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal Stop
Plosives							
VI.	P, Ph	t, th		c, ch	ʈ, ʈh	k, kh	ʔ
Vd.	b, (bh)	d, (dh)	c, ch	j (jh)	ɖ (ɖh)	g, (gh)	
Affricates							
VI.			j, ch				
Vd.							
Nasals							
Unasp.	m	n		ɲ	(ŋ)	ŋ	
Asp.	(mh)	(nh)					
Vibrants							
Unasp.					r		
Asp.					(rh)		
Flapped							
Unasp.					ɾ		
Asp.					(rh)		
Lateral							
Unasp.				l	ɭ		
Asp.					(lh)		
Fricatives							
VI.		s		ʃ	(ʂ)	h	
Vd.		z					
Semi vowels							
	w			y			

N.B. Phones put in parentheses are limited to specific tongues only.

Phonemic status of various consonants attested in different languages under consideration may be seen at a glance in the Table 1.

From the table 1 it may be evident that existence of voiced aspirate plosive as a phoneme is attested in Pattani, Tod, Marchha and Raji only. It is altogether missing in Tinani, Gari, Spitian, Nyamkad and Chhitkuli. In others it is only a phonetic feature.

Existence of palatal affricates as a phoneme, i.e., offering contrasts with palatal plosives, is attested in most of the dialects, except in Jad, Darmiya, Chaudangsi-Byangsi and Raji. Aspirate nasals as phonemes are not attested in most of the tongues, except Pattani, Johari and Marchha. Their existence in Tinani and Raji is doubtful.

The flapped sound /ɾ/ too is attested in most of the dialects under consideration, except in Tod, Nyamkad and Darmiya. Existence of aspirate lateral is confined to Pattani, Kanashi, Chaudangsi-Byangsi, Johari and Marchha. Its existence as a phoneme is doubtful in Tinani, Spitian, Jad and Raji.

Phonemic existence of voiced sibilants is fully attested in almost all of them, except in Darmiya, Johari and Raji. In these it seems to have lost its phonemic character due to their close contact with the Aryan speeches of the region and heavy borrowings from them.

Another notable feature marking these tongues is the existence of the glottal stop with full phonemic status. It is attested in all but the eastern Bhotia group which again, under the heavy influence of the Indo-Aryan dialects of the region, has altogether lost it.

Besides the above, a brief account of all the classes of consonants and of their notable variations may be presented in the following paragraphs.

PLOSIVES

Among plosives the unvoiced unaspirate and aspirate, and voiced unaspirate consonants constitute the basic structure of the consonantal system of the T. H. L. This feature of these may be discussed as under :

Bilabials – The position of bilabial plosives, viz., /p, ph, b/ is quite stable in all the dialects of T. H. group. All these sounds are persistently attested in all tongues without any exception and there is no restriction on their positional occurrences, though occurrence of /ph/ is very low in them and is not attested in the final position in many of them. This class of consonants does not exhibit any notable

Table 1

Distinctive Phonemic features	Name of the Language														
	Kin.	Patt.	Tin.	Gar.	Tod.	Sp.	Nyam.	Chhit.	Kan.	Dar.	Chaud.	Johari	Jad	Mar.	Raji
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Plosives															
Vl. unasp.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Vl. Asp.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Vd. unasp.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Vd. Asp.	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	?	?	?	?	?	x	x
Affricates															
Vl. unasp.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	-
Vl. asp.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	-
Vd. unasp.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nasals															
unasp.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Aspirate	-	x	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	?
Laterals															
Vibrant	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Flapped	x	x	x	?	-	?	-	x	?	-	?	x	x	x	x
Fricatives															
Unasp.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Aspirate	-	x	?	-	-	?	-	-	x	-	x	x	?	x	?
Vl.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Vd.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	?	-
Semivowels															
y	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
w	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Glottal stop.	x	x	?	x	?	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	x

N.B. In this table the sign x stands for the existence of the particular phonemic element; - for its absence; and ? for its doubtful existence.

feature of allophonic variations, except the phenomenon of devoicing of /b/ in certain predictable phonetic environments.

Dentals – The position of dental plosives, viz., /t, th, d/ is exactly similar to that described for bilabials. We have not come across any notable feature of variation in them, except the devoicing or assimilation of /d/ in certain predictable phonetic and morphophonemic conditions.

Palatals – The position of palatal plosives does not seem to be the same as we find it for dental and bilabial plosives. From their lowest frequency and restricted occurrence it may be presumed that these sounds do not occupy important place in the sound system of T. H. The apparent reason behind this disfavour may be the existence of palatal affricates as regular significant sounds, which, as compared with these sounds, have considerably high frequency and wider distribution. Even in the eastern Bhotia group, in which the palatal affricates have lost their phonemic character, these sounds carry a tinge of affrication in their articulation. At least this class of plosives occupies a secondary place in the sound system of T. H. L.

PALATAL AFFRICATES /c, ch, j-z/

From the point of sound system palatal affricates occupy a special place in the speeches of this group. It seems to be a part of the basic sound system of it and can be postulated for the Proto-Tibeto-Himalayan as well. These are articulated with copious affrication and are attested as distinct sounds in almost all the dialects of it and offer significant contrasts within their class and with palatal plosives of the dialect concerned. This feature of these tongues may be presented as follows :

- Sp. – /ce/ tongue: /ce/ to play; /cäm/ wool: /cäm/ how many ?
/cha/ tea: /cha/ salt; /ju/ solution: /cu/ finger.
- Nyam. – /ci/ what ? : /ci/ account; /coya/ to prepare: /coya/ to graze;
/cha/ tea; /cha/ salt.
- Tod. – /chän/ beer: /chan/ urine; /cha/ cleaning of woolen cloth:
/cha/ salt; /ci/ what ? : / ici/ one.
- Kin. – /cu/ soof: /cu/ cough; /ca/ tea; /ca/ stone slab; /chulmik/ to
chop, to cut: /chulmik/ to bark; /co/ thorn: /jo/ this: /cu/
cough: /ju/ cloud.
- Kan. – /ci/ to wash: /ci/ grass; /ca-/ to sing: /ca-/ to dance :
/cha-/ to hear: /cha/ salt.
- Patt. – /cäm/ skin: /cäm/ hair; /cärçi/ to weigh : /cärçi/ to send :
/cha/ tooth : /cha/ salt.
- Gari. – /baca/ to place : /buca/ son, boy; /ci/ from: /ci/ grass; /culi/

apricot; /culi/ hearth: /chän/ beer: /chan/ nest; /chas/ lap :
/chas/ garden; /jun/ left side : /jun/ north.

Tin. – /cäm/ skin; / am/ hair; /cha/ tooth : /cha/ salt; /jän/ root :
/cän/ gold.

Among the dialects of the Rangkas (eastern Bhotia) group this feature, at the phonemic level, is attested in Chaudangsi only. In all others it is attested at the phonetic level only. The phonemic contrast available in Chaudangsi are as under :

/ci/ ten : / i/ grass, plant; /cha/ similar : /cha/ salt; /chäm/ wool :
/chäm/ bridge; /jän/ axe : /cän/ gold; /ceme/ daughter : /cheme/ elder
brother's wife; /cho/ lake : /jo/ a hybrid animal.

RETROFLEX /t, th, d, r/

Use of retroflex plosives seems to be a regular feature of the sound system of the dialects of this group. Existence of retroflex plosives is attested even in Tibetan which otherwise has no symbol for them in its orthographic system. The use of /t, th, d/, in a more or less degree, is attested in all the speech forms, though as compared with other classes of consonants the ratio of their occurrences is lower. In almost all the languages under consideration, except Raji and Kanashi, these sounds clearly offer a contrast within their own class and with dental plosives. Their occurrences are attested with all the vowels and in all positions. From the point of articulation these are fully retroflex when occurring with back vowels or in conjunction with /r/, e.g., /du/ cloud (Patt. Tin.), /tu/ smoke (Tin.), /tu/ child (Tod), /du/ six (Tod); /thod/ a grain, /dod/ warm (Gar.); /thuru/ leg (Patt.); /kutri/ to say; /uḍrə/ flower (Patt.); /drug/ rainbow; /thräu/ a liquid container, (Tin.).

So far as Raji and Kanashi are concerned it may be stated that though the retroflex sounds are clearly attested in the pronunciation of the speakers of these dialects, yet retroflexion does not seem to be a regular phonemic feature of these tongues. In them occurrence of these sounds is mostly confined to I. A. loan items. Moreover, in them, there is no contrast even with corresponding dental plosives. Some times there is even a free variation between a retroflex and dental sound, e.g., (Kanashi) – /guḍ~gud/ hand; /bhoṇiṅ~bhoṇi/ utensil, etc.

So far as the question of the retroflex flapped sound /r/ is concerned it is definitely not a radical sound of T. H. It is a recent acquisition of the T. H. tongues and has found a place in them through I. A. loans. Still it is confined to loaned items only. It has not been able to establish

itself fully. In many instances even in loaned items it freely varies with /r/ or /d/, e.g., (Kin.) – /täkri~täkri/ balances, /cimärän/ to cling; (Johari) – /dägär~dägär/ with, in the company of, /bakär~bakär/ goat; (Kanashü) /cäris~cädis/ bird, /ghora~ghoda/ horse. Its occurrence is mostly attested in the dialects of the eastern Bhotia group which have heavily borrowed from the regional I. A. dialects. In others it is a marginal sound.

VELARS /k, kh, g/

Among velars /k/ and /g/ are the most stable and widely attested sounds of the tongues of this group. Their occurrence is frequent and unrestricted in all the dialects under consideration. The occurrence of /kh/ is, however, very low and in most of the tongues is confined to the initial and the medial positions only. (For details see respective sections in respective volumes of the series 'Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages', 1988-92).

VOICED ASPIRATES

Voiced aspirates do not seem to be an integral part of the basic sound system of these languages. In the present state of affairs too these are either aspirated allophonic variants of their unaspirate voiced counterparts or are a part of the loaned items from the neighbouring I. A. dialects. Although on account of a strong tendency of aspiration, usually voiced plosives occurring in the initial position of a word are realized as their aspirate counterparts, yet there are only a few dialects in which these may attest a phonemic contrast, may be with borrowed items. In view of this some of these have been accorded a phonemic status for the dialect in which such a feature is attested. The dialects in which this feature has been attested in our data are – Darmiya, Raji, Chaudangsi, Marchha (all from Rangkas group) and Pattani, e.g., –

- Dar. – /dän/ belly : /dhän/ riches; /budi/ butter milk : /budhi/ intellect.
- Chaud. – /kha/ walnut : /gha/ wound; /thänma/ to tremble : /dhänma/ to dance (the contrast is only between vl. and vd. plosives).
- Raji. – /ti/ water : /dhi/ down; /khäi/ to say : /ghäi/ to do (vl. vs. vd.).
- Mar. – /bu/ a grain : /bhu/ snake; /bari/ a turn : /bhari/ load; /dE/ curd : /dhE/ he, that; /dän/ belly : /dhän/ wealth; /gol/ round : /ghol/ nest; /jullo/ bedding : /jhullo/ clothe (mostly borrowed items from I. A. dialects).

Patt. – /dän/ goat : /dhän/ wealth; /gwän/ to belch : /ghwän/ cow;
/phruçi/ to shake : /bhruçi/ to wipe (again I. A.).

The treatment given to voiced aspirates occurring in I. A. borrowed items also indicates that it is not the basic characteristic of the T. H. to have voiced aspirate plosive even in the initial position which otherwise is the most favourable environment for the occurrence of aspiration, e.g., (Kan.) – /b>räm/ < /bhäräm/ load; /dupe/ < *dhupe* in the sun; /kacär/ < *khäccär* mule, /šobiläs/ < *šobhila* good, beautiful; (Kin.) – /bänarän/ < *bhāṇḍāgāram* store; /barän/ < *bhāram* load; (Darmiya) – /gäda/ < *gadhā* ass, /buddu/ < *buddhū* dunce; /ḍil/ < *dhil* delay; (Johari) – /lob/ < *lobh* avarice, /jibc/ < *jibh* tongue, /boj/ < *bojh* load, /gäda/ < *gadhā* donkey.

The limited phonemic contrasts of voiced aspirates illustrated above need no elaboration and the fact remains that they are there because of the currency of the I. A. vocables having contrastive elements in them. Moreover, this feature is usually attested in tongues having a close contact with I. A. tongues and having drawn upon these sources.

Some of the voiced aspirates that have become an integral part of the vocabulary of these tongues may be illustrated as follows :

- Patt. – /bhitı/ wall; /dhul/ dust; /ädhrän/ paralysis; /jhälh/ madness;
/ḍhol/ drum; /ḍher/ heap, etc.
- Dar. – /dhän/ wealth; /dhänus/ a bow; /jhopäri/ hut; /ḍhila/ loose;
/ghera/ circle; /ghämändi/ proud, etc.
- Chaud. – /gha/ wound; /bhaṇḍo/ utensil; /dhän/ wealth; /ḍhami/
marriage; /bhänsi/ buffalo, etc.
- Johari – /bhari/ heavy; /bhitär/ inside; /bhEr/ outside; /bojh/ load;
/jhyara/ forest.
- Mar. – /ghol/ nest; /ghogär/ thunder; /jhul/ clothes; /ḍhano/ steep;
/ḍhal/ shield; /bhut/ ghost; /dhän/ wealth, etc.
- Raji – /bhäuwa/ brother; /ghin/ ghee; /dudhän/ milk; /dh=lyä/ white
/jhüke/ quarrel, etc.
- Kan. – /ghora/ horse; /bhau/ brother; /ḍhog/ hill; /songhi/ companion;
/bhänin/ utensil; /gädha/ ass, etc.

Other languages of this group, viz., Kin., Chhit; Gar., Sp., and Nyam., do not have any trace of this feature in their sound system. In Jad and Spitian its existence is attested at the phonetic level only.

Among the languages belonging to the Tibetan group, the only language in which the voiced aspirates have assumed the status of phonemes is Tod., For instance –

/thecc/ to shorten; /dhecc/ to chase; /dice/ to ask; /dhice/ to write;
/ju/ ill, pain; /jhu/ finger; /dcmo/ a bear; /dhemo/ a hybrid animal.

NASALS /m, n, ñ, ŋ/

Nasality as a segment or supra-segment is a persistent element in all the speeches of the T. H. group. In fact, these are very rich in respect of nasals or nasality. Almost every tongue has at least 4 nasals, viz., the velar /ŋ/, the palatal /ñ/, the dental /n/ and the bilabial /m/ which form the integral part of the sound system of these tongues. All of them offer a clear contrast among them and consequently, have a fullfledged phonemic status. Like unaspirate plosives and liquids these too are the most radical sounds of the languages of this group. From the point of stability and distribution too their position is strong enough. Occurrence of /m/ and /n/ is unrestricted in all the positions and in all the dialects, but occurrence of the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the initial position and of the palatal nasal /ñ/ in the final position is some what restricted in some dialects, though on account of their being radical sounds of the consonantal system of these tongues, these are supposed to have no restriction at all. Any way, our data does not confirm this fact. However, a comparison of various cognates with nasal sounds shows that the nasal element, may be in the form of a fullfledged nasal segment or in the form of pure nasality, is invariably there. On the basis of these evidences, existence of all the 4 nasals can safely be postulated for the Proto-Tibeto-Himalayan base as well.

The retroflex nasal /ɳ/, however, does not seem to be an integral part of the sound system of T. H. It has sporadically been attested in a few dialects only, either as a retroflex allophone of the dental nasal /n/, when occurring before a retroflex consonant, as in /kən̄ɳhi/ necklace, or in a non-initial position of a loaned item from I. A. dialects (its occurrence in the initial position is restricted in I. A. tongues as well). For instance, (Kin.) – /rən̄ikən̄/ marriage, /saɳən̄/ lock; /rən̄es/ bridegroom; (Kan.) – /rɳɳ/ iron; /bhɳɳis/ husband; /bhɳɳiɳ/ utensils; (Patt.) – /soɳi/ ground; /niɳaɳ/ drum; (Mar.) – /bɳɳ/ forest; /sɳɳo/ plain land; /kaɳo/ blind; /gɳɳa/ stars; /duɳo/ lanc; (Dar.) – /kaɳa/ blind; (Jad.) – /ciɳiɳ/ bell (small), etc.

LIQUIDS /r, l/

Like nasals, liquids, viz., the trilled /r/ and the lateral /l/ are commonly attested in all the T. H. speeches. Both of them are quite stable sounds and are persistently attested in all the tongues under

consideration. Both of them have a wide distribution and offer ample examples of minimal pairs of contrasts between them and other correlated phones, e.g., (Patt.) – /kär/ stars : /käl/ window; /ra/ one hundred : /la/ goat; (Gar.) – /re/ also : /le/ tongue; /ro/ corpse : /lo/ age; (Tod.) – /ro/ corpse : /lo/ age; /phurce/ to fly : /phulce/ to push; (Kin.) – /re/ waist : /le/ tongue; /rim/ field : /lim/ a tree; (Jad) – /ra/ goat : /la/ for, wages; /ro/ corpse : /lo/ age; (Mar.) – /räs/ juice; /läs/ price; (Dar.) – /rän/ colour; /läñ/ bull; /ramu/ to ascend : /lamu/ to lick; (Chaud.) – /ra/ enclosure for animals : /la/ hand; /ra-/ to come : /la-/ to lick; (Johari) – /ra-/ to come : /la/ hand.

/r/

As compared with plosives, the sound /r/ attests very little variation in its articulation. The only mentionable variation attested in it is this that its vibration is some what affected by preceding or following vocalic or consonantal environments, i.e., its retroflex articulation is fully maintained with back vowels and in a non-final position, but it is some what reduced when occurring with front vowels and in the prepausal position. The inherent feature of vibration is also fully maintained when occurring as a first or second member of a consonant cluster or is followed by another consonant, e.g., (Gar.) – /bräs/ rice; /khruci/ arm; /porci/ navel; /ñerci/ beans, pulses, etc., but it is considerably reduced when occurring in cluster with a palatal or retroflex sibilant or in the final position of a word, e.g., (Gar.) – /šrib/ rib; /šrig/ louse; /mar/ purified butter; (Patt.) – /lwar/ iron smith; /ti:r/ arrow, etc.

In the dialects of the eastern group it shows a variation with /l/ or /r/ as well e.g., (Raji) – /gurän~gulän/ jaggery, /keräi~keläi/ banana; /gära~gära/ rice; (Johari) – /bakär~bakär/ goat; /dägär~dägär/ in company, with, etc.

/l/

The position of the palatal liquid /l/ too is quite stable in all the speeches of this group. It has an unrestricted occurrence and maintains the inherent quality of its articulation in all environments, though in some dialects besides its phonemic status it attests cases of free variation with /r/ – as well (See /r/).

It has very few allophonic variations. The only phonetically conditioned retroflex variant, viz., [l] is attested in a few dialects in the environment of retroflex consonants, e.g., (Patt. Tin.) – /ku|tri/ to play on an instrument; /khw|tri/ to make to drink.

However, there are a couple of dialects, viz., Marchha and Kanashi, in which the non-initial /l/ is invariably pronounced as the retroflex

variant of it, particularly in I. A. borrowed items. For instance, (Mar.) – /ma|a/ garland; /bä|d/ ox; /bira|o/ cat; /badä|/ cloud; /hā|/ a plough; (Kan.) – /phā|/ fruit; /ke|a/ banana; /näga|/ reed; /na|u/ navel; /bira|i/ cat; /da|/ pulses; /ḍa|än/ branch of tree, etc.

ASPIRATE NASALS AND LIQUIDS

Besides the phenomenon of phonetic aspiration of nasals and liquids attested in the initial position of a word (See spontaneous aspiration p. 47), there are a few dialects particularly of the Rangkas group in which it is attested at the phonemic level as well, i.e., the aspirate counterparts showing a significant contrast with their unaspirate counterparts e.g., –

- Mar. – /la/ mountain pass : /lha/ month; /lid/ heavy : /lhed/ yellow; /nar/ foot, leg : /nhar/ to throw.
- Chaud. – /rän/ colour : /rhän/ horse; /re/ field : /rhe/ bone; /ri/ also : /rhi/ story; /rad/ next : /rhad/ clean; /la/ hand : /lha/ moon, month; /lidE/ heavy : /lhidE/ yellow.
- Johari – /män/ mind : /mhän/ much, many; /niši/ two : /nhiši/ seven; /rän/ colour : /rhän/ horse; /la/ hand : /lha/ month, moon.
- Dar. – /rän/ colour : /rhän/ horse; /la/ hand : /lha/ moon, month; /ro/ bone : /rhe/ field.

FRICATIVES

SIBILANTS : /s, š, z, z/

Although sibilants are very much a part of the sound system of the T. H. tongues, yet among non-plosive consonants their occurrences are not as wide as that of nasals and liquids. These are, of course, basic sounds of all these tongues and have a full phonemic status in most of them. The most notable feature of these sounds in the sound system of T. H. is this that both, the dental sibilant /s/ and the palatal sibilant /š/ offer a contrast with their voiced counterparts, viz., with /z/ and /z/ respectively. In our data this phonemic feature of these sibilants has been attested in the following speeches :

- Kin. – /san/ touch of cedar sticks : /zan/ gold; /som/ morning, dawn : /zom/ a wooden container for water; /šu/ god : /zu/ cloud.
- Kan. – /sä/ to kill : /zä/ to eat; /ši/ to die : /zi/ to take.
- Chhit. – /sañ/ some : /zañ/ gold; /šu/ god : /zu/ cloud

- Nyam. – /su/ who ?; /zu/ salutation; /so/ tooth : /zo/ ironsmith; /ši/ to die : /zi/ four; /zun/ a lie : /zun/ centre, middle.
- Spitian – /so/ tooth : /zo/ a hybrid animal; /sa/ grass : /za/ paralysis; /su/ who ?; /zu/ body; /šu/ paper : /zu/ a bow; /ši/ to die : /zi/ four.
- Patt. – /sa/ ten : /za/ gold; /sir/ sand : /zir/ birth.
- Gar. – /sa/ day : /zā/ eat : /šu/ blood : /zu/ lip; /šäl/ dysentary : /zäl/ face (hon.).
- Tod – /sa/ grass, day : /zā/ to eat; /ši/ louse : /zi/ four; /ša/ flesh, meat : /za/ tea.
- Jad – /sa/ grass : /za/ earthen jar; /šer/ gold : /zer/ iron nail.
- Chaud. – /sa/ clay : /zā/ eat; /šya/ meat : /zya/ day.

The palatal sibilant /š/ is realized as retroflex sibilant /s/ when occurring immediately before a retroflex consonant or in loan terms with /s/. No minimal pairs of contrast of sibilants could be found for Darmiya, Marchha and Raji.

/h/

The position of the fricative sound /h/ is similar to that of the aspirate sounds in these tongues. The most favourable environment for its occurrence is the initial position. It is in this position that its existence is attested in almost all the tongues, e.g., (Kin.) - /hät/ who ?, /huni/ now; (Chhit.) - /han/ snow; /hom/ a bear; (Patt.) - /hapi/ to bring; /hyoci/ to spend; (Tin.) /hänci/ to bring; (Gar.) - /hiku/ heccup; (Tod.) - /ho/ yeast; /hyola/ low; (Sp.) - /ho/ yes; (Nyam.) - /homa/ milk; /he~hi/ letter; (Jad.) - /hot/ is; /hon/ to come; (Dar.) - /hu/ a kiss; (Chaud.) - /heli/ brass; (Mar.) - /hilo/ mud; /rhu/ father-in-law; (Raji) - /han/ branch; /ha/ hundred, etc.

Its occurrence in the medial position too, is more or less attested in almost all the speeches, as in (Patt.) /duhe/ some; (Sp.) /laha/ work; (Chhit.) - /taha/ heat; (Dar.) - /šyahi/ guest; (Raji) - /deho/ cloud; etc. But occurrence of /h/ is almost non-existent in the final position. Its aspiration is not strong enough even in the medial position and in this position its occurrence too is not widely attested. In some speeches the aspiration of this sound is tremendously weakened, particularly when occurring with back vowels, as in (Jad) - /hɔt/ = [ɔt] is, /hɔnza/ = [ɔnza] to come.

SEMI-VOWELS : /y, w/

Semi-vowels do not seem to be favoured sounds in these tongues. They have limited occurrences and in many speeches their phonemic

status too is doubtful. Though existence of /y/ and /w/ in the initial positions, singly or in combination with other consonants is, more or less, attested in most of the tongues, yet in the medial positions they invariably occur in inter-vocalic positions only, mostly as a result of glidal emergence of vocalic sequences viz., front + back or back + back vowels. Their occurrence in the final position is almost non-existent. Between the two the palatal semi-vowel /y/ is a little more frequent than the bilabial semi-vowel /w/, which in many dialects is confined to the initial syllable only and there too only as a second constituent of the initial cluster, as in /rwan~ruan/. Their phonemic contrasts too are attested mostly in the initial position only, e.g., (Kin.) - /ya/ calling attention; /wa/ nest; (Chhit.) - /ya/ mother; /wa/ to laugh; (Pat.) - /cyakci/ to prick; /cwakci/ to scratch; (Gar.) - /khyu/ dog; /khu/ smoke; /chwa/ a ceremony; /cha/ salt; (Dar.) - /ya/ either; /wa/ tiger; (Chaud.) - /ya/ a bow; /wa/ tiger; (Jad) - /šya/ flesh; /swa/ new; (Mar.) - /khyär-/ to do; /khwär-/ to bend; (Raji) - /sya/ flesh; /swa/ tooth.

Here it may also be mentioned that though existence of these semi-vowels at the phonetic level is attested in the speeches of Spiti, Tod and Johar, yet no pair of phonemic contrasts could be obtained in our data. In Spitian the semi-vowel /y/ freely varies with the vowel /i/ as in /rya~ria/ 'forest', and /w/ with the bilabial voiced plosive /b/ or the bilabial nasal /m/, as in /sirwo~sirmo/ yellow. The same is the position in Kinnauri as well.

Both the semi-vowels, in all the speeches, occur with back vowels only. In fact, it is the only environment in which they are clearly realized as semi-vowels, e.g., /yul/ country; /yok/ down; /charwa/ rain; /šya/ meat; /swa/ tooth; /chwa/ salt; /pya/ bird; /gwarmo/ a pot, etc.

PHONETIC TENDENCIES

Besides the important allophonic variants of the certain classes of consonants, pointed out in the foregoing pages, there are certain types of phonetic tendencies which are commonly attested in various classes of consonants in most of the tongues under consideration. Some of them may be presented as under:

Spontaneous Aspiration

Speakers of most of the dialects of this group exhibit a strong tendency to pronounce the initial consonants, particularly voiced plosives, nasals and liquids or the semi vowel /y/ with copious aspiration. Consequently, they are, phonetically, realized as their aspirate

counterparts, e.g., (*Patt.*) - /lhe/ tongue, /rhu/ < /ru/ father-in-law; /nhiza/ twenty; (*Tin.*) - /rhu/ father-in-law; /rhuspa/ bone; /lhazi/ to do; /nhiz/ 20 etc. (*Tod.*) - /dho?pa/ < Tib. *dod-pa*-belly, /d'ara/ < *dara* butter milk; /b'ece/ < *bcd-pa* to conceal; /d'ampa/ < *dampa* cheek; /ghepo/ < *gad-po* old man; /bhuca/ < *buca* boy, son; /dha/ < *da* arrow, /bhu/ < *bu* insect; /ghu/ < *gu* nine, etc. (*Nyam.*) - /d̄hom/ < Tib. *dom* a bear; /d̄hu/ < *do* boat, /phomo/ < *pomo* girl; /homa/ < *oma* milk; /hyul/ < *yul* country, village; /rhig-pa/ < *rig-pa* brain, /lham/ < *lam* path etc. (*Sp.*) - /d̄hom/ a bear; /dha/ arrow; /d̄hemo/ < Tib. *demo* beautiful; /dhara/ butter milk; /homa/ milk; /hyul/ country; /hin/ < *in*, yin is, are, /nhag-po/ < *nāg-po* black, /mhale/ < *male* chin. (*Jad*) - /d̄hi/ knife; /d̄hā/ counting; /pho/ < *pomo* daughter; /d̄ho/ *do* to go; /h̄n/ < *on* to come; /nhul/ < *nul* silver; /mhän/ < *man* medicine; /nha/ tail; /chiu/ < *ciu* bird; /mhon-po/ blue etc. (*Kin.*) - /lhasta/ < *lasta*, axe; /rhan/ < *rañ*-horse; /hyume/ < *yume* mother-in-law; /rhig/ < *rig* louse; /rhäg/ < *räg* stone, etc. (*Mar.*) - /bhu/ < *bu* snake; /dhapan/ to give; /d̄hano/ < *đano* hill top; /bhalän/ < *balan* cow, ox, /cham/ < *cäm* wool; /mhän/ drug; /mhe/ < *me* fire; /rhe/ to come, /rhig/ louse; /rhu/ father-in-law; /rhäc/ loom; /rhinja/ sister; /lha/ month; /rhäs/ mare; /rha/ shyness; /nhabän/ to dance; /nhošyc/ utensil. (*Chaud.*) - /thun/ < *tun* to drink, /chäm/ < *cäm* hair; /dhun/ < *duñ* to beat; /ghwal-mo/ to rub; /d̄hami/ marriage party; /jhän/ axe; /rhukun/ bank of river; /rhän/ horse; /rhinja/ sister; /rhad/ clean; /lha/ month. (*Dar.*) - /rhän/ horse; /rhäm/ breakfast; /rhic-mu/ to arise; (*Johari*) - /mha/ not; /whe/ that; /rha-/ bring; /rhu-/ ask; /rhän/ horse; /rhinsya/ sister, etc.

Besides, there are dialects like Raji, Kanashi and Spitian in which it occurs in free variation with unaspirate counterparts. (*Raji*) - /mhE/ ~ /mE/ fire; /mhi?ke/ ~ /mi?ke/ eye; /nhi~ni/ two; /nhiko~niko/ good; /dhangu~dangu/ old ox, etc. (*Kan.*) - /idh~id/ one; /bhitin~bitin/ tree; /bhoic~boic~boich/ brother; /rhod~rod/ car; /hoda~oda/ bread; /häcig~äcig/ became; etc. (*Sp.*) - /bhag-po~bag-po/ bridegroom; /dhan~dan/ yesterday; /dhara~dara/ butter milk; /d̄ho~do/ to go; /jha~ja~ca/ bird.

Fricativization

Fricativization of velar sounds is another notable phonetic feature of many of the speeches of this group. In this the velar plosives, viz. /k, kh, g/ are realized as their glottal fricative counterparts in specific environments. The environment for the realization of /k/ and /g/ as /q/ and /g/ respectively is the occurrence of the preceding glottal

constriction and that of /x/ is not clear. The dialects in which this feature has been attested are the following ones. (Here the sign /ʔ/ stands for the place of glottal constriction).

(Patt.) - /thagci/ → [thaʔqci] to break; /dag-po/ → [daʔq-po] husband;
/zorog/ → [zoroʔq] rock; /bakhthan/ → [baxthan] marriage;
/bäkhsär/ → [bäxsär] bride.

(Gar.) - /dag-po/ → [daq-po] husband; /lagʔthil/ → [laʔqthil] palm;
/sog-pa/ → [sɔʔ-pa] wing; /cags/ → [caʔqs] iron; /yekha/
→ [yexa] are going; /zakhag/ → [zaxag] they eat.

(Tod.) - /lag/ → [laʔq] hand; /kho/ → [xo] he; /lcha/ → [lexa] work;
/khärma/ → [xärma] I wish, etc.

(Nyam.) - /daʔqpo/ husband; /akhc/ → [axe] bad; /kholdak/ [xɔldaʔq]
garland, etc.

(Jad.) - /laʔqpa/ hand; /sokh/ → [sɔx] wings; /tag/ → [taʔg] tiger;
/laha/ → [laxa] work, etc.

(Chaud.) - In Chaudangsi this phenomenon takes place when a velar sound is followed by a palatal sound, as in /tog-ca/ → [toqca] adge; /lugca/ → [luqca] buttocks; /agcham/ → [agcham] beard. It seems that in the past these dialects too had the phenomenon of glottalization as a part of their sound system which in the course of historical development is no more attested there, but its impact on the neighbouring sounds is still realized there, though very weakly.

Devoicing

Most of the languages of this group are predominantly vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending, as such only a few of the plosive consonants occur in the word final positions. But the articulation of the few plosives that occur in this position becomes weak, may be due to higher accent on the initial syllable. As a result of this the final plosive is heard indeterminately and its voice and aspiration too is reduced in every way.

Devoicing: Voiced plosives, /g, d, b/ when occurring in the final position of a word or before a voiceless sound are usually devoiced. Consequently, these are realized as their voiceless counterparts, e.g., (Kin.) - /mig/ → [mik] eye; /id/ → [it] 'one'; (Chhit.) - /chad/ → [chat] son-in-law; /stug/ → [tuk] chest; (Sp.) - /khyod/ → [khyot] you; /khab/ → [khap] needle; /gyab/ → [gyap] back; (Nyam.) - /cig/ → [cik] one; /nag-po/ → [nak-po] black; /kagce/ → [kakce] a crow; (Pau.) - /tub/ → [tup] fish; /mod/ → [mot] face; /khog/ → [khok] belly; (Tin.) -

/zug/ → [zuk] illness; /mig/ → [mik] eye; /zad/ → [zat] barley; (Gar.) - /cemed/ → [cemet] girl; /zig/ → [zik] hyeana; /läb/ → [läp] leaf; (Tod.) - /nub/ → [nup] west; /gyab/ → [gyap] back; /ñäb/ → [ñäp] rain; (Dar.) - /phyäd/ → [phyät] half; /zyäd/ → [zyät] height; (Chaud.) - /lag-chäb/ → [laq-chäp] ring; /ag-chäm/ → [ak-chäm] beard; (Johari) - /dug/ → [duk] all; /tug/ → [tuk] six; /phyäd/ → [phyät] half; (Mar.) - /labca/ → [lapca] ring; /lag/ → [lak] hand; [chetpa] perspiration. (Jad.) - /ked/ → [ket] sound; /thog/ → [thok] roof; /cig-po/ → [cik-po] alone.

Checked Consonants

Besides the general occurrence of the above described consonants. T. H. languages, like Munda languages, have a notable consonantal feature termed as 'checked consonants' in the parlance of linguistics. Basically, it is a Munda feature and is traceable in pronominalized T. H. languages as well in which the Munda languages form their substratum. In some of them this feature is receding gradually, under the influence of I. A. or T. B. languages on account of their long contact with them, but in some it is still being maintained to a considerable extent. According to Bhattacharya (1975 : 96), "The Munda languages at one time used certain restrictions about the use of final consonants. Exploded stops could be used in it only in the initial and medial positions in early times. But when a stop was used at the end of a word it did not explode, and the arrested breath petered out generally through the nose, many unexploded stops are still in use in the modern languages of Munda." Besides the phenomenon of non explosion, these stops exhibit the phenomenon of pre-glottalization as well.

Although nothing, definitely, can be said about the earlier stages and nature of plosion of word final plosives in T. H., the present data exhibits this feature in voiced stops (g, d, b) only. It is just likely that unvoiced stops have this feature in proto forms of these dialects. For, in our data we have also come across this phenomenon with a vl. stops, occurring in this position, e.g., /conco?k/ god. That the phenomenon of checked consonants is confined to the word final position only may be confirmed from the fact that when such a consonant is followed by a vowel or a suffix or another word it emerges as a normal voiced stop and there is no noticeable preglottalization in it.

Glottal Stop

Phonetically glottal stop is some thing different from a checked consonant. It is a glottal closure of the breath stopped behind the vocal

cords and precedes the checked consonant forming a cluster with it, though in many dialects, it has developed a dual character, i.e., some times realized as glottal stop as in Tod and Spiti, an sometimes as checked consonant as in Gari or fully released stop as in Jad. But still both the features are to be recognized as distinct ones, because a checked consonant, i.e., pre-glottalized unexploded stop, occurs in the final position only, whereas the phenomenon of glottalization can take place in the medial position as well, as in /laʔthil/ palm, /soʔpa/ wing; /laʔpa/ hand. Moreover, it can take place independent of the checked consonants as well, e.g., /laʔ/ vulture; /zuʔ/ ill, pain; on the other hand when a checked consonant is followed by a vowel or a suffix or another word it loses its glottal constriction and is realized as a plosive stop, e.g., /miʔ/ eye; but /miʔgäm/ eye brow; /laʔ/ hand; /laʔgthil/ palm; /caʔ/ iron; /caʔgsa/ iron smith.

Like Munḍa in these dialects too the emergence of a glottal stop seems to be a residue of a glottalized checked consonant or loss of a consonant in the process of the development of these languages, e.g., /miʔ/ < /mig/ eye; /caʔ/ < /cag/ iron; /riʔ/ < /rig/ louse; /luʔ/ < /lug/ sheep; /iʔ/ < /id/ one; /moʔ/ < /mod/ face; /taʔ/ < /tag/ tiger, etc.

In Raji dialect the consonants belonging to the class of checked consonants (i.e., pre-glottalized unexploded stops) are - /k, c, t, p, d/. These consonants, in a non-initial position are invariably preceded by glottal closer, there being no release of breath, e.g., /moraʔk/ peacock; /gaʔd/ rivulet; /leʔk/ peak; /miʔtan/ wife.

The feature of glottalization is attested almost in all the dialects of this group, except the Rangkas or eastern Bhotia group which due to its speakers' close contact with the I. A. speakers of the region seems to have lost it. Though we have not been able to record significant phonemic contrasts of the presence vs. absence of the glottal stop for all the dialects under consideration, yet its existence found in some dialects under consideration, is a pointer to the fact that this is a stable feature of these dialects and can safely be postulated for the sound system of Proto-Tibeto-Himalayan as well. The phonemic feature of glottalization or glottal stop attested in Tod, Spitian and Nyamkad can be illustrated as under:

- Tod – /taʔce/ to lift : /tace/ to see; /zuʔ/ pain : /zu/ finger; /saʔce/ to burn : /sace/ to spit; /laʔ/ vulture : /la/ in, to; /luʔ/ sheep : /lu/ work.
- Spiti. – /luʔ/ lamb : /lu/ song; /zoʔ/ ironsmith : /zo/ hybrid animal; /phuʔ/ cave : /phu/ a blow of breath.

Nyam. – /phu?/ cave : /phu/ a blow of breath; /lu?/ sheep : /lu/ song. Some of the examples of this feature recorded for various tongues may be presented as below:

Chhit. – The basic sounds /g/ and /d/ are invariably glottalized when occurring in a pre-pausal or pre-junctural position, as in /mi?/ < /mig/ eye, /rā?/ < /rag/ stone; /ca?/ < /cag/ iron, barley; /ri?/ < /rig/ louse; /i ?/ < /id/ one.

Nyam. – /phu?/ < /phug/ cave, /ca?/ < /cag/ iron; /lu?/ < /lug/ sheep; /chu?po/ < /chug-po/ wealthy; /tha?to?/ meals.

Sp. – /lu?/ < /lug/ sheep; /phu?/ < /phug/ cave; /ca?/ < /cag/ iron; /yo?ʈ/ < /yod/ is, are; /hino?/ < /hinog/ became; /chuto?/ beak.

Kin. – /mi?g/ eye; /stu?g/ chest; /ta?g/ barley.

Patt. – /tha?qci/ to break; /mo?ʈ/ < /mod/ face; /ti?gli?g/ egg.

Gar. – /la?qhil/ palm; /ta?q/ leopard; /so?qpa/ wing; /da?qpo/ busband; /mo?ʈ/ face. (In this the phenomenon of fricativization of the velar stop takes place when it is preceded by the glottal stop); as in /konco?k/ god.

Tod – /la?thil/ palm; /sa?po/ < /sag-po/ brother-in-law; /so?pa/ /sog-pa/ wing; /mi?pu/ < /mig-spu/ eyebrow; /la?pa/ < /lag-pa/ hand; /ri?pa/ < /rid-pa/ weak; /lo?ma/ < /lod-ma/ leaf; /dho?mo/ < /dog-po/ narrow; /ca?/ iron; /khyo?/ < /khyod/ you; /su?po/ < /sug-po/ body.

Jad. – /medo?k/ flower; /ca?g/ iron; /la?gpa/ hand; /phero?/ < /pherog/ evening; /ta?/ < /tag/ tiger; /bakso?/ bad.

Kan. – As in Chhitkuli in this too the voiced plosives occurring in a pre-pausal position are glottalized. Consequently, the plosion of the plosive concerned is checked by the glottal constriction and the plosive in question is indeterminately realized as its voiceless counterpart, as in /te?k/ < /teg/ big, great; /thi?ʈ/ < /thid/ to-day; /gu?ʈ/ < /gud/ hand.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

From the detailed analysis of the consonantal system of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages presented in the preceding 5 volumes of the series 'Studies in T. H. Languages' and in the brief survey given in the foregoing pages of this volume, it can safely be concluded that from the point of stability and uniformity the position of consonantal sounds is not the same in these speeches as we find it in the case of basic vowels.

However, on the basis of availability of minimal pairs of phonemic contrasts and wide range of distribution it may be said that the position of unaspirate plosives, both voiced and un-voiced, nasals, liquids and sibilants is more stable than that of others. Palatal affricates, aspirate nasals and liquids, voiced counterparts of sibilants, though are very much a part of the sound system of these tongues, yet their existence is not universally attested. The phenomenon of checked consonants and of the glottal constriction too is confined to tongues of the western Himalayan and Tibetan groups only.

With regard to aspiration it may be stated that the limited occurrence of it, independent or in association with consonantal elements, indicates that it is not a favoured element in these speeches. Moreover, it does not offer a uniform pattern for all the languages and the frequency and the distribution of the aspirate phones too is very low as compared with other sounds of these tongues.

With regard to distribution or positional occurrence of the consonantal phonemes, the notable points are - (I) Normally, all the consonants but /n/ and /r/ can occur in the initial position, occurrence of /n/ and /ñ/ in this position is limited to the languages of the western pronominalized group and of the Tibetan group, viz., Jad, Tod, Sp., and Nyam., only.

(II) Occurrence of plosives, particularly aspirate plosives, is very much restricted in the final position. Voiced aspirates or /h/ do not occur at all in this position and the occurrence of unvoiced aspirates too is rarely attested, i.e., only in I. A. loans in the languages of the Rangkas group. The same is the case with affricates, spirants, semi-vowels and retroflex consonants, except /r/. The only plosives occurring in the final position are unaspirate voiced stops which in most of the cases are pre-glottalized or checked.

(III) The most favoured sounds occurring in the word final position are—vowels, nasals, and liquids. There being no restriction to their occurrence in any position.

(IV) Among aspirants the dental sibilant /s/ has a wider distribution than the other two; viz., /ʃ/ and /s/. In some dialects occurrence of a sibilant is restricted in the final position and in some it is totally missing there. The retroflex sibilant /ʂ/ is attested in a few dialects of the western pronominalized groups only and that too in a non-initial position, either in the vicinity of a retroflex consonant or in I. A. loans. It is not a regular sound of the sound system of the languages of the T. H. group. Occurrence of other retroflex consonants

too is very marginal. They are mostly attested either in I. A. loans or when in conjunction with the vibrant sound /r/, particularly when the preceding component is a dental one, as in (Patt.) /kuṭri/ to say; /känṭhi/ necklace, etc.

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

With regard to consonant clusters it may be said that most of the tongues of this group are quite rich in this matter. There is an extensive scope for the occurrence of various types of consonant clusters in almost all the dialects, though, on account of their vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending nature there is very little scope for the occurrence of these clusters in the final position. As such the favourable environments are the initial and the medial positions only.

Excepting Kinnauri and Pattani, the number of constituent members of the initial cluster is normally two. In this Kinnauri occupies a unique position by offering clusters of a sibilant plus a plosive which are quite uncommon in modern languages of I. A. group, e.g., /spu/ hair on the body; /stupe/ palm; /zga/ saddle; /skat/ language; /sgui/ nine; /sto/ face; /spac/ grand-son, etc. In others the second member is invariably a semi-vowel or a liquid. However, in case of a nasal or liquid as the first member the second member is mostly the fricative /h/ as in, /nh-/ , /lh-/ /rh-/ , /mh-/ etc. Moreover, there are at least two dialects of the Lahuli group in which a sibilant plus a liquid also constitute the member of an initial cluster, as in (Gari) - /srib/ rib; /sṛin/ cloud; /srig-/ louse, (Tod) - /šrin/ cloud, etc.

The only language that permits a three member consonant cluster constituting a sibilant + a plosive + a semi-vowel is Kinnauri, as in /skli/ urine; /sgyäl/ lane; /skyo/ male; /skwan-/ to melt, to boil. Though there are a few examples of three member initial clusters in a few other dialects as well, but in them the constituents of this pattern of cluster are all non-plosive consonants, e.g., (Patt.) - /lhwär/ an indigineous bread; /lhwar/ ironsmith; /nhwā/ younger brother, etc. (Johari) - /mhyän/ name. From the point of consonant clusters the most favourable environment for their occurrence is the medial position, in which clusters of various combinations are, usually, attested in all the speeches, the usual combination being - (1) plosive + plosive; (2) plosive + liquid/semi vowel/fricative; (3) nasal/liquid/fricative + liquid, liquid + nasal, liquid + sibilant, sibilant + plosive, plosive + sibilant. For details of examples see respective volumes on T.H.L., (1988-92).

However, occurrence of three member clusters, across the syllable

boundary is not at all uncommon in any dialect. In this the only restriction that has come to our notice is that no speech normally permits occurrence of two stops as the first two members of it, i.e., one of them must be a non-plosive, preferably a nasal or a liquid and the third one invariably being a semi-vowel or liquid. The commonly attested patterns of 3 member medial clusters are - (1) liquid + plosive + semi-vowel; (2) nasal + plosive + liquid; (3) nasal + plosive + sibilant; (4) plosive + plosive + liquid; (5) nasal + sibilant + semi-vowel; (6) plosive + sibilant + plosive, e.g., (Kin.) /omšya/ first; /länšya/ door; /sturpya/ bat; /duŋgyur/ praying wheel; (Patt.) /omdra/ snake; /nwändri/ to pull; /tangse/ to open; /trikthri/ to chop; /cangse/ white; (Tin.) - /khwaltri/ to feed; (Gar.) - /sulgyud/ flour; /älkyoci/. (Tod.) - /nolgya/ to wrestle; (Chaud.) - /chonkro/ basket; /jugjya/ mud; (Mar.) - /nänsya/ daughter-in-law; /orgya/ in olden days; /soslya/ dusk, etc.

However, in this respect Gari attests a pattern in which the sequence of the constituents of three member medial clusters is attested as plosive + sibilant + plosive, as in /cigspa/ ankle; /gogste/ to cough; /grogspo/ river, etc. Moreover, this is the only speech which regularly attests a four member consonant cluster in this position, in which the sequence of constituents is a nasal + plosive + sibilant + plosive, as in /chongste/ a jump; /langspa/ steam; /yangskin/ dinner; /lingste/ to float; /wangste/ to leak, to drip.

As stated above, on account of their being primarily vowel ending tongues, the scope for the occurrence of final cluster is very limited in almost all the speech forms. There are dialects, like Tod, Jad, Raji, Nyam; Spitian, etc., which do not attest any cluster in this position. The few dialects in which occurrence of final clusters is attested is limited to loan terms from the I. A., dialects, e.g., (Dar.) /šärt/ a bet; /närk/ hell; /purb/ east; etc. (Kan.) - /dhärt/ earth; /närk/ hell; /thind/ slave, etc. In others too their occurrence is limited to a few examples only.

The only speech that attests this feature regularly in this position is Gari. It allows even a three member cluster in this position, though the last member is invariably a sibilant, e.g., /thrims/ judgement; /trugs/ sweat; /thabs/ to fight; /kyugs/ ashes; /kwags/ vegetable; /zongs/ copper; /srangs/ horse, etc.

GEMINATION

Although lengthening of certain classes of consonants in certain predictable environments, particularly when emphasis is intended on a particular syllable, is not un-common in these tongues, yet the

phenomenon of gemination is not a significant feature in any of them. There are, however, certain dialects in which it is maintained to some extent in borrowed items, having geminated forms in the source language, e.g., /phulli/ nose screw; /uttar/ north; /hissa/ share; /mächhär/ mosquito, etc. But in our data we could not come across any example showing significant contrast between a simple and geminated consonant of any class.

SYLLABIFICATION

As in the languages of the I. E. group, in these languages too, a syllable is the basic constituent of a word, the minimal meaningful unit of the language. The constituents of a syllabic unit are a nucleus which is one of the vowel phonemes set up for the language, + consonantal margins, occurring on either side of it. Thus a syllable may have a zero margin (a vowel alone) or a linguistically permissible simple (i.e., a single consonant) or complex (a consonant cluster or a geminated consonant) margin on either side of it. The consonant/consonants preceding the syllable 'peak' or 'nucleus' are termed as 'onset' margins, and those following it are termed as 'coda' margins. In some languages there may be restrictions on the occurrence of consonants as onset margins or coda margins of particular syllable peaks, e.g., in Kinnauri the semi-vowels /y/ cannot constitute the onset margin of the syllable peaks /i/ and /e/ and the /w/ of the syllable peak /u/ and /o/. In a complex onset margin too these semi-consonants cannot constitute the first component of it.

But in most of the tongues, 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.

Patterns of Syllabic Units

On the basis of the analysis of monosyllabic words it has been found that the commonly permissible syllabic structure in all the languages is of the following nature: (Here 'v' represents the syllable peak, including a nasalized one, and 'c' a syllable margin, including an aspirated segment); /v/, /vc/, /cv/, /vcv/, /ccv/, /vcc/, /ccvc/, /cvcc/, there the above noted patterns are commonly attested in all the languages under consideration. But there are tongues like Kin., Patt., Gar., Johari, Mar. & Chhit. which besides the above patterns attest patterns like /ccvcc/ as in (Kin.) - /prink/ wet; /stupc/ palm; (Gar.) - /kyugs/ ashes; /phribs/ sneeze; (Mar.) - /khyagt/ sweet; (Chhit.) -

/khyacc/ alone, etc. Besides there are tongues like Kin., Patt., Tin., and Johari in which the patterns of 3 member onset or coda margins are also attested, as in (Kin.) - */skli/* urine; */skyo/* male (adj.); */sgyäl/* lane; (Patt.) - */nhwã/* younger brother; */hwär/* a big cake; (Gar.) - */zongs/* copper; */srangs/* horse; (Mar.) - */mhyän/* name, etc. But the number of words belonging to these patterns is very small, to be counted on fingers.

With respect to syllabic units of a word it may be mentioned that in disyllabic or polysyllabic words these very patterns are repeated in permissible syllabic sequences of the language concerned. Normally, these can occur in any sequence without any restrictions in the occurrence of their order, but not without exceptions. (For details see 'Studies in T. H. L.' 1988-92).

Syllabic Division

The syllabic division, primarily, depends on the preceding and the following environments of the syllable peak. Normally, the syllabic cut falls at the weakest link between each pair of successive syllables, determined by linguistic forces like accent (i.e., higher stress), quantity of the syllable peak, or the pattern of the syllable concerned.

In the matter of syllabic groupings all the languages under consideration follow a common pattern, i.e., the vowel is the nucleus (peak) of the syllable, and consonants preceding or following it are the peripheri/margins. As such other things being equal, in open syllables the consonantal onset margin/margins of the initial syllable peak are grouped with it for the purpose of forming the syllabic unit and the succeeding consonants go with the succeeding syllable-peak, e.g., (Mar.) */mwari/* bee; */buti/* milk, the consonants preceding the vowels */a/* and */u/* are grouped with these syll. peaks and the succeeding consonants go with the succeeding syllable peaks. Thus dividing the syllable as */mwa-ri/*, */bu-ti/*.

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 is that the first member of this interlude 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 a syllabic pattern like */cvccv/* or */cevcvc/* or */cvccvc/* etc. The syllabic division will be as */cvc-cv/* or */cevc-cvc/* and */cvc-cevc/*, etc. e.g. (Kin.) - */chan-te/* clever. */kwäl-mig/* to change.

However, in the above mentioned patterns of complex interludes if the second 'c' of the succeeding syllable is a liquid or semi-vowel

than the syllable cut falls between the first 'v' and the first 'c', e.g., (Dar.) - /che-sya/ cousin sister; /gwal-cya/ lock; (Jad.) - /khib-syan/ wolf; (Mar.) - /gwäs-kya/ when ? /sos-lya/ dusk; (Kin.) - /gun-gya-le/ bride.

ACCENTUAL SYSTEM

The importance of the accentual system in a human tongue may be determined from the fact that it has been termed as "the soul of human speech behaviour". But every human speech has its own accentual system, that makes the linguistic behaviour socially acceptable to all the members of that speech community. There can hardly be any living linguistic behaviour, absolutely devoid of accent. For, in the absence of this the music of the human speech sound will no more be there and it will be a quite disgusting affair to listen to monotonous utterances of the speakers. It is, of course, a different question whether in a particular language the accent is predominantly stress/pitch or both on a particular syllable of a given meaningful utterance.

The position of accent is not very clear in the languages of the T. H. group. Though both stress and pitch accents with varying degrees of prominence are there, yet in most of the speech forms they are of the phonetic nature only. In an utterance, however, the syllable with stress accent is uttered with a greater force of breath than others and is also heard prominently, some times adding a non-phonemic aspiration to the onset margin of the syllable peak concerned.

In a native word the stronger force is, usually, attested in the initial syllable of a disyllabic or poly-syllabic word. Besides, a close mono-syllabic word almost invariably carries a stress accent. In poly-syllabic words, however, a shift in the natural place of accent is possible under morphological or paralinguistic environments.

Though existence of one or the other kind of accent is invariably there in all the speech forms, yet the pattern is not uniform in all the member dialects of this group. The accentual habits of the speakers of different linguistic areas differ in nature of accent or its stressing patterns (for details see respective sections of respective volumes of the series 'Studies in T.H.L.').

In this context, it may also be mentioned that historically most of the speech forms under consideration belong to the family of languages, viz., Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic, which, basically, are mono-syllabic in which the higher accent is on the stem vowel to which are affixed other stems or formative affixes.

Some of the salient features of the accentual system of these tongues which have come to our notice may be mentioned as under:

I. Generally, the nature of accent is associated with quantity of the syllable peak which bears it, i.e., the dynamo-quantitative feature of accent in these tongues has been noticed as stress accent: short quantity, and pitch accent : long quantity. From the point of prominence it may be mentioned that the syllable with stress accent is associated with greater degree of prominence, though shorter in quantity and weaker in loudness, but the syllable having a pitch accent is invariably associated with loudness and longer quantity.

II. Other things being equal, in monosyllabic words a close syllable carries a stress accent and an open syllable a pitch accent, e.g., /'mig/ eye; /'mi/ man; /'sum/ three; /'su/ what? /kim/ house; /'khi/ dog.

III. Syllables ending in a glottal stop or a checked consonants are uttered with a stronger respiratory force than others, e.g., /la?'thil/ palm; /meto?/ flower; /da?'qpo/ husband; /la?pa/ hand; /so?pa/ wing, etc. (For more examples, see supra p. 50-53 'Glottalization').

However, there are some speeches of this group in which the phenomenon of accent is attested at the phonemic level as well. This feature of these tongues may be presented as below:

Patt. – /ká/ chest : /ka/ walnut; /sí/ furrow : /si/ dead; /m'é/ fire : /me/ without; /ré/ naval : /re/ eight.

Jad. – /ná/ oath : /na/ bride or daughter-in-law; /lá/ cave : /la/ for, also; /ó/ breath : /o/ a kiss; /sá/ vien : /sa/ grass.

Tin. – /lá/ moon : /la/ goat; /län/ air : /län/ reply.

Sp. – /ná/ nose : /na/ five.

The contrastive feature of accent could not be recorded in any other speech. An exhaustive analysis of these tongue may bring to light some more instances of it.

Tonalized Accent

Besides, there are certain dialects in which the open syllable peak of a monosyllabic word too is uttered with a strong accent, accompanied with a high falling tone. This accentual feature is attested in Kanashi, Pattani, Tinani and Jad. Historically, in some cases it seems to be a compensatory feature for the loss of pure aspiration, i.e., /h/, occurring in this position. In others, however, it seems to have developed analogically. The few examples of this feature available to us are as follows:

Kan. – /tá/ nose; /ú/ water; /cí/ grass; /pú/ flower.

- Patt. - /mé/ fire; /gó/ hill; /á/ mouth, beak.
 Tin. - /mé/ fire; /gó/ hill; /á/ lip; /mí/ man.
 Jad. - /ló/ age; /lá/ cave; /rá/ cloth.

It may be interesting to mention here that most of the above mentioned accentual features of the T. H. tongues are identically attested in Munḍa languages as well, (cf. Bhattacharya, 1975 : 72).

Part II

MORPHOLOGY

Grammatical Structure

The grammatical structure of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages is to be viewed in the background of the grammatical structure of the languages forming the sub-strata of these tongues. Historically, it has been established that most of these tongues have their generic relationship with all the 4 major linguistic groups of this sub-continent, viz., Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic, Indo-European and Dravidian.

We shall, for the presentation of a consolidated comparative picture of the grammatical structure of all the speech forms under consideration, primarily concentrate on the broad areas of substantives and verbs which commonly share most of the morphological elements or grammatical categories attested in them.

WORD

Being the basic functional unit of the language and also the basis of all morphological constructions, a word, may be phonological or morphological, occupies an important place in the linguistic analysis of any language.

As in other languages in these too a word can be both a phonological (lexical) unit or a morphological (grammatical) unit, having their own structure and constituents.

Constituents of a Word: The immediate constituents of a phonological word are syllables which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences between the two successive junctures and are also capable of conveying a single concept. In the languages under consideration the number of these constituent syllables could, normally, be from one to three, though usually two. Phonological words with more than three syllables are rare and are attested in morphological words only, and that too in the languages of the Himalayan group. The languages of the Tibetan group which predominantly are of the mono-syllabic pattern, normally maintain this characteristic in their word structure. There the poly-syllabic words are

either compound words or the morphological extensions of the primary words.

Phonological Word: A phonological word/a substantive, may be monomorphemic or poly-morphemic, has the following characteristics which are common to all the speeches under consideration:

(I) It may begin with any vowel or consonant except /n/, /r/ and /s/. Occurrence of /n/ and /ñ/ too in this position is attested almost in all the speeches, except in Johari, Mar., and Raji.

(II) Normally, a native word ends in a vowel, or a non-plosive consonant, but rarely in an aspirate plosive or /h/, and sporadically in a semi-consonant.

(III) Occurrence of a conjunct in the initial position is confined to a combination in which the second constituent is invariably a semi-vowel, a liquid or /h/. The only exception to this being the Kinnauri language in which a combination of a sibilant with a plosive is allowed, as in /skli/ urine; /sto/ face; /zga/ saddle, etc. Occurrence of a 3 member cluster in the initial position too is not allowed, in any except in Kin. and Patt.

(IV) No native word ends in a consonant cluster. It is not a basic element of the word structure in these tongues. Such clusters are attested only in loan words from the I.A. stock. The only tongue allowing a cluster in this position is Gari, as in /zoŋgs/ copper; /maŋgs/ dream; etc.

(V) Aspirate plosives, particularly voiced ones, do not occur in the non-initial position of a native word.

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

Morphological Word: Morphologically the constituent characteristics of a word in these tongues are:

(I) It may be a free morpheme (the minimal meaningful unit of the language concerned).

(II) May be a combination of two bound morphemes, provided the new combination is a free morphological construction (a primary word).

(III) May be a combination of a free morpheme, and one or more bound morphemes (secondary word).

Word Classes: Most of the scholars who have worked on the languages of the primitive people have pointed out that these tongues do not follow the rigid division of parts of speech usually attested in cultivated speeches. In them they have found a state of generalness with

regard to their vocabulary items. There it has been noticed that these vocabulary items are treated as carriers of certain ideas which in their contextual usage can be used as a noun, adjective, verb or even post-position.

But so far as the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group are concerned we may say that though some of them do exhibit in limited items this feature of the primitive speeches, but now a majority of them exhibit the characteristics of classified vocabulary, except in the case of adj., and abstract nouns, i.e., in most of the tongues of this group there are no distinguishing terms for words like 'long' and 'length', 'high' and 'height', 'white' and 'whiteness', etc.

But on the whole we find that synchronically most of them have exclusive sets of words being used as nouns, pronouns, modifiers, verbs, etc. However, there are areas like kinship terms in which the classificatory terms for a number of kins extending over different sexes, generations and lineages are commonly used. Similarly, there are a number of verbal categories in which the minor shades of their forms and functions are expressed with distinct stems in cultivated languages, but in many of them no such a distinction is available. There they are indiscriminately denoted by a single term.

However, on the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic positions the word classes attested in these tongues are—nouns, pronouns, modifiers, verbs and enclitics. Normally, words of substantive and verb classes enter into various types of morphological inflections, whereas others do not. As such words belonging to former classes are variable and those belonging to the latter classes are invariable or non-flectional. Of all the word classes, entering into morphological constructions, verbs and pronouns exhibit the maximum number of complexities in their inflection and syntactic behaviour.

Word-formation: The morphological processes employed for the formation of poly-morphemic words are—prefixation, suffixation, juxtaposition, reduplication and compounding. Of these the devices of suffixation and compounding or juxtaposition are usually employed to form nominal, adjectival and adverbial stems. In verbal stems the most commonly employed devices are compounding and reduplication. Various grammatical elements, involving these classes of words may be explained as follows:

NOUN

Syntactically, a noun can be defined that class of word which

functions as subject of a verb or object of a transitive verb and can take case suffixes. Besides, it may also function as a predicate or complement of a verb of incomplete predication. Morphologically, a noun takes grammatical categories of number and cases only. The gender category, on account of the absence of the grammatical gender in these tongues, is attested only in a few I.A. loans, used by the Himalayan tongues of the Rangkas (eastern Bhotia) group. Besides, a noun may also be followed by post-positions to indicate various case relations.

Noun Classes : Like Mundari and Dravidian the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group exhibit two broad classes of nominal stems, viz., animate and inanimate. Of these the former is further divisible into the human and non-human classes. The basis for this type of classifications may be explained as under:

(I) Nouns belonging to the animate human class can be inflected for all the two/three numbers and for all the cases, except the locative.

(II) In human nouns the gender category is distinguished by distinct terms for the pairs of male and female sexes, but in nouns belonging to non-human animate class it is affected by means of prefixes and suffixes, indicative of the sense 'male' and 'female' or 'he' and 'she', if at all necessary. In Patt. the terms used to denote the 'male' and 'female' species have two distinct sets for human and non-human animate beings. For instance, all epicene terms for human beings prefix the terms /gañ/ and /mcc-/ to indicate the masculine and the feminine gender of it, as in /gañmi/ 'man' (= male human being); /mcc-mi/ woman (= female human being) or /gankātu) boy (= male child); /mcc-mi-kātu) girl (=female-human-child); but in case of non-human beings the gender indicative terms are - /baza/ 'male' and /minṇa/ 'female', as in /baza thär/ tiger (= male tiger); /minṇa thär/ tigress (= female tiger), etc. In Chhit. & Kin. the prefixo-suffixal distinction is indicated with /de/ 'male' and /morin/ 'female' for human beings, as in /de-äci/ boy; /morin äci/ girl, but /rañ-skyo rañ/ horse; /manṭ rañ/ mare.

(III) Inanimate nouns are neither inflected for the number and case categories, nor are marked for their gender.

(IV) In respect of case markers too, the nominal stems of this class take distinct case markers, particularly, in respect of locative case. For instance, in Chhit. animate nouns take the post-position /du/ for the loc. case and the inanimate nouns take /niñ/. Similarly, in Kin. in ablative case animate nouns follow a genitive base and take the postposition /dwakc/~/dokc/, but the inanimate nouns follow a locative

base and take the suffix /-c/ only. Similarly, in the acc.-dative cases the human nouns take case markers, whereas the others do not. In Munda, however, this feature is particularly noticeable in acc. and poss. cases only.

(V) In Kin. & Kan. this distinction is maintained in respect of naturalizing suffixes as well (see, *infra* p. 69 suffixation).

(VI) There are dialects in which this distinction is manifested in non-personal pronouns, numerals and adjective as well. In Kin. in case of aggregative numerals the particle taken for human being is /ki/ and for non-human being is /i/. as in /nis-ki/ both (hum.) and /nisi/ both (non-hum.), /sum-ki/ : /sumi/ all the three, /cäiki/ : /cäi/ all. In Dar. it is attested as /mi/ (hum.) and /ri/ (non hum.) : /ni-mi/ : /nimiri/ both; /sumi/ all the three (hum.); /nairi/ all the five (non-hum.). Similar is the case in Gari. There to denote the sense of both, we find /kir/ in case of non-human objects, as in /peca niskir/ both the books, and /per/ in case of human beings, as in /hin nisper kocci iltheg/ 'both of us will go tomorrow'. Similarly /peca nai-re/ all in five books, /mi na-mir/ all the five persons.

As in aggregative in the case of approximative too, Dar. and Patt. exhibit similar features, e.g., (Dar.) - the term /mi/ 'human being' is appended to each of the numerals in question, though the term for 'man' or 'men' also is used as usual, as in /k_ori nei mi nisu mi/ about 5, 7 persons, but no such an affixation is attested with object of non-human class, as in /cäy bän n_osa rupya/ about 15, 20 rupees. Similar is the case in Pattani as well, e.g., /se ñinza-mi ñinzaso-mi mire am rin käm lei leki totore/ nearly 40 - 50 persons were working on the road, but /gi-bi ñi-raki pi-raki thälzi na nhizi tänga rē cärtu/ give me 5, 7 rupees for 2, 4 days.

Besides, this distinction is attested in the use of non-personal pronouns and adjectives as well, e.g., (Johari) - /khä/ what ? /khämi/ who ?, as in /hwe khä sin/ what is that ?; /o khä-mi sin/ who is that fellow ? Also /khämi-mi/ some people, /khär mul/ some rupees (Dar.) - /khämi jEn mi/ a good man, etc.

Kinds of Nominal Stems: In most of the speeches of the Himalayan group three kinds of nominal stems, viz., primary, compounded and derived, are usually attested. Among these the number of the primary stems is the largest and those of the derived ones is the smallest. In the speeches of the Tibetan group, however, the class of the derived stems is rare or almost non-existent. There too the number of the primary stems is the largest. Historically, the nominal stems of the Himalayan

group of languages belong to three main sources, viz., Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman and indigeneous, but the sources of the speeches of the Tibetan group are mainly T. B. and the indigeneous. The languages of the Himalayan group particularly of Rangkas group on account of their close contact have borrowed a good number of nominal stems from the Indo-Aryan stock as well (For details see respective volumes of the "Studies in T. H. L." 1988-92).

Primary Stems : In the languages of this group there is no division of primary and secondary stems, all stems being primary ones. It may be simple or complex. A simple stem consists of one morpheme and is usually mono-syllabic, but a complex stem is composed of a root plus some particle having no special meaning to convey separately or to improve upon the meaning of the radical stem, and it also does not bring about any change in the form of the stem in question. Moreover, in this analysis of the grammatical structure of these tongues we are not so much concerned with their history or earlier constituents, even if some of them had this elements there. For, the languages under consideration have received them as ready made stems, as such for the synchronic analysis, all these are to be taken as radical or primary stems for all practical purposes.

Primary stems belonging to Tibetan sources are invariably mono-syllabic, e.g., /mi/ man; /me/ fire; /mig/ eye; /kra/ hair; /pya/ bird; /sa/ flesh; /mär/ butter, etc. But the primary stems from the A. A. and I. A. sources are both, mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic, e.g., /šu/ god; /ti/ water; /le/ tongue; /kherän/ milk; /garän/ river, etc.

Stem formation : At the outset it may be pointed out that in these tongues, like IE languages, it is not easy to discern the root + suffix elements of a stem. However, the mechanism of stem formation, normally attested in these tongues may be explained as under:

(I) *Prefixation*: The mechanism of prefixation, although is not a productive one, yet is more or less attested in all the tongues of both the groups. Its existence is primarily attested in vocables belonging to the category of kin terms. These terms with marginal variations of voice and vowel quality are a common property of all the speeches under consideration. For instance, /a-ba/ (Tin.) : /a-wa/ (Gar.) : /a-pa/ (Mar.) /a-u/ (Chhit.) father; /a-ma/ (Kin; Chhit., Tin., Gar., Mar.) mother; /a-pi/ (Kin.) : /a-bi/ : /acä/ (Mar.) grand-mother; /a-pa/ (Gar.) grand-father; /a-te/ (Kin. Chhit.) elder brother; /a-ku/ (Gar., Mar.) uncle; /a-co/ (Sp., Mar., Tin.) : /a-jo/ (Nyam.) elder brother; /a-ci/ (Patt. Tin.); /a-cc/ (Sp.) : /a-ji/ (Nyam.) : /ta-ta/ (Mar.); elder sister

/a-ci/ (Chhit.) son; */a-ne/* (Patt.); */a-ni/* (Jad.) : */a-na/* (Mar.) father's sister, etc.

(II) *Suffixation*: It is the most productive device of stem formation in almost all the languages of this group. There the formative suffixes may or may not have some specific sense to convey. In the latter case the formative suffixes are, usually, bound forms and the resultant form functions as a basic stem to which are appended the affixes indicative of permissible grammatical categories. Some of the most commonly used suffixes in various tongues may be enumerated as follows :

1. The pronominalizing languages of Kinnaur and Malana, viz., Kin., Chhit and Kan., use naturalizing suffixes like - */-äs, -s/*, */in-än/* and */-c/* which are suffixed to stems drawn from I. A. sources. Of these the first set is used with animate nouns, as in */machi-s/* fish; */jogi-s/* mendicant; */lok-äs/* people; */pujaräs/* priest; */sap-äs/* snake; */cor-äs/* thief; the second set with inanimate nouns, as in */ratin/* night; */matin/* clay; */bitin/* wall; */balin/* sand, */harän/* bone; */desän/* village, country; */khirän/* milk; */dalän/* branch; etc., the */-c/* is a deminutive suffix, it is added to denote the smallness of the object, as in */carī-c/* bird; */ph▷/* ass; */dama-c/* bullock; */kra-c/* lamb; */pyac/* bird; */b▷i/* younger brother, sister; */chan-c/* child; */chacec/* girl; */ama-c/* mother's sister; */cimec/* girl, etc.

The commonly attested formative suffixes in the languages of the Tibetan group, viz., Sp., Nyam., Tod., Jad., and Gar., are */pa~ba/*, */po~bo/*, */ma~mo/*, */wa~wo/*, */cän~jän/*, as in */lag-pa/* hand; */thud-pa/* smoke; */lam-ba/* path; */khañ-ba/* home; */yog-po/* servant; */sak-po/* brother-in-law; */bag-po/* bridegroom; */sug-po/* body; */dog-po/* rivulet; */gog-pa/* garlic; */dag-po/* husband; */mag-pa/* bridegroom; */ma~mo/*; - */ra-ma/* goat, sheep; */ho-ma/* milk; */kär-ma/* star; */cha-mo/* grand daughter; */pho-mo/* ~ */bu-mo/* girl; */zo-mo/* a hybrid animal; */mom-bo/* bark, rind, (Chhit.) - */chan-mo/* morning; */chan-ma/* light; */wa~wo/* : It is a variant of */ma~mo/*, as in (Nyam.) - */zo-wo/* a hybrid animal; */cher-wa/* rain; (Sp.) - */lu-wo/* wind; */zu-wo/* body; */cän/—/sem-cän/* animate; */phoso-cän/* proud; (Jad.) - */sem-jän/* animate. Besides */cän/*, Tod. and Gar. use the suffixes */-ci, -ce/* as well, as in (Gar.) - */lan-ci/* bull; */kyo-ci/* spoon; */pel-ci/* milk; */pya-ci/* bird; */pyuci/* mouse; (Tod.) - */damo-ce/* niece, grand daughter; which are similar to those attested as */-c/* in Kin. Chhit. and Kan. (See above). Moreover, in Tod we find the suffixes like */lo, ro/* as well, as in */bo-lo/* buttacks; */phe-ro/* night, etc.

(III) *Infixation*: The morphological phenomenon of infixation, as in Munda languages, is attested only in a few dialects and in a few cases only, e.g., */sa-n-gul/* earthquake (Tin. Gar.); (Gar.) - */mig-s-pu/*

eyebrow; /chu-m-pyär/ waterfall; (Sp.) - /lha-n-go/ peak of a mountain. It is, however, a regular feature of word formation in Raji. e.g., /hamo-hano/ hair of human being > / ha-ä-mo-ha-ä-no / tuft of hair on the head; /päyau/ son > /pä-ä-yau/ nephew; /puher/ joint > /pu-ä-her/ knee, etc. (Tin.) /yo-c/ daughter; /ko-c/ grandson /ko-me-c/ grand daughter.

(IV) *Compounding*: There are a good number of nominal stems in every language under consideration, which are composed of two or more independent stems of the same or of different categories. The constituent members of this type of formations are usually noun+noun, noun+verb, aj. + noun or verb + noun. In their combinations, these may have some sort of morpho-phonemic adjustment here and there. For the purpose of nominal inflections these stems, however, behave like primary stems. Some of the commonly attested examples may be cited below : /mig-ti/ (Patt., Tin., Mar.); /migs-ti/ (Kin.); /misti/ (Chhit.); /mig-chu/ (Jad.); /mit-ti/ (Dar.); 'tears'; /me-bu/ (Kin. Chhit., Tod.); /me-bug/ (Patt.) /me-hon/ (Kin.) /me-tubc/ (Tin.); /me-buci/ (Gar.); /mejän-bu/ (Jad); 'glow worm'; /dus-ti/ (Kin. Chhit.); /chiti/ (Dar. Chaud.); 'perspiration'; /bo-ti/ (Patt.); /bu-ti/ (Chhit., Mar., Chaud. Dar.); /ra-ti/ (Kin.); 'butter milk'; /tur-pyac/ (Kin., Chhit.); /tur-pya/ (Patt.); /khu-cipc/ (Chaud.) 'bat'; /tc-bu/ (Gar.); /ri-nig/ (Kan.) /kho-bu/ (Chaud.) 'snake'; /lag-thil/ (Gar., Tod., Sp., Nyam.); /hast-liñ/ (Chhit.); /hat-kuli/ (Mar.); /lag-däl/ (Chaud.) 'palm'; /mig-cam/ (Patt.); /migs-pu/ (Gar.); /mig-pu/ (Sp., Nyam., Tod., Tad.); /mig-cham/ (Chaud.) 'eyebrow'; /zir-phi/ (Patt.); /zer-nam/ (Chaud); /no-cuš/ (Kan.) 'cast'; /rodckc/ (Patt.), /red-ko/; (Kin.), /rEnam/ (Chaud.), /lo-cuš/ (Kan.) 'west'; /loc-mi/ (Kin., Chhit.) labourer; /drug-dirpi/ (Patt., Tin.), thunder; /lha-yul/ (Gar.), /la-yul/ (Tod., Sp., Nyam.) heaven; /tan-yul/ (Tod) hell; /lug-zi/ (Sp., Nyam.) shepherd; Similarly, (Chhit) - /bu-lukc/ spider; (Kin.) - /ama-bua/ parents; /gone-dacc/ couple; (Gar.) - /ri-boñ/ rabbit; /prag-phug/ cave; /ñima-phyed/ noon; /zamin-yo-sa/ kitchen; (Tod.) - /sil-go/ window; /chu-mig/ source of water; (Sp.) - /lhañ-go/ peak; /mar-nak/ purified butter; /ñi-siñ/ yoke; /män-siñ/ herb; (Nyam.) - /chu-mig/ source of water; /ña-siñ/ yoke; (Jad.) - /mär-ti/ oil; /cag-dag/ chain; /cho-lok/ flood; /chon-me/ lamp of worship; (Mar.) - /pE-tuñi/ sole of foot; /bhuicäl/ earthquake; /ci-me/ mother's sister; (Dar.) - /brit-i/ dews; /khu-mi/ thief; /khu-ti/ spittle; (Chaud.) - /lag-pan/ finger; /dhañ-mi/ servant; (Johari) - /lag-chyab/ ring (of finger); /rE-sun/ cultivator; /ti-dharu/ water place; (Kan.) /yon-me/ mother-in-law, etc.

Reduplication: Reduplication of stems or syllables to form

different classes of nominal stems or echo-words too is one of the mechanism of stem formation, normally followed in languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group. Besides nominal stems, this is equally current in the formation of the adjectival or verbal stems as well. This feature of stem formation in these tongues may be illustrated as under:

/te-te/ (Chhit., Tin., Gar., Tod., Sp., Nyam., Mar., Dar.) grandfather; /me-me/ (Tin., Gar., Tod., Sp., Nyam.), /mo-mo/ (Mar.), /la-la/ (Dar., Chaud.) grand-mother; /no-no/ (Sp., Nyam.) the local king of Spiti; /co-co/ (Sp., Nyam.) the queen of the local ruler of Spiti; /ciñin/ (Tin., Jad) small bells; /de-de/ (Patt.); /da-da/ (Raji.), /ta-ta/ (Chaud.) elder sister/brother; /ci-ci/ (Dar. Chaud.) aunt (younger); (Gar.) - /ci-ci/ baby, child; /la-la/ song; /pren-prenci/ backbone; (Chhit.) - /du-du/ owl; (Kin.) - /kim-kim/ every house; /mi-mi/ every man; /mi-ma/ human being etcetra; (Patt.) - /kaka/ brother; /pa-pa/ breast; /de-de/ elder sister; /na-na/ grandfather (maternal); (Tin.) - /phig-phig/ a wild animal; (Jad.) - /ne-ne/ maternal aunt; /ma-ma/ father's sister's husband; /ka-ka/ mother's sister's husband; (Mar.) - /po-po/ grandfather (maternal); /pu-pu/ father's sister; /ba-ba/ younger sister; /ma-ma/ maternal uncle; (Raji) - /ba-ba/ father; (Chaud.) - /ka-ka/ mother's sister's husband; /phu-phu/ father's sister; (Johari) - /seri-cimi/ children; /lasun-mala/ cattle; etc.

Derived stems: Although, basically, the languages of this group do not favour derivation of secondary stems from the primary stems, yet, may be under the influence of I.A. tongues, there are some instances in Himalayan-tongues in which this mechanism of the stem formation too is attested in a small degree, e.g., /sem-cän/ animate < /sem/ soul + /cän/ possessor; (Patt.) - /gärcha/ dancer < /garphi/ to dance + /cha/ a derivative suffix; /hyan-si/ old age < /hyan/ old; /gän-sa/ husband < /gän/ male human being; /bod-pa~ pod-pa/ a Tibetan < /bod/ Tibet + /pa/ inhabitant, etc.

NOMINAL INFLECTION

Grammatical Function of a Noun: As in the languages of other families of this sub-continent, in the languages of the T.H. group too, syntactically, a noun functions as a subject or object or complement of a verb. In case of incomplete predication it may also function as a predicative word, referring to a subject or object of the verb. Morphologically, it may be associated with various categories of morphological markers, such as number, gender, case or may be followed by postpositions.

But in the languages of the T.H. group a nominal stem is inflected for the number and case categories only, though in this respect too there is no uniformity among them. For, some of them, such as Patt., Tin., Kin. etc. are highly inflectional, whereas others are inflected for a few categories only. As such there are many groups of them and each group has its own areas and mechanism of inflection. For instance, in Patt., Tin. and Kin. a nominal stem is inflected for 3 numbers and 5 cases, but in others it is inflected for 2 numbers and 3 cases only. Similarly, in the speeches of the complex prominalized group pronominal stems are inflected for 3 numbers, but in all others the inflection takes place for 2 numbers only. With regard to inflection for cases diverse characteristics are attested for animate and inanimate stems. Some of the salient features of nominal inflection of the speeches under consideration may be presented as under:

The inflectional elements of number and cases are, usually, kept apart from one another in most of the tongues, but in some of them they are fused together, i.e., the fused form standing for both, the number as well as the case in question, e.g., (Patt.) - /mi/ man; /mi-re/ men; but /mi-tin/ to men; /mi-ci/ by men; (Gar.) - /buca/ boy; /buca-zi/ boys, but /buca-chi/ by boys; (Tod.) - /na/ I; /na-cho/ we, but /na-ze/ by us; /ne/ my. In case of independent entity the order of their occurrence is - nominal stem + number suffix + case suffix/postposition, as in (Sp.) /tu-la/ to the boy; /tu-gya-la/ to boys; (Nyam.) - /khi-la/ to dog; /khi-gya-la/ to dogs; (Tod.) - /buca-la/ to the boy; /buca-un-la/ to boys. (Patt.) - /mi-bi/ to man; /mi-re-ci/ by men; (Kin.) - /piši-u/ cat's : /piši-ga-nu/ of cats. (Dar.) - /mi-gu/ of man; /mi-jän-gu/ of men etc. (For examples from other tongues see *infra* 'number' and 'case').

Article: Like I.A. languages, these languages too, do not use definite article with their nominal stems. However, the use of the indefinite article in the form of the numeral for 'one' or for the indefinite pronoun is normally attested in many of them, as in (Jad.) - /nu narc u-la hige cik gyago hɔt/ I have to write a letter to my uncle; (Johari) - /ta nɔkar/ a servant; /khämir mi/ a man = some man; /gub rhän/ a horse=some horse; (Kin.) /i: mi-u/ to a man; (Kan.) - /i: mañšän-ka-di/ with a man; (Gar.) - /mi-tik-og) to a man (infixation); (Chaud.) - /udi-ba/~tig ba/~khä-mi-ba/a father; etc.

GENDER SYSTEM

In linguistic domain the term gender denotes the concept of masculinness, feminineness or the absence of both in the objects denoted

by a nominal stem. The masculine or feminine aspects of the objects to which these concepts are associated may be having natural sexes of their own or an assumed sex assigned to them by the grammarians or by the philosophers of the language concerned. As such the framework of a language may recognize the category of gender as natural, grammatical or both. The domain of natural gender is the animate world in which it may be recognized as masculine, feminine and epicene. For there are languages in which certain terms for human and non-human both are referred to merely as such without any reference to their natural sex.

The imaginative human mind, not contented with this, has extended the notion of gender/sex to inanimate things as well, and has assigned one or the other gender to them on various bases assumed for this assignment. In this case the assignment of gender was quite arbitrary or based on the conceptual approach or cognitive view of the speech community concerned. (For instance, the term for 'country' is masculine in some languages and feminine in others. But this assignment of gender was not always based on the natural sex of the object denoted by the term in question, it could be otherwise too. For instance, in Sanskrit the term *dārā* denoting the meaning of 'wife' is masculine, the term *mitram* 'friend' is neuter, *āpah* 'water' is feminine and *sakhin* 'friend' is masculine, *devatā* 'deity' is feminine so on and so forth. Similarly, in German the term *mädchen* girl is neuter, *wein* 'wine' is masculine, *milch*, milk (fem.), and *Pferd* horse is neuter. The domain of this type of gender is unlimited, covering all terms of the language denotative of animate beings, inanimate things and abstract ideas.

All languages, ancient or modern, do recognize the phenomenon of natural gender, to a more or less degree, but the phenomenon of grammatical gender is recognized in some languages only. For instance, all the older languages of Indo-European family recognize three genders, viz., masculine, feminine and neuter, but most of the modern languages of this group now recognize only two genders, and some of them formally none. There are, however, like German, Gujarati, Marathi which still recognize three genders. The semitic languages, however, have been following the two-gender system from the earliest period, never recognizing the neuter.

Generally, languages not recognizing grammatical gender usually distinguish between objects of natural gender by employing two different terms for the male and the female counterparts of the species in question. But in languages recognizing natural as well as grammatical gender

the distinction of the feminine counterpart is affected mostly by affixing specific terminations or additive particles to the nominal base standing for its masculine gender form. Consequently, all substantives appropriated to male sex are classed as masculine, to female sex as feminine and to neither as neuter. In some languages of this class the assignment of gender affects not only the nominal forms of the noun concerned, but also the pronominal, adjectival, participial or verbal forms, when constituting the constituents of a syntactic string.

Basically, no language of the T.H. group recognizes any grammatical gender. In natural gender too, there is no inbuilt prefixo-suffixal system to distinguish the gender of the substantives. Morphologically, all classes of words are completely free from gender distinction. The pluralising suffixes/particles too are not affected by the gender of the substantive, except in borrowed items from I. A. dialects. Consequently, all the languages under consideration are free from complications arising from the recognition of grammatical gender.

Gender System in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages

Logically speaking, these languages are destitute of any gender, because the existence of natural genders does not affect the structure of other constituents of the syntactic string in any way. Grammatically, too, the specificatory terms for 'male' or 'female' do not in any way behave differently from other substantives having no gender, i.e., substitution of one by another does not change the structure of any constituent of the sentence or phrase or of the sentence itself. For instance, substitution of the term 'brother' and 'son' by the terms 'sister' and 'daughter' does not affect in any way the structure of any constituent of a sentence like 'my elder brother is coming with his son', cf. Hindi sentences-*mera barā bhāi apane larake ke sāth ā-rahā hai* (Masc.); *meri bahin apni laraki ke sāth ā-rahī hai*. (My sister is coming with her daughter).

Moreover, the absence of prefixo-suffixal system of gender marking, as we find in I.E. languages, and the absence of gender in pronominal stems, the assignment of gender to terms denoting the sense of mother, aunt, sister, grandmother, etc., are in no way different from the assignment of grammatical gender to inanimate objects.

In these languages these terms do not have the same structural relationship as we find it in Modern Indo-Aryan terms like *putra* : *putri*, *beta* : *beti*; *cācā* : *cāci*; *tāyā* : *tāyi*; *dādā* : *dādi*; *nānā* : *nāni*; *māmā* : *māmi*; *mausā* : *mausi*, or their corresponding terms in old Indo-Aryan

(Sanskrit). Such devices of gender formation, if attested in any dialect of this group are a result of their contact with the neighbouring I.A. languages. That these languages did not have the concept of gender as a grammatical category is also strengthened from the absence of distinctive pronominal terms, referring to male or female animate beings in the 3rd person.

Commenting upon gender aspect of the Sythian group of languages, to which the T.B. group too belongs, Caldwell observes. "In these families, not only are all things which are destitute of reason and life denoted by neuter nouns, but no nouns whatever, not even nouns which denote human beings, are regarded as in themselves masculine or feminine. All nouns as such are neuter, or rather are destitute of gender. In those languages there is no mark of gender inherent in them, or inseparably annexed to the nominative of any nouns (the crude root being generally the nominative) and in none of the oblique cases, or post-positions, used as case terminations, is the idea of gender at all involved. The unimagined Sythians reduced all things, whether rational or irrational, animate or inanimate, to the same dead level, and regarded them all as impersonal. They prefixed to common nouns, wherever they found it necessary, some word denoting sex, equivalent to male or female, he or she; but they invariably regarded such nouns as in themselves neuters, and generally they supplied them with neuter pronouns. The only exception to this rule in the Sythian languages consist in a few words, such as God, man, woman, husband, wife, which are so highly instinct with personality that of themselves, and without the addition of any word denoting sex, they necessarily convey the signification of masculine and feminine." (1913 : 219, Indian reprint 1974).

The Tibeto-Himalayan languages which are mostly spoken by people belonging to Mongolian race, inhabiting sub-Himalayan regions, inherit most of the characteristics of the Mongolian languages pointed out by Caldwell, but at the same time, due to various types of racial and cultural fusions arising out of spatial contacts with other linguistic groups, some of them besides their inherent linguistic features, also have imbibed a few alien influences in respect of gender formation.

Moreover, like Tibetan, these languages too, do not recognize the idea of neuter gender. For them, all substantives, including terms for living beings, except the paired groups of independent terms, are genderless. A classical example of this concept may be seen in various terms belonging to animate class in which the term shorn of any attribute

is capable to denote any sex of the object in question. For instance, in Pattani the common term for a human being or man/woman in general, is /mi/, which in case of specification can be prefixed with terms, /gäng/ and /mec/ respectively to denote the sense of 'male' and 'female'. Consequently, the specificatory term for 'man' is /gäng-mi/ 'male human being' for 'woman' is /mec-mi/ 'female human being.' Similarly, the specific sense of boy or girl is expressed by prefixing the terms /gäng/ ~ /gäng-mi/ and /mec~mec-mi/ to the common gender term /kätu/ 'child' as in /gäng-kätu/ 'male child' /gäng-mi kätu/ 'male human child'; /mec-mi-kätu/ 'female human child'.

Gender-based Classification of Substantives

However, from classificatory point of view all substantives for the purpose of gender differentiation can be divided into animate and inanimate classes, i.e., having gender distinction, and destitute of any gender distinction respectively. The former type is further divisible into two broad classes, viz., human and non-human, both having categories of words which have - (i) inherent gender distinction of masculine and feminine, based on their natural sexes; (ii) are capable of being distinguished by means of prefixo-suffixal mechanism of additive particles; or (iii) are epicenes. In the non-human group a further distinction of 'superior' and 'inferior' species is made with regard to the employment of gender markers, the former being patterned with inferior human class and the latter with the inanimate class.

Structurally, all nominal stems, capable of being distinguished for their sexes by gender markers or otherwise, are genderless. Consequently, a substantive of non-human class becomes masculine or feminine solely by virtue of the addition of a gender marker to it, there being no inbuilt mechanism to indicate the gender of the vocables.

Thus from this point of view the identifiable groups are: (a) having distinctive terms for male and female beings of a species; (b) having additive particles denotative of 'male' or 'female' sex, prefixed or suffixed to a term; (c) having vocalic terminations indicative of masculine or feminine gender. The last one are normally attested in the languages of the Himalayan group in borrowed terms from Indo-Aryan sources.

Mechanism of Gender Differentiation: This structural propensity of Tibeto-Himalayan languages reminds us of the languages of Austro-Asiatic family. In this connection a notable point that needs to be mentioned here is this that like Mundā and other Austro-Asiatic

languages these tongues, too, do not distinguish between masc. and fem. of the personal pronouns of the 3rd person. The same term is used to denote the meaning of 'he' and 'she' (and also 'it' for which there is no separate term). In most of the tongues the terms for the 3rd person pronouns are identical with demonstrative pronouns. As a general rule, all stems, except the paired groups in which the male and female counterparts are denoted by different denotative terms, are epicene or common gender. But in case of necessity of specification of the masculineness or feminineness of the object denoted by the epicene term it can be affected by prefixing or suffixing certain additive particles to them. The most commonly used device of distinguishing the sex of a non-human being is the use of additive particles, denotative of the meaning of 'he' and 'she' or 'male' and 'female' or 'father' and 'mother'. But this too is confined to some superior and domestic animates only (For examples see p. 84ff Appendix). Different techniques adopted by different languages to effect the gender differentiation are as follows:

Indicators of Masculine Gender. As stated above, in these languages all unqualified nominal stems, even of animate class, except those which have distinctive sets for male and female counterparts of the species concerned, are masculine and as such need not necessarily be prefixed or suffixed with any masculine gender marker.

However, in the animate class of nouns there are certain lexical items which by virtue of their natural sex are indicative of masculine or feminine gender associated with them.

Although in a colloquial speech or informal expressions there may not be the necessity of specifying the masculineness of the object expressed by a common term, yet these languages have certain means to express it where such a particularisation is necessary. There, as stated above, the most extensively practised mechanism is to employ terms which convey the meaning of 'male' or 'father' or 'he' in the language concerned, usually attested in the form of /-po/pho/pa-/. In the group of pronominalized Tibeto-Himalayan languages such a term is usually prefixed and in others suffixed.

Indicators of Feminine Gender. As pointed out above, in these languages a noun denude of any gender marker except the distinctive terms for male and female either represents the species as a whole or its masculine form. But in case of specification its feminine form can be, as in the case of masculine, obtained by prefixing or suffixing a feminine marker additive particle to the common gender form of the noun in question. These particles denotative of the meaning 'female'

or 'mother' or 'she' are usually attested as /mo/ma/ama/-m/, or /skyo/ : /mant/, /gän/ : /mcc/, /baza/ : /minṇa/ etc., and the terms for 'mother', are usually prefixed to the noun concerned in Himalayan tongues and follow in Tibetan tongues. In this context it may also be mentioned that though the practice of using sex classificatory terms to express the feminineness of the epicene term is maintained to some extent in the languages of Himachal Pradesh, it has been totally given up in the T.H. Languages of Uttarakhand.

The use of gender markers, whether masculine or feminine, is attested in terms belonging to human class as well, but chiefly when the expression of nationality, caste, occupation or bodily and mental qualities are involved. Moreover, besides this, the use of the sex classifiers is attested in the pronominalised languages of Himachal Pradesh, particularly with regard to younger ones, may be in age or in generation, e.g., (Patt.) - /gän-mi-kätu/ 'boy' (= male-human-child); /mcc-mi-kätu/ girl (=female-human-child); (Kin.) - /dckhra -pac/ grandson (=male grandchild): /checa -pac/ grand daughter (=female grand-child).

Placement of Gender Markers: In Tibeto-Burman a gender marker is, practically, a modifier, as such its placement is after the genderless term which it qualifies. But there are many sub-Himalayan languages of India in which these gender markers precede the nominal stem, as in Indo-Aryan languages, (e.g., *nar bhālu* 'male bear'; *māda bhālu* 'female bear' etc.). The languages showing this preference are Kinnauri, Pattani, Tinani, and Raji.

In other languages of T.B. group these are, normally, suffixed to nominal stems, unless it has to convey some specific semantic particularisation, as in /pho-ta/ 'a stallion'. But this change of placement, wherever intended, is confined to stems denoting non-human beings only. For instance /pho-khi/ 'dog' : /mo-khi/ bitch (Jad.), /pho-luci/ 'male calf' : /mo-luci/ 'female calf' (Gari), /pho-zi/ 'male cat' : /mo-zi/ female cat.

Special Features of Gender System

Besides the above peculiarities of gender system most of which are shared by the Tibeto-Burman languages as well, there are some features which may be called peculiar to these languages alone. A few of them may be presented as under:

Gender Differentiation in Kin Terms: The etymological as well as morphological analysis of kin terms with respect to gender differentiation reveals that like Munda in these languages, not-

withstanding the sex linked independent terms for paired units, there are many terms which are genderless or epicene, the meaning of which extend over different kin groups, age groups and generations. Most of the kinship terms even for 'father' and 'mother' or 'son' and 'daughter' behave as classificatory terms and indicate a number of senior or junior kins of that age group taking descriptive terms like 'younger' and 'elder' which are either prefixed or suffixed to them. Consequently, a term 'younger mother' denotes 'aunt, mother's younger sister', etc., and 'elder mother' stands for father's elder brother's wife, mother's elder sister, etc. Similarly, 'younger father' denotes, uncle, mother's younger sister's husband and so on and so forth. There are feminine terms like /anc/ which stand for a host of female kinship terms in all these languages. Besides the nominal bases to which the sex marker additive particles are added, there are all genderless terms or 'neutrals' which can be used for any sex in its basic form, if it is clear from the context, or by adding the specific sex marker to specify it.

Besides, the kin terms falling under this category, particularly those which either belong to affinal kins or fall in the third or fourth degree in the descending order, are grand children, children of sister, of mother's sister or of maternal uncle etc. Both male and female kins of these classes are usually addressed or referred to by identical terms without making any sex distinction in them, e.g., /pac/ grand children (Kin.) /chao/ grand children (Bhut.).

In many languages, as pointed out above, there are even common/epicene terms for paired groups of boy-girl, son-daughter, brother-sister, etc., e.g. (See p. 84ff Appendix).

Domesticated animals like sheep, goat, dog, cat, hen, etc., are referred to by a common term like /luk~lug/ sheep, /ra~la/ goat, /khyi/ dog, /piši~bila/ cat, etc.

Dichotomy in Gender Markers. Notwithstanding the age and species oriented gender marking system, a notable feature of these languages is to use different sets of gender differentiating additive particles with respect of human and non-human beings. The specific gender distinguishing sets, employed by some of the languages of this group may be illustrated as follows:

In Kinnauri the gender marker sets for human beings are: /dekhrac/ (masc.) : /checac/ (fem.) as opposed to the non-human sets /skyo/ (masc.) and /man/ (f.) e.g., /dekhrac pac/ grand-son, /checac pac/ grand daughter, /pac/ being the unqualified term for 'grand child', but cf. /skyo ran/ horse; /manṭran/ mare.

In Pattani the differentiating sets for human and non-human beings are - /gäng-mi/ (masc.) : /mec-mi/ (fem.) and /baza (masc.) and /mingna/ (fem.) respectively, as in /gäng-mi-kätu/ boy; /mec-mi-kätu/ 'girl' : /baza thär/ tiger : /mingna thär/ tigress.

Similarly, in the tongues of the Tibetan group in the feminine markers, too, a distinction is made between the allomorphs /-mo/ and /-med/, the former occurring with non-human beings and the latter with human beings. For instance, /ta-mo/ta-ma/ mare; /ra-mo/ she goat, /khui-mo/ bitch, but/ke-med/ wife/ women, /bo-med/ girl/daughter; /cha-med/ cousin sister; /dibu-med/ grand mother, etc.

Feminine Stem as a Base for Gender Marking: Usually in all types of gender distinctions, suffixal or non-suffixal, it is the masculine form that serves as a base for the marking of gender, grammatical or natural, but in the languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group it has been noticed that there are certain classes of domesticated animals and fowls in which the general pattern of gender marking is reversed, i.e., in these cases the change in gender is affected by prefixing or suffixing a gender marker to the feminine base of it, eg. (Gar.) /kukri/ hen : /phokukri/ cock, /bila/ cat : /tata bila/ he cat; (Patt., Tin.); /kukri/hen : /baza kukri/ cock

In sporadic instances this type of gender marking is attested in a few other languages as well, as in /luk/ 'sheep' /luk-thak/ 'ram' (Tib.).

Reduction in Gender Affixes: In almost all the languages, the additive particles conveying the sense of 'father' and 'mother' or 'male' and 'female' are often attested in their reduced forms. /a-ba/ > /ba/, /a-bo/ > /bo/, /apa/ > /pa/, /a-pho/ > /pho/, /a-ma/ > /ma/, /mama/ > /ma/, /amo/ ama/ > /mo/ mu/, etc. Besides, in Tibetan dialects of Sikkim and Bhutan even these reduced forms are attested, in vocal presentation, in a still reduced form, i.e., the reduced forms /-po/ or /-mo/ are attested as /-p/ and /-m/ only, as in /mi-gyap/ old man; /mi-gyam/ old woman, /buep/ a Tibetan (man); /buem/ 'a Tibetan (woman); /gyam/ mare; /cham/ grand daughter, niece; /bhum/ daughter; /yang phyum/ grand daughter (Sikkimese Bhotia), etc.

Indo-Aryan Influence: With the increase of means of communication and transportation more and more Tibeto-Himalayan areas are coming into close contact with Indo-Aryan areas and are imbibing their various socio-cultural influences. Many social institutions and structural peculiarities of kinship organizations which were not there earlier, are emerging under these influences. Consequently, new Indo-Aryan terms are also being borrowed from there to fit into the new social setup.

For instance, in most parts of the linguistic area under consideration people had a different type of social organization. In matrimonial spheres, besides polyandry, they also practised the cross-cousin marriage system widely. Consequently, they have only a limited number of kin-terms, many of which overlap with one another, e.g., on account of cross-cousin marriage system there is only one term for maternal uncle, father's sister's husband and father-in-law, and one term for maternal aunt, father's sister and mother-in-law. Similarly, under polyandrous system a number of kin terms both for males and females in the family and outside the family are totally missing in them. But with an increasing preference for monogamy and gradual change in other social customs, akin to the customs being practised by neighbouring non-Buddhist and non-Mongoloid peoples, now in these languages various terms, not available in their own linguistic stock, are freely being borrowed, along with the linguistic system operative in the language from which these are borrowed, i.e., both types of borrowings, lexical and structural are taking place in them. Consequently, the I. A. gender marker suffixes like /a~Φ/ and /i~ani~ni/ denotative of masculine and feminine genders respectively are being freely used in borrowed items. For instance, in Pattani, a dialect of Lahuli, we come across a number of Indo-Aryan kin term with their gender system, which otherwise do not fit into the social system mentioned above. We know that under a polyandrous system there is no scope for separate terms denoting elder or younger brother's wife, nephew and niece, or husband's younger and elder brothers and father's younger and elder brothers and their wives etc., but now new terms like /kakai/ elder brother's wife, derived from /kaka/ elder brother, are gaining currency there. The vocalic terminational devices attested in /dagu/ 'grand father' and /dagi/ 'grand mother' for the change of gender also seems to have taken place under this very influence.

As stated above under the cross-cousin marriage system the kin terms for mother's brother and his wife are identical with the terms for father-in-law and mother-in-law. But now along with the borrowing of new terms for mother's brother they have also borrowed the Indo-Aryan gender system of replacing /-a/ with /-i/ for affecting a corresponding feminine form, as in /mama/ : /mami/. Similar is the case of /nana/ mother's father and /nani/ mother's mother. Formerly, there were no separate terms, as is still attested in many dialects of this group, for paternal-grand-parents and maternal-grand-parents, i.e., both the terms were identical, but now to differentiate one set of grand

parents from the other they have reserved the old native term for parental grand-parents and have borrowed new terms, as noted above, for maternal grand parents. Socio-linguistically it may be noted that the interest in retaining the old term for paternal grand parents may be the greater demand on their use in the family.

Existence of identical terms for grand children, the children of mother's sister, father's sister, and of the sister in many dialects of T.H. shows that there were no separate terms for sister's children, all were termed as /chao/ and /chamo/, as in Bhutanese. But Pattani has borrowed Indo-Aryan terms /bhanij/ (Masculine) and /bhaniji/ (Feminine) in this case too.

Terms for grand children from both sides are identical in all Tibetan tongues, but Pattani has borrowed both the sets of it, viz., /potra/ : /potri/ and /dhotra/ : /dhotri/, along with their distinct gender markers. Similarly, cf. /chokra/ a young lad, and /chokri/ a young lass.

Emergence of kin terms like /baba-/ = 'younger father' for younger uncle and /baya/ = 'younger mother' for younger aunt, and /morba/ = 'elder father' 'father's elder brother' and /moreya/ = 'elder mother' 'father's elder brother's wife' also can be attributed to Indo-Aryan influence on Pattani.

This type of structural influence on grammatical category of gender is visible in many other Tibeto-Himalayan dialects as well which may be noted as under:

Kinnauri: In Lower Kinnauri there are a few instances in which the Indo-Aryan (Hindi) pattern of gender formation is attested, as in /kukhra/ cock: /kukhri/ hen; /banja/ sister's son /banji/ sister's daughter.

In Kinnauri, besides the above, we also find the gender differentiating suffixes in agentive noun and modifiers referring to human beings. The masculine: feminine sets are (1) /šya/ : /še/, as in /desan-šya/ villager (m.) : /desan-šc/ (f.); /teg-šya/ elder (m.) : /tegše (f.); /mari-šya/ bald (m.) : /mari-šc/ (f.) (2) /zya/ : /ze/~ /cya/ : /ce/, as in /zazya~zacya/ eater (m.) : /zaze~zace/ eater (f.); (3) /ya/ : /ye/, as in /uncid-ya/ beggar : /uncid-ye/ (f.); (4) /o/ : /e/, as in /šyaro/ lovely (m.) : /šyare) (f.); /kano/ one eyed (m.) : /kanc/ (f.); (5) /än~äs/ : /nig/ , as in /oräs/ man of carpenter class : /orenig/ woman of carpenter class; (6) /pa/ : /mec/, as in /rog-pa/ a man from the village Roge : /rog-mec/ a woman from this village; (7) /a/ : /i/ , as in /kukra/ cock : /kukri/ hen; /banja/ sister's son : /banji/ sister's daughter.

The Bhotia dialects of Niti and Mana show a considerable impact

of Indo-Aryan in all features of their dialects. In the case of gender suffixes too, it is equally considerable.

To some extent this influence is traceable in the Bhoia dialects of Pithoragarh as well, e.g., /raja/ king : /rani/ queen (Darma), /bhasi/ ~ /bhasu/ brother's son (woman speaking) : /bhasi/ brother's daughter (woman speaking).

It is also attested in the Austro-Asiatic dialect Raji in Pithoragarh, as in /cui/ grand son: /cuia/ grand daughter, /hale/ wife's brother: /hali/ wife's sister, cf. I.A. /sala/ : /sali/.

From the above analysis of the gender system in Tibeto-Himalayan languages, it may be concluded that in these languages the distinction of gender, whatsoever, is confined to nominal stems only. No trace of it is attested in any other category of vocables. Moreover, like Dravidian and Munda it does not strictly correspond either to the sexual opposition or to that of the animate and inanimate, nor any more to classes dividing objects according to their forms or qualities. Its confinement to animate objects, too, is not universal. There it shows a hierarchy between human and non-human and among non-human again between higher species and lower species. Among human beings the gender differences affected by using distinctive terms are more or less confined to kin terms only. In the matter of non-human beings the gender distinction affected by the use of additive particles is confined to species of superior classes only. Even in the case of human being, all terms do not exhibit the same character. As in Dravidian and Munda, in it too the term for human child is genderless or is equated with non-human beings.

Another feature of gender in these languages is this that in them it is not a morphological category, for it does not affect in any way the morphological structure of any other class of words in a syntactic string.

Existence of paired terms like /bucha-buca/ 'boy/ son' and /bumo/ 'girl /daughter' indicate that there were masculine gender marker particles like /-cha/ca/ which were lost during the development of the language. For, in the above example the stem /bu/ seems to be a genderless term for 'child', which was qualified by gender marker particles /-cha/ and /-mo/ to specify the sex of the child. Similar to the loss of gender markers, the loss of certain nominal stems too, can be inferred from certain pairs of genders. For instance, the normal mechanism of affecting feminine gender is to suffix or prefix the additive particle /mo/ma/ to the genderless stem of the noun concerned, but languages which attest the pairs like /ta/ horse : /god-ma/ mare, instead

of /ta/ : /tamo/ as is attested in many others, suggest that there was a stem like /god/ in the language which is no more in existence now.

Similarly, currency of terms like the Spitian term /phomo/ for 'woman' suggest that in ancient times the term /pho/ like the term /mi/ stood for 'a man' or 'a human being' as a genderless common term and its corresponding feminine term was obtained by suffixing the feminine marker particle /mo/, as in the above example.

Variation in gender marking system as well as in gender markers in one and the same language/dialect suggests that in earlier stages of these languages there were multiple of one to one corresponding pairs of gender markers which were operative in their respective phonetic and semantic environments, but not being tied down by grammatical rules and literary traditions some of them fell into disuse during the course of their journey and consequently were paired off with the pairs of other sets.

In almost all the languages of this group use of a single masculine or feminine term for a number of semantic connotations, as attested in terms for boy /son/ lad, nephew or for girl /daughter/ lass/ woman/ niece indicates either primitiveness of the language or amalgamation of originally different terms into one in the course of development of these tongues.

The above descriptive analysis of gender markers also makes it clear to us that the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group attest certain peculiarities of their own which are usually not attested in Tibeto-Burman languages. In them, besides the gender marker additive particles shared with T.B. terms, there are gender marker suffixes or terminations of various kinds, as in Pattani, Kinnauri and Lepcha languages, which are purely affixes in nature and have nothing in common with T.B. Languages. Moreover, in them in case of non-human beings the gender marker particles are usually prefixed instead of being suffixed, as is normally done in T.B. languages.

APPENDIX

List of Distinct Terms for Paired Units of Gender

A. Animate (Human) Class

Man : *Woman* (Tod) - /mi/ : /b'umo/; (Sp.) - /mi/ : /phomo/;
(Nyam.) - /mi/ : /pomo/ ; (Patt.) - /gän-mi/ : /mec-mi/ ; (Gar.) - /khyow/

: /läs-mi/ ; (Kin.) - /mi/ : /checa/ ; (Kan.) - /mänsän/ : /betri/ ; (Chhit.)
- /mi/ : /morin/ ; (Jad) - /mi/ : /phoyä/ (Raji) /mänchE/ : /maä/ ;

Husband : Wife - (Patt.) - /gäksa/ : /meca/ ; (Tin.) - /mi/ :
/mec/ ; (Jad) - /dak-po/ : /mingi/ ; (Gar.) - /dakpo/ : /byan-mo/ ; (Mar.)
- /kyawo/ : /unšeri/ ; (Dar.) - /warširi/ : /byak ceme/ ; (Nyam.) - /dagpo/
: /chamo/ ; (Sp.) - /dagpo/ : /chamo/ ; (Tod) - /äu/ : /chamo/ ; (Johari)
- /mi/ : /bachE/ ~ /kuchE/;

Father : Mother - (Patt.) - /ba/ : /ya/ ; (Gar.) - /əwa/ : /ama/ ;
(Kin.) - /bowa/ : /ama/ ; (Mar.) - /apa/ : /ama/ ; (Dar.) - /ba/ : /mina/ ;
(Nyam.) - /apa/ : /ama/ ; (Chhit.) - /au/ : /ama/ ; (Kan.) - /ba/ :
/ya/ ; (Sp.) - /apha/ : /ama/ ; (Tin.) - /aba/ : /ama/ ; (Tod.) - /aba/ :
/ama/ ; (Chaud.) - /baba/ ba/ : /moa/ na/ (Jad) - /aba/ : /ama/ä/ (Raji.)
- /baba/ : /ma/ ;

Son : Daughter - (Tod) - /bucha/ : /bumo/ ; (Patt.) - /yo/ : /myo/ ;
(Kin.) - /chan/ : /cimed/ ; (Tin.) - /yoc/ : /yomec/ ; (Jad) - /tu/ :
/pö/ ; (Sp.) - /tu/ : /pomo/ ; (Nyam.) - /tu/ : /pomo/ ; (Dar.) - /syänu/
: /ceme/ ; (Chaud.) - /syänd/ : /ceme/ ; ~/syann / : /cäme/ ; (Mar.)
- /širi/ : /camð/ ~/cemo/ ; (Tod) - /buca/ : /b'umo/ ; (Gar.) -
/buca/ : /cemed/ ; (Kin.) - /choñ/ : /ceme/ ; (Chhit.) - /deaci/ : /duäci/
; (Kan.) - /choñ/ : /cimec/ ; (Johari) - /širi/ : /cimi/ ; (Raji.) - /päyau/ :
/garouñ/;

Brother : Sister - (Tod) - /nocuñ/ : /no-mo/ ; (Patt.) - /nua/ :
/rhin/ ; (Gar.) - /bet/ : /šrin/ ; (Mar.) - /bed/ : /bed/ (Niti.) : /bai/ :
/riñja/ (Maṇa); (Dar.) - /pe/ : /sränšya/ , /nanu/ : /rhinšya/ ; (Kin.) -
/baic/ : /daoc/ ; (Chhit.) - /ate/ : /baya/ ; (Kan.) - /bhau/ : /dayu/ (e.);
/bacc/ : /riñz/ (y.); (Raji.) - /bhäuwa/ : /phisya/ ; (Chaud.) - /pe~ hya/
; /ta/, as in /pohya/ eldest brother, /pota/ eldest sister..

Uncle : Aunt - (Paternal) - (Gar.) - /äku/ : /pecama/ ; (Mar.) -
/äku/ : /cyama/ (Maṇa.) : /äku/ : /kaki/ (Niti.); (Jad) - /u:/ : /ä/ ani/ ;
(Dar.) - /mina-ba/ : /cici/ ; (Chaud.) - /mina-ba/ : /syenci/ ; /mid-ba/
: /mina/ (By.); (Patt.) - /baba/ : /baya/ ; (Nyam.) - /äku/ : /ane/ ; (Sp.)
- /au/ : /ane/ ; (Raji) - /pängä/ : /ci:mä/ ; (Chaud.) - /poka/ (uncle
younger to father) : /poci/~/poni/ aunt (his wife).

Uncle : Aunt (Maternal) - (Tod, Gar.) - /äjän/ : /mecuñ/ ; (Kin.)
- /muma/ : /pane/ ; (Jad) /mama/ : /nene/ ani/ (Mar.) - /mama/ : /nono/
(Niti) : /mama/ : /näna/ (Maṇa); (Patt.) - /mama/ : /mami/ ; (Dar.) -
/p'ua/ : /puni/ ; (Chaud.) - / (po)-thañ-mi/ : /pu-ni/ ; (Chhit.) - /mama/
: /ene/ ; (Sp.) - /äzän/ : /ane/

Mother's Sister's Husband : Mother's Sister - (Gar.) - /äku/ :
/phecama/ ; (Mar.) - /äku/ : /ämjo/ (Niti) : /cyapa/ : /cimi/ (Maṇa); (Jad)

- /kaka/~ü/ : /ā/ani/ ; (Patt.) - /agu/ ~ /baba/ : /ba-ya/ ; (Dar., Chaud.)
- /kaka/ : /syanci/ ; (Chhit.) - /caca/ : /cama/ ;

Father's sister's husband : *Father's sister* - (Chhit) - /sak-po/ : /ene/ ; (Jad) - /äyän/ : /ani/ ; (Mar.) - /mama/ : /ana/.

Grand-father : *Grand-mother* (Both sides) - (Sp.) - /meme/ . /ibi/ ; (Patt.) - /me-me/ : /apa/ ; (Kin.) - /te-te/ : /api/ ~/apa/ ; (Gar.) - /te-te/ : /apa/ ; (Mar.) - /tätä/ : /acä/ ; (Dar. Chaud.) - /te-te/ : /la-la/ ; /titye/ : /lala (By); (Jad) -/meye/ : /ibi/ ; (Dar. Chaud. Mar. maternal) - /popo/ : /mo-mo/ ; (Nyam.) /me-me/ : /awi/ ; (Chhit.) - /te-te/ : /tete ama/ ; (Tin.) - /me-me/ : /te-te/ ; (Tod.) - /me-me/ : /te-te/ äbi/

Grandson : *Grand-daughter* (Both sides) - (Tod) /chao/ : /chamo/ ; (Dar.) - /khe/ ; /Kheme/ ; (Chaud.) - /kwe/ : /kwe-me/ ; (Mar.) - /nati/ : /natini/ ; (Nyam.) - /chao/ : /chamo/ ; (Chhit. Kin.) - /pac/ : /checaç/ ; (Tin.) - /koc/ : /komec/ ; (Gar.) - /chao/ : /chamo/.

Nephew : *Niece* - (Tod.) - /chao/ : /chamo/ ; (Dar.) - /che/ : /che-sya/ ; (Chhit.) - /deäci/ : /duaci/.

Mother-in-law : *Father-in-law* (both sides) - (Gar., Tod) - /anc/ /äjän/ ; (Jad) - /ani/ : /äzän/ ; (Mar.) - /yu/ : /rhu/ ; (Patt.) - /'yug/ /rhu/ ; (Dar.) - /puni/ : /pcma/ ; (Chaud.) - /puni/ : /than-mi/ ; (Kin.) /yumc/ : /ru/ ; (Nyam.) - /anc/ : /äzän/ ; (Chhit.) - /yumc/ : /ru/ ; (Kan.) /yuñ-me/ : /sɔräs/ ; (Sp.) -/anc/ : /äjän/ ; (Jad) - /ani/ : /äyän/.

Brother-in-law (WyB) : *Sister-in-law* (Wys) - (Kin.) - /sakpo/ : /bEsa/bocsa/ ; (Tod.) - /sagpo/ : /anc/ ; (Chaud.) - /cheya/ : /sali/ (Chaud.), /banam/ : /sali/ (By.); (Chhit.) - /sak-po/ : /besa/ ; (Dar.) - /cheyan/ : /sali/ ;

B. Animate (Non-human) Class

Horse : *Mare* - (Sp.) - /ta/ : /gun-ma/ (Tin.) - /rañ/ : /gun-mo/ ; (Jad) - /ta /thiō/ : /god-mo/ ; (Tod)- /ta/ : /goema/ ; (Gar.)- /srän/ : /god-ma/ ; (Nyam) - /ta/ : /gunma/ ; (Patt.) - /rhän/ : /näbrän/.

He goat : *She goat*- (Gar.) - /batō/ : /la/ ; (Patt.)- /rhica/ : /la/ ; (Tin.) - /thawaith/ : /la/ ; (Sp., Nyam.) - /rao/ : /rama/ ; (Jad) - /rao/ : /rā/ ; (Dar. Chaud.) - /ma-la/ : /lasän/ ; (Chhit.) - /äja/ : /la/ ; (Johari) - /mala/ : /lasun/ ; (Raji) - /bokya/ : /pa/

Ram : *Ewe* (sheep) - (Patt.) - /hur/ : /ma/ ; (Kin.) - /phäs/ : /phac/ ; (Dar., Chaud.) - /la/ : /ma-la/ ; (Mar.) - /ma-se/ : /ma-la/ ; (Gar.) - /hura/ : /la-ma/ ; (Nyam.) - /khalwa/ : /mo-mo/ ; (Chhit.) - /kär/ : /ma/

Cow : *Ox* - (Patt.) - /ghwän/ ~/rad/ : /bandra/ ; (Kin.) - /lañ/ : /damas/ ; (Sp.) - /balañ/ : /zopha/ ~/lañ-to/ (Sham.); (Tin.) - /gau/ :

/bhange/; (Dar.) - /b>Ena/ : /lan/; (Chaud.) - /šire/ : /line~/rE/ : /lye/ ; (Gar.) - /hämbu/ : /lanci/ ; (Byangsi) - /rE/ : /le/ ; ~/ rE/ : /tyE/ ; (Jad) - /galan/ : /leaŋ/ ; (Mar.) - /balan/ : /bhalan/ ; (Johari) - /ben/ : /lä/ ; (Nyam.) - /b'a~balan/ : /zawo~lanu/; (Chhit.) - /ra/ : /dama/ ; (Chhit.) - /ujha/ : / rhad/huj/ : /pag/ ; (Tod) - /lanto?) : /balan/; (Johari) /bän/ : /lan/ ; (Raji) - /diga/ : /gäre/.

Dog : Bitch : (Johari) - /khui/ dog /chwar/ bitch; (Raji.) - /kui/ dog: /ch>ri/ bitch

Calf (male : female) - (Kin.) - /räc/ : /khräc/ ;

Cock : Hen - (Chaud.) - /ränga/ : /nipyä/ ;

King : Queen - (Sp.) - /nono : /coco/ ;

Old (m.) : (w) - (Kin.) /ruza/ : /yänzc/ ; (Dar.) /syannu : /syanju/; (Chaud.) - /syant) mi/ : /dheri/

NUMBER SYSTEM

The number system which primarily affects the nominal, pronominal and to some extent, the verbal forms in the languages of the T.H. group does not manifest a uniform pattern for all the speeches belonging to this group. Besides the common feature of two number pattern of singular and plural, there are languages which like Sanskrit and Munda follow a three way number distinction, viz., singular, dual and plural, duly marked by distinct inflectional suffixes, some times fused with case and personal suffixes. But in this group of languages however, the three way number distinction is maintained at three different levels of morphological constructions, i.e., there are tongues—(1) which distinguish all the three numbers in all nominal, pronominal and verbal stems; (2) which distinguish it in nominal and pronominal stems; and (3) which distinguish it in pronominal stems only, but never in nominal stems alone. As such all the languages under consideration may be grouped as the languages - (1) which follow a three number system; and (2) which follow two number system. The prominent languages belonging to three number group are—Pattani (designated as Manchai by Grierson); Tinani, Kinnauri and Chhitkuli; all belonging to pronominalized group of languages of the western Himalayas.

Besides, the languages of the T.H. group as a whole, like Munda and Tibetan, do not attest the phenomenon of number-gender complex as well, i.e., the number markers are invariable, i.e. are not affected by the gender of the substantive in question.

Moreover, in nominal and pronominal inflections the number markers are normally kept apart from the case suffixes, but in verbal

conjugations these are tied up with person, tense and aspect suffixes, e.g., (Patt.) in /thär-te-tu/ of tigers' (= /thär/ tiger + /te/ plural suffix + /tu/ genitive suffix) all are kept apart and serially presented, but in /yo-to-re/ 'they will come' the plural suffix /-re/ represents both the 3rd person as well as the plurality. However, in certain speeches the number is fused with the case makers as well, e.g., (Gar.) - /bucā-roḡ/ to the boy (sg.) < *bucā-re-oḡ, /bucā-zoḡ/ to boys (pl.) < *bucā-ze-oḡ; /bucā-zi/ by the boy (sg.) : /bucā-chi/ by boys (pl.) etc.

With regard to the number category in pronominal stems a notable peculiarity of these languages is this that like Munda languages these too have subtle grades of non-singularity in the first person of personal pronouns, i.e., there are two different sets of them in the dual and plural numbers, one to express the inclusion of the addressee along with the speaker, whilst the other to exclude the person addressed to. In the second and third persons, however, most of the languages under consideration, attest different sets of pronominal stems as well as flexional suffixes for ordinary and polite terms. Here we shall confine ourselves to their number aspects only, other peculiarities of the pronominal systems of these tongues will be dealt with in the respective sections of this volume. Various aspects of the number system of the T.H. languages under consideration may be presented as follows:

Singular

All the languages of the T.H. group, may be having a two number system or a three number system, are totally devoid of any suffixal or morphemic element that may be designated as singular marker. In fact, in all these languages all substantives, as lexical items, are denude of any number or gender marker. As such it may be said that all substantives and pronouns have only a zero morpheme as a marker of singularity. It is only in the dual and the plural numbers that we are confronted with the mechanism of number markers.

In this regard these tongues exhibit a close affinity with the languages of Dravidian and Munda families in which too, ordinarily no suffix is added to express the idea of singularity or oneness. When there is no specific mention of the number of the object in question, it is to be understood that singular number has been meant. But in these languages the absence of pluralizing particles is also an indicator of the indeterminate number of the substantive in question, e.g., in the term /raṅ/~ /rhāṅ/ 'horse', does not mean exclusively either 'a horse' or 'horses', it may admit either meaning according to the context under

consideration. As such if specification of singularity is intended then the word for 'one' is to be used as a modifier of it, as in /ica rhän/; /id ran/ 'one' or 'a certain horse'. Similarly, in narrative statements it is expressed by an indefinite marker which is the same as for 'one', e.g., (Kin.) - /i mi toco, hädo i ran due/ 'there was a man, he (who) had a horse'.

Dual

In the languages of the T.H. group the mechanism of number marking, whether for the dual number or for the plural number, becomes operative when the sense of duality or plurality is desired to be expressed specifically, otherwise, as in Munda, in this too the use of affixes employed to express the dual and the plural numbers of the objects under reference can be dispensed with. The non-singularity of it is inferable from the context or from words denotative of non-singularity.

In this group of languages there are, like Munda languages, a couple of languages, in which in addition to singular and plural numbers, there is a currency of the dual number as well. Historically, this feature of these tongues may be assigned to their Austro-Asiatic sub-stratum. As such all the tongues of the T.H. group under consideration can broadly be grouped as suffixal and non-suffixal, i.e., the languages that belong to the three number group form their dual forms by appending a dual formative suffix to the stem/root and others employ either the term for 'two' current in the speech, when particularization or avoidance of misunderstanding is intended, or, when the object is animate then the general suffix for non-singularity is readily used, if the degree of non-singularity is not to be specified.

Besides, in the use of specificatory terms like 'two', the non-suffixal languages can further be grouped as having an attributive or predicative use of the specificatory term, i.e., in the former case the term for two, like I. A., is used attributively, as in /niš mi/ two men, /niš praca/ two fingers, etc. (Kin.); and in the latter case, as in Tibetan, predicatively, as in (Tod) - /mi ñi/ two men (lit. men two) (Gari.) - /šräns niskin/ two horses; /mi nispi/ two men (lit. men two); but in this too, the case marker follows the number marker, as in /bucā-rok/ to, for a child (sg.) : /bucā-zok/ (=bucā zi-ok) to, for children.

Among the languages manifesting a three number system, the most prominent are Pattani and Tinani in which inflection for all the three numbers is attested with all nominal, pronominal and verbal stems.

In both, the dual marker suffix is /-ku/ which is constant and is kept apart from case markers which follow it, e.g., /mi/ men : /mi-ku/ two men; /mi-ku-tiñ/ for two men; /kätu-ku/ two children : /kätu-ku-tu/ of two children : /kätu-ku-tiñ/ for two boys. The same is true of pronominal stems as well, as in /ge/ I : /ñe-ku/ we two : /ñe-ku-tiñ/ for us (two); /kä/ thou : /ke-ku/ you two : /ke-ku-tiñ/ for you (two); /du/ he : /du-ku/ they two : /du-ku-tiñ/ for them (two).

In Tinani, however, though the nominal inflection for dual number is identical with Patt., yet it shows a variation in 1st and 2nd person pronominal forms, which in it are attested as /iša/ ~/niša/ 'we two' and /kenci/ 'you two', otherwise /miku/ two men, /doku/ they two, /diku/ these two, etc.

In verbal conjugation too, the number distinction is fully maintained, though the forms of the 1st and 2nd dual have become identical. There the dual marker of the 3rd person is /ku/ but of the 1st and 2nd person is /ši/ , as in /äpato-ku/ they (two) will come : /apa-to-ši/ we/ you (two) will come; /ätiku/ they (two) went; /ätiši/ we, you (two) went. It may be noticed in the above examples that in the case of verbal conjugations the number suffixes follow the tense-aspect markers and are fused with the person markers, e.g., in /äpa-to-ku/ they (two) will come or /äpa-to-re/ they (pl.) will come; the dual suffix /-ku/ and the plural suffix /-re/ represent both, the number and the person involved in the action.

Another important language which maintains a three way number distinction is Kinnauri. There in nominal inflection, though standard Kinnauri has given way to plurality in place of duality, yet the relics of it are still attested in the Sangla & Nichar variety of it. There the dual marker suffix /suñ/~/gsuñ/ is appended to all nominal stems, besides the demonstrative pronominal stems, as in /rañ suñ/ two horses; /piši suñ/ two cats, /rinz-suñ/ two sisters, etc. In standard Kinnauri the dual suffix /suñ/ is attested with demonstrative pronouns only, as in /dogsuñ/ those two. Its relics are attested in Chaud. as well.

Marking of Duality in a Two Number Group

No other dialect, except the above mentioned ones, uses any thing like the dual suffix either in the nominal declension or in a verbal conjugation. For all practical purposes the plural forms are used for the dual forms as well. But if necessary to specify the duality of the objects under reference then it is expressed by prefixing or suffixing the term for the numeral 'two' in the speech concerned as an attribute

to the plural form of the pronoun in question or to the numberless crude form of the noun.

In this context it may be mentioned that there are some speech forms in which it is used, as in I.A. dialects, attributively and in some, as in Tibetan, predicatively. In this classification the former group comprises, Kin., Kanashi, Chhitkuli, Darmiya, Chaudangsi-Byangsi, and Marchha and the constituents of the latter group are-Gari, Tod, Spitian, Nyamkad, Raji and Jad, e.g., (Attributive). (Kin.) - /niš mi/ two men; /niš praca/ two fingers; (Kan.) - /niš choṅs/ two boys; /niš mi/ two men; (Chaud.) - /niši pe/ two brothers; /niš lama/ two goats; (Johari) - /nisi mi/ two men; /nisi seri/ two sons; (Spitian) - /tu ñi/ cat (s) two; /lakpa ñi/ hand (s) two. (Jad) /miñi/ man two; /khiñi/ dog(s) two. (Gari) /mi nispi/ man two; /srāns niskin/ horse(s) two. (Raji) - /päyau nhi/ son(s) two; /rupiya nhi/ rupee(s) two.

A notable instance of marking duality with distinct dual markers for the superior and inferior categories of substantives has been noted from the material on Gari. In this there are two allomorphs of the dual suffix, viz., /nispi/ and /niskin/, of these the former is affixed to nouns and pronouns denoting superior beings, as in /hin nispi/ we two; /mi nispi/ two men (lit. man two); and the latter to nouns denoting inferior beings or inanimate objects, as in /srāns niskin/ two horses; /thāb niskin/ two hearths, etc.

Here we are reminded of the statement of Caldwell (1974: 236) in which he states that with regard to plurality Dravidian languages distinguish between rational and irrational categories of the noun. According to him the former category includes words with masculine and feminine genders while the latter all words belong to the neuter gender. Though the distinctive aspects of plurality, as explained there for the Dravidian tongues, are not attested in the same manner in the languages of the T. H. group, yet the above noted instance of differentiating between the superior and inferior classes of nouns in the use of dual markers and the practice of marking plurality in nouns of superior class only is an indicator that in the hoary past these languages too might be having the type of distinction of number marking as is attested in Dravidian languages.

Pluralisation

In all the languages of the T.H. group pluralisation of nominal, pronominal (3rd person only) and verbal stems is affected by means of particles/suffixes which usually remain unaffected in all the cases,

but may have some phonetically conditioned morphophonemic changes in a few cases. The number of the allomorphs, conditioned by semantic considerations of animate and inanimate or human or non-human beings, and phonetic environments too varies from language to language, i.e., in some cases they are more, in some less or only one. But as in the languages of the Dravidian or Scythian group (See, Caldwell, 1974 : 232), in the languages of this group too, particularly, in the languages of the Tibetan group, the number distinction is generally left indefinite in a non-formal speech and the singularity or the plurality of the substantive or the verb is inferred from the context in question. Moreover, as in the above mentioned groups of languages in these too the morphological element of pluralisation is marked in words denoting animate beings, particularly belonging to the higher species of it only. All other classes of words, i.e., denoting non-human animate beings and inanimate objects are left destitute of any sign of number. But in the languages of the Himalayan group, particularly in Kin., Chhit., Patt., and Tin., all nominal stems, animate and inanimate, are regularly marked for plurality and the verbal forms showing agreement with them too are accordingly marked for it.

With regard to the principle of pluralisation most of these languages differ considerably from the languages of the Indo-European families and attest a close affinity with the scythian and Dravidian languages of agglutinating character, i.e., in the use of the markers of plurality many of these attest the same pattern of simplicity and rigidity which is found in Dravidian languages (cf. Caldwell, 1974: 234-35). As in Dravidian and Scythian in these too the sign of plurality is not only kept apart from the case sign, but also remains unaffected by case inflection. Thus the plurality is an independent entity and distinct from the case terminations.

The plural markers, like Dravidian and Munda, are appended directly to the crude base of the noun which is identical with nominative singular and remains unaltered in all the numbers of direct and oblique cases. Structurally, these markers are placed in between the nominal stem and the case terminations, i.e., stem + pl. marker + case marker.

e.g. *Patt.* /thär-te-tu/ of tigers; /kum-ze-tu/ of pillows.

Tin. /mig-te-tu/ of eyes; /rin-te-tu/ of sisters.

Gar. /buca/ boy : /cuca-zi/ boys; /buca-zok/ for the boys.

Tod. /buca/ boy : /buca'un/ boys; /buca-unc/ of boys.

Kin. /rañ-a-nu/ of the horses; /rim-a-nu/ of the fields.

Sp. /tu-za-ti/ of the boys; /tu-za-la/ for the boys.

Nyam. /mi-ya-e/ of men; /chiba-ya-e/ of children.

Jad. /po-ya-se/ of girls, but /ta-o-se/ of horses.

Mar. /khui-se-t/ of the dogs; /šeru-se-t/ of boys.

Chaud. /širi-män-ge/ of the boys; /mi-män-gä/ of men.

Dar. /mi-jän-gu/ of men; /la-jän-su/ by hands.

Johari. /be-cā-k/ of skins, but /mala-ku/ of goats.

It may, however, be mentioned in this context that in a non-formal speech the plural markers are usually left out in oblique cases before the case markers, e.g., compare /-ta-se/ of horses (Jad); or /mala-ku/ of goats (Johari). This feature, in a more or less degree, is attested in almost all the speech forms of the T.H. tongues. Besides, Raji does not attest any plural marker, except the qualifying terms like /jhik/ ~ /jhik-äl/ much, many, or /jämmä/ all, or a numeral, as in /jhik päyau kE/of many boy~of boys.

With regard to non-singular inflection of nominal stems in these tongues another notable peculiarity is that the number marker suffixes are not at all affected by the gender of the substantive. For, as has already been pointed out that in the languages of this group a noun is basically a genderless entity, and in its crude form does not denote either masculineness or feminineness of the object under reference. As we have seen in the discussion on gender that in case of necessity of specification it can be formed by adding particles denotative of a male or a female. In such cases the aspect of plurality is expressed by suffixing pluralizing particles to these nominal stems, e.g., (Sp.) -/gyal-po-cän/ kings : /gyal-mo-cän/ queens; /zo-pho-cän/ oxen of hybrid origin : /zo-mo-cän/ cows of hybrid origin; (Nyam.) - /pho-mo-ya/ girls (child-female-pl.) /no-mo-ya/ sisters, /ta-mo-ya/ mares (=horse-female-pl.); /ca-pho-sin/ cocks (=bird-male-all), etc.

Although the use of the morphological feature of expressing non-singular with number markers may not be uncommon in some of the speeches, yet the practice of denoting non-singular numbers of nominal stems with the help of words denoting plurality is more common, i.e., as in Munda in these too the number markers of the nominal stems are usually dispensed with if their non-singularity is indicated by terms indicative of higher numerals other than for 'one' or a word denoting multitude or multiplicity, such as all, many, several, numeral, some, a few, etc. These are prefixed or suffixed to the nominal stem under reference. In this type of constructions, however, the use of pluralising morphemes is dispensed with even with stems denotative of human beings, for in such cases it becomes redundant in view of various degrees

of non-singularity of the nominal stems being made obvious by these qualifying terms. In this case the formations become like 'three man', 'all man', 'some man', 'many man', 'man crowd'; 'bird flock'; 'tree grove' etc., e.g., (Kin.) - /sum mi/ three man; /na bothän/ five tree; /cei pyac/ all bird; /muluk kim/ many house; /mi mänpo/ man many; /ta širi/ horse all; etc. But when the degree of non-singularity is not to be specified then at least with objects denoting animate beings it is normally used to express the general non-singularity.

Moreover, it may also be mentioned that addition of these modifiers, conveying the sense of plurality or multitude, is also possible with nominal stems having the scope of distinct plural markers.

Thus the whole mechanism of pluralisation in the T. H. group of languages can briefly be summarised as under:

1. Pluralisation is optional and can easily be dispensed with if it can be inferred from the context or is otherwise expressed by terms indicative of non-singularity.

2. Inanimate nouns or animate nouns of lower species, normally, do not take pluralising elements. The normal procedure of expressing their non-singularity, if at all necessary, is either to add the specificatory numeral as a qualifier or any other term indicative of non-singularity or multitude.

3. In the dialects of pronominalized group non-singular suffixes are found to be used in addition to the numeral or any other qualifying word expressing non-singularity when different objects or animate beings are to be enumerated or when the non-singularity is to be emphasised.

4. In verbal conjugations, plurality is usually inferred from the number of the subject of the verb under reference.

Pluralising Suffixes: Pluralising suffixes attested in the languages under consideration are - /-ga, -ge, -a, -e, -re, -te~te, -ze, -zi, si, -za, -gya, -'un, -yā, -jän, -cän, -cän, -se/.

Their language-wise distribution is as follows:

/-ga, -ge/ (Kin.); /-a/ (Kin., Kan., Nyam.); /-e/ (Kin., Kan.); /-te, te, -ze, re/ (Patt., Tin.); /-si, -zi/ (Gar.); /-za, -gya/ (Sp.); /'un/ (Tod); /ya/ (Nyam., Jad); /cän, jän/ (Dar., Johari); /män/ (Chaud.); /cän/ (Chhit.); /-se/ (Mar.); /-:/ (length) (Kin.).

Phonetic environments, conditioning the occurrences of various allomorphs of pluralizing suffixes in respective tongues may be illustrated from a few tongues (For others see studies in respective tongues in

the volumes of *S.T.H.L.* 1988-92). *Kin.* The allomorphs in *Kin.*, are /-ga, -ge, -a, -e/. They occur as follows: /-ga/ : It is affixed to all nominal stems, with a few exceptions, ending in a vowel, as in /mi-ga/ men; /piši-ga/ cats, etc.; /-ge/ : It is attested, sporadically, with nouns ending in a velar nasal sound, as in /hoŋ-ge/ worms, /loŋ-ge/ nose screws, etc.; /-a/ : It is appended to stems ending in a consonant, as in /thär-a/ tigers; /gud-a/ hands; /mig-a/ eyes, etc.

It is also attested with nominal stems ending in /-äs/, where it substitutes the formative suffix /-äs/ as well, as in /coräs/ thief (sg.) : /cora/ thieves; /damäs/ bull : /dama/ bulls. In the Sangla variety of *Kin.*, it is, however, attested as /-o/.

/-e/ : It has no regular pattern and is sporadically attested with both, vowel and consonant ending stems, e.g., /kui/ dog : /ku-c/ dogs; /kitab/ book : /kitabe/ books, etc.

/ : / : Length in the final vowel is attested in stems ending in rounded back vowels, e.g., /gindu/ ball : /gindu:/ balls, etc.

Gar.: The distribution of the plural markers /-zi/ and /-si/ shows that the former occurs with stems ending in a vowel, a voiced stop, a nasal or a liquid, as in /mi-zi/ men; /khyu-zi/ dogs, /lag-zi/ hands, /bañ-zi/ feet; /yul-zi/ countries, /gam-zi/ boxes, /khur-zi/ knives, and the latter with stems ending in a voiceless/devoiced consonant, as in /cimct-si/ < / cimed-si/ girls; /diksak-si/ women/wives, etc.

Similarly, the distribution of /-re, te~te, -ze/ in *Patt.*, and *Tin.*, shows that the allomorph /-re/ occurs with vowel ending and velar nasal consonant ending stems, as in /mi-re/ men, /cuñ-re/ arrows; /-te~te/ with stems ending in a voiced consonant, as in /lab-te/ leaves, /rhag-te/ stones, and /-ze/ occurs with stems ending in /-n, -m, -r, -l/ as in /kär-ze/ stars, /kum-ze/ pillows, etc. The *Spitian* allomorphs / gya~za/ occur in free variation e.g., /mi-gya/ men; /anc-za/ women; /khi-gya/ dogs; /piši-za~gya/ cats; etc.

CASE SYSTEM

Case is a grammatical category in all the speeches of the T. H. group. It can be established on morpho-syntactic bases. The grammatical relations expressed by these cases are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possession, material composition, etc. Besides expressing the above mentioned relationships of a noun or pronoun with the verb in general, a case, particularly the genitive case, expresses a relationship between two substantives as well. All these relations are expressed either by

means of affixes, suffixed to the bare stem of the substantive concerned in the singular and after the number suffixes in the plural or by means of postpositions. There are different sets of case suffixes and postpositions in different tongues. In some cases the case marker affixes are tied up with number suffixes, but in some both the elements are kept apart from each other, e.g., (Kin.) - /mi-tu/ of men, but (Patt.) /thär-te-tu/ of tigers; (Jad.)- /kho-gun-la/ to you; (Mar.) - /khuit/ of the dog; /khui-se-t/ of dogs, etc. (Also see *Supra* Nominal Inflection).

As such the principle of case formations in these tongues is neither purely agglutinating nor fully inflectional, i.e., in some cases the case markers hold fast their individual entity or separate existence and in others these are closely fused with the nominal/pronominal stems to which they are affixed, technically to be termed as inflectional terminations, e.g., (Kin.) - /ti/ water; /tis/ with/by water; /ti-u/ of water, /ti-o/ in the water. Similarly, /mi/ man; /mis/ by/with man, /mi-u/ of man, mi-pan/ to man; /mi-u dwack/ from the man, etc. (Gar.)- /yul-dog/ for/to a village, /yul-zi/ with the village; /yul-dog-zi/ from the village, /yul-gi/ of the village, etc. As such it is a mixed lot having characteristics of both the systems.

Another distinguishing feature of case makers when compared with the inflectional system of I. A. tongues is this that the speeches of the Tibetan group and of the Rangkas group do not have the dichotomy of singular-plural case markers, though it is fully practised in other Himalayan tongues, e.g., (Patt.)- /mi/ man, (acc.-dative) - /mi-bi/ (sg.) : /mi-zi/ (pl.); (Erg. Agn.) - /mi-zi/ (sg.) : /mi-ci/ (pl.); (Gen.) - /mi-u/ (sg.) : /mi-tu/ (pl.). (Gar.) - /yul/ country: (Acc. - dat.) - /yul-dog/ (sg.) : /yul-zog/ (pl.); (Erg. Ag.) - /yul-zi/ (sg.): /yul-chi/ (pl.); (Gen.) - /yul-gi/ (sg.) /yul-zi/ (pl.); Kin. (Acc.) - /chanu/ to a boy : /chana-nu/ to boys.

Besides, under this system there is no morphophonemic change in the stem vowel, as we find it in I. A. tongues, and the oblique case forms too are in no way different from the direct case forms. In the singular number all the case markers are directly appended to the nominative base which is identical with the nominal stem and in the plural number they follow the pluralising suffixes/particles. From the inflectional point of view it may be stated that the inflectional aspect of the case formations is attested in the singular only and that too in nominative/direct, Acc.-dative, ergative, locative and genitive cases of a few speeches. In all others, the case relations are expressed with the

help of postpositions, usually added to the nominative or genitive bases of the noun and pronoun. In plural all the case signs, normally, follow the number markers.

Case Relationship of the Subject and Object

The case relationship of the subject and object of a transitive verb is well defined in most of the languages of the Himalayan group, i.e., as a general rule in all the transitive verbs, other than those having two objects, the subject is placed in the ergative/agentive case and the object in the direct/nominative case. (Also see *infra*, Acc.-dative case, p. 99 and Ergative case, p. 98).

But in case of verbs having more than one object (direct and indirect) the case relationship which is normally attested is like this: the subject is placed in the ergative case, the indirect object in the Acc.-dative case, and the direct object, real or logical, in the direct/nominative case (for examples see *infra* Acc.-dative case).

Various syntactic correlations expressed by different cases may be presented as under:

Nominative/Direct: The nominative case is the case of the doer of the action indicated by the verb under reference, and with reference to postpositional case markers it can be termed as 'direct case' as well. Structurally, it is devoid of any case marker or we may say has only a zero case marker. Syntactically, it is, however, used to denote the following grammatical relations in most of these tongues.

(a) It is the subject of intransitive verbs in all the tenses, and of the transitive verb in non-past tenses, e.g., (Kin.)-/macha tiu komo die du/ fish live in water; /sita ramu dwakè äm io/ Sita asked Ram about the way; (Patt.) /baya ereg dir ände/ aunt came here yesterday. (Sp.) - /tu todca sarok/the child is eating food; /ña chu nan-la dckak/ fishes live in water. (Chhit.)-/mache ti-du huna to/id. /pccäna-ci ancäto/ birds fly with wings; (Jad.)-/ciu sokpa na phorok/id., /petiñ sebduñ zaok/the child is eating food. (Mar.) - /šeru rotji zacya/the child is eating loaves of bread; /ama šeru-ru äpu pilacän/mother gives breast milk to the child; (Dar.) - /pya rän-su länni/birds fly with wings; /syänu rota zani/ the child is eating loaves of bread, etc.

As the languages of this group do not favour passive or impersonal constructions, the question of placing the subject in the accusative case does not arise. There all utterances of other systems having objectival syntactic constructions are transformed into subjectival constructions. Consequently, utterances like—'this letter will not be read by you' will

be expressed as 'you will not be able to read this letter', as in Chhit, /kin hui ciṭṭi huṣi ma linoṽ/, etc.

Ergative Case: As stated above the ergative case which is identical with the agentive is a case of the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense and is as common in all the tongues of the T.H. group as we find it in I.A. tongues. But the special feature of its use, as compared with the I.A. tongues, is that in the speeches of the Himalayan group it is used with non-past tense forms as well, i.e., in them the subject of a transitive verb is invariably placed in the ergative case with all the temporal categories of the verb. For instance, (Patt.) - /käṭu-i bāgät zāwa/ the child (lit. by the child) is eating food; /käṭuci bāgät zāwatore/ children (=by children) are eating food; (Tin.) - /thilag-ci zamin zāwa/ the boy (=by boy) eats/is eating food; /thilag-te-ci zamin zāito-re/boys (=by boys) are eating food; /käi khe zāiton/what are you (=by you) eating ? (Gar.) - /ama-ci cici-jog pelci dacare/mother (lit. by mother) gives milk to babies; /hänzi girog ringani/you (lit. by you) will tell me; (Dar.) - /o-su dada, ji tumsi/ he (lit. by him) gives, I drink; /nɔkar-su malik-ku ge childa/the servant (lit. by the servant) washes master's clothes; (Chaud.)-/us län syunta/he (by him) is working.

The Spitian tongue of the Tibetan group, however, does not favour the use of the ergative case even with the past tense forms which otherwise is a normal feature of all other tongues of this group; (Sp.) - /kho pcca silson/he read the book;/ kho-na-la tobca te-cun/he gave me food.

The number of ergative marker morphemes may be unitary or multiple. In the latter case they are normally conditioned by the phonetic environments of the nominal/pronominal stems. The usually employed markers/suffixes are attested as /so~si~se, zä, -zi, ci,-ti, -i~e, le~lä/. Their areal distribution shows that phonetically and morphologically conditioned suffixes like/ci~chi,-zi,-ti,-i/ are favoured by the pronominalized tongues of Lahul, viz., Patt., Tin., Gar., and also by Chhit. Suffixes with/-s, -z, -so, -su, -si/ are attested in Kin., Tibetan and Rangkas groups of speeches. Suffixes with the lateral consonant are attested in the Raji dialect only. Of the suffixes beginning with the sibilants, /-so/ occurs in Nyam., Jad and Johari; /-s/ in Kin., Kan., Johari and Chaud;/ si/ in Tod., and /-z/ in Mar. A few of these may be illustrated as follows:

Kin.- /chanäs/ by a boy: /cḥḥas/ by boys

/ramäs/ by Ram: /sita-s/ by ṣita.

Kan.- /choṅäs lonmo/ the son said; /ba-s taṅ-mo/ the father saw.

Chhit.- /ram-ci kitab huse/Ram (=by Ram) read the book.

Patt.- /kätui/ by boy; /thär-ci/ by tiger; /khui-zi/ by dog;

/ba-zi/ by father; /kätu-ci/ by boys; /mi-ci/ by men.

Tin.- /doi/ by him; /mig-ci/ by eye; /rin-zi/ by sister; /gud-ti/ by hand;

Gar.- /lag-ci/ by hand; /lag-chi/ by hands; /buca-zi/ by the boy; /buca-chi/ by boys; /awa-zi/ by father.

Jad.- /tu-so/ by the boy; /po-yak-so/ by girls; /ram-so/ by Ram.

Tod.- /khoi/ by him; /buce/ by the boy; /buce-se/ by boys;

Mar.- /šeru-z/ by the boy; /šeru-se/ by boys.

Dar.- /ba-s lhis/ father said; /širi-su lhise/ the son said; /usi-su gada/they do; /syänu-su/ by the boy.

Chaud.- /use/ by him; /širi-s/ by the boy; /ba-s/ by the father.

Johari- /ba-s/ by the father; /šeru-su/ by the son.

Nyam.- /tu-so peza silson/ the boy (=by the boy/read the book; /tu-so phomo-la thonson/the boy looked at the girl.

Raji- It has borrowed /lc~lE/ from the central Pahari dialects, e.g., /bhäuwa-le/ by the brother; /dhesu-le/ by Dhesu (a name).

Accusative-Dative Case: In most of the tongues of the Tibeto-Himalayan group the accusative case usually represents the dative case as well. Consequently, identical case markers are employed to express the sense of both the cases, though there are separate postpositional markers to express the sense of the dative case as well.

Accusative case is the case of object towards which the action of the subject is directed. Occurrence of this takes place with transitive verbs only. It could be single or double, animate or inanimate. In case of double objects one of them is called 'direct object' and the other 'indirect'. The former may be a pronoun or a noun of any class, but the latter is pronoun or a noun of animate class only. The general practice attested in the dialects of the T.H. group is to put the animate object, when indirect, in the accusative case and to leave all others unmarked, or unrepresented in the verb in pronominalized speeches (For details see *infra* 'pronominalisation'). e.g., (Mar.) - /ama šeru-ru äpu pilacän/ mother makes the child drink milk of breast, but /šeru rotti zacya/ the boy is eating bread; also /ghwara-ru ti är ci dhE/give water and grass to the horse. The object marker is also left out when the subject is placed in the ergative case, as in (Mar.) /šeruz tig khui tanki/the boy saw a dog; (Patt.) -/gye du tenateg/ I (lit. by me) saw him; /kätu-i mec-mi-kätu khänatu/ the boy looked at the girl; otherwise /ge baba-bi dak cecimitätæg/I have to write a letter to the uncle.

Besides there are speeches like Kin., Patt., Tin., Gar., and Marchha which exhibit the dichotomy of singular: plural in respect of acc. dative markers (for examples see below).

There is no uniformity in acc. markers in the speeches of the Himalayan group, but in the speeches of the Tibetan group there is only one single form, viz., /la/, which is attested in all of them, viz., Tod, Jad, Sp., and Nyam. Various forms and their usages in these tongues may be illustrated as under:

Kin.- /u, nu/ : /chañ-u/ to a boy; /chana-nu/ to boys.

Kan.- /-u, -uj, -p/ : /ghora-u/ to the horse; /ba-uj/ to father; /hom-äp/ to a bear.

Chhit. -/tin, Φ / : /su-tiñ/ to whom ? /cme-tiñ/ to them; /amaci e äci bhikhari dea/ the mother gave her child (to) the beggar (acc.).

Patt. - /-bi, tiñ/ : /mi-bi/ to man : /mi-tiñ/ to men (pl.).

Tin.- /riñ, tiñ/ : /miriñ/ to man: /mi-tiñ/ to men (pl.).

Gar.- /-rog, -dog, -tog: -zog, -sog/ : /buca-rog/ to the boy; /šrin-dog/ to the sister; /cemed-tog/ to the girl; /läl-zog/ to them; (pl.); /mig-sog/ to eyes (pl.).

Mar.- /ru, nu/ : /šeru-ru/ to the boy : /šeru-nu/ to boys (pl.).

Dar. - / Φ / : / u šyanu kämda/ he beats the child. (zero) /rhän ci ji ti da/ give grass and water (to) the horse

Chaud.- /ja/ : / khäm-ja/ to whom? /mohän-ja/ to Mohan.

Johari. / Φ / : Usually uses dative and genitive markers for acc.

Raji.- /a, yā/ - /äyā rupiya ic-ā bE riyu/ I will give this money to mother; /päyau-yē kuh be/ give this taruṛ (a root) to the son; / Φ / - /na cihīṛo ḍa ce?-pa/ I saw one bird.

From the above it may be noticed that Dar. and Johari both, from the Rangkas group, do not use any acc. case marker. In them the acc. forms are identical with the nominative forms.

However, in the speeches of the Tibetan group the acc. case marker is invariably attested as /la/, e.g.

Tod - /buca-la/ to the boy; /buca-un-la/ to boys; /b'omo-la/ to the girl.

Jad- /ta-la/ to the horse; /piṭyak-la/ to the child, to the boy.

Sp. - /tu-la/ to the child; /ta-la/ to the horse/horses.

Nyam.- /tu-la/ to the boy; /phomo-la/ to the girl, etc.

Besides the above, the following examples also illustrate the use of acc. for dative: (Kin.) -/mi-pän/ for the man; /rañu/ for the horse; (Patt.) - /gye-bi/ for me, /kaka-bi/ for the elder brother; (Tin.) - /ri-riñ/ for the sister; (Gar.) - /cemed-tog/ for the girl; /mig-sog/ for eyes;

(Tod.) - /na la/ for me; (Nyam.) - /män la/ for me; (Sp.) - /na la/ for me; - /ta-la/ for the horse (Mar.) /giru/ for me.

Dative: As pointed out above, in most of the speeches of this group the dative case is not a distinct case category. Normally, the sense of this case is expressed with acc. markers or if necessary with post-positions denoting the sense of 'for', 'for the sake of'. The post-positions which are employed for this purpose, usually, follow the genitive base of the nominal or pronominal stem, but there are languages like Chhit., Kan., and those of Rangkas group in which they follow the nominative base as well.

Employment of various postpositions by these tongues to denote the sense of 'for' or 'for the sake of' may be illustrated as follows:

- Kin.** - /tanēs/ : /zu kherān pišiu tanēs to/this milk is for the cat; /hoda gasa chanu tanēs toš/ these clothes are for the child.
- Chhi.** - /sün/ ~/chetin/ : Between these the first follows a genitive base and the second a nominative one: /ae sün-ā chetin/ for me, /gol chetin/ for a month. /ki chetin/ for you, etc.
- Kan.** - /käs/ (nominative base); /tēis/ (gen. base): /lugri käs/ for the sake of wine; /duk tēis/ for his sake.
- Patt.** - /thälzi/, (Tin.)/thälzi/ (gen. base).
/kānu thälzi/ for you; /gyu thälzi/ for me; /rinu thälzi/ for sister; /abau thälzi/ for father (Tin.)
- Gar.** - /bon-θreg/-/buca-i bon-θreg/for the boy.
- Tod.Sp.** - /phila/ : /nae philla/ for me; /ned-ü phila/ for the sick (Sp.), otherwise (Acc.) - /ta-la/ for the horse.
- Nyam.** - /ched-la-chella/ : /tuoe ched-la/ for the boy; /pušie ched-la/ for the cat, otherwise (Acc.) /tu-la/ for the boy; /ta-la/ for the horse.
- Dar.** - /dansu/ , /händo/ (Both follow nominative base): /min-ba dansu/ for uncle; /ji dansu/ for me; /gäe-ge händo/ for you.
- Chaud.** - /danci/ (gen. base): /jig danci/ for me; /cha danci/ for a month.
- Johari** - /lekha/ , /cäbän/ (nom. base) - /ba cäbän/ for father; /u lekha/ for him, for his sake.
- Mar.** - /wasta/ (gen. base): /gez gēt wasta jhul baki/ I have brought clothes for you; otherwise (Acc.) /gän giru khe bäni/what have you brought for me?
- Raji** - /yē/ , ā /tai/ - /ti-i-yā/ for water, /mänai-yē/ for the forest; /ka tai/ for whom? etc.

Agentive/Instrumental: In most of the tongues of the T.B. group the case signs, suffixes or postpositions, of the agentive/instrumental and associative cases are identical with the ergative case markers discussed above, though there are some in which their distinct entities too are attested. As in other cases in these cases too these signs are appended to the nominative base of the noun or pronoun, unless otherwise they are loans from the I.A. tongues. In that case they follow the pattern of the source language. In case of causal constructions, which is not a basic part of the syntactic constructions in these tongues, the agent is marked differently (See *infra* Causal Agentive, p. 103.).

From a detailed analysis of various contexts of the ergative and instrumental cases, it has been found that all the speeches, except Patt., Kan., Tod, Nyam., Sp., and Jad, use identical signs for both the cases. Some of the forms and functions of these may be illustrated as under:

- Kin.* - /-äs/ : /lhatäs/ with axe, /kälämäs/ with pen, etc.
Kan. - /tän, net/ : /latän/ with axe, /pakh-net/ with wings.
Chhit. - /ci/ : /lasta-ci/ with axe, /ban-ci/ with an arrow.
Patt. - /rän/ : /karzi-rän/ with axe; /pakh-rän/ with wings.
Tin. - /ti, tri/ : /gud-ti/ with hand, /rhagri/ with stone.
Gar. - /ci,-zi/ : /takar-zi/ with axe, /lag-ci/ with hand.
Tod. - /dan/ : /lagpa dan zayo/ eats with hand.
Jad. - /na/ : /tcri-na/ with axe, /sokhana/ with wings /ciu sokhana phorok/birds fly with wings.
Mar. - /zä/ : /tar-zä/ with axe, /pankhäz/ with wings: Also /sib/ : /lag-sib/ with hand.
Dar. - /su/ : /la-su/ with hands, /pharsa-su/ with axe, /rän-su/ with wings, /jyan-su/ with ropes.
Chaud. - /sE,-s/ : /ü:r-sE/ with an arrow; /jhän-s/ with axe; /rhänpli-sə/ with wings (I.A. loan).
Johari - /so/ : /ji-s cabuk-so käsiš/ he struck with stripes.
Raji - /lE/ : /ü-1E/ with water; /rupiya 1E/ with money (I.A.).
Sp. - /na, nasu/ : /üri-na/ with axe, /sokpa-na/ with wings; /ñuku—nasu/ with pen; /chu-nasu/ with water.
Nyam- - /rän, naso/ - /lari-rän/ with axe, /pakha-rän/ with wings, also /pan-naso/ with wings (Pooh).

From the above it is evident that the suffix /ci/ is common with Chhit., and Gar., /rän/ with Patt. and Nyam., /tan, dan/ with Kan., and Tod.; /na, naso/ with Jad., Sp., Nyam., and /su, so, sE/ with Rangkas group of tongues.

Associative: The Associative case which expresses either casual or inherent association of a person or thing with some other persons or things is expressed with the help of respective postpositions denoting the sense of 'with' or 'in the company of' etc. The markers of association used by different languages of this group are as under:

- Kin.* - /rän/ : /ti-rän/ with water, /boa rän/ with father.
Chhit. - /tiñ/ : /yo e au-tiñ roñ toc/ he has to accompany his father.
Kan. - /roñ, rän,-s/ : /nu sel og tis zau/ take this medicine with hot water; /choñäs äuk ba-roñ buntün/ the boy is to go with his father.
Patt. - /rän/ba-rän/ with father; /ti-rän/ with water.
Tin. - /rän-ñampo/ : In Tinani and in the speeches of the Tibetan group another particle of Tibetan origin is added to the associative marker particle to strengthen the sense of association, as in /aba rän ñampo/ with father, in the company of father.
Gar. - /dän ñampo/ : /awa dän ñampo/ with father;
Jad. - /ñampo/ : /khyoe ñampo/ with you.
Nyam. - /ñampo/ : /kho khoe apa ñampo doano/ he has to go with his father.
Sp. - /rän~tän+ñampo/ : /apa rän ñampo/ with father; /ñct tän ñampo/ with vegetable.
Jad. - /nāu-la/ : /aba ñau-la/ with/ in the company of father.
Dar. - /raksa/ : /gae raksa/ with you; /bc raksa/ with father.
Chaud. - /te/ : /luñ ti-te/ with hot water; /ba-te/ with father.
Johari - /dägär/ (I.A.); /rašya/ : /je rakso-k dägär/ with/ in the company of my friend; /je rašya/ with me.
Mar. - /sib/ : /papa sib/ with father; /gE sib/ with you.
Raji. - /E/ (as instrumental) : /ðaran IE/ along with hail stones.

From the above it may be noticed that in respect of employment of 'associative' particles languages of the western Himalayan and Tibetan group exhibit a closer affinity with one another than with the languages of the Rangkas group, which even among themselves differ with one another.

Causal Agentive: In these tongues the sense of the English agentive marker 'by' is expressed either by ablative markers of the language concerned or by a phrase denoting the meaning 'from near him.' In fact, none of the tongues of this group favours this type of causal

constructions. There the ergative use of the nominal stems with transitive verb itself serve the purpose of a passive or causative construction. It is only in respect of rendering the I.A. causative expressions that this device is brought into operation. The few instances of rendering of causative sentences from Hindi have been obtained as under:

- Chhit.* - /dan-ci/ from (Abl.) : /hoyo äcän dan i kamän ladma-to/
he gets the work done from the child.
- Nyam.* - /la/ (Acc.) : /kho chiwa-la laha kotog/id.
- Sp.* - /nasu/ (abl.) : /kho tu nasu-lo lahe carog/id.
- Jad.* - /na/ (Abl.) : /di tu-na laha bechok/ id.
- Dar.* - /jo/ : /u syän-jo län gophuñ da/ id.
- Chaud.* - /ja/ : /ätisä syännð ja län phunta/ id.
- Kin.* - /dwakc/ : /do chañu dwak kamän unodu/ id.

Ablative: The case denoting the relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person, expulsion, issue and other kindred relations and communicating the sense of the English preposition 'from' is both synthetic and analytical in the tongues of the T.H. group, i.e., in some cases the substantives take case suffixes and in some postpositions or post-positional phrases meaning 'from near of', 'from within' or 'from upon' etc., usually preceded by locative markers as in Patt., Tin., and Gar., but in case of animate nouns or personal pronouns they follow a genitive base.

From the comparative study of these case markers it has also been noticed that in the dialects of the western Himalayan group the ablative markers are fully or partially identical with the ergative markers of the respective tongues, but in the speeches of the Tibetan and the Rangkas group they are distinct.

Various suffixal and postpositional markers of the ablative case attested in these tongues are- (i) / i, e, u, a, i, e/; (ii) /-na, ni/; and (iii) /lo~IE, bañi~bañ/ . Of these the first group of suffixes is attested in the speeches of the Himalayan group, the second in the speeches of the Tibetan group and the third in Raji, and Johari. In this context it has also been noticed that in Chhit., Kan., Patt., Tin., and Gar. the ablative suffixes are identical with the suffixes of the ergative case, in Kin., and Nyam., they show partial identity too. Moreover, the ablative markers of the Tibetan group of speeches also show complete or partial identity among them. Various case forms obtainable with the help of various suffixes and postpositions employed by different speeches under consideration may be illustrated as follows:

In *Kin.* The ablative markers are /-c, -dwakc/ : Distributionally /-c/ is suffixed to inanimate nouns with locative base, as in /kimo-c/ (lit. from in the house), /boṭho-c/ from the tree (lit. from upon the tree), also with nom. base, as in /dilli-c/ from Delhi. But /dokc~dwakc/ is postpositional phrase composed of /dua/ 'near of' + /kc/ 'from'. It is used with animate nouns and follows a genitive base, e.g., /ranu dwakc/ from the horse (lit. from upon the horse), /kinu dwakc/ from you (lit. from near you).

The ablative marker suffix of *Chhit.*, is /-ci/. As in *Kin.*, in it too it follows a locative base, as in /kim-da-ci/ from the house (lit. from the house); /pañ-dañ-ṭi/ from the tree (lit. from on the tree), but /dilli-ci/ from Delhi.

In *Kan.* the ablative suffixes are attested as /-c, -s/. Distributionally /-ṭ/ is suffixed to nominal stems, ending in a vowel and /-s/ to stems ending in a consonant, e.g., /dillic/ from Delhi; /durec/ from a distance, /kultañ-s/ from Kullu.

The ablative markers in *Patt.*, are /ci, zi/ which, usually, are preceded by locative markers /-riñ, -tiñ/, consequently, denoting the literal meaning of 'from within'; 'from on/upon' etc., e.g., /buṭha-riñ-zi/ from the tree (lit. from on the tree); /go-riñ-zi/ from the mountain; /oci/ from where? Besides the above, compound postpositions like /dorci/ from near, /beci/ etc., are also used to denote the meaning of 'from', as in /benḍi dorci/ from the river (lit. from near the river); /nägär beci/ from the villages, etc.

The ablative marker in *Tin.*, is /ze/ which may or may not be preceded by the locative marker /riñ/, e.g., /buṭa-riñ-ze/ from the tree; /khañ-ze/ from where?, but /buṭa-riñ-ze/ from on the tree; Also /nägärän beca~nägärän-ze/ from the village.

The ablative marker in *Gari* is /ci/ which, as in *Patt.*, and *Tin.*, is preceded by the locative markers as well, e.g., /lag-tog-ci/ from the hand, /mig-sog-ci/ from eyes, but /dill-ci/ from Delhi.

The ablative marker in *Mar.* is /-cə/ and is constant with all types of stems, e.g., /gu-cə/ where from? /dilli-cə/ from Delhi; /ḍal-cə/ from the tree, etc.

In *Dar.* it is /cu/ which usually assumes the phrasal form /kher-cu~kher-ju/, as in /siñ kher-ju/ from the tree; /udi kher-ju/ where from? /ba khercu/ from father, etc. As in the speeches of the Lahul group, in this too the ablative marker is preceded by the locative marker /ru/, as in /la-ru-kher-ju/ from hand (lit. from in the hand).

The ablative marker in *Chaud.* is /ci/ which is normally preceded

by another particle /khä/, as in /dilli khä-ci/ from Delhi. But in most of the cases it is further strengthened by pre-posing locative markers /yär, kuñ, ko/etc, as in /siñ yär khär-ci/ siñ-ko khärci/ from the tree (lit. from upon the tree); /la-khär-ci~la-kuñ-khär-ci/ from the hand. In this respect it shows a close affinity with Dar., the other living tongue of this group.

As stated earlier the people of Johar have given up their ancestral tongue and have completely shifted to the regional form of the Kumauni language. It seems that the process of shifting had started even before the beginning of this century. The ablative markers recorded by Grierson in the LSI bear witness to this fact. There they have been recorded as/bäti~päti/ which is a borrowing from Kumauni, e.g., /khämi cimi bäti/ from a daughter; /jaydad päti~bäti/ from the property.

Similar is the case with Raji in which the ablative markers/bäta and /IE/ have been borrowed from Kumauni, e.g., /häräg bäta/ from the heaven; /ta-IE/ from that time.

From the point of ablative markers the Tibetan speeches of Lahul-Spiti, Kinnaur and Garhwal form a distinct group in which the ablative case markers are attested as /na, na-so, ni/. Their distribution and usages may be illustrated as follows: /na~naso/ : These variants are common with Sp., Nyam., and Jad., dialects, e.g., (Sp.) - /buṭa-na-so/ from the tree; /lag-pa-naso/ from the hand; (Jad.) - /pañ-naso/ from the tree; /lag-pa-naso/ from the hand;

In Tod it is attested as /ni/ 'from' or /kha-ni/ 'from near of', as in /khanpa-ni/ from the house/home; /buṭc khani/ from the boy (lit. from near the boy); /khoe khani/ from him (lit., from near him). In this case it follows the genitive base of the noun. This indicates that the former is a suffix and the latter a postposition.

Genitive: In all the speeches of the T.H. group the genitive case expressing mutual relationship between two substantives is both, inflectional and agglutinating. In certain speeches its behaviour in pronominal declensions is different from the nominal declensions (see pronoun). It has a morphological importance with regard to the use of many postpositions used to express the meanings of various case relations in various tongues. Where it serves as a base for the employment of these postpositions.

The genitive forms, besides indicating the relationship of a possessor and possessed between substantives, also indicate some other types of relationships, such as 'pertaining to', 'made of' or some such things. Almost in all the speeches of this group genitive forms are

obtained by appending a genitive marker, may be a suffixal or postpositional, to the stem of the possessor noun or pronoun, which precedes the word standing for the possessed object.

Usually, no number distinction is made in the employment of various genitive markers in these tongues, but there are speeches like Kin., Patt., Tin., and Gari in which the distinction of singular and non-singular genitive markers is fully maintained (see below).

Besides, in Raji which belongs to the languages of the Munda family, we come across genitive constructions like /kali ti/ the water of the Kali river, which shows that the practice of using 'zero' suffix is there. In a sense forms like this may be termed as illiptical constructions in which the possessor noun or pronoun and the possessed noun are used side by side without intervening relation marker, except the juncture.

The pronominalized languages of the Kinnaur and Lahul group employ phonetically conditioned multiple sets of genitive markers for singular and non-singular forms. However, no such a multiplicity of suffixal morphemes or the singular-plural dichotomy is found in other tongues. The position of these genitive formatives in different speeches of this group may be presented as follows:

The genitive formatives of nominal stems in Kin., are - /u / in the sg. and /nu/ in the pl., as in /rañ-u/ of the horse : /raña-nu/ of horses.

In Chhit., the genitive suffix is /-e/ which is affixed to all types of nominal stems, as in /ram-e ama/ Ram's mother; /rat-te khirän/ cow's milk; /mama-e desän/ maternal uncle's village, etc.

In Patt., and Tin., the genitive formatives in the sg. are /-u, -tu, -zu, o/ and in the plural /tu~tu/. In the sg., they are all phonetically conditioned, i.e., /u/ occurring with stems ending in a vowel, /tu/ with stems ending in a non-nasal consonant and /n/, /ñ/ and /zu/ with stems ending in the bilabial nasal /m/; and /o/ in stems standing for proper nouns, e.g., /mi-u/ of man, /thär-tu/ of the tiger, /läb-tu/ of the leaf; /kum-zu/ of the pillow; /mohəno ba/ Mohan's father; /ram-ø kaka/Ram's brother. In plural, however, the sole case marker is /tu/ which is appended to the plural forms of the noun concerned, e.g., /mig-te-tu/ of eyes, /kum-ze-tu/ of pillows; /mi-tu/ of man < *mi-re-tu..

Similar is the case in Gari in which the phonetically conditioned allomorphs of the singular and plural genitive formatives are attested as /i, ki~gi/ in the sg., and /-i, -ši, -zi/ in the pl., e.g., /buca-i/ of the boy; /khur-gi/ of the knife; /lag-ki/ of the hand, /yul-gi/ of the country; but /buca-ci/ of boys; /lag-ši/ of hands; /khur-zi/ of knives; /yul-zi/ of countries, villages.

The languages of the eastern group, including Raji, have a common stock of the genitive formatives, with vocalic variations, which is indiscriminately used for both the numbers. These are attested as /ga, ge, gu, go, ku, ko/ e.g., (Dar.) - /mina-gu/ mother's, /mi-gu/ of man, /mi-jän-gu/ of men; /syännu-go/ child's, etc., (Chaud.) - /na-ga/ mother's; /ram-ge na/ Ram's mother; /mi:g/ of man; /širi-gE/ of the son; (Johari)- /ba-go~bak/ of father; /mi:-go/ of man; /cimicā-g /of girls; (Raji.) - /birwa kE/ of Birwa (a name), /gopya-gE/ of Gopya (a name).

The genitive marker in Mar., is /tä/ and in Jad. /se/, e.g., (Mar.) - /ama-tä/ mother's, /ram-tä/ Ram's, /balan-tä/ cow's; (Jad.) - /ā-se/ mother's; /ram-se/ Ram's, /galän-se/ cow's.

In the dialects of the Tibetan group of Lahul and Spiti the formatives are attested as /c/ in Tod and Nyam., and as /ti~i/ in Sp., e.g., (Tod) - /buca-c/>bucc/ boy's, /butc/< /buča-c/ of the tree; (Nyam.) - /ape/</apa-c/ father's, /ame homa/ mother's milk; /pane-go/ top of the tree/, /ramanc ama/ Ram's mother, etc.; (Sp.) - /mohḍn-ti/ of Mohan; /chod-ti phila/ for your sake; /tu-i/ of the boy; /phomi/ girl's : /tu-gya-i/ of boys; /phomo-gya-i/ of girls, etc.

From the point of affinity among these markers it may be noticed that the genitive marker / o / is common to Patt., Tin., Kin., and Kan., the marker / e / is common to Chhit., Tod and Nyam. The affinity in the Rangkas group has already been pointed out above.

Besides, the sense of 'possession' is denoted with particles meaning 'in the possession of ——' which follows the genitive base of the substantive, e.g., (Chhit.) - /kin-da/ in your possession, /nin-da/ in our possession, /ate da/ in the possession of the elder brother; (Tin.) - /gyu doñ/; Patt., /gyu dur/ in my possession; /mi-u doñ~dur/ in the possession of man; (Dar.) - /punu pe-jo/ in the possession of elder brother. (Tod) - /nala/ in my possession; (Jad) - /khye na/ in your possession, etc., Here /la/ the p.p. in Tod is common with Acc. and locative markers and the /na/ of Jad with, Ag., Abl. and loc., markers of it.

Locative: In most of the speeches of the T.H. group various time and space oriented relations pertaining to location, direction, etc., a domain of the locative case, are expressed either with case suffixes or with the help of different sets of postpositions, denoting the meaning 'in, within, in side', and 'upon, above, on' etc.

The peculiarity of the use of the locative case in these languages is this that it becomes operative in respect of inanimate substantives or nouns denoting lower species of animate objects only.

Another notable feature of the locative markers is this that in many tongues some of them are identical with case markers indicating the sense of Acc., Agentive and Ablative cases, e.g., the locative marker /pä/ of Kan. is used for Acc. case as well. Similarly, in Nyam. /la/ is used for both, Acc. and loc. and /na/ for Acc. Abl. and loc. in Sp., too /na/ is used for Agentive, Abl. and loc. In Tin. out of the 5 loc. markers 2, viz., /rin/ and /ün/ are identical with Acc. markers. In Tod /la/ is common for Acc. and loc. In Jad the case marker /na/ is identical for Ag., Abl. and loc. cases. Among the speeches of the Rangkas group we notice that loc. markers /ja/, /yär/ and /khär/ are also used as Acc. and Abl. markers. In Raji too the loc. marker /ya/ is identical with the Acc. case marker /yā/.

Details of locative markers attested in different tongues under consideration may be presented as under:

The suffixal and postpositional sets attested in Kinnauri are /-o/ in, (suffixal) and /komo/ 'in side', within and /den/ on, upon p.p. There the suffixes are directly affixed to the nominal stems, but the post positions follow a genitive base of the noun, e.g., /kimo/ in the house; /ti-o/ in the water; /ti-u komo/ inside the water; /boṭhanu den/ on/ upon the tree, etc.

Chhitkuli has only one set of loc. markers, viz., /du/ incessive (in, within) and /nin/ to express the allocative sense of on, upon, above, etc., as in /tidu/ in the water, /pañ-nin/ on the tree.

In Kan. these are attested as /a, o/ for the allocative sense of 'in' and /pa/ for 'on', as in /gun-a/ in winter; /so-a/ /sowa/ in the field, /gramano/ in the village; /prat-pa/ on the finger.

Various phonetically conditioned loc. case markers in Patt. and Tin. are - /n, rin, tin, nin, zin/ e.g., (Patt.) - /ti-rin/ in the water; /benḍin./ in the river, /soṇin/ on the ground; /kum-tin/ in, on the pillow; (Tin.) - /benṭin/ in the river, /buṭan/ on the tree; /nägärän/ in the village, /konza-rin/ on the foot; /rhi-rin/ in the field, etc.

In Gar. the locative markers denoting the sense of 'on' are : /dog, rog, sog, og, -g/ which are identical with Acc. markers; and denotive of the sense 'in'; 'within' are /-än, un, -n/, e.g., /siltin/ in the rain, /mun/ in the snow, /pya-cun/ in the bird; /gam-dog/ on the box, /kur-sog/ on the chair, /zopog/ on the creeper, /pecag/ on the book, etc.

The loc. markers in Tod are /la/ 'on,' 'in' which is identical with Acc. marker and /ru/ 'in', e.g., /ṭhankala/ on the ground, /buṭa-la/ on the tree; /sinka-la/ in the field, /khanpa-ru/ in the house. Besides the p.p. /nanila/ 'inside' is also used.

In Sp. it is /na/ which is identical with Ag. and Abl. markers, e.g., /canta-na/ in the pocket, /nošet-na/ in the pot, /khän-pa-na/ in the house; also /narla/ 'inside', as in /chu-na~chu nan-la/ inside the water.

The loc. markers in Nyam. are attested as /la/ in, on, /na/ on, in and /nando/ within, inside of, e.g., /singa-la/ in the field, /pan-la~pan na/ on the tree, /yul-na/ in the village, /me nan-do/ in the fire, /chu nan-do/ in the water. It seems that there is a free variation in the use of /la/ and /na/.

The loc. marker in Jad is /na/ which is again identical with Instrumental and Abl. case markers of the speech. Besides, the postpositions /tero/ on, upon, and /nan-do/ in, inside, within, etc., are also used to express the loc. sense, e.g., /näse-na/ in the pot., /yul-na/ in the village, /lag-pa-na/ in the hand; /pā tero/ on the tree; /chu nando/ inside the water.

Mar. has /pan/ in the allocative sense of 'in, within, inside' and /käl/ for 'on, upon', etc., e.g., /ti pan/ in the water; /nhod pan/ in the pot, /dal-käl/ on the tree.

In the speeches of the Rangkas group the loc. marker /ru/ is common to Dar. and Johari, as in /la-ru/ in, on the hand, /me-ru/ in the fire, /ti-ru/ in the water; /siñ-ru/ on the trees. Besides, in Johari its variants /ri/ and /-r/ too were used, as in /phu-ri/ in the cave; /thEli-r/ in the bag (L.S.I.)

However, the loc. markers of Chaud.-Byangsi do not attest any affinity with the above noted loc. markers of the other two constituents of this group. In it they are attested as /kho, khär, yär, her/ 'on' and /ja, kuñ/ 'in, within', etc. e.g., (Chaud.) - /bändö kuñ/ in the pot; /ti kuñ~tikho/ in the water; /piša-kho/ on the head, (Bya.) - /cim-ja/ in the house; /me-ku~me kho/ in the fire; /thänja/ in the field, etc.

The loc. marker in Raji is /ya/, as in /äga-ya/ in the sky, /uga-ya/ in the cave, /yan-ya/ on the path. In this too the loc. marker is identical with Acc. marker.

Besides, various spatial relations of the loc. case, such as surfacessive (on, upon, etc.) incessive (in, inside of, within), possessive (with-in the possession of), etc., are expressed with various sets of postpositions in different speeches under consideration (For their details see respective volumes of the 'Studies in T.H.L.' 1988-92).

Vocative: It is a case of address, having no relation with other constituents of the sentence. Structurally, it is identical with nominative/direct case forms, but is distinguishable from it in respect of intonation, i.e., it carries the vocative intonation in which the final vowel of the

substantive in question is realized longer than its normal quantity with a rising pitch on it. Besides, it may also be preceded or followed by a linguistically permissible interjection to call the attention of the addressee. In this case the intonation is carried by the vowel of the interjection itself when it follows the noun. This feature of the speech in these tongues may be illustrated by examples from a few speeches as under:

- Kin.* - /ya bua: ↑/ ~ / buaya: ↑/ O father : or /bua: ↑/ father !
 /ye ama: ↑/ /ama ye: ↑/ O mother! or /ama: ↑/ mother !
- Chhit.* - /au: ↑/ father: / äci: ↑/ /ya äcä:n/ ye chap ! /lamaji: ↑/
 Lamaji!
- Tin.* - /sita: ↑ kä khyan ibiton/Sita ! where are you going? /ra:m ↑
 kyumu-rin ila/ Ram ! go to home. /yocare:↑ kenu khyan
 ibitore/children ! where are you going? etc.

POSTPOSITIONS

As in other languages, in the languages of the T. H. group too postpositions play an important role in various morpho-syntactic constructions. Their contribution in the expression of various case relations is as important as those of the case suffixes. They are an integral part of the case formations in all the tongues. As is clear from their nomenclature, they invariably are placed after the noun or pronoun to denote their case relationship with other constituents of the sentence. According to the linguistic structure of the language concerned these may follow the nominative base of the noun/pronoun, as in (Patt.) /ba-rän/ with father; (Tod)- /lag-pa dan/ with hand, (Sp.) - /tu-la/ to the child, /nam-na/ from the sky; (Chhit.)- /lasta- i/ with axe, /pan-dan-ci/ from the tree/, /ti-du/ in the water, etc., or the inflected form of the noun/pronoun in the gen. or loc. case, e.g., (Kin.) - /chanu dwakc/ from the child; /rimanu mäzän/ in the fields; (Patt.) - /gyu dur/ in my possession, with me; /känu thälzi/ for you; (Tin.) - /benjin zc/ from the river; (lit. river in-from); (Tod) - /na-e phila/ for my sake/ for me; (Patt.) - /buta-tin-zi/ from the tree (lit. tree-on-from), etc.

Each language has its own sets of postpositions following different bases in accordance with the structure of the language concerned. Enumeration of all of them is not possible here. This may be seen in the relevant sections of the series on T.H.L. (Sharma, 1988-92). Moreover, some of these denoting various case relations have been discussed and illustrated in the foregoing pages of this section and

others which pertain to time and space oriented relations will be discussed while dealing with the aspects of Adverbs later on.

The commonly expressed case relations by the post-positions are- Acc., Ag., Asso., dat., Abl. and loc., e.g., (Patt.)- /ba-rän/ with father; /bau thälzi/ for father; /ba dorci/ from father; /buṭa rin-zi/ from the tree; /buṭa-tuñ/ on the tree etc.

The spatial relations expressed by the p.p. are numerous and varied, such as surfacessive (on, upon), supperassive (over, above), subcessive (under, below), incessive (in, inside of), addissive/proximative (near, close to, by), intessive (in front of, between), possessive (with=in the possession of) etc.

Pronouns

Pronouns which substitute nouns can, like nouns, function as subject, object, etc., in syntactic constructions. Morphologically, these are inflected for three numbers in some of the pronominalized languages of the Himalayan group, and for two numbers in all the speeches of the Tibeto-Himalayan group.

It is said that from the historical point of view pronouns of any language or linguistic family have a special significance. For, pronouns, specially of the 1st and the 2nd persons, are more stable than any other parts of speech. In some instances it has been found that the personal pronouns constitute the only appreciable point of contact or of the reliable source of relationship between languages having a common origin in the hoary past, but which in their historical development have developed into distinct speeches.

Pronominal Stems: Historically, the pronominal stems of the languages under consideration belong to three sources, viz., (1) Tibetan, (2) Himalayan, (3) Indefinite. Personal pronominal stems, attested with /n-/ in the first person, as in /na, ne/, with /khyo/ in the 2nd person (ordinary), as in /khyod, khyot, khyo, khyoran/ etc., and with /ña/ in the 2nd person (honorific), as in /ñot, ñet, ñoran/ etc., are from the Tibetan sources.

Pronominal stems with initial consonants /g-/ or /j-/ in the 1st person, as in /gā, ga, gu, ge, gi, je, ji/, with /k-/ or /g-/ in the 2nd person, as in /kā, ki, ke, gā, gE, gun/ etc., and with /d-/ in the 3rd person, as in /do, du, di/ etc., are from the Himalayan sources. All others are from indefinite sources, may be remnants of some proto-Himalayan tribal languages. Similarly, other classes of pronouns, viz., Demonstrative /di/ this, /de/ that; Interro. /su/ who ? , /ci/ what ? /gān/ what ?; Indefinitive /gān-zig, gācig, bazig/ 'any one, any thing' or /suzig/ any one (animate); and Reflexives with /-ran, ñid/ etc., are from the Tibetan stock and all others from the Himalayan stock. (For complete list of their correlates see Table 4, p. 121).

Classification: Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible

into six classes, viz., (1) Personal, (2) Demonstrative; (3) Interrogative; (4) Indefinitive; (5) Reflexive; and (6) Relative. Of these the pronouns of personal, demonstrative and reflexive classes are inflected for the number categories, but not others.

On the basis of their syntactic differences all the pronominal stems form two broad groups, viz., personal and non-personal. For, in a sentence non-personal pronouns can function as a modifier to a noun head in their uninflected base form, but not the personal pronouns. Contrary to this, all the personal pronouns can act as pronominal adjectives in their inflected genitive case form, but not others. Moreover, paradigmatically, all personal pronouns share all the characteristics of animate nouns, but not others.

Personal Pronouns

As in other languages in these too personal pronouns designated as 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons stand for 'the person speaking', 'the person spoken to' and the 'person spoken of' respectively. In all the tongues under consideration these are clearly distinguishable from their stems (see table 4, p. 12f).

In many of the speeches of this group personal pronominal stems manifest various types of complexities in their forms and functions, which can briefly be enumerated as under:

(I) In a few speeches the basic stem of the first person is replaced with some other stem in the genitive case (see below, *Inflectional Bases*, p. 114).

(II) In the pronominalized tongues of the western Himalayan group there are two distinct stems in the dual and plural numbers of the first person, one for expressing the inclusive sense and the other for the exclusive one, i.e., in the former case the addressee is included as a participant in the action in question and in the later he/she is excluded from it. For instance, in Kinnauri if some one says /kasaŋ zati / 'we (two) shall eat', then it means that both the persons, the speaker as well as the addressee have to participate in the act of eating; but if he says /niši zati / then it means that the addressee is not to participate in the action of eating, rather it is to be done by the speaker and some one else. Similarly, in case of more than two persons the term /kasaŋa/ will include the addressee and /niŋa/ will exclude him. One more example of this feature of these tongues may be cited from Pattani as below:

Dual: /hengu yoši/ we (you & I) shall go (Inclusive); /ñeku yoši/

we (I & some one else, but not you) will go (Exclusive).

Plural: /hehare yoñi/we (including you) will go (Inclusive);

/ñere yoñi/ we (excluding you) will go (Exclusive). Similarly, (Sp.) : /naza~nagya/ we (excl.) : h᳚šak~h᳚gya/ we (incl.); Nyam. /ma᳚šak/ we (excl.) : /h᳚šak/ we (incl.). (For others see table 4).

(III) Similarly, many tongues of the Himalayan, as well as of the Tibetan groups distinguish between honorific and non-honorific stems in the second and third persons. In some tongues the distinction is confined to the use of the distinct stem vowels only, as in /kã/ you (ordinary) : /ki/ you (honorific); whereas in some distinct stems are used to express this distinction, as in (Sp.) /khyot/ you (ordinary): /ñict~ñoran/ you (hon.). Similarly, /kho/ he (ord.) : /khon/ he (hon.); /yo/ he (ord.): /eme/ he (hon.), etc. In Nyam. this distinction is attested even in the 1st person, as in /našak/ we (non-polite), /ba᳚šak/ we (polite). (For more examples and areal distribution see Table 4).

(IV) Some speeches of this group attest a three way distinction in the stems of the 3rd person, viz., proximate, proximate-remote (within the sight), and obviative (out of the sight), e.g., Kin. -/zu/ he (proximate); /nu/ he (proximate-remote): /do/ he (remote, out of sight). In many pronominalized tongues personal pronouns of the first and second person are represented, in their contracted forms, as pronominal subjects and objects in verbal constructions (see verb: Pronominalization).

Pronominal Inflection

All the pronominal stems are inflected for number and case categories in the same manner as the nominal stems of the speech concerned, though with certain distinctive features of their own. In this matter the personal pronouns of the first and second persons follow the pattern of animate nouns and those of the third person follow that of inanimate nouns. Other classes of pronouns have a limited inflection for a few case relations and that too in the singular number only.

Inflectional Bases: From the point of inflectional bases a notable feature of the personal pronouns of the first person is that in most of the tongues of the pronominalized Himalayan group the basic stem is substituted by other stems in non-singular forms, in some with two stems, one for inclusive and other for exclusive forms, and in others by one, for both the forms, e.g.:

Kin. - /ge/ I, /niši/ (excl.); /kasa᳚/ (incl.) we two; /ni᳚/ (excl.), /kasa᳚a/ (incl.) we (pl.)

- Chhit.* - /ga/ I : /kyan/ we (excl.) : /nin/ we (incl.).
Kan. - /gu/ I : /nin/ we.
Patt. - /gye/ I : /hen-/ we two (incl.); /nin/ we (incl.). /ne/ we (excl.).
Tin. - /gye/ I : /niš-/ we two; /ne-/ (excl.), /hän-/ (incl.) we: /cna/ we (excl.) : /ne-na/ we (incl.)
Gari. - /gi/ I : /eron~hin/ we two: /nc/ we (excl.), /hän/ we (incl.)
Mar. - /ge/ I : /in/ we (incl., excl.)
Dar. - /ji/ I : /in, nin/ we (incl., excl.).
Chaud .- /ji/ I : /in, ncr/ we. (incl., excl.),
Johari - /ji/, /je/ I : /un/ , /nun/ we. (incl., excl.)

Besides this, there are some speeches of the western pronominalized Himalayan group in which the phenomenon of suppletivism takes place in the genitive bases of 1st and 3rd person pronouns as well, e.g.:

- Kin.* - /gä/ I : /an/ my; /do/ he : /anu/ his; /kä/ you : /kän/ your.
Kan. - /gu/ I : /an/ my; /du/ he: /anuk/ his; /kä/ you: /kän/ your.
Chhit. - /ga/ I : /a~ac/ my, /hoyo/ he: /ac~E/ his; /kä/ you: /kän~kã/ your.

Pluralisation

Although in the speeches of this group pluralization of nominal stems is not strictly adhered to, even in animate beings, yet in pronominal inflections it is invariably maintained in all of them. In the languages of pronominalized group the morphological categories of dual and plural are fully maintained. Like Munda languages, these too have separate sets for dual and plural forms for the first and the second person pronouns while the dual and the plural of the third person are formed with the help of plural markers used for nominal stems. As in Munda, in these too the practice of expressing various grades of duality and plurality is so great that many of these distinguish between inclusive and exclusive dual and plural in the first person pronoun (in Munda it is attested in the second person as well), and honorific and non-honorific dual and plural in the second person pronoun, which are manifested with the help of distinct pronominal stems. In these languages the verbal conjugation too is likewise affected by the different grades of these pronominal subjects and consequently, have distinct sets of verbal forms for each of them. The most prominent of these is Kinnauri, other languages falling under this category are, Chhitkuli, Nyamkad, Spitian, Gari, Pattani, Tinnani. (For the illustration of the above mentioned

morphological peculiarities, see the Chapter on Verbal Conjugation: Pronominalization.)

But the languages which do not attest this type of distinction in their pronominal system use identical forms for the inclusive and exclusive first person and the ordinary plural form of the second person pronoun to express the honorific form of it. From the point of view of their constructions such forms are non-signular, though referring to a singular object, as we find in Indo-Aryan tongues too.

Distinct Pluralising Suffixes: With regard to the pluralizing suffixes of pronominal stems, another notable point is that in many of them the suffixes used with pronominal stems, particularly with personal pronouns of the 1st and the 2nd person, are distinct from the pluralizing suffixes of the 3rd person/nominal stems. This distinguishing feature of pluralization is primarily attested in Kin., Tin., Tod, Nyam, Jad and Mar. Examples from these speeches may be presented as below:

Kinnauri has as many as 7 pluralizing suffixes. Out of these 4 are used exclusively with nominal stems (see above p. 95) and the remaining 3 with pronominal stems. They are /na/ , / na/ and /go/. Distributionally, /na/ is used with the 1st person, /na/ with 2nd person and /go/ with 3rd person; as in /ni-na/ we (excl.); /kasa-na/ we (incl.); /ki-na/ you (pl. polite); /zu-go/ ; /nu-go/ they; /do-go/ those. It is /ga/ in nominal stems.

In Tin. out the 5 pluralizing suffixes, one, viz. /na/ is exclusively used with pronominal stems of the 1st and 2nd persons, e.g., /ena/ we (excl.) : /ne-na/ we (incl.); /ke-na/ you (hon., polite).

In Tod the regular plural marker of the nominative stems is /un/, but the plural markers of the pronominal stems are - /za, cho, ba/, occurring in free variation, as in /na-za~na-cho/ we; /khyod-za~khyod-cho/ you (pl.), /kho-ba~kho-cho/ they, otherwise /buca/ boy : /buca'un/ boys.

The pluralising suffix for nom. stems in Nyam. is /ya/, but for the pronominal stems it employs /šak~šyak/, e.g., /man-šak/ we; /khyo-šyak~khyot-šyak/ you (pl.); /khošak~khošyak/ they, but /phi-ya/ those, the same as for nominal stems.

Jad has dispensed with the plural marker in the 1st person. There it is brought out with qualitative change in the stem vowel, as in /na/ I : /ne/ we; but in the 2nd and 3rd person it is affected with suffixes /yag~gun/ instead of /ya/, the nominal suffix, e.g., /khoyag~khogun/ you (pl.); /diyag~digun/ they; /pheyag~pheygun/ those.

In *Mar.* the suffix for nom. stems is /-se/, but in 3rd person pron. it is attested as /te/ as well, as in /dhE-te/ they, /dhi-te/ these.

Suppletivism: A notable feature of the pronominal inflection for the number category is that most of the tongues belonging to pronominalized group practise the mechanism of suppletivism for the non-singular forms of the first person, though in some it is attested in the second person as well. Consequently, the pronominal stem of the singular is regularly substituted by other stems. This feature of the speeches exhibiting this peculiarity may be illustrated by the Table 2.

Table 2

Language	Person	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
<i>Kin.</i>	1st	gä	niši (excl.)	nina (excl.)
		-	kasañ (incl.)	kasana (incl.)
	2nd	kä (ord.)	käniš	käniga (ord.)
		ki (hon.)	kiši	kina (hon.)
<i>Chchit.</i>	1st	gä	nasañ	kyañ (incl.)
		-	niši	niñ (excl.)
	2nd	kä (ord.)	kä (ord.)	- kancän (ord.)
		ki (hon.)	ki (hon.)	- kincän (hon.)
<i>Kan.</i>	1st	gu	-	nin/ni
	2nd	kä (ord.)	-	ki
		ki (hon.)	-	ki.
<i>Patt.</i>	1st	ge	ñeku (excl.)	ñere (excl.)
		-	heñgu (incl.)	heñ-ze (incl.)
	2nd	kä (ord.)	keku (ord.)	kere (ord.)
		ken (hon.)	kengu (hon.)	kenre (hon.)
<i>Tin.</i>	1st	gye	iša (excl.)	ena (excl.)
		-	niši (incl.)	ñena (incl.)
	2nd	kä (ord.)	kenca (ord.)	kena
		kenð (hon.)	kenci (hon.)	kena
<i>Gar.</i>	1st	gi	hiñ (excl.)	hiñzi (excl.)
		-	erañ (incl.)	erañ-zi (incl.)
<i>Mar.</i>	1st	ge	in (nhiš)	in
<i>Chaud.</i>	1st	je	in (niši)	in
<i>Byorngsi</i>	1st	je	in (niši)	in
<i>Dar.</i>	1st	ji	niñ (niši)	niñ

Usually, the tongues of the Tibetan group, except Sp. and Nyam. and of the Rangkas group do not practise the dichotomy of inclusive-exclusiveness though the mechanism of suppletivism for their non-singular pron. stems is very much followed.

But contrary to the phenomena of suppletivism and distinct sets of plural markers attested with regard to the 1st and 2nd person pronominal stems, we find that in the case of 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns (which are identical in most of the dialects) all the dialects follow a uniform pattern, i.e., the stems are stable for all the numbers and take the same plural markers which are taken by nominal stems in their respective tongues. This feature of pronominal inflection may be illustrated as under:

Table 3

Language	Singular	Dual	Plural
<i>Kin.</i>	do/du	dog-sun	do-go
<i>Patt.</i>	do/du	do-ku	do-re
<i>Tin.</i>	do/du	do-ku	do-re
<i>Kan.</i>	du (ord.)	-	du-gän
	duš (hon.)	-	du-gäš
<i>Chhit.</i>	yo	-	yo-cän
<i>Gari.</i>	täl	-	täl-zi
<i>Tod</i>	kho	-	khoba/kho-cho
<i>Jad</i>	di	-	di-gun
<i>Spiti</i>	kho	-	khogya
<i>Nyam.</i>	kho (personal)	-	kho-šak
	di/phi (dem.)	-	diya/phiya
<i>Mar.</i>	kho	-	kho-ba
	dhE (I.A.)	-	dhE-te/dhE-se
<i>Dar.</i>	u/o	-	u-si
<i>Johari</i>	ändu (dem.)	-	ändu-si
<i>Chaud.</i>	äti (3rd)	-	ätimän

Raji. - Although I am not sure of the regularity of the pattern, yet the forms available to us in the material at our disposal we find in it the forms of the 3rd person pronoun as /äi/ he : /päkho/ they.

Moreover, in the matter of case inflections the position of various case markers is similar to that described for nominal inflections, e.g.,

Table 4. Himalayan Group

Lang.	1st Person						2nd Person						3rd Person					
	dual		plural		singular		dual		plural		singular		dual		plural			
	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Ord.	Hon.	Ord.	Hon.	Ord.	Hon.	Ord.	Hon.	Ord.	Hon.	Ord.	Hon.		
Kin.	gā	kasañ	niši	kašana	niña	kā	ki	kāniš	kiši	kāniga	kina	do	-	dogsuñ	dogo	dogos		
Chhit	gā	"	niši	kyañ	niñ	kā	ki	"	"	kāncāñ	kincāñ	yo	eme	-	yocāñ	emecāñ		
Kan.	gu	-	niši	ni	"	"/ko	"	"	"	ki	ki	du	duš	dugāñ	dugāñ	dugāš		
Pat.	ge	heñgu	ñeku	heñze	ñere	"	ken/ kcna	keku	keñgu	kere	kenre	du/ do	do	doku	dore	dore		
Tin.	"	niši	iša	ñcna	ena	"	kāñ	kāñca	kenci	kena	kena	do	"	"	"	"		
Gar.	gi	erañ	hiñ	eranzi	hiñzi	hāñ	ini	hennispi	ininispi	henzi	inizi	tāl	tāl	tālñispi	tālzi	tālzi		
Mar.	ge	-	in	in	in	gāñ	-	-	-	gε	gε	dhε	-	-	dhεsc	khoba		
Dar.	ji	-	in/niñ	ga/gε	gāñ	gāñ	-	-	gāñ/geni	kāñ	u/du	-	usi/āui	usi	āumāñ	āumāñ		
Chaud.	jū/ gā	-	in/niñ/ ner (LSI)	gε	gāñ	gāñ	gāñ	-	-	gāñi	kāñ	u/āui	-	usi/ āumāñ	usi/ āumāñ	usi/ āumāñ		
joh.	jū/je	-	uñ/nuñ	ga	ga	ga	-	-	-	"	"	u/hwe	-	usi	usi	usicāñ/ hwecāñ		
Raji	na	-	na/na	-	nāñ	nāñ	-	-	-	nāñ	nāñ	āic	-	-	pākho	pākho		

Table 5. Tibetan Group

Lang.	1st person		2nd person		3rd person		
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Plural	Sg.	Plural	
	Ord.	Hon.	Ord.	Hon.	Ord.	Hon.	
Spti	na	naza	khyod/ khoran	ñod/ ñoran	khyotza khyotzak/ ñazak	kho khon	khogya/ khoza khonzak
Nyam.	na/ man/ ban	manšak/ hošak	khyot	ñet hɔt	khyošak ñe šak hɔšak	kho khon	khašak khonšak
Jad	na	ne/net	khyo	khoran	khycyag/ khyogun khoran	di/phci -	diyag As ord. pl.
Tod.	na	naza/ ña-cho	khyot/ khyoran	ñot/ ñoran	khyot-za khyorancho/ ñoran-cho	kho khon	kho-ba/ kho-cho

(Kin.) - /kasaŋu/ our (du.); /kasaŋa-nu/ our (pl.); /do-ni-šu/ their (du.); /do-go-nu/ their (pl.); (Patt.) /do-ku- i/ by them (du.); /do-ci/ by them (pl.); (Tod) /na-za-la/ for us; (Spiti) -/na-gya-la/ for us, etc.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF CASE FORMATIONS

A detailed analysis of the pronominal inflections and of the case markers in these speeches brings to light that there are certain features in them which are distinct from the I.A. system or even from the nominal inflection of these tongues itself. In this respect the first thing that comes to our notice is this that in all these speeches personal pronouns of the 1st and the 2nd person are neither inflected for the locative case, nor take any post position to express this relationship. Statements like 'there are no short comings in me' are expressed as 'I am free from shortcomings', etc.

Another diverging point is the employment of compound postpositions, comprising loc. marker plus Abl. marker for indicating the relationship of the Ablative case, e.g., in Tin. the case sign for the Abl. case is /ze/ 'from' which is used with all types of nominal and pron. stems. But besides this, it also employs the p.p. /tiŋ, riŋ/, the locative markers with the Abl. marker /ze/, as in /buŋa-riŋ-ze/ from the tree (lit. tree-on-from). But the use of this type of case markers is not done with pronominal stems, because of the semantic inconsistency involved in such an expression. For, the use of the idioms like 'from within me' for 'from me' is not a linguistically acceptable idiom for these tongues.

Except a few speeches of the western pronominalized group, viz., Kin., Kan., and Chhit., the pattern of genitive formation of pron. stems is constant and uniform, i.e., unlike I.E. languages, in them neither the phenomenon of suppletivism takes place (as in Eng. I : my) nor any kind of morphophonemic change (as in Hindi - *main*: *mera*, *tu* : *tera* etc.). Consequently, in all of them the same genitive marker which is used with nominal stems is suffixed directly to all pronominal stems, e.g., (Sp., Nyam., Tod, Jad) - /na/ I : /na-i~ne/ my; /khyod~khyot/ you: /khyo-c/ your; /kho/ he: /kho-c/ his, etc. (Tin., Patt.) - /ge/ I : /gyu/ & /ge-u/ my; /kä/ thou: /kä-nu/ thine;/ do/ he: /dou/ his; /di/ this : /di-u/ of this; (Gar.) - /gi/ I: /gi-i/ mine, /hän/ thou: /hä-i/ thine; (Mar.)- /ge/ I : /gi-t/ my : /gän/ thou : /gE-t/ your; /dhi/ he : /dhi-t/ his; (Dar., Chaud., Johari)- /ji/ I : /ji-gu~ga/ my; /gE~gän/ you: /gE-gu/, ~/gog/ your; /o~u/ he : /o-gu/ ~/u-g/ his, etc.

The most interesting aspect of case markers in some of the speeches

of the pronominalized group is the use of identical case signs with pronominal qualifiers, as we find in the OIA speeches, e.g., (Kan.) /*änu-kä mal-äp säb-äp khärc sonmug/* (he) of his (reflexive gen.) property (Acc.) all (Acc.) squandered; /*ba-s änu-kä thindu-p lonmo/* (his) father called his servant (lit. by father of his to servant called (L.S.I.).

The same peculiar morphological phenomenon has been recorded for Johari as well. There too the use of the gen. and ergative cases is attested with the pronominal qualifiers, e.g., /*äpäno-k ba-g cubän/* toward his father (lit. of his, of father, near); /*äpäno-go cim mē po-su/* put his own house to fire (lit. of his house). Similarly, /*kwedä-s mi-s hwe mul äpän rasyatäs/* (lit.) by that, by man, took that money with him=that man took——.

Similarly, remnants of old Johari (Rangkas), as recorded in the L.S.I. (Vol. III) indicate that in the dialects of this group the third person pronoun /u,o/ 'he' was some times used to repeat a preceding noun before post-positions or governing words, e.g., /*o-g o-ba-g däya rac/* his father pitied on him (lit. his-his father-of pity came); /*hwedäs gärib mi u-cäbän rhu-säs/* he asked the poor man (lit. by him, poor man him, asked).

Now, a brief account of other classes of pronouns may be presented as under:

Demonstrative: The pronouns of this class are used for 'pointing out' a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' person or thing. In most of the speeches of the Himalayan group no distinction is made between the stems of the demo. pron. and 3rd person personal pron., though it is maintained to some extent in the speeches of the Tibetan group (see Table 6). Besides, the same forms are employed as demo. modifiers as well. In such a case the classificatory distinction between the two is ascertained from their semantic connotation and syntactic position, i.e., it is to be treated as a demonstrative pronoun if it substitutes a noun head, and as a demo. adj. if there is a definite pointing out with the modification of the following/preceding noun head. Moreover, in a direct communication demo. pron. are usually accompanied with kinetics as well, i.e., pointing out with gestures.

A comparative data of all the speeches under consideration reveal that in most of them the pronominal stems of the proximate demonstrative are - /di, idi, i/ and for remote/proximate demo. are - /do, du, te, tedu/. In some speeches stems like - /nu, zu, yu, yo, u/ are also attested for distant demonstrative (For their areal distribution see Table 6).

Interrogative: This class of pronouns is used for enquiring about some one or some thing. In every speech there are usually three terms for the interro. pron. denoting the sense of 'who?', 'which?' and 'what?'. Among these the first one is used for human beings, the second for both—human and non-human beings or things, and the third for the inanimate referent. Of these, the interro. stem indicative of human beings is inflected for the grammatical categories of case and number, although for the singular number only, but the other two are normally not inflected for any category, for an academic exercise these too can be inflected for a limited number of cases, not affected by the number of the referent. Moreover, the term for 'which' can also be used as a nominal modifier. Most of the speeches of the Himalayan group share the common stock of these stems which in most of the cases is /khä/ (see Table - 6), but the speeches of the Tibetan group have their own stock, having an affinity with their Tibetan counterparts. These are attested as /su/ and /ci/ (see Table 6). Besides, the speeches of the Rangkas group suffix the term /mi/ 'human being' with the interro. stem to denote the meaning of 'who?', as in /khä-mi/ who? (lit. what man?) cf. /khä/ what?

Moreover, in respect of interro. pron. a comparison between the Tibetan and the Himalayan group shows that they are more uniform in the Tibetan group than in the Himalayan group, in which they have at least 3 groups, viz., (1) Kinnauri, comprising Kan. (may be Chhit.); (2) Patt. - Tin., (3) and all other speeches of the pronominalized groups (See Table 6).

Indefinitive: Pronouns of this class refer to an unspecified or unidentified person or thing. These are usually obtained from interrogative stems by adding linguistically permissible suffixes to them. Mostly the pronouns of this class, with adjectives of this class or like numerals belong to the category of non-variables. The formative suffixes normally employed by the speeches under consideration have been attested as /-an, -to, -la, -re, -ri, -mi/ etc. (For their distribution see, Table 6).

Reflexive Pronouns: As in other languages in these too, a reflexive pronoun substitutes and refers to a noun/pronoun which, as a rule, is the logical subject in the sentence. The most interesting aspect of reflexive pronouns in these speeches is that many of them have distinct stems for them and all of them have corresponding reflexive terms for all the personal pronouns which are inflected for both the numbers, and in case of distinct stems for all the cases as well. Except

the speeches of the western pronominalised group, in which the phenomenon of suppletivism takes place, these are obtained by suffixing respective reflexive formatives to the singular and plural bases of the pronoun concerned (See Table 6). Besides, in some speeches of the Rangkas group the invariable I.A. terms, viz., /äp-, äphi/, too has found a place.

From the inflectional point of view another notable point that may be of some interest to linguists is that different speech groups follow different methods to obtain reflexive possessives in them. On this point all the speeches under consideration can be grouped into three main groups, i.e., (A) in which the reflexive base is the personal pronominal stem itself; (B) which employ distinct reflexive stems; (C) in which the substituted genitive forms itself are used to express the reflexive sense as well. The first group consists of the speeches of the Tibetan group and the Rangkas group; the second one comprises the three languages of Lahul, viz., Patt., Tin. and Gari; and the languages of the Kinnaur group, viz., Kin., Kan. and Chhit. belong to the third group. Their distinguishing features may be illustrated as follows:

GROUP-A

Sp. -/na/ I : /na-rin/ myself; /khyod/ you : /khyo-rin/ yourself; /ñod/ you (hon.) : /ña-rin/ yourself (hon.); /kho/ he : /kho-rin/ himself /his-self. Similarly, (Nyam.) - /man/ I : /man-re/ myself; /khyot/ : /kyore/ yourself; /ñet/ (hon.): /ñere/ yourself (hon.) ; /kho/ : /khore/ himself; otherwise cf., gen. - /mane/ my, /khyoe/ your; /kho-e/ his, etc. The reflexive forms in Tod and Jad are -/na/ : /na-rc/; /khyot/ : /khyorä/ ; /ñot/ : /norä/ ; /kho/ : /khorä/ etc.

In the speeches of the Rangkas group, which too do not practise suppletivism, there are no distinct signs for the reflexive forms, rather the usual genitive case forms are used for expressing the reflexive sense as well e.g., (Mar.) - /ge/ I : /gitä/ my, myself; /gän/ you : /gEtä/ your, yourself; /dhE/ he : /dhEtä/ his. Besides, the indeclinable terms, /is/ and /äphi/ like Hindi /äpna/ too are employed to express the sense of reflexive. Johari and Chaudangsi-Byangsi too follow the pattern noted for Mar. There the genitive marker /gä/ is, as usual, suffixed to all the stems of personal pronouns, as in /jigä/ my, myself, /u-gä/ his, himself etc. Darmiya seems to have given up the old system of suffixal formation and has adopted the Hindi invariable term /äphi/ for all the persons and numbers.

GROUP-B

In this respect the pronominalised languages of Lahul group occupy an important place. For, these speeches have distinct stems, independent of personal pronominal stems, for their reflexive pronouns. This is a peculiar feature of these tongues, not attested in any other tongue under consideration. In them, the reflexive forms are as under:

Patt. - /ge/ I : /ghena/ my, myself; /kä/ you : /kena/ your, yourself; /do/ he : /ena/ his, himself/ herself.

Tin. - /ge/ I : /ingu/ my, myself; /kä/ thou : /ino/ thyself; /ken/ you (hon.) : /kena/ your, yourself; /do/ he : /inju/ his/her/ himself/herself.

Gar. /ge/ I : /ingi/ my, myself, /hän/ you : /ini/ your, yourself; /tä/ he : /inji/ his/ her/ himself, etc.

Otherwise cf. gen. (*Patt. Tin.*) - /gyu/ my; /kä~/kän/ your; /do- u/ his; (*Gar.*) - /gi-i/ my; /hä-i/ your; /tä-i/ his/her. It is evident from the above examples that in these tongues the reflexive stems and forms are distinct from the gen. forms of the personal pronouns.

GROUP-C

As pointed out above the languages belonging to the third group employ reflexive forms which are identical with the genitive forms, obtained through the mechanism of suppletivism. For their examples see above, 'Inflectional bases', pp. 114ff.).

Relative Pronouns: A relative pronoun standing for 'he/she who' or 'that which' and joining two clauses with a correlative word 'he/she/ that' etc., in the second clause of the utterance is not normally denoted by a distinct term in these tongues. In such utterances a juncture occurring at the junction of the two clauses serves the purpose of the relative pronoun. But in case of literal rendering from other systems, employing a relative pronoun, respective forms of the interrogative or demonstrative pronouns are used in its place. The dialects of the Rangkas group have, however, borrowed the I. A. terms like /je, jo/for initiating the relative clause (For examples see respective volumes of S.T.H.L. 1988-92).

ADJECTIVES

The class of words that acts as a modifier to a nominal head is designated as adjective in a traditional grammatical analysis. These

Table 6

	Demonstrative		Indefinitive				Interrogative				Reflexive				
	Prox.	Remote	All/	Anyone	Anything	Who	What	Which	1st person		2nd person		3rd person		
			Some	Whoever	Whatever	Whoever	Who	Which	Sg.	Pl.	Incl.	Pl.	Excl.	Ord.	Hon.
Kin.	zu/nu	do	cäiki/ cäiko	hatyañ/ idi	thädyañ	häi	thäd	chäd	gäi	kasañi kasañiñi	nüñi nünaniñi	kaniñi	kuniñi	anisi	anega
Chhit.	huyu	hoyo	ce	su-lo	khe-lo	su	khe	goyo	"	nüñi	nünü	kani	kini	co	as sg.
Kan.	du/nu	du	—	häte	chuge/ chugu	häte	chuge	nuno	äka	niñika	—	äkä	kinkä	anukä	"
Patt.	di	du/du	—	äri-la	chi-la/ chi-chc	äri	chi	añ	ghena	ghenaku	—	kenä	kinä	cna	"
Tin.	di	"	—	äre-la	khe-re	äre	khe	angu	ingu	ninaku	—	ino	kenaku	inzu	inze
Gar.	the	thäzu/ nuzu	—	su-re	khä-re	su	khä	khä	ingi	hinche	—	inzi	hinzi	inzi	inizi
Mar.	di/dhi	dhu	kheri	gho-ñi/ gho-bi	khe-ñi/ khe-bi	gho	khe	khe/gho	i:n	isyan	—	gänän	gönu	i:n	as sg.
Dar.	ne/ändu/ nänu	idu/ tedu/ tädo	—	khä-mi	khä-ñi	khä-mi	khä	gäbu	äphi	äphi (I.A.)	—	äphi	äphi	äphi	"
Chaud.	ne/idi/ hidi	u/o äü	duma	"	"	"	"	una	ji-e	äphi-e (I.A.)	—	gäic	gäic	äpi-c	"

Joh.	i/e/idi/ ido	hwe/ hweccān	—	"	"	"	khā	äphi	äphi (I.A.)	—	äphi	äphi	äphi	"
Raji	wäi	äi	—	ore	wi/wii	ka/sungi	hän	same as genitive case forms.						
Sp.	i	phī	siñ	su-añ	ci-añ	su	ci	ñarin	ñazarin	—	khyot warin	ñarin	khoran	hōrin
Nyam.	di	"	"	"	"	"	"	mānran	ñaran	—	khyot- ran	ñetrān	"	as sg.
Jad.	di	"	"	su-re	cio-na	"	kāa	ñarān	ñerān	—	khyo- ran	kherān	"	"
Tod	i	kho/te	siñ/ khacik	su-añ	ci-re	"	gan̄c	ñarē	ñazarē	—	khyorā	ñerā	khorā	khobarā

have been classified as a separate class of words because of their specific syntactic position and semantic functions. Syntactically, in a noun phrase these occupy a position immediately before a noun head in the Himalayan speeches and after it in Tibetan speeches (see Placement, p. 137). Structurally, these are both simple and compounded, having differences in their degrees in different tongues (see Formation, p. 129), morphologically, in some of the speeches of the Himalayan group these are partially variable, showing variation in the number of pronominal modifiers, but in all others they are non-variable (see Agreement, p. 136). It is because of the variable character of some of the adj. that these have been treated separately, otherwise there is no distinction between the adj. and other classes of indeclinables.

With regard to the nature of adjectives one of the important point that needs to be mentioned here is this that, as in the languages of the Dravidian family, in the languages of the T.H. group too, majority of the adj., of quality are indifferent from the nouns of quality and relation, i.e., these become noun or adjectives by virtue of their position in the sentence, without bringing about any structural change whatsoever, in any constituent of the sentence and also without ceasing to be, in themselves, nouns or adjectives. Consequently, vocables like old : oldage; long : length; high : height; good : goodness; white : whiteness; black : blackness; cruel : cruelty; kind : kindness, etc., are identical in their forms, but are to be treated as nouns or adjectives in accordance with their function and placement in the utterance.

Sources: The dialects of the Himalayan group have drawn their stock of modifiers from three sources, viz., Tibetan, Indo-Aryan and indigenous, but the dialects of the Tibetan group have mainly drawn upon the Tibetan sources, though the number of indigenous terms too is quite considerable. A few indigenous terms may be illustrated here. (Kin.) - /teg/ big; /dam/ good, /gato / small, younger, /suig/ red, /thog/ white; (Patt.) - /more/ big, elder, /kwaci/ small, /phrei/ fat, /rangi/ high, /sei/ red; (Tin.) - /roki/ black, /pheci/ small, /thoi/ high, /soi/ cold; (Gar.) - /khäi/ black, /tegi/ big, /thoi/ high, /noi/ much, /tui/ thick, /bei/ thin; (Jad) - /rope/ all, /tem/ full, /ghäsing/ good, /merci/ red, /kru/white; (Mar.) /ori/ good /rokko/ all, /usu/ a few, /cici/ small, /phurd/ fat; (Raji.) - /tuha/ young, small, /har/ bad, /ghänou/ hot; (Kan.) - /rag/ blue, green, /chog/ white, /yug/ new; (Chhit.) - /khatü/ cool, /po/ deep, /rui/ high, /laha/ hot, /hue/ old, /äli/ sweet, /chäi/ white, etc.

Formation: As pointed out above, structurally all the adjectives

of both the groups of the T.H. tongues can be classified as radical/simple and compounded/derived.

Radical: Most of the nominal modifiers denoting colour, size, quality and quantity are radical and monomorphemic, i.e., these are not analysable into their componential elements (stem/root + formatives), e.g., (Kin.) - /teg/ big, /dam/ good, /lis/ cold, (Patt.) - /soi/ cold, /tini/ /lhei/ yellow, (Mar.) - /phurd/ fat, /mad/ low, /thod/ high, etc.

But as in Tibetan in these too many adjectives belonging to the radical class take some particles which in themselves have no independent meaning, e.g., (Tod) - /kär-po/ white, /mär-po/ red; /dan-mo/ cold; /nar-mo/ sweet; /män-po/ many; (Jad) - /rin-bo/ long, /cha-bo/ great, big, /thon-bo/ high, /tan-mu/ cold, /nar-mu/ sweet; (Sp.) - /nar-mo/ sweet, /bal-mo/ soft, /sañ-ma/ clean/ /so-ma/ new, /chan-ma/ all; (Nyam.) - /nak-po/ black, /dom-pho/ thick, /chu-po/ big, /mar-wo/ red; (Gar.) - /son-po/ clever, /khäs-pa/ wise; (Dar.) - /wam-nu/ black; /ya-nu/ bad, /ze-nu/ good, /mi-nu/ short, /cha-nu/ sweet; (Chaud.) - /bu-dä/ good, /po-dä/ big, /man-dä/ red; etc.

Derived: By their very definition derived adjectives are di-morphemic, i.e., composed of a root/stem + one or more formative suffixes, and are analysable into their componential elements. In this the root/stem morpheme can be a verb, noun, pronoun or another adjective and the formative suffix may have an independent or symbolic meaning. But the proportion of this class of adjectives is very small in all the dialects of the T.H. group. Some of the examples from a few tongues may be presented as follows:

(Kin.) - /teg-šya/ elder (masc.), /teg-šc/ edder (fem.); /ši-sid/ dead, /cha-si/ salted; (Patt.) - /ti-cäte/ wet, /tiskar-cäte/ thirsty; (Tin.) - /srei-pa/ shy, /cha-ku/ salted; /was-ki/ sweet, /kar-ki/ dry; (Gar.) - /khäspa/ wise, /sum-pa/ third; (Tod) - /zi-khän/ square, /ši-khän/ dead, /nor-cän/ wealthy, /sañ-po/ clever; (Jad) - /cig-po/ alone, /che-gu/ salted; (Sp.) - /cin-te/ heavy, /khan-te/ bitter; (Nyam.) - /ak-po/ alone, /syañ-zin/ wide; (Mar.) - /chuk-po/ angry, /di-bin/ like that, /da-bin/ like this; (Chaud.) - /toñ-mi/ alone, /ni-mi/ both/, /pi-rute/ square; (Chhit.) - /khrei/ hungry, /päzär/ square, /ko-cän/ clever, /mechän-sya/ zealous.

Compounded: Besides the above there is a class of adjectives which are formed by reduplicating the simple/radical stem, e.g., (Tin) - /sil-sil/ smooth, slippery, /jär-jär/ lazy, /lom-lom/ soft, /tak-tak/ hard; (Gar.) - /sil-sil/ smooth, /don-don/ deep; (Tod) - /dub-dub/ blunt, /cäl-cäl/ round (small), /jäl-jäl/ round (big), /cur-cur/ pointed; (Jad) - /kir-kir/ round, /cäm-cäm/ quiet, /cok-cok/ small, /kale-kale/ slow;

(Nyam.) - /gor-gor/ square, /kir-kir/ round, /la-la-mo/ easy; (Mar.) - /ci-ci/ small, young, /bhur-bhurya/ round; (Chhit.) - /kir-kir/ round, /män-män/ enough, plenty, etc.

Classification: Besides the traditional classification of adjectives, as Demonstrative, Possessive, Interrogative, Qualitative, Quantitative, Distributive, Numeral, etc., all classes of adjectives can broadly be grouped as 'distinguishing' and 'describing' on the basis of their syntactic positions and semantic connotations.

1. *Distinguishing:* Adjectives belonging to this category are the pronominal adjectives, because the use of these adjectives distinguishes the object in question from other objects of that category, as in 'my horse', 'your horse', 'this horse', 'that horse', etc., the pronominal qualifiers distinguish the particular 'horse' from other horses of the species. Moreover, morphologically the adjectives of this class attest variation in terms of numbers in certain dialects of the Himalayan group, e.g., (Patt.) - /di mi/ this man, /diku mi-ku/ these two men, /di-re mi-re/ these men, and syntactically, Adj. of this class hold a position immediately before the noun head in all the speeches of both the groups (See Placement, p. 13⁶).

2. *Describing:* But adjectives modifying the meaning of the noun head in terms of quality, such as good, bad, black, red, etc., or quantity, such as enough, much, plenty, etc. or number, such as some, a few, many, four, five, etc., or some state or condition, such as happy, jolly, sad, cold, hot, etc., can be termed as 'describing', because all these qualifiers simply describe the quality, quantity, state or number of the nominal head qualified by them. Morphologically, they are all non-variables, i.e., are not inflected for any grammatical category in any speech, (See Agreement below), and syntactically can occur attributively as well as predicatively (See 'Placement', p. 13⁷).

Agreement with Noun Head: The only twin speech group in which the demonstrative pronominal adjectives attest an agreement in number with the noun head is Pattani-Tinani, as in /di mi/ this man, /diku miku/ these two men, /di-re mi-re/ these men, similarly /du mi/ that man, etc. The other language which shows partial agreement with noun head in gender marker suffixes is Kinnauri, e.g., /uncidya/ beggar (masc.): /uncide/ beggar (fem.); /tegsya chan/ elder son: /tegse checac/ elder daughter; /hamsya chan/ which boy? /hamse checac/ which girl? etc. All other speeches are totally devoid of this morphological feature.

Adjectives belonging to all other pronominal and non-pronominal

classes are invariable, i.e., do not undergo any change with reference to the number and gender of the noun head qualified by them. A few examples from both the groups may be given to illustrate this feature of the adjectival uses in these tongues.

(*Patt.*) - /ica roki khui/ one black dog; /juṭ roki khui-ku/ two black dogs; /sumu roki khui-re/ three black dogs; /dou ba/ his/her father; /dou ya/ his/her mother; (*Kin.*)- /nakič chan/ slim boy; /nakič checac/ slim girl; (*Raji*) - /nhiko päyau/ good boy; /nhiko garoun/ good girl; (*Dar.*) - /buñ-nu syänu/ tall boy; /bunnu ceme/tall girl; (*Chaud.*) - /wamda nipya/ black hen, /wamda raṅga/ black cock; /wamda raṅga män/ black cocks; (*Chhit.*) - /khäi khui/ black dog, /khäi khuicän/ black dogs, /khäi piši/ black cat; (*Sp.*) - /cäm mär/ how much butter, /cäm buṭa/ how many trees, /thon-po tu/ tall boy, /thon-po phomo/ tall girl; (*Jad*) - /tu bompo/ fat boy, /pō bompo/ fat girl; /di ta keru/ this white horse : /di ta-män-po keru/these white horses.

Degrees of Comparison: In all the Tibeto-Himalayan tongues under consideration the mechanism of comparison of degrees of adjectives is, like I.A., simple and non-suffixal.

Comparative: In comparing the quality or quantity of two objects it is affected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case and the object being compared in the direct or nominative case or by prepositioning the respective particles of comparison to the modifier in question. Examples from different speeches under consideration may be illustrated as follows:

Kin.- /-c/ Simply ablative case suffix/-c/yuthan rim thug rimo-c teg to/ (lit.) lower field upper field from big is = lower field is bigger than upper field.

Patt.- Use of particle/be~beci/ 'more' : /di ruṭhe to/ this is good, but /di beci ruṭhe to/ this is more good, i.e., this is better, /ramo kaka doudorci beci pheṭi tod/ Ram's brother is more fat from him, i.e., fatter than him;

Tin.-As in *Patt.*, /ñiši/ good, /bece ñiši/ better.

Chhit. - As in *Kin.*- /ci/ - /popašo ri kalpašo ri-ci ṭei to/ the lower field is big than the upper field =bigger.

Kan.- Usually left-out, e.g., /akä kim teg känk kim totck/ (lit.) - our house big, your house is = our house is bigger than yours.

Gari.- /dog-ci/ 'from' - /täi acho täi šrin dogci kyui ni/ (lit.) - his brother, his sister from, tall is, i.e., taller than his sister.

Tod. /san/ 'than' - /kho khyoran san cuñ-mo du/ he you than younger is = he is younger to yo. . /ne aco ne aci san riñ-mo yod/

(lit.) - my brother, my sister than, tall is =my brother is taller to my sister

Spiti- /san/ - /khoi aco khoi aci san thon-po dug/ your brother is taller to your sister.

Nyam. - As in Spitian - /khoe azo khoe azi san thonpo hin/ your brother is taller to your sister.

Jad- /sana/ 'from' 'than' - /hyoki singa detema singa sana chea dog/ lower field is big`than the upper.

Marchha- /se/ - /ponci rhig kälöci rhigär se labo yā/ 'the lower field is big than from the upper= bigger.

Dar.- /jänri/ 'more' - /jänri punu/ more big = bigger.

Chaud. - /cañ~cyan/ 'more - /cañ pod/ more big=bigger.

Raji - /jhik/ 'more' - /jhik nhiko/ more good =better.

A comparison of the above mentioned particles of comparison shows that broadly they divide all the speeches under consideration into 4 groups, viz., Kinnauri, Lahuli, Tibetan and Rangkas.

Superlative: But if the comparison involves more than two objects, i.e., superlative degree, then it is affected by prepositioning the particle of comparison conveying the sense of 'among all, from all, of all', etc., to the modifier in question, e.g.,

Kin- /mäzänšya rim zonu teg to/ the medial field of all big is =is bigger than all, i.e. biggest.

Patt.- /bhätte/, /mhäs/ 'very much' - /di bhätte ruṭhe to/ this is very much good = the best; /ramo ghärbar ui ghärbar dorci bhätte more tod/ Ram's house other houses from very much big is = is biggest of all other houses.

Tin.- As in Patt. -/bhätte ñiši/ very much good=best.

Chhit. - /ce/ 'from all' /ce zya/ 'more than all', as in /bera ri ce tei to/ (lit.) The medial field than all big is =is biggest.

Kan. - /säb-kä-nic/ = among of all': /säb-kä nic äkli ni ton/ we are intelligent (=the most intelligent) among of all.

Gari- /chaī bästa/ 'more than all' - /chaī bästa zaī/ good more than all = best; /chaī bästa soi/ coldest, etc.

Tod - /širi san/ 'all than', /kho buca širi san san-po duk/ (lit.) that boy all than clever is =is cleverest of all; or /minde/ 'of all' - /midi minde rumpo dug/ (lit.) man this of all fat is = is fattest of all.

Spiti- /chc/ 'of all', /singa zunma chešyok hin/ medial field is the biggest one.

Nyam. /siñ saī/ 'from all', i.e., biggest.

Jad- /rope sana/ 'from all', /hyunma singade rope sana cheo/ the medial field is big from all, i.e., is the biggest.

Mar.- /räkko se/ 'from all', /kilduci rhigar räkko se labo. yā/ the medial field is big from all, i.e., is the biggest one.

Dar.- /jän, jän jinri/ 'more than all' - /jän punu/ biggest, /jän jinri punu/ biggest.

Raji- /ait/ - /ait nhiko/ good from all, i.e., the best /ait argo/ highest.

Placement: The place of an adjective in a syntactic string may be immediately before the noun head as in Himalayan languages or immediately after it, as in Tibetan languages, i.e., in the former group it is used attributively and in the latter group predicatively, though pronominal adjectives, in both the groups, are used only attributively. Now, we shall first illustrate the uses of pronominal adjectives from all tongues and then take up each group separately.

Pronominal: As stated above that there are only two classes of pronouns, viz., demonstrative and possessive which are used as an attribute of a noun head. Their placement in all the dialects under consideration is as under:

Kin.- /aŋ chan/ my son; /kin chan/ your son; /dogonu kim/ their home; /zu rhaŋ/ this horse; /do laŋ/ that cow.

Chhit.- /ae kim/ my house; /kin äci/ your son; /hui pya / this bird; /hoyo pya / that bird, etc.

Patt.- /gyu khui/ my dog; /kã~kin rhän/ your horse; /di pya/ this bird, /du mi/ that man, /dure mire/ those men.

Tin.- As in Pattani.

Gari. - /gi-i šriŋ/ my sister, /häi buca/ your son, /the cemed/ this girl, /thäzu buca/ that boy.

Tod - /ne khän-pa/ my house, /khoc aco/ his brother, /naze rama/ our goats, /i ta/ this horse, /kho mi/ that man.

Jad- /nei yul/ my village; /khe tu/ thy son; /di ta/ this horse; /phei ta/ that horse, /disc khänpa/ their home.

Spiti- /näi khän-po/ my house /khäi ta/ his horse, /i ta/ this horse, /phi mi/ that man, /khyu-ti lagpa/ your hand.

Nyam. - /mäne khän-ba/ my home, /khyo-e apa/ your father, /khoe phomu/ his daughter, /di ta/ this horse, /phi mi/ that man.

Mar.- /git šri/ my son, /gEt balan/ your cows, /dhi rhan/ this horse, /dhE rhan/ that horse.

Dar. - /jigu rhinšya/ my sister, /gEru šeri/ your son, /nin-gu sunkhu/ our village, /ändu rhän/ this horse, /tedu rhän/ that horse.

Chaud.- /jigä rhinsya/ my sister, /nagä mala/ your goat, /ugä rhän/ his horse, /äi cim/ this house, /ätin nikhi/ that dog.

Johari.- /ji gä cim/ my house, /go-g ba/ your father, /u-gä šeri/ his son, /i sin/ this tree, /hwe mi/ that man.

Attributive. From among the speeches under consideration the following practise attributive system in the use of non-pronominal or describing adjectives. Besides a single attribute there could be more than one qualifiers of the noun head in a nominal phrase. In such a case the order of different classes of qualifiers is more or less fixed in them. Normally, the sequential order of different classes of qualifiers is like this: dem. +possessive + numeral + intensifier + describing. However, in case of more than one qualifier of the same class then the one indicative of specification precedes the one indicating something general, as in 'today in the evening'. But in respect of modifiers denoting 'size' and 'colour' both the groups have their own preferences, i.e., in the Him. group the term for 'size' precedes the term for 'colour', but in the Tibetan group it is other way round, e.g. (Kin.) -/id gatoc suig pyac/a small red bird; (Patt.) /ica kwaci sei pya/id., (Dar.)-/taku minu suig männu pya/id; (Mar.) - /cicya määndä pec/id; but (Sp.)-cya märpo cukän/id., (Nyam.) -/ciu mär-wo cuñ cuñ/id., (Sp.)-/ khi nakpo ñompo cik/ a big black dog (lit. dog black big one), (Nyam.) /khi nakpo manpo~bompo zik/id.

All these features of the placement of adjectives in different tongues may be illustrated as under:

Kin.- /id pyacä/ one bird; /id gatoc pyacä/ one small bird, /id gatoc suig pyacä/ a small red bird; /id kättai gatoc suig pyacä/ a very small red bird.

Chhit.- /i khui/ a dog; /i khäi khui/ a black dog; /i phuri khäi khui/ a fat black dog; /i män-män phuri khäi khui/ a very fat black dog.

Patt.- /ica khui/ a dog : /ica roki khui/ a black dog : /ica mhäs roki khui/ a very black dog : /kwaci pya/ small bird, etc.

Mar. - /tig khui/ one dog; /tig tind khui/ a black dog; /tig labo tind khui/ a big black dog : /tig chuṭṭi labo tind khui/ a very big black dog.

Dar.- /taku cuñ wamnu khui/ one very black dog.

Chwad.- /tig mättä womd nikhi/ one very black dog.

Johari.- /sum mi/ three men, /mhä sud mi/ very simple man, /ta pun sin rhän/ one big white horse.

From the above examples it may be evident that in this matter

all the Himalayan dialects follow the same pattern which is followed in I.A. tongues.

Predicative: The predicative system of the placement of non-pronominal attributes, as in Tibetan, is followed in the following dialects. Under this system the attributes follow the noun head qualified by them. For instance,

Gari- /län epo ti/ (lit.) work good one= a good thing; /pyaci phecci ti/ bird small one, /äkhäri tezi khäi khyu ti/ very big black dog one, /pyaci phecci mäi niskin/ bird small red two=two small red birds.

Tod- /khi nakpo ci/ dog black one=one black dog; /khi ci can nak/ dog one very black; but, may be under I.A. influence, /thämpo buca/ tall boy; /rumpo bomo/ fat girl; /cici sämdäl rin-mo ghepo mi/ one beard long old man=a long bearded old man.

Jad- /aino nāi/ brothers two : /tiñmo cig/ sister one; /phiñ cogda/ children small; /mi cäm/ men how many? ; /ciu cok-cok cig/ bird small small one; = a very small bird; /khi nagpo chopo cig/ dog black big one, /khi nagpo män-po cig/ dog black very one.

Spiti- /sin-no cik/ sister one; /pula män-po/ brother many; /cya mär-po cukän/ bird red small; /khi minan meti nak-po dam-po cik/dog very black fat one=one very fat black dog.

Nyam- (As in Spiti)- /nomo sum/ sister three, /choñ-ma cäm/ cattle how many? : /mi su/ man which? /laha ci/ work what? ; /khi nakpo bompo zik/ dog black-fat one; /ciu mär-wo cun-cun/ bird red small-small =a very small bird.

Raji-/bhäuwa thulo/ elder brother, /päyau nhi/ son two.

An analysis of the placement of the various classes of adjectives in the syntactic string of the above examples makes it evident that under this system-

- (1) the numeral adj. comes at the end of the string;
- (2) intensifier follows the quality and precedes the numeral;
- (3) the term for size, contrary to Himalayan system, follows the term for colour (see above Sp., Nyam.).

Moreover, the predicative use of the attributes is primarily practised in the speeches of the Tibetan group and Munda group. Its currency in Gari may be on account of its proximity to the languages of the Tibetan group.

Numeral System

The numeral system in any language is perhaps the one which is comparatively more constant than other systems and can also be more exactly compared with languages of the same family or of the different families. Moreover, number-names, by common consent are the oldest and the best defined words of a language, as mathematics is undisputably the oldest of the sciences. They form a significant part of the lexicon of a given language and belong to the category of language universals (Murdock, 1945 : 124). Speaking generally, the number sense of a community leads to the growth of a corresponding number language consisting of a limited number of lexicon and figures and a set of specific rules, although its actual ability to count is somewhat greater than is indicated by its vocabularies (Conant, 1923: 21). The language of Andaman Islands, for instance, as that of the Veddas of Sri Lanka, has number words only for one and two. Smith (Vol. I : 6) has mentioned in this context the numerals of no fewer than thirty Australian languages which do not extend beyond four. But this does not, however, mean that they cannot distinguish four birds from five or fifty birds. They have all evolved different devices of numerations, or rather concrete nature, to make up for the paucity of appropriate language labels for various numbers.”

Bases of Counting: Summarising the basic principles of number system Prof. Ian Dale (1977 : 59) referring to Menninger (1969: 39) says that underlying every number system are two basic principles, viz., ‘ordering’ and ‘grouping.’ In the first place, number must be ordered so that each is one more than the preceding number and one less than the following number. At first, numbers are merely listed in order, with a separate name for each number. But the limitation of human memory precludes the possibility of this continuing infinitely. So at some point, usually at the tenth number, the ones counted so far are put in a group and the count is continued with members of the next group. We will refer to the number on which grouping is organized as the BASE of given number system.....The number ‘ten’ is the most common base

for number system the world over, presumably, as has often been suggested (e.g., by Menninger 1969, Stampe 1976), because of the popular habit of counting on fingers. When people reached 'two hands full' in counting, it was time to put those aside and start over. Other commonly found bases are twenty (the number of fingers and toes put together) and twelve (the number of joints on the four fingers opposed to the thumb), though these are more often found in conjunction with base ten than on their own. Five (one hand), and eight (the number of fingers in both hands, excluding the thumb) have also been used as numeral bases."

The Indian sub-continent presents an amazing variety of languages belonging to four major linguistic families of the world, viz. Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman, each having its own linguistic system and sub-system. But in the languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group we find that numeral systems of the languages of all the 4 families are completely or partially operative there.

Consequently, in these speeches we come across two principal systems of counting, viz., 'ten' based (decimal) and 'twenty' based (vigesimal). There the former system is followed in the speeches of the Tibetan group and the latter system in the languages of the pronominalized Himalayan group. The speeches of the Rangkas group, though primarily belong to the vigesimal system, yet on account of their long and constant contact with the speakers of the Tibetan and the Indo-Aryan group have alternately adopted the decimal system as well (See Table No. 7A-B), i.e., in them both the systems are partially operative.

A structural analysis of various numeral systems of the languages of the world has brought to light that for deriving higher number forms most of them follow either the additive method in which the intended number is obtained by adding simple number 1, 2, 3, to the basic unit or its multiple, the multiplier being indicated by a prefix or a free word element preceding the basic unit of enumeration.

Besides, there are two main patterns of constructing higher numbers than the basic unit by means of compounding two units. Between these one is followed in languages like Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chinese, etc., and the other in Tibetan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic (Munda), etc. There in the former group the normal procedure in the given scale is that "when the number is composed of the first two denominatives only, i.e., for numbers below hundred, the smaller element is written first, e.g., (Skt.) *saptadaśa* (17), *pañca*

vimṣati (25), whereas in the latter group it follows the base unit, /so-na/ (15), /ñizo-na/ 25.

From the analyses of the languages of T.H. group, it has been found that these, may be following decimal system or vigesimal system, derive their higher numbers only by following additive method of numeral construction.

In the whole Himalayan region, under our investigation, there is only one dialect, viz., Raji, spoken in the Askot Pargana of district Pithoragarh in Kumaun Himalayas in which the phenomena of subtractive counting is attested. It has only a vigesimal system in which counting beyond ten is done by means of subtracting the desired number from the basic unit 'twenty' for which the term is /bihäi/ (20), a loan from I.A., e.g., 'eleven' /näv-käm-bihäi/ (=nine less twenty); 'fourteen' /turakḍ-käm-bihäi/; 'seventeen' /sung-käm-bihäi/; 'nineteen' /ḍa-käm-bihäi/ (=one less twenty, cf. *ekonavimṣati*). It may also be mentioned here that in this dialect, Tibeto-Himalayan numerals are preserved upto 'six' only, rest 4, viz., /khat/ (sat), /aṭṭh/ , /näv/, /däh/, have been borrowed from I.A. dialects. Again for 'hundred' it has its own term, viz., /ḍa:ka/ (100). Here it is difficult to say whether it is only /ka/ which denotes the sense of 'hundred' or /ḍa:ka/, because /ḍa/ stands for the term 'one' as well, besides the T.H. /ga/.

Sources of Numerals: It may be pointed out that in the languages under consideration, the basic units of numerals are from 'one' to 'ten' and for 'hundred' only, all others are combinations of various lower and higher numeral units. A comparison of all the cognates of these basic units shows that these have been drawn from three sources, viz., Tibetan, Himalayan, including Munda, and Indo-Aryan.

It may be interesting to note that out of the 10 basic terms for the units from one to ten, seven, viz., 2-6, 9-10, have a common source, attesting complete or partial identity among them. These may be illustrated as under:

- (I) 'Two': /niṣ~nhiṣ/ (Himalayan groups): /ñi/ (Tibetan group).
- (II) 'Three' : /sum/ (T.H.), with variants /homo/ in Chhit. & /suñ/ in Raji.
- (III) 'Four' : /pä, pu, pi/ (Him.) : /ṣi, zi/ (Tib.): /pari/ (Raji).
- (IV) 'Five' : /na~ñai/ (T.H.) : /pā, päñ/ (Raji).
- (V) 'Six': /tu, tru, tuk/ (Him.) : /tuk, thuk/ (Tib.) : /turku/ (Raji).
- (VI) 'Nine' : /gu, ku, gui/ (Him.) : /gu/ (Tib) : Raji /näv/ (I.A.)
- (VII) 'Ten': /sE, sa/ (W. Him.) : /ci/ (E. Him.) : /cu/ (Tib.).

It may be evident from the above that all these number names belong to a common source and the roots running through each of them are identical, i.e., having identical initial consonantal phonemes, though in case of 'four' and 'ten', some phonetic changes have taken place during their historical development between the two groups. Besides, synchronically Mar. Kan. and Raji have adopted I.A. numerals beyond 'five'. Besides, there seems to be a term like /pän~bän/ in the languages of the Rangkas group which has survived in Raji and is attested in the term for 15, /cäbän/ in Dar. and Chaud.

But for the remaining 3 units, viz., 'one', 'seven' and 'eight' both the groups have their own terms derived at least from 3 different sources. Broadly these can be grouped as A, B, C. There the 'A' group consists of the languages of the Western Himalayan group, viz., Kin. Kan. Chhit. Patt. and Tin., the 'B' group consists of the languages of the Tibetan group, and the 'C' group of the languages of the Rangkas group. Gar. the language of the Western pronominalized group, however, shows closer affinity with the Rangkas group. All these may be explained as under:

'One'-The number name for 'one' in the languages of the 'A' group is /id/ (Kan. Kin. Chhit.) /ica/ (Patt. Tin.), and /da~/ga/ in Raji. In the languages of the group 'B' it is /cig~cik/ and in group 'C' : /tig/ (Mar. Chaud.), /tike/ (Gar.), /taku/ (Dar.) and /taka/ (Johari), the same root running through all terms of each of the groups.

'Seven'- The term for the numeral 'seven' is /stiš~tiš/ (Kin. Chhit.), /nhizi/ (Patt. Gar.), /nhisi/ (Joh.), /nice/ (Tin.), /nisu, nisya/ (Dar. Chaud.), and /dun/ (Sp. Nyam. Tod, Jad). Here the grouping may be done as (1) Kinnauri, (2) Tibetan and (3) all others.

'Eight'- The term for 'eight' indicates that it belongs to two separate groups which may be termed as (1) Western pronominalized group, and (2) Tibetan-Rangkas group. There the terms in the first group are attested as (rE, re, rây/ and in the second group as /gyeidi/ (Tin.), /gyei/ (Gar.) /gyat/ (Sp. Nyam. Jad), /gye/ (Tod), /zyäd, zyädu/ (Dar., Chaud. Johari). It may be interesting to note that in this context Tin. and Gar. which otherwise belong to the western pronominalized group, attest an affinity with the speeches of the Tibetan and Rangkas groups.

Classification: Syntactically, numerals share the position of qualifiers and are, therefore, a sub-category of adjectives. Formal classes of this class of words are—(1) cardinals, (2) ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, and (6) Approximatives. The structure and the function of all these may be explained as follows:

Cardinals: As in other languages in these too the function of a cardinal numeral is to count objects, animate or inanimate. But besides this, as in Dravidian, in these too the function of a cardinal numeral is two fold, the one, probably the more primitive, is that of a qualifier and the second that of a numeral substantive, with regard to their use as a qualifier in the languages of the T.H. group, a notable point is that in them besides their absolute usages these are used both attributively and predicatively, i.e., in the matter of their placement the languages of the Tibetan group, following the Tibetan system, use them predicatively and the languages of the Himalayan group, following in I.A. system, use them attributively. But there are speeches in which, under the influence of neighbouring tongues, they exhibit a dual character too, i.e., can occur both ways - attributively and predicatively, e.g., (Tod) - /cici ghepo mi/ an old man (Attri.), but /khi nakpo ci/ (Pred.) a black dog (lit. = dog black one); (Raji) - /ḍhin ḍa/ one day (Pred.) but /ḍa baman/ a Brahmin (Attri.).

Moreover, the practice of using numeral classifier after the cardinal numerals to indicate whether the object is animate or inanimate is not attested in these tongues. Besides, the numeral 'one' is not used as a nominal qualifier. It, whenever used, indicates the sense of the indefinite article, as in /mi cig/ a certain person.

Formation of Cardinal Numbers

As the 'twenty' based vigesimal method of counting becomes operative for counting numerals higher than twenty, there is no structural difference in the formation of numerals upto twenty in either of the systems (see, Table 7A & B). There the structural analysis of numerals from 'one' to 'twenty' shows that, as in other linguistic systems, in this too the first ten numbers are simple, i.e., independent monomorphemic units, and the next 10 (i.e., 11-20) are poly-morphemic units, i.e., composed of two numeral units, one of them representing the unit 'ten', with its allomorphs forms the first component of it and the other, representing the numeral units from 'one' to 'nine' forms the second component of it. This compounded word denotes the number which is the total sum of the two figures involved in this combination. For instance, in the speeches of the T.H. group the term for 13 is expressed as /so-rum/ (Kin. Chhit.); /su-sum/ (Patt. Tin.); /cu-sum/ (Gar. Jad); /co-sum/ (Tod); /cuk-sum/ (Sp. Nyam).; /cä-sum, cyä-sum/ (Dar. Chaud.). Similarly, the term for 15 is /so-na/ (Kin. Chhit.) etc. (See Table 7A & B). But in the word for 'twenty' the order of composition

is reversed to bring into operation the multiplicative method of expressing numerals of different decades. Consequently, it takes the form of 'two into ten' (For examples, see Table 7A & B).

From the above discussion it may be evident that this method of compounding of numerals from 'eleven' to 'twenty' is equally operative in all the languages of the T.H. group, may be following the system of counting based on 'ten' or 'twenty'. Obviously this method of compounding is akin to that followed in Munda and Dravidian systems, than that which is followed by the Indo-Aryan languages, in which, contrary to this system, the simple numbers from 1-9 are prefixed to the term for ten as in (Skt.) *trayodaśa* (13), *pañcadaśa* (15), (Hindi) *terah* (13), *pandrah* (15) etc.

Formation of Higher Numerals: Units of numerals higher than 20 are obtained, under both are systems, by combining the basic units of 10 and 20 to the numeral units of 1-9 in the decimal system and of 1-19 in the vigesimal system. In this, different groups of languages have their own rules of combination which may be summarised as under:

1. The decade morpheme and the unit morpheme may have a linking sound in between them. This morpho-phonemic phenomenon takes place, particularly, in the speeches of the western pronominalised group. It is attested as /o-/ in Kin. Chhit. and Patt. : /ñiz-o-ña/, as /uj-/ in Kan., : /niza-uj-ña/, as /-u-/ in Tin. : /niz-u-ña/ and as /-i-/ in Gar., /niza-i-näu/ all meaning 25.

2. It may be affected by combining the decade morpheme with the decimal denominator and the numeral unit in that order. This system is primarily attested in the tongues of the Tibetan group. The symbolic decimal denominator representing various terms for different decades is attested as /sa/ ~/ca/ for the series of 20, /so/ ~/se/ for the 30, /sok/ for the 40, /näb/ for the 50, /re/ for the 60, /don/ ~ /ton/ for the 70, /ge/ ~/ke/ for the 80, and /kho/ for 90. e.g., 21 is /ñi-su-sa-cik/ (Sp.) : 25 is /ñi-su-se-ña/ (Sp.) : /ñi-su-ca-ña/ (Nyam. Jad); Similarly, 32 is /sum-su-so-ñi/; 43 is /zib-sak-sum/ (Sp.) ; /zib-se-sum/ (Nyam.). /zib-za-sum/ (Tod); 57 is /näb-näb-dun/ (Sp.) ; /näb-cu-dun/ (Nyam.) : /näb-cu-ña-dun/ (Tod) ; /näb-zu-ña-dun/ (Jad): Also /thub-re-rok/ 66; /don-don-cik/ 71, /ze-gye-ña/ 85, /gub-go-ña/ (Sp.) : /gub-kho-ña/ (Nyam.) 95, /gub-khor-gu/ 99. (also see Tables 7A & B)

3. By combining the term for decade with the term for unit directly, without any linking sound or mentioning any decimal denominator. This method is primarily followed in the speeches of the Rangkas group,

Table 7A
Cardinal Numerals : Decimal System

	Spiti	Nyam.	Tod.	Jad.	Mar.	Dar.	Chaud.	Joh.
1	cik	cik	cik	cig	tig	taka	tig	taka
2	ni	ñi	ñi	ñi	nhis	nisu	nisi	nisi
3	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum
4	zi	zi	zi	ši	pi	pi	pi	pi
5	ña	ña	ña	ña	ñe	ñäi	ñäi	ñäi
6	ʈhuk	ʈhuk	ʈuk	ʈok	chE (I.A.)	ʈuku	ʈugo	ʈuk
7	dun	dun	dun	dun	sat (")	nisu	nis	nhis
8	gyät	gyät	gyc	gyät	aṭh (")	zyädu	zyäd	zyäd
9	gu	gu	gu	gu	nɔ (")	gui	gui	gui
10	cu	cuk	cu	cu	däs (")	ci	ci	ci
12	cu-ñi	cun-ñi	cu-ñi	cu-ñi	All I.A.	cyäñi	cañe	x
15	co-ña	cu-ña	coña	caña	"	cyäbän	cäbän	x
19	curgu	cu-rgu	cu-rgu	co-rgu	"	cirgu	curgu	x
20	ñisu	ñi-su	ñisu	ñi-su	"	näsa	näsa	nin̄sa
25	ñi-su-se-ña	ñisu caña	ñisusaña	ñisucaña	"	näsa-ñäi	näsa näi	x
30	sum-cu	sum-zu	sum cu	sumzu	"	sumsa	sumsa	ninsa-ci
32	sum-so-ñi	sum zusoñi	sumcusoñi	zamzikñi	"	sumsa-nis	sumsanis	x
40	zib-cu	zib-cu	zib-cu	zib-zu	"	pisa	pisa	pininsa
43	zib-sak-sum	zib-se-sum	zib-cuza-sum	zibzu a-sum	"	pisa-sum	pisa-sum	x
50	ñab-cu	ñab-cu	ñab-cu	ñab-zu	"	ñasa	ñasa/pisa-ci	pisa-ci
60	ʈhub-cu	ʈhub-cu	dog-cu	ʈug-zu	"	ʈuk-cha	ʈukcha	sumnisa
70	don-cu	don-zu	dun-cu	dun-zu	"	ʈukcha-ci	ʈukchaci	x
80	zi-cuk	zi-cuk	gyc-cu	gyä-zu	"	zyäccha	zyäccha	x
90	guh-cu	gup-cu	guh-cu	gub-zu	"	zyädcha-ci	zyäccha-ci	x
100	gya	gya	gya	gya	"	ra/sE	säi/sE	nänäs

Table 7B
Cardinal Numerals : Vigesimal System

Kin.	Chhit.	Kan.	Patt.	Tin.	Gar.	Raji
1	i	id	ica	ica	tike	gā/da
2	nisi	nis	juṭ	ñizi	nispi	nhi
3	homo	sum	sumu	su	sumi	sun/khun
4	pā	pu	pi	pi	pi	pari
5	ña	ña	ña	ña	ñai	pā/pān
6	tu	co	trui	trui	trui	turku
7	tuš	sat	nhizi	nicce	ñizi	khatt
8	rE	aḥ	re	gyeidi	gyei	āḥ
9	gui	nou	ku	ku	gu	nāw
10	sE	dās	sa	sa	cui	dāh/dākh
12	so-niš	bara	sa-ñizi	sañizi	cuñis	As I.A.
15	so-ña	pāra	sā-ñā	saña	coañ	"
19	so/gui	unni	sāsku	sāsku	curgu	"
20	niza	nis-niza	ñiza	ñiza	ñiza	"
25	nizo-ña	niza-u-ña	ñizo-ña	ñizu-ña	ñizai ñai	"
30	nizo-sāy	niza-uj-dās	ñizo-sa	ñizu-sa	ñizai cui	"
32	nizo-so-nis	niza-uj-bara	nizo sañizi	nizu-sa-ñizi	ñizai-cu-ñis	"
40	nis-niza	nis-niza	ñi-niza	ñi-niza	ñissa	"
43	nis-nizo-sum	nis-nizo-uj-sum	ñi-ñiza-sum	ñi-ñiza-sum	nissai-sum	"
50	nis-nizo rāy	nis-niza uj-dās	ni-niza-sa	ni-niza-sa	nis-sai-sa	"
60	sum-niza	sum-niza	sum-niza	sum-niza	sumu-niza	"
70	sum-nizo-sāy	sāḥ-uj-dās	sum-niza-sa	sum-niza-sa	sumniza-sa	"
80	pā-niza	pu-biya	pi-niza	pi-niza	pi-niza	"
90	pā-niza-sāy	ašē-uj-dās	pi-niza-sa	pi-niza-sa	piniza-sa	"
100	ra	ña biya	ra	ra	gya	"

e.g., /näsa-taku/ (Dar.) : /näsa-tig/ (Chaud.) 21; /näsa-näi/ 25; /sumsanis/ 32, /pisa-sum/ 43, /tuk-cha-tuku/ 66, etc.

Normal procedures followed to get higher numerals under the decimal and the vigesimal systems may be explained as follows:

Decimal System: This system is followed in the languages of the Tibetan and Rangkas group, though primarily the latter group belongs to the linguistic group which follows the bigesimal system, but as pointed out elsewhere (see *infra* Mixing) synchronically it has alternately adopted the counting system of the decimal group. Under this system all numeral forms, above ten are formed by compounding the terms for 1-9 to the term standing for the decade in question, which in their turn are obtained by compounding the numerals from 2-9 to the term for 10 in that order. The principle underlying the formation of different terms for different decades seems to be this that when the number names 2-9 are compounded with the term for 'ten', as the first component of the compound then the two numbers are to be multiplied e.g., (Tod) - /ñi-cu/ ~ /ni-su/ 20 (= 2 x 10); /sum-cu/ 30, /zi-bcu/ 40; /nä-bcu/ 50, /tak-cu/ ~ /dok-cu/ 60, /dun-cu/ 70, /gye-cu/ 80, /gub-cu/ 90.

Thus in this system the simple method employed to obtain numerals of different decades, viz., 11-19, 21-29, 31-39 and so on and so forth, is to add numerals from 1-9 to the decade term in question. For instance, the term for 10 is /cu/ in the languages of the Tibetan group and /ci/ in the Rangkas group. Consequently, the term for 19 is attested as /cu-rgu/ in the former group and /ci-rgu/ in the latter group, a total sum of 10+9. (For more examples see Table 7A & B).

In this type of numeral constructions it has been noticed that some times in a non-formal speech a shorter form of the numeral in question is used in place of the full form, containing all the components of the compounded term, e.g., the term for 31 is expressible as /sum-so-cik/ = sum (3) + so (30) + cik (1) = 31, and as /so-cik/ ~ /sok-sik/ = 30 + 1 as well, both the forms being acceptable to the speakers of the language. In the languages of the Tibetan group the term for 100 is /gya/ and in the Rangkas group /ra/ or /sE,sɔ/ an I.A. loan.

Vigesimal System: So far as the counting of numerals from 1-19 is concerned there is no basic difference either of the procedure or structure in the languages, may be following the decimal system or vigesimal system. It becomes operative only when the question of counting beyond 'twenty' comes there.

Explaining the question of the practice of the vigesimal system in Indian languages Prof. Norman H. Zide (1978: 30) has traced its

source to Central Asian languages like Caucasus or to the languages of the Tibeto-Burman group. According to him basically, it is not an Austro-Asiatic feature, as is commonly believed, though it was introduced to it at a very early stage.

Under this system numerals from 21-39, 41-59, 61-79, 81-99 are formed, as in Munda, by prefixing the term for 20 or for its multiplied units, 40, 60 and 80 to the next desired 1-19 number terms, suggesting that 'twenty' is the denotation for the highest number morphemic word reconstructable in the proto forms of these languages. As in the decimal system in this system too the underlying principle of counting for higher numerals seems to be that when the number is used before twenty the two numbers are to be multiplied, e.g., /ñi-za/ 20 (=2 x 10) /nis ñiza/ 40 (= 2 x 20), /sum-ñiza/ 60 (= 3 x 20), /pä-ñiza ~pi ñiza/ 80 (= 4 x 20). Thus for counting from 21-39 the term for 20 would form the first component of the compounded term and the terms from 1-19 as the second component of it, e.g., (Kin.) - 21 is /nizo-id/ (20+1) and 23 /nizo-sum/ (20 and 3), and 39 /nizo-sogui/ (20 and 19).

Moreover, in this system the terms for 30, 50 etc., are not multiples of 3 x 10 or 5 x 10, as we find in decimal system, but 20 + 10 (/nizo-sa/) or 40 + 10 (/nis-nizo-sa/) = (2, 20, 10). Similarly, 70 is = 3 x 20 + 10, and 90 = 4 x 20 + 10. However, this system of counting is followed upto 99 only. In most of the speeches under reference the term for 100, contrary to expected from like 5 x 20, is a monomorphemic independent one, attested as /ra/. The Himalayan languages which follow the vigesimal pattern are - Kin., Kan. Chhit. Patt. Tin. Gar. & Raji. (For full details see respective volumes of *S.T.H.L.* 1988-92).

Formation of Numerals above Hundred

As stated above, both the groups of the T.H. have an independent mono-morphemic term for 100, i.e., it is /gyä/ in the Tibetan group and /ra/ in the Himalayan group. In both the groups the figures for hundreds are formed by combining the terms for 1 to 9 with the term for 100. In the languages of the decimal group the term for hundred is used as a first component of the compound, as in /gyä sum/ 300 (lit. hundred three) and in the languages of the vigesimal system it forms the second component of it, e.g., /nis-ra/ 200, /sum-ra/ 300, etc.

Numerals above the series of hundred figures are formed by adding the specific numeral to the specific centurial number, joined by the additive particle of the language concerned, as in (Jad) - /gya-sum na ñisu/ 325; (Gar.) - /gya-dan-niza/ 120; (Patt.) - /ra-e-niz/ id.; (Tin.) -

/ra-rän-niza/ id. Similarly, (Kin.) - */ni-ra-o niza-o se sum/* 233; (Sp.) - */nis-rgya dän sok sum/* id. In the Him. speeches, however, no conjunct is used when the intended number is below 19, e.g., in Kin. 101 is expressed as */ra-id/* (= */ra/* 100 + */id/* - 1) but in Spitian it is attested as */gya-rän-cik/* (=100 and 1). Similarly, (Mar.) - */tig-so-sum/* 103, (ne so aṭh/ 508; but (Tod.) - */gya-dän-na/* 105, (Tin.) - */ra rän so/* 110.

The next higher numbers above 'hundred' are : 'thousand', 'ten thousand', lakh, etc., which are seldom used by the speakers of these tongues. In case of necessity either the Tibetan terms, */ston/*, */ṭhi/*, */bum/* or the I.A. terms */häzar/* / *däs häzar/* and */lakh/* are used.

Some Distinctive Features of Numeral System

When compared with other numeral systems of this sub-continent the numeral systems of the languages of the T.H. group present a few peculiarities of their own which may briefly be pointed out as under:

1) It differs from the Indo-Aryan chiefly in its mechanism of compound constructions for higher numbers. In the Indo-Aryan system while maintaining the order of the componential elements as it is, different allomorphs of the unit 'ten' are used to distinguish between 'fifteen' *Pañcadaśa* and 'fifty' *pañcāśat*, but in T.H. system, like Dravidian (see Ian Dale, 1977 : 62), the order of the components is reversed. Thus in T.H. the numeral 'fifteen' is expressed as */sona/* (*säi* (10) + *na* (5) in Kinnauri group, and */caṇa/cona/* in the Tibetan group (cf. Tamil-*patinancu*, 15) and 'fifty' is */nisnizorE/* (2 x 20 + 10) in the Kinnauri system and */nabcu/snabcu/ gabcu/nasa/* (5 x 10), in the Tibetan system. Here Kinnauri shows a diversion from the regular system of Tibetan. In it, like Munda, the term 'fifty' is formed by compounding numeral terms for 'two', 'twenty' and 'ten' in which twenty is again a compound of 'two' and 'ten'.

2) Like Dravidian T. H. languages also distinguish between multiplicative compounds and additive compounds by prefixing the smaller number to the base in the former case and suffixing it in the latter case, e.g., in Gari 'forty three' is constructed as 4, 10, 3 = */zi/* (4) - */bcu/* (10), */sum/* (3) = */zibcusum/*. It is similar to the system attested in Dravidian, cf. Tamil-*naappattumuunu* = 4, 10, 3 which clearly contrasts with the Indo-Aryan system which constructs it as 3, 40 (cf. Skt. *tricatvāriṃśat*) or Hindi *tetalis* = (3, 40). Thus the normal procedure of compounding in Indo-Aryan is, simple term plus decimal number term, as in '*ckādaśa*' (1 + 10), *pañcaviṃśti* (5 + 20), but in T.H. languages it is, decade term plus simple term, as in */sihi/ sigit/*

cuksid/ cuksik/ cukcik (10 + 1), etc., or /nizona/ (Him.) : /ñisu-ca-na/ ~/ñisu-sa/na (Tib.) : /näsa. näi/ (Rang.) 25 (20 + 5).

Mixing of Decimal & Vigesimal Systems

The dialects of the Rangkas group, viz., Darmia, Chaudangsi, Byangsi and Johari, though, primarily, belong to the vigesimal system of counting, yet do not follow it except for the round figures of 'fifty' and 'ninety', i.e., to denote the term for 50, the term for 40 is taken as base form and the term for 'ten' is added to it, as in /pisaci/ = /pi-sa/ (40), /ci/ (10) = 40 + 10 = 50. Similarly, for the term 'ninety' the term for 80 is taken as base and the term for 'ten' is added to it, as in /zyadchäci~zyed cha-sa/ (80)+/ci/ (10) (=80 + 10) = 90. For the round figures of other decades they have adopted the Tibetan system while retaining the term /sa/ for 10, which is realized as /cha/ as well, as in /tuk-cha/ 60 (6 x 10), and /zyed-cha/ 80 (=8 x 10), otherwise /pi-sa/ 40, /na-sa/ 50. Also cf. Johari /niñ-sa ci/ 30 (20, 10), /nänäs/ < nai niñ-sa 100 (= 5 x 20).

Further, though the numeral terms for 50 and 90 are /pisa ci/ and /zyedchaci/ respectively, yet for further counting in these decades the numeral terms as used by other languages belonging to the decimal system are taken into account, e.g., 50 is termed as /pisaci/ besides /nasa/, but 51 is termed as /nasatig/ (5, 10, 1) and so on. Similarly, 90 is termed as /zyedchaci/ (80 + 10) but 91 is termed as /guisatig/ (9, 10, 1) and so on. Here in the context of round figures like, 50, 70, 90 the notable point is this that in their formation the term for 'ten' instead of being appended to the numeral forming the decade, is appended to the term for the lower decade, consequently the term for 70 is obtained as /tuk cha-ci/ (=60 + 10 or 6-10-10).

Numeral Borrowings

Linguistic borrowing, like borrowing in other spheres of social life, is a natural consequence of contacts between more than one linguistic communities. In the Indian sub-continent where numerous languages and dialects co-exist and interact with one another linguistic borrowing in the sphere of numerals is also quite natural, although linguists are not unanimous about it. There are some like Ian Dale (1977: 63) who hold a strong view that numerals are rarely borrowed. For, according to him, numerals are among the most conservative lexical items in a language. Similarly, dealing with the history of IE numerals Buck (1949: 936) states "No class of words. not even those denoting family

relationship, has been so persistent as the numerals in retaining the inherited words." (Quoted by Ian Dale, 1977: 63). Menninger (1969: 100) also holds that number words are among the words of a language that mostly resist change . . . they change scarcely at all with the passage of time." (quoted, *ibid*).

But according to others, like V. M. Beskrovny, numbers are highly vulnerable to borrowing. In his opinion (1976: 216) numerals belong to that lexical and grammatical class of words which are subject to change in the conditions of bilingualism and multilingualism. The numerals are easily borrowed because of their syntactical peculiarity that they are always accompanied by names of objects, names of measures, monetary units, etc., which are often borrowed." In this, though the former view is nearer the truth, yet the latter also is not untrue, our own analysis in question is a proof of it. For, the linguistic area, under discussion is, though an area where, on account of its peculiar geo-physical situation, linguistic interaction with other linguistic systems is not frequent, yet a detailed study of these Tibeto-Himalayan dialects attests that like other sub-systems, numeral sub-systems too, are not free from linguistic interactions. In this the effect of language contact is witnessed in two ways, viz. (1) lexical borrowing; (2) structural borrowing. The former type of borrowing is attested in the western Bhotia dialects of Niti and Mana in Garhwal Himalayas, in which the Tibetan forms of numerals have been reduced to the first five numbers (1 - 5) only, for the remainder numerals the I.A. numerals have taken place. Besides, in most of these dialects spoken in the mid Himalayas the fractional and ordinal numerals have lost their T.H. terms and have been freely replaced by I.A. terms. The only native term that has survived in many dialects is the fractional term /phed/ (1/2) 'half'. Structural borrowing is clearly attested in the dialects spoken in the regions of Lahul and Kinnaur. There in the context of vigesimal counting they have borrowed a system which is alien to Tibetan numeral system, though the lexical units are, more or less, akin to this system.

The present study of numerals also shows that in this respect the languages of Kinnaur, Niti, Mana, Chaudangs, Byangs and Darma share certain characteristics which cut across generic differences and are not shared by the Himalayan languages of the same generic groupings. (See above, Mixing of . . ., a clear case of borrowing from Tibetan). Similarly, Kanashi besides the inherent vigesimal system has also adopted the I.A. terms for 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, as in /nis niza/ ~/cali/ 40, /sumniza/ ~/soth/ 60, /soth-uj-däs/ 70, /pu-biya/ (4 x 20) ~/äše/ 80,

/ase-däs/ 90, /nabiya/ (5 x 20) ~/so/ 100. Similar is the case with Chaud. in which the terms for 50, 70, 90 have alternate forms, one based on the decimal system of Tibetan tongues and the other on the vigesimal system of pronominalised speeches, e.g., 50 is */nasa/ (= 5 x 10)* and */pisa-ci/ (=40 + 10)*; 70 is */pis-sa/ (7 x 10)* and */tuk-cha-ci/ (=60 + 10)*; 90 is */zyadcha-ci/ (80 + 10)*. The existence of purely vigesimal system in old Johari indicates that intrinsically all the speeches of this group had the vigesimal system of counting, but in the course of time, owing to their close contacts with the speakers of Tibetan and I.A. a linguistic fusion took place which gave rise to new terms for the multiples of 20 + 10.

Another example of linguistic borrowing is attested in Pattani and Gari dialects of Lahul in which in certain compounded formations different components belong to different linguistic groups, e.g., in Pattani the term for two is */ju/* but for 'twenty' is */niza/ (=nis (2) + /sa/ (10)*, in which the first component is taken from the Tibetan stock and the second from indigenous (Kinnauri) stock. Similarly, in Gari the term for 'two' is */ñis/* and for 'ten' is */cui/*, but the resultant compound form is */ñiza/* in which the first component is from its own stock, but the second has been borrowed from other dialects of it. More or less similar is the case with dialects of Rangkas group as well. As stated above in them the term for 'ten' is */ci/*, but in the formation of other decades, it is replaced by */sa/*, a Kinnauri term, as in */nasa/ (20)*, */sumsa/ (30)*, */pisa/ (40)* etc. The term */ci/* is again retained in formation of terms for 50 and 90, as in */pisaci/ (4 x 10 + 10)* and */zedchaci/ (8 x 10 + 10)*. Moreover, in many dialects of T.H. terms for the numbers higher than hundred are all borrowings from I.A.

An interesting fact that has come to light from the study of numerals is this that a linguistic contact with another linguistic communities affects even the most conservative numeral system of a language in a lesser or greater degree, both in the form of lexical borrowing and structural borrowing. There it has been noticed that some of them have completely surrendered to an alien influence and others have adopted it only partially. At the structural level some dialects, like those of the Rangkas group, have become an amalgam of various systems, presenting a good case for socio-linguistic studies.

Formation of Ordinals

This class of numerals denotes the locational order of countable objects or sequential order of occurrences of events. Among the speakers

of T.H.L. use of this class of numerals is not common. In most of the speeches ordinal terms are available for first, second and third only. All the terms beyond this are normally expressed with cardinal numbers by suffixing words like 'next to', 'after that' etc. Consequently, 4th is 'next to three' or 'after three' so on and so forth.' The reason for the absence of ordinal terms seems to be absence of abstract terms in these speeches. For, ordinals too are formed from the abstract numeral bases.

A structural analysis of the first three terms available in most of these speeches shows that they are formed by suffixing particles like /pa, po, ba, wa, thäl/ etc. to the cardinal number in question. In some speeches for the sake of academic exercise, ordinals beyond three too can be formed by appending respective suffixes of the language concerned. Normally, the suffix /pa/ is attested in Sp., Nyam., Tin., Gar., Tod; /po/ in Tod and Mar.; /wa/ in Kan. and Jad; /ba/ in Sp. and Nyam. In fact, /wa/ and /ba/ are phonetic variants of the suffix /pa~po/, and /wa/ in Jad is I.A. The suffix /thäl/ is attested in Patt. and Tin. In Kin. the formative suffix is /sya/ which is affixed to abstract bases, other than the cardinal numerals. All the speeches of the Rangkas group have totally adopted the ordinals current in the neighbouring I.A. speeches. For examples see the Table below:

Table 8

	Gar.	Tod	Sp.	Nyam.	Jad	Mar.	Kan.
1st	don-po	tañ-po	thañ-po	cik-pa	cig-wa	pEl-po	pähäl
2nd	nis-pa	ñi-pa	ñi-pa	ñi-wa	ñi-wa	nhis-po	hipij
3rd	sum-pa	sum-pa	so-ba	sum-ba	sum-wa	sum-po	sum-wa
4th	i-pa	i-pa	i-ba	i-wa	i-wa	pi-po	pu-wa
5th	ña-pa	ña-ba	ña-wa	ña-wa	ña-wa	ña-po	ña-wa
	Kin.	Chhit.	Patt.	Tin.	Dar.	Chaud.	Johari
1st	om-sya	teco/ tyoco	tumunḍo	tumunḍo	x I.A.	pEla	x I.A.
2nd	ai-sya	ai 'other'	do-thäl	douthäl	x "	dusro	x
3rd	sum-sya	homo	sumuthäl	sum-pa	x	tisro x	
4th	piu-thäl	pä-	piu-thäl	piu-pa	x "	c tho	x
5th	nau-thäl	ña-	nathäl	na-pa	x "	x	x

Fractionals

Fractional numerals other than for 'half', 'one and a half', and 'two and a half' are rarely used in the speeches under consideration. Fractional terms like 'one fourth' or 'one and a quarter' or 'two-thirds' or 'three fourths' etc., are totally missing in them. However, all numerals with the fraction of 'a half', like 'three and a half' etc., can be used in case of necessity.

It has been noticed that the speeches of the Tibetan and the Himalayan groups follow two different methods to express the numeral with the fractional element of 'half' like 'one and a half', 'two and a half' etc. Accordingly, in the languages of the Tibetan group it is formed by using the term for 'half' viz. /phyäd, phed, phet, phe/ (common to both the groups) or /phcka/ (Tod. Nyam.), followed by a particle meaning 'with' or 'and', which is attested as /rän, dan, tañ/, and the numeral next to the one intended as full number, e.g., the term for 'one and a half' has been obtained as /phe-rän-ñi/ (Sp. Jad); /phye~phi tañ ñi/ (Nyam. Tod); /phe-tañ-nisking/ (Gar.); /phet-te nisu~ñisä/ (Dar. Chaud). Which literally means 'half with/and two; but the implied meaning is 'the numeral which needs half to become two', or 'half less to two'. Similarly, the term of 2/1/2 is attested as /phe-rän-sum/ (Sp. Jad); /phe-tañ-sum/ (Nyam. Tod); /phyc-dañ-sumi/ (Gar.); /phet-te-sum/ (Dar., Chaud.), all meaning 'half to three'. So are formed terms like 3/1/2, 4/1/2, etc.

But in the speeches of the western pronominalized group the normal method followed to obtain the fractional terms like 1/1/2, 2/1/2, etc., is the additive method, as is followed in English language. Consequently, the terms for 1/1/2, and 2/1/2 are obtained by adding the term for 'half', viz. /adän/ in Kin. /khäne/ in Chhit. and /räi/ in Patt. and Tin. Thus the term for 1/1/2 is /idis-adän/ (Kin.); /id-khäne/ (Chhit.), /ica räi/ (Patt.), /ica rän phyed/ (Tin), all lit. meaning 'one and a half'. Similarly, the fractional term for 2/1/2 is attested as /nisis-adän/ (Kin.): /nis-khäne/ (Chhit.): /jut räi/ (Patt.) : /nisi rän phyed/ (Tin.). Literally all meaning 'two and a half'. So is the case with other numerals. In this, there is a case of linguistic acculturation as well, i.e., in Nyam. besides the Tibetan way of expressing 2/1/2, as cited above, we also get the form /ñi rän phcka/ which falls in line with the western Himalayan group, apparently under the influence of neighbouring Kinnauri speeches.

The fractional terms for 1/4 /paw/ and 1/1/4 /säwa/ have been borrowed by all the speeches of the T.H. group from the I.A. system.

However, in Chhit. I was able to get the term /pore/ 'a quater' for 1/4 which is further used to obtain the term for 'half' as well, i.e., /nispore/ lit. 'two quaters', besides /khäne/, as noted above.

Aggregatives

In all these speeches the numerals denoting the number of persons or things collectively are obtained with the help of particles appended to the numeral in question. In this matter there is no uniformity in the formative elements among the members of any group, each one employing its own particles to form the numerals of this class. For instance, the sense of 'two together' or 'both' is expressed with the particle /po~/wo/ in Sp. : /ñi-wo/ ; with /wa/ or /kär/ in Nyam. - /ñi-wa~ñi-kär/; with /ko?d/ in Tod-/ñi ko?d/; with /gär~khär/ in Jad : /ñi khär/ ; with /kir~per/ in Gar. : /niskir/ ; /nisper/ ; with /se/ in Mar. : /nhis-se/ ; with /ki~i/ in Kin. : /nis-ki/, /ni-ši/ ; with /si/ in Kan. : /ñi-si/ ; with /la/ in Patt. & Tin. : /juṭ-la/ , /ñizi-la/; with /ri/ in Dar. & Chaud. : /nimi-ri ~ñimi/, 'both.'

It may be interesting to note that Kin. and Gar. attest distinctive formatives in respect of human and non-human objects. In the examples given above the terms /nisper/ (Gar.) and /niski/ (Kin.) are used with reference to human beings and the other two, viz. /niskir/ and /niši/ with reference to non-human beings or inanimate objects. Besides, in the speeches of the Rangkas group the term /mi/ 'human being' is also used with human beings, e.g., /ni-mi/ ~/nimiri/. It seems that this distinction is one of the basic characteristics of the pronominalized speeches of the Himalayan group which has now survived in a few only, in others it has been levelled.

To denote the collective sense of 'all the three/four/five' etc., all the speeches employ the same above noted formatives, e.g., 'all the three' : (Sp.) = /sum-po/ ; (Nyam.) - /sun-kär/ ; (Tod): /sum-ko?d/ ; (Jad) - /sum-gär/ ; (Gar.)- /sum-kir/ ; (Mar.) - /sum-se/ ; (Kin.) - /sum-i/ ; (Kan.)- /sum-si/~sum/ (zero); (Patt., Tin.) - /sumu-la/ ; (Dar.) - /sumi/ ; (Chaud.) - /sum-män/ (pl. marker). Similarly, 'all the five' : (Sp.) : /no-po/ ; (Nyam.) : /na-kär/ ; (Kin.): /na-ki/ ; (Patt., Tin.); /na-la/ ; (Tod) - /na ko?d/ , /Jad)- /na-gär/, (Mar.) : /nE-se/ ; (Dar.) - /näi-ri/, (Chaud.): /näi-män/, etc.

Besides, when the number of objects is more than 'two' than it is alternately expressed by using the term for 'all' (as in 'all the three') or by the plural form of the noun or pronoun, e.g., (Sp.) /hor-gya/ we all, all of us; /khor-gya/ they all, all of them; (Nyam.) /man-sak-sin/

we all, all of us; (Chaud.) /sum-män/ all the three, (Chhit.) : /ce-mi-cän/ all the persons; (Chaud.) : /jammə miza/ all persons, etc.

Moreover, in a colloquial speech a bare nominal stem also can be used in the above noted contexts, e.g., (Kan.) : /sum bok/ all the three went away (lit. three went).

Approximative

The sense of approximation, i.e., expressing an approximate number or about 'x' number is expressed in two ways, (1) by using the term for 'about', or 'nearly' in case of a single numeral. (In Tibetan speeches it follows the numeral under reference and in Himalayan speeches it precedes it); (2) By putting the numerals in question with or without the use of the term for 'about' in immediate juxtaposition, when it involves two numerals. Both the methods can be presented as follows:

1. /zam/ 'about', 'nearly', (Sp.) : /mi-ko thuk-dun zam/ about 6-7 persons; (Jad.): /ganbo n̄isu/ about 20 rupees; /halaṃ/ 'about, nearly' : (Nyam.) : /halaṃ mi na-thuk-cik/ about 5-6 persons; /halaṃ n̄iza raṇa/ about 20 horses; (Gar.) /halaṃ na mi/ about 5 persons; In Patt. it is attested as /se/ 'about, approximately', as in /se na mi/ approximately 5 persons.

The Himalayan speeches of the Rangkas group have borrowed the I.A. terms like /k̄arib/, /lägbhäg/, etc.

But a more natural way of expressing approximation in both the groups is to put the numerals in question in immediate juxtaposition, e.g., (Sp. Nyam.) : /mi na thuk-cik/ nearly 5-6 persons; (Kan.) : /n̄iṣ-sum mānāsān/ about 2-3 persons, /dās-n̄iza bhittin/ 10, 20 trees; (Chhit.) : /sya-niza ruppya/ about 10, 20 rupees; (Patt.) : /na nhizi t̄āṅga/ about 5, 7 rupees; (Gar.) : /cuaṇ n̄iza/ about 15-20; (Jad.) : /gyät-gu zam/ about 8-9, (Mar.) : /n̄E-sat/ 6-7; (Dar.) : /n̄ai-nisu/ 5-7; (Chaud.) : /n̄ai-nisyā/id.; (Raji) : /nai-nhisi/ about 5-7, etc.

Multiplicatives

Numerals denoting the sense of multiplicity in terms of occurrence of an event (times) or form of things (fold) is expressed by suffixing the terms for 'times' and 'fold' to the cardinal number in question. In this context each language exhibits its own preferences for these terms. This feature of these speeches may be presented as under:

1. The term 'times' is denoted as /täb/ in Sp. and Nyam. There it also takes a linking sound when suffixed to a stem ending in a vowel,

e.g., /ñil-täb~ñit-täb/ twice, /nal-täb/ five times; otherwise /sum-täb/ thrice. Moreover, in these tongues this term, besides the sense of 'time', also denotes the sense of 'fold'. In other speeches the normally attested terms for 'times' are - (Kan.) - /pätän/ : /i pätän/ once; /nis pätän/ twice, /sum pätän/ thrice; (Kin.) - /mya-jäb~berän/. Of these /mya/ is used with 'one' only and the /jäb/ and /berän/ occur in free variation, e.g., /i-mya/ once, /nis-jäb/ ~ /nis berän/ twice, /sum-berän/ thrice, etc. (Patt., Tin.) - /bazi/ : /ica-bazi/ once, /jut-bazi/ twice, /sum-bazi/ thrice; (Gar.) - /cher~ser/ : /cherüki/ once, /ñi-ser/ twice, /sum-ser/ thrice. Besides /cher/, it also employs the term /däb/ which like the Spitian /täb/ takes linking sound /-l-/ when used with the numeral /ñi/, as in /ñi-l-däb/ twice, otherwise /sum-däb/ thrice, /pi-däb/ four times, etc. (Jad) - /thet/ : /ñi-thet/ twice, /sum-that/ thrice.

In the speeches of the Rangkas group Mar. and Chaud. attest a suffix in case of 'once', but for all other terms they use the same suffixes/particle which are used by the neighbouring I.A. speeches. The terms for 'once' is /ük-hya/ in Mar. and /ticco/ ~/tig-co/ in Chaud. (cf. Chhit./teco~tyoco/first). Others are attested as /dus-ro/ twice, /tisro/ thrice, etc.

The terms for 'fold' in different speeches are attested as /ba/ in Kan. : /nis-ba/ two fold, /homo-ba/ three fold, etc., /phiki/ in Patt. /sumu-phiki/ three fold, /pi-phiki/ /four fold, but /dohra/ two fold (I.A. loan). Other speeches of the Himalayan group use the borrowed term /guna/ which is appended to the native numeral or some times the whole term is a borrowed one, e.g., (Kin.) - /nis-guna/ two fold, two times, (Dar.) - /nisu-guna/ two time, two fold; /sum-guna/ tripple, three times, (Chaud.) : /ni-guna/ double, /sum-guna/ tripple, three times, (Mar.) - /duna~dugna/ double; /tigna/ tripple, etc.

As stated above in the speeches of the Tibetan group the terms used in respect of 'times' also denote the sense of 'fold' or double, tripple, etc. There being no separate terms for them. Consequently /sum-täb~sumdäb/ means, thrice, three times and threc fold, etc.

Verbal System

Functionally, the class of words, designated as verb on the basis of their morpho-syntactic functions is an essential component of the predicate, and occupies an important place in the syntactic structure of any linguistic communication. Every language, cultivated or rustic, has its own verbal system which distinguishes it from other languages or linguistic systems. The languages under consideration too have their own verbal systems which in many respects are different from the neighbouring I.A. speeches of the region concerned.

General Framework: With regard to the general framework of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages it may be pointed out that there are some basic differences, in many respects, between the languages of the Himalayan group and the Tibetan group. As compared with the Tibetan group the verbal system of the speeches of the Himalayan group, particularly of those which belong to the complex pronominalized class, is quite complex. There are various kinds of complexities which will be discussed in the relevant sections of this work, though the languages of the Tibetan group too have their own complexities.

In both the groups, inflectionally, verb forms are primarily distinguishable in respect of tenses and moods only. The concept of the distinction of aspects is neither well defined in any of them, nor is rigidly followed in its application. Similarly, there is a marked difference in the languages of the two groups in respect of marking the number and person categories. Normally, they are, in a more or less degree, marked distinctly in the speeches of the western pronominalized group, but are partially marked in the speeches of the eastern group. Moreover, the speeches of the Tibetan group do not recognize many morphological categories which are so distinctly maintained in many speeches of the Himalayan group.

VERB-ROOTS

Before proceeding to examine and compare the grammatical structure of the verbal system of the T.H. speeches, it is desirable to

have a look into the characteristics of the verb roots and the nature of changes, if any, which take place on account of affixation of various morphological markers to them.

Structurally, the verb roots in all the speeches of the T.H. group are, primarily mono-syllabic and mono-morphemic, though existence of a few polysyllabic stems too may be attested in a few Himalayan speeches. Normally, in all of them a verb root is obtained by shedding off the verbal noun formative element from it. The root syllable thus obtained can be both, open as well as close, i.e. it can end in a vowel or a consonant, though the normal pattern of the occurrence of the coda margin of the stems ending in a consonant is that it is either a nasal consonant or a non-plosive consonant.

Historically, the sources of the roots in the Himalayan groups are—Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, Indo-Aryan and the speeches of the aborigines inhabiting these regions in the pre-historic times and in the Tibetan group are mainly Tibetan though the local element too is of considerable quantity in them. Patterns of radical stems from all the speeches under consideration may be presented as follows:

Mono-syllabic Roots

Tibetan Group: (Sp.) /ser-/ to say; /to-/to see; /sa-/to eat; /tuñ/ to drink; /ter-/ to give, /co-/to do; (*Nyam.*)—/do-/to go; /sa-/to eat; /ta-/to see, /phed-/to do; /dod-/sit; (*Jad*)- /be-/to do; /te-/give, /sa-/eat; /thuñ-/drink; (*Tod*)—/za-/to eat, /thuñ-/to drink, /zer-/to say, /yon/to come; /sil-/to read; /co-/ to do.

Himalayan Group: (*Kin.*) - /khya-/to see; /tuñ-/to drink; /ši-/ to die; /sa-/to kill (*Chhit.*) -/za-/to eat; /tuñ-/to drink; /da-/to give; /ron-/ to go; /ce-/to write; (*Kan.*)-/za-/eat; /ci-/wash; /lo-/say; /rañ-/give, /buñ-/go; (*Mar.*)/lo-/say; /la-/do, /kan-/see, /di-/go; /šis-/die. (*Dar.*)-/ga-/ do; /da-/give; /ra-/come, /za-/eat; /tuñ-/ drink. (*Chaud*) - /ra-/come; /dc-/go; /lo-/say, /za-/eat; /tuñ-/drink. (*Raji*)-/ka-/send, /ji-/go; /lo-/come, /gun-/do; /cin-/call. (*Johari*)- /ga-/do; /le-/say; /se-/beat; /ne-/stand, /nac-/ dance. (*Patt.*) -/i-/to go /lha-/to do, /än-/to come, /ši-/to die, /ce-/ to write, /rän-/to give. (*Tin*)- /šu-/to be, /to-/to become, /äm-/to come, /ta-/to do, /ce-/to write, /kra-/to weep, etc.

Poly-syllabic Roots

The number of disyllabic or polysyllabic roots is quite insignificant in these tongues. We could come across only a few of them in the speeches of the Himalayan group only. These too do not seem to be

radical ones, e.g., (Kin.) - /kušya-/ to wipe; /su-ren/ to move in a circle; (Raji)-/dhuhar-/to burn; /ci-her-/ to laugh; /lhai?k/ to sing.

Changes in root vowels: It has been noticed that normally the root vowel remains unchanged. It very rarely undergoes any change or alteration, on being appended with morphological elements of any categories.

CLASSIFICATION OF VERB ROOTS

All the verb roots, native or borrowed, on the basis of the case forms of the subjects and objects taken by them in a syntactic construction or on the basis of the syntactic distinction of having a noun or pronoun, other than those of the subject, as a legitimate object of it, can be classified as transitives and intransitives.

The most distinguishing feature of the transitive verbs in the *specches* of these groups is this that the subject of the verb belonging to this class is invariably placed in the ergative case, even in non-past tenses, whereas the subject of the intransitive verb is in the nominative/direct case. Moreover, in the pronominalized languages of the Himalayan group a transitive verb incorporates the pronominal particles of the object as well in its inflected forms, whereas the intransitive does not, though both of them can have the subject particles incorporated in their inflected forms.

In addition to the verbs of transitive and intransitive classes, there are some verbs in every language which may be termed as 'verb of incomplete predication', i.e. requiring a predicative word, may be a noun or pronoun or a verbal noun to complete the sense of the utterance. The verbal roots called 'verb substantives' usually come under this class of verb roots, e.g. (Patt.) -/ge yoñi totoḡ/I am hungry; (Kin) -/ga icci tok/ I am alone; (Kan.)-/aṅ id inza to/ I have a sister; (Jad)-/di ñere ḡhansa hin/ this is our home, (Tod)-/ñe aco zu hin/my brother is ill; (Dar.)-/ji rono niši/ I am hungry; (Chaud.)-/jig sum rinza inän/ I have three sisters, (Mar.) /git sum rhinza hini/id; (Sp.)-/ñe sunmo sum yot/id.; /ñe~nai sonam hin/I am Sonam, etc.

VERB STEMS

In principle there could be three kinds of verb stems, viz. (1) primary, (2) secondary/derived, (3) compound. But in the languages of these groups the bulk of the verb stems belongs to the category of primary/radical stems. Though compounded stems too are attested in a limited number, the scope of the secondary stems is extremely limited,

and is confined to the denominative class of them and that too in a few languages of the Himalayan group, viz. Patt., Tin., Kin., Mar. and Raji.

The forms of the primary stems have already been illustrated above. Now, we shall briefly discuss the areas and forms of the secondary and compounded stems.

Secondary/Derived Stems: As pointed out above, deriving secondary stems from the primary one's is not a basic feature of the languages of this group. Still, may be on account of historical reasons, there are some speeches in which this feature is attested in respect of transitivization and causativization (For examples see respective sections on these topics).

Denominative Stems: There are, however, some speeches of the Himalayan group in which a verb stem may be derived from nominal or adjectival stems. Formation of these stems may be illustrated as follows: - (Patt.)-/roṣ-/anger > /roṣeksi-/ to be angry; /hyañ-/ old > /hyañ-phi/ to grow old; /nig-/counting > /mig-ci/to count; (Tin.)- /kāmai-/ earning > /kāmai-ci/ to earn, /ṭhāgi-/cheating /ṭhāgeṭri/to cheat; (Kin.)-/corya-mu/to steal; /ṭhāgya-mu/to deceive; /napya-mu/ to measure, /jitennu/to win, (Mar.)-/gāṭhā-/to wreath, to join </gāṭh/joint; /har-/ to be defeated < /har/defeat; /joṛ-/to connect < /joṛ/joint; (Dar.) as in Mar.

Compound Stems: Normally, languages of the T.H. group do not favour the use of compound verbs. All concepts involving an action are usually conveyed by single verb forms. For instance, Hindi verbal phrases like /cāla gāya/ went away; /gir pāra/fell down, /ronc lāga/ started weeping, /mār gāya/died, /a gāya/turned up, /cāla jāṅga/ /will go away, etc., are rendered by simple past or future tense forms of the main verb. Thus the natural way of expression of the above given Hindi phrases would be 'went' for 'went away', 'fell' for 'fell down', 'wept' for 'started weeping', etc. But, may be under the impact of the I.A. tongues, almost all the speeches attest the employment of compound stems in sporadic instances. The usual composition of such stems is verb + verb or substantive + verb. However, in such compounds the number of componential elements is usually two. There could be 3, but not more than that. In this the first one is the main verb root and others are subsidiaries or helping verbs and all grammatical categories are carried by the subsidiaries or aux.

Compounding of two verb roots: Compounding of verb roots, may be for phrasal expressions or periphrastic constructions, is attested as under:

(Sp.)-/dro-cuk/let go; /co-nin-tak/wants to do; /soe-char-tok/may have eaten; /ši-son/died; (Nyam.)-/dod-to-cok/let remain; /do-go-chon-son/ had to go; /domo tak/wants to go; /suñ-son/fell down; (Tod.)-/kho sil-char-to/he has finished reading; /raē lekha coen coe/ go on doing your work; (Kin.)-/bim seciš/let (me) go; /bim päpa/ went away; /cem lentic/will have to write; /bimu toc/has to go; /zaza nitiš/may have eaten; /gya gya to/wants to go; (Kan.)-/khorō to/ to stand (=standing become); /kät-san/to collect (=gathering doing); /thäke-kek/to be tired (=given to tiring); (Patt.)-/ibi räū/let go; /äpi lepoto/will have to come; (Tin.)-/ipsän ili/went to sleep (=slept); /doksi toce/slept (=slept become); /zoki toce/seated (=seated become); (Gar.)-/zodci ni/is seated; /zodde da/ let remain; /lod thira/tell; (Jad.)-/te son/gave away; /cho-sär/finished (=has finished); /chär-sär/done, /dogo-con-son/had to go; /besum tak/wants to do; (Mar.) -/ze-khiki/have eaten; /hwēdi/ has become; /pīs-di/is filled; /kuc di/slept (gone to sleeping); (Dar.)-/ nimu da/let remain; /demu da/ let go; /cur bunju/is filled; /lea su/is slept; (Chaud.)-/suñ cin/do (=Hindi-/kärđalo/); /suñ pärkän/has/had to be done; (Johari.)-/cyan rac/returned (=has come back), /go täs/did (=has done); /thok säš/ returned, has come back; (Raji.)-/ođa be/to fill up; < /ođ/ to fill + /be/ to give); /khE be/to till; /za häkiba/to eat up, etc.

Compounding of Verb Roots with Substantives

The practice of compounding nouns and adj. with verb stems to express a single verbal concept is commonly attested in most of the speeches under consideration, e.g. (Sp.) -/monmo gyabce/ to abuse (=to hurl abuse); /käd gyabce/to call (=to throw sound); /gyab-coece/to chase (=to go in the back); /jun coje/to decieve (=to do falshood); /chudme pulse/to worship (/chudme/lamp); (Nyam.)- /monmo gyab/to abuse (=to hurl abuse); /rok phed/to assist (=to do help); (Tod.)-/monmo tace/to abuse (=to give abuse); /phu cece/ to blow (=blow do); (Jad.)-/ kuma kya/to steal (=to do theft), /chiya yog/to spit (=to throw spittle); /lu lon/to sing (=to say song); /kcd gyag/to call (=to give sound); /thu gyag/to bathe (=to take bath); (Kin.)-/githän lannu/to sing (=song-do); /galya rannu/to abuse (=abuse-give); /dam lancemu/to serve (=good-do); (Chhit.)- /laha lan/to heat (=hot-do); /dusti ton/to perspire (=perspiration come); /gret lan/to sing (=song-do), /potan/to descend (=down come); (Kan.)-/githän lan/to sing; (Patt.)-/im lhazi/to sleep (=sleeping doing); /cace suci ibi/to become hot; (Gar.)-/läla thirca/to sing (=song send); /kušis ligca/to try (=cfftort do); /min taca/to abuse (=name call); (Mar.)-/yad läpän/to remember; /byo la/to marry; /guve

lag/to crawl; /sājya da/to punish; (Dar.)-/pato gamu/to fold (fold-give); /maphi gamu/ to forgive (=pardon-give); /dhoka dusu/to deceive; /bō rya chamu/to swim; (Chaud.)-/šuru syun/to begin; /rušu ra/to be angry; /pusyu ro/to comb; /gul-si/to cough; /bud ta/to love; (Johari)-/me phosu/to set to fire.

Transitivization of Verb Roots

It has already been pointed out that there is no inbuilt system of deriving secondary roots from the primary roots. As such there is not much scope for deriving transitive stems from intransitives or vice-versa by simply modifying the components of the transitive or intransitive stems as we find it in I.A. systems, e.g. (Skt.) *pat*-to fall > *pat*-to fell, (Hindi) *-gir*-to fall, >*girā* to fell, etc. Consequently, in these tongues, most of the verbal roots are radical ones, i.e. they are either transitive or intransitive, though the Tibetan pattern of intransitivization is also operative in some of them.

On the whole a comparative analysis of all the speeches under consideration brings home that there are at least three patterns of this feature in these tongues, viz. (1) Distinct stems for transitive and intransitive roots, (2) Derivation of intransitive stems from transitives or vice-versa with suffixes, (3) Derivation of intransitive stems from transitives by means of phonetic changes. All these features may be illustrated as under:

(1) *Distinct Roots*: There are distinct sets of verb roots to indicate the transitive or intransitive sense of a particular verb. This feature, in a more or less degree, is attested in almost all the tongues of this group, e.g. (Kin.)-/dañ-/to fall: /skor-/to fell;/sarsi-/to rise: /thu-/to raise; /ši-/to die: /sa-/to kill; /räg-/to be broken: /täg-/to break; (Patt.)-/roṭri/ to be kindled: /phärci/to kindle, to burn; /nha-/to sit: /ca-/to make to sit; /dak-/to be broken: /thak-/to break; (Tin.) /däk-/to be broken: /yam-/ to break; /dad-/ to fall: /tha-/to fell, /dos-/to sleep: /sip-/to make to sleep, /ši-/to die: /sa-/to kill; (Gar.) -/ši-/to die: /pur-/to kill; (Sp.)-/ši-/to die: /se-/to kill; /gil-/to fall: /thim-/to fell; /sya-/ to be broken: /cak-/to break; (Nyam.)- /ši-/to die: /sod-/to kill; /tan-/to rise, to get up: /d'ok/to raise, to lift; /thud-/to fall: /yok-/to fell; (*Jad*)-/ši-/to die: /so-/to kill; /ül-/to fall: /yub-/ to fell, (Mar.) -/sis-/to die: /sas-/to kill; /lec-/to be kindled: /cur-/to kindle, to burn; /mäl-/to grow:/b=d/to be grown; (*Chaud.*) -/zim-/ to be kindled: /ci-/to kindle, to burn; /hici/ to die: /sa-/to kill; /zu-/to grow: /yib-/to be grown; (Kan.) -/ši-/ to die: /sa-/to kill; /mañši-/ to hide oneself: /tam-/to conceal, to hide.

(2) *Derivation*: The patterns of deriving transitive stems from intransitives or vice-versa are attested in two ways, (1) suffixal, (2) phonetic change.

(1) *Suffixal system*: Patterns of suffixal system are attested in Kan., Chhit., Dar., Chaud. and Byangsi. Some of the examples are as under:

In Kanashi the transitive formative suffix is /-iau-/ which is identical with caus. suffix and is affixed to the root of intransitive verb, e.g., /tulh-/to sleep: /tulhyau/to make to sleep; /por-/to move: /poryau-/to make to move, /cämäk-/to shine:/cämkiyau/ to make to shine.

Besides the above, the phenomenon of transitivization is also affected by suffixing /täk/to the verb root, e.g., /thobun/ to stop itself: /thobun-täk/ to stop: /ud-/to fly: /ude-täk/to do flying; /cau-/to dance: /cautäk/to make to dance.

In Chhitkuli the transitive formative suffixes are attested as /-män/and /-sän/which are preceded by a linking vowel /-i-/ in consonant ending stems, e.g., /hilän/to move to and fro: /hilimän/to move, to shake; /äncän/to rise: /äncimän/to raise; /teon/ to weep: /teo-män/to make to weep; (/sän/) -/cipkyän/to stick, to cling:/cipkisän/to stick, to paste: /rukyän/ to stop: /rukisän/to make to stop; /gälin/to melt itself:/gälyä sän/to melt.

In fact, the formation of this pattern are causative in force and sometimes the formative elements too are identical.

In the dialects of Rangkas group it is other way round. In them an intransitive stem is derived from the transitive stem by suffixing /-si/ or /k-si/ to it, e.g., (Dar.)-/to-/to stop, to halt: /ktosi-/ to stop itself, /ta-/to prick:/üksi-/to be pricked; /thi-/to make to melt:/thisi-/to melt itself; (Chaud.)-/lo-/to make to swing: /lo-si-/to swing; /chya-/to break: /chya-si-/to be broken; /pa-/to make to revolve: /pa-si-/to move, to revolve; /ta-/to prick: /ta-si-/ to be pricked; /cya/to hide: /cya-si/to hide oneself, etc.

(3) *Phonetic Changes*: The Tibetan method of transforming a transitive root into an intransitive one by means of making phonetic changes in the components of the stem is attested almost in all the T.H. speeches of Himachal Pradesh. The change may be in the consonantal elements, vocalic elements or in both. Common features of phonetic changes in consonantal components are attested as voicing, devoicing, aspiration, or deaspiration, and in vowels as high vs. low. These may be illustrated as below:

(i) *Voicing*: Voicing as a mechanism of intransitivization is attested in Kin., Tin., Gar., Tod., Nyam., Jad and Dar., e.g., (Kin.)-/pär-/ to burn

to kindle: /bär/to be kindled; /pra-/to spread, : /bra-/ to be spread; /ton-/to bringout:/don-/to come out; /ton-/to open: /don-/to be opened; (Tin.)-/cäl-/ to split, to tear: /jäl-/to be split, to tear; /pyam-/to hide, to conceal; /byam-/to hide oneself; /thak-/to break : /dag-/to be broken; (Gar.)-/tha-/to fell : /dad-/to fall;/thag-/to break : /dag-/ to be broken; (Jad)-/por-/to kindle, to burn : /bär-/to be kindled; /cor-/to stick, to paste : /jyar-/to cling, to be pasted; /ton-/to send : /do-/to go; (Dar.)-/kui-/to break : /gui-/to be broken; (Nyam)-/thom-/to spread : /dhom-/to be spread; /pär-/to kindle : /bär-/to be kindled.

(ii) *Devoicing*. Contrary to voicing in some cases the phenomenon of devoicing also is attested in the above mentioned speeches, e.g., (Jad)-/zu-/to make to melt, or liquify: /su-/to melt; (Dar.)-/däb-/to paste: /täb-/ to be pasted, (Nyam.)-/bañ-/to dip, to drench/pañ-/to get wet.

(iii) *Aspiration-De-aspiration*: Besides voicing and devoicing the phenomenon of aspiration and deaspiration also is attested in some cases, e.g., (Sp.)-/khe-/to hang, to suspend : /ke-/to be suspended; (Nyam.)-/co-/to bake, to prepare : /cho-/to become ripe, to be cooked; (Tod.)-/ca-/to break: /cha-/to be broken, (Jad)-/khil-/to stop: /kil-/ to be stopped.

(iv) *Vocalic Change*. The phenomenon of vocalic change is attested in the Jad dialect only, as in /cog-/to break : /cak-/to be broken; /kom-/to make dry : /kam-/to become dry.

(v) *Distinction of Infinitive Markers*. In addition to this the speeches of Lahul also exhibit a distinction in the employment of infinitive markers of transitive and intransitive stems, e.g., (Tin.)-/thig-ci/to spread : /thig-zi/to be spread; /po-ci/to soak, to drench : /po-ši/to be drenched; /tub-ci/ to burn, to kindle : /tub-ši/ to be kindled. (Gar.)-/nañ-ca/to press : /nañ-ša/to be pressed; /co-ca/ to kindle : /co-ša/to be kindled; /dagca/ to break : /dag-ša/to be broken; /senca/to lift, to raise : /sen-ša/ to rise, to be lifted.

CONJUGATIONAL SYSTEM

As in other languages, in the languages of the T.H. group too, the verbal conjugation is both, temporal and non-temporal. Morphologically, these can be termed as finite and non-finite as well. Conjugationally, the verb forms of the former class take all the conjugational categories ordinarily admissible in the speech concerned and can independently act as V.P. or the principal constituent of it, whereas the verb forms of the latter class are neither conjugated for all the grammatical categories of the speech concerned, nor can

independently act as the head of a V.P. Structurally, in the temporal conjugation a finite verb form takes formative elements indicative of mood, tense and personal terminations, but a non-finite verb form is bereft of all these elements, except the particular non-finite formative.

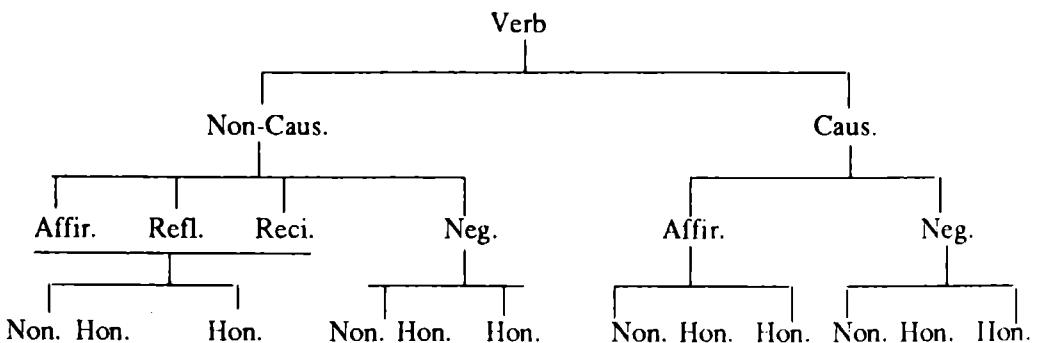
Moreover, in the speeches of this group a verb is, normally, not conjugated for aspectual categories like imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, etc. Linguistic expressions of other languages involving these aspects are expressed with simple tense forms or if absolutely necessary with the help of aux. as well. Besides, the voice categories too, do not form an integral part of the conjugational system of these speeches. They have only one voice, viz. Active Voice, and do not favour the syntactic structure of passive voice or of middle voice. (See p. 197ff. 'voice')

Usually, a verb in any speech of this group has only one conjugation, though there are a few sporadic cases too in which a verb has alternate or irregular conjugation for specified tenses, numbers or persons, may be due to external influences or non-standardization of the speech in question.

Moreover, on the whole, except the speeches of the complex pronominalized group, the conjugational system of these tongues is quite simple, in some of them a verb being conjugated for only 2 tenses, viz., past and non-past; 2 persons, viz. Ist and non-Ist and even for a single number in many cases.

SUB-SYSTEMS

Many speeches of the T.H. group attest elaborate patterns of verbal conjugation of many paired off sub-systems. Firstly these are classifiable into the groups of causative and non-causative, which may further be divided into many sub-systems, such as (1) Affirmative, (2) Negative, (3) Honorific, (4) Non-honorific, (5) Reflexive, (6) Reciprocal, etc. Besides, in some speeches the Interrogative too, has a distinct pattern. Schematically, this classification can be presented as under:



Besides, there are speeches of the pronominalized groups which attest distinct pronominalized sub-systems as well. Moreover, under the honorific sub-system the distinction of honorific and ordinary verbal forms is indicated by means of respective personal suffixes appended to the ordinary forms of it (See *infra* Hon. sub-system), and in the negative sub system it is affected by means of negative particle which brings about structural changes in the verb forms, particularly in the forms of the future tense, imperative mood and of the verb substantives (Seep. 212.ff. Neg. sub-system).

Although in principle all these sub-systems are expected to be operative in all the tongues of the T.H. group, yet on account of their non-cultivation and non-employment for literary compositions these systems are not equally maintained in all the tongues under consideration. Rather in the course of historical development many of them, fully or partially, have lost some of the sub-systems enumerated above. For instance, it is only in Kinnauri, Raji and Chaudangsi-Byangsi that most of these systems are operative, in others existence of Reflexive, Reciprocal and Frequentative sub-systems is not attested synchronically. As such the most commonly attested sub-systems are Affirmative, Negative and Causative with their limited honorific and non-honorific sub-divisions. The negative system under which structural changes are brought about in verb forms too is not universal. (for details see *infra* Negative Sub-system).

AFFIRMATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

Of all the sub-systems the range of the affirmative sub-system is the widest one. Under this system a finite verb is inflected for all the grammatical categories, admissible in the given language. There too it takes place for the maximum of forms in the indicative mood of it. Various aspects of the temporal conjugation of the affirmative system operative in the indicative mood may be detailed as follows:

Temporal Conjugation

Under the affirmative sub-system although in principle a finite verb is expected to be conjugated for 3 temporal categories, viz. present, past and future, but in practice it has been noticed that this three fold temporal distinction is maintained in some of the speeches of the Himalayan group only. In the speeches of the Tibetan group it is neither overtly marked for different temporal categories nor practised in their usages. In them we find only a two way distinction, viz. past and non-

past. Though for the sake of academic exercise the future too may be distinguishable, to some extent, by means of distinct formative suffixes, but in a non-formal speech no such a distinction is adhered to by the speakers of these tongues, i.e. all non-past events are expressed with the present indefinite tense forms itself. As such in the speeches of Tod, Spiti, Namgya, and also of Malana, which otherwise falls under the jurisdiction of the Himalayan group, no distinction is made between the present and future actions. It seems that for the speakers of these tongues, conceptually, both the events are non-past and non-perfect. Similarly, in many of them no distinction is made between the past indefinite, past continuous and the present perfect, all of them being viewed as past events. Besides, in these speeches the grammatical categories of number and persons too are not always distinctly marked in verbal conjugations. In most of the cases these are inferable from the number and the person of the subject.

In fact, in the absence of literary traditions and standardisation the conjugational system of these tongues is neither well knit nor uniform. The time oriented jurisdictions of different tenses and aspects too are not well defined. Consequently, there are speeches in which no clear distinction is available even in past and non-past tenses. Absence of distinction in perfect and non-perfect aspects is a common feature of almost all the speeches of this group. For instance, in Kanashi we find that the same verbal form is indiscriminately employed to express the sense of different tenses, moods, aspects or even different numbers and persons. Consequently, a verbal phrase like /za-zo-tos/ stands for the meanings—He (hon.) eats/is eating, may be eating, etc. Similarly, /bun-tak/means 'I go, I am going, I may be going, I have to go, I have gone, I wish to go, etc. Also cf Tod- /zaro/ eats, is eating, may be eating; /zaro-phen/ate, has eaten, was eating, had eaten, etc.

Temporal Inflection

Theoretically, all the verbal stems are expected to be inflected for six finite forms (i.e., 3 person X 2 numbers) in 2 number system and for nine forms (3 persons X 3 numbers) in the 3 number system. In addition to this 4 more forms too are expected in the languages which distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms and in honorific and ordinary forms or only 2 more in the languages following only one set of the above mentioned distinguishing features. But in actual practice the distinction is available for a few forms only, varying between 2 and 9. For, in many of them the distinction of numbers and persons

is not maintained distinctly. Consequently, in them a verb is inflected for a single number and for the 1st and non-first persons only, having identical forms for both the numbers of 1st and for the 2nd and 3rd person subjects. In such a situation the semantic connotation of persons and numbers is determined by the number and the person of the subject of the verb in question. For instance, (Sp.)-/na phuin/I went; /naza phutin/ we went; /khyod phuson/ you went, /kho phuson/ he went and /khogya phuson/ they went. Similarly, /thunet/I, we drink; /thun dok/ thou, you, he, they drink.

But there are many pronominalized Himalayan tongues, which in pronominal inflection attest a 3 number distinction, though the verb is inflected for 2 numbers only, i.e. for the sg. and pl. only. There the dual and the plural subjects take identical formatives.

In complex pronominalized languages, however, different persons and numbers are distinguished by means of pronominal elements infixed or suffixed to the verbal form concerned. Besides, the inflectional pattern in the languages of the Tibetan and Himalayan groups is not uniform, both having their own peculiarities and limitations. The inflectional position of both the groups may be pointed out as under:

Himalayan Group: As compared with the Tibetan group the conjugational system of this group of languages is more elaborate and complicated, particularly in the speeches of the complex pronominalized group. All the languages of this group, except Kanashi, clearly attest a three way temporal distinction of present, past and future. Although in a non-formal speech in these too, the distinction of present and future is not rigidly followed, yet they have distinct formatives for all the three tenses. In the matter of aspectual distinction, however, these too exhibit the same laxity of application as we find in the Tibetan tongues, i.e. the progressive and non-progressive forms are freely used for one another, e.g. (Patt., Tin.)-/iwa/he goes/is going; /il/he went/ he was going; /il-to/he will go, will be going; (Gar.)-/zare/eats, is eating, is in the habit of eating; etc., but the distinction of perfect and non-perfect is fully maintained to a great extent.

Among the languages of the Himalayan group Pattani and Tinani attest the maximum number of forms for a finite verb. There a verb is inflected for 3 numbers and 3 persons, though the total number of structurally distinct forms is 7 and 8 only; i.e. in Patt. it is 7 (3rd p. 3) + (2nd p. 3) + (1st p. 1). For, the forms of the 1st and the 2nd person dual and plural have merged together; but in Tin. the total number of distinct forms is 8, i.e. 3 (3rd) + 2 (2nd) + 3 (1st). In Kinnauri,

however, a formal distinction is available for 9 forms, i.e. 3rd person -1 (ordinary) + 1 (Hon. & pl.); 2nd person - (sg.) 1 (ord.) + 1 (Hon.) + 1 (pl. Ord.) + 1 (pl. Hon.) + 1st person = (sg.) 1 + du.pl. 2 (Incl. & Excl.); but Chhitkuli which is a dialect of Kinnauri, has 8 distinct forms, i.e. 1 for 3rd sg. + 2 for pl. & hon.; + 2 for 2nd sg. (ord. & hon.) + 2 for 2nd pl. & hon.+ 1 for 1st (sg.). The plural forms of the 2nd and the 1st are identical. In Gari out of the expected 6 forms, a formal distinction is available for 4 only (i.e. 2 for 1st (sp. pl.) + 2 for 2nd & 3rd (sg. pl.), both having identical forms, but in the case of the verb substantives this distinction is reduced to 2 forms only. Another dialect of this group, viz. Kanashi, which is conjugated for 2 numbers and 3 persons attests a formal distinction for 5 forms, (i.e. 3rd p. 2 + 2nd p. 2 + 1st p.1). In it plural forms of the 1st and the 2nd person are identical and there is no distinction between the forms of honorific and plural. Moreover, in it this conjugational distinction is confined to the present tense forms only. In other tenses and moods it has been reduced to 2 to 1.

Among the Himalayan tongues of Uttarakhand, it is only Chaudangsi-Byangsi, a dialect of eastern pronominalized group, which has maintained a formal distinction for all the 6 forms of it (3 persons X 2 numbers) in the present and future tenses, but the past tense has only one form. In Darmiya and Johari it is available for 4-5 forms only, (i.e. 1st -1 +2nd -2 + 3rd -1). In Marchha dialects for 3 forms only (i.e. 2 forms for 2nd and 3rd persons sig. & pl. and 1 for 1st (sg.), 1st plural being identical with the 2nd, 3rd pl.). But the dialect of Mānā has recorded 5-6 distinct forms in respect of certain conjugations. There in some cases the 2nd and the 3rd plurals have become identical but in some are maintained distinctly. The plural forms are also used for honorific forms in them. (for details See T.H.L. of Uttarakhand, Vol. I, II).

Tibetan Group: However, in the languages of the Tibetan group, (viz. Tod, Sp., Nyam.) a verb is formally conjugated for 2 distinct forms only, i.e. one for first person and one for non-first (2nd, 3rd) persons, there being no inflection for the number category. In Tod this distinction is available in non-future tenses only, in the future tense there is only one form for all the numbers and persons. But in the Jad dialect of Uttarakhand, which too belongs to the Tibetan group, a formal distinction, in the verbal conjugation, is attested for 4 forms (i.e. 1st 1 + 2nd -2 + 3rd -1), 1st sg. & pl., the 2nd and 3rd plural being identical. (for details See Tribal Languages of H. P., Vol. I, II).

VERB SUBSTANTIVES

Now, before discussing the temporal conjugation of finite verbs, we would like to discuss the structure of verb substantives which play an important role in the conjugational system of these languages.

The number of verb roots serving as verb substantives as well as auxiliaries varies from 1 to 6. According to the data available with us it is 1 in Raji; 2 in Patt., Tin., Dar. and Johari; 3 in Chhit., Kin., Chaud., Jad and Mar., 4 in Sp. and Gar.; 5 in Nyam. and 6 in Tod. having various types of morpho-semantic complexities of their own. Some of them are regularly inflected for all the tenses, numbers and persons, but some occur only in complementary distribution. Mostly the semantically conditioned distribution is attested in the sense of definiteness and indefiniteness of the existence of the subject or complement in question or for having a particular person as its subject. Besides they have time oriented distinction as well which is attested between future and non-future tenses. There are some roots in certain tongues which are attested as occurring in free variation. And when used as an auxiliary in periphrastic constructions, all morphological categories are carried by these verb substantives itself. A detailed comparative account of all the roots serving as verb substantives in the languages under consideration may be presented as follows:

Diachronically, the roots of this class of verbs may be postulated as /-t-, d-, h-, l-, n-, s-, y-/ and /-i/, supported by some vowel, except in the case of /-i/. Synchronically, the roots with /-t-/ are attested as /-to-, ta/as in Kin, Chhit., Kan., Patt., Tin., Tod; with /d-/ as /du-/ as in Kin., Tod, Sp., and Jad and as /da-/ in Nyam.; with /h-/ as /hu-, ho-, hi-/ in Chhit., Kan., Gar., Tod, Sp., Nyam., Jad, Mar., Raji; with /l-/ as /li~le~lhe/ in Dar. Chaud., Johari; with /n-/ as /ni-, na-, no/ in Kin., Gar., Tod, Sp., Nyam., Chaud., Dar.; with /š-/ as /šu, ši-/ in Patt., Tin., Johari; with /y-/ as /ye-, yi-, yo-, ya/ in Gar., Tod, Sp., Mar., Chaud., Dar.; with /i-/ as /yin-, hin-/ (with preceding glide or aspiration) in Gar., Tod, Sp, Nyam., Jad, Mar., Chaud. Besides, there are also some stems like /ga-/ and /ra-/ which are attested in Gar. and Tod respectively. The language-wise distribution of all these stems is presented in Table 9.

Various semantic connotations expressed by these stems may be equated with English verb 'to be', 'to become' and 'to have', mostly occurring in a complementary distribution, though in a non-formal speech no strict adherence to their distribution is followed, still it is fully maintained in most of the cases. From the total sets of above noted

Table 9

Kin.	Chhit.	Kan.	Patt.	Tin.	Gar.	Tod	Sp.
to-,du-, ni-	ta-, to hun-,äs.	to ta-, ho-	to-,ta šu-	to-, šu-	hen yen-, ni go-, kya-	to-,du-, na-,yo-, hin-yin, ra-	du-,yo- hin-, yin- no-
Nyam.	Jad	Mar.	Dar.	Chaud.	Joh.	Raji	
ta-, da-, hot, no-, hin-	du-,hot-, hin-	hun-, hin-, ya-	yin-, ni-, li~lhi.-	ni-, le-	lhe-, šis-	hī-(hin), hā-	

roots the sense of 'to be' or 'to have' is indicated by /to-, ta, šu-, hin, yin, le, li, ya/ and that of 'to become' by roots /du-, yo-, no-, ni-, ho, hu, to-, kya-./

Besides, the allomorphs of each of the group, occurring in a complementary distribution, mainly distinguish between future and non-future tenses. Consequently, out of the 4 allomorphs of the verb substantive in Sp. 2, viz. /hin, yin/ and /hinok/ are used to express the indefinite sense of existence in the present time, and 2, viz. /du-, yo/ to express a definite or established fact of the existence in the non-present time, though sometimes occurring in free variation as well. In Nyam. too/hin-, tak-, dak-/are used in the sense of 'to be' and 'to have' in the present and past tenses and /hot, nok/ in the sense of 'to become' in the future tense.

In Chhit. and Kan. the tense oriented distribution associated with verb stems 'to be, to have' and 'to become' is attested as /to-, ta-/ with non-future tenses, and /ho-, hu-/ with future tense. In Kin., however, out of the 2, associated with non-fut. tenses, one, viz. /du-/ occurs with non-hon. 3rd person and inanimate subjects and the other, viz. /to-/ with honorific and animate subjects, and the third /ni-/ with future tense.

In Patt. and Tin. the one /šu-/ is used in a general copulative sense and the other /to-/ in a definite existential sense of 'to have,' and 'to become'. There the stem /šu-/ is used in the present and /šu-to/ in the future. In Gari these roots show a three way temporal distribution. There the use of the roots /yen~hen/ is attested only in the present, of /ni-/ and /to-/ in non-future tenses and of the /kya-/ in the future

tense only., e.g./ gi mi hen/ I am a human being, /gi khya na/ I am here; /gi ninza/ I was, /gi kyani/ I shall be. The root /ta-/ expressing the sense of 'has, have, etc.', is inflected for non-future tenses only, as in /giji dāwa ta/ I have money, /gi-i sumi sriñ-ta/ I have three sisters.

In Tod the verb roots /to-, du-, na-/ expressing the sense of 'to be' occur in free distribution and the verb root /yo-/ expresses the sense of 'to have' or 'to become'. Moreover, /hin~yin/ expresses the sense of definiteness and /du-,na/ the sense of existence in general.

FINITE VERB

Various conjugational aspects of a finite verb in different conjugational systems of the languages under consideration may be explained as follows:

Indicative Mood: The conjugation of a verb in the indicative mood has a special significance for the speeches of the T.H. group. For, it is here in this mood that a verb is inflected for all the grammatical categories admissible in the language concerned. Moreover, these forms besides denoting the indicative sense of the verb are used to denote many other aspects of the verbal conjugation as well. The structural mechanism operative in different groups of the speeches under consideration is as under:

In all the speeches under reference, various time oriented inflectional forms are normally obtained by appending respective personal terminations to the inflectional base of the verb in question.

Inflectional Base: The inflectional base of a verb in the speeches of these groups could be a bare verb root, or a verb root + a tense formative particle, or a verb root + an aux., which usually is the verb substantive current in the speech concerned. In this scheme, normally the structure of the forms of a finite verb in the indicative mood would be—verb root + tense formative + aux. + personal terminations. But there are speeches, particularly of the eastern pronominalized group, in which prefixation of a tense formative is also operative in the past tense formations. [For examples of this feature see *infra* past tense (iii)].

Besides, there are many speeches in which inflectional base of the present tense is substituted in the past/future tenses, which usually is identical with imperative base of the language concerned (See *infra* 'Suppletivism'). There are also speeches like Gar. in which the inflectional bases for the sg. and plural numbers are different ones, as in /ra-/to come: /rare/he comes; but /gwan khag/ they come; /rad/he came, but/gwad/they come; /ra~go/come (imp. sg.) but /gwan/ (imp.pl.).

Here too the inflectional base for the plural forms is identical with imp. base of it.

Besides, there are many speeches in which no tense marker particle is affixed to the verb root and also the same invariable form of the number and person is used for all numbers and persons.

Personal Terminations: In respect of personal terminations the two groups of the T.H. speeches, have their own patterns which may be explained as follows:

Himalayan Group: The speeches of the Himalayan group have a strong tendency to distinguish the person of the subject by means of suffixation or infixation of the fragments of pronominal signs to the signs of tenses. But in most of the speeches marking of these personal terminations is usually confined to the singular number of the 1st and 2nd persons only, though there are speeches like Patt., Tin. and Chaud. in which these terminations are marked for all the persons and numbers. Besides, there are also speeches in which personal termination is employed to refer to subjects of different numbers and persons as well. e.g. in many speeches of the western pronominalized group the terminal distinction is totally missing between the forms of the 1st and the 2nd person dual and plural numbers. Moreover, in most of the speeches of the western Himalayan group personal terminations are not marked for the 3rd person subjects, though they are normally marked in the speeches of the eastern Himalayan group, at least for the present tense and singular number. Schematically, personal terminations of all the speeches of the Himalayan group may be presented as under:

Table 10

Lang.	3rd person			hon.	2nd person			1st person		
	sg.	du.	pl.		sg.	du.	pl.	sg.	du.	pl.
Patt.	d/φ	-ku	-re	š	-n	-ši	-ñi	-g	-ši	-ñi
Tin.	"	"	"	"	"	ci	ci	"	"	"
Kin.	t/d, φ	s	s	š	n/n̄	c	c	k/g	c/e	c/enme (incl.)
Chhit.	φ	-	φ	š	n	-	c/ñi	k	-	c
Kan.	φ	-	φ	š	n	-	ñ	k	-	ñ
Gar.	re	-	g	g	n	-	g	gä/gyð	-	gä*
Dar.	φ	-	φ	ni	n	-	ni	-i	-	-n
Chaud.	-n	-	nän	nän	no	-	ni	ye	-	nye
Joh.	-n	-	ni	-ni	-n	-	in	š	-	uñ

Among the speeches of the western pronominalized group Patt. and Tin. distinctly mark these personal terminations for 7 forms out of the 9 forms expected under the 3 number system. This feature of these speeches may be illustrated with the inflected forms of the verb /za-/to eat (pres.) and of the verb /ibi/ to go (past) which are obtained as follows:

Verb root /za-/ + participial formative /-a/ + aux. /to-/ + personal terminations (present):

Table 11

Tense	Person	Number		
		Sg.	du.	pl.
Present	3rd	zäwa	zäwa-to-ku	zäwa-to-re
	2nd	zäwa-to-n	zäwa-to-ši	zäwa-to-ñi
	Ist	zäwa-to-g	"	"
Past	3rd	ili	ili-ku	ili-re
	2nd	ili-n	ili-ši	ili-ñi
	Ist	ilig	"	"

In Kin. various verb forms are distinguished by means of these personal terminations only if the subject of the verb is a pronoun as in /bi-/to go (fut.) /bito-/3rd sig. pl.; /bito-n/2nd sg.;/bito- /2nd, Ist pl.; /bito-k/Ist sg. or the verb takes the verb substantive as an aux. as in /zac-du/ is eating etc., otherwise it has only one indeclinable form, e.g. /zac/ he, they, you, we eat; /loc/says, say; /khyac/ sees, see (for all persons and numbers). Gari distinguishes for 2 forms only, i.e. 3rd, 2nd sg. and all other, as in /ligca/to do: /lig-ca-re/he does, thou doest /lig- a-g/ you do; /lig- e-g/I, we do, Moreover, in the past tense it distinguishes for two forms only, i.e. one for sg. and other for pl. as in /lig-za/ 2nd, 3rd, sg.;/lig-cha/2nd, 3rd pl.; /lika-za/Ist sg.;/lika-cha/ Ist pl. Among the speeches of the eastern Himalayan group personal terminations are marked for all the 3 persons and 2 numbers. e.g. /za-/to eat (pres.); (3rd person) -/za-gä-n/ (sg.) : /za-ga-nän/ (pl.); (2nd p.) -/za-gä-no/ (sg.): /za-gä-ni/ (pl.); (Ist p.) -/za-gä-ye/ (sg.): /za-gä-ne/ (pl.).

In Dar., however, it is in the 2nd person, sg. number only in which the personal termination is maintained distinctly, in all others

they have merged together, e.g. /za-/to eat (pres.) - /za-ni/3rd sg.; pl.; /za-sä-n/2nd sg.: /za-sä-ni/2nd pl., /za-ni/ 1st sg./za-gä-ni/1st pl.

Mar. which is also a member of the eastern group has only 3 distinct personal terminations, all others have been levelled, i.e. they are: 1 for the 3rd sg. + 1 for the 1st sg. and 1 for all others, e.g. /di-/ to go (pres.) -/dina/3rd sg., /dina-gi/ 1st sg. and /dina-ni/all others.

In the speeches of the Tibetan group the distinction of personal terminations is attested in the form of 1st and non-1st only, e.g. (Sp.) -/phuton/I, we went, /phutin/you, he, they went; /ḍod/I, we go; /ḍo-rok/you, he, they go; (fut.)-/ḍwan/1st:/ḍwak/ non-1st; (Nyam.) /sa-/to eat (pres.)-/saet~sae/1st sg. pl., /saok/ 2nd, 3rd, sg. pl., (past)-/so/ 1st sg. pl. /sason/2nd, 3rd sg. pl. Similarly, (Tod)-/za-/to eat (pres.)-/zayo?/ 1st sg. pl. and /zaro/ 2nd, 3rd, sg. pl. (past)-/zaemän/1st sg. pl. and /zaro-phen/2nd, 3rd sg. pl. But Jad which is also a member of this group distinguishes for 3 forms, e.g. /beok/ 3rd sg. pl.; /beyema/2nd sg. pl., and /byagän/ 1st sg. pl. (past)-/cason/ 3rd; /cama~coma/2nd and /ca ? / 1st.

From the above analysis it may be evident that though, grammatically, the number of inflected forms of a verb in the languages of the western Himalayan group, which follow a 3 number system, is expected to be 17, i.e. 9 ordinary + 6 honorific + 2 inclusive, and 10 (=6 ord.+ 4 hon.) in the eastern group which follow a 2 number system. Similarly in the speeches of the Tibetan group too 6 forms of the ordinary verbal stems and 4 of the honorific stems are expected. But as we have seen that in the western Himalayan group a verb is inflected from 3-8 distinct forms and in the eastern group from 3-6 distinct forms. The languages of the Tibetan group distinguish for 2 forms in the ord. and 2 in the hon., in each case, i.e. 1 for 1st person and 1 for non-first persons. Though there are exceptions to any generalized statement, yet the normal patterns of verbal inflection do not differ much from the general patterns described above.

Now with the brief account of the general framework of the verbal inflection in the indicative mood, as given above, we would also like to have a birds' eyeview of the various systems operative in the formations of finite verb forms in different tenses and moods.

TENSE FORMATIVES

As has already been pointed out that the speeches of the Himalayan group recognized 3 broad categories of temporal distinction, viz. present,

past and future, though the distinction of future is not a part of the basic structure of these speeches, the speeches of the Tibetan group clearly recognize only 2 categories, viz. past and non-past. Moreover, none of these distinctly recognizes the temporal divisions, designated by grammarians, as continuous, perfect, perfect continuous, etc. As such all actions pertaining to the present or the past time, may be indicative of the action in general, or in progress or partially completed are expressed indistinctly by indicative forms, may be simple or periphrastic. All the tense forms serving as the base of different tense formations are obtained differently in different languages and in different tenses. These may be explained tensewise as under:

PRESENT TENSE

In fact, for the speakers of these tongues the present tense expressing non-past events stands to denote all sorts of actions which are non-past, i.e. may be in progress, or just completed or is due to take place in the immediate future or even in the distant future. The normal procedure of obtaining, finite verb forms has already been explained above. Thus, in the languages of the Himalayan group the present indefinite forms are obtainable (1) by suffixing personal terminations to the inflectional base of the main verb or to the bases of the verb substantives, which is quite normal in them. As pointed out above, the periphrastic constructions, though primarily stand to indicate the progressive aspect, are indiscriminately used to express the indefinite sense as well. Moreover, in some speeches this is the only pattern employed for obtaining indefinite forms. A brief survey of the verbal bases and formative elements of the present indefinite tense may be presented as under.

In Kin. there are two ways of obtaining present tense forms, (1) by appending particles like /-c/, /-cid/, /-sid/ directly to the verb root, as in /zac/eats, eat; /tuñc/drinks, drink; /khucid/steals, steal, /tosid/sees, see, etc. These forms are indeclinable and are used for all the persons and numbers. But the more usual way of expressing actions taking place in the present time is to append respective present tense forms of the verb sub-stantives /to/ and /du/, e.g. /bi-/to go: 3rd(sig.)-/bio-du/; (pl.) /bio-duš/; 2nd (sg.)-/bio-dun/; (pl.)/bioduc/; 1st (sg.)/bio-duk/~/biotog/, (pl.) /bioduc/; Similarly, /za-/ to eat : 3rd (sg.)-/ zac-du/; (pl.) /zac-täs/; 2nd (sg.)-/ zac-tän/; (pl.)-/zac -täc/; 1st (sg.)-/ zac-tok/; (pl.)-/zac-täc/.

In Patt. and Tin. the present indefinite forms of a finite verb are

obtained by appending respective person-number forms of the verb substantive /to-/, except for the 3rd sg., to the inflectional base of the main verb, which is obtained by suffixing /-a/ to the verb root. (for examples see above Table 10 & 11).

The inflectional base in Gari is obtained by suffixing particles, / a, ga, a, / in the sg. and / ha, za/ in the pl. to the verb root of the main verb. The personal terminations, as detailed above (Table 10) are added to this base, e.g./da-/to give: /da- a-re/ he gives, thou givest; /da- a-g/you give, /da- eg/I, we give; Similarly, /kyor-/to dance: /kyor-ga-re/; /tio-/to weep; /tyo-a-re/; /za-/to eat: /za-re/; /ra-/to come: /rare/, etc. In plural the tense formative suffixes are attested as /ha-/ and /-za-, as in /da- ha-g/ they give, /lo- ha-g/ they say, /panzag/ they fly, etc.

Among the speeches of the eastern group the inflectional bases for the present indefinite are obtained by suffixing formative particles to the verb root in question. Those may be explained and illustrated as under:

In Dar. it is attested as /da/or/sa/, e.g./ga-/ to do: /ga-da/3rd (sg.-pl.); /ga-dä-n/ 2nd (sg.); /ga-dä-ni/2nd (pl.); /ga-di/Ist (sg.) /ga-de-n/Ist (pl.). Similarly, /da-/to give: /da-da/ etc.,/za-/to eat:/za-ni/3rd (sg. pl.); /za-sä-n/2nd (sg.); /za-sä-ni/ 2nd (pl.); /za-si/Ist (sg.); /za-sä-n/Ist (pl.). Similarly /ra-/ to come; /di-/to go, etc. It may, however, be pointed out here that in this speech the base formatives are usually dropped in the 3rd person, as in /za-ni/; /ra-ni/; /di-ni/ etc. Moreover, sporadic formations like /za-gä-ni/we eat, indicate that in Dar. besides the formative particles /da/and /sä/, the particle /gä/ also was used to have the inflectional base for the finite conjugation, which now has survived in a few irregular formations only.

In Chaud.-Byangsi the formative element of the inflectional base is /gä/ and in Johari /sä/ , e.g. (Chaud.)-/za-/to eat: /za-gä-n/3rd (sg.); /za-gä-nän/ 3rd (pl.); /za-gä-no/2nd (sg.); /za-gä-ni/2nd (pl.); /za-gä-ye/ Ist (sg.); /za-gä-nye/Ist (pl.). Similarly, /de-/to go, /tuñ-/to drink, etc. A few examples recorded in the LSI indicate that besides the particle /gä/, a formative element /-i/ also was used with certain verb roots, e.g. /sa-/to beat, to strike/SE-ta/3rd (sg.)/SE-tän/2nd (sg.)/SE-tu/Ist (sg.) In the dialect of Byangsi, however, the verb root itself serves as the inflectional base, consequently we get these forms, as /sa-ta/ , /satä-n/, /sa-tu/ , etc. (Johari) - /di-/to go:/di-n/3rd (sg.)/di-ni/3rd (Pl.); /disi-n/2nd (sg.pl.); /di-š/Ist (sg.); /di-š-un/Ist (pl.). As in Dar. in this too, the tense formative particle is usually dropped in the 3rd person, as in /rhE-ni/they live; /rE-ni/they come, etc.

In Mar. the base formative particle is /na/ which is regularly maintained in all the inflected forms, e.g. /za-/ to eat: /zä-na/ he eats; /zä-na-ni/ they, you eat; /zä-na-i/I, we eat. In Raji, the tense formative element seems to be /a/or/o/, as in /za-wä-re/he eats; /turn-o-re/he drinks, etc.

Besides the above, there are speeches in both the groups of the pronominalized Himalayan Languages which do not employ any tense formative element. In them the present indefinite forms are obtained by appending respective person-number forms of the verb substantive to the verb root of the main verb directly. Prominent among these are Chhit. Kan. and Byangsi, e.g. (Chhit.) -/la-/to do: /la-to/3rd (sg.-pl.); /la-to-n/2nd (sg.): /la-to-c/2nd (1st (pl.)/la-to-k/1st (sg.); (Kan.)-/rän-/to give: /rän-to/3rd (sg.pl.); /rän-to-n/2nd (sg.); /rän-to-c/2nd (pl.);/rän-to-k/1st (sg.); /rän-to-n/1st (pl.); For examples of Byangsi see above. Also /khwa-ta/he digs; /lhi-ye/I am, /syun-ta-ne/they do.

In respect of tense formative elements of the present tense the speeches of the Tibetan group in which a distinction is made between the 1st and non-first persons only, follow diverse patterns. For instance, in Tod the present tense forms of a finite verb are obtainable by suffixing an aux. like /ro, yi, tu, du/to the verb root, as in /go-tuk/laugh, laughs; /sil-yet/I read; /tan-yo/ I give; /corok/work, works, /yon-duk/come, comes, /za-/to eat: /zarok/ 3rd, 2nd (sg.pl.); /zayok/ 1st (sg.pl.). Similarly, /cha-/to go: /charok/ non. first, /chayok/ 1st, etc. Similar is the case with Sp. and Nyam. in which the 1st person takes /d/ and /ct/ and the non-first persons take the aux. /ro~ru; do~du; to~tu/ etc.; e.g. (Sp.) /yon-/to come: /yond/1st; /yon dok/non-first; /do-/to go: /dod/1st: /dorok/non-first, /sa-/to eat:/sacd/1st:/sa-ro-k/non-1st; /go-/to laugh:/go-ct/ 1st: /go-tuk/non-1st; (Nyam.)-/sa-/to eat:/saok~sao/non-1st; /sact~sac/ 1st; /ñal-/ to sleep: /ñal-ok/non-1st, /nāl-ct/ 1st; /do-/to sit:/de-lok/ non-1st, /do-let/1st, etc.

Among the languages of the Tibetan group it is only Jad which shows inflection for all the 3 persons, and also employs different sets of formative suffixes for different persons, e.g. it is /ok, rok, zok/for the 3rd person, all occurring in free variation, as in /beok~berok~bejok/ goes, go; /sa-ok/ eats, eat, /tejok/gives, give; and /em~ẽ/for the 2nd / 1st person, as in /beyama/do (2nd); /thũẽma/ drink; /taẽ/give, /na thuẽ/ I drink. Besides, it also employs /gä/, as we find it in Chaud. to obtain the present tense forms of the 1st person, as in /bya-gä-n/I, we do, /tya-gän/ give, etc.

All the base formative elements of the present tense of all the speeches of the T.H. group may be tabulated as under:

Table 12
Formatives of Present Tense

Kin.	Chhit.	Kan.	Patt.	Tin.	Gar.	Dar.	
-e,-sid, -to-,du-	-to-, (aux.)	-to,ta, (aux.)	-a+to- (aux.)	-a+to- (aux.)	-a,-ca, -ga (sg.) -cha,-za-(pl.)	-da- -sä-	
Chaud.	Johari	Mar.	Raji	Sp.	Nyam.	Tod	Jad
-gä- ϕ -ta-(aux.)	-sä-	-na-	-a,-o-	-do- -ro- tu-	-o- -lo-	-yo,-ro, -do-, -tu-	-o, ro- -zo,-ma-

PAST TENSE

Underlining the importance of the formations of the past tense in a language, R. Caldwell (1975: 495) states "The mode in which a language forms its preterite constitutes one of the most distinctive features in its grammatical character, and one which materially contributes to the determination of the question of its relationship."

In the speeches of the T.H. group, the past tense, as the present tense, besides denoting the indicative sense of an action that took place in the past time, denotes the sense of the action in progress, or its completion at some point in the immediate or even distant past, grammatically termed as past continuous, present perfect or past perfect/pluperfect.

Conjugationally, past tense forms can be classed as (1) declinable/personal and (2) indeclinable/impersonal. As is clear from their nomenclature that in the former class a verb is inflected for the person-number categories, may be partially or some times irregularly too, i.e. when it is inflected for a particular person or number only, but in the latter class it has only one indeclinable past tense form to be used with the subjects of all persons and numbers.

Inflectional Bases

Inflectional bases in the declinable class of verbs are obtained in the following manner:

- (1) by appending a past tense marker particle to the verb root;
- (2) by prefixing a past tense marker particle to the verb root;

- (3) by suffixing the past participle formative to the verb root;
- (4) by replacing the verb root;
- (5) using bare root as a base;
- (6) by appending stems of verb substantives;
- (7) by reduplicating the verb stem, wholly or partially.

Personal terminations. In the past tense too, the position of the personal terminations is similar to that as explained above (see table 10) in respect of the present tense. Like the present in this too, they follow the inflectional base of the past tense. Among the language of the western pronominalized group these are regularly used for all the 3 persons and 3 numbers as in Patt. and Tin. (for examples see above table 10-11), in others for the 1st and 2nd persons only, and that too mostly for the singular number only. There the personal terminations for the plural, including 3rd person, are identical with honorific markers or in the 1st person with inclusive markers. They are *-/n/* for 2nd sg., */ñ/* for 2nd pl. and hon.; */-k/g/* for the 1st sg.; 1st pl. is identical with 2nd pl. In Gari it is */d/* and */k/* and is marked for the 1st person only.

In the eastern group the pattern of marking personal terminations in the past tense is some what different from the pattern of the present tense. There in Dar. and Johari a verb is inflected for a single form and the personal termination, */-n-/*, is marked for the 2nd person only. Moreover, it is not suffixed, but infixed in between the root and the tense marker. Chaud.-Bya., having impersonal forms for the past tense, do not use any personal termination. In Mar., however, they are marked for the 1st and 2nd persons.

In the Tibetan group, as in the present tense, in this tense too, a verb is inflected for the 1st and non-1st forms only and does not use any personal termination for any person or number. There are speeches in this group in which a single form or even the inflectional base/stem alone is used for all numbers and persons.

Now with this background we would briefly like to discuss various patterns and forms of the inflectional bases and of the personal terminations attested in the languages under consideration. Moreover, in respect of inflectional bases too, it may be mentioned that they do not follow a uniform pattern for all the verbal inflections, i.e. the same speech may follow one pattern in respect of certain verbs and other in respect of some other verbs. For instance, Patt., Tin. and Dar. exhibit replacive tendencies in respect of certain verbs and non-replacive in others. There are languages which may have declinable patterns for some and indeclinable for others, or may be having different tense

markers for different numbers, as in Gari, or for different persons, as in the speeches of the Tibetan group, or having no tense marker at all, as in Nyam. All the above mentioned patterns of past tense formation of these speeches may be presented seriatim as follows:

(1) *Basic root + tense formative + personal terminations.* The widely followed ordinary method of denoting past tense forms is to suffix the tense formative particle and the personal terminations to the verb root concerned. The languages which exhibit this pattern are — Kin., Kan., Chhit., Patt., Tin., and Mar. In Kin. the past tense formatives are attested as /o/ and /e/ (regular), and /d/~da/or/-a/ (irregular, i.e. with 3rd person only); e.g. /bi-/to go: /byo/3rd; /byon/2nd; /byok/1st; /byo-s/3rd (hon.); /byon/2nd (hon.); /byo-e/1st (exclusive); /d-/—/za-/to eat; /za-d/ (3rd): /za-n/ (2nd): /za-k/ (1st); /za-s/(3rd hon.); /za-n/ (2nd hon.): /za-c/ (1st excl.). Similarly, /khya-/to see. Also /pida/closed: /bada/came (3rd): /ba:-n/ (2nd); /ba-k/ (1st); /a-/lan-/to do; /lan-a/ (3rd) : /lanän/ (2nd) : /lanä-k/ (1st); /e-/hus-/to read: /huse/ (3rd): /hus-e-n/ (2nd): /hus-c-k/ (1st). Similarly, /khuc-/to steal, /toš-/to sit, to remain, etc. In many transitive verbs, the pronominal particle /-c/ representing the pronominal objects of the 1st and the 2nd persons is also infixated between the verb root and the tense marker, as in /khyacid/he saw you/me, /khyacin/ you saw me, /khyacik/I saw you, etc.

In Chhit. the inflectional base for past tense is obtained by suffixing /tc/, /dc/, sc/ and /-c/ to the verb root. As usual the personal terminations are taken by the 1st and the 2nd persons only e.g. /la-/to do: /la-tc/ (3rd): /la-ten/ (2nd) /ta-tc-c/ (pl.); /la-tc-k/~la-tc-c/ (1st); /ro-/to go: /ro-dc/ (3rd): /ro-dc-n/ (2nd): /ro-dc-k/ (1st); /da-/to give: /da-sc/ (3rd): /da-sc-n/ (2nd): /da-se-k/ (1st): /da-se- / (1st & 2nd pl.); /tu -/to take: /tu-c/ (3rd): /tu- c-n/ (2nd): /tu- c.k/ (1st).

In Kan. the formatives of the inflectional base in the past tense are - /ke-/ and /me~mo/, e.g. /bo-/ to go: /bo-k/ /bo-ke/ (3rd); /bo-ke-n/ (2nd): /bo-ke-k/ (1st); /lon-/to say: /lon-mo/ (3rd); /lon-me-n/ (2nd): /lon-me-k/ (1st).

In Patt. and Tin. the inflectional base of the past tense is obtained by suffixing the tense markers /-i/ and /-de/ to the radical or the replaced stem of the verb concerned, e.g. /rän-/to give: (3rd) - /rän/ : /rän-ku/ : /rän-re/ etc. (For personal terminations of other persons see *Supra* - Table 10-11 and p. 183 Suppletivism). Gari, another pronominalized language of the Lahul group distinguishes between two numbers and two persons only, i.e. between 1st and non-1st. The distinction of number too, is marked for non-1st persons only. The markers for both the

numbers, representing all morphological elements of the past, viz. tense-number-persons are /-za/ (sg.) and /-cha/ (pl.) for non-1st persons, and /-d/ for the 1st, which are appended to the verb root. The sg. /za/ has a couple of phonetically conditioned allomorphs, realized as /ca/ and /ša/ : e.g. (non-1st)- /logza/ (sg.) : /logcha/ (pl.) read; /da-za/ (sg.): /da-cha/ (pl.) gave; /lig-za/ (sg.): /lig-cha/ (pl.) did; /zukca/started, /gorca/ became; /dub-ša/has become, etc. 1st person-/za-d/I, we ate, /kyoräd/ danced, /rad/ came, /eled/ went, etc. Besides, in a few cases use of non-1st person formatives is also attested for the 1st person forms, as in /lika-za/I did, /lika-cha/ we did. In this case the infixed consonantal element /-k-/ seems to represent the pronominal element for the 1st person. Besides the above, the use of the impersonal forms also is current in it (see p. 187 Impersonal Past).

(ii) *Root + Personal terminations + Tense markers*: This pattern is primarily attested in the speeches of the eastern group. In this the personal terminations of the 1st and the 2nd persons are infixed between the verb stem and the tense markers. Prominent of these are - Mar., Dar., Johari & Chaud.

In Mar. the tense marker suffix is /e/ in the dialect of Niti and is marked for 3rd person forms only, as in /za-/ to eat : /zE/ (3rd): /za-n/ (2nd & 1st); /di-/to go: sg. :-/di-c/ (3rd): /di-n/ (2nd): /di-ki/ (1st); but in the dialect of Mana it is /a/ for the 3rd person and /i/ for non-third persons, e.g. /di-/to go: /di-a/ > /diya/ (3rd): /di-n-i/ (2nd): /di-g-i/ (1st), there being no inflection for number category in it, the inflected forms are identical for both the numbers.

In Dar., in which a verb is inflected for a single number and 2 persons only (2nd and non-second), the tense marker is attested as /su-/ and the verb stem itself is taken for inflectional base. There the personal termination is marked for the 2nd person only and is infixed between the verb stem and the tense marker, as in /da-/to give: /da-n-su/ (2nd) : /da-su/ (1st & 3rd). Similarly, /za-/to eat: /za-n-su/ : /za-su/ ; /ga-/to do: /ga-n-su/: /ga-su/; /tuñ-/to drink, /tuñ-su/ for all.

In Chaudangsi it is attested as /sä/~su/ ~ /so/ or /cä/ with infixation of the pronominal particles, as in /lo-g-sä/I read, /da-k-sä/I gave, /de-ye-so/I walked, /le-su/ I said, /za-ye-sä/we ate, /lo-ne-sä/we read, /phakcä/ spoke, /yakcä/slept, /za-so/ate, /ra-sä/came, /de-sä/went.

In Johari, too the tense formative element is attested as /sä/ or /su/ which is employed to obtain verbal forms for the 1st and 2nd persons only, e.g. /di-/to go: 3rd -/di-ni-n/ (sg.): /di-c/ (pl.): 2nd

-/di-nu-s//* di-n-su (sg.): */di-ni-s/*/*di-n-si (pl.); Ist-*/di-s/* (sg.): */di-n-se/* (pl.); */ga-su/* made; */ta-su/* put; */le-s/said*; */de-c/went*; */ra-c/* came.

(III) *Tense formative + Verb root*: The mechanism of prefixing the past tense formative particles is attested in the speeches of Darma, Chaudangs and Byangs only. It may have existed in other speeches of this group, but does not seem to have survived now. The particles marking the past time are — */kä-/* and */pi/~pä/*, as in */za/to eat: /käzza/ate*; */ra-/* to come: */pirra/came*; */de-/* to go: */pidde/went*, */tun-/* to drink: */kättun/*, etc. (Johari) *-/kähyuc/* frightened, */kä-sec/went*; (Dar.)-*/pä-rke-su/wasted*, */kä-za-su/ate*, */kä-da-da-su/gave*, */pi-ra-ni-ni/came*, etc. These are all impersonal forms and are not inflected for any number or person. But side by side of these forms we also have forms like */za-sä/ate*, */ra-sä/* came, */de-sä/went*, which have a close affinity with other members of this group. (Also see above for more examples of this pattern).

(IV) *Verb root+ tense formative*: This structure of verbal conjugations in the past tense is primarily attested in the speeches of the Tibetan group in which the verb forms are distinguished for the Ist and non-Ist persons only and do not distinguish for the number category at all. In a non-formal speech and with certain tense formative particles the distinction of the persons too is not maintained, being used as impersonal verb forms (see below. Impersonal Past). In Tod even the present tense forms like, */zaro/* eats; */zero/says* etc. are indiscriminately used for the past tense as well. But in a formal speech the distinction of the Ist and non-Ist persons is expressed by appending the indeclinable verbal formatives, viz. */son/* and */phen/* for non-Ist and */men/* for the Ist. The formatives */son/and/men/*are appended to the verb root itself and the formative */phen/to* the present indefinite form of the verb concerned, e.g. */coe-son/he did*, you did, */coe-men/I, we did*. */kho zer-son/he said*, */nu zer-men/I said*, */khyon-son/he brought: /khyon-men/ I brought*, but for all persons; */zaro-phen/ate*, */son-phen/ went*, */thun-phen/drank*, etc. But at the same time there is no strict adherence too to the use of these formatives with the Ist and non-Ist persons. There is a free variation among them, e.g. */yon-son/ ~/yon-phen/* came (non-Ist) went: */yon-men/~/yon-son/* (Ist); */cha-/* to go: */son-dok/* (non-Ist) went: */son-phen/* (Ist) went.

Similar is the case with Spitian, in which the past tense formatives for the non-Ist persons are attested as */-son, -cun-, -yon, -chär/*and for the Ist person as */-tin~ten, -win~wän, -en/*, e.g. (non-Ist): */phu-son/*

went, /läpcun/came, /thuñ-son/drunk; /zoe-son/ate, /goe-son/laughed; /kher-yon/brought; /coe-chär/did, etc.; (1st) -/phu-tin/did; /soe win/ ate; /go-tin/laughed; /thu-wän/ wrote; /ñal-en/slept; /thuni/drunk; etc. In respect of 1st person formatives Nyam. differs from Sp. There the 1st person has only a zero formative, i.e. the bare verb stem is used to denote the sense of the past tense. (1st) -/hon/came, /ta/ saw, /so/ate, /ñal/slept, etc. In the non-first persons, however, the use of the tense formatives, viz. /-son/and /-con/ is normally attested, as in /sil-son/read; /ñal-son/slept; /ta-son/ saw; /sa-son/ate; /lep-con/came.

The Jad dialect of Garhwal which belongs to the Tibetan group distinguishes the past tense form for 3 persons, though, as usual, the number distinction is not there. In it the formative of the 3rd person, as in other speeches of this group, is /son/, with an allomorph/ juñ~ja/, occurring in free variation, as in /te-son/~te juñ~te-ja/gave; /sil-son/~ /sil-ja/read; /so-son/ate, /ca-son/~/be-ja/ did; /thuñ-son/drunk, /lhep-son/came, etc. In the 2nd person, the formative is attested as /ma/, as in /ca-ma/you did; /tuñ-ma/you drank, etc. In the 1st person it shows its close affinity with Nyam., the bare stem being used for it, e.g. /so/I, we ate, /ca/I, we did, /thuñ/I, we drank, etc. Moreover, in non-formal speech a single form also can be used for all the persons and numbers, as in /so/ ate.

The speakers of the Raji dialect do not seem to be particular about distinguishing between the present and past and also between numbers and persons; e.g. /rEjE/ he goes, he went; /ga rijE/I went; /näñjE/you go; /nE ghätE/you go, you went. Still there is a system under which past tense is affected with the help of certain suffixes without distinguishing among different persons and numbers. They have been attested as /ä/, as in /ka-ä/sent, /ja-ä/ate, /pho-ä/ascended, etc.; /-ia/, as in /khäia/said, /ghäia/did; /-ie/, as in /pi-ie/came, /he-ie/was, were; /si-ie/died. Besides the past indicative these very forms are employed to convey the sense of habitual past and past continuous as well.

Besides the above discussed regular patterns of the verbal inflections in the past tense, there are a few more non-regular patterns too which need to be detailed here. Prominent among them are (1) Reduplication, (2) Suppletivism, and (3) Impersonal past.

(V) *Replaced root + tense formative + personal terminations.*

The phenomenon of suppletivism is a part of verbal conjugation of certain verbs in both the groups of the T.H. speeches. Under this the non-past tense base of the verb is replaced with another verb stem

in the past tense formations. But there is a basic difference in the pattern of inflection in both the groups, i.e. in the speeches of the western Himalayan group, the replaced stem is identical with the imperative stem of the verb concerned and the verb, as usual, is inflected for all the persons and numbers. Consequently, structurally, it is analysable as—Replaced stem + tense formative + personal terminations. Prominent speeches which follow this pattern are—*Patt.*, *Tin.* and *Gar.* Thus in them the inflectional base of the past tense is obtained by suffixing the tense marker particle to the replaced stem of the verb, e.g. (*Patt.*, *Tin.*) — /äpi/to come: /äta~änta/come (imp.); /ibi/to go: /ila/go (Imp.): + past tense marker -/i/ /äti~änti-/ /ili-/to which are suffixed the personal terminations as under:

<i>Patt.</i>	Sg.	du.	pl.	<i>Tin.</i>	Sg.	du.	pl.
3rd	äti	äti-ku	äti-re		änti	äntika	änti-re
2nd	äti-n	äti-ši	äti-ñi		änti-n	änti-ci	änti-ci
1st	ätig	" "	" "		äntig	änti-ši	äntiñi

For the forms of /ili/ see *supra* Table 11.

In the languages of the eastern group the feature of suppletivism is attested in *Dar.* There it takes place in a couple of verb roots only, e.g. the non-past verb root /di-/ 'to go' is replaced with the root /ta-/ in the past tense formations, e.g. (pres.) /dini/3rd; /disän/2nd; /disi/ (1st); but (past) - /tansu/ (2nd) and /ta-su~ta-zu/all others. Here it may also be noted that the personal termination is marked for the 2nd person only and instead of being suffixed to the stem is infixd in between the replaced stem and the tense marker.

In *Gari* the phenomenon of replacement, instead of being tense based, is a number based one, e.g. the verb root-/ra-/ 'to go' is replaced with the root /go~gwa/for the plural forms of it in all tenses and moods, e.g. /ra-re/he goes, but /gwan-khag/ they go; /ra-d/he went, but /gwa-d/they went; /ra/go (imp.sg.), but /go~gwan/go (imp.pl.). Some of the other speeches of the T.H. group exhibiting this feature are—*Sp.*, *Nyam.*, *Tod*, *Jad*, *Mar.* and *Chaud.* Examples from these may be presented as under:-

<i>Language</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Present root</i>	<i>Past root</i>
<i>Sp.</i>	to be	hin/hinok	dog/yod
	to go	do-	son/phu-

	to come	yoñ-	lab-
	to eat	sa-	sor-/so-
Nyam.	to be	hin-	hot-/dok-
	to go	do-	son/phu-
	to come	oñ-	läp-
Tod	to go	cha-	son-
Jad.	to do	be-	ca-
	to eat	sa-	so-
Mar.	to give	da-	khyä-
	to see	kan-	ton-
Chaud.	to strike	dhun-	.sa-
Dar.	to be	lhe-	ni-
	to go	di-	ta-

It may, however, be mentioned that structurally, it is root+tense marker in the Tibetan group and root + person marker + tense marker in the eastern pronominalized group.

(vi) *Verb root+Zero*: This pattern of using a bare stem to express the sense of the past is primarily attested in the speeches of Tod and Jad., e.g. /khoe tañ + ne thun/he gave (and) I drank. Similarly, in the dialect of the Jad also bare stem can be used for the 1st person forms in the past tense, as in /so/atc</sa/to eat, /thun/ drank; /ca/'did', a replaced stem from /be/to do, etc.

(VII) *Root + tense formative + aux. + personal terminations*: Although use of aux. as a tense formative element is a normal feature of verbal conjugation in the non-past tenses, yet its use in the past tense formations has been attested in a couple of speeches of the western pronominalized group only. There too the practice of employing aux. to obtain the past tense forms is confined to the 1st and 2nd person forms only, e.g. (Patt.) - /lha-t-täg/ I did, /lhat-te-ñi/we did, /zat-te-ñi/we ate; /ibi/ to go' -replaced stem /il-/: (2nd)- /il-de-n/~il-de-si:/ /il-de-ñi/; (1st) - /il-de-g/ I went; /rändri/ 'to give', (2nd pers.) -/ränd-en/~ /rän-de-ši/, /rän-de-ñi/; (1st) - /rän-de-g/. Similarly, Tin. /tha-ki-ta-g/I broke; /han-ki-ta-g/I brought; /ku-ki-ta-g/ I said, etc.

(VIII) *Reduplication*: There are a few speeches in the Himalayan group which vindicate the mechanism of forming the past tense by reduplicating the root or stem of the verb, e.g. (Kan.)-/me ken-ken/did

Table 13
Schemetically Various Patterns of the Past Tense Formations and their Formative Elements

Kin.	Chhit.	Kan.	Patt.	Tin.	Gar.	Mar.	Raji
<i>Patterns</i>							
(1) R+T+P	R+T.P.	R+T.P.	R+T+P	R+T+P	R+T+P	R+T+P	R+T+P
(2) Redupl.	Redupl.	Redupl.					
<i>Tense formatives</i>							
-O, -e	-te, -de,	-ke, -me	-i, -de	-i, -de	ca, za, sa (sg.),	-e, -i	-ä, -ie,
-a, -de	-se, -e	-mo -Φ	±P	±P	-za -cha (pl)	-a,	-ia, Φ
±P	±P	±P			±P	±P	±P
Dar.	Chaud.	Johari	Sp.	Nyam	Tod	Jad.	
<i>Patterns</i>							
(1) R+T+P	(1) R+T+P	(1) R+T+P	R+T	R+T	R+T	R+T	
(2) T+R	(2) T+R	(2) T+R	(including p.)	(including p.)	(including p.)	(including p.)	
(3) Redupl.	(3) Redupl.	(3) Redupl.					
<i>Tense formatives</i>							
(1) -su infix+p	(1) -su, -sä -cä+p	(1) -sä, -su, infix+p	(non-1st) -soñ, -cuñ,	(non-1st) -soñ, -coñ	(non-1st) -soñ, -phen,	(non-1st) -soñ, zuñ	
(2) kä-, pi-,	(2) kä- pä-, pi-	(2) kä-, pä- pi-	-yoñ, -chär (1st) -ten, wen, -en	-a (1st) -a, -Φ	(1st) -men, -Φ	-za, -ma (2nd) (1st) -Φ	

N.B. The above given abbreviations are to be read as follows:

R = verb root; T = tense formative, P = personal terminations, Redupl. = reduplication, Φ = zero

not give; (Byangsi-)/ru-ru-ta/asked, /di-di-ni/went, (Dar.) /käda-da-su/ gave, has given; /pi-ra- ni-ni/ has come back, came back, etc. (Johari-)/ga-da-di/did, /di-di-n/ went. (Kin. Kalpa variety) -/bo-bo/went < /bi/ to go; /za-za/ ate/</za-/to eat, /tuñ-tuñ/drank < /tuñ-/to drink, etc.

(IX) *Impersonal Past*. Besides the above discussed regularly conjugated forms of the past, except the cases of prefixation (See pattern VIII above), in the speeches of both the groups indeclinable verb forms, having no concord with the number and person of the subject, are also employed to express the past tense of the verb concerned. It is similar to the past tense formations of the Hindi verbs, with the subject in the ergative case, but it differs from Hindi pattern in respect of concord. In Hindi it agrees with the number and gender of the subject in subjectival constructions, i.e. with intransitive verb and shows an agreement with the object in objectival constructions, i.e. with transitive verb, whereas in these genderless speeches it does not show any agreement even with the number of the subject or object. In the speeches under reference it is obtained by appending some indeclinable particles to the verb root e.g. in Tin. it is /-min/, as in /doi gerin bägät rä-min/he gave me food: /doci rāmin/they gave /ge doring rāmin/I gave him, etc. In Gari it is affected with the particle /men/, as in /gi-zi händog ridmen/I have brought for you; /imi-zi gi-rög rid-men/you have brought for me; /hinci-lig-men/ we have done; /hänzi lig-men/ you have done, etc. In Kin. it is affected with the particle /sid/, as in /tuñ-sid/ drank; /za-sid/ ate; /lo-sid/said; /ra-sid/ did, etc. In Chhit. it is obtained by suffixing /-i/to the verb root, as in /za-i/ate, /ra-i/went, /tu-ti/ came, etc.

In the speeches of the Tibetan group too the indiscriminate use of the particles, /phen/ and /son-/ with the subjects of all the persons, at least the use of identical single form for both the numbers of the 2nd and 3rd persons, can be categorized as impersonal one. In Tod use of past tense forms like /zaro-phen/ ate; /yon/came, for all persons and numbers is a common feature.

Examples like /ci ja-ni/what did you eat ? or /kEja-ni/ 'I ate, I have eaten' from Raji also indicate that past tense forms are impersonal in this dialect too.

FUTURE TENSE

Future tense, in many speeches of this group, besides denoting the indicative sense of an action that has yet to take place, is freely used to denote the sense of optative or subjunctive moods. Signifying desirability, obligation and possibility of an action that may or ought

to take place in future, as in (Patt.) /du yo-to/ he should go (lit. he will go): (Nyam.)-/khod 'onak/if you come (=you will come). Moreover, in speeches, like Kan. which distinguish between past and non-past only, its purpose is served by the present itself.

Conjugational base

With regard to conjugational bases for the future tense all the speeches under consideration can be grouped as (1) synthetic and (2) analytical. In the languages of the former group which comprises the Tibetan and the eastern group of the Himalayan tongues, the verb root itself is taken as the inflectional base and the tense formative particles and personal terminations are appended to it; and in the latter group the personal terminations are taken by the aux. which follows the bare stem of the main verb, this pattern is attested mainly in the speeches of the western Himalayan group.

Verbal Inflection

From the point of personal inflection too there are two distinct groups of these speeches, i.e. in one group a verb is inflected for 2 persons only, viz. Ist and non-Ist, and in another group it is inflected for all the 3 persons. The former pattern is attested in the speeches of the Tibetan group, except Jad, and the latter group includes all the speeches of the Himalayan group, including the speech of the Jads of Garhwal.

Now, we shall first take up the languages of the Tibetan group which are inflected for a single number and 2 persons only. There the formative suffixes, representing tense-persons, which have merged together, are as under:

In Spitian the tense-person suffixes have as many as 5 phonetically conditioned allomorphs, out of which 2, viz. /-ak/ and /-kak/ are employed to mark non-Ist person forms and 3, viz. /-kan/, /-an/ and /-in/ for the Ist person forms. This can be illustrated as follows: /sak/ < /sa-ak/ will eat (non-Ist): /sa-in/will eat (Ist); /yon-ak/will come (non-Ist): /yon-an/ (Ist); /go-kak/will laugh (non-Ist): /go-kan/ (Ist); /de-kak/will sit (non-Ist); /de-kan/(Ist).

Similarly, in Nyam. the phonetically conditioned variants are - /-kanok, ~-anok/ for the non-Ist persons and /-kan, -an/ for the Ist person, e.g. /phet-kanok/will do (non-Ist); /phet-kan/ (Ist); /do-anok/will go (non-Ist); /do-an/ (Ist); /dod-kanok/will sit (non-Ist); /dod-kan/ (Ist); /sa-anok/→ /sa:nok/ will eat (non-Ist); /sa-an/ > /sa:n/ (Ist), /ta-anok/ > /ta:nok/will see (Non-Ist); /ta-an/ > /ta:n/ (Ist).

In Tod the inflected forms of a few verb roots indicate that it too followed a 2 person pattern and the markers for the non-1st person was /-ana/, and for the 1st person /-ken, -en/, as in /cha-ana/ > /chana/ will go (non-1st); /cha-ken~-chen/(1st), but now this distinction seems to be diminishing and a single form, usually with the marker /-ana/ is being used to represent all persons and numbers, e.g. /yu-ana/ ~ /yu-en/ will come; /zana/ will eat, /tunana/ ~ /tuna/ will drink, /te-ken/ I will stay, remain, etc.

The speech of the Jads of Garhwal, which basically belongs to the Tibetan group, is inflected for all the 3 persons, though for a single number only. For the inflectional base, besides the verb root, it also employs some formative element about which it is not clear whether it is a formative suffix or remnant of some aux., e.g.

Verb	3rd person	2nd person	1st person
/sa/to eat	sa-n-do	sa-n-ma	sa-n
/be/to do	be-gän-do	be-gän-ma	be-gä-n
/te/to give	te-gän-do	te-gän-ma	te-gä-n/tyagnä/ten
/tun/to drink	tun-än-do	tun-än-ma	tun-än

The roots with the vowel /e/ are realized as with /ya/ as well, e.g. /bya-gän/, /tya-gä-n./etc.

From the above examples it is evident that the formative element is /-än/ or /gän/ and the person markers /do/ and /ma/ are marked for the 3rd and 2nd persons only. Moreover, existence of alternate forms like /tyagnä/ indicate that basically the tense formative suffix was /-nä-/ and is now realized as /-n-/ only. This characteristic development of Jad seems to be a result of linguistic acculturation that has taken place there on account of long association of Jads with the speakers of the eastern group of Himalayan speeches and with the speakers of I.A. speeches of Garhwal.

In the matter of conjugation of verbs in the future tense the speeches of the western and eastern Himalayan groups exhibit their distinct patterns. In the western group, structurally, it is Root + aux. + personal terminations and in the eastern group it is Root + tense formative + aux + personal terminations. Examples from both the groups can be presented as follows:

Western group: In Patt. and Tin. the aux. is /to/~o-to/ to which are appended the personal terminations for all the 3 persons and numbers (for the list of personal terminations see above table 10), but in many

cases the consonantal element is dropped and the inflectional base is attested as root + o only, e.g. /ibi/to go: (3rd person) - /yo-to/ (sg.) /yo-to-ku/ (du.): /yo-to-re/ (pl.); (2nd person)- /yo-n/ (sg.) : /yo-ši/ (du.): /yo-ñi/ (pl.); /yog/ (1st sg.); (dual. and plural as in the second person); /lha-/to do: (3rd)-/lha-to/~lha-o-to/ (sg.) : /lha-o-toku/ (du.): /lha-o-to-re/ (pl.); (2nd) -/lha-o-n/~lha-o-tön/ (sg.): /lha-o-ši/~lha-o-to-ši/du (du. : /lha-o-ñi/~lha-o-to-ñi/ (pl.); (1st) -/lha-og/ ~ /lha-o-to-g/ (sg.); (du. and pl. as in 2nd person).

But Tin. is more regular in this respect. There forms of the aux. /to/ are regularly marked for all persons and numbers, except for the 1st person of the verb /ibi/ > /ili/to go, as in /ili-g/: /ili-ši/: /ili-ñi/ (1st), otherwise, /il-to/: /il-to-ku/:/il-to-re/etc. But at the same time the existence of the tense formative /o/too is not attested there as we find it in Patt.

In Kin. too, future tense forms are obtained by employing the aux. /to/ appended to the verb root. Personal terminations as usual are taken by the aux. itself, as in /za-/to eat: (3rd)- /zato/ (sg. pl.) will eat: (2nd) - /za-tä-n/ (sg.): /za-e/ (pl.) : (1st): /zoto-k/ /za-ti / ; /bi-/to go. /bio/ (3rd sg. pl.) : /bi-to-n/ (2nd sg.); /bi-to-é/(2nd pl.) : /bi-to-k/ (1st sg.): /bi-to-c/ (pl.)

Besides in the pronominalized conjugations of the transitive roots the future tense inflection is also attested as verb root + object marker + subject terminations, as in /khya-/to see: (3rd sg. pl.) - /khya-co/, (2nd sg.) - /khya-ö-n/, (pl.)-/khya-cö-c/; (1st sg.) -/khya-cok/; (pl. as in 2nd).

In Chhit. the future formative aux. is /no/ and all personal terminations are suffixed to it. Like Kin. it also distinguishes for 4 forms only, e.g. /la-/to do: /la-no/ (3rd sg. pl.): /la-no-n/ (2nd sg.): la-no-c/ (2nd, 1st pl.): /la-no-k/ (1st sg.). Similarly, /za-/to eat, /da-/to give, etc.

In it besides the above pattern of conjugation, in a colloquial speech, it is also expressed with the bare stem of the verb which some times is identical with the imp. as well, as in /za/ will eat, /da/ will give, /ro/ will go, etc. This feature is attested in Tod as well, as in /na yon/ I will come: /thuñ/will drink.

Kan. which employs the aux. /ta/ does not recognize future as a distinct grammatical category, for, in it as stated above, a verbal conjugation is distinguished for the past and non-past tenses only. Consequently, the future being a non-past event is indicated with the same verbal forms which denote the action in the present time. As such in it forms like /lo-tä-k/ denote the meaning of 'I say' and 'I will say';

/bun-tä-k/ 'I go' and 'I will go' (for more examples see *supra* present tense).

Gari which too belongs to the western Himalayan group employs the aux. /ta/, but, may be under the influence of neighbouring Tibetan tongues, is inflected for the 1st and the non-1st persons only, though, of course, for 2 numbers in non-1st person, e.g. /lig-ca/to do : /li-ka-ta/ (non-1st sg.): /li-ka-ta-d/ (non-1st pl.) : /li-ka-te-g/ (1st). Similarly, /da-/ to give: /da-ta/ (non-1st sg.): /da-ta-d/ (non-1st pl.) : /da-te-g/ (1st sg.). (Also pres., as in /hän yani/you will go; /hänzi yekha/you (pl.) will go.

Eastern group. In the speeches of this group, in which a verb is inflected for 2 numbers and 3 persons, the normal pattern of the future conjugation is as root + fut. formative suffix + aux. + personal terminations. In different speeches of this group the formative suffixes and the aux. are attested as under:

In Dar. the formative suffix is /än-/and the aux./sä/ or /dä-/ , e.g. /ga-/to do: (3rd sg. pl.) - /gä-n-dä/; (2nd sg.)- /gä-n-dän/; (2nd, 1st pl.) /gä-n-dä-ni/ ; (1st sg.) - /gä-n-di/; Similarly, /da-/to give, but roots like /za-/to eat, /ra-/to come, /di-/to go, etc. employ the aux. /sä/ as in /za-yän-/ (3rd sg. pl.); /za-sä-n/ (2nd sg.); /za-sä-ni/ (2nd, 1st pl.); /za-n-si/ (1st sg.). Similarly, /rayän/, /diyän/, etc.

In Chaud.-Byangsi, though the tense formative suffix is identical with Dar., yet the aux. is attested as /nä/ e.g. /de-/to go: /deän/ > [dyän] (3rd sg.); /deän-nän/ (3rd pl.); /deän-no/ (2nd sg. pl.); /deän-ye/ (1st sg.); /deän-ye/ (1st sg.); /deän-nye/ (1st pl.). Similarly, /ra-/to come, /za-/to ear: /ra-yän/, /za-yän/, etc.

Similarly, the few examples of the extinct speech of Johar indicate that in it too, as in Dar., the aux. were /ta/ and /sä/, as in /le-ti/ I will say, /diš/ I will go, /äcärya/he will come; /mä-ra/will not come (as recorded in the LSI).

The Mar. dialect of Garhwal has 2 patterns of the employment of the aux. (1) /ta-/ and the other /na-/. The former pattern is attested in the dialect of Niti and the latter in the dialect of Mana. e.g. /rha-/ to come.

Niti :	Sg.	Pl.	Mana :	Sg.	Pl.
3rd	rhat-ti	rhat-tini		rhätti	rhätün
2nd	rhattin	"		rhä-na-ni	rhä-na-ni
1st	rhan	rhani		rhä-na-gi	"

Raji which too falls under the jurisdiction of the eastern group employs the mechanism of suffixing certain formatives like /hwär/, /riyu~rayu/, etc. to the present indefinite base of the verb concerned, e.g./ jawäre/ I eat, but /jawäre hwär/ I shall eat, /be-riyu/ I will give, /ga hin/I will go, /inpär/will come, /gunipär/you will do, etc. It needs further investigation to have a clear picture of it.

Various tense markers of the future tense may be tabulated as under:

Table 14

(Abbr. R=Root, P=personal terminations, aux.=auxiliary)

Kin.	Chhit.	Kan.	Patt.	Tin.	Gar.	Mar.	Raji
R+o+to±P R+to±p	R+no +p	R+to- +p	R+o+to- +p	R+o+to- +p	R+ta- +p	R+ta- +p	R+hwär
Dar.	Chaud.	Johari	Sp.	Nyam.	Tod	Jad.	
R+än+ aux.+p	R+än +aux.+p	XX XX	(Non-Ist) R+ak,-kak (Ist)-an R+Kan.-in	(Non-Ist) R+anok, -kanok (Ist) R+an,-kan	(Non-Ist) R+a,-ana (Ist) +en,-ken		R+n+do (3rd) R+n+ma (2nd) R+n/än (Ist)

ASPECTS

Aspects, indicative of the nature of action, i.e. whether it is completed or is still in progress, or is just in the state of inception, or is being done repeatedly, etc. are not distinctly recognized grammatical categories in most of the speeches of the T.H. group. In fact, languages of this group do not differentiate between various stages of an action in the present or past time. It appears that various stages of an action, termed as continuous, perfect, plu-perfect and perfect continuous, etc. by the traditional grammarians, are not viewed in parts, may be in the present or in the past, by the speakers of these tongues because of the uninterrupted continuity of the action from its beginning to the end. All the intermediary stages of it being an integral part of the same action. For all practical purposes it could be either complete or incomplete only. As such, from the point of aspect a clear distinction is recognized between the perfect and non-perfect stages of the action only. All other intermediary stages are expressed with the Terminate Aspect, representing the factual aspect of the act as a whole and not as partially completed or in progress, etc.

Progressive Aspect

Consequently, in these speeches both the aspects of a verb, viz. progressive and non-progressive, are expressed with the simple indicative forms of the verb under reference. As such there would be no distinction between 'eats' and 'is eating'; or 'ate' and 'has eaten' 'has been eating' or even 'had eaten', etc. This is more true of the Tibetan tongues in which such a distinction is not maintained in a non-formal speech, e.g. (Sp.) /tu todca sarok/child eats/is eating loaves of bread; /yon-son/ 'came, has come' or even 'had come', as in /ane dan iru yon-son/ aunt had come (lit. came) here yesterday. Similarly, /ter-tok/gives, is giving, /ter-son/ gave, has given, etc. This is equally valid for other speeches as well, e.g. (Nyam.) /te-rok/gives, is giving, /yon-son/came, has come; (Tod)-/zaro/eats, is eating, /zaro-phen/ate, has eaten. (Chhit.) /la-to/does, is doing; (Dar.)-/za-ni/eats, is eating; (Patt.)-/du dor ili/he went/was going there; (Tin.)-/zäwa/eats, is eating, etc.

However, in these speeches too, the progressive aspect of an action referring to present or past time can be expressed by means of periphrastic constructions, if literal rendering of linguistic expressions involving progressive aspect is necessary. The normal mechanism followed in such constructions is to append respective present or past tense forms of the verb substantives to the bare root or the present participle base of the main verb in question, e.g. (Sp.) /na lu ñan-tok/ I am listening to a song; /kho cik-po la yon-dok/ he was coming all alone (bare stem).

Some of the examples of the periphrastic constructions of the progressive aspect in various speeches under consideration may be presented as under:

In the speeches of the Himalayan group of Kinnaur and Lahul, the auxiliaries employed for this purpose are /to-/ , /du-/ 'to be, to become': e.g. (Kin.)-/zac du/, /zao-du/is eating, /zao-due/he was eating; /tuñoduk/ (I) was drinking, /tuño duec/ (we) were drinking, /biodu/he was going; (Chhit.) -/laca-to/is/are doing, /gä ae kimo roa tok/I am going to my home; /eme toa täse/ he (hon.) was coming, /niñsa toa totec/we were coming; /za-a täse/was eating, etc. (Kan.)- /zac du/is eating, /beo tok/am going, /tuñc to/is drinking; /za-za toš /was, were eating, /bhärau teš/were coming, etc.

In Patt. and Tin. these forms are obtained by compounding 3 verb roots, i.e. root of the principal verb + subsidiary /lek-/ + aux. verb substantive which carries the personal terminations as well. In this structure the verb substantive follows the past participle base of the

helping verb /lek-/ 'to begin' and the principal verb, which precedes it, takes the form of the infinitive, as in (Patt.)/ge ibi leki totoḡ/ I am going; /doci zci leki totoḡ/they are eating; /du icci ibi leki toi/ he was coming alone; /du juṭ mi-ku ibi leki toi-ku/ they two persons were coming; (Tin.) - /käi khe zäi ton/ what are you eating? /ñene ämpa lesi toiñ/ we were coming, etc.

In Gari the progressive forms are obtained by appending respective tense forms of the aux. /ninza/ 'to remain' to the root of the main verb or to the past participle base of the verb /lig-/, as in /za-ni/ is, are eating, /za-niza/ am eating; /kyorga niza/ was dancing, /lika niza/ was doing, /zamin lika ligca/ was cooking, food /gi liki nia/ I am doing, etc.

A similar mechanism is followed in the speeches of the Tibetan group as well, e.g. (Tod)-/na lur 'yante yot/ I am listening to a song; /kho ñal du/ he is sleeping, /sil yot/ reading, /go tuk/ laughing, /yoñ duk/ coming, /yoa ten/ were coming, etc. Besides it is also affected by appending past formatives /son/ and /phen/ to the present participle form of the main verb, as in /coe son/ was doing, preparing, /zac phen/ was, were eating, etc. (Nyam.)-usually with simple tense forms as in /laha phetog/ is working (=is doing work), /diro hok/ (he) is coming (lit. comes), /godkin det-son/ was laughing (lit. did laughing), /kho yoi dosuñṭ mañša zain dad/ he was cooking, we were eating; (for Sp. see above); (Jad) - /ogen dok/ is living; /ogenda/ are living; /di dok/ is going, /thüendo/ was drinking; /phei zoin casonṭ ne sain cason/ he was cooking, we were eating.

Among the speeches of the eastern group, viz. in Dar. it is the indicative form of the main verb which is employed to express all the progressive and non-progressive aspects of a verb, as in /ceme roṭa zani/ (the) girl is eating, eats loaves of bread; /kämda/ is beating, beats; /gasu/did, was doing; /ra-zu/ came, was coming; /ta-zu/ went, was going; But in the speeches of Chaudangs and Byangs the mechanism of periphrastic constructions is, operative in the same way as we find it in other speeches of the T.H. Group, e.g. /beste yinän/ lives, is living, /dieg-yin/ is doing, /deg yin-ye/ I am going, /dhunta-ta/ is beating, /zagnen/ he is grazing, /syuñ-ta ta/ is doing, /län syunta-ta nän/ working (lit. are doing work), /ragänisḍ / was coming; /deg nisḍ / was going, /teg nisḍ/ was weeping, /degE nis sḡ/ (we) were going, etc. (Johari)-/sati ta/ I am striking; /je phi šicän sis/ I am dying of hunger. Similarly, cf. Raji-/zawäre/ he eats, but /zawäre hār/ is, am eating, /dewä lagek-ner/ it is raining.

In Mar. it is expressed by employing a subsidiary verb /cas/ to

begin (=Hindi-läg-) which follows the verb root and is followed by respective tense forms of the verb substantive /yañ/and /ni/, as in /di-ce-yā/is going, /di-ce-ni/ are going; /ku-ce-yā/ is sleeping; /ku-ce-gi/ am sleeping; /rhayā/was coming, /rhāna-ni/were coming, etc.

Perfective Aspect

Grammatically, the perfective aspect, may be in the present or past represents the state of the action under reference either just completed or completed at or before a certain point of time in the past. As in the case of progressive aspect, in perfective aspect too, no distinction is made between the present perfect, past and past perfect categories of a verb. It seems that for the speakers of these tongues, conceptually, an action which is complete, may be completed just now, some time back or in the distant past, is simply a past event for all practical purposes, and is expressible with the simple past tense forms of the verb in question. There could not be a distinct intermediary state in between, it could either be perfect or nonperfect. Therefore, all intermediary stages of an action termed as present perfect, past perfect or pluperfect, etc. by the traditional grammarians are only a past or perfect events and can be expressed with the past indicative forms itself, e.g. (Kin.) -/do yāga/he has slept (=he slept); /hacis/has become, became; (Kan.) -/bo-ke-kān/ you went, you have gone, /sōñ-me-k/I did, have done, had done. (Gar.)- /phet soñ/did, have done, had done; (Nyam).-/cok chār/have done, did; had done; /cha-chār/completed, finished; (Jad) /te-soñ/gave, has given, (Raji)-/ka-ā/sent, had sent; /ši-ie/died, had died, etc. (for more examples, see Past Tense, p. 181ff.).

However, in case of necessity particularly in the speeches of the western Himalayan group the perfective aspect can be affected, periphrastically, by appending past tense forms of the verb substantive to the past participle base of the main verb. Some of these may be explained and illustrated as under:

(Kin.)-/tošiš due/was seated; /bāsīd duk/I had come, have come. In it, besides the past participle, the aux. can be appended to a reduplicated conjunctive participle base as well, as in /tuntun tokeñ/you had drunk; /khya khya duk tocek/I had seen you. (Chhit.)- /go täsi toke/ where have you put ?, /yo tuti to/he has come, /tuti täse/has come, had come; /roi täse/have, had gone, /yeli tok/I am tired, /noni to/they have slept, etc. Kan. does not follow this pattern. There it is expressed with simple past tense forms only or by appending the perfective /gon/to the verb root, as in /ši gon/ had died, /bi gone/had been lost. (Patt.,

Tin): /änzitoi~~ämpitoid/has come, had come; /käi di chi läsi toton/what have you done this ?;/du zoki toce/he is seated. These tongues, besides the verb substantive, employ other subsidiaries, like, /ibi/to go, /keṛi/ to say, etc. as well, as in /ge iphsän ili/I have slept (lit. I have gone to sleep); /ñcci hendu käm le ketāñi/we have done our work (=we have done away with). (Gar.) - /lig tana/thou hast done; /lig tadni/you had done, /gizi zai za/I have eaten (lit. I ate food);

In the speeches of the Tibetan group the perfect forms are indistinct from the past indicative forms and as such are affected by appending the past formative particles like, /cuñ/, /son/, /phen/, /chär/, etc., e.g. (Sp.)-/lep-cuñ/come, has come, had come; /cher-son/did, has done, have done, had done; /phu-son/went, have, had gone; (Nyam.) -/dup-son/did, had/have done; /lep-son/came, has/have/had come; /cha-chär/finished, etc. (Tod)- /zaro-phen/ate, has/had eaten; /thuñ son/drank, has, have drunk. Similar is the case of the speech of Jad of Garhwal, e.g. /chär sär/has/have finished, /syor-son/had become; But in Tod, besides the simple past tense forms, as given above, use of the verb substantive is also attested, as in /kho son chär dok/he has/had gone; /na yalde yot/I have slept (lit. I have gone to sleep); etc. (For more details see Past-tense, IV, p. 182)

In this respect Jad, the language of the Jads of Garhwal shows a close affinity with the Tibetan speeches of Himachal Pradesh. In it too, the perfective forms are identical with indicative forms and are affected by appending the past formative particle, /son/ or even by bare stem of the verb, as in /na thuñ/ I drank, I have/had drunk; otherwise, /te-son/gave, have/had given; /llep-son/came, have~has~had come; /sil-son/read, has~have read, etc. (For more details see *Supra* Past tense, IV).

However, in the dialects of the eastern Himalayan group it is expressed in two ways— (1) by affixing the forms of the verb substantive to the reduplicated base of the principal verb, and (2, by prefixing a perfective tense marker to the verb stem, e.g. (Chaud.)-/däda ta /~/kä-data/gave, has/had given; /di-di-ni/~pi-di-ni/went, has gone, /pi-diš/ is gone; /pi-rad/has come, /kä-zza/ has~have eaten; /kädda/gave, have given; (Dar.)-/pä-rke-su/has~had wasted; /kä-jyär-cu/was frightened, /ji tä zati kä-za-su/I have eaten food; /usu kä-dä-da-su/he has given away; In it, it is also affected by reduplicating the personal terminations along with the prefixation of the perfective particles, e.g. /pi-ra-ni-ni/ has come back, otherwise cf. -/ra-ni/he comes. (Also see Past Tense, III).

The subsidiaries employed by Mar. are /kyä/to do, /de-/ to go, etc., appended to the past participle base of the main verb to indicate the completion of an action in the present or past, as in /zE khiri/has, have eaten; /tui khiri/has, have drunk; /dhE khiki/has, had given; /lE khini/has, had gone; /kuc di/is slept. In passive constructions it is, however, followed by the aux. /hu-/ 'to be' as well, as in /ze khiki hīz/has been-had been eaten; /tuī khiki hīz/has /had been drunk.

The few samples recorded for Johari indicate that in it the perfective aspect was expressed with simple past tense forms of the verb concerned, /go phikhän ras/your brother has come (lit. came); /thyak tane/ is found again. Besides, it is also affected, as in Dar., with the mechanism of reduplication and prefixation of the completive particle, as in /gä-da-di/ did, had done; /di-di-n/ went, has gone; /kä scc/had run away; /kä-hyuc/was frightened.

In Raji, too, besides the simple past tense forms, the perfective aspect is affected by suffixing the particle /pän/ as well, as in /aku wi-pän/who has come?

VOICES

Grammarians have recognized three voices, viz. (1) active, (2) passive, and (3) impersonal for many classical and modern languages. Accordingly, in the active voice the subject of the verb is the doer of the action in question and the verb agrees with it for all grammatical categories, whereas in the passive voice 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. However, in the case of impersonal voice which is operative with intransitive verbs only, the verb agrees neither with the subject nor with the object and consequently remains unaffected by the grammatical categories of the subject or the object, there it is invariably in a neutral position.

Passive Voice

Like Dravidian languages, the verb in the languages of the T.H. group too is entirely destitute of passive voice. There is no mechanism in any of them to express passivity by means of direct inflectional changes in the verb stem. As such the languages of the T.H. group attest only one voice, viz. active or we may say that these tongues

favour only subjectival constructions. In them passive, or for that matter impersonal too, is not a distinct category. There the inherent use of the subject of a transitive verb in the ergative case itself serves the purpose of a passive construction. Consequently, statements like /doi zäwa/ (Patt.); /phei sao/ (Tod) are capable of conveying the sense of 'he eats' as well as 'eating is being done by him'. Similarly, (Gar.)- /tälzi dacare/ 'he gives' (the act of giving is being done by him) or (Dar.) -/usi-su dada/ 'they gave' or 'the act of giving was done by them', etc. can be interpreted in both ways. Similarly, the impersonal voice (passivization of intransitive verbs) too has no place in these tongues. Consequently, in these speeches all statements pertaining to passive or impersonal constructions in other system are rendered as in subjectival constructions or in active voice. As a consequence of this structural peculiarity, due to absence of objectival and impersonal constructions, Hindi sentences like -/tum se yäh ciṭṭhi nähi pärihi jayegi/ 'this letter will not be read by you', /mujh se yäh khana khaya nähi jayega/ 'this food will not be eaten by me' etc. are rendered as 'you can not read this letter or you are incapable of reading this letter' and 'I can not eat this food', etc. A few specimen from a few speeches are as under:

- (Tin.) - /gye di ḍak pärikphi mare/ I can not read this letter. /gye di bägät zäi mare/ I can not eat this food. = (Hindi) this food cannot be eaten by me.
- (Chhit.)- /kin hui ciṭṭhi husi ma linoĩ/ you cannot read this letter.
- (Patt.) - /gye zäie tärsimi ma/ I cannot eat.
- (Tod.) - /na za khyuce me-rak/id.; /ca chante ne thun khyuce me-rak/ I can't drink hot tea. = (Hindi) hot tea cannot be drunk by me.

But, may be under the influence of their contact with I.A. tongues, the languages of the Himalayan group, if necessary can construct the above type of expressions passively with the help of certain postpositions which follow the genitive base of the agent, and are capable of conveying the sense of 'by', e.g. (Kin.)- /ramo dwack ravänu šasid/ Ram killed Ravan.

/mohänäs ran zogsid/Mohan purchased (a) horse; but /mohän-nu dwack rañ zogše/ (a) horse was purchased by Mohan.

/dos dopän am keto/he will give him mango.

/dou dwack dopän am ränsö/mango will be given to him by him.

It may be noted that in the above examples besides the passive marker /dwakc/, distinct verb roots have also been employed. Moreover, in negative constructions the principal verb is placed in a verbal noun form, as in /an dwakc tošim ma hanim bādo/seating can not become by me (Hindi lit.-mujh se bEhṭna nḁhī hoga;/ /kin dwakc yunim ma hani/ going can not become by you (Hindi lit.-tum se jana nḁhī hoga/).

(Patt.) - In Pattani the postposition /butte/ is employed to affect the passivization and the subject is placed in the genitive case, as in /kānu butte zāimi ma/ eating will not be possible by you, /gye butte zāie tārchimi ma/ the act of eating cannot be by me.

(Tin.) - /gyu doṅ-ze di bāgāt zāi tārsim maca/ This food can not be eaten by me.

(Mar.) - /dhi ciṭṭhi gE-se mā bāce tārsin/ this letter cannot be read by me (=I shall not be able to read this letter); (Dar.)/nE ciṭṭhi gE-su mā lansyān/id (with fut.)

(Chaud.)- /āi ciṭṭhi gān lo mā tāryānno/ this letter cannot be read by you.

(Nyam.) - /di hege khyod silgume chod kanok/id.

(Tod) - /ca chante ne thun khyuce me-rak/ I cannot drink hot tea (=hot tea cannot be drunk by me.)

Middle Voice

Normally the dialects of this group do not attest any trace of middle or reflexive voice. But it may be interesting to mention here that while analysing the linguistic material of Gari I came across some material which betrays the traces of middle voice too, the characteristic features of which are similar to that attested in the middle voice (*atmane pada*) of the OIA., i.e. like Skt. this speech too makes a difference in the use of verbal formatives according to the beneficiary of the fruit of the action, viz. whether it goes directly to the doer of the action or to someone else. There the verb stem takes the formative element /-ša-/ in the former case and /-ca-/ in the latter case. For instance,

/tāl inzi phos caksare/she washes her own clothes, but /tāl cicizi phos cakcare/she washes child's clothes.

/cemed inzi zamin liksare/the girl is cooking food for herself.

/cemed inzi acoi zamin likcare/the girl is looking food for her brother.

Similarly, /kiša/cleansing one's own things; /ligša/doing for self; /lanša/selling to oneself, etc. Moreover, this distinction is maintained in the formation of conjunctive participles as well, e.g./ lig-ši/having done one's own work, /ligci/having done, /cagci/: /cagši/having washed, /da-ši/having given to oneself, etc.

Impersonal Voice

In fact, structurally, the impersonal voice is not different from the passive voice, but it is impersonal because its operational area being confined to intransitive verbs only and in the absence of any object it cannot change according to the number and person of it, as is done in the case of the passive voice, i.e. it is impersonal because it remains unaffected by the number and person of the subject. In the languages of the T.H. group its position too is similar to that of the passive voice. A few examples from these languages will make the position clear. In all of them verbal phrases of Hindi like /.....bEṭha nāhī jata/, or /.....cāla nāhī jayega/ (with the subject of any number and person in the ergative case) have been rendered as '... can not sit' or '... will not be able to walk', the verb always agreeing with the subject, as in active voice, e.g. (Chhit.)- /gā polia matok/I can not sit (=the act of sitting cannot be possible by me); (Patt.)- /ge bānzīe tārchimi ma/id.; (Tod.)-/na khyām nusa mān/id.; (Mar.)-/gE se hunci mā tārsin/id.; (Dar.)-/ji-jo sunsi mā tārse/id.; (Chaud.)-/je sonsi mā tārse/id.; (Sp.)-/ na yon chud ma yon/id.; etc.

Similarly, a sentence like 'the act of walking will not be possible by you' etc. are to be rendered as 'you can not walk/you will not be able to walk' etc., e.g. (Patt.)-/kin yun ma linoñi/ you can not walk (=the act of walking can not be done by you); (Gar.)-/gi āmca ma thukba/id.; (Tod.)-/na ḍul khyuce me rak/id.; (Mar.)-/gān-se pEdāl mā tārsyān/id.; (Dar.)-/gāi~gEjo pEdāl gām-je mā tārsyān/id.; (Chaud.)-/gān miran ḍe mā tārsyānḍ/id.;

In Kin., however, it is not different from the passive constructions, i.e. in both the cases the subject is followed by the passive marker postposition and the verb agrees with the subject under reference. As such in this too the neutral character of the verb is altogether missing, e.g./an dwanč tosim mahānim bādo/the act of sitting may not be possible by me; /kin dwakč yunim ma hāni/the act of walking will not be possible for you, etc.

Other sub-systems operative in the speeches under consideration may briefly be presented as follows:

PRONOMINALIZED SUB-SYSTEM

With regard to verbal conjugation it may be noted that the languages of the Himalayan group exhibit the phenomenon of pronominalization, a prominent feature of Munda and Dravidian languages. But in these it is confined to the feature of 'verbal pronominalization' only, there being no traces of nominal pronominalization', except a few traces of it found in old Johari. However, the feature of verbal pronominalization is attested both as simple as well as complex. There in the case of the complex pronominalization the finite verb forms of a transitive verb, besides the morphological markers, incorporate pronominal signs representing the subject and the object of the verb concerned.

In this context it may also be pointed out that though the phenomenon of pronominalization, in a more or less degree, is current in all the speeches of this group, yet the patterns of pronominalization are not uniform. The languages of the western pronominalized group considerably differ from the languages of the eastern group, both in the matter of pattern and degree of pronominalization. Even the languages of western group differ among themselves in this respect. There the feature of incorporating the pronominal object in the verb form takes place in Kin., Chhit., Kan. and Gar. only. In others, as in the languages of the eastern group, only the phenomenon of subject incorporation is favoured and even is not regular too.

In the matter of subject incorporation, it may be said that the representation of the pronominal subject is restricted to the 1st or 2nd persons only. Moreover, the representation may be in its full form as in Raji or in reduced (truncated) forms or symbolic forms, as in other speeches.

Similarly, in the case of object incorporation too the practice of incorporation of it is followed with regard to the indirect pronominal objects only, there being no incorporation of the direct subject.

Besides, in some speeches it is a regular feature and is attested in the verbal forms of all the tenses and moods, but in some it is quite irregular and is attested in particular tenses and persons only.

In the matter of affixation too, there are no uniform patterns. In most of the cases they are suffixed, but there are speeches like Gari., Dar., Johari in which it is infixes in the past tense forms. The pattern of prefixation of the pron. signs is, however, not attested in any speech of this group.

With regard to pronominalization another notable point is this

that under the influence of regional tongues it is becoming a diminishing feature and is even lost in many cases. A synchronic analysis of various forms and patterns of pronominalization, as attested in various speeches of the Himalayan group, may be represented as follows:

Subject Incorporation

Subject incorporation, in its abbreviated or symbolic form, is attested in almost all the speeches of this group. It is suffixed to the inflectional base of the verb concerned, and in case of object incorporation it follows the object particle. Moreover, the feature of subject incorporation is confined to the 1st and the 2nd persons only. Its absence automatically denotes the verb form of the 3rd person. Normally, in the languages of the western pronominalized group the 1st person pronoun is represented by /-g~-k/ and the 2nd person by /n/ and 1st, 2nd pl. by /c,-ñ/. These in synthetic constructions are directly annexed to the inflectional base of the verb concerned, and in analytical constructions are appended to the aux. concerned, e.g. (Kin.) - (Pres.): /bio-duk/I go: /bio-du-n/you go: /bio-du/ he goes; (past):/bio-k/I went; /bio-n/you went: /bio/he went; (Fut.) /bi-to-k/I will go: /bitoc/we will go: /bi-to-n/you will go (sg.): /bitoc (pl.) you will go ;/bi-to/he will go; (Patt.)- /lha-ri-g/I am going; /ibi-to-n/you are going; (fut.): /il-to-g/ I will go; /il-to-n/ thou willst go: /il-to/he will go: /il-to-ñi/ we will go; (Gar.)-Although in our data we could not obtain pronominalizing suffixes for the 2nd person, yet the data recorded for the LSI attests this feature for the second person as well, as in /la-to-k/I do; /la-to-n/thou doest; /la-to/he does; /la-to-c/ we do/you do (pl.) (These are identical with the forms of Kan.). (Chhit.) - /latek/I did: /la-te-c/we did: /la-te-n/ thou didst; /la-te-c/you did; /late/he did; (Kan.)-/bo-ke-k/I went: /bokeñ/we went: /bo-ke-n/you went (sg.); /bo-ke-ñ/ (hon. pl.). Also, cf. /lan-/ to do: /la-to-k/ (sg.): /la-to- / (pl.) /la-to-n/ (sg.)/lato / (pl.); /la-toñi/ (2nd pres.) (Past)-(1st) /latek/:/la-te-c/, (2nd) /-la-ten/ (sg.); /latec/ (pl.): /la-te-ñi/ (hon.) (Fut.)-/lanok/ : /la-no- / (1st.). /la-non/ (sg.) /la-no- / (pl.): /la-no-ñi (hon.);

In the languages of the eastern pronominalized group, though the pattern of suffixation of the subject particle is, more or less, similar to that attested in the languages of the western group, but its use is declining, particularly, with regard to the 1st person, in which it has also undergone some change. However, Marchha has maintained the general pattern to some extent, as in (Maṇa)- /rhāna/he comes: /rhānani/ you come: /rhānagi/I come; (Niti)-/rhācyā/he comes: /rhācān/you come:

/rhäce-ki/ I come. But here too, this feature of pronominalization is on its decline in both the dialects of it. Consequently, in the dialect of Niti it is no more attested in the present indefinite and in the 1st person of the future tense, as in /rhan/ I will come; /zän/ I will eat, etc. Similarly, in the dialect of Mana the subject particle /gi/ has been reduced to /-i/, as in /za-na-i/<* za-na-gi 'I eat' /I shall eat; /za-i/<* za-gi I atc, etc. Moreover, in it, as in Kan., the distinction of the present and future tenses is also lost, identical forms are being used for both, e.g. /rhäui/ he will come, but /rhänani/you come, you will come: /rhänagi/I come, I will come, etc.

In Darmiya too the use of the pronominal personal terminations with the verb forms is on decline. By now it has lost much of its pronominalized character. It is only in the second person that the subject particle /n/ has survived, as in /da-da/he gives: /da-dän/you give: /da-di/<* da-da-gi I give; /dan-da/he will give: /dan-dän/you will give; /dan-di/<*dan-di-gi, I will give. It seems that as in Mar. in this too the 1st person pronominal suffix /gi/~ji/ 'I' is reduced to /-i/.

In Chaud. too, the phenomenon of pronominalization is totally lost in the past tense. Though recorded by Grierson in the forms of an infix, as in /de-n-a/ goest, /se-n-s/struckest, /di-n-as/wentest (L.S.I. III pt. I, p. 506), yet in our data we could have only one indeclinable form which represents all persons and numbers. Its existence is, however, attested in the present and future tenses. But here, too, the pronominal subject particle of the 1st person, viz. /je~ji/seems to have developed into /ye~e/; but the pronominal personal termination of the 2nd person is very much there, as in /sEtän/strike. (Byangsi): /za-gän/he eats; /za-gä-no/you eat; /zagäye~za-ye/I eat; /za-yän/he will eat; /za-yän-no/you will eat; /za-yän-ye~za-ye/I will eat. etc. In Johari too the use of the subject particle is attested in the second person forms only, as in /diš/ I do; /diš-n/you do; /rhE-sä-n/ thou livest, etc.

Raji which belongs to the languages of the Austro-Asiatic family, does exhibit the phenomenon of pronominalization, but unlike other Himalayan tongues of the pronominalized groups in it the pronominal subjects and objects are neither contracted nor represented by consonantal signs like /-g, -n, -c/etc. as we find them in other speeches. They rather retain their original pronominal bases, e.g. /hämu-re-a-na/ I strike him (lit. strike-he-I); /hämu-re-na-ni/he strikes me (lit. strike-I-he). There the order of placement of the pronouns is invariably as verb + object + subject, as we find in other complex pronominalized languages. Now Raji too is losing its pronominalized character.

However, the untruncated use of pronominal forms differentiates Raji from the complex pronominalized languages of the Himalayan groups in which these are represented by consonantal signs representing respective persons and numbers.

Infixation

In our data the phenomenon of infixation of the pronominal subject was attested in Gar., Dar. & Johari only in their past tense formations, e.g. (Gar.) - /lig-ki-za/ I did (=do-I-past); /ni-n-za/thou werst, he was. It is, however, dropped in many cases, as in /ni-za/I was. In Dar. this infixation takes place in the 2nd person only, as in /da-n-su/you gave; otherwise /da-su/I gave, he gave, /ran-n-su/you came, etc. It is attested in old Johari, as in /tañ-na-su/you got (sg.), /dia-nu-s/you gave, etc. A further investigation of this phenomenon may reveal its existence in other speeches as well.

Moreover, in the dialects of Chaudangs and Byangs the phenomenon of infixation is attested in respect of 1st person as well (Chaud.)-/se-gä-s/ I struck, /da-gä-s/I gave/have given; (By.)-/sa-k-so/ I struck; /da-kä-s/I gave, etc.

In this context it may be interesting to note that the above noted feature of infixation was current when the data for the LSI was recorded from the languages of the Rangkas group, though not pointed out by Grierson, now it is attested in Dar. only. But we in our data have come across a few forms in which the pronominal element representing the 1st person seems to have been infixed in the fut. tense forms as well, as in /za-g-ne/we shall eat; /de-g-ne/we shall go, etc.

Object Incorporation

In complex pronominalized languages verb forms, besides the pronominal subject incorporate the pronominal object also in transitive verbs. In this the object particle precedes the subject particle, i.e. it is placed in between the verb stem and the subject particle. Structurally, it is verb stem + object particle + subject particle. Among the Himalayan tongues under consideration this feature is attested in the speeches of the western pronominalized group only, and is normally represented with the particle /ca~sa/ for both (1st and 2nd) persons /za-cö-k/I shall eat you; /za-cö-n/you shall eat me; /gäston-cö-tog/I strike you, /khyacä-k/I saw you (lit. sec-you-I); /khyacä-n/you saw me (lit. see-I-you), /khyacä-ñ/you (hon) saw me. In Kin. we also have /e~ñme/ for 1st du. and pl. (inclusive), as in /kasañ bio tonme/I and you go. The 3rd

person is represented by /ta/~da/ in some cases, e.g. (Kin.) /khya-ci-d/he saw me/you; otherwise /khyak/I saw; /khyan/you saw; /khyad/he saw.

(Gar.) -/khyed-ce-g/I strike you (lit. strike-you-I); /kan-ca-re/you see him, /kan-ce-g/ I see you; /da-ca-re/he/~you~ I give to you; /dasare/you give to me. Besides /khu~ku/the phonetic variation of /gye/ 'I' is also attested in a few cases, as in /lig-ku-ni/you make for me; /khyed-khu-za/I was beaten, etc.

Chhitkuli has, however, lost the regular feature of object incorporation. Synchronically, it is attested in a few sporadic cases only. For instance, the forms like /tan-c-i/I saw; /tha-c-i/I strike/I struck, etc. The consonantal element /-c-/ seems to be the remnant of object infixation, similar to that attested in Kin. forms like /ke-cä-k/I will give to you, /khya-cä-n/ you saw me, etc. Thus the meaning of the Chhit. forms like /tan-c-i/ would be 'I saw you'. Moreover, the suffixal element /-i/ may be representing the subject particle -/gi/, as is attested in the dialect of the Rangkas group.

Besides, the existence of /-c/ in imperative forms like /ro-c/go (=go you); /de-c/come (=come you), etc. clearly indicates that in these forms too the pronominal element /-c/ represents the pronominal object of the 2nd person. This is a regular feature in Kin. imperative as well, e.g. /za-c/ eat, /khya-c/see; /läni-c/do, /toš-ic/sit.

So far as Kanashi is concerned, it may be said that though the limited data available to us does not clearly exhibit the presence of this feature in it, may it be on its decline, Grierson too has not admitted its existence there. Yet in the data preserved in the LSI there are a couple of verbal forms which indicate that in the past the verbal structure of this dialect too possessed the feature of object incorporation. For instance, in the utterance, /änp- -pici-gu-n/you make me (your servant), the infixed particle /gu/, as the Gar. /ku/, seems to represent the object of the verb /pici/ 'to make'. A detailed investigation is sure to bring to light a few more examples of this declining feature. For Raji see above (P. 207).

This aspect of pronominalization is totally missing in the speeches of the eastern pronominalized group. Even the specimen recorded for the LSI in the beginning of this century do not indicate at all existence of this feature in these speeches.

HONORIFIC SUB-SYSTEM

Many languages of the T. H. group manifest the dichotomy of

ordinary and honorific verbal conjugation. Under this system all ordinary verb forms have their corresponding honorific forms meant to be used with reference to persons commanding respect from the speaker. Naturally, these forms are confined to the 2nd and 3rd persons only. The operation of this system is attested in 2 ways: (1) use of distinct verb roots, (2) use of distinct personal suffixes. The former pattern is primarily attested in the speeches of the Tibetan group and the latter in the speeches of the Himalayan group, though not practised uniformly in the either group. It seems that in the process of historical development some of the tongues have either partially or completely lost this system and now it is survived in a few tongues and in limited forms only. For instance, in the languages of the Himalayan group it is fully maintained in Kin. and Chhit., partially in Kan., Patt., Tin. Gar. and has completely disappeared from the tongues of the Rangkas group. In the western Himalayan group too the distinction of dual and plural is no more there in their verbal conjugations, both having identical forms for the pronominal personal terminations. This feature of the Himalayan and Tibetan groups may be illustrated as under:

The honorific personal suffixes in the speeches of the western Himalayan group are - /-š/ (3rd pl.) and /-ñ/, /-ñi/ (2nd sg. pl.), e.g. (Kin.) -/neon/you (ord.) knew : /neonñ/you (hon.) knew (sg. pl.); /neo/he/she (ord.) knew; /neoš/he/she (hon.) knew (sg. pl.). Similar is the case in periphrastic constructions where the personal terminations are suffixed to the aux. concerned; /do zao du/he is eating (ord.): /dogoš zao duš/he is eating (hon.); /kä zao dun/you eat (ord.): /ki zao duñ/ (hon.). The same pattern is followed in the past and future tense forms as well, as in (fut.) -/zato/ (ord.): /zatiš/ (hon.) he will eat; /zaton/ (ord.): /zatoñ/ (hon) you will eat (sg. pl.). Also in imperative constructions as well, as in /za/eat (ord.); /zañ/cat (hon.); /bi-u/go (ord.): /biñ/ (hon.).

In Chhit. and Kan. too honorific terminations are similar to that attested in Kin. and are similarly appended to the aux. /to/, e.g. (Chhit.)-/tuñ-to/ (ord.): /tuñ toš/ (hon.) he drinks; /tuña-to/ (ord.): /tuña-toš/ (hon.) they drink; /tuña-toc/ (ord.): /tuña toñia/ (hon.) you drink; (Kan.)-/rañ-to/ (ord.): /rañ-to-š/ (hon.) he gives; /za-zo-to-n/ (ord.) : /za-zo-to-ñ/ (hon.) you eat; /lan-/to do: (Pres. 3rd)-/la-to/: /la-toš/; (2nd)-/la-to-n/ : /la-to-ñi/ ; (Past) /la-te/ : /la-te-š/ (3rd); -/la-te-n/: /la-te-ñi/ (2nd); (Fut.)- /la-no/: /la-no-š/ (3rd); /la-no-n/:/la-no-ñi/-, (2nd); (Fut.)- /la-no/: /la-no-š/ (3rd); /la-no-n/:/la-no-ñi-(2nd). etc. Besides, in Chhit. verbal expressions like /gä burā anuk/ (ord.) and /gä-burā ano-š/ (hon.) 'I shall become old' indicate that in these speeches the dichotomy of hon. and

non-hon. usages was not confined to the 2nd and 3rd persons only, but was practised for the 1st person as well. This dichotomy of verbal conjugation is equally maintained in other tenses and moods as well, e.g. Imp. /riñ/ (ord.): /riñi/ (hon.) speak; /p>š/ (ord.): /p>ši/ (hon.) sit, etc.

In the pronominalized languages of the Lahul group, however, the hon. suffixes are marked for the 2nd person only, in the 3rd person it is affected with plural forms itself. Moreover, usually the sense of respectfulness is expressed through the honorific pronominal stem itself e.g. (Gar.) -/täl elza/he went (ord.): /ini elza/ (hon.); /tälzi elcha/they went: (ord.); /inizi elcha/ (hon.): /hän ela/thou go (ord.): /ini ela/ (hon.) you go ; /hänzi/inizi elni/ (pl.)

In the speeches of the Tibetan group this distinction is manifested by employing distinct stems for the ordinary and honorific expressions. For instance, between the following sets of the verb roots the first one is used with reference to ordinary objects and the second to express reverence to the addressee or to the person referred to, e.g. (Nyam.)-/do-/:/kyod-/to go; /thuñ-/:/chod/to drink; /sa-/:/chod-/to eat; /ñal-/:/zim-/to sleep; /dod-/:/zok-/to sit, (Sp.) /yon-/:/šyok/to come, /do-/ (ord.): /son/ (hon.) to go, etc.

In this context it may also be mentioned that the morphological terminations employed with these stems are identical in both the cases, e.g. (Nyam.)-/ñal-ok/ (ord.): /zim-ok/ (hon.) he, they, you sleep, /ñal-son/ (ord.): /zim-son/ (hon.) he, they, you slept. Also /khola saro cuk/ (ord.): /khon-la chyod to-chuk/ (hon.) let him eat.

Moreover, in cases of imperative mood the honorific forms may have additional phrases like /rok-chi/to indicate still higher sense of veneration towards the addressee, as in /khyot son/ you go (ord.) : /ñet kyod/id. (hon.); /ñet kyod-rok-chi/id. (super hon.); Similarly, /thuñ/ drink (ord.): /chyod/id. (hon.): /chyod-rok-chi/ (higher hon.). (Also see Imp. Mood.).

This system of verbal conjugation is, however, not attested in any speech of the eastern group. There the sense of honour is affected, with the use of the plural forms of the verb itself.

CAUSATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

Since 'causing some thing to be done' is an action which must be directed towards some body. Therefore, all causative verbs, derived or otherwise, become essentially transitive. In the speeches of the T.H. group, as in the case of transitivity, there is no inbuilt mechanism

for deriving causative stems from primary stems. Moreover, no speech of this group basically favours formation of the second causatives, as we find it in many I.A. speeches.

In most of the speeches of this group the intended action causing some one to do some thing is expressed in three ways, viz. (1) by using different sets of verb roots for expressing causative and non-causative senses of a particular action; (2) by employing a formative element, verbal or non-verbal; (3) by changing the mode of expression. All these features of causativization of the speeches under consideration may be explained and illustrated as follows:

(1) **Distinct Verb Roots:** Almost all the speeches of both the groups, Tibetan and Himalayan, have distinct sets of verb roots for expressing the transitive and the first causative sense of a particular act, e.g.

- Kin.** - /khya-/to see : /zañ-/to make to see, to show;
/huši-/ to read : /hun-/to make to read, to teach.
/lan-/to do : /unc-/to make to do. etc. as in
/do chañu dwakc kamän unco du/he is getting work done from the child.
- Chhit.** - /sya-/to see : /zā-/to show, etc.
- Patt.** - /khändri/to see : /kändri/to show: /zäi/to eat : /khwaldri/ to make to eat, to feed; /redri/-to listen : /ketri/to make to listen, to say, to narrate, etc.
- Tin.** - /khäntri/to see : /känñci/to show, to make to see;
/tuñbi/to drink : /pilaci/to make to drink, etc.
- Gar.** - /henca/to listen : /saca/to narrate, to make to listen.
- Tod.** - /ta-/to see : /toñ-/to show; /ñan-/to listen : /se-/to tell, to narrate;
- Sp.** - /ta-/to see:/tañ-/to make to see, to show; /thuñ-/to drink:
/lug-/to make to drink; /sil-/to read : /lap-/to make to read, to teach./tu ami papu thun-dok/the child drinks mother's milk:/ama tu la oma lug-tok/mother feeds the child with milk.
- Nyam.** - /ñan-/to listen :/sod-/to make to listen; /lan-/to stand:
/dok-/to make to stand, etc.
- Jad.** - /thon-/to see :/doñ-/to make to see, to show; /thou-/to wash:
/thul-/to get washed, to make to wash.

However, the Tibeto-Himalayan tongues of the Rangkas group have given up the practice of using distinct native stems to indicate

the causative sense, instead these have resorted to borrowing from the neighbouring I.A. tongues, e.g. (Mar.)-/tuñ-/to drink:/pila-/to make to drink; /la-/to do; /kära-/to make to do: /dhE läcän/he is doing work /za-/ to eat : /khäwa-/ to feed; /yän-/ to listen : /suna-/ to make to listen, narrate; /dhE seru-se län käracän/he is getting work done by child.

Although, similar is the situation in Darmiya and Chaudangsi-Byangsi, yet the native pattern is still traceable in some cases, as in (Dar.)-/uñ-/to see : /thE-/to make to see or to show; (Chaud.) -/uñ-/ to see:/hwen-/to show; /za-/to eat : /chi-/ to feed, etc.

However, Raji and Kanashi, may be due to their close contact with the local I.A. tongues, have switched over to I.A. pattern of deriving causative stems from their non-causative stems, e.g.

- Raji. - /hän-/to strike, to beat: /hänawa-/to get beaten;
/ce p-/to see:/ce pawä/to make to see, to show;
/päšina-/to bake :/päsinawä/to get baked.
- Kan. - /t'ul-/to sleep:/tulhyau/to make to sleep;
/sätt-/to do:/sättiyau-/to make to do; /likh-/to write:
/likhiyou/to make to write, /kot-/to dig:/kotiyou/to make to dig, etc.

In Kinnauri it is also expressed by prefixing /s-/to the affirmative stem, a Tibetan way of causativization, e.g. /kräb-/to weep : /skräb-/to make to weep, /tuñ-/drink : /stuñ-/to make to drink, as in /gaṭo chana amao kherän tunc/babies drink mother's milk, /ama chana-nu kherän stuñc/the mother makes the children drink milk.

(2) **Employment of Causative Formative:** The causative formative element could be a verbal element or an indeclinable particle or both. This feature of causative formation is primarily attested in the Tibetan dialects of Lahul-Spiti and Kinnaur, e.g.

In the dialect of Spiti the causative formative is attested as /-cuk-/ which is infixed in between the stem of the principal verb and the auxiliary, as in /tu laha coruk/the child is doing work (Affirmative): /kho tu-na laha co-cuk-tok/he is getting the work done from the child. Similarly, /go-ce/to laugh :/go-cuk-ce/to make to laugh; /se-je/ to dance: /se-cuk-ce/ to make to dance; /thi-ce/to write : /thi-cuk-ce/to make to write, etc.

The causative formatives in Nyamkad are- /cuk/ and /zok/ (/cuk/ in the dialect of Namgya and /zuk/ in the dialects of Pooh division). In this type of constructions all morphological markers are taken by the causative formative root which means 'to give' or 'to do'. Besides,

the above noted causative formative verbal elements, this dialect also takes particles like /to/, /do/, /ro/, (all occurring in complementary distribution), which are infixed in between the stem of the main verb and the causative formative auxiliary, as in /god-ca/to laugh: /god-to-cuk-ca/to make to laugh; /ñal-ja/to sleep:/ñal-do-cuk-ca/to make to sleep; /ce-/to dance : /ce-ro-cuk-ce/to make to dance, etc.

/kho laha phetok/he is doing work, but

/kho laha pheto-k-cok/he is getting the work done.

/khoso ram la duñ sun/he beats/strikes Ram.

/khoso ram-la duñ-do-cok-sun/he gets Ram beaten (by.....)

Like Spitian, Tod too employs the causative formative /cuk/which is followed by the verb /tan-ce/to give, which also carries all morphological elements under reference, e.g. /co-/to do: /co-cuk-tan-/to make to do, /di-/to write: /di-cuk-tan-/to get written, /thun-/to drink:/thun-cuk-tan-/to give to drink: /khoi peca siru/he is reading (a) book, but /khoi peca sil-cuk-tan-du/he is getting the book read (by.....)

(3) Change of Mode of Expression: Besides the above, the causative sense of an expression is also obtained by changing the causative mode of expression into a non-causative one, i.e. by employing the finite form of a verb denotative of the meaning 'to do, to make, to give, to cause' etc. and by placing the main verb in verbal noun form. Consequently, remodelling the causative statements like -'he is getting the work done' or 'the mother makes the child drink milk' etc., as 'he is asking the child to do work' or 'the mother gives milk to the child (to drink)', etc. This mode of expression of some of the these languages may be illustrated as under:

Kinnauri employs the verb root /šc-/ </šennig/to cause, to put, etc., to affect the causative mode of expression which follows the verbal noun base of the main verb and carries all grammatical categories of the finite verb form, e.g. /lan-/to do: /lanim šennig/to make to do; /za-/ to eat:/zam šennig/to feed; /ci-/to wash:/ cim šennig/ to make to wash, etc.

In Chhitkuli caustive forms are obtained by infixing /ma/ < /man/ in between the stem of the main verb and the aux. 'to be', e.g. /tuñ-/to/he drinks: /tuñ-ma-to/he makes (someone else) to drink; /lato/he is doing work = working: /lat-ma-to/getting work done, as in /hoyo kamāñ lato/he is doing work: /hoyo äccāñ daci kamāñ lat-ma-to/he is getting work done from the child.

/aci kherāñ tun-ta/children drink milk;

/ama äccāñ kherāñ tun-ma-to/mother making children drink milk.

Besides /ma/, it also employs the verbal element /si-/ the same one which is attested as /še-/ in Kinnauri. It is infixated in between the stem of the main verb and the formative element /ma/, e.g. /ruñ-/to listen: /ruñ-si-ma/to make to listen; /za-/to eat: /za-si-ma/to cause to eat, to feed; /huš-/to read: /huš-si-ma/to make to read, to teach, etc.

In Pattani causativization is affected by the verb /lhäi/to do, to make, which as in Kin. follows the infinitive/verbal noun base of the main verb and carries all morphological categories, e.g. /häpi/to bring: /häpi lhäi/to make some one else to bring, /šulzi/to wash: /šulzi lhäi/to make some one to wash, to get washed; /lhazi/to do: /lhazi lhäi/to get done, to cause to be done: /kaṭu kām leki to/the child is doing work; but /doi kaṭu dorci kām lhäi läza/he is getting work done from the child.

As in Pattani, in Tinani the causative sense is affected with the verb /läzi/to do, e.g. /ceci/to write :/ceci läzi/to get written; /kuci/to speak:/kuci läzi/to make to speak;/wäpi/to laugh: /wäpi läzi/to make to laugh. etc.

In Gari the causative sense is affected with the verb /da-/to give' which follows the infinitive base of the main verb, e.g. /sodde/to sit: /sodde daca/to make to sit; /ligca/to do: /ligca daca/to make to do; /thäzu buca-rog len ligca dacare/he gets work done from the child (lit. he gives to the child work to do), /tälzi cici-rog inzi yatoi phos cakca dacare/he gets the child washed his friend's clothes, /tälzi cemed-tog yatoi bontheg zamin likca dacare/he is getting prepared food for his friend through the girl.

Similar to Gari, Jad, the Tibetan dialect of Garhwal, too employs the verb /te-/ 'to give' and /lab-/ 'to say' to affect the causative expression of a non-causative verb, e.g. /tuñ-/ to drink: /tuñja te-/to make to drink (lit.) to give to drink; /za-/to eat:/zaja te-/ to give to eat=to feed, /be-/to do: /beja läb-/to say to do: /di laha bejok/he is doing work; but /di tu-na laha beja läbok/he asks the child to do work.

Dialects of the Rangkas group too follow the above mode of causative expressions. In them the verb root employed for this purpose is /phun/~ /phun~/~hin-/ 'to do'. Which carries morphological markers as well and the intermediary agent is followed by the ablative marker postposition /jo/ 'from', e.g. (Dar.) /syänu län ga-da/ (the) child is doing work; /u syänu-jo län ga-phun-da/he gets the work done from (by) the child. Similarly, Chaudangsi-Byangsi—/za-/to eat: /zaphin-/ to make to eat, /syuñ-/ to do: /syuñ phun-/to make to do; /tuñ-/to drink: /tuñ phin-/ to make to drink:

/usä län syuñ-to/he is doing work, but

/usä syändä-jo län syuñ phunta/he gets the work done from (by) the child.

Besides the above modes of causativization, some of these tongues follow some other modes as well, e.g. in the dialects of Lahul a causative expression is rendered as non-causative, i.e. as simple indicative. Accordingly, causative expressions like 'makes to drink', 'causes to eat' or feeds etc. are rendered as 'gives food', 'gives water/milk' etc., as in (Patt.-Tin.)- /katu bägät zäwa/child eats food: /doi katu bägät rändra-räntra/ he gives food to the child—he make the child eat; /tuñ-/to drink, but /soti randra/to give water =make to drink water, /panu rantra/ gives milk.

This type of causative constructions are attested in Gari as well, e.g. /za-/to eat: /zamin daca/to give food = to feed; /tuñ-/to drink: /soti daca/to give water = to make drink. /ama cici-zog mama dacare/mother gives breast-milk to the child=makes the child drink breast milk, etc.

NEGATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

The languages of the T.H. group, from the point of conjugation, manifest certain features of differences in respect of their affirmative and negative conjugations, i.e. the presence of the negative particle brings about certain structural and morphophonemic changes in the affirmative structure of verb forms, particularly in non-past tenses. The changes are noticeable in 4 ways, viz. (1) elision of the aux., (2) elision of morphological terminations, (3) contraction of the aux., and (4) replacement. All these features from the speeches under consideration may be presented as under:

(1) *Elision of Aux.* : This feature is primarily attested in non-past tenses in the speeches of Himachal Pradesh, both Tibetan and Himalayan, e.g. (Kin.) - /do zao du/he is eating, but /do zao män/(Neg.); /do za-to/he will eat, but /do mäza/he will not eat; /gä ketog/ I will give, but /gä mäkek/I will not give, etc.

However, in case of past tense there is no change whatsoever, e.g. /gä bea tok /I went : /gä bea mätok/I did not go. In other tenses too no structural change takes place if the formation is a synthetic one, e.g. /do keo/he gives: /mä keo/doe not give; /kä zara/you will eat: /mä zara/ will not eat.

Examples of elision of the aux. from other speeches are -

- Patt. - /ge yog/I will go : /meg/will not go,
/du äpoto/he can come : /api-märto/ (Neg.).
- Tin. - /ge rän-tog/I will give : /mä rän/ (Neg.),
/doi ibi täpə/he can come : /ibi märc/ (Neg.).
- Gar. - /gi el-teg/I will go : /mägya/will not go,
/gi za-teg/I will eat : /mäzo/will not eat.

But as in Kin. in Gari too, there is no change in the past tense forms, as in /gi elad/I went : /me elad/ did not go; /gi zagcg/I ate : /mä zageg/did not eat.

- Kan. - /a kamän he-ši-ke/my work has become;
/känk kamän mo-sike/your work has not become.

The phenomenon of elision of the aux. in the negative conjugation is equally operative in the speeches of the Tibetan group as well, for instance,

- Sp. - /ram tu nhasin hinok/Ram is a good boy :
/ram tu nhasin mak/Ram is not a good boy.
- Nyam. - /mañ peza zik hot/I have a book :
/mañ peza met/I do not have a book.
/cikpo hin/is alone: /cikpo met/ (Neg.).
- Jad. - /ñala togro tak/I am feeling hungry :
/ña la togro mak/ (Neg.).
- Tod - /kho iru yod/he is here : /kho iru mino/ (Neg.)
/ram tu to/Ram is a boy : /ram tu mäna/ (Neg.).

(2) *Elision of Morphological Formatives*: The phenomenon of the elision of morphological terminations is attested in the Himalayan speeches of Lahul, e.g. (Patt.)-/di panu šud/this is milk, but /mäšu/ (Neg.); (Tin.)-/ram niši yoca šud/Ram is a good boy, but /mäšu/ (Neg.); (Sp.)-/kho yon-na-k/he will come; but /yon-ma-k/ (Neg.); /ña dwan/I will come : /miđo/ (Neg.).

(3) *Contraction*: The phenomenon of contraction is not a common feature. It is attested in a few speeches only, e.g. (Gar.)-/the gi-i kyum hen/this is my house, but /kyum men/ (Neg.); (Sp.)-/hinok/is : /mak/ is not. (Nyam.)-/hot/is : /met/ is not.

(4) *Replacement*: Besides the above, in a few cases the phenomenon of suppletivism also takes place in imp. negative formations, e.g. (Jad.) -/kae/give, but /mä tet/don't give; /ce-e/do:/mä bet/ don't do; (Sp.)- /son/go: /ma dro-/don't go; (Nyam.)-/ma do/id. (Tod.)-/i phäl zo/

eat this fruit : /mäza/don't eat. /dug/ is : /mäna/is not, /yod/is : /meno/ is 'not, etc.

But, synchronically, the speeches of the Rangkas group have lost this inherent feature of the pronominalized languages of the Himalayan group. Consequently, now, there exists no distinction between the negative and affirmative systems, eg. (Dar.)- /dandi/I shall give: /mä dandi/(Neg.); /zasu/ate:/ma zasu/did not eat; (Chaud.)-/dayän/will give: /mä dayän/ (Neg.); /zasä/ate; /mä zasä/ (Neg.); (Mar.)-/gyän/ I will go: /mä gyän/ (Neg.).

But in earlier times this system was operative in these speeches too is evident from an example of the extinct speech, Johari, recorded by Pandey (1937: 635), as in /u ran-ni hini/he wants to come; but /u ran-ni mä niši/(Neg.). In the absence of the availability of older text no more examples could be attested.

Infixation of Negative Particle

Structurally, there is a marked difference between the Tibetan and Himalayan speeches about the placement of the negative particle in the verb structure. In the speeches of the Himalayan group it, as in I.A. speeches, precedes the verb form, but in the speeches of the Tibetan group it is infixed in between the verb stem and the formative elements, e.g. (Sp.) -/kho yonka-k/he will come, but /yonka-ma-k/will not come; /leha d̥ub-son/the work is done, but /d̥ub-ma-son/ (Neg.); (Nyam.)-/ongu-chod kanok/can come, but /ongu-mc-chod kanok/ (Neg.); /silgu chod kanok/ can read, but /silgu chod mc kanok/ (Neg.); (Tod.)-/kho yuāna/he will come, but /yuā-ma-na/will not come; /cha-na/will go, but /cha-ma-na/ (Neg.); (Jad.)-/na benu/I can do, but /be-mc-nu/ (Neg.).

Among the speeches of the Himalayan group the phenomenon of infixation has been attested in Chhit. only. There it is, however, placed in between the inflectional base of the main verb and the aux., as in /toa-to/is coming; /toa-ma-to/is not coming; /äsi-to/ is done : /äsi-ma to/is not done; etc.

REFLEXIVE SUB-SYSTEM

Reflexive conjugation in which the doer of the action himself is the object of it is a prominent feature of the conjugational system of Munda languages and forms a part of the pronominalized Himalayan speeches too. But in the languages of this group there are only a few in which this feature has survived now. The prominent of these are Kin. and Chhit. in the western group and Chaud. and Raji in the Eastern

group. Under this system the verbal conjugation is partially different from the affirmative system and is affected through different sets of formative suffixes, though no patternization could be done due to lack of sufficient data at our disposal. Examples of this feature noted for the above mentioned speeches are as under:

Chhit. - /yo äcän thac/he beats the child, but/yo yeo thaca/he beats himself; /yo morin tin kolcš/he looks at the girl, but /yo yeo tin kolesänca/he looks at himself; /kän ai nuksan phEya/you are harming me, but/kän käo nuksan phEyata/you are harming yourself.

In Kin. it is affected by infixing the formative /-ši/ in between the verb root and personal terminations and is identical with the reciprocal formative. But syntactically and structurally too, it differs from the latter. For, in it the subject of the verb, as is normal in the case of a transitive verb, is not put in the ergative case, but remains in the nominative case; secondly as a part of the pronominalized conjugation it occupies the place of the object in the verb form. The few examples of it available to us are as follows: /gä ten-ši-tog/I am beating myself, otherwise/gäs ton-co-tog/I am beating you. Similarly, /kä ton-so-ton/thou strikest thyself; otherwise /käton-co-ton/you strike me.

Raji seems to have maintained this as a regular feature of its verbal system. In it, it is affected by suffixing the the causative suffix /-aw-/ to the reduplicated base of the verb root, e.g. /ce'p/to see > /ce'paw-/to show>/ci-ce'paw/to make oneself seen; /hänu/to strike > /hänaw/to make others to strike>/hä-hänaw/to strike oneself or to get oneself beaten; /kalt-/to sell>/kaltaw/to make to sell>/kä-kaltaw/to get oneself sold.

Among the speeches of the eastern pronominalized Himalayan group this feature of conjugational system has, synchronically, totally disappeared from them. But there are traces of it in the speech of Chaudangs and Byangs which indicate that formerly it too was a part of their conjugational system and was affected by suffixing /si/ - which is identical with the transitivizing suffix, to the verb root, strangely it shows a close affinity with the suffix in Kin. as well. e.g. /cya-/to hide, to conceal, but /cya-si-/to hide oneself; /lo-/to shake, to swing /lo-si/ to shake, to swing oneself, etc.

RECIPROCAL SUB-SYSTEM

This system too is a prominent feature of Munda languages and forms a part of the verbal conjugation of all the pronominalized speeches. But most of the pronominalized speeches of the Himalayan group, under

consideration, have lost this feature now. In our present study we could note its existence in Kin. and Raji only. In Kin. it is affected by suffixing /-ši-/ and /-ci-/ to the verb root, as in /khya-mig/to see : /khya-ci-mig/ to see one another; /chuk-mig/to meet : /chuk-ši-mig/to meet one another, /ton-mig/to beat, to strike : /ton-ši-mig/to strike each other.

Raji has perfectly maintained this system of expressing the sense of reciprocity of an action. There the reciprocal base of the verb in question is obtained by infixing /-ä-/ in between the components of the verb stem, as in /hänu/to strike /hä-ä-nu/to strike each other; /bäyā/to give; /bä-ä-yā/to give to one another.

INTEROGATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

The verbal conjugation of the speeches of the T.H. group, like negative sub-system has a distinct interrogative sub-system as well. Under this system any affirmative form of a verb can be transformed into its interrogative form simply by suffixing certain interrogative formatives, irrespective of the use of interrogative particles, which roughly conveys the sense of English terms like 'if?', 'whether?' or various forms of the verbs 'to be' or 'to have', should, may, etc. at the beginning of the sentence. Moreover, this suffixed use of the interrogative formatives takes place particularly when short answers like 'yes' and 'no' are expected in response to the enquiry in question.

Different speeches have their own preferences and patterns of these suffixes. In some speeches the number of these suffixal morphemes is more than one, which in some cases occur in free variation and in some in complementary distribution, and in others it is one only. For instance, in the speeches of Spiti and Namgya the 2 basic morphemes of this class have as many as 5 allomorphs occurring in their respective phonetic and morphological environments. (For distribution see S.T.H.L. Vol. II. Pt. II pp 69-70; 167).

From the point of suffixal forms all the speeches under consideration can be grouped into three main groups, i.e. group-A consists of all the speeches of Himachal Pradesh, except Gari; Group-B consists of Gari and Chaudangsi-Byangsi and Group-C, all other speeches of Uttarakhand. The most commonly used interrogative suffix in the speeches of the group 'A' is /a/ which in certain cases is attested with consonantal onsets as /pa/, /ka~ga/ and /ca/ which are accompanied with interro. intonation as well. e.g. In Kin., Patt. and Tin. the suffix /a/ has 2 allomorphs, viz. /ka~ga/ and /ca/ which are used with the sg. and pl. forms of the 1st person subject only, e.g. (Kin.) - /ketok/ I will

give, but /ketok-a/should, may I give ?, /zao du/he is eating, but /zao du-a/is he eating?; /za-o dun-a/ are you eating?, /khyan/ you saw, but /khyana/did you see? have you seen?; etc. But it is attested as /ka~ga/ (sg.) and /ca/ (pl.) when directly suffixed to the root of a verb ending in a vowel, as in /bi-ka/ can, may I go ?, /bi-ca/ may we go? ; Similarly, /za-ka/ : /zaca/eat? /khya-ka/ : /kya-ca/....see?, etc. (Pau., Tin.) /i-ga/may, if I can go?, /i-ca/if we can go?, /ä-ka/:/äca/if....come?, etc. (Tin.) /rān-ga/ should I give? </rāndri/to give, (Chhit.)-/kin kimo ro-a/are you going home?, /da-s-a/may I give?.

However, in the speeches of the Tibetan group of H.P. the interrogative suffix /a/, as in Tamil, is quite regular, e.g. (Sp.) /thon-a/will you drink?, /sa-a/ would you like to eat?, may I, we eat?, /hopi ta märpo nokpa/is that horse red?, (Nyam.)- /ñet mañ ta huā/did you see me?, /na do-ya/may, if I can go ?, (Tod.)-/kho khoe aco hin-a/is he your elder brother?. /khodañ iru soñ-a/did he come here yesterday?

The interrogative marker in the languages belonging to group - 'B' is /a/ which is accompanied with the interrogative intonation as well, e.g. (Gar.)-/zai la/ should, may I eat?, /liki-la/....do ?, /bri-i-la/write?, /kyorgi-la/.....dance?, /data la/will he give? etc. (Chaud.)-/gān kážza-la/have you eaten?, /āti rasā-la/if he can come?, will he come?, /je ramā-la/can, should I come, etc.

The interro. formative suffixes in the speeches of Uttarakhand, including Jad, but excluding Mar., are attested as /ma/ and /mu/, which is identical with infinitive markers as well in the Rangkas group. e.g. (Dar.)-/za-mu/may, should I, we eat?, /ra-mu/. . . come?, /de mu/ . . . go?, /gam-mu/. . . do ?, etc., (Chaud.) besides the above -/ za-mā/ . . . eat?, /tuñ-mā/ . . . drink?, /de-mā/. . . go ?, etc. (Jad.)-/be-ja-byä-ja-ma/. . . drink? etc.

But in Mar., which otherwise belongs to the Rangkas group, it is attested as /ku/, as in /ge di-ku/may, if I can go?, /tuñ-ku/. . .drink?, /dha-ku/. . . give?, /rha-ku/come? etc.

In Raji it is expressed with mere intonation added to the final syllable of the finite verb form, as in/bhatt kE-jani ↑ /have you eaten rice?, /ni:k ci-ku-nE ↑ /are you alright?

MOODS AND MODAL CONJUGATIONS

Modal conjugation, in general, deals with the inflectional forms of a verb indicating the manner of action, i.e. whether it is happening, has happened, is expected to happen or is being ordered to be done or is dependent on fulfilling some condition in future. As such these

verbal forms are employed to express particular moods or mental states of the speaker for a particular point of time only. There are varied attitudes and mental states which fell into the purview of polite command, permission (seeking and giving); entreaty, desire, advice, obligation, compulsion, probability, presumption, determination, necessity, benediction, capability, etc.

The languages of the T.H. groups, generally, recognize three moods, viz. indicative, Imperative and subjunctive with further divisions and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the indicative mood have already been dealt with at length in the foregoing pages. Now, in the following pages we shall discuss the various forms and functions of remaining two moods.

IMPERATIVE MOOD

Various modes of expressions, pertaining to an order, a polite command, a request or entreaty, enquiry, a warning or prohibition, etc. are expressed with the forms of this mood. Thus it has two aspects, (1) positive and (2) negative, the former being termed as simple and the latter prohibitive. Naturally, in this type of expressions the subject is invariably in the second person and is usually left out in a colloquial speech. Moreover, by its very nature the Imperative can not refer to past events. Consequently, its use is restricted to the present and future times only, usually termed as direct and indirect imperatives. But the speeches under consideration do not favour the use of future imperative as we find it in I.A. speeches. In them it is mostly expressed with simple future tense forms of the verb concerned.

Moreover, in most of the tongues of this group there are distinct forms for honorific (polite) and non-honorific (ordinary) command. In some it is indicated by the use of distinct stems and in some by means of distinct suffixes. Moreover, in the speeches having a 3 number system these are inflected for all the three numbers and in others for the singular and plural, though in three number system too, normally, the dual and the plural have identical forms. In the speeches of the Tibetan group, however, as in the indicative mood in this too, the verb forms are not inflected for numbers.

Inflectional Base: Although in most of the tongues the verb root itself serves as inflectional base for imperative forms, yet there are speeches in which it is formed on some other bases as well. For instance, in the pronominalized tongues of Lahul, viz. Pattani and Tinani, Gari imperative forms in many cases are obtained from their past tense bases,

e.g. (Patt.) - /ibi/to go > /ila/go; /äpi/to come > /änta/come; /häpi/to bring > /häta/ bring; /kuṭri/to say > /kuṛu/say; (Gar.)-/ya-/to go > /ela/go (sg.): /clani/ (pl.), etc. Similarly, in Tibetan dialects of Lahul and Spiti in some cases the imperative forms are identical with past tense forms, e.g. (Sp.) Nyam; Tod) /do/to go > /son/go, (Nyam.)-/phed-/to do>chi/do.

Dichotomy of Honorific and Non-Honorific Stems

There are enough instances from both the groups, though quite regular in Tibetan group only, that in these tongues distinct verbal stems are employed for honorific and non-honorific (ordinary) forms. In most of the Himalayan dialects, however, the polite (honorific) sense is expressed with plural forms of the ordinary imperative itself. In the Tibetan dialects too, in many instances the polite forms seem to have taken the place of ordinary forms as well. (See *infra*, Suppletivism). Here we shall illustrate this feature of the T.H. speeches with a few examples from Tod and Nyamkad.

(Nyam.)	Ordinary	Hon.	Ordi.	Hon.
	go /do-/	/kyod-/	see /ta-/	/ta-rok-chi/
	come/skyok-/	/khyot/	eat /sa-/	/chyod-/
	sit /dod-/	/zok-/	do /chi-/	/phet-/,-rok-chi/
	drink /thuṅ/	/chod-/	sleep /ñal/	/zim-/
(Tod)	go /son/	/phep/	drink /thuṅ-/	/don-/

/kho-la sa-ro-chuk/let him eat (ord.)

/khon-la chyot-to-chuk/let him eat (hon.)

(Also see, Hon. Sub-system)

In the dialects of the Himalayan group, however, this distinction is indicated in two ways, (1) by means of honorific suffixes, (2) by plural forms. The former method is attested in the pronominalized speeches of Himachal Pradesh and the latter in the T.H. dialects of Uttarākhand; e.g.

(Patt.) - /ill/go : /ilaši/you (two) go: /ilañi/you (pl. & hon.) go

(Tin.) - /ila/go (sg.) /ilaci/go (du. & pl.); /ilañi/ (Hon.)

(Chhit.) - /tuṅ/drink (sg.):/tuñi/drink (pl. & hon.).

(Kan.) - /bunt/go (sg.): /buṅ-š/go (hon.); /bun-šeš/ (hon.).

(Kin.) - /bi-u/go (ord.): /biñ/go (hon.); /zao/eat (ord.): /zañ/ (hon.).

In Gari it is expressed with the employment of honorific pronominal

stem itself, e.g. /hän ela/you (sg.)go (ord.): /ini ela/ (hon.) /hänzi elani/you (pl.)go: /inizi elani/ (hon.).

The mechanism operative in the formation of imperative forms in different speeches of the T.H. group may be termed as (1) simple, (2) intensive/compounded, (3) suppletive, conditioned by different phonetic and semantic environments.

Simple: These forms are obtained in two ways, (1) bare stem, i.e. devoid of any formative (2) with formative suffixes. The use of bare stem as imperative singular with some or all verbs of the speech is attested almost in all speeches of this group, e.g.

- (Kin.) - /lan/do, /toš/sit, /tuñ/drink, /pid/ close, etc.
 (Chhit.) - /tuñ/drink; /riñ/speak; /za/eat; /tañ/see; etc.
 (Kan.) - /rañ/give; /tuñ/drink; /naš/sit; /kañ/bring;
 (Patt.) - /jo/come, /to/sit;
 (Gar.) - /da/give, /za/eat, /ra/come,
 (Tod) - /toñ/give, /tuñ/drink, /tod/sit, /yoñ/come.
 (Sp.) - /god/laugh, /dod/sit, /tuñ/drink.
 (Nyam.) - /soñ/go, /so/eat; /tod/give, /ched~phed/do.
 (Mar.) - /di/go, /tuñ/drink, /kañ/~tañ/see.
 (Dar.) - /ga/do, /za/eat, /de/go, /da/give, /yo/come.
 (Chaud.) - /de/go, /tuñ/drink, /za/eat, /ra/come, /da/give.
 (Johari) - /rha/ bring, /di/go, /yo/come, /da/give.
 (Raji) - /ja/eat, /tuñ/ drink, /lo/come, /ce'p/see

Suffixal: The mechanism of suffixation of imperative formatives for ordinary and honorific forms of a verb is primarily attested in the speeches of the Himalayan groups. The speeches of the Tibetan groups, normally, do not favour employment of imp. suffixes. Some of these may be illustrated as follows:

Generally, the formative suffixes employed by the speeches of the western Himalayan group are—/a, -o, u/ suffixed to the verb roots. The personal terminations for the non-singular numbers and hon. expression are the same as have been pointed out for indicative mood (See table 10), e.g. (Kin.) -/bi-u/ > /byu/go; /khya-o/see; /za-o/eat; /tuñic/drink (hon.) /tošiñ/sit (hon.); (Patt. & Tin.)- /räü/give, /kuřu/say; /zo-u/sit; /häta/ bring, /änta/come, /lä-ci/do (du. & pl.), etc. (Chhit.) - /de-a/ come (sg.): /deñi/come (pl. & hon.); /za:/ < /za-a/eat : /zani (pl.); (Kan.) - /za-u/cat, /la-u/put on; /buñ-t/go (sg.): /buñš~buñšeš/(hon., pl.), /rattä/give; (Gar.) - /za:/ < /za-a/eat (sg.) : /za-ni/ eat (pl. & hon.); /da/ give (sg.) : /dani/ (pl.)

In the speeches of the Rangkas group the imp. formative suffixes are generally attested as /-a, -i/ for the sg. and /-ni/ for the pl. However, the suffix /-a/ with stems ending in the vowel /a/, is coalesced with the stem vowel, e.g. (Dar.) - /ga/ do (sg.): /ga-ni/ (pl.); /da/give (sg.): /da-ni/ (pl.); /tuna/drink (sg.): /tuñ-ni/ (pl.); (Chaud.)- /za/eat (sg.): /za-ni/ (pl.); /ra/ : /rani/ come; /da/: /da-ni/give, etc. In the LSI, however, the suffix /a/ has been recorded as /-ya/ as in (Dar.)-/ca-ya/but; /gatyā/ make; (Chaud.) -/da-ya/give, /gwi-ya~giyo/bind; /syuñ-ya/do. Besides a few compound suffixes too have been recorded for Chaud. e.g. /go-g-ne/eat (=eating be); /di-g-ne/go (=going be), etc. Grierson's record also manifests that about a century back imperative formative suffixes like /-ti~-te/ also were current in these speeches, e.g. (Chaud. & Dar.) -/da-ti/give; (Johari)-/da-te/ give; /ta-te/put on; /ga-te/do, etc. The imp. suffix /-i/ in Mar. also seems to be remnant of the suffix /-ti/, as in /di:/ </di-i/ go: /di-na/ (pl.); /zE/ < /za-i/eat (sg.), /za-ni/ (pl.). /dhE/ < /dha-i/give; /dani/ (pl.), /kuc-i/sleep (sg.): /kuci-ni/ (pl.). In Raji too the suffixes are attested as /-i/ (sg.) and /ni/ (pl.)-/ghE/ < /ghä-i/do; /khE/say, /chwE/sit, etc.

Indirect Imperative: There is another type of imperative in which the commanded action is directed towards a 3rd person and the 2nd person acting as proxy to the speaker. It is affected with the help of aux. roughly conveying the sense of the English term 'let'. In these constructions all morphological categories are appended to the subsidiary conveying the sense of 'let'. Different speeches have their own preferences in employing the relevant subsidiary, as it may be current in it.

It being a part of normal verbal communication is attested in a more or less degree in almost all the speeches under consideration. However, in the speeches of the Tibetan group this feature was attested, in our data, for Sp. and Nyam. only, but its prevalence in others can not altogether be denied. Examples of this pattern of imp. construction from all the speeches of this group may be presented as follows:

(Sp.) - /do cuk/let go (=Hindi-*jane do*); (Nyam.)-/do-ro-cuk/id; /ched-do-cuk/let do (=H. *Kärne do*); /sa-ro-cuk/let eat (Hi. *khane do*); (Kin.)-/bimsec/let him go (ord.): /bimseñ/(hon.); (Patt.-Tin.)- /ibi räü/, /ibi rängu/; (Tin.) let go; (Chhit.) -/phed deñi/let go (hon.); /let mañi/let do (hon.); (Dar.) -/die läntani/let go (hon.).

Intensive Imperative: The forcefulness or intensivity of a command is usually expressed with compound verbs. In this type of constructions it is the subsidiary constituent that takes the person-number marker, if any, and the principal verb is always in its infinitive/verbal noun

form. In the speeches of the Tibetan group, however, the subsidiary too has an indeclinable form, e.g. (Sp.)-/coi cuk~coi chär/do (=Hindi-*kär dalo*); /thunchär/drink down; /phuton/leave, let remain (Hindi-*chor do*); (Nyam.)-/tañ go/give (H. *de do*); /khur šok/bring (H. *le ao*); (Kin.)-/lanseñ/do (hon.) (=H. *kär do*); (Patt.) -/he keu/id.; /bänzi räü/leave, let remain (=H. *rähne do*); (Tin.)-/änco ila/go away; /läke cärtu/do away (hon.), (Gar.)-/ligti rado/id., (Chhit.)- /läti pheñi/do away (hon.) (=H. *kär dijie*); (Kan.) -/chud ke/bind (=H. *bādh do*); /ke säg/give (=H. *kär dijie*); (Kan.)-/chud ke/bind (=H. *bādh do*); /ke säg/give (=H. *de dalo*); (Mar.)-/kuci dhE/~kuci de/ sleep (=so *ja*); /hunci dhE/sit (=H. *bEñh ja*); (Dar.)-/syoñ sin/ sit down;

Suppletivism: In almost all the speeches under consideration it has been noted that the primary verb stem is replaced by some other stem in imperative forms. In some cases this replacement is for all numbers and in some for plural number only. In the latter case the replaced term stands for the honorific term as well. Some of the examples attested in our data are-

- Kin. - /bän-/to come → /zen-/come (hon.)
 Patt.-Tin. /ibi/to go → /ila/go (sg.) /ilaci/go (du. & pl.) /ilañi/go (hon.);
 /äpi/to come → /äta/~/änta/ come.
 Gar. - /ya-/to go → /ela/go (sg.): /elani/go (pl.)
 Tod - /cha/to go → /soñ/go (imp.)
 Sp. - /yoñ/to come → /skyot/ ~/šyok/come; /do/to go → /soñ/go;
 /de/to sit → /ju/sit
 Nyam. - /chi/to do → /phed~ched/do;
 /do/to go → /soñ/go; /oñ/to come → /šyok/come.
 Jad - /bet-/to do → /ce-e/do; /tet/ to give → /thod/~ka-c/ give;
 /läb-/to say → /thon/say.
 Dar. - /ra-/to come → /yo/come (sg.): /yoni/come (pl.)
 In Gahri and Marchha the phenomenon of replacement is attested in plural forms only, e.g.
 Gari - /ra-/to come → /ra/come (sg.): → /gwañi/come (pl.).
 /elde/to go /ela/go (sg.): → /grela/go (pl.)
 Mar. - /kan-/to see → /kan/see (sg.): → /tañ-na/sce (pl.)

In Tod and Jad besides the phenomenon of the replacement of the basic stem, in some cases replacement of stem vowel is also attested, e.g. (Tod) -/za-/to eat → /zo/ eat, /tañ/to give → /ton/give, etc. (Jad) -/sa/to eat → /so/ eat. It has already been pointed out earlier that in the tongues of the Tibetan group the imperative forms are not marked for numbers.

Prohibitive Imperative

The prohibitive or negative imperative is used to prohibit a person from executing the action concerned in the context of present and future times. In most of the tongues it is affected by prefixing the prohibitive particles, /thä/ or /ma/ to the simple imperative forms with necessary morphophonemic adjustments. It is /thä/ in the speeches of the Himalayan group, except in Chaudangsi & Johari, and /ma/ in the speeches of the Tibetan group and in the above mentioned two speeches of the Himalayan group. The prohibitive imperative construction from all the speeches under consideration may be illustrated as follows:

Himalayan group:

- Kin. - /thä za/don't eat; /thä lan/don't do; /thä tun/don't drink.
 Chhit. - /thä loci/don't forget, /thä tuni/don't drink.
 Kan. - /thä bošušes/don't forget; /thäzau/don't eat.
 Patt. & Tin. /thä nhacu/don't sit; /thänta/don't come, /thä-änta-ci/ don't come (pl.), /thela/don't go (sg.); /thelaci/don't go (pl.).
 Gar. - /the~thä thale/don't do it; /thara/non't come.
 Mar. - /thä di/don't go, /thä tun/don't drink.
 Dar. - /thä ga/don't do, /thä da/don't give,
 Chaud. - /mäde/don't go; /mäza/don't eat, /mätuñ/don't drink;
 Johari - /mäda/don't give, /mädi/don't go.
 Raji - The negative particle in Raji is /ta/, as in /taghE/ don't do, /ta gh'ä t/don't go, /ta rakoni/don't make noise (pl.)

Tibetan group:

- Sp. - /ma do/don't go, /ma zed/ don't forget.
 Nyam. - /ma son/don't go, /ma thun/don't drink.
 Tod - /mä za/don't eat, /mä cha/don't go, /mä son/don't go.
 Jad - /mä sa/don't eat, /mä bet/don't do, /mä thun/don't drink;

It may also be pointed out that in case of prohibitive imperative the basic stem of the verb is fully maintained both in Tod and Jad, i.e. it neither under-goes any phonetic change nor is replaced by another verb stem as we see in the case of simple imperative, e.g. (Tod) - /mä za/don't eat; /mä cha/don't go, otherwise /zo/eat, /son/go. Similarly, Jad-/mä sa/don't eat, /mä bet/don't do; /mä tet/don't give, otherwise-/so/ eat, /ce-e/do, /thod/~ka-e/give, etc.

Future Imperative

Normally, future imperative is not a marked category in these tongues, but there are a few Himalayan tongues in which it is indicated by suffixal formatives. For instance, in Kinnauri and Gari formative suffixes have been attested as /-ra/ (sg.): /rac/ (du. & pl.) : /rañ~riñ/ (hon.); e.g. (Kin.) - /bira/go (sg.): /birac/go (du.& pl.), /birañ~beriñ/go (hon.). Similarly /khyā-ra/ see, /kera/ give, etc. (Gar.)- /zora/sit, /kye-ra/beat, /pho-ra/ put on, /lo-ra/tell, etc.

In the Chaudangsi-Byangsi dialect of the Rangkas group the future imperative, as in Hindi, is identical with the infinitive form of the verb, as in /za-mo/ eat (fut.); /ya-mo/sleep; /chännäm äiko ramä mä losimo/ don't forget to come here tomorrow.

In all other speeches, generally, no distinction is made between the present and future imperative;

- Sp.* - /saela son/go (fut.) after taking meals, /homa thun la ñol/ sleep after drinking milk (fut.).
- Nyam.* - /omo thunzaso nōl/id;
- Chhit.* - /huyu šel laha ti tin tun/take (fut.) this medicine with hot water; /huyu phocānau da dec/give (fut.) these clothes to the father. /ti thā tuī/don't drink (fut.) water (hon.).
- Kan.* - /šel og ti-s zau/take (fut.) medicine with hot water; /ka did buñ-š/you go (fut.) there (hon.).
- Mar.* - /oru du rhäpāñ mä bisāre/don't forget to come here tomorrow, etc.

In the Tibetan tongues, however, the order referring to a 3rd person object is expressed with simple future tense forms of the verb in question. For instance, (Sp.) /yonak/he should come (lit. he will come); /thunak/he should drink (lit. he will drink).

Pronominalization: As in finite verb forms in imperative forms too the morphological feature of verbal pronominalization is attested in the Himalayan dialects of Himachal Pradesh. Synchronically, though this feature is not universally practised in all the speeches of this area, yet a few remnants attested in Gari, Chhitkuli and Kinnauri indicate that in the past this feature must had been quite common to all these tongues. The few examples of pronominal infixation and suffixation of the pron. elements that have come to our notice are as follows:

In Gari the consonantal element /-k-/ as a representative of the first person pronoun is infixed in between the verb stem and the imp.

formative suffix, e.g. /lia/do, but /liku/do for me, /daku/ > /da-u/give to me.

Similarly, in Chhitkuli the suffix /-c/ represents the second person pronoun in /ro-c/give (you), /de-c/come (you), /seac/see, /dac/give, /tun-c/drink, /keri-c/bring, /hoyo pyac seac/ (you) look at that bird, /kin ga-tiñ dešāñ pāc/you come along with me to the village.

In Kinnauri, the pronominal elements /-c, -ic/representing the 2nd person dual and plural and /ñ, iñ/honorific second person pronoun are a normal feature of imp. constructions. (For example see above, 'suffixal-formations').

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

As compared with other moods, the subjunctive mood has a wider range and involves a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as a wish, hope, requirement, probability, presumption, compulsion, enquiry, necessity, advice, suggestion, obligation, benediction, condition, etc. In short it represents "The action or state as a conception of the mind rather than a reality." Broadly all these aspects of verbal expressions can be grouped as (i) optative, (ii) potential (iii) contingent, though the area of one often overlaps with the area of the other. Their forms and functions in the various speeches under consideration may be presented as under:

(i) Optative

The operational jurisdiction of this mood is a polite command (=desirability), a request or entreaty, almost always with an implied reference to future having the semantic connotation like 'is necessary to.....', 'ought to be.....', 'ought to.....', 'is desirable.....', (should, may), etc. In almost all the languages of this group it is usually expressed with the help of some subsidiary verbs appended to the infinitive base of the main verb, e.g. in Patt. it is expressed with the help of the verb /junsi/ 'to wish, to desire', as in /känin dore ibi zunsi šu/you ought to go there or it was desirable that you should have gone there'. But in Tin. it is affected with /hinki/, as in /känin don hinki ibi šud/ id. Also /donin din ämpi hinki šud/he should come here, etc. Likewise the subsidiary employed in Gari is /guinsi/ 'to want, to wish' etc., as in /täldog khya rare guinsi henzi/id.

In the speeches of the Kinnar group it is affected by appending respective conjugated forms of the verb substantive or of /gya-/to wish, to desire, or both, to the infinitive/verbal noun base of the main verb,

e.g. (Kin.) - /kinu dān zārur bimu to ~bin gya /you must go there. /dopān hāzān ma bān gyamig to /he should not come here; /dopān hune byom gya /he should go just now, In Chhit. the conjugated forms of the verb sub. are directly appended to the verb root itself as in /kin h₂da zārur roṅ toc/you must go there; /yo h₂ya ma toṅ to /he should not come here. In Kan. it is expressed with imp. forms, as in /ka di:d buṅš/ you should go there (=you go there), /du jo bhurdi/he should come here, etc.

In the speeches of the eastern Himalayan group it is affected with the helping verb /ci-/ appended to the infinitive base of the main verb, e.g. (Dar.)-/u do ramu mācin/he should not come here, (Chaud.) - /u ra mācin/id; /gān dem cini/you ought to go. In Mar., however, the helping verb employed for this purpose is /gyoci/ 'is desirable' : /dhEry du mhā rhāpiṅ gyocii/ (it is advised that) he should not come here. /gāru do jārur dipān gyoci/ he should go there.

In the speeches of the Tibetan group it is mostly affected by appending respective conjugated forms of the verb sub-stantive appended to the participle base of the main verb, e.g. (Nyam.) - /doa nok/ought to go (=has to go); /oṅja ma-nok/ should not come. In Sp., however, a helping verb /gošc/ 'to want, to desire' is employed to express this sense which is appended to the infinitive base of the main verb and is also followed by the verb substantive, as in /khyot phiru kanamete doa goše yot/ you ought to go there, /khola iru ma yoṅ-na goše rak/ he should not come here.

In Tod the helping verb is attested as /goinla~gwēla/, as in /khorān khanpala cha gwēla na/he ought to go home. In Jad it is /do-/, as in /dila doru oṅja mawa dojen dok/he should not come here, but it is expressed with simple future imp. forms as well, as in /khola phero naḍhea/you should go there, etc. This form of expression is found in Patt. as well, as in/du yo-to/you should go (=you will go).

Expressions, involving entreaty or seeking permission by the speaker for oneself to perform an action under reference which roughly conveys the sense of English idiom 'may I/we ?' or 'should I/we ?' etc. too is a subject of the subjunctive optative mood. In languages under consideration it is affected by suffixing interrogative suffixes, accompanied with interrogative intonation, to the verb root concerned. With regard to these formative suffixes/particles a notable converging point is this that in all of them the final vowel is /a/, may be singly or with some consonant, as favoured by the speech concerned, except a few exceptions. This may be illustrated as follows:

In the languages of the western Himalayan group, the formative suffix is attested as /a/, /ka/, /ga/, /ca/ & /i-ñia/. It is simply /a/ in Chhit. and Kan. e.g. /tuñ-a/may I, we drink?, /das-a/may . . . give?, /lat-a/may . . . do?, /buñ-a/may/should . . . go?. In Kin., however, it is attested as /ka/ in the sg. and /ca/ in the pl., e.g. /bi-ka/may I go?, /bi-ca/may, should we go?. Similarly, /za-ka/ (sg.) : /za-ca/ (pl.) . . . eat ? /khyaka/ (sg.) : /khyaca/ (pl.) . . . see ?.

As in Kin. in Patt. and Tin. too these suffixes with personal terminations are attested as /-ka, -ga/in the sg. and /šiu/indu., /ñia/in the pl., e.g. /ibi/ to go; /i-ga/ may I go?, /išia/may we (2) go ?, /i-ñia/ may we go?. But these twine dialects of Lahul manifest a notable distinction in respect of their verbal bases, i.e. in Patt. the formatives are affixed to the verb root itself, as in above examples, but in Tin. these are affixed to the imp. base, as in /il-šia/ (du.), /il-ñia/ (pl.); /āmpi/to come (Patt.)-/āka/, (Tin.)-/ānka/should I come?;/ku-ga/may I tell ? : /ku-ši-a/ (du.): /ku-ñi-a/ (pl.)etc. In Gari the formative elements are - /-i/, /-ki/ /-gi/ which are further strengthened with the particle /la/, the pure vowel occurring with roots ending in a vowel and those with consonantal elements occurring with roots ending in a consonant, e.g. /za-ila/should /may I eat ?, /e-i-la/ . . . go ?, /kan-gila/ . . . see ?, /kyor-gi-la/ . . . dance?, /li-ki-la/may I, we do ? etc.

In the speeches of the Rangkas group it is affected by appending the infinitive formative particles /ma/ (Chaud.); /mu/ (Dar.) and /ku/ (Mar.) to the verb roots with a accompanying interrogative intonation, e.g. (Chaud.)- /za-ma/may, should I, we eat?, /tuñ-ma/ . . . drink?, /de-ma/ . . . go?, (Dar.)- /ra-mu/ . . . come ?, /de-mu/ . . . go?, /ga-mu/ . . . do ?, /za-mu/ . . . eat ?, (Mar.)- /di-ku/ . . . go ?, /rhu-ku/ . . . come ?, /zä-ku/ . . . eat ? etc. No data could be available for Johari and Raji dialects of this group.

In the speeches of the Tibetan group it, however, as in the eastern group, is affected simply by adding interrogative intonation to the infinitive base of the verb under reference, e.g. (Sp.) - /yoñ-je/ may I we come? , /thuñ-je/ . . . drink ?, (Nyam.)- /phet-ca/ . . . do ?, /thuñ-ja/ . . . drink ?, /do-a/ > /do-ya/ . . . go ?, /sa-ya/ eat?, etc. In Jad, may be under the influence of the speeches of the Rangkas group the particle /ma/ is added to this base, as in /te-ja ma/ . . . give?, /thuñ-ja ma/ . . . drink?, /se-a ma/ eat ?.

Again, the indirect command or request with the implied sense of 'let' is expressed with the imperative form of the aux. conveying the sense of 'let' or Hindi *do* appended to the infinitive base of the

verb, e.g. (Dar.) - /ji demu da/ (please) let me go; (Chaud.)- /ji die lantani/ id., (Jad)- /nala do so/ id.

The same pattern is followed in respect of a command or request in which the addressee is asked to allow some one else to perform the desired action, consequently an expression like, 'let them go' will be rendered as 'they should go' (For examples see *Supra* Imperative, Indirect p. 221).

(ii) Potential

The potential mood expressing probability or presumption of the occurrence of an action with reference to present, past and future is usually expressed with future tense formations, may be synthetic or analytical.

In the speeches of the western Himalayan group it is generally expressed with the help of present or future tense forms of the verb substantive appended to the present or past participle base of the main verb, e.g. (Kin.) - /du zao nito/he may be eating; /kiši lo-lo nitiñ/you (hon.) may have told; (Chhit.)-/läci anoñi/ id; /zai ano/ they may have eaten; (Kan.)- /zaza toš/may be eating, /rekhe net/may have told, etc.

Similarly, (Patt.) -/käi kuši son/you may have said; /zäi zaši sore/ may have eaten the food; (Tin.) - /käi kuši suto/you may told; /du zamin zäi lägi ki suto/he may be eating food; /kuši su-to-re/may have done; /mutan du dir äpoto/tomorrow he may come here. Gari, however, employs two subsidiaries, viz. /zodde/ + /kyorde/ 'to become' to express the sense of probability, e.g. /tä zaminza zod-kyani/he may have eaten food; /hänzi losi zodkyani/you may have told.

In the speeches in the eastern group too, it is expressed with the future tense forms of the verb substantive appended to the present or past participle base of the main verb or just by the future tense forms of the main verb. The former pattern is followed in Dar. and Chaud. and the latter in Mar. e.g. (Dar.)-/u zati zanu nisyän/he may be eating food (=will be); /gäe su-na u-jo lendi/you alone may have told him (=you told him); /käi mänci le do rayän/tomorrow sister-in-law also may come here (=will come). (Chaud.)-/u rayän/ he may come (lit. he will come); /äti duklän zagä ninän/he may be (=will be) eating food now; /jämmäi mi kä-zade ninän/all persons may have finished eating; (Mar.)- /oru mhašya bidu rhatti/tomorrow sister-in-law also may come (=will come) here. In Raji it is expressed with simple present tense forms itself, as in /äi ji hwäre/he may be going (=is going); /na la'-ik hwäre/I would be singing.

As in the speeches of the eastern group, in the speeches of the Tibetan group too it is expressed with the present or future tense forms of the main verb or with the help of the forms of the verb substantives, e.g. (Sp.) -/khu yoñ-dok/he may be coming (=he is coming); /om thedna acoi chamo lep-yon/elder brother's wife may come (=will come); (Nyam.)-/.....chomo lebon/ id. (Tod)- /cisi kho läbdi metowa/ possibly he may have reached (=he reached); /cisi khoi i peca sildi yot-to/possibly you may have read this book (=have read); /cisi philog lep khyo ena/ possibly, he may come by the evening. (Jad.)- (Pres. Part. + verb sub.) -/kho sebdun saeto/he may be eating food (=is eating); /khyo soi khwala labotho/you may have told him (fut.). /phei-gun sebdun socharja hot/ he may have eaten food (past perfect).

The presumptive aspect of potential, expressing the sense of probability of an action having taken place in the present or past with a sort of inferred certainty, is also expressed with the use of respective forms of the verb substantive appended to the participial base of the main verb. For instance, (Sp.)- /kho tasan todca sae to/he may have taken food by now, (=he has eaten); (Nyam.)- /kho sain dok/ id. (=is eating); (Tod)-/kho yoã yotto/he must be coming; /kho izo la zoe charde yotto/he must have finished eating by now.

The same pattern is followed in the speeches of the Rangkas group as well, e.g. (Chaud.)-/gän säi kä-lunis lhe/you alone may have told, /ätimän radäne ninän/they may be reaching; (Mar.) -/dhE šEt dhā zebän zächya hunti/he may be eating food now; /zänj live hunti/you may have told. Infact, there is no difference in these two aspects of the potential mood so far as their formative aspect is concerned.

(iii) Contingent

The contingent aspect of the subjunctive mood also termed as conditional mood primarily expresses a condition which, with reference to past events, is contrary to fact and a wish which, with reference to the future event, may not be fulfilled. In the conditional statements there are invariably two clauses, one subordinate clause or 'if' clause and the other principal clause or 'then' clause. In the speeches of the T.H. group the condition marker is, normally, left out or we may say that these speeches do not favour its employment. It is only under the influence of the neighbouring I.A. speeches that certain Himalayan speeches mark it in a formal syntactic rendering of the Hindi sentences. Various formative elements employed by different groups of the T.H. speeches may be explained as follows:

Among the speeches of the Kinnar group the subordinate clause expressing condition is affected by suffixing a particle, viz. /ma/ which is realized as /na/ with /n,n/ ending stems, and the verb expressing the outcome of the fulfilment of the condition in the past and future tenses, e.g. (Kin.) /-kä zu kamän lanma†gä känu pEsa kek/had you done this work, I would have given (will give) you money; /ki bänna†gäle eke bäcok/If you come, I will also come with you. (Chhit.)-/kin tunna † galo ton tok/ id., /eme tunna† zoi toc/had you come, nice it would have been; But in case of future the verbs of both the clauses are placed in fut. tense, as in /kin tunän † ga-lo tunäk/If you come, I will also come. In Kan. the verb stem is suffixed with /ta/ in both the cases, as in /mama bhutta (< bhur-ta) † šobhila hosita/had maternal uncle come, nice it would have been, but in case fut. the verb of the conditional clause is expressed with conjunctive participle and of the principal clause with fut. tense forms, as in /koi de† gui buntak/If you come (lit. on your coming), I will also come.

In the pronominalized speeches of the Lahul group, the verb of the conditional clause is obtained by suffixing the particle, /-än/ to the past tense base of the verb concerned, e.g. (Patt.) - /dore ilzän (<ilziän) † ñere la ili-ka/had they come, we too would have gone, /du änzän (< änzi-än) † ruṭhe sui-ka/ had he come, nice it would have been, (Tin.)-/du änkyän (<än-ki-än) † ñisi šui-kate/ id. However, in case of fut. it is expressed with simple tense forms in both the clauses, as in /ane kä äpon † ge la äpog/If you come, I will also come; /ane dore yotore † dula yo-to/if they go, he will also go. In Gari, the verb of the conditional clause, as in Patt. and Tin. takes the formative /än/, but the verb of the principal clause is normally placed in the future tense, e.g. /hän ranän † girog re elde guinsi kyani/If you come it will be necessary for me also to go; /hän ranän † gi egeg/had you come, I would have gone (lit. on your coming, I will go); but/täl razanän † epokemin ninza/ had he come, nice it would have been (lit. on his coming nice was).

In the speeches of the Rankas group, the verb of the subordinate clause or of the clause expressing condition takes the form of the conjunctive participle, and the verb of the principal clause may be placed in the past or future tense forms e.g. (Dar.) /gäni ranje tä † jile raksa dyansi/had you come (lit. on your coming), I would have gone with you; (Chaud.)-/käni ramän † ji ri joro die dineso/ id.; (Mar.)/gE rhaniz†ge bi gē sib hyokäni/ id.; Similarly, (Dar.) -/u piranu leje tä † ji nu lele/had he come (=lit. on his coming), nice it would have been, (Mar.) -/dhE raniz † ori huniza/id.; In case of condition pertaining to

future the verb of the subordinate clause expressing condition may be placed in the conjunctive participial form or in absolute future, and the verb of the principal clause is invariably in the future tense, e.g. (Chaud.)- /gän ramän † ji ri rayänye/If you come (lit. on your coming), I will also come; (Mar.)-/gän rhattän tä † ge bi rhan/id. (with fut. tense forms for both).

On the other hand, in the speeches of the Tibetan group a particle like /na~ni/ is suffixed to the infinitive base of the verb expressing condition and forms of the verb substantive are appended to the infinitive base of the verb expressing the probable outcome of it, e.g. (Sp.) - /khyod yon-je-ni † na yonpo doze hin/had you come, I would have accompanied you; (Nyam.)-/khyot 'onja-na † nään ñampo 'onja hot/id. (Jad)- /khyet 'Onja-na † nu khyet ñaulana 'onja hot/id. Similarly, (Sp.)- /khoyon-je-ni † yakpo yonje yot/had he come, nice it would have been; (Nyam.)-/kho 'onja-na † demo 'onjahot/ id.; (Jad)- /di 'onja-na tene ghäšin honja hot/ id. But in Tod the verbs of both the sentences are placed in the past tense with a condition marker in the subordinate clause, as in /kho sil-phen-e † phel soñ-de meto/had he studied, he would not have failed, /nethen la khoran yon-phen-e † min-de gyal/had he come, so nice it would have been (past in both).

MISCELLENEOUS ASPECTS OF MODAL CONJUGATION

Besides the above discussed aspects of modal conjugation, there are some more aspects of modal communication which are variously expressed by different speeches under consideration. The most common device adopted by most of the tongues is the employment of various helping verbs. Some of these may be described as follows:

Desiderative: The desiderative aspect of a statement involving expression of a wish or desire, but without any condition, is expressed by appending respective tense-person forms of the verb meaning 'want' or 'desire' etc. to the infinitive base of the main verb, e.g. in Kin. it is expressed with the verb /gya-/ with its past participle base and the relevant suffixes are carried by the verb sub. /to/, as in /do tunmu gya-gya to/he wants to drink, /gä byom gya-gya tok/I want to go; In Chhit. the helping verb employed for this purpose is /mis-/, as /lacän misitok/ I wish to do. /ton misi tose/he wants to come, etc. In Kan. it is attested as /lan-/, as in /sänam la-ge/I want to do; /bhuro lon-mek/ I wanted to come. In Patt. and Tin. it is attested as /ter-/, e.g. (Patt.)- /ge ibimi tereg~te-täg/I want to go, (Tin.)-/ge ibim tärig/id.; (Patt.)-/doi äpimi täre/he wants to come; (Tin.)- /doi räntrim täre/he wants to give.

The subsidiary verb employed by Gari and Tod is /khäm-/ , e.g. (Gar.)-/ tuñmen khämsta/want to drink; /kyormen khämsta/wants to play; (Tod) -/na cije tonce khäm-ra/ I wish to give some thing; /khoe nala šece khäm-dok/he wants to narrate to me, etc.

In the speeches of the Ramngkas group the subsidiary employed in this case is /cin~cin/in Dar. and Chaud. and /ca-/in Mar. which follows the infinitive base of the principal verb and is followed by verb sub. with all morphological markers of respected tenses, e.g. (Dar.)-/u rhija do ramu cinnu niyu/he wanted to come here day before yesterday (Chaud.)-/äta rhija (~šreja) cinkh nisä/ id. (Mar.)-/dhE du rhapän ciciz/ he wanted to come here. Also (Dar.)-/ji rheru demu cinši/I want to go to the field; /ji rheja demo cinh-ye/ id. (Mar.)-/ge dipän cacän/ I wish to go, etc.

The speeches of the Tibetan group, however, do not favour employment of any helping verb for this purpose. There it is expressed with respective tense forms of the verb substantive itself which roughly conveys the sense of 'have to....' e.g. (Sp.)- /na khañpa la donin tag/ I want to go home, (Nyam.) domotak/ id; -/phetmo tak/I want to do, (Sp.)-/na conintag/ id.; /kho iru yonnin dok/he wanted to come here; (Nyam.)-/kho diru ommo dok/ id.

Intensive Continuative: Intensity, indicative of the state of continuous occurrence of an action in a given time is usually expressed with respective tense forms of the verb concerned itself, but there are speeches in which it is affected with the help of various subsidiaries as well, which normally follow the participial bases of the main verbs. e.g. (Chhit.) -/ta täse/continued preparing; (Kan.) - /sätte ta/ id. Similarly, (Chhit.) - /za hunu/continued eating; (Kan.) - /za-gu ta/ id. (Nyam.)-/kho säbdun yoinda-sun † mansa sain dad/he continued cooking food, (and) we continued eating; (Jad.)-/phci sebdun zain cason † ñet sain cason/ id. (lit. was cooking & were eating). (Sp.) - /kho codcan cewa † naza-gya sacan soe/ id. /cok cyan corok/continued doing; etc.

Compulsive: The state of performing an action under compelling circumstances, roughly expressed by English idiom, 'had to....', 'have to....' and 'will have to....' etc. is, in the speeches of the Tibetan group, normally expressed with usual tense forms of the verb in question, but in the speeches of the Himalayan group it is expressed by respective tense forms of various subsidiaries denotative of the sense of performing the given action unwillingly or involuntarily under some compulsion. In these periphrastic constructions the subsidiary, which carries all morphological terminations follow the bare stem or the infinitive base

of the main verb. Examples from both the groups may be presented as follows:

Himalayan group: The representative speech of the western Himalayan group, viz. Kin. employs the subsidiary /pa-/ to express the above mentioned aspect of the verbal communication, as in /dopän zäräb zänc bim päpa/he, all of a sudden, had to go from here. In Chhit. it is /äs-/ 'to become' one of the verb substantives, appended to the bare root of the verb, as in /ron äse/ had to go; /ton ano/will have to come; /tonmasi/had to come, etc.

It seems that employment of any subsidiary to express the sense of compulsion is not a basic character of these tongues. As such this feature appears to have been acquired by these speeches under the influence of the neighbouring Aryan speeches with which they have been coming into contact for a long time. Consequently, in Tin., the pronominalized speech of Lahul and of the Rangkas group the verb employed for this purpose is the same /pä-/ as we find it in Hindi and its dialects, e.g. (Tin.)- /gerin don ibi paritti/I had to go there; /känin zeie paritto/you will have to eat; (Dar.) -/ji ramu päryän/I will have to go, (Mar.) -/ze ram päryän/id. Also (Dar.)-/du dosu demu parju/ he had to go from here; (Chaud.) -/du dosu demu tok pärcā/id.; (Mar.)-/dhEru ducä pore/ id. In Patt., however, the verb employed for this purpose is /le-, as in /gibi lo ibi lepoto/ I will also have to go; /dobi ereg dir äpi leti/he had to come here yesterday. The subsidiaries employed by Gari are -/guinsi/ 'is necessary' and /kyare/to become', e.g. /girog nun elde guinsi kyaza/I will have to go there; /händog zare guinsi kyani/you will have to eat.

But, as stated above, in the speeches of the Tibetan group it is expressed with simple tense forms of the main verb itself, and do not make any difference between compulsion and obligation, e.g. (Sp.)-/nagya phiru drona? hin/we have to go there; /khoiru yonna' 'hinok/ he had to come here; (Nyam.) -/dugo chonson/had to go, /ongo chonson/ had to come; (Jad) - /phude dinaso dogo cun son/he had to go from here, (Tod)-/na thore šimla la chace hin/I have to go Shimla tomorrow; /khoi ne d'aba tance hin/he has to give (fut.) my money.

Obligational: The sense of moral obligation or of a commitment to be fulfilled in future is expressed by appending respective tense forms of the verb substantive to the infinitive/verbal noun base of the main verb, in almost all the speeches of the T.H. group, e.g. (Kin.) -/dos anu bao rän bimu toc/he has to go with his father, (Gar.) -/tälzi inzi awa dän elmen hin/, id.; (Patt.) -/du eno barän sathe ibimi tääg/

id.; (Tin.)- /ñene ibim totoñi/we have to go; (Dar.)-/u demu nini/he has to go; (Chaud.)-/demoni~demo yin/ id., (Sp.)-/drona hin/ id.; (Nyam.)-/doanok/ id. (lit. will go);

Similarly, a statement like 'I have to write a letter to . . .' will be rendered as - (Patt.) -/ge ica ðak cecimi tätäg/, (Tin.)-/ge ica ðak cicim totog/; (Chhit.) - /gä id citti cecän to/; (Kin.)- /gäs (än bapu pän) citti cemu duk/id.; (Gar.) - /gizi päd bricumto/; (tod.)-/na hige cig gyagya ho/ id.; (Nyam.) - /män hye thian/; (Mar.) - /gäz tig citti lik-pän yā/; (Dar.) - /jisu . . . rimu nini/; (Chaud.)-/jisä . . . rimu nini/ or . . . rimä yin/, etc., (Tod) - /khoi ñe ðaba tance hin/he has to give my money; (Mar.) - /gäzä län läpän yā/I have to work (lit. to do work).

Inceptive: The inceptive aspect of a verbal expression usually pertaining to the past tense is, normally, expressed with past tense forms itself, e.g. (Chhit.) - /yo niñsa tañ tuso rade/she started weeping on seeing us (lit. she wept); (Patt.)-/du henre tanzirän sathe kräpti/ id.; (Kan.) -/niñ bhales käraphäk/ id.; (Dar.)-/u niñ tañ länna kä-teju/ id.; (Chaud.)-/äti in tinmäci kättye/id.; (Jad.)-/di nala thancaso nuson/ id.; (Nyam.)-/...nuson/id.; /so son/started eating; (Kin.)-/zac/ id. (lit. ate).

But besides the above mentioned pattern of expressing aspect of inceptivity, may be under the influence of I.A. speeches, the speeches of the Himalayan group also exhibit the feature of expressing it with the help of respective subsidiaries, e.g. (Patt.)-/du henre tänzirän sathe kärpi tharig širi/she started weeping on seeing us; (Gar.) -/täl gi thancistan ñampo tyoza zuxsa/ id.; (Mar.)-/dhE iru khizän tyopän casdi/ id., or /dhE irutēz tyopän casdi/ id. (conjunctive participle), (Kin.) -/zao dus/ started eating, (Raji) - /bäjjar cämkan hare/it started lightning;

Simultancity: The verbal mode of expressing the phenomenon of two actions taking place simultaneously is not much different from the aspect of inceptivity and is normally expressed in the same way as the above. In the speeches of the western Himalayan group a particle /ñampo/is usually appended to the base of the verb expressing the action that took place first and the verb of the second action is placed in the simple tense form. e.g. (Tin.)-/du ge tancirän ñampo poke ili/he ran away as soon as he saw me (lit. on seeing me); /ge dorin khäntrirän ñampo sekse cärtig/ I recognized him as soon as I saw him; (Gar.) - /rastän ñampo/as soon as he came. But in others it is expressed with simple past tense forms, e.g. (Chhit.) -/yo niñsa tañtu so rode/ id., (Tod) - /na khoyon çar ñe+yonmen/I came as soon as he (came). (Kin.) - /pañuc gudoc dadosi sugro sugro hace/pitcher went to pieces as soon as it feel from the hand./dого niñanu con-so-si krabsoš/she started

weeping (wept) on seeing us. (Nyam.) -/kho maṅsa la taesu nuson/she started weeping as soon as she saw us (she wept on seeing us), (Kan.) - /šer bhales säbe boke/all ran away on seeing the tiger (simple past). (Chaud.)-/äti in tinmäci kättye/id. (for others see above, Inceptive and Adv. participle)

Abilitative: One's ability or inability to perform an action is expressed with respective tense forms of the subsidiary denoting the sense of 'being capable or incapable', roughly expressed by the English verb 'can', which are appended to the verbal noun base of the main verb. Examples of their usages in the speeches under consideration may be presented as follows:

The verb roots expressive of this sense are /häd-/in Kin., /le-/in Chhit. and /ṭhub-/in Gar. e.g. (Kin.)-/ram thunnäm hance/Ram is able to drink, /kim dwakc yunim ma häniñ/you will not be able to walk, (Chhit.)-/kin yunma lenoñ/ id.; /ga po-lea matok/I can not sit...(i.e. I am unable to sit); (Gar.) - /gi rare maṭhubsa/I can not come; /täl rare ṭhubci män/he can not come, /gi ämca ma ṭhubka/I can not do walking.

However, in all the other Himalayan speeches of the eastern as well as western group it is expressed with the verb /tä-/ , e.g. (Patt.) - /ge ibimi tärig/I can go, (Tin.)-/ge ibim tärig/id.; (Patt.) -/du der äpimi täri/he can come here; (Tin.) -/doi diñ äpim täri/id.; (Dar.)-/ji jo sunsi mätärsi/I can not sit; (Chaud.)-/ji sonsi mätärse/ id.; (Dar.)-/gäe jo pEdäl gämje mä tärsyän/you will not be able to go on foot; (Chaud.)-/gän mirän de mätärsyänno/id.; (Mar.) -/gE mhä rE tärcän/I can not come, /dhi ciṭṭi gE-se mhä bace tärsyän/you will not be able to read this letter.

In the speeches of the Tibetan group it is attested as /chu/, /chod-/ , /chid/, /khyu-/ , /nu/, etc. e.g. (Sp.) -/ña yon mi chid/I can not come; /kho yonchukak/he can come; /kho yonchukamak/he can not come; (Nyam.)- /'oṅgo chod (kanok) /can come, /on yon mi chid/I can not come; (Nyam.) -/'oṅgo chod (kanok) can come, /oṅgo me chod/ can not come; /silgo me chodkanok/can not read;) (Tod)- /ca chante ñe thun khyuce-mera/I can not drink hot tea; /ñaza khyuce marak/I can not eat; /ña ḍul khyuce marak/I can not do walking. (Jad) - /ña dod nui metak/I am unable to sit; /khyo khyäm nusa män/you are unable to walk, etc.

There are many more other aspects of verbal expressions which as in other speeches are expressed with the help of respective subsidiaries current in the speech concerned. For their details see the series 'studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages, 1988-92.

NON-FINITE VERB FORMS

Besides the regular finite verbal forms of all the verb roots discussed in the foregoing pages there are some other verbal forms which though are very much a part of the verbal system of the languages under reference and are formed from all the verb roots of the speech concerned, yet are neither inflected for the tense-aspect categories of it, nor take modal suffixes. As such these forms are non-variable and non-personal, except the verbal adjectives which in some speeches are inflected for gender (e.g. Kin. /byoŝya/ (masc): /byo-ŝe (fem) 'goer'. Moreover, absence of grammatical categories, which are so conspicuous in finite verb forms, also renders them to be absolutive forms which neither convey a complete sense, nor close a sentence, nor can be used as a predicate in a sentence.

Principal categories of this class of verbal forms are- Infinitives, Verbal Nouns, Participles or Verbal Adjectives, Conjunctive Participles and Adverbial Participles. In all the tongues of the T.H. group various forms of all these verbal forms are normally formed from respective verb roots by suffixing respective formative suffixes. Some of these formatives are mutually shared by many speeches, some by a few and some have only individual occurrences. The forms and functions of these non-finite verbal units may be presented as under:

INFINITIVES

Infinitives which simply express the action of the verb without predicating it of any subject or object are obtained by suffixing the infinitive formatives to the verb root. There are some dialects which employ only one formative for all types of verbal roots, but there are some in which the number of these markers is upto half a dozen or so. Although in most of the cases the predictability of the phonetic environments conditioning their occurrences is there, yet there are some in which it is not clear.

Grouping of Infinitive Formatives

All the infinitive formatives of the speeches under consideration may broadly be placed in two groups: (1) Group-A and Group B. Speeches of the former group employ formative suffixes having palatal, dental and bilabial plosives or sibilants as their consonantal elements, and the languages belonging to this group are—Sp., Nyam., Patt., Tin., Gar., Tod and Mar. And the speeches of the latter group employ nasals as consonantal element for their formative suffixes, and the tongues

belonging to this group are—Kin., Chhit., Kan., Dar., Chaud. and Johari. Various types of formatives employed by different speeches under consideration may be presented as follows:

- Sp. - /-ce~je, se:/de-ce/to sit, /se-ce/to dance, /ser-se/ to tell, /sil-se/to read. (For the distribution of these allomorphs See S.T.H.L. Vol. II. Pt. II, p. 76).
- Nyam. - /a, ca, ja, sa/ : /thiya/to ask, /co-ya/to make, /lop-ca/ to teach, /phur-ca/to fly, /'om-ja/to come, /zak-sa/to climb; /sil-ja/to read. (For the distribution of these allomorphs see S.T.H.L. Vol. II. pt. II, p. 178).
- Tod - /-ce/ : /ñal-ce/to sleep, /cha-ce/to go, /sil-ce/to read, /za-ce/ to eat.
- Jad - /-ja/ : /khum-ja/to bring, /be-ja/to do, /te-ja/to give;
- Patt./Tin.- /-ci~chi, -ji, -pi, phi, -bi, -si, -i, -mi, tri~thri, ~dri/: (for their distribution see Vol. II. pt. I, pp. 92-93, & 166): /thagci/ to break, /nhanci/to sit; (/sok-chi/to drag, /lha-zi/to do, /ri-zi/to listen, /ä-pi/~äm-pi/to come, /krä-pi/to weep, /gär-phi/ to dance, /nig-phi/ to tremble; /i-bi/to come, /šu-bi/to be, /tuñ-mi/to drink, /kuṭri/to say, /khandri/to see, /zäi/to eat, /jo-i/to walk, /po-ši/to get wet, /rwak-ši/to graze, etc.
- Gar. - /-ca, -za, -te, -de, -pa, ša, -re/. (For their distribution see Vol. II. pt. I, P. 248): /loca/to say, /mi-za/to think, /reks-te/to tremble, /tuñ-de/to drink, /el-de/to go, /ra-re/to come, /za-re/to eat, /tod-pa/to praise, /thib-ša/to fight.
- Mar. - /pän~bän/ : /dha-pän/to give, /di-pän/to go, /ze-pän/ to eat;
- Kin. - /mig, -nig/ : /khya-mig/to see, /ci-mig/to wash, /šan-nig/to kill /la-nnig/to do, /ra-nnig/to give.
- Chhit. - /-än, -in, -sän/ - / roñ/ < /ro-än/to to, /toñ/ </to-än/ to come, /tuc-än/to take, /huš-in~huš-än/to read, /za-sän/to eat, /da-sän/to give, /ce-sän/to write;
- Kan. - /-toñ, -mu/: /ruci-toñ/to ask, /khañ-toñ/to buy, /sa-to-mu/to kill, /wa-to-mu/to laugh; /boñ-to-mu/to go.
- Dar. & Chaud. - /-mu, -mo/ : /ra-mu/ to come, /de-mu/to go, /lo-mu/ to read, /ri-mu/to write, /za-mo/to eat, /tuñ-mo/to drink, etc.
- Johari - /-mo/ : /di-mo/to go, /pa-mo/to measure.

VERBAL NOUN

A verbal noun, though formly is identical with infinitive, yet, functionally, is quite different from it. For, it has the force of the logical object of a verb, whereas an infinitive simply expresses an action of

the verb without predicating it of any subject or object. But on the other hand although, like a noun, it can take post-positions and has a semantic correlation with acc.-dative and locative cases, yet is different from it because a noun, may be derived from a verb, can only function as a subject or object of a verb, whereas a verbal noun, inspite of functioning as a noun retains its verbal character as well, and can, therefore, take an object or complement for itself in the same manner as a finite verb or a verb of an incomplete predication does, particularly with verbs denoting the sense of obligation, necessity, requirement, compulsion, etc.

In the languages of the T.H. group use of infinitives as verbal noun is attested in three forms, (1) as bare stem, (2) with infinitive marker, (3) with formative suffixes. The forms and their functions attested in different speeches under consideration are as follows:

The main function of a verbal noun in the capacity of a noun is to be used as an object or complement of a finite verb and in the capacity of an action word to take an object with or without a post-position. Both the characteristics of it as attested in these speeches may be illustrated as under:

(1) *Bare stem or base alone*: Employment of bare verbal base as verbal noun is primarily attested in the speeches of the eastern Himalayan group and Kinnar group. Some of the examples of this characteristic of it are:

- Johari - /ti tuñ dec/ (he) went to drink/for drinking water.
 Mar. - /dhE ti tuñ casya/he started drinking water.
 Dar. - /usu ti tuñ lcsu/he was asked to drink water.
 Chaud. - /ti tuñ/for drinking water, /ti tunkhu/in order to drink water.
 Chhit. - /obi hoyā ton thā loci/don't forget to come here tomorrow.
 Kan. - /nugu-j la-miz gasa rañ/give clothers to him to wear.

(ii) *With infinitive Marker*. The use of verbal noun with infinitive marker is a most common feature of all the tongues of the T.H. group. Some of the examples may be seen in the following usages. In this it can be followed by a p.p. as well, though the use of post-position may be optional:

- Sp. - /sul-se phila peca gošuk/book is needed for reading. /kho nala mul ter-se (phila)yon dok/he is coming to give money to us.
 Nyam. - /kyo sil-je phed-la doruk/he is going to read. /sil-je ched la peca gosoñok/book is needed for reading.

- Tod - /khoe nala za-ce ton/he gave me to eat/for eating; /kho oma thun-ce khomduk/he wants to drink milk.
- Jad - /na laha beja la lok de/I am going for doing work.
- Gar. - /za-re elza/he went for eating/to eat.
/oci khya ra-re thä lwara/don't forget to come here tomorrow.
- Kin. - /dos an boa rän bi-mu du/he has to go with his father.
/khi:r pan-nu tanes räl gyamig/rice is needed to prepare kheer. /khya-mu/to see, for seeing, /tun-mu/to drink, for drinking.
- Chhit. - /ga zoi tersän chatok/ I know swimming well
/royo husyän nin zoita/he is good at studies (in studying).
- Patt. - (May be optionally followed by post-positions):
/du ti tun-mi (rin)äti/ he came for drinking water.
/du ti häpi ilzi to/ he has gone to bring water.
- Tin. - /doi ñentan äpi rin~äpim (thälzi) kukya/ he asked us for coming. /du ränci rin tej toce/she is fast in weaving.
- Mar. - /dhEj ist apa sib dipän yä/he has to go with his father.
/oru du rhä-pän thä bisrE/don't forget to come here tomorrow.
- Dar. - /u do ra-mu cinnu nizu/ he wanted to come here.
/ji-su laku ciṭṭhi ri-mu nini/ I have to write a letter.
- Chaud.-Bya - /äti usigä be-te zoro demoni/ (Bya.) he has to go with his father. /ji-sä tig ciṭṭi rima yin/I have to write a letter.
- Johari - /us bhitär demok män mägas/he did not make his mind to go inside.
/rän-k kurš/took for selling; /pami-k/for measuring.

Suffixal/Base + Formatives: Besides the infinitive forms, there are many other forms and usages of verbal nouns in different speeches which are obtained by suffixing different formative elements attested as *-/-min, -men, -cum, -sum, -m, -n, etc.* These may be illustrated as below:

In Kinnauri and Kan. it is attested as *-im/* or *-m/*: /do hunc byom gya gya to/he wants to go just now. /kin dwakc yuni-m ma häni/ going cannot become by you.

(Kan.)-/ga sobhiläs kamo soṅ-m lage/ I wish to do some good work.

/maṅsän rän yän-m boke-kon/went to live with a man.

In Patt. it is */mi/* and can be followed by a postposition as well:

/dobi gyebi ibi-mi thälzikittere/thy asked me to come.

/doi panu tun-mi-mi toto/he wanted to drink milk. In *Tin*. The

formatives *are/-m/* and */-min/* which occur in free variation with infinitive forms, as in */ceci~cecim/to write, for writing, /cakci~cakcim/to wash, for washing; /zäi-min~zä-min/ to eat, for eating, /tun-min/for drinking, etc.*

In Gar. its formation is as stem + *men/sum~cum ± post-position:* stems which take infinitive marker */ca,za/* take */-cum/*, which take */ša/* take */-sum/* and others */-men/*:

/lig-cum bonthe/for doing, /kan-cum/for cutting, /thib-sum/to fight, /lok-sum/to ascend, /zamen bonthe/to eat, for eating, /dod-men/for meeting.

/za-men khämsta/he wants to eat.

/tun-men khämsta/he wants to drink.

In Tod. it is attested as root + *e*, as in */khoe na la yonc phila zero/he asked us to come.* Its structure in Jad is as verb root + */sum/ ~/-go/*: */di doro hon-sum dok/he wanted to come here. /nala hon-go lhon/I will have to come.*

/hodi do-go hot/ he will have to go.

In the dialects of the Rangkas group it is */m/* and freely varies with the inf. formative */mo~mu/*:

(Chaud.)- */sEm/to strike, /rim/to fill, /ranäm/to sell; /lom/ to say. /gam dansu/ in order to work, for working, /ran nan. cu/for selling, etc. (Grierson).*

PARTICIPLES

Participles, also called verbal adjectives, have a dual character. Syntactically, in an utterance, when these occupy the position of an adjective and modify the meanings of the nominal head concerned as an adjective, then they have the adjectival character, but when, or account of retaining their verbal properties, these modify the meaning of a verb in an utterance and also form the part of the predicate then their function is of an adverb and consequently, have the adverbial character.

There are two categories of these participles, designated as present participle and past/perfect participle. In the T.H. group of speeches both of them are indeclinable. Moreover, these tongues do not recognize the future participle as a distinct category. Besides the above, there are conjunctive participles as well, which are absolute in nature and do not have the modifying character of the either of the two mentioned above. General characteristics and the mechanism of their formations, operative in different speeches under consideration, may be explained as follows:

Normally, participles are formed in three ways, (1) simple suffixation, (2) reduplication of the stem alone, (3) reduplication of the stem alongwith the formatives, and their formative bases can be (1) bare root /stem, (2) Infinitive, (3) Participle. All the speeches under consideration attest a variety of their formative elements, some of which are common to more than one speech, some are phonetically conditioned variants and some occur in free variation with their other co-morphemes (for their details see *infra*-common features). Various forms and functions of all the three categories of participles may be presented as under:

PRESENT PARTICIPLE

The present participle when used as an adjective denotes a situation in which the action under reference has already started, but is or was in a state of continuity at the point of time referred to by the finite verb form in question. For instance, (Kin.)- /gäs id yabo pyac khyak /'I saw a flying bird'. Here the participle /yabo/ 'flying' implies that the bird was already in the process of flying or it has already taken a flight when it was seen by the speaker.

But while functioning as an adverb it indicates a state of two actions taking place simultaneously or un-interruptedly, e.g. (Kin.) - /dogo khyao deo duš /they were going (while) seeing, i.e. that the actions of going (moving) and seeing were going on simultaneously, e.g. /gäs bio-bio khyak/I saw (while) moving. or/do zao zao bio/he left while he was still in the process of eating, etc.

In its adverbial form it also conveys the sense of an action having been done repeatedly, e.g. (Kin.) /gäs bio-bio cha-cha tok/ I am tired of doing repeatedly, or /tuño tuño/having drunk again and again, etc. or (Mar.) - /ji län galän-galän dhil kälju/I am delayed on account of being engaged in doing work continuously.

Now, firstly we shall take up the cases of the Tibetan group and then of the Himalayan group. As pointed out above that there is no uniformity or commonness in the formative elements of these tongues, so the forms and functions of these participles will be explained for each speech separately, and over all observations on them will be made at the end of this section.

Formation: In almost all the speeches the mechanism of formation of present participle is attested in two forms, viz. (1) suffixation and (2) reduplication. In the former type various formatives are suffixed to the verb root and in the latter the bare verb stem or the full suffixal form is reduplicated. Examples of both the types may be presented as follows:

Suffixation: The device of suffixation in the speeches of different groups is a normal feature of participial formations. Some of these may be explained as under:

Tibetan Group: The speeches of this group, though have their own formative elements, yet there is a partial convergence among them, the differences mainly being confined to vocalic variations, e.g. there is a complete convergence between the formatives of Nyam. and Jad and difference of vowel quality in Tod, Jad, and Nyam, or in Sp. Nyam. For instance, in Spitian, in the dialect of Pin, these formatives are attested as /aŋ, -kan, -taŋ/, as in /co-aŋ/ doing, /ʃiaŋ/dying, / thi-aŋ/ writing, /toŋ-kän/ showing, /ta-kän/ lifting, /dronci-tän/going: /na kho la dronci-taŋ thon-cuŋ/I saw him going.

Besides, it is also obtained by suffixing /-hin, -pin + ciktan/to the verb root, as in /ser-hin-ciktan/saying, /ñan-pin-ciktan/listening, etc.

However, in the valley of Sham it is formed by suffixing a verbal phrase-/ kuncitan/~ /unci-taŋ/to the verb stem, (the former appended to stems ending in a consonant and the latter to stems ending in a vowel), e.g. /ter-kunci-taŋ/giving, /drill-kunci-taŋ/falling, /ʃi-unci-taŋ/dying, /sa-ncitan/ <* /sa-unci-taŋ/eating. The suffixes in Nyam. are /-in, -hin, kin, -gin, -ñin/which are appended to the verb root, (for their distribution see Vol. II, pt. II. p. 180-81). e.g. /sa-in/eating, /do-in/going, /ser-kin/saying, /phurkin/flying, /sil-gin/ reading, /thuŋ-in/ drinking, /leñin/ taking; / maŋ kho-la do-in ta/I saw him going, /maŋ ciu-cik-la phurkin ta/I saw a bird flying, etc.

In the dialect of Tod it is obtained by suffixing /-on /or/ -cen/ to the verb root, e.g. /sil-ccn/ reading, /yoŋ- cen /coming, /se-cen/dancing, /chacen/ going, /na sārakten ta thon-men/ I saw (a) running horse.

In respect of participial formative elements the speech of the Jads shows an affinity with Nyamkad. There the suffixes appended to the verb roots are /-gin/ and /-in/which are usually followed by phrases like /cig-la/ and /jog-la/also: /be-gin-cig-la/ doing, /go-gin/~ /go-gin-cig-la/ laughing, / thū-gin~thugin-cig-la/ drinking, etc.

/ciu cig phorje ogindok/a bird is flying,

/na di-la sain thonson/I saw him eating.

Reduplication/Reiteration

Besides employment of simple suffixed forms the mechanism of employment of reduplicated forms too is equally operative in these speeches, e.g. (Sp.)-/tan-tan/seeing, /tonkan-tonkan/showing, /leha coaŋ-

coan phimo lusun/ (lit. work doing-doing (I have) late become); (Tod)-/kho sil-en silen ñalson/she slept while still reading (lit. reading-reading), /khai dE dE ta zaro/he was eating while lying down. It may, however, be noted that the phenomenon of reduplication takes place when the participle functions as an adverb to modify the action of the verb in question.

Himalayan Group

As the speeches of the Tibetan group, the speeches of the Himalayan group too follow the mechanism of suffixation and reduplication to obtain their present participles. Various kinds of formatives employed by them may be presented as under:

In Kinnauri the present participle is obtained by suffixing-/o/ directly to the root or to the aux. /du/, e.g./-ci-o/ washing,/ši-o/dying, /tun-o/drinking,/yab-o/flying,/redo/selling, /wädo/laughing,/dado/falling, /sado/killing, etc. /gäs id yabo pya khyak/I saw a flying bird, /biocya mi/the going pers.; =the person who is going. In Chhitkuli these suffixes are attested as/a/or/ga ~ge/, as in /tun-a/drinking, /to-a/coming, /ro-a/going, /ši-ga/dying, /da-ga/giving, /la-ge/doing, /za-ge/eating, etc.

/hoyo ti tuna ta/he is drinking water.

/mi ši-ga-ta/the) man is dying.

In Kanashi the formative suffixes are attested as /jä/ and /sä/ (the former with roots ending in a vowel, and the latter with roots ending in a consonant), as in /ca-jä/dancing,/la-jä/doing, /to-jä/beating, /buñ-sä/going, etc./ni ta-jä totke, gitana lajä/we, while dancing, were singing songs.

In Pattani it is obtained by suffixing/a/, /ca/or/za/to the verb root, as in /rändra/giving,/phänza~phända/flying, /zä-za/eating, /lha-za/doing, /däca/falling, etc. /phanza pya/flying bird, /däca buñha/falling tree,/zark rändra kätu/running child,

/pya phända oi ili/the bird went afar flying.

Tinani has its own mechanism of deriving present participles. There these forms are obtained by suffixing/tär~toro/to the verbal noun base of the verb concerned:/gärphi-tär/dancing,/tunbi tärd/drinking,/hambi tärd/flying,/zär-tär/eating, /kräpi toro/weeping, etc. /gye du il tärd tänga/I saw him going. /gye i phämbi tarya tänga/I saw a flying bird. It is also expressed by simple verbal noun forms, as in/gye du ibi tänga/I saw him going.

In this context Gari employs a number of formative suffixes which are attested as/a,-ka,-ga,-kya,-sa,-za/etc. (for their distribution see

vol. II, pt. I, p. 249-50):/za-a/eating, /tyo-a/weeping, /li-ka/doing, /ru-ka/chewing, /kyor-ga/dancing, /tun-ga/drinking,/zod-kya/sitting, /lod-kya/saying, /kan-gya/seeing, /pan-za/flying, etc.

Besides it is also obtained by suffixing /-pa/or/cug/to the verbal noun base of the verb: /lig-ci-pa/doing, /toi cug buca/weeping child, /panicug pyaci/flying bird, etc.

The speeches of the Rangkas (Eastern Himalayan) group too, do not share formative suffixes, except /län/which is common to Darmiya and Chandangsi-Byangsi speeches. The formative elements of the different speeches of this group are as follows:

The formative suffixes in Marchha are-/län~stän/, and/-zän/ which are appended to the verb root; as in/phostän/drying,/kustän/sleeping, /zEtän/cating,/tč-zän/sceeing, /tuī-zän/drinking:/gE dhEru rhättän langi/I saw him coming, /gE kustän šeru tangi/I saw a sleeping child.

In Darmiya the present participle formatives are attested as/län/ appended to the verb root:/ri-län/writing, /hizu-län/dying,/ga-län/doing, /lo-län/reading,/di-län/doing, etc.

/ji-su taku le-län sin tan-su/I saw a falling tree.

/u za-län na syunsini/he is always eating.

The present participle formatives in the dialects of Chaudangs and Byangs are attested as/käi~gäi/and/län~~än/, as in/hik-käi/laughting, /lansi gäi/quarreling, /hicige talän/dying,/sake-talän/killing, etc. But in Johari they are attested as/än~~än/manifesting partial affinity with the above formatives, as in/jan sic/was, were eating; /šic-än sis/(am) dying, /sin-n dec/leaving; /dineg/is going, etc. (for the comparative data of all these formatives see *infra* Table No. 15).

Reduplication: As in the speeches of the Tibetan group, in the speeches of this group too, reiteration of particles is a common feature, e.g. (Kin.)-/zao-zao bio/(lit. eating-eating went);/cio-cio rina/(lit. washing-washing said)/gäs bio-bio khyak/I saw while walking,/lano-lano/doing, etc. (Kan.)-/duš bunsta-bunsta rehek/he (hon.) said while going,/chances hođa za-za toš/children were eating loaves of bread; (Chhit.)-/hoyo za-za rinde/he said while eating; /ga kamän laca-laca gordek/while working I have become late, (Patt.)-/du zaza-zaza ili/he left while eating;/im lhaza-lhaza kuttu/he spoke while still in sleep; (Tin.)-/du zärk rämba-rämba diñ amin/he came here running,/kam läppa-läppa phi sukei ili/become late while doing work, (G. .../len lika-lika gorci elza/id. /za-za/ eating, /thunza-tuhnza/drining, etc. (Dar.)-/ji län galän-galän dhi:l kälju/I have become late while working; (Chaud.)-/äti zalän zalän phakcä/he said while eating,/in thanänkäi-thanänkäi dege nänsä/we were going

dancing and singing./je län syungä-syungä dhi:l kälho/I have become late while doing work.

PAST-PARTICIPLE/PERFECT PARTICIPLE

Like present participle, the past participle also acts as a modifier of a substantive or an action word, but it denotes a completed state of action in question and is passive by nature. As such it is also termed as perfect participle or passive participle.

Formation: The devices employed to obtain the participial forms of this class are attested as (1) suffixation, (2) prefixation-infixation-suffixation, (3) Reduplication.

Suffixation

The mechanism of suffixation is widely followed in all the speeches of the Western Himalayan and Tibetan groups. Different speeches have their own formative suffixes, not sharing much among themselves, except partial convergences in the speeches of the Tibetan group. Therefore, it will be better if each speech is dealt with individually.

In Spitian, in the dialect of Sham Valley the participial formative is attested as/dhekan/or/phekan/, as in/ter dhekan/given /ši dhekan/dead, /sae phekan/eaten, etc; But in the dialect of Pin Valley besides the formative/dhekan/, other formatives like/charji/and/wan/are also employed, some times occurring in free variation, e.g./kam-charji~kam-wan/dried, /tue-wan/washed,/thie-wan/written, /coe chargi~coe-wan/done,/ši-dhekan/dead, also/sed-pen/killed.

In Nyamkad a reduplicated verb root takes/-a, (-wa), -ta,-da, -ba,-ro/etc. to obtain the past participle forms. (For their distribution see vol. II, pt. II p.p. 181-82), e.g. /ši-ši-wa/dead, /phed-phed-ta/done,/so-sod-ta/killed,/len-len-da/taken,/ter-ter-a/given, /sil-sil-a/read, /so-so eaten, /kam-kam ba/dried, etc.

But it is also obtained by suffixing/-ro, -po/etc. directly to the verb stem, as in/manso dul ši-ro zik thon/I saw a dead snake; /pan-na-so hok cam-po thuldok/dried leaves fell from the tree.

In this matter Tod attests an affinity both with Spitian and Nyamkad. For, in it the formative suffixes are attested as /d'ekän/and /po/, which are appended to the verb root;/ne ši-d'ekän bu -rin-mo thon-son/I saw a dead snake; /ne butani loma kämpo cemen/ I plucked off dried leaves from the tree.

In Jad these formative elements are attested as /bäro, däna/etc., e.g./ta-bäro/seen,/chak-bäro/broken,/pa-bäro/wet, drenched, /ñel-bäro/slept, /so-däna/eaten, /lā däna/taken,/te-däna/given, etc.

Besides, we also get forms like /kam-po/dried, /tu-tu-a/washed, /ši-son/dead, which show partial affinity with the formatives of Nyamkad.

As the speeches of the Tibetan group, the speeches of the Himalayan group too, do not have a uniform pattern of these formatives though partially sharing here and there. Details of all these may be presented as follows:

In Kinnauri the perfect participle forms are obtained by suffixing /šid (+ya)/ or /-is/to the verb root: /khya-šid/seen, /ci-šid/ washed, /ši-šid/dead, /sa-šid/killed, /huš-iš/read, /toš-is/seated, /mans-is/hidden, etc. The latter forms are identical with conjunctive participle, eg. /gäs id ši-šid säpäs khyak/I saw a dead snake. /an ci-šid gasa häm to/where are my washed clothes?

/rhäg-šid pathuc häm to/where is the broken pitcher?

/bio-šid-ya mi/gone person=the person who has gone.

In Chhitkuli these elements are attested as /-ci, -ti, -si, -ni, -i/ which are suffixed to the verb root: /la-ci/done, /da-si/given, /sya-si/seen, /za-i/eaten, /ro-i/gone, /ši-i/dead; /la-ti/done, /giri-ti/fallen, /paki-ti/ripe, /no-ni/slept.

/gaci i ši-i säpa tan-dek/I saw a dead snake.

/ga to giri-ti seu zai/I ate the fallen apple.

Besides being used singly, these forms are also used as reduplicated ones, as in /eme roi-roi hanän dyaro äsi/how many days have passed him gone (lit.).

In Kanashi the position of formative suffixes is not clear, only reduplicated forms of the root itself have been attested, e.g., see Reduplication below:

Besides, simple past tense forms are also used to convey the sense of the perfect participle, as in /bok/gone, /naši to/is seated, etc.

The past participle suffixes in Pattani are /-ci, -ši, -zi/, as in /dä-ci/fallen, /zä-ši/eaten, /ro-ši/roasted, /khä-ši/seen, /ce -ši/written, etc, as in /ce-ši päd/written letter, /min-zi phäl/ripened fruit, /däk-ši buh/broken tree. But, besides the above mentioned formatives, the verb root alone also is used as past participle, when used attributively, as in /ši omdra/dead snake.

In Tinani the suffixes are attested as /-ši/and /-ki/, as in /ce-ši/written, /ku-ši/said, spoken, /ze-ši/eaten, /ra-ši/given, /tuñ-ši/drunk; /kar-ki/dried, /dak-ki/broken, etc.

Gari attests a variety of these formatives some of which show close affinity with the formatives of Pattani and Tinani as well. The

commonly attested formatives are-/šī,-ci-li,i/which are further strengthened by suffixing,/cug/to them, as in/than-šī-cug/seen,/cag-šī-cug/washed,/thag-šī-cug/broken,/da-šī-cug/given,/za-i-cug/eaten, /tuñ-i-cug/drunk,/šī-ci-cug/dead,/dak-ci-cug/broken,/dra-li-cug/torn, etc. (for their distribution see Vol. II, pt. I. p. 250),/buñi chakp./broken pot, /tebu šici/dead snake,/minicug kušu/ripe fruit.

These fuffixes are attested as/-pya,-tya,-it,sit,-ät, -piñ~biñ/in the Marchha dialect of Garhwal. (For their distribution see vol. III. pt. II, p. 156-57), e.g./tan-pya/seen,/pāk-tya/ripe, cooked, /zä-it/eaten, /phag-sit/broken, /šist/dead, /kust/slept, /urpiñ~urbiñ/washed, etc. For instance, /sustya phäl/rotten fruit, /kust seru/slept child,/pec-se zäit phäl/fruit eaten by bird; /šist bhū/dead snake,

Prefixo-suffixal Devices: The practice of prefixing, infixing and suffixing past participle formatives is followed in the speeches of Rangkas group. This peculiar feature of participle formation is not attested in any other speech of this group, or perhaps in any other speech of this sub-continent., This may be presented as under:

In Darmiya, in the case of intransitive verbs, the past participle forms are obtained by prefixing /kä/ and suffixing/-nu/to the verb root, and in cases of transitive verbs by infixing/-si-/ in between the verb root and the suffix/-nu/, alongwith the prefixation of/kä/e.g. (Intrans.)-/kä-char-nu/dried,/kä-mo-nu/ripe, /kä-thi-nu/wept, but/pun-zu-nu/dead (who has died). (Trans.)-/kä-ri-si-nu/written;/kä-tuñ-si-nu/drunk, /kä-ga-si-nu/done, /kä-za-si-nu/washed.

In the dialects of Chaudangs and-Byangs, we get the prefix /pä-/in addition to/kä-/and the suffixes are attested as/-dE,-sid/, -tä/, e.g./kä-chär-tä/dried,/khu-sid/stolen,/kä-chil-si-dE/washed,/pä-san-si-dE/, killed/pä-jhañ-te/dead. (Grierson)-/ci-bin-d/filled, full, /pu-nyar-tä/lost:

/ji-s jammai kä-che-tä phäl Kattho/ I have plucked all the ripe fruits.

/amko tig kho-bu pä-jhañ-te niso/there was a dead snake on the road.

In Johari the formative suffixes are attested as/sän, ta/etc. /le-san/said (lit. which is said), /ta-ben/ta-sän bojh/the left load=the load that was left,/pyu-sän/filled, etc.

(For the comparative data of the formatives see Table No. 15)

CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE

In a context of two actions taking place in an un-interrupted sequential order the verb of the preceding action is placed in the

conjunctive participle form and of the succeeding action in the finite verb form. Thus 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 form or still continues in the state completed earlier. It is called conjunctive because syntactically it connects one clause with another. But, it being a non-finite verb form, the sense of the clause containing it remains incomplete until the clause containing the finite verb is also there. The distinguishing feature of this participle, as compared with other classes of participles, is this that it neither possesses the characteristics of a modifier, nor indicates any temporal aspect of the action in question. As such it acquires a virtual value of an indeclinable and is also termed as absolutive by some grammarians.

Formation

The commonly used mechanism to obtain the forms of conjunctive participles is to suffix respective formatives to the verbal bases which in most of the cases are the verb roots itself, but in some speeches of the Tibetan groups, viz. Sp. and Nyam., besides the root, the infinitive is also taken as a base. In the speeches of the Himalayan group the device of reduplication of the verb root is also followed. These may be presented as under:

Tibetan Group

In Sp. the conjunctive formative suffix is/lo~la/which may be appended to the bare verb root or to the infinitive base of it which in the case of stems in a vowel is attested as /c/ instead of /je~cc/;e.g. /sa-e-lo~la/having taken food,/ton-je-lo/having shown; /ded-cc-lo/having given,/sae-lo-son/go after taking meals;/iru yon-la dod/having come here sit down; /hemo tun-la ñol/sleep having drunk milk;/na phiru yon-e-lo setin/ I shall tell to you after having come here. Moreover, in a non-formal speech it can be expressed with the infinitive forms alone, as in /ser-je/having said;/coc-je/having done,/se-cc/having killed, etc.

In Nyam. the formative suffix is/-so/which in all the cases is appended to the infinitive base of the verb concerned, e.g./ta-ya-so/(Namgya);/ta-sya-so/ (pooh) having seen;/kam-ja-so~kam-sya-so/having dried, /thi-ya-so/having written, /thun-ja-so/having drunk,/sil-ja-so/having read, etc.

In the speech of Tod these forms are obtained by suffixing /te~de/ to the verb root, as in/yon-de/having come,/thun-de/having drunk,/sil-

de/having read, etc. In stems ending in a vowel a linking element /e/ is also infixd between the two, as in /zaete/~de/having eaten, /khyoran zace zaete~za-edo son/you go having eaten food. /na tiru yon-de zeten/ I shall tell, having come here. /kho na la toe te syor-son/he on seeing us went way.

In Jad these forms are obtained by suffixing /-šya, -ša/ to the verb root, as in /chyo-šya/having heard, /tu-šya/having washed, /so-šya/having eaten, /go-šya/having laughed, /thun-šya/having drunk, /ca-ša/having done, /te-ša/having given, /ši-ša/having died, /se-ša/having killed, etc.

/horo doñ-ša, dod/having come here, sit down.

Besides, the formative pattern of Nyam. too, is followed as an alternative to the above, for instance, /di na la thon-ca-so nu-son/having seen us, she wept. (=she started weeping on seeing us).

/phei demun ca-so ťil syorson/he, having become unconscious, fell down.

Himalayan groups. As pointed out above, the commonly followed devices in the speeches of this group are (1) suffixation & (2) reduplication. These may be presented as follows:

In Kinnauri conjunctive participles are obtained in two ways, (1) by reduplicating the verb stem, (2) by suffixing /-is/ to the verb stem, e.g. /bi-bi/having gone, /khya-khya/having seen, /ci-ci/ having washed, /tun-tun/having drunk; /hušis/having read, /tošis/having sat, /yocis/having played, etc.

/do krab-krab losid/he, having wept, wept, said; /do la-la bio du/ he, having spoken, went away.

/do kimu sañan še-še biodu/he, having locked the house, has gone away.

In Chhitkuli it is obtained by suffixing /so/ to the verb root, but is also expressed with past participle form itself, which can optionally be reduplicated with certain morpho-phonemic changes in the stem vowel, as in /za-i-zo-i/having eaten, /lati-loti/having done, /daši-dosi/ having given, /tuci-taci/having taken, /tuti-tati/having come, etc.

/osa hoyo tuti (tati) posi/having come here, sit down.

/kamāñ laci kon zoi/having done work, food ate.

/thār tan-so ce thurite/having seen the tiger, all ran away.

As in Kin, in Kanashi too it is expressed (1) by reduplicating the verb stem, (2) by suffixing /-ke, -ge/or/-k, -g/ to the verb root which attest a close affinity with the formative in Tin., as in /za-za/having eaten, /tun-tun/or/tungta/having drunk, /cumsi-ge/ having kissed, /lot-ke/ having done, etc.

/äcig, anu ba-di bok/having got up, went to his father.

/khi:rañ tuñ ta tu lhäu/having drunk milk, go to sleep.

/kutas za-za pholk hošik/the dog, having eaten & eaten, has become fat. /curät datäk jug-jug drag-driñ dehed/the pitcher, having fallen down from hand, has gone to pieces.

In Pattani it is obtained by suffixing/-ca, -zi, -za, -ze,-e/to the verb root. Distributionally/-e/ is appended to stems ending in a consonant, as in/änzi/having come, /tuñ-za/having drunk, /zae-/having eaten, /tonza/having struck, etc. Besides the above, Grierson has noted/-sra/as well, as in /rošreg-šra/having got angry, but this formative could not be attested in our data.

/bägät zae ila/having eaten food, go.

Tinani which otherwise has a very close affinity with Pattani, attests widely different formatives for conjunctive participle. These are-/ke~khe~ge,-phe,-se,-ze,-e./ and their distribution is as in Patt (for details see Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 168-69). Between these two closely related tongues the only common element is/-ze/and/-e/and in respect of /ke~ge/it shows a close affinity with Kan. e.g., /äl-ge/having opened, /tuñ-ge/having drunk, /kyor-ge/having played, danced;/krap- ke/having wept, /dos-ke/having slept;/gwak-se/having embraced,/ce-c/having written,/zäe~ze-e/having eaten, /zik-phe/having trembled,/su-ze/having taken bath, etc. /käl zamin ze-e ila/you, having eaten food, go.

/ditro än-ke, zoci/having come here, sit down.

/pälmü tum-ge, ila/having drunk milk, go.

As in other tongue of this group, in this too, the mechanism of reduplication is operative to some extent, e.g./gye su-ze sa-ze antog/ I, having taken bath, will go.

The only formative suffix in Gari is/-zi/which is common with Pattani, e.g. /el-zi/having gone, /kan-zi/having seen,/lod-zi/having said, /cag-zi/having washed,/bri-zi/having written,/lig-zi/having done,/za-zi/having eaten. Grierson has noted /ši/as well, as in/šan-ši/having arise, but it could not be attested in our data. A few syntactic usages of this may be given as under:

/zare khomzi ila/eating having finished, went.

/kya ra-zi, zamen zad/ having done work, food ate.

Besides the mechanism of reduplication also takes place. It may be partial or complete:

/täł dorog za-za boi kyazi elza/he, having eaten free of charge, has become fat; /pyaci panza-panza wai elza/the bird, having flown, has gone far away.

However, in the dialect of Marchhas it is attested as /-iz/which when suffixed to vowel ending stems is amalgamated with the stem vowel, as in /rhēz/having come-/rha-/to come, /twēz/having drunk < w< (tuñ)+iz;/ /tēz/having seen, /lEz/having done, etc., otherwise /kan-iz/having seen, /kuc-iz/having slept, /lec-iz/having burnt, etc;

/du rhēz, hunci/having come here, sit down.

/zE-z, dina/having eaten, go.

/do di:z, henci/having gone there, sit down.

/dhē iru tēj tyopān casdi/she started weeping on seeing us (lit. having seen).

In Darmiya the commonly used formative element is/ju/which is suffixed to the present participle base of the verb, as in /uñ-län-ju/ having seen, /le-län-ju/having said, /chil län-ju/having washed, /ri-län-ju/having written, /lo-län-ju/having read, etc./do ra-län-ju, suñ syän/ having come here, sit down.

/u behoš lhe-län-ju, cirga cu/having become unconscious, he fell down, /u-si sumi lag-län-ju, ji kām-su/having gathered together, they all the three struck me.

But the data recorded by Grierson indicates that formerly it was expressed by suffixing /-si/or /-si-cu/ to the verb root, as in /pāk-si/having left, /yän-si-cu/having heard. It seems that during the course of development the voiceless formative /-cu/has developed into a voiced one, due to regressive assimilation.

Chaudangsi-Byangsi, though otherwise closely related to Darmiya, do not agree with it in respect of these formatives. There they are attested as /-kE~gE/, strangely exhibiting affinity with Kan. & Tin. /kE/ occurring with stems ending in vowels and /-gE/ with others, e.g. /lo-kE/having said, /sa-kE/having killed, /chär-gE/having dried, /ohil-gE/ having washed, etc. /hida~äiko ra-gE syon-sin/having come here, sit down, /cim-ja digE yaːno/having gone home, sleep down. /nu tuñ-gE yamo/having drunk milk, sleep (fut.)/wa tiñ-gc jämmäi käphon/having seen the tiger, all ran away.

Besides the above, the record of Grierson indicates that in Byangsi, the mechanism of reduplication too was operative, as in /pa-pa/having measured /di-di-ma-ci/having gone, /syu-syu-ma cu/having done, etc. cf. /cu/ in Dar. above.

Similarly, Johari which too is a constituent of the Rangkas group has its own formatives for conjunctive participles. There these are attested as /-ce, -cho-chu, ne, -se, -s/, as in /dice~di-chE nhEc/having gone there, lived (=started living); /hrin-ce/having got up; /us ta nɔkar wi-ne rhusäs/he,

having called the servant, said./tak-ne/having seen;/ga-ne/having done; /yän-s/having heard, etc. cf./ce/ (Sp.)/se (Tin.) and/chu~cu/(Dar.). (for the Comparative data of all the formatives see below Table No. 15).

Reduplication

The practice of reduplicating the verb root to obtain conjunctive participles is prevalent among the speeches of the Kinnar group only. Some of the examples of this feature from these speeches may be presented as follows:

Kin-/dopän bi-bi tetra dyare hacin/how many days have passed him having gone? (=since he left); (Chhit.)/cme roi-roi hanän dyaro äsi/id.; (Kan.)/di:d bun bun la hine bhoke/id., /to-to/beaten, /za-za/ eaten, (i.e. which has been eaten)/bun-bun/gone (=who has gone), etc.

FUTURE PARTICIPLE

The verbal expressions of the future participles as we notice in I.A. speeches are not attested in any speech of the T.H. group. There it is not a distinct grammatical category. Normally, it is expressed with the present participle itself, e.g. (Chhit.)/tha hoyo siš ta/he was about to die (lit. he was dying); /tha hoyo roz ta/he is about to go (lit. he is going).

Adverbial Character of Participles

As stated above, one of the functions of these participles is to modify the action of a finite verb, particularly, with reference to time and manner. On account of this characteristic these are designated as 'adverbial participle' as well. Various examples of participles pertaining to 'time' and 'manner' fall under this category of participles. Besides, all the examples cited in respect of modal expressions under the heads 'Inceptive' and 'Simultaneity' (See p. 234) also belong to this very category.

COMMON FEATURES

A peep into the comparative data of the formative elements of the different classes of participles given below (see table 15) makes it evident that inspite of considerable differences in their forms, there are quite a good number of converging points attested in their constituent units. Some of these may be pointed out as under:

When taken group wise the formatives of the present participle exhibit that in the Tibetan group, in many instances, the differences

are confined to the vocalic elements only. e.g. (Sp.)-/an,-kan/: (Nyam.)-/in, -kin/: (Tod.)-/en/: (Jad.)-/in/. In the speeches of Nyam, and Jad identical forms like-/in,-gin/ too are attested. Moreover, in all the speeches of this group they have a /(c)vc/pattern and the final /-c/is invariably a nasal one. But contrary to this most of the suffixes in the speeches of the Himalayan group are of the /(c) v/pattern, i.e. open syllables.

As compared with the Tibetan group the speeches of the Himalayan group attest higher degree of affinity in their participial formatives, e.g./-ga/-Chhit; Tin.; Gar.; Chaud.;/-ka/-Tin., Gar., Chaud.;/-za~ja/-Kan., Patt., Gar., Mar.; /-a/-Chhit., Patt., Gar.; /-sa/-/Kan., Gar.;/-än/-Chaud. Johari, and/län/-Dar., Chaud. Besides, in the speeches of the Rangkas group where the pattern of these formatives is of /(c)vc/type, the final consonant, as in the Tibetan group, is invariably a nasal one. However, the mechanism of reduplication is employed both in the Tibetan as well as western Himalayan tongues, with regard to the formatives of the perfect participles, an apparent distinction noticeable in the tongues of the Tibetan and Himalayan groups is this that the speeches of the former group have formatives of disyllabic patterns as well, whereas in the latter group they are invariably mono-syllabic ones.

As in the case of present participle in the past participle too, there are less identical forms in the Tibetan group as compared with the Himalayan group. There the formative having complete identity in the dialects of Spiti and Tod is/de'kan/and of partial identity are-/ro/and /-da/ (Nyam.); /-bäro/and/da-na/ (Jad.), i.e. in this the constituents/ro/and/da/have partial identity. But in the Himalayan tongues, besides the phenomenon of reduplication attested in Kin., Chhit. and Kan., there is complete identity in respect of formatives/-si,-zi,-ci/and/-i/in all the speeches of the western Himalayan group, and partial with eastern Himalayan tongues of Uttarakhand. The formal distinction of participial formatives noticeable in the case of present participles is equally maintained in this case as well.

The position of the conjunctive participle too is in no way different from that described for the present and past participles. There in the Tibetan group the only visible affinity is attested in the formatives of Nyamkad and Jad. But in the Himalayan group, besides the phenomenon of reduplication attested in all the tongues of the western Himalayan group, there are a number of formatives which are identical in more than one speech, e.g./-si~/-/se/-Kin., Chhit., Tin.; Dar., Johari; /-zi,-ze/-Patt., Gar. Tin.; /-ke~ge/-Kan., Tin., Chaud.;/-i~-e/Chhit., Patt., Tin.; /-ca,-ce/ Gar, Johari, etc.

Table 15
Comparative Data of Participle Formatives

	Present Participle	Perfect Participle	Conjunctive Participle
Spitian	-an, kan, tañ, kuncitañ; -ciktan, Reduplication	ðhekän, phekän charji, wan	-ce, -je, -c±lo/la
Nyamkad	-in, -him, -kin, -gin, ñin	-a, -ta, -da, -ba, -ro Reduplication	-sya-so, ya-so, ja-so
Tod	-en, -cen, Reduplication	d'ëkan, -po	-te, -de
Jad	-in, gin±cig-la, jogla	-bäro, -däna	-šya, -ša
Kin	-o, Reduplication	šid (±ya), -iš Reduplication	-iš, Reduplication
Chhit.	-a, -ga, -ge Reduplication	-ci, -ti, -si, -ni, -i Reduplication	-i, -ti, si+Redupli- cation; ~Reduplication
Kanashi	-jä, -sä, Reduplication	Reduplication only	-ke, -ge, k-g, Reduplication
Pattani	-a, -ca, -za, Reduplication	-ci, -si, -zi	-za, -zi, -ze, -e, ca, Reduplication
Tinani	-tär, -to ro, -ka, -ga, Reduplication	-ši, -ki	-ke~khe, ge, -phe, -se, je, -e, Redu.
Gari	-a, ka, -ga, kya, gya -sa, -za, Reduplication	-ši, -ci, -li, -i±cug	-zi, Reduplication
Marchha	-tän, -zän	-pya, -tya, -it, -sit, -ät, -pin~biñ.	-iz
Darmiya	-län~län	kä-nu, kä-si-nu	-län-ju, (-si, -cu)
Chaud.	-kai-gäi, län än	-pä, -kä-dE, sidE, -tä	-kE gr Reduplication
Johari	-än, än	-sän, -sañ, -ben	-ce, che, chu, ne, se, -s
	X	X	X

Adverb

Although like adjectives adverbs too, belong to the indeclinable class of words in the speeches under consideration, yet they are being treated as a separate class of words, because of the distinct semantic and syntactic functions being performed by them, i.e. semantically, this class of words modifies the sense of a verb or restricts the scope of it to a place, time and manner of the action in question, whereas the domain of an adjective is the modification of a noun. Hence with reference to their meanings all types of adverbs are grouped into 4 general categories, viz. (1) Spatial or adv. of place and direction; (2) Temporal or adv. of time; (3) Modal or adverb of manner; and (4) Intensifiers or adverbs of degree.

Syntactically, an adv. is an integral part of the V.P., whereas an adj. forms the part of the N.P. Another syntactic distinction attestable between these two segments of a sentence in the speeches of the Tibetan and Himalayan groups is that in the speeches of the Tibetan group an adjective follows the head qualified by it (see Placement of adj.) whereas an adv. invariably precedes the head modified by it.

Formation of Adv.: In most of the speeches of both the groups words belonging to this class are both, radical as well as derived. Understandably, the adv. of the former type are mono-morphemic and of the latter type poly-morphemic, which mostly have their pronominal origin, i.e. various adverbial stems indicative of time, place and manner and the like, usually, have their roots in corresponding nonpersonal pronouns, particularly in demonstratives and interrogatives (For examples see Adv. of place Kin; Patt., Chhit., Sp., Jad, Nyam. & Joh.). Besides, adjectival and radical adverbial stems too have served as a base for the derived class of adverbs. As such on the basis of their sources this class of adv. can be designated as pronominal and non-pronominal. Moreover, in the formation of adv. of manner the mechanism of reduplication is operative in many speeches. For examples see. Gar, Chhit., Kin., Mar., Chaud., Sp., Nyam., Jad, etc. in the table 16.

Table 16
Adverbs of Place

	here	there	up/above	down/ below	under/ inside	behind	where	near
Kin.	hɔzän	hɔdän	thwa/	yua/	komo	ñums	häm	nerän
Kan.	jo/did	no~nu	rigin	yecu	kubär	hipij	hamẽ	neɖän
Chhit.	hɔya	hɔda	käl	po/ chanmo	po	ñoco/ ñeco	go	piña
Patt.	dir	dur	khe	thäle	ton	thälesi	aür	käohän
Tin	diñ	doñ	kharkan	lezan	nän	thelanzi	khyañ	käccän
Gar.	khyag	nuñ/ therän	yartog	lezan	thildog	gyäb-tod	gui	kachan
Mar.	du	do	er/käl	pañ	älli	nyōr	gu	litho
Dar.	dɔ	tre	yä-to	pichän	beru	nogondi	udi	läakandi
Chaud.	hida	ätkho	yär	yukho		nyunti	ulo	titu/ nero
Joh.	hwer/ hwena	-	thušyu	yušyu	khunšyu	hyanšyu	gu	x
Raji	hitya	-	ɖhai/ yas	berlE/ dhi		ghere	x	läga
Sp.	iru	phiru	tañru	gup/ gabla	nañla	gyäb	gäna/ khañla	ñemo
Nyam.	diru	phiru	khotop	yok	nañla	gyäble	khañla am, go	ñemo/ tharo
Tod	iru	teru	tholo-la	yola	thila- la	gyäb- la	kā-la/ gi-ru	ñemo/ ñao
Jad	do-ro	phe-ro	tero	yok	yok	gyäb	kā-ro	thero

Different speeches of both the groups have their respective sets of all the above mentioned classes of adverbs. Some of these can be presented through the tables give below. (For more details see the series- "Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages, 1988-1992).

Adverbial Phrases: Besides the derivative and reduplicated constructions, various types of phrasal constructions too, are, usually, used to express the sense of an adverb of any class mentioned above. A few of these may be presented here, e.g. (Sp.)-/thicine philã/for long time;/thu-zi-po~chu-zi-po/around; (Nyam.)-/khañ duañ/any where; /cukcac-na/any how;/lad-na-lep-la/suddenly; /hyun-rin-po-naso/for a long time; (Chhit.)-/gui dyar/id.:/zya derthän/id.:/hal-täs-län/upül now; (Jad)-/tañ-la-na-so/ before hand; already /cigpo-a-la/at once, (Sp.)-/lan-cik/

Table 17
Adverbs of Time

	Yesterday	day before	today	Always	tomorrow	after	now	when?	when	then
Kin.	mē	ri :	tero	dyari	nasom	nipi	huna	Eräz	terän	dorän
Kan.	muḡh	rhid	thid/ thi	roj	jam	hipij	jäbo	—	jäbc	hateai/ däbc
Chhit.	näi	tubrya	thän	dyaro	obi	nōco	hälta	hame	x	te
Patt.	creg	turäg	tog	jagtañ	mutañ		na/nha	apil	älle	dothar
Tin.	eki	tusyar	tog	jagtañ	muntañ	thälän	däle	älle	älle	ontar
Gar.	ya:	giwa	thän	cana	aci	khaci	da:	ika	ika	nunci
Mar.	nyar	thämin	thän	jäkär/ cagna	ro	nyoñ	dhano	gwäskya	bäktär	täb
Dar.	niman/	rhija	thhya	jyari	khai	nogandi	than	human	jab	tab
Chaud.	nyaro	rhija/ sreja	thiä	rajyari/ racyori	muci	nyoñti	ikta	ulän	hañ/ hä-än	hañ
Johari	—	—	thya	—	—	—	ijyaro	—	jäb/ajc	täb
Raji	—	niwä	dc/dei	—	kile	—	älE	hiya	hiyaän	pE
Sp.	dan	khäniša	thirin	syaktan	nanmo	tinlä	ta, tha	näm	näm	tenc
Nyam	dan	khaniša	ürin	saktan	nanmo	tinlä	tha	näm	näm	tenc
Tod	dan	tizya	ürin	zätän	thorc	gyäbnc	lem	näm	näm	tenc
Iad.	doñ	khenin	ürin	yagdän	nanmu	syam-la	lasan	näm	x	tenc

Table 18
Adverb of manner

	slowly	quickly	quietly	properly	suddenly	how ?	Very
Kin.	mesan- mesan	hasäl	suruci	zoi	zäbna	hales	wali/gäzäb
Kan.	sulus	cheka	tremen	x	cankaj	meinh	gap
Chhit.	mäsän- mäsänči	šya	cūna	x	zabraliñ	hale	män-män
Patt.	šul	hyuma	byaki	ruṭhe	hyuttā	chana	aine/mhäš
Tin.	yaza- yoza	huma	tremen	ruṭhe	äcanäk	khyena	aine
Gar.	dalto- datto	grogspa	sutugna	ṭhik-ṭhik	mañsmitog	khanag	noi
Mar.	s - s IE	jhät-pät	tupp-16	riIE	khim	äcanäk	mäst/chuṭṭi
Dar.	tarsu	chāṭa	tamina	x	x	gäm	cuñ
Chaud.	tartar- se	chāṭa	cup	x	x	häm	con/matta
Sp.	kulkurän	zoa	khaduci	ḍemo	hata- pata-la	cog- cewa	mänpo/ minan
Nyam.	khole- khole	gohwa/ gyoha	khaduya	ḍemo	dinaso	cogcya	mänpo
Tod.	d ¹ -d:1	gyogpa	kharola	x	sipcila	cu?la	minḍa
Jad.	kale- kale	gyoha	cäm-cäm	ghäsiñ	cig-bola	cogca	mañpo/ ozäm

id; (Dar.)/itta manasu/uptil now; /cuñ ḍil wanasu/for a long time; /tuk-tona/before hand, etc.

Moreover, in all the speeches of the Himalayan group under consideration an adverb can take post positions as well, e.g. (Kin.) - /ham-o/from where?, /hədon-c/from there, (Kan.)-/hamē-ce/from where? (Patt.)-/der-ci/from here; /dorci/from there, (Gar.)-/thil-ci/from below; /gui-ci/where from?; (Dar.)-/tupp-IE/quietly, /ori-IE/properly; (Chaud.)-/yär-to/upward, /yu-kho/downward, etc.

Intensification: All classes of adverbs are liable for being further strengthened with the employment of intensifiers to indicate the intensity of the action in question or the degree of adverb under reference. The adverbial intensifiers being identical with adjectival intensifiers have a state of over lapping between them. A few of these may be illustrated as follows (For their forms see table 17 above):

(Kin.)-/wali yäl-yäl/very tired; (Chhit.)-/män-män yeli/id., (Sp.)-/minan chedyak/id., (Jad.)-/man-po thok-bäre/id., (Kan.)-/gap sulus/very slowly; (Tod.)-/minda khyophata/very fast; (Dar.)-/cun-der-su/ for a very long time, etc.

Placement or syntactic order : Normally, in a syntactic string an adverb, on account of being an immediate constituent of a verb phrase (VP), occupies a place immediately before a finite verb, e.g. (Tod.)-/kho dan yon-son/he came yesterday (lit. he yesterday came). But when in an utterance the number of adverbs is more than one 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 (Tod) -/kho dan iru yon/he came here yesterday (lit. he yesterday here came). However, the adverb indicating of the specificative aspect precedes the one indicating a general aspect, if both of them belong to the same class of adverbs, e.g. in the utterance-/ kho dan phitog iru yon-son/he came here last evening (lit. he yesterday evening here came) it can be noticed that the specific term for day precedes the general term for 'time' (for there can be any 'evening' but not any 'yesterday'), in their turn both precede the adverb of place. Moreover, if there is an adverb of manner then the normal practice is that it follows the adverb of time, but precedes the adverb of place, as in/kho dan phitog khärola iru yon-son/ he quietly came here last evening (lit. he yesterday evening quietly here came).

These points may be elucidated with a few more examples from a few other speeches under reference. Sp.-/kho dan goimo khaduilo iru lepcun/ he quietly came here last evening.

Patt.-/du ereg phitog byaki dir äti/ id.

Dar.-/u niman nänthäba tanina do rajü/ id.

Nyam.-/kho dan phitog diru lipcon/ id.

Mar.-/dhE nyar gwaslya du rhättiz/ id.

Chhit.-/hoyo nei oci zoa tuti tase/ id.

Kan.-/du mudhyo berän jo bhärokän/ id.

PARTICLES

Besides the nominal and verbal modifiers, there are other classes of indeclinables which in the terminology of grammar are called 'Particles'. On the basis of their functions and syntactic positions these are variously designated as Connectives, Emphatics, Interrogatives, Negatives and Interjections. These may be explained as follows:

Connectives

Functionally, all the connectives are grouped as (1) co-ordinatives and (ii) subordinative.

Co-ordinatives

The primary function of this class of particles is to join two or more mutually independent elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. Semantically, the particles of this class are designated as—Additive, Alternative, Contrastive, Conditional and Correlatives in traditional grammars.

(i) Additive

According to the function performed by it, the natural place of its occurrence is in between the two elements/units joined by it. Different speeches of the T.H. group have their own additive particles (see Table 19A) but some of these, viz./*tañ~dan/and/rañ~rã*/are common to more than one speech. In this context it may also be pointed out that though existence of additive particles is formally attested in all the tongues, yet in a non-formal speech it is, usually, left out, its purpose is served by a mere pause (open juncture †). For instance, in a sentence like “give grass and water to the horse” the additive particle for ‘and’ is normally attested as/*rãñ*, e, *dãñ*, *ji*, *na*/etc, e.g. (Kin.)-/*rañu ci rañ ti rañiñ*/, (Patt.)-/*rañ bi sãñ e ti rãñ*/, (Gar.)- /*srañsteg ci dãn soti da*/ ; (Dar.)-/*rhañ ci ji ti da*/, (Jad.)-/*ta la sa na chu thod*/, (Sp.)-/*ta-la sa rañ chu tod*/; (Mar.)-/*rhãs ci ÷r ti dhE*/etc.

But the additive particle for ‘and’ is altogether dropped in statements like ‘he gives (and) I drink’, e.g. (Kin.)-/*do kec† gã tunc*/, (Gar.)-/*tãlzi dasare†gi tunge*/; (Tod.)-/*khoe tañ†gethun*/; (Dar.)-/*usu dada†ji tunši*/; (Jad.)-/*kho tejok†na thune*/, (Mar.)-/*dhE khyãñ†ge tunkãñ*/; (Sp.)-/*kho terok †na thuned* (Patt.)-/*doi rãndra†-ge tunma tog/id.*; (Nyam.)-/*kho terok†man thunct/id.*

(ii) Alternatives

Basically, the speeches of the T.H. group do not favour the use of alternative particles like “either . . . or” and “neither . . . nor”. For, in both the cases the utterances expressing alternate actions are independently expressed either in affirmative or negative constructions with independent finite verbs, as the case may be. In the former case, however, the term for ‘or’ may be used as a conjunct in between the two statements, but not in the latter. Consequently, in utterances like

'either you come or send your father' or 'neither he came nor did he sent his father' etc. The natural way of rendering them in their colloquial speech would be like-'you come or send your father', 'he himself did not come, he did not send his father as well'. The absence of the negative particles is particularly attested in the Tibetan group. In the Himalayan group too, the original terms are becoming obsolete and I.A. terms are gaining currency due to spread of education and closer contacts with I.A. speakers. A few examples from a few representative tongues may be given as below:

- Kin.* - /koc ran bito†-koc mohän bito/
(lit.) either Ram should come or Mohan should come.
/do mä bänna†gä mä bäc/ neither he came, nor I came.
- Patt.* - /ya gye lhäog†ya käi lhäu/ either I shall do or you do.
/nä ene lha†nä uitin lhazi rändra/ neither he does, nor allows others to do.
/doi nä zäwa†nä zäi rändra/ he neither eats, nor allows to eat.
- Gar.* - /hyene hän rani†hyena mohän rani/ either you will come or Mohan will come.
/na hän raza† na coco raza/ neither you came, nor the younder brother came.
- Mar.* /kitä gE†ki get be/ either you or your brother
/nä boti†nä zya/neither milk, nor tea.
- Dar.* /ya yo†or de/ either come or go.
/nä zada†näzamu gada/neither eats nor allows to eat.
- Spit.* /kyod soñ†yañ na la ðo-cuk/ (either) you go, or let me go.
- Nyam.* - /khyot soñ†yañ man la ðorocok/ id.
- Sp.* - /na khoi thun soñ†na nai thuni/ neither he drank, nor I drank.
- Jad.* - /ya khyot ya khe nuo/ either you or your brother
/na khyot†na khe nuo/neither you, nor your brother.
(For the forms in other dialects see table 19A).

(iii) Contrastive

There is no native term like Eng. 'but' or Hindi 'mägar', 'lekin' to express the contrast between the statements in two successive coordinative sentences in any of the tongues under consideration. However, the purpose of this particle is served by an open juncture (pause), occurring at the end of the preceding affirmative/declarative sentence, e.g.

- Chhit.** - /ga æ kamän äsi toʃkin kamän äsi mato/
I have done my work, your work is not done.
- Gar.** - /gi-i län tä dʊbʃaʃhāi len maɖubʃa/id.
- Patt.** - /du gye khandri dir ände, (pär)gye ma dorig/he came here to see me (but) I was not here.
- Tod.** - /khyoran chana machanaʃna chakosena/(whether) you come or not come, I will have to go.
- Nyam.** - /maʃ soʃkho ma so-son/I ate, (but) he did not eat.
- Jad.** - /na sebdun so-chärʃphei so tarā so mā charade bäre/I have eaten food, (but) he has not eaten it as yet.

Synchronically, some of the dialects of the Himalayan group, due to their frequent and close contacts with the I.A. speakers, have adopted the I.A. term/ pər/ 'but', but it has yet to make a base among masses.

(iv) Conditional

In conditional clause constructions, which are marked by particles 'if' and 'then', these tongues do not employ the condition marker 'if'. There is no term for it, though respective terms for the connective 'then' are of course, there, examples from some of the speeches are as follows:

- Kin.** - /ki bänna tä:ʃga le eke becok/
had you come, then I would have also accompanied you.
- Kan.** - /mama bhutta ʃtä: sobhila hoʃita/
(if) maternal uncle had come then nice would have become.
- Patt.** - /ane kä äponʃ gela äpog/(both in fut.) If you come, I will also come.
- Mar.** - /gän rhauänʃtäb giru bi rhapän pärketi/(both in fut.). (If) you will come, then I will also have to come.
- Jad.** - /kho onnaʃtene nala ongo lhon/id. (For more examples see contingent mood.) But in this type of expressions, the colloquial way is to construe the whole statement as a complex sentence in which, the verb of the conditional clause is put in conjunctive participle form and of the other in the indicative mood of the tense concerned:
- Dar.** - /gae ranjeʃji le ranʃi/(lit.) on your coming, I will also come (=if you come I will also come).
- Sp.** - /khyod yon-son-naʃna la yonge hak/ id.
- Nyam.** - /khyot onza-naʃna la onzahod/ id.
- Kin.** - /kä bännaʃgä betok/on your coming, I will come.

Tod. - /khyo 'yon chärpa†na chen/ id. Also see conjunctive participle.

(For the terms of Himalayan dialects see table 19A)

(v) Correlatives

Correlative conjunctions for the terms 'when' and 'then' are attested in almost all the tongues of the Himalayan group, though in some of them the original T.H. terms are being replaced by I.A. terms of the neighbouring dialects. (For the topographical distribution of these terms see table 19A) A few specimen of this are-

Kin. - /terän kamän sumtic, dorän khauzac/
when the work was finished, then food ate.

Mar. - /jäb län läträki, täb za bänzäki/ id.

But in the speeches of Tibetan group, as in conditional constructions, in this type of constructions too, the whole expression assumes the form of a complex construction. Consequently, the verb of the 'when clause' assumes the form of a conjunctive participle and of the 'then clause' of the indicative mood of the tense concerned, e.g.

Spiti. - /laha coserje†tobca soewin/
(lit.) having finished the work, food ate (=when the work was finished, then food was eaten).

Nyam. - /laha sinsa-so†saptuñ so-son/ id.

Jad. - /laha carsa-so†sebduñ so-son/ id.

Subordinatives

Subordinative conjunctions join two or more clauses/sentences of which one is independent (principal) and others are dependent on it. Basically, the languages of the T.H. group do not have subordinate sentence constructions. Consequently, all the statements of this nature are expressed independently in direct narrations and are joined together by a pause (juncture) after the principal clause, e.g.

Patt. - /doi kuri†gyabi yoš leki to/he said, I am hungry.

Gar. - /täłzi girog†gi krestog ña/ id.

Tod. - /khoi zaro†na zu yo ? / id.

Sp. - /kho sero†na tore trak/ id.

Nyam. - kho sero†na togri hin/ id.

Emphatic Particles

In an utterance, normally, it is the heavy stress/pitch on the particular syllable of the word concerned or the longer quantity of the syllable concerned that marks the intended emphasis. Some times shifting of words from their normal syntactic position also serves this purpose. But to make it more pertinent a few particles or vocalic elements too, are used there, e.g.

- Sp. - /na iru hin/Iam very much here (only stress).
 /na iru teken/I shall remain here (=at this very place).
 Kin. - /kis-i dopän lolo niüñ/you alone (emph.) may have told him
 (vocalic element /i/).
 Patt. - /gye-e yog/I shall alone (emph.) go (Vocalic element/e/).
 Gar. - /tälzi re khyag zodkhag/they too (emph.) live in this very
 place. (emphasis marker/re/).
 Mar. - /dhEse bi dukhu guskäni/they too live at this very place-
 (For others see table 19A)

Negative Particles

Most of the tongues of the Himalayan group have two distinct terms for negative particles, viz./mä/ and /thä/, of which the former is employed to negate the presence of an object or happening of an action in general and the latter to prohibit the execution of the action in question. But the speeches of the Tibetan group have only one negative particle, viz /ma/, with allomorphs as /män~mi~mä/, attested in various morphophonemic environments. Some of the examples from some of the tongues under consideration are as under:

- Kin. - /ram bäda/Ram came : /mä bäda/did not come.
 Chhit. - /gä ti tuni män/I did not drink water;
 Patt. - /di panu mäšu/this is not milk:/doi mä zäwa/he does not
 eat.
 Kan. - /ma ran/did not give,/ma yag/did not wish.
 Gar. - /mä raza/did not come, /mä-da-za/did not give.
 Dar. - /u jigu rhinsya mä nini/she is not my sister.
 Mar. - /dal-käl pat mä hini/there are no leaves on the tree.
 Dar. - /mä da-su/ did not give, (Chaud.)-/mä dä-te/id, (Johari)-
 /mäda-s/ id.
 Tod. - /khoyo mäna/he will not come

- Sp. - /na meḍo/ I shall not go, /ram tu nhasin mak/Ram is not a good boy;
- Nyam. - /maṅ meḍok/ I shall not go (For the structural aspect of the negative particles see Negative Sub-system. For the use of the prohibitive particle/thä/, see Imp. Mood. (For areal distribution see table 19B)

Interrogative Particles

Besides the mechanism of employing various suffixes to affect interrogation in an utterance (see Interro. sub-system), there are interrogative particles which are employed, particularly, when the question requires a fulfilled statement as its answer and not merely as 'yes' or 'no'. In this type of constructions interrogative particles pertaining to enquiry of time, place, manner, reason, etc. are attested in almost all the speeches of both the groups, and could be placed any where in the utterance, though usually in the beginning of it. But none of the speeches under consideration has a native term for interrogative particles denoting the sense of 'if' or 'whether'. However, in case of necessity, the current term for 'what?' is normally used to convey the sense of these interrogative particles and is, usually, placed at the beginning of the sentence. The commonly attested terms for this are /ci~chi/ in the Tibetan group and /khe~khi/ in the Himalayan groups. (For their areal distribution see table below table 19B and for other terms see Interro, Adj. & Adv. above). Here we may cite a few examples from both the groups which are as under:

- Sp. - /khyotti khaṅpa kana yotta /where is your house?
- Tod. - /ci man gyalā tu māna /whether Ram is not a good boy?
/kho yoa mana ci /whether he will not come?
- Patt. - /chi di panu māšu/ /whether this is not milk ?
- Tin. - /kai kae zao ton/what are you eating ?
- Gar. - /älzi data la ↑ /will he give ? (lit. if/whether he)
- Mar. - /khi gän rhattän ↑ /if you will come?
/na lakho äi khä lhe/what is this in your hand ?
- Chaud. - /ätigä khä min lhe/what is his name ?
/na lakho äi khä lhe/what is this in your hand ?
- Kin. - /du thi namän du/what is his name?
In Raji, however, it is expressed with mere intonation; as
in /bhätt kE jani ↑ /have you eaten rice?
/ni:k ci-ku-nE ↑ /are you alright?

Table 19A
Connective (Coordinative)

Lang.	Additive	Alternative		Condi- tional	Correlative		Emph.
		Affirmative	Neg.		When	Then	
Kin.	rān	koe--koe	me--me	x--tä	terañ-----dorañ	le, -i	
Patt.	e	ya--ya	nä--nä	añe--x	appel--dorañ	le, la	
Tin.	tañ	ya--ya	nä--nä	x---tä	appel--dorañ	-l, la	
Kan.	uja	ya--ya	na--na	x---tä	jäbe---däbe	-le	
Chhit.	tāñ	ya--ya	na--na	x---ta	x-----x	lo, -i, -o	
Gar.	dañ	hena--hena	na--na	x---x	apel--nunañ	re	
Mar.	r	kitā-ki	nä--nä	x---ta	jāb---täb	bi, hi, e kun, khu	
Dar.	ji	ya--> r	nä--nä	x---x	jāb--täb	na, l, td	
Chaud.	ji, hān	kitā-ki	nä--nä	x---x	hañ--hañ	ri, -e, -i	
Jok.	gar	ya--ya	nä--nä	x---a	jāb--täb	ri, lek, -i	
Raji	rā	ya--ya	na--na	--	--	--	
Sp.	rañ	yañ	x----x	x---x	nām--tene	la	
Tod.	dāñ	yena--yena	na--na	x--ten	apel--tene	-e	
Nyam.	rañ	yañ	x----x	x---x	x--tene	añ	
Jad.	na	ya--ya	na--na	x--tene	x--tene	la, -i	

Table 19B
Particles

Language	Interrogative				Negative		
	when?	where?	how?	why?	whether?	Simple	Prohibitive
Kin.	kādi	kothe, ham	hāla, kee	kotre, kiṣṭhu	, -a? (-ya, -wa)	mā	thā
Patt.	aūghari	āūr.	chana	cheriñ	i, -a?	mā	thā
Tin.	älle	khañ	thyena	kheriñ	khye, -a?	mā	thā
Kana.	kādi	hame	hole	minh	khi, -a?	ma	thā
Chhit.	hame	go, ham	hale	khe	khe, -a?	ma, mān	thā
Gar.	ika	gu- i	khanag	thālag	la?	mā	thā
Mar.	gwāskya nāskya	gu	gān, khim	khāru, khyoru	khi? ku?	mā	thā
Dar.	humān	udi	gām	khālān	—	mā	thā
Chaud.	ulān	ulo	hām	khāsyān	la?	mā	mā
Johari	—	gu	gumta	kālE	—	mā	mā
Raji	kino	hiyañ	dhE	hān	—	hān	ta
Spiti	nam	khañna	cogcewa	cila	ci, -a?	ma, me	ma
Tod	nam	gāla, gāru	u?la	ila	i, -a?	ma	ma, m n
Nyom	nam	khañla	cogcya	ila	ci, -a?	ma	ma, mān
Jad	nam	kāro, kana	cogca	ela?	i-, -a?	ma	ma

INTERJECTIONS

The position of interjections is different from the other categories of particles. It is difficult to patternise and structurally analyse them in any group of these speeches. Speaking about the problem of interjections Beams (1966: III. 272) states "Various spontaneous or involuntary sounds, some of them hardly articulated, by which sudden emotions are expressed, are scarcely acceptable of rigid scientific analysis in any language. Surprise, fear, disgust, delight and other sentiments are often displayed by grunts, shakes, turns of head or movement of the hands". Speakers of the languages of this group too have their own modes, kinics and verbal expressions to vindicate various types of sentiments expressable by spontaneous reactions to a given situation some of those have been noted for different speeches and analysed in the volumes of '*Studies in T.H.L.* (1988-92). These may be seen there itself.

Part III

SYNTAX

Syntax

With regard to morpho-syntactic features of these speeches it may be said that in a way various aspects of it have already been taken care of in connection with the analyses of various categories of its constituents. Therefore, in this section only a formal presentation of the syntactic structure of it will be done. In brief, the nature and the structures of various types of sentences may be presented as follows:

SENTENCE AND ITS COMPONENTS

A sentence, as in other speeches, in the speeches of the T.H. group too, may be defined as any utterance that is self contained grammatical unit, marked by sentence intonation and terminal contours in which the structural slots are the phrasal units, viz. noun phrase (subject) and the verb phrase (predicate).

Components of Noun Phrase

A noun phrase can be a single unqualified noun/pronoun or both, or a noun 'head' plus one or more modifiers, may be preceding, as in the Himalayan group or following as in the Tibetan group + a case marker. But the use of a phrase, or a clause as a subject is generally, avoided, and instead a simple subject is preferred. e.g. (Kin.)-/boṭhano id(kwaci suig) pyac nic du/a (small red) bird is seated on the tree; (Chhit.)-/pañ-niñ (äcä-äcä maṭ)pyacan posita / id., (Pat.)-/butan ica (kwaci sei) pya toce/id.; (Mar.)-/dal käl (cicya-cicya maṇ)pec bEṭhāl hini/ id.; (Nyam.)- /pando ciu (marbo cuñze) dodca dok/ id. (Dar.)-/jigu taku (cuñ punu wamnu) khui nini/I have a very big black dog; (Chaud.)-/jig tig (mättäi pod womd) nikhi yin/ id., (Sp.)- /ca (märpo cukan) phurtok/a small red bird flies (lit. bird-red -small.....);

Extension of Noun Phrase

A noun phrase is extendable in the form of case markers and various types of qualifiers of the noun head. (For examples see above, all words placed in parentheses are the extension of the noun heads

in question). For the sequential order and agreement of various classes of the modifiers see Ajectives: (placement).

Components of a Simple Verb Phrase

The verb occupies an important place in syntactic constructions of these speeches. It comes at the end of the sentence and carries the signs of the subject, as well as of the object, in pronominalized languages.

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/helping verbs. In case of a simple finite verb the VP can stand by itself, but in case of a transitive or a copulative verb it may need a complement to complete it which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb, e.g. (Chhit.).

/machi tidu huna to / fish live in water.

/äci-ci kitab huše/ the boy read book.

/yo mi zoi ta/ this man is good (=he is a good person).

(Kin.) - /gä kinu ketok/ I shall give you.

(sp.) - /ca phurtok/ bird files~is flying.

/kho yon-dok/ he came~was coming.

(Nyam.) - /di mañe khanba hin/ this is my house.

/mañ khi zik thon/ I saw a dog.

(Dar.) - /jigu taku riñsya nini/ I have a sister.

/pya lañni/ birds are flying.

(Mar.) - /gä dipän cacän/ I want to go.

(Pat.) - /eke zirpa/ the sun is rising.

/kañu ili/ the child has gone.

(Gar.) - /buca-zi peca-ti togza/ the boy read a book.

(For more examples see Verb, Affirmative)

The constituents of a composite verb phrase are—a principal verb stem+one or more full verb stem+aux/helping verbs + object or complement. 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, e.g. (Chhit.)

/äcä äcän amae kherän tuna-ta/

babies (lit. small children) drink mother's milk.

(Kin.) - /do kamän lac du/ he is doing work.

/do sedei zao nic du/ he is always eating.

(Sp.) - /ane dan iru yon-son/ aunt came here yesterday;

/khyod phiru ðoa goisi yod/ you should have gone there.

- (Nyam.) - /khyat phiru cicana doyanok/ id.
/nanmo chamo an diru lebon/ brother's wife may come here tomorrow.
- (Dar.) - /ändu do-na rimu da/ let it remain here.
- (Chaud) - /je thinza cimja deg yinye/ I am going home to-day.
- (Mar.) - /dhe inru kanizän tyopan cas-di/ she started weeping on seeing us.
- (Pat.) - /ge cuñ rin ibimi tätäg/ I want to go home (For more examples, see Tenses and Moods.).

Extension of Verb Phrase

A verb phrase can, normally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb, an adverb phrase or a complement, e.g. (Chhit.).

/ga ae kimo roa tok/ I am going my home. (Simple).

/ga thän ae kimo roa tok/ I am going my home today (extended).

/ga thän oci ae kimo roa tok/ I am going to my home today in the evening. (Further extended). Similarly,

(Kin.) - /gä gui ratän yancis tokek/

I remained awakened for the whole night.

(Sp.) - /na khanpa-la doan/ I am going home. (Simple):

/na thirin philok khanpala doan/ I am going home to-day in the evening (extended)

(Nyam.) - /man (tirin pherok) khanba la phondet/ id

(Dar.) - /ji (thyä ñanthäba) äphi sunru dyansi/ id.

(Chaud) - /je (thinza ñanchä) cimza deg inye/ id.

(Mar.) - /ge (thän gwaslya) ist kim diceki/ id.

(Pat.) - /du (ereg ñukhälki) dir äti/he came her last evening.

(All words placed in parentheses is are extension of the V.P.).

TYPES OF SENTENCES

Traditional grammarians, normally, recognize three types of syntactic constructions, viz. Simple, compound and complex. But as in Munda, the languages under consideration too favour simple and short sentences only, even ideas of complex nature are expressed by splitting them into distinct simple sentences. The mechanism of combining simple sentences or clauses by means of connectors too is not favoured much. Usually, the purpose of various categories of conjuncts is served by a more open juncture (pause). However, construction of complex sentences through participial formations is often resorted to (For examples see *infra* Non-Simple Sentences).

Types of Simple Sentences

Semantically and structurally too, a simple sentence can be designated as an affirmative, interrogative, imperative, negative, etc. And an affirmative sentence can further be classified as active, passive, impersonal, causative, etc. As pointed out above, all these aspects of a simple sentence, correlated with the morpho-syntactic character of the verb, have already been dealt with in respect of various verbal sub-systems, and modal formations. Their reproduction here will be a mere repetition of those facts which have already been explained. These may, therefore, be seen there itself.

Moreover, morphologically, a simple sentence could be subjectival or objectival as well. In the former type there is an agreement, in respect of number and person categories, between the subject and the verb and in the latter type it takes place between the object and the verb. The position of these syntactic features in the languages of the T.H. group will be discussed later on under the head 'concord' (see p. 274).

Besides, these languages also make a structural distinction between transitive and intransitive sentences. Accordingly, in transitive sentences the subject in the past tense, and in other tenses too, is placed in the ergative case and in intransitive sentences it is always in the nominative/direct case. (For details see Case: Nom., Erg.).

Components of a Simple Sentence

As stated above the essential constituents of a simple sentence are phrasal units: a noun phrase, constituting the subject and its extension, and a verb phrase, constituting the predicate, which may or may not have an object. The normal order of the placement of these constituents is—subject + object + verb. As such syntactically, the speeches, of the T.H. group, except Raji, have the SOV structure, e.g. (Kin.)-/chanc khau zac/the child is eating good; (Patt.)-/kaṭu bāgāt zāwa/ id., (Dar.)-/syanu roṭa zani/ id.; (Mar.)-/seru roṭi zācyā/ id.; (Sp.)-/tu todca sarok/ id.; (Nyam.)-/chiba saktun saok/ id.; (Gar.)-/the di kyum hin/this is my house; (Chhit.)-/ ācān kherān tunta/children drink milk, etc. (For more examples see 'Case'-Nom. Acc. Erg.).

Placement of Objects

In transitive constructions, in which the verb has more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object.

In this the direct object is placed in the direct case and the indirect

in the accusative-dative case, e.g. (Chhit.)/ama äccän kherän dato/
mother gives milk to the child (lit. mother to child milk gives).

- (Sp.) - /ama tu la oma terok/ id.
 (Nyam.) - /ama chiba-la oma terok/ id.
 (Dar.) - /mina-su syänu nu dada/ id.
 (Chaud) - /nasä syännä nu dada/ id.
 (Mar.) - /ama scru-ru äpu pllacän/ id.
 (Patt.) - /ya-zi kaṭu-bi panu rändra/ id.
 (Gar.) - /amazi cici-zog pelci dacare/ id.
 (Kin.) - /ama chancu kherän stunotäs/ id.

(For more examples see Case Acc.-dative).

But in a colloquial discourse any single constituent, of course with an inference to other constituents, can form the nucleus of a simple sentence. For instance, (Chhit.)

- (1) /ya/ hallo genctleman!
 (2) /khelya/ what ? (what is the matter ?)
 (1) /go roa kin-a/ where are you going ?
 (2) /kimo/ to home (=I am going to my home).
 (1) /khe/ what for ? (=what for are you going home?)
 (2) /au totosän/ to bring father (I am going home to bring father)
 (1) /khe lan/why ? (why you are bringing him?)
 (2) /näši to/ (he) is ill.
 (1) /hame-ci/ since when ? (since when he is ill?)
 (2) /i ? gol-ci/for a month (he is ill for a month)
 (1) /he a ↑ / is it so !
 (2) /ä/ yes (yes, it is so).

CONCORD

It has already been stated that these speeches do not recognize grammatical gender and the natural gender does not affect the verb in any way. Therefore, the question of agreement of gender between the subject/object and the verb does not arise. However, in respect of number and person, there does exist a scope for mutual concord, but this too has a limited application, particularly, in the speeches of the Tibetan group and also in some of the speeches of the Himalayan group, such as Kan., Chhit., etc. in which it is limited to a single number and 1st and 2nd person only, the 3rd person forms, except for honorific system, being conjugated for a single form only.

In the Himalayan groups too, in which a verb is conjugated for different persons and numbers, the agreement is confined to subjectival constructions only, though in non-formal speech this too is not maintained strictly. Their indiscriminate use is a common feature. A few examples of subjectival concord may be presented as under:-

Patt.-/kaṭu-i zāwa/ the child is eating;

/kaṭu-kui zāwatoku/ two children are eating;

/kaṭu-ci zāwatore/ children are eating.

(Dar.)-/ji dandi/ I shall do;

/niñ dandän/ we shall do.

(Chaud.)-/ji zagäye/ I eat :

/in zagänye/ we eat:

/jig tig rhinsya yin/ I have a sister:

/jig sum rhinsya inän/ I have three sister(s).

(Mar.)-/dhE guskän/ he lives :

/dhEse guskäni/ they live.

(Gar.)-/zod kyare/ he lives :

/zod khag/ they live.

/täl elza/ he went :

/tälzi elcha/ they went..

/hän ela/ you go :

/hänzi elni/ you (pl.) go.

In the speeches of the complex promominalized group the concord is indicated by the pronominal particle itself, as in (Kin)- /neō/ he knew; /neon/ you...;/neōñ/you (hon).....; /neō / you (pl.)/ we knew; /neok/ I knew, etc. Also /gä bio tog/I go, /kä bio dun/you go, /do bio du/he goes, etc.

But no agreement, whatsoever, is attested in case of objectival constructions, may be due to inherent employment of the ergative case with transitive verbs. This feature may be illustrated with the following syntactic units.

(Kin.) - /dekhracis checacu khyao/ (a) boy saw a girl.

/dekhracos checaconu khyao/boys saw girls.

(Patt.) - /doi ica gäppa raktu/ he asked one thing

/doci mäste gäppa raktu/ they asked many things.

(Chhit.) - /äcici kitab huše/(a) boy read (a) book.

/äcän-ci kitab-cän huše/ boys read books.

(Sp.) - /tu peca silson/ id. (sg.)

/tu-za peca silson/ id. (pl.).

- (Dar.) - /syanu-su lobuñ losu/ id (sg.)
 /syanu-jän-su lobuñ losu/ id. (pl.).
- (Mar.) - /seruz kitab bāce/ id. (sg)
 /seru-se kitab bāce/ id. (pl.).
- (Nyam.) - /chiba roti saok/ child eats bread
 /chibaya roti saok/ children eat breads.

In the above sentences the verb does not show any agreement with object in question. Consequently, it is not affected by the number of the object under reference.

Elision of Copula

In many speeches of the T.H. group in a non-formal speech a copulative verb tends to be elided in interrogative sentences. For instance, (Chhit.)-

/yo khe min/what (is) his name? (lit. he what name?)

/yo sige/who is this? (lit. this who?)

/kän go roa/where are you going? (lit. you where going ?)

It also tends to be elided in specificative statements:

/yo age ate/this (is) my elder brother (lit. this my elder brother).

/yo au-e kim/this is father's house (lit. this father's house).
 otherwise/yo mi zoi ta/ this man is good.

NON-SIMPLE SENTENCES

In traditional terminology, non-simple sentences are termed as compound sentences and complex sentences:

Compound sentences are combinations of two or more independent simple sentences, joined together by coordinative conjunctions. But, as pointed out earlier, the speeches of the T.H. group do not favour the use of these conjuncts, their purpose is usually served by an open juncture (pause) intervening the successive sentences. For their examples see above 'Particles' : Coordinative, i.e. Additive, Alternative, Contrastive etc.)

Complex sentences too are a combination of more than one clause/sentence, but in this one of the constituent clauses/sentences is subordinate or dependent on the other. The number of dependent clauses can be more than one. The clause to which 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 these speeches:

(i) Complemental

In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or complementary object of the principal clause. Both the clauses are joined by a conjunction, which in these speeches is mostly left out and a pause juncture takes place instead, e.g. (Chhit.).

/yoci rinde† ae khre tuti to/he said, I am hungry.

(lit. by him said, to me hunger has come);

(Kin.)-/doš riña †gä upasän tok/ id.

(Sp.) -/kho sero† na tore †rak/ id.

(Nyam.)-/kho sero†man togri †ak/ id.

(Dar.)-/usu lesu (ki) ji rona niši/ id.

(Chaud.)-/äüisä loks†je kähhed inye/ id.

(Mar.)-/dhEz 1E†ge bethän hinki/ id.

(Patt.)-/doi kuttu†ge yoñi totog/ id.

(Gar.)-/tälzi ringbare†gi krestog na/ id.

(For more examples see above 'Particles' : Subordinative).

(ii) Correlative

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. Both the clauses are conjoined by relative pronouns; e.g.

(Chhit.) - /su tunna hui runo~rono/who (soever) comes, he will go.

(Kin.) - /hatyañ bätö†h▷doi bit / id.

(Sp.) - /su jon-na†khoran †oak/ id.

(Nyam.) - /su 'onak†ote †oanok/ id.

(Dar.) - -/khä-mi rayän†idu †eyän/ id.

(Chaud.)- /jäi rayän†äti †eyän/ id.

(Mar.) - /gho rhatti†dhE ditti/ id.

(Patt.) - /äü yoto†du äpoto/ id.

(Gar.) - /sure ranan†äl yoni/ id.

(For more examples see 'Particles': p. 262 Subordinatives).

(iii) 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 this the clause containing the sense of 'If', 'when' etc. is the subordinate clause and the clause with 'then' is the principal clause. Positionally the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

But in this type of complex expressions these speeches prefer conjunctive constructions. Consequently, the verb in the subordinate clause is expressed with the conjunctive participle form of it and the verb of the principal clause is placed in the tense or mood forms in question. The justification for such constructions may be that in this type of conditional sentences the action indicated by the verb in the principal clause takes place only if the action indicated in the subordinate clause takes place first. For, in the case of conjunct participle also we see that it denotes that the action indicated by it is already completed before the beginning of the action indicated by the finite verb. e.g. (Chhit.)-/kin tunna, † ga lo ton to/if you had come, I would have accompanied you (lit. on your coming I would come).

(Nyam.) - /khyot' onja-na† naan ñampo' onja hot/ id.
/kamän leci neco,† kon zai/(when) the work finished (then) food was eaten (lit. after finishing the work food ate).

(Sp.) - /leha coe to †topca soewan/ id.

(Nyam.) - /laha sinsaso † saptun soso/ id.

(For more examples see 'Particle' Conditional p. 261)

Similar is the case of verbal expressions in which the action of the principal clause is the outcome of the action of the subordinate clause, e.g. (Chhit.)-/ron me-du tanna, laha ac/iron becomes hot on being placed on the fire (-it becomes hot when it is placed on fire).

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