CHAPTER-VI

CONCLUSION
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The Tiwa is the name of language as well as of a community. They are the member of the great Bodo race. Ethnically, the Tiwas are of Mongoloid origin. The Tiwas are mainly the inhabitants of Assam. But they also inhabited some part of neighbouring state of Meghalaya. In a linguistic perspective, the Tiwa language belongs to the Bodo-Naga sub-group of Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family. In old linguistic literatures, they were known as Lalung. However, they prepared to call themselves as Tiwa. The Tiwa language is found only in spoken form. Some of them have lost their language because of the influence of Assamese. Majority of the Tiwa people living in the plains of Assam, particularly the younger can not speak their language. For education and for day to day exchange of thoughts, they use Assamese language. However, the Tiwas living in the hills are still maintaining their language and use their language for their day to day life.

Tiwa language is spoken mainly in the Nagaon, Morigaon, Karbi Anglong and Kamrup district of Assam and some part of the neighbouring state of Meghalaya. The total population of Tiwa tribes is said to be 1,70,622, according to the 2001 census. However, the total number of Tiwa speakers amounts only 26,481 (2001 census).

Since much linguistic work has not been done on Tiwa language, a few literatures are used for the purpose of review. Dr. G.C. Sarma Thakur’s ‘The Lalungs (Tiwas)’ published in 1985 is one of the important books about the Tiwa people. This book gives us full information on the life and origin, their migration to the plains, dress and custom, social organisation etc. of the Tiwas. The book covers the various aspects of life, culture, economy etc. introducing them to the outside world.
G.A. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (Vol. III Part II, 1903-28) gives us the first hand information about the Tiwa (Lalung) language for the first time. According to him, this language belongs to the Bodo groups under the Bodo-Naga section of Tibeto-Burman language family. He mentioned the total speakers of Tiwa language as 40,000 in 1891. In this book, he also tried to bring out some linguistic features of Tiwa language that includes case system, number, personal pronoun and verb. While discussing about the case, Grierson mentioned five cases i.e. Accusative, Dative, Instrumental, Genitive and Ablative. According to him, the markers of this case are /ga/ or /go/ for Accusative-Dative, /re/ for Instrumental, /ne/ for Genitive and /pera/ for Ablative. But the present research work exhibits seven cases in Tiwa language i.e. Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Genitive, Locative, Instrumental and Ablative. He further mentioned the same case marker for both Accusative and Dative cases while we have found that Accusative and Dative have different case markers. /go/ and /na/ or /a/ is the case markers for Accusative and Dative respectively.

Reverend M. Balawan's 'Outlines of Lalung Grammar' which was published in 1975 was the first grammar of Tiwa language written in Roman script. In this grammar, he tried to bring out some grammatical features of Tiwa language in brief. He discussed here about the case endings, plural number, numerals, personal pronouns, group verbs, participles, main tenses, negative sentence, adjectives, adverbs etc. But in his grammar, Balawan did not discuss the gender system of Tiwa. He neither mentioned nor discussed about gender system in his grammar while in our study we have discussed about the gender system of Tiwa. As per our data, we have found that gender distinction in Tiwa is determined on the natural recognition of sexes. Gender is not grammatically marked in this language. It has only natural genders.

U.V. Joseph and Robbins Burling's 'The Comparative Phonology of Boro-Garo language (2006) is the most important book from the linguistic point of view. In this book, they described the inventory of phonemes and phonological feature of Tiwa language. They mentioned five simple vowel phonemes and twenty one consonantal phonemes.
Tiwa establishes five vowel phonemes /i, e, a, o, u/ which occur initially, medially and finally. There are six diphthongs /ai, ao, ui, iu, oi, eo/ that do not occur in all three positions. The diphthongs /ui/ and /iu/ do not occur in initial position. There are twenty one consonantal phonemes in Tiwa which don’t occur in all three positions.

The consonantal phonemes are /p, b, t, d, pʰ, tʰ, k, g, kʰ, m, n, ŋ, s, z, č, ř, h, r, l, w, y/. The phonemes /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ, g, ř, z, č, ŷ/ do not occur in the final position. On the other hand, the phoneme /g/ occurs only in medial position. In Tiwa, consonant clusters occur in initial and medial positions and final cluster is found only in the borrowed words. A lot of consonant sequences occur in the medial position. Tiwa does not allow more than two consonant clusters initially in a word. The first member of the initial clusters are /p, b, t, d, k, pʰ, tʰ, kʰ, s/ while the liquid /l, ř/ occupy their positions as the second member of the cluster. Thus, the /l, ř/ never occupy the first position in a cluster in Tiwa. Besides this, it is also found that in Tiwa, a few numbers of three consonant sequences occur in the medial position. The first member may be a voiceless stop or a voiceless fricative or a nasal. The third member is always a trill or lateral.

In Tiwa, consonantal clusters occur in initial and medial positions and final cluster is found only in the borrowed words. It has a lot of consonant sequences in the medial position. It does not allow more than two consonant clusters initially in a word. The first member of the clusters are mainly stops / p, b, t, k, pʰ, tʰ, kʰ / and the second member of the cluster may be trill or lateral. We find a few number of consonant clusters where the first member of the cluster is a fricative / s / and second member is lateral.

In Tiwa Noun can be classified as common noun, proper noun, abstract noun, material noun. Gender distinction in Tiwa is determined on natural recognition of sex, viz. gender is not grammatically marked in this language. It has only natural genders. Classifier in Tiwa functions as specific determiner of the physical shape or size, quantity and quality of the noun. Classifier occurs before or after the nouns in Tiwa. E.g. /libiŋ sa-za/, ‘one person’ /pʰañ daḷ-ja/, ‘one tree’, /lai ti-kʰon/ ‘two leaves, /horkʰadi kʰoba-ja/ ‘one box of match’ etc.
There are seven cases that we have identified in Tiwa i.e nominative, accusative
dative, genitive, locative, instrumental and ablative. Case relation in this language is
expressed by suffixing the case markers to the nouns or pronouns. The case markers
of Tiwa language are /-ol/, /-lo/ for nominative case, /-go/, /ol/ for accusative case, /-a/
or /-na/ for dative case, /-el/ or /-ne/ for genitive case, /-o/ or /-ao/ for locative case,
/-re/ for instrumental case and /e-p'ana/ or /-ne-p'ana/ for ablative case.

Pronouns in Tiwa distinguish number but no gender. Pronouns may be classified in
to Personal pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Reflexive pronoun, Interrogative
pronoun and Indefinite pronoun. The personal pronoun in Tiwa distinguishes three
persons and two numbers. These are illustrated in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>aŋ ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>na ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>pe ‘he/she’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demonstrative pronouns in Tiwa are /hebe/ and /pe/ (also /pui/), the former
refers to person or things or animals which are located near the speaker and the later
refers to person or things or animals far from the speakers. Plural demonstrative
pronouns are also formed by suffixing plural morpheme /-bur/ and /-mun/ (also
‘man’) to the singular demonstrative pronouns. These are illustrated in the following
table:

The interrogative pronouns found in Tiwa are /far/ ‘who’, /inda/ ‘what’, /pao/
pronouns can take post-position or case markers.
The indefinite pronouns of Tiwa are (i) /farp’a/ ‘someone’ or ‘somebody’, (ii) /sai/ ‘something’ or a little, (iii) /slakelo/ ‘everything’, (iv) /sokolo/ ‘everybody’, (v) /ek’obo/ ‘anything’.

Verbs are not marked for person, number and gender in Tiwa. Verbs roots may be divided according to their structures into two types-(i) Simple and (ii) Derived / Complex. Most of the simple roots are monosyllabic while the derived roots are formed by compounding. The Tiwa verbs are either transitive or intransitive. Compound verbs are formed by combining two root morphemes together. In Tiwa, there are two types of auxiliary verbs, viz. (i) main auxiliary, and (ii) modal auxiliary. /torjo/ is the main auxiliary verb and expresses the meaning of ‘be’ and ‘have’. It functions as a copula in non verbal predicates and also used obligatorily in locative predicates, past tense and in sense of possessions. In Tiwa /p’ono/, /raw/, /siw/ ‘can’ and /mano/ ‘may’ are the modal auxiliaries.

There are three tenses in Tiwa, viz. (i) Present (ii) Past and (ii) Future. The three tenses are usually marked by different markers added to the verb after all other markers for aspect, mood etc. have been added. In Tiwa, verbs are not marked for persons, number and gender.

In Tiwa, Adjectives can be used not only attributively but also predicatively. Adjective in this language usually follows the head noun they qualify. It is also one of the characteristics of SOV language, as observed by Greenberg. Adjectives undergo no change for gender. However, the case markers and plural markers are attached to the adjectives, not to the head noun. Adjective in Tiwa are categorizes according to their characteristics i.e. (i)Adjectives of quality (ii) Adjective of quantity (iii) Adjectives of taste (iv) Adjectives of colour (v) Dimensional Adjectives (vi) Adjective of number.

Comparative is formed by post posing /-k’uli/ after suffixing dative marker /-a/, /-na/ and superlative is formed by adding common noun marker /-sokol/ ‘all’, a borrowed item from Assamese, and suffixed with the adjective or noun and dative marker /-a/ is added with comparative marker /-k’uli/ ‘than’. However, the
superlative is also formed by suffixing /-mazo/ ‘among’ after any plural noun in comparison adding superlative /sokola k'uli/ with the adjective or nouns

Adverbs can be categorised according to their form into (i) simple/base adverbs, (ii) derived adverbs, (iii) compound adverbs, (iv) reduplicating adverbs. Semantically, they may be categorised as the followings: (i) adverbs of time, (ii) adverbs of place, (iii) adverbs of manner (iv) adverbs of purpose and (v) adverbs of quantity.

In Tiwa, all the post positional suffixes are added immediately after the Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs and Adjectives. Post position /-zii/ ‘side’ /-maha/ ‘like’/ ‘similar’ /-na k'uli/ ‘than’ /-pant'ao/ ‘for’ / ‘on behalf of’, /-ba/ ‘or’/ ‘either’, /ondalo/ ‘behind’, /cawa/ ‘without’ etc. are used to add after Genitive case marker /-e/, /-ne/ as well as nouns and pronouns.

In Tiwa, there are two ways of expressing negation, one is by using the negative particles and the other is with the help of negative copula. There are three negative particles /hiya/, /-ya/ and /la-/ in Tiwa. The /hiya/ and /ya/ are the most frequently used form which occur in the post verbal position and used in equational constructions and nominal predicates. The other marker /la-/ is used to express negation in imperative sentences and occupies a pre-verbal post position. The negative copula /ca/ is used to express negation in existential construction, locative predicates and possessive sentences.

Interrogatives in Tiwa can be classified into two types- ‘yes-no’ question which asks for the confirmation or negation of the statement, and Wh- questions. Yes- No question in Tiwa is formed by adding the question marker /na/ to the verb. An affirmative statement can be converted into an interrogative sentence without the question marker /na/ but by means of rising intonation. Wh- questions: Wh- questions in Tiwa are formed by substituting the constituent that is being questioned by the appropriate interrogative pronouns.

The common morphological processes used for word formation in Tiwa are compounding, derivation and reduplication. Compounding is a word formation
process in which a stem is formed with two roots, the resultant stem belonging to the form class of at least one of the constituent roots.

(i) /mewačor/ ‘male friend’
/mewa + čor/    
male friend
(ii) /maipʰaŋ/ ‘paddy plant’
/mai +pʰaŋ/    
paddy plant

With the help of derivation process, new class of words are formed. It is done by the addition of derivational suffixes. The following examples will explicate it. The Tiwa reduplication can be divided into the following types: (a) expressive (b) echo formation and (c) word reduplication.

Expressive in Tiwa is used to denote all the five senses of perception, ie. smell, sight, touch, hearing and taste. In the echo words of Tiwa, the initial phonemes or the syllable of the base word gets replaced by another phoneme or syllable. Echo words are always examples of partial reduplication. Tiwa has /m/ as replacer sound of echo word. For example,

/kʰanzur manzur/ ‘ear etc’.
/tu mu/ ‘bird etc’.

When the base word begins with /m/, /pʰ/ is used as a replacer in the echo word. The examples are-

/mal pʰal/ ‘goods etc’.
/mai pʰai/ ‘rice and something like that’
Word reduplication stands for the total or partial reduplication of the base word or of the stem. When the whole word is repeated it is called total or complete word reduplication. On the other hand, if a syllable of the base word is repeated, it is partial word reduplication. Whatever may be the unit of reduplication, the end result is a new word and this new word has no parallel in its non-reduplicated counterpart (Abbi, 1987). The following are the examples of complete word reduplication in Tiwa.

/kʰlon/ ‘silent’ (adj) kʰlon kʰlon/ ‘silently’ (adv)
/krip/ ‘slow’ (adj) krip krip/ ‘slowly’ (adv)

The compound nouns in Tiwa can be explained in terms of the semantic relationship held by the constituent nouns. In equational compound, the two words forming the compound noun have identical or very close meaning. For example,

(i) /kʰa mon/ ‘heart’
    /kʰa/ ‘chest’ + /mon/ ‘will’

(ii) /han-kren/ ‘skeleton’
    /han/ ‘flesh’ + /kren/ ‘bone’

In associative compounds, two nouns incorporating the extreme limiting referents of the same semantic field (representing a polar relationship), or two nouns incorporating the salient characteristics of that semantic field (in less extreme association) form compounds whose referential range includes the whole semantic field.

(i) /tao kʰona/ ‘nowadays’
    /tao/ ‘today’ + /kʰona/ ‘tomorrow’

(ii) /krome marad/ ‘wild animal’
    /krome/ ‘wild’ + /marad/ ‘animal’
Endocentric Compounds contains an element that functions as a head, eg.

(i) /mai pʰaŋ/ ‘paddy plant’
   /mai/ ‘paddy’ + /pʰaŋ/ ‘plant’

(ii) /sal kʰum/ ‘sunflower’
    /sal/ ‘sun’ + /kʰum/ ‘flower’

In Tatpurusa (determinative) compounds, the head of the compound is on the right side, i.e. the second member is the head of the compound. Eg.

(i) /colom matʰi/ ‘birthplace’
   /colom/ ‘bith’ + /matʰi/ ‘land’

(ii) /ti-grum/ ‘waterfall’
    /ti/ ‘water’ + /grum/ ‘falling sound’

Karmadharaya compound is a combination of a noun and an adjective in which the noun is the head of the compound. Eg.

(i) /tu-pisa/ ‘fowl’
   /tu/ ‘bird’ + /pisa/ ‘small’

(ii) /kʰo-baro/ ‘big basket’
    /kʰo/ ‘basket’ + /baro/ ‘big’

In Dvandva (copulative) compound two words are conjoined or coupled where both the elements are head. Eg.

(i) /ma-pʰa/ ‘parents’
   /ma/ ‘mother’ + /pʰa/ ‘father’

(ii) /hor-sal/ ‘day night’
    /hor/ ‘night’ + /sal/ ‘day’
Tiwa ia an agglutinative language having the characteristics of is SOV. In other words, the normal order of words in an unmarked sentence in Tiwa is S (subject), O (object) and V (verb) or we can say that in Tiwa,

Subject (S) occurs in the sentence initial position.
Object (O) follows the subject and precedes the verbs.
Verb (V) occurs in the sentence final position.

However, some sentence can occur without the subject in Tiwa. For example, subject is optional in imperative sentence. Consider the following sentence.

\[ /lai-go \text{ leke}e/ \quad \text{(You) Read the book} \]
book-Acc. read

Even a verb can make an imperative sentence in Tiwa where the use of subject and object is not necessary. The imperative is obtained by dropping ‘na’ and keeping the stem, that is the stem itself is the imperative. Consider the following examples,

\[ /k\text{ezo}n/ \quad \text{sit down} \]
\[ /ri/ \quad \text{do} \]

The interrogative pronoun precedes the subject if the subject is present because the use of the subject is optional in the interrogative sentence in Tiwa. In other words, the interrogative sentences are formed in Tiwa with interrogative pronoun placed before the subject.

\[ /pao \text{ liw/} \quad \text{Where will go?} \]
Int. Pron. V
Where live

\[ /inda \text{ na}jo/ \quad \text{What do (you) want?} \]
Int. Pron. V
What want?
Few exceptions are to be found regarding the above mentioned statement. Some interrogative sentences are available in Tiwa where the subject precedes the interrogative pronoun.

(i) /čin pakala ča-w/ 'When shall we eat?
   S   Int.Pron. V
   We when eat.-Fut.

A simple sentence in Tiwa consists of a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP). For example,

(i) /k'o'rla li-ga/ 'The girl has gone'
   Girl go- Perf.
   NP   VP

The noun phrase (NP) consists obligatory of a noun which is called the head noun and that may be followed or preceded by one or more modifiers. The modifiers which are basically optional elements may be an adjective, a case marker, a postposition, a numeral etc. These optional elements modify the head noun in Tiwa.

(i) /krowa libiq/
   Adj. N
   Good man 'A good man'.

(ii) /p'aj baro/
   N Adj.
   Tree big 'A big tree'.

In Tiwa, when the head noun is modified by a demonstrative and an adjective, the order is that the head noun follows these two as in the following sentences.

(i) /hebe baro p'aj/
   Dem. Adj. N.
   This big tree 'This is a big tree'.
When demonstrative, numeral and adjective along with a noun, all occur together in a single sentence in Tiwa; the order is that the head noun is preceded by the demonstrative, followed by the numeral and adjective as exemplified below.

(i) /hebe saza krowa libin/ ‘This is a good man’.
   Dem. Clasf. Adj. N
this one good man

The verb phrase (VP) in Tiwa may consist of a lexical verb or a 'be' verb which is obligatory in the verb phrase. Apart from the obligatory verb in the verb phrase, some other optional elements like Noun Phrase, Adverb etc. are also to be found in the VP which may follow or precede the main verb. However, there are some instances of simple sentences in Tiwa in which the VP consists of only one verb. For example,

(i) /k'ezor/ ‘sit down’
   V

(ii) /čikal/ ‘get up’
   V

The noun generally precedes the verb in a simple sentence in Tiwa as in the following examples.

(i) /pe ča-ga/
   NP VP
   S/he eat-Perf. ‘S/he has eaten’.

When the verb phrase (VP) has two noun phrases (NPs), NP1 is the direct object and NP2 is indirect object. The two NPs can interchange their place of occurrence, but the NPs must be followed by the main verb.
When an adverb occurs in a sentence, the adverb precedes the verb in Tiwa as exemplified in the following sentence.

(i) /na kʰonana pʰi-w/ ‘You will come tomorrow’

The adjective phrase consists of at least one adjective and it may or may not be accompanied by an intensifier. The adjective of the adjectival phrase either precedes or follows the noun in Tiwa.

(i) /krowa korkʰia/ ‘Good child’

(ii) /pawla libinj/ ‘Mad man’

The adverb in an adverb phrase modifies the verb. An adverb occurs before the verb in Tiwa. Consider the following sentence.

(i) /etʰalo pʰi-w/(You) will come now’.

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The adverb of place always carries a particle along with it. In fact, the particle is suffixed to the adverb of place.

(i) /nirjo t^nado/  
Adv. P. V  
inside is 'inside'

(ii) /me t^nado/  
Adv. P. V  
above is 'above'

Two types of clauses can be identified in Tiwa. They are main clause and subordinate clause. The main or principal clause is independent and can occur on its own in sentence. In fact, the main clause in Tiwa is always identical with a simple sentence. In contrast, the subordinate clause can never occur on its own and is always dependent on the main clause.

The following are the examples of main clause in Tiwa. They are basically simple sentences.

(i) /aŋ ca-w/ 'I will eat'  
I eat- Fut.

(ii) /pe ca-ido/ 'S/he eats'  
s/he eat- Pre.

The subordinate clause in Tiwa is marked by either conjunction or particle and always precedes the main clause as exemplified below.

(i) /nok'a ko-gaido aŋ liya/ 'If it rains I will not go'.  
Sub. Clause M. clause
Coordinative clause in Tiwa is marked by the presence of conjunctive particles. The primary function of conjunction is to connect words, phrases, clauses and sentences. Consider the following examples.

(a) /re/, /aro/ ‘and’
   (i) /ma re paba pʰi-dom/ ‘Mother and father came.’
       mother and father come-Past
   (ii) /ram aro rahim li-dom/ ‘Ram and Rahim went.’
       ram and rahim go-Past.

(b) /tʰebo/ ‘but’
   (i) /aŋ pe-go jəŋ-dom tʰebo pe pʰi-yam/‘I called her but she did not come’.
       I she-Acc. call-Past. but she come-Neg.Past

(c) /ba/ ‘or’ or ‘either’
It is used for disjunctive construction only which is formed by placing /ba/ between the two proposition so that they are in an ‘either…..or’ relationship.
   (i) /pʰaba ba ma/ ‘Father or mother’
       father P.P. mother

Conditional clause in Tiwa is introduced by placing the conditional particles /čidi/ ‘if’ in the initial position of the subordinate clause and the noun in the main clause takes /bo/ ‘also’. In the conditional statement of the sentence, the conditional clause always precedes the conclusion without any exception in Tiwa. The following is the example.

(i) /čidi aŋ ri-na pʰon-gaida, na-bo pʰono/ ‘If I can do it you can also do.’
    if(Condl.) I do-Inf. can-Condl. you also can.
The complement clause in Tiwa is expressed without any particles. But, sometimes the complementizer /ze/ is introduced which is borrowed from Assamese and the complement clause in Tiwa always follows the main clause. For example,

(i) /pe hondom pe kona pʰi-dom/ ‘S/he said that s/he came yesterday’
   S/he say-Past. s/he yesterday come-Past

Relative clause in Tiwa is introduced by the participle in which the relative clause always precedes the head noun of the main clause.

(i) /ne kʰub mukti-wa libirj ai sudur/ ‘The man you praise a lot is my enemy’.
   you Intsf praise-Partl. man my enemy/

The sentences in Tiwa can be classified into three types, viz (i) simple, (ii) complex and (iii) compound. These three types of classification are made at surface level structure of sentences.

A sentence is simple where there is only one S at the surface phrase structure. It means that it is a construction which has only one clause, i.e., the main clause and it has at least a subject and a predicate except in imperative sentences in which the use of subject is optional. Consider the following examples,

(i) /pe kumun korkʰia/ ‘S/he is good child.
   S/he good child
(ii) /čįį sigaisa-raw/ ‘We are students’.
    we student-Pl

A complex sentence in Tiwa consists of one main clause and one subordinate clause. In the complex sentence, the subordinate clause is introduced by subordinators (particles) which usually precede the main clause. For example,

(i) /pe li-gaido aŋ pʰi-w/ ‘If he goes I will come’.
   S/he go-Condlt. I come-Fut.
Compound Sentence in Tiwa consists of two or more main clauses or simple sentences and these are conjoined either by the conjunctive particle /aro/ 'and' or by the disjunctive coordinator /ba/ 'or'. Both are borrowed from Assamese.

/ram aro hari payarziq li-ga/ 'Ram and Hari has gone out'.
Ram and Hari out go-Perf.

This sentence is made up of two simple sentences.

/ram payarziq li-ga/ 'Ram has gone out'.
Ram out go-Perf.
/hari payarziq li-ga/ 'Hari has gone out'.
Hari out go-Perf.

And both the simple sentences are conjoined by the conjunctive particle /aro/ 'and'

(i) /nita, tom aro mary pʰi-w/ 'Nita Tom and Mary will come'.
Nita, tom and mary come-Fut.
(ii) /sunil sa ba kopi nun-o/ 'Sunil will drink tea or coffee'.
Sunil tea or coffee drink-Fut.

Passivization is not a grammatical process in Tiwa. However, some kind of semi-passive sentences are available in Tiwa as exemplified below.

(i) /aŋ lai-go pre-dom/ Active
I book- Ace. buy-Past
'I bought the book'.

(ii) /lai-go aŋ pre-dom/ Passive
book-Acc. I buy-Past
'The book was bought by me'.

As far as our knowledge is concerned, a few works have been done in Tiwa language. This is a work on the grammar of Tiwa language in a systematic manner and the proposed study is able to throw important findings on the nature of this
language. Further, there is no original script of Tiwa language. Roman and Assamese script are used by Tiwa people for literary purpose till today. Tiwa language has not been introduced for teaching in any governmental institution.